

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS MONOGRAPH SERIES 62

# Tshobdun Rgyalrong Spoken Texts With a Grammatical Introduction

by  
Jackson T.-S. Sun  
and

Bstan'dzin Blogros བསྟན་འཛིན་བློ་གྲོས་



Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan  
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# 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

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and

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2019

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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 Cogtse 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)

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

## Color plates



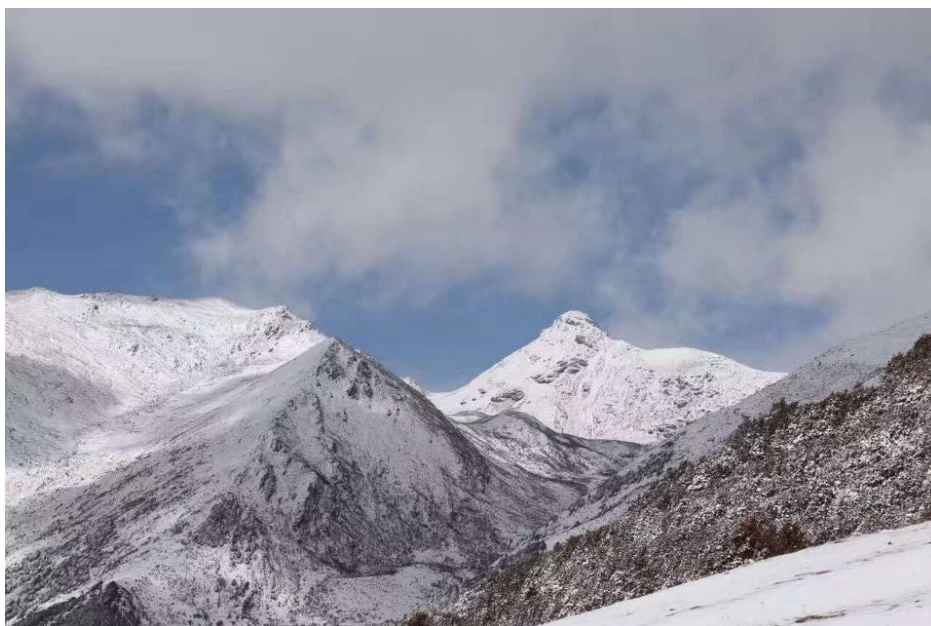
Tshobdun Rgyalrong woman in traditional attire  
(Tsheskyid; Bstanblo's mother)



Tshobdun Rgyalrong man in traditional attire  
(Bstanblo; co-author)



Bzhagbra Sacred Mountain



Kyoni Sacred Mountain





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 (*ts<sup>h</sup>ovdæn* 草登; a.k.a Caodeng) belongs to the Rgyalrong<sup>1</sup> 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 (*qec<sup>h</sup>wetri?* 嘎秋里), Te'utses (*tɛjtsi?* 代基), Gtsotse (*χtsəyts<sup>h</sup>e?* 周車), Tshobar (*ts<sup>h</sup>éwɛl* 澤灣),<sup>2</sup> Cus (*tʃu?* 珠林), Kholakyi (*q<sup>h</sup>olɛci?* 科拉基), and Rnyi (*sɲi?* 斯尼).<sup>3</sup> 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.

---

<sup>1</sup> All Rgyalrong speakers use the autonym *kəru?* (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.

<sup>2</sup> Older name: Mkhardgu (*mk<sup>h</sup>érgu* 卡爾古).

<sup>3</sup> The other three villages use other Rgyalrong languages: Japhug in Snar'dus (*snér<sup>u</sup>di* 斯拉爾底) and Showu in Sardzong (*ʂlaxlo?* 沙佐) Village and all hamlets of Po'ge (*pó<sup>u</sup>gɛ* 寶岩) Village except Khyirwe (切爾瓦) Hamlet.



**Figure 1.** Map of Tshobdun-speaking villages

## 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:

(1)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>
	<i>p<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>q<sup>h</sup></i>
	( <i>b</i> )	( <i>d</i> )	<i>ʃ</i>	( <i>g</i> )	
	<i><sup>n</sup>b</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>d</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>ʃ</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>g</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>G</i>
		<i>ts</i>	<i>tʂ</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	
		<i>ts<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>tʂ<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>tʃ<sup>h</sup></i>	
		( <i>dz</i> )	( <i>dʒ</i> )	( <i>dʒ</i> )	
		<i><sup>n</sup>dz</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>dʒ</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>dʒ</i>	
	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
	( <i>f</i> )	<i>s</i>	( <i>ʂ</i> )	<i>ʃ</i>	( <i>x</i> ) <i>χ</i>
	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ʎ</i>	<i>ʙ</i>
		<i>r</i>			
		( <i>l</i> )			
		<i>l</i>			
	<i>w</i>		<i>j</i>		

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 *n<sup>n</sup>C*- clusters (e.g. *n<sup>n</sup>gu* ‘solid, sturdy’, in contrast with *<sup>n</sup>gu* ‘poor, impoverished’). Of the consonantal codas permitted in the language -*t*, -*v*, -*z*, -*ʎ*, -*m*, -*n*, -*ŋ*, -*r*, -*j* and -*ʔ*, the voiced spirant coda -*z* (< Proto-Rgyalrong and Proto-Sino-Tibetan \*-s) is often weakened to -*ʎ* 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*, *ɐ*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *ɛ*, *o*, *ɔ*, and *ə*. Only two intrinsic complex vocoids *ɛj* 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.  $'ts^h\hat{e}t \rightarrow ts^h\hat{e}t$  'goat';  $zy\hat{o}t \rightarrow zy\hat{o}t$  'arrive [STEM 2]'), vowel assimilation (e.g.  $ró^{-n}di \rightarrow rú^{-n}di$  'as soon as she/he rides'), vowel syncope ( $k\bar{e}-n\acute{o}-^{n}ge \rightarrow k\acute{e}-n^{n}ge$  'get oneself dressed [INF]'), vowel fusion (e.g.  $m\bar{a}-t\bar{a}-o-^{n}du\hat{?}-a\eta \rightarrow moto\bar{g}^{n}do\eta\hat{?}$  'she/he did not beat me'), consonant assimilation (e.g.  $n\bar{e}-sc\hat{a}t-a\eta \rightarrow n\bar{e}sc\hat{a}na\eta$  'I was comfortable'), consonant epenthesis (e.g.  $nrewe \rightarrow ^{n}dzewe$  'hope';  $s\bar{a}-rem \rightarrow s\bar{a}yrem$  'make dry'), and syncope (e.g.  $k\hat{a}tfov\hat{?}-sqe \rightarrow k\hat{a}tfosqe$  'sixty';  $\bar{e}se-m\bar{a}rku \rightarrow \bar{e}sm\bar{a}rku$  [ɛzmərku] '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) | $ro\hat{?}$ [ro <sup>ʔH</sup> ]                                   | 'fetch'               |
|     | $\bar{e}se-ro$ [ɛ <sup>L</sup> se <sup>H</sup> ro <sup>HL</sup> ] | 'She/he is fetching.' |
|     | $j\bar{e}-ro$ [jɛ <sup>L</sup> ro <sup>HL</sup> ]                 | '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) | $fkot$ [fkot <sup>H</sup> ]   | 'carve'              |
|     | $\bar{e}se-fk\hat{o}t$ [ɛ <sup>L</sup> se <sup>H</sup> fkot <sup>HL</sup> ] | 'She/he is carving.' |
|     | $ne-fk\hat{o}t$ [ne <sup>L</sup> fkot <sup>HL</sup> ]                       | '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. *xɬát* ‘be short’; *ⁿbêt* ‘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. *ⁿpa* [pa<sup>HL</sup>] ‘pig’ → *é-pa* [e<sup>H</sup>-pa<sup>L</sup>] ‘my pig’; *ⁿtsʰet* [tsʰet<sup>HL</sup>] ‘goat’ → *é-tsʰet* [e<sup>H</sup>-tsʰet<sup>L</sup>] ‘my goat’; cf. *ⁿɣe* [ɣe<sup>HL</sup>] ‘cow’ → *ɐ-ɣé* [ɐ<sup>L</sup>-ɣe<sup>HL</sup>] ‘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. *ⁿme* ‘foot’ + *ⁿmɲa* ‘eye’ → *tə-mé-mɲa* [tə<sup>L</sup>-mé<sup>H</sup>mɲa<sup>L</sup>] ‘ankle’ vs. *ⁿme* ‘foot’ + *qʰu* ‘posterior side’ → *tə-me-qʰu* [tə<sup>L</sup>-me<sup>H</sup>qʰu<sup>HL</sup>] ‘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 =*nəʔ*; indefinite =*cəʔ*; proximal demonstrative =*koʔ*), plurality morphemes (e.g. dual =*niʔ*; plural =*rɐʔ*) 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) *é-mo=rɛn* [ɛ<sup>h</sup>mo<sup>l</sup>**rɛn<sup>l</sup>**] ‘even my mother’  
*ɛ-jɛ=rɛn* [ɛ<sup>l</sup>jɛ<sup>h</sup>**rɛn<sup>l</sup>**] ‘even my elder brother/sister’  
*ɛ-lɲaʔ=rɛn* [ɛ<sup>l</sup>lɲaʔ<sup>h</sup>**rɛn<sup>h</sup>**] ‘even my child’  
 cf. *ɛ-lɲaʔ=rɛʔ* [ɛ<sup>l</sup>lɲaʔ<sup>h</sup>**rɛʔ<sup>h</sup>**] ‘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):<sup>4</sup>

- (5) a. *jəlpe*      *moste=nəʔ*      *t<sup>h</sup>oχcɛm*      **ó-ta**      *tə-nə-ɛre*  
          neighbor   single.woman=DET   verandah   **3SG:POSS-top**   PFV:UP-SPON-go<sub>2</sub>  
 ~ b. *jəlpe*      *moste=nəʔ*      *t<sup>h</sup>oχcɛm=ta*      *tə-nə-ɛre*  
          neighbor   single.woman=DET   verandah=**top**   PFV:UP-SPON-go<sub>2</sub>  
 “(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. *ɛ-lɲaʔ=kə* [ɛ<sup>l</sup>lɲaʔ<sup>h</sup>kə<sup>l</sup>] ‘my child (ergative)’, *ɛ-jɛ=kə* [ɛ<sup>l</sup>jɛ<sup>h</sup>kə<sup>l</sup>] ‘my elder sibling (ergative)’, but must yield to the accent of its phonological host, as in *é-mo=kə* [ɛ<sup>h</sup>mo<sup>l</sup>kə<sup>l</sup>] ‘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 related to qualities, shapes,

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<sup>4</sup> 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 kə-ŋge* (plateau NMLZ:SBJ-be.vast) ‘vast plateau’. Only a handful of true sortal classifiers exist, such as *ɛʰbyeʔ* ‘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. *kəkoʔ kəruʔ fteʔ ko*  
       3SG Rgyalrong be:EMPH DM  
       ‘So (I realize now that) she/he is Rgyalrong!’
- b. *kəkoʔ kəruʔ fteʔ mu*  
       3SG Rgyalrong be:EMPH DM  
       ‘She/he is Rgyalrong, isn’t she/he?’
- c. *kəkoʔ kəruʔ fteʔ taʔ*  
       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 *tə-*, *tɐ-*, *kə-*, and *qɐ-*, 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)-<sup>n</sup>gə́-<sup>n</sup>ge* ‘call each other’ from root *<sup>n</sup>ge* ‘call’; *nə-vdə́-vde* ‘become better and better’ from root *vde* ‘be good’. Full reduplication is drawn upon to form verbal iterative aspect, e.g. *nɐ-spér-spɐr* ‘keep moving (objects)’ with prefix *nɐ-* and root *spɐr* ‘move (an object)’. Reduplication also applies to lexical categories other than verbs, producing temporal adverbials (e.g. *k<sup>h</sup>e-sɿi-sɿi* ‘day after day’ and *sɿi-ku-sɿi* ‘everyday’, from *sɿi* ‘day’), complex nominals (e.g. *kɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒə-lɿə-lɿə?* ‘parent and child’, from *tɐ-lɿə?* ‘child’; *<sup>n</sup>brətʃu ko-kə-kəm?* ‘knife together with its sheath’, from *tɐ-kəm?* ‘pouch, container’) and above all, derived ideophones. From the ideophone root *jər* denoting quietness, for example, myriad reduplication patterns yield a full set of derived ideophones (Sun & Shi 2004):

- (7) *jər* ‘IDPH for one-stroke actions performed in silence’  
*jər-jər?* ‘IDPH for the state of silence’  
*nə-jər-jər?* ‘IDPH for swift, continuous actions performed in silence’  
*jər-rɐ́-jər?* ‘IDPH for rhythmic, continuous actions performed in silence’  
*jər-nə-jər* ‘IDPH for rhythmic, iterative actions performed in silence’  
*jər-ərə* ‘IDPH for close-up, deliberate and continuous actions performed in silence’

Stem modification by means of consonantal alternation is utilized in the derivation of a number of lexical causatives, e.g. *prət* ‘cause (a rope) to break’ vs. *<sup>n</sup>brət* ‘(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<sup>h</sup>jəz?* ‘wipe [STEM<sub>1</sub>]’, *phjəz* ‘wipe [STEM<sub>2</sub>]’; *sroŋ* ‘guard [STEM<sub>1</sub>]’, *sroŋ?* ‘guard [STEM<sub>2</sub>]’. The phenomenon of ablaut is equally remarkable. Playing a role in compound-noun (e.g. *<sup>h</sup>ke* ‘house’, *k<sup>h</sup>ɐ-rmi?* ‘house-name’) and compound-numeral (e.g. *sqe?* ‘ten’, *sqɐ-*



*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,<sup>5</sup> e.g. *rp<sup>h</sup>altfem* ‘be in estrus [STEM<sub>1</sub>]’, *rp<sup>h</sup>altfem* ‘be in estrus [STEM<sub>2</sub>]’; *wi* ‘come [STEM<sub>1</sub>]’, *wɛ* ‘come [STEM<sub>2</sub>]’. Another type builds the third stem occurring in certain specific transitive contexts, such as the singular imperative, e.g. *něji* ‘wait’, *nə-něje* ‘You [SG] wait for him/her!’; *pe* ‘do’, *nɐ-pɔ* ‘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. *nənə* ‘that’, *nənəz* ‘there’; *tfor* ‘be sour’, *kátfor* ‘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. *qej-ɣve* ‘wheat awn’. More commonly, nominal prefixes of the initial compound components are retained, resulting in affixed compounds, e.g. *tɐ-se-ro* ‘hemp stalk’, cf. *tɐ-se* ‘hemp’, *tɐ-ro* ‘stalk’. Compounds containing more than two components are rare, e.g. *rjɐ-pye-lɔ* (Chinese+fowl+nest) ‘hen house’. Verbal compounds of several types are attested, such as *nə-<sup>n</sup>dzɛ-t<sup>h</sup>i* (derivational prefix+eat+drink) ‘dine’; *nɐ-ŋo-ma* (derivational prefix+be+not.be) ‘hesitate’. Nominal roots are frequently incorporated into verbs (e.g. *nə-ser-ro* (derivational prefix+louse+look.for) ‘search for lice’; *nə-k<sup>h</sup>ə-lɛt* (derivational prefix+dog+release) ‘release dogs (while hunting)’), further enrich the inventory of complex verb stems.

### 3.3 Derivational morphology<sup>6</sup>

Derivational processes are employed in abundance to form morphologically related words. With nominal roots, suffixation yields gender (male *-p<sup>h</sup>o*, female *’-mo*) and diminutive (*-pu*) forms, while denominalization is achieved by means of the verbalizing prefixes *nə-/nɐ-*, e.g. *tɕaŋe* ‘loach’, *nə-tɕaŋe* ‘catch loaches’; *tɛ-ŋɐ* ‘sun’, *nɛ-ŋɐ* ‘bask in the sun’; *tɛ-mɲa* ‘eye’, *nɛ-mɲa* ‘aim [V]’. Sometimes actors or instruments are also verbalized in this way, producing transitive verbs,

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

<sup>6</sup> For a thorough treatment of derivational morphology in Tshobdun and other Rgyalrong languages, see Sun (2014b), Jacques (2008: §3; 2014).

e.g. *rt/axpe* ‘robber’, *nə-rt/axpe* ‘rob’; *tə-pu* ‘child’, *nə-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-n<sup>u</sup>gu* ‘be poor’, *kə-n<sup>u</sup>gu* ‘become poor’, *kə-xsor?* ‘give birth (as of bovines)’; *kə-səsce* ‘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<sup>u</sup>gi?* ‘patient’ (< *n<sup>u</sup>gi?* ‘ill’), *kə-tim?* (< *tim?* ‘be rich’) ‘rich person’, as well as A-role arguments of transitive verbs, e.g. *kə-mərku* ‘thief’ (< *mərku* ‘steal’). The prefix *kə-* turns transitive verb roots into deverbal nouns denoting P-role arguments, e.g. *kə-n<sup>u</sup>dze* ‘food’ (< *n<sup>u</sup>dze* ‘eat’); *ə-kə-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-rt/one?* ‘the way she/he dances’ (< *rt/one* ‘dance’); *sə-sce?* ‘birthplace; birthday’ (< *sce* ‘give birth’); *sə-n<sup>u</sup>dzət<sup>hi</sup>* ‘dining place’, ‘instrument with which to eat a meal’ (< *n<sup>u</sup>dzət<sup>hi</sup>* ‘dine’). Further derivational processes alters verb valence. In addition to analytical causatives, Tshobdun achieves causativization by means of valence-increasing causative prefixes *sə-*, *sə-*, *wə-*, and *ʃ-*, e.g. *smi* ‘be cooked’, *wə-smi* ‘cook [V]’; *t<sup>hi</sup>* ‘drink’, *ʃ-t<sup>hi</sup>* ‘give to drink; suckle’. On the other hand, a detransitivizing prefix turns a transitive verb into a corresponding intransitive, e.g. *nt<sup>hi</sup>e* ‘kill’, *rə-nt<sup>hi</sup>e* ‘do slaughtering’. Reflexive verb formation in the reflexive prefix *jə-* 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. *t<sup>hi</sup>ə-o-jə-ɛ<sup>n</sup>du?-cə* (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 =*ni?*; plural =*rə?*), case, and possession. Number marking expresses associative plurals (e.g. *kréʃi=rə?* ‘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) *<sup>n</sup>dʒəŋo=kə*      *tə-sə-nə<sup>n</sup>dzətʰi*  
 chopsticks=INS    IMP-CAUS-eat.meal  
 ‘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. *tʃóχtse ó-ta(=z)* ‘on the table’, literally ‘table its-top(=LOC)’, often further grammaticalizing into an enclitic structure, e.g. *tʃóχtse=ta(=z)* ‘on the table’. The most common relator nouns are *'ta* ‘space on/over/above’, *'pʰi* ‘space under/below/beneath’, *'naŋ ~ naŋʔ* ‘space inside’, *pʰjiʔ* ‘space outside’, *vzər* ‘space at the side of’, *'vɛ(r)* ‘space on the body/vertical side of’, *ʁóri* ‘space in front of’, and *qʰu* ‘space at the back of’. Many non-locational grammatical markers are in possessed relator form, e.g. *krɛ* (comitative), *χte/fcɛ* ‘on behalf of’, *tənʔ* ‘reason’, and *'pʰa* (animate goal/source), as illustrated below:

- (9) a. *sonəm*    *ó-pʰa*                      *tékʰu*      *ɐ-nə-tə-kʰɛ*  
 Sonam    3SG:POSS-place    cigarette    IRR-IMP-2-hand.to3  
 ‘Hand the cigarette to Sonam!’

- b. *nəʔ tərjuʔ mə-kə-rge o-tənʔ=kə*  
 ANA property NEG-GP-like **3SG:POSS-reason=INS**  
*kə-nlɔ-aŋ ɣoʔ*  
 PFV:EAST-come.out<sub>2</sub>-1SG be

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

Standards in comparative constructions take the comparative markers *ʃóχte(nəʔ)* or *ʃóχre(nəʔ)*:

- (10) *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-jəlpe kə-timʔ ʃóχre*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-neighbor NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich **than**  
*lə-tim ɣoʔ-cə*  
 PFV-be.rich<sub>2</sub> 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 *jərmər*.

There is also a vocative case, marked suprasegmentally by accent; e.g. *rtənlo* (a man’s name) → *rténlo* (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-nə-cə*  
**3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting** quite.a.lot PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-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) *tájo=kə=ntʃʰon*      *rgenmu=niʔ*      *ʰdzə-kómtʰɔ=z*      *ʃə-te-ʰgózʰge*  
demon=ERG=also    **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.’’ [Sekhamalosman, 5]

The possessive prefixes are listed in the table below:

**Table 1.** Tshobdun possessive prefixes

	SG	DU	PL
1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON	<i>ɐ-</i>	<i>tsə-</i>	<i>jə-</i>
2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	<i>nɐ-</i>	<i>ⁿdzə-</i>	<i>nə-</i>
3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON	<i>o-</i>	<i>ⁿdzə-</i>	<i>nə-</i>
GENERIC PERSON		<i>tə-</i>	

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) <i>tě-lo</i> | ‘milk’                                 |
| <i>v-tě-lo</i>    | ‘milk owned by me (alienable)’         |
| <i>ě-lo</i>       | ‘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. *v-kə-j<sup>n</sup>dʒu=cə* *to?*  
**1SG:POSS:U-NMLZ:SBJ:A-accuse=INDF** exist  
 ‘There is someone who accuses me (lit. An accuser of mine exists).’

b. *ʋ-kə-j<sup>n</sup>dzu=cə* *to?*

**1SG:POSS:A-NMLZ:SBJ:U-accuse=INDF** exist

‘I have someone to accuse (lit. An accusee by me exists).’

(15) *c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu* *o-mt<sup>h</sup>u* *jə-ʃə* *ŋo?* *jə* *ne-səsi?<sup>2</sup>-nə-cə*

PN **3SG:POSS:U-curse** PROS-go be DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

‘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 2.** Tshobdun person-number markers for intransitive verbs

	SG	DU	PL
1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON	$\Sigma$ -aŋ	$\Sigma$ -tsə	$\Sigma$ -jə
2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	$tə$ - $\Sigma$	$tə$ - $\Sigma$ - <sup>n</sup> dzə	$tə$ - $\Sigma$ -nə
3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON	$\Sigma$	$\Sigma$ - <sup>n</sup> dzə	$\Sigma$ -nə

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 $\rightleftharpoons$ 2) and outer (3 $\rightleftharpoons$ 3) configurations, the argument cross-referenced on the verb is always P and A, respectively. In mixed (1/2 $\rightleftharpoons$ 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:

- (16) *kəkoʔ=niʔ=kə ɣjiʔ tʰv-o-səwɛʔ-aŋ-<sup>7</sup>dzə ɲoʔ*  
 3=DU=ERG 1SG PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-cause.to.come<sub>2</sub>-1SG-**3DU** be  
 ‘It was *the two of them* who made me come downriver.’

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 *tʰv-* 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 *kɐ-* and *kə-* represent volitional and non-volitional generic human subjects, respectively:<sup>7</sup>

- (17) *koʔ tɕwaʔ kə-lɛn v-na-kɛ-tʰi=nəʔ*  
 this liquor NMLZ-be.much IRR-PFV-**GP:VOL**-drink=SUB  
*ʃla kə-lɛn ʃteʔ*  
 quickly **GP:NVOL**-be.drunk be:EMPH  
 ‘If one drinks too much of this liquor, one quickly gets drunk.’

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

<sup>7</sup> A third GP prefix *sɐ-* occurs with copular verbs.

addition to an array of orientation nominals (e.g. *liʔ* ‘(a certain) place upriver’; *-léco* ‘a place upriver relative to a reference point’; *ʃɛliʔ* ‘a more distant but visible place upriver’) and adverbials (e.g. *lec<sup>ho</sup>* ‘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)

UP	DOWN	UPRIVER	DOWNRIVER	EASTWARD	WESTWARD
<i>tə-</i>	<i>nɛ-</i>	<i>lɛ-</i>	<i>tʰɛ-</i>	<i>kə-</i>	<i>nə-</i>

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 *ɛ* or *ə* 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. *jə-tə-qʰɛʔ-jə* ‘You will dislike it.’; with ablauting verbs such as *tʰi* ‘drink’, this transitive marking is optional, e.g. *jə-tə-the(-jə)* ‘You will drink it.’. For yet another transitivity-related distinction, see (18) below.

Tshobdun has grammaticalized absolute tense, distinguishing non-past (STEM<sub>1</sub> and also STEM<sub>3</sub> for certain transitive verbs) and past (STEM<sub>2</sub>) stems in all verbs.<sup>8</sup> The unmarked tense is the non-past which has gnomic, habitual, as well as future uses. There is also a prospective prefix *jə-* 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 STEM<sub>2</sub>: a perfective denoting events viewed as a whole and processes or resultant states thereof, and a past imperfective denoting ongoing situations

<sup>8</sup> 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/ne-*. The contrast between perfective and past imperfective is shown below:

- (18) a. *for?*            *ko?*        *tə-n<sup>n</sup>gi-cə*  
           yesterday    3SG        **PFV**-be.ill<sub>2</sub>-MED  
           ‘She/he became ill yesterday (PERFECTIVE).’
- b. *for?*            *ko?*        *ne-n<sup>n</sup>gi-cə*  
           yesterday    3SG        **IPFV:PST**-be.ill<sub>2</sub>-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) *jəjəre?*    *jə-k<sup>h</sup>e*                    *mə<sup>n</sup>dəci*    *o-p<sup>h</sup>əri=z*  
       1PL        1PL:POSS-house        PN            3SG:POSS-opposite.side.of.river=LOC  
       ‘*ts<sup>h</sup>et*        *g<sup>é</sup>-loy-aŋ*  
       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:

- (20) *ko?*    *tə-ste?*                    *oq<sup>h</sup>u*    *ɛpi?<sup>n</sup>ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on*    *ɐ-tə-ko-səste-aŋ*  
       3S        **PFV-wake.up**<sub>2</sub>    after    1SG=also        IRR-IMP-2→1-cause.to.wake.up-1SG  
       ‘When he wakes up, wake me up also.’

- (21) *káde*            *támu*    *ne-lét*                    *q<sup>h</sup>ónə?*    *mə-fə-aŋ*  
          in.a.while    rain    **PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>**    SEQ    NEG-go-1SG  
          ‘If it rains (lit. has rained) in a while, I will not go.’

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 *ŋni?* ‘taste; experience’ taking a complement clause. Yet another type of perfect, namely *perfect of persistent situations*, requires nonetheless the past imperfective; e.g. *nə-t<sup>hi</sup>i-aŋ* ‘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 *vsə-* is attached to a variant of STEM<sub>1</sub>, whereas the low-transitivity continuative prefix *t<sup>h</sup>v-* requires STEM<sub>2</sub>:

- (22) a. *stat<sup>h</sup>ər*    *ləju*    *vsə-pe/\*t<sup>h</sup>v-pe?*  
          PN            song    **CONT:HTR-do**  
          ‘Stathar is singing songs.’  
       b. *stat<sup>h</sup>ər*    *t<sup>h</sup>v-rləju?*/*\*vsə-rləju*  
          PN            **CONT:INTR-sing<sub>2</sub>**  
          ‘Stathar is singing.’

Tshobdun has a straightforward evidential system featuring a single evidential—the mediative *-cə/-nəŋo* 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 STEM<sub>1</sub>. This formation denotes a present state resulting from a past transitive event with an

unspecified agent, as in:

- (23) *komq<sup>hu</sup>*      *méju*      *səcu?*      *mts<sup>h</sup>ót*      *v-te?*=*kə*      *nə?*      *tə-<sup>n</sup>də*  
 back.of.door      further      key      be.many      **PASS-put**=INS      ANA      IMP-take<sub>3</sub>  
 “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 *kə-*. 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 4.** Tshobdun nominal morpheme slots

POSSESSIVE PREFIX	NOMINAL PREFIX	STEM	NUMBER ENCLITIC	CASE ENCLITIC
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Verb forms permit a more elaborate sequence of morpheme slots:

**Table 5.** Tshobdun verbal morpheme slots

IRR	NEG	AND	ASP IMP	PERSON	NMLZ	INV	REFL CONT: HTR	SPON	STEM	PERSON	MED
-----	-----	-----	------------	--------	------	-----	-------------------	------	------	--------	-----

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 6.** Tshobdun nominal phrase word order

DEMONSTRATIVE	POSSESSOR PRONOUN	NOUN HEAD	RELATIVIZED MODIFIER	NUMERAL- CLASSIFIER PHRASE	DETERMINER
(24) <i>kəkoʔ</i>	<i>ɕjuʔ</i>	<i>ʃe</i>	<i>kə-vde</i>	<i>ɕnez</i>	<i>tərpe=nəʔ</i>
this	1SG:POSS	meat	NMLZ:SBJ-be.good	two	catty=DET
‘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 *ʃteʔ*) are obligatory in all equational clauses:

- (25) *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ⁿgoklɐ=nəʔ*    *nənəz*    *sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    bald.person=DET    there    place=DET  
*tɐroʔ*    *kə-timʔ=cəʔ*    *nɐ-ŋo-cə*  
 headman    NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF    **IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-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) *sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>é=p<sup>h</sup>i*    *ʃɛru*    *kə-sɛmts<sup>h</sup>ɐr=cəʔ*    *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nlɔ*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 earth=under    bone    NMLZ-be.surprising=INDF    PFV:OUT-come.out<sub>2</sub>    **be-MED**  
 “A strange skeleton came up from the ground.” [A strange skeleton was excavated at Mbrata, 4]

The main existential verbs are *toʔ* (STEM<sub>2</sub> *to*) and its negative form *mɐ* (STEM<sub>2</sub> *mɛʔ*). In addition to predicating the existence of entities, they also express possession:

- (27) *ɛju*    *qɐ<sup>n</sup>bruʔ*    *kə-ts<sup>h</sup>o=cəʔ*    *toʔ=kə*  
**1SG:POSS**    male.yak    NMLZ:SBJ-be.fat=INDF    **exist=INS**  
*nəʔ*    *nɛ-tɛ<sup>n</sup>bi-nə=k*    *tɛ-tsəʔ*  
 ANA    IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 “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: *wɛjo* (STEM<sub>2</sub> *wɛjoʔ*) and its negative form *məŋɐ* (STEM<sub>2</sub> *məŋɛʔ*). These verbs express sudden perception or realization of an event as it is happening, or an entity’s existence or disappearance:

- (28) *ser=kə*            *<sup>n</sup>dzə-təlórpin*            *ne-t<sup>hi</sup>*            *wɛʝo-cə*  
 louse=ERG      2DU:POSS-cream      PFV:TR-drink<sub>2</sub>      **be.seen-MED**

‘‘It (the flea) found that the louse had already drunk up their cream.’’ [Louse and flea, 13]

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 *to?* is used for inanimate subjects (29b):

- (29) a. *sonəm*            *pəʃk<sup>ho</sup>*            *k<sup>h</sup>ənəŋ*            *t<sup>h</sup>v-smo*  
 Sonam            now            home            CONT:LTR-exist.at.a.location  
 ‘Sonam is at home now.’  
 b. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*            *p<sup>h</sup>ovan*            *kə-to=nə?*            *tə-nɛʝiʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ            boulder            NMLZ:SBJ-exist.at.a.location=DET      PFV-wait<sub>2</sub>-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 *nə?*, as in (30), but a number of emphatic topicalizers are also used: *=rcənə*, *=<sup>n</sup>dɛr*, and *=ŋónə*.

- (30) *nənə?*            *o-lɛt<sup>h</sup>e=nə?*            *ʃə-kə-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 *mɐ-* (imperfective), *mə-* (perfective and prohibitive), and *me-* (high-transitivity continuative, habitual, and nonfinite). The copula *ŋo?* and existential verb *to?* have distinct negative forms, respectively *ma?* and *mɐ*.

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 *ǎ-* to a monosyllabic verb form (31a), or simply accenting a polysyllabic verb form (31b):

- (31) a. *qéjwi méju kákne néyu ǎ-re*  
 bread more one.or.two 2SG:POSS Q-be.needed  
 ‘Do you want some more bread?’
- b. *o-zde? tájo=rɛ?=kə josŋi? rtənmu?*  
 3SG:POSS-companion ghost=PL=ERG today wedding  
*nv-séscət te-tsə?-nə-cə=nə?*  
**IPFV:PST:Q-be.enjoyable<sub>2</sub>** PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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 *so?*. 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 *-<sup>n</sup>dzə*; plural *-nə*). The prohibitive selects the negator *mə-*. The prefix *v-* marks the third-person imperative (*v-tə-<sup>n</sup>dzə* ‘Let him/her eat it!’) as well as distal imperatives (*v-kə-q<sup>h</sup>ro v-jə-tə-əwi* ‘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 *tə-* and the 2→1 configuration marker *ko-*) 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) *q<sup>ho</sup>?*    *nə-nəscér?*=*ta=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə?*    *o-zi=rən*    *jə-lə-lə*  
 SEQ    PFV-be.scared<sub>2</sub>=besides=**and**    3SG:POSS-nausea=even    PROS-PFV-come.out<sub>2</sub>  
 “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 *q<sup>ho</sup>?* or its emphatic form *q<sup>h</sup>ónə*:

- (33) *kəko?*    *qa*    *te-<sup>n</sup>di*    *q<sup>ho</sup>?*    *kom?*    *te-cu*    *q<sup>ho</sup>?*  
 3SG    hoe    PFV:UP:TR-carry<sub>2</sub>    **SEQ**    door    PFV:TR-open<sub>2</sub>    **SEQ**  
*təjtfe=naŋ*    *kə-rəm*    *jə-fə?*  
 field=inside    NMLZ:PURP-do.labor    PFV-go<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘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) *q<sup>ho</sup>?*    *ffərjəlc<sup>h</sup>oŋtʃen=nə?*    *mə-ne-nəji?*  
 SEQ    roc=DET    NEG-PFV:TR-wait.for<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>ho</sup>?*    *fla*    *nə-qə<sup>l</sup>bjəm*    *jə-nəfə?-cə*  
 SEQ    immediately    **PFV-fly<sub>2</sub>**    **PFV-go.back<sub>2</sub>-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 predominately 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 *kɐ-* 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    ɛnɛmtsʰɛraŋ    tɛjət    kɐ-nlɔʔ=ntʰon    mə-nɛ-noz*  
          but      PN                      down    INF-come.out=still    NEG-IPFV:PST-dare<sub>2</sub>  
          “But Anamtsherang did not dare come down yet.” [Anamtsherang, 68]

- (36) *tʃɛlə    kdenbe    mɛ-kɛ-tsə    o-vzər    ʃə-tə-ɛmdzuʔ-cə*  
          anything    at.all    NEG-INF-say    3SG:POSS-side    AND-PFV-sit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
          “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 *kə-*, functioning as an ‘essive adjunct’ (Jacques 2016: 225) to a venitive/andative verb:

- (37) *ɐ-kə-qʰro                                      ɐ-jɐ-tə-ɛwi*  
          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 *sɐ-* and a reduplicated STEM<sub>2</sub>,

which serves as a manner adverbial of the main verb:

- (38) *ó-<sup>n</sup>ge*                      *se-nec<sup>hi</sup>ic<sup>hi</sup>?*                      *noofséfsət*                      *te-<sup>n</sup>ge?-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-clothes      CVB-be.wet<sub>2</sub>:RDPL      in.that.way      PFV:TR-put.on<sub>2</sub>-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),<sup>9</sup> 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 =*nə?*, exemplified in (39) by the P-role complement clause of the cognition verb ‘know’:

- (39) [*yvéz=kə*                      *k<sup>h</sup>eze?*                      *o-fne?*                      *te-<sup>n</sup>dze?*]=*nə?*                      *əji?*                      ‘*siz-an*  
 hog.badger=ERG      dog                      3SG:POSS-nose      PFV:TR-bite<sub>2</sub>=DET      1SG                      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):

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<sup>9</sup> More details on complement clauses and complementizing strategies in Tshobdun are given in Sun (2012).

- (40) *telŋaʔ=kə*      [*ɛʝiʔ tʰaŋsku kə-ɛsɐ-rêʔ*]=*nəʔ*  
 child=ERG      1SG    thangka    NMLZ-CONT:HTR-draw=DET  
*tʰɛ-o-nɛrtɔχpjêʔ-aŋ*  
 CONT:LTR-INV-observe2-1SG  
 ‘The child is observing me drawing a thangka.’

Relative clauses often, but not always, involves nominalization.<sup>10</sup> The most common relativizing strategy is head-marked gapping. The following sentence exemplifies a head-internal, non-nominalized relative clause, where the relative head *ɲəmérwi* ‘maize seeds’ appears in the relative clause, leaving a gap in the main clause:

- (41) [*ʝesŋiʔ                      ɛʝiʔ      ɲəmérwi      tə-χtuʔ-aŋ*]      Ø=*nəʔ*    ə-vde-cə  
 the.other.day      1SG      **maize.seeds**    PFV-buy2-1SG    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) [*ʃorʔ                      Ø    nɐ-mti-aŋ*]      *támɛ=nəʔ*      *ʝɐ-wɛʔ-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 *kɐ-* 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-*:

<sup>10</sup> For a fuller treatment of Tshobdun relative clauses, see Sun (2006).

- (43) [paʃiɳtʃʰətʃen      kə-ɐsɐ-pʰət]      o-vzər=nəʔ  
 pear      NMLZ:SBJ:A-CONT:HTR-pick      3SG:POSS-side=DET  
 lɐ-zɣət-nə  
 PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3PL

“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 *kɐ-* (fused from *kə-* and the passive prefix *ɐ-*), as the semantic undergoer ‘child’ of the verb *rqɔʔ* ‘embrace’ is here promoted to pivot (subject) status of the relative clause:

- (44) [tɐlɣaʔ      tə-kɐ-rqɔʔ]=nəʔ      nɐ-nɐrɛʔ  
 child      PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ:U-embrace<sub>2</sub>=DET      PFV-laugh<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘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) [ó-pe      kə-kə-oɣsərɣɔʔ]  
 3SG:POSS-father      PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:A-cause.oneself.to.be.embraced<sub>2</sub>  
 tɐlɣaʔ=nəʔ      nɐ-nɐrɛʔ  
 child=DET      PFV-laugh<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘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. *orjáŋʔnəʔz* (< *o-rjáŋʔ=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-*:

- (46) *pye o-kér<sup>n</sup>dzem ró-qet t<sup>h</sup>e-mel<sup>n</sup>bjəm*  
 bird 3SG:POSS-wing **as.soon.as**-stretch.open PFV:DOWNRIVER-fly<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘The bird flew away downriver as soon as it opened its wings.’

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 *v-* as well as a perfective prefix, in addition to the subordinator *=nəʔ* (47a); alternatively, the conditional form of the copula *v-né-ŋo=nəʔ* may follow a finite verb (47b):

- (47) a. *osto v-nv-tə-vzjaŋ=nəʔ kəc<sup>hi</sup>? tɐ-<sup>n</sup>bi?*  
 hard IRR-PFV-2-study=SUB candy 1→2-give  
 b. *osto tə-vzjaŋ v-né-ŋo=nəʔ kəc<sup>hi</sup>? tɐ-<sup>n</sup>bi?*  
 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. *ɛju qe<sup>n</sup>bruʔ kə-ts<sup>h</sup>o=cəʔ toʔ=kə*  
 1SG:POSS male.yak NMLZ:SBJ-be.fat=INDF exist=INS  
*nəʔ ne-té-<sup>n</sup>bi-nə=kə te-tsəʔ*  
 ANA IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘‘Since I have a fat male yak, I will give that to you.’’ [A personal account of life during the Cultural Revolution, 41]

b. *jle o-kə-niʔ=nəʔ*

dzo 3S:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-drive=DET

*tʃuʔ mʃʰoldən te-ké-tsə tərme=cə tóʔ=kə*

PN PN IPFV-GP-say man=INDF exist=INS

*nənəʔ=kə ke-nəʔ nə-ŋo*

ANA=ERG IPFV:EAST-drive<sub>3</sub> IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>

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

Cause and purpose clauses can both take the complex marker *otənkə*, while concession clauses are marked with *=ntʃʰon(nəʔ)*.

## Part II.

### Texts

#### I. ANECDOTES

##### KYENSEN LOST HIS SOUL

*cənsənʔ ovle nekənc<sup>h</sup>emʔ xpe*

**Narrator: Yingyam**

1. *qəc<sup>h</sup>weriʔ tétʰɔ<sup>11</sup>=z cənsənʔ te-ké-tsə=cəʔ*  
PN PN=LOC PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF  
*ɛʒonu vdesqe jərmə jə-kə-ɐwɛʔ=cəʔ tóʔ=kə*  
man forty about PFV-NMLZ-come<sub>2</sub>=INDF exist=INS  
There is a man called Kyensen from Tatho Hamlet at Kakhyoris Village, who is just about to turn forty.
2. *kə-sji=cɛ=nəʔ ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən rgonbe<sup>12</sup>=z t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐre-cə*  
one-day=LOC:INDF=DET PN monastery=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
One day, he went downriver to Tshobdun Monastery.
3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tərmók<sup>h</sup>e jə-qénu jərmə <sup>n</sup>denəʔ mə-lɐ-nəwɛʔ-cə*  
SEQ dusk PROS-be.dark about not.until NEG-PFV:UPRIVER-come.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
And he did not come back upriver until it was going to be dark.

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<sup>11</sup> Name of a hamlet in Kakhyoris Village.

<sup>12</sup> In Teutses Village, downriver along the Kholakji River from Kakhyoris Village.

4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tét<sup>h</sup>ɔ ráŋ<sup>n</sup>dzem ó-p<sup>h</sup>i=z <sup>n</sup>dzem=cəʔ toʔ*  
 SEQ PN PN 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC bridge=INDF exist  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-vzər=nəʔ retəʔ=rɐʔ toʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sŋonts<sup>h</sup>e=z q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ <sup>n</sup>dzem ó-ta*  
 SEQ former.time=LOC ANA bridge 3SG:POSS-top  
*kəxtʃipu knez jərmɐ nɐ-ɐntɐr*  
 child two about PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ljo nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER-drown<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 It is said that formerly there were about two children who fell from the bridge and drowned.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ cənsənʔ kɐ-qénu ʒovʒe kɐ-pe ne-je jərmɐ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN INF-be.dark IDPH<sup>13</sup> INF-do PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> about=SUB  
*<sup>n</sup>dzem o-vzər lɐ-zyôt-cə*  
 bridge 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Kyensen arrived at the edge of the bridge as the twilight was getting dim all around.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təciʔ o-vzər p<sup>h</sup>oway ó-ta t<sup>h</sup>e-mp<sup>h</sup>éri=nəʔ*  
 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 tətʃu ŋoʔ soʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɛməj ŋoʔ*  
 child=INDF boy be or girl be  
*mɐ-kə-χsɐl=cəʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐmdzuʔ*  
 NEG-NMLZ-be.clear=INDF CONT:LTR-sit<sub>2</sub>

<sup>13</sup> A derived ideophone from root ʒɐv describing a dim or murky state.



*qʰoʔ təcíʔ=nəŋ ˈge-mpʰéʔri wɛʃo-nəŋo*  
 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 stʰɔre=nəʔ*  
 SEQ at.first=DET  
*kəxtʃipu=nəʔ ʃo=cəʔ ŋóʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə*  
 child=DET who=INDF be=DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 At first, he thought, “Who could the child be?”
10. *qʰoʔ ó-pʰa tʰɐ-ˈgozˈge-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-place PFV:DOWNRIVER-call.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*ʃənəʔ ɛdənbe o-kʰɛlen tə-kə-peʔ nɐ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 but at.all 3SG:POSS-reply PFV:NMLZ:SBJ-do<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he called out downriver at (the child), but no one answered at all.

11. *qʰoʔ nəjɐrmənəʔ mɐ-kə-vde kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ only.then NEG-NMLZ-be.good NMLZ-be=SUB  
*kɐ-sərtɔ ne-je-cə*  
 INF-realize PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Only then did he begin to realize that it was something unclean.

12. *qʰoʔ o-sni te-wɛxtɐ qʰoʔ kəxtʃipu=pʰa*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart PFV:TR-cause.to.be.big<sub>2</sub> SEQ child=place  
*nɛjiʔ=kə ɛjiʔ mɐ-ko-səyɐr-aŋ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 2SG=ERG 1SG NEG-2→1-frighten-1SG=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he mustered up his courage and said to the child, “You don’t frighten me!”

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃkótse káʌnez t<sup>h</sup>e-wɛrêʔ-cə*  
 SEQ stone several PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he threw several stones (at it).
14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃla lɐ-zɣi*  
 SEQ quickly PFV:UPRIVER-turn.around<sub>2</sub>  
*kə-nəʃɐ tə-rɛnts<sup>h</sup>a=ʃənəʔ*  
 NMLZ:PURP-go.back PFV-try<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*ləmɛstamɲet o-vzər qɛʌ=kəsci lɐ-wɛʔ-cə*  
 suddenly 3SG:POSS-side wind=like PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Just when he quickly turned around and tried to go back, a wind-like thing suddenly came  
 upriver (at him),
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ qɛʌ=kə nɐ-o-nɛrpərpo oʒorʔ*  
 SEQ ANA wind=ERG PFV:DOWN-INV-slam<sub>2</sub>:RDPL meanwhile  
*rjɛspe tɐ-o-nɛmts<sup>h</sup>əmts<sup>h</sup>i-cə*  
 for.a.while PFV-INV-lead.along<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-o-səlde=kəsci-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-INV-cause.to.be.drunk<sub>2</sub>=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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noŋme nɐ-oy-te-cə*  
 SEQ only.then PFV:DOWN-INV-put<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and only then was he laid down.
17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔosɛʃsət t<sup>h</sup>opɐt<sup>h</sup>olɛʔ<sup>14</sup>=kə k<sup>h</sup>ɛnaŋ le-nəre-cə*  
 SEQ thus IDPH=INS home PFV:UPRIVER-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he went back home in that drunkenly manner.

<sup>14</sup> From ideophone root *t<sup>h</sup>ev*, describing a delirious state.

18. *ʃənəʔ nəʃəqʰuqʰoʔ kə-nʰgiʔ te-ʃe-cə*  
 but since.then INF-be.ill PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And since then, he began to become ill.
19. *qʰoʔ mpʰrumu kə-roʔ=rəʔ ne-sqor-nə-cə*  
 SEQ divination NMLZ:SBJ-make=PL PFV:TR-send.for<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they (his folks) sent for diviners.
20. *qʰoʔ mpʰrumu kə-roʔ=rəʔ=kə koʔ o-kəmɣəmʔ*  
 SEQ divination NMLZ:SBJ-make=PL=ERG 3SG 3SG:POSS-illness  
*o-vlə nə-ncʰemʔ-cə=kə*  
 3SG:POSS-soul IPFV:PST-wander<sub>2</sub>-MED=INS  
*o-χtu kə-pe reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting GP-do be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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 o-χtu rjəspe ne-peʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting quite.a.lot PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they did much sutra-chanting for him.
22. *ʃənəʔ nə-kə-ʒi nə-mɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 but PFV-NMLZ-recover<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 But (his illness) did not go away at all.
23. *qʰoʔ leʔ tsʰovdən rgombe mkʰenboʔ vloʋzjin te-ké-tsə=cəʔ*  
 SEQ again PN monastery abbot PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF  
*sprəsku kə-ɲólə=cəʔ tóʔ=kə*  
 living.buddha NMLZ-SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF exist=INS

*nəʔ ʃə-ne-sqor-nə-cə*

ANA AND-send.for<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

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-səyro-nə-cə=nəʔ*

SEQ divination PFV:TR-cause.to.make<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB

*vlovzjin=kə nəʃiʔ mə-kə-vde=cəʔ nə-tə-tʰəy-cə*

PN=ERG 2SG NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=INDF PFV-2-meet<sub>2</sub>-MED

*məkətsʰət ʃə-tə-tə-nərtʃe-cə*

and.furthermore AND-PFV-2-provoke<sub>2</sub>-MED

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 nə-vlə nə-ncʰemʔ-cə=kə*

SEQ 2SG:POSS-soul IPFV:PST-wander<sub>2</sub>-MED=INS

*vləⁿgəyʔ məlen kə-pe reʔ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə*

recall.lost.soul by.necessity GP-do be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

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

26. *qʰoʔ vləⁿgəyʔ kə-pe=nəʔ*

SEQ soul-recalling GP-do=SUB

*o-vlə nə-kə-ncʰemʔ ó-ⁿge=nəʔ*

3SG:POSS-soul IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-wander<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-clothes=DET

*vləⁿgəyʔ me-pe ʃóχtenəʔ*

soul-recalling NEG:IPFV-do before

*χʃikə kə-tʃaŋʔ=cə te-kə-skər*

very NMLZ-be.careful=INDF IPFV-GP-weigh

When performing soul-recalling, one very carefully weighs a piece of clothes of the soul-wanderer before performing the soul recalling.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vl<sup>n</sup>gəyʔ χtu=rəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-joyʔ*  
 SEQ soul-recalling sutra-chanting=PL IPFV-end  
 When the chanting of soul-recalling sutras is done,

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ q<sup>h</sup>vəʔ tə<sup>n</sup>ge=nəʔ te-kə-skər*  
 SEQ again ANA clothes=DET IPFV-GP-weigh  
 one weighs again those clothes.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjəme c<sup>h</sup>eʔ tə-kə-skərʔ*  
 SEQ weight before PFV-GP-weigh<sub>2</sub>  
*o-ts<sup>h</sup>ət v-nə-nəfsəfsət=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-extent IRR-PFV-be.thus=SUB  
*o-vlə pəzje mə-jə-weʔ kə-tsə tʰozʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-soul still NEG-PFV-come<sub>2</sub> GP-say be.the.rule  
 If the weight was just like when (the clothes) was weighed earlier, then the soul has not yet returned, it is believed.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjəme ó-ta te-kə-skər*  
 SEQ weight 3SG:POSS-top IPFV-GP-weigh  
*c<sup>h</sup>eʔ fóχtenəʔ v-tə-mt<sup>h</sup>o=nəʔ*  
 before than IRR-PFV:UP-be.higher.than=SUB  
*o-vlə jə-weʔ kə-tsə tʰozʔ ŋoʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-soul PFV-come<sub>2</sub> GP-say be.the.rule be  
 If one weighs and (the clothes) weighs more than before, then the soul is believed to have returned.

31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlovzjín=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

*cənsənʔ vlɛ<sup>n</sup>gəyʔ χtu kɛ-pe ne-je-cə*

PN soul-recalling sutra-chanting INF-do PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED

And Vlovzyin began to chant soul-recalling sutras for Kyensen.

32. *st<sup>h</sup>ɔre ó-<sup>n</sup>ge=rɛʔ te-skerʔ-nə-cə*

first 3SG:POSS-clothes=PL PFV:TR-weigh<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

They first weighed some clothes of his.

33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sɲi jɛrmɛ nɛ-raxtuʔ-nə-cə*

SEQ one-day about IPFV:PST-chant<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And for about one whole day they were chanting sutras for him.

34. *ʃənəʔ ó-<sup>n</sup>ge c<sup>h</sup>eʔ tə-kɛ-skerʔ=nəʔ*

but 3SG:POSS-clothes before PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U=SUB

*tə-kə-mt<sup>h</sup>oʔ=rɛʔ nɛ-mɛʔ-cə*

PFV-NMLZ-be.heavy<sub>2</sub>=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED

But the clothes that had been weighed before were not more heavy at all.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ kaɓnez-sɲi jɛrmɛ nɛ-raxtuʔ-nə-cə*

SEQ again several-day about IPFV:PST-chant<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And for about several days more they chanted.

36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ ó-<sup>n</sup>ge te-skerʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*

SEQ again 3SG:POSS-clothes PFV:TR-weigh<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB

*ó-<sup>n</sup>ge rjɛme ta kə-saxsɛl tə-mt<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-clothes weight in.truth NMLZ-be.clear PFV-be.heavy<sub>2</sub>-MED

And as they weighed his clothes again, his clothes really became clearly heavier.

37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlovzjín=kə tə-ɐpeʔ ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ PN=ERG PFV-be.done<sub>2</sub> be  
*o-vlɐ jɐ-wɛʔ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-soul PFV-come<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Vlovzyin said, “It is done! His soul has returned.”
38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔofsáfsi jɐrmɐ o-kəmɲəmʔ kɐ-ziʔ ne-je-cə*  
 SEQ the.next.day about 3SG:POSS-illness INF-recover PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And about the next day, his illness began to recover.
39. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛspe nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ quite.a.while PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*o-kəmɲəmʔ ɣjaɲɣjaɲʔ nə-zi nɐ-tʃʰoz*  
 3SG:POSS-illness completely PFV-recover<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 And in quite a while afterwards, his illness recovered completely.
40. *pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on cənsən o-kəmɲəm=rɐʔ ʰge-mɐ*  
 now=also PN 3SG:POSS-illness=PL IPFV-not.exist  
 Even today, Kyensen is without any illness.
41. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɲɐtʃ<sup>h</sup>əfsəfsi ʃə-ʰge-nfúɲi ʰge-mtiʔ-aɲ ʰdenəʔ*  
 SEQ everywhere AND-IPFV-do.a.sideline IPFV-see-1SG for  
*ɐjiʔ o-jəlpe tʃ<sup>h</sup>əmtʃ<sup>h</sup>ʔ te-kɐ-tsə=nəʔ ɲoʔ-aɲ*  
 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

*cənsən? tərəmkə təoxsəy qʰo? tʃʰə oséfsət nəkəme? oxpe*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *cənsən? te-ké-tsə=nə?*  
 Kyensen IPFV-GP-say=DET  
*qʰoləci? nə-kə-to=cə? ɲo?*  
 PN IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-exist<sub>2</sub>=INDF be  
*qʰo? kəmeqʰúnə? qəcʰweri? tétʰɔ=z kə-nénma*  
 SEQ afterwards PN PN=LOC NMLZ:PURP-marry.into.wife's.family  
*tʰə-kə-we?=cə? ɲo?*  
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>=INDF be  
 The man called Kyensen was one who came from Kholakyi Village and later married into Tatho Hamlet in Kakhyoris Village.

2. *ka-ɲne-pe kə-rékʰe o-ɛdénbe*  
 one-two-year INF-build.house 3SG:POSS-preparation  
*əntsátse ne-pe?*  
 continuously PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>  
 For the past one or two years he kept on making preparations for building (his) house.

3. *qʰo? ʃoŋtʃe=scʰənə? ʃkótse rjéspe te-fsɔ-cə*  
 SEQ log=and rock quite.a.lot PFV:TR-gather<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he gathered quite a lot of logs and rocks.



4. *qʰoʔ    ʃkótse    oxtənəʔ*  
 SEQ    rock    basically  
*məⁿdáci    ʒəvdaʔ    o-qʰu    ne-tʃet-cə*  
 Mendeci    sacret.mountain    3SG:POSS-back    IPFV:PST:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he collected the rocks mainly from the back of the sacret mountain<sup>15</sup> of Mendeci Hamlet.

5. *qʰoʔ    məⁿdəcəpu    ʃsəm-təpu=rɐʔ=kə    cənsən=pʰa*  
 SEQ    Mendeci.people    three-family=PL=ERG    Kyensen=place  
 And the three families of the Mendeci Hamlet all said to Kyensen,

6. *nəkəʔ    ʒəvdaʔ    ó-ɐɐr*  
 that.near.you    sacret.mountain    3SG:POSS-body  
*ʃkótse    mə-tə-tə-tʃɐt*  
 rock    NEG-IMP-2-take.out  
*qʰoʔ    mə-tə-nərtʃɐʔ*  
 SEQ    NEG-IMP-provoke<sub>3</sub>  
 “Don’t collect rocks on that sacret mountain and provoke it,”

7. *ⁿdenəʔ    nəkəʔ    ʒəvdaʔ=nəʔ*  
 for    that.near.you    sacret.mountain=DET  
*ʃʃíkə    o-kɐ-pɐlɐ    kə-toʔ=cəʔ    ɲoʔ*  
 very    3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.troublesome    NMLZ-exist=INDF    be  
 “as that sacret mountain is very troublesome to deal with,”

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<sup>15</sup> This refers to a mountain facing the Mendeci Hamlet beyond the Kholakyi Creek, ruled by a female mountain deity named *ləmunor* *ⁿdzən*, who allegedly often goes to the riverside to carry water in a gold water-barrel.

8. *qʰoʔ jəʃəreʔ məⁿdəcěpu=rəʔ mə-vde ntor*  
 SEQ 1PL Mendeci.people=PL NEG-be.good DM  
*ʃənəʔ nəju=ntʃʰon mə-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 nəjermə=nəʔ te-tə-znəne mə-tsʰeʔ so te-tsəʔ-nə*  
 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. *ʃənəʔ cənsənʔ=kə ɛjiʔ kəpəʔ*  
 but Kyensen=ERG 1SG Han.Chinese  
*rjət¹⁶ ʃieʔ-aŋ koʔ ʒəvdaʔ məlaʔ*  
 breed be:EMPH-1SG this sacret.mountain perhaps  
*ɛjiʔ ɛ-ta o-kə-pe kə-toʔ mə*  
 1SG 1SG:POSS-top 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-do NMLZ-exist not.exist  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED  
 But Kyensen said, “I have Chinese blood. Maybe this sacret mountain cannot do anything to me.”
11. *jəpe kə-pe=nəʔ*  
 last.year one-year=DET  
*ʒəvdaʔ-qʰu ʃkótse ne-tʃet ofétkə*  
 sacret.mountain-back rock PFV:TR-take.out₂ so.much  
*téjnor=rən ne-səweʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 landslide=even PFV:TR:DOWN-cause.to.come₂ be-MED  
 And in the whole last year, he did the rock-collecting behind the sacret mountain so (earnestly) that he even caused landslides.

<sup>16</sup> Kyensen’s father was a Han Chinese, a red army soldier who stayed behind in Kholakyi Village.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mən dəcɛpu=rɛʔ*

SEQ Mendeci.people=PL

*nə-sem xʃikə me-ne-vde ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-heart very NEG-IPFV-be.good be-MED

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

13. *ⁿdenəʔ ʒəvdaʔ*

for sacret.mountain

*ston<sup>h</sup>bəletəŋ kɛ-nərtʃeʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃkótse kɛ-tʃɛt máʔ=kə*  
 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. *xʃɛ<sup>n</sup>dʒoʔ=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on kɛ-p<sup>h</sup>ət kə-sɛvɐr=cəʔ*

reed.stock=even GP-pick NMLZ-be.fearful=INDF

*ʃteʔ ɲoʔ*

be:EMPH be

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

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ cənsənʔ=kə*

SEQ Kyensen=ERG

*jə-ʒəvdaʔ nɛkəʔ ne-sojʔ=nəʔ<sup>17</sup>*

1PL:POSS-sacret.mountain that.near.you IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>=SUB

*kəmdiʔ jəy<sup>u</sup> mɛ-kə-vde=cəʔ ləʔ*

all 1PL:POSS NEG-NMLZ-be.good=INDF happen

*əntsətse ne-səsi-nə ɲoʔ-cə*

continuously PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

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

<sup>17</sup> Alternatively, one can use a nominalized form *ne-kə-soʔ=nəʔ*.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛrɛzʔ losérq<sup>h</sup>u sqéti jɛrmɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ this.year post.New.Year tenth.day about=DET  
 And this year, around the tenth day of the New Year,
17. *cənsənʔ=kə leʔ kaŋtʃ<sup>h</sup>enʔ<sup>18</sup>=rɛʔ te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
 Kyensen=ERG again drill.rod=PL PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mot<sup>h</sup>otʂ<sup>h</sup>éʔ=ta mə<sup>n</sup>dəci ʒəvdaʔ o-q<sup>h</sup>u=z*  
 SEQ motorcycle=top Mendeci sacret.mountain 3SG:POSS-back=LOC  
*ʃkótse ká-tʃɛt t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐrɛ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 rock NMLZ:PURP-take.out<sub>2</sub> PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub> 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. *ʃənəʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tərmók<sup>h</sup>e kɐ-qénu te-je=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on*  
 but SEQ dusk INF-darken PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>=also  
*le-kə-náwi nɛ-mɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ-come.back IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 But he did not come back upriver even after dusk when it had begun to get dark.
19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ɣrɛrɛʔ=réʔ=kə o-kə-qése*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family.member=PL=ERG 3SG:POSS:U-NMLZ:PURP-look  
*t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐrɛ-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
 When his family went downriver to look for him,
20. *təmdánə pra nɛ-n<sup>n</sup>bət q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɛ-o-nɛxtʃuʔ*  
 actually cliff PFV:DOWN-cave.in<sub>2</sub> SEQ PFV:DOWN-INV-take.along<sub>2</sub>  
*ó-rnɔ=rɛn tə-nlɔ*  
 3SG:POSS-brains=even PFV-come.out<sub>2</sub>

<sup>18</sup> A loanword from Chinese *gāngqiān* (鋼鐵).

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nə-set*    *wɛʝo*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    PFV-die<sub>2</sub>    be.seen    be-MED

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *o-yrɛrɛʔ=rɛʔ*    *χʃikə*    *nɐ-nɛscerʔ-nə*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-family.member=PL    very    PFV-be.frightened<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nə-sni=rɛʔ*    *nə-zdəɣ-cə*  
 SEQ    3PL:POSS-heart=PL    PFV-be.painful<sub>2</sub>-MED

His family got terrified and became very sad,

22. *ʃənəʔ*    *kɐ-pe*    *nɐ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 but    GP-do    IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 but there was nothing one can do.

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *zdewe=rɛʔ=kə*  
 SEQ    villager=PL=ERG  
*cənsenʔ*    *nɐ<sup>19</sup>-kə-set*    *ne-fsɐ-nə=nəʔ*  
 Kyensen    PFV:DOWN-NMLZ-die<sub>2</sub>    PFV:TR-hear<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB  
 When the villagers heard that Kyensen died (falling downhill),

24. *q<sup>h</sup>aʔ*    *mɐ*  
 no    wonder  
*ʔdenəʔ*    *nɛkəʔ*    *ʒəvdaʔ*    *kə-ftsɐn=nəʔ*  
 for    that.near.you    mountain.deity    NMLZ:SBJ-be.fierce=DET  
*əntsátse*    *ʃə-ne-nərtʃe*    *ŋóʔ=kə*  
 continuously    AND-IPFV:TR-provoke<sub>2</sub>    be=INS

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<sup>19</sup> Downward orientation is used here because Kyensen was brought down from a slope by the falling rocks, which killed him.

*mɛ-kə-vde-<sup>n</sup>dɛr*                      *lɔʔ*                      *ʃteʔ*  
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good-TOP    happen            be:EMPH  
*kə-tsə*                      *əntsətse*                      *nɛ-ŋo*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-say    continuously    IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 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. *ɐ-nɛ-kɐ-ffɛt=nəʔ*  
 IRR-PFV-GP-recount=SUB  
 Speaking of (him),

26. *cənsənʔ*    *tərmɛ=nəʔ*  
 Kyensen    man=TOP  
*kɐ-rɛmɛ*                      *kə-rkaŋ*                      *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*                      *kəŋoʔ*                      *kə-ʃsăt*  
 INF-do.labor    NMLZ:SBJ-be.good.at    SEQ    conscientiousness    NMLZ:SBJ-be.like  
*ʃoχkor*    *kɐ-ʃsɔʔ*                      *kə-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ*  
 money    INF-earn    NMLZ:SBJ-be.able  
*o<sup>20</sup>-rmiʔ*                      *nɛ-to*  
 3SG:POSS-name    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>  
 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-ʋóri*                      *əntsɛjə*                      *mɛ-kə-ɐstoʔ=cəʔ*  
 but    3SG:POSS-front    that.much    NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.straight=INDF  
 But he was not a very fortunate person.

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<sup>20</sup> Referring to Kyensen.

28. *qʰoʔ cʰeʔ-z*  
 SEQ formerly  
*təʃo kɐ-tʰəʔʔ nə-kə-rɲi məkətsʰet*  
 ghost INF-encounter IPFV:PST-NMLZ-experience<sub>2</sub> not.only  
*o-srɔʔ=rɐn jə-nɐ-nʰbət nə-tʰʊz*  
 3SG:POSS-life=even PROS-PFV:DOWN-collapse<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 At an earlier time, he had run into a ghost and almost lost his life.

29. *kətɛla ko*  
 this.time DM  
*kə-taŋ óɣu mɐ-kə-ʰdzəʔʔ*  
 NMLZ-be.real 3SG:POSS NEG-NMLZ-be.right  
*nɐ-ɐtʰətʂiʔ ŋoʔ*  
 PFV:DOWN-go.all.the.way<sub>2</sub> be  
 And this time, it was bad luck through and through for him.

30. *nəʔ nɐ-fsət nə-tʰʊz*  
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 That was what happened.

# DROMA FROZE HER CHILD TO DEATH ON THE HILLS

*"dzoməkə re<sup>n</sup>goz olja? tesqəjpəm*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *jəpɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒi=z* *jɐrmɐ*  
 year.before.the.last=LOC about  
 It was roughly in the year before the last,
  
2. *péjmoɣ* *o-kon?* *χfíkə* *nɐ-lɔ* *orjáŋnəz*  
 fritillary.bulb 3SG:POSS-price very IPFV:PST-come.out<sub>2</sub> when  
 when the prices of fritillary bulbs were very good.
  
3. *ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən* *rgɐrgon=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə?* *kəxtʃipu*  
 PN elderly.person=and small.child  
*kɐ-npéjmoɣ* *mɐ-kə-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ=rɐ?*  
 INF-dig.for.fritillary.bulb NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=PL  
*k<sup>h</sup>énan* *ne-nq<sup>h</sup>ope?-nə* *káma*  
 home PFV:TR-keep<sub>2</sub>-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. *nə?* *o-ri* *jəte-kə-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ=rɐ?*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=PL  
*kəmdi?* *re<sup>n</sup>go* *kə-npéjmoɣ* *lɐ-ɐre-nə*  
 all hill NMLZ:PURP-dig.for.fritillary.bulb PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 everyone else who could barely make it all went uphill to the hills to dig for fritillary bulbs.



5. *teʔtsiʔ    ˈdʒomə    te-ké-tsə=cəʔ    tóʔ=kə*  
 Teutses    Droma    IPFV-GP-say=INDF    exist=INS  
 As there is someone called Droma at Teutses Village,
6. *o-lʔaʔ    ɸnez    nɸ-to*  
 3SG:POSS-child    two    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>  
 she had two children.
7. *kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ    kámɲo    jɸrmə    jɸ-wɛʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET    five    about    PFV-come<sub>2</sub>  
*kə-xtʃi=nəʔ    ɤsəm    jɸrmə    jɸ-wɛʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET    three    about    PFV-come<sub>2</sub>  
 The older one was about five years old, and the younger one was about three years old.
8. *qʰoʔ    ɤʃikə tsɛʔə    me-nɸ-ɸkəkuʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    very.much    NEG-IPFV:PST-be.neat<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And they did not make much of a neat group.
9. *ʃənəʔ=ntʃʰon    o-tʃoʔ    ˈboleʔ    te-vəʃket*  
 but=also    3SG:POSS-food.for.journey    bull    PFV:TR-load<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ    reˈgo    kə-npéjmoʔ*  
 SEQ    hill    NMLZ:PURP-dig.for.fritillary.bulb  
*lɸ-ntsʰa-nə    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-set.out<sub>2</sub>-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.
10. *o-lʔaʔ    kə-xtʃi    kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ    te-fkor-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-child    NMLZ:SBJ-be.small    one-CL=DET    PFV:TR-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 She carried her younger child on her back,

11. *kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ*                      *le-mtsʰi-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET    PFV:UPRIVER:TR-lead.by.hand<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and led her older child upriver by hand.
12. *qʰoʔ*    *reⁿgo*    *kə-npéjmoɣ*  
 SEQ    hill            NMLZ:SBJ-dig.for.fritillary.bulb  
*o-sɐ-to=nəʔ*                              *mə-lɐ-zɣôʔ=z*  
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-exist<sub>2</sub>=DET    NEG-PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>=LOC  
*kɐ-qénu*            *te-je*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 INF-darken    PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>    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. *qʰoʔ*    *nəʔoséʃsət*    *kámʈʰa*    *lɐ-ɐre-nə-cə*  
 SEQ    thus                      a.bit            PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they kept going upriver like this for a while.
14. *ʃənəʔ*    *ɛdɛnbe*    *mə-nə-sɛmti-cə*  
 but    at.all            NEG-PFV-be.able.to.see<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But nothing could be seen at all.
15. *qʰoʔ*    *tómu=rɐʔ*    *kámʈʰa*    *ne-lét-cə*  
 SEQ    rain=PL    a.bit            PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And some rain and what not came down.
16. *qʰoʔ*    *koⁿboləʔ*    *kolŋəʔlŋaʔ*                      *nəʔ-ste=z*  
 SEQ    together.with.ox.and.child            3PL:POSS-where.something.is=LOC  
*nəʔoséʃsət*            *tə-nəmeʔ-nə-cə*  
 thus                      PFV-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And right there she rested for the night with the bull and the children.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-lŋaʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-child NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET  
*ó-p<sup>h</sup>əm ne-ʃomʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-bosom PFV:TR-cuddle<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ o-zgég<sup>h</sup>u ke-səyts<sup>h</sup>u*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET 3SG:POSS-back PFV:CISLOC:TR-cause.to.cling<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɐ-r<sup>n</sup>guʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-sleep<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And she cuddled her younger son in her bosom, and made the older child cling to her back, and they slept.
18. *ʃənəʔ o-zgég<sup>h</sup>u tɐlŋaʔ=nəʔ*  
 but 3SG:POSS-back child=DET  
*ne-nɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒiʔ-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-feel.cold-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But the child on her back said, “I feel cold!”
19. *ʃənəʔ ó-mo=nəʔ*  
 but 3SG:POSS-mother=DET  
*ʃíikə tséjə mɐ-kə-taŋ=cəʔ ʃteʔ*  
 very.much NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.clearheaded=INDF be:EMPH  
 But his mother was not a very clear-headed person,
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəjɐrmɐ me-ne-nəmɲɐmberʔ-cə*  
 SEQ that.much NEG-PFV:TR-take.seriously<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and did not take him that seriously.
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔofsəʃsi lɐ-fsi-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ next.day PFV-dawn<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 And when dawn broke the next day,

22. *o-lɲaʔ*                      *o-zgɛqʰu*                      *nɐ-kə-rʰguʔ=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-child      3SG:POSS-back      IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*nə-qɛjpəm*      *wɛʝo-nəŋo*  
 PFV-freeze<sub>2</sub>      be.seen-MED  
 she found that the child of hers that was sleeping on her back had frozen to death.
23. *qʰoʔ*    *tə-rɛχtʃoʰba*  
 SEQ    PFV-scream<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ*    *o-sni=rɛʔ*                      *χʃikə*    *nə-zdəɣ-cə*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-heart=PL    very    PFV-be.sorrowful<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And she screamed and was very sorrowful.
24. *ʃənəʔ*    *kɐ-pe*      *nɐ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 but      GP-do      IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But there was nothing one could do.
25. *ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=nəʔ*  
 IRR-PFV-be=SUB  
 Actually,
26. *mer*    *kolɲəlɲaʔ*                      *ʰboleʔ*    *te-rʰgu*  
 night    together.with.child    bull    IPFV-sleep  
*qʰoʔ*    *nəʔ*    *o-po*                      *vzər*    *ɐ-lɛ-tsʰu=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    ANA    3SG:POSS-belly    side    IRR-PFV:IN-get.close.to=SUB  
*qʰoʔ*    *ɐ-kə-rʰgu-nə=nəʔ*  
 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.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 the child would not need to die.
28. *ʃənəʔ nəʔ ké-fsət mə-te-tʃən-cə*  
 but ANA INF-do.thus NEG-PFV:TR-think.of<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But it did not occur to her to do thus.
29. *méju mer nv-qənuʔ ʃteʔ-cə ʰdenəʔ*  
 furthermore night IPFV:PST-be.dark<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH-MED for  
*təmdánəʔ ká-loʏ kə-toʔ o-vzər=tsv*  
 in.fact NMLZ:SBJ-herd NMLZ:SBJ-exist 3SG:POSS-side=a.bit  
*lv-zʏôʔ-nə nv-ŋo-cə*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3PL IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-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. *ʃənəʔ mə-ne-mti-nə*  
 but NEG-PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ ʃə-kv-nəkʰo mə-nv-cʰvʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ AND-INF-stay.for.the.night NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 But they did not see them, and were unable to go and stay (with them) for the night.
31. *qʰoʔ sásu jə-mda jərmv=nəʔ*  
 SEQ noon PROS-be.time about=SUB  
 And when it was almost noontime,

32. *tɛʃtsɛpu* *kə-npɛjmoɣ=rɛʔ=kə* *nɐ-o-mti<sup>21</sup>-cə*  
 people.from.Teutses NMLZ:SBJ-dig.for.fritillary.bulb=PL=ERG PFV-INV-see<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 she was spotted by people from Teutses who were digging for fritillary bulbs.

33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *tɛlɲaʔ* *o-ʃpovʔ=rɛʔ* *t<sup>h</sup>e-sɛjwet-nə-cə*  
 SEQ child 3SG:POSS-corpse=PL PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they brought back the child's body and what not.

34. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *oʒorʔ* *tɛmo=nəʔ* *o-mk<sup>h</sup>rəmʃɛt=rɛʔ* *ne-peʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ meanwhile mother=DET 3SG:POSS-scolding=PL PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 Meanwhile, they gave the mother a scolding.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə* *tɛlɲaʔ* *nə-kə-set=nəʔ* *ne-sɛldôt-nə*  
 SEQ child PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-die<sub>2</sub>=DET PFV:TR-bury<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And they buried the dead child.

36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔ* *nɐ-fsât* *nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʒ*  
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 And that was what happened.

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<sup>21</sup> Singular is used here as Droma is the only adult in full control of her behavior.

## A STRANGE SKELETON WAS EXCAVATED AT MBRATA

*"bretaz, fěru mekənáxtsəy təlɔ*

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *caxtfəylo*<sup>22</sup> *jərmə=cɛ=z*  
 the.year.1981 about=LOC:INDF=LOC  
 Some time around the year 1981,
2. *ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən q<sup>h</sup>oləcəpu kə-nəfíni tərmə kəlɲótfoj jərmə=cə?*  
 PN Kholakyi.person NMLZ:SBJ-do.sideline man five-six about=INDF  
*téwe k<sup>h</sup>aŋsər o-lěco "brəta=cɛ=z*  
 PN PN 3SG:POSS-upriver.place PN=LOC:INDF=LOC  
*"ge-rtfo<sup>n</sup>bəj<sup>2</sup>-nə ɲo<sup>2</sup>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>o<sup>2</sup> kə-sɲi=cɛ nɐ-rtfo<sup>n</sup>bəj<sup>2</sup>-nə=nə?*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF IPFV:PST-build.road<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB  
 One day, when they were building roads,
4. *sət<sup>h</sup>é=p<sup>h</sup>i fěru kə-səmts<sup>h</sup>ər=cə? t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nlɔ ɲo<sup>2</sup>-cə*  
 earth=under bone NMLZ-be.surprising=INDF PFV:OUT-come.out<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 a strange skeleton was dug up (lit. ‘came up’) from the ground.
5. *q<sup>h</sup>o<sup>2</sup> kəɲólə te-nərtəxpjət-nə=nə?*  
 SEQ well PFV:TR-observe<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB  
 As they took a good look at it,

<sup>22</sup> Amdo Tibetan <gya.gcig>. Tibetan numerals are used in naming calendar years.

6. *kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ o-ʃǽru ʃsət ŋoʔ-cə*  
human 3SG:POSS-bone be.like be-MED  
*ʃənəʔ ó-q<sup>h</sup>ru kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a toʔ ŋoʔ-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-ləspu=nəʔ kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ ʃóχtenə xteʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
3SG:POSS-body=DET human than be.big be-MED  
And its body was bigger than a human's body.

8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-rwəwə məkənáyɬəŋ tʃéntɕ<sup>h</sup>ə=kəsci kə-təri*  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-necklace unusual battery=like one-string  
*ʋ-sqərwe ŋoʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-χfi-mcerʔ=nəʔ tərɡi kə-jpejpom tə-weʔ*  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-thigh-interstice=DET fir NMLZ:SBJ-be.thick:RDPL PFV-come<sub>2</sub>  
*wɛjo-nəŋo*  
be.seen-MED  
And a very thick fir tree could be seen growing up from between its legs.

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-vzər=nəʔ*  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=DET  
*leʔ jəte-kə-xtfi=kəsci=cəʔ o-ʃǽru wɛjo-nəŋo*  
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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɐ-kə-rtʃo<sup>n</sup>bɛj=rɐʔ=kə*

SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-build.road<sub>2</sub>=PL=ERG

*koʔ kə<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ o-ʃɛru tə-kə-lɔ=kəsə=nəʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə ɲoʔ*  
 this human 3SG:POSS-bone PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out<sub>2</sub>=like=DET what be  
*ne-səsi-nə-cə*

PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And the road builders wondered what this thing was that came out of the ground looking like a human skeleton,

12. *ʃənəʔ mə-te-nɛporoʔ-nə-cə*

but NEG-PFV-safekeep<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

but they did not preserve it.

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ʃɛrɛru<sup>23</sup>=rɐʔ ts<sup>h</sup>ecóʔ<sup>24</sup>=nan te-rkoʔ-nə-cə*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone:RDPL=PL mud.basket=inside PFV:TR-put.into<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɛrɲámʔ=nan t<sup>h</sup>e-wɛrɛt-nə ʃteʔ-nəɲo*

SEQ river=inside PFV:DOWNRIVER-throw<sub>2</sub>-3PL be:EMPH-MED

And they just gathered up the bones and what not in mud baskets and dumped them into the river.

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɛq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ=z rdzoɲ=nan ne-ʃsɐ-nə-cə*

SEQ afterwards=LOC county=inside PFV:TR-hear<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

Afterwards, the county (government) heard about this,

<sup>23</sup> Collective form of *ʃɛru*.

<sup>24</sup> A Chinese loan denoting a bamboo dustpan used by road builders for transporting rocks and mud.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    fla                    o-fǽru                    tə-kə-lə*  
 SEQ    immediately    3SG:POSS-bone    PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out<sub>2</sub>  
*kə-toʔ=nəʔ=z                    tə-vre-nə-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET=LOC    PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 they went immediately uphill to where the skeleton had been excavated.

16. *fənəʔ    kə-rtfo<sup>n</sup>bəjʔ=réʔ=kə*  
 SEQ    NMLZ:SBJ-build.road=PL=ERG  
*o-fǽru                    t<sup>h</sup>e-wɛrɛt-nə                    fteʔ-cə=kə*  
 3SG:POSS-bone    PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>-3PL    be:EMPH-MED=INS  
 But since the road builders had already thrown the bones downriver,

17. *nə-ja                    mə-jɐ-wɛʔ-nəŋo*  
 3PL:POSS-hand    NEG-PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 they could not find them.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    nəʔ    nə-fsəʔt                    nə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    ANA    IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub>    IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 That was what happened.

**VILLAGE WITCH**  
*moste nekəsədon? tonda?*  
**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *c<sup>h</sup>eɽ=z jəlpe moste smént<sup>h</sup>ər kə-rmiɽ=cəɽ?*  
 former.time=LOC neighbor single.woman PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF  
*"ge-toɽ?*  
 IPFV-exist

We used to have a neighbor, a single woman by the name of Smanthar.

2. *q<sup>h</sup>oɽ zɔdewe=rɛɽ=kə*  
 SEQ villager=PL=ERG  
*q<sup>h</sup>ɐɽ moste=nəɽ? sədon ŋoɽ té-tsə-nə "ge-tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozɽ?*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oɽ ɐjiɽ ántsɛjə ɐ-kɐ-sərtɔ? "ge-mɐ orjáŋnə*  
 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-təfɛ=cɛ=nəɽ?*  
 one-time=LOC:INDF=DET  
*é-pe "ge-n<sup>n</sup>giɽ q<sup>h</sup>oɽ χfíkə "ge-t<sup>h</sup>u "ge-ŋoɽ orjáŋnəɽ?*  
 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. *tərmók<sup>h</sup>e=z 'ts<sup>h</sup>et ʃə-t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ni-aŋ*  
 dusk=LOC goat AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-drive<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 I went to drive goats back home at dusk.

6. *qʰoʔ kómtʰɔ̌ jə-sɛzyot-aŋ jɛrmɛ*  
 SEQ courtyard PROS-cause.to.arrive-1SG about  
 As I was about to drive them into the courtyard,
7. *tʰe-mpʰɛri-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look-1SG=SUB  
 and as I was looking downriver,
8. *jəlpe moste=nəʔ tʰoχcém=ta tə-nə-ɐre*  
 neighbor single.woman=DET verandah=top PFV:UP-SPON-go₂  
 I saw our neighbor the single woman going up onto the verandah,
9. *qʰoʔ ɛ-mo=nəʔ kʰénanŋ nɐ-wɛʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=DET house PFV:DOWN-come₂  
*qʰoʔ tʰoχcém=ta moste=scʰənəʔ te-tʃɔ̌kjevʔ-ⁿdzə*  
 SEQ verandah=top single.woman=and PFV:TR:UP-pass.by.each.other₂-3DU  
 and my mother had come downstairs from the house, and she and the woman passed by  
 without seeing each other on the verandah,
10. *qʰoʔ moste=nəʔ kʰénanŋ tə-ɐre*  
 SEQ single.woman=DET house PFV:UP-go₂  
 and the woman went up into the house.
11. *qʰoʔ ɛ-mo=pʰa tʰɐ-ⁿgozⁿge-aŋ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=place PFV:DOWNRIVER-yell₂-1SG  
*nɛkəʔ moste kʰénanŋ tʰɐ te-tə-səyʃɐ ŋoʔ ⁿdenəʔ*  
 that.near.you single.woman home why IPFV:UP-2-cause.to.go be for

*kʰénaŋ kə-nʰgiʔ tʰe-to mu tə-tsəʔ-aŋ*  
 house NMLZ:SBJ-be.ill CONT:LTR-exist<sub>2</sub> DM PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1SG

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!”

12. *qʰoʔ é-mo=kə tʃʰə te-təʔ-tsə ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=ERG what IPFV-2-say be  
*kʰénaŋ fə tə-kə-ɐre toʔ té-tsə*  
 house who PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub> exist IPFV-say

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

13. *qʰónə ɐjɪʔ=kə é-mo te-sáɣʰdʒe ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH 1SG=ERG 1SG:POSS-mother IPFV-be.difficult be  
*fɪéʔ=kə nə-səsi-aŋ*  
 be:EMPH=DM PFV-think<sub>2</sub>-1SG

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

14. *qʰoʔ ʰtsʰet kɐ-rjəʔ tʰe-ni-aŋ*  
 SEQ goat INF-run PFV:DOWNRIVER-drive<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*qʰoʔ kómtʰə tʰe-sɛzyôʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ courtyard PFV:DOWNRIVER-cause.to.arrive<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 and I drove the goats running downriver, and brought them to the courtyard,

15. *qʰoʔ é-mo=pʰa tə-rɛfqəʔqəʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=place PFV-scold:RDPL<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 and I repeatedly chided my mother,

16. *nəkəʔ* *moste*  
 that.near.you single.woman  
*kʰənəŋ* *tʰə* *te-tə-səʔfə* *nə-re* *ŋoʔ* *tə-tsəʔ-aŋ*  
 house why IPFV-2-cause.to.go IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub> be PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 “Why did you have to let that single woman go up to our house,” I demanded.
17. *qʰoʔ* *é-mo=kə* *tʰə* *te-tə-tsə* *ŋoʔ* *ⁿdenəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG what IPFV-2-say be for  
*ə-tókʰo* *te-kə-re* *mə* *te-tsəʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-upside PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub> not.exist PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 And my mother said, “What are you talking about? Nobody ever went up from where I am.”
18. *qʰoʔ* *əjɪʔ=kə* *mə-nə-nzəⁿgiʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ 1SG=ERG NEG-PFV-believe<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*qʰoʔ* *ʃla* *kʰənəŋ* *ʃə-tə-mpʰəri-aŋ*  
 SEQ immediately house AND-PFV:UP-look<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 I did not believe her, and quickly went upstairs to look in the house.
19. *ʃənəʔ* *te-kə-re* *kə-mtiʔ* *kənələ* *mə*  
 but PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub> NMLZ:SBJ:U-see EMPH not.exist  
 But the one who went upstairs could not be seen at all,
20. *qʰoʔ* *təmdánə* *ə-mŋa-ⁿdi* *nəkəsə* *nə-ntʰerʔ*  
 SEQ in.fact 1SG:POSS-eye-lower.edge thus PFV-appear<sub>2</sub>  
*ʃteʔ-cə* *ⁿdenəʔ* *kə-taʔ* *nə-ŋo=nəʔ* *maʔ-cə*  
 be:EMPH-MED for NMLZ:SBJ-be.real IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>=SUB not.be-MED  
 and in fact, it only appeared like that under my eyes, for it was not real.

21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *é-pe* *kə-lɛn* *mə-nə-mduʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-father NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity NEG-PFV-last<sub>2</sub>  
*nə-meʔ* *ʃteʔ*  
 PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH  
 And before long, my father passed away.
22. *moste* *nə-kə-saɛdonʔ* *ɛnez-tərem=nəʔ*  
 single.woman IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.possessed<sub>2</sub> two-occasion=TOP  
 As for the second incident of the single woman being possessed,
23. *jə-zdewe=nan* *tɛlɲaʔ* *χsompɛrmə* *ˈdenəʔ*  
 1PL:POSS-villager=inside child child.of.three-years-old only  
*mə-jɐ-kə-wɛʔ=cəʔ* *nə-mɐŋɛʔ* *nɐ-tʰoʔ*  
 NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>=INDF PFV-not.be.seen<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 a child in our village, no more than three years old, went missing.
24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɲétʰəfsəfsi* *nə-qaseʔ-nə*  
 SEQ everywhere PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 People searched everywhere,
25. *ʃənəʔ* *χso-sɲi* *χso-rjaʔ* *nə-tsoʔ* *ˈdenəʔ*  
 SEQ three-day three-night PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub> only  
*nə-ja* *mə-jɐ-wɛʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-hand NEG-PFV-come<sub>2</sub>  
 but they could not find him until three days and three nights later.
26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nə-ja* *jɐ-wɛʔ* *orjáɲnə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-hand PFV-come<sub>2</sub> when  
 And when they found him,

27. *tɛlɣaʔ=nəʔ* *yrɛko* *ome* *kə-<sup>n</sup>briʔ=cəʔ* *ó-ta*  
 child=DET ridge very NMLZ:SBJ-be.high=INDF 3SG:POSS-top  
*tʰɛ-nɛkɛʔ* *ne-mti-nə-nəŋo*  
 CONT:LTR-idle.about<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 they saw the child was playing on top of a very high ridge.

28. *qʰoʔ* *ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=nəʔ*<sup>25</sup>  
 SEQ IRR-PFV-be=SUB  
*qʰoʔ* *tɛlɣaʔ=nəʔ* *qʰɛnə=z* *tsɛjə* *kə-<sup>n</sup>briʔ* *yrɛko=ta*  
 SEQ child=DET there=LOC so NMLZ:SBJ-be.high ridge=top  
*o-jiʔ* *jɛste* *kɛ-fɛ* *ɛdɛnbe* *mɛ-cʰɛ*  
 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. *ʃənəʔ* *qʰoʔ* *tɛlɣaʔ* *ne-mti-nə* *orjəŋnəʔ*  
 but SEQ child PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL when  
*o-jiʔ* *jɛste* *tʰɛ-nɛkɛʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-self alone CONT:LTR-idle.about<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ* *mə-nə-ʃpaʔ* *mə-nə-mtserʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NEG-PFV-be.thirsty<sub>2</sub> NEG-PFV-be.hungry<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 But when they saw the child, he was playing all by himself and was not thirsty or hungry.

30. *qʰoʔ* *tɛlɣaʔ=pʰa* *kʰəʔkʰo* *kɛ-wi* *tʃʰə* *tə-tə-ʃsət* *ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ child=place here INF-come what PFV-2-do.thus be  
*te-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
 And when they asked the child, “How did you come up here?”

<sup>25</sup> An idiomatic expression meaning ‘in the ordinary way of things’.



31. *tɛlɣáʔ=kə qʰɐʔ moste=nəʔ o-rmiʔ te-poʃ*  
 child=ERG ANA single.woman=DET 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>  
*qʰoʔ qʰɛnəʔ=kə kə-néʔ tə-o-wôt-aŋ*  
 SEQ ANA=ERG NMLZ:PURP-idle.about PFV-INV-bring<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The child uttered the single woman's name, saying, "She brought me (here) to play."

32. *qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ moste=pʰa ne-rwet-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA single.woman=place PFV:TR-ask<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
 And when they asked the single woman,

33. *ɛʝiʔ tə-tsom-aŋ mɐ mə-siz-aŋ*  
 1SG PFV:UP-take<sub>2</sub>-1SG not.exist NEG-know-1SG  
*te-tsəʔ nɐ-tʰoʔ*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 she said, "I did not take him up, I have no idea." It was said.

34. *təmdánə kə-taʔ te-tsom=nəʔ nɐ-ma ŋoʔ*  
 in.fact NMLZ:SBJ-be.real PFV:UP:TP-take.thither<sub>2</sub>=SUB IPFV:PST-not.be<sub>2</sub> be  
 The truth is, she did not really take him up.

35. *ʃənəʔ o-ʝiʔ saʔdon o-tánʔ=kə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-self be.possessed 3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*nəʔ nɐ-fsət nɐ-tʰoʔ*  
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.thus<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 But, apparently it was due to her being possessed.

36. *leʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 again one-time=LOC:INDF=DET  
 On another occasion,
37. *jəʃərvəʔ jə-zdewe=nan*  
 1PL 1PL:POSS-villager=inside  
*tərmə ʔge-kə-qərŋiʔ káʔne=cəʔ nə-to-nə*  
 man IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt several=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 there were several young hunters in our village,
38. *qʰoʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ ʃə-nə-qərŋi-nə*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET AND-IPFV:PST-hunt<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 and one day they were going hunting,
39. *qʰoʔ ʃor<sup>n</sup>geləp<sup>h</sup>a ʔdenəʔ kə-nəzyot mə-nə-c<sup>h</sup>əʔ-nə*  
 SEQ midnight not.until INF-arrive.back NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 and were not able to get back home until midnight.
40. *qʰoʔ qʰəʔ moste o-kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ*  
 SEQ ANA single.woman 3SG:POSS-courtyard  
*ʃə-t<sup>h</sup>ə-nlɔ-nə orjáŋnə*  
 AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-pass<sub>2</sub>-3PL when  
*qʰəʔ moste=nəʔ kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ χtʃərvu t<sup>h</sup>ə-<sup>n</sup>dzor wəʃo*  
 SEQ single.woman=DET courtyard naked CONT:LTR-stand<sub>2</sub> be.seen  
 When they were passing through the single woman's courtyard, the woman was (seen)  
 standing naked at her courtyard.
41. *qʰoʔ nə-kə-qərŋi=rəʔ=kə nə-nəscer<sup>ʔ</sup>-nə-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt<sub>2</sub>=PL=ERG PFV-be.scared<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 They hunters became scared,

42. *qʰoʔ nəkə́nə tʃʰə tə-ɐsɐ-pe ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ there what 2-CONT:HTR-do be  
*te-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
 and when they said, “What are you doing over there?”
43. *moste=nəʔ=kə*  
 single.woman=DET=ERG  
*ə́nɔ̃ tʰɐ-qɐrɲi-aɲ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 EXCL CONT:LTR-do.hunting<sub>2</sub>-1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The single woman said, “Oh, I am hunting.”
44. *qʰoʔ nɐ-kə-qɐrɲi=rɐʔ=kə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt<sub>2</sub>=PL=ERG  
*qʰɐʔ moste=nəʔ te-naɁ<sup>n</sup>daɁ<sup>n</sup>duʔ-nə*  
 ANA single.woman=DET PFV:TR-scold<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*kʰɛ́naɲ lɐ-ʃɐ ʃə-kə-r<sup>n</sup>gu te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 home IMP:UPRIVER-go AND-IMP-go.to.bed PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 The hunters scolded the woman, and said, “Go home, and go to bed!”
45. *qʰoʔ noɲmɛ́nə ʃkelnəʃkel kʰɛ́naɲ lɐ-ɐre-cə*  
 SEQ only.then IDPH home PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ ʃə-kə-r<sup>n</sup>guʔ-cə*  
 SEQ AND-PFV-go to bed<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*nəʔ nɐ-ʃsə́t nɐ-tʃʰoʔ*  
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.thus<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 And only then, did she walk limpingly home upriver and went to bed. It happened like that.

46. *mer for<sup>n</sup>gelép<sup>h</sup>a mosté=kə tʃə te-qərrɛʔ ɲoʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 night midnight single.woman=ERG what IPFV-hunt<sub>3</sub> be for  
*kə-sésiz nɐ-mɛʔ nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 NMLZ-be.known IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub> IPFV-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 And it was not known what the single woman was hunting at midnight.

47. *leʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 again one-time=LOC:INDF=DET  
 On yet another occasion,

48. *jə-zdewe=naŋ tətʃu kərdəʔ=cəʔ*  
 1PL:POSS-villager=inside lad one=INDF  
*mdzórge=z ʃə-kə-kə-nənmaʔ=cəʔ*  
 PN=LOC AND-PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-marry.into.wife's.family<sub>2</sub>=INDF  
*tóʔ=kə losɐ orjáŋnə kozdəʔdeʔ*  
 exist=INS new.year when couple  
*kə-sɐrtəʔ nə-nəwɛʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 NMLZ:PURP-visit.family PFV:WEST-come.back<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tərmók<sup>h</sup>e q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ moste o-kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ*  
 SEQ dusk ANA single.woman 3SG:POSS-courtyard  
*ʃə-lɐ-nlɔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə orjáŋnə*  
 AND-PFV:UPRIVER-pass<sub>2</sub>-3DU when  
 When they went upriver and passed the single woman's courtyard at dusk,

50. *q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ moste ne-t<sup>h</sup>əy-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 SEQ single.woman PFV:TR-meet<sub>2</sub>-2DU-MED  
 they met the single woman,

51. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ oʒorʔ kámɪf<sup>h</sup>a nɐ-wɐc<sup>h</sup>ɐvlevʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ in.the.meanwhile a.bit IPFV:PST-chat<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 and meanwhile they chatted a little.
52. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noɪmɛnə k<sup>h</sup>ɛnaŋ le-nəre-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 SEQ only.then home PFV:UPRIVER-go.back<sub>3</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And then they went on back home.
53. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ kə-sɐrtɔʔ tə-kə-nəwɛʔ=niʔ*  
 SEQ ANA NMLZ:PURP-visit.family PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-come.back<sub>2</sub>=DU  
*mer nə-nɐnpri-nə-cə*<sup>26</sup>  
 at.night PFV-eat.supper<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-r<sup>n</sup>guʔ tə-rɐntf<sup>h</sup>a-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:PURP-go.to.bed PFV-prepare<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ tərme ó-rjev <sup>n</sup>brɔmuʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA lad 3SG:POSS-wife Amdo.woman=DET  
*kɐ-nt<sup>h</sup>ódɔ o-kolɐŋu kɐ-mɐ*  
 INF-rave 3SG:POSS-order INF-not.exist  
*kɐ-sɲo o-ts<sup>h</sup>əɣɐ=kəsci te-je-cə*  
 INF-be.crazy 3SG:POSS-manner=like PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 the lad's Amdo wife began to rave and act in a orderless, crazy manner.

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<sup>26</sup> The verb is marked plural despite the dual-number subject, as more than two participants are involved in the supper-eating here.

55. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmaʔ=rəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ other=PL=ERG  
*q<sup>h</sup>əʔ ˈbrɔ̃muʔ=p<sup>h</sup>a tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə te-tə-poj ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 ANA Amdo.woman=place what IPFV-2-do<sub>3</sub> be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
 When the others asked the Amdo woman, “What are you doing?”

56. *ʃq<sup>h</sup>əʔ tərmók<sup>h</sup>e ɐ-t<sup>h</sup>iko*  
 just.now dusk 1SG:POSS-downriver.side  
*rgəmu nə-t<sup>h</sup>əʔ-təʔ=nəʔ=kə pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o-rəpəm*  
 old woman PFV-meet<sub>2</sub>-1DU=DET=ERG now-EMPH  
*t<sup>h</sup>ə-wi nə-ˈdzɛsqə-təʔ te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ*  
 IMP:DOWNRIVER-come IMP-have.potluck.party-1DU PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃə-əŋ reʔ te-tsəʔ*  
 SEQ go-1SG be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ɣrɛrɛʔ=kə nəʔ mə-ˈdzəʔ-cə ne-səsi-nə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=ERG ANA NEG-be.proper-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And her family thought, “That is not right,”

58. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃla kəsɛk<sup>h</sup>u ne-lɛt-nə*  
 SEQ immediately juniper.powder PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlɛrge káɰne ne-sqôr-nə*  
 SEQ monk several PFV:TR-send.for<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*o-χtu kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a ne-səpeʔ-nə*  
 3SG:POSS-chanting.sutra a.bit PFV:TR-cause.to.do<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 and they quickly burned sanctified juniper powder, and sent for several monks and made them chant some sutras for her.

59. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔofsəʔfsi nə-ʒi*  
 SEQ next.day PFV-recover<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-kə-ma=nəʔ nə-fsəʔt-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.not<sub>2</sub>=SUB PFV-do.thus<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And her illness recovered the next day, as if nothing had happened.

60. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place  
*forme t<sup>h</sup>ə te-tə-poj ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə*  
 last night what IPFV-2-do<sub>3</sub> be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-rwet-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PFV:TR-ask<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
 And when they asked her, saying, “What were you doing last night?”

61. *q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ mer t<sup>h</sup>ə ne-peʔ ɲoʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA night what PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub> be=SUB  
*o-kə-səsiʔ o-kə-tʂənʔ kdenbe mə-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-think 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-recall at.all not.exist-MED  
 That one (the woman) could not think of or recall anything about what she had done that night.

62. *nəʔ nə-fsəʔt nə-t<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 That was what happened, it is said.

## THROWER OF STONES

*kənaʃkótse*

**Narrator: Tsheskyid**

1. *ʃyonts<sup>h</sup>e=z mə<sup>n</sup>dáci=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə? tʃu? o-pért<sup>h</sup>v=nə?*  
 former.time=LOC PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-space.in.between=DET  
*mə<sup>n</sup>dəcəmt<sup>h</sup>e kə-rmi?<sup>?</sup>cə? tó?<sup>?</sup>kə*  
 PN NMLZ-be.named=INDF exist=INS  
*te-kə-nənke<sup>n</sup>yi?<sup>?</sup>nə? tə-kə-naʃkótse to? ké-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz?*  
 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. *ʃji=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on=nə? kə-o-naʃkótse tsə-nə tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz?*  
 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. *ɛji? ʋnesqe jərmə jə-wɛ?<sup>?</sup>aŋ orjáŋnə?*  
 1SG twenty about PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-1SG when  
*tʃu?<sup>?</sup>=z jle ʃə-kə-ro-aŋ*  
 PN=LOC dzo AND-PFV:EAST-fetch<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 Once when I was around twenty, I went east to bring back some dzo from Cus Village.

4. *jle o-kə-ni?<sup>?</sup>nə? tʃu? mtʃ<sup>h</sup>oldən te-ké-tsə*  
 dzo 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-drive=DET PN PN IPFV-GP-say  
*tərmə=cə? tó?<sup>?</sup>kə nənə?<sup>?</sup>kə ke-nɛ? nə-ŋo*  
 man=INDF exist=INS ANA=ERG IPFV:EAST-drive<sub>3</sub> IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 The driver of the dzo was a Cus man named Mcholdan, and he was driving from behind.



5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mən dəcəmt<sup>h</sup>e lə-zɣôʔ-tsə=nəʔ*

SEQ PN PFV:UPRIVER-2DU=SUB

*tə-qənuʔ zɡəɣzɡəɣʔ nə-ŋo*

PFV-darken<sub>2</sub> IDPH<sup>27</sup> IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>

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

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjəspe lə-wɛʔ-tsə=nəʔ*

SEQ quite.a.while PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-2PL=SUB

And when we came quite a while farther upriver,

7. *ɐ-vzər=z ʃkótse lə-kə-wɛrət=cəʔ tóʔ=kə*

1SG:POSS-side=LOC stone PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-throw<sub>2</sub>=INDF exist=INS

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

8. *o-rɛŋəm=nəʔ*

3SG:POSS-moment=DET

and at that moment,

9. *nəʔ mɿʰoldən=nəʔ*

ANA PN=TOP

*tsə-pért<sup>h</sup>e jle kə-téwɐ-<sup>n</sup>de mə=nəʔ*

1DU:POSS-space.in.between dzo one-team-except not.exist=SUB

*nəʔ ʃkótse tʃ<sup>h</sup>e le-wérət ŋóʔ=kə nə-səsi-aŋ*

ANA stone why IPFV:UPRIVER-throw<sub>3</sub> be=DM PFV-think<sub>2</sub>-1SG

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

<sup>27</sup> Describing complete darkness.

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃǽlɛ mə-tə-tsəʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ anything NEG-PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 And I didn't say anything.
11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ rjɛspe lɛ-wɛʔ-tsə*  
 SEQ again quite.a.while PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
 And we kept coming upriver for quite a while.
12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɔjávra te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ tóʔ=kə*  
 SEQ PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS  
 There was a place called Thoyavra,<sup>28</sup>
13. *nánəz lɛ-zɣôʔ-tsə=nəʔ*  
 there PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-1DU=SUB  
 and as we arrived at that place,
14. *leʔ ɐ-vzər r<sup>n</sup>gu ó-ta*  
 again 1SG:POSS-side boulder 3SG:POSS-top  
*ʃkótse=rcənəʔ ʃpét tə-kə-səʔsəʔ=cəʔ toʔ*  
 stone=TOP:EMPH IDPH PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.say<sub>2</sub>=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”.<sup>29</sup>
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-rɛŋəm mt<sup>h</sup>oldən=p<sup>h</sup>a ne-tə-sno raŋ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-moment PN=place IPFV-2-be.crazy DM for  
 At that moment, I said to Mcholdan, “Are you mad?”

<sup>28</sup> Name of a landmark within Mendecamthe, literally ‘sign of good harvest’.

<sup>29</sup> An ideophone mimicking the sound of something flat impacting a hard surface.

16. *ʃkótse=kə*      *ɐ-koʔ*                      *tə-x səɣ*      *ŋoʔ*  
stone=INS      1SG:POSS-head      2-hit      be  
*ˈdeʔ*      *ʃkótse*      *mə-lɐ-tə-wɛrɛt*                      *ˈdenəʔ*      *tə-tsəʔ-aŋ=nəʔ*  
any.more      stone      NEG-IMP:UPRIVER-2-throw<sub>3</sub>      or.else      PFV-say-1SG=SUB  
“The stones may hit my head! Don’t throw stones any more, or else!”

17. *mtʰoldən*      *χʃikə*      *te-ntsʰɛvʔ*  
PN                      very      IPFV-be.nervous  
Mcholdan was very flustered,

18. *ɐjiʔ*      *maʔ-aŋ*      *ŋoʔ*      *jɐ*  
1SG      be.not-1SG      be      DM  
*nəʔ*      *ʃóχtenəʔ*      *tə-ojɐsɛjɛz*      *té-tsə*  
ANA      than                      IMP-hurry      IPFV-say  
and he was saying, “It is not me! Instead of (worrying about) that, just hurry on!”

19. *oʒorʔ*                      *tʰo tʰo tʰo*<sup>30</sup>      *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*      *noŋmenəʔ*      *ʃkótse*      *lɐ-kə-wɛrɛt=nəʔ*  
SEQ      only.then      stone      PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-throw<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*mtʰoldən*      *kə-maʔ=nəʔ*                      *nɐ-sərtə-aŋ*  
PN                      NMLZ-not.be=DET      PFV-realize<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
Only then did I realize that the one who had thrown stones was not Mcholdan.

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<sup>30</sup> Conventionalized sound used to urge cattle on, repeated here to vividly convey the flustered state Mcholdan was in.

21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    oʒorʔ            mə<sup>n</sup>dəcəmt<sup>h</sup>e=tsə            tə-kə-nəʃkótse*  
 SEQ    meanwhile    PN=TOP:EMPH            GP:POSS:U-NMLZ:SBJ-throw.stones  
*kə-toʔ            kə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʒʔ=nəʔ            ɐ-sem            jɐ-weʔ*  
 NMLZ-exist    NMLZ-be.the.rule=SUB    1SG:POSS-heart    PFV-come<sub>2</sub>  
 Meanwhile, it dawned on me that the place Mendecamthe was indeed rumored to have  
 (mysterious) throwers of stones.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ɐ-komɛzɛr                      kámɬ<sup>h</sup>a    nɐ-ɐmdzuʔ*  
 SEQ    1SG:POSS-creepy.feeling    a.bit    PFV-stand.on.end<sub>2</sub>  
 And I felt my hair stand on end a little bit.

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    oʒorʔ            lɐ-ojɛsɛjezʔ-tsə            ofétka*  
 SEQ    meanwhile    PFV:UPRIVER-hurry<sub>2</sub>-1DU    so.much  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə    o-sɛʃsət            mə<sup>n</sup>dáci    lɐ-zyót-tsə            ɲoʔ=rɛn*  
 what    3SG:POSS-way    PN            PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-1DU    be=even  
*mə-nɐ-sərtɔ-aŋ*  
 NEG-PFV-realize<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 Meanwhile, we two rushed upriver so hurriedly that I didn't even know how we got back  
 to Mendeci.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    nəʔ    nɐ-fsət            ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    ANA    IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 That was what happened.

## SHERAB SAW A GHOST

*ʃərévʔkə tájo nekəmti*

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *v-vəʔ* *ʃərévʔ* *te-ké-tsə=nəʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN IPFV-GP-say=DET  
*tsʰovdən vlərge nɐ-ŋo tʰozʔ*  
 Tshobdun monk IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be.the.rule  
 My paternal uncle called Sherab was a monk at Tshobdun.
2. *qʰoʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ zde nǎ-pʰa nɐ-nɐkəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET other 3PL:POSS-place IPFV:PST-idel.about<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Once, he was visiting with some people,
3. *qʰoʔ ʃor<sup>n</sup>gelépʰɐ noŋme*  
 SEQ wee.hours.of.the.night only.then  
*o-tʂaxʃaʔ=z ke-nəre-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-monk's.quarters=LOC PFV:EAST-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and did not return to his quarters until the wee hours of the night.
4. *qʰoʔ mgonkʰaŋ kə-zyôt jermɐ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ protector's.chamber<sup>31</sup> PFV:EAST-arrive<sub>2</sub> about=SUB  
*ke-mpʰéri=nəʔ o-ʁóri=z vlərge Ɂzén=kə*  
 IPFV:CISLOC-look=SUB 3SG:POSS-front=LOC monk monk's.cloak=INS  
*o-koʔ kɐ-səyloj=cəʔ nǎ-wɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-head NMLZ:SBJ:U-cover.with<sub>2</sub>=INDF PFV:WEST-come<sub>2</sub> 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.

<sup>31</sup> A special room inside a monastery devoted to worshipping protector deities (*srung.ma*).

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃəreɐʋ kə-<sup>n</sup>goz<sup>n</sup>ge-cə*  
 SEQ Shesrab PFV:EAST-call<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Shesrab called at him,
6. *ʃəku ʃor<sup>n</sup>geləp<sup>h</sup>a=nəʔ nətʃ<sup>h</sup>ə tə-ʃə ɲoʔ*  
 over.there.in.the.east:VOC wee.hours.in.the.night=DET where 2-go be  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “You over there in the east, where are you going in this wee hour,” he asked.
7. *ʃənəʔ o-ʋóri ne-kə-wi=nəʔ=kə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-front IPFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-come=DET=ERG  
*o-len=nəʔ ʋdənbe mə-te-peʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-answer=DET at.all NEG-PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 But the thing that was coming (west) did not answer him at all.
8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ o-ʋzər nə-zyôʔ jərmə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-side PFV:WEST-arrive<sub>2</sub> about=SUB  
*ləmɛstampet rɲəʔ<sup>32</sup> nə-rzə-cə*  
 suddenly IDPH PFV-be.long<sub>3</sub>-MED  
 But when it was about to get close, it all of a sudden grew tall.
9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-q<sup>h</sup>ostot=nəʔ nɛmk<sup>h</sup>e=naŋ=cɛ tə-<sup>n</sup>blôt-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-upper.body=DET sky=inside=LOC:INDF PFV:UP-disappear<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And its upper body disappeared into the sky,
10. *o-q<sup>h</sup>osmən<sup>2</sup>=nəʔ sətʃe=naŋ nɛ-<sup>n</sup>blôt-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-lower.body=DET ground=inside PFV:DOWN-disappear<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and its lower body disappeared into the ground.

<sup>32</sup> An ideophone root describing a single object being slender or long.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ʃərevʔ* *nɐ-nɐscerʔ* *o-komɛzer* *nɐ-ɐmdzuʔ*  
 SEQ PN IPFV-be.scared<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-creepy.feeling IPFV:PST-sit<sub>2</sub>  
 Shesrab was scared, and felt creepy.
12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kɐ-rɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒá<sup>n</sup>dʒa=kəsə=kə*<sup>33</sup>  
 SEQ INF-run.with.legs.high.in.air=like=INS  
*o-káco* *vlɛrge* *o-tɕaxʃaʔ* *tə-ɐre-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-place.to.the.east monk 3SG:POSS-monk's.quarters PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And running with his legs high in the air, he dashed up a monk's quarters to his east.
13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nɐ-nɐscerʔ* *o-ʃét=kə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-be.scared<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-extent=INS  
*kɐ-wɛc<sup>h</sup>ɛvlɛv=rɐn* *mə-n-c<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ* *nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz-cə*  
 INF-talk=even NEG-PFV-be.able<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 So scared he was that he could not even talk.
14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ʃərevʔ* *o-ɸúri* *nə-kə-wɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ Shesrab 3SG:POSS-front PFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*tájo=nəʔ* *nɐ-ŋo* *nɐ-ta-cə*  
 ghost=TOP IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.certain<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And that which came up (west) before Shesrab was undoubtedly a ghost.
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *jəʃərevʔ=kə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 1PL=ERG=TOP  
 As for us,

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<sup>33</sup> Possibly related to the ideophone root *ʔdʒaŋ*, describing walking with two or more legs raised high in the air.

16. *tájo    ʰge-kɛ-mtiʔ    qʰoʔ    nə-xtɛ*  
ghost    IPFV-GP-see    SEQ    PFV-be.big<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰónə    tájo    o-kɛ-pe    ne-mɛ*  
SEQ:EMPH    ghost    3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-do    IPFV-not.exist  
*qʰoʔ    me-ne-cʰɛ    ké-tsə    tʰoʔ*  
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. *ʃənəʔ    o-xpér=kə    tájo    ʰge-kɛ-mtiʔ*  
but    3SG:POSS-supposition=INS    ghost    IPFV-GP-see  
*qʰoʔ    ɐ-mə-nə-nəxtʃĩxtʃĩ    reʔ*  
SEQ    IRR-NEG-PFV-be.smaller.and.smaller    be.necessary  
*ʰdenəʔ    tájo    te-cʰɛ    ɲoʔ    ké-tsə    tʰoʔ*  
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.



## JUNIPER POWDER SUBDUED A DEMON

*kəʂəkʰukə tɔ̃jo kəfqaʔcə xpe*

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *ʂɲontsʰe=z*  
former.time=LOC  
*tsʰovdən rgonbe<sup>34</sup> vlərgəpu=cəʔ nɐ-to ɲoʔ-cə*  
PN monastery young.monk=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
Once upon a time, there was a young monk in the Tshobdun Monastery.
2. *qʰoʔ osto ɛdɛnbe me-<sup>n</sup>ge-rɛvzjan ʃə-<sup>n</sup>ge-nɛmtʰómtʰom ɲoʔ-cə*  
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. *qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ ɲɛtʰəfsəfsi ne-kə-nɛrmərme*  
SEQ night=DET everywhere IPFV-NMLZ-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>:RDPL  
*qʰoʔ o-kɐ-vɐr=rɐʔ ɛdɛnbe kə-mɐ-cə <sup>n</sup>ge-ɲoʔ-cə*  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-fear=PL at.all NMLZ-not.exist-MED IPFV-be-MED  
At night he would spend the night anywhere, and he had no fear for anything at all.
4. *qʰoʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ lɐse=z kə-mdʒɐl tə-vre-cə*  
SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET PN=LOC NMLZ:PURP-worship PFV-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
Once, he went on a pilgrimage to Lhasa.
5. *qʰoʔ mtsʰosɲonboʔ=scʰənəʔ rdaɲlɛtʰoɲwɐ o-perʔ=z*  
SEQ PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-interstice=LOC  
*tʰaɲ sɐstɔɲ ome kə-<sup>n</sup>ge=cəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
plateau barren.land very NMLZ:SBJ-be.wide=INDF exist be-MED  
Between Lake Kokonor and Tanggula Mountain, there was a vast barren plateau.

<sup>34</sup> Situated in Teutses Village, this is one of the two monasteries in Tshobdun Township.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɛnəʔ=z tə-zɣôʔ-cə*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET there=LOC PFV:UP-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 One day, he arrived there.
7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-qɛnuʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-darken<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 It became dark.
8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sərməʔ ne-qɛseʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ sleeping.place PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*t<sup>h</sup>an ɔ-ta toŋtoŋ kə-toʔ=cəʔ ne-mti-cə*  
 plateau 3SG:POSS-top pit NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And as he was looking for a place to sleep, he saw a pit on the plateau.
9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ toŋtoŋ=nan rtsəke=rɐʔ dəɣdəɣʔ pe ome səscət ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ pit=inside grass=PL IDPH<sup>35</sup> do very be.comfortable be-MED  
 The grass inside the pit was very comfortable.
10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jomerʔ nəʔ ɔ-nan*  
 SEQ tonight ANA 3SG:POSS-inside  
*ne-kɛ-nərme reʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə*  
 IPFV-GP-spend.the.night be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “I must spend the night in it tonight,” he thought.
11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nənə=z nə-nərmeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ there=LOC PFV-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And so he spent the night there.

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<sup>35</sup> Ideophone derived from root *dəɣ*, describing the state of being thick, cozy, and giving much warmth (as of bedding or similar material).

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mer kə-nə-r<sup>n</sup>guʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ night PFV-SPON-sleep<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*o-komɤzer əntsətse ne-mdzu ɲoʔ-cə*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɐʃiʔ ɲɐtʃ<sup>h</sup>əfsəʃsi ʃə-<sup>n</sup>ge-r<sup>n</sup>gu-aŋ lden*  
 SEQ 1SG everywhere AND-IPFV-sleep-1SG exist.in.quantity  
*ʃənəʔ ɐ-komɤzer ɐmdzu mɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 but 1SG:POSS-creepy.feeling sit NEG-be.the.rule  
*nəʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə=cəʔ ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə*  
 ANA what=INDF be PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he thought, “I frequently go and sleep everywhere, but I never felt creepy. What is going on?”
14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-rɐroʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 So he got up.
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-ɐɐ=z ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən rgonbe=z*  
 SEQ 3SG-body=LOC PN monastery=LOC  
*kɐsɛ́k<sup>h</sup>u te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə nɐ-to-cə*  
 juniper.powder<sup>36</sup> PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-MED IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He carried on his body some sanctified juniper twigs taken from the Tshobdun Monastery.

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<sup>36</sup> Pulverized dry juniper twigs mixed with barley grains, sanctified and given by lamas, to be burnt to drive away evil spirits.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ smi te-vlu-cə*  
 SEQ fire PFV:TR-burn<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a ne-sək<sup>h</sup>uʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ some IPFV:TR:PST-cause.to.smoke.by.burning<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 When he built a fire and was burning some of them,
17. *qɛlɛ=kəsci te-peʔ-cə*  
 wind=like PFV:UP-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ toŋtoŋ=nan təme=kəsci p<sup>h</sup>aχwel jɐ-fɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA pit=inside woman=something.like IDPH<sup>37</sup> PFV-go<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>áŋ=ta=rcənəʔ*  
 SEQ plateau=top=EMPH  
*təme=cəʔ tə-kə-raχtʃo<sup>n</sup>baʔ nə-kə-vəvoʔ=cəʔ*  
 woman=INDF PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-scream<sub>2</sub> PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-weep<sub>2</sub>=INDF  
*ne-səχtʃorŋəm-cə*  
 PFV:TR-resound<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And a screaming and weeping woman resounded the top of the plain.
19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ ɕaŋɕaŋ<sup>ʔ38</sup> nə-pe-cə*  
 SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB IDPH PFV-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 After a while, it became completely quiet.

<sup>37</sup> Derived ideophone from the root *χwel*, describing a sudden single move made by someone or something lanky with long hair and limbs wearing long clothes.

<sup>38</sup> Ideophone based on the root *ɕaŋ*, describing the state of complete quietness.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlərge=nəʔ o-sem kə-vde kə-nə-r<sup>g</sup>guʔ-cə*  
 SEQ monk=DEF 3SG:POSS-heart NMLZ-be.good PFV-SPON-sleep<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he went to sleep with a peaceful heart.
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-komvzer=rəʔ ne-kə-vmɔɔzu=nəʔ nə-mɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-creepy.feeling=PL IPFV-NMLZ-sit=SUB PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ o-mer=nəʔ χfika nə-nə-scât-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-night=DET very IPFV:PST-SPON-be.comfortable<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 His creepy feeling was gone, and he was very comfortable that night.
22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ vlərge=nəʔ lɛse=rəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA monk=DET PN=PL  
*ŋɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>əfsəfsi nə-nvmɔɔzəmdʒelʔ-cə*  
 everywhere IPFV:PST-worship<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-MED  
 And the monk went on pilgrimages everywhere, to Lhasa and other places.
23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən rgonbe nə-nəwɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN monastery PFV:DOWN-come.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And then he went back to Tshobdun Monastery.
24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-kofsɛfsəʔ tʃo<sup>n</sup>bɛjʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə nə=kə-fsât=rəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-friend:RDPL road what IPFV:PST=NMLZ-be.like<sub>2</sub>=PL  
*kəmdiʔ ne-ffɛt-cə=nəʔ*  
 all PFV:TR-tell<sub>2</sub>-MED=SEQ  
 When he recounted everything that had happened on the road,

25. *rgonbe ó-naŋ vlɛme=kə*  
monastery 3SG:POSS-inside lama=ERG  
*tə-kɛ=z kɛsɛkʰu kə-ʒroʔ ɛ-nɛ-to*  
GP:POSS-body=LOC juniper.powder NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine IRR-PFV-exist<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰónəʔ ɲétʃʰə=z nə-kɛ-nɛrərə*  
SEQ anywhere=LOC PFV-GP-go<sub>2</sub>  
*tə-pɛrtʃʰɛt kə-mɛ pʰen te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
GP:POSS-tribulation NMLZ-not.exist be.effective PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *kəkoʔ χpe=nəʔ kə-taʔ nɛ-kə-ŋo=cəʔ ɲoʔ*  
this story=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.true IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be<sub>2</sub>=INDF be  
This story is a true one.

## SEMGAM THE SPIRITUAL MEDIUM

*sémgəm skårten*

Narrator: Yingyam

1. *şyonts<sup>h</sup>e=z*

former.time=LOC

*krəʃizgaŋ skårten=nəʔ sémgəm kə-toʔ=cəʔ nə-ŋo-cə*PN medium=TOP PN NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED

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

2. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skårten ne-kə-p<sup>h</sup>əvʔ<sup>39</sup>=nəʔ te-kə-rəʃqəʃqə=cəʔ*

SEQ medium IPFV-GP-descend=SUB IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-scold:RDPL=INDF

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃʃikə kə-ʃtsən=cəʔ nə-ŋo-cə*SEQ very NMLZ:SBJ-be.powerful=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED

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

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<sup>39</sup> Referring to the power, that such mediums allegedly have, to enter into a trance while the monks summon the particular guardian deity (*şoŋme*; 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 moastery, makes certain preparations, such as divining 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 kə-təʃe=cɛ rgonpuʔ=rɐʔ nə-latʃʰe*  
 SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF monastery.staff=PL 3PL:POSS-possession  
*zɔʔlaʔ=scʰənəʔ kəmaʔ tʃʰuxciʔ=cəʔ nə-rla-cə*  
 pail=and other something=INDF PFV-be.lost<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 On one occasion, a pail and something else that belonged to the monastery staff were missing.

4. *qʰoʔ skarten=kə tɛrtʃen ó-ɐɐr tɛmdzɔ te-vraʔ-cə*  
 SEQ medium=ERG flagpole 3SG:POSS-surface thistle PFV:TR-bind<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 So the medium bound some thistles onto the monastery flagpole.

5. *qʰoʔ kəʃne-sɲi nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ nə-<sup>n</sup>bɐv-cə*  
 SEQ seven-day PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB PFV-descend<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 A week passed, and (the guardian deity) descended upon him.

6. *qʰoʔ nɐ-kə-mərkuʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-steal<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*qɐ<sup>n</sup>briʔ vde<sup>n</sup>dzom te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ tóʔ=kə*  
 PN PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS  
*nə<sup>ʔ</sup>-vu norvu kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-grandfather Norvu NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*nəʔ nɐ-ŋo tʃʰoʔzʔ-cə*  
 ANA IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> 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.



7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skarten ts<sup>h</sup>oχtʃ<sup>h</sup>en=nan nə-<sup>n</sup>bəv=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*

SEQ medium central.hall=inside PFV-descend<sub>2</sub>=SUB

*jolveʔ o-vzər ʃə-lə-nəfkroʔ-cə=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*

door.drape 3SG:POSS-side AND-PFV:IN-peek<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

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,

8. *skarten=kə nəʔ o-kóʔ=ta*

medium=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-head=top

*ʃla mdaɣzu t<sup>h</sup>e-lêʔ-cə*

immediately arrow PFV:TR:OUT-release<sub>2</sub>-MED

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-mɲa ne-tʃet nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-eye PFV:TR-extract<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED

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

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mk<sup>h</sup>érgu tɛroʔ <sup>n</sup>gé-fqɐ ʃteʔ-cə=kə*

SEQ Mkhargu headman IPFV-be.ruling be:EMPH-MED=INS

*nəʃəq<sup>h</sup>u skarten ne-kə-<sup>n</sup>bəvʔ mɐ-kə-joyʔ te-peʔ-cə*

since.then medium IPFV-NMLZ-descend NEG-NMLZ-allow PFV:TR-make<sub>2</sub>-MED

And since the Mkhargu headman<sup>40</sup> was the ruler, he banned any further deity-summoning thereafter.

<sup>40</sup> 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-ⁿgvⁿge o-skəʈʰvzʔ=rəʔ*  
 SEQ medium 3SG:POSS-clothing 3SG:POSS-deity.summoning.paraphernalia=PL  
*mkʰərgúpu=kə ʃə-ne-ro-cə*  
 Mkhargu.people=ERG AND-PFV:DOWN:TR-fetch₂-MED  
 And the Mkhargu (headman) went and fetched (i.e. confiscated) the medium's clothing  
 and deity-summoning paraphernalia.

11. *qʰoʔ tɛʃtsiʔ rgonbe o-vzər ʃʃamkʰaŋ te-peʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN monastery 3SG:POSS-side shrine PFV:TR-make₂-MED  
*qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-naŋ o-rten te-rkoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside 3SG:POSS-relic PFV:TR-put.into₂-MED  
 And he built a small shrine beside Teutses Monastery, and put these objects inside as its  
 religious relics.

12. *qʰoʔ skarten nəʔ=ntʰon ne-nɛⁿbəⁿbəvʔ ʃteʔ ŋoʔ-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-xtɛ vlərge*  
 SEQ 3SG:HON:POSS-brother monk  
*tsʰovdən rgonbe=z nə-kə-ntsʰɔ=cəʔ nə-to-cə*  
 PN monastery=LOC IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.a.monk₂=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED  
 He had a brother who was a monk at Tshobdun Monastery at that time,

14. *qʰoʔ ó-xtɛ skarten=pʰa mə-nə-tə-ⁿbəvʔ ⁿdenəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-brother medium=place NEG-IMP-2-descend or  
*ʒɛltʃe tə-tʃɛt ŋoʔ ⁿgé-tsə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 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. *fənəʔ=ntʰon ne-<sup>n</sup>bəvʔ ʃteʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 but=still IPFV:DOWN-descend be:EMPH be-MED

But he still went right on summoning deities.

16. *qʰoʔ mkʰérgu tɛroʔ=nəʔ=kə ne-sizʔ-cə*  
 SEQ Mkhargu headman=DET=ERG PFV:TR-know<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ skərten=nəʔ ne-myeʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ medium=DET PFV:TR-catch<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And the Mkhargu headman found out about this, and had the medium arrested.

17. *qʰoʔ rnéta<sup>41</sup> rjɛlse=z*  
 SEQ Rnata headman's.headquarters=LOC  
*ó-fqor kə-xšəy tə-rɛntsʰa-nə=ʃənəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-buttocks NMLZ:PURP-beat PFV-set.out<sub>2</sub>-3PL=just.when  
 And just when they were going to flog his buttocks at the headman's headquarters at Rtata,

18. *rgon tɛχə=z rloŋnaʔ=kəsci kə-wɛʔ-cə*  
 PN<sup>42</sup> pass=LOC sand.storm=like PFV:EAST-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 something like a sandstorm blew eastward from the pass of Rgon Mountain,

19. *qʰoʔ détsənəʔ qéle=kə*  
 SEQ gradually wind=ERG  
*rnéta rjɛlse <sup>n</sup>gol=rɛn jə-tʰe-tsom-cə*  
 Rnata headman's.quarters slab.roofing=even PROS-PFV:TR-take.hither<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 in a while, the wind almost blew away the slab roofing of the headman's quarters even.

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<sup>41</sup> Name of mountain pass between Teutses and Kakhyoris Villages, site of the Tshobdun headman's headquarters.

<sup>42</sup> Name of a mountain surrounded by Kakhyoris, Cus, Po'ge, and Kholakyi Villages.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skarten ó-fqor ké-xsəy mə-nə-ngru*  
 SEQ medium 3SG:POSS-buttocks INF-beat NEG-IPFV:PST-manage<sub>2</sub>  
*ké-tsə tʰoʔ-cə*  
 GP-say be.the.rule-MED

And they did not get to flog the medium's buttocks, it is said.

21. *oq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ=ntʰon kə-n<sup>h</sup>bəvʔ te-rénts<sup>h</sup>a ʎoʔ-cə*  
 afterwards=still NMLZ:PURP-descend IPFV-get.ready.to be-MED

After that, as he still would summon deities.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skarten ó-xɛ rgonbe kə-nts<sup>h</sup>ʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ medium 3SG:POSS-brother monastery NMLZ:SBJ-be.a.monk=DET=ERG  
*mk<sup>h</sup>érgu tɛroʔ=kə nátsɛji nə-tʰɛtpe kə-tʃɛt*  
 Mkhargu headman=ERG so 2SG:POSS-punishment NMLZ:PURP-do  
*te-rénts<sup>h</sup>a=ntʰon=nəʔ mə-tə-k<sup>h</sup>ut-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. *mk<sup>h</sup>érgu tɛroʔ nə-rgonbe vlɛme st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xɛʔ*  
 Mkhargu headman 3PL:POSS-monastery lama most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big  
*kəldzi<sup>43</sup> vlovzan mtɕ<sup>h</sup>ənle<sup>44</sup> ó-p<sup>h</sup>a ʃɛ-tsə*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-place go-1DU  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃə-zuʔ-tsə=kə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ AND-say-1DU=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

"let us go and complain to Vlovzang Mtrhenle of Keldri, the highest lama of the monastery of the Mkhargu people," he said.

<sup>43</sup> A house-name in Rngaba County.

<sup>44</sup> Name of a Gelukpa Reincarnate lama.

24. *qʰoʔ*    *ó-xte=kə*                      *skərten=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-brother=ERG    medium=DET  
*kəldziʔ vlovzəŋ mʈʂʰənleʔ=pʰa*    *te-tsom*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PN=place                                      PFV:TR-take.hither<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And the brother took the medium to the lama Vlovzang Mtrhenle of Keldri.

25. *qʰoʔ*    *vləme=rəʔ*    *tʰə*    *nə-kə-fsəʔ*  
 SEQ    lama=PL    what    IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like<sub>2</sub>  
*nə-ffeff̃t*                      *ne-peʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-recount    PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And the two brothers recounted to him what had happened.

26. *qʰoʔ*    *vləme=kə*    *rtəʔʈfaʔ*    *te-tʃet-cə*  
 SEQ    lama=ERG    horse.whip    PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ*    *skərten=pʰa*    *nəʒiʔ*    *tʰə*    *ne-tə-<sup>n</sup>bəvʔ*    *ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ    medium=place    2SG    what    IPFV-2-descend    be  
*<sup>n</sup>dʒe*    *tə-ŋoʔ*    *so*    *lə*    *tə-ŋoʔ*    *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 demon    2-be    or    deity    2-be    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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*    *skərten=kə*    *əʒiʔ*    *mgónbo kər*    *ŋoʔ-aŋ*    *te-tsəʔ*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    medium=ERG    1SG    PN<sup>45</sup>    be-1SG    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And the medium said, “I am Mgonbo Ker.”

28. *qʰoʔ*    *vləmé=kə*    *leʔ*    *rtəʔʈfaʔ*    *te-jəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    lama=ERG    again    horsewhip    PFV:TR:UP-raise<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the lama again raised the horsewhip (and said),

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<sup>45</sup> Name of a guardian deity.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɛʝiʔ mɡónbo kər tə-maʔ kə*  
 SEQ 2SG PN 2-not.be DM  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə tə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ osto tə-tsə*  
 what 2-be=SUB well IMP-say

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

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skərten=kə leʔ ɛʝiʔ mɡónbo vzaŋtʃitʃen ŋoʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ medium=ERG again 1SG PN<sup>46</sup> be-1SG  
*te-tsəʔ nɛ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED

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

31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlɛme=kə*  
 SEQ lama=ERG  
*kə-taʔ skərten kə-ŋólɛ kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.true medium NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous NMLZ-be=SUB  
*ne-sərtɔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-realize<sub>2</sub>-MED

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

32. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skərten=p<sup>h</sup>a ɛ-nɛ-tə-ŋo ʝoʔ te-tsəʔ*  
 SEQ medium=place IRR-PFV-2-be be.allowed PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 And he said to the medium, “You are permitted to be what you are.”

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<sup>46</sup> Using this time the true (and less well-known) name of the same guardian deity.

33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-kɛ-<sup>n</sup>bɛvʔ kə-joʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-GP-descend NMLZ:SBJ-be.permitted  
*mk<sup>h</sup>ɛrgu tɛroʔ te-kɛ-rɛfqɛ mɛ-kə-joyʔ jəye*  
 PN headman IPFV-NMLZ-scold NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.allowed letter  
*nə-o-<sup>n</sup>bi-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 PFV-INV-give<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noŋmenəʔ nə-nəwɛʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 SEQ only.then PFV-come.back<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 Only then did the two brothers come back.
35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skarten <sup>n</sup>ge-<sup>n</sup>bɛvʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ medium IPFV-descend be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃfikə <sup>n</sup>ge-ftsɛn*  
 SEQ very IPFV-be.powerful  
 And the medium would practice deity-summoning and he was very powerful.
36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmərku=rɛʔ*  
 SEQ thief=PL  
*ʃla nə-rmiʔ te-poj <sup>n</sup>ge-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 immediately 3PL:POSS-name IPFV-do<sub>3</sub> IPFV-be.the.rule be-MED  
 And it is said that he would immediately call out the names of thieves.

37. *qʰoʔ      ˈge-ftsən                      o-tənʔ=kə*  
 SEQ      IPFV-be.powerful      3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*kəmɛqʰunəʔ    mdzɔkɛ    vlɛmɛ    jontən rjɛmtsʰo=kə    fkɛ stɛnʒaʔ    ne-te-cə*  
 afterwards    PN<sup>47</sup>      lama    PN=ERG                      edict      PFV:TR-place<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 As he was so powerful, that afterwards Lama Yontan rGyamtsʰo of Ndroge Monastery  
 issued an edict,

38. *qʰoʔ    nətseɣi    te-kɛ-ftsən                      mɛ=kə-joʔ*  
 SEQ      so              IPFV-GP-be.powerful              NEG=NMLZ-be.permitted  
*qʰoʔ    kəmərku    nə-rmiʔ              ʃlanəʃla    te-kɛ-nəmiʔ    mɛ-kə-joʔ*  
 SEQ    thief              3PL:POSS-name    immediately    IPFV-GP-call    NEG=NMLZ-be.permitted  
*te-peʔ                      nɛ-tʃʰoʒ                      ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-make<sub>2</sub>    IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>    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    nəʃəqʰu    kə-ftsən=nəʔ                      kəmtʃʰa    nə-tʃa*  
 SEQ    henceforth    NMLZ:SBJ-be.powerful=DET    a.bit      PFV-improve<sub>2</sub>  
*kɛʰ-tsə    nɛ-tʃʰoʒ                      ɲoʔ-cə*  
 GP-say    IPFV:PST-say<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 Since then, the powerful one improved his manner a little, it is said.

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<sup>47</sup> Place in Lower Rngaba County with a Nyingmapa Monastery.



**ASTACHU**  
*estatfu*  
**Narrator: Yingyam**

1. *c<sup>h</sup>eʔ=z*                      *sɲiʔ*    *o-léco*                      *tərjoʔ=z*  
 former.time=LOC    PN            3SG:POSS-upriver.side    PN=LOC  
*estatfu*    *te-ké-tsə=cəʔ*            *nə-to-cə*  
 PN            IPFV-GP-say=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Once upon a time, there was a man named Astachu<sup>48</sup> at a place called Tarjo upriver from Rnyi Village.

2. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *sɲaʔ*    *kə-lət*            *ome*    *kə-mk<sup>h</sup>ɛzʔ=cəʔ*                      *nə-ŋo-cə*  
 PN    spell    INF-cast    very    NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=INDF    IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He was a very skilled caster of spells.

3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *sɲiʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*    *tərjoʔ*    *o-pért<sup>h</sup>ɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    PN=and                      PN            3SG:POSS-space.in.between=DET  
*kəpɐretaʔ*<sup>49</sup>    *te-ké-tsə=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. *q<sup>h</sup>énə=z*            *qəmásmi=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*            *rkaŋlo=rɐʔ*  
 ANA=LOC            will.o’ the.wisp= and    one.legged.demon=PL  
*əntsátse*    *kə-mtiʔ*    *kə-toʔ=cəʔ*                      *ŋoʔ*    *tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 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.

<sup>48</sup> Literally ‘son of the Asta household’.

<sup>49</sup> Name of an abandoned mill, allegedly haunted.

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sɿi=cɛ ɛstatʃu ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən rgonbe t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐre*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF PN PN monastery PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəpɐretaʔ=z ʃə-t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nlɔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN=LOC AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-pass<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

One day, when Astachu passed the Chinese Mill on his way downriver to Tshobdun Monastery,

6. *təʃo=rɐʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nrɐsqɐʔ-nə wɛʃo-nəŋo*  
 demon=PL CONT:LTR-hold.potluck.party<sub>2-3</sub>PL be.found-MED  
 he saw demons holding a potluck party.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təʃo kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ=kə təʃo kəmaʔ=cəʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ demon one-CL=DET=ERG demon other=INDF 3SG:POSS-place  
 One demon said to another demon,

8. *nɐ-ʃɛme kə-rdɔʔ nə-o-sáɾɿi-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 2SG:POSS-hindleg one-CL IMP-INV-lend-1SG=SUB  
 “Lend me one hindleg,”

9. *káde ɛstatʃu ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən rgonbe leʔ lé-jwɐt=nəʔ*  
 later PN PN monastery again IPFV:DOWNRIVER-turn.back=SUB  
 “and when Astachu returns upriver from the Tshobdun Monastery later,”

10. *o-ʃɛme=nəʔ ne-tɐ-séjwɐt=kə te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-hindleg=DET IPFV-1→2-return=DM PFV-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 “I will return to you one of his hindlegs,” it said.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɐstatʃu=nəʔ=kə* *təʃo=rɐʔ* *ne-sɐc<sup>h</sup>ɛvlɐv-nə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN=DET=ERG demon=PL IPFV-converse<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB  
*kəmdi* *ne-fsɐ-cə*  
 all PFV:TR-hear<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Astachu heard all that the demons were chatting about.
12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɐstatʃu=kə* *qɐpico<sup>n</sup>grútʃ<sup>h</sup>ot<sup>50</sup>* *kə-spreʔ* *te-myeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG flint.pebble one-handful PFV:UP:TR-grab<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *sɲaʔ* *ne-lét*  
 SEQ spell PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>  
 He grabbed a handful of flint pebbles and cast spells on them.
13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *təʃo* *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-kə-nrɐsqɐʔ-nə=ta* *ke-wɐret-cə*  
 SEQ demon CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-hold.potluck.party-3PL=top PFV:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And threw them at the partying demons.
14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *təʃo=rɐʔ* *nɐ-nɐscerʔ-nə*  
 SEQ demon=PL IPFV:PST-be.scared<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 The demons were frightened,
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *tə-nɐp<sup>h</sup>əp<sup>h</sup>i* *o-ʃét=kə* *tə-raɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒaɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒaʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ-escape:RDPL 3SG:POSS-extent=INS PFV-run.like.crazy<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 and fled in all directions in such a way that they ran like crazy men.
16. *oʒorʔ* *təʃo* *kərdɔʔ=kə*  
 meanwhile demon one-CL=ERG  
*lɔʃo* *lɔʃo* *ɐ-p<sup>h</sup>ərtʃu* *tə-tə-<sup>n</sup>di* *te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 PN:VOC PN:VOC 1SG:POSS-bowl PFV-2:Q-take<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 When one demon said (to another demon), “Lojo, Lojo, have you taken my bowl?”

<sup>50</sup> The flint is widely used among the Rgyalrong to ward off evil spirits.

17. *tájo lojo? kə-rmiʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 demon PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=DET=ERG  
*nəjiʔ nə-pʰərtʃu=rəʔ maʔ=kə*<sup>51</sup>  
 2SG 2SG:POSS-bowl=PL be.not=DM  
*kə-nəpʰəpʰi kə-ŋólə mə-tʰə-cʰaʔ-aŋ te-tsəʔ*  
 INF-escape:RDPL NMLZ-be.well NEG-CONT:LTR-be.able<sub>2</sub>-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 And the demon called Lojo said, “I can’t run fast enough, and can’t care less about your bowl!”

18. *qʰoʔ rjetrjet o-pértʰə*  
 SEQ split.second 3SG:POSS-space.in.between  
*tájo=rəʔ ɸut*<sup>52</sup> *tə-ké-tsə=nəʔ nə-fsât-nə-cə*  
 demon=PL IDPH IPFV-GP-say=DET PFV-be.like<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*qʰoʔ nə-məŋeʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-be.not.found<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And in a split second, all the demons disappeared like a quick blow of air.

19. *leʔ kə-tərem=nəʔ*  
 again one-occasion=DET  
 On another occasion,

20. *əstaʔ nə-fkokiʔ=nəŋ təkɪ ʰgɛʔ-ji-nə*  
 PN 3PL:POSS-vegetable.garden=inside turnip IPFV-plant-3PL  
*qʰoʔ ʃfíkə ʰge-ʒroʔ ŋoʔ-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.

<sup>51</sup> The negative copula is used here idiomatically to mean ‘let alone, say nothing of’.

<sup>52</sup> An ideophone imitating the sound of rapid blowing of air.

21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɐstatʃu=kə* *zde=kə* *təki* *kə-o-mərku* *ntor* *ne-səseʔ*  
 SEQ PN=ERG others=ERG turnip GP-INV-steal DM IPFV-think<sub>3</sub>  
 And Astachu thought that people might steal the turnips from him,

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ⁿge-səʃta* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV-mark be-MED  
 and so he would make marks (on the turnip plants).

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ* *ʃkokiʔ=naŋ* *o-təki*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET vegetable.garden=inside 3SG:POSS-turnip  
*kəmtʰa* *tə-kə-tʃet-cə* *toʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 some PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-take.out<sub>2</sub>-MED exist be-MED  
 One day, there was someone who pulled up some of his turnips in the vegetable garden.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɐstətʃu=nəʔ=kə* *ne-mti*  
 SEQ PN=DET=ERG PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>  
 And Astachu saw it,

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *təki* *tə-o-mərkuʔ-aŋ-nə-cə*<sup>53</sup> *ne-səsi*  
 SEQ turnip PFV-INV-steal<sub>2</sub>-1SG-3PL-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>  
 and he thought, “They stole the turnips!”

26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *χʃikə* *tə-rəmuruʔ-cə*  
 SEQ very PFV-be.angry<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he got very angry.

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<sup>53</sup> Inverse viewpoint, with the indefinite agent (someone) represented by a third-person plural index on the verb.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-kə-tʃet ó-ste=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-take.out<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-original.place=DET  
*p<sup>h</sup>ərwu ne-sətseʔ-cə*  
 peg PFV:DOWN:TR-stick<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He stuck a cursing peg<sup>54</sup> where (the turnips) were taken out,
28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>énanɿ tə-ənəre*  
 SEQ home PFV:UP-go.back<sub>2</sub>  
 and went back upstairs (in his) home.
29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-snəmʔ=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister=place  
*əkik<sup>h</sup>o ʃkokiʔ=z jə-təki*  
 place.down.there vegetable.garden=LOC 1PL:POSS-turnip  
*tə-kə-mərkuʔ=cəʔ toʔ-cə=kə q<sup>h</sup>əʔ*  
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-steal<sub>2</sub>=INDF exist-MED=INS ANA  
*ó-ste=nəʔ p<sup>h</sup>ərwu=cəʔ nɐ-sətseʔ-an te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-original.place=DET peg=INDF PFV:DOWN-stick<sub>2</sub>-1SG PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-snəmʔ=nəʔ=kə nəʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɛz nɐ-tə-sətseʔ ɲoʔ ʔdenəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister=DET=ERG ANA why PFV-2-stick<sub>2</sub> be for  
*təki tə-kə-tʃet=nəʔ ɐjiʔ nɐ-ʃte-an te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 turnip PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-take<sub>2</sub>=DET 1SG IPFV:PST-BE:EMPH<sub>2</sub>-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 His sister said, “Why did you stick (the cursing peg)? It was I who took the turnips!”

<sup>54</sup> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɐstatʃu=nəʔ=kə* *o-snəmʔ=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ PN=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-sister=place  
*éχɐχɐ* *ˈbɐt* *ɐkiʔ* *nɐ-fɐ*  
 EXCL immediately down.there IMP:DOWN-go  
 Astachu (said) to his sister, “Oh, no! Go down there immediately,”
32. *p<sup>h</sup>ərwu* *ʃla* *ʃə-təʔ-tʃɐt* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 cursing.peg quickly AND-IMP:UP-take.out PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “and pull up the cursing peg right away!” he said.
33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-snəmʔ=nəʔ* *ˈbɐt* *nɐ-ɐre*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister=DET immediately PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *p<sup>h</sup>ərwu* *ʃə-te-tʃɐt*  
 SEQ cursing.peg AND-PFV:UP:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>  
 His sister went down immediately and pulled up the cursing peg,
34. *ʃənəʔ* *ó-ste* *tɐsɐ* *tə-mts<sup>h</sup>ót* *wɛjo-nəŋo*  
 but 3SG:POSS-original.place blood PFV-be.full<sub>2</sub> be.found-MED  
 but where (the cursing peg) had been was filled with blood.
35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kə-lɔn* *mə-nə-tsoʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ-be.much NEG-PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>  
*tɐsnəmʔ=nəʔ* *stɔŋ<sup>n</sup>bɛlɛtəŋ* *nə-set* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 sister=DET without.good.reason PFV-die<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Not much time afterwards, the sister died without apparent cause.
36. *nəʔ* *nɐ-fsət* *nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 That was allegedly what happened (lit. how it was like).

# A HUNTER'S ENCOUNTER WITH A STRANGE BEAST

*kəqərɲiʔkə redaʔ məkənáχtsəy nekəmticə χpe*

**Narrator: Stagthar**

1. *okúri=z lo kəlɲotfosqe-pe jərmə=cəʔ*  
 formerly=LOC year fifty.sixty-year about=INDF  
*tsʰovdən qʰolətʃiʔ sətʃʰe=z*  
 PN PN place=LOC

*kə-taʔ nə-kə-fsət χpe=cəʔ ɲoʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.true IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like<sub>2</sub> story=INDF be

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

2. *ɲiʔ v-jəlpe ʃotʰər kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ*  
 1SG 1SG:POSS-neighbor PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF

*ó-nma kə-qərɲiʔ ome kə-rge=cəʔ nə-ɲo-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-husband INF-hunt very NMLZ:SBJ-like=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED

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

3. *kə-sɲiʔ=z lduʰguʔ-qʰu kə-qərɲiʔ lə-ɐre-cə*  
 one-day=LOC PN-back NMLZ:PURP-hunt PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED

One day, he went hunting behind the Ldungu Mountain.

4. *qʰoʔ pozvu=rəʔ te-fkor ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ musket=PL PFV:TR-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub> be-MED

*qʰoʔ naχtʃen o-tserʔ=cəʔ=lə-zɣôʔ-cə*  
 SEQ virgin.forest 3SG:POSS-interstice=LOC:INDF=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED

He carried a musket and what not, and got upriver into the opening of a virgin forest.



5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pól<sup>h</sup>i=rɐʔ te-fnət-cə*  
 SEQ fuse=PL PFV:TR-light<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He lit the fuse (of his musket),
6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sekotserʔ=z jərnəjər<sup>55</sup> redaʔ ne-qvseʔ-cə*  
 SEQ underbrush=LOC IDPH wild.beast PFV:TR-look<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and stealthily began looking for wild animals in the underbrush.
7. *káde jərmɐ o-lɛco=nəʔ sekotserʔ=z*  
 in.a.moment about 3SG:POSS-upriver.place=DET underbrush=LOC  
*t<sup>h</sup>uxciʔ=cəʔ naχts<sup>h</sup>əvaχts<sup>h</sup>əvʔ<sup>56</sup>*  
 something=INDF IDPH  
*t<sup>h</sup>v-kə-wɛʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to-cə*  
 CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 In a moment, in the bush upriver something huge was moving noisily downriver toward him.
8. *káde t<sup>h</sup>v-nlɔ-cə*  
 in.a.moment PFV:DOWNRIVER-appear<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 It emerged in the next moment.
9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ le-mp<sup>h</sup>éri=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:UPRIVER-look=SUB  
 As he was looking at it,

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<sup>55</sup> An extended ideophone based on the ideophone root *jər* ‘in a stealthy, gingerly manner’, meaning ‘move stealthily step by step’.

<sup>56</sup> Ideophone root describing the sound of something big moving noisily among bushes or hay.

10. *o-rmɐ=rɐʔ kə-rzəʔrɛ*  
 3SG:POSS-hair=PL NMLZ:SBJ-be long:EMPH  
*o-rɲeʔ=rɐʔ=ntʰon kré-kaŋ jɛrmɐ kə-rzɛʔ=cəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-face=PL=also cubit-one about NMLZ:SBJ-be.long=INDF  
*tʰɐ-wɛʔ-cə*  
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 it came downriver, its hair very long and its face about a cubit in length.
11. *ne-mti tsomɛtso*  
 PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub> hardly  
*qʰoʔ=rcənəʔ nə-o-nɛstʰorʔ tə-o-mɛmtʰenʔ-cə*  
 SEQ=EMPH PFV-INV-snatch<sub>2</sub> PFV-INV:UP-put.under.armpit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He had barely seen the thing when he was seized and held under its armpit.
12. *qʰoʔ oʒorʔ sekotserʔ=z tə-o-səɲəɣ*  
 SEQ while underbrush=LOC PFV-INV-cause.to.run<sub>2</sub>  
 And he was made to run with it into the underbrush.
13. *oʒorʔ o-ja-ntsé=kə ó-ʃqor=scʰənəʔ*  
 while 3SG:POSS-hand-one.of.a.pair=INS 3SG:POSS-buttocks=and  
*o-zgeʔ=rɐʔ te-nəxpɐvʔ te-xɛɲ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-back=PL PFV:TR-smack.with.palm<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-hit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 All the while, it smacked him soundly on his buttocks and back with the other arm,
14. *ó-ⁿge=scʰənəʔ o-ʃe=rɐʔ pʰóɣfɛt tʰe-lɛt-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-clothes=and 3SG:POSS-flesh=PL pieces PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and tore his clothes and flesh to shreds.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃɛku*  
 SEQ there.in.the.east  
*o-rŋeʔ=z koy-tsom-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-face=LOC PFV:INV-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he was taken away toward the face of the mountain across the gully.
16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ=<sup>n</sup>dɛr ʈʰə te-kɛ-pe reʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ=EMPH what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary=DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he thought, “What should I do?”
17. *nəʔ jɛrmɛ=jənəʔ ɤlorjaʔ sloxpon te-tʂən-cə*  
 ANA about=just.when suddenly PN PFV:TR-think.of<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 At just about that instant, he suddenly thought of Sloxpon the Savior Botissatva,
18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ u: sloxponpɛnmɛbjoŋniʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ EXCL PN PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and called out, “Uh! Sloxpon Botissatva!”
19. *nəjənəʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɛnəʔ*  
 at.that.moment there  
*redaʔ=kə p<sup>h</sup>əʃpɛv<sup>57</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ɛ-o-wɛret-cə*  
 beast=ERG IDPH PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-cast<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 At that instant, with a thump he was dropped down.
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɛ-kə-nɛscerʔ o-sɛfsət=kə ʃla*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.scared<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-appearance=INS suddenly  
*lɛ-nəzyi-cə*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-turn.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 As if frightened, it swiftly turned back,

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<sup>57</sup> From the ideophone *ʃpɛv*, describing the sound of something falling flat on the ground.

21. *nələvləv<sup>258</sup> kə-nəjwət le-je-cə*  
IDPH INF-return PF:UPRIVER-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
and began to go back upriver.
22. *rjespe feku o-rɲeɽ=nəɽ=z tə-vre-cə*  
quite.a.while there.in.the.east 3SG:POSS-slope=DET=LOC PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
After quite a while, it went up the face of the mountain in the east.
23. *q<sup>h</sup>oɽ kəqərɲiɽ=nəɽ q<sup>h</sup>ənəɽ ó-p<sup>h</sup>a tə-<sup>n</sup>goz<sup>n</sup>ge-cə*  
SEQ hunter=DET ANA 3SG:POSS-place PFV-yell<sub>2</sub>-MED  
And the hunter yelled up at it.
24. *jə ʃěto c<sup>h</sup>ərgən te-tsəɽ-cə*  
EXCL that.up.there old.chap PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
“Hey, You old chap up there!”
25. *nəɽ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəɽ redaɽ=kə nɐ-kə-tsiɽ=rɐ ʃsət-kə*  
ANA=EMPH wild.man=ERG PFV-NMLZ-understand<sub>2</sub>=PL be.like-because  
*ʃla nə-smoɽ-cə q<sup>h</sup>oɽ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nq<sup>h</sup>oroɽ-cə*  
immediately PFV-stop<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ PF:DOWNRIVER-turn.head<sub>2</sub>-MED  
At that moment, the beast seemed to understand him and it suddenly stopped and turned its head.
26. *q<sup>h</sup>oɽ kəqərɲiɽ=nəɽ nɐ-nɐscerɽ-cə*  
SEQ hunter=DET PFV-be.startled<sub>2</sub>-MED  
The hunter was startled,

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<sup>58</sup> From the ideophone root *jəv*, describing the manner or motion of something big, heavy, and hairy moving quickly forward.

27. *fla wɛtʃe-aŋ ʃteʔ jɐ kʰétʂo te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 immediately be.at.fault-1SG be:EMPH DM pardon PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and quickly said, “It is my fault! Pardon me!”
28. *redaʔ=nəʔ leʔ ləvəvə<sup>59</sup> tə-vnəre-cə*  
 beast=DET again IDPH PFV:UP-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the beast again swiftly and awkwardly went back uphill.
29. *kəqɐrŋiʔ kɐ-nəʃɐ mə-nəcʰɐʔ-cə*  
 hunter INF-go.back NEG-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the hunter was unable to go back.
30. *o-yrɐrɐʔ=scʰənəʔ jəlpe tɐynɐynɐ=rɐʔ=kə*  
 3SG:POSS-family=and neighbor relative=PL=ERG  
*kəknaχsu ŋi ɲɛtʃʰəfsəʃsət ne-qɐseʔ-nə-cə*  
 two-three day everywhere PFV:TR-look.for<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And his family, neighbors, and relatives looked for him everywhere for two or three days.
31. *qʰoʔ kəmaqʰunəʔ ne-mti-nə-cə*  
 SEQ at.last PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 They found him at last.
32. *ʃənəʔ kɐ-məlmo kɐ-nkɐ mə-nəcʰɐʔ-cə*  
 but INF-move INF-walk NEG-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But he was unable to move or walk.

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<sup>59</sup> An derived ideophone from the root *ləv*, describing something black and heavy.

33. *te-nɛpu<sup>n</sup>di-nə*                      *t<sup>h</sup>e-wôt-nə*  
 PFV:TR-carry.together<sub>2</sub>-3PL      PFV:UPRIVER:TR-bring.back<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*nɛ-re-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 They had to carry him back together.
34. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *nəʔoq<sup>h</sup>u*              *kə-rzɛʔ*                      *mə-nə-mduʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      afterwards              NMLZ:SBJ-be.long              NEG-PFV-last.a.long.time<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə*              *nə-set*              *ʃteʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH              PFV-die<sub>2</sub>              be:EMPH-MED  
 Not long afterwards, he died.

## A BRIGHT-EYED CREATURE

*sɛʔz mer ómja nekəfsəʔ məkənáxtfəycə xpe*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *cʰeʔ=z kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 former.time=LOC one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP  
*gáva.ləytʰɛr=scʰənəʔ ó-la qəmbriʔ.storjiʔ=scʰə=rɐʔ*  
 PN=and 3SG:POSS-mother.in.law PN=and=3PL  
*ˈbətʂʰaŋ<sup>60</sup> lɐ-vre-nə-cə*  
 ranch PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 One day in the past, Lugthar of Gava and his mother-in-law Qambri Storgyi went upriver to the ranch.

2. *qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ storjiʔ=scʰənəʔ ləytʰɛr=niʔ*  
 SEQ night=DET PN=and PN=DU  
*sɛʔ.tərjiʔ ó-kʰe kə-nárme nɐ-vre-ˈdzə-cə*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-home NMLZ:PURP-spend.the.night PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 That night, Storgyi and Lugthar went downhill to spend the night at the home of Targyi of Se.

3. *qʰoʔ sɛʔ.tərjiʔ=kə ˈdzə-ləʔ=nəʔ jəmŋokʰe=z ne-peʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG 3DU:POSS-bed=DET landing=LOC PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Targyi of Se prepared their beds at the ladder landing.

<sup>60</sup> Referring to a communal pasture shared between several villages in the Tshobdun Township.

4. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *mer* *nɐ-r<sup>n</sup>gu?* *dzə-cə=nə?*  
 SEQ night IPFV:TR-sleep<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED=SUB  
*jəmɲok<sup>h</sup>e* *o-n<sup>n</sup>dáco=z* *sɔme* *təʃk<sup>h</sup>i=kəsci*  
 landing 3SG:POSS-westward.place=LOC straw grain.put.out.to.dry=like  
*ó-ta=nə?* *χtʰəvnəχtʰəv<sup>61</sup>* *kə-wɛ?* *kəsci* *nɐ-to-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-top=DET=LOC IDPH NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>=like IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *détsɐ=nə?* *ləyt<sup>h</sup>ɐr=ni?* *dzə-p<sup>h</sup>óge* *kɐ-réski*  
 SEQ in.a.while=TOP PN=DU 3DU:POSS-quilt INF-pull  
*t<sup>h</sup>e-je-cə*  
 PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And it started to gradually pull Lugthar and the other person's quilts downward.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *ləyt<sup>h</sup>ɐr* *o-ko?* *ʃlɐ* *t<sup>h</sup>e-jə?*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-head immediately PFV:TR-raise<sub>2</sub>  
 And Lugthar immediately raised his head.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *dzə-p<sup>h</sup>óge* *ne-naxp<sup>h</sup>et-cə*  
 SEQ 3DU:POSS-quilt PFV:TR-pat<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And slapped on their quilt.

<sup>61</sup> From ideophone root *χtʰəv*, describing a rustling sound.



8. *oʒorʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-mp<sup>h</sup>éʔri=nəʔ ó-mɲa qrjaŋqrjaŋʔ<sup>62</sup>*  
 meanwhile IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB 3SG:POSS-eye IDPH  
*kə-pe=cəʔ le-mp<sup>h</sup>éʔri wɛʝo ne-mti-nəŋo*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF IPFV:UPRIVER-look be.seen PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 At the same time, he looked down and saw something with big and shining eyes looking at them.
9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ detsátsɐ jɐ-fɛʔ-nəŋo*  
 SEQ gradually PFV-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 At it gradually went away.
10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ləyt<sup>h</sup>ɐr=kə storʝiʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ PN=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-place  
*ʃla tə-rɐroʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ ɐt<sup>h</sup>ík<sup>h</sup>o=z*  
 immediately PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub> for there.downriver.from.me=LOC  
*tsə-mt<sup>h</sup>e=z ó-mɲa qrjaŋqrjaŋʔ*  
 3DU:POSS-bottom.side.of.bed 3SG:POSS-eye IDPH  
*kə-pe=cəʔ tsə-p<sup>h</sup>óge ɐz-rɐski ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF 1DU:POSS-quilt CONT:HTR-pull be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *storʝiʔ=kə nɛkənəʔ líli méʃte te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PN=ERG that.near.you cat DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-koʔ=rɛn me-t<sup>h</sup>e-ʝəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-head=even NEG-PFV:TR:DOWNRIVER-raise<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Storgyi (just) said, “That thing there was a cat, wasn’t it,” and didn’t even raise her head (to look) downriver.

<sup>62</sup> An ideophone describing large eyes shining brightly.

12. *qʰoʔ    ləytʰər    leʔ    kə-rⁿguʔ    nɐ-lɔ-cə*  
 SEQ    PN    again    PFV-sleep₂    IPFV:PST-have.no.choice.but₂-MED

And Lugthar had no choice but go back to sleep.

13. *fənəʔ    qʰɐʔ    kə-rjaʔ=nəʔ*  
 but    that    one-night=DET  
*ó-rjev    kdenbe    nɐ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-sleep    at.all    IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED

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

14. *nəʔ    nɐ-fsât    nɐ-tʰoʔ-cə*  
 ANA    IPFV:PST-be.like₂    IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

That was what happened.

## TWO MOST FEARED BEASTS IN OUR LAND

*jəjəreʔ jəsətʃʰez stʰoʔ kəsəsəyver redaʔ ʋnez*

Narrator: Bkrashisdpal

1. *jəjəreʔ jə-sətʃʰe=z redaʔ kə-tóʔ=naŋ ʋ-tə-ké-tsə=nəʔ*  
 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC animal NMLZ:SBJ-exist=inside IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB  
*pʰargot=scʰənəʔ ʃkúru=kəsə kə-səsəyver=nəʔ mɐ ɲoʔ*  
 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. *qɛcʰwerípu tərme sɛeʔ jərme nɐ-to-jə qʰoʔ rjɛltsuʔ*  
 Kakhoris.people man ten about IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-1PL SEQ PN  
*qʃóʔ=naŋ nɐ-nfuyiʔ-jə nɐ-tʃʰoz*  
 ravine=inside IPFV:PST-do.sideline.work<sub>2</sub>-1PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 Once about ten men of us from Kakhoris Village were doing sideline work inside the  
 Ya'erzu Ravine.<sup>63</sup>

3. *qʰoʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ nɐ-rɛmɛʔ-jə*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDEF=DET IPFV:PST-do.labor<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*qʰoʔ tər mókʰe jə-poj jərme qʰoʔ jə-prɛkɛ*  
 SEQ dusk PROS-do<sub>3</sub> about SEQ 1PL:POSS-campsite  
*o-sɐ-to=nəʔ=z nɐ-nəwɛʔ-jə*  
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-exist<sub>2</sub>=DET=LOC PFV:DOWN-come.back<sub>2</sub>-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,

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<sup>63</sup> A village in Khangsar Township.

4. *tʃo<sup>n</sup>bɛjʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>h</sup>ri-aŋ=nəʔ*  
road IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look-1SG=SUB  
*k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ ʧsəmʔ=kə <sup>n</sup>dec<sup>h</sup>op<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>h</sup>ri=z*  
dog three=ERG other.side.of.river=LOC  
*paste ome kə-xtɛʔ=cəʔ*  
solitary.pig very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF  
*le-χta-nə lɐ-wɛʔ-nə*  
PFV:UPRIVER:TR-chase<sub>2</sub>-3PL PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ osto ne-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>h</sup>ri-jə=nəʔ*  
SEQ properly IPFV:WEST-look-1PL=SUB  
*pa t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ma-cə=kə p<sup>h</sup>argot paste t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ŋo-cə*  
pig CONT:LTR-not.be<sub>2</sub>-MED=DM wild.boar solitary.pig CONT:LTR-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
As we taking another good look at it, it was not a solitary pig, but a solitary wild boar.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃkótse nə-nɛst<sup>h</sup>orʔ-aŋ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>argot*  
SEQ stone PFV-grab<sub>2</sub>-1SG SEQ wild.boar  
*lɐ-kə-wɛʔ o-ɣóri=nəʔ=z nə-ɐre-aŋ*  
PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-front=DET=LOC PFV:WEST-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
I grabbed a stone and went to the front of the wild boar that was coming upriver.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ káde=nəʔ p<sup>h</sup>argot ɐ-ŋúri lɐ-wɛʔ*  
SEQ in.a.while=DET wild.boar 1SG:POSS-front PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>  
*o-<sup>n</sup>dʒwɛʔ=rɐʔ kə-rzárzɛ*  
3SG:POSS-tusk=PL NMLZ:SBJ-be.long:REDP  
*o-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ<sup>h</sup>=naŋ nɛ<sup>64</sup>-tʃɛt*  
3SG:POSS-mouth=inside IPFV:OUT-take.out

<sup>64</sup> The west orientation is used to denote ‘outward’.

*q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *é-p<sup>h</sup>a*                      *mɲéq<sup>h</sup>ru=kəsci*    *le-lət*

SEQ    1SG:POSS-place    staring=like    IPFV-put

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

8.    *nəjanə?*                      *ʃkótse*    *ɐ-ʃet*                      *məqe*  
at.that.moment    rock    1SG:POSS-strength    in.full

*p<sup>h</sup>argót=ta*                      *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-wəret-aŋ*

wild.boar=TOP    PFV:DOWNRIVER-throw<sub>2</sub>-1SG

*q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *ó-rpa*                      *tə-xɬəŋ-aŋ*

SEQ    3SG:POSS-shoulder    PFV-hit<sub>2</sub>-1SG

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

9.    *ʃənə?*    *p<sup>h</sup>argót=kə*                      *mɲɐ<sup>n</sup>bər*    *ne-poj*                      *mɐ*  
but    wild.boar=INS    mind    IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>    not.exist

But the wild boar did not mind it at all.

10.    *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *ó-ʃnoz=kə*                      *ɐ-χʃí=ta*                      *zɬəŋ<sup>65</sup>=kəsci*    *te-sətsə?*  
SEQ    3SG:POSS-snout=INS    1SG:POSS-thigh=top    IDPH=like    PFV:TR-cause.to.say<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *lɐ-o-nɐp<sup>h</sup>ɐxtʃuʔ-aŋ*

SEQ    PFV-UPRIVER:INV-sideswipe<sub>2</sub>-1SG

Its snout sideswiped my thigh with a heavy sound.

11.    *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *ɐjiʔ=rcənə?*

SEQ    1SG=TOP:EMPH

*sekotser?*    *kaɲné-lyəm*    *kərq<sup>h</sup>e=cɛ*                      *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-o-wəret-aŋ*

underbrush    several-CL    far.place=LOC:INDF    PFV-DOWNRIVER:INV-throw<sub>2</sub>-1SG

And hurled me downriver into an underbrush several fathoms far.

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<sup>65</sup> An ideophone describing the sound of heavy impact.

12. *qʰoʔ    ɐ-qʰu                      méju    wi            ˈtor    nə-səsi-aŋ*  
 SEQ    1SG:POSS-back    still            come    DM    PFV-think<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 “It will surely be coming after me still,” I thought.

13. *ʃənəʔ    le-nqʰoro-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 but      IPFV:UPRIVER-turn.head-1SG=SUB  
*pʰargot    kʰezéʔ=kə    tʰɐ-o-χta                      ʃteʔ-cə=kə*  
 wild.boar    dog=INS            CONT:LTR-INV-chase<sub>2</sub>    be:EMPH-MED=INS  
*ɐ-qʰu=nəʔ                      mə-tʰɐ-wɛʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-back=DET    NEG-PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>  
 But, as I was turning around to look, the wild boar, being chased by the dogs, did not come after me.

14. *ʃənəʔ    rjéspe                      nə-o-səyverʔ-aŋ*  
 but      quite.a.lot    PFV-INV-frighten<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 But I got scared quite a lot.

15. *qʰoʔ    pʰargot=nəʔ                      léco                      lɐ-ˈbloɣ                      ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ    wild.boar=DET    upriver.place    PFV:UPRIVER-disappear.into<sub>2</sub>    be:EMPH  
 And the wild boar went out of view somewhere upriver.

16. *qʰoʔ    méju    liʔ=z=ce                      tóyto=scʰənəʔ    ˈgonáχpɛ=niʔ*  
 SEQ    futher    upriver.place=LOC=LOC:INDF    PN=and                      PN=DU  
*nɐ-raxʃa-ˈdzə                      nɐ-ŋo*  
 IPFV:PST-cut.plank<sub>2</sub>-3DU    IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And, at a place further upriver, Togto and Ngonaxpa were making fir planks.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ <sup>n</sup>dzə-t<sup>h</sup>éco p<sup>h</sup>argot lə-wéʔ*  
 SEQ again 3DU:POSS-downriver.place wild.boar PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>  
*ne-mti-<sup>n</sup>dzə ʔoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED

And they also saw that the wild boar had come upriver.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tóyto=kə tərpe ne-nəst<sup>h</sup>orʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG ax PFV:TR-grab<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-t<sup>h</sup>éco térk<sup>h</sup>et kə-to<sup>66</sup>=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-downriver.place ridge NMLZ:SBJ-be.located=DET  
*p<sup>h</sup>argot te-kə-nlɔʔ te-nəjiʔ-cə*  
 wild.boar IPFV:UP-NMLZ-come.out PFV:TR-wait<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>argot lə-wéʔ*  
 SEQ wild.boar PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>

And the wild boar came upriver.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ térk<sup>h</sup>et=ta jə-nlɔʔ=jənəʔ*  
 SEQ ridge=top PROS-come.out=just.when  
*tóyto=kə tərpe ne-lét-cəʔ*  
 PN=ERG ax PFV:DOWN:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*ké-xɬəy kə-ʔoʔ mə-nə-c<sup>h</sup>éʔ-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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<sup>66</sup> Second stem of the verb *toʔ*, here meaning ‘be located at a certain place’ rather than ‘exist’.

21. *p<sup>h</sup>argot t<sup>h</sup>əoséfsət ŋoʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*

wild.boar how be for

*fla tə-nəmdərʔ-cə*

immediately PFV:UP-jump<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the wild boar immediately leapt up somehow.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-<sup>n</sup>dʒwéʔ=kə tóyto lə-o-nəp<sup>h</sup>extfuʔ məkáts<sup>h</sup>et*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-tusk=INS PN PFV:UPRIVER-INV-sideswipe<sub>2</sub> not.only

*o-<sup>n</sup>dʒwéʔ=kə o-skesnəm oséfsət te-sə-p<sup>h</sup>aʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-tusk=INS 3SG:POSS-pants directly PFV:TR:UP-CAUS-cut.open<sub>2</sub>-MED

And its tusks not only sideswiped him but directly cut his pants open.

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>argot=nəʔ tʃóq<sup>h</sup>u lə-nə-lə-cə*

SEQ wild.boar=DET upriver.side.of.road PFV:UPRIVER-SPON-exit<sub>2</sub>-MED

*tóyto=nəʔ tər<sup>k</sup>et kə-to tʃó<sup>n</sup>di=nəʔ*

PN=DET ridge NMLZ:SBJ-be.located downriver.side.of.road=DET

*t<sup>h</sup>ə-o-wəret-cə*

PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-throw<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>argot=nəʔ*

SEQ wild.boar=DET

*qʃo tétəm=z lə-<sup>n</sup>bloʏ ŋoʔ-cə*

ravine acclivity=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-disappear.into<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the wild boar disappeared up into the side of the ravine.

25. *nəʔ nə-fsət nə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*

ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

What happened was like that.



26. *kəməq<sup>h</sup>únəʔ* *ⁿge-kə-qərɲiʔ=rəʔ=kə* *ⁿge-ffət-nə=nəʔ*  
 afterwards IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt=PL=ERG IPFV-recount-3PL=SUB  
*p<sup>h</sup>argot* *paste=nəʔ* *χfíkə* *səsəyvər*  
 wild.boar solitary.pig=TOP very be.frightening  
*kə-o-nt<sup>h</sup>e* *t<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ŋoʔ*  
 GP-INV-kill be.the.rule be

Afterwards those who used to hunt tell (us), “Solitary boars are very frightening and kill people.”

27. *ⁿdzəjiʔ* *tóyto=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ* *krəfáχpə=niʔ*  
 2DU Togto=and PN=DU  
*p<sup>h</sup>argot* *paste=nəʔ* *mə-tə-náfsɛ-ⁿdzə-cə*  
 wild.boar solitary.pig=DET NEG-2-know.well-2DU-MED  
*nəʔ* *te-tsəʔ-nə* *nə-t<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 ANA PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 “Togto and Kreshaxpa, you do not know about solitary boars,” they said.

28. *leʔ* *kə-təfə=cɛ*  
 again one-time=LOC:INDF  
*jəjərvəʔ* *qet<sup>h</sup>werípu=rəʔ* *z<sup>n</sup>buʔ* *o-t<sup>h</sup>éco=nəʔ*  
 1PL people.of.Qachweri=PL PN 3SG:POSS-downriver.place=DET  
*nə-rtfo<sup>n</sup>bəj-jə=nəʔ* *k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ=kə* *ʃkúru*  
 IPFV:PST-build.road<sub>2</sub>-1PL=SUB dog=ERG serow  
*te-χda* *téjət* *təciʔvzər* *t<sup>h</sup>e-wôt*  
 PFV:TR-chase<sub>2</sub> down riverside PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring<sub>2</sub>

Once again, when we Qachweri people were building roads at a place downriver from Zbu,

29. *k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ=kə ʃkúru te-χda téjət taciʔvzər*  
 dog=ERG serow PFV:TR-chase<sub>2</sub> down riverside  
*t<sup>h</sup>e-wôt*

PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring<sub>2</sub>

dogs chased a serow,<sup>67</sup> and brought it down to the riverside.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ=rəʔ=kə ʃkúru taciʔ=naŋ te-znənderʔ-nə*  
 SEQ dog=PL=ERG serow water=inside PFV:UP:TR-cause.to.jump<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And the dogs caused the serow to jump up into the water.

31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃkúru=nəʔ taciʔqərŋəmʔ=naŋ*  
 SEQ serow=DET large.river=inside  
*nə-nq<sup>h</sup>eləzyizyi əntsətse*  
 IPFV:PST-turn.round.and.round<sub>2</sub> continuously  
 And the serow kept turning round and round in the large river.

32. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɕjiʔ=kə rkətu nə-nəst<sup>h</sup>orʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ 1SG=ERG stick PFV-snatch<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>əkəzər kə-rjəyʔ nə-ɐre-aŋ*  
 SEQ riverside INF-run PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 I grabbed a stick, and went running to the riverside.

33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>ovaŋ kə-to=nəʔ tə-nəjiʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ boulder NMLZ:SBJ-be.located=DET PFV-wait<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 And waited at where a boulder was.

<sup>67</sup> Definiteness and number need not be specified here.

34. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təcíʔ=kə ʃkúru p<sup>h</sup>ovaŋ o-vzər*  
 SEQ water=INS serow boulder 3SG:POSS-side  
*ne-wôt=jənəʔ rketú=kə*  
 PFV:TOWARD.BANK:TR-bring<sub>2</sub>=just.when rod=INS  
*o-ʃ<sup>n</sup>bəqeʔ=jənəʔ tə-xsaŋ-aŋ*  
 3SG:POSS-side.of.face=exactly PFV-hit<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 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.
35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ təcíʔ=naŋ keč<sup>h</sup>o kə-jwet*  
 SEQ again river=inside toward.center.of.river PFV:CISLOC-return<sub>2</sub>  
 And it again went back toward the center of the river.
36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təcíʔ=kə tējət t<sup>h</sup>v-oŋ-tsom*  
 SEQ water=INS down PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-take.hither<sub>2</sub>  
 And the water carried it downriver.
37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>iʔ=z tə-mv-ké-fev=z tʃ<sup>h</sup>əkeʒər tə-nəlɔ*  
 SEQ place.downriver=LOC GP:POSS-NEG-GP-reach=LOC riverside PFV:UP-exit<sub>2</sub>  
 It came up the bank at a place downriver inaccessible to people.
38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ sekóʔ=naŋ lə-<sup>n</sup>bloy*  
 SEQ again underbrush=inside PFV:UPRIVER-disappear.into<sub>2</sub>  
 And again it disappeared upriver into the underbrush.
39. *nəʔ nɐ-fsət nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz*  
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 That was what happened.

40. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *kəmaq<sup>h</sup>ú?nə*

SEQ afterwards

*kə-qərɣi?* *nə-kə-rɣi=rə?<sup>h</sup>=kə*

*té-tsə-nə=kə*

INF-hunt IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.experienced=PL=ERG IPFV-say-3PL=INS

*ʃkúru* *o-ʋóri* *kə-rjəɣ?* *mə-ɣən* *<sup>n</sup>denə?*

serow 3SG:POSS-front INF-run NEG-be.acceptable for

Afterwards, those who are experienced in hunting say that it is ill-advised to run toward the serow.

41. *oxpérkə* *ʃkúru* *t<sup>h</sup>əkəzər* *ó-me*

for.example serow riverside 3SG:POSS-foot

*kə-sétse* *ə-nə-c<sup>h</sup>ə=nə?*

INF-stick.into IRR-PFV-be.able=SUB

*tétəm* *nəmder* *koy-t<sup>h</sup>u?* *məkáts<sup>h</sup>ət* *koy-wəri?* *ɣo?*

upward jump GP:INV-gore not.only GP:INV-pierce 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<sup>h</sup>o?* *kə-nt<sup>h</sup>e* *ə-né-ɣo=nə?*

SEQ GP-kill IRR-PFV-be=SUB

*ən?* *te-kə-so?* *ma?*

ANA IPFV-GP-do not.be

If one wants to kill it, that is not the way to do it.

43. *təci?* *kə-rná=nəɣ* *ke-ʃə*

water NMLZ:SBJ-be.deep=inside IPFV-go

*q<sup>h</sup>ónə?* *təci?<sup>h</sup>=nəɣ* *ke-kə-námder*

SEQ:EMPH water=inside IPFV:TOWARD.RIVER.CENTER-GP-jump

*ó-q<sup>h</sup>ru* *<sup>n</sup>ge-ké-<sup>n</sup>di*

3SG:POSS-horn IPFV-GP-hold

*qʰoʔ təcíʔ=nəŋ noʔoséʔsət ʰge-kə-səntsʰəvʔ*

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.

44. *qʰoʔ ənʔ te-kə-soʔ=nəʔ səcʰə qʰónəʔ səcʰə reʔ*

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

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

45. *ʃkúru=nəʔ χíʔkə ó-qʰru ɐmtʃə ŋoʔ*

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

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

46. *stonke=nəʔ qənpʰəlvəʔ ʃkúru ó-qʰru*

autumn=SUB oak.leaf serow 3SG:POSS-horn

*ó-ta ʰgé-ɐntər=nəʔ*

3SG:POSS-top IPFV-fall.from.height=SUB

*qənpʰəlvəʔ te-sə-spəʔ ŋoʔ kə-tsə tʰoʔzʔ*

oak.leaf IPFV-CAUS-peirce be GP-say be.the.rule

In the fall when oak leaves fall on a serow's horns, the oak leaves are pierced, it is said.

47. *ʃkúru ó-qʰru ɐmtʃə məkətsʰət*

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

*χíʔkə sətʰuʔ tʰoʔzʔ*

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

The serow not only has sharp-pointed horns, but is also prone to gore people.

48. *ʃkúru=nəʔ*      *redáʔ=naŋ*      *sɛsəyɿvɐ*      *sɛntʃʰe*  
 serow=TOP      wild.beast=inside      be.frightening      do.killing.of.people  
*ké-tsə*      *kə-reʔ=nəʔ*      *nəʔ*      *o-tənʔ*      *ŋoʔ*  
 GP-say      NMLZ-be.necessary=DET      ANA      3SG:POSS-reason      be  
 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

*rgon vlergere?kə kər<sup>n</sup>bjo? nəsrə? təkəretə xpe*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *tərez? losér-q<sup>h</sup>u knesqéti jərmə=nə?*  
last.year New.Year-back twentieth about=DET  
Last year, on about the twentieth day after New Year's Day,
  
2. *<sup>n</sup>bər<sup>k</sup>hem? kwembut<sup>h</sup>aŋ norvu kə-rmi?=cə? =kə*  
PN PN PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF=ERG  
*<sup>n</sup>bər<sup>k</sup>hem?=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə? kwembut<sup>h</sup>aŋ pért<sup>h</sup>ə*  
PN=and PN space.in.between  
*t<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup>e?<sup>h</sup>=kə kər<sup>n</sup>bjo? <sup>n</sup>ge-z-nəz<sup>h</sup>ə? q<sup>h</sup>o? <sup>n</sup>ge-nə<sup>n</sup>gre ŋo?*  
car=INS people IPFV-CAUS-transport<sub>3</sub> SEQ IPFV-do.a.sideline be  
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<sup>h</sup>o? nə? o-sŋi=nə?*  
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-day=DET  
On that day,
  
4. *k<sup>h</sup>aŋsər=z t<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup>e?<sup>h</sup>=naŋ kər<sup>n</sup>bjo? kət<sup>h</sup>oŋ te-rko? məkəts<sup>h</sup>ət*  
PN=LOC car=inside people six PFV:TR-load<sub>2</sub> not.only  
*t<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup>e?<sup>h</sup>ergəm=naŋ fə<sup>n</sup>m<sup>n</sup>běj? ó-mts<sup>h</sup>ot zju<sup>h</sup>zju<sup>h</sup>?<sup>68</sup> te-rko?-cə*  
car.body=inside scrap.iron 3SG:POSS-be.full IDPH PFV:TR-load<sub>2</sub>-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.

<sup>68</sup> An ideophone describing a container being full to the brim.

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>bər<sup>k</sup>h<sup>e</sup>mʔ    nɐ-ɐre                    nɐ-ŋo-cə*  
 SEQ      PN                      PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>    IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he was driving down to Ma'erkang.

6. *fənəʔ    qɐ<sup>n</sup>bəta    o-lɛco=z*  
 but      PN                      3SG:POSS-upriver.place=LOC  
*t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>n</sup>bɛjʔ    te-kə-wɐrɐvʔ=cəʔ                      toʔ=kə*  
 road                      IPFV:UP-NMLZ-be.steep=INDF                      exist=INS  
 But as there was a (section of) steep uphill road somewhere upriver from Qambeta,<sup>69</sup>

7. *t<sup>h</sup>əʔtʂ<sup>h</sup>eʔ    nənəz                    t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-zɣô<sup>t</sup>=nəʔ*  
 car                      there                      PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 and when the car got there (going downriver),

8. *o-fkor                      nɐ-rjiʔ                      ofɛtkə*  
 3SG:POSS-load    IPFV:PST-be.heavy<sub>2</sub>                      so.much  
*o-koʔ                      te-jəʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-head    PFV:TR-heave<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 its load was so heavy that it lifted the head of the car,

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    tʃó<sup>n</sup>dí                      nɐ-<sup>n</sup>bya                      məkáts<sup>h</sup>ɐt*  
 SEQ      river.side.of.road    PFV:DOWN-overturn<sub>2</sub>    not.only  
*qɐrɲəmʔ-χcəl                      kə-zɣô<sup>t</sup>-cə*  
 river-center                      PFV:CISLOC-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 (and the car) not only tumbled over the edge of the road, but it ended up in the center of the river.

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<sup>69</sup> Name of the place where Rgon Monastery is located.



10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ətʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ kəlet norvu=nəʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>əosəʃsət ɣoʔ=<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 SEQ car driver PN=DET how be=DM  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>əkəzər tə-nlɔ nə-c<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ-cə*  
 river.bank PFV:UP-come.out<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Somehow, Norvu the driver managed to make it to the bank of the river.

11. *ʃənəʔ kəmaʔ kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ nə-kə-riʔ=rɐʔ*  
 but other people PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-remain<sub>2</sub>=PL  
*kɐ-nlɔʔ mə-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ-nə-cə məkəts<sup>h</sup>ɛt*  
 INF-come.out NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED not.only  
 But the other people could not come out (of the river) and, furthermore,

12. *kəxtʃipu ɛnez <sup>n</sup>dzə-fwe=nəʔ sqe-sqəʃte jermɐ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 small.child two 3DU:POSS-age=TOP ten-eleven about except  
*mə-jɐ-kɐ-wɛʔ=niʔ*  
 NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>=DU  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ətʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ o-kóʔ=ta tə-nlɔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 car 3SG:POSS-head=top PFV:UP-come.out<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 two small children who were barely ten or eleven years old crawled out onto the top of the car,

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃəm<sup>n</sup>bɛjʔ ɐsɐ-r<sup>n</sup>dər<sup>n</sup>di-<sup>n</sup>dzə ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ scrap.iron CONT:HTR-hold.onto-3DU be-MED  
 and they were holding onto the scrap iron for dear life.

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ norvu=kə ké-tʃɛt=rɐʔ vlɛvlo ne-peʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG NMLZ-take.out=PL various.methods PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*ʃənəʔ ɛdenbe mə-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ-cə*  
 but at.all NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Norvu thought up various ways of getting them out, but nothing worked.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-sɛŋi=nəʔ*

SEQ IPFV-listen=SUB

*o-t<sup>h</sup>ɛco*

*qɛ<sup>n</sup>bəta rgonbe=z*

3SG:POSS-downriver.place PN monastery=LOC

*ɣ<sup>n</sup>bi*

*kə-ɛsɛ-xɛʔ*

*o-zgre*

*ne-fsɛ*

*ŋoʔ-cə*

drum NMLZ-CONT:HTR-beat 3SG:POSS-sound PFV:TR-hear<sub>2</sub> be-MED

Listening, he heard the sound of drums beating inside the monastery downriver at Qambeta.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noŋme=nəʔ*

SEQ only.then=DET

*qɛ<sup>n</sup>bəta*

*t<sup>h</sup>e-kɛ-fɛ*

*vlarge*

*ʃə-ne-kɛ-sqorʔ=nəʔ*

PN

IPFV-GP-go

monk

AND-DOWNRIVER-GP-send.for=DET

*o-sem*

*jɛ-wɛʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-heart PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED

And only then it occurred to him that one should go downriver to Qambeta and call the monks for help.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃla kɛ-rjəʔ qɛ<sup>n</sup>bəta t<sup>h</sup>ɛ-ɛre*

SEQ

quickly

INF-run

PN

PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>

And he quickly ran downriver to Qambeta,

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-tʃəts<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ nɛ-kə-<sup>n</sup>bya=nəʔ*

SEQ

3SG:POSS-car

PFV:DOWN-NMLZ-overt<sub>2</sub>=DET

*vlɛrge=rɛʔ*

*ʃə-ne-səmtsi*

*ŋoʔ-cə*

monk=PL

AND-PFV:TR-tell<sub>2</sub>

be-MED

and he went and told the monks that his car had overturned.

19. *qʰoʔ nəʔorjájɲnə=z vlɛrge ɲnesqe jɛrmɐ nɐ-smo-nə-cə*  
 SEQ then=LOC monk twenty about IPFV:PST-be.present-3PL-MED  
 At that time, there were about twenty monks (there).
20. *qʰoʔ fla tʰəʔtɕʰeʔ nɐ-kə-ˈɲbya kə-toʔ=nəʔ=z*  
 SEQ quickly car IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-overturn<sub>2</sub> NMLZ-exist=DET=LOC  
*kɐ-ɲəʔɲəʔ lɐ-ɐre-nə-cə*  
 INF-run PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And immediately they ran upriver to where the car had overturned.
21. *qʰoʔ fla təciʔ=naŋ kɐ-fɐ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ immediately river=inside INF-go=TOP  
*əntsɛjə kə-noz nɐ-mɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə ˈdenəʔ*  
 that.much NMLZ:SBJ-dare<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED for  
 But none of them really dared go right away into the river,
22. *nəʔ ó-siz=nəʔ nɐ-wɐˈdʒiʔ ofɛtkə*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-morning=DET IPFV:PST-be.cold<sub>2</sub> so  
*qɛɲɲəmʔ=naŋ ɲɛt nəɲəʔɲəʔ<sup>70</sup> tʰe-wôt məkátɕʰɛt*  
 river=inside melting.ice IDPH PFV:TR-bring<sub>2</sub> not.only  
 for not only was it so cold that morning that melting ice flowed slowly downriver,
23. *tʰəʔtɕʰeʔ=nəʔ qɛɲɲəmʔ kə-rná=naŋ=tɕɐʔ kə-zyôt ɲoʔ-cə*  
 car=TOP river NMLZ-be.deep=inside=a.bit PFV:CISLOC-arrive<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 the car had almost gone to the deep(est) part of the river.

<sup>70</sup> An ideophone describing something mushy moving continuously.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʒənəʔ vlərge retəwe t<sup>h</sup>omet=nəʔ*  
 SEQ at.that.moment monk PN=DET  
*o-ʒzən=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ o-ʃent<sup>h</sup>ɛvʔ=rɛʔ ne-te-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-monk's.cloak=and 3SG:POSS-monk's.skirt=PL PFV:TR:DOWN-put<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təcíʔ=nəŋ fla kə-ɐre-cə*  
 SEQ water=insdie immediately PFV:CISLOC-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 At that moment, the monk named Retawe Thomet laid down his cloak and skirt, and went instantly into the water.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʒoq<sup>h</sup>úɲəʔ*  
 SEQ then  
*leʔ vlərge ʃəɐvʔ te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə*  
 again monk PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS  
*t<sup>h</sup>omet o-q<sup>h</sup>u mími kə-ɐre-cə*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-back right PFV:CISLOC-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And then a monk named Sherav also went right into the river after Thomet.

26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təcíʔ <sup>n</sup>dzə-rpa te-kə-zyot jərmenəʔ*  
 SEQ water 3DU:POSS-shoulder IPFV-NMLZ-arrive almost  
*noŋme <sup>n</sup>denəʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ətʂ<sup>h</sup>eʔ o-vzər mə-kə-zyót-<sup>n</sup>dzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 not.until car 3SG:POSS-side NEG-NMLZ-arrive<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ st<sup>h</sup>ɔre=nəʔ*  
 SEQ first=TOP  
*t<sup>h</sup>omet=kə kəxtʃipu təcíʔ=nəŋ jə-kə-ɐntər*  
 PN=ERG small.child river=inside PROS-NMLZ:SBJ-fall.from.height

*jə-kə-qəjpəm?*=*ni?*                      *tʂolnətʂol*<sup>71</sup>                      *ne-nəmɣəkʰi-nə*  
 PROS-NMLZ:SBJ-freeze=DU      IDPH                      PFV:TR-pass.sth.along<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰo?*      *tʰəkəzər*                      *ne-tʃet-nə*                      *ŋo?-cə*  
 SEQ      river.bank                      PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-3PL      be-MED

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. *qʰo?*      *le?*  
 SEQ      again  
*kəxtɛ?*      *kəvdə*      *tʰətʂʰé?*=*naŋ*                      *tʰə-kə-smo=rɐ?*  
 adult      four      car=inside                      CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present<sub>2</sub>=PL  
*kəmdi?*      *nəoséfsət*                      *ne-nəmɣəkʰi-nə*  
 all                      thus                      PFV:TR-pass.along<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰo?*      *tʰəkəzər*                      *ne-tʃet-nə*                      *ŋo?-cə*  
 SEQ      river.bank      PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-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. *ʃənə?*      *zimi?*                      *kə-qəjpəm?*                      *nə-joy-nə=tsɐ?*                      *ŋo?-cə*  
 but      almost      INF-freeze                      PFV-be.finished-3PL=a.bit      be-MED  
 But (the rescued men) were almost completely frozen.

30. *qʰo?*      *tʰəkəzər*                      *tʰə-kə-smo*  
 SEQ      river.bank                      CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present<sub>2</sub>  
*vlɛrge*      *kʰepʰɛ?*=*rɐ?*=*kə*  
 monk                      some=PL=ERG  
*o*<sup>72</sup>-*vzɛvzər*                      *kéju*                      *ʃə-ne-nəŋoro-nə*  
 3SG:POSS-surrounding      firewood                      AND-PFV:TR-search<sub>2</sub>-3PL

<sup>71</sup> An ideophone describing something dangling and moving nimbly about.

<sup>72</sup> Referring to the river, hence singular number.

*smi p<sup>h</sup>omɲe ne-te-nə məkátsh<sup>h</sup>et*  
 big.campfire PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-3PL not.only  
*nə-stotoɲ=rɐʔ ne-tʃet-nə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-znəlɣɐ-nə*  
 3PL:POSS-monk's.jacket=PL PFV:TR-take.off<sub>2</sub>-3PL SEQ PFV:TR-drape<sub>2</sub>-3PL

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ=rɐʔ=kə qɐ<sup>n</sup>bəta=z təcəɲéle ʃə-le-ro-nə*  
 SEQ some=PL=ERG PN=LOC boiled.water AND-PFV:TR:UPRIVER-fetch<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə=rɐʔ ne-ʃi<sup>h</sup>i-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA=PL PFV:TR-give.to.drink<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ détsənəʔ noɲmenəʔ kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dʒɐɣ<sup>n</sup>dʒəɣʔ te-je-nə-nəɲo*  
 SEQ gradually only.then INF-be.normal PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

Only then did they gradually begin to get back to normal.

33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛspe nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ quite.a.while PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB

After quite a while,

34. *k<sup>h</sup>anʃérpu=rɐʔ ne-ʃsɐ-nə-cə*  
 Khangshan.people=PL PFV:TR-hear<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

people in Khangshan Township heard about it.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən kóɲʃe=rɐʔ=kə=nt<sup>h</sup>on ne-ʃsɐ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ Tshobdun township=PL=ERG=also PFV:TR-hear<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And people in Tshobdun Township also heard about it.

36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ páoʒe kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ*  
 SEQ newspaper.agency person  
*rdêʔ nɛ-kə-nɛnkɛʒi=rɛʔ=kə nɛ-o-mti-nə*  
 by.chance IPFV:PST-NMLZ-walk.about<sub>2</sub>=PL=ERG PFV-INV-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And this event was noted by newspaper reporters who happened to be in the area.
37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ nə-mts<sup>h</sup>o-nə-cə*  
 SEQ person PFV-be.full<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And people flocked about the scene.
38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən kónʒe=rɛʔ=kə*  
 SEQ PN township=PL=ERG  
*rgon vlɛrge=rɛʔ ʒíikə nɛ-o-wɛmu-nə*  
 PN monk=PL very IPFV:PST-INV-praise<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And the monks from the Rgon Monastery were highly praised by the Tshobdun Township government, (saying),
39. *nəʒərɛʔ zde kátʃoy nə<sup>73</sup>-srɔʔ tə-tə-ret-nə-cə*  
 2PL others six 3SG:POSS-life PFV-2-save<sub>2</sub>-2PL-MED  
*vlɛrge=cəʔ nɛ-sɛ-ŋo q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ nəʔ te-kɛʔ-fsət reʔ ŋoʔ*  
 monk=INDF IPFV:PST-GP-be<sub>2</sub> SEQ:EMPH ANA IPFV-GP-do.thus be.necessary be  
*jəʒərɛʔ kónʒe=ntʃon jə-ŋosɛ kə-toʔ ne-peʔ ŋoʔ*  
 1PL township=also 1PL:POSS-face NMLZ-exist PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub> be  
*te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-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.

<sup>73</sup> Here the possessive agreement index can also occur in the singular form *o-*.

40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃeʔ sjoʔo ʁne-fkorʔ noy-<sup>n</sup>bi-nə*  
 SEQ tea bamboo.basket two-CL PFV:INV-give<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*məkəts<sup>h</sup>et kormuʔ ʁné-ri noy-<sup>n</sup>bi-nə-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ páoʃe tʃətse=kə*  
 SEQ newspaper.reporter=ERG  
*krɛʃizgaŋ rgonbe vlɛrge=rɛʔ t<sup>h</sup>omet=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ ʃərevʔ=niʔ*  
 PN monastery monk=PL PN=and PN=DU  
*kə<sup>r</sup>ʔbjoʔ o-srɔʔ tə-kə-ret nɛ-kə-rkaŋʔ*  
 person 3SG:POSS-life PFV-NMLZ-save<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.capable<sub>2</sub>  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə nɛ-kə-fsət=nəʔ*  
 what IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*kəmdiʔ kə-ɐtaxtu ts<sup>h</sup>axpér=ta te-tʃet*  
 all NMLZ-be.conscientious newspaper=top PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ nɛ-fsət ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 That was what happened.



## OUR BLACK CAT

*jələləna*

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *cʰeɽ=z*                      *jəɽəɽəʔ*      *jə-kʰɛnaŋ=z*  
 former.time=LOC    1PL                      1PL:POSS-home=LOC  
*lələna*      *ome*      *kə-xtɛʔ=cəʔ*                      *nɐ-nʰgo-jə*  
 black.cat    very      NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF    IPFV:PST-keep<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*nɐ-tʃʰoʔ*  
 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

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

2. *ʰge-xtɛʔ*              *ofɛtkə*      *zimiʔ*      *sqeʔ-tərpe*      *jərmɐ*      *nɐ-to*  
 IPFV-be.big      so              almost      ten-catty      almost      IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>  
 It was so big that it weighed almost ten catties.

3. *qʰoʔ*      *kɐ-qɛrŋiʔ*      *χfikə*      *ʰge-rkaŋ*  
 SEQ      INF-hunt      very      IPFV-be.good.at  
 It was very good at hunting.

4. *qʰoʔ*      *təjtʃakruʔ=cʰo*  
 SEQ      upper.edge.of.field=LOC:INDF  
*tsəʋot=kəsə*      *dudut=kəsə*                      *maʰdenəʔ*      *rewaŋ=kəsə*  
 pheasant=like      turtledove=like                      or                      rabbit=like  
*kəmyɛm*      *kɐ-qɛrŋiʔ*                      *ʰge-cʰɐ*  
 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 məkətsʰət*

ANA not.only

*ftsɔju=ntʰon ʰge-mɿɐ qʰoʔ te-zraxtʃoʰbaʔ*

weasel=also IPFV-catch<sub>3</sub> SEQ IPFV-cause.a.racket

*qʰoʔ ftsɔjuldi=rɐʔ ne-sɐscɛscɐt ʰge-ŋoʔ*

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. *qʰoʔ ʰtsʰet kəloy ʰge-ŋoʔ-jə*

SEQ goat herder IPFV-be-1PL

We are goat-herders.

7. *qʰoʔ rɿɐre=z tsʰetpu ʰge-smo-nə*

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

And goat kids lived in (our) animal pens.

8. *xtu rɿɐre=naŋ tʰe-wi*

wild.cat animal.pen=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come

*qʰoʔ tsʰetpu te-ʰdzɐ ʰge-tʰoʔzʔ*

SEQ kid IPFV-eat<sub>3</sub> IPFV-be.the.rule

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

9. *qʰoʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ ɐjiʔ tʰɔχcəm nə-ɐre-aŋ=nəʔ*

SEQ one-time=LOC:INDEF=DET 1SG deck PFV:WEST-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB

Once, when I went (west) to the deck,<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> A deck or outdoor floor attached to a house, connecting the first and second floors.

10. *v-kúri=z jə-ləɬɐv=kə*  
 1SG:POSS-front=LOC 1PL:POSS-black.cat=ERG  
*líli kə-p<sup>h</sup>yi? xtəvəxtəv=cə*  
 cat NMLZ:SBJ-be.grey IDPH<sup>75</sup>=INDF  
*o-rqe ɐsɐ-<sup>n</sup>di ke-wôt nɐ-mti-aŋ*  
 3SG:POSS-neck CONT:HTR-hold PFV:EAST:TR-bring<sub>2</sub> PFV-see<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 up front, I saw our black cat bring back a grey cat, holding it by the neck.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>o? o-rɛpəmə nɐ-nɛscer?-aŋ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-moment IPFV:PST-be.startled<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 At that moment I was startled.

12. *ko? líli=kə líli kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dze=nə?*  
 this cat=ERG cat INF-eat=SUB  
*t<sup>h</sup>en te-poj mäsokə nə-səsi-aŋ*  
 bad.omen IPFV-do<sub>3</sub> DM PFV-think<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 I thought, “Is this cat showing a bad omen, eating another cat?”

13. *q<sup>h</sup>o? ɛ-mo=p<sup>h</sup>a fə-tə-tsə?-aŋ=nə?*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=place AND-PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB  
 When I went and told this to my mother,

14. *ɛ-mo nə-we? tə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri=nə?*  
 1SG:POSS-mother PFV-come<sub>2</sub> PFV-look<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*nɛkənə? líli=kə líli ne-nt<sup>h</sup>e? kə-ŋo? mɐ-cə*  
 that.near.you cat=ERG cat PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub> NMLZ-be not.exist-MED

<sup>75</sup> A derived ideophone describing a stout and muscular body.

*nəkənəʔ xtʉ ne-ntʃeʔ ɲoʔ-cə té-tsə*  
 that.near.you wild.cat PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub> 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. *qʰoʔ noŋmenəʔ*

SEQ only.then

*jə-lili=kə xtʉ kɐ-ntʃe kə-cʰɐ=nəʔ nɐ-sərtɔ-aŋ*  
 1PL:POSS-cat=ERG wild.cat INF-kill NMLZ-be.able=SUB PFV-realize<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 Only then did I realize that our cat was able to kill wild cats.

16. *qʰoʔ lili=kə xtʉ o-ʃe=rɐʔ ʰdzɐ maʔ-cə*

SEQ cat=ERG wild.cat 3SG:POSS-flesh=PL eat<sub>3</sub> not.be-MED

*ʃənəʔ stûz ʰge-nə-ntʃɐ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 but aimlessly IPFV-SPON-kill<sub>3</sub> be-MED

The cat did not eat the flesh of wild cats, but just killed them aimlessly.

17. *qʰoʔ jə-lili kəmtʃa ʰge-rgot*

SEQ 1PL:POSS-cat a.bit IPFV-be.wild

Our cat was a little bit wild,

18. *qʰoʔ kəmaqʰúnəʔ rjɐre=nəŋ tsʰetpu=rɐʔ kɐ-ʰdze te-je*

SEQ afterwards sheepfold=inside kid=PL INF-eat PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>

and afterwards, it began to eat the kids in the sheepfold.

19. *qʰoʔ kʰetəʃe=rɐʔ*

SEQ occasionally=PL

*ne-ɛʰdu-jə ʃənəʔ=ntʃon me-ʰge-pʰen*

IPFV-beat-1PL but=also NEG-IPFV-be.effective

And occasionally we would beat it, but it was also of no use.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəməq<sup>h</sup>únəʔ kə-pe=cəʔ nə-mɛʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>  
 Afterwards, there was nothing we could do.

21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛ-mo=kə*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=ERG  
*nəkənəʔ líli=nəʔ zgrowe=nanj te-kə-rko*  
 that.near.you cat=DET leather.bag=inside IPFV-GP-put.in  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmaʔ sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=c<sup>h</sup>o ne-kə-nɛtsomtsomʔ*  
 SEQ other place=LOC:INDF IPFV-GP-take.thither  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-kə-lɛt káma ts<sup>h</sup>etpu kə-<sup>n</sup>dze te-je*  
 SEQ IPFV-GP-release otherwise kid INF-eat PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
*nəʔ te-tsəʔ*  
 ANA PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛjiʔ=kə jə-líli=nəʔ zgrowe=nanj tə-rkoʔ-anj*  
 SEQ 1SG=ERG 1PL:POSS-cat=DET leather.bag=inside PFV-put.in<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 And I put our cat into a leather bag,

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛjtsiʔ <sup>n</sup>dəmjəʔ sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ=z*  
 SEQ PN PN place=DET=LOC  
*ʃə-t<sup>h</sup>v-lât-anj nɛ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz*  
 AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-release<sub>2</sub>-1SG IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 and went downriver to the place called Ndemngo in Teutses Village and released it.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *χsəm-pe* *jermə* *nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ three-year around PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*jə-lili* *ləməstampet* *jə-nəzyôʔ*  
 1PL:POSS-cat suddenly PFV-come.back<sub>2</sub>  
 About three years afterwards, our cat suddenly came back.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *təmdána*  
 SEQ in.fact  
*zde* *o-sətʰe* *ʃə-nə-lɔmʔ*  
 other 3SG:POSS-place AND-IPFV:PST-roam<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *lələrgot* *nə-ɣpeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ feral.cat PFV-become<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 What happened was that it had gone away to wander in other places and became a feral cat.

26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *qəc<sup>h</sup>wəriʔ* *k<sup>h</sup>rəwo* *te-ké-tsə=cəʔ*  
 SEQ PN PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF  
*kə-rəftʃoʔ* *kə-spe=cəʔ* *toʔ=kə*  
 INF-castrate.animal NMLZ:SBJ-know.how=INDF exist=INS  
 As there is a man named Khrewo at Kakhyoris Village who castrates animals,

27. *q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ=kə* *jə-lili* *ne-mye-cə* *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ne-ʃtʃoʔ-cə*  
 ANA=ERG 1PL:POSS-cat PFV:TR-catch<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ PFV:TR-castrate<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and he caught our cat and castrated it.

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *noŋmenəʔ*  
 SEQ only.then  
*jəʃərəʔ* *jə-p<sup>h</sup>a* *jə-nə-zyôʔ* *nə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 1PL 1PL:POSS-place PFV-arrive.back<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 And then our cat got back to us.

29. *qʰoʔ nəʃəqʰuqʰónəʔ kʰénan̩ ʰge-smo*  
 SEQ thereafter home IPFV-stay  
 And the cat stayed at (our) home afterwards.
30. *qʰoʔ tsʰetpu=rɐʔ mə-te-ʰdzɐ qʰoʔ mə-te-ncʰərtse*  
 SEQ kid=PL NEG-IPFV-eat<sub>3</sub> SEQ NEG-IPFV-go.into.heat  
 And it did not eat kids, and did not go into heat.
31. *qʰoʔ jə-lili=nəʔ kə-sɐrɐ=cəʔ=nə<sup>76</sup> ʰge-ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-cat=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.amusing=INDF=AFF IPFV-be  
 Our cat is an amusing one,
32. *ʰdenəʔ mer ɐjiʔ ɛ-pʰəm=nan̩ əntsətse*  
 for night 1SG 1SG:POSS-bosom=inside continuously  
*kə-rʰgu tʰe-wi ʰge-ŋoʔ*  
 NMLZ:PURP-go.to.bed IPFV:IN-come IPFV-be  
 for it would come to sleep in my bosom at night.
33. *qʰoʔ mer ɐjiʔ kə-rʰgu=rɐʔ ne-mɐqʰu-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ night 1SG NMLZ:PURP-go.to.bed=PL IPFV-be.late-1SG=SUB  
 And if I delayed going to bed,
34. *skɐvmŋoʔ=z ʰge-ʰbri qʰoʔ ne-vɐvo ʰge-ŋoʔ*  
 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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<sup>76</sup> The clitic =*nə* here conveys an affective meaning.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛlɔʔ=naŋ tɛ-kɐ-fɛ mɐ-kə-tso*  
 SEQ bed=inside IPFV:UP-INF-go NEG-GP-have.time  
*tɔʔ-p<sup>h</sup>əmə=naŋ ʃla t<sup>h</sup>e-wi <sup>n</sup>ge-ŋoʔ*  
 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. *qɛrtsu=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-vde ʃteʔ*  
 winter=TOP IPFV-be.good be:EMPH  
 In winter, (this) was good.

37. *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ ɛ-p<sup>h</sup>əmə=naŋ t<sup>h</sup>e-wi*  
 for 1SG:POSS-bosom=inside IPFV:IN-come  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛjiʔ=kə ɐ-mt<sup>h</sup>ɛp<sup>h</sup>ɔ*  
 SEQ 1SG=ERG 1SG:POSS-foot.side.of.bed.place  
*tɛqɛjsuʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-lɛt-aŋ*  
 kicking IPFV:IN-release-1SG  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛ-me ne-zwɛxset-aŋ <sup>n</sup>ge-ŋoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ=rɛʔ <sup>n</sup>gɛ-fsət*  
 SEQ ANA=PL IPFV-do.thus  
 And (what happened) was like this.



39. *qʰoʔ nəʔ=kəsə*

SEQ ANA=like

*jə-kʰənən* *sqɐpe* *kəri* *jɐrmə* *nɐ-to*

1PL:POSS-home ten.year some about IPFV:PST-live<sub>2</sub>

And for more than about ten years it lived in our home.

40. *qʰoʔ kəmɐqʰunəʔ nɐ-rgɐz ofɛtkə nə-set nɐ-tʰoz*

SEQ afterwards IPFV:PST-be.old<sub>2</sub> so PFV-die<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

Afterwards, it died of old age.

41. *qʰoʔ jəjəɐɐʔ jə-kɛ-tsə=nəʔ*

SEQ IPL 1PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-say=TOP

*lili kənⁿgət-tərpe ʃəta kə-toʔ=nəʔ*

cat nine-catty above NMLZ:SBJ-exist=SUB

*nərvu ŋoʔ kɛ-tsə tʰozʔ*

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. *tʃuʔ=z rəkʰrozʔ kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to*  
 PN=LOC PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>  
 There was a person called Rekroz at Chu Village.

2. *qʰoʔ qɐnorʔ=z ɣzu ne-mjeʔ*  
 SEQ hot.spring=LOC monkey PFV:TR-catch<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ tʃuʔ tʰe-wôt-cə*  
 SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He had caught a monkey at the hot springs and brought it to Chu Village.

3. *qʰoʔ ɐ-je ffaχpe=cə nɐ-to=kə*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-elder.sibling deceased.monk=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>=INS  
*ɐjiʔ kɐ-némɲi o-spe ozorʔ nʰgoʔ-aŋ reʔ te-tsəʔ*  
 1SG INF-observe 3SG:POSS-material meanwhile raise-1SG be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 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=nəʔ məʰdáci=z nɐ-nʰgo-jə*  
 SEQ monkey=DET PN=LOC IPFV:PST-raise<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 So we kept the monkey at Mendeci.

5. *qʰoʔ ɣzu=nəʔ te-rdəɣʔ*  
 SEQ monkey=DET IPFV-be.homesick  
*qʰoʔ tərmókʰe roŋre qʰoʔ qwinəqwi té-tsə*  
 SEQ dusk each SEQ IDPH IPFV-say

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qənor ó-p<sup>h</sup>jɔ le-mp<sup>h</sup>éri nɐ-ŋo*  
 SEQ hot.spring 3SG:POSS-direction IPFV:UPRIVER-look IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And the monkey was homesick, and when it was dusk it would call, “Quy! Quy!”, looking  
 upriver in the direction of the hot spring.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sqe-sɲi jərmɐ nɐ-n<sup>n</sup>gɔ-jə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-ʃləɣ-jə*  
 SEQ ten-day about IPFV:PST-raise<sub>2</sub>-1PL SEQ PFV-let.loose<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ kédenəʔ k<sup>h</sup>ɐ<sup>n</sup>dáco nə-<sup>n</sup>ble*  
 SEQ in.a.while place.west.of.house PFV-go.out.of.view<sub>2</sub>  
 And 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.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ jəjərvəʔ=kə nəʔ ɣzu=nəʔ sekotserʔ=cɛ ʃɐ*  
 SEQ:EMPH 1PL=ERG that monkey=DET underbrush=LOC:INDF go  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃǎ-set ntorjê nɐ-səsi-jə*  
 SEQ go.and-die DM IPFV:PST-think<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we were thinking, “That monkey must be going to the underbrush to die there!”

8. *q<sup>h</sup>ó təmdánə nɐ-smo ó-p<sup>h</sup>jɔ raŋsɐ nə-ɐre*  
 SEQ in.reality IPFV:PST-live 3SG:POSS-direction right.there PFV:WEST-go<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃuʔ nə-zyôʔt-cə*  
 SEQ PN PFV:WEST-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But in truth it went west directly toward the place where it used to live, and got back to  
 Chu.

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃuʔ rək<sup>h</sup>rozʔ=kə leʔ ne-mjeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN PN=ERG again PFV:TR-catch<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kən<sup>n</sup>gə-sqe-sɲi=cəʔ ne-n<sup>n</sup>go-cə*  
 SEQ nine-ten-day=INDF PFV:TR-raise<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And at Chu, Rekoz again caught it, and kept it for nine or ten days.

10. *fənəʔ leʔ ne-fləy-nə-cə*  
 but again PFV:TR-let.loose<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*qʰónəʔ ysʉ kəmɛqʰunəʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH monkey afterwards  
*qənorʔ lɛ-nəzyôʔ ne-mti-nə ɣoʔ-cə*  
 hot.spring PFV:UPRIVER-arrive.back<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-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 tʃʰɐ ɣoʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA why be=TOP  
 How is that?

12. *ɣzu ó-ja táɾɣo=kə nɐ-kə-sɐʃkeʔ-cə*  
 monkey 3SG:POSS-hand parched.grain=ERG PFV-NMLZ-burn<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ kə-χsɐl=cəʔ nɐ-ɣo*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.obvious=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 The monkey's hand was clearly burnt by parched grains.

13. *qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tánʔ=kə ɣzu qənor*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS monkey hot.spring  
*lɛ-kə-zyôʔ=nəʔ nɐ-χsɐlʔ nɐ-tʃʰoʔ*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ-arrive<sub>2</sub>=DET IPFV:PST-be.obvious<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 For that reason, it was clear that the monkey had returned upriver to the hot spring.

14. *qʰoʔ ɣzu=nəʔ ántsɛjə tʰɐ-ʃqra<sup>77</sup> ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ monkey=DET that.much CONT:LTR-be.clever<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the monkey is so smart!

<sup>77</sup> Continuous aspect is used here to make a vivid description of the smartness of the monkey.

15.    *nəʔ*        *nɛ-fsə́t*                    *nɛ-tʃʰoʔ*  
       ANA      IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub>    IPFV:PST-be.the rule<sub>2</sub>  
       That was what happened.

## HOW I KILLED TIBETAN EARED PHEASANTS WITH NOOSES

*təmkeri?kə qərme nəksəntʰe? oxpe*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *cʰeʔ=z*                      *jəjəreʔ*    *jə-sətʰe=z*                      *qərme*  
 former.time=LOC    3PL                      3PL:POSS-place=LOC    Tibetan.eared.pheasant  
*kə-ntʰe=nəʔ*  
 GP-kill=TOP

Regarding how we kill Tibetan eared pheasants at our place,

2. *təfsəri*                      *maʰdenəʔ*    *fəmskət=kə*                      *təmkeri?kə*  
 hempan.thread    or                      wire=INS                      noose=INS  
*kə-sə-ntʰe*                      *ⁿgə-kʰut*                      *tʰozʔ*  
 GP-CAUS-kill    IPFV-be.feasible    be.the.rule  
 we can kill them with nooses made of hempan threads or wires.

3. *maʰdenəʔ*    *təməriʔ*                      *te-kə-teʔ*  
 or                      leg.snare                      UP-GP-put  
*qʰoʔ*    *kə-sə-ntʰe*                      *ⁿgə-kʰut*                      *tʰozʔ*  
 SEQ    GP-CAUS-kill    IPFV-be.feasible    be.the.rule  
 Or, it is possible to set leg-snares and kill them with those.

4. *əjiʔ*                      *ⁿge-xtʰi-aŋ*                      *ⁿge-rəvzjaŋ-aŋ*    *orjaŋʔ*    *jərmə=nəʔ=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. *jə-k<sup>h</sup>elɛco=z*  
 1PL:POSS-back.of.house=LOC  
*qərme qərtsu=nəʔ=z ʰge-wɛ-nə ʰge-tʃoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tərmók<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ qərme=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ dusk=DET eared.pheasant=PL  
*qfóʔ=nəŋ le-náʃv-nə*  
 gully=inside IPFV:UPRIVER-go.back-3PL  
 Then, at dusk, the eared pheasants would go back into the gully.
7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ zdónbo kə-xteʔ=cəʔ ʰge-toʔ=kə*  
 SEQ tree NMLZ-be.big=INDF IPFV-exist=INS  
*nəʔ-ó-ta ʃə-te-nárme-nə ʰge-ŋoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-pe kə-təʃe qərtsu kéju kɐ-nəzkeʔ 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-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 one-day=LOC:INDF=DET  
*v-yrɐrɐʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ kətáyre=z kéju nɐ-nəzkeʔ-jə=nəʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-family=and together=LOC firewood IPFV:PST-transport<sub>2</sub>-1PL=SUB  
 one day when my family and I were transporting firewood,

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sas<sup>u</sup>q<sup>h</sup>u nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ afternoon PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*leʔ jə-k<sup>h</sup>eléco rerəvʔ fsjuʃsjuʔ<sup>78</sup> ó-ber=nəʔ=z*  
 again 1PL:POSS-area.behind.house mountain IDPH 3SG:POSS-face=DET=LOC  
*'ts<sup>h</sup>et kə-yrəmʔ oséʃsət=kə nə-weʔ-nə nə-mti-jə*  
 goat NMLZ:SBJ-be.white like=INS PFV:DOWN-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL PFV-see<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 in the afternoon, on the greyish mountain face behind our house, we saw them coming  
 down again, white as goats.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ kéju kə-nəzbeʔ v-kjət mə-tə-weʔ*  
 SEQ still firewood INF-transport 1SG:POSS-heart NEG-PFV:UP-come<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>énanə lə-ənəre-an*  
 SEQ home PFV:UPRIVER-go.back<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃəmskət kə-jts<sup>h</sup>em=kə tɛmkəriʔ mts<sup>h</sup>ôt nə-poʔ-an*  
 SEQ wire NMLZ:SBJ-be.thin=INS noose be.many PFV-do<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 Not wanting to stock up on firewood anymore, I went back home and made many nooses  
 with thin wire.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qərme=rəʔ ʃəχtenəʔ ɛjiʔ lə-məko-an*  
 SEQ eared.pheasant=PL than 1SG PFV:UPRIVER-go.ahead.of<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*ʃə-tə-pjolʔ-an-nə*  
 AND-PFV:UP-make.detour<sub>2</sub>-1SG-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qfomt<sup>u</sup> lə-ere-an*  
 SEQ narrowest.part.in.gully PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛmkəriʔ mts<sup>h</sup>ôt tə-te-an*  
 SEQ noose many PFV-lay<sub>2</sub>-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.

<sup>78</sup> A derived ideophone describing being grey and dusty.



13. *ɛjiʔ o-lɛco sekóq<sup>hu</sup>=nəʔ=z nə-nəɣjɛdzuʔ-aŋ*  
 1SG 3SG:POSS-place.upriver back.of.tree=DET=LOC PFV-hide<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ nə-nɛjiʔ-aŋ-nə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-wait.for<sub>2</sub>-1SG-3PL

I hid myself behind a tree somewhere upriver (from where the snares are) and waited for them.

14. *q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ tərmóq<sup>he</sup> kɛ-qénu jə-jɛʔ jɛrmɛ*  
 SEQ dusk INF-get.dark PROS-begin<sub>3</sub> about  
*qɛrme=rɛʔ tɛr<sup>n</sup>go tə-te-aŋ*  
 eared.pheasant=PL snare PFV-lay<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*kə-toʔ=nəʔ=z lɛ-wɛʔ-nə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=SUB=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL

Then, at dusk, just when it was going to get dark, the eared pheasants came upriver to where I layed the snares.

15. *q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ rɛmgo st<sup>h</sup>oʔ le-kə-méko=nəʔ*  
 SEQ leader most IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-go.ahead.of=DET  
*tɛr<sup>n</sup>gó=nəŋ o-mkɛ nə-ɛrɛ*  
 snare=inside 3SG:POSS-neck PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>

Then the leader pheasant, the one that went ahead of all the others, got its neck caught in a snare.

16. *q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ fla tə-wɛlp<sup>h</sup>ɛvəlp<sup>h</sup>ɛvʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 SEQ quickly PFV-flap.wing<sub>2</sub>=SUB

And right away, as it flapped its wings madly,

17. *ozgéq<sup>hu</sup> le? le-kə-wi qərme*  
 3SG:POSS-back again IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come eared pheasant  
*ɲne=ni? tə-nəmder?-<sup>n</sup>dzə q<sup>ho</sup>? tər<sup>n</sup>go*  
 two=DU PFV:UP-jump<sub>2</sub>-3DU SEQ snare  
*nɐ-kə-ɐre ó-ta=nə? lɐ-ljet-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-top=DET PFV:UPRIVER-go.beyond<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
*q<sup>ho</sup>? nə?-oléco lɐ-ɐre-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 SEQ ANA-3SG:POSS-place.upriver PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-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. *ʃənə? méjo tər<sup>n</sup>go nɐ-to ʃte?-kə*  
 but still snare IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH=INS  
*le? tər<sup>n</sup>gó=nəŋ ʃla lɐ-ɐre-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 SEQ snare=inside immediately PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
*q<sup>ho</sup>? kɐ-wɐlp<sup>h</sup>ɛvəl<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ɛv te-je-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 SEQ INF-flap.wings PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 But as there were other snares there, they were immediately caught in the snares also and  
 started to flap their wings.

19. *q<sup>ho</sup>? nəjɐrmɐ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə?*  
 SEQ about.that.time=SUB  
*kəma? qərme nə-kə-ri?-rɐ?*  
 other eared.pheasant PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-remain<sub>2</sub>=PL  
*kəɲnesqe jɐrmɐ nɐ-to-nə=kə*  
 twenty about IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-3PL=INS  
 About that time, as there were about twenty other eared pheasants that remained,

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-np<sup>h</sup>a-nə*  
 SEQ PFV-startle.and.flee<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-vzər q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtétʔ=nan*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side gully NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=inside  
*téjət t<sup>h</sup>v-qelbjəm-nə*  
 down PFV:DOWNRIVER-fly<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 they became startled and fled, and flew downriver into a large gully at the side.
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛjiʔ sekóq<sup>h</sup>u=z fla t<sup>h</sup>v-nlɔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ 1SG back.of.tree=LOC quickly PFV:OUT-exit<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qərme tɛmkəriʔ nɛ-kə-vré=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ eared.pheasant noose PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub>=place  
*nɛ-vre-aŋ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tər<sup>h</sup>gó=nan qərme*  
 PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG SEQ snare=inside eared.pheasant  
*nɛ-kə-vre x̣səmʔ=rɛʔ kəsasoʔ=kəsə nə-tfətʔ-aŋ*  
 PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub> three=PL alive=like PFV-take.out<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-qénu te-je*  
 SEQ INF-get.dark PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 It had gotten dark.
23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-jiʔ jɛste q<sup>h</sup>óʔ=nan kámt<sup>h</sup>a sɛvɛr fteʔ*  
 SEQ GP:POSS-self alone gully=inside a.bit be.frightful be:EMPH  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>énan kɛ-rjəʔ nɛ-nətsom-aŋ*  
 SEQ home INF-run PFV:DOWN-take.back<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 And it was a little frightening being alone by oneself inside the gully, so I took them back home running.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>énaŋ nɐ-zɣôʔ-aŋ=nəʔ*

SEQ home PFV:DOWN-arrive<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB

*é-mo=kə qərme nɐ-ntʃeʔ-aŋ=rɐʔ=nəʔ ne-mti=nəʔ*

1SG:POSS-mother=ERG eared.pheasant PFV-kill<sub>2</sub>-1SG=PL=DET PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>=SUB

*ɐ-mk<sup>h</sup>rəmʃet ʃʃikə ne-peʔ*

1SG:POSS-scolding very PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>

When I got back home and my mother saw the pheasants that I had killed, she gave me a severe scolding.

25. *tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɐ ʃənəʔ*

why TOP

Why was that?

26. *jəjəɐʔ jə-sɐʃtʃe jə-rgɐrgon=rɐʔ=kə*

1PL 1PL:POSS-place 1PL:POSS-old.people=PL=ERG

*pyɐpyɐ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ qɐjwɛʔ kɐ-ntʃe ɣɲispe ne-kɐ-pe=nəʔ*

bird=and fish INF-kill sin IPFV-GP-do=SUB

*ʃʃikə q<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nə tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɐ-jɛ=rɐʔ=kə*

SEQ 1SG:POSS-elder.sibling=PL=ERG

*ʃɛ kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dʒɛ <sup>n</sup>ge-rge-nə ʃteʔ=kə*

meat INF-eat IPFV-like-3PL be:EMPH=INS

*nóta q<sup>h</sup>oʔ toʒaʔ kəɾ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ ʃteʔ-nə=kə*

besides SEQ modern person be:EMPH-3PL=INS

*kə-nəmqeʔ    ʃóχtenəʔ    χíikə    nə-χe-nə*  
 INF-scold    instead.of    very    PFV-be.glad<sub>2-3PL</sub>

As my elder siblings loved to eat meat and they were moreover modern-day people, so instead of scolding me they were very glad.

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    mer=nəʔ    qərməfe    kə-tút<sup>h</sup>u    tə-nə-sqəʔ-nə*  
 SEQ    night=DET    eared.pheasant.meat    one-wok    PFV-SPON-boil<sub>2-1PL</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    vjaχtsəyʔ    tə-nə-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-jə*  
 SEQ    in.a.full-bellied.state    PFV-SPON-eat<sub>2-1PL</sub>

And at night, we boiled a whole pot of pheasant meat and ate to our hearts content.

29. *nəʔ    nə-fsə́t    nə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 ANA    IPFV:PST-be.like    IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

What happened was like that.

# RETAWE 'JAMDBYANGS KILLED A LEOPARD<sup>79</sup>

*retawε "dzajajkə kəxsε nekəntʰeʔ χpe*

**Narrator: Bkrashisdpal**

1. *cʰeʔ=z kəxsε nε-kə-ntʰeʔ "dzə-ffjffjēt=cəʔ "ge-pɔ-aŋ=kə*  
 former.time=LOC leopard PFV-NMLZ-kill<sub>2</sub> 2DU-story=INDF IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>-1SG=DM  
 Let me recount for you two a story about killing a leopard in the past.

2. *jəjərvəʔ jə-kʰe məndəci o-pʰəri=z*  
 1PL 1PL:POSS-house PN 3SG:POSS-opposite.side.of.river=LOC  
*'tsʰet "gé-loy-aŋ*  
 goat IPFV-herd-1SG  
 I used to herd goats across the river from our house Mendeci.<sup>80</sup>

3. *qʰoscʰənəʔ qərtsu=cε=nəʔ 'tsʰet kə-təʃe nε-nəwεʔ-nə*  
 SEQ winter=LOC:INDF=DET goat one-time PFV:DOWN-come.back<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 In a certain winter, once the goats were coming downhill back home,

4. *qʰoʔ 'tsʰet kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ tétəm te-kə-ʃε=cəʔ nəŋɔɔŋɔʔ<sup>81</sup> toʔ*  
 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,

<sup>79</sup> This story was recounted to me and my consultant Bstanblo by Kreshahpal (*krəʃáχpəl*), an elder brother of Bstanblo's and eyewitness to the reported event.

<sup>80</sup> 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.

<sup>81</sup> An ideophone denoting the way one walks with the head bobbing up and down.

5. *nəʔ tétəm te-kə-fə=nəʔ tʰə=cəʔ ɣoʔ=kə*  
 that downhill IPFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go=DET what=INDF be=DM  
*nə-səsi-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 PFV-think<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB  
 as I thought, “What is with that (goat) which is going uphill?”

6. *təmdánə káxsɛ=kə ne-ntʰeʔ*  
 in.fact leopard=ERG PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ o-rqe ke<sup>82</sup>-ndi*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-neck PFV:CISLOC:TR-hold<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ tétəm te-tsom nə-ŋo-cə*  
 SEQ uphill PFV:UP:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Actually, a leopard had killed it and was dragging it uphill by the neck.

7. *qʰoʔ ke<sup>83</sup>-mpʰɛri-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:EAST-look-1SG=SUB  
*káxsɛ spaŋɔʔ-mdɔʔ fteʔ-cə qʰoʔ ometsɛji mə-χsəl-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=rəʔ nə-nəwɛʔ-nə*  
 SEQ goat other=PL PFV:DOWN-come.back<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*káxsɛ=kə nəʔ kə-rdɔʔ tétəm te-tsom*  
 leopard=ERG DET one-CL uphill PFV:TR:UP-take.thither<sub>2</sub>  
 And the other goats were coming back downhill, and the leopard took that one  
 (goat) uphill.

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<sup>82</sup> The eastward orientation is here used in its cislocative sense, referring to the leopard’s teeth locking around the goat’s neck.

<sup>83</sup> At that time in the story, the narrator was looking eastward at the hillside across the river.

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-rɛ̃ɲəm=z ɐ-vɐʔ <sup>n</sup>dʒaɲ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-moment=LOC 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN  
*kɐ-qɐrɲiʔ ʃʃikə kə-rkaɲ*  
 INF-hunt very NMLZ:SBJ-be.good.at  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nənəʔ ɐ-ɬɛʔ rtenlo=kə ʃə-lɐ-səɣʃɔt-jə*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tomde ʃla mɐ-cə*  
 SEQ gun right.away not.exist-MED  
 There was no gun to be found right away.
11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>i o-jəlpe*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-underside 3SG:POSS-neighbor  
*ɐ-vɐʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>opoʔ te-kɛ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃɛku kónʃe=z tomde ne-wôt tə-ɛnkətətoɣ*  
 SEQ there.in.the.east commune<sup>84</sup>=LOC gun PFV:TR:WEST-bring<sub>2</sub> PFV-happen<sub>2</sub>  
 It so happened that he had brought a gun from the commune government to the east.
13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mdɐ nɐ-mɛʔ*  
 SEQ bullet IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>  
 But there were no bullets.

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<sup>84</sup> This refers to the commune government located at Te'utses Village.



14. *qʰoʔ tʃʰorjɐn te-kɛ-tsə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN IPFV-GP-say=DET  
*téwe kónjtso ʰge-poj nɐ-ŋo*  
 PN government.work IPFV-do<sub>3</sub> IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And the man named Chorjan, he was working for the government at Tawe,

15. *qʰoʔ nəʔ tʰɐ-nəwɛʔ*  
 SEQ ANA PFV:DOWNRIVER-come.back<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ ó-ɤɐr mdɐ mɲo-ʰbɣɛʔ 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 ʰdʒajaŋ ó-pʰa nəʔ ne-kʰi-cə*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-place ANA PFV:TR-hand<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he gave those (bullets) to 'Jamdbyangs.

17. *qʰoʔ ɐ-vɐʔ ʰdʒajaŋ=kə*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle<sup>85</sup> PN=ERG  
*toʰdzəvtʰɐr tsʰaŋkɛʃi o-jəlpe=rɐʔ te-rɐzde-cə*  
 PN PN 3SG:POSS-neighbor=PL PFV:TR-ask.to.go.together<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ tʰɐ-wɛʔ-nə*  
 SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And my uncle 'Jamdbyangs summoned Tondrevthar and Tangkashi and other neighbors of his, and they all went downriver.

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<sup>85</sup> A term of respect for male people senior to oneself. 'Jamdbyangs was actually the narrator's elder sister's father-in-law.

18. *qʰoʔ kəxsɛ=kə*  
 SEQ leopard=ERG  
*ʃɛto tʰɛvəɲɲʔ=pʰi ʼtsʰet te-tsom ɲoʔ*  
 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 ó-ta ʃənəʔ tə-kə-nlɔ mə ʰdenəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-top yet PFV:UP-NMLZ-come.out<sub>2</sub> not.exist for  
*sɛɪʰe nɛ-vɛɭje nɛ-sɛmti ʃteʔ=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 ɐ-vɛʔ ʰdʒaɲɲ=kə kəxsɛ ʃə-te-fcɔ*  
 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 ʰge-mpʰɛri=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:DOWN-look=SUB  
*kʰəxsɛ tʰɛ-nkʰəmdzjət*  
 leopard CONT:LTR-sit.on.haunches<sub>2</sub>  
*ʰdecʰo pʰɛri kərʰbjoʔ=rɛʔ nə-pʰa*  
 westward that.side.of.river person=PL 3PL:POSS-place  
*né-ro wɛjo*  
 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<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>v-kə-nk<sup>h</sup>əmdzjət* *ó-ta=nəʔ*  
 SEQ CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-sit.on.haunches<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-top=TOP  
*tomde kə-rdɔʔ ne-lêʔt=nəʔ*  
 gun one-CL PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 And, when he fired a shot at the one that sat on its haunches,
23. *kətsáχpu káxsɛ t<sup>h</sup>ɛvəmʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>i nə-nlɔ*  
 in.a.short.while leopard wild.cherry 3SG:POSS-underside PFV-come.out<sub>2</sub>  
 in a short while, the leopard emerged from under the wild cherry tree.
24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɛvəmʔ o-<sup>n</sup>dáco=z*  
 SEQ wild.cherry.tree 3SG:POSS-westward.place=LOC  
*qɛsɲa=cəʔ toʔ=kə*  
 landslide-marred.patch=INDF exist=INS  
 There was a barren landslide-marred patch to the west of the wild cherry tree.
25. *nəʔ ó-ɁɁɁ nɁ-ɁɁɁ=jənəʔ*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-surface PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>=just.when  
*leʔ tomde kə-rdɔʔ ne-lêʔt=nəʔ te-xsəy-cə=kə*  
 again gun one-CL PFV:TR-fire<sub>2</sub>=SUB PFV:TR-hit<sub>2</sub>-MED=INS  
 And just when (the leopard) went down over (the landslide-marred patch), he fired another shot and hit it.
26. *téjət nɁ-nəmdɛrʔ rcánə*  
 downward PFV:DOWN-jump<sub>2</sub> EMPH  
*poq<sup>h</sup>e=cəʔ nɁ-to=rcánə*  
 tree.stump=INDF IPFV:PST-to<sub>2</sub>=EMPH  
*ó-ɁɁɁ ke-rtərtovʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ poq<sup>h</sup>e kɛ-nántsi te-je*  
 3SG:POSS-surface PFV:CISLOC:TR-wind SEQ stump INF-gnaw PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-jmɐ=rɐʔ loŋloŋ<sup>86</sup> ne-sátsə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tail=PL IDPH IPFV-cause<sub>2</sub>

And it leapt downward and wound itself around a tree stump, and began to gnaw it, and made its tail thick and puffy.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ poq<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-kə-nənts<sup>h</sup>iʔ ó-ta=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA tree.stump CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-gnaw<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-top=DET  
*leʔ tomde kə-rɔʔ te-lêʔ*  
 again gun one-CL PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>

And he fired another shot at the one that was gnawing the tree stump.

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sekóʔ=nəŋ nɐ-<sup>n</sup>dʒevʔ*  
 SEQ underbrush=inside PFV:DOWN-roll<sub>2</sub>  
 And (the leopard) rolled downward into the underbrush.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə mdɐ vde-<sup>n</sup>byɛʔ te-lêʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH bullet four-CL PFV:TR-fire<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 So, four rounds he had already fired.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-<sup>n</sup>byɛʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ nə-kə-riʔ mɐ-cə*  
 SEQ one-CL except PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-remain<sub>2</sub> not.exist-MED  
 And no more than one round was left.

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<sup>86</sup> A derived ideophone describing something thick and puffy. This is owing to the hairs of the leopard's tail standing on end.

31. *nəjanə? le? káxsɛ kə-rdɔ? nə-nlɔ*  
 right.then again leopard one-CL PFV-come.out<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>o? q<sup>h</sup>ənə? o-lɣa? ɣo?-cə nə-maq<sup>h</sup>u?-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-child be-MED PFV-be.latter<sub>2</sub>-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. *le? nə? ó-ta tomde kə-rdɔ? ne-lêʔ*  
 again ANA 3SG:POSS-top gun one-CL PFV:TR-shoot<sub>2</sub>  
 And he fired another shot at it.

33. *ʃənə? te-xsəɣ so? me-te-xsəɣ=nə? ántsɛjə mə-na-χsel?*  
 but PFV:TR-hit<sub>2</sub> Q NEG-PFV:TR-hit<sub>2</sub>=SUB that.much NEG-IPFV:PST-be.clear<sub>2</sub>  
 But it was not that clear whether he hit it or not.

34. *q<sup>h</sup>o? <sup>n</sup>dec<sup>h</sup>o=cɛ nə-nə<sup>87</sup>-<sup>n</sup>bloy ʃte?*  
 SEQ westward.place=LOC:INDF PFV-SPON-go.out.of.view<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH  
 And it went out of view (to our dismay) somewhere to the west.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>o? mdɛ? nə-ts<sup>h</sup>er?*  
 SEQ bullet PFV-be.used.up<sub>2</sub>  
 And the bullets were used up.

36. *q<sup>h</sup>o? kə-məko te-səsmêʔ káxsɛ=nə?*  
 SEQ NMLZ-be.first PFV:TR-wound<sub>2</sub> leopard=DET  
*ʃɛki o-rɣe? seko? kə-rtsəv?-cə? to?-kə*  
 up.there 3SG:POSS-rock.face underbrush NMLZ:SBJ-be.thick=INDF exist=INS

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<sup>87</sup> The emotive, spontaneous marker *nə-* here conveys the “willful” disappearance of the wounded leopard causing dismay to the narrator and the other onlookers.

*nəʔ o-tserʔ lə-ɐre*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-interstice PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>

And the leopard that he had previously wounded went into a dense underbrush at a rock face below (where it was hit).

37. *qʰónə jəjəreʔ tərme=rəʔ tə-ɐre*  
 SEQ 1PL man=PL PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>

And we men went uphill.

38. *qʰoʔ ɐjiʔ tərpe=cəʔ tə-<sup>n</sup>di-aŋ*  
 SEQ 1SG ax=INDF PFV-take<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*lə-rjəy-aŋ lə-ɐre-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-run<sub>2</sub>-1SG PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB

And as I took up an ax, and went running upriver,

39. *ɐ-vəʔ <sup>n</sup>dʒajaŋ=kə*  
 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN=ERG  
*mə-lə-tə-fə <sup>n</sup>denəʔ kəxse sə<sup>n</sup>dze ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ*  
 NEG-IMP:UPRIVER-2-go or leopard bite.people be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be  
 my uncle 'Jamdbyangs said, "Don't go upriver because the leopard will bite people!"

40. *qʰoʔ ɐjiʔ=kə kəxse kə-sə<sup>n</sup>dze=rəʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG=ERG leopard NMLZ-bite.people=PL  
*ŋember nə-kə-teʔ mə=kə*  
 care PFV-NMLZ-put<sub>2</sub> not.exist=INS  
*ʃənəʔ ne-səsiʔ-aŋ=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>də wə<sup>n</sup>giʔ-cə*  
 but IPFV-think-1SG=SUB EXCL be.right-MED

I had not been aware of the fact that the leopard would bite. But then I thought, "Yeah, he is right!"

41. *qʰoʔ kəmtʰa lə-ɐre-aŋ*  
 SEQ a.bit PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*ʃənəʔ ʃla tʰɐ-jwet-aŋ ʃteʔ*  
 but immediateley PFV:UPRIVER-turn.back<sub>2</sub>-1SG be:EMPH  
 So I went upriver a little bit, and quickly turned back downriver.
42. *qʰoʔ ɐ-vɐʔ ˈdʒaʒaŋ=kə*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN=ERG  
*kəxsɛ tʰɛ-smo-cə té-tsə*  
 leopard CONT:LTR:Q-be.present<sub>2</sub>-MED IPFV-say  
 And my uncle 'Jamdbyangs was saying, "Is the leopard there?"
43. *qʰoʔ ɐjiʔ=kə kɐ-mtiʔ məŋɐ*  
 SEQ 1SG=ERG NMLZ:SBJ:U-see be.seen:NEG  
*ʃənəʔ ɐlikʰo=z rgéli=kəsci wɛjo tə-tsiʔ-aŋ*  
 but 1SG:POSS-upriver.place=LOC cow.calf=like be.seen PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 And I said, "It is gone, but I see something like a cow calf somewhere upriver."
44. *qʰoʔ leʔ kətaʔ le-mpʰɛri-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ again truly IPFV:UPRIVER-look-1SG=SUB  
*rgéli maʔ-cə kəxsɛ ŋoʔ-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 kəxsɛ=ntʰon téjət tʰe-mpʰɛri*  
 SEQ leopard=also downriver IPFV:UPRIVER-look  
 And the leopard was also looking downriver.

46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmaʔ v-zde=rəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ other 3SG:POSS-companion=PL=ERG  
*mə-lə-tə-fə<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup>denəʔ tə-oy-<sup>n</sup>dze ŋoʔ té-tsə-nə*  
 NEG-IMP:UPRIVER-2-go or 2-INV-eat be IPFV-say-3PL  
 And my other companions were saying, “Don’t go upriver, or it will bite you!”
47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mə-lə-vre-aŋ*  
 SEQ NEG-PFV-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 And I did not go upriver.
48. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ v-je=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ to<sup>n</sup>dʒət<sup>h</sup>ər=niʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-elder.brother=and PN=DU  
*káxsɛ o-kóta tə-vre-<sup>n</sup>dʒə*  
 leopard 3SG:POSS-place.above PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 And my elder brother and Tondrethar went uphill above where the leopard was,
49. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ káxsɛ=ta téram ne-tfəv-<sup>n</sup>dʒə*  
 SEQ leopard=top falling.rock PFV:DOWN:TR-roll<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 and rolled down falling rocks at the leopard,
50. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ káxsɛ sekóʔ=p<sup>h</sup>i nəʔoséfsət t<sup>h</sup>e-tfət-<sup>n</sup>dʒə*  
 SEQ leopard underbrush=under thus PFV:UPRIVER:TR-expel<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 and in this way drove the leopard downriver from under the underbrush.
51. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-nərdolɔ-jə*  
 SEQ PFV:DOWN-bombard.with.stones<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ fɔkótse=kə nə-sə-nt<sup>h</sup>eʔ-jə*  
 SEQ stone=INS PFV-CAUS-kill<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we all threw down stones, and killed it with the stones.



52. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ laχpaŋʔ<sup>88</sup> káxse vərəvʔ=cəʔ ʃteʔ ʃsāt káma*  
 SEQ EXCL leopard hero=INDF be:EMPH be.like moreover  
*o-sɣorʔ jə-<sup>n</sup>bɾet=ntʃon=rcənaʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-breath PROS-snap=even=EMPH  
*ó-mɣna rlerleʔ ne-sátsə*  
 3SG:POSS-eye IDPH PFV:TR-cause<sub>2</sub>  
 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.

53. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə jə-set o-sɣorʔ mɐ-<sup>n</sup>bɾet orjáɣnə*  
 then PROS-die 3SG:POSS-breath NEG-snap when  
*tsəjiʔ todzət<sup>h</sup>er=niʔ káxse tə-<sup>n</sup>di-tsə*  
 1DU PN=DU leopard PFV:UP-ride<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 Then, when it was about to breathe its last and die, Todrethar and I mounted the leopard,

54. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ oʒorʔ*  
 SEQ while  
*káxse kɐ-<sup>n</sup>di ɐ-nɐ-kə-nərɣiʔ=kə tə-tsəʔ-tsə*  
 leopard INF-ride IRR-PFV-NMLZ-experience=DM PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 meanwhile, we said, “Let’s have a try at riding a leopard!”

55. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmaq<sup>h</sup>u káxse=nəʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards leopard=DET  
*ɐ-vɐʔ <sup>n</sup>dʒajaj ó-k<sup>h</sup>e lɐ-tsom-jə*  
 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN 3SG:POSS-home PFV:UPRIVER-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And afterwards, we took the leopard upriver to uncle ‘Jamdbyangs’s house.

<sup>88</sup> An exclamation uttered while taking an oath.

56. *qʰoʔ nə-jⁿdʒət-jə*

SEQ PFV-skin<sub>2</sub>-1PL

And we skinned it.

57. *qʰoʔ kəɾⁿbjoʔ kənⁿgət nə-to-jə*

SEQ person nine IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-1PL

There were nine of us.

58. *qʰoʔ koŋve o-spe*

SEQ collar 3SG:POSS-material

*ʙʒəɣfən kənⁿgə-ʙⁿbyɛʔ tʰe-tfət-jə qʰoʔ*

leopard.skin.collar.edge nine-CL PFV-take<sub>2</sub>-1PL SEQ

*nə-nəkri-jə*

PFV-divide.among.oneselves<sub>2</sub>-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-fǽru=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone=DET

*jəjərɐʔ jə-tátwi kəruʔ-sménbe nə-ⁿbi-jə*

1PL 1PL:POSS-village Tibetan.doctor PFV-give<sub>2</sub>-1PL

And we gave its bones to the Tibetan doctor in our village.

60. *nəʔ nə-fsət nə-tʰoʔ*

ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

What happened was like that.

# THE RANGDZEM FAMILY KILLED A TIGER

*raŋ<sup>n</sup>dzémpukə qeje nentʃ<sup>n</sup>eʔcə tondaʔ*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *ʃɲonts<sup>h</sup>e=z orje pe é-vu jermə orjaŋʔ*  
 formerly=LOC hundred year 1SG:POSS-grandparent about when  
 A hundred years ago, at about my grandfather's time,

2. *qɤc<sup>h</sup>weriʔ raŋ<sup>n</sup>dzémpu te-ké-tsə=nəʔ*  
 PN PN IPFV-GP-say=SUB  
*kə-c<sup>h</sup>éle kə-stfɛzʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.capable NMLZ:SBJ-be.prosperous-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-tɤroʔ=rɤʔ kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a kə-toʔ=cəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-official=PL some.kind NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF  
*nɤ-ŋo-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 there was once a family called Rangdzempu at Qaqiuli Village, (they were) capable and distinguished, and were officials of some kind.

3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-ʃŋi=cɛ=nəʔ raŋ<sup>n</sup>dzémpu=rɤʔ=kə <sup>n</sup>bri=cəʔ*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=SUB PN=PL=ERG horse=INDF  
*moχtsu-mt<sup>h</sup>ɛ=z ʃə-le-koyʔ-nə=cəʔ=nəʔ*  
 PN-mouth.of.valley=LOC AND-PFV:UPRIVER:TR-drive<sub>2</sub>-3PL=INDF=SUB  
 One day, as the Rangdzempu people drove a horse upriver at the mouth of the valley Mohsu,

4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tərmók<sup>h</sup>e=z nə-məŋɛʔ-nəŋo*  
 SEQ dusk=LOC PFV-not.be.seen<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 the horse suddenly disappeared at dusk.

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃə-ne-qəseʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ nə-<sup>n</sup>bri o-ʃpovʔ*  
 SEQ AND-PFV:TR-search<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB 3PL:POSS-horse 3SG:POSS-corpse  
*tə-kə-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ o-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>entʃ<sup>h</sup>urʔ=cəʔ wəjo-cə*  
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-eat<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-scattered.remains=INDF be.seen-MED  
 When they went and searched for it, they found scattered remains of their horse.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-vzər=z qəje o-rʒeʔ ome kə-xtəʔ=cəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=LOC tiger 3SG:POSS-track very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF  
*nə-lə wəjo-nəŋo*  
 PFV-appear<sub>2</sub> be.seen-MED  
 And by its side, very big tiger-tracks appeared.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>brɛ<sup>n</sup>dʒi=nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-nɛmts<sup>h</sup>əmtsi-nə-cə*  
 SEQ horse's.skin=DET PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-drag<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they dragged the skin of the horse downriver,

8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>əq<sup>h</sup>u=z təríʔ=ta te-səməŋə-nə-nəŋo*  
 SEQ back.of.house=LOC drying.rack=top PFV:UP:TR-hang<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 and hung it on the drying rack at the back of the house.

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mer=nəʔ qəje <sup>n</sup>brɛ<sup>n</sup>dʒi kə-<sup>n</sup>dze wi=kə*  
 SEQ night=DET tiger horse's.skin NMLZ:PURP-eat come=INS  
*<sup>n</sup>ge-kə-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e reʔ-cə ne-səsi-nə-cə*  
 IPFV-GP-kill be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 “As the tiger is going to come at night to eat the horse’s skin, we must kill it,” they thought.

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mer=nəʔ tərme kəlɣótfoɣ pertseko=ta*  
 SEQ night=DET man five.six roof.top=top  
*pozvu ne-stuki-nə-cə*  
 musket PFV:DOWN:TR-point<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 At night, five to six men pointed their muskets down from the roof's top,
11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sléɣe=rɐʔ χjavaχjavʔ nɐ-to-cə*  
 SEQ moon=PL IDPH<sup>89</sup> IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 there was a bleary moon (then).
12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ fór<sup>n</sup>ge jərme*  
 SEQ midnight about  
*qɐje kətaʔ <sup>n</sup>bré<sup>n</sup>dʒi kə-<sup>n</sup>dze jɐ-weʔ-cə*  
 tiger truly horse.skin PURP-eat PFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And, at around midnight, the tiger truly came to eat the horse's skin.
13. *jənəʔ pozvu te-lɐt-nə-cə*  
 just.at.that.moment musket PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɐ-sáxsəɣ nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ INF-cause.to.hit IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 At that moment, they fired their muskets, and managed to hit the tiger.
14. *fənəʔ qɐje=rcənəʔ tə-nəmdərʔ=nəʔ*  
 but tiger=TOP:EMPH PFV:UP-jump<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*pertseko=z jə-tə-lɔ ké-tsə nɐ-ŋo-cə*  
 roof=LOC PROS-PFV:UP-come.out<sub>2</sub> GP-say IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But when the tiger leapt up, it almost came over the top of the roof, it is said.

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<sup>89</sup> An ideophone describing a bleary state.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmaq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ-nə-cə*

SEQ afterwards PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And afterwards, they killed it.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qeje χʃikə nɐ-xtɐ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ tiger very IPFV:PST-big<sub>2</sub> be<sub>2</sub>-MED

The tiger was huge.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qeje<sup>n</sup>dzi=nəʔ tʃóχtse rjélpo=pha*

SEQ tiger.skin=DET PN chieftain=place

*te-p<sup>h</sup>əlʔ-nə nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

PFV:TR-present<sub>2</sub>-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub> be<sub>2</sub>-MED

And they presented the tiger's skin to the chieftain of Cogtse, it is said.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃóχtse rjélpo=kə q<sup>h</sup>ɐ qeje<sup>n</sup>dzi=nəʔ*

SEQ PN chieftain=ERG ANA tiger.skin=DET

*leʔ krɛʃizgaŋ rgonbe ó-p<sup>h</sup>a te-nə-p<sup>h</sup>əlʔ*

again PN monastery<sup>90</sup> 3SG:POSS-place PFV:TR-SPON-present<sub>2</sub>

And the Cogtse chieftain in turn presented the tiger skin to the Krashizgang Monastery,

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgonbe smolɛm skarten ne-p<sup>h</sup>ɛvʔ-nə orjáŋnəʔ*

SEQ monastery festival<sup>91</sup> medium IPFV-descend-3PL when

*o-sɐ-mdzuʔ te-sə-peʔ-nə ɲoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*

3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-sit<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-cause.to.make<sub>2</sub>-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.

<sup>90</sup> 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.

<sup>91</sup> Name of Masked Dance Festival, held from the twelfth to the sixteenth in February the lunar calendar.

20. *qʰeʔ qeʝéⁿdzi=nəʔ pəʃkʰo=ntʃʰon*  
 ANA tiger.skin=DET now=even  
*rgonbe=rəʔ nə-ja tʰe-to*  
 monastery=PL 3PL-POSS-hand CONT:LTR-exist₂

This tigerskin is still at the possession of that monastery even today.

21. *jəpəⁿdzi ɛʝiʔ kə-mdʒəl tə-ɐre-aŋ orjáŋnə=ntʃʰon*  
 year.before.last 1SG NMLZ:PURP-worship PFV-go₂-1SG when=even  
*qʰeʔ qeʝéⁿdzi wɛʝo*  
 ANA tiger.skin be.seen

Even when I went to the monastery the year before last, I saw the tiger skin myself.

22. *ʃənəʔ o-rmɐ nə-nʰbət*  
 but 3SG:POSS-hair PFV-be.worn₂  
*o-tʰəʝle mə-na-χselʔ=tsɐʔ-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. *qʰoʔ ranʝdzémpu=rəʔ qeʝe nə-kə-ntʃʰeʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN=PL tiger PFV-NMLZ-kill₂=DET  
*mə-nɐ-vdeʔ nə-tʃʰoz*  
 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. *ⁿdenəʔ kəmaqʰunəʔ nə-rtseʃəʝəʔ tʰe-nlɔ*  
 SEQ afterwards 3PL:POSS-root PFV-come.out₂  
 for afterwards their fortunes declined.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nphrumu <sup>n</sup>ge-səyʀoʔ-nə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ fortune IPFV-cause.to.tell-3PL=SUB  
 And when they had their fortunes told,
26. *q<sup>h</sup>əʔ qəje=nəʔ jəlke kəsroŋ nɐ-ŋo-cə*  
 ANN tiger=TOP hamlet guardian IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 the tiger turned out to be the guardian of the (Ramdzem) hamlet.
27. *fənəʔ ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ-nə*  
 but PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 But they killed it,
28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-yu mə-kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dʒəyʔ te-je*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-body NEG-INF-right PF:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 and things began to get rough for them,
29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ detsətsɐ nɐ-<sup>n</sup>blôt-nə*  
 SEQ gradually PFV-decline<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 and the family gradually declined.
30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qəje ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ-nə*  
 SEQ tiger PF:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*nəʔ nɐ-<sup>n</sup>dʒeʔ kɛ-tsə ŋoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 ANN PFV-be.at.fault<sub>2</sub> GP-say be be.the.rule  
 And people say that it could all be attributed to their killing of the tiger.



# WENCHUAN EARTHQUAKE

*vəɬɕu*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *lo ɣni-stoŋ taŋ vɣet sləwə kámŋo sqəmɲéti*  
 year two-thousand and eight month five twelve  
*qʰoʔ sásuqʰu tətʰot ɳnez=scʰənəʔ ɳnezsqə-rce skərme*  
 SEQ afternoon hour two=and twenty-eight minute  
*kə-zɣôʔ orjáŋʔnəʔ*  
 PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub> when  
 At 2:28 PM in the afternoon, May 12, 2008,
2. *ɣjiʔ slovtɕə=z kə-ntsʰɔʔ jə-mda nə-ŋo*  
 1SG school=LOC INF-assemble.class PROS-be.time IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 it was about time for me to teach a class.
3. *qʰoʔ ɣjiʔ ɐ-sə-ntsʰɔ slovkʰaŋ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG 1SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-assemble<sub>2</sub> classroom=DET  
*χso-téxse ó-ta nə-ŋo*  
 three-floor 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And the classroom where I would teach was on the third floor.
4. *qʰoʔ komʔ o-vzər=nəʔ*  
 SEQ door 3SG:POSS-side=DET  
*tómɛ ɣgerɣən ɳvaŋʔəɣʔ te-ké-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə*  
 woman teacher Dbangshig IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS  
*nəʔ=scʰənəʔ kʰəvdəʔ nə-peʔ=tsə jənəʔ*  
 DET=and chatting IPFV:PST-do<sub>2</sub>=1DU when

*vəɭju*            *kə-məɭmo*        *te-je*  
 earthquake    INF-move        PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>

And as a female teacher called Dbangshig and I were chatting beside the (classroom) door, the earthquake started.

5. *tʰe-mpʰɛri-aŋ=nəʔ*

IPFV:ACROSS-look=SUB

*tjɛnʃɛn=scʰənəʔ*    *ⁿgol=rɐʔ*        *kə-zməɭmo*            *te-je*  
 power.line=and    tile=PL        INF-cause.to.move    PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>

Looking across, I saw that (the earthquake) started to cause the power lines and the tiles (of the building) to shake.

6. *qʰoʔ*    *ɛgerɣɛn*    *ɛvanʃəɣʔ=pʰa*

SEQ    teacher    Dbangshig=place

*vəɭju*            *kə-məɭmo*        *te-je*                    *tə-tsəʔ-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 earthquake    INF-move        PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>        PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB

And I said to Dbangshig, “The earth is quaking!”

7. *jə-zdeʔ*                            *əntsejə*        *χáχo=rɐʔ*            *nɐ-tsiʔ*                            *mɐ*

1PL:POSS-companion    that.much    realization=PL    IPFV:PST-understand<sub>2</sub>    not.exist

Our colleague didn’t comprehend the situation so fully,

8. *tʃʰə*    *ŋoʔ*        *tʃʰə*    *ŋoʔ*        *jɛrmɐ*    *té-tsə*        *kəma*

what    be        what    be        about    IPFV-say    only

and was just saying things like “What’s going on?”, “What’s going on?”

9. *qʰoʔ*    *ne-mpʰári-aŋ=nəʔ*

SEQ    IPFV:WEST-look=SUB

*slome=rɐʔ*        *fqraʔ-nə-cə=kə*  
 student=PL        be.clever-3PL-MED=INS

*kom?*    *o-p<sup>h</sup>ji?*                      *nə-ko?*                      *ké-tfét=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə?*  
 door    3SG:POSS-outside    3PL:POSS-head    INF-take.out=and  
*kép<sup>h</sup>i*                      *o-ftfəke*                      *kə-pe*                      *te-je-nə*  
 INF-escape    3SG:POSS-preparation    INF-make    PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL

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. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *vəlyu*                      *jə-nəne*                      *fie?<sup>2</sup>=kə*                      *nə-səsi-aŋ*  
 SEQ    earthquake    PROS-stop    be:EMPH=DM    PFV-think<sub>2</sub>-1SG

And I thought that the quake would soon stop.

11. *fənə?*    *təmdána*  
 but    in.the.end  
*fla*                      *kə-nəne=nə?*                      *ma?<sup>2</sup>-cə=kə*  
 quickly    NMLZ-stop=TOP    not.be-MED=INS  
 And as the earthquake turned out not stopping soon at all,

12. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *slome=rə?*    *nə=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ    student=PL    3PL=place  
*<sup>h</sup>bət*                      *kə-rjəy?<sup>2</sup>-nə*                      *o-p<sup>h</sup>ji?*                      *nə-lə?<sup>2</sup>-nə*                      *tə-tsi?<sup>2</sup>-aŋ*  
 immediately    IMP:EAST-run-2PL    3SG:POSS-outside    IMP:DOWN-exit-2PL    PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 so I said to the students, “Run east (toward me and the stairs) and get out downstairs right away!”

13. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *slome=rə?*    *nəbuybuy?<sup>92</sup>*    *rdoskév?<sup>2</sup>=ta*    *nə-vre-nə*  
 SEQ    student=PL    IDPH                      stairs=top    PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And the students went down the stairs in a swarm.

<sup>92</sup> An ideophone denoting moving continuously in a swarm.

14. *oʒorʔ v-vzər=rɐʔ*  
 meanwhile 1SG:POSS-side=PL  
*kgerɣen kvanʃəʔʔ=nəʔ=ntʃʰon ó-ja te-<sup>n</sup>di-nə*  
 teacher Dbangshig=DET=also 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ o-pʰjiʔ nɐ-nlɔ-nə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside PFV:DOWN-exit<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 Meanwhile, by my side, (the students) also took Teacher Dbangshig's hand and they went downstairs (together).

15. *qʰoʔ ó-ta*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-top  
*vde-téxse=scʰənəʔ mŋo-téxse nɐ-kə-smo=rɐʔ*  
 four-storey=and five-storey IPFV:PST-NMLZ::SBJ-be.present=3PL  
*téjət kɐ-nɐmdɔmder=kəsə tsʰaŋkʰe=kə nɐ-wɛʔ=nə*  
 down INF-jump:RDPL=like in.a.crowded.state=INS PFV:DOWN-come<sub>2</sub>-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  
*kɐ-ojɐsɛjəz kɐ-pʰi reʔ ŋoʔ*  
 GP-hurry GP-escape be.necessary be  
 And I was thinking, "One must hurry and escape."

17. *ʃənəʔ tsʰaŋkʰe te-tʃʰem=nəʔ ɐyləylɐ-nə mɐ-<sup>n</sup>dzəʔʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ oʒorʔ*  
 SEQ meanwhile  
*χsaŋvaŋʔ te-ké-tsə kgergen jə-zɣôʔt-cə*  
 Gsangdbang IPFV-GP-say teacher PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 At this time, a teacher called Gsangdbang arrived (on the scene).
19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tsəjəniʔ=kə slome=rəʔ nə-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ 1DU:EXCL=ERG student=PL 3PL:POSS-place  
*kə-ojəsəjəz reʔ ŋoʔ*  
 INF-hurry be.necessary be  
*ʃənəʔ kə-nəmdɔmder=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ ts<sup>h</sup>aŋk<sup>h</sup>e kə-pe mə-joyʔ*  
 but INF-jump.about=and in.a.crowded.state INF-do NEG-be.allowed  
*tə-tsəʔ-tsə*  
 PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
 And the two of us said to the students, “You must hurry, but there is no jumping about or jostling.”
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ slome=rəʔ kəmdiʔ kə-əʃpələ*  
 SEQ student=PL all NMLZ-be.swift  
*o-p<sup>h</sup>jiʔ kə-tʃət nə-c<sup>h</sup>əʔ-tsə*  
 3SG:POSS-outside INF-take.out IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
 And we managed to move all the students swiftly to the outside.
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vəlɣu=nəʔ*  
 SEQ earthquake=DET  
*kəʃné-rcet mjâo jərménəʔ nə-məlmo*  
 seven-eight second about IPFV:PST-shake<sub>2</sub>  
 And the earthquake continued for seven-eight seconds.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ=rɐʔ=kə*

SEQ some=PL=ERG

*vəɭju tə-məlmo vəɭju ɲoʔ me-ne-səsi-nə=kə*

earthquake PFV-shake<sub>2</sub> earthquake be NEG-PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL=INS

And some did not realize that the shaking was an earthquake.

23. *q<sup>h</sup>ɛlɛ kə-xtɛʔ=cəʔ te-peʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʔgol=rɐn*

wind NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub> SEQ tile=even

*te-sɐpərc<sup>h</sup>ov<sup>ʔ93</sup> ne-səsi-nə ɲoʔ-cə*

PFV:TR-cause.to.clank.together<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

They thought a great gale blew and even caused the tiles (on the roof) to clank together.

24. *təmdánə vəɭju nɐ-ɲo ɲoʔ*

in.the.end earthquake IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be

In fact, it was the earthquake.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ slome nə-fwe kə-xt/iʔ=rɐʔ*

SEQ student 3PL:POSS-age NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=PL

*rjɐré=nan nɐ-zɣôʔ-nə=nəʔ*

schoolyard=inside PFV:DOWN-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB

And when the younger students got down to the schoolyard,

26. *nə-kórno tə-kə-zɣi*

3PL:POSS-brain PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-spin<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-ʒi=rɐn lɐ-kə-lɔ nɐ-to-nə*

SEQ 3PL:POSS-nausea=even PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-3PL

there were those who felt dizzy and even vomited.

<sup>93</sup> From the ideophone root *rc<sup>h</sup>ov*, describing sounds of objects knocking against each other.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jəjərvəʔ=kə mə-tə-<sup>n</sup>dzəʔ jə*  
 SEQ 1PL=ERG NEG-PFV-be.right<sub>2</sub> DM  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-vzəzəʔ=c<sup>h</sup>o vəlju tə-məlmo taʔ nə-səsi-jə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-vicinity=LOC:INDF earthquake PFV-shake<sub>2</sub> DM PFV-think<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we thought, “Something was wrong. An earthquake must have happened in our vicinity.”

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tjeŋχwaʔ kə-nələlət tə-je-jə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ telephone INF-make:RDPL PFV-begin<sub>2</sub>-1PL=SUB  
*təmdánə wəntʃwanʔ vəlju tə-məlmo ŋoʔ te-tsə-nə*  
 in.the.end Wenchuan earthquake PFV-shake<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And when we went about making phone calls, it turned out that (they said) it was the big Wenchuan Earthquake.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tətʂot mŋo skərme jərme*  
 SEQ time five minute about  
*tjeŋχwaʔ kə-nələlət nə-k<sup>h</sup>út*  
 telephone GP-make:RDPL IPFV:PST-be.feasible<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəməq<sup>h</sup>únəʔ mə-nə-k<sup>h</sup>út ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ then=DET NEG-PFV-be.feasible<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH  
 For up to five minutes, one could still make telephone calls, but afterwards it became impossible.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ wəntʃwanʔ vəljuʔ kə-t<sup>h</sup>u tə-kə-məlmo*  
 SEQ Wenchuan earthquake NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious PFV-NMLZ-shake<sub>2</sub>  
*kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ nə-sizʔ-jə*  
 NMLZ-be=DET IPFV:PST-know<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we found out that a serious earthquake had occurred in Wenchuan.

31. *ʃənəʔ kəɾˈbjoʔ tʃʰáscet nə-kə-set=scʰənəʔ tʃʰəjermə*  
 but person how.many PFV-NMLZ-die<sub>2</sub>=and how  
*nə-kə-tʰuʔ=nəʔ kɛ-siz mə-nə-kʰút*  
 PFV-NMLZ-be.serious<sub>2</sub>=DET GP-know NEG-IPFV:PST-be.feasible<sub>2</sub>  
 But it was impossible to know how many people died, and how serious it was.

32. *qʰoʔ tʃenχwaʔ=scʰəʔ tʃensə=rɐʔ mə-nə-kʰút ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ telephone=and television=PL NEG-PFV-be.feasible<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH  
 And phones and televisions were out of service.

33. *qʰoʔ kʰepʰeʔ=rɐʔ=kə sowjəntʃiʔ te-cu-nə*  
 SEQ some=PL=ERG radio PFV:TR-turn.on<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ nə-sɛŋiʔ-nə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-listen<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB  
*wəntʃʰwənʔ vəlɟu ome kə-tʰuʔ=cəʔ*  
 Wenchuan earthquake very NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious=INDF  
*tə-məlmo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV-shake<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Some people had turned on radios and were listening, and (knew that) a serious earthquake occurred in Wenchuan.

34. *ˈdenəʔ kəpɐʔ=kə pá-tʃi te-kɛ-tsə jermə*  
 as Chinese=INS eight-degree IPFV-GP-say about  
*kə-xteʔ tə-məlmo ŋoʔ-cə té-tsə-nə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV-shake<sub>2</sub> be-MED IPFV-say-3PL  
 As they say a magnitude 8 earthquake occurred according to the Chinese.



35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-réjəmə=nəʔ* *k<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>εʔ=rɐʔ=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-time=DET some=PL=ERG  
*əntsɛjə* *vəljʉ* *kə-xtɛʔ* *tə-kə-məlmo=nəʔ*  
 that.much earthquake NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV-NMLZ-shake<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*skélpe* *jə-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>əyʔ* *râŋ=rɐn* *té-tsə-nə* *nɐ-ŋo*  
 destiny PROS-break DM=even IPFV-say-3PL IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *mbər<sup>k</sup>emʔ-we=rɐʔ* *zɔwe* *ʃonɐnəŋəŋo*  
 SEQ 'Barkhams-people=PL village whichever  
*k<sup>h</sup>ɛnəŋ=rɐn* *kɐ-fɐ* *mə-nə-sɐnɔz*  
 home=even INF-go NEG-PFV-dare<sub>2</sub>

And people who live in 'Barkhams, no matter which village they are from, did not even dare to go home.

37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-p<sup>h</sup>jiʔ=z* *k<sup>h</sup>o* *kɐ-pe=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ* *zɡɐr* *kɐ-p<sup>h</sup>əyʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside=LOC makeshift.tent INF-do=and tent INF-pitch  
*o-ftʃɐke* *tɛ-jɛ-nə*  
 3SG:POSS-preparation PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL

And they began to make makeshift tents or pitch real tents outside.

38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *oʒorʔ=tsə*  
 SEQ meanwhile=TOP  
*vəljʉ* *kə-xtʃi=nəʔ* *nɐ-məlmo* *əntsótse* *ʃtɛʔ=kə*  
 earthquake NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET IPFV:PST-shake<sub>2</sub> often be: EMPH=INS

All the while, as small earthquakes occurred often,

39. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jəjərvəʔ=ntʰon*  
 SEQ 1PL=also  
*slome=rəʔ tʰjencintʂʰaŋ spentɔʔ=ta nɛ-sər<sup>n</sup>guʔ-jə*  
 student=PL sport.field lawn=top IPFV:PST-cause.to.sleep<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 we also made the students sleep on the lawn of the sport field.
40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mer=nəʔ tɔmu=rəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-lət=nəʔ*  
 SEQ night=TOP rain=PL IPFV-do=SUB  
*o-vzər=tʂəʔ nə-sperʔ-jə*  
 3SG:POSS-side=a.bit PFV-move<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 At night, when it was raining, we moved (the students) a bit to the side.<sup>94</sup>
41. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noosɛfsət nɛ-smo-jə*  
 SEQ in.this.way IPFV:PST-stay-1PL  
 And we stayed (there) like that.
42. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɛ-rɛvzjaŋ=rəʔ tə-znəneʔ-jə*  
 SEQ INF-study=PL PFV-stop<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we stopped all studying activities.
43. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɔzɔrʔ k<sup>h</sup>roŋk<sup>h</sup>ro nɛ-to-nə ŋoʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 SEQ meanwhile worry IPFV:PST-have<sub>2</sub>-1PL be for  
*wentʰwanʔ tʰo<sup>n</sup>bɛjʔ ne-sti ʃteʔ*  
 Wenchuan road PFV:TR-block<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH  
 And meanwhile we were worried, as roads going to Wenchuan were blocked.

<sup>94</sup> This refers to covered areas by the sport field.

44. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *zdewe=rɐʔ* *kɐ<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ* *két<sup>hi</sup>* *ɐrkɛrkɔn* *ne-səsi-nə*  
 SEQ people=PL food drinks lack:RDPL PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kɐ<sup>n</sup>dze=rɐʔ* *kə-lɛn* *ka-χtu*  
 SEQ food=PL NMLZ-be.much INF-buy  
*o-ts<sup>h</sup>əyɐ* *te-je-nə*  
 3SG:POSS-manner PFV:TR-begin-3PL

And people thought that food and drinks will be lacking, so they began to show signs of buying a lot of food.

45. *ʃənəʔ* *mə-na-ɛduʔ* *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 but NEG-IPFV-matter<sub>2</sub> for  
*<sup>n</sup>broχpe* *sɛt<sup>h</sup>e* *tʃo<sup>n</sup>bɛjʔ* *nɐ-<sup>n</sup>ju* *ʃteʔ=kə*  
 nomad place road IPFV:PST-be.open<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH=INS

But it did not matter, as the roads going to the nomads' land were open.

46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *lɛntʂúʔ-p<sup>h</sup>jɔ*  
 SEQ Lanzhou-direction  
*ts<sup>h</sup>ɛjʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ* *kɐ<sup>n</sup>dze=rɐʔ* *kɐ-wot* *ne-je-nə*  
 vegetable=and food=PL INF-bring PFV:DOWN:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL

And people began to bring vegetables and various foods down from the Lanzhou direction.

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kəlɣo-sɲi* *nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ five-day PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*tʂ<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>n</sup>duʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ* *wətʃ<sup>h</sup>wánʔ-p<sup>h</sup>jɔ* *tʃo<sup>n</sup>bɛjʔ* *ké-tʃɛt*  
 PN=and PN-direction road INF-take.out  
*mə-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ-nə*  
 NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL

Five days passed, and people were not able to clear the road going to Chengdu and Wenchuan.

48. *ʃənə?    ˈbɛrkʰemʔ=scʰənəʔ    wəntʃˈnánʔ-pʰjɔ    tʃoˈbɛjʔ    lɛ-ˈɲu*  
 but      PN=and                      PN-direction      road      PFV:UPRIVER-open<sub>2</sub>  
 But the road coming from 'Barkhams to Wenchuan opened up(river).
49. *qʰoʔ      wəntʃˈwanʔ-pʰjɔ*  
 SEQ      Wenchuan-direction  
*latʰatʃʰe      kɛ-tsomʔ=nəʔ      noŋme      te-je-nə*  
 various.goods    INF-take.hither=SUB    not.until    PFV:UP:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 Only then, did people begin to transport various goods up to Wenchuan.
50. *kɛ-tsomʔ      o-tsʰəɣɐ=nəʔ*  
 INF-take.hither    3SG:POSS-manner=TOP  
*stʰɔre    tɕʰəˈduʔ=scʰənəʔ    qémdzi-pʰjɔ    qémdzi=scʰənəʔ    ˈbɛrkʰemʔ-pʰjɔ*  
 first    PN=and                      PN-direction    PN=and                      PN-direction  
*kɛˈdze    le-wôt-nə                      nɐ-ŋo*  
 food      PFV:UPRIVER:TR-bring<sub>2</sub>-3PL    IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 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      wəntʃˈwénʔ-pʰjɔ    kə-rɛvzjaŋ      nɐ-lɛnʔ=nə=kə*  
 SEQ      PN-direction      NMLZ:SBJ-study    IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity<sub>2</sub>-3PL=INS  
*qʰoʔ      noŋme=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      only.then=DET  
*ˈbɛrkʰémʔ-pʰjɔ      tétəm    kɛ-nlɔʔ    le-je-nə*  
 'Barkhams-direction    up      INF-exit      PFV:UPRIVER:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 Since students at Wenchuan were many, only then did they start to come out upriver to 'Barkhams.

52. *kʰepʰɛʔ=rɐʔ tʃʰəʔsʰéʔ=nən kʰepʰɛʔ=rɐʔ rkaŋtaŋ=kəsə lɐ-wɛʔ-nə*  
 some=PL car=inside some=PL go.by.foot=like PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 Some of them came in cars, others by foot.

53. *qʰoʔ me-te-<sup>n</sup>dʒəʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ NEG-IPFV-be.right=SUB  
*kəʀ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=nəʔ noŋmenəʔ nə-kʰɐde=kəsə ne-fɐ*  
 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 pʰɛntsʰən kɐ-χoχo*  
 SEQ each.other GP-be.good.to:RDPL  
*qʰoʔ kɐ-səsiʔ kə-lɛn ne-mɐ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ:U-think NMLZ-be.much IPFV-not.exist be-MED  
 And one becomes good to each other without thinking much about other things.

55. *qʰoʔ <sup>n</sup>bɛrkʰemwe=rɐʔ=kə raŋʔəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ 'Barkhams.people=PL=ERG one's.own.accord=INS  
*tʃo<sup>n</sup>bɛjʔ ŋɛtʃʰəfsəfsi tʃeʔ kə-nə-sɛ́ɛ [kənsɛ́ɛ]*  
 road everywhere tea NMLZ:SBJ-SPON-boil  
*ʃifan kə-nə-sɛ́ɛ qɛ́jwi kə-nə-pe*  
 gruel NMLZ:SBJ-SPON-boil bread NMLZ:SBJ-SPON-make  
*qʰoʔ wəntʃʰwanʔ-pʰjɔ ne-mgronʔ-nə*  
 SEQ PN-direction PFV:TR-treat.with.food<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 The people of 'Barkhams, of their own accord, boiled tea, boiled gruel, made bread and treated people (who came) from Wenchuan.

56. *qʰoʔ ʃoχkor=rɐʔ kɛnbe me-te-jzom-nə nɐ-ŋo*  
 SEQ money=PL at.all NEG-PFV:TR-collect-3PL IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And they did not take money at all.

57. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ wəntʰwanʔ lə-kə-wɛʔ*  
 SEQ PN PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>  
*k<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>eʔ=rɛʔ ʃla jɛ-kə-ɛnəre*  
 some=PL immediately PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>eʔ=rɛʔ kaɛne-sɲi=rɛn nɛ-kə-smo nɛ-to-nə*  
 SEQ some=PL several-day=even IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-stay IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 Of those who came from Wenchuan, there were some who left immediately, and some who stayed for several days even.

58. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɐq<sup>h</sup>u ne-sɛŋi-nə*  
 SEQ afterwards IPFV:PST-listen<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*wəntʰwanʔ jɪnʃu=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ pɛtʰwanʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>jɔ*  
 PN PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-direction  
*vəlʃu ɣʃikə nɛ-t<sup>h</sup>uʔ*  
 earthquake very IPFV:PST-be.serious<sub>2</sub>  
 Afterwards, people listened (and heard) that in the direction of Wenchuan, Yingxiu, and Beichuan, the earthquake was very serious.

59. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>e=rɛʔ kəmdiʔ=tsɐʔ nɛ-n<sup>n</sup>bət*  
 SEQ house=PL all=a.bit PFV:DOWN-collapse<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəɾ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ mts<sup>h</sup>ót nɛ-set-nə ké-tsə te-je-nə*  
 SEQ person be.many PFV:DOWN-die<sub>2</sub>-3PL INF-say PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 They began to say that almost all the houses collapsed, and many people died.

60. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ nɛ-fsət nɛ-tʰoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 That was what happened.

**A BIOGRAPHY OF TEACHER SONAM**  
*ཕལ་གཅེན་མཆོག་འཇམ་དཔལ་ལྷན་པའི་སྐུ་མཆོག་གི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *fsoter te-ké-tsə=nəʔ qec<sup>h</sup>wetriʔ kə-toʔ*  
 PN IPFV-GP-say=SUB PN NMLZ-exist  
 There was a person in Kakhyoris Village.
  
2. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-be.small<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*o-zdəγ=rəʔ nə-kə-t<sup>h</sup>əγ*  
 3SG:POSS-suffering=PL IPFV:PST-NMLZ-meet<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-kə-guʔ=cə nə-ŋo*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.poor<sub>2</sub>=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 When he was young, he suffered hardship and poverty.
  
3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sə-xtfəxtfiʔ ó-mo nə-məʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:OBL-be.small<sub>2</sub>:RDPL 3SG:POSS-mother PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>  
 His mother died when he was small.
  
4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-nts<sup>h</sup>ʔʔ=rəʔ tə-c<sup>h</sup>əʔ jermə*  
 SEQ INF-become.monk=PL PFV-be.able<sub>2</sub> about  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qec<sup>h</sup>wetriʔ o-fwəts<sup>h</sup>ət rjémtsen te-ké-tsə toʔ=kə*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-coeval PN IPFV-GP-say=SUB exist=INS  
*nəʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>əniʔ kətáyre térvə vləme<sup>95</sup> tʃómp<sup>h</sup>əl*  
 ANA=and together PN lama PN

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<sup>95</sup> A learned and highly respected lama from Tárva of Kakhyoris Village. He resided at Bkrashisgang Monastery.

*o-kræpe*                      *ne-peʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 3SG:POSS-disciple      PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3DU

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *tʃonaŋ*                      *kə-vzjaŋ*    *kə-reʔ=rəʔ*  
 SEQ      Jonang.school    GP-study    NMLZ-be.necessary=PL  
*kəmdiʔ*    *ne-vzjaŋʔ*                      *məkáts<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 all              PFV:TR-study<sub>2</sub>    not.only  
*kə-rət<sup>h</sup>ən*                                      *kə-reʔ=rəʔ=nt<sup>h</sup>on*                      *ne-vzjaŋʔ*                      *ŋoʔ*  
 GP-practice.reclusive.meditation    NMLZ-be.necessary=PL=aslo    PFV:TR-study<sub>2</sub>    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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kəmaq<sup>h</sup>únə*  
 SEQ      afterwards  
*ɣgeláypə*    *ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən.rgonbé=naŋ*                      *kə-nts<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ*                      *kə-ɐre*  
 Yellow.sect    Tshobdun-monastery=inside    NMLZ:PURP-join.a.monastery    PFV-go<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nánəz*    *nə-nts<sup>h</sup>ɔ*  
 SEQ      there      IPFV:PST-join.a.monastery<sub>2</sub>  
 Afterwards, he went to join Yellow-Sect Tshobdun Monastery, and there he stayed.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kəmɛq<sup>h</sup>únə*    *konjəʔ*                      *lə-zɣót*  
 SEQ      afterwards      communists    PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kə-nts<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ=rəʔ*                      *mə-nə-joy*  
 SEQ      INF-join.a.monastery=PL    NEG-PFV-be.allowed<sub>2</sub>  
 Afterwards, (the Chinese) communists came (upriver), and going to monasteries and what not was forbidden.



8. *qʰoʔ vlɐrge nɐ-kə-ɐpeʔ=rɐʔ*

SEQ monk PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become<sub>2</sub>=PL

*nə-<sup>n</sup>ge kəmdiʔ tə-o-səfcɐ-nə*

3PL:POSS-clothes all PFV-INV-cause.to.change<sub>2</sub>-3PL

And those that had become monks were forced to change all their clothing.

9. *qʰoʔ tátwi=nay nɐ-rɐmɐʔ-nə ɣoʔ*

SEQ Village=inside IPFV:PST-do.labor.in.field<sub>2</sub>-3PL be

And they did labor in the field.

10. *qʰoʔ vlɐrge kʰepʰɛʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-npɐnlɔ-nə*

SEQ monk some=PL PFV-recant<sub>2</sub>-3PL

Some of the monks recanted their faith.

11. *ʃənəʔ ʃsotɐr=nəʔ kə-ɣólɐ=cəʔ nɐ-ʃte=kə*

but PN=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF IPFV:PST-be:EMPH<sub>2</sub>=INS

*ó-<sup>n</sup>ge te-fcɐ kəma kdenbe mə-nɐ-npɐnlɔ*

3PL:POSS-clothing PFV:TR-change<sub>2</sub> except at.all NEG-PFV-recant<sub>2</sub>

But since Fsotar was a virtuous one, he only changed his clothing, yet did not recant his faith at all.

12. *tátwi kénpu=rɐʔ=kə kɐ-sənpɐnlɔʔ o-tsʰəyɐ*

village cadre=PL=ERG INF-cause.to.recant 3SG:POSS-manner

*me-te-peʔ-nə mə*

NEG-PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL not.exist

The village cadres resorted to all methods to force him to recant.

13. *támɛ=rɛn ó-pʰəm ʃə-tʰe-lət-nə nɛ-ŋo*  
 woman=even 3SG:POSS-bosom go.and-IPFV-put-3PL IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
*ʃənəʔ o-zdompe ɛdenbe mə-nɛ-forʔ ké-tsə tʃʰozʔ*  
 but 3SG:POSS-chastity at.all NEG-PFV-lose<sub>2</sub> 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. *qʰoʔ ʃsotɛr=nəʔ kə-ɛwərloŋ=cəʔ nɛ-ŋo*  
 SEQ PN=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-quick-tempered=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 Fsotar was a quick-tempered person.

15. *ʃənəʔ o-ʃsɛmpɛ=rɛʔ ɣʃíkə kə-ʒroʔ*  
 but 3SG:POSS-thought=PL very NMLZ:SBJ-be.good  
*kʰoŋnɛmbɛ=cəʔ nɛ-ŋo*  
 pure-minded=INDF NMLZ:SBJ-be.good  
 But he was kind at heart and pure in his mind.

16. *qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰínə tátwi*  
 SEQ afterwards village  
*kénpu=rɛʔ=kə tátwi o-pokwénjɛn tə-o-səpeʔ*  
 cadre=PL=ERG village 3SG:POSS-storekeeper PFV-INV-cause.to.make<sub>2</sub>  
 Afterwards, the village cadres made him storekeeper of the village.

17. *qʰoʔ tátwi o-rjuʔ=scʰənəʔ ó-jpo ʰge-nɛpóroj*  
 SEQ village 3SG:POSS-property=and 3SG:POSS-foodstuff IPFV-look.after<sub>3</sub>  
*qʰoʔ ɣʃíkə ʰge-taʔ ʰge-tʃʰozʔ*  
 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. *qʰoʔ kénpu kʰetəʔe=nəʔ=rəʔ*  
 SEQ cadre sometimes=DET=PL  
*fsotér=pʰa səqətsətsu spjərjuʔ kə-nlaʰdʒom*  
 PN=place stealthily public.goods NMLZ:PURP-eat.with.hand  
*te-rénʰtsʰa-nə ʃənə fsotər=kə ʁdenbe*  
 IPFV-prepare-3PL but PN=ERG at.all  
*nə-ja mə-kə-o-səstʰevʔ-nə nə-ʈʰoʔ*  
 3PL:POSS-hand NEG-PFV:CISLOC-INV-cause.to.touch<sub>2</sub>-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 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. *kəməqʰúnə kénpu=rəʔ te-zremuruʔ*  
 afterwards cadre=PL PFV:TR-cause.to.be.angry<sub>2</sub>  
 Afterwards, he enraged the cadres.
20. *qʰoʔ pokwénjən=rəʔ nə-o-səntəv*  
 SEQ storekeeper=PL PFV-INV-cause.to.lay.down<sub>2</sub>  
 And he was forced to resign his post as storekeeper.
21. *qʰoʔ nə-rəməʔ nə-ɳfupɿʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-do.labor.in.field<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-do.sideline.job  
 And he did labor in the field and took sidelines.
22. *qʰoʔ kəməqʰúnə tuzʔ=rəʔ kə-vde te-je*  
 SEQ afterwards current.political.situation=PL INF-be.good PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 Afterwards, the political situation turned for the better.
23. *qʰoʔ kə-ntsʰə leʔ tə-joy*  
 SEQ GP-join.a.monastery again PFV-be.allowed<sub>2</sub>  
 And it was again permitted to join a monastery.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə? fsotən=nə?*

SEQ PN=TOP

*le? vlərgé<sup>n</sup>ge te-<sup>n</sup>ge?*

again monks.robe PFV:TR-wear<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>o? ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən rgonb=z kə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə kə-ɐre*

SEQ PN monastery=LOC NMLZ:PURP-join.a.monastery PFV-go<sub>2</sub>

And Fsotar again put on monk's robe and joined Tshobdun Monastery.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>o? o-myits<sup>h</sup>e nə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə ɔʒor?*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-life.time IPFV:PST-join.a.monastery<sub>2</sub> meanwhile

*nə-rəvzjaŋ? ɔʒor? nə-rət<sup>h</sup>ən?*

IPFV:PST-study<sub>2</sub> meanwhile IPFV:PST-practice.reclusive.meditation<sub>2</sub>

And he stayed in a monastery all his life, studying and practising reclusive meditation.

26. *q<sup>h</sup>o? ts<sup>h</sup>oxɿ<sup>h</sup>en komdzət=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə? vləme*

SEQ assembly.hall leading.sutra.teacher=and assembly.hall.lama

*əntsətse ne-pe?*

frequently IPFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>

And he frequently served as leading sutra teacher and lama of the assembly hall.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>o? kə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə?=rə? ne-kroʒ<sup>h</sup>-nə=nə?<sup>96</sup>*

SEQ INF-convene.for.sutra.chanting=PL IPFV-finish.class-3PL=SUB

*o-slome <sup>n</sup>ge-lɛn=kə <sup>n</sup>ge-səʒəx<sup>h</sup>ot*

3SG:POSS-student IPFV-exist.in.quantity=INS IPFV-do.teaching

*<sup>n</sup>ge-re? ɲo?*

PFV-be.necessary be

And, after the sutra-chanting sessions were over, he had teaching to do as he had many students.

<sup>96</sup> Honorific use of plural marking.

28. *náyzgo st<sup>h</sup>o? kəməko=nə?*  
 in.particular most first=TOP  
*jəjərvə? kə-tácəv kən<sup>n</sup>gəsqe?<sup>2</sup>=cə? nɐ-to-jə=kə*  
 1PL one-group nine-ten=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-1PL=INS  
 In particular, first of all, there was our group of nine or ten (students).
29. *st<sup>h</sup>ɔre=nə? nɐ-o-səxʃɔt-jə*  
 first=TOP PFV-INV-teach<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 So we were the first to be taught.
30. *q<sup>h</sup>o? nəkə? vlərgən=nə*  
 SEQ that old.monk=TOP  
*o-ɣóri xʃikə kə-ɣrəm?<sup>2</sup>=cə? ŋo=kə*  
 3SG:POSS-front very NMLZ:SBJ-be.white=INDF be=INS  
 And, since that old monk was one who brought good luck (to other people),
31. *o-slome taŋbo?<sup>2</sup>=rɐ? kəmdi? kóŋtso nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ?<sup>2</sup>-nə*  
 3SG:POSS-student first=PL all government.work IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 all his first students were able to get government jobs.
32. *q<sup>h</sup>o? vlərgɐpu=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on o-slome <sup>n</sup>ge-lɔn ʃte?*  
 SEQ young.monk=also 3SG:POSS-student IPFV-exist.in.quantity be:EMPH  
 And he also had many young monks as his students.
33. *q<sup>h</sup>o? <sup>n</sup>ge-wɐkɐrɐ? q<sup>h</sup>o? o-rʃe <sup>n</sup>gé-ts<sup>h</sup>e ŋo?*  
 SEQ IPFV-be.stern SEQ 3SG:POSS-care IPFV-take be  
 He was stern but caring.

34. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-slome vlɛrge=rɛn=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-student monk=even=also  
*ome kə-ŋóle tə-kə-lə nɛ-to-nə*  
 very NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And even among his monk students, there were those who turned out very virtuous.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ zɔdewe=rɛʔ=kə=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on ʃʃikə ʔgo-ntɛtpe*  
 SEQ village.people=PL=ERG=also very IPFV:INV-believe.in  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʔgo-saxpaʔ ʃteʔ=kə*  
 SEQ IPFV:INV-revere be:EMPH=INS  
 And as people in the village also believed in and revered him greatly,

36. *təɽjuʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə ʃoxkor o-kə-nɛ<sup>n</sup>bə<sup>n</sup>biʔ*  
 valuables=and money 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-give:RDPL  
*nɛ-mts<sup>h</sup>ót ʃteʔ*  
 IPFV:PST-be.many<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH  
 there were many who (came from all over) to give him valuables and money.

37. *ʃənəʔ o-rjuʔ=rɛʔ rgonbé=ta*  
 but 3SG:POSS-valuables=PL monastery=top  
*əntsátse ne-lét ʃteʔ káma*  
 frequently PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH except  
 But except for constantly donating his valuables to the monastery,

38. *o-yrɛrɛʔ nə-ja kə-ʃkrevʔ me-ne-sɛyre ʔdenəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-family 3PL:POSS-hand one-CL NEG-PFV:TR-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub> for  
*o-yrɛrɛʔ nə-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 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 fkorzet=nəʔ*  
 this something.undeserved=DET  
*nə-rqé=nan e-mə-tʰe-fə ʰdenə*  
 2PL:POSS-throat=inside IRR-NEG-IMP:DOWNRIVER-go for  
 “Do not let this undeserved thing go down your throats, otherwise,”
40. *fsiʔ ne-ké-set=nəʔ*  
 in.the.future IPFV-GP-die=SUB  
*tə-rqé=nan kʰro tʰe-kə-lê-t=scʰənəʔ naχtʃəʔ*  
 GP:POSS-throat=inside cast.iron PFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-put₂=and be.like  
*ʰgé-tsə tʰozʔ*  
 IPFV-say be.the.rule  
 “when you die in the future, it will feel like somebody has poured cast iron down your throats,” he often said.
41. *qʰónəʔ tárxən o-kəmjəmʔ=rəʔ kʰémtʃa ʰge-toʔ*  
 SEQ often 3SG:POSS-illness=PL a.bit IPFV-exist  
 He often suffered a bit from illnesses.
42. *fənəʔ ʰbərkhəmʔ kə-fə fə-kə-sərtəʔ=nəʔ*  
 but PN INF-go go.and-INF-cause.to.examine=SUB  
*me-ʰgé-kʰut ʰdenəʔ*  
 NEG-IPFV-allow for  
 But he could not be persuaded to go to 'Barkhams to have himself examined,
43. *o-kóru χíikə kə-rki=cəʔ ʰge-fteʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-skull very NMLZ:SBJ-be.tough=INDF IPFV-be:EMPH  
 he was a very strong-willed person.

44. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jɛpe kɛ-n<sup>n</sup>giʔ te-je*  
 SEQ last.year INF-be.ill PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 And last year, he became ill.

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-yrɛrɛʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ o-slome=rɛʔ=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=and 3SG:POSS-student=PL=ERG  
*mɛfts<sup>h</sup>e <sup>n</sup>bɛrk<sup>h</sup>emʔ ʃə-te-sərtɔ-nə=nəʔ*  
 by.force PN go.and-PFV:TR-examine<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB  
*nɛt kə-ŋɛn=nəʔ tə-mɪəm=cə*  
 illness NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=DET PFV-be.ill<sub>2</sub>=EV  
 When his family and students made him have a checkup at 'Barkhams, he had the malicious disease (cancer).

46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ smɛnbe=kə*  
 SEQ doctor=ERG  
*nɛ-kəʔ kəlden mɛ-mdu ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ*  
 that.near.you much NEG-last be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 And the doctor said, "This (patient) won't last long now."

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-jiʔ=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also  
*nɛt kə-ŋɛn tə-kə-mɪəm=nəʔ ne-sizʔ ʃteʔ*  
 illness NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad PFV-NMLZ-be.ill<sub>2</sub>=DET PFV:TR-know<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH  
 And he himself also knew that he had cancer.

48. *q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ o-yrɛrɛʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ o-slome=rɛʔ nə-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=and 3SG:POSS-student=PL 3PL:POSS-place  
*ɛjiʔ 'set-aŋ ʃóχtenə rjɛnaŋ rewortserŋɛ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 1SG die-1SG before China PN=and



*ɤlanʈʰen mdʒɤl-aŋ reʔ te-tsə*  
 PN take.a.pilgrimage-1SG be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>

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 ʃə-nɐ-nɐmdʒəmdʒɤlʔ*  
 SEQ special go.and-PFV-take.various.pilgrimages<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ ʃla nɐ-nəwɐʔ*  
 SEQ quickly PFV:DOWN-come.back<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ tsʰovdən tə-ɐnəre ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ PN PFV:UP-go.back<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH

And he took various special pilgrimages, and quickly came back, and then went back to Tshobdun.

50. *qʰoʔ o-yrɐrɐʔ=scʰənəʔ o-slome=pʰa*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=and 3SG:POSS-student=place  
*koʔ ɐ-kə-mɣəmʔ=koʔ o-tsʰəyɐ mɐ=kə*  
 this 1SG:POSS-illness=this 3SG:POSS-manner not.exist=INS  
 “Since this illness of mine is not looking good,”

51. *ɐ-rjɐrjuʔ=scʰənəʔ ɐ-latʰa-tʰe tʰɐmtʃet=nəʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-property:RDPL=and 1SG:POSS-thing:RDPL all=DET  
*kəmdiʔ ntsweʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ*  
 all sell-1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 “I will sell out all my valuables and belongings,” he said.

52. *qʰónəʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP  
*o-rjɐrjuʔ o-latʰatʰe tʰɐmɐrɐmtʃetnəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-property:RDPL 3SG:POSS-thing:RDPL all:EMPH

*n<sup>h</sup>dɛkaŋ*                      *o-kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ*                      *t<sup>h</sup>e-ʃk<sup>h</sup>i*  
 sutra.chanting.hall      3SG:POSS-courtyard      PFV:TR-spread<sub>2</sub>

And one day, he laid out all of his valuables and belongings on the courtyard in front of the sutra-chanting hall.

53. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*      *o-kon?*                      *kə-<sup>n</sup>bê<sup>t</sup>=tsə*                      *əntsátse*                      *ne-ntswə*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-price      NMLZ:SBJ-be.cheap=a.bit      continuously      PFV:TR-sell<sub>2</sub>

And he sold them out one by one at somewhat cheaper prices.

54. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*      *k<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>e?*      *vlərge=rə?*  
 SEQ      some      monk=PL  
*kə-nə-χtu*                      *kə-səsi?*                      *nə-foχkor*                      *kə-mə=rə?*  
 INF-SPON-buy      NMLZ:SBJ-think      3PL:POSS-money      NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=PL  
*k<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>e?*      *lat<sup>h</sup>e=rə?*      *ne-rə<sup>n</sup>bi*  
 some      thing=PL      PFV:TR-give.away<sub>2</sub>

And some monks would like to buy but did not have money, and he would give away a few things (to them).

55. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*      *o-tɕaxfa?<sup>n</sup>nt<sup>h</sup>on*                      *o-kon?*                      *kə-<sup>n</sup>bê<sup>t</sup>*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-monks.quarters=also      3SG:POSS-price      NMLZ:SBJ-be.cheap  
*ne-ntswə*  
 PFV:TR-sell<sub>2</sub>

And he sold even his monk's quarters at a cheap price.

56. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*      *kə-sŋi*      *o-ɟərju?<sup>n</sup>rə?*  
 SEQ      one-day      3SG:POSS-property:RDPL=PL  
*kəmdi?*      *kə-ntswe?*      *ne-səyjo*  
 all      INF-sell      PFV:TR-finish<sub>2</sub>

And in one day, he finished selling all his belongings and what not.

57. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-sem χfikə nə-vdeʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart very PFV-be.good<sub>2</sub>  
 And his heart was very contented.

58. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ foχkor nə-kə-lɔ=rɐʔ né-set-aŋ ozgég<sup>h</sup>u*  
 SEQ money PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become<sub>2</sub>=PL IPFV-die-1SG after  
*kəmdi rgonbé=ta kɐ-lət reʔ te-tsəʔ*  
 all monastery=top GP-put be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 And he said, “After I die, one has to donate all the money from the selling to the monastery.”

59. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-lat<sup>h</sup>e ne-ntswe noʔofsáfsi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-belongings PFV:TR-sell<sub>2</sub> next.morning=DET  
*rgonbé=naŋ nɐ-nts<sup>h</sup>ɔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 monastery=inside IPFV:PST-convene<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 The following morning after he had sold his belongings, they convened (to chant sutra).

60. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sasug<sup>h</sup>u jərmɐ*  
 SEQ afternoon about  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-tɕaχfáʔ=naŋ lɐ-ɐnəre-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-monk's.quarters=inside PFV:IN-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Sometime in the afternoon, he went back up to his quarters.

61. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-mt<sup>h</sup>otk<sup>h</sup>aŋ=z tə-ɐmdzuʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-shrine=LOC PFV-sit<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɐ-rk<sup>h</sup>ɐ<sup>n</sup>don te-je*  
 SEQ INF-chant.short.sutra PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 And he sat down at his shrine and started to chant short sutras.

62. *qʰoʔ o-slome=rɐʔ nə-pʰa*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-student=PL 3PL:POSS-place  
*nəʔjɐrmɐ tə-mda ɲoʔ*  
 about.this.time PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub> be  
*qʰoʔ ɛ-nge=rɐʔ tə-o-səfcɐʔ-aŋ-nə te-tsəʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-clothing=PL IMP-INV-cause.to.change-1SG-3PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 And he said to his students, “It is about time now. Ask them to change my clothes.”

63. *qʰoʔ ó-ge χsérpe=rɐʔ te-səfcɐ-nə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-clothing be.new=PL PFV:TR-cause.to.change<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ kɐ-nɔn<sup>97</sup> ne-je-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ INF-chant PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And they changed his clothes, and started to chant sutras.

64. *o-jiʔ=ntʰon vlɛrge=rɐʔ nə-krəkrɐ nɐ-nɔnʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-self=also monk=PL 3PL:POSS-company IPFV:PST-chant<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And he himself was chanting sutras with the monks.

65. *kəmɐqʰínə kámɬʰa mɐ-kɐ-cʰɐ te-je*  
 afterwards a.bit NEG-INF-be.able PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 Afterwards, he began to lose it.

66. *qʰoʔ o-koʔ=rɐʔ kɐ-pʰɛvʔ=tsɐ ne-je ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-head=PL INF-lower=a.bit PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And his heads began to drop a bit.

<sup>97</sup> This refers to chanting the sutras for people who will soon transpire.

67. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɐq<sup>h</sup>únə noósɐfsət ɛdoŋ tə-vʒəɣ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ afterwards thus bone PFV-sit<sub>2</sub>:HON-3PL-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ na-χfá-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-pass.away<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And afterwards he passed away in a sitting position.

68. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlɐrge=rɐʔ=kə rtserɲɐ=rɐʔ te-sqərteʔ-nə*  
 SEQ monk=PL=ERG high.monks.hat=PL PFV:TR-cause.to.wear<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And the monks put a high monk's hat on him.

69. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-ste te-wɐ-vdeʔ-nə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-place.where.one.is PFV:TR-make.proper<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 Then, they positioned him properly where he was.<sup>98</sup>

70. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-smolɐm=rɐʔ t<sup>h</sup>ə kə-reʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sutra.for.delivering.the.diseased=PL what NMZL:SBJ-be.necessary  
*ne-<sup>n</sup>donʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-chant<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And chanted all the needed sutras to deliver the dead for him.

71. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɐ-nɛ-ɲo=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IRR-PFV-be=SUB  
*ɛdoŋ te-vʒəɣʔ-nə=nəʔ kəfne-sɲi jɐrmɐ*  
 bone PFV-sit<sub>2</sub>:HON-3PL=SUB seven-day about  
*ne-kɐ-teʔ t<sup>h</sup>oʔzʔ ɲoʔ-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.

<sup>98</sup> Putting his remains on a small box, and setting his head upright.

72. *fə́nəʔ skə́rtɔʔ skərme=nəʔ vde-sɿi jərme ʔdenəʔ*  
 but funeral auspicious.day=TOP four-day about except  
*ne-kə-teʔ me-nə-joy-cə*

IPFV-GP-put NEG-IPFV:PST-be.allowed<sub>2</sub>-MED

But as for the auspicious day for the funeral, only four days of leaving the corpse unburied were allowed.

73. *qʰoʔ nəʔ vde-sɿi ó-naŋ skuɣdoŋ ɣʃíkə nə-xtʃiʔ*  
 SEQ ANA four-day 3SG:POSS-inside remains very PFV-be.small<sub>2</sub>

And during the four-day period, the remains became very small.

74. *o-məke=nəʔ o-ləspu=rəʔ ɣʃíkə*  
 3SG:POSS-essense=TOP 3SG:POSS-body=PL very  
*kəxtɛʔ=cəʔ nə-ŋo*

NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>

In fact, his body was originally very big.

75. *fə́nəʔ tə́mdánə kə́xtʃipu jərme ʔdenəʔ nə-mɛʔ-cə*  
 but in.the.end small.child about except PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED

But in the end it became no bigger than a small child.

76. *qʰoʔ vlərge=scʰənəʔ o-slome=rəʔ te-kə-mdʒɐl káma*  
 SEQ monk=and 3SG:POSS-student=PL IPFV-NMLZ-worship except  
*kəmaʔ zdewe=rəʔ te-kə-mdʒɐl mə-nə-joy*

other village.people=PL IPFV-NMLZ-worship NEG-IPFV:PST-be.allowed<sub>2</sub>

But except for monks and his students, people from the village were not allowed to worship it.

77. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jəʃəreʔ kóntso tə-kə-lə o-slome=rəʔ*  
 SEQ 1PL government.work PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-get<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-student=PL  
*te-rəzdəzde-jə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-ere-jə*  
 PFV:TR-invite.as.company:RDPL-1PL SEQ PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we students of his who had found government work invited each other for company  
 and went up (together) (to Tshobdun).

78. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skukdon nɐ-mdʒelʔ-jə*  
 SEQ remains PFV-pay.obedience.to<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jə-sni=rəʔ χʃikə nə-zdəʏ*  
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-heart=PL very PFV-be.sad<sub>2</sub>  
 And we paid obedience to his remains, and we were so sad.

79. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sqərtəʔ orjájəʔnəʔ*  
 SEQ funeral when  
*rgonbe=rəʔ=kə st<sup>h</sup>o vləme kə-ʒroʔ ne-χʃaʔ-nə=nəʔ*  
 monastery=PL=INS most monk NMLZ:SBJ-be.good IPFV-die-3PL=SUB  
*o-vʒənsraʔ o-tə-lét=kəsə*  
 3PL:POSS-cremation 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-perform<sub>2</sub>=like  
*kə-pe reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə*  
 GP-do be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ naŋviʔ ozgəq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ vʒənsraʔ ne-lét-nə*  
 SEQ PN after cremation PFV:TR-perform<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And they performed the cremation behind the Nangvi House.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Name of Kirti Lama's residence at the Tshobdun Monastery.

81. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgonbe sprasku st<sup>h</sup>o kə-xtɛʔ=kə*  
 SEQ monastery living.buddha most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=ERG  
*vlɛrge=rɛʔ nə-nts<sup>h</sup>oxtɛm te-lêt*  
 monk=PL 3PL:POSS-assembly.speech PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>  
 And the biggest living Buddha at the monastery gave a speech to the monks.

82. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəjəreʔ vlɛge=rɛʔ ɐ-nɐ-tə-rɛvzjaŋ*  
 SEQ 2PL monk=PL IRR-IMP-2-study  
 “You monks must study hard.”

83. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-rjuʔ=rɛʔ ɐ-nə-kɐ-fsɔʔ=nəʔ reʔ fteʔ*  
 SEQ GP:POSS-valuables=PL IRR-IMP-GP-earn=SUB be.necessary be:EMPH  
 “One must earn property,”

84. *ʃənəʔ mdortsɐ nɐ-wɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 but essence PFV:DOWN-come<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 “but, above all,”

85. *nɐ-léco vlɛrgɛn=nəʔ*  
 2SG:POSS-upriver.place old.monk=DET  
*ké-fsət ɐ-nɐ-sɛc<sup>h</sup>ɐ=nəʔ ɐ<sup>n</sup>ge taŋboʔ ŋoʔ*  
 INF-do.thus IRR-PFV-be.doable=SUB number first be  
*te-xsoŋʔ-nə<sup>100</sup> nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>:HON-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 “this old monk up there (near you), it would be the best thing if one can follow his example,” he said.

<sup>100</sup> Plural marking here indicates deference to the reincarnated Buddha.



# A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF LIFE DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

*wənxwatakémin orjáŋnə? jəjəkənfúpire? tʃə nekənefsəfsət xpe*

**Narrator: Retawe 'Jamdbyangs**

1. *cʰeʔ=z*                      *wənxwatakémin*                      *orjáŋnəz*  
 former.time=LOC      cultural.revolution      when  
*tátwi=nay*      *ɛʒunu.pʰosə=rəʔ*      *ʃə-kə-nfúni*                      *ⁿge-tʰoʔ*  
 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. *tátwi=kə*                      *kə-nfúni*                      *tə-o-wətʃet-jə*  
 village=ERG      NMLZ:SBJ-do.sideline      PFV-INV-select<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*qʰoʔscʰənəʔ*      *sərʃaŋʔ*      *tʰə-ɐre-jə*  
 SEQ                      PN                      PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 We were selected by the village to do sidelines and went downriver to Sardzong.

3. *qʰoʔ*      *məntsəkoyʔ*      *te-kə-tsə=nəʔ*      *nánəz*      *nə-smo-jə*  
 SEQ      PN                      IPFV-GP-say=DET      there      IPFV:PST-stay-3PL  
 And we stayed at a place called Mentsekou.

4. *qʰoʔ*      *táɣrot*      *kaxsovde-sle*      *jərmə*      *nə-peʔ-jə*  
 SEQ      charcoal      three.four-month      about      IPFV:PST-make<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we were making charcoal for about three to four months.

5. *jə-tsutʃaŋ=nəʔ*                      *tsʰraŋkéʃi*      *nə-ŋo*  
 1PL:POSS-section.leader=DET      PN                      IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And our section leader was Tsrangkashi.

6. *ɛjiʔ nə-futsutsaŋ o-ʃpəz=cəʔ nɐ-ŋo*  
 1SG 1PL:POSS-vice.section.leader 3SG:POSS-makeshift=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And I was a makeshift of a vice-section leader.

7. *qʰoʔ kənʃuɲi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-do.sideline=DET  
*χotɕʰəjɐn ŋavan kərdəscɐv tɕaxpɐ ʃʃaŋlo lɛlutʃustɛndzən*  
 PN PN PN PN PN PN  
*ɛgeⁿdən rjɛmtsɐn ˈbɛjkosmolɐm nəʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-to-jə*  
 PN PN PN ANA=PL IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And those who did sidelines were Xothreyan, Ngawang, Kerdeskyab, Tragpa, Fshanglo, Laluchu Standzen, Dgenden, Rgyamtsan, Mbeyko Smolam and so on.

8. *qʰoʔ nɐ-nʃuɲiʔ-jə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-do.sideline<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And so we were doing sidelines.

9. *qʰoʔ rjɛspe nə-tsoʔ jɛrmɐ*  
 SEQ quite.a.while PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub> about  
*jə-tsʰɛjʔ=rɐʔ nə-joy*  
 1PL:POSS-vegetables=PL PFV-be.completely.consumed  
*jə-ndze=rɐʔ tə-ɛrkɛrkɔnʔ*  
 1PL:POSS-food=PL PFV-be.scarce<sub>2</sub>  
 After a while, our vegetables ran out, and out food became scarce.

10. *qʰoʔ mɛr=nəʔ kə-mərku tʰɐ-ɛre-jə*  
 SEQ night=DET PURP-steal PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 At night, we went downriver to steal.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pɛtsɛj=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ njanɣɛpe ʁnez-fkorʔ tə-mərkʊʔ-jə*  
 SEQ bakchoy=and cabbage two-backload PFV-steal<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we stole two backloads of bakchoy and cabbage.
12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təfkor lɐ-nə-wôt-jə*  
 SEQ backload PFV:UPRIVER-SPON-bring<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we brought the backloads upriver.
13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɣotq<sup>h</sup>ójən nə-verʔ=kə*  
 SEQ PN PFV-be.afraid<sub>2</sub>=INS  
*nə-p<sup>hi</sup> nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 PFV-escape<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 And Xothreyan got afraid and ran away. It was thus.
14. *nəʔ o-ri=rɐʔ əntsɛjə nə-nə-verʔ-jə mɐ*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder=PL that.much PFV-SPON-be.afraid<sub>2</sub>-1PL not.exist  
 The rest (of us) were not so afraid.
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəkne-sɲi nəʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-jə*  
 SEQ a.couple.of-day ANA=PL IPFV:PST-eat<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And for the (next) couple of days we ate those (vegetables).
16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-ts<sup>h</sup>erʔ jɛrmɐ*  
 SEQ PFV-be.over<sub>2</sub> about  
*leʔ tɕwatin<sup>ʔ101</sup> tə-<sup>n</sup>di-jə janjuʔ*  
 again clasp.nail PFV-take<sub>2</sub>-1PL potato

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<sup>101</sup> From Chinese *zhuāndīng* (抓釘).

*kə-mərku tʰv-ɐre-jə*

PURP-steal PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-1PL

And they were almost all gone, and we again took up some clasp nails and went downriver to steal.

17. *qʰoʔ ˈbɛjkosmoləm=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

*ɐjiʔ tʂɛŋkaŋʔ mə-tə-ko-səˈdi-aŋ-nə ˈdenəʔ*

1SG standing.guard NEG-IMP-2→1-cause.to-take-1SG-3PL for

*ɐ-rne mɐ-fsɐʔ 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. *ɐjiʔ jaŋjuʔ ʃə-té-tʃɛt-aŋ*

1SG potato go.and-IPFV-take.out-1SG

*kádenəʔ jv-kɐ-wɛʔ nɐ-to*

in.a.while PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>

*qʰónəʔ ɐ-kóʔ=ta*

SEQ:EMPH 1SG:POSS-head=top

*coˈgrútʃot ɐ-tʰv-tə-wɛret-nə té-tsə*

pebble.sand.and.dirt IRR-PFV:DOWNRIVER-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 rjɛmtsɛn=scʰənəʔ fsotɐr-ni tʂaŋkaŋʔ ne-ˈdi-ˈndzə*

SEQ PN=and PN-DU standing.guard PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-3DU

*qʰoʔ jəjəɐvʔ jaŋjuʔ nɐ-tʃɛt-jə*

SEQ 1PL potato IPFV:PST-take.out<sub>2</sub>-1PL

So Rgyamtsan and Fsotar took guard, and we dug for potatoes.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ lə-nəwôʔt-jə*  
 SEQ PFV:UPRIVER-bring.back<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*jə-kə-fsɛʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-mɛʔ*  
 1PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-hear=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>  
 And we brought (potatoes) upriver, and no one discovered us.
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ tákrɔt=rɐʔ nɐ-peʔ-jə*  
 SEQ again charcoal=PL IPFV:PST-make<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we went back to making charcoals.
22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tékrɔt o-kə-sáʔkev=nəʔ*  
 SEQ charcoal 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-cover.with.material=DET  
*χotɕ<sup>h</sup>əjɐn=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ ɣavanɐ=niʔ nɐ-ŋo-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 PN=and PN=DU IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 And Xothreyan and Ngawang were the ones who covered the (oak sticks) with (earth).
23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tékrɔt kɐ-sáʔkev=nəʔ te-nrərəz<sup>ʔ</sup>-<sup>n</sup>dzə nɐ-ŋo*  
 SEQ charcoal INF-cover.with.material=TOP PFV:TR-take.turns<sub>2</sub>-3DU IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And the two of them took turns covering the (oak sticks) with (earth).
24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-smo-jə nɐ-ŋo*  
 SEQ IPFV-stay-1PL IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And we stayed (there like that).
25. *ʃənəʔ vɟu=cəʔ=kə jə-<sup>n</sup>ge kɐmpɐm <sup>n</sup>ge-<sup>n</sup>dzɐ*  
 but mouse=INDF=ERG 1PL:POSS-clothes often IPFV-eat<sub>3</sub>  
 But a mouse often bit our clothes.

26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ nɐ-myɛʔ-jə*  
 SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF PFV-catch<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we caught it one time.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mer=nəʔ*  
 SEQ night=TOP  
*ó-ker tʃ<sup>h</sup>iʃu tə-lêʔ-jə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-ʃnət-jə*  
 3SG:POSS-body gasoline PFV-put<sub>2</sub>-1PL SEQ PFV-light<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noʔosɛʃsət nə-lêʔ-jə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ thus PFV-release<sub>2</sub>-1PL=SUB  
 At night, when we poured gasoline on its body, lit it up, and let it go like that.

28. *sekóʔ=nənə nə-p<sup>h</sup>i q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɣ<sup>n</sup>dʒov le-te*  
 bush=inside PFV-escape<sub>2</sub> SEQ fire PFV:UPRIVER:TR-cause<sub>2</sub>  
 It ran off into the bushes and caused a fire.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jəjəʔ tə-verʔ=kə kɐ-nəɣ<sup>n</sup>dʒóʃmɛv tə-sɛʃe-jə*  
 SEQ 1PL PFV-be.afraid<sub>2</sub>=INS INF-put.out.fire PFV-begin<sub>2</sub>=1PL  
 We got scared, and began to put out the fire.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃəjɿji <sup>n</sup>denəʔ ké-ʃmɛv mə-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-jə*  
 SEQ a.long.time not.until INF-put.out NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And did not manage to put it out until a long time afterwards.

31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə=rɐʔ nɐ-ʃsət*  
 SEQ ANA=PL IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub>  
 This was what happened.

32. *qʰoʔ leʔ kámʈa nə-tsoʔ jermə*

SEQ again a.bit PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub> about

*qʰoʔ sərʃaŋʔ tʰə-ɐre-jə*

SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-1PL

And after a while, we went again downriver to Sardzong.

33. *qʰoʔ tʰopoʔ=scʰənəʔ tʰəmkiʔ=niʔ kə-wɛʔ-<sup>n</sup>dʒə-cə*

SEQ PN=and PN=DU PFV:EAST-come<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED

And Chopo and Thamkhi came over.

34. *qʰoʔ jə-kɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒe nə-mɛʔ ŋoʔ*

SEQ 1PL:POSS-food PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub> be

*nɐ-<sup>n</sup>ji nɐ-pʰov ŋoʔ=rɐʔ tə-tsəʔ-jə*

IPFV:PST-be.in.a.bad.shape<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.in.a.bad.shape<sub>2</sub> be=PL PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1PL

And we said (to them), “We have no food, and we are in a terrible shape.”

35. *qʰoʔ tʰəpoʔ=scʰənəʔ tʰəmkiʔ=niʔ jə-pʰa*

SEQ PN=and PN=DU 1PL:POSS-place

*nəscíwekə=rɐʔ tɛ-tsəʔ-<sup>n</sup>dʒə*

EXCL=PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3DU

And Chopo and Thamkhi expressed their sympathy to us.

36. *qʰoʔ tʰɛftʰaʔcə nə-o-<sup>n</sup>bəftʰi-jə*

SEQ simple PFV-INV-feed<sub>2</sub>-1PL

*qʰoʔ tátwi o-<sup>n</sup>boleʔ ne-tɛ-<sup>n</sup>bi-nə=kə*

SEQ village 3SG:POSS-male.common.cattle IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM

*tɛ-tsəʔ-<sup>n</sup>dʒə*

PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3DU

And they treated us to a simple meal, and said, “(We’ll) give you (our) village’s male common cattle!”

37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tsəjəʔ rjém̥tsən-ni qɛc<sup>h</sup>wetriʔ lɐ-ɐre-tsə*  
 SEQ 1DU PN-DU PN PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tátwi o-<sup>n</sup>boleʔ kámŋo jermɐ nə-óy-<sup>n</sup>bi-jə*  
 SEQ village 3SG:POSS-male.common.cattle five about PFV-INV-give<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 So Rgyamtsan and I went upriver to Qachweri Village and they gave us five of the village's male common cattle.

38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tsəjəniʔ=kə <sup>n</sup>boleʔ scɐ<sup>n</sup>go kə-tsom-tsə*  
 SEQ 1DU=ERG male.common.cattle PN PFV:EAST-take<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
 Then the two of us took the male common cattle east to Scango.<sup>102</sup>

39. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ scɐ<sup>n</sup>go ʒɐrɐtʃómp<sup>h</sup>e ó-p<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐre-tsə*  
 SEQ PN PN 3SG:POSS-place PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
 And went downriver to (a person called) Scango Zharachomphe.

40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʒɐrɐtʃómp<sup>h</sup>e=kə ɐjiʔ vlɛrge=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN=ERG 1SG monk=TOP  
*<sup>n</sup>boleʔ kɐ-ntsweʔ=nəʔ mɐ-nétse ŋoʔ*  
 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. *ɐju qɐ<sup>n</sup>bruʔ kə-ts<sup>h</sup>o=cəʔ toʔ=kə*  
 1SG:POSS male.yak NMLZ:SBJ-be.fat=INDF exist=INS  
*nəʔ ne-té-<sup>n</sup>bi-nə=kə te-tsəʔ*  
 ANA IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 “I have a fat male yak. I will give that away to you.”

<sup>102</sup> Name of a place near Sardzong Village in Tshobdun Township, now a village in Rkakhog (紅原) County.



42. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ=rɐʔ nə-oy-<sup>n</sup>bi-jə*  
 SEQ ANA=PL PFV-INV-give<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*fəʔnəʔ ó-fcɐ=nəʔ*  
 but 3SG:POSS-place=DET  
*<sup>n</sup>boleʔ=cəʔ=rɐʔ kə-rdɔʔ jɛrmɐ nə-k<sup>h</sup>i-tsə*  
 male.common.cattle=INDF=PL one-CL about PFV-hand.to<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
 And he gave that (male yak) to us. But in return we handed a male common cattle to him.

43. *q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ qɐ<sup>n</sup>bruʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ <sup>n</sup>boleʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH male.yak=and male.common.cattle=PL  
*jə-sɐ-nfɪyɪʔ kə-to=nəʔ nə-tsom-tsə*  
 1PL:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-do.sideline<sub>2</sub> NMZL-be.located=DET PFV:WEST-take<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
 And we brought the male yak and the male common cattle to where we were doing  
 sideline work.

44. *fɛli spɛntɔʔ=ta lɐ-wôt-jə*  
 upriver.place meadow=top PFV:UPRIVER-bring<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we (all) brought them onto the meadow upriver.

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɐ<sup>n</sup>bruʔ=nəʔ skɛm kə-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e nɐ-ŋo-jə*  
 SEQ yak=DET for.beef NMLZ-kill IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-me=rɐʔ tə-xʃerʔ-jə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-leg=PL PFV-wrap.string.around<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*nɐ-ŋo=jənəʔ nə-nlɔy*  
 IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>=just.when PFV-break.loose<sub>2</sub>  
 We were going to kill the yak, and just when we were about to tie strings around its legs,  
 it broke loose.

46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>uʔ=cəʔ nɐ-ŋo=kə*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-tend.to.gore.people=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>=INS  
*ɛge<sup>n</sup>dən tə-oɣ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>u ʃɛt<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>i t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-o-wɛrɛt*  
 PN PFV-INV-gore<sub>2</sub> downriver.place:FAR.DIST PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-throw<sub>2</sub>  
 As (the yak) was prone to gore people, it butted Gdendon and hurled him far downriver.

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jəjəɾɐʔ təvɛrʔ=kə*  
 SEQ 1PL fear=INS  
*kəmɛq<sup>h</sup>únə tomde kɐ-lɛt kə-ɛtʃətʃi-cə*  
 afterwards gun INF-do INF-be.almost-MED  
*noosɛʃsət nɐ-wɛmɛʔ-jə*  
 in.that.manner PFV-butcher<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 We got afraid and butchered it almost completely by firing guns.

48. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ ko<sup>n</sup>jɛlosɐr tə-mda jɛrmɐ=jənəʔ*  
 SEQ again Chinese.New.Year PFV-be.time.for<sub>2</sub> about=just when  
*scɐ<sup>n</sup>go lɐ-wɛʔ*  
 PN PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nánəz oʒorʔ nɐ-nlosɛrʔ-jə*  
 SEQ there meanwhile IPFV:PST-celebrate.New.Year<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And we went again to Scango just before the Chinese New Year and meanwhile spent the New Year there.

49. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ scɐ<sup>n</sup>go p<sup>h</sup>osɐr=cəʔ=kə qɐ<sup>n</sup>bruʔ tɛ-mərkɛ-cə=kə*  
 SEQ PN young.man=INDF=ERG yak PFV:TR-steal<sub>2</sub>-MED=INS  
*səqɛtsútsu jəjəɾɐʔ tə-o-sɛxtuʔ-jə*  
 stealthily 1PL PFV-INV-sell<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 A young man from Scango stole a yak, and sold it to us in secret.

50. *qʰoʔ ɐjiʔ qʰoʔ rjɛmtsɛn kɐpʰərcɐ=cəʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG SEQ PN and.group=INDF  
*mərdeʔ qfóʔ=nəŋ skɛm nɐ-wɛmɛʔ-jə*  
 PN gully=inside as.beef PFV-butcher<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And Rgyamtsan and I and some others butchered it for beef inside the Merda Gully.

51. *qʰoʔ tʰɛmtʰɛm nɐ-rɛjʰdʒət-jə=jənəʔ*  
 SEQ just.then IPFV:PST-do.skinning.and.dressing<sub>2</sub>-1PL=just.when  
*jə-qʰu rɛmde kámŋo jɛrmɐ nə-zɣôt-nə*  
 1PL:POSS-back tracker five about PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 Just when we were skinning and dressing, about five trackers arrived behind us.

52. *qʰoʔ jəɣu rjɛspe mə-nə-nɛtseʔ*  
 SEQ 2PL:POSS quite.a.lot NEG-PFV-be.suitable<sub>2</sub>  
 And (the situation) was quite embarrassing for us.

53. *qʰoʔ kádenə tʰopoʔ o-ɣnɐ*  
 SEQ in.a.while PN 3SG:POSS-relative  
*tsʰeko te-ké-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə scɛŋgo*  
 PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS PN  
*nə-ɣetɕaŋ nɐ-ŋo=kə nəʔ nə-zɣôt*  
 3PL:POSS-Village.leader IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>=INS ANA PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub>  
 And after a while, a relative of Chopo's called Tshenko, who was leader of Scango Village, arrived.

54. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ma-ɤdu ma-ɤdu kəmdiʔ*  
 SEQ NEG-matter NEG-matter all  
*kənəfsəʔsɛ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ tɛɣnɐ ʃteʔ-jə-cə=kə<sup>103</sup> nəʔ té-tsə*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ jə-skɛm mə-nə-o-n sək<sup>h</sup>i*  
 SEQ:EMPH 1PL:POSS-beef NEG-PFV-INV-snatch.away  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃɐɐʔ kə-nəjwɛt-nə*  
 SEQ 3PL PFV:EAST-return<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-fsəʔt*  
 SEQ ANA=PL IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub>  
 So he did not take away our beef, and they went back east. That was what happened.

56. *leʔ kə-təʃɛ=cɛ jəjəɐʔ kɐp<sup>h</sup>ərcɐ=rɐʔ*  
 again one-time=LOC:INDF 1PL and.group=PL  
*scəŋgo kə-o-sɛɣɐ-jə*  
 PN PFV:EAST-INV-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kónʃɛ o-rjɐɐ nɐ-peʔ-jə*  
 SEQ township 3SG::POSS-courtyard IPFV:PST-make<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 Again one time, we were instructed to go east with some other people to Scango to make a courtyard for the commune.

57. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kónʃɛ o-rjɐɐ nɐ-peʔ-jə*  
 SEQ township 3SG:POSS-courtyard IPFV:PST-make<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pəkɔŋtəɣjuʔ nɐ-peʔ-jə*  
 SEQ pillbox IPFV:PST-make<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 (There,) we were building a courtyard for the township government and also pillboxes.

<sup>103</sup> First-person plural marking is optional here.

58. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>broχpe=rɐʔ=kə*

SEQ    nomad=PL=ERG

*pəkɔŋtəχjuʔ=nəʔ    ome    <sup>n</sup>ge-q<sup>h</sup>eʔ-nə*

pillbox=DET    very    IPFV-hate-3PL

The nomads dislike pillboxes very much.

59. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    jə-təχjuʔ    χsəmʔ-təʃe=rɐn    tə-peʔ-jə*

SEQ    1PL:POSS-pillbox    three-time=even    PFV-make<sub>2</sub>-1PL

*ʃənəʔ    nɐ-n<sup>n</sup>bət*

but    PFV:DOWN-collapse<sub>2</sub>

And we built the pillbox three times, and it collapsed.

60. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kɐ-rɛʔ<sup>n</sup>dɐ    kə-mk<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ*

SEQ    INF-make.wall    NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled

*stɛ<sup>n</sup>bɐ=q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ɐ<sup>n</sup>dzən=rɐʔ    nɐ-to*

PN=and    PN=PL    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>

And there were Stanba and Andzen (among us) who were skilled in making walls.

61. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kɐ-rɛʔ<sup>n</sup>dɐ    ome    tə-ɬzɐv-jə*

SEQ    INF-make.wall    very    PFV-take.great.care<sub>2</sub>-1PL

*ʃənəʔ=nt<sup>f</sup>on    mə-nɐ-p<sup>h</sup>enʔ*

but=still    NEG-IPFV:PST-be.effective<sub>2</sub>

We took great care making the walls, but it didn't work.

62. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    jəjərvəʔ=kə    kóŋʃe=p<sup>h</sup>a*

SEQ    1PL=ERG    township=place

*<sup>n</sup>broχpe=rɐʔ    jə-z<sup>n</sup>dɐ    raŋpaʔ    <sup>n</sup>gé-p<sup>h</sup>ət-nə*

nomad=PL    1PL:POSS-wall    on.purpose    IPFV-cause.to.collapse-3PL

*ŋoʔ=rɛn tə-tsəʔ-jə nɐ-re*

be=even PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1PL IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>

So we even had to tell the township, “The nomads are making our walls collapse on purpose.”

63. *qʰoʔ kóŋʂe ʂúci=nəʔ*

SEQ township party.secretary=DET

*ⁿbərᵏʰemwe tʰaojuʃiʔ te-ké-tsə=nəʔ nɐ-ŋo=kə*

person.from.’Barkhams PN IPFV-GP-say=DET IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>=INS

And the party secretary of the township was a person from ’Barkhams called Chaoyushi.

64. *nəʔ nɐ-nəʃsɛʔ-jə*

ANA IPFV:PST-know<sub>2</sub>-1PL

*qʰoʔ jə-ta ome nɐ-χoʔ*

SEQ 1PL:POSS-top very IPFV:PST-be.kind<sub>2</sub>

And we knew him well, and he was very nice to us.

65. *qʰoʔ tɛpi tʰərv=rɐʔ*

SEQ butter cheese=PL

*o-kŋʔ kə-ⁿbêʔ nə-o-sɛχtuʔ-jə*

3SG:POSS-price NMLZ:SBJ-be.low PFV-INV-sell<sub>2</sub>-1PL

And he sold us butter and cheese and what not at very low prices.

66. *qʰoʔ kóŋʂe wənʂuʔ=nəʔ=kə nəjərvəʔ zⁿdɛ osto*

SEQ township clerk=DET=ERG 2PL wall well

*mə-tə-tə-peʔ-nə ŋoʔ=kə nə-ⁿgre mé-kʰi-aŋ te-tsəʔ*

NEG-PFV-2-make<sub>2</sub>-PL be=INS 2PL:POSS-wages NEG-give-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>

The township clerk said, “Since you failed to make the walls well, I will not pay your wages.”

67. *qʰoʔ tsəjəʔ tsʰaŋkɛʃi=niʔ=kə o-yrúmke tə-<sup>n</sup>di-tsə*  
 SEQ 1DU PN=DU=ERG 3SG:POSS-wrist PFV-take<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
*qʰoʔ kəmtʃʰa=rɐʔ tə-<sup>n</sup>dʒriʔ-tsə*  
 SEQ a.bit=PL PFV-twist<sub>2</sub>-1DU

And Tshangkashi and I grabbed his wrist and twisted it a little,

68. *qʰoʔ jə-<sup>n</sup>gre tʃʰɐ mə-tə-kʰɛ reʔ*  
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-wages why NEG-2-give be.necessary  
 “Why must you not pay our wages?”

69. *jəjəɐʔ ráŋ=kə jəyʉ tʰɐ-nfuyiʔ-tsə maʔ*  
 1PL self=ERG 1PL:POSS CONT:LTR-do.sideline<sub>2</sub>-1DU not.be  
*nəʔ tátwi óyʉ tʰɐ-nfuyiʔ-jə ʃteʔ=kə*  
 ANA village 3SG:POSS CONT:LTR-do.sideline<sub>2</sub>-1PL be:EMPH=INS  
*mɐ-kɛ-kʰi mɐ-joyʔ=rɐʔ tə-tsəʔ-tsə*  
 NEG-GP-give NEG-be.allowed=PL PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1DU

“Since we are doing sidelines for the village, it will not do not to pay,” we said.

70. *qʰoʔ jə-rpɐqʰu=kəsə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-backstage.supporter=like=DET  
*tʃʰɐɔjuʃiʔ nɐ-to ʃteʔ=kə*  
 PN IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH=INS  
*kəmɐqʰínə jə-<sup>n</sup>gre=rɐʔ ne-kʰi-nə*  
 afterwards 1PL:POSS-wages=PL PFV:TR-give<sub>2</sub>-3PL

Since there was Chaoyushi to back us up, they eventually paid our wages.

71. *qʰoʔ nə-nəwɛʔ-jə*  
 SEQ PFV:WEST-come.back<sub>2</sub>-1PL

And we came back.

72. *qʰoʔ nəʔ nɐ-fsət nɐ-tʃʰoʔ*  
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 That was what happened.

73. *leʔ mɕʰorjɛn kóŋtso=rɐʔ jə-ri jɛrmɐ=nəʔ*  
 again PN government.work=PL PROS-join about=SUB  
*qɛnorʔ o-lɛco*  
 hot.spring 3SG:POSS-place.upriver  
*ŋɛrəldəʰgu ʃə-nɛcʰaŋxu-jə*  
 PN go.and-dig.for.Notopterygium.root-1PL  
 And, just when (my eldest son) Mkhorgyam was about to take a government job, we went to Ngareldengu upriver from the hot spring to dig for *Notopterygium* roots.

74. *qʰoʔ leʔ jə-rtɕembɐ=rɐʔ tə-ɛrkɛrkɔnʔ*  
 SEQ again 1PL:POSS-tsampa=PL PFV-be.scarce<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ o-lɛco*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-place.upriver  
*ˈbroχpe nə-zɔʔ kə-rdzʔ ʃə-tʰɐ-mtsʰi-jə*  
 nomad 3PL:POSS-bovine one-CL go.and-downriver-lead-1PL  
 And again our food became scarce, and we went upriver and brought one of their bovines downriver.

75. *qʰoʔ skɛm nɐ-wɛmɛʔ-jə*  
 SEQ for.beef PFV-butcher<sub>2</sub>=1PL  
*qʰoʔ jə-kə-sərtɔʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-mɛʔ*  
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-discover=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>  
 And we butchered it for beef, and no one discovered us.



76. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ again one-time=LOC:INDF=DET  
*mts<sup>h</sup>əʔk<sup>h</sup>e=z ʃə-nənpejmoyʔ-jə*  
 PN=LOC go.and-dig.for.fritillary.bulb<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 Once gain, we went to dig for fritillary bulbs at Mtshokhe.<sup>104</sup>

77. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-npéjmoy nɛ-joy=nəʔ*  
 SEQ INF-dig.for.fritillary.bulb PFV-end<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*<sup>n</sup>broxpe o-qɛ<sup>n</sup>bruʔ ʃə-tə-mts<sup>h</sup>i-jə*  
 nomad 3SG:POSS-yak go.and-PFV-lead-1PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɛ-nəwôt-jə*  
 SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER-bring.back<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 When we finished digging for fritillary bulbs, we went uphill and stole a yak from the nomads, and brought it back.

78. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>rəwo=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ sonɛmtərjiʔ=niʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-mts<sup>h</sup>i-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 SEQ PN=and PN=DU PFV:TR-lead<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 And Khrewo and Sonam Targyi led (the yak) downriver.

79. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ cɛtərdo t<sup>h</sup>e-sɛzyôt-<sup>n</sup>dzə=jənəʔ*  
 SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-cause.to.arrive<sub>2</sub>-3DU=just.when  
*ne-ʃləy-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 PFV:TR-let.break.loose<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 Just when they got to Kyaterdo, it broke loose on them.

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<sup>104</sup> Name of a place beside a small lake on the border between Tshobdun Township and Kirtima Village in Rngaba County.

80. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ʒ<sup>n</sup>braʔ=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>goskor o-riʔ nɐ-ŋo*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-leash=DET meteor.hammer<sup>105</sup> 3SG:POSS-cord IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 It's leash was the cord of a meteor hammer.

81. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɐ<sup>n</sup>bruʔ lé-p<sup>h</sup>i=nəʔ*  
 SEQ yak IPFV-escape=SUB  
*o-<sup>n</sup>goskor rc<sup>h</sup>aŋrc<sup>h</sup>aŋrc<sup>h</sup>aŋ ne-sətsə*  
 3SG:POSS-meteor.hammer IDPH IPFV-cause.to.do  
 As the yak was escaping, the meteor hammer made continuous clinking sounds.

82. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɐq<sup>h</sup>únəʔ leʔ qɐ<sup>n</sup>bruʔ ne-myeʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 SEQ afterwards again yak PFV:TR-catch<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tátwi=kə skəm nɐ-nə-wɐmɐʔ-jə*  
 SEQ village=ERG for.beef PFV-SPON-butcher<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 Afterwards, the two of them caught the yak again.

83. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɐq<sup>h</sup>únəʔ t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>n</sup>djuʃɛnkemin júntoŋ*  
 SEQ afterwards 1976.Counter. revolutionary movement  
*te-ké-tsə=cəʔ jɐ-wɛʔ=kə*  
 IPFV-GP-say=INDF PFV-come<sub>2</sub>=INS  
 A movement called “1976 Counter-revolutionary Movement” started,

84. *nə-scon kə-toʔ*  
 2PL:POSS-problem NMLZ:SBJ-exist  
*kɐ-səsiʔ kɐ-nsemŋɛn t<sup>h</sup>ɛmtʃet=rɐʔ tə-o-səɣ-<sup>n</sup>dzor-jə*  
 GP-think GP-suspect all=PL PFV:UP-INV-cause.to.stand<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 and they made all of us who people thought or suspected (lit. you) had problems stand up.

<sup>105</sup> 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 zoʔ ʰge-kə-mərku=rəʔ*  
 SEQ formerly bovine IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-steal=PL  
*kəmdiʔ nə-to-jə*  
 all IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And all of us who used to steal bovines were there.
86. *qʰoʔ oʒorʔ*  
 SEQ meanwhile  
*sələfəntsə=rəʔ=ntʃon tə-o-səyʰdzor-nə*  
 Four-Categories.people=PL=also PFV:UP-INV-cause.to.stand<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And meanwhile, people of the “Four-Categories”<sup>106</sup> were also made to stand up.
87. *qʰoʔ rjəspe=rəʔ kónʃe tʃitʃifəntsə=rəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ quite.a.while=PL township activist=PL=ERG  
*jə-kə-zrəffət tə-rəntsʰa-nə*  
 1PL:POSS-NMLZ-cause.to.confess PFV-try<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And for a long time the activists of the township tried to make us confess.
88. *qʰoʔ tétʰə sonəmterjiʔ=kə zoʔ nə-kə-mərkuʔ=rəʔ*  
 SEQ PN PN=ERG bovine IPFV:PST-NMLZ-steal<sub>2</sub>=PL  
*kəmdiʔ kə-rəffət tə-rəntsʰa*  
 all NMLZ-confess PFV-try<sub>2</sub>  
 And Sonam Targyi from Tatho Hamlet were ready to confess how we used to steal bovines.

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<sup>106</sup> Four categories of people considered to be enemies of the revolution in China, including landlords, rich farmers, counter-revolutionaries, and “bad elements”.

89. *ʃənəʔ jəjərvəʔ=kə*  
 but 1PL=ERG  
*jəjərvəʔ=ŋónə nɐ-mərkuʔ-jə mɐ*  
 1PL=TOP:EMPH IPFV:PST-steal<sub>2</sub>-1PL not.exist  
*nɛjiʔ sonɛmterjiʔ tʰə nɐ-tə-mərkuʔ toʔ=nəʔ mɛ-siz-jə*  
 2SG PN what IPFV:PST-2-steal<sub>2</sub> 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. *toʔ qʰónə*  
 exist SEQ:EMPH  
*nɛjiʔ kə-rdɔʔ=kə nɛnfútsɛj reʔ ʰdenəʔ*  
 2SG one-CL=ERG be.responsible<sub>3</sub> be.necessary for  
*jəjərvəʔ mɐ-nəkwenʔ-jə tə-tsəʔ-jə*  
 1PL NEG-be.concerned-1PL PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 “If you did, then you must be responsible for it alone. We will stay out of it,” we said.

91. *qʰónəʔ me-ne-rɛffɛt qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰúnə nə-oy-lêʔ-jə*  
 SEQ:EMPH NEG-IPFV-confess<sub>2</sub> SEQ afterwards PFV-INV-release<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 So he did not confess. And afterwards, we were released.

92. *qʰoʔ nə-kɐ-pe=cəʔ nɐ-mɛʔ*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>  
 And there was nothing (they) could do.

93. *qʰoʔ kə-sasúqʰu=nəʔ sələfəntsə*  
 SEQ one-afternoon=DET Four.Categories  
*χojíŋo kətáɕɛv=cəʔ ne-naɕʰdaɕʰduʔ-nə*  
 PN and.group=INDF PFV:TR-beat<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-3PL

*qʰoʔ      ne-nɛltʂʰəlʃe-nə      əntsətse*

SEQ      PFV:TR-drag.about<sub>2</sub>-3PL      continuously

And for one entire afternoon, they kept beating up “Four-Category” people like Hoyu’e and her group, and dragged them about.

94. *qʰónəʔ      nəʔ=kəsci      nɐ-fsât*

SEQ:EMPH      ANA-like      IPFV:PST-be

What happened what like that.

95. *jəjərcʰ=nəʔ      mə-na-ɛduʔ*

1PL:POSS=TOP      NEG-PFV-be.serious<sub>2</sub>

As for us, things were not too serious.

96. *qʰoʔ      nəʔ      nɐ-fsât      nɐ-tʃʰoʔ*

SEQ      ANA      IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub>      IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

And that was what happened.

## II. LOCAL HISTORY AND CULTURE

### RGYALRONG TIBETAN NAMES

*kəru? rmi?*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *kəru? tɛ-rmi? = nə?*  
 Rgyalrong.Tibetan name=TOP  
 Speaking of Rgyalrong Tibetan names,
  
2. *tɛlɲa? ʰge-to? ɣso-sɲi jɛrmɐ ne-tso*  
 child IPFV:DOWN-exist three-day about IPFV-elapse  
*qʰo? vlɛrge maʰdenə? vlɛmesprəsku ó-pʰa*  
 SEQ monk or reincarnate.Buddha 3SG:POSS-place  
*tɛlɲa? o-rmi? ʃə-te-kɐ-sə-tʃɛt*  
 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. *qʰo? tɛtʃu stʰo? kə-xtɛ? = nə?*  
 SEQ son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET  
*vlɛrge o-spe ɲo? tʰoz? = kə*  
 monk 3SG:POSS-material be be.the.rule=INS  
*vlɛgɐ.rmi? kɛ-tʃɛt re? ɲo?*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *o-rmi?* *st<sup>h</sup>o?* *kə-m̃ni?*=*nə?*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-name most NMLZ:SBJ-be.few=DET  
*vde-táke* *to?* *ŋo?*  
 four-syllable exist be  
 His name should be at least four-syllables long.

5. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *vlərge* *o-spe=rə?* *ma?*  
 SEQ monk 3SG:POSS-material=PL not-be  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə?* *o-rmi?* *vde-táke* *kə-to?*  
 SEQ:EMPH 3SG:POSS-name four-syllable POSS-exist  
*tə-kə-ntfət=fə* *k<sup>h</sup>út*  
 PFV-GP-take<sub>2</sub>=also be.feasible  
 If he is not supposed to be a monk, then his name can also be four-syllables long.

6. *ma<sup>n</sup>denə?* *ɣne-táke* *nə-ŋo=fə* *k<sup>h</sup>út* *fte?*  
 or two-syllable IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>=also be.feasible be:EMPH  
 Or (the name) can also be two-syllables long.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *kəru-rmi?* *v-tə-kə-tsə=nə?*  
 SEQ Rgyalrong.Tibetan-name IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB  
*o-rmi?* *st<sup>h</sup>o* *o-ɣóri=nə?*  
 3SG:POSS-name most 3SG:POSS-front=DET  
*o-k<sup>h</sup>ɛfu* *o-rmi?* *te-kə-pe* *ŋo?*  
 3SG:POSS-house.name 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say be  
*o-zqéq<sup>h</sup>unə?* *noŋme* *o-rmi?* *kə-ta?* *te-kə-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.

8. *o-xper=kə* *v-tə-ké-tsə=nə?*  
 3SG:POSS-example=INS IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB  
*ɕji?* *v-rmi?* *rtənlo* *ŋo?*  
 1SG 1SG:POSS-name PN be  
 To give an example, my name is Bstanblo.

9. *ʃənə?* *kə-taŋ* *tonda?* *kə-xtɛ? =kəsə* *v-nɛ-to*  
 but NMLZ:SBJ-be.formal matter NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=like IRR-PFV-exist  
*qʰónə?* *stʰɔre* *ɛ-kʰe* *o-rmi?*  
 SEQ:EMPH first 1SG:POSS-house 3SG:POSS-name  
*mɛlen* *ké-tsə* *re?* *ŋo?*  
 by.necessity GP-say be.necessary be  
 But on formal occasions, it is necessary to say my house's name first.

10. *noozqéqʰunə?* *noŋme* *v-rmi?* *te-kɛ-pe*  
 after.that only.then 1SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say  
*məndāci* *rtənlo* *te-ké-tsə*  
 PN PN IPFV-GP-say  
 And only afterwards comes my real name: Mendeci Bstanblo.

11. *qʰónə?* *rjántunə* *kʰe* *o-rmi? =nə?* *ké-tsə* *mɛ-re?*  
 SEQ:EMPH often house 3SG:POSS-name=DET GP-say NEG-be.necessary  
 Then it is often not necessary for people to use house names.

12. *mɛnde?* *qʰónə?* *tɛrmi?* *kə-náχtʃəy* *nɛ-to*  
 except name NMLZ-be.same IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰónə?* *noŋménə?* *kʰɛrmi?* *te-kɛ-pe* *ŋo?*  
 SEQ:EMPH not.until house.name IPFV-GP-say be  
 Except when there are (people bearing) identical names, then people use the house names.



13. *tərmi?*    *vde-táke*    *kə-to?*=ntʰon    *zdumɲaŋ*    *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-xper=kə*    *ɐ-tə-ké-tsə=nə?*  
 3SG:POSS-example=INS    IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

*ʲərmet*    *ɛdórʒe*    *tərmi?*=*nə?*    *ʲərdo*

PN    PN    name=DET    PN

*maʰdenə?*    *o-rmi?*    *le-kə-méko*    *maʰdenə?*

or    3SG:POSS-name    IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.former    or

*le-kə-məqʰu*    *te-ké-tsə*    *tsaxta?*    *ŋo?*

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. *ʱbrɔχpe*    *ɐ-tə-ké-tsə=nə?*

nomad    IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

*kə-taŋ*    *nə-rmi?*=*nə?*    *raŋraŋ*    *tsʰowe*

NMLZ:SBJ-be.formal    3PL:POSS-name=DET    separately    tribe

*o-rmi?*=*cə?*    *to?*    *ŋo?*=*kə*

3SG:POSS-name=INDF    exist    be=INS

*nənə?*    *stʰɔre*    *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.

16. *qʰo?*    *noʔozgégʰu*    *noɲme*    *kə-ta?*    *tə-rmi?*=*nə?*    *te-ké-tsə*  
 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-χper=kə* *v-tə-ké-tsə=nə?*  
 3SG:POSS-example=INS IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB  
*ts'howe* *ɛɛʃisaŋ* *ma<sup>n</sup>denə?* *χorésaŋ* *ké-tsə* *to?* *ŋo?*  
 tribe PN or PN GP-say exist be  
 For example, there are tribes that are called Dbashitshang or Xoratshang.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *nə-rmi?*=*nə?*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-name=DET  
*le?* *ɛɛʃi?.**vlovzaŋ* *ma<sup>n</sup>denə?* *χorɛ.p<sup>h</sup>ənts<sup>h</sup>ɔ*  
 also Dbashi.blo.bzang or Xora.phun.tshogs  
*nə?*=*kəsə* *te-ké-tsə* *ŋo?* *t<sup>h</sup>oz?*  
 ANA=like IPFV-GP-say be be.the.rule  
 And their names would be called Dbashi Lobzang or Xora Phuntshogs and the like.

19. *ʃənə?* *rjəntunə?* *ts'howe* *o-rmi?* *kə-pe=nt<sup>h</sup>on* *ma-re?*  
 but often tribe 3SG:POSS-name GP-make=also NEG-be.necessary  
 But often the tribe's name is also not necessary.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *o-rmi?* *tsaχtsa?* *te-kə-pe* *ŋo?* *t<sup>h</sup>oz?*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-name only IPFV-GP-say be be.the.rule  
 And as a rule one calls them only by their personal names.

21. *jəʃərə?* *kuru?* *kər<sup>n</sup>bjo?* *né-set* *ozgéq<sup>h</sup>u*  
 1PL Rgyalrong.Tibetan person IPFV-die afterwards  
*q<sup>h</sup>o?* *o-rmi?* *kə-nést<sup>h</sup>or* *kə-pe* *mɛ-t<sup>h</sup>oz?*  
 SEQ 3SG: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. *mɲəɲɛʔ nə-kə-set o-rmiʔ kɛ-pe nɛ-ŋo=ntʰon*  
 laity PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-set<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-name GP-say IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>=even  
 Even if one has to say the names of deceased laypeople,
23. *stʰɔre nə-kə-set tərme=nəʔ ˈdɤspe te-kɛ-tsə*  
 first PFV-NMZL:SBJ-die<sub>2</sub> man=DET Ndaspa<sup>107</sup> IPFV-GP-say  
*qʰoʔ noŋme o-rmiʔ te-kɛ-pe*  
 SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say  
 one first calls a deceased man “Ndaspa”, and then says his name.
24. *qʰoʔ nə-kə-set təmɛ=nəʔ ˈdɤsme te-kɛ-tsə*  
 SEQ PFV-NMZL:SBJ-die<sub>2</sub> man=DET Ndasma<sup>108</sup> IPFV-GP-say  
*qʰoʔ noŋme o-rmiʔ te-kɛ-pe*  
 SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say  
 And one calls a deceased woman “Ndasma”, and then says her name.
25. *qʰoʔ vlɛrge nə-kə-χfa o-rmiʔ kɛ-pe nɛ-ŋo=ntʰon*  
 SEQ monk PFV-NMZL:SBJ-die<sub>2</sub>:HON 3SG:POSS-name GP-say IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>=also  
 Also, if one is to say the name of a deceased monk,
26. *stʰɔre ffaχpe te-kɛ-tsə*  
 first Gshegspa<sup>109</sup> IPFV-GP-say  
*qʰoʔ noŋme o-rmiʔ te-kɛ-pe tʰoʔzʔ*  
 SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say be.the.rule  
 as a rule, one first says “Gshegspa” and then says his name.

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<sup>107</sup> WT <ʼdas.pa> ‘the deceased’.

<sup>108</sup> WT <ʼdas.ma> ‘the deceased (female)’.

<sup>109</sup> WT <gshegs.pa> ‘the deceased [HON]’.

27. *ma<sup>n</sup>deʔq<sup>h</sup>onə tə-jiʔ tə-ynə tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ te-ké-tsə*  
 or GP:POSS-self GP:POSS-relation what NMZL-be=DET IPFV-GP-say  
*ma<sup>n</sup>deʔq<sup>h</sup>onə k<sup>h</sup>ərmiʔ te-kə-pe*  
 or house.name IPFV-GP-say

Or one spells out one's relation with the deceased person, or says his house name.

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noŋme=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>dəspe <sup>n</sup>dəsme ffaχpe te-ké-tsə*  
 SEQ only.then=DET Ndaspa Ndasma Gshegspa IPFV-GP-say  
 And then says Ndaspe, Ndasme, or Gshegspa.

29. *o-χper=kə ɐ-vəʔ <sup>n</sup>dəspe*  
 3SG:POSS-example=INS 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle Ndaspa  
*é-mo <sup>n</sup>dəsme*  
 1SG:POSS-mother Ndasma  
*é-rpu ffaχpe*  
 1SG:POSS-maternal.uncle Gshegspa  
*mandenəʔ retawe <sup>n</sup>dəspe nə-ləsɔʔ te-ké-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 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

*kəruʔ jəkʰezeʔ*

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *spjər kəruʔ jə-kʰezeʔ ɐ-nɐ-kɐ-ffɛt=nəʔ*  
 in.general Tibetan 1PL:POSS-dog IRR-PFV-GP-narrate=SUB  
*mɐ-kə-náχtʃəʔ χsəmʔ jɐrmɐ toʔ-cə*  
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same three about exist-MED

Generally speaking, we Tibetan have about three different kinds of dogs.

2. *nəʔ χsəmʔ tʃʰə ɲoʔ ɐ-tə-kʰe-tsə=nəʔ*  
 ANA three what be IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

As to what the three kinds of dogs are,

3. *roŋʔ o-sɛtʃʰe*  
 farming.area 3SG:POSS-land  
*raŋpaʔ kʰezeʔ kə-raχta=cəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ*  
 special dog NMLZ:SBJ-do.chasing=INDF exist be  
 there is a special kind of hunting dog in the land of the agricultural Tibetans.

4. *ˈbroχpe o-sɛtʃʰe=z zɡocʰiʔ o-spe*  
 nomad 3SG:POSS-land=LOC watch.dog 3SG:POSS-material  
*lɛwo=scʰənəʔ rjɐˈbrəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ*  
 Tibetan.mastiff=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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ      <sup>n</sup>broχc<sup>h</sup>iʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ      roŋc<sup>h</sup>iʔ*  
 SEQ      dog.of.nomadic.area=and      dog.of.agricultural.area  
*mɛ-kə-náχtʃəʔ=cəʔ      toʔ=nəʔ*  
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same=INDF      exist=TOP  
 As for the differences between dogs of nomadic and agricultural areas,

6. *<sup>n</sup>broχc<sup>h</sup>iʔ      xteʔ      χfo      q<sup>h</sup>oʔ      ɛwəzɛrʔ      ŋoʔ*  
 dog.of.nomadic.area      be.big      be.brawny      SEQ      be.intimidating      be  
*ʃənəʔ      ántsɛjə      mɛ-ɛʃpɛlɛ      ŋoʔ*  
 but      that.much      NEG-be.nimble      be  
 dogs of nomadic areas are big, brawny, and intimidating, but they are not that agile.

7. *<sup>n</sup>broχc<sup>h</sup>iʔ lɛwo      taŋmɛ=nəʔ*  
 Tibetan.mastiff      pure.bred=DET  
*<sup>n</sup>broχpe      káloy      nə-sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z      kə-toʔ      ŋoʔ*  
 nomad      herder      3PL:POSS-place=LOC      NMLZ-exist      be  
 Pure-bred Tibetan mastiffs are found in the land of the nomadic herders.

8. *ʃənəʔ      χʃíkə      rkon      tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 but      very      be.rare      be.the.rule  
 But they are very rare.

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ      lɛwo=nəʔ      rgéli      jɛrmɛ      xteʔ      taʔ*  
 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. *χʃíkə      χfo=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ      ʃtsɛn      ké-tsə      tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 very      be.brawny=and      be.fierce      GP-say      be.the.rule  
 And they are very brawny and fierce.

11. *lɛwo* *oxɬənəʔ*  
Tibetan.mastiff in.the.main  
*ʐəʔ káloy=scʰənəʔ qɛjiʔ káloy nə-prɛke=z ké-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 cowherders and sheep-herders.
12. *qʰoʔ kəmərku=scʰənəʔ χɬfɛⁿdzɛn mɛ-kə-wi*  
SEQ thief=and carnivore NEG-NMLZ-come  
*nəʔ o-spe ŋoʔ*  
ANA 3SG:POSS-material be  
Their function is to prevent thieves and carnivores from coming.
13. *qʰoʔ qɛjiʔ káloy nə-lɛwo*  
SEQ sheep herder 3PL:POSS-Tibetan.mastiff  
*náŋzgo ɬsɛn*  
especially be.fierce  
And Tibetan mastiffs owned by sheep-herders are especially fierce.
14. *nə-prɛke ɐ-lɛ-kɛ-fɛ qʰoʔ ɐ-nə-nlɔyʔ=nəʔ*  
3PL:POSS-camp.site IRR-PFV:UPRIVER-GP-go SEQ IRR-PFV-break.loose=SUB  
*kə-taŋ kɛ-oy-ⁿdze*  
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-kɛ-nwɛje ne-kɛ-ɸⁿdu=ntɬʰon ántsɛjə mɛ-pʰɛn*  
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-ne-ŋo=nəʔ*      *v-ne-səc<sup>h</sup>v=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*      *ne-z=nəʔ*      *ne-kv-ne<sup>s</sup>t<sup>h</sup>or*

3SG:POSS-ear      two=DET      IPFV-GP-grab

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *o-koʔ*      *<sup>n</sup>ge-kv-znəkotsəʔ*

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *o-vdaχpo*      *mə-jv-wεʔ*      *məpért<sup>h</sup>v*

SEQ      3SG:POSS-owner      NEG-PFV-come<sub>2</sub>      not.until

*<sup>n</sup>ge-kv-<sup>n</sup>di*      *t<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*

IPFV:DOWN-GP-hold      be.the.rule

and hold it down until its owner comes.

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *méju*      *qəjiʔ*      *káloy*      *nə-k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ*

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *nə-rjəre*      *te-sroŋ*      *kəmərku*      *mə-kə-wi =sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*

SEQ      3PL:POSS-sheepfold      IPFV-guard      thief      NEG-NMLZ-come =and

*spjaŋku*      *qəperʔ=rəʔ*      *mə-kə-wi*      *te-poj*      *ŋoʔ*

wolf      dhole=PL      NEG-NMLZ-come      IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>      be

and (the dogs) guard their sheepfolds and prevent thieves, wolves, dholes, and what not from coming.



21. *o-xper=kə*

3SG:POSS-example=INS

For example,

22. *qəji? v-nə-ɸ<sup>n</sup>dor=nə?*

sheep IRR-PFV-be.dispersed=SUB

*te-jzom? q<sup>h</sup>o? ke-skor*

IPFV-gather SEQ IPFV-surround

*q<sup>h</sup>o? mə-kə-nəfəʃvə=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə? mə-kə-rla? te-poj ŋo?*

SEQ NEG-NMLZ-go.away =and NEG-NMLZ-be.lost IPFV-do<sub>3</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>o? k<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>ε? k<sup>h</sup>eze?=rə?*

SEQ some dog=PL

*o-táŋxv=rə? x<sup>h</sup>ikə kə-xtε?*

3SG:POSS-bluffing=PL very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big

*té-mda=nə? o-sni kə-xtfi to? t<sup>h</sup>oz?*

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 <sup>n</sup>goskor te-ké-tfət ma<sup>n</sup>denə?*

especially meteor.hammer IPFV-GP-take or

*kə-nv<sup>n</sup>bjo?=cə? tá-ja-ɸvər v-né-to*

NMLZ:SBJ-shine=INDF GP:POSS-hand-surface IRR-PFV-exist

*q<sup>h</sup>ónə kə-səyvər <sup>n</sup>bét fte?*

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-vdaχpo=nəʔ χʃikə kə-saχpaʔ=cəʔ*  
 but 3SG:POSS-master=DET very NMLZ:SBJ-respect=INDF  
 But they respect their masters a lot.

26. *məkətsʰət tərja ɐ-nə-rzɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 not.only time IRR-PFV-be.long=SUB  
*tɛzdeʔ nɛjtsʰu ŋoʔ*  
 companion serve.as be  
 Moreover, they keep one company if one feels lonely.

27. *tə-kə-nɛkʰoj ɐ-nɛ-to=nəʔ kɐ-o-qor ŋoʔ*  
 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. *tsʰɛt=kə jenkʰɐ ɐ-nɐ-kə-tʰəɣʔ=nəʔ*  
 not.only danger IRR-PFV-GP:NVOL-meet=SUB  
*tə-srɔʔ=rɛn kɛ-ret cʰɐ ŋoʔ*  
 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-tənʔ=kə lɛwo=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS Tibetan.mastiff=DET  
*kərʰbjoʔ o-cɛvʔ=rɛn=nəʔ rɿʂəzʔ-nə*  
 person 3SG:POSS-rank=even=DET count.as-3PL  
*qʰoʔ χʃikə znɛje-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. *qʰoʔ oxtɐ ˈbroχpe o-sɐtʃʰe*  
 SEQ in.the.main nomad 3SG:POSS-land  
*kə-némɔ kə-toʔ rjɐˈbrəɣʔ=nəʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.in.the.majority NMLZ:SBJ-exist four.eyed.dog=DET  
*mer=nəʔ χʃíkə ɐˈdzət tʃʰozʔ*  
 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. *nəʔ tʃʰɐz ɲoʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA why be=TOP  
 As for why that is so,

32. *rjɐˈbrəɣʔ=nəʔ*  
 “four-eyed” dog=TOP  
*tájo=ntʃʰon mtɛʔ tʃʰozʔ kɛ-tsə ɲoʔ*  
 ghost=too see<sub>3</sub> be.the.rule GP-say be  
 the four-eyed dogs see ghosts too, it is said.

33. *ʃɲontsʰe=z kə-tápu ɤzɐme=cəʔ*  
 former.time=LOC one-family married.couple=INDF  
*nɐ-to-ˈdzə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-2DU be-MED  
 Once, there were a married couple in a family,

34. *ˈdzə-kómtʰɔ=nəʔ rjɐˈbrəɣʔ=cəʔ ˈgɛˈvra-ˈdzə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 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 tɛpɾiqʰu jɛrmɐ kɐ-ɛʰdzət tɛ-jɐʔ*  
 SEQ night time.after.supper about INF-bark IPFV-begin<sub>3</sub>  
 And at night about after supper, it would begin to bark.

36. *qʰoʔ mɔ-lɐ-fsiʔ mɛpɛrtʰɐ ʰge-ɛʰdzət ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NEG-PFV-dawn<sub>2</sub> not.until IPFV-bark be-MED  
 And it would keep barking until dawn.

37. *qʰoʔ ɔ-ta vdaɣpo=niʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-top master=DU  
*ɛdɛnbe mɛ-ʰge-znəjɐv ɲoʔ-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 zaʔ rjɛspe nɔ-tsoʔ=nɔʔ*  
 SEQ time quite.a.while PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 After quite a while,

39. *tɛnma=nɔʔ=kə*  
 husband=DET=INS  
 the husband (said),

40. *nɔʔ kʰezeʔ mer kɛmjɐm tɛ-kə-ɛʰdzət*  
 ANA dog night always IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-bark  
*tə-kornɛqʰɐ ke-kə-cuʔ=nɔʔ=kə*  
 GP:POSS-disturbance IPFV:IN-NMLZ:SBJ-open=DET=INS  
*mɐ-kɐ-o-znəjɐv-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. *fsáfsi ó-ta=nəʔ kʰezeʔ ʃə-kə-nəwəŋəŋə ɲoʔ*  
 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-zdeʔ=pʰa te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-spouse=place PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He said thus to his wife.
43. *qʰoʔ o-zdeʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-spouse=DET=INS  
*mer kʰezeʔ te-kə-éʰdzət=nəʔ*  
 night dog IPFV-NMLZ-bark=SUB  
*tʰə-kə-re-cə ɲoʔ ntorjə*  
 CONT:LTR-NMLZ-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED be DM  
*ne-kə-mə=nəʔ mɐ-vde ntor te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-NMLZ-not.exist=SUB NEG-be.good DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *ʃənəʔ té-nma mə-nə-kʰût-cə*  
 but husband NEG-IPFV:PST-allow<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But the husband would not listen.
45. *qʰoʔ nəʔofʃáfsi=nəʔ ʰdzə-kʰezeʔ ʃə-ne-nəŋəŋəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ next.day=DET 3DU:POSS-dog AND-PFV-drive.away<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The next day, he went and got rid of their dog.

46. *qʰoʔ nəʔ o-mer nɐ-rⁿguʔ-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-night IPFV:PST-sleep₂-3DU be-MED  
 That night, they slept.

47. *qʰoʔ kʰezeʔ=rɐʔ kə-ɛⁿdzət nə-mɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ dog=PL NMLZ-bark PFV-not.exist₂ be-MED  
*qʰoʔ nɐ-scət-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-be.comfortable₂-3DU be-MED  
 The dog's barking was gone, and they were comfortable.

48. *ʃənəʔ jə-ʃsiʔ jɛrmɐ=nəʔ*  
 but PROS-dawn about=SUB  
 But when day was about to break,

49. *kómtʰə komʔ tə-kə-znɐⁿderʔ=cəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 courtyard door PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.make.noises₂=INDF exist be-MED  
 in the courtyard, something was causing the door to make noises.

50. *qʰoʔ ne-sɐɲi-ⁿdzə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PFV:TR-listen₂-3DU=SUB  
 As they listened,

51. *kéde=nəʔ*  
 in.a.while=TOP  
*skéɲʔta=cɛ kərⁿbjoʔ tɛrtɐ kə-ɐs-qɛrte=cəʔ*  
 landing=INDF person hat NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear.hat=INDF  
*tə-wɛʔ*  
 PFV:UP-come₂  
 in a moment, a man wearing a hat came upstairs to a place near the (first-floor) landing,

52. *qʰoʔ ʁʃikə nɐ-kə-mqɐʔ=kəsə*  
 SEQ very IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.tired<sub>2</sub>=like  
*oʒorʔ xəcʰəcʰu te-tsəʔ*  
 meanwhile IDPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 uttering a panting sound as if he was very tired,
53. *qʰoʔ nə-mɐŋɛʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-not.be.seen<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 and then he disappeared.
54. *nəʔəqʰuqʰoʔ kɐʰdzəmɛzdeʔ=niʔ*  
 afterwards couple=DU  
*ʰdzə-rtóχpe tə-sceʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 3DU:POSS-suspicion PFV-grow<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the couple began to have misgivings.
55. *qʰoʔ nəʔofsəʃsi=nəʔ ténma=nəʔ kɐ-nʰgiʔ te-je*  
 SEQ next.day=DET husband=DET INF-be.ill PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 And the next day, the husband began to get sick.
56. *qʰónə kə-lɛn mə-nə-tsoʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH NMLZ-exist.in.quantity NEG-PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ nə-set ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-die<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And he died not long afterwards.
57. *nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*rjɐʰbrəyʔ mer te-kə-éʰdzət=nəʔ*  
 four.eyed.dog night IPFV-NMLZ-bark=SUB

*fə-kə-nəwəŋəŋə mə-tʰoʔ*  
AND-GP-drive.away NEG-be.the.rule

Therefore, it is not proper to go and drive away a “four-eyed” dog which barks at night,

58. *ⁿdenəʔ təʃo te-néⁿdzət*  
for ghost IPFV-bark.at  
*qʰoʔ mə-kə-wi te-poj tʰoʔ kə-tsə ŋoʔ-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 roŋə o-sətʰe kə-rəχta kʰezeʔ=nəʔ*  
SEQ farming.area 3SG:POSS-land NMLZ:SBJ-do.chasing dog=TOP  
As for hunting dogs in the land of agricultural Tibetans,

60. *xtfi mə-mtʰo əntsəʃə mə-χfo*  
be.small NEG-be.strong that.much NEG-be.brawny  
*fənəʔ χfi kə ⁿbjəmʔ qʰoʔ ʋfpəlʋ tʰoʔ ŋoʔ*  
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-χtaʔ=nəʔ redaʔ ⁿge-mtəʔ*  
game.animal IPFV-chase=SUB game.animal IPFV-see₃  
*maʔ ŋoʔ fənəʔ o-ldi ⁿge-fsəʔ ŋoʔ*  
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. *məkátst<sup>h</sup>et* *χso-sŋi* *jərmə* *nə-kə-tso?* *reda?*  
 not.only three-day about PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-elapse<sub>2</sub> game.animal  
*nə-kə-nkε?*=*ntf<sup>h</sup>on* *o-ldi?* *fsə?* *ŋo?*  
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-walk<sub>2</sub>=also 3SG:POSS-scent perceive<sub>3</sub> be  
 Moreover, they can even pick up scent left by animals that have walked by three days before.

63. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *o-χper*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-example  
 For example,

64. *reda?* *o-ldi* *some* *ne-fsə* *fie?*  
 game.animal 3SG:POSS-scent be.fresh IPFV-perceive<sub>3</sub> be:EMPH  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə* *kə-χta?* *te-jə?*  
 SEQ:EMPH INF-chase IPFV-begin<sub>3</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>o?* *rjəŋ<sup>n</sup>dzət* *te-lət* *ŋo?*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *reda?* *ne-səyt<sup>h</sup>et*  
 SEQ game.animal IPFV-cause.to.become.exhausted  
*q<sup>h</sup>o?* *prá=nan* *ma<sup>n</sup>denə?* *sekó?=ta* *te-səyfə*  
 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-do<sub>3</sub>  
*qʰoʔ təfcətʰdzət te-lət ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ cornering.barking IPFV:UP-release be  
 And have them (thus) cornered. And they give “cornering” barks.

67. *qʰoʔ kəqərɲiʔ=rɐʔ=kə*  
 SEQ hunter=PL=ERG  
*kʰezeʔ o-tə-ʰdzət te-nɐrtɔxpjet-nə*  
 dog 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-bark IPFV-observe-3PL  
 And the hunters observe how the dogs bark.

68. *qʰoʔ rjəɣʰdzət te-lət=nəʔ*  
 SEQ running-bark IPFV:UP-release=SUB  
*nə-ste te-mdzu-nə qʰoʔ ne-nɛji-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. *təfcətʰdzət te-lət=nəʔ*  
 cornering.bark IPFV:UP-release=SUB  
*qʰoʔ təfcətʰdzət kə-ɐsɐ-lət ɔ-pʰjɔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ cornering.bark NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-release 3SG:POSS-diection=DET  
*tomde maʔdenəʔ tɛfsɛri təʰbre tɛ-ʰdi-nə*  
 gun or hempan.rope IPFV:UP-take-3PL  
*qʰoʔ redaʔ kə-ntʃe jɐ-fɐ-nə ɲoʔ tʃʰozʔ*  
 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

*jəjəre? jəsətʃʰe qəjwε?*

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *jəjəre? jə-sətʃʰe=z qəjwε? mŋo-tərem jərmε to?*  
 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC fish five-CL about exist  
 There are about five kinds of fish in our land.

2. *qεʰdʒe qʰo? χserɲε*  
 taimen<sup>110</sup> and Prenant's.schizothoracin<sup>111</sup>  
*lənswíju tʃəne ʃepétsət ŋo?*  
 naked.carp<sup>112</sup> loach sisorid.catfish<sup>113</sup> be  
 They are the Sichuan taimen, the Prenant's schizothoracin, the naked carp, the loach, and the sisorid catfish.

3. *qʰo? qεʰdʒe=nə? oxtε qəjwεpu te-ʰdzε ŋo?*  
 SEQ taimen=TOP in.the.main young.fish IPFV-eat<sub>3</sub> be  
 The Sichuan taimens feed mainly on small fish.

4. *qʰo? stʰo? kə-xtε? =nə?*  
 SEQ most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET  
*orʃe tərpe jərmε to? kə-tsə tʃʰoʒ?*  
 hundred catty about exist GP-say be.the.rule  
 The biggest of them can weigh one hundred catties, it is said.

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<sup>110</sup> A salmonidae fish (川陝哲羅鮭 *Hucho bleekeri*).

<sup>111</sup> A cyprinid fish of the Schizothorax genus (齊口裂腹魚 *Schizothorax prenanti*).

<sup>112</sup> A naked carp species (松潘裸鯉 *Gymnocypris potanini Herzenstein*).

<sup>113</sup> A species of sisorid catfish (黃石爬鮡 *Euchiloglanis kishinouyei Kimura*).

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-<sup>n</sup>dʒwɛʔ lden-ta ʁfíkə ɛmtʃɔ ɲoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒɛ kɛ-tʃɛt=nəʔ*  
 SEQ Sichuan.taimen GP-catch=TOP  
*oxtɐ ʃtʃɛrʔ qɛʝwɛpu tɛ-kɐ-myɪiʔ*  
 in.the.main summer young.fish IPFV-GP-prepare  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɐrtsu t<sup>h</sup>e-wi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ winter IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come=SUB  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒɛ o-sɐ-smo ʃə-tɛ-kɐ-nqɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒɛ*  
 SEQ Sichuan.taimen 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-live<sub>2</sub> AND-IPFV-GP-catch.taimen  
*ɲoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ʁper=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-supposition=INS  
*sɐ-nqɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒɛʔ=kə kɐ-sə-<sup>n</sup>di ɐ-nɐ-sɐc<sup>h</sup>ɐ=nəʔ*  
 NMLZ:OBL-catch.taimen<sub>2</sub>=INS INF-CAUS-take IRR-PFV-be.doable=SUB  
*ʃla kɐ-rɛski mɐ-ɲɐn <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 immediately GP-pull NEG-be.acceptable for  
*ʁʃó=tanəʔ ɐwɐmúru ʃtɛʔ=kə*  
 be.brawny-besides be.bad.tempered be:EMPH=INS  
*tə-sɐ-nqɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒɛ kɐ-o-səʃluɣʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 GP:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.taimen<sub>2</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*təciʔ=naŋ t<sup>h</sup>e-réske orjáŋʔnəʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-lət*  
 water=inside DOWNRIVER-pull<sub>3</sub> when DOWNRIVER-GP-release  
*ne-smo orjáŋʔnəʔ le-kə-réski*  
 IPFV-stop when IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-pull  
*nəʔoséfsət ne-kə-səytʃ<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təciʔvzər ne-kə-réski*  
 SEQ river.bank IPFV-GP-pull  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-p<sup>h</sup>jiʔ kə-tʃət jóxte=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside GP-take.out before=DET  
*st<sup>h</sup>ore jkótse=kə ma<sup>n</sup>denəʔ rkətu=kə o-koʔ te-kə-sá-xsəy*  
 first stone=INS or club=INS 3SG:POSS-head IPFV-GP-CAUS-hit  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noŋme=nəʔ o-p<sup>h</sup>jiʔ te-kə-tʃət tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-kə-mérpa=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:UP-GP-carry.on.shoulder=SUB  
*o-jmɐ sətʃ<sup>h</sup>é=ta <sup>n</sup>ge-zɣot ŋoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-fe=nəʔ yrəmʔ-ta χfíkə mimʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET be.white-besides very be.tasty  
 Its flesh is white and very tasty.

12. *fənəʔ toʒaʔ təcíʔ=naŋ tép<sup>h</sup>o <sup>n</sup>ge-lət-nə*  
 but nowadays river=inside dynamite IPFV:DOWN-release-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ qəfweʔ=fə kə-nəmjínjini*  
 SEQ fish=also INF-be.many:RDPL  
*qə<sup>n</sup>dze=fə kə-nəmjínjini ne-je*  
 taiman=also INF-be.many:RDPL IPFV-begin  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ əntséjə ké-tfət nə-rkonʔ fteʔ*  
 SEQ that.much NMLZ:SBJ:U-catch PFV-be.rare<sub>2</sub> 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. *χserjə=nəʔ*  
 Prenant's.schizothoracin=TOP  
*st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xte=nəʔ sqe-tərpe jərmə toʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-fwe=rəʔ mə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tooth=PL not.exist  
*o-zgeʔ=nəʔ ja=tsəʔ ŋoʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-back=DET be.black=a.bit be  
*o-po=nəʔ qərjəʔ=tsəʔ ŋoʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-belly=DET be.yellow=a.bit be

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-ɸɐr=nəʔ* *júnin* *χfíkə* *kə-mp<sup>h</sup>jor* *toʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-body=DET fishscale very NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful exist

It has no teeth, its back is blackish, its belly is yellowish, and it has very pretty scales over its body.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-fɛ=nəʔ* *leʔ* *yrəmʔ-ta* *mimʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET again be.white-besides be.tasty

Its flesh is also white and tasty.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-fǽru=nəʔ* *ldén=ta* *jts<sup>h</sup>em=tsɐʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone=DET exist.in.quantity=top be.thin=a.bit

*kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dʒe* *me-te-kɐ-wɐvde=nəʔ*

INF-eat NEG-IPFV-GP-make.proper=SUB

*tə-rqé=naŋ* *ra* *tʰozʔ*

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *oxɐv=nəʔ* *jɐmɡón=naŋ* *lden* *ŋoʔ*

SEQ in.the.main=TOP big.river=inside exist.in.quantity be

In general, they are found in large numbers in big rivers.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ftferʔ* *t<sup>h</sup>e-zɣot=nəʔ*

SEQ summer IPFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive=SUB

*tʰəláʔ=naŋ* *tétəm* *le-wɛ-nə* *ŋoʔ* *tʰozʔ*

creek=inside upward IPFV:UPRIVER-come-3PL be be.the.rule

When summer comes, they will swim upriver into the creeks.

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ stonke <sup>n</sup>ge-joyʔ jɛrmɐ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ fall IPFV-end about=TOP  
*leʔ jɛmɡón=nəŋ t<sup>h</sup>e-fɐ-nəŋo*  
 again big.river=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-go-MED  
 Around the time when fall ends, they go back again downriver to the big rivers.

20. *ké-tfɛt=nəʔ sɐ-nqɛjwɛ k<sup>h</sup>ɛjŋɔʔ te-ké-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 GP-catch=TOP NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish<sub>2</sub> fishing.rod IPFV-GP-take  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-<sup>n</sup>dze o-spe qɛju=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-food 3SG:POSS-means worm=DET  
*qɛj<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ ma<sup>n</sup>denəʔ cəpa te-ké-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 earthworm or scud IPFV-GP-take  
 To catch them, one takes a fishing rod, and earthworms or scuds to use as bait.

21. *q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ ké-tfɛt <sup>n</sup>bét fteʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH GP-catch be.easy be:EMPH  
 And then it is very easy to catch them.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ lənsɰíju=nəʔ*  
 SEQ naked.carp=TOP  
*oxtɐ t<sup>h</sup>əláʔ=nəŋ lden ŋoʔ*  
 in.the.main creek=inside exist.in.quantity be  
 As for the naked carp, creeks teem with them.

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET  
*χsəm tərpe jɛrmɐ toʔ t<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 three catty about exist be.the.rule  
 At the biggest, it weighs about three catties.



24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-zgeʔ=nəʔ na=tsəʔ o-po=nəʔ ʔrəmʔ=tsəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-back=DET be.black=a.bit 3SG:POSS-belly=DET be.white=a.bit  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-ʔer=nəʔ júnin mə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-body=DET fish.scale not.exist  
 Its back is quite blackish, its belly whitish, and its body is without scales.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-fe=nəʔ leʔ ʔrəmʔ-ta ʔfíkə npu*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh again be.white-besides very be.tender  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-fǽru lden məkátshet jts<sup>h</sup>em ʔoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-kə-sələ*  
 SEQ IPFV-GP-boil  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ciʔ=nəʔ ʔfíkə mímʔ=ta*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-soup=DET very be.tasty=besides  
*tə-rtí fə ʔoʔ*  
 GP:POSS-tonic go be  
 One boils it, and the soup is very tasty and nutritious for one.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ké-tfət=nəʔ k<sup>h</sup>ejjəʔ te-ké-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 SEQ GP-catch=TOP fishing.rod IPFV-GP-take  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-sə-nqəjwə qəju qəj<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ cəpa*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish<sub>2</sub> worm earthworm=and scud  
*te-kə-mjiʔ q<sup>h</sup>ónə ké-tfət epé<sup>n</sup>bet fieʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qərtsu t<sup>h</sup>e-zʏot=nəʔ*

SEQ winter IPFV-arrive=SUB

*p<sup>h</sup>ováyŋ=p<sup>h</sup>i ma<sup>n</sup>denəʔ təcíʔ=nəŋ cóp<sup>h</sup>e=p<sup>h</sup>i jémk<sup>h</sup>er*

boulder=under or water=inside slab=under fish.community

*ke-poj q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-zgom-nə ŋoʔ t<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*

IPFV:CISLOC-do<sub>3</sub> SEQ IPFV-hibernate-3PL be be.the.rule

And when winter arrives, the fish (gather to) form “fish communities” and hibernate.

29. *tʃaŋe=nəʔ jɛmgon sc<sup>h</sup>əʔ t<sup>h</sup>əláʔ=nəŋ kəmdiʔ toʔ ʃteʔ*

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-mdɔʔ=nəʔ ʃfíkə ja*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-color=DET very be.black

*ó-ta=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ o-ymórmə kaɳnəχso-ldʒe jermə 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-t<sup>h</sup>we jermə <sup>n</sup>denəʔ mə*

SEQ one-span about except not.exist

It is no more than one (finger) span in length.

32. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-ɓer júnin=rɛʔ mə ʃənəʔ cəɳje toʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-body fish.scale=PL not.exist but slime exist

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃfíkə mnoʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-ja=nəŋ <sup>n</sup>gjiʔ ʃteʔ*

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nənəʔ rənpaʔ ʃə-kə-tʃət mə*  
 SEQ ANA specifically AND-NMLZ:SBJ-catch not.exist  
*óta o-ʃe ˈdze-jə mə-tʃʰozʔ ɲoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-kə-nqəjwɛʔ orjáŋʔnəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-GP-catch.fish when  
*tʃajne ké-tʃət mə-jən*  
 loach GP-catch NEG-be.acceptable  
*ˈdenəʔ tə-kóri mə-səstojʔ ké-tsə tʃʰozʔ*  
 for GP:POSS-front NEG-cause.to.be.straight<sub>3</sub> 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-tənʔ=kə*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*le-ké-tʃət q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-koʔ ˈge-kə-ɣˈdu*  
 IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-catch SEQ 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:DOWN-GP-beat  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təcíʔ=nəŋ t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-wéret 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃepétsət=nəʔ*  
 SEQ sisorid.catfish=TOP  
*oxtə jəmɡón=nəŋ lden ɲoʔ*  
 mainly big.river=inside exist.in.quantity be  
 As for the sisorid catfish, it is found mainly in big rivers.

37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təcíʔ=naŋ*  
 SEQ river=inside  
*cóp<sup>h</sup>e ó-p<sup>h</sup>ji ma<sup>n</sup>denəʔ p<sup>h</sup>ovaŋ ó-p<sup>h</sup>ji=c<sup>h</sup>o*  
 slab 3SG:POSS-underside or boulder 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC:INDF  
*ne-smo ŋoʔ tʰoʔzʔ*  
 IPFV-live be be.the.rule  
 It lives under slabs or big rocks in the river.

38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET  
*χsəmʔ tərpe jɛrmɐ toʔ tʰoʔzʔ*  
 three catty about exist be.the.rule  
 At the biggest size, it weighs about three catties.

39. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-k<sup>h</sup>e <sup>n</sup>gɛʔ=ta o-koʔ ɛʃpɛʃpɐ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mouth be.wide=besides 3SG:POSS-head be.flat  
 Its mouth is wide and its head is flattened.

40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-mdɔʔ=nəʔ na=tsɐʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-color=DET be.black=a.bit  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-kɐr júnin=rɐʔ mɐ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-body scale=PL not.exist  
 Its color is rather black, and its body has no scales.

41. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ʃǽru=nəʔ qɛʃwɛʔ o-ʃǽru jɛrmɐ mɐ-lɛn*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone=DET fish 3SG:POSS-bone than NEG-exist.in.quantity  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ʃe=nəʔ χʃíkə mimʔ məkáts<sup>h</sup>ɛt*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET very be.tasty not.only  
*zék<sup>h</sup>aŋ=naŋ ne-ntsweʔ-nə=nəʔ*  
 restaurant=inside IPFV-sell-3PL=SUB

*o-konʔ*                      *χfíkə*    *xtɛʔ*    *tʰozʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-price    very    be.big    be.the.rule

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*    *təciʔ=nan*

SEQ    river=inside

*zɔʔ*    *o-fpovʔ*                      *məⁿdenəʔ*  
 cattle    3SG:POSS-corpse    or

*kəⁿbjoʔ*    *o-fpovʔ=kəsə*                      *v-nɛ-to=nəʔ*<sup>114</sup>  
 human    3SG:POSS-corpse=like    IRR-PFV-exist=SUB

*nəʔ*    *o-fe*                      *χfíkə*    *kɐ-ⁿdze*    *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-təfe=cɛ*                      *jəjərɐʔ*    *jə-sɛtʰe=z*

one-time=LOC:INDF    1PL    1PL:POSS-land=LOC

*kɐ-nqɛjwɛʔ*    *kə-rge=cəʔ*                      *tərmɐ*    *nɐ-nqɛjwɛ=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. *ʃɛpɛtsət*                      *sɐ-nqɛjwɛ*                      *ó-ste=nəʔ*

sisorid.catfish    NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish₂    3SG:POSS-where.one.is=DET

*əntsətse*    *ʃɛpɛtsət*                      *ʃlanəʃla*                      *te-ⁿdze*

continuously    sisorid.catfish    again.and.again    IPFV-eat₃

*qʰoʔ*    *káde*                      *o-perʔ*                      *mtsʰôt*    *le-tʃet*

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.

<sup>114</sup> Water-burial is still practiced sometimes in the Rgyalrong Tibetan country.

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəməq<sup>h</sup>únəʔ*

SEQ afterwards

*o-sə-nqəjwɛ=kə*

*q<sup>h</sup>əʔ*

*ó-ste=nəʔ*

3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish<sub>2</sub>=INS ANA 3SG:POSS-where.something.is=DET

*təʃpovʔ*

*te-zrɛski*

*nə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz*

corpse

PFV:UP:TR-pull<sub>2</sub>

IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

Afterwards, his fishing tackle pulled up a corpse where he was (fishing).

46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-nɛscérʔ=ta=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*

*o-ʒi=rən*

*jə-lɐ-lɔ*

SEQ PFV-be.scared<sub>2</sub>=besides=and 3SG:POSS-nausea=even PROS-PFV-come.out<sub>2</sub>

Not only was he scared, he almost threw up.

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*

*o-sə-nqəjwɛ*

*k<sup>h</sup>əjɣɔʔ=rɐʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish<sub>2</sub> fishing.rod=PL=and

*o-ʃəpétsət*

*kəmdi*

*təciʔ=naŋ*

*ke-wɐret*

3SG:POSS-sisorid.catfish all river=inside PFV:CISLOC:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>

*nə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz*

IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

And he took his fishing rod and all the catfish and threw all of them into the river.

## WHAT WE EAT AND DRINK

*tárjən jəkɛ<sup>n</sup>dze jəkét<sup>h</sup>inə?*

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *jəjə?* *ts<sup>h</sup>ovdənwe* *tárjən* *jə-<sup>n</sup>dzét<sup>h</sup>i*  
 1PL Tshobdun.people often 1PL:POSS-meal  
*t<sup>h</sup>ə* *te-kə́-fsət* *o-ffetpe* *kə-lət*  
 what IPFV-NMLZ-be.like 3SG:POSS-recounting GP-do  
 Let me recount (lit. one recounts) what we Tshobdun people normally eat.
2. *zərtfɛ=nə?*  
 breakfast=TOP  
 As for breakfast,
3. *st<sup>h</sup>ore* *'siz təmtɕu?* *te-kə-rəro*  
 first morning IPFV-GP-get.up  
 first, one gets up in the morning,
4. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *tfe?* *some* *te-kə-sələ*  
 SEQ tea new IPFV-GP-boil  
 and boils new tea.
5. *tfe?* *te-le*  
 tea IPFV-come.to.a.boil  
*q<sup>h</sup>o?* *p<sup>h</sup>ərtɕu=nən* *rtfəmtɕu<sup>115</sup>* *<sup>n</sup>ge-kə-lət*  
 SEQ bowl=inside hot.tea IPFV-GP.put.in  
 When the tea comes to a boil, one pours it into the bowl,

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<sup>115</sup> Hot water poured into a bowl with which to mix tsampa dough; from Tibetan <rtsam.chu>.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-naŋ* *tɛpi* *<sup>n</sup>ge-kɛ-lɛt*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside butter IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in  
 and puts butter into it,
7. *noŋme* *rtsambɛ* *<sup>n</sup>ge-kɛ-lɛt* *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *te-kɛ-répyi*  
 then tsampa IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in SEQ IPFV-GP-mix  
 then adds tsampa flour and mix it.
8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-sɛ<sup>n</sup>brov* *təjniʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-what.goes.with.main.food pickled.turnip.leaves  
*p<sup>h</sup>ərtfu=naŋ* *te-kɛ-rko*  
 bowl=inside IPFV-GP-put.into.container  
 And then, one puts into the bowl pickled turnip leaves to go with the tsampa.
9. *ma<sup>n</sup>denəʔ* *caŋʔ* *toʔ*  
 or pickles exist  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə* *caŋʔ* *te-kɛ-rko*  
 then pickles IPFV-GP-put.into.container  
 Or, if pickles are available, one puts them in.
10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *rtsembɛ* *te-kɛ-<sup>n</sup>dze* *ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ tsampa IPFV-GP-eat be  
 And then one eats the tsampa.
11. *télo* *toʔ* *q<sup>h</sup>ónə* *tʃeʔ=naŋ* *télo* *te-kɛ-lɛt*  
 milk exist then tea=inside milk IPFV-GP-put.in  
 If milk is available,<sup>116</sup> then one can put milk into tea,

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<sup>116</sup> Traditionally, milk is available only in summer and fall when cows bear calves.



12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vdetər ne-kɛ-t<sup>hi</sup> ɣoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔzʔ*  
 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. *kənɛkɛ mandənəʔ losər tɐqɐ te-toʔ orjáŋʔnəʔ*  
 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. *zɛrtʃɛ χtɛəytʃɛ te-kɛ-pe ɣoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔzʔ*  
 breakfast butter.tea IPFV-GP-make be be.the.rule  
 it is the custom to make churned butter tea for breakfast.
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sásu=nəʔ*  
 SEQ lunch=DET  
 As for lunch,
16. *tɛrovʔ te-kɛ-sqɐ*  
 pork IPFV-GP-boil  
 one boils (salted) pork.
17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛrovʔ né-smi*  
 SEQ pork IPFV-be.cooked  
 When the meat is cooked,
18. *tɛrovciʔ=nan janjuʔ kátfor te-kɛ-sɐpəpɛ*  
 meat gravy=inside stir-fried.potatoes IPFV-GP-prepare  
 one prepares stir-fried potatoes in the meat gravy,

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɛfke=nən qɛjwi t<sup>h</sup>e-kɛ-po*  
 SEQ hearth=inside bread IPFV-GP-bake  
 and bakes bread inside the hearth,
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɛjwi=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ janjuʔ kátfor te-kɛ-<sup>n</sup>dze*  
 SEQ bread=and potato.and.pickles.soup IPFV-GP-eat  
 and then eats the bread with the potato and pickles soup.
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛrovʔ=nəʔ o-sɛfsət <sup>n</sup>ge-kɛ-rɛ<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ*  
 SEQ pork=DET 3SG:POSS-condition IPFV-GP-cut  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>é-rt<sup>h</sup>ɔ k<sup>h</sup>é=rt<sup>h</sup>ɔ o-sɛfsət qɛjwi*  
 SEQ one-lump one-lump 3SG:POSS-condition bread  
*te-kɛ-sɛ<sup>n</sup>brovʔ*  
 IPFV-GP-eat.main.food.with  
 And one cuts the (salted) pork (into pieces) just like that, and eat the bread with it, lump  
 by lump.
22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛpriʔ=nəʔ o-xtɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ supper=DET 3SG:POSS-main=DET  
 As for supper, in general,
23. *pɛjpɛj te-kɛ-sɛɛ*  
 noodles IPFV-GP-boil  
 one makes noodle soup,
24. *ó-nən janjuʔ kátfor tɛrovʔ=rɛʔ ke-kɛ-lɛt*  
 3SG:POSS-inside stir-fried.potatoes cooked.meat=PL IPFV-GP-put.in  
 into which one adds stir-fried potatoes and meat and what not.

25. *qʰoʔ    maⁿdenəʔ    ɲəməkétʰi    te-kə-sələ*  
 SEQ    or    maize.gruel    IPFV-GP-boil  
 Or one makes maize gruel.
26. *mandenəʔ    janjuʔ    te-kə-sqə*  
 or    potato    IPFV-GP-boil  
 Or one makes boiled potatoes.
27. *qʰoʔ    mandenəʔ    mtsʰoloʔ-some    te-kə-sələ*  
 SEQ    or    nettle-young    IPFV-GP-boil  
 Or one makes young-nettle soup.<sup>117</sup>
28. *mandenəʔ    ʃe-pəjtsət    te-kə-pe    ɲoʔ    tʰoʔzʔ*  
 or    steamed.meat-bun.with.filling    IPFV-GP-make    be    be.the.rule  
 Or one makes steamed buns with meat filling.
29. *ne-kə-nəpriʔ*  
 IPFV-GP-eat.supper  
*qʰónə    noɲme    ke-kə-ná-rⁿgu    ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH    only.then    IPFV-GP-SPON-sleep    be  
 One eats supper, and only then goes to the bed.
30. *jəʃərvəʔ    jə-kə-ⁿdze    tájpo    oxtə=nəʔ*  
 1 PL    1PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-eat    grain    in.the.main=DET  
 As for the main types of grains we eat,

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<sup>117</sup> A soup made from salt and tender nettle leaves.

31. *qɛjʔ tɛfɛ ʃɔ rjɛqɛjʔ tɔrja*  
 wheat highland.barley buckwheat oats winter.wheat  
*rərəʔ stɔ rjɛstɔʔ*  
 beans broad.beans white.beans  
*ɲámɐ jaŋjuʔ tɛseʔ tɔpʰi nətʰɛmtʃet ɲoʔ*  
 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. *jə-tsʰɛjʔ o-xtɐ=nəʔ*  
 1PL:POSS-vegetable 3SG:POSS-main=DET  
*kərulɛpʰuɣʔ kəpɛlɛpʰuɣʔ wosən laŋkɐʔ tsəŋkɐʔ*  
 radish carrot asparagus.lettuce pumpkin squash  
*praʃko dərku tʃəʃko téjmoɣ mtsʰoloʔ*  
 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. *tɔrjan jə-kɐndze ʃe oxtɐ=nəʔ*  
 often 1PL:POSS-food meat in.the.main=DET  
 As for the meats we often eat,

34. *paʃɛ=scʰənəʔ skémʃe qʰoʔ redaʔ o-ʃɛʃe kʰémʃtʰa ɲoʔ*  
 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. *qʰoʔ paʃɛ=nəʔ oxtɐ lɛʒoʔ ne-pe-jə*  
 SEQ pork=DET in.the.main salted.pork IPFV-make-1PL  
*qʰoʔ maʰdenəʔ tɛʰgor ne-pe-jə*  
 SEQ or salted.whole.pork.fat IPFV-make-1PL

*qʰoʔ skémʃe=nəʔ kʰémtʃʰa=rɐʔ ʃǽyɾɐm ne-pe-jə ɲoʔ*

SEQ beef=DET a.bit=PL dried.beef IPFV-make-1PL be

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.

36. *qʰoʔ télo tɐpi oxtɐ=nə*

SEQ milk butter in.the.main=TOP

*kómtʰə ɲe ʰge-nʰgoʔ-jə qʰoʔ ʰge-nélo-jə*

courtyard cow IPFV-raise-1PL SEQ IPFV-milk-1PL

*télo tɐpi nánəz jɐ-wi ɲoʔ*

milk butter there IPFV-come be

And as for milk and butter, in the main, we raise and milk cows and that is where milk and butter comes from.

37. *ʃɲontsʰe=nəʔ qɐjwɛʔ o-rɐrəyʔ me-ʰge-ʰdze-jə*

former.time=TOP fish 3SG:poss-kind NEG-IPFV-eat-1PL

*ʃənəʔ toʒaʔ kʰémtʃʰa ʰdze-jə tʃʰozʔ*

fish nowadays a.bit eat-1PL be.the.rule

In the past, we did not eat fish and the like, but nowadays, we eat some fish.

38. *jəjəɾɐʔ jə-kɐʰdze jə-kétʰi=nəʔ pʰɐrtʃʰɛ*

1PL 1PL:POSS-food 1PL:POSS-drink=TOP more.or.less

*nəʔ té-ʃsət ɲoʔ*

that IPFV-be.like be

Regarding our foods and drinks, that is more or less about it.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF WOLVES AND DHOLES

*spjankusc<sup>h</sup>ənə? qeper?ni? "dzəfere?*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *jəjərvə? jə-sətʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z*  
 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC  
 In our land,
  
2. *syonts<sup>h</sup>e-rəjəmə spjanjku=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə? qeper? nə-to ké-tsə məkátʃ<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 former.time-since wolf=and dhole IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> GP-say not.only  
 it is said that not only did there use to be both wolves and dholes,
  
3. *syonts<sup>h</sup>e=nə? toʒa? ʃoxtenə? méju nə-lden?*  
 former.time=DET nowadays than further IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity<sub>2</sub>  
*ké-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz?*  
 GP-say be.the.rule  
 there were more of them at that time than nowadays.
  
4. *oxtənə? re<sup>n</sup>go=c<sup>h</sup>o ne-nəsməsmo-nə te-qərɣiʔ-nə káma*  
 in.the.main hill=LOC:INDF IPFV-stay-3PL IPFV-hunt-3PL besides  
*cəmiʔ=nə? ántsɛji mə-wi-nə tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz?*  
 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. *tərezʔ=nə? rgon ó-p<sup>h</sup>jə*  
 this.year=TOP Rgon.Monastery 3SG:POSS-direction  
*t<sup>h</sup>e-ldenʔ-nə məkátʃ<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 CONT:LTR-exist.in.quantity<sub>2</sub>-3PL not.only

*nánəz nə-rəlɣa o-ffet toʔ*  
 there PFV-bear.young<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-account exist

In this year, many of them are noted to the direction of Rgon and rumor has it that they bore their young there.

6. *spjanɣku=nəʔ ɣʃikə ʃqraʔ ké-tsə ɣoʔ-cə*  
 wolf=TOP very be.clever GP-say be-MED

People say that wolves are very smart.

7. *nəʔ tʃʰe ɣoʔ nəʔ*  
 ANA why be DM

Why is it so?

8. *spjanku ne-rəlɣaʔ=nəʔ*  
 wolf IPFV-bear.child=SUB

When wolves bear their young,

9. *o-vzɛvzər kərne zəzɔʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ mɐ-<sup>n</sup>dzɐ*  
 3SG:POSS-side place.nearby cattle=DET=PL NEG-eat<sub>3</sub>

they do not eat the cattle near by.

10. *kərqʰe=z ɣréko ʃə-<sup>n</sup>ge-pɣaʔ qʰoʔ*  
 far.place=LOC ridge AND-IPFV-cross SEQ

*nánəz=cʰo zəzɔʔ ʃə-te-<sup>n</sup>dzɐ*  
 there=LOC:INDF cattle AND-IPFV-eat<sub>3</sub>

But they go across distant ridges and eat the cattle there.

11. *qʰoʔ noɣmenəʔ o-sɐ-rəlɣa ne-nɐwəwi ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-bear.young<sub>2</sub> IPFV-come be-MED

And only then come back to the place where they breed their young.

12. *nəʔ tʰɐ ɲoʔ nəʔ*

ANA why be DM

Why is it so?

13. *o-sɐ-ralɲa o-vzɛ̃vzər zɑzɔʔ ʰge-ntʰɐ*

3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-bear.young<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-side cattle IPFV-kill<sub>3</sub>

*joyʔ ʃənəʔ kəʳ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=kə o-sərtɔʔ ʃteʔ*

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-qɐrɲiʔ*

SEQ child.and.all INV-hunt

and they will be hunted together with their puppies.

15. *nəʔ ne-nəffɛʔ kɛ-tsə ɲoʔ tʰoʔzʔ*

ANA IPFV-worry GP-say be be.the.rule

That is what they are concerned about, it is said.

16. *ʃɲontsʰe=z ʰge-ffɛt=nəʔ ɐ-tə-kɛ-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-jiʔ ɲɛste te-kə-nɛnkɐ<sup>n</sup>jiʔ=nəʔ*

wolf 3SG:POSS-self alone IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-move.about=DET

*χʃikə sɛsəvɐ kəʳ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ ʰdzɐ tʰoʔzʔ ɲoʔ*

very be.frightening human eat<sub>3</sub> be.the.rule be

it is said that lone wolves that move about by themselves are very frightening and will eat people.



18. *spjaŋku? kaβnɛχsónvɛ*<sup>118</sup> *te-kə-nɛnkɛ<sup>n</sup>jiʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*  
 wolf a.couple IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-move.about=DET=PL  
*mɐ-sɐsəyɐvɐ mɐ-sɛ-<sup>n</sup>dze kɛ-tsə tʰozʔ ɲoʔ*  
 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 qɐpɐrʔ=nəʔ spjaŋku=scʰənəʔ <sup>n</sup>dza-mɐ-sɐ-naχtʃəy=nəʔ*  
 SEQ dhole=TOP wolf=and 3DU:POSS-NEG-NMLZ:OBL-be.same<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*χʃikə fserʔ kɛ-tsə ɲoʔ*  
 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-qɐrɲiʔ-nə zɔʔ te-naχtaχtaʔ-nə*  
 SEQ IPFV-hunt-3PL cattle IPFV-chase:RDPL-3PL  
 And when they hunt and chase cattle,
21. *qʰoʔ stʰɔre ó-ʃqor kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dze te-jeʔ-nə*  
 SEQ first 3SG:POSS-buttocks INF-eat IPFV-begin-3PL  
 they begin eating it from the rear end,
22. *qʰoʔ kopəpɐʔ=scʰənəʔ ʃɛlpoʔ ʃɛru=rɐʔ mɐ-kɐ-nɛkəke*  
 SEQ excrement.and.all=and meat.chunk bone=PL NEG-CVB-chew  
*osɛʃsət tʰe-mɠlaʔ-nə ɲoʔ kɛ-tsə tʰozʔ*  
 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.

<sup>118</sup> Literally ‘one-two-three-four’.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɛperʔ ɐ-nɐ-kɐ-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ*  
SEQ dhole IRR-PFV-GP-kill=SUB

If a dhole is killed,

23. *o-k<sup>h</sup>ɔʃɣpe=z ʃɛlpoʔ kə-mdɔmdiʔ*  
3SG:POSS-belly=LOC meat.chunk NMLZ:SBJ-be.whole  
*kə-təʃe pɔʃtsət kɐ-pe kə-rtaʔ=kəsə*  
one-time bread.with.filling GP-make NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough=like  
*lɔʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ kɛ-tsə ɲoʔ*  
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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ koŋɣeʔ jə-wi jɛrmɐ*  
SEQ Chinesecommunists PROS-come about  
*qɛperʔ kaɣnaʃsɔvdɐ tə<sup>n</sup>gəməŋoʔ=z lɐ-wɛʔ-nə-cə*  
dhole a.couple.of PN=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

Around the time when the Chinese communists were about to come, a small pack of dholes came upriver to Tengemngo.<sup>119</sup>

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sɛloyʔ jə-ŋe t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-kə-smo=nəʔ*  
SEQ pasture 1PL:POSS-cow CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-stay=DET  
*kə-rdɔʔ=cəʔ te-ʃta-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
one-CL=INDF PFV:TR-chase<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

And chased a certain cow of ours that was there on the pasture.

<sup>119</sup> Name of a local rubble slide, a landmark not far downriver from Mendeci, Bstanblo's home hamlet.

26. *noorjáŋnə?*

at.that.time

*rdê*      *é-mo*                      *p<sup>h</sup>uyju?*=z      *t<sup>h</sup>e-mp<sup>h</sup>éri=nə?*

exactly    1SG:POSS-mother    PN=LOC      IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB

*nə?*      *ne-mti-cə*ANA      PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED

At that very moment, my mother happened to take a look downriver from Phugyu<sup>120</sup> and saw this.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *é-mo*                      *kə-raytfo<sup>n</sup>ba?*=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə?    *qəjhijélo*    *te-pe?*SEQ    1SG:POSS-mother    INF-yell=and                      EXCL      PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>*oʒor?*              *tə<sup>n</sup>gəməŋo?*=z      *kə-rju?*              *t<sup>h</sup>e-ɐre-cə*meanwhile    PN=LOC              INF-run              PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED

Mother started to yell and called out “Hey!” while she went running downriver toward Tengemngo.

28. *tə<sup>n</sup>gəməŋo?*=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə?    *p<sup>h</sup>uyju?*    *o-pért<sup>h</sup>e=nə?*

PN=and                      PN              3SG:POSS-space.in.between=TOP

*lewər*              *kə-rdɔ?*              *jərmɐ=nə?*              *to?*

kilometer    one-CL      about=DET      exist

There is about one kilometer between Tengemngo and Phugyu,

29. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *é-mo*                      *tə<sup>n</sup>gəməŋo?*    *t<sup>h</sup>e-zyô*t=nə?SEQ    3SG:POSS-mother    PN                      PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>=SUB

when my mother arrived at Tengemngo,

<sup>120</sup> Name of a specific mound near the hamlet fields.

30. *qɛperʔ=rɛʔ=kə ɣe=nəʔ ó-fqor=z*  
 dhole=PL=ERG cow=DET 3SG:POSS-buttocks=LOC  
*kɛ-<sup>n</sup>dze te-je-nə məkáts<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 INF-eat PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL not.only  
 the dholes had not only begun to eat the cow from its rear end,
31. *o-koʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ o-meléja jɛrmɛ-cə káma*  
 3SG:POSS-head=and 3SG:POSS-limb about-MED except  
*kə-mdiʔ ne-st<sup>h</sup>ət-nə wɛjo ɣoʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ-be.all PFV:TR-consume<sub>2</sub>-3PL be.seen be-MED  
 but had almost consumed all of it except for the head and the limbs.
32. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɛperʔ kə<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=nəʔ ántsɛja me-ne-náyvɛr-nə*  
 SEQ dhole human=DET that.much NEG-IPFV-fear-3PL  
*ná-ta sekoʔ=nay tə-<sup>n</sup>bloɣ-nə*  
 3PL:POSS-top underbrush=inside PFV:UP-go.out.of.view<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 The dholes, seemingly not much afraid of people, disappeared into the uphill underbrush.
33. *nəʔ nɛ-fsăt nɛ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz-cə*  
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 What happened was like that, it is said.

# RGYALRONG SOLDIERS JOINED TO FIGHT A WAR WITH A FOREIGN COUNTRY

*potsc<sup>h</sup>ənə? p<sup>h</sup>járjel nemqenə orjaŋ? rjeronkma?ntf<sup>h</sup>on nekəto*

**Narrator: Stagthar**

1. *şyonts<sup>h</sup>e=z pot=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə? pelpo<sup>?</sup>=ni? ne-mqe-nə orjáŋ?nə?*  
former.time=LOC Tibet=and Nepal=DU PFV-fight<sub>2</sub>-3PL when  
Once when Tibet and Nepal (armies) fought against each other,
  
2. *pot o-kma? zimi? mə-jə-nəc<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>?</sup>-nə*  
Tibetan 3SG:POSS-army almost NEG-PROS-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*nə-tf<sup>h</sup>o<sup>?</sup>-cə*  
IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED  
the Tibetan army were almost going to lose, it is said.
  
3. *q<sup>h</sup>o? ləse=z rjeron sət<sup>h</sup>e=z skətfe ne-səwôt-nə*  
SEQ Lhasa=LOC Rgyalrong land=LOC word PFV:TR-cause.to.bring<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
Words were sent from Lhasa to the Rgyalrong area,
  
4. *rjerónwə kma? kə-fə re?*  
Rgyalrong.person army NMLZ-go be.necessary  
*te-tsə<sup>?</sup>-nə ŋo<sup>?</sup>-cə*  
PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
saying that the Rgyalrong people must join the army.
  
5. *q<sup>h</sup>o? rjeron o-sət<sup>h</sup>e=z*  
SEQ Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-land=LOC  
*tərmə kə-rkaŋ tə-<sup>n</sup>dəz-nə*  
man NMLZ:SBJ-be.strong PFV-gather<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
And in the Rgyalrong country, strong men gathered up,

6. *qʰoʔ kʰərfaŋ ó-ta*  
 SEQ carrying.rack 3SG:POSS-top  
*təmgriʔ=scʰənəʔ lɛ̀t pozvu te-ⁿdi-nə*  
 spear=and long.knife musket PFV:TR:UP-carry₂-3PL  
*qʰoʔ nə-ntsʰa-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-depart₂-3PL be-MED  
 and packed spears, long swords, and muskets onto carrying racks and set off.

7. *qʰoʔ təyrərɛʔ=kə kʰé-jwət mə-cʰɛ-nə ntor*  
 SEQ family=ERG INF-return NEG-be.able-3PL DM  
*ne-səsi-nə=kə*  
 PFV:TR-think₂-3PL=INS  
 And as their family members thought that they would not be able to return,

8. *yréko=ta kərⁿbjoʔ kʰe-rdɔʔ ó-vre rdotʃɔʔ ne-sətseʔ*  
 ridge=top person each-CL 3SG:POSS-share stele PFV:TR-stick₂  
*nɛ-tʃʰoz ɲoʔ-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 rjɛron o-sətʃe tə-kə-ɛre*  
 SEQ Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-land PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂  
*ɛmaʔ=rɛʔ ɕʃíkə ⁿge-tʂʰet-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 army=PL very IPFV-be.fierce-3PL be-MED  
 And the soldiers that came (uphill) from Rgyalrong country were very fierce.

10. *ʃənəʔ palpoʔ-pʰjɔʔ=rɛʔ ɛlaŋbótʃʰe ɛmaʔ ke-wot-nə*  
 SEQ Nepal-direction=PL elephant army IPFV:EAST-bring-3PL  
 But the Nepalese side were bringing (eastward) an elephant army.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɛlaŋbótʰe* *nə-<sup>n</sup>dʒwéʔ=ta* *<sup>n</sup>brátʃu*  
 SEQ elephant 3PL:POSS-tusk=top knife  
*kɛ-vra=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ* *nə-ʃne=kə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ:U-bind=and 3PL:POSS-nose=INS  
*pot* *ɛmaʔ=rɐʔ* *ne-znɐrpərpəʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *pot* *ɛmaʔ* *ome* *nəɣu* *nɐ-ŋenʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ Tibet army very 3PL:POSS IPFV:PST-be.bad<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 and the Tibetan army were in a very miserable state.
13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *pot* *ɛmaʔ* *ó-naŋ* *jəte-kə-ʃqraʔ=cəʔ*  
 SEQ Tibet army 3SG:POSS-inside COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.clever=INDF  
*vlotʃen* *nɐ-to-cə*  
 resourceful.man IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 There was a clever and resourceful person in the Tibetan army.
14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ=kə* *təvlo* *te-tʃet* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA=ERG idea PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And that man offered an idea.
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *zaŋʔ=kə* *kəɾ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ* *o-rq<sup>h</sup>oʔ=kəsə* *ne-ʃfi-nə*  
 SEQ copper=INS person 3SG:POSS-external.form=like PFV:TR-forge<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And they wrought copper into human shapes.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ ó-naŋ tékrot te-rko-nə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside charcoal PFV:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-zwərneʔ-nə nəʔoséfsət ne-teʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:TR-redden<sub>2</sub>-3PL thus PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And they put charcoals into them, burnt them red-hot, and left them there.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ klanbótʃ<sup>h</sup>e ke-wi-nə*  
 SEQ elephant IPFV:EAST-come-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-fne=kə zaŋʔ tə-kə-wərne=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-nose=INS copper PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.red<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*te-sə-rqɔʔ ma<sup>n</sup>denəʔ ke-sá-rtov ŋoʔ-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 zaŋʔ tə-kə-wərne kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ nɐ-fte-cə*  
 but copper PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.red<sub>2</sub> person IPFV:PST-be:EMPH<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But as (these human figures) were actually red-hot copper men,

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ klanbótʃ<sup>h</sup>e nə-fne nɐ-fkɛʔ*  
 SEQ elephant 3PL:POSS-nose PFV-be.burnt<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-o-səɣp<sup>h</sup>i-nə*  
 SEQ PFV-INV-cause.to.flee<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 the elephants' trunks got burnt and they were caused to flee.



20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʃəq<sup>h</sup>u q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɐ-o-znəʃterʔ-nə*  
 SEQ henceforth SEQ PFV-INV-cause.to.learn.one's.lesson<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɐ-səjwɐt mə-nɐ-k<sup>h</sup>ût*  
 SEQ GP-cause.to.return NEG-IPFV:PST-allow<sub>2</sub>  
 From then on, they learned a lesson and refused to (be made to) return (to the battleground).
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔosɛʃsət klanbótʃ<sup>h</sup>e kmaʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ thus elephant army=DET  
*me-ne-səʔc<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-nə kɛ-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 NEG-PFV:TR-cause.to.be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL GP-say be.the.rule  
 Thus they (the Tibetans) defeated the elephant army, it is said.
22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mɛju ne-mqɐ-nə orjáŋʔnəʔ*  
 SEQ further IPFV:PST-fight<sub>2</sub>-3PL when  
 When they were engaged in more fight,
23. *rjaron kmaʔ=rɐʔ*  
 Rgyalrong army=PL  
*k<sup>h</sup>etəʃe te-nəne-nə tʃeʔ te-teʔ-nə orjáŋʔnəʔ*  
 sometimes IPFV-rest-3PL tea IPFV-make-3PL when  
 sometimes as the Rgyalrong soldiers were resting and making tea,
24. *ozorʔ tút<sup>h</sup>u=nəŋ*  
 meanwhile pot=inside  
*kər<sup>h</sup>bjoʔ ó-ja=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ ó-me=rɐʔ te-sqɐ-nə*  
 person 3SG:POSS-arm=and 3SG:POSS-leg=PL IPFV-boil-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-nɐʃŋiʃŋiʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV-stir:RDPL-3PL be-MED  
 they would boil human arms and legs inside pots and keep stirring them.

25. *nəʔ tʰɐ ɲoʔ=nəʔ*

ANA why be=TOP

Why is that?

26. *kəʔ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ fe jə-<sup>n</sup>dze-nə maʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

person flesh PROS-eat-3PL not.be be-MED

It was not that they were going to eat the human flesh.

27. *ʃənəʔ pəlpoʔ o-ɸmaʔ tɐpʰəpʰiz tʰɐ-kə-nəʃkroʔ*

SEQ Nepal 3SG:POSS-army in.secret CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-peek<sub>2</sub>

*nə-səsəɣvəɣverʔ ɲoʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

3PL:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-scare<sub>2</sub>:RDPL be be-MED

But it was to give a scare to the Nepalese soldiers who were peeking at them in secret.

28. *qʰoʔ pəlpoʔ o-ɸmaʔ*

SEQ Nepal 3SG:POSS-army

*kə-nəʃkro kə-kə-wɛʔ-nə=rɐʔ né-jwɐt-nə*

NMLZ:PURP-peek PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>-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=rɐʔ=pʰa*

SEQ 3PL:POSS-comrade=PL=place

*koʔ pot o-ɸmaʔ mo-səɣcʰɐ-jə ʃteʔ taʔ-cə*

this Tibet 3SG:POSS-army NEG:INV-defeat-1PL be:EMPH be.certain-MED

*<sup>n</sup>denəʔ kəʔ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ fe=rɐn <sup>n</sup>dze-nə-cə*

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 nəʔosɛfsət kəməqʰunəʔ*

SEQ thus afterwards

*pot o-ɛmaʔ=rɐʔ rjelkʰɐ ne-tʰov-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
Tibetan 3SG:POSS-army=PL victory PFV:TR-get<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

In that way the Tibetan army won the victory in the end.

31. *ʃənəʔ pot o-ɛmaʔ mtsʰôt nə-set-nə*

but Tibetan 3SG:POSS-army be-many PFV-die<sub>2</sub>-3PL

*nɐ-tʃʰoʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub> be-MED

But many of the Tibetan soldiers were dead, it is said.

32. *náŋzgo rjɛron o-sɛtʰe tə-kə-ɐre=rɐʔ*

certainly Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-land PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub>=PL

*kə-lden kɐ-nəjwɛt mə-nɐ-cʰɐʔ-nə*

NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity INF-return NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL

*kɛ-tsə tʃʰoʔ*

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-xper=kə*

3SG:POSS-example=INS

*tsʰovdən qʰolɛciʔ sɛtʰe ɐ-tə-kɛ-tsə=nəʔ*

PN PN land IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

Take Kholakyi Village in Tshobdun Township for example,

34. *kər<sup>h</sup>bjəʔ χsəmʔ jərmə ˈdenəʔ*  
 person three about except  
*kə-nəjwət mə-nə-c<sup>h</sup>əʔ-nə kə-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 INF-return NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL GP-say be.the.rule  
 only about three people were able to return (alive), it is said.
35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-stépu rjélpo=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-local.person chieftain=ERG  
 And the local chieftain (said to them),
36. *nəjərəʔ nə-kə-jwət χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rəʔ*  
 2PL PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-return<sub>2</sub> three=DET=PL  
 “The three of you who returned (downhill),”
37. *nə-kə-tʂ<sup>h</sup>ət ó-ta=z=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.fierce<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-top=LOC=and  
*nə-tsənʔ nə-kə-to kə-jwət nə-kə-c<sup>h</sup>əʔ*  
 2PL:POSS-merit IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-exist<sub>2</sub> INF-return IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.able<sub>2</sub>  
 “who were brave, achieved your merits (in battles) and were able to come back.”
38. *nə-sáqə=kəsə=nəʔ*  
 2PL:POSS-reward=like=TOP  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə ne-tə-nrewe-nə toʔ tə-tsə-nə*  
 what IPFV-2-hope-2PL exist IMP-say-2PL  
 “As for your rewards, just name your wishes,”
39. *nəʔ ó-ta kə-sáysəy ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-top GP-cause.to.hit be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “and I shall fulfil them,” he said.

40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ one-CL=DET=ERG  
*ɐjiʔ ɣónə ɐ-jtʃe=cəʔ mə-rtaʔ=kə*  
 1SG TOP:EMPH 1SG:POSS-field=INDF NEG-be.enough=INS  
*kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a təjtʃe=cəʔ nó-<sup>n</sup>bi-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 a.bit field=INDF IMP:INV-give-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And one of them said, “As my field is a bit insufficient, give me some land.”

41. *leʔ kərdɔʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 again one-CL=DET=ERG  
*ɐjiʔ ɣónə ʃóχaŋ<sup>121</sup>=cəʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-təʔ-aŋ*  
 1SG TOP:EMPH recreation.room=INDF IPFV:DOWNRIVER-put<sub>3</sub>-1SG  
*ne-səsiʔ-aŋ=kə t<sup>h</sup>e-o-sə-təʔ-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-want-1SG=INS IMP:DOWNRIVER-INV-CAUS-put<sub>3</sub>-1SG PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 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!”

42. *nəʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə ɣoʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA why be=TOP  
 Why is it (that he should be making such a request)?

43. *sɣonts<sup>h</sup>e=z rjélpo kəma*  
 former.time=LOC chieftain except  
*təʃɔʔ=rɐʔ ʃóχaŋ t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-teʔ*  
 serf=PL recreation.room IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-put  
*me-<sup>n</sup>ge-joyʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 NEG-IPFV-be.allowed be-MED  
 (Because) in the past, except for chieftains, feudal serfs were not allowed to build recreation rooms.

<sup>121</sup> A room with a large window, built on the third floor.

44. *qʰoʔ leʔ kərdɔʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ again one-CL=DET  
*ɕjiʔ ɣónə təri tʰoxtəm kɐ-lɛt ʰge-mqɐ=kə*  
 1SG TOP:EMPH land.rent GP-pay IPFV-be.hard=INS  
*kofəqʰu təri tʰoxtəm kɐ-lɛt mɐ-kə-reʔ=cəʔ*  
 from.now.on land.rent GP-pay NEG-NMLZ-be.necessary=INDF  
*ne-nrewe-aŋ ɣoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-hope-1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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 rjɛlpo=kə nə=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ*  
 SEQ chieftain=ERG ANA=PL all  
*wɐ nanlaskə nəjəɐʔ nə-tʂənʔ kə-toʔ tə-ɣoʔ-nə=kə*  
 EXCL of.course 2PL 2PL:POSS-merit NMLZ-exist 2-be-2PL=INS  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the kind said to all (of them), “Yes, to be certain, for you are men of merits!”

46. *qʰoʔ nəʔ məkətsʰɛt*  
 SEQ ANA not.only  
*nəʔ te-kə-fsət kə-joyʔ*  
 ANA IPFV-NMLZ-do.thus NMLZ:SBJ-be.allowed  
*nə-jəye ne-tʂet ɣoʔ-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-letter PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub> be-MED

Moreover, he also issued official papers allowing them to do the above things.

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ jəye=nəʔ koŋjeʔ=rəʔ lɛ-wɛʔ-nə*  
 SEQ ANA paper=DET communist=PL PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*oq<sup>h</sup>u=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on kə-ɐrjiʔ nɛ-to-nə ké-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 after=also NMLZ:SBJ-possess IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təjtʃe reʔ tə-kə-tsəʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ field be.necessary PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*o-jtʃe nə-xtɐ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-field PFV-be.big<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 The one who said he wanted farming land got bigger land,

49. *ʃənəʔ tərɪt<sup>h</sup>oxtɐm kɐ-lɛt óyu méju nə-mqɐʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 but land.rent GP-pay 3SG:POSS further PFV-be.hard<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 but the (increased) land rent was also harder on him.

50. *ʃóχaŋ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-kə-te=nəʔ*  
 recreation.room PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-put<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*o-mp<sup>h</sup>jorʔ nɛ-to ɣoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-be.beautiful<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*ʃənəʔ ó-mnu=nəʔ nɛ-mɛʔ ké-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ-cə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-practical.value=DET IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub> GP-say be-MED  
 The one who built the recreation room got a beautiful sight but lacks practical value, it is said.

51. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tóri t<sup>h</sup>oxtəm kə-lət óyu mə-nə-kə-re=nəʔ*  
 SEQ from.now.on GP-pay 3SG:POSS NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*ó-mnu nə-to*  
 3SG:POSS-practical.value IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>  
*st<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-fqra kə-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ-cə*  
 most IPFV:PST-be.intelligent<sub>2</sub> 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. *méju leʔ rjəron ʁmaʔ tə-kə-vre*  
 further also Rgyalrong army PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub>  
*nə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>ét-nə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-tʃənʔ*  
 IPFV:PST-be.brave<sub>2</sub>-3PL SEQ 3PL:POSS-merit  
*nə-to o-tənʔ=kə*  
 IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
 Furthermore, because the Rgyalrongs who joined the army were brave and won merits,

53. *pot rjélpo=kə*  
 Tibet chieftain=ERG  
*rjəróŋwə kə-səxtʃezʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ nə-rjeʔ*  
 Rgyalrong.people NMLZ-favor=and 3PL:POSS-face  
*kə-wətoʔ o-tənʔ=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. *lɛse=z ranpa? sɛtʃʰe te-rɛvzo*  
 PN=LOC specially place PFV:TR-set.aside<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ rjɛron kʰaŋʃtsɛn ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ*  
 SEQ Rgyalrong quarters be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 has set aside some specific land at Lhasa and declared it the Rgyalrong quarters.

55. *qʰoʔ oqʰunəʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards  
*rjɛrɔŋwɛ fo nɛ-kə-nŋəŋo=cəʔ*  
 Rgyalrong.person who IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be<sub>2</sub>:RDPL=INDF  
*rjɛron kʰaŋʃtsɛn=z ne-kɛ-násmo=nəʔ*  
 Rgyalrong quarters=LOC IPFV-GP-stay=SUB  
 And thereafter when any Rgyalrong person stays at the Rgyalrong quarters,

56. *tərŋe? toʔ*  
 face exist  
*mɛkətsʰɛt tə-kə-nərtʃeʔ=rɛʔ ɛdɛnbe mɛ*  
 not.only PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-provoke<sub>2</sub>=PL at.all not.exist  
*kɛʰ-tsə tʃʰozʔ-cə*  
 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

*mkʰérgu tɛroʔscʰənəʔ péle tɛroʔ nekemqɛ*

**Narrator: Tsheskyid**

1. *cʰeʔ=z                      péle    tɛroʔ=cəʔ                      nɛ-to*  
former.time=LOC    PN    headman=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>  
*o-tʃu                      knɛz    nɛ-to                      ŋoʔ-cə*  
3SG:POSS-son    two    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
Once, there was a headman at Pala Village, he had two sons.
  
2. *qʰoʔ    ʃfíkə    nɛ-sceʔ                      ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ    very    IPFV:PST-be.prosperous<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
And he was very prosperous.
  
3. *qʰoʔ    tsʰovdən mkʰérgu    tɛroʔ                      te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ                      nɛ-to                      ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ    PN                      headman    IPFV-GP-say=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
And there was a headman of Kha'ergu Village's at Tshobdun.
  
4. *qʰoʔ    ʃfíkə    nɛ-fqɛʔ                      qʰoʔ    nɛ-znɛfqɛfqɛʔ                      ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ    very    IPFV:PST-be.powerful<sub>2</sub>    SEQ    IPFV:PST-be.domineering<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
He was very powerful and was domineering.
  
5. *qʰoʔ    tsʰovdən    tɛjtsiʔ    cʰúɣji                      nə-mɛ*  
SEQ    PN                      PN    name.of.household    3PL:POSS-daughter  
*ʃfíkə    kə-mpʰjor=cəʔ                      nɛ-to                      ŋoʔ-cə*  
very    NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
There was a very beautiful daughter from the Chugyi House in Teutses Village of Tshobdun Township.

6. *qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-pʰa*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place  
*pélɛ tɛroʔ=scʰənəʔ mkʰérgu tɛroʔ*  
 PN headman=and PN chieftain  
*ʰdzə-tʃu=niʔ ɛnoŋne=nəʔ qʰɐʔ támɛ=nəʔ ne-rgeʔ-ʰdzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3DU:POSS-son=DU both=DET ANA woman=DET IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 The Pala and Mkhargu headmen's sons both loved that woman,
7. *qʰoʔ kəməqʰúʰunəʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards  
*pʰentsʰən ʒəzdaŋ=scʰənəʔ roʔse kɐ-pe*  
 each.other jealousy=and jealousy NMLZ-do  
*qʰoʔ támɛ kɐ-néʰdət kɐ-tʃətʃi*  
 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 ʰdzə-péʳtʰɐ=nəʔ ʰgɛrwe tə-ɐre ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3DU:POSS-space.in.between=DET conflict PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 conflict arose between them.
9. *qʰoʔ mkʰérgu tɛroʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ PN headman=DET=ERG  
*pélɛ tɛroʔ ʰge-kɐ-ntʃʰe ne-səsi ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PN headman IPFV-INF-kill PFV:TR-desire<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And Mkhargu headman wanted to kill the Pala headman.
10. *qʰoʔ nəʔ o-vlo əntsátse ne-peʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-method constantly PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he was constantly scheming about it.

- 11.
- q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sɿi=cɛ=nəʔ*

SEQ one-day=INDF=DET

*pélɛ tɛroʔ nə-zɔʔ nə-rla-cə*PN headman 3PL:POSS-bovine PFV-be.lost<sub>2</sub>-MED

One day, the Pala headman lost their cattle.

- 12.
- q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pélɛ tɛroʔ o-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ PN headman 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET=ERG

*o-zdeʔ tərmɛ káknɛ te-<sup>n</sup>di*3SG:POSS-companion man a.couple PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>broxpe o-sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z*

SEQ nomad 3SG:POSS-land=LOC

*zɔʔ kə-nərtɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>ot kə-ɐre-nə ɲoʔ-cə*bovine NMLZ:PURP-retrieve.sth.stolen PFV:EAST-go<sub>2</sub>-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.
- q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mk<sup>h</sup>érgu taroʔ=kə ne-sizʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ PN chieftain=ERG PFV:TR-know<sub>2</sub> be-MED

The Mkhargu Chieftain found out about (this).

- 14.
- q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ <sup>n</sup>broxpe kə-kə-ɐre nə-zgɛq<sup>h</sup>u=nəʔ*

SEQ ANA nomad PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub> 3PL:POSS-back=DET*ɛmaʔ kən<sup>n</sup>gə-sqeʔ ke-tsom ɲoʔ-cə*soldier nine-ten PFV:TR:EAST-take.thither<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And he took with him nine or ten armed men in the wake of those who had gone east to the nomads.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>olɛciʔ re<sup>n</sup>go=z jɐɐ kə-toʔ*  
 SEQ PN hill=LOC pass NMLZ:SBJ-exist  
*kə<sup>r</sup>ˈbjoʔ te-sɐnɛjiʔ kə-vde=nəʔ=z*  
 person IPFV-wait.for.people<sub>2</sub> NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=DET=LOC  
*pɛlɐ tɐrotʃu=nəʔ te-nɛjiʔ-nə-cə*  
 PN chieftain's.son=DET PFV:TR-wait.for<sub>2-3PL</sub>-MED

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.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pɛlɐ tɐroʔ kɐ-nərtɕɪʃ<sup>h</sup>ot nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-nə*  
 SEQ PN headman INF-retrieve IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2-3PL</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ˈdec<sup>h</sup>o nə-nəwɛʔ-nə*  
 SEQ west PFV:WEST-return<sub>2-3PL</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jɐɐ kə-toʔ=nəʔ nə-zyôʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ pass NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET PFV:WEST-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

Just when the Pala headman (and others) were successful in retrieving (the stolen cattle), went back westward, and got to where the pass was,

17. *m<sup>k</sup>hɛrgu ɐmaʔ lɐ-kə-ɐre=rɐʔ=kə*  
 PN soldier PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub>=PL=ERG  
*pove ne-ʃtsəy-nə-cə*  
 gunman PFV:TR-deploy<sub>2-3PL</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tomde te-lêʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ gun PFV:TR-release<sub>2-3PL</sub>-MED

the Mkhardgu soldiers who had come upriver deployed gunmen (there) and opened fire.

18. *ʃənəʔ pɛlɛpu=rɐʔ nɐ-ɐʃpɛlɐʔ-nə-cə*  
 but Pala.people=PL IPFV:PST-be.nimble<sub>2-3PL</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃla ɕɪʃ<sup>h</sup>e kə-ʃtsən ɣovʔ=kəsci*  
 SEQ immediately place NMLZ:SBJ-be.difficult.of.access hollow=like

*ó-naŋ ne-ɐre-nə-cə*

3SG:POSS-inside PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-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 tomde ne-mə-ləlêʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ each.other gun IPFV:TR-RECIP-release<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

And they kept shooting at each other.

20. *ʃənəʔ mkʰergúpu=rɛʔ=kə pɛlépu=nəʔ*

but Mkhardgu.people=PL=ERG Pala.people=DET

*ɛdənbe kɛ-xɬəy mə-nɐ-cʰɛʔ-nə-cə*

at.all INF-hit NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

But the Mkhardgu people were not able to hit the Pala people at all.

21. *qʰoʔ pɛlépu tɛroʔ o-tʃu=nəʔ*

SEQ Pala.people headman 3SG:POSS-son=DET

*o-tomde nɐ-ʒro o-mdɐ nɐ-lɛnʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-gun IPFV:PST-be.fine<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-bullet IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity<sub>2</sub>-MED

*ó-ta pove nɐ-rkaŋʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-top gunman IPFV:PST-be.skilled<sub>2</sub>-MED

*qʰoʔ mkʰergúpu kaɳnáχsəm=cəʔ te-səsmêʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ Mkhardgu.people two-three=INDF PFV:TR-wound<sub>2</sub>-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.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>ents<sup>h</sup>ən nəkəsə nɐ-fsât-nə*  
 SEQ each.other thus IPFV:PST-do.thus<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ fqé-nɲət mə-nɐ-saxselʔ-cə*  
 SEQ victory-defeat NEG-IPFV:PST-be.obvious<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And they went on (shooting) like that, and it was not obvious who were winning and who were losing.
23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəjərmɐ pélé tɛrotʃu*  
 SEQ about.the.time PN chieftain's.son  
*o-vzər t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-kə-smo*  
 3SG:POSS-side CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present<sub>2</sub>  
*o-jiʔ o-kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=cəʔ=kə tə-o-sətomdeʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-self 3SG:POSS-person=INDF=ERG PFV-INV-shoot.with.gun<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-o-ntʃheʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-INV-kill<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Around this time, the Pala chieftain's son was shot and killed by one of his own men who was beside him.
24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pələpu nɐ-kə-sɛntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ Pala.people PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-do.killing.of.people<sub>2</sub>=DET=ERG  
*o-tɛrotʃu mk<sup>h</sup>érgu<sup>122</sup> ó-ja ne-nəsprét ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-chieftain's.son PN 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR-turn.in<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 The Pala person who did the killing betrayed his own chieftain's son into the hands of the Mkhardgu (Chieftain).
25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mk<sup>h</sup>érgúpu=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ Mkhardgu.people=PL  
*pélé tɛroʔ o-tʃu kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 PN headman 3SG:POSS-son NMLZ-be.big=DET

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<sup>122</sup> Referring to the Mkhardgu Chieftain.

*nəosəfsət ne-ntʰeʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 thus PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

And in this way, the Mkhardgu people killed the Pala headman's eldest son.

26. *qʰoʔ leʔ mkʰérgu tɛroʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ again PN headman=DET=ERG  
*péle tɛroʔ=nəʔ o-tʃu nə-set mɛ-siz ʃoxte=z*  
 PN headman=DET 3SG:POSS-son PFV-die<sub>2</sub> NEG-know before=LOC  
*qʰoʔ ʃə-tʰe-sə-nge-cə*  
 SEQ AND-PFV:TR:DOWNRIVER-CAUS-call<sub>2</sub>-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-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And told him that there was a matter (to discuss).

28. *qʰoʔ péle tɛroʔ=nəʔ=kə ne-nzɐŋgiʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN headman=DET=ERG PFV:TR-believe<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the Pala headman believed him.

29. *qʰoʔ mkʰérgu tɛroʔ=kə*  
 SEQ PN chieftain=ERG  
*tərmɛ ɛnez tomde te-səndi-cə*  
 man two gun PFV:TR-cause.to.take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ qɛcʰwetriʔ məndəci=z*  
 SEQ PN PN=LOC



*o-kə-q<sup>h</sup>ro*                      *t<sup>h</sup>e-səy<sup>re</sup>*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-meet    PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub>    be-MED

And the Mkhargu chieftain ordered two men to carry guns and go downriver to meet him at Mendeci<sup>123</sup> in Kakhyoris Village.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *lɐ-wɛʔ-nə*

SEQ    PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *<sup>n</sup>dzemq<sup>h</sup>u*                      *kə-zɣôʔ-nə*

SEQ    Ndzemqhu<sup>124</sup>    PFV:EAST-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3PL

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *pélɐ*    *təroʔ=nəʔ*                      *<sup>n</sup>dzém=ta*    *ke-zmɛko-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*

SEQ    Pala    headman=DET    bridge=top    PFV:EAST:TR-cause.to.be.first<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED

And they came upriver, and arrived eastward at Ndzemqhu, and the two men made the Pala headman go east onto the bridge first.

31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *<sup>n</sup>dzem*    *o-χcəl*                      *jɐrmɐ*    *kə-zɣôʔ-cə=nəʔ*

SEQ    bridge    3SG:POSS-middle    about    PFV:EAST-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

*o-zgɛq<sup>h</sup>u*                      *tomde*    *te-lêʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*

3SG:POSS-back    gun    PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED

And when they got to the middle of the bridge, the two shot him in the back.

32. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *pélɐ*    *təroʔ=nəʔ*                      *nəʔosɛʃsət*    *nə-o-nt<sup>h</sup>eʔ*

SEQ    PN    headman=DET    thus    PFV-INV-kill<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *təciʔ=naŋ*                      *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-o-wɛrêʔ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ    water=inside    PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-throw<sub>2</sub>    be-MED

And thus the Pala headman was killed and thrown into the river.

<sup>123</sup> A small hamlet in Kakhyoris Village, consisting of three households.

<sup>124</sup> Name of a small place within Kakhyoris Village.

33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pɛ̃lɐ ʔɛroʔ o-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtʃi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN headman 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ-be.small=DET  
*ɣmaxpon o-q<sup>h</sup>u=z*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-back=LOC  
*paxko te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə*  
 PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS  
*nənəz tɛk<sup>h</sup>u ʔətswɐ ne-peʔ-cə*  
 there opium selling IPFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the smallest son of the Pala headman was selling opium at a place called Pagko behind the Gmaxpon Mountain.

34. *o-zgɛq<sup>h</sup>u ó-pe=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ o-je=niʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-back 3SG:POSS-father=and 3SG:POSS-elder.sibling=DU  
*nɐ-kə-v-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ mɛ̃-siz ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV-NMLZ-PASS-kill<sub>2</sub> NMLZ-be=DET NEG-know be-MED

And he did not know that his father and elder brother had been killed after he had left.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mk<sup>h</sup>ɛrgu ʔɛroʔ=kə nəʔ mɛ̃-siz ʃoxte=z*  
 SEQ PN headman=DET ANA NEG-know before=LOC  
*leʔ ʔɛrmɐ kətʃoy jɛrmɐ te-səypreʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 again man six about PFV:TR-dispatch<sub>2</sub> be-MED
- And the Mkhardgu again dispatched about six men before he was aware of it.

36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ paxko=z*  
 SEQ PN=LOC  
*pɛ̃lɐ ʔɛroʔ o-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtʃi=nəʔ*  
 PN headman 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ-be.small=DET

*kə-ntʰe*                      *tʰe-səyɾe*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:PURP-kill      PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

And he made them go downriver to Pagko to kill the youngest son of the Pala Chieftain.

37. *qʰoʔ*    *qʰeʔ*    *tərmə*    *kátfoɣ=nəʔ=rəʔ*  
 SEQ    ANA    man    six=DET=PL  
*pélə*    *təroʔ*    *o-ɣnə=scʰənəʔ*    *o-jəlpe=kəsə*  
 PN    headman    3SG:POSS-relative=and    3SG:POSS-neighbor=like  
*nə-fie-nə*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-be:EMPH<sub>2</sub>-3PL    be-MED

And the six men were sort of like kinsmen and neighbors of the Pala headman's.

38. *qʰoʔ*    *qʰeʔ*    *pélə*    *təroʔ*    *o-tʃu=pʰa*  
 SEQ    ANA    PN    headman    3SG:POSS-son=place  
*mkʰérgu*    *təroʔ=kə*  
 PN    headman=ERG  
*nə-kə-ntʰe*                      *tʰe-o-səwɛʔ-jə*                      *ŋoʔ*  
 2SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-kill    PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-cause.to.come<sub>2</sub>-1PL    be  
 And they said to the Pala headman's son, "It is the Mkhardgu headman who sent us downriver to have you killed,"

39. *təɣnə*    *jəlpe=kəsə*    *ŋoʔ-jə*  
 relative    neighbor=like    be-1PL  
*ʃənəʔ*    *nəjiʔ*    *mə-kə-ntʰe=nəʔ*    *mə-tə-kʰût*    *ŋoʔ*  
 but    2SG    NEG-GP-kill=SUB    NEG-PFV-be.doable<sub>2</sub>    be  
 "we are sort of like your kinsmen and neighbors, but it has become disallowed for one not to kill you,"

40. *qʰónə tʰə te-kə-pe re? te-tsəʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 “so what should one do?” they said.

41. *qʰoʔ qʰəʔ pɛlə tɛrotʃu=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ ANA PN chieftain’.son=DET=ERG  
*mɛ-kdu mkʰərgúpu=kə*  
 NEG-be.serious Mkhardgu.people=ERG  
*jəjəreʔ pɛlépu jə-rtsemet tʃɛ́t-nəɲo*  
 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 mkʰérgu=pʰa le-koy-tsomʔ-aɲ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN=place IPFV:UPRIVER-2→1-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB  
*ʃənəʔ sɛ́t-aɲ ʃteʔ*  
 but die-1SG be:EMPH  
 “if you take me upriver to the Mkhardgu people, I will still die.”

43. *qʰónə nəjəreʔ=ntʰon*  
 SEQ:EMPH 2PL=also  
*ná-ja tə-tʃɛ́t-nə mɛ-reʔ*  
 2PL:POSS-hand 2-take.out-2PL NEG-be.necessary  
 “So no need to raise your hands (against me),”

44. *ɛjiʔ qɛrɲəmʔ=naɲ tʰe-ncámder-aɲ*  
 1SG river=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-drown.oneself-1SG  
*qʰoʔ nəʔ ʃteʔ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA be:EMPH=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “I will just leap into the river and drown myself, and that will do it,” he said.

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-səntʃ<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>v-kə-ɐre=rɐʔ=kə*  
 SEQ NMLZ-do.killing PFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub>=PL=ERG  
*vde te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 be.good PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And those who went downriver to do the killing said, “OK.”

46. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə pélv tɐrotʃu=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ:EMPH PN chieftain's.son=DET=ERG  
*p<sup>h</sup>étsət=kə o-koʔ ó-mɲa=rɐʔ te-nsəyloj*  
 handkerchief=INS 3SG:POSS-head 3SG:POSS-eye=PL PFV:TR-cover<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təciʔ=nan t<sup>h</sup>v-nəmdərʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ water=inside PFV:DOWNRIVER-jump<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the Pala Chieftain's son covered his head and eyes with a handkerchief and jumped into the river.

47. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə nəʔoséʃsət=kə*  
 SEQ:EMPH thus=INS  
*mk<sup>h</sup>ɐrgúpu=kə pɐlépu=nəʔ o-rtɕəmet*  
 Mkhardgu.people=ERG Pala.people=DET 3SG:POSS-extermination  
*te-tʃet-nə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ nɐ-fsəʔt*  
 PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-3PL SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.thus<sub>2</sub>  
*nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz ɲoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub> 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.

**BZHAGBRA MOUNTAIN***vzári***Narrator: Bstanblo**1. *vzári=nə?*

PN=TOP

*ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən jə-sɛtʰe=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə? kəldzəmɐ sɛtʰe*

PN 1PL:POSS-land=and PN land

*o-sɛmts<sup>h</sup>ɛm=cɛ=z kə-toʔ=cə? ɲo?*

3SG:POSS-boundary=LOC:INDF=LOC NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF be

The Bzhagbra Mountain is located somewhere on the border between Tshobdun and Kirtima.<sup>125</sup>

2. *q<sup>h</sup>o? vắri=nə? ts<sup>h</sup>ovden pélɐ q<sup>h</sup>o? kəldzəmɐ=rɐ?*

SEQ PN=TOP PN PN SEQ PN=PL

*ʃə-kɐ-mtʰot kə-reʔ=cə?*

AND-INF-worship NMLZ:SBJ-be.necessary=INDF

*ʒəvda? ʃílkə kə-ʃtsɛnʔ=cə? ɲo?*

mountain.deity very NMLZ:SBJ-be.powerful=INDF be

The Bzhagbra Mountain is a very powerful mountain deity that (people from) Tshobdun, Pala, and Kirtima must all go and worship.

3. *q<sup>h</sup>o? ʒəvda? ʃtsowo o-vzər=nə?*

SEQ mountain.deity main.peak 3SG:POSS-side=DET

*ɛgeffɪ ʒəvda? q<sup>h</sup>o? sménbe ʒəvda? te-ké-tsə to?*

PN mountain.deity SEQ PN mountain.deity IPFV-GP-say exist

Beside the main peak of Bzhagbra Mountain (Deity) are found the Bkrashis and Smanpa mountain deities.

<sup>125</sup> A Village in Rongwam (茸安) Township, southern Rngaba County.

4. *qʰoʔ sŋontsʰe=nəʔ*

SEQ former.time=TOP

*vʒáři o-koʔ te-kɛ-fɛ*

PN 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:UP-GP-go

*qʰoʔ lɛsɛ-pʰjɔ te-kɛ-mpʰéri=nəʔ*

SEQ PN-direction IPFV:UP-GP-look=SUB

*rtsepotélɛ o-komʔ sɛmtiʔ kɛ-tsə tʰozʔ*

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-ɣóri=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-front=DET

*mtsʰo ome kə-xteʔ=cəʔ jəmon kəlŋo-tʃo-sqe jɛrmɛ*

lake very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF mu five-six-ten about

*kə-toʔ=cəʔ toʔ*

NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF exist

And in front of it there is a very big lake with an area of about fifty-sixty *mu*.<sup>126</sup>

6. *qʰoʔ mtsʰo o-vʒər=nəʔ*

SEQ lake 3SG:POSS-side=DET

*tʃeʔ kə-ɣmériu te-kɛ-teʔ qʰoʔ mtsʰo ke-kɛ-skɔr*

tea one-pot IPFV-GP-make SEQ lake IPFV:CISLOC-GP-circle

*qʰoʔ kə-tɛskɔr te-kɛ-lɛt=nəʔ*

SEQ one-circle IPFV-GP-do=SUB

*noŋme tʃeʔ kə-ɣmériu te-lɛ tʰozʔ ŋoʔ*

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.

<sup>126</sup> A unit for measuring area, equals to 667 square meters.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mts<sup>h</sup>o=nəʔ ɐrɲiʔ ɲəɣɲəɣʔ*<sup>127</sup>

SEQ lake=DET be.blue IDPH

*o-vzər=nəʔ=rɐʔ o-q<sup>h</sup>ɐ sɛmtiʔ*

3SG:POSS-side=DET=PL 3SG:POSS-bottom be.visible

The lake is blue, and near its bank the bottom is visible,

8. *ʃənəʔ o-χcəl=nəʔ rna ofɛtkə ɲa qəvqəvʔ*<sup>128</sup>

but 3SG:POSS-center=DET be.deep so be.black IDPH

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-komɐzɛr=rɐʔ ne-kə-sɛmdzuʔ=cəʔ*

SEQ GP:POSS-creepy.feeling=PL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.sit=INDF

*ɲoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*

be be.the.rule

but the center of the lake it is so deep that it is black, and makes one feel creepy.

9. *sɲonts<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ mts<sup>h</sup>o-vzər*

former.time=DET lake-side

*zɔʔ nɐ-kə-<sup>n</sup>di=cəʔ nɐ-ljo-cə=nəʔ*

cow IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-ride<sub>2</sub>=INDF PFV:DOWN-drown<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

*kozəzɔʔ ɲɲiʔ o-p<sup>h</sup>ɛri*

together.with.cow PN 3SG:POSS-other.bank

*dəmtʃɔ<sup>129</sup>=z tə-nlɔ kɛ-tsə nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oz-cə*

PN=LOC PFV:UP-come.out<sub>2</sub> GP-say IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-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.

<sup>127</sup> Ideophone describing blue color.

<sup>128</sup> Ideophone describing black color.

<sup>129</sup> Name of a small place in Rnyi Village, formerly occupied by a single household, now site of the relocated Bkrashissgang Monastery.



10. *nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*vʒarəmtsʰo o-qʰə=nəʔ dəmtʃə toʔ ké-tsə tʃʰozʔ*  
 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=zənəʔ mtsʰo o-vʒər=nəʔ*  
 SEQ former.time=LOC=TOP lake 3SG:POSS-side=DET  
*ʃɣontsʰe blukʒonʃ=scʰənəʔ rtfamʒʔ*  
 former.time arm.guard=and iron.helmet  
*qʰoʔ puzvu qʰoʔ toŋʔ*  
 SEQ musket SEQ white.conch  
*nəʔ=rəʔ ne-teʔ nə-tʃʰoz*  
 ANA=PL PFV:TR-place<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 Originally, old arm guards, an iron helmet, a musket, a white conch and what not were placed by the lake side.
12. *ʃənəʔ toʒaʔ=nəʔ ʃɣontsʰərjuʔ nəpʰu té-tsə-nə=kə*  
 but nowadays=TOP antic be.valuable IPFV-say-3PL=INS  
 But since people nowadays believe that antics are valuable,
13. *kəmɐqʰúnəʔ toŋʔ kəma*  
 afterwards white.conch except  
*nəʔ o-ri=nəʔ nə-rla ʃteʔ*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder=DET PFV-be.lost<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH  
 so afterwards all except the white conch got lost.
14. *qʰoʔ ʒəvdaʔ ó-ʁer smənɾəʔ ʰdzɐməʰdzɐ 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. *sménbe=rɛʔ ʒəvdaʔ=ɛɛr ʃə-nəsmən-nə tʃʰoʔ*  
 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. *ʃənəʔ ʒəvdaʔ=ɛɛr te-kɛ-ʃɛ=nəʔ*  
 but sacred.mountain=body IPFV:UP-GP-go=SUB  
*kɛ-rɛχʈfoʰbaʔ=scʰənəʔ qəqijélo kɛ-pe mɛ-ɲɛn*  
 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. *ʰdenəʔ támu tʃʰəkəsci nɛ-jəm=ntʃʰon*  
 for weather however IPFV:PST-be.sunny<sub>2</sub>=even  
*mtsʰo=nəŋ zʰdəmʔ lɔrnəlɔr<sup>130</sup> te-kə-nlɔʔ=cəʔ ŋoʔ*  
 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. *qʰoʔ tʰɔʔ-ʰbrəʔ-lɔʔ-χsəm*  
 SEQ thunderbolt-thunder-lightning-three  
*ʃla te-kə-pe=cəʔ ŋoʔ tʃʰoʔ*  
 immediately IPFV-NMLZ-do=INDF be be.the.rule  
 and as a rule it will thunder and lightning right away.

<sup>130</sup> A derived ideophone from *lor*, describing small, rounded objects or people.

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pjəve vdíti jə-mda jərmə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ Flower-Viewing.Festival<sup>131</sup> PROS-be.time about=SUB  
*ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən tɛjtsɛpu=rɐʔ*  
 PN people.from.Teutses=PL  
*steʔ kə-təpu=cəʔ tərmə kə-rdɔʔ kɐ-rɛnts<sup>h</sup>a reʔ*  
 each one-household=INDF man one-CL INF-provide be.necessary  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vʒári kə-mtʃ<sup>h</sup>ot le-kɐ-fɐ ɲoʔ*  
 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 Tshobdun must provide a male person and (together) they go upriver to worship the Bzhagbra Mountain (Deity).
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəldzəmə jə-kɐ-zɣot=nəʔ=z*  
 SEQ PN PROS-GP-arrive=SUB=LOC  
*mts<sup>h</sup>ok<sup>h</sup>e te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə*  
 PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS  
*nənə=z prɛke te-kɛ-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skəm=rɐʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kɐ-wémə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>brɛrjəɣ=rɐʔ te-kɐ-pe*  
 SEQ cattle=PL IPFV-GP-slaughter SEQ horse.race=PL IPFV-GP-do  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʒəvdaʔ ʃə-te-kɐ-mtʃ<sup>h</sup>ot ɲoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔzʔ*  
 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.

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<sup>131</sup> An important traditional festival of the Rgyalrong Tibetans (in Situ Rgyalrong *rzompōk*), featuring mountain-deity worshipping amid various communal merry-making and outdoor activities, held between May and July in the Lunar Calendar.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-kə-zuʔ kə-reʔ=rəʔ kəmdiʔ*  
 SEQ GP:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-request NMLZ:SBJ-be.necessary=PL all  
*te-ké-tsə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʒəvdaʔ ftsən*  
 IPFV-GP-say SEQ mountain.deity be.powerful  
*o-tənʔ=kə tə-zdoŋtʂəʔ ʃfíkə*  
 3SG:POSS-reason=INS GP:POSS-assistance very  
*poj ké-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 do<sub>3</sub> GP-say be.the.rule

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.

# HISTORY OF THE RNATA PALACE

*rnéta rjelse lorju?*

**Narrator: Tsheskyid**

1. *koʃənaŋʔ=nəʔ      rnéta      rjelse=nəʔ*  
 former.time=TOP    Rnata    palace=TOP  
*qɛcʰweriʔ    ʃotʰaŋʔ<sup>132</sup>=z    nɐ-to                    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PN                    PN=LOC            IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 The chieftain's palace at Rnata used to be located at Shotang Hamlet.

2. *o-ŋóri                    tétʰɔ=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-front    flat.area.inside.ravine=DET  
*o-rjɛlʒoŋ    nɐ-ŋo                    tʰoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-chieftain.farming.land    IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>    be.the.rule-MED  
 The flat area in front of it used to be the chieftain's farming land.

3. *qʰoʔ    tʃʰətʰɛn    ome    kə-xteʔ                    tʰɐ-wɛʔ*  
 SEQ    flood    very    NMLZ:SBJ-be.big    PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ    o-rjɛlʒoŋ    kəmdiʔ*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-chieftain's.farming.land    all  
*tʰe-nətsom    tʰoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>    be.the.rule-med  
 A big flood came and washed away all the chieftain's farming land.

<sup>132</sup> 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 *ʃotʰaŋʔ* (學堂).

4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo=kə<sup>133</sup> fsiʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ chieftain=ERG future=DET  
*koʔ təciʔ=kə ɐ-rjɛlse=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on nətsomʔ-cə ne-səsi*  
 this river=ERG 1SG:POSS-palace=also take.thither-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>  
 And the chieftain thought, “This flood will one day wash away my palace also.”

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mɛta=z o-rjɛlse te-sperʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ Rnata=LOC 3SG:POSS-palace PFV:UP:TR-move<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And he moved his palace uphill to Rnata.

6. *ⁿgɛ-fqɐ ʃteʔ-cə=kə*  
 IPFV-be.powerful be:EMPH-MED=INS  
 As he was so powerful,

7. *nk<sup>h</sup>orman ɔme kə-lɛn te-jzom*  
 masses very NMLZ-exist.in.quantity PFV:TR-gather<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-zrɛmɐʔ ʃteʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.labor<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH be-MED  
 he summoned lots of the masses and forced them to do labor.

8. *χsəm-pe nə-tsoʔ jɛrmɐ=nəʔ*  
 three-year PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub> about=TOP  
*rjɛlse vde-téxsɛ kə-toʔ*  
 palace four-storey NMLZ:SBJ-exist  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ χʃikə kə-zroʔ te-sənts<sup>h</sup>a-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ very NMLZ-be.fine PFV:TR-finish<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And in about three years’ time, they completed a fine palace of four storeys.

<sup>133</sup> The chieftain’s name is now forgotten, but the palace was build under counsel from his brother, a powerful lama named *spónbo snaɲmdzɛt*.

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlse o-zgég<sup>h</sup>u=nəʔ*  
 SEQ palace 3SG:POSS-back=TOP  
*k<sup>h</sup>rop<sup>h</sup>ər=nəʔ mɲo-téxsɛ nɐ-to ɲoʔ*  
 stone.watch.tower=DET five-storey IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be  
 At Rnata, the palace had four storeys; at its back, there was a five-storey stone watch-tower.
10. *k<sup>h</sup>rop<sup>h</sup>ər o-zgég<sup>h</sup>u=nəʔ*  
 stone.watch.tower 3SG:POSS-back=TOP  
*mts<sup>h</sup>ɔχkɛ ome kə-ʒroʔ nɐ-to ɲoʔ-cə*  
 assembly.hall very NMLZ-be.fine IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And behind the stone watch-tower there was a very impressive assembly hall.
11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlse k<sup>h</sup>e-téxsɛ=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>orlo əntsátse nɐ-to*  
 SEQ palace each-storey=TOP prayer.wheel all IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>  
 On each storey of the palace there were prayer wheels.
12. *məkátst<sup>h</sup>ɛt fkɛ<sup>n</sup>jər stɛ<sup>n</sup>jər mts<sup>h</sup>ót*  
 not.only Kanjur Tanjur be.many  
*rjɛlse=naɲ ne-z<sup>n</sup>dɛʔ<sup>134</sup> ɲoʔ-cə*  
 palace=inside IPFV:PST:TR-stack<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Moreover, many volumes of Kanjur and Tanjur texts were stacked inside the palace.
13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mts<sup>h</sup>ɔχkɛ stot=naɲ*  
 SEQ assembly.hall upper.level=inside  
*tʃuwu nɐ-to ɲoʔ-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.

<sup>134</sup> This verb form has an *impersonal passive* reading.

14. *qʰoʔ méju sku ˈdzɛməˈdzɛ*

SEQ further Buddha.statue various

*mtsʰôʔ nɛ-to ɲoʔ-cə*

be.many IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And there were in addition many various statues of Buddha.

15. *qʰoʔ kɛrjaŋ kɛʰoŋ*

SEQ long.pillar short.pillar

*ó-kɛr ˈbrulɔʔ nɛ-kɛ-fkôʔ nɛ-to ɲoʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-surface dragon PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-carve<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And on the surfaces of the long and short pillars were carved dragons.

16. *qʰoʔ komʔ=rɛʔ ɣʰikə kə-mpʰjor*

SEQ door=PL very NMLZ-be.beautiful

*nɛ-ɲo ɲoʔ tʰoʔ-cə*

IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be be.the rule-MED

And the doors were very beautiful.

17. *qʰoʔ o-pʰjiʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside=TOP

*leʔ ˈkʰorlo kə-tɛskor ke-fɛ nɛ-ɲo ɲoʔ-cə*

again praying.wheel one-CL IPFV:CISLOC-go IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And on the outside, there was another circle of praying wheels.

18. *qʰoʔ rnɛta ɲɛlse=nəʔ*

SEQ Rnata palace=TOP

*ɲɔntsʰe=z o-tɛrəsku ɣʰikə kə-ʒroʔ*

former.time=LOC 3SG:POSS-giant.tangka very NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine



*kávde jermə nə-to ɣoʔ-cə*  
 four about IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED

The Rnata Palace used to have about four fine-quality giant tangkas.

19. *kəmdiʔ koxtfẽ<sup>n</sup>dzi=kə tɛtsər nə-kə-te*  
 all silken.thread=INS embroidery PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-put<sub>2</sub>  
*əntsátse nə-ɣo tʰoʔ-cə*  
 all IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be.the.rule-MED

And all of them had embroidery made of silk threads on them.

20. *nənəʔ rɣənəɳ=z ʃə-lə-kə-χtuʔ nə-ɣo tʰoʔ-cə*  
 that PN=LOC AND-PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ:U-buy<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> 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. *méta kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ tʰe-kə-zrakgrezʔ=nəʔ*  
 Rnata person IPFV-GP-cause.to.line.up=SUB  
*tɛtsom<sup>135</sup> tʰe-kə-zyot nəʔ jermə kə-lɛn*  
 Tatsom IPFV-NMLZ-arrive ANA about NMLZ-exist.in.quantity  
*ɛjoʔ o-spe ne-kʰi tʰoʔ kə-tsə ɣoʔ-cə*  
 servant 3SG:POSS-material PFV:TR-hand.to<sub>2</sub> 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.

<sup>135</sup> A river-crossing at Dadu River at Rnyi Village, about two kilometers from Rnata. This is also the current site of Bkrashisgang Monastery.

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjélpo nanso snóŋbo snangmdzət te-ké-tsə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ chieftain PN IPFV-GP-say=DET  
*méta rjélpo nɛ-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 Rnata chieftain IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the chieftain known as Nangso Snyongbo Snangmdzat was the chieftain of Rnata.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ χíká nɛ-sceʒ*  
 SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.prosperous<sub>2</sub>  
*məkáts<sup>h</sup>ət o-ɛvaŋ χíká nɛ-xtɐ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 not.only 3SG:POSS-power very IPFV:PST-be.big<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 He was not only very prosperous but also very powerful.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sómo tʃóχtse rdzə<sup>n</sup>ga ǰəta rŋɛpe ǰəsmət=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN PN PN north.of PN south.of=DET  
*kəmdiʔ ne-nəmdzət ŋoʔ-cə*  
 all IPFV:PST-rule.over<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And he ruled over all the land north of Somang, Cogtse, and Rdzaong'gag and south of Rngaba.

26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlsə k<sup>h</sup>axsəm o-rgonbe=nəʔ*  
 SEQ manor.of.the.three-chieftains<sup>136</sup> 3SG:POSS-monastery=DET  
*méta nɛ-to*  
 PN IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>  
*məkáts<sup>h</sup>ət krɛʃizgaŋ rgonbe nɛ-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 not.only Zhaxirigang monastery IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the monastery serving the manors of the three chieftains was at Rnata, and it was none other than the Bkrashissgang Monastery.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>136</sup> 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.

<sup>137</sup> An ancient monastery of the Jonangpa Sect, now over seven hundred years old.

27. *qʰoʔ kreʃizgaŋ rgonbe=nəʔ rjɛlsə kʰaχsəm nəɣu*  
 SEQ PN monastery=TOP manor.of.the.three-chieftains 3PL:POSS  
*kə-ntsʰɔʔ nə-ŋo-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-gather.to.chant.sutra IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And (the monks of the) Bkrashisgang Monastery did their religious services for the three chieftains.

28. *qʰoʔ pɛlɛ ʃəʔtʰɛco*  
 SEQ PN downriver.from  
*kʰaŋsɛr wəʔdəzʔ kɛto smonmoʔ tsʰovzi tʰe-kə-wi*  
 PN PN PN PN four.tribe IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come  
*mkʰɛrgu ʃəlɛco=nəʔ təri tʰoχtəm=nəʔ*  
 PN upriver.from=DET land.rent=DET  
*mɛta rjɛlsə=z ʃə-te-kɛ-lɛt nə-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PN palace=LOC AND-IPFV:UP-GP-pay IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And everyone downriver from Pala, including Khangshan, Wendez, Kato, Smonmo, and the Four Tribes<sup>138</sup> and upriver from Mkhargu all used to go uphill to Rnata Palace to turn in land rent.

29. *qʰoʔ təʃɔʔ=rɛʔ=kə kʰe-pe=nəʔ*  
 SEQ serf=PL=ERG each-year=TOP  
*rjɛlpo o-kɛju=nəʔ kɛ-nrərəzʔ*  
 chieftain 3SG:POSS-firewood=DET INF-take.turns  
*kɛ-wot ʔge-reʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 INF-bring IPFV-be.necessary be-MED  
 Each year, the serfs must take turns bringing in firewood for the chieftain.

<sup>138</sup> Referring to Kakhyoris, Cus, and Po'ge Villages in present-day Tshobdun Township, an area within Khangsar Township.

30. *qʰoʔ kə-<sup>n</sup>dʒoz χso-fkorʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.coarse three-CL<sup>139</sup>  
*kə-<sup>n</sup>dev ɛne-fkorʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine two-CL  
*kə-lət nɛ-re ŋoʔ-cə*  
 GP-put IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And either three loads of thick firewood sticks or two loads of thin firewood sticks were required.

31. *qʰoʔ ome nɛ-cʰɛlɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.capable<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And he was very capable.

32. *ʃənəʔ kəmɛqʰuqʰoʔ detsətsɐ kɛ-ɲəm ne-je*  
 but afterwards gradually INF-decline PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 But afterwards his power began to gradually decline.

33. *qʰoʔ kɛ-ɲɛpóro kə-ŋólɛ mɛ-kɛ-cʰɛ ne-je*  
 SEQ INF-take.care.of NMLZ-be.well NEG-INF-be.able PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 And he started to be unable to manage (his state affairs) well.

34. *qʰónə kəmɛqʰúnəʔ tʃóχtse rjélpo tə-fqɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH afterwards PN chieftain PFV-be.powerful<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Afterwards, the Cogtse Chieftain became powerful.

35. *qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰúnəʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards  
*kɔŋɲɛʔ=rɛʔ jə-zɣot jɛrmɛ=nəʔ*  
 communist=PL PROS-arrive about=TOP

<sup>139</sup> Classifier for loads carried on back.

*rné̃ta tʃuʷu o-r̥ɲəmʔ*

PN Sakyamuni.Buddha 3SG:POSS-tears

*nɛ-wɛʔ nɛ-tʃʰoʔ-cə*

PFV:DOWN-come<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED

Afterwards, when the (Chinese) communists were about to arrive, the (statue of) Sakyamuni Buddha at Rnata was said to have shed tears.

36. *kəmɛqʰu qʰónə kɔɲɛʔ lɐ-zɣôʔ*

afterwards SEQ:EMPH communist PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>

*qʰónə rné̃ta r̥ɲɛlse=nəʔ te-tʃovʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ:EMPH PN palace=DET PFV:TR-burn<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

Afterwards, the communists came upriver and burned the Rnata Palace to the ground.

37. *qʰoʔ r̥ɲɛlse o-lor̥juʔ nə-kə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ palace 3SG:POSS-history PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-elapse<sub>2</sub>=DET

*stɔɲtso-pe j̥ɛrmɛ nə-tsoʔ tʃʰoʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

thousand-year about PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub> be.the.rule be-MED

The history of the palace is said to span about one thousand years.

## HOW OPIUM CAME TO OUR LAND

*jəjərvə? jəsətʰez təkʰuna tʃʰəoséfsət jəkəwə? kəŋo?*

**Narrator: Tsheskyid**

1. *koʃənəŋ? ɐji? sqémŋo sqéftʃoy jərmə jə-wɛʔ-aŋ=nə?*  
 formerly 1SG fifteen sixteen about PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB  
 When I was about fifteen or sixteen years of age,<sup>140</sup>
  
2. *rjənəŋ rdardə? kəpə? kə-ntʰom*  
 PN individual Han.Chinese NMLZ:SBJ-be.wandering  
*jəjərvə? jə-sətʰe=z kə-to? te-jə məkʰətsʰət*  
 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC INF-exist PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> not.only  
 individual wandering Chinese persons began to be found in our land.
  
3. *kʰepʰe? kə-nénma=rə? kə-to? te-jə*  
 some NMLZ:SBJ-marry.into.wife's.family=PL INF-exist PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 Some of them also began to marry into (local women's) families.
  
4. *qʰo? qʰənə?=rə?=kə təkʰúrwi te-wôt-nə*  
 SEQ ANA=PL=ERG poppy.seed PFV:UP:TR-bring<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And these people brought in opium seeds.
  
5. *qʰo? stʰɔrenə? jərvə? ne-ji-nə*  
 SEQ at.first 3PL PFV:TR-plant<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*jəjərvə?=nə? ʃla ké-ji mə-nə-speʔ-jə*  
 1PL=TOP immediately INF-plant NEG-IPFV:PST-know.how<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 At first, they alone planted (opium); and as for us, we did not know how to plant  
 (opium) right away.

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<sup>140</sup> Around the year 1939.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɛq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ kɛ̃-ji kɛ̃-spe te-je-jə*  
 SEQ afterwards INF-plant INF-know.how PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 Afterwards, we began to know how to plant it.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəlɣo-pe jɛrmɛ nɛ̃-ji-jə*  
 SEQ five-year around IPFV:PST-plant<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 And for about five years we were planting it.

8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃóχtse rjɛ́lpo=kə o-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ me-ne-jzom*  
 SEQ PN chieftain=ERG 3SG:POSS-tax NEG-IPFV:PST-gather<sub>2</sub>  
 And the Cogtse Chieftain did not levy tax.

9. *fənəʔ leʔ kə-pe jɛrmɛ nə-tsoʔ*  
 but again one-year about PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə o-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ kɛ̃-jzomʔ te-je*  
 then 3SG:POSS-tax INF-gather PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 But about one year later, he began to levy tax.

10. *rjɛ́lpo=kə jəjərvəʔ jə-sɐtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z*  
 chieftain=ERG 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC  
*c<sup>h</sup>ɐ kə-jzomʔ k<sup>h</sup>e-rdɔ̃-knez=kəsə te-səwɐ*  
 tax NMLZ:SBJ-gather about-one-two=like PFV:UP-dispatch<sub>2</sub>  
 And the chieftain dispatched about two tax collectors uphill to our land.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təjtʃe te-xʃɛʔ*  
 SEQ field PFV:TR-measure<sub>2</sub>  
 And they measured the fields.

12. *tək<sup>h</sup>uŋa jəmon<sup>141</sup> kə-rdəʔ=nəʔ*  
 opium *mu* one-CL=TOP  
*tək<sup>h</sup>uŋa mŋo-sraŋ jərmə te-jzom<sup>ʔ</sup> nə-ŋo*  
 opium five-tael about PFV:TR-gather<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And for each *mu* of (opium-growing) land, he levied tax of about five taels of opium.

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ fərve=rəʔ=kə ŋətʃ<sup>h</sup>əfsəʃsi tərjuʔ lətʃ<sup>h</sup>e kə-zroʔ*  
 SEQ Moslem=PL=ERG everywhere goods NMLZ-be.fine  
*pjəru ɛju srəm spoʃel mdəwulaɪʃ<sup>h</sup>e*  
 coral turquois otter.skin amber weapon  
*zaŋʔrjuʔ qəri zaŋʔscəʔ zaŋʔzrolaʔ*  
 copperware copper.pot copper.ladle copper.bucket  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə koxʃen rjekər jaŋzə nəʔ ləscəʔ ne-nəwəwôt-nə*  
 SEQ satin fedora ANA and.so.on PFV:TR-bring<sub>2</sub>.RDPL-3PL  
 And Moslems kept bringing in from all over the place fine goods, such as corals, turquois, otter skins, amber, weapons, copperware (pots, ladles, buckets), satin, fedoras, and what not.

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tək<sup>h</sup>uŋa te-fcɛʔ-nə nə-ŋo*  
 SEQ opium IPFV-exchange<sub>2</sub>-3PL IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And these they were exchanging for opium.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jəjərvəʔ jə-sətʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z təjpo-tsə*  
 SEQ 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC grains-TOP  
*əntséjə mɛ-nəp<sup>h</sup>u-cə*  
 so.much NEG-fetch.good.price-MED  
 As for grains in our land, they do not fetch much of a good price.

<sup>141</sup> From Chinese (一畝. 畝) *mǔ* is a unit of area equivalent roughly to 667 square meters.



16. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə təxtə? kə-soz? jərmə=cə?*  
 SEQ:EMPH belly NMLZ:SBJ-feed about=INDF  
*lotə? te-ji-nə káma*  
 crops PFV:TR-plant<sub>2</sub>-3PL except  
 So except for growing just enough crops to fill their bellies,
17. *nə? o-ri=nə?*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder=DET  
*kəmdi? tək<sup>h</sup>uŋa ké-ji te-je-nə*  
 all opium INF-plant PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 people began to (use) all the remaining (land) for growing opium.
18. *məkáts<sup>h</sup>ət k<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>ε? tərmə=rə?*  
 moreover some man=PL  
*tək<sup>h</sup>uŋa kə-ski? te-je-nə nɐ-ŋo*  
 opium INF-smoke PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And moreover, some of the men began to smoke opium.
19. *q<sup>h</sup>o? tək<sup>h</sup>uŋa te-kə-ski?=rə?=nt<sup>h</sup>on*  
 SEQ opium IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-smoke=PL=also  
*nə-rju? t<sup>h</sup>e-ntswe?-nə q<sup>h</sup>o? tək<sup>h</sup>u te-fcε?*  
 3PL:POSS-property IPFV:AWAY-sell-3PL SEQ opium IPFV-exchange  
*q<sup>h</sup>o? <sup>n</sup>ge-ski?-nə nɐ-ŋo*  
 SEQ IPFV-smoke-3PL IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 And the opium-smokers would also sell their properties in exchange for opium and they kept smoking it.
20. *kəmɛq<sup>h</sup>únə? tək<sup>h</sup>uŋa o-jən? ké-<sup>n</sup>dʒə te-je*  
 afterwards opium 3SG:POSS-yen INF-cling PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 Afterwards, a yen for opium began to take hold.

21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-mɔɔʔ=rɐʔ kɐ-ŋɐn te-je*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-complexion=PL INF-be.bad PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 And their complexion began to turn bad.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɐ-rɐmɐ me-ne-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nə*  
 SEQ INF-do.labor NEG-IPFV-be.able-3PL  
*nə-sqɐraʔ=rɐn kɐ-sɛsəɣʔ me-ne-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nə nɐ-ŋo*  
 3PL:POSS-belt=even INF-tighten NEG-IPFV-be.able-3PL IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 They could not do labor, nor even tighten their own belts.

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəkəsə kɐ-nəldəlden ne-je*  
 SEQ thus INF-exist.in.quantity:RDPL PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 And more and more people began to end up like that.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛk<sup>h</sup>ɥna=nəʔ sqe-pe jɐrmɐ ne-ji-nə*  
 SEQ opium=DET ten-year about IPFV:PST-plant<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 For about ten years they were planting opium.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ konɐʔ lɐ-zyôʔ*  
 SEQ communists PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>  
 And then the communists arrived (coming upriver).

26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ konɐʔ=kə tɛk<sup>h</sup>ɥna kɛ-ji mɐ-joyʔ ʔdenəʔ*  
 SEQ communist=ERG opium INF-plant NEG-be.allowed for  
*kəɾ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ səmɥôʔ ŋoʔ té-tsə*  
 person ruin be IPFV-say  
 The communists were saying that growing opium was not allowed because (opium) ruins people.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔəq<sup>h</sup>u tək<sup>h</sup>uɲa ké-ji mə-nə-joy*  
 SEQ from.then.on opium INF-plant NEG-PFV-be.allowed<sub>2</sub>  
 From then on, growing opium was forbidden.
28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-skiʔ=rɛʔ=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on kɛ-skiʔ o-spe nə-mɛʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-smoke=PL=also INF-smoke 3SG:POSS-material PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>  
 And that which the opium-smokers' smoke was also gone.
29. *nəʔəq<sup>h</sup>u q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tək<sup>h</sup>uɲa=nəʔ*  
 from.then.on SEQ opium=TOP  
*jə-sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z nɛ-<sup>n</sup>blôt nɛ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 1PL:POSS-place=LOC PFV-be.extinct<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 And from then on, opium disappeared from our land.
30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tək<sup>h</sup>uɲa ké-ji=nəʔ*  
 SEQ opium GP-plant=TOP  
 As for planting opium,
31. *ɲámɛ o-tá-ji te-kɛ-pe*  
 maize 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-plant IPFV-GP-do  
 one does it in the same way as one plants maize.
32. *wowo t<sup>h</sup>e-kɛ-lweʔ*  
 small.hole IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-dig<sup>142</sup>  
 One digs small holes.

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<sup>142</sup> Downriver orientation occurs here as the local seed-planters dig holes downwards from the top side of the fields.

33. *qʰoʔ ó-naŋ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside  
*təkʰúrwi kʰe-mtʃoʔ kʰe-mtʃoʔ ʰge-kɐ-lɛt*  
 poppy.seed each-pinch each-pinch IPFV:DOWN-GP-put  
 And puts poppy seeds into them pinch by pinch.
34. *máʰdenəʔ tʰejrɔʔ tʰe-kɐ-stukiʔ*  
 or plough.groove IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-stretch.out  
*qʰoʔ təkʰúrwi tʰejrɔʔ=naŋ ʰge-kɐ-lɛt*  
 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-kɛ-ji qʰoʔ kɐ-nɛpóro=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-GP-plant SEQ GP-care.for=TOP  
*ʃfíkə kə-mqɐ qʰoʔ*  
 very NMLZ:SBJ-be.tiring SEQ  
*kə-ɐkzɐvʔ kə-reʔ=cəʔ ɲoʔ*  
 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. *səjniʔ=rɐʔ kɔɔnbe ʰge-toʔ mɐ-kə-joyʔ=cəʔ ɲoʔ*  
 weed=PL at.all IPFV-exist NEG-NMLZ-be.allowed=INDF be  
 Weeds are not allowed to exist at all.
37. *qʰoʔ kəmtʃʰa te-xtɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ a.bit IPFV:UP-be.big=SUB  
*te-kɐ-ntʃo tɛ-kɐ-séwor*  
 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 *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mɛ̃ju te-xtɛʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ further IPFV:UP-be.big=SUB

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-metɔʔ kɐ-lɛt ne-jɐʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-flower INF-bloom IPFV-begin<sub>3</sub>

When they grow up more, their flowers begin to bloom.

39. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-metɔʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-flower=TOP

*k<sup>h</sup>ulərʔ o-vzər metɔʔ o-lvaʔ kaβnáχsəm*

seed.pod 3SG:POSS-rim flower 3SG:POSS-leaf several

*jɛrmɐ toʔ*

about exist

As for their flowers, the buds have several petals (growing) at the rims.

40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-mdɔʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-color=TOP

*kə-yrəmʔ kə-wərneʔ kə-qɛrɲɛʔ kə-ɛrɲiʔ*

NMLZ:SBJ-be.white NMLZ:SBJ-be.red NMLZ:SBJ-be.yellow NMLZ:SBJ-be.blue

*nəkəsə "dzɛmə"dzɐ toʔ ɲoʔ*

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. *χfíkə mp<sup>h</sup>jor*

very be.beautiful

They are so beautiful.

42. *qʰoʔ o-metɔʔ ʰge-nʰbor*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-flower IPFV-wither  
*qʰoʔ o-kʰulərʔ ne-pʰɣiʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-seed.pod IPFV-be.grey  
*qʰoʔ kɛ-rtse té-mda ɣoʔ*  
 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. *te-kɛ-rtse=nəʔ*  
 IPFV-GP-make.a.cut.on=SUB  
*kʰulərʔ=nəŋ télo=kəsə ne-nlɔʔ ɣoʔ*  
 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=rɐʔ jə-lət orjáŋʔnəʔ*  
 rain=PL PROS-rain when  
 When it is about to rain,

45. *ʃə-kɛ-rtse mə-ɲən ʰdenəʔ télo=kəsə=nəʔ ɣtʃɛ*  
 AND-GP-make.a.cut.on NEG-be.acceptable for milk=like=DET wash<sub>3</sub>  
*qʰoʔ kə-mɐ səpoj ɣoʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ-not.exist cause.to.become<sub>3</sub> be  
 one must not go and cut the poppies for (rain) will wash away and cause the milk-like (sap) to be lost.

46. *nəʔ o-tánʔ=kə*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*sasuqʰu təmu=rɐʔ mə-lət qʰónə te-kɛ-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.

47. *k<sup>h</sup>ulər?* *kərdɔʔ=ta* *st<sup>h</sup>o?* *kə-lɛn=nə?*  
 seed.pod one-CL=top most NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity=TOP  
*sqəmneʔ-təfe* *jərmə* *te-kə-rtse* *ŋo?* *tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ?*  
 twelve-time about IPFV-GP-make.a.cut.on be be.the.rule  
 At the most, one can as a rule make about twelve cuts on a poppy seed pod.

48. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *nəʔosəfsi=nə?* *təmtʃuʔzərna?* *təworʔ=rə?* *to?*  
 SEQ next.day=TOP early.morning frost=PL exist  
*təjtʃənəŋ* *t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-fə*  
 field.inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-go  
 The next day, one goes downriver into the (poppy) field in the early frosty morning.

49. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *tək<sup>h</sup>u* *o-k<sup>h</sup>ulər?*  
 SEQ opium 3SG:POSS-seed.pod  
*tə-kə-rtse?* *kə-toʔ=nə?*  
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-make.a.cut.on<sub>2</sub> NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET  
*tərts<sup>h</sup>ɔʃu=kəsə* *jlotjlot<sup>143</sup>* *ke-tə?*  
 caterpillar=like IDPH IPFV:CISLOC-form<sub>3</sub>  
 And something soft and tender like a caterpillar forms where one has made a cut on the poppy seed pod.

50. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *nənə?* *p<sup>h</sup>ərtʃu=nəŋ* *t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-k<sup>h</sup>rət*  
 SEQ that bowl=inside IPFV-GP-scrape  
 And one scrapes that into a bowl.

<sup>143</sup> An ideophone describing something slender and rounded.

51. *st<sup>h</sup>o kə-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ=nəʔ*  
 most NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=TOP  
*kə-siz=nəʔ k<sup>h</sup>e-kən<sup>n</sup>gə-sraŋ jɛrmɐ te-sɛtoʔ-nə t<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 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 taels of (raw opium).

52. *otsɛɐ=rɐʔ k<sup>h</sup>e-mjɔsraŋ jɛrmɐ te-sɛtoʔ-nə*  
 ordinary.person=PL about-five-tael about IPFV-get-3PL  
 And an ordinary (opium-gatherer) gets about five taels.

53. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jɐ-wot-nə t<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-bring-3PL be.the.rule  
 And they bring it back.

54. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɐnəʔ ne-kɛ-ʃk<sup>h</sup>i*  
 SEQ ANA IPFV-GP-air.dry  
 And one air-dries it.

55. *kɐ-rem=rɐʔ jə-jɐʔ jɛrmɐ*  
 INF-be.dry=PL PROS-begin<sub>3</sub> about  
*ʃəmskət jəte-kə-jts<sup>h</sup>em jɛrmɐ*  
 iron.wire COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.thin about  
*nəʔ o-kóʔ=ta tɛk<sup>h</sup>u*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-head=top opium  
*jə-tə-kə-rem?=nəʔ te-kɐ-teʔ*  
 PROS-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.dry<sub>2</sub>=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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rkəwu ó-ta te-kə-nəpyala t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-wéyset*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təpo=kəsə ne-kə-pe*  
 SEQ mugwort.fluff=like IPFV-GP-do  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ fəmskət=nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-χfəʔ*  
 SEQ wire=DET IPFV:OUT-GP-draw.out  
 And one makes it into something like a mugwort fluff and then withdraw the wire.
58. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>əʔ təpo=kəsə ó-naŋ=nəʔ k<sup>h</sup>oŋsjoŋ ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ ANA mugwort.fluff=like 3SG:POSS-inside=DET be.hollow be  
 And that which looks like a mugwort fluff is hollow inside.
59. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ték<sup>h</sup>u o-sə-ski ranpaʔ toʔ=kə*  
 SEQ opium 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-smoke<sub>2</sub> special exist=INS  
*nəʔ ó-ta te-kə-teʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ le<sup>144</sup>-kə-np<sup>h</sup>aqen*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ték<sup>h</sup>u=nəʔ*  
 SEQ opium=DET  
*rkəwu ó-ta <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-sáyts<sup>h</sup>u=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.

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<sup>144</sup> Upriver orientation is used here as the opium-smoker lies down toward the head ('pillow-side') of the bed.

61. *qʰoʔ le-ké-χov ŋoʔ*

SEQ IPFV:IN-GP-inhale be

And then one inhales.

62. *nəʔoséʃsət təkʰu te-kə-skiʔ*

thus opium IPFV-GP-smoke

In that fashion, one smokes the opium.

63. *qʰoʔ kə-skiʔ te-joyʔ=scʰənəʔ*

SEQ INF-smoke IPFV-finish=SUB

*kəmtʰa ke-kə-rʰgu qʰoʔ noŋme te-kə-rəro*

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 ʰge-ffət-nə fteʔ ʃənəʔ*

SEQ IPFV-tell-3PL be:EMPH but

*təkʰuŋa kə-skiʔ ʰge-joyʔ*

opium INF-smoke IPFV:DOWN-finish

*qʰoʔ tə-ʃǽru=rən ne-kə-vde=cəʔ ŋoʔ tsə-nə tʰozʔ*

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ zɡolɔʔ=naŋ kɛmɲɛm tɛk<sup>h</sup>u te-kɐ-skiʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ room=inside often opium IPFV-GP-smoke=SUB  
*zɡolɔʔ=naŋ vʃu <sup>n</sup>ɡe-kə-smo-rɛn=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on*  
 room=inside mouse IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-live=even=also  
*o-jənʔ kɛ-<sup>n</sup>dʒɔ ŋoʔ-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. *məkəts<sup>h</sup>ɛt zɡolɔʔ=naŋ*  
 moreover room=inside  
*tɛk<sup>h</sup>u kɛknaχso-sɲi ɐ-mə-tə-kɐ-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. *vʃu=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on tɛk<sup>h</sup>u-jənʔ te-rɐro*  
 mouse=also opium-yen IPFV-get.up  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mk<sup>h</sup>ɛrke rkəɣ<sup>n</sup>dɛ-kɐr kɐ-sɐr<sup>n</sup>dər<sup>n</sup>di me-ne-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ*  
 SEQ ceiling rafter-surface INF-hold.tight NEG-IPFV-be.able  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>ɡe-ɐntɛr tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ-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  
*tɛk<sup>h</sup>uŋa=nəʔ nəntsejə t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-sɐq<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nəŋo*  
 opium=DET that.much CONT:LTR-be.harmful-MED

From this (one can see) how harmful opium is.

# WAR BETWEEN KHROCHU AND RMEBA CHIEFTAINS

*k<sup>h</sup>rutʃu rjélposc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ ʋme rjélponiʔ sɣonts<sup>h</sup>ez nekəvmqɛ<sup>n</sup>dzəcə xpe*

**Narrator: Stagthar**

1. *koʃənəŋʔ=nəʔ k<sup>h</sup>rutʃu rjélpo o-roŋkmaʔ=nəʔ*  
former.time=TOP Khrochu chieftain 3SG:POSS-farming.area.army=TOP  
*χfíkə <sup>n</sup>ge-ts<sup>h</sup>et-nə kɛ-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ-cə*  
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. *ʋme<sup>145</sup> rjélpo=nəʔ o-<sup>n</sup>broχmaʔ=nəʔ*  
Rmeba chieftain=TOP 3SG:POSS-nomadic.area.army=TOP  
As for the Rmeba chieftain, and his nomadic-area army,
3. *mdəwulatʃ<sup>h</sup>e χfíkə <sup>n</sup>ge-mts<sup>h</sup>ɛmts<sup>h</sup>óŋ=ta*  
weapon very IPFV-be.fully.equipped=beside  
*rtəχmaʔ χfíkə <sup>n</sup>ge-rkaŋ ŋoʔ-cə*  
cavalry very IPFV-be.powerful be-MED  
they were armed to the teeth and their cavalry was also very powerful.
4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sɣonts<sup>h</sup>e=cɛ=nəʔ*  
SEQ former.time=LOC:INDF=DET  
*k<sup>h</sup>rutʃu rjélpo=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ ʋme rjélpo=niʔ te-vmqɛ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
PN chieftain=and PN chieftain=DU PFV:TR-fight<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
Once, the Khrochu and Rmeba chieftains fought with each other.

<sup>145</sup> Referring to a chieftain in what is now Rkakhog County.

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>rutʃu rjélpo=kə Ɂme rjélpo=ta*  
 SEQ PN chieftain=ERG PN chieftain=top  
*roŋɁmaʔ le-tʃet ɣoʔ-cə*  
 farming.area.army PFV:UPRIVER:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the Khrochu chieftain sent his farming-area army upriver to attack the Rmeba chieftain.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ khrutʃu roŋɁmaʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ Khrochu farming.area.army=PL  
*spantóʔ=ta kə-sɐ<sup>n</sup>bjəmʔ o-tánʔ=kə*  
 grassland=top NMLZ-cause.to.be.speedy 3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*nə-xtse <sup>n</sup>gé-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-nkɐ-nə nə-mt<sup>h</sup>e vʒoste ne-tʃər-nə*  
 bare.footed IPFV-walk-3PL 3PL:POSS-waist small.ax IPFV:DOWN-stick-3PL  
*nə-ja tənɐ<sup>h</sup>we o-ju kə-rʒɛʔ té-<sup>n</sup>di-nə*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>broɣmaʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ te-mqeʔ-nə*  
 SEQ nomadic.area.army=and IPFV-fight-3PL  
 And they would fight the nomadic-area soldiers.

9. *qʰoʔ    ˈbroχmaʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ    nomadic.area.army=DET

*ˈbrí=ta    təncʰweʔ=kə    ˈge-o-z-réski-nə    ɲoʔ-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    roŋχmaʔ=rəʔ=kə*

SEQ    PN    farming.area.army=PL=ERG

*tányχə    kə-pe    kə-tʃətʃi=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. *kərˈbjoʔ    ˈge-ntʰe-nə*

person    IPFV-kill-3PL

*qʰoʔ    nə-sni    té-tʃət*

SEQ    3PL:POSS-heart    IPFV:UP-take.out-3PL

*qʰoʔ    ka-χnez    təkʰur    te-ˈdʒe-nə    ɲoʔ-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    roŋχmaʔ=rəʔ    tɛlɛlɛ    ˈge-tʃʰet-nə*

SEQ    PN    farming.area.army=PL    battle    IPFV-be.fierce-3PL

*məkətsʰət    nə-vlotʰəvʔ    ome    ˈge-toʔ    ɲoʔ-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=cɛ*                      *tələlə*    *te-peʔ-nə*                      *orjəŋʔnəʔ*    *sɲi=z*                      *spantóʔ=ta*  
 one-time=LOC:INDF    battle    PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL    when                      day=LOC    grassland=top  
*zɡər*    *ome*    *kə-lden*    *ne-pʰuy-nə-cə*  
 camp    very    NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity    PFV:TR-pitch<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 Once when they were doing battle, they set up many tents on the grassland during the day,
14. *mer*    *qʰoʔ*    *zɡér=naŋ*                      *tətʃo*    *te-fnət-nə*  
 night    SEQ    camp=inside    light    PFV:TR-kindle<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ*    *cjaŋcjaŋ*<sup>146</sup>    *ne-sətsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ    IDPH                      PFV:TR-cause.to.say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*jərɐʔ*    *tətsərtserʔ*    *nə-nəɣjətsu-nə-cə*  
 3PL    cracks.and.crevices    PFV-hide.oneself<sub>2</sub>-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*    *ɤme*    *rjəlpə=kə*  
 SEQ    PN    chieftain=ERG  
*mer*    *zɡər*    *tətʃo*    *cjaŋcjaŋʔ*    *tʰɐ-kə-peʔ*  
 night    camp    light    IDPH                      CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-do<sub>2</sub>  
*nəʔ*    *ó-ta*    *rtakmaʔ*    *tʰe-tsom-nə*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 ANA    3SG:POSS-top    cavalry    PFV:DOWNRIVER-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-2PL    be-MED  
 And the Rmeba chieftain charged (his) cavalry downriver at the camps that were brightly lit with lights.
16. *fənəʔ*    *zɡər*    *o-vzər*    *tʰɐ-zɣôʔt-nə=nəʔ*  
 but    camp    3sg:poss-side    pfv:downriver-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3pl=sub  
*qʰoʔ*    *kʰrutʃu*    *ronkmaʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ    PN                      farming.area.army=PL

<sup>146</sup> An ideophone describing brightness of lights.

*tətsərtser?*                      *nə-nəlɔlɔ-nə*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 cracks.and.crevices      PFV-come.out<sub>2</sub>:REDP-3PL      be-MED

But when they arrived downriver at the edge of the camps, the farming-area soldiers kept coming out from cracks and crevices,

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *ɤme*      *o-<sup>n</sup>brokmaʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ      PN      3SG:POSS-nomadic.area.army=PL  
*nə-χaʔ*                      *nɐ-oy-te-nə*                      *nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-defeat      PFV-INV-put<sub>2</sub>-3PL      IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and the Rmeba chieftain's nomadic soldiers were dealt with a crushing defeat.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *nəfəq<sup>h</sup>u*                      *<sup>n</sup>brokmaʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      henceforth      nomadic.area.army=TOP  
*roŋkmaʔ*                      *χfikə*      *ne-kə-nəɣver=kəsə*  
 farming.area.army      very      IPFV-NMLZ-fear=like  
*ne-peʔ-nə*                      *tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ?*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-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-məke*                      *v-tə-ké-tsə=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-essense      IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB  
*<sup>n</sup>broχpe=rɐʔ*      *nə-ta*                      *roŋkmaʔ*                      *v-lɐ-ké-tʃɛt=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. *<sup>n</sup>broχpe=ɾɐʔ mɐ-nɐχte<sup>n</sup>bre məkóts<sup>h</sup>ɐt*  
 nomad=PL NEG-be.lucky not.only  
*coŋ χsom-pe jɐrmɐ wi tse-nə tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔɿʔ*  
 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

*ts<sup>h</sup>ovdānwesc<sup>h</sup>ānā? kəldzəmewerē sənā? tepenā otonda?*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *ts<sup>h</sup>ovdenwe=sc<sup>h</sup>ānā? kəldzəmewerē=rē? oxtē*  
Tshobdun.people=and Kirtima.people=PL mostly  
*rgonbe kə-náχtšəy ŋo?*  
monastery NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.same be  
The Kirtima<sup>147</sup> people and Tshobdun people share the same monastery.<sup>148</sup>
  
2. *q<sup>h</sup>o? p<sup>h</sup>ents<sup>h</sup>ān jəlpe ŋo?-jə*  
SEQ each.other neighbor be-1PL  
And we are neighbors.
  
3. *šānā? kovdān-lo ftfer?=nā?=z*  
but ninety.seven-year summer=DET=LOC  
*χfikā sənā? kə-ŋən=cā? jə-te-pe?-nā*  
very dispute.over.pasture NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious=INDF PROS-PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
But in the Summer of 1997 a serious dispute over pastures almost broke out between us.
  
4. *nā? t<sup>h</sup>ē ŋo?=nā?*  
ANA why be=TOP  
And why was that?

<sup>147</sup> Kirtima (*kəldzəmē*; WT <ki-rti.ma>) Village of Rongwam Township in southern Rngaba County.

<sup>148</sup> 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. *syontse-rɛɲəm tsʰovdɔnew=rɛʔ kəldzəmɐ nə-sɛtʃʰé=ta*  
 former.time-since Tshobdun.people=PL PN 3PL:POSS-land=top  
*fə-ⁿge-nə-péjmoɣ-jə fteʔ*  
 AND-IPFV-dig.for.fritillary.bulb-1PL be:EMPH  
 Since long long ago, we Tshobdun people have gone and digged for fritillary bulbs on Kirtima land.
6. *ɣɛrɛʔ=ntʃʰon jəjəɛʔ jə-sɛtʃʰé=ta zɔʔ ⁿgé-loɣ fteʔ*  
 3PL=also 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=top cattle IPFV-herd be:EMPH  
 And they also have herded cattle on our land.
7. *pʰɛntsʰən=nəʔ tɛmqɐ ⁿge-mɐ*  
 each.other=DET quarrel IPFV-not.exist  
*sɛnɔʔ ge-mɐ*  
 dispute.over.pasture IPFV-not.exist  
 Between us, there had been no quarrels and no disputes over pasture.
8. *fənəʔ nəʔ o-pe=nəʔ*  
 but ANA 3SG:POSS-year=DET  
*kəldzəmɐwe=rɛʔ rɛmɲiʔ kɛné-ri jɛrmɐ tə-ⁿdɔz-nə*  
 Kirtima.people=PL rider two-hundred about PFV-gather₂-3PL  
 But in that year, around two hundred horsemen among the Kirtima people gathered.
9. *qʰoʔ ɣɛrɛʔ nə-sɛtʃʰé=ta*  
 SEQ 3PL 3PL:POSS-land=top  
*tsʰovdɔnwe tʰɐ-kə-nəpejmoʔ*  
 Tshobdun.people CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-dig.for.fritillary.bulb₂

*tʰəmərémfjet=nəʔ=rəʔ kəmdiʔ tʰe-sətʃətʃet-nə*  
 all:EMPH=DET=PL all PFV:TR-expel<sub>2</sub>-3PL

And they drove out each and everyone of the Tshobdun folks digging for fritillary bulbs on their land.

10. *qʰoʔ tsʰovdənəw=rəʔ*

SEQ Tshobdun.people=PL

*χfíkə nə-múru tə-<sup>n</sup>gu-cə*  
 very 3PL:POSS-anger PFV-rise<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the Tshobdun people got very angry.

11. *qʰoʔ tsʰovdən ʃaŋʔ tɛroʔ=rəʔ*

SEQ PN township official=PL

*nə-pértʰe kə-pe tə-rəntsʰa-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-arbitration NMLZ:PURP-do PFV-try<sub>2</sub>-MED

*ʃənəʔ mə-nɐ-cʰɐʔ-cə*

but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED

The officials of Tshobdun Township tried to arbitrate, but they failed.

12. *qʰoʔ tátwi kátʃoy jərmə rəŋʔ=kə te-nəkroz-nə-cə*

SEQ village six about self=ERG PFV:TR-discuss<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And about six villages (within Tshobdun Township) discussed (the matter) among themselves.

13. *qʰoʔ tərme tʰəmtʃet mdəwu lətʃʰe te-kɛ-<sup>n</sup>di*

SEQ man all weapon IPFV-INF-take

*qʰoʔ re<sup>n</sup>go məlen kɛ-fɛ kə-reʔ maʔ<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*

SEQ hill by.necessity INF-go NMLZ-be.necessary or.else

*tʃʰetpe*      *kə-toʔ*      *te-peʔ-nə-cə*  
 punishment    NMLZ-exist    PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And they commanded that all men (in these hamlets) should take up arms and march uphill to the hills or face punishment.

14. *qʰoʔ*    *tɛʝtsiʔ*    *qɐcʰweriʔ*    *χtsəʝtsʰeʔ*    *qʰolɐciʔ*    *tʃuʔ*    *póⁿgɐ*  
 SEQ    PN            PN            PN            PN            PN            PN  
*tátwi*    *kətʃoʝ=rɐʔ*    *tərmɐ*    *ʃo*    *kə-cʰɐ=nəʔ*  
 village    six=PL            man    who    NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=DET  
*nə-lakden*            *te-ⁿdi-nə-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-weapon    PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*reⁿgo*    *lɐ-ɐre-nə-cə*  
 hill            PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

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*    *tsʰovdənwe=scʰənəʔ*    *kəldʒəmɐwe*  
 SEQ    Tshobdun.people=and    Kirtima.people  
*nə-sɛntsʰɐm=z*            *zimiʔ*    *stɔŋtso*    *jɛrmɐ*    *lɐ-ⁿdɛz-nə-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-boundary=LOC    close.to    thousand    about    PFV-gather<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And the Tshobdun and Kirtima camps assembled close to a thousand people at their borders.

16. *qʰoʔ*    *tondaʔ*    *mɐ-kɐ-vde*            *te-ʝe-cə*  
 SEQ    matter            NEG-INF-be.good    PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the matter become serious.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəldzəmɐwe=rɐʔ=kə*  
 SEQ Kirtima.people=PL=ERG  
*st<sup>h</sup>ɔre p<sup>h</sup>ɛnts<sup>h</sup>ən tɛ-kɛ-nəkrozʔ ɲoʔ tɛ-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 first each.other IPFV-GP-discuss be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And the Kirtima people said, “First, let us talk to each other.”
18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɔʒorʔ*  
 SEQ meanwhile  
*ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən rgonbe sprəsku vlozjən*  
 PN monastery reincarnate.Buddha PN  
*nə-perʔ kə-pe ne-sqor-nə-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-interstice NMLZ:PURP-do PFV:TR-send.for<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 Meanwhile, they sent for reincarnate buddha Vlovzyen of Tshobdun Monastery to arbitrate the dispute.
19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sɛnts<sup>h</sup>ɛm=z zɣɛr ome kə-xteʔ ne-p<sup>h</sup>əy-nə-cə*  
 SEQ boundary=LOC tent very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV:TR-pitch<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they pitched a huge tent at the boundary.
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ts<sup>h</sup>ovdən tátwi kətfoɣ lɐ-kə-ɐre*  
 SEQ PN village six PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub>  
*ó-naŋ rɣɛrgon jəte-kə-tsi*  
 3SG:POSS-inside old.person COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-understand  
*tátwi ʔgomdʒəyʔ=rɐʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 village leader=PL=and  
*kəldzəmɐwe rɕɛmɲiʔ ɲnesqe jɛrmɐ nə-kə-wɛʔ-nə*  
 Kirtima.people horseman twenty about PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL

*kə-sʃi ne-nəkroz-nə-cə*

one-day PFV:TR-discuss<sub>2</sub>-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 kəmɐqʰunəʔ sprasku ome tə-rɛʃqɐʔ-cə*  
 SEQ afterwards reincarnate.buddha very PFV-do.scolding<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Afterwards, the reincarnate buddha severely reprimanded the people.

22. *ʃɔntsʰe ʰbərəmʰbɛynɐ kə-toʔ məkətsʰɐt*  
 former.time kinsmen NMLZ:SBJ-exist not.only  
*nə-rgonbe kə-náχtʃəy tʰɐ-tə-ŋo-nə ŋoʔ*  
 2PL:POSS-monastery NMLZ:SBJ-be.same CONT:LTR-2-be<sub>2</sub>-2PL be  
 (Saying) “You not only have kins among yourselves since olden times, but you are also members of the same monastery.”

23. *sɛnɔʔ kɐ-pe mɐ-tʰoʔz=kə*  
 pasture.dispute GP-do NEG-be.the.rule-DM  
 “Engaging in disputes for pastures is improper.”

24. *koʃəqu tsʰovdənwe=rɐʔ kəldzəmɐwe o-sɛtʃʰé=ta*  
 hereafter Tshobdun.people=PL Kirtima.people 3SG:POSS-land=top  
*te-kɐ-npéjmoʃ kə-joyʔ*  
 IPFV-GP-dig.for.fritillary.bulb NMLZ-be.allowed  
*qʰoʔ kəldzəmɐwe=rɐʔ=ntʃʰon tsʰovdən o-sɛtʃʰé=ta*  
 SEQ Kirtima.people=PL=also PN 3SG:POSS-land=top  
*ne-ké-loy kə-joyʔ*  
 IPFV-GP-herd NMLZ-be.allowed

*nákasə nə-pértʰə te-peʔ-cə*  
 thus 3PL:POSS-arbitration PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED

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 pʰentsʰən nákasə ó-ta təkroʔ nə-weʔ*  
 SEQ each.other thus 3SG:POSS-top agreement PFV-come<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ kə-mqeʔ mə-nə-re-cə ʰdenəʔ*  
 SEQ GP-fight NEG-IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED otherwise

And the two sides thus came to terms with each other, and one did not need to fight, for otherwise,

26. *ə-tə-əmqeʔ-nə ə-né-ŋo=nəʔ*  
 IRR-PFV-fight-3PL IRR-PFV-be=SUB  
*kəldzəmwe=rəʔ nə-χaʔ kə-fə-nə nə-ŋo-cə*  
 Kirtima.people=PL 3PL:POSS-great.defeat NMLZ-go-3PL IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 if there had been a fight, the Kirtima people would have been trounced.

27. *ʰdenəʔ nəʔ tʰə ŋoʔ ə-tə-ké-tsə=nəʔ*  
 for ANA what be IRR-PFV-say=SUB  
 For, if one thinks about it (lit. talks about it),

28. *tsʰovdənewe=rəʔ kərʰbjoʔ nə-lɛnʔ-nə ótanəʔ*  
 Tshobdun.people=PL person IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity<sub>2</sub>-3PL not.only  
*nə-lakden=rəʔ χʰíkə nə-əmtsʰəmtsʰoŋʔ-nə-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-weapon=PL very IPFV:PST-be.fully.equipped<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 the Tshobdun people outnumbered their opponents and were armed to the teeth,



29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ nə-χaʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-teʔ məkəts<sup>h</sup>et*  
 SEQ person 3PL:POSS-great.defeat IPFV-INF-place not.only  
*nə-səloyʔ=z <sup>n</sup>jəósu<sup>149</sup> t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-χtor*  
 3PL:POSS-pasture=LOC urea IPFV-INF-scatter  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-zɔʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e=kəsə təkroz nə-toʔ ʃteʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-cattle IPFV-INF-kill=like dicussion IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> 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.

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<sup>149</sup> A loan from Chinese *niàosù* (尿素).

## STORY-TELLING

*ɣpɛ kɛffɛt tʃʰə ʰgekʰsət ʃfɛtʃfɛt*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *ɣpɛtʃʰe=nəʔ*

former.time=TOP

*tjɛntəŋʔ=scʰənəʔ tjɛnsə=rɐʔ ʰge-mɐ*

electric.light=and television=PL IPFV-not.exist

In the past, there were no electric lights and television.

2. *qʰoʔ mer sɐ-nɐkəmɐʔ=rɐʔ ʰge-mɐ*

SEQ night NMLZ:OBL-have.fun₂:RDPL=PL IPFV-not.exist

At night, places for going about for fun was non-existent.

3. *qʰoʔ ɣɣi=nəʔ ne-kɐ-rɐmɐ*

SEQ day=TOP IPFV-GP-do.labor

*mer=nəʔ smi te-kɐ-vluʔ*

night=TOP fire IPFV-GP-build

*qʰoʔ ke-kɐ-kʰerʔ qʰoʔ ke-kɐ-nəbjom*

SEQ IPFV-GP-form.a.circle 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 kəxtɛʔ=rɐʔ ɣpɛ ʰge-kɐ-sə-ffɛt nɐ-tʃʰoʒ*

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 ʰdzowe kə-nárme=kəsə=rɐʔ ɐ-nɛ-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 kʰəvdəʔ=rəʔ ʰge-kə-pe*  
 supper before chatting=PL IPFV-GP-do  
 people will chat before supper.
7. *qʰoʔ təpriqʰu=nəʔ*  
 SEQ time.after.supper=TOP  
*kəxtʃipu=rəʔ=kə ʰdzowe=nəʔ χpe=rəʔ ʰge-kə-sə-ffət ʰge-tʃʰoʔ*  
 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-ffət=nəʔ=kə χpe ʰge-ffət orjáŋʔnəʔ*  
 SEQ story NMLZ:SBJ-tell=DET=ERG story IPFV-tell when  
*məlen kʰe-təke ké-tsə ʰge-joyʔ oqʰuqʰoʔ*  
 by.necessity each-sentence INF-say IPFV-end afterwards  
*jaŋ ké-tsə ʰge-reʔ*  
 EXCL INF-say IPFV-be.necessary  
 And the one telling stories is supposed to say “jaŋ” at the end of every sentence.
9. *kə-səŋi=nəʔ=kə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-listen=DET=ERG  
*χpe kə-ffət jaŋ te-tsəʔ=nəʔ*  
 story NMLZ:SBJ-tell EXCL IPFV-say=SUB  
*ə kə-tsə ʰge-reʔ*  
 EXCL INF-say IPFV-be.necessary  
 And the listeners are supposed to say ə when the storyteller says jaŋ.
10. *nájzgo mer ke-kə-rʰgu=nəʔ*  
 in.particular night IPFV-GP-go.to.bed=SUB  
*məlen nəkəsə ké-tsə ʰge-reʔ ʰdenəʔ*  
 by.necessity thus INF-say IPFV-be.necessary for

*kə-səŋi=nəʔ*                      *osto*                      *tʰe-səŋiʔ*                      *so*                      *kə-nəŋevʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-listen=DET    well                      INF-say                      or                      PFV-fall.asleep<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*kə-χsəl*                      *o-tənʔ=kə*                      *ⁿge-ŋoʔ*  
 NMLZ-be.clear                      3SG:POSS-reason=INS                      IPFV-be

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.

11. *qʰoʔ*                      *kəxtʃipʉ=rəʔ*                      *te-ⁿdʒésqə-nə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ                      small.children=PL                      IPFV-have.a.potluck-3PL=SUB  
*qʰoʔ*                      *mer*                      *kətəyre*                      *ke-rⁿgu-nə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ                      night                      together                      IPFV-go.to.bed-3PL=SUB  
*χpe*                      *kə-ffət*                      *kə-nəərəzʔ*                      *ⁿge-reʔ*  
 story                      INF-tell                      INF-take.turns                      IPFV-be.necessary

When small children have a potluck and go to bed together at night, they must take turns telling stories.

12. *qʰoʔ*                      *kə-səsəyvər*                      *təjo*                      *χpe=rəʔ*                      *ⁿge-ffət-nə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ                      NMLZ:SBJ-be.frightening                      ghost                      story=PL                      IPFV-tell-3PL=SUB  
*ne-kə-vər*                      *qʰoʔ*                      *tə-koʔ=rəʔ*  
 IPFV-GP-be.afraid                      SEQ                      GP:POSS-head=PL  
*tʰe-kə-ployʔ*                      *ⁿge-tʰozʔ*  
 IPFV:IN-GP-make.disappear                      IPFV-be.the.rule

And when they tell frightening ghost stories, one gets scared and buries one's head (in the blanket).

13. *qʰoʔ*                      *kʰepʰeʔ*                      *rgərgon*                      *kəmtʃa*                      *jəye*                      *kə-spe=rəʔ*  
 SEQ                      some                      elderly.people                      a.bit                      book                      NMLZ:SBJ-know=PL  
*jəyə=ta*                      *ⁿge-mpʰəri*                      *qʰoʔ*                      *ozorʔ*                      *ⁿge-ffət-nə*  
 book=top                      IPFV-look                      SEQ                      meanwhile                      IPFV-tell-3PL

Some elderly people who know how to read would look at books as they tell stories.

14. *qʰoʔ kɐ-ffɛt=rɐʔ χfíkə te-səŋɐm-nə*  
 SEQ NMZL:SBJ:U-tell=PL very IPFV-cause.to.be.vivid-3PL  
*qʰoʔ kə-sɐŋi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-listen=DET  
*nə-sni ne-zdəyʔ ne-vɐvo-nə=rɐʔ ʰge-tʃʰoʔ*  
 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 kɐ-nəmáɣʰdʒer te-reʔ orjáŋʔnəʔ*  
 SEQ night INF-do.milling.at.night IPFV-be.necessary when  
*kʰɛrtɐ pʰɛntsən te-kɐ-rɛzdəʔde*  
 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 zdewé=naŋ*  
 SEQ villager=inside  
*χpe stʰo kɐ-ffɛt kə-mkʰɛʔ=nəʔ ne-kɐ-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 lɛʒoʔ=rɐʔ te-kɐ-sqɐ retapajpaj=rɐʔ te-kɐ-sɛlɛ*  
 SEQ salted.pork=PL IPFV-GP-boil noodle.soup=PL IPFV-GP-boil  
*tɛwaʔ=rɐʔ ne-ké-ftʰi*  
 booze=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 ʰge-kɐ-sə-ffɛt ʰge-tʃʰoʔ*  
 SEQ story IPFV-GP-CAUS-tell IPFV-be.the rule  
 And ask him to tell stories.

# COLLECTIVE VILLAGE MERRYMAKING

*zdewe kenéɛ*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *ɣɔŋtsʰe rɛɲəm zdewe kɛ-néɛɛ=nəʔ*  
former.time since village.people GP-have.leisurely.fun=TOP  
*kʰe-pe ɛnez-təʃe jɛrmɛ ne-kɛ-néɛɛ tʃʰoʔ*  
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-təʃe=nəʔ pɔəvevdíti mɛlen ne-néɛɛ-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-təʃe=nəʔ*  
SEQ one-time=TOP  
*stonke=rɛʔ ʰge-joyʔ tɛmɛ=rɛʔ ʰge-ʰdʒəʔzaʔ*  
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 kəpɛrtsəz zləwɛ ʃɪfupɛ rjɛston*  
SEQ Chinese.calendar month tenth National.Day  
*jɛrmɛnəʔ ne-kɛ-néɛɛ tʃʰoʔ*  
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. *kə-néʔkə=nəʔ*

INF-have.leisurely.fun=TOP

*stʰɔre kəpe=nəʔ ləspe kaʔnaχso təpu=cəʔ toʔ=kə*  
 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. *nənəʔ=rəʔ=kə fʔkótpe tʰe-lət-nə*  
 that=PL=ERG arrangement IPFV-make-3PL

*qʰoʔ tʰáscet sɣi kə-néʔkə kə-ŋoʔ*  
 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. *qʰoʔ kə-néʔkə orjáŋnəʔ tʰáʔtʰə kəʔdze kə-toʔ*  
 SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun when what:PL food NMLZ-exist

*qʰoʔ méju kə-néʔkə orjáŋnəʔ*  
 SEQ further GP-have.leisurely.fun when

*ʔdzəyləm=rəʔ tʰé-fkʰrəm-nə ŋoʔ*  
 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. *qʰoʔ kə-néʔkə té-mda orjáŋnəʔ*  
 SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun IPFV-be.time when

*kʰe-təpu kʰe-təpu sə-nəʔkəʔ=z*  
 each-family each-family NMLZ:OBL-have.leisurely.fun₂=LOC

*zɣər te-kə-səskor ʔge-kə-pʰuʔ*  
 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 lɛspe=kə ʃoχkor ne-sɛⁿbórⁿbi*  
 SEQ organizer=ERG money IPFV-ask.around.for  
*qʰoʔ oʒorʔ zɔdewe=rɛʔ=kə ʃoχkor=scʰənəʔ latʃʰatʃʰe*  
 SEQ meanwhile people=PL=ERG money=and various.things  
*kə-nə-sɛ-ri toʔ-nə ʃieʔ=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 skɛm kəlɣótʃo te-χtu-nə*  
 SEQ beef.cattle five-six IPFV-buy-3PL  
*qʰoʔ ⁿge-wɛmɛ-nə*  
 SEQ IPFV-butcher-3PL

And they buy five or six beef cattle, and have them butchered.

11. *qʰoʔ kəcʰiʔ tɛwaʔ kwátsə χwaʃənʔ=rɛʔ 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 kɛ-nɛkɛ orjáŋʔnəʔ nəʔ=rɛʔ tʰe-kri-nə ɣoʔ*  
 SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun when ANA=PL IPFV-distribute-3PL be

And these they distribute during the merrymaking.

13. *qʰoʔ tátwi=kə zɛrtʃe=nəʔ χtʃəyʔtʃe te-poj*  
 SEQ village=ERG breakfast=TOP butter.tea IPFV-make₃  
*sásu=scʰənəʔ sasutʃʰu=nəʔ pʰɛʒoʔ te-sɛle ɣoʔ*  
 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 zɐrtʃe tʃʰaχoʔ te-kɛ-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 SEQ morning teapot IPFV:UP-GP-take

*qʰoʔ χtʂəytʃe ʃə-ke-kɐ-nə-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-kɐ-nzɐrtʃe*  
 SEQ IPFV-GP-eat.breakfast

And then they eat breakfast.

16. *qʰoʔ sasu=scʰənəʔ sasutʃʰuʔ=ntʃʰon*  
 SEQ noon=and afternoon=also  
*pʰɛʒoʔ ɕmɐru te-kɛ-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 beef.and.potato.stew aluminum.pot IPFV:UP-GP-take  
*qʰoʔ kʰɛnaŋ kə<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ tʃʰəscet kə-toʔ*  
 SEQ home person how.many NMLZ-exist  
*o-tsʰɐt=nəʔ ʃə-ke-kɐ-nə-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 zɡɛr=pʰi*  
 SEQ individually tent=under  
*tə-ʃkóŋgu.qɛjwi=scʰənəʔ tə-lɛʒoʔ=scʰənəʔ*  
 GEN:POSS-baked.chive.bread=and GEN:POSS-salted.pork=and

*tə-kəruvɔʔ*                      *te-kɛ-tʃet*

GEN:POSS-distilled.booze    IPFV-GP-take.out

And each (of the families) take out their own chive bread, salted pork and distilled booze,

18. *qʰoʔ*    *te-kɛ-nə-<sup>n</sup>dzɛtʰi*                      *qʰoʔ*    *təwaʔ=rɐʔ*    *ne-kɛ-tʰi*  
 SEQ    IPFV-GP-SPON-eat.meal    SEQ    booze=PL    IPFV-GP-drink  
*qʰoʔ*    *ne-kɛ-rəscətpoʔ*                      *ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ    IPFV-GP-have.a.good.time    be  
 and they dine and drink booze, and have a good time.

19. *qʰoʔ*    *kʰepʰɛʔ=rɐʔ*    *prɛŋəŋʔ*    *te-pe-nə*  
 SEQ    some=PL    tent.visiting    IPFV-do-3PL  
*qʰoʔ*    *kətəyre*    *təwaʔ*    *nɛ-tʰi-nə*  
 SEQ    together    booze    IPFV-drink-3PL  
*kʰevdɛʔ*    *tʰe-pe-nə*    *qʰoʔ*    *te-sɛrɐ-nə*                      *ŋoʔ*  
 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. *kəxtʃipu=rɐʔ*    *o-ɟɔ*                      *kətəyre*    *ne-nə-nɛkɛ-nə*  
 child=PL    separately    together    IPFV-SPON-have.leisurely.fun-3PL  
*qʰoʔ*    *ʃə-te-tʃaʔ-nə*                      *ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ    AND-IPFV-do.mischief-3PL    be  
 And, separately (from adults), children have fun and do mischief together.

21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sasug<sup>h</sup>u spi<sup>n</sup>gu jɛrmɛ=nəʔ tɛŋɐ t<sup>h</sup>e-wɛʔo*  
 SEQ afternoon late.afternoon about=TOP sun IPFV-decline.toward.the.west  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɛ-rtʃone te-jeʔ-nə*  
 SEQ INF-dance IPFV-begin-3PL  
 Around late afternoon, the sun declines to the west, and they begin to dance.<sup>150</sup>

22. *tʃone kə-sɛmts<sup>hi</sup>ʔ=nəʔ kə-mk<sup>h</sup>ɛzʔ káɳnez=cəʔ*  
 dance NMLZ:SBJ-lead.people=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-be.skillful several=INDF  
*toʔ=kə te-nə-rərə-nə ŋoʔ*  
 exist=INS IPFV-SPON-take.turns-3PL be  
 As for dance-leaders, as there are several people skilled (in it), they take turns (doing it).

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃone k<sup>h</sup>e-tərem <sup>n</sup>ge-joyʔ=nəʔ tɛwaʔ=rɛʔ né-t<sup>h</sup>i-nə*  
 SEQ dance each-CL IPFV-end=SUB booze=PL IPFV-drink-3PL  
 When each dance ends, they drink booze.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-rtʃone-nə ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ again IPFV-dance-3PL be  
 And (then) they dance again.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɛ-rtʃone=rɛn nə-gu né-ge-nə*  
 SEQ INF-dance=even 3PL:POSS-interest IPFV-lose-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-sɛrɛ-nə ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-perform.amusing.act-3PL be  
 When they are tired of dancing even, they perform amusing acts,

<sup>150</sup> This refers to group dancing in the Rgyalrong Tibetan style.

26. *qʰoʔ maʰdenəʔ kɐ-jɔ̌lɛ te-saxʃəvʔ-nə*  
 SEQ or INF-wrestle IPFV-compete-3PL  
*maʰdenəʔ lɛju ʰge-pe-nə*  
 or song IPFV-make-3PL  
 compete in wrestling, or sing songs.

27. *qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ te-qɛ̌nu=nəʔ*  
 SEQ night=DET IPFV-darken=SUB  
*kə-xtɛʔ=rɐʔ kʰɛ̌naŋ ne-nə-nɛʃəʃv-nə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=PL home IPFV-SPON-leave-3PL  
*qʰoʔ zəzəʔ=rɐʔ ʃə-ne-ʰbəʃtʰi-nə*  
 SEQ livestock=PL AND-IPFV-feed-3PL  
 And, when night darkens, the adults return home, to go feed the livestock.

28. *qʰoʔ kəxtʃipɯ=rɐʔ zɡɛ̌r=pʰi ne-kɐ-nqʰope*  
 SEQ child=PL tent=under IPFV-GP-keep.house  
 And the children keep house under the tents.

29. *qʰoʔ kəxtʃipɯ kə-nqope=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ child NMLZ:SBJ-keep.house=PL  
*kətəyɾe ne-kɐ-nɛ̌kɐ ɔʒorʔ*  
 together IPFV-GP-have.leisurely.fun meanwhile  
*χpe=rɐʔ kɐ-ffɛt te-kɐ-nə-rərezʔ ŋoʔ*  
 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 kɐ-nɛ̌kɐ=nəʔ nəʔ te-kə-ʃsət-cə*  
 SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun=TOP ANA IPFV-NMLZ-be.like-MED  
 And, regarding (village) merrymaking, it is like that.

31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kəlɣo-tʃo-sɲi*    *jɐrmɐ*    *ne-kɐ-néɛɛ*    *tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 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)<sup>151</sup>

*skélpe takántfʰəy xpe*

**Narrator: Tsheskyid**

1. *shontsʰe=z*

former.time=LOC

*kɛʰdʒə-xtəy=cəʔ*      *χsəmʔ*      *nɛ-to-nə*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
COL-brother=INDF      three      IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-3PL      be-MED

In olden times, there were three brothers.

2. *qʰoʔ*      *tɛkɛʔ*      *stʰoʔ*      *kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ      young.brother      most      NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET

*rəytʃen=cəʔ*      *nɛ-ŋo*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
person.with.magic.powers=INDF      IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

The youngest brother was a person with magic powers.

3. *qʰoʔ*      *kə-rjaʔ=cɛ=nəʔ*

SEQ      one-night=LOC:INDF=DET

*tɛkɛʔ*      *stʰoʔ*      *kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
young.brother      most      NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG

One night, the youngest brother (dreamed that),

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<sup>151</sup> 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 kəʃnɛ-rjaʔ=nəʔ=z*  
 just seven-night=DET=LOC  
*skɛlpe ntʃʰəyʔ təciʔ mtsʰôt ŋoʔ=kə*  
 destiny break water be.full be=INS  
 “In just seven nights’ time, the world will be destroyed and flooded,”
5. *nə-kómtʰə nə-ŋe=nəʔ nɐ-ntʃʰe-nə*  
 2PL:POSS-courtyard 2PL:POSS-cow=DET IMP-kill-2PL  
*qʰoʔ o-ʃe ɛdɛnbe mə-tə-tə-<sup>n</sup>dze-nə*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-flesh at.all NEG-IMP-2-eat-2PL  
*qʰoʔ ʒ<sup>n</sup>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.”
6. *nəʔ te-kə-tsə kə-sci=cəʔ ne-wɛjmiʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 ANA IPFV-NMLZ-say NMLZ:SBJ-be.like=INDF PFV:TR-dream.of<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 He dreamed of someone who said the foregoing.
7. *qʰoʔ noofsəʔfsi=nəʔ o-jé=niʔ <sup>n</sup>dzə-pʰa*  
 SEQ next.morning=DET 3SG:POSS-elder.sibling=DU 3DU:POSS-place  
*o-jmi=nəʔ te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-dream=DET PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 The next morning, he told his brothers his dream.
8. *ʃənəʔ tɛje=niʔ=kə me-ne-nzɐ<sup>n</sup>gi-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 but elder.sibling=DU=ERG NEG-IPFV-believe-3DU-MED  
 But the two brothers did not believe it.

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ χso-rjaʔ nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ again three-night PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*tɛkɛʔ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG  
*leʔ nəkəsə ne-wɛjmiʔ-nəŋo*  
 again thus PFV:TR-dream<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 After three more nights passed, the youngest brother again dreamed the same dream.

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-je=niʔ <sup>n</sup>dzə-p<sup>h</sup>a leʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-old.brother=DU 3DU:POSS-place again PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he again told it to his two elder brothers.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛje=niʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɛvtʃaʔ ne-nzɐ<sup>n</sup>gi-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 SEQ elder.sibling=DU reluctantly PFV:TR-believe<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 And the brothers believed him reluctantly.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-ŋe=nəʔ ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-cow=DET PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they killed their cow.

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛje=niʔ=kə*  
 SEQ elder.sibling=DU=ERG  
*a kotsɛji ŋe kə-ʒroʔ*  
 EXCL such cow NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine  
*<sup>n</sup>ge-kɐ-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ o-fe mɐ-kɐ-nə-<sup>n</sup>dze=nəʔ*  
 IPFV-GP-kill=SUB 3SG:POSS-flesh NEG-GP-SPON-eat=SUB  
*stonbe ʃieʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɛq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ nə-ŋe o-fe=nəʔ te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 SEQ afterwards 3PL:POSS-cow 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And they ate their cow's meat.
15. *ʃənəʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ=kə mə-te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-nəŋo*  
 but NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG NEG-PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But the youngest brother did not eat it.
16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəʃne-rjaʔ nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ seven-night PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 When seven nights passed,
17. *sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z taciʔ kɛ-mts<sup>h</sup>ot te-je-nəŋo*  
 land=LOC water INF-be.full PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 water began to cover the land completely.
18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ taciʔ=nəʔ k<sup>h</sup>exto-<sup>n</sup>di kɛ-zɣot te-je=nəʔ*  
 SEQ water=DET verandah-edge INF-arrive PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*nə-ʒ<sup>n</sup>bru=nəʔ taciʔ=nəŋ ne-rkoʔ-nə-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-boat=DET water=inside PFV:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ st<sup>h</sup>ɔre tɛje st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ nɐ-ʒ<sup>n</sup>goʔ-cə*  
 SEQ at.first elder.sibling most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET IPFV:PST-row<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 at first, the eldest brother was rowing the boat,

20. *ʃənəʔ tɛjmiʔ=nəŋ tə-kɛ-tsəʔ ó-ta*  
 but dream=inside PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-say<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-top  
*ŋɛʃe tɛ-kɛ-<sup>n</sup>dze mə-nɛ-joy ŋoʔ-cə*  
 cow.meat IPFV-GP-eat NEG-IPFV:PST-be.allowed<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*ʃənəʔ tɛ-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-cə*  
 but PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə kəmɛq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ nɛ-ljo-nəŋo*  
 SEQ:EMPH afterwards PFV:DOWN-drown<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 so he ended up falling into the water and drowned.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ tələzʔ=nəʔ nɛ-ʒ<sup>n</sup>guʔ-cə*  
 SEQ again middle=DET IPFV:PST-row<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*ʃənəʔ=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on o-je o-sɛʃsət*  
 but=also 3SG:POSS-elder.sibling 3SG:POSS-manner  
*nánytərkə nɛ-ljo-nəŋo*  
 likewise PFV:DOWN-drown<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛkɛʔ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET  
*nɛ-ʒ<sup>n</sup>goʔ nɛ-ʒ<sup>n</sup>goʔ əntsətse-nəŋo*  
 IPFV:PST-row<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-row<sub>2</sub> continuously-MED  
 And the youngest brother kept on rowing and rowing,

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɐq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ təciʔ kɛ-rko ne-je-nəŋo*  
 SEQ afterwards water INF-be.dry PFV:DOWN-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 afterwards, the water began to recede,<sup>152</sup>
25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʒ<sup>n</sup>bru=nəʔ vʒári ó-ɐɐr le-te-nəŋo*  
 SEQ boat=DET PN 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UPRIVER-put<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and it left the boat stranded on the face of Mount Bzhagbra.
26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmaq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ təciʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-rko*  
 SEQ afterwards water=PL PFV:DOWN-be.dry<sub>2</sub>  
 And afterwards, the flood receded.
27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɐkeʔ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET  
*o-jiʔ jɐste vʒári=ta <sup>n</sup>ge-smo-nəŋo*  
 3SG:POSS-self alone PN=top IPFV-stay-MED  
 And the youngest brother remained on Mount Bzhagbra all by himself.
28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ 'siz nɐmk<sup>h</sup>é=nəŋ 'q<sup>h</sup>ri=cəʔ χsəmʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-we-nə*  
 SEQ morning sky=inside dove=INDF three IPFV:DOWN-come-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vʒarɛmts<sup>h</sup>o o-vʒər=nəʔ=z <sup>n</sup>ge-nəne-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.

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<sup>152</sup> Literally ‘began to dry downwards’.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ 'q<sup>h</sup>ri=naŋ=nəʔ təme χfíkə kə-mp<sup>h</sup>jor=cəʔ*  
 SEQ dove=inside=DET woman very NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful=INDF  
*kə<sup>n</sup>dʒəsq<sup>h</sup>ə χsəmʔ ne-nlɔʔ-nə*  
 sister three IPFV-come.out-3PL  
 And out of the doves three very beautiful women that were sisters would come out,

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mts<sup>h</sup>ó=naŋ=c<sup>h</sup>o <sup>n</sup>ge-raχtʃəməχtʃi-nə*  
 SEQ lake=inside=LOC:INDF IPFV-wash.this.and.that-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mts<sup>h</sup>o vʒər=c<sup>h</sup>o <sup>n</sup>ge-néʔv-nə*  
 SEQ lake side=LOC:INDF IPFV-loaf-3PL  
 and bathe in the lake, and spend relaxing time by the lakeside.

31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tərmók<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ nə-q<sup>h</sup>ri<sup>n</sup>ge=rəʔ te-<sup>n</sup>ge-nə*  
 SEQ dusk=DET 3PL:POSS-dove.skin=PL IPFV-put.on-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəm<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>é=naŋ te-nəʃv-nə=rəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-mteʔ-nəŋo*  
 SEQ sky=inside IPFV:UP-go.back-3PL=PL IPFV-see<sub>3</sub>-MED  
 And at dusk, they would put on their dove skins and return into the sky, and he would see all this happen.

32. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sŋi=cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP  
*nəm<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup>é=naŋ kə<sup>n</sup>dʒəsq<sup>h</sup>ə χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rəʔ leʔ nə-wəʔ-nə-cə*  
 sky=inside sister three=DET=PL again PFV:DOWN-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 One day, the three sisters again came down from the sky.

33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-q<sup>h</sup>ri<sup>n</sup>ge=nəʔ ne-səntəv-nə-cə*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-lay.down<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jərvəʔ mts<sup>h</sup>ó=naŋ nə-rəχtʃəməχtʃiʔ-nə orjaŋʔ*  
 SEQ 3PL lake=inside IPFV-bath<sub>2</sub>-3PL when  
 And when they laid down their dove skins and were bathing in the lake,

34. *q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ tətʃu=nəʔ səqətsútsu nɐ-ɐre-cə*  
 ANA lad=DET stealthily PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>rɪ<sup>n</sup>ge st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ te-ts<sup>h</sup>ɛt-cə*  
 SEQ dove.skin most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET PFV:TR-try.on<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*ʃənəʔ o-tsɐləʔ nɐ-ma-cə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-fitting IPFV:PST-not.be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 the lad went downhill stealthily, and tried on the largest dove skin, but it did not fit.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ təlezʔ q<sup>h</sup>rɪ<sup>n</sup>ge=nəʔ te-ts<sup>h</sup>ɛt-cə*  
 SEQ again medium dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-try.on<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*ʃənəʔ leʔ o-tsɐləʔ nɐ-ma-cə*  
 but again 3SG:POSS-fitting IPFV:PST-not.be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he tried on the medium-sized dove skin, but it again did not fit.

36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəməq<sup>h</sup>ɪnə st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtʃiʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small  
*q<sup>h</sup>rɪ<sup>n</sup>ge=nəʔ te-ts<sup>h</sup>ɛt-cə=nəʔ*  
 dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-try.on<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*noŋmenəʔ o-tsɐləʔ nɐ-ŋo-cə*  
 only.then 3SG:POSS-fitting IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And afterwards, when he tried on the smallest dove skin, it finally fit.

37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-jiʔ=ntʃon=nəʔ*  
 SEQ GP:POSS-self=also=TOP  
*ne-kɐ-qɐl<sup>n</sup>bjəmʔ k<sup>h</sup>út ɲoʔ ntor ne-səsi-cə*  
 IPFV-GP-fly be.feasible be DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he thought to himself, “Would it be possible for one to fly (in it)?”

38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-qel<sup>n</sup>bjəmʔ tə-rents<sup>h</sup>a-cə ʃənəʔ mə-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ:PURP-fly PFV-make.ready<sub>2</sub>-MED but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And made ready to fly, but was unable to do so.

39. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ q<sup>h</sup>ri<sup>n</sup>ge=nəʔ ne-nɛtsu-cə*  
 SEQ ANA dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-hide<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And so he hid the dove skin.

40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tərmók<sup>h</sup>e=z tɛje=niʔ*  
 SEQ dusk=LOC elder.sibling=DU  
*<sup>n</sup>dzə-q<sup>h</sup>ri<sup>n</sup>ge=nəʔ te-nə<sup>n</sup>geʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 3DU:POSS-dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-put.back.on<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɛmk<sup>h</sup>é=naŋ tə-ɐnəre-<sup>n</sup>dzə-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. *ʃənəʔ tɛsq<sup>h</sup>ɐ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ*  
 but sister most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET  
*mts<sup>h</sup>o-vzər əntsətse o-q<sup>h</sup>ri<sup>n</sup>ge ne-qɐseʔ*  
 lake-side continuously 3SG:POSS-dove.skin PFV:TR-search<sub>2</sub>  
*oʒorʔ nɐ-vɐvoʔ-cə*  
 meanwhile IPFV:PST-weep<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But the youngest sister kept looking for her dove skin by the lakeside, weeping all the while.

42. *ʃənəʔ ó-ja mə-jɐ-weʔ-cə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-hand NEG-PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But she could not find it.

43. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>eʔ tətʃu=nəʔ=kə t<sup>h</sup>e-nlɔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA lad=DET=ERG PFV:OUT-come.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>eʔ təmɛ nɛ-q<sup>h</sup>rɪ<sup>n</sup>ge ɐʃiʔ 'siz-aŋ ne-tɐ-sɛjwɛt*  
 SEQ ANA woman 2SG:POSS-dove.skin 1SG know-1SG IPFV-1→2-return  
*ʃənəʔ ofcɛnə ɐʃiʔ=nt<sup>h</sup>on*  
 but in.return 1SG=also  
*nɛmk<sup>h</sup>e tə-oy-tsomʔ reʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 sky IMP:UP-INV-take.thither must PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 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.

44. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təmɛ=nəʔ=kə nɛmk<sup>h</sup>e te-tɐ-tsomʔ joyʔ*  
 SEQ girl=DET=ERG sky IPFV:UP-1→2-take.thither be.allowed  
*ʃənəʔ ɐ-ɣrɐrɐʔ=kə o-nɛmqeʔ-aŋ-nəŋo*  
 but 1SG:POSS-family=ERG INV-scold-1SG-MED  
 The girl said, “I may take you to the sky, but my folks will scold me,”

45. *ʃənəʔ q<sup>h</sup>rɪ<sup>n</sup>ge ne-ko-sɛjwɛt-aŋ ofcɛnə*  
 but dove.skin IPFV-2→1-return-1SG in.return  
*te-tɐ-tsomʔ tʃɛt*  
 IPFV:UP-1→2-take.thither be.necessary  
 “but in return for your returning my dove skin back to me, I have no choice but take you up.”

46. *ʃənəʔ slɛŋɐ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ skɛrme o-vzər te-zyot-tsə=nəʔ*  
 but moon=and star 3SG:POSS-side IPFV:UP-arrive-1DU=SUB  
*odʒudʒu<sup>153</sup> mə-tə-tə-tsə*  
 EXCL NEG-IMP-2-say  
 “But when we get to the sides of the moon and the stars, do not say *Ojuju*,”

<sup>153</sup> An exclamation uttered when one feels cold.

47. *téŋɐ o-vzər te-zyot-tsə=nəʔ ɛtsətso<sup>154</sup> mə-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*,”

48. *ⁿdenəʔ kɐ-tsomʔ mə-tɐ-cʰɐ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 for INF-take.thither NEG-1→2-be.able be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “for otherwise I will not be able to take you up,” she said.

49. *qʰoʔ tətʃu=nəʔ=kə wɐ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ lad=DET=ERG EXCL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the lad said, “Alright.”

50. *qʰoʔ nɐmkʰe te-tsom ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ sky PFV:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And she took him up into the sky.

51. *ʃənəʔ slɛŋɐ=scʰənəʔ skɐrme o-vzər tə-zyôt-ⁿdzə=nəʔ*  
 but moon=and star 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UP-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3DU=SUB  
*odʒudʒu te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 EXCL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But when the two of them got to the sides of the moon and the stars, he cried, “*Ojuju!*”

52. *téŋɐ o-vzər tə-zyôt-ⁿdzə=nəʔ ɛtsətso te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 sun 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UP-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3DU=SUB EXCL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And when they got to the side of the sun, he cried, “*Atsatso!*”

<sup>154</sup> An exclamation uttered when one feels hot.



53. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təmɛ=nəʔ=kə q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ tətʃu=nəʔ ne-fləy-cə*  
 SEQ girl=DET=ERG ANA lad=DET PFV:TR-drop.unintentionally<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the girl dropped the lad unintentionally,
54. *ʃənəʔ təmɛ=nəʔ ʔlojot=cəʔ nɐ-ʃte-cə*  
 but girl=DET honest.person=INDF IPFV:PST-be:EMPH<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ nɐ-jwet-cə*  
 SEQ again PFV:DOWN-return<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 but the girl was an honest person, and she went back down.
55. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tətʃu=p<sup>h</sup>a ɔdʒudʒu=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ ɐtsɐtsɔ mə-tə-tə-tsə*  
 SEQ lad=place EXCL=and EXCL NEG-IMP-2-say  
*té-tsə-aŋ=nəʔ nəʔ ʃsət ŋoʔ ko*  
 IPFV-say-1SG=SUB ANA be.like be DM  
 And said to the lad, “When I tell you not to say *Ojuju* or *Atsatso*, that was what happens (if you do not listen).”
56. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ tətʃu=nəʔ nɐmt<sup>h</sup>é=naŋ te-tsom-cə*  
 SEQ again lad=DET sky=inside PFV:UP-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And she took the lad up into the sky again.
57. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ kə-təʃe ɔ-ta=nəʔ*  
 SEQ that one-time 3SG:POSS-top=DET  
*ʃənəʔ sléŋɐ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ skɐrme o-vzər tə-zyô-t-<sup>n</sup>dzə=nəʔ*  
 but moon=and star 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UP-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3DU=SUB  
*tʃělə mɐ-ké-tsə nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-cə*  
 anything NEG-INF-say IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɛmk<sup>h</sup>e nəosɛ́fsət tə-zɣôʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-nəŋo*  
 SEQ sky thus PFV:UP-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And thus they arrived in the sky.

59. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɛmk<sup>h</sup>e kə-smo=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ sky NMLZ:SBJ-dwell=PL  
*k<sup>h</sup>ɛxp<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>e-kɐ-lɛt <sup>n</sup>ge-tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 millstone IPFV:OUT-GP-do IPFV-be.the.rule be-MED  
 And those who live in the sky are said to use millstones.

60. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ təme kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ ANA woman NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG  
*tə-kɐ-tsom tɛʃu=nəʔ*  
 PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ:U-take.thither<sub>2</sub> lad=DET  
*k<sup>h</sup>ɛxp<sup>h</sup>e o-vzər ne-nɛtsu-cə*  
 millstone 3SG:POSS-side PFV:TR-hide<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the youngest woman hid the lad who had been taken up there beside the millstone.

61. *nəʃəq<sup>h</sup>u k<sup>h</sup>ɛnan k<sup>h</sup>ɛxp<sup>h</sup>e kɐ-lɛt tɛ-mda=nəʔ*  
 thereafter home millstone INF-apply IPFV-be.time=SUB  
*o-jiʔ əntsətse <sup>n</sup>ge-ojɐsəvjɛt ŋoʔ-cə*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ tɛʃu=nəʔ əntsətse səqɛtsútsu <sup>n</sup>ge-n<sup>n</sup>gojʔ*  
 SEQ ANA lad=DET continuously in.secret IPFV-feed<sub>3</sub>  
*ŋoʔ o-tənʔ=kə o-rtɕɛmbɐ=nəʔ*  
 be<sub>3</sub> SG:POSS-reason=INS 3SG:POSS-tsampa=DET

*kə-nətsom?*                      *kəmtʰa*      *me-ne-rta?*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ:U-take.back      a.bit                      NEG-IPFV-be.enough      be-MED

And because she kept feeding the lad in secret, the tsampa for taking back was a little bit insufficient.

63. *qʰoʔ*      *o-je*                                      *stʰoʔ*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-elder.sibling      most  
*kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ=kə*                                      *o-yrɛrɛʔ=pʰa*  
 NMLZ:SBJ=be.big=DET=ERG      3SG:POSS-family=place  
*koʔ*      *ɐ-ʁɛʔ=koʔ*  
 this      1SG:POSS-younger.sister=this  
*rtɕembɐ*      *mɐ-kə-rtaʔ-cə*                                      *əntsətse*      *ne-nɛwəwot=kə*  
 tsampa      NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough-MED      often      IPFV-bring:RDPL=INS  
*koʔ*      *o-kɐ-nʰgoʔ=cəʔ*                                      *toʔ*      *máso=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. *josŋiʔ*      *ŋónə*  
 today      TOP  
*ɐjiʔ*      *rtɕembɐ*      *kə-nkʰɛxpʰe*                      *ʃɐ-aŋ*      *ŋoʔ*      *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 1SG      tsampa      NMLZ:PURP-mill      go-1SG      be      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “Today, I will go and mill tsampa myself,” she said.

65. *qʰoʔ*      *o-ʁɛʔ*                                      *mə-nɐ-kʰút-cə*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-sister      NEG-IPFV:PST-allow<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Her younger sister would not allow it.

66. *ʃənəʔ tɛje=nəʔ mɛftsʰe ʃə-nɐ-nkʰɛxpʰeʔ-cə*  
 but elder.sibling=DET by.force AND-PFV:DOWN-mill<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But the elder sister willfully went down to mill tsampa.

67. *qʰoʔ nɐ-nkʰɛxpʰeʔ orjáŋʔnəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-mill<sub>2</sub> when  
*tɛʈfu ó-ja ke-cu-cə=nəʔ*  
 lad 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:CISLOC:TR-hold<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*ʃla tɛje=kə ne-nɛstʰorʔ ne-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
 SEQ elder.sibling=ERG PFV:TR-snatch<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-hold<sub>2</sub>-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-yrɛrɛʔ=pʰa*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family.member=place  
*ɐ-ʁɛʔ kókəsci tɛʈfu*  
 1SG:POSS-younger.sibling like.this lad  
*o-kɐ-nʰgoʔ toʔ o-tánʔ=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-rtɕɛmbɐ mɐ-kə-rtaʔ ne-nɛwəwot ŋoʔ-cə*  
 1PL:POSS-tsampa NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough IPFV-bring:RDPL be-MED  
*tɛ-tsəʔ tɛ-jʰdʒu ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-accuse<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 “she has been bringing home insufficient tsampa,” she said, accusing her.

70. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛpe tɛmo=niʔ χfíkə tə-rɛmuruʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 SEQ father mother=DU very PFV-be.angry<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 The father and the mother got very angry.
71. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>ɛntʃ<sup>h</sup>ɛt k<sup>h</sup>ákk<sup>h</sup>o=z <sup>n</sup>dzə-sɐ-smo*  
 SEQ from.now.on here=LOC 2DU:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-be.present<sub>2</sub>  
*tə-kə-mɛʔ=nəʔ fsát ɲoʔ*  
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-exist<sub>2</sub>=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 tɛtʃu=nəʔ ɲɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>əz tə-tə-wôt ɲonəʔ nánəz*  
 this lad=DET where PFV:UP-2-bring<sub>2</sub> TOP:EMPH there  
*nɐ-fɐ-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 IMP:DOWN-go-2DU  
 “go down to which ever place you brought up this lad!”
73. *nɐ-q<sup>h</sup>ri<sup>n</sup>ge=nəʔ tɐ-<sup>n</sup>biʔ ɲoʔ=<sup>n</sup>denəʔ tə-mal<sup>n</sup>bjəmʔ*  
 2SG:POSS-dove.skin=DET 1→2-give be=for 2-fly  
*reʔ=kə*  
 be.necessary=INS  
 “We will give you your dove skin, as you need to fly.”
74. *nəʔ kəma χtʃərvú=kə pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o-rɛɲəm nɐ-nlɔʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə reʔ*  
 ANA except naked=INS now-EMPH IMP:DOWN-exit-2DU be.necessary  
*tɛ-tsəʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 “Except for that, you two must get out right now, and go down to earth naked!”

75. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>eʔ támɛ=nəʔ χfíkə o-sni nə-zdəγ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA woman=DET very 3SG:POSS-heart PFV-be.painful<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the woman felt very sad.

76. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-γrərɛʔ=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=place  
*koy-tfēt-aŋ fókχtenə nə-mdzotk<sup>h</sup>o*  
 2→1-expel-1SG before 2PL:POSS-storeroom  
*ó-naŋ lə-o-səγfə-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-inside IMP:UPRIVER-INV-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub>-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And she said to her family, “Before you expel me, let me go into your storeroom.”

77. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ χtfərvu o-séfsət=kə*  
 SEQ naked 3SG:POSS-manner=INS  
*nə-mdzotk<sup>h</sup>ó=naŋ lə-o-səγre-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-storeroom=inside PFV:UPRIVER-INV-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And so she was allowed to go naked into the storeroom.

78. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɳétʃ<sup>h</sup>ə kə<sup>n</sup>juʔ kəspóʔ=naŋ*  
 SEQ where hole hole=inside  
*o-<sup>n</sup>dzruʔ o-mcerʔ ləsoʔ tərwi te-nətsu-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-nail 3SG:POSS-interstice and.so.forth seed PFV:TR-hide<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And she hid seeds in every crack and crevice of her body and even inside her nails.

79. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-q<sup>h</sup>ri<sup>n</sup>ge=nəʔ te-<sup>n</sup>geʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-put.on<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tətʃu=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ k<sup>h</sup>o sətʃ<sup>h</sup>e=cɛ=nəʔ nə-<sup>n</sup>bəv-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 SEQ lad=and here place=LOC:INDF=DET PFV:DOWN-land<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And she put on the dove skin, and landed with the lad somewhere near this place.

80. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təmɛ=nəʔ təmkaɱfe ó-mɛ <sup>n</sup>ge-ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ woman=DET heaven 3SG:POSS-woman IPFV-be:EMPH  
*o-tánʔ=kə rəytʃen <sup>n</sup>ge-ʃteʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-reason=INS one.with.magic.powers IPFV-be:EMPH be-MED  
 And because the woman was a female immortal, she was one with magic powers.

81. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə tətʃu mer ke-r<sup>n</sup>gu orjáɣnə*  
 SEQ:EMPH lad night IPFV-sleep when  
*ʃfíkə nk<sup>h</sup>ormanɣ kə-lden t<sup>h</sup>v-kə-rəmɐʔ=kəsə*  
 very populace NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-work=like  
*o-rnɐwɐ né-ʃsət-nəɣo*  
 3SG:POSS-ear.perception IPFV-be.like-MED  
 When the lad was going to bed at night, he seemed to hear as if many people were doing labor.

82. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ le-ʃsi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-dawn=SUB  
*tʃɛlɐ <sup>n</sup>k<sup>h</sup>ormɐrmɐɣ=rɐʔ kə-ntoʔ kánlɐ mɐ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 anything populace=PL NMLZ:SBJ-exist:EMPH not.exist be-MED  
 But when it dawned, there was not a single soul there.

83. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sɣi=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP  
*<sup>n</sup>dzə-k<sup>h</sup>e k<sup>h</sup>aɣrɐvʔ=cəʔ tə-to ɣoʔ-cə*  
 3DU:POSS-house mansion=INDF PFV-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And one day, a grand mansion of theirs suddenly came into existence.

84. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>dzə-jtʃe=rɐʔ nəsɛʃsət te-to ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3DU:POSS-field=PL thus PFV-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And in like manner, their fields came into existence.

85. *qʰoʔ tərweŋrwi ne-wôt tʰemtʃet=nəʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ seed.of.all.kinds PFV:DOWN:TR-bring<sub>2</sub> all=DET=PL  
*təjtʃé=nəŋ te-ji-dzə-nəŋo*  
 field=inside PFV:TR-sow<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED

And they sowed in the fields the various kinds of seeds that she had brought down from heaven.

86. *qʰoʔ kɐ̃dʒe kɛ̃-tʰi=nəʔ mtsʰôt tə-to-nəŋo*  
 SEQ food drink=TOP be.full PFV-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And plenty of things to eat and drink came into being.

87. *ʃənəʔ təkɪ qɛ̃jʰdɔ ó-rwi kɐ̃-wot ne-jmât-nəŋo*  
 but turnip turnip.tuber 3SG:POSS-seed INF-bring PFV:TR-forget<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But she forgot to bring down seeds for turnip tubers.

88. *qʰoʔ qɐ̃rɐ̃=cəʔ=pʰa*  
 SEQ crow=INDF=place  
*nɛ̃jiʔ təmkaɱʃe tə-ʃɐ̃*  
 2SG heaven IMP:UP-go  
*qʰoʔ ɛ̃-mo=pʰa təkɪ ó-rwi*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=place turnip 3SG:POSS-seed  
*kɐ̃-wot nə-jmât-aŋ=cəʔ=kə*  
 INF-bring PFV-forget<sub>2</sub>-1SG=INDF=INS  
*təkɪ ó-rwi kɐ̃-sɛ̃bi kʰétʃo ɐ̃-tə-tə-tsə*  
 turnip 3SG:POSS-seed GP-ask.for please IRR-IMP-2-say

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ oʒoʔ koʔ tɐpimɐrlɔʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ meanwhile this butter.hunk=DET  
*é-mo o-skərme ɲoʔ ɐ-tə-təʔ-tsə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-mother 3SG:POSS-gift be IRR-IMP-2-say PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And she said, “Meanwhile, this hunk of butter is a gift for my mother, you say it (to my mother)!”

90. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɐrɐ nɐmk<sup>h</sup>e te-sɐyre-cə*  
 SEQ crow sky PFV:UP:TR-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And then she sent the crow up into the sky.

91. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɐrɐ tə-ɐre-cə*  
 SEQ crow PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɐpi=rɐʔ tɛmo=p<sup>h</sup>a ne-k<sup>h</sup>i-cə tɐpri*  
 SEQ butter=PL mother=place PFV:TR-hand.to<sub>2</sub>-MED message  
*te-nəmnet-cə*  
 PFV:TR-repeat<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The crow went up, and it handed the butter to the mother, and also conveyed the message to her.

92. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛmo=nəʔ=kə tɐpi mɐ-nəʔsɐ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ mother=DET=ERG butter NEG-be.familiar.with be-MED  
 The mother was not familiar with butter.

93. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɐrɐ=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ crow=place  
*koʔ kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dze=nəʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ətekɐso ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 this GP-eat=TOP how be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 When she said to the crow, “How does one eat this?”

94. *qɐɐɐ=kə nəkənə? smí=naŋ tʰe-kɛ-po ŋo? te-tsə?*  
 crow=ERG that.near.you fire=inside IPFV-GP-bake be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 The crow said, “One bakes that in the fire.”

95. *təmdánə qɐɐɐ o-ji?=ntʰon*  
 in.truth crow 3SG:POSS-self=also  
*tɛpi kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dze? tʰətekəsə? kə-ŋo? mɛ-siz ŋo?-cə*  
 butter GP-eat how NMLZ-be NEG-know be-MED  
*qʰo? tɛtʃe te-pe?-cə*  
 SEQ falsehood PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 In fact, the crow itself did not know how to eat the butter either, and just uttered a lie.

96. *qʰo? tɛpi smɛkrot=ta tʰe-po?-cə=nə?*  
 SEQ butter live.coal=top PFV:TR-bake<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 When she baked the butter on live coals,

97. *tɛpi=nə? tɛmto tə-lə-cə*  
 butter=DET foam PFV:UP-become<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰo? nɐ-<sup>n</sup>dʒwi-cə smɛkrot=naŋ nɐ-ɐre-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:DOWN-melt<sub>2</sub>-MED live.coal=inside PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 the butter turned into foams, and it melted down and disappeared into the live coals,

98. *kɐ<sup>n</sup>dze nə-mɛ?-cə*  
 food PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and nothing was left to eat.

99. *qʰo? tɛmo=nə? χĩkə tə-rɛmuru?-cə*  
 SEQ mother=DET very PFV-be.angry<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the mother got very angry.

100. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *é-mɛ=kə*                      *v-skəɾme=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    1SG:POSS-daughter=ERG    1SG:POSS-gift=DET  
*nəkəsci*    *səwot=kə*                      *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 thus            cause.to.bring=DM    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And (she said), “(How could) my daughter have this kind of gift brought to me!”

101. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ó-mɛ=yu*                      *təkírwi*            *te-səpəpeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-daughter=POSS    turnip.seed    PFV:TR-prepare<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And she prepared the turnip seeds for her daughter.

102. *ʃənəʔ*    *oʒorʔ*  
 SEQ    meanwhile  
*koʔ*    *táki=nəʔ*            *ʃkorʔ=nəʔ*            *v-nv-rji*  
 this    turnip=TOP    carry.on.back=SUB    IRR-PFV-be.heavy  
*ˈdzv=nəʔ*    *témto*    *v-nə-poj*            *te-tsəʔ*  
 eat=TOP    foam    IRR-PFV-become<sub>3</sub>    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nəkəsə*    *smoləm*    *te-ʁdɛv-nəŋo*  
 SEQ    thus            prayer            PFV:TR-offer<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *v-né-ŋo=nəʔ*            *nəm<sup>k</sup>hɛ=z*            *təkírwi*  
 SEQ    IRR-PFV-be=SUB    sky=LOC    turnip.seed  
*ʃʃíkə*    *kə-ʒroʔ*            *ˈge-toʔ*            *ŋoʔ-cə*            *ʃənəʔ*  
 very    NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine    IPFV-exist    be-MED    but  
*nəkəsə*    *ó-mɛ=yu*                      *me-ne-sətsom-cə*  
 thus            3SG:POSS-daughter=POSS    NEG-PFV:DOWN:TR-cause.to.take.thither<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 There would have been very fine turnip seeds in heaven, but she did not have those taken down to her daughter.

104. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mɐ-kə-vde=nəʔ*

SEQ NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=DET

*te-kɐ-fkorʔ=nəʔ kə-rji*

IPFV:UP-GP-carry.on.back=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-be.heavy

*te-kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dze=nəʔ tɛmto ne-kə-poj=kə*

IPFV:UP-GP-eat=TOP foam IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become<sub>3</sub>=INS

*kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dze kə-mɐ*

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. *toʔaʔ jə-táki nákasənəʔ ne-səwôʔt-ŋo-nəŋo*

nowadays 1PL:POSS-turnip thus PFV:DOWN-cause.to.bring<sub>2</sub>-MED

And she had (the crow) bring down to earth that which is like our turnips today.

106. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ oxténəʔ*

SEQ ANA mainly

*qɐrɐ=kə kɐ-nɛpriʔ osto me-te-so*

crow=ERG INF-deliver.message properly NEG-PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>

*nɐ-<sup>n</sup>dʒeʔ ŋoʔ ké-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔʔ-cə*

IPFV:PST-be.to.blame<sub>2</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ=niʔ nəoséʔsətkə kə<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ ne-səmp<sup>h</sup>erʔ=<sup>n</sup>dzə*

SEQ ANA=DU thus human PFV:TR-propagate<sub>2</sub>=3DU

*ké-tsə ŋoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔʔ-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-tənʔ=kə*                      *pəʃkʰo*     *jə-pe*                      *jə-mo=nəʔ*  
 ANA     3SG:POSS-reason=INS     now     1PL:POSS-father     1PL:POSS-mother=DET  
*kərdəʔ*     *ʃteʔ*  
 one             be:EMPH

Therefore, our forefathers now (lit. fathers and mothers) are one and the same.

109. *jə-mo=nəʔ*                      *nəm kʰəmɛ*  
 1PL:POSS-mother=TOP     female.immortal  
*jə-pe=nəʔ*                      *qʰəʔ*     *tətʃu=nəʔ*     *nə-ŋo*                      *tʰoʔʔ-cə*  
 1PL:POSS-father=TOP     ANA     lad=DET     IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>     be.the.rule-MED  
 Our mother was the female immortal, and our father was that lad, it is said.

# GOITER

*ke<sup>n</sup>dzajalpeni? <sup>n</sup>dzasqevze nekātocā xpe*

**Narrator: Nyimathar**

1. *ʃɲonts<sup>h</sup>e=z*

former.time=LOC

*<sup>n</sup>dzə-sqevze                      nɐ-kə-to=cə?*

3DU:POSS-goiter              IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-exist<sub>2</sub>=INDF

*ke<sup>n</sup>dze-jalpe              nɐ-to=<sup>n</sup>dzə                      ɲoʔ-cə*

COL-neighbor              IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>=3DU              be-MED

Once there were two neighbors, both of whom had a goiter.

2. *jalpe              kə-rdɔʔ=nə?              kə-timʔ=cə?                      nɐ-ɲo-cə*

neighbor              one-CL=DET              NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF              IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED

*jalpe              kə-rdɔʔ=nə?              kə-<sup>n</sup>gu=cə?                      nɐ-ɲo-cə*

neighbor              one-CL=DET              NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=INDF              IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED

One of the neighbors was rich, and the other neighbor was poor.

3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ              kəsɲi=cɛ=nə?                      tərmók<sup>h</sup>e*

SEQ              day=LOC:INDF=DET              dusk

*kə-<sup>n</sup>gu                      o-ɲe                      mə-jɐ-wɛʔ-cə*

NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor              3SG:POSS-cow              NEG-PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED

One day at dusk, the poor one's cow did not come back home.

4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ              kə<sup>n</sup>gu=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ              NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG

*qfoʔ=nay              o-ɲe                      ʃə-kə-qése*

valley=inside              3SG:POSS-cow              AND-NMLZ:PURP-seek

*lɐ-ɐre**nɐ-re-cə*PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the poor one had to go upriver into the valley to look for it.

- 5.
- ʃənəʔ o-ŋe kɐ-mtiʔ mə-nɐ-cʰɐʔ-cə*

but 3SG:POSS-cow INF-see NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED

But he could not find his cow.

- 6.
- qʰoʔ tə-qɐnu-cə*

SEQ PFV-darken<sub>2</sub>-MED*qʰoʔ mer tʔrgi ó-pʰi nɐ-nəɾme-cə*SEQ night pine 3SG:POSS-underside IPFV:PST-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-MED

It became dark, and at night he rested for the day under a pine tree.

- 7.
- káde nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ tʔjo mtsʰót jɐ-wɛʔ-nə-cə*

in.a.while PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB demon be.many PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

After a while, many demons came.

- 8.
- qʰoʔ nɐ-o-mti-cə*

SEQ PFV-INV-see<sub>2</sub>-MED*qʰoʔ tʔjo=rɐʔ=kə prá=pʰi kə-oy-tsom-cə*SEQ demon=PL=AGT boulder=under PFV:EAST-INV-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-MED

He got spotted and was taken east under a boulder by the demons.

- 9.
- qʰoʔ tʔjo=rɐʔ nɐ-nɾɛsqɐʔ-nə*

SEQ demon=PL IPFV:PST-hold.potluck.party<sub>2</sub>-3SG

The demons were having a potluck party.

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ʃe* *ne-nəkriʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ meat PFV:TR-distribute<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
*nə-ʃe* *mə-nə-rta-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-meat NEG-be.enough<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 When they distributed meat among themselves, their meat was not enough to go around.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *təʃo* *kə-rdɔʔ=kə*  
 SEQ demon one-CL=ERG  
*nɛ-t<sup>h</sup>ɛco* *o-sqɛʒje* *nə-p<sup>h</sup>ət-nə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 2SG:POSS-downriver.place 3SG:POSS-goiter IMP-pluck-2PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And one demon said, “That one down(river) there, pluck off his goiter!”

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-sqɛʒje* *ne-p<sup>h</sup>ət-nə-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-goiter PFV:TR-pluck<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 Then they plucked off his goiter.

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔosəʃsi=nəʔ* *təʃo=rɛʔ* *jɛ-nəʃɛʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ next.day=DET demon=PL PFV-go.back-3PL-MED  
 The next morning, the demons all went away.

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *q<sup>h</sup>ɛnəʔ* *o-rqe* *ne-nɛməme=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-neck PFV:TR-feel<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*o-sqɛʒje* *ɛdɛnbe* *kə-toʔ* *nə-mɛʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-goiter EMPH NMLZ:SBJ-exist PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 When he felt his neck, (he found that) his goiter had completely disappeared.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *tə-χe=kə* *t<sup>h</sup>ɛ-ɛnəre-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ-be.happy=INS PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he happily went back home.



16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *o-jəlpe*                      *kə-timʔ=kə*                      *ne-mti-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-neighbor    NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=ERG    PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*ko*    *o-sqəzje*                      *nə-meʔ-cə*  
 ANA    3SG:POSS-goiter    PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*əntʰə*                      *te-so*                      *ŋoʔ*                      *ne-səsi-cə*  
 what.on.earth    IPFV-do    be    PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

The rich neighbor saw this and thought, “His goiter disappeared. How did he do it?”

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ne-rwet-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    PFV:TR-ask<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*kə-<sup>n</sup>gu=nəʔ=kə*                      *nəʔoforme*                      *tʰə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG    the.previous.night    what  
*nə-kə-fsət=rəʔ*                      *kəmdiʔ*                      *nə-rəffɛt-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like<sub>2</sub>=PL    all                      PFV-recount<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And when he asked (the poor neighbor), (the poor neighbor) told him everything that had happened the previous night.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kə-timʔ=nəʔ=kə*                      *χfíkə*                      *ne-nəsme-cə*  
 SEQ    NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=DET=AGT    very    PFV:TR-envy<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *əjiʔ=ntʰon*                      *nəʔ*                      *te-kə-fsət*  
 SEQ    1SG=also                      ANA    IPFV-GP-do.thus  
*reʔ-cə*                      *ne-səsi-cə*  
 be.necessary-MED    PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the rich one envied him very much and thought, “I must do likewise, too!”

19. *qʰoʔ kə-timʔ=nəʔ nəʔofsemer=z qʃoʔ=naŋ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=DET the.following.night=LOC valley=inside  
*ŋe kə-qʰse te-nəʔpəzʔ lə-ɐre-cə*  
 cow NMLZ-seek PFV:TR-pretend<sub>2</sub> PFV-UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The following night, the rich neighbor went into the valley, pretending to seek his cow.

20. *qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ*  
 SEQ night=DET  
*nəʔ tʰrgi ó-pʰi nə-nəʔme-cə*  
 ANA pine.tree 3SG:POSS-underside IPFV:PST-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And, at night, he rested for the night under that pine tree.

21. *káde nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ tʰjo=rɐʔ leʔ jɐ-weʔ-nə-cə*  
 a.while PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB demon=PL again PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*qʰoʔ prá=pʰi kə-oy-tsom-cə*  
 SEQ boulder=under PFV:EAST-INV-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 After a while the demons came again, and he was taken away under the boulder.

22. *qʰoʔ tʰjo=rɐʔ leʔ nə-nrɐsqɐʔ-nə*  
 SEQ demon=PL again IPFV:PST-hold.potluck.party<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 Again, the demons were having a potluck party.

23. *ʃe ne-nəkriʔ-nə=nəʔ*  
 meat PFV:TR-distribute<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB  
*kə-tʰla koʔ ŋónəʔ nə-ʃe nə-riʔ-cə*  
 one-time TOP TOP:EMPH 3PL:POSS-meat PFV-be.left<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 When they distributed meat, this time they had extra meat left.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tájɔ kərdɔʔ=kə*  
 SEQ demon one=AGT  
*nəkəʔ ʃe nə-kə-riʔ=nəʔ*  
 that.on.your.side meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*nɐ-t<sup>h</sup>éco o-sqɛzdʒé=ta t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-wéju-nə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 2SG:POSS-downriver 3SG:POSS-goiter=on IMP-add.to-2PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 One of the demons said, “That extra meat, add it onto the goiter of that one over there!”

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmaʔ tájɔ=rɐʔ=kə vde te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ other demon=PL=AGT good PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɛnəʔ tə-kə-tsəʔ kəsənəʔ te-nɐmɐʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ ANA PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say<sub>2</sub> thus PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 The other demons said, “Good!” and did as he said.

26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ lɐ-fsi tájɔ=rɐʔ jɐ-nəʃeʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PFV-dawn<sub>2</sub> demon=PL PFV-go.back<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
*o-rqe te-rtɔ=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-neck PFV:TR-examine<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 When the demons all went back at dawn, and when the rich one examined his neck,

27. *o-sqɛzdʒe=rcənəʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-ʃɔχtenə ɰni-zlɔʔ nə-xtɐ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-goiter=TOP:EMPH former-COMP two-fold PFV-become.big<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 his goiter had become twice as big as before.

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>ronɣk<sup>h</sup>ro=kə k<sup>h</sup>énay t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐnəre nɐ-re-cə*  
 SEQ be.sad=INS home PFV-go.back<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He had no choice but go back home in sadness.

29. *kəkoʔ*    *χpe=nəʔ*    *kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ*    *náŋts<sup>h</sup>a*  
 this    story=TOP    person    among.each.other  
*ʒəzdaŋ*    *kɛ-ntʰi*    *mɛ-ŋɛn=<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*    *təkrísɣə*  
 jealousy    NMLZ-use    NEG-be.acceptable=otherwise    maybe  
*tə-ɣə*    *lɛm<sup>n</sup>dzə*    *kə-fɛ*    *mɛ*    *ké-tsə*    *ŋoʔ-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**  
***yretsəyzu schənəʔ mdʒəldəcət***  
**Narrator: Tsheskyid**

1.    *ʃɔntsʰe=z*                      *yretse*<sup>155</sup>=z                      *yretsəyzu*                      *te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ*  
former.time=LOC                      Gratse=LOC                      Gratsagzu                      IPFV-GP-say=INDF  
*nɐ-to*                                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>                      be-MED

Once upon a time, there was a person named Gratsagzu at Gratse.

2.    *qʰolɛciʔ mdʒəldiʔ=z*                      *mdʒəldəcət*                      *te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ*                      *nɐ-to*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
PN=LOC                                      PN                                      IPFV-GP-say=INDF                      IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>                      be-MED

And there was a person named Mjaldakjat at Mjaldi<sup>156</sup> in Kholakyi Village.

3.    *qʰoʔ*                      *mɐ-kə-nɛχtʃəy=kəsə*  
SEQ                      NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same=like  
*ⁿgɛ-χʃo-ⁿdzə*                                      *ŋoʔ*                      *tʃʰozʔ-cə*  
IPFV-be.brawny-2DU                      be                      be.the.rule-MED

The two of them were extraordinarily strong and brawny.

4.    *qʰoʔ*                      *tɐmɐ*                      *χʃikə*                      *ⁿge-rkaŋ-ⁿdzə*                                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ                      man                      very                      IPFV-be.capable-3DU                      be-MED

And they were very capable and resourceful men.

5.    *qʰoʔ*                      *mdʒəldəcət=nəʔ*  
SEQ                      PN=TOP

As for Mjaldakjat,

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<sup>155</sup> Name of the confluence of Kholakyi River and Dadu River.

<sup>156</sup> Name of a place within Kholakyi Village.

6. *sɲi təjtʃé=naŋ ʃə-ne-rɐmɐ*  
 day field=inside AND-IPFV-do.labor  
 during the day, he would go and do labor in the field,
7. *mer=nəʔ ó-ja=kə ne-sqɐjⁿdzɛ*  
 night=DET 3SG:POSS-hand=INS IPFV-make.butter<sub>2</sub>  
*o-ʃqór=pʰi təⁿdzi ⁿge-rkoj*  
 3SG:POSS-buttocks=under skin IPFV:DOWN-put.into.container<sup>157</sup>  
*qʰoʔ ⁿge-sá-χtsov ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV-CAUS-rub be-MED  
 at night he would make butter with his hands, while rubbing raw skin inserted under his buttocks.
8. *nəkəsə kʰe-təʃe*  
 thus each-time  
*tɐmɐ kʰe-ɛnɛz-təŋu ne-səⁿgrəvʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 labor each-two-piece IPFV-accomplish be-MED  
 In that way, he would accomplish two pieces of labor at one time.
9. *ɣrɛtsɐyʒu=ntʰon=nəʔ leʔ nəkəsə ⁿge-nɛfsəʃsət ŋoʔ-cə*  
 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-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ tə-ɐmqɐ-ⁿdzə-cə*  
 SEQ one-day=INDF=TOP PFV-quarrel<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 One day, the two of them got into a quarrel.

<sup>157</sup> The verb “put into container” here denotes putting the raw skin into the hollow under one’s seat.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *yr̥ets̥ɐʔzu* *tə-r̥emuruʔ*  
 SEQ PN PFV-be.angry<sub>2</sub>  
 Gratsagzu got angry,

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *p<sup>h</sup>oway* *retaʔ=kəsə* *kə-xt̥ɛʔ*  
 SEQ boulder mill=like NMLZ:SBJ-be.big  
*mdʒəld̥ɛc̥ɛt=ta* *le-w̥ɛr̥ɛt* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PN=top PFV:UPRIVER:UP-throw<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 and he hurled a boulder the size of a mill at Mjaldakjat.

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔ* *p<sup>h</sup>oway=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA boulder=DET  
*mdʒəldiʔ* *o-t<sup>h</sup>ɛco*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-downriver.place  
*r̥jəmdzor<sup>158</sup>* *kə-toʔ=nəʔ* *le-s̥ɐzyôʔ*  
 PN NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET PFV:UPRIVER:TR-cause.to.arrive<sub>2</sub>  
*k̥ɛ-tsə* *tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*  
 GP-say be.the.rule-MED  
 And the boulder, he made it land upriver at a place called Rgjemdzor, close to Mjaldi, it is said.

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔ* *p<sup>h</sup>oway=nəʔ* *pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on* *k̥ɛ-mtiʔ* *toʔ*  
 SEQ ANA boulder=DET now=also NMLZ:SBJ:U-see exist  
 And that boulder can still be seen even today.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *mdʒəld̥ɛc̥ɛt=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on* *tə-r̥emuruʔ*  
 SEQ PN=also PFV-be.angry<sub>2</sub>  
 Mjaldakjat also got angry,

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<sup>158</sup> Name of a place in Kholakyi Village.

16. *qʰoʔ leʔ pʰowaŋ retaʔ=kəsə kə-xtɛʔ*  
 SEQ also boulder mill=like NMLZ:SBJ-be.big  
*yrɛtsɛgzu ó-ta tʰe-wɛrɛt ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-top PFV:UPRIVER:UP-throw<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 and he also hurled a boulder the size of a millstone upriver at Gratsagzu.

17. *qʰoʔ nəʔ pʰowaŋ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA boulder=DET  
*yrɛtse o-lɛco mími tʃuʔ te-sɐy-fɛʔ*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-upriver.place a.bit PN IPFV-NMLZ:OBL-go<sub>2</sub>  
*kə-toʔ=nəʔ tʰe-sɐzɣət ŋoʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET PFV:UPRIVER:UP-cause.to.arrive<sub>2</sub> 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 pʰowaŋ=nəʔ pəʃkʰo=ntʃʰon kɐ-mtiʔ toʔ tʃʰoʔ*  
 ANA boulder=DET now=also NMLZ:SBJ:U-see exist be.the.rule  
*kɛ-tso ŋoʔ-cə*  
 GP-say be-MED  
 And that boulder can still be seen even today, it is said.



## A GHOST ATTENDED WEDDING

*tájontʃon kərərtənmʉ? nəkre ʃənekəneʔə? oɣpe*

**Narrator: Lemi**

1. *tájə=cə? nə-to-cə*  
ghost=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
There was a ghost.
  
2. *qʰo? kə-sɲi=cɛ=nə?*  
SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP  
*kər<sup>n</sup>bjo? kə-rərtənmʉ? nə-kre*  
person PURP-celebrate.wedding 3PL:POSS-company  
*oɣi?=ntʃon nə-nɛʔə-cə*  
3SG=also IPFV:PST-idle.about<sub>2</sub>-MED  
One day, it idled about with people attending a wedding celebration.
  
3. *qʰo? mer rtənmʉ? nə-joy*  
SEQ night wedding PFV-end<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰo? kʰɛnəɲ jɛ-ɛnəre?-cə=nə?*  
SEQ home PFV-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
And, as it went back home after the wedding ended,
  
4. *o-zde? tájə=rɛ?=kə*  
3SG:POSS-companion ghost=PL=ERG  
*josɲi? rtənmʉ? nə-sɛscət te-tsə?-nə-cə=nə?*  
today wedding IPFV:PST:Q-be.enjoyable<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
when its companion ghosts asked it saying, “Was the wedding today enjoyable?”

5. *nə-kə-rərtənmu* *təjo=nəʔ=kə*  
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-attend.wedding ghost=DET=ERG  
 And the ghost who attended the wedding said,

6. *josŋiʔ* *rtənmuʔ* *χʼikə* *nə-səscət*  
 today wedding very IPFV:PST-be.enjoyable<sub>2</sub>  
*kəʔdze* *kətʰi=rəʔ* *nə-mtsʰôt*  
 food drink=PL IPFV:PST-be.plenty<sub>2</sub>  
 “The wedding today was very enjoyable, and the food and drinks were plenty.”

7. *ʃənəʔ* *zəme* *kə-səpəpəʔ=nəʔ*  
 but food NMLZ:SBJ-prepare.many.things<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*stʰore* *zəme* *tə-səpəpəʔ=kə* *nə-nəjklɔj*  
 first food NMLZ:SBJ-prepare.many.things=INS IPFV:PST-do.with.zest<sub>2</sub>  
 “But the one who prepared food, he was at full steam preparing the food at the start.”

8. *qʰoʔ* *kəmaqʰuʔnə* *o-tʃəntweʔ* *kolevʔ* *o-mcerʔ* *nə-ere*  
 SEQ afterwards 3sg:poss-chopper floor 3sg:poss-crevice pfv:down-go<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ* *kə-səpəpəʔ=nəʔ=kə* *me-ne-sərtɔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-prepare.many.things<sub>2</sub>=DET=ERG NEG-PFV:TR-find<sub>2</sub>  
 “Afterwards, his chopper fell into crevices on the floor, and he could not find it.”

9. *qʰoʔ* *tʃəntweʔ=nəʔ* *təjo=kə* *jə-tsom* *ŋoʔ* *ʃteʔ=kə*  
 SEQ chopper=DET ghost=ERG PFV-take.away<sub>2</sub> be be:EMPH=DM  
*te-tsəʔ* *qʰoʔ* *nə-rəfqəfqəʔ*  
 PFV:TR-say SEQ IPFV:PST-do.scolding<sub>2</sub>  
*əjiʔ* *é-ta* *te-te*  
 1SG 1SG:POSS-top PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>

“And he swore repeatedly, saying, ‘(Who) the ghost took away the chopper,’” and put the blame on me.

10. *qʰoɾ*    *nəɾ*    *tsax̣tsaɾ*    *ɐ-kə-nəmɣeɾ*    *kəma*  
 SEQ    ANA    only    ISG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-scold    except  
*noɾori*    *mɐ-kə-sɛscət*    *nɐ-mɛɾ*    *te-tsəɾ*  
 the.rest    NEG-NMLZ-be.comfortable    IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 “Everything was enjoyable, except for that person who scolded me,” it said.

**THE ROC HELPS A POOR MAN FIND GOLD**  
***pjerjelc<sup>h</sup>ontsfenkə kə<sup>n</sup>guca ɣser fənəkəsəyro***  
**Narrator: Lemi**

1.    *ʃɔnts<sup>h</sup>e=z*                      *kə-tim<sup>?</sup>=cə<sup>?</sup>*                      *nɐ-to*                      *ŋo<sup>?</sup>-cə*  
former.time=LOC    NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
*kə-<sup>n</sup>gu=cə<sup>?</sup>*                      *nɐ-to*                      *ŋo<sup>?</sup>-cə*  
NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
Once upon a time, there were a rich man and a poor man.

2.    *q<sup>h</sup>o<sup>?</sup>*    *jəlpe*                      *<sup>n</sup>ge-ŋo<sup>?</sup>-<sup>n</sup>dzə*    *ŋo<sup>?</sup>-cə*  
SEQ    neighbor    IPFV-be-3DU    be-MED  
The two of them were neighbors.

3.    *q<sup>h</sup>o<sup>?</sup>*    *kə-ʃɲi=cɛ=nə<sup>?</sup>*  
SEQ    one-day=LOC:INDF=DET  
*kə-tim<sup>?</sup>*                      *nɐ-rɛχtu<sup>?</sup>*                      *ŋo<sup>?</sup>-cə*  
NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich    IPFV:PST-do.sutra.chanting<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
One day, the rich man was having a sutra-chanting session (at home).

4.    *q<sup>h</sup>o<sup>?</sup>*    *kɐ-raxtu=rɛ<sup>?</sup>*                      *jə-joy<sup>?</sup>*                      *jɛrmɐ=nə<sup>?</sup>*  
SEQ    INF-do.sutra.chanting=PL    PROS-finish    about=SUB  
When the chanting was just about to come to an end,

5.    *kə-<sup>n</sup>gu=kə*                      *o-tfu=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
NMLZ:SBJ-be poor=ERG    3SG:POSS-son=place  
*é-tfu*                      *st<sup>h</sup>o*    *ká-xte*                      *k<sup>h</sup>ɛxtə*                      *ʃə-tə-mp<sup>h</sup>éri*  
1SG:POSS-son    most    NMLZ:SBJ-be.big:VOC    roof-top.platform    AND-IMP:UP-look  
*q<sup>h</sup>o<sup>?</sup>*    *jə-jəlpe=rɛ<sup>?</sup>=kə*  
SEQ    1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG

*né-pe*                      *ká-p<sup>hu</sup>*                      *lè-wi*  
 2SG:POSS-father      PURP-beg.for.food      IMP:UPRIVER-come  
*te-ká-tsə=tsə*                      *vré-to*                      *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-NMLZ-say=SUB      Q-exist      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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.    *q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ*    *o-tʃu=nəʔ*                      *k<sup>h</sup>ɛxto*                      *ʃə-tə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri-cə*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-son=DET      roof-top.platform      AND-PFV:UP-look<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ*    *nɛ-nəwɛʔ*                      *ó-pe=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ      PFV:DOWN-come.back<sub>2</sub>      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.    *é-pe*                      *jə-jəlpe=rɛʔ=kə*  
 1SG:POSS-father      1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG  
*ʒet*    *té-tsə-nə*                      *jə-nəjɔʃlojʔ-nə*<sup>159</sup>                      *káma*  
 EXCL    IPFV-say-3PL      PROS-do.with.zest-3PL      except  
*né-pe*                      *lè-p<sup>hu</sup>*                      *te-ká-tsə*  
 2SG:POSS-father      IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food      IPFV-NMLZ-say  
*mɛ*                      *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 not.exist      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“Father, our neighbors were zealously exclaiming *ʒet*. Aside from that, they were not saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”

<sup>159</sup> Referring to a ritual toward the end of sutra chanting, while the monks call out “*ʒet*”, to summon the guardian deities.

8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ o-tʃu təlezʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ again 3SG:POSS-son middle 3SG:POSS-place  
*é-tʃu tález neʃiʔ k<sup>h</sup>exto ʃə-tə-mp<sup>h</sup>éʔri*  
 1SG:POSS-son middle 2SG roof-top.platform AND-IMP:UP-look  
*jə-jəlpe=rəʔ=kə*  
 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG

*né-pe ká-p<sup>h</sup>u lə-wi*  
 2SG:POSS-father PURP-beg.for.food IMP:UPRIVER-come  
*te-ká-tsə=tsə vré-to te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-NMLZ-say=SUB Q-exist PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-tʃu təlezʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son-to middle=DET  
*k<sup>h</sup>exto ʃə-tə-mp<sup>h</sup>éʔri-cə*  
 roof-top.platform AND-PFV:UP-look<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ nɐ-nəwɛʔ*  
 SEQ again PFV:DOWN-come.back<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-pe=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 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,

10. *é-pe jə-jəlpə=rəʔ fsófso ɛsɛ-wɛrɛt-nə káma*  
 1SG:POSS-father 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL EXCL CONT:HTR-throw-3PL except  
*lé-p<sup>hu</sup> te-ká-tsə mɛ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food IPFV-NMLZ-say not.exist PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “Father, our neighbors were throwing tsampa offering while saying ‘Fso-fso’,<sup>160</sup> aside from that, they were not saying ‘Come and beg for food,’” he said.
11. *leʔ o-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ ó-p<sup>ha</sup>*  
 again 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET 3SG:POSS-place  
*ɛ-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtʃi*  
 1SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be small:VOC  
*nɛjiʔ k<sup>h</sup>ɛxtə ʃə-tə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri*  
 2SG roof-top.platform AND-IMP:UP-look  
*jə-jəlpə=rəʔ=kə nɛ-pe lé-p<sup>hu</sup>*  
 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG 2SG:POSS-father IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food  
*te-ká-tsə=tsə vré-to te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-NMLZ-say=SUB Q-exist PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET  
*k<sup>h</sup>ɛxtə ʃə-tə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri-cə*  
 roof-top.platform AND-PFV:UP-look<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ nɛ-nəwɛʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-pe=p<sup>ha</sup>*  
 SEQ again PF:DOWN-come.back<sub>2</sub> 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,

<sup>160</sup> An utterance of invitation to guardian deities.

13. *é-pe* *jə-jəlpe=rɛʔ* *ləɾjélo*<sup>161</sup>  
 1SG:POSS-father 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL EXCL  
*ɛsɛ-pe-nə* *káma* *né-pe* *lé-p<sup>hu</sup>*  
 CONT:HTR-do-3PL except 2SG:POSS-ather IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food  
*te-kə-tsə* *mɛ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say not.exist PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ* *kə-<sup>n</sup>gu=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG  
*maɣdu* *maɣdu=kə* *zɛscəʔ*<sup>162</sup> *mɛ=nəʔ*  
 alright alright=DM eating.happiness not.exist=SUB  
*ʃɛscəʔ*<sup>163</sup> *kɛ-nə-pe* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 firewood.happiness GP-SPON-do be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 “Alright, alright! If there isn’t going to be happy eating, I will at least get some happy firewood-burning,” the poor man said.

15. *q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ* *ó-mt<sup>he</sup>* *tərpe* *ne-tʃərʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-waist ax PFV:DOWN:TR-stick<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ* *ʃɛlili* *qʃoʔ=naŋ=cɛ* *lɛ-ɛre-cə*  
 SEQ upriver.yonder ravine=inside=LOC:INDF PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He stuck an ax in his belt (lit. in his waist), and went inside a yonder ravine upriver.

<sup>161</sup> Exclamation (*qi lə jɛlo*) made collectively at the conclusion of the sutra chanting ceremony, meaning ‘We have won!’.

<sup>162</sup> From Tibetan <za.skyid>.

<sup>163</sup> 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=cəʔ                    ne-mti-cə*  
 SEQ    tree            very    NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF    PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ    nəʔ    te-nəʒuriʔ*  
 SEQ    ANA    PFV:TR-confront<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ    zdóŋbo=ɐv    tərpe    kɐ-lət            te-je-cə*  
 SEQ    tree=body    ax    INF-apply    PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He saw a very big tree, confronted it, and started to hew at the trunk.

17. *qʰoʔ    nəʔ    zdóŋbo=ta    fʃɛrjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    ANA    tree=top            roc=TOP  
*o-lɔʔ                    nɐ-to                    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-nest    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 On top of that tree, the roc had its nest there.

18. *qʰoʔ    fʃɛrjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=kə    kə-<sup>n</sup>gu=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ    roc=ERG                    NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=place  
*nɛkənəʔ                    zdóŋbo    mə-nə-tə-p<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 that.near.you    tree    NEG-IMP-2-cut  
*<sup>n</sup>denəʔ    ɐ-<sup>n</sup>gəmʔ            tə-wérɛt    tə-c<sup>h</sup>ovʔ    ŋoʔ    k<sup>h</sup>étʂo    te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 or            1SG:POSS-egg    2-throw    2-break    be    please    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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-<sup>n</sup>gu=nəʔ=kə                    ŋoʔ    ʃənəʔ    ɐjiʔ    é-<sup>n</sup>dze*  
 SEQ    NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG    be    but    1SG    1SG:POSS-eat  
*mɐ            ŋoʔ    qʰoʔ    zɛscăt                    mɐ=nəʔ            ʃɛscăt*  
 not.exist    be    SEQ    eating.happiness    not.exist=SUB    firewood.happiness  
*ne-pɔ-aŋ            qʰoʔ    kéju            né-p<sup>h</sup>ət-aŋ*  
 IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>-1SG    SEQ    firewood    IPFV-cut-1SG

*ne-səsiʔ-aŋ      ɲoʔ      te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-want-1SG      be      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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! And so I want to cut some firewood.”

20. *qʰoʔ      fferjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=kə*  
 SEQ      roc=ERG  
*ma-kdu=kə*  
 NEG-be.serious=DM

*fsəfsi      tɛŋɐ      mɐ-fɛr      kʰəʔkʰoz      ɐ-lɐ-tə-wi*  
 tomorrow      sun      NEG-rise      here      IRR-IMP:UPRIVER-2-come  
 The roc said, “No problem! Come here tomorrow before the sun rises.”

21. *qʰoʔ      χser      corʰbuʔ=naŋ*  
 SEQ      gold      cobble-covered.riverbank=inside  
*tɐ-tsomʔ      ɲoʔ      te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 1→2-take.thither      be      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“And I will take you inside a riverbank covered with gold cobbles.”

22. *qʰoʔ      kə-<sup>n</sup>gu=nəʔ=kə      wɐ      te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG      yes      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the poor man said, “Alright!”

23. *qʰoʔ      nəʔofsəfsi      təmtʃuɣʔ      zɐrnaʔ=nəʔ      lɐ-ɐre-cə*  
 SEQ      next.day      dawn=DET      PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ      fferjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=nəʔ=kə      zdóŋbo=ta*  
 SEQ      roc=DET=ERG      tree=top

*kə-taʔ*                      *tʰə-oy-nəjiʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.true      CONT:LTR-INV-wait<sub>2</sub>-MED

Next morning before dawn, he went upriver, and the roc was indeed waiting for him on the tree.

24. *qʰoʔ*    *ffərjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=kə*    *tə-o-fkor-cə*  
 SEQ      roc=ERG                      PFV:UP-INV-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>-MED

*qʰoʔ*    *kərqʰərqʰe=z*                      *χser*  
 SEQ      faraway.place=LOC    gold

*corʰbuʔ=naŋ*                              *nə-oy-tsom-cə*  
 cobble.covered.riverbank=inside    PFV-INV-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the roc carried him up onto its back, and took him to a far-off riverbank strewn with gold cobbles.

25. *qʰoʔ*    *kə-ʰguʔ=pʰa*  
 SEQ      NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=place  
*tə-oyəsɛjəz*    *nə-təkəmʔ=naŋ*                      *χser*    *tə-rkoj*                      *ʰdenəʔ*

IMP-hurry      2SG:POSS-bag=inside    gold    IMP-put.in<sub>3</sub>    for

*kédenəʔ*    *téŋvə*    *kənʰgət*    *lɔʔ*                      *ŋoʔ*  
 in.a.while    sun      nine      come.out    be

*qʰoʔ*    *kə-nəʔvə*                      *mə-səcʰvə*                      *kə-oy-tʃov*    *ŋoʔ*    *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      INF-go.back    NEG-be.doable    GP-INV-burn    be    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

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.”

26. *qʰoʔ*    *kə-ʰgu=nəʔ*                              *tə-oyəsɛjəzʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET    PFV-hurry<sub>2</sub>-MED

*qʰoʔ*    *χser*    *kə-təkəm*    *te-rkoʔ-cə*

SEQ      gold    one-bag    PFV:TR-put in<sub>2</sub>-MED

So the poor man made haste and loaded a bag full of gold.

27. *qʰoʔ fferjɛlcʰoŋʃen=nəʔ=kə téŋɐ mə-fɛr=z*  
 SEQ roc=DET=ERG sun NEG-rise=LOC  
*kə-ⁿgu koχsɛ́χser=nəʔ tə-o-fkor-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be poor together.with.gold=DET PFV-INV-carry.on.back₂-MED  
*qʰoʔ kə-o-sɛjwɛt-cə*  
 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 kə-ⁿgu=nəʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET  
*χser kə-tékəm te-nə-fkor-cə*  
 gold one-bag PFV:TR-SPON-carry.on.back₂-MED  
*qʰoʔ kʰɛ́nən tə-ənəre-cə*  
 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 kə-ⁿgu=nəʔ ó-χser ne-nə-ntswɛ-cə*  
 SEQ afterwards NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET 3SG:POSS-gold PFV:TR-SPON-sell₂-MED  
*qʰoʔ o-jəlpɛ kə-timʔ ʃóχre lɛ-tim ŋoʔ-cə*  
 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. *cʰɛʔ nɐ-kə-tim=nəʔ detsátsɐ nə-ⁿguʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 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-kɛ<sup>n</sup>dze=rɛ?*      *rjɛspe*      *nɛ-ɛrkɛrkɔn?*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-food=PL    quite.a.lot    PFV-be.scarce<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And his food became rather scarce.

32. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kə-sŋi=cɛ=nə?*  
 SEQ    one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP  
*zɛscəʔt*                      *mɛ=nə?*  
 eating.happiness    not.exist=SUB  
*ʃɛscəʔt*                      *nɛ-kɛ-nə-pe*                      *tɛ-tsəʔ-cə*  
 firewood.happiness    IPFV-GP-SPON-do    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 One day, he said, “If there is to be no happiness in eating, I must have happiness in a warm hearth!”

33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *qfoʔ=naŋ*                      *ʃɛlɪli=cɛ*  
 SEQ    ravine=inside    upriver.yonder=LOC:INDF  
*kə-nkɛju*                      *lɛ-ɛrɛ-cə*  
 PURP-gather.firewood    PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he went to a far place upriver inside a ravine to gather firewood.

34. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *rdɛrdɛt*    *le?*    *ʃʃɛrjɛlc<sup>h</sup>oŋʃɛn*    *o-sɛ-rɛlɔ*  
 SEQ    by.chance    again    roc                      3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-use.as.nest<sub>2</sub>  
*zdóŋbo=p<sup>hi</sup>*    *lɛ-zyôʔt-cə*  
 tree=under    PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And by a stroke of luck he got to the exact tree under which the roc had built its nest.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nə?*    *tɛ-nəɁuriʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    ANA    PFV:TR-confront<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *zdóŋbo=ɛɛr*                      *tərpe*    *kɛ-lɛt*    *tɛ-je-cə=nə?*  
 SEQ    tree.trunk=body    ax    INF-do    PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 And he faced it, and when he began to apply the ax to the tree trunk.

36. *ffɛrjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=kə ó-pʰi tərpe*

roc=ERG 3SG:POSS-underside ax

*kə-ɐsɐ-lét ó-pʰa*

NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-apply 3SG:POSS-place

And the roc (said) to the one who was applying the ax underneath,

37. *kʰétʃo tərpe mə-kə-tə-lət*

please ax NEG-IMP:CISLOC-2-apply

*ʰdenə? ɐ-ʰgəm? tə-wérɛt tə-cʰov? ŋo? te-tsə?-cə*

or 1SG:POSS-egg 2-throw 2-break be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“Please don’t wield the ax or you will throw out and smash my eggs!”

38. *qʰo? qʰənə?-kə ŋo? ʃənə? ɛji? ɣfíkə ʰgu-aŋ ʃte?*

SEQ ANA=ERG be but 1SG very be poor-1SG be:EMPH

*qʰónə zɛscât mə=nə? ʃɛscât ne-pɔ-aŋ*

SEQ:EMPH eating.happiness not.exist=SUB firewood.happiness IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>-1SG

*ne-səsi?-aŋ ŋo? te-tsə?-cə*

IPFV-want-1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *qʰo? ffɛrjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=kə ma-ɛdu=kə ma-ɛdu=kə*

SEQ roc=ERG NEG-be.serious=DM NEG-be.serious=DM

“Come here tomorrow before the sun rises.”

40. *tə-ʰgu qʰónə vlɛvlo te-kɐ-pe ʃte?*

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 pə/kʰo tʰv-nəʔv*  
 SEQ now IMP:DOWNRIVER-go.back  
*qʰoʔ fsəʔfsi təmtʃuyʔzərnaʔ tɛŋv mɛ-fɛr*  
 SEQ tomorrow dawn sun NEG-rise  
*orjəŋʔnəʔ v-lv-tə-wi*  
 when IRR-IMP:UPRIVER-2-come  
 “Go back downriver now, and come back tomorrow at dawn before the sun rises.”

42. *qʰoʔ vʃiʔ=kə χser corʰbuʔ=naŋ*  
 SEQ 1SG=ERG gold cobble-covered.riverbank=inside  
*ne-tv-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-χeʔ=kə kʰənaŋ tʰe-nəre-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-be.happy₂=INS home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back₂-MED  
*zdóŋbo=rɐʔ 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 nəʔofsəʔfsi təmtʃuyʔ zərnaʔ lv-ɐre-cə*  
 SEQ next.day dawn PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED  
 And the next day at dawn, he went upriver.

45. *qʰoʔ fʃɐrjɐlcʰoŋtʃen=kə tə-o-fkor-cə*  
 SEQ roc=ERG PFV:UP-INV-carry.on.back₂-MED  
*qʰoʔ ʃɐʰdiʰdi=cɛ*  
 SEQ far.westward=LOC:INDF

*qʰo?*      *χser*    *corʷbú?*=*nan*                                  *nə-o-sɛzyô-t-cə*

SEQ       gold   cobble.covered.riverbank=inside    PFV:WEST-INV-cause.to.arrive₂-MED

And the roc took him up on its back, and took him to a riverbank strewn with gold pebbles  
somewhere far to the west.

46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ fʃɐɾjɐlc<sup>h</sup>oŋtʃen=kə*  
 SEQ roc=ERG  
*tə-ojɐsɛ́jəz nɐ-təkəmʔ=nan ɣser tə-rkoj q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nts<sup>h</sup>aʔ-tsə ʔdenəʔ*  
 IMP-hurry 2SG:POSS-bag=inside gold IMP-put.in<sub>3</sub> SEQ set.out-1DU or  
*kédenəʔ téŋɐ kán<sup>n</sup>gət ləʔ ɲoʔ*  
 in.a.while sun nine come.out be  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɐ-nájwɐt mɐ-sɐc<sup>h</sup>ɐ kɐ-oy-tʃov ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ INF-go.back NEG-be.doable GP-INV-burn be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 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.”

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ=kə ʁfikə kə-werjurjəm=cəʔ nɐ-ŋo-cə*  
 SEQ ANA=ERG very NMLZ:SBJ-be.greedy=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the man was a very greedy person,

48. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *o-təkəm?*=*naŋ* *χser* *kə-<sup>n</sup>dev* *te-rkoj*=*nə?*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-bag=inside gold NMLZ:SBJ-be.in.small.pieces IPFV-put.in<sub>3</sub>=SUB  
*mɐ-ʒro?* *ne-səse?*  
 NEG-be.good IPFV-think<sub>3</sub>  
 and he thought that it was not good to load his bag with small gold pieces,



49. *qʰoʔ    ˈge-cɐj                    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    IPFV-pour.out<sub>3</sub>    be-MED  
*qʰoʔ    leʔ    kə-ˈdʒoʔ                                    te-rkoj=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    again    NMLZ:SBJ-be.in.large.pieces    IPFV-put.in<sub>3</sub>=SUB  
 and he kept pouring them out, and kept loading the large pieces,
50. *leʔ            ɐ-ne-mnɔʔ                                    ne-səseʔ*  
 again    IRR-PFV-be.filled.to.full.capacity    IPFV-want<sub>3</sub>  
*qʰoʔ    ˈge-cɐj                    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    IPFV-pour.out<sub>3</sub>    be-MED  
 and then he wanted (the bag) to be filled to full capacity and pouring out.
51. *qʰoʔ    nəʔ            əntsətse    nɐ-nɐfsəfsət-cə*  
 SEQ    ANA    repeatedly    IPFV:PST-do.thus<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-MED  
 And he did that over and over again.
52. *ntsʰaʔ    nɐ-mɛʔ                                    o-perʔ*  
 set.out    IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>    3SG:POSS-interval  
*tɛɲɐ    kənˈgət    kɐ-nlɔʔ                                    le-je-cə*  
 sun    nine    INF-come.out    PFV:UPRIVER:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 During the time he delayed to leave, the nine suns began to come out.
53. *qʰoʔ    fʃɛrjɐlcʰoɲʃen=nəʔ    mə-ne-nɛjiʔ*  
 SEQ    roc=DET                                    NEG-PFV:TR-wait.for<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ    ʃla                                    nə-qɐlˈbjəm    jɐ-nəʃɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    immediately    PFV-fly<sub>2</sub>                    PFV-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The roc did not wait for him, but quickly flew back.

54. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ c<sup>h</sup>eʔ nɐ-kə-tim kəʔ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ formerly IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich<sub>2</sub> person=DET  
*kɐ-nəwi mə-nə-c<sup>h</sup>eʔ tɛŋɐ=rɐʔ tə-oy-tʃov-cə*  
 INF-come.back NEG-PFV-be.able<sub>2</sub> sun=PL PFV-INV-burn<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the one who used to be rich could not come back and was scorched by the suns.

## ONE-ANTLER DEER

*ʃɛworextʃəy<sup>n</sup>bom*<sup>164</sup>

Narrator: 'Phrinlas

1. *ʃɒnts<sup>h</sup>e=z*      *kɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒə-jəlpɛ=cəʔ*      *ɤnez*      *<sup>n</sup>ge-toʔ=<sup>n</sup>dzə*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 former.time=LOC      COL-neighbor=INDF      two      IPFV-exist=DU      be-MED  
 Once upon a time, there lived two neighbor families.

2. *kə-təpu=nəʔ*      *<sup>n</sup>ge-timʔ*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 one-family=TOP      IPFV-be.rich      be-MED  
*kə-təpu=nəʔ*      *<sup>n</sup>ge-<sup>n</sup>gu*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 one-family=TOP      IPFV-be.poor      be-MED  
 One family was rich, and the other family was poor.

3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *kə-<sup>n</sup>gu*      *rgɐtpo-tʃu=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor      old.man-son=DET  
*<sup>n</sup>ge-r<sup>n</sup>gu*      *<sup>n</sup>ge-r<sup>n</sup>gu*      *əntsətse*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-sleep      IPFV-sleep      continuously      be-MED  
 The son of the old master of the poor family just slept and slept.

4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ*      *rgɐtpo=nəʔ*      *o-tʃu=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ      ANA      old.man=DET      3SG:POSS-son=place  
*tə-rɐro*      *əntsɐjə*      *mə-nə-tə-r<sup>n</sup>gu=kə*  
 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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<sup>164</sup> Also pronounced *ʃɛwore<sup>n</sup>bəm*.

5. *nəjɛrmənə qfoʔ=nan qértsez kə-qərɣiʔ le-tə-fə=tsə*  
 about.time gully=inside deer NMLZ:PURP-hunt IMP:UPRIVER-2-go=SUB  
*vré-ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 Q-be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“Isn’t it about time that you went into the gully to hunt for deer?” he said.

6. *qʰoʔ tətʃu=nəʔ=kə éʃənəʔ nəʔ ˈdər ŋoʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ son=DET=ERG EXCL ANA TOP be-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ wə te-tsəʔ*  
 SEQ EXCL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>

The son thought, “Ah yes, he is right,” and said, “OK!”

7. *qʰoʔ tə-rəroʔ ó-ˈbri=rəʔ ne-səvjoske-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-horse=PL PFV:TR-harness<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ kə-qərɣiʔ lə-ntsʰa ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ:PURP-hunt PFV:UPRIVER-set.out<sub>2</sub> be-MED

He got up, harnessed his horse, and set out upriver to hunt.

8. *qfoʔ=nan ome kə-ərɣʰe=cə lə-zɣôʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 gully=inside very NMLZ-be.distant=LOC:INDF PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

When he got to a certain distant place inside the gully,

9. *qértsez ó-qʰru kə-rdoʔ ˈdenəʔ kə-mə=cəʔ*  
 deer 3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exit=INDF  
*ne-mti-cə qʰoʔ ne-ntʃeʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>-MED

he saw a deer with only one antler, and he killed it.

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qértsez ne-j<sup>n</sup>dʒət=nəʔ*  
 SEQ deer PFV:TR-skin.and.butcher<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*o-k<sup>h</sup>oxpe=nəŋ qeʃpe əntsátse nə-nlɔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside toad continuously PFV-come.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 As he skinned and butchered the deer, toads kept coming out from its abdominal cavity.
11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>vəʔ tətʃu=nəʔ=kə ɐjiʔ ko<sup>n</sup>dər*  
 SEQ ANA boy=DET=ERG 1SG TOP  
*v-lezʔ o-tə-mɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-luck 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:EXTENT-not.exist<sub>2</sub>=TOP  
 And the boy said, “Oh my! How unlucky I am!”
12. *qértsez ʃə-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 deer AND-kill-1SG=SUB  
*ó-q<sup>h</sup>ru kə-rdɔʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ kə-mv=cəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=INDF  
 “That when I go deer-hunting, it (turns out to be) one with only a single antler,”
13. *o-k<sup>h</sup>oxpe <sup>n</sup>ge-lweʔ-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity IPFV:DOWN-dig-1SG=SUB  
*qeʃpe əntsátse ne-kə-nlɔʔ-cə-nəŋo nəʔ ne-səsi-cə*  
 toad continuously IPFV-NMLZ-come.out-MED-MED ANA PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “and when I dig into its belly, (it turns out to be) one out of which toads keep coming out of,” he thought.
14. *təmdánə ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ qértsez=nəʔ*  
 in.truth PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub> deer=DET  
*ʃəworətʃəy<sup>n</sup>bom t<sup>h</sup>v-ŋo mə-ne-sərtɔ-nəŋo*  
 one-antler.deer CONT:LTR-be<sub>2</sub> NEG-PFV:TR-realize<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 In fact, he did not realize that the deer he killed was just a one-antler deer.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>eʔ qértsez=nəʔ te-nəmərɔʔ*  
 SEQ ANA deer=DET PFV:TR-feel.suspicious.about<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-wəret ne-vdeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:TR-discard<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-leave.behind<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He felt suspicious of the deer, dumped it, and left it behind.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>énanɿ t<sup>h</sup>v-ənəre tʃo<sup>n</sup>bəjʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back<sub>2</sub> way=DET  
*o-ɣóri=z jəlpe tətʃu=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-front=LOC neighbor son=DET  
*kə-nkéju lə-wəʔ ne-t<sup>h</sup>əy-nəŋo*  
 NMLZ:PURP-cut.firewood PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-meet<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 On his way back home, he ran across his neighbor's son who had gone upriver to cut firewood.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-timʔ tətʃu=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich boy=place  
*josŋiʔ ʃə-nv-qərŋi-aŋ*  
 today AND-IPFV:PST-hunt<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*ʃənəʔ qértsez ó-q<sup>h</sup>ru kə-rdɔʔ ʔdenəʔ kə-mv*  
 but deer 3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist  
*o-k<sup>h</sup>oxpe=nanɿ qəʃpe əntsátse*  
 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside toad continuously  
*ne=kə-nlɔʔ=cəʔ nv-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ*  
 IPFV=NMLZ:SBJ-come.out=INDF PFV-kill<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nəʔ*    *mɐ=kə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ=cəʔ*    *vréʔ-ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ    ANA    NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule=INDF    Q:EMPH-be  
*te-tsəʔ*    *ne-rwet-nəŋo*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>    PFV:TR-ask<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “It was uncanny, wasn’t it?” he asked.

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ*    *kə-timʔ*    *tətʃu=nəʔ=kə*    *kə-<sup>n</sup>guʔ=kə*  
 SEQ    ANA    NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich    son=DET=ERG    NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=ERG  
*ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ*    *qértsez=nəʔ*    *ʃɛworɛtʃəy<sup>n</sup>bom*    *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ŋo*  
 PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>    deer=DET    one-antler.deer    CONT:LTR-be<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ʒro*    *t<sup>h</sup>e-sərtɔ*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    CONT”LTR-be.precious<sub>2</sub>    PFV:TR-discover<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And the rich boy realized that the poor boy had killed a one-antler deer which was precious,<sup>165</sup>

20. *ʃənəʔ*    *ʒəzdaŋ*    *ofétkə*  
 but    jealousy    so  
*nɐkənəʔ*    *mɐ=kə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ=cəʔ*    *t<sup>h</sup>ɐn=cəʔ*  
 that.near.you    NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule=INDF    sign.of.bad.luck<sup>166</sup>=INDF  
*nɐ-tə-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ-cə=kə*  
 PFV-2-kill<sub>2</sub>-MED=INS  
 but he was so jealous (that he said), “Since you killed that uncanny thing, which was a sign of bad luck,”

<sup>165</sup> Referring to the belief that one-antler deer are *norvu* (treasure).

<sup>166</sup> 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. *t<sup>h</sup>e-tə-nəʃv=nəʔ*

IPFV:UPRIVER-2-go.back=SUB

*k<sup>h</sup>énanɿ      nɛ-pe                      rgetpo=nəʔ              v-tə-tə-fkorʔ*

home      2SG:POSS-father      old.man=DET      IRR-IMP:UP-2-carry.on.back

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ      təciʔ=nanɿ              v-ʃə-t<sup>h</sup>v-tə-wérɛt*

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,”

22. *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ      mɛ-kə-vde                      ʃʃíkə      nlɔʔ              ɳoʔ      te-tsəʔ-cə*

or              NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good      very      happen      be      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“otherwise, something really bad will happen,” he said.

23. *kə-<sup>n</sup>gu-tʃu=nəʔ=kə                      jɛjɛ              ne-səsi-cə*

NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor-boy=DET=ERG      EXCL      PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ      k<sup>h</sup>énanɿ      t<sup>h</sup>v-zyôʔ*

SEQ      home              PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>

The son from the poor family thought, “That is right, that is right,” and went downriver back home.

24. *nəʔosəʃsi=nəʔ      ó-pe                      ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*

next.day=DET      3SG:POSS-father      3SG:POSS-place

*ʃɛt<sup>h</sup>i                      təciʔ-vzər=cɛ                      kə-nɛʋɛ                      ʃɛ-tsə=kə*

downriver.place      river-side=LOC:INDF      NMLZ:PURP-play      go-1DU=DM

*te-tsəʔ              ɳoʔ-cə*

PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

The next day, he said to his father, “Let’s go downriver and play at the riverside!”



25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-pe=nəʔ* *nə-rgəz*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=DET IPFV:PST-be.old<sub>2</sub>  
*ó-mɲa=rəʔ* *kək<sup>h</sup>reʔ* *mə-nə-mti* *ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-eye=PL a.little NEG-PFV-see<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-tʃu=p<sup>h</sup>a* *vde* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son=place be.good PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 His father was old, and his eyesight had become poor, and he said to his son, “Good!”
26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *q<sup>h</sup>əʔ* *tətʃu=nəʔ=kə* *ó-pe* *te-fkor-cə*  
 SEQ ANA boy=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-father PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *təciʔ-vzər* *t<sup>h</sup>e-tsom* *ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ river-bank PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 So the boy carried his father on back, and took him downriver to the riverside.
27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *t<sup>h</sup>e-tsom* *tʃo<sup>n</sup>bəjʔ=cɛ=ta* *nə-ɛldwêʔ-nəŋo*  
 SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub> way=LOC:INDF=top PFV:DOWN-slip<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Somewhere on his way taking (his father) downriver, he slipped and fell down.
28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-pe=kə* *é-tʃu* *é-tʃu*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=ERG 1SG:POSS:VOC-son 1SG:POSS:VOC-son  
*ma-ɛdu* *jə* *nə-tə-ɛldwêʔ=nəʔ* *q<sup>h</sup>aʔmə*  
 NEG-be.serious DM PFV:DOWN-2-slip<sub>2</sub>=SUB no.wonder  
 And the father said, “My son! My son! It’s alright. No wonder you slipped.”
29. *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ* *qértsez=kə* *qəʃpe* *te-<sup>n</sup>dzə* *o-ʒaʔ=nəʔ*  
 for deer=ERG toad IPFV-eat<sub>3</sub> 3SG:POSS-time=DET  
*sətʃ<sup>h</sup>e* *t<sup>h</sup>e-ɲnémsu* *ɲoʔ=kə*  
 earth IPFV-be.fertile be=INS

*kə-bldwet*      *tʰozʔ*      *ʃteʔ*      *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 GP-slip.and.fall      be.the.rule      be:EMPH      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“At the time when deer eat toads, the earth is fertile (and soft) and one tends to slip and fall,” he said.

30. *qʰoʔ*    *tetʃu=nəʔ=kə*    *é-pe*                      *nəʔ*    *tʰə*    *te-təʔ-tsə*    *ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ    boy=DET=ERG    1SG:POSS-father    ANA    what    IPFV-2-say    be  
 The boy said, “What are you saying, oh father,”

31. *ⁿdenəʔ*    *forʔ*              *ʃə-nə-qərŋi-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 for            yesterday    AND-IPFV:PST-hunt<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB  
*qértsez*    *ó-qʰru*                      *kə-rdɔʔ*    *ⁿdenəʔ*    *kə-mə=cəʔ*  
 deer        3SG:POSS-antler    one-CL    except    NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=INDF  
*o-kʰoxpe=naŋ*                      *qəʃpe*    *əntsátse*  
 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside    toad    continuously  
*ne=kə-nlɔ=cəʔ*                      *nə-ntʰeʔ-aŋ*    *ŋoʔ*  
 IPFV=NMLZ:SBJ-come.out<sub>2</sub>=INDF    PFV-kill<sub>2</sub>-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*    *mə=kə-tʰozʔ=cəʔ*                      *ŋoʔ*    *ntor*    *nə-səsi-aŋ*  
 SEQ    ANA    NEG=NMLZ-be.proper=INDF    be    DM    PFV-think<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*qʰoʔ*    *jə-jəlpe=pʰa*                      *nə-rwet-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    1PL:POSS-neighbor=place    PFV-ask<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB  
 “and as I thought it was uncanny, and asked our neighbor,”

33. *jə-jəlpe=kə*                      *nəkəʔ*                      *mə=kə-tʰozʔ=cəʔ*  
 1PL:POSS-neighbor=ERG    that.near.you    NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.proper=INDF  
*nə-tə-ntʰeʔ=cəʔ=kə*  
 PFV-2-kill<sub>2</sub>=INDF=INS

*né-pe*                      *v-fə-tʰv-tə-wéret*  
 2SG:POSS-father      AND-IMP:DOWNRIVER-2-throw  
*qʰónə*            *pʰen*                      *ŋoʔ*            *te-tsəʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH      be.effective      be      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>

“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-wéret*<sup>167</sup>    *tʰv-tv-nə-tsom*                      *ŋoʔ*    *jv*  
 SEQ      now      NMLZ-throw    CONT:LTR-1→2-SPON-take.thither<sub>2</sub>    be    DM  
*te-tsəʔ*            *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>    be-MED

“And now I am taking you downriver for throwing into the river,” he said.

35. *qʰoʔ*            *ó-pe=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ            3SG:POSS-father=DET=ERG  
*ma-ɛdu*                      *ma-ɛdu*  
 NEG-be.serious      NEG-be.serious  
 And the father said, “That’s alright, that’s alright!”

36. *stʰɔre*    *lv-o-séjwət-aŋ*  
 first      IMP:UPRIVER:INV-bring.back-1SG  
*qʰoʔ*    *tʃoʰbejʔ*    *oʒorʔ*    *lájjuɣ*    *kə-rzɛʔ=cəʔ*                      *nə-pʰət*  
 SEQ    way      while    twig      NMLZ:SBJ-be.long=INDF    IMP-chop  
*qʰónə*            *oqʰuʔz*            *nə-tʰe*                      *né-kʰi-aŋ=kə*            *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH    afterwards    2SG:POSS-account    IPFV-give-1SG=DM    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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.

<sup>167</sup> Abbreviated from *kə-wéret* (*o*-)*spe*; lit. ‘material for throwing away’.

37. *qʰoʔ tətʃu=nəʔ=kə ó-pe le-səjwet-cə*  
 SEQ boy=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-father PFV:UPRIVER:TR-take.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ kʰénay nə-smo-<sup>n</sup>dzə-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=cɛ=z tətʃu=nəʔ tə-rɛroʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-morning=LOC:INDF=LOC boy=DET PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*tɛjpe ome kə-xteʔ=cəʔ ne-lêt wɛjo-nəŋo*  
 snow very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub> be.seen-MED  
 One morning, the boy woke up, and found that it had snowed heavily.

39. *qʰoʔ ó-pe=pʰa*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=place  
*ʃorme tɛjpe kə-xteʔ ne-lêt-cə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 last.night snow NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he said to his father, “It snowed heavily last night.”

40. *qʰoʔ tɛpe=nəʔ=kə tɛjpe ne-lêt-cə á-ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ father=DET=ERG snow PFV:TR-fall<sub>2</sub>-MED Q-be  
*ma-ɛdu=kə*  
 NEG-be.serious=DM  
 The father said, “Has it snowed? Alright,”

41. *jɛsɲiʔ lákjuɣ kə-rzɛʔ nə-tə-pʰət=nəʔ*  
 the.other.day twig NMLZ:SBJ-be.long PFV-2-chop<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*o-kóʔ=ɛɛ=z təxtsɛntse tɔ́-vra*  
 3SG:POSS-head=body=LOC single.shoe IMP-tie  
*qʰoʔ jəlpe nə-kʰextó=ta*  
 SEQ neighbor 3PL:POSS-rooftop.platform=top

*təmerʒeʔ kə-rdɔʔ=cəʔ nɛ-tʃɛt te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 footprint one-CL=INDF IMP:DOWN-put PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“the long twig you cut off the other day, tie a single shoe at its top end, and make a footprint with it on the neighbor’s rooftop platform,” he said.

42. *qʰoʔ tɛʈʃu=nəʔ=kə ó-pe=kə*  
 SEQ boy=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-father=ERG  
*tʃʰə te-tsəʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ te-soʔ-cə*  
 what PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>=DET=PL PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ jəlpe kʰɛxtó=ta təmerʒeʔ=rɐʔ ne-tʃɛt-cə*  
 SEQ neighbor rooftop.platform=top footprint=PL PFV:DOWN:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-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 tɛʈʃu=nəʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich boy=DET  
*ʼsɪz kʰɛxtə tɛjpe kə-nəʒjɪʳbu tə-lɔ-nəŋo*  
 morning rooftop.platform snow NMLZ:PURP-sweep PFV:UP-come.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The rich boy came up to the rooftop platform to sweep snow in the morning.

44. *qʰoʔ kʰɛxtó=ta tɛʒeʔ kə-rdɔʔ ʰdenəʔ kə-mɐ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ rooftop=top trace one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=DET  
*ne-mti-cə*  
 PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he saw the single footprint on the rooftop platform.

45. *qʰoʔ a koʔ=ʰdɐ ʃʰíkə mɐ=kə-tʃʰoʒʔ-cə*  
 SEQ EXCL this=TOP:EMPH very NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule-MED  
*təmentse o-rʒeʔ=cəʔ nɛ-mti-aŋ=kə*  
 single.foot 3SG:POSS-trace=INDF PFV-see<sub>2</sub>-1SG=INS

*mɛ-vde taʔ ne-səsi-cə*  
NEG-be.good be.certain PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

And he thought, “Ah! This is most uncanny! This is certainly bad luck, for I saw a print of a single foot!”

46. *qʰoʔ nəʔəqʰu=z qʰənəʔ əntsətse ne-nəmərtoʔ-cə*  
SEQ hereafter=LOC ANA always PFV:TR-be.apprehensive.about<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ tɛmɛ kə-ŋoʔ kɛ-nɛmɛ o-ɛjət=rɛn*  
SEQ labor NMLZ-be.well INF-do.labor 3SG:POSS-desire=even  
*mə-nə-wɛʔ-cə*  
NEG-PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED

And he stayed apprehensive about that footprint ever since, and did not even have the desire to do his labor well.

47. *qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰuʔ=nəʔ nə-ŋuʔ-nə*  
SEQ afterwards=DET PFV-be.poor<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ nə-rtseʔəyʔ tʰɛ-nlɔ-nəŋo*  
SEQ 3PL:POSS-downfall PFV:OUT-come.out<sub>2</sub>-MED

They became poor afterwards, and their family fortune was totally ruined.

48. *qʰɛʔ kə-ŋuʔ=nəʔ=nəʔ ɣfɪkə tə-tim-nəŋo*  
ANA NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=TOP very PFV-be.rich<sub>2</sub>-MED

While the poor family became very rich.

49. *qʰoʔ qʰɛʔ=kəsə jəlpe ʒəzdaŋ kɛ-pe=scʰənəʔ*  
SEQ ANA=like neighbor jealousy INF-do=and  
*kɛ-nəmərto mɛ-vdɛ=ta mɛ-tʰoʔ*  
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.

## PARROT

*netso*

## Narrator: Tshemgon

1. *ʃɔnts<sup>h</sup>e=z*      *rjɛlpo=cəʔ*      *nɐ-to*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
former.time=LOC    chieftain=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
Once upon a time, there was a chieftain.
  
2. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ó-mɛ*      *χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*    *χfíkə*    *ⁿge-npénqe-nə*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ    3SG:POSS-daughter    three=DET=PL    very    IPFV-be.lazy-3PL    be-MED  
His three daughters were very lazy.
  
3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *rjɛlpo*      *k<sup>h</sup>roŋk<sup>h</sup>ro*      *ne-po*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ    chieftain    be.worried    IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>    be-MED  
The chieftain was worried.
  
4. *koʔ*    *é-mɛ*      *χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*  
this    1SG:POSS-daughter    three=DET=PL  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə*    *te-kɐ-pe*    *rɐʔ=kə*      *ne-səseʔ*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
what    IPFV-GP-do    be.necessary=DM    IPFV-think<sub>3</sub>    be-MED  
He thought, “These three daughters of mine, what should be done (with them)?”
  
5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kə-ʃŋi=cɛ=nəʔ*      *ó-mɛ*      *nə-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
SEQ    one-day=LOC:INDF=DET    3SG:POSS-daughter    3PL:POSS-location  
One day, (he said) to his daughters,
  
6. *ɐjiʔ*    *lɐse*      *kə-mdʒɐl*      *ʃɐ-aŋ*    *ŋoʔ=kə*  
1SG    Tibet    NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to    go-1SG    be=INS  
“‘As I will go on a pilgrimage to Tibet,”

7. *nəjərəʔ* *ɐ-qʰu* *kɐ-nqʰope* *reʔ* *ŋoʔ*  
 2PL 1SG:POSS-back INF-mind.the.house be.necessary be  
 “you must mind the house after I am gone.”

8. *qʰoʔ* *ɛ-mɛ* *stʰoʔ* *kə-xteʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET  
 “My biggest daughter,”

9. *tʃəjpe=z* *təjliʔ* *χso-ri-pe* *mə-tʰɐ-kɐ-tʃet=nəʔ*  
 animal.pen=LOC manure three-hundred-year NEG-PFV:OUT-GP-take<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*kɛ-tʃet* *reʔ* *ŋoʔ*  
 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* *ɛ-mɛ* *tələzʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-daughter medial=DET  
 “My second eldest daughter,”

11. *ʃeto* *tɛŋɐ* *le-nlɔ* *orjəŋz*  
 up.there sun IPFV-come.out when  
*jə-kʰe* *te-kə-sakjevʔ* *rɛrɛvʔ=nəʔ*  
 1PL:POSS-house UP-NMLZ:SBJ-hide.from.view mountain=DET  
*ɐ-tə-tə-lwɛʔ* *reʔ* *ŋoʔ*  
 IRR-IMP:UP-2-dig<sub>3</sub> be.necessary be  
 “the mountain up there that covers our house when the sun rises, you must go and raze it.”



12. *qʰoʔ é-mɛ stʰoʔ kə-xtʃi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET  
 “My youngest daughter,”
13. *fɛki jə-<sup>n</sup>dzem nɐ-kə-n<sup>n</sup>bət=nəʔ*  
 down.there 1PL:POSS-bridge PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-collapse<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*ɐ-tə-tə-wɐvdɐ reʔ ɲoʔ*  
 IRR-IMP-2-repair<sub>3</sub> be.necessary be  
 “our bridge down there that has collapsed, you must go and repair it.”
14. *nə-<sup>p</sup>ʰa te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-place PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He said to them.
15. *qʰoʔ nəkəsə ó-mɛ nə-mɐ ne-te-cə*  
 SEQ thus 3SG:POSS-daughter 3PL:POSS-work PFV:TR-assign<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And in that fashion, he assigned work to his daughters.
16. *qʰoʔ tépe=nəʔ lɐse kə-fɛ tə-ntsʰa ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ father=DET Tibet NMLZ:PURP-go PFV-set.out<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And then the father set out for Tibet.
17. *qʰoʔ ó-mɛ χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-daughter three=DET=PL  
*kʰánaŋ=z <sup>n</sup>ge-snɐmpʰjórmpʰjor-nə=schənəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-snaχtʰwáχtʰwi-nə*  
 home=LOC IPFV-beautify-3PL=and IPFV-be.in.heat-3PL  
*əntsátse kə-ma tɐmɐ kɔɔnbe me-ne-nɐmɐ-nə ɲoʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-k<sup>h</sup>énaŋ netsoʔ=cəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-toʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-home parrot=INDF IPFV-exist be-MED

In their home, there was a parrot.

19. *kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ netsoʔ=kə q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ=rɐʔ nə-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 one-day=LOC:INDF=DET parrot=ERG ANA=PL 3PL:POSS-place

One day, the parrot (said) to them,

20. *nəjərəʔ t<sup>h</sup>ə jə-tə-nə-pe-nə<sup>168</sup> ɲoʔ=<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 2PL what PROS-2-SPON-do-2PL be=DM  
*noŋme ɣso-sle q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-pe jə-nəzɣôʔ ɲoʔ*  
 only three-month then 2PL:POSS-father PROS-arrive.back be  
*pəzjez nə-mɐ kəmt<sup>h</sup>a=nt<sup>h</sup>on mə-nə-tə-nɐmɐʔ-nə ɲoʔ*  
 still 2PL:POSS-chore a.little=even NEG-PFV-2-work<sub>2</sub>-3PL be  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*

PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *ʃənəʔ q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ=rɐʔ ne-sɐŋiʔ-nə mɐ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 but ANA=PL PFV:TR-listen<sub>2</sub>-3PL not.be be-MED

But they did not listen.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təme st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET=ERG  
*leʔ jəlpɛ=z rjɛlpotʃu=cəʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɛq<sup>h</sup>u=z*  
 still neighbor=LOC chieftain’s.son=INDF back.of.house=LOC

<sup>168</sup> Here the function of the spontaneous prefix *nə-* is to make the sentence more vivid.

*tə<sup>n</sup>bre=kə    <sup>n</sup>ge-c<sup>h</sup>ət    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 rope=INS    IPFV-lead.on    be-MED

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.<sup>169</sup>

23. *kə-rjaʔ=cɛ=z    netso=kə*  
 one-night=LOC:INDF=LOC    parrot=ERG  
*səqetsútsu    <sup>n</sup>dza-tə<sup>n</sup>bre    ʃə-ne-prêt-cə*  
 in.secret    3DU:POSS-rope    AND-PFV:TR-break<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 One night, the parrot went and cut off their rope in secret.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    rjɛlpotfu    nɐ-ɐnter-cə*  
 SEQ    chieftain's.son    PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the chieftain's son fell down.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    netso=kə    ja-rjɛlpo    mə-t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-smo*  
 SEQ    parrot=ERG    1PL:POSS-chieftain    NEG-CONT:LTR-be.present  
*o-q<sup>h</sup>u=z    ó-mɛ    tə-ɐsɐ-mərku    ɲoʔ=kə*  
 3SG:POSS-back=LOC    3SG:POSS-daughter    2-CONT:HTR-steal    be=INS  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    nɐ-k<sup>h</sup>rəm    kɐ-teʔ    ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ    2SG:POSS-punishment    GP-put    be  
*rjɛlpotfu    ó-p<sup>h</sup>a    te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 chieftain's.son    3SG:POSS-place    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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."

<sup>169</sup> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpotʃu=nəʔ=kə nánlaskə tsjanʔ ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ chieftain's son=DET=ERG naturally be.fair be  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə te-təʔ-tsə=nəʔ ʃieʔ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 what IPFV-2-say=DET be:EMPH be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the chieftain's son said, "Of course, fair enough! Whatever you say, so be it."

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ netso=kə məsto=kə*  
 SEQ parrot=ERG alright=DM  
*tɛməʔ-cəʔ kɛ-nɛmə toʔ ɲoʔ*  
 chore=INDF NMLZ:SBJ:U-do exist be  
 And the parrot (said), "Alright. There is one task to be done."

28. *ʃsəʃsi ó-ta=nəʔ*  
 tomorrow 3SG:POSS-top=TOP  
*nəjəʔ nə-təʃɔʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ jəjəʔ*  
 2PL 2PL:POSS-retainer=and 1PL  
*jə-təʃɔʔ=rɛʔ=kə jə-tʃəjpe=z*  
 1PL:POSS-retainer=PL=ERG 1PL:POSS-animal.pen=LOC  
*təjliʔ ɐ-t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-təʔ-tʃɛt-nə*  
 manure IRR-IMP:OUT-2-take.out-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mə-tɐ-<sup>n</sup>dʒu-nə ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NEG-1→2-tell.on-3PL be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sle jɛrmə təjliʔ kəmdiʔ ké-tʃɛt*  
 SEQ one-month about manure all NMLZ-take.out  
*t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-səjjoɣ-nə-cə*  
 PFV:TR-finish<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And in about one month they finished taking out all the manure.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ netso kénan ʰge-rq<sup>h</sup>áq<sup>h</sup>ɐ əntsátse*  
 SEQ parrot home IPFV-be.a.nuisance frequently  
 And the parrot kept making a nuisance of itself in the house,
31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjélpo st<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-kɐ-znéje nts<sup>h</sup>ervu=nan*  
 SEQ chieftain most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish cloak=inside  
*te-ojɛmp<sup>h</sup>ər q<sup>h</sup>oʔ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-kɐ-znéje rdʒərtɐ*  
 IPFV-wrap.oneself SEQ most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish boot  
*ó-nan t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>170</sup>-fɐ ɲoʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ támɛ təlezʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ daughter medial=DET=ERG  
*netso=kə ó-pe o-rjuʔ*  
 parrot=ERG 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-property  
*o-kɐ-znéje=nəʔ te-nɛsəsojʔ ʰge-mtɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish=DET IPFV-mess.with IPFV-see<sub>3</sub>=SUB  
*χfíkə te-rəmúru ɲoʔ-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.

<sup>170</sup> The downriver orientation prefix is used to denote a slanting downward direction.

33. *kə-təʃe=z leʔ netso=nəʔ nɐ-nɐfsəʃsət*  
 one-time=LOC again parrot=DET IPFV:PST-do.thus<sub>2</sub>:RDPL  
*tʃʰəχɐm=naŋ tʰɐ-ɐre=ʃənəʔ*  
 boot=inside PFV:IN-go<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 Once, just when the parrot was acting this way again and went inside the boot,

34. *təme təlezʔ=nəʔ=kə lerler=kə*  
 daughter medial=DET=ERG rolling.pin=INS  
*tʃʰəχɐm te-sə-xɓəʔ-cə*  
 boot PFV:TR-CAUS-hit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 the second eldest daughter hurled a rolling pin at the boot.

35. *ʃənəʔ netso kɛ-xɓəʔ mə-nɐ-cʰɐʔ-cə=kə*  
 but parrot INF-hit NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED=INS  
*ó-pe o-tʃʰəχɐm=nəʔ pʰɛtʃəlaʔ ne-lɛt-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-boot=DET smashing PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But, missing the parrot, she smashed her father's boot.

36. *qʰoʔ netso tʃʰəχɐm=naŋ lɐ-nlɔ-cə*  
 SEQ parrot boot=inside PFV-exit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ təme təlezʔ ó-pʰa*  
 SEQ daughter medial 3SG:POSS-place  
 The parrot got out of the boot, and said to the second eldest daughter,

37. *nɛjiʔ nɛ-pe stʰoʔ o-kɐ-znɛje*  
 2SG 2SG:POSS-father most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish  
*nɐ-tə-ʏ<sup>n</sup>duʔ ŋoʔ=kə tʃʰə tə-poʃ ŋoʔ=<sup>n</sup>denəʔ te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV-2-smash<sub>2</sub> be=INS what 2-do<sub>3</sub> be=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 “Now that you smashed your father's most cherished (object), what are you going to do about it,” it said.

38. *qʰoʔ támɛ=kə*  
 SEQ daughter=ERG  
*mə-tə-ko-jʰdʒu-aŋ kʰétʂo te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 NEG-IMP-2→1-accuse-1SG please PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 The daughter said, “Don’t tell on me, please!”
39. *qʰoʔ netso=kə mə-té-jʰdʒu ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ parrot=ERG NEG-1→2-accuse be  
*ʃənəʔ ʃeto koʔ rerɛvʔ=nəʔ*  
 but up there this mountain=DET  
*ʃə-tə-lwɛʔ kɐ-sɛmdɛʔ reʔ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 AND-IMP-dig<sub>3</sub> INF-cause.to.be.level be.necessary be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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 támɛ=nəʔ=kə naŋlǎskə*  
 SEQ daughter=DET=ERG of course  
 And the second eldest daughter said, “Of course!”
41. *nəofsǎfsi=nəʔ leʔ tǎʃoʔ=rɐʔ te-tsom-cə*  
 next.day=TOP again retainer=PL PFV:UP:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ kə-sleʔ jɐrmɐ ne-sɛmdɐ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ one-month about PFV:TR-cause.to.be.level<sub>2</sub>-PL-MED  
*qʰoʔ téŋɐ kə-sɛmti ne-sɛpeʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ sun NMLZ-be.visible PFV:TR-cause.to.become<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ netso=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-rq<sup>h</sup>əq<sup>h</sup>ɐ əntsətse ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ again parrot=DET IPFV-be.a.nuisance continuously be-MED  
 And again the parrot kept making itself a nuisance.

43. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ támɛ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET  
*o-múru ɣíikə te-<sup>n</sup>guʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-anger very IPFV:UP-rise be-MED  
 And the youngest daughter was very angry.

44. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-təfɛ=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET  
*támɛ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ=kə netso*  
 daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG parrot  
*te-naχtaxta-cə*  
 PFV:TR-chase.about<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Once, the youngest daughter chased the parrot about.

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ netso=nəʔ rjélpo st<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-kɐ-znéje*  
 SEQ parrot=DET chieftain most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish  
*χser=kə k<sup>h</sup>éxp<sup>h</sup>ɐ ó-p<sup>h</sup>i=z næ-ɐre-cə*  
 gold=INS grinder 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the parrot went under the chieftain's most cherished gold grinder.

46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>émɛj st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ=kə kəχǎ<sup>n</sup>brot ne-wɐret*  
 SEQ girl most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG pestle PFV:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>  
 And the youngest girl threw the pestle at it.



47. *fənəʔ netso kɛːxsəy mə-nɐ-cʰɐʔ-cə=kə*  
 but parrot INF-hit NEG-PFV-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED=INS  
*χser=kə kʰɛxpʰe=nəʔ ne-cʰov-nəŋo*  
 gold=INS grinder=DET PFV:TR-smash<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But, as she missed the parrot, she smashed the gold grinder.

48. *qʰoʔ netso tə-nlɔ-cə*  
 SEQ parrot PFV:UP-exit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the parrot came out up.

49. *qʰoʔ nɛːpe stʰoʔ o-kɐ-znɛje*  
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-father most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish  
*χser=kə kʰɛxpʰe nɐ-tə-cʰov ŋoʔ=kə*  
 gold=INS grinder PFV-2-smash<sub>2</sub> be=INS  
*tʃʰə tə-poj ŋoʔ ˈdenəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 what 2-do<sub>3</sub> be for PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “What are you going to do, now that you smashed your father’s most cherished gold grinder,” it asked.

50. *qʰoʔ tʃʰɛmɛj stʰoʔ kə-xtʃi=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ girl most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG  
*kʰɛtʃso mə-tə-kó-jʰdʒu-aŋ*  
 please NEG-IMP-2→1-accuse-1SG  
*qʰónə nəjiʔ tʃʰə te-tə-tsə=nəʔ ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH 2SG what IPFV-2-say=DET be:EMPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “Please don’t tell on me, and I’ll do whatever you say,” the youngest daughter said.

51. *qʰoʔ netso=kə ma-ɣdu=kə*  
 SEQ parrot=ERG NEG-be.serious=DM  
*ʃətʰi jə-<sup>n</sup>dzem ʃə-tə-wəvde*  
 downriver.place 1PL:POSS-bridge AND-2-fix<sub>3</sub>  
*qʰónə me-te-té-j<sup>n</sup>dʒu=kə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH NEG-IPFV-1→2-accuse=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The parrot said, “Alright, go fix that bridge downriver, and then I will not tell on you,” it said.

52. *qʰoʔ tʃʰéməj stʰoʔ kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ girl most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG  
*təʃəʔ=rəʔ tʰe-tsom*  
 retainer=PL PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>  
 So the youngest daughter took her retainers downriver,

53. *qʰoʔ <sup>n</sup>dzem kə-sle jərmə ne-wəvdeʔ-nə*  
 SEQ bridge one-month about IPFV:PST:TR-fix<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ tə-ntsʰa ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-be.complete<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 and spent about one month repairing the bridge, and then it was completed.

54. *qʰoʔ nə-pe kʰénəŋ nə-nəzyôt*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-father home PFV:DOWN-arrive.back<sub>2</sub>  
 Their father arrived back home.

55. *qʰoʔ rərəvʔ ne-səmdə-nə téŋə tə-səmti*  
 SEQ mountain PFV:TR-cause.to.be.level<sub>2</sub>-3PL sun PFV-be.visible<sub>2</sub>  
 And they had leveled the mountain, and the sun became visible.

56. *tʃəjpe təjliʔ tʰe-tʃet-nə*  
 animal.pen manure PFV:OUT:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And the manure in the animal pen was removed.
57. *feki ˈdzem te-wəvde-nə wɛjo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 down.there bridge PFV:TR-fix<sub>2</sub>-3PL be.seen be-MED  
 And he found the bridge down there repaired.
58. *qʰoʔ tɛpe=nəʔ χʃikə nə-χe-cə*  
 SEQ father=DET very PFV-be.happy<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the father was very happy.
59. *qʰoʔ kəmaqʰúnə netso=kə*  
 SEQ afterwards parrot=ERG  
*rjɛlpo kə-mdʒɛl tə-ɐre oqʰu*  
 chieftain NMLZ:PURP-worship PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub> after  
*tʃʰə nɐ-kə-fsət=nəʔ=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ rjɛlpo=pʰa te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like<sub>2</sub>=DET=PL all chieftain=place PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Afterwards, the parrot told the chieftain everything that happened after the chieftain had gone on the pilgrimage.
60. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=kə*  
 SEQ chieftain=ERG  
*latʃe nɐ-kə-ˈɲov=scʰənəʔ nə-kə-ˈbrɛt=nəʔ=rɐʔ*  
 object PFV-NMLZ-smash<sub>2</sub>=and PFV-NMLZ-break<sub>2</sub>=DET=PL  
*mə-nɐ-nɛjeʔ-cə*  
 NEG-PFV-begrudge<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The chieftain said, “I do not begrudge the fact that objects got smashed and broken,”

61.    *oxtɐ*                *stʰoɽ*    *kə-ɬze*                                *tɐmɐ*  
          in.the.main    most    NMLZ:SBJ-be.needed                labor  
          *nə-tə-sə"grəv-nə-cə=kə*                                *nɐ-vdeɽ-cə*                                *te-tsəɽ-cə*  
          PFV-2-carry.through<sub>2</sub>-2PL-MED=INS    IPFV:PST-be.good<sub>2</sub>-MED    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
          “the main thing is that you managed to carry out the most desired labors. That was good.”

**LOUSE AND FLEA**  
*sersc<sup>h</sup>ənə? mdzəldi*  
**Narrator: Nyimathar**

1. *ʃɔnts<sup>h</sup>e=z      ser=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə?    mdzəldi=cə?    nɐ-to-<sup>n</sup>dzə      ɲoʔ-cə*  
former.time=LOC    louse=and    flea=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-3DU    be-MED  
Formerly, there were a certain louse and a certain flea.
  
2. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kətəyre    <sup>n</sup>ge-rkək<sup>h</sup>e-<sup>n</sup>dzə      ɲoʔ-cə*  
SEQ    together    IPFV-live.under.the.same.roof-3DU    be-MED  
They lived under the same roof.
  
3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>dzə-təlórpim=rɐ?    <sup>n</sup>ge-toʔ-cə*  
SEQ    2DU:POSS-cream=PL    IPFV-exist-MED  
They used to have cream.
  
4. *kə-ʃɲi=cɛ=nə?      ʃə-kɐ-nkéju      te-nəkroz-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
one-day=LOC:INDF=DET    AND-GP-cut.firewood    PFV:TR-discuss<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
One day, they discussed about going out to cut firewood.
  
5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ʃo    c<sup>h</sup>eʔ    jɐ-kɐ-nəzyôʔ=nə?*  
SEQ    who    earlier    PFV-GP-arrive.back=DET  
*təlórpim    ne-ké-t<sup>h</sup>i      kə-joyʔ      te-nəkroz-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
cream    IPFV-GP-drink    NMLZ-be.allowed    PFV:TR-discuss<sub>2</sub>-2PL-MED  
They agreed that whoever returned home earlier should drink the cream.
  
6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kə-nkéju      jɐ-ʃɛʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
SEQ    NMLZ:PURP-chop.firewood    PFV-go<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
And the two of them went to chop firewood.

7. *qʰoʔ kə-ɐʃpɛlɐ ˈdzə-fkor ne-səntsʰa-ˈdzə-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ-be.efficient 3DU:POSS-load PFV:TR-prepare<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
*qʰoʔ kʰɛnaŋ kɐ-nəʃɐ tʰe-je-ˈdzə-cə*  
 SEQ home INF-go.back PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And they quickly made ready thier loads of firewood, and started to go back home.

8. *qʰoʔ ser=nəʔ mɐ-ˈbjəmʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ louse=DET NEG-be.fast be-MED  
*ʃənəʔ o-fkor ɛdɛnbe mə-nɐ-nˈbət-cə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-load at.all NEG-PFV-collapse<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The louse was not fast, but his load did not collapse at all.

9. *ʃənəʔ mdzəldi kəmtʰa ˈbjəmʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ flea a.bit be.fast be-MED  
 The flea was a little faster.

10. *ʃənəʔ kʰe-lɔʒe te-nəmder=nəʔ*  
 but each-time IPFV:UP-leap=SUB  
*o-fkor kʰe-təʃe ˈgɛ-ˈbət ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-load each-time IPFV-collapse be-MED  
 But every time it leapt up, its load collapsed.

11. *qʰoʔ ser ʃóχtenə*  
 SEQ louse than  
*ʃla kʰɛnaŋ kɐ-oʃɐsɛzyot mə-nɐ-cʰɐʔ-cə*  
 right.away home INF-cause.oneself.to.arrive NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 So it was unable to make itself arrive home sooner than the louse.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɐq<sup>h</sup>u k<sup>h</sup>énanɐ jɐ-zɣôʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards home PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 When it eventually arrived home,
13. *ser=kə <sup>n</sup>dzə-təlórpim ne-t<sup>h</sup>i wɐjo-cə*  
 louse=ERG 2DU:POSS-cream PFV:TR-drink<sub>2</sub> be.seen-MED  
 it found that the louse had already drunk up their cream.
14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mdzəldi=nəʔ ó-yu nə-mtserʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ nə-mqɐʔ-cə*  
 SEQ flea=DET 3SG:POSS-body PFV-be.hungry<sub>2</sub>=and PFV-be.tired<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The flea felt hungry and tired.
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-múru kɐ-néʃqɐ mə-nə-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-anger NMLZ-bear NEG-PFV-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And could not control his anger.
16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɛʃke=nanɐ sməydot t<sup>h</sup>e-tʃet-cə*  
 SEQ hearth=inside half.burnt.firewood.stick PFV:OUT:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And took out a half-burnt firewood stick,
17. *oʒorʔ ser=p<sup>h</sup>a nɐjiʔ kə-sənɛkoj*  
 SEQ louse=to 2SG NMLZ-be.bullying  
*tsə-təlórpim kəmdiʔ nə-tə-t<sup>h</sup>i-cə te-tsəʔ*  
 1DU:POSS-cream all PFV-2-drink<sub>2</sub>-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 saying to the louse, “What a bully you are to drink all our cream!”

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sməydot ser o-riʔ-χcəl*  
 SEQ half-burnt.firewood.stick louse 3SG:POSS-chest-center  
*t<sup>h</sup>e-sətseʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-thrust<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And thrusted the firewood stick at the center of the louse's chest,
19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-sə-ɣnaʔ məkátset ne-seʔkeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.be.black<sub>2</sub> not.only PFV:TR-burn<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 blackening as well as scalding it.
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ser=ntʃon tə-rəmuruʔ-cə*  
 SEQ louse=also PFV-be.angry<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the louse got angry too,
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ oʒorʔ kə-nkəju mə-ʃə-tsə orjáŋnəz*  
 SEQ while PURP-chop.firewood NEG-go-1DU when  
*kə-vdávde tə-nə-kroz-tsə*  
 NMLZ-good:RDPL PFV-discuss<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
 saying, “Before we had gone off to chop firewood, we were fully agreed,”
22. *ʃo c<sup>h</sup>eʔ jə-kə-zɣôʔ=nəʔ*  
 who earlier PFV-GP-arrive=DET  
*təlórpim ne-ké-t<sup>h</sup>i kə-joyʔ tə-peʔ-tsə*  
 cream IPFV-GP-drink NMLZ-be.allowed PFV-do<sub>2</sub>-1DU  
*ʃteʔ mu te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “that the one who arrives first should drink the cream, didn't we?”



23. *ozor? mdzəldi te-naχtaχta-cə*  
 while flea PFV:TR-chase<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-MED  
 All the while, it kept chasing the flea around.
24. *q<sup>h</sup>o? mdzəldi kom? o-mcer? t<sup>h</sup>v-p<sup>h</sup>i=jənə?*  
 SEQ flea door 3SG:POSS-space.in.between PFV:OUT-escape<sub>2</sub>=SUB:EMPH  
 Just when the flea ran out between the door (and the door frame),
25. *ser=kə kom? fla t<sup>h</sup>e-pe?-cə*  
 louse=ERG door quickly PFV:OUT:TR-close<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>o? mdzəldi t<sup>h</sup>v-o-sə-mcra-cə*  
 SEQ flea PFV-INV-CAUS-crush<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 the louse quickly shut the door out (against the door frame), and the flea was squeezed flat.
26. *q<sup>h</sup>o? nə? o-tən?=kə mdzəldi kə-ɤspɤspɤ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə?*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-cause=INS flea NMLZ-be.flat=and  
*ser o-rɪ?=ta sməydot t<sup>h</sup>v-kə-sətse?*  
 louse 3SG:POSS-chest=top half-burnt.firewood PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-thrust<sub>2</sub>  
*o-rʒe? kə-ɲa to? kɛ'-tsə t<sup>h</sup>oz?*  
 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

*rewaŋscʰənə? qécʰwet káxsere? səneqerɣinə*

**Narrator: Athar**

1. *kə-sɣi=cɛ=nə?*

one-day=LOC:INDF=DET

*rewaŋ=scʰənə? qécʰwet káxsɛ=rɐ? kə-qerɣi? tə-ɐre-nə-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. *qʰo? tʃoʰbej? =z vlɛrge nɐ-kə-nəvlemɪfʊt=cə?*

SEQ way=LOC monk IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-chant.sutra2=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. *qʰo? vlɛrge o-tɐlen ne-nsəkʰi-nə-cə*

SEQ monk 3SG:POSS-saddle.bag PFV:TR-snatch2-3PL-MED

*qʰo? nə-pʰi-nə*

SEQ PFV-escape2-3PL

And they snatched the monk's saddle bag from him and ran away.

4. *kərʰbjo? sə-mɛ? =z tɐlen te-rqje-nə-cə=nə?*

person NMLZ:OBL-not.exist2=LOC saddle.bag PFV:TR-untie2-3PL-MED=SUB

*ó-naŋ=z tʃərɰu ʰdɐʰbɐru ʰdʒərtɐ kə-tʃʰe=scʰənə?*

3SG:POSS-inside=LOC bell tambour riding.boot one-pair=and

*kɐʰdze 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    rewaŋ    nɐ-rɐkriʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    rabbit    PFV-do.distributing<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the rabbit did the distributing (of the booty).
6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    tʂərwu=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ    <sup>n</sup>dɐ<sup>n</sup>bɐru    te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
 SEQ    bell=and    tambour    PFV:UP-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 It took up the bell and the tambour,
7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    qɛc<sup>h</sup>wet    ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=z*  
 SEQ    fox    3SG:POSS-place=LOC  
*nɛjiʔ    nɐ-lɪaʔ=rɐʔ    lden-nə-cə=kə*  
 2SG    2SG:POSS-child=PL    exist.in.quantity-3PL-MED=INS  
*kəkoʔ    nɐ-lɪaʔ    nə-təzɐv    ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=kə*  
 this    2SG:POSS-child    3PL:POSS-toy    IRR-IMP-be=DM  
*tə-nə-<sup>n</sup>dɛ    te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IMP-SPON-take<sub>3</sub>    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and said to the fox, “Since you have many children, let these be their toys, take them!”
8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    qɛc<sup>h</sup>wet    tə-χe=kə    jɐ-nəfɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    fox    NMLZ-happy<sub>2</sub>=INS    PFV-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the fox happily went back home.
9. *leʔ    rewaŋ=kə    <sup>n</sup>dʒərtɐ    te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
 again    rabbit=ERG    boot    PFV:UP-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kəxsɛ    ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=z    te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    leopard    3SG:POSS-place=LOC    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the rabbit picked up the boots, and said to the leopard,

10. *nɛʝiʔ kɛmɲɛm ʃə-tə-qɛrɲiʔ reʔ-cə=kə*  
 2SG often AND-2-hunt be.necessary-MED=INS  
*kəkoʔ ʔdʒərtɛ kə-xsɛt=nəʔ nɛʝiʔ tə-nə-ʔdɛ*  
 this boot NMLZ:SBJ-be.warm=DET 2SG IMP-SPON-take<sub>3</sub>  
 “Since you often have to go hunting, you take these warm boots!”
11. *qʰoʔ kəxsɛ=ntʰon tə-χe=kə jɐ-nəʃɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ leopard=also NMLZ-happy<sub>2</sub>=INS PFV-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the leopard also went back home happily.
12. *qʰoʔ=(scʰə)nəʔ rewaŋ kɛʔdze kə-minʔ nə-kə-riʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ=EMPH rabbit food NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*o-ʝə ó-vre ne-nə-peʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-self:GEN 3SG:POSS-share PFV:TR-SPON-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the rabbit gladly made the tasty food that was left his own share.
13. *qʰoʔ ʃla te-sɐʔdzəʔdzeʔ qʰoʔ jɐ-nə-pʰi-cə*  
 SEQ quickly PFV:TR-eat.various.things<sub>2</sub> SEQ PFV-SPON-escape<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 It quickly ate all the food and ran away.
14. *qɛcʰwet o-tʃərwu=scʰənəʔ ʔdɛʔbɛru te-ʔdi-cə*  
 fox 3SG:POSS-bell=and tambour PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ o-kʰɛnaŋ lɐ-ɛnəre-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-home PFV:UPRIVER-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The fox took the bell and the tambour and went back home.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-lŋaʔ=rɐʔ nɔ-p<sup>h</sup>a=z*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-child=PL 3PL:POSS-place=LOC  
*josŋiʔ nɔ-təzɐv kə-vde lɐ-wôʔ-aŋ*  
 today 3PL:POSS-toy NMLZ:SBJ-be.good PFV:UPRIVER-bring<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And it said to its children, “I have brought good toys today.”
16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʂərwu=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ <sup>n</sup>dɐ<sup>n</sup>bɐru te-tʃet-cə*  
 SEQ bell=and tambour PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-lŋaʔ=rɐʔ nɔ-p<sup>h</sup>a ne-ʒ<sup>n</sup>bri-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-child=PL 3PL:POSS-place PFV:TR-make.sound<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 When it took out the bell and the tambour and sounded them to his children,
17. *qɐrc<sup>h</sup>wetpu=rɐʔ=kə*  
 fox.puppy=PL=ERG  
*kɐ-fsɐʔ mə-nɐ-kɐ-rŋi mə-kə-náχʃəy=cəʔ*  
 INF-hear NEG-IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ:U-experience<sub>2</sub> NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.common=INDF  
*ne-fsɐ-nə=rcənəʔ*  
 PFV:TR-hear<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB:EMPH  
 when the fox puppies heard the strange (sounds) that they had not heard before,
18. *tə-verʔ nɔ-fet=kə kəmdiʔ nɔ-p<sup>h</sup>i-nə-cə*  
 NMLZ-fear 3PL:POSS-extent=INS all PFV-escape<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*<sup>n</sup>deʔ kɐ-nəwi mə-nɐ-noz-nə-cə*  
 again INF-come.back NEG-IPFV:PST-dare<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 they got so frightened that they all fled, and they never dared come back home again.

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nəʃəq<sup>h</sup>u*    *o-lŋaʔ=rɐʔ*    *na-ɸ<sup>n</sup>dorʔ-nə*  
all    henchforth    3SG:POSS-child=PL    PFV-be.separated<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kɐ-qɛse*    *ó-ja*    *mə-jɐ-wɛʔ-cə*  
SEQ    INF-look.for    3SG:POSS-hand    NEG-PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED

And henceforth its children got separated from it and, searching, it could never find them.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kəxsɛ=nəʔ*    *kə-taʔ*    *<sup>n</sup>dʒərtɐ*    *te-<sup>n</sup>geʔ-cə*  
SEQ    leopard=DET    NMLZ-be.true    boot    PFV:UP:TR-put.on<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ʃə-nɐ-qɐrŋi-cə=nəʔ*  
SEQ    AND-IPFV:PST-hunt<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*pra*    *ó-ta*    *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐre=nəʔ*  
cliff    3SG:POSS-top    PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>=SUB

And when the leopard really put on the riding boots and went hunting, and when it went downriver over the cliff,

21. *<sup>n</sup>dʒərtɐ=kə*    *nɐ-o-saɰldwɛt-cə*  
boot=ERG    PFV:DOWN-INV-cause.to.slip.and.fall<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nɐ-ɐntɐ*    *nɐ-set-cə*  
SEQ    PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height<sub>2</sub>    PFV:DOWN-die<sub>2</sub>-MED  
the boots made it slip, and it fell down and died.

**WOLF AND SHEEP**  
*spjaŋkuscʰənəʔ qejiʔcə xpe*  
**Narrator: Athar**

1. *spjaŋku-cə nɐ-to ɣoʔ-cə*  
 wolf-MED IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 There was a wolf.
  
2. *qʰoʔ kə-sɣi=cɛ=nəʔ ʃə-nɐ-qɐrɣi-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP AND-IPFV:PST-hunt<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dzaŋ mə-nɐ-cʰɐʔ-cə*  
 INF-be.careful NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ toŋtoŋ ome kə-rna=cəʔ=naŋ nɐ-rdelʔ-cə*  
 SEQ pit very NMLZ-be.deep=INDF=inside PFV:DOWN-fall.in<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 One day, as it went out hunting, it was careless and fell into a very deep pit.
  
3. *qʰoʔ toŋtoŋ=naŋ rjɛspe nɐ-smo*  
 SEQ pit=inside quite.a.while IPFV:PST-stay  
 And it stayed in the pit for quite a while.
  
4. *qʰoʔ kɐ-mtser kɛ-ʃpa=rɐʔ ne-je ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ-be.hungry NMLZ-be.thirsty=PL PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And it began to get hungry and thirsty.
  
5. *qʰoʔ nəjɐrmɐ toŋtoŋ o-kʰe te-mpʰɛri=nəʔ*  
 SEQ about.that.time pit 3SG:POSS-opening IPFV:UP-look=SUB  
*qejiʔ kə-rdoʔ=cəʔ toŋtoŋ o-kʰe=z tʰɐ-wɛʔ-nəŋo*  
 sheep one-CL=INDF pit 3SG:POSS-opening=LOC CONT-come<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ spjaŋku=kə qɛʝiʔ=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ wolf=ERG sheep=place  
*k<sup>h</sup>étso ptʂéʃi tə-o-réski-aŋ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 please IMP:UP-pull-1SG for  
*toŋtoŋ=naŋ nɐ-rdelʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɛʝiʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ sheep=DET=ERG  
*mɐ-tɐ-réski <sup>n</sup>denəʔ koɣ-<sup>n</sup>dze-aŋ ʃieʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ spjaŋku=kə qɛʝiʔ=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ again wolf=ERG sheep=place  
*nɐ-me=cəʔ kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a nɐ-stokɛʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ mɐ-reʔ*  
 2SG:POSS-leg=INDF a.bit IMP:DOWN-hold.out3 except NEG-be.necessary  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ toŋtoŋ=naŋ kɐ-nlɔʔ c<sup>h</sup>ɐ-aŋ ŋoʔ*  
 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-aŋ=nəʔ kɛdenbe mɐ-tɐ-<sup>n</sup>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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mne te-lêʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ oath PFV:TR-do2 be-MED  
 And it took an oath.



11. *qʰoʔ qɐjiʔ=nəʔ=kə ne-nzɐʔgiʔ-cə*  
 SEQ sheep=DET=ERG PFV:TR-believe<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ ó-me ne-stoki*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-leg PFV:DOWN:DOWN-stick.out<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ spjaŋku te-rɐʃe-cə*  
 SEQ wolf PFV:UP:TR-pull<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The sheep believed it, and stuck a leg down and pulled the wolf up.

12. *qʰoʔ spjaŋku tə-nlɔ qʰoʔ nə-səʔdʒɔskizʔ-cə*  
 SEQ wolf PFV:UP-exit<sub>2</sub> SEQ PFV-stretch.oneself<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The wolf came out up and stretched itself.

13. *oʒorʔ josŋiʔ=rcənəʔ*  
 meanwhile today=TOP:EMPH  
*təmtserʔ tɐʃpaʔ χfíkə tʰɐ-to=kə*  
 hunger thirst very.much CONT:LTR-exist<sub>2</sub>=INS  
*te-tɐ-ʔdze tʃɛt-cə te-tsəʔ*  
 IPFV-1→2-eat be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 Meanwhile, it said, “Today, I have no choice but eat you, for I am so hungry and thirsty.”

14. *qʰoʔ qɐjiʔ=kə mə-tə-koy-ʔdze-aŋ ʔdenəʔ*  
 SEQ sheep=ERG NEG-IMP-2→1-eat-1SG for  
*nɐjiʔ mɐ-tɐ-ʔdze mne tə-tə-lɛt ŋoʔ*  
 2SG NEG-1→2-eat oath PFV-2-do<sub>2</sub> be  
 “Don’t eat me, for you have taken an oath ‘I will not eat you,’” the sheep said.

15. *mɐlen koy-ʔdze-aŋ reʔ*  
 by.necessity 2→1-eat-1SG be.necessary  
*qʰónə elíkʰo ʃɐ-tsə*  
 SEQ:EMPH place.upriver go-1DU

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *te-koy-<sup>n</sup>dze-an*    *tʂanʔ*    *soʔ*    *mɛ-tʂanʔ*  
 SEQ    IPFV-2→1-eat-1SG    be.just    or    NEG-be.just  
*ʃə-rérwet-tsə=kə*    *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 AND-do.asking-1DU=DM    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“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.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *spjanʔku=kə*  
 SEQ    wolf=ERG  
*vde*    *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ʃə-rérwet-tsə*    *joyʔ*    *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 be.good    SEQ    AND-do.asking-1DU    be.allowed    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “Very well, we may go and ask people,” the wolf said.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *oléco*    *lɛ-ɛre-<sup>n</sup>dzə*    *lɛ-ɛre-<sup>n</sup>dzə*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    place.upriver    PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3DU    PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3DU    be-MED  
 And they went and went upriver.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *jle*    *mdzorgɛn=cəʔ*    *t<sup>h</sup>ɛ-nəruʔ*    *ne-mti-<sup>n</sup>dzə-nəŋo*  
 SEQ    dzo    old.dzo=INDF    CONT:LTR-graze<sub>2</sub>    PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And they saw an old dzo grazing.

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *mdzorgɛn*    *ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ    old.dzo    3SG:POSS-place  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə*    *nɛ-kə-ʃsət*    *nɛ-kə-me<sup>171</sup>=rɛʔ*  
 what    IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like<sub>2</sub>    IPFV:PST-NMLZ-(dummy.syllable)=PL  
*kəmdiʔ*    *nə-rɛffɛt-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 all    PFV-recount<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 The two of them gave the old dzo an accounting of everything that had happened.

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<sup>171</sup> A dummy reduplicating morph accompanying *nɛ-kə-ʃsət* in this elaborate expression.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *qɛjiʔ=kə* *jle* *mdzorgɛn=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ sheep=ERG dzo old.dzo=place  
*koʔ* *spjaŋku=kə* *tə-o-<sup>n</sup>dze-aŋ*  
 this wolf=ERG IPFV-INV-eat-1SG  
*tʂaŋʔ* *soʔ* *mɐ-tʂaŋ* *tə-tsə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 be.just or NEG-be.just IMP-say PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *mdzorgɛn=kə*  
 SEQ old.dzo=ERG  
*te-toy-<sup>n</sup>dze* *tʂaŋʔ* *soʔ* *mɐ-tʂaŋʔ=nəʔ* *mɛ-siz-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. *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ* *ɐ-vdaχpo=rɐʔ=kə*  
 for 1SG:POSS-master=PL=ERG  
*noy-tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ-aŋ* *noy-tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ-aŋ*  
 IPFV:PST:INV-use.for.tilling<sub>2</sub>-1SG IPFV:PST:INV-use.for.tilling<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*koʔ* *mɐpɛrt<sup>h</sup>ɐ* *noy-tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ-aŋ* *ŋoʔ*  
 till.now IPFV:PST:INV-till<sub>2</sub>-1SG be  
 “for my master have worked me and worked me at the plough until now,”

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *mə<sup>n</sup>dɐ<sup>172</sup>* *nɐ-rgɛz-aŋ*  
 SEQ TOP PFV-be.old<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*qraχsi* *kɐ-rɛski* *mə-nə-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-aŋ* *ŋoʔ*  
 plough INF-pull NEG-PFV-be.able<sub>2</sub>-1SG be  
 “but I have become old now, and unable to pull the plough,”

<sup>172</sup> An emphatic topic marker denoting change of state, i.e. ‘but now...’.

24. *qʰoʔ pəʃkʰo tərʉ-tserʔ lə-o-koyʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ now pasture-inside PFV:UPRIVER-INV-put.out.of.pen.to.graze<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 “now, I have been put out of the pen to graze inside the pasture.”

25. *qʰoʔ tʰé-tsʰo-aŋ=nəʔ skəm o-wəmə-aŋ-nə ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-be.fat=SUB beef.cattle INV-kill-1SG-3PL be  
*nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 ANA PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “And when I fatten, I will be slaughtered for beef,” it said.

26. *qʰoʔ spjaŋku=kə nəʔ fsât ko*  
 SEQ wolf=ERG ANA be.like DM  
*te-tə-ʰdze tʂaŋʔ-cə múŋə tə-ʰdze ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-1→2-eat be.just-MED DM 1→2-eat be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the wolf said, “You see, it is just to eat you! And I will eat you.”

27. *ʃənəʔ qəʝiʔ=kə kəmtʃʰa mə-tə-tə-ʰbəmʔ*  
 but sheep=ERG a.bit NEG-IMP-2-hurry  
*leʔ ɐlikʰo ʃə-rérwet-tsə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 again upriver AND-do.asking-1DU PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But the sheep said, “Not so soon please, let’s go upriver to ask more people.”

28. *qʰoʔ leʔ kə-rérwet lə-ntsʰa-ʰdzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ again NMLZ:PURP-do.asking PFV:UPRIVER-set.out<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 And they set out upriver again to ask people.

29. *qʰoʔ fɛlɪli=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ far.upriver=INDF=DET  
*ftsɔrgɛn=cəʔ tʰɐ-nəruʔ wɛjo-nəŋo*  
 old.female.dzo=INDF CONT:LTR-graze<sub>2</sub> be.seen-MED  
 At some place far upriver, they saw an old female dzo grazing.
30. *qʰoʔ leʔ qɛjiʔ=scʰənəʔ spjaŋku=niʔ=kə*  
 SEQ again sheep=and wolf=DU=ERG  
*tʰə nɐ-kə-fsət=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ te-tsəʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like<sub>2</sub>=PL all PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 And again the sheep and wolf told it everything that had happened.
31. *qʰoʔ qɛjiʔ=kə ftsɔrgɛn ó-pʰa*  
 SEQ sheep=ERG old.female.dzo 3SG:POSS-place  
*toɣ-<sup>n</sup>dze-aŋ tʂaŋʔ soʔ mɐ-tʂaŋʔ tʰ-tʂə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:INV-eat-1SG be.just or NEG-be.just IMP-say PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the sheep said to the old female dzo, “Tell us if it is just or not for me to be eaten.”
32. *fənəʔ ftsɔrgɛn=kə*  
 but old.female.dzo=ERG  
*ɐ-vdaxpo=rɐʔ komɛpértʰɐ nɐ-o-nɛloʔ-aŋ əntsətse ŋoʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-master=PL until.now IPFV:PST-INV-milk<sub>2</sub>-1SG continuously be  
 But the old female dzo said, “My masters had continuously milked me,”
33. *qʰoʔ mʰəndɐ nɐ-rgɛz-aŋ*  
 SEQ TOP PFV-be.old<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*kɐ-rɛlɣaʔ mə-nə-cʰɐʔ-aŋ é-lo nə-mɛʔ*  
 INF-bear.child NEG-PFV-be.able<sub>2</sub>-1SG 1SG:POSS-milk PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tərutserʔ lə-o-koyʔ-aŋ-nə*

SEQ pasture PFV:UPRIVER-INV-put.out.of.pen.to.graze-1SG-3PL

“but now I have become old, and unable to bear calves, and my milk has run dry, I was put out of the pen upriver to the edge of the pasture to graze.”

34. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ fsiʔ=nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>é-ts<sup>h</sup>o-aŋ=nəʔ*

SEQ in.future=DET IPFV-be.fat-1SG=UB

*skəm o-wəmɐ-aŋ-nə ŋoʔ*

beef.cattle INV-kill-1SG-3PL be

“And when I fatten in the future, they will kill me for beef,”

35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəjiʔ te-toy-<sup>n</sup>dze tʂaŋʔ soʔ mə-tʂaŋʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ 2SG IPFV-2:INV-eat be.just or NEG-be.just=SUB

*ɕjiʔ mə-siz-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə*

1SG NEG-know-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“so I don’t know whether it is just or not for you to be eaten,” it said.

36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ spjaŋku=kə leʔ nəʔ fsât ko*

SEQ wolf=ERG again ANA be.like DM

*te-tə-<sup>n</sup>dze tʂaŋʔ-cə múna*

IPFV-1→2-eat be.just-MED DM

*tə-<sup>n</sup>dze ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

1→2-eat be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And again the wold said, “You see, it is just to eat you! And I will eat you.”

37. *ʃənəʔ qɕjiʔ=kə leʔ kámɬʰa mə-tə-tə-<sup>n</sup>bəmʔ*

but sheep=ERG again a.bit NEG-IMP-2-hurry

*leʔ kə-təʃe=ʃənəʔ ʃə-rérwet-tsə te-tsəʔ-cə*

again one-time=just AND-ask.people-1DU PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *noŋmenəʔ*    *tʂaŋʔ*    *q<sup>h</sup>ónə*    *tə-koy-<sup>n</sup>dze-aŋ*    *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    still    be.just    then    PFV-2→1-eat-1SG    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *spjaŋku=kə*    *vde*    *vde*    *kə*    *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    wolf=ERG    be.good    be.good    DM    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the wolf said, “OK, OK.”

39. *leʔ*    *ʃəlili=cɛ*    *lɐ-vre-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə=nəʔ*  
 again    far.upriver=INDF    PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED=SUB  
*<sup>n</sup>dzə-kóri*    *rewaŋ=cəʔ*    *t<sup>h</sup>v-wɛʔ-cə*  
 3DU:POSS-front    rabbit=INDF    PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-MED

As they again went farther upriver, a rabbit came downriver ahead of them.

40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *qɐʝiʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*    *spjaŋku=niʔ=kə*  
 SEQ    sheep=and    wolf=DU=ERG  
*rewaŋ=p<sup>h</sup>a*    *t<sup>h</sup>ə*    *nɐ-kə-fsət=rɐʔ*    *kəmdiʔ*    *te-tsəʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 rabbit=place    what    IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like<sub>2</sub>=PL    all    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED

And the sheep and the wolf told the rabbit everything that had happened.

41. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *qɐʝiʔ=kə*  
 SEQ    sheep=ERG  
*tə-o-<sup>n</sup>dze-aŋ*    *tʂaŋʔ*    *soʔ*    *mɐ-tʂaŋʔ=nəʔ*  
 IPFV-INV-eat-1SG    be.just    or    NEG-be.just=SUB  
*tə-tsə*    *k<sup>h</sup>étʂo*    *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IMP-say    please    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the sheep said, “Please tell us whether it is just for me to be eaten.”

42. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    rewaŋ=kə    kəmtʃa    <sup>n</sup>de<sup>n</sup>djaŋ    ne-lét-cə*  
 SEQ    rabbit=ERG    a.bit    thinking    PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the rabbit thought about it for a while (and said),

43. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o    mə-tə-tə-<sup>n</sup>bəmʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə    jwét-jə*  
 SEQ    now    NEG-IMP-2-hurry-2DU    return-1PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə    nə-kə-fsə́t-<sup>n</sup>dzə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    what    IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like-2DU=SUB  
*ɛjiʔ    kə-ŋólə    te-némɲi-aŋ    kə*  
 1SG    NMLZ-be.well    IPFV-watch-1SG    DM

“Now, do not hurry and let all of us go back, and let me observe carefully what happened between you two.”

44. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    noŋmenəʔ    tɕaŋʔ    soʔ    mə-tɕaŋʔ*  
 SEQ    only.then    be.jsut    or    NEG-be.just  
*té-tsaŋ=kə    te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-say-1SG=DM    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “Then I will tell you whether it is just or not,” it said.

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    rewaŋ    qɛjiʔ    spjaŋku=rɛʔ*  
 SEQ    rabbit    sheep    wolf=PL  
*spjaŋpu    o-sɛ-rdelʔ=z    t<sup>h</sup>ɛ-jwet-nə-cə*  
 wolf    3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-fall.in<sub>2</sub>=LOC    PFV:DOWNRIVER-return<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And the rabbit, the sheep, and the wolf returned downriver to where the wolf had fallen in (the pit).



46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rewaŋ=kə*  
 SEQ rabbit=ERG  
*ʃq<sup>h</sup>ʋʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə nɐ-tə-ʃsət-<sup>n</sup>dzə ɲoʔ=nəʔ*  
 just.now what IPFV:PST-2-do.thus<sub>2</sub>-2DU be=TOP  
*leʔ tə-ʃsət-<sup>n</sup>dzə te-tsəʔ*  
 again IMP-do.thus-2DU PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 “You two re-enact what happened between you just now,” the rabbit said.

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ spjaŋku=nəʔ leʔ toŋtoŋ=naŋ nɐ-nəmdɛrʔ-cə*  
 SEQ wolf=DET again pit=inside PFV:DOWN-jump<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the wolf jumped again into the pit again.

48. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃq<sup>h</sup>ʋʔ koʔ tə-ʃsət-aŋ nɐ-rdelʔ-aŋ ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ just.now this PFV-do.thus-1SG PFV:DOWN-fall.in<sub>2</sub>-1SG be  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɛʝiʔ=kə o-χfi ne-stoki*  
 SEQ sheep=ERG 3SG:POSS-thigh PFV:DOWN:TR-stick.out<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-o-rɛski-aŋ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:UP-INV-pull<sub>2</sub>-1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “I did like this and fell in just now, and the sheep stuck a thigh downward and pulled me up,” it said.

49. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rewaŋ=kə nəŋo nəŋo<sup>173</sup>*  
 SEQ rabbit=ERG EXCL EXCL  
 And the rabbit said, “I see, I see.”

50. *nɛʝiʔ nɛkəʔ toŋtoŋ=naŋ ne-tə-nə-smo*  
 2SG that.near.you pit=inside IPFV-2-SPON-stay  
 “You just stay by yourself inside that pit,”

<sup>173</sup> An exclamation uttered when one understands a situation.

51. *qɛʝiʔ=nəʔ me-te-tə-rɛʂskɛ qʰoʔ tʰe-tə-nəʃɛ*  
 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-cə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 be.just-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “and it would be just,” it said.
53. *qʰoʔ qɛʝiʔ=nəʔ tə-χe=kə ʝe-nəʃɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ sheep=DET NMLZ=be.joyful<sub>2</sub>=INS PFV-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the sheep joyfully went back home.
54. *qʰoʔ spjaŋku=nəʔ leʔ toŋtoŋ=naŋ nɛ-smo*  
 SEQ wolf=DET again pit=inside IPFV:PST-stay  
 And the wolf stayed inside the pit.
55. *qʰoʔ nəʃəqʰu o-kə-rɛʂski ɤdɛnbe nɛ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ thereafter 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-pull at.all IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And afterwards there was no one at all to pull it out.

# A WOMAN FROM GRATSE LIVING WITH A ONE-LEGGED DEMON

*yretse tāmɛɔ rkaŋlo nekəneɔde*

**Narrator: Tsheskyid**

1. *ŋontsʰe=z yretse tāmɛɔcə? nɐ-to ŋoɔ-cə*  
 former.time=LOC PN woman=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*qʰoɔ? rkaŋlo ne-nɐɔde ŋoɔ-cə*  
 SEQ one.legged.demon PFV:TR-live.with<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Once there was a woman at Gratse, she lived with a one-legged demon.

2. *nə? rkaŋlo=nə? kə-rɐɣtim nɐ-ŋo-cə*  
 ANA one.legged.demon=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.bringing.in.riches IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 That one-legged demon was the kind that makes one rich.<sup>174</sup>

3. *qʰoɔ? tərɣu? latʰe mə-jɐ-wôt mɐ ŋoɔ-cə*  
 SEQ goods NEG-PFV:TR-bring<sub>2</sub> not.exist be-MED  
 And there were no goods that it would not bring back.

4. *ʃənə? kəmɐqʰu*  
 but afterwards  
*tāmɛ=kə rkaŋlo kɐ-fqa? ne-səsi ŋoɔ-cə*  
 woman=ERG one.legged.demon INF-ward.off PFV:TR-want<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*ʃənə? me-ʰge-cʰɐ ŋoɔ-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.

<sup>174</sup> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *tʃuʔ=z*  
 SEQ PN=LOC  
*vləme* *χʃikə* *kə-ŋólə=cəʔ* *nə-to* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 lama very NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 There was a very virtuous lama at Cus Village.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *q<sup>h</sup>əʔ* *támɛ=nəʔ* *vləme=p<sup>h</sup>a* *tə-vre-cə*  
 SEQ ANA woman=DET lama=place PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the woman went (uphill) to the lama.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *vləme* *o<sup>175</sup>-ffeffēt* *ne-peʔ*  
 SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-telling PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>  
 And related her story for the lama.

8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *rkaŋlo* *kə-fqaʔ* *ne-səsiʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ one.legged.demon INF-ward.off PFV:TR-want<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *tʃə* *te-pɔ-aŋ=nəʔ* *kə-fqaʔ* *c<sup>h</sup>ə-aŋ-cə*  
 SEQ what IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>-1SG=SUB INF-ward.off be.able-1SG-MED  
*te-tsəʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *vləme=kə*  
 SEQ lama=ERG  
 And the lama (said),

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<sup>175</sup> Referring to the recipient, the lama.

10. *rkaŋlo=p<sup>h</sup>a*                      *tərjuʔlat<sup>h</sup>e*    *mə-jə-tə-wôt*                      *mə*  
 one.legged.demon=place    goods                      NEG-PFV-2-bring<sub>2</sub>    not.exist  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *rjekər*    *nə-fə*                      *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *p<sup>h</sup>oŋe-rémo*                      *fə-kə-rojʔ*  
 SEQ    India    IMP:WEST-go    SEQ    broomcorn-drying.rack    AND-IMP:EAST-fetch<sub>3</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə*                      *tə-tə-səyts<sup>h</sup>aŋʔ*                      *ŋoʔ*                      *ə-tə-tə-tsə*  
 SEQ:EMPH    PFV-2-cause.to.be.complete<sub>2</sub>    be                      IRR-IMP-2-say  
 “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. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə*                      *p<sup>h</sup>oŋe-rémo=nəʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH    broomcorn-drying.rack=DET  
*fla*                      *kə-roʔ*                      *mə-c<sup>h</sup>ə*                      *fieʔ=kə*  
 immediately    INF-fetch    NEG-be.able    be:EMPH=INS  
 “And as it cannot fetch the drying rack made of broomcorn right away,”

12. *nə-c<sup>h</sup>əʔ=nt<sup>h</sup>on*  
 IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>=even  
*kəfne-rjaʔ*                      *jərmə*                      *fə-tso*                      *reʔ=kə*  
 seven-night    about    AND-elapse    be.necessary=INS  
 “and since even if it can (fetch it), it is going to take about seven nights.”

13. *nəʔ*                      *o-pért<sup>h</sup>ə=nəʔ*  
 ANA    3SG:POSS-space.in.between=TOP  
*o-χtu*                      *ne-kə-pe*                      *zgrápe*                      *ŋge-ké-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 3SG:POSS-sutra    IPFV-GP-do    spell                      IPFV-GP-hold  
 “One chants sutras against it in the meantime, and hold (the demon) under the spell.”

14. *qʰoʔ kə-fqaʔ sɛcʰɐ ʃteʔ te-tsaʔ*  
 SEQ INF-ward.off be.doable be:EMPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 “And it will be feasible to ward it off,” he said.

15. *qʰoʔ nəkəsə o-vlo te-tʃet ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ thus 3SG:POSS-idea PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And thus offered his idea (to her).

16. *qʰoʔ təmɛ=nəʔ ɣrɛtse nɐ-ɐnəre*  
 SEQ woman=DET PN PFV:DOWNHILL-go.back<sub>2</sub>  
 And the woman went back to Gratse.

17. *qʰoʔ rkanlɔ=pʰa nəʔ=rɐʔ te-tsaʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ one.legged.demon=place ANA=PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And said the above to the one-legged demon.

18. *qʰoʔ rkanlo rɣɛkɐr=z*  
 SEQ one.legged.demon India=LOC  
*pʰoɲerɛmo ʃə-kə-roʔ nə-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə*  
 broomcorn.drying.rack AND-NMLZ:PURP-fetch PFV:WEST-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the one-legged demon went west to India to fetch a drying rack made of broomcorn.

19. *qʰoʔ o-qʰu=nəʔ=z*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-back=DET=LOC  
*vlɛme kosloməme təmɛ=pʰa nɐ-ɐre-nə*  
 lama with.disciple woman=place PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 After it was gone, the lama and his disciples went downhill to the woman.

20. *qʰoʔ kəʃne-rjaʔ nɐ-raxtuʔ-nə*  
 SEQ seven-night IPFV:PST-chant.sutra<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ zgrəpe ne-<sup>n</sup>di-nə ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ spell IPFV:PST:TR-hold<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And they kept chanting sutras for seven nights and cast a spell.

21. *qʰoʔ kəʃne-rjaʔ nə-tsoʔ=tsɐ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ seven-night PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=almost be-MED  
 And almost seven nights passed.

22. *vlɛme=kə o-krəpe nə-pʰa*  
 lama=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple 3PL:POSS-place  
*ʰbəlve kdenbe mə-nə-tə-mje-nə*  
 offering at.all NEG-IMP-2-take-2PL  
*káma mə-vde ɣoʔ te-tsəʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 otherwise NEG-be.good be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 The lama said to his disciples, “Do not take any offering (from the woman), or it will be inauspicious.”

23. *qʰoʔ kɐ-rɐxtu=rɐʔ ne-səɣjoɣ-nə*  
 SEQ INF-chant.sutra=PL PFV:TR-finish<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ kɐ-nəʃɐ tə-mda ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ INF-go.back PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And they finished chanting sutras, and it was time to go home.

24. *qʰoʔ təmɛ=kə*  
 SEQ woman=ERG  
*nə-<sup>n</sup>bəlve rɣəl rtsémkəɣ=nəɣ ne-rkoʔ-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-offering silver tsampa.pouch=inside PFV:TR-put.into<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the woman put some silver into tsampa pouch as offering to them.

25. *qʰoʔ vlɛme nǎ-pʰa*

SEQ lama 3PL:POSS-place

*ⁿbǎlve tǎ-ⁿdi-nǎ te-tsǎʔ-cǎ*

offering IMP-take-2PL PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And said to the lama, “Please take the offering.”

26. *ʃǎnǎʔ vlɛme=kǎ ⁿbǎlve kɐ-sǎ-ⁿdi ɤdɛnbe mǎ-nɐ-kʰǔt-cǎ*

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. *qʰoʔ tǎ-mɛ=kǎ*

SEQ woman=ERG

*koʔ vlɛme=rɐʔ ⁿbǎlve mɐ-ⁿdi=nǎʔ*

SEQ lama=PL offering NEG-take=SUB

*qʰónǎ ɐju mɐ-pʰɛn=nǎʔ ʃteʔ ne-sǎsɛʔ*

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. *qʰoʔ sǎqɛtsútsu qʰɐʔ rɲǎl rtsémkǎɣ=nǎʔ vlɛme*

SEQ stealthily ANA silver tsampa.pouch=DET lama

*nǎ-ⁿbri o-lvéʔ=pʰi=z te-sǎmqǎ ɲoʔ-cǎ*

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 vləme=rɐʔ=kə me-ne-sərtə-nə-cə*  
 SEQ lama=PL=ERG NEG-PFV:TR-discover<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*qʰoʔ tʃuʔ tə-ənəre-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN PFV:UP-go.back<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-med

And the lama and others did not realize this, and they went back uphill to Cus.

30. *tʃuʔ jə-kɐ-zɣot ʃəjnɐtəko kə-toʔ*  
 PN PROS-GP-arrive PN NMLZ:SBJ-exist  
*lɐ-zɣôʔt-nə jɐrmɐ=nəʔ*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3PL about=SUB

Just when they were about to reach a place called Sheynatako<sup>176</sup> almost reaching Cus Village,

31. *vləme o-krəpe kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ*  
 lama 3SG:POSS-disciple one-CL=DET  
*ləmɐstəmpɐt ó-me tə-mɣəm*  
 suddenly 3SG:POSS-leg PFV-be.ill<sub>2</sub>  
 one of the lama's disciple's feet suddenly began to hurt.

32. *qʰoʔ kɐ-tʰɔʔ=rɐn mə-nə-kʰût ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ GP-lay.foot.on.ground=even NEG-PFV-be.feasible<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And could not even set them down on the ground.

33. *qʰoʔ vləme=kə o-krəpe=pʰa*  
 SEQ lama=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple=place  
*nɐkəʔ táme=kə ʰbəlve ne-kʰi=nəʔ*  
 that.near.you woman=ERG offering PFV:TR-hand.to<sub>2</sub>=DET

<sup>176</sup> Name of a place on a footpath leading uphill to Cus Village.

*ʃo=kə tə-tə-<sup>n</sup>di-nə ŋoʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 who=ERG PFV-2-take<sub>2</sub>-2PL be DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the lama asked his disciples, “Did one of you take the offering that the woman handed to us?”

34. *ʃənəʔ o-krəpe=rəʔ=kə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-disciple=PL=ERG  
*te-<sup>n</sup>di=nəʔ nɐ-mɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>=DET IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED

But none of his disciples took the offering.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlɛme=kə*  
 SEQ lama=ERG  
*<sup>n</sup>bri ó-krɛr=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on tə-nɛrtərtəʔ-nə te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 horse 3SG:POSS-body=also IMP-examine-2PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the lama ordered them to check the body of the horse also.

36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɐq<sup>h</sup>ínəʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards  
*<sup>n</sup>bri o-lvéʔ=p<sup>h</sup>i rtsémkəʔ ɐ-səmɐqəʔ wɛjo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 horse 3SG:POSS-mane=under tsampa.pouch PASS-hang be.seen be-MED

Afterwards, they discovered that somebody had hung the tsampa pouch under the horse’s mane.

37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlɛme=kə*  
 SEQ lama=ERG  
*<sup>n</sup>bɛt nɛkəʔ rɲəl rtsémkəʔ=nəʔ*  
 immediately that.near.you silver tsampa.pouch=DET

*támε      ó-p<sup>h</sup>a                      ʃə-t<sup>h</sup>ε-séjwɛt-nə                      te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 woman    3SG:POSS-place    AND-IMP:DOWNRIVER-return-3PL    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the lama said, “Go right away and return the tsampa pouch of silver to the woman!”

38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ      o-krəpe=rɐʔ=kə                      ʃla*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-disciple=PL=ERG    quickly  
*ʃə-t<sup>h</sup>ε-séjwɛt-nə-cə*  
 AND-PFV:TR:DOWNRIVER-return<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And his disciples quickly went downriver and returned it.

39. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ      noŋme=nəʔ      tʃuʔ      tə-ɛnəre-nə-cə*  
 SEQ    only.then=TOP    PN    PFV:UP-go.back<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 Only then did they go back uphill to Cus.

40. *o-krəpe                      ó-me                      tə-kə-mŋəm=nəʔ=rɐʔ                      nə-zi-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-disciple    3SG:POSS-leg    PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-hurt<sub>2</sub>=DET=PL    PFV-recover<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And his disciple’s feet that were hurting recovered.

41. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ      kəʃne-rjɐʔ      nə-tsoʔ      oq<sup>h</sup>uq<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 SEQ    seven-night    PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>    after  
*rkaŋlo=kə                      rjɛkɛr=z      p<sup>h</sup>oŋerémo                      ke-sɛzyôʔ*  
 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 tséⁿbɐ ó-ɬɐr=z*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-surface=LOC  
*rémo ɛz-nɛɲe qʰoʔ ɣrɛtse ⁿge-mpʰéri ɲoʔ-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.<sup>177</sup>

43. *ʃənəʔ vlɛme=kə zgrápe te-ⁿdi*  
 but lama=ERG spell PFV:TR-hold₂  
*qʰoʔ o-sɛɣ-ʃɛʔ nə-mɛʔ ɲoʔ-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 rkanlo=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one.legged.demon=DET  
*tséⁿbɐ-ɬɐr=z groŋoŋo ne-vɛvo*  
 Tsemba-surface=LOC IDPH<sup>178</sup> IPFV-weep  
 And the one-legged demon was weeping<sup>179</sup> bitterly on Mount Tsemba.

45. *qʰoʔ ɣrɛtse=z ⁿge-mpʰéri káma*  
 SEQ PN=LOC IPFV:DOWN-look except  
*o-sɛɣ-ʃɛʔ nə-mɛʔ ɲoʔ-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.

<sup>177</sup> Name of a high peak opposite of Gratse near Ya'erzu.

<sup>178</sup> Describing the sound of loud, continuous weeping.

<sup>179</sup> Notice the present imperfective verb form is used instead of the past imperfective for vividness.

46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kəməq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ*    *nəʔoséʃsət*  
 SEQ    afterwards    thus  
*kəmaʔ*    *sətʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z*    *jɐ-ɐre*    *nɐ-re*  
 other    place=LOC    PFV-go<sub>2</sub>    IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>  
*ké-tsə*    *nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*  
 GP-say    IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED

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

*tʃoxtsépu táməkə rkeŋlo nekənzde*

**Narrator: Tsheskyid**

1. *ʃɔntsʰe=z tʃóxtse sɐtʃʰe=z*  
former.time=LOC PN place=LOC  
*támɛ=cəʔ nɐ-to ŋoʔ-cə*  
woman=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
Once there was a woman at Cogtse.
  
2. *qʰoʔ rkaŋlo ne-nɐzde ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ one.legged.demon PFV:TR-live.with<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
She lived with a one-legged demon.
  
3. *ʃənəʔ ʒaʔ kə-lɛn nə-tsoʔ*  
but time NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ támɛ=nəʔ=kə*  
SEQ woman=DET=ERG  
*rkaŋlo ne-kɐ-vdɐ ne-səsɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
one.legged.demon IPFV-INF-forsake IPFV-desire<sub>3</sub> be-MED  
After a long time, the woman wanted to get rid of the one-legged demon.
  
4. *ʃənəʔ kɛnbe mə-nɐ-cʰɛʔ-cə*  
but at.all NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
But she could not do it at all.

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-zdewe=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-village=TOP  
*vləme ome kə-ŋólɛ=cəʔ* *nɐ-to-cə*  
 lama very NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 There was a very virtuous lama at her village.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔ* *ó-p<sup>h</sup>a* *ʃə-te-ʒu* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place AND-PFV-say:HON<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And she went and told him about this.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *vləme=kə*  
 SEQ lama=ERG  
 And the lama (said),

8. *ma-ɛdu* *rkanló=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 NEG-matter one.legged.demon=place  
*nɛjiʔ mə-jɐ-tɐ-wôt mɐ ŋoʔ*  
 2SG NEG-PFV-2-bring<sub>2</sub> not.exist be  
*ʃənəʔ toŋʔ=kə* *cɛ<sup>n</sup>go=cəʔ* *ɐ-jɐ-tɐ-wot*  
 but white.conch=GEN kneading.trough=INDF IRR-IMP-2-bring  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə* *tə-tə-səyts<sup>h</sup>anʔ* *ŋoʔ* *ɐ-tə-tə-tsə*  
 SEQ:EMPH PFV-2-cause.to.be.complete<sub>2</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔ* *o-kə-nɛŋoroʔ* *ʃɐ* *ʃteʔ=kə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-seek go be:EMPH=INS  
*nəʔ o-pért<sup>h</sup>ɐ* *zgrápe* *ˈge-kɛ-ˈdi*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-space.in.between spell IPFV-GP-hold

*o-sɐ-wɛʔ**ne-kɐ-wɛmɐ*3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-come<sub>2</sub>    IPFV-GP-cause.to.disappear

“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-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“and that will do it,” he said.

11. *qʰoʔ    támɛ=nəʔ    o-kʰénəŋ    jɐ-nəre-cə*

EQ    woman=DET    3SG:POSS-home    PFV-go.back<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the woman went back home.

12. *qʰoʔ    rkaŋlo=pʰa*

SEQ    one.legged.demon=place

*vlɛmɛ=kə    o-vlo          te-tʃet=nəʔ=rɐʔ          nəʔ    tə-fsəʔ-cə*

lama=ERG    3SG:POSS-idea    PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>=DET=PL    ANA    PFV-do.thus<sub>2</sub>-MED

And she did what the lama had advised her to do to the one-legged demon.

13. *qʰoʔ    rkaŋlo          jɐ-fɛʔ    rjɛmtsʰo    pʰɛrəl          kə-ɐre*

SEQ    one.legged.demon    PFV-go<sub>2</sub>    sea          other.bank    PFV:EAST-go<sub>2</sub>

*qʰoʔ    toŋʔ          cɛʰgo          ne-nɛŋoro    ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ    white.conch    kneading.trough    PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>    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-zgɛqʰu*

SEQ    3SG:POSS-place.behind.back

*vlɛmɛ=rɐʔ=kə    támɛ    o-kʰénəŋ          zgrəpe    ne-<sup>n</sup>di-nə*

lama=PL=ERG    woman    3SG:POSS-home    spell    PFV:TR-hold<sub>2</sub>-3PL



*qʰoʔ      nə-raxtuʔ-nə                      ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      PFV-chant.sutra<sub>2</sub>-3PL      be-MED

And after it was gone, the lama and others chanted sutras and cast a spell at the woman's home.

15. *qʰoʔ      kəfne-ɲaʔ      nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      seven-night      PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB

When seven nights passed,

16. *rkaŋlo=kə                      toŋʔ                      cɛ̃ⁿgo                      jɐ-wôt*  
 one.legged.demon=ERG      white.conch      kneading.trough      PFV-bring<sub>2</sub>  
*nɐ-cʰɐʔ                      ɲoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

the one-legged demon was able to bring back the kneading trough made of white conch.

17. *ʃənəʔ      tʃóχtse      reⁿgo=cɛ=z                      kə-zɣôʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 but      PN      hill=INDF=LOC                      PFV:EAST-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

But when it got to somewhere on the Cogtse Hill,

18. *zgrəpe      ne-ⁿdi-nə                      ne-zraxtuʔ-nə                      o-tənʔ=kə*  
 spell      PFV:TR-hold<sub>2</sub>-3PL      PFV:TR-cause.to.chant.sutra<sub>2</sub>-3PL      3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*o-sɐ-nəχʃɛʔ                      nə-mɛʔ                      ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-go.back<sub>2</sub>      PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>      be-MED  
 its access back (to Cogtse) disappeared as a result of the spell-casting and sutra-chanting.

19. *qʰoʔ      rkaŋlo                      tə-rɛmurʊʔ*  
 SEQ      one.legged.demon      PFV-be.angry<sub>2</sub>

The one-legged demon got angry,

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    toŋʔ            cá<sup>n</sup>go=nəʔ            rerévʔ=ta    ne-c<sup>h</sup>ov*  
 EQ    white.conch    kneading.trough=DET    untain=top    PFV:TR-smash<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ó-ste                            t<sup>h</sup>e-wərêṭ                            ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-where.something.is    PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>    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-tánʔ=kə*  
 ANA    3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
 For that reason,

22. *tʃóχtse    yrêko=ta=nəʔ*  
 PN            ridge=top=TOP  
*qəpi=kə    cor<sup>n</sup>buʔ            toŋ            nɐ-kɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ov=kəsə*  
 flint=INS    pile.of.rocks    white.conch    PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-smash<sub>2</sub>=like  
*pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on    kɐ-mtiʔ            toʔ    ké-tsə    tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 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

*rgenmutfusc<sup>h</sup>ənə? rewan*

**Narrator: Nyimathar**

1. *şyonts<sup>h</sup>e=z                      rgenmu                      kə<sup>n</sup>dʒətʃətʃu=cə?*  
former.time=LOC    old.woman    together.with.son=INDF  
*nə-to-<sup>n</sup>dʒə                      ɲoʔ-cə*  
IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-3DU    be-MED  
Once there lived an old woman and her son.
  
2. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ            <sup>n</sup>dʒə-jtʃe=cə?                      kə-<sup>n</sup>dʒəʔ            nə-to-cə*  
SEQ            3DU:POSS-field=INDF    one-piece    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ            nə?            ó-nanʃ=nə?                      rare?            ne-ji-<sup>n</sup>dʒə-cə*  
SEQ            ANA            3SG:POSS-inside=DET    peas            IPFV:PST:TR-plant<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
They had a piece of farming land, and were growing peas inside it.
  
3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ            <sup>n</sup>dʒə-jtʃe                      ʃcəl=nə?*  
SEQ            3DU:POSS-field    center=DET  
*r<sup>n</sup>gu=cə?                      ome            kə-xteʔ=cə?                      nə-to-cə*  
boulder=INDF    very    NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
In the center of their field, there was a big boulder.
  
4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ            rewan=cə?            kə-rdəʔ            təjtʃe=nanʃ            kəmjəm            <sup>n</sup>ge-wi*  
SEQ            rabbit=INDF    one-CL    field=inside    often            IPFV:DOWN-come  
A certain rabbit would often come downhill inside their field.
  
5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ            <sup>n</sup>dʒə-rəreʔ                      o-te-<sup>n</sup>dʒə*  
SEQ            3DU:POSS-peas    come.and-IPFV-eat<sub>3</sub>  
And come to eat their peas.

6. *qʰoʔ te-vjaʔ jɛrmɐ*  
 SEQ IPFV-be.full about  
*qʰoʔ rⁿgú=ta te-fɛ qʰoʔ te-nəne ɲoʔ-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 rgɛmutfɯ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG  
*koʔ rewaŋ kə-sɛnɛkʰoj ɐ-rəreʔ te-ⁿdzɛ*  
 this rabbit NMLZ:SBJ-be.bullying 1SG:POSS-peas IPFV-eat₃  
*ó-ta te-vjaʔ qʰoʔ rⁿgú=ta o-kɛ-nəne=rɛʔ wɛjo*  
 3SG:POSS-top IPFV-be.full SEQ boulder=top 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-rest=PL be.seen  
*ne-səsi-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-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-day=INDF=TOP  
*rgɛnmutfɯ=kə siz tɛmtfuyʔ zɛrnaʔ rⁿgú=ta*  
 old.woman's.son=ERG dawn boulder=top  
*téⁿdzuy mtsʰót ne-ɛmɛr*  
 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 tɔjtʃé=naŋ*  
 SEQ in.a.while=TOP rabbit again field=inside  
*rəreʔ kə-ⁿdze nɛ-wɛʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *tə-vja* *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *leʔ* *r<sup>n</sup>gú=ta* *kə-nəne*  
 SEQ PFV-be.full<sub>2</sub> SEQ again boulder=top NMLZ:PURP-rest  
*tə-vre-cə=nəʔ* *té<sup>n</sup>dʒuy=kə* *rewaŋ*  
 PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB resin=ERG rabbit  
*ó-fqor* *ne-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-buttocks PFV:TR-hold<sub>2</sub>-MED

When it was full and went up to the top of the boulder to rest, the resin caught the rabbit's buttocks.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *rgemutʃu=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=ERG  
*nəʔoséʃsət* *rewaŋ* *ne-mjeʔ* *nə-c<sup>h</sup>vəʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 thus rabbit PFV:TR-catch<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub> be-MED

In that way, the old woman's son was able to catch the rabbit.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *rewaŋ* *kə-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e* *tə-rənts<sup>h</sup>a=nəʔ*  
 SEQ rabbit NMLZ:PURP-kill PFV-make.preparations<sub>2</sub>=SUB

Just when he was about to kill the rabbit,

13. *rewaŋ=kə*  
 rabbit=ERG  
*k<sup>h</sup>étso váʃsəm* *mə-nə-ko-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e-aŋ*  
 please NEG-IMP-2→1-kill-1SG  
*nə-rəreʔ* *tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə* *tə-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-aŋ* *t<sup>h</sup>əmtʃetrə kəmdiʔ* *te-rəleʔ-aŋ*  
 2SG:POSS-peas what PFV-eat<sub>2</sub>-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 məkəts<sup>h</sup>et*

ANA not.only

*o-fjəxp kə-ŋólə te-pɔ-aŋ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-making.up NMLZ-be.fine IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>-1SG=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“not only that, but I will make it up nicely to you,” it said.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgenmutfu=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG

*ŋoʔ fteʔ kə ne-səsi-cə*

be be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the old woman’s son thought, “OK, this is it.”

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rewəŋ ne-lêʔ-cə*

SEQ rabbit PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-MED

And he set the rabbit free.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃənəʔ rgenmutfu=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ but old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG

*təjtfe χcəl r<sup>u</sup>gu kə-toʔ=nəʔ kə-wəmə ne-səsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*

field center boulder NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET INF-remove IPFV-want<sub>3</sub> be-MED

But the old woman’s son would want to remove the boulder located at the center of the field.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-mo=p<sup>h</sup>a*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=place

*ə-foχpeʔ qéjwi xti-xtə χsəmʔ=cəʔ tə-poj*

1SG:POSS-buckwheat.bread bread be.small-be.big three=INDF IMP-make<sub>3</sub>

*te-tsəʔ-cə*

PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And he said to his mother, “Make me three pieces of big and small buckwheat bread.”

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-mo=kə* *o-qéjwi* *χsəm* *te-peʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG 3SG:POSS-bread three PFV:TR-make<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And his mother made him three pieces of bread.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə* *r<sup>n</sup>gú=ta* *tə-ɛmdzuʔ-cə*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG boulder=top PFV:UP-sit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the old woman's son sat on top of the boulder.

21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-mo=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=place  
*ɐ-foχpeʔ qéjwi* *st<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-buckwheat.bread most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET  
*lɛ-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IMP:UPRIVER-hand.to<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he said to his mother, “Hand me my smallest piece of buckwheat bread.”

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-mo=kə* *le-k<sup>h</sup>i-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG PFV:UPRIVER:TR-hand.to<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And his mother handed it (to him).

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə* *te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ* *te-səyjoʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-finish<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the old woman's son ate it up.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-xsiʔ* *kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a* *ne-lêʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-fart a.bit PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*r<sup>n</sup>gu* *tətserʔ* *ne-səyɾe* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 boulder crack PFV:TR-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And when he farted a little, causing a crack in the boulder.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə ó-mo=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-mother=place  
*ʃoxpeʔ qéjwi jəte-kə-xteʔ=nəʔ*  
 buckwheat.bread more-NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET  
*lě-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IMP:UPRIVER-hand.to<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the old woman's son said to his mother, "Hand me the bigger piece of buckwheat bread."

26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-mo=kə le-k<sup>h</sup>i-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG PFV: UPRIVER:TR-hand.to<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And his mother handed it (to him).

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə qéjwi te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG bread PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*o-xsiʔ jəte-kə-xteʔ=cəʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-lět-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-fart COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV:TR:OUT-release<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And when the old woman's son ate up the bread, he let loose a bigger fart.

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ r<sup>n</sup>gu rjěspe kə-xteʔ ne-p<sup>h</sup>aʔ-cə*  
 SEQ boulder quite NMLZ-be.big PFV:TR-split<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And split quite a big crack in the boulder.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ ó-mo=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ again 3SG:POSS-mother=place  
*qéjwi st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ lě-k<sup>h</sup>ɛ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 bread most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET IMP:UPRIVER-hand.to<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he said to his mother, "Hand me the biggest piece of bread!"



30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *ó-mo=kə*                      *le-k<sup>h</sup>i-cə*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-mother=ERG      PFV:UPRIVER:TR-hand.to<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And his mother handed it (to him).
31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *rgənmufu=nəʔ-kə*  
 SEQ      old.woman's.son=DET=ERG  
*qəjwi*      *st<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *kə-xtəʔ=nəʔ*                      *te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ*      *ne-st<sup>h</sup>ət*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 bread      most      NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET      PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub>      PFV:TR-eat.up<sub>2</sub>      be-MED  
 And the old woman's son ate all of the biggest piece of bread.
32. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *o-xsiʔ*                      *χfíkə*      *kə-xtəʔ*                      *t<sup>h</sup>e-lêʔt-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-fart      very      NMLZ-be.big      PFV:OUT:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 And when he let loose a very big fart,
33. *r<sup>n</sup>gu*      *ome*      *kə-xtəʔ*                      *ne-p<sup>h</sup>aʔ*                      *məkátst<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 boulder      very      NMLZ:SBJ-be.big      PFV:TR-split<sub>2</sub>      not.only  
*nəʔ*      *ó-naŋ*                      *o-jiʔ*                      *nə-ra*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-inside      3SG:POSS-self      PFV:DOWN-be.stuck<sub>2</sub>      be-MED  
 he not only split a very big crack in the boulder, but he sank and got stuck inside it.
34. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *r<sup>n</sup>gu*                      *kə-χtor*                      *kə-wəmə*                      *mə-nə-c<sup>h</sup>əʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      boulder      INF-break.apart      INF-remove      NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He was unable to break the boulder apart and clear it away.
35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *r<sup>n</sup>gu*                      *tətserʔ*      *nə-kə-ere*                      *ó-naŋ*  
 SEQ      boulder      crack      PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub>      3SG:POSS-inside  
*əntsátse*                      *nə-smo*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 continuously      IPFV:PST-stay      be-MED  
 And he stayed (stuck) inside the crack he got into.

36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *ó-ta*                      *t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-fə*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-top      IPFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-go  
*t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-wi=rəʔ*                                      *mts<sup>h</sup>ót*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come=PL      be.many      be-MED  
 And many people were coming and going over him.

37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *éto*<sup>180</sup>                      *tə-o-rəʃé-əŋ-fə-əŋ*<sup>181</sup>  
 SEQ      PRON:UP:VOC      IMP:UP-INV-pull-1SG-pull:RDPL-1SG  
*nə-<sup>n</sup>gre*                      *kə-ŋólə*                      *nənə-pó-əŋ-pə-əŋ*<sup>182</sup>  
 2SG:POSS-wages      NMLZ-be.nice      SPON:RDPL-do-1SG-do:RDPL-1SG  
*ne-tsəʔ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:PST:TR-say<sub>2</sub>      be-MED  
 And he kept saying, “You who is above me, pull me up, and I will pay you well.”

38. *ʃənəʔ*      *nə-qə*                      *kə-mə*  
 but      3PL:POSS-free.time      NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist  
*ɣ<sup>n</sup>bi*      *kə-əsə-fkor*                                      *zəʃ<sup>h</sup>er*      *kə-əsə-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 drum      NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-carry.on.back      cymbal      NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-hold  
*əntsətse*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 continuously      be-MED  
 But they were all those who did not have time, busy carrying drums on their backs and holding cymbals,

39. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *kə-réski*      *ə-qə*                                      *mə*                      *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 SEQ      INF-pull      1SG:POSS-free.time      not.exist      for  
*ə-vəʔ=rəʔ*                                      *nə-ɣ<sup>n</sup>bi*                      *ʃə-séjwət-əŋ*  
 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle=PL      3PL:POSS-drum      AND-return-1SG

<sup>180</sup> Pronominal use of an orientational adverbial, in the vocative case.

<sup>181</sup> This special reduplication pattern occurs only in song lyrics and not permitted in ordinary language.

<sup>182</sup> As above.

*nə-zəytʃʰər*      *ʃə-séjwət-an*

3PL:POSS-cymbal      AND-return-1SG

*te-kə-tsa*      *əntsətse*      *nə-ŋo-nə*      *ŋoʔ-cə*

IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say      continuously      IPFV:PST-be-3PL      be-MED

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. *qʰoʔ*      *kəmɐqʰunəʔ*

SEQ      afterwards

*o-tsupoyruʔ*      *kə-ɐsɐ-fkor=cəʔ*

3SG:POSS-carrying.basket      NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:TR-carry.on.back=INDF

*ɐʒunu*      *mɐ-bretbrêt<sup>183</sup>=cəʔ*      *lɐ-wɛʔ*      *ŋoʔ-cə*

young.man      IDPH=INDF      PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

Afterwards, a tall and stout young man came upriver carrying his basket on back.

41. *qʰoʔ*      *nəʔ=kə*      *tə-o-rɛʃe*      *ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ      ANA=ERG      PFV-INV-pull<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

*məkətsʰɛt*      *o-tsupoyrúʔ=nan*      *tə-o-rkoʔ*

not.only      3SG:POSS-carrying.basket=inside      PFV:UP-INV-put.into<sub>2</sub>

*qʰoʔ*      *tʰɐ-o-nətsom*      *ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ      PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-take.thither<sub>2</sub>      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. *nəʔ*      *ɐʒonu=nəʔ*      *təʃo*      *nə-ŋo*      *ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ      young.man=DET      demon      IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

This young man was a demon.

<sup>183</sup> A derived ideophone from the root *brêt*, describing a person being tall and strong.

43. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔrewaŋ=kə rgənmutfu o-rəreʔ kə-rɛleʔ*  
 SEQ rabbit=ERG old.woman's.son 3SG:POSS-peas NMLZ:PURP-recompense  
*nɛ-wɛʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 IPFV:PST-come<sub>2</sub>-MED=DET  
 When the rabbit came downhill to recompense the old woman's son for his peas,

44. *təʃo=kə t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-o-nətsom ne-fsɐ-cə*  
 Demon=ERG PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-take.thither<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-hear<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 it heard that he had been taken downriver by the demon.

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təʃo k<sup>h</sup>ɛnaŋ mə-nɐ-smo orjəŋnəʔ*  
 SEQ demon home NEG-IPFV:PST-be.present<sub>2</sub> when  
*təʃoʔ k<sup>h</sup>ɛnaŋ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐre-cə*  
 demon home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 It went downriver to the demon's home at a time when the latter was not at home.

46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgənmutfu=niʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ təʃo o-kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ=z*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DU=and demon 3SG:POSS-courtyard=LOC  
*kəxsɛ ke<sup>184</sup>-vraʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 leopard PFV:CISLOC:TR-tether<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 Together with the old woman's son, the two of them tethered a leopard to the demon's courtyard.

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<sup>184</sup> The orientation prefix *ke-* denotes “tying the leash on the leopard *around* a long object (e.g. a pole, a tree)” at the courtyard.

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-rjalɐ<sup>n</sup>júʔ=naŋ qɐpreʔ ne-səsmoʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-latch.hole=inside snake PFV:TR-cause.to.stay<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
*o-tʃ<sup>h</sup>itʃə kəxʃəm<sup>n</sup>brot ne-te-<sup>n</sup>dzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-top.of.ladder pestle PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 And they made a snake stay inside (the demon's) latch hole, and placed a pestle on the top of his ladder.
48. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rewaŋ=kə rgɛnmufu=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ rabbit=ERG old.woman's.son=place  
 And the rabbit (said) to the old woman's son,
49. *p<sup>h</sup>róm<sup>h</sup>rom=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ xp<sup>h</sup>ɛstot tə-<sup>n</sup>dɛ*  
 coarse.flour=and upper.millstone IMP-take<sub>3</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mk<sup>h</sup>ɛrke tə-fɛ*  
 SEQ ceiling IMP:UP-go  
 "Take some coarse flour and an upper millstone, and go up the ceiling,"
50. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tájo=kə támu nɐ-sə-wɐ té-tsə=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 SEQ demon=ERG rain IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come<sub>3</sub> IPFV-say=SUB  
*nɛ-r<sup>n</sup>be ɐ-nɐ-tə-lɛt*  
 2SG:POSS-urine IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-release  
 "and when the demon says 'Let it rain!', rain down your piss!"
51. *p<sup>h</sup>róm<sup>h</sup>rom nɐ-səwɐ té-tsə=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 sleet IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come<sub>3</sub> IPFV-say=SUB  
*p<sup>h</sup>róm<sup>h</sup>rom ɐ-nɐ-tə-χtor*  
 coarse.flour IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-scatter  
 "And when he says 'Let it sleet!', scatter the coarse flour down!"

52. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɔʔ nɐ-səwɐ tɛ-tsə=ʃc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*

SEQ thunderbolt IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come<sub>3</sub> IPFV-say=SUB

*xp<sup>h</sup>ɛstot ɐ-nɐ-tə-wɛrɛt*

upper.millstone IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-throw

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɔʔɔ ɐ-nɐ-tə-nt<sup>h</sup>ɐ tɛ-tsəʔ-cə*

SEQ demon IRR-IMP-2-kill<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“And when he says, ‘Let thunderbolts strike down!’, cast down the upper millstone and kill the demon,” it said.

53. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɔʔɔ=nəʔ o-k<sup>h</sup>ɛnəŋ jɐ-nəwɛʔ-cə*

SEQ demon=DET 3SG:POSS-home PFV-come.back<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the demon returned to his home.

54. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ káxsɛ tə-kɐ-vraʔ=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-courtyard leopard PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-tie<sub>2</sub>=DET=ERG

*tə-oy-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-cə*

PFV-INV-bite<sub>2</sub>-MED

And he got bitten by the leopard tethered to his courtyard.

55. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɔʔɔ=kə*

SEQ demon=ERG

*ɛldzəy pɔldzəy<sup>185</sup> mə-wɛruʔ<sup>186</sup>*

IDPH IDPH NEG-be.necessary

<sup>185</sup> 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 *ɛldzəy pɔldzəy*, and *ɛldza pɔldza* in (57), *ɛzgrəy pɛzgrəy* are ideophones based on the ideophone roots *ldzəy*, *ldza*, and *zgrəy*, all describing differing sensations of pain.

<sup>186</sup> The form *wɛru* here imitates the Showu verb *varə* (where macron marks level tone) ‘be necessary’.

*"denəʔ*    *ɐ-ⁿgre*                      *kə-nákmet*                      *rəwəŋʔ*<sup>187</sup>                      *rcércɐ*<sup>188</sup>  
 for            1SG:POSS-wages            NMLZ-demand.payment            I.am.coming            be:EMPH  
 And the demon said, “Ouch! Ouch! This is uncalled for, as I am coming to demand to be paid back!”

56. *qʰoʔ*            *rjaləⁿjúʔ=nəŋ*            *ó-ja*                      *le-rkoʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ            latch.hole=inside            3SG:POSS-hand            PFV:TR:IN-put.in₂-MED=SUB  
*qɐpreʔ=kə*            *tə-o-ⁿdzeʔ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 snake=ERG            PFV-INV-bite₂            be-MED

And when he put his hand into the latch hole, the snake bit him.

57. *qʰoʔ*            *éldza*            *páldza*            *mə-wəruʔ*  
 SEQ            IDPH            IDPH            NEG-be.necessary  
*"denəʔ*            *ɐ-ⁿgre*                      *kə-nákmet*                      *rəwəŋʔ*                      *rcércɐ*  
 for            1SG:POSS-wages            NMLZ-demand.payment            I.am.coming            be:EMPH  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And (the demon) said, “Ouch! Ouch! This is uncalled for, as I am coming to demand to be paid back!”

58. *qʰoʔ*            *tʃʰi-ta*                      *tə-ɐre-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ            stairs-top            PFV:UP-go₂-MED=SUB  
*kəxʃəmbrot=kə*            *nɐ-o-wɐrêʔ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 pestle=INS            PFV:DOWN-INV-throw₂            be-MED

When he went up the stairs, he was thrown downstairs by (stepping on) the pestle.

<sup>187</sup> The form *rəwəŋʔ* here imitates the Showu primary continuous verb form *rə-vī-ŋ* ‘I am coming’.

<sup>188</sup> The form *rcércɐ* here imitates the reduplicated Showu emphatic copula *rcɛ*.

59. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ézgrəʔ pɛzɡəʔ mə-wɛruʔ*  
 SEQ IDPH IDPH NEG-be.necessary  
*ˈdenəʔ ɐ-ˈgre kə-nákmet rəwayʔ rcérce*  
 for 1SG:POSS-wages NMLZ-demand.payment I.am.coming be:EMPH  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And (the demon) said, “Ouch! Ouch! This is uncalled for, as I am coming to demand to be paid back!”

60. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɔʃo mk<sup>h</sup>erke=z te-mp<sup>h</sup>eri=nəʔ*  
 SEQ demon ceiling=LOC IPFV:UP-look=SUB  
*rgɛnmutfu ne-mti wɛʃo ɲoʔ-cə*  
 old.woman’s.son PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub> be.seen be-MED  
 As the demon looked up, he saw and discovered the old woman’s son.

61. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɔʃo=kə rgɛnmutfu=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ demon=ERG old.woman’s.son=place  
*nɛkənə tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə kə-pe tə-tə-ɐre te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 where.you.are what NMLZ:PURP-do PFV:UP-2-go<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the demon said to the old woman’s son, “What did you go up there to do?”

62. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG  
*təmu kə-səylət tə-ɐre-aɲ te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 rain NMLZ:PURP-cause.to.release PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the old woman’s son said, “I have gone up to cause rain to come down.”



63. *qʰoʔ təʔo=kə*  
 SEQ demon=ERG  
*jɐ məsto kə təmu nə-səwɐ té-tsə-cə=nəʔ*  
 EXCLM alright DM rain IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come<sub>3</sub> IPFV-say-MED=SUB  
*rgɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə ó-r<sup>n</sup>be ne-lét ɲoʔ-cə*  
 old.woman's.son=ERG 3SG:POSS-release<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 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.

64. *qʰoʔ tə-cʰɐ ɲoʔ qʰónə*  
 SEQ 2-be.able be SEQ:EMPH  
*pʰrómpʰrom nə-səwɐ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 sleet IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And (the demon) said, “If you can do it, then cause sleet to come down!”

65. *qʰoʔ pʰrómpʰrom nə-səwɐʔ-cə*  
 SEQ coarse.flour PFV:DOWN:TR-cause.to.come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And (the old woman’s son) caused the coarse flour to come down.

66. *qʰoʔ məsto kə tə-cʰɐ qʰónə*  
 SEQ alright DM 2-be.able SEQ:EMPH  
*tʰɔʔ nə-səwɐ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 thunderbolt IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And (the demon) said, “Alright, if you can do it, cause thunderbolts to come down!”

67. *qʰoʔ xpʰɛstot nə-wɛrɛt-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ upper.millstone PFV:DOWN:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*təʔo nə-ntʰe-cə*  
 demon PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And (the old woman’s son) threw down the upper millstone, and killed the demon.

68. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    rewaŋ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ    rgənmutʃu=niʔ                      lɛ-ənəre-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 SEQ    rabbit=and                      old.woman's.son=DU                      PFV:UPRIVER-go.back<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kək<sup>h</sup>e    ke-nəpeʔ-nə    kɛ-tsə    tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 SEQ    family    PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL    GP-say    be.the.rule  
*tɛ-təmʔ tɛ-rɛ nɛ-wɛʔ-cə*<sup>189</sup>

And rabbit and the old woman's son went back upriver, and lived together as a family, it is said.

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<sup>189</sup> This is a formulaic expression uttered at the end of a story.

## SECOND STORY OF OLD WOMAN'S SON AND RABBIT

*rgenmutfusc<sup>h</sup>ənə? rewaŋ*

**Narrator: Nyimathar**

1. *ʃŋonts<sup>h</sup>e=z*      *rgenmutfu=cə?*      *nɐ-to*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 former.time=LOC    old.woman's.son=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 Once there was an old woman's son.

2. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *rewaŋ=cə?*    *nɐ-to*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    rabbit=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And there was a rabbit.

3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kə-ʃŋi=cɛ*      *nɐ-qɐrŋi-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə=nə?*  
 SEQ    one-day=INDF    IPFV:PST-hunt<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED=SUB  
*<sup>n</sup>bronŋ=cə?*      *ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 wild.yak=INDF    PFV-kill<sub>2</sub>-3DU    be-MED  
 One day, while they were hunting, they killed a wild yak.

4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *<sup>n</sup>dzə-prɛke*      *o-vzər*  
 SEQ    3DU:POSS-campsite    3SG:POSS-side  
*<sup>n</sup>bronŋ*      *o-ʃe*      *ne-z<sup>n</sup>dɛʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 wild.yak    3SG:POSS-meat    IPFV:PST:TR-stack.up<sub>2</sub>-3DU    be-MED  
 And they were stacking up the wild yak's meat beside their campsite.

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kəmɐq<sup>h</sup>únə?*    *t<sup>h</sup>e-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri-<sup>n</sup>dzə=nə?*  
 SEQ    afterwards    IPFV-look-3DU=SUB  
*ɛʒonu*    *kəqɐrŋi?*    *χsəmʔ=cə?*    *lɐ-weʔ-nə*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 youth    hunter    three=INDF    PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL    be-MED  
 Afterwards, as they were looking downriver, (they saw) three young hunters came upriver.

6. *qʰoʔ      rewaŋ=kə      rgeŋmutʃu      o-vlo      te-tʃet      ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      rabbit=ERG      old.woman's.son      3SG:POSS-idea      PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>      be-MED  
 And the rabbit offered an idea to the old woman's son,

7. *káde=nəʔ*  
 in.a.while=TOP  
*ɐ-mkɐ      tə-vra      qʰoʔ      kəqɐŋŋiʔ=rɐʔ      nə-pʰa*  
 3SG:POSS-neck      IMP-tether      SEQ      hunter=PL      3PL:POSS-place  
*ɐjiʔ      ɐ-kʰezeʔ      rewaŋ=cəʔ      toʔ=kə*  
 1SG      1SG:POSS-dog      rabbit=INDF      exist=INS  
*sekóʔ=nəŋ      ne-kɐ-lɛt      qʰoʔ      ɣso-sŋi      ne-tso      jɛrmɐ*  
 underbrush=inside      IPFV-GP-release      SEQ      three-day      IPFV-elapse      about  
*kʰezeʔ=kə      redaʔ      mtsʰôʔ      ntʃʰɐ*  
 dog=ERG      game.animal      be.many      kill<sub>3</sub>  
*qʰoʔ      ʃe      nəwəwot      ŋoʔ      ɐ-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      kəqɐŋŋiʔ=rɐʔ=kə      nə-kʰezeʔ      tə-o-saxtu-jə      tsə-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. *ɐ-tə-tə-sɛχtɛ      qʰoʔ      nə-ɐɐr      lɛtʃʰe*  
 IRR-IMP-2-allow.to.buy<sub>3</sub>      SEQ      3PL:POSS-body      thing  
*tʃʰə      kə-toʔ      mɛlɛj=nəʔ*  
 what      NMLZ:SBJ-exist      all=DET

*kəmdiʔ v-nə-tə-nə-səkʰɛ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 all IRR-IMP-2-SPON-cause.to.hand.over<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “Let them buy (me), and take away everything they have on them,” it said.

10. *qʰoʔ kəmtʰa nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*kəqerɲiʔ χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ rɣɛnmʊtʃu=scʰənəʔ rewaŋ=niʔ ʰdzə-pʰa*  
 hunter three=DET=PL old.woman’s.son=and rabbit=DU 3DU:POSS-place  
*lɐ-zɣôʔ-t-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-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-nɛmpʰɛriri=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-look:RDPL=SUB  
*rɣɛnmʊtʃu=nəʔ prɛke vʒər tʰɐ-ɛmdzuʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 old.woman’s.son=DET campsite side CONT:LTR-sit<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*o-vʒər=nəʔ rewaŋ ɐ-vra ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-side=DET rabbit PASS-tether be-MED  
*qʰoʔ mɛʃu o-vʒər=nəʔ ʃɛ ɐ-zʰdɛ wɛʃo ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ further 3SG:POSS-side=DET meat PASS-stack<sub>3</sub> 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 kəqerɲiʔ χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ=kə rɣɛnmʊtʃu ó-pʰa*  
 SEQ hunt three=DET=PL=ERG old.woman’s.son 3SG:POSS-place  
*nɛkənə tʰə tə-ɐsɐ-pe ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 where.you.are what 2-CONT:HTR-do be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
 When the three hunters said to the old woman’s son, “What are you doing over there?”

13. *rgɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə*

old.woman's.son=DET=ERG

*ɛjiʔ ɐ-kʰezeʔ rewaŋ ʃʰikə kə-ʒroʔ=cəʔ toʔ=kə*  
 1SG 1SG:POSS-dog rabbit very NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine=INDF exist=INS  
*ⁿge-qɛrɲiʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ*  
 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 ɐ-kʰezeʔ sekóʔ=naŋ le-kə-lət*

this 1SG:POSS-dog underbrush=insdie IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-release

*qʰónə ne-kə-nɛʒi ⁿdenəʔ kə-reʔ mɐ*  
 SEQ:EMPH IPFV-GP-wait except NMLZ-be.necessary not.exist  
*χso-sɲi jɛrmɐ ne-tso*  
 three-day about IPFV-elapse

*qʰoʔ redaʔ o-fe mtsʰót nɛwəwot ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ game.animal 3SG:POSS-meat be.much bring:RDPL be:EMPH  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*

PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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.

15. *qʰoʔ kəqɛrɲiʔ χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ=kə*

SEQ hunt three=DET=PL=ERG

*rgɛnmufu o-kʰezeʔ nəjɛrmɐ kə-ʒroʔ*  
 old.woman's.son 3SG:POSS-dog so NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine  
*kə-toʔ=nəʔ ʃʰikə ne-nɛsme-nə-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET very IPFV:TR-envy<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And the three hunters envied very much that the old woman's son had such a fine dog.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rɣɛnmufu=p<sup>h</sup>a nɐ-k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=place 2SG:POSS-dog  
*tə-o-sɛxtu-jə te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 IMP-INV-allow.to.buy-1PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they said to the old woman's son, "Sell us your dog!"
17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rɣɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə χfika ne-kə-znɛje=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG very IPFV-NMLZ-begrudge=PL  
*te-nəʃpəzʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-pretend<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the old woman's son pretended to begrudge it very much.
18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ rewaŋ=nəʔ kəqɛrɲiʔ χsəmʔ=rɐʔ te-saxtuʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA rabbit=DET hunter three=PL PFV:TR-allow.to.buy<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And then agreed to let the three hunters buy the rabbit.
19. *o-ffɕɐ=nəʔ kəqɛrɲiʔ χsəmʔ=rɐʔ nə-lat<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>ə*  
 3SG:POSS-return=TOP hunter three=PL 3PL:POSS-object what  
*kə-toʔ mɛləj=rɐʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist all=PL  
*kəmdiʔ ne-sək<sup>h</sup>i ɲoʔ-cə*  
 all PFV:TR-cause.to.hand.over<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 In return, he made the three hunters hand over all their possessions.
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəqɛrɲiʔ=rɐʔ tə-χe=kə*  
 SEQ hunter=PL NMLZ:EXTENT-be.happy<sub>2</sub>=INS  
*rewaŋ te-nəmts<sup>h</sup>i-nə-cə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jɐ-ɐnəre-nə-cə*  
 rabbit PFV:TR-lead.along<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED SEQ PFV-go.back<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And the hunters happily led the rabbit back.

21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sɲi=ce=nəʔ kəqərɲiʔ χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ=kə*  
 SEQ one-day=INDF=TOP hunter three=DET=PL=ERG  
*rewaŋ te-mts<sup>hi</sup>-nə-cə*  
 rabbit PFV:TR-lead.along<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sekóʔ=nəŋ ne-lêʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ underbrush=inside PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 One day, the three hunters led the rabbit along and released it into the underbrush.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ nəʔ-ste=z*  
 SEQ ANA=DET=PL ANA-where.something.is=LOC  
*χso-sɲi χso-rjaʔ məpért<sup>h</sup>ɐ ne-nɛʝi-nə-cə*  
 three-day three-night not.until IPFV:TR-wait.for<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And three days and three nights, they waited right there for it.

23. *ʃənəʔ jɐ-kə-ɐwɛʔ ʃe jɐ-kɐ-wôt*  
 but PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub> meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-bring<sub>2</sub>  
*kdɛnbe nə-mɛʔ-cə*  
 at.all IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But nothing came back at all, and no meat was brought back at all.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kámʔf<sup>h</sup>a nə-rtóχpe tə-sceʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ a.bit 3PL:POSS-suspicion PFV-grow<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 They grew a little suspicious.

25. *ʃənəʔ nəʔ=ntf<sup>h</sup>on=nəʔ*  
 but ANA=also=TOP  
*χso-sle jɛrmɐ ne-nɛʝiʔ-nə-cə*  
 three-month about IPFV:TR-wait.for<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED



*fənəʔ rewaŋ ɛdɛnbe jɐ-kə-ɐwɛʔ mɐ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 but rabbit at.all PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub> not.exist be-MED

But despite that, they still waited for about three months, yet the rabbit did not return at all.

26. *qʰoʔ rɣɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə tə-o-nəvlo-jə-cə=kə*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG PFV-INV-cheat<sub>2</sub>-1PL-MED=INS

*fə-nɐŋoroʔ-jə ɲoʔ te-mətsətsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 AND-seek-1PL be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>: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 rɣɛnmufu kə-nɐŋoroʔ nə-ntsʰa-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son NMLZ:PURP-look PFV-depart<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

And they set out to look for the old woman’s son.

28. *qʰoʔ təjtʃe ome kə-xtɛʔ*  
 SEQ field very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big  
*o-vzər=cɛ jɐ-zɣôʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-side=INDF PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB

And when they arrived at a place beside a very big field,

29. *rɣɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə təjtʃɛ=nəŋ kʰezeʔ ɲnez ɐsɐ-tʃʰɔ*  
 old.woman's.son=DET=ERG field=inside dog two CONT:HTR-use.to.plough  
*ne-mti-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

they saw the old woman’s son using two dogs to plough the field.

30. *qʰoʔ kəqərɲiʔ χsəm=nəʔ=rɐʔ=kə rgɛnmutfú=pʰa*  
 SEQ hunter three=DET=PL=ERG old.woman's.son=place  
*nɛʝiʔ kə-sɛnɛkʰoj jɛsɲiʔ tə-ko-nəvloʔ-jə-cə*  
 2SG NMLZ:SBJ-be.excessively.unkind the.other.day PFV-2→1-cheat₂-1PL-MED  
*jə-rjuʔ kəmdiʔ nə-ko-səkʰi ɲoʔ*  
 1PL:POSS-property all PFV-2→1-cause.to.hand.over₂ be  
*nə-o-séjwɛt-jə ʰdenəʔ kɛdenbe mɐ-joyʔ ɲoʔ*  
 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 rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG  
*tə-wɐⁿgiʔ-nə χfíkə tə-tʂjaŋʔ-nə ɲoʔ*  
 2-be.right-2PL very 2-be.correct-2PL be  
*fənəʔ koʔ təjtʃe kɛ-tʃʰɔ=cə le-səjjoyʔ-aŋ*  
 but this field INF-plough=INDF IPFV:UPRIVER-finish-1SG  
*qʰoʔ noŋme ɐ-kʰɛnaŋ fɛ-jə*  
 SEQ only.then 1SG:POSS-home go-1PL  
*qʰoʔ rjuⁿdʒɐʔ pɔ-aŋ ɲoʔ 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-nɛrtəxpjet-nə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-observe-3PL=SUB  
*nəʔ kʰezeʔ kə-téwɐ=niʔ=kə nɛkəʔ təjtʃe tséʝi*  
 ANA dog one-CL=DU=ERG that.near.you field so

*kə-xteʔ=nəʔ*                      *ké-tʃʰɔ*                      *joyʔ*                      *mɐ=kə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET    INF-plough    finish    not.exist=DM

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. *rgɛnmufu*                      *ó=pʰa*                      *jəjəɐʔ*                      *ne-réski-jə=kə*                      *te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 old.woman’s.son    3SG=place    1PL                      IPFV-pull-1PL=DM    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 So they said to the old woman’s son, “Let us pull (the plough for you)!”

34. *qʰoʔ*    *rgɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə*                      *nə-mkɐ*                      *rtaxsi*  
 SEQ    old.woman’.son=DET=ERG    3PL:POSS-neck    yoke  
*ne-rkoj-cə*  
 PFV:DOWN:TR-put.into<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the old woman’s son put their necks into the yoke,

35. *qʰoʔ*    *təmdzo*                      *lɛkjaɣ*                      *kə-rzərɛ*                      *ne-qəseʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    thorny.plant    whip    NMLZ:SBJ-be.long:RDPL    PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ*    *kəqərɲiʔ*    *nə-ʃqor*                      *rtártov*                      *te-lét-cə*  
 SEQ    hunter    3PL:POSS-buttocks    beating.with.rod    PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and he looked for a long whip of thistles and gave them a severe beating on their buttocks.

36. *qʰoʔ*    *kəqərɲiʔ=rɐʔ*    *rgɛnmufu*                      *kɐ-nəcot*                      *ʃóχtenəʔ*  
 SEQ    hunter=PL    old.woman’s.son    INF-get.back.at    instead.of  
*tɐvəvo=kə*    *jɐ-pʰi-nə*                      *nɐ-re-cə*  
 weep=INS    PFV-escape<sub>2</sub>-3PL    IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the hunters, before they could get back at the old woman’s son, had to run away weeping.

37. *nákasə kə-ŋən vlo tə-kə-tʃet=nəʔ*  
 thus NMLZ:SBJ-be.vicious idea PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-take.out<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*rewaŋ nə-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 rabbit IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And it was the rabbit who came up with that vicious idea.

38. *qʰoʔ leʔ rjéspe ʒaʔ tʰe-ɐre=nəʔ*  
 SEQ again quite.a.while time PFV-go<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 After quite some time went by,

39. *kəqɐrŋiʔ=rɐʔ=kə jɛsŋiʔ ŋónə*  
 hunter=PL=ERG the.other.day TOP:EMPH  
*leʔ tə-ɔjɛznəvloʔ-jə ŋoʔ=kə*  
 again PFV-cause.oneself.to.be.cheated<sub>2</sub>-1PL be=INS  
*kətɛla leʔ rɣɛnmufu ʃə-nɛŋoroʔ-jə*  
 this.time again old.woman's.son AND-look-1PL  
*qʰoʔ kə-ŋóɬɐ=cəʔ nəcot-jə ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ-be.nice=INDF get.back.at-1PL be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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 rɣɛnmufu kə-nɛŋoroʔ nə-ntsʰa-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ again old.woman's.son NMLZ:PURP-look PFV-set.out<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And again, they set out to seek out the old woman’s son.

41. *kəməqʰu=cɛ=nəʔ rɣɛnmufu ó-kʰe kɛ-zɣot*  
 afterwards=INDF=TOP old.woman's.son 3SG:POSS-house INF-arrive  
*nɛ-cʰɐʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

Sometime afterwards, they were able to get to the house of the old woman’s son.

42. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>énan tə-ɐre-nə=nəʔ*

SEQ home PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB

*rgɛnmufu=nəʔ mk<sup>h</sup>ərke tə-ɐre*

old.woman's.son=DET ceiling PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təmnu ɐsɐ-<sup>n</sup>di wɛʃo ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ awl CONT:HTR-hold be.seen be-MED

And as they went up inside the house, they saw that the old woman's son had gone to the ceiling, holding an awl.

43. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgɛnmufú=p<sup>h</sup>a nəkənə t<sup>h</sup>ə kə-pe*

SEQ old.woman's.son=place where.you.are what NMLZ:PURP-do

*tə-tə-ɐre ŋoʔ jɛsɲiʔ leʔ*

PFV:UP-2-go<sub>2</sub> be the.other.day again

*tə-ko-nəvloʔ-jə-cə nɛʃiʔ kə-sɛnɛk<sup>h</sup>oj*

PFV-2→1-cheat<sub>2</sub>-1PL-MED 2SG NMLZ:SBJ-be.excessively.unkind

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!"

44. *josɲiʔ=ta nə-saxsɛl reʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*

today=top IMP-clarify be.necessary except

*mɛ-joyʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*

NEG-be.allowed PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

"Today, you must clarify the matter with us," they said.

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG

*χfíkə tə-tsjanʔ-nə ŋoʔ*

very 2-be.correct-2PL be

And the old woman's son said, "You are so right!"

46. *ʃənəʔ kʰəʔkʰoz ɐ-qɐ kəmtʰa tʰɐ-mɛʔ*  
 but here 1SG:POSS-free.time a.bit CONT:LTR-not.exist<sub>2</sub>  
*təmkəmʃe o-ymórmɐ kə-vra tə-ɐre-aŋ*  
 Heavenly.god 3SG-moustache NMLZ:PURP-tether PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 “But I am being a little occupied here. I have gone up to attach a moustache to Heavenly God,”

47. *qʰoʔ te-səɣjoʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ IPFV-finish-1SG  
*mími ʃla nɐ-wɛ-aŋ ʃteʔ-kə*  
 right.away immediately DOWN-come-1SG be:EMPH-DM  
*nə-oɣ-néji-aŋ-nə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IMP-INV-wait.for-1SG-3PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “as soon as I am done, I will be down right away. Please wait for me,” he said.

48. *qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ kəqɐrɲiʔ=rɐʔ nə-ymórmɐ ʰge-mɐ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA hunter=PL 3PL:POSS-moustache IPFV-not.exist be-MED  
 The hunters did not have moustaches.

49. *qʰoʔ o-ymórmɐ kə-toʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-moustache NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET  
*ɣʃíkə ʰge-nɛsmɛʔ-nə tʃʰoʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV-envy-3PL be.the.rule be-MED  
 And they were always very envious of those who had moustaches.

50. *qʰoʔ kəqɐrɲiʔ=rɐʔ=kə rɣɛnmʉtʃú=pʰa*  
 SEQ hunter=PL=ERG old.woman's.son=place  
*təymórmɐ kə-vra tə-spoj=nəʔ*  
 moustache INF-tether 2-know.how=SUB

*jəʃərvəʔ=ntʃʰon jə-ymórmə tə-vra reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 1PL=also 1PL:POSS-moustache 2-tether be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 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."

51. *qʰoʔ rgenmutʃu=nəʔ=kə kɛffɛt te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG no.problem PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the old woman's son said, "No problem!"

52. *qʰoʔ mkʰərke=z ʃla nə-nlɔ-cə*  
 SEQ ceiling=LOC immediately PFV:DOWN-come.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ təmnu te-ʰdi nə-ymor=rəʔ*  
 SEQ awl PFV:TR:UP-hold<sub>2</sub> 3PL:POSS-mouth=PL  
*te-nətʃʰəvʔ<sup>190</sup> ne-səspɔ*  
 PFV:TR-IDPH<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-make.hole<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ nə-ymórmə te-vraʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-moustache PFV:UP-tether<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And he came down immediately from the ceiling, held up the awl, made small holes on their mouths, and attached moustaches to them.

53. *qʰoʔ kəqərɲiʔ=rəʔ leʔ kɐ-sənəcot ʃóχtenəʔ*  
 SEQ hunter=PL again NMLZ-get.back.at.people before  
*tɐvəvo=kə jɐ-znəʃfɛʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 weeping=INS PFV-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And again the hunters, before they could get back at the old woman's son, were driven away weeping.

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<sup>190</sup> A derived ideophone verb, from the root *tʃʰəv*, describing the sound of sth sharp entering a human body.

54. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəkəsə vloŋen tə-kə-tʃet=nəʔ*  
 SEQ thus vicious.idea PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-take.out<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*leʔ rewaŋ nɐ-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 again rabbit IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And it was again the rabbit who provided such a vicious idea.

55. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəqɐŋiʔ=rɐʔ=kə*  
 SEQ hunter=PL=ERG  
*jəjəɐʔ rɛnmutʃu kɐ-nəcot=nəʔ*  
 1PL old.woman's.son INF-get.back.at=TOP  
*mə-o-səɣc<sup>h</sup>ɐ-jə ʃteʔ-cə=kə*  
 NEG-INV-cause.to.be.able-1PL be:EMPH-MED=INS  
*χsonərʒetʃórjəl ó-p<sup>h</sup>a kə-sɛ<sup>n</sup>dʒu ʃɐ-jə=kə*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-place NMLZ:PURP-accuse.people go-1PL=DM  
*te-mətsətsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>: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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rɛnmutʃu te-<sup>n</sup>dʒu-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ old.woman's.son PFV:TR-accuse<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And they sued the old woman’s son.

57. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ rewaŋ=kə*  
 SEQ again rabbit=ERG  
*rɛnmutʃu o-vlo te-tʃet-cə*  
 old.woman's.son 3SG:POSS-idea PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And again the rabbit offered the old woman’s son an idea.



58. *nə-qe<sup>n</sup>bru?*                      *χfíkə*    *tə-zrěmp<sup>h</sup>jor*  
 2SG:POSS-male.yak    very    IMP-cause.to.be.dressed.up  
*q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *fět<sup>h</sup>i=z*                              *t<sup>h</sup>v-fě*  
 SEQ    downriver.place=LOC    IMP:DOWNRIVER-go  
 “Dress up your male yak, and go downriver,”
59. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *χsonárze t<sup>h</sup>órjəl*    *tərke*    *<sup>n</sup>dε*  
 SEQ    PN                              mule    ride<sub>3</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *nə-ɣóri*                      *wi*    *fte?<sup>2</sup>=kə*  
 SEQ    2SG:POSS-front    come    be:EMPH=INS  
*nə-nwət<sup>2</sup>fě?-aŋ*                      *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *nə-kə-q<sup>h</sup>ro*  
 IPFV:PST-be.at.fault<sub>2</sub>-1SG    SEQ    2SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-meet  
*t<sup>h</sup>v-wε?<sup>2</sup>-aŋ*                              *ŋo?*    *v-tə-tá-tsə*  
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *nə-qe<sup>n</sup>bru?<sup>2</sup>=nə?*                      *χsonárze t<sup>h</sup>órjəl*    *v-tə-tə-sá<sup>n</sup>dε*  
 SEQ    2SG:POSS-male.yak=DET    PN                              IRR-IMP:UP-2-cause.to.ride<sub>3</sub>  
*něji?<sup>2</sup>=nə?*    *o-tərke*                      *v-tə-tá-<sup>n</sup>dε*  
 2SG=TOP    3SG:POSS-mule    IRR-IMP:UP-2-ride<sub>3</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *v-lv-tə-zmėkoj*  
 SEQ    IRR-IMP:UPRIVER-2-cause.to.go.in.front<sub>3</sub>  
 “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. *fěto*                      *qěsŋa*  
 up.there    mountain.slope.with.mudflow.traces  
*kə-to?<sup>2</sup>=nə?*                              *le-zyot=nə?*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET    IPFV:UPRIVER-arrive=SUB

*ɕjiʔ=kə o-qeʰbruʔ znɛscer-aŋ ŋoʔ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 1SG=ERG 3SG:POSS-male.yak startle-1SG be=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“And when you arrive upriver at where there is a mountain slope with mudflow traces, I will startle his male yak,” it said.

62. *qʰoʔ rgeɳmutʃu=nəʔ qeʰbruʔ=rɐʔ te-zrɛmpʰjorʔ-cə*  
 SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET male.yak=PL PFV:TR-cause.to.be.dressed.up<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ ʃetʰi=cɛ tʰɐ-ɐre=nəʔ*  
 SEQ downriver.place=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>=SUB

And when the old woman’s son dressed up the male yak and went up to a certain place downriver,

63. *o-ɕóri=z ɕsonǎrʒetʃʰórjɐl tɛrkɐ ɛsɐ-ʰdi*  
 3SG:POSS-front=LOC PN mule CONT:HTR-ride  
*o-ɕóri lɐ-wɛʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-front PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 before him, Yama came up in front toward upriver, riding a mule.

64. *qʰoʔ rgeɳmutʃu=nəʔ=kə ɕsonǎrʒetʃʰórjɐl=pʰa*  
 SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG PN=place  
*nɐ-nwɛtʃeʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ*  
 IPFV:PST-be.at.fault<sub>2</sub>-1SG be  
*nɐ-kə-qʰro tʰɐ-wɛʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 2SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-meet PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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-qeʰbruʔ=nəʔ χsonárzetʃʰórjəl te-səʰdi-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-male.yak=DET PN PFV:TR-cause.to.ride<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*oʃiʔ=nəʔ χsonárze tʃʰórjəl o-tərke te-ʰdi-cə*  
 3SG=TOP PN 3SG:POSS-mule PFV:TR-ride<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ le-zmɛko-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:UPRIVER:TR-cause.to.go.in.front<sub>2</sub>-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 qɛsɲa ó-ta*  
 SEQ mountain.slope.with.mudflow.traces 3SG:POSS-top  
*tʃʰoʰbejʔ ne-kə-fɛ kə-toʔ lɛ-zɣôʔ-ʰdzə=nəʔ*  
 road IPFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-go NMLZ:SBJ-exist PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3DU=SUB

And when the two of them arrived at where the road went through a mountain slope with mudflow traces,

67. *tʃʰoʰu qɛmpʰɔ=nəŋ*  
 road.side.of.mountain oak.copse=inside  
*rewəŋ lɛmɛstəŋjet ʃla tʰɛ-nəmdɛrʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 rabbit suddenly quickly PFV:DOWNRIVER-jump<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

and when the rabbit leapt suddenly downriver from inside an oak copse on the mountain side of the road,

68. *χsonárze tʃʰórjəl o-qeʰbruʔ ne-sənpʰa-cə*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-male.yak PFV:TR-cause.to.startle.and.flee<sub>2</sub>-MED

and caused Yama's male yak to startle and flee,

69. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *χsonǎrʒetʃ<sup>h</sup>órjəl* *o-qe<sup>n</sup>bruʔ=niʔ*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-male.yak=DU  
*qésna=ta* *nɐ-ɛntɐ-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 mountain.slope.with.mudflow.traces=top PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *koqe<sup>n</sup>bru<sup>n</sup>bruʔ* *nɐ-set-<sup>n</sup>dzə* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ together.with-male.yak PFV:DOWN-die<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 Yama, together with the yak, fell down from the slope with mudflow traces and were killed both.

70. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *təmdánə*  
 SEQ in.the.end  
*kəqerŋiʔ* *χsəmʔ=rɐʔ* *rgɛnmufu* *kɐ-nəcot*  
 hunter three=PL old.woman's.son INF-get.back.at  
*mə-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-nə* *məkáts<sup>h</sup>ɛt* *χsonǎrʒe tʃ<sup>h</sup>órjəl*  
 NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL not.only PN  
*nɐ-sqor-nə=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on* *rgɛnmufu*  
 PFV:TR-send.for<sub>2</sub>-3PL=also old.woman's.son  
*kɐ-nəcot* *mə-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 INF-see.justice NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-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 FOOLED A BALD HEADMAN

*c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu kə tɛrɔ? kətim? təkənəvlo?cə xpe*

**Narrator: Nyimathar**

1. *c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=nə? kəru? o-sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e*  
 PN=DET Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-place  
*kɛ-sɛnəvlo kə-rkəŋ o-ffɛt*  
 INF-do.cheating NMLZ:SBJ-be.adept 3SG:POSS-fame  
*kə-to?=cə? nɛ-ŋo-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED

Khyergopu was a man in the Rgyalrong land famed for his skills in cheating people.

2. *q<sup>h</sup>o? kə-sŋi=cɛ=nə? yrɛko=ta nɛ-nkɛ?-cə=nə?*  
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET ridge=top IPFV:PST-walk<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*fɛki <sup>n</sup>ge-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri=nə?*  
 down.yonder IPFV:DOWN-look=SUB  
*<sup>n</sup>gɔɣlɛ=cə? wɛjo nɛ-ŋo*  
 bald.person=INDF be.seen IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>

One day, as he was walking on a mountain ridge, he looked downhill and saw a bald man.

3. *q<sup>h</sup>o? c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə nə? ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-place  
*qəj fɛki <sup>n</sup>gɔɣlɛ*  
 EXCL down.yonder bald.person:VOC  
*χsu-sŋi mɛ-tso=z ɛ-p<sup>h</sup>je*  
 three-day NEG-elapse=LOC 1SG:POSS-excrement  
*tɛ-səqérte tɛ-tsə?-cə*  
 1→2-cause.to.wear PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>goɣlɐ=nəʔ                      nənəz                      setʃ<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    bald.person=DET    there                      place=DET  
*tɐroʔ                      kə-timʔ=cəʔ                      nɐ-ŋo-cə*  
 headman    NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF    IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The bald person was a rich headman of that region.

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    nəkəsə    kɐ-ɔʃɐsnəsmɐp<sup>h</sup>ɐvʔ                      mɐ-ɾɲɛʔ                      ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    thus                      INF-cause.oneself.to.be.insulted    NEG-experience<sub>3</sub>    be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    o-múru                      o-ʃet=kə                      jə-nə-<sup>n</sup>baʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-anger    3SG:POSS-extent=INS    PROS-PFV-burst<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He had never got himself insulted like that, and he almost exploded with anger.

6. *ʃənəʔ    c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=nəʔ    ʃeto                      ɣrɛko=z    t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-smo                      ʃieʔ-cə*  
 but    PN=DET                      up.there    ridge=LOC    CONT:LTR-be.present<sub>2</sub>    be:EMPH-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə                      kɐ-pe=cəʔ                      nɐ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH    NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF    IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But Khyergopu was up there on the mountain ridge, and there was nothing he could do about it.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ                      ɣsu-sɲi                      nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ                      c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə                      ɐrtʃo*  
 SEQ                      three-day    PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=DET    PN=ERG                      pilgrim  
*te-nəʃpəzʔ-cə                      q<sup>h</sup>oʔ                      q<sup>h</sup>ɐnəʔ                      <sup>n</sup>goɣlɐʔ                      ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 PFV:TR-disguise<sub>2</sub>-MED    SEQ    ANA    bald.person    3SG:POSS-place  
*ʃə-nɐ-nəɾmeʔ-cə*  
 AND-IPFV-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 After three days, Khyergopu disguised himself as a pilgrim, and went to spend the night at the bald person's place.

8. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə ˈgoʊlɐ=pʰa nɛjiʔ nɐ-kormɐ*  
 SEQ PN=ERG bald.person=place 2SG 2SG:POSS-hair.of.head  
*mɐ-cə=kə ɛjiʔ=kə nɐ-kormɐ te-kə-wi*  
 not.exist-MED=INS 1SG=ERG 2SG:POSS-hair IPFV:UP-NMLZ-grow  
*pɔ-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 do3-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED

Khyergopu said to the bald person, “Since you have no hair on your head, I will make your hair grow out.”

9. *qʰoʔ ˈgoʊlɐ=nəʔ=kə aː kʰétʂo ptʂéfi*  
 SEQ bald.person=DET=ERG EXCL thank.you  
*χfikə tə-mɯŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 very 2-be.in.one’s.debt be PFV:TR-say2-MED

And the bald one said, “Ah, thank you very much, I am so grateful to you!”

10. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə qʰənəʔ=rɐʔ ná-pʰa*  
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA=PL 3PL:POSS-place  
*tsəntoʔ=cəʔ ʃə-tə-nɛŋoroʔ-nə*  
 scissors=INDF AND-IMP-find-2PL  
*ɛjiʔ ɛtoʔ nɛmkʰe=z tɛrmɐ ʃə-séʰbi-aŋ*  
 1SG up.here sky=LOC hair AND-ask.for-1SG  
*qʰoʔ nɐ-kormɐ vli-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-hair plant-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED

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.”

11. *qʰoʔ tsəntoʔ ʃə-te-nɛŋoro-nə-cə*  
 SEQ scissors AND-PFV-look2-3PL-MED

And they went away to look for scissors.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə ó-p<sup>h</sup>əm=nan səqətsútsu*  
 SEQ PN=ERG 3SG:POSS-bosom=inside stealthily  
*tərmə=rəʔ kə-mʈʂəʔ ne-rkoʔ-cə*  
 hair=PL one-pinch PFV:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Khyergopu stealthily put a pinch of hair in his bosom.

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pərtseko tə-vre-cə*  
 SEQ roof.platform PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tərmə ʃə-nə-kə-sə<sup>n</sup>bi te-nəʃpəzəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ hair AND-IPFV:PST-NMLZ-ask.for<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-pretend<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he went upstairs to the roof platform, and pretended to be asking for hair.

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tərmə ne-wôt-cə*  
 SEQ hair PFV:DOWN:TR-bring<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təjʈʃəʁuʔ lə-vre-cə*  
 SEQ inner.side.of.field PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He brought the hair downstairs, and then went up to the upper side of a field.<sup>191</sup>

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pəliʔ=cəʔ te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
 SEQ felt.hat=INDF PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pəliʔ=nan tərmə ne-rko*  
 SEQ felt.hat=inside hair PFV:TR:DOWN-put.in<sub>2</sub>  
*o-p<sup>h</sup>je ne-lêʈ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-excrement PFV:TR:DOWN-release<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And took a felt hat, put the hair in, and shitted in it.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>goklə=nəʔ te-sqərteʔ-cə*  
 SEQ bald.person=DET PFV:TR-cause.to.wear<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he made the bald one wear (the hat).

<sup>191</sup> The upper side of a hillside terrace field.



17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG  
*kəkoʔ pɔliʔ=nəʔ χso-sɲi χso-rjaʔ v-mə-nv-tə-mɣv*  
 this felt.hat=DET three-day three-night IRR-NEG-IMP:DOWN-2-take<sub>3</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə nə-kormv wi fteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH 2SG-hair.of.head come be:EMPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>goklɐ=kə q<sup>h</sup>vnəʔ pɔliʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ bald.person=ERG ANA felt.hat=DET  
*χso-sɲi χso-rjəʔ ne-qvɛɾteʔ-cə*  
 three-day three-night IPFV:PST:TR-wear<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the bald one wore the felt hat for three days and three nights.
19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=z*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET 3SG:POSS-place=LOC  
*nɛʝiʔ v-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ tə-ʃkraʔ=kə*  
 2SG 1SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET 2-be.intelligent=INS  
*v-koʔ tə-rtɔʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə t<sup>h</sup>v-fsâɾt-cə=kə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 1SG:POSS-head IMP-check what CONT:LTR-be.like<sub>2</sub>-MED=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET=ERG  
*ó-pe o-koʔ te-rtɔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-head PFV:TR-check<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

*é-pe təp<sup>h</sup>je-ldi ne-mnəm? te-tsə?-cə*  
 1SG-father excrement-odor IPFV-give.off PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

When his eldest son checked his father's head, he said, "Father smells of excrement!"

21. *q<sup>h</sup>o? <sup>n</sup>goɣlɛ=nə? tə-rəmuru?-cə*  
 SEQ bald.person=DET PFV-get.angry<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>o? o-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>o? kə-xtɛ? ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=z*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big 3SG:POSS-place=LOC  
*skɛtɣɛn=nə? tə-tsə=kə*  
 bad.language=DET 2-say=DM

And the bald one got angry, and (said) to his eldest son, "You speak nothing but foul language!"

22. *q<sup>h</sup>o? o-tʃu təlez?=nə? ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=z*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son second=DET 3SG:POSS-place=LOC  
*ɐ-tʃu təlez?=nə? tə-ʃkra?=kə*  
 1SG:POSS-son second=DET 2-be.intelligent=INS  
*ɐ-ko? tə-rtɔ? tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ʃsət-cə=kə te-tsə?-cə*  
 1SG:POSS-head IMP-check what CONT:LTR-be.like<sub>2</sub>-MED=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he said to his second son, "My second son, as you are intelligent, check my head and see what it is like."

23. *q<sup>h</sup>o? o-tʃu təlez?=nə?=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-on second=DET=ERG  
*ó-pe o-ko? te-rtɔ-cə=nə?*  
 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-head PFV-check<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*le? o-tʃu st<sup>h</sup>o? kə-xtɛ?=kə te-tsə?=kəsə=nə?*  
 again 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ-be.big=ERG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>=like=DET

*te-tsəʔ*                      *ʃteʔ-nəŋo*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>        be:EMPH-MED

When his second son had checked his father's head, he again said the same things as the eldest son had said.

24. *ⁿgoklɐ=nəʔ*                      *mɛʃu*        *tə-rɛmuruʔ-cə*  
 bald.person=DET        further        PFV-be.angry<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ*        *ⁿdzəʃəniʔ*        *skɛnɲɛn*                      *kɛ-tsə*                      *kámaⁿdenəʔ*  
 SEQ        2DU                      foul.language        NMLZ-say                      besides  
*kəmaʔ*        *ⁿdzə-kɛ-spe*    *mɛ*                      *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 other        3DU:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-be.able        not.exist        PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the bald one got more angry and said to them, “You two can do nothing except using foul language!”

25. *qʰoʔ*        *o-tʃu*                      *stʰoʔ*        *kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ*                      *ó-pʰa=z*  
 SEQ        3SG:POSS-son        most        NMLZ-be.small=DET        3SG:POSS-place=LOC  
*ɐ-tʃu*                      *stʰoʔ*        *kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ*                      *tə-ʃkraʔ=kə*  
 1SG:POSS-son        most        NMLZ-be.small=DET        2-be.intelligent=INS  
*ɐ-koʔ*                      *tə-rtɔʔ*        *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 1SG:POSS-head        2-check        PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And he said to his youngest son, “My youngest son, as you are intelligent, check my head.”

26. *qʰoʔ*        *kə-ŋolálɐ*    *te-rtɔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ        NMLZ-be.good:RDPL        PFV:TR-check<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*ɛ-pe*                      *ɐ-je=niʔ*    *wɛⁿgiʔ-ⁿdzə-cə*  
 1SG:POSS-father        1SG:POSS-brother=DU        be.right-3DU-MED

*nə-koʔ*                      *ó-ta*                      *kətaʔ*    *təpʰje*                      *wɛʝo*  
 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. *tʂʰucənəmánə*

perhaps

*jɛsɲiʔ*                      *qəj*                      *ɐ-pʰje*                      *tɐ-səqérte*  
 the.other.day    EXCL    1SG:POSS-excrement    1→2-cause.to.wear  
*tə-kə-tsəʔ=nəʔ*                      *nɐ-tə-tʰəɣ*                      *másoⁿdenəʔ*                      *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 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*    *ⁿgoklɐ=nəʔ*                      *təpʰje*                      *ɐsɐ-qɛrte*                      *ne-sərtə-cə*  
 SEQ    bald.person=DET    excrement    CONT:HTR-wear    PFV:TR-realize₂-MED  
 And the bald one realized that he was wearing excrement.

29. *qʰoʔ*    *ɛhɛhɛɛ:*  
 SEQ    EXCL

*ʃórⁿdʒi*                      *ɐrtʃo=nəʔ=kə*  
 the.day.before.yesterday    pilgrim=DET=ERG  
*tə-ɔjɛsənəvloʔ-aŋ-cə*                      *jɐ*                      *ne-səsi-cə*  
 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-múru=kə*                      *jə-nə-ⁿbaʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    again    3SG:POSS-anger=INS    PROS=PFV-burst₂-MED  
 And again he almost exploded with anger.

31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rəmde o-kə-χtaʔ lə-ere-cə*  
 SEQ track 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-chase PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he went upriver to track him down.

32. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ feli=cε lə-zyôʔt=nəʔ*  
 SEQ upriver=INDF PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*rgonbe=cəʔ wəʃo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 monastery=INDF be.seen be-MED  
 When he arrived at a certain place upriver, he found a monastery there.

33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgonbe cent<sup>h</sup>aŋ ó-p<sup>h</sup>i=nəʔ*  
 SEQ monastery fresco 3SG:POSS-underside=DET  
*c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu o-mdzorʔ f<sup>h</sup>kótse kə-támdzor ɛsɐ-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-lap stone one-lapful CONT:HTR-hold  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>əm=z rŋəlkor=rɐʔ kámʃ<sup>h</sup>a ne-nəʃkro*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-bosom=LOC silver.coin=PL a.bit IPFV-reveal  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-smo wəʃo-nəŋo*  
 SEQ CONT:LTR-be.present<sub>2</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>goʒlɐ=nəʔ=kə c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ bald.person=DET=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-place  
*c<sup>h</sup>érgɛn nəʃiʔ kə-sɛnóvlo*  
 old.chap 2SG NMLZ:SBJ-cheat.people  
*<sup>n</sup>deʔ ké-p<sup>h</sup>i mə-nɐ-tə-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ-cə wɐ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 more INF-escape NEG-IPFV:PST-2-be.able-MED DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the bald one said to Khyergopu, “You old swindler! You can’t run away anymore,  
 can you?”

35. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə nə-kʰe nə-ⁿde*  
 SEQ PN=ERG 2SG:POSS-mouth IMP-hold<sub>3</sub>  
 And Khyergopu said, “Hold your mouth!”

36. *kʰəʔkʰoz cəntʰaŋ kə-némdu qʰri kə-juʔ tɛmɛ*  
 here fresco INF-guard.over pigeon INF-guard.against job  
*χʰikə kə-vde=cəʔ wɛʃo*  
 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-kə-némdu qʰoʔ vlərge=rɛʔ tʰe-krozʔ-nə=nəʔ*  
 this IPFV-GP-guard SEQ monk=PL IPFV:OUT-come.off.class-3PL=SUB  
*rɲəlkor kʰe-lvaʔ koy-ⁿbiʔ-nəŋo te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 silver.coin each-piece GP:INV-give-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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 ⁿgoklɛ=nəʔ=kə cəntʰaŋ ne-kə-némdu tsaxtsaʔnəʔ*  
 SEQ bald.person=DET=ERG fresco IPFV-GP-guard merely  
*vlərge=rɛʔ=kə rɲəlkor əntsɛʃi kə-lɛn koy-ⁿbiʔ-cə*  
 monk=PL=ERG silver coin.so NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity GP:INV-give-MED  
*qʰoʔ nəʔ χʰikə vde-cə ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ ANA very be.good-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-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 ⁿgoklɛ=nəʔ=kə cʰərgópu ó-pʰa*  
 SEQ bald.person=DET=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-place  
*ʃórⁿdzi tə-ko-nəvloʔ-aŋ*  
 day.before.yesterday PFV-2→1-cheat<sub>2</sub>-1SG

*nɐ-pʰjeʔ=rɐʔ*                      *tə-ko-səqɐrtɐʔ-aŋ*  
 2SG:POSS-excrement=PL      PFV-2→1-cause.to.wear<sub>2</sub>-1SG

And the bald one (said) to Khyergopu, “You cheated me the day before yesterday, and made me wear your excrement,”

40. *ʃənəʔ*    *nɛkənəʔ*            *kɐ-némɔdzu*    *tɐmɐ=nəʔ*    *ɐjiʔ*    *nə-o-znətɐʔ-aŋ*  
 but      that.near.you    INF-guard    job=DET    1SG    IMP-INV-<sub>yield</sub>-1SG  
*qʰónə*            *poj*            *ʃteʔ=kə*  
 SEQ:EMPH      do<sub>3</sub>            be:EMPH=DM

“but yield to me (the task of) guarding it, and (my grievances against you) are settled.”

41. *mɛju*    *ɛ-<sup>n</sup>bri*                      *ɐ-tomde=rɐʔ*            *jɐ-nə-tsomʔ*  
 further    1SG:POSS-horse    1SG:POSS-gun=PL    IMP-SPON-take.thither  
*qʰónə*    *tenaxpjet*<sup>192</sup>=*kə*    *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      so.be.it=DM            PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“Furthermore, take away my horse and my gun, and so be it,” he said.

42. *qʰoʔ*    *cʰərgópu=kə*            *χfíkə*            *nə-kə-znɐjeʔ*            *te-nəʃpəzʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      PN=ERG                      very            PFV-NMLZ-begrudge<sub>2</sub>    PFV:TR-pretend<sub>2</sub>-MED

And Khyergopu pretended to begrudge it very much.

43. *qʰoʔ*    *<sup>n</sup>goɣlɐ*                      *ó-pʰa=z*  
 SEQ      bald.person    3SG:POSS-place=LOC  
*ʃteʔ*            *ʃteʔ*            *jɐsɲiʔ*                      *tə-tɐ-nəvloʔ-cə=kə*  
 be:EMPH    be:EMPH    the.other.day    PFV-1→2-cheat<sub>2</sub>-MED=INS  
*qʰónə*            *ne-tɐ-znətɐʔ*            *tʃɛ̃t*                      *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*            *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH    IPFV-1→2-yield    be.necessary    DM            PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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.”

<sup>192</sup> A frozen unanalyzable expression uttered when one is resigned to an undesirable situation.

44. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə ˈgoklɐ ó-ˈbri=rɐʔ te-ˈdi-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG bald.person 3SG:POSS-horse=PL PFV:TR:UP-mount<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*o-tomde=rɐʔ te-fkor-cə qʰoʔ jɐ-nə-ʃɛʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-gun=PL PFV:UP:TR-put.on.back<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ PFV-SPON-go<sub>2</sub>-MED

And Khyergopu mounted the bald one's horse, carried the gun up on back, and left.

45. *qʰoʔ ˈgoklɐ=nəʔ cɛntʰaŋ kɐ-némɔɖzu te-je ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ bald.person=DEF fresco INF-guard PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the bald one began to guard the fresco.

46. *qʰri kʰe-rɔʔ le-wi<sup>193</sup> cɛntʰaŋ ó-ta*  
 pigeon each-CL IPFV:UPRIVER-come fresco 3SG:POSS-top  
*ˈge-nəne=nəʔ ʃkótse kʰe-rɔʔ te-wérɐt 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 vlɛrge=rɐʔ tʰɐ-kroz-nə*  
 SEQ monk=PL PFV:OUT-come.off.class<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*o-pʰjiʔ tʰɐ-nlɔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-outside PFV:OUT-exit<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB

When the monks came off a (sutra chanting) session and came out,

48. *qʰɛnəʔ ˈgoklɐ=nəʔ=kə cɛntʰaŋ ó-ta*  
 ANA bald.person=DET=ERG fresco 3SG:POSS-top  
*ʃkótse te-wérɐt ne-mti-nə-cə mɛkətsʰɐt*  
 stone IPFV-throw PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED not.only  
*cɛntʰaŋ ó-ɬɐ=rcənəʔ*  
 fresco 3SG:POSS-face=EMPH

<sup>193</sup> The present imperfective creates an effect of vividness.



*rts<sup>h</sup>arts<sup>h</sup>əmɛlɛʔ*    *ne-səʔso*    *wɛʃo*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
IDPH<sup>194</sup>    PFV:TR-cause<sub>2</sub>    be.seen    be-MED

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.

49. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *vlɛrgɛ=rɛʔ*    *χʃikə*    *nə-múru*    *tə-<sup>n</sup>gu-cə*  
SEQ    monk=PL    very    3PL:POSS-anger    PFV-rise<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *q<sup>h</sup>ɛnəʔ*    *<sup>n</sup>goʔlɛ=nəʔ=rcənəʔ*  
SEQ    ANA    bald.person=DET=EMPH  
*táb<sup>n</sup>dət=kə*    *vdajaʔ*<sup>195</sup>    *ne-lêʔ-nə-cə*  
beating=INS    severely    PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

The monks got very angry, and gave the bald one a severe beating.

50. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *<sup>n</sup>goʔlɛ=nəʔ=kə*    *c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə*    *leʔ*  
SEQ    bald.person=DET=ERG    PN=ERG    again  
*tə-ɔjɛznəvloʔ=nəʔ*    *noŋme-<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
PFV-cause.oneself.to.be.cheated<sub>2</sub>=SUB    until.now-except  
*me-ne-səʔtɔ-cə*  
NEG-PFV:TR-realize<sub>2</sub>-MED

Only then did the bald one realize that he once more got himself fooled by Khyergopu.

51. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *χéwo*    *ne-səsi-cə*  
SEQ    EXCL    PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
And he thought, “Damn!”

<sup>194</sup> An ideophone describing sth hard getting all kinds of dents and holes.

<sup>195</sup> An adverbial describing severity of beatings, from Tibetan <rdung.yag>.

52. *fənəʔ kɛ-pe nɛ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 but NMLZ:SBJ:U-do IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*lastoŋ kʰénəŋ tʰɛ-ɛnəre nɛ-re-cə*  
 empty-handed home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-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

*c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu*

**Narrator: Lemi**

1. *ʃɲonts<sup>h</sup>e=cɛ=z*      *rjélpo=cəʔ*      *<sup>n</sup>ge-toʔ*      *ɲoʔ-cə*  
former.time=INDF=LOC    chieftain=INDF    IPFV-exist    be-MED  
Once there was a chieftain.
  
2. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *rjélpo=nəʔ*      *c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
SEQ    chieftain=DET    PN=place  
*tətʃe*    *kə-vzjaŋ*      *<sup>n</sup>ge-səsəʔ*    *ɲoʔ-cə*  
lying    INF-learn    IPFV-want<sub>3</sub>    be-MED  
The chieftain wanted to learn how to tell lies from Khyergopu.
  
3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ*      *rjélpo=nəʔ*      *tə-rənts<sup>h</sup>a-cə*  
SEQ    one-day=INDF=DET    chieftain=DET    PFV-make.preparations<sub>2</sub>-MED  
One day, the chieftain made preparations.
  
4. *koχtʃen*    *tá<sup>n</sup>ge*      *te-<sup>n</sup>geʔ-cə*  
satin      clothes    PFV:TR-put.on<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*o-ɸjɔʔ=rɐʔ*      *te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*      *<sup>n</sup>bri*      *te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
3SG:POSS-servant=PL    PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-MED    horse    PFV:TR-ride<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *k<sup>h</sup>epo=rɐʔ*    *te-fkor-cə*  
SEQ    rifle=PL    PFV:TR-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>o*    *c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu*    *kə-qése*      *nə-nts<sup>h</sup>a*      *ɲoʔ-cə*  
SEQ    PN      NMLZ:PURP-look    PFV-set.out<sub>2</sub>    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 tʃoʰbajʔ=cɛ ɐrtʃo=cəʔ ne-mti-cə*  
 SEQ road=INDF pilgrim=INDF PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Somewhere on his way, he saw a pilgrim.

6. *qʰoʔ ɐrtʃo=kə qʰɛʔ=rɐʔ nə-pʰa=nəʔ*  
 SEQ pilgrim=ERG ANA=PL 3PL:POSS-place=DET  
*ŋɛtʃʰəz tə-fɐ-nə ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 where 2-go-2PL be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the pilgrim said to these people, “Where are you going?”

7. *qʰoʔ jəjərəʔ cʰərgópu=pʰa*  
 SEQ 1PL:EXCL PN=place  
*tɛtʃe kə-vzjaŋ jə-fɐ-jə ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 lying NMLZ:PURP-learn PROS-go-1PL be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 They said, “We are going to learn the art of lying from Khyergopu.”

8. *qʰoʔ ɐrtʃo=nəʔ=kə a: cʰərgópu=nəʔ ɐjiʔ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ pilgrim=DET=ERG EXCL PN=DET 1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The pilgrim said, “Ah, I am Khyergopu himself.”

9. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə josŋiʔ ŋónə*  
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG today TOP  
*ɐ-kóri ne-sto-cə*  
 1SG:POSS-front IPFV-be.straight<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ tɛtʃe kɐ-pe=cəʔ kəmtʃʰa nɐ-o-sám-tsi-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ lying INF-do=INDF some IMP-INV-teach-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The chieftain said, “Today is my lucky day! Teach me something about lying.”

10. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=nəʔ=kə kə-sámtsi=nəʔ tɐ-sámtsi*  
 SEQ PN=DET=ERG INF-teach=DET 1→2-teach  
 And Khyergopu said, “As for teaching, yes, I will teach you.”

11. *fənəʔ tɛʈfɛ kə-pe ɐ-jəʔe mən-tə-<sup>n</sup>di-aŋ-cə*  
 but lying INF-do 1SG:POSS-book NEG-PFV-take<sub>2</sub>-1SG-MED  
*qʰoʔ fə-kə-roʔ ləʔ-cə jɐ*  
 SEQ AND-INF-fetch have.no.choice.but-MED DM  
 “But I have not taken my book on lying with me. I will have to go and fetch it,” he said.

12. *kə-nkə ne-fɐ-aŋ joyʔ fənəʔ ɐrqʰe-cə*  
 INF-walk IPFV-go-1SG be.allowed but be.far-MED  
*qʰoʔ nɛ-<sup>n</sup>bri té-<sup>n</sup>di-aŋ ləʔ*  
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-horse IPFV-ride-1SG have.no.choice.but  
*máso te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “I may go by foot, but it will be far. So I have to ride on your horse, don’t I?” he said.

13. *qʰoʔ rjélpo=nəʔ=kə vde qʰoʔ <sup>n</sup>bri tá-<sup>n</sup>dɛ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG be.good SEQ horse IMP-ride<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The chieftain said, “Alright. Ride my horse!”

14. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə <sup>n</sup>bri te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG horse PFV:TR-ride<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ <sup>n</sup>bri o-zgɛ=ta téqɐv <sup>n</sup>ge-sétɐ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ horse 3SG:POSS-back=top needle IPFV:DOWN-prick<sub>3</sub> be-MED  
*<sup>n</sup>bri te-znɐmderámder ɲoʔ-cə*  
 horse PFV-cause.to.jump<sub>2</sub>:RDPL be-MED  
 Khyergopu mounted the horse, pricked a needle repeatedly into the horse’s back, and made the horse leap about.

15. *ozor?* *ko?* *né-<sup>n</sup>bri=nə?* *rətʂi-cə=kə*  
 while this 2SG:POSS-horse=DET be.shy.of.strangers-MED=INS  
*né-<sup>n</sup>ge* *nə-rtə* *te-<sup>n</sup>ge-aŋ* *te-qérte-aŋ*  
 2SG:POSS-clothes 2SG:POSS-hat IPFV-put.on-1SG IPFV-wear(.hat)-1SG  
*q<sup>h</sup>o?* *nə-k<sup>h</sup>epo=rə?* *te-fko?-aŋ* *tʃét-cə* *te-tsə?-cə*  
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-rifle=PL IPFV-carry.on.back-1SG be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 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.”

16. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *rjəlpo=nə?=kə* *vde* *vde* *te-tsə?-cə*  
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG be.good be.good PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>o?* *ó-<sup>n</sup>ge* *o-rtə* *o-k<sup>h</sup>epo*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-clothes 3SG:POSS-hat 3SG:POSS-rifle  
*kəmdi?* *ne-sək<sup>h</sup>ək<sup>h</sup>i-cə*  
 all PFV:TR-hand.to<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-MED  
 The chieftain said, “Alright, alright,” and handed his clothes, his hat, and his rifle all to him.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>o?* *c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=nə?*  
 SEQ PN=DET  
*təci?=naŋ* *kə-<sup>196</sup>nə<sup>n</sup>go?* *p<sup>h</sup>éri* *tə-nlɔ-cə*  
 river=inside PFV-cross<sub>2</sub> other.bank PFV:UP-come.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Khyergopu waded (on horseback) across the river and came up at the other side of the river.

<sup>196</sup> Eastward or *cislocative* orientation is used here for the meaning ‘toward center of the river’.

18. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

*kə-sənóvlo=nəʔ nəʔ te-kə-so ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

GP-do.cheating=DET ANA IPFV-GP-do be:EMPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And Khyergopu said, “Rip people off is just like this!”

19. *qʰoʔ rjélpo o-múru=rcənəʔ*

SEQ chieftain 3SG:POSS-anger=TOP:EMPH

*cʰərgópu v-nə-set o-mtʰu=cəʔ*

PN IRR-PFV-die 3SG:POSS-curse=INDF

*ʃə-<sup>n</sup>ge-kə-sələt reʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə*

AND-IPFV-GP-cause.to.do be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

The chieftain got so angry and thought, “I must go and make someone put a curse of death on Khyergopu.”

20. *qʰoʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ prakʰóŋ=pʰi*

SEQ one-day=INDF=DET cliff.cave=under

*tʰv-kə-rəntsʰem=cəʔ ne-mti ŋoʔ-cə*

CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-meditate<sub>2</sub>=INDF PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub> be-MED

One day, he saw someone who was meditating under a cliff cave.

21. *təmdátsənəʔ tʰv-kə-rəntsʰem=nəʔ*

in.truth CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-meditate<sub>2</sub>=DET

*cʰərgópu tʰv-ŋo me-tʰe-nə-sərtə ŋoʔ-cə*

PN CONT:LTR-be<sub>2</sub> NEG-CONT:LTR-SPON-realize<sub>2</sub> be-MED

He was not aware that the meditating person was in fact Khyergopu himself.

22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə* *q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ* *ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-place  
*jɛsɲiʔ* *c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu* *tə-o-nəvloʔ-aŋ=kə*  
 the.other.day PN PFV-INV-cheat<sub>2</sub>-1SG=INS  
*o-mt<sup>h</sup>u=cəʔ* *kɐ-lət* *vre-sənoʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-curse=INDF INF-release Q-be.able PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the chieftain said to that person, “Khyergopu cheated on me the other day. Could you place a curse on him?”

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ=kə* *kɛffɛt<sup>197</sup>* *c<sup>h</sup>ɐ-aŋ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA=ERG EXCL be.able-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he replied, “No problem, I can do it.”

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *fsáfsi* *t<sup>h</sup>e-wi-aŋ* *kə*  
 SEQ tomorrow IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come-1SG DM  
*mt<sup>h</sup>otk<sup>h</sup>aŋ* *ɐ-nə-tə-saxsiʔ-nə* *k<sup>h</sup>evísi=rɐʔ* *ɐ-nɐ-tə-ʃk<sup>h</sup>i-nə*  
 chapel IRR-IMP-2-clean.up-2PL rug=PL IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-spread-2PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kɐ<sup>n</sup>dze* *kə-mimʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ* *ɐ-rɣʒ<sup>n</sup>bɔ* *ɐ-tə-tə-pe-nə*  
 SEQ food NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty=and 1SG:POSS-popped.grains IRR-IMP-2-make-2PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɐ-tə-tə-sɐpəpe-nə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IRR-IMP-2-do.RDPL-2PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔosáfsi=nəʔ* *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐreʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ next.day=DET PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the next day, he went downriver.

<sup>197</sup> An exclamation meaning ‘No problem!’.



26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ=rɐʔ=kə tʃə kə-reʔ*  
 SEQ chieftain=DET=PL=ERG what NMLZ:SBJ-be.needed  
*kəmdiʔ ts<sup>h</sup>ənts<sup>h</sup>ənʔ ne-sətsəʔ-nə<sup>198</sup> ɲoʔ-cə*  
 all IDPH<sup>199</sup> PFV:TR-cause<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And the chieftain and the others had properly prepared all that was needed.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə mtʃ<sup>h</sup>otk<sup>h</sup>əŋ k<sup>h</sup>evísi ó-ta tə-ɐmdzuʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG chapel rug 3SG:POSS-top PFV-sit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Khyergopu sat down on the rug in the chapel.

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo=rɐʔ nə-p<sup>h</sup>a tʃeʔ kə-kéntse=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 SEQ chieftain=PL 3PL:POSS-place tea one-bronze.teapot=and  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>əŋɲó<sup>n</sup>bɔ=nəʔ tə-wot-nə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 parched.grains=DET IMP:UP-bring-2PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he said to the chieftain and others, “Bring me a pot of tea and parched grains!”

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ=rɐʔ te-sɛtsətsom-nə-cə*  
 SEQ ANA=PL PFV:UP-take<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-3PL-MED  
 And they took all these things up(stairs) to him.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə tʃ<sup>h</sup>əŋɲó<sup>n</sup>bɔ kə-tək<sup>h</sup>e te-<sup>n</sup>dzɐ ɔʒorʔ*  
 SEQ PN=ERG parched.grains one-mouthful IPFV-eat<sub>3</sub> while  
*tʃeʔ k<sup>h</sup>e-χov né-t<sup>h</sup>ɛ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 tea each-mouthful IPFV-drink<sub>3</sub> be-MED

<sup>198</sup> The verb *sə-tsə* ‘cause to say’ is used idiomatically with ideophones denoting results; in this case *ts<sup>h</sup>ənts<sup>h</sup>ənʔ sə-tsə* ‘do sth properly, flawlessly’.

<sup>199</sup> An ideophone meaning ‘properly’.

*qʰoʔ tʰɐ-mim ɲoʔ-cə ko*<sup>200</sup>

SEQ CONT:LTR-be.tasty<sub>2</sub> be-MED DM

And while eating each mouthful of parched grains, Khyergopu drank a mouthful of tea.  
(This, you know, was delicious!)

31. *qʰoʔ oʒorʔz ó-ja kɐ-pe te-je*  
SEQ meanwhile 3SG:POSS-hand INF-do PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>

*cʰərgópu kóʔ=ta*<sup>201</sup> *ɐ-mə-nɐ-fɐ=nəʔ*

PN this=top IRR-NEG-PFV-go=SUB

*nəʔ ó-ta ɐ-nɐ-fɐ*<sup>202</sup>

that 3SG:POSS-top IRR-PFV-go

Meanwhile, he began to move his hands about saying,<sup>203</sup> “If the curse does not befall this  
(Khyergopu), let it befall that (Khyergopu)!”

32. *qʰoʔ kəmaʔ=rɐʔ=kə jəqrəkə te-mətsətsə-nə*  
SEQ other=PL=ERG EXCL<sup>204</sup> IPFV-say:RDPL-3PL

And the other were saying to each other, “Yeah!”

33. *cʰərgópu o-mtʰu jə-fɐ ɲoʔ jɐ ne-səsiʔ-nə-cə*  
PN 3SG:POSS-curse PROS-go be DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

They thought, “The curse is about to fall on Khyergopu.”

<sup>200</sup> The sentence-final particle *ko* adds an explanatory comment on the preceding clause.

<sup>201</sup> 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-mtʰu kóʔ=ta ɐ-nɐ-fɐ* ‘Let the curse befall him/her!’

<sup>202</sup> Jussive use of the irrealis.

<sup>203</sup> Pretending to be exercising his curse-casting magic.

<sup>204</sup> An exclamation expressing approval at what is said.

34. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nəʔomer=nəʔ*    *c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ    that.night=DET    PN=DET=ERG  
*kə-mer=cɛ=nəʔ*    *c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə*    *nə-toŋraŋcaʔ* <sup>205</sup>  
 one-night=INDF=DET    PN=ERG    2PL:POSS-white.conch.name  
*kə-mərku*    *wi*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 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. *támɛ=rɐʔ*    *kətáyre*    *ɐ-kə-tə-r<sup>n</sup>gu-nə*  
 woman=PL    together    IRR-IMP-2-sleep-2PL  
*vlɛrge=rɐʔ*    *kətáyre*    *ɐ=kə-tə-r<sup>n</sup>gu-nə*  
 monk=PL    together    IRR=IMP-2-sleep-2PL  
*tɛʃfu=rɐʔ*    *kətáyre*    *ɐ=kə-tə-r<sup>n</sup>gu-nə*  
 young.man=PL    together    IRR=IMP-2-sleep-2PL  
 “you women sleep together! You monks sleep together! You men sleep together!”

36. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nə-toŋraŋcaʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    2PL:POSS-white.conch.name=DET  
*k<sup>h</sup>ɛxp<sup>h</sup>e*    *ó-p<sup>h</sup>i*    *ɐ-nɐ-tə-rko-nə*  
 grinder    3SG:POSS-underside    IRR-IMP-2-put-2PL  
 “And put your famous white conch under the grinder,”

37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *tʃəjpe=z*    *<sup>n</sup>boleʔ*    *ɐ-nɐ-tə-sɐvjoskeʔ-nə*  
 SEQ    cowpen=LOC    male.cattle    IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-harness-2PL  
*kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ=z*    *<sup>n</sup>bri*    *ɐ-t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-tə-sɐvjoskeʔ-nə*    *te-tsəʔ*  
 courtyard=LOC    horse    IRR-IMP-2-saddle-2PL    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 “and harness the male cattle in the cowpen, and the horse in the courtyard too,” he said.

<sup>205</sup> Name of a valuable white conch meaning ‘one that sounds itself’.

38. *nə-vlo*                      *te-tʃet*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-idea      PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

Thus he offered them an idea (to forestall Khyergopu).

39. *qʰoʔ*      *mer=nəʔ*      *cʰərgópu*      *səqətsútsu*      *tə-rəroʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      night=DET      PN                      stealthily      PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub>-MED

At night, Khyergopu stealthily got up,

40. *támɛ=rəʔ*      *nə-kormə*                      *ne-sələyu*  
 woman=PL      3PL:POSS-hair.of.head      PFV:TR-connect<sub>2</sub>  
*vləge=rəʔ*      *nə-ɸzən*                              *ne-sələyu*  
 monk=PL      3PL:POSS-monk's.cloak      PFV:TR-connect<sub>2</sub>  
*tətfu=rəʔ*      *nə-pjələʔ*                      *ne-sələyu-cə*  
 lad=PL      3PL:POSS-plait      PFV:TR-connect<sub>2</sub>-MED

he tied together the women's hair, tied together the cloaks of the monks, and tied together the lads' plaits,

41. *qʰoʔ*      *rjəlpə*      *o-zdeʔ*                      *o-kóʔ=ta=z*  
 SEQ      chieftain      3SG:POSS-spouse      3SG:POSS-head=top=LOC  
*mpʰələʔ*      *ne-te-cə*  
 flax.fiber      PFV:DOWN:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-MED

and he put flax fiber on the chieftain's wife's head.

42. *rjálpo*      *o-vot=nan*                      *kəxʃəʱbrot*      *tʰe-rkoʔ-cə*  
 chieftain      3SG:POSS-sleeve=inside      pestle                      PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-MED

And he put a pestle into the chieftain's sleeve.

43. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>éxp<sup>h</sup>e ó-p<sup>h</sup>i toŋʔraŋcaʔ te-nə-tʃet-cə*  
 SEQ grinder 3SG:POSS-underside white.conch PFV:UP:TR-SPON-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*ó-ste=nəʔ tɛmdzo ne-rkoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-where.something.is=DET thorn PFV:TR:DOWN-put.in<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔó-ta o-p<sup>h</sup>jeʔ ne-lêt-cə*  
 SEQ ANA-3SG:POSS-top 3SG:POSS-excrement PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he picked up the famous white conch under the grinder, put thorns in its place, and  
 shitted on top of them.
44. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>énanə rereʔ ne-nɛχtaxtorʔ-cə*  
 SEQ inside .of.house beans PFV:TR-broadcast<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-MED  
 And he cast beans about the inside of the house.
45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃəjpe=z <sup>n</sup>boleʔ nə-təskeʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ cowpen=LOC male.cattle 3PL:POSS-saddle=PL  
*o-koləjmɐ te-səkofcɐ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-head.and.tail PFV:TR-reverse<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He reversed the saddles on the male cattle,
46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ=z <sup>n</sup>bri te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-p<sup>h</sup>i-cə*  
 SEQ courtyard=LOC horse PFV:TR-mount<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ PFV-escape<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 mounted the horse in the courtyard, and escaped.
47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃeto ʔréko lɐ-zyôʔt=nəʔ*  
 SEQ up.there ridge PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*toŋraŋcaʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-ʒ<sup>n</sup>bri-cə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qəjhihi te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 white.conch.name PFV:TR-sound<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ EXCL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 When he got to the ridge up there, he sounded the famous white conch and yelled  
 “Qeyhihi!”

48. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=nəʔ ɛjiʔ ɲoʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ PN=DET 1SG be-1SG  
*toŋraŋcaʔ jɛ-nə-tsom-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 white.conch PFV-SPON-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “I am Khyergopu himself, and I have taken away the conch,” he yelled.

49. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmaʔ=rɛʔ=kə éhehe c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu jɛ-wɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ other=PL=ERG EXCL<sup>206</sup> PN PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*jɛ ne-səsiʔ-nə ɔʒorʔz p<sup>h</sup>əp<sup>h</sup>əsisɪ<sup>207</sup> kɛ-rɛroʔ*  
 DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL while IDPH INF-get.up  
*te-jɛ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 The others thought, “Alas! Khyergopu has come,” as they began to get up in a flurry.

50. *vlerge=rɛʔ nə-ɛzɛn t<sup>h</sup>e-ləyu ɲoʔ-cə*  
 monk=PL 3PL:POSS-monk’s.cloak CONT:LTR:TR-be.connect<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛ-ɛzɛn nə-tɛʔ te-mətsətsə-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-cloak IMP-let.go<sub>3</sub> 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. *támɛ=rɛʔ nə-komeʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-ləyu ɲoʔ-cə*  
 woman=PL 3PL:POSS-hair.of.head CONT:LTR:TR-be.connected<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛ-komeʔ nə-tɛʔ te-mətsətsə-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-hair.of.head IMP-put<sub>3</sub> 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!”

<sup>206</sup> An exclamation showing dismay.

<sup>207</sup> An ideophone meaning ‘in a flustered manner’.

52. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛtʃu=rɐʔ nə-pjɛlɐʔ t<sup>h</sup>v-ɛlɔyɯ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ lad=PL 3PL:POSS-plait CONT:LTR:TR-be.connected<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ v-pjɛlɐʔ nə-tɐʔ te-mətsətsə-nə ɣoʔ-cə*  
 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 kɐ-mqeʔ te-je-nə-cə*  
 meanwhile INF-quarrel PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 Meanwhile, they began to quarrel with one another.

54. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpomu=niʔ=ntʃon p<sup>h</sup>əp<sup>h</sup>əsisɪ tə-rɐro-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 SEQ chieftain.and.spouse=DU=also IDPH PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 The chieftain and his wife also got up in a flurry.

55. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛzdeʔ=nəʔ smi kɐ-vlu*  
 SEQ spouse=DET fire INF-build  
*ɸunəɸu kɐ-tsə te-je ɣoʔ-cə*  
 EXCL INF-say PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the wife began to build a fire, and saying, "Fu! Fu!" she began to blow on (the fire).

56. *nəʒənəʔ smi tə-nət oʒorʔ*  
 at.that.moment fire PFV-burn<sub>2</sub> while  
*o-kóʔ=ta mp<sup>h</sup>əleʔ te-mjeʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-head=top flax.fiber PFV:TR-catch<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 At the instant, the fire started into flame, and caught the flax fiber on her head.

57. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo=kə tɛzdeʔ o-kóʔ=ta*  
 SEQ chieftain=ERG spouse 3SG:POSS-head=top  
*mp<sup>h</sup>əleʔ t<sup>h</sup>v-kə-<sup>n</sup>dʒovʔ=nəʔ*  
 flax.fiber CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-catch.fire<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*kə-fmev tə-rɛnts<sup>h</sup>a ó-ja te-jəʔ=nəʔ*  
 NMLZ:PURP-extinguish PFV-try<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR:UP-raise<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*kəxʃə<sup>n</sup>brot nɐ-ɛntɐ tɛzdeʔ o-kóʔ*  
 pestle PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height<sub>2</sub> spouse 3SG:POSS-head  
*χc<sup>h</sup>əv te-sətsəʔ-cə*  
 IDPH PFV:TR-cause<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo kɐ-rjəyʔ xp<sup>h</sup>e ó-p<sup>h</sup>i*  
 SEQ chieftain INF-run grinder 3SG:POSS-underside  
*toŋʔ raŋcaʔ kə-rtɔʔ kə-ɐre-cə*  
 white.conch.Rangkya NMLZ:PURP-check PFV:EAST-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the chieftain ran to check out the Rangkya conch under the grinder.

59. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ xp<sup>h</sup>e ó-p<sup>h</sup>i ó-ja ne-rkoʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ grinder 3SG:POSS-underside 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*təp<sup>h</sup>je nə-mʈoʔ-cə*  
 excrement PFV-be.stained<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ oʒorʔ tɛmdzo tə-ɛtseʔ-cə*  
 SEQ meanwhile thorn PFV-prick<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-mɪŋəm=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 SEQ PFV-hurt<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*ó-ja o-k<sup>h</sup>é=naŋ le-tsom-cə=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-hand 3SG:POSS-mouth=inside PFV:IN:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu o-p<sup>h</sup>je tə-o-sə<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-excrement PFV-INV-cause.to.eat<sub>2</sub> 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 ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-conch PFV-be.lost<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And his conch was missing.
62. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmaq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ t<sup>h</sup>v-nlɔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ afterwards PFV:OUT-exit<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
*ʃənəʔ rereʔ ó-ta t<sup>h</sup>v-ɸldwê-t-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 but peas 3SG:POSS-top PFV-slip<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 Afterwards they all got out, but slipped and fell on the peas.
63. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔoséfsət tʃəjpe=naŋ nə-ɐre-nə-cə*  
 SEQ in.that.way cowpen=inside PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they went down thus (slipping and falling) into the ground-floor cowpen.
64. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ məsəmtimti nəkəsə*  
 SEQ blindly thus  
*<sup>n</sup>boleʔ ké-<sup>n</sup>di te-je-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 male.cattle INF-ride PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And began to mount the cattle as if they had been blind.

65. *təmdánə cʰərgópu=kə pʰjəru sɲəru*  
 in.fact PN=ERG cantle pommel  
*te-səkofcə ʃteʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-reverse<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH-MED  
*qʰoʔ ʰboleʔ te-nəqʰu-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ cattle PFV:TR-sit.backward.on<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

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.

66. *qʰoʔ səqʰúsqʰuz o-koləɲu kə-mə te-nkə-nə*  
 SEQ backwards 3SG:POSS-order NMLZ-not.exist IPFV-walk-3PL

And they were moving backwards in complete disorder.

67. *qʰoʔ tʃəjpe o-pʰjiʔ kə-tʃet mə-kʰut ɲoʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ cowpen 3SG:POSS-outside GP-drive.out NEG-be.feasible be-MED=SUB  
*nə-nəfsəfsət-nə=nəʔ*  
 PFV-do.thus<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-3PL=SUB

*o-perʔ=z cʰərgópu=nəʔ cʰeʔ-rəɲəm jə-nəpʰi-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-interval=LOC PN=DET long-since PFV-escape<sub>2</sub>-MED

And while it was impossible to drive the cattle out of the cowpen, and they just behaved like that, Khyergopu had long since escaped.

68. *qʰoʔ kəmaʔ=rəʔ nə-nə-cʰeʔ-nə mə-cə*  
 SEQ other=PL IPFV:PST-SPON-win<sub>2</sub>-3PL not.exist-MED

And they could not win over him.

69. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ χfíkə nɐ-rɛmuruʔ-cə*  
 SEQ chieftain=DET very IPFV:PST-be.angry<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*ʃəʃə=cɛ c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu o-χtirtsot pɔ-aŋ reʔ*  
 when=INDF PN 3SG:POSS-revenge do<sub>3</sub>-1SG be.necessary  
*ⁿge-səsɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-think<sub>3</sub> be-MED  
 And the chieftain was very angry, and he kept thinking, “I must take revenge on Khyergopu one of these days!”

70. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET  
*rjɛlpo=nəʔ rgonbe ome kə-xtɛʔ*  
 chieftain=DET monastery very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big  
*o-vzər=cɛ nɐ-nkɛʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-side=INDF IPFV:PST-walk<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 One day, when the chieftain was walking beside a very big monastery,

71. *c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu nts<sup>h</sup>oχtʃ<sup>h</sup>en o-kómtʰɔ=z*  
 PN assembly.hall 3SG:POSS-courtyard=LOC  
*χtevtʃi ɐsɐ-ⁿdi ne-mti ŋoʔ-cə*  
 folding.knife CONT:HTR-hold PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 he saw Khyergopu holding a folding knife in the courtyard of the assembly hall.

72. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=p<sup>h</sup>a lɐ-ɐre-cə*  
 SEQ PN=place PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɛʃiʔ kəsɐnɛk<sup>h</sup>o*  
 SEQ 2SG bully

*jəʂŋiʔ tə-ko-nəvloʔ-aŋ ɐ-rjuʔ nə-ko-səkʰi-aŋ=kə*  
 the.other.day PFV-2→1-cheat<sub>2</sub>-1SG 1SG:POSS-riches PFV-2→1-rob<sub>2</sub>-1SG=INS  
 And he went up to Khyergopu and said, “You bully! You cheated me the other day, and ripped off my riches.”

73. *jəʂŋiʔ ŋónə məlen ɐ-rjuʔ nə-kʰɛ*  
 today TOP by.necessity 1SG:POSS-riches IMP-hand.to  
*maʰdenəʔ tə-nəʰbɣɐ reʔ*  
 or IMP-recompense be.necessary  
*ʰdenəʔ mə-tɐ-teʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 or.else NEG-1→2-let.off PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “Today, you must by all means give back my property, or pay me for it, or else I won’t let you off,” he said.

74. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG  
*tə-tɕjaŋʔ ŋoʔ nəŋlaskə kʰétɕo ptɕéʃi*  
 2-be.fair be of.course sorry  
 And Khyergopu said, “That would be fair! Of course! I am sorry!”

75. *ʃənəʔ jəʂŋiʔ ŋónə tɕɕetsaŋ<sup>208</sup>=rɐʔ=kə*  
 but today TOP monks.in.a.monastery.division=PL=ERG  
*ɐ-fkótpe te-te-nə=kə*  
 1SG:POSS-assignment PFV:TR-place<sub>2</sub>-3PL=INS  
*nə-xtse məŋolen=nəʔ kəmdiʔ qa-aŋ reʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-shoe sole=DET all peel.off-1SG be.necessary be-MED  
 “But today, as the monks in this monastery division have assigned me work to do, I must peel the soles off all their shoes,”

<sup>208</sup> 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-cʰv-aŋ=nəʔ χfíkə mə-<sup>n</sup>dʒəʔ ŋoʔ*  
 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-səyjoʔ-aŋ*  
 this 1SG:POSS-task=DET IPFV-finish-1SG  
*qʰoʔ nəʒiʔ tʃʰə tə-tsə=nəʔ fteʔ kʰétʂo te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 2SG what 2-say=SUB be:EMPH please PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “let me finish this task of mine, and then (I will do) whatever you say, please!” he said.

78. *qʰoʔ rjélpo=nəʔ tʰv-<sup>n</sup>bəm fteʔ-cə=kə*  
 SEQ chieftain=DET CONT:LTR-be.in.a.hurry<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH-MED=INS  
*cʰərgópu=pʰa ma-κdu ma-κdu*  
 PN=place NEG-be.serious NEG-be.serious  
*nəkənəʔ mɲolen vʒiʔ tʰé-qa-aŋ=kə*  
 that.near.you sole 1SG IPFV:OUT-peel.off-1SG=DM  
*nəʒiʔ v-rjuʔ ʃə-kə-roʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 2SG 1SG:POSS-property AND-IMP-fetch PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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 χtevtʂi rjélpo=pʰa ne-kʰi-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG folding.knife chieftain=place PFV:TR-hand.to<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ jv-fv ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And Khyergopu handed the folding knife to the chieftain and went away.

80. *rjélpo=nəʔ vlərge=rɐʔ nə-mɲolen kɛ-qa te-je-cə*  
 chieftain=DET monk=PL 3PL:POSS-sole INF-peel.off PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ káde məkətso kəmdiʔ tʰe-qaʔ-cə*  
 SEQ in.a.short.while all PFV:TR-peel.off<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the chieftain started to peel off the soles of the monks, and, in a short while, peeled all of them off.

81. *qʰoʔ nəʔʔənəʔ vlərge=rɐʔ tʰɛ-kroz-nə-cə*  
 SEQ just.then monk=PL PFV:OUT-come.off.class<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ kómtʰɔ nə-xtse kɛ-ʳge*  
 SEQ courtyard 3PL:POSS-shoe NMLZ:SBJ:U-wear  
*ne-wɛmɛʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-cause.not.to.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 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.

82. *qʰoʔ vlərge=rɐʔ=kə*  
 SEQ monk=PL=ERG  
*qʰɛʔ rjélpo=nəʔ tákʰdət=kə rtovjaʔ nə-oy-lét-cə*  
 ANA chieftain=DET beating=INS beating PFV-INV-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ kɛ-nəxtsu mənbe kɛ-náʃɐ nə-re-cə*  
 SEQ INF-crawl almost INF-go.back IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the monks gave the chieftain such a severe beating that he almost had to crawl back home.

83. *qʰoʔ leʔ cʰərgópu əntsátse ʳge-qése ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ again PN continuously IPFV-look be-MED  
 And he kept on looking out for Khyergopu.

84. *qʰoʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ*

SEQ one-day=INDF=DET

*leʔ kɣɛlden<sup>209</sup> rgonbe o-vzər=cɛ nə-nkɛʔ-cə=nəʔ*

again PN monastery 3SG:POSS-side=INDF IPFV:PST-walk<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

*cʰərgópu=kə tərmoʔtʰe<sup>210</sup> ɐsɐ-rqə ne-mti ɲoʔ-cə*

PN=ERG main.flagpole CONT:HTR-embrace PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub> 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 rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə cʰərgópu=pʰa neʂiʔ kəsɛnɛkʰo*

SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG PN=place 2SG bully

*jɛsɲiʔ ɐ-rjuʔ tə-ko-nəvloʔ-aɲ mɛtsʰɛt*

the.other.day 1SG:POSS-property PFV-2→1-cheat<sub>2</sub>-1SG not.only

*vlɛrge=rɐʔ=kə nə-ko-saʔduʔ-aɲ ɲoʔ*

monk=PL=ERG PFV-2→1-cause.to.beat<sub>2</sub>-1SG be

*ʃosɲiʔ ɲónə kdenbe mɐ-tɐ-teʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

today TOP at.all NEG-1→2-let.off PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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 cʰərgópu=kə tə-tsjaɲʔ ɲoʔ*

SEQ PN=ERG 2-be.fair be

*jɛsɲiʔ ɲónə ɣʃíkə nə-nəwɛtʃeʔ-aɲ ɲoʔ kʰétʂo*

the.othe.day TOP very IPFV:PST-be.at.fault<sub>2</sub>-1SG be sorry

And Khyergopu said, “That would be fair! It was indeed my fault the other day. I am sorry!”

<sup>209</sup> WT <dga.lɛdan>, one of the four big monasteries of Lhasa.

<sup>210</sup> This refers to one of the two main flagpoles places in front of the monastery.

87. *ʃənəʔ josŋiʔ vlɛrge=rɐʔ=kə leʔ nə-o-sqor-aŋ=kə*  
 but today monks=PL=ERG again PFV-INV-send.for<sub>2</sub>-1SG=INS  
*koʔ tɛrmótʃʰe jə-kə-ɐldɛʔ=nəʔ tʰɐ-o-səʳdi-aŋ ɲoʔ*  
 this flagpole FUT-NMLZ:SBJ-fall=DET CONT:LTR-INV-cause.to.hold<sub>2</sub>-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. *qʰónə koʔ ne-teʔ-aŋ joyʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH this IPFV:DOWN-put-1SG be.allowed  
*ʃənəʔ tɛrmótʃʰe ɐldɛʔ ʃteʔ-cə*  
 but flagpole fall.over be:EMPH-MED  
*qʰoʔ mɐ-nɐn ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NEG-be.acceptable be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “I may let go, but then the main flagpole will fall over, and that would be unacceptable,”  
 he said.

89. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə nɛkəʔ tɛrmótʃʰe ɐldɛʔ*  
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG that.over.there flagpole fall.over  
*o-ffɛt mɐ=kə*  
 3SG:POSS-talk not.exist=DM  
*nɛjiʔ leʔ jə-ko-nəʋlo-aŋ ɲoʔ=kə mɐ-joyʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 2SG again PROS-2→1-cheat-1SG be=DM NEG-be.allowed PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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 mɐ-sto=kə mɐ-tə-nzɐʳgɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN=ERG neg-be.serious=DM NEG-2-believe=SUB  
*kʰo kə-wi*  
 here IMP:EAST-come



*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ʃɛto        tɛrmótʃ<sup>h</sup>e    o-koʔ        tə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri*  
 SEQ    up.there    flagpole    3SG:POSS-head    IMP:UP-look  
*naŋ<sup>211</sup>    tɛ-tsəʔ-cə*  
 DM        PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

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!”

91. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə        ʃə-tə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    chieftain=DET=ERG    AND-PFV:UP-look<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*naŋ ləskə    tɛrmótʃ<sup>h</sup>e    o-kóʔ=ta        z<sup>n</sup>dəmʔ    ke-wi        ŋoʔ-cə*  
 surely    flagpole    3SG:POSS-tip=top    cloud    IPFV:EAST-come    be-MED

And when the chieftain went and took a look upward, sure enough, clouds were coming eastward toward the tip of the flagpole,

92. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    o-koʔ=nəʔ        <sup>n</sup>dec<sup>h</sup>o    ne-kə-ʃɛ*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-head=DET    westward    IPFV:WEST-NMLZ-go  
*jə-kə-ɛldɛʔ-cə        né-ʃsət        ŋoʔ-cə*  
 FUT-NMLZ-fall.over-MED    IPFV-be.like    be-MED  
 and it seems that the tip was going westward and was about to fall over.

93. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə        nəʔ    kə-wɛ<sup>n</sup>giʔ        ne-səsi*  
 SEQ    chieftain=DET=ERG    ANA    NMLZ-be.right    PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>  
 And the chieftain thought, “What he said is right!”

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<sup>211</sup> Discourse marker for gentle imperative.

94. *qʰoʔ mɐ-sto=kə nɛkənəʔ ɐjiʔ ˈgɛ<sup>212</sup>-ˈdi-aŋ=kə*  
 SEQ neg-beserious=DM that.near.you 1SG IPFV-hold-1SG=DM  
*nɛjiʔ ɐ-rjuʔ ʃə-tə-nɛŋoroʃiʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 2SG 1SG:POSS-property AND-look PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “Alright, I will hold that for you. You go and find my property!” he said.

95. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=nəʔ jɐ-ʃɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=DET PFV-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Khyergopu went away.

96. *o-jiʔ tɛrmótʰe ne-rqɔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-self flagpole IPFV:PST-embrace<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And (the chieftain) himself kept holding onto the flagpole.

97. *qʰoʔ leʔ tɛrmótʰi o-koʔ te-mpʰɛri=nəʔ*  
 SEQ again flagpole 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:UP-look=SUB  
*mɛju jə-kɐ-nə-ldəldɛʔ jə-kə-ɐnəldəldɛʔ=cəʔ*  
 still FUT-NMLZ-fall.over:RDPL PROS-NMLZ-fall.over:RDPL=INDF  
*nɛ-fsət ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-seem be-MED  
 When looked again at the tip of the flagpole, it still seemed that it was falling over.

98. *qʰoʔ tə-ntsʰɐv-cə qʰoʔ tə-raxtʃoʰba-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-be.flustered<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ PFV-make.a.racket<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*tɛrmótʰe jə-ɐldɛʔ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ tə-nɛˈgozˈge-cə*  
 flagpole PROS-fall.over be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> PFV-call<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-MED  
 And he became flustered and made a racket yelling, “The flagstaff is going to fall over!”

<sup>212</sup> The downward orientation prefix here marks durativity.

99. *qʰoʔ vɿerge=rɐʔ ntsʰoxtʃʰen=naŋ tʰɐ-nlɔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ monk=PL assembly.hall=inside PFV:OUT-exit<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*qʰoʔ nəɣəvɣəvʔ<sup>213</sup> jɐ-wɛʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ IDPH PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And the monks went out of the assembly hall, and came in a swarm.

100. *nɐkəʔ tɐrmótʃʰe jə-kə-ɐldɛʔ mɐ-cə*  
 that.over.there flagpole FUT-NMLZ-fall.over not.exist-MED  
*nɐ-tə-sɐnɐkʰojʔ=nəʔ<sup>214</sup>*  
 2SG:POSS-NMLZ-act.in.a.bullying.manner<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*nɐ-kʰe χtɛmbre kə-ŋɐn*  
 2SG:POSS-mouth luck NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad  
*mə-tə-təʔ-tsə=kə tɛ-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 NEG-IMP-2-say=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *qʰɐʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ leʔ táɰˈdət=kə rtovjaʔ tə-oy-tʃet-cə*  
 ANA chieftain=DET again beating PFV-INV-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ leʔ kɐ-nəxtsu mɐˈbe kɐ-nəʃɐ nɐ-re-cə*  
 SEQ again INF-crawl almost INF-go.back IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED

The chieftain was again given a severe beating, and he almost had to crawl his way back home.

<sup>213</sup> An ideophone for ‘in a swarm’.

<sup>214</sup> A possessed nominalized structure involving the nominal prefix *tə-* and the past verb stem, literally ‘that bullying act of yours’.

102. *təmdánə cʰərgópu o-χirtsot kə-pe=scʰənəʔ*

in.the.end PN 3SG:POSS-revenge INF-do=and

*o-rjuʔ kə-znəʰbyə*

3SG:POSS-property INF-cause.to.recompense

*nə-ncʰəʔ nə-nləʔ<sup>215</sup> mə-cə*

IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub> 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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<sup>215</sup> An elaborated variant of *nə-cʰəʔ* ‘was able’.

# WHY KHYERGOPU THE TRICKSTER DID NOT COME TO OUR LAND

*cʰərgópu jəjəreʔ jə-sətʃʰe tʃʰe majekewəʔ xpe*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *cʰeʔ=nəʔ*                      *cʰərgópu*                      *jəjəreʔ*                      *jə-sətʃʰe=z*  
 former.time=TOP              Khyergopu                      1PL                      1PL:POSS-place=LOC  
*kə-wi*                      *tə-rəntsʰa*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PURP-come              PFV-make.ready<sub>2</sub>              be-MED

Once upon a time, Khyergopu was about to come to our land.

2. *qʰoʔ*                      *jə-sətʃʰe*                      *reⁿgo=z=cə*                      *nə-zɣôʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ                      1PL:POSS-land                      hill=LOC=INDF                      PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub>=SUB

When he got to a place on the hill (overlooking) our land,

3. *o-ʁóri=z*                      *támə*                      *nə-kə-loʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-front=LOC              woman                      IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd<sub>2</sub>  
*sémbə*                      *4kə-fkorʔ*                      *ʋsə-fkor*  
 twigs.and.sticks                      one-loadful                      CONT:HTR-carry.on.back  
*qʰoʔ*                      *o-ʁóri*                      *tʰə-wəʔ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ                      3SG:POSS-front                      CONT:LTR-come<sub>2</sub>                      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*                      *nə-kə-loʔ=nəʔ*                      *te-kə-nərtʃeʔ*                      *reʔ-cə*  
 this                      IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd<sub>2</sub>                      IPFV-GP-provoke                      be.necessary-MED  
*ne-səsi-cə*  
 PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

And Khyergopu thought, “I have (lit. one has) to tease this herder.”

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɐ-kə-lóyʔ=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd<sub>2</sub>=place  
*nəʔ nɐ-fkor o-tə-xtɐ=nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 that 2SG:POSS-load 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.big<sub>2</sub>=DET PFV:TR-say-MED=SUB  
 And when he said, “What a big load that one of yours is!”

6. *nɐ-kə-loyʔ=kə*  
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd<sub>2</sub>=ERG  
*naŋ xtɛʔ xtɛʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 of.course be.big be.big for  
*kə-sŋi ɐ-ylevʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ŋo ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 one-day 1SG:POSS-workload CONT:LTR-be<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The herder said, “Of course it is big; it’s one full day’s workload of mine.”

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ le c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu-kə ɔ nəʔ nɐ-fkor*  
 SEQ again PN=ERG EXCL that 2SG:POSS-load  
*o-tə-xtʃi=nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.big<sub>2</sub>=DET PFV:TR-say-MED=SUB  
 And when again Khyergopu said, “What a small load that one of yours is!”

8. *naŋ xtʃi xtʃi <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 of.course be.small:EMPH be.small:EMPH for  
*ɛ-xtʃu ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 1SG:POSS-task.done.while.doing.sth.else be:EMPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 (The herder) said, “Of course it is small, for it is just what I did while doing something else.”

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

*eʔ koʔ káloy=nəʔ rjéspe fgraʔ-cə*

EXCL this herder=DET quite.a.lot be.clever-MED

*jə ne-səsi-cə*

DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

And Khyergopu thought, “Hey! This herder is quite clever!”

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ te-kə-nərtfeʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ again IPFV-GP-provoke=SUB

*kə-taŋ fgraʔ á-ŋoʔ ne-səsi-cə*

NMLZ-be.real be.clever Q-be PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

“Let me provoke her again (to see) if she is really clever,” he thought.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ nə-nuʔ o-tə-oxtə=nəʔ*

SEQ that 2SG:POSS-breast 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.big<sub>2</sub>=DET

*te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*

PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

And when he said (to the herder), “How big are those breasts of yours!”

12. *nə-kə-loyʔ=nəʔ=kə*

IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd<sub>2</sub>=DET=ERG

*naŋ xteʔ xteʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*

of.course be.big be.big for

*mjəluʔ rə<sup>n</sup>bót<sup>h</sup>e o-sa-χso ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

human.body be.precious 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-raise<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

The herder said, “Of course they are big; they are what the precious human body is fed with.”

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG  
*nəʔ nɐ-nuʔ o-tə-xtʃi=nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nə*  
 that 2SG:POSS-breast 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.small<sub>2</sub>=DET PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 And when Khyergopu said, “How small are those breasts of yours!”

14. *nəʔ kəloyʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 that herder=DET=ERG  
*naŋ xtʃi xtʃi <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 of.course be.small be.small for  
*tənuʔ ʃɛru=ta tə-kə-sceʔ ʃteʔ*  
 breast bone=top PFV-NMLZ-grow<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-xtʃi<sup>216</sup> reʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV-be.small be.necessary DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The herder said, “Of course they are small; they grew on bones, so they must be small!”

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ c<sup>h</sup>ərgópu=kə ne-səseʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN=ERG PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*koʔ kəloy təmɛ=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>onnəʔ*  
 this herder woman=even  
*ʃqraʔ məkəts<sup>h</sup>et o-k<sup>h</sup>e nántsejə mp<sup>h</sup>er-cə=kə*  
 be.clever not.only 3SG:POSS-mouth that.much be.eloquent-MED=INS  
 And Khyergopu thought, “Even this woman herder is not only clever, but also so eloquent,”

<sup>216</sup> Here, one can also use the irrealis form *ɐ-nɐ-xtʃi*.



16. *koʔ nəjəlkkʰəm-pʰjə ne-fʰe-aŋ joyʔ*  
 this region-direction IPFV:DOWN-go-1SG be.allowed  
*fənəʔ kə-sənəvlo=koʔ mə-cʰe-aŋ-cə ne-səsi-cə*  
 but INF-cheat.people=this NEG-be.able-1SG-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-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-nə-wɛʔ kɛʰ-tsə tʰoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:EAST-return<sub>2</sub> SEQ NEG-PFV:WEST-come<sub>2</sub> GP-say be.the.rule-MED  
 And he returned east, and never came west, it is said.

18. *qʰoʔ kɛʰ-tsə ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=nəʔ*  
 SEQ GP-say IRR-PFV-be=SUB  
*cʰərgópu=nəʔ kə-ɐwəsonɐm=cəʔ nɐ-ŋo-cə=kə*  
 PN=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-be.blessed=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED=INS  
 In fact, Khyergopu was blessed by fortune.

19. *nɐ-nɛnkɐʰji sɐtʰe=rɐʔ kəməqʰunə*  
 IPFV-stroll<sub>2</sub> place=PL afterwards  
*ome kə-snəm=scʰənəʔ kə-timʔ ne-peʔ-nə*  
 very NMLZ-be.prosperous=and NMLZ-be.prosperous PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*kɛʰ-tsə tʰoʔ-cə*  
 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

*lēse kəmdzəl tʃoʰbɛjʔz*

**Narrator: 'Phrinlas**

1. *lēse kə-mɔʒəl kə-fɛ=cəʔ*  
Lhasa NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage NMLZ:SBJ-go=INDF  
*ɛrtʃówe nɐ-to ŋoʔ-cə*  
pilgrim IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
There was a pilgrim who (often) went to Lhasa on pilgrimages.

2. *kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ*  
one-day=INDF=DET  
*leʔ kə-mɔʒəl kə-fɛ*  
again NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage NMLZ:PURP-go  
*lɐ-ntsʰa-cə*  
PFV:UPRIVER-set.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
One day, he again set out upriver to go on a pilgrimage.

3. *qʰoʔ kə-sɲi tɛmqɐʔ oʒorʔ nɐ-nkɛʔ-cə*  
SEQ one-day hardship meanwhile IPFV:PST-walk<sub>2</sub>-MED  
He was trudging hard all day long.

4. *tərmókʰe=nəʔ kɐ-nárme jə-mda ŋoʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>o le-mp<sup>h</sup>é<sup>h</sup>ri=nəʔ mɐ-kə-ɐrq<sup>h</sup>e=z*  
 SEQ IPFV:UPRIVER-look=SUB NEG-NMLZ-be far=LOC  
*prak<sup>h</sup>oŋ=cəʔ wɛjo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 cliff.cave=INDF be.seen be-MED  
 looking upriver, he found a cliff cave in a place not far away.
6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ prak<sup>h</sup>oŋ ó-p<sup>h</sup>i=z tə-nə<sup>h</sup>me-cə*  
 SEQ cliff.cave 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC PFV:UP-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he went uphill to sleep for the night under the cliff cave.
7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ smi te-vlu-cə*  
 SEQ fire PFV:TR-burn<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he built a fire.
8. *le-mp<sup>h</sup>é<sup>h</sup>ri=nəʔ*  
 IPFV:IN-look=SUB  
*prak<sup>h</sup>oŋ ó-naŋ=z qɛʃpe=cəʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nlɔ-cə*  
 cliff.cave 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC toad=INDF PFV:OUT-exit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Looking inside, he (saw that) a toad came out from the cliff cave.
9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃfíkə sɐɐɐ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ very be.amusing be-MED  
 And it was very amusing.
10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɐrtʃówɐ=kə qɛʃpe ne-myeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ pilgrim=ERG toad PFV:TR-catch<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-rtsémkəy ó-naŋ t<sup>h</sup>e-rkoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tsampa.pouch 3SG:POSS-inside PFV:IN-put.in<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The friar caught the toad, and put it into his tsampa pouch.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɐ-smo-cə*

SEQ IPFV:PST-stay-MED

And he stayed there.

12. *détsɐ=nəʔ rɕɐmɲiʔ=cəʔ kaɕna-χsəm jɐ-wɛʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*

after.a.while=DET rider=INDF two-three PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɐrtʃówɐ nɐ-o-mti-cə*

SEQ pilgrim PFV-INV-see<sub>2</sub>-MED

After a while, two or three riders came, and the pilgrim was spotted (by them).

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-vzər ʃə-te-mdzuʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-side AND-PFV-sit.down<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

And they went to sit beside him.

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɐrtʃówɐ=kə tə-sɐnɐrtɕɰpjêʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ pilgrim=ERG PFV-observe.people<sub>2</sub>=SUB

*mɐ-kəʔ-ʃsət wɛʃo ɲoʔ-cə*

NEG-NMLZ-be.like be.seen be-MED

When the pilgrim did some observing, he realized that something was wrong.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ éheheʔé josɲiʔ ɲónə*

SEQ EXCL today TOP:EMPH

*rtʃaχpe nɐ-t<sup>h</sup>əɣ-aɲ ɲoʔ-cə*

bandit PFV-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG be-MED

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə te-kɐ-pe reʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə*

SEQ what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary=DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

“Alas! I have run into bandits today. What should I do,” he thought.

16. *kəmɛqʰúnəʔ*    *o-vlo*                      *kə-vde=cəʔ*  
 then=DET      3SG:POSS-idea      NMLZ-be.good=INDF  
*o-sém=naŋ*                      *jɐ-wɛʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-heart=inside      PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Then, a good idea came to his mind,
17. *qʰoʔ*    *o-rtśémkəŋ*                      *o-kʰe*                      *kámʈʰa*    *ne-cu-cə*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-tsampa.pouch      3SG:POSS-opening      a.little      PFV:TR-open<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and he pulled open the opening of the tsampa pouch a little bit.
18. *kádenəʔ*              *rtśémkəŋ*              *o-kʰe=z*                      *qɛʃpe*    *lɐ-nəʃkroʔ-cə*  
 after.a.while      tsampa.pouch      3SG:POSS-opening=LOC      toad      PFV:OUT-peek<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 In a minute, the toad peeked out from the opening of the tsampa pouch.
19. *qʰoʔ*    *qɛʃpe=nəʔ*    *ó-yɐ=z*  
 SEQ      toad=DET      3SG:POSS-body=LOC  
*rtśembɐ*    *ʈoŋʈoŋʔ<sup>217</sup>*    *nə-mʈʈoʔ*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 tsampa      IDPH              PFV-stain<sub>2</sub>      be-MED  
 The body of the toad was stained white with tsampa.
20. *qʰoʔ*    *qɛʃpe*    *ó-ja*                      *o-rŋéʔ=ta=z*                      *te-tsomʔ*  
 SEQ      toad      3SG:POSS-hand      3SG:POSS-face=top=LOC      PFV:UP:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>  
*ne-rɛpʰjɔpjəz*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-wipe.about<sub>2</sub>      be-MED  
 And the toad held its hands to its face and kept wiping it.

<sup>217</sup> A derived ideophone from the root *ʈoŋ*, describing the state of being completely covered in sth powdery.

21. *ó-ja*                      *χʼíkə*      *nəntʰi*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-hand    very      be.nimble    be-MED  
 Its hands were very nimble.
22. *qʰoʔ*    *ɐrtʃówɐ=nəʔ=kə*      *qɐʃpe*      *o-koʔ*                      *tʰé-stʰɔ*      *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*                      *kámɿʰa*      *mé-mda*                      *té-tsə*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 meanwhile    a.little      NEG-be.time<sub>2</sub>      IPFV-say<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 all the while saying, “It’s not the right time yet.”
24. *kádenəʔ*                      *qɐʃpe*      *leʔ*      *le-nlɔʔ*  
 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. *ɐrtʃówɐ=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*    *rtʃaxpe=rɐʔ=kə*      *ne-mti-nə*                      *te-mətsátʂə-nə*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    bandit=PL=ERG    PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL    IPFV-say:RECP-3PL    be-MED  
 The bandits saw this, and were saying to each other,

28. *kəkoʔ ɐrtʃówɐ=nəʔ kɐ-nərtʃeʔ mɐ-nɐn-cə ʔdenəʔ*  
 this pilgrim=DET INF-provoke NEG-be.acceptable-MED for  
*kə-sɛsəɣvɐr=cəʔ ɐrʃiʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ-be.frightening=INDF possess-MED  
 “One should not provoke this pilgrim, for he has something frightful!”

29. *qʰoʔ fla nə-pʰi-nə-cə*  
 SEQ immediately PFV-escape<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they immediately fled.

30. *təmdánə ɐrtʃówɐ o-vlo nɐ-vdeʔ otənkə*  
 as.a.result pilgrim 3SG:POSS-idea IPFV:PST-be.good<sub>2</sub> because  
*kɐ-nsə́kʰi mə-nɐ-<sup>n</sup>gru-cə*  
 INF-rob NEG-IPFV:PST-manage<sub>2</sub>-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

*lēse kəmdzəl tfo<sup>h</sup>bəjʔz*

**Narrator: 'Phrinlas**

1. *lēse kəmdzəl kə-fə=cəʔ ertʃówə=cəʔ*  
 PN NMLZ:PURP-go.on.pilgrimage NMLZ:SBJ-go=INDF pilgrim=INDF  
*nə-to ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED

There was a pilgrim who went on pilgrimages to Lhasa.

2. *kə-sŋi=cə nə-nkəʔ-cə=nəʔ o-zgég<sup>h</sup>u*  
 one-day=INDF IPFV:PST-walk<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB 3SG:POSS-back  
*t<sup>h</sup>e-mp<sup>h</sup>əri=nəʔ rtʃaxpe <sup>h</sup>bri ká-<sup>h</sup>di*  
 IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB bandit horse NMLZ:SBJ-ride  
*kaknáχsəm lə-wəʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 two-three PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

One day when he was walking, and looking back downriver, (he saw that) two or three mounted bandits came upriver.

3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ertʃówə=kə t<sup>h</sup>ə te-kə-pe reʔ=kə ne-səsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ pilgrim=ERG what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary=DM IPFV-think<sub>3</sub>-MED  
 The pilgrim thought, “What should I do?”

4. *oʒorʔz χfíkə lə-ɔjəsəjəʔz lə-məko-cə*  
 while very PFV:UPRIVER-hurry<sub>2</sub> PFV:UPRIVER-get.ahead<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>əkəzər=cəʔ t<sup>h</sup>ə-vre-cə*  
 SEQ river.bank=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED

Meanwhile, he hurried upriver, and got ahead of the bandits to the riverside.



5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>é</sup><sup>n</sup>bət ne-lwe*  
 SEQ sand PFV:DOWN:TR-dig<sub>2</sub>  
*ó-naŋ smi te-vlu tʃeʔ te-sɐlɛʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-inside fire PFV:TR-build<sub>2</sub> tea PFV:TR-boil<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He dug (a hole) in the sand, built a fire in it, and boiled tea.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>é</sup><sup>n</sup>bət=kə pɐme o-vzɛ́vzər smi=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ sand=INS pot 3SG:POSS-surrounding fire=PL  
*kəmdiʔ ne-sə-fkev-cə*  
 all PFV:TR-CAUS-cover<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And with sand, he covered up the fire all around the pot.

7. *ke-kɐ-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛ́ri=nəʔ*  
 IPFV:CISLOC-GP-see=SUB  
*pɐme ó-naŋ tʃeʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-kə-ɐlɛʔ=<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 teapot 3SG:POSS-inside tea CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-boil<sub>2</sub>=except  
*mɐ-sɛmti ŋoʔ-cə*  
 NEG-be.visible be-MED  
 If one looks at it, all that was visible was tea boiling inside the pot.

8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃo<sup>n</sup>bɛjʔ o-vzər zɔʔkoʔ ʃə-te-nɛŋoro*  
 SEQ road 3SG:POSS-side bovine.skull AND-PFV:TR-look.for<sub>2</sub>  
 And he went to look for a skull of a bovine by the side of the road.

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-kɐ rŋəl kə-toʔ=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ zɔʔkóʔ=ta*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-body silver NMLZ:SBJ-exist=PL all bovine.skull=top  
*nákəsə ne-səntɐv-cə*  
 thus PFV:TR-let.go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he left all of the silver he had on him on top of the bovine skull just like that.

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *o-sqɛraʔ=kə*                      *o-mé-ntse*                      *te-zrɛski*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-belt=INS    3SG:POSS-leg-one.of.a.pair    PFV:UP:TR-cause.to.pull<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ó-mt<sup>h</sup>e=z*                      *ke-xferʔ*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-waist=LOC    PFV:CISLOC:TR-tie.up<sub>2</sub>  
*o-p<sup>h</sup>jiʔ*                      *ó-<sup>n</sup>ge=kə*                      *ne-sə-fkev-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-outside    3SG:POSS-clothes=INS    PFV:TR-CAUS-cover<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nɛ-smo-cə*  
 SEQ    IPFV:PST-stay-MED  
 And he stayed there.
12. *kádenəʔ*                      *rtʃaxpe=rɛʔ*    *jɛ-zɣôʔ-nə-cə*  
 in.a.moment    bandit=PL    PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 In a moment, the bandits arrived.
13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ɛrtʃówɛ*    *te-nəʃkoŋʃkoŋʔ*  
 SEQ    pilgrim    IPFV-leap.on.one.leg  
 And the pilgrim was leaping swiftly about on one leg,
14. *oʒorʔz*                      *nəʒrɛʔ*    *nɛ-mqɛʔ-nə*<sup>218</sup>                      *nɛ-mqɛʔ-nə*  
 meanwhile    2PL    IPFV:PST-be.tired<sub>2</sub>-2PL    IPFV:PST-be.tired<sub>2</sub>-2PL  
*tʃeʔ*    *nə-t<sup>h</sup>i-nə*                      *tʃeʔ*    *nə-t<sup>h</sup>i-nə*                      *té-tsə*    *ŋoʔ-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!”

<sup>218</sup> This is a greeting involving a special usage of the verb *kə-mqɛ* ‘be tired’. Note that dual and plural suffixes are permitted, but not the second-person index *tə-*.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *rtʃaχpe=rɐʔ=kə*    *le-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri-nə*  
 SEQ    bandit=PL=ERG    IPFV:UPRIVER-look-3PL  
 As the bandits were looking,

16. *pɐme*    *ó-naŋ*                      *tʃeʔ*    *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-nəblublu*                      *t<sup>h</sup>e-lɛʔ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 teapot    3SG:POSS-inside    tea    CONT:LTR-bubble.away<sub>2</sub>    CONT:LTR-boil<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
*ʃənəʔ*    *pɐme*    *ó-p<sup>h</sup>ji=z*  
 but    teapot    3SG:POSS-underside=LOC  
*smi*    *ɛdɛnbe*    *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-kə-lu*                      *mɐ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 fire    at.all    CONT:LTR-NMLZ-burn<sub>2</sub>    not.exist    be-MED  
 (they saw that) tea was bubbling away to a boil, but there was no fire burning under the  
 pot at all.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *mɛju*    *ne-nɛmp<sup>h</sup>ɛriri-nə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    further    IPFV-look.around:RDPL-3PL=SUB  
 And when they looking around more,

18. *zɔʔ*                      *o-kóʔ=ta*                      *rŋəl*    *kɐ-teʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*  
 bovine.skull    3SG:POSS-head=top    silver    NMLZ:SBJ:U-put=DET=PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ*    *ɐrtʃówɐ*    *te-kə-nəʃkoŋʃkoŋʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ    ANA    pilgrim    IPFV-NMLZ-leap.on.a.single.foot=DET=PL  
*ne-mti-nə-cə*  
 PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 they saw the silver placed atop the bovine skull, and that pilgrim hopping about on one  
 leg.

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *rtʃaχpe=rɐʔ=kə* *wu* *émokəʈf<sup>h</sup>i*<sup>219</sup>  
 SEQ bandit=PL=ERG EXCL good.heavens  
*jəʃərəʔ* *josŋiʔ* *rkaŋlo* *nɐ-t<sup>h</sup>əʃ-jə-cə*  
 1PL today one.legged.demon PFV-meet<sub>2</sub>-1PL-MED  
*te-mətsátsə-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-3PL be-MED  
 And the bandits said to each other, “Oh, good heavens! We have run into a one-legged demon today!”
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *təverʔ* *o-fét=kə*  
 SEQ fear 3SG:POSS-extent=INS  
*ˈbri* *fla* *te-ˈdi-nə* *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *jɐ-p<sup>h</sup>i-nə-cə*  
 horse quickly PFV:TR-ride<sub>2</sub>-3PL SEQ PFV-escape<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 They were so frightened that they quickly mounted their horses and fled.
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *təmdána* *ɐrtʃówɐ* *o-vlo* *kə-vde* *o-tánʔ=kə*  
 SEQ in.the.end pilgrim 3SG:POSS-idea NMLZ-be.good 3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*rtʃaχpe=rɐʔ=kə* *ɐrtʃówɐ* *kɐ-nərtʃaχpe* *mə-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ-nə-cə*  
 bandit=PL=ERG pilgrim INF-rob NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 In the end, thanks to the pilgrim’s good strategy, the bandits were not able to rob him.

<sup>219</sup> An exclamation of shock and dismay involving the word *émo* ‘my mother’ and two nonsense syllables.

# THE BALD CORPSE

*"goklɛ təʃpov? o-xpe*

**Narrator: Don'grub**

1. *kə-sɣi=cɛ=nə?*  
 one-day=INDF=TOP  
*kə-təpu=cə?*      *ó-nay*      *kə-set*      *nə-lɔ-nəŋo*  
 one-household=INDF    3SG:POSS-inside    NMLZ-die    PFV-occur<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 One day, someone died in a certain household.
  
2. *qʰo?*      *nə-kə-set=nə?*      *"goklɛ=cə?*      *nɐ-ŋo*      *ŋo?-cə*  
 SEQ      PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-die<sub>2</sub>=DET      bald.person=INDF    IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And the deceased was a bald person.
  
3. *qʰo?*      *təʃpov?=nə?*  
 SEQ      corpse=DET  
*pərtsɛpʰi*      *refkəy?*<sup>220</sup>      *te-pe?-nə*  
 hey.loft      shroud.wrapping.method    PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰo?*      *ne-te-nə-nəŋo*  
 SEQ      PFV:DOWN:TR-place<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they wrapped up the corpse with white cloth, and placed it in the heyloft.
  
4. *qʰo?*      *vlɛme*      *ko-krəpəpe=cə?*      *vlɛmtʃot*  
 SEQ      lama      together.with-disciple:RDPL=INDF      religious.services  
*nɐ-smo-ndzə*  
 IPFV:PST-stay-3DU  
 And a certain lama and his disciple stayed to perform religious services.

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<sup>220</sup>A method of wrapping up a corpse in a bent sitting position, using white cotton cloth and ropes.

5. *q<sup>ho</sup> mer=nə? mt<sup>h</sup>otk<sup>h</sup>ay=naŋ kə-nə-rgu<sup>?</sup>-<sup>n</sup>dzə-nəŋo*

SEQ night=DET shrine=inside PFV-SPON-sleep<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED

And at night, the two of them went to sleep by themselves inside the shrine.

6. *q<sup>ho</sup> jonəvda<sup>?</sup>=rə? nə-tf<sup>hi</sup>=nə? kə-nəməme? əntsátse=kə*

SEQ host=PL 3PL:POSS-ladder=DET INF-stroke repeatedly=INS

*nə-se? q<sup>ho</sup> kləklə nə-əpe<sup>?</sup>-nəŋo*

PFV-be.smooth SEQ IDPH PFV-become<sub>2</sub>-MED

The hosts (of the household) had stroked their ladder repeatedly, and it had become smooth.

7. *q<sup>ho</sup> mer*

SEQ night

*vləme o-krəpe=nə? nə-vər q<sup>ho</sup> ó-rjev*

lama 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET PFV-be.afraid<sub>2</sub> SEQ 3SG:POSS-sleep

*me-<sup>n</sup>ge-wi-nəŋo*

NEG-IPFV-come-MED

And at night, the lama's disciple got afraid, and could not fall asleep.

8. *q<sup>ho</sup> no?omer=nə? sléŋə=rə? kəmtf<sup>h</sup>a nə-to-cə*

SEQ that.night=DET moon=PL a.bit IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED

That night, there was a bit of moonlight.

9. *q<sup>ho</sup> vləme ko-krəpəpe <sup>n</sup>dzə-sər<sup>n</sup>gu<sup>?</sup>=nə?*

SEQ lama together.with-disciple 3DU:POSS-sleeping.place=DET

*tərfez<sup>?</sup>=kə tə-kə-səwor<sup>?</sup>=cə?*

interwoven.stake=INS PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-surround<sub>2</sub>=INDF

*rjezɛvʔ o-χte ne-ŋo-cə*

partition 3SG:POSS-replacement IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the lama and his disciple's sleeping place was surrounded by interwoven stakes as a makeshift for a plank partition.

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlɛme o-krəpe=nəʔ tɐrʃeʔzʔ o-mcerʔ*  
 SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET stake 3SG:POSS-interstice  
*ne-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri=nəʔ*  
 IPFV-look=SUB

And when the lama's disciple was looking through the interstices of the stakes,

11. *o-koʔ ɤlɛɤlɛ kə-pe=cəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-head IDPH NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>imŋoʔ=z tə-kə-nlɔ=cəʔ né-fsət ŋoʔ-cə*  
 top.edge.of.ladder=LOC PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out<sub>2</sub>=INDF IPFV-be.like be-MED  
 it seemed as if something came out from the top edge of the ladder, with its head bald and smooth.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlɛme o-krəpe=nəʔ*  
 SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET  
*o-q<sup>h</sup>ostot ʃla t<sup>h</sup>e-jɔʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-upper.body immediately PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-raise<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təʃpovʔ tə-wɛʔ ŋoʔ ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ corpse PFV:UP-come<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the lama's disciple immediately sat upright (lit. raised his upper body), and thought, "The corpse has come upstairs!"

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-vlɛme=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-lama=place  
*ɐ-vlɛme ɐkiʔ koʔ=nəʔ tə-wɛʔ ʃteʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-lama on.down.there this=DET PFV:UP-come<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he said to his lama, “My lama, this one down there has come upstairs!”

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-vlɛme=kə tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə tə-wɛʔ ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-lama=ERG what PFV:UP-come<sub>2</sub> be  
*te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ ʂ<sup>n</sup>dɛ nə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB EXCL IMP-look  
*təʃpovʔ tə-wɛʔ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 corpse PFV:UP-come<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 When his lama said, “What has come up,” (he said), “Why, look! The corpse has come upstairs!”

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-vlɛme=nəʔ ʃla*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-lama=DET immediately  
*o-q<sup>h</sup>ostot t<sup>h</sup>e-jɔʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-upper.body PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-raise<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*nə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri-cə=nəʔ*  
 PFV-look<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*kətaʔ təʃpovʔ tə-kə-wɛʔ=cəʔ né-ʃsət ŋoʔ-cə*  
 really corpse PFV-NMLZ-come<sub>2</sub>=INDF IPFV-be.like be-MED  
 His lama sat upright right away and looked, and it really seemed that the corpse had come upstairs.



16. *təmdánə tərfezə o-mcerə ne-mp<sup>h</sup>éri-<sup>n</sup>dzə*

in.fact stake 3SG:POSS-interstice IPFV-look-3DU

*ozorə ne-málmo-<sup>n</sup>dzə=nə?*

meanwhile IPFV-move-3DU=SUB

*fə<sup>n</sup>di sləŋej<sup>n</sup>gu? t<sup>h</sup>i o-ko? k<sup>l</sup>ə<sup>l</sup>ə<sup>l</sup>ə? né-pe*

place.to.the.west moonlight ladder 3SG:POSS-head IDPH IPFV-do

*q<sup>h</sup>o? ne-kə-málmo-cə né-fsət ŋo?-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. *q<sup>h</sup>o? vləme ko-krəpəpe=ni?-kə*

SEQ lama together.with-disciple:RDPL=DU=ERG

*təfpov? tə-we? ŋo? ne-səsi-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*

corpse PFV:UP-come be PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED

And the lama and his disciple thought that the corpse had come upstairs.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>o? <sup>n</sup>dzə-mkom pərvú=nəŋ rtsempə*

SEQ 3DU:POSS-head.side flour.box=inside tsampa

*kə-rko=nə?-rə? no?oséfsət t<sup>h</sup>i*

NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in=DET=PL thus ladder

*o-kó?-ta ne-wérê<sup>t</sup>-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*

3SG:POSS-head=top PFV:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noʔosəfsi=nəʔ ne-mp<sup>h</sup>eri-<sup>n</sup>dzə=nəʔ*

SEQ next.day=DET PFV:TR-look<sub>2</sub>-3DU=SUB

*t<sup>h</sup>imŋoʔ rtsempɐ t<sup>h</sup>oŋʔt<sup>h</sup>oŋʔ ne-sə-tsəʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə*

top.edge.of.ladder tsampa IDPH<sup>221</sup> PFV:TR-CAUS-do<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təmdánə təʃpovʔ nɐ-ma t<sup>h</sup>i*

SEQ in.fact corpse IPFV:PST-not.be<sub>2</sub> ladder

*o-koʔ nɐ-ʃie-nəŋo*

3SG:POSS-head IPFV:PST-be:EMPH<sub>2</sub>-MED

The truth was, it wasn't the corpse, it was just the top ends of the ladder.

21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ χfíkə tə-mŋo ne-tʃeʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə nɐ-t<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*

SEQ very GP:POSS-face PFV:TR-lose<sub>2</sub>-3DU IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the two of them lost a lot of face, it was said.

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<sup>221</sup> An ideophone describing powdery objects scattered all over the place.

## FIRST STORY OF AN OLD MONK FOOLED BY HIS DISCIPLE

*vlərgəns<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ oʔgəpruca ɣpe*

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *ʂɔnts<sup>h</sup>e=z* *vlərgən* *kəʔgəprúpru=cəʔ* *ⁿge-toʔ-ⁿdzə* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 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<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *pa=cəʔ* *ⁿge-n<sup>n</sup>goʔ-ⁿdzə* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ pig=INDF IPFV-keep-DU be-MED  
 And they kept a pig.

3. *kə-ʂɣiʔ=cɛ=nəʔ* *pa* *ne-nt<sup>h</sup>eʔ-ⁿdzə*  
 one-day=INDF=DET pig PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>-DU  
 One day, they killed the pig.

4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *vlərgən=kə* *o-ʔgəpru* *ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=z*  
 SEQ old.monk=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple 3SG:POSS-place=LOC  
*paʃe* *ts<sup>h</sup>oŋrə=z* *t<sup>h</sup>v-tsomʔ*  
 pork market=LOC IMP:DOWNRIVER-take.thither  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *v-nə-tə-ntswəʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IRR-IMP-2-sell<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the old monk said to his disciple, “Take the pork to the marketplace and sell it.”

5. *ʔgəpru=nəʔ=kə* *ɣʃíkə* *paʃe* *kə-ⁿdze* *ne-səʂeʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 disciple=DET=ERG very pork INF-eat PFV:TR-want<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 The disciple wanted to eat the pork very much.

6. *fənəʔ o-vlɛrgɛn=kə ɐ-fə-nə-tə-ntswɐʔ te-tsəʔ*  
 but 3SG:POSS-old.monk=ERG IRR-AND-IMP-2-sell<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>  
 But the old monk said, “Go and sell it!”

7. *qʰónəʔ noʔofsəʔsi=nəʔ paʃe te-fkor-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH next.day=DET pork PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ tsʰoŋrɐ=z tʰe-tsom-cə*  
 SEQ market=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 So the following day, he carried up the pork on his back, and took it downriver to the market.

8. *qʰoʔ pa-sno-fe kə-náχtu tá-toʔ-nə əntsátse*  
 SEQ pig-be.crazy-flesh NMLZ:SBJ-buy<sup>222</sup> 2:Q-exist-3PL repeatedly  
*ne-nɐtsətsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>:REDL-MED  
 And he repeatedly said, “Does anybody want to buy pork of a crazy pig?”<sup>223</sup>

9. *fənəʔ naŋlǎskəʔdenəʔ pa-sno-fe kə-náχtu=nəʔ*  
 but certainly pig-be.crazy-meat NMLZ:SBJ-buy=DET  
*mɐ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 not.exist be-MED  
 But of course no one would buy pork of a crazy pig!

10. *qʰoʔ le-sɛjwet-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:UPRIVER:TR-take.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he took it back upriver.

<sup>222</sup> With the spontaneous prefix *nə-*, this verb means ‘buy willingly’.

<sup>223</sup> Literally ‘Are there buyers of crazy pig’s flesh?’

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-vlɛrgɛn ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=z*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-old.monk 3SG:POSS-place=LOC  
*paʃe=nəʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə ɲoʔ=ʰdenəʔ*  
 pork=DET what be=for  
*ɛdenbe kə-náχtu mɐ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 EMPH NMLZ:SBJ=buy not.exist-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And said to his old monk, “I don’t know why but no one wanted to buy the pork.”

12. *o-vlɛrgɛn=kə paʃe kə-náχtu kə-mɐ*  
 3SG:POSS-old.monk=ERG pork NMLZ:SBJ-buy NMLZ-not.exist  
*mɐ-kə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ<sup>224</sup>*  
 NEG-NMLZ-be.the.rule  
 The old monk (said), “No one to buy the pork! How could that be?”

13. *ʃsəʃsi=nəʔ ɛjiʔ=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on t<sup>h</sup>e-wi-aŋ*  
 tomorrow=DET 1SG=also IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come-1SG  
*reʔ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “I must also come downriver (with you) tomorrow,” he said.

14. *leʔ nəʔofsəʃsi=nəʔ ts<sup>h</sup>oŋrɐ=z t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɐre-ʰdzə*  
 again next.day=DET market=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 And they went downriver again the next day.

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<sup>224</sup> Exemplified here is an idiomatic, accented use of the nominalized verb *kə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ* ‘be the rule’. A copula here would be ungrammatical.

15. *qʰoʔ* *ɛgɛpru=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ disciple=DET=ERG  
*forʔ* *paʃe=nəʔ* *tə-náχtu-nə* *əntse* *ne-nɛtsətsəʔ-cə*  
 yesterday pork=DET IMP-buy-2PL repeatedly IPFV-say:REDL-MED  
 And the disciple kept saying, “Buy yesterday’s pork!”
16. *ʃənəʔ* *paʃe* *kə-náχtu* *nɐ-mɛʔ* *məkətsʰɛt*  
 but pork NMLZ-buy IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub> not.only  
*kəmaʔ=rɐʔ=kə* *kə-sɛnɛkʰoj*  
 other=PL=ERG NMLZ:SBJ-be.bullying  
*nɛkəʔ* *pa-sɲo-fe* *kə-náχtu* *mɐ=kə*  
 there.at.your.location pig-crazy-meat NMLZ:SBJ-buy not.exist=DM  
*té-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. *rkɛtu* *te-<sup>n</sup>di-nə-cə*  
 stick PFV:UP-take<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*qʰoʔ* *kɐ-sɛ-ɛ<sup>n</sup>du* *te-je-nə-cə*  
 SEQ INF-GP-beat.up PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 Meanwhile, they picked up sticks, and began to beat up the two of them.
18. *qʰoʔ* *ɛgɛpru=kə* *o-vlɛrgɛn* *te-fkor-cə*  
 SEQ disciple=ERG 3SG:POSS-old.monk PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the disciple carried his master up onto his back.

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *v-lvɛrɛn* *mə-nə-tə-ɸ<sup>n</sup>du-nə*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-old.monk NEG-IMP-2-beat.up-2PL  
*v-lvɛrɛn* *mə-nə-tə-ɸ<sup>n</sup>du-nə* *te-nɛtsətsəʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-old.monk NEG-IMP-2-beat-2PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>:RDPL  
 And kept saying, “Don’t beat my old monk! Don’t beat my old monk!”
20. *oʒorʔz* *o-lvɛrɛn* *ɣétʃ<sup>h</sup>əsfəsəfsi* *ne-nɛʃt<sup>h</sup>əʃt<sup>h</sup>əʒʔ-cə*  
 while 3SG:POSS-old.monk here.and.there PFV:TR-present<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-MED  
 All the while presenting his old monk here and there (to meet the blows).
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *lvɛrɛn=nəʔ* *rtártov* *tə-oy-lét-cə*  
 SEQ old.monk=DET beating.with.rod PFV-INV-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And his old monk was given a good rod-beating.
22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *tə-p<sup>hi</sup>=kə<sup>225</sup>* *le-nəre-<sup>n</sup>dʒə*  
 SEQ NMLZ-escape<sub>2</sub>=INS PFV:UPRIVER:TR-go.back<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
*nɛ-re-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And they had to run away back upriver.
23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *tʃo<sup>n</sup>bɛjʔ* *o-vʒər* *prak<sup>h</sup>oŋ* *ó-p<sup>hi</sup>=z*  
 SEQ way 3SG:POSS-side cliff.cave 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC  
*nɛ-nərməʔ-<sup>n</sup>dʒə-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And they rested for the night under a cliff cave along the way.

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<sup>225</sup> The verbal meaning ‘escape’ is here expressed as an adverbial comprising the nominal form *tə-p<sup>hi</sup>*. Alternatively, the infinitive form *kə-p<sup>hi</sup>* or even a finite form *lv-p<sup>hi</sup>-<sup>n</sup>dʒə* may be used a serial verb construction with the main verb *lv-nə-ɸre-<sup>n</sup>dʒə*.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mer=nəʔ kɛ-r<sup>n</sup>gu tə-mda=nəʔ*  
 SEQ night=DET INF-sleep PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 And when it was about time to go to bed,

25. *vlərgən=kə forʔ=z*  
 old.monk=ERG yesterday=LOC  
*ɐ-kgépru=kə tə-o-nəvloʔ=ɑŋ məkəts<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 1SG:POSS-disciple=ERG PFV-INV-cheat<sub>2</sub>-1SG not.only  
*josŋiʔ nɐ-o-saɣ<sup>n</sup>duʔ-ɑŋ=kə*  
 today PFV-INV-cause.to.beat<sub>2</sub>=1SG=DM  
 the old monk (thought), “My disciple not only cheated me yesterday but also caused me to be beaten up today,”

26. *jomerʔ ŋónə*  
 tonight TOP:EMPH  
*o-χtirtsot kə-vdəvde=cəʔ te-pɔ-ɑŋ reʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-revenge NMLZ:SBJ-be.good:RDPL=INDF IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>-1SG be.necessary-MED  
*ne-səsi-cə*  
 PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “tonight, I must take good revenge on him,” he thought.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-kgépru=nəʔ tɛmt<sup>h</sup>e*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET bottom.side.of.sleeping.place  
*ne-sər<sup>n</sup>guʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-cause.to.sleep<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he made his disciple sleep at the bottom side.



28. *ʃənəʔ ʁgépru=kə*  
 SEQ disciple=ERG  
*o-vlɛrgɛn tʃʰə jə-pɔj ŋonəʔ ne-sərtɔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-old.monk what PROS-do<sub>3</sub> TOP:EMPH PFV:TR-discover<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But the disciple discovered what his old monk was going to do.
29. *qʰoʔ vlɛrgɛn=nəʔ ɣʃikə o-kɐ-znɛje ɣserzgeʔ=cəʔ*  
 SEQ old.monk=DET very 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish gold.saddle=INDF  
*nɐ-to ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the old monk had a much cherished golden saddle.
30. *qʰoʔ nənəʔ=nəʔ ʰdzə-vzər ne-te-cə*  
 SEQ ANA=DET 3DU:POSS-side PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he put that beside them.
31. *qʰoʔ ʃórʰge=nəʔ o-ʁgépru səqɛtsútsu tə-rɐroʔ-cə*  
 SEQ midnight=DET 3SG:POSS-disciple stealthily PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ tɛmtʰe=nəʔ ɣserzgeʔ ne-te-cə*  
 SEQ bottom.side.of.sleeping.place=DET gold.saddle PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And at midnight, the disciple stealthily got up, and put the gold saddle at the bottom side of their sleeping place.
32. *qʰoʔ o-jiʔ=nəʔ ʰdzə-paʃe tʰe-poʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=DET 3DU:POSS-pork PFV:TR-roast<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ kɐ-ʰdze te-je-cə*  
 SEQ INF-eat PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And as for himself, he roasted their pork and began to eat it.

33. *détsə* *jərmə=nəʔ* *vlərgen=ntʰon* *tə-steʔ-cə*  
 after.a.while about=DET master=also PFV-wake.up<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 After a while, the old monk also woke up.

34. *qʰoʔ* *taqajsuʔ* *tʰe-lêʔ*  
 SEQ kicking PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-do<sub>2</sub>  
*oʒorʔz* *koʔ* *tə-<sup>n</sup>dʒə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 meanwhile this IMP-eat<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he gave (at the bottom side of the sleeping place) a kick, saying meanwhile, “Eat this!”

35. *qʰoʔ* *təmdánə* *o-χserzgeʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ in.fact 3SG:POSS-gold.saddle=DET  
*pra* *ó-pʰi=z* *qərɲəmʔ* *nə-to-cə*  
 cliff 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC large.river IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ* *nəʔ* *ó-naŋ=z* *tʰe-nə-wəret-cə*  
 SEQ ANN 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-SPON-throw<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 What really happened was he kicked the gold saddle down into a large river below the cliff.

36. *qʰoʔ* *ə-kgépru*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-disciple  
*tʰə-nə-wəret-aŋ* *ŋoʔ* *nə-səsi-cə*  
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-SPON-throw<sub>2</sub>-1SG be PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-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.asleep<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he felt good and fell back to sleep again.

38. *nəʔofsəfsi təmtʃuʔ vlərgən=nəʔ tə-rəroʔ*  
 next.day early.morning old.monk=DET PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub>  
 Early next morning, the old monk got up.
39. *qʰoʔ tʰe-mpʰəri=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB  
 When he was looking,
40. *o-ʁgépru=kə pafə ʁsə-<sup>n</sup>dze*  
 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG pork CONT:HTR-eat  
*o-fət=kə jə-səyzət 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 vlərgən χfika nə-ənəmtsʰerʔ-cə*  
 SEQ old.monk very PFV-be.surprised<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the old monk was very surprised.
42. *qʰoʔ ən-tʃə tə-ʁsə-pe ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ EMPH-what 2-CONT:HTR-do be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “What on earth are you doing?” he said.
43. *o-ʁgépru=nəʔ=kə əndə forme koʔ tə-<sup>n</sup>dze tə-tə-tsəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG EXCL last.night this IMP-eat<sub>3</sub> PFV-2-say<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰónə pafə te-kə-<sup>n</sup>dze ŋoʔ-cə nə-səsi-aŋ*  
 SEQ:EMPH pork IPFV-GP-eat be-MED PFV-think<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
*qʰoʔ ʁsə-<sup>n</sup>dze-aŋ 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-vlɛrgɛn=kə* *ne-fsɐ-cə=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-old.monk=ERG PFV:TR-hear<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*o-múru=kə* *jə-nə-<sup>n</sup>baʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-anger=INS PROS-PFV-burst<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 When his old monk heard this, he almost exploded with rage.
45. *ʃənəʔ* *o-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ* *nɐ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-say=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But he had nothing to say.
46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kɐ-nəʃɐ* *tə-mda=nəʔ*  
 SEQ INF-go.back PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*vlɛrgɛn* *o-χserzgeʔ* *məŋɐ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 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<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-ɸgɛpru* *ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=z*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple 3SG:POSS-place=LOC  
*ɐ-χserzgeʔ* *tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə* *nə-fsəʔ* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 1SG:POSS-gold.saddle what PFV-happen<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he asked his disciple, “What happened to my gold saddle?”
48. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-ɸgɛpru=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG  
*əndɐ* *forme* *nɛjiʔ* *tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɐ* *ŋoʔ* *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 EXCL last.night 2SG why be for  
*taqajsuʔ* *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-tə-lét*  
 kicking PFV:DOWNRIVER-2-do<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təciʔ ó-naŋ nɐ-tə-nə-wərɛt te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ river 3SG:POSS-inside PFV-2-SPON-throw<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

His disciple said, “Last night, I didn’t know why but you gave it a kick and made it fall into the river.”

49. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlərgən=nəʔ méju o-múru tə-<sup>n</sup>gu-cə*  
 SEQ old.monk=DET further 3SG:POSS-anger PFV-rise<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the old monk grew even more angry.

50. *ʃənəʔ o-kɐ-pe=cəʔ nɐ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED

But there was nothing he could do about it.

51. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə nəʔosɛʃsət lɐ-ɐnəre-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 SEQ thus PFV:UPRIVER-go.back<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED

And so they went back home just like that.

## SECOND STORY OF AN OLD MONK FOOLED BY HIS DISCIPLE

*vlərgenscʰənəʔ oŋɡéprucə xpe*

**Narrator: Don'grub**

1. *kə-təpu=cəʔ*                      *kə-set*                      *kə-rdɔʔ*                      *nə-lɔ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 one-household=INDF      NMLZ-die                      one-CL                      PFV-occur<sub>2</sub>      be-MED  
 In a certain household, a person died.

2. *qʰoʔ*                      *vləme*                      *ko-krəpəpe=cəʔ*  
 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-krəpe=nəʔ*  
 SEQ                      lama                      3SG:POSS-disciple=DET  
*mɛ-révloj*                      *kə-mɛ=cəʔ*                      *nɛ-ŋo-cə*  
 NEG-think.of.ways.to.do.something                      NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=INDF                      IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The disciple was one who was full of ideas.

4. *qʰo*                      *o-vləme=scʰənəʔ*                      *nɛ-nəvləmtʃô-t-ʰdzə-cə*  
 SEQ                      3SG:POSS-lama=and                      IPFV:PST-do.religious.services<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And he and his lama were performing religious services.

5. *qʰoʔ*                      *tərmókʰe*                      *ɛvaŋ*                      *kɛ-skur*                      *tə-mda=nəʔ*  
 SEQ                      dusk                      power                      INF-endow                      PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 At dusk, when it was time to perform the consecration ceremony,<sup>226</sup>

<sup>226</sup> 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-vlɛme=nəʔ*                      *tʃʰɛfsaŋ*      *jɛ-vɛre-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-lama=DET      urine      PFV-go2-MED  
 his lama went away to relieve himself.
7. *qʰoʔ*      *nəʔ*      *o-pɛrtʰɛ=scʰənəʔ*  
 SEQ      ANA      3SG:POSS-interval=SUB  
*o-krəpe=nəʔ=kə*                      *səqɛtsútsu*      *tɛrⁿdəmmɲe*  
 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG      stealthily      business.end.of.flail  
*fə-te-nɛŋoro-cə*  
 go.and-PFV:TR-look2-MED  
 During that interval, the lama's disciple stealthily went and sought a business end of flail.
8. *qʰoʔ*      *tɛrⁿdəmmɲe*                      *ó-fnoz=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      business.end.of.flail      3SG:POSS-end=DET  
*təʃpovʔ*      *ó-pʰi*                      *le-tʃərʔ-cə*  
 corpse      3SG:POSS-underside      PFV:TR-stick2-MED  
 And stuck the end of the business end of flail under the corpse.
9. *qʰoʔ*      *leʔ*      *o-ntse*                      *ó-fnoz=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      again      3SG:POSS-other.part      3SG:POSS-end=DET  
*o-vlɛme*                      *o-vjó=pʰi*                      *tʰe-kə-ʃɛ*                      *te-pe-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-lama      3SG:POSS-cushion=under      IPFV-NMLZ-go      PFV:TR-do2-MED  
 And made the tip of the other end of the flail go out under the lama's cushion.
10. *qʰoʔ*      *tɛrⁿdəmmɲe*                      *o-χcəl*                      *ó-pʰi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      business.end.of.flail      3SG:POSS-center      3SG:POSS-underside=DET  
*tɛremʔ*      *tʰe-tʃərʔ-cə*  
 plank      PFV:TR-insert2-MED  
 And he inserted a plank under the middle part of the business end of flail.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>ents<sup>h</sup>ən te-kə-ntonʔtenʔ te-pe-cə*  
 SEQ each other IPFV-NMLZ-work.like.a.lever PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And made the two (objects) work like a lever.
12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ káde nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ a.while PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*o-vlɛme kə-wɛʔ-cə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-ste tə-ɐmdzuʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-lama PFV:EAST-come<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ 3SG:POSS-place PFV-sit<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 In a while, when his lama came back and sat down at his seat,
13. *o-sém=p<sup>h</sup>i=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-heart=under=TOP  
*təʃpovʔ juɣ<sup>227</sup> nə-kə-peʔ=cəʔ nə-fsât-cə*  
 corpse IDPH PFV-NMLZ-do<sub>2</sub>=INDF PFV-be.like<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 he felt that the corpse seemed to have twitched.
14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlɛme=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ lama=DET=ERG  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ítʃ<sup>h</sup>ikə<sup>228</sup> təʃpovʔ=nəʔ*  
 EXCL corpse=DET  
*kɐ-málmo te-je máʔsokə ne-səsi-cə*  
 INF-move PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the lama thought, “Hey! Could it be that the corpse has started to move?”
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjéspe nə-<sup>n</sup>donʔ*  
 SEQ quite.a.while IPFV:PST-chant<sub>2</sub>  
 And he chanted on for quite a while.

<sup>227</sup> An ideophone describing a twitching or shuddering motion.

<sup>228</sup> An exclamation expressing great surprise.



16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>owe=rɛʔ nɛ-zɣôʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ *phowa*<sup>229</sup>=PL PFV:DOWN-arrive<sub>2</sub>=SUB

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təʃpovʔ o-p<sup>h</sup>owe te-lêʔ-cə*

SEQ corpse 3SG:POSS-*phowa* PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED

When (he chanted down the sutra text till) it was time for the *phowa* ritual, he performed it on the corpse.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>uz te-tsəʔ=ʃənəʔ*

SEQ EXCL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>=SUB:EMPH

*təʃpovʔ leʔ nə-kə-məlmo=cəʔ nə-ʃsâʔ-cə*

corpse again PFV-NMLZ-move<sub>2</sub>=INDF PFV-be.like<sub>2</sub>-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. *təmdána o-krəpe=kə*

in.reality 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG

*tər<sup>h</sup>dəmmɛ tɔŋtɛnʔ tə-kə-səpe te-peʔ*

business.end.of.flail lever PFV-NMLZ-cause.to.do<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>

The truth was that his disciple caused the business end of the flail to work like a lever.

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlɛme o-ʃiʔ ne-məlmo=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*

SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-self IPFV-move=SUB

*təʃpovʔ ne-məlmo ʃteʔ-nəŋo*

corpse IPFV-move be:EMPH-MED

Whenever the lama was moving, the corpse was moving.

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<sup>229</sup> 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 *smolɛm* and blowing a breath of air toward the top of the head of the deceased to help the soul to transmigrate.

20. *ʃənəʔ o-vləme=kə nəʔ me-ne-sərtə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-lama=ERG ANA NEG-PFV:TR-discover<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 But his lama never realized this.
21. *qʰoʔ vləme=nəʔ=kə təʃpovʔ jə-rəro ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ lama=DET=ERG corpse PROS-get.up be PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the lama thought, “The corpse is going to rise!”
22. *qʰoʔ xwɐl<sup>230</sup> tə-<sup>n</sup>dʒor-cə*  
 SEQ IDPH PFV-stand<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ kɐ-rjuʔ tə-pʰi=kə nɐ-nlɔ-cə*  
 SEQ INF-run NMLZ-escape<sub>2</sub>=INS PFV:DOWN-exit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he quickly stood up and fled, running downstairs.
23. *təmdána o-slome=kə tə-o-nɐtsʰətsʰɛt nɐ-ʃte-nəɲo*  
 in.truth 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG PFV-INV-play.prank.on<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be:EMPH<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The truth was that he had been played a prank on by his disciple.
24. *qʰoʔ təmɲo ɣʃikə ne-tʃet kɐ-tsə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ face very PFV:TR-lose<sub>2</sub> GP-say be-MED  
 And he lost much face, it is said.

<sup>230</sup> An ideophone describing a thickly-clothed person suddenly standing up.

## ANAMTSHERANG THE HUNTER

*kəqərɿʔ enɛmʈsʰéɾaŋ*

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *ʂɿŋontsʰe=z*                      *kəqərɿʔ=cəʔ*    *nɐ-to-cə*  
former.time=LOC    hunter=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
Once there was a hunter.
  
2. *enɛmʈsʰéɾaŋ*    *nɐ-rmi-cə*  
PN                      IPFV:PST-be.named<sub>2</sub>-MED  
His name was Anamtsherang.
  
3. *qʰoʔ*    *ʃə-ʰge-qərɿʔ*    *əntsətse*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ    AND-IPFV-hunt    often    be-MED  
He often went hunting.
  
4. *qʰoʔ*    *kə-sɿi=cɛ=nəʔ*  
SEQ    one-day=INDF=DET  
*naɣtʃɛn*              *ome*    *kə-xɛʔ*                      *ó-naŋ*                      *nɐ-qərɿi-cə*  
forest.virgin    very    NMLZ:SBJ-be.big    3SG:POSS-inside    IPFV:PST-hunt<sub>2</sub>-MED  
One day, he was hunting in a very big virgin forest.
  
5. *qʰoʔ*    *tə-qənuʔ-cə*  
SEQ    PFV-darken<sub>2</sub>-MED  
And it became dark.
  
6. *qʰoʔ*    *naɣtʃɛn*              *ó-naŋ*                      *nɐ-nəɾme-cə*  
SEQ    virgin.forest    3SG:POSS-inside    IPFV:PST-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-MED  
And he spent the night inside the virgin forest.

7. *smi=rɛʔ te-vlu tʃeʔ=rɛʔ ne-nʂɛʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 fire=PL PFV:TR-make<sub>2</sub> tea=PL IPFV:PST-boil<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 When he built a fire and was boiling tea,
8. *káde jɛrmɛ=nəʔ fɛku yrɛko ó-ta=cɛ*  
 after.a.while about=DET there.in.the.east ridge 3SG:POSS-top=LOC:INDF  
*ne-kə-ʔgoʔʔge=cəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-call<sub>2</sub>=INDF exist be-MED  
 in a while, there was someone calling him from somewhere near the ridge in the east,
9. *qi: ɛnɛmts<sup>h</sup>ɛraŋ te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 EXCL PN PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 “Qi! Anamtsherang!” the man called.
10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛnɛmts<sup>h</sup>ɛraŋ=kə koʔ naχtʃɛn sɛstoŋ=nəʔ ɐ-rmiʔ*  
 SEQ PN=ERG this virgin.forest wilderness=DET 1SG:POSS-name  
*te-kə-pe=nəʔ nəʔ fo ɲoʔ kə ne-səsi-cə*  
 IPFV:NMLZ:SBJ-call=DET ANA who be DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Anamtsherang thought, “Who can it be that calls my name in this wild virgin forest?”
11. *otɛ k<sup>h</sup>ɛnaŋ ɛ-pe ɛ-mo=rɛʔ*  
 EXCL<sup>231</sup> home 1SG:POSS-father 1SG:POSS-mother=PL  
*mɛ-kə-ɛvdɔvde toʔ vrɛʔ-ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə*  
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.well exist Q:EMPH-be PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “Ah, could there be something wrong with my father and my mother at home?” he thought.

<sup>231</sup> An exclamation uttered when a possibility suddenly occurs to one.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-jiʔ=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on qi: te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also EXCL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And so he also yell back “*Qi!*”

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ káde jərmə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ after.a.while about=DET  
*ənəm<sup>h</sup>ts<sup>h</sup>éranj o-rmiʔ te-kə-pe*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-do  
*qi: te-kə-tsə=nəʔ*  
 EXCL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say=DET  
*ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=z kə-nərnárne kə-nərnárne ne-je-cə*  
 G:POSS-place=LOC INF-get.close:RDPL NF-get.close:RDPL FV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 After a while, the one who called Anamtsherang’s name and yelled “*Qi!*” began to come closer and closer toward him.

14. *détsə jərmə=nəʔ o-t<sup>h</sup>éco sekotserʔ=z*  
 in.a.while about=DET 3SG:POSS-downriver.place underbrush=LOC  
*o-jiʔ kə-sci ənəmənə*  
 3SG:POSS-self NMLZ:SBJ-be.like identically  
*<sup>n</sup>bri=rəʔ kə-əsə-mts<sup>h</sup>i*  
 horse=PL NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-lead  
*ʃərtsaʔ kə-əsə-<sup>n</sup>ge*  
 deerskin.coat NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear  
*tomde kə-əsə-fkor=cəʔ*  
 gun NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-carry=INDF  
*lə-nlɔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-exit<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃɛlɛ ʁdenbe mɛ-kɛ-tsə*  
 SEQ anything at.all NEG-INF-say  
*ɛnɛmts<sup>h</sup>éranʔ o-sq<sup>h</sup>je-vzər ʃə-te-mdzuʔ-cə*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-stone.makeshift.trivet-side AND-PFV-sit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Without saying a word, he just went over and sat down beside Anamtsherang's stone trivet.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛnɛmts<sup>h</sup>éranʔ o-komɛzɛr kámɿʃa ne-mdzu ŋoʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛnɛmts<sup>h</sup>éranʔ=kə kɛrŋík<sup>h</sup>u te-tʃet-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG tobacco.leaf PFV:TR-take out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Anamtsherang took out some tobacco leaves,

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɛnəʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>a tɛk<sup>h</sup>u tə-skeʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place tobacco IMP-smoke<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>3</sub>-MED  
 and said to him, “Smoke some tobacco!”

19. *ʃənəʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɛnəʔ=kə nɛʃiʔ nɛ-tɛk<sup>h</sup>u mɛ-skiʔ-aŋ*  
 but ANA=ERG 2SG 2SG:POSS-tobacco NEG-smoke-1SG  
*ɛʃiʔ ɛ-tɛk<sup>h</sup>u toʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 1SG 1SG:POSS-tobacco exist PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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=nə*  
 PFV:TR-SPON-take.out<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-smoke<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 And as he took out his own tobacco and smoked,
21. *təmdánə o-tékʰu=nəʔ*  
 in.fact 3SG:POSS-tobacco=DET  
*rtəxsəʔ tə-kə-səyremʔ ŋoʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 horse.dung PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-dry<sub>2</sub> be be-MED  
 it turned out to be dried horse dung.
22. *qʰoʔ kə-nəpriʔ tə-mda=nəʔ*  
 SEQ INF-eat supper PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 When it was time to eat supper,
23. *ənəmʈsʰéran=kə*  
 PN=ERG  
*qʰənəʔ ó-pʰa rtsembə tə-<sup>n</sup>dze te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-place tsampa IMP-eat<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Anamtsherang said to that man, “Eat (some) tsampa!”
24. *ʃənəʔ ɐjiʔ ɐ-rtsembə te-nə-<sup>n</sup>dze-an joyʔ*  
 ut 1SG 1SG:POSS-tsampa PFV-SPON-eat-1SG be.allowed  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But he said, “I can eat my own tsampa.”

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-jiʔ o-rtsembv te-nə-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self 3SG:POSS-tsampa PFV:TR-SPON-eat<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he ate his own tsampa.
26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təmdánə te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ rtsembv=nəʔ qvɛtyze ŋoʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ in.fact PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub> tsampa=DET sawdust be be-MED  
 In fact what the tsampa that he ate was sawdust.
27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛnɛmts<sup>h</sup>éraq=kə nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɛmtʃet ne-mti=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA all PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 When Anamtsherang saw all that,
28. *kə<sup>r</sup>ʔbjoʔ kə-maʔ=nəʔ ne-sərtə-cə*  
 human NMLZ-not.be<sub>2</sub>=DET PFV:TR-realize<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 he realized that this was no human being.
29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jomerʔ tájo nɛ-t<sup>h</sup>əy-aŋ-cə ne-səsi*  
 SEQ tonight demon PFV-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>  
 And thought, “I have run into a demon tonight!”
30. *oʒorʔ ʃfíkə ne-vɛr ŋoʔ-cə*  
 meanwhile very IPFV-be.afraid be-MED  
 And he was very scared.
31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃənəʔ te-kɛ-lələt=nəʔ*  
 SEQ but IPFV-GP<sup>232</sup>-fight:RDPL=SUB  
*kətaʔ mɛ-kɛ-o-səyɕ<sup>h</sup>ɛ ʃteʔ kə ne-səsi-cə*  
 certainly NEG-GP-INV-defeat be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “But if we fight, I will certainly fail,” he thought.

<sup>232</sup> The generic person prefix *kɛ-* here refers to the speaker himself.



32. *ʃənaʔ kə-pe=cəʔ nɐ-mɛʔ-cə qʰoʔ*  
 but NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ  
*nɐ-znamama-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-act.normal<sub>2</sub>-MED

But he could not do anything, so he acted as if everything was normal.

33. *qʰoʔ mer kə-rʰgu tə-mda=nəʔ*  
 SEQ night INF-sleep PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub>=SUB

When it was time to go to bed at night,

34. *ənɐmtsʰéranʔ=kə qʰənəʔ ó-pʰa*  
 PN=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-place  
*nɛʝiʔ ɣétʰə tə-rʰgu te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 2SG where 2-sleep PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

when Anamtsherang asked the creature, “Where do you want to sleep?”

35. *qʰənəʔ=kə ɛʝiʔ tʰɛʃke-vzər rʰgu-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 ANA=ERG 1SG fireplace-side sleep-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 It said, “I will sleep beside the fireplace.”

36. *ənɐmtsʰéranʔ=kə ɛʝiʔ ɣónə*  
 PN=ERG 1SG TOP:EMPH  
*ʃɛʳdi tǎrgi ó-pʰi=z*  
 there.to.the.west fir 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC  
*ʃə-ne-nə-rʰgu-aŋ ɣoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 AND-IPFV-SPON-sleep-1SG be PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And Anamtsherang said, “As for me, I will sleep below that fir tree over there to the west.”

37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-nə-r<sup>n</sup>guʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-SPON-sleep<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And the two went to bed each one by himself.
38. *kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a nə-tsoʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 a.little PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 After some time,
39. *ənəmʃ<sup>h</sup>éran ʃəqəʃsútsu tə-rəroʔ-cə*  
 PN stealthily PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Anamtsherang stealthily got up,
40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛmɛru ó-naŋ t<sup>h</sup>əxpe te-sɛleʔ-cə*  
 SEQ aluminum.pot 3SG:POSS-inside noodle.soup PFV:TR-boil<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and boiled some noodle soup in a small pot.
41. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛmɛru=nəʔ o-mkom=z ne-te-cə*  
 SEQ small.pot=DET 3SG:POSS-head.side.of.bed=LOC PFV:DOWN:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And then he put the small pot down at the head side of his sleeping place.
42. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-koʔ o-ʃpəz te-peʔ-nəŋo*  
 SEQ GP:POSS-head 3SG:POSS-semblance PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And made it look like his head.
43. *o-mt<sup>h</sup>e=z o-xtse ne-te-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-foot.side.of.bed=LOC 3SG:POSS-shoe PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he put his shoes down at the foot side of his sleeping place,

44. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ó-me*                      *t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-nlɔʔ*                      *o-ʃpəz-nəŋo*<sup>233</sup>  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-foot    IPFV-NMLZ-come.out    3SG:POSS-semblance-MED  
 and made it seem as if his feet were coming out.
45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ənəmʈs<sup>h</sup>éran*    *skesném-rjət*    *tomde*    *te-ʃkor-cə*  
 SEQ    PN                      pants-only    gun    PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Anamtsherang, in his pants only, carried the gun onto his back,
46. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *tərgi-koʔ*                      *tə-vre-cə*  
 SEQ    fir.tree-head    PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and climbed up to the top of the fir tree.
47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *skəmbə*    *le-rəski-cə*  
 SEQ    hammer    PFV:TR-pull<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He pulled back the hammer (of the gun),
48. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ʃəki*                      *t<sup>h</sup>v-kə-r<sup>n</sup>guʔ=nəʔ*                      *ne-nəmɲaʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    down.there    CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep<sub>2</sub>=DET    PFV:DOWN:TR-aim<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and aimed down at the one who was sleeping below.
49. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ʃór<sup>n</sup>ge*                      *nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    midnight    PFV-elapsed<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 When midnight passed,
50. *q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*    *tə-rəroʔ-cə*                      *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *smip<sup>h</sup>omɲe*    *ne-te-cə*  
 ANA    PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub>-MED    SEQ    blazing.fire    PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 it (the demon) got up, and made a blazing fire.

<sup>233</sup> This is a verbless sentence. Cf. the equivalent expression:

<i>ó-me</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-nlɔʔ=kəsə</i>	<i>te-pe-nəŋo</i>
3SG:POSS-leg	IPFV:OUT-NMLZ-come.out=like	PFV:TR-do <sub>2</sub> -MED

51. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-mtʃ<sup>h</sup>en=z corlu ne-tʃet-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-armpit=LOC cobble PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And it took out a cobble from its armpit,
52. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ smí=nan ne-wəret-cə*  
 SEQ fire=inside PFV:DOWN:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and threw it down into the fire,
53. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ smi rjəspe ne-vlu-cə*  
 SEQ fire quite.a.while PFV:TR-burn<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and burned it in the fire for quite a while.
54. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>enəʔ=kə smí=nan corlu=nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-tʃet-cə*  
 SEQ ANA=ERG fire=inside cobble=DET PFV:OUT:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And then it took the cobble out from inside the fire,
55. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-jaxpé=ta ne-yləʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-palm=top IPFV-rub<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 and was rubbing it in its palms.
56. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nanlāskə corlu t<sup>h</sup>e-wərne ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ of.course cobble CONT:LTR-red<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Of course, the cobble was red-hot,

57. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-jaxpé=naŋ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-palm=inside  
*smərtsev nət<sup>h</sup>jaŋt<sup>h</sup>jaŋʔ<sup>234</sup> ne-nlɔʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 sparkle IDPH IPFV-come.out<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 and bright sparkles were coming from its palms.
58. *ʃənəʔ o-tə-wərne*  
 but 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-be.red<sub>2</sub>  
*mɐ-rtaʔ ɣoʔ ʃsâʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 NEG-be.enough be be.like for  
 But, as though it was not red-hot enough,
59. *leʔ smí=naŋ mɛju t<sup>h</sup>e-zwərne ɣoʔ-cə*  
 again fire=inside further PFV:TR-redden<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 it threw it back into the fire and reddened it further.
60. *káde jɐrmɐ nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 in.a.while about PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*smí=naŋ corlu ʃla te-tʃét-cə*  
 fire=inside cobble quickly PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 After a while, it quickly took the cobble out of the fire,
61. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɐnɐmts<sup>h</sup>éran o-sɐ-r<sup>n</sup>gu-mkom*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-sleep<sub>2</sub>-head.side.of.bed  
*ɐmɐru kɐ-teʔ ó-ta-ʃənəʔ*  
 small pot NMLZ:SBJ:U-put<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-top-DET:EMPH

<sup>234</sup> An ideophone describing bright sparkles jumping out continuously.

$\chi c^h \partial v^{235}$        $ne-w\acute{e}ret-c\partial=n\partial?$

IDPH      PFV:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

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.  $t^h\acute{x}pe=rc\partial n\partial?$        $\eta\acute{e}t^h\partial fs\acute{a}fsi$        $n\partial-nt^hwa$        $\eta o\partial-c\partial$   
noodle soup=TOP:EMPH      everywhere      PFV-burst<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

And the noodle soup burst out all over the place.

63.  $q^ho\partial$        $q^h\acute{e}n\partial? = k\partial$

SEQ      ANA=ERG

$\acute{e}n\acute{e}mts^h\acute{e}ra\eta$        $\acute{o}-rn\partial$        $n\partial-nt^hwa$        $\eta o\partial$        $ne-s\acute{a}si-c\partial$

PN      3SG:POSS-brains      PFV-burst<sub>2</sub>      be      PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

It thought, "That must be Anamtsherang's brains bursting out."

64.  $q^ho\partial$        $t\acute{e}r\acute{e} \chi\acute{e}fca\partial$        $ne-l\acute{e}t-c\partial=n\partial?$

SEQ      resounding.laughter      PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

And as it burst out into resounding laughter,

65.  $\acute{e}n\acute{e}mts^h\acute{e}ra\eta=k\partial$        $t\acute{a}rgi$        $\acute{o}-ko\partial=z$        $tomde$        $te-l\acute{e}t-c\partial$

PN=ERG      fir.tree      3SG:POSS-head=LOC      gun      PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>-MED

Anamtsherang fired his gun on the fir tree,

66.  $q^h\acute{e}n\partial?=rc\partial n\partial?$

ANA=TOP:EMPH

$te-z\acute{r}\chi tfo^nb\acute{a}$        $k\partial-qfo\partial?=rc\partial n\partial?$        $ne-s\acute{a}\chi tfor\eta\acute{e}m-c\partial$

PFV:TR-cause.to.scream<sub>2</sub>      one-ravine=TOP:EMPH      PFV:TR-cause.to.resound<sub>2</sub>-MED

and made it utter screams and caused the whole ravine to resound with its screams.

<sup>235</sup> An ideophone describing the dull sound of rocks or fists hitting human heads.

67. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *χʃikə* *wɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒi<sup>236</sup>* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ very be.cold be-MED  
 It was very cold,
68. *ʃənəʔ* *ɐnɐmts<sup>h</sup>éranʃ* *téjət* *kɐ-nlɔʔ=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on* *mə-nɐ-noʔ*  
 but PN down INF-come.out=still NEG-IPFV:PST-dare<sub>2</sub>  
 but Anamtsherang did not dare come down yet.
69. *mə-lɐ-fsi* *mɐpért<sup>h</sup>ɐ* *tárgi=ta* *nɐ-smo-cə*  
 NEG-PFV-dawn<sub>2</sub> until fir.tree=top IPFV:PST-stay-MED  
 And he stayed on the tree until it dawned.
70. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *lɐ-fsi* *noŋme* *o-sekóʔ=ta* *nɐ-nlɔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-dawn<sub>2</sub> only.then 3SG:POSS-tree=top PFV:DOWN-come.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And did not come down from his tree until it had dawned.
71. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ʃə-kə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ AND-PFV:EAST-look<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 And when he went over to take a look eastward,
72. *q<sup>h</sup>ɛnəʔ* *ó-ste=nəʔ*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-where.something.is=DET  
*kəjko* *o-ʃpovʔ=cəʔ* *káma<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 red-billed.chough 3SG:POSS-corpse=INDF except  
*kdɛnbe* *tʃɛlɐ* *kə-toʔ* *nɐ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 at.all anything NMLZ:SBJ-exist IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 there was nothing at the place of that creature except the corpse of a red-billed chough.

<sup>236</sup> Here the non-past verb form creates a vivid effect.

## EXORCIST

### *χtʃotpéwe*

**Narrator: Stagthar**

1. *ʃɲontsʰe=z χtʃotpéwe*  
former.time=LOC exorcist  
*χʃíkə kə-rkəŋ=cəʔ ʰge-toʔ-cə*  
very NMLZ:SBJ-be.capable=INDF IPFV-exist-MED  
Once upon a time, there was a very capable exorcist.
  
2. *qʰoʔ o-ʁgéprəy-cə=rəʔ kə-rdɔʔ ʰge-toʔ-cə*  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=PL one-CL IPFV-exist-MED  
He had a disciple.
  
3. *qʰoʔ χtʃotpéwe=nəʔ te-qénu*  
SEQ exorcist=DET IPFV-darken  
*qʰoʔ ne-nɛʃǎʃə ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ IPFV-go:RDPL be-MED  
The exorcist would go to various places when it got dark.
  
4. *qʰoʔ mə-lɐ-fsi məpértʰɐ*  
SEQ NEG-PFV-get.light<sub>2</sub> not.until  
*me-ne-nɛwáwi ŋoʔ-cə*  
NEG-IPFV-come:RDPL be-MED  
And he did not come back until daylight.
  
5. *təmdánə qʰɐʔ χtʃotpéwe=nəʔ mer ne-nɛʃǎʃə*  
in.fact ANA exorcist=DET night IPFV-go:RDPL  
*qʰoʔ o-ləspu pjeʃtaŋ ne-tɐʔ*  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-body bird.burial IPFV-place<sub>3</sub>



*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təʃo=rɐʔ te-sə<sup>n</sup>dʒɐ ɣoʔ-cə*

SEQ ghost=PL IPFV-feed<sub>3</sub> be-MED

In fact, the exorcist went out to various places at night and sacrificed his body in bird-burial fashion to feed the ghosts.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ χtʃotpɛwe o-ɤgɛprəɣ=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ exorcist 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG

*ɐ-ɤgerɣen mer ne-kə-nɐʃəʃɐ=nəʔ*

1SG:POSS-master night IPFV-NMLZ-go:RDPL=SUB

*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə ne-pɔʃ ɣoʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə*

what IPFV-do<sub>3</sub> be=DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the exorcist's disciple thought, "Why does my master keeps going out at night?"

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-rjaʔ=cɛ=z o-ɤgerɣen te-nənq<sup>h</sup>uʔ-cə*

SEQ one-night=INDF=LOC 3SG:POSS-master PFV:TR-follow<sub>2</sub>-MED

One night, he followed his master,

8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ɤgerɣen o-ləspu pjeʃtaŋ ne-tɐʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-master 3SG:POSS-body bird.burial IPFV-place<sub>3</sub>

*mɐ<sup>n</sup>dʒɐʔ=rɐʔ te-ʃʃɛm*

offering.to.ghosts=PL IPFV-lay.out

*təʃo ne-<sup>n</sup>bəʃt<sup>h</sup>ɛ=nəʔ ne-sərtɔ-cə*

ghost IPFV-feed<sub>3</sub>=SUB PFV:TR-discover<sub>2</sub>-MED

and discovered that his master was laying out his own body as if in a bird burial to feed the ghosts.

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri=nəʔ*

SEQ IPFV-look=SUB

As he was looking,

10. *o-ɣgerɣen*      *o-kʰoχpe=rɛ?*      *ne-pʰa?*  
 3SG:POSS-master    3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=PL    PFV:TR-split<sub>2</sub>  
 his master cut open his abdominal cavity,
11. *qʰo?*    *tájo=rɛ? =kə*      *o-nanɿʃanɿfu=rɛ?*  
 SEQ      ghost=PL=ERG    3SG:POSS-innards=PL  
*kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dze*    *te-je-nə-cə=nə?*  
 INF-eat    PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
 and as the ghosts began to eat his innards,
12. *ɣgéprəɣ*    *χíikə*    *ne-nəffí-cə*  
 disciple    very    PFV:TR-feel.concerned.for<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 the disciple felt greatly concerned for his master.
13. *qʰo?*    *tájo=rɛ?*    *kɐ-znɐpʰíʔpʰi*      *ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ      ghost=PL    INF-cause.to.escape:RDPL    PFV:TR-desire<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He intended to make the ghosts go away,
14. *qʰo?*    *ʃkótse*    *ne-wɐret-cə=nə?*  
 SEQ      rock      PFV:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 and when he threw a rock,
15. *ʃkótse=nə?*    *o-ɣgerɣen*      *o-kʰoχpé=nan*  
 rock=DET      3SG:POSS-master    3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside  
*nɐ-ɐre-cə*  
 PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 the rock fell into his master's abdominal cavity.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tójo=rɐʔ nə-p<sup>h</sup>i-nə-cə*  
 SEQ ghost=PL PFV-escape<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And the ghosts all ran away.
17. *o-ɸgergɐn tə-steʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-master PFV-wake<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And his master woke up.
18. *o-k<sup>h</sup>oχpe o-ləspu=rɐʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity 3SG:POSS-body=PL  
*c<sup>h</sup>eʔ náŋtɐ nɐ-kə-fsâʔ=nəʔ nə-fsâʔ-cə*  
 former original.state IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like<sub>2</sub>=DET PFV-be.like<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And his abdominal cavity went back to its original state.
19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kətáyre k<sup>h</sup>énan kə-ɐnəre-<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*  
 SEQ together home PFV:EAST-go.back<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And they went east back home together.
20. *ʃənəʔ o-ɸgergɐn o-k<sup>h</sup>oχpé=nan*  
 but 3SG:POSS-master 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside  
*ʃkótse tə-ɸni ŋoʔ-cə*  
 rock PFV-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 But the rock got inside his master's abdominal cavity.
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ χtʃotpéwe=nəʔ=kə o-ɸgéprəɣ=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ exorcist=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple=place  
*jomerʔ osto mə-tə-tə-so ŋoʔ*  
 tonight well NEG-PFV-2-do<sub>2</sub> be  
 And the exorcist said to his disciple, "Tonight, you did not do things right,"

22. *v-kʰoxpé=naŋ* *ʃkótse tə-kni* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 1SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside rock PFV-exsit<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 “and the rock got inside my abdominal cavity.”
23. *kə-səsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 INF-come.back.to.life=TOP  
*kə-səsoʔ* *kəŋólə* *mə-cʰv-aŋ* *ŋoʔ*  
 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. *qʰoʔ* *fsemer* *ta*  
 SEQ tomorrow.night 3SG:POSS-top  
*ɕjiʔ* *v-ləspu* *leʔ* *pjeftaŋ* *ʃə-təʔ-aŋ* *ŋoʔ*  
 1SG 3SG:POSS-body again bird.burial AND-place<sub>3</sub>-1SG be  
 “Tomorrow night, I will go again to sacrifice my body in a bird-burial fashion.”
25. *ʃorme* *tʃə* *nə-kə-fsât=nəʔ* *ʃə-fsət-aŋ* *ŋoʔ*  
 last.night what IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like<sub>2</sub>=DET AND-do.thus-1SG be  
 “I will go and do exactly like what happened last night.”
26. *qʰoʔ* *nɛjiʔ* *ɛdənbe* *v-mə-nə-tə-vər*  
 SEQ 2SG at.all IRR-NEG-IMP-2-fear  
 “Do not be afraid at all.”
27. *qʰoʔ* *v-kʰoxpe=rəʔ* *ⁿgɛ-ʃkʰɛ-aŋ* *orjáŋʔʂənəʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=PL IPFV-spread.out<sub>3</sub>-1SG when:EMPH  
 “And the moment when I spread out (the innards in) my abdominal cavity,”

28. *kə-ɾjəɣʔ*    *ɐ-nə-tə-wi*  
 INF-run        IRR-IMP-2-come  
 “come running,”
29. *qʰoʔ*    *ɐ-kʰoχpé=naŋ*  
 SEQ        3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside  
*ʃkótse*    *tə-kə-ɸni=nəʔ*                      *ʃla*                      *ɐ-tə-tʰ-tʃət*  
 rock        PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-exist<sub>2</sub>=DET        quickly        IRR-IMP:UP-2-take.out  
 “and quickly remove the rock that got stuck in my belly.”
30. *nəʔ*    *tə-tsəʔ-cə*  
 ANA    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He said thus.
31. *qʰoʔ*        *nəʔofsəmer=nəʔ*  
 SEQ        the.following.night=DET  
*ɸgéprəɣ=kə*    *o-ɸgergən*                      *tʃʰə*                      *tə-tsəʔ=nəʔ=rəʔ*  
 disciple=ERG    3SG:POSS-master        what        PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>=DET=PL  
*tə-ʃsət-cə*  
 PFV-do.thus-MED  
 And on the following night, the disciple did what his master had told him to do,
32. *qʰoʔ*        *o-kʰoχpé=naŋ*                                      *ʃkótse*        *ké-tʃət*  
 SEQ        3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside        rock        INF-take.out  
*nɐ-cʰɐʔ-cə*  
 IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and managed to remove the rock inside his belly.

33. *qʰoʔ o-ʌgergɛn=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-master=DET

*noŋme kəŋóʌ tə-saso-cə qʰoʔ mə-nə-set*

only.then properly PFV-revive<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ NEG-PFV-die<sub>2</sub>

And only then did the master completely revive and did not die.

34. *kɛ́-tsə nɛ-tʃʰoʔ-cə*

GP-say IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED

This is what people say happened.

**SEKHAMALOSMAN**  
*sek<sup>h</sup>emelosmen*  
**Narrator: Nyimathar**

1. *rgenmu*      *ke<sup>n</sup>dzamámε=cəʔ*      *nε-to-<sup>n</sup>dzə*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
old.woman      parent.and.daughter=INDF      IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-2DU      be-MED  
Once there lived an old woman with her daughter.
  
2. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *rgenmu*      *ó-mε=nəʔ*  
SEQ    old.woman    3SG:POSS-daughter=DET  
*sek<sup>h</sup>emelosmen*      *nε-rmi*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
PN                      IPFV:PST-be.named<sub>2</sub>      be-MED  
The old woman's daughter was named "Sekhamalosman."
  
3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *χíikə*    *nε-mp<sup>h</sup>jorʔ*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ    very    IPFV:PST-be.beautiful<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
And she was very beautiful.
  
4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *o-kə-sé<sup>n</sup>bi*      *χíikə*    *nε-lde<sup>n</sup>ʔ*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ    3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-ask.for    very    IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
And there were many who asked to marry her.
  
5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *táj<sup>o</sup>=kə=nt<sup>h</sup>on*  
SEQ    demon=ERG=also  
*rgenmu=niʔ*      *<sup>n</sup>dzə-kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ=z*      *ʃə-te-<sup>n</sup>góz<sup>n</sup>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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-mɛ kɐ-sɛ<sup>n</sup>bi əntsətse <sup>n</sup>gɛ-tsa ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 2PL:POSS-daughter GP-ask.for continuously IPFV-say be-MED  
 And it kept saying, “Give your daughter (to me)!”

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgɛnmɯ=nəʔ=kə təʃo=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ old.woman=DET=ERG demon=place  
*ɛ-mɛ o-rmiʔ kɛ-tsa nɐ-tə-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-daughter 3SG:POSS-name INF-say IPFV:PST-2-be.able<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə nɛ-rjev o-spe tɐ-<sup>n</sup>biʔ ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH 2SG:POSS-wife 3SG:POSS-material 1→2-give be  
*nəʔ te-tsaʔ-cə*  
 ANA PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mer te-qɛnu=nəʔ*  
 SEQ night IPFV-darken=SUB  
*rgɛnmú=kə ó-mɛ o-rmiʔ*  
 old.woman=ERG 3SG:POSS-daughter 3SG:POSS-name  
*ɛdənbe me-te-poʃ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 at.all NEG-IPFV-do<sub>3</sub> be-MED  
 And when it got dark at night, the old woman would refrain completely from saying out her daughter’s name,

9. *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ təʃo=kə fsɐʔ kɐ-səsiʔ=kə*  
 for demon=ERG hear<sub>3</sub> INF-think=INS  
 thinking that the demon might hear it.



10. *qʰoʔ kə-rjaʔ=cɛ*  
 SEQ one-night=INDF  
*qécʰwet=cəʔ<sup>237</sup> rgɛnmu ʰdzə-ɸʲjúʔ=pʰi nɐ-sɛŋiʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 fox=INDF old.woman 3DU:POSS-window=under IPFV:PST-listen<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 One night, a fox was eavesdropping under the old woman and daughter's window.
11. *ʃənəʔ rgɛnmu=kə*  
 but old.woman=ERG  
*ó-mɛ rmiʔ ɸdɛnbe me-te-poj ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-daughter name at.all NEG-IPFV-do<sub>3</sub> be-MED  
 But the old woman was not saying her daughter's name at all.
12. *qʰoʔ nəʔosɛ́fsət lɐ-fsi-cə*  
 SEQ thus PFV-dawn<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And it was just like this until it dawned.
13. *qʰoʔ le-fsiʔ qʰónə*  
 SEQ IPFV-dawn SEQ:EMPH  
*táʃo ne-nɐʃəʃɐ ʃteʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 demon IPFV-go.away be:EMPH be-MED  
 And when it dawns, demons as a rule will go away.
14. *ʃənəʔ qécʰwet=nəʔ nəʔosɛ́fsət kámʈʰa nɐ-smo-cə*  
 but fox=DET thus a.bit IPFV:PST-stay-MED  
 But the fox stayed (eavesdropping) in that manner for a little while.

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<sup>237</sup> According to folk belief, the fox is an accomplice to demons.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɛde ne-sɛŋi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ in.a.while IPFV-listen=SUB  
*rgɛnmɯ=kə ó-mɛ=p<sup>h</sup>a t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-<sup>n</sup>goz<sup>n</sup>ge*  
 old.woman=ERG 3SG:POSS-daughter=place CONT:LTR-call<sub>2</sub>  
*ɛ-mɛ sek<sup>h</sup>ɛmɛlosmɛn tə-rɛro <sup>n</sup>denəʔ lɐ-fsi ŋoʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-daughter PN IMP-get.up for PFV-dawn<sub>2</sub> be  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɛc<sup>h</sup>wet=kə rgɛnmúme t<sup>h</sup>ə kə-rmiʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ fox=ERG old.woman’s.daughter what NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=DET  
*ne-səftaʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-memorize<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the fox memorized what the old woman’s daughter was named,

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ stɐ-rjəyʔ jɐ-fɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ CVB-run PFV-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təjo fə-ne-səyʃɔt-cə*  
 SEQ demon AND-PFV:TR-inform<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and went away running and informed the demon.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔomer=nəʔ*  
 SEQ that.night=DET  
*təjo rgɛnmɯ=niʔ <sup>n</sup>dzə-p<sup>h</sup>a lɐ-ɐre-cə*  
 demon old.woman=DU 3DU:POSS-place PFV:UPSTRTEAM-go<sub>2</sub>-MED

*qʰoʔ sekʰəmɛlosmən o-rmiʔ=rɐʔ kɐ-pe nɐ-cʰɐʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ Sekhamalosman 3SG:POSS-name=PL INF-do IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 That night, the demon went upriver to the old woman and her daughter and was able to  
 say her name.

19. *qʰoʔ rɛnmu kɐʰdʒəmámɛ=niʔ*  
 SEQ old.woman together.with.daughter=DU  
*χfíkə ʰdzə-sni nə-zdəɣ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 very 3DU:POSS-heart PFV-be.painful<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the old woman and her daughter felt very sad.

20. *ʃənəʔ tsʰəytóʔ=ta kɐ-smo nɐ-re-cə*  
 but agreement=top GP-stay IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But one must abide by the agreement.

21. *qʰónə nəʔoséʃsət sekʰəmɛlosmən=nəʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH thus PN=DET  
*tájo ne-ʰbi nɐ-re ɲoʔ-cə*  
 demon PFV:TR-give<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 So (the old woman) had to give Sekhamalosman to the demon.

22. *qʰoʔ sekʰəmɛlosmən=nəʔ χfíkə nɐ-vɛvoʔ*  
 SEQ PN=DET very IPFV:PST-weep<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ o-ʒəvʔ mə-nɐ-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart NEG-IPFV:PST-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*ʃənəʔ mə-nɐ-pʰenʔ-cə*  
 but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.effective<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Sekhamalosman wept bitterly and was very unwilling, but it was useless.

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɔʝo o-krɐ kɐ-nts<sup>h</sup>a tɔ-mda ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ demon 3SG:POSS-companion INF-set.out PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the time came for her to set out with the demon.

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rɣɛnmɯ=niʔ <sup>n</sup>dzə-<sup>n</sup>bri χfíkə kə-ʒroʔ*  
 SEQ old.woman=DU 3DU:POSS-horse very NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine  
*canʃərtɐ kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 The old woman and her daughter had a very fine horse named Kyangshirta.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sek<sup>h</sup>ɛmɛlosmɛn kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ nɐ-nlɔ=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>briʔ tɔ-wɐc<sup>h</sup>ɛvlevʔ*  
 SEQ PN courtyard PFV:DOWN-exit<sub>2</sub>=SUB horse PFV-talk<sub>2</sub>  
 When Sekhamalosman went out to the courtyard, the horse talked (in human language).

26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sek<sup>h</sup>ɛmɛlosmɛn ó-p<sup>h</sup>a kə-kdu mɐ*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-place NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious not.exist  
*fsiʔ=nəʔ nɐ-zdəɣ χfíkə ne-t<sup>h</sup>əɣʔ=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. *nəʔorjánnəʔ ɛʝiʔ ɐ-tə-koy-tʃənʔ-aŋ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ oʒorʔ*  
 at.that.time 1SG IRR-IMP-2→1-think.of-1SG SEQ meanwhile  
*canʃərtɛmc<sup>h</sup>ɛn ɐ-tə-tɔ-tsə*  
 PN IRR-IMP-2-say  
 “at that moment, think of me and in the mean while call (my name) ‘Kyangshirta Mkhyen!’”

28. *qʰoʔ ɐjiʔ ʃla nəzyəzyot-aŋ ʃteʔ=kə*  
 SEQ 1SG immediately arrive:RDPL-1SG be:EMPH=DM  
*qʰoʔ tɐ-nɛtsəmtsomʔ ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 1→2-take.thither:RDPL be:EMPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “And I will surely arrive (out of nowhere) immediately, and take you away,” it said.

29. *qʰoʔ sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn=kə nəʔ=rɐʔ ne-səʃtaʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA=PL PFV:TR-memorize<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Sekhamalosman memorized all that.

30. *qʰoʔ təʃo=scʰənəʔ tʰɐ-ntsʰa-ʰdzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ demon=and PFV:DOWNRIVER-depart<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 And she departed downriver with the demon.

31. *qʰoʔ təʃo=kə sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn=nəʔ*  
 SEQ demon=ERG PN=DET  
*pra ʃorŋəmʔ kə-toʔ=cəʔ ó-ɐɐ tə-oy-tsom*  
 steep.cliff NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF 3SG:POSS-body PFV-INV-take.thither<sub>2</sub>  
 And Sekhamalosman was taken uphill by the demon onto a steep cliff.

32. *qʰónə təʃo=kə prazgo ʃfi<sup>238</sup> te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH demon=ERG rock-door open PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the demon said, “Rock door, open!”

33. *qʰoʔ pra komʔ tə-ʰju-cə*  
 SEQ rock door PFV-open<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the rock door opened up.

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<sup>238</sup> From Tibetan <brag.sgo.phye>.

34. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-naŋ lə-oy-tsom*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside PFV:IN-INV-take.thither<sub>2</sub>  
 And (she) was taken inside.

35. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ prazgo zbo<sup>239</sup> te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ rock-door IDPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And (the demon) said, “Rock door, close!”

36. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə pra komʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-peʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ rock door PFV:TR-close<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the rock door closed.

37. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ kə-rjaʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA one-night=DET  
*təʃo=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ nɐ-rmeʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə ɣoʔ-cə*  
 demon=and IPFV:PST-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 That night, she spent the night with the demon.

38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ lə-fsi=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 SEQ PFV-dawn<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*təʃo=kə sek<sup>h</sup>eməlosmən=p<sup>h</sup>a nəʃiʔ josŋiʔ nə-nq<sup>h</sup>ope jɐ*  
 emon=ERG PN=place 2SG today IMP-keep.house DM  
*ɐʃiʔ op<sup>h</sup>jiʔ=c<sup>h</sup>o ʃə-te-nənke<sup>n</sup>jiʔ-aŋ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 1SG outside=LOC:INDF AND-walk.around=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 When day broke, the demon said to Sekhamalosman, “You keep house today, and I will take a stroll outside!”

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<sup>239</sup> The syllable *zbo* appears to be an onomatopoeic word mimicking the sound of a door closing.

39. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təjo=kə sek<sup>h</sup>eməlosmən*  
 SEQ demon=ERG PN  
*o-zdeʔ=nəʔ líli=cəʔ ne-səsmoʔ ɣoʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-mkom=nəʔ=z lentfaʔpépə=cəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-top.side.of.bed=DET=LOC hand.squeezed.coarse.tsampa.dough=INDF  
*ne-te ɣoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And placed a hand-squeezed lump of coarse tsampa dough by the top side of her bed.

41. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təjo jə-fəʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ demon PFV-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the demon went away.

42. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sasu tə-mda jərmə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ lunch PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub> about=SUB  
*sek<sup>h</sup>eməlosmən t<sup>h</sup>e-mp<sup>h</sup>éri=nəʔ*  
 PN IPFV-look=SUB  
*líli=kə lentfaʔ kə-təkur*  
 cat=ERG hand-squeezed.coarse-tsampa.dough one-mouthful  
*te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Around lunchtime, as Sekhamalosman was looking, she saw that the cat ate up the lump of coarse tsamp dough in one mouthful,

43. *ʃənəʔ lɛntʃaʔ=kə lili te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 but hand-squeezed.coarse-tsampa.dough=ERG cat PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛnoŋne nə-mɛŋɛʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ both PFV-not.be.seen<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 but the lump of coarse tsampa dough ate the cat up, and both disappeared.

44. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sek<sup>h</sup>ɛmɛlosmɛn=nəʔ ɣʃikə nə-verʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=DET very PFV-be.afraid<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And Sekhamalosman was very much afraid.

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔosɛʃsət nə-smo nə-re-cə*  
 SEQ thus IPFV:PST-stay IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And she had to stay there just like that.

46. *leʔ nəʔofsəʃsi=nəʔ*  
 again next.day=TOP  
*leʔ təʃo=kə sek<sup>h</sup>ɛmɛlosmɛn o-vzər=nəʔ*  
 again demon=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-side=DET  
*rgɛli=cəʔ ne-səsmoʔ*  
 heifer=INDF PFV:TR-cause.to.stay  
 And the next day, the demon again made a heifer stay beside Sekhamalosman.

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-mkom=nəʔ=z təyriʔ=cəʔ ne-te ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-front=DET=LOC hay=INDF PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And placed some hay in front of it.

48. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-jiʔ=nəʔ leʔ op<sup>h</sup>jiʔ jɛ-ʃɛʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=DET again outside PFV-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And it went out again.



49. *qʰoʔ sásu jermə nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ lunch about PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub>=SUB

*sekʰəmɛlosmən tʰe-mpʰéri=nəʔ*

PN IPFV-look=SUB

*rgéli=kə təyriʔ kə-tákur te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 heifer=ERG hay one-mouthful PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub> be-MED

At around lunchtime, as Sekhamalosman was looking, she saw that the heifer ate up the hay in one mouthful,

50. *ʃənəʔ təyriʔ=kə rgéli te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 but hay=ERG heifer PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub> be-MED

*qʰoʔ ɛnoŋne nə-məŋeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ both PFV-not.be.seen<sub>2</sub> be-MED

but the hay ate the heifer up, and both disappeared.

51. *qʰoʔ sekʰəmɛlosmən leʔ χfíkə nə-verʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN again very PFV-be.afraid<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And again Sekhamalosman was very much afraid.

52. *qʰoʔ nəʔ tʰə=cəʔ te-kə-pe reʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ ANA what=INDF IPFV-GP-do be-DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

And she thought, “What am I to do about this?”

53. *ozorʔ tʰe-mpʰéri=nəʔ*  
 meanwhile IPFV-look=SUB

*komqʰu=z sɛcuʔ χfíkə nə-kə-seʔ=cəʔ*

back.of.door=LOC key very PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.smoothed.out<sub>2</sub>=INDF

*wɛʃo            ɲoʔ-cə*

be.seen            be-MED

At the same time, she saw that there was a key that had been smoothed out (from use) behind the door.

54. *qʰoʔ      nəʔ      ne-mjeʔ-cə*

SEQ      ANA      PFV:DOWN:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-MED

She took it down,

55. *qʰoʔ      o-lɛco                                  zgoʔ      nɐ-kɐ-sɛtseʔ-cə*

SEQ      3SG:POSS-inside.place      room      PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-lock<sub>2</sub>-MED

*nɐ-to                                  ɲoʔ-cə*

IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

and there was a room which was locked further indoors from her.

56. *qʰoʔ      nəʔ      kɐ-cu      te-tsʰɛt      ɲoʔ-cə=nəʔ      ʃla                                  tə-ɲju-cə*

SEQ      ANA      INF-open      PFV:TR-try<sub>2</sub>      be-MED=SUB      immediately      PFV-open<sub>2</sub>-MED

As she tried to open it, (the door) immediately opened.

57. *qʰoʔ      le-mpʰéri=nəʔ*

SEQ      IPFV-look=SUB

*rgɛnmu                                  ʃə-kə-set*

old.woman      PROS-NMLZ:SBJ-die

*qʰoʔ      nə-zgéʔ=ta                                  tɛmɲəyʔ                                  nɐ-kɐ-sɛtseʔ=kəsə*

SEQ      3PL:POSS-back=top      bamboo.straw      PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-stick<sub>2</sub>=like

*əntsátse                                  ɲoʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sek<sup>h</sup>eməlosmən ó-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-place  
*nɛjiʔ k<sup>h</sup>əʔk<sup>h</sup>o=z t<sup>h</sup>v jɛ-tɛ-wɛʔ ɲoʔ <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 2SG here=LOC why PFV-2-come<sub>2</sub> be DM  
 And they (said) to Sekhamalosman, “Why have you come here?”
59. *c<sup>h</sup>eʔ=z jəjəɾɐʔ nɛjiʔ fəχte=rɛn*  
 former.time=LOC 1PL 2SG than=even  
*nɛ-mp<sup>h</sup>jorʔ-jə nɛ-nɛtsɛlɛjʔ-jə*  
 IPFV:PST-be.beautiful<sub>2</sub>-1PL IPFV:PST-be.good-looking<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 “At one time, we were even more beautiful and good-looking than you are.”
60. *fənəʔ jə-fwe t<sup>h</sup>v-wɛ*  
 but 1PL:POSS-age PFV-come<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə kə-néjts<sup>h</sup>u nə-mɛʔ-jə*  
 SEQ:EMPH NMLZ:SBJ-be.serviceable<sub>2</sub> PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-1PL  
 “But we have become old and useless.”
61. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ koʔ nə-o-xso-jə ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ this PFV-INV-do<sub>2</sub>-1PL be  
 “And we have been made to be like this.”
62. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə nɛjiʔ pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o-rɛɲəm tə-rénts<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ:EMPH 2SG now-EMPH IMP-set.out  
 “Get ready to set out right now!”
63. *komq<sup>h</sup>u méju sɛcuʔ mts<sup>h</sup>ôt v-teʔ=kə nəʔ tá-<sup>n</sup>dɛ*  
 back.of.door further key be.many PASS-put=INS ANA IMP-take<sub>3</sub>  
 “And as many more keys are placed behind the door, take them.”

64. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃəmʔ zɡolɔʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ kɛju zɡolɔʔ o-sɐcuʔ*  
 SEQ iron room=and wood room 3SG:POSS-key  
*raŋraŋ ɛdənbe ɐ-mə-nə-tə-sɐkofcɐʔ*  
 separately at.all IRR-NEG-IMP-2-exchange<sub>3</sub>  
 “Do not mix up the keys to iron rooms with those to wooden rooms.”

65. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-nan ɐ-lɐ-tə-ʃɐ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside IRR-IMP:IN-2-go PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 “Just go inside!” they said.

66. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sek<sup>h</sup>ɛmɛlosmən=kə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG  
*kɛju sɐcuʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ ʃəmʔ sɐcuʔ te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
 wood key=and iron key PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sɐcuʔ ɛdənbe me-ne-sɐkofcɐ-cə*  
 SEQ key at.all NEG-PFV:TR-exchange<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Sekhamalosman picked up the wood keys and the iron keys, and she kept them completely separate.

67. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ zɡolɔʔ=nan leʔ zɡolɔʔ=kəsə ó-nan lɐ-ɐre-cə*  
 SEQ room=inside again room=like 3SG:POSS-inside PFV:IN-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And she went into rooms inside rooms,

68. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ zɡolɔʔ o-p<sup>h</sup>uyʔ*  
 SEQ most room 3SG:POSS-innermost.end  
*kə-toʔ=cəʔ lɐ-zyôʔt-cə=nəʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF PFV:IN-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

*vləme=cəʔ tʰɐ-rɐtʰənʔ wɐjo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 lama=INDF CONT:LTR-practice.reclusive.meditation<sub>2</sub> be.seen be-MED  
 when she reached an innermost room, she found a lama who was practicing reclusive meditation.

69. *qʰoʔ vləme=kə*  
 SEQ lama=ERG  
*kʰəʔkʰoz kɐ-zɣot nɐ-tə-cʰɐʔ=nəʔ vde-cə*  
 here INF-arrive IPFV:PST-2-be.able<sub>2</sub>=SUB be.good-MED  
 And the lama said, “It is good that you were able to get to here.”

70. *qʰoʔ vləme=kə*  
 SEQ lama=ERG  
*sekʰəmɛlosmən rjɛntʃe piru mtsʰôt tə-o-sqərweʔ-cə*  
 PN jewelry be.many PFV-INV-put.around.neck<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the lama put a lot of jewelry on Sekhamalosman’s neck,

71. *qʰoʔ rgɛnmú-ʰdzi tə-o-ʒʰgeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ old.woman-skin PFV-INV-cause.to.wear<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and dressed her with an old woman’s skin.

72. *qʰoʔ vləme=kə*  
 SEQ lama=ERG  
*ʃɛtʰi qʃoʔ=naŋ tʰe-tə-ʃɐ=nəʔ*  
 place.donwriver ravine=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-2-go=SUB  
*nɐ-ɛóri qʰɐ tɔʃo=nəʔ kaɛnez-təʃe jɛrmɐ wi=kə*  
 2SG:POSS-front ANA demon=DET a.couple-time about come=INS

*kdənbe v-mə-nə-tə-ver*

at.all IRR-NEG-IMP-2-be.afraid

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛzgrɛzgre <sup>n</sup>ge-fsɐʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*

SEQ all.kinds.of.sounds IPFV-hear=SUB

*təʃo=kə nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>ə o-zgre ŋoʔ tɛ-tsə=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*

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. *ɛjiʔ nəŋnɛmk<sup>h</sup>oj-aŋ ofɛtkə ɐ-fɛru tɛ-rpəpoʔ*

1SG be.thin-1SG so.much 1SG:POSS-bone IPFV-bump:RECP

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ o-zgre ʃtɛʔ ɐ-tə-tə-tsə*

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔosɛfsət ɐ-t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-tə-fɐ*

SEQ thus IRR-IMP:DOWNRIVER-2-go

*ʃɐt<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>i=z=nəʔ rjɛlpo=cəʔ toʔ=kə*

downriver.place:FAR.DIST=LOC=DET chieftain=INDF exist=INS

*nəʔ nə-múru=z ɐ-nə-tə-smo*

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-o-nɛpóro ʃtɛʔ=kə*

SEQ 2-INV-take.in be:EMPH-DM

“And you will be taken in.”

77. *nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

ANA PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

He said the above.

78. *qʰoʔ sekʰəmɛlosmən=nəʔ qfóʔ=nan tʰv-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ PN=DET ravine=inside PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And Sekhamalosman went downriver in the ravine.

79. *qʰoʔ ɲɛspəspe tʰv-ɐre=nəʔ*

SEQ quite.a.while:EMPH PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>=SUB

*o-ɰóri tǎjo lɐ-wɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-front demon PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub> be-MED

After she had gone downriver for quite a while, the demon came upriver toward her.

80. *qʰoʔ ɣfíkə ne-vɐr ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ very IPFV-be.afraid be-MED

And she was very much afraid.

81. *qʰoʔ nə-wɛɲyɲyʔ=scʰənəʔ rɛnmú-<sup>n</sup>dʒi=nan*

SEQ PFV-tremble<sub>2</sub>=and old.woman-skin=inside

*o-piru=rɐʔ te-rpərpəʔ*

3SG:POSS-coral=PL IPFV-collide<sub>2</sub>:RECP

*qʰoʔ ne-wɐrqʰárqʰət<sup>240</sup> ɲoʔ-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.

<sup>240</sup> Derived verbal ideophone describing sounds of small rounded objects.

82. *qʰoʔ tɔʝo=kə*  
 SEQ demon=ERG  
*nəʔ tʃʰə o-zgre ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 ANA what 3SG:POSS-sound be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 And when the demon asked, “What is that sound?”

83. *sekʰəmɛlosmən=kə ɛʝiʔ rɛnmu ɐ-ɲəm ʃʃikə kʰoj*  
 PN=ERG 1SG old.woman 1SG:poss-body very be.thin  
*qʰoʔ ɐ-ʃʃru te-rpərpəʔ*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-bone IPFV-bump:RECP  
*qʰoʔ nəʔ o-zgre ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-sound be:EMPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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 tɔʝo=kə sekʰəmɛlosmən kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ me-ne-sərtɔ-cə*  
 SEQ demon=ERG PN NMLZ:SBJ-be=SUB NEG-PFV:TR-discover<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And so the demon did not discover that (the old woman) was Sekhamalosman.

85. *qʰoʔ leʔ nəʔosɛʃsət tʰɐ-ɐre ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ again thus PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And again in this way she went on downriver.

86. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo o-sɐ-smo=nəʔ=z ʝə-zɣot*  
 SEQ chieftain 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-be.present<sub>2</sub>=SUB=LOC PROS-arrive  
*jɛrmɐ leʔ o-ɓóri=nəʔ tɔʝo lɐ-wɛʔ-cə*  
 about again 3SG:POSS-front=DET demon PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And as she was about to get to where the chieftain was, the demon again came upriver  
 toward her.



87. *qʰoʔ leʔ kəmɛko o-ʋóri lɛ-kə-wɛʔ*  
 SEQ again before 3SG:POSS-front PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>  
*tʰə nɛ-kə-fsât=nəʔ=rɛʔ leʔ rdêt nɛ-fsât-cə*  
 what IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub>=DET=PL again exactly IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And she did exactly the same as with the (demon) who had come toward her before.

88. *qʰoʔ tǎjo=kə sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn leʔ me-ne-sǎrtɔ-cə*  
 SEQ demon=ERG PN again NEG-PFV:TR-discover<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And again, the demon failed to discover Sekhamalosman.

89. *qʰoʔ sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn rjɛlpo o-múru=z*  
 SEQ PN chieftain 3SG:POSS-place.for.drawing.water=LOC  
*tʰɛ-zɣôt qʰoʔ ʰge-smo ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub> SEQ IPFV-stay be-MED  
 Sekhamalosman arrived downriver at the water-drawing place of the chieftain's and stayed there.

90. *qʰoʔ o-rɛnmúʰdzi=rɛʔ ne-ná-tʃɛt*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-old.woman's.skin=PL IPFV-SPON-take.off  
*qʰoʔ ʰge-ráχʃi ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV-wash.oneself be-MED  
 And she would shed her old woman's skin and wash herself.

91. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo o-ɛjɔʔ=rɛʔ=kə nɛ-o-mti-cə*  
 SEQ chieftain 3SG:POSS-servant=PL=ERG PFV-INV-see<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And was seen by the chieftain's servants.

92. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo o-ɛjɔʔ=rɛʔ=kə rjɛlpo=pʰa*  
 SEQ chieftain 3SG:POSS-servant=PL=ERG chieftain=place  
 And the chieftain's servants (said) to the chieftain,

93. *ɐ̃<sup>n</sup>dík<sup>h</sup>o* *múru* *kə-toʔ=nəʔ*  
location.to.the.west place.for.drawing.water NMLZ-exist=SUB  
*rgɛnmu=cəʔ* *jɛ-weʔ*  
old.woman=INDF PFV-come<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-rgɛnmú<sup>n</sup>dʒi=nəʔ* *né-ntʃɛt* *kə-k<sup>h</sup>út=cəʔ*  
SEQ 3SG:POSS-old.woman.skin=DET IPFV-take.off NMLZ:SBJ-be.feasible=INDF  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *χfíkə* *kə-mp<sup>h</sup>jor=cəʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə* *te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
SEQ very NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful=INDF be-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *rjɛlpo=kə*  
SEQ chieftain=ERG  
*mɛ-ɤdu* *kə* *k<sup>h</sup>ə́k<sup>h</sup>oz* *ɐ̃-jɛ-tɛ-wot=nəʔ*  
NEG-be.serious DM here IRR-IMP-2-bring-2PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónə* *nəʔ* *ʃteʔ* *kə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
SEQ:EMPH ANA be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
And the chieftain said, ‘‘That’s alright. Just bring her to me!’’

95. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *sek<sup>h</sup>ɛmɛlosmɛn=nəʔ* *rjɛlpo=kə* *tə-o-nɛporoʔ* *mɛkə́ts<sup>h</sup>ɛt*  
SEQ PN=TOP chieftain=ERG PFV-INV-take.in<sub>2</sub> not.only  
*o-rgɛnmú<sup>n</sup>dʒi=rɛʔ* *ne-te*  
3SG:POSS-old.woman.skin=PL PFV:TR-get.rid.of<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *χfíkə* *<sup>n</sup>ge-mp<sup>h</sup>jor* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ very IPFV-be.beautiful 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 kəmɐqʰúnəʔ*

SEQ afterwards

*rjélpo o-vdamuʔ tə-ɐpeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
chieftain 3SG:POSS-queen PFV-become<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And afterwards, she became the chieftain's queen.

97. *qʰoʔ kəmɐqʰúnəʔ mə-nə-nɐrkiʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ afterwards NEG-PFV-be.strong<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And afterwards, she became pregnant.

98. *ʃənəʔ qʰoʔ rjélpo reⁿgo=z*

but SEQ chieftain hill=LOC

*kə-nəvdíti tə-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə*  
NMLZ:PURP-celebrate.Flower.Viewing.Festival PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED

But the chieftain happened to have gone up the hills to celebrate Flower-Viewing Festival.

99. *qʰoʔ oqʰuz sekʰɐmɐlosmɐn=nəʔ ne-qʰoʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ afterwards PN=TOP PFV:TR-deliver<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And afterwards, Sekhamalosman gave birth (to a baby).

100. *qʰoʔ tɐlɲaʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ child=DET

*o-qʰoʔstot toŋʔ kə-ɲoʔ*  
3SG:POSS-upper.body white.conch NMLZ:SBJ-be

*o-qʰoʔsmɐt χser kə-ɲoʔ*  
3SG:POSS-lower.body gold NMLZ:SBJ-be

*rəytʃen=cəʔ jɐ-wôt ɲoʔ-cə*  
person.with.supernatural.powers=INDF PFV-bring<sub>2</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sek<sup>h</sup>emelosmen=kə jəye ne-ret*

SEQ PN=ERG letter PFV:TR-write<sub>2</sub>

And Sekhamalosman wrote him a letter.

102. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-kə-ɐq<sup>h</sup>oʔ<sup>241</sup>*

SEQ PFV-NMLZ-recover<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɐlɣaʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə=kəsə kə-ŋoʔ=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ ne-ret*

SEQ child what=like NMLZ:SBJ-be=PL all PFV:TR-write<sub>2</sub>

She wrote all about her delivery and what the child was like and what not.

103. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃla ɐ-nɐ-nəwi te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ immediately IRR-IMP:DOWN-come.back PFV:TR-say be-MED

“Come back downhill right away,” she wrote.

104. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛjəʔ=kə jəye rjɛlpo=p<sup>h</sup>a te-tsom ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ servant=ERG letter chieftain=place PFV:UP:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the servants took the letter uphill to the chieftain.

105. *ʃənəʔ rjɛlpo=p<sup>h</sup>a mə-jɐ-zɣət ʃoxte*

but chieftain=place NEG-PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub> before

*c<sup>h</sup>eʔ tɔʃo=nəʔ ɛjəʔ=kə ne-t<sup>h</sup>əɣ ŋoʔ-cə*

before demon=DET servant=ERG PFV:TR-meet<sub>2</sub> be-MED

But before the servant had got to the chieftain, he ran into the same demon (as before).

<sup>241</sup> Original meaning ‘recover’, here used as an euphemistic replacement for *tɐlɣaʔ* ‘deliver (a baby)’.

106. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɔʝo=kə*

SEQ demon=ERG

*nɛʝiʔ ɲétʰəz jə-tə-fɛ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*

2SG where PROS-2-go be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

When the demon asked him, “Where are you going?”<sup>242</sup>

107. *ɛʝəʔ=kə vdamu ne-q<sup>h</sup>oʔ=kə*

servant=ERG queen PFV:TR-deliver<sub>2</sub>=INS

*o-jəʝe ɲélpo=p<sup>h</sup>a*

3SG:POSS-letter chieftain=place

*jə-tsomʔ-an ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

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<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɔʝo=kə ɲɐ jəʝe ɛʝiʔ tə-o-znémpɛ-an*

SEQ demon=ERG EXCL letter 1SG IMP-INV-show<sub>3</sub>-1SG

*te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the demon said, “Come, let me look at the letter!”

109. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɔʝo=kə jəʝe ó-nan*

SEQ demon=ERG letter 3SG:POSS-inside

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔstot ʔpa kə-ɲoʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔsmət k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ kə-ɲoʔ*

upper.body pig NMLZ:SBJ-be lower.body dog NMLZ:SBJ-be

*jɐ-wôt-an ɲoʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʰə ne-kɐ-soʔ*

PFV-bring<sub>2</sub>-1SG be SEQ what IPFV-GP-do

<sup>242</sup> Lit. ‘Where are you about to go?’

*ŋoʔ      ʰdenəʔ      kɛ́-tsə      ne-zjəʔ      ŋoʔ-cə*  
 be      DM      INF-say      PFV:TR-change<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

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      ɲɛ́lpo=kə      jəʔe      ó-ja      jɐ-wɛʔ*  
 SEQ      chieftain=ERG      letter      3SG:POSS-hand      PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ      ɐjiʔ      cʰeʔ      wi-aŋ      fteʔ=kə*  
 SEQ      1SG      early      come-1SG      be:EMPH=INS  
*páʔje      tɛ́lɲaʔ      tʃɛ́lɐ      kɐ-nɛsəsoʔ<sup>243</sup>      mɐ-reʔ*  
 still      child      anything      GP-do      NEG-be.necessary  
*kɛ́-tsə      sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn      o-jəʔe      ne-ret      ŋoʔ-cə*  
 INF-say      PN      3SG:POSS-letter      PFV:TR-write<sub>2</sub>      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. *ʃənəʔ      qʰoʔ      tʃoʰbɛjʔ=z      leʔ      táʃo=kə*  
 but      SEQ      way=LOC      again      demon=ERG  
*sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn      o-jəʔɛ=nəŋ=nəʔ*  
 PN      3SG:POSS-letter=inside=DET  
*sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn      kolɲəʔɲaʔ=nɪʔ      ɐ-nə-spjuʔ=nəʔ*  
 PN      together.with.child=DU      IRR-PFV-banish=SUB  
*kɛ́-tsə      ne-zjəʔ      ŋoʔ-cə*  
 CVB-say      PFV:TR-change<sub>2</sub>      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.

<sup>243</sup> The ambulative form here expresses the meaning ‘dispose of the child in various ways’.

112. *qʰoʔ sekʰemelosmən=nəʔ*

SEQ PN=TOP

*kə-spjuʔ mə-nə-tsoʔ o-ljaʔ te-fkor*  
 INF-banish NEG-PFV-have.time.for<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-child PFV:TR-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>

*qʰoʔ rjəlpə=pʰa tə-pʰi tə-ɐre ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ chieftain=place PFV:UP-escape<sub>2</sub> PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And Sekhamalosman, before she was banished, had carried the child onto her back and fled uphill to the chieftain.

113. *ʃənəʔ tʃoʰbəjʔ=z leʔ təjo=nəʔ ne-tʰəy ŋoʔ-cə*  
 but way=LOC again demon=DET PFV:TR-meet<sub>2</sub> be-MED

But again she ran across the demon on the way.

114. *qʰoʔ təjo=kə*

SEQ demon=ERG

*nəjiʔ kə-nəjoroʔ=kə ʰdzəmbokljaŋ o-təskəskor nə-ro-aŋ*  
 2SG INF-seek=INS PN 3SG:POSS-circle:EMPH IPFV:PST-circle<sub>2</sub>-1SG

*ʃəmʔ təxtse=scʰənəʔ ʃəmʔ tɛje=ntʰon tʰə-səyʒət-aŋ*  
 iron shoe=and iron walking.stick=even PFV-wear.out<sub>2</sub>-1SG

*nə-tsoʔ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

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-ljaʔ=rəʔ ne-səkʰi qʰoʔ te-ʰdzeʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-child=PL PFV:TR-snatch<sub>2</sub> SEQ PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And her child was snatched from her, and (the demon) ate it up.

116. *qʰoʔ sekʰəmɛlosmən=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

*ʃla ʰbri canʃərtə=nəʔ te-tʂən-cə*

immediately horse PN=DET PFV:TR-think.of<sub>2</sub>-MED

*qʰoʔ ʰbri canʃərtə mcʰen te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*

SEQ horse PN PFV:TR-say-MED=SUB

*ʃla canʃərtə jɐ-zɣôʔ*

immediately PN PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub>

Sekhamalosman thought of the horse Kyangshirta right away, and when she called “Kyangshirta Mkhyen!”, Kyangshirta came immediately.

117. *qʰoʔ canʃərtə te-<sup>n</sup>di qʰoʔ nə-o-ʃpʰi ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ PN PFV-hold<sub>2</sub> SEQ PFV-INV-assist.to.flee<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And she mounted Kyangshirta and it helped her escape.

118. *qʰoʔ təʃo=kə*

SEQ demon=ERG

*leʔ sekʰəmɛlosmən kɐ-nənqʰu mə-nə-cʰɐʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

again PN INF-follow NEG-PFV-be.able<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And again the demon failed to follow Sekhamalosman.

119. *qʰoʔ canʃərtə=kə sekʰəmɛlosmən*

SEQ PN=ERG PN

*sɛʈʰe ɣʃikə kə-vde=cɛ jɐ-o-sɛzɣôʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

place very NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=INDF PFV:EAST-INV-cause.to.arrive<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And Kyangshirta took Sekhamalosman to a very good place.

120. *qʰoʔ canʃərtə=kə sekʰəmɛlosmən=pʰa*

SEQ PN=ERG PN=place

And Kyangshirta said to Sekhamalosman,



121. *ɸjiʔ nə-o-ntʰe-aŋ qʰoʔ nə-ó-jʰdʒət-aŋ*  
 1SG IMP-INV-kill-1SG SEQ IMP-INV-flay-1SG  
 “Kill me and flay me.”
122. *qʰoʔ ɸ-fe tʰəmu=kəsci=cəʔ=ntʰon*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-flesh thimble=like=INDF=even  
*sɸtʰé=ta mə-nɸ-tə-səɸʃe*  
 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 ɸ-ʰdʒi=kə ʃe ɸ-tə-tə-mpʰər*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-skin=INS flesh IRR-IMP-2-wrap  
*qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-ta=nəʔ ɸ-koʔ*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET 1SG:POSS-head  
*ɸ-nɸ-tə-təʔ 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 sekʰemɸlosmən=nəʔ ɸʃikə nə-rəkʰroykʰroʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=TOP very PFV-be.sad<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Sekhamalosman was very sad.
125. *qʰoʔ nɸjiʔ tséjə nɸ-tʃənʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 2SG so.much 2SG:POSS-benevolence NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET  
*kɸ-ntʰe mɸ-tɸ-cʰɸ ŋoʔ 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 caŋfərtə=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

*mɛ-ʌdu nəjiʔ ɛjiʔ kɛ-ntʰe mɛ-koy-cʰɛ-aŋ*

NEG-be.serious 2SG 1SG INF-kill NEG-2→1-be.able-1SG

*qʰónə ɛjiʔ oʝentʰe-aŋ ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

SEQ:EMPH 1SG kill.oneself-1SG be:EMPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And Kyangshirta said, “Alright, since you cannot (make yourself) kill me, I will kill myself.”

127. *qʰoʔ nə-oʝentʰeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ PFV-kill.oneself<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And it killed itself.

128. *qʰoʔ sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn=kə ʰbri ne-jdʒət-cə*

SEQ PN=ERG horse PFV:TR-flay<sub>2</sub>-MED

*qʰoʔ o-ʃe=rɛʔ tʰɔʔdʒi=kə te-sə-mpʰərʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=PL skin=INS PFV:TR-CAUS-wrap be-MED

*qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-ta=nəʔ ʰbrɛkoʔ=rɛʔ ne-te-cə*

SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET horse.head=PL PFVB:TR:DOWN-put<sub>2</sub>-MED

And Sekhamalosman flayed the horse, wrapped up its flesh with its skin, and put its head on top of this.

129. *qʰoʔ nə-ɲet*

SEQ PFV-be.sleepy<sub>2</sub>

*qʰoʔ o-vzər=nəʔ=z kámtʰa kə-nəʝevʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=DET=LOC a.bit PFV-fall.asleep<sub>2</sub> be-MED

She felt sleepy, and fell asleep for a while besides it.

130. *qʰoʔ dɛtsɛnəʔ ʰbrɛ̃ⁿdʒi=kə fe tə-kɛ-mpʰərʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ gradually horse.skin=INS flesh PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-wrap₂=DET  
*rgonbe ome kə-xtɛʔ=scʰənəʔ vlɛrge mtsʰót nə-ⁿjərʔ*  
 monastery very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=and monk be.many PFV-change₂  
 And gradually the flesh wrapped in the horse skin changed into a very big monastery full of monks.

131. *qʰoʔ o-jiʔ=ntʰon nánəz jɛ-zɣôt wɛjo ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also there PFV-arrive₂ be.seen be-MED  
*qʰoʔ ome nɛ-scât*  
 SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.happy₂  
 And she herself was transported there and she was very happy.

132. *qʰoʔ rgonbe o-vzər=nəʔ nɛ-smo ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ monastery 3SG:POSS-side=DET IPFV:PST-stay be-MED  
 And she lived there by the side of the monastery.

133. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo o-vdamuʔ sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn=nəʔ nə-kɛ-qʰoʔ*  
 SEQ chieftain SG:POSS-queen PN=DET PFV-NMLZ-deliver₂  
*qʰoʔ tɛlɲaʔ tʃʰə nɛ-kə-fsât=rɛʔ kəmdiʔ ne-sizʔ-cə*  
 SEQ child what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂=PL all PFV:TR-know₂-MED  
 And the chieftain discovered all about his queen Sekhamalosman's delivery of the child and what had happened to the child.

134. *qʰoʔ ɣʰikə o-sni nə-zdəɣ qʰoʔ tə-rɛmunuʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ very 3SG:POSS-heart PFV-be.painful₂ SEQ PFV-be.angry₂ be-MED  
 He felt very sad and very angry.

135. *qʰoʔ kəməqʰínəʔ*

SEQ afterwards

*o-rjɛlse=scʰənəʔ o-nkʰormaŋ=rɛʔ ne-sɛvdəvdɛʔ*

3SG:POSS-palace=and 3SG:POSS-masses=PL PFV:TR-give.up<sub>2</sub>:DISTRIB

*qʰoʔ nə-ntʰomʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ PFV-be.wandering<sub>2</sub> be-MED

Afterwards, he forsook his palace and his masses and became a wanderer.

136. *qʰoʔ kəməqʰínəʔ*

SEQ afterwards

*qʰɛʔ rgonbe o-vzər=nəʔ jɛ-zɣôʔt-cə=nəʔ*

ANA monastery 3SG:POSS-side=DET PFV-arrive<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

*o-vdamuʔ sekʰɛməlosmən ne-mti ɲoʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-queen PN PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub> be-MED

Afterwards, when he got to the side of that monastery, and saw his queen Sekhamalosman.

137. *qʰoʔ noŋme=nəʔ kəkʰe kɛ-pe nɛ-cʰɛʔ-ndzə*

SEQ only.then=TOP family INF-do IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-3DU

*qʰoʔ nɛ-scəʔt-ndzə*

SEQ IPFV:PST-be.happy<sub>2</sub>-3DU

Only then, they were able to be reunited as a family and they were happy.

138. *qʰoʔ nəʔəqʰu=nəʔ*

SEQ from.then.on=TOP

*təʃo=ntʰon kɛ-wi mə-nɛ-cʰɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

demon=also INF-come NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And from then on, the demon was unable to come (and bother them).

## LAMA RGYALBABZANG OF CHURZHI

*tfʰurʒi rjelwəvzəŋ*

Narrator: Tshemgon

1. *ʃɲontsʰe=z*      *tfʰurʒi*<sup>244</sup>      *nə-vləme*      *rjelwəvzəŋ*  
 former.time=LOC    PN                      3PL:POSS-lama    PN  
*kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ*                      *nə-to*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 In olden days, there was a lama of ours by the name of Rgyalbabzang.
2. *qʰoʔ*    *nəʔ*      *vləme=nəʔ*      *χfʰikə*      *mə-kə-náχtfəy*  
 SEQ    ANA    lama=DET    very    NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.ordinary  
 That lama was very extraordinary,
3. *o-rizʔ*                      *ⁿge-toʔ*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-foresight    IPFV-exist    be-MED  
 for he had foresight.
4. *ó-pe=nəʔ*                      *scəʂli*      *nə-rmi*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-father=DET    PN                      IPFV:PST-be.named<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 His father was named Scasli.
5. *qʰoʔ*    *qʰənəʔ*    *ó-pʰa*                      *scəʂli-tʃu*      *té-tsə-nə*      *ⁿge-ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    ANA    3SG:POSS-place    PN-son                      IPFV-say-3PL    IPFV-be-MED  
 So people were calling the lama “Scasli’s son”.

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<sup>244</sup> Name of a religious leader from Dzamthang County, who spread Jonang Buddhism to the present Stodpa region.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-pe=nəʔ* *ʃnaxpəwe*<sup>245</sup> *nə-ŋo-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=DET defrocked.monk IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 His father was a defrocked monk,
7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ⁿge-nəvləmtʃot* *ŋoʔ-cə* *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-perform.religious.services be-MED SEQ  
*ⁿbəlve*<sup>246</sup>=*rəʔ* *ⁿge-mjə* *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *k<sup>h</sup>ənəŋ* *le-nətsomʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 offering=PL IPFV-receive<sub>3</sub> SEQ home IPFV:UPRIVER-take.back be-MED  
 and would perform religious services and bring back home the food offerings that he  
 would receive.
8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-tʃu=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son=DET=ERG  
*nəkəʔ* *ⁿbəlve* *ə-mə-jə-tə-wot* *ⁿdenəʔ*  
 that.near.you offering IRR-NEG-IMP-2-bring for  
*mə-lve* *ŋoʔ* *mə-tʃozʔ* *ŋoʔ* *té-tsə* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 NEG-be.proper be NEG-be.the.rule be IPFV-say be-MED  
 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.”
9. *ʃənəʔ* *ó-pe* *me-ⁿgé-k<sup>h</sup>ut* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 but 3SG:POSS-father NEG-IPFV-allow be-MED  
 But his father would not listen.

<sup>245</sup> 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*.

<sup>246</sup> 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-təʃe=ce=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-time=INDF=TOP  
*ó-pe nə-raxtuʔ=nəʔ o-krə*  
 3SG:POSS-father IPFV:PST-chant.sutra<sub>2</sub>=SUB 3SG:POSS-company  
*tʰə-ɐre ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:downriver-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Once, when his father went downriver to perform sutra-chanting services, he went with him.
11. *qʰoʔ kə-raxtu nə-səɣjoy qʰoʔ lə-nəweʔ-n-dzə*  
 SEQ INF-chant.sutra PFV:TR-finish<sub>2</sub> SEQ PFV:UPRIVER-come.back<sub>2</sub>-2SG  
 They finished chanting sutras and went back home upriver.
12. *tʰoʰbəjʔ=z ʰdzə-nbəlve te-rqje-n-dzə*  
 road=LOC 3DU:POSS-offering PFV:TR-untie<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
*qʰoʔ kə-n-dzerve tə-rəntsʰa-n-dzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ:PURP-eat.outdoors PFV-make.ready<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 On the road, they untied their food offering and were about to eat it.
13. *qʰoʔ ʰdzə-nbəlve=nəʔ rtsémkəy=nəŋ te-tʃet-n-dzə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3DU:POSS-offering=DET tsampa.bag=inside PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>-3DU=SUB  
*qəprɛʔ qəʃpe tə-nlɔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 snake toad PFV:UP-exit<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 As they took out their offering from the tsampa bag, snakes and toads came up out of it.
14. *qʰoʔ o-tʃu=nəʔ=kə nəʔ ʃsət ko*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son=DET=ERG ANA be.thus DM  
*nəkənəʔ ʰbəlve stoŋʰbəlɛtaŋ ne-kə-mye=nəʔ*  
 that.near.you offering without.good.reason IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-receive=DET

*mɛ-lve ofɛtkə nəʔ né-fsət ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 NEG-be.proper so ANA IPFV-be.thus be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

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 leʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ again one-time=INDF=TOP  
 On another occasion,

16. *pəlɛpu=rɛʔ re<sup>n</sup>go=z ó-ta=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 Pala<sup>247</sup>-people=PL hill=LOC 3SG:POSS-top=INDF=DET  
*kə-nəvdíti tə-ɐre-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:PURP-celebrate.Vditi.festival PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 people of Pala Village<sup>248</sup> went somewhere up the hills to celebrate the Vditi Festival.

17. *qʰoʔ cʰɛmdɛʔ te-tsom-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ barley.beer.in.a.jar PFV:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 They took with them barley beer in a jar,

18. *ʃənəʔ cʰɛmdɛroʔ ne-jmât-nə-cə*  
 but bamboo.tube PFV:TR-forget<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 but forgot (to bring) bamboo tubes.

19. *scɛsli-tʃu=nəʔ=kə*  
 Scasli-son=DET=ERG  
*cʰɛmdɛroʔ ɐjiʔ ʃə-qése-aŋ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 bamboo.tube 1SG AND-look.for-1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the son of Scasli said, “I will go and look for bamboo tubes,”

<sup>247</sup> A village in Zbu Township (in Chinese 巴朗).

<sup>248</sup> A Showu-speaking village within the Zbu Township in 'Barkhams City.



20. *náŋlaskə spəntɔʔ χcəl nɐ-smo-nə ʃteʔ-cə*  
 surely meadow center IPFV:PST-be.present<sub>2-3PL</sub> be:EMPH-MED  
 surely, as they were in the middle of a meadow,
21. *qʰənəʔ=z ʔjwɛʔ-roʔ mákə*  
 ANA=LOC bamboo-tube let.alone  
*rtsəke kə-rzɛʔ=ntʃʰon mɐ ʔoʔ-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 nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ a.while PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*cʰəmdɛroʔ kəlʔo-tʃʒ-ɰʰbye=cəʔ jɐ-wôt ʔoʔ-cə*  
 bamboo.tube five-six-CL=INDF PFV-bring<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 After a while, he brought back five or six bamboo tubes,
23. *qʰoʔ zdewe=rɛʔ=kə χʃíkə nə-ɐnɐmtsʰerʔ-nə ʔoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ people=PL=ERG very PFV-be.surprised<sub>2-3PL</sub> be-MED  
 and the people were very surprised.
24. *qʰoʔ nəʃəqʰu*  
 SEQ afterwards  
*scɐslitʃu=rɛʔ kɛ-tsə mə-nə-noz-nə ʔoʔ-cə*  
 son.of.Scasli=PL NMLZ-say NEG-PFV-dare<sub>2-3PL</sub> be-MED  
 Afterwards, they no longer dared to call him “Son of Scasli”.

25. *qʰoʔ rjelwəvzəŋ=nəʔ χʰíkə mə-kə-náχtʃəʔ nə-ʃte*  
 SEQ PN=DET very NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.ordinary IPFV:PST-be:EMPH<sub>2</sub>  
*ŋoʔ-cə qʰoʔ vʒérismənrtsi<sup>249</sup>=scʰənəʔ kofsoʔ kʰértə ʰge-ŋoʔ-<sup>n</sup>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 kəmjɿəm ʰge-rkʰəvdəʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ often IPFV-chat<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 And they often chatted with each other.

27. *qʰoʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-time=INDF=DET  
*rjelwəvzəŋ=kə vʒérismənrtsi ó-pʰa*  
 PN=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-place  
*nəjiʔ nə-skət kə-ʃsɛʔ káma*  
 2SG 2SG:POSS-voice GP-hear except  
*nə-ɛzəʔ kə-mtiʔ mə-cə<sup>250</sup>*  
 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-təʃe=koʔ*  
 SEQ one-time=this  
*nə-ɛzəʔ kə-mtiʔ nə-tʃɛt reʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 2SG:POSS-body GP-see IMP-take.out be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “this time, you must reveal your visible body,” he said.

<sup>249</sup> Name of one of the guardian deities of the Bzhagbra Mountains, also known as Bzhagbra.

<sup>250</sup> The mediative evidential *-cə* here is used in a non-evidential sense to convey a complaint.

29. *qʰoʔ vʒéri smənrtsi=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ PN=DET=ERG  
*nəʔ mɐ-ɲən ˈdenəʔ tə-nɐsce ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 ANA NEG-be.acceptable for 2-be.scared be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Bzhagbra Smanrtsi said, “This is unacceptable, for you will be frightened.”

30. *ʃənəʔ ɲɛlwɛvzəŋ=kə mɐ-kdu te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 but PN=ERG NEG-be.serious PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But Rgyalbabzang said, “It’s alright.”

31. *qʰoʔ ɲɛlwɛvzəŋ nɐ-ˈdonʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN IPFV:PST-chant<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And Rgyalbabzang chanted sutras,

32. *qʰoʔ kádenəʔ mtsʰó=naŋ ne-wɐˈdərˈdər<sup>251</sup> ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ in.a.while lake=inside IPFV-rumble be-MED  
 in a while, there was a rumbling in the lake,

33. *mtsʰó=naŋ ˈbrəɣlɔʔ tə-nlɔ*  
 lake=inside dragon PFV:OUT-exit<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ mtsʰokʰe χso-tɛskor te-ro*  
 SEQ lake.bank three-time PFV:TR-circle<sub>2</sub>  
 a dragon came up from inside the lake and circled the lake three times.

34. *qʰoʔ ɲɛlwɛvzəŋ o-tʰéco=nəʔ=z*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-downriver.side=DET=LOC  
*o-koʔ le-te ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-head PFV:UPRIVER:TR-put<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And put its head up upriver not far from Rgyalbabzang.

<sup>251</sup> From ideophone root *ˈdər*, denoting a rumbling sound.

35. *qʰoʔ rjelwəvzəŋ tʰe-mpʰeri=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-look<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*nə-nəscerʔ oʃétkə tərdoʔ tʰe-wəret*  
 IPFV:PST-be.scared<sub>2</sub> so grain PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ vʒári o-koʔ te-xsəy=scʰənəʔ*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-head PFV:TR-hit<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*vʒári mtsʰó=nəŋ nə-ərəkəkoʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PN lake=inside PFV:DOWN-fall.in.a.heap<sub>2</sub> be-MED

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.

36. *qʰoʔ vʒári tə-nʰgi ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN PFV-be.ill<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And Bzhagbra Smanrtsi became ill,

37. *qʰoʔ vʒári=kə rjelwəvzəŋ=pʰa ɐ-kzəyʔ*  
 SEQ PN=ERG PN=place 1SG:POSS-body  
*ké-ʃiʰəz mə-ŋən té-tsə-aŋ=nəʔ mə-tə-kʰut=kə*  
 INF-show NEG-be.acceptable IPFV-say-1SG=SUB NEG-2-allow=INS  
*nəʔ ʃsət tə-ko-sənʰgi-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 ANA do.thus PFV-2→1-cause.to.be.ill<sub>2</sub>-1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

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 rjelwəvzaŋ=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

*o-χtu mə-nə-ʒi məpértʰe ne-peʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-chant NEG-PFV-recover not.until PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And Rgyalbabzang chanted sutras for it until it got well.

39. *qʰoʔ vʒári nə-ʒi=scʰənəʔ*

SEQ PN PFV-recover<sub>2</sub>=SUB

*rjelwəvzaŋ ó-rko χser=kə kʰreʔ te-rkoʔ-nəŋo*  
 PN 3SG:POSS-reward gold=GEN chair PFV:TR-give<sub>2</sub>-MED

As soon as Bzhagbra Smanrtsi got well, he rewarded Rgyalbabzang with a golden chair,

40. *qʰoʔ rjelwəvzaŋ=kə χser=kə kʰreʔ*

SEQ PN=ERG gold=GEN chair

*o-krəpe te-səfkor*

3SG:POSS-disciple PFV:TR-cause.to.carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>

and Rgyalbabzang had a disciple of his carry the golden chair up onto his back,

41. *qʰoʔ ne-tə-tsomʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ IPFV:DOWN-2-take.thither=SUB

*kdənbe v-mə-kə-tə-nqʰoro te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 at.all IRR-NEG-IMP-2-look.back PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED

and (said to him), “When you carry this away downhill, do not look back at all,” he warned.

42. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-krəpe=nəʔ=kə te-fkor*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG PFV:TR-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>  
*nə-ɐre pəlérɡon=ta nə-zyôʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub> PN=top PFV:WEST-arrive<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 Just as his disciple carried it on back, went downhill, and arrived westward at Pala Monastery,

43. *o-krəpe=kə kəkoʔ=nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>ə ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG this=DET what be PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kámɿ<sup>h</sup>a kə-nq<sup>h</sup>oroʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ a.bit PFV:EAST-turn.head<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 the disciple thought, “What is this thing?” and turned his head a little bit (to look).

44. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təmdánə*  
 SEQ as.a.result  
*o-zgé=ta χserk<sup>h</sup>reʔ=nəʔ ʃkótse*  
 3SG:POSS-back=top gold.chair=DET stone  
*kə-fkorʔ mə-kə-sɐc<sup>h</sup>ɐ=kəsə nə-<sup>n</sup>jərʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 INF-carry.on.back NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.doable=like PFV-change<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 As a result, the gold chair on his back changed into a rock impossible to carry on back,

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-ste=z*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-where.something.is=LOC  
*ne-səntɐv nə-re ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-lay.down<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 and he had to lay it down on the spot.

46. *nənəʔ*    *nɐ-kɐ-ffêt*                      *χserk<sup>h</sup>reʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA        PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-recount<sub>2</sub>    gold.chair=DET  
*pəlérɡon=ta*    *ʃkótse=kə*    *k<sup>h</sup>reʔ=kəsə*    *ɐnɐmɐnɐ*  
 PN=top            stone=INS    chair=like    be.indentical  
*toʒaʔ=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on*    *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-to-cə*  
 nowadays=also    CONT:LTR-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED

As for the gold chair mentioned in the story, there is a rock looking exactly like a chair above Pala Monastery even today.

**WILD MAN SAVED A PILGRIM**  
***mpjərgotkə kənləse təkoscov?cə ɣpe***  
**Narrator: Stagthar**

1. *ʃɔnts<sup>h</sup>e=z o-ji? jəste kə-nləse*  
 former.time=LOC 3SG:POSS-self alone NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa  
*tə-kə-vre=cə? nɐ-to ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub>=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Once upon a time, there was a man who was going alone on a pilgrimage to Lhasa.

2. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-ʃɲi=cɛ=nə? lɐ-vre lɐ-vre*  
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub> PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>  
*naɣtʃen ome kə-xtɛ?=cə?=naŋ lɐ-zɣôʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 forest very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF=inside PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 One day, he went and went upriver, and arrived at a very big forest.

3. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɐ-səʃpɛt=rɐ? mə-nɐ-tso? kɐ-qɛnu te-je ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ INF-go.through=PL NEG-PFV-have.time<sub>2</sub> INF-darken PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 It had become dark before he had time to make it through (the forest).

4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ naɣtʃen=naŋ*  
 SEQ forest=inside  
*nəʔosɛʃsət tə-nərmə? nɐ-re ɲoʔ-cə*  
 thus PFV-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And he had no choice but to spend the night in the forest just like that.

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ smi=rɐ? te-vlu q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃeʔ=rɐ? te-te-cə=nə?*  
 SEQ fire=PL PFV:TR-burn<sub>2</sub> SEQ tea=PL PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 Just when he built a fire and made tea,



6. *o-vzər* *sekotserʔ=naŋ*  
 3SG:POSS-side underbrush=inside  
*ne-kə-wɛχtʃʰəvɔχtʃʰəv=cəʔ* *toʔ*  
 IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.make.rustling.sound<sup>252</sup>=INDF exist  
*məkátsʰət* *o-jiʔ* *ó-pʰjə* *kə-wɛʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 not.only 3SG:POSS-self 3SG:POSS-direction NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 something was making rustling noises in the underbrush beside him, and was coming in his direction.

7. *qʰoʔ* *détsə* *o-vzər* *kə-zɣôʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ gradually 3SG:POSS-side PFV:CISLOC-arrive<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 And when it gradually got close to him,

8. *o-qʰostot* *o-rmɐ=rɐʔ* *tétəm* *te-kə-rʰgu*  
 3SG:POSS-upper.body 3SG:POSS-hair=PL upward IPFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep  
*o-qʰosmɐt* *o-rmɐ=rɐʔ* *téjət*  
 3SG:POSS-lower.body 3SG:POSS-hair=PL downward  
*ʰge-kə-rʰgu=cəʔ* *kəʰbjoʔ* *jəte-kə-fsət=kəsci*  
 IPFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep=INDF person COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like=like  
*kə-zɣôʔ*  
 PFV:CISLOC-arrive<sub>2</sub>  
 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* *tʃǎlə* *kdenbe* *me-té-tsə*  
 SEQ anything at.all NEG-IPFV-say  
*qʰoʔ* *o-vzər* *tə-ɐmdzuʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side PFV-sit<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 not saying a word, it sat down beside him.

<sup>252</sup> From ideophone root *χtʃʰəv*, describing a rustling sound.

10. *qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ kə-nlɛse=nəʔ təverʔ*

SEQ ANA NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET fear

*o-fet=kə kɐ-málmə=scʰənəʔ o-sɣorʔ*

3SG:POSS-extent=INS INF-move=and 3SG:POSS-breath

*kə-xtɛʔ=rɛn kɛ-tʃɛt mə-nə-noz ɣoʔ-cə*

NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=even INF-take.out NEG-PFV-dare<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the pilgrim to Lhasa was so afraid that he dared not move or even draw a deep breath.

11. *qʰoʔ nəʔosɛʃsə nɐ-smo-<sup>n</sup>dzə ɣoʔ-cə*

SEQ thus IPFV:PST-stay-3DU be-MED

And they just sat there like that.

12. *qʰoʔ rjɛspəspe nə-tsoʔ*

SEQ quite.a.long.while PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>

*qʰoʔ leʔ ɣrɛko=ta=cɛ qiː te-kə-tsə=cəʔ toʔ ɣoʔ-cə*

SEQ again ridge=top=INDF EXCL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say=INDF exist be-MED

After quite a long while, something else was calling “*Qi!*” somewhere on the mountain ridge.

13. *qʰoʔ nəʔ qiː te-kə-tsə=nəʔ*

SEQ ANA EXCL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say=DET

*detsátsɐ detsátsɐ <sup>n</sup>dzə-vzər kɐ-nərnərɛ te-je ɣoʔ-cə*

gradually gradually 2DU:POSS-side INF-approach:RDPL PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And that which was calling “*Qi!*” gradually got closer and closer to the two of them.

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kádenəʔ*  
 SEQ in.a.while  
*ˈdzə-vzər staməʔzəyʔ lə-nlɔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 2DU:POSS-side tiger.leopard<sup>253</sup> PFV:UPRIVER-exit<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And in a moment, a tiger-leopard came out from their side.
15. *nəʔʔənəʔ kəʔ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=kəsə=nəʔ*  
 at.that.monent human=like=DET  
*ʃla staməʔzəyʔ=ta t<sup>h</sup>ə-nəmdərʔ-cə*  
 immediately tiger.leopard=top PFV:DOWNRIVER-jump<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 At that moment, the human-like creature immediately pounced on the tiger-leopard.
16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjəspe ne-ɐjələʔ-ˈdzə*  
 SEQ quite.a.while IPFV:PST-wrestle<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 And they wrestled with each other for quite a while.
17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɐq<sup>h</sup>ínəʔ kəʔ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=kəsə=nəʔ nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>əʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards human=like=DET IPFV:PST-win<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ staməʔzəyʔ=nəʔ ne-səy<sup>h</sup>i ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ tiger-leopard=DET PFV:TR-cause.to.flee<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Afterwards, the man-like creature was winning and forced the tiger-leopard to flee.
18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-nlɐse=nəʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET  
*noɲme o-zgeʔ=rɐʔ nə-ˈgo*  
 only.then 3SG:POSS-back=PL PFV-be.loose<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-sem nə-vdeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart PFV-be.good<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Only then did the pilgrim to Lhasa relax and feel relieved.

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<sup>253</sup> Legendary feline animal, a cross between a tiger and a leopard.

19. *qʰoʔ kə-nlɛse=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET=ERG

*koʔ kərʰbjoʔ=kəsə=nəʔ*

this human-like=DET

*ɐ-kə-ʰdze*

*jɐ-weʔ*

*nə-ma=kə*

1SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-eat

PFV-come<sub>2</sub>

PFV-not.be<sub>2</sub>=DM

*ɐ-kə-sroŋ*

*jɐ-weʔ-nəŋo*

*ne-səsi-cə*

1SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-protect

PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED

PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the pilgrim to Lhasa thought, “So this man-like creature comes in order to protect me, not to eat me!”

20. *qʰoʔ kərʰbjoʔ=kəsə ó-pʰa*

SEQ human=like 3SG:POSS-place

*tə-ɐmdzu*

*qʰoʔ*

*nə-ʰdzɛʔʰi=rɐʔ*

*te-tsəʔ*

*ŋoʔ-cə*

IMP-sit

SEQ

IMP-dine=PL

PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>

be-MED

And he said to the man-like creature, “Sit down and eat,” and what not,

21. *ʃənəʔ qʰənəʔ nɐ-nə-tsiʔ soʔ meʔ=nəʔ*

but

ANA

IPFV:PST-SPON-understand<sub>2</sub>

whether

or.not=SUB

*mɛ-siz*

*ʰdenəʔ*

*o-vzər=nəʔ*

*nɐ-ɐmdzuʔ-cə*

NEG-know

but

3SG:POSS-side=DET

IPFV:PST-sit<sub>2</sub>-MED

and it is not known whether it understood him or not, but it sat beside him.

22. *qʰoʔ jə-fsi jɛrmɛ=nəʔ noŋme jɐ-ʃɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ

PROS-dawn

about=TOP

only.then

PFV-go<sub>2</sub>

be-MED

And until it was almost dawn, it did not go away.

23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *lɐ-fsiʔ*                      *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 SEQ    PFV:UPRIVER-dawn<sub>2</sub>    SEQ  
*kə-nlɐse=nəʔ*                                      *tə-rɐroʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET    PFV-get.up<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *lɐse*    *kə-fɐ*                      *leʔ*    *nə-nts<sup>h</sup>a*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    PN            NMLZ:PURP-go    again    PFV-set.out<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 Then day broke and the pilgrim got up and set out again on his way to Lhasa.

24. *nəʔ*    *nɐ-fsât*                      *nɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*  
 ANA    IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub>    IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 That was how it happened, it is said.

## HOW A WILD MAN WAS CAPTURED

*mpərgot nekemje?cə tonda?*

**Narrator: 'Phrinlas**

1. *konje?      ʁmami?=rɛ?=kə      mdzórge      ftʃaɲtʂol      kɐ-pe*  
communist      red.army=PL=ERG      PN      liberation      NMLZ-do  
*te-je      orjáŋʔnəʔz*  
PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>      when  
At the time when the Communist Red Army were beginning to liberate Dzorge,
2. *mdzórge      lɛmu<sup>254</sup>      sɛtʃʰe=z      kəqɛrŋi?=cəʔ      nɐ-to-cə*  
PN      PN      place=LOC      hunter=INDF      IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
there was a hunter at the Lhamu Ravine in Dzorge.
3. *qʰoʔ      ʃə-<sup>n</sup>ge-qɛrŋi?      əntsətse      ŋoʔ-cə*  
SEQ      AND-IPFV-hunt      often      be-MED  
He went hunting often.
4. *ʃənəʔ      kə-qɛrŋi?      jɐ-nɐʃəʃɐ      oqʰu*  
but      PURP-hunt      IPFV-leave      after  
*tʃʰuxci?      jɐ-kɐ-nɐwəwi=cəʔ      toʔ*  
something      IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come:RDPL=INDF      exist  
But after he left (his camp) for hunting, something frequented (his camp),

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<sup>254</sup> This refers to the famous Stagtschang Lhamo Monastery (*lɛmu rgonbe* 郎木寺) at Hungzhing Township (ʒɛkdom) in Mdzod.dge County, one of the one hundred and eight monasteries built by the legendary Kirti Reincarnate Buddha (*gərdə vlɛme*).

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-prəkε=z* *o-rovʔ* *o-kε<sup>n</sup>dze=rεʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-campsite=LOC 3SG:POSS-cooked.meat 3SG:POSS-food=PL  
*kəmdiʔ* *te-kə-<sup>n</sup>dze=cəʔ* *əntsətse* *toʔ-nəŋo*  
 all PT-NMLZ:SBJ-eat<sub>2</sub>=INDF often exist-MED  
 and often ate up his meat and food at his campsite.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *q<sup>h</sup>εʔ* *kəqεryiʔ=nəʔ* *kə-sɲi=cε=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA hunter=DET one-day=INDF=DET  
*prəkε=z* *tεrovʔ=rεʔ* *te-sqεʔ-cə*  
 campsite=LOC meat=PL PFV:TR-boil<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 One day, the hunter boiled meat and what not,

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *tʰəkεwεkε=rεʔ* *tʰwatʰwaʔ* *te-sətsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ camping.chore=PL nicely PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and nicely did his camp chores.

8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-m<sup>h</sup>e* *ldəwiʔ=rεʔ* *ne-tfərʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-waist chopper=PL PFV:TR-stick<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he stuck his chopper and what not at his waist,

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *jε-kə-εfεʔ* *te-nəʔpəzʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-NMLZ-go<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-pretend<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-vzər=cε* *nə-ojεnεtsuʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=INDF PFV-hide.oneself<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and, pretending to leave, he hid himself someplace nearby.

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmtʰa nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ o-prəkɛ=z*  
 SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB 3SG:POSS-campsite=LOC  
*mɲərgot=cəʔ jɛ-wɛʔ-nəŋo*  
 wild.man=INDF PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 After a short while, a wild man came to his campsite.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛrovʔ tə-kɛ-sqɛʔ=rɛʔ te-tʃet-cə*  
 SEQ cooked.meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-boil<sub>2</sub>=PL PFV:UP-take.out<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ oʒorʔ jɛχpéter ne-lêt ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ meanwhile clapping PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 It took up the boiled meat, all the while clapping its hands.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɛ-<sup>n</sup>dʒe te-je-cə*  
 SEQ INF-eat PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And it began to eat.

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəqɛrɲiʔ=kə mɛ-ɬdu jɛjɛ<sup>255</sup> ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ hunter=ERG NEG-matter EXCL PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the hunter thought, “Alright, let’s wait and see!”

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛmu sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z ɬmamiʔ nɛ-kə-smo=rɛʔ*  
 SEQ PN place=LOC red.army IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-stay=PL  
*nə-p<sup>h</sup>a tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə nɛ-kə-fsət ʃə-te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 3PL:POSS-place what IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like<sub>2</sub> AND-PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he went to where the Red-Army soldiers were staying at Lhamu and told them what happened.

<sup>255</sup> An exclamation meaning “Let’s wait and see!”.



15. *qʰoʔ ɛmamiʔ=rɐʔ=kə júlɔŋ=naŋ tɕwaʔ te-rkoʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ red.army=PL=ERG urn=inside liquor PFV:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And the Red-Army soldiers put liquor into an urn,

16. *qʰoʔ o-vzər fe tə-kɐ-sqɐʔ=rɐʔ mtsʰót*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-boil<sub>2</sub>=PL be.much  
*ne-te-nə-cə*  
 PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 and put much boiled meat beside it,

17. *qʰoʔ qʰɛnə=z ke-kʰer-nə-cə*  
 SEQ there=LOC PFV:CISLOC:TR-surround<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 and sat around there in a circle,

18. *qʰoʔ tɕwaʔ ne-ká-tʰi fe te-kə-ʳdze=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ liquor IPFV-NMLZ-drink meat IPFV-NMLZ-eat=PL  
*te-nəʃpəzʔ-nə-cə*  
 PFV:TR-pretend<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 and pretended to drink liquor and eat meat.

19. *qʰoʔ kámtʰa nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*jɐ-ʃɛʔ-nə-cə o-vzər=cɛ nə-nəʃʃetsu-nə-cə*  
 PFV-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED 3SG:POSS-side=INDF PFV-hide.oneself<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 After a short while, they left to hide themselves somewhere nearby.

20. *qʰoʔ kádenəʔ mɲərgot=nəʔ leʔ jɐ-wɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ in.a.while wild.man=DET again PFV-come<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Later, the wild man came again,

21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ júlon=nan tɛwɛʔ kɛ-t<sup>h</sup>i ne-je-cə*  
 SEQ urn=in liquor INF-drink PFV:TR-drink<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*oʒorʔ fe=rɛʔ te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-cə*  
 meanwhile meat=PL PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and began to drink the liquor in the urn, and it ate the meat in the meantime.
22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ χfíkə nə-χeʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ very PFV-be.happy<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And it was very happy.
23. *ʃənəʔ rjɛspe nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ kɛ-ldeʔ te-je-cə*  
 but quite.a.while PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB INF-be.drunk PFV-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 But after quite a while, it began to get drunk.
24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmaq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ nə-lde o-ʃét=kə*  
 SEQ afterwards PFV-be.drunk<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-extent=INS  
*ʔpa=cəʔ nə-ʃsât-cə*  
 pig=INDF PFV-be.like<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Afterwards, it became as drunk as a pig.
25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛmamɪʔ=rɛʔ kə-ɛre-nə-cə*  
 SEQ red.army=PL PFV:CISLOC-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And the Red-Army soldiers went up from all sides,
26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ mɲərgot kə-səsoʔ ne-myeʔ-nə*  
 SEQ ANA wild.man NMLZ-be.alive PFV:TR-catch<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 and caught the wild man alive.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *rjɛnaŋ=ce*    *t<sup>h</sup>e-tsom-nə*

SEQ    PN=INDF    PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-3PL

And they took it downriver to some place in China,

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *toŋwújen=naŋ*    *ke-rkoʔ-nə*    *ké-tsəʔ*    *nɛ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ-cə*

SEQ    zoo=inside    PFV:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-3PL    GP-say    IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED

and put it into a zoo, it was said.

**A MORAL LESSON FOR MEN**  
***kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ təspjotʃ<sup>h</sup>e sərevzjaŋʔcə ɣpe***  
**Narrator: 'Phrinlas**

1. *ʃɔnts<sup>h</sup>e=z*

former.time=LOC

<i>zdóŋbo</i>	<i>ome</i>	<i>kə-xtɛʔ=cəʔ</i>	<i>nɛ-to</i>	<i>ŋoʔ-cə</i>
tree	very	NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF	IPFV:PST-exist <sub>2</sub>	be-MED

Once there was a big tree.

2. *zdóŋbo st<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-koʔ=nəʔ=z*

tree most 3SG:POSS-head=DET=LOC

<i>ffərjɛltʃ<sup>h</sup>oŋtʃ<sup>h</sup>en</i>	<i>kɛ<sup>n</sup>dʒəlŋəlŋaʔ</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>ge-smo-nə</i>	<i>ŋoʔ-cə</i>
roc	together.with.children	IPFV-live-3PL	be-MED

At the very top of the tree lived a roc and her children.

3. *nəʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>i=z* *zdóŋbo k<sup>h</sup>oŋrəl* *ó-naŋ=z*

AN 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC hole.inside.tree 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC

<i>vju=cəʔ</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>ge-smo</i>	<i>ŋoʔ-cə</i>
mouse=INDF	IPFV-live	be-MED

Underneath them, inside a hollow of the tree, lived a mouse.

4. *zdóŋbo ó-p<sup>h</sup>i=nəʔ*

tree 3SG:POSS-underside=DET

<i>ɛlaŋbótʃ<sup>h</sup>e=cəʔ</i>	<i><sup>n</sup>ge-naɛjevʔ</i>	<i>ŋoʔ-cə</i>
elephant=INDF	IPFV-rest.under.shade	be-MED

Under the tree, an elephant (often) sought shelter in its shade.

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ffɛrjɛltʃ<sup>h</sup>oŋtʃ<sup>h</sup>en=rɐʔ nə-p<sup>h</sup>jɛ nə-r<sup>n</sup>be=nəʔ*  
 SEQ roc=PL 3PL:POSS-excrement 3PL:POSS-urine=DET  
*vju o-kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ əntsətse <sup>n</sup>ge-lɛt-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ vju=kə ffɛrjɛltʃ<sup>h</sup>oŋtʃ<sup>h</sup>en ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=z*  
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET mouse=ERG roc 3SG:POSS-place=LOC  
*a: v-toʔ=rɐʔ nə-p<sup>h</sup>jɛ nə-r<sup>n</sup>be=nəʔ*  
 EXCL 1SG:POSS-that.which.is.above=PL 2PL:POSS-excrement 2PL:POSS-urine=DET  
*kɛrɔ<sup>h</sup>e=z v-ʃə-nə-tə-lɛt-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. *ɛjiʔ v-kómt<sup>h</sup>ɔ əntsətse <sup>n</sup>ge-tə-səwɛ-nə ɲoʔ*  
 1SG 1SG:POSS-courtyard repeatedly IPFV:DOWN-2-cause.to.come-2PL be  
*nə(-nə)ʔ tɛ-kɛ-ʃsət mɐ-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔʔ=kə tɛ-tsəʔ-cə*  
 ANA IPFV-GP-do.thus NEG-be.the.rule=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 You keep dropping (your excrement) down on my courtyard, it is improper to do things like that!” it said.

8. *ffɛrjɛltʃ<sup>h</sup>oŋtʃ<sup>h</sup>en=nəʔ o-snaɲwe ʃíikə mt<sup>h</sup>o ɲoʔ-cə*  
 roc=DET 3SG:POSS-pride very be.high be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mɲɐ<sup>n</sup>bɛr me-ne-peʔ-cə*  
 SEQ pay.attention NEG-PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The roc was very proud, and did not pay any attention.

9. *qʰoʔ=ntʰon nə-pʰje nə-rʰbe=nəʔ ʰge-lət ʱoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ=still 3PL:POSS-excrement 3PL:POSS-urine=DET IPFV-release be-MED  
 And kept dropping down their excrement and urine.

10. *kəmaqʰuʔ=nəʔ vju ɛlaŋbótʰe ó-pʰa nɛ-ɐre-cə*  
 afterwards=DET mouse elephant 3SG:POSS-place PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 After that, the mouse went down to the elephant (and said),

11. *ɛlaŋbótʰe nɛjiʔ jəjərəʔ redəʔ=rɛʔ jə-tɛroʔ=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-səsəyver tə-tɕʰet tə-tɕaŋʔ ʱoʔ-cə*  
 2-be.frightening 2-be.brave 2-be.just be-MED  
 “You are frightening, brave, and just.”

13. *qʰoʔ nɛjiʔ=kə ʃʃɛrjɛltʰoŋtʰen=scʰənəʔ ɛjiʔ*  
 SEQ 2SG=ERG roc=and 1SG  
*tsə-perʔ=cəʔ tə-poj kʰɛtɕo*  
 1DU:EXCL:POSS-between=INDF IMP-do<sub>3</sub> please  
 “Please be the middleman between us the roc and myself.”

14. *qʰoʔ ʃʃɛrjɛltʰoŋtʰen tʰə te-kə-fsət kəmdiʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ roc what IPFV-NMLZ-be.like all PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And it told (the elephant) everything.

15. *ʃənəʔ ɛlanbótʃʰe leʔ vju me-ne-nərtəʔ ʃteʔ-cə*  
 but elephant again mouse NEG-IPFV-despise be:EMPH-MED  
*qʰónə ˈdzə-perʔ=rəʔ te-nə-peʔ mə-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH 3DU:POSS-middleman=PL IPFV-SPON-do<sub>2</sub> 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=rəʔ mə-tə-nəfsəʃsət-ˈdzə ˈdenəʔ*  
 SEQ mouse=ERG ANA=PL NEG-IMP-do.thus-2DU or  
*ʃəʃə=cɛ=nəʔ kə-ŋən=cəʔ pɔ-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 when=INDF=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=INDF do-1SG PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the mouse said, “Don’t you two act like that, or I will do something bad (to you) sometime.”

17. *qʰoʔ ʃfərjəltʃʰoŋtʃʰen=nəʔ*  
 SEQ roc=DET  
*o-ɛérˈdzem tʰɛ-nə-to ʃteʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-wing CONT:LTR-SPON-exist<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH-MED  
*qʰónə mɲɛˈbɛr ne-nə-peʔ mə-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH attention PFV:TR-SPON-do<sub>2</sub> not.exist-MED  
 Since the roc proudly owned such wings, she did not pay attention at all.

18. *ɛlanbótʃʰe=nəʔ vju=niʔ*  
 elephant=DET mouse=DU  
*xtʃixtɛ ome tʰɛ-ɛcʰɛt-ˈdzə ʃteʔ-cə*  
 size very CONT:LTR-differ<sub>2</sub>-3DU be:EMPH-MED  
*qʰónəʔ leʔ mɲɛˈbɛr ne-nə-peʔ mə-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH again attention PFV:TR-SPON-do<sub>2</sub> 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-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ*      *vju*      *o-múru*      *o-fet=kə*  
 one-day=INDF=DET      mouse      3SG:POSS-anger      3SG:POSS-extent=INS  
*kɛ-nɛʃqɛ*      *mə-nə-cʰɛʔ-cə*  
 INF-tolerate      NEG-PFV-be.capable<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ*      *ɛlanbótʰe*      *o-ŋne=naŋ*      *lɛ-ɛre-cə*  
 SEQ      elephant      3SG:POSS-nose=inside      PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 One day, the mouse was so angry it couldn't stand it any more and went into the elephant's nose.

20. *ɛlanbótʰe*      *o-ŋne*      *χfíkə*      *nə-rɛjeʔ-cə*  
 elephant      3SG:POSS-nose      very      PFV-itch<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ*      *o-ŋne=kə*      *zdónbo*      *ke-sərtovʔ*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-nose=INS      tree      PFV:CISLOC:TR-strike.with.sweeping.motion<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ*      *ne-sɛldɛ-cə*  
 SEQ      PFV:TR-cause.to.fall<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The elephant's trunk itched terribly, and it swung it against the tree and felled it.

21. *qʰoʔ*      *ɛlanbótʰe*      *nɛ-o-rʰbɛʔ*      *nə-set-cə*  
 SEQ      elephant      PFV-INV-press<sub>2</sub>      PFV-die<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the elephant was crushed to death.

22. *ffɛrjɛltʰɔŋtʰen*      *kolŋəlŋaʔ=rɛʔ=ntʃʰon*      *kəmdiʔ*      *nɛ-ɛntɛr-nə*  
 roc      together.with.children=PL=also      all      PFV-fall.from.height<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ*      *nɛ-set-nə-cə*  
 SEQ      PFV:DOWN-die<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 The roc and her children all fell down also and died.



23. *qʰoʔ vɿu ɛlanbótʰe o-fne=naŋ nɐ-smo ʃteʔ-cə*  
 SEQ mouse elephant 3SG:POSS-nose=inside IPFV:PST-stay be:EMPH-MED  
*qʰónə mə-na-ɛduʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH NEG-PFV-be.serious<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the mouse stayed inside the elephant's nose, and so it was alright.

24. *qʰoʔ tʰɐ-nlɔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:OUT-exit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And it came out.

25. *nəʔ o-fsəʃsi=nəʔ kəqɐrɿiʔ ɣsəmʔ=cəʔ jɐ-wɛʔ-nə-cə*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-next.day=DET hunter three=INDF PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 The following day, three hunters came.

26. *qʰónə ɛlanbótʰe o-ʃpovʔ=scʰənəʔ ʃfɛrjɛltʰoŋtʰen o-ʃpovʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH elephant 3SG:POSS-corpse=and roc 3SG:POSS-corpse  
*ne-mti-nə-cə=nəʔ qʰoʔ ɣʃíkə nə-ɣe-nə*  
 PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB SEQ very PFV-be.glad<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And when they saw the corpses of the roc and the elephant, they were very glad.

27. *qʰoʔ nánəz tə-smo-nə-cə*  
 SEQ there PFV-stay-3PL-MED  
*qʰoʔ tʃeʔ te-te-nə-cə*  
 SEQ tea PFV:TR-make<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And so they stayed there and made tea.

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ=kə təciʔ ʃə-le-kə-roʔ*  
 SEQ one-CL=DET=ERG water AND-IPFV:UPRIVER-INF-fetch  
*ʙnez=nəʔ=kə smi te-kə-vluʔ te-peʔ-nə-cə*  
 two=DET=ERG fire IPFV-INF-build PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

They agreed that one of them was to fetch water upriver, and the other two were to build a fire.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ smi te-kə-vluʔ=niʔ=kə tsə-zdeʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ*  
 SEQ fire UP-NMLZ:A-build=DU=ERG 1DU-comrade IPFV-GP-kill=SUB  
*təɽjuʔ tsəʒəniʔ kə-nəkri k<sup>h</sup>ût-cə*  
 property 1DU:EXCL GP-divide.among.oneselves be.feasible-MED  
*te-mətsətsəʔ-<sup>n</sup>dʒə-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-3DU-MED

And the two fire-builders said to each other, “If we kill our comrade, we will be able to divide the property among us.”

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rtsəmbe ó-naŋ=nəʔ ɛlaŋbótʃ<sup>h</sup>e o-fe*  
 SEQ tsampa 3SG:POSS-inside=DET elephant 3SG:POSS-meat  
*kámʃ<sup>h</sup>a ne-lêʔ-<sup>n</sup>dʒə-cə*  
 some PFV:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED

And they put some elephant meat into the tsampa,

31. *ɛlaŋbótʃ<sup>h</sup>e o-fe te-kə-<sup>n</sup>dʒe=nəʔ*  
 elephant 3SG:POSS-flesh IPFV-GP-eat=SUB  
*kə-o-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 GP-INV-kill be.the.rule be-MED

(this is because) if one eats elephant meat one would be killed, it is said.

32. *təci?* *ʃə-lə-kə-ro=nə?*<sup>h</sup>*on*  
 water AND-PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-fetch<sub>2</sub>=DET=also  
*ɐ-zde=ni?* *ⁿge-kɐ-ntʃe=nə?*  
 1SG:POSS-comrade=DU IPFV-GP-kill=SUB  
*təɽju?* *kəmdi?* *ɐji?* *ɛ-ja* *wi-cə* *ne-səsi-cə*  
 property all 1SG 1SG:POSS-hand come-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the one who went upriver to fetch water also thought, “If I kill my two comrades,  
 all the property will belong to me.”
33. *qʰo?* *təci?=naŋ* *ɛlaŋbótʃe* *o-fe* *kámtʃa* *le?* *ne-lêt-cə*  
 SEQ water=inside elephant 3SG:POSS-meat a.bit also PFV:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he put some elephant flesh into the water.
34. *qʰo?* *o-zde?=ni?* *ⁿdzə-pʰa* *lɐ-jwet-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-comrade=DU 3DU:POSS-place PFV:UPRIVER-return<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he went back upriver to his comrades.
35. *qʰo?* *təci?* *lɐ-kə-ro=nə?*  
 SEQ water PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-fetch<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*tʃe?* *rdɐⁿbe* *mə-ne-tʰi-cə=ⁿdenə?*  
 tea at.all NEG-PFV:TR-drink<sub>2</sub>-MED=SEQ  
*təci?=naŋ* *nɐ-kɐ-lêt=nə?* *tʰe-siz?* *ŋo?*<sup>h</sup>*-cə*  
 water=inside PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-put<sub>2</sub>=DET CONT:LTR:TR-know<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 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.
36. *qʰo?* *rtsembɐ=ⁿdenə?* *mə-te-ⁿdze?*<sup>h</sup>*-cə*  
 SEQ tsampa=except NEG-PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he ate only the tsampa.

37. *kəmaʔ=niʔ    rtsəmbə    ɛdənbe    mə-te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-<sup>n</sup>dza-cə=<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 other=DU    tsampa    at.all    NEG-PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED=SEQ  
*nəʔ    ó-naŋ=z    nə-kə-lét=nəʔ*  
 ANA    3SG:POSS-inside=LOC    PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*t<sup>h</sup>e-sizʔ-<sup>n</sup>dza    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 CONT:LTR:TR-know<sub>2</sub>-3DU    be-MED

And the other two did not eat the tsampa at all, for they knew what was put inside it.

38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    tfeʔ    əntsətse    ne-t<sup>h</sup>i-<sup>n</sup>dza-cə*  
 SEQ    tea    continuously    PFV:TR-drink<sub>2</sub>-3DU-MED  
 And they kept drinking the tea.

39. *təmdánə    kəmdiʔ    nə-set-nə-cə*  
 as.a.result    all    PFV:DOWN-die<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 As a result, they all dropped dead.

40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    nəʔoq<sup>h</sup>uʔnəʔ    qərɐ=cəʔ    jə-weʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    afterwards    crow=INDF    PFV-come<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*ʃe=rcənəʔ    nə-ɐc<sup>h</sup>əle    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 meat=TOP:EMPH    IPFV:PST-be.abundant<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 Afterwards when a crow came along, there was plenty of meat.

41. *ʃənəʔ    kə-<sup>n</sup>dze    ne-znéjə    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 but    INF-eat    IPFV-begrudge<sub>3</sub>    be-MED  
 But it begrudges eating it.

42. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    st<sup>h</sup>ɔre=nəʔ    tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə=cəʔ    te-kə-<sup>n</sup>dze    reʔ-cə    ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ    first=TOP    what=INDF    IPFV-GP-eat    be.necessary-MED    PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And it thought, “What should I eat first?”

43. *oʒorʒʔ kámɬʰa ne-kɐ-rɛxʃet reʔ=rɐʔ*  
 meanwhile a.bit IPFV-GP-be.frugal be.necessary=PL  
*ne-səsi-cə ɣoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED be-MED

Meanwhile it thought, “I must be frugal a little.”

44. *kəmaq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ ke-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri=nəʔ*  
 afterwards IPFV:CISLOC-look=SUB  
*qərtseɫdiʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-kɐ-zroŋʔ wɛɰo ɣoʔ-cə*  
 crossbow PFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cock<sub>2</sub> be.seen be-MED

Then, when it was looking, it found a cocked crossbow.

45. *nəʔ o-mdekóʔ=ta=nəʔ tɐsɐ=rɐʔ ɐmtʃoz ɣoʔ-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ st<sup>h</sup>ɔre nənəʔ ʃə-te-kɐ-ldaʔ reʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ first that AND-IPFV-GP-lick be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 It thought, “I must go and lick that up first.”

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃə-te-lda-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ AND-PFV:TR-lick<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*qərtseɫdiʔ lɐ-nt<sup>h</sup>werʔ-cə=nəʔ nə-o-ntʃeʔ-cə*  
 crossbow PFV:UPRIVER-spring<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB PFV-INV-kill-MED

When it went and licked it, and when the crossbow (bolt) sprung up, it was killed.

48. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vɰu=kə nəʔ=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ ne-mti-cə*  
 SEQ mouse=ERG ANA=PL all PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED

The mouse saw it all.

49. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leju=cəʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-pe-cə*  
 SEQ song=INDF PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And it sang a song.

50. *ŋerjɛl kə-xtɛʔ tətʂ<sup>h</sup>ot ne-kə-mɐ kə<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=rɐʔ*  
 self.importance NMLZ:SBJ-be.big limit IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist person=PL  
*fɸerjɛltʃ<sup>h</sup>oŋtʃ<sup>h</sup>en=p<sup>h</sup>a kə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri-nə nəʔ fsăt ŋoʔ*  
 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. *χponboʔ takvaŋ kə-toʔ fənəʔ*  
 official power NMLZ:SBJ-exist but  
*zɬewe nə-tənʔ mɐ-kə-pe kə<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=rɐʔ*  
 common.people 3PL:POSS-affairs NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-do person=PL  
*ɕlaŋbótʃ<sup>h</sup>e kə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri-nə nəʔ fsăt ŋoʔ*  
 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-ɐwəɽjurŋɐm kə<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=rɐʔ kəqɐrŋiʔ χsəmʔ ná-p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.greedy person=PL hunter three 3PL:POSS-place  
*kə-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri-nə nəʔ fsăt ŋoʔ*  
 IMP:CISLOC-look-2PL ANA be.thus be  
 Greedy people, take a look around the three hunters, that is your example.

53. *kə-fkren*                      *nə-serəsne*                      *kə-xteʔ=rɐʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.stingy    3PL:POSS-stinginess    NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=PL  
*qɐrɐ*    *ó-pʰa=z*                      *kə-mpʰéri-nə*                      *nəʔ*    *fsât*    *ŋoʔ*  
 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 set<sup>h</sup>e=nə?*  
Tibet land=DET  
*rjélpo tɕʰəʂoŋ.vdeftɕən o-vləmtʃot*  
king PN 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services  
*"berotsənə te-kʰ-tɕə=cə?* *nə-to-cə*  
PN IPFV-GP-call=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
In Tibet, there was one who performed religious services for King Khirsung Bdebsan called Berotsana.<sup>256</sup>
  
2. *tɕʰəʂoŋ.vdeftɕən o-zde?nə?*  
PN 3SG:POSS-spouse=DET  
*ftɕənmə mərjəlmə te-kʰ-tɕə=cə?* *nə-to-cə*  
queen PN IPFV-GP-call=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
King Khirsung Bdebsan had a wife, called Queen Margyalma.
  
3. *qʰo? "berotsənə "ge-nəvləmtʃot ɲo?-cə*  
SEQ PN IPFV-performing.religious.services be-MED  
And Berotsana performed religious services.

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<sup>256</sup> 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 Buddhist texts in Tibet.



4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ftsənmə məɾjɛlmə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ queen PN=DET  
*o-vləmtʃot kə-nənts<sup>h</sup>eʔ te-je=cə*  
 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services INF-love PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Queen Margyalma fell in love with her monk who performed religious services.

5. *o-rɲeʔ ke-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛʁi=nəʔ ne-nétse ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-face IPFV:CISLOC-look=SUB IPFV-be.handsome be-MED  
*té-tsə=nəʔ o-sém=p<sup>h</sup>i ne-kə-nwɐ<sup>n</sup>gə<sup>n</sup>giʔ=cəʔ*  
 IPFV-say=SUB 3SG:POSS-heart=under IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.right=INDF  
*né-fsət ɲoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-be.like be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ detsátʃə ɾtsetɔŋʔ=rɐʔ kə-toʔ te-je ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ gradually amorous.feeling=PL INF-exist PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET  
*ftsənmə o-ɸvaŋ <sup>n</sup>ge-xteʔ-cə=kə*  
 queen 3SG:POSS-power IPFV-be.big-MED=INS  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɾjɛlpo=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ vlónbo=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ king=and minister=PL  
*o-p<sup>h</sup>jiʔ jɐ-ɐre te-znəkətətɔy-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-outside PFV-go<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-cause.to.occur.by.chance<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəxtʃipu t<sup>h</sup>ɛmtʃet=rɐʔ o-p<sup>h</sup>jiʔ kə-néʔ ʃɐ-sɛyre-cə*  
 SEQ child all=PL 3SG:POSS-outside NMLZ-play PFV-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 She made all the children go outside to play.

8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ʃiʔ p<sup>h</sup>ovraŋ o-koʔ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self palace 3SG:POSS-head most  
*kə-sɛscət=nəʔ=z o-vlɛmtʃot*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.comfortable=DET=LOC 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services  
*"berotsɛnɐ te-tsom-cə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-mgronʔ-cə*  
 PN PFV:UP:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ PFV:TR-treat<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And took Berotsana to the most comfortable place on the top (floor) of her palace, and treated him with food.

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-p<sup>h</sup>a=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-place=DET  
*nɛʃiʔ ɐ-myɪa<sup>n</sup>di=nəʔ ne-tə-nənɛtsátse*  
 2SG 1SG:POSS-eye.front=DET IPFV-2-be.handsome:RDPL  
*te-tə-tsə=nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɛmtʃet=rɐʔ ne-tə-nwɐ<sup>n</sup>gə<sup>n</sup>giʔ ʃteʔ q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ*  
 IPFV-2-say=DET all=PL IPFV-2-be.right be:EMPH SEQ:EMPH  
*ɐ-myɪts<sup>h</sup>e=koʔ nɛʃiʔ=kəsə ne-tɐ-rge=nəʔ mɐ ɲoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tsəʃəniʔ ká-k<sup>h</sup>e pe-tsə reʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 1DU one-family do-1DU be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “And the two of us must make one family,” she said.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>berotsənə    o-sém=p<sup>hi</sup>=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    PN                    3SG:POSS-heart=under=DET  
*ɛjiʔ    vlørge    fteʔ-aŋ            q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ            kə-néjts<sup>hu</sup>            mɐ*  
 1SG    monk            be:EMPH-1SG    SEQ:EMPH    NMLZ-be.meaningful    not.exist  
*ne-ké-p<sup>hi</sup>            so            t<sup>h</sup>ə=cəʔ            te-kə-pe=kə            ne-səsi-cə*  
 IPFV-GP-escape    whether    what=INDF    IPFV-GP-do=DM    PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Berotsana thought to himself, “I am a monk, so this is meaningless. Should I run away? What should I do?”

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>berotsənə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    PN=DET  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ            st<sup>h</sup>ɔre            p<sup>h</sup>ovraŋ            komʔ-cəʔ            fə-t<sup>h</sup>e-pɔ-aŋ=kə*  
 SEQ:EMPH    first            palace            door-closing    AND-IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>-1SG=DM  
*te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Berotsana said, “Let me first go and shut the palace door.”

13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ftsənmə=nəʔ=kə    ɲoʔ    fteʔ=kə            ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ    queen=DET=ERG    be    be:EMPH=DM    PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The queen thought, “Sure, alright.”

14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>berotsənə    komʔ    kə-pe            nɐ-ɐre*  
 SEQ    PN                    door    PURP-close    PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ké-p<sup>hi</sup>            nɐ-ɐsɛtʃətʃiʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    INF-escape    PFV-go.directly<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Berotsana went downstairs to close the door, and escaped directly.

15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ftsənmə=nəʔ=kə ne-nɛʒiʔ əntsətse*  
 SEQ queen=DET=ERG PFV:TR-wait.for<sub>2</sub> continuously  
*ʃənəʔ tə-kə-wɛʔ mɛ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 but PFV:UP-NMLZ-come<sub>2</sub> not.exist be-MED

The queen waited and waited for him, but he never came back up.

16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃə-nɛ-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri=nəʔ*  
 SEQ AND-PFV:DOWN-look<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*o-lɲaʔ=rɛʔ kɛ-nɛwəwi ne-ʒe-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-child=PL INF-come:RDPL PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 She took a look downstairs, and (saw that) her children had begun to come back.

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmɛq<sup>h</sup>únəʔ rjɛlpo=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ vlónbo=nt<sup>h</sup>on*  
 SEQ afterwards=DET king=and minister=also  
*kɛ-nɛwəwi ne-ʒe-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 INF-come:RDPL PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 Afterwards, the king and the minster also began to come back.

18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ftsənmə=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ queen=DET=ERG  
*ê nəʔ mə-tə-<sup>n</sup>dʒəy*  
 EXCL ANA NEG-PFV-be.right<sub>2</sub>  
*o-ts<sup>h</sup>əyɛ mə-tə-wɛʔ ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-manner NEG-PFV-come<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the queen thought, “Oh no, this is awful. The plan has fallen through!”

19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-rnɛjuʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ o-komeʔ=rɐʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-prêt*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-earring=and 3SG:POSS-hair=PL PFV:TR-break<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tə-vɛvo=kə p<sup>h</sup>ovráŋ=nay nə-nəjɛloj ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ-weeping=INS palace=inside PFV-do.with.fervor be-MED  
 And she torn down her earrings and hair, and wept vehemently in the palace.
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlónbo=kə*  
 SEQ minister=ERG  
*nɛjiʔ néyɥ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə mə-tə-<sup>n</sup>dʒəɣ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 2SG 2SG:GEN what NEG-PFV-be.right be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
 And when the minister said (to the queen), “What is wrong with you?”
21. *ftsənmə=kə <sup>n</sup>berotsɛnɛ=kə ɐ-kə-nɛk<sup>h</sup>oj tə-rɛnts<sup>h</sup>a ɲoʔ-cə*  
 queen=ERG PN=ERG 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-harrass PFV-try<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*koʔ nə-oy-so-ay ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 this PFV-INV-do<sub>2</sub>-1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The queen said, “Berotsana tried to harass me, and caused me to become like this.”
22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlónbo=kə*  
 SEQ minister=ERG  
*nɛkəʔ vlɛmtʃot kə-sɛnék<sup>h</sup>oj*  
 that monk.performing.religious.services NMLZ:SBJ-harrass  
*nɛkəʔ vlɛrge nə-ma=kə kə-sɛnék<sup>h</sup>oj ɲoʔ-cə*  
 that monk PFV-not.be<sub>2</sub>=DM NMLZ:SBJ-harrass be-MED  
*nɛkəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kɛ-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e kə-rɛʔ=nəʔ ɲoʔ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 that IPFV-GP-kill NMLZ-be.necessary=DET be-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 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-saxtaʔ tə-rɛntʰa-nə-cə*  
 meanwhile NMLZ:PURP-do.chasing.of.people PFV-prepare<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And, meanwhile, they made ready to give chase.
24. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=kə*  
 SEQ king=ERG  
*nɛkəʔ ɐ-ftsənmo nə-rgeʔ ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=kənən ne-kɐ-<sup>n</sup>biʔ ʃteʔ*  
 ANA 1SG:POSS-queen PFV-like<sub>2</sub> 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. *ɐ-vzər kɐ-səsmo ɐ-nɛ-kʰut=nəʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-side INF-cause.to.stay IRR-PFV-allow.oneself=SUB  
*nɛkətsɛʃi kə-mkʰɛzʔ=nəʔ ɐ-ftsənmo <sup>n</sup>biʔ-ən ʃteʔ*  
 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 nɛkəʔ kɐ-χtaʔ mɐ-reʔ*  
 SEQ ANA GP-chase NEG-be.necessary  
*nɐ-re=ntʰon ɐʃiʔ ʃə-χtaʔ-ən ʃteʔ*  
 IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>=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 rjɛlpo=kə <sup>n</sup>bri=rɐʔ tɛ-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 SEQ king=ERG horse=PL PFV:TR-ride<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ <sup>n</sup>berotsənɐ tɛ-nənqʰuʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN PFV:TR-follow<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the king mounted a horse and what not, and followed Berotsana.

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>berotsɛnɐ    ome    kuʔ=z=cɛ    kə-zɣôʔ*  
 SEQ    PN    very    location.to.the.east=LOC=LOC:INDF    PFV:EAST-arrive<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    nə-mtserʔ    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    PFV-be.hungry<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 Berotsana got to a very distant place in the east, and felt hungry.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kəffɪʔ=cəʔ    o-kómtʰɔ=nəʔ    ʃə-tə-<sup>n</sup>góz<sup>n</sup>ge    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    blacksmith=INDF    3SG:POSS-courtyard=DET    AND-PFV:UP-call<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And he called up at the courtyard of a certain blacksmith.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kəffɪʔ    ó-rjev=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    blacksmith    3SG:POSS-wife=DET  
*o-koʔ    ne-ɣtʃɪʔ    nɐ-ɛnkətətoɣ*  
 3SG:POSS-head    PFV:TR-wash<sub>2</sub>    IPFV:PST-happen<sub>2</sub>  
 And it so happened that the blacksmith's wife was washing her hair.

31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    o-koʔ    rjɛntʃ<sup>h</sup>e=rɐʔ    k<sup>h</sup>ɛxp<sup>h</sup>e=ta    ne-te    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-head    jewelry=PL    hand.mill=top    PFV:TR-place<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And she placed her head jewelry on the hand mill.

32. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ó-nma=p<sup>h</sup>a    nɛkəʔ    te-kə-<sup>n</sup>góz<sup>n</sup>ge*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-husband=place    ANA    IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-call  
*ʃə-nɛnwolen    te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 AND-respond    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And she said to her husband, "Go and respond to the one who is calling up,"

33. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kəffɪʔ=nəʔ    ʃə-ne-nwəlenʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    blacksmith=DET    AND-PFV:DOWN:TR-respond<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 and he went and responded to him.

34. *ⁿberotsəne=kə nə-mtserʔ-aŋ=kə*

PN=ERG PFV-be.hungry<sub>2</sub>-1SG=INS

*rtsempa kámɿʰa kə-séⁿbi te-tsəʔ ɣoʔ-cə*

tsampa a.bit GP-ask.for PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And Berotsana said, “I am hungry, so I am asking for some tsampa.”

35. *qʰoʔ kəffɿʔ o-zdeʔ=pʰa*

SEQ blacksmith 3SG:POSS-spouse=place

*ekiʔ kómtʰɔ=nəʔ vlørge jəte-kə-nétse=cəʔ*

down.there courtyard=DET monk COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.handsome=INDF

*rtsempə kámɿʰa kə-séⁿbi=nəʔ té-tsə*

tsampa a.bit GP-ask.for=DET IPFV-say

*nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

ANA PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

The blacksmith said to his spouse, “Down there at the courtyard, a rather handsome monk is saying ‘Please give me some tsampa.’”

36. *qʰoʔ kəffɿʔ ó-rjev=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ blacksmith 3SG:POSS-wife=DET=ERG

*naŋ ɐ-tə-wi ne-kə-ⁿbəʃtʰi ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

EXCL IRR-IMP:UP-come IPFV-GP-feed be:EMPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

The blacksmith’s wife said, “Alright, let him come up, and let us feed him!”

37. *qʰoʔ kəffɿʔ ɛzəwe=niʔ=kə vlørge=nəʔ vjaχtsəyʔ*

SEQ blacksmith couple=DU=ERG monk=DET to.one’s.fill

*ne-ⁿbəʃtʰi-ⁿdzə ɣoʔ-cə*

PFV:TR-feed<sub>2</sub>=DU be-MED

And the blacksmith and wife fed the monk to his fill.



38. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *vlørge=nəʔ* *te-nə-tsə* *te-nə-poʔ*<sup>257</sup> *mə*  
 SEQ monk=DET IPFV-SPON-say IPFV-SPON-do<sub>3</sub> not.exist  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *vjaχtsəʔ* *nə-<sup>n</sup>dʒet<sup>hi</sup>-cə*  
 SEQ to.one's.fill PFV-dine<sub>2</sub>-MED

The monk ate to his fill without saying or doing anything.

39. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *jə-ərə* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And then left.

40. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nə-kə-raχtʃiʔ* *kəffʃiʔ* *o-zdeʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-do.washing<sub>2</sub> blacksmith 3SG:POSS-spouse=DET  
*o-rjəntʃ<sup>he</sup>* *nə-məŋeʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-jewelry PFV-not.be.seen<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the blacksmith's wife who was doing washing (of her hair) found her jewelry missing.

41. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kəffʃiʔ* *ó-rjev=kə* *ó-nma=p<sup>ha</sup>*  
 SEQ blacksmith 3SG:POSS-wife=ERG 3SG:POSS-husband=place  
*nəkəʔ* *nə-<sup>n</sup>dʒowe=nəʔ*  
 ANA 2SG:POSS-guest=DET  
*vlørge* *nə-ma=kə* *kəmərku* *nə-ŋo*  
 monk PFV-not.be<sub>2</sub>=DM thief PFV-be<sub>2</sub>

And the blacksmith's wife said to her husband, "That guest of yours, he is not a monk, he is a thief."

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<sup>257</sup> Pronounced [téntsə] and [ténpoj].

42. *pəʃkʰo=rɛŋəm ʃə-nɛ-ntʃʰɐ reʔ kəma*  
 now=EMPH AND-IMP-kill<sub>3</sub> be.necessary except  
*mɛ-joyʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 NEG-be.allowed PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “You go down and kill him right now, it must be done,” she said.

43. *qʰoʔ kəʃfiʔ=nəʔ=kə mdaʔʒu te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
 SEQ blacksmith=DET=ERG crossbow PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ vlɛrge ʃə-ke-χta ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ monk AND-PFV:EAST:TR-chase<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the blacksmith took up his crossbow, and went east to chase the monk.

44. *qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰúnəʔ ke-lcʰɛv*  
 SEQ afterwards PFV:EAST:TR-catch.up.with<sub>2</sub>  
 And afterwards he caught up with him.

45. *qʰoʔ kɛ-tsə kɛ-pe kə-mɛ*  
 SEQ INF-say INF-do NMLZ-not.exist  
*vlɛrgé=ta mdaʔʒu ke-lêʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 monk=top arrow PFV:EAST:TR-release<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*qʰoʔ mdaʔʒu=nəʔ vlɛrge o-jəye ne-fkor=nəʔ*  
 SEQ arrow=DET monk 3SG:POSS-book IPFV:PST:TR-carry.on.back<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*ó-ta kə-ɛtseʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-top PFV:EAST-enter<sub>2</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlərge=kə*

SEQ monk=ERG

*nəʔ nəjiʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɛz ɐjiʔ nəʔ tə-oy-soʔ-aj reʔ*

EXCL 2SG why 1SG ANA PFV-INV-do<sub>2</sub>-1SG be.necessary

*ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the monk said, “Hey, why did you have to do that to me?”

47. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəffɪʔ=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ blacksmith=DET=ERG

*ʃq<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ nəjiʔ kəmŋon nə-tɐ-<sup>n</sup>bəfi<sup>hi</sup>=nəʔ*

just.now 2SG favor PFV-1→2-feed<sub>2</sub>=SUB

*nəjiʔ ɛ-rjev o-rjɛntʃe tə-tə-mərku-cə=kə*

2SG 1SG:POSS-wife 3SG:POSS-jewelry PFV-2-steal<sub>2</sub>-MED=INS

*josŋiʔ nəjiʔ mɛlen tɐ-ntʃe reʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

today 2SG by.necessity 1→2-kill be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>berotsənə=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

*nəʔ mə-tə-tə-tsə <sup>n</sup>denəʔ nəʔ kə-nɛfsəʃsət=cəʔ maʔ-aj*

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. *ɐjiʔ nəji nə-rjuʔ jɛrmɐ kə-nɛrtəʔ=cəʔ*

1SG 2SG 2SG:POSS-property about NMLZ:SBJ-feel.contented=INDF

*ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=nəʔ*

IRR-PFV-be=SUB

“If I were a man who is contented only by just your property,”

50. *səmɲiʔ rjélpo o-vləmtʃot nɐ-ŋo-aŋ*  
 PN king 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 “I used to be the monk performing religious services for the King of Samye.”

51. *məkátsʰət ftsənmə mərjəlmə ó-nma te-pɔ-aŋ*  
 not.only queen PN 3SG:POSS-husband IPFV-make<sub>3</sub>-1SG  
*qʰoʔ rjélpo o-rjuʔ tʰəmtʃet*  
 SEQ king 2SG:POSS-property all  
*te-nərjuʔ-aŋ nɐ-kʰút*  
 IPFV-possess-1SG IPFV:PST-be.feasible<sub>2</sub>  
 “And moreover I was able to become queen Margyalma’s husband and could have possessed all the king’s property.”

52. *nəʔ tərjuʔ mɐ-kɐ-rge otánkə kə-nlɔ-aŋ ŋoʔ*  
 ANA property NEG-GP-like because PFV:EAST-come.out<sub>2</sub>-1SG be  
 “I came out east, exactly because I do not like that property.”

53. *nɐ-zdeʔ o-rjəntʃʰe=nəʔ*  
 2SG:POSS-spouse 3SG:POSS-jewelry=DET  
*kəxtʃipu=rɐʔ ne-nəyʒɐv-nə=nəʔ tɐmcerʔ=cʰo*  
 child=PL PFV:TR-play.with<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB interstice=LOC:INDF  
*soʔ ɓmɐru=nəŋ nɐ-ɐre ʃteʔ káma te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 or pot=inside PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH except PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mɐ-sto=kə nɐ-smolɐm tɛ-kdɛvʔ-aŋ*  
 SEQ NEG-matter=DM 2SG:POSS-prayer IPFV-pray-1SG  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɐ-mərkʊʔ-aŋ ɐ-nɛ-ŋo q<sup>h</sup>ónə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-steal<sub>2</sub>-1SG IRR-PFV-be SEQ:EMPH  
*koʔ nɐ-mdakʒu=koʔ ɐ-nə-nəfsátʃsət*  
 this 2SG:POSS-crossbow=this IRR-PFV-be.like  
*nɐ-mərkʊʔ-aŋ maʔ q<sup>h</sup>ónə nɐ-mdakʒu ɣser*  
 IPFV:PST-steal<sub>2</sub>-1SG not.be SEQ:EMPH 2SG-crossbow gold  
*ɐ-nə-poʃ tɛ-tsəʔ-cə*  
 IRR-PFV-become<sub>3</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“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.

55. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ smolɐm tɛ-kdɛv-cə=nəʔ mdakʒu ɣser nə-ɐpeʔ-cə*  
 SEQ prayer PFV:TR-pray<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB crossbow gold PFV-become<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He said a prayer, and the crossbow turned into gold.

56. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəʃfiʔ=kə o-mdakʒu=rɐʔ ʔge-némɲɛ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ blacksmith=ERG 3SG:POSS-crossbow=PL IPFV:DOWN-observe<sub>3</sub>=SUB  
*ɣser ŋoʔ-cə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-sem ɣʃíkə nə-vdeʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 gold be-MED SEQ 3SG:POSS-mood very PFV-be.good<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the blacksmith was observing his crossbow, and they are gold. And he was very happy.

57. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəʃfiʔ=nəʔ o-mdakʒu=rɐʔ tɛ-<sup>n</sup>di*  
 SEQ blacksmith=DET 3SG:POSS-crossbow=PL PFV:UP:TR-take<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-nəjwet ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:WEST-return<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the blacksmith took up his crossbow, and went back west.

58. *qʰoʔ tʃoʰbejʔ o-kóri=nəʔ rjélpo=kə*  
 SEQ road 3SG:POSS-front=DET king=ERG  
*ⁿberotsəne kə-nánqʰu kə-weʔ ne-tʰəʔ ɣoʔ-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. *qʰoʔ rjélpo=kə kəffîʔ=pʰa*  
 SEQ king=ERG blacksmith=place  
*ántseji tʃʰəz ne-tə-χeʔ ɣoʔ te-tsəʔ-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 vəkúkʰo=z vlørge kə-kə-ere=nəʔ=kə*  
 EXCL east.place=LOC monk PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂=DET=ERG  
*v-smoləm te-kdɛv*  
 1SG:POSS-prayer PFV:TR-pray₂  
*qʰoʔ v-mdaxʒu χser ne-peʔ*  
 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. *qʰoʔ tʃʰəʔtʃə nə-kə-fsəʔt=rɛʔ ne-səxʃôʔt-cə*  
 SEQ what:RDPL IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂=PL PFV:TR-recount₂-MED  
 And he recounted everything that happened.

62. *qʰoʔ kʰénanɣ nə-nəzɣôt ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ home PFV:WEST-arrive.back₂ be-MED  
 And he arrived back home.

63. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-rjev=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-wife=ERG  
*aʔ* *vlørge* *vreʔ* *nə-tə-ntʰeʔ* *ˈdenəʔ*  
 EXCL monk Q PFV-2-kill<sub>2</sub> for  
*ə-rjəntʰe* *təmdánəʔ* *kməru=nəŋ* *nə-ərə*  
 1SG:POSS-jewelry in.fact pot=inside PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>  
*ʃteʔ-cə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 be:EMPH-MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And his wife said, “Ah, did you kill the monk? Actually, my jewelry had fallen into the pot.”

64. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kəʃfiʔ=nəʔ=kə* *mə-nə-c<sup>h</sup>əʔ-aŋ* *ˈdenəʔ*  
 SEQ blacksmith=DET=ERG NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>-1SG for  
*smoləm* *té-kdəv*  
 prayer PFV:TR-pray<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ə-mdaŋzu* *χser* *nə-ərəʔ* *ʃteʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-crossbow gold PFV-become<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the blacksmith said, “I wasn’t able to, as (the monk) said a prayer and my crossbow turned into gold.”

65. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɛzəwe=niʔ* *χʃikə* *nə-χe-ˈdzə*  
 SEQ couple=DU very PFV-be.happy<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
 And the couple were very happy.

66. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ʃq<sup>h</sup>əʔ* *vlørge=nəʔ*  
 SEQ just.now monk=DET  
*χʃikə* *mə-kə-náχtʰəŋ* *kə-ŋólə=cəʔ* *nə-ŋo-cə*  
 very NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED

*te-mətsətsəʔ<sup>n</sup>dzə-cə*

PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>:RDPL-3PL-MED

And they said to each other, “That monk just now is so special and kind!”

67. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo <sup>n</sup>berotsəɳ kə-kə-χta=nəʔ*

SEQ king PN PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-chase<sub>2</sub>=DET

*təciʔ ome kə-xtɛʔ=cɛ=z ke-lc<sup>h</sup>ɐv ɣoʔ-cə*

river very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=LOC:INDF=LOC PFV:TR-catch.up.with<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the king who chased Berotsana east caught up with him at a place near a very large river.

68. *ʃənəʔ o-vləmtʃot=nəʔ kə-nv<sup>n</sup>goʔ*

but 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services PFV-cross<sub>2</sub>

*p<sup>h</sup>ɛri kə-nlɔ ɣoʔ-cə*

other.side.of.river PFV:CISLOC-come.out<sub>2</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo kə-<sup>n</sup>goz<sup>n</sup>ge-cə*

SEQ king PFV:CISLOC-shout<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the king shouted,

70. *nɛjiʔ ɐ-vləmtʃot tə-ɣoʔ-cə=kə*

2SG 1SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services 2-be-MED=INS

*nɛjiʔ ɛjiʔ ɛ-p<sup>h</sup>a kɐ-smo nɛ-kjət ɐ-nɛ-wi q<sup>h</sup>ónə*

2SG 1SG 1SG:POSS-place INF-stay 2SG:POSS-mind IRR-PFV-come SEQ:EMPH

*ɛjiʔ ɐ-ftsənmə=nəʔ nɛjiʔ nɛ-p<sup>h</sup>a tɛ-p<sup>h</sup>əl-aɲ 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>berotsenɐ=kə    nəkəʔ    ɐ-nɐ-tə-sərtɔʔ    reʔ    <sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 SEQ    PN=ERG    ANA    IRR-PFV-2-realize    be.necessary    for  
 And Berotsana said, “You must realize something about that person (your wife),”
72. *kə-ŋólɐ    tə-kə-tsomʔ=nəʔ    táme    ŋoʔ*  
 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. *k<sup>h</sup>orwe=naŋ    tə-kə-səʔoŋ=nəʔ    táme    ŋoʔ*  
 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-ɬɛr=kə    nonmoŋtəʔχsəm    kə-səʔ<sup>n</sup>dzom=nəʔ*  
 GP:POSS-body=GEN    three.poisons    NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.be.equipped=DET  
*táme    ŋoʔ*  
 woman    be  
 “And it is women who cause one to be equipped with one’s body’s three poisons.”
75. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    nɛʝiʔ    nɐ-ftsənmo=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ    nɐ-rjuʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ    2SG    2SG:POSS-queen=and    2SG:POSS-property=PL  
*ɐju    kə-re    mɐ*  
 1SG:POSS    NMLZ:SBJ-be.needed    not.exist  
 “I have no need for your wife or your property.”
76. *ɐʝiʔ    mé-jwɐt-aŋ    nɛʝiʔ=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on    nə-nə-jwɐt*  
 1SG    NEG-return-1SG    2SG=also    IMP:WEST-SPON-return  
 “I will not go back, and you go back yourself.”

77. *kec<sup>h</sup>o* *təciʔ=naŋ* *mə-kə-tə-nɛ<sup>n</sup>go* *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ*  
 toward.center.of.river river=inside NEG-IMP-2-cross for  
*tə-ljo* *tə-seɪ* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 2-drown 2-die be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

“And do not cross the river or your will drown and die,” he said.

78. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *rjɛlpo* *o-sni* *sɐ-zdəzdəy* *nə-nəjwet* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ king 3SG:POSS-heart CVB-be.sad<sub>2</sub>:RDPL PFV:WEST-SPON-return<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the king sadly went back west.

79. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *<sup>n</sup>berotsɛnɐ* *leʔ* *kə-ɐre-cə=nəʔ* *prak<sup>h</sup>oŋ=cəʔ*  
 SEQ PN again PFV:EAST-go<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB cliff.cave=INDF  
*ne-mti-cə*  
 PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>-MED

And when Berotsana went on east, he saw a cliff cave.

80. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔ* *ó-naŋ* *nɐ-rɛnts<sup>h</sup>em-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside IPFV:PST-meditate.in.seclusion<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he meditated in seclusion in it.

81. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔ* *prak<sup>h</sup>oŋ* *ó-p<sup>h</sup>i=nəʔ* *mts<sup>h</sup>o=cəʔ* *toʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA cavern 3SG:POSS-underside=DET lake=INDF exist be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔ* *ó-naŋ=nəʔ* *ɬlu* *nɐ-smo* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside=DET Naga IPFV:PST-live be-MED  
 Under the cavern there was a lake, and a Naga lived in it.

82. *qʰoʔ    ˈberotsɐnɐ    nɐ-rɐntsʰem*  
 SEQ    PN                    IPFV:PST-meditate.in.seclusion<sub>2</sub>  
*oʒoʔ            ɤlu        tɐ-ˈgəɣ            ŋoʔ-cə*  
 meanwhile    Naga    PFV:TR-hook<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 While Berotsana meditated in seclusion, he summoned the Naga to his presence.
83. *qʰoʔ    ɤlu=kə        nɐʒiʔ    prakoŋ=nay        tʰɐ-kə-rɐntsʰem=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    Naga=ERG    1SG    cavern=inside    CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-meditate<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*ɐʒiʔ    mtsʰo=nay    tʰɐ-kə-smo=nəʔ                    tʃʰɐ    ko-nərtʃeʔ-aŋ*  
 1SG    lake=inside    CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-live=SUB    why    2→1-provoke-1SG  
*reʔ                    tɐ-tsəʔ-cə*  
 be.necessary    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the Naga said, “You are meditating in the cavern, and I am dwelling in the lake. Why do you have to provoke me?”
84. *ɐʒiʔ    nɐʒiʔ    tɐ-nərtʃeʔ=rɐʔ        kə-reʔ                    mɐ*  
 1SG    2SG    1→2-provoke=PL    NMLZ-be.necessary    not.exist  
*ʃənəʔ    kʰɐrtɐ        tɛ-npɛ-tsə            nɛ-səsiʔ-aŋ        ŋoʔ*  
 but    friend    IPFV-make-1DU    IPFV-want-1SG    be  
 “I have no need to provoke you, but just want to make friends with you.”
85. *qʰoʔ    kʰɐrtɐ        nənə-pe-tsə*  
 SEQ    friend    SPON-do-1DU  
*qʰoʔ    tsəʒəniʔ    pʰɐntsʰən        mɐ-kə-ˈdʒəɣ=kəsə=rɐʔ                    ɐ-nɛ-to=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    1DU    each.other    NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.right=like=PL    IRR-PFV-exist=SUB  
*pʰɐntsʰən    kɐ-ˈgomtʰəmtʰɛ    kə-reʔ                    pɛ-tsə        tɐ-tsəʔ-cə*  
 each.other    INF-help:RECP    NMLZ-be.necessary    do-1DU    PFV:TR-say-MED  
 “Let’s make friends, and if we have any problems, we must help each other,” he said.

86. *qʰoʔ* *ɛlu=kə*  
 SEQ Naga=ERG  
*nəkəsə* *ŋoʔ* *qʰónəʔ* *ɛjiʔ* *stʰoʔ* *ɐ-ʒəvʔ* *kə-fɐ* *ŋoʔ*  
 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* *nɛjiʔ* *tʰə* *mɐ-kə-<sup>n</sup>dʒəɣʔ* *toʔ-cə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 2SG what NEG-NMLZ-be.right exist-DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “What problems do you have?”
88. *qʰoʔ* *<sup>n</sup>berotsɛnɐ=kə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG  
*ɛjiʔ* *kəmaʔ* *mɐ-kə-poj* *mɐ*  
 1SG other NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good<sub>3</sub> not.exist  
*ʃənəʔ* *ɐ<sup>n</sup>diʔ* *səmɣiʔ* *ftsənmo* *mɛrɣɛlmɐ=nəʔ*  
 but place.west.from.here PN queen PN=DET  
*ɐ-ɛgre* *stʰoʔ* *kə-ŋɛn* *ŋoʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-enemy most NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad be  
 Berotsana said, “I don’t have other problems, but west from here at Samye, Queen Margyalma is my worst enemy.”
89. *qʰoʔ* *nəʔ* *ʃə-kɐ-sən<sup>n</sup>giʔ* *reʔ* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA AND-GP-cause.to.be.ill be.necessary be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “One must go and make her sick,” he said.
90. *qʰoʔ* *ɛlu=kə*  
 SEQ Naga=ERG  
*nəʔ* *tɛmɐ* *stʰoʔ* *kə-<sup>n</sup>bɛt* *nəŋo* *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 ANA task most NMLZ-be.easy be:MED PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Naga said, “That is the easiest task!”

91. *qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ ɛlu=nəʔ səmɲiʔ məɽjɛlmɐ=pʰa nə-ɐre-cə*  
 SEQ night=DET Naga=DET PN PN=place PFV:WEST-go<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ o-kʰoʃpɛ=nəŋ tʰɐ-ɐre*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ smən.káʰi.tsɐləʔ tʰɛ-lɛt-cə qʰoʔ*  
 SEQ name.of.poison PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-put<sub>2</sub>-MED SEQ  
*te-səmɲəm ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-cause.to.be.ill<sub>2</sub> 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 nəʔosáʃsi=nəʔ ftsənmo məɽjɛlmɐ=nəʔ ne-saxpʰer<sup>258</sup>-cə*  
 SEQ next.day=DET queen PN=DET PFV:TR-cause.to.be.swollen<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the next day, it had caused Queen Margyalma to be swollen all over.
93. *qʰoʔ sménbe əntsátse ʰge-səpe-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ doctor continuously IPFV-cause.to.do-3PL be-MED  
*ʃənəʔ ɛdənbe me-ʰge-pʰen ɲoʔ-cə*  
 but at.all NEG-IPFV-be.effective be-MED  
 They kept seeking medical advice, but to no avail at all.
94. *qʰoʔ ftsənmo kɛ-set=nəʔ me-né-set*  
 SEQ queen INF-die=TOP NEG-IPFV-die  
*kɛ-ʒiʔ=nəʔ me-ne-ʒiʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 INF-recover=TOP NEG-IPFV-recover be-MED  
 Speaking of dying, the queen did not die; speaking of recovering, she could not recover.

<sup>258</sup> From ideophone root *xpʰer*, describing the state of being globally swollen as if from edema.

95. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nákəsə zdəysŋel xpátu ne-mŋoŋʔ-cə*  
 SEQ thus suffering.and.torment endlessly PFV:TR-go.through<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And like that, she went through endless suffering and torment.
96. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>berotsəŋə=kə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG  
*mp<sup>h</sup>rumu kə-roʔ=cəʔ te-kə-zgrəvʔ*  
 diving NMLZ:SBJ-perform=INDF IPFV-GP-fullfill  
*reʔ-cə ne-səsi=cəʔ*  
 be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Berotsana thought, “I must make (myself become) a diviner.”
97. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʂoŋme xpəldənləmu=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ guardian.deity PN=place  
*mp<sup>h</sup>rumuʔ kə-roʔ=cəʔ kə-zgrəv te-zu-cə*  
 diving NMLZ:SBJ-perform=INDF INF-fulfill PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he requested the Guardian Deity Dpaldanlamu to make him a diviner.
98. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ səmɲiʔ sətʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z mp<sup>h</sup>rumu əntsətse ne-ro-cə*  
 SEQ PN place=LOC divination continuously PFV:TR-perform<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he kept practicing divination in Samye land.
99. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mp<sup>h</sup>rumu kə-roʔ=rəʔ xʃíkə mtiʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ divination INF-divine=PL very be.accurate be-MED  
 And his divination was very accurate.
100. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjélpo=rəʔ=kə mp<sup>h</sup>rumuʔ kə-roʔ nə-o-sqor-cə*  
 SEQ king=PL=ERG divination NMLZ:SBJ-perform PFV-INV-send.for<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he was sent for by the king and his men to perform divination.

101. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ftsənmo t<sup>h</sup>e-n<sup>n</sup>gi ʎoʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-smən=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ*  
 SEQ queen CONT:LTR-be.ill<sub>2</sub> be SEQ 3SG:POSS-medicine=and  
*o-χtu mə-tə-peʔ-jə mɐ ʃənəʔ ʁdenbe*  
 3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting NEG-PFV-do<sub>2</sub>-1PL not.exist but at.all  
*kɐ-səyziʔ mɐ-kə-k<sup>h</sup>ut=cəʔ wɛʝo te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 INF-cause.to.heal NEG-NMLZ-be.feasible=INDF be.seen PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 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.”

102. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>berotsənɐ=kə mp<sup>h</sup>rumu te-ro ʎoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG divination PFV:TR-perform<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And Berotsana performed divination.

103. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ=p<sup>h</sup>a*  
 SEQ king=DET=place  
*ftsənmo=kə vlɛrge=cəʔ ó-ta=nəʔ mɛnisprəscon*  
 queen=ERG monk=INDF 3SG:POSS-top=DET defamation  
*mɐ-kə-tɕjaŋʔ=cəʔ te-te-cə*  
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.just=INDF PFV:TR-place<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he said to the king, “The queen placed an unjust slander on a certain monk.”

104. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ watʃ<sup>h</sup>aʔ kə-ŋɐn=kə tə-o-sən<sup>n</sup>gi*  
 SEQ ANA entrenched.habit NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=ERG PFV:INV-cause.to.be.ill<sub>2</sub>  
*ʎoʔ-cə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɛkəʔ=nəʔ kɐ-səyziʔ ʁdenbe mɐ-cə*  
 be-MED SEQ ANA=DET INF-cause.to.recover at.all not.exist-MED  
 “And that malicious entrenched habit<sup>259</sup> has made her sick. And there is no cure for her  
 at all.”

<sup>259</sup> 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.

105. *v-ne-ŋo=nə sloxpon=kə*<sup>260</sup>

IRR-PFV-be=SUB

PN=ERG

*v-tə-nəsmən**q<sup>h</sup>o?**o-χtu=rə?**v-nə-poʃ=nə?*

IRR-PFV-treat

SEQ

3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting=PL

IRR-PFV-do<sub>3</sub>=SUB*kə-səyzi?cə**to?**fsāt*

NMLZ:SBJ:U-cause.to.recover=INDF

exist

be.like

Actually, it seems that if Padmasambhava could treat her and chant sutras for her, she might be cured.

106. *q<sup>h</sup>o? sloxpon mə-fə-kə-sqor? mə-nə-k<sup>h</sup>ūt-cə*

SEQ

PN

NEG-AND-GP-send.for

NEG-IPFV:PST-be.feasible<sub>2</sub>-MED*q<sup>h</sup>o?**rjəlpə=kə**sloxpon**fə-ne-sqor**ŋo?-cə*

SEQ

king=ERG

PN

AND-PFV-send.for<sub>2</sub>

be-MED

And they had no choice but to send for Padmasambhava, and the king sent for him.

107. *q<sup>h</sup>o? sloxpon=kə ftsənmə=p<sup>h</sup>a*

SEQ

PN=ERG

queen=place

*nəji?**təsŋər=nə?**təm**kə-ŋen=cə?**nə-tə-nəm?*

1SG

former.time=DET

act

NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=INDF

PFV-2-do<sub>2</sub>-MED*q<sup>h</sup>o?**nə?**wat<sup>h</sup>a?**t<sup>h</sup>əmtfət=nə?**tə-tə-o-sən<sup>n</sup>gi**ŋo?-cə*

SEQ

ANA

entrenched.habit

all=DET

PFV-2-INV-cause.to.be.ill<sub>2</sub>

do-MED

And Padmasambhava said to the queen, “You once did an evil act, and all its entrenched habit caused you to be ill.”

108. *q<sup>h</sup>o? nəji? jə<sup>n</sup>də tşayrtəm=cə?*

SEQ

2SG

TOP

truth=INDF

*mə-nə-tə-rəffət=nə?**məpért<sup>h</sup>e**nəkə?**nə-nət=nə?*NEG-PFV-2-confess<sub>2</sub>=SUB

not.until

ANA

2SG:POSS-illness=DET

<sup>260</sup> The term *sloxpon* (WT <*slob.dpon*>) refers to *pətmə<sup>n</sup>bjəŋni?* Padmasambhava.



*mɛ-ʒiʔ-cə*                      *te-tsəʔ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 NEG-recover-MED      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

“So as for you, until you tell the truth about it, your illness will not heal,” he said.

109. *qʰoʔ*    *ʃtsənmo=nəʔ*    *ɛdənbe*    *tʂaŋrtəm*  
 SEQ      queen=DET      at.all      truth  
*kɛ-zrɛffɛt*                      *mə-nɛ-kʰût-cə*  
 INF-cause.to.confess      NEG-IPFV:PST-allow.oneself<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the queen could not be made to tell the truth at all.

110. *qʰoʔ*    *o-kəmŋəmʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-illness=DET  
*kʰe-sŋi*    *ʃóχtenəʔ*    *kʰe-sŋi*    *kɛ-tʰu*                      *ne-je-cə*  
 each-day    than                      each-day    INF-be.serious    PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And, as each day went by, her illness got worse.

111. *qʰoʔ*    *ʃtsənmo*    *o-yrɛrɛʔ=rɛʔ*                      *ne-vɛvo-nə*                      *qʰoʔ*    *ʃtsəmo=pʰa*  
 SEQ      queen      3SG:POSS-family=PL    IPFV-weep-3PL    SEQ      queen=place  
*nɛkəʔ*    *sloχpon*    *tsɛjə*    *kə-χo*                      *kə-ŋólɛ=nəʔ*  
 ANA      PN                      so      NMLZ:SBJ-be.kind    NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=DET  
*ó-pʰa*                      *tʂaŋrtəm=cəʔ*    *nə-rɛffɛt*    *joyʔ*                      *ʰdenəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-place    truth=INDF      IMP-confess    be.allowed    for  
*kɛ-ɛdu*                      *mɛ=kə*                      *te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 INF-matter    not.exit=DM    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

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.

112. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəməq<sup>h</sup>únəʔ noŋménəʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards not.until  
*<sup>n</sup>berotsəne ké-le tʃ<sup>h</sup>əʔtʃ<sup>h</sup>ə nə-kə-fsəʔt kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*  
 PN INF-wrong what:RDPL IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like<sub>2</sub> NMLZ:SBJ-be=DET  
*nə-rɛffɛt ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV-confess<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Not until afterwards did she finally confess how she had wronged Berotsana.

113. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjélpo o-tʃu=kə <sup>n</sup>bri te-<sup>n</sup>di-cə*  
 SEQ king 3SG:POSS-son=ERG horse PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>berotsəne o-kə-q<sup>h</sup>ro kə-ɤre ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-receive PFV:EAST-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the king's son mounted a horse and went east to meet Berotsana.

114. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ prak<sup>h</sup>oŋ kə-to=nəʔ kə-zyôʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ cliff.cave NMLZ:SBJ-be.located PFV:EAST-arrive<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*<sup>n</sup>berotsəne t<sup>h</sup>ɤ-rɛnts<sup>h</sup>em wɛjo ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PN CONT:LTR-meditate.in.seclusion<sub>2</sub> be.seen be-MED  
 And he found Berotsana meditating in seclusion under the cliff cave.

115. *<sup>n</sup>bri=nəʔ o-konʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-p<sup>h</sup>ɛvʔ*  
 horse=DET 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:DOWN-lower  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-rŋəmʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-wi ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tears IPFV:DOWN-come be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɤ-kə-rɛnts<sup>h</sup>em=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>berotsəne*  
 SEQ CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-meditate.in.seclusion=DET PN  
*kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ sərtəʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 MLZ:SBJ-be=DET know be-MED  
 And the horse lowers its head, and sheds tears, as it knows that the one who is meditating is Berotsana.

116. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpotfu=nəʔ=kə nɛʒiʔ mɛlen ne-tə-wi reʔ*  
 SEQ king's.son=DET=ERG 2SG by.necessaity IPFV:WEST-2-come be.necessary  
*ˈdenəʔ ɛ-mo t<sup>h</sup>ɛ-n<sup>n</sup>gi*  
 for 1SG:POSS-mother CONT:LTR-be.ill<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɛ-kə-q<sup>h</sup>ro kə-wɛʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-NMLZ-meet NMLZ-come<sub>2</sub>-1SG be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ˈberotsɛnɛ=kə wɛ te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=ERG EXCL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Berotsana said, "Alright!"

118. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ˈdec<sup>h</sup>o nə-wɛʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ westward PFV:WEST-come<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*redaʔ ʒɪʃɛ<sup>n</sup>dzɛn t<sup>h</sup>ɛmtʃɛt kə-sɛlət nə-wɛʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 herbivore carnivore all NMLZ-do.seeing.off PFV:WEST-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And when he came westward, all the herbivore and carnivore animals came west to see him off.

119. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlse o-vzər jɛrmɛ nə-zyôʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ palace 3SG:POSS-side about PFV:WEST-arrive<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*rjɛlpo ʒɪʃikə o-ˈjótpe tə-sceʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 king very 3SG:POSS-guilt PFV-grow<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 When he almost got to the environs of the palace, the king grew very guilty.

120. *qʰoʔ ne-səseʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ IPFV-think<sub>3</sub>=SUB

*ftsənmə pʰovraŋ=nəŋ ne-smo vlɛrge ʔntseʃi*

queen palace=inside IPFV-live monk so

*kəŋóʌ=nəʔ prakʰoŋ=nəŋ te-rɛntsʰemʔ ŋoʔ-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. *ʃənəʔ o-kə-lɛt nəkəsə redaʔ kə-lɛn 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 mɛʃu=kəsə=kə ʰberotsɛnɐ ó-ʁɛr=nəʔ tɛtpe*

SEQ further=like=INS PN 3SG:POSS-body=DET faith

*tə-sceʔ ŋoʔ-cə*

PFV-grow<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And his faith in Berotsana has grown stronger.

123. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=kə kʰorman tʰɛmtʃɛt te-zduʔ*

SEQ king=ERG populace all PFV:TR-gather<sub>2</sub>

*qʰoʔ nə-ʁóri=nəʔ*

SEQ 3PL:POSS-front=DET

*sloxpə ʰberotsɛnɐ qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=ntʰon tə-ɛmdzuʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə*

PN PN SEQ king=also PFV-sit<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

And the king gathered all the populace, and Padmasambhava, Berotsana, and also the king sat down in front of them.

124. *ftsənmə=kə tʰə nə-kə-fsət tʰəmtʃet=nəʔ=rəʔ*  
 queen=ERG what IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like<sub>2</sub> all=DET=PL  
*kʰrjaŋkʰrjaŋʔ nə-rɛffɛt-cə*  
 IDPH<sup>261</sup> PFV-confess<sub>2</sub>-MED

And the queen made a clean breast of herself about everything that had happened.

125. *qʰoʔ nəʔorjájəʔnəʔ saŋʰjiʔtʰuluʔ ʰge-mə*  
 SEQ at.that.time Buddhism IPFV-not.exist  
*qʰoʔ vlɛrge=rəʔ ántseʃi nə-kə-ntətpe*  
 SEQ monk=PL that.much 3PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-believe.in<sub>2</sub>  
*ʰge-mə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-not.exist be-MED

At that time, there was no Buddhism, and no one believed that much in monks.

126. *ʃənəʔ qʰoʔ nəʔʃəqʰu zdewe=scʰənəʔ rjélpo=rəʔ=kə*  
 but SEQ afterwards populace=and king=PL=ERG  
*vlɛrge kə-ɲólɐ kə-ɲoʔ=nəʔ kɐ-sərtəʔ=scʰənəʔ*  
 monk NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous NMLZ-be=DET INF-know=and  
*kɐ-ntətpe=nəʔ noŋme te-je-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 INF-believe.in.Buddhism=TOP only.then PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

And only afterwards did the populace and kings began to know that monks were virtuous, and began to believe in them.

127. *qʰoʔ rjélpo=pʰa*  
 SEQ king=place  
*χser=scʰənəʔ rɲəl ʰbeʰdərjɐ rənpótʰe tərziʔtər.snɐ*  
 gold=and silver glass treasure bits.of.cloth.category

<sup>261</sup> An ideophone describing the state of being clean.

*smən.snə*      *mdzə.snə*      *o-k<sup>h</sup>əlməlmə=kəsə*      *te-naḡmet-cə*  
 herb.category    grain.category    3SG:POSS-load:RDPL=like    PFV:TR-demand<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Berotsana demanded loads and loads of gold, silver, glass, jewels, miscellaneous bits of cloth, herbs, and grains from the king.

128. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *rənpóɿ<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ=rəʔ*    *p<sup>h</sup>əntsə=nay*    *te-rkoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    treasure=DET=PL    basin=inside    PFV:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ftsənmo*    *o-kóri*    *ne-te*  
 SEQ    queen    3SG:POSS-front    PFV:DOWN:TR-place<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *o-χtu*    *ne-peʔ*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting    PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And he put the treasures inside a basin, and placed it in front of the queen, and chanted sutras for her.

129. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *ftsənmo*    *lə-qjɔ-cə*  
 SEQ    queen    PFV-vomit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *nət*    *t<sup>h</sup>əmtʃet=nəʔ*    *p<sup>h</sup>əntsə=nay*    *kəmdiʔ*    *lə-nlɔ*    *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    illness    all=DET    basin=inside    all    PFV:OUT-come.out<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 The queen vomited, and all the illness came out into the basin.

130. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *<sup>n</sup>berotsənə=kə*    *q<sup>h</sup>əʔ*    *tərjuʔnombə*    *t<sup>h</sup>əmtʃet=nəʔ*    *kəmdiʔ*  
 SEQ    PN=ERG    ANA    treasure    all=DET    all  
*mts<sup>h</sup>o=nay*    *ʃə-ne-zwərêʔ-cə*  
 lake=inside    AND-PFV:TR-cause.to.throw<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And Berotsana had all the treasures thrown into the lake.

131. *"denəʔ Ɂlu=kə "berotsəne o-təqorʔ te-peʔ=nəʔ*  
 for Naga=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-help PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*qʰoʔ o-jiʔ=ntʃʰon Ɂlu o-gomtʰe poj reʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also Naga 3SG:POSS-help do<sub>3</sub> be.necessary be-MED  
 Since the Naga helped Berotsana, Berotsana himself also had to offer help to the Naga.

132. *qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS be-MED  
 That was the reason.

133. *qʰoʔ tsʰesmen tsəndən.sərtʰu nəkəsə*  
 SEQ fever.medicine sandalwood.medicine thus  
*tʰəmtʃet=rəʔ ne-fiʰi-nə-cə*  
 all=PL PFV:TR-give.to.drink<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And they made her drink fever medicine, sandalwood medicine, and all that.

134. *qʰoʔ "detsətse ʃtsənmo=nəʔ kʰeŋo=rəʔ kə-ntətəŋ te-je*  
 SEQ gradually queen=DET complexion=PL INF-be.health:RDPL PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ kəmɐqʰu nəʔosəfsət nə-ɐqʰoʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ afterwards thus PFV-recover<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And little by little the queen's complexion kept getting healthier, and afterwards she recovered like that.

135. *qʰoʔ rjəlpə kətsə mɐ*  
 SEQ king GP-say not.exist  
*"berotsəne=scʰənəʔ ʃtsənmo=rəʔ kəmdi*  
 PN=and queen=PL all

*p<sup>h</sup>jiwot*                      *<sup>n</sup>ge-kɛ-mp<sup>h</sup>ɛri=nəʔ*                      *tə-mt<sup>h</sup>ənʔ-nə*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 outside.appearance    IPFV-GP-look=sub                      PFV-be.harmonious<sub>2</sub>-3PL                      be-MED

And not to mention the king, Berotsana and the queen appeared on the outside to get along well.

136. *ʃənəʔ*    *ʃtsənmo*    *o-sém=p<sup>h</sup>i=nəʔ*                      *<sup>n</sup>dɛr*  
 but                      queen                      3SG:POSS-heart=under=DET                      TOP

*<sup>n</sup>berotsənɛ=kə*    *ɐ-təmŋo*                      *ne-tʃet=kə*  
 PN=ERG                      1SG:POSS-face                      PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>=INS

*ʃəjəce*                      *óyu*                      *kə-ŋɛn=cəʔ*                      *pɔ-aŋ*                      *reʔ*  
 sometime                      3SG:POSS                      NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=INDF                      do<sub>3</sub>-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. *nəʔ*                      *o-q<sup>h</sup>ɔ̣ɣpe=naŋ*                      *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ntəto*                      *ʃteʔ-cə*  
 ANA                      3SG:POSS-heart=inside                      CONT:LTR-exist<sub>2</sub>:RDPL                      be:EMPH-MED

And the idea persisted in her heart.

138. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kəmɛq<sup>h</sup>únə*    *k<sup>h</sup>rɛnk<sup>h</sup>rəyʔ*    *ome*    *kə-xteʔ=cəʔ*                      *tə-rɐroʔ*  
 SEQ                      afterwards                      turmoil                      very                      NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF                      PFV-rise<sub>2</sub>

And afterwards, a very big turmoil arose.

139. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *kəmɛqɛʔ*    *nɐ-re*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ                      fighting                      IPFV:PST-be.necessary<sub>2</sub>                      be-MED

*ʃənəʔ*    *ɾjélpo*    *mə-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 but                      king                      NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>                      be-MED

And fighting was necessary, and the king lost.



140. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>berotsəne    rjeker    nə-ere*  
 SEQ    PN    India    PFV:WEST-go<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ɛŋotɕəy<sup>n</sup>bjonɣter    te-ké-tsə=nə    ʃə-ne-vzjaŋʔ    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    PN    IPFV-GP-say    and-PFV:TR-study<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And Berotsana went west to India, and went to study a sutra called *Dngo-drug-'byong-gter*.

141. *ɛŋotɕəy<sup>n</sup>bjonɣter=nəʔ    pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o    mɡónbo    kɛ<sup>n</sup>don    te-ké-tsə=cəʔ*  
 PN=TOP    now    PN    sutra    IPFV-GP-say=INDF  
*toʔ=kə    nəʔ=nəʔ    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 exist=INS    ANA=DET    be-MED  
 As for *Dngo-drug-'byong-gter*, there is now a sutra called Mgonbo, and that is it.

142. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kɛ-vzjaŋ    ne-səyjoy*  
 SEQ    INF-study    PFV:TR-finish<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kɛ-nəwi    tə-mda    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    INF-come.back    PFV-be.time<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 After he finished his studies, it was time to come back.

143. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    rjeker    pəntɕəte    ome    kə-ŋólɛ=cəʔ    nə-to=kə*  
 SEQ    India    pandita    very    NMLZ-be.capable=INDF    IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>=INS  
 And there was a very virtuous pandita in India.

144. *mer=nəʔ    o-jmiʔ    kə-<sup>n</sup>bɛv    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 night=DET    3SG:POSS-dream    PFV-fall<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 He had a dream at night.

145. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛkɐr nə-komʔ=nəʔ kəmdiʔ*  
 SEQ India 3PL:POSS-door=DET all  
*pot ʒəŋk<sup>h</sup>ɐm ke-kəro=cəʔ*  
 Tibet realm IPFV:EAST-NMLZ-look=INDF  
*o-jiʔ pɛntʂəʔtə o-sni=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ o-mts<sup>h</sup>i=rɐʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-self pandita 3SG:POSS-heart=and 3SG:POSS-liver=PL  
*<sup>n</sup>berotsɛnɐ=kə kə-kə-nətsom=cəʔ ne-wɛjmiʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PN=ERG PFV:EAST-NMLZ-take.thither<sub>2</sub>=INDF PFV:TR-dream<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 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.

146. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pɛntʂəʔtə o-sém=p<sup>h</sup>i=nəʔ*  
 SEQ pandita 3SG:POSS-heart=under=DET  
*nɛkəʔ <sup>n</sup>berotsɛnɐ=kə jəjəɾɔ kə-ʒroʔ=cəʔ*  
 ANA PN=ERG 1PL:POSS NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine=INDF  
*jə-nə-tsomʔ ŋoʔ taʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə*  
 PROS-SPON-take.thither be be.certain-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 The pandita thought, “That Berotsana is certainly going to take away something precious  
 of ours.”

147. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noʔosəʔfsi=nəʔ rjɛkɐr rjɛlpo=p<sup>h</sup>a te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ next.day=DET India king=place PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the next day, he told (this) to the King of India.

148. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ nəʔ rjɛlpo=kə*  
 SEQ again ANA king=ERG  
*<sup>n</sup>berotsɛnɐ kɐ-mje o-ts<sup>h</sup>əyɐ te-peʔ-nə-cə*  
 PN INF-catch 3SG:POSS-manner PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And then, the king (and his men) prepared to capture Berotsana.

149. *ʃənəʔ    ˈberotsənə=kə    rkaŋmɔʔ<sup>262</sup>    te-zgrəvʔ-cə*  
 but    PN=ERG    fast.foot.magic    PFV:TR-fulfill<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ    orɛpənəm    kə-pʰi    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    right.then    PFV:EAST-escape<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 But Berotsana practiced fast-foot magic, and instantly escaped east.

150. *qʰoʔ    ʃənəʔ    kə-o-χta    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    but    PFV:EAST-INV-chase<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
*qʰoʔ    ʃɛku    ome    kə-ɐrqʰe    kuʔ=z*  
 SEQ    there.in.the.east    very    NMLZ:SBJ-be.far    place.in.the.east=LOC  
*kə-zɣôt    qʰoʔ    jə-kə-o-lcʰɐv    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:EAST-arrive<sub>2</sub>    SEQ    PROS-PFV:EAST-INV-catch.up.with<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 But he was chased (east), and arrived at a far place in the east. And there he was almost caught up with.

151. *qʰoʔ    rɛŋmu=cəʔ    ó-kʰe    nɐ-nərməʔ    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    old.woman=INDF    3SG:POSS-house    IPFV:PST-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 And he spent the night at an old woman's house.

152. *qʰoʔ    rɛmde=rɐʔ    kə-zɣôt-nə*  
 SEQ    pursuers=PL    PFV:EAST-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*qʰoʔ    rɛŋmu=pʰa    nə-rɐrwet-nə    ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    old.woman=place    PFV-ask.question<sub>2</sub>-3PL    be-MED  
 And the pursuers arrived, and asked the old woman questions.

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<sup>262</sup> WT <rkang.mgyogs>.

153. *fə́nəʔ* *rənmu=kə* *ˈberotsə́nə* *kə-ɐre* *χso-sɲi=rən* *nə-tsoʔ*  
 but old.woman=ERG PN PFV:EST-go<sub>2</sub> three-day=even PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>  
*fteʔ* *tʂʰəʔcənəmánəʔ*<sup>263</sup> *ké-lcʰev* *mɐ-tə-cʰɐ-nə*  
 be:EMPH perhaps INF-catch.up.with NEG-2-be.able-2PL  
*te-tsəʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PEV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED

But the old woman said, “Berotsana had already gone east three days ago, and you may not be able to catch up with him.”

154. *tə́mdánə* *kʰénanɿ* *ɐz-nɐtsu* *fteʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 in.fact home CONT:HTR-hide be:EMPH be-MED  
 In truth, she was hiding him in her home.

155. *qʰoʔ* *rəmde=rɐʔ* *nə-keʔ* *nə-ˈbi*  
 SEQ pursuers=PL 3PL:POSS-morale PFV-be.lost<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ* *nə-nə-jwet-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PFV:WEST-SPON-go.back<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And the pursuers lost morale, and went back west.

156. *qʰoʔ* *kəmɐqʰínəʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards  
*pot* *o-sɐtʃʰe=z* *skɐtʃe* *kə-pe*  
 Tibet 3SG:POSS-place=LOC rumor NMLZ:SBJ-do  
*ke-sɐyre-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:EAST:TR-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 Afterwards, they sent east to Tibet someone who was to spread rumors.

<sup>263</sup> A formulaic expression meaning ‘perhaps’.

157. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɛ̌-tsə o-ts<sup>h</sup>əyɐ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ INF-say 3SG:POSS-manner=DET  
*nɛkəʔ rjɛkɛr nɐ-kə-rɐvzjaŋʔ*  
 ANA India IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-study<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jɛsŋiʔ kə-kə-nəwɛʔ vlɛrge=nəʔ*  
 SEQ the.other.day PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-come.back<sub>2</sub> monk=DET  
 And the way (the rumor) goes was, “That monk who studied in India, and who returned east the other day,”

158. *rjɛkɛr=z mɛnsŋaʔ st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-ŋɛn=nəʔ*  
 India=LOC mantra most NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=DET  
*rjɛlpo=fənəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-səyʒəyʔ=nəʔ=cəʔ*  
 king=also IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.decline=DET=INDF  
*zɔdewe=fənəʔ tɛ-kə-sɐmqeʔ=cəʔ*  
 populace = also IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.quarrel=INDF  
*kɛ<sup>n</sup>don kə-ŋɛn=cəʔ kə-sɐsəmtsi kə-wɛʔ ŋoʔ*  
 sutra NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=INDF NMLZ-teach.people PFV:EAST-come<sub>2</sub> be  
 “he has come east to teach people a most malicious mantra from India which makes kings go into decline, and causes the populace to quarrel with one another.”

159. *nɛkəʔ vlɛrge=nəʔ fla nɐ-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e-nə*  
 ANA monk=DET immediately IMP-kill-2PL  
*<sup>n</sup>denəʔ osto mɛ̌-fsət<sup>264</sup>*  
 or well NEG-be.like  
 “Quickly kill the monk, or things will go awfully wrong.”

160. *nəkətsə skɛtʃɛ tɛ-peʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 thus rumor PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And he spread rumors like that.

<sup>264</sup> An idiomatic expression meaning ‘go awfully wrong’.

161. *o-mæke noʔorjáŋʔnəʔ pot ʒəŋkʰem=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-essense at.that.time Tibet realm=DET  
*ponboʔ nɐ-fie saŋʒiʔtʃʰuluzʔ=nəʔ nɐ-mɛʔ*  
 Bon.religion IPFV:PST-be:EMPH Buddhism=DET IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ mɛ-ne-rgeʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NEG-PFV:TR-like<sub>2</sub>-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 nə=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ tʰoʔ tə-tʰəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA=PL all chance PFV:TR-meet<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And he (Berotsana) happened to come across all these.

163. *qʰoʔ zdewe=scʰənəʔ vlónbo=rɐʔ tə-lanʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ populace=and minister=PL PFV-protest<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
*qʰoʔ nɛkəʔ ʰberotsənɐ=nəʔ kɐ-ntʃʰe rɐʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 SEQ ANA PN=DET GP-kill be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And the populace and ministers protested (against him), and said, “One must kill that Berotsana!”

164. *qʰoʔ rjélpo=kə nəʔ kɐ-ntʃʰe=tsɛʔə*  
 SEQ king=ERG ANA INF-kill=to.the.extent  
*ɐ-nɛ-ma=kə te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 IRR-PFV-not.be=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the king said, “Let’s not go so far as to kill him.”

165. *ʃənəʔ zdewe=rɐʔ mə-nɐ-kʰût-nə-cə*  
 but populace=PL NEG-IPFV:PST-allow<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 “But the populace would not allow this.”

166. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo=kə*

SEQ king=ERG

*<sup>n</sup>berotsənɐ=kəsə ɐnɐmɐnɐ vlɛrge=cəʔ te-nɐŋoro*

PN=like identical monk=INDF PFV:TR-look.for<sub>2</sub>

And the king looked for a monk who looked completely like Berotsana.

167. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgɐm=naŋ te-rkoʔ-nə*

SEQ trunk=inside PFV:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-3PL

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ zdewe=rɐʔ nə-mɲakóri taciʔ=naŋ te-wɛrɛt-nə ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ populace=PL 3PL:POSS-eye.front river=inside PFV:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

And they put him inside a trunk and threw him into the river in the presence of the populace.

168. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təmdánə <sup>n</sup>berotsənɐ=nəʔ jɐ<sup>n</sup>gɐr=cɛ tə-o-nɛtsu ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ in.fact PN=DET secluded.place=LOC:INDF PFV-INV-hide<sub>2</sub> be-MED

In fact, he had hidden Berotsana at a secluded place.

169. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ*

SEQ king=DET

*sɲi=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>berotsənɐ=p<sup>h</sup>a kɐ-fɐ me-<sup>n</sup>gɛ-noz ŋoʔ-cə*

daytime=DET PN=place INF-go NEG-IPFV-dare be-MED

The king did not dare go to (see) Berotsana during daytime.

170. *ʃənəʔ mer=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>berotsənɐ=p<sup>h</sup>a jɐ-fɐ*

but night=DET PN=place IPFV-go

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʃə-<sup>n</sup>ge-rɐvzjaŋ ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ AND-IPFV-study be-MED

But at nighttime, he went to Berotsana and studied (with him).

171. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəməq<sup>h</sup>únə ftsənmə=kə*  
 SEQ afterwards queen=ERG  
*koʔ rjélpo=nəʔ kəmpnem=cəʔ mer=nəʔ jə-nəʔʒfə=kə*  
 this king=DET often=INDF night=DET IPFV-go.away=INS  
*o-zdeʔ=cəʔ toʔ máso ne-səsi-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-companion=INDF exist DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Afterwards, the queen thought, “The king often go away at night. Could there be a lover of his?”

172. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-təʔfə=cɛ=nəʔ səqətsútsu rjélpo te-nəŋq<sup>h</sup>uʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET in.secret king PFV:TR-follow<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB  
*təmdánə <sup>n</sup>berotsənə=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ t<sup>h</sup>v-smo-<sup>n</sup>dzə ne-mti ŋoʔ-cə*  
 in.truth PN=and CONT:LTR-be.at-3DU PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Once, she followed the king in secret and saw that he turned out to be with Berotsana.

173. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ftsənmə=nəʔ ó-qrɔ nə-ntfoʔ*  
 SEQ queen=DET 3SG:POSS-luck PFV-find<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ χtirtsot kə-pe tə-mda-cə ne-səsi-cə*  
 SEQ revenge INF-do PFV-be.time.for<sub>2</sub>-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the queen was overjoyed and thought, “It is time to take revenge!”

174. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noʔosəfsi=nəʔ zdewe nə-p<sup>h</sup>a te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ next.day=DET populace 3PL:POSS-place PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*rjélpo=kə <sup>n</sup>berotsənə ne-nt<sup>h</sup>eʔ maʔ-cə*  
 king=ERG PN PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub> not.be-MED  
*nəkəʔ pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o t<sup>h</sup>v-to fteʔ-cə*  
 ANA now CONT:LTR-exist<sub>2</sub> 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 leʔ zɖewe=rɐʔ=kə*  
 SEQ again populace=PL=ERG  
*nɛkəʔ vlɐrge kɐ-ntʃʰe reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 ANA monk GP-kill be.necessary PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And again, the populace said, “One must kill that monk!”

176. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=kə kɐ-ntʃʰe=nəʔ ɐ-nɛ-ma=kə*  
 SEQ king=ERG INF-kill=DET IRR-PFV-not.be=DM  
*ɲɛtʃʰə sɛtʃʰe mɐ-fsɐ-fsɐm=cɛ ʃə-ne-spjəʔ-əŋ*  
 where place NEG-hear-think=LOC:INDF AND-IPFV-banish-1SG  
*ə-joy te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 Q-be.allowed PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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=scʰənəʔ te-nəkroz-nə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ minister=and PFV:TR-discuss<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB  
*kɐ-spjəʔ kə-joyʔ=cəʔ te-peʔ-nə-cə*  
 INF-banish NMLZ-be.allowed=INDF PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
 And (he) discussed this with the ministers and decided that he be banished.

178. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=kə ʰberotsɐnɐ te-zrɛntsʰa ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ king=ERG PN PFV:TR-cause.to.make.preparations<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the king had preparations made for Berotsana.

179. *qʰoʔ sɐ-spjəʔ o-sɛtʃʰe=nəʔ*  
 SEQ NMLZ:OBL-banish<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-place=DET  
*təmdánəʔ rjɛlmotsʰɛwéron ʃəjəreʔ ʃə-sɛtʃʰe=z nɐ-ɲo ɲoʔ-cə*  
 in.truth PN 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And it turned out that the location of his banishment was Rgyalmotshabarong in our area.

- 180.
- qʰoʔ rjɛlmotsʰɛwɛroŋ sɛtʰe=ce=nəʔ*

SEQ PN place=LOC:INDF=DET

*mɔʒe rjɛlpo te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ nɐ-to ŋoʔ-cə*PN king IPFV-GP-say=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be-med

And, somewhere at Rgyalmotshabarong, there was a king called King Mdozhe.

- 181.
- qʰoʔ ʰberotsənɐ=kə nəʔ ʃə-te-χtəŋ ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ PN=ERG ANA AND-PFV:TR-appeal.to<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And Berotsana went there to appeal to him.

- 182.
- qʰoʔ tʰə nɐ-kə-fsəʔt=rɐʔ*

SEQ what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like<sub>2</sub>=PL*rjɛlpo o-ffɛfʃɛt ne-peʔ ŋoʔ-cə*king 3SG:POSS-recounting PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And recounted for the king everything that had happened.

- 183.
- qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=kə nɛʒiʔ nəʔ=kəsci tə-ʃteʔ*

SEQ king=ERG 2SG ANA=like 2-be:EMPH

*qʰónəʔ ʒəʒɐʔ=ntʰon nɛʒiʔ kɐ-nɛpóro mɛ-noz-jə te-tsəʔ*SEQ:EMPH 1PL=also 2SG INF-take.in NEG-dare-1PL PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>And the king (and others) said, “As you are like that,<sup>265</sup> we dare not take you in either.”

- 184.
- qʰoʔ mɛstókə ʒaʔ ɛnezsqɛfte-sɲi ʒɛrmɐ=nəʔ ʰbətɔŋ=nəŋ*

SEQ no.matter time twenty.one-day about=DET insect.pit=inside

*tɐ-səsmo nɐ-rɛmde=rɐʔ nɐ-mɛʔ qʰoʔ*1→2-cause.to.stay 2SG:POSS-pursuers=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub> SEQ<sup>265</sup> Referring to Berotsana’s status as a person in exile.

*mə-nə-tə-set qʰónəʔ tɛ-nɛpóro ŋoʔ tɛ-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 NEG-PFV-2-die<sub>2</sub> SEQ:EMPH 1→2-take.in be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

“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. *qʰoʔ ʰbətɔŋ=nən nɛ-o-wɛrɛt-nə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ insect.pit=inside PFV-INV-throw<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED

And they threw him into the pit.

186. *qʰoʔ kɛzsqɛfte-sɲi nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ ʃə-nɛ-mpʰɛri-nə-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ twenty.one-day PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>=SUB AND-PFV:INV-throw<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED=SUB  
*nánɲtɛr cʰeʔ nɛ-kə-ʃsăt=kəsə=nəʔ*  
 original.state formerly IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like<sub>2</sub>=like=DET  
*ɛnɛméne tʰɛ-ʃsăt wɛjo ŋoʔ-cə*  
 identically CONT:LTR-be.like<sub>2</sub> 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. *qʰoʔ nɛ-kɛ-spjəŋ ʃtɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ:U-banish<sub>2</sub> be:EMPH-MED  
*qʰónəʔ o-kə-nrɛmde=rɛʔ nɛ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 SEQ:EMPH 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-pursue=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And as he was one who was being banished, and no one pursued him,

188. *qʰónəʔ ʰbətɔŋ=nən tə-oy-tʃɛt*  
 SEQ:EMPH insect.pit=inside PFV-INV-take.out<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰónəʔ kɔdɛndʒɛn=rɛʔ tɛ-peʔ-nə*  
 SEQ:EMPH formal.reception=PL PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 they took him up from inside the insect pit and gave him a formal reception.

189. *qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰúnə rjélpo o-káloy tə-vpeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ afterwards king 3SG:POSS-herder PFV-become<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Afterwards, he became a herder for the king.

190. *qʰoʔ reⁿgo=z o-kre káloy kəχtʃipu=rəʔ nə-χpe=rəʔ ⁿge-ffet*  
 SEQ hill=LOC 3SG:POSS-with herder child=PL 3PL:POSS-story=PL IPFV-tell  
*qʰoʔ oʒorʔ jəye=scʰənəʔ tʰoʒʔ nə-səsəmtsiʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ meanwhile writing=and Dharma IPFV:PST-do.teaching<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 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. *qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰúnə o-slome=rəʔ kə-nəldəlden te-je*  
 SEQ afterwards 3SG:POSS-student=PL INF-be.many:RDPL PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ nə-səsəmtsiʔ nə-səsəmtsiʔ əntsətse ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-do.teaching<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-do.teaching<sub>2</sub> continuously be-MED  
 And afterwards, and he began to have more and more students. And he continuously  
 taught and taught.

192. *qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰúnə prapʰəyʔ=nəɲ nə-rətʰənʔ*  
 seq afterwards cave=inide IPFV:PST-meditate.in.seclusion<sub>2</sub>  
*oʒorʔ nə-səsəmtsiʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 meanwhile IPFV:PST-do.teaching<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 After that, he practiced reclusive meditation and, meanwhile, he kept teaching.

193. *qʰoʔ o-kə-sten=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-tend.to=DET  
*təwaʔ kə-sqə rgənmu=cəʔ nə-to ɲoʔ-cə*  
 booze NMLZ:SBJ-brew old.woman=INDF IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 As for the person who took care of him, there was an old woman who brew booze.

194. *qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tʃu=nəʔ ʃʃikə jəʔye ne-səmtsiʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-son=DET very book PFV:TR-teach<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And he made a special effort to teach that (woman)’s son.

195. *qʰoʔ rgənmutʃu=nəʔ o-watʃʰaʔ*  
 SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET 3SG:POSS-consciousness.of.past-life.perceptions  
*kə-toʔ=cəʔ nɐ-ʃte ɣoʔ-cə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF IPFV:PST-be:EMPH<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*qʰoʔ kəmɐqʰúnəʔ ʃʃikə tə-mkʰɐz ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ afterwards very PFV-be.skilled<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the woman’s son was one who retained consciousness formed from past-life perceptions. And afterwards, he became very skilled.

196. *qʰoʔ kəmɐqʰúnə ʰberotsɐnɐ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ afterwards PN=DET  
*o-slome=nəʔ lɐse te-sɐyre ɣoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-student=DET Lhasa PFV:UP-cause.to.go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 Afterwards, Berotsana sent his student up to Lhasa.

197. *qʰoʔ o-slome lɐse nɐ-nɐsməsmo=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-student Lhasa IPFV:PST-stay:RDPL=SUB  
*pot rjɛlpo=kə rjɛkɐr=z pɛntʃɛn<sup>266</sup>*  
 Tibet king=ERG India=LOC great.pandita  
*ʰdənəmədʒɐ ʃə-ke-sqor-cə*  
 PN AND-PFV:EAST:TR-send.for<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 When the student had stayed for a long time in Lhasa, the King of Tibet went to send for the great pandita Ndenemedra.

<sup>266</sup> Abbreviated form of *pɛntʃɛtɐ tʃɛnboʔ* or ‘great learned master’.

198. *qʰoʔ tʰoʔ kə-ffɛt=scʰənəʔ kə-sɛsəmtsi ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ dharma NMLZ:SBJ-recount=and NMLZ:SBJ-do.teaching be-MED  
 And he was a recounter of the Dharma and a teacher of men.

199. *ʃənəʔ pɛntʃen=nəʔ kʰriʔ o-naŋton kə-ɣoʔ*  
 but great.pandita=DET that.much 3SG:POSS-contents NMLZ:SBJ-be  
*kɛ-sɛsəmtsi mə-tʰɛ-noʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 INF-do.teaching NEG-CONT:LTR-dare<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 But the great pandita did not dare teach people its full content.

200. *nəʔ tʰɛʔ ɣoʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA why be=SUB  
*noorjájənəʔ saŋʷjiʔtʰuluʔ nətsɛjiʔ mə-nɛ-ter*  
 at.that.time Buddhism to.that.extent NEG-IPFV:PST-be.prosperous<sub>2</sub>  
 Why is that? Buddhism was not that prosperous at that time.

201. *qʰoʔ kə-ɣoʔ o-sɲóʷgu kɛ-ffɛt mə-sɛnoʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be 3SG:POSS-core INF-recount NEG-dare be-MED  
*ʷdenəʔ zdewe=rɛʔ=kə tʰə jə-kɛ-oɣ-soʔ kə-χsɛl*  
 for populace=PL=ERG what PROS-GP-INV-do NMLZ-be.clear  
*mɛ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 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 ɛrtʃo tə-kə-ɛre=nəʔ pɛntʃátɛ ʷge-ffɛt-nə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ mendicant PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go<sub>2</sub>=DET pandita IPFV-recount-3PL=SUB  
*o-tʰɛco tɛne=rɛʔ té-ʷdɛ*  
 3SG:POSS-downriver.place walking.stick=PL IPFV-take<sub>3</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ke-fṽ ne-wi*

SEQ IPFV:EAST-go IPFV:WEST-come

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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-k<sup>h</sup>e=naŋ t<sup>h</sup>uxciʔ=rɐʔ tɛ-tsə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mouth=inside something=PL IPFV-say be-MED

And he would say something in his mouth.

204. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pɛntʂátṽ nɐ-nɐrɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ pandita PFV-laugh<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And the pandita laughed.

205. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpɔ=kə nɛjiʔ k<sup>h</sup>o kə-tə-nəwəwɛʔ*  
 SEQ king=ERG 2SG here PFV:EAST-2-come<sub>2</sub>:RDPL  
*josŋiʔ=denəʔ nɐ-tə-nɐrɛʔ mɐ*  
 today=not.until PFV-2-laugh<sub>2</sub> not.exist

And the king said, “Since you came here, you never laughed until now.”

206. *ɐrtʃo=kə t<sup>h</sup>ṽ nɐ-rɐ ne-səwɛʔ ŋo*  
 mendicant=ERG why 2SG:POSS-laughing PFV:TR-cause.to.come<sub>2</sub> be  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>ə tɛ-tsə ŋo te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ what IPFV-say be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED

“Why did the mendicant make you laugh, and what is he saying?” he asked.

207. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ pɛntʂátṽ=kə*  
 SEQ pandita=ERG  
*ɐrtʃo=kə ɛ-p<sup>h</sup>a nɛjiʔ mdʒɛzwu <sup>n</sup>ge-tə-ffɛt káma*  
 mendicant=ERG 1SG:POSS-place 2SG result IPFV-2-recount except

*rju me-<sup>n</sup>ge-tə-ffet nə? tɛ-tsə ɲo? te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 cause NEG-IPFV-2-recount ANA IPFV-say be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED

The pandita said, “The mendicant was saying, ‘You are just talking about the result, you’re not talking about the cause!’”

208. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rjɛlpo=rɛʔ=kə*  
 SEQ king=PL=ERG  
*q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ ɐrtʃo=nəʔ ʃə-te-nɐɲoro-nə-cə*  
 ANA mendicant=DET AND-PFV:TR-seek<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɐrtʃo=p<sup>h</sup>a nɛjiʔ əntsejə kə-mk<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ mendicant=place 2SG to.that.extent NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=DET  
*nɐ-ɣgergen ʃo nɐ-ɲo te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 2SG:POSS-teacher who IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɐrtʃo=kə*  
 SEQ mendicant=ERG  
*ɐjiʔ ɐ-ɣgergen=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>berotsɐnɐ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 1SG 1SG:POSS-teacher=DET PN be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the mendicant said, “My teacher is Berotsana.”

210. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ mɛsto=kə nɛjiʔ t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ffɛt=nəɲ te-tsəʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ no.matter=DM 2SG IMP-recount=DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL be-MED  
 And they said, “No matter! You teach (the Dharma)!”

211. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɐrtʃo=nəʔ=kə t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ffɛt-cə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ mendicant=DET=ERG PFV:TR-recount<sub>2</sub>-MED=DET  
*rjɛkɐr kə-kə-wɛʔ pɛntʂəʔtɐ jɛnʔ=cəʔ nɐ-ma=nt<sup>h</sup>on*  
 India PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub> pandita be.high=INDF IPFV:PST-not.be<sub>2</sub>=also



*ó-p<sup>hi</sup>*                      *mə-kə-fə=cə?*                      *ne-ffēt*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-underside    NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-go-INDF    PFV:TR-recount<sub>2</sub>    be-MED

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. *q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ*    *zdewe=rəʔ=kə*                      *<sup>n</sup>berotsənə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    populace=PL=ERG    PN=DET  
*ántsejə*                      *kə-mk<sup>h</sup>əzʔ=cə?*                      *nə-fte=nəʔ*  
 to.that.extent    NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=INDF    IPFV:PST-be:EMPH<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*ne-kə-znəyʃəyʃə=cə?*                      *nə-ma-cə*                      *ne-səsi-nə-cə*  
 IPFV-GP-cause.to.leave=INDF    IPFV:PST-not.be<sub>2</sub>-MED    PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED  
*q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ*    *<sup>n</sup>jotpe*                      *tə-sce?*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    regret                      PFV-grow<sub>2</sub>                      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. *q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ*    *zdewe=rəʔ=kə*                      *rjélpo=p<sup>ha</sup>*  
 SEQ    populace=PL=ERG    king=place  
<sup>n</sup>berotsənə    *ántsejə*                      *kə-mk<sup>h</sup>əzʔ=nəʔ*                      *ʃə-te-kə-nəŋoro?*  
 PN                      to.that.extent    NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=DET    AND-IPFV-GP-seek  
*ŋoʔ*                      *te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*  
 be                      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL-MED

And the populace said to the king, “One should go and seek out Berotsana, who is so learned,”

214. *q<sup>ho</sup>ʔ*    *rjélpo=kə*                      *<sup>n</sup>berotsənə*  
 SEQ    king=ERG                      PN  
*o-kə-q<sup>h</sup>ro*                      *vlərge*                      *ne-səwə?*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-meet    monk                      PFV:DOWN:TR-cause.to.come<sub>2</sub>    be-MED  
 and the king sent a monk down to meet Berotsana.

215. *qʰoʔ    ˈberotsɛnɐ    kɐ-ʃɐ    tʰe-rgeʔ    ʃteʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    PN    INF-go    CONT:LTR:TR-like<sub>2</sub>    be:EMPH-MED  
*qʰoʔ    leʔ    rkaŋmɔʔ    te-zgrəv-cə*  
 SEQ    again    fast.foot.magic    PFV:TR-fullfill<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 Berotsana did like to go, and he practiced fast-foot magic.

216. *qʰoʔ    kʰáʔkʰoʔ=scʰənəʔ    lɛse    pɛrtʰɐ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    here=and    Lhasa    up.to=DET  
*kəʃnez-sŋi    te-peʔ    nɐ-ɬʰoʔ-cə*  
 seven-day    PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>    IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And covered (the distance) between here<sup>267</sup> and Lhasa in seven days.

217. *qʰoʔ    lɛse    tə-ɐre    ɬoˈbɛjʔ=nəʔ=z*  
 SEQ    Lhasa    PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>    road=DET=LOC  
*rgɛtpo    ome    nɐ-kə-rgɛz=cəʔ    ó-pʰa*  
 old.man    very    IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.old<sub>2</sub>=INDF    3SG:POSS-place  
*nɐ-nərmeʔ-ˈdzə-nəŋo*  
 IPFV:PST-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-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    rgɛtpo=kə    ˈdzəʔəniʔ    ɲétʰə    jə-tə-ʃɐ-ˈdzə    ɲoʔ    te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    old.man=ERG    2DU    where    PROS-2-go-2DU    be    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the old man asked, “Where are you going?”

<sup>267</sup> Referring to the Rgyalrong country in western Sichuan.

219. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>berotsənɐ=kə    tsəjəniʔ    lɐse    kə-rɐvzjaŋ    jə-fɐ-tsə    ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ    PN=ERG    1DU    Lhasa    NMLZ:PURP-study    PROS-go-1DU    be  
*té-tsə    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 IPFV-say    be-MED

Berotsana said, “We are going to Lhasa to study.”

220. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    rɛtɕpo=kə    a:    lɐse    te-tə-fɐ-<sup>n</sup>dzə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    old.man=ERG    EXCL    Lhasa    IPFV:UP-2-go-2DU=DET  
*tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə    fə-tə-vzjaŋ-<sup>n</sup>dzə    ŋoʔ    nəʔstónəʔ    nɛ-jwɐt-<sup>n</sup>dzə*  
 what    AND-2-study-2DU    be    instead    IMP:DOWN-return-2DU

And the old man said, “Ah, what will you study when you go to Lhasa? Rather, just go back down.”

221. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    rɛlmots<sup>h</sup>ɐwéroŋ    sɐtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    PN    land=DET  
*ɤgerɣən    ɣfíkə    kə-mk<sup>h</sup>ɐzʔ    <sup>n</sup>berotsənɐ    te-kɛ-tsə    toʔ=kə*  
 teacher    very    NMLZ:SBJ-be.learned    PN    IPFV-GP-say    exist=INS  
*nəʔ    ó-p<sup>h</sup>ə    fə-nɐ-rɐvzjaŋ-<sup>n</sup>dzə=nəʔ*  
 ANA    3SG:POSS-place    AND-IMP:DOWN-do.studying-2DU=SUB  
*kəmk<sup>h</sup>ɐzʔ    kɐ-lɔʔ    k<sup>h</sup>ūt    te-tsəʔ    ŋoʔ-cə*  
 learned.man    INF-become    be.feasible    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>    be-MED

“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.

222. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    <sup>n</sup>berotsənɐ=kə*  
 SEQ    PN=ERG  
*<sup>n</sup>berotsənɐ    te-kɛ-tsə=nəʔ    ɤjiʔ    t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ŋo-aŋ    te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ*  
 PN    IPFV-GP-say=DET    1SG    CONT:LTR-be<sub>2</sub>-1SG    PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED=DET

*rgetpo=nəʔ*      *o-sem*                      *χ/ikə*      *nə-vdeʔ-cə*  
 old.man=DET      3SG:POSS-mood      very      PFV-be.good<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *o-sni=rəʔ*                      *nə-zdəχ*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-heart=PL      PFV-be.emotional<sub>2</sub>      be-MED

When Berotsana said, “I am none other than Berotsana himself,” the old man felt very happy, and got very emotional.

223. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *ɛjiʔ*      *ɐ-myɪts<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      1SG      1SG:POSS-lifetime=DET  
*vləme*      *<sup>n</sup>berotsəɳ*      *kɐ-mdʒəl=cəʔ*                      *ɐ-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ-aŋ*                      *wɐ*  
 lama      PN                      INF-worship=INDF      IRR-PFV-be.able-1SG      DM  
*əntsətse*                      *nɐ-səsi-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 continuously      IPFV:PST-wish<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB  
*josŋiʔ=ta*      *ɐ-kɐ-səsiʔ=nəʔ*                                      *nə-<sup>n</sup>grəɳ*      *ŋoʔ*      *te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 today=top      1SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ;U-wish<sub>2</sub>=DET      PFV-fulfill<sub>2</sub>      be      PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 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.

224. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *<sup>n</sup>berotsəɳ*      *ne-rqɔ*                                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ      PN                      IPFV:PST:TR-embrace<sub>2</sub>      be-MED  
 And he embraced Berotsana.

225. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *<sup>n</sup>berotsəɳ*      *o-skɔŋt<sup>h</sup>aʔ*                                      *te-tʃet*  
 SEQ      PN                      3SG:POSS-leather.band.for.binding.books      PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*      *rgetpo*      *ke-sə-skor*  
 SEQ      old.man      PFV:CISLOC:TR-CAUS-encircle<sub>2</sub>

And Berotsana took out the leather band (binding his books), and encircled the old man with it (to bless him).

226. *qʰoʔ nɛjiʔ tsʰeχtʃəyʔlaχtʃəyʔ kɐ-nəsəŋrjiʔ kə-cʰɐ=cəʔ*  
 SEQ 2SG this.life INF-become.buddha NMLZ-be.able=INDF  
*nəkəsə o-smoləm te-ɬdəv ŋoʔ-cə*  
 thus 3SG:POSS-prayer PFV:TR-pray<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And prayed for him (saying), “May you become a Buddha in your lifetime!”

227. *qʰoʔ kəmɐqʰúnəʔ rɛtɐpo nə-nəsəŋrjiʔ tʃʰozʔ kɛ-tsə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ afterwards old.man PFV-become.buddha<sub>2</sub> be.the.rule GP-say be-MED

It is said that afterwards the old man became a Buddha.

228. *qʰoʔ lɛse tə-zɣôʔ*  
 SEQ Lhasa PFV:UP-arrive<sub>2</sub>  
 And (Berotsana) arrived in Lhasa.

229. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo kɛ-tsə mɐ zɬewe kɛ-tsə mɐ*  
 SEQ king GP-say not.exist populace GP-say not.exist  
*kəmdiʔ=kə χʃíkə nə-o-saχtʃez*  
 all=ERG very PFV-INV-show.affection<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ nɐ-o-ntɐtpeʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ IPFV:PST-INV-believe.in<sub>2</sub> 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 ʰberotsənɐ=ntʃʰon o-pʰɐme nɐ-rgɐz ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ PN=also 3SG:POSS-parent IPFV:PST-be.old<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
*ʃənəʔ kɐ-tʰəyʔʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-cʰɐʔ kɐ-tsə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 but INF-meet=PL IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub> GP-say be-MED

And also, Berotsana’s parents were old but he was still able to see them.

231. *q<sup>h</sup>oɿ*    *o-jiɿ*                      *lotséwə*    *ʃteɿ-cə*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-self    translator    be:EMPH-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónəɿ*    *pot*                      *ʒəŋk<sup>h</sup>em=z*    *tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozɿ*    *kə-zjər*                      *ne-je*  
 SEQ:EMPH    Tibet                      region=LOC    Dharma    INF-translate    PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 And as he was himself a translator, he started to translate the Dharma in the Tibetan area.

232. *q<sup>h</sup>oɿ*    *pot*                      *o-sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e=z=nəɿ*  
 SEQ    Tibet    3SG:POSS-place=LOC=DET  
*saŋjiɿtʃ<sup>h</sup>uluzɿ*    *kə-sŋi*                      *ʃóχtenə*    *kə-sŋi*                      *tə-ter*  
 Buddhism                      one-day    than                      one-day    PFV-be.prosperous<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oɿ*    *ké-tsə*                      *tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozɿ-cə*  
 SEQ    GP-say    be.the.rule-MED  
 And it is said that Buddhism became more and more prosperous in Tibet each day.

233. *ə-tə-ké-tsə=nəɿ*  
 IRR-PFV-GP-say=DET  
*pot*                      *o-sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>e*                      *saŋjiɿtʃ<sup>h</sup>uluzɿ*    *tə-kə-ter=nəɿ*  
 Tibet    3SG:POSS-place    Buddhism                      PFV-NMLZ-prosper<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*ˈberotsɛnə*    *o-tʃənɿ*                      *nə-xtə*                      *ké-tsə*                      *tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozɿ-cə*  
 PN                      3SG:POSS-credit    IPFV:PST-be.big<sub>2</sub>    GP-say    be.the.rule-MED  
 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

*kərúkʰe kɛpe tʃʰə tekəsoʔ*

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *jəʃərɐʔ jəʃɐtʃʰe=z kʰe kɐ-pe=nəʔ*  
 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC house GP-make=SUB  
*stʰɔre ó-ste ne-kɐ-qése*  
 first 3SG:POSS-where.something.is IPFV-GP-seek

In our land, when one builds a house, one first seeks its site.

2. *qʰoʔ vlɛme maʔʰdenəʔ ʃɐtʃʰe kɐ-rtɔʔ kə-spe*  
 SEQ lama or land INF-determine NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled  
*ʃə-ne-kɐ-sqorʔ qʰoʔ kʰéste te-kɐ-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. *qʰoʔ kʰéste kə-rtɔʔ=kə*  
 SEQ foundation NMLZ:SBJ-determine=ERG  
*kʰɛkomʔ ɳétʃʰəz ó-pʰjɔ ne-kə-ro kə-joyʔ=rɐʔ*  
 house.door where 3SG:POSS-direction IPFV-NMLZ-face NMLZ-be.allowed=PL  
*te-rɐvzɔjʔ ɳoʔ*  
 IPFV-plan<sub>3</sub> be

And the “foundation determiner” determines in which direction the main door of the house must face.

4. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>jɔvʒi təvzər=nəʔ*  
 SEQ four.direction outer.edge=DET  
*sətʃ<sup>h</sup>e kə-mnən o-spe*  
 land NMLZ:SBJ-suppress 3SG:POSS-material  
*səpəmʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-rko*  
 object.for.warding.off evils 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>ep<sup>h</sup>ɛʔ=rɐʔ o-χtu kə-pe reʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ 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=rɐʔ ne-kə-səpe*  
 ANA=PL IPFV-GP-cause.to.do  
 One has all the above performed.

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>e o-tʃ<sup>h</sup>ɐtʃ<sup>h</sup>u*  
 SEQ house 3SG:POSS-materials  
*ʃkótse ʃoŋtʃe cóp<sup>h</sup>e rkəy<sup>n</sup>dɛ tɛ<sup>n</sup>dzo lɛsoʔ te-kə-mɲiʔ*  
 rock log stone.slab rafter clay and.so.on IPFV-GP-prepare  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-kə-wɛrtaʔ*  
 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 skərme kə-rtɔʔ=pʰa*  
 SEQ again auspicious.day NMLZ:SBJ-determine=place  
*skərme ʃə-ⁿge-kə-səyro*  
 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 nəʔ-ó-ta=nəʔ=z zⁿdɛ́j-qʰə ⁿge-kə-lweʔ*  
 SEQ ANA-3SG:POSS-top=DET=LOC wall-foundation IPFV:DOWN-GP-dig  
*qʰoʔ kʰe kə-pe te-kə-sɛje ɲoʔ*  
 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 ʃoŋvdoʔ ka-knez=scʰənəʔ zⁿdɛ kə-pe*  
 SEQ wall one-two=and wall NMLZ:SBJ-make  
*sqeʔ kəri jərmə oɔ ʃə-kə-sqorʔ reʔ ɲoʔ*  
 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. *nəʔ ó-naŋ=nəʔ rdoχpon kə-rdɔʔ te-kə-wéɪfɛt*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside=DET head.mason one-CL IPFV-GP-elect  
 And one choose among these masons a head-mason,

12. *qʰoʔ rdoχpom oxténəʔ*  
 SEQ head.mason in.the.main  
*zⁿdɛ te-stoʔ soʔ meʔ*  
 wall IPFV-be.straight or not

*oʒorʔ      zʰdɐ      kə-pe      nə-fkótpe      kə-teʔ      ɣoʔ*  
 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-tánʔ=kə*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS  
*o-<sup>n</sup>gre=ntʃʰon      kəmaʔ      kə-réʔzʰdɐ      ʃóχtenəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-wages=also other NMLZ:SBJ-build.walls than  
*kə-lden      ne-ké-kʰi      reʔ      ɣoʔ*  
 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      ʃkótse=scʰənəʔ      taχnu      kə-nəzχɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ rock=and mud.plaster NMLZ:SBJ-transport=DET  
 As for the transporters of rocks and mud plaster,

15. *jəlpe=scʰənəʔ      tɐynɐ=rɐʔ      kə-qorʔ      wɛ-nə      ʃieʔ=kə*  
 neighbor=and relative=PL NMLZ:PURP-help come-3PL be:EMPH=INS  
*nəʔ=kə      te-kɐ-znəzχɛʔ*  
 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      tərmókʰe=nəʔ*  
 SEQ lunch=and dusk=TOP  
*kə-qorʔ=rɐʔ      mɛlen      ne-kɐ-<sup>n</sup>bəʃiʰi      reʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-help=PL by.necessity IPFV-GP-feed be.necessary  
 And at lunchtime and at dusk, one must feed the helpers.

17. *rdovzoʔ=scʰənəʔ    ʃoɣvzoʔ=nəʔ=ntʃʰon    kɐ-<sup>n</sup>bəʃtʰi    reʔ    məkətsʰət*  
 mason=and          carpenter=DET=also    GP-feed          be.necessary    not.only  
*nə-<sup>n</sup>dzétʰi          oɣɔ          kə-minʔ          te-kɐ-sɐpəpe    ɣoʔ*  
 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.<sup>268</sup>

18. *qʰoʔ    kə-téxse    te-zɣot*  
 SEQ    one-CL    IPFV:UP-reach  
*qʰoʔ    kɐ-réʃkev    té-mda    orjáɣnəʔ*  
 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-qorʔ    méju    kə-lɛn    wɛ-nə=kə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-help    further    NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity    come<sub>4</sub>-3PL=INS  
*qʰoʔ    kə-sɣí=nəɣ    ké-fkev    ne-kɐ-səɣjoyʔ*  
 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    nəʔofséʃsət    kɛz-téxse    ɣso-téxse=ntʃʰon    ne-ké-fkev    ɣoʔ*  
 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.

21. *qʰoʔ    toʒaʔ=nəʔ    ɣso-téxse    te-kɐ-pe*  
 SEQ    nowadays=TOP    three-CL    IPFV-GP-do  
*nəʔ    ó-ta=nəʔ    <sup>n</sup>gol<sup>n</sup>bri=cəʔ    tʰe-kɐ-teʔ*  
 ANA    3SG:POSS-top=DET    stone.slab.pitched.roof=INDF    IPFV-GP-put

<sup>268</sup> 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 tʰoʔ*

be be.the.rule

Nowadays, people usually build three-storey houses with a pitched roof of stone slabs placed on top.

22. *qʰoʔ ɐ-nɐ-sɛʃpɐlɐ=nəʔ*

SEQ IRR-PFV-be.speedy=SUB

*kə-sle jɛrmɐ kə<sup>269</sup>-səʏjoʏʔ ʃteʔ 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 nəʔosɛʃsət kəlŋo-tʃo-sle jɛrmɐ ne-kɐ-teʔ*

IPFV-end SEQ thus five-six-month about IPFV-GP-place

*qʰoʔ te-ʃɔʃəm*

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

*nanʃtʃət kə-rko ʃoŋvzoʔ ne-kɐ-sqorʔ*  
interior.decoration NMLZ:SBJ-install carpenter IPFV-GP-send.for

*qʰoʔ ʃoŋvzoʔ ne-kɐ-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.

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<sup>269</sup> The non-volitional generic person index *kə-* indicates lack of volitional control regarding the shortest time required to finish the task.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ ne-joyʔ noŋménəʔ te-kə-rməvluʔ*  
 SEQ ANA IPFV-end only.then IPFV-GP-light.a.fire  
 And only when that is finished does one move in to live.<sup>270</sup>
26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skərme kə-vde=cɛ o-sŋi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ auspicious.day NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=LOC:INDF 3SG:POSS-day=TOP  
*k<sup>h</sup>aŋston te-kə-pe ŋoʔ*  
 house.warming.party IPFV-GP-do be  
 And, on a certain auspicious day, one holds a house-warming party.
27. *k<sup>h</sup>aŋston kə-pe orjáŋnəʔ*  
 house.warming.party GP-do when  
*kə-wi lden-nə ʃieʔ=kə*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-come exist.in.quantity-3PL be:EMPH=INS  
 And, since many people will come when one holds the house-warming party,
28. *kə<sup>n</sup>dze kə-minʔ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ tɛwaʔ mɛlen ne-kə-səŋniʔ*  
 food NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty=and booze by.necessity IPFV-GP-serve  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ jɛ-kə-ɐwi=rɛʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come=PL  
*sɛrɛ-nə k<sup>h</sup>ɛrjɛʔ=rɛʔ 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.
29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-sŋi tɛwaʔ t<sup>h</sup>i-nə t<sup>h</sup>oʔzʔ ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ one-day booze drink-3PL be.the.rule be  
 And people will drink booze for the whole day.

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<sup>270</sup> Literally ‘light a fire (in the hearth)’.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə*      *noŋménəʔ*

SEQ      only.then

*k<sup>h</sup>e*      *kətáyənəʔ*      *tə-kə-joy=nəʔ*      *fsât*      *ŋoʔ*

house      formally      PFV-NMLZ-end<sub>2</sub>=SUB      be.like      be

And only then does the house (-building matter) come to a proper end.

## FUNERAL CUSTOMS

*skértəʔ kəpe tʃəʔ tekəso kəŋoʔ offeffētca*

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *tsʰovdən jə-sətʃʰe=z kəʀᵐbjoʔ jə-set orjáŋz*  
 PN 3PL:POSS-place=LOC person PROS-die when  
*vlərge kaʀnéz-rdɔ ʃə-tʰe-ké-ᵐge*  
 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 stʰɔre o-smoləm ne-ᵐdon-nə*  
 SEQ first 3SG:POSS-deliverance.sutra IPFV-chant-3PL

First, they chant deliverance sutras for the dying person.

3. *qʰoʔ né-set*  
 SEQ IPFV-die  
*qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-naŋ vlərge kə-ŋólə kə-rdɔʔ*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside monk NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous one-CL  
*o-pʰoloŋ te-lət-nə<sup>271</sup> ŋoʔ*  
 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-ké-set=ntʰon vləmé=pʰa pʰoloŋ*  
 NEG-IPFV-GP-die=also lama=place *phowa.ritual*

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<sup>271</sup> Honorific use of plural marking.

*te-kə-nəsəlet*                      *tʰozʔ=cə*  
 IPFV-GP-cause.to.perform      be.the.rule= MED

As for performing the *phowa* ritual, it is also customary to ask a lama to perform it before death.

5.    *kə-lət*                      *tʰəʔtekəsə=nəʔ*  
 INF-perform              how=TOP

As to how it (*phowa*) is done,

6.    *stʰoreʔ=z*    *vlərme=kə*    *raŋpaʔ*    *o-kə-<sup>n</sup>don=cəʔ*                      *toʔ*  
 first=LOC    lama=ERG    special    3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-chant=INDF    exist

first, the lama has a special kind of sutra to chant.

7.    *qʰoʔ*    *kəset*              *o-ʃpovʔ*                      *o-koxcəl*                      *te-wémot*  
 SEQ    deceased    3SG:POSS-corpse    3SG:POSS-crown    IPFV-blow

Then, the lama blows on the crown of the deceased.

8.    *qʰoʔ*    *o-koxcəl=z*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-crown=LOC  
*tərme*    *kə-mʈʂəʔ*    *né-<sup>n</sup>bət*                      *ŋoʔ*    *tʰozʔ-cə*  
 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.    *qʰoʔ*    *o-vlə=nəʔ*                      *o-koxcəl=naŋ*                      *te-nlɔʔ*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-soul=DET    3SG:POSS-crown=inside    IPFV:UP-exit

And his soul would come out from inside the crown,

10.    *qʰoʔ*    *vdewétʃən*    *kə-ʃə*    *kə-kʰūt*                      *pʰen*                      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ    paradise    GP-go    NMLZ-be.feasible    be.effective    be-MED

and it would be feasible for him to go to paradise.



11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-sŋorʔ ne-mə oq<sup>h</sup>úq<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-breath IPFV-not.exist after  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vlərge=rəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ monk=PL=ERG  
*kəset o-ɣgewe kə-pe te-jeʔ-nə ŋoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-k<sup>h</sup>énaŋ=rəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=PL=ERG  
*o-fpovʔ χtsaŋme te-kə-pe*  
 3SG:POSS-corpse cleaning IPFV-GP-do  
 And his family would cleanse his corpse,
13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rezʔ kə-yrəmʔ=kə*  
 SEQ cotton.cloth NMLZ:SBJ-be.white=INS  
*o-koʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-səjeʔ o-me <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-tʃət*  
 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:DOWN-GP-begin 3SG:POSS-foot IPFV-GP-draw  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-kə-np<sup>h</sup>ər*  
 SEQ IPFV-GP-wrap  
 and wrap it from his head to his feet with white cloth,
14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔoséfsət təlɔʔ=ta ne-kə-teʔ*  
 SEQ thus bed=top IPFV-GP-put  
 and one lays the corpse down like that on the bed.

15. *qərtsu v-nə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*  
 winter IRR-PFV-be=SUB  
*kəʃne-sŋi kəʃne-rjaʔ jərmə ne-teʔ-nə tʰoʔ*  
 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. *ʃənəʔ ʃtʃerʔ v-nə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*  
 but summer IRR-PFV-be=SUB  
*təʃpovʔ ʃso-sŋi ʃso-rjaʔ jərmə ne-teʔ-nə tʰoʔ*  
 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. *təʃpovʔ ne-teʔ-nə kə-rjaŋʔ*  
 corpse IPFV-put-3PL whole-time  
*təʃpovʔ o-mkom o-ʁgewe əntsətse ne-pe-nə 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. *qʰoʔ nəʔorjaŋʔz kəset o-kʰənaŋ=rəʔ=kə vləmɛ=pʰa*  
 SEQ then deceased 3SG-family=PL=ERG lama=place  
*o-tərse=scʰənəʔ ʃəʒi o-skərtəʔ kə-pe kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-burial.ground=and when 3SG:POSS-funeral GP-do NMLZ-be=SUB  
*skərme ʔge-sərtəʔ-nə 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.

19. *skərtɔʔ kə-pe vde-tərem toʔ*  
 funeral INF-do four-CL exist

There are four methods of performing the funeral.

20. *kə-tərem=nəʔ vʒənsraʔ ɲoʔ*  
 one-CL=TOP cremation be

The first method is cremation.

21. *ʁne-tərem=nəʔ pjɛftaŋ ɲoʔ*  
 two-CL=TOP bird-burial be

The second method is bird-burial.

22. *χsəmʔ-tərem=nəʔ sətʃʰé=naŋ ʰge-kə-səldot ɲoʔ*  
 three-CL=TOP earth=inside IPFV:DOWN-GP-bury be

The third method is ground burial.

23. *vde-tərem=nəʔ qəɾɲámʔ=naŋ tʰe-kə-wéret*  
 four-CL=TOP river=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-cast

The fourth method is water burial.

24. *ó-ta vde-tərem=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-top four-CL=TOP  
*oxténəʔ tʃʰə kə-nétse=nəʔ te-kə-pe ɲoʔ tʃʰozʔ*  
 in.the.main what NMLZ:SBJ-be.suitable=DET IPFV-GP-do be be.the.rule

As a rule, one uses the four methods above mainly depending on which one is appropriate.

25. *ʃənəʔ kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ o-jiʔ jə-set orjəŋnəʔ ʃə<sup>n</sup>dzu ne-təʔ*  
 but person 3SG:POSS-self PROS-die when last.will IPFV:DOWN-put<sub>3</sub>  
*ó-ta=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-sáxsəʔ ŋoʔ tʰoʔ*  
 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. *vʒənsraʔ oxténəʔ*  
 cremation in.the.main  
*vlərgerge=rəʔ ne-χfaʔ-nə=nəʔ vʒənsraʔ kə-lət tʰoʔ*  
 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. *ʃənəʔ vlərge kə-maʔ=ntʰon joyʔ*  
 but monk NMLZ:SBJ-not.be=also be allowed  
 But a lay person may also be allowed (to be cremated).

28. *qʰoʔ pjəftaŋ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ bird.burial=TOP  
*ʃŋonts<sup>h</sup>e=z ʃonənŋəŋo ne-kə-teʔ nɐ-tʰoʔ-cə*  
 former.time=LOC whoever IPFV-GP-do IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 As for bird burial, it used to be performed on any deceased one.

29. *ʃənəʔ toʒaʔ rgot nə-rkonʔ-cə*  
 but nowadays vulture PFV-be.rare<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə pjəftaŋ=nəʔ*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS bird.burial=TOP  
*tʰe-kə-teʔ nə-məʔ=tsəʔ ʃieʔ*  
 IPFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-put PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>=a.bit be:EMPH  
 But nowadays vultures have become rare; therefore, those who practice bird burial are almost non-existent.

30. *ʃənəʔ      sɛrtə      ɐ-nə-kɐ-tsomʔ*  
 but          PN          IRR-PFV-GP-take.thither  
*qʰoʔ      pɲɛftaŋ=nəʔ      pəzje      toʔ*  
 ANA      bird.burial=DET      still      exist  
 But if one takes the corpse to Gserrrta County, bird burial is still practiced (there).<sup>272</sup>
31. *qʰoʔ      qɛrɲámʔ=nəŋ      kɐ-nʰgɛrʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      big.river=inside      GP-cast=TOP  
*oxténəʔ      kəxtʃipu=rɐʔ      né-set-nə=nəʔ*  
 in.the.main      child=PL          IPFV-die-3PL=SUB  
*təciʔ=nəŋ      tʰe-kɐ-nʰgɛrʔ      ŋoʔ      tʰozʔ*  
 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. *skɛrtəʔ      kɐ-pe      mɐ-kə-néχtʃəy      vde-tərem=nəʔ*  
 funeral      GP-do      NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.same      four-CL=DET  
*tʰə      te-kɐ-soʔ      kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ      o-mpʰroʔ      ʰge-kɐ-ffɛt=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      kɐ-lɛt=nəʔ*  
 cremation      GP-perform=TOP  
*stʰɔre=z      ʰsɪzətəmtʃuyʔ      kʰepʰɛʔ=rɐʔ      təʃpovʔ=nəʔ      te-nɛpúʰdi-nə*  
 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,

<sup>272</sup> 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 Gserrrta County, Dkarmdzes Prefecture.

34. *nəʔori=nəʔ sətʃʰe vʒənsraʔ o-sə-lét=z*  
 other=DET place cremation 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-perform<sub>2</sub>=LOC  
*χʃaʔ nə-kə-səyɲi=nəʔ te-kə-tsomʔ*  
 fir.plank PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-make.ready<sub>2</sub>=DET IPFV:UP-GP-take.thither  
 others carry previously prepared fir planks for cremation uphill to the cremation site,
35. *qʰoʔ ʰge-ké-zʰdɛ*  
 SEQ IPFV-GP-stack  
*qʰoʔ təʃpovʔ=nəʔ nəʔ ó-ta te-kə-təʔ*  
 SEQ corpse=DET ANA 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:UP-GP-put<sub>3</sub>  
*qʰoʔ χʃaʔ te-ké-ʃnət*  
 SEQ fir.plank IPFV-GP-set.afame  
 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 maʰdenəʔ tɛpi ʰge-kə-rɛʰdzeʔ ʰge-kə-lət*  
 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-ké-tʃov oʒorʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:UP-GP-burn while  
*nəʔ o-vʒər=z vlɛrge=rɛʔ ʰge-ʰdon-nə ɲoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɛ-tʃov te-joyʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-ɣzɣyze=nəʔ*  
 SEQ INF-burn IPFV-finish SEQ 3SG:POSS-remains=DET  
*sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>é=naŋ ɲomaʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɛlduy <sup>n</sup>ge-kɛ-sá-fkev ɲoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 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. *káset vlɛme kə-ɲólɛ ɐ-nɛ-ɲo=nəʔ*  
 deceased lama NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous IRR-PFV-be=SUB  
*o-fɛruyze=nəʔ te-kɛ-nɛpóro q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rəli te-kɛ-pe*  
 3SG:POSS-ashes=DET IPFV-GP-collect SEQ pellet IPFV-GP-make  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kɛsɛk<sup>h</sup>u o-coʔ te-kɛ-lɛt tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ*  
 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. *pjɛfian kɛ-teʔ=nəʔ*  
 bird.burial GP-do=TOP  
*kəɾ<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ nɛ-set oq<sup>h</sup>u q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɣrɛko=ta rgot*  
 person IPFV-die after SEQ ridge=top vulture  
*o-sɛ-to=z mɛlen nánəz*  
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-exist<sub>2</sub>=LOC by.necessity there  
*kɛ-tsomʔ reʔ ɲoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təʃpovʔ kə-rɐ<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ raŋpaʔ=kə*  
 SEQ corpse NMLZ:SBJ-cut special=ERG  
*pjɛftaŋ o-sɐ-te=z təʃpovʔ koʃɐrúru <sup>n</sup>ge-rɐ<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ*  
 bird.burial 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-put<sub>2</sub>=LOC corpse bones.and.all IPFV-cut  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔosɛ́fsət spɛntɔ́ʔ=ta ne-tɐʔ*  
 SEQ thus grassland=top IPFV-place<sub>3</sub>  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=rɐʔ təʃpovʔ o-vzər ne-kɐ-neʃʃɐ*  
 SEQ person=PL corpse 3SG:POSS-side IPFV-GP-leave  
*kə-ɐrq<sup>h</sup>e=tsɐʔ ne-kɐ-smo*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.far.away=a.bit IPFV-GP-stay  
 And people leave the corpse and stay at a little distance.

43. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ détsɛnəʔ rgot ne-nɛwəwɛ-nə*  
 SEQ in.a.short.while vulture IPFV-come.from.various.places-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təʃpovʔ vjaχtsəyʔ te-<sup>n</sup>dze-nə*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ ne-neʃʃɐ-nə ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ again IPFV-leave-3PL be  
 And then they will leave.

45. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ rgot=kə ʃɛru kə-xteʔ*  
 SEQ vulture=ERG bone NMLZ:SBJ-be.big  
*kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dze o-mɐ-kɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*  
 INF-eat 3SG:POSS-NEG-NMLZ:SBJ:U-be.capable=DET=PL



<i>ó-ste=z</i>	<i>ⁿge-kə-səldot</i>	<i>tʰozʔ</i>
3SG:POSS-where.something.is=LOC	IPFV:DOWN-GP-bury	be.the.rule

The big bones and what not that the vultures cannot consume, one will bury them on the spot.

46. *qerjámʔ=nanj*    *kɛ-wéret=nəʔ*    *stʰoʔ*    *mɛ-ɛpénqɛ*    *ŋoʔ*  
big.river=inside    GP-throw=TOP    most    NEG-be.troublesome    be

Doing water burial is the least troublesome.

47. *skɛrtɔʔ orjaŋʔz təʃpovʔ=nəʔ qɛrɲəmʔ*  
funeral when corpse=DET river

<i>o-vzər</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-tsom?</i>
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. | <i>təʃpovʔ</i>         | <i>ó-ʁer</i>           |                         | <i>ʃkótse</i>                          | <i>te-ké-vra</i> |                      |
|     | corpse                 | 3SG:POSS-body          |                         | rock                                   | IPFV-GP-bind     |                      |
|     | <i>q<sup>h</sup>oʔ</i> | <i>qerɲəmʔ</i>         | <i>st<sup>h</sup>oʔ</i> | <i>o-sɛ-rnaʔ</i>                       |                  | <i>ⁿge-kɛ-nⁿgerʔ</i> |
|     | SEQ                    | big.river              | most                    | 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-be.deep <sub>2</sub> |                  | IPFV:DOWN-GP-throw   |
|     | <i>ɲoʔ</i>             | <i>t<sup>h</sup>oʔ</i> |                         |  |                  |                      |
|     | be                     | be.the.rule            |                         |  |                  |                      |

One ties a rock to the corpse, and throws the corpse into the big river at its deepest.

- |     |                        |              |               |                 |
|-----|------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 49. | <i>q<sup>h</sup>oʔ</i> | <i>nənəʔ</i> | <i>kəmdiʔ</i> | <i>ⁿge-joyʔ</i> |
|     | SEQ                    | ANA          | all           | IPFV-end        |

Then it is all done.

50. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *káset*    *o-k<sup>h</sup>énan*    *t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-fə*  
SEQ    deceased    3SG:POSS-home    IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-go

And then, one goes downriver to the house of the dead.

51. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəset o-yrərərʔ=kə*  
 SEQ deceased 3SG:POSS-family=ERG  
*ʃe kə-mə t<sup>h</sup>əxpe te-sɛle-nə*  
 meat NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist porridge IPFV-boil-3PL  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ skərtəʔ kə-pe jə-kə-ɐwɛʔ=rərʔ ne-kə-mgron t<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 SEQ funeral NMLZ:PURP-do PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>=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. *skərtəʔ kə-pe jə-kə-ɐwɛʔ=rərʔ=kə*  
 funeral NMLZ:PURP-do IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>=PL=ERG  
*kəset o-k<sup>h</sup>ənən*  
 deceased 3SG:POSS-home  
*ʃoχkor ma<sup>n</sup>denəʔ rərəzʔ təjpo=kəsə ne-<sup>n</sup>biʔ-nə t<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 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-kə-<sup>n</sup>biʔ orjənʔnəʔ*  
 IPFV-GP-give when  
*koʔ kə-rtaʔ mə-cə ʃənəʔ nə-nəmyə*  
 this NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough not.exist-MED but IMP-accept  
*nəkəsə skəttʃe kə-tsə mə-t<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 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 enough,” or expressions of that kind.

54. *nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>ə ɲoʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA why be=TOP  
 Why is that?

55. *kə-rtaʔ mə te-ké-tsa=nəʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough not.exist IPFV-GP-say=SUB  
 If one says, “There isn’t enough,”
56. *oqʰuz méju ká-set ɐ-nə-lɔʔ=kəsə*  
 afterwards further NMLZ-die IRR-PFV-occur=like  
*χteⁿbre tə-kə-tsaʔ=nəʔ né-fsət ŋoʔ-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 ká-set o-yrəreʔ=rəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-die 3SG:POSS-family=PL=ERG  
*skərtɔʔ orjáŋʔnəʔ*  
 funeral during  
*kəcʰiʔ rəskət kəfmoṭʂʰo maʔⁿdenəʔ ʃoχkor kʰe-lvaʔ=kəsə*  
 candy thread match or money one-CL=like  
*skərtɔʔ jə-kə-ɐweʔ=rəʔ nə-pʰa tʰe-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 tʰɐ ŋoʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA why be=TOP  
 Why is this?
59. *məni sə-səⁿbi ŋoʔ tʰoʔ-cə*  
 mantra NMLZ:OBL-ask.for₂ be be.the.rule-MED  
 These are means for begging others to chant mantras for the dead.

60. *qʰoʔ skɛrtɔʔ kəmdiʔ ʰge-ɣjɛɣjo*  
 SEQ funeral all IPFV-finish  
 And the funeral is all done.

61. *qʰoʔ kəset o-ʒərgu kə-ʰdi vlɛrgɛ=cəʔ kə-rdɔʔ*  
 SEQ deceased 3SG:POSS-forty.nine.day.virgil NMZL:SBJ-hold monk=INDF one-CL  
*mɛlen nəʔ ó-kʰe kɛ-smo o-ɣgewe kɛ-pe*  
 by.necessity ANA 3SG:POSS-home INF-stay 3SG:POSS-merit INF-do  
*reʔ ɲoʔ*  
 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

*jə̀ərə? tɛwa? kɛ́tʃɛt tʃʰətekɛso? kəŋo?*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *tsʰovdən jə-sɛtʃʰe=z tɛwa? kɛ-pe*  
 Tshobdun 1PL:POSS-place=LOC booze GP-make  
*tʃʰətekɛso? ŋónə? ˈge-ffɛt-aŋ kə*  
 how TOP IPFV-recount-1SG DM

Let me describe how we brew booze in our country Tshobdun (Township).

2. *stʰɔre=nə?*  
 first=DET  
*tɛfe qɛj? máʰdenə? ɲámɐ*  
 highland.barley wheat or maize  
*te-kɛ-sqɐ ne-kɛ-wɛsmi*  
 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. *qʰo? tɛci? tʰe-kɛ-fser? qʰo? te-kɛ-tʃɛt*  
 SEQ water IPFV:OUT-GP-drain SEQ IPFV:UP-GP-take.out  
 then one drains out the water, and takes the grain out.

4. *ˈbrɛsém=naŋ kámɬʰa ne-kɛ-ʃkʰi te-kɛ-sáspa*  
 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. *qʰo? nə? ó-ta=nə? pʰɛv? nɐ-kɛ-ɣʰdu?=nə? ne-kɛ-χtor*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET yeast PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-smash₂=DET IPFV-GP-sprinkle  
 On top of it one sprinkles smashed yeast,

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ərzɛʔ=naŋ te-kɐ-rko*  
 SEQ urn=inside IPFV:UP<sup>273</sup>-GP-put.into.container  
 and then puts it up into a beer-brewing urn.
7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ərzɛʔ ó-fkev kə-ŋólɐ ne-kɐ-nzɐle*  
 SEQ urn 3SG:POSS-cover NMLZ-be.good IPFV-GP-plaster.over  
 And carefully plasters up the cover of the urn.
8. *qélɛ mɐ-kə-nlɔʔ te-kɐ-pe*  
 wind NEG-NMLZ-exit IPFV-GP-make  
 And makes air unable to come out.
9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təxpóʔ=naŋ má<sup>n</sup>denəʔ sɔmé=naŋ te-kɐ-sər<sup>n</sup>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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəosɛ́fsət ne-kɐ-teʔ*  
 SEQ thus IPFV-GP-put  
 And one leaves it like that.
11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ χso-sŋi jɐrmɐ ne-tso*  
 SEQ three-day about IPFV-elapse  
 About three days afterwards,
12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɐwaʔ-ldi ne-mnəmʔ*  
 SEQ booze-smell IPFV-emit.smell  
 it gives off a scent of booze.

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<sup>273</sup> Upward orientation marking here refers to holding the grain up in order to put it into the urn.

13. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə t<sup>h</sup>ɛftʰaʔ te-pɔ ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ basically IPFV-be.ready<sub>3</sub> be:EMPH  
 Then basically it is done.
14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʰəʔrzeʔ ó-fkeʋ te-kə-cuʔ*  
 SEQ urn 3SG:POSS-cover IPFV-GP-open  
 Then one opens the cover of the urn.
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛləm kámɪʰa te-ké-tʃət ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ malt.solid a.bit IPFV:UP-GP-take.out be  
 And one takes out some of the malt solids.
16. *nənəʔ ɛləm kə-lɛn tséjə*  
 that malt.solid NMLZ-exist.in.quantity to.the.extent  
*ké-tʃət mɛ-nɛn ʔdenəʔ*  
 GP-take.out NEG-be.acceptable for  
 One must not remove too much of the malt solids,
17. *ne-kə-ri=nəʔ tɛwaʔ ké-tʃət reʔ ŋoʔ*  
 IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-remain=DET booze NMLZ-take.out be.necessary be  
 as one needs to extract booze from the rest of them.
18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ɛləm=nəʔ te-kə-xɬəʔ te-kə-<sup>n</sup>dze=nəʔ ɣʃíkə mimʔ*  
 SEQ malt.solid=DET IPFV-GP-stir.fry IPFV-GP-eat=SUB very be.tasty  
 And one stir-fries and eats them. They are very tasty.
19. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ leʔ tʰəʔrɛʔ=nəŋ taciʔrɲéle nə-kə-qərku ʔge-kə-lət*  
 SEQ again urn=inside boiled.water PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.cold<sub>2</sub> IPFV-GP-put.in  
 Then one again puts cold boiled water into the urn.

20. *qʰoʔ      ó-naŋ                      cʰəmdəroʔ      ʰge-kə-tʃər*  
 SEQ      3SG:POSS-inside    bamboo.tube    IPFV:DOWN-GP-stick  
 And sticks a bamboo-tube inside it.

21. *cʰéji      ne-kə-tʰi                      kʰút                      ɲoʔ*  
 beer      IPFV-GP-drink    be.feasible      be  
 And then one can drink the barley beer from it.

22. *qʰoʔ      nəʔ      kə-təŋu      ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ      ANA      one-CL      be  
 And that is one way of (making booze).

23. *qʰoʔ      ɐraʔ      kə-tʃət                      reʔ                      qʰónə*  
 SEQ      liquor      GP-take.out      be.desired      SEQ:EMPH  
 If one wants to brew liquor (distilled booze), then,

24. *cʰéji      mə-ne-kə-tʰi*  
 beer      NEG-IPFV-GP-drink  
 one does not drink the beer,

25. *qʰoʔ      cʰéji      kəʔləʔləm=nəʔ                      qəri=nəŋ*  
 SEQ      beer      together.with.malt.solid=DET      copper.pot=inside  
*ʰge-kə-lət                      qəri=ta                      tʰoŋ      ʰge-kə-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. *tʰóŋ=ta      leʔ      ɐraʔjəmʔ      ʰge-kə-teʔ*  
 barrel=top      again      liquor.wok      IPFV:DOWN-GP-put  
 and then one places a liquor wok on top of the barrel,



27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    qəjlobeʔ=kə    téjlov    ne-sə-nlɔ    kə-k<sup>h</sup>ūt*  
 SEQ    dough=INS    steam    IPFV:OUT-NMLZ:OBL-exit<sub>2</sub>    NMLZ:SBJ-be.feasible  
*kəspɔʔ=rəʔ    prjaŋprjaŋʔ    ne-kə-nʒəle*  
 hole=PL    IDPH<sup>274</sup>    IPFV-GP-plaster  
 and tightly plasters all the holes through which the steam may escape with dough.

28. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ɐrakjəmʔ=nəŋ    tɛjpəmʔ    <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-rko*  
 SEQ    liquor.wok=inside    ice    IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in  
 Then one puts ice into the liquor wok.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    noŋmeʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    only.then=DET  
*qəɾi=p<sup>h</sup>i    smi    kə-vlu    le-kə-jeʔ*  
 copper.pot=under    fire    INF-light    IPFV:IN<sup>275</sup>-GP-begin  
 And then one begins to light a fire under the copper pot.

30. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a    kə-xset    te-jəʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    a.bit    INF-warm    IPFV:UP-begin<sub>3</sub>=SUB  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    ɐraʔ    kə-nlɔʔ    t<sup>h</sup>e-jəʔ    ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ    liquor    INF-exit    IPFV:OUT-begin<sub>3</sub>    be: EMPH  
 When it begins to warm up a bit, distilled liquor begins to come out.

31. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ    st<sup>h</sup>ɔre    t<sup>h</sup>e-kə-nlɔʔ    ɐraʔ=nəʔ    ʃʃikə    mimʔ    ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ    first    IPFV:OUT-NMLZ:SBJ-exit    liquor=DET    very    be.tasty    be  
 The liquor that comes out first is very tasty.

<sup>274</sup> An ideophone describing the state of being air-tight.

<sup>275</sup> The “upriver” orientation marking here refers to the inserting action of firewood *into* the hearth to light the fire.

32. *jəpəvɛɽ=kə nənəɽ tʃʰaŋⁿgo<sup>276</sup> té-tsə-jə ɲoɽ*  
 1PL=ERG that first-brewed liquor IPFV-say-1PL be  
 And we call it “first-brewed liquor.”

33. *ʃənəɽ nəozgəqʰu tʰe-kə-nlɔɽ tɕwaɽ=nəɽ*  
 but afterwards IPFV:OUT-NMLZ:SBJ-exit booze=DET  
*mə-ne-nəməməmɽ ɲoɽ*  
 NEG-IPFV-be.tasty:RDPL be  
 But the liquor that comes out afterwards becomes less and less tasty.

34. *qʰoɽ təjpo kə-ɣne=kə*  
 SEQ grain one-thirty.catty=INS  
*ɐraɽ ɣsosqe-tərpe jɐrmɐr kɛ-tʃɛt kʰût*  
 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.<sup>277</sup>

35. *kəkoɽ tʰoŋraɽ*  
 this liquor.brewed.in.barrels  
*sɲontsʰe o-tə-tʃɛt=nəɽ*  
 former.time 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-take.out₂=DET  
 This old way of distilling liquor,

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<sup>276</sup> WT <chang.mgo>.

<sup>277</sup> This high (almost one-to-one) grain-to-distilled liquor conversion rate is possible only with highland barley.

36. *jəjərvəʔ tsʰovdən o-sətʰe=scʰənəʔ cəmæciʔ tʃóχtse sətʰe=rəʔ*  
 1PL PN 3SG:POSS-place=and PN PN place=PL  
*nákəsə ká-tʃət toʔ jərmə ʃteʔ*  
 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. *ⁿdenəʔ kəmaʔ sətʰe=rəʔ nákəsə ká-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. *jəjərvəʔ jə-təwaʔ kə-tʰi o-tsʰəyɐ=nəʔ ɳnez-tərem toʔ*  
 1PL 1PL:POSS-booze INF-drink 3SG:POSS-manner=DET two-kind exist  
 We have two ways of drinking our liquor.

39. *kə-tərem=nəʔ tʃʰaŋⁿdəm tʰe-kə-pe qʰoʔ ne-kə-tʰi*  
 one-kind=DET butter.booze IPFV-GP-make SEQ IPFV-GP-drink  
 The first way is to make and drink butter booze.

40. *ɳnez-tərem=nəʔ tʃʰaŋⁿdəm mə-kə-pe o-sə́fsət*  
 two-kind=DET butter.booze NEG-GP-make 3SG:POSS-manner  
*ne-kə-tʰi ŋoʔ*  
 IPFV-GP-drink be  
 The second way is to drink it plain, without making it into butter booze.

41. *tʃʰaŋⁿdəm kə-pe tʃʰə́tekəsoʔ kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*  
 butter.booze GP-make how NMLZ-be=TOP  
 As to how one makes butter booze,

42. *stʰɔre tɛpi máʰdenəʔ tɛrtseʔ tʰe-kɛ-rtʃwiʔ*  
 first butter or grease IPFV-GP-melt  
 first, one melts butter or grease,
43. *qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-naŋ tɛʰgəmʔ te-kɛ-xsər*  
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside egg IPFV-GP-stir.fry  
*qʰoʔ ʃəlkerɐ ke-kɛ-lət*  
 SEQ crystal.sugar IPFV:CISLOC-GP-put.in  
 and fries some eggs and puts sugar into it,
44. *qʰoʔ noŋme=nəʔ ɐraʔ maʰdénə cʰéji ke-kɛ-lət*  
 SEQ only.then=DET liquor or beer IPFV:CISLOC-GP-put.in  
 and then one puts liquor or beer into it.
45. *qʰoʔ té-xset qʰónə kɛ-tʰi te-pɔ ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV:UP-be.warm SEQ GP-drink IPFV-cause<sub>3</sub> be:EMPH  
 And gradually it warms up, and then it is made ready to drink.
46. *tʃʰaŋdəm tə-kə-xset ne-kɛ-tʰi=nəʔ ɣʃíkə ɐwəʃet*  
 butter.booze PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.warm<sub>2</sub> IPFV-GP-drink=SUB very be.strong  
 When drinking warmed butter booze, it is very strong.
47. *naŋzgo<sup>278</sup> ʰsiz ne-kɛ-tʰi=nəʔ*  
 especially morning IPFV-GP-drink=SUB  
*mimʔ óta tə-ləspu ɣʃíkə 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.

<sup>278</sup> From Amdo Tibetan <nang.sgos.su>.

## HOW WE MAKE DAIRY PRODUCTS

*tɛpi ʒoʔ tʃʰəre lɛsɔʔ kɛpe ɔtsʰəɣɐ*

**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *jəjəʔ kəruʔ=rɐʔ tɛlo ˈgɛ-tʃɛt-jə*  
 1PL Rgyalrong=PL milk IPFV-take-1PL

*mími qʰoʔ tɛ-sɛlɛ-jə*

immediately SEQ IPFV-boil-1PL

When we Rgyalrong people extract milk, we boil it right away.

2. *qʰoʔ tə-kə-ɐlɛʔ tɛlo=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-boil<sub>2</sub> milk=SUB

*ʃɔlo=nəŋ tɛ-rko-jə ne-sqɐrquʔ-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-rjaʔ jɐrmɐ ne-tɛʔ-jə*  
 SEQ one-night about IPFV-put-1PL

And put it (there) for about one night.

4. *qʰoʔ tɛlɔʃəm kə-ja tsɛʃi kɛ-tɛʃ? ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ butterfat NMLZ:SBJ-thick rather IPFV-form be

And rather thick butterfat forms.

5. *nəʔ tɛlɔʃəm mdortsɐ nɐ-wɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA butterfat essence PFV-come<sub>2</sub>=SUB

*tɛpi o-spe tʰɐ-ɲo*

butter 3SG:POSS-material CONT:LTR-be<sub>2</sub>

Butterfat is, after all, what butter is made of.

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>eʔ tɛlɔʃəm=nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-nɛʃəm-jə*  
 SEQ ANA butterfat=SUB IPFV-skim-1PL  
 And we skim off that butterfat,
7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ p<sup>h</sup>əntsəʔ=nəŋ o-ʃə te-rko-jə*  
 SEQ basin=inside 3SG:POSS-self:GEN IPFV-put-1PL  
 and put it into a basin by itself.
8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-sɛjtu-jə ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ IPFV-accumulate-1PL be  
 And we accumulate it.
9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>eʔ nɛ-kɛ-sɛjtuʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-accumulate<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*tɛlɔrpim tɛ-tsə-jə ŋoʔ*  
 cream IPFV-say-1PL be  
 And we call what has been accumulated “cream.”
10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛlɔrpim χsu-sŋi vde-sŋi ne-tso rjɛspe te-toʔ*  
 SEQ cream three-day four-day IPFV-elapse quite.a.lot IPFV-exist  
*kɛ-qɛj<sup>n</sup>dzu tɛ-rtaʔ jɛrmɛ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-qɛj<sup>n</sup>dzu-jə*  
 SEQ IPFV-make.butter-1PL  
 And we make butter.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛpi o-ʒə tɛ-tʃɛt-ʒə*  
 SEQ butter 3SG:POSS-self:GEN IPFV:UP-take-1PL  
 We extract butter by itself.
13. *nə-kə-riʔ tɛlo=nəʔ təkɾəlo rmiʔ ɲoʔ*  
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left<sub>2</sub> milk=SUB buttermilk be.named be  
 The milk that is left is called buttermilk.
14. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ təkɾəlo leʔ te-sɛle-ʒə q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛ-r<sup>n</sup>di*  
 SEQ buttermilk again IPFV-boil-1PL SEQ IPFV-curdle  
 We boil the buttermilk again and it curdles.
15. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-ftsəʔ-ʒə*  
 SEQ IPFV:OUT-strain-1PL  
 Then we strain it.
16. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ nə-kə-riʔ o-lpeʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-chunk=SUB  
*né-/k<sup>h</sup>i-ʒə te-səyɾem-ʒə*  
 IPFV-spread.in.the.sun-1PL IPFV-make.dry-1PL  
 And we spread the chunk that remains in the sun to dry,
17. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə tʃ<sup>h</sup>əɾɐ ne-poj ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ cheese IPFV-become<sub>3</sub> be  
 and then it become cheese.
18. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʒoʔ kɐ-pe ʒə-kjətʔ te-wi*  
 SEQ yogurt INF-make 1PL:POSS-desire IPFV-come  
 When we want to make yogurt,

19. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə télo nə-kə-tʃet mə-tə-kə-sɛləʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ milk PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ:U-take<sub>2</sub> NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-boil<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
*ó-naŋ ʒorme <sup>n</sup>ge-lət-jə*  
 3SG:POSS-inside yogurt.starter IPFV-put-1PL  
 we put yogurt starter into milk that has been extracted and not yet boiled,
20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-ŋiʔ-jə*  
 SEQ IPFV-stir-1PL  
 and we stir it,
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nooséfsət kə-rjaʔ jərmə ne-sántev-jə*  
 SEQ in.this.way one-night about IPFV-lay.down-1PL  
 and lay it down like that for about one night.
22. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə ʒoʔ te-poj ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ yogurt IPFV-become<sub>3</sub> be  
 And then it becomes yogurt.
23. *nəʔ ʒoʔ=nəʔ*  
 ANA yogurt=DET  
*st<sup>h</sup>oʔ kə-mimʔ ɤrlonʒoʔ rmiʔ ŋoʔ*  
 most NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty full.cream.yogurt be named be  
 That yogurt is a most tasty kind called full-cream yogurt.
24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ma<sup>n</sup>denəʔ télo*  
 SEQ or.else milk  
*t<sup>h</sup>v-kə-nɛʃəmʔ=nəʔ ó-naŋ ʒorme <sup>n</sup>ge-lət-jə*  
 PFV:OUT-NMLZ:SBJ:U-skim<sub>2</sub>=SUB 3SG:POSS-inside yogurt.starter IPFV-put-1PL  
 Alternatively, we put a yogurt starter in skimmed milk.



25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ te-ʃɪiʔ-jə*  
 SEQ IPFV-stir-1PL  
 And we stir it,
26. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ noosɛʃsət kə-rjaʔ jɛrmɐ ne-kɐ-teʔ*  
 SEQ in.that.way one-night about IPFV-GP-put  
 and one leaves it there for one night,
27. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə tɛrʒoʔ te-poj ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ sour.yogurt IPFV-become<sub>3</sub> be:EMPH  
 and it becomes sour yogurt.
28. *ʃənəʔ ɤrlonʒoʔ jɛrmɐ mɐ-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

*jəsɛtʃʰez yvez kɛntʃʰe tʃʰə tekəsoʔ kəŋoʔ otondaʔ*  
**Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *yvez=nəʔ jəjəreʔ jə-sɛtʃʰe=z sɲontsʰe-rɛŋəm*  
 badger=DET 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC earlier.times-since  
*ⁿge-kə-toʔ məkətsʰət*  
 IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-exist not only  
 The badger<sup>279</sup> has not only been around in our country since long ago,

2. *lotɔʔ ɛnótpe ne-kə-pe*  
 crop damage IPFV:SBJ-NMLZ-do  
*ome kə-sɛqʰɛʔ=cəʔ ŋoʔ tʃʰozʔ*  
 very NMLZ:SBJ-be.annoying=INDF be be.the.rule  
 it does great damage to crops and is a very annoying pest.

3. *otɐ tʃʰə ɛnótpe ne-poj ɐ-tə-kɛʔ-tsə=nəʔ*  
 chiefly what damage IPFV-do<sub>3</sub> IRR-PFV-GP-say=TOP  
 As for what major kinds of damage it causes,

4. *te-kɛ-rɛji orjáŋnə maʰdenəʔ stonke rtsepya te-kɛ-pe*  
 IPFV-GP-do.sowing.of.seeds when or fall turn.over.soil IPFV-GP-do  
*qʰoʔ tótʃʰwɛt<sup>280</sup> tʰe-kɛ-lɛt*  
 SEQ second.sowing IPFV-GP-release

<sup>279</sup> The hog badger, *Arctonyx collaris*.

<sup>280</sup> This refers to sowing seeds for turnip and buckwheat after the main yearly crop of highland barley is harvested in mid October.

*táki=rəʔ kámtʰa te-wi jərmə*

turnip=PL a.bit IMPF:UP-come about

at the time to sow seeds, or in the fall when soil is turned, second sowing of turnips is done, and turnip seedlings begin to break the earth,

5. *qʰoʔ mer=z tájtʃé=nay ʰge-wi*

SEQ night=LOC field=inside IPFV:DOWN-come

*qʰoʔ tárwí tʰə-kə-lét=scʰənəʔ táki=rəʔ*

SEQ seed PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-release<sub>2</sub>=and turnip=PL

*kámtʰa tə-kə-wəʔ=nəʔ*

a.bit PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>=DET

*sləslə te-lət ŋoʔ tʰoʔ*

a.mess IPFV-do be be.the.rule

it will come down to the fields and mess up the broadcast seeds and the turnip seedlings that have only emerged a bit from the earth.

6. *qʰoʔ kə-ntʰe v-né-ŋo=nəʔ χʰikə ɐpʰəbet ʃieʔ*

SEQ GP-kill IRR-PFV-be=DET very be.easy be:EMPH

If one wants to kill it, it is very easy.

7. *nəʔ tʰəz ŋoʔ=nəʔ*

ANA why be=TOP

As for why this is the case,

8. *ɣvez ó-mɲa kəʰdʒəjəʔ mə-mteʔ*

badger 3SG:POSS-eye be.well NEG-see<sub>3</sub>

(it is because) the badger cannot see well.

9. *oxtenəʔ o-fne χʰikə ɐχsiz ɣoʔ*  
 chiefly 3SG:POSS-nose very be.acute be  
 But the main thing is that it has a keen nose,

10. *qʰoʔ kəɾˢbjoʔ-ldi ˢge-fsəʔ mɨmi*  
 SEQ human-scent IPFV-perceive<sub>3</sub> as.soon.as  
*qʰoʔ ʃla nəpʰəpʰi ɣoʔ*  
 SEQ immediately flee be  
 and it will flee as soon as it picks up human scent.

11. *qʰoʔ te-rəsɔʔ o-fne sətʰé=naŋ*  
 SEQ IPFV-do.digging.with.snout 3SG:POSS-nose earth=inside  
*ˢge-ftʃəmʔ orjəŋʔnəʔ*  
 IPFV-immense when  
 But when it is digging, with its snout buried deep in the earth.

12. *o-vzər te-ké-ˢdzor=ntʰon mə-kə-o-fsəʔ mə-kə-o-mtiʔ*  
 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 rkətu o-fné=ta ˢge-kə-lət*  
 SEQ club 3SG:POSS-nose=top IPFV:DOWN-GP-do  
 And then one strikes its nose with a club,

14. *qʰónə o-kórno te-zyiʔ qʰoʔ kə-nəpʰəpʰi mə-cʰə*  
 SEQ:EMPH 3SG:POSS-brain IPFV-spin SEQ GP-run.away NEG-be.able  
 and it is stunned and unable to escape.

15. *qʰónə nəʔoséʃsət ne-kə-nərkətu ŋoʔ tʰoʔzʔ*  
 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. *maʔⁿdenəʔ kʰezeʔ kʰepʰeʔ=rəʔ te-raxta*  
 or dog some=PL IPFV-do.chasing  
*nəʔ káma mə-kə-ⁿdzət toʔ tʰoʔzʔ=kə*  
 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. *nəkəsə kʰezeʔ=nəʔ sləŋəjⁿguʔ=z te-kə-ⁿdi*  
 thus dog=DET moonlight=LOC IPFV-GP-take  
*qʰoʔ tə-jiʔ=kə rkətu te-kə-ⁿdi*  
 SEQ GP:POSS-self=ERG club IPFV-GP-take  
*qʰoʔ təjtʃé=naŋ tʰe-kə-fə joyʔ ⁿdenəʔ*  
 SEQ field=inside IMPF:DOWNRIVER-GP-go may for  
*ɣvez tɛpɾiqʰu jɛrmə qʰoʔ təjtʃé=naŋ kə-wi səjɛjʔ ʃteʔ*  
 badger 8-9PM about SEQ field=inside INF-come begin₃ 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. *qʰoʔ kʰezeʔ=kə te-kə-znaxtaxtaʔ*  
 SEQ dog=ERG IPFV-GP-cause.to.chase  
 And one sets the dog on the badger.

19. *ʃənəʔ kə-ⁿdzaŋ reʔ ⁿdenəʔ*  
 but GP-be.cautious be.necessary for  
 But one must be cautious,

20. *k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ=kə ʁvez o-zgég<sup>h</sup>u te-<sup>n</sup>dzə=nəʔ*  
 dog=ERG badger 3SG:POSS-back IPFV-bite<sub>3</sub>=SUB  
*ʃla t<sup>h</sup>e-nq<sup>h</sup>oro q<sup>h</sup>oʔ sənwəje məkəts<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 immediately IPFV-turn.head SEQ fight.back.against.people not.only  
*kə-sé<sup>n</sup>dze ʋ-nə-c<sup>h</sup>ə=nəʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on mə-təʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 INF-bite.people IRR-PFV-be.able=SUB IPFV-GP-kill=even NEG-let.go<sub>3</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ=kə=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on nəʔ sərtəʔ ʃteʔ=kə*  
 SEQ dog=ERG=also ANA recognize be:EMPH=INS  
 Since dogs also knows that,

22. *ʁvez ʋ-t<sup>h</sup>ə-nq<sup>h</sup>oro=nəʔ*  
 badger IRR-PFV-turn.head=SUB  
*k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ=kə ʁvez ʃla təjʔ ʃteʔ*  
 dog=ERG badger immediately let.go<sub>3</sub> be:EMPH  
 if the badger turns its head, the dog immediately lets go of the badger.

23. *nəʔ=rəʔ te-nəfsəʔtʃsət-<sup>n</sup>dzə jərmə*  
 ANA=PL IPFV-do.thus:RDPL-3DU about.the.time.when  
 And about the time when the two animals are doing thus,

24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ʁvez nə-kə-nərkətu q<sup>h</sup>oʔ <sup>n</sup>ge-kə-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>e ŋoʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 SEQ badger IPFV-GP-beat.with.club SEQ IPFV-GP-kill be be.the.rule  
 one clubs the badger and kills it.

25. *qʰoʔ* *ʁvez* *o-ʃe=nəʔ* *o-χʃət* *toʔ*  
 SEQ badger 3SG:POSS-meat=DET 3SG:POSS-odor exist  
*qʰoʔ* *kə-<sup>n</sup>dze* *rkon*  
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-eat be.rare  
 Badger meat has a stench, so few people eat it.

26. *ʃənəʔ* *kraŋzi=rɐʔ* *pʰen* *kɛ́-tsə* *tʃʰozʔ*  
 but rheumatism=PL be.effective GP-say be.the.rule  
 But they say it is good for rheumatism and what not.

27. *qʰoʔ* *ó-<sup>n</sup>dʒi* *ⁿge-kɐ-séjtu*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-skin IPFV-GP-accumulate  
*qʰoʔ* *kəlɣo-tʃó-lva* *jɐrmɐ* *te-toʔ*  
 SEQ five-six-CL about IPFV-exist  
*qʰoʔ* *ⁿge-kɛ́-χtsov* *qʰoʔ* *tɐvyo* *ne-kɐ-pe* *ɣoʔ* *tʃʰozʔ*  
 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* *ʁvé<sup>n</sup>dʒi* *tɐvyo=nəʔ* *kámɬʰa* *wɐsruʔ*  
 SEQ ANA badger.skin cushion=DET a.bit be.coarse  
 This badger-skin cushion is a bit coarse,

29. *ʃənəʔ* *χʃikə* *xsêʔ* *məkəʔtsʰət* *kraŋʒi* *kə-toʔ=rɐʔ*  
 but very warm not.only rheumatism NMLZ:SBJ-exist=PL  
*ó-ta* *ne-kɐ-rʰgu=nəʔ*  
 3SGPOSS-top IPFV-GP-sleep=SUB  
*kraŋʒi* *pʰen* *tʃʰoʔʒʔ*  
 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

*tʃʰətʃenpaʃiʔ oxpe*

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *stonke nɐ-wɛʔ-cə*  
autumn PFV:DOWN-come<sub>2</sub>-MED  
Autumn has come.
  
2. *qʰoʔ rgɐtpo o-tʃʰətʃenpaʃiʔ=rɐʔ ɐwəʃkóʃket ɲoʔ-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 rgɐtpo kəxʃiʔ ɛnez jɐrmɐ te-<sup>n</sup>di*  
SEQ old.man basket two about PFV:TR-take<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ paʃiʔtʃʰətʃen kə-pʰət nɐ-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə*  
SEQ pear NMLZ:PURP-pick PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
And the old man took two baskets and went down to pick pears.
  
4. *qʰoʔ paʃi=rɐʔ ɛnez-kəxʃi jɐrmɐ jə-te-sɐto*  
SEQ pear=PL two-basketful about PROS-PFV:TR-pick<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ leʔ paʃiʔ=ta tə-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə*  
SEQ again pear.tree=top PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
He almost gathered two basketfuls, and went up the pear tree again (to pick more).

5. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ó-p<sup>h</sup>i=nəʔ* *ts<sup>h</sup>et*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-underside=DET goat  
*kə-ʋsə-mts<sup>h</sup>i=cəʔ* *t<sup>h</sup>ʋ-wɛʔ*  
 NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-lead=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>  
 And under him, someone leading a goat came passing by,
6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔsc<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ* *'ts<sup>h</sup>et=kə* *fɛki* *kəxʃiʔ=nəŋ*  
 SEQ goat=ERG place.downriver basket=inside  
*paʃiʔ* *kə-rko=nəʔ* *ome* *kə-<sup>n</sup>dze* *ne-səsɛʔ*  
 pear NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in=DET very INF-eat IPFV-want<sub>3</sub>  
 and the goat wanted to eat the pears that were put in the baskets downriver very much.
7. *ʃənəʔ* *q<sup>h</sup>ənəʔ* *'ts<sup>h</sup>et* *o-vdaxpo=nəʔ=kə*  
 but ANA goat 3SG:POSS-owner=DET=ERG  
*le-mts<sup>h</sup>i* *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəkəsə* *jə-ʋre*  
 PFV:UPRIVER:TR-lead<sub>2</sub> SEQ thus PFV-go<sub>2</sub>  
 But the owner of the goat led upriver, and they went away like that.
8. *kádenəʔ* *rgɛtpo* *leʔ* *paʃiʔtʃ<sup>h</sup>ətʃen* *ne-p<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 in.a.while old.man again pear PFV:TR-pick<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɛnez-kəxʃi* *jərmə* *te-səmts<sup>h</sup>ót*  
 SEQ two-basketful about PFV:TR-fill<sub>2</sub>  
 And the old man again picked pears and got about two full basketfuls of them.
9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *paʃiʔ=ta* *tə-ʋre*  
 SEQ pear.tree=top PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>  
*paʃiʔ* *ne-p<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 pear PFV:DOWN:TR-pick<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *o-mdzór?*=*naŋ=z*                      *ne-rko?*                      *nə-ŋo=nə?*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-lap=inside=LOC    PFV:DOWN-put.in<sub>2</sub>    IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>=SUB

Just as he went up the pear tree and kept picking pears and putting them into his lap,

10. *kəxtʃipu*    *tʃartə*    *kə-əsə-<sup>n</sup>di=cə?*                      *t<sup>h</sup>ə-wə?*  
 small.child    bicycle    NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-ride=INDF    PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>  
 a small child riding a bicycle came downriver.

11. *q<sup>h</sup>o?sc<sup>h</sup>ənə?*    *sekó?*=*ta*    *te-mp<sup>h</sup>éri=nə?*  
 SEQ                      tree=top    IPFV:UP-look=SUB  
*rgətpo*                      *o-rəxpe=rə?*                      *əsə-χtêt*  
 old.man    3SG:POSS-mind=PL    CONT:HTR-focus  
*q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *o-paʃi?*                      *əsə-nə-p<sup>h</sup>ət*                      *ne-mti*  
 SEQ    3SG:POSS-pear    CONT:HTR-SPON-pick    PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub>  
 As he was looking up the tree, he saw that the old man was focused his attention on picking his pears.

12. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *kəxtʃipu=kə*  
 SEQ    small.child=ERG  
*paʃi?<sup>h</sup>i*                      *kəxʃi?<sup>h</sup>=naŋ*    *paʃi?*    *kə-rko=nə?*  
 pear.tree=under    basket=inside    pear    NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in=DET  
*te-kə-mərku*                      *ne-səsi*  
 IPFV-INF-steal    PFV:TR-want<sub>2</sub>  
 And the small child wanted to steal the pears that were placed in the basket under the pear tree.

13. *q<sup>h</sup>o?*    *st<sup>h</sup>ɔre*    *te-nərtɔχpjêt=nə?*  
 SEQ    first    PFV:TR-observe<sub>2</sub>=SUB  
 At first, he observed.

14. *rgetpo pafi? kɛ-pʰət=rɐ? o-rəxpe ɐsɐ-χtɛt wɛʃo*  
 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. *qʰo? o-pafi? te-kɛ-mərku kʰūt-cə ne-səsi*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-pear IPFV-GP-steal be.feasible-MED PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>  
 And (the child) thought it could be done to steal his pears.
16. *qʰo? o-pafi? kə-kəχfi=nə? tʃartɐ o-zgɛqʰu te-te*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-pear one-basketful=DET bicycle 3SG:POSS-back PFV:TR:UP-put<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰo? tʰe-tsom tʰe-sərjərjəɣ*  
 SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub> PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-cause.to.run<sub>2</sub>  
 And he put a basketful of pears on the back of his bicycle and ran off with them.
17. *qʰo? tʃoʰbɛj? tʰɐ-ɐre*  
 SEQ road PFV:DOWNRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰo? naŋlaskə ʃla ne-kɛ-ʃpʰi ne-səsi ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ naturally quickly IPFV-INF-make.off.with.sth.stolen PFV:TR-want<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And he went down the road, naturally wanting to make off quickly with (the stolen pears).
18. *ʃənə? kɛ-mərku=nə? mɐ-nərjəʰbri? ɲoʔ ʃte? ʰdenə?*  
 but INF-steal=TOP NEG-just be be:EMPH for  
 But, since it is sinful to steal,
19. *tʃoʰbɛj? ʃkótse kɛ-te=cə? wɛʃo qʰo?*  
 road rock NMLZ:SBJ:U-put=INDF be.seen SEQ  
*nə? ó-ta o-tʃartɐ tʰe-sərpo*  
 ANA 3SG:POSS-top 3SG:POSS-bicycle PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-cause.to.bump.into<sub>2</sub>  
 a rock placed on the road was seen, and he rammed his bicycle into it.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kokoxfiʔxiʔ* *nɐ-j<sup>n</sup>dzuʔ*  
 SEQ together.with.basket PFV:DOWN-fall<sub>2</sub>  
 And he fell down, basket and all.
21. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *o-xpəmʔ=rɐʔ* *ne-nərpo* *nɐ-<sup>n</sup>gra*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-knee=PL PFV:TR-bump<sub>2</sub> PFV-be.torn<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *paʔiʔtʃ<sup>h</sup>ətʃen* *t<sup>h</sup>e-lvɔ*  
 SEQ pear PFV:OUT:TR-pour<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *ɣɐtʃ<sup>h</sup>əʔsəʔsi* *nɐ-ɐ<sup>n</sup>dorʔ*  
 SEQ everywhere PFV:DOWN-be.scattered<sub>2</sub>  
 And he bumped and broke his knees, and the pears poured out and were scattered all over the place.
22. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *nəʔ* *nɐ-fsəʔt=jənəʔ*  
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub>=just.when  
*o-ɐʔri=z* *kəxtʃipu=cəʔ* *χsəmʔ* *lɐ-wɐʔ-nə*  
 3SG:POSS-front=LOC small.child=INDF three PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 Just when it was like that, ahead of him three small children came upriver.
23. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kəʔxiʔ=nən* *paʔiʔ* *nɐ-kə-ɐ<sup>n</sup>dorʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ basket=inside pear PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-be.scattered<sub>2</sub>=PL  
*kɐ-nərdɔʔ* *tɐ-qorʔ-nə* *leʔ* *kəʔxiʔ=nən* *tɐ-rkoʔ-nə*  
 INF-pick.up PFV:TR-help<sub>2</sub>-3PL again basket=inside PFV:UP:TR-put.in<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And they helped him pick up the pears scattered from the basket, and put them back into the basket.
24. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ* *kəxtʃipu* *o-paʔiʔ=nəʔ* *leʔ* *t<sup>h</sup>e-nətsom*  
 SEQ small.child 3SG:POSS-pear=DET again PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>  
 And the child again took the pears upriver.

25. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ kəxtʃipu kəχsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*  
 SEQ ANA small.child three=DET=PL  
*ʃq<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ paʃiʔ kəχʃiʔ=nən te-rkoʔ-nə oʒorʔ*  
 just.now pear basket=inside PFV:TR-put.in-3PL meanwhile  
*nə-p<sup>h</sup>əm=nən k<sup>h</sup>e-rdoʔ jɐrmɐ ne-nə-rkoʔ-nə-cə*  
 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-lɛco kɐ-nkɐ lɐ-nəre-nə*  
 3SG:POSS-upriver.place INF-walk PFV:UPRIVER-come.back<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*oʒorʔ paʃiʔ ne-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-nə*  
 meanwhile pear IPFV:PST-eat<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 And they walked back upriver (from the basket), eating pears.

27. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ paʃiʔtʃətʃen kə-ɐsɐ-p<sup>h</sup>ət*  
 SEQ pear NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-pick  
*o-vzər=nəʔ lɐ-zyôt-nə=nəʔ*  
 3SG:POSS-side=DET PFV:UPRIVER-arrive<sub>2</sub>-3PL=SUB  
 And as they got near the one who was picking pears,

28. *rdêʔ ʃonp<sup>h</sup>óŋ=ta rgɛtpo*  
 exactly fruit.tree=top old.man  
*paʃiʔ kə-ɐsɐ-p<sup>h</sup>ət=nəʔ nɐ-nlɔ*  
 pear NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-pick=DET PFV:DOWN-come.out<sub>2</sub>  
 just at that moment, the old man who was picking pears came down the tree.

29. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-kəχʃiʔ kə-rdoʔ=nəʔ mə-nə-ts<sup>h</sup>ayʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-basket one-CL=DET NEG-PFV-be.complete<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 One of his baskets was missing.

30. *qʰoʔ v-kəxʃiʔ=nəʔ fo=kə jɐ-tsom ɲoʔ ne-səsi*  
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-basket=DET who=ERG PFV-take.thither<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>  
 And he thought, “Who carried away my basket?”
31. *qʰoʔ oʒorʔ tʰe-mpʰári=nəʔ*  
 SEQ meanwhile IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB  
*kəxtʃipu=cəʔ ʃsəmʔ paʃiʔ ɐz-nəʒor-nə*  
 small.child=INDF three pear CONT:HTR-eat.while.doing.something.else-3PL  
*lɐ-wɛʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə ʃənəʔ kəxʃiʔ=nəʔ məɲɐ*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>-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 tʰə ɲoʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə*  
 ANA what be=DM PFV:TR-think<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “What is that about,” he wondered.
33. *qʰoʔ o-tóχpe=nəʔ kámtʃʰa tə-sceʔ-cə*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-suspicion=TOP a.bit PFV-grow<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*ʃənəʔ rdêʔ kəxtʃipu ná-ta*  
 but exactly small.child 3PL:POSS-top  
*kɐ-sáyɲa nɐ-mɛʔ-cə*  
 INF-have.evidence.for.accusation IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 He grew a bit suspicious, but there was no exact proof to accuse the boys (of theft),
34. *qʰoʔ kəxtʃipu=rɐʔ=nəʔ=kə*  
 SEQ small.child=PL=DET=ERG  
*mɲɐʰbɐr ne-ná-pe-nə mə*  
 seriousness IPFV-SPON-do-3PL not.exist

*qʰoʔ      paʃiʔ      ɛz-nəʒor-nə*

SEQ      pear      CONT:HTR-eat.while.doing.something.else-3PL

*qʰoʔ      lɛ-nə-ɐre-nə                      ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ      PFV:UPRIVER-SPON-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL      be-MED

and the boys, acting as if absolutely nothing was on their mind, just went upriver eating pears.

35. *qʰoʔ      rɛʔtpo=nəʔ*

SEQ      old.man=TOP

*kəxtʃipu      nə-zgɛqʰu      le-mpʰɛri                      kəma*

small.child      3PL:POSS-back      IPFV:UPSTRTEAM-look      except

*tʃɛlɛ      kɛ-pe                      nɛ-mɛʔ-cə*

anything      NMLZ:SBJ:U-do      IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED

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

*pjaŋpʰjaʔ qélescʰənəʔ téŋɐniʔ*

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ*  
 one-day=LOC:INDF=DET  
 One day,
2. *pjaŋpʰjaʔ qéle=scʰənəʔ téŋɐ=niʔ nɐ-wɛcʰɐvlevʔ-n dzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 north.wind=and sun=DU IPFV:PST-chat<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 the north wind and the sun were chatting.
3. *qʰoʔ pjaŋpʰjaʔ qéle=kə*  
 SEQ north.wind=ERG  
*nɛjiʔ téŋɐ jóχtenəʔ ɐjiʔ rkaŋ ɐ-sɛsni toʔ*  
 2SG sun than 1SG be.strong 1SG:POSS-ability exist  
*te-tsəʔ tʰoʔzʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say be.the.rule be-MED  
 The north wind said, “I am stronger and more able than you the sun.”
4. *ʃənəʔ téŋɐ=kə*  
 but sun=ERG  
*nɛjiʔ pjaŋpʰjaʔ qéle jóχtenəʔ ɐjiʔ rkaŋ ɐ-sɛsni toʔ*  
 2SG north.wind than 1SG be.stong 1SG:POSS-ability exist  
*te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> be-ME  
 But the sun replied, “I am stronger and more able than you the north wind.”

5. *qʰoʔ fo kə-cʰɐ mə-kə-cʰɐ*  
 SEQ who NMLZ-be.able NEG-NMNLZ-be.able  
*ne-nɐⁿdət-ⁿdzə əntsətse ŋoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-dispute.over<sub>2</sub>-3DU continuously be-MED  
 So they kept on disputing who was able and who was not.
6. *ʃənəʔ ʃla ʃqe-nɣət mə-nɐ-χsɛlʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 but immediately win-lose NEG-IPFV:PST-be.clear<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 But it did not become immediately clear who won and who lost.
7. *qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ=niʔ=kə*  
 SEQ ANA=DU=ERG  
*mɛsto ɛlikʰo=z ʃə-rɛtsʰɛt-tsə*  
 no.matter upriver.place=LOC AND-test-1DU  
*qʰónə noŋme χsɛl ʃieʔ=kə te-tsəʔ-ⁿdzə ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ: EMPH only.then be.clear be:EMPH-DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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-lɛco lɐ-ɐre-ⁿdzə=nəʔ*  
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-upriver.place PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3DU=SUB  
 As they went toward upriver,
9. *tʃoⁿbɛjʔ=ta tərçʰo ome kə-ja kə-ɐsɐ-ⁿge=cəʔ*  
 road=top cloak<sup>281</sup> very NMLZ-be.thick NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear=INDF  
*tʰɐ-wɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 CONT:LTR-come<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 on the road someone wearing a very thick sheepskin cloak was coming downriver.

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<sup>281</sup> Cloak made of thick sheepskin.

10. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ q<sup>h</sup>vɛʔ=niʔ=kə ʃɛki*  
 SEQ ANA=DU=ERG place.downriver  
*tərc<sup>h</sup>o kə-vɛʃ<sup>n</sup>ge t<sup>h</sup>v-kə-wɛʔ=nəʔ*  
 cloak NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-come<sub>2</sub>=DET  
*o-rc<sup>h</sup>o kɛ-sətʃɛt ʃo kə-c<sup>h</sup>v pe<sup>282</sup>-tsə*  
 3SG:POSS-cloak INF-cause.to.remove who NMLZ-be.able do-1DU  
*te-tsəʔ<sup>n</sup>dʒə ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3DU be-MED  
 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!”
11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ st<sup>h</sup>ɔrenəʔ pjaŋp<sup>h</sup>ɔʔqɛlə tə-rɛts<sup>h</sup>ɛt ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ first north.wind PFV-try<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 First, the north wind tried to do it.
12. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɛlə ome kə-xtɛʔ qɛləp<sup>h</sup>odʒeʔ te-səpeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ wind very NMLZ-be.big gale PFV:TR-cause<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 He blew a tremendous gale,
13. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔosɛʃsət o-rc<sup>h</sup>o mɛʃts<sup>h</sup>e ne-kɛ-sətʃɛt*  
 SEQ thus 3SG:POSS-cloak by.force IPFV-INF-cause.to.remove  
*ne-səsi ɲoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-want<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 desiring to force him to remove his cloak.

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<sup>282</sup> Here the word *kɛ-pe* is used in its causative sense.

14. *ʃənəʔ qɛ̃lɛ te-səpɔj ɔtsʰɛt*  
 but wind IPFV-cause<sub>3</sub> the.more  
*o-sqaraʔ mɛ̃ju ke-sɛsəɣʔ káma*  
 3SG:POSS-belt more IPFV-tighten only  
 But the more gale he blew, (the man) only tightened his belt the more.
15. *o-rcʰo kɛ-sátʃɛt mə-nɛ-cʰɛʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-cloak INF-cause.to.remove NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And (the north wind) was unable to make him remove his cloak.
16. *qʰoʔ tɛ̃ɣɛ=kə*  
 SEQ sun=ERG  
*nɛ̃jiʔ mɛ-tə-cʰɛ-cə múnə ɛ̃jiʔ te-rɛtsʰɛt-aŋ kə te-tsəʔ-cə*  
 2SG NEG-2-be.able-MED DM 1SG IPFV-try-1SG DM PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 And the sun said, “Now that you can’t do it, let me give it a try!”
17. *qʰoʔ tɛ̃ɣɛ=kə támu ome ne-səɣjəm-cə*  
 SEQ sun=ERG sky very PFV:TR-cause.to.be.sunny<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰoʔ tsʰɛdəɣʔ ne-səpeʔ ɣoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ heat PFV:TR-cause<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the sun made the sky sunny and hot.
18. *tərcʰo kə-ɛsɛ-<sup>n</sup>ge=nəʔ detsátʃɛ kɛ-ntsʰɛdəɣʔ*  
 cloak NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear=DET gradually INF-feel.hot  
*ne-je ɣoʔ-cə*  
 PFV:TR-begin<sub>2</sub> be-MED  
 And the man who wore the cloak gradually began to feel hot.

19. *kəmaq<sup>h</sup>unəʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəosəfsət ts<sup>h</sup>ədəyʔ=kə*

afterwards SEQ thus heat=INS

*o-rc<sup>h</sup>o ne-tʃet ɲoʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-cloak PFV:TR-take.off<sub>2</sub> be-MED

And eventually he took off his cloak owing to the heat.

20. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɛŋv=kə nəʔ fsət ko*

SEQ sun=ERG ANA be.like DM

*ɐjiʔ tɛ-tsə-aŋ=nəʔ mɐ-ko-nzɐ<sup>n</sup>gi-aŋ kə*

1SG IPFV-say-1SG=SUB NEG-2→1-believe-1SG DM

*te-tsəʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub> 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə tondaʔ=cəʔ kɐ-nɐmɐ ɐ-nɛ-ɲo=nəʔ*

SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS affair=INDF GP-do IRR-PFV-be=SUB

Therefore, suppose one is to do something,

22. *tərkipe te-kɐ-pe zde te-kɐ-nmɛfts<sup>h</sup>e=nəʔ*

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 mɐ-<sup>n</sup>grəvʔ kɛ-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>ozʔ ɲoʔ*

affair NEG-succeed GP-say be.the.rule be

one will not succeed, it is said.

24. *nəʔ ʃóχtenəʔ tə-k<sup>h</sup>e te-kɐ-wɛmp<sup>h</sup>jor*

ANA than GP:POSS-mouth IPFV-GP-cause.to.be.beautiful

Instead, if one talk (to people) nicely,

25. *zde tərme ó-ber tʰotʰɛvʔ kə-<sup>n</sup>dʒem te-kɛ-ntʃʰi=nəʔ*  
 others man 3SG:POSS-surface strategy NMLZ-be.mellow IPFV-GP-use=SUB  
 and uses mellow approaches with others,

26. *tɛmɛ kə-vde <sup>n</sup>grəvʔ kɛ́-tsə tʃʰoʔzʔ ŋoʔ*  
 work NMLZ-be.good succeed GP-say be.the.rule be  
 one's work will be successful, it is said.

## A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

*tenχwaʔ kɛlɛt*

Narrator: Bstanblo and Tsheskyid

(Bstanblo)

1. *é-mo* *tʰə* *tə-ɐsɐ-pe-nə* *ŋoʔ*  
 1SG:POSS-mother what 2-CONT:HTR-do-2PL be  
*kɛɐneɜ-sɲi* *tenχwaʔ* *nɐ-lɛt-aŋ* *əntsətse*  
 several-day telephone IPFV:PST-do<sub>2</sub>-1SG continuously  
*ʃənəʔ* *me-nɐ-kʰūt*  
 but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.feasible<sub>2</sub>

“Mother, what have you been doing? I have been trying to call you but have failed (to reach you).”

(Tsheskyid)

2. *əʔdɐ* *qɛcʰweriʔ* *kə-nəvdéti*  
 EXCL PN NMLZ:PURP-celebrate.Flower.Viewing.Festival  
*lɐ-ɐre-jə* *kəlŋotfo-sɲi=rɐn* *lɐ-tsoʔ-jə*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-1PL five-six-day=even PFV:UPRIVER-spend.time<sub>2</sub>-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. *ɐjiʔ=nəʔ* *retawe=z* *vde-rjaʔ* *jɐrmɐ* *nɐ-nərmɛʔ-aŋ*  
 1SG=TOP PN=LOC four-night about IPFV:PST-spend.the.night<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 “As for me, I stayed at the Retawe’s<sup>283</sup> for four nights.”

<sup>283</sup> Name of the house occupied by the family into which Tsheskyid’s daughter Dbyangcan marries.

(Bstanblo)

4. *nəʔ ɲoʔ ʰdenəʔ*

ANA be for

*tenχwaʔ maʔʰdenəʔ me-ʰgɛ-kʰut*

telephone either NEG-IPFV-be.feasible

*maʔʰdenəʔ o-kə-sɛŋi ʰge-mɐ*

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 tʃʰəʔtʃʰə tə-ɐsɐ-pe=nəʔ mɐ-kə-ɐvdɔvde*

SEQ what:RDPL 2-CONT:HTR-do=DET NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.well

*tʰɐ-mɛʔ so*CONT:LTR-not.exist<sub>2</sub> Q

“There isn’t anything unsmooth-going in all you do, is there?”

(Tsheskyid)

6. *mɐ-kə-ɐvdɔvde tʰɐ-mɛʔ*NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.well CONT:LTR-not.exist<sub>2</sub>

“There is nothing unwell.”

7. *nɐ-je=nəʔ ʃórⁿdzi qʰoʔ*2SG:POSS-elder.sibling<sup>284</sup>=TOP day.before.yesterday SEQ*ɐlikʰo=z qɛⁿbət tɛʃtsiʔ=z ɐz-nəzɐɐ*

upriver.place=LOC sand PN=LOC CONT:HTR-transport

*ʃɛku tɛʃtsiʔ=z kʰe kə-pe=cəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ ray*

there.in.the.east PN=LOC house NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF exist be DM

<sup>284</sup> Referring to Bstanblo’s second eldest brother by the name of *ɛwayⁿdor*, master of the house at the Mendeci household where Tsheskyid lived at the time.



*ɕjiʔ=nəʔ      o-rmiʔ      kə-pe=rəʔ      mə-spo-aŋ*  
 1SG=TOP      3SG:POSS-name      INF-do=PL      NEG-know.how<sub>3</sub>-1SG  
*josŋiʔ=ntʃʰon=nəʔ      nənəz      kə-ɐre*  
 today=also=TOP      there      PFV:EAST-go<sub>2</sub>

“Your elder brother<sup>285</sup> 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.”

8. *tsʰepopoʔ=nəʔ      ɐlikʰo      ʃkokiʔ=z      lə-ɐre*  
 PN=TOP      upriver.place      vegetable.garden=LOC      PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>  
*nənə=z=cɛ      tʰɐ-nɐsməsmo*  
 there=LOC=LOC:INDF      CONT:LTR-stay:RDPL

“And Tshepopo<sup>286</sup> has gone upriver to the vegetable garden and stays around there.”

(Bstanblo)

9. *qʰoʔ      nɐ-χpəmʔ      mə-tʰɐ-mŋəm      so*  
 SEQ      2SG:POSS-knee      NEG-CONT:LTR-hurt<sub>2</sub>      Q  
 “Your knees are not hurting, are they?”
10. *ʃɛku      sɐɐɐfsɔ      tʰɐ-to      ŋoʔ      raŋ*  
 there.in.the.east      place.for.making.money      CONT:LTR-exist<sub>2</sub>      be      DM  
*qʰoʔ      vditi      raŋraŋ      nɐ-tə-nə-nɐɐɐʔ-nə      so*  
 SEQ      Flower.Viewing.Festival      separately      IPFV:PST-2-SPON-idle.about<sub>2</sub>-2PL      Q  
*tátwi=kə      ʃoxkor      te-tʃet*  
 township.government=ERG      money      PFV:TR-take.out<sub>2</sub>

<sup>285</sup> Referring to *ɕwaŋ<sup>n</sup>dor*.

<sup>286</sup> Wife of *ɕwaŋ<sup>n</sup>dor*.

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɐ-tə-o-znɐɐʔ-nə*

SEQ IPFV:PST-2-INV-cause.to.idle.about<sub>2</sub>-2PL

“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. *ɛ-me mə-t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-ɛduʔ*

1SG:POSS-leg NEG-CONT:LTR-be.serious<sub>2</sub>

*jɐsɲiʔ ʃɛtke orjəŋnəʔ kəmtʃa nɐ-mɲəm*

the.other.day spring when a.bit IPFV:PST-hurt<sub>2</sub>

*ʃənəʔ kaɳnezɲi smɐn=rɐʔ k<sup>h</sup>émtʃa <sup>n</sup>ge-<sup>n</sup>dze-aŋ*

but these.days medicine=PL once.or.twice IPFV-eat-1SG

*q<sup>h</sup>ónə me-<sup>n</sup>ge-mɲəmʔ*

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. *vdíti=nəʔ raŋraŋ nɐ-nə-nɐɐʔ-jə*

Flower.Viewing.Festival=TOP separately IPFV:PST-SPON-idle.about<sub>2</sub>-1PL

*tétwi=kə=rɐʔ nɐ-o-znɐɐʔ-jə mɐ*

township.government=ERG=PL IPFV:PST-INV-cause.to.idle.about<sub>2</sub>-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. *tərezʔ təmu ɛz-zwəvde so*  
 this.year rain CONT:HTR-cause.to.be.abundant Q  
*lotɔʔ tʃə tʰɛ-fsət*  
 crops what CONT:LTR-be.like<sub>2</sub>  
 “Rainfall has been abundant this year, hasn’t it? How are the crops?”
14. *jəʂŋiʔ ɛjiʔ jəmərwɪ tə-χtuʔ-aŋ=nəʔ á-vde-cə*  
 the.other.day 1SG maize.seeds PFV-buy<sub>2</sub>-1SG=DET Q-be.good-MED  
 “The maize seeds that I bought the other day, are they good?”

15. *qʰoʔ vdíti nə-joy*  
 SEQ Flower.Viewing.Festival PFV-end<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰónə qəcwʰeripu=rəʔ kə-npéjmo*  
 SEQ:EMPH Kakhyoris.people=PL NMLZ:PURP-dig.for.fritillary.bulbs  
*lə-ɐre-nə so*  
 PFV:UPRIVER-go<sub>2</sub>-3PL Q  
 “And, after the Flower-Viewing Festival ended, did the Kakhyoris people go upriver to dig for fritillary bulbs?”

(Tsheskyid)

16. *ʃórʰdʒi vdíti orjáŋnə*  
 day.before.yesterday Flower.Viewing.Festival at.the.time  
*ɲne-tərmókʰe tərmu ne-lét*  
 two-evening hailstone PFV:TR-release<sub>2</sub>  
 “Two evenings during the Flower-Viewing Festival (that ended) the day before yesterday, hailstones fell.”

17. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nǎmɐ=sc<sup>h</sup>ənǎʔ stɔ=rɐʔ kǎmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a te-xsəɣ*  
 SEQ maize=and broad.beans=PL a.bit PFV:TR-hit<sub>2</sub>  
*nǎmɐ=nǎʔ o-lvaʔ=rɐʔ te-sa ʃənǎʔ mɐ-kdu-cə*  
 maize=DET 3SG:POSS-leaf=PL PFV:TR-tease<sub>2</sub> but NEG-be.serious-MED  
*pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o leʔ kɐ-sce te-je*  
 now again INF-grow PFV:UP-begin<sub>2</sub>  
 “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. *ʃənǎʔ stɔ o-pyɐmojʔ=rɐʔ o-mkɐ kǎmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a*  
 but broad.bean 3SG:POSS-feather<sup>287</sup>=PL 3SG:POSS-neck a.bit  
*te-xsəɣ=kə nǎʔ sɛtʃ<sup>h</sup>é=ta kǎmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a ne-wɐret*  
 PFV:TR-hit<sub>2</sub>=INS ANA place=top a.bit PFV:DOWN:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nǎʔ nɐ-kduʔ=tsɐʔ ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.serious<sub>2</sub>=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=nǎʔ o-pyɐmojʔ=nǎʔ ne-wɐret*  
 broad.bean=TOP 3SG:POSS-petal=TOP PFV:DOWN:TR-throw<sub>2</sub>  
*q<sup>h</sup>ónǎ ʔdeʔ o-kɐ-sce mɐ ɲoʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tɐrezʔ ɲónǎ*  
 SEQ this.year TOP:EMPH  
*péjmoɣ o-konʔ loʔ te-kǎ-tsə toʔ=kə*  
 fritillary.bulb 3SG:POSS-price come.out IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say exist=INS

<sup>287</sup> Referring to the five-petal flowers of the broad bean (*Vicia faba*).

*qɛc<sup>h</sup>wɛrɪpu=rɛʔ=nəʔ*      *pɛjmoɣ*      *kə-fɐ*  
 Kakhyoris.people=PL=TOP    fritillary.bulb    NMLZ:PURP-go  
*t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-rɛnts<sup>h</sup>a-nə*      *ŋoʔ*  
 CONT:LTR-make.preparations<sub>2</sub>-3PL    be

“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.”

21. *ʃənəʔ*    *tsələswicaokwan=nəʔ*    *kɐ-fceʔ*      *reʔ*      *té-tsə-nə=kə*  
 but    tap.water.pipe=TOP    INF-change    ne.necessary    IPFV-say-2PL=INS  
*nə-c<sup>h</sup>operʔ=rɛʔ*    *ŋónə*      *lwəlwe*      *ne-lêʔ-nə*  
 3PL:POSS-alley=PL    TOP:EMPH    digging    PFV:TR-do<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*ʃənəʔ*    *nə-caokwan=nəʔ*      *pázje*    *jɐ-kə-ɐzɣôt*      *mɐ*  
 but    3PL:POSS-pipe=DET    still    PFV-NMZL-arrive<sub>2</sub>    not.exist

“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.”

(Bstanblo)

22. *ɐjiʔ*    *pəʃk<sup>h</sup>o=ntʃ<sup>h</sup>on*  
 1SG    now=also  
*ʃɛku*      *t<sup>h</sup>əjwɛnʔ*      *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-smo-aŋ*      *ʃteʔ*  
 there.in.the.east    PN      CONT:LTR-be.present<sub>2</sub>-1SG    be:EMPH  
*mɐ-kə-ɐvdɔvde*      *t<sup>h</sup>ɐ-mɛʔ*  
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.well    CONT:LTR-not.exist<sub>2</sub>

“I am still living (there in the east) in Taiwan, and I am all very well.”

23. *josŋiʔ*    *kəpɐ-rtɕəz*      *ɛnesqɛmŋó-ti*      *ŋoʔ-cə*  
 today    Chinese-calendar    twenty.five-day    be-MED  
*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*    *χsɔsqéti*    *o-sŋi=nəʔ*      *ne-náwi-aŋ*      *ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ    thirty-day    3SG:POSS-day=TOP    WEST-come.back-1SG    be

*qʰoʔ      tɕʰəⁿduʔ      kaɲne-sɲi      jərmə      nəvə-aŋ*  
 SEQ      PN      several-day      about      idle.about-1SG  
*qʰoʔ      le-náwi-aŋ      ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ      UPRIVER-come.back-1SG      be:EMPH

“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).”

24. *ʃqʰəʔ      tsʰaŋtərjiʔ      ó-pʰa      tenχwaʔ      nə-lét-aŋ*  
 just.now      PN      3SG:POSS-place      telephone      PFV-do₂-1SG  
*qʰoʔ      pəʃkʰo      ʰbərkhəmʔ      tʰə-smo-cə*  
 SEQ      now      PN      CONT:LTR-be.present₂-MED  
 “I just called Tshangtarji, and he is at Ma’erkang now.”

(Tsheskyid)

25. *pəʃkʰo=ntʰon      tʰəjwənʔ      tʰə-tə-smo      ʃteʔ      raŋ*  
 now=also      PN      CONT:LTR-2-be.present₂      be:EMPH      DM  
*nəkənəʔ      ó-pʰu=rəʔ      mtsʰót      ʃə      méʃte*  
 that.near.you      3SG:POSS-price=PL      be.full      go      DM  
 “So you are still in Taiwan! The (telephone) fees over there must be very high, aren’t they?”

26. *qʰoʔ      nə-tə-náwi*  
 SEQ      WEST-2-come.back  
*qʰónə      tenχwaʔ=rəʔ      ə-tə-tə-lət*  
 SEQ:EMPH      telephone=PL      IRR-IMP-2-do  
*nə-tə-tsoʔ=nəʔ      kʰénay      ə-tə-tə-náwi*  
 IPFV:PST-2-have.free.time₂=SUB      home      IRR:IMP:UP-2-come.back  
 “And when you come back, give me a call. And come back home if you have free time.”

(Bstanblo)

27. *tenχwaʔ óp<sup>h</sup>u=rɛʔ kámɬ<sup>h</sup>a ʃɐ ʃteʔ jɐ*  
 telephone 3SG:POSS-price=PL a.bit go be:EMPH DM  
*ʃənəʔ mɐ-ɛdu*  
 but NEG-be.serious

“Yeah, telephone charges are a little high, but it’s OK.”

28. *ne-nəwi-aŋ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nɐ-tsoʔ-aŋ=nəʔ nəwi-aŋ*  
 WEST-come.back-1SG SEQ IPFV:PST-have.free.time<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB come.back  
*ʃteʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ ʃteʔ jɐ*  
 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. *wɐ q<sup>h</sup>ónə ɐ-tə-tə-stó<sup>n</sup>bɐt jɐ*  
 OK SEQ:EMPH IRR-IMP-2-take.care DM

“Alright, then, take care!”

## A CONVERSATION ABOUT DHOLES

*qɛpɛr?*

**Narrator: Bstanblo and Tsheskyid**

(Bstanblo)

1. *ʃɲoŋtsʰe=z* *koŋɲɛ?* *mə-lɛ-wɛ?* *orjájɲʔnəʔz*  
 former.time=LOC Chinese.Communicants NEG-PFV:UPRIVER-come<sub>2</sub> when  
*qɛpɛr?* *nɛ-sɛʰdze?* *o-ffɛt* *to?*  
 dhole IPFV:PST-tend.to.bite.people<sub>2</sub> 3SG:POSS-recounting exist  
*nəʔ* *ʃǎjə.orjaŋ?* *nɛ-ŋo*  
 ANA when IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>

“In the past, before the Chinese Communists came upriver, there were stories of dholes biting people. When did that happen?”

(Tsheskyid)

2. *nəʔ* *jǎʰdɛ* *mŋosqe-pe* *kə-ri=cə?* *nə-tsoʔ-cə*  
 ANA TOP fifty-year NMLZ:SBJ-be.extra=INDF PFV-elapse<sub>2</sub>-MED

“It was more than fifty years ago now.”

3. *qʰo?* *nəʔorjájɲʔnəʔ*  
 SEQ at.that.time  
*reʰgo* *qɛpɛr?* *nə-ʃno?* *qʰo?* *cɛmi?* *tʰɛ-wɛ?*  
 hill dhole PFV-be.crazy<sub>2</sub> SEQ riverside.farmland PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>

“At that time, dholes from the hills became crazy (i.e. rabid) and came downhill to the riverside farmland.”

4. *qʰo?* *zɔ?* *te-ʰdze?*  
 SEQ bovine PFV:TR-bite<sub>2</sub>  
*pa=ʃə* *te-ʰdze?* *kʰezeʔ=ʃə* *te-ʰdze?*  
 pig=also PFV:TR-bite<sub>2</sub> dog=also PFV:TR-bite<sub>2</sub>



*kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ=fə te<sup>-n</sup>dzeʔ ɣoʔ*

human=also PFV:TR-bite<sub>2</sub> be

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə ne-nəmtəmti te<sup>-n</sup>dzeʔ ɣoʔ*

SEQ what PFV:TR-see<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-bite<sub>2</sub> be

“They bit bovines, and also pigs, dogs, and humans; they bit whatever they saw.”

5. *tərva=cɛ kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ kə-rdɔʔ te<sup>-n</sup>dzeʔ*

PN=LOC:INDF person one-CL PFV:TR-bite<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-səʂnoʔ ɣoʔ*

SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.be.crazy<sub>2</sub> be

*tʃuʔ=z kə-rdɔʔ te<sup>-n</sup>dzeʔ q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ne-səʂnoʔ ɣoʔ*

PN=LOC one-CL PFV:TR-bite<sub>2</sub> SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.be.crazy<sub>2</sub> be

“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.”

6. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ zɔʔ kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ nə-kə-ʂnoʔ*

SEQ bovine person PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy<sub>2</sub>

*o-kə<sup>-n</sup>dʒəvʔ kɛ<sup>-</sup>tʃɛt kə-c<sup>h</sup>ɐ=cəʔ*

3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-suck INF-take.out NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=INDF

*ʃɛt<sup>h</sup>i kɛmɣo=cɛ=z*

place.downriver PN=LOC:INDF=LOC

*vlɛme kə-χo=cəʔ nə-to ɣoʔ*

lama NMLZ:SBJ-be.powerful=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub> be

“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.”

7. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nə-kə-ʂnoʔ kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ kɛ-tsə mɐ*

SEQ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy<sub>2</sub> person GP-say not.exist

*zɔʔ kɛ-tsə mɐ kəmdiʔ vlɛme=p<sup>h</sup>a*

bovine GP-say not.exist all lama=place

*o-kə-<sup>n</sup>dʒəv?*

*t<sup>h</sup>e-tsom-nə*

3SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-suck PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither<sub>2</sub>-3PL

*nə-tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʒ*

IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

“And as a rule, no matter rabid people or rabid bovines, people took them to the lama to be treated by sucking.”

8. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ vləme=kə kə-<sup>n</sup>dʒəvʔ=kəsə=nəʔ*

SEQ lama=ERG INF-suck=like=TOP

*kərjól=nəŋ*

*təciʔ*

*te-rkoj*

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ*

*ⁿge-<sup>n</sup>don*

*ŋoʔ-cə*

ceramic.bowl=inside water IPFV-put.into<sub>3</sub> SEQ IPFV-chant.sutra be-MED

“As for the lama’s sucking (method), he would put water into a ceramic bowl, and chant sutras.”

9. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ scəpə tə-kə-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ təymeʒ ó-ta=nəʔ t<sup>h</sup>e-təʔ*

SEQ long.knife PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-bite<sub>2</sub> wound 3SG:POSS-top=DET IPFV-put<sub>3</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-<sup>n</sup>noʒ=nəʔ*

*le-kə-ntsəvʔ*

*o-<sup>n</sup>pəʒ*

*te-poj*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-end=DET IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ-suck 3SG:POSS-semblance IPFV-do<sub>3</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ ó-mcəʒ=nəʔ*

*təciʔ*

*p<sup>h</sup>ərtʃú=nəŋ*

*kə-rko=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-spittle=DET water bowl=inside NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in=DET

*nəʔ ó-nəŋ*

*ⁿge-lət*

ANA 3SG:POSS-inside IPFV:DOWN-throw

“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.”

10. *q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ tʃ<sup>h</sup>ə=kə nə-kə-səʒnoʔ kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ:EMPH what=INS PFV-GP-cause.to.be.crazy<sub>2</sub> NMLZ:SBJ-be=DET

*o-<sup>n</sup>dʒə*

*təʒə=kəsə=nəʔ*

*p<sup>h</sup>ərtʃú=nəŋ*

*ne-poj*

*ŋoʔ-cə*

3SG:POSS-shape blood=like=DET bowl=inside IPFV-become<sub>3</sub> be-MED

“And in the bowl, what causes one to be rabid takes the form of something like blood.”

11. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nooséʃsət=kə mts<sup>h</sup>ôʔ ne-səʏʒi nɐ-ŋo*  
 SEQ thus=INS be.many PFV:TR-heal<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>

“In that manner, he healed many people.”

12. *ʃənəʔ tə-kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ nə-kə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*  
 but PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-bite<sub>2</sub> PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-elapse<sub>2</sub>=DET

*q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ kɐ-nəsmən mə-nɐ-c<sup>h</sup>ɐʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH INF-treat NEG-PFV:PST-be.able<sub>2</sub>

*q<sup>h</sup>oʔ o-kɐ-pe nɐ-mɛʔ ké-tsə tʃ<sup>h</sup>oʔ*  
 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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ tʃuʔ táme tə-kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ nə-kə-snoʔ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ PN woman PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-bite PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy=DET

*ʼsɪz təmtʃuʏʔ taciʔ kə-roʔ nə-ɐre-cə=nəʔ*  
 morning water NMLZ:PURP-fetch PFV:WEST-go<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

*oʔóri=z k<sup>h</sup>ezeʔ=kəsci kə-wɛʔ-cə*  
 3SG:POSS-front=LOC dog=like PFV:EAST-come<sub>2</sub>-MED

*təmdánə qɐperʔ nə-kə-snoʔ nɐ-ŋo-cə*  
 in.fact dhole PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-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. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ nəʔ=kə nə-o-nɐpəlʃevʔ*  
 SEQ ANA=ERG PFV-INV-tear.about<sub>2</sub>
- q<sup>h</sup>oʔ kəmtʃ<sup>h</sup>a tə-oʏ-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ ŋoʔ-cə*  
 SEQ a.bit PFV-INV-bite<sub>2</sub> be-MED

*nə-tʰuɿ=rɐʔ*                      *ənɿ=tseŋi*      *nɐ-mɛɿ-cə*  
 PFV-be.serious<sub>2</sub>=PL      that.much      IPFV:PST-not.exist<sub>2</sub>-MED

“It attacked her fiercely and bit her a little bit, but it was not that serious.”

15. *ʃənəʔ*      *o-kʰɛrlɔŋ*                      *tə-o-xsəŋ-cə*  
 but      3SG:POSS-breath      PFV-INV-hit<sub>2</sub>-MED  
*qʰónəʔ*      *nə-sɲoʔ*                      *qʰoʔ*      *nə-set*      *nɐ-tʰoʔ*  
 SEQ      PFV-be.crazy<sub>2</sub>      SEQ      PFV-die<sub>2</sub>      IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 “But the dhole’s breath got to her, and she became rabid and died.”

16. *qʰoʔ*      *qɐcʰweriʔ*      *tɛrva*      *tsʰraŋscɛv*      *te-kɛ-tsə=nəʔ*      *leʔ*  
 SEQ      PN                      PN      PN                      IPFV-GP-say=DET      also  
*təmtʃuŋgroʔgroʔ*      *kómtʰɔ*      *zɔʔ*      *kə-tʃɛt*  
 early.morning      courtyard      bovine      NMLZ:PURP-put.out<sub>2</sub>  
*nɐ-ɐre-cə=nəʔ*  
 PFV:DOWN-go<sub>2</sub>-MED=SUB

“And also, the man called Tsrangskyab of Tarva in Qachweri Village went to his courtyard to put out cattle in the early morning,”

17. *qɐperʔ*      *nə-kə-sɲoʔ=kə*                      *toɣ-ndzeʔ*  
 dhole      PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy<sub>2</sub>=ERG      PFV:INV-bite<sub>2</sub>  
*qʰoʔ*      *kəməqʰúnə*      *qʰoʔ*      *nə-sɲoʔ*                      *qʰoʔ*      *nə-set*      *ʃteʔ*  
 SEQ      afterwards      SEQ      PFV-be.crazy<sub>2</sub>      SEQ      PFV-die<sub>2</sub>      be:EMPH  
 “and was bitten by a rabid dhole, and he became rabid and died.”

18. *oməkénə*      *reŋgo*      *qɐperʔ*      *cɛmiʔ*                      *wi*      *mɐ-tʰoʔ*      *ŋoʔ*  
 actually      hill      dhole      riverside.farmland      come      NEG-be.the.rule      be  
 “Actually, it is abnormal for dhole of the hills to come down to the riverside.”

19. *fənəʔ nəʔ tuzʔorjaɪnə re<sup>n</sup>go qəperʔ cəmiʔ*  
 but that era hill dhole riverside.farmland  
*tʰɐ-wɛʔ qʰoʔ mə-nɐ-tʰoʔ ɲoʔ ne-tsəʔ-nə*  
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub> SEQ NEG-IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub> be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
 “And at that era dhole of the upper hills did come downriver to the riverside, and that was abnormal, people said.”

20. *nəʔ nɐ-fsət nɐ-tʰoʔ*  
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 “What happened was like that.”

(Bstanblo)

21. *qəperʔ nə-kə-snoʔ=kə te-kɐ-oy-<sup>n</sup>dze=nəʔ*  
 dhole PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy<sub>2</sub>=INS IPFV-GP-INV-bite=SUB  
*ʒaʔ tʰə jɐrmɐ ne-tso*  
 time what about IPFV-elapse  
*qʰoʔ kɐ-sən<sup>n</sup>giʔ kɐ-səʂno te-(sɐ)jɐʔ ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ INF-cause.to.be.ill INF-cause.to.be.crazy IPFV-begin<sub>3</sub> be  
 “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-kɐ-oy-<sup>n</sup>dze qʰónəʔ kə-sle jɐrmɐ mə-tso*  
 IPFV-GP-INV-bite SEQ:EMPH one-month about NEG-elapse  
*qʰónəʔ tə-kɐ-o-sən<sup>n</sup>giʔ ɲoʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH IPFV-GP-INV-cause.to.be.ill be  
 “One gets bitten, and in less than a month’s time one is made ill.”

23. *jəpərvə? jə-pa=nə?*

1PL 1PL:POSS-pig=DET

*le? qəpərvə? nə-kə-sjio? =kə te-<sup>n</sup>dze? =kə*

also dhole PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy<sub>2</sub>=ERG PFV:TR-bite<sub>2</sub>=INS

*jə-pa nə-sjio? nə-tʃʰoʔ*

1PL:POSS-pig PFV-be.crazy<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

“Our pig also became rabid from getting bitten by a rabid dhole.”

24. *qʰoʔ ɣoʔmaʔnə? nə-kə-sjio? kʰe-tsə=kə*

SEQ at.every.turn PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy<sub>2</sub> GP-say=INS

*pa nəpəpəpə? stoŋ<sup>n</sup>bələtaŋ səqʰúzqʰuz*

pig IDPH<sup>288</sup> without.good.reason backwards

*tʰé-jwət maʔ<sup>n</sup>denə? nəntəyntəy? z<sup>n</sup>də=ɣər*

IPFV:DOWNRIVER-move.backwards or IDPH<sup>289</sup> wall=face

*ʃə-le-rpo? nə-tʃʰoʔ*

go.and-IPFV:UPRIVER-bump IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>

“And the pig would walk straightly backwards for no reason, or bump recklessly into the face of the wall.”

25. *qʰoʔ tsəpə? nə-la=ni? =kə*

SEQ 1DU 2SG:POSS-maternal.aunt=DU=ERG

*o-kʰərloŋ=kə mə-kə-ojəsəxsəy o-tʃʰəv? =kə*

3SG:POSS-breath=INS NEG-NMLZ-cause.oneself.to.be.hit 3SG:POSS-purpose=INS

*lájəy kə-rzə? tə-<sup>n</sup>di-tsə qʰoʔ kə-nəstʰóʔlɔ=kəsə=kə*

swish NMLZ:SBJ-be.long PFV-take<sub>2</sub>-1DU SEQ INF-push.along=like=INS

<sup>288</sup> A derived verbal ideophone from the root *pəy*, describing a continuous, unimpeded motion.

<sup>289</sup> A derived verbal ideophone from the root *ntəy*, describing an action in an obsessed, reckless manner.

*kʰɛⁿdǎco*                      *kʰɛnt/áʔ=naŋ*                      *lɛ-jeʔ-tsə*  
 place.west.of.house    dilapidated.house=inside    PFV:UPRIVER-pen.in₂-1DU

“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.”

26. *qʰoʔ*    *nəʔofsǎʔsi=nəʔ*  
 SEQ    the.next.day=DET  
*ʃə-nəmpʰɛriʔ-tsə=nəʔ*                      *nə-set-cə*  
 go.and-look.at₂-1DU=SUB    PFV-die₂-MED

“And when we went to take a look at it the next day, it had died.”

27. *qʰoʔ*    *təⁿbré=kə*    *tə-sə-vraʔ-tsə*  
 SEQ    rope=INS    PFV-CAUS-tie₂-1DU  
*qʰoʔ*    *təciʔ=naŋ*    *ʃə-tʰɛ-wɛret-tsə*                      *ⁿdenəʔ*  
 SEQ    river=inside    go.and-PFV:DOWNRIVER-throw₂-1DU    for  
*nə-kə-snoʔ*                      *o-ʃe*                      *kɛ-ⁿdze*    *mɛ-sneʔ*    *ŋoʔ*  
 PFV:NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂    3SG:POSS-flesh    INF-eat    NEG-be.good    be

“We bound it with ropes and went downriver and threw it into the river, as flesh of rabid (animals) is not good to eat.”

28. *nəʔ*    *o-tǎnʔ=kə*                      *kɛ-sno*    *ne-ʃe*  
 ANA    3SG:POSS-reason=ins    INF-be.crazy    IPFV-begin  
*qʰónəʔ*    *kɛ-nəsmɛn*    *ⁿge-mɛ*  
 SEQ:EMPH    INF-treat    IPFV-not.exist  
*qʰónəʔ*    *kǎ-set*    *ne-kɛ-néji*    *káma*    *tɛmɛ*    *ⁿge-mɛ*    *ŋoʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH    NMLZ-die    IPFV-GP-wait    except    work    IPFV-not.exist    be

“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. *qʰónəʔ kɐ-ˈdzəŋ ome ˈge-reʔ ˈdenəʔ*

SEQ:EMPH INF-be.cautious very IPFV-be.necessary for

*o-kʰərloŋ=kə ɐ-tə-kó-xsəy*

3SG:POSS-breath=INS IRR-PFV-GP:INV-hit

*qʰónəʔ kɐ-o-səsno nə-ʃte*

SEQ:EMPH GP-INV-cause.to.be.crazy IPFV:PST-be:EMPH<sub>2</sub>

“But one needs to be very cautious, since if its breath ever hits one, one as a rule will be made rabid.”

(Bstanblo)

30. *qɛperʔ=nəʔ tʰɐz cɛmiʔ tʰɐ-ɐwi ŋoʔ*

dhole=DET why riverside.farmland IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come be

*reˈŋo o-kɐˈdze nə-mɛʔ raŋ*

hill 3SG:POSS-food PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub> DM

“Why is it that dholes came downriver to the riverside? Did their food run out on the upper hills?”

(Tsheskyid)

31. *reˈŋo o-kɐˈdze nə-mɛʔ=rɐʔ maʔ*

hill 3SG:POSS-food PFV-not.exist<sub>2</sub>=PL not.be

*ʃənəʔ qɛperʔ cɛmiʔ tʰɐ-kə-wɛʔ=nəʔ*

but dhole riverside.farmland PFV:DOWNRIVER-come<sub>2</sub>=DET

*tʰɛn ŋoʔ*

sign.of.bad.luck be

*mə-nɐ-tʰoʔ ne-tsəʔ-nə*

NEG-IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-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. *qɛper kə-rdɔʔ ʁnez jɛrmɐ nɐ-ma=kə*  
 dhole one-CL two about IPFV:PST-not.be<sub>2</sub>=INS  
*kʰe-kənʰgə-sqeʔ=kəsə kətəyre tʰe-wɛ-nə nɐ-tʰoʔ*  
 each-nine-ten=like together IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub>  
 “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 mɐ-kə-tʰoʔ tʰɛn=nəʔ*  
 ANA NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule sign.of.bad.luck=TOP  
*tʰə nɐ-ŋo ne-tsəʔ-nə*  
 what IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub> PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL  
*tuzʔ jə-ʰbyaʔ o-tənʔ=kə tsəvreʔ-nɐ-ŋo*  
 era PROS-reverse 3SG:POSS-reason=INS Q-IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 “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. *tuzʔ jə-ʰbyaʔ ŋoʔ ne-tsəʔ-nə=rɐʔ nɐ-tʰoʔ ʰdenəʔ*  
 era PROS-reverse be PFV:TR-say<sub>2</sub>-3PL=PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule<sub>2</sub> for  
*qɛperʔ ʁʰikə nɐ-sɐʰdzeʔ*  
 dhole very IPFV:PST-tend.to.bite.people<sub>2</sub>  
 “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. *ɛjiʔ=nəʔ qɛperʔ ʔntsejə me-ʰge-sərtɔʔ-aŋ*  
 1SG=TOP dhole that.much NEG-IPFV-know-1SG  
 “As for me, I do not know dholes that much.”

36. *kə-təʃe=cɛ*                      *tétʰɔ*<sup>290</sup>      *nɐ-smo-aŋ*  
 one-time=LOC:INDF    PN                      IPFV:PST-be.at-1SG  
*qʰoʔ*      *kecʰopʰéri*              *ke-mpʰéri-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      opposite.bank      IPFV:CISLOC-look-1SG=SUB  
*ʰbri*      *o-ɣóri=nəʔ*                      *kʰezeʔ=kəsci*    *ɰnez*    *tʰɐ-kʰəmdzjəy-ʰdzə*  
 horse      3SG:POSS-front=DET      dog=like              two      CONT:LTR-sit.on.haunches<sub>2</sub>-3DU  
*təmdánə*    *qɐperʔ*    *nɐ-ŋo-cə*  
 actually      dhole              IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>-MED  
 “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.”

37. *sŋontsʰe*    *ké-tsə=nəʔ*  
 formerly      GP-say=TOP  
*qɐperʔ=kə*    *ʰbri*    *o-mtʰi*                      *kə-éntɐr*                      *nɐje*    *ké-tsə*  
 dhole=ERG    horse    3SG:POSS-lip    NMLZ-fall.from.height    wait<sub>3</sub>    GP-say  
*tʰozʔ=kə*                      *nəʔ*    *ŋoʔ*    *ráŋ*    *ʰdenəʔ*  
 be.the.rule=INS    ANA    be              DM              for  
*ʰbri*      *o-ɣóri=z*                      *tʰɐ-smo-ʰdzə-cə*  
 horse      3SG:POSS-front=LOC      CONT:LTR-stay-3DU-MED  
 “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.”

38. *qʰoʔ*    *ɐjiʔ=kə*    *qəj=rɐʔ*    *tə-tsəʔ-aŋ=nəʔ*  
 SEQ      1SG=ERG    EXCL=PL    PFV-say<sub>2</sub>-1SG=SUB  
*qʰoʔ*    *ʃla*                      *zəʔ*                      *kə-kɐ-koyʔ*  
 SEQ    immediately    livestock    TOWARD.OTHER.BANK-NMLZ:SBJ:U-drive<sub>2</sub>  
*nə-ɣtʃəl=nəʔ*                      *tə-ɐre-ʰdzə*  
 3PL:POSS-center=DET    PFV:UP-go<sub>2</sub>-DU

<sup>290</sup> Name of a river plain near the speaker's home.

*q<sup>h</sup>ónə? qəʃi? ʃla kə-rdɔ? ne-mʲeʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə*

SEQ:EMPH sheep immediately one-CL PFV:TR-catch<sub>2</sub>-DU

“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.”

39. *q<sup>h</sup>ónə? jə-lpe vdércət=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə? t<sup>h</sup>v-rjəʔ-tsə*

SEQ:EMPH neighbor PN=and PFV:DOWNRIVER-run<sub>2</sub>-1DU

*ʃənə? tsə-ʔuríri qəʃi? ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ-<sup>n</sup>dzə ʃteʔ-cə*

but 1DU:POSS-time.before sheep PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>-3DU be:EMPH-MED

“And (our) neighbor Vdercet and I ran downriver (to where the sheep were) but just moments before (arriving), they had already killed the sheep.”

40. *q<sup>h</sup>o? oq<sup>h</sup>ukuri*

SEQ before.and.afterwards

*jəʔəvə? jə-ŋe kə-ʒrəʒro ʔnez rgéli=cə? kə-rdɔ?*

1PL 1PL:POSS-cow NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine:INT two female.calf=INDF one-CL

*pa kəʃnez jərmə ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ ʋo?*

pig seven about PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub> be

“And before and afterwards, they had killed two very fine cows, one female calf, and seven pigs of ours.”

41. *jəlpə nə-ŋe=sc<sup>h</sup>ənə? <sup>n</sup>bole? kətʃoʔ jərmə*

neighbor 3PL:POSS-cow=and male.cattle six about

*<sup>n</sup>brəscitəʃvə o-q<sup>h</sup>u=z ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ*

PN 3SG:POSS-back=LOC PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub>

*méʃu nə-pámo=cəʔ=rəʔ ne-ntʃ<sup>h</sup>eʔ ʋo?*

further 3SG:POSS-sow=INDF=PL PFV:TR-kill<sub>2</sub> be

“And they killed our neighbor’s cow and six male cattle behind the Mbraskyi Pass, and moreover also one of their sows.”

42. *q<sup>h</sup>oʔ qɛc<sup>h</sup>weriʔ zɛzər sɛqɛrʔ*  
 SEQ PN environs secluded.place  
*kə-toʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ zəzɔpa mts<sup>h</sup>ɔt te-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ nɐ-ŋo*  
 NMLZ:-SBJ-exist=DET=PL livestock be.many PFV:TR-eat<sub>2</sub> IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 “And they ate many farm animals in secluded corners surrounding Qachweri Village.”

43. *q<sup>h</sup>ónəʔ qɛperʔ kə-sé<sup>n</sup>dze ó-nay=nəʔ*  
 SEQ:EMPH dhole NMLZ:SBJ-tend.to.bite.people 3SG:POSS-inside=DET  
*nə-kə-sɲoʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to=kə*  
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy<sub>2</sub>=INDF IPFV:PST-exist<sub>2</sub>=INS  
*nəʔ te-<sup>n</sup>dzɐ=nəʔ*  
 ANA IPFV-bite<sub>3</sub>=SUB  
*zɔʔ kər<sup>n</sup>bjoʔ ne-səsɲoj nɐ-ŋo*  
 bovine human IPFV-cause.to.be.crazy<sub>3</sub> IPFV:PST-be<sub>2</sub>  
 “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. *<sup>n</sup>denəʔ kəmaʔ mə-nə-kə-sɲoʔ qɛperʔ=kə*  
 except other NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy<sub>2</sub> dhole=ERG  
*zɔʔ te-<sup>n</sup>dzɐ o-ri=rɐʔ jəjərɐʔ=kə nɐ-<sup>n</sup>dzeʔ-jə ʃteʔ*  
 bovine IPFV-bite<sub>3</sub> 3SG:POSS-be.left=PL 1PL=ERG IPFV:PST-eat<sub>2</sub>-1PL be:EMPH  
*nəʔ mə-nə-o-sən<sup>n</sup>gi-jə*  
 ANA NEG-PFV-INV-cause.to.be.ill<sub>2</sub>-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. *ʃənəʔ təmdána*  
 but actually  
*χtʃɐ<sup>n</sup>dzɛn o-<sup>n</sup>dzɛri=nəʔ te-kɐ-<sup>n</sup>dze mə-vde*  
 carnivore 3SG:POSS-eaten.leftover=DET IPFV-GP-eat NEG-be.good

*kɛ̌-tsə tʃʰoʔ cə*  
 GP-say be.the.rule be-MED

“But actually, they say it is not good to eat leftover carcasses eaten by carnivores.”

46. *nəʔ te-kɛ̌-<sup>n</sup>dze=nəʔ*  
 ANA IPFV-GP-eat=SUB  
*kɛ̌-o-sən<sup>n</sup>giʔ nɛt kə-ŋɐn wot*  
 GP-INV-cause.to.be-ill illness NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad bring  
*kɛ̌-tsə tʃʰoʔ cə*  
 GP-say be.the.rule be-MED

“Eating those makes one sick, and brings bad diseases, it is said.”

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