

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS MONOGRAPH SERIES 62

Tshobdun Rgyalrong Spoken Texts With a Grammatical Introduction

by
Jackson T.-S. Sun
and

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



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Tshobdun Rgyalrong Spoken Texts
With a Grammatical Introduction

草登嘉戎語

口語文本分析暨語法綱要

by

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Summary

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

概要

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

Dedication

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

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Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

Abbreviations

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

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

Color plates



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



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



Bzhagbra Sacred Mountain



Kyoni Sacred Mountain



Tshobdun Monastery



Bkrashis Sgang Monastery



Kakhyoris Village



Byangchub Stupa



Bsangs (juniper) burning as a ritual offering for mountain and local deities

Part I.

A synopsis of Tshobdun Rgyalrong grammar

1 Background

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

¹ All Rgyalrong speakers use the autonym *kəru?* (and its various local variants); however, the Tibetan name Rgyalrong (from <rgyal.mo.tsha.ba.rong>) and the Chinese rendition (嘉戎) is preferred in writing.

² Older name: Mkhargu (*mk^hérgu* 卡爾古).

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



Figure 1. Map of Tshobdun-speaking villages

2 Phonology

2.1 Segmental phonology

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

The inventory of simplex onsets includes the following contrastive consonants. Items enclosed in parentheses are marginal, occurring mainly in consonant clusters or in loanwords:

(1)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>
	<i>p^h</i>	<i>t^h</i>	<i>c^h</i>	<i>k^h</i>	<i>q^h</i>
	(<i>b</i>)	(<i>d</i>)	<i>ʃ</i>	(<i>g</i>)	
	<i>ⁿb</i>	<i>ⁿd</i>	<i>ⁿʃ</i>	<i>ⁿg</i>	<i>ⁿG</i>
		<i>ts</i>	<i>tʂ</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	
		<i>ts^h</i>	<i>tʂ^h</i>	<i>tʃ^h</i>	
		(<i>dz</i>)	(<i>dʒ</i>)	(<i>dʒ</i>)	
		<i>ⁿdz</i>	<i>ⁿdʒ</i>	<i>ⁿdʒ</i>	
	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
	(<i>f</i>)	<i>s</i>	(<i>ʂ</i>)	<i>f</i>	(<i>x</i>) <i>χ</i>
	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ʎ</i>	<i>ʝ</i>
		<i>r</i>			
		(<i>l</i>)			
		<i>l</i>			
	<i>w</i>		<i>j</i>		

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

Tshobdun distinguishes nine vowel phonemes: *a*, *ɐ*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *ɛ*, *o*, *ɔ*, and *ə*. Only two intrinsic complex vocoids *ɛj* and *oj* exist in the native vocabulary. These cannot take consonant codas other than the glottal stop, and are treated as vowel + glide sequences.

A number of segmental phonological processes are found, including high-mid vowel lowering under falling pitch (e.g. $'ts^h\acute{e}t \rightarrow ts^h\grave{e}t$ 'goat'; $zy\acute{\delta}t \rightarrow zy\grave{\delta}t$ 'arrive [STEM 2]'), vowel assimilation (e.g. $r\acute{o}^n di \rightarrow r\acute{u}^n di$ 'as soon as she/he rides'), vowel syncope ($k\acute{v}-n\acute{\delta}^n ge \rightarrow k\acute{v}-n^ng e$ 'get oneself dressed [INF]'), vowel fusion (e.g. $m\acute{\delta}-t\acute{\delta}-o-k^ndu\acute{\delta}-a\eta \rightarrow motok^ndon\acute{\delta}$ 'she/he did not beat me'), consonant assimilation (e.g. $n\acute{v}-sc\acute{\delta}t-a\eta \rightarrow n\acute{v}sc\acute{\delta}na\eta$ 'I was comfortable'), consonant epenthesis (e.g. $nrewe \rightarrow ^ndzewe$ 'hope'; $s\acute{\delta}-rem \rightarrow s\acute{\delta}yrem$ 'make dry'), and syncope (e.g. $k\acute{\alpha}tfov\acute{\delta}-sqe \rightarrow k\acute{\alpha}tfosqe$ 'sixty'; $\acute{v}sv-m\acute{a}rku \rightarrow \acute{v}sm\acute{a}rku$ [$\acute{v}zm\acute{a}rku$] 'he is stealing it'). For productive phonological alternations at the morphosyntactic level, see §3.2.

2.2 Suprasegmental phonology

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

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------------|
| (2) | $ro\acute{\delta}$ [$ro\acute{\delta}^H$] | 'fetch' |
| | $\acute{v}sv-ro$ [$\acute{v}^Ls\acute{v}^Hro^{HL}$] | 'She/he is fetching.' |
| | $j\acute{v}-ro$ [$j\acute{v}^Lro^{HL}$] | 'She/he fetched.' |

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

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------|
| (3) | $fkot$ [$fkot^H$] | 'carve' |
| | $\acute{v}sv-fk\acute{\delta}t$ [$\acute{v}^Ls\acute{v}^Hfk\acute{\delta}t^{HL}$] | 'She/he is carving.' |
| | $ne-fk\acute{\delta}t$ [$ne^Lfk\acute{\delta}t^{HL}$] | 'She/he carved.' |

Unlike in the closely related Showu Rgyalrong language where all syllable types show a level

vs. falling tonal contrast (Sun 2004), Tshobdun syllables with *-t* normally do not carry the falling pitch, barring a small number of lexical exceptions (marked in this work by a circumflex; e.g. *xɬət* ‘be short’; *ʰbêt* ‘be low’). The phenomenon in (3), therefore, represents a notable case of grammatically conditioned tonality alternation.

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

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

Enclitics (suffixes at the phrasal level) present distinct pitch patterns. Enclitics fall under two subtypes, unaccented and accented. With unaccented enclitics, which include determiners (e.g. definite =*nəʔ*; indefinite =*cəʔ*; proximal demonstrative =*koʔ*), plurality morphemes (e.g. dual =*niʔ*; plural =*rɛʔ*) and certain adverbials (e.g. =*rɛn* ‘even’), their actual pitch heights are simply carried over from the final syllables of their phonological hosts, as shown below (the pitch contour differences on the high-pitched enclitics in the latter two examples are due to an aforementioned phonetic realization rule, such that checked and non-checked syllables take high-level and high-falling pitch, respectively):

- (4) *é-mo=rɛn* [ɛ^hmo^lrɛn^l] ‘even my mother’
ɛ-jɛ=rɛn [ɛ^ljɛ^hrɛn^l] ‘even my elder brother/sister’
ɛ-lɲaʔ=rɛn [ɛ^llɲaʔ^hrɛn^h] ‘even my child’
 cf. *ɛ-lɲaʔ=rɛʔ* [ɛ^llɲaʔ^hrɛʔ^h] ‘my child and associates’

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

- (5) a. *jəlpe* *moste=nəʔ* *t^hoχcɛm* **ó-ta** *tə-nə-ɛre*
 neighbor single.woman=DET verandah **3SG:POSS-top** PFV:UP-SPON-go₂
 ~ b. *jəlpe* *moste=nəʔ* *t^hoχcém=ta* *tə-nə-ɛre*
 neighbor single.woman=DET verandah=**top** PFV:UP-SPON-go₂

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

Accented enclitics in combination with an already accented host are deprived of their latent accent. For example, the accent of the ergative-instrumental case =’*kə* materializes on unaccented hosts, e.g. *ɛ-lɲaʔ=kə* [ɛ^llɲaʔ^hkə^l] ‘my child (ergative)’, *ɛ-jɛ=kə* [ɛ^ljɛ^hkə^l] ‘my elder sibling (ergative)’, but must yield to the accent of its phonological host, as in *é-mo=kə* [ɛ^hmo^lkə^l] ‘my mother (ergative)’.

3 Morphology

3.1 Lexical categories

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

⁴ In what follows, the latent accent of accented enclitics is marked on the last syllable of the host word to aid the readability.

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

- (6) a. *kəko?* *kəru?* *fte?* *ko*
 3SG Rgyalrong be:EMPH DM
 ‘So (I realize now that) she/he is Rgyalrong!’
- b. *kəko?* *kəru?* *fte?* *mu*
 3SG Rgyalrong be:EMPH DM
 ‘She/he is Rgyalrong, isn’t she/he?’
- c. *kəko?* *kəru?* *fte?* *ta?*
 3SG Rgyalrong be:EMPH DM
 ‘I am certain she/he is Rgyalrong.’

3.2 Word-formation mechanisms

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

Various morphological mechanisms are put to use in word formation, of which the most

prevalent are affixation and reduplication. The predominance of prefixes over suffixes is a notable feature. The majority of non-derived native nouns carry one of four nominal prefixes *tə-*, *tɐ-*, *kə-*, and *qɐ-*, the distribution of which is largely lexical. Verbal affixes, on the other hand, serve a primary function of implementing much of the derivational and inflectional morphology of the language. Reduplication is another key morphological device. The formation of reciprocal and intensive process verbs provides an example of partial reduplication, where the reduplicated syllable consists of the initial of the verb root plus the vowel *-ə*, e.g. *(-mə)-ⁿgəⁿ-ⁿge* ‘call each other’ from root *ⁿge* ‘call’; *nə-^{vdə}-^{vdə}* ‘become better and better’ from root *vdə* ‘be good’. Full reduplication is drawn upon to form verbal iterative aspect, e.g. *nɐ-^{spɛr}-^{spɛr}* ‘keep moving (objects)’ with prefix *nɐ-* and root *spɛr* ‘move (an object)’. Reduplication also applies to lexical categories other than verbs, producing temporal adverbials (e.g. *k^he-^{sɲi}-^{sɲi}* ‘day after day’ and *sɲi-ku-^{sɲi}* ‘everyday’, from *sɲi* ‘day’), complex nominals (e.g. *kɐⁿdʒə-^{lɲə}-^{lɲə}* ‘parent and child’, from *tɐ-^{lɲə}?* ‘child’; *ⁿbrət^{fu} ko-kə-kɐm?* ‘knife together with its sheath’, from *tɐ-^{kɐm}?* ‘pouch, container’) and above all, derived ideophones. From the ideophone root *jər* denoting quietness, for example, myriad reduplication patterns yield a full set of derived ideophones (Sun & Shi 2004):

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

Stem modification by means of consonantal alternation is utilized in the derivation of a number of lexical causatives, e.g. *prɛt* ‘cause (a rope) to break’ vs. *ⁿbrɛt* ‘(of a rope) break’. A striking type of inflectional stem alternation is second (or past) stem formation by glottality inversion (Sun 2000a; 2004), e.g. *p^hjəz?* ‘wipe [STEM₁]’, *phjəz* ‘wipe [STEM₂]’; *sroj* ‘guard [STEM₁]’, *sroj?* ‘guard [STEM₂]’. The phenomenon of ablaut is equally remarkable. Playing a role in compound-noun (e.g. *^khɛ* ‘house’, *k^hɐ-rmi?* ‘house-name’) and compound-numeral (e.g. *sqe?* ‘ten’, *sqɐ-*

m̥ŋo ‘fifteen’) formation, ablaut is at full play in verb inflection (Sun 2004). One type of ablaut derives the past verb stem from the first (or base) stem,⁵ e.g. *rp^haltfem* ‘be in estrus [STEM₁]’, *rp^haltfem?* ‘be in estrus [STEM₂]’; *wi* ‘come [STEM₁]’, *wε?* ‘come [STEM₂]’. Another type builds the third stem occurring in certain specific transitive contexts, such as the singular imperative, e.g. *něji* ‘wait’, *nə-něje* ‘You [SG] wait for him/her!’; *pe* ‘do’, *nε-pɔ* ‘You [SG] do it!’. Stems also undergo modification via accent adjustment, which assigns or removes accent depending on the construction. Accent modification also occurs sporadically in lexical derivation, e.g. *nənə?* ‘that’, *nánəz* ‘there’; *tfor?* ‘be sour’, *kátfor* ‘pickled turnip greens’. Systematic application of accent modification in Tshobdun grammar also occurs in the formation of vocatives (§3.4.1) and polar interrogatives (examples 27, 31, 40).

Nominal compounds may consist entirely of unaffixed roots, e.g. *qej-γve?* ‘wheat awn’. More commonly, nominal prefixes of the initial compound components are retained, resulting in affixed compounds, e.g. *tε-se-ro?* ‘hemp stalk’, cf. *tε-se?* ‘hemp’, *tε-ro?* ‘stalk’. Compounds containing more than two components are rare, e.g. *rjε-pye-lɔ?* (Chinese+fowl+nest) ‘hen house’. Verbal compounds of several types are attested, such as *nə-nⁿdzé-t^{hi}* (derivational prefix+eat+drink) ‘dine’; *nε-ŋo-ma?* (derivational prefix+be+not.be) ‘hesitate’. Nominal roots are frequently incorporated into verbs (e.g. *nə-ser-ro?* (derivational prefix+louse+look.for) ‘search for lice’; *nə-k^hə-lət* (derivational prefix+dog+release) ‘release dogs (while hunting)’), further enrich the inventory of complex verb stems.

3.3 Derivational morphology⁶

Derivational processes are employed in abundance to form morphologically related words. With nominal roots, suffixation yields gender (male *-p^{ho}*, female *’-mo*) and diminutive (*-pu*) forms, while denominalization is achieved by means of the verbalizing prefixes *nə-/nε-*, e.g. *tfaŋe* ‘loach’, *nə-tfaŋe* ‘catch loaches’; *té-ŋε* ‘sun’, *ně-ŋε* ‘bask in the sun’; *tá-mŋa* ‘eye’, *ná-mŋa* ‘aim [V]’. Sometimes actors or instruments are also verbalized in this way, producing transitive verbs,

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

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

e.g. *rtʃaxpe* ‘robber’, *nə-rtʃaxpe* ‘rob’; *tə-pu* ‘child’, *nə-pu* ‘treat like one’s child’. The other major type of derived word formed by shifting lexical categories is the deverbal noun. Action nominals take one of the two nominalizing prefixes, *kə-* (dynamic/human) and *kə-* (stative/non-human), e.g. *kə-nʒu* ‘be poor’, *kə-nʒu* ‘become poor’, *kə-xsorʔ* ‘give birth (as of bovines)’; *kə-səsce* ‘give birth (as of humans)’. Participant nominalization derives nouns referring to arguments of the source verbs. The prefix *kə-* produces nouns denoting S-role arguments of intransitive verbs, e.g. *kə-nʒiʔ* ‘patient’ (< *nʒiʔ* ‘ill’), *kə-timʔ* (< *timʔ* ‘be rich’) ‘rich person’, as well as A-role arguments of transitive verbs, e.g. *kə-mərku* ‘thief’ (< *mərku* ‘steal’). The prefix *kə-* turns transitive verb roots into deverbal nouns denoting P-role arguments, e.g. *kə-nʒe* ‘food’ (< *nʒe* ‘eat’); *ʋ-kə-rge* ‘one loved by me’ (< *rge* ‘love’). There is in addition a manner nominalizer *tə-* and an oblique (instrument/location/time) nominalizer *sə-* attached to past stems, e.g. *o-tə-rtʃoneʔ* ‘the way she/he dances’ (< *rtʃone* ‘dance’); *sə-sceʔ* ‘birthplace; birthday’ (< *sce* ‘give birth’); *sə-nʒətʃi* ‘dining place’, ‘instrument with which to eat a meal’ (< *nʒətʃi* ‘dine’). Further derivational processes alters verb valence. In addition to analytical causatives, Tshobdun achieves causativization by means of valence-increasing causative prefixes *sə-*, *sə-*, *wə-*, and *f-*, e.g. *smi* ‘be cooked’, *wə-smi* ‘cook [V]’; *tʃi* ‘drink’, *f-tʃi* ‘give to drink; suckle’. On the other hand, a detransitivizing prefix turns a transitive verb into a corresponding intransitive, e.g. *ntʃe* ‘kill’, *rə-ntʃe* ‘do slaughtering’. Reflexive verb formation in the reflexive prefix *jə-* can be considered a type of detransitivizing derivation as reflexive verbs are low in transitivity, as evidence for example by the low-transitivity continuous marker they require, e.g. *tʃə-o-jə-ɛⁿduʔ-cə* (CONT:LTR-INV-REFL-beat-MED) ‘s/he is beating him/herself’.

3.4 Inflectional morphology

3.4.1 Nominal inflection

Nominals are inflected for number (dual =*niʔ*; plural =*rəʔ*), case, and possession. Number marking expresses associative plurals (e.g. *kréʃi=rəʔ* ‘Krashi and associates’) as well as additive plurals. As a head-marking language, Tshobdun makes relatively sparing use of nominal case. The two basic case forms, the ergative-instrumental =*kə* and the locative =*z*, are optional when

their absence does not lead to ambiguity. Nominals bearing patient, recipient, and theme roles are generally not case-marked. Case-marking morphology is heterogeneous, employing enclitics, prefixes, as well as stem modification by accent readjustment. A split ergative system obtains where the ergative =*'kə* is mandatory on an A argument only if it is outranked by the P argument on an empathy hierarchy: speaker > hearer > non-participant > non-human animate > inanimate (Kuno 1976; DeLancey 1981b; Sun & Shi 2002). Notably, the presence of an instrument participant (case-marked with the ergative-instrumental =*'kə*) requires the verb to be marked with a causative prefix:

- (8) *n'dzəŋo=kə* *tə-sə-nə'dzət^{hi}*
 chopsticks=INS IMP-CAUS-eat.meal
 'Eat with chopsticks!'

The local case marker =*z* expresses a generalized locational meaning, occurring in locative, ablative, as well as allative contexts. More precise locative senses are conveyed through the possessive prefix+relator noun (+local case) construction, e.g. *t/óχtse ó-ta(=z)* 'on the table', literally 'table its-top(=LOC)', often further grammaticalizing into an enclitic structure, e.g. *t/óχtse=ta(=z)* 'on the table'. The most common relator nouns are *'ta* 'space on/over/above', *'p^{hi}* 'space under/below/beneath', *'naŋ ~ naŋ?* 'space inside', *p^{hi}ji?* 'space outside', *vzər* 'space at the side of', *'və(r)* 'space on the body/vertical side of', *'óri* 'space in front of', and *q^{hu}* 'space at the back of'. Many non-locational grammatical markers are in possessed relator form, e.g. *krə* (comitative), *χte/fcə* 'on behalf of', *tən?* 'reason', and *'p^{ha}* (animate goal/source), as illustrated below:

- (9) a. *sonəm* *ó-p^{ha}* *ték^{hu}* *v-nə-tə-k^{hə}*
 Sonam 3SG:POSS-place cigarette IRR-IMP-2-hand.to₃
 'Hand the cigarette to Sonam!'

- b. *nəʔ tərjuʔ mə-kə-rge o-tənʔ=kə*
 ANA property NEG-GP-like **3SG:POSS-reason=INS**
kə-nlɔ-aŋ ɲoʔ
 PFV:EAST-come.out₂-1SG be

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

Standards in comparative constructions take the comparative markers *fóχte(nəʔ)* or *fóχre(nəʔ)*:

- (10) *q^hoʔ o-jəlpe kə-timʔ fóχre*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-neighbor NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich **than**
lə-tim ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV-be.rich₂ be-MED

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

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

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

- (11) *o-χtu rjéspe ne-peʔ-nə-cə*
3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting quite.a.lot PFV:TR-do₂-3PL-MED

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

Possession is another major nominal inflectional category. Given two juxtaposed nouns in a possessive relation, the possessor noun is cross-referenced on the possessed noun by a possessive prefix, as in:

b. *v-ká-jⁿdzu=cə* *to?*

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

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

(15) *chərgópu o-mt^hu jə-fə ɲo? jə ne-səsi?-nə-cə*

PN **3SG:POSS:U-curse** PROS-go be DM PFV:TR-think₂-3PL-MED

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

3.4.2 Verbal inflection

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

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

Table 2. Tshobdun person-number markers for intransitive verbs

	SG	DU	PL
1 ST PERSON	Σ -aŋ	Σ -tsə	Σ -jə
2 ND PERSON	$tə$ - Σ	$tə$ - Σ - ⁿ dzə	$tə$ - Σ -nə
3 RD PERSON	Σ	Σ - ⁿ dzə	Σ -nə

The same paradigm applies to transitive verbs with inanimate undergoers. In transitive sentences involving animate undergoers, person marking observes the empathy hierarchy seen above. In inner (1 \leftrightarrow 2) and outer (3 \leftrightarrow 3) configurations, the argument cross-referenced on the verb is always P and A, respectively. In mixed (1/2 \leftrightarrow 3) scenarios, the verb always indexes the higher-ranking argument on the hierarchy. When the speaker is the P argument, the verb may take an additional person marker representing an emphasized non-singular third-person A argument, as shown by:

- (16) *kəkəʔ=niʔ=kə ɕjiʔ tʰɐ-o-səwɛʔ-aŋ-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ*
 3=DU=ERG 1SG PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-cause.to.come₂-1SG-**3DU** be
 ‘It was *the two of them* who made me come downriver.’

The category direction (‘direct’ vs. ‘inverse’) marks the relative place of A and P arguments on the empathy hierarchy (DeLancey 1981a). Direct scenarios are consistent with the hierarchy and receive no special marking. Inverse scenarios, where A is lower on the hierarchy than P, require the inverse marker *o-*. The two inner configurations also take distinct marking: 1→2 is represented by *tɐ-* and 2→1 is represented by *ko-* (in variation with *to-*), which may be further analyzed as the prefix *kə-* (interchangeable here with *tə-*) combining with the inverse *o-*.

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

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

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

⁷ A third GP prefix *sɐ-* occurs with copular verbs.

addition to an array of orientation nominals (e.g. *liʔ* ‘(a certain) place upriver’; *-léco* ‘a place upriver relative to a reference point’; *ʃɛliʔ* ‘a more distant but visible place upriver’) and adverbials (e.g. *lecʰo* ‘towards upriver’), there is a full paradigm of verbal orientation prefixes, a basic set of which is given below:

Table 3. Tshobdun orientation prefixes (basic set)

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

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

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

Tshobdun has grammaticalized absolute tense, distinguishing non-past (STEM₁ and also STEM₃ for certain transitive verbs) and past (STEM₂) stems in all verbs.⁸ The unmarked tense is the non-past which has gnomic, habitual, as well as future uses. There is also a prospective prefix *jə-* which, not bound to the moment of speech, may also indicate ‘future in the past’ and, with past stems, the meaning ‘almost’. The basic aspectual contrast is between imperfective and perfective, marked by different orientation/aspectual prefixes. The interaction between tense and aspect yields two verb forms built on STEM₂: a perfective denoting events viewed as a whole and processes or resultant states thereof, and a past imperfective denoting ongoing situations

⁸ An exception detected so far is the non-alternating verb *sno* ‘exist at a location’.

existing prior to the moment of speech, marked with *nɐ/ne-*. The contrast between perfective and past imperfective is shown below:

- (18) a. *for?* *ko?* *tə-nⁿgi-cə*
 yesterday 3SG **PFV**-be.ill₂-MED
 ‘She/he became ill yesterday (PERFECTIVE).’
- b. *for?* *ko?* *nɐ-nⁿgi-cə*
 yesterday 3SG **IPFV:PST**-be.ill₂-MED
 ‘She/he was ill yesterday (PAST IMPERFECTIVE).’

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

- (19) *jəjəvə?* *jə-k^he* *məⁿdəci* *o-p^həri=z*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-house PN 3SG:POSS-opposite.side.of.river=LOC
 ‘*ts^het* *ngé-loy-aŋ*
 goat **IPFV**-herd-1SG
 ‘I used to herd goats across the river from our house Mendeci.’ [Retawe ‘Jamdbyangs killed a leopard, 2]

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

- (20) *ko?* *tə-ste?* *oq^hu* *ɛji?ⁿntʃ^hon* *v-tə-ko-səste-aŋ*
 3S **PFV-wake.up**₂ after 1SG=also IRR-IMP-2→1-cause.to.wake.up-1SG
 ‘When he wakes up, wake me up also.’

- (21) *káde* *támu* ***ne-lét*** *q^hónə?* *mə-fv-aŋ*
in.a.while rain **PFV:TR-release₂** SEQ NEG-go-1SG
‘If it rains (lit. has rained) in a while, I will not go.’

In another usage, the perfective can co-occur with temporal adverbials referring to the present, serving in other words as a perfect, which relates completed situations to the moment of speech. The *experiential perfect*, on the other hand, is conveyed by the verb *ŋji?* ‘taste; experience’ taking a complement clause. Yet another type of perfect, namely *perfect of persistent situations*, requires nonetheless the past imperfective; e.g. *ne-t^hi-aŋ* ‘I have been drinking’.

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

- (22) a. *stat^hər* *ləju* ***vsə-pe/*t^hv-pe?***
PN song **CONT:HTR-do**
‘Stathar is singing songs.’
b. *stat^hər* ***t^hv-rləju?/*vsə-rləju***
PN **CONT:INTR-sing₂**
‘Stathar is singing.’

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

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

unspecified agent, as in:

- (23) *komq^hu* *méju* *səcuʔ* *mts^hót* *v-teʔ=kə* *nəʔ* *tə-ⁿdə*
 back.of.door further key be.many **PASS-put**=INS ANA IMP-take₃
 “Since many more keys are placed behind the door, take them!” [Sekhamalosman, 63]

4 Syntax

4.1 Syntactic relations

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

4.2 Constituent order

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

Table 4. Tshobdun nominal morpheme slots

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

Table 5. Tshobdun verbal morpheme slots

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

That is, a conjugated verb stem may take prefixes in this order: irrealis + negator + andative + aspect/imperative + person + nominalizer + inverse + reflexive/high-transitivity continuative + spontaneous, and followed by person-number and mediative evidential suffixes.

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

Table 6. Tshobdun nominal phrase word order

DEMONSTRATIVE	POSSESSOR PRONOUN	NOUN HEAD	RELATIVIZED MODIFIER	NUMERAL- CLASSIFIER PHRASE	DETERMINER
(24) <i>kəkoʔ</i>	<i>ɕjuʔ</i>	<i>fe</i>	<i>kə-vde</i>	<i>ɕnez</i>	<i>tərpe=nəʔ</i>
this	1SG:POSS	meat	NMLZ:SBJ-be.good	two	catty=DET
‘these two catties of good meat of mine’					

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

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

4.3 Major sentence types

The indicative sentence is the unmarked sentence type. Fully conjugated copulas (positive *ŋoʔ*, negative *maʔ*, emphatic/contrastive *fiəʔ*) are obligatory in all equational clauses:

- (25) *q^hoʔ* *ngoxlɛ=nəʔ* *nənəz* *sɛtʰe=nəʔ*
 SEQ bald.person=DET there place=DET
tɛroʔ *kə-timʔ=cəʔ* ***nɛ-ŋo-cə***
 headman NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF **IPFV:PST-be₂-MED**
 “The bald person was a rich headman of that region.” [Khyergopu the trickster fooled a bald headman, 4]

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

- (26) *sɛtʰé=p^hi* *fǝru* *kə-sɛmts^hɛr=cəʔ* *t^hɛ-nlɔ* ***ŋoʔ-cə***
 earth=under bone NMLZ-be.surprising=INDF PFV:OUT-come.out₂ **be-MED**
 “A strange skeleton came up from the ground.” [A strange skeleton was excavated at Mbrata, 4]

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

- (27) ***ɛju*** *qɛⁿbruʔ* *kə-ts^ho=cəʔ* ***toʔ=kə***
1SG:POSS male.yak NMLZ:SBJ-be.fat=INDF **exist=INS**
nəʔ *nɛ-tǝⁿbi-nə=k* *tɛ-tsəʔ*
 ANA IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM PFV:TR-say₂
 “I have a fat male yak (lit. a fat male yak of mine exists). I will give that away to you.” [A personal account of life during the Cultural Revolution, 41]

An additional pair of existential verbs are found, imbued with an *immediate* evidential meaning: *wɛjo* (STEM₂ *wɛjoʔ*) and its negative form *mɛŋɛ* (STEM₂ *mɛŋɛʔ*). These verbs express sudden perception or realization of an event as it is happening, or an entity’s existence or disappearance:

Interrogative sentences include the following subtypes: content questions, polar questions, alternative questions, and questions with positive/negative presupposition. Content questions contain various question words, which remain in situ. Pragmatically neutral polar questions are formed out of the corresponding statements by adding an accented prefix *ǎ-* to a monosyllabic verb form (31a), or simply accenting a polysyllabic verb form (31b):

- (31) a. *qéjwi méju káɳɳé néɣu ǎ-re*
 bread more one.or.two 2SG:POSS Q-be.needed
 ‘Do you want some more bread?’
- b. *o-zdeʔ táɣo=rɛʔ=kə josɣiʔ rtənmuʔ*
 3SG:POSS-companion ghost=PL=ERG today wedding
nv-séscət te-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ
IPFV:PST:Q-be.enjoyable₂ PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED=SUB
 ‘‘And when its companion ghosts asked it, ‘Was the wedding today enjoyable?’’’ [A ghost attended wedding, 4]

Alternative questions are marked by intonation plus a special interrogative particle *soʔ*. Questions with presuppositions are formed with the help of various discourse markers. The imperative verb form consists of a non-past stem with an imperative-orientation prefix and, where appropriate, a second person number suffix (dual *-ⁿdzə*; plural *-nə*). The prohibitive selects the negator *mə-*. The prefix *v-* marks the third-person imperative (*v-tə-ⁿdzə* ‘Let him/her eat it!’) as well as distal imperatives (*v-kə-q^hro v-jə-tə-əwi* ‘Come and meet me!’) where the action is not to be executed at the speech-act location. Interestingly, the person-marking prefixes (the second-person index *tə-* and the 2→1 configuration marker *ko-*) show up only in prohibitive and distal imperatives. Hortatives are formed out of non-past stems with first person dual *-tsə* or plural *-jə* suffixes.

