



Folktales of China's Minhe Mangghuer

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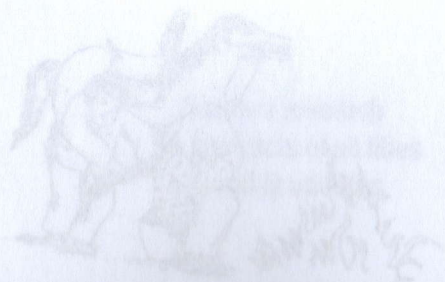
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Niben shuni Mangghuer ge keliku kungsidu zhuriji huba.

Contributors

Chen Zhaojun, female, b. 1945 in Jingning 静宁, Gangou Hui Autonomous Township 甘沟回族自治县, Zhu Yongzhong's mother. She attended primary school for one year. She married and moved to Zhujiola 朱交拉 when she was fifteen. She is classified as Han 汉 Chinese. When she married, she knew little Mangghuer, but presently speaks it fluently. Her first language is Gangou Chinese Dialect. She is a farm wife and does much fieldwork and housework. She told a story on the evening of February 24, 1994 in her home in Zhujiola. The audience included five family members and two relatives, all of whom were reasonably attentive. The recording of the stories was done by Zhu Yongzhong using a Sony Walkman WM-F2041, a lapel microphone (no microphone power source) and Sony EF Normal tapes.

Li Xingzhong, male, b. 1963 in Xiela Village 协拉村, Xing'er Township 杏儿乡. Attended middle school in Guanting 官亭, and then one year of study at Minhe County Barefoot Doctor School in Zhongchuan 中川. He then returned to Xiela Village and became an elementary school teacher, which he continues to do up to the present. He can speak Chinese, Mangghuer and Tibetan, and is classified as Monguor. He assisted in the analysis and translation of the folktales.

Li Jiliang, female, b. 1920, studied Chinese in night classes for adults during the 1960s. She was born in Qianjing Village 前进村 in the present Zhongchuan 中川 Township. After she married, she moved to Hongnai Village 红崖村 in the Eight Big Mountain 八大山 area, Xiakou Township 峡口乡. Later, she moved to Nongchang 农场, a military farm, in Zhongchuan. Ms. Li has some competence in the local Chinese dialect, which she speaks to people who do not understand Mangghuer. She told stories during the evening of February 23, 1994 in Zhu Yongzhong's home in Zhujiola. She was visiting her cousin, Zhu Yongzhong's father, on her way to visit the nearby Kadikawa Temple 卡地卡哇 in Gangou Township. The audience included five family members, an uncle and three Guanting Middle School 官亭中学 teachers, all of whom were reasonably attentive. The teachers had come to visit Zhu Yongzhong and the uncle had come to drink liquor with the visiting teachers. The recording of the stories was done by Zhu Yongzhong using a Sony Walkman WM-F2041, a lapel microphone (no microphone power source) and Sony EF Normal tapes.

Keith W. Slater holds a Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of California, Santa Barbara, and works for SIL International's East Asia Group. He is the author of *A Grammar of Mangghuer: A Mongolic Language of China's Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund*. He co-edited this manuscript.

Kevin Stuart is an ethnographer, folklorist and United Nations Volunteer teacher of English. He lived in Inner Mongolia from 1984-1987, Qinghai Province from 1987-1992, Ulaanbaatar and Erdenet, Mongolia from 1992-1993 and in 1993 returned to Qinghai 青海, where he presently teaches English at Qinghai Education College 青海教育学院 in Xining 西宁. He co-edited the English portion of this manuscript.

Wang Xianzhen, a Mangghuer native of Xiakou Township, Minhe Hui and Mangghuer Autonomous County 民和回族土族自治县峡口乡, studied at Manping Primary School 满坪小学 in Manping Township (1979-1980), Zhangjia Primary School 张家小学 in Longzhi Township 隆治乡 (1980-1982) and Qingquan Primary School 清泉小学 in Zhongchuan Township (1982-1983) owing to his father's frequently changing jobs. He began lower secondary school in Xiakou Region in 1983. Three years later he entered Minhe Number One Middle School in Chuankou 川口 Town, the administrative center of Minhe County. After graduating in 1989, he entered Qinghai Medical College 青海医学院, where he studied Biomedicine and graduated with a MD degree in 1994. He has worked as a surgeon in the Burn Department of Qinghai Medical College Attached Hospital in Xining since 1994. Dr. Wang Xianzhen is fluent in Mangghuer, Modern Standard Chinese 普通话, the Minhe County Chinese dialect and English. Dr. Wang collected and translated certain of the folktales presented here.

Wang Yongwei, male, b. 1950, possibly graduated from junior middle school, a clerk in Xiakou Township, speaks Mangghuer and Qinghai Chinese Dialect. On the afternoon of February 16, 1994, Mr. Wang and his older brother visited the home of a relative in Hulancher 虎狼城. Eleven people were present, including two Mangghuer from Xinjiang 新疆 Uygur Autonomous Region. The recording of Mr. Wang's story "Sangburani Liangge Aghadiao" (Two Brothers From Sangbura) was done by Zhu Yongzhong using a Sony Walkman WM-F2041, a lapel microphone (no microphone power source) and Sony EF Normal tapes. Wang Yongwei told the

story "Gezaikong Ma Maokong" (Good Man And Bad Man) to Wang Xianzhen in 1993. Wang Xianzhen took notes, gave the story its present title, and retold the story in the version presented here.

Wang Zhenlin, female, (b. 1969) native of Sangbura Village 峡口村, Xiakou Township, graduated from Xiakou Lower Secondary School, Wang Xianzhen's relative. She told stories in Mangghuer to Wang Xianzhen in the winter of 1994 in Sangbura Village. Wang Xianzhen recorded them on cassette tape from which he transcribed the versions presented here. During Spring Festival of 1994, Wang Xianzhen invited her to his home and recorded the stories she told on cassette tape. She presently (1998) works in the Water Supply Office of Minhe County. She is married to a Mangghuer who works in Chuankou for the Minhe government.

Xin Huaizhi, male, b. 1933, native of Xijia Village 辛家村, Zhongchuan Township, literate in Chinese. He told stories in Mangghuer in the summer of 1993 in Xijia Village to Dr. Wang Jutai 王居泰, who wrote the stories in Chinese and gave them to Wang Xianzhen, who then retold them in the Mangghuer versions presented here.

Zhu Meilan, Mangghuer, female, b. 1975, Zhu Yongzhong's sister. She attended Zhujiaola, Hulancher and Guanting primary schools for five years. She was born in Zhujiaola and lived there, except for a half year of schooling in Guanting, until her marriage in 1994, at which time she moved to her husband's home in Dongshan Village 东山村, Gangou Township. She is fluent in Minhe Mangghuer and several local Chinese dialects. She told stories during the evening of February 24, 1994 in her parents' home in Zhujiaola. The audience included five family members and two relatives, all of whom were reasonably attentive. The recording of the stories was done by Zhu Yongzhong using a Sony Walkman WM-F2041, a lapel microphone (no microphone power source) and Sony EF Normal tapes.

Zhu Shanzhong, male, b. 1955, he attended school for two years and was taught to read Chinese by his father. He was born in Zhujiaola. Since approximately 1984, he has traveled about once a year to work in Tibet, Xinjiang and western Qinghai mining gold and doing road work, carpentry and other jobs. Presently, he does carpentry work and paints furniture. He is fluent in Mangghuer and Gangou Chinese Dialect. During the morning of February 10, 1994 he told stories in Zhu Yongzhong's home. There were approximately ten people present. The recording of the stories was done by Zhu Yongzhong using a Sony Walkman WM-F2041, a lapel microphone (no microphone power source) and Sony EF Normal tapes.

Zhu Wenhui, male, b. 1946, Zhu Yongzhong's father, a Guanting primary school graduate, born in Zhujiaola where he has lived all his life except for the time spent attending school in Guanting and Zhu Family Village 朱家村 in Zhongchuan. He was a "barefoot" doctor from 1967-1975. He taught at Hulancher Primary School, Zhongchuan Township from 1975-1995. He presently (1999) teaches at Zhujiaola Village Primary School. He is fluent in Mangghuer and the local Chinese dialect. He has five children. During the morning of February 10, 1994, he told stories in his home. There were approximately ten people present. The recording of the stories was done by Zhu Yongzhong using a Sony Walkman WM-F2041, a lapel microphone (no microphone power source) and Sony EF Normal tapes.

Zhu Yongzhong, b. 1970, is a Mangghuer native of Zhujiaola Village, Zhongchuan Township. He began his education in 1975 at Hulancher Primary School and, after graduating, he attended Gangou Lower Secondary Middle School 甘沟初级中学 from 1981-1982. He then attended Zhongchuan Lower Secondary School from 1982-1984. After graduating, he enrolled in Minhe County Normal School 民和师范学校, where he majored in English. Upon being awarded a diploma in 1987, he taught English in Guanting Secondary School 官亭中学 from 1987 to 1991, at which time he moved to Minzhu Lower Secondary School 民主初中, Xiakou Township, where he taught for one year. In 1992 he was enrolled at Qinghai Education Institute in Xining where he matriculated in English and graduated in 1994. Since that time, he has taught English in Zhongchuan Lower Secondary School. He is fluent in Minhe Mangghuer, several local Chinese dialects, as well as Modern Standard Chinese and English. He is presently conducting research on Mangghuer folklore as well as the local linguistic situation. Zhu Yongzhong collected and translated a number of the selections presented here.

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Part One

INTRODUCTION

Abstract

In the east-central portion of Northwest China's Qinghai Province dwell the majority of China's Monguor (Tu 土) nationality, classified as one of China's fifty-six official ethnic groups and numbering 190,000 (1990). The 37,900 Minhe Mangghuer, dwelling in Minhe Hui and Mangghuer (Tu) County, are the second largest Monguor group. The Minhe Mangghuer language has primarily Mongolic lexicon and morphosyntax, while at the same time it exhibits massive lexical and phonological influences from Chinese. This collection of more than twenty folktales is presented in the Mangghuer written system (based on a modified *pinyin* 拼音 system), with English translation and extensive notes, and provides valuable linguistic materials on this endangered Monguor dialect.

Names

The Monguor are citizens of China, much influenced by Tibetan Buddhism. They share Mongolic-based lexical items in their several very different languages/dialects and live primarily in Qinghai and Gansu provinces in Northwest China. The Monguor were classified as the "Tu" nationality by the Chinese government in the 1950s. We use "Mongghul" and "Mangghuer" for residents of the nationality living, respectively, in Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County 互助土族自治县 and Minhe Hui and Mangghuer (Tu) Autonomous County 民和回族土族自治县, for these are terms used by local people to refer to themselves.¹ We use "Monguor" to refer to the nationality and to groups of the nationality whose self-label we do not presently know.

Certain Minhe Mangghuer born before 1950 use the term "Mangghuer Kun" to refer to all Qinghai Monguor and Mongols from Inner Mongolia and Qinghai.² People in this same age group employ "Chighang Mangghuer" (White Monguor) for Monguor in Qinghai and Gansu and Inner Mongolia Mongols, "Qidai Mangghuer" (Chinese Monguor) for Mongols in Northeast China (*Dongbei* 东北), and "Khara Mangghuer" (Black Monguor) for Mongolia's Mongols. "Mani Kun" (Our People; Our Nationality) is used to designate Qinghai-Gansu Monguor and Inner Mongolia Mongols and sometimes it is used to indicate Mangghuer living in the speaker's local area.

Other Minhe Mangghuer use "Mangghuer and "Mangghuer Kun" to denote all Monguor (Tu) and Mongols in China and Mongolia.

Some literate Mangghuer contend they are "Turen" 土人 (Monguor People/Nationality) and not "Mangghuer." They believe that the latter appellation applies only to Mongols in China.

Many Mangghuer, regardless of age, call themselves "Jieni Kun" (Self People), "Dani Kun" (Our People; Our Nationality), and "Dasini Kun" (Our People; Our Nationality) to distinguish Monguor from Hui, Han, and Tibetan.

"Turen" and "Tumin" 土民 are terms used by Qinghai Han and Hui to refer to Monguor. "Lao" 老 is a pejorative widely used in China to refer to various non-Han peoples, including White non-Chinese citizens. "Laotumin," "Laotu," "Laoturen," and "Laotuger" are used by local Han and Hui from Gushan Region and Chuankou in Minhe County and by Han and Hui living in Ledu 乐都 and Ping'an 平安 counties.

Many Chinese-educated Mangghuer use "Turen," "Tumin," and "Tuzu" 土族, all of which designate "Monguor People/Nationality," to refer to themselves. When Mangghuer complete personal record documents, e.g. school enrollment forms, marriage licenses, and identity cards, they are required to write "Tu" 土. This is also the only comprehensible answer Mangghuer can give to non-Monguor when a Mangghuer travels to other regions of China and is asked, "What is your ethnicity?"

Among local Mangghuer, valley Mangghuer call mountain-dwelling Mangghuer "Wula Kun," "Wulaqi," and "Wulawer," all of which translate "Mountain People." These names convey a sense of being honest and backward. Mountain-dwelling Mangghuer call valley-dwelling Mangghuer "Chuan 川 Kun" or "Valley People." This term carries a connotation of being weak and cunning.

Many Qinghai Tibetans refer to Monguor as "Hor."

¹It should also be noted that Huzhu Mongghul employ "Mongghul" to refer to themselves and to Mongols.

²Local people do not have the concept of Mongols living in Mongolia or Xinjiang. Consequently, there are no such terms in Mangghuer.

Literature

Schram (1954, 1957, 1961) and Róna-Tas (1966) are the best sources for reviews of pre-Liberation era literature on the Monguor, although they make little mention of the Minhe Mangghuer. Stuart and Limusishiden's (1994) collection of Monguor-related ethnographic and folkloric materials includes a bibliography listing Chinese language studies done mostly in the 1980s following the resumption of such studies in China after the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). More recently, Stuart and his colleagues have published materials on the Minhe and Huzhu Monguor, which are listed in the bibliography of this book. These studies highlight the differences that exist between these two Monguor groups. The Monguor of Datong Hui and Monguor Autonomous County 大通回族土族自治县 and Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture 黄南藏族自治州 in Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan 云南 continue to be poorly understood.

Linguistic studies of Mangghuer have only recently begun; see Slater (2003a, 2003b) for descriptions of Mangghuer linguistic structures. Of particular interest is Slater (2003a), which is based in large part on an analysis of many of the texts in this book, and thus provides a companion to the present volume. Mangghuer and Mongghul are treated separately for the first time in Janhun (2003), allowing examination of the differences between these two quite divergent linguistic systems.

Population

The tables in this section provide information on the Monguor population in China, specifically information on Minhe County and data on Minhe Mangghuer language competency.

Table One. 1994 Distribution of China's Monguor Population (Li 1995:247)

Location	Population
CHINA	190,000
Qinghai Province	160,000
Xining City	36,800
Datong Hui and Monguor Autonomous County	34,650
Haidong District 海东地区	103,600
Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County	57,000
Minhe Hui and Mangghuer Autonomous County	37,900
Ledu County 乐都县	6,600
Other Counties	2,000
Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture 黄南藏族自治州	7,971
Tongren County 同仁县	7,471
Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture 海北藏族自治州	7,579
Menyuan Hui Autonomous County 门源回族自治县	6,091
Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture 海南藏族自治州	3,496
Guide County 贵德县	1,289
Gonghe County 共和县	1,186
Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture 海西蒙古族藏族自治州	2,800
Yushu and Guoluo Tibetan autonomous prefectures 玉树和果洛藏族自治州	Some
Gansu Province 甘肃省	20,000 ³
Yunnan Province 云南省	2,000 ⁴

³The Gansu Monguor population figure reported by Li is significantly higher than the 12,567 listed by Li and Stuart (1990:75), who used Ma's (1986) study of the population of Gansu's non-Han peoples. In Li and Stuart's figures (1990:76), Tianzhu County 天祝县 accounted for 10,051 of Gansu's Monguor population.

⁴It appears that the Yunnan residents classified as Monguor are not actually related to those in Qinghai and Gansu, but have been given the same classification due to having been traditionally known to their neighbors by a similar Chinese name.

Table Two. Minhe Hui and Mangghuer Autonomous County: Population by Nationality (1993)

Area Name ⁵	Total ⁶		Han		Hui		Monguor		Tibetan	
	Population	% ⁷	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
	34,4273	100	159,709	46	133,367	39	38,872	11	11,601	3
Chuankou Region 川口镇	50,782	15	27,352	17/54 ⁸	21,825	16/43	979	3/2	255	2/1
Machang-yuan 马场垣	16,932	5	9,277	6/55	7,633	6/45	10	-/-	12	-/-
Beishan 北山	5,460	2	5,402	3/99	-	-/-	21	-/-	31	-/1
Bazhou 巴州	12,425	4	5,808	4/47	6,606	5/53	7	-/-	4	-/-
Xigou 西沟	10,168	3	2,256	1/22	7,065	5/69	-	-/-	847	7/8
Donggou 东沟	8,482	2	6,121	4/72	1,961	1/23	6	-/-	336	3/4
Lianhe 联合	8,130	2	3,294	2/41	4,385	3/54	3	-/-	448	4/6
Chaigou 柴沟	7,366	2	5,501	3/75	1,847	1/25	15	-/-	3	-/-
Gushan Region 古鄯镇	13,106	4	11,243	7/86	1,676	1/13	162	-/1	24	-/-
Zongbu 总堡	11,143	3	10,757	7/97	256	-/2	2	-/-	128	1/1
Longzhi 隆治	8,956	3	8,900	6/99	7	-/-	21	-/-	28	-/-
Dazhuang 大庄	12,599	4	27	-/-	12,571	9/100	1	-/-	-	-/-

⁵ Unless otherwise indicated, areas are townships.

⁶Omitted from this table are smaller numbers of people representing 'other' nationalities, which include 34 Salar 撒拉, 50 Mongolians, 420 Dongxiang 东乡, 14 Koreans, 179 Manchu 满族, 7 Zhuang 壮, 3 Xibe, 8 Bai 白, 1 Miao 苗, 6 Qiang 羌, 1 Tujia 土家, and 1 Baoan 保安, for a total of 724 individuals. Of these, 371 live in the Chuankou Region, 6 in Beishan, 1 in the Gushan Region, 47 in the Maying Region, 3 in Maying, 236 in the Guanting Region, 32 in Zhongchuan, 26 in Haitaozhuang, and 2 in Tang'eryuan.

⁷All percentages were generated by the authors. Their sums may not equal 100, owing to rounding to the nearest whole number. A dash symbol (-) indicates either a value of either "0" or less than 1 percent.

⁸The first number indicates percentage of total county population. In this case, 17 percent of the total Minhe Han population lives in Chuankou Town. The second number, after the slash, denotes percentage of the relevant nationality in the particular area. In this particular case, 54 percent of Chuankou Town's population is Han.

Table Two (continued)

Area Name	Total		Han		Hui		Monguor		Tibetan	
	Population	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
Maying Region 马营镇	21,959	6	7,281	5/33	14,091	11/64	182	-/1	358	3/2
Zhuandao 转导	9,234	3	3,812	2/41	5,321	4/58	80	-/1	21	-/-
Tacheng 塔城	7,489	2	2,714	2/36	4,711	4/63	61	-/1	12	-/-
Manping 满坪	14,649	4	7,851	5/54	6,398	5/44	269	1/2	128	1/1
Qianhe 前河	11,602	3	3,739	2/32	4,106	3/35	3,746	10/32	11	-/-
Gangou 甘沟	13,238	4	4,582	3/35	4,703	4/36	2,581	7/19	1,372	12/10
Guanting Region 官亭地区	14,882	4	198	-/1	1,276	1/9	13,266	34/89	16	-/-
Zhongchuan 中川	17,188	5	60	-/-	4,288	3/25	12,790	33/74	18	-/-
Xing'er 杏儿	3,605	1	388	-/11	-	-/-	781	2/22	2,436	21/68
Xiakou 峡口	5,386	2	267	-/5	328	-/6	3,847	10/71	944	8/18
Haitao-zhuang 核桃庄	10,641	3	2,454	2/23	8,157	6/77	4	-/-	-	-/-
Li'erbu 李儿堡	8,764	3	3,829	2/44	4,693	4/54	4	-/-	238	2/3
Tang'er-yuan 塘尔源	8,784	3	1,607	1/18	6,844	5/78	-	-/-	331	3/4
Xiamen 峡门	10,741	3	8,976	6/84	425	-/4	3	-/-	1,337	12/12
Xinmin 新民	7,059	2	5,432	3/77	419	-/6	-	-/-	1208	10/17
Lucaogou 卢草沟	5,991	2	4,993	3/83	1	-/-	-	-/-	997	9/17
Songshu 松树	7,451	2	5,588	3/75	1,774	1/24	31	-/-	58	-/1

Table Three. Percent of Mangghuer Who Speak Mangghuer and Where Mangghuer is Spoken in Minhe Hui and Mangghuer Autonomous County

Area	% of Mangghuer Who Speak Mangghuer ⁹	Villages Where Mangghuer Is Spoken
Gangou Township	95	Paijiaping 白家坪, Hanjia Yinshan 韩家阴山, Hanjia Yangshan 韩家阳山, Shangzhuangkuo 上庄廓, Zhongchuanbu 中川堡, Longjia 隆家
Xing'er Township	99	Chenjiao Wula, Kuersawa, Xiela 协拉, Kuernang, Shanzhuang 山庄, Caijatan 蔡家滩
Xiakou Township	99	Minzhu 民主, Mei'er 美二, Xiakou 峡口, Zhangjiaping 张家坪, Miancaogou 面草沟, Badashan 八大山, Weijiashan 魏家山 (includes Han residents), Panger 盘格 (includes Hui residents), and Tuanjie 团结 (where nearly all residents are classified as "Tibetan." Only some residents over the age of fifty have linguistic competence in Tibetan, however; Mangghuer is most residents' first language.)
Zhongchuan Township	100	Meiyi 美一, Jintian 金田, Qingyi 清一, Qing'er 清二, Guangming 光明, Qianjin 前进, Hongnai 红崖 (includes Hui residents), Nongchang 农场 (includes Hui residents), Xiangyang 向阳 (includes Hui residents), Hexi 河西 (approximately 50% of residents are Hui), Hulangcheng 虎狼城 (Hui outnumber Mangghuer), Zhujiola 朱交拉 (approximately 9% of residents are Hui)
Guanting Region	100	Lajia 喇家, Baojia 鲍家, Guanting 官亭 (approximately 9% of residents are Hui and Dongxiang), Zhaomuchuan 赵木川, Heyan 河沿, Qianjin 前进, Xianfeng 先锋
Qianhe Township	95	Niejie 聂家, Wangjiaping 王家坪, Lajia 喇家, Zhujia 朱家, Paijia 白家, Wangjia 王家, Ha Wangjia 下王家, Guandi 官地, Gaojiashan 高家山
Gansu Province	30	Across the Yellow River Mangghuer dwell in such villages as San'erjia 三二家 and Ghadang Doro in Shiyan 石塬 Township. They speak Mangghuer and have distinctive Mangghuer customs. The residents of the first small village of San'erjia are all Mangghuer. Their language is very similar to Minhe Mangghuer. Family names are chiefly Song 宋 and Wang 王. Informants indicated that their forebears crossed the Yellow River from Sanchuan. In Dahejia 大河家 Township Mangghuer residents number roughly 250 of which about 5% speak Mangghuer. Mangghuer females from Sanchuan have married and moved here. Most live in the two small subsidiary villages of Changli and Guojia 郭家 of Kangdiao 康吊 Village in Dahejia Township. Several Mangghuer families dwell in other villages in Gansu.

⁹Zhu Yongzhong has provided the information in this table based on his personal estimates. Ninety percent of Chuankou Mangghuer speak Mangghuer.

Writing Systems and Language Materials

Pinyinized Monguor Publications

Li Keyu 李克郁 (e.g. 1988) and other Huzhu Mongghul have used a modified *pinyin* (romanized) system to write Huzhu Mongghul. Attempts to teach basic literacy in Mongghul have met with limited success in Huzhu County. Today, only a few Huzhu primary schools use (handwritten) Mongghul texts for classes in mathematics and Mongghul language. In terms of materials in the language, *Chileb*, a mimeographed periodical of Huzhu folklore selections in Huzhu Mongghul with interlinear Chinese character translation published in Weiyuan 威远¹⁰ by the Huzhu Culture Office. *Chileb* reaches very few people, is composed on a manual typewriter, and is written in a variety of Huzhu dialectal variants and punctuation and capitalization styles. Poor quality duplication further challenges a full comprehension of its contents. The *Chileb* materials have recently been collected, unified with regards to spelling and punctuation, provided with many explanatory notes, and republished for the international scholarly community (Limusishiden and Stuart 2001b). Additional Mongghul text material is available in Limusishiden and Stuart (2001a).

One thousand copies of *English-in-Mongghul*, a text teaching English in the language, were published with the financial assistance of the Canada-China Fund. In cooperation with the Huzhu Culture Office, the Fund also paid for the broadcast of a television program by the Huzhu County Television Station during Spring Festival and the summer of 1997 that followed the text. The texts were distributed free of charge to Mongghul-speaking middle school students in Huzhu. The program was recorded by Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart, who also wrote the book. This marked the first time for Mongghul to be used in a televised program. Aside from several international publications by Stuart and colleagues concerning Minhe Mangghuer, there have been no attempts to record other Monguor languages in the *pinyin* system.

The first time we are aware of Minhe Mangghuer being READ before a large public audience occurred on June 13, 1997 at the opening ceremony of the new Xiakou Lower Secondary School built with funds donated by the Trace Foundation.¹¹ Kevin Stuart read a statement in English prepared by the TRACE Foundation, which was followed by a translation in Mangghuer read by Zhu Yongzhong, followed by a translation in Chinese read by Wang Xianzhen.

Alphabets

Table Four provides examples of how *pinyinized* Monguor is used in Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer.¹²

¹⁰The largest town and administrative center of Huzhu County.

¹¹The TRACE Foundation is a philanthropy located in New York City.

¹²Limusishiden and Zhu Yongzhong provide these examples.

Table Four. *Pinyinized* Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer¹³

Mongghul-Mangghuer Alphabet	Mongghul Word	English Translation	Similar English Sound	Mangghuer Word	English Translation	Similar English Sound
A	nara	sun	father	aba	father	father
B	bazari	town	but	bang	be, have	but
C	ciden	dictionary	that's	cida	tear	that's
CH	chog	damp	chirp	chigang	white	yard
D	darimaa	fat	deep	dunda	center	deep
E	timeen	camel	even	nige	this	eleven
F	fulaan	red	fish	fugure	cow	fish
G	gurixjog	wooden-shovels	gave	gui	run	gave
GH	ghajari	field	hop	ghada	outside	--
H	hawari	nose	have	he	take	have
I	tingere	sky, heaven	Islam	nidi	door	seen
J	jari	use	jam	jiari	kill	jam
K	kundin	heavy	kettle	keli	say	kettle
KH	--	--	--	khara	black	--
L	lalang	young	love	kuala	praise	love
M	mula	small	move	mushi	read	move
N	nara	sun	name	nasi	age	name
NG	Mongghul	Mongghul	young	shizhang	felt	young
O	mori	horse	open	soni	night	open
P	pudog	evil, ghost	pig	pudera	run	pig
Q	qighaan	white	choose	qi	you	choose
R	gurai	light	right	ri	come	right
S	saighan	beautiful	sea	sara	moon	sea
SH	taashi	stone	masher	shini	new	masher
T	taraa	grain	ten	tara	grain	ten
U	timuri	iron	wool	suzu	water	wool
W	tawun	five	wool	wulang	many	wool
X	xnii	smile	sheet	xijie	shy	sheet
Y	yara	pustule	yard	yila	cry	yard
Z	zeewu	brother-in-law	(t)zoo	hazi	blind	(t)zoo
ZH	zhuangki	pretend	drunk	kuanzhan	wide	jerk

A few of the Mangghuer sounds are so different from English that technical descriptions must be given. These include a number of sounds which are also found in Chinese (the so-called "palatal" and "retroflex" series of consonants), as well as a pair of uvular stops which Mangghuer has preserved among the Mongolic words in its lexicon.

c, a voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate [ts^h];

ch, a voiceless aspirated retroflex affricate [tʂ^h];

gh, a voiceless unaspirated uvular stop [q];

j, a voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate [tɕ];

kh, a voiceless aspirated uvular stop [q^h];

q, a voiceless aspirated palatal affricate [tɕ^h];

sh, a voiceless retroflex fricative [ʂ];

¹³"Monguor-Language Materials," a *Sino-Platonic Paper*, includes a word list beginning with an English word followed by equivalents in Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer. This list is important for better understanding the differences between Huzhu Mongghul and Minhe Mangghuer as well as the different influences of Tibetan and Chinese on the two varieties. Slater (2003a:25-37) gives technical descriptions of the full range of Mangghuer phonemes and their allophonic variants.

- x, a voiceless palatal fricative [ç];
 z, a voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate [ts];
 zh, a voiceless unaspirated retroflex affricate [tʂ].

As in English and many other languages, the digraph *ng* represents a velar nasal consonant [ŋ], which appears only in at the ends of syllables, never at the beginning of a syllable or of a word.

Notes on the Interlinear Texts

Format of the Texts

In this book we present the Mangghuer folktales not simply in running text of a given language, but rather in an interlinearized format. Our intent is to make it easier for linguistic scholars to study the grammatical and morphological structures of Mangghuer. Each line of the Mangghuer text is followed by a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss in English, and then by an English free translation, as for example in the following pair of successive lines from the tale *Taolaini Jianjia* 'Rabbit's Trick':

- (6) *Du gesi yi-ge wula diere sao-ser bang ma,*
 now 3:PL one-CL mountain on sit-PROG OBJ:COP PRT
 Now they were sitting on a mountain,
- (7) *jianjian=ni gedie-si luosi-ji lai ber-lang bai.*
 each:one=GEN belly-PL be:hungry-IMPERF NEG become-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
 (and) each one's belly was (so) hungry (that he) couldn't stand it.

The top line, in italic type, is the original Mangghuer, with word-internal morpheme breaks indicated by dashes and clitic boundaries indicated by equals signs; the second line is the corresponding English morphological analysis. The third line is the English free translation.

Of course, a non-Mangghuer reader who is interested only in the content of the folktales may choose to read only the free translation lines. We hope, though, that the morphological analysis and glossing will be of use both to linguistic scholars and to learners of Mangghuer.

A word should be said here regarding the line breaks found in the texts. All of the folktales were transcribed by Mangghuer speakers, and in each case, the transcriber decided where to insert commas and sentence breaks. We have decided simply to follow the indications of the transcribers and have made a line break anywhere there was a comma, a period, an exclamation point, or a question mark. This means that the line breaks in the interlinearized folktales have no theoretical status; they do not consistently correspond to any particular level of structural analysis. Some lines consist of only a single word (for example, a vocative expression like "Mother, Mother" will appear as two lines), while others consist of a rather long complex sentence. In the example given just above, lines (6) and (7) together constitute a single sentence; line (6) contains the first clause of this sentence, while line (7) contains two additional clauses.

Transcription Practices

Most of the folktales presented in this collection were recorded and transcribed in their original versions. In all cases, we have tried to transcribe as closely as possible what the original speaker actually said, so that the texts presented here represent natural Mangghuer.

There is some noteworthy variation among the Mangghuer dialects spoken in different communities, and in these texts we have not attempted to standardize; rather, we have given the dialectal variants which the original speakers actually used. In many cases, when we are aware of a common dialectal variant, we have provided the alternate form in a footnote.

Readers who are familiar with Mandarin Chinese will recognize many Chinese borrowings in the Mangghuer texts. In many cases, these borrowings are spelled somewhat differently here than they would be in Mandarin Pinyin. For example, word-initial *f* in a Chinese borrowing is almost always pronounced *hu* in Mangghuer, giving us Mangghuer *huangxing* for Mandarin *fangxin* 放心 'to rest easy'. Notice, too, in this word, that the final *n* of the Standard Mandarin form *xin* 'heart' is *ng* in Mangghuer. In all such cases, we have attempted to follow the pronunciation of the original Mangghuer speaker.

A related dialect variation is the alternation between *f* and *h* native Mongolic words, such that in the texts we sometimes find *fuguer* and sometimes *huguer*, both meaning 'ox' or 'bovine'. This is a living variation in Mangghuer, and we have simply given the original speaker's pronunciation in each case, not attempting to standardize in any way.

There is very little morphophonemic variation in Mangghuer, but in some cases syllables are contracted in normal speech. For example, the volitive suffix is *-a*, and when it is added to a verb root ending in the vowel *e*, such as *ge* 'do,' the *e* often disappears, leaving the reduced form *ga*. In the texts that follow, we indicate the underlying morphological form as *ge-a*, with a footnote to indicate that this form was reduced to *ga* when it was actually pronounced.

Theory of the Free Translations

Our primary goal in publishing these texts is to facilitate study of the Mangghuer language. Thus, we have adopted a fairly literal translation strategy. The English free translation of each line is, insofar as possible, intended to illuminate the structure of the original Mangghuer text.

On the other hand, we have also aimed for readability in the English text and so have added (in particular) English discourse markers which help to give the translation a more or less natural flow in English. Thus, we have often added connectors such as 'and' or 'but'; when we add such a connector that we feel is implied by the original text, but which does not actually correspond to any word in the Mangghuer construction, we enclose the English form in parentheses.

Parentheses are also used to enclose pronouns and other linguistic items which we felt would help to clarify the meaning of the text but which were actually omitted by the original speakers. We have often supplied pronouns to clarify the subject or object of a verb; these are clearly understood from the context and not grammatically required in Mangghuer, but the English text would be unreadable with such information omitted, since English is much less flexible in its rules for participant reference than is Mangghuer.

Finally, we have sometimes supplied interpretive comments or explanatory notes, and these are also enclosed in parentheses, to indicate that they are not literal translations of the original text.

We have made no attempt to translate some particularly difficult devices, such as the emphatic particle *bai* or the final particle *a*. Such discourse markers are extremely context-sensitive and probably cannot be said to have any lexical meaning at all (at least as lexical semantics is traditionally conceived), so no consistent translation can be given. Some markers, such as the hearsay evidential *gelang*, have more consistent meanings, and sometimes (though not always) these meanings have been indicated in the free translations; in the case of *gelang*, we sometimes translate "it is said" or "people said" or the like, but even this marker sometimes functions solely as an indication of emphasis, and in such instances it is not translated at all.

In attempting to achieve reasonably good English style, we have sometimes varied the free translation of a specific lexical item as the context seemed to dictate. Thus, the verb *khaila* is always glossed 'shout', but in the free translation we use 'shout' if the subject is human but perhaps 'neigh' or 'squeak' if the subject is a horse or a bird. In some cases we fear that this may lead to some unfortunate confusion, such as in the case of the verb *ber*. This word is always glossed 'become', but which is sometimes translated 'be OK', 'become OK', and so forth. We hope that there are few such potential sources of confusion, and that any which we have neglected will be easily overcome by the patience and insight of the reader.

Software

The texts were interlinearized with the program *The Linguist's Shoebox*, produced by SIL International, and were aligned with a set of macros for *Microsoft Word*, generously provided by Susanna Cumming, of the Linguistics Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Both of these tools are available for free download from their respective authors' websites. The final versions of the texts were produced in *Microsoft Word*.

Glossing Conventions

We have no illusions that our glossing and translating of the Mangghuer texts has been entirely successful. We do hope that at least we have attained a measure of consistency, but nagging doubts remain in some areas (such as, for example, whether some suffixes of the form *ni* are properly analyzed as Possessives, Genitives, or something else). On the whole, though, we are confident that our glossing is accurate. We welcome comments from readers who may be able to make additional contributions to our current understanding of Mangghuer grammar and morphology.

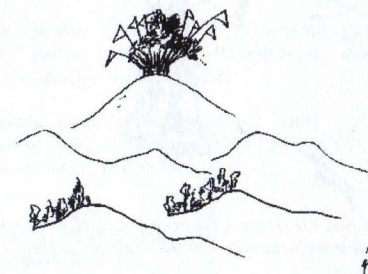
The glossing conventions adopted here follow the practice and analysis of Slater (2003a, 2003b). Here, we will provide a brief description of each of the grammatical glosses; for further analysis of the range of functions of each grammatical category, the reader is referred to those two publications.

Table Five. Abbreviations and Symbols Used in Glossing

ABL	Ablative case
ACC	Accusative case
ADJ	Adjective marker
ADV	Adverb marker
ASP	Aspect marker
ASSOC	Associative
CAUSE	Causative
CL	Classifier
COLL	Collective (indicates two or more actors acting together)
COMP	Comparative
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative case
DIR	Directive case (indicates direction toward which something is moving)
DV	Dialect Variant (gives a different form which is also used by Mangghuer speakers)
EMPH	Emphatic particle
EXCL	Exclamatory interjection
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive case
HEARSAY	Hearsay evidential
HORT	Hortative (third person imperative)
IMPERF	Imperfective aspect
INDEF	Indefinite
INSTR	Instrumental case
LOC	Locative case
NEG	Negative
NOMLZR	Nominalizer (turns a verb into a noun)
OBJ	Objective perspective (indicates that the speaker distances himself from the event)
ONOM	Onomatopoeia (a word which imitates a sound)
ORD	Ordinal enumerator
PERF	Perfective aspect
PL	Plural number
POSS	Possessive (indicates possession by a third person; equivalent to 'his' or 'her')
PROG	Progressive aspect
PROHIB	Prohibitive (negative used with imperatives: 'do not')
PRT	Final particle (these particles have broad interactional or affective meanings)
PURP	Purpose
QUEST	Question
QUOTE	Quotative (indicates the reporting of someone's speech)
REFLPOSS	Reflexive Possessive (indicates possession by the subject; equivalent to 'one's own')
SG	Singular number
SUBJ	Subjective perspective (indicates that the speaker associates himself closely with the event)
VOL	Voluntative (first person imperative)
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
()	Meaning inferred from context OR Explanatory note
:	Multiple semantic or grammatical meanings included in a single form
-	Morpheme boundary (used to indicate suffixes added to a root)
=	Clitic boundary (a clitic is a word which is phonologically bound)

Part Two

FOLKTALES



Wobo are thought to protect local people from evils and disasters and to bring good luck and wealth. Well-known monks or Living Buddhas are invited to bury benba (treasure bottles) containing twelve sorts of grain, twelve kinds of gold medicine, the essence of one hundred flowers, incense, butter, edible oil, and a piece of active dough. Benba are believed to strengthen the power of the local area and bring good luck to local people. Wobo are located atop mountains. After the benba are buried, a square brick or stone wall (2-4 m wide) is built and a wooden frame is attached to the top of the wall. Long-pole flags, wooden swords, and branches are inserted inside. Each year, local people hold village activities to refresh the local wobo. During this time they insert new wooden swords and branches and invite monks and older women to recite scriptures.

Heroines and Heroes



Danyang Princess is said to have been a general who combined wisdom with courage. She was a skilled archer.

Shuangyang Princess

As told by Xin Huaizhi¹⁴

- (1) *Shuangyang Gongzhu.*
Shuangyang princess
Shuangyang Princess.
- (2) *Tiedun=du,*
past=DAT
In olden times,
- (3) *Xitou beida Danyang Gongzhu ma Shuangyang Gongzhu ge-ji*
West side Danyang princess and Shuangyang princess QUOTE-IMPERF

ajia-diao ghuer=luo bang.
elder:sister-younger:sibling two=COLL OBJ:COP
in the West there were two sisters named Danyang Princess and Shuangyang Princess.
- (4) *Shuangyang Gongzhu Gushan beida-ku wuruang=ni guanli-ser bang.*
Shuangyang princess Gushan side-IMPERF place=ACC manage-PROG OBJ:COP
Shuangyang Princess managed the Gushan Region.¹⁵
- (5) *Sanchuan=ni Danyang Gongzhu guanli-ser bang.*
Sanchuan=ACC Danyang princess manage-PROG OBJ:COP
Sanchuan was managed by Danyang Princess.
- (6) *Xiangtang gan-si=ni laojier bang.*
Xiangtang 3.SG-PL=GEN original:home OBJ:COP
Xiangtang¹⁶ was their original home.
- (7) *Ajia-diao ghuer=luo=ni wuyi hudu wenduer bang,*
elder:sister-younger:sibling two=COLL=GEN martial:skills very high OBJ:COP
The two sisters' martial skills were very great,
- (8) *han Zhenzhuliehuoqi ge-ji baobei ge bang.*
also Zhenzhuliehuoqi QUOTE-IMPERF treasure SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
and (they) also had a treasure (flag) named Zhenzhuliehuoqi.
- (9) *Shulian=du,*
evening=DAT
In the evening,
- (10) *bazer terghai=du qi=nang guala-sa,*
town head=DAT flag=REFLPOSS hang-COND
if their flag was hung up on the castle wall,
- (11) *zhouwei shi-ji-li wuruang wudier¹⁷ shenge geigan¹⁸ bang.*
surroundings ten-several-li place daylight same:as bright OBJ:COP
(it could make) the surrounding area as bright as day for more than ten li.

¹⁴ Collector: Wang Xianzhen.

¹⁵ Gushan is located in the middle of Minhe County.

¹⁶ Xiangtang is located near Chuankou Township, ninety kilometers north of Danyang City, Zhongchuan Township.

¹⁷ DV: wuduer

¹⁸ DV: gegān

- (12) *Ni qi=nang zhanchang=du heghe xi-sa,*
this flag=REFLPOSS battlefield=DAT take go-COND
If this flag of theirs was brought to the battlefield,
- (13) *mao-kong-si qi=ni yi-ge qige-ku,*
bad-person-PL flag=ACC one-CL see-IMPERF
as soon as enemies noticed the flag,
- (14) *ayi danang pudera yao-lang,*
fear after run go-OBJ:IMPERF
(they) would be frightened and flee.
- (15) *Ni baobei bi-ku xian=du,*
this treasure SUBJ:COP-IMPERF reason=DAT
Because (they had) this treasure,
- (16) *kan a gan-si=ni qihula da-lang.*
who also 3:SG-PL=ACC bully cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
no one bullied them.
- (17) *Ni-mian qi=ni xian=du gan ghuer=luo=ni minsheng mantianxia chuanli*
this-CL flag=GEN reason=DAT 3:SG two=COLL=GEN reputation everywhere spread
kaike-jiang.
begin-OBJ:PERF
Because of this flag their fame began to spread far and wide.
- (18) *Songchao Huangshang xitou=du lihaila-ai ajia-diao ghuer-jian*
Song:Dynasty emperor West=DAT fierce-ADJ elder:sister-younger:sibling two-self
gher-sang=ni suonuosi-ji bi-sa,
go:out-PERF=ACC hear-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
When Song Dynasty Emperor heard that two powerful sisters had appeared in the West,
- (19) *naojianra kaike-jiang.*
be:upset begin-OBJ:PERF
(he) began to worry.
- (20) *Gan mula-ji,*
3:SG think-IMPERF
He thought,
- (21) *"Dan ni ajia-diao ghuer=luo ni-mian qi=nang*
if this elder:sister-younger:sibling two=COLL this-CL flag=REFLPOSS
bari danang dasi=ni peghe-la ri-sa ya ge-ni?
take after 1:PL=ACC hit-PURP come-COND what do-SUBJ:FUT
"If these two sisters bring this flag of theirs to fight us, what shall we do?"
- (22) *Nuguo-si=ni qi=ni xian khuleghe-wa ya!*
3:SG-PL=GEN flag=ACC first steal-VOL PRT
Let's steal their flag first!
- (23) *Nuguo ghu=la=ni qi=ni khuleghe heghe-sa,*
3:SG two=COLL=GEN flag=ACC steal take-COND
If the two (sisters') flag is stolen,
- (24) *muguo-si tingtai chiber zhang beghe da-ni."*
3:SG-PL that:much easy war hit cannot-SUBJ:FUT
they will not fight us so easily."

- (25) *Songchao Huangshang zhuyi=nang bari danang,*
Song:Dynasty emperor idea=REFLPOSS take after
After Song Dynasty Emperor decided on a plan,
- (26) *gan mali Genqin,*
3:SG quickly Genqin
he quickly (assigned) Genqin,
- (27) *Huangqing,*
Huangqing
Huangqing,
- (28) *Huihu san-ge dajiang=nang paila-ji binsi=ni daila danang*
Huihu three-CL general=REFLPOSS assign-IMPERF soldiers=ACC take:along after
qiaoqier-di Gushan khergha-ku yimeghe ge=du niu-gha
quietly-ADV Gushan beside-IMPERF village SG:INDEF=DAT hide-CAUSE
ge-jiang.
do-OBJ:PERF
and Huihu these three of his generals to take (their) soldiers and hide quietly in a village near Gushan.
- (29) *Niker yan=du,*
this time=DAT
At this moment,
- (30) *Shuangyang Gongzhu=ni Beilongma khaila-ji ai hangbura-lang.*
Shuangyang princess=GEN white:dragon:horse shout-IMPERF NEG finish-OBJ:IMPERF
Shuangyang Princess' White Dragon Horse neighed without stopping.
- (31) *Shuangyang Gongzhu suguo-ji,*
Shuangyang princess curse-IMPERF
Shuangyang Princess cursed,
- (32) *"Ni chushen,*
2:SG animal
"You animal,
- (33) *yang khaila-la bi?*
what shout-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
why are you shouting?
- (34) *Zhang ai peghe-ji wuda-sa khuer zhaola guang sha?"*
war NEG hit-IMPERF be:late-COND foot itch OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
Do (your) feet itch because (you) have not fought for a long time?"
- (35) *Shuangyang Gongzhu mali gher duoruoku kong=nang jiariji,*
Shuangyang princess quickly hand under-IMPERF person=REFLPOSS command
Shuangyang Princess quickly ordered her attendants,
- (36) *"Mali muni gongjian ma mori=ni jiula!"*
quickly 1:SG:GEN bow:and:arrow and horse=ACC be:ready
"Quickly prepare my bow and arrow and (my) horse!"
- (37) *Ting ge danang gongjian=nang beila danang,*
that do after bow:and:arrow=REFLPOSS carry after
Then after taking her bow and arrow,
- (38) *mali bazer ghada=juji pudera danang ghuer ge=du xi-jiang.*
quickly town outside=DIR run after valley SG:INDEF=DAT go-OBJ:PERF
(she) quickly raced outside of her walled city into a valley.

- (39) *Xi-sa*,
go-COND
When (she) arrived,
- (40) *mantianxia change chihang zhang'huang bang*.
everywhere totally white battle:tent OBJ:COP
(she found that) there were white battle tents everywhere.
- (41) *Shuangyang Gongzhu gaihara-lang*,
Shuangyang princess be:surprised-OBJ:IMPERF
Shuangyang Princess was surprised,
- (42) *mali pudera xi danang binbier ge=du erseghe-ji*,¹⁹
quickly run go after soldier SG:INDEF=DAT ask-IMPERF
(and she) quickly ran (and) asked a soldier,
- (43) *"Ni cheghe ber-ku=la ni wujiang=du kong sao-la guang*,
this time become-IMPERF=INST this place=DAT person sit-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP
"Until now nobody lived in this place,
- (44) *tasi ang=ji-ku-ni bi?"*
2:PL where=DIR-IMPERF-NOMLZR SUBJ:COP
where are (all of) you from?"
- (45) *Genqin zhang'huang=sang=nang gher-ji ri-ji*,
Genqin battle:tent=ABL=REFLPOSS go:out-IMPERF come-IMPERF
Genqin came out of his battle tent,
- (46) *yi-ge nao-sa weihun-da aguer ge ri-jiang*.
one-CL see-COND awe:inspiring-ADJ daughter SG:INDEF come-OBJ:PERF
(and) saw that an awe-inspiring girl had arrived.
- (47) *Khari erseghe-ji*,
return ask-IMPERF
(He) asked in reply,
- (48) *"Qi kan bi?"*
2:SG who SUBJ:COP
"Who are you?"
- (49) *Muni yin=du yang khuleghe-ji ju-la bi?"*
1:SG:GEN camp=DAT what peep-IMPERF see-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
Why are you spying on my camp?"
- (50) *Shuangyang Gongzhu keli-ji*,
Shuangyang princess say-IMPERF
Shuangyang Princess said,
- (51) *"Bi ni wujiang-ku zhurenjia Shuangyang Gongzhu bi*.
1:SG this place-IMPERF master Shuangyang princess SUBJ:COP
"I am Shuangyang Princess, the master of this area.
- (52) *Qi ma da ghu=la tani a da*,
2:SG PRT 1:PL two=COLL recognize also cannot
As for you, we two don't know each other,
- (53) *chou a ai bari*,
revenge also NEG take
(and we) have no score to settle,

¹⁹ DV: *ersighji*

- (54) *muni wujiang=du ya-ba ge-ji yin=nang*
1:SG:GEN place=DAT what-SUBJ:PERF QUOTE-IMPERF camp=REFLPOSS

bai-gha-la bi?"
stand-CAUSE-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
(so) why are you setting up your camp in my area?"
- (55) *Genqin Shuangyang Gongzhu bi-ku=ni miedie danang*,
Genqin Shuangyang princess SUBJ:COP-IMPERF=ACC know after
When Genqin realized that (she) was the Shuangyang Princess,
- (56) *mali binbier-si=la=nang Shuangyang Gongzhu=ni weike*
quickly soldier-PL=INST=REFLPOSS Shuangyang princess=ACC surround

ge-jiang.
QUOTE-OBJ:PERF
(he) quickly ordered his soldiers to surround Shuangyang Princess.
- (57) *Shuangyang Gongzhu diger a ai ayi danang*,
Shuangyang princess little:bit also NEG fear after
Shuangyang Princess was not even a little bit afraid,
- (58) *Songchao kong-si=la peghe kaikie-jiang*.
Song:Dynasty person-PL=INST hit begin-OBJ:PERF
(and she) began to fight with the Song Dynasty soldiers.
- (59) *Gan Genqin khergha peghe kuer danang yi-ge nao-sa*,
3:SG Genqin beside hit arrive after one-CL see-COND
When she fought near Genqin, (she) noticed,
- (60) *Genqin=ni wuyi gezai bang*,
Genqin=GEN martial:skills good OBJ:COP
(that) Genqin's martial skills were good,
- (61) *kong wosi-sang=ni a zaihang bang*.
person grow:up-PERF=GEN also beautiful OBJ:COP
(and) that (he) was also handsome.
- (62) *Qiaoqier-di khuleghe-ji Genqin=ni nao-lang*.
quietly-ADV peep-IMPERF Genqin=ACC see-OBJ:IMPERF
(She) observed Genqin quietly.
- (63) *Shuangyang Gongzhu tuduoruo=nang mula-ji*,
Shuangyang princess inside=REFLPOSS think-IMPERF
Shuangyang Princess thought to herself,
- (64) *"Gan damei kuergan dangla-sa*,
3:SG 1:SG:DAT husband serve:as-COND
"If he will be my husband,
- (65) *ni yibeizi=nang a khuosong²⁰ sai nuoqi-jiang*.
this life=REFLPOSS also waste NEG pass-OBJ:PERF
this life of mine will not have been wasted."
- (66) *Ting ge gan sasheng=nang he gher-gha*,
that do 3:SG rope=REFLPOSS take go:out-CAUSE
Then she took out her rope,

²⁰ DV: *khosen*

- (67) *gher=nang yi-ge shuaike danang,*
hand=REFLPOSS one-CL throw after
threw (with) her hand,
- (68) *duanduer-di Genqin=ni taola ge-jiang.*
just:right-ADV Genqin=ACC bind:up do-OBJ:PERF
just right, and bound Genqin up.
- (69) *Genqin=ni mori=di=nang erqi danang bazer=du=nang khari*
Genqin=ACC horse=LOC=REFLPOSS carry after town=DAT=REFLPOSS return
xi-jiang.
go-OBJ:PERF
(She) carried Genqin on her horse and went back to her castle.
- (70) *Shuangyang Gongzhu Genqin=ni bazer=du=nang bari xi danang,*
Shuangyang princess Genqin=ACC town=DAT=REFLPOSS take go after
After Shuangyang Princess took Genqin back to her castle,
- (71) *wudier=du banhuangzi=du khuori danang gezai mugha durasi-si=la*
daylight=DAT jail=DAT imprison after good meat liquor-PL=INST
zhaodai ge-lang.
entertain do-OBJ:IMPERF
during the day (she) imprisoned him in jail and entertained (him) with good meat, liquor, etc.
- (72) *Shulian=du qiaoqier-di nuta-ku²¹ ger=du=nang duer xi danang*
evening=DAT quietly-ADV sleep-IMPERF house=DAT=REFLPOSS lead go after
huerghuer-ji erseghe-lang,
persuade-IMPERF ask-OBJ:IMPERF
In the evening (she) quietly brought (him) to her bedroom and asked in a persuasive tone,
- (73) *"Qi binsi=nang daila-ji muni wuruang=du ri-ji yang*
2:SG soldiers=REFLPOSS take:along-IMPERF 1:SG:GEN place=DAT come-IMPERF what
ge-a²² ge-ba?"
do-VOL QUOTE-SUBJ:PERF
"What are your intentions, bringing your soldiers to my area?"
- (74) *Genqin terghai=nang dianli danang yi-ge-ama²³ wuge ai keli-lang.*
Genqin head=REFLPOSS raise after one-CL-mouth word NEG say-OBJ:IMPERF
Genqing raised his head (and) did not say a word.
- (75) *Shuangyang Gongzhu werkuer-ji diandiere-lang,*
Shuangyang princess be:angry-IMPERF shake-OBJ:IMPERF
Shuangyang Princess shook with anger,
- (76) *Genqin=ni dama=ni qige-sa gan=ni zhuerge puza zhuoliantu-lang.*
Genqin=GEN face=ACC see-COND 3:SG=GEN heart another become:soft-OBJ:IMPERF
(but) when (she) saw Genqin's (handsome) face, her heart softened.
- (77) *Gan keli-ji,*
3:SG say-IMPERF
She said,

²¹ DV: *nitaku*²² This word was reduced to *ga* by the speaker.²³ This word was reduced to *yigama* by the speaker.

- (78) *"Jiangjiang,*
general
"General,
- (79) *bi qimei niezhang sheli-ji ala-ku duruang wuguang,*
1:SG 2:SG:DAT wretched take:pity-IMPERF kill-IMPERF idea OBJ:NEG:COP
I pity you (and) have no intent to kill you,
- (80) *qi muni wuge=du kharou hu ma,*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN word=DAT answer give PRT
(and if) you give answers to my questions,
- (81) *bi qimei raoli-a,*
1:SG 2:SG:DAT have:mercy-VOL
I will have mercy on you,
- (82) *bi han qimei bieri dangla-wa,*
1:SG also 2:SG:DAT wife serve:as-VOL
(and) I will also be your wife,
- (83) *ber-kunainu?"*
become-OBJ:FUT:QUEST
is this OK?"
- (84) *Genqin kharou keli-ji,*
Genqin answer say-IMPERF
Genqin answered,
- (85) *"Bi hugu-sa ya qi=ni ger=du zhaonixu ai dangla!"*
1:SG die-COND also 2:SG=GEN house=DAT marry:into:home NEG serve:as
"Even if I die (as a result), (I) will not marry into your house!"
- (86) *Songchao=ni binsi Genqin dige-ser biu gui=ni*
Song:Dynasty=GEN soldiers Genqin live-PROG SUBJ:COP:QUEST SUBJ:NEG:COP=ACC
ai miedie-lang.
NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
The Song Dynasty soldiers did not know whether Genqin was alive or not.
- (87) *Huihu jiche ge shike,*
Huihu idea SG:INDEF get
Huihu got an idea,
- (88) *ti wuruang-ku beixing ge zhuangke danang,*
that place-IMPERF common:people SG:INDEF pretend after
dressed (himself) as a farmer of that area,
- (89) *shulian=du qiaoqier-di Shuangyang Gongzhu=ni bazer=du xi-jiang.*
evening=DAT quietly-ADV Shuangyang princess=GEN town=DAT go-OBJ:PERF
(and) went quietly into Shuangyang Princess' castle in the evening.
- (90) *Gan qiaoqier-di zhula berdu-sang gongdian ge=ni chuangkuang-zhuer=du*
3:SG quietly-ADV lamp burn-PERF palace SG:INDEF=GEN window-bottom=DAT
khuleghe-ji chenli-ji Shuangyang Gongzhu zheng
peep-IMPERF hear-IMPERF Shuangyang princess just:then
Genqin=ni huerghuer-ji erseghe-lang.
Genqin=ACC persuade-IMPERF ask-OBJ:IMPERF
He listened quietly below a palace window where a light was burning, (and heard) Shuangyang Princess just then asking and persuading Genqin.

- (91) *Genqin hanshi ti yi-ge-ama²⁴ wuge bang.*
Genqin still that one-CL-mouth word OBJ:COP
Genqin still repeated those same words,
- (92) *"Bi hugu-sa ya qimei ai zhaola!"*
1:SG die-COND also 2:SG:DAT NEG marry:into:a:home
"Even if I die, (I) will not marry into your home!"
- (93) *Huihu tuduoruo=nang mula-ji,*
Huihu inside=REFLPOSS think-IMPERF
Huihu thought to himself,
- (94) *"Diandong,*
stupid
"Stupid,
- (95) *ang ge dayingla-sa,*
EXCL QUOTE promise-COND
if (you would) say OK,
- (96) *jie=nang pudera-ji a gher-ji ber-kunang,*
self=REFLPOSS run-IMPERF also go:out-IMPERF become-OBJ:FUT
you yourself could escape,
- (97) *han baoqi=ni a khuleghe-ji ber-kunang."*
also treasure:flag=ACC also steal-IMPERF become-OBJ:FUT
and also the treasure flag could be stolen.
- (98) *Genqin=ni banhuang=du duer-ji xi kong=du Huihu khuainuo=ni*
Genqin=ACC jail=DAT lead-IMPERF go time=DAT Huihu back=ACC
dagha-jiang.
follow-OBJ:PERF
When Genqin was taken to the jail Huihu followed behind.
- (99) *Huihu qiaoqier-di yidi jiahun=sa mula keli-ji,*
Huihu quietly-ADV door crack=ABL small say-IMPERF
Huihu said quietly through the door crack,
- (100) *"Genqin!*
Genqin
"Genqin!
- (101) *Genqin!"*
Genqin
Genqin!"
- (102) *Genqin tuduoruo=sa erseghe-ji,*
Genqin inside=ABL ask-IMPERF
Genqin asked from inside,
- (103) *"Qi kan bi?"*
2:SG who SUBJ:COP
"Who are you?"
- (104) *Huihu qiaoqier-di jiche=nang keli danang,*
Huihu quietly-ADV idea=REFLPOSS say after
After Huihu quietly told his idea,

- (105) *kharongghu=du pudera yao-jiang.*
darkness=DAT run go-OBJ:PERF
(he) ran away into the darkness.
- (106) *Mughashi shulian=ni,*
tomorrow evening=GEN
The next evening,
- (107) *Shuangyang Gongzhu Genqin=ni puza muta-ku ger=du=nang*
Shuangyang princess Genqin=ACC another sleep-IMPERF house=DAT=REFLPOSS
duer-ji xi danang huerghuer-ji erseghe kaike-jiang.
lead-IMPERF go after persuade-IMPERF ask begin-OBJ:PERF
Shuangyang Princess again led Genqin to her bedroom and began to ask persuasively.
- (108) *Niao-hui jiaohui=la ai xidera danang Genqin Shuangyang*
this-instance everytime=INST NEG be:like after Genqin Shuangyang
Gongzhu=ni yaoqiu=ni mali dayingla ge-jiang.
princess=GEN request=ACC quickly promise do-OBJ:PERF
This time was not like the previous times, (for) Genqin quickly agreed to Shuangyang Princess' requests.
- (109) *Shuangyang Gongzhu bayasi danang huangla-ji khurong banke-ni*
Shuangyang princess glad after make:haste-IMPERF wedding undertake-SUBJ:FUT
ge-lang.
QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
Shuangyang Princess was delighted and wanted to hold the wedding hastily (because she was afraid he would change his mind).
- (110) *Genqin keli-ji,*
Genqin say-IMPERF
Genqin said,
- (111) *"Shuangyang Gongzhu,*
Shuangyang princess
"Shuangyang Princess,
- (112) *da ghu=la baitang ge-ku=sa mieshi,*
1:PL two=COLL get:married do-IMPERF=ABL front
before we two hold the wedding ceremony,
- (113) *bi qimei shiqin ge erseghe-wa.*
1:SG 2:SG:DAT matter SG:INDEF ask-VOL
let me ask you for something.
- (114) *Qi damei dayingla-nu ai dayingla?"*
2:SG 1:SG:DAT promise-SUBJ:FUT:QUEST NEG promise
Will you agree (to grant it) or not?"
- (115) *Shuangyang Gongzhu keli-ji,*
Shuangyang princess say-IMPERF
Shuangyang Princess said,
- (116) *"Ber-ni,*
become-SUBJ:FUT
"Yes,

²⁴ This word was reduced to *yigama* by the speaker.

- (117) *qi keli.*
2:SG say
you say (what it is)."
- (118) *Genqin keli-ji,*
Genqin say-IMPERF
Genqin said,
- (119) *"Da ghu=la baitang ge-ku=sa mieshi,*
1:PL two=COLL get.married do-IMPERF=ABL front
"Before the two of us hold the wedding ceremony,
- (120) *qi guizhong wojian ge mieshi kangzi=nang ge pieke ma,*
2:SG valuable thing SG:INDEF front chest=REFLPOSS once pat PRT
you (should) pat your chest (i.e. make a vow) in front of a valuable thing,
- (121) *bi caijin-her qimei xinhuoluo-lang,*
1:SG only-COMP 2:SG:DAT believe-OBJ:IMPERF
only (that way) will I believe you,
- (122) *puzhi-sa..."*
SUBJ:NEG:COP-COND
otherwise..."
- (123) *Shuangyang Gongzhu chenli danang,*
Shuangyang princess hear after
When Shuangyang Princess heard (this),
- (124) *tuduoruo bayasi danang zuomo ber di-sang=ni xidera-lang.*
inside glad after bee honey eat-PERF=ACC be:like-OBJ:IMPERF
(she) was as happy inside as if (she) had eaten honey.
- (125) *Gan Genqin=ni mudi=ni yang miedie-ni?*
3:SG Genqin=GEN purpose=ACC what know-SUBJ:FUT
How could she know Genqin's plan?
- (126) *Genqin keli-ji sai hangbura danang,*
Genqin say-IMPERF NEG finish after
When Genqin had not yet finished speaking,
- (127) *Shuangyang Gongzhu mali gher duoruo-ku kong=nang paila-ji*
Shuangyang princess quickly hand under-IMPERF person=REFLPOSS assign-IMPERF

xijun-diao Danyang Gongzhu=ni ger baoqi=ni
female-younger:sibling Danyang princess=GEN house treasure:flag=ACC

he-gha-la xi-jiang.
take-CAUSE-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
Shuangyang Princess quickly dispatched her attendants to (her) sister Danyang Princess' house to get the treasure flag.
- (128) *Danyang Gongzhu congming bang.*
Danyang princess clever OBJ:COP
Danyang Princess was clever.

- (129) *Gan chenli-ji ajia baoqi=ni bari-ji ri-sang*
3:SG hear-IMPERF elder:sister treasure:flag=ACC take-IMPERF come-PERF

Songchao=ni dajiang ge=du nao-gha-kunang
Song:Dynasty=GEN general SG:INDEF=DAT see-CAUSE-OBJ:FUT

ge-lang.
QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
She heard that (her) elder sister wanted to show the treasure flag to a captured Song Dynasty general.
- (130) *Gan diger gaihara-lang,*
3:SG little:bit be:surprised-OBJ:IMPERF
She was a little surprised,
- (131) *lianye caihong ge daoda-ji Zhenzhuliehuoqi=ni xidera bura-ku*
day:and:night tailor SG:INDEF call-IMPERF Zhenzhuliehuoqi=ACC be:like finish-IMPERF

jiaqi ge sa danang qi heghe-la ri-sang kong=du
false:flag SG:INDEF sew after flag take-PURP come-PERF person=DAT

heghe xi-gha-jiang.
take go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(and) called a tailor to work through the night sewing a false flag like the Zhenzhuliehuoqi, (which she then) gave to the person who came to take the flag.
- (132) *Genqin baoqi=ni kuerge ri-sang=ni qige danang,*
Genqin treasure:flag=ACC take come-PERF=ACC see after
When Genqin saw that the treasure flag had been brought,
- (133) *qi khuleghe-ku banhua=ni mula gher-gha-jiang.*
flag steal-IMPERF method=ACC think go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(he) thought of a way of stealing the flag.
- (134) *Khurong=ni duer=du gan Shuangyang Gongzhu=la xi wulang ge*
wedding=GEN day=DAT 3:SG Shuangyang princess=INST banquet many SG:INDEF

baila-gha-jiang.
prepare-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
On the wedding day he had Shuangyang Princess prepare a big banquet.
- (135) *Genqin Shuangyang Gongzhu ma gan=ni gher duoruo-ku kong-si=ni*
Genqin Shuangyang princess and 3:SG=GEN hand under-IMPERF person-PL=ACC

xiacha guanli-lang.
try:one's:best force:to:drink-OBJ:IMPERF
Genqin tried his best to ply Shuangyang Princess and her attendants with liquor,
- (136) *jie=nang qiaoqier-di durasi=ni ghazher=di sigha xi-gha-lang.*
self=REFLPOSS quietly-ADV liquor=ACC ground=LOC spread go-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
(but) he himself quietly poured (his) liquor on the ground.
- (137) *Zui khuono,*
most later
At last,
- (138) *Shuangyang Gongzhu suoduo danang zhihe da-jiang.*
Shuangyang princess be:drunk after stand:it cannot-OBJ:PERF
Shuangyang Princess could stand it no longer,

- (139) *shanshanhuanghuang-di ger=du=nang nuta-la xi-jiang.*
waver-ADV house=DAT=REFLPOSS sleep-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
(and she) staggered to her bedroom to sleep.
- (140) *Niker jiura,*
this time
At this moment,
- (141) *Genqin qiaoqier-di Shuangyang Gongzhu nuta-ku ger=du=ni xi danang.*
Genqin quietly-ADV Shuangyang princess sleep-IMPERF house=DAT=POSS go after
Genqin quietly went into Shuangyang Princess' bedroom,
- (142) *qiaoqier-di baoqi=ni khuleghe yao-jiang.*
quietly-ADV treasure:flag=ACC steal go-OBJ:PERF
(and) quietly stole the treasure flag.
- (143) *Shuangyang Gongzhu ma gan=ni gher duoruo-ku kong-si Genqin pudera*
Shuangyang princess and 3:SG=GEN hand under-IMPERF person-PL Genqin run

yao-sang=ni kan a ai miedie-lang.
go-PERF=ACC who also NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
Nobody among Shuangyang Princess and her attendants knew that Genqin had disappeared.
- (144) *Genqin-tang khuleghe-sang Zhenzhuliehualuoqi=ni bari danang Songchao Huangshang*
Genqin-PL steal-PERF Zhenzhuliehualuoqi=ACC take after Song:Dynasty emperor

khergha xi-jiang.
beside go-OBJ:PERF
Genqin and his cohort took the stolen Zhenzhuliehualuoqi and went to the Song Dynasty Emperor.
- (145) *Songchao Huangshang gan-si=ni gezai yi-dun daichen ge-jiang.*
Song:Dynasty emperor 3:SG-PL=ACC good one-CL entertain do-OBJ:PERF
Song Dynasty Emperor congratulated them with a good banquet.
- (146) *Gan-si baoqi=ni zhanchang=du heghe xi zhang peghe-la xi-sa,*
3:SG-PL treasure:flag=ACC battlefield=DAT take go war hit-PURP go-COND
(But) when they took the treasure flag to the battlefield to fight,
- (147) *Songchao=ni binbier-si hanshi shou-gha-lang; gan-si ni qi=ni*
Song:Dynasty=GEN soldier-PL still lose-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF 3:SG-PL this flag=ACC

bazer terghai=du=nang guala-sa guang a ai
town head=DAT=REFLPOSS hang-COND OBJ:NEG:COP also NEG

huake-lang.
shine-OBJ:IMPERF
the Song Dynasty soldiers were still defeated; when they hung this flag above their castle wall, no light shone (from it).
- (148) *Songchao Huangshang gan-si=ni damei ge huala-jiang.*
Song:Dynasty emperor 3:SG-PL=ACC heavy once punish-OBJ:PERF
Song Dynasty Emperor punished them severely.
- (149) *Shuangyang Gongzhu yi-jiao xier ri-ji bi-sa,*
Shuangyang princess one-CL wake come-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
When Shuangyang Princess woke up,
- (150) *Genqin=ni ai qige-lang.*
Genqin=ACC NEG see-OBJ:IMPERF
(she) did not see Genqin,

- (151) *puza ge nao-sa.*
another once see-COND
(and) when (she) looked around,
- (152) *Zhenzhuliehualuoqi=ni a khuleghe yao-jiang.*
Zhenzhuliehualuoqi=ACC also steal go-OBJ:PERF
(she found that) the Zhenzhuliehualuoqi had also been stolen.
- (153) *Tuduoruo huangla kaike-jiang.*
inside nervous begin-OBJ:PERF
(She) began to worry,
- (154) *caijin-her xiegere-ji Genqin=ni dang=ni shangla-jiang.*
only-COMP realize-IMPERF Genqin=GEN deceit=ACC suffer-OBJ:PERF
(and) only then realized (that she had) suffered Genqin's deceit.
- (155) *Gan mali Beilongma=nang wuni danang diao*
3:SG quickly white:dragon:horse=REFLPOSS ride after younger:sibling

khergha=nang pudera-ji keli-la xi-jiang.
beside=REFLPOSS run-IMPERF say-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
She quickly rode her White Dragon Horse to her younger sister to tell (her what had happened).
- (156) *Danyang Gongzhu shini-ser zheng baoqi=ni he gher-gha-ji*
Danyang princess smile-PROG true treasure:flag=ACC take go:out-CAUSE-IMPERF

bi-sa
SUBJ:COP-COND
Danyang Princess smilingly brought out the real treasure flag,
- (157) *Shuangyang Gongzhu gaihara sao-jiang.*
Shuangyang princess be:surprised sit-OBJ:PERF
(and) Shuangyang Princess was surprised.
- (158) *Danyang Gongzhu ya ge-sang=ni xiangxi yi-bian keli-ji bi-sa,*
Danyang princess what do-PERF=ACC careful one-CL say-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
When Danyang Princess explained in detail what (she) had done,
- (159) *Shuangyang Gongzhu xijie sao-jiang.*
Shuangyang princess embarrass sit-OBJ:PERF
Shuangyang Princess was embarrassed,
- (160) *mali suoguodi danang bushi peili-lang.*
quickly kneel after apology offer-OBJ:IMPERF
(and she) quickly knelt and apologized.
- (161) *Danyang Gongzhu ajia=nang hula bosi-gha danang,*
Danyang princess elder:sister=REFLPOSS help:up get:up-CAUSE after
Danyang Princess helped her older sister rise,
- (162) *keli-ji,*
say-IMPERF
(and) said,
- (163) *"Nuoqi xi-sang shiqin=ni zai bao tila,*
pass go-PERF matter=ACC in:addition PROHIB bring:up
"Don't bring up past affairs,
- (164) *ning=sa khuomuo xiaoxinli-her jiu mubang."*
this=ABL later careful-COMP thus OBJ:COP
after this (we) should just be more careful,

- (165) *Tingsa khuonuo ajia-diao ghuo=luo hangtu bazer=nang*
 then later elder:sister-younger:sibling two=COLL together town=REFLPOSS

xige sao-jiang
 watch sit-OBJ:PERF

After that, the two sisters kept watch over their cities together.

Danyang Princess

As told by Xin Huaizhi²⁵



The Danyang Princess. During the Song Dynasty, a king sent his daughter to guard Linjinguang Ferry, which is near the present Zhaizi Village, Guanting. Danyang Princess Castle was built in the present Qingquan Village, Zhongchuan Township.

- (1) *Danyang Gongzhu.*
 Danyang princess
 Danyang Princess.
- (2) *Sanchuan=du Jingjishibao ge-ji wula ge bang.*
 Sanchuan=DAT phoenix QUOTE-IMPERF mountain SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
 In Sanchuan there was a mountain called Phoenix (Mountain).²⁶
- (3) *Wula duoruo Danyang ge-ji bazer ge bang.*
 mountain under Danyang QUOTE-IMPERF town SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
 At the foot of the mountain there was a town called Danyang.
- (4) *Bazer=du ti wuruang-ku xujun kong nuoyan Danyang sao-ser bang.*
 town=DAT that place-IMPERF female person official Danyang sit-PROG OBJ:COP
 In the town the local princess Danyang lived.

²⁵ Collector: Wang Xianzhen. The Minhe Mangghuer account of the "Black City" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:134) explains that

Long ago a minor Tibetan King gave a city to each of this three daughters. Danyang City was also known as the Black City because of the black moss which grows on the city walls. It was also known as the White City because of the white soil used to make the old city walls. The other two were Shuangyang City and Danyang City.

Relatedly, Xu (1989:26-7) reports that Mangghuer women had varying hairstyles as late as the 1930s: The phoenix-shape was popular around Minhe county. Decorated with coral beads and a flying phoenix, it well displays the beauty of the woman's hair. It is said to have been copied from Princess Danyang of the Song dynasty (960-1279). More recently, the Kuomintang government carried out a policy of "national assimilation" and forced minority nationalities to change their customs. As a result, these beautiful hairstyles can scarcely be found today.

²⁶ For more on the mountain see the Minhe Mangghuer "Phoenix Mountain Legend" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:135). Also see Li and Luckert (1994:132-37) for a related "phoenix" account.

- (5) *Kong-si keli-ji Danyang=ni sunisi hundughai ge bang gelang.*
 person-PL say-IMPERF Danyang=GEN soul fox SG:INDEF OBJ:COP HEARSAY
 People said that Danyang (Princess)'s soul was a fox.²⁷
- (6) *Ting ge danang ni wuge Songchao Huangshang=ni qigeng=du suonuosi-jiang.*
 that do after this word Song:Dynasty emperor=GEN ear=DAT hear-OBJ:PERF
 Then these utterances reached the ears of Song Dynasty Emperor.
- (7) *Huangshang mula-ji,*
 emperor think-IMPERF
 (Song Dynasty) Emperor thought,
- (8) *"Mieshi-hui bi ji-ge minqi=tai dajiang=nang paila-ji*
 first-instance 1:SG several-CL reputation=COM general=REFLPOSS assign-IMPERF
Danyang Gongzhu=ni Zhenzhuliehuoqi=ni khuleghe-la xi-ji,
 Danyang princess=GEN Zhenzhuliehuoqi=ACC steal-PURP go-IMPERF
 "Last time, (when) I assigned several of my famous generals to go steal Danyang Princess'
 Zhenzhuliehuo flag,
- (9) *Danyang Gongzhu ma Shuangyang Gongzhu ghu=la huerghuer danang.*
 Danyang princess and Shuangyang princess two=COLL trick after
 Danyang Princess and Shuangyang Princess together cheated (them),
- (10) *zhang jiaqi yi-mian=ni khuleghe ri-jiang.*
 only false:flag one-CL=ACC steal come-OBJ:PERF
 (and) only a false flag was stolen.
- (11) *Niao-hui,*²⁸
 this-instance
 This time,
- (12) *ge'ai-her wer=nang ge gher-gha-wa."*
 good-COMP anger=REFLPOSS SG:INDEF go:out-CAUSE-VOL
 I will take revenge."
- (13) *Ting ge danang Huangshang jishu hudu wenduer lieshou ge=nang*
 that do after emperor skill very high hunter SG:INDEF=REFLPOSS
jiaraji Danyang Gongzhu=ni hundughai sunisi=ni ala-gha-la
 command Danyang princess=GEN fox soul=ACC kill-CAUSE-PURP
xi-jiang.
 go-OBJ:PERF
 Then (Song Dynasty) Emperor commanded one of his very skillful hunters to kill Danyang Princess'
 fox soul.
- (14) *Lieshou huangshang=ni shengzhi=ni jielie-ku,*
 hunter emperor=GEN edict=ACC receive-IMPERF
 The hunter took the emperor's edict,
- (15) *panchan ma gongjian=nang bari danang Danyang bazer=juji xi-jiang.*
 expenses and bow:and:arrow=REFLPOSS take after Danyang town=DIR go-OBJ:PERF
 took traveling expense money and his bow and arrow and went to Danyang Town.

²⁷ See "How Red Cliff Mountain Lost Its Forest" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:183) for a Minhe Mangghuer account of the fox's death.

²⁸ DV: naohui

- (16) *Ting=du kuer danang,*
 that=DAT arrive after
 After (he) arrived there,
- (17) *mantianxia lianke-ji shi-ji-tian yerri-ji bi-sa,*
 everywhere keep.on-IMPERF ten-several-day look.for-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
 (he) continued to search everywhere for more than ten days,
- (18) *lian hundughai=ni xiudier nige ye qige-sang guang.*
 even fox=GEN shadow one also see-PERF OBJ:NEG:COP
 (but he) did not even see (so much as) a fox's shadow.
- (19) *Niker shijie gan panchan=nang jiari bura-gha-jiang,*
 this time 3:SG expenses=REFLPOSS use finish-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 (By) this time he had used up his traveling expense money,
- (20) *dier-si ye langsang ber-jiang.*
 clothes-PL also wear:out become-OBJ:PERF
 (and his) clothes were worn out.
- (21) *Gan mula-ji,*
 3:SG think-IMPERF
 He thought,
- (22) *"Ning ge yerri bao xi-sa di-ku-ni a guang,*
 this do look:for go:down go-COND eat-IMPERF-NOMLZR also OBJ:NEG:COP
 If (I) continue searching like this, there won't be anything (for me) to eat,
- (23) *khari xi-sa,*
 return go-COND
 (but) if (I) go back,
- (24) *Huangshang=ni wer=ni puza danke da-kunang."*
 emperor=GEN anger=ACC another bear cannot-OBJ:FUT
 (I) won't be able to endure the emperor's anger."
- (25) *Lieren naojianra-ser,*
 hunter be:upset-PROG
 The hunter was upset,
- (26) *zhuolianra danang huanguer ge=du yama di-la xi-jiang.*
 be:exhausted after restaurant SG:INDEF=DAT food eat-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
 (and) exhausted, (and) went into a restaurant to eat something.
- (27) *Zheng terghai=nang²⁹ xinke-ji naojianra-ser bi-sa,*
 just head=REFLPOSS bow:down-IMPERF be:upset-PROG SUBJ:COP-COND
 Just as (he) was putting down his head in dismay,
- (28) *yi-ge chighang suzu chighang sigher laohan gaigong=nang tuer-ji*
 one-CL white hair white beard old:man cane=REFLPOSS lean.on-IMPERF
ruo-ji ri-lang.
 enter-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF
 a white-haired and white-bearded old gentleman came in, leaning on his cane.
- (29) *Laohanjia lieren=ni yabuder=ni nao-sa,*
 old:gentleman hunter=GEN manner=ACC see-COND
 Old Gentleman saw the hunter's manner,

²⁹ DV: taighainang

- (30) *mula-ji*,
think-IMPERF
(and) thought,
- (31) "Ni kong=ni zhuerge=du kendin yang khere=tai bang."
this person=GEN heart=DAT certainly what matter=COM OBJ:COP
"There must be some distress on this man's mind."
- (32) *Laohanjia Lieren khergha shigha danang xuanke kaike-jiang*,
old:gentleman hunter beside lean:near after speak begin-OBJ:PERF
Old Gentleman came near Hunter and began saying,
- (33) "Qimei³⁰ nao-sa guori wuruang-ku kong bang bai.
2:SG:DAT see-COND other place-IMPERF person OBJ:COP EMPH
"You seem to be a man from some other place."
- (34) *Qi=ni zhuerge=du yang mahuan khere biu?"*
2:SG=GEN heart=DAT what difficulty matter SUBJ:COP:QUEST
Is there any trouble in your heart?"
- (35) *Lieren terghai=nang dianli-ji nao-sa yi-ge dama=ni ju-ji³¹ ge-ai*
hunter head=REFLPOSS nod-IMPERF see-COND one-CL face=ACC see-IMPERF good

laohan ge gan=la wuge keli-lang.
old:man SG:INDEF 3:SG=INST word say-OBJ:IMPERF
Hunter raised his head and realized that a kindhearted old gentleman was talking to him.
- (36) *Gan ghuder keli-ji*,
3:SG lie say-IMPERF
He lied,
- (37) "Ai!
EXCL
"Ai!"
- (38) *yang ergha bi?*
what power SUBJ:COP
What should I do?
- (39) *Dasi=ni wuruang=du zai shoula-jiang*,
1:PL=GEN place=DAT disaster suffer-OBJ:PERF
Our hometown has suffered a disaster,
- (40) *bi khezhiger=nang pudera gher ri-ba.*
1:SG alone=REFLPOSS run go:out come-SUBJ:PERF
(and) I alone ran away.
- (41) *Mula-ji lie peghe-ji duer nuoqi-a³² ge-ba*,
think-IMPERF hunt hit-IMPERF day pass-VOL QUOTE-SUBJ:PERF
Thinking that I would lead a life of hunting,
- (42) *kan miedie-ni*,
who know-SUBJ:FUT
who could know,

³⁰ DV: qimai³¹ DV: jiji³² DV: mugia

- (43) *ji-tian yerri-ji bi-sa*,
several-day look:for-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
(I) searched for several days,
- (44) *lian yi-kuer hundughai ye bari da-ba*,
even one-CL fox also take cannot-SUBJ:PERF
(but) cannot find even one fox,
- (45) *wang'hou-ku duer=ni ya-ji nuoqi-ni a?"*
future-IMPERF day=ACC what-IMPERF pass-SUBJ:FUT PRT
(so) how shall I pass my future days?"
- (46) *Yi-zhenzi wuge keli danang Laohan=ni zhuerge=ni gudier-gha-jiang*.
one-exchange word say after old:man=GEN heart=ACC move-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
These few words moved Old Gentleman's heart.
- (47) *Laohan mula-ji*,
old:man think-IMPERF
Old man thought,
- (48) "Ni kong=ni ge jiula-wa,
this person=ACC once save-VOL
"I should save this man,
- (49) *kong nanxinra ningda ge cheghe=du ai jiula-sa*
person be:in:sorrow such SG:INDEF matter=DAT NEG save-COND

ber-kunainu?"
become-OBJ:FUT:QUEST
(for) when a person is in such a sorrowful situation, should (we) not save (that person)?"
- (50) *Laohan keli-ji*,
old:man say-IMPERF
Old Gentleman said,
- (51) "Bi hundughai sao-ku wuruang=ni miedie-lang,
1:SG fox sit-IMPERF place=ACC know-OBJ:IMPERF
"I know the place where a fox lives,
- (52) *mughashi ganzao duer-chai-ku*,
tomorrow morning day-white-IMPERF
tomorrow morning when day breaks,
- (53) *qi Jingjishibao Wula=di xi*.
2:SG phoenix mountain=LOC go
you go to Phoenix Mountain.
- (54) *Xi-ku hundughai=ni ya ge-sa bari-ji ber-ni*."
go-IMPERF fox=ACC what do-COND take-IMPERF become-SUBJ:FUT
When (you) go (there), whatever (you) do, (you) will certainly get foxes."
- (55) *Lieren Laohan=ni wuge=ni chenli danang*,
hunter old:man=GEN word=ACC hear after
After Hunter heard Old Gentleman's words,
- (56) *hudu bayasi-lang*,
very glad-OBJ:IMPERF
(he) was very glad,

- (57) *keli-ku wuge ye wulangtu-jiang.*
say-IMPERF word also become.much-OBJ:PERF
(and) the words (he) said (in thanks) were very many.
- (58) *Laohan Lieren=ni nao-sa luosi-ser bang.*
old:man hunter=ACC see-COND be:hungry-PROG OBJ:COP
Old Gentleman noticed that Hunter was hungry,
- (59) *gan chuchuer=sa=nang qier ji-kuai gher-gha danang.*
3:SG pocket=ABL=REFLPOSS money several-CL go:out-CAUSE after
(so) he took several *yuan*³³ from his pocket,
- (60) *khuoni mugha baozi yi-ge diedier duer-jiang.*
sheep meat steamed:bun one-CL plate buy-OBJ:PERF
(and) bought a plate of steamed buns (stuffed with) mutton.
- (61) *Ghuer-jian di-ser keli-ser.*
two-self eat-PROG say-PROG
The two of them ate and talked,
- (62) *yi-ge tegher shi.*
one-CL while time
(and) after a little while,
- (63) *baozi=ni di bura-gha-jiang.*
steamed:bun=ACC eat finish-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
the steamed buns were all eaten up.
- (64) *Laohan yaokong=du Lieren=du zaisan keli-ji.*
old:man about:to:leave=DAT hunter=DAT repeatedly say-IMPERF
When Old Gentleman was about to leave, (he) told Hunter repeatedly,
- (65) *"Qi bi keli-sang=ni chenli-sa hundughai=ni ya ge-sa*
2:SG 1:SG say-PROG=ACC hear-COND fox=ACC what do-COND
bari-ji ber-ni.
take-IMPERF become-SUBJ:FUT
"If you listen to what I said, whatever (you) do, (you) will certainly get foxes,
- (66) *ni hundughai arasi=ni khuer-ku.*
this fox skin=ACC peel-IMPERF
(but) after you remove the fox skin,
- (67) *mieshi=ji=nang yao.*
front=DIR=REFLPOSS go
keep going forward,
- (68) *khuainuo=ji=nang ya ge-sa bao nao."*
back=DIR=REFLPOSS what do-COND PROHIB see
(and) whatever (you) do, do not look back."
- (69) *Lieren ber-ni ber-ni ge danang.*
hunter become-SUBJ:FUT become-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE after
Hunter said OK, OK,
- (70) *Laohan=ni wuge=ni zhuerge=du=nang jila sao-jiang.*
old:man=GEN word=ACC heart=DAT=REFLPOSS remember sit-OBJ:PERF
(and) committed Old Gentleman's words to memory.

- (71) *Mughashi=ni duer sai chai-ji.*
tomorrow=GEN day NEG white-IMPERF
The next day before daybreak,
- (72) *Lieren Jingjishibao Wula=di xi-jiang.*
hunter phoenix mountain=LOC go-OBJ:PERF
Hunter went to Phoenix Mountain,
- (73) *yi-ge tegher sai ber-ji.*
one-CL while NEG become-IMPERF
(and) before a long time had passed,
- (74) *hundughai ge zheng gan=ni mieshi=sa nuoqi-lang.*
fox SG:INDEF just:then 3:SG=GEN front=ABL pass-OBJ:IMPERF
a fox was passing in front of him.
- (75) *Lieren gongjian=nang he gher-gha danang.*
hunter bow:and:arrow=REFLPOSS take go:out-CAUSE after
Hunter took out his bow and arrow,
- (76) *"suer" di yi-ge shi.*
suer QUOTE one-CL time
shot an (arrow) "suer"³⁴ like that,
- (77) *ti hundughai ghazher=di hunguru sao-jiang.*
that fox ground=LOC roll sit-OBJ:PERF
(and) the fox rolled on the ground.
- (78) *Lieren mali pudera xi danang hundughai=ni arasi=ni khuer bao-gha-jiang.*
hunter quickly run go after fox=GEN skin=ACC peel go:down-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Hunter quickly ran and peeled off the fox's skin (i.e. skinned the fox),
- (79) *ting ge terghai=nang herge danang mieshi=juji yao-jiang.*
that do head=REFLPOSS turn after front=DIR go-OBJ:PERF
then (he) turned his head and went forward.
- (80) *Yao-ser yao-ser.*
walk-PROG walk-PROG
As (he) was walking,
- (81) *gan mula-ji.*
3:SG think-IMPERF
he thought,
- (82) *"Laohan keli-ji khuainuo=ji=nang bao nao ge-lang.*
old:man say-IMPERF back=DIR=REFLPOSS PROHIB see QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
"Old Gentleman said not to look back,
- (83) *peghe ala-sang hundughai=ni ge nao-sa yang khama bi?"*
hit kill-PROG fox=ACC once see-COND what problem SUBJ:COP
(but) if I look at the fox (I) have killed, what problem will there be?"
- (84) *Ting ge danang.*
that do after
Then,
- (85) *terghai=nang khari danang yi-ge mudu nao-jiang.*
head=REFLPOSS return after one-CL eye see-OBJ:PERF
(he) turned his head and stared,

³³ The *yuan* is the basic unit of Chinese currency (also called *Renmin bi*).

³⁴ *Suer* is the sound made by the arrow.

- (86) *arasi=ni khuer heghe-sang hundughai zheng ghazher=di hunguru-ser bang.*
skin=ACC peel take-PERF fox just:then ground=LOC roll-PROG OBJ:COP
(and saw that) the skinned fox was just then rolling on the ground.
- (87) *Gan diger gaihara-lang.*
3:SG little:bit be:surprised-OBJ:IMPERF
He was a little bit surprised.
- (88) *Gan mali ti hundughai khergha pudera xi danang.*
3:SG quickly that fox beside run go after
He quickly ran up beside the fox,
- (89) *gan=ni qidughuo=la=nang hundughai=ni gediesi=ni suduer*
3:SG=GEN knife=INST=REFLPOSS fox=GEN belly=ACC cut:open
kaike-gha-jiang.
open-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(and) cut open the fox's belly with his knife.
- (90) *Ti hundughai=ni gediesi tuduoruo=sa³⁵ khuoni mugha baozi ji-kuer*
that fox=GEN belly inside=ABL sheep meat steamed:bun several-CL
gher-ji ri-lang,
go:out-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF
From inside that fox's belly came several steamed buns (stuffed with) mutton,
- (91) *Lieren ayi danang gaihara sao-jiang.*
hunter fear after be:surprised sit-OBJ:PERF
(and) Hunter was afraid and surprised.
- (92) *"Chushen=ni gediesi=du baozi ang=ji=sa ri-jil!"*
animal=GEN belly=DAT steamed:bun where=DIR=ABL come-IMPERF
"Where did the steamed buns in the animal's belly come from!" (Hunter thought).
- (93) *Ting ge danang gan Laohan ghu=la hangtu baozi di-sang=nang*
that do after 3:SG old:man two=COLL together steamed:bun eat-PERF=REFLPOSS
mula gher-gha-jiang.
think go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Then he remembered eating steamed buns together with Old Gentleman.
- (94) *Gan mula-ji,*
3:SG think-IMPERF
He thought,
- (95) *"Ni hundughai ti-ge laohan bianli-sang-ni bang ba?"*
this fox that-CL old:man become-PERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP PRT
"Maybe this fox is the incarnation of that Old Gentleman?"
- (96) *Puza-ge³⁶ mula-sa,*
another-CL think-COND
(And he) thought again,
- (97) *"Kong ya ge-ji hundughai bianli-ni?"*
person what do-IMPERF fox become-SUBJ:FUT
"How can a person become a fox?"

³⁵ DV: *cuduoruo*³⁶ DV: *pusage*

- (98) *Lieren mula-ser wula=di mukuo ge waji danang hugu-sang hundughai=ni*
hunter think-PROG mountain=LOC hole SG:INDEF dig after die-PERF fox=ACC
bula ge-jiang.
bury do-OBJ:PERF
As Hunter was thinking, he dug a hole in the mountain and buried the dead fox.
- (99) *Ting ge gan ti hundughai arasi=ni bari danang Songchao Huangshang=ni*
that do 3:SG that fox skin=ACC take after Song:Dynasty emperor=ACC
qige-la xi-jiang.
see-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
Then he took that fox skin and went to see Song Dynasty Emperor.
- (100) *Yanlai,*
actually
Actually,
- (101) *lieren peghe ala-sang ti-ge hundughai Danyang Gongzhu=ni sunisi bang bai.*
hunter hit kill-PERF that-CL fox Danyang princess=GEN soul OBJ:COP EMPH
That fox which Hunter killed was Danyang Princess' spirit.
- (102) *Tiao-duer,*
that-day
That day,
- (103) *gan=ni sunisi laohan ge bianli-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN soul old:man SG:INDEF become-OBJ:PERF
her spirit had become an old gentleman,
- (104) *mula-ji lieren=du shan diger ganke-a³⁷ ge-jiang,*
think-IMPERF hunter=DAT good little:bit do-VOL QUOTE-OBJ:PERF
and had thought to do good to Hunter,
- (105) *gan jie=ni bie=nang shangla-ku=ni kan miedie-ni?*
3:SG self=GEN body=REFLPOSS injure-IMPERF=ACC who know-SUBJ:FUT
(but) who knew that she would hurt her own body?
- (106) *Songchao Huangshang Danyang Gongzhu=ni sunisi hugu-sang xiaoxi=ni miedie*
Song:Dynasty emperor Danyang princess=GEN soul die-PERF news=ACC know
danang,
after
When Song Dynasty Emperor learned the news that Danyang Princess' spirit had died,
- (107) *mali binsi=nang paila-ji Sanchuan=ni Danyang Bazer=ni peghe-la*
quickly soldiers=REFLPOSS assign-IMPERF Sanchuan=GEN Danyang town=ACC hit-PURP
xi-jiang.
go-OBJ:PERF
(he) quickly sent his soldiers to attack Danyang Town in Sanchuan.
- (108) *Niker yan=du,*
this time=DAT
At that time,

³⁷ This word was reduced to *ganka* by the speaker.

- (109) *Danyang Gongzhu zhang peghe-ku kuji mieshi-ku=du ai*
Danyang princess war hit-IMPERF strength first-IMPERF=DAT NEG
kuer-lang.
arrive-OBJ:IMPERF
Danyang Princess' strength for fighting was not as strong as before.
- (110) *Songchao=ni binsi Danyang Bazer=ni hanshi peghe-ji bao-gha*
Song:Dynasty=GEN soldiers Danyang town=ACC still hit-IMPERF go:down-CAUSE
da-lang.
cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(However), the Song Dynasty soldiers still could not defeat Danyang Town.
- (111) *Songchao=ni jianglin-si naojianra ting ge-jiang.*
Song:Dynasty=GEN general-PL be:upset that do-OBJ:PERF
The Song Dynasty generals were very worried.
- (112) *Yi-tian=du,*
one-day=DAT
One day,
- (113) *Songchao=ni jianglin yi-ge Jingjishibao Wula mieshi dixing nao-la*
Song:Dynasty=GEN general one-CL phoenix mountain front topography see-PURP
xi-jiang.
go-OBJ:PERF
One of the Song Dynasty generals went to observe the topography in front of Phoenix Mountain.
- (114) *Nao-sa ni wula diangelai jingjishibao ge=ni terghai=ni*
see-COND this mountain peak phoenix SG:INDEF=GEN head=ACC
xidera-lang.
be:like-OBJ:IMPERF
(He) found that this mountain peak resembled the head of a phoenix,
- (115) *liang'ha beida-ku wula jingjishibao ge=ni cibang=ni*
two:sides side-IMPERF mountain phoenix SG:INDEF=GEN wing=ACC
xidera-lang.
be:like-OBJ:IMPERF
(and that) the mountains on its two sides resembled the wings of a phoenix.
- (116) *Ni-ge jianglin lerjeghe xiegere-jiang.*
this-CL general sudden realize-OBJ:PERF
This general had a sudden insight,
- (117) *gan jian=du=nang keli-ji.*
3:SG self=DAT=REFLPOSS say-IMPERF
(and) he said to himself,
- (118) *"Aiya!*
EXCL
"My goodness!
- (119) *Jingjishibao musi-lang bai!*
phoenix fly-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
Phoenix is flying!

- (120) *Gan-si=ni meiqi han nitai wangsheng bang bai.*
3:SG-PL=GEN energy still so powerful OBJ:COP EMPH
Their (geometric) energy is still very strong.
- (121) *Danyang Bazer=ni ang=ji=sa peghe-ji bao-gha-la xi-ni?"*
Danyang town=ACC where=DIR=ABL hit-IMPERF go:down-CAUSE-PURP go-SUBJ:FUT
Where can we attack Danyang Town?"
- (122) *Ting ge binbier-si=nang jiariji Jingjishibao Wula=ni waji-ku,*
that do soldier-PL=REFLPOSS command phoenix mountain=ACC dig-IMPERF
Then (he) ordered his soldiers to dig into Phoenix Mountain,
- (123) *Jingjishibao=ni cibang=ni cizer-wa ge-jiang.*
phoenix=GEN wing=ACC cut-VOL QUOTE-OBJ:PERF
trying to cut the Phoenix's wings.
- (124) *Binbier-si binqi-si=nang kerla ge.*
soldier-PL weapon-PL=REFLPOSS throw do
The soldiers threw down their weapons,
- (125) *kuerji=ni bari danang wula=ni waji kaike-jiang.*
spade=ACC take after mountain=ACC dig begin-OBJ:PERF
took up spades and started to dig into the mountain.
- (126) *Shulian ber danang hangbura-jiang.*
evening become after rest-OBJ:PERF
Not until it became evening did (they) rest.
- (127) *Pianpier,*
coincidentally
Coincidentally,
- (128) *binbier ge hai=nang wula=di mershida ge-jiang.*
soldier SG:INDEF shoe=REFLPOSS mountain=LOC forget do-OBJ:PERF
a soldier forgot his shoes on the mountain.
- (129) *Gan zhihao ban-lu mer=di=sa pudera-ji wula=di hai=nang*
3:SG could:only half-road road=LOC=ABL run-IMPERF mountain=LOC shoe=REFLPOSS
he-la xi-jiang.
take-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
Halfway (down) the road, he had to go back to get his shoes on the mountain.
- (130) *Yerri kong=du gan=ni qigeng=du wuge suonuosi-lang.*
look:for time=DAT 3:SG=GEN ear=DAT word hear-OBJ:IMPERF
While (he) was looking, (he) heard words in his ears.
- (131) *Gan zhouwei=nang ge nao-sa,*
3:SG surroundings=REFLPOSS once see-COND
When he looked around his surroundings,
- (132) *yi-ge-jian kong a qige-la guang.*
one-CL-self person also see-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP
(he) did not see even one person.
- (133) *Ni-ge binbier gaihara-ji,*
this-CL soldier be:surprised-IMPERF
This soldier was surprised,

- (134) *"Kong qige-la guang wuge kan keli-la?"*
 person see-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP word who say-IMPERF
 "(I) don't see anybody, (so) who is speaking?" (he wondered).
- (135) *Xiangxi ge chenli-sa,*
 careful once hear-COND
 When (he) listened carefully,
- (136) *wuge ghazher duoruo=sa chuanli-ji gher-ji ri-lang.*
 word ground under=ABL spread-IMPERF go:out-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF
 (he discovered that) the words were coming up from under the ground.
- (137) *Gan gaihara-ji ghazher=di pabula³⁸ danang khuleghe-ji chenli-sa,*
 3:SG be:surprised-IMPERF ground=LOC crawl after peep-IMPERF hear-COND
 He was surprised and crawled on the ground to overhear,
- (138) *yi-ge-jian keli-lang,*
 one-CL-self say-OBJ:IMPERF
 (and) one voice was saying,
- (139) *"Danjin bainu guang puza diger shi muni gher=ni*
 dangerous OBJ:COP:QUEST OBJ:NEG:COP another little.bit time 1:SG:GEN hand=ACC
duoke cizer-ba."
 chop cut-SUBJ:PERF
 "It was (so) dangerous, my hand was almost chopped off."
- (140) *Han-ge-jian keli-ji,*
 other-CL-self say-IMPERF
 Another voice said,
- (141) *"Xu!*
 Shh
"Shh!
- (142) *Mula-her keli guori kong suonuosu-ku mada bang."*
 small-COMP say other person hear-IMPERF dangerous OBJ:COP
 Speak more softly; it is dangerous if anyone else hears (us)."
- (143) *Ni-ge binbier ning=du chenli kuer danang,*
 this-CL soldier this=DAT hear arrive after
 After this soldier heard this,
- (144) *hai=nang yerri-kunang a ai miedie,*
 shoe=REFLPOSS look:for-OBJ:FUT also NEG know
 (he) forgot about looking for his shoes,
- (145) *huanghuang=hang=hang-di pudera xi danang zhang'her suonuosu-sang=nang*
 flustered-ADV run go after just:then hear-PERF=REFLPOSS
yigua jianglin=du=nang keli hu-jiang.
 totally general=DAT=REFLPOSS say give-OBJ:PERF
 (and) flustered, (he) ran to tell all that he had just heard to his generals.

- (146) *Jianglin binbier-si=la=nang lianye sai hangbura-ji wula=ni*
 general soldier-PL=INST=REFLPOSS day.and:night NEG rest-IMPERF mountain=ACC
waji-gha-jiang.
 dig-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 The generals had their soldiers dig into the mountain day and night without resting.
- (147) *Zui khuonuo wula=ni waji danang huohuo ge kaike-gha-jiang,*
 most later mountain=ACC dig after breach SG:INDEF open-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 At last, digging into the mountain, (they) opened a breach,
- (148) *Jingjishibao Wula=ni meiqi=ni cizer ge-jiang.*
 phoenix mountain=GEN energy=ACC cut do-OBJ:PERF
 (and) severed Phoenix Mountain's geometric energy.
- (149) *Kan miedie-ni a,*
 who know-SUBJ:FUT PRT
 Who knew,
- (150) *Jingjishibao Wula shizai ma zhuo jingjishibao ge bang?*
 phoenix mountain really PRT true phoenix SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
 (that) Phoenix Mountain was really a true phoenix?
- (151) *Gan=ni cibang=ni cizer-ku,*
 3:SG=GEN wing=ACC cut-IMPERF
 After (they) cut her wings,
- (152) *chuzi suzu ghada=ji tangke danang yizhi Mieran chebie=sa khuoluo*
 blood water outside=DIR bleed after directly river bank=ABL far:away
gui-ku Zhujiacher=du kuer-jiang.
 SUBJ:NEG:COP-IMPERF Zhujia:pool=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
 bloody water flowed out to Zhujia Pool, which was not far away from the banks of the Yellow River.
- (153) *Niker yan=du yi-ge-jian kong Zhujiacher=du huguer sula-la xi-jiang.*
 this time=DAT one-CL-self person Zhujia:pool=DAT cow water-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
 At this time a man came to Zhujia Pool to water (his) ox.
- (154) *Gan chuzi suzu yi-guzi qige-ji huguer khuer mukuo=du shengla ruo*
 3:SG blood water one-CL see-IMPERF cow foot hole=DAT sink enter
xi-jiang.
 go-OBJ:PERF
 He saw a little bloody water sinking into the ox's footprints.
- (155) *Ni-ge kong keli-ji,*
 this-CL person say-IMPERF
 This man said,
- (156) *"Qi kuer-jiang zai yao da-kunang."*
 2:SG arrive-OBJ:PERF in:addition go cannot-OBJ:FUT
 "You have arrived; (you) cannot go any (farther)."
- (157) *Ning ge yi-ge keli danang,*
 this do one-CL say after
 After (he) said this,
- (158) *ti chuzi suzu zai mieshi=juji yao da-jiang.*
 that blood water in:addition front=DIR go cannot-OBJ:PERF
 that bloody water could not go any farther forward.

³⁸ DV: *papula*

- (159) *Laohan-si keli-ku-ni shi,*
old:man-PL say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
What old men say is,
- (160) *ti kong ti-ge-ama³⁹ wuge ai keli-sa,*
that person that-CL-mouth word NEG say-COND
if that man had not said that sentence,
- (161) *ti-guzi chuzi suzu Mieran=du huoluo-ku,*
that-CL blood water river=DAT touch-IMPERF
when that bloody water touched the Yellow River,
- (162) *Jingjishibao Wula=ni meiqi han jier-gha-ji ber-kunang gelang.*
phoenix mountain=GEN energy still mix-CAUSE-IMPERF become-OBJ:FUT HEARSAY
Phoenix Mountain's geometric energy would have been restored.
- (163) *Jingjishibao Wula=ni meiqi cizira danang,*
phoenix mountain=ACC energy break after
After Phoenix Mountain's geometric energy was broken,
- (164) *Danyang Gong-hu=ni binbier-si zhang peghe-ku jiaohui shou-gha-lang.*
Danyang princess=GEN soldier-PL war hit-IMPERF everytime lose-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
Danyang Princess' soldiers often lost in battle.
- (165) *Ting ge danang gan bazer=nang bake-la xi-jiang.*
that do after 3:SG town=REFLPOSS protect-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
After that, she went to protect her town (as a last resort).
- (166) *Songchao=ni binsi Danyang Bazer=ni chen'gha weike ge-jiang.*
Song:Dynasty=GEN soldiers Danyang town=ACC fiercely besiege do-OBJ:PERF
The Song Dynasty soldiers fiercely besieged Danyang Town,
- (167) *mula-ji bazer tuduoruo-ku kong-si=ni mudasi⁴⁰ luosi*
think-IMPERF town inside-IMPERF person-PL=ACC thirsty be:hungry
hugu-gha-wa ge-jiang.
die-CAUSE-VOL QUOTE-OBJ:PERF
thinking that they would cause the people in the town to die of hunger and thirst.
- (168) *Songchao binsi ai miedie-lang.*
Song:Dynasty soldiers NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
The Song Dynasty soldiers did not know,
- (169) *buleghe yi-ge ghazher duoruo-ku dong ge=sa bazer=du*
water:hole one-CL ground under-IMPERF hole SG:INDEF=ABL town=DAT
tongla-lang.
connect:to-OBJ:IMPERF
(that) a spring flowed into the city through an underground hole.
- (170) *Songchao binsi shi-ji-tian weike danang.*
Song:Dynasty soldiers ten-several-day besiege after
The Song Dynasty soldiers besieged (the town) for more than ten days,
- (171) *Danyang Bazer=ni hanshi peghe-ji bao-gha da-lang.*
Danyang town=ACC still hit-IMPERF go:down-CAUSE cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(but they) still could not defeat Danyang Town.

- (172) *Yi-tian=du=ni,*
one-day=DAT=GEN
One day,
- (173) *Danyang Bazer-ku xujun kong ge suzu beila-la xi-jiang.*
Danyang town-IMPERF female person SG:INDEF water carry-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
A woman from Danyang Town went to get water,
- (174) *gan=ni mughuai=ni khuonuo dagha-ser bang.*
3:SG=GEN dog=POSS back follow-PROG OBJ:COP
(and) her dog followed behind (her).
- (175) *Xujun kong suzu wei-ku jiura mughuai dong=sa ghada=ji pudera*
female person water dip-IMPERF time dog hole=ABL outside=DIR run
gher-jiang.
go:out-OBJ:PERF
When the woman dipped water (with her bucket) the dog ran outside through the hole.
- (176) *Nughuai ghada pudera gher danang.*
dog outside run go:out after
When the dog ran outside,
- (177) *Songchao binbier-si qige ge-jiang.*
Song:Dynasty soldier-PL see do-OBJ:PERF
The Song Dynasty soldiers noticed (it),
- (178) *mali suzu=ni cizer ge-jiang.*
quickly water=ACC cut do-OBJ:PERF
(and) quickly cut off the water (from the town).
- (179) *Ting ge Danyang Gong-hu=ni binbier-si bazer tuduoruo mudasi hugu-jiang.*
that do Danyang princess=GEN soldier-PL town inside thirsty die-OBJ:PERF
Then Danyang Princess' soldiers in the town died from thirst.

³⁹ This word was reduced to *tigama* by the speaker.

⁴⁰ DV: *midasi*

Sister Ali

As told by Xin Huaizhi⁴¹

- (1) *Ali Ajia.*
Ali elder:sister
Sister Ali.
- (2) *Tiedun=du,*
past=DAT
In olden times,
- (3) *gaga ma xujun diao ghuer=luo yimeghe ge=du sao-ser*
elder:brother and female younger:sibling two=COLL village SG:INDEF=DAT sit-PROG

bang.
OBJ:COP
An elder brother and younger sister lived in a village.
- (4) *Gaga=ni Heriqin daoda-lang,*
elder:brother=ACC Heriqin call-OBJ:IMPERF
The elder brother was named Heriqin,
- (5) *xujun diao=ni Ali Ajia daoda-lang.*
female younger:sibling=ACC Ali elder:sister call-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) the younger sister was named Sister Ali.
- (6) *Gan ghu=la=ni aba ma ana=ni guida-ji wuda-jiang.*
3:SG two=COLL=GEN father and mother=POSS die-IMPERF be:late-OBJ:PERF
Their father and mother had been dead for a long time.
- (7) *Ger=du=ni wosi-ji jieshi-da San-ge-shighai Mori ge*
house=DAT=POSS grow:up-IMPERF strong-ADJ three-CL-leg horse SG:INDEF

tiejie-ser bang.
feed-PROG OBJ:COP
In their house a strong-bodied Three-Legged Horse was being tended.
- (8) *Gaga=ni jiaoduer wula=di lie peghe-la xi-lang.*
elder:brother=POSS every:day mountain=LOC hunt hit-PURP go-OBJ:IMPERF
Every day the elder brother went to hunt in the mountains,
- (9) *xujun diao=ni jiaoduer ger=du=nang sao danang*
female younger:sibling=POSS every:day house=DAT=REFLPOSS sit after

dasi tuomo-ku shuda⁴² sa-lang.
thread twist-IMPERF bag weave-OBJ:IMPERF
(while) every day the younger sister stayed in their home twining thread to weave bags.
- (10) *Gaga ma Xujun diao ghu=la=nang jianjian=nang*
elder:brother and female younger:sibling two=COLL=REFLPOSS each:one=REFLPOSS

zhaogu ge danang,
care:for do after
Elder Brother and Younger Sister cared for each other,

- (11) *muoqi-ku duer hudu hutan bang.*
pass-IMPERF day very comfortable OBJ:COP
(and) life was very comfortable.
- (12) *Heriqin mula shijie=sa wula=di lie peghe-ji,*
Heriqin small time=ABL mountain=LOC hunt hit-IMPERF
Since Heriqin was small, (he) had hunted in the mountains,
- (13) *gezai-da gonghu diger suer-ji ge-ser bang.*
good-ADJ skill little:bit learn-IMPERF do-PROG OBJ:COP
(and he) had learned a few good skills (for hunting and fighting with animals).
- (14) *Chuna-si gan=ni mudun=du raoke-ba ge-ku,*
wolf-PL 3:SG=GEN eye=DAT walk:around-SUBJ:PERF QUOTE-IMPERF
(People) said that if wolves walked into his sight,
- (15) *gan=ni gher=sa pudera-ji yao da-lang.*
3:SG=GEN hand=ABL run-IMPERF go cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(they) could not escape from his hand.
- (16) *Zui lihaid a ying a gan=ni qige-sa duoluo-ji musi-lang.*
most fierce-ADJ eagle also 3:SG=ACC see-COND go:away-IMPERF fly-OBJ:IMPERF
Even the fiercest eagles flew away when (they) saw him.
- (17) *Ning ge danang,*
this do after
Thus,
- (18) *zhouwei yimeghe-ku kong-si gan=ni niere=ni miedie-lang,*
surroundings village-IMPERF person-PL 3:SG=GEN name=ACC know-OBJ:IMPERF
people in the surrounding villages knew his name,
- (19) *kong-si gan=ni khedou ma lie peghe-ku jishu=ni kuala-lang.*
person-PL 3:SG=GEN bravery and hunt hit-IMPERF skill=ACC praise-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) people praised his bravery and hunting skills.
- (20) *Xujun diao=ni wosi-ji qijieghe shenge zaihang bang,*
female younger:sibling=POSS grow:up-IMPERF flower same:as beautiful OBJ:COP
His younger sister looked as beautiful as a flower,
- (21) *jiliu a bang,*
clever also OBJ:COP
(she) was clever,
- (22) *zhuerge=ni a gezai bang.*
heart=POSS also good OBJ:COP
her heart was good,
- (23) *zhengxian shidi-ji a gezai bang.*
sewing sew-IMPERF also good OBJ:COP
(and she) could sew well.
- (24) *Xujun diao=ni duoke-sang qijieghe zheng qijieghe=ni*
female younger:sibling=POSS embroider-PERF flower true flower=ACC

xidera bura-lang,
be:like finish-OBJ:IMPERF
The flowers which his younger sister embroidered looked just like real flowers,

⁴¹ Collector: Wang Xianzhen.

⁴² This type of bag is woven from fibers of the oil-bearing seed plant known as *huma* 胡麻, or flax.

- (25) *ge'er daola kaike-sa*,
song sing begin-COND
(and) when (she) began to sing.
- (26) *dao=ni ni-ge meghe=sa ti-ge meghe=du suonuosu-lang*.
voice=POSS this-CL village=ABL that-CL village=DAT hear-OBJ:IMPERF
her voice could be heard from this village to that village (i.e. could be heard in the neighboring village).
- (27) *Yimeghe-ku kong-si Ali Ajia=ni qige-sa*,
village-IMPERF person-PL Ali elder:sister=ACC see-COND
When the people of the village saw Sister Ali,
- (28) *yigua kualang*,
totally praise-OBJ:IMPERF
(they) all praised (her),
- (29) *"Yamer gezai aguer ge bang!"*
however good daughter SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
"What a good girl (she) is!"
- (30) *Kan ningda bieri ge heghe-sa kan=ni bayer bang.*
who such wife SG:INDEF take-COND who=GEN happiness OBJ:COP
Whoever marries such a wife, (she) will be his happiness."
- (31) *Yi-tian=du*,
one-day=DAT
One day,
- (32) *gaga=ni wula=di daghu tiu-la xi-jiang*.
elder:brother=POSS mountain=LOC firewood pick:up-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
her elder brother went to the mountains to gather firewood.
- (33) *Diao=ni diamang=du=nang sao-ji zhengxian shidi-ser*
younger:sibling=POSS door=DAT=REFLPOSS sit-IMPERF sewing sew-PROG

gaga=nang ri-ku=ni xige-ser bang.
elder:brother=REFLPOSS come-IMPERF=ACC wait-PROG OBJ:COP
His younger sister sat at her gate sewing, waiting for her elder brother to return.
- (34) *Beghe=di-ku shibao khaila-ser Ali Ajia ye bayasi danang daola*
tree=LOC-IMPERF bird shout-PROG Ali elder:sister also glad after sing

kaike-jiang.
begin-OBJ:PERF
The birds in the trees squawked, (and) Sister Ali also began to sing happily.
- (35) *Shibao-si Ali Ajia daola-ku=ni chenli-ser*,
bird-PL Ali elder:sister sing-IMPERF=ACC hear-PROG
As the birds listened to Sister Ali's singing,
- (36) *khaila-ku=nang a mershida ge-jiang*.
shout-IMPERF=REFLPOSS also forget do-OBJ:PERF
(they) even forgot to squawk.
- (37) *Nin-ker yan=du*,
this-CL time=DAT
At this time,

- (38) *bazer-ku Tusi ge gan-si=ni yimeghe=du langla-ji*
town-IMPERF Tusi SG:INDEF 3:SG-PL=GEN village=DAT walk:around-IMPERF

ri-jiang.
come-OBJ:PERF
a town Tusi⁴³ was visiting their village.
- (39) *Tusi Ali Ajia daola-ku=ni suonuosu-ji bi-sa*,
Tusi Ali elder:sister sing-IMPERF=ACC hear-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
When Tusi heard Sister Ali's singing,
- (40) *tuduoruo zhao kaike-jiang*.
inside ache begin-OBJ:PERF
(he) began to ache inside.
- (41) *Tusi kheghai shenge shanshanhuanghuang-di Ali Ajia khergha xi-jiang*,
Tusi pig same:as waver-ADV Ali elder:sister beside go-OBJ:PERF
Tusi went up to Sister Ali, waddling like a pig,
- (42) *keli-ji*.
say-IMPERF
(and) said,
- (43) *"Yangshi=di han ning=tai zaihang aguer bainu!"*
world=LOC still this=COM beautiful daughter OBJ:COP:QUEST
"Is there such a pretty girl in the world!"
- (44) *Qi muni bieri dangla ba?"*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN wife serve:as PRT
Would you like to be my wife?"
- (45) *Ali Ajia chenli danang*,
Ali elder:sister hear after
When Sister Ali heard (this),
- (46) *terghai=nang sai a dianli*,
head=REFLPOSS NEG also raise
(she) did not even raise her head,

⁴³ Yan and Wang (1994:863) give the following description of the Tusi system: "The Tusi 土司 system was an administrative system used in Mongol, Tibetan and other minority areas in northwestern and southwestern China during the Yuan 元, Ming 明, and Qing 清 dynasties. The government designated tribal government officials and allowed them to govern their own ethnic peoples. Yuan Dynasty tribal leaders were granted such titles as *xuanwei*, *xuanfu*, *anfu*, *shaotao* and *zhanguan*. They were established as officials at the *fu* 府 (government office), *zhou* 州 (prefecture) and *xian* 县 (county) levels. The Ming government had *xuanwei*, *xuanfu* and *anfu* positions in the military and *hifu*, *zhizhou* and *zhixian* positions in the civil service. All these titles were hereditary. *Tusi* not only had responsibility to the central government for contribution and requisition, but they also exercised traditional power in their local areas. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, there were more than sixty *tusi* in Qinghai. In the present Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, there were forty *tusi*. The remaining, more than twenty, *tusi* controlled present Minhe 民和, Ledu 乐都, Ping'an 平安, Huzhu 互助, Huangzhong 湟中, Xining 西宁, Datong 大通 and Xunhua 循化 counties. The government further stipulated that every three hundred families should have a *qianhu* 千户. Under this position there were *baihu* 百户, *baizong* and *shizong*. Every one hundred families were led by a *baihu*, every fifty families were led by a *baizong* and every ten families were led by a *shizong*. If the tribe exceeded one thousand families there were three leading officers. The *qianbaihu* was known as "headman" in herding areas and he had the most power, including powers of judicature. In 1931, the *tusi* system was abrogated in agricultural areas, and former officers became landlords. The *tusi* system in herding areas lasted until 1958. At that time it was abrogated during the period of democratic transformation." (We are grateful to Dr. Chen Qiang 陈强 for this translation.)

- (47) *zhengxian=nang shoushi-li danang ger=du=nang ruo xi-jiang.*
sewing=REFLPOSS tidy:up-ASP after house=DAT=REFLPOSS enter go-OBJ:PERF
(but just) gathered up her sewing instruments and went into her house.
- (48) *Gaga=ni daghu tiu-ji ri danang.*
elder:brother=POSS firewood pick:up-IMPERF come after
After her elder brother came back from gathering firewood,
- (49) *Ali Ajia zhang'her ya ge-sang=ni gaga=du=nang keli*
Ali elder:sister just:then what do-PERF=ACC elder:brother=DAT=REFLPOSS say
hu-jiang.
give-OBJ:PERF
Sister Ali told her brother what had just happened.
- (50) *Gaga=ni diao=du=nang keli-ji,*
elder:brother=POSS younger:sibling=DAT=REFLPOSS say-IMPERF
Her elder brother said to his younger sister,
- (51) *"Niaoduer=sa khuomo dian=du weilie bao ge,*
this=ABL later gate=DAT work PROHIB do
"From today on, do not work at the door,
- (52) *ting ge-ku wang'hou shifei chuang relie-ni."*
that do-IMPERF future bad:event less bother-SUBJ:FUT
so that fewer such incidents will bother (us) in the future."
- (53) *Tusi bazer=du=nang xi danang.*
Tusi town=DAT=REFLPOSS go after
When Tusi reached his town,
- (54) *yi-ge shulian huanghuanghuhu-di Ali Ajia=ni mula danang*
one-CL evening back:and:forth-ADV Ali elder:sister=ACC think after
gezai ner a ri-sang guang.
good sleep also come-PERF OBJ:NEG:COP
(he) could not sleep well for a whole night, thinking on and on about Sister Ali.
- (55) *Mughashi shidie=du=ni,*
tomorrow early=DAT=POSS
The next morning,
- (56) *gher duoruo-ku kong-si=nang jiariji Ali Ajia=ni*
hand under-IMPERF person-PL=REFLPOSS command Ali elder:sister=ACC
qiangke-gha-la xi-jiang.
scramble:for-CAUSE-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
(he) ordered his official bodyguards to go to seize Sister Ali.
- (57) *Tiao-duer=ni,*
that-day=POSS
That day,
- (58) *gaga=ni lie peghe-la xi-ji sai wuda-ji,*
elder:brother=POSS hunt hit-PURP go-IMPERF NEG be:late-IMPERF
it had not been long since her brother went to hunt,
- (59) *Ali Ajia chenli-ji yimeghe ghada=sa mori khaila-lang.*
Ali elder:sister hear-IMPERF village outside=ABL horse shout-OBJ:IMPERF
(when) Sister Ali heard horses neighing from outside the village.

- (60) *Ali Ajia pudera-ji ghada gher-ji xi-ji ge nao-sa,*
Ali elder:sister run-IMPERF outside go:out-IMPERF go-IMPERF once see-COND
When Sister Ali ran outside to look,
- (61) *yi-bang kong-si mori=nang wuni-ji gan=ni ger=juji*
one-group person-PL horse=REFLPOSS ride-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN house=DIR
ri-lang.
come-OBJ:IMPERF
(she saw) a group of people riding their horses and coming towards her house.
- (62) *Ali Ajia nao-sa diger ai dui-lang,*
Ali elder:sister see-COND little:bit NEG correct-OBJ:IMPERF
Sister Ali realized that this was not quite right,
- (63) *mali durasi=ni zheghe arasi=di sigha danang dianke kaike-jiang.*
quickly liquor=ACC walnut skin=LOC spread after light begin-OBJ:PERF
(so she) quickly poured liquor onto walnut hulls and lit (a fire).
- (64) *Qiangke-la ri-sang kong-si gan=ni diamang=du kuer danang gher=ni*
scramble:for-PURP come-PERF person-PL 3:SG=GEN door=DAT arrive after fire=ACC
qige-ji bi-sa,
see-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
When the people who had come to seize (her) arrived at her gate and saw the fire,
- (65) *ayi danang kan a ai ruo-lang.*
fear after who also NEG enter-OBJ:IMPERF
(they) were afraid and nobody entered (her home).
- (66) *Bantian khaila-ji bi-sa dao gher-la wuguang.*
long:time shout-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND voice go:out-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP
(Although they) shouted for a long time, no voice came out (of the house in response).
- (67) *Erga gui pudera-ji Tusi=du keli-la xi-jiang.*
power SUBJ:NEG:COP run-IMPERF Tusi=DAT say-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
Being at a loss, (they) raced to tell Tusi.
- (68) *Shulian=du,*
evening=DAT
In the evening,
- (69) *gaga=ni lie peghe-ji ri-ji bi-sa,*
elder:brother=POSS hunt hit-IMPERF come-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
when her elder brother came back from hunting,
- (70) *diamang=du gher yi-duizi berdu-gha-ser bang.*
door=DAT fire one-CL burn-CAUSE-PROG OBJ:COP
(he found) a fire blazing at the gate.
- (71) *Gan diger gaihara-lang.*
3:SG little:bit be:surprised-OBJ:IMPERF
He was a little surprised.
- (72) *Puza ge nao-sa shuguai di chen'gha kha-ser bang.*
another once see-COND big door tightly close-PROG OBJ:COP
Looking again, (he found that) the gate was tightly closed.
- (73) *Mali berghasi=sa huerber ger=du ruo nao-sa,*
quickly wall=ABL go:over house=DAT enter see-COND
When (he) quickly jumped over the wall and looked into the house,

- (74) *Ali Ajia ger tuduoruo bang.*
Ali elder:sister house inside OBJ:COP
(he found that) Sister Ali was inside the house,
- (75) *ting ge caijin-her ge huangxing ber-jiang.*
that do only-COMP once rest:easy become-OBJ:PERF
and only then could (he) calm down.
- (76) *Ali Ajia gaga=du=nang niaoduer-ku shiqin=ni ge*
Ali elder:sister elder:brother=DAT=REFLPOSS today-IMPERF matter=ACC once
keli-jiang.
say-OBJ:PERF
Sister Ali told her elder brother the events of the day.
- (77) *Mughashi=ni,*
tomorrow=POSS
The next day,
- (78) *gaga=ni puza wula=di daghu tiu-la xi-kunang.*
elder:brother=POSS another mountain=LOC firewood pick:up-PURP go-OBJ:FUT
her elder brother wanted to go to gather firewood in the mountains again.
- (79) *Ali Ajia keli-ji ayi-lang ge-lang.*
Ali elder:sister say-IMPERF fear-OBJ:IMPERF QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
Sister Ali said that she would be afraid,
- (80) *gaga=du=nang keli-ji bao xi ge-ji.*
elder:brother=DAT=REFLPOSS say-IMPERF PROHIB go QUOTE-IMPERF
(and) told her elder brother not to go.
- (81) *Gaga=ni diao=nang huerghuer-ji keli-ji,*
elder:brother=POSS younger:sibling=REFLPOSS persuade-IMPERF say-IMPERF
Her elder brother persuaded his younger sister, saying,
- (82) *"Bao ayi,*
PROHIB fear
"Do not be afraid,
- (83) *niaoduer shangwu nuoqi-ku bi khari ri-a.*
today noon pass-IMPERF 1:SG return come-VOL
I will come back after noon today.
- (84) *Nugusi qimei=du ge kongdi,*
3:PL 2:SG:DAT=DAT once bully
If they bully you,
- (85) *bi nugusi=ni arasi=ni khuer-wa."*
1:SG 3:PL=GEN skin=ACC peel-VOL
I will peel off their skins (i.e. skin them)."
- (86) *Ali Ajia ergha gui,*
Ali elder:sister power SUBJ:NEG:COP
Sister Ali was at a loss,
- (87) *ber-ni ge gaga=nang daghu tiu-gha-la*
become-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE elder:brother=REFLPOSS firewood pick:up-CAUSE-PURP
xi-jiang.
go-OBJ:PERF
(so she) said OK (and) her elder brother went to gather firewood.

- (88) *Gaga=ni yao-ji sai wuda-ji,*
elder:brother=POSS go-IMPERF NEG be:late-IMPERF
Not long after her elder brother left,
- (89) *Tusi puza kong wulang-da ge duer danang Ali Ajia=ni qiangke-la*
Tusi another person many-ADJ once lead after Ali elder:sister=ACC scramble:for-PURP
ri-jiang.
come-OBJ:PERF
Tusi again led many people and came to seize Sister Ali.
- (90) *Mer=di mori ghula pudera-ji shao maoke-gha-lang.*
road=LOC horse with run-IMPERF earth-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
On the road many horses were running, kicking up much dust.
- (91) *Ali Ajia zheng qijiege duoke-lang,*
Ali elder:sister just flower embroider-OBJ:IMPERF
Just as Sister Ali was embroidering flowers,
- (92) *lerjieghe chenli-ji mori huerli-lang.*
sudden hear-IMPERF horse stamp-OBJ:IMPERF
suddenly (she) heard horses stamping.
- (93) *Dian=sa=nang gher-ji ge ju-sa,*
gate=ABL=REFLPOSS go:out-IMPERF once see-COND
When (she) went outside of her gate and looked,
- (94) *Tusi kong yi-bangzi=nang duer-ji chuna shenge gan=ni*
Tusi person one-group=REFLPOSS lead-IMPERF wolf same:as 3:SG=GEN
ger=juji ri-ba,
house=DIR come-SUBJ:PERF
Tusi was leading a group of people toward her house just like wolves,
- (95) *Ali Ajia mali pudera-ji niu-la xi-jiang.*
Ali elder:sister quickly run-IMPERF hide-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
(so) Sister Ali hurried to hide.
- (96) *Du ya-ji gui-ni a?*
now what-IMPERF run-SUBJ:FUT PRT
Now where could she run to? (she thought).
- (97) *Tusi=ni kong-si yijin gan=ni diamang khergha kuer ri-jiang.*
Tusi=GEN person-PL already 3:SG=GEN door beside arrive come-OBJ:PERF
Tusi's bodyguards had already reached her gate.
- (98) *Ali Ajia khaila-ser,*
Ali elder:sister shout-PROG
Sister Ali shouted,
- (99) *zhazhengla-lang.*
struggle-OBJ:IMPERF
and struggled.
- (100) *Nie=hang yi-ge mula aguer Tusi=ni gher duoruo-ku kong=ni*
wretched one-CL small daughter Tusi=GEN hand under-IMPERF person=ACC
ya-ji duoluo-ji resi-ni a?
what-IMPERF go:away-IMPERF outrun-SUBJ:FUT PRT
How pitiful, how could a small girl escape from Tusi's bodyguards?

- (101) *Tusi=ni kong-si Ali Ajia=ni Tusi=ni mori=di erqi danang*
 Tusi=GEN person-PL Ali elder:sister=ACC Tusi=GEN horse=LOC carry after
bazer=du=nang bari xi-jiang.
 town=DAT=REFLPOSS take go-OBJ:PERF
 Tusi's men put Sister Ali on Tusi's horse and took (her) to their city.
- (102) *Gaga=ni zheng wula=di daghu tiu-la bi-sa,*
 elder:brother=POSS while mountain=LOC firewood pick:up-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
 While her elder brother was gathering firewood on the mountain,
- (103) *lerjieghe nudu diaoli bosi-jiang.*
 sudden eye jump get:up-OBJ:PERF
 suddenly (his) eyelids twitched.⁴⁴
- (104) *Tuduoruo mengni jila-ji ai ber-lang,*
 inside suddenly worry-IMPERF NEG become-OBJ:IMPERF
 Suddenly (he) was so worried that (he) could not stand it,
- (105) *niker yan=du,*
 this time=DAT
 (and) at this moment,
- (106) *shibao ge musu ri danang khaila-ji keli-ji,*
 bird SG:INDEF fly come after shout-IMPERF say-IMPERF
 a bird flew up and screeched,
- (107) *"Maher ger=du=nang xi ma,*
 quickly house=DAT=REFLPOSS go PRT
 "Go home quickly,
- (108) *qi=ni ger=du shiqin gher-jiang."*
 2:SG=GEN house=DAT matter go:out-OBJ:PERF
 something has happened at your home."
- (109) *Heriqin shibao=ni wuge=ni chenli danang,*
 Heriqin bird=GEN word=ACC hear after
 After Heriqin heard the bird's words,
- (110) *mali ger=juji=nang pudera-jiang.*
 quickly house=DIR=REFLPOSS run-OBJ:PERF
 (he) quickly ran toward his home.
- (111) *Ger=du=nang kuer-sa,*
 house=DAT=REFLPOSS arrive-COND
 When (he) reached his home,
- (112) *yerri panla-sa Ali Ajia=ni xiudier=ni a qige-la*
 look:for look:everywhere-COND Ali elder:sister=GEN shadow=ACC also see-IMPERF
guang.
 OBJ:NEG:COP
 (he) looked everywhere (but) did not even see Sister Ali's shadow.

- (113) *Gan jila danang mali San-ge-shighai Mori=nang wuni gong ma*
 3:SG worry after quickly three-CL-leg horse=REFLPOSS ride bow and
jian=nang bari danang ghada=juji diao=nang
 arrow=REFLPOSS take after outside=DIR younger:sibling=REFLPOSS
yerri-la xi-jiang.
 look:for-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
 He worried and hurried to mount his Three-Legged Horse and, taking his bow and arrow, went outside to look for his younger sister.
- (114) *Heriqin San-ge-shighai Mori=nang wuni danang,*
 Heriqin three-CL-leg horse=REFLPOSS ride after
 Heriqin rode on his Three-Legged Horse,
- (115) *yizhi mieshi=ji zhua xi-jiang.*
 directly front=DIR catch go-OBJ:PERF
 chasing onward.
- (116) *Yi-ge-zhen shi,*
 one-CL-while time
 After a while,
- (117) *mieshi mori yi-bangzi qige-lang,*
 front horse one-group see-OBJ:IMPERF
 (he) saw a group of horses in front (of him),
- (118) *mieshi-ku kong-si tuduoruo=sa han Ali Ajia shuguo khaila-ji*
 front-IMPERF person-PL inside=ABL also Ali elder:sister big shout-IMPERF
yila-ku=ni suonuosu-lang.
 cry-IMPERF=ACC hear-OBJ:IMPERF
 (and) from among the people in front (he) also heard Sister Ali crying and shouting loudly.
- (119) *Heriqin caijin-her xiegere-ji Ali Ajia=ni Tusi=ni kong-si*
 Heriqin only-COMP realize-IMPERF Ali elder:sister=ACC Tusi=GEN person-PL
qiangke xi-jiang.
 scramble:for go-OBJ:PERF
 Only then did Heriqin realize that Sister Ali had been seized by Tusi's bodyguards.
- (120) *Mali mori=nang zhua danang Tusi=ni kong-si khergha kuer xi-jiang.*
 quickly horse=REFLPOSS catch after Tusi=GEN person-PL beside arrive go-OBJ:PERF
 (Heriqin) quickly whipped his horse and reached Tusi's bodyguards.
- (121) *Tusi Heriqin zhua-ji ri-ku=ni qige danang,*
 Tusi Heriqin catch-IMPERF come-IMPERF=ACC see after
 When Tusi saw that Heriqin had caught up,
- (122) *mali kong yi-bangzi=la=nang Heriqin=ni dangla ge-jiang.*
 quickly person one-group=INST=REFLPOSS Heriqin=ACC keep:away QUOTE-OBJ:PERF
 (he) told a group of his bodyguards to detain Heriqin.
- (123) *Jie=nang Ali Ajia=ni bari danang huanghuang=hang=hang-di*
 self=REFLPOSS Ali elder:sister=ACC take after flustered-ADV
bazer=juji=nang xi-jiang.
 town=DIR=REFLPOSS go-OBJ:PERF
 He himself agitatedly took Sister Ali to his city.

⁴⁴ Twitching eyelids suggests imminent disaster.

- (124) *Heriqin mao-kong-si=ni zhua bari danang.*
 Heriqin bad-person-PL=ACC catch take after
 When Heriqin caught up with the bad people,
- (125) *jian=nang he gher-gha mao-kong-si=ni sheke kaike-jiang.*
 arrow=REFLPOSS take go:out-CAUSE bad-person-PL=ACC shoot begin-OBJ:PERF
 (he) took out his arrows and began to shoot the bad people.
- (126) *Wulangqi mao-kong-si=ni yigua sheke ala-jiang.*
 most bad-person-PL=ACC totally shoot kill-OBJ:PERF
 Most of the bad people were shot and killed,
- (127) *zui khuonuo Heriqin=ni jian yigua sheke bura-jiang.*
 most later Heriqin=GEN arrow totally shoot finish-OBJ:PERF
 (but) at last Heriqin's arrows had all been shot,
- (128) *ting ge gan gong=nang bari danang mao-kong-si tuduoruo shuake*
 that do 3:SG bow=REFLPOSS take after bad-person-PL inside brandish
kaike-jiang.
 begin-OBJ:PERF
 and then he took his bow and began to brandish (it) among the bad people.
- (129) *Mao-kong-si ayi danang.*
 bad-person-PL fear after
 The bad people were afraid,
- (130) *aba-ana di khaila kaike-jiang.*
 father-mother QUOTE shout begin-OBJ:PERF
 (and) began to call on (their) parents (to save them).⁴⁵
- (131) *Heriqin mao-kong-si tuduoruo diao=nang yerri-ji lu*
 Heriqin bad-person-PL inside younger:sibling=REFLPOSS look:for-IMPERF find
da-lang,
 cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
 Heriqin could not find his younger sister among the bad people,
- (132) *diao=nang yila-ku=ni a suonuosila guang.*
 younger:sibling=REFLPOSS cry-IMPERF=ACC also hear-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP
 nor did (he) hear his younger sister crying.
- (133) *Yi-ge-zhen shi tiangere kharongghuda ri-ba.*
 one-CL-while time sky become:dark come-SUBJ:PERF
 After a while the sky turned grey,
- (134) *huang'hong ye tao bosi-jiang.*
 great:wind also drive get:up-OBJ:PERF
 and a great wind began to blow.
- (135) *Tusi yan binsi=nang paila ri-gha-jiang.*
 Tusi again soldiers=REFLPOSS assign come-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 Tusi dispatched more soldiers (to where Heriqin was).
- (136) *Kai yue tao yue shuguotu-lang.*
 wind more drive more become:big-OBJ:IMPERF
 The more the wind blew, the greater it became,

- (137) *kong a yue wulangtu-lang.*
 person also more become:much-OBJ:IMPERF
 and the (number of Tusi's) men also kept increasing.
- (138) *Heriqin diger a ai ayi danang.*
 Heriqin little:bit also NEG fear after
 Heriqin was not even a little bit afraid,
- (139) *gong=nang bari danang mao-kong-si tuduoruo peghe-ji ai hangbura-lang.*
 bow=REFLPOSS take after bad-person-PL inside hit-IMPERF NEG rest-OBJ:IMPERF
 (and) taking his bow, (he) fought among the bad people without resting.
- (140) *Zui khuonuo,*
 most later
 At last,
- (141) *Heriqin kuji gui danang.*
 Heriqin strength SUBJ:NEG:COP after
 Heriqin had no strength (left),
- (142) *mao-kong-si=ni gher peghe ala-jiang.*
 bad-person-PL=GEN hand hit kill-OBJ:PERF
 (and) was killed by the bad people's hands.
- (143) *San-ge-shighai Mori nao-ji zhurenjia hugu-jiang.*
 three-CL-leg horse see-IMPERF master die-OBJ:PERF
 Three-Legged Horse saw that (his) master had died.
- (144) *Gan wula=juji nanxinra-ji san-ge dao khaila danang.*
 3:SG mountain=DIR be:in:sorrow-IMPERF three-CL voice shout after
 He neighed three times toward the mountains in sorrow,
- (145) *Tusi=ni bazer=juji pudera xi-jiang.*
 Tusi=GEN town=DIR run go-OBJ:PERF
 (and) ran towards the Tusi's city.
- (146) *Tusi Ali Ajia=ni bari ri danang.*
 Tusi Ali elder:sister=ACC take come after
 Tusi took Sister Ali,
- (147) *zui gezai ger=du=nang nandunla.*
 most good house=DAT=REFLPOSS put:in
 put (her) in his best room,
- (148) *gezai dier,*
 good clothes
 (and his) good clothes,
- (149) *jinyincaibao,*
 gold:silver:treasures:jewels
 riches,
- (150) *zui gezai suyau naicha-si=nang heghe-ji ri danang Ali*
 most good cream milk:tea-PL=REFLPOSS take-IMPERF come after Ali
Ajia=du hu-lang.
 elder:sister=DAT give-OBJ:IMPERF
 (and) good cream and milk tea were brought and given to Sister Ali.

⁴⁵ Calling on one's parents for assistance in a time of dire need is regarded as the ultimate plea for help.

- (151) *Ali Ajia ai musi ai di ai wu-lang.*
Ali elder:sister NEG wear NEG eat NEG drink-OBJ:IMPERF
Sister Ali would not wear, eat or drink (any of it).
- (152) *Tusi wu-hui kong-si=ni jiariji ri-gha-ji gan=ni*
Tusi five-instance person-PL=ACC command come-CAUSE-IMPERF 3:SG=ACC
quanke-la ri-sa,
persuade-PURP come-COND
Five times Tusi ordered people to come to persuade her,
- (153) *Ali Ajia yi-ge-ama⁴⁶ wuge ai keli-lang.*
Ali elder:sister one-CL-mouth word NEG say-OBJ:IMPERF
(but) Sister Ali did not say one word.
- (154) *Tusi zhihao jie=nang qinzi quanke-la ri-jiang.*
Tusi could:only self=REFLPOSS personally persuade-PURP come-OBJ:PERF
Tusi had to come himself to persuade her personally.
- (155) *Tusi keli-ji,*
Tusi say-IMPERF
Tusi said,
- (156) *"Dangda⁴⁷ ghazher wulang bi,*
1:SG:DAT ground many SUBJ:COP
"I have much farmland,
- (157) *khuoni a wulang bi,*
sheep also many SUBJ:COP
and also many sheep,
- (158) *han san-bei-ge changgong bi,*
also three-hundred-CL long.term:laborer SUBJ:COP
and also three hundred long-term laborers,
- (159) *jinyincaibao wulang=ni wula shenge bi.*
gold:silver:treasures:jewels many=GEN mountain same:as SUBJ:COP
and so many riches (that they) resemble a mountain.
- (160) *Qi damei bieri dangla ma,*
2:SG 1:SG:DAT wife serve:as PRT
(If) you become a wife for me (i.e., marry me),
- (161) *yibeizi hu xiangke-ji ber-ni."*
life happiness enjoy-IMPERF become-SUBJ:FUT
(you) will enjoy happiness all your life."
- (162) *Ali Ajia keli-ji,*
Ali elder:sister say-IMPERF
Sister Ali said,
- (163) *"Qi=ni ghazher,*
2:SG=GEN ground
"Your fields,
- (164) *khuoni,*
sheep
sheep,

⁴⁶ This word was reduced to *yigama* by the speaker.

⁴⁷ DV: *nangda*

- (165) *jinyincaibao-si=ni bi xihanra-la wuguang.*
gold:silver:treasures:jewels-PL=ACC 1:SG like-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP
and riches I do not like.
- (166) *Bi gaga=nang qige-ni.*
1:SG elder:brother=REFLPOSS see-SUBJ:FUT
I want to see my elder brother.
- (167) *Qi dangda heghe-ni ge-sa,*
2:SG 1:SG:DAT take-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-COND
If you want to marry me,
- (168) *tiangere-ku huotu=ni zheke-ji ri."*
sky-IMPERF star=ACC pluck-IMPERF come
pluck stars from the sky (for me)."
- (169) *Tusi zhuolianla ai ber,*
Tusi nice:talking NEG become
Tusi (saw that) persuasion was useless,
- (170) *muduli-ji shini-ji keli-ji,*
eye-IMPERF laugh-IMPERF say-IMPERF
(and) said with laughing eyes (i.e. craftily),
- (171) *"Sana-gha ba!*
forget-CAUSE PRT
"Forget it!
- (172) *Bi qimei keli-a,*
1:SG 2:SG:DAT say-VOL
Let me tell you,
- (173) *qi=ni gaga yijin hugu-jiang.*
2:SG=GEN elder:brother already die-OBJ:PERF
your elder brother is already dead.
- (174) *Qi han yang zhiwangla-la bi?"*
2:SG still what hope:for-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
What are you still hoping for?"
- (175) *Ali Ajia gaga=ni hugu-sang=nang miedie danang,*
Ali elder:sister elder:brother=POSS die-PERF=REFLPOSS know after
When Sister Ali learned that her elder brother had died,
- (176) *khaila-ji yila kaike-jiang.*
shout-IMPERF cry begin-OBJ:PERF
(she) began crying loudly.
- (177) *Gan Tusi=ni dama=di yi-ge-ama⁴⁸ linbi-jiang,*
3:SG Tusi=GEN face=LOC one-CL-mouth spit-OBJ:PERF
She spat in Tusi's face,
- (178) *Tusi=ni dama=ni a tida tangter-jiang.*
Tusi=GEN face=ACC also scratch beat:up-OBJ:PERF
and also scratched Tusi's face.

⁴⁸ This word was reduced to *yigama* by the speaker.

- (179) *Tusi werkuer danang Ali Ajia=ni khara banhuangzi=du khuori ge-jiang.*
Tusi be:angry after Ali elder:sister=ACC black jail=DAT imprison do-OBJ:PERF
Tusi was angry and imprisoned Sister Ali in a dark jail.⁴⁹
- (180) *Xiuhou=ni shulian kai shuguo tao-lang.*
late:autumn=GEN evening wind big drive-OBJ:IMPERF
On a late autumn evening a strong wind blew.
- (181) *Ali Ajia banhuangzi=du yila-ser bang.*
Ali elder:sister jail=DAT cry-PROG OBJ:COP
Sister Ali was crying in the jail,
- (182) *zhuerge bietuji qidughuo suduer-ku shenge bang.*
heart ache knife cut:open-IMPERF same:as OBJ:COP
(and her) heart ached as if (it had been) cut with a knife.
- (183) *Nudu yila danang khatu-jiang.*
eye cry after become:shut-OBJ:PERF
(Her) eyes had swollen shut from crying,
- (184) *yila danang dao bari sao-jiang.*
cry after voice be:hoarse sit-OBJ:PERF
(and her) voice was hoarse from crying.
- (185) *Ali Ajia lerjieghe chenli-ji mori=ni khuer-ruang suonuosu-lang.*
Ali elder:sister sudden hear-IMPERF horse=GEN foot-place hear-OBJ:IMPERF
Suddenly Sister Ali heard a horse's hoof beats.
- (186) *Ali Ajia chuanguang=sa ghada=juji ge nao-sa.*
Ali elder:sister window=ABL outside=DIR once see-COND
When Sister Ali looked outside through the window,
- (187) *San-ge-shighai Mori ri-jiang.*
three-CL-leg horse come-OBJ:PERF
(she saw that) Three-Legged Horse had come.
- (188) *Gan mula-ji.*
3:SG think-IMPERF
She thought,
- (189) *"Gaga ya-ji ai ri-la?"*
elder:brother what-IMPERF NEG come-IMPERF
"Why did Elder Brother not come?"
- (190) *Gaga shizai ma guida-jiu?"*
elder:brother really PRT die-OBJ:PERF:QUEST
Did Elder Brother really die?"
- (191) *San-ge-shighai Mori Ali Ajia=ni qige danang.*
three-CL-leg horse Ali elder:sister=ACC see after
After Three Legged Horse saw Sister Ali,
- (192) *tiangere=juji shuguo san-ge dao khaila danang.*
sky=DIR big three-CL voice shout after
(he) neighed loudly toward the sky three times,
- (193) *ghazher ma tiangere shuaibula kaike-jiang.*
ground and sky shake begin-OBJ:PERF
(and) the earth and sky began to shake.

⁴⁹ Literally "black jail." This expression suggests a place where death is a foregone conclusion.

- (194) *Khara banhuangzi-ku di=ni shuaibula kaike-gha-jiang.*
black jail-IMPERF door=ACC shake open-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
The door of the dark jail was shaken open.
- (195) *Ali Ajia banhuangzi=sa pudera gher ri danang.*
Ali elder:sister jail=ABL run go:out come after
After Sister Ali ran out from the jail,
- (196) *mori=ni wuni danang bazer ghada=juji pudera-jiang.*
horse=ACC ride after town outside=DIR run-OBJ:PERF
(she) rode the horse and raced outside the city.
- (197) *Tusi Ali Ajia pudera-sang=ni miedie danang.*
Tusi Ali elder:sister run-PERF=ACC know after
When Tusi learned that Sister Ali had fled,
- (198) *qinzi kong yi-bangzi duer danang Ali Ajia=ni zhua-jiang.*
personally person one-group lead after Ali elder:sister=ACC catch-OBJ:PERF
(he) personally led a group of people to chase Sister Ali.
- (199) *Tusi wuni-sang=ni hulang Qianlimer bang.*
Tusi ride-PERF=GEN red thousand.li:horse OBJ:COP
What Tusi rode was the red Thousand Li Horse,⁵⁰
- (200) *pudera-ji mali=ni yi-ge-zhen shi Ali Ajia=ni niankan*
run-IMPERF quickly=GEN one-CL-while time Ali elder:sister=ACC soon
*zhua bari-kunang.*⁵¹
catch take-OBJ:FUT
(and the horse) ran so fast that in a few moments (he) soon caught up with Sister Ali.
- (201) *Ali Ajia daola bosi-jiang: "Shuguo gher tiangere=juji berdu."*
Ali elder:sister sing get:up-OBJ:PERF big fire sky=DIR burn
Sister Ali began to sing: "Big fire, blaze towards the sky."
- (202) *Daola hangbura danang.*
sing finish after
When (she) finished singing,
- (203) *suzu yi-bazi=nang shudi bao-gha danang khuonuo=ji=nang*
hair one-CL=REFLPOSS pull:out go:down-CAUSE after back=DIR=REFLPOSS
kerla-jiang.
throw-OBJ:PERF
(she) pulled out a lock of her hair and threw it behind her.
- (204) *Yi-ge-zhen shi shuguo gher berdu kaike-jiang.*
one-CL-while time big fire burn begin-OBJ:PERF
After a while, a big fire began to burn.
- (205) *Tusi=ni hulang Qianlimer ayi danang shigha da-lang.*
Tusi=GEN red thousand.li:horse fear after lean:near cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
Tusi's red Thousand Li Horse was afraid and would not go near (the fire),
- (206) *yi-ge wuruang=du zhuanzhuer peghe-lang.*
one-CL place=DAT around:and:around hit-OBJ:IMPERF
(and he) pranced around in one place.

⁵⁰ A horse that can cover a thousand li 里 in a day; that is, an horse of exceptional speed.

⁵¹ DV: *barikuntang*.

- (207) *Tusi werkuer-ji mori=nang meidang peghe-lang.*
Tusi be:angry-IMPERF horse=REFLPOSS lash hit-OBJ:IMPERF
Tusi angrily lashed his horse hard.
- (208) *Shuguo gher berdu hangbura danang.*
big fire burn finish after
After the big fire burned out,
- (209) *Tusi puza zhua ri-jiang.*
Tusi another catch come-OBJ:PERF
Tusi again caught up (with Sister Ali).
- (210) *Ali Ajia pudera-ser nao-ji Tusi puza zhua ri-ba.*
Ali elder:sister run-PROG see-IMPERF Tusi another catch come-SUBJ:PERF
As Sister Ali ran, (she) saw that Tusi had caught up again.
- (211) *Ali Ajia puza daola kaike-jiang: "Songmu=ni sang mukuer*
Ali elder:sister another sing begin-OBJ:PERF pinewood=GEN comb companion
ge ber,
SG:INDEF become
Sister Ali began to sing again: "Pinewood comb, grant (me) a favor,
- (212) *wula ge bianli mer=ni dangla."*
mountain SG:INDEF become road=ACC block
become a mountain and block the way."
- (213) *Daola hangbura danang.*
sing finish after
When (she) finished singing,
- (214) *sang=nang khuonuo=ji=nang kerla xi-gha-ji bi-sa,*
comb=REFLPOSS back=DIR=REFLPOSS throw go-CAUSE-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
(she) threw her comb behind her,
- (215) *khuonuo daiguo ghadang ge bosi gher ri-jiang.*
back immediately mountain:peak SG:INDEF get:up go:out come-OBJ:PERF
(and) immediately behind (her) a mountain peak rose up,
- (216) *Tusi=ni mer=ni dangla ge-jiang.*
Tusi=GEN road=ACC block do-OBJ:PERF
(so that) Tusi's way was blocked.
- (217) *Tusi werkuer-ji miela ghula Qianlimer=nang meidang peghe-lang.*
Tusi be:angry-IMPERF whip with thousand:li:horse=REFLPOSS lash hit-OBJ:IMPERF
Tusi angrily lashed his Thousand *Li* Horse with (his) whip,
- (218) *Qianlimer san-zhang-jia diaoli-sa,*
thousand:li:horse three-zhang-thus jump-COND
(and) even though the Thousand *Li* Horse jumped as much as three *zhang*,⁵²
- (219) *mieshi-ku shuguo wula=ni hanshi nuoqi da-lang.*
front-IMPERF big mountain=ACC still pass cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(he) still could not cross the big mountain in front.

- (220) *Tusi=ni bin-ma-si ergha gui shuguo wanzi ge*
Tusi=GEN soldier-horse-PL power SUBJ:NEG:COP big detour SG:INDEF
raoke-la xi-jiang.
walk:around-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
Tusi's soldiers and horses had no recourse (and had to) make a big detour (in order to pursue Sister Ali).
- (221) *Shatang ge=du kuer-sa,*
sandy:beach SG:INDEF=DAT arrive-COND
Arriving at a sandy beach,
- (222) *Ali Ajia yada danang shizai ma gudier da-lang.*
Ali elder:sister be:tired after really PRT move cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
Sister Ali was so tired that (she) really could not move.
- (223) *Niker shijie hugu-sang Heriqin chighang gugu ge bianli danang,*
this time die-PERF Heriqin white pigeon SG:INDEF become after
At this moment, the (soul of) the dead Heriqin became a white pigeon,
- (224) *yila-ji tiangere=juji ji-ge-ama⁵³ khaila-jiang.*
cry-IMPERF sky=DIR several-CL-mouth shout-OBJ:PERF
and squawked toward the sky several times.
- (225) *Linpuzi khura bianli danang deghe-la ri-jiang.*
tear rain become after fall come-OBJ:PERF
(His) tears became raindrops and fell down.
- (226) *Yi-ge tegher shi shatang=di shuguo mieran ge gher-jiang.*
one-CL while time sandy:beach=LOC big river SG:INDEF go:out-OBJ:PERF
After a while, on the sandy beach there appeared a large river,
- (227) *Tusi ma nuguo=ni bin-ma-si=ni tao danang qige-la a guang.*
Tusi and 3:SG=GEN soldier-horse-PL=ACC drive after see-IMPERF also OBJ:NEG:COP
(which) swept Tusi and his soldiers and horses away out of sight.⁵⁴
- (228) *Yi-ge-zhen shi nara gher ri-jiang.*
one-CL-while time sun go:out come-OBJ:PERF
A moment later the sun rose.
- (229) *Ali Ajia San-ge-shighai Mori=ni wuni danang Chighang Gugu*
Ali elder:sister three-CL-leg horse=ACC ride after white pigeon
mer duer-ser ger=juji=nang xi-jiang.
road lead-PROG house=DIR=REFLPOSS go-OBJ:PERF
Sister Ali rode on Three-Legged Horse and White Pigeon led the way toward their home.

⁵³ This word was reduce to *jigama* by the speaker.

⁵⁴ In the Mongol folktale "The Huntress" (Stuart 1993:7-16), a female fleeing on a horse avoids catastrophe by throwing her father's pipe ash over her right shoulder and her mother's comb over her left shoulder, as well as by sprinkling water.

⁵² Three *zhang* 丈 is equivalent to 10 meters.

Wangmang

As told by Wang Zhenlin⁵⁵

- (1) Wangmang.
Wangmang
Wangmang.
- (2) Gansu Yongden Xian ningda ge ruang=du a,
Gansu Yongden county such QUOTE place=DAT PRT
In a place called Yongden County in Gansu Province,
- (3) shao ghuluo duizili-sang wu-ge taizi bang.
earth with pile:up=PERF five-CL platform OBJ:COP
there were five earthen platforms.
- (4) Dajia jiu ni ruang=ni Wutai daoda-lang.
everyone thus this place=ACC Five:platforms call-OBJ:IMPERF
So everyone called this place Five Platforms.
- (5) Ni ruang=du ma,
this place=DAT PRT
In this area,
- (6) chan dasi=ni Mangghuer-si sao-ser bang.
only 1:PL=GEN Mangghuer-PL sit-PROG OBJ:COP
there were only our Mangghuer people.
- (7) Khergha-ku yi-ge yimeghe=du gaga diao
beside-IMPERF one-CL village=DAT elder:brother younger:sibling

ghu=la=nang bang.
two=COLL=REFLPOSS OBJ:COP
In a village beside (the platforms) there were two brothers.
- (8) Ni gaga diao ghu=la=ni ger=du ma jiu hudu
this elder:brother younger:sibling two=COLL=GEN house=DAT PRT thus very

nanxin bang.
poor OBJ:COP
These two brothers' home was just very poor.
- (9) Gan ghu=la jiaoduer shuguo huai=du xi-ku a daghu beghe-ji,
3:SG two=COLL every:day big forest=DAT go-IMPERF also firewood cut-IMPERF
Every day the two of them went to big forests to cut faggots,
- (10) daghu=nang duer-ji hu-ku a ting-ji
firewood=REFLPOSS sell-IMPERF give-IMPERF also that-IMPERF

qier zhenla-ji duer nuoqi-lang.
money earn-IMPERF day pass-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) sell their faggots, thus earning money for (their) livelihood.
- (11) Yi-tian=du=ni ma,
one-day=DAT=GEN PRT
One day,

- (12) ni gaga diao ghu=la=nang ma jiu yijia
this elder:brother younger:sibling two=COLL=REFLPOSS PRT thus each

yi-ge shuguo ergu daghu changla-jiang.
one-CL big bundle firewood cut-OBJ:PERF
each of these two brothers cut a bundle of faggots.
- (13) Ting-ku jiu muru=di=nang beila-ji
that-IMPERF thus back=LOC=REFLPOSS carry-IMPERF

wula=sa duoruo=ji bao-ji ri-lang.
mountain=ABL under=DIR go:down-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF
Then (they) carried (the bundles) on their backs and came down from the mountain towards the bottom.
- (14) Nara you khalong⁵⁶ bang,
sun also hot OBJ:COP
The sun was very hot,
- (15) yao-ji you yada-jiang bai.
walk-IMPERF also be:tired-OBJ:PERF EMPH
and (as they) walked (they) grew tired.
- (16) Yao-ji jiu Lianchen=ni Mieran khergha kuer-jiang,
walk-IMPERF thus Lianchen=GEN river beside arrive-OBJ:PERF
(They) walked (until they) arrived at the Yellow River at Lianchen (a village in Gansu Province),
- (17) ting-ku jiu muru=di-ku daghu=nang bao-gha-ji ge
that-IMPERF thus back=LOC-IMPERF firewood=REFLPOSS go:down-CAUSE-IMPERF once

hangbura-jiang.
rest-OBJ:PERF
and then (they) set down the faggots on their backs and rested.
- (18) Hangbura-ser,
rest-PROG
While (they) were resting,
- (19) Diao=ni ama=ni hudu nudasi-jiang.
younger:sibling=GEN mouth=POSS very thirsty-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother's mouth got very thirsty.
- (20) Ting-ku gan jiu ti mieran=sa suzu yi-ge-ama⁵⁷
that-IMPERF 3:SG thus that river=ABL water one-CL-mouth

wu-la xi-ni ge-ji.
drink-PURP go-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-IMPERF
Therefore he wanted to go get a drink of water from the river.
- (21) Gan xi-jiang ma nudasi-sang=di "ghudong ghudong" di
3:SG go-OBJ:PERF and thirsty-PERF=LOC ghudong ghudong QUOTE

ji-ge-ama⁵⁸ wu-jiang,
several-CL-mouth drink-OBJ:PERF
He went and drank several mouthfuls (of water), "ghudong, ghudong" like that, for (his) thirst,

⁵⁵ Collector: Wang Xianzhen.

⁵⁶ DV: khalen.

⁵⁷ This word was reduced to *yigama* by the speaker.

⁵⁸ This word was reduced to *jigama* by the speaker.

- (22) *mieran-ku yi-ge mula yuer=ni wu xi-gha-jiang.*
river-IMPERF one-CL small fish=ACC drink go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(and he) swallowed a small fish from the river.
- (23) *Diao=ni miedie da ni mula yuer Longwangye*
younger:sibling=POSS know cannot this small fish Dragon:King
bianli-sang-ni bang.
become-PERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP
Younger Brother did not know that this small fish was the transformed Dragon King.
- (24) *Diao=ni zha Longwangye=ni di xi-gha-jiang bai.*
younger:sibling=POSS EXCL Dragon:King=ACC eat go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Younger Brother, oh dear, ate Dragon King.
- (25) *ni han liaodei baimu!*
this also outrageous OBJ:COP:QUEST
wasn't this outrageous!
- (26) *Yi-ge-zhen shi gan=ni kuji shuguotu sao-jiang.*
one-CL-while time 3:SG=GEN strength grow:up sit-OBJ:PERF
After a while his strength became mighty.
- (27) *Gan jie=ni ti yi-ge ergu daghu=nang beila danang.*
3:SG self=GEN that one-CL bundle firewood=REFLPOSS carry after
He carried his own bundle of faggots.
- (28) *nao-sa kuanggan=ni ala-jiang.*
see-COND light=GEN kill-OBJ:PERF
(and because he) thought (his own bundle) was very light.
- (29) *han Gaga=ni ti-ge ergu=nang daila xi-gha-jiang.*
also elder:brother=GEN that-CL bundle=REFLPOSS carry go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(he) also carried Elder Brother's bundle.
- (30) *gan=ni murong=du han qinpiaopiao-di bang bai.*
3:SG=GEN back=DAT also light-ADV OBJ:COP EMPH
(and it) was also light on his back.
- (31) *Ni ya ge-ji sha ning ge-ji.*
this what do-IMPERF PRT this QUOTE-IMPERF
(He) wondered what had happened.
- (32) *ting-ku daghu=ni ger=du=nang beila xi-gha-jiang.*
that-IMPERF firewood=ACC house=DAT=REFLPOSS carry go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(and then he) carried the faggots to his home.
- (33) *Mughashi=ni kuer-jiang ma.*
tomorrow=GEN arrive-OBJ:PERF PRT
The next day.
- (34) *Diao=ni puza wula=di gher-ji daghu changla-la*
younger:sibling=POSS another mountain=LOC go:out-IMPERF firewood cut-PURP
xi-jiang.
go-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother again went to the mountain to cut faggots.
- (35) *Gan shuguo tingda daghu yi-ge ergu=ni beila ri-jiang bai.*
3:SG big such firewood one-CL bundle=ACC carry come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
He carried a really big bundle of faggots.

- (36) *beila danang Lianchen=ni chen diamang=du kuer-jiang.*
carry after Lianchen=GEN city door=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
(and) carried (them) to (one of) Lianchen's city gates.
- (37) *Yigua yidi=ni dangsha ge danang kong ai ruo-gha-lang.*
totally door=ACC shut do after person NEG enter-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
All the city gates were closed (and) no people were allowed to enter.
- (38) *Ni yala sha ning ge-ji.*
this why PRT this QUOTE-IMPERF
(He) wondered what (they) were doing.
- (39) *Diamang=du xige sao-sa di ai ni-lang ma.*
door=DAT wait sit-COND door NEG open-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
(He) waited at the gate (but) the door did not open.
- (40) *gan daghu=nang duer hu danang qier bianli-gha ge-jiang.*
3:SG firewood=REFLPOSS sell give after money become-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF
(and then) he sold his faggots to get money.
- (41) *Ting-ku gan ti qier=la=nang yama duer-ji di-jiang.*
that-IMPERF 3:SG that money=INST=REFLPOSS food buy-IMPERF eat-OBJ:PERF
Then he used his money to buy food to eat.
- (42) *gan=ni fanliang=ni shuguotu danang.*
3:SG=GEN appetite=POSS grow:up after
(and) his appetite was so big.
- (43) *ti-ker qier=la=nang di-ji chudu da-lang.*
that-CL money=INST=REFLPOSS eat-IMPERF fill cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(that) using his money (he) could not (buy) enough to eat.
- (44) *Ni ya ge-ji sha ning ge-ji.*
this what do-IMPERF PRT this QUOTE-IMPERF
Wondering what had happened.
- (45) *daghu duer-sang qier=la=nang yigua di ge-sa*
firewood sell-PERF money=INST=REFLPOSS totally eat do-COND
han gan=ni gediesi chudu-sang guang.
still 3:SG=GEN belly fill-PERF OBJ:NEG:COP
even though (he) used all his money from selling faggots (to buy food) to eat, his belly still was not full.
- (46) *Ting ge-jiang ma.*
that do-OBJ:PERF PRT
Then.
- (47) *gan shuguo wuda da-ji.*
3:SG big be:late cannot-IMPERF
he, not a long time later.
- (48) *Shuimogou ge-ji ningda ghuer ge=du yao-ji*
Water:Mill:Valley QUOTE-IMPERF such valley SG:INDEF=DAT go-IMPERF
kuer-jiang.
arrive-OBJ:PERF
reached a valley named Water Mill Valley.

- (49) *Yaodong ge=sa shuguo tingda mangshe ge gher-ji*
cave SG:INDEF=ABL big such serpent SG:INDEF go:out-IMPERF
ri-jiang.
come-OBJ:PERF
Out of a cave came a really big serpent.
- (50) *Gan=ni terghai zhagha=sa,*
3:SG=GEN head above=ABL
Above its head,
- (51) *shibao musi-ji nuoqi da-lang,*
bird fly-IMPERF pass cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
birds would not fly,
- (52) *khergha=sa jiu kong ma chushen-si kan a yao-ji nuoqi*
beside=ABL thus person and animal-PL who also walk-IMPERF pass
da-lang bai,
cannot-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(and) no people and livestock would walk by (the serpent),
- (53) *Mangshe gan di ge-lang bai.*
serpent 3:SG eat do-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(because) Serpent, he would eat them.
- (54) *Kong xi-ku kong=ni di-lang,*
person go-IMPERF person=ACC eat-OBJ:IMPERF
If people went (there), (Serpent) would eat the people,
- (55) *shibao xi-ku shibao=ni di-lang,*
bird go-IMPERF bird=ACC eat-OBJ:IMPERF
if birds went (there), (Serpent) would eat the birds,
- (56) *asi xi-ku asi=ni di-lang bai.*
livestock go-IMPERF livestock=ACC eat-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
if livestock went (there), (Serpent) would eat the livestock.
- (57) *Niker-da-ku kong,*
this-ADJ-IMPERF person
The people of this place,
- (58) *asi-si=ni ning ge ayi-gha danang,*
livestock-PL=POSS this do fear-CAUSE after
(and) the livestock were thus afraid,
- (59) *kan a khergha=ni sao da banke yaoduer-jiang,*
who also beside=GEN sit cannot move all:leave-OBJ:PERF
(and so) nobody could stay nearby, (and) everybody moved away.
- (60) *Diao=ni ger=du=nang xi danang gan jiu*
younger:sibling=POSS house=DAT=REFLPOSS go after 3:SG thus
gongjian=nang beila,
bow:and:arrow=REFLPOSS carry
Younger Brother returned to his home, took his bow and arrow,
- (61) *Mangshe sao-sang dong diamang=du ri-jiang.*
serpent sit-PERF hole door=DAT come-OBJ:PERF
(and) came to the mouth of the cave where Serpent lived.

- (62) *Mangshe han ama=nang ghai-ji gan=ni di-la ri*
serpent still mouth=REFLPOSS open-IMPERF 3:SG=ACC eat-PURP come
da-ji,
cannot-IMPERF
As Serpent was still opening his mouth to eat him,
- (63) *Diao=ni jiu yi-jiang sheke xi-gha danang Mangshe=ni ala*
younger:sibling=POSS thus one-CL shoot go-CAUSE after serpent=ACC kill
ge-jiang.
do-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother shot an arrow and killed Serpent.
- (64) *Ning=sa ge jiu Diao=ni minsheng jiu tianxia=du chuanli*
this=ABL do thus younger:sibling=GEN reputation thus everywhere=DAT spread
kuer-jiang bai.
arrive-OBJ:PERF EMPH
So from this time, Younger Brother's reputation spread everywhere.
- (65) *Gan=du dajia niere ge hu-ji Wangmang daoda-lang.*
3:SG=DAT everyone name SG:INDEF give-IMPERF Wangmang call-OBJ:IMPERF
Everyone gave him the name Wangmang.
- (66) *Ti shijie=du,*
that time=DAT
At that time,
- (67) *gan-si=ni yimeghe=du zhuanmen tucaihaiming ge-ku tingda mao*
3:SG-PL=GEN village=DAT specially murder:for:money do-IMPERF such bad
kong ge gher-jiang.
person SG:INDEF go:out-OBJ:PERF
there appeared in their villages an evildoer who specially murdered people for their money.
- (68) *Gan nao-ji Wangmang=ni kuji shuguotu-jiang ma,*
3:SG see-IMPERF Wangmang=GEN strength grow:up-OBJ:PERF PRT
He found that Wangmang's strength had become great,
- (69) *gan jiu Wangmang=ni gezai di-ku-si ma gezai wojian-si=la=nang*
3:SG thus Wangmang=ACC good eat-IMPERF-PL and good thing-PL=INST=REFLPOSS
huerguer-ji duer-ji wula=di gher-ji xi-ku,
trick-IMPERF lead-IMPERF mountain=LOC go:out-IMPERF go-IMPERF
so he (wanted) to use good things to eat and good presents to lure Wangmang to a mountain,
- (70) *Wangmang=ni anhai ge-a⁵⁹ ge-jiang.*
Wangmang=ACC kill do-VOL QUOTE-OBJ:PERF
(where he) wanted to kill Wangmang.
- (71) *Wangmang zui mieshi ai dayingla-lang.*
Wangmang most first NEG promise-OBJ:IMPERF
At first Wangmang did not consent,
- (72) *khuomuo gan=ni gediesi=nang di-ji chudu-gha da-lang.*
later 3:SG=GEN belly=REFLPOSS eat-IMPERF fill-CAUSE cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(but) later his stomach was not full,

⁵⁹ This word was reduced to *ga* by the speaker.

- (73) *yigua nudasi-ji amang=sa gher gher-kunang,*
totally thirsty-IMPERF opening=ABL fire go:out-OBJ:FUT
(he was) so thirsty that fire came out from his mouth,
- (74) *gediesi=du miaori zhuazi waji-ku=ni xidera-lang,*
belly=DAT cat claw dig-IMPERF=ACC be:like-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) his stomach felt like a cat clawing,
- (75) *lai xi-sa ai ber-kunang bai.*
NEG go-COND NEG become-OBJ:FUT EMPH
(so) if (he) did not go it would not be alright (that is, he had to go).
- (76) *Tinggu gan ni kong=ni dagha danang wula diere xi-ku,*
thus 3:SG this person=ACC follow after mountain on go-IMPERF
So he followed this person and went onto the mountain,
- (77) *ni mao-kong pudera yao-jiang.*
this bad-person run go-OBJ:PERF
(but) this evildoer ran away.
- (78) *Ting-ku Wangmang luosi danang chan mer=di daoshun yao-ku*
that-IMPERF Wangmang be:hungry after only road=LOC coming:and:going go-IMPERF
kong-si=ni di-lang bai.
person-PL=ACC eat-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
Then Wangmang was so hungry that he could only eat the people coming and going on the road.
- (79) *Ma,*
PRT
So,
- (80) *ning=sa ge gan zui mieshi jiu Mangshe=ni ala-ji hao ganke-jiang,*
this=ABL do 3:SG most first thus serpent=ACC kill-IMPERF good do-OBJ:PERF
at first he had done a good thing killing Serpent,
- (81) *du gan puza kong di kaike-ku,*
now 3:SG another person eat begin-IMPERF
(but) now he was beginning to eat other people,
- (82) *beixing-si yeha gan=sa ayi danang ting ge-jiang,*
common:people-PL more 3:SG=ABL fear after that do-OBJ:PERF
(so) the people were very afraid of him,
- (83) *du gan=ni kuji yeha shuguotu-jiang.*
now 3:SG=GEN strength more become:big-OBJ:PERF
(and) now his strength grew greater.
- (84) *Gan=ni naghu=sa naghu da-lang.*
3:SG=ACC defeat=ABL defeat cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(If one wanted to) defeat him, (one) could not defeat (him),
- (85) *ting-ku ni shiqin=ni jiu Lu Tusi ge-ji ningda kong ge*
that-IMPERF this matter=ACC thus Lu Tusi QUOTE-IMPERF such person SG:INDEF
suonuosi-jiang,
hear-OBJ:PERF
then this matter was heard about by a man named Lu Tusi,
- (86) *ting-ku gan huangla-lang bai,*
that-IMPERF 3:SG nervous-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
so he became worried,

- (87) *zhuyi a gui.*
idea also SUBJ:NEG:COP
(and) had no idea (what to do).
- (88) *Ning ge danang,*
this do after
Then,
- (89) *niker shijie Lu Tusi=ni mula bieri=ni,*
this time Lu Tusi=GEN small wife=POSS
at this moment Lu Tusi's little wife,
- (90) *kong-si Lu-shi Taitai daoda-lang,*
person-PL Lu-family Madam call-OBJ:IMPERF
people called (her) Madam Lu,
- (91) *gan gher-ji ri-jiang.*
3:SG go:out-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
she came out (from inside a room).
- (92) *Gan keli-ji,*
3:SG say-IMPERF
She said,
- (93) *"Bi Wangmang=ni naghu-ji ber-ni."*
1:SG Wangmang=ACC defeat-IMPERF become-SUBJ:FUT
"I can defeat Wangmang."
- (94) *Ting-ku gan qingzi chuma ge-ji Wangmang=ni*
that-IMPERF 3:SG personally take:the:field QUOTE-IMPERF Wangmang=ACC
peghe-la xi-jiang.
hit-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
Then it was said that she personally took the field to fight Wangmang.
- (95) *Yi-tian=du,*
one-day=DAT
One day,
- (96) *Wangmang mer=di xige-ji kong di-ni ge-ser bang*
Wangmang road=LOC wait-IMPERF person eat-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-PROG OBJ:COP
bai,
EMPH
Wangmang was waiting on the road wanting to eat people,
- (97) *nao-sa dabanla-ji zaihang-da shinagu ge nuoqi-ji*
see-COND dress:up-IMPERF beautiful-ADJ woman SG:INDEF pass-IMPERF
ri-lang bai.
come-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(and he) noticed a dressed-up and pretty woman coming along.
- (98) *Wangmang nao-sa ni shinagu jiu shangsheng=di=nang*
Wangmang see-COND this woman thus upper:body=LOC=REFLPOSS
musi-sang-ni terghuo banshi bang,
wear-PERF-NOMLZR silk robe OBJ:COP
Wangmang noticed that what this woman wore on her upper body was a silk robe,

- (99) *khanqi bianzi-si=nang yidao yidao hua-bian-si=ni taibi*
sleeve ribbon-PL=REFLPOSS one:row one:row color-ribbon-PL=ACC sew
zaihang=ni ala-jiang bai,
beautiful=GEN kill-OBJ:PERF EMPH
on her sleeves were sewn row after row of ribbons (so that she was) very beautiful,
- (100) *han shanshan huaguang ge-lang bai.*
also flash emit:light do-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(and they) also shimmered.
- (101) *Ting-ku Wangmang=ni nudu=ni yigua huadara-gha ge-jiang bai.*
that-IMPERF Wangmang=GEN eye=ACC totally dazzle-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Then Wangmang's eyes were dazzled.
- (102) *Wangmang du ni shinagu=ni di ge-sa gan zaihang bang.*
Wangmang now this woman=ACC eat do-COND 3:SG beautiful OBJ:COP
Now Wangmang (thought of) eating this woman, (but) she was pretty,
- (103) *ai di-sa taibi-ji xi-gha-ku duruang guang,*
NEG eat-COND let:go-IMPERF go-CAUSE-IMPERF idea OBJ:NEG:COP
(however) if (he) did not eat (her), (he) did not want to let (her) return,
- (104) *du gan=ni bari yao-wa ning ge-ji.*
now 3:SG=ACC take go-VOL this QUOTE-IMPERF
(so he) decided to take her (to his home).
- (105) *Ting-ku jiu Lu-shi Taitai kaikou ge-jiang bai,*
that-IMPERF thus Lu-family Madam speak do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
So then Madam Lu began to speak,
- (106) *"Qi damei bao di a,*
2:SG 1:SG:DAT PROHIB eat PRT
"You don't eat me,
- (107) *bi qimei bieri dangla-wa."*
1:SG 2:SG:DAT wife serve:as-VOL
(and) I will be your wife."
- (108) *Ting-ku Wangmang chenli danang bayasi ting ge-jiang.*
that-IMPERF Wangmang hear after glad that do-OBJ:PERF
When Wangmang heard (this he) was very happy,
- (109) *gan mula-ji ni han ber-kunang.*
3:SG think-IMPERF this also become-OBJ:FUT
(because) he thought this would also be good.
- (110) *Lu-shi Taitai keli-ji,*
Lu-family Madam say-IMPERF
Madam Lu said,
- (111) *"Zhuguer qimei dagha yao ber da-ni.*
without:conditions 2:SG:DAT follow go become cannot-SUBJ:FUT
"It won't be OK (for me) to follow you without some prerequisites.
- (112) *Qi han laomei=ni qinla-ji,*
2:SG also matchmaker=ACC invite-IMPERF
You (must) also invite a matchmaker,

- (113) *wuruo-si=ni yigua chuola-gha-ku,*
relative-PL=ACC totally gather-CAUSE-IMPERF
(must) have all the relatives gather,
- (114) *khurong baila baitang ge-ku kerli-ni."*
wedding prepare get:married do-IMPERF must-SUBJ:FUT
(and) must get married with a wedding banquet."
- (115) *Ting-ku Lu-shi Taitai Wangmang=ni keli danang xinhua ge-gha-jiang*
that-IMPERF Lu-family Madam Wangmang=ACC say after believe do-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
bai.
EMPH
In this way Madam Lu tricked Wangmang into believing what (she) said.
- (116) *Gan jiu Lu-shi Taitai=ni dagha gan=ni yimeghe=du=nang xi*
3:SG thus Lu-family Madam=ACC follow 3:SG=GEN village=DAT=REFLPOSS go
danang,
after
After he followed Madam Lu to her village,
- (117) *khurong-si=ni baila kaike-jiang bai.*
wedding-PL=ACC prepare begin-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(people) began to prepare the wedding banquet.
- (118) *Khurong=du Lu-shi Taitai jiu Wangmang=ni huerghuer*
wedding=DAT Lu-family Madam thus Wangmang=ACC trick
durasi wu suoduo-gha-jiang bai.
liquor drink be:drunk-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
At the wedding banquet Madam Lu persuaded Wangmang to drink liquor (until he) got drunk.
- (119) *Wangmang=ni jiuliang shuguo bang bai,*
Wangmang=GEN alcohol:capacity big OBJ:COP EMPH
Wangmang's capacity for alcohol was great,
- (120) *yigua shuguo-ama shuguo-ama-di⁶⁰ durasi=ni gediesi=du=nang*
totally big-mouth big-mouth-ADV liquor=ACC belly=DAT=REFLPOSS
wu xi-gha-jiang,
drink go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(and he) drank liquor one big mouthful after another into his stomach,
- (121) *han gan suoduo-la guang bai.*
still 3:SG be:drunk-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP EMPH
(but) still he was not drunk.
- (122) *Ni ya ge-ni sha ning ge-ji,*
this what do-SUBJ:FUT PRT this QUOTE-IMPERF
(Madam Lu) wondered what she should do,
- (123) *suoduo-ku gan Wangmang=ni caijin naghukunang bai.*
be:drunk-IMPERF 3:SG Wangmang=ACC only defeat-OBJ:FUT EMPH
(because) she could only defeat Wangmang when (he) was drunk.

⁶⁰ This phrase was pronounced *shuguama shuguamadi* by the speaker.

- (124) *Ting-ku gan=ni gher duoruo-ku zhihu-si=nang*
that-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN hand under-IMPERF waiter-PL=REFLPOSS
daola-gha-ji durasi jinla-gha-lang bai.
sing-CAUSE-IMPERF liquor toast-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
Then (she) ordered her waiters to sing songs to toast (Wangmang) with liquor.
- (125) *Liang-ge zhihu gher-ji ri dao daola-ku a Wangmang=du*
two-CL waiter go:out-IMPERF come song sing-IMPERF also Wangmang=DAT
yi-bei wu-gha-lang bai,
one-cup drink-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
Two waiters came out and sang a song and had Wangmang drink one cup (of liquor),
- (126) *jiu ning ge haoduo zhihu ri-jiang bai,*
thus this do many waiter come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) in this way many waiters came,
- (127) *daola danang Wangmang=ni guanli suoduo-gha-jiang bai.*
sing after Wangmang=ACC force:to:drink be:drunk-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) after singing forced Wangmang to drink and made him drunk.
- (128) *Zhihu-si jiu daola-lang: "Yi daola ya dao ni zhe.*
waiter-PL thus sing-OBJ:IMPERF one sing PRT knife put:away ASP
So the waiters sang: "First sing a song (to you), put the knife away.
- (129) *Zhihu shang-lai miao zhong-i."*
waiter up-come look liquor:cup
Waiters come up to toast you."
- (130) *Yisi shi han gan=ni ala-ji ber da-kunang,*
meaning COP still 3:SG=ACC kill-IMPERF become cannot-OBJ:FUT
The meaning was that it was still not time to kill him,
- (131) *xian yi-ge zheng ber ge-ji.*
first one-CL while become QUOTE-IMPERF
(and that) first (the waiters) should wait a little while.
- (132) *Ting-ku Wangmang=ni ala-ni ge zhongbi ge jiula-sang*
that-IMPERF Wangmang=ACC kill-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE prepare do be:ready-PERF
kong-si miedie-jiang.
person-PL know-OBJ:PERF
In this way, the men who were prepared to kill Wangmang understood.
- (133) *Han ala-ku shijie ber-sang guang,*
still kill-IMPERF time become-PERF OBJ:NEG:COP
The time to kill (him) had still not yet come,
- (134) *zhihu-si puza niu sao-jiang bai.*
waiter-PL another hide sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) the waiters hid again.
- (135) *Jiu ning ge yi-ge daola yi-bei wu-gha,*
thus this do one-CL sing one-cup drink-CAUSE
Thus, in this way singing a song and having (him) drink a cup,

- (136) *yi-ge daola yi-bei wu-gha ning ge Wangmang=ni chuncui shiber*
one-CL sing one-cup drink-CAUSE this do Wangmang=ACC purely mud
ber-gha,
become-CAUSE
singing a song and having (him) drink a cup in this way, (they) made Wangmang (as drunk as) mud,
- (137) *caijin-her Wangmang=ni terghai=ni abu-jiang.*
only-COMP Wangmang=GEN head=ACC cut:off-OBJ:PERF
(and) only then did (they) cut off Wangmang's head.
- (138) *Ji-shi-nian=sa mieshi,*
several-ten-year=ABL front
Many years ago,
- (139) *Wutai ni-ge ruang=du jiu,*
Five:platforms this-CL place=DAT thus
In this place (called) Five Platforms,
- (140) *miao ge bang.*
temple SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
there was a temple.
- (141) *Miao=du jiu shi-nian=sa mieshi han Wangmang=ni yi-ge gher=ni*
temple=DAT thus ten-year=ABL front still Wangmang=GEN one-CL hand=ACC
guala ge-ser bang.
hang do-PROG OBJ:COP
In the temple ten years ago, one of Wangmang's arms was still hung up.

Creatures and People



Old men enjoy smoking in the sunshine. In the past, old men smoked tobacco in long pipes made out of sheep leg bones.

The Woman and Human-bear

As told by Lǚ Jinliang⁶¹

- (1) *Shinagu Ma Renxun.*
woman and human:bear
The Woman and Human-bear.
- (2) *Tiedun=du,*
past=DAT
In olden times,
- (3) *bergandiao ghu=la=nang bang.*
wives:of:brothers two=COLL=REFLPOSS OBJ:COP
there were two sisters-in-law.
- (4) *Shinajia keli-ji,*
elder:sister:in:law say-IMPERF
Elder Sister-in-law said,
- (5) *"Mughashi shidie=du da ghu=la,*
tomorrow early=DAT 1:PL two=COLL
"Tomorrow in the early morning we two,
- (6) *kan shidie=tai bosi-ku,*
who early=COM get:up-IMPERF
whoever (of us) gets up earlier,
- (7) *mersi=du niedu a,*
ice=DAT tamp PRT
will tamp on the ice,
- (8) *daogher-ku pusa ge jian ri bai."*
sound-IMPERF another SG:INDEF person come EMPH
when (she hears) the sounding, the other person (should) come.
- (9) *Gan ghuer=luo shangliangla-lang.*
3:SG two=COLL discuss-OBJ:IMPERF
(As) the two of them were discussing,
- (10) *Huer,*
monkey
Monkey,
- (11) *Renxun bai,*
human:bear EMPH
(also known as) Human-bear,⁶²
- (12) *gan beghe=sa chenli ge-jiang.*
3:SG tree=ABL hear do-OBJ:PERF
he overheard from a tree (i.e. he was sitting in the tree and listening).

⁶¹ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong. For a somewhat similar Minhe Mangghuer record of a human marrying an ape and having offspring, see "The Sending Treasure God Dance" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:138-139). For *Homo sapiens* marrying bears, see the Dagur accounts "The Bear's Son" (Stuart, Li and Shelear:114-115) and Humphrey (1994). Also see the Oroqen "Bear Legends" "I" and "V" (Stuart and Li 1994:4-5). For comments on Tibetans originating from monkeys, see Tiley Chodog (1988:9-11).

⁶² Sometimes the teller used *huer*, or "monkey," and sometimes she used *renxun*, or "human-bear."

- (13) *Gan shidie=tai xi "bang,*
3:SG early=COM go ONOM
Very early, he went (making the sound) "bang,
- (14) *bang" ge peghe sao-jiang bai.*
ONOM QUOTE hit sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
bang" like that, hitting (on the ice).
- (15) *Gan=ni shinajia=ni xi-ku,*
3:SG=GEN elder:sister.in:law=POSS go-IMPERF
When Elder Sister-in-law went (out),
- (16) *Renxun huai=du beila xi-jiang bai.*
human:bear forest=DAT carry go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Human-bear carried (her) into a forest.
- (17) *Shinagu=ni di-ku=sai ayi-jiang,*
woman=POSS eat-IMPERF=ABL fear-OBJ:PERF
The woman (Elder Sister-in-law) was afraid of being eaten,
- (18) *linshangmoyi di da-jiang.*
finally eat cannot-OBJ:PERF
(but) in the end, (he) didn't eat (her).
- (19) *Sao-ser,*
sit-PROG
(She) went on living (there),
- (20) *sao-ser,*
sit-PROG
went on living,
- (21) *mula nige ri-jiang.*
small one come-OBJ:PERF
(and) a little one came (i.e. she gave birth).
- (22) *Daighai gher-ji xi da-lang ma,*
never go.out-IMPERF go cannot-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
She could never go out (of the Human-bear's cave),
- (23) *shinagu Shazighai=du nixier=nang make xi-gha-jiang.*
woman Magpie=DAT earring=REFLPOSS remove go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(so) the woman removed her earrings (and gave them) to Magpie to take (to her home).
- (24) *Shinagu=du jiaoduer mugha di-gha sao-jiang.*
woman=DAT every:day meat eat-CAUSE sit-OBJ:PERF
The woman was allowed to eat meat every day.
- (25) *"Du ya ge?*
now what do
"Now what will (I) do?
- (26) *Ni muni shinagu=ni nixier bang bai!"*
this 1:SG:GEN woman=GEN earring OBJ:COP EMPH
This is my wife's earring!" (her husband said).

- (27) *Kuergan=ni yimeghe-ku kong-si=ni daoda-sang zhi bieri=nang*
husband=POSS village-IMPERF person-PL=ACC call-PERF after wife=REFLPOSS

yerri-la xi-jiang bai.
look:for-PURP go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Her husband called the people of the village and went to look for his wife.
- (28) *Shazighai mer shuduer-jiang.*
Magpie road lead-OBJ:PERF
The magpie led the way.
- (29) *Yizhi xi danang diesi=la lake gher-gha ri-jiang bai.*
directly go after rope=INST pull go.out-CAUSE come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(They) went directly and pulled (Elder Sister-in-law) out (of the cave) with a rope.
- (30) *Renxun gan pusa yerri ri-jiang,*
human:bear 3:SG another look:for come-OBJ:PERF
Human-bear, he came again to look (for Elder Sister-in-law),
- (31) *bulai=ni tierber-sang zhi khaila-ser bang,*
child=ACC hold-PERF after shout-PROG OBJ:COP
holding the child, (he) was shouting,
- (32) *"Xiong-wa-di niang,*
bear-baby-ASSOC mother
"Baby bear's mother,
- (33) *zao hui-xiang."*
early return-home
come back home earlier."
- (34) *Gan san-tian khaila-jiang,*
3:SG three-day shout-OBJ:PERF
He shouted for three days,
- (35) *gan zou luchu=di sao danang.*
3:SG thus rolling:stone=LOC sit after
while he sat on a roller stone (used to thresh grain).
- (36) *Ni kuergan=ni xi danang luchu=ni xida hulai-gha-jiang.*
this husband=POSS go after rolling:stone=ACC burn red-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Her husband went and heated the roller stone red-hot.
- (37) *Huer=ni tangla-jiang ma,*
monkey=ACC burn-OBJ:PERF PRT
(He) burned Monkey and,
- (38) *gan xi gan=ni bulai=ni liang-banjier cida danang gerdi kerla*
3:SG go 3:SG=GEN child=ACC two-piece tear after roof throw

gher-gha-jiang.
go.out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
he (Monkey) went, tore his child into two pieces (and) threw (the pieces) onto the roof.

- (39) *Ni zou tiedun=ni kong diandong=ni xian=du=nang*
 this thus past=GEN person stupid=GEN fault=DAT=REFLPOSS

kui di-sang-ni bang.
 loss eat-PERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP

This (happened) in the old days when people were taken advantage of because of (their) foolishness.⁶³

Elder Sister and the Monkey

*As told by Lü Jinliang*⁶⁴

- (1) *Shinajia Dai Huer.*
 elder:sister.in:law and monkey
 Elder Sister and The Monkey.
- (2) *Bergandiao ghu=la=nang shangliangla-ji,*
 wives:of:brothers two=COLL=REFLPOSS discuss-IMPERF
 Two sisters-in-law discussed,
- (3) *mughashi lekheqi shou-la yao-a ge-ji.*
 tomorrow leaf sweep-PURP go-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF
 saying (they) would go to sweep leaves the next day.⁶⁵
- (4) *Shinajia=ni keli-ji niangjia=du=nang*
 elder:sister.in:law=POSS say-IMPERF parental:home=DAT=REFLPOSS

xi-ni ge-ji.
 go-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-IMPERF
 Elder Sister-in-law said (she) would go to her parents' home.
- (5) *Diao keli-ji,*
 younger:sibling say-IMPERF
 Younger Sister-in-law said,
- (6) *"Nangda niangjia gui ma,*
 1:SG:DAT parental:home SUBJ:NEG:COP PRT
 "I have no parents' home,
- (7) *bi lekheqi shou-la xi-ni."*
 1:SG leaf sweep-PURP go-SUBJ:FUT
 (so) I will go to sweep leaves."
- (8) *Ting ge-ku,*
 that QUOTE-IMPERF
 Then,
- (9) *Huer chenli ge-jiang.*
 monkey hear do-OBJ:PERF
 Monkey heard (her say this).
- (10) *Mughashi shidie=du,*
 tomorrow early=DAT
 Early the next morning,
- (11) *Huer gan heghe-la ri-jiang.*
 monkey 3:SG take-PURP come-OBJ:PERF
 Monkey, he came to take (her).
- (12) *"Ajia,*
 elder:sister
 "Elder Sister,

⁶³ "Foolishness" refers to the women's contest to see who would get up the earliest and tamp the ice. "Being taken advantage of" refers to the woman being carried away by the Human-bear/monkey and her subsequent life with him.

⁶⁴ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong.

⁶⁵ In autumn, leaves are collected from under trees, taken back to homes and used as fuel to warm the *kang* (a heated platform used as a bed at night and for sitting on during the day).

- (13) *ajia*,
elder:sister
Elder Sister,
- (14) *bi qimai heghe-la ri-ba.*
1:SG 2:SG:DAT take-PURP come-SUBJ:PERF
I've come to take you" (Monkey said).
- (15) "*Dangda niangjia gui!*"
1:SG:DAT parental:home SUBJ:NEG:COP
"I have no parents' home!" (she said).
- (16) "*Qimai khara mula=sa asira hu danang lai maidie-lang bai.*
2:SG:DAT black small=ABL raise give after NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
"You were given (to someone else) to raise when (you) were very young, so (you) don't know (about it).
- (17) *Ajia lai maidie-lang ma,*
elder:sister NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
Elder Sister, (you) don't know (this),
- (18) *bi heghe-la ri-ba,*
1:SG take-PURP come-SUBJ:PERF
(but) I've come to take (you),
- (19) *ana nangda heghe-gha-la ri-ba.*
mother 1:SG:DAT take-CAUSE-PURP come-SUBJ:PERF
(because) Mother sent me to take (you)" (Monkey said).
- (20) *Khara quequer erjige ge tao-ser bang.*
black lame donkey SG:INDEF drive-PROG OBJ:COP
A black lame donkey had been driven (there by Monkey).
- (21) *Wuni-gha-ji yao-ser,*
ride-CAUSE-IMPERF go-PROG
(Monkey) had (her) ride (it), (and as they were) walking along,
- (22) *gan=ni bulai=ni gan,*
3:SG=GEN child=ACC 3:SG
her child, he (Monkey),
- (23) "*Ajia,*
elder:sister
"Ajia,
- (24) *diao=ni bi tierber-a,*
younger:sibling=ACC 1:SG hold-VOL
let me hold the baby,"
- (25) *ge tierber-jiang.*
QUOTE hold-OBJ:PERF
saying this, (Monkey) took (her child in his arms).
- (26) *Tierber-ser gan yi-ge-ama⁶⁶ ghazha-jiang ma,*
hold-PROG 3:SG one-CL-mouth bite-OBJ:PERF PRT
Holding (the baby), he took a bite and,

⁶⁶ The speaker reduced this word to *yigama*.

- (27) *bulai "zha" ge-ji khaila-jiang.*
child EXCL QUOTE-IMPERF shout-OBJ:PERF
the child cried "zha," like that.
- (28) "*Ajiu,*
Ajiu
"Ajiu,"⁶⁷
- (29) *Ajiu,*
Ajiu
Ajiu,
- (30) *muni bulai=ni hu a.*
1:SG:GEN child=ACC give PRT
give (me) my son" (she said).
- (31) *Pusa yi-jier yao-jiang,*
another one-short:distance go-OBJ:PERF
(They) walked another short distance,
- (32) *pusa khaila-lang.*
another shout-OBJ:IMPERF
(and the boy) was crying again.
- (33) *Shinagu keli-ji,*
woman say-IMPERF
The woman said,
- (34) "*Ajiu,*
Ajiu
"Ajiu,
- (35) *bulai=ni bi tierber-a.*
child=ACC 1:SG hold-VOL
let me hold the baby."
- (36) "*Yao ma bulai shangdang qijighe kerli-lang.*"
go PRT child morning:star flower want-OBJ:IMPERF
"Go on, the child is asking for a morning star lily" (Monkey said).
- (37) *Ji-sa gan=ni ama=di chuzi xi-jiang.*
look-COND 3:SG=GEN mouth=LOC blood go-OBJ:PERF
When (she) looked, blood was on his (Monkey's) mouth.
- (38) "*Ajiu=ni ama=du yang xi-ji?*"
Ajiu=GEN mouth=DAT what go-IMPERF
"What is on Ajiu's mouth?" (she asked).
- (39) "*Muni ama niaoduer kai=du tao danang kheghera-jiang.*"
1:SG:GEN mouth today wind=DAT drive after split-OBJ:PERF
"My lips were cracked by the wind today."
- (40) *Shinagu kejian yin'erge maidie-jiang.*
woman already suspect know-OBJ:PERF
The woman had already suspected (and) realized (the truth).

⁶⁷ Literally: maternal uncle. After marriage, countryside brides call their younger brothers *ajiu*, which is what their children say, in order to show respect.

- (41) *Bulai=ni hu ge-sa,*
child=ACC give QUOTE-COND
When (she) said "give (me) the baby,"
- (42) *bulai nerri-jiang ge,*
child sleep-OBJ:PERF QUOTE
(the Monkey) said "the child has gone to sleep,"
- (43) *ni Huer sai hu-jiang.*
this monkey NEG give-OBJ:PERF
this Monkey didn't give (the child to her).
- (44) *Dian=du kuer-ku,*
gate=DAT arrive-IMPERF
When (they) arrived at the gate,
- (45) *gan keli-lang,*
3:SG say-OBJ:IMPERF
he said,
- (46) *"Ana khuorang⁶⁸ shou-la bi a,*
mother yard sweep-IMPERF SUBJ:COP PRT
"Mother is sweeping the yard,
- (47) *qi Ana=du 'Khuorang shou-la biu?'*
2:SG mother=DAT yard sweep-IMPERF SUBJ:COP:QUEST
you (ask) Mother, 'Are you sweeping the yard?'
- (48) *ge-ji erseghe."*
QUOTE-IMPERF ask
ask saying this."
- (49) *Xi-sa,*
go-COND
When (they) went,
- (50) *gan=ni ana khuorang shou-lang.*
3:SG=GEN mother yard sweep-OBJ:IMPERF
his mother was sweeping the yard.
- (51) *Yi-ge erseghe-sa yigua bayasi-ji jielie-lang bai.*
one-CL ask-COND totally glad-IMPERF meet-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
As soon as (Younger Sister-in-law) asked, (his mother) welcomed (them) very gladly.
- (52) *Jielie hegang=di sao-gha-jiang ma,*
meet kang=LOC sit-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF PRT
(After) welcoming (them) to sit on the kang,
- (53) *gan cai chaoke-la xi-jiang.*
3:SG food fry-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
she (Monkey's mother) went to cook some food.
- (54) *Cai dunda bulai=ni khuru ri-jiang.*
food in child=GEN finger come-OBJ:PERF
In the food the baby's fingers came.
- (55) *Di hangbura,*
eat finish
(After) finishing eating,

⁶⁸ DV: *khoran*.

- (56) *"Du bi yi-zhuan langla-ya,"*
now 1:SG one-circle walk:around-VOL
"Now I'll go walk around"
- (57) *ge-ji zaohang=du xi-sa,*
QUOTE-IMPERF kitchen=DAT go-COND
saying this, (the boy's mother) went into the kitchen,
- (58) *gan=ni bulai=ni di khuonuo guala ge-ser bang bai.*
3:SG=GEN child=ACC door back hang do-PROG OBJ:COP EMPH
(and she found that) her son was hanging behind the door.⁶⁹
- (59) *"Niaoduer nangda di-ni bai!"*
today 1:SG:DAT eat-SUBJ:FUT EMPH
"Today (they) will eat me!"
- (60) *shinagu mula-lang.*
woman think-OBJ:IMPERF
the woman thought.
- (61) *"Du bi qi=ni houyan=du ge langla-ji xi-a."*
now 1:SG 2:SG=GEN back:courtyard=DAT once walk:around-IMPERF go-VOL
"Now I'll go walking around in your back courtyard," (she said).
- (62) *Houyan=du xi-sa,*
back:courtyard=DAT go-COND
When (she) went into the back courtyard,
- (63) *gan zou kong-si=ni shuduer xi danang khuori ge-ser bang bai.*
3:SG thus person-PL=ACC lead go after pen do-PROG OBJ:COP EMPH
(she found that) he had led people (there) and locked (them in a room).
- (64) *Gan-si keli-ku-ni shi,*
3:SG-PL say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
What they said was,
- (65) *"Niao-shulian gan qimai=du yiding ala-kunyang.*
this-evening 3:SG 2:SG:DAT=DAT certainly kill-OBJ:FUT
"This evening he will certainly kill you.
- (66) *Qi ti ningger=ni nita-ku ruang=du qi nita.*
2:SG that old:woman=GEN sleep-IMPERF place=DAT 2:SG sleep
You sleep in that woman's sleeping place.
- (67) *Ningger=ni ner damei bi a.*
old:woman=GEN sleep heavy SUBJ:COP PRT
The old woman's sleep is very sound.
- (68) *Qi ti=ni tuerke tiermer diere=du xi-gha.*
2:SG that=ACC push iron pillow=DAT go-CAUSE
(When she is sleeping soundly), you push that (i.e. her head) onto the iron pillow.
- (69) *Qimai ti yang'huo=ni hu-ni,*
2:SG:DAT that match=ACC give-SUBJ:FUT
(She) will give you those matches,
- (70) *qimai sake ge-ji.*
2:SG:DAT strike QUOTE-IMPERF
(and tell) you, "strike (them)," like that.

⁶⁹ In countryside homes, meat is hung in the kitchen, often behind the door.

- (71) *Bura-ku a yi-ge=ni sake.*
finish-IMPERF also one-CL=ACC strike
When (you) finish (one), strike (another) one also.
- (72) *Bura-ku bura-jiang ge.*
finish-IMPERF finish-OBJ:PERF QUOTE
When (they) are finished, say "finished,"
- (73) *zaoha=du=ni xi.*
kitchen=DAT=POSS go
(and then) go into her kitchen.
- (74) *Chuler=sa=ni shuer=ni bari yi-ge-jier yao-ku*
kitchen:basket=ABL=POSS chopsticks=ACC take one-CL-short:distance go-IMPERF
a yi-ge kerla.
also one-CL throw
Take the chopsticks from her kitchen basket⁷⁰ and, one by one, throw (them) after walking a short distance."
- (75) *Banye shijie kuer-ji bi-sa khaila-lang.*
midnight time arrive-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND shout-OBJ:IMPERF
When it was almost midnight (Monkey) shouted,
- (76) *"Ana,*
mother
"Mother,
- (77) *Ana,*
mother
mother,
- (78) *mali bosi!*
quickly get:up
get up quickly!
- (79) *Bi tuerghang⁷¹ kong ge=ni ala ge-ba.*
1:SG fat person SG:INDEF=ACC kill do-SUBJ:PERF
I have killed a fat person.
- (80) *Mali mugha di-a bai!"*
quickly meat eat-VOL EMPH
Hurry, let's eat some meat!"
- (81) *Ting ge yang'huo=ni sake-jiang.*
that do match=ACC strike-OBJ:PERF
Then (Elder Sister-in-law) struck the matches.
- (82) *Bura-jiang ma,*
finish-OBJ:PERF PRT
When (they) were finished,
- (83) *zaohang=du xi shuer=ni bari gui-jiang.*
kitchen=DAT go chopsticks=ACC take run-OBJ:PERF
(she) went into the kitchen, took the chopsticks and ran.

⁷⁰ A container holding chopsticks.

⁷¹ DV: *terghong*

- (84) *Huer maidie-jiang ma zhua-jiang.*
monkey know-OBJ:PERF PRT catch-OBJ:PERF
Monkey realized (what had happened) and chased (her).
- (85) *Diandong bang bai,*
stupid OBJ:COP EMPH
(Monkey) was stupid,
- (86) *shuer=nang qige-jiang ma tiu-ji ger=du*
chopsticks=REFLPOSS see-OBJ:PERF PRT pick:up-IMPERF house=DAT
xi-gha-jiang bai.
go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(so when he) saw his chopsticks, (he) picked (them) up and took (them) home.
- (87) *Ger=du chuler=du=nang zhuangluo-tula,*
house=DAT kitchen:basket=DAT=REFLPOSS put:in-before
Before (he) put (the chopsticks) in his kitchen basket in the house,
- (88) *gan yao khuoluotu-jiang.*
3:SG go become:far-OBJ:PERF
she went far away.
- (89) *Mer=du,*
road=DAT
On the way,
- (90) *yi-ge-jian kong tiemie ge tao-ser bang.*
one-CL-person person camel SG:INDEF drive-PROG OBJ:COP
a person was driving a camel.
- (91) *"Mali nangda ge niu-gha ma,*
quickly 1:SG:DAT once hide-CAUSE PRT
"Hurry, hide me for a moment,
- (92) *nangda Mang'huzi di-la ri-ba."*
1:SG:DAT monster eat-PURP come-SUBJ:PERF
a monster is coming to eat me" (she said).
- (93) *"A,*
EXCL
"A,
- (94) *tingsa qi muni tiemie=du wuni sao a."*
then 2:SG 1:SG:GEN camel=DAT ride sit PRT
then you may ride on my camel" (the person said).
- (95) *Shinagu=ni tiemie=du wuni-gha nekai=la kha ge-ku,*
woman=ACC camel=DAT ride-CAUSE fur:lined:jacket=INST cover do-IMPERF
(He) let the woman ride on the camel and covered (her) with a fur-lined jacket,
- (96) *Huer qige-sang guang.*
monkey see-PERF OBJ:NEG:COP
(so) Monkey did not see (her).
- (97) *Huer ri-ji erseghe-jiang.*
monkey come-IMPERF ask-OBJ:PERF
Monkey came and asked,

- (98) *"Ningda⁷² ningda bieri ge qige-bu gui a?"*
 such such wife SG:INDEF see-SUBJ:QUEST SUBJ:NEG:COP PRT
 "Did you see such and such a wife?"
- (99) *"Ai,*
 EXCL
"Ai,
- (100) *ni mersi duoruo ruo yao-ba."*
 this ice under enter go-SUBJ:PERF
 this one went under the ice (on the river)" (the person answered).
- (101) *Huer xi-ku,*
 monkey go-IMPERF
 When Monkey went (to chase her there),
- (102) *mersi duoruo dianke ge-jiang bai.*
 ice under bury do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 (he) was trapped under the ice.
- (103) *Ning ge-ku ni bieri=ni jiula ge-jiang bai.*
 this do-IMPERF this wife=ACC save do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
 And then this wife was saved.

Older Brother Horse

As told by Lü Jinliang⁷³

- (1) *Madage.*
 Madage
 Older Brother Horse.
- (2) *Yi-ge ningger=du kao guang,*
 one-CL old:woman=DAT son OBJ:NEG:COP
 An old woman had no sons,
- (3) *jiaoduer yila-lang.*
 every:day cry-OBJ:IMPERF
 (and she) wept every day.
- (4) *Jiaoduer yila-ser yi-mu ghazher=du=nang naramu tari-jiang.*
 every:day cry-PROG one-mu ground=DAT=REFLPOSS millet plant-OBJ:PERF
 Crying every day, (she) planted millet in her one-mu field.
- (5) *Naramu gher-jiang ma,*
 millet go:out-OBJ:PERF PRT
 The millet sprouted,
- (6) *zhang yi-kuer gher-jiang.*
 only one-CL go:out-OBJ:PERF
 (but) only one head sprouted.
- (7) *Gan=ni ti yi-kuer terghai luchu shige ber-jiang.*
 3:SG=GEN that one-CL head rolling:stone like become-OBJ:PERF
 That one (millet) head of hers became (as big) as a rolling stone.
- (8) *Du ti=nang jiaoduer xige-lang.*
 now that=REFLPOSS every:day watch-OBJ:IMPERF
 Now (she) watched it every day,
- (9) *pusa tughurong di ge-ni ge-ji!*
 another wild:goose eat do-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-IMPERF
 otherwise (she thought) a wild goose would eat (it).
- (10) *Yi-tian nige,*
 one-day one
 One day,
- (11) *gan=ni jiaodong=du keli-ku-ni shi,*
 3:SG=GEN dream=DAT say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
 what was said in her dream was,
- (12) *"Qi mori angchighuo tada xige sao ma,*
 2:SG horse trough near watch sit PRT
 "You watch near the horse trough and,
- (13) *dong-guo ge deghe-la-ji bao-ji ri-ni.*
 winter-fruit SG:INDEF fall-IMPERF go:down-IMPERF come-SUBJ:FUT
 a winter pear will fall down.

⁷² DV: *nida*.⁷³ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong. See "Black Horse Zhang" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:80-83) for a similar Huzhu Mongghul account and "Horse Brother the Cultivator" for a parallel Xinjiang account (Li and Luckert 1994:11-118).

- (14) *Ti=ni di ma,*
that=ACC eat PRT
Eat that and,
- (15) *kao ge ri-ni.*
son SG:INDEF come-SUBJ:FUT
a son will come (i.e. you will bear a son)."
- (16) *Gan jiaoduer xige-jiang.*
3:SG every:day watch-OBJ:PERF
She watched every day.
- (17) *Tughurong "guer,*
wild:goose ONOM
Wild geese (came sounding) "guer,
- (18) *gua" di ri-jiang.*
ONOM QUOTE come-OBJ:PERF
gua" like that,
- (19) *gan gui-ji naramu=nang dangsha-la xi-jiang.*
3:SG run-IMPERF millet=REFLPOSS guard-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
(so) she went running to guard her millet.
- (20) *Ting ge amula bao-ji ri-jiang.*
that do fruit go:down-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
Just then the fruit fell down,
- (21) *mori di ge-jiang.*
horse eat do-OBJ:PERF
(but) the horse ate (it).
- (22) *Mori gan bulai ge lu ge-jiang.*
horse 3:SG child SG:INDEF give:birth do-OBJ:PERF
The horse, she gave birth to a son.
- (23) *Mori lu-jiang ma,*
horse give:birth-OBJ:PERF PRT
The horse gave birth and,
- (24) *ningger gan shuer-di tierber xi,*
old:woman 3:SG quick-ADV hold go
the old woman, she quickly took (the child) and went,
- (25) *"muni kao bi" ge asira shuguotu-gha-jiang.*
1:SG:GEN son SUBJ:COP QUOTE raise grow:up-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(and) saying "he is my son," (she) raised (the child).
- (26) *Xue=du xi-gha-jiang ma,*
study=DAT go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF PRT
(The boy) was sent to school and,
- (27) *xuesheng-si jiaoduer keli-ku-ni shi,*
student-PL every:day say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
what the students said every day was,
- (28) *"Qi mori=ni kao bang bai,*
2:SG horse=GEN son OBJ:COP EMPH
"You are a horse's son,

- (29) *qi ti ningger=ni kao puzhang."*
2:SG that old:woman=GEN son OBJ:NEG:COP
you aren't that old lady's son."
- (30) *Ting ge yi-tian=ni kuer,*
that do one-day=GEN arrive
So one day,
- (31) *ni bulai gan "Ana,*
this child 3:SG mother
this boy, he (said) "Mother,
- (32) *Ana,*
mother
Mother,
- (33) *qi mamei ge chaoke ma,*
2:SG wheat SG:INDEF fry PRT
you roast some wheat,
- (34) *bi mamei di-ni,"*
1:SG wheat eat-SUBJ:FUT
I want to eat wheat,"
- (35) *ge-ji.*
QUOTE-IMPERF
(he) said.
- (36) *"Ou,*
EXCL
"Oh,
- (37) *bi chaoke-a."*
1:SG fry-VOL
I'll roast (some)," (said the old lady).
- (38) *Mamei=ni chaoke-jiang ma,*
wheat=ACC fry-OBJ:PERF PRT
(She) roasted wheat,
- (39) *gan khale-da shou gher-gha-ku,*
3:SG hot-after sweep go:out-CAUSE-IMPERF
he, after (it) was hot, swept (it) out,
- (40) *gan ningger=ni gher=du pudiaoli-gha-jiang.*
3:SG old:woman=GEN hand=DAT hold-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
he forced the old lady to hold (it) in (her) hands.
- (41) *"Ana,*
mother
"Mother,
- (42) *Ana,*
mother
Mother,
- (43) *keli ma,*
say PRT
tell (me),

- (44) *bi mori=ni kao bainu.*
1:SG horse=GEN son OBJ:COP:QUEST
am I the horse's son,
- (45) *qi=ni kao bang?"*
2:SG=GEN son OBJ:COP
(or) your son?" (he asked).
- (46) *Gan ningger=ni tangla-gha-jiang.*
3:SG old:woman=ACC burn-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
He burned the old woman.
- (47) *"Mori=ni kao bang!"*
horse=GEN son OBJ:COP
"(You) are the horse's son!"
- (48) *Mori=ni kao bang!"*
horse=GEN son OBJ:COP
(You) are the horse's son!" (the old lady said).
- (49) *Ning ge-ku,*
this do-IMPERF
And then,
- (50) *ni Madage⁷⁴ lenmusemu ge bari danang yao-jiang.*
this Madage bow:and:arrow SG:INDEF take after go-OBJ:PERF
this Madage took a bow and arrow and left.
- (51) *Yao-ji yi-ge beghe tada kuer-jiang.*
go-IMPERF one-CL tree near arrive-OBJ:PERF
(He) walked until (he) came near a tree.
- (52) *Beghe zhuer=sa huni maoke-lang.*
tree bottom=ABL smoke waft-OBJ:IMPERF
From the bottom of the tree smoke was wafting out.
- (53) *Gan yi-ge jian shi kong ge gher-ji ri-jiang.*
3:SG one-CL arrow time person SG:INDEF go:out-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
When he (shot) one arrow (at the bottom of the tree), a person came out.
- (54) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (55) *qi yao-ku mer=nang yao ma,*
2:SG go-IMPERF road=REFLPOSS go PRT
you walk the road you are walking,
- (56) *muni ger=ni peghe-ji ya=la bi?"*
1:SG:GEN house=ACC hit-IMPERF what=INST SUBJ:COP
why are (you) shooting my house?" (the person asked).
- (57) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (58) *dasi=nang aghadiao tani yao-a."*
1:PL:NOM=REFLPOSS friend recognize go-VOL
let's become friends and go," (Madage said).

⁷⁴ Literally: Elder Brother Horse

- (59) *Gan ghu=la Madage,*
3:SG two=COLL Madage
The two of them, Madage
- (60) *Shu'erge⁷⁵ ge yao-jiang.*
Shu'erge QUOTE go-OBJ:PERF
and Shu'erge, calling (themselves by these names), left.
- (61) *Pusa yi-jier yao-jiang ma,*
another one-short:distance go-OBJ:PERF PRT
(They) went on another short distance and,
- (62) *tashi ge duoruo=sa huni gher-lang.*
stone SG:INDEF under=ABL smoke go:out-OBJ:IMPERF
(they saw) smoke coming out from under a stone.
- (63) *Yi-jian shi pusa kong ge gher-ji ri-jiang bai.*
one-arrow time another person SG:INDEF go:out-look come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
When (Madage shot) an arrow (at the stone), another person came out.
- (64) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (65) *qi yao-ku-ni mer=nang yao ma,*
2:SG go-IMPERF-NOMLZR road=REFLPOSS go PRT
you walk the road you are walking,
- (66) *muni ger=ni peghe-ji⁷⁶ ya ge-ni?"*
1:SG:GEN house=ACC hit-IMPERF what do-SUBJ:FUT
why do (you) shoot my home?" (the person asked).
- (67) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (68) *dasi=nang gaga diao tani yao-a!"*
1:PL:NOM=REFLPOSS elder:brother younger:brother recognize go-VOL
let's become brothers and go!" (Madage said).
- (69) *Gan-si san-ge=la,*
3:SG-PL three-CL=COLL
The three of them,
- (70) *Madage,*
Madage
Madage,
- (71) *Shu'erge,*
Shu'erge
Shu'erge,
- (72) *Shitouge⁷⁷ ning ge chujia ge yao-jiang.*
Shitouge this QUOTE leave:home do go-OBJ:PERF
Shitouge, calling (themselves by these names), left home and went on.

⁷⁵ Literally: Second Brother Tree.

⁷⁶ DV: *pegheji*.

⁷⁷ Literally: Brother Stone.

- (73) *Yao yao gan-si yi-ge yaodong=du kuer-jiang.*
go go 3:SG-PL one-CL cave=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
(They) walked and walked (until) they reached a cave.
- (74) *Gan=ni yaodong ye yi-ge baowo yaodong bang.*
3:SG=GEN cave also one-CL sacred cave OBJ:COP
This cave was even a sacred cave.
- (75) *Yaodong=du gugu san-ge sao-lang.*
cave=DAT cuckoo three-CL sit-OBJ:IMPERF
There were three cuckoos living in the cave.
- (76) *Sao-ku,*
sit-IMPERF
After (the three brothers) lived (there),
- (77) *san-ge gaga diao yi-ge jian=ni xige-gha-jiang.*
three-CL elder:brother younger:brother one-CL person=ACC watch-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
the three brothers had one person watch,
- (78) *liang-ge=la daghu yerri-la xi-jiang.*
two-CL=COLL firewood look:for-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
(while the other) two went to look for firewood.
- (79) *Daghu yerri-ji ri-sa,*
firewood look:for-IMPERF come-COND
When (they) came back from looking for firewood,
- (80) *xi bajia-ji ge-ser bang.*
feast prepare-IMPERF do-PROG OBJ:COP
a feast had been prepared.
- (81) *"Aya,*
EXCL
"Aya,
- (82) *niaoduer yang kong bajia-ji ge-ji?"*
today what person prepare-IMPERF do-IMPERF
what person prepared (the feast) today?" (they asked).
- (83) *"Bajia ge yao-jiang ma,*
prepare do go-OBJ:PERF PRT
"(They) prepared (it and then) left,
- (84) *bi lai maidie-lang."*
1:SG NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
I don't know," (Shitouge said).
- (85) *"Lian kan yama bajia-ku-ni lai maidie-ji?"*
even who food prepare-IMPERF-NOMLZR NEG know-IMPERF
"Why don't (you) even know who made the meal?"
- (86) *Mughashi bi xige-a!'⁷⁸*
tomorrow 1:SG watch-VOL
Tomorrow I'll keep watch!"
- (87) *Shu'erge werkuer-ser keli-ji.*
Shu'erge be:angry-PROG say-IMPERF
Shu'erge said angrily.

⁷⁸ The final word was reduced to *xige* by the speaker.

- (88) *Mughashi=ni Shu'erge hanshi sai maidie-jiang.*
tomorrow=POSS Shu'erge also NEG know-OBJ:PERF
The next day, Shu'erge didn't know either (who had made the meal).
- (89) *Di-san-tian=ni Madage jie=nang xige-jiang.*
ORD-three-day=POSS Madage self=REFLPOSS watch-OBJ:PERF
On the third day, Madage himself kept watch.
- (90) *Xige-ser bi-sa,*
watch-PROG SUBJ:COP-COND
While (he) was watching,
- (91) *gan zou,*
3:SG thus
he (heard someone say),
- (92) *"Pada,*
EXCL
"Pada,
- (93) *pada you chu-lai!*
EXCL oil go:out-come
pada, oil come out!
- (94) *Pada,*
EXCL
Pada,
- (95) *pada mian chu-lai!"*
EXCL flour go:out-come
pada, flour come out!"
- (96) *di khaila-lang.*
QUOTE shout-OBJ:IMPERF
shouting like this.
- (97) *Ting-ku Madage,*
that-IMPERF Madage
Then Madage,
- (98) *"Dai!"⁷⁹*
EXCL
"Dai!"
- (99) *di ge khaila-ku,*
QUOTE once shout-IMPERF
when (he) shouted like that,
- (100) *san-ge gugu ayi huangla-jiang ma,*
three-CL cuckoo fear nervous-OBJ:PERF PRT
the three cuckoos were (so) frightened,
- (101) *gugu ghua-si=nang zhuo da-jiang.*
cuckoo feather=REFLPOSS wear cannot-OBJ:PERF
(that they) couldn't put on their cuckoo feathers.
- (102) *San-ge xujun kong huerber sao-jiang.*
three-CL female person become sit-OBJ:PERF
(They) became three ladies.

⁷⁹ *Dai* is a sound word used to frighten someone.

- (103) *Madage san-ge gang=du kuermer ge-jiang.*
Madage three-CL vat=DAT cover do-OBJ:PERF
Madage covered (them) in three water vats.
- (104) *Gan gezai shinagu=ni mao gang=du kuermer ge-jiang.*
3.SG good woman=ACC bad vat=DAT cover do-OBJ:PERF
He covered the beautiful woman in an old vat.
- (105) *Jiangjiu mao-sai-her=ni gan shini gang=du kuermer ge-jiang.*
slightly bad-beautiful-COMP=ACC 3.SG new vat=DAT cover do-OBJ:PERF
The slightly uglier ones he covered in new vats.
- (106)⁸⁰ *Shitouge dai Shu'erge ghu=luo ri-jiang ma,*
Shitouge and Shu'erge two=COLL come-OBJ:PERF PRT
(When) Shitouge and Shu'erge these two came (back),
- (107) *gan ghu=luo shini-lang.*
3.SG two=COLL smile-OBJ:IMPERF
the two of them were laughing.
- (108) *"Kan china-sang-ni nao-ji ge-bu?"*
who cook-PERF-NOMLZR see-IMPERF do-SUBJ:QUEST
"Did (you) see who cooked (the meal)?" (they asked).
- (109) *Madage keli-ji,*
Madage say-IMPERF
Madage said,
- (110) *"Bi zaihang shinagu san-ge=ni gang=du kuermer ge-ser bi.*
1.SG beautiful woman three-CL=ACC vat=DAT cover do-PROG SUBJ:COP
"I have covered three beautiful women in the vats.
- (111) *Ta ghu=luo xian tiaoke,*
2:PL two=COLL first choose
You two choose first,
- (112) *kan tiaoke-ku kan=ni bang" ge.*
who choose-IMPERF who=GEN OBJ:COP QUOTE
whoever (you) choose will be (yours)," (Madage) said.
- (113) *Shu'erge dai Shitouge ghu=la liang-ge shini gang=ni qiangke-jiang.*
Shu'erge and Shitouge two=COLL two-CL new vat=ACC scramble-for-OBJ:PERF
Shu'erge and Shitouge these two scrambled for the two new water vats.
- (114) *Ting ge-ku,*
that do-IMPERF
As a result,
- (115) *Madage chu-saihang nige=la ger pudu-jiang.*
Madage most-beautiful one=INST house change-OBJ:PERF
Madage set up house with the most beautiful one (and had a happy family all his life).

Monsters and Ghosts



Manghuizi are monsters. When babies cry or are naughty, their parents scold,
"Manghuizi is coming!" which means, "If you continue crying, manghuizi will hear and come."

⁸⁰ The remainder of this text was written by Zhu Yongzhong on the basis of what he had heard from various sources related to the story.

Monster Girl

As told by Lü Jinliang⁸¹

- (1) *Mang'huzi Aguer.*
monster daughter
Monster Girl.
- (2) *Yi-ge ningger=du yi-ge aguer,*
one-CL old:woman=DAT one-CL daughter
An old lady (had) a daughter,
- (3) *yi-ge kao bang bai.*
one-CL son OBJ:COP EMPH
(and) a son.
- (4) *Gan=ni kao jiaoduer asi dangla-la xi-ku,*
3:SG=GEN son every:day livestock herd-PURP go-IMPERF
When her son went to herd livestock every day,
- (5) *khuerga ge tierber-ji ri-lang bai.*
lamb SG:INDEF hold-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(he) came (back) holding a lamb in (his) arms.
- (6) *Ti=ni aguer khuerga=ni shulian=du kuguo-gha-la xi-ku,*
that=GEN daughter lamb=ACC evening=DAT nurse-CAUSE-PURP go-IMPERF
When her daughter went to let the lamb suckle (its mother every) evening,
- (7) *gan yi-ge=ni kuguo-gha-ku yi-ge=ni gan di ge-lang.*
3:SG one-CL=ACC nurse-CAUSE-IMPERF one-CL=ACC 3:SG eat do-OBJ:IMPERF
when she let one suckle, she would eat (another) one.
- (8) *Ni aguer=du liang-ge ama bang.*
this daughter=DAT two-CL mouth OBJ:COP
This daughter had two mouths.
- (9) *Khuonuo yi-ge a mieshi yi-ge.*
back one-CL also front one-CL
One (in) the back and one (in) the front (of her head).
- (10) *Ni zou mang'huzi bang.*
this thus monster OBJ:COP
So this was a monster.
- (11) *Gan=ni khuonuo=ni ama=ni suzu kha ge-ser bang.*
3:SG=GEN back=GEN mouth=ACC hair cover do-PROG OBJ:COP
Hair covered her back mouth.
- (12) *Gan mieshi-ku ama=la wuge keli-lang.*
3:SG front-IMPERF mouth=INST word say-OBJ:IMPERF
She spoke with (her) front mouth,

- (13) *khuonuo=ni ama=la xiacha yima nuguer ge=ni*
back=GEN mouth=INST try:one's:best goat kid:goat SG:INDEF=ACC

di-lang.
eat-OBJ:IMPERF
with her back mouth (she) did everything (she) could to eat a kid goat.
- (14) *Ting-ku gan=ni bulai nao-sa,*
that-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN child see-COND
Then her (Old Lady's) son watched (his sister),
- (15) *jiaoduer gan=ni khuerga ge hugu-lang,*
every:day 3:SG=GEN lamb SG:INDEF die-OBJ:IMPERF
(because) every day one of her (the sister's) lambs died,
- (16) *hugu-lang ge,*
die-OBJ:IMPERF QUOTE
(the sister) said (one) died,
- (17) *khuerga ge guida sao-lang ma.*
lamb SG:INDEF disappear sit-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
a lamb disappeared.
- (18) *Gan ning ge khuleghe-ji nao-la xi-jiang gelang.*
3:SG this do peep-IMPERF see-PURP go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
He thus went to look secretly (at his sister), they say,
- (19) *ajia=ni kuguo-gha-la xi-ku.*
elder:sister=POSS nurse-CAUSE-PURP go-IMPERF
when his elder sister went to let (a lamb) suckle.
- (20) *Ning ge nao-sa zou,*
this do see-COND thus
As (he) was looking, then,
- (21) *gan yi-ge=ni di-lang bai.*
3:SG one-CL=ACC eat-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
she was eating one.
- (22) *"Qi zou ni aguer=nang ala-sa ala ma,*
2:SG thus this daughter=REFLPOSS kill-COND kill PRT
"If you (will) kill this daughter of yours, kill (her),
- (23) *lai ala-sa bi zou qi=ni ger=du lai sao,"*
NEG kill-COND 1:SG thus 2:SG=GEN house=DAT NEG sit
if (you) will not kill (her), then I will not stay in your home,"
- (24) *gan ana=du=nang keli-jiang.*
3:SG mother=DAT=REFLPOSS say-OBJ:PERF
he said to his mother.
- (25) *Ana=ni keli-ji,*
mother=POSS say-IMPERF
His mother said,
- (26) *"Qi lai sao-sa ba ma bi aguer=nang lai ala."*
2:SG NEG sit-COND PRT PRT 1:SG daughter=REFLPOSS NEG kill
"If you will not stay, OK, (but) I will not kill my daughter."

⁸¹ See "Black Horse Zhang" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:80-83) for a similar Huzhu Mongghul account and "Horse Brother the Cultivator" for a parallel Xinjiang account (Li and Luckert 1994:11-118). See "Luguma Reverts to Hunting" (Li and Luckert 1994:122-126) for a similar Xinjiang account.

- (27) *Ning ge-ku,*
this QUOTE-IMPERF
When (she) said this,
- (28) *bulai=ni bosi yao-jiang bai.*
child=POSS get:up go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
her son left (home).
- (29) *Ni bulai yao danang yi-ban-nian ber-ji ri-sa,*
this child go after one-half-year become-IMPERF come-COND
After this boy left, more than a year passed (and) when (he) came (back),
- (30) *gan=ni ajia=ni lian ana=tai di ge-jiang bai,*
3:SG=GEN elder:sister=POSS even mother=COM eat do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
his elder sister had even eaten (their) mother,
- (31) *khuoni=ni di bura-gha-ji guang.*
sheep=ACC eat finish-CAUSE-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP
(she) had eaten the sheep (so that) there were none (left).
- (32) *Bulai ruo-ji xi-sa,*
child enter-IMPERF go-COND
When the boy entered,
- (33) *gan bayasi-ji yigua ting ge-lang.*
3:SG glad-IMPERF totally that do-OBJ:IMPERF
she was very glad.
- (34) *"Gaga ri-bu a..."*
elder:brother come-SUBJ:QUEST PRT
"Brother has come..."
- (35) *ge-ji,*
QUOTE-IMPERF
(she) said this,
- (36) *gan gaga=nang a di-kunyang bai.*
3:SG elder:brother=REFLPOSS also eat-OBJ:FUT EMPH
she also wanted to eat her brother.
- (37) *Gan bayasi-ji jielie-jiang.*
3:SG glad-IMPERF meet-OBJ:PERF
She welcomed (him) gladly.
- (38) *"Sao a,*
sit PRT
"Sit,
- (39) *mali bi qimai cai chaoke-la xi-a."*
quickly 1:SG 2:SG:DAT food fry-PURP go-VOL
I'll quickly go to cook some food for you," (she said).
- (40) *Gan gui-ji chaoke-la xi-jiang ma,*
3:SG run-IMPERF fry-PURP go-OBJ:PERF PRT
She went running to cook,
- (41) *gaga=ni ning ge-ji ge nao-sa,*
elder:brother=POSS this do-IMPERF once see-COND
when her brother looked around like this,

- (42) *ana=ni terghai a shighai-si=ni guizi=du ge-ji*
mother=GEN head also leg-PL=ACC chest=DAT do-IMPERF

ge-ser bang bai.
do-PROG OBJ:COP EMPH
(he found that) his mother's head and legs had been put inside the grain chest.
- (43) *Bulai zou "bi ge langla-ya,"*
child thus 1:SG once walk:around-VOL
So the boy (said), "I'll walk around a bit (outside),"
- (44) *ge-ji.*
QUOTE-IMPERF
(he) said this.
- (45) *Gan lai yao-gha-lang.*
3:SG NEG go-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
(But) she didn't let (him) go,
- (46) *bulai ger diere gher-jiang bai.*
child house on go:out-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(so) the boy went up onto the house.⁸²
- (47) *"Tingsa bi ger diere xuezi=nang bai-gha ge-a."⁸³*
then 1:SG house on boot=REFLPOSS stand-CAUSE do-VOL
"Then I'll put my boots on the house," (he said).
- (48) *Gan zou liang-ge xuezi=nang bai-gha ge-jiang.*
3:SG thus two-CL boot=REFLPOSS stand-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF
So he stood his two boots (on the house).
- (49) *Mang'huzi Aguer cai=nang chaoke-ser bang,*
monster daughter food=REFLPOSS fry-PROG OBJ:COP
Monster Girl was cooking her food,
- (50) *pusa gui-ji xuezi=ni ge nao-la xi-lang.*
another run-IMPERF boot=ACC once see-PURP go-OBJ:IMPERF
(but) also went running to see the boots.
- (51) *Xuezi=ni ge nao-ku a gui-ji cai=nang nige ama*
boot=ACC once see-IMPERF also run-IMPERF food=REFLPOSS one mouth

di-la xi-lang.
eat-PURP go-OBJ:IMPERF
After looking at the boots, (she) also went running to eat a mouthful (i.e. a taste) of her food.
- (52) *"Du ya ge-a!*
now what do-VOL
"Now what will I do!
- (53) *Ni nangda di-kunyang bai."*
this 1:SG:DAT eat-OBJ:FUT EMPH
This (monster) will eat me," (the boy thought).
- (54) *Bulai zou khuoran=ni beghe=di gher xi-jiang gelang bai.*
child thus courtyard=GEN tree=LOC go:out go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
So the boy climbed up in a tree in the courtyard.

⁸² Homes have flat thick adobe roofs which can be easily walked on. Various items can be placed on these roofs.

⁸³ The speaker reduced the final word to *ga*.

- (55) "Gaga ya,
elder:brother PRT
"Oh, Brother,
- (56) mali bao-ji ri.
quickly go:down-IMPERF come
come down quickly.
- (57) Qi ya ge-ji gher-ba ya?
2:SG what do-IMPERF go:out-SUBJ:PERF PRT
How did you go up?
- (58) Mali bao-ji ri."
quickly go:down-IMPERF come
Come down quickly," (his sister said).
- (59) Gaga=ni keli-ji ya-ya ge gher-ba ya.
elder:brother=POSS say-IMPERF what-what do go:out-SUBJ:PERF PRT
Brother said how (he) went up.
- (60) Tingsa gan a sangba-ji gher-ji ri-ba.
then 3:SG also climb-IMPERF go:out-IMPERF come-SUBJ:PERF
Then she also (started) climbing up.
- (61) Tingsa,
then
Then,
- (62) gan=ni gaga keli-ji,
3:SG=GEN elder:brother say-IMPERF
her elder brother said,
- (63) "laiting=du huguer liang-ge ri-ba,
there=DAT cow two-CL come-SUBJ:PERF
"Two bulls are coming over there,
- (64) qi ti=ni di-la xi."
2:SG that=ACC eat-PURP go
you go eat them."
- (65) Bersi liang-ge ti kong=ni beila-la ri-jiang gelang.
tiger two-CL that person=ACC carry-PURP come-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
(Actually), two tigers had come to carry (away) that person (the boy), they say.
- (66) Gan keli-ji ge-jiang gelang.
3:SG say-IMPERF do-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
He had told (the two tigers), they say,
- (67) "Bi aliker shijie=du lai ri-ku qi damei wuji-la ri."
1:SG such time=DAT NEG come-IMPERF 2:SG 1:SG:DAT take:note-PURP come
"If I don't come back on time, you come to look for me."
- (68) Mang'huzi gui-ji xi-ku,
monster run-IMPERF go-IMPERF
As Monster went running (to them),
- (69) liang-ge bersi yijia yi-chui shi peghe ala ge-jiang bai.
two-CL tiger each one-fist COP hit kill do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
each tiger beat (her) with a paw (and they) killed (her).

- (70) Ni zou Mang'huzi=ni bihuang bang.
this thus monster=GEN story OBJ:COP
So this is the story of Monster.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ See the Huzhu Mongghul account "The Old Spotted Bull and Elder Brother" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:123-124) for a last-minute rescue of the protagonist, who is also in a tree, by two tigers. Similarly, in the Mongol account "The Huntress" (Stuart 1993:7-6), the heroine is hiding from a monster in a tree and is saved at the last minute by two ferocious hounds.

Three Girls, a Monster and a Peddler

As told by Chen Zhaojun and Zhu Meilian⁸⁵

- (1) *San-ge Aguer,*
three-CL daughter
Three Girls,
- (2) *Yi-ge Mang'huzi Dai Yi-ge Huler.*
one-CL monster and one-CL peddler
a Monster and a Peddler.
- (3) *Yi-ge ningger=du san-ge aguer bang bai.*
one-CL old:woman=DAT three-CL daughter OBJ:COP EMPH
An old lady had three daughters.
- (4) *San-ge=la=ni,*
three-CL=COLL=ACC
The three of them (were called),
- (5) *yi-ge=ni Yueshi,*
one-CL=ACC key
one (was called) Key,
- (6) *yi-ge=ni Chuerghuo,*
one-CL=ACC lock
one (was called) Lock,
- (7) *yi-ge=ni Di bosighuo ge-ji daoda-lang.*
one-CL=ACC door threshold QUOTE-IMPERF call-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) one was called Threshold.
- (8) *Yi-tian nige,*
one-day one
One day,
- (9) *ana=ni niangjia sao-la xi-kuniang.*
mother=POSS parental:home sit-PURP go-OBJ:FUT
their mother planned to go to (her) parents' home.
- (10) *Gan=ni aguer keli-ji,*
3:SG=GEN daughter say-IMPERF
Her daughter said,
- (11) *"Ana,*
mother
"Mother,
- (12) *Ana,*
mother
Mother,
- (13) *qi mer=du bu hangbura,*
2:SG road=DAT NEG rest
you do not rest on the way,

- (14) *yizhi yao-sang xi."*
directly go-PERF go
go directly (there)."
- (15) *Mer=du yao yada-jiang ma tashi yi-ge=du ge hangbura-jiang bai.*
road=DAT go be:tired-OBJ:PERF PRT stone one-CL=DAT once rest-OBJ:PERF EMPH
On the way, (she) got tired and rested for a while on a stone.
- (16) *Tashi duoruo=sa mang'huzi ge gher ri-jiang gelang bai.*
stone under=ABL monster SG:INDEF go:out come-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
From under the stone a monster emerged.
- (17) *"Ayi,*
Aunt
"Aunt,
- (18) *Ayi,*
Aunt
"Aunt,
- (19) *qi ang xi-la bi a?"*
2:SG where go-IMPERF SUBJ:COP PRT
where are you going?"
- (20) *Mang'huzi erseghe-jiang.*
monster ask-OBJ:PERF
Monster asked.
- (21) *"Bi niangjia=du ge xi-la bi a."*
1:SG parental:home=DAT once go-IMPERF SUBJ:COP PRT
"I'm going to my parents' home," (she answered).
- (22) *"Qi yang bari-ser bi a?"*
2:SG what take-PROG SUBJ:COP PRT
"What are you taking (with you)?"
- (23) *"Bi dimei ge bari-ser bi a."*
1:SG bread SG:INDEF take-PROG SUBJ:COP PRT
"I am taking a cake."
- (24) *"Tingsa da ghu=la di-a,*
then 1:PL two=COLL eat-VOL
"Then let the two of us eat (it),
- (25) *aori!"*
come:on
come on!"
- (26) *Ning ge gan=ni dimei=ni di ge-jiang gelang bai.*
this do 3:SG=GEN bread=ACC eat do-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
So her cake was eaten up.
- (27) *"Ayi,*
Aunt
"Aunt,
- (28) *Ayi,*
Aunt
Aunt,

⁸⁵ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong. See "The Mangus" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:114-17) for a similar Huzhu Mongghul account.

- (29) *qi=ni ger=du kan bi a?"*
2:SG=GEN house=DAT who SUBJ:COP PRT
who is in your family?"
- (30) *Mang'huzi erseghe-jiang gelang.*
monster ask-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
Monster asked.
- (31) *"Muni ger=du aguer san-ge bi a."*
1:SG:GEN house=DAT daughter three-CL SUBJ:COP PRT
"There are three daughters in my family."
- (32) *"Niere=ni yang ge-la bi a?"*
name=ACC what QUOTE-IMPERF SUBJ:COP PRT
What names do (you) call them?"
- (33) *Ningger yigua=nang keli-jiang gelang bai.*
old:woman totally=REFLPOSS say-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
The old lady told all (of her daughters' names).
- (34) *"Tingsa,*
then
"Then,
- (35) *Ayi,*
Aunt
Aunt,
- (36) *bi qi=ni terghai=du besige ala-gha-ya."*
1:SG 2:SG=GEN head=DAT lice kill-CAUSE-VOL
let me kill the lice on your head."
- (37) *Ningger dayingla-jiang ma,*
old:woman promise-OBJ:PERF PRT
The old lady agreed,
- (38) *gan,*
3:SG
(but) she (the monster),
- (39) *"Yi zhijia,*
one fingernail
"One fingernail,
- (40) *liang zhijia,*
two fingernail
two fingernails,
- (41) *gutou naosui beila-la,"*
bone brain be:white-IMPERF
bones and brain are (very) white,"
- (42) *ning ge daola-jiang.*
this QUOTE sing-OBJ:PERF
sang like this.
- (43) *Mang'huzi daola-ser ningger=ni di ge-jiang.*
monster sing-PROG old:woman=ACC eat do-OBJ:PERF
As Monster sang, (she) devoured the old lady.

- (44) *Ting ge-ku,*
that do-IMPERF
Next,
- (45) *ni mang'huzi zou san-ge aguer tada xi-jiang gelang.*
this monster thus three-CL daughter near go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
this monster went to the three girls.
- (46) *Diamang=du kuer-jiang ma,*
door=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF PRT
When (she) reached the gate,
- (47) *khaila-jiang gelang,*
shout-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
(she) shouted,
- (48) *"Yueshi,*
key
"Key,
- (49) *Yueshi,*
key
Key,
- (50) *ana=du di nie-gha-la ri."*
mother=DAT door open-CAUSE-PURP come
come open the gate for (your) mother."
- (51) *"Qi muni ana puzhi.*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN mother SUBJ:NEG:COP
"You aren't my mother.
- (52) *Muni ana hulang khuermo,*
1:SG:GEN mother red skirt
My mother (wears) a red skirt,
- (53) *nughuang zhaorer musi-ser bang."*
green cotton:padded:jacket wear-PROG OBJ:COP
and a green cotton padded jacket."
- (54) *Ting-ku gan xi nughuang biesi=du gangke gangke,*
that-IMPERF 3:SG go green grass=DAT rub rub
So she (the monster) went and rubbed and rubbed in green grass,
- (55) *hulang biesi=du gangke gangke-ku,*
red grass=DAT rub rub-IMPERF
(and) rubbed and rubbed in red grass,
- (56) *pusa khaila-la ri-jiang bai.*
another shout-PURP come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and then) came back to shout again.
- (57) *"Chuerghuo,*
lock
"Lock,
- (58) *Chuerghuo,*
lock
Lock,

- (59) *qi ana=du di nie-gha-la ri.*
2:SG mother=DAT door open-CAUSE-PURP come
you come open the gate for (your) mother."
- (60) *"Qi muni ana puzhi.*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN mother SUBJ:NEG:COP
"You aren't my mother.
- (61) *Muni ana chihang shoujing khara baotou kha-ser bang.*
1:SG:GEN mother white towel black scarf cover-PROG OBJ:COP
My mother covers (her head) with a white towel and a black scarf."
- (62) *Mang'huzi xi pusa khara biesi dai shao dunda gangke gangke*
monster go another black grass and earth in rub rub

ri-jiang bai.
come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Monster went again (and) rubbed and rubbed in black grass and dirt, (and then) came back.
- (63) *"Di bosighuo,*
door threshold
"Threshold,
- (64) *Di bosighuo,*
door threshold
Threshold,
- (65) *qi ana=du di nie-gha-la ri.*
2:SG mother=DAT door open-CAUSE-PURP come
you come open the gate for (your) mother," (Monster said).
- (66) *Di bosighuo keli-ji,*
door threshold say-IMPERF
Threshold said,
- (67) *"Qi muni ana puzhi.*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN mother SUBJ:NEG:COP
"You aren't my mother.
- (68) *Muni ana niangjia=du yao-ba.*
1:SG:GEN mother parental:home=DAT go-SUBJ:PERF
My mother went to (her) parents' home."
- (69) *Mang'huzi nao-sa ger=du ruo-ji xi da-kunyang ma,*
monster see-COND house=DAT enter-IMPERF go cannot-OBJ:FUT PRT
Monster found that (she) could not go into the house,
- (70) *tingsa keli-ji,*
then say-IMPERF
(and) then (she) said,
- (71) *"Muni age⁸⁶ kao hengshi gher=nang gher-ji ri-gha ma,*
1:SG:GEN which child bravely hand=REFLPOSS go:out-IMPERF come-CAUSE PRT
"Whichever of my children bravely thrusts her hand out,
- (72) *Ana ertang gaizhuer zhuo-gha-ya.*
mother gold ring wear-CAUSE-VOL
Mother will let (her) wear a gold ring."

- (73) *Mula nige diger diandong bang ma khuru=nang gher-gha*
small one little:bit stupid OBJ:COP PRT finger=REFLPOSS go:out-CAUSE

xi-gha-jiang bai.
go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
The smallest one was a little bit foolish and put out her finger.
- (74) *Mang'huzi ghazha sao-jiang bai.*
monster bite sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Monster gripped (it) with (her) teeth.
- (75) *"Di=ni nie-gha nu lai nie-gha?"*
door=ACC open-CAUSE SUBJ:FUT:QUEST NEG open-CAUSE
"Will you open the gate or not?"
- (76) *Shuguo Aguer keli-ji,*
big daughter say-IMPERF
Eldest Daughter said,
- (77) *"Ana,*
mother
"Mother,
- (78) *Ana,*
mother
Mother,
- (79) *qi muni diao=ni gher=ni ge ma,*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN younger:sibling=GEN hand=ACC let:go PRT
You let go of my younger sister's hand,
- (80) *bi nie-gha-ya.*
1:SG open-CAUSE-VOL
I will open (the gate)."
- (81) *Ting ge nie-gha-jiang gelang.*
that do open-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
So (they) opened (the gate).
- (82) *Khara ber-jiang ma,*
black become-OBJ:PERF PRT
When it became dark,
- (83) *Mang'huzi gan ti aguer=sax maxian geda a,*
monster 3:SG that daughter=ABL flaxen:thread ball PRT
Monster, she (asked) those girls for a ball of flaxen thread,
- (84) *khezhang cai shuli a,*
pickled vegetable liquid PRT
liquid from pickled vegetables,
- (85) *yangyer-di kerli-ji ge-jiang gelang bai.*
every:kind-ADV want-IMPERF do-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
and all kinds of other things.
- (86) *"Ana=ni kao,*
mother=GEN child
"Mother's children,

⁸⁶ DV: *alige*

- (87) *ali ge hengshi Ana=ni erber=du ri ma,*
which SG:INDEF bravely mother=GEN breast=DAT come PRT
whichever (of you) bravely comes into Mother's arms,
- (88) *Ana tierber-ji nita-ya.*
mother hold-IMPERF sleep-VOL
Mother will hold (her) while we go to sleep."
- (89) *Shuguo=ni liang-ge sai xi-jiang gelang,*
big=GEN two-CL NEG go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
The older two (girls) did not go,
- (90) *ting-ku mula nige xi-jiang.*
that-IMPERF small one go-OBJ:PERF
(but) then the youngest one went.
- (91) *Tingsa suoni ber-sa gan di-lang gelang.*
later night become-COND 3:SG eat-OBJ:IMPERF HEARSAY
Later, when it was night, she was eating.
- (92) *Gan=ni ajia=ni keli-jiang,*
3:SG=GEN elder:sister=POSS say-OBJ:PERF
Her (Younger Sister's) Elder Sister said,
- (93) "Ana,
mother
"Mother,
- (94) Ana,
mother
Mother,
- (95) *qi di-ku-ni ti=ni nao-sa muni diao=ni terghai=ni*
2:SG eat-IMPERF-NOMLZR that=ACC see-COND 1:SG:GEN younger:sibling=GEN head=ACC

xidera-lang bai."
be:like-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
that (thing) you are eating looks like my younger sister's head."
- (96) "Puzhang,
OBJ:NEG:COP
"(It) is not,
- (97) *ni qi heghe-ji ri-sang-ni maxian geda bang ma."*
this 2:SG take-IMPERF come-PERF-NOMLZR flaxen:thread ball OBJ:COP PRT
it is the ball of flaxen thread that you brought," (Monster said).
- (98) *Yizheng ber-jiang ma,*
later become-OBJ:PERF PRT
After a while,
- (99) *ajia=ni pusa keli-ji,*
elder:sister=POSS another say-IMPERF
her elder sister said again,
- (100) "Ana,
mother
"Mother,

- (101) Ana,
mother
Mother,
- (102) *qi wu-ku-ni chenli-sa muni diao=ni chuzi=ni*
2:SG drink-IMPERF-NOMLZR hear-COND 1:SG:GEN younger:sibling=GEN blood=ACC

xidera-lang."
be:like-OBJ:IMPERF
what you are drinking sounds like my younger sister's blood."
- (103) "Puzhang,
OBJ:NEG:COP
"(It) is not,
- (104) *ni qi heghe-ji ri-sang khezheng cai shuli bang."*
this 2:SG take-IMPERF come-PERF pickled vegetable liquid OBJ:COP
this is the pickled vegetable liquid that you brought."
- (105) *Ting-ku yi-ge aguer keli-ji,*
that-IMPERF one-CL daughter say-IMPERF
Then one daughter said,
- (106) "Ana,
mother
"Mother,
- (107) Ana,
mother
Mother,
- (108) *bi sher-la xi-ni."*
1:SG urinate-PURP go-SUBJ:FUT
I am going to urinate."
- (109) "Kujier=du bao-ku sher ge."
floor=DAT go:down-IMPERF urinate do
"Get down on the floor (and) urinate."
- (110) "Muni ada ri-sa suguo-ni."
1:SG:GEN father come-COND curse-SUBJ:FUT
"If my father comes, (he) will scold (me)."
- (111) *Pusa ge keli-jiang,*
another once say-OBJ:PERF
The other (daughter) said,
- (112) "Ana,
mother
"Mother,
- (113) Ana,
mother
Mother,
- (114) *bi ghada gher-ni."*
1:SG outside go:out-SUBJ:FUT
I will go outside (to doo-doo)."

- (115) *"Kujier=du bao-ku ba ge."*
floor=DAT go:down-IMPERF defecate do
"Get down on the floor and doo-doo."
- (116) *"Wulie,*
no
"No,
- (117) *muni ada ri-sa peghe-ni."*
1:SG:GEN father come-COND hit-SUBJ:FUT
if my father comes (he) will beat (me)."
- (118) *Shuguo Aguer keli-ji,*
big daughter say-IMPERF
Oldest Daughter said,
- (119) *"Ana,*
mother
"Mother,
- (120) *Ana,*
mother
Mother,
- (121) *qi diesi ge he-ji ri-ku da ghu=la=ni liang'ha*
2:SG rope SG:INDEF take-IMPERF come-IMPERF 1:PL two=COLL=ACC two:sides
ter=sa kunla ya.
end=ABL tie PRT
You get a rope and ties us two with the two ends.
- (122) *Ting ge-ku qi lake gher ri-a.*⁸⁷
that do-IMPERF 2:SG pull go:out come-VOL
Then you can drag (us) up (onto the kang⁸⁸)."
- (123) *Gan zou yi-ren=ni yiha ter=sa huiya danang zhuike sao-jiang bai.*
3:SG thus one-person=ACC one:side end=ABL tie after pull sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
So she tied one of them to each end of the rope and (then) pulled.
- (124) *Gan ghu=la bao-ji xi danang,*
3:SG two=COLL go:down-IMPERF go after
After the two of them got down (from the kang),
- (125) *khudang=sa yiha ter=du teghao ge=ni huiya-gha-jiang,*
shed=ABL one:side end=DAT chicken SG:INDEF=ACC tie-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(they) tied a chicken from the shed to one end (of the rope),
- (126) *yiha ter=du kheghai ge huiya ge-jiang.*
one:side end=DAT pig SG:INDEF tie do-OBJ:PERF
(and they) tied a pig to (the other) end.
- (127) *Ting ge gan-si=ni "ana" xige xige-sa ri-la guang bai.*
that do 3:SG-PL=GEN mother wait wait-COND come-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP EMPH
Then their "mother" waited and waited (but they) did not come back.
- (128) *Gan yi-ge lake-sa teghao "ghua" di khaila-lang.*
3:SG one-CL pull-COND chicken wash QUOTE shout-OBJ:IMPERF
She pulled once (on the rope) and the chicken squawked "ghua," like that.

⁸⁷ The word *ri* 'come' plus the Voluntative suffix *-a* is pronounced *ra*.

⁸⁸ A *kang* is a heated platform used as a bed at night and for sitting on during the day.

- (129) *"Qi shini-ji ang."*
2:SG laugh-IMPERF EXCL
"You are just laughing," (Monster complained).
- (130) *Gan pusa yi-ge ter=sa yi-ge lake-sa,*
3:SG another one-CL end=ABL one-CL pull-COND
She pulled once on the other end (of the rope),
- (131) *kheghai "heng" ge-lang bai.*
pig EXCL QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(and) the pig went "heng."
- (132) *"Eng,*
EXCL
"Eng,
- (133) *ni ana=nang ge.*
this mother=REFLPOSS once
her mother (has been fucked).⁸⁹
- (134) *Ta ghu=la yala bi?*
2:PL two=COLL why SUBJ:COP
What are you two doing?
- (135) *Han lai gher-ji ri-ji?"*
still NEG go:out-IMPERF come-IMPERF
Why haven't (you) gotten up (onto the kang) yet?"
- (136) *Gan gui-ji nao-la xi-sa,*
3:SG run-IMPERF see-PURP go-COND
When she ran to look,
- (137) *gan ghu=luo⁹⁰ yi-ge wenduer beghe diere gher xi-ser bang gelang.*
3:SG two=COLL one-CL high tree on go:out go-PROG OBJ:COP HEARSAY
(she found that) the two of them had gone up a tall tree.
- (138) *"Du,*
now
"Now,
- (139) *ana ya,*
mother PRT
(my) mother,⁹¹
- (140) *du,*
now
now,
- (141) *ni ama=du ri danang,*
this mouth=DAT come after
after (I) had (them) in (my) mouth,
- (142) *khaber=sa gher yao-jiang ma."*
nose=ABL go:out go-OBJ:PERF PRT
(they) got out through (my) nose.⁹²

⁸⁹ A common curse. Literally: "This one's own mother once."

⁹⁰ DV: *ghula*

⁹¹ Equivalent to "My God!"

⁹² In the expression of lines (141-142), "mouth" and "nose" suggest two entrances or openings. It might be paraphrased as follows: "Something comes in one entrance and runs out the other."

- (143) *"Ana=ni kao,*
mother=GEN child
"Mother's children,
- (144) *qi ya-ji gher-ba?*
2:SG what-IMPERF go:out-SUBJ:PERF
how did you get up (in the tree)?
- (145) *Qi Ana=du keli ma,*
2:SG mother=DAT say PRT
You tell Mother,
- (146) *Ana gher-ji ri-ku da-san-ge=la yichuer⁹³ sao-wa."*
mother go:out-IMPERF come-IMPERF 1:PL-three-CL=COLL together sit-VOL
(and then) Mother will come up and we three will sit together," (Monster said).
- (147) *"Dasi gediesi=la=nang yanke-ji gher-ji ri-ba."*
1:PL belly=INST=REFLPOSS grind-IMPERF go:out-IMPERF come-SUBJ:PERF
"We squirmed up on our bellies," (the girls said).
- (148) *Mang'huzi yanke yanke danang gediesi=nang kheghera-gha ge-jiang.*
monster grind grind after belly=REFLPOSS split-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF
Monster squirmed and squirmed until (she) split her belly.
- (149) *"Ana=ni kao,*
mother=GEN child
"Mother's children,
- (150) *qi ya-ji gher-ba?*
2:SG what-IMPERF go:out-SUBJ:PERF
how did you get up?
- (151) *Qi Ana=du keli ma,*
2:SG mother=DAT say PRT
You tell Mother,
- (152) *Ana gher-ji ri-ku,*
mother go:out-IMPERF come-IMPERF
and when mother comes up,
- (153) *da-san-ge=la yichuer sao-wa."*
1:PL-three-CL=COLL together sit-VOL
we three will sit together."
- (154) *"Dasi terghai=la=nang yanke yanke gher-ji ri-ba."*
1:PL head=INST=REFLPOSS grind grind go:out-IMPERF come-SUBJ:PERF
"We squirmed and squirmed with our heads and came up."
- (155) *Terghai=la yanke yanke-ku terghai=nang yanke khegher-jiang.*
head=INST grind grind-IMPERF head=REFLPOSS grind break-OBJ:PERF
(Monster) squirmed and squirmed with her head, squirmed until her head split open.
- (156) *"Ana=du zhuo=nang ge keli.*
mother=DAT true=REFLPOSS once say
"Tell Mother the truth.
- (157) *Ana ta ghu=la=ni bietu-lang bai."*
mother 2:PL two=COLL=ACC love-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
Mother loves you two."

⁹³ DV: *hangtu*

- (158) *Ting-ku,*
that-IMPERF
Then,
- (159) *Mula Aguer ana=nang ge biere-jiang ma,*
small daughter mother=REFLPOSS once pity-OBJ:PERF PRT
Younger Daughter pitied her "mother,"
- (160) *keli-jiang,*
say-OBJ:PERF
(and) said,
- (161) *"Da ghu=la khuer=la=nang ge take,*
1:PL two=COLL foot=INST=REFLPOSS once step
"We two gripped with our feet,
- (162) *gher=la=nang ge banke,*
hand=INST=REFLPOSS once pull
pulled with our hands,
- (163) *gher-ji ri-ba."*
go:out-IMPERF come-SUBJ:PERF
(and thus) came up."
- (164) *Mang'huzi zou ning ge ban zhuyer=du gher-ji xi-jiang gelang*
monster thus this do half trunk=DAT go:out-IMPERF go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY

bai.
EMPH
So in this way Monster reached the middle of the tree trunk.
- (165) *Shuguo Aguer huangla-jiang.*
big daughter nervous-OBJ:PERF
Oldest Daughter became nervous.
- (166) *Ning ge-sa,*
this do-COND
At this time,
- (167) *ban-tian=du shazighai ge musu-ji nuqi-ji⁹⁴ ri-lang bai.*
half-sky=DAT magpie SG:INDEF fly-IMPERF pass-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
a magpie came flying past in the sky.
- (168) *Aguer khaila-jiang,*
daughter shout-OBJ:PERF
The girl shouted,
- (169) *"Shazighai,*
magpie
"Magpie,
- (170) *Shazighai,*
magpie
Magpie,
- (171) *qi dasi=ni jiula-sa caosheng ge he-ji ri,*
2:SG 1:PL=ACC save-COND grass:rope SG:INDEF take-IMPERF come
if you will save us, bring a grass rope,

⁹⁴ DV: *nuoqiji*

- (172) *lai jiula-sa tiesheng ge he-ji ri.*
NEG save-COND iron:rope SG:INDEF take-IMPERF come
if (you) will not save (us), bring an iron chain."
- (173) *Ting ge Shazighai caosheng ge heghe-ji ri-jiang gelang.*
that do magpie grass:rope SG:INDEF take-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
Then Magpie came bringing a grass rope.
- (174) *Caosheng=la Mang'huzi=ni zhuike-jiang.*
grass:rope=INST monster=ACC pull-OBJ:PERF
(The girls) pulled Monster up with the grass rope.
- (175) *Shazighai pusa gher yi-ge-da heghe-ji ri danang caosheng=ni dianke*
magpie another fire one-CL-bunch take-IMPERF come after grass:rope=ACC light
cizer-jiang ma,
cut-OBJ:PERF PRT
Magpie came again bringing a fire and burned and cut the rope,
- (176) *Mang'huzi=ni banla ala ge-jiang.*
monster=ACC fall kill do-OBJ:PERF
killing the monster (by causing it to) fall.
- (177) *Liang-ge aguer bao-ji ri danang dianli ger=du xi-jiang.*
two-CL daughter go:down-IMPERF come after carry house=DAT go-OBJ:PERF
After the two girls came down, (they) carried (Monster) into (their) house.
- (178) *Ting ge tughuo=du pujier pujier ge danang,*
that do pot=DAT boil boil do after
Then (they) boiled and boiled (Monster) in a pot,
- (179) *tuosi yi-guo pudu-gha ge-jiang gelang.*
oil one-pot change-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
(until it) became a pot of oil.
- (180) *Yizheng ge-ji bi-sa,*
later let:go-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
A little while later,
- (181) *saihang maner bianli-jiang.*
beautiful agate become-OBJ:PERF
(it) became beautiful agates.
- (182) *Tingsa diamang=du huler⁹⁵ ge ri-ji khaila-lang.*
then door=DAT peddler SG:INDEF come-IMPERF shout-OBJ:IMPERF
At this point a peddler came to (their) door shouting.
- (183) *"Zhengzhu maner huan xian-li."*
pearl agate exchange thread-ASP
"Exchange pearls and agates for thread."
- (184) *Aguer-si xi danang maner=la yigua dasi arer-ji ge-jiang.*
daughter-PL go after agate=INST totally thread exchange-IMPERF do-OBJ:PERF
The girls went and exchanged all (their) agates for thread.

⁹⁵ *Huler* refers to a poor peddler who cannot make a living at his home. Using a shoulder pole, he carries two large boxes containing toys, thread, and other basic commodities from place to place. His market is the countryside and he walks from one village to another, especially in remote areas. In the 1990s, *huler* were common in the countryside in Minhe County areas.

- (185) *Huler ye yao-sa,*
peddler more walk-COND
The further the peddler walked,
- (186) *gan=ni xiangxier ye dameitu-lang gelang.*
3:SG=GEN box more become:heavy-OBJ:IMPERF HEARSAY
the heavier his box became.
- (187) *Jieke-ji ge nao-sa,*
lift-IMPERF do see-COND
When (he) lifted (the lid) and looked (in),
- (188) *yi-bang mang'huzi khuer ye huoruo-lang,*
one-group monster foot also wrap-OBJ:IMPERF
(he saw) a group of monsters binding (their) feet,⁹⁶
- (189) *terghai ye sangmula-lang,*
head also comb-OBJ:IMPERF
combing (the hair on their) heads,
- (190) *dier ye musi-lang gelang.*
clothes also wear-OBJ:IMPERF HEARSAY
(and) putting on clothes.
- (191) *Huler ayi danang ghuer chaibai=du xi,*
peddler fear after valley bank=DAT go
The peddler was frightened and went to the side of a valley,
- (192) *yi-ge khuer tike bao-gha danang gui-jiang gelang.*
one-CL foot kick go:down-CAUSE after run-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
(and) after kicking (the box) down (into the valley), (he) ran away.
- (193) *Gan gui-ji huguer hagher ge qige-jiang gelang.*
3:SG run-IMPERF cow dropping SG:INDEF see-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
He ran (until) he met a cow pie.
- (194) *Hagher erseghe-jiang,*
dropping ask-OBJ:PERF
Cow Pie asked,
- (195) *"Huler Ba,*
peddler uncle
"Uncle Peddler,
- (196) *qi yang gui-la bi,*
2:SG what run-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
why are you running,
- (197) *ning ge-ji?"*
this do-IMPERF
like this?"
- (198) *"Jinchi ma,*
hurriedly PRT
"(I) am hurrying,
- (199) *damei Mang'huzi zhua-ji ri-ba."*
1:SG:DAT monster catch-IMPERF come-SUBJ:PERF
(because) a monster is chasing me."

⁹⁶ Minhe Mangghuer formerly practiced footbinding. Bound feet were wrapped in strips of cloth.

- (200) "Qi bu gui.
2:SG NEG run
"You don't run.
- (201) Qi xi ma bi ri-a.⁹⁷
2:SG go PRT 1:SG come-VOL
You go first and I'll come (later)."
- (202) Pusa banjier yao-jiang ma,
another piece walk-OBJ:PERF PRT
(He) walked another short distance,
- (203) Khaiqi qige-jiang.
scissors see-OBJ:PERF
Scissors saw (him).
- (204) Erseghe-jiang,
ask-OBJ:PERF
(Scissors) asked,
- (205) "Ai,
EXCL
"Ai,
- (206) Huler Ba,
peddler uncle
Uncle Peddler,
- (207) qi yang gui-la bi?"
2:SG what run-PURP SUBJ:COP
why are you running?"
- (208) "Lai gui-sa gezai bang ma,
NEG run-COND good OBJ:COP PRT
"It would be good if (I) were not running,
- (209) nangda Mang'huzi zhua-ji ri-ba."
1:SG:DAT monster catch-IMPERF come-SUBJ:PERF
(but) a monster is chasing me."
- (210) "Qi bu ayi ma niao-shulian bi mukuer ber-la ri-a."⁹⁸
2:SG NEG fear PRT this-evening 1:SG companion become-PURP come-VOL
"You don't be afraid, this evening I will come to help (you).," (Scissors said).
- (211) Pusa gui-ser Laihama=ni qige-jiang.
another run-PROG frog=ACC see-OBJ:PERF
(He) ran another (distance and) saw Frog.
- (212) Gan keli-ji mukuer ber-la ri-a ge-ji.
3:SG say-IMPERF companion become-PURP come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF
He (Frog) said he would come to help.
- (213) Khuonuo gui-ser Andige ma Luchu=ni penke-jiang gelang.
later run-PROG egg and rolling:stone=ACC meet-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
Running along later, (he) met Egg and Threshing Stone.

- (214) Gan ghu=la ye mukuer ber-la ri-a ge-ji.
3:SG two=COLL also companion become-PURP come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF
They both said they would come to help also.
- (215) Suoni kuer-jiang ma,
night arrive-OBJ:PERF PRT
When night arrived,
- (216) gan-si yigua ri-jiang.
3:SG-PL totally come-OBJ:PERF
they all came.
- (217) Laiguaguer⁹⁹ suzu gang=du sao-jiang.
frog water vat=DAT sit-OBJ:PERF
Frog sat inside a water vat.
- (218) Andige zaoha amang=du sao-jiang.
egg kitchen opening=DAT sit-OBJ:PERF
Egg sat at the stove opening,
- (219) Huguer Hagher=ni diamang=du sao-gha-jiang.
cow dropping=ACC door=DAT sit-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(Peddler) had Cow Pie sit at the gate,
- (220) Luchu di manlai=du sao-jiang.
threshing:stone door forehead=DAT sit-OBJ:PERF
(and) Threshing Stone sat on the top of the gate.
- (221) Huler=ni erber=du Khaiqi sao-jiang bai.
peddler=GEN breast=DAT scissors sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Scissors sat in Peddler's embrace.
- (222) Ting-ku Mang'huzi ri-jiang ma,
that-IMPERF monster come-OBJ:PERF PRT
Then Monster came,
- (223) Huler=ni di-la xi-jiang.
peddler=ACC eat-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
(and) went to eat Peddler.
- (224) Khaiqi yi-ge qier-gha-ji hu-jiang bai.
scissors one-CL cut-CAUSE-IMPERF give-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Scissors cut (her) once.
- (225) Pusa ge di-la xi-ku,
another SG:INDEF eat-PURP go-IMPERF
(Monster) tried to eat (Peddler) again,
- (226) Zhuizi yi-ge chuoke-gha-jiang.
awl one-CL stab-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(and) Awl¹⁰⁰ stabbed (her) once.
- (227) "Aciza ya!
EXCL PRT
"Aciza ya!¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ The form *ri-a* was reduced to *ra* by the speaker; this is the normal pronunciation of this word.

⁹⁸ This word was pronounced *ra* by the speaker; this is the normal pronunciation of this word. The same process occurred also in lines 212 and 214.

⁹⁹ DV: *laihama, mangdeghai*.

¹⁰⁰ "Awl" is a sudden addition to the story by the storyteller.

¹⁰¹ The expression *aciza ya* expresses pain.

- (228) *Ni niao-shulian han di da-kuniang bai.*
this this-evening still eat cannot-OBJ:FUT EMPH
It seems that eating is impossible tonight.
- (229) *Bi jinzhi gher ge he-la yao-wa."*
1:SG hurriedly fire SG:INDEF take-PURP go-VOL
I'll hurriedly go and get a fire."
- (230) *Zaoha amang=du gui-ji "pu" di ge huili-jiang ma,*
kitchen opening=DAT run-IMPERF pu QUOTE once blow-OBJ:PERF PRT
(Monster) ran to the stove opening and blew "pu," like that,
- (231) *Andige bieke kheghera danang Mang'huzi=ni nudu=ni sughuoruo-gha ge-jiang.*
egg explode split after monster=GEN eye=ACC blind-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF
(and) Egg exploded (from the heat), blinding Monster's eyes.
- (232) *"Du ya ge-a?*
now what do-VOL
"Now what shall I do?
- (233) *Jinzhi suzu gang=du ge ghua-la yao-wa."*
hurriedly water vat=DAT once wash-PURP go-VOL
I'll hurriedly go to wash in the water vat."
- (234) *Gang ama=ni jiang ge jie-jiang ma,*
vat mouth=ACC lift do lift-OBJ:PERF PRT
As (Monster) lifted the vat cover,
- (235) *Laiguaguer "ghua" di ge khaila-jiang.*
frog ghua QUOTE once shout-OBJ:PERF
Frog shouted "ghua," like that.
- (236) *"Du di da-kuniang,*
now eat cannot-OBJ:FUT
"Now (I) cannot eat (him),
- (237) *jinzhi gui-ya!"*
hurriedly run-VOL
I must run fast!"
- (238) *Gui-ji diamang=du gher-jiang,*
run-IMPERF door=DAT go:out-OBJ:PERF
Running out to the gate,
- (239) *Huguer Hagher=du yi-ge sanser-ku banla huerba-jiang.*
cow dropping=DAT one-CL slip-IMPERF fall fall-OBJ:PERF
(Monster) slipped on Cow Pie and fell.
- (240) *Luchu ger diere=sa hunguri bao ri danang dari*
threshing:stone house on=ABL roll go:down come after crush
hugu-gha-jiang.
die-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Threshing Stone came rolling down from on top of the house and crushed (Monster) to death.¹⁰²

The Nine-headed Ghost

As told by Lü Jinliang¹⁰³

- (1) *Jiutou Yaomao.*
nine:head ghost
The Nine-headed Ghost.
- (2) *Gan=ni shinagu er-yue-er=du mamei chaoke-kuniang bai.*
3:SG=GEN woman two-month-two=DAT wheat fry-OBJ:FUT EMPH
Someone's wife¹⁰⁴ wanted to roast wheat on the second day of the second lunar month.
- (3) *Ni bieri yitianjia yerri gher sai lu-jiang bai.*
this wife all:day look:for fire NEG find-OBJ:PERF EMPH
This wife had looked all day (but) hadn't found any fire.
- (4) *Yerri bura-sa gan Jiutou Yaomao=ni yerri lu-jiang bai.*
look:for finish-COND 3:SG nine:head ghost=ACC look:for find-OBJ:PERF EMPH
After looking, she found Nine-headed Ghost.
- (5) *Jiutou Yaomao gan ghada gher xie-lang bai.*
nine:head ghost 3:SG outside fire warm-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
Nine-headed Ghost, it was warming (itself) by a fire outside.
- (6) *Jiutou Yaomao gan wuji ge-jiang bai.*
nine:head ghost 3:SG take:note do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Nine-headed Ghost, it took note (of her).
- (7) *Du gan jiaoduer shinagu=ni khuer=ni wuruang=ni dagha,*
now 3:SG every:day woman=GEN foot=GEN print=ACC follow
Now it followed the woman's footprints every day,
- (8) *gan=ni chuzi=ni shumei-jiang¹⁰⁵ bai.*
3:SG=GEN blood=ACC suck-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) sucked her blood.
- (9) *Chuzi=ni shumei-ku ni shinagu yi-tian yi-tian-di maoda*
blood=ACC suck-IMPERF this woman one-day one-day-ADV thin
yao-jiang bai.
go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(When it) sucked (her) blood, this woman became thinner day by day.
- (10) *"Ya ge-ji sha?"*
what do-IMPERF PRT
"What is the matter?"
- (11) *kuergan=ni keli-ji.*
husband=POSS say-IMPERF
her husband said.
- (12) *"Qi ya ge-ba sha?"*
2:SG what do-SUBJ:PERF PRT
"What is wrong with you?"

¹⁰² See "And Old Woman Cries for Help" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:117) for a Huzhu Mongghul account of the death of a monster through the help of Rag, Frog, Awl, Scissors, Cow Shit and Stone Roller.

¹⁰³ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong.

¹⁰⁴ This can also be translated "his wife." The teller did not mention whose wife she was.

¹⁰⁵ DV: *shumijiang*

- (13) "Bi ya ge-ba shi,
1:SG what do-SUBJ:PERF COP
"What is wrong with me is,
- (14) yada-ji lai ber-kunyang."
be:tired-IMPERF NEG become-OBJ:FUT
(I'm) so tired (I) can't stand it," (she said).
- (15) Kuergan=ni ning ge-ji khuleghe-ji ji-sa,
husband=POSS this do-IMPERF peep-IMPERF look-COND
When her husband looked secretly like this,
- (16) Jiutou Yaomao gan gan=ni bieri=ni khuer wuruang=ni shumei-lang.
nine:head ghost 3:SG 3:SG=GEN wife=GEN foot print=ACC suck-OBJ:IMPERF
(he saw that) Nine-headed Ghost, it was sucking his wife's footprints.
- (17) Gan peghe danang yi-ge gongshi wuber ge=ni deghe-la-gha
3:SG hit after one-CL stick horn SG:INDEF=ACC fall-CAUSE

ge-jiang bai.
do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
When he hit (the Ghost), a stick (that he hit it with) made (one of its) horns fall off.
- (18) Ting ge-ku gan Jiutou Yaomao=ni daoda-la xi-kunyang bai.
that do-IMPERF 3:SG nine:head ghost=ACC call-PURP go-OBJ:FUT EMPH
Next he planned to invite Nine-headed Ghost (to his home).
- (19) Gan zou zhao chuzi tangke-sang-ni ruang=la dagha nianke xi-jiang.
3:SG thus along blood bleed-PERF-NOMLZR place=INST follow track go-OBJ:PERF
So he tracked (it) by following along the places where blood had fallen.
- (20) Gan=ni huer=ni jige danang ri-jiang.
3:SG=GEN cave=ACC remember after come-OBJ:PERF
After (he) learned where its cave was, (he) came (back home).
- (21) Ting ge-ku kuergan=ni yi-tian nige Jiutou Yaomao=ni daoda-la
that do-IMPERF husband=POSS one-day one nine:head ghost=ACC call-PURP

xi-jiang gelang.
go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
Then one day her husband went to invite Nine-headed Ghost, it's said.
- (22) Xi-sa Jiutou Yaomao erseghe-lang gelang.
go-COND nine:head ghost ask-OBJ:IMPERF HEARSAY
When (he) arrived, Nine-headed Ghost asked, it's said,
- (23) "Qi=ni ger=du yang bi a?"
2:SG=GEN house=DAT what SUBJ:COP PRT
"What is in your home?"
- (24) "Muni ger=du khuoni a bi,
1:SG:GEN house=DAT sheep also SUBJ:COP
"In my house there are sheep,
- (25) yima a bi,
goat also SUBJ:COP
there are also goats,
- (26) mori a bi,
horse also SUBJ:COP
there are also horses,

- (27) huguer a bi,"
cow also SUBJ:COP
there are also oxen,"
- (28) ning ge-ji.
this QUOTE-IMPERF
(he) said this.
- (29) "Khuoriku=du ya=ji keli-la bi?"
pen=DAT what=DIR say-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
"What do you say (when you put them) in the pen?"
- (30) "Yang,¹⁰⁶
sheep
"Sheep,
- (31) yang,
sheep
sheep,
- (32) juan-li qi; gulu,
pen-inside go goat
go into the pen; goat,
- (33) gulu,
goat
goat,
- (34) juan-li qi; niu,
pen-inside go ox
go into the pen; ox,
- (35) niu,
ox
ox,
- (36) juan-li qi,
pen-inside go
go into the pen,
- (37) ning ge-ji keli-la bi."
this QUOTE-IMPERF say-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
I speak (to them) like this.
- (38) Tingsa Jiutou Yaomao ra¹⁰⁷ ge-ji dayingla-jiang.
later nine:head ghost come-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF promise-OBJ:PERF
Then Nine-headed Ghost promised, saying "I'll come."
- (39) Ti shinagu gan diamang=du=nang Jiutou Yaomao=ni
that woman 3:SG door=DAT=REFLPOSS nine:head ghost=GEN

khuer duoruo pijieghe=ni sighe-jiang.
foot under bean=ACC spread-OBJ:PERF
That woman, she spread beans under (where) Nine-headed Ghost's feet (would be) at her door,

¹⁰⁶ This entire sentence is in the local Chinese dialect. In Mangghuer it would be "Khuoni, khuoni, khudangdu xi; yima, yima, khudangdu xi; huguer, huguer, khudangdu xi."

¹⁰⁷ Ra is the phonetic realization of ri 'come' plus the Voluntative suffix -a.

- (40) *gan jie=ni kuergan=ni khuer duoruo kebeghe=ni sgha-jiang bai.*
3:SG self=GEN husband=GEN foot under wheat.bran=ACC spread-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) she spread wheat bran under (where) her husband's feet (would be).
- (41) *Gan ghu=la du Jiutou Yaomao=ni peghe-ji ala-kuniang bai.*
3:SG two=COLL now nine:head ghost=ACC hit-IMPERF kill-OBJ:FUT EMPH
Now the two of them would beat Nine-headed Ghost to death.
- (42) *Lai ala-sa lai ber-kuniang bai.*
NEG kill-COND NEG become-OBJ:FUT EMPH
If (they) didn't kill (it), (that) wouldn't be OK.¹⁰⁸
- (43) *Jiutou Yaomao ger=du ruo-ji ri-ku,*
nine:head ghost house=DAT enter-IMPERF come-IMPERF
When Nine-headed Ghost entered the house,
- (44) *yigua=ni yidao keli-jiang ma kuergan=ni zou Jiutou Yaomao=ni*
totally=ACC at:once say-OBJ:PERF PRT husband=POSS thus nine:head ghost=ACC
beghe-la xi-jiang bai.
hit-PURP go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(it) said everything at once (i.e. called all the animals) and then her husband started to hit Nine-headed Ghost.
- (45) *Beghe-la xi-ku,*
hit-PURP go-IMPERF
As (he) went to hit (it),
- (46) *Jiutou Yaomao ayi-jiang ma cida-jiang bai.*
nine:head ghost fear-OBJ:PERF PRT flee-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Nine-headed Ghost was frightened and fled.
- (47) *Pijieghe diere sanser wuna-jiang bai.*
bean on slip fall-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(It) fell on the beans.
- (48) *Ting ge gan ghu=la=nang jiari ge-jiang bai.*
that do 3:SG two=COLL=REFLPOSS kill do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Then the two of them killed (Nine-headed Ghost).

Human Relations

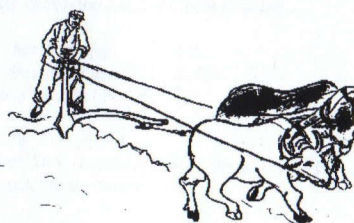


The Mangghuer fala is the mouthpiece of a village temple god. When someone in a household is ill, a fala is often invited to dispel evil and please the Earth God. During nadun and other formal village rituals, villagers hang baogai or paper symbolizing money and other sorts of paper symbolizing money on the huanggan, or poles. At the end of the rituals, the village god possesses the fala, who then distributes all the paper symbolizing money to different gods invited to the ritual. During these rituals, the fala acts on behalf of the gods that are most respected by the villagers.

¹⁰⁸ In the Minhe Mangghuer account "Erlang Lord" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:148-152), a monster is killed when the hero's wife spreads beans under the monster's feet and chaff under her husband's feet.

A Hired Farmhand

As told by Lü Jinliang¹⁰⁹



Plowing.

- (1) *Nige Zhaler.*
one hired:farmhand
A Hired Farmhand.
- (2) *Tiedun=du,*
past=DAT
In olden times,
- (3) *kong yi-ge bang.*
person one-CL OBJ:COP
there was a man.
- (4) *Gan kong=ni ala-lang.*
3:SG person=ACC kill-OBJ:IMPERF
He killed (or: was killing) people,
- (5) *kong=ni ala-ku luoti chuke-jiang.*
person=ACC kill-IMPERF shoe make:by:crumpling-OBJ:PERF
after killing people, (he) made shoes (from their skins).
- (6) *Yi-tian nige,*
one-day one
One day,
- (7) *nige kong=ni ger nasi mula kong ge zhalao sao-jiang.*
one person=GEN house age small person SG:INDEF be:hired:hand sit-OBJ:PERF
a young man came to this man's home and worked as a hired hand.
- (8) *Ni kong keli-jiang.*
this person say-OBJ:PERF
This man said,
- (9) *"Qi muni luoti=ni musu-ku huguer dangla-gha-ji hu.*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN shoe=ACC wear-IMPERF cow herd-CAUSE-IMPERF give
"You wear my shoes and herd cattle (for me).

- (10) *Ni-ge luoti=ni musu chuoruo-gha-ku qimai=du huguer yi-ge*
this-CL shoe=ACC wear break-CAUSE-IMPERF 2:SG:DAT=DAT cow one-CL
hu-a."
give-VOL
Wear the shoes and when (you) break (them), I will give you a cow (in payment)."
- (11) *Ting ge-ku ni zhalao kong keli-ji ber-ni*
that QUOTE-IMPERF this be:hired:hand person say-IMPERF become-SUBJ:FUT
ge-ji.
QUOTE-IMPERF
When (he) said this, the hired hand said, "OK."
- (12) *Jiaoduer musu-ku asi dangla-la xi-lang.*
every:day wear-IMPERF livestock herd-PURP go-OBJ:IMPERF
Wearing (the shoes) everyday, (he) went to herd livestock.
- (13) *Kuo,*
however
However,
- (14) *gan=ni ti luoti daigai lai chuoruo-lang.*
3:SG=GEN that shoe never NEG break-OBJ:IMPERF
those shoes of his never broke.
- (15) *"Du kejie yi-ge huguer zhengla-ni?"*
now when one-CL cow earn-SUBJ:FUT
"Now when will I earn a cow?"
- (16) *ni zhaler jiaoduer mula-lang.*
this hired:farmhand every:day think-OBJ:IMPERF
this hired farmhand thought every day.
- (17) *Yi-tian nige,*
one-day one
One day,
- (18) *gan=ni jiaodong=du gan yi-ge laohan keli-lang.*
3:SG=GEN dream=DAT 3:SG one-CL old:man say-OBJ:IMPERF
in his dream he, an old man said,
- (19) *"Qi jiaoduer huguer=ni basi sharsi a kong=ni basi sharsi=du*
2:SG every:day cow=GEN excrement urine also person=GEN excrement urine=DAT
take ma ni luoti chuoruo-ni."
step PRT this shoe break-SUBJ:FUT
"Step every day in both the excrement and urine of cows and the excrement and urine of people, and these shoes will break."
- (20) *Ni zhaler yitianjia basi sharsi=du diaoli danang*
this hired:farmhand all:day excrement urine=DAT jump after
mula nukuo ge chuoruo-gha-jiang.
small hole SG:INDEF break-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
This hired farmhand jumped in urine and excrement for several days, and after that (he) made a small hole break open (in the shoes).
- (21) *Ting ge-ku,*
that do-IMPERF
Then,

¹⁰⁹ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong.

- (22) *ni zhaler keli-jiang.*
this hired:farmhand say-OBJ:PERF
the hired farmhand said,
- (23) *"Qi=ni luoti chuoruo-jiang.*
2:SG=GEN shoe break-OBJ:PERF
"Your shoes broke.
- (24) *Muni yi-ge huguer=ni hu.*
1:SG:GEN one-CL cow=ACC give
Give (me) my one cow.
- (25) *Hu ma bi yao-ni."*
give PRT 1:SG go-SUBJ:FUT
(After you) give (it to me), I will go."
- (26) *Ni kong gan sai chengrengla-jiang.*
this person 3:SG NEG consent-OBJ:PERF
This man, he didn't consent.
- (27) *Gan keli-ji,*
3:SG say-IMPERF
He said,
- (28) *"Bi qimai=du tuosi hu-a ya,*
1:SG 2:SG:DAT=DAT oil give-VOL PRT
"I'll give you oil,
- (29) *yi-nian=du yi-jin."*
one-year=DAT one-jin
one jin per year."
- (30) *Ni zhaler keli-jiang.*
this hired:farmhand say-OBJ:PERF
This hired farmhand said,
- (31) *"Tingsa bi qimai=du san-shi-nian weilie ge-gha-jiang ma,*
then 1:SG 2:SG:DAT=DAT three-ten-year work do-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF PRT
"Then, I have worked for you for thirty years,
- (32) *bi qi=ni san-shi-jin tuosi=ni lai kerli-ang.*
1:SG 2:SG=GEN three-ten-jin oil=ACC NEG want-OBJ
(but) I don't want your thirty jin of oil.
- (33) *Bi jiang¹¹⁰ san-jin kerli-ni!*
1:SG only three-jin want-SUBJ:FUT
I only want three jin!
- (34) *Ting ge-ku ami=nang sana-la xi-ni."*
that do-IMPERF life=REFLPOSS divine-PURP go-SUBJ:FUT
Next, I'll go to have my fortune told."
- (35) *Gan san-jin tuosi=nang beila yao-jiang bai,*
3:SG three-jin oil=REFLPOSS carry go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
He carried his three jin of oil and left,
- (36) *mao zhan-ku diger=nang musi danang zou,*
bad felt-pants little:bit=REFLPOSS wear after thus
(and) wearing his tattered pants made of carpet,

¹¹⁰ DV: zhang.

- (37) *gan ami=nang sana-la xi-jiang.*
3:SG life=REFLPOSS divine-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
he went to have his fortune told.
- (38) *"Muni amerda ge ami bang sha?"*
1:SG:GEN what:kind SG:INDEF life OBJ:COP PRT
"What kind of fortune is mine," (he wondered),
- (39) *Gan yao danang yi-ge ximie dian=du kuer-jiang.*
3:SG go after one-CL temple gate=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
He went until (he) reached the gate of a temple.
- (40) *Diamang=ni bamenjiang ruo-ji xi-ji erseghe-jiang,*
door=GEN gate:keeper enter-IMPERF go-IMPERF ask-OBJ:PERF
The gatekeeper at the door went inside and asked,
- (41) *"Nige nanxin kong=ni ruo-ji ri-gha ma?"*
one poor person=ACC enter-IMPERF come-CAUSE PRT
"Can (I) let a poor man come in?"
- (42) *Ximian=ni Laoye keli-ji,*
temple=GEN living:buddha say-IMPERF
The Living Buddha of the temple said,
- (43) *"Ruo-ji ri-ge,*
enter-IMPERF come-HORT
"Let (him) come in,
- (44) *gegan bang bai."*
bright OBJ:COP EMPH
(he) is kindhearted."
- (45) *"Du qi yi-zhuan harge danang taighai ma ge mergu,"*
now 2:SG one-circle turn after head PRT once kowtow
"Now you go around (the temple) once kowtowing,"
- (46) *Laoye keli-lang.*
living:buddha say-OBJ:IMPERF
Living Buddha said.
- (47) *Ni zhaler tuosi=nang nige zhula=du diger suer-sa*
this hired:farmhand oil=REFLPOSS one lamp=DAT little:bit pour-COND

gan=ni zhula duer gher ri-lang.
3:SG=GEN lamp fill go:out come-OBJ:IMPERF
When this hired farmhand poured a little of his oil into a lamp, his lamp filled up.
- (48) *Shi-ge zhula=du suer-sa,*
ten-CL lamp=DAT pour-COND
When (he) poured into ten lamps,
- (49) *shi-ge zhula ya duer-lang gelang.*
ten-CL lamp also fill-OBJ:IMPERF HEARSAY
all ten lamps filled, they say.
- (50) *Gan jiang san-jin tuosi=la yigua zhula=du suer duer-gha-jiang bai.*
3:SG only three-jin oil=INST totally lamp=DAT pour fill-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
He poured with only three jin of oil into all the lamps (in the temple) and made (them all) full.

- (51) *Ni zhaler yi-zhuan mergu nuqi ri-ku,*
this hired:farmland one-circle kowtow pass come-IMPERF
When this hired farmhand came back (after) kowtowing for one circuit (around the temple),
- (52) *Laoye keli-jiang,*
living:buddha say-OBJ:PERF
Living Buddha said,
- (53) *"Du qi ti-ge ger=du nao-la xi."*
now 2:SG that-CL house=DAT see-PURP go
"Now you go look in that room."
- (54) *Gan zou pusa ge ximie ger=du ruo-ji xi-sa,*
3:SG thus another SG:INDEF temple house=DAT enter-IMPERF go-COND
When he thus went into another temple room,
- (55) *san-ge jiaozi ge-ji ge-ser bang bai.*
three-CL sedan do-IMPERF do-PROG OBJ:COP EMPH
three sedans had been put (there).
- (56) *Yigua maodan-si=ni chuke danang zaihang=ni ting ge-jiang*
totally flower-PL=ACC make:by:crumpling after beautiful=GEN that do-OBJ:PERF
bai.
EMPH
(They) were all decorated with cloth flowers and were very beautiful.
- (57) *Ni zou gan=ni wei bang bai,*
this thus 3:SG=GEN seat OBJ:COP EMPH
So this was his seat,
- (58) *linshangmoyi gan ning=du sao-kuniang.*¹¹¹
finally 3:SG this=DAT sit-OBJ:FUT
in the end (i.e. the afterlife) he would sit here.¹¹²
- (59) *Laoye gan=du ge ji-gha-jiang bai.*
living:buddha 3:SG=DAT once look-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Living Buddha let him see (this).
- (60) *Ting ge gan yao-jiang bai,*
that do 3:SG go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Then he (the hired farmhand) left,
- (61) *yan gan=ni dongjia=ni ger=du xi-jiang bai.*
again 3:SG=GEN master=GEN house=DAT go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) went again to his master's house.
- (62) *"Qi ami=nang ya=ji chala-ba?"*
2:SG life=REFLPOSS what=DIR divine-SUBJ:PERF
"How do you foresee your future?"
- (63) *dongjia erseghe-jiang.*
master ask-OBJ:PERF
the master asked.

¹¹¹ DV: *saokunang*. Related pairs include *dikuniang* and *dikunang*, *xikuniang* and *xikunang*.

¹¹² A good man is rewarded with a good reincarnation. This man is destined to be a deity. Deity images are often placed in sedan chairs and kept in temples.

- (64) *Zhaler keli-ji yaji yaji sana-ba,*
hired:farmland say-IMPERF how how divine-SUBJ:PERF
The hired farmhand said he checked thus and so,
- (65) *zui khuonuo jiaozi san-ge qige-gha-ba.*
most later sedan three-CL see-CAUSE-SUBJ:PERF
(and how) at last (he) was allowed to see the three sedans.
- (66) *"Bi ti=ni chala-la xi-a!"*
1:SG that=ACC divine-PURP go-VOL
"I'll go to foresee that (too)!" (the master said).
- (67) *Gan zou tuosi=ni tiemie-her erqi xi-jiang bai,*
3:SG thus oil=ACC camel-COMP carry go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
So he went carrying oil on (his) camels,
- (68) *yigua shuguo tuotong-si=nang.*
totally big bucket-PL=REFLPOSS
(in) really big buckets.
- (69) *Gan terghuo dier-si=nang musi,*
3:SG silk clothes-PL=REFLPOSS wear
He donned his silk clothes,
- (70) *mori-si=nang wuni,*
horse-PL=REFLPOSS ride
rode his horses,
- (71) *gezai-da xi-jiang bai.*
good-after go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) went in great glory.
- (72) *Ximie dian=du xi-jiang ma,*
temple gate=DAT go-OBJ:PERF PRT
(He) went to the temple gate,
- (73) *sai ruo-gha-jiang.*
NEG enter-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(but he) was not allowed to enter.
- (74) *Bamenjiang keli-ku-ni shi,*
gate:keeper say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
What the gatekeeper said (to Living Buddha) was,
- (75) *"Yigua niantai gezai luo-ma-deng-xiang-jia ri-ku lai*
totally so good mule-horse-lamp-incense-thus come-IMPERF NEG
ruo-gha-ni a,
enter-CAUSE-SUBJ:FUT PRT
"(When someone) comes with so many things on (his) mules and horses, (he) is not allowed to enter,
- (76) *yi-ge kerli-qin=ni yaji ruo-gha-lang?"*
one-CL want-AGENT=ACC why enter-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
why, then, do (you) let a beggar enter?"
- (77) *Diamang-ku kong-si keli-ji,*
door-IMPERF person-PL say-IMPERF
The people around the gate said,

- (78) "Ai,
EXCL
"Ai,
- (79) *ruo-gha ya,*
enter-CAUSE PRT
let (him) enter,
- (80) *gan=ni ning ge-ji luo-ma-deng-xiang-jia ri-ku lai*
3:SG=ACC this do-IMPERF mule-horse-lamp-incense-thus come-IMPERF NEG

ruo-gha-ji."
enter-CAUSE-IMPERF
since he came with so many things on (his) mules and horses, why not let (him) in?"
- (81) *Ting-ku gan yi-zhuan ji-ku,*
that-IMPERF 3:SG one-circle look-IMPERF
Then, after he (the master) had looked around,
- (82) *Laoye gan=du keli-ji,*
living:buddha 3:SG=DAT say-IMPERF
Living Buddha said to him,
- (83) "Du qi ti khuonuo yanzi=du wuji-la xi."
now 2:SG that back yard=DAT take:note-PURP go
"Now you go look in that backyard."
- (84) *Houyan=du xi-sa gan yi-ge hazi aguer yangmughang*
back:courtyard=DAT go-COND 3:SG one-CL blind daughter mill

harge-lang,
turn-OBJ:IMPERF
When (he) went to the backyard, (he saw) a blind girl turning a millstone,
- (85) *erjige=ni dari danang chuzi gher-lang bai,*
donkey=ACC pile:up after blood go:out-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(the millstone) was pressing on the donkey (which was pulling it), so that (the donkey) was bleeding,
- (86) *shazighai sangke-ji di-lang bai.*
magpie peck-IMPERF eat-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(and) a magpie was pecking (the donkey).
- (87) *Yi-zhuan yao-ji ri-jiang ma Laoye erseghe-jiang,*
one-circle go-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF PRT living:buddha ask-OBJ:PERF
(When he) came back from going around once, Living Buddha asked,
- (88) "Xi-ji yang qige-ba?"
go-IMPERF what see-SUBJ:PERF
"When (you) went (there), what did you see?"
- (89) *Tingsa keli-ji nida nida ge qige-ba ge-ji.*
then say-IMPERF such such SG:INDEF see-SUBJ:PERF QUOTE-IMPERF
Then (he) said, "I saw such and such," like this.
- (90) "Qi zou ti=nang qige ri-jiang bai.
2:SG thus that=REFLPOSS see come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
"You have seen the things that will come to yourself.
- (91) *Ti zou zai yibeizi ri-ku-ni bang."*
that thus next life come-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP
That is precisely what will come in (your) next life."

- (92) *Ni-ge bihuang keli-ku-ni shi liangxin bura-ji*
this-CL story say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP morality finish-IMPERF

ber-la guang,
become-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP
What this folktale says is that heartlessness is not good,
- (93) *zhuerge=nang gongdang-her ge ge-ji.*
heart=REFLPOSS fair-COMP do QUOTE-IMPERF
and that their hearts (must) be fair (in everything), like that.
- (94) *Ni zou ya=la liangxin=nang bao bura ge-ji*
this thus why morality=REFLPOSS PROHIB finish QUOTE-IMPERF

keli-sang-ni bang!
say-PERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP
So this is why it is said, do not lose (your) morality.

Three Daughters

As told by Lü Jinliang¹¹³

- (1) *San-ge Xujun.*
three-CL daughter
Three Daughters.
- (2) *Tiedun=du,*
past=DAT
In olden times,
- (3) *nige laohan=du san-ge aguer bang.*
one old:man=DAT three-CL daughter OBJ:COP
an old man had three daughters.
- (4) *San-ge aguer jiaoduer gan=ni mieshi-ku-ni qiangke*
three-CL daughter every:day 3:SG=GEN front-IMPERF-NOMLZR scramble:for
di-ba ge danang zou berqie=du kuerge-lang.
eat-SUBJ:PERF QUOTE after thus pasture=DAT send-OBJ:IMPERF
Because (he) objected to his daughters snatching food from him every day, (he decided to) send them to a (distant) pasture.
- (5) *Ni laohan san-ge aguer=nang langshe-lang bai.*
this old:man three-CL daughter=REFLPOSS consider:too:many-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
This old man thought his three daughters were too many.
- (6) *Gan zou mula-ji berqie=du kuerge-a¹¹⁴ ge-ji.*
3:SG thus think-IMPERF pasture=DAT send-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF
So he thought (he) would send (them) to a pasture.
- (7) *"Aba,*
father
"Father,
- (8) *dasi ang=ji yao-ni?"*
1:PL where=DIR go-SUBJ:FUT
where will we go?"
- (9) *yi-ge aguer=ni ersseghe-jiang bai.*
one-CL daughter=POSS ask-OBJ:PERF EMPH
one of his daughters asked.
- (10) *"Dasi qijighe chuangmu-la yao-a."*
1:PL flower pick-PURP go-VOL
"Let's go to pick flowers."
- (11) *"A,*
EXCL
"Then,
- (12) *yao-a bai."*
go-VOL EMPH
let's go."

¹¹³ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong. See "The Orphan Sisters" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:88-90) for a similar Huzhu Mongghul account.

¹¹⁴ This word was reduced to *kuerge* by the speaker.

- (13) *Ting ge-ku gan Laohan aruoghuo=nang beila-jiang gelang,*
that do-IMPERF 3:SG old:man back:basket=REFLPOSS carry-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
Then Old Man took his back basket, they say,
- (14) *suguo=nang bari-jiang gelang.*
axe=REFLPOSS take-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
(and) took his axe, they say.
- (15) *Gan keli-ji,*
3:SG say-IMPERF
He said,
- (16) *"Wula-du yao-ku,*
mountain=DAT go-IMPERF
"When (we) reach the mountain,
- (17) *bi daghu duoke-a,*
1:SG firewood chop-VOL
let me chop firewood,
- (18) *ting ge-ku tasi qijighe chuangmu a."*
that do-IMPERF 2:SG flower pick PRT
and you pick flowers."
- (19) *Berqie=du kuer-ku,*
pasture=DAT arrive-IMPERF
When (they) arrived at the pasture,
- (20) *Laohan zou keli-ji,*
old:man thus say-IMPERF
Old Man said,
- (21) *"Aguer,*
daughter
"Daughters,
- (22) *tasi ni qijighe=ni yerri-ji chuangmu a,*
2:SG this flower=ACC look:for-IMPERF pick PRT
you look for this (kind of) flowers to pick,
- (23) *bi daghu duoke-la xi-a.*
1:SG firewood chop-PURP go-VOL
I'll go to chop firewood.
- (24) *'Bang,'*
ONOM
[see line 25, below]
- (25) *'bang' di duoke-ku-ni hangbura-ku,*
ONOM QUOTE chop-IMPERF-NOMLZR finish-IMPERF
When the (sound of) chopping-- 'bang, bang' like this-- stops,
- (26) *tasi ri ma dasi ger=du yao-wa."*
2:SG come PRT 1:PL house=DAT go-VOL
you come and let's go home."
- (27) *Laohan aguer san-ge=nang berqie=du sao-gha ge danang,*
old:man daughter three-CL=REFLPOSS pasture=DAT sit-CAUSE do after
After Old Man had his three daughters sit in the pasture,

- (28) *gan wula=du banber ge=ni guala ge-jiang bai.*
3:SG mountain=DAT board SG:INDEF=ACC hang do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
he hung a board on the mountain.
- (29) *Banber kai=du yi-tian "bang!"*
board wind=DAT one-day ONOM
[see line 31, below]
- (30) *"bang!"*
ONOM
[see line 31, below]
- (31) *di daogher sao-jiang bai.*
QUOTE sound sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
All day the board sounded "bang! bang!" like that in the wind.
- (32) *Shangwu ber-ji xi-sa,*
noon become-IMPERF go-COND
When noon came,
- (33) *han daogher-ser bang.*
still sound-PROG OBJ:COP
(the noise) was still sounding.
- (34) *Aguer-si=ni gedie-si luosi-ji ri-jiang.*
daughter-PL=GEN belly-PL be:hungry-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
The girls' stomachs became hungry.
- (35) *Shuguo Aguer keli-ji,*
big daughter say-IMPERF
Eldest Girl said,
- (36) *"Du ji-la yao-a ma yao-ku Adi=du keli-ku ger=du*
now look-PURP go-VOL PRT go-IMPERF dad=DAT say-IMPERF house=DAT
yao-a ya.
go-VOL PRT
"Now let's go to look, and when we go, we'll say to Dad 'let's go home.'"
- (37) *Ni duoke-ji lai hangbura-lang bai."*
this chop-IMPERF NEG finish-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
This chopping has not stopped."
- (38) *Wuji-la xi-sa,*
take:note-PURP go-COND
When (they) went to look,
- (39) *gan banber ge=ni guala ge-ser bang.*
3:SG board SG:INDEF=ACC hang do-PROG OBJ:COP
(they found that) he had hung a board.
- (40) *Adi gan yao ge-jiang bai.*
dad 3:SG go do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Dad, he had left.
- (41) *"Du,*
now
"Now,

- (42) *ya-ni a?*
what-SUBJ:FUT PRT
what will we do?
- (43) *Da san-ge=la ang=ji yao-ni a?"*
1:PL three-CL=COLL where=DIR go-SUBJ:FUT PRT
Where will we three go?"
- (44) *Du niezhang luosi-jiang ma,*
now wretched be:hungry-OBJ:PERF PRT
Now, wretched (and) hungry,
- (45) *ghazher=ni wake-jiang gelang.*
ground=ACC dig-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
(they) dug (in) the ground, they say.
- (46) *Wake-ku,*
dig-IMPERF
When (they) dug,
- (47) *gan yi-kuer pujieghe gher-jiang gelang.*
3:SG one-CL pea go:out-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
it, a pea came out, they say.
- (48) *San-ge=la yi-ren digger ge di-jiang.*
three-CL=COLL one-person little:bit SG:INDEF eat-OBJ:PERF
The three of them each ate a little bit.
- (49) *Pusa ge wake-ku,*
another once dig-IMPERF
When (they) dug once again,
- (50) *san-kuer gher-ji ri-jiang gelang.*
three-CL go:out-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
three (peas) came out, they say.
- (51) *Pusa ge wake-ku,*
another once dig-IMPERF
When (they) dug once again,
- (52) *yi-ge mula tughuo gher-jiang gelang.*
one-CL small pot go:out-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
a small pot (of peas) came out, they say.
- (53) *Ti=nang di-ku zou yao-jiang gelang bai.*
that=REFLPOSS eat-IMPERF thus go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY EMPH
After eating that thing of theirs (the peas), then (they) started walking, they say.
- (54) *Yao-da yi-ge khuosen ger=du ruo-ji xi-jiang gelang.*
go-after one-CL empty house=DAT enter-IMPERF go-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
(They) walked until (they) entered an empty house, they say.
- (55) *Ni ger=du laoshi ningger ge bang.*
this house=DAT honest old:woman SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
In this house there was an honest old lady.
- (56) *Ni ningger gan tughuo=du=nang nita-lang gelang.*
this old:woman 3:SG pot=DAT=REFLPOSS sleep-OBJ:IMPERF HEARSAY
This old woman, she slept in her pot, they say.

- (57) *Ting ge-ku ni aguer-si tuohuo=ni xida-jiang*
that do-IMPERF this daughter-PL pot=ACC burn-OBJ:PERF
Then these girls heated the pot.
- (58) *"Aciza ya!*
EXCL PRT
"Aciza ya!¹¹⁵
- (59) *Qi=ni aba=ni wazi=ni he-ji ri ma,*
2-SG-GEN father=GEN sock=ACC take-IMPERF come PRT
Bring your father's socks,
- (60) *tuli-lang a."*
burn-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
I'm burning!" (the old lady said).¹¹⁶
- (61) *Gan san-ge=la ni ningger=ni xida danang tuosi*
3-SG three-CL=COLL this old-woman=ACC burn after oil
huerber-gha ge-jiang bai.
become-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
The three of them heated this old lady until (they) caused her to turn into oil.
- (62) *Gan-si ni tuosi=la dimei china-jiang bai.*
3-SG-PL this oil=INST bread cook-OBJ:PERF EMPH
They cooked bread with this oil.
- (63) *Yigua puzighuo china,*
totally deep-fried:dough:stick cook
They cooked deep-fried twisted dough sticks,
- (64) *zou beila ger=du=nang yao-jiang bai.*
thus carry house=DAT=REFLPOSS go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) then carried (the dough sticks) and went to their home.
- (65) *Gan san-ge=la yao ger=du kuer ri-jiang ma*
3-SG three-CL=COLL go house=DAT arrive come-OBJ:PERF PRT
gerdi=sa ge nao-jiang bai.
roof=ABL once see-OBJ:PERF EMPH
The three of them went, arrived at (their) home, and looked (down) from the roof.
- (66) *"Ni aba ya ge-la sha?"*
this father what do-IMPERF PRT
"What is (our) father doing?" (they thought).
- (67) *Nao-sa aba gua tuosi danang huigu-lang bai,*
see-COND father totally be-hungry after die-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
When they looked, (their) father was completely starving to death,
- (68) *yigua tuerha zhuer=du kaola danang.*
totally column bottom=DAT lie:against after
having lain against the bottom of a house column.

¹¹⁵ This exclamation expresses pain.
¹¹⁶ Perhaps the honest old woman thought she could use the socks to insulate herself against the heat.

- (69) *Ting ge aguer gan puzighuo=nang ge*
that do daughter 3-SG deep-fried dough stick=REFLPOSS SG:INDEF throw-IMPERF
xi-gha-jiang.
go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Then (one) daughter she threw one of her deep-fried twisted dough sticks (to him).
- (70) *"Anana!*
EXCL
"Anana!"¹¹⁷
- (71) *Tiangere Di ao!*
Heaven God EXCL
Heaven God!
- (72) *Ningsha-sa pusa ge kerla!"*
be:like>this-COND another SG:INDEF throw
(Please) throw another one like this!"
- (73) *Aguer=ni pusa ge kerla-jiang.*
daughter=POSS another SG:INDEF throw-OBJ:PERF
His daughter threw another one.
- (74) *"Anuo a!*
EXCL EXCL
"Anuo a!"¹¹⁸
- (75) *Tiangere Di pusa duo-yi-ge kerla."*
Heaven God another more-one-CL throw
Heaven God, throw one more," (he said).
- (76) *Aguer=ni pusa ge kerla-jiang.*
daughter=POSS another SG:INDEF throw-OBJ:PERF
His daughter threw another one.
- (77) *"Wulang-her kerla!"*
many-COMP throw
"Throw some more!"
- (78) *Aguer aruohuo=la=nang daoke-ku,*
daughter back=basket=INST=REFLPOSS pour-IMPERF
When (his) daughters emptied (the bread sticks) from their back basket,
- (79) *Laohan qige ge-jiang*
old.man see do-OBJ:PERF
Old Man saw (them).
- (80) *"Anuo a,*
EXCL EXCL
"Anuo a,
- (81) *muni kao-si ang=sa ri-ba?"*
1-SG:GEN son-PL where=ABL come-SUBJ:PERF
where did my children come from?" (he asked).
- (82) *Ning ge danang aba=nang jiula-jiang a.*
this do after father=REFLPOSS save-OBJ:PERF PRT
So (they) saved their father.

¹¹⁷ Sound word begging help from Heaven God.
¹¹⁸ Sound word expressing an encounter with something strange.

- (83) *Ni kao xujun=ni langshe-ku-ni mubainu?*
 this son daughter=ACC consider:too:many-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP:QUEST
 (Should people) have dislike for many children?
- (84) *Wulang bi-sa,*
 many SUBJ:COP-COND
 If there are many (children),
- (85) *langshe-ku-ni puzhang a!*
 consider:too:many-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
 there is no considering (them) too numerous!

A Man and His Two Wives

*As told by Lü Jinliang*¹¹⁹

- (1) *Yi-ge Kong Dai Gan=ni Liang-ge Bieri.*
 one-CL person and 3:SG=GEN two-CL wife
 A Man and His Two Wives.
- (2) *Yi-ge kong=du liang-ge bieri bang.*
 one-CL person=DAT two-CL wife OBJ:COP
 A man had two wives.
- (3) *Gan nuoyan sao-la xi-kuniang.*
 3:SG official sit-PURP go-OBJ:FUT
 He was going to be an official.
- (4) *"Dangda=du khari-ji ri-sa,*
 1:SG:DAT=DAT return-IMPERF come-COND
 "Me, if (I) come back,
- (5) *ya=ji jielie-ni?"*
 what=DIR meet-SUBJ:FUT
 how will (you) welcome (me)?"
- (6) *gan keli-ji.*
 3:SG say-IMPERF
 he said.
- (7) *"Bi xi baila-ji jielie-a,"*
 1:SG banquet prepare-IMPERF meet-VOL
 "I will welcome (you by) preparing a banquet,"
- (8) *yi-ge bieri keli-ji.*
 one-CL wife say-IMPERF
 one wife said.
- (9) *"Tingsa qi ya=ji jielie-ni?"*
 later 2:SG what=DIR meet-SUBJ:FUT
 "And how will you welcome (me)?" (he asked the other wife).
- (10) *"Bi qimai=du mula=ni kao ge ri-ku jielie-a,"*
 1:SG 2:SG:DAT=DAT small=GEN son SG:INDEF come-IMPERF meet-VOL
 "I will welcome you with a little son if one comes,"
- (11) *han-yi-ge bieri=ni keli-jiang.*
 other-one-CL wife=POSS say-OBJ:PERF
 the other wife said.
- (12) *Gan=ni kuergan=ni "hei" di ge shini-jiang.*
 3:SG=GEN husband=POSS EXCL QUOTE QUOTE smile-OBJ:PERF
 Her husband laughed "hei," like that.

¹¹⁹ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong. See the Oroqen account "Three Brothers and Their Wives" (Stuart and Li 1994:46-48) for a similar account.

- (13) "Qi ya-ji ni-ge bieri=nang shini-lang
2.SG what=IMPERF this-CL wife=REFLPOSS smile-OBJ:IMPERF
kao ghu=la jielie-a ge-sa?
son two=COLL meet-VOL QUOTE-COND
"Why did you smile at this wife, when (she) said (that she planned) to greet (you) with a son?"
- (14) Bi qimai=du xi bajia-ya ge-sa
1.SG 2.SG:DAT=DAT banquet prepare-VOL QUOTE-COND
qi ya=ji han werkuer-lang,
2.SG what=DIR other be:angry-OBJ:IMPERF
When I said (that I would) prepare a banquet for you, you were angry,"
- (15) mieshi keli-sang-ni bieri mula-lang.
first say-PERF-NOMLZR wife think-OBJ:IMPERF
thought the wife who had spoken first.
- (16) Gan=ni xianliang bieri sara sao-ku shijie kuer-jiang bai.
3.SG=GEN kind wife month sit-IMPERF time arrive-OBJ:PERF EMPH
His kind wife's time to give birth arrived.
- (17) "Qi tian-chuang=sa tuer-la xi!"
2.SG sky-window=ABL push-PURP go
"You go (up on the roof and) deliver (the baby) through the skylight!"¹²⁰ (said the evil wife).
- (18) Tian-chuang=sa tuer-ku,
sky-window=ABL push-IMPERF
When (she) delivered (her baby) through the skylight,
- (19) gan ti-ge mao bieri xi danang gan=ni bulai=ni
3.SG that-CL bad wife go after 3.SG=GEN child=ACC
nieke ala ge-jiang bai.
strangle kill do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
she that evil wife went to strangle her child and kill it.
- (20) Ala danang jiao=du kerla xi-gha-jiang bai.
kill after cellar=DAT throw go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
After killing (the child), she threw (it) into the cellar.
- (21) Xianliang bieri khari-ji ri-tula,
kind wife return-IMPERF come-when
When the kind wife returned (into the house),
- (22) gan hazi miaori ge=ni hu ge-jiang bai.
3.SG blind cat SG:INDEF=ACC give do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
she [the evil wife] gave (her) a blind cat.
- (23) Miaori=ni gongshui=du ge tangla danang,
cat=ACC boiling:water=DAT once burn after
The cat had been scalded in boiling water,
- (24) ghuasi=ni shudi he-jiang.
hair=ACC pull.out take-OBJ:PERF
its hair was pulled out (by the evil wife).

¹²⁰ A hole in the kitchen roof allowing smoke to escape.

- (25) Ting ge-ku,
that do-IMPERF
After that,
- (26) gan=ni ana=ni yila yila nudu=ni sughuoruo sao-jiang bai.
3.SG=GEN mother=POSS cry cry eye=POSS blind sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
his [the baby's] mother cried and cried (until) her eyes became blind.
- (27) Gan=ni ti jiao=du kerla xi-gha-sang bulai jiao=sa erghuosi
3.SG=GEN that cellar=DAT throw go-CAUSE-PERF child cellar=ABL thorn
yi-ge-da wosi gher ri-jiang.
one-CL-bunch grow:up go:out come-OBJ:PERF
The boy who had been thrown into the cellar grew up as a bunch of thorns out of the cellar.
- (28) Ting-ku ni erghuosi gan=ni mao bieri=ni
that-IMPERF this thorn 3.SG=GEN bad wife=GEN
khuermo=ni guake-ba ge danang,
overcoat=ACC prick-SUBJ:PERF QUOTE after
But after noticing (that) this thorn pricked the evil wife's overcoat,
- (29) gan duoke xida ge-jiang bai.
3.SG chop burn do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
she chopped and burned (it).
- (30) Zaoha nudu=du ge xida-ku,
kitchen eye=DAT once burn-IMPERF
As (she) burned (it) in the stove opening,
- (31) erqighe shige ber-jiang bai.
stone like become-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(it) became like an erqighe.¹²¹
- (32) Ting-ku gan xi danang huayan=du bula ge-jiang bai.
that-IMPERF 3.SG go after garden=DAT bury do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Then she went and buried (it) in the courtyard garden.
- (33) Huayan=du bula ge-ku,
garden=DAT bury do-IMPERF
When (she) buried (it) in the courtyard garden,
- (34) gan=ni ti maodan qijigheli-jiang.
3.SG=GEN that flower bloom-OBJ:PERF
(it grew into a flower for her and) the flower of hers bloomed.
- (35) Gan=ni kong yi-tian nige ri-jiang ma gan=ni
3.SG=GEN person one-day one come-OBJ:PERF PRT 3.SG=GEN
ti-ge bieri xi bajia-ji jielie-jiang.
that-CL wife banquet prepare-IMPERF meet-OBJ:PERF
That man came (back) one day and that (evil) wife of his welcomed (him) by preparing a banquet.
- (36) Gan "pei!"
3.SG EXCL
"Pei!"

¹²¹ An erqighe is a round stone at the end of a short stick. It is used to twist wool. The stone is heavy, so it keeps the wool taut and helps the wool twist well.

- (37) *di ge linbi hu-jiang.*
QUOTE QUOTE spit give-OBJ:PERF
making that noise he spat.¹²²
- (38) *Gan=ni ni-ge bieri=ni yila sao-jiang bai.*
3:SG=GEN this-CL wife=POSS cry sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
This (other) wife of his kept crying.
- (39) *Ni kong ger=du ri-sa,*
this person house=DAT come-COND
When this man came home,
- (40) *gan=ni huayan-ku-ni qijighe*
3:SG=GEN garden-IMPERF-NOMLZR bloom
saihang=ni¹²³ ting ge-lang gelang.
beautiful=GEN that do-OBJ:IMPERF HEARSAY
the bloom in his garden was very beautiful, they say.
- (41) *Kong yao-ku gan=ni ti suni guida-lang gelang.*
person go-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN that die:out disappear-OBJ:IMPERF HEARSAY
After people left, that (bloom) withered, they say.
- (42) *"Ni han guai=ni ala-jiang!"*
this extremely strange=GEN kill-OBJ:PERF
"This is extremely strange!" (the evil wife thought).
- (43) *Gan=ni mao bieri huguer=ni lake ri danang di-gha ge-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN bad wife cow=ACC pull come after eat-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF
His evil wife led a cow (there) and had (it) eat (the flowering plant).
- (44) *Gan=ni ti pusa zaihang burer ge burerla ge-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN that another beautiful calf SG:INDEF calve do-OBJ:PERF
It (the cow) then gave birth to a beautiful calf.
- (45) *Gan=ni ti burer ti ninger=ni mudu=ni duer*
3:SG=GEN that calf that old:woman=GEN eye=ACC lick
gai-gha-jiang bai.
bright-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
The calf licked the (kind) old woman's eyes (and) made (them) bright.
- (46) *Ting ge-ku,*
that do-IMPERF
After that,
- (47) *du,*
now
now,
- (48) *ni mao bieri gan=ni ti burer=ni mugha=ni di-kuniang bai.*
this bad wife 3:SG=GEN that calf=GEN meat=ACC eat-OBJ:FUT EMPH
this evil wife planned to eat the calf's flesh.
- (49) *Jiaoduer bieqin zhuangke,*
every:day illness pretend
Every day (she) pretended to be ill,

¹²² He spat in contempt at the idea of such a trivial welcome, particularly in comparison to the welcome his other wife had intimated she would provide, that is, a son.

¹²³ DV: *zaihangni*.

- (50) *nita,*
sleep
(she) slept,
- (51) *yigua huaitu-si=la dama=nang ghua-lang.*
totally cypress:needle-PL=INST face=REFLPOSS wash-OBJ:IMPERF
(and she) even washed her face with (water in which) cypress needles (had soaked).¹²⁴
- (52) *Kuergan=ni keli-ji,*
husband=POSS say-IMPERF
Her husband said,
- (53) *"Qi jiaoduer nita-ji ya ge-ni?"*
2:SG every:day sleep-IMPERF what do-SUBJ:FUT
"You sleep every day, what will (you) do?"
- (54) *"Bi qi=ni burer=ni kelie=ni lai di-sa,*
1:SG 2:SG=GEN calf=GEN tongue=ACC NEG eat-COND
"If I do not eat your calf's tongue,
- (55) *muni bieqin lai ber-kuniang."*
1:SG:GEN illness NEG become-OBJ:FUT
my illness will not get better," (she said).
- (56) *Ting-ku ni burer maidie-jiang ma gan xi bayang*
that-IMPERF this calf know-OBJ:PERF PRT 3:SG go rich
kong=ni diaogan=du xi danang kedie sao-jiang bai.
person=GEN threshing:ground=DAT go after lie sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
After that, this calf found out (about this) and he went, (and) after (he) went to a rich man's threshing floor, (he) lay there.
- (57) *"Qi ya ge-ni,*
2:SG what do-SUBJ:FUT
"What will you do,
- (58) *ning ge kedie sao-ji?"*
this do lie sit-IMPERF
lying like this?"
- (59) *ni bayang kong erseghe-jiang.*
this rich person ask-OBJ:PERF
this rich man asked.
- (60) *"Nangda muni zhuerge=ni di-ni ge-lang*
1:SG:DAT 1:SG:GEN heart=ACC eat-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
ma bi ger=du=nang lai xi-ang."
PRT 1:SG house=DAT=REFLPOSS NEG go-OBJ
"With regard to me, (she) says (she) will eat my heart, so I will not go home," (the calf said).
- (61) *Ni bayang kong ger=du=nang tao xi danang*
this rich person house=DAT=REFLPOSS drive go after
khudang=du=nang khuori ge-jiang gelang.
shed=DAT=REFLPOSS pen do-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
This rich man drove (the calf) to his home and penned (it) in his shed, they say.

¹²⁴ A traditional remedy for ailments. Such water is also, at times, drunk to alleviate certain illnesses. Cypress needles are also frequently burned by nearby Tibetans during religious festivals.

- (62) *Gan huguer=ni ger=du nughuai zhuerge ge=ni*
3:SG cow=GEN house=DAT dog heart SG:INDEF=ACC
he xi-gha-jiang gelang.
take go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
He had a dog heart taken to the cow's home, they say.
- (63) *Ting-ku gan=ni bieri=ni bieqin=ni ber-jiang gelang.*
that-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN wife=GEN illness=POSS become-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
Then his wife's illness got better, they say.
- (64) *Ni bayang kong ger=du=nang khari-ji ri-sa,*
this rich person house=DAT=REFLPOSS return-IMPERF come-COND
When this rich man returned to his home,
- (65) *gan huguer shu mushi-lang gelang.*
3:SG cow book read-OBJ:IMPERF HEARSAY
he, the cow, was reading, they say.
- (66) *Shu mushi-lang ma gan khuleghe-ji nao-la xi-ku,*
book read-OBJ:IMPERF PRT 3:SG peep-IMPERF see-PURP go-IMPERF
(It) was reading, and when he [the rich man] went secretly to look,
- (67) *burer arasi=nang zhuo da-jiang bai.*
calf skin=REFLPOSS wear cannot-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(he saw that) the calf could not wear its skin (any longer).
- (68) *Gan kong ge ber-jiang gelang.*
3:SG person SG:INDEF become-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
It had become a person, they say.
- (69) *Khuonuo kuer-ku,*
later arrive-IMPERF
In later days,
- (70) *kuergan=ni gan=ni bulai=nang maidie-jiang gelang.*
husband=POSS 3:SG=GEN child=REFLPOSS know-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
her husband learned about his son, they say.
- (71) *Bieri=du=nang erseghe-jiang,*
wife=DAT=REFLPOSS ask-OBJ:PERF
(He) asked his (evil) wife,
- (72) *"Qi mori kerli-nu,*
2:SG horse want-SUBJ:FUT:QUEST
"Do you want a horse,
- (73) *nidi kerli-ni?"*
door want-SUBJ:FUT
(or) do you want a door?"
- (74) *Mori kerli-sa zou,*
horse want-COND thus
If (she) chose a horse then
- (75) *wumafengjiang ge-gha-kumiang.*
five:horse:divide:body do-CAUSE-OBJ:FUT
(she) would be pulled apart by five horses.

- (76) *Dan nidi kerli-sa,*
but door want-COND
But if (she) chose a door,
- (77) *nidi=ni dingke-gha danang hugu-gha-sa*
door=ACC hold:shut-CAUSE after die-CAUSE-COND
hugu-ji chili bang.
die-IMPERF painful OBJ:COP
as a result of being caused to hold a door shut (serving as a door bar)¹²⁵, (she) would be caused to die,
(and her) dying would be painful.
- (78) *"Mori kerli-ni,"*
horse want-SUBJ:FUT
"I want horses,"
- (79) *ge-ji keli-jiang.*
QUOTE-IMPERF say-OBJ:PERF
(she) said.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Countryside homes form a compound with a gate comprised of two large door panels. At night, the family secures the doors with a beam, putting one end of the beam in the ground and the other end against the two doors. Alternatively, the beam may be placed horizontally against the doors and secured in notches on both gateposts. The woman, if she chose "door," would take the place of the beam.

¹²⁶ The Dagur story "The Hunter and His Sister" (Stuart, Li and Shelear:136-138) has a similar death for an evil wife. She is pulled apart by four horses. Similarly, in the Huzhu Mongghul story "Shilange" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:110-114), the husband ties an evil wife's hands together, ties the rope to a horse's saddle, and cracks his whip. The evil wife is dragged to her death.

Shalangguer's Story

As told by Lū Jinliang¹²⁷



Bridetakers escort the bride from her home to the groom's home. When they come within 50-100 meters of the groom's home, the groom's family makes a big fire of burning straw and prepares a shenzi (or wooden box without a cover) of beans or wheat for the bride to sit on. A short-legged table is usually put under the shenzi. A person, either male or female, from the groom's family and chosen by a yinyang combs the bride's hair three times. Next, the bride's braids are unbraided. The bride is now ready for her hair to be made into the style of a married woman.

- (1) Shalangguer=ni Bihuang.
Shalangguer=GEN story
Shalangguer's Story.
- (2) Tiedun=du,
past=DAT
In olden times,
- (3) yi-ge laohan=du aguer liang-ge bang.
one-CL old:man=DAT daughter two-CL OBJ:COP
an old man had two daughters.
- (4) Liang-ge aguer jiaoduer qijighe chuangmu-ji hu ge-ji
two-CL daughter every:day flower pick-IMPERF give QUOTE-IMPERF
kerli-lang,
want-OBJ:IMPERF
Every day the two daughters wanted (him) to pick flowers (for them),
- (5) guliantang nadu-ni ge-ji.
1:PL play-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-IMPERF
saying "We will enjoy (them)."
- (6) Tingsa ang=sa chuangmu-la xi-ni sha?
then where=ABL pick-PURP go-SUBJ:FUT PRT
But where would (he) go to pick (flowers)? (he thought).
- (7) Yerri yerri gan Shalangguer=ni ger khuonuo kuer-jiang bai.
look:for look:for 3:SG Shalangguer=GEN house back arrive-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Looking and looking, he came to the back of Shalangguer's home.

- (8) Ger khuonuo qijighe yi-puda bang bai.
house back flower one-CL OBJ:COP EMPH
Behind the house there was a clump of flowers.
- (9) Gan san-ge duo-ke-tula duo-ke-ku suguo terghai gan Shalangguer=ni
3:SG three-CL chop-before chop-IMPERF axe head 3:SG Shalangguer=GEN
ger=du deghe-la bao-jiang bai.
house=DAT fall go:down-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Before he had chopped three times, (his) axe-head fell down into Shalangguer's home.
- (10) "Shalangguer Ga,
Shalangguer brother
"Brother Shalangguer,
- (11) mali ma,
quickly PRT
please hurry,
- (12) muni suguo qi=ni ger=du deghe-la bao ri-jiang."
1:SG:GEN axe 2:SG=GEN house=DAT fall go:down come-OBJ:PERF
my axe fell down into your home."
- (13) "Xian zhan-zhi a,
first stand-ASP PRT
"First wait (a moment),
- (14) bi wazi=nang musi-ku."
1:SG sock=REFLPOSS wear-IMPERF
until I put on my socks."
- (15) "Shalangguer Ga,
Shalangguer brother
"Brother Shalangguer,
- (16) mali muni suguo=ni ge jielie-gha ma,
quickly 1:SG:GEN axe=ACC once meet-CAUSE PRT
please quickly hand (me) my axe,
- (17) qi=ni huayan=du bao-ba."
2:SG=GEN garden=DAT go:down-SUBJ:PERF
(it) fell into your garden."
- (18) "Xian zhan-zhi ma,
first stand-ASP PRT
"First wait (a moment),
- (19) bi hai=nang musi-sang gui."
1:SG shoe=REFLPOSS wear-PERF SUBJ:NEG:COP
I haven't put on my shoes."
- (20) Gan ning ge lai hu-lang bai.
3:SG this QUOTE NEG give-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
Thus, he didn't give (it) to the old man).
- (21) Khuonuo khaila-jiang ma,
later shout-OBJ:PERF PRT
Later (the old man) shouted,

¹²⁷ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong. For a similar Huzhu Mongghul account, see "Shilange" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:110). See also "The Fifth Daughter" (Li and Luckert 1994:340-343). In the latter account the hero is dubbed "Shenlengge."

- (22) *gan "yama di-sang gui" ge lai hu-lang bai.*
3.SG food eat-PERF SUBJ:NEG:COP QUOTE NEG give-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(but) he (Shalangguer) didn't give (it to him), saying "I haven't eaten."
- (23) *"Mali ma,*
quickly PRT
"Please hurry,
- (24) *bi wuda sao-jiang,"*
1:SG be:late sit-OBJ:PERF
I am late,"
- (25) *ni laohan keli-ji.*
this old:man say-IMPERF
this old man said.
- (26) *"Tingsa qi ayige aguer=nang hu-ni?"*
then 2:SG which daughter=REFLPOSS give-SUBJ:FUT
"Then which of your daughters will you give (to me as a wife)?"
- (27) *"Qi ayige=ni kerli-ku,*
2:SG which=ACC want-IMPERF
"Whichever one you request,
- (28) *ayige=ni hu-a bai."*
which=ACC give-VOL EMPH
(I'll) give (you) that one."
- (29) *Ning ge Shalangguer suguo=ni jielie-gha danang,*
this do Shalangguer axe=ACC meet-CAUSE after
Then after Shalangguer passed the axe (to the old man),
- (30) *Huguer Zuonuo=la laomei dangla-gha-la ri-jiang bai.*
cow bee=INST matchmaker serve:as-CAUSE-PURP come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(he) sent Bumblebee to serve as matchmaker.
- (31) *Huguer Zuonuo besi er-chi=ni jiake danang,*
cow bee cloth two-chi=ACC carry:under:the:arm after
Bumblebee carried two *chi* of cloth under its arm and then,
- (32) *"weng weng" di ri-jiang bai.*
ONOM ONOM QUOTE come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
came (singing) "weng weng," like that.
- (33) *Ri-sa,*
come-COND
When (Bumblebee) came,
- (34) *lai jielie-lang bai.*
NEG meet-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(the old man) did not welcome him.
- (35) *Khuonuo kuer-ku,*
later arrive-IMPERF
At a later time,
- (36) *gan=ni mula aguer jielie danang dagha xi-jiang.*
3.SG=GEN small daughter meet after follow go-OBJ:PERF
after his younger daughter met (Bumblebee), (she) followed (him).

- (37) *Xi-sa,*
go-COND
(When she) went,
- (38) *Shalangguer=ni ger=du hudu bayang bang bai.*
Shalangguer=GEN house=DAT very rich OBJ:COP EMPH
(she found that) Shalangguer's family was very rich.
- (39) *Hanshi khuobi=tai kong ge bang bai.*
also good:destiny=COM person SG:INDEF OBJ:COP EMPH
Additionally, (she) was a person with good destiny.
- (40) *Ting ge yi-tian nige,*
that do one-day one
Then one day,
- (41) *mula aguer ana=ni ger=du=nang ri-jiang.*
small daughter mother=GEN house=DAT=REFLPOSS come-OBJ:PERF
Younger Daughter visited her mother's own home.
- (42) *Ajia=ni keli-ji,*
elder:sister=POSS say-IMPERF
Elder Sister said,
- (43) *"Diao,*
younger:sibling
"Younger Sister,
- (44) *Diao,*
younger:sibling
Younger Sister,
- (45) *da ghu=luo dier ghua-la yao-wa.*
1:PL two=COLL clothes wash-PURP go-VOL
let's us two go wash clothes.
- (46) *Qi tiermer muchu=nang bari,*
2:SG metal tub=REFLPOSS take
You take your metal tub,
- (47) *bi motu muchu=nang bari-ya."*
1:SG wood tub=REFLPOSS take-VOL
I'll take my wooden tub."
- (48) *Ning ge,*
this do
So,
- (49) *ghu=la Moran¹²⁸ chaibai xi-ji ghua-la xi-jiang.*
two=COLL river bank go-IMPERF wash-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
the two of them went to the banks of the Yellow River to wash (clothes).
- (50) *"Da ghu=luo muchu=nang tuangmu-gha-ji ji-ya,*
1:PL two=COLL tub=REFLPOSS spin-CAUSE-IMPERF look-VOL
"Let's us two spin our tubs and see,
- (51) *kan=ni ge khari-kumi?"*
who=GEN SG:INDEF return-OBJ:FUT
whose will come back?"

¹²⁸ DV: *mieran*. Literally, large river. Generally, however, this term refers to the Yellow River.

- (52) *Shalangguer=ni bieri bari-sang-ni tiemer=ni¹²⁹ bi-ku=la*,
Shalangguer=GEN wife take-PERF-NOMLZR metal=GEN SUBJ.COP-IMPERF=INST
Because the one Shalangguer's wife (the younger sister) had taken was a metal one,
- (53) *muchu=ni suzu duoruo shenda bao-jiang*.
tub=POSS water under sink go:down-OBJ:PERF
her tub sank down into the water.
- (54) *Ajia=ni keli-ji*,
elder:sister=POSS say-IMPERF
Elder Sister said,
- (55) *"Muni diao*,
1:SG:GEN younger:sibling
"My younger sister,
- (56) *qi suzu=du bao-ku moke-la xi*,
2:SG water=DAT go:down-IMPERF feel:about-PURP go
you go down into the water and feel (for the tub),
- (57) *bi qi=ni shighai=sa bar-a*.¹³⁰
1:SG 2:SG=GEN leg=ABL take-VOL
(and) I'll hold your leg."
- (58) *Moke-la xi-ku*,
feel:about-PURP go-IMPERF
When (she) went to feel (for the tub),
- (59) *Ajia=ni diao=nang suzu=du tuer-ku*
elder:sister=POSS younger:sibling=REFLPOSS water=DAT push-IMPERF
xi-gha-jiang bai.
go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Elder Sister pushed her own younger sister into the water.
- (60) *Gan gan=ni diao=ni ruang=du xi-jiang*.
3:SG 3:SG=GEN younger:sibling=GEN place=DAT go-OBJ:PERF
She went in her younger sister's place (i.e. posed as her younger sister).
- (61) *Xi-ku*,
go-IMPERF
When (she) went (to Shalangguer's house),
- (62) *Shalangguer keli-ji*,
Shalangguer say-IMPERF
Shalangguer said,
- (63) *"Aya!*
EXCL
"Aya!
- (64) *Ni muni bieri puzhang*.
this 1:SG:GEN wife OBJ:NEG:COP
This isn't my wife.
- (65) *Muni bieri=ni khuer mula bi*."
1:SG:GEN wife=GEN foot small SUBJ:COP
My wife's feet are small."

¹²⁹ DV: *tiernerni*.¹³⁰ *Bara* is the phonetic form of *bari* plus the voluntative suffix *-a*.

- (66) *"Tashi jiake-jiang*."
stone bruise-OBJ:PERF
"Stones bruised (them)," (Elder Sister said).
- (67) *Shalangguer keli-ji*,
Shalangguer say-IMPERF
Shalangguer said,
- (68) *"Muni bieri=ni dama=du mazi gui*."
1:SG:GEN wife=GEN face=DAT pockmark SUBJ:NEG:COP
"My wife's face doesn't have pockmarks."
- (69) *"Shatangdi-ku shazi tashi zhazher zake-jiang*."
sandy:beach-IMPERF sand stone piece scratch-OBJ:PERF
"Pieces of sand and stone on the sandy beach scratched (it)," (she said).
- (70) *Shalangguer mula tingsa mubang*.
Shalangguer think then OBJ:COP
Shalangguer thought therefore (that she) was (his wife).
- (71) *Ting ge gan mori sula-la xi-jiang*.
that do 3:SG horse water-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
Then he went to water (his) horse.
- (72) *"Jir*,
ONOM
"Jir,
- (73) *jir*,
ONOM
jir,
- (74) *ni-di ma bu chi-shui!"*
2:SG-ASSOC horse NEG eat-water
your horse won't drink water!"
- (75) *yi-ge shibao khaila suzu lai wu-gha-lang*.
one-CL bird shout water NEG drink-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
a bird squawked (and) caused (his horse) not to drink water.
- (76) *Ning ge jiaoduer lai wu-gha-lang*.
this do every:day NEG drink-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
In this way, every day (it) caused (his horse) not to drink.
- (77) *"Ai*,
EXCL
"Ai,
- (78) *ni cuduoruo wenti=tai bang*."
this inside problem=COM OBJ:COP
there are some problems in this (matter)," (Shalangguer said).
- (79) *Shalangguer yi-tian nige keli-ji*,
Shalangguer one-day one say-IMPERF
One day Shalangguer said (to the bird),
- (80) *"Ai*,
EXCL
"Ai,

- (81) *qi muni mieshi-ku bieri bi-sa,*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN first-IMPERF wife SUBJ:COP-COND
if you are my former wife,
- (82) *muni zuo jiazi=du bao; muni niebie-ku bieri*
1:SG:GEN left shoulder=DAT go:down 1:SG:GEN current-IMPERF wife
bi-sa,
SUBJ:COP-COND
land on my left shoulder; if (you) are my current wife,
- (83) *qi muni you jiazi=du bao."*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN right shoulder=DAT go:down
you land on my right shoulder."
- (84) *Dandan-di serghai dalu=du bao-jiang.*
precise-ADV left shoulder=DAT go:down-OBJ:PERF
(The bird) landed precisely on (his) left shoulder.
- (85) "Aiya!
EXCL
"Aiya!"
- (86) *Ni muni bieri=ni suzu=du tuer-ku bao-gha*
this 1:SG:GEN wife=ACC water=DAT push-IMPERF go:down-CAUSE
xi-gha-jiang."
go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(Someone) pushed my wife down into the water, " (he thought).
- (87) *Ning ge-ku,*
this do-IMPERF
And then,
- (88) *gan ti shibao=nang bari ri di manlai=du=nang*
3:SG that bird=REFLPOSS take come door forehead=DAT=REFLPOSS
ge-jiang bai.
do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
he took that bird (home) and put (it) on the upper part of his gate frame.
- (89) *Gan=ni bieri guo-lai guo-qi-di yao-sa,*
3:SG=GEN wife cross-come cross-go-ADV go-COND
When his (current) wife walked to and fro,
- (90) *terghai=du=ni yi-pao ba hu-lang.*
head=DAT=POSS one-CL defecate give-OBJ:IMPERF
(the bird) would defecate on her head.
- (91) "Ni han nangda ya ge-kuni?"
this also 1:SG:DAT what do-OBJ:FUT
"What else will this one do to me?" (Elder Sister thought).
- (92) *Gan xi nieke ala ge,*
3:SG go strangle kill do
She went and strangled (it),
- (93) *di khuonuo bula ge-jiang bai.*
door back bury do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) buried (it) behind the gate.

- (94) *Ting-ku erghuosi yi-ge puda gher ri-jiang bai.*
that-IMPERF thorn one-CL bunch go:out come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Later a bunch of thorny flowers grew up.
- (95) *Guo-lai guo-qi-di gan=ni terghuo khuermo=ni guake*
cross-come cross-go-ADV 3:SG=GEN silk overcoat=ACC prick
lai ber-lang bai.
NEG become-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(When she) went to and fro, (it) scratched her silk coat, (until she could) not stand it.
- (96) "Ni=ni duoke xida ge-a!"¹³¹
this=ACC chop burn do-VOL
"I'll chop and burn this one!" (she said).
- (97) *Xida ge-ku,*
burn do-IMPERF
After (she) burned (it),
- (98) *erqighe ge huerber-jiang bai.*
stone SG:INDEF become-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(it) became an *erqighe*.¹³²
- (99) *Yi-tian nige,*
one-day one
One day,
- (100) *kheghai dangla-ku ningger ge ri-ji gan=ni*
pig herd-IMPERF old:woman SG:INDEF come-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN
*zaoha-amang=sa*¹³³ *yan ge wu-jiang.*
kitchen-opening=ABL cigarette SG:INDEF drink-OBJ:PERF
an old pig-herding lady came and lit a cigarette from her (Elder Sister's) stove opening.
- (101) *Gan=ni erqighe=ni chuchuerla ger=du=nang xi-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN stone=ACC pocket house=DAT=REFLPOSS go-OBJ:PERF
(She) pocketed the *erqighe* and went home.
- (102) *Xi zaoye=du=nang xianli ge-jiang.*
go kitchen:goddess=DAT=REFLPOSS present do-OBJ:PERF
After (she) left, (she) presented (the *erqighe*) to her kitchen goddess.
- (103) *Ting ge ni erqighe aguer ge bianli danang ningger=du*
that do this stone daughter SG:INDEF become after old:woman=DAT
yama china-gha-jiang.
food cook-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Then this *erqighe* became a girl and afterwards (she) prepared meals for the old lady.

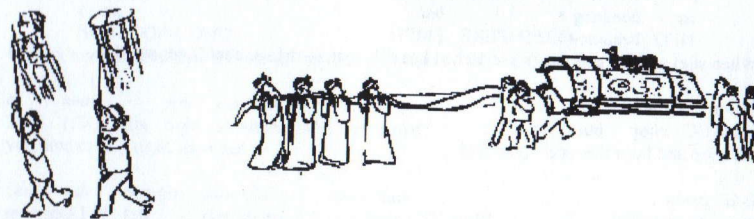
¹³¹ This word was reduced to *ga* by the speaker.

¹³² An *erqighe* is a round stone at the end of a short stick. It is used to twist wool. The stone is heavy, so it keeps the wool taut and helps the wool twist well.

¹³³ These two words were contracted to *zaohamangsa* by the speaker.

Showing Filial Obedience to Parents

As told by Lü Jinliang¹³⁴



Mangghuer carry a coffin to the graveyard. When the coffin leaves the deceased's home, the deceased's grandsons and the sons precede the coffin, carrying wreaths and long narrow paper flags. Female relatives follow them, or go earlier to the graveyard. Benjia (people of the same village) carry the coffin, while the deceased's sons lead the way, each holding a piece of white cloth that is connected to the coffin, signifying that they are also carrying the coffin. Other benjia follow or hold or touch the coffin with at least one hand. When they reach the graveyard with the coffin, they circle the grave three times in a clockwise direction.

- (1) *Anaba=ni¹³⁵ Xiaoshun Ge.*
mother:father=ACC filial:obedience do
Showing Filial Obedience to Parents.
- (2) *Tiedun=du,*
past=DAT
In olden times,
- (3) *yi-ge ningger=du san-ge kao bang.*
one-CL old:woman=DAT three-CL son OBJ:COP
an old woman had three sons.
- (4) *Shuguotu-jiang ma linla-kuniang bai.*
grow:up-OBJ:PERF PRT separate-OBJ:FUT EMPH
(They) grew up and planned to live separately.
- (5) *Laoda zhanggui-di dangla-ser bang bai.*
eldest master-ASSOC serve:as-PROG OBJ:COP EMPH
Eldest Son was serving as master (of the family).
- (6) *Gan mori laosa-si=ni mula kao=du yi-ge a lai hu-lang.*
3:SG horse mule-PL=ACC small son=DAT one-CL also NEG give-OBJ:IMPERF
He didn't give even one of (his) horses and mules to Youngest Son.
- (7) *Ana=du ergha guang bai.*
mother=DAT power OBJ:NEG:COP EMPH
Mother had no power (any more).
- (8) *Laosa mori=ni lai hu-lang,*
mule horse=ACC NEG give-OBJ:IMPERF
(They) didn't give (him) mules or horses,

- (9) *gan-si huguer ge hu-lang.*
3:SG-PL cow SG:INDEF give-OBJ:IMPERF
they (only) gave (him) a cow.
- (10) *"Bi huguer=ni lai kerli-ang,*
1:SG cow=ACC NEG want-OBJ
"I don't want the cow,
- (11) *bi ana=ni shuduer-ji xi-ni."*
1:SG mother=ACC lead-IMPERF go-SUBJ:FUT
(but) I will take mother and go," (Youngest Son said).
- (12) *Gan ana=nang shuduer xi-jiang,*
3:SG mother=REFLPOSS lead go-OBJ:PERF
He took his mother and went (home),
- (13) *zai yang a sai kerli-jiang.*
in:addition what also NEG want-OBJ:PERF
(and) didn't ask for anything in addition.
- (14) *Mula Bulai ana=du=nang di-gha-ku-ni*
small child mother=DAT=REFLPOSS eat-CAUSE-IMPERF-NOMLZR

yang a guang bai,
what also OBJ:NEG:COP EMPH
There was nothing that Youngest Son could have his mother eat,
- (15) *tingsa gan-si yang a sai hu-jiang bai.*
later 3:SG-PL what also NEG give-OBJ:PERF EMPH
because they hadn't given (him) anything.
- (16) *"Du yang di-gha-ni sha?"*
now what eat-CAUSE-SUBJ:FUT PRT
"Now what will (I) have (her) eat?" (Youngest Son thought).
- (17) *Khuonuo kuer ergha guang ma,*
later arrive power OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
Later, (he) was at a loss (as to how to feed her), and,
- (18) *gaga-si=sa=nang kerli-la xi-jiang bai.*
elder:brother-PL=ABL=REFLPOSS want-PURP go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(he) went to ask his older brothers (for some food).
- (19) *"Tara bisa diger hu."*
wheat SUBJ:COP-COND little:bit give
"If (you) have (some) wheat, give (me) a little," (Youngest Son said).
- (20) *"Ou,*
EXCL
"Ou,
- (21) *Muni asi-si=du a di-ku-ni guang.*
1:SG:GEN livestock-PL=DAT also eat-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:NEG:COP
My livestock doesn't have anything to eat either.
- (22) *Bi asi-si=nang tiejie-ni,*
1:SG livestock-PL=REFLPOSS feed-SUBJ:FUT
I will feed my livestock,

¹³⁴ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong. See "Respect the Elderly" (Stuart, Li and Shelear 1994:139) for a somewhat similar account.

¹³⁵ *Anaba* is a contraction of *ana* 'mother' and *aba* 'father.'

- (23) *qimai hu-tala,*
2:SG:DAT give-before
rather than give (anything) to you,"
- (24) *Shuguo Gaga keli-ji.*
big elder:brother say-IMPERF
Eldest Brother said.
- (25) *Pusa yi-ge=su kerli-la xi-jiang.*
another one-CL=ABL want-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
(Youngest Brother) went to ask the other (brother).
- (26) *"Du kebeghe=nang bi-sa diger hu ma,*
now wheat:bran=REFLPOSS SUBJ:COP-COND little:bit give PRT
"Now if (you) have any wheat bran, give (me) a little,
- (27) *Ana luosi-ji hugu-kuniang."*
mother be:hungry-IMPERF die-OBJ:FUT
Mother is starving to death."
- (28) *"Hugu-sa hugu ma,*
die-COND die PRT
"If she dies, she dies,
- (29) *kebeghe=nang bi mori=du=nang tiejieni."*
wheat:bran=REFLPOSS 1:SG horse=DAT=REFLPOSS feed-SUBJ:FUT
I will feed my wheat bran to my horses," (Elder Brother said).
- (30) *Gan=du pusa sai jielie-gha-jiang.*
3:SG=DAT another NEG meet-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(This brother) also didn't lend him (anything).
- (31) *"Du ya ge-ni?*
now what do-SUBJ:FUT
"Now what will (I) do?"
- (32) *Yang banhua bang?*
what method OBJ:COP
What method is there?
- (33) *Ana=du yang di-gha-ni?*
mother=DAT what eat-CAUSE-SUBJ:FUT
What will (I) have mother eat?
- (34) *Ana luosi-ji hugu-kuniang."*
mother be:hungry-IMPERF die-OBJ:FUT
Mother is starving to death," (Youngest Son thought).
- (35) *Ger=du yi-liang-sui=ni mula bulai ge bang bai.*
house=DAT one-two-year=GEN small child SG:INDEF OBJ:COP EMPH
In (his) house there was a little one- or two-year-old child.¹³⁶
- (36) *Gan=ni ti=nang suzu qier-gha-ji*
3:SG=GEN that=REFLPOSS hair cut-CAUSE-IMPERF

hu-la bi ge-ji,
give-IMPERF SUBJ:COP QUOTE-IMPERF
He said he would cut the (child's) hair,

¹³⁶ Youngest Son having a child is a sudden, unexplained addition by the teller.

- (37) *suzu=ni muerghuo-sang zhi,*
hair=ACC wet-PERF after
(but) after (he) wet the (child's) hair,
- (38) *bulai=nang jiari ana=du=nang di-gha-jiang.*
child=REFLPOSS kill mother=DAT=REFLPOSS eat-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(he) killed his son and had his mother eat (the child).
- (39) *Ana=ni songziwer=nang erseghe-jiang.*
mother=POSS grandson=REFLPOSS ask-OBJ:PERF
His mother asked about her grandson,
- (40) *"Songziwer=ni ang xi-gha-ba?"*
grandson=ACC where go-CAUSE-SUBJ:PERF
"Where did (you) send (my) grandson?"
- (41) *"Ghada ang=ji ang=ji yao-jiang."*
outside where=DIR where=DIR go-OBJ:PERF
"(He) has gone someplace outside,"
- (42) *ning ge-ji.*
this QUOTE-IMPERF
(he) said this.
- (43) *Tingsa ningger cai=ni di-ser di-ser gan=ni*
later old:woman food=ACC eat-PROG eat-PROG 3:SG=GEN

gha=du bulai=ni khuru ri-jiang bai.
bowl=DAT child=GEN finger come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Later as the old woman was eating and eating the food, in her bowl the boy's finger came.
- (44) *"Aya!*
EXCL
"Aya!"
- (45) *Tasi muni songziwer=ni nangda di-gha-ji?"*
2:PL 1:SG:GEN grandson=ACC 1:SG:DAT eat-CAUSE-IMPERF
Why did you make me eat my grandson?"
- (46) *Ningger yila danang tuerha diere yi-ge mergu hugu-jiang.*
old:woman cry after column on one-CL butt die-OBJ:PERF
The old woman cried and cried and butted (her head) against a column (of the home) and died.
- (47) *Gan=ni ningger shentiange yao-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN old:woman go.to:heaven go-OBJ:PERF
The old woman went to heaven.
- (48) *Ting-ku gan=ni shuguo bulai-si=du ghazher a wulan¹³⁷ bang.*
that-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN big child-PL=DAT ground also many OBJ:COP
After this, her older sons had many fields.
- (49) *Nangtughuo zhouwei=du biesi tara-si=ni dari,*
courtyard surroundings=DAT straw wheat-PL=ACC pile:up
Around (their) courtyards (they had) piled up straw and crops,
- (50) *qier miangu-si bula dari ting ge-ser bang.*
money silver-PL bury pile:up that do-PROG OBJ:COP
(and they had) buried a lot of silver and money.

¹³⁷ DV: wulang.

- (51) *Mula kao=du yang a guang bai.*
small son=DAT what also OBJ:NEG:COP EMPH
Youngest Son had nothing.
- (52) *Yi-tian nige,*
one-day one
One day,
- (53) *tiangere=sa honghuang ge bao-ji ri danang*
Heaven=ABL phoenix SG:INDEF go:down-IMPERF come after

cibang=nang yi-ge banla danang arong xida ge-jiang bai.
wing=REFLPOSS one-CL flap after all:away burn do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
a phoenix came down from Heaven, flapped her wings, (and) burned away everything (that the older sons owned).
- (54) *Asi a gher da-jiang,*
livestock also go:out cannot-OBJ:PERF
Neither could livestock go out,
- (55) *kong a gher da-jiang.*
person also go:out cannot-OBJ:PERF
nor could people go out.
- (56) *Linshangmoyi gan kao xijun=nang jiari di-gha-sang-ni*
finally 3:SG son daughter=REFLPOSS kill eat-CAUSE-PERF-NOMLZR

yigua miangu ghazher=ni khura ge danang bayaji-jiang.
totally silver ground=ACC get do after be:rich-OBJ:PERF
Finally, the one who killed his own child and fed it (to his mother) got all the silver and fields and became rich.
- (57) *Kong-si keli-sa,*
person-PL say-COND
People say,
- (58) *ni honghuang gan=ni ana bang gelang.*
this phoenix 3:SG=GEN mother OBJ:COP HEARSAY
this phoenix was his mother, they say.
- (59) *Anaba=du gezai=ni ge-sa,*
mother:father=DAT good=ACC do-COND
If (one) does good to (one's) parents,
- (60) *yamer-da ge bang?*
how-after once OBJ:COP
what will happen?
- (61) *Mao=ni ge-sa,*
bad=ACC do-COND
If (one) does bad (to one's parents),
- (62) *yamer-da ge bang?*
how-after once OBJ:COP
what will happen?
- (63) *Anaba=ni xiaoshun ge ge-sang-ni bang.*
mother:father=ACC filial:obedience do do-PERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP
It is (right) to show filial obedience to parents.

- (64) *Youdi kong keli-sa,*
some person say-COND
Someone said,
- (65) *"Ni laoshuangbu=du aguer=nang bao hu!"*
this youngest=DAT daughter=REFLPOSS PROHIB give
"Do not give your daughter to a youngest son!"
- (66) *Anaba=ni hushila-sa khezha-ji,"*
mother:father=ACC care:for-COND tire:out-IMPERF
(She) will be tired out caring for parents(-in-law)."
- (67) *ge-ji.*
QUOTE-IMPERF
(he) said.

A Girl and Her Cow Mother

As told by Lü Jinliang¹³⁸

- (1) *Yi-ge Aguer Dai Gan=ni Huguer Ana.*
one-CL daughter and 3:SG=GEN cow mother
A Girl and Her Cow Mother.
- (2) *Xiyun kong=ni mojielie ala-ku,*
daughter person=ACC torment kill-IMPERF
After a female was tormented to death,
- (3) *gan aguer ge ge-ji yao-jiang.*
3:SG daughter SG:INDEF do-IMPERF go-OBJ:PERF
she left a daughter.
- (4) *Khuaitu ana=du pusa aguer ge ri-jiang.*
step mother=DAT another daughter SG:INDEF come-OBJ:PERF
The stepmother (whom the husband married after his first wife's death) had another daughter.
- (5) *Gan=ni mojielie ala-sang kong huguer ge bianli ri-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN torment kill-PERF person cow SG:INDEF become come-OBJ:PERF
The person who had been tormented to death became a cow and came (to the home).
- (6) *Mieshi=ni aguer jiaoduer Huguer dangla-la xi-lang.*
first=GEN daughter every:day cow herd-PURP go-OBJ:IMPERF
The first daughter (of the one who was tortured to death) went to pasture Cow every day.
- (7) *Jie=ni aguer=du tuosi kaker di-gha-ku ger=du*
self=GEN daughter=DAT oil cake eat-CAUSE-IMPERF house=DAT
sao-gha-lang.
sit-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
(The stepmother) let her own daughter eat oily cake and sit at home.
- (8) *Mieshi=ni aguer=du jiaoduer mazha kaker bari-gha-ku*
first=GEN daughter=DAT every:day residue cake take-CAUSE-IMPERF
Huguer dangla-gha-lang.
cow herd-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
(She) made the first daughter carry along residue cake¹³⁹ every day and pasture Cow.
- (9) *Mieshi=ni aguer mazha kaker=nang di-ji bura-gha*
first=GEN daughter residue cake=REFLPOSS eat-IMPERF finish-CAUSE
da-ku,
cannot-IMPERF
The first daughter couldn't finish eating her residue cakes,
- (10) *Huguer=du tiejie-gha hu-lang.*
cow=DAT feed-CAUSE give-OBJ:IMPERF
(so she) fed (them) to Cow.
- (11) *Huguer jiaoduer gan=du manten ba-ji hu-lang.*
cow every:day 3:SG=DAT bread defecate-IMPERF give-OBJ:IMPERF
(Then) Cow defecated bread for her every day.

- (12) *Ning ge-ku,*
this do-IMPERF
Then,
- (13) *mazha kangker bari-sang-ni aguer hengda-jiang,*
residue cake take-PERF-NOMLZR daughter strong-OBJ:PERF
the daughter who took along the residue cakes became strong,
- (14) *tuosi kangker di-gha-sang-ni aguer maoda-jiang.*
oil cake eat-CAUSE-PERF-NOMLZR daughter thin-OBJ:PERF
(while) the daughter who was allowed to eat the oily cakes became thin.
- (15) *Khuaitu ana=ni simula-ji,*
step mother=POSS think-IMPERF
The stepmother was thinking,
- (16) *"Ni ya ge-ji?"*
this what do-IMPERF
"Why is this?"
- (17) *Yi-tian nige,*
one-day one
One day,
- (18) *aguer=du erseghe-jiang,*
daughter=DAT ask-OBJ:PERF
(she) asked the (first) daughter,
- (19) *"Qi jiaoduer mazha kangker=nang di-la biu?"*
2:SG every:day residue cake=REFLPOSS eat-IMPERF SUBJ:COP:QUEST
"Are you eating the residue cakes every day?"
- (20) *"Bi Huguer=du=nang di-gha hu-ku,*
1:SG cow=DAT=REFLPOSS eat-CAUSE give-IMPERF
"After I feed (them) to Cow,
- (21) *Huguer nangda manten ba-ji hu-lang."*
cow 1:SG:DAT bread defecate-IMPERF give-OBJ:IMPERF
Cow defecates bread for me."
- (22) *Mughashi kuer-ku,*
tomorrow arrive-IMPERF
When the next day arrived,
- (23) *khuaitu ana jie=ni aguer=du=nang mazha kaker bari-gha*
step mother self=GEN daughter=DAT=REFLPOSS residue cake take-CAUSE
Huguer dangla-gha-la xi-jiang,
cow herd-CAUSE-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
the stepmother had her own daughter carry residue cakes and go to pasture Cow,
- (24) *mieshi=ni aguer=ni ger=du sao-gha ge-jiang.*
first=GEN daughter=ACC house=DAT sit-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF
(and) had the first daughter stay at home.
- (25) *Berqie=du xi-jiang ma,*
pasture=DAT go-OBJ:PERF PRT
(After) going to the pasture,

¹³⁸ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong.¹³⁹ Made from the pressed seeds of oil-bearing crops. The second daughter was given good 'oily cake' instead.

- (26) *aguer kaker=nang tiejie hu-jiang.*
daughter cake=REFLPOSS feed give-OBJ:PERF
the daughter fed her cakes (to Cow).
- (27) *Huguer gan manten=nang yi-ge qige-gha ya ting=du*
cow 3:SG bread=REFLPOSS one-CL see-CAUSE PRT that=DAT
lai hu-lang,
NEG give-OBJ:IMPERF
Cow, she kept showing some of her bread (out of her anus), (but) didn't give (any) to her,
- (28) *yi-ge qige-gha ya ting=du lai hu-lang.*
one-CL see-CAUSE PRT that=DAT NEG give-OBJ:IMPERF
kept showing some, but didn't give (any) to her.
- (29) *Aguer luosi-jiang ma gan khuru ghula chige-ji*
daughter be:hungry-OBJ:PERF PRT 3:SG finger with fill-IMPERF
manta-la xi-jiang,
dig-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
The girl was hungry and she stuffed (her) fingers inside (Cow's anus) to dig (for bread),
- (30) *Huguer jiake gui-jiang.*
cow pinch run-OBJ:PERF
(and then) Cow clamped down (on her hand) and ran.
- (31) *Man ghadang gui-jiang ma,*
around pasture run-OBJ:PERF PRT
(Cow) ran around the pasture and,
- (32) *aguer=ni lake ala ge-jiang.*
daughter=ACC pull kill do-OBJ:PERF
dragged the girl to death.
- (33) *Ting-ku,*
that-IMPERF
Therefore,
- (34) *gan=ni Huguer=ni ala-ji mugha di-kuniang bai.*
3:SG=GEN cow=ACC kill-IMPERF meat eat-OBJ:FUT EMPH
(the stepmother) planned to kill Cow and eat (its) meat.
- (35) *"Huguer=ni di ge-a!"¹⁴⁰*
cow=ACC eat do-VOL
"Let's eat the cow!"
- (36) *Ni muni aguer=ni ala ge-jiang.*
this 1:SG:GEN daughter=ACC kill do-OBJ:PERF
It killed my daughter.
- (37) *Ningda huguer=ni tiejie-ji?*
such cow=ACC feed-IMPERF
Why feed such a cow?
- (38) *Tingda ge mao aguer=ni hengda-gha-lang."*
such SG:INDEF bad daughter=ACC strong-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
(It) has been fattening such a bad girl," (the stepmother said).

- (39) *Huguer=ni jiariku-ni jienang maidie-lang.*
cow=ACC kill-IMPERF-NOMLZR self know-OBJ:IMPERF
(Cow) herself knew that the cow would be killed.
- (40) *Gan zou hengda-sang-ni aguer=du=nang yila-ser keli-jiang.*
3:SG thus strong-PERF-NOMLZR daughter=DAT=REFLPOSS cry-PROG say-OBJ:PERF
So, crying, she said to her daughter (i.e. the first daughter) who had grown plump,
- (41) *"Muni kao,*
1:SG:GEN son
"My daughter,
- (42) *qi muni mugha=ni bao di,*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN meat=ACC PROHIB eat
you don't eat my flesh,
- (43) *muni kelie=ni kerli da-huang=ni di bosighuo duoruo dari ge.*
1:SG:GEN tongue=ACC want big-house=GEN door threshold under bury do
(instead), ask for my tongue and bury (it) under the threshold of the big house.
- (44) *Yi-ge yue ber-ku qi ji-ji nao."*
one-CL month become-IMPERF 2:SG look-IMPERF see
After one lunar month, you go look (at it)."
- (45) *Aguer yila yila ting ge-jiang.*
daughter cry cry that do-OBJ:PERF
The girl cried and cried.
- (46) *Gan=ni tingsa,*
3:SG=ACC later
As for her (the first daughter),
- (47) *jiaoduer berqie=du xi-ku,*
every:day pasture=DAT go-IMPERF
when (she and Cow) went to the pasture every day (before Cow was killed),
- (48) *Huguer kelie=la=nang duer danang aguer=ni sizu=ni tao*
cow tongue=INST=REFLPOSS lick after daughter=GEN hair=ACC drive
sangmula hu ri-lang.
comb give come-OBJ:IMPERF
Cow licked and combed the girl's hair with her tongue.
- (49) *"Mugha=ni bi lai di-ang,*
meat=ACC 1:SG NEG eat-OBJ
"I won't eat the meat (of Cow),
- (50) *kelie=ni nangda hu."*
tongue=ACC 1:SG:DAT give
give me the tongue (instead)," (the first daughter said after they had killed the cow).
- (51) *Xi danang di duoruo dari ge-jiang.*
go after door under bury do-OBJ:PERF
(She) went and buried (the tongue) under the door.
- (52) *Yi-ge yue ber-ji aguer wuji-sa,*
one-CL month become-IMPERF daughter take:note-COND
When the girl went to look one lunar month later,

¹⁴⁰ The final word was reduced to *ga* by the speaker.

- (53) *gan=ni ti pudu-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN that change-OBJ:PERF
that (tongue) had transformed,
- (54) *gan=ni ting=du ger ma buxi-di xiuke danang.*
3:SG=GEN that=DAT house and other:things-ASSOC build after
inside it (i.e. the tongue), rooms and other things had been built,
- (55) *wulang pughang-si=ni gongla-ser bang.*
many god-PL=ACC consecrate-PROG OBJ:COP
(and) many gods were being consecrated.
- (56) *Aguer ting=du xi danang cai xiang'hu ge-kuniang.*
daughter that=DAT go after not:until enjoy do-OBJ:FUT
Not until after the (first) daughter went there did (she) begin to enjoy (herself).¹⁴¹
- (57) *shuguai di ma shuguo ger=ni di bosighuo=du kong bai sao*
big door and big house=GEN door threshold=DAT person NEG sit
ge-ku-ni yanyin ang=ji bang?
QUOTE-IMPERF-NOMLZR reason where=DIR OBJ:COP
What is the reason that people are told not to sit on the threshold of the gate and the main room door?
- (58) *Pughang bang!*
god OBJ:COP
Gods are there!
- (59) *Aguer-si khuer=nang zhabaila-ji bao sao ge-sang-ni*
daughter-PL foot=REFLPOSS cross-IMPERF PROHIB sit QUOTE-PERF-NOMLZR
yanyin ang=ji bang?
reason where-DIR OBJ:COP
What is the reason that girls are told not to sit cross-legged (on the thresholds)?
- (60) *Ni mubang.*
this OBJ:COP
This is (the reason).

¹⁴¹ See "The Old Spotted Bull and Elder Brother" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:123-124) for a Huzhu Mongghul reference to the burial of bovine body parts that later become valuable property.

The Gold-bearers

*As told by Xin Huaizhi*¹⁴²

- (1) *Ertang Beila-qin.*
gold carry-AGENT
The Gold-bearers.
- (2) *Tiedun=du,*
past=DAT
In olden times,
- (3) *bulai ge gaga ma shinajia ghu=la=nang*
child SG:INDEF elder:brother and elder:sister.in:law two=COLL=REFLPOSS
hangtu yi-ge ger=du duer nuoqi-lang.
together one-CL house=DAT day pass-OBJ:IMPERF
A boy lived together in one house with his elder brother and sister-in-law.
- (4) *Gaga ma Shinajia ghu=la xiang-banhua*
elder:brother and elder:sister.in:law two=COLL think.of-method
diao=nang qihula-lang.
younger:sibling=REFLPOSS bully-OBJ:IMPERF
Elder Brother and Sister-in-law (always) thought of ways to bully their younger brother.
- (5) *Yi-tian=du=ni,*
one-day=DAT=GEN
One day,
- (6) *Gaga ma Shinajia ghu=la diao=nang*
elder:brother and elder:sister.in:law two=COLL younger:sibling=REFLPOSS
ger=sa=nang zhua gher-gha-jiang.
house=ABL=REFLPOSS catch go.out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Brother and Sister-in-law together ousted their younger brother from their home.
- (7) *Diao=ni xi-ku wuruang a gui,*
younger:sibling=POSS go-IMPERF place also SUBJ:NEG:COP
There was no place for Younger Brother to go,
- (8) *ghada dandai danang yila kaike-jiang.*
outside sit after cry begin-OBJ:PERF
(and he) sat (on the ground) outside and began to cry.
- (9) *Yila-ser,*
cry-PROG
While (he) was crying,
- (10) *jingjishibao ge gan=ni khergha musi ri danang erseghe-ji.*
phoenix SG:INDEF 3:SG=GEN beside fly come after ask-IMPERF
a phoenix flew to his side and asked,
- (11) *"Muni diao,*
1:SG:GEN younger:sibling
"My brother,

¹⁴² Collector: Wang Jutai. Reteller: Wang Xianzhen.

- (12) *qi yang yila-la bi?"*
2:SG what cry-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
why are you crying?"
- (13) *Ni bulai keli-ji,*
this child say-IMPERF
This boy said,
- (14) *"Muni gaga ma shinajia ghu=la damei juda*
1:SG:GEN elder:brother and elder:sister:in:law two=COLL 1:SG:DAT look:down:on

danang ger=sa zhua gher-gha-ba.
after house=ABL catch go:out-CAUSE-SUBJ:PERF
"My elder brother and sister-in-law looked down on me and ousted me from the house.
- (15) *Du damei xi-ku wuruang a gui."*
now 1:SG:DAT go-IMPERF place also SUBJ:NEG:COP
Now I do not have any place to go."
- (16) *Jingjishibao ni bulai=ni wuge=ni chenli danang,*
phoenix this child=GEN word=ACC hear after
After Phoenix heard this boy's words,
- (17) *gan=ni nurong=du=nang wuni-gha wunduer=juji tiangere=du musi*
3:SG=ACC back=DAT=REFLPOSS ride-CAUSE high=DIR sky=DAT fly

gher-jiang.
go:out-OBJ:PERF
(she) let him ride on her back and flew high into the sky.
- (18) *Jingjishibao wulang ge musi danang,*
phoenix many SG:INDEF fly after
Phoenix flew for a long time,
- (19) *gan=ni kuerge danang khuoluo wula diangelai ge=di*
3:SG=ACC take after far:away mountain peak SG:INDEF=LOC

xi-gha-jiang.
go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
taking him to a distant mountain peak.
- (20) *Jingjishibao keli-ji,*
phoenix say-IMPERF
Phoenix said,
- (21) *"Ni wula=du mantianxia ertang bang.*
this mountain=DAT everywhere gold OBJ:COP
"On this mountain, there is gold everywhere.
- (22) *Qi yamer wulang beila-ku beila bi ning=du qimei xige-wa."*
2:SG however many carry-IMPERF carry 1:SG this=DAT 2:SG:DAT wait-VOL
Carry as much as you (want to) carry, (and) I will wait for you here."
- (23) *Jingjishibao zhagha-sang=la,*
phoenix indicate-PERF=INST
According to the phoenix's suggestion,
- (24) *ni bulai wula naozen=du yao xi-ji bi-sa,*
this child mountain upper:part.of:valley=DAT go go-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
this boy went high up into the mountain valley,

- (25) *nao-sa ghazher=di change ertang ghula raoli danang nudu=nang a*
see-COND ground=LOC totally gold with flash after eye=REFLPOSS also

ni da-lang.
open cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
when (he) looked, (he saw) on the ground (so much) flashing gold that (he) could not even open his eyes.
- (26) *Ni bulai diger a tanxin ge-sang guang,*
this child little:bit also greedy do-PERF OBJ:NEG:COP
This boy was not even a little bit greedy,
- (27) *zhang jie=nang jiari-ku-da ertang diger bari danang,*
only self=REFLPOSS use-IMPERF-ADJ gold little:bit take after
(so) after taking only a little gold that he himself could use,
- (28) *khari Jingjishibao xige-ku wuruang=du xi-jiang.*
return phoenix wait-IMPERF place=DAT go-OBJ:PERF
(he) returned to the place where Phoenix was waiting.
- (29) *Jingjishibao gan=ni kuerge yimeghe=du=ni xi-gha-jiang.*
phoenix 3:SG=ACC take village=DAT=POSS go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Phoenix (then) took him back to his village.
- (30) *Ger=sa zhua gher-gha-sang diao=ni heghe-ji ri-sang*
house=ABL catch go:out-CAUSE-PERF younger:sibling=GEN take-IMPERF come-PERF

ertang ghula=nang ger ji-jian ma ghazher diger duer danang,
gold with=REFLPOSS house several-CL and ground little:bit buy after
After the younger brother who had been ousted from the house used the gold (he) had brought back to buy several rooms and a little farmland,
- (31) *nuoqi-ku duer=ni daiguo gezaitu gher ri-jiang.*
pass-IMPERF day=POSS immediately become:good go:out come-OBJ:PERF
his life quickly became wonderful.
- (32) *Gaga ma Shinajia ghu=la diao=ni bayaji-sang=ni*
elder:brother and elder:sister:in:law two=COLL younger:sibling=GEN be:rich-PERF=ACC

miedie danang pudera diao=nang ger=du ya-ji
know after run younger:sibling=REFLPOSS house=DAT what-IMPERF

bayaji-sang=nang erseghe-la xi-jiang.
be:rich-PERF=REFLPOSS ask-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
When Elder Brother and Sister-in-law heard that the younger brother had become rich, (they) ran to their younger brother's house to ask how he had become rich.
- (33) *Diao=ni laoshi=ni,*
younger:sibling=POSS honest=GEN
The younger brother was honest,
- (34) *miedie-ku=nang yigua=nang Gaga ma Shinajia*
know-IMPERF=REFLPOSS totally=REFLPOSS elder:brother and elder:sister:in:law

ghu=la=du=nang keli hu-jiang.
two=COLL=DAT=REFLPOSS say give-OBJ:PERF
(he) told Elder Brother and Sister-in-law everything that he knew.

- (35) *Chenli danang Gaga ma Shinajia ghu=la mula-ji*
hear after elder:brother and elder:sister.in:law two=COLL think-IMPERF
diao=nang shenge bayaji-a ge-lang.
younger:sibling=REFLPOSS same:as be:rich-VOL QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
After hearing (this), Elder Brother and Sister-in-law thought they would try to become rich just like their younger brother.
- (36) *Yi-tian=du=ni,*
one-day=DAT=POSS
One day,
- (37) *Gaga=ni pudera ghada kong gui-ku wuruang*
elder:brother=POSS run outside person SUBJ:NEG:COP-IMPERF place
ge=du dandai danang ghazher=ni gudier-gha-ku
SG:INDEF=DAT sit after ground=ACC shake-CAUSE-IMPERF
shenge yila kaiki-jiang.
same:as cry begin-OBJ:PERF
Elder Brother ran outside to a place where there were no people, squatted down, (and) began to cry as though (he would) shake the earth.
- (38) *Jingjishibao musi ri danang erseghe-ji,*
phoenix fly come after ask-IMPERF
Phoenix flew to (him) and asked,
- (39) *"Niezhang!*
wretched
"Pitiful!
- (40) *Qi yila-ji ning ge-ji nanguoruo-ji ya ge-ba?"*
2:SG cry-IMPERF this do-IMPERF be:sorrowful-IMPERF what do-SUBJ:PERF
Why are you crying so sorrowfully?"
- (41) *Gaga=ni ghuder keli-ji,*
elder:brother=POSS lie say-IMPERF
Elder Brother lied,
- (42) *"Muni bieri=ni zhuerge khara=ni,*
1:SG:GEN wife=GEN heart black=GEN
"My wife's heart is (so) cruel,
- (43) *damei ger=sa zhua gher-gha-ba.*
1:SG:DAT house=ABL catch go:out-CAUSE-SUBJ:PERF
(that she) drove me out of the house.
- (44) *Du damei sao-ku wuruang a gui,*
now 1:SG:DAT sit-IMPERF place also SUBJ:NEG:COP
Now I have no place to live,
- (45) *xi-ku wuruang a gui,*
go-IMPERF place also SUBJ:NEG:COP
and no place to go,
- (46) *zheng ning=du Tiangere-di=ni yangjila-la bi."*
just this=DAT Heaven-God=ACC beg-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
(so) I am beseeching Heaven-God right here."

- (47) *Chenli danang Jingjishibao gan=ni beila danang mieshi-hui diao=ni*
hear after phoenix 3:SG=ACC carry after first-instance younger:sibling=POSS
xi-sang wula=du ertang heghe-la xi-jiang.
go-PERF mountain=DAT gold take-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
After hearing (this), Phoenix carried him to take gold on the mountain where his younger brother had gone previously.
- (48) *Ertang wula=du kuer danang Jingjishibao gan=du keli-ji,*
gold mountain=DAT arrive after phoenix 3:SG=DAT say-IMPERF
When (they) arrived at the gold mountain, Phoenix said to him,
- (49) *"Qi mali-her xi-ku mali-her ri,*
2:SG quickly-COMP go-IMPERF quickly-COMP come
"You (must) go quickly and come back quickly,
- (50) *puzhi-sa yi-ge tegher shi nara gher ri-ku qimei xie*
SUBJ:NEG:COP-COND one-CL while time sun go:out come-IMPERF 2:SG:DAT burn
ala-ni."
kill-SUBJ:FUT
otherwise, you will be burnt to death in a moment at sunrise.
- (51) *Gaga=ni wula naozi=du ruo xi danang,*
elder:brother=POSS mountain upper:part:of:valley=DAT enter go after
After the elder brother went deep into the mountain valley,
- (52) *nao-sa ghazher=di change ertang bang,*
see-COND ground=LOC totally gold OBJ:COP
(he) looked, (and saw that) there was gold all over the ground,
- (53) *mula-ji yigua=ni beila ger=du=nang xi-ku duruang bang.*
think-IMPERF totally=ACC carry house=DAT=REFLPOSS go-IMPERF idea OBJ:COP
(and he) thought (that he would) take all of it to his home.
- (54) *Jingjishibao gan=ni yi-bian yi-bian-di ger=du yao ge-ji keli-sa,*
phoenix 3:SG=ACC one-CL one-CL-ADV house=DAT go QUOTE-IMPERF say-COND
Although Phoenix asked him repeatedly to return home,
- (55) *gan hanshi ertang=ni tiu-ji ai hangbura-lang,*
3:SG still gold=ACC pick:up-IMPERF NEG finish-OBJ:IMPERF
he still did not stop picking up gold,
- (56) *ertang=ni wulang ge tiu danang shanshanhuanghuang ge yao*
gold=ACC many once pick:up after waver do walk
da-lang,
cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(and he) picked up so much gold that (he) faltered and could not walk.
- (57) *Yi-ge tegher shi nara gher ri-jiang,*
one-CL while time sun go:out come-OBJ:PERF
After a while the sun came out,
- (58) *Jingjishibao musi yao-jiang,*
phoenix fly go-OBJ:PERF
Phoenix flew away,

- (59) *Gaga=ni nara=ni gher xie danang hugu-gha-jiang.*
 elder.brother=ACC sun=GEN fire burn after die-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 (and) Elder Brother was burned to death by the sun's fire.

Two Brothers from Sangbura

As told by Wang Yongwei¹⁴³



After the coffin is placed in the grave, a yinyang checks the directional orientation of the coffin. One of the deceased's sons opens the coffin and checks to see if the corpse is in a correct position inside the coffin. Afterwards, the son lights a pair of oil lamps on the coffin top and then gets out of the grave. Next, he kneels in front of the grave and throws three spades of soil over his right shoulder into the grave. Finally, villagers fill the grave and make a mound of soil above the grave.

- (1) *Sangbura=ni Liang-ge Aghadiao.*
 Sangbura=GEN two-CL brother
 Two Brothers from Sangbura.
- (2) *Tiedun=du,*
 past=DAT
 In olden times,
- (3) *dasi=ni nasi=tai kong-si keli-ku,*
 1:PL=GEN age=COM person-PL say-IMPERF
 as our old people told (it),
- (4) *Sangbura=ni alige wula=di yi-ge bayang kong bang.*
 Sangbura=GEN some mountain=LOC one-CL rich person OBJ:COP
 on a mountain of Sangbura village, there was a rich man.
- (5) *Yi-ge bayang kong=du liang-ge bulai bang.*
 one-CL rich person=DAT two-CL child OBJ:COP
 A rich man had two sons.
- (6) *Ti-wer bulai=ni xianren xidier-jiang.*
 that-CL child=GEN progenitor become:old-OBJ:PERF
 Those boys' progenitor got old (and died).
- (7) *Guida-ku shijie gaotaishengmai ge-jiang.*
 disappear-IMPERF time lift:high:bury:deep do-OBJ:PERF
 After (the progenitor) died, (the sons) held a grand funeral.
- (8) *"Du ni ruang=du wula bang,*
 now this place=DAT mountain OBJ:COP
 "Now there are mountains in this place,

¹⁴³ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong. For a similar Oroqen account, see "Aiyibei and Erubei" (Stuart and Li 1994:52-53). For a similar Primi account, see "The Guileless Man and the Trickster" (Miller 1994:228-231).

- (9) *changqi sao-sa duer nuqi da-kuniang.*
long.time sit-COND day pass bunch-OBJ:FUT
if (we) stay (here) for a long time, (we) will not be able to live,
- (10) *Du da ghu=luo khuoluo gezai-her ruang yerri-ji yao-a,"*
now 1:PL two=COLL far.away good-COMP place look:for-IMPERF go-VOL
Now let's us two go far away looking for a better place,"
- (11) *ning ge-ji,*
this QUOTE-IMPERF
(saying) like this,
- (12) *Gaga=ni keli-jiang.*
elder:brother=POSS say-OBJ:PERF
his Elder Brother said.
- (13) *Diao=ni ye tongyi ge-jiang.*
younger:sibling=POSS also agree do-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother also agreed.
- (14) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (15) *Gaga=ni bi tongyi ge-lang."*
elder:brother=ACC 1:SG agree do-OBJ:IMPERF
I agree with Elder Brother," (Younger Brother said).
- (16) *Ting-ku aba-si=nang yigua taimai ge-ji huli-sang-ni*
that-IMPERF father-PL=REFLPOSS totally bury do-IMPERF remain-PERF-NOMLZR
diger=nang ghu=la khuba bari-jiang.
little:bit=REFLPOSS two=COLL divide take-OBJ:PERF
After that, burying their fathers, the two of them divided their little remaining (things) and took (them away from that area).
- (17) *Ti shijie jiandan bang bai.*
that time simple OBJ:COP EMPH
Those times were simple.
- (18) *Dimei ji-sheng china-jiang.*
bread several-sheng cook-OBJ:PERF
(They) fried several *sheng* of bread (in the course of the funeral, to give to those who came).
- (19) *Yi-ge gaotashengmai shi huli-sang diger=nang yijia ge*
one-CL lift:high:bury:deep time remain-PERF little:bit=REFLPOSS each SG:INDEF
aruoghuo beila-jiang.
back:basket carry-OBJ:PERF
After the funeral, each (of the sons) carried a basket of their little remaining (bread).
- (20) *Adalin khuba-jiang bai.*
equal divide-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(They) divided (the bread) equally.
- (21) *Diao=du=ni han mula nughuai yi-ge bang,*
younger:sibling=DAT=POSS also small dog one-CL OBJ:COP
His Younger Brother also had a small dog,

- (22) *mula nughuai=nang gan duer-jiang.*
small dog=REFLPOSS 3:SG lead-OBJ:PERF
he led his own small dog.
- (23) *Ghuer=luo ning ge yao-jiang.*
two=COLL this do go-OBJ:PERF
So the two of them left (their village).
- (24) *Er-shi-li nige yao-jiang ma,*
two-ten-li one go-OBJ:PERF PRT
(They) walked about twenty *li* and,
- (25) *Diao=ni luosi-jiang.*
younger:sibling=POSS be:hungry-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother got hungry.
- (26) *Gaga keli-ji ye diger di-a ya.*
elder:brother say-IMPERF also little:bit eat-VOL PRT
Elder Brother said he also wanted something to eat.
- (27) *Diao=ni jie=nang yi-ge di-ku,*
younger:sibling=POSS self=REFLPOSS one-CL eat-IMPERF
After Younger Brother ate one (piece of fried bread) himself,
- (28) *nughuai=du=nang yi-ge di-gha-lang.*
dog=DAT=REFLPOSS one-CL eat-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
(he) let his dog eat one.
- (29) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (30) *qi muni nukuer bang,*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN companion OBJ:COP
you are my companion,
- (31) *qi a yi-kuer di."*
2:SG also one-CL eat
you eat one too."
- (32) *Gaga=ni khezhigher=nang yi-ge di-jiang.*
elder:brother=POSS alone=REFLPOSS one-CL eat-OBJ:PERF
Elder Brother ate one (piece of fried bread) by himself.
- (33) *Du jianjian=ni aruoghuo=sa he-ji di-lang bai.*
now each:one=GEN back:basket=ABL take-IMPERF eat-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
Now each one taking from his own back-basket, (they) ate.
- (34) *Pusa liang-tian yao-jiang,*
another two-day go-OBJ:PERF
(They) walked for another two days,
- (35) *pusa luosi-jiang,*
another be:hungry-OBJ:PERF
got hungry again,
- (36) *pusa di-jiang,*
another eat-OBJ:PERF
(and) ate again.

- (37) *Di-ku yao-lang.*
eat-IMPERF go-OBJ:IMPERF
After eating, (they) walked on.
- (38) *Gaga=ni ge=du luangqi dimei bang.*
elder:brother=GEN SG:INDEF=DAT over:half:full bread OBJ:COP
Elder Brother's (back-basket) was more than half full of bread,
- (39) *Diao=ni aruoghuo=du chuangqi dimei huli-jiang.*
younger:sibling=POSS back:basket=DAT under:half:full bread remain-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother's back-basket was less than half full of bread.
- (40) *Shi-ji-tian yao-jiang.*
ten-several-day go-OBJ:PERF
(They) walked for ten to twenty days.
- (41) *Du zou wulang mer yao-sa lai ber-kuniang.*
now thus more road go-COND NEG become-OBJ:FUT
Now if (they) went farther on the road (together), it would not be ok.
- (42) *Diao=ni aruoghuo-ku-ni dimei bura-jiang.*
younger:sibling=GEN back:basket-IMPERF-NOMLZR bread finish-OBJ:PERF
The bread in Younger Brother's back-basket was finished.
- (43) *Bura-ku,*
finish-IMPERF
After finishing,
- (44) *Gaga=sa=nang kerli-jiang.*
elder:brother=ABL=REFLPOSS want-OBJ:PERF
(he) asked Elder Brother,
- (45) *"Qi nangda=du dimei=nang diger hu ma,*
2:SG 1:SG:DAT=DAT bread=REFLPOSS little:bit give PRT
"You give me a little of your bread,
- (46) *muni ge bura-jiang.*
1:SG:GEN SG:INDEF finish-OBJ:PERF
mine is finished.
- (47) *Bi ghu=la di-lang,*
1:SG two=COLL eat-OBJ:IMPERF
We two have been eating,
- (48) *qi khe=higher=nang di-lang."*
2:SG alone=REFLPOSS eat-OBJ:IMPERF
you have been eating by yourself."
- (49) *Tingsa gan=ni Gaga keli-ji,*
then 3:SG=GEN elder:brother say-IMPERF
Then his Elder Brother said,
- (50) *"Qi nughuai=nang bietu-ji gezai=ni ting ge-jiang ma,*
2:SG dog=REFLPOSS love-IMPERF good=GEN that do-OBJ:PERF PRT
"(Since) you love your dog so much,
- (51) *qi xian nughuai=du=nang nudu ge=nang waji hu a,*
2:SG first dog=DAT=REFLPOSS eye SG:INDEF=REFLPOSS dig give PRT
you first dig out one of your eyes for your dog (to eat),

- (52) *hu-ku bi qimei=du dimei ge hu-a."*
give-IMPERF 1:SG 2:SG:DAT=DAT bread SG:INDEF give-VOL
after (you) give (it to the dog), I will give you a (piece of) bread."
- (53) *Gan=ni Diao=ni zhongcheng bang bai.*
3:SG=GEN younger:sibling=POSS sincere OBJ:COP EMPH
This younger brother was sincere.
- (54) *Gan zou nudu=nang yi-ge waji hu ge-jiang,*
3:SG thus eye=REFLPOSS one-CL dig give do-OBJ:PERF
So he dug out one of his eyes and gave (it to the dog),
- (55) *nughuai=ni di ge-jiang.*
dog=POSS eat do-OBJ:PERF
(and) his dog ate (it).
- (56) *Gan=ni Gaga aruoghuo=sa=nang pansuan ge*
3:SG=GEN elder:brother back:basket=ABL=REFLPOSS fried:bread SG:INDEF
waji-ji hu-jiang.
dig-IMPERF give-OBJ:PERF
Elder Brother jerked a (piece of) fried bread out of his back-basket (for Younger Brother).
- (57) *Diao=ni pusa jie=nang ban-ge nughuai=du=nang*
younger:sibling=POSS another self=REFLPOSS half-CL dog=DAT=REFLPOSS
ban-ge khuba di-jiang.
half-CL divide eat-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother again divided it, half for himself and half for his dog, and (they) ate (it).
- (58) *Pusa liang-tian yao-jiang,*
another two-day go-OBJ:PERF
(They) walked another two days,
- (59) *luosi-jiang.*
be:hungry-OBJ:PERF
(and Younger Brother) got hungry.
- (60) *Diao=ni pusa kerli-jiang.*
younger:sibling=POSS another want-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother asked again.
- (61) *Gaga=ni keli-ji,*
elder:brother=POSS say-IMPERF
Elder Brother said,
- (62) *"Yi-ge nudu=nang bi keli-ku qi waji hu-jiang.*
one-CL eye=REFLPOSS 1:SG say-IMPERF 2:SG dig give-OBJ:PERF
"When I said one of (your) eyes, you dug (it) out and gave (it to your dog).
- (63) *Du qi pusa yi-ge=nang waji hu."*
now 2:SG another one-CL=REFLPOSS dig give
Now you dig out another one and give it."
- (64) *Diao=ni pusa nudu=nang waji hu-ku,*
younger:sibling=POSS another eye=REFLPOSS dig give-IMPERF
When Younger Brother dug out and gave his other eye,
- (65) *nughuai pusa di ge-jiang.*
dog another eat do-OBJ:PERF
the dog also ate (it).

- (66) *Gaga=ni pusa puzughuo¹⁴⁴ yi-ge=nang waji hu-jiang.*
 elder:brother=POSS another fried:bread one-CL=REFLPOSS dig give-OBJ:PERF
 Elder Brother jerked out another piece of his fried bread and gave (it to Younger Brother).
- (67) *Hanshi khughuer-jiang,*
 also break-OBJ:PERF
 (Younger Brother) also broke (it),
- (68) *ban-ge=nang nughuai=du hu-jiang.*
 half-CL=REFLPOSS dog=DAT give-OBJ:PERF
 (and) gave half to the dog.
- (69) *Pusa ji-li yao-jiang,*
 another several-li go-OBJ:PERF
 (They) walked several more *li*,
- (70) *queshi luosi-jiang.*
 really be:hungry-OBJ:PERF
 (and Younger Brother) got really hungry.
- (71) *"Ai,*
 EXCL
"Ai,
- (72) *Gaga,*
 elder:brother
 Elder Brother,
- (73) *du luosi queshi ber da-ba.*
 now be:hungry really become cannot-SUBJ:PERF
 now (I'm) so hungry I can't stand it.
- (74) *Kuoge hu ma!"*
 another give PRT
 Give me another!"
- (75) *"Du queshi ber da-sa,*
 now really become cannot-COND
 "Now if (you) really can't stand it,
- (76) *da ghu=la ning ge-a.¹⁴⁵*
 1:PL two=COLL this do-VOL
 let's us two do like this.
- (77) *Niker jiura ning=du mer liang-tiao bang,*
 this time this=DAT road two-CL OBJ:COP
 Now here there are two roads,
- (78) *niu=ji yi-tiao tiu=ji yi-tiao bang.*
 this:direction=DIR one-CL that:direction=DIR one-CL OBJ:COP
 there is one towards this direction and one towards that direction.
- (79) *Ghuer=luo khejia-ya.*
 two=COLL separate-VOL
 Let's us two separate.

¹⁴⁴ DV: *puzigho*. Synonyms include *dimei* and *pansuan*.

¹⁴⁵ This word was reduced to *ga* by the speaker.

- (80) *Lai khejia-sa,*
 NEG separate-COND
 If (we) don't separate,
- (81) *niankan-zhe muni gailiang=ni qi kerli bura-gha-kuniang."*
 soon-ASP 1:SG:GEN cake=ACC 2:SG want finish-CAUSE-OBJ:FUT
 soon you will ask for my bread and finish (it all)," (Elder Brother said.)
- (82) *"Khuba-sa khuba-ya.*
 divide-COND divide-VOL
 "If (you want to) separate, let's separate.
- (83) *Bi zou ang=ji kuer-ku kerli-ji bi-sa di-kuniang.*
 1:SG thus where=DIR arrive-IMPERF want-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND eat-OBJ:FUT
 Wherever I go, even if (I) beg, (I) will eat.
- (84) *Lu da-ku,*
 find cannot-IMPERF
 If (I) cannot find (anything),
- (85) *luosi hugu-ku hugu-jiang."*
 be:hungry die-IMPERF die-OBJ:PERF
 if (I) hunger and die, (I) die," (Younger Brother said).
- (86) *Ning ge jiu khuba-jiang.*
 this QUOTE thus divide-OBJ:PERF
 Thus, (they) separated.
- (87) *Diao=ni yao-lang ma yada luosi ting ge-lang.*
 younger:sibling=POSS go-OBJ:IMPERF PRT be:tired be:hungry that do-OBJ:IMPERF
 His younger brother walked (but) was very tired and hungry.
- (88) *"Du niao-shulian ang=ji sao-ni?"*
 now this-evening where=DIR sit-SUBJ:FUT
 "Now where will (we) stay tonight?"
- (89) *nughuai=du=nang keli-lang.*
 dog=DAT=REFLPOSS say-OBJ:IMPERF
 (he) said to his dog.
- (90) *Nughuai=ni diantou ge-lang ma,*
 dog=POSS nod do-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
 His dog nodded,
- (91) *ge keli da-lang bai.*
 word say cannot-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
 (but) could not speak.
- (92) *Du ning ge yizhi yao-jiang.*
 now this do directly go-OBJ:PERF
 Now in this way (they) kept going.
- (93) *Yao danang yi-ge miao diamang=du xi-jiang.*
 go after one-CL temple door=DAT go-OBJ:PERF
 (They) walked until (they) reached a temple gate.
- (94) *Miao=du ruo xi-jiang.*
 temple=DAT enter go-OBJ:PERF
 (They) entered the temple,

- (95) *nara puda-jiang.*
sun set-OBJ:PERF
(because) the sun had set.
- (96) *Du zou shulian=ni a ning=du guo ye ge-a¹⁴⁶ ge-ji.*
now thus evening=ACC also this=DAT cross night do-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF
Now (they decided they would) spend the night here.
- (97) *Ghuer=luo=nang ning ge sao-jiang.*
two=COLL=REFLPOSS this do sit-OBJ:PERF
So the two of them stayed (there).
- (98) *Suoni shi-er-dian kuer-ji bi-sa,*
night ten-two-hour arrive-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
When midnight arrived,
- (99) *yi-ge taolai diaoli-ji ri-jiang.*
one-CL rabbit jump-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
a rabbit came hopping (in).
- (100) *Yi-ge ruang=du=nang yi-ge tegher sao-ji bi-sa,*
one-CL place=DAT=REFLPOSS one-CL while sit-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
(Rabbit) sat for a while in its place,
- (101) *niu=ji ge ji-lang,*
this:direction=DIR once look-OBJ:IMPERF
looking in this direction,
- (102) *tiu=ji ge ji-lang.*
that:direction=DIR once look-OBJ:IMPERF
looking in that direction.
- (103) *Ning ge-tula,*
this do-when
When (Rabbit) did this,
- (104) *yi-ge hundughai ruo-ji ri-lang.*
one-CL fox enter-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF
a fox came in.
- (105) *Yi-teghe¹⁴⁷ ber-ji bi-sa,*
one-while become-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
After a little while,
- (106) *chuna ge ruo-ji ri-lang.*
wolf SG:INDEF enter-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF
a wolf came in.
- (107) *"Langge lai-liao!"*
Elder:Brother:Wolf come-PERF
"Here comes (our) Elder Brother Wolf!" (Rabbit and Fox said).
- (108) *Diao=ni nughuai=nang tierber danang chenli sao-ser bang.*
younger:sibling=POSS dog=REFLPOSS hold after hear sit-PROG OBJ:COP
His younger brother held onto his dog and listened.

¹⁴⁶ This word was reduced to *ga* by the speaker.

¹⁴⁷ A contraction of *yige tegher*.

- (109) *Yi-ge-teghe ber-sa,*
one-CL-while become-COND
After a while,
- (110) *bersi ge ruo-ji ri-jiang.*
tiger SG:INDEF enter-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
a tiger came in.
- (111) *Dajia=nang sao-jiang,*
everyone=REFLPOSS sit-OBJ:PERF
Everyone sat,
- (112) *keli kaik-jiang.*
say begin-OBJ:PERF
(and) began to speak.
- (113) *"Hudage,*
First:Brother:Tiger
"First Brother Tiger,
- (114) *qi keli.*
2:SG say
you speak.
- (115) *Qi=ni zui-jin=ni xinxi yang bi a?"*
2:SG=GEN most-recent=GEN news what SUBJ:COP PRT
What is your latest news?"
- (116) *Bersi keli-ji ma,*
tiger say-IMPERF PRT
Tiger said,
- (117) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (118) *dasi=ni ruang=su er-shi-li mer khejia-ku mer=du,*
1:PL=GEN place=ABL two-ten-li road separate-IMPERF road=DAT
in a place that is twenty *li* distant from our place,
- (119) *yi-ge buleghe bang.*
one-CL water:hole OBJ:COP
there is a water hole.
- (120) *Yamerge sughuoruo-sang kong mudu=nang ge ghua-sa,*
however blind-PERF person eye=REFLPOSS SG:INDEF wash-COND
No matter how blind a person is, if (the person) washes one eye (with that water),
- (121) *mudu=ni gai-lang.*
eye=POSS bright-OBJ:IMPERF
his eye will become bright.
- (122) *Liang-ge=nang ghua-sa,*
two-CL=REFLPOSS wash-COND
If (he) washes both of his (eyes),
- (123) *liang-ge=ni ge-lang.¹⁴⁸*
two-CL=POSS bright-OBJ:IMPERF
both his (eyes) will become bright."

¹⁴⁸ DV: *gailang*.

- (124) *Bersi keli hangbura-jiang.*
tiger say finish-OBJ:PERF
Tiger finished speaking.
- (125) "Du,
now
"Now,
- (126) *Lang'erge,*
Second:Brother:Wolf
Second Brother Wolf,
- (127) *qi keli."*
2:SG say
you speak," (Rabbit and Fox said).
- (128) *Chuna keli-ji,*
wolf say-IMPERF
Wolf said,
- (129) "Ning=sa khejia-sang-ni ge wu-shi-li mer=du,
this=ABL separate-PERF-NOMLZR SG:INDEF five-ten-li road=DAT
"In a place which is fifty *li* distant from here,
- (130) *queshi ma zou suzu guang,*
really PRT thus water OBJ:NEG:COP
there really just isn't any water,
- (131) *renyan midu bang."*
population many OBJ:COP
(but) the population is numerous."
- (132) "Tingsa ti ruang=du ya ge-sa ber-ku-ni?"
then that place=DAT what do-COND become-IMPERF-NOMLZR
"Then what can be done in that place that will be ok?" (the others asked).
- (133) "Tasi erseghe-ku bi keli-a,
2:PL ask-IMPERF 1:SG say-VOL
"Because you ask, I will tell (you),
- (134) *lai erseghe-sa bi lai keli-ang.*
NEG ask-COND 1:SG NEG say-OBJ
if (you) hadn't asked, I wouldn't tell.
- (135) *Ti ruang=du,*
that place=DAT
In that place,
- (136) *yi-ge shuguo gu-shu ge bang bai.*
one-CL big ancient-tree SG:INDEF OBJ:COP EMPH
there is a huge ancient tree.
- (137) *Ni=ni waji gher-gha-sa,*
this=ACC dig go:out-CAUSE-COND
If this (tree) is dug out,

- (138) *dasi=ni tiermie herge-ji ber-ku-ni tingda ge*
1:PL=GEN mill turn:around-IMPERF become-IMPERF-NOMLZR such SG:INDEF
suzu gher-ji ri-kuniang.
water go:out-IMPERF come-OBJ:FUT
enough water to turn our mill will come out.
- (139) *Ni=ni kan a lai maidie-lang."*
this=ACC who also NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
No one knows this."
- (140) "Aiyao,
EXCL
"Aiyao,
- (141) *qi=ni ni hanjian-di ge baobei bang bai!"*
2:SG=GEN this rare-ASSOC CL treasure OBJ:COP EMPH
This (secret) of yours is a rare treasure!" (the others said).
- (142) *Du Hundughai=du kuer-jiang.*
now fox=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
Now it was fox's turn.
- (143) *Gan ke-lang,*¹⁴⁹
3:SG say-OBJ:IMPERF
He said,
- (144) "Dasi=ni ruang=sa khejia-sang-ni qi-shi-li mer=du,
1:PL=GEN place=ABL separate-PERF-NOMLZR seven-ten-li road=DAT
"In a place which is seventy *li* away from our place,
- (145) *yi-ge bayang kong=ni aguer bieqiere-ser bang.*
one-CL rich person=GEN daughter be:ill-PROG OBJ:COP
a rich man's daughter is ill.
- (146) *Aguer=ni lu-sang-ni bieqin=ni,*
daughter=POSS get-PERF-NOMLZR illness=ACC
The illness that his daughter had gotten,
- (147) *niebie=la ke-la¹⁵⁰ xi-ku,*
current=INST say-PURP go-IMPERF
when spoken of these days,
- (148) *naizheng shige jiji ber-gha da-ku-ni bang.*
cancer like cure become-CAUSE cannot-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP
(is one that) cannot be cured, like cancer.
- (149) *Ni bayang kong=ni diamang=du san-ge shuguo biesi tuoluo bang*
this rich person=GEN door=DAT three-CL big straw stack OBJ:COP
At this rich man's gate there are three big stacks of straw.
- (150) *Zha,*
ok
OK,
- (151) *ni=ni berdu-gha bura-ku,*
this=ACC burn-CAUSE finish-IMPERF
after these things (i.e. the straw stacks) are caused to burn,

¹⁴⁹ Kelang is a reduction of *kelilang*.¹⁵⁰ Kela is a reduction of *kelila*.

- (152) *ti duoruo=sa poluo shige laihama ge gher-ji ri-kunyang.*
that under=ABL shallow:basket like frog SG:INDEF go:out-IMPERF come-OBJ:FUT
a frog as big as a shallow basket will come out from under them.
- (153) *Dajia ti=ni bari-ku terghai=ni peghe khegher.*
everyone that=ACC take-IMPERF head=ACC hit break
After the people catch that (frog), (they should) beat (its) head to pieces.
- (154) *Ti=ni naosui=ni di-gha-sa,*
that=GEN brain=ACC eat-CAUSE-COND
If (they) have (the girl) eat that one's brain,
- (155) *bieqin=ni ber-kunyang."*
illness=POSS become-OBJ:FUT
her illness will be cured."
- (156) *Chuna dai Bersi ghu=la keli-ji,*
wolf and tiger two=COLL say-IMPERF
Wolf and Tiger these two said,
- (157) *"Aoyao!*
EXCL
"Aoyao!
- (158) *Qi=ni ge dasi=ni ge=sa han qiang bang bai."*
2:SG=GEN SG:INDEF 1:PL=GEN SG:INDEF=ABL still better OBJ:COP EMPH
Your (secret) is even better than ours!"
- (159) *Du Taolai=du kuer-jiang,*
now rabbit=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
Now it was Rabbit's turn,
- (160) *gan keli-ji,*
3:SG say-IMPERF
he said,
- (161) *"Tasi keli-jiang,*
2:PL say-OBJ:PERF
"You have told (your secrets),
- (162) *nangda=du han yi-ge bi a.*
1:SG:DAT=DAT also one-CL SUBJ:COP PRT
I also have one.
- (163) *Qi Hundughai jiang dashi keli-lang,*
2:SG fox only now say-OBJ:IMPERF
You, Fox, were saying just now,
- (164) *qi gan=ni aguer=ni ber-gha-lang.*
2:SG 3:SG=GEN daughter=ACC become-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
that you can make his daughter become well.
- (165) *Ti=ni ger=du han ertang=ni gang liang-ge=ni bula ge-ser bang.*
that=GEN house=DAT also gold=GEN vat two-CL=ACC bury do-PROG OBJ:COP
In that one's (i.e. the rich man's) house two vats of gold are also buried.
- (166) *Ti-si kan a lai maidie-lang.*
that-PL who also NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
No one knows about those.

- (167) *Miangu=ni yanbao san-ge gang=ni dari ge-ser bang.*
silver=GEN yanbao three-CL vat=ACC bury do-PROG OBJ:COP
Three vats of silver yanbao (coins) are buried (there also).
- (168) *Ni=ni zhang bi maidie-lang."*
this=ACC only 1:SG know-OBJ:IMPERF
Only I know this."
- (169) *Dajia=ni kan=ni gezai bang ge-sa,*
everyone=GEN who=GEN good OBJ:COP QUOTE-COND
When everyone said whose (secret) was best,
- (170) *dajia keli pingtu-lang.*
everyone say be:equal-OBJ:IMPERF
everyone said (all the secrets) were equal.
- (171) *"Pingke-sa,*
be:equal-COND
"Although (all the secrets) are equal,
- (172) *dasi niaoduer hangbura-ya.*
1:PL today finish-VOL
let's stop for today.
- (173) *Du dasi=nang zai kejie jihui bi-ku,*
now 1:PL=REFLPOSS next when opportunity SUBJ:COP-IMPERF
Now, the next time we have an opportunity,
- (174) *zai hangtoulai-ya!"¹⁵¹*
again gather-VOL
let's get together again!"
- (175) *gan-si=nang keli-ji.*
3:SG-PL=REFLPOSS say-IMPERF
they all said.
- (176) *"Zha!"*
ok
"OK!" (they all agreed).
- (177) *Nugusi yigua yao-jiang,*
3:PL totally go-OBJ:PERF
They all left,
- (178) *gan=ni Diao=ni yigua chenli ge-jiang,*
3:SG=GEN younger:sibling=POSS totally hear do-OBJ:PERF
(but) his Younger Brother had overheard everything.
- (179) *Mughashi duer-chai-jiang.*
tomorrow day-white-OBJ:PERF
The next day dawned.
- (180) *Diao=ni nughuai=du=nang keli-ji,*
younger:sibling=GEN dog=DAT=REFLPOSS say-IMPERF
Younger Brother said to his dog,
- (181) *"Qi wuge lai maidie-lang,*
2:SG word NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
"You do not understand language,

¹⁵¹ DV: *hangtulaya*.

- (182) *bi wuge keli-lang.*
1:SG word say-OBJ:IMPERF
(but) I speak a language.
- (183) *Du da ghu=luo yiyang a.*
now 1:PL two=COLL same PRT
Now we two are the same.
- (184) *Du gan-si chugu-shulian keli-lang ma,*
now 3:SG-PL yesterday-evening say-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
Now (as) they were saying last night,
- (185) *er-shi-li=ni wuruang=du yerri-a ma,*
two-ten-li=GEN place=DAT look:for-VOL PRT
let's look for the place twenty li (from here),
- (186) *ang=ji=ni buleghe bang sha?"*
where=DIR=GEN water:hole OBJ:COP PRT
where is that water hole?"
- (187) *Ti buleghe=du¹⁵² yerri xi-jiang.*
that water:hole=DAT look:for go-OBJ:PERF
(They) went looking (until they came) to that water hole.
- (188) *Diao=ni moke-jiang.*
younger:sibling=POSS feel:about-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother fished around (in the water).
- (189) *Moke-sa,*
feel:about-COND
When he fished around,
- (190) *liang-ge nudu bang bai.*
two-CL eye OBJ:COP EMPH
there were two eyes.
- (191) *Gan he gher ri-ji nanna-sa,*
3:SG take go:out come-IMPERF measure-COND
When he took (them) out and measured them,
- (192) *zhenghao bang bai.*
just:right OBJ:COP EMPH
(they) were just right.
- (193) *Gan=ni nudu=ni gai-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN eye=POSS bright-OBJ:PERF
His eyes became bright.
- (194) *"Ni qieshi liaobudei bang!"*
this really great OBJ:COP
"This is really great!" (Younger Brother said).
- (195) *Diao=ni gaoxinra ting ge-jiang.*
younger:sibling=POSS happy that do-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother was very happy.
- (196) *Nudu=ni qige-sang adalin gan jixu yao-jiang.*
eye=POSS see-PERF equal 3:SG continue go-OBJ:PERF
His eyes could see, (and) he continued walking as before.

¹⁵² DV: bulegedu

- (197) *Yao danang Chuna keli-sang-ni wuruang=du kuer-jiang.*
go after wolf say-PERF-NOMLZR place=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
(He) walked until (he) reached the place that Wolf had mentioned.
- (198) *Gediesi luosi-sang guang,*
belly be:hungry-PERF OBJ:NEG:COP
(He) was not hungry,
- (199) *nidasi ting ge-jiang.*
thirsty that do-OBJ:PERF
(but he) was very thirsty.
- (200) *"Du Awu,*
now Uncle
"Now Uncle,
- (201) *Ayi suzu=nang diger hu!"*
Aunt water=REFLPOSS little:bit give
Aunt, give (me) a little of your water!"
- (202) *kerli-ji.*
want-IMPERF
(Younger Brother) begged.
- (203) *"Di-ku-ni kerli-sa bang ma,*
eat-IMPERF-NOMLZR want-COND OBJ:COP PRT
"If (you) want something to eat, there is some,
- (204) *dasi=ni ning=du suzu kerli-ku-ni daigai guang.*
1:PL=GEN this=DAT water want-IMPERF-NOMLZR never OBJ:NEG:COP
(but) in this place of ours, there is never (anyone) who asks for water.
- (205) *Suzu a guang ma."*
water also OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
There isn't any water," (the people said).
- (206) *"Tingsa suzu yaji guang?"*
then water why OBJ:NEG:COP
"Well, why isn't there any water?"
- (207) *gan erseghe-jiang.*
3:SG ask-OBJ:PERF
he asked.
- (208) *"Lishi yilai,*
history since
"Since ancient times,
- (209) *suzu jiu que bang.*
water thus scarce OBJ:COP
water has just been scarce.
- (210) *Khuosen=ni xian=du,*
drought=GEN reason=DAT
Due to the drought,
- (211) *khura bao-la guang."*
rain go:down-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP
rain doesn't fall" (said the people).

- (212) *"Tingsa tasi=ni ning=du suzu bang bai.*
then 2:PL=GEN this=DAT water OBJ:COP EMPH
"However, there is water in your (place) here.
- (213) *Tasi lai maidie-lang bai."*
2:PL NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
You (just) don't know it," (he said).
- (214) *Meghe=ni kong-si keli-ji,*
village=GEN person-PL say-IMPERF
The people of the village said,
- (215) *"Qi keli,*
2:SG say
"You tell (us),
- (216) *ang=ji bang?"*
where=DIR OBJ:COP
where is (it)?"
- (217) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (218) *tasi=ni ning=sa er-bei-pu ma tingda ge yao-sa,*
2:PL=GEN this=ABL two-hundred-pace PRT such SG:INDEF go-COND
if (you) go about two hundred paces from your (place) here,
- (219) *shuguo beghe ge bang.*
big tree SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
there is a big tree.
- (220) *Ti=ni wake-sa suzu gher ri-kuniang.*
that=ACC dig-COND water go:out come-OBJ:FUT
If that is dug up, water will come out.
- (221) *Ni=nang maidie-sang gui ma?"*
this=REFLPOSS know-PERF SUBJ:NEG:COP PRT
Didn't you know this?"
- (222) *Diao=ni keli-ji.*
younger:sibling=POSS say-IMPERF
Younger Brother said.
- (223) *"Ni=ni maidie-sang gui!*
this=ACC know-PERF SUBJ:NEG:COP
"We didn't know this!
- (224) *Ni=la shi qi shenxian bang bai,*
this=INST COND 2:SG supernatural:being OBJ:COP EMPH
Based on this, you are a supernatural being,
- (225) *dasi qimai=du qinla-ya."*
1:PL 2:SG:DAT=DAT welcome-VOL
we welcome you."

- (226) *Gan-si ji-ge-la durasi-si=ni suer danang gan=ni qinla*
3:SG-PL several-CL=COLL liquor-PL=ACC buy after 3:SG=ACC welcome

ti ruang=du kuer-jiang.
that place=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
After several of them bought liquor, (they) invited him along and went to that place.
- (227) *Kuer-sa,*
arrive-COND
When (they) arrived,
- (228) *queshi shuguo beghe ge bang.*
really big tree SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
there really was a big tree (there).
- (229) *Gan-si zhaler kong er-san-bei=ni daoda,*
3:SG-PL strong person two-three-hundred=ACC call
They assembled two or three hundred strong men,
- (230) *ti=ni waji gher-gha-jiang.*
that=ACC dig go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(and) dug that (tree) out.
- (231) *Waji zou,*
dig thus
(They) dug and then,
- (232) *mali-her keli-ku,*
quickly-COMP say-IMPERF
to make a long story short,
- (233) *ti beghe wuna-ku shijie kuer-jiang suzu "boruoruo" di*
that tree fall-IMPERF time arrive-OBJ:PERF water ONOM QUOTE

gher ri-jiang,
go:out come-OBJ:PERF
when the time came for that tree to fall, water came out "boruoruo," like that,
- (234) *shuguo=du=nang tiermie herge-ji ber-kuniang.*
big=DAT=REFLPOSS mill turn:around-IMPERF become-OBJ:FUT
(and the current) was strong enough to turn a mill.
- (235) *Zha,*
ok
OK,
- (236) *ning ge ti ruang=ni kong gan=ni zou mula*
this do that place=GEN person 3:SG=ACC thus think

pughang ge ji-lang.
god SG:INDEF look-OBJ:IMPERF
then the people of that place therefore regarded him (almost) as a minor Living Buddha.
- (237) *Dajia jinpan yinpan=la dangren ge-sa,*
everyone gold:plate silver:plate=INST reward do-COND
Even though everyone (tried to) reward (him) with gold plates and silver plates,

- (238) *gan yi-fen lai kerli-lang.*
3:SG one-fen NEG want-OBJ:IMPERF
he didn't take one fen¹⁵³ (in payment).
- (239) *"Bi ti-ge ruang=du xi-la bi.*
1:SG that-CL place=DAT go-PURP SUBJ:COP
"I am going to that place.
- (240) *Khuonuo=sa bi guo-lu-di yao-ku,*
later=ABL 1:SG cross-road-ADV go-IMPERF
Later, when I pass by,
- (241) *tasi suzu=nang yi-ge-ama¹⁵⁴ hu ma mubang."*
2:PL water=REFLPOSS one-CL-mouth give PRT OBJ:COP
you give (me) a mouthful of your water and (that) will be (enough)," (he said).
- (242) *Gan pusa yao-jiang.*
3:SG another go-OBJ:PERF
He went on.
- (243) *Ti bayang kong=ni bieqi-er-sang-ni aguer=ni dawenla-jiang.*
that rich person=GEN be:ill-PERF-NOMLZR daughter=ACC ask:about-OBJ:PERF
(He) asked about that rich man's daughter who had become sick.
- (244) *Dawenla-ser yao-ji ti ruang=du kuer-jiang.*
ask:about-PROG go-IMPERF that place=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
(By) asking as (he) was going along, (he) arrived at that place.
- (245) *Bayang kong=ni diamang=du bang tieke-ser bang.*
rich person=GEN door=DAT notice post-PROG OBJ:COP
On the rich man's gate, a notice was posted.
- (246) *Keli-ji,*
say-IMPERF
(It) said,
- (247) *"Yang kong muni aguer=ni ji¹⁵⁵ ber-gha-sa,*
what person 1:SG:GEN daughter=ACC look become-CAUSE-COND
"Whatever person can make my daughter become well,
- (248) *muni aguer=nang ting=du hu=sa guori muni ban-ge*
1:SG:GEN daughter=REFLPOSS that=DAT give=ABL more:than 1:SG:GEN half-CL
meghe ban-ge ghazher=nang ting=du hu-ni."
village half-CL ground=REFLPOSS that=DAT give-SUBJ:FUT
in addition to giving my daughter to him, I will give half of my village and half of my fields to him.
- (249) *Gan zou ti bugao=ni cida berghuo-jiang.*
3:SG thus that notice=ACC tear down-OBJ:PERF
So he (i.e. Younger Brother) tore down that notice.¹⁵⁶
- (250) *Gan=ni ti=ni ji-qin kong gan=ni qinla xi-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN that=ACC look-AGENT person 3:SG=ACC invite go-OBJ:PERF
The people who were looking after that (notice) invited him (to the girl's home).

¹⁵³ One hundred fen make one yuan.

¹⁵⁴ This word was reduced to *yigama* by the speaker.

¹⁵⁵ DV: *ju*.

¹⁵⁶ Signifying that he would heal the girl.

- (251) *Yanwai liangkouzi maidie-jiang ma,*
official couple know-OBJ:PERF PRT
The official (i.e. the rich man) and his wife found out (about this),
- (252) *jinzhi diamang=du gher-ji ri-sang zhi,*
hurriedly door=DAT go:out-IMPERF come-PERF after
(and) after (they) hurriedly came out to the gate,
- (253) *"Xiansheng qinla bu?"*
master welcome SUBJ:QUEST
"Has Master come?"
- (254) *ge-ji.*
QUOTE-IMPERF
(they said) like this.
- (255) *"Yang Xiansheng!*
what master
"What Master!"
- (256) *Bi yi-ge kerli-qin bi.*
1:SG one-CL want-AGENT SUBJ:COP
I am a beggar!
- (257) *Bi zhagha=du aba ana gui,*
1:SG above=DAT father mother SUBJ:NEG:COP
I have no parents above (me),
- (258) *duoruo kao xujun gui."*
under son daughter SUBJ:NEG:COP
(and) no children beneath (me)," (Younger Brother said).
- (259) *"Tingsa qimai=du yang danfer baimu?*
then 2:SG:DAT=DAT what prescription OBJ:COP:QUEST
"Then what prescription do you have?"
- (260) *Yang fangzi baimu?*
what means OBJ:COP:QUEST
What means do you have?"
- (261) *Qi muni aguer=ni yang banfa=la¹⁵⁷ ber-gha-ku-ni?"*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN daughter=ACC what method=INST become-CAUSE-IMPERF-NOMLZR
By what method will you make my daughter become well?"
- (262) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (263) *tingsa ning ge-a,¹⁵⁸*
then this do-VOL
then let's do like this,
- (264) *banfa shi yang ma guang,*
method COP what PRT OBJ:NEG:COP
there isn't any method,

¹⁵⁷ DV: *banhuala*.

¹⁵⁸ This word was reduced to *ga* by the speaker.

- (265) *danfer shi yang ma guang.*
prescription COP what PRT OBJ:NEG:COP
there isn't any prescription.
- (266) *Meghe=sa=nang zhaler kong san-wu-shi-ge daoda.*
village=ABL=REFLPOSS strong person three-five-ten-CL call
Call thirty to fifty strong young men from your village.
- (267) *Yi-ge kong=du yi-ge langtou bari-gha.*
one-CL person=DAT one-CL mallet take-CAUSE
Have each person carry a mallet," (Younger Brother said).
- (268) *Ting ge kong daoda langtou=ni bari-gha-jiang.*
that do person call mallet=ACC take-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Then (the official) called the people and had (them) hold mallets.
- (269) *Tiker shijie=du yanghuo guang.*
past time=DAT match OBJ:NEG:COP
In those days there were no matches.
- (270) *"Dianhuer=ni he,*
flint.and:steel=ACC take
"Take flint and steel,
- (271) *he-ku caoduo=ni dianke!"*
take-IMPERF straw:stack=ACC light
(and) after taking (them), burn the stacks of straw!" (Younger Brother said).
- (272) *Dianke-ji bura-ji xi-jiang ma,*
light-IMPERF finish-IMPERF go-OBJ:PERF PRT
When (they) were almost burned up,
- (273) *shuguo poluo shige tingda mangdeghai ge gher-ji*
big shallow:basket like such frog SG:INDEF go:out-IMPERF

ri-jiang.
come-OBJ:PERF
a frog as big as a large shallow basket came out.
- (274) *"Mali peghe!"¹⁵⁹*
quickly hit
"Beat (it) quickly!
- (275) *Ang=ji=ni bao peghe,*
where=DIR=ACC PROHIB hit
Don't beat anywhere (else),
- (276) *terghai=di peghe."*
head=LOC hit
beat the head," (Younger Brother said).
- (277) *Terghai=ni peghe khegher-sa,*
head=ACC hit break-COND
When (they) broke (its) head,
- (278) *naosui=ni zanke gher ri-jiang.*
brain=POSS spread go:out come-OBJ:PERF
its brain liquid came out.

¹⁵⁹ DV: *beghe*.

- (279) *"Zha,*
ok
"OK,
- (280) *du ni=ni ti ban'gachen gha-si=la yeke.*
now this=ACC that medium:size bowl-PL=INST dip
now dip up this (liquid) with those medium-sized bowls.
- (281) *Du shiban=ni he-ji ri,*
now stone:slab=ACC take-IMPERF come
Now take a stone slab,
- (282) *ghazher=du kalang¹⁶⁰ ge waji-ku xida,*
ground=DAT hole SG:INDEF dig-IMPERF burn
after digging a hole in the ground, heat up (the stone slab),
- (283) *tingku ni=di kangla.*
then this=LOC heat
then heat (the brain liquid) on it.
- (284) *Kangla khuo-gha-ku,*
heat dry-CAUSE-IMPERF
Heat (the brain liquid) until (it) dries,
- (285) *shuguo tashi ghula yanke.*
big stone with grind
(and then) grind (it) with a big stone.
- (286) *Mianmier ber-gha-ku,*
powder become-CAUSE-IMPERF
After (it) becomes powder,
- (287) *beikaishui ghula wu-gha."*
clear:hot:water with drink-CAUSE
have (the girl) drink (it) with clear hot water."
- (288) *Wu-gha-jiang ma,*
drink-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF PRT
(They) had (her) drink (it),
- (289) *gan=ni aguer=ni bieqin ber-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN daughter=GEN illness become-OBJ:PERF
(and then) his daughter's illness got better.
- (290) *Zha tingsa ti zhouwei=du gan zou shenxian ber-jiang.*
ok later that surroundings=DAT 3:SG thus supernatural:being become-OBJ:PERF
OK, from then on, he became a supernatural being in that area.
- (291) *Kong-si yigua gan=ni maidie-lang.*
person-PL totally 3:SG=ACC know-OBJ:IMPERF
All the people knew him.
- (292) *Ting ge-ku,*
that do-IMPERF
Afterwards,
- (293) *ni bayang kong gan zou aguer=nang gan=du hu-jiang.*
this rich person 3:SG thus daughter=REFLPOSS 3:SG=DAT give-OBJ:PERF
this rich man he therefore gave his daughter to him,

¹⁶⁰ DV: *nukuang*.

- (294) *fuma zhaola sao-jiang.*
son:in-law as sit-OBJ:PERF
(and Younger Brother) remained as (the official's) son-in-law.
- (295) *"Taolai keli-sang-ni ni ger=du jin liang-gang.*
rabbit say-PERF-NOMLZR this house=DAT gold two-vat
"What Rabbit said (was that) in this house (there are) two vats of gold,
- (296) *yin san-gang bang ge-ji.*
silver three-vat OBJ:COP QUOTE-IMPERF
(and) three vats of silver, like this,
- (297) *bainu guang sha?"*
OBJ:COP:QUEST OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
is it true or not?"
- (298) *gan mula-lang.*
3:SG think-OBJ:IMPERF
he was thinking.
- (299) *Suoni=du gan khezhigher wake-ji nao-la xi-jiang.*
night=DAT 3:SG alone dig-IMPERF see-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
At night he dug alone, and went to see.
- (300) *Ji-sa queshe bang bai.*
look-COND really OBJ:COP EMPH
When (he) looked (he found the vats) were really there.
- (301) *Tingsa gan zou bayaji-jiang.*
then 3:SG thus be:rich-OBJ:PERF
So he thus became rich.
- (302) *Man meghe=du ang=ji a qier=ni hu-jiang.*
around village=DAT where=DIR also money=ACC give-OBJ:PERF
(He) gave money to all the villagers everywhere,
- (303) *ang=ji a xuexiao=ni xiuke-gha-jiang.*
where=DIR also school=ACC build-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(and) had schools built everywhere.
- (304) *Ang=ji nuqi da-ku ruang=du qiao dala-jiang.*
where=DIR pass cannot-IMPERF place=DAT bridge build-OBJ:PERF
In places where it was hard to pass, (he) built bridges.
- (305) *Ning ge-ku.*
this do-IMPERF
And then,
- (306) *gan=ni mingwang gher xi-jiang.*
3:SG=GEN reputation go:out go-OBJ:PERF
his reputation spread.
- (307) *Du Gaga=ni ya ge-ji sha?*
now elder:brother=POSS what do-IMPERF PRT
Now what did Elder Brother do?
- (308) *Gher xi-jiang.*
go:out go-OBJ:PERF
(He) went out,

- (309) *du zou kan a bunai bang bai.*
now thus who also dislike OBJ:COP EMPH
(but) everyone disliked (him).
- (310) *Du yizhi kerli luosi wanla danang.*
now continually want be:hungry complete after
Now (Elder Brother) was continually begging, completely hungry,
- (311) *Diao=ni diamang=du kuer-ji ri-jiang.*
younger:sibling=GEN door=DAT arrive-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
(until finally he) arrived at Younger Brother's gate.
- (312) *"Du,*
now
"Now,
- (313) *Bayang kong.*
rich person
Rich Man,
- (314) *qi dimei=nang diger hu-sa.*
2:SG bread=REFLPOSS little:bit give-COND
please give (me) a little of your bread.
- (315) *Dimei gui-ku kebeghe=nang diger hu-sa.*
bread SUBJ:NEG:COP-IMPERF wheat:bran=REFLPOSS little:bit give-COND
If (you) have no bread, please give (me) a little of your wheat bran.
- (316) *Kebeghe gui-ku mazha=nang diger hu-sa.*
wheat:bran SUBJ:NEG:COP-IMPERF residue=REFLPOSS little:bit give-COND
If (you) have no wheat bran, please give (me) a little of your chaff.
- (317) *Bi luosi wanla-ba."*
1:SG be:hungry complete-SUBJ:PERF
I am completely hungry (i.e. so hungry I can't stand it)," (he said).
- (318) *Gan=ni Diao=ni wuhunlou=di=nang*
3:SG=GEN younger:sibling=POSS five:phoenix:tower=LOC=REFLPOSS

sao-ser bang bai.
sit-PROG OBJ:COP EMPH
Younger Brother was sitting in his five-phoenix tower.
- (319) *Qige-jiang.*
see-OBJ:PERF
(He) saw (Elder Brother),
- (320) *xiangxi ge nao-sa.*
careful once see-COND
when (he) looked closely,
- (321) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (322) *ni da-ge bang bai!"*
this big-brother OBJ:COP EMPH
this is (my) elder brother!" (he said).

- (323) *Jiaren-si=du=nang keli-ji,*
servant-PL=DAT=REFLPOSS say-IMPERF
(He) said to his servants,
- (324) *"Ni kong=ni daoda gher ri!"*
this person=ACC call go:out come
"Call this person to come in!"
- (325) *Gher ri-jiang ma,*
go:out come-OBJ:PERF PRT
(Elder Brother) came in,
- (326) *"Gaga,*
elder:brother
"Elder Brother,
- (327) *qi nangda tani-bu tani da-ba?"*
2.SG 1.SG:DAT recognize-SUBJ:QUEST recognize cannot-SUBJ:PERF
do you recognize me or can (you) not recognize (me)?"
- (328) *Diao=ni erseghe-jiang,*
younger:sibling=POSS ask-OBJ:PERF
Younger Brother asked.
- (329) *Gaga=ni wuji=ni wuji=ni,*
elder:brother=POSS take.note=GEN take.note=GEN
Elder Brother looked and looked,
- (330) *"Aaya,*
EXCL
"Aaya,
- (331) *qi,*
2.SG
you,
- (332) *Diao bang bai!"*
younger:sibling OBJ:COP EMPH
are (my) Younger Brother!" (he said).
- (333) *"Mubi,"*
SUBJ:COP
"I am,"
- (334) *ning ge-ji.*
this QUOTE-IMPERF
(Younger Brother answered) like this.
- (335) *Tani-jiang ma,*
recognize-OBJ:PERF PRT
(When he) recognized (Younger Brother),
- (336) *Gaga=ni keli-ji,*
elder:brother=POSS say-IMPERF
Elder Brother said,
- (337) *"Bi ning ge ning ge ber da,*
1.SG this do this do become cannot
"I did this and that (but things) could not get better,

- (338) *kerli luosi wanla-jiang,*
want be:hungry complete-OBJ:PERF
(so I) begged and got completely hungry.
- (339) *Tingsa Diao,*
then younger:sibling
Now, Younger Brother,
- (340) *qi yaji bayaji-ba sha?"*
2.SG how be:rich-SUBJ:PERF PRT
how did you become rich?"
- (341) *Diao=ni keli-ji bi ning ge ning ge bayaji-ba.*
younger:sibling=POSS say-IMPERF 1.SG this do this do be:rich-SUBJ:PERF
Younger Brother said I did this and that and became rich.
- (342) *"Tingsa bi a xi-a bai.*
then 1.SG also go-VOL EMPH
"Then I will also go.
- (343) *Mughashi bi a xi-a bai!"*
tomorrow 1.SG also go-VOL EMPH
Tomorrow I will also go (to the temple)!"
- (344) *Gaga=ni mula-ji.*
elder:brother=POSS think-IMPERF
his elder brother was thinking.
- (345) *Niao-shulian chudu-lang ge diesi=nang di-sang liao zhi,*
this-evening fill-OBJ:IMPERF SG:INDEF stomach=REFLPOSS eat-PERF PERF after
That evening (he) ate and filled his stomach, (and) after that,
- (346) *mughashi=ni gan xi-jiang bai.*
tomorrow=GEN 3.SG go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
the next day he went (to the temple).
- (347) *Miao=du xi-sa,*
temple=DAT go-COND
When (he) went to the temple,
- (348) *hanshi Taolai mieshi ri-lang,*
still rabbit first come-OBJ:IMPERF
Rabbit came first, like before,
- (349) *Hundughai khuomuo,*
fox later
Fox second,
- (350) *Chuna di-san-ge,*
wolf ORD-three-CL
Wolf third,
- (351) *Bersi di-si-ge ri-lang.*
tiger ORD-four-CL come-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) Tiger came fourth.
- (352) *Ri-ji bi-sa,*
come-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
When (they) came,

- (353) *si-ge=la chaoke kaiké-jiang.*
four-CL=COLL quarrel begin-OBJ:PERF
the four of them began to quarrel.
- (354) *Yijia yijia=nang manyan ge-ji.*
each each=REFLPOSS accuse do-IMPERF
Each one accused another,
- (355) *mieshi hui shangliangla-sang-ni xiaoxi=ni kong=du*
first instance discuss-PERF-NOMLZR news=ACC person=DAT
keli-gha hu-jiang.
say-CAUSE give-OBJ:PERF
of telling people the news that (they) had discussed the previous time.
- (356) *Tingsa kan a keli-sa keli-sang gui.*
then who also say-COND say-PERF SUBJ:NEG:COP
Then when everyone spoke, (each one said he) had not told.
- (357) *Taolai keli-ji.*
rabbit say-IMPERF
Rabbit said,
- (358) *"Tingsa ning=du kendin kong-si niu-ji chenli-ser bang."*
then this=DAT certainly person-PL hide-IMPERF hear-PROG OBJ:COP
"Then certainly some people are hiding here listening."
- (359) *Ji-ge=la bosi yerri kaiké-jiang.*
several-CL=COLL get:up look:for begin-OBJ:PERF
The several of them got up and began to look.
- (360) *Gaga=ni gan-si lake gher-gha-jiang.*
elder:brother=ACC 3:SG-PL pull go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Elder Brother, they dragged out.
- (361) *Gher-gha-jiang ma,*
go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF PRT
(After they) made (him) come out,
- (362) *dajia werkuér-ji ting ge-lang.*
everyone be:angry-IMPERF that do-OBJ:IMPERF
everyone was very angry.
- (363) *Hundughai keli-ji.*
fox say-IMPERF
Fox said,
- (364) *"Ni zou mieshi=ni xiaoxi=ni khulu¹⁶¹ chenli xi-jiang.*
this thus first=GEN news=ACC peep hear go-OBJ:PERF
"So this one overheard the previous news.
- (365) *Du dasi ji-ge=la ni=ni khuba di-gha."*
now 1:PL several-CL=COLL this=ACC divide eat-CAUSE
Now let's the several of us divide and eat this one."
- (366) *Gan=ni Gaga=ni gan-si.*
3:SG=GEN elder:brother=ACC 3:SG-PL
Elder Brother, they (divided him up such that)

- (367) *yi-ge-jian naosui=ni,*
one-CL-person brain=ACC
one of them (got his) brain liquid,
- (368) *yi-ge-jian zhuerge=ni,*
one-CL-person heart=ACC
one of them (got his) heart,
- (369) *yi-ge-jian mugha=ni,*
one-CL-person meat=ACC
one of them (got his) flesh,
- (370) *yi-ge-jian chuzi=ni,*
one-CL-person blood=ACC
one of them (got his) blood,
- (371) *ning ge khuba di ge-jiang.*
this do divide eat do-OBJ:PERF
like this (they) divided and ate (him).
- (372) *Ni zou,*
this thus
So this (folktale tells why)
- (373) *"Xiangchang shi deichang,*
consider:long COP ought:long
"What is considered long ought to be long,
- (374) *xiangduan shi deiduan,"*
consider:short COP ought:short
what is considered short ought to be short" (i.e. goodness is rewarded and evil is punished),
- (375) *ge-sang-ni bang.*
QUOTE-PERF-NOMLZR OBJ:COP
it is (said) like this.

¹⁶¹ DV: khuleghe.

Reading Scripture While Improperly Wearing a Lama's Robe

As told by Xin Huaizhi¹⁶²



The chapai is thought to protect crops from strong winds, rainstorms and hailstorms. Around the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, local people who frequently go to the same temple invite monks who make the heart of the chapai – several pieces of wood inscribed with Tibetan scriptures for suppressing evil. Villagers then make a large cross of willow branches and kill a goat. A dog's head bone and some traditional medicine are buried under the cross. The goat's head is tied to the middle of the cross. The pieces of wood inscribed with Tibetan scriptures are inserted into the end of the crossbars and foot of the cross. In certain villages, the goatskin is filled with straw and tied to the cross. In mountain areas, chapai are usually placed atop peaks behind the area villages. In valley areas, chapai are built near village temples or in other locations near villages.

- (1) *Er=ang=ni Hu Lianbie Mushi-lang.*
robe=ACC improperly place:incorrectly:across:shoulders read-OBJ:IMPERF
Reading Scripture While Improperly Wearing a Lama's Robe.
- (2) *Tiedun=du,*
Past=DAT
In olden times,
- (3) *jiaoduer zhang di a weilie ai ge-ku lanhan ge bang.*
every:day only eat also work NEG do-IMPERF lazy:man SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
there was a lazy man who, every day, only ate and did not do any work.
- (4) *Yi-nian sanbeiliushiwutian,*
one-year three:hundred:sixty:five:days
Three hundred and sixty-five days per year,
- (5) *gan di nerri-ku=sa guori,*
3:SG eat sleep-IMPERF=ABL more:than
he, apart from eating and sleeping,
- (6) *yang weilie a ai ge-lang.*
what work also NEG do-OBJ:IMPERF
did not do any work.

- (7) *Wuda-ku ger-ku di-ku-si=ni yigua di bura-gha-jiang.*
be:late-IMPERF house-IMPERF eat-IMPERF-PL=ACC totally eat finish-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
After a long time, (he) ate up all the food in the house,
- (8) *ting ge caijin-her=nang dian=sa gher-ji di-ku=ni*
that do only-COMP=REFLPOSS gate=ABL go:out-IMPERF eat-IMPERF=ACC

yerri-la xi-jiang.
look:for-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
and therefore (he) had to go out from (his) home to look for something to eat.
- (9) *Yi-tian=du,*
one-day=DAT
One day,
- (10) *yi-ge lan mushi-ku aka bushi wulang ge*
one-CL scriptures read-IMPERF monk offerings:for:reading:scripture many SG:INDEF

beila-ji gan=ni dian=sa nuoqi-lang.
carry-IMPERF 3:SG=GEN gate=ABL pass-OBJ:IMPERF
a scripture-reading monk, carrying much food (on his back), was passing by his gate.
- (11) *Gan mula-ji,*
3:SG think-IMPERF
He (i.e. Lazy Man) (saw this and) thought,
- (12) *"Kong=du lan mushi-ji hu-sa,*
person=DAT scriptures read-IMPERF give-COND
"If (one) reads scriptures for people,
- (13) *gediesi=nang a di-ji ber-lang,*
belly=REFLPOSS also eat-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF
there will be both food for one's belly,
- (14) *han bushi a bari-ji ber-lang.*
other offerings:for:reading:scripture also take-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF
and also additional food that (one) can take along.
- (15) *Bi kong=du yala lan mushi-ji hu-la ai xi-ji?"*
1:SG person=DAT why scriptures read-IMPERF give-PURP NEG go-IMPERF
Why don't I go to read scriptures for people?"
- (16) *Puza ge mula-sa jie=nang lan mushi-ji naghu*
another once think-COND self=REFLPOSS scriptures read-IMPERF can

da-lang.
cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
But (he) thought that he himself could not read scriptures.
- (17) *Ting ge gan jiche ge mula gher-gha-jiang.*
that do 3:SG idea SG:INDEF think go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Then he thought of an idea,
- (18) *gan lama erzang ge jielie,*
3:SG lama robe SG:INDEF borrow
(and) he borrowed a lama robe,
- (19) *suzu=nang guangtou qier-gha danang,*
hair=REFLPOSS bald:head cut-CAUSE after
cut off all of his hair,

- (20) *ger=sa khuoluo qidai wuruang ge=du ri-jiang.*
house=ABL far:away Han place SG:INDEF=DAT come-OBJ:PERF
(and) went to a Han Chinese area far away from his home.

- (21) *Ni wuruang-ku kong-si Lama-jiao xinhuluo-lang,*
this place-IMPERF person-PL lama-teaching believe-OBJ:IMPERF
The people of this area believed in Lama Buddhism,

- (22) *dajia nao-ji aka ge ri-jiang ma,*
everyone see-IMPERF monk SG:INDEF come-OBJ:PERF PRT
(and when) they found that a monk had come (to their village),

- (23) *dajia=la gan=ni ger=du=nang qinla-ji*
everyone=COLL 3:SG=ACC house=DAT=REFLPOSS welcome-IMPERF

lan mushi-gha-lang.
scriptures read-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
every (family) invited him to their homes to have (him) read scriptures.

- (24) *Ni-ge lanhan di,*
this-CL lazy:man eat
(After) this lazy man ate,

- (25) *wu,*
drink
and drank,

- (26) *kuiqi-ku,*
enough-IMPERF
fully,

- (27) *zhuangke danang hegang=di zhabeila¹⁶³ lama dao=nang*
pretend after kang=LOC sit:cross:legged lama voice=REFLPOSS

gher-gha danang,
go:out-CAUSE after
(he) affectedly sat cross-legged on the kang, and, using a lama's tone,

- (28) *Mangghuer wuge=nang keli kaike-jiang.*
Mangghuer word=REFLPOSS say begin-OBJ:PERF
began to speak his own Mangghuer language.

- (29) *Yimeghe-ku kong-si gan lan mushi-lang ge-jiang.*
village-IMPERF person-PL 3:SG scriptures read-OBJ:IMPERF QUOTE-OBJ:PERF
The people of the village thought he was reading scriptures.

- (30) *Zheng mushi-ser,*
just:then read-PROG
Just as (he) was reading,

- (31) *ni lanhan=ni yimeghe-ku maimaiqi ge zhurenjia=ni diamang=sa*
this lazy:man=GEN village-IMPERF merchant SG:INDEF:HOST=GEN door=ABL

nuoqi-lang.
pass-OBJ:IMPERF
A merchant from this lazy man's village passed by the host's door.

- (32) *Maimaiqi chenli-ji zhurenjia=ni ger=sa jian=ni wuruang-ku*
merchant hear-IMPERF host=GEN house=ABL self=GEN place-IMPERF

Mangghuer wuge suomuosi-lang.
Mangghuer word hear-OBJ:IMPERF
The merchant heard his own native Mangghuer dialect (coming) from the host's house.

- (33) *Gan xiangxi chenli-ser chuanguang zhuer=du shigha-ji ge nao-sa,*
3:SG careful hear-PROG window bottom=DAT lean:near-IMPERF once see-COND
When he listened carefully, leaned near the bottom of the window, and looked,

- (34) *lan mushi-ku lama jian=ni yimeghe-ku Lanhan bang.*
scriptures read-IMPERF lama self=GEN village-IMPERF lazy:man OBJ:COP
(he saw that) the lama who was reading scriptures was his own village's Lazy Man.

- (35) *Maimaiqi zhurenjia=ni ger chongke ruo xi danang suguo-ji,*
merchant host=GEN house burst:in enter go after curse-IMPERF
The merchant charged into the host's house and cursed,

- (36) *"Qi gan=ni kong-si=ni yang huerghuer-la bi?"*
2:SG 3:SG=GEN person-PL=ACC what trick-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
"Why are you cheating these people?"

- (37) *Lanhan Maimaiqi=ni wuge=ni chenli danang,*
lazy:man merchant=GEN word=ACC hear after
When Lazy Man heard Merchant's words,

- (38) *zhuerge ban-ge kuitiantu-jiang.*
heart half-CL become:cold-OBJ:PERF
(his) heart turned half cold (i.e. he was afraid of Merchant).

- (39) *Gan mula-ji,*
3:SG think-IMPERF
He thought,

- (40) *"Madara-ba,*
difficult-SUBJ:PERF
"(This) has become difficult (for me),

- (41) *yimeghe=ni kong-si muni ge-sang khere=ni miedie-ku ya*
village=GEN person-PL 1:SG:GEN do-PERF activity=ACC know-IMPERF what

ge-ni?"
do-SUBJ:FUT
if the people of (my) village find out what I have done, what can I do?"

- (42) *Lanhan zhuangke-ji lan=nang mushi-ji*
lazy:man pretend-IMPERF scriptures=REFLPOSS read-IMPERF

maimaiqi=du wuge nao-gha-ji,
merchant=DAT word see-CAUSE-IMPERF
Lazy Man, pretending to read his scriptures, insinuated to the merchant (in their Mangghuer language),

- (43) *"Yi-qier bosi=ni ghuer-ji an adalin khuba-wa,*
one-cut cloth=ACC two-person equal divide-VOL
"Let us two divide one piece of cloth equally,

- (44) *guori kong=du bai keli."*
other person=DAT PROHIB say
do not tell the other people."

¹⁶³ DV: *zhabeila*

- (45) *Dongjia nao-ji maimaiqi ge ger=du ruo ri aka lan*
 master see-IMPERF merchant SG:INDEF house=DAT enter come monk scriptures

mushi-ku=ni jiaodala-lang.
 read-IMPERF=ACC disturb-OBJ:IMPERF

The host saw that a merchant had come into the house and was disturbing the monk's scripture reading.

- (46) *Dongjia Maimaiqi=ni henke-ji,*
 master merchant=ACC glare:at-IMPERF
 The host glared at Merchant,

- (47) *"Aka lan mushi-lang bai jiaodala.*
 monk scriptures read-OBJ:IMPERF PROHIB disturb
 "The monk is reading scriptures, (so) don't disturb (him).

- (48) *Yang keli-ku-ni bi-ku yi-ge tegher lan mushi*
 what say-IMPERF-NOMLZR SUBJ:COP-IMPERF one-CL while scriptures read

hangbura-ku keli."
 finish-IMPERF say

If (you) have something to say, (you could) say (it) in a little while after (he) has finished reading scriptures."

- (49) *Keli-ser,*
 say-PROG
 While speaking,

- (50) *dongjia Maimaiqi=ni ger=sa=nang zhua gher-gha-jiang.*
 master merchant=ACC house=ABL=REFLPOSS catch go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
 the host ousted Merchant from his house.

- (51) *Ting ge Maimaiqi yang a sai keli danang yimeghe=du=nang xi-jiang.*
 that do merchant what also NEG say after village=DAT=REFLPOSS go-OBJ:PERF
 Then Merchant, without having said anything (in response), went to his own village.

- (52) *Maimaiqi qige-sang=nang yigua=nang yimeghe-ku*
 merchant see-PERF=REFLPOSS totally=REFLPOSS village-IMPERF

kong=du keli hu-jiang.
 person=DAT say give-OBJ:PERF
 Merchant told the people of the village everything (he) had seen.

- (53) *Yimeghe-ku kong-si ni=ni miedie danang,*
 village-IMPERF person-PL this=ACC know after
 After the villagers knew this,

- (54) *Lanhan ger=du=nang ri danang suguo suguo ge-jiang.*
 lazy:man house=DAT=REFLPOSS come after curse curse do-OBJ:PERF
 (they) cursed Lazy Man when (he) returned to his house.

- (55) *Tingsa khuonuo Lanhan zai kong huerghuer-sang guang,*
 then later lazy:man in:addition person trick-PERF OBJ:NEG:COP
 Afterwards Lazy Man did not cheat people any more,

- (56) *nannanxinin-di ger=du=nang weilie ge sao-jiang.*
 single-minded-ADV house=DAT=REFLPOSS work do sit-OBJ:PERF
 (but) worked single-mindedly in his home.

Good Man and Bad Man

As told by Wang Yongwei¹⁶⁴



Miao or village temple. Sanchuan Mangghuer have a temple in each village, or several villages may share a single temple.

- (1) *Gezai Kong Ma Mao Kong.*
 good person and bad person
 Good Man and Bad Man.
- (2) *Tiedun=du,*
 past=DAT
 In olden times,
- (3) *da=ni Mangghuer wuruang=du kong liang-ge bang bai.*
 1:PL=GEN Mangghuer place=DAT person two-CL OBJ:COP EMPH
 there were two people in our Mangghuer area.
- (4) *Yi-ge jian=ni niere=ni Gezai Kong ge-lang.*
 one-CL self=GEN name=ACC good person QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
 One (man)'s name was Good Man,
- (5) *gan mula-ku-ni kong=du shan ganke-sa gezai bang.*
 3:SG think-IMPERF-NOMLZR person=DAT good do-COND good OBJ:COP
 (and) he thought that showing kindness toward people was good.
- (6) *Han yi-ge jian=ni Mao Kong daoda-lang.*
 other one-CL self=ACC bad person call-OBJ:IMPERF
 The other one was called Bad Man,
- (7) *gan mula-ku-ni kong=du mao ge-sa gezai bang.*
 3:SG think-IMPERF-NOMLZR person=DAT bad do-COND good OBJ:COP
 (and) he thought that doing evil to people was good.
- (8) *Yi-tian=du=ni,*
 one-day=DAT=POSS
 One day,

¹⁶⁴ Collector: Wang Xianzhen. See "The Blind Doctor" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:101-4) for a similar Huzhu Mongghul account.

- (9) *gan ghu=la gong langpen ge chebie penke danang ni shiqin=di*
3:SG two=COLL deep pool SG:INDEF bank meet after this matter=LOC
zhenjiangla kaike-jiang.
debate begin-OBJ:PERF
when the two of them met beside the bank of a deep pool, they began to debate this subject.
- (10) *Zheng gan ghu=la qige,*
while 3:SG two=COLL ear
While the two of them, (their) ears
- (11) *dama hulai-ji zhenjiangla-ser bi-sa,*
face red-IMPERF debate-PROG SUBJ:COP-COND
(and) faces getting red, were debating,
- (12) *kong ge mieshi=sa yao-ji ri-lang.*
person SG:INDEF front=ABL walk-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF
a man came walking toward (them).
- (13) *Mao Kong keli-ji,*
bad person say-IMPERF
Bad Man said,
- (14) *"Da ghu=la ning ge chaoke bao xi-sa,*
1:PL two=COLL this do quarrel go:down go-COND
"If we two go on quarreling like this,
- (15) *yama jieguo ai lu-ni.*
any conclusion NEG find-SUBJ:FUT
we will not reach any conclusion.
- (16) *Da ghu=la ri-ku nainige kong=du ge erseghe-wa.*
1:PL two=COLL come-IMPERF this person=DAT once ask-VOL
Let's us two ask this person who is coming.
- (17) *Gan keli-ji shan ganke-sa gezai bi-ku,*
3:SG say-IMPERF good do-COND good SUBJ:COP-IMPERF
If he says that showing kindness is good,
- (18) *qi muni nudu=ni waji heghe danang damei ni langpen=du kerla*
2:SG 1:SG:GEN eye=ACC dig take after 1:SG:DAT this pool=DAT throw
xi-gha.
go-CAUSE
you pluck out my eyes and push me into this pool.
- (19) *Gan keli-ku mao ganke-sa gezai bi-ku,*
3:SG say-IMPERF bad do-COND good SUBJ:COP-IMPERF
If he says that doing evil is good,
- (20) *bi qi=ni nudu=ni waji heghe-ku qimei ni langpen=du kerla*
1:SG 2:SG=GEN eye=ACC dig take-IMPERF 2:SG:DAT this pool=DAT throw
xi-gha-wa."
go-CAUSE-VOL
I will pluck out your eyes and push you into this pool."
- (21) *Gezai Kong keli-ji ber-ni ge-jiang.*
good person say-IMPERF become-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-OBJ:PERF
Good Man said that he agreed.

- (22) *Mieshi ri-sang ni-ge kong pianpian mao kong ge bang bai.*
front come-PERF this-CL person unfortunately bad person SG:INDEF OBJ:COP EMPH
Unfortunately, the approaching man was a bad man.
- (23) *Gan ghuer-jian=ni wuge=ni chenli danang,*
3:SG two-person=GEN word=ACC hear after
After he heard the two men's words,
- (24) *ai mula danang keli-ji,*
NEG think after say-IMPERF
without thinking (he) said,
- (25) *"Mao ai ge-sa,*
bad NEG do-COND
"If wickedness is not done,
- (26) *shan ai ri-lang,*
good NEG come-OBJ:IMPERF
good does not come,
- (27) *liangxin=nang ai bura-sa,*
morality=REFL.POSS NEG finish-COND
if one's conscience is not done away with,
- (28) *huacai ge da-lang.*
get:wealth do cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
wealth cannot be gotten.
- (29) *Suzun=du deghe-la-sang bulai=ni laola-der guang,*
water=DAT fall-PERF child=ACC help-ought OBJ:NEG:COP
A boy who has fallen into the water should not be helped,
- (30) *laola-ku han dier kerli-kunang."*
help-IMPERF also clothes want-OBJ:FUT
(because) if (he) is helped, (he) will also ask for clothes."
- (31) *Ni-ge kong keli hangbura danang yao-jiang.*
this-CL person say finish after walk-OBJ:PERF
After this man finished speaking, (he) walked away.
- (32) *Mao Kong bayasi danang keli-ji,*
bad person glad after say-IMPERF
Bad Man was pleased and said,
- (33) *"Du,*
now
"Now,
- (34) *qi shou-gha-ba sha!"*
2:SG lose-CAUSE-SUBJ:PERF PRT
you have lost!"
- (35) *Keli-ser gan Gezai Kong=ni nudu=ni waji heghe-jiang,*
say-PROG 3:SG good person=GEN eye=ACC dig take-OBJ:PERF
While speaking, he plucked out Good Man's eyes,
- (36) *yi-ge khuer=du Gezai Kong=ni langpen=du tike bao-gha danang,*
one-CL foot=DAT good person=ACC pool=DAT kick go:down-CAUSE after
gave Good Man a kick, (knocking him) down into the pool,

- (37) *bayasi-ser yao-jiang.*
glad-PROG walk-OBJ:PERF
(and) walked away happily.
- (38) *Nudu=ni waji he-sang Gezai Kong suzu=du yi-ge tegher zhazhengla*
eye=ACC dig take-PERF good person water=DAT one-CL while struggle
danang yada ting ge-jiang.
after be:tired that do-OBJ:PERF
Good Man, whose eyes had been plucked out, struggled for several moments in the water and was exhausted.
- (39) *Zheng hugu-ji xi-ku shijie=du,*
just:then die-IMPERF go-IMPERF time=DAT
Just at the time when (he) was about to die,
- (40) *kong ge suzu erqi-la ri-ji Gezai Kong=ni jiula*
person SG:INDEF water carry-PURP come-IMPERF good person=ACC save
gher-gha-jiang.
go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
a person came to get water and saved Good Man (from drowning).
- (41) *Suzu Erqi-qin Gezai Kong=du erseghe-ji.*
water carry-AGENT good person=DAT ask-IMPERF
Water-Carrier asked Good Man,
- (42) *"Qi=ni nudu=sa ya ge-ji chuzi tangke-la?"*
2:SG=GEN eye=ABL what do-IMPERF blood bleed-IMPERF
"Why is blood coming from your eyes?"
- (43) *Ai xiaoxinli danang langpen=du deghela xi-sang gui sha?"*
NEG careful after pool=DAT fall go-PERF SUBJ:NEG:COP PRT
Did you fall into the pool because (you) had not been careful?"
- (44) *Gezai Kong shiqin=ni jingguo=ni Suzu Erqi-qin=du yi-bian keli-jiang.*
good person matter=GEN course=ACC water carry-AGENT=DAT one-CL say-OBJ:PERF
Good Man told Water-Carrier what had happened.
- (45) *Suzu Erqi-qin chenli danang Gezai Kong=ni hudu niezhang*
water carry-AGENT hear after good person=ACC very wretched
shelie-lang.
consider-OBJ:IMPERF
Water-Carrier listened and considered Good Man very pitiful.
- (46) *Suzu Erqi-qin gan=ni duer danang mao miao ge=du ri*
water carry-AGENT 3:SG=ACC lead after bad temple SG:INDEF=DAT come
danang keli-ji,
after say-IMPERF
Water-Carrier led him to a dilapidated temple and said,
- (47) *"Bi Khuaiter Bayang=ni ger weilie ge-ku kong bi.*
1:SG Khuaiter rich=GEN house work do-IMPERF person SUBJ:COP
"I am a worker in the home of the Richman of Khuaiter.
- (48) *Khuaiter ning=sa shi-li mer bang.*
Khuaiter this=ABL ten-li road OBJ:COP
Khuaiter is ten li away from here.

- (49) *Bi yi-tian liang-hui suzu erqi-la bi.*
1:SG one-day two-instance water carry-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
I carry water (on the donkey) twice per day (from here to there).
- (50) *Qi ning=du xian sao mughashi bi qimei di-ku=ni kuerge-ji*
2:SG this=DAT first sit tomorrow 1:SG 2:SG:DAT eat-IMPERF=ACC take-IMPERF
*ri-a.*¹⁶⁵
come-VOL
You stay here for now and tomorrow I'll bring you something to eat."
- (51) *Ning ge-ser Gezai Kong Suzu Erqi-qin nukuer ber danang*
this do-PROG good person water carry-AGENT companion become after
ti-ge khaoqin miao tuduoruo hangbura sao-jiang.
that-CL old temple inside rest sit-OBJ:PERF
Thus Good Man was helped by Water-Carrier and rested inside that old temple.
- (52) *Shulian=du=ni,*
evening=DAT=POSS
In the evening,
- (53) *tiangere arong=ni change huotu qige-lang.*
sky clear=GEN totally star see-OBJ:IMPERF
the sky was so clear that (one could) see stars everywhere.
- (54) *Chuna,*
wolf
Wolf.
- (55) *Hundughai ma Taolai-si ye ti-ge khaoqin miao=du ri-jiang.*
fox and rabbit-PL also that-CL old temple=DAT come-OBJ:PERF
Fox and Rabbit also came into that old temple.
- (56) *Chuna keli-ji,*
wolf say-IMPERF
Wolf said,
- (57) *"Khuaiter=du suzu guang,*
Khuaiter=DAT water OBJ:NEG:COP
"There is no water in Khuaiter,
- (58) *ting-ku kong-si shi-li mer khuoluo langpen ge=sa suzu erqi-la*
that-IMPERF person-PL ten-li road far:away pool SG:INDEF=ABL water carry-PURP
xi-lang.
go-OBJ:IMPERF
so the people go to carry water from a pool ten li¹⁶⁶ away.
- (59) *Mer=di han gong ghuer ge nuoqi-lang.*
road=LOC also deep valley SG:INDEF pass-OBJ:IMPERF
On the way (they) pass through a deep valley.
- (60) *Ning ge danang bi yi-tian yi-kuer kong di-ji ber-lang.*
this do after 1:SG one-day one-CL person eat-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF
So I can eat one person every day.

¹⁶⁵ This word was reduced to *ra*, in accordance with the normal rules of Mangghuer pronunciation.

¹⁶⁶ The *li* 里 is a traditional unit of distance, equivalent to 500 meters.

- (61) *Muni duer nuoqi-ji gezai=ni jiaoduer kong mugha di-ji*
1:SG:GEN day pass-IMPERF good=GEN every:day person meat eat-IMPERF

ber-lang."

become-OBJ:IMPERF

My life is so good that (I) can eat human flesh everyday."

- (62) *Keli-ser gan ghazher di=sa gan'ger ge tiu danang*
say-PROG 3:SG ground ground=ABL splinter SG:INDEF pick:up after

shudu=nang waji kaiké-jiang.

teeth=REFLPOSS dig begin-OBJ:PERF

While speaking he picked up a splinter from the ground and began picking his teeth.

- (63) *Hundughai keli-ji,*
fox say-IMPERF
Fox said,

- (64) *"Muni duer a nuoqi-ji mao guang.*
1:SG:GEN day also pass-IMPERF bad OBJ:NEG:COP
"My life is also not bad.

- (65) *Bi qi=ni shenge jiaoduer mugha di da-sa,*
1:SG 2:SG=ACC same:as every:day meat eat cannot-COND
I cannot eat flesh every day like you,

- (66) *mieshi ji-tian=sa Bayang=ni zhang yi-kuer xujun bieqire¹⁶⁷ danang,*
front several-day=ABL rich=GEN only one-CL daughter be:sick after
(but) several days ago, Richman's only daughter became ill,

- (67) *Bayang jiaoduer manba ma lama-si=la bieqin ju-gha-lang.*
rich every:day doctor and lama-PL=INST illness see-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) every day Richman has doctors and lamas treat (her) illness.

- (68) *Jiaomugha kerla-ji gher-gha-sang duerma damei yi-nian*
every:morning throw-IMPERF go:out-CAUSE-PERF duerma 1:SG:DAT one-year

di-ku-da ge bang."

eat-IMPERF-ADJ SG:INDEF OBJ:COP

Every morning the *duerma*¹⁶⁸ thrown away (by the lamas) is a one-year supply of things to eat for me."

¹⁶⁷ DV: *bieqire*.

¹⁶⁸ *Duerma* (Tibetan *gtor ma*) are human-like figures made of highland barley flour. In Minhe Mangghuer areas, lamas are frequently invited into homes to read scriptures that are believed capable of curing illnesses. After finishing reading, they throw the *duerma* out at village lane intersections as a way of expelling the ghosts thought responsible for the illness. Lamas also often make *duerma* as an offering to the gods.

See Malqinhu's (1988:245-46) "The Green Meadow" for a Mongol account of this phenomenon. This short story begins with the seven-year-old narrator walking toward an intersection with a wooden plate "on which stood 'flour devils' [*duerma*], quivering and staring at me. ...

"The devils on the plate had come, it was said, to my home from the darkness ahead and made my mother seriously ill. Tonight I was going to send them back home.

"Take nine times nine, eighty-one steps from home, throw the flour devils away, kowtow three times on the spot, then come back. Remember not to look back on your way home, otherwise they will follow you back!"

Also see Limushiden and Stuart (1994:417-18) for a description of the Huzhu Mongghul *ranglijin* ritual, which is characterized as follows:

"[the ritual] requires inviting one to three lamas to the home to chant scriptures. As the lamas chant, they fashion, as indicated by the *pram* [a deity], a large ghost and several small ghosts, either male or female, from highland barley. Then, at a time given by the *pram*, the dough ghosts are taken to a crossroads and tossed in the direction from which the ghosts are thought to have come. The crossroads is a common choice for this ritual because ghosts often

- (69) *Taolai keli-ji,*
rabbit say-IMPERF
Rabbit said,

- (70) *"Bi ta ghu=la shenge gezai=ni di da-sa,*
1:SG 2:PL two=COLL same:as good=GEN eat cannot-COND
"Although I cannot eat as well as you two,

- (71) *Bayang=ni cai yanzi-ku chighang cai=ni di-sa ya angtudun¹⁶⁹*
rich=GEN vegetable yard-IMPERF white vegetable=ACC eat-COND also delicious

bang."

OBJ:COP

the cabbages in Richman's vegetable garden are also delicious."

- (72) *Chuna puza keli-ji,*
wolf another say-IMPERF
Wolf spoke again,

- (73) *"Bayang diandong bang bai,*
rich stupid OBJ:COP EMPH
"Richman is foolish,

- (74) *Khuaiter=ni ti-ge shuguo payang beghe duoruo buleghe bang ma.*
Khuaiter=GEN that-CL big poplar tree under water:hole OBJ:COP PRT
(for) under that big poplar tree in Khuaiter there is a spring.

- (75) *Bayang shi-er-ge zhuerlian ai xidera-ku kong daoda-ku,*
rich ten-two-CL age NEG be:like-IMPERF person call-IMPERF
If Richman called twelve people (born in) different years,¹⁷⁰

- (76) *ti-ge payang beghe duoruo waji-sa,*
that-CL poplar tree under dig-COND
and dug under that poplar tree,

- (77) *gan-si shiban ge qige-ni.*
3:SG-PL stone:slab SG:INDEF see-SUBJ:FUT
they would see a flat stone,

- (78) *shiban=ni banke he-sa,*
stone:slab=ACC move take-COND
(and if they) moved the stone,

- (79) *geigan buleghe suzu gher ri-ni.*
clear water:hole water go:out come-SUBJ:FUT
clear spring water would come out.

- (80) *Buleghe suzu yue suzu bang.*
water:hole water medicine water OBJ:COP
The spring water is medicinal water.

congregate and move about there—so much so that passersby are wary lest their souls be captured or they are possessed. After the dough ghosts are tossed away, incense is lit and those who have come to the ritual then kowtow."

¹⁶⁹ DV: *angcidun*.

¹⁷⁰ That is, twelve people, each of whom was born in a different year of the traditional twelve-year cycle used by Monguor, Han Chinese and Mongols. Each year is symbolized by a different animal; thus these twelve people have twelve different animals as their respective signs.

- (81) *Hazi wu-sa nudu gai-ji ber-lang,*
blind drink-COND eye bright-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF
If blind (people) drink (it), (their) eyes will become bright (i.e. they will be able to see),
- (82) *longguai wu-sa wuge suonuosu-ji ber-lang,*
deaf drink-COND word hear-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF
if deaf (people) drink (it), (they) will hear,
- (83) *yaber wu-sa wuge keli-ji ber-lang,*
dumb drink-COND word say-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF
if dumb (people) drink (it), (they) will be able to speak,
- (84) *quezi wu-sa gui-ji ber-lang,*
lame drink-COND run-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) if lame (people) drink (it), (they) will be able to run.
- (85) *Bayang diandong bainu guang?*
rich stupid OBJ:COP:QUEST OBJ:NEG:COP
Is not Richman foolish?
- (86) *Tiantai gezai buleghe suzu=nang ge ai jiari-lang,*
such good water:hole water=REFLPOSS SG:INDEF NEG use-OBJ:IMPERF
(He) does not use such good spring water,
- (87) *tingtai khuoluo pudera-ji suzu erqi-la xi-lang ma."*
that:much far:away run-IMPERF water carry-PURP go-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
(and instead they) go so far away to fetch water."
- (88) *Hundughai puza keli-ji,*
fox another say-IMPERF
Fox spoke again,
- (89) *"Qi keli-ji dui-lang,*
2:SG say-IMPERF correct-OBJ:IMPERF
"You spoke correctly.
- (90) *Bi nao-sa Bayang shizai ma diandong bang.*
1:SG see-COND rich really PRT stupid OBJ:COP
I think Richman is really foolish.
- (91) *Bayang=ni dian=du shi-er-duizi biesi bang.*
rich=GEN gate=DAT ten-two-CL straw OBJ:COP
At Richman's gate there are twelve stacks of straw.
- (92) *Bi jiaoshulian biesi tuduoruo niu danang hangbura-la bi.*
1:SG every:evening straw inside hide after rest-IMPERF SUBJ:COP
Every evening I hide in the straw and rest.
- (93) *Nuta-ku=sa mieshi bi yi-ge-dao khaila-sa,*
sleep-IMPERF=ABL front 1:SG one-CL-voice shout-COND
Before going to sleep, I howl once,
- (94) *Bayang=ni xujun=ni bieqin yueha dameitu-lang.*
rich=GEN daughter=GEN illness worse become:heavy-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) Richman's daughter's illness gets worse.
- (95) *Bayang jiaoduer daihu ma lama-si=la bieqin ju-lang ma,*
rich every:day doctor and lama-PL=INST illness see-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
Richman daily has doctors and lamas treat (her) illness,

- (96) *ju-ji ber-gha-ji ber-lainu?*
see-IMPERF become-CAUSE-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF:QUEST
(but) can treating (it) cure (it)?
- (97) *Bayang shi-er-ge zhuerlian ai xidera-ku kong daoda-ku,*
rich ten-two-CL age NEG be:like-IMPERF person call-IMPERF
If Richman invited people of twelve different years,
- (98) *shi-er-duizi daghu=ni dianke berdu-gha-ku,*
ten-two-CL firewood=ACC light burn-CAUSE-IMPERF
(and) burned the twelve haystacks,
- (99) *bi sao-ku wuruang=ni budier xi-gha-sa,*
1:SG sit-IMPERF place=ACC destroy go-CAUSE-COND
destroying the place where I live,
- (100) *nugu=ni aguer=ni bieqin ai ber-ji ang xi-la?"*
3:SG=GEN daughter=GEN illness NEG become-IMPERF where go-IMPERF
why wouldn't his daughter's illness become better?"
- (101) *Taolai puza keli-ji,*
rabbit another say-IMPERF
Rabbit spoke again,
- (102) *"Ta ghu=la keli-ku-ni dui-lang.*
2:PL two=COLL say-IMPERF-NOMLZR correct-OBJ:IMPERF
"What you two said is correct.
- (103) *Bayang shizai ma diandong bang.*
rich really PRT stupid OBJ:COP
Richman is really foolish.
- (104) *Bayang=ni cai yanzi=du=ni shi-er-ge tanter miangu bang.*
rich=GEN vegetable yard=DAT=POSS ten-two-CL jar silver OBJ:COP
In Richman's vegetable garden there are twelve jars of silver.
- (105) *Bayang ti shi-er-ge tanter miangu=ni waji gher-gha-sa*
rich that ten-two-CL jar silver=ACC dig go:out-CAUSE-COND
If Richman dug out those twelve jars of silver,
- (106) *Bayang yue bayaji-ni."*
rich more be:rich-SUBJ:FUT
Richman would become even richer."
- (107) *Baxian duoruo niu sao-sang Gezai Kong gan-si keli-ku wuge=ni*
table under hide sit-IMPERF good person 3:SG-PL say-IMPERF word=ACC
suonuosu ge-jiang.
hear do-OBJ:PERF
Good Man, who had hidden under a table, heard the words they spoke.
- (108) *Mughashi shidie=du duer zhangchai danang,*
tomorrow early=DAT day become:light after
Early the next day, just before daybreak,
- (109) *Suzu Erqi-qin gan=du di-ku=ni kuerge-ji ri-jiang.*
water carry-AGENT 3:SG=DAT eat-IMPERF=ACC take-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
Water-Carrier brought him something to eat.

- (110) *Gezai Kong di-ser erseghe-ji,*
good person eat-PROG ask-IMPERF
Good Man asked as (he) was eating.
- (111) *"Bayang=ni xujun=ni bieqire-jiang gelang,*
rich=GEN daughter=POSS be:sick-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
"It's said that Richman's daughter has gotten sick,
- (112) *zhuo bainu?"*
true OBJ:COP:QUEST
is (it) true?"
- (113) *Suzu Erqi-qin keli-ji,*
water carry-AGENT say-IMPERF
Water-Carrier said,
- (114) *"Zhuo bang,*
true OBJ:COP
"(It) is true.
- (115) *Bayang=ni aguer bieqire-ji ji-nian ber-jiang,*
rich=GEN daughter be:sick-IMPERF several-year become-OBJ:PERF
Richman's daughter has been sick for several years,
- (116) *laohan ma ningger ghu=la niezhang=ni zhang ni yi-kuer xujun bang.*
old:man and old:woman two=COLL wretched=GEN only this one-CL daughter OBJ:COP
the old man and (his) wife are so pitiful (because they) have only this one daughter.
- (117) *Xujun=ni bieqire-sang=sa,*
daughter=POSS be:sick-PERF=ABL
Since their daughter became sick,
- (118) *liangkouzi jiaoduer daihu qinla-ji aguer=nang bieqin*
couple every:day doctor invite-IMPERF daughter=REFLPOSS illness

ju-gha-lang.
see-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
the couple daily invites doctors to treat their daughter's illness.
- (119) *Lama-si=ni daoda-ji jiaoduer lan mushi-gha-lang.*
lama-PL=ACC call-IMPERF every:day scriptures read-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
Every day lamas are called in to read scriptures.
- (120) *Bieqin ai ber-lang han yi-tian yi-tian dameitu-lang.*
illness NEG become-OBJ:IMPERF still one-day one-day become:heavy-OBJ:IMPERF
The illness has not gotten better, but has gotten worse every day.
- (121) *Ji-tian=sa mieshi Bayang bugao ge gher-gha-ji,*
several-day=ABL front rich notice SG:INDEF go:out-CAUSE-IMPERF
Several days ago Richman issued a notice,
- (122) *kan gan=ni aguer=ni bieqin=ni nao ber-gha-sa,*
who 3:SG=GEN daughter=GEN illness=ACC see become-CAUSE-COND
(saying that) if anyone cures his daughter's illness,
- (123) *aguer=nang kan=du hu-ni ge-lang,*
daughter=REFLPOSS who=DAT give-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
(Richman) will give his daughter to that person (in marriage),

- (124) *han gan=ni ban-ge jiachan=nang aguer=du=nang*
also 3:SG=GEN half-CL property=REFLPOSS daughter=DAT=REFLPOSS

peili-ni ge-lang.
accompany-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
and also, half of his property will accompany his daughter (as a dowry).
- (125) *Ting ge danang ni liang-tian bieqin ju-ji hu-la ri-qin yue*
that do after this two-day illness see-IMPERF give-PURP come-AGENT more

wulangtu-jiang,
become:much-OBJ:PERF
Therefore, in the last two days the (number of) people coming to treat the illness has increased even more,
- (126) *kan a nao-ji ber-gha da-lang."*
who also see-IMPERF become-CAUSE cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(but) no one can cure (it)."
- (127) *Gezai Kong keli-ji,*
good person say-IMPERF
Good Man said,
- (128) *"Damei Bayang=ni xujun=ni ju-ji ber-gha-ku banhua*
1:SG:DAT rich=GEN daughter=ACC see-IMPERF become-CAUSE-IMPERF method

bi.
SUBJ:COP
"I have a way to cure Richman's daughter.
- (129) *Qi damei duer danang Bayang=ni gige-la xi-sa ber-kunaimu?"*
2:SG 1:SG:DAT lead after rich=ACC see-PURP go-COND become-OBJ:FUT:QUEST
Can you take me to see Richman?"
- (130) *Suzu Erqi-qin keli-ji,*
water carry-AGENT say-IMPERF
Water-Carrier said,
- (131) *"Qimei gan=ni aguer=ni ju-ji ber-gha-ku banhua*
2:SG:DAT 3:SG=GEN daughter=ACC see-IMPERF become-CAUSE-IMPERF method

bi-sa bi qimei duer-ji yao-sa ber-ni
SUBJ:COP-COND 1:SG 2:SG:DAT lead-IMPERF go-COND become-SUBJ:FUT

bai."
EMPH
"If you have some way to cure his daughter, I can take you."
- (132) *Gezai Kong keli-ji,*
good person say-IMPERF
Good Man said,
- (133) *"Bayang dangda hazi bang ge danang bieqin=ni ai*
rich 1:SG:DAT blind OBJ:COP QUOTE after illness=ACC NEG

ju-gha-ni ba?"
see-CAUSE-SUBJ:FUT PRT
"When Richman realizes that I am a blind man, (he) will not allow me to treat (his daughter's) illness, don't you agree?"

- (134) *Suzu Erqi-qin keli-ji,*
water carry-AGENT say-IMPERF
Water-Carrier said,
- (135) *"Kong=ni jiula-ku-ni guanjin bang,*
person=ACC save-IMPERF-NOMLZR critical OBJ:COP
"Saving a person's life is critical,
- (136) *han yang hazi bu hazi ge=ni."*
also what blind NEG blind SG:INDEF=GEN
whether (one is) a blind person or not."
- (137) *Ting ge danang,*
that do after
Next,
- (138) *Suzu Erqi-qin Gezai Kong=ni erjige=di=nang wuni-gha danang*
water carry-AGENT good person=ACC donkey=LOC=REFLPOSS ride-CAUSE after

Bayang=ni ger=juji xi-jiang.
rich=GEN house=DIR go-OBJ:PERF
Water-Carrier let Good Man ride on his donkey and (they) went toward Richman's house.
- (139) *Gan ghu=la Bayang=ni dian=du ri danang,*
3:SG two=COLL rich=GEN gate=DAT come after
When the two of them reached Richman's gate,
- (140) *Suzu Erqi-qin Gezai Kong=ni shuguai di khuonuo niu-gha ge-jiang.*
water carry-AGENT good person=ACC big door back hide-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF
Water-Carrier had Good Man hide behind the door.
- (141) *Suzu Erqi-qin Bayang=du keli-ji,*
water carry-AGENT rich=DAT say-IMPERF
Water-Carrier said to Richman,
- (142) *"Bi bieqin ju-ku-da kong ge duer-ji ri-ba.*
1:SG illness see-IMPERF-ADJ person SG:INDEF lead-IMPERF come-SUBJ:PERF
"I have brought a man who will treat (your daughter's) illness.
- (143) *Gan keli-ji qi=ni aguer=ni bieqin=ni ju-ji*
3:SG say-IMPERF 2:SG=GEN daughter=GEN illness=ACC see-IMPERF

ber-gha-ji ber-ni ge-lang,
become-CAUSE-IMPERF become-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
He says he can cure your daughter's illness,
- (144) *buguo ni-ge kong hazi ge bang."*
but this-CL person blind SG:INDEF OBJ:COP
but this man is a blind man."
- (145) *Bayang Suzu Erqi-qin=ni wuge=ni chenli danang munangra kaik-jiang.*
rich water carry-AGENT=GEN word=ACC hear after worry begin-OBJ:PERF
When Richman heard Water-Carrier's words (he) began to worry.
- (146) *Aguer=ni ajiu=ni keli-ji,*
daughter=GEN uncle=POSS say-IMPERF
The daughter's uncle said,
- (147) *"Hazi=ni bao kanduang ma,*
blind=ACC PROHIB belittle PRT
"Do not belittle blind men,

- (148) *bieqin ju-ji gezai-da=ni bang."*
illness see-IMPERF good-ADJ=GEN OBJ:COP
(for among them) there are good healers."
- (149) *Bayang mula-ji daoli=tai bang,*
rich think-IMPERF reasonableness=COM OBJ:COP
Richman thought this was reasonable,
- (150) *gan erseghe-ji,*
3:SG ask-IMPERF
(and) he asked,
- (151) *"Hazi ang=ji bang?"*
blind where=DIR OBJ:COP
"Where is the blind man?"
- (152) *Nugu=ni duer ri."*
3:SG=ACC lead come
Bring him (here)."
- (153) *Suzu Erqi-qin hazi=ni duer danang zhagha ger=du sao-gha-jiang.*
water carry-AGENT blind=ACC lead after above house=DAT sit-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Water-Carrier led the blind man (in) and had (him) sit in the main room.
- (154) *Gezai Kong keli-ji,*
good person say-IMPERF
Good Man said,
- (155) *"Qi damei shuduer-da hulang tounshen ge heghe-ji ri."*
2:SG 1:SG:DAT long-ADJ red thread SG:INDEF take-IMPERF come
"You bring me a long red thread."
- (156) *Bayang liangkouzi ghu=la mali shuduer hulang tounshen ge heghe-ji*
rich couple two=COLL quickly long red thread SG:INDEF take-IMPERF

ri-jiang.
come-OBJ:PERF
Richman and his wife quickly brought a long red thread.
- (157) *Gezai Kong gan-si=la tounshen=ni yi-ge terghai=ni aguer=ni gher=di*
good person 3:SG-PL=INST thread=GEN one-CL head=ACC daughter=GEN hand=LOC

huiya-jiang,
tie-OBJ:PERF
Good Man asked them to tie one end to the daughter's hand,
- (158) *han ge terghai=ni jie=nang bari-jiang.*
other SG:INDEF head=ACC self=REFLPOSS take-OBJ:PERF
and (Good Man) held the other end himself.
- (159) *Yi-ge tegher ber danang,*
one-CL while become after
After a while,
- (160) *Gezai Kong keli-ji,*
good person say-IMPERF
Good Man said,
- (161) *"Qi=ni aguer lu-sang-ni hundughai bieqin bang.*
2:SG=GEN daughter get-PERF-NOMLZR fox illness OBJ:COP
"What your daughter has contracted is the fox disease.

- (162) *Hundughai ge jiaoshulian qi=ni dian=du khaila danang aguer*
fox SG:INDEF every:evening 2:SG=GEN gate=DAT shout after daughter

bieqire-jiang.
be:sick-OBJ:PERF

A fox howls every evening at your gate (and that makes your) daughter sick.

- (163) *Mali zhuerlian ai xidera-ku shi-er-ge nasi mula kong daoda-ji ri,*
quickly age NEG be:like-IMPERF ten-two-CL age small person call-IMPERF come
Quickly call twelve young men of different years,

- (164) *huopa¹⁷¹ shi-er-ge berdu-gha,*
torch ten-two-CL burn-CAUSE
have (them) light twelve torches,

- (165) *ting-ku diamang-ku shi-er-duizi daghu=ni dianke berdu-gha,*
that-IMPERF door-IMPERF ten-two-CL firewood=ACC light burn-CAUSE
and then burn the twelve haystacks at the gate,

- (166) *qi=ni aguer=ni bieqin mali ber-ni."*
2:SG=ACC daughter=GEN illness quickly become-SUBJ:PERF
(and then) your daughter's illness will quickly get better."

- (167) *Bayang mali zhuerlian ai xidera-ku kong shi-er-ge daoda-ji*
rich quickly age NEG be:like-IMPERF person ten-two-CL call-IMPERF

ri-jiang.
come-OBJ:PERF

Richman quickly called twelve people of different years.

- (168) *Shi-er-ge huopa=ni dianke berdu-gha danang shi-er-duizi daghu=ni dianke*
ten-two-CL torch=ACC light burn-CAUSE after ten-two-CL firewood=ACC light

berdu-gha-jiang.
burn-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF

(He) had (them) light twelve torches and burn the twelve haystacks.

- (169) *Daghu tuduoruo niu sao-sang hundughai=ni xida danang*
firewood inside hide sit-PERF fox=ACC burn after

jiaori-gha-jiang.
burn:seriously-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF

The fox who had hidden inside the haystacks was seriously burned,

- (170) *hundughai bie=ni berdu-ser pudera yao-jiang.*
fox body=POSS burn-PROG run go-OBJ:PERF
(and) the fox ran away with his body burning.

- (171) *Bieqire-ji ji-nian ber-sang aguer shenxian yue*
be:sick-IMPERF several-year become-PERF daughter supernatural:being medicine

di-sang shenge mermer-di xier ri-jiang.
eat-PERF same:as slowly-ADV recover come-OBJ:PERF

The girl who had been sick for several years recovered gradually, as though (she) had taken medicine from the gods.

- (172) *Nudu=nang ni danang khaila bosi-jiang.*
eye=REFLPOSS open after shout get:up-OBJ:PERF
When (she) opened her eyes (she) began to shout,

- (173) *"Luosi hugu-ba!*
be:hungry die-SUBJ:PERF
"I am dying of hunger!"

- (174) *Nudasi hugu-ba!"*
thirsty die-SUBJ:PERF
I am dying of thirst!"

- (175) *Aguer=ni khergha-ku ana=ni nao-ji aguer khaila-ji yama*
daughter=GEN beside-IMPERF mother=POSS see-IMPERF daughter shout-IMPERF food

di-ni ge-lang.
eat-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF

Her mother, at the girl's side, saw that the girl was shouting, wanting to eat,

- (176) *bayasi danang nudu=sa linpuzi gher ri-jiang.*
glad after eye=ABL tear go:out come-OBJ:PERF
(and was so) happy that tears came from (her) eyes.

- (177) *Bantian yang keli-ku=nang ai miedie-lang.*
long:time what say-IMPERF=REFLPOSS NEG know-OBJ:IMPERF
For a moment (she) did not know what to say,

- (178) *Zheng naojianra-ku Bayang suonuosu-ji aguer khaila bosi-ba,*
just:then be:upset-IMPERF rich hear-IMPERF daughter shout get:up-SUBJ:PERF
Richman, who was worrying just then, heard (his) daughter begin shouting,

- (179) *pudera-ji aguer=ni sao-ku ger=du=ni nao-la xi-sa,*
run-IMPERF daughter=POSS sit-IMPERF house=DAT=POSS see-PURP go-COND
ran to look in the room in which his daughter stayed,

- (180) *aguer=ni bieqin yigua ber sao-jiang.*
daughter=GEN illness totally become sit-OBJ:PERF
(and found that his) daughter's illness was completely cured.

- (181) *Aba=ni bayasi ting ge-jiang.*
father=POSS glad that do-OBJ:PERF
Her father was very happy.

- (182) *Bayang gher duoruo-ku kong-si=nang jiariji gezai yama-si=ni*
rich hand under-IMPERF person-PL=REFLPOSS command good food-PL=ACC

baqia danang Gezai Kong=ni daichen ge-jiang.
prepare after good person=ACC entertain do-OBJ:PERF

Richman ordered his attendants to prepare wonderful food and (he) entertained Good Man.

- (183) *Bayang nao-ji hazi dama=di wosi-sang=ni zaihang bang,*
rich see-IMPERF blind face=LOC grow:up-PERF=GEN beautiful OBJ:COP
Richman noticed that the blind man was handsome in his face,

- (184) *zhang nudu=ni gong nukuo liang-ge bang.*
only eye=POSS deep hole two-CL OBJ:COP
except that his eyes were two deep holes.

- (185) *Gan mula-ji,*
3:SG think-IMPERF
He thought,

- (186) *"Aguer=nang yala hazi ge=du hu-ni?"*
daughter=REFLPOSS why blind SG:INDEF=DAT give-SUBJ:FUT
"How can I give my daughter to a blind man?"

¹⁷¹ DV: huoba.

- (187) *Bayang=ni tuduoruo mao=ni ting ge-jiang.*
rich=GEN inside sad=GEN that do-OBJ:PERF
Richman was very sad in (his mind).
- (188) *Bayang yiha beida Gezai Kong=ni xieli-lang.*
rich one:side side good person=ACC be:grateful-OBJ:IMPERF
On the one hand Richman was grateful to Good Man,
- (189) *yiha beida ya ge-ji khurong=ni laila-ni ge-ji*
one:side side what do-IMPERF wedding=ACC avoid-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-IMPERF
mula-lang.
think-OBJ:IMPERF
(but) on the other hand (he) was wondering how to avoid the marriage.
- (190) *Gezai Kong jiliu=ni Bayang=ni xinsi=ni ta gher-gha-jiang.*
good person clever=GEN rich=GEN heart:idea=ACC guess go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Good Man was so clever that (he) guessed what was in Richman's heart,
- (191) *keli-ji,*
say-IMPERF
and said,
- (192) *"Khurong=ni niebie bao tila-wa,*
wedding=ACC current PROHIB bring:up-VOL
"Let's don't bring up the wedding now,
- (193) *bi han yimeghe-ku dajia=ni bieqin=ni ju-ji hu-la*
1:SG also village-IMPERF everyone=GEN illness=ACC see-IMPERF give-PURP
xi-ni.
go-SUBJ:FUT
I will also go to treat the illnesses of everyone in the village.
- (194) *Qi damei zhuertian ai xidera-ku kong shi-er-ge yerri-ji*
2:SG 1:SG:DAT age NEG be:like-IMPERF person ten-two-CL look:for-IMPERF
ri,
come
You find twelve people for me, of different years,
- (195) *nugusi kuerji ma paojue-si=nang bari danang yimeghe-ku ti-ge*
3:PL spade and pick:axe-PL=REFLPOSS take after village-IMPERF that-CL
shuguo payang beghe duoruo xige ge.
big poplar tree under wait QUOTE
tell them to get their spades and pick axes and wait under that big poplar tree in the village.
- (196) *Zai yimeghe-ku hazi,*
in:addition village-IMPERF blind
Also, the village's blind people,
- (197) *longguai,*
deaf
deaf people,
- (198) *yaber ma quequer-si=ni yigua daoda ri.*
dumb and lame-PL=ACC totally call come
dumb people and lame people, (you) call (them) all.

- (199) *Bi gan-si=du bieqin ju-ji hu-ni.*
1:SG 3:SG-PL=DAT illness see-IMPERF give-SUBJ:FUT
I will treat (their) illnesses for them.
- (200) *Bayang chenli danang hudu bayasi-lang.*
rich hear after very glad-OBJ:IMPERF
When Richman heard this (he) was very happy.
- (201) *Mali yimeghe=sa shi-er-ge zhuertian ai xidera-ku mula kong daoda*
quickly village=ABL ten-two-CL age NEG be:like-IMPERF small person call
danang yimeghe-ku ti-ge shuguo payang beghe duoruo xi-jiang.
after village-IMPERF that-CL big poplar tree under go-OBJ:PERF
(He) quickly invited twelve young men of different years from the village to go under that big poplar tree in the village.
- (202) *Gezai Kong keli-ji,*
good person say-IMPERF
Good Man said,
- (203) *"Tasi=ni yimeghe=ni hazi; yaber; quezi ma longguai-si hangtula-ku,*
2:PL=GEN village=GEN blind dumb lame and deaf-PL get:together-IMPERF
"After the blind, dumb, lame and deaf (people) of the village arrive together,
- (204) *tasi kuji=nang gher-gha payang beghe duoruo waji."*
2:PL strength=REFLPOSS go:out-CAUSE poplar tree under dig
you put forth your strength (i.e. work hard) (and) dig under the poplar tree."
- (205) *Dajia waji-ser waji-ser,*
everyone dig-PROG dig-PROG
As everyone was digging and digging,
- (206) *yi-ge-zhen shi,*
one-CL-while time
after a while,
- (207) *kuerji shiban=ni penke-ji "dindindangdang" di dao*
spade stone:slab=ACC meet-IMPERF ONOM QUOTE voice
gher-gha-lang.
go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
the spades hit a flat stone, giving out a "dindindangdang" sound.
- (208) *Gezai Kong keli-ji,*
good person say-IMPERF
Good Man said,
- (209) *"Shiban=ni banke kaik-gha ma duoruo=ni suzu=tai bang,*
stone:slab=ACC move open-CAUSE PRT under=GEN water=COM OBJ:COP
"Move away the flat stone, (because) there is water underneath,
- (210) *suzu gher ri-ku dajia=la xian dama=nang ghua."*
water go:out come-IMPERF everyone=COLL first face=REFLPOSS wash
(and) when the water comes out, everyone wash your faces first."
- (211) *Gan-si shiban=ni banke heghe-sa shizai ma suzu yi-guzi gher-ji*
3:SG-PL stone:slab=ACC move take-COND really PRT water one-CL go:out-IMPERF
ri-lang.
come-OBJ:IMPERF
When they moved the flat stone, a gush of water really was coming out.

- (212) *Hazi ti suzu=la dama=nang ghua-ji bi-sa mudu=ni*
blind that water=INST face=REFLPOSS wash-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND eye=POSS
gai-jiang;
bright-OBJ:PERF
When blind (people) washed their faces with the water, their eyes became bright (i.e. they could see);
- (213) *longguai ti suzu=la dama=nang ghua-ji bi-sa*
deaf that water=INST face=REFLPOSS wash-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND
wuge suonuosu-ji ber-lang;
word hear-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF
when deaf (people) washed their faces with that water (they) could hear;
- (214) *yaber ti suzu=la dama=nang ghua-ji bi-sa wuge*
dumb that water=INST face=REFLPOSS wash-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND word
keli-ji ber-lang;
say-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF
when dumb (people) washed their faces with that water (they) could speak;
- (215) *quezi ti suzu=la dama=nang ghua-ji bi-sa jie=nang*
lame that water=INST face=REFLPOSS wash-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND self=REFLPOSS
gaigong gui=sa yao-ji ber-lang.
cane SUBJ:NEG:COP=ABL walk-IMPERF become-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) when lame (people) washed their faces with that water they could walk without a cane.
- (216) *Zui khuainuo Gezai Kong jie=nang a ti suzu=la dama=nang ge*
most back good person self=REFLPOSS also that water=INST face=REFLPOSS once
ghua-jiang.
wash-OBJ:PERF
Last of all Good Man himself also washed his face with that water.
- (217) *Gezai Kong=ni mudu gezaitu danang zaihang nianqinren ge*
good person=GEN eye become:good after beautiful young:person SG:INDEF
ber-jiang.
become-OBJ:PERF
Good Man's eyes recovered and (he) became a comely young man.
- (218) *Kharouqi Bayang,*
stingy rich
Stingy Richman,
- (219) *hazi mixu zaihang-da bulai ge bianli danang bayasi-lang ma,*
blind son-in-law beautiful-ADJ child SG:INDEF become after glad-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
was happy that the blind son-in-law had become a handsome young man,
- (220) *gan kharouqi=ni ban-ge jiachan=nang Gezai Kong=du shelie*
3:SG stingy=GEN half-CL property=REFLPOSS good person=DAT put:up:with
da-lang.
cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(but) he was so stingy that he could not stand to (give) half of his possessions to Good Man.

- (221) *Jiliu Gezai Kong Bayang yang mula-ku=ni puza ta*
clever good person rich what think-IMPERF=ACC another guess
gher-gha-jiang,
go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Clever Good Man again guessed what Richman was thinking,
- (222) *gan keli-ji,*
3:SG say-IMPERF
he said,
- (223) *"Qi=ni xujun damei dagha-nu ai dagha-ni gan*
2:SG=GEN daughter 1:SG:DAT follow-SUBJ:FUT:QUEST NEG follow-SUBJ:FUT 3:SG
jie=nang ju-ge.
self=REFLPOSS see-HORT
"Whether your daughter will follow me or not, let her decide herself.
- (224) *Qi=ni jiachan=ni bi diger a ai kerli-ang,*
2:SG=GEN property=ACC 1:SG little:bit also NEG want-OBJ
I do not want any of your property at all,
- (225) *bi zhang qi=ni cai yanzi-ku ti san-jian mula ger=ni*
1:SG only 2:SG=GEN vegetable yard-IMPERF that three-CL small house=ACC
kerli-ni."
want-SUBJ:FUT
I only want those three small rooms in your vegetable garden."
- (226) *Ni-ge-ama¹⁷² wuge Bayang=ni tuduoruo-ku yigua naojian=ni ghua he-jiang.*
this-CL-mouth word rich=GEN inside-IMPERF totally anxiety=ACC wash take-OBJ:PERF
These few words washed away all the anxieties in Richman's (mind).
- (227) *Bayang hudu dangren=ni Gezai Kong=ni qinla danang gan=ni xujun=ni*
rich very warmly=GEN good person=ACC invite after 3:SG=GEN daughter=ACC
nao-la xi-jiang.
see-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
Richman warmly invited Good Man to go to see his daughter.
- (228) *Aguer=ni Gezai Kong=ni nao-sa hudu bayasi-lang.*
daughter=POSS good person=ACC see-COND very glad-OBJ:IMPERF
When his daughter saw Good Man (she) was very happy.
- (229) *Qiaoqier-di ana=du=nang erseghe-ji,*
quietly-ADV mother=DAT=REFLPOSS ask-IMPERF
(She) quietly asked her mother,
- (230) *"Ana,*
mother
"Mother,
- (231) *qi keli-ji muni bieqin=ni ju¹⁷³ ber-gha-sang kong hazi*
2:SG say-IMPERF 1:SG:GEN illness=ACC see become-CAUSE-PERF person blind
ge bang ge-lang,
SG:INDEF OBJ:COP QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF
you said that the man who cured my illness was a blind man,

¹⁷² This word was reduced to *nigama* by the speaker.

¹⁷³ DV: *ji*.

- (232) *gan=du ya-ji nudu=tai bang?*
3:SG=DAT what-IMPERF eye=COM OBJ:COP
(but) why does he have eyes?
- (233) *Gan ya-ji ning=tai jingan bang?"*
3:SG what-IMPERF this=COM handsome OBJ:COP
Why is he so handsome?"
- (234) *Du ti-ge mao kong=ni keli-a.*
now that-CL bad person=ACC say-VOL
Now let's talk about that bad man.
- (235) *Mao Kong jiaoduer mao khere ge-ji damei-da danang.*
bad person every:day bad activity do-IMPERF heavy-ADJ after
Bad Man did so many bad things every day,
- (236) *jiaoduer yama a gezai di da,*
every:day food also good eat cannot
(that he) could not eat well every day,
- (237) *ner a gezai ai ri-lang.*
sleep also good NEG come-OBJ:IMPERF
nor sleep well.
- (238) *Nudu=nang zhang ge hani-sa Gezai Kong shenge haila-sang kong-si*
eye=REFLPOSS just once close-COND good person same:as injure-PERF person-PL

gan=ni jiaodong=du yerri-ji kharou heghe-la ri-lang.
3:SG=GEN dream=DAT look:for-IMPERF revenge take-PURP come-OBJ:IMPERF
When (he) closed his eyes (to sleep), people (he) had injured such as Good Man came into his dreams
and took revenge (on him).
- (239) *Yi-tian=du,*
one-day=DAT
One day,
- (240) *gan chenli-ji Khuaiter=du gezai daihu ge ri-jiang gelang.*
3:SG hear-IMPERF Khuaiter=DAT good doctor SG:INDEF come-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
he heard that a good doctor had come to Khuaiter,
- (241) *zhuanmen gan=ni yerri-ji bieqin=nang ju-gha-la xi-jiang.*
specially 3:SG=ACC look:for-IMPERF illness=REFLPOSS see-CAUSE-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
(so he) specially visited him to have (the doctor) treat his illness.
- (242) *Gezai Kong=ni yi-ge qige danang caijin-her xiegere-ji ni-ge gezai*
good person=ACC one-CL see after only-COMP realize-IMPERF this-CL good

daihu Gezai Kong bang bai.
doctor good person OBJ:COP EMPH
When (he) saw Good Man, (he) realized that this good doctor was Good Man.
- (243) *Gezai Kong ya ge-sang=nang xiangxi Mao Kong=du yi-bian keli-jiang.*
good person what do-PERF=REFLPOSS careful bad person=DAT one-CL say-OBJ:PERF
Good Man told Bad Man in detail what had happened (to him).
- (244) *Mao Kong mula-ji ni huacai ge-ku gezai jihui ge*
bad person think-IMPERF this get:wealth do-IMPERF good opportunity SG:INDEF

bang.
OBJ:COP
Bad Man thought this was a good opportunity to get rich.

- (245) *Gan bayasi danang dangtian shulian=du ti-ge mao miao=du Chuna;*
3:SG glad after same:day evening=DAT that-CL bad temple=DAT wolf

Hundughai ma Taolai=ni wuge=ni khuleghe-ji chenli-la xi-jiang.
fox and rabbit-GEN word=ACC peep-IMPERF hear-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
He was so happy that that same day in the evening he went to that dilapidated temple to overhear the
words of Wolf, Fox and Rabbit.
- (246) *Chuna keli-ji,*
wolf say-IMPERF
Wolf said,
- (247) *"Ni liang-tian Khuaiter=ni kong-si buleghe=ni waji gher-gha-jiang,*
this two-day Khuaiter=GEN person-PL water:hole=ACC dig go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
"These last two days the people of Khuaiter dug out a spring,
- (248) *shuguo langpen=du suzu erqi-qin ri-la guang.*
big pool=DAT water carry-AGENT come-IMPERF OBJ:NEG:COP
(so) no water carriers are coming to the big pool.
- (249) *Bi kong a di da; erjige a di da,*
1:SG person also eat cannot donkey also eat cannot
I have neither been able to eat people nor been able to eat donkeys,
- (250) *gediesi luosi-ji ting ge-lang.*
belly be:hungry-IMPERF that do-OBJ:IMPERF
(and my) stomach is very hungry.
- (251) *Kan muni wuge=ni chuanli gher-gha-ba?*
who 1:SG:GEN word=ACC spread go:out-CAUSE-SUBJ:PERF
Who broadcast my words?
- (252) *Bi nao-sa jianjia Hundughai chuanli gher-gha xi-gha-jiang.*
1:SG see-COND trick fox spread go:out-CAUSE go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
I think the cunning Fox broadcast (what I said),
- (253) *bi xian qimei di ge-a!*¹⁷⁴
1:SG first 2:SG:DAT eat do-VOL
(so) first I'm going to eat you!"
- (254) *Keli-ser Chuna ama=nang ghai danang Hundughai=ni di-la xi-jiang.*
say-PROG wolf mouth=REFLPOSS open after fox=ACC eat-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
As (he) spoke, Wolf opened his mouth and went to eat Fox.
- (255) *Hundughai ayi danang keli-ji,*
fox fear after say-IMPERF
Fox was afraid and said,
- (256) *"Bi puzhi!*
1:SG SUBJ:NEG:COP
"It wasn't me!
- (257) *Qi nao Bayang kong-si=la dian-ku daghu=ni xida xi-gha danang.*
2:SG see rich person-PL=INST gate-IMPERF firewood=ACC burn go-CAUSE after
You see, when Richman had his people burn the haystacks at the gate,
- (258) *puza diger shi bi ami=nang kuerge hu-ba.*
another little:bit time 1:SG life=REFLPOSS lose give-SUBJ:PERF
I nearly lost my life.

¹⁷⁴ This word was reduced to *go* by the speaker.

- (259) *Ai xinhuoluo-ku muni bian=du nao ma chan xida-sang biersi bang.*
NEG believe-IMPERF 1:SG:GEN body=DAT see PRT totally burn-PERF scars OBJ:COP
If (you) do not believe (it), look at my body; all over (it) there are burn scars.
- (260) *Bi nao-sa jianjia Taolai wuge=ni chuanli gher-gha-jiang.*
1:SG see-COND trick rabbit word=ACC spread go:out-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
I think that cunning Rabbit broadcast (our) words."
- (261) *Hundughai keli-ser bie=nang Chuna=du nao-gha-lang.*
fox say-PROG body=REFLPOSS wolf=DAT see-CAUSE-OBJ:IMPERF
As Fox spoke, (he) let Wolf see his body.
- (262) *Chuna puza ama=nang ghai danang Taolai=ni di-la xi-jiang.*
wolf another mouth=REFLPOSS open after rabbit=ACC eat-PURP go-OBJ:PERF
Wolf opened his mouth again and went to eat Rabbit.
- (263) *Taolai keli-ji,*
rabbit say-IMPERF
Rabbit said,
- (264) *"Yangjila-wa ya!*
beg-VOL PRT
"I beg (you)!
- (265) *Ta ghu=la keli-sang wuge=ni bi daige¹⁷⁵ keli-ji gher-gha-sang*
2:PL two=COLL say-PERF word=ACC 1:SG ever say-IMPERF go:out-CAUSE-PERF

gui.
SUBJ:NEG:COP
I have never told (anyone) the words you two said.
- (266) *Ta ghu=la ge ai mula,*
2:PL two=COLL once NEG think
You two do not even think (that way),
- (267) *bi keli gher-gha-sa bi jie=nang khere=nang guori kong=du*
1:SG say go:out-CAUSE-COND 1:SG self=REFLPOSS matter=REFLPOSS other person=DAT

yala keli-la?
why say-IMPERF
(even) if I told (what you had said), why would I tell my own secrets to other people?
- (268) *Ni ji-tian,*
this several-day
These few days,
- (269) *cai yanzi=du kong-si ger bai-gha-jiang,*
vegetable yard=DAT person-PL house stand-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
people have been putting up houses in the vegetable garden,
- (270) *miangu=ni a waji yao-jiang,*
silver=ACC also dig go-OBJ:PERF
the silver has also been dug up,
- (271) *chighang cai khuo-jiang.*
white vegetable dry-OBJ:PERF
(and) the cabbages have dried up.

¹⁷⁵ DV: daigai.

- (272) *Bi ji-tian yama di-sang gui."*
1:SG several-day food eat-PERF SUBJ:NEG:COP
I haven't eaten any food for several days."
- (273) *Taolai keli-ser ayi danang shugutu kaik-jiang.*
rabbit say-PROG fear after tremble begin-OBJ:PERF
As Rabbit spoke he was afraid and began to tremble.
- (274) *Chuna Taolai=ni niezhang yangzi=ni ge nao-sa,*
wolf rabbit=GEN wretched way=ACC once see-COND
When Wolf saw Rabbit's pitiful demeanor,
- (275) *ye mula-ji ni wuge=ni Taolai keli-ji gher-gha-sang*
also think-IMPERF this word=ACC rabbit say-IMPERF go:out-CAUSE-PERF

guang.
OBJ:NEG:COP
(he) also believed that Rabbit had not told (others) these words (that they had spoken).
- (276) *Hundughai keli-ji,*
fox say-IMPERF
Fox said,
- (277) *"Ni guai bang,*
this strange OBJ:COP
"This is strange,
- (278) *dajia kan a sai keli-ji bi-sa kong-si ya ge-ji*
everyone who also NEG say-IMPERF SUBJ:COP-COND person-PL what do-IMPERF

miedie-ji?"
know-IMPERF
if nobody told (what we said), how did people find out?"
- (279) *Taolai keli-ji,*
rabbit say-IMPERF
Rabbit said,
- (280) *"Bi mula-sa kendin kan ber-sa dasi=ni wuge=ni khuleghe-ji*
1:SG think-COND certainly who become-COND 1:PL=GEN word=ACC peep-IMPERF

chenli-jiang."
hear-OBJ:PERF
"I think there must be someone (who) overheard our words."
- (281) *Liang=di niu sao-sang Mao Kong ni wuge=ni chenli danang ayi danang*
beam=LOC hide sit-PERF bad person this word=ACC hear after fear after

shersi=nang jiake da-jiang.
urine=REFLPOSS pinch cannot-OBJ:PERF
Bad Man, who had hidden on a roof beam, heard these words and was so frightened that (he) could not control his urine.
- (282) *Shersi zhenhao Chuna,*
urine exactly wolf
Urine (fell) precisely (on) Wolf,
- (283) *Taolai ma Hundughai=ni bian=du deghele sao-jiang.*
rabbit and fox=GEN body=DAT fall sit-OBJ:PERF
Rabbit and Fox's bodies.

- (284) *Gan san-ge=la mali khaila bosi-jiang.*
3:SG three-CL=COLL quickly shout get:up-OBJ:PERF
The three of them quickly shouted,
- (285) *"Tiangere ning=tai arong bang,*
sky this=COM clear OBJ:COP
"The sky is so clear,
- (286) *khura ang=ji=sa ri-ji?"*
rain where=DIR=ABL come-IMPERF
where is the rain coming from?"
- (287) *Gan san-ge=la terghai=nang dianli danang liang=di ge nao-sa,*
3:SG three-CL=COLL head=REFLPOSS raise after beam=LOC once see-COND
The three of them lifted their heads and looked at the roof beam,
- (288) *liu-ge nuoghuang¹⁷⁶ mudu Mao Kong=ni nao sao-jiang.*
six-CL green eye bad person=ACC see sit-OBJ:PERF
(and) six green eyes looked at Bad Man.
- (289) *Niker yan=du,*
this time=DAT
At this moment,
- (290) *Mao Kong ayi danang gher=nang ge sulatu danang,*
bad person fear after hand=REFLPOSS once loosen after
Bad Man was so frightened that (he) loosened his hands (i.e. lost his grip),
- (291) *liang=di=sa zaike bao ri-jiang.*
beam=LOC=ABL fall go:down come-OBJ:PERF
(and) fell from the roof beam.
- (292) *Luosi jila-sang Chuna, Hundughai ma Taolai san-ge=la puke xi*
be:hungry extremely-PERF wolf fox and rabbit three-CL=COLL pounce go

danang Mao Kong=ni di danang yegheci a ge
after bad person=ACC eat after bone also SG:INDEF

huli-gha-sang guang.
remain-CAUSE-PERF OBJ:NEG:COP
Wolf, Fox and Rabbit these three, who were extremely hungry, pounced (on him) and ate Bad Man (so that) there was not even a bone left over.

The Stupid Boy

As told by Lü Jinliang¹⁷⁷

- (1) *Diandong Bulai.*
Stupid child
The Stupid Boy.
- (2) *Tiedun=du a,*
past=DAT PRT
In olden times,
- (3) *yi-ge diandong kong=du yi-ge bayang kong=ni aguer=nang*
one-CL stupid person=DAT one-CL rich person=GEN daughter=REFLPOSS

hu-jiang.
give-OBJ:PERF
a rich man's own daughter was given to a stupid person.
- (4) *Yihui,*
once
One time,
- (5) *gan=ni niangjia=du bieri heghe-lang.*
3:SG=GEN parental:home=DAT wife take-OBJ:IMPERF
in her parents' (i.e. Richman's) home a wife was being taken (into the home).¹⁷⁸
- (6) *Bieri=ni keli-ji,*
wife=POSS say-IMPERF
His (i.e. Stupid Boy's) wife (i.e. Richman's daughter) said,
- (7) *"Bi niaoduer xi-a.*
1:SG today go-VOL
"I will go (to my parents' home) today.
- (8) *Qi mughashi ri-ku shijie=du ya-ji ri-ni?"*
2:SG tomorrow come-IMPERF time=DAT what-IMPERF come-SUBJ:FUT
When you come tomorrow, how will you come?"
- (9) *Gan=ni kuergan diandong=ni jiaoduer dama=nang lai ghua-lang.*
3:SG=GEN husband stupid=GEN every:day face=REFLPOSS NEG wash-OBJ:IMPERF
Her husband was so stupid that (he) didn't wash his face every day.
- (10) *"Qi mughashi ri-tala¹⁷⁹ qi=ni ti erjige nuer=nang ge*
2:SG tomorrow come-before 2:SG=GEN that donkey face=REFLPOSS once

tangla-ku ri."
burn-IMPERF come
"Before you come tomorrow, scald that donkey face of yours, (then) come."
- (11) *Mughashi=ni kuer-jiang ma,*
tomorrow=POSS arrive-OBJ:PERF PRT
The next day arrived and,

¹⁷⁷ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong. For a similar Minhe account, see "Liu Wu Marries Red Flower" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994: 178). See "Wise Words" (Stuart, Li and Shelear 1994: 108-109) for a similar Dagur account.

¹⁷⁸ Richman's son was getting married. The phrase "a wife was being taken" refers to the new wife becoming a member of her husband's household.

¹⁷⁹ DV: *ritula*.

¹⁷⁶ DV: *nughuang*.

- (12) *gan gongshui yi-guo pujier-gha xi danang.*
3:SG boiling.water one-pot boil-CAUSE go after
after he boiled a pot of water,
- (13) *erjige=ni dama=ni tangla heghe-jiang.*
donkey=GEN face=ACC burn take-OBJ:PERF
(he) burned the face of (his) donkey.
- (14) *Ghuasi-si=ni shudi heghe-jiang.*
hair-PL=ACC pull.out take-OBJ:PERF
(Then he) pulled out (its facial) hair.
- (15) *Ting ge gan mula-lang,*
that do 3:SG think-OBJ:IMPERF
Then he thought,
- (16) *"Ni bieri keli-ji erjige=du damei-her ge erqi-ji ri*
this wife say-IMPERF donkey=DAT heavy-COMP SG:INDEF carry-IMPERF come
ge-lang ma,
QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
"This wife (of mine) said (I should) come carrying a heavy thing on the donkey,
- (17) *yang damei bang sha?"*
what heavy OBJ:COP PRT
what is heavy?"
- (18) *Ting ge gan yangmughang shan ge=ni erqi xi-jiang.*
that QUOTE 3:SG mill stone SG:INDEF=ACC carry go-OBJ:PERF
Thus he carried a millstone when he went.
- (19) *Xi-ku bieri=ni jielie-jiang bai,*
go-IMPERF wife=POSS meet-OBJ:PERF EMPH
When (he) arrived, his wife met (him),
- (20) *keli-jiang,*
say-OBJ:PERF
(and she) said,
- (21) *"Qi xian xi-ku ti jiao=du xi sao."*
2:SG first go-IMPERF that cellar=DAT go sit
"You first go and sit in the cellar."
- (22) *Jiao=du xi sao-ku,*
cellar=DAT go sit-IMPERF
After (he) went and sat in the cellar,
- (23) *yama diger hu-jiang.*
food little:bit give-OBJ:PERF
(someone) gave (him) a little food.
- (24) *Bulai-si xi-ku,*
child-PL go-IMPERF
(Some) boys went,
- (25) *cai=nang di-ser jiao=du sher xi-gha-jiang.*
food=REFLPOSS eat-PROG cellar=DAT urinate go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(and) while eating their food, (they) urinated into the cellar.

- (26) *"Zai ber-jiang,*
in:additional become-OBJ:PERF
"No more, it's OK,
- (27) *ber-jiang.*
become-OBJ:PERF
it's OK.
- (28) *Yi-gha duer-ba,"*
one-bowl fill-SUBJ:PERF
(My) bowl is full,"
- (29) *ning ge-ji khaila-lang.*
this QUOTE-IMPERF shout-OBJ:IMPERF
shouted (Stupid Boy).
- (30) *Bieri=ni=du banhua guang ma,*
wife=POSS=DAT method OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
His wife had no recourse and,
- (31) *gher-ji ri-gha-ku keli-ji,*
go:out-IMPERF come-CAUSE-IMPERF say-IMPERF
(she) let (him) come out (and) said,
- (32) *"Qi wuge suer-la xi."*
2:SG word learn-PURP go
"You go learn how to speak (intelligently)."
- (33) *Ning ge khuoluo dahula-jiang.*
this QUOTE far.away send-OBJ:PERF
Saying this, (she) sent (him) far away.
- (34) *Yao-da yi-ge mula mieran chaibai kuer-jiang.*
go-after one-CL small river bank arrive-OBJ:PERF
(He) went on until (he) arrived at the bank of a small river.
- (35) *"Hao-da-di qingshui a!¹⁸⁰*
very-big-ASSOC blue:water PRT
"What vast blue water!"
- (36) *yi-ge kong keli-lang.*
one-CL person say-OBJ:IMPERF
a man was saying.
- (37) *Gan jila ge-jiang.*
3:SG remember do-OBJ:PERF
He memorized (this).
- (38) *Pusa ge shuguo moran=du kuer-jiang.*
another SG:INDEF big river=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
Later (he) arrived at a large river,
- (39) *jiang yi-ge motu=ni qiao bang.*
only one-CL wood=GEN bridge OBJ:COP
(over which) there was only a single-plank bridge.

¹⁸⁰ This sentence is spoken in Chinese, and the same is true of all the subsequent sentences which the Stupid Boy memorizes and later repeats. For some discussion of the social significance of the choice of language here and in other Mangghuer folktales, see Slater (2003a:315-20).

- (40) *"Liang-ge mu hao guo,*
two-CL wood good cross
"(With) two planks, (it's) easy to cross,
- (41) *yi-ge mu nan guo-zhe!"*
one-CL wood hard cross-ASP
(but with only) one plank, (it's) hard to cross."
- (42) *Gan liang-ge kong keli-ku-ni chenli jila ge-jiang.*
3:SG two-CL person say-IMPERF-NOMLZR hear remember do-OBJ:PERF
He overheard and memorized what the two people said.
- (43) *Pusa yao-da yi-ge yanwai=ni dian=du kuer-jiang.*
another go-after one-CL official=GEN gate=DAT arrive-OBJ:PERF
Next (he) walked until (he) arrived at the gate of an official (of a village).
- (44) *Liang-ge kong zheng keli-lang,*
two-CL person just:then say-OBJ:IMPERF
Two people were just then saying,
- (45) *"Shang yanwai-di men wang-ha,*
up official-ASSOC gate towards-down
"The higher official's gate faces downwards,
- (46) *ha yanwai-di men wang-shang."*
down official-ASSOC gate towards-up
the lower official's gate faces upwards."¹⁸¹
- (47) *Gan pusa suer ge-jiang.*
3:SG another learn do-OBJ:PERF
He also learned this (sentence).
- (48) *Yao-ser yi-ge shibao dangla-qin yigua shibao "wara,*
go-PROG one-CL bird keep:away-AGENT totally bird ONOM
Walking along, (he saw) a person keeping birds away (from the fields), (but) the birds (were chirping)
"wara,
- (49) *wara,"*
ONOM
wara,"
- (50) *di gan=ni amu=ni di-ji ting ge-lang.*
QUOTE 3:SG=GEN millet=ACC eat-IMPERF that do-OBJ:IMPERF
making that sound, (as they) were eating his millet.
- (51) *Gan keli-ji,*
3:SG say-IMPERF
He (i.e. the man keeping away the birds) said,
- (52) *"Jiriri,*
ONOM
"Jiriri
- (53) *jarara' di,*
ONOM QUOTE
jarara' (you screech) like that (again and),

- (54) *wo ni=ha mingtian dao-liao yamen dian-li zan-ha-li."*
1:SG 2:SG=ACC tomorrow arrive-PERF prison gate-inside cage-down-ASP
tomorrow I'll cage you."
- (55) *Zha yigua=ni jila ge-jiang,*
ok totally=ACC remember do-OBJ:PERF
OK, (after he) memorized all of this,
- (56) *mula kong khari-ji ri-jiang.*
small person return-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
the young man (i.e. Stupid Boy) returned (to his wife's home).
- (57) *Ger=du zheng bieri he-lang.*
house=DAT just:then wife take-OBJ:IMPERF
(The family) was just then (preparing to) take a wife (into the house).
- (58) *Gan=ni diandong bang ge cha sai dao-ke-gha-jiang,*
3:SG=GEN stupid OBJ:COP QUOTE tea NEG pour-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
(They thought) he was stupid (so they) didn't pour him any tea.
- (59) *jiang kaishui yi-ge chagangzi dao-ke-ji ri-jiang.*
only water one-CL tecup pour-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
(they) only poured (him) a teacup of water.
- (60) *Gan keli-ji,*
3:SG say-IMPERF
He said,
- (61) *"Hao-da-di qingshui ya!"*
very-big-ASSOC blue:water PRT
"What vast blue water!"
- (62) *"Diandong bang,*
Stupid OBJ:COP
"He is stupid,
- (63) *diandong bang' di,*
Stupid OBJ:COP QUOTE
he is stupid,' (is what people have always said),
- (64) *ni nengan-her bang,"*
this clever-COMP OBJ:COP
(but now) this one is clever,"
- (65) *dajia keli-ji.*
everyone say-IMPERF
everyone said.
- (66) *Yi-zheng yama duanke-ji ri-ku,*
later food carry-IMPERF come-IMPERF
Later, when (they) brought (him) food,
- (67) *shuer gan-si jiang yi-ger hu-jiang gelang.*
chopsticks 3:SG-PL only one-CL give-OBJ:PERF HEARSAY
they only gave (him) one chopstick, they say.
- (68) *"Yi-ge mu nan guo-zhe,*
one-CL wood hard cross-ASP
"(With) one plank (it's) hard to cross,

¹⁸¹ "Down" or "lower" also signifies "east." "Up" or "higher" also denotes "west."

- (69) *liang-ge mu hao guo-zhe!"*
two-CL wood good cross-ASP
(but with) two planks (it's) easy to cross!" (he said).
- (70) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (71) *gan=du yi-ger shuer hu-sa,*
3:SG=DAT one-CL chopsticks give-COND
when (we) gave him one chopstick,
- (72) *liang-ger kerli-lang a!"*
two-CL want-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
(he) asked for two!" (everyone said).
- (73) *Xi di hangbura-jiang,*
banquet eat finish-OBJ:PERF
When (they) finished eating the banquet,
- (74) *yao-ji diamang=du gher-ji xi-jiang.*
go-IMPERF door=DAT go:out-IMPERF go-OBJ:PERF
(they) walked outside to the gate.
- (75) *Ni diandong keli-ji,*
this stupid say-IMPERF
This stupid (boy) said,
- (76) *"Shang yanwai-di men wang-ha kai-zhe-li,*
up official-ASSOC gate towards-down open-ASP-ASP
"The upper official's gate opens downwards,
- (77) *ha yanwai-di men wang-shang kai-zhe-li."*
down official-ASSOC gate towards-up open-ASP-ASP
the lower official's gate opens upwards."
- (78) *Kong-si mula-sa dui-lang,*
person-PL think-COND correct-OBJ:IMPERF
People (i.e. the family) thought (this) was correct,
- (79) *yili pusa ama=du=nang keli-ji,*
everyone another mouth=DAT=REFLPOSS say-IMPERF
(but) they all said with their mouths,
- (80) *"Qi=ni ni kong=du yang aguer=nang shuduer-ji*
2:SG=GEN this person=DAT what daughter=REFLPOSS lead-IMPERF

xi-gha-ni?
go-CAUSE-SUBJ:FUT
"Why should (we) let this person of yours (who is so stupid) lead our daughter?"
- (81) *Bao xi-gha!*
PROHIB go-CAUSE
Don't let (her) go (with him)!
- (82) *Ang!"*
EXCL
OK!" (they said).

- (83) *"Jiriri,*
ONOM
"Jiriri,
- (84) *jarara,'*
ONOM
jarara,'
- (85) *di,*
QUOTE
(you shout) like that,
- (86) *ming=ao dao-liao juan-ha-li!"*
tomorrow:morning arrive-PERF imprison-down-ASP
tomorrow morning (I'll) imprison (you)!" (Stupid Boy said).
- (87) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (88) *ni han da-si dajia=ni shoujiula ge-kuniang.*
this also 1:PL-PL everyone=ACC command do-OBJ:FUT
this one can command us all.
- (89) *Aguer=ni shuduer-gha-ya ya."*
daughter=ACC lead-CAUSE-VOL PRT
Let (him) lead (our) daughter," (they said).
- (90) *Ning ge,*
this do
Consequently,
- (91) *ni diandong kong bieri=nang pusa shuduer ger=du=nang*
this stupid person wife=REFLPOSS another lead house=DAT=REFLPOSS

yao-jiang.
go-OBJ:PERF
the stupid person led his wife to his home again.

Rabbit Fables



A dancing fashi (trance medium). In many Mangghuer villages, villagers need to replace the village god's internal organs each year, or once every three years, and thus invite a fashi to the village temple. The fashi requests certain creatures such as snakes, sparrows, magpies, bats, and spiders that symbolize the god's organs. After they are collected, the fashi places them inside the deity image and then the image is hidden in holes that are common in the mountainsides. The fashi must find the hidden deity image and inject life a soul into the image. In some areas, fashi also treat ill people in a fashion similar to that of the fala.

Rabbit's Trick

As told by Zhu Shanzhong¹⁸²

- (1) *Taolai=ni Jianjia.*
rabbit=GEN trick
Rabbit's Trick.
- (2) *Tiker shijie=du bai,*
past time=DAT EMPH
In the past,
- (3) *yi-ge chuna,*
one-CL wolf
(there was) a wolf,
- (4) *yi-ge yehu,*
one-CL fox
a fox,
- (5) *yi-ge taolai bang bai.*
one-CL rabbit OBJ:COP EMPH
(and) a rabbit.
- (6) *Du gesi yi-ge wula diere sao-ser bang ma,*
now 3:PL one-CL mountain on sit-PROG OBJ:COP PRT
Now they were sitting on a mountain,
- (7) *jianjian=ni gedie-si luosi-ji lai ber-lang bai.*
each:one=GEN belly-PL be:hungry-IMPERF NEG become-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(and) each one's belly was (so) hungry (that he) couldn't stand it.
- (8) *Di-sa di-ku-ni guang.*
eat-COND eat-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:NEG:COP
There was nothing to eat,
- (9) *wu-sa wu-ku-ni guang.*
drink-COND drink-IMPERF-NOMLZR OBJ:NEG:COP
(and) there was nothing to drink.
- (10) *Ji-ge=la ning ge sao sao-ser bang bai.*
several-CL=COLL this do sit sit-PROG OBJ:COP EMPH
The several of them were sitting just like this.
- (11) *Ning ge-jiang ma,*
this do-OBJ:PERF PRT
Things were like this,
- (12) *ni shijie yi-ge huashi nuqi-ji ri-jiang bai,*
this time one-CL fashi pass-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and at) this time a fashi¹⁸³ came passing by,

¹⁸² Collector: Zhu Yongzhong. See the Minhe account "The Wolf, Rabbit and Crow" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:175) and the Huzhu Mongghul account "The Rabbit Shares the Booty" (Stuart and Limusishiden 1994:125) for similarities. This story also appears as an appendix in Slater (2003a:343-50).

¹⁸³ DV: *huashi*. This term refers to a trance medium.

- (13) *dazi diger ge beila-ser bang,*
saddle:bag little:bit SG:INDEF carry-PROG OBJ:COP
carrying a little (pair of) saddle bags,
- (14) *bo=nang bari-ser bang.*
drum=REFLPOSS take-PROG OBJ:COP
(and) carrying his drum.
- (15) *Yigua ning ge-ji yao-ji nuqi-ji ri-lang ma,*
totally this do-IMPERF go-IMPERF pass-IMPERF come-OBJ:IMPERF PRT
(He) came passing by totally going like this,
- (16) *ni taolai=ni dughuli zhuerge bao-ji ri-jiang bai.*
this rabbit=GEN spirit heart go:down-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) this rabbit devised a trick.
- (17) *Gan keli-ji,*
3:SG say-IMPERF
He said,
- (18) *"Du dasi ning ge-a,"¹⁸⁴*
now 1:PL this do-VOL
"Now let's do like this,
- (19) *Chuna Gaga,*
wolf elder:brother
Elder Brother Wolf,
- (20) *Yehu Gaga,*
fox elder:brother
Elder Brother Fox,
- (21) *bi zou huashi=ni mieshi xi-ku duoghuolang diaoli-a bai.*
1:SG thus fashi=GEN front go-IMPERF lame jump-VOL EMPH
I'll go in front of the *fashi*, jumping lamely,
- (22) *Huashi nangda zhua kaik-ku,*
fashi 1:SG:DAT catch begin-IMPERF
When the *fashi* begins to chase me (and drops his things),
- (23) *ta ghu=luo ti=ni jiashi=ni beila ri bai."*
2:PL two=COLL that=GEN thing=ACC carry come EMPH
you two carry his things here.
- (24) *Ning ge-jiang ma,*
this do-OBJ:PERF PRT
(After) saying this,
- (25) *Taolai yigua duoghuolang diaoli-ji huashi=ni mieshi gui-lang bai.*
rabbit totally lame jump-IMPERF fashi=GEN front run-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
Rabbit jumped totally lamely, running out in front of the *fashi*.
- (26) *Ning ge-ji bari-la xi-sa huashi bari da-lang,*
this do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND fashi take cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
When (he) went to catch (Rabbit) this way, the *fashi* couldn't catch (him),
- (27) *ting ge-ji bari-la xi-sa bari da-lang,*
that do-IMPERF take-PURP go-COND take cannot-OBJ:IMPERF
(and) when (he) went to catch (Rabbit) that way, (the *fashi*) couldn't catch (him),

¹⁸⁴ This word was reduced to *ga* by the speaker.

- (28) *taolai gan yi-benzi diaoli yao-lang bai.*
rabbit 3:SG one-jump jump go-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
(because) Rabbit, he hopped (away).
- (29) *Huashi beila-ku-ni yigua=nang ge ge,*
fashi carry-IMPERF-NOMLZR totally=REFLPOSS put do
The *fashi* put down everything that he carried,
- (30) *luoti=nang tai ge zhua-jiang.*
boot=REFLPOSS take:off do catch-OBJ:PERF
took off his boots, (and) chased (Rabbit).
- (31) *Taolai ning ge huashi=ni shuduer danang yi-zhuan herge nuqi*
rabbit this do fashi=ACC lead after one-circle turn:around pass

ri-jiang bai.
come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Rabbit thus led the *fashi* around in a circle and back.
- (32) *Chuna dai Yehu ghu=la xi danang dimei a bo a*
wolf and fox two=COLL go after bread also drum also

luoti a ni-si=ni yigua bari ri-jiang bai.
boot also this-PL=ACC totally take come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Wolf and Fox together went and took away all these things: the bread and the drum and the boots.
- (33) *Gan san-ge=la yichuer kuer-jiang ma,*
3:SG three-CL=COLL together arrive-OBJ:PERF PRT
The three of them got together and,
- (34) *taolai keli-ku-ni shi ma,*
rabbit say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP PRT
what Rabbit said was,
- (35) *"Ni-ge luoti=ni ma Chuna qi musi.*
this-CL boot=ACC PRT wolf 2:SG wear
"These boots, Wolf, you wear (them).
- (36) *Qi jiaoduer khuoni zhua-ni a buxi-di,*
2:SG every:day sheep catch-SUBJ:FUT also other:things-ASSOC
Every day you chase sheep and other things,
- (37) *ning ge-sa,*
this do-COND
if (you) do this,
- (38) *qimai=du gezai bang bai.*
2:SG:DAT=DAT good OBJ:COP EMPH
(it) will be good for you.
- (39) *Ni-ge bo=ni ma Yehu qi he-ji xi bai.*
this-CL drum=ACC PRT fox 2:SG take-IMPERF go EMPH
This drum, Fox, you take (it).
- (40) *Qimai aguer bulai-di ji-ge=la bang ma,*
2:SG:DAT daughter child-ASSOC several-CL=COLL OBJ:COP PRT
You have several sons and daughters,
- (41) *qi he-ji xi-ku peghe-ji nadu-gha bai.*
2:SG take-IMPERF go-IMPERF hit-IMPERF play-CAUSE EMPH
you take (it) and let (them) play by hitting (it).

- (42) *Dime=ni bi he-ji xi-a bai,*
bread=ACC 1:SG take-IMPERF go-VOL EMPH
The bread, let me take (it),
- (43) *damei=du yang a guang ma."*
1:SG:DAT=DAT what also OBJ:NEG:COP PRT
there isn't anything else for me."
- (44) *Ting=sa Chuna keli-ji,*
that=ABL wolf say-IMPERF
So wolf said,
- (45) *"Ni ye gezai bang bai."*
this also good OBJ:COP EMPH
"This is also good."
- (46) *Yehu keli-ji,*
fox say-IMPERF
Fox said,
- (47) *"Ni ye dui-lang bai."*
this also correct-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
"This is also correct."
- (48) *Jianjian=nang khuba yao-jiang bai.*
each.one=REFLPOSS divide go-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(They) divided up each one's own (things) and left.
- (49) *Chuna luoti=nang musi khuoni zhua-la xi-jiang ma,*
wolf boot=REFLPOSS wear sheep catch-PURP go-OBJ:PERF PRT
Wolf wore his boots and went to chase sheep,
- (50) *ghuiya=nang woke khughuer ge-jiang bai.*
leg=REFLPOSS twist break do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and he) twisted his leg and broke (it).
- (51) *Yehu ti bo=ni bari-ji wower amang=du=nang*
fox that drum=ACC take-IMPERF cave opening=DAT=REFLPOSS

kuer-jiang ma,
arrive-OBJ:PERF PRT
Fox took that drum and went to the entrance to his cave,
- (52) *du zou zhazhaguer-si=nang ge gaoxinra-gha-ya ge-ji,*
now thus baby-PL=REFLPOSS once happy-CAUSE-VOL QUOTE-IMPERF
(thinking) that now (he) would make his children happy,
- (53) *ti=ni peghe kaike-jiang bai.*
that=ACC hit begin-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(and) began to beat that (drum).
- (54) *Zhuzhughuer-si lerjighe ge ayi-jiang ma,*
baby-PL suddenly once fear-OBJ:PERF PRT
(His) children were suddenly frightened and,
- (55) *jinke hugu sao-jiang bai.*
be:frightened die sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
died from fright.

- (56) *Taolai xi-jiang,*
rabbit go-OBJ:PERF
Rabbit went (home).
- (57) *Gan wower=du=nang kedie dimei=ni di sao-jiang.*
3:SG cave=DAT=REFLPOSS lie bread=ACC eat sit-OBJ:PERF
He lay in his cave, eating the bread.
- (58) *Mula-sa ni ghu=la namei=du zhua-ji ri-ni bai.*
think-COND this two=COLL 1:SG:DAT=DAT catch-IMPERF come-SUBJ:FUT EMPH
(Rabbit) thought "These two will come to chase me."
- (59) *Chuna mula-ji,*
wolf think-IMPERF
Wolf thought,
- (60) *"Ni Taolai=ni kao nao-jiang bai."*
this rabbit=GEN trick see-OBJ:PERF EMPH
"(We) saw (i.e. were taken in by) this Rabbit's trick."
- (61) *Yehu keli-ji,*
fox say-IMPERF
Fox said,
- (62) *"Ni=ni xian=du muni kao-xujun hugu sao-jiang.*
this=GEN reason=DAT 1:SG:GEN son-daughter die sit-OBJ:PERF
"Because of this one, my children died.
- (63) *Du ni=ni zhua-ji yao-a."*
now this=ACC catch-IMPERF go-VOL
Now let's go catch this one."
- (64) *Gan ghu=la zhua-ji ri-jiang.*
3:SG two=COLL catch-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF
The two of them came to catch (Rabbit).
- (65) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (66) *Taolai,*
rabbit
Rabbit,
- (67) *qi mali gher-ji ri,"*
2:SG quickly go:out-IMPERF come
you come out quickly,"
- (68) *diamang=du=ni xi-jiang ma khaila-jiang.*
door=DAT=POSS go-OBJ:PERF PRT shout-OBJ:PERF
(they) went to his door and shouted.
- (69) *"Ya ge-ni sha?"*
what do-SUBJ:FUT PRT
"What will you do?"
- (70) *Taolai keli-ji,*
rabbit say-IMPERF
Rabbit said.

- (71) "Ai,
EXCL
"Ai,
- (72) *qi gher-ji ri ma,*
2:SG go:out-IMPERF come PRT
you come out,
- (73) *qi=ni kao nao danang,*
2:SG=GEN trick see after
because of your trick,
- (74) *gulian=ni khuer=nang khughuer ge-ba.*
1:SG=GEN foot=REFLPOSS break do-SUBJ:PERF
I broke my feet.
- (75) *Yehu kao-xujun=nang hugu-gha ge-jiang."*
fox son-daughter=REFLPOSS die-CAUSE do-OBJ:PERF
(And) Fox caused his children to die."
- (76) *Taolai keli-ji,*
rabbit say-IMPERF
Rabbit said,
- (77) *"Bi ni dimei=ni di danang ama kheghera sao-jiang bai.*
1:SG this bread=ACC eat after mouth split sit-OBJ:PERF EMPH
"After I ate this bread, (my) mouth split.
- (78) *Ni qimai=du guailader guang,*
this 2:SG:DAT=DAT blame OBJ:NEG:COP
This isn't your fault,
- (79) *namei=du ye guailader guang,*
1:SG:DAT=DAT also blame OBJ:NEG:COP
(and it) also isn't my fault,
- (80) *Huashi=ni guaila-kuniang.*
fashi=ACC blame-OBJ:FUT
The fashi will be blamed.
- (81) *Ni zou Huashi=ni mao nao-jiang."*
this thus fashi=GEN bad see-OBJ:PERF
So this was the just the fashi's evil that we saw (i.e. were taken in by)."

The Rabbit Judge

As told by Zhu Wenhui¹⁸⁵

- (1) *Taolai=ni Pangguan.*
rabbit=GEN judge
The Rabbit Judge.
- (2) *Zha,*
ok
OK,
- (3) *tiker shijie=du yi-ge chuna,*
past time=LOC one-CL wolf
in the past a wolf
- (4) *yi-ge gong nukuang=du¹⁸⁶ degheba bao xi-jiang.*
one-CL deep hole=LOC fall go:down go-OBJ:PERF
fell down into a deep hole.
- (5) *Bao xi danang yi-tian nige khuoni biesi di-ji*
go:down go after one-day one sheep grass eat-IMPERF

ning ge-ji nuqi-ji ri-jiang ma,
this do-IMPERF pass-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF PRT
One day after (it) had fallen in, a sheep was eating grass and passed by like this,
- (6) *Chuna=ni qige-jiang.*
wolf=ACC see-OBJ:PERF
(and) saw Wolf.
- (7) *Chuna khuoni=ni qige yangjila kaike-jiang bai,*
wolf sheep=ACC see beg begin-OBJ:PERF EMPH
Wolf saw Sheep and began begging,
- (8) "Ai,
EXCL
"Ai,
- (9) *Khuoni,*
sheep
Sheep,
- (10) *du bi qimai ge yangjila-ya ma,*
now 1:SG 2:SG:DAT once beg-VOL PRT
now I beg you,
- (11) *qi namei¹⁸⁷ jiula bai.*
2:SG 1:SG:DAT save EMPH
you save me.
- (12) *Bi gher-ji ri-ku,*
1:SG go:out-IMPERF come-IMPERF
After I get out,

¹⁸⁵ Collector: Zhu Yongzhong.¹⁸⁶ DV: nukuodu.¹⁸⁷ DV: damei.

- (13) *qi=ni nenqin=ni bao mershida-ya bai.*
2:SG=GEN kindness=ACC PROHIB forget-VOL EMPH
may I not forget your kindness."
- (14) *Ning ge-ku Khuoni mula-jiang bai.*
this QUOTE-IMPERF sheep think-OBJ:PERF EMPH
When (Wolf) said this Sheep thought,
- (15) *"Ni=ni ge lai jiula-sa,*
this=ACC once NEG save-COND
"If (I) do not save this one,
- (16) *ni=ni mukuang=du dianke ge-kuniang."*
this=ACC hole=LOC bury do-OBJ:FUT
this one will be buried in the hole."
- (17) *Ning ge gan zou dong=sa chuna=ni lake gher ri-gha-jiang.*
this QUOTE 3:SG thus hole=ABL wolf=ACC pull go:out come-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Saying this it dragged Wolf out of the hole.
- (18) *Chuna gher ri-jiang ma,*
wolf go:out come-OBJ:PERF PRT
Wolf came out and,
- (19) *keli-ku-ni shi,*
say-IMPERF-NOMLZR COP
what (it) said was,
- (20) *"Bi yigua dong=du shi-ji-tian naila,*
1:SG totally hole=LOC ten-several-day be.hungry
"I have been totally hungry for ten to twenty days in the hole,
- (21) *du bi hugu-kuniang.*
now 1:SG die-OBJ:FUT
now I will die.
- (22) *Du qi ami=ni jiula-jiang ma,*
now 2:SG life=ACC save-OBJ:PERF PRT
Now you (have) saved (my) life,
- (23) *gezai-her ge jiula.*
good-COMP once save
save (it) better.
- (24) *Bi qimai lai di-sa gezai bang ma,*
1:SG 2:SG:DAT NEG eat-COND good OBJ:COP PRT
If I didn't eat you, (it) would be good but,
- (25) *bi luosi hugu-kuniang.*
1:SG be.hungry die-OBJ:FUT
I would starve to death.
- (26) *Zai qi jiu-ming-liao jiu daodi."*
in:addition 2:SG save-life-PERF save completely
Now you, (if you are going to) save a life, save (it) completely."
- (27) *Khuoni chenli-ji ning=du kuer-jiang ma,*
sheep hear-IMPERF this=LOC arrive-OBJ:PERF PRT
When Sheep heard it come to this,

- (28) *ayi ting ge-jiang bai.*
fear that do-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(it) was very afraid.
- (29) *"Du ya ge a!*
now what do PRT
"Now what's to be done!
- (30) *Bi ni=ni yala jiula-ba sha?"*
1:SG this=ACC why save-SUBJ:PERF PRT
Why did I save this one?"
- (31) *Ni shijie taolai ge nuqi-ji ri-jiang bai.*
this time rabbit SG:INDEF pass-IMPERF come-OBJ:PERF EMPH
(At) this time, a rabbit came passing by.
- (32) *Tingsa Khuoni keli-ji,*
then sheep say-IMPERF
Then Sheep said,
- (33) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (34) *Taolai,*
rabbit
Rabbit,
- (35) *Taolai,*
rabbit
Rabbit,
- (36) *du qi ge keli ma.*
now 2:SG once say PRT
now you say,
- (37) *Bi Chuna=ni gong muku=sa jiula gher ri-gha danang,*
1:SG wolf=ACC deep hole=ABL save go:out come-CAUSE after
After I saved Wolf out of the deep hole,
- (38) *gan namei di-ni ge-lang bai.*
3:SG 1:SG:DAT eat-SUBJ:FUT QUOTE-OBJ:IMPERF EMPH
it said (it) would eat me.
- (39) *Gan mukuang=du bi-ku shijie=du ya=ji ya=ji*
3:SG hole=LOC SUBJ:COP-IMPERF time=LOC what=DIR what=DIR
nangda dayingla-ba."
1:SG:DAT promise-SUBJ:PERF
At the time when it was in the hole, (it) promised me this and that."
- (40) *Tingsa Chuna keli-ji,*
then wolf say-IMPERF
Then Wolf said,
- (41) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,

- (42) *ni keli-sang-ni zhuo bang ma,*
this say-PERF-NOMLZR true OBJ:COP PRT
What this one said is true but,
- (43) *ning ge-ji lai ri-sa,*
this do-IMPERF NEG come-COND
if (I) don't do (it) this way,
- (44) *bi hanshi luosi hugu-kuniang bai.*
1:SG still be:hungry die-OBJ:FUT EMPH
I will still starve to death.
- (45) *Luosi hugu-sa,*
be:hungry die-COND
If (I) starve to death,
- (46) *nangda nukuang=du dianke ge-ku=la yigehua bang bai*
1:SG:DAT hole=LOC bury do-IMPERF=INST same OBJ:COP EMPH
it's the same as burying me in the hole.
- (47) *Du qi ge keli."*
now 2:SG once say
Now you say something."
- (48) *Taolai mula-ji,*
rabbit think-IMPERF
Rabbit thought,
- (49) *"Bi ya ge-sa ber-ku-ni sha?"*
1:SG what do-COND become-IMPERF-NOMLZR PRT
"What can I do that will be OK?"
- (50) *Gan yi-ge mula keli-jiang,*
3:SG one-CL think say-OBJ:PERF
It thought for a while (and then) said,
- (51) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (52) *bi duanluo-ji naghu da-kuniang.*
1:SG judge-IMPERF can cannot-OBJ:FUT
I cannot judge.
- (53) *Du qi Chuna yan nukuang=du=nang bao.*
now 2:SG wolf again hole=LOC=REFLPOSS go:down
Now you, Wolf, go down in your hole again.
- (54) *Khuoni ya ge-ji lake-ji gher-ji ri-gha-ba?*
sheep what do-IMPERF pull-IMPERF go:out-IMPERF come-CAUSE-SUBJ:PERF
How did Sheep drag (you) out?
- (55) *Qi yan yangzi=nang ri-gha,*
2:SG again way=REFLPOSS come-CAUSE
You make (Wolf) come out the same way (as before),
- (56) *bi ge nao-a ma,*
1:SG once see-VOL PRT
I'll watch and,

- (57) *nao-ku bi nige guansi=ni duanluo-gha-ji hu-a ma,*
see-IMPERF 1:SG one case=ACC judge-CAUSE-IMPERF give-VOL PRT
after (I) see, I'll give a judgment,
- (58) *pusa,*
another
(but) otherwise,
- (59) *bi keli-ji xidera-gha da-kuniang."*
1:SG say-IMPERF be:like-CAUSE cannot-OBJ:FUT
I cannot say.
- (60) *Ning ge chuna=ni huerghuer yan ti nukuang=du bao*
this QUOTE wolf=ACC trick again that hole=LOC go:down
xi-gha-jiang,
go-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Thus, (Rabbit) tricked Wolf and caused (Wolf) to go down into that hole again.
- (61) *Bao xi-gha-ku,*
go:down go-CAUSE-IMPERF
After (Rabbit) caused (Wolf) to go down,
- (62) *Taolai Khuoni=du keli-jiang,*
rabbit sheep=LOC say-OBJ:PERF
Rabbit said to sheep,
- (63) *"Ai,*
EXCL
"Ai,
- (64) *du da ghu=la mali pudera-ya,*
now 1:PL two=COLL quickly run-VOL
now let's us two run quickly,
- (65) *ni qimai=du kejie kejie dan jiula gher ri-gha-sa,*
this 2:SG:DAT=LOC when when in:case save go:out come-CAUSE-COND
(otherwise) this one to you, whenever (you) save (it) out (of the hole),
- (66) *qimai=du zhaqi-ni ma.*
2:SG:DAT=LOC eat-SUBJ:FUT PRT
(it) will eat you.
- (67) *Du ghuer=luo mali pudera-ya."*
now two=COLL quickly run-VOL
Now let's us two run quickly."
- (68) *Ghuer=luo pudera-ser bang,*
two=COLL run-PROG OBJ:COP
While the two of them were running,
- (69) *Taolai bayasira shini danang ama=nang huohuer¹⁸⁸ ge*
rabbit be:glad smile after mouth=REFLPOSS split SG:INDEF
kaike-gha-jiang,
open-CAUSE-OBJ:PERF
Rabbit laughed (so hard) that (it) opened a split in (its) lip.

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