4.4 Clause coordination

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

- (32) *q^hoʔ nɐ-nɐscérʔ=ta=sc^hənəʔ o-ʒi=rɛn jə-lɐ-lɔ*
 SEQ PFV-be.scared₂=besides=**and** 3SG:POSS-nausea=even PROS-PFV-come.out₂
 “Not only was he scared, he almost threw up.” [Fishes in our country, 46]

Much more commonly, however, sequences of finite clauses are loosely connected by the sequentializer *q^hoʔ* or its emphatic form *q^hónə*:

- (33) *kəkoʔ qa te-ⁿdi q^hoʔ komʔ te-cu q^hoʔ*
 3SG hoe PFV:UP:TR-carry₂ **SEQ** door PFV:TR-open₂ **SEQ**
təjtfe=naŋ kə-rɛmɐ jɐ-fɛʔ
 field=inside NMLZ:PURP-do.labor PFV-go₂
 ‘He picked up the hoe, opened the door, and went off to do labor in the field.’

Simultaneous subevents making up a single complex event are expressed rather by serial verbs

(34), or a converb (or verbal adverb) construction (see 36, 38 below):

- (34) *q^hoʔ fʃɛrjɐlc^hoŋtʃen=nəʔ mə-ne-nɛʒiʔ*
 SEQ roc=DET NEG-PFV:TR-wait.for₂
q^hoʔ ʃla nə-qɐl^hbjəm jɐ-nəʃɛʔ-cə
 SEQ immediately **PFV-fly₂** **PFV-go.back₂-MED**
 “The roc did not wait for him, but quickly flew back.” [The roc helps a poor man find gold, 53]

4.5 Clause subordination

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

4.5.1 Non-finite subordinate clauses

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

- (35) *fənəʔ* *ənəmʈsʰéranʃ* *téjət* *kɛ-nlɔʔ=ntʰon* *mə-nɛ-noz*
 but PN down **INF**-come.out=still NEG-IPFV:PST-dare₂
 “But Anamtsherang did not dare come down yet.” [Anamtsherang, 68]

- (36) *tʃěle* *κdenbe* *mɛ-ké-tsə* *o-vzər* *fə-tə-ɛmdzuʔ-cə*
 anything at.all NEG-**INF**-say 3SG:POSS-side AND-PFV-sit₂-MED
 “Not saying anything at all, (the demon) went over and sat down by his side.”
 [Anamtsherang, 15]

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

- (37) *v-kə-qʰro* *v-jv-tə-ɛwi*
 1SG:POSS-NMLZ:**PURP**-meet IRR-IMP-2-come
 ‘Come and meet me (lit. Come as my welcomer)!’

There is also a dedicated converb formation, comprising the prefix *sɛ-* and a reduplicated STEM₂,

which serves as a manner adverbial of the main verb:

- (38) *ó-ⁿge* *sɐ-nɐc^{hi}hi?* *noofsɛ́fsət* *te-ⁿgeʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-clothes CVB-be.wet₂:RDPL in.that.way PFV:TR-put.on₂-MED
 ‘She/he put on her/his clothes while they were still wet.’

4.5.2 Finite subordinate clauses

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

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

- (39) [*yvéz=kə* *k^hezeʔ* *o-fneʔ* *te-ⁿdzeʔ*]=*nəʔ* *ɛjiʔ* ‘*siz-aj*
 hog.badger=ERG dog 3SG:POSS-nose PFV:TR-bite₂=DET 1SG know-1SG
 ‘I know that the hog badger bit the dog on the nose.’

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

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

- (40) *tɛlŋaʔ=kə* [*ɛjiʔ tʰaŋsku kə-ɐsɐ-rət*] = *nəʔ*
 child=ERG 1SG thangka NMLZ-CONT:HTR-draw=DET
tʰɐ-o-nɛrtɔχpjê-t-aŋ
 CONT:LTR-INV-observe2-1SG
 ‘The child is observing me drawing a thangka.’

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

- (41) [*ɲesŋiʔ* *ɛjiʔ* *ɲəmérwi* *tə-χtuʔ-aŋ*] *Ø* = *nəʔ* *ə-vde-cə*
 the.other.day 1SG **maize.seeds** PFV-buy₂-1SG *Ø*=DET Q-be.good-MED
 ‘The maize seeds that I bought the other day, are they good?’ [A telephone conversation, 14]

Dependent-marked gapping is also very common:

- (42) [*ɔrʔ* *Ø* *nɐ-mti-aŋ*] *támɛ* = *nəʔ* *ɲɐ-wɛʔ-cə*
 yesterday *Ø* PFV-see₂-1SG **woman**=DET PFV-come₂-MED
 ‘The woman I saw yesterday has come.’

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

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

- (43) [paʃiʔtʃʰətʃen kə-ɐsɐ-pʰətʃ] o-vzəʀ=nəʔ
 pear NMLZ:SBJ:A-CONT:HTR-pick 3SG:POSS-side=DET
 lɐ-zɣət-nə
 PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-3PL

“They arrived upriver to the side of the one who was picking pears.” [Pear story, 27]

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

- (44) [təlʃaʔ tə-kɐ-rqɔʔ]=nəʔ nɐ-nɐʀɛʔ
 child PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ:U-embrace₂=DET PFV-laugh₂
 ‘The child who was embraced laughed.’

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

- (45) [ó-pe kə-kə-ojɐsəʀqɔʔ]
 3SG:POSS-father PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:A-cause.oneself.to.be.embraced₂
 təlʃaʔ=nəʔ nɐ-nɐʀɛʔ
 child=DET PFV-laugh₂
 ‘The child who got himself embraced by his father laughed.’

Adverbial clauses expressing temporal relations are typically not nominalized; they are marked by subordinating conjunctions showing various temporal meanings, most of which are grammaticalized from possessed nominal roots. These conjunctions often combine optionally with the subordinator =nəʔ and locative case =z; e.g. *orjáŋʔnəʔz* (< *o-rjáŋʔ=nəʔ=z* 3SG:POSS-time=DET=LOC) ‘at the time when’. The meaning ‘as soon as’ is however coded in a special way by accented non-past verb stems plus the prefix *ro-*:

- (46) *pye o-xérⁿdzem ró-qət t^hv-məlⁿbjəm*
 bird 3SG:POSS-wing **as.soon.as**-stretch.open PFV:DOWNRIVER-fly₂
 ‘The bird flew away downriver as soon as it opened its wings.’

As discussed earlier in (21), conditional clauses may be couched in finite perfective form. A much more prevalent conditional structure involves an inflected non-past stem plus an irrealis prefix *v-* as well as a perfective prefix, in addition to the subordinator =*nəʔ* (47a); alternatively, the conditional form of the copula *v-né-ŋo=nəʔ* may follow a finite verb (47b):

- (47) a. *osto v-nv-tə-vzjaŋ=nəʔ kəc^hi? tɐ-ⁿbi?*
 hard IRR-PFV-2-study=SUB candy 1→2-give
 b. *osto tə-vzjaŋ v-né-ŋo=nəʔ kəc^hi? tɐ-ⁿbi?*
 hard 2-study **IRR-PFV-be=SUB** candy 1→2-give
 ‘I will give you candy if you study hard.’

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

- (48) a. *ɛju qɐⁿbru? kə-ts^ho=cəʔ to?[?]kə*
 1SG:POSS male.yak NMLZ:SBJ-be.fat=INDF exist=INS
nəʔ ne-té-ⁿbi-nə=kə te-tsəʔ
 ANA IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM PFV:TR-say₂
 ‘‘Since I have a fat male yak, I will give that to you.’’ [A personal account of life during the Cultural Revolution, 41]

b. *jle o-kə-niʔ=nəʔ*

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

tʃuʔ mtʃ^holdən te-ké-tsə tərme=cə tóʔ=kə

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

nənáʔ=kə ke-nəʔ nɛ-ŋo

ANA=ERG IPFV:EAST-drive₃ IPFV:PST-be₂

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

Cause and purpose clauses can both take the complex marker *otánkə*, while concession clauses are marked with *=ntʃ^hon(nəʔ)*.

Part II.

Texts

I. ANECDOTES

KYENSEN LOST HIS SOUL

cənsənʔ ovlə nəkənc^hemʔ χpe

Narrator: Yingyam

1. *qəc^hweriʔ tét^hʔ¹¹=z cənsənʔ te-ké-tsə=cəʔ*
PN PN=LOC PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF
ɛʒonu vdesqe jərmə jə-kə-əwεʔ=cəʔ tóʔ=kə
man forty about PFV-NMLZ-come₂=INDF exist=INS
There is a man called Kyensen from Tatho Hamlet at Kakhyoris Village, who is just about to turn forty.
2. *kə-sji=cε=nəʔ ts^hovdən rgonbe¹²=z t^hv-əre-cə*
one-day=LOC:INDF=DET PN monastery=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-MED
One day, he went downriver to Tshobdun Monastery.
3. *q^hoʔ tərmók^he jə-qénu jərmə ⁿdenəʔ mə-lə-nəwεʔ-cə*
SEQ dusk PROS-be.dark about not.until NEG-PFV:UPRIVER-come.back₂-MED
And he did not come back upriver until it was going to be dark.

¹¹ Name of a hamlet in Kakhyoris Village.

¹² In Teutses Village, downriver along the Kholakji River from Kakhyoris Village.

4. *q^hoʔ tét^hɔ ráŋⁿdzem ó-p^hi=z ⁿdzem=cəʔ toʔ*
 SEQ PN PN 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC bridge=INDF exist
q^hoʔ o-vzər=nəʔ rətəʔ=rɐʔ toʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=DET mill=PL exist

There is a bridge under the Rangndzem Slope at Tatho, and there is a mill beside it.

5. *q^hoʔ sŋonts^he=z q^hənəʔ ⁿdzem ó-ta*
 SEQ former.time=LOC ANA bridge 3SG:POSS-top
kəxtʃipɯ ɐnez jɛrmɐ nɐ-ɐntɐr
 child two about PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height₂
q^hoʔ t^hɐ-ljo nɐ-tʃ^hoz-cə
 SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER-drown₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

It is said that formerly there were about two children who fell from the bridge and drowned.

6. *q^hoʔ cənsənʔ kɐ-qénu çovçe kɐ-pe ne-je jɛrmɐ=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN INF-be.dark IDPH¹³ INF-do PFV:TR-begin₂ about=SUB
ⁿdzem o-vzər lɐ-zyôt-cə
 bridge 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-MED

Kyensən arrived at the edge of the bridge as the twilight was getting dim all around.

7. *q^hoʔ təciʔ o-vzər p^howay ó-ta t^he-mp^héri=nəʔ*
 SEQ water 3SG:POSS-side boulder 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB

As he was glancing at the top of a boulder beside the river,

8. *kəxtʃipɯ=cəʔ tətʃɯ ŋoʔ soʔ t^hɛməj ŋoʔ*
 child=INDF boy be or girl be
mɐ-kə-χsɐl=cəʔ t^hɐ-ɐmdzuʔ
 NEG-NMLZ-be.clear=INDF CONT:LTR-sit₂

¹³ A derived ideophone from root *çɐv* describing a dim or murky state.

q^hoʔ təcíʔ=nəŋ ʔge-mɸ^héři wɛʃo-nəŋo
 SEQ water=inside IPFV:DOWN-look be.seen-MED

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

9. *q^hoʔ st^hɔre=nəʔ*

SEQ at.first=DET

kəxtʃipu=nəʔ ʃo=cəʔ ɲóʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə
 child=DET who=INDF be=DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED

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

10. *q^hoʔ ó-p^ha t^hɛ-ⁿgozⁿge-cə*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-place PFV:DOWNRIVER-call.out₂-MED

ʃənəʔ ɪdɛnbe o-k^hɛlen tə-kə-peʔ nɛ-mɛʔ-cə
 but at.all 3SG:POSS-reply PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-do₂ IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED

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

11. *q^hoʔ nəjɛrmənəʔ mɛ-kə-vde kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ only.then NEG-NMLZ-be.good NMLZ-be=SUB

kɛ-sərtɔ ne-je-cə
 INF-realize PFV:TR-begin₂-MED

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

12. *q^hoʔ o-sni te-wɛxtɛ q^hoʔ kəxtʃipu=p^ha*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart PFV:TR-cause.to.be.big₂ SEQ child=place

nɛjɪʔ=kə ɛjɪʔ mɛ-ko-səyɪvɛr-aŋ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 2SG=ERG 1SG NEG-2→1-frighten-1SG=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And he mustered up his courage and said to the child, “You don’t frighten me!”

13. *q^hoʔ ʃkótse káɲnez t^he-wɛrêʔ-cə*
 SEQ stone several PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw₂-MED
 And he threw several stones (at it).
14. *q^hoʔ ʃla lɛ-zyi*
 SEQ quickly PFV:UPRIVER-turn.around₂
kə-náʃɛ tə-rɛnts^ha=ʃənəʔ
 NMLZ:PURP-go.back PFV-try₂=SUB
lɛmɛstamɲet o-vzəʀ qéʎɛ=kəsci lɛ-wɛʔ-cə
 suddenly 3SG:POSS-side wind=like PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-MED
 Just when he quickly turned around and tried to go back, a wind-like thing suddenly came
 upriver (at him),
15. *q^hoʔ q^hɛnəʔ qéʎɛ=kə nɛ-o-nɛrɔrpo oʒorʔ*
 SEQ ANA wind=ERG PFV:DOWN-INV-slam₂:RDPL meanwhile
rjɛspe tɛ-o-nɛmts^həmts^hi-cə
 for.a.while PFV-INV-lead.along₂:RDPL-MED
q^hoʔ nə-o-səlde=kəsci-cə
 SEQ PFV-INV-cause.to.be.drunk₂=like-MED
 and while he was slammed down repeatedly by the wind, he was hauled along for quite
 a while as if he had been turned into a drunkard,
16. *q^hoʔ noŋme nɛ-oy-te-cə*
 SEQ only.then PFV:DOWN-INV-put₂-MED
 and only then was he laid down.
17. *q^hoʔ nəʔosɛʃsət t^hopɛt^holéʔ¹⁴=kə k^hɛnaŋ le-nəre-cə*
 SEQ thus IDPH=INS home PFV:UPRIVER-go.back₂-MED
 And he went back home in that drunkenly manner.

¹⁴ From ideophone root *t^hev*, describing a delirious state.

18. *fə̀nəʔ nəʔəqʰuqʰoʔ kə̀-nʰgiʔ te-je-cə*
 but since.then INF-be.ill PFV:TR-begin₂-MED
 And since then, he began to become ill.
19. *qʰoʔ mpʰrumu kə̀-roʔ=rəʔ ne-sqor-nə-cə*
 SEQ divination NMLZ:SBJ-make=PL PFV:TR-send.for₂-3PL-MED
 And they (his folks) sent for diviners.
20. *qʰoʔ mpʰrumu kə̀-roʔ=réʔ=kə koʔ o-kəmɣəmʔ*
 SEQ divination NMLZ:SBJ-make=PL=ERG 3SG 3SG:POSS-illness
o-vlɐ nɐ-ncʰemʔ-cə=kə
 3SG:POSS-soul IPFV:PST-wander₂-MED=INS
o-χtu kə̀-pe reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting GP-do be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 And the diviners said that since his illness was due to his soul being lost, sutras must be chanted for him.
21. *qʰoʔ o-χtu rjɛspe ne-peʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting quite.a.lot PFV:TR-do₂-3PL-MED
 And they did much sutra-chanting for him.
22. *fə̀nəʔ nə-kə-zi nɐ-mɛʔ ɣoʔ-cə*
 but PFV-NMLZ-recover₂ IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ be-MED
 But (his illness) did not go away at all.
23. *qʰoʔ leʔ tsʰovdən rgombe mkʰɛnboʔ vloʋzjin te-ké-tsə=cəʔ*
 SEQ again PN monastery abbot PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF
sprəsku kə̀-ɣólɐ=cəʔ tóʔ=kə
 living.buddha NMLZ-SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF exist=INS

nəʔ ʃə-ne-sqor-nə-cə

ANA AND-send.for₂-3PL-MED

And as at the Tshobdun Monastery there was an abbot, a virtuous living Buddha by the name of Vlovzyin, so they went to send for him.

24. *qʰoʔ mpʰrumu te-səyro-nə-cə=nəʔ*

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

vlovzjín=kə nəʃiʔ mə-kə-vde=cəʔ nə-tə-tʰəy-cə

PN=ERG 2SG NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=INDF PFV-2-meet₂-MED

məkátsʰət ʃə-tə-tə-nərtʃe-cə

and.furthermore AND-PFV-2-provoke₂-MED

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

25. *qʰoʔ nə-vlɐ nə-ncʰemʔ-cə=kə*

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

vlɐⁿgəyʔ məlen kɐ-pe reʔ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə

recall.lost.soul by.necessity GP-do be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-say₂-MED

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

26. *qʰoʔ vlɐⁿgəyʔ kɐ-pe=nəʔ*

SEQ soul-recalling GP-do=SUB

o-vlɐ nə-kə-ncʰemʔ ó-ⁿge=nəʔ

3SG:POSS-soul IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-wander₂ 3SG:POSS-clothes=DET

vlɐⁿgəyʔ me-pe ʃóχtenəʔ

soul-recalling NEG:IPFV-do before

χʃíkə kə-tʃəyʔ=cə te-kɐ-skɐr

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

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

27. *q^hoʔ vlⁿgəyʔ χtu=rəʔ ⁿge-joʔ*
 SEQ soul-recalling sutra-chanting=PL IPFV-end

When the chanting of soul-recalling sutras is done,

28. *q^hoʔ leʔ q^hvʔ t^ánge=nəʔ te-kv-skər*
 SEQ again ANA clothes=DET IPFV-GP-weigh

one weighs again those clothes.

29. *q^hoʔ rjəme c^heʔ tə-kv-skərʔ*
 SEQ weight before PFV-GP-weigh₂

o-ts^hət v-nə-nəfsəfsət=nəʔ

3SG:POSS-extent IRR-PFV-be.thus=SUB

o-vl^ə pázje mə-jv-wəʔ k^é-tsə t^hozʔ

3SG:POSS-soul still NEG-PFV-come₂ GP-say be.the.rule

If the weight was just like when (the clothes) was weighed earlier, then the soul has not yet returned, it is believed.

30. *q^hoʔ rjəme ó-ta te-kv-skər*
 SEQ weight 3SG:POSS-top IPFV-GP-weigh

c^heʔ f^óχtenəʔ v-tə-mt^ho=nəʔ

before than IRR-PFV:UP-be.higher.than=SUB

o-vl^ə jv-wəʔ k^é-tsə t^hozʔ ηoʔ

3SG:POSS-soul PFV-come₂ GP-say be.the.rule be

If one weighs and (the clothes) weighs more than before, then the soul is believed to have returned.

31. *q^hoʔ vlovzjín=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

cənsənʔ vlⁿgəyʔ χtu kə-pe ne-je-cə

PN soul-recalling sutra-chanting INF-do PFV:TR-begin₂-MED

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

32. *st^hore ó-ⁿge=rəʔ te-skerʔ-nə-cə*

first 3SG:POSS-clothes=PL PFV:TR-weigh₂-3PL-MED

They first weighed some clothes of his.

33. *q^hoʔ kə-sji jərmə nə-rajtuʔ-nə-cə*

SEQ one-day about IPFV:PST-chant₂-3PL-MED

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

34. *ʃənəʔ ó-ⁿge c^heʔ tə-kə-skerʔ=nəʔ*

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

tə-kə-mt^hoʔ=rəʔ nə-meʔ-cə

PFV-NMLZ-be.heavy₂=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED

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

35. *q^hoʔ leʔ kaʃnez-sji jərmə nə-rajtuʔ-nə-cə*

SEQ again several-day about IPFV:PST-chant₂-3PL-MED

And for about several days more they chanted.

36. *q^hoʔ leʔ ó-ⁿge te-skerʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*

SEQ again 3SG:POSS-clothes PFV:TR-weigh₂-3PL-MED=SUB

ó-ⁿge rjəme ta kə-saxsəl tə-mt^hoʔ-cə

3SG:POSS-clothes weight in.truth NMLZ-be.clear PFV-be.heavy₂-MED

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

37. *q^hoʔ vlovzjín=kə tə-ɐpeʔ ɲoʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG PFV-be.done₂ be
o-vlɐ jɐ-wɛʔ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-soul PFV-come₂ be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And Vlovzyin said, “It is done! His soul has returned.”
38. *q^hoʔ nəʔofsáfsi jɐrmɐ o-kəmɲəmʔ kɐ-zɪʔ ne-je-cə*
 SEQ the.next.day about 3SG:POSS-illness INF-recover PFV:TR-begin₂-MED
 And about the next day, his illness began to recover.
39. *q^hoʔ rjéspe nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ quite.a.while PFV-elapse₂=SUB
o-kəmɲəmʔ ɲjanɲjanʔ nə-zɪ nə-tʃ^hoz
 3SG:POSS-illness completely PFV-recover₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 And in quite a while afterwards, his illness recovered completely.
40. *pəʃk^ho=ntʃ^hon cənsən o-kəmɲəm=rɐʔ ⁿge-mɐ*
 now=also PN 3SG:POSS-illness=PL IPFV-not.exist
 Even today, Kyensen is without any illness.
41. *q^hoʔ ɲɐtʃ^həfsáfsi ʃə-ⁿge-nfúɲi ⁿge-mtiʔ-aɲ ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ everywhere AND-IPFV-do.a.sideline IPFV-see-1SG for
ɐjiʔ o-jəlpe tʃ^həmtʃ^hʔ te-kɛ-tsə=nəʔ ɲoʔ-aɲ
 1SG 3SG:POSS-neighbor PN IPFV-GP-say=DET be-1SG
 And I see him go about doing a sideline, for I am his neighbor called Chemchho.

HOW KYENSEN DIED THIS YEAR UNDER FALLING ROCKS

cənsən? tərəmkə təoxsəy qʰo? tʃʰə oséfsət nəkəme? oxpe

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *cənsən? te-ké-tə=nə?*
 Kyensen IPFV-GP-say=DET
qʰoləci? nə-kə-to=cə? ɲo?
 PN IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-exist₂=INDF be
qʰo? kəməqʰúnə? qəcʰweri? tétʰɔ=z kə-nénma
 SEQ afterwards PN PN=LOC NMLZ:PURP-marry.into.wife's.family
tʰə-kə-wé?=cə? ɲo?
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=INDF be
 The man called Kyensen was one who came from Kholakyi Village and later married into Tatho Hamlet in Kakhyoris Village.

2. *ka-ɲne-pe kə-rékʰe o-ɲdénbe*
 one-two-year INF-build.house 3SG:POSS-preparation
əntsátse ne-pe?
 continuously PFV:TR-do₂
 For the past one or two years he kept on making preparations for building (his) house.

3. *qʰo? ʃoŋtʃe=scʰənə? ʃkótse rjéspe te-fsɔ-cə*
 SEQ log=and rock quite.a.lot PFV:TR-gather₂-MED
 And he gathered quite a lot of logs and rocks.

4. *q^hoʔ* *ʃkótse* *oxtənəʔ*
 SEQ rock basically
məⁿdáci *ʒəvdaʔ* *o-q^hu* *ne-tʃet-cə*
 Mendeci sacret.mountain 3SG:POSS-back IPFV:PST:TR-take.out₂-MED
 And he collected the rocks mainly from the back of the sacret mountain¹⁵ of Mendeci Hamlet.

5. *q^hoʔ* *məⁿdəcəpu* *χsəm-tápu=rəʔ=kə* *cənsən=p^ha*
 SEQ Mendeci.people three-family=PL=ERG Kyensen=place
 And the three families of the Mendeci Hamlet all said to Kyensen,

6. *nəkəʔ* *ʒəvdaʔ* *ó-βər*
 that.near.you sacret.mountain 3SG:POSS-body
ʃkótse *mə-tə-tá-tʃət*
 rock NEG-IMP-2-take.out
q^hoʔ *mə-tə-nərtʃəʔ*
 SEQ NEG-IMP-provoke₃
 “Don’t collect rocks on that sacret mountain and provoke it,”

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

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

8. *qʰoʔ jəjəreʔ məⁿdəcəpu=rəʔ mə-vde ntor*
 SEQ 1PL Mendeci.people=PL NEG-be.good DM
ʃənəʔ nəjmu=ntʃʰon mə-kə-vde pɔ ɲoʔ
 but 2SG:POSS=also NEG-NMLZ-be.good become be
 “it maybe bad not only for us Mendeci people, but for you also.”

9. *qʰoʔ nəjərmə=nəʔ te-tə-znəne mə-tsʰeʔ so te-tsəʔ-nə*
 SEQ about.this.time=DET IPFV-2-stop NEG-be.proper DM PFV:TR-say₂-3PL
 “Won’t it be advisable if you stop doing this at about this time,” they said.

10. *ʃənəʔ cənsənʔ=kə ɛjiʔ kəpəʔ*
 but Kyensen=ERG 1SG Han.Chinese
rjət¹⁶ ʃieʔ-aŋ koʔ zəvdaʔ məlaʔ
 breed be:EMPH-1SG this sacret.mountain perhaps
ɛjiʔ ɛ-ta o-kə-pe kə-toʔ mə
 1SG 1SG:POSS-top 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-do NMLZ-exist not.exist
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 But Kyensen said, “I have Chinese blood. Maybe this sacret mountain cannot do anything to me.”

11. *jəpe kə-pe=nəʔ*
 last.year one-year=DET
zəvdaʔ-qʰu ʃkótse ne-tʃet ofétkə
 sacret.mountain-back rock PFV:TR-take.out₂ so.much
təjnor=rən ne-səweʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 landslide=even PFV:TR:DOWN-cause.to.come₂ be-MED
 And in the whole last year, he did the rock-collecting behind the sacret mountain so (earnestly) that he even caused landslides.

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

12. *q^hoʔ mən dəcəpu=rɐʔ*

SEQ Mendeci.people=PL

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

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

13. *ˀdenəʔ zəvdaʔ*

for sacret.mountain

stonⁿbələtaŋ kɐ-nərtʃeʔ q^hoʔ ʃkótse kɛ-tʃɛt máʔ=kə
 without.good.reason GP-provoke SEQ rock GP-take.out not.be=INS

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

14. *xʃɐⁿdʒoʔ=ntʃ^hon kɛ-p^hət kə-sɐvɐr=cəʔ*

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

ʃteʔ ɲoʔ

be:EMPH be

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

15. *q^hoʔ cənsənʔ=kə*

SEQ Kyensen=ERG

jə-zəvdaʔ nɐkəʔ ne-sojʔ=nəʔ¹⁷
 1PL:POSS-sacret.mountain that.near.you IPFV-do₃=SUB

kəmdiʔ jəyɯ mə-kə-vde=cəʔ ləʔ
 all 1PL:POSS NEG-NMLZ-be.good=INDF happen

əntsətse ne-səsi-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 continuously PFV:TR-think_{2-3PL} be-MED

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

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

16. *q^hoʔ tɕrezʔ losérq^hu sqéti jɛrmɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ this.year post.New.Year tenth.day about=DET
 And this year, around the tenth day of the New Year,
17. *cənsənʔ=kə leʔ kaŋtʃ^henʔ¹⁸=rɕʔ te-ⁿdi-cə*
 Kyensen=ERG again drill.rod=PL PFV:TR-take₂-MED
q^hoʔ mot^hotʂ^héʔ=ta məⁿdəci ʒəvdaʔ o-q^hu=z
 SEQ motorcycle=top Mendeci sacret.mountain 3SG:POSS-back=LOC
ʃkótse ká-tʃɛt t^hɕ-ɕre ŋoʔ-cə
 rock NMLZ:PURP-take.out₂ PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂ be-MED
 Kyensen again carried a drill rod and what not and rode his motorcycle downriver to the back of the sacret mountain of Mendeci to collect rocks.
18. *ʃənəʔ q^hoʔ tərmók^he kɕ-qénu te-je=ntʃ^hon*
 but SEQ dusk INF-darken PFV:TR-begin₂=also
le-kə-náwi nɕ-mɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ-come.back IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ be-MED
 But he did not come back upriver even after dusk when it had begun to get dark.
19. *q^hoʔ o-ɣrɕɕɕʔ=réʔ=kə o-kə-qése*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family.member=PL=ERG 3SG:POSS:U-NMLZ:PURP-look
t^hɕ-ɕre-nə-cə=nəʔ
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-3PL-MED=SUB
 When his family went downriver to look for him,
20. *təmdánə pra nɕ-nⁿbət q^hoʔ nɕ-o-nɕxtʃuʔ*
 actually cliff PFV:DOWN-cave.in₂ SEQ PFV:DOWN-INV-take.along₂
ó-rnɔ=rɕn tə-nlɔ
 3SG:POSS-brains=even PFV-come.out₂

¹⁸ A loanword from Chinese *gāngqiān* (鋼鐵).

mɛ-kə-vde-ⁿdɛr *lɔʔ* *ʃtɛʔ*
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good-TOP happen be:EMPH
ká-tsə *əntsátse* *nɛ-ŋo*
 NMLZ:SBJ-say continuously IPFV:PST-be₂
 everywhere there were people who say, “No wonder! Something bad would surely happen, as he kept (going and) provoking such a fierce mountain deity.”

25. *v-nɛ-kɛ-ffɛt=nəʔ*
 IRR-PFV-GP-recount=SUB
 Speaking of (him),

26. *cənsənʔ* *tərmɛ=nəʔ*
 Kyensen man=TOP
kɛ-rɛmɛ *kə-rkaŋ* *q^hoʔ* *kəŋoʔ* *kə-ʃsət*
 INF-do.labor NMLZ:SBJ-be.good.at SEQ conscientiousness NMLZ:SBJ-be.like
ʃoχkor *kɛ-ʃsɔʔ* *kə-c^hɛ*
 money INF-earn NMLZ:SBJ-be.able
o²⁰-rmiʔ *nɛ-to*
 3SG:POSS-name IPFV:PST-exist₂
 this man Kyensen had a reputation for being one who is skillful at doing labor, taking good care of his family, and capable of making money.

27. *ʃənəʔ* *o-ʋóri* *əntsɛŋə* *mɛ-kə-ɛstoʔ=cəʔ*
 but 3SG:POSS-front that.much NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.straight=INDF
 But he was not a very fortunate person.

²⁰ Referring to Kyensen.

28. *q^hoʔ c^heʔ-z*
 SEQ formerly
tójo kə-t^həyʔ nɐ-kə-rɲi məkáts^het
 ghost INF-encounter IPFV:PST-NMLZ-experience₂ not.only
o-srɔʔ=rɐn jə-nɐ-nⁿbət nɐ-t^hoz
 3SG:POSS-life=even PROS-PFV:DOWN-collapse₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 At an earlier time, he had run into a ghost and almost lost his life.

29. *kətéla ko*
 this.time DM
kə-taŋ óyu mɐ-kə-ⁿdzəyʔ
 NMLZ-be.real 3SG:POSS NEG-NMLZ-be.right
nɐ-ɐtʃətʃiʔ ɲoʔ
 PFV:DOWN-go.all.the.way₂ be
 And this time, it was bad luck through and through for him.

30. *nəʔ nɐ-fsət nɐ-t^hoz*
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 That was what happened.

DROMA FROZE HER CHILD TO DEATH ON THE HILLS

"dzoməkə reⁿgoz olja? tesqəjpəm

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *jəpəⁿdzi=z* *jərmə*
 year.before.the.last=LOC about
 It was roughly in the year before the last,

2. *pėjmoy* *o-kon?* *χfíkə* *nə-lə* *orjájnəz*
 fritillary.bulb 3SG:POSS-price very IPFV:PST-come.out₂ when
 when the prices of fritillary bulbs were very good.

3. *ts^hovdən* *rgərgon=sc^hənə?* *kəxtfipu*
 PN elderly.person=and small.child
kə-npėjmoy *mə-kə-c^hə=rə?*
 INF-dig.for.fritillary.bulb NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=PL
k^hénənə *ne-nq^hope?-nə* *káma*
 home PFV:TR-keep₂-3PL except
 At Tshobdun, except for elderly people and small children who could not dig for fritillary bulbs and (stayed behind and) looked after the houses,

4. *nə?* *o-ri* *jəte-kə-c^hə=rə?*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=PL
kəmdi? *reⁿgo* *kə-npėjmoy* *lə-vre-nə*
 all hill NMLZ:PURP-dig.for.fritillary.bulb PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3PL
 everyone else who could barely make it all went uphill to the hills to dig for fritillary bulbs.

5. *tɛʝtsiʔ ˈdʒomɐ tɛ-kɛ-tʂə=cəʔ tóʔ=kə*
 Teutses Droma IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
 As there is someone called Droma at Teutses Village,
6. *o-lɣaʔ ɸnez nɐ-to*
 3SG:POSS-child two IPFV:PST-exist₂
 she had two children.
7. *kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ kámɣo jɛrmɐ jɐ-wɛʔ*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET five about PFV-come₂
kə-xtʃi=nəʔ ɣsəm jɛrmɐ jɐ-wɛʔ
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET three about PFV-come₂
 The older one was about five years old, and the younger one was about three years old.
8. *qʰoʔ ɣʃikə tsɛʝə mɛ-nɐ-ɐkɛkuʔ-cə*
 SEQ very.much NEG-IPFV:PST-be.neat₂-MED
 And they did not make much of a neat group.
9. *fənəʔ=ntʃʰon o-tʂoʔ ˈboleʔ tɛ-vəʃket*
 but=also 3SG:POSS-food.for.journey bull PFV:TR-load₂
qʰoʔ reˈgo kə-npéjmoʝ
 SEQ hill NMLZ:PURP-dig.for.fritillary.bulb
lɐ-ntsʰa-nə ɣoʔ-cə
 PFV:UPRIVER-set.out₂-3PL be-MED
 But she also loaded her food for the journey onto a bull, and they set out upriver for the hills to dig for fritillary bulbs.
10. *o-lɣaʔ kə-xtʃi kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ tɛ-fkor-cə*
 3SG:POSS-child NMLZ:SBJ-be.small one-CL=DET PFV:TR-carry.on.back₂-MED
 She carried her younger child on her back,

11. *kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ* *le-mts^{hi}-cə*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET PFV:UPRIVER:TR-lead.by.hand₂-MED
 and led her older child upriver by hand.
12. *q^hoʔ* *reⁿgo* *kə-npéjmoɣ*
 SEQ hill NMLZ:SBJ-dig.for.fritillary.bulb
o-sɛ-to=nəʔ *mə-lɛ-zɣôʔ=z*
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-exist₂=DET NEG-PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂=LOC
kɛ-qénu *te-je* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 INF-darken PFV:TR-begin₂ be-MED
 They had not yet arrived at the place on the hills for digging fritillary bulbs when it
 already began to get dark.
13. *q^hoʔ* *nəʔoséʔsət* *kámtʰa* *lɛ-ɐre-nə-cə*
 SEQ thus a.bit PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3PL-MED
 And they kept going upriver like this for a while.
14. *ʃənəʔ* *ɛdɛnbe* *mə-nə-sɛmti-cə*
 but at.all NEG-PFV-be.able.to.see₂-MED
 But nothing could be seen at all.
15. *q^hoʔ* *tómu=rɛʔ* *kámtʰa* *ne-lét-cə*
 SEQ rain=PL a.bit PFV:TR-release₂-MED
 And some rain and what not came down.
16. *q^hoʔ* *koⁿboləleʔ* *koŋəŋəʔ* *nəʔ-ste=z*
 SEQ together.with.ox.and.child 3PL:POSS-where.something.is=LOC
nəʔoséʔsət *tə-nəmeʔ-nə-cə*
 thus PFV-spend.the.night₂-3PL-MED
 And right there she rested for the night with the bull and the children.

17. *q^hoʔ o-lŋaʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-child NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
ó-p^həm ne-ʃomʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-bosom PFV:TR-cuddle₂-MED
kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ o-zgɛq^hu ke-səʔts^hu
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET 3SG:POSS-back PFV:CISLOC:TR-cause.to.cling₂
q^hoʔ nɐ-rⁿguʔ-nə-cə
 SEQ IPFV:PST-sleep₂-3PL-MED
 And she cuddled her younger son in her bosom, and made the older child cling to her back, and they slept.
18. *ʃənəʔ o-zgɛq^hu tɐlŋaʔ=nəʔ*
 but 3SG:POSS-back child=DET
ne-nɐⁿdʒiʔ-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV-feel.cold-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 But the child on her back said, “I feel cold!”
19. *ʃənəʔ ó-mo=nəʔ*
 but 3SG:POSS-mother=DET
ʃfiⁿkə tsɛjə mɐ-kə-taŋ=cəʔ ʃteʔ
 very.much NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.clearheaded=INDF be:EMPH
 But his mother was not a very clear-headed person,
20. *q^hoʔ nəjɐrmɐ me-ne-nəmɤnɐmberʔ-cə*
 SEQ that.much NEG-PFV:TR-take.seriously₂-MED
 and did not take him that seriously.
21. *q^hoʔ nəʔofsəʔfsi lɐ-fsi-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ next.day PFV-dawn₂-MED=SUB
 And when dawn broke the next day,

22. *o-lŋaʔ* *o-zgɛ́qʰu* *nɛ-kə-rʰŋuʔ=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-child 3SG:POSS-back IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep₂=DET
nə-qɛjɾəm *wɛjɔ-nəŋo*
 PFV-freeze₂ be.seen-MED
 she found that the child of hers that was sleeping on her back had frozen to death.
23. *qʰoʔ* *tə-rɛχtʃoʰba*
 SEQ PFV-scream₂
qʰoʔ *o-sni=rɛʔ* *χʃikə* *nə-zdəγ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart=PL very PFV-be.sorrowful₂-MED
 And she screamed and was very sorrowful.
24. *ʃənəʔ* *kɛ-pe* *nɛ-mɛʔ-cə*
 but GP-do IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED
 But there was nothing one could do.
25. *ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=nəʔ*
 IRR-PFV-be=SUB
 Actually,
26. *mer* *kolŋəlŋaʔ* *ʰboleʔ* *te-rʰŋu*
 night together.with.child bull IPFV-sleep
qʰoʔ *nəʔ* *o-po* *vzər* *ɐ-lɛ́-tsʰu=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-belly side IRR-PFV:IN-get.close.to=SUB
qʰoʔ *ɐ-kə-rʰŋu-nə=nəʔ*
 SEQ IRR-PFV-sleep-3PL=SUB
 if, as the bull slept, she had leaned with the children close to the belly of the bull and
 (then) gone to sleep,

27. *təlŋaʔ sət mə-nv-re-cə*
 child die NEG-IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED
 the child would not need to die.
28. *fənəʔ nəʔ kə-fsət mə-te-tʂən-cə*
 but ANA INF-do.thus NEG-PFV:TR-think.of₂-MED
 But it did not occur to her to do thus.
29. *məju mer nv-qənuʔ fteʔ-cə ʔdenəʔ*
 furthermore night IPFV:PST-be.dark₂ be:EMPH-MED for
təmdánəʔ kə-loŋ kə-toʔ o-vzər=tsv
 in.fact NMLZ:SBJ-herd NMLZ:SBJ-exist 3SG:POSS-side=a.bit
lɐ-zɣət-nə nv-ŋo-cə
 PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 Moreover, it was also because it was dark at night, for they had actually arrived at the vicinity of where herders were (camped).
30. *fənəʔ mə-ne-mti-nə*
 but NEG-PFV:TR-see₂-3PL
qʰoʔ fə-kv-nəkʰo mə-nv-cʰvʔ-nə-cə
 SEQ AND-INF-stay.for.the.night NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL-MED
 But they did not see them, and were unable to go and stay (with them) for the night.
31. *qʰoʔ sásu jə-mda jərmv=nəʔ*
 SEQ noon PROS-be.time about=SUB
 And when it was almost noontime,

32. *tɛjtsɛpu* *kə-npɛjmoɣ=rɛʔ=kə* *nɛ-o-mti²¹-cə*
 people.from.Teutses NMLZ:SBJ-dig.for.fritillary.bulb=PL=ERG PFV-INV-see₂-MED
 she was spotted by people from Teutses who were digging for fritillary bulbs.
33. *q^hoʔ tɛlɲaʔ o-ʃpovʔ=rɛʔ* *t^he-sɛjwɛt-nə-cə*
 SEQ child 3SG:POSS-corpse=PL PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring₂-3PL-MED
 And they brought back the child's body and what not.
34. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ tɛmo=nəʔ o-mk^hrəmʃɛt=rɛʔ* *nɛ-peʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ meanwhile mother=DET 3SG:POSS-scolding=PL PFV:TR-do₂-3PL-MED
 Meanwhile, they gave the mother a scolding.
35. *q^hónə tɛlɲaʔ nə-kə-set=nəʔ* *nɛ-sɛldôt-nə*
 SEQ child PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-die₂=DET PFV:TR-bury₂-3PL
 And they buried the dead child.
36. *q^hoʔ nəʔ nɛ-fsât* *nɛ-t^hoz*
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 And that was what happened.

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

A STRANGE SKELETON WAS EXCAVATED AT MBRATA

"bretaz fěru mekánáxtfəy təl

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *caxtfəylo*²² *jərmə=cə=z*
the.year.1981 about=LOC:INDF=LOC
Some time around the year 1981,

2. *ts^hovdān q^holəcəpu kə-nəfíyini tərmə kəlɣótfoj jərmə=cə?*
PN Kholakyi.person NMLZ:SBJ-do.sideline man five-six about=INDF
téwe k^haŋsər o-lěco "brəta=cə=z
PN PN 3SG:POSS-upriver.place PN=LOC:INDF=LOC
"ge-rtfoⁿbəj[?]-nə ɲo[?]-cə
IPFV-build.road-3PL be-MED
five or six men from Kholakyi Village of Tshobdun Township were doing sideline job
building roads at Mbrata upriver from Tawe Village in Khangsar Township.

3. *q^ho[?] kə-sɲi=cə nɛ-rtfoⁿbəj-nə=nə?*
SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF IPFV:PST-build.road₂-3PL=SUB
One day, when they were building roads,

4. *sət^hé=p^hi fěru kə-səmts^hər=cə? t^hv-nlɔ ɲo[?]-cə*
earth=under bone NMLZ-be.surprising=INDF PFV:OUT-come.out₂ be-MED
a strange skeleton was dug up (lit. ‘came up’) from the ground.

5. *q^ho[?] kəɲólə te-nərtɔxpjət-nə=nə?*
SEQ well PFV:TR-observe₂-3PL=SUB
As they took a good look at it,

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

6. *kəɾⁿbjoʔ o-fǝru fsə́t ɲoʔ-cə*
 human 3SG:POSS-bone be.like be-MED
fənəʔ ó-q^hru kəmtʃ^ha toʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 but 3SG:POSS-horn a.bit exist be-MED

and (they found that) it looked like a human skeleton, but it had some kind of horns.

7. *o-ləspu=nəʔ kəɾⁿbjoʔ fə́χtenə xteʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-body=DET human than be.big be-MED

And its body was bigger than a human's body.

8. *q^hoʔ o-rwəwə məkənáyɬfəy tʃénts^hə=kəsci kə-təri*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-necklace unusual battery=like one-string
v-sqərwe ɲoʔ-cə
 PASS-cause.to.wear.around.neck be-MED

And an unusual necklace consisting of a string of battery-like objects had been put around its neck.

9. *q^hoʔ o-χfi-mcerʔ=nəʔ tərɡi kə-jpejpom tə-weʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-thigh-interstice=DET fir NMLZ:SBJ-be.thick:RDPL PFV-come₂
wəjo-nəŋo
 be.seen-MED

And a very thick fir tree could be seen growing up from between its legs.

10. *q^hoʔ o-vzər=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=DET
leʔ jəte-kə-xtfi=kəsci=cəʔ o-fǝru wəjo-nəŋo
 again COMP-NMLZ-be.small=like=INDF 3SG:POSS-bone be.seen-MED

And they found beside it what looked like a skeleton of a smaller creature of its kind.

11. *q^hoʔ nɐ-kə-rtʃoⁿbɛj=rɐʔ=kə*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-build.road₂=PL=ERG
koʔ kəⁿbjoʔ o-fǝru tə-kə-lɔ=kəsə=nəʔ tʃ^hə ɲoʔ
 this human 3SG:POSS-bone PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out₂=like=DET what be
ne-səsi-nə-cə
 PFV:TR-think₂-3PL-MED
 And the road builders wondered what this thing was that came out of the ground looking like a human skeleton,
12. *fənəʔ mə-te-nɛporoʔ-nə-cə*
 but NEG-PFV-safekeep₂-3PL-MED
 but they did not preserve it.
13. *q^hoʔ o-fǝrɛru²³=rɐʔ ts^hecóʔ²⁴=naŋ te-rkoʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone:RDPL=PL mud.basket=inside PFV:TR-put.into₂-3PL-MED
q^hoʔ qɛrɲámʔ=naŋ t^he-wɛrɛt-nə fteʔ-nəŋo
 SEQ river=inside PFV:DOWNRIVER-throw₂-3PL be:EMPH-MED
 And they just gathered up the bones and what not in mud baskets and dumped them into the river.
14. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^hunəʔ=z rdzoŋ=naŋ ne-fsɐ-nə-cə*
 SEQ afterwards=LOC county=inside PFV:TR-hear₂-3PL-MED
 Afterwards, the county (government) heard about this,

²³ Collective form of *fǝru*.

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

15. *q^hoʔ fla o-fǽru tə-kə-lə*
 SEQ immediately 3SG:POSS-bone PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out₂
kə-toʔ=nəʔ=z tə-ɐre-nə-cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET=LOC PFV:UP-go₂-3PL-MED
 they went immediately uphill to where the skeleton had been excavated.

16. *fənəʔ kə-rtfoⁿbɛjʔ=réʔ=kə*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-build.road=PL=ERG
o-fǽru t^he-wɛrɛt-nə fiɛʔ-cə=kə
 3SG:POSS-bone PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw₂-3PL be:EMPH-MED=INS
 But since the road builders had already thrown the bones downriver,

17. *nə-ja mə-jɐ-wɛʔ-nəŋo*
 3PL:POSS-hand NEG-PFV-come₂-MED
 they could not find them.

18. *q^hoʔ nəʔ nɐ-fsət nɐ-t^hoz-cə*
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED
 That was what happened.

VILLAGE WITCH
moste nekəsə̀don? tonda?
Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *c^heʔ=z jəlpe moste smént^hər kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ*
 former.time=LOC neighbor single.woman PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF
"ge-toʔ
 IPFV-exist
 We used to have a neighbor, a single woman by the name of Smanthar.
2. *q^hoʔ zdewe=rəʔ=kə*
 SEQ villager=PL=ERG
q^heʔ moste=nəʔ sə̀don ɲoʔ té-tsə-nə "ge-tʃ^hozʔ
 ANA single.woman=DET be.possessed be IPFV-say-3PL IPFV-be.the.rule
 People in the village say that she is a possessed one.
3. *q^hoʔ ɛjiʔ əntsejə v-kə-sə̀rtəʔ "ge-mə orjə̀ɲnə*
 SEQ 1SG that.much 1SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-realize IPFV-not.exist when
 When I was still not quite aware of things about the world,
4. *kə-təʃe=cε=nəʔ*
 one-time=LOC:INDF=DET
é-pe "ge-nⁿgiʔ q^hoʔ χfíkə "ge-t^hu "ge-ɲoʔ orjə̀ɲnəʔ
 1SG:POSS-father IPFV-be.ill SEQ very IPFV-be.serious IPFV-be when
 once when my father was ill and in a serious condition,
5. *tərmók^he=z 'ts^het ʃə-t^hv-ni-aɲ*
 dusk=LOC goat AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-drive₂-1SG
 I went to drive goats back home at dusk.

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

k^hénanə *kə-nⁿgi?* *t^hə-to* *mu* *tə-tsəʔ-an*
 house NMLZ:SBJ-be.ill CONT:LTR-exist₂ DM PFV-say₂-1SG

And I yelled at my mom, saying, “Why do you let that single woman go up into our house? We do have an ill person at home!”

12. *q^hoʔ* *é-mo=kə* *tʃ^hə* *te-tə-tsə* *ŋoʔ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=ERG what IPFV-2-say be

k^hénanə *fə* *tə-kə-ɐre* *toʔ* *té-tsə*
 house who PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂ exist IPFV-say

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

13. *q^hónə* *ɛj^l?=kə* *é-mo* *te-sáyⁿdze* *ŋoʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH 1SG=ERG 1SG:POSS-mother IPFV-be.difficult be

fⁱé^l?=kə *nə-səsi-an*
 be:EMPH=DM PFV-think₂-1SG

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

14. *q^hoʔ* *'ts^het* *kə-rjəy?* *t^hə-ni-an*
 SEQ goat INF-run PFV:DOWNRIVER-drive₂-1SG

q^hoʔ *kómt^hə* *t^hə-səzyót-an*
 SEQ courtyard PFV:DOWNRIVER-cause.to.arrive₂-1SG

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

15. *q^hoʔ* *é-mo=p^ha* *tə-rɛfqaʔqəʔ-an*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=place PFV-scold:RDPL₂-1SG

and I repeatedly chided my mother,

16. *nəkəʔ* *moste*
 that.near.you single.woman
kʰənəŋ *tʰɛ* *te-tə-səɣfɛ* *nɐ-re* *ŋoʔ* *tə-tsəʔ-aŋ*
 house why IPFV-2-cause.to.go IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂ be PFV-say₂-1SG
 “Why did you have to let that single woman go up to our house,” I demanded.

17. *qʰoʔ* *é-mo=kə* *tʰə* *te-tá-tsə* *ŋoʔ* *ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG what IPFV-2-say be for
ɐ-tókʰo *te-kə-re* *mɐ* *te-tsəʔ*
 1SG:POSS-upside PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂ not.exist PFV:TR-say₂
 And my mother said, “What are you talking about? Nobody ever went up from where I am.”

18. *qʰoʔ* *ɐjɪʔ=kə* *mə-nə-nzɐⁿgiʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ 1SG=ERG NEG-PFV-believe₂-1SG
qʰoʔ *ʃla* *kʰənəŋ* *ʃə-tə-mpʰɛri-aŋ*
 SEQ immediately house AND-PFV:UP-look₂-1SG
 I did not believe her, and quickly went upstairs to look in the house.

19. *ʃənəʔ* *te-kɐ-re* *kɐ-mtiʔ* *kənáɛ* *mɐ*
 but PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂ NMLZ:SBJ:U-see EMPH not.exist
 But the one who went upstairs could not be seen at all,

20. *qʰoʔ* *təmdánə* *ɐ-mɲa-ⁿdi* *nákəsə* *nə-ntʰerʔ*
 SEQ in.fact 1SG:POSS-eye-lower.edge thus PFV-appear₂
ʃteʔ-cə *ⁿdenəʔ* *kə-taʔ* *nɐ-ŋo=nəʔ* *maʔ-cə*
 be:EMPH-MED for NMLZ:SBJ-be.real IPFV:PST-be₂=SUB not.be-MED
 and in fact, it only appeared like that under my eyes, for it was not real.

21. *q^hoʔ é-pe kə-lɛn mə-nə-mduʔ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-father NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity NEG-PFV-last₂
nə-meʔ fiʔ
 PFV-not.exist₂ be:EMPH
 And before long, my father passed away.
22. *moste nə-kə-saʔdonʔ ʔnez-tərem=nəʔ*
 single.woman IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.possessed₂ two-occasion=TOP
 As for the second incident of the single woman being possessed,
23. *jə-zdewe=naŋ tɛlŋaʔ ʔsompərmə ʔdenəʔ*
 1PL:POSS-villager=inside child child.of.three-years-old only
mə-jə-kə-weʔ=cəʔ nə-mʊŋeʔ nə-tʰoz
 NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=INDF PFV-not.be.seen₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 a child in our village, no more than three years old, went missing.
24. *q^hoʔ ŋétʰəfsəfsi nə-qaseʔ-nə*
 SEQ everywhere PFV:TR-see₂-3PL
 People searched everywhere,
25. *fənəʔ ʔso-sŋi ʔso-rjaʔ nə-tsoʔ ʔdenəʔ*
 SEQ three-day three-night PFV-elapse₂ only
nə-ja mə-jə-weʔ
 3SG:POSS-hand NEG-PFV-come₂
 but they could not find him until three days and three nights later.
26. *q^hoʔ nə-ja jə-weʔ orjəŋnə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-hand PFV-come₂ when
 And when they found him,

27. *təlŋaʔ=nəʔ* *yréko* *ome* *kə-ⁿbriʔ=cəʔ* *ó-ta*
 child=DET ridge very NMLZ:SBJ-be.high=INDF 3SG:POSS-top
t^hv-nɛvɛʔ *ne-mti-nə-nəŋo*
 CONT:LTR-idle.about₂ PFV:TR-see₂-3PL-MED
 they saw the child was playing on top of a very high ridge.

28. *q^hoʔ* *v-né-ŋo=nəʔ*²⁵
 SEQ IRR-PFV-be=SUB
q^hoʔ *təlŋaʔ=nəʔ* *q^hénəʔ=z* *tséjə* *kə-ⁿbriʔ* *yréko=ta*
 SEQ child=DET there=LOC so NMLZ:SBJ-be.high ridge=top
o-jiʔ *jɛste* *kə-fv* *ɛdɛnbe* *mɛ-c^hv*
 3SG:POSS-self alone NMLZ-go at.all NEG-be.able
 Now it was ordinarily impossible for the child to get to the top of such a high ridge all by himself.

29. *fənəʔ* *q^hoʔ* *təlŋaʔ* *ne-mti-nə* *orjəŋnəʔ*
 but SEQ child PFV:TR-see₂-3PL when
o-jiʔ *jɛste* *t^hv-nɛvɛʔ*
 3SG:POSS-self alone CONT:LTR-idle.about₂
q^hoʔ *mə-nə-ʃpaʔ* *mə-nə-mtserʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ NEG-PFV-be.thirsty₂ NEG-PFV-be.hungry₂ be-MED
 But when they saw the child, he was playing all by himself and was not thirsty or hungry.

30. *q^hoʔ* *təlŋaʔ=p^ha* *k^hák^ho* *kə-wi* *tʃ^hə* *tə-tə-ʃsăt* *ŋoʔ*
 SEQ child=place here INF-come what PFV-2-do.thus be
te-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ
 PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED=SUB
 And when they asked the child, “How did you come up here?”

²⁵ An idiomatic expression meaning ‘in the ordinary way of things’.

31. *tɛlɲáʔ=kə qʰɛʔ moste=nəʔ o-rmiʔ te-poj*
 child=ERG ANA single.woman=DET 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-do₃
qʰoʔ qʰɛnəʔ=kə kə-néʔ tə-o-wôt-aŋ
 SEQ ANA=ERG NMLZ:PURP-idle.about PFV-INV-bring₂-1SG
ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

The child uttered the single woman's name, saying, "She brought me (here) to play."

32. *qʰoʔ qʰɛʔ moste=pʰa ne-rwet-nə-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA single.woman=place PFV:TR-ask₂-3PL-MED=SUB
 And when they asked the single woman,

33. *ɛʝiʔ tə-tsom-aŋ mɛ mé-siz-aŋ*
 1SG PFV:UP-take₂-1SG not.exist NEG-know-1SG
te-tsəʔ nɛ-tʰoʔ
 PFV:TR-say₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 she said, "I did not take him up, I have no idea." It was said.

34. *təmdánə kə-taʔ te-tsom=nəʔ nɛ-ma ŋoʔ*
 in.fact NMLZ:SBJ-be.real PFV:UP:TP-take.thither₂=SUB IPFV:PST-not.be₂ be
 The truth is, she did not really take him up.

35. *ʃənəʔ o-ʝiʔ saʔdon o-tənʔ=kə*
 but 3SG:POSS-self be.possessed 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
nəʔ nɛ-fsət nɛ-tʰoʔ
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.thus₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 But, apparently it was due to her being possessed.

36. *leʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ*
 again one-time=LOC:INDF=DET
 On another occasion,
37. *jəʃərvəʔ jə-zdewe=nəŋ*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-villager=inside
tərmə ʔŋe-kə-qərŋiʔ káʔne=cəʔ nə-to-nə
 man IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt several=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-3PL
 there were several young hunters in our village,
38. *qʰoʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ ʃə-nə-qərŋi-nə*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET AND-IPFV:PST-hunt₂-3PL
 and one day they were going hunting,
39. *qʰoʔ ʃorⁿgeləp^ha ʔdenəʔ kə-nəzyot mə-nə-c^həʔ-nə*
 SEQ midnight not.until INF-arrive.back NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL
 and were not able to get back home until midnight.
40. *qʰoʔ q^həʔ moste o-kómt^hɔ*
 SEQ ANA single.woman 3SG:POSS-courtyard
ʃə-t^hə-nlɔ-nə orjájŋə
 AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-pass₂-3PL when
q^həʔ moste=nəʔ kómt^hɔ χtʃərvu t^hə-n^hdzor wəʃo
 SEQ single.woman=DET courtyard naked CONT:LTR-stand₂ be.seen
 When they were passing through the single woman's courtyard, the woman was (seen) standing naked at her courtyard.
41. *qʰoʔ nə-kə-qərŋi=rəʔ=kə nə-nəscer^ʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt₂=PL=ERG PFV-be.scared₂-3PL-MED
 They hunters became scared,

42. *q^hoʔ nəkáɲə tʰə tə-ɐsɐ-pe ɲoʔ*
 SEQ there what 2-CONT:HTR-do be
te-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ
 PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED=SUB
 and when they said, “What are you doing over there?”
43. *moste=nəʔ=kə*
 single.woman=DET=ERG
əⁿdɐ tʰɐ-qɐrɲi-aɲ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 EXCL CONT:LTR-do.hunting₂-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The single woman said, “Oh, I am hunting.”
44. *q^hoʔ nɐ-kə-qɐrɲi=rɐʔ=kə*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt₂=PL=ERG
q^hɐʔ moste=nəʔ te-nabⁿdaɐⁿduʔ-nə
 ANA single.woman=DET PFV:TR-scold₂-3PL
kʰɛnaɲ lɐ-fɐ ʃə-kə-rⁿgu te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 home IMP:UPRIVER-go AND-IMP-go.to.bed PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 The hunters scolded the woman, and said, “Go home, and go to bed!”
45. *q^hoʔ noɲménə ʃkelɲəʃkel kʰɛnaɲ lɐ-ɐre-cə*
 SEQ only.then IDPH home PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED
q^hoʔ ʃə-kə-rⁿguʔ-cə
 SEQ AND-PFV-go to bed₂-MED
nəʔ nɐ-fsət nɐ-tʰoʔ
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.thus₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 And only then, did she walk limpingly home upriver and went to bed. It happened like that.

46. *mer forⁿgelé^ha mosté=kə tʃə te-qə^hɣe? ɲo? ⁿdenə?*
 night midnight single.woman=ERG what IPFV-hunt₃ be for
kə-sésiz nɐ-mɛ? nɐ-tʃ^hoʒ
 NMLZ-be.known IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ IPFV-be.the.rule₂
 And it was not known what the single woman was hunting at midnight.

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

48. *jə-zdewe=naŋ tətʃu kərdəʒ=cə?*
 1PL:POSS-villager=inside lad one=INDF
mdzórge=z ʃə-kə-kə-nənmaʒ=cə?
 PN=LOC AND-PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-marry.into.wife's.family₂=INDF
tóʒ=kə losɐ orjáhna kozdəʒde?
 exist=INS new.year when couple
kə-sɐrtə? nə-nəwɛʒ-ⁿdzə
 NMLZ:PURP-visit.family PFV:WEST-come.back_{2-3DU}
 a young man in our village who had married into his wife's family at Ruo'ergai went back home with his spouse to visit their family during New Year.

49. *q^ho? tərmók^he q^hɐ? moste o-kómt^hɔ*
 SEQ dusk ANA single.woman 3SG:POSS-courtyard
ʃə-lɐ-nlɔ-ⁿdzə orjáhna
 AND-PFV:UPRIVER-pass_{2-3DU} when
 When they went upriver and passed the single woman's courtyard at dusk,

50. *q^hɐ? moste ne-t^həy-ⁿdzə-cə*
 SEQ single.woman PFV:TR-meet_{2-2DU-MED}
 they met the single woman,

51. *q^hoʔ oʒoʔ kámɪʃ^ha nɛ-wɛc^hɛvlevʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ in.the.meanwhile a.bit IPFV:PST-chat₂-3PL-MED
 and meanwhile they chatted a little.
52. *q^hoʔ noɪmɛnə k^hɛnəɲ le-nəre-ⁿdzə-cə*
 SEQ only.then home PFV:UPRIVER-go.back₃-3DU-MED
 And then they went on back home.
53. *q^hoʔ q^hɛʔ kə-sɛrtɔʔ tə-kə-nəwɛʔ=niʔ*
 SEQ ANA NMLZ:PURP-visit.family PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-come.back₂=DU
*mer nə-nɛnpri-nə-cə*²⁶
 at.night PFV-eat.supper₂-3PL-MED
q^hoʔ kə-rⁿguʔ tə-rɛntʃ^ha-nə-cə=nəʔ
 SEQ NMLZ:PURP-go.to.bed PFV-prepare₂-3PL-MED=SUB
 And when at night the two home-comers ate supper and prepared to go to bed (with the other family members),
54. *q^hɛʔ tərme ó-rjev ⁿbrɔmuʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA lad 3SG:POSS-wife Amdo.woman=DET
kɛ-nt^hódo o-kolɛɲu kɛ-mɛ
 INF-rave 3SG:POSS-order INF-not.exist
kɛ-sɲo o-ts^həɣɛ=kəsci te-je-cə
 INF-be.crazy 3SG:POSS-manner=like PFV:TR-begin₂-MED
 the lad's Amdo wife began to rave and act in a orderless, crazy manner.

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

55. *q^hoʔ kəmaʔ=rɛʔ=kə*
 SEQ other=PL=ERG
q^hɛʔ ⁿbrɔmuʔ=p^ha tʃ^hə te-tə-poj ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ
 ANA Amdo.woman=place what IPFV-2-do₃ be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED=SUB
 When the others asked the Amdo woman, “What are you doing?”

56. *fɔ^hɛʔ tərmók^he ɐ-t^hiko*
 just.now dusk 1SG:POSS-downriver.side
rgɛmu nɛ-t^həɣ-tsə=nəʔ=kə pəʃk^ho-rɛŋəm
 old woman PFV-meet₂-1DU=DET=ERG now-EMPH
t^hɛ-wi nə-ⁿdʒɛsqɛ-tsə te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ
 IMP:DOWNRIVER-come IMP-have.potluck.party-1DU PFV:TR-say₂ be
q^hoʔ fɛ-aŋ reʔ te-tsəʔ
 SEQ go-1SG be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂
 She said, “The old woman downriver and I met each other just now at dusk, and she said, ‘Come downriver and let us have a potluck party,’ and so I must go!”

57. *q^hoʔ o-ɣrɛrɛʔ=kə nəʔ mɛ-ⁿdʒəɣʔ-cə ne-səsi-nə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=ERG ANA NEG-be.proper-MED PFV:TR-think₂-3PL
 And her family thought, “That is not right,”

58. *q^hoʔ ʃla kɛsɛk^hu ne-lɛt-nə*
 SEQ immediately juniper.powder PFV:TR-release₂-3PL
q^hoʔ vlɛrge káɬne ne-sqôr-nə
 SEQ monk several PFV:TR-send.for₂-3PL
o-χtu kəmtʃ^ha ne-səpeʔ-nə
 3SG:POSS-chanting.sutra a.bit PFV:TR-cause.to.do₂-3PL
 and they quickly burned sanctified juniper powder, and sent for several monks and made them chant some sutras for her.

59. *q^hoʔ nəʔofsəfsi nə-zi*
 SEQ next.day PFV-recover₂
q^hoʔ nɐ-kə-ma=nəʔ nə-fsəʔt-cə
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.not₂=SUB PFV-do.thus₂-MED
 And her illness recovered the next day, as if nothing had happened.

60. *q^hoʔ q^hənəʔ ó-p^ha*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place
forme t^hə te-tə-poj ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə
 last night what IPFV-2-do₃ be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL
q^hoʔ ne-rwet-nə-cə=nəʔ
 SEQ PFV:TR-ask₂-3PL-MED=SUB
 And when they asked her, saying, “What were you doing last night?”

61. *q^hənəʔ mer t^hə ne-peʔ ɲoʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA night what PFV:TR-do₂ be=SUB
o-kɐ-səsiʔ o-kɐ-tʂənʔ kɔnbe mɐ-cə
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-think 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-recall at.all not.exist-MED
 That one (the woman) could not think of or recall anything about what she had done that night.

62. *nəʔ nɐ-fsəʔt nɐ-t^hoʔ*
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 That was what happened, it is said.

THROWER OF STONES

kənaʃkótse

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *ʃjonts^he=z mən^hdáci=sc^hənəʔ tʃuʔ o-pért^hv=nəʔ*
 former.time=LOC PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-space.in.between=DET
mən^hdəcəmt^he kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ tóʔ=kə
 PN NMLZ-be.named=INDF exist=INS
te-kə-nən^hkə^hjiʔ=nəʔ tə-kə-nəʃkótse toʔ ké-tsə tʃ^hozʔ
 IPFV-GP-pass.by=SUB GP:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-throw.stone exist GP-say be.the.rule
 There is a place named Mendecamthe between Mendeci Hamlet and Cus Village where it was rumored in the old days that if you pass by the place, something would throw stones at you.

2. *ʃji=ntʃ^hon=nəʔ kə-o-nəʃkótse tsə-nə tʃ^hozʔ*
 day=also=DET GP-INV-throw.stone say-3PL be.the.rule
 They say that stones would be thrown at one even during the day.

3. *ɛjiʔ ʋnesqe jərmə jə-wéʔ-aŋ orjáŋnəʔ*
 1SG twenty about PFV-come₂-1SG when
tʃuʔ=z jle ʃə-kə-ro-aŋ
 PN=LOC dzo AND-PFV:EAST-fetch₂-1SG
 Once when I was around twenty, I went east to bring back some dzo from Cus Village.

4. *jle o-kə-niʔ=nəʔ tʃuʔ mtʃ^holdən te-ké-tsə*
 dzo 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-drive=DET PN PN IPFV-GP-say
tərmə=cəʔ tóʔ=kə nənəʔ=kə ke-néʔ nə-ŋo
 man=INDF exist=INS ANA=ERG IPFV:EAST-drive₃ IPFV:PST-be₂
 The driver of the dzo was a Cus man named Mcholdan, and he was driving from behind.

5. *qʰoʔ mən̄dəcəmtʰe lə-zɣɔt-tə= nəʔ*
 SEQ PN PFV:UPRIVER-2DU=SUB

tə-qənuʔ zɣəɣzɣəɣʔ nə-ŋo
 PFV-darken₂ IDPH²⁷ IPFV:PST-be₂

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

6. *qʰoʔ rjəspe lə-wɛʔ-tə= nəʔ*
 SEQ quite.a.while PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-2PL=SUB

And when we came quite a while farther upriver,

7. *v-vzər=z fʃkótse lə-kə-wəret=cəʔ tóʔ=kə*
 1SG:POSS-side=LOC stone PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-throw₂=INDF exist=INS

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

8. *o-réŋəm=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-moment=DET

and at that moment,

9. *nəʔ mtʃʰoldən=nəʔ*
 ANA PN=TOP

tə-pértʰe jle kə-téwə-ⁿde mə=nəʔ
 1DU:POSS-space.in.between dzo one-team-except not.exist=SUB

nəʔ fʃkótse tʃʰe le-wérət ŋóʔ=kə nə-səsi-aŋ
 ANA stone why IPFV:UPRIVER-throw₃ be=DM PFV-think₂-1SG

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

²⁷ Describing complete darkness.

10. *q^hoʔ tʃǎle mə-tə-tsəʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ anything NEG-PFV-say₂-1SG
 And I didn't say anything.
11. *q^hoʔ leʔ rjéspe lə-wɛʔ-tsə*
 SEQ again quite.a.while PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-1DU
 And we kept coming upriver for quite a while.
12. *q^hoʔ t^hɔjávra te-ké-tsə=cəʔ tóʔ=kə*
 SEQ PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
 There was a place called Thoyavra,²⁸
13. *nánəz lə-zɣô-t-sə=nəʔ*
 there PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-1DU=SUB
 and as we arrived at that place,
14. *leʔ v-vzər rⁿgu ó-ta*
 again 1SG:POSS-side boulder 3SG:POSS-top
ʃkótse=rcənəʔ ʃpét tə-kə-sətsəʔ=cəʔ toʔ
 stone=TOP:EMPH IDPH PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.say₂=INDF exist
 on top of the boulder by my side there was again someone who (threw a stone and hit)
 the place near by me with a “Shpet”.²⁹
15. *q^hoʔ o-réjəm mt^holdən=p^ha ne-tə-sno raŋ ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-moment PN=place IPFV-2-be.crazy DM for
 At that moment, I said to Mcholdan, “Are you mad?”

²⁸ Name of a landmark within Mendecamthe, literally ‘sign of good harvest’.

²⁹ An ideophone mimicking the sound of something flat impacting a hard surface.

16. *ʃkótse=kə v-koʔ tə-xʂəɣ ŋoʔ*
 stone=INS 1SG:POSS-head 2-hit be
ˈdeʔ ʃkótse mə-lɐ-tə-wérɐt ˈdenəʔ tə-tsəʔ-aŋ=nəʔ
 any.more stone NEG-IMP:UPRIVER-2-throw₃ or.else PFV-say-1SG=SUB
 “The stones may hit my head! Don’t throw stones any more, or else!”

17. *mʃʰoldən ɣʃíkə te-ntsʰɐvʔ*
 PN very IPFV-be.nervous
 Mcholdan was very flustered,

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

19. *oʒorʔ tʃʰo tʃʰo tʃʰo³⁰ té-tsə jle le-neʔ*
 meanwhile EXCL IPFV-say dzo IPFV:UPRIVER-drive
 Meanwhile, he was herding the dzo on, saying “Cho, Cho, Cho.”

20. *qʰoʔ noŋmenəʔ ʃkótse lɐ-kə-wɐret=nəʔ*
 SEQ only.then stone PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-throw₂=DET
mʃʰoldən kə-maʔ=nəʔ nɐ-sərtə-aŋ
 PN NMLZ-not.be=DET PFV-realize₂-1SG
 Only then did I realize that the one who had thrown stones was not Mcholdan.

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

21. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ məⁿdəcəmt^he=tsə tə-kə-nəʃkótse*
 SEQ meanwhile PN=TOP:EMPH GP:POSS:U-NMLZ:SBJ-throw.stones
kə-toʔ kə-tʃ^hoʒʔ=nəʔ ɐ-sem jɐ-weʔ
 NMLZ-exist NMLZ-be.the.rule=SUB 1SG:POSS-heart PFV-come₂
 Meanwhile, it dawned on me that the place Mendecamthe was indeed rumored to have
 (mysterious) throwers of stones.

22. *q^hoʔ ɐ-komɐzer kámʃ^ha nə-ɐmdzuʔ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-creepy.feeling a.bit PFV-stand.on.end₂
 And I felt my hair stand on end a little bit.

23. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ lɐ-ɔjɐsɐjezʔ-tsə ofétka*
 SEQ meanwhile PFV:UPRIVER-hurry₂-1DU so.much
tʃ^hə ɔ-séʃsət məⁿdáci lɐ-zyót-tsə ɲoʔ=rɐn
 what 3SG:POSS-way PN PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-1DU be=even
mə-nɐ-sərtɔ-aj
 NEG-PFV-realize₂-1SG
 Meanwhile, we two rushed upriver so hurriedly that I didn't even know how we got back
 to Mendeci.

24. *q^hoʔ nəʔ nə-fsət ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ be-MED
 That was what happened.

SHERAB SAW A GHOST

ʃəʀévŋkə tájo nəkəmti

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *v-vəʔ* *ʃəʀévŋ* *te-ké-tsə=nəʔ*
 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN IPFV-GP-say=DET
tsʰovdən vlɛʀge nə-ŋo tʰozʔ
 Tshobdun monk IPFV:PST-be₂ be.the.rule
 My paternal uncle called Sherab was a monk at Tshobdun.
2. *qʰoʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ zde ná-pʰa nə-nəʃeʔ-cə*
 SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET other 3PL:POSS-place IPFV:PST-idel.about₂-MED
 Once, he was visiting with some people,
3. *qʰoʔ ʃorⁿgeléʔpʰə noŋme*
 SEQ wee.hours.of.the.night only.then
o-tʃaxʃaʔ=z ke-nəre-cə
 3SG:POSS-monk's.quarters=LOC PFV:EAST-go.back₂-MED
 and did not return to his quarters until the wee hours of the night.
4. *qʰoʔ mgonkʰaŋ kə-zyôʔ jɛrmə=nəʔ*
 SEQ protector's.chamber³¹ PFV:EAST-arrive₂ about=SUB
ke-mpʰéʀi=nəʔ o-ʋóri=z vlɛʀge ʋzén=kə
 IPFV:CISLOC-look=SUB 3SG:POSS-front=LOC monk monk's.cloak=INS
o-koʔ kə-səyloj=cəʔ nə-wɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-head NMLZ:SBJ:U-cover.with₂=INDF PFV:WEST-come₂ be-MED
 As he was about to get to the protectors' chamber, taking a look, he saw a monk coming west whose head was covered in a monk's cloak.

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

5. *q^hoʔ ʃəreɐvʔ kə-nⁿgozⁿge-cə*
 SEQ Shesrab PFV:EAST-call₂-MED
 Shesrab called at him,
6. *ʃəku ʃorⁿgelép^ha=nəʔ nətʃ^hə tə-ʃə ɲoʔ*
 over.there.in.the.east:VOC wee.hours.in.the.night=DET where 2-go be
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “You over there in the east, where are you going in this wee hour,” he asked.
7. *ʃənəʔ o-ʋóri ne-kə-wi=nəʔ=kə*
 but 3SG:POSS-front IPFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-come=DET=ERG
o-len=nəʔ ʋdənbe mə-te-peʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-answer=DET at.all NEG-PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 But the thing that was coming (west) did not answer him at all.
8. *q^hoʔ q^hənəʔ o-ʋzər nə-zyôʔ jermɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-side PFV:WEST-arrive₂ about=SUB
ləmɛstampɛt rɲəʔ³² nə-rzɛ-cə
 suddenly IDPH PFV-be.long₃-MED
 But when it was about to get close, it all of a sudden grew tall.
9. *q^hoʔ o-q^hostot=nəʔ nɛmk^he=nəŋ=cɛ tə-nⁿblôt-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-upper.body=DET sky=inside=LOC:INDF PFV:UP-disappear₂-MED
 And its upper body disappeared into the sky,
10. *o-q^hosmɛnʔ=nəʔ sətʃe=nəŋ nɛ-nⁿblôt-cə*
 3SG:POSS-lower.body=DET ground=inside PFV:DOWN-disappear₂-MED
 and its lower body disappeared into the ground.

³² An ideophone root describing a single object being slender or long.

11. *q^hoʔ fərvəʔ nɐ-nɐscerʔ o-komɐzer nɐ-ɐmdzuʔ*
 SEQ PN IPFV-be.scared₂ 3SG:POSS-creepy.feeling IPFV:PST-sit₂
 Shesrab was scared, and felt creepy.
12. *q^hoʔ kɐ-rɐⁿdʒáⁿdʒa=kəsə=kə³³*
 SEQ INF-run.with.legs.high.in.air=like=INS
o-káco vlɛrge o-tʂaxʃaʔ tə-ɐre-cə
 3SG:POSS-place.to.the.east monk 3SG:POSS-monk's.quarters PFV:UP-go₂-MED
 And running with his legs high in the air, he dashed up a monk's quarters to his east.
13. *q^hoʔ nɐ-nɐscerʔ o-fét=kə*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-be.scared₂ 3SG:POSS-extent=INS
kɐ-wɐc^hɛvlɛv=rɐn mə-n-c^hɛʔ nɐ-tʃ^hoz-cə
 INF-talk=even NEG-PFV-be.able₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED
 So scared he was that he could not even talk.
14. *q^hoʔ fərvəʔ o-ɪúri nə-kə-wɛʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ Shesrab 3SG:POSS-front PFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=DET
tájo=nəʔ nɐ-ŋo nɐ-ta-cə
 ghost=TOP IPFV:PST-be₂ IPFV:PST-be.certain₂-MED
 And that which came up (west) before Shesrab was undoubtedly a ghost.
15. *q^hoʔ jəjərvəʔ=kə=nəʔ*
 SEQ 1PL=ERG=TOP
 As for us,

³³ Possibly related to the ideophone root *ⁿdʒaŋ*, describing walking with two or more legs raised high in the air.

16. *tájo* *ⁿge-kɛ-mtiʔ* *qʰoʔ* *nə-xtɛ*
ghost IPFV-GP-see SEQ PFV-be.big₂
qʰónə *tájo* *o-kɛ-pe* *ne-mɛ*
SEQ:EMPH ghost 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-do IPFV-not.exist
qʰoʔ *me-ne-cʰɛ* *kɛ-tsə* *tʰoʔʔ*
SEQ NEG-IPFV-be.able GP-say be.the.rule
when we see (lit. one sees) a ghost, and it gets bigger, then the ghost can do little (harm)
and is not powerful, it is said.

17. *ʃənəʔ* *o-xpér=kə* *tájo* *ⁿge-kɛ-mtiʔ*
but 3SG:POSS-supposition=INS ghost IPFV-GP-see
qʰoʔ *v-mə-nə-nəxtfíxtfi* *reʔ*
SEQ IRR-NEG-PFV-be.smaller.and.smaller be.necessary
ⁿdenəʔ *tájo* *te-cʰɛ* *ŋoʔ* *kɛ-tsə* *tʰoʔʔ*
for ghost IPFV-be.capable be GP-say be.the.rule
But suppose one sees a ghost, it had better not get smaller and smaller, for then the ghost
is a powerful one, it is said.

JUNIPER POWDER SUBDUED A DEMON

kəʂəkʰukə tɔ̃jo kəfqaʔcə xpe

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *ʂɲontsʰe=z*
former.time=LOC
tsʰovdən rgonbe³⁴ vlɛrgɛpu=cəʔ nɛ-to ɲoʔ-cə
PN monastery young.monk=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
Once upon a time, there was a young monk in the Tshobdun Monastery.

2. *qʰoʔ osto kɛdənbe me-ⁿge-rɛvzjan ʃə-ⁿge-nɛmtʰómtʰom ɲoʔ-cə*
SEQ well at.all NEG-IPFV-study AND-IPFV-roam.about be-MED
He did not apply himself to his studies at all, but would just wander around.

3. *qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ ɲɛtʰəʃsəʃsi ne-kə-nɛrmárme*
SEQ night=DET everywhere IPFV-NMLZ-spend.the.night₂:RDPL
qʰoʔ o-kɛ-vɛr=rɛʔ kɛdənbe kə-mɛ-cə ⁿge-ɲoʔ-cə
SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-fear=PL at.all NMLZ-not.exist-MED IPFV-be-MED
At night he would spend the night anywhere, and he had no fear for anything at all.

4. *qʰoʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ lɛse=z kə-mdzɛl tə-ɛre-cə*
SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET PN=LOC NMLZ:PURP-worship PFV-go₂-MED
Once, he went on a pilgrimage to Lhasa.

5. *qʰoʔ mtsʰosɲonboʔ=scʰənəʔ rdaŋlɛtʰoŋwɛ o-perʔ=z*
SEQ PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-interstice=LOC
tʰaŋ sɛstɔŋ ome kə-ⁿge=cəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ-cə
plateau barren.land very NMLZ:SBJ-be.wide=INDF exist be-MED
Between Lake Kokonor and Tanggula Mountain, there was a vast barren plateau.

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

6. *q^hoʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ q^hɛnəʔ=z tə-zɣôʔ-cə*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET there=LOC PFV:UP-arrive₂-MED
 One day, he arrived there.
7. *q^hoʔ tə-qɛnuʔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV-darken₂-MED
 It became dark.
8. *q^hoʔ sɛrmeʔ ne-qɛseʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ sleeping.place PFV:TR-see₂-MED=SUB
t^han ó-ta toŋtoŋ kə-toʔ=cəʔ ne-mti-cə
 plateau 3SG:POSS-top pit NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF PFV:TR-see₂-MED
 And as he was looking for a place to sleep, he saw a pit on the plateau.
9. *q^hoʔ toŋtoŋ=nan rtsəke=rɛʔ dəɣdəɣʔ pe ome sɛscət ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ pit=inside grass=PL IDPH³⁵ do very be.comfortable be-MED
 The grass inside the pit was very comfortable.
10. *q^hoʔ jomerʔ nəʔ ó-nan*
 SEQ tonight ANA 3SG:POSS-inside
ne-kɛ-nərme reʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə
 IPFV-GP-spend.the.night be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 “I must spend the night in it tonight,” he thought.
11. *q^hoʔ nənə=z nə-nərmeʔ-cə*
 SEQ there=LOC PFV-spend.the.night₂-MED
 And so he spent the night there.

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

12. *q^hoʔ mer kə-nə-rⁿguʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ night PFV-SPON-sleep₂-MED=SUB
o-koməzər əntsətse ne-mdzu ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-creepy.feeling continuously IPFV-sit be-MED
 As he lied comfortably down to sleep at night, he was having a creeping feeling.
13. *q^hoʔ ɛʃiʔ ɲɛtʃ^həfsáfsi fə-ⁿge-rⁿgu-aŋ lden*
 SEQ 1SG everywhere AND-IPFV-sleep-1SG exist.in.quantity
fənəʔ ɐ-koməzər ɛmdzu mɐ-tʃ^hozʔ
 but 1SG:POSS-creepy.feeling sit NEG-be.the.rule
nəʔ tʃ^hə=cəʔ ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə
 ANA what=INDF be PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And he thought, “I frequently go and sleep everywhere, but I never felt creepy. What is going on?”
14. *q^hoʔ tə-rɐroʔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV-get.up₂-MED
 So he got up.
15. *q^hoʔ ó-ɐɐ=z ts^hovdən rgonbe=z*
 SEQ 3SG-body=LOC PN monastery=LOC
kɛsɛk^hu te-ⁿdi-cə nɐ-to-cə
 juniper.powder³⁶ PFV:TR-take₂-MED IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 He carried on his body some sanctified juniper twigs taken from the Tshobdun Monastery.

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

16. *q^hoʔ smi te-vlu-cə*
 SEQ fire PFV:TR-burn₂-MED
q^hoʔ kəmtʃ^ha ne-səʔk^huʔ-cə=nəʔ
 SEQ some IPFV:TR:PST-cause.to.smoke.by.burning₂-MED=SUB
 When he built a fire and was burning some of them,

17. *q^hɛlɛ=kəsci te-peʔ-cə*
 wind=like PFV:UP-do₂-MED
q^hoʔ q^hɛnəʔ toŋtoŋ=nan təme=kəsci p^haxʃwel jɐ-fɛʔ-cə
 SEQ ANA pit=inside woman=something.like IDPH³⁷ PFV-go₂-MED
 something like a draft blew up, and in that pit, something shaped like a lanky and long-haired woman clad in a long robe stormed out.

18. *q^hoʔ t^háŋ=ta=rcənəʔ*
 SEQ plateau=top=EMPH
təme=cəʔ tə-kə-ɾaxʃoⁿbaʔ nə-kə-vəvoʔ=cəʔ
 woman=INDF PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-scream₂ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-weep₂=INDF
ne-səʃtoŋɐm-cə
 PFV:TR-resound₂-MED
 And a screaming and weeping woman resounded the top of the plain.

19. *q^hoʔ kəmtʃ^ha nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ ʃaŋʃaŋ^ʔ³⁸ nə-pe-cə*
 SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse₂=SUB IDPH PFV-do₂-MED
 After a while, it became completely quiet.

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

³⁸ Ideophone based on the root *ʃaŋ*, describing the state of complete quietness.

20. *q^hoʔ vlɛrge=nəʔ o-sem kə-vde kə-nə-r^uguʔ-cə*
 SEQ monk=DEF 3SG:POSS-heart NMLZ-be.good PFV-SPON-sleep₂-MED
 And he went to sleep with a peaceful heart.
21. *q^hoʔ o-komvzer=rɛʔ ne-kə-vmɔzɯ=nəʔ nə-mɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-creepy.feeling=PL IPFV-NMLZ-sit=SUB PFV-not.exist₂-MED
q^hoʔ nəʔ o-mer=nəʔ χfɪkə nə-nə-scât-cə
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-night=DET very IPFV:PST-SPON-be.comfortable₂-MED
 His creepy feeling was gone, and he was very comfortable that night.
22. *q^hoʔ q^hɛnəʔ vlɛrge=nəʔ lɛse=rɛʔ*
 SEQ ANA monk=DET PN=PL
ŋɛtʰəfsáfsi nə-nɛmɔzəmdzɛlʔ-cə
 everywhere IPFV:PST-worship₂:RDPL-MED
 And the monk went on pilgrimages everywhere, to Lhasa and other places.
23. *q^hoʔ ts^hovdæn rgonbe nə-nəwɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN monastery PFV:DOWN-come.back₂-MED
 And then he went back to Tshobdun Monastery.
24. *q^hoʔ o-kofsɛfsoʔ tʃo^ubɛjʔ tʃ^hə nə=kə-fsâʔt=rɛʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-friend:RDPL road what IPFV:PST=NMLZ-be.like₂=PL
kəmdiʔ ne-ffɛt-cə=nəʔ
 all PFV:TR-tell₂-MED=SEQ
 When he recounted everything that had happened on the road,

25. *rgonbe ó-naŋ vlɛme=kə*
 monastery 3SG:POSS-inside lama=ERG
tə-kɛ=z kɛsɛkʰu kə-ʒroʔ ɛ-né-to
 GP:POSS-body=LOC juniper.powder NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine IRR-PFV-exist₂
qʰónəʔ ɲétʃʰə=z nə-kɛ-nɛrərə
 SEQ anywhere=LOC PFV-GP-go₂
tə-pɛrtʃʰɛt kə-mɛ pʰen te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 GP:POSS-tribulation NMLZ-not.exist be.effective PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 the lama in the monastery said, “If one carries good juniper powder with one, one can be free from tribulations anywhere one goes.”

26. *kəkoʔ χpe=nəʔ kə-taʔ nɛ-kə-ŋo=cəʔ ɲoʔ*
 this story=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.true IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be₂=INDF be
 This story is a true one.

SEMGAM THE SPIRITUAL MEDIUM

sémgəm skärten

Narrator: Yingyam

1. *ʃɲonts^he=z*

former.time=LOC

*krəʃizgəŋ skärten=nəʔ sémgəm kə-toʔ=cəʔ nɐ-ŋo-cə*PN medium=TOP PN NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED

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

2. *q^hoʔ skärten ne-kɐ-p^hɐvʔ³⁹=nəʔ te-kə-rɛʃqəʃqɐ=cəʔ*

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

*q^hoʔ ʃʃikə kə-ʃtsɐn=cəʔ nɐ-ŋo-cə*SEQ very NMLZ:SBJ-be.powerful=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED

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

³⁹ Referring to the power, that such mediums allegedly have, to enter into a trance while the monks summon the particular guardian deity (*ʃoŋme*; WT <srung.ma>) of that monastery to descend (hence the verb ‘cause to descend’) and possess him. The medium, who can be an ordinary monk in the moastery, makes certain preparations, such as divining for suitable timing, chanting a specific type of sutra, etc. When the moment comes, he feels about to fall into a trance and his assistants help him get into a special kind of seat, and dress him with heavy medium’s helmet and clothing. He then walks about the central hall and gradually enters into a trance and the deity begins to possess him and speak through the medium, answering all kinds of questions posed to him or making announcements and admonitions.

3. *q^hoʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ rgonpuʔ=rɐʔ nə-latʃ^he*
 SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF monastery.staff=PL 3PL:POSS-possession
zɾɔlaʔ=sc^hənəʔ kəmaʔ tʃ^huxciʔ=cəʔ nə-rla-cə
 pail=and other something=INDF PFV-be.lost₂-MED
 On one occasion, a pail and something else that belonged to the monastery staff were missing.

4. *q^hoʔ skərten=kə tɛrtʃen ó-ɐɐ tɛmdzɔ te-vraʔ-cə*
 SEQ medium=ERG flagpole 3SG:POSS-surface thistle PFV:TR-bind₂-MED
 So the medium bound some thistles onto the monastery flagpole.

5. *q^hoʔ kəʃne-sɲi nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ nə-ⁿbɐv-cə*
 SEQ seven-day PFV-elapse₂=SUB PFV-descend₂-MED
 A week passed, and (the guardian deity) descended upon him.

6. *q^hoʔ nɐ-kə-mərkuʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-steal₂=DET
qɐⁿbriʔ vdeⁿdzom te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ tóʔ=kə
 PN PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
ná-vu norvu kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to-cə
 3PL:POSS-grandfather Norvu NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
nəʔ nɐ-ŋo tʃ^hozʔ-cə
 ANA IPFV:PST-be₂ be.the.rule-MED

Now as for the one who stole (the monastery objects), there is a woman called Qambri Vdendzom who had a grandfather named Norvu, and this person was the thief, it is said.

7. *q^hoʔ skərten ts^hoχtʃ^hen=nan nə-ⁿbəv=sc^hənəʔ*
 SEQ medium central.hall=inside PFV-descend₂=SUB

jolveʔ o-vzər ʃə-lə-nəfkroʔ-cə=sc^hənəʔ
 door.drape 3SG:POSS-side AND-PFV:IN-peek₂-MED=SUB

When (the guardian deity) descended upon the medium in the central hall of the monastery, and when he went up to the side of the door drape and peeked in,

8. *skərten=kə nəʔ o-kóʔ=ta*
 medium=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-head=top

ʃla mdaɤʒu t^he-lét-cə
 immediately arrow PFV:TR:OUT-release₂-MED

q^hoʔ ó-mɲa ne-tʃet nɤ-tʃ^hoz-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-eye PFV:TR-extract₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

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

9. *q^hoʔ mk^hérgu tɤroʔ ⁿgé-fqɤ ʃteʔ-cə=kə*
 SEQ Mkhargu headman IPFV-be.ruling be:EMPH-MED=INS

nəʃəq^hu skərten ne-kə-ⁿbəvʔ mɤ-kə-joyʔ te-peʔ-cə
 since.then medium IPFV-NMLZ-descend NEG-NMLZ-allow PFV:TR-make₂-MED

And since the Mkhargu headman⁴⁰ was the ruler, he banned any further deity-summoning thereafter.

⁴⁰ The local headman of Mkhargu Village used to rule over all the villages in Tshobdun Township except Shazuo and Siniao, who in turn was subordinate to the Cogtse Chieftain.

10. *q^hoʔ skarten o-ⁿgvⁿge o-skətʃ^hvzʔ=rəʔ*
 SEQ medium 3SG:POSS-clothing 3SG:POSS-deity.summoning.paraphernalia=PL
mk^hergúpu=kə ʃə-ne-ro-cə
 Mkhargu.people=ERG AND-PFV:DOWN:TR-fetch₂-MED
 And the Mkhargu (headman) went and fetched (i.e. confiscated) the medium's clothing
 and deity-summoning paraphernalia.

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

12. *q^hoʔ skarten nəʔ=ntʃ^hon ne-nɛⁿbəⁿbəvʔ ʃteʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ medium ANA=still IPFV-descend:RDPL be:EMPH be-MED
 But the (guardian deity) still kept descending upon the medium.

13. *q^hoʔ nə-xtɛ vlɛrge*
 SEQ 3SG:HON:POSS-brother monk
ts^hovdən rgonbe=z nə-kə-nts^hɔ=cəʔ nə-to-cə
 PN monastery=LOC IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.a.monk₂=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 He had a brother who was a monk at Tshobdun Monastery at that time,

14. *q^hoʔ ó-xtɛ skarten=p^ha mə-nə-tə-ⁿbəvʔ ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-brother medium=place NEG-IMP-2-descend or
ʒvltʃe tə-tʃɛt ŋoʔ ⁿgɛ-tsə ŋoʔ-cə
 law 2-break be IPFV-say be-MED
 he kept saying to his brother, “Do not summon deities, or you will get in trouble with the
 law.”

15. *fə̀nə̀ʔ=ntʰon ne-ⁿbə̀vʔ ʃteʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 but=still IPFV:DOWN-descend be:EMPH be-MED
 But he still went right on summoning deities.

16. *qʰoʔ mkʰérgu tə̀roʔ=nə̀ʔ=kə ne-sizʔ-cə*
 SEQ Mkhargu headman=DET=ERG PFV:TR-know₂-MED
qʰoʔ skərten=nə̀ʔ ne-mjeʔ-nə-cə
 SEQ medium=DET PFV:TR-catch₂-3PL-MED
 And the Mkhargu headman found out about this, and had the medium arrested.

17. *qʰoʔ rné̃ta⁴¹ rjə̀lse=z*
 SEQ Rnata hedman's.headquarters=LOC
ó-fqor ká-xšəy tə̀-rə̀ntsʰa-nə̀=jənə̀ʔ
 3SG:POSS-buttocks NMLZ:PURP-beat PFV-set.out₂-3PL=just.when
 And just when they were going to flog his buttocks at the headman's headquarters at Rnata,

18. *rgon tə̀xə̀=z rloŋnaʔ=kə̀sci kə̀-wə̀ʔ-cə*
 PN⁴² pass=LOC sand.storm=like PFV:EAST-go₂-MED
 something like a sandstorm blew eastward from the pass of Rgon Mountain,

19. *qʰoʔ dé̃tsənə̀ʔ qé̃le=kə̀*
 SEQ gradually wind=ERG
rné̃ta rjə̀lse ⁿgol=rən jə̀-tʰe-tsom-cə
 Rnata headman's.quarters slab.roofing=even PROS-PFV:TR-take.hither₂-MED
 in a while, the wind almost blew away the slab roofing of the headman's quarters even.

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

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

20. *q^hoʔ skarten ó-fqor ké-xšəɣ mə-nə-ngru*
 SEQ medium 3SG:POSS-buttocks INF-beat NEG-IPFV:PST-manage₂
ké-tsə tʰozʔ-cə
 GP-say be.the.rule-MED

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

21. *oq^hunəʔ=ntʰon kə-nⁿbəvʔ te-rénts^ha ɲoʔ-cə*
 afterwards=still NMLZ:PURP-descend IPFV-get.ready.to be-MED

After that, as he still would summon deities.

22. *q^hoʔ skarten ó-xtɛ rgonbe kə-nts^hɔʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ medium 3SG:POSS-brother monastery NMLZ:SBJ-be.a.monk=DET=ERG
mk^hérgu tɛroʔ=kə nátsɛji nə-tʰɛtpe kə-tʰɛt
 Mkhargu headman=ERG so 2SG:POSS-punishment NMLZ:PURP-do
te-rénts^ha=ntʰon=nəʔ mə-tá-k^hut-cə=kə
 IPFV-be.about.to=still=SUB NEG-2-allow-MED=INS

And the medium's brother who was the monastery's monk said, "With the Mkhargu headman trying to punish you so severely, you still won't give up,"

23. *mk^hérgu tɛroʔ nə-rgonbe vlɛme st^hoʔ kə-xtɛʔ*
 Mkhargu headman 3PL:POSS-monastery lama most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big
kəldziʔ⁴³ vlovzəŋ mtʂ^hənleʔ⁴⁴ ó-p^ha fɛ-tsə
 PN 3SG:POSS-place go-1DU
q^hoʔ fə-zuʔ-tsə=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ AND-say-1DU=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

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

⁴³ A house-name in Rngaba County.

⁴⁴ Name of a Gelukpa Reincarnate lama.

24. *q^hoʔ ó-xte=kə skərten=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-brother=ERG medium=DET
kəldziʔ vlovzaj mʈʂ^hənləʔ=p^ha te-tsom ʎoʔ-cə
 PN=place PFV:TR-take.hither₂ be-MED
 And the brother took the medium to the lama Vlovzang Mtrhenle of Keldri.

25. *q^hoʔ vləme=rəʔ tʃ^hə nɐ-kə-fsət*
 SEQ lama=PL what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂
nə-ffəffət ne-peʔ-ⁿdzə-cə
 3PL:POSS-recount PFV:TR-do₂-3DU-MED
 And the two brothers recounted to him what had happened.

26. *q^hoʔ vləme=kə rtəltʃaʔ te-tʃet-cə*
 SEQ lama=ERG horse.whip PFV:TR-take.out₂-MED
q^hoʔ skərten=p^ha nəʝiʔ tʃ^hə ne-tə-ⁿbəvʔ ʎoʔ
 SEQ medium=place 2SG what IPFV-2-descend be
ⁿdʒe tə-ʎoʔ so tɛ tə-ʎoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 demon 2-be or deity 2-be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the lama took out a horsewhip and demanded, “What are you possessed by?
 Are you a demon or are you a deity?”

27. *q^hoʔ skərten=kə ɐʝiʔ mgónbo kər ʎoʔ-aj te-tsəʔ ʎoʔ-cə*
 SEQ medium=ERG 1SG PN⁴⁵ be-1SG PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 And the medium said, “I am Mgonbo Ker.”

28. *q^hoʔ vləmé=kə leʔ rtəltʃaʔ te-ʝoʔ-cə*
 SEQ lama=ERG again horsewhip PFV:TR:UP-raise₂-MED
 And the lama again raised the horsewhip (and said),

⁴⁵ Name of a guardian deity.

29. *q^hoʔ nɛjiʔ mɡónbo kər tə-maʔ kə*
 SEQ 2SG PN 2-not.be DM
tʰə tə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ osto tǎ-tsə
 what 2-be=SUB well IMP-say

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

30. *q^hoʔ skərten=kə leʔ ɛjiʔ mɡónbo vzaŋtʂitʂen ŋoʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ medium=ERG again 1SG PN⁴⁶ be-1SG
te-tsəʔ nɛ-tʰoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

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

31. *q^hoʔ vləme=kə*
 SEQ lama=ERG
kə-taʔ skərten kə-ŋólə kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.true medium NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous NMLZ-be=SUB
ne-sərtə-cə
 PFV:TR-realize₂-MED

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

32. *q^hoʔ skərten=p^ha ɐ-nɛ-tǎ-ŋo ʝoʔ te-tsəʔ*
 SEQ medium=place IRR-PFV-2-be be.allowed PFV:TR-say₂

And he said to the medium, “You are permitted to be what you are.”

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

33. *q^hoʔ ne-kɛ-ⁿbɛvʔ kə-joʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-GP-descend NMLZ:SBJ-be.permitted
mk^hɛrgu tɛroʔ te-kɛ-rɛfqɛ mɛ-kə-joyʔ jəye
 PN headman IPFV-NMLZ-scold NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.allowed letter
nə-o-ⁿbi-ⁿdzə-cə
 PFV-INV-give₂-3DU-MED
 And the two of them were given an official letter which allowed the medium to perform deity summoning and forbade the Mkhargu headman from censuring him.
34. *q^hoʔ noɣmenəʔ nə-nəwɛʔ-ⁿdzə*
 SEQ only.then PFV-come.back₂-3DU
 Only then did the two brothers come back.
35. *q^hoʔ skarten ⁿge-ⁿbɛvʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ medium IPFV-descend be-MED
q^hoʔ χfikə ⁿge-fisɛn
 SEQ very IPFV-be.powerful
 And the medium would practice deity-summoning and he was very powerful.
36. *q^hoʔ kəmərku=rɛʔ*
 SEQ thief=PL
fla nə-rmiʔ te-poj ⁿge-t^hoʔzʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 immediately 3PL:POSS-name IPFV-do₃ IPFV-be.the.rule be-MED
 And it is said that he would immediately call out the names of thieves.

37. *q^hoʔ nge-ftsən o-tánʔ=kə*
 SEQ IPFV-be.powerful 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
kəmɛq^hunəʔ mdzɔʋɛ vləme jontən rjəmts^ho=kə fkv stənʒaʔ ne-te-cə
 afterwards PN⁴⁷ lama PN=ERG edict PFV:TR-place₂-MED
 As he was so powerful, that afterwards Lama Yontan rGyamts^ho of Ndroge Monastery issued an edict,

38. *q^hoʔ nátsɛji te-kɛ-ftsən mɛ=kə-joʔ*
 SEQ so IPFV-GP-be.powerful NEG=NMLZ-be.permitted
q^hoʔ kəmərku nə-rmiʔ flənəʃla te-kɛ-nəmiʔ mɛ-kə-joʔ
 SEQ thief 3PL:POSS-name immediately IPFV-GP-call NEG=NMLZ-be.permitted
te-peʔ nɛ-tʃ^hoʒ ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-make₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂ be-MED
 to the effect that one should not to be so powerful, and should not call out names of thieves right away, it is said.

39. *q^hoʔ nəʃəq^hu kə-ftsən=nəʔ kəmtʃ^ha nə-tʃa*
 SEQ henceforth NMLZ:SBJ-be.powerful=DET a.bit PFV-improve₂
kɛ^h-tsə nɛ-tʃ^hoʒ ɲoʔ-cə
 GP-say IPFV:PST-say₂ be-MED
 Since then, the powerful one improved his manner a little, it is said.

⁴⁷ Place in Lower Rngaba County with a Nyingmapa Monastery.

ASTACHU

estatfu

Narrator: Yingyam

1. *c^heɽ=z* *sɲiɽ* *o-léco* *tɽɽjoɽ=z*
 former.time=LOC PN 3SG:POSS-upriver.side PN=LOC
estatfu *te-ké-tsə=cəɽ* *nɐ-to-cə*
 PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED

Once upon a time, there was a man named Astachu⁴⁸ at a place called Tarjo upriver from Rnyi Village.

2. *q^hoɽ* *sɲaɽ* *kɐ-lɛt* *ome* *kə-mk^hɛzɽ=cəɽ* *nɐ-ŋo-cə*
 PN spell INF-cast very NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED

He was a very skilled caster of spells.

3. *q^hoɽ* *sɲiɽ=sc^hənəɽ* *tɽɽjoɽ* *o-pért^hɐ=nəɽ*
 SEQ PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-space.in.between=DET
*kəpɐretaɽ*⁴⁹ *te-ké-tsə=cəɽ* *tóɽ=kə*
 PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS

Now, as there exists what is called a “Chinese mill” between Rnyi and Tarjo,

4. *q^hénə=z* *qɐmásmi=sc^hənəɽ* *rkaŋlo=rɐɽ*
 ANA=LOC will.o’ the.wisp= and one.legged.demon=PL
əntsátse *kɐ-mtiɽ* *kə-toɽ=cəɽ* *ŋoɽ* *tʰozɽ*
 often GP-see NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF be be.the.rule

at that place, one often sees will-o’-the-wisps, one-legged demons, and demons, it is said.

⁴⁸ Literally ‘son of the Asta household’.

⁴⁹ Name of an abandoned mill, allegedly haunted.

5. *q^hoʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ ɛstatʃu ts^hovdən rgonbe t^hɐ-ɐre*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF PN PN monastery PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂

q^hoʔ kəpɐretaʔ=z ʃə-t^hɐ-nlɔ-cə=nəʔ
 SEQ PN=LOC AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-pass₂-MED=SUB

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

6. *təʃo=rɐʔ t^hɐ-nrɐsqɐʔ-nə wɛʃo-nəŋo*
 demon=PL CONT:LTR-hold.potluck.party₂₋₃PL be.found-MED

he saw demons holding a potluck party.

7. *q^hoʔ təʃo kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ=kə təʃo kəmaʔ=cəʔ ó-p^ha*
 SEQ demon one-CL=DET=ERG demon other=INDF 3SG:POSS-place

One demon said to another demon,

8. *nɐ-ʃɛme kə-rdɔʔ nə-o-sáɲi-aŋ=nəʔ*
 2SG:POSS-hindleg one-CL IMP-INV-lend-1SG=SUB

“Lend me one hindleg,”

9. *káde ɛstatʃu ts^hovdən rgonbe leʔ lé-jwɐt=nəʔ*
 later PN PN monastery again IPFV:DOWNRIVER-turn.back=SUB

“and when Astachu returns upriver from the Tshobdun Monastery later,”

10. *o-ʃɛme=nəʔ ne-tɐ-séjwɐt=kə te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-hindleg=DET IPFV-1→2-return=DM PFV-say₂ be-MED

“I will return to you one of his hindlegs,” it said.

11. *q^hoʔ ɛstatʃu=nəʔ=kə tʰjo=rɛʔ ne-sɛc^hɛvlɛv-nə=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN=DET=ERG demon=PL IPFV-converse₂-3PL=SUB
kəmdi ne-fsɐ-cə
 all PFV:TR-hear₂-MED
 And Astachu heard all that the demons were chatting about.
12. *q^hoʔ ɛstatʃu=kə qɛpicoⁿgrútʃot⁵⁰ kə-spreʔ te-mjeʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG flint.pebble one-handful PFV:UP:TR-grab₂-MED
q^hoʔ sɲaʔ ne-lét
 SEQ spell PFV:TR-release₂
 He grabbed a handful of flint pebbles and cast spells on them.
13. *q^hoʔ tʰjo t^hv-kə-nrɛsqɛʔ-nə=ta ke-wɛrɛt-cə*
 SEQ demon CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-hold.potluck.party-3PL=top PFV:TR-throw₂-MED
 And threw them at the partying demons.
14. *q^hoʔ tʰjo=rɛʔ nɐ-nɛscɛrʔ-nə*
 SEQ demon=PL IPFV:PST-be.scared₂-3PL
 The demons were frightened,
15. *q^hoʔ tə-nɛp^həp^hi o-ʃét=kə tə-ravⁿdʒavⁿdʒaʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ NMLZ-escape:RDPL 3SG:POSS-extent=INS PFV-run.like.crazy₂-3PL-MED
 and fled in all directions in such a way that they ran like crazy men.
16. *ozorʔ tʰjo kərdɔʔ=kə*
 meanwhile demon one-CL=ERG
lójɔ lójɔ ɐ-p^hərtʃu tə-təⁿdi te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 PN:VOC PN:VOC 1SG:POSS-bowl PFV-2:Q-take₂ PFV:TR-say₂-MED=SUB
 When one demon said (to another demon), “Lojo, Lojo, have you taken my bowl?”

⁵⁰ The flint is widely used among the Rgyalrong to ward off evil spirits.

17. *tájo lojo? kə-rmi?=-nə?=-kə*
 demon PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=DET=ERG
nəji? nə-p^hərtfu=rə? ma?=-kə⁵¹
 2SG 2SG:POSS-bowl=PL be.not=DM
kə-nəp^həp^hi kə-ŋólə mə-t^hə-c^ha?-aŋ te-tsə?
 INF-escape:RDPL NMLZ-be.well NEG-CONT:LTR-be.able₂-1SG PFV:TR-say₂
 And the demon called Lojo said, “I can’t run fast enough, and can’t care less about your bowl!”

18. *q^ho? rjetrjet o-pért^hə*
 SEQ split.second 3SG:POSS-space.in.between
tájo=rə? ɸut⁵² tə-ké-tsə=nə? nə-fsăt-nə-cə
 demon=PL IDPH IPFV-GP-say=DET PFV-be.like₂-3PL-MED
q^ho? nə-məŋe?-nə ŋo?-cə
 SEQ PFV-be.not.found₂-3PL be-MED
 And in a split second, all the demons disappeared like a quick blow of air.

19. *le? kə-tərem=nə?*
 again one-occasion=DET
 On another occasion,

20. *əsta? nə-fkoki?=-naŋ təkɪ ⁿgə-ji-nə*
 PN 3PL:POSS-vegetable.garden=inside turnip IPFV-plant-3PL
q^ho? ɣfíkə ⁿge-ʒro? ŋo?-cə
 SEQ very IPFV-be.of.fine.quality be-MED
 the Asta family were growing turnips in their vegetable garden, and they were of very fine quality.

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

⁵² An ideophone imitating the sound of rapid blowing of air.

21. *qʰoʔ* *ɐstatʃu=kə* *zde=kə* *təki* *kə-o-mərku* *ntor* *ne-səseʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG others=ERG turnip GP-INV-steal DM IPFV-think₃
 And Astachu thought that people might steal the turnips from him,

22. *qʰoʔ* *ⁿge-səʃta* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ IPFV-mark be-MED
 and so he would make marks (on the turnip plants).

23. *qʰoʔ* *kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ* *ʃkokiʔ=naŋ* *o-təki*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET vegetable.garden=inside 3SG:POSS-turnip
kəmtʃʰa *tə-kə-tʃet-cə* *toʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 some PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-take.out₂-MED exist be-MED
 One day, there was someone who pulled up some of his turnips in the vegetable garden.

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

25. *qʰoʔ* *təki* *tə-o-mərkuʔ-aŋ-nə-cə*⁵³ *ne-səsi*
 SEQ turnip PFV-INV-steal₂-1SG-3PL-MED PFV:TR-think₂
 and he thought, “They stole the turnips!”

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

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

27. *q^hoʔ tə-kə-tʃet ó-ste=nəʔ*
 SEQ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-take.out₂ 3SG:POSS-original.place=DET
p^hərwu ne-sətseʔ-cə
 peg PFV:DOWN:TR-stick₂-MED
 He stuck a cursing peg⁵⁴ where (the turnips) were taken out,
28. *q^hoʔ k^hénaŋ tə-ənəre*
 SEQ home PFV:UP-go.back₂
 and went back upstairs (in his) home.
29. *q^hoʔ o-snəmʔ=p^ha*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister=place
əkik^ho ʃkokiʔ=z jə-təki
 place.down.there vegetable.garden=LOC 1PL:POSS-turnip
tə-kə-mərkuʔ=cəʔ toʔ-cə=kə q^həʔ
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-steal₂=INDF exist-MED=INS ANA
ó-ste=nəʔ p^hərwu=cəʔ nɐ-sətseʔ-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-original.place=DET peg=INDF PFV:DOWN-stick₂-1SG PFV-say₂-MED
 And said to his sister, “Someone stole turnips from our vegetable garden down there, so I stuck a cursing peg there (where the stolen turnips used to be),” he said.
30. *q^hoʔ o-snəmʔ=nəʔ=kə nəʔ tʃ^hɛz nɐ-tə-sətseʔ ŋoʔ ˈdenəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister=DET=ERG ANA why PFV-2-stick₂ be for
təki tə-kə-tʃet=nəʔ ɐjiʔ nɐ-ʃte-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə
 turnip PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-take₂=DET 1SG IPFV:PST-BE:EMPH₂-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 His sister said, “Why did you stick (the cursing peg)? It was I who took the turnips!”

⁵⁴ A pointed stick used by people who practice the black magic of casting curses. Here, Astachu stuck the cursing peg where the missing turnips had been to curse whoever had stole them.

31. *q^hoʔ* *vstatʃu=nəʔ=kə* *o-snəmʔ=p^ha*
 SEQ PN=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-sister=place
éχeχe *ⁿbət* *ekiʔ* *nə-fə*
 EXCL immediately down.there IMP:DOWN-go
 Astachu (said) to his sister, “Oh, no! Go down there immediately,”
32. *p^hərwu* *ʃla* *ʃə-tə-tʃət* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 cursing.peg quickly AND-IMP:UP-take.out PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “and pull up the cursing peg right away!” he said.
33. *q^hoʔ* *o-snəmʔ=nəʔ* *ⁿbət* *nə-ere*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister=DET immediately PFV:DOWN-go₂
q^hoʔ *p^hərwu* *ʃə-te-tʃət*
 SEQ cursing.peg AND-PFV:UP:TR-take.out₂
 His sister went down immediately and pulled up the cursing peg,
34. *ʃənəʔ* *ó-ste* *təsə* *tə-mts^hót* *wəjo-nəŋo*
 but 3SG:POSS-original.place blood PFV-be.full₂ be.found-MED
 but where (the cursing peg) had been was filled with blood.
35. *q^hoʔ* *kə-lɛn* *mə-nə-tsoʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ-be.much NEG-PFV-elapse₂
təsnəmʔ=nəʔ *stəŋⁿbələtəŋ* *nə-set* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 sister=DET without.good.reason PFV-die₂ be-MED
 Not much time afterwards, the sister died without apparent cause.
36. *nəʔ* *nə-fsət* *nə-tʃ^hoz*
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 That was allegedly what happened (lit. how it was like).

A HUNTER'S ENCOUNTER WITH A STRANGE BEAST

kəqərŋi?kə reda? məkənáχtsəy nekəmticə χpe

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *oβúri=z lo kəŋotfosqe-pe jərmə=cə?*
 formerly=LOC year fifty.sixty-year about=INDF
ts^hovdən q^holətʃi? sətʃ^he=z
 PN PN place=LOC
kə-ta? nɐ-kə-fsət χpe=cə? ŋo?
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.true IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂ story=INDF be

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

2. *ɛji? ɐ-jəlpe ʃot^hɐr kə-rmi?=cə?*
 1SG 1SG:POSS-neighbor PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF
ó-nma kə-qərŋi? ome kə-rge=cə? nɐ-ŋo-cə
 3SG:POSS-husband INF-hunt very NMLZ:SBJ-like=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED

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

3. *kə-sŋi?=z ldu^hgu?-q^hu kə-qərŋi? lɐ-ɐre-cə*
 one-day=LOC PN-back NMLZ:PURP-hunt PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED

One day, he went hunting behind the Ldungu Mountain.

4. *q^ho? pozvu=rɐ? te-fkor ŋo?-cə*
 SEQ musket=PL PFV:TR-carry.on.back₂ be-MED
q^ho? naχtʃen o-tser?=cɛ=z lɐ-zɣót-cə
 SEQ virgin.forest 3SG:POSS-interstice=LOC:INDF=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-MED

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

5. *q^hoʔ pól^hi=rɐʔ te-fnət-cə*
 SEQ fuse=PL PFV:TR-light₂-MED
 He lit the fuse (of his musket),
6. *q^hoʔ sekotserʔ=z jərnəjər⁵⁵ redaʔ ne-qvseʔ-cə*
 SEQ underbrush=LOC IDPH wild.beast PFV:TR-see₂-MED
 and stealthily began looking for wild animals in the underbrush.
7. *káde jərmɐ o-léco=nəʔ sekotserʔ=z*
 in.a.moment about 3SG:POSS-upriver.place=DET underbrush=LOC
t^huxciʔ=cəʔ naxts^həvaxts^həvʔ⁵⁶
 something=INDF IDPH
t^hv-kə-weʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to-cə
 CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 In a moment, in the bush upriver something huge was moving noisily downriver toward him.
8. *káde t^hv-nlɔ-cə*
 in.a.moment PFV:DOWNRIVER-appear₂-MED
 It emerged in the next moment.
9. *q^hoʔ le-mp^héri=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:UPRIVER-look=SUB
 As he was looking at it,

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

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

10. *o-rmø=røʔ* *kə-rzárzε*
 3SG:POSS-hair=PL NMLZ:SBJ-be long:EMPH
o-rŋeʔ=røʔ=ntʰon *kré-kaŋ* *jørmø* *kə-rzεʔ=cəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-face=PL=also cubit-one about NMLZ:SBJ-be.long=INDF
tʰø-wεʔ-cə
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂-MED
 it came downriver, its hair very long and its face about a cubit in length.
11. *ne-mti* *tsomætso*
 PFV:TR-see₂ hardly
qʰoʔ=rcənəʔ *nə-o-nəstʰorʔ* *tə-o-məmtʰenʔ-cə*
 SEQ=EMPH PFV-INV-snatch₂ PFV-INV:UP-put.under.armpit₂-MED
 He had barely seen the thing when he was seized and held under its armpit.
12. *qʰoʔ* *oʒorʔ* *sekotserʔ=z* *tə-o-səɽəɽ*
 SEQ while underbrush=LOC PFV-INV-cause.to.run₂
 And he was made to run with it into the underbrush.
13. *oʒorʔ* *o-ja-ntsé=kə* *ó-fqor=scʰənəʔ*
 while 3SG:POSS-hand-one.of.a.pair=INS 3SG:POSS-buttocks=and
o-zgeʔ=røʔ *te-nəxpəvʔ* *te-x səɽ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-back=PL PFV:TR-smack.with.palm₂ PFV:TR-hit₂-MED
 All the while, it smacked him soundly on his buttocks and back with the other arm,
14. *ó-ŋge=scʰənəʔ* *o-fe=røʔ* *pʰóyfet* *tʰe-lêt-cə*
 3SG:POSS-clothes=and 3SG:POSS-flesh=PL pieces PFV:TR-do₂-MED
 and tore his clothes and flesh to shreds.

15. *q^hoʔ fəku*
 SEQ there.in.the.east
o-rŋeʔ=z koy-tsom-cə
 3SG:POSS-face=LOC PFV:INV-take.thither₂-MED
 And he was taken away toward the face of the mountain across the gully.
16. *q^hoʔ=ⁿdər tʃ^hə te-kə-pe reʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə*
 SEQ=EMPH what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary=DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And he thought, “What should I do?”
17. *nəʔ jərmə=jənəʔ ɸlorjaʔ sloxpon te-tʃən-cə*
 ANA about=just.when suddenly PN PFV:TR-think.of₂-MED
 At just about that instant, he suddenly thought of Sloxpon the Savior Botissatva,
18. *q^hoʔ u: sloxponpənmebjoŋni? te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ EXCL PN PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 and called out, “Uh! Sloxpon Botissatva!”
19. *nəʔjənəʔ q^hénəʔ*
 at.that.moment there
redaʔ=kə p^həʃpəv⁵⁷ t^hv-o-wəret-cə
 beast=ERG IDPH PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-cast₂-MED
 At that instant, with a thump he was dropped down.
20. *q^hoʔ nə-kə-nəscer? o-səfsət=kə fla*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.scared₂ 3SG:POSS-appearance=INS suddenly
lə-nəzyi-cə
 PFV:UPRIVER-turn.back₂-MED
 As if frightened, it swiftly turned back,

⁵⁷ From the ideophone *ʃpəv*, describing the sound of something falling flat on the ground.

21. *nələvləv⁵⁸ kə-nəjwət le-je-cə*
 IDPH INF-return PF:UPRIVER-begin₂-MED
 and began to go back upriver.
22. *rjéspe fěku o-rjɛɔ=nəɔ=z tə-ɐre-cə*
 quite.a.while there.in.the.east 3SG:POSS-slope=DET=LOC PFV:UP-go₂-MED
 After quite a while, it went up the face of the mountain in the east.
23. *q^hoɔ kəqɐrɲiɔ=nəɔ q^hɐnəɔ ó-p^ha tə-ⁿgozⁿge-cə*
 SEQ hunter=DET ANA 3SG:POSS-place PFV-yell₂-MED
 And the hunter yelled up at it.
24. *jɐ fěto c^hérgɐn te-tsəɔ-cə*
 EXCL that.up.there old.chap PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “Hey, You old chap up there!”
25. *nəɔ=sc^hənəɔ redəɔ=kə nɐ-kə-tsiɔ=rɐ? fsəɔt-kə*
 ANA=EMPH wild.man=ERG PFV-NMLZ-understand₂=PL be.like-because
fla nə-smoɔ-cə q^hoɔ t^hɐ-nq^horoɔ-cə
 immediately PFV-stop₂-MED SEQ PF:DOWNRIVER-turn.head₂-MED
 At that moment, the beast seemed to understand him and it suddenly stopped and turned its head.
26. *q^hoɔ kəqɐrɲiɔ=nəɔ nɐ-nɐscerɔ-cə*
 SEQ hunter=DET PFV-be.startled₂-MED
 The hunter was startled,

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

27. *fla wɛtʃe-aŋ ʃteʔ jɐ kʰétʃo te-tsəʔ-cə*
 immediately be.at.fault-1SG be:EMPH DM pardon PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 and quickly said, “It is my fault! Pardon me!”
28. *redaʔ=nəʔ leʔ ləvəvə⁵⁹ tə-vnəre-cə*
 beast=DET again IDPH PFV:UP-go.back₂-MED
 And the beast again swiftly and awkwardly went back uphill.
29. *kəqɛrŋiʔ kɐ-nəʃvə mə-nəcʰvəʔ-cə*
 hunter INF-go.back NEG-be.able₂-MED
 And the hunter was unable to go back.
30. *o-ɣrɛrɛʔ=scʰənəʔ jəlpe tɛɣnɛɣnɛ=rɛʔ=kə*
 3SG:POSS-family=and neighbor relative=PL=ERG
kəknaχsu sŋi ŋɛtʃʰəʃsəʃsət ne-qɛseʔ-nə-cə
 two-three day everywhere PFV:TR-look.for₂-3PL-MED
 And his family, neighbors, and relatives looked for him everywhere for two or three days.
31. *qʰoʔ kəmaqʰunəʔ ne-mti-nə-cə*
 SEQ at.last PFV:TR-see₂-3PL-MED
 They found him at last.
32. *ʃənəʔ kɐ-məlmo kɐ-nkɐ mə-nəcʰvəʔ-cə*
 but INF-move INF-walk NEG-be.able₂-MED
 But he was unable to move or walk.

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

33. *te-nɛpuⁿdi-nə* *t^he-wô^t-nə*
PFV:TR-carry.together₂-3PL PFV:UPRIVER:TR-bring.back₂-3PL
nɛ-re-cə
IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED
They had to carry him back together.
34. *q^hoʔ* *nəʔoq^hu* *kə-rzɛʔ* *mə-nə-mduʔ-cə*
SEQ afterwards NMLZ:SBJ-be.long NEG-PFV-last.a.long.time₂-MED
q^hónə *nə-set* *ʃteʔ-cə*
SEQ:EMPH PFV-die₂ be:EMPH-MED
Not long afterwards, he died.

A BRIGHT-EYED CREATURE

sɛʔz mer ómja nekəfsɔʔ məkənáxtfəycə xpe

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *cʰeʔ=z kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ*
 former.time=LOC one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP
gáva.ləytʰɛr=scʰənəʔ ó-la qəmbriʔ.storjiʔ=scʰə=rɛʔ
 PN=and 3SG:POSS-mother.in.law PN=and=3PL
ˈbətʂʰaŋ⁶⁰ lɛ-ɐre-nə-cə
 ranch PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3PL-MED
 One day in the past, Lugthar of Gava and his mother-in-law Qambri Storgyi went upriver to the ranch.
2. *qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ storjiʔ=scʰənəʔ ləytʰɛr=niʔ*
 SEQ night=DET PN=and PN=DU
sɛʔ.tərjiʔ ó-kʰe kə-nárme nɛ-ɐre-ˈdzə-cə
 PN 3SG:POSS-home NMLZ:PURP-spend.the.night PFV:DOWN-go₂-3DU-MED
 That night, Storgyi and Lugthar went downhill to spend the night at the home of Targyi of Se.
3. *qʰoʔ sɛʔ.tərjiʔ=kə ˈdzə-lɔʔ=nəʔ jəmŋokʰe=z ne-peʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG 3DU:POSS-bed=DET landing=LOC PFV:TR-do₂-MED
 And Targyi of Se prepared their beds at the ladder landing.

⁶⁰ Referring to a communal pasture shared between several villages in the Tshobdun Township.

4. *q^ho?* *mer* *nɐ-rⁿgu²⁻ⁿdzə-cə=nə?*
 SEQ night IPFV:TR-sleep₂-3DU-MED=SUB
jɛmɲok^he *o-nⁿdəco=z* *sɔme* *təʃk^hi=kəsci*
 landing 3SG:POSS-westward.place=LOC straw grain.put.out.to.dry=like
ó-ta=nə?^z *χt^həvnəχt^həv⁶¹* *kə-wɛ?*^z=*kəsci* *nɐ-to-cə*
 3SG:POSS-top=DET=LOC IDPH NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=like IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 As they were sleeping at night, something was coming from west of the ladder landing
 making a continuous rustling sound as if moving on straws for drying.

5. *q^ho?* *détsɐ=nə?* *ləyt^hɐr=ni?* *dzə-p^hóge* *kɐ-réski*
 SEQ in.a.while=TOP PN=DU 3DU:POSS-quilt INF-pull
t^he-je-cə
 PFV:TR-begin₂-MED
 And it started to gradually pull Lugthar and the other person's quilts downward.

6. *q^ho?* *ləyt^hɐr* *o-ko?* *ʃlɛ* *t^he-jo?*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-head immediately PFV:TR-raise₂
 And Lugthar immediately raised his head.

7. *q^ho?* *dzə-p^hóge* *ne-naxp^het-cə*
 SEQ 3DU:POSS-quilt PFV:TR-pat₂-MED
 And slapped on their quilt.

⁶¹ From ideophone root *χt^həv*, describing a rustling sound.

8. *oʒorʔ t^he-mp^hé^hri=nəʔ ó-m^hna qrjaŋqrjaŋʔ⁶²*
 meanwhile IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB 3SG:POSS-eye IDPH
kə-pe=cəʔ le-mp^hé^hri wɛjo ne-mti-nəŋo
 NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF IPFV:UPRIVER-look be.seen PFV:TR-see₂-MED
 At the same time, he looked down and saw something with big and shining eyes looking at them.
9. *q^hoʔ detsátstɐ jɛ-fɛʔ-nəŋo*
 SEQ gradually PFV-go₂-MED
 At it gradually went away.
10. *q^hoʔ ləyt^hɛr=kə storjiʔ ó-p^ha*
 SEQ PN=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-place
fla tə-rɛroʔ ⁿdenəʔ ɛt^hík^ho=z
 immediately PFV-get.up₂ for there.downriver.from.me=LOC
tsə-mt^he=z ó-m^hna qrjaŋqrjaŋʔ
 3DU:POSS-bottom.side.of.bed 3SG:POSS-eye IDPH
kə-pe=cəʔ tsə-p^hóge ɛz-rɛski ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF 1DU:POSS-quilt CONT:HTR-pull be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And Lugthar said to Storgyi, “Get up quickly, for down there at the bottom of the bed, something with big and shining eyes big was pulling our quilt!”
11. *storjiʔ=kə nɛkənəʔ líli méfste te-tsəʔ-cə*
 PN=ERG that.near.you cat DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
q^hoʔ o-koʔ=rɛn me-t^he-jəʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-head=even NEG-PFV:TR:DOWNRIVER-raise₂-MED
 Storgyi (just) said, “That thing there was a cat, wasn’t it,” and didn’t even raise her head (to look) downriver.

⁶² An ideophone describing large eyes shining brightly.

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

And Lugthar had no choice but go back to sleep.

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

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

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

That was what happened.

TWO MOST FEARED BEASTS IN OUR LAND

jəjəreʔ jəsetʃʰeʔ stʰoʔ kəsəsəyver redaʔ ɪnez

Narrator: Bkrashisdpal

1. *jəjəreʔ jə-setʃʰe=z redaʔ kə-tóʔ=naŋ ɐ-tə-ké-tsə=nəʔ*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC animal NMLZ:SBJ-exist=inside IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB
pʰargot=scʰənəʔ ʃkúru=kəsə kə-səsəyver=nəʔ mə ɲoʔ
 wild.boar=and serow=like NMLZ:SBJ-be.frightening=DET not.exist be
 In our country, when speaking of wild animals, nothing is feared as much as the wild boar and the serow.
2. *qəçʰwerípu tərme sɛqəʔ jərme nə-to-jə qʰoʔ rjɛltsuʔ*
 Kakhyoris.people man ten about IPFV:PST-exist₂-1PL SEQ PN
qʰóʔ=naŋ nə-nfuyiʔ-jə nə-tʰoz
 ravine=inside IPFV:PST-do.sideline.work₂-1PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 Once about ten men of us from Kakhyoris Village were doing sideline work inside the Ya' erzu Ravine.⁶³
3. *qʰoʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ nə-rɛmɛʔ-jə*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET IPFV:PST-do.labor₂-1PL
qʰoʔ tər mókʰe jə-poj jərme qʰoʔ jə-prɛkɛ
 SEQ dusk PROS-do₃ about SEQ 1PL:POSS-campsite
o-sɐ-to=nəʔ=z nə-nəwɛʔ-jə
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-exist₂=DET=LOC PFV:DOWN-come.back₂-1PL
 One day, we were doing labor, and it was almost going to be dusk, and we came back to where our camping site was,

⁶³ A village in Khangsar Township.

4. *tʃoⁿbɛjʔ t^he-mp^hɛri-aŋ=nəʔ*
road IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look-1SG=SUB
k^hezeʔ ʃsəmʔ=kə n^hdec^hop^hɛri=z
dog three=ERG other.side.of.river=LOC
paste ome kə-xtɛʔ=cəʔ
solitary.pig very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF
le-χta-nə lɐ-wɛʔ-nə
PFV:UPRIVER:TR-chase₂-3PL PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-3PL
as I was looking at the road downriver, (I saw) three dogs coming upriver chasing a huge solitary pig on the other side of the river.

5. *q^hoʔ osto ne-mp^hɛri-jə=nəʔ*
SEQ properly IPFV:WEST-look-1PL=SUB
pa t^hɐ-ma-cə=kə p^hargot paste t^hɐ-ŋo-cə
pig CONT:LTR-not.be₂-MED=DM wild.boar solitary.pig CONT:LTR-be₂-MED
As we taking another good look at it, it was not a solitary pig, but a solitary wild boar.

6. *q^hoʔ ʃkótse nə-nɐst^horʔ-aŋ q^hoʔ p^hargot*
SEQ stone PFV-grab₂-1SG SEQ wild.boar
lɐ-kə-wɛʔ o-ɔóri=nəʔ=z nə-ɛre-aŋ
PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂ 3SG:POSS-front=DET=LOC PFV:WEST-go₂-1SG
I grabbed a stone and went to the front of the wild boar that was coming upriver.

7. *q^hoʔ káde=nəʔ p^hargot ɐ-ŋúri lɐ-wɛʔ*
SEQ in.a.while=DET wild.boar 1SG:POSS-front PFV:UPRIVER-come₂
o-ⁿdʒwɛʔ=rɐʔ kə-rzárzɛ
3SG:POSS-tusk=PL NMLZ:SBJ-be.long:REDP
o-k^hɛ=nəŋ nɛ⁶⁴-tʃɛt
3SG:POSS-mouth=inside IPFV:OUT-take.out

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

q^ho? *é-p^ha* *m^héq^hru=kəsci* *le-lət*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-place staring=like IPFV-put

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

8. *nəjanə?* *fkótse* *v-fet* *məqe*
 at.that.moment rock 1SG:POSS-strength in.full
p^hargót=ta *t^hv-wəret-aŋ*
 wild.boar=TOP PFV:DOWNRIVER-throw₂-1SG

q^ho? *ó-rpa* *tə-xšəγ-aŋ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-shoulder PFV-hit₂-1SG

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

9. *fanə?* *p^hargót=kə* *m^hv^hbər* *ne-poj* *mə*
 but wild.boar=INS mind IPFV-do₃ not.exist
 But the wild boar did not mind it at all.

10. *q^ho?* *ó-fnoz=kə* *v-χí=ta* *zdəγ⁶⁵=kəsci* *te-sətsə?*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-snout=INS 1SG:POSS-thigh=top IDPH=like PFV:TR-cause.to.say₂
q^ho? *lə-o-nəp^həxtíu²-aŋ*
 SEQ PFV-UPRIVER:INV-sideswipe₂-1SG

Its snout sideswiped my thigh with a heavy sound.

11. *q^ho?* *vji²=rcənə?*
 SEQ 1SG=TOP:EMPH
sekotser? *kəbné-lyəm* *kərq^he=cə* *t^hv-o-wəret-aŋ*
 underbrush several-CL far.place=LOC:INDF PFV-DOWNRIVER:INV-throw₂-1SG
 And hurled me downriver into an underbrush several fathoms far.

⁶⁵ An ideophone describing the sound of heavy impact.

12. *q^hoʔ v-q^hu méju wi ⁿtor nə-səsi-aŋ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-back still come DM PFV-think₂-1SG
 “It will surely be coming after me still,” I thought.
13. *fənəʔ le-nq^horo-aŋ=nəʔ*
 but IPFV:UPRIVER-turn.head-1SG=SUB
p^hargot k^hezéʔ=kə t^hv-o-χta fteʔ-cə=kə
 wild.boar dog=INS CONT:LTR-INV-chase₂ be:EMPH-MED=INS
v-q^hu=nəʔ mə-t^hv-wεʔ
 1SG:POSS-back=DET NEG-PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂
 But, as I was turning around to look, the wild boar, being chased by the dogs, did not come after me.
14. *fənəʔ rjéspe nə-o-səyverʔ-aŋ*
 but quite.a.lot PFV-INV-frighten₂-1SG
 But I got scared quite a lot.
15. *q^hoʔ p^hargot=nəʔ léco lə-ⁿbloy fteʔ*
 SEQ wild.boar=DET upriver.place PFV:UPRIVER-disappear.into₂ be:EMPH
 And the wild boar went out of view somewhere upriver.
16. *q^hoʔ méju liʔ=z=ce tóyto=sc^hənəʔ ⁿgonáχpə=niʔ*
 SEQ futher upriver.place=LOC=LOC:INDF PN=and PN=DU
nə-raxfa-ⁿdzə nə-ŋo
 IPFV:PST-cut.plank₂-3DU IPFV:PST-be₂
 And, at a place further upriver, Togto and Ngonaxpa were making fir planks.

17. *q^hoʔ leʔ ⁿdzə-t^héco p^hargot lə-wεʔ*
 SEQ again 3DU:POSS-downriver.place wild.boar PFV:UPRIVER-come₂
ne-mti-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-see₂-3DU be-MED
 And they also saw that the wild boar had come upriver.

18. *q^hoʔ tóyto=kə tərpe ne-nəst^horʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG ax PFV:TR-grab₂-MED
q^hoʔ o-t^héco tər^hket kə-to⁶⁶=nəʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-downriver.place ridge NMLZ:SBJ-be.located=DET
p^hargot te-kə-nlɔʔ te-nəjiʔ-cə
 wild.boar IPFV:UP-NMLZ-come.out PFV:TR-wait₂-MED
 Togto grabbed (his) ax and waited at a place downriver where there was a ridge for the wild boar to come up from it.

19. *q^hoʔ p^hargot lə-wεʔ*
 SEQ wild.boar PFV:UPRIVER-come₂
 And the wild boar came upriver.

20. *q^hoʔ tər^hket=ta jə-nlɔʔ=jənəʔ*
 SEQ ridge=top PROS-come.out=just.when
tóyto=kə tərpe ne-lét-cəʔ
 PN=ERG ax PFV:DOWN:TR-do₂-MED
ké-xɬəy kə-ɲoʔ mə-nə-c^hεʔ-cə
 INF-hit NMLZ-be NEG-PFV-be.able-MED
 And just when it was about to come out from the top of the ridge, Togto struck his ax down and missed.

⁶⁶ Second stem of the verb *toʔ*, here meaning ‘be located at a certain place’ rather than ‘exist’.

21. *p^hargot t^həoséfsət ŋoʔ ⁿdenəʔ*
 wild.boar how be for
fla tə-nəmdərʔ-cə
 immediately PFV:UP-jump₂-MED

And the wild boar immediately leapt up somehow.

22. *q^hoʔ o-ⁿdʒwéʔ=kə tóyto lə-o-nəp^hextfuʔ məkáts^het*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tusk=INS PN PFV:UPRIVER-INV-sideswipe₂ not.only
o-ⁿdʒwéʔ=kə o-skesnəm oséfsət te-sə-p^haʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-tusk=INS 3SG:POSS-pants directly PFV:TR:UP-CAUS-cut.open₂-MED

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

23. *q^hoʔ p^hargot=nəʔ tʃóq^hu lə-nə-lə-cə*
 SEQ wild.boar=DET upriver.side.of.road PFV:UPRIVER-SPON-exit₂-MED
tóyto=nəʔ tər^ket kə-to tʃóⁿdi=nəʔ
 PN=DET ridge NMLZ:SBJ-be.located downriver.side.of.road=DET
t^hə-o-wəret-cə
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-throw₂-MED

And the wild boar went its way up the upriver side of the road, knocking Togto down the downriver side of the road where the ridge was.

24. *q^hoʔ p^hargot=nəʔ*
 SEQ wild.boar=DET
qʃo tétəm=z lə-ⁿbloʏ ŋoʔ-cə
 ravine acclivity=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-disappear.into₂ be-MED

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

25. *nəʔ nə-fsət nə-tʃoʔ*
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

What happened was like that.

26. *kəməq^húnəʔ* *ⁿge-kə-qərrɨʔ=rəʔ=kə* *ⁿge-ffət-nə=nəʔ*
 afterwards IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-hunt=PL=ERG IPFV-recount-3PL=SUB
p^hargot *paste=nəʔ* *χfíkə* *səʂəyvər*
 wild.boar solitary.pig=TOP very be.frightening
kə-o-nt^he *t^hozʔ* *ɨoʔ*
 GP-INV-kill be.the.rule be

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

27. *ⁿdzəjiʔ* *tóyto=sc^hənəʔ* *krəfáχpə=niʔ*
 2DU Togto=and PN=DU
p^hargot *paste=nəʔ* *mə-tə-náfsɛ-ⁿdzə-cə*
 wild.boar solitary.pig=DET NEG-2-know.well-2DU-MED
nəʔ *te-tsəʔ-nə* *nə-t^hoz*
 ANA PFV:TR-say₂-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

“Togto and Kreshaxpa, you do not know about solitary boars,” they said.

28. *leʔ* *kə-təʃe=cɛ*
 again one-time=LOC:INDF
jəjərəʔ *qəʔ^hwəripu=rəʔ* *zⁿbuʔ* *o-t^héco=nəʔ*
 1PL people.of.Qachweri=PL PN 3SG:POSS-downriver.place=DET
nə-rtʃoⁿbəj-jə=nəʔ *k^hezeʔ=kə* *ʃkúru*
 IPFV:PST-build.road₂-1PL=SUB dog=ERG serow
te-χda *téjət* *təciʔvzər* *t^he-wôt*
 PFV:TR-chase₂ down riverside PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring₂

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

29. *k^hezeʔ=kə ʃkúru te-χda tɛ́jət taciʔvzər*
 dog=ERG serow PFV:TR-chase₂ down riverside
t^he-wôt

PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring₂

dogs chased a serow,⁶⁷ and brought it down to the riverside.

30. *q^hoʔ k^hezeʔ=rɐʔ=kə ʃkúru taciʔ=naŋ te-znəmderʔ-nə*
 SEQ dog=PL=ERG serow water=inside PFV:UP:TR-cause.to.jump_{2-3PL}
 And the dogs caused the serow to jump up into the water.

31. *q^hoʔ ʃkúru=nəʔ taciʔqərŋəmʔ=naŋ*
 SEQ serow=DET large.river=inside
nɐ-nq^hɛlɛzyizyi əntsátse
 IPFV:PST-turn.round.and.round₂ continuously
 And the serow kept turning round and round in the large river.

32. *q^hoʔ ɐjiʔ=kə rkɛtu nə-nɛst^horʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ 1SG=ERG stick PFV-snatch_{2-1SG}
q^hoʔ tʃ^həkɛzər kɐ-rjəyʔ nɐ-ɐre-aŋ
 SEQ riverside INF-run PFV:DOWN-go_{2-1SG}
 I grabbed a stick, and went running to the riverside.

33. *q^hoʔ p^hovaŋ kə-to=nəʔ tə-nɛjiʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ boulder NMLZ:SBJ-be.located=DET PFV-wait_{2-1SG}
 And waited at where a boulder was.

⁶⁷ Definiteness and number need not be specified here.

34. *q^hoʔ təcíʔ=kə ʃkúru p^hovəŋ o-vzər*
 SEQ water=INS serow boulder 3SG:POSS-side
ne-wôt=jənəʔ rkətú=kə
 PFV:TOWARD.BANK:TR-bring₂=just.when rod=INS
o-ɣⁿbəqeʔ=jənəʔ tə-xšəɣ-aŋ
 3SG:POSS-side.of.face=exactly PFV-hit₂-1SG
 And as soon as the river water brought the serow to the side of the boulder, I hit it squarely on the side of its face with the stick.
35. *q^hoʔ leʔ təcíʔ=naŋ keç^ho kə-jwet*
 SEQ again river=inside toward.center.of.river PFV:CISLOC-return₂
 And it again went back toward the center of the river.
36. *q^hoʔ təcíʔ=kə tějət t^hv-oy-tsom*
 SEQ water=INS down PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-take.hither₂
 And the water carried it downriver.
37. *q^hoʔ t^hiʔ=z tə-mv-ké-fev=z t^həkəzər tə-nəlɔ*
 SEQ place.downriver=LOC GP:POSS-NEG-GP-reach=LOC riverside PFV:UP-exit₂
 It came up the bank at a place downriver inaccessible to people.
38. *q^hoʔ leʔ sekóʔ=naŋ lə-ⁿbloy*
 SEQ again underbrush=inside PFV:UPRIVER-disappear.into₂
 And again it disappeared upriver into the underbrush.
39. *nəʔ nɐ-fsət nɐ-t^hoz*
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 That was what happened.

40. *qʰoʔ kəmaqʰúʔnə*

SEQ afterwards

kə-qərɣiʔ nɐ-kə-rɣi=rɐʔ=kə tɛ-tɕə-nə=kə

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

ʃkúru o-bóri kə-rɣəʔ mə-ɣən ʰdenəʔ

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

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

41. *oxpérkə ʃkúru tʰəkɛzər ó-me*

for.example serow riverside 3SG:POSS-foot

kə-sétse ɐ-nɐ-cʰɐ=nəʔ

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

tétəm nəmder koy-tʰuʔ məkátshɛt koy-wəriʔ ɣoʔ

upward jump GP:INV-gore not.only GP:INV-pierce be

For example, if the serow is able to stick its feet into (solid ground), it will jump up and gore and even pierce people.

42. *qʰoʔ kə-ntʰe ɐ-nɛ-ɣo=nəʔ*

SEQ GP-kill IRR-PFV-be=SUB

ənʔ tɛ-kə-soʔ maʔ

ANA IPFV-GP-do not.be

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

43. *təciʔ kə-rná=nəɣ ke-ʃɐ*

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

qʰónəʔ təciʔ=nəɣ ke-kə-nəmder

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

ó-qʰru ʰge-ké-ndi

3SG:POSS-horn IPFV-GP-hold

qʰoʔ təcíʔ=nəŋ noʔoséʔsət ʰge-kə-səntsʰəvʔ
 SEQ water=inside thus IPFV:DOWN-GP-cause.to.suffocate

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

44. *qʰoʔ ənʔ te-kə-soʔ=nəʔ səcʰə qʰónəʔ səcʰə reʔ*
 SEQ that IPFV-GP-do=SUB be.doable then be.doable be.necessary

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

45. *ʃkúru=nəʔ χʃíkə ó-qʰru ɐmtʃə ŋoʔ*
 serow=TOP very 3SG:POSS-horn be.sharp-pointed be

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

46. *stonke=nəʔ qənpʰəlvəʔ ʃkúru ó-qʰru*
 autumn=SUB oak.leaf serow 3SG:POSS-horn
ó-ta ʰgé-ɐntər=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-top IPFV-fall.from.height=SUB
qənpʰəlvəʔ te-sə-spəʔ ŋoʔ kə-tsə tʰozʔ
 oak.leaf IPFV-CAUS-peirce be GP-say be.the.rule

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

47. *ʃkúru ó-qʰru ɐmtʃə məkətsʰət*
 serow 3SG:POSS-horn be.sharp-pointed not.only
χʃíkə sətʰuʔ tʰozʔ
 very do.goring.of.people be.the.rule

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

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

That is the reason why one must say that the serow is a frightening and man-killer among the wild beasts.

MONKS FROM RGON MONASTERY SAVED LIVES

rgon vlergere?kə kərⁿbjo? nəsɾə? təkəretcə ɣpe

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *tərez? losér-q^hu ɸnesqéti jərmə=nə?*
 last.year New.Year-back twentieth about=DET
 Last year, on about the twentieth day after New Year's Day,
2. *ⁿbər^kem? kwembuʂ^haŋ norvu kə-rmi?=cə?=kə*
 PN PN PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF=ERG
ⁿbər^kem?=sc^hənə? kwembuʂ^haŋ pért^hə
 PN=and PN space.in.between
tʰətʂ^he?=kə kərⁿbjo? ⁿge-z-nəzɸe? q^ho? ⁿge-nəⁿgre ŋo?
 car=INS people IPFV-CAUS-transport₃ SEQ IPFV-do.a.sideline be
 a man named Norvu from the Ma'erkang State Range was doing a sideline transporting
 people between Ma'erkang and the state-owned pasture in his car.
3. *q^ho? nə? o-sŋi=nə?*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-day=DET
 On that day,
4. *k^haŋsəɾ=z tʰətʂ^he?=naŋ kərⁿbjo? kətʃoɣ te-rko? məkətʂ^hət*
 PN=LOC car=inside people six PFV:TR-load₂ not.only
tʰətʂ^hergəm=naŋ fəⁿmⁿbəj? ó-mts^hot zjuɣzjuɣ?⁶⁸ te-rko?-cə
 car.body=inside scrap.iron 3SG:POSS-be.full IDPH PFV:TR-load₂-MED
 not only did he packed six people into the car at Kangsan he also loaded the body of the
 car high with scrap iron.

⁶⁸ An ideophone describing a container being full to the brim.

5. *q^hoʔ n^bɛrk^hemʔ nɛ-ɛre nɛ-ŋo-cə*
 SEQ PN PFV:DOWN-go₂ IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 And he was driving down to Ma'erkang.

6. *ʃənəʔ qɛⁿbəta o-lɛco=z*
 but PN 3SG:POSS-upriver.place=LOC
tʰoⁿbɛjʔ te-kə-wɛrɛvʔ=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 road IPFV:UP-NMLZ-be.steep=INDF exist=INS
 But as there was a (section of) steep uphill road somewhere upriver from Qambeta,⁶⁹

7. *tʰəʔtʰeʔ nənəz t^hv-zɣət=nəʔ*
 car there PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive₂=SUB
 and when the car got there (going downriver),

8. *o-fkor nɛ-rjiʔ ofétkə*
 3SG:POSS-load IPFV:PST-be.heavy₂ so.much
o-koʔ te-jɔʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-head PFV:TR-heave₂-MED
 its load was so heavy that it lifted the head of the car,

9. *q^hoʔ tʃóⁿdí nɛ-ⁿbya məkátʰɛt*
 SEQ river.side.of.road PFV:DOWN-overturn₂ not.only
qɛrŋəmʔ-χcəl kə-zɣət-cə
 river-center PFV:CISLOC-arrive₂-MED
 (and the car) not only tumbled over the edge of the road, but it ended up in the center of the river.

⁶⁹ Name of the place where Rgon Monastery is located.

10. *q^hoʔ tʃ^hətʃ^heʔ kəlet norvu=nəʔ tʃ^həosəfsət ɲoʔ=ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ car driver PN=DET how be=DM
tʃ^həkəzər tə-nlɔ nə-c^hɛʔ-cə
 river.bank PFV:UP-come.out₂ IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED

Somehow, Norvu the driver managed to make it to the bank of the river.

11. *ʃənəʔ kəmaʔ kəⁿbjoʔ nə-kə-riʔ=rɐʔ*
 but other people PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-remain₂=PL
kɐ-nlɔʔ mə-nɐ-c^hɛʔ-nə-cə məkəts^hɛt
 INF-come.out NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL-MED not.only

But the other people could not come out (of the river) and, furthermore,

12. *kəxtʃipu ɛnez ⁿdzə-fwe=nəʔ sqe-sqéfte jermɐ ⁿdenəʔ*
 small.child two 3DU:POSS-age=TOP ten-eleven about except
mə-jɐ-kɐ-wɛʔ=niʔ
 NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=DU

tʃ^hətʃ^heʔ o-kóʔ=ta tə-nlɔ-ⁿdzə-cə
 car 3SG:POSS-head=top PFV:UP-come.out₂-3DU-MED

two small children who were barely ten or eleven years old crawled out onto the top of the car,

13. *q^hoʔ ʃəmⁿbɛjʔ ɐsɐ-rⁿdərⁿdi-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ scrap.iron CONT:HTR-hold.onto-3DU be-MED

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

14. *q^hoʔ norvu=kə ké-tʃɛt=rɐʔ vlɛvlo nə-peʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG NMLZ-take.out=PL various.methods PFV:TR-do₂-MED
ʃənəʔ ɛdɛnbe mə-nɐ-c^hɛʔ-cə
 but at.all NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED

Norvu thought up various ways of getting them out, but nothing worked.

15. *q^hoʔ ne-səŋi=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-listen=SUB
o-t^hɛco qeⁿbəta rgonbe=z
 3SG:POSS-downriver.place PN monastery=LOC
ɣⁿbi kə-ɐsɐ-xɓəɣ o-zgre ne-fsɐ ɲoʔ-cə
 drum NMLZ-CONT:HTR-beat 3SG:POSS-sound PFV:TR-hear₂ be-MED
 Listening, he heard the sound of drums beating inside the monastery downriver at Qambeta.

16. *q^hoʔ noŋme=nəʔ*
 SEQ only.then=DET
qeⁿbəta t^he-kɐ-fɛ vlarge fə-ne-kɐ-sqorʔ=nəʔ
 PN IPFV-GP-go monk AND-DOWNRIVER-GP-send.for=DET
o-sem jɐ-wɛʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-heart PFV-come₂-MED
 And only then it occurred to him that one should go downriver to Qambeta and call the monks for help.

17. *q^hoʔ fla kɐ-rjəɣʔ qeⁿbəta t^hɐ-ɐre*
 SEQ quickly INF-run PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂
 And he quickly ran downriver to Qambeta,

18. *q^hoʔ o-tʃ^hətɕ^heʔ nɐ-kə-ⁿbya=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-car PFV:DOWN-NMLZ-overturn₂=DET
vlɛrge=rɐʔ fə-ne-səmtsi ɲoʔ-cə
 monk=PL AND-PFV:TR-tell₂ be-MED
 and he went and told the monks that his car had overturned.

19. *q^hoʔ nəʔorjájŋnə=z vlɛrge ɛnesqe jɛrmɐ nɐ-smo-nə-cə*
 SEQ then=LOC monk twenty about IPFV:PST-be.present-3PL-MED
 At that time, there were about twenty monks (there).
20. *q^hoʔ fla tʰəʔtʂ^heʔ nɐ-kə-ⁿbɣa kə-toʔ=nəʔ=z*
 SEQ quickly car IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-overturn₂ NMLZ-exist=DET=LOC
kɐ-ɾjəʔ lɐ-ɐre-nə-cə
 INF-run PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3PL-MED
 And immediately they ran upriver to where the car had overturned.
21. *q^hoʔ fla təciʔ=naŋ kɐ-fɐ=nəʔ*
 SEQ immediately river=inside INF-go=TOP
əntsɛjə kə-noz nɐ-mɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə ⁿdenəʔ
 that.much NMLZ:SBJ-dare₂ IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ be-MED for
 But none of them really dared go right away into the river,
22. *nəʔ ó-siz=nəʔ nɐ-wɐⁿdʒiʔ ofétkə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-morning=DET IPFV:PST-be.cold₂ so
qɛrŋəmʔ=naŋ nɛt nəŋəʔŋəʔ⁷⁰ t^he-wôt məkáts^hɛt
 river=inside melting.ice IDPH PFV:TR-bring₂ not.only
 for not only was it so cold that morning that melting ice flowed slowly downriver,
23. *tʰəʔtʂ^heʔ=nəʔ qɛrŋəmʔ kə-rná=naŋ=tɛʔ kə-zɣôt ŋoʔ-cə*
 car=TOP river NMLZ-be.deep=inside=a.bit PFV:CISLOC-arrive₂ be-MED
 the car had almost gone to the deep(est) part of the river.

⁷⁰ An ideophone describing something mushy moving continuously.

24. *q^hoʔ nəjənəʔ vlərge retəwe t^homet=nəʔ*
 SEQ at.that.moment monk PN=DET
o-ʌzɛn=sc^hənəʔ o-fent^hɛvʔ=rɛʔ ne-te-cə
 3SG:POSS-monk's.cloak=and 3SG:POSS-monk's.skirt=PL PFV:TR:DOWN-put₂-MED
q^hoʔ təcíʔ=nəj fla kə-ɐre-cə
 SEQ water=inside immediately PFV:CISLOC-go₂-MED

At that moment, the monk named Retawe Thomet laid down his cloak and skirt, and went instantly into the water.

25. *q^hoʔ nəʔoq^húnəʔ*
 SEQ then
leʔ vlərge fəɾɛvʔ te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 again monk PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
t^homet o-q^hu mími kə-ɐre-cə
 PN 3SG:POSS-back right PFV:CISLOC-go₂-MED

And then a monk named Sherav also went right into the river after Thomet.

26. *q^hoʔ təcíʔ ⁿdzá-rpa te-kə-zyot jərmenəʔ*
 SEQ water 3DU:POSS-shoulder IPFV-NMLZ-arrive almost
noŋme ⁿdenəʔ t^həʈs^heʔ o-vzər mə-kə-zyô-t-ⁿdzə ŋoʔ-cə
 not.until car 3SG:POSS-side NEG-NMLZ-arrive₂-3DU be-MED

The two monks did not get to the side of the car until the water had reached almost as high as their shoulders.

27. *q^hoʔ st^hɔre=nəʔ*
 SEQ first=TOP
t^homet=kə kəxtɕipu təcíʔ=nəj jə-kə-ɛntɛr
 PN=ERG small.child river=inside PROS-NMLZ:SBJ-fall.from.height

jə-kə-qəjpəm? = *ni?* *tʂolnətʂol*⁷¹ *ne-nəmɣək^hi-nə*
 PROS-NMLZ:SBJ-freeze=DU IDPH PFV:TR-pass.sth.along₂-3PL
q^ho? *t^həkəzər* *ne-tʂet-nə* *ŋo?*-*cə*
 SEQ river.bank PFV:TR-take.out₂-3PL be-MED

First, Thomet passed the two small children who were just about to fall into the river and freeze through a human-chain, and got them out onto the river bank.

28. *q^ho?* *le?*

SEQ again

kəxtɛ? *kəvdə* *t^hətʂ^hé?* = *naŋ* *t^hv-kə-smo=rɛ?*
 adult four car=inside CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present₂=PL
kəmdi? *nəoséfsət* *ne-nəmɣək^hi-nə*
 all thus PFV:TR-pass.along₂-3PL
q^ho? *t^həkəzər* *ne-tʂet-nə* *ŋo?*-*cə*
 SEQ river.bank PFV:TR-take.out₂-3PL be-MED

And likewise they passed all the four adults that were trapped inside the car in bucket-brigade fashion and got them onto the river bank.

29. *ʃənə?* *zimi?* *kə-qəjpəm?* *nə-joy-nə=tsɐ?* *ŋo?*-*cə*
 but almost INF-freeze PFV-be.finished-3PL=a.bit be-MED

But (the rescued men) were almost completely frozen.

30. *q^ho?* *t^həkəzər* *t^hv-kə-smo*
 SEQ river.bank CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present₂
vlɛrge *k^hep^hɛ?* = *rɛ?* = *kə*
 monk some=PL=ERG
*o*⁷²-*vzévzər* *kéju* *ʃə-ne-nəŋoro-nə*
 3SG:POSS-surrounding firewood AND-PFV:TR-search₂-3PL

⁷¹ An ideophone describing something dangling and moving nimbly about.

⁷² Referring to the river, hence singular number.

smi p^hom^hne ne-te-nə məkátsh^hət
 big.campfire PFV:TR-put₂-3PL not.only
nə-stotoŋ=rəʔ ne-tfət-nə q^hoʔ te-znəlǵə-nə
 3PL:POSS-monk's.jacket=PL PFV:TR-take.off₂-3PL SEQ PFV:TR-drape₂-3PL

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

31. *q^hoʔ k^hep^hεʔ=rəʔ=kə qəⁿbəta=z təcəŋjéle fə-le-ro-nə*
 SEQ some=PL=ERG PN=LOC boiled.water AND-PFV:TR:UPRIVER-fetch₂-3PL
q^hoʔ nə=rəʔ ne-ft^hi-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ ANA=PL PFV:TR-give.to.drink₂-3PL be-MED

And some other monks went to Qambeta to fetch hot water to give to them (i.e. the rescued men) to drink.

32. *q^hoʔ détsənəʔ noŋmenəʔ kə-ⁿdzəyⁿdzəyʔ te-je-nə-nəŋo*
 SEQ gradually only.then INF-be.normal PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL-MED

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

33. *q^hoʔ rjéspe nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ quite.a.while PFV-elapse₂=SUB

After quite a while,

34. *k^haŋsérpu=rəʔ ne-fsə-nə-cə*
 Khangshan.people=PL PFV:TR-hear₂-3PL-MED

people in Kangshan Township heard about it.

35. *q^hoʔ ts^hovdən kóŋse=rəʔ=kə=nt^hon ne-fsə-nə-cə*
 SEQ Tshobdun township=PL=ERG=also PFV:TR-hear₂-3PL-MED

And people in Tshobdun Township also heard about it.

36. *q^hoʔ páoʒe kærⁿbjoʔ*
 SEQ newspaper.agency person
rdêʔ nɛ-kə-nɛnkɛʒi=rɛʔ=kə nɛ-o-mti-nə
 by.chance IPFV:PST-NMLZ-walk.about₂=PL=ERG PFV-INV-see₂-3PL
 And this event was noted by newspaper reporters who happened to be in the area.
37. *q^hoʔ kærⁿbjoʔ nə-mts^ho-nə-cə*
 SEQ person PFV-be.full₂-3PL-MED
 And people flocked about the scene.
38. *q^hoʔ ts^hovdæn kóŋʒe=rɛʔ=kə*
 SEQ PN township=PL=ERG
rgon vlɛrge=rɛʔ ʒfíkə nɛ-o-wɛmu-nə
 PN monk=PL very IPFV:PST-INV-praise₂-3PL
 And the monks from the Rgon Monastery were highly praised by the Tshobdun Township government, (saying),
39. *nəjəʀɛʔ zde kátʃoy nə⁷³-srɔʔ tə-tə-ret-nə-cə*
 2PL others six 3SG:POSS-life PFV-2-save₂-2PL-MED
vlɛrge=cəʔ nɛ-sɛ-ŋo q^hónəʔ nəʔ te-ké-fsət reʔ ŋoʔ
 monk=INDF IPFV:PST-GP-be₂ SEQ:EMPH ANA IPFV-GP-do.thus be.necessary be
jəjəʀɛʔ kóŋʒe=ntʃ^hon jə-ŋosɛ kə-toʔ ne-peʔ ŋoʔ
 1PL township=also 1PL:POSS-face NMLZ-exist PFV:TR-do₂ be
te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 “You saved six people’s lives. This is what one, being a monk at that time, should do.
 And this also brought credit to our township,” they said.

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

40. *q^hoʔ tʃeʔ sjópo ɛne-fkorʔ noy-ⁿbi-nə*
 SEQ tea bamboo.basket two-CL PFV:INV-give₂-3PL
məkáts^het kormuʔ ɛné-ri noy-ⁿbi-nə-cə
 not.only money two-hundred PFV:INV-give-3PL-MED

And they were awarded two carrying baskets of tea leaves as well as two hundred dollars cash.

41. *q^hoʔ páoʃe tʃətse=kə*
 SEQ newspaper.reporter=ERG
kɾɛʃizgaŋ rgonbe vlɛrge=rɛʔ t^homet=sc^hənəʔ ʃəɾɛvʔ=niʔ
 PN monastery monk=PL PN=and PN=DU
kəɾⁿbjoʔ o-srɔʔ tə-kə-ret nɛ-kə-rkaŋʔ
 person 3SG:POSS-life PFV-NMLZ-save₂ IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.capable₂
tʃ^hə nɛ-kə-fsət=nəʔ
 what IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like₂=DET

kəmdiʔ kə-ɛtaxtu t^haxpér=ta te-tʃet
 all NMLZ-be.conscientious newspaper=top PFV:TR-take.out₂

And the newspaper reporters published a detailed story in the newspaper about the Rgon Monastery monks Thomet and Sherav's brave rescue of human lives.

42. *q^hoʔ nəʔ nɛ-fsət ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ be-MED

That was what happened.

OUR BLACK CAT

jələləna

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *cʰeɽ=z* *jəjəreɽ* *jə-kʰénaŋ=z*
 former.time=LOC 1PL 1PL:POSS-home=LOC
lələna *ome* *kə-xteɽ=cəɽ* *nə-nʰgo-jə*
 black.cat very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF IPFV:PST-keep₂-1PL
nə-tʃʰoz
 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

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

2. *ʰge-xteɽ* *ofétkə* *zimiɽ* *sqeɽ-tərpe* *jərmə* *nə-to*
 IPFV-be.big so almost ten-catty almost IPFV:PST-exist₂
 It was so big that it weighed almost ten catties.

3. *qʰoɽ* *kə-qərŋiɽ* *χfikə* *ʰge-rkaŋ*
 SEQ INF-hunt very IPFV-be.good.at
 It was very good at hunting.

4. *qʰoɽ* *təjtʃakruɽ=cʰo*
 SEQ upper.edge.of.field=LOC:INDF
tsəkot=kəsə *dudut=kəsə* *maʰdenəɽ* *rewaŋ=kəsə*
 pheasant=like turtledove=like or rabbit=like
kəmɲəm *kə-qərŋiɽ* *ʰge-cʰə*
 often INF-hunt IPFV-be.able

And it was often able to hunt down pheasants, turtledoves, rabbits, and the like around upper edges of fields.

5. *nəʔ məkətsʰət*

ANA not.only

ftsɔju=ntʰon ʰge-mɿɸ qʰoʔ te-zraχtʃoʰbaʔ

weasel=also IPFV-catch₃ SEQ IPFV-cause.a.racket

qʰoʔ ftsɔjuldi=rɸʔ ne-sɸscɛscɸt ʰge-ŋoʔ

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

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

6. *qʰoʔ ʰtsʰət káloy ʰge-ŋoʔ-jə*

SEQ goat herder IPFV-be-1PL

We are goat-herders.

7. *qʰoʔ rjɸre=z tsʰetpu ʰge-smo-nə*

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

And goat kids lived in (our) animal pens.

8. *xtu rjɸre=naŋ tʰe-wi*

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

qʰoʔ tsʰetpu te-ʰdzɸ ʰge-tʰozʔ

SEQ kid IPFV-eat₃ IPFV-be.the.rule

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

9. *qʰoʔ kə-təfe=cɛ=nəʔ ɸjiʔ tʰɔχcəm nə-ɸre-aŋ=nəʔ*

SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET 1SG deck PFV:WEST-go₂-1SG=SUB

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

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

10. *v-kúri=z* *jə-ləlvəv=kə*
 1SG:POSS-front=LOC 1PL:POSS-black.cat=ERG
líli kə-p^hyi? *xtəvəxtəv=cə*
 cat NMLZ:SBJ-be.grey IDPH⁷⁵=INDF
o-rqe *vsə-n^hdi* *ke-wôt* *nə-mti-aŋ*
 3SG:POSS-neck CONT:HTR-hold PFV:EAST:TR-bring₂ PFV-see₂-1SG
 up front, I saw our black cat bring back a grey cat, holding it by the neck.

11. *q^ho?* *o-réŋəm* *nə-nəscer?-aŋ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-moment IPFV:PST-be.startled₂-1SG
 At that moment I was startled.

12. *ko?* *líli=kə* *líli* *kə-n^hdze=nə?*
 this cat=ERG cat INF-eat=SUB
t^hen *te-poj* *másokə* *nə-səsi-aŋ*
 bad.omen IPFV-do₃ DM PFV-think₂-1SG
 I thought, “Is this cat showing a bad omen, eating another cat?”

13. *q^ho?* *é-mo=p^ha* *fə-tə-tsə?-aŋ=nə?*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=place AND-PFV-say₂-1SG=SUB
 When I went and told this to my mother,

14. *é-mo* *nə-wé?* *tə-mp^heri=nə?*
 1SG:POSS-mother PFV-come₂ PFV-look₂=SUB
nəkənə? *líli=kə* *líli* *ne-nt^he?* *kə-ŋo?* *mə-cə*
 that.near.you cat=ERG cat PFV:TR-kill₂ NMLZ-be not.exist-MED

⁷⁵ A derived ideophone describing a stout and muscular body.

nɛkənəʔ *xtu* *ne-ntʃʰeʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə* *té-tsə*
 that.near.you wild.cat PFV:TR-kill₂ be-MED IPFV-say
 mother came over, took a look, (and said,) “That was not (our) cat killing a cat, that was
 (our cat) killing a wild cat.”

15. *qʰoʔ noŋmenəʔ*

SEQ only.then
jə-lili=kə *xtu* *kɛ-ntʃe* *kə-cʰɐ=nəʔ* *nɐ-sərtɔ-aj*
 1PL:POSS-cat=ERG wild.cat INF-kill NMLZ-be.able=SUB PFV-realize₂-1SG
 Only then did I realize that our cat was able to kill wild cats.

16. *qʰoʔ lili=kə* *xtu* *o-fe=rɐʔ* *ʰdzɐ* *maʔ-cə*
 SEQ cat=ERG wild.cat 3SG:POSS-flesh=PL eat₃ not.be-MED

ʃənəʔ *stûz* *ʰge-nə-ntʃʰɐ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 but aimlessly IPFV-SPON-kill₃ be-MED

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

17. *qʰoʔ jə-lili* *kəmtʃʰa* *ʰge-rgot*
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-cat a.bit IPFV-be.wild

Our cat was a little bit wild,

18. *qʰoʔ kəmaqʰúnəʔ* *rjɐre=nəŋ* *tsʰetpu=rɐʔ* *kɐ-ʰdze* *te-je*
 SEQ afterwards sheepfold=inside kid=PL INF-eat PFV:TR-begin₂

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

19. *qʰoʔ kʰetəʃe=rɐʔ*

SEQ occasionally=PL
ne-ɐʰdu-jə *ʃənəʔ=ntʃʰon* *me-ʰge-pʰen*
 IPFV-beat-1PL but=also NEG-IPFV-be.effective
 And occasionally we would beat it, but it was also of no use.

20. *q^hoʔ kəməq^húnəʔ kə-pe=cəʔ nə-mɛʔ*
 SEQ afterwards NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF PFV-not.exist₂
 Afterwards, there was nothing we could do.

21. *q^hoʔ ɛ-mo=kə*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=ERG
nəkənəʔ líli=nəʔ zgrowe=naŋ te-kə-rko
 that.near.you cat=DET leather.bag=inside IPFV-GP-put.in
q^hoʔ kəmaʔ sɛtʃ^he=c^ho ne-kə-nɛtsomtsoʔ
 SEQ other place=LOC:INDF IPFV-GP-take.thither
q^hoʔ ne-kə-lət káma ts^hetpu kə-ⁿdze te-je
 SEQ IPFV-GP-release otherwise kid INF-eat PFV:TR-begin₂
nəʔ te-tsəʔ
 ANA PFV:TR-say₂

And my mother said, “Unless one puts that cat into a leather bag and take it away to another place to release it, as it has begun to eat kids.”

22. *q^hoʔ ɛjiʔ=kə jə-líli=nəʔ zgrowe=naŋ tə-rkoʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ 1SG=ERG 1PL:POSS-cat=DET leather.bag=inside PFV-put.in₂-1SG
 And I put our cat into a leather bag,

23. *q^hoʔ tɛjtsiʔ ⁿdəmŋoʔ sɛtʃ^he=nəʔ=z*
 SEQ PN PN place=DET=LOC
ʃə-t^hv-lât-aŋ nɛ-tʃ^hoʔz
 AND-PFV:DOWNRIVER-release₂-1SG IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 and went downriver to the place called Ndemngo in Teutses Village and released it.

24. *q^hoʔ* *χsəm-pe* *jərmə* *nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ three-year around PFV-elapse₂=SUB
jə-lili *ləməstampet* *jə-nəzyôʔ*
 1PL:POSS-cat suddenly PFV-come.back₂
 About three years afterwards, our cat suddenly came back.

25. *q^hoʔ* *təmdána*
 SEQ in.fact
zde *o-sətʃ^he* *fə-nə-ldomʔ*
 other 3SG:POSS-place AND-IPFV:PST-roam₂
q^hoʔ *lələrgot* *nə-əpeʔ-cə*
 SEQ feral.cat PFV-become₂-MED
 What happened was that it had gone away to wander in other places and became a feral cat.

26. *q^hoʔ* *qəc^hweriʔ* *k^hrəwo* *te-kə-tsə=cəʔ*
 SEQ PN PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF
kə-rəftʃozʔ *kə-spe=cəʔ* *toʔ=kə*
 INF-castrate.animal NMLZ:SBJ-know.how=INDF exist=INS
 As there is a man named Khrewo at Kakhyoris Village who castrates animals,

27. *q^hənəʔ=kə* *jə-lili* *ne-mje-cə* *q^hoʔ* *ne-ftʃoz-cə*
 ANA=ERG 1PL:POSS-cat PFV:TR-catch₂-MED SEQ PFV:TR-castrate₂-MED
 and he caught our cat and castrated it.

28. *q^hoʔ* *noŋmenəʔ*
 SEQ only.then
jəjərvəʔ *jə-p^ha* *jə-nə-zyôʔ* *nə-tʃ^hoz*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-place PFV-arrive.back₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 And then our cat got back to us.

29. *q^hoʔ nəfəq^huq^hónəʔ k^hénaŋ ⁿge-smo*
 SEQ thereafter home IPFV-stay
 And the cat stayed at (our) home afterwards.
30. *q^hoʔ ts^hetpu=rəʔ mə-te-ⁿdzɐ q^hoʔ mə-te-nc^hərtse*
 SEQ kid=PL NEG-IPFV-eat₃ SEQ NEG-IPFV-go.into.heat
 And it did not eat kids, and did not go into heat.
31. *q^hoʔ jə-lili=nəʔ kə-sɛrɛ=cəʔ=nə⁷⁶ ⁿge-ŋoʔ*
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-cat=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.amusing=INDF=AFF IPFV-be
 Our cat is an amusing one,
32. *ⁿdenəʔ mer ɛjiʔ é-p^həm=naŋ əntsátse*
 for night 1SG 1SG:POSS-bosom=inside continuously
kə-rⁿgu t^he-wi ⁿge-ŋoʔ
 NMLZ:PURP-go.to.bed IPFV:IN-come IPFV-be
 for it would come to sleep in my bosom at night.
33. *q^hoʔ mer ɛjiʔ kə-rⁿgu=rəʔ ne-məq^hu-aŋ=nəʔ*
 SEQ night 1SG NMLZ:PURP-go.to.bed=PL IPFV-be.late-1SG=SUB
 And if I delayed going to bed,
34. *skəvmŋoʔ=z ⁿge-ⁿbri q^hoʔ ne-vəvo ⁿge-ŋoʔ*
 stairway.edge=LOC IPFV:DOWN-call SEQ IPFV-weep IPFV-be
 it would call down from the stairway edge and whimper.

⁷⁶ The clitic =*nə* here conveys an affective meaning.

35. *q^hoʔ tɛlɔʔ=naŋ te-kɛ-fɛ mə-kə-tso*
 SEQ bed=inside IPFV:UP-INF-go NEG-GP-have.time
tə-p^həm=naŋ fla t^he-wi ⁿge-ŋoʔ
 GP:POSS-bosom=inside quickly IPFV:IN-come IPFV-be
 And barely had one (i.e. I) gone into bed, it would quickly come into one's (i.e. my) bosom.

36. *qɛrtsu=nəʔ ⁿge-vde fteʔ*
 winter=TOP IPFV-be.good be:EMPH
 In winter, (this) was good.

37. *ⁿdenəʔ ɛ-p^həm=naŋ t^he-wi*
 for 1SG:POSS-bosom=inside IPFV:IN-come
q^hoʔ ɛjiʔ=kə v-mt^hép^hɔ
 SEQ 1SG=ERG 1SG:POSS-foot.side.of.bed.place
tɛqɛjsuʔ t^he-lɛt-aŋ
 kicking IPFV:IN-release-1SG
q^hoʔ ɛ-me ne-zwɛxset-aŋ ⁿge-ŋoʔ
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-foot IPFV-cause.to.make.warm-1SG IPFV-be
 For it would come into my bosom, and I would kick it toward the foot side of the bed and make it warm up my feet.

38. *q^hoʔ nəʔ=rɛʔ ⁿgɛ-fsət*
 SEQ ANA=PL IPFV-do.thus
 And (what happened) was like this.

39. *q^hoʔ nəʔ=kəsə*

SEQ ANA=like

jə-k^hənənəj sqəpe kəri jərmə nə-to

1PL:POSS-home ten.year some about IPFV:PST-live₂

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

40. *q^hoʔ kəməq^hunəʔ nə-rgvz ofétkə nə-set nə-t^hoz*

SEQ afterwards IPFV:PST-be.old₂ so PFV-die₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

Afterwards, it died of old age.

41. *q^hoʔ jəjərvəʔ jə-ké-tsə=nəʔ*

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

líli kənⁿgət-tərpe fǎta kə-toʔ=nəʔ

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

nərvu ŋoʔ ké-tsə t^hozʔ

treasure be GP-say be.the.rule

And, as a saying of ours goes, “A cat weighing more than nine catties is a treasure.”

MONKEY

ɣzu

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *tʃuʔ=z rəkʰrozʔ kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to*
 PN=LOC PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂

There was a person called Re Kroz at Chu Village.

2. *qʰoʔ qɛnorʔ=z ɣzu ne-mjeʔ*
 SEQ hot.spring=LOC monkey PFV:TR-catch₂
qʰoʔ tʃuʔ tʰe-wôt-cə
 SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-bring₂-MED

He had caught a monkey at the hot springs and brought it to Chu Village.

3. *qʰoʔ ɐ-je ffaɣpe=cə nɐ-to=kə*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-elder.sibling deceased.monk=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂=INS
ɛjiʔ kɛ-némɣi o-spe ɔʒorʔ nʰgoʔ-aŋ reʔ te-tsəʔ
 1SG INF-observe 3SG:POSS-material meanwhile raise-1SG be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂
 I had an elder brother (now deceased) who was a monk. He said, “I must keep it as an object of observation.”

4. *qʰoʔ ɣzu=nəʔ məʰdáci=z nɐ-nʰgo-jə*
 SEQ monkey=DET PN=LOC IPFV:PST-raise₂-1PL
 So we kept the monkey at Mendeci.

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

q^hoʔ qənor ó-p^hjə le-mp^héri nɐ-ŋo
 SEQ hot.spring 3SG:POSS-direction IPFV:UPRIVER-look IPFV:PST-be₂

And the monkey was homesick, and when it was dusk it would call, “Quy! Quy!”, looking upriver in the direction of the hot spring.

6. *q^hoʔ sqe-sŋi jɛrmɐ nɐ-nⁿgɔ-jə q^hoʔ nə-fləγ-jə*
 SEQ ten-day about IPFV:PST-raise₂-1PL SEQ PFV-let.loose₂-1PL

q^hónəʔ kédenəʔ k^hɐⁿdáco nə-ⁿble
 SEQ in.a.while place.west.of.house PFV-go.out.of.view₂

And we kept it for about ten days, and had it breaking loose, and in a while it went out of view at a place west of the house.

7. *q^hónəʔ jəjərvəʔ=kə nəʔ γzu=nəʔ sekotserʔ=ce ʃɛ*
 SEQ:EMPH 1PL=ERG that monkey=DET underbrush=LOC:INDF go

q^hoʔ ʃǎ-set ntorjê nɐ-səsi-jə
 SEQ go.and-die DM IPFV:PST-think₂-1PL

And we were thinking, “That monkey must be going to the underbrush to die there!”

8. *q^hó təmdánə nɐ-smo ó-p^hjə rəŋsɐ nə-ɐre*
 SEQ in.reality IPFV:PST-live 3SG:POSS-direction right.there PFV:WEST-go₂

q^hoʔ tʃuʔ nə-zyôʔ-cə
 SEQ PN PFV:WEST-arrive₂-MED

But in truth it went west directly toward the place where it used to live, and got back to Chu.

9. *q^hoʔ tʃuʔ rək^hrozʔ=kə leʔ ne-mjeʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN PN=ERG again PFV:TR-catch₂-MED

q^hoʔ kənⁿgə-sqe-sŋi=cəʔ ne-nⁿgo-cə
 SEQ nine-ten-day=INDF PFV:TR-raise₂-MED

And at Chu, Rekoz again caught it, and kept it for nine or ten days.

10. *fənəʔ leʔ ne-fləy-nə-cə*
 but again PFV:TR-let.loose₂-3PL-MED
qʰónəʔ ysu kəmɛqʰunəʔ
 SEQ:EMPH monkey afterwards
qənorʔ lɛ-nəzyôʔ ne-mti-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 hot.spring PFV:UPRIVER-arrive.back₂ PFV:TR-see₂-3PL be-MED
 But they let it slip loose again, and then afterwards (people) saw that the money had gone back to the hot spring.

11. *nəʔ tʃʰɛ ɲoʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA why be=TOP
 How is that?

12. *ɣzu ó-ja táɾɲo=kə nɛ-kə-sɛʃkeʔ-cə*
 monkey 3SG:POSS-hand parched.grain=ERG PFV-NMLZ-burn₂-MED
qʰoʔ kə-χsɛl=cəʔ nɛ-ɲo
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.obvious=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂
 The monkey's hand was clearly burnt by parched grains.

13. *qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tánʔ=kə ɣzu qənor*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS monkey hot.spring
lɛ-kə-zyôʔ=nəʔ nɛ-χselʔ nɛ-tʃʰoz
 PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ-arrive₂=DET IPFV:PST-be.obvious₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 For that reason, it was clear that the monkey had returned upriver to the hot spring.

14. *qʰoʔ ɣzu=nəʔ ántsɛjə tʰɛ-ʃqra⁷⁷ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ monkey=DET that.much CONT:LTR-be.clever₂ be-MED
 And the monkey is so smart!

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

15. *nəʔ* *nɛ-fsə́t* *nɛ-tʰoʔ*
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the rule₂
 That was what happened.

HOW I KILLED TIBETAN EARED PHEASANTS WITH NOOSES

tɛmkɛri?kə qɛrme nɛkɛsəntʃʰe? oɣpe

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *cʰeɽ=z* *jəjəre?* *jə-sɛtʃʰe=z* *qɛrme*
 former.time=LOC 3PL 3PL:POSS-place=LOC Tibetan.eared.pheasant
kɛ-ntʃʰe=nə?
 GP-kill=TOP

Regarding how we kill Tibetan eared pheasants at our place,

2. *tɛʃsɛri* *maʰdenə?* *fəmskət=kə* *tɛmkɛri?kə*
 hempan.thread or wire=INS noose=INS
kɛ-sə-ntʃʰe *ʰgɛ-kʰut* *tʃʰoz?*
 GP-CAUS-kill IPFV-be.feasible be.the.rule

we can kill them with nooses made of hempan threads or wires.

3. *maʰdenə?* *tɛmɛri?* *te-kɛ-te?*
 or leg.snare UP-GP-put
qʰo? *kɛ-sə-ntʃʰe* *ʰgɛ-kʰut* *tʃʰoz?*
 SEQ GP-CAUS-kill IPFV-be.feasible be.the.rule

Or, it is possible to set leg-snares and kill them with those.

4. *ɛji?* *ʰge-xtʃi-əŋ* *ʰge-rɛvzjaŋ-əŋ* *orjaŋ?* *jɛrmɛ=nə?z*
 1SG IPFV-be.small-1SG IPFV-study-1SG when about=DET=LOC

Around the time when I was small and still studying in school.

5. *jə-k^heléco=z*
 1PL:POSS-back.of.house=LOC
qərme qərtsu=nə?^z ⁿge-wε-nə ⁿge-tʃ^hoz?
 eared.pheasant winter=DET=LOC IPFV-come-3PL IPFV-be.the.rule
 Behind our house, eared pheasants would come down the hills in winter.
6. *q^ho? tər^mók^he=nə? qərme=rə?*
 SEQ dusk=DET eared.pheasant=PL
qfó?^z=nəŋ le-náʃv-nə
 gully=inside IPFV:UPRIVER-go.back-3PL
 Then, at dusk, the eared pheasants would go back into the gully.
7. *q^ho? zdóŋbo kə-xtε?^z=cə? ⁿge-to?^z=kə*
 SEQ tree NMLZ-be.big=INDF IPFV-exist=INS
nə?^z-ó-ta ʃə-te-nárme-nə ⁿge-ŋo?
 ANA-3SG:POSS-top AND-IPFV:UP-spend.the.night-3PL IPFV-be
 Then, they would go up a big tree and spend the night there.
8. *q^ho? kə-pe kə-təʃe qərtsu kéju kə-nəzke? orjáŋnəz*
 SEQ one-year one-time winter firewood GP-transport when
 At the time of the yearly stocking up of firewood in winter,
9. *kə-sŋi=cε=nə?*
 one-day=LOC:INDF=DET
v-γrεrε?^z=sc^hənə? kətáγre=z kéju nε-nəzke-v-jə=nə?
 1SG:POSS-family=and together=LOC firewood IPFV:PST-transport₂-1PL=SUB
 one day when my family and I were transporting firewood,

10. *q^hoʔ sasuq^hu nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ afternoon PFV-elapse₂=SUB
leʔ jə-k^hɛləco rerɛvʔ fsjuʔfsjuʔ⁷⁸ ó-ɸɸr=nəʔ=z
 again 1PL:POSS-area.behind.house mountain IDPH 3SG:POSS-face=DET=LOC
'ts^het kə-ɣrəmʔ oséʔsət=kə nɸ-weʔ-nə nɸ-mti-jə
 goat NMLZ:SBJ-be.white like=INS PFV:DOWN-come₂-3PL PFV-see₂-1PL
 in the afternoon, on the greyish mountain face behind our house, we saw them coming
 down again, white as goats.

11. *q^hoʔ leʔ kéju kɸ-nəzɸɛʔ ɸ-ɸjət mə-tə-weʔ*
 SEQ still firewood INF-transport 1SG:POSS-heart NEG-PFV:UP-come₂
q^hoʔ k^hénanɿ lɸ-ɸnəre-aɿ
 SEQ home PFV:UPRIVER-go.back₂-1SG
q^hoʔ ʃəmskət kə-jts^hem=kə tɸmkəriʔ mts^hót nə-poʔ-aɿ
 SEQ wire NMLZ:SBJ-be.thin=INS noose be.many PFV-do₂-1SG
 Not wanting to stock up on firewood anymore, I went back home and made many nooses
 with thin wire.

12. *q^hoʔ qɸrme=rɸʔ ʃɔχtenəʔ ɸjiʔ lɸ-məko-aɿ*
 SEQ eared.pheasant=PL than 1SG PFV:UPRIVER-go.ahead.of₂-1SG
ʃə-tə-pjəlʔ-aɿ-nə
 AND-PFV:UP-make.detour₂-1SG-3PL
q^hoʔ qfomtɸ lɸ-ɸre-aɿ
 SEQ narrowest.part.in.gully PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-1SG
q^hoʔ tɸmkəriʔ mts^hót tə-te-aɿ
 SEQ noose many PFV-lay₂-1SG
 Then, making a detour, I went upriver ahead of the eared pheasants to where the gully
 was at its narrowest, and set many nooses there.

⁷⁸ A derived ideophone describing being grey and dusty.

13. *ɛjiʔ o-lɛco sekóq^hu=nəʔ=z nə-nəɣjɛdzuʔ-aŋ*
 1SG 3SG:POSS-place.upriver back.of.tree=DET=LOC PFV-hide₂-1SG
q^hoʔ nə-nɛjiʔ-aŋ-nə
 SEQ IPFV:PST-wait.for₂-1SG-3PL

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

14. *q^hoʔ tərmóq^he kɛ-qɛnu jə-jɛʔ jɛrmɛ*
 SEQ dusk INF-get.dark PROS-begin₃ about
qɛrme=rɛʔ tɛrⁿgo tə-te-aŋ
 eared.pheasant=PL snare PFV-lay₂-1SG
kə-toʔ=nəʔ=z lɛ-weʔ-nə
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=SUB=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-3PL

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

15. *q^hoʔ rɛmgo st^hoʔ le-kə-mɛko=nəʔ*
 SEQ leader most IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-go.ahead.of=DET
tɛrⁿgó=nəŋ o-mkɛ nə-ɛrɛ
 snare=inside 3SG:POSS-neck PFV:DOWN-go₂

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

16. *q^hoʔ fla tə-wɛlp^hɛvəlp^hɛvʔ=sc^hənəʔ*
 SEQ quickly PFV-flap.wing₂=SUB

And right away, as it flapped its wings madly,

17. *ozgég^hu le? le-kə-wi qərme*
 3SG:POSS-back again IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come eared pheasant
ɲne=ni? tə-nəmder?~ⁿdzə q^ho? tərⁿgo
 two=DU PFV:UP-jump₂-3DU SEQ snare
nɛ-kə-ɐre ó-ta=nə? lɛ-ljet~ⁿdzə
 PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂ 3SG:POSS-top=DET PFV:UPRIVER-go.beyond₂-3DU
q^ho? nə?~oléco lɛ-ɐre~ⁿdzə
 SEQ ANA-3SG:POSS-place.upriver PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3DU
 two of the pheasants that were also coming upriver leapt up and over the one that had
 been caught in the snare and went further upriver from it.

18. *fənə? méjo tərⁿgo nɛ-to fte?~kə*
 but still snare IPFV:PST-exist₂ be:EMPH=INS
le? tərⁿgó=nəŋ fla lɛ-ɐre~ⁿdzə
 SEQ snare=inside immediately PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3DU
q^ho? kɛ-wɛlp^hɛváp^hɛv te-je~ⁿdzə
 SEQ INF-flap.wings PFV:TR-begin₂-3DU
 But as there were other snares there, they were immediately caught in the snares also and
 started to flap their wings.

19. *q^ho? nəjɛrmɛ=sc^hənə?*
 SEQ about.that.time=SUB
kəma? qərme nə-kə-ri?~rɛ?
 other eared.pheasant PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-remain₂=PL
kəɲnesqe jɛrmɛ nɛ-to-nə=kə
 twenty about IPFV:PST-exist₂-3PL=INS
 About that time, as there were about twenty other eared pheasants that remained,

20. *q^hoʔ nə-np^ha-nə*
 SEQ PFV-startle.and.flee₂-3PL
q^hoʔ o-vzər q^hoʔ kə-xtétʔ=naŋ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side gully NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=inside
téjət t^hv-qvɛlβjəm-nə
 down PFV:DOWNRIVER-fly₂-3PL
 they became startled and fled, and flew downriver into a large gully at the side.
21. *q^hoʔ ɛjiʔ sekóq^hu=z ʃla t^hv-nlɔ-aŋ*
 SEQ 1SG back.of.tree=LOC quickly PFV:OUT-exit₂-1SG
q^hoʔ qərme tɛmkəriʔ nɐ-kə-ɐré=p^ha
 SEQ eared.pheasant noose PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂=place
nɐ-ɐre-aŋ q^hoʔ tɐr^hgó=naŋ qərme
 PFV:DOWN-go₂-1SG SEQ snare=inside eared.pheasant
nɐ-kə-ɐre ɣsəmʔ=rɐʔ kəsəsoʔ=kəsə nə-tfətʔ-aŋ
 PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂ three=PL alive=like PFV-take.out₂-1SG
 And I quickly got out from the back of the tree, and went down to where the eared pheasants went down into the nooses, and caught alive the three eared pheasants that had been caught in the snares.
22. *q^hoʔ kɐ-qénu te-je*
 SEQ INF-get.dark PFV:TR-begin₂
 It had gotten dark.
23. *q^hoʔ tə-jiʔ jɐste q^hóʔ=naŋ kámʃ^ha sɐvɐr ʃteʔ*
 SEQ GP:POSS-self alone gully=inside a.bit be.frightful be:EMPH
q^hoʔ k^hénaŋ kɐ-rjəʔ nɐ-nətsom-aŋ
 SEQ home INF-run PFV:DOWN-take.back₂-1SG
 And it was a little frightening being alone by oneself inside the gully, so I took them back home running.

24. *q^hoʔ k^hénaŋ nɛ-zɣôʔ-aŋ=nəʔ*

SEQ home PFV:DOWN-arrive₂-1SG=SUB

é-mo=kə qɛrme nɛ-ntʃ^heʔ-aŋ=rɛʔ=nəʔ ne-mti=nəʔ

1SG:POSS-mother=ERG eared.pheasant PFV-kill₂-1SG=PL=DET PFV:TR-see₂=SUB

ɐ-mk^hrəmʃɛt ʃiʔkə ne-peʔ

1SG:POSS-scolding very PFV:TR-do₂

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

25. *tʃ^hɐ ʃənəʔ*

why TOP

Why was that?

26. *jəjəɐʔ jə-sɛʃ^he jə-rgɛrgon=rɛʔ=kə*

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

pɣɛpɣe=sc^hənəʔ qɛjwɛʔ kɐ-ntʃ^he ɣnɪspe ne-kɐ-pe=nəʔ

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

ʃiʔkə q^hɐ-nə tʃ^hoʔzʔ

very hate-3PL be.the.rule

(That was because) the old folks at our place hate it very much for one to commit the sin of killing birds and fish.

27. *q^hoʔ ɐ-je=rɛʔ=kə*

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

ʃe kɐ-ⁿdze ⁿge-rge-nə ʃteʔ=kə

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

nóta q^hoʔ toʒaʔ kəⁿbjoʔ ʃteʔ-nə=kə

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

kə-nəmqeʔ *fóχtenəʔ* *χíikə* *nə-χe-nə*
 INF-scold instead.of very PFV-be.glad_{2-3PL}

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

28. *q^hoʔ* *mer=nəʔ* *qərməfe* *kə-tút^hu* *tə-nə-sqəʔ-nə*
 SEQ night=DET eared.pheasant.meat one-wok PFV-SPON-boil_{2-1PL}
q^hoʔ *vjaχtsəyʔ* *tə-nə-ⁿdzeʔ-jə*
 SEQ in.a.full-bellied.state PFV-SPON-eat_{2-1PL}

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

29. *nəʔ* *nə-fsət* *nə-tʰoz*
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

What happened was like that.

RETAWE 'JAMDBYANGS KILLED A LEOPARD⁷⁹

retawe 'dzajajkə kəxsɛ nəkəntʃeʔ χpe

Narrator: Bkrashisdpal

1. *cʰeʔ=z kəxsɛ nɐ-kə-ntʃeʔ 'dzə-ffjɛffjɛt=cəʔ 'ge-pɔ-aŋ=kə*
 former.time=LOC leopard PFV-NMLZ-kill₂ 2DU-story=INDF IPFV-do₃-1SG=DM
 Let me recount for you two a story about killing a leopard in the past.

2. *jəpəʔ jə-kʰe məndəci o-pʰəri=z*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-house PN 3SG:POSS-opposite.side.of.river=LOC
'tsʰet 'gɛ-loŋ-aŋ
 goat IPFV-herd-1SG
 I used to herd goats across the river from our house Mendeci.⁸⁰

3. *qʰoscʰənəʔ qərtsu=cɛ=nəʔ 'tsʰet kə-təʃe nɐ-nəweʔ-nə*
 SEQ winter=LOC:INDF=DET goat one-time PFV:DOWN-come.back₂-3PL
 In a certain winter, once the goats were coming downhill back home,

4. *qʰoʔ 'tsʰet kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ tətəm te-kə-fɐ=cəʔ nəŋɔɔŋɔʔ⁸¹ toʔ*
 SEQ goat one-CL=TOP uphill IPFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go=INDF IDPH exist
 a goat was walking uphill, bobbing its head up and down,

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

⁸⁰ Mendeci is the name of the stone house in which the story-teller's family reside. At that time, he was herding a flock of goats across the Kholakyi River on the hillside opposite the house.

⁸¹ An ideophone denoting the way one walks with the head bobbing up and down.

5. *nəʔ tétəm te-kə-fə=nəʔ tʰə=cəʔ ʝoʔ=kə*
 that downhill IPFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go=DET what=INDF be=DM
nə-səsi-aŋ=nəʔ
 PFV-think₂-1SG=SUB
 as I thought, “What is with that (goat) which is going uphill?”

6. *təmdánə káxsɛ=kə ne-ntʰeʔ*
 in.fact leopard=ERG PFV:TR-kill₂
qʰoʔ o-rqe ke⁸²-nⁿdi
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-neck PFV:CISLOC:TR-hold₂
qʰoʔ tétəm te-tsom nɐ-ŋo-cə
 SEQ uphill PFV:UP:TR-take.thither₂ IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 Actually, a leopard had killed it and was dragging it uphill by the neck.

7. *qʰoʔ ke⁸³-mpʰəri-aŋ=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:EAST-look-1SG=SUB
káxsɛ spaŋtɔʔ-mdɔʔ fteʔ-cə qʰoʔ ometséji mɐ-χsəl-cə
 leopard meadow-color be:EMPH-MED SEQ so.much NEG-be.clear-MED
 As I was looking east, (I saw that) the leopard was the color of the meadow (in winter),
 and was not much visible.

8. *qʰoʔ ʰtsʰet kəmaʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-nəweʔ-nə*
 SEQ goat other=PL PFV:DOWN-come.back₂-3PL
káxsɛ=kə nəʔ kə-rdɔʔ tétəm te-tsom
 leopard=ERG DET one-CL uphill PFV:TR:UP-take.thither₂
 And the other goats were coming back downhill, and the leopard took that one
 (goat) uphill.

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

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

9. *q^hoʔ o-réŋəm=z ɐ-vɐʔ ⁿdʒaʒaŋ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-moment=LOC 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN
kɐ-qɐrŋiʔ ʒʃikə kə-rkaŋ
 INF-hunt very NMLZ:SBJ-be.good.at
q^hoʔ nənəʔ ɐ-ɐɛʔ rtenlo=kə ʃə-lɐ-səʃfôt-jə
 SEQ ANA 1SG:POSS-younger.sibling PN=ERG AND-PFV:UPRIVER-inform-1PL
 (There was) a senior relative of mine by the name of 'Jamdbyangs, a very skilled hunter,
 and we immediately sent my younger brother Bstanblo to inform him about it.

10. *q^hoʔ tomde ʃla mɐ-cə*
 SEQ gun right.away not.exist-MED
 There was no gun to be found right away.

11. *q^hoʔ ó-p^hi o-jəlpe*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-underside 3SG:POSS-neighbor
ɐ-vɐʔ tʃ^hopoʔ te-ké-tsə toʔ
 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN IPFV-GP-say exist
 Downhill from him lived a neighbor of his ('Jamdbyangs's), an uncle of mine named
 Chopo.

12. *q^hoʔ ʃɛku kónʒe=z tomde ne-wôt tə-ɛnkətətoʒ*
 SEQ there.in.the.east commune⁸⁴=LOC gun PFV:TR:WEST-bring₂ PFV-happen₂
 It so happened that he had brought a gun from the commune government to the east.

13. *q^hoʔ mdɐ nɐ-mɛʔ*
 SEQ bullet IPFV:PST-not.exist₂
 But there were no bullets.

⁸⁴ This refers to the commune government located at Te'utses Village.

14. *qʰoʔ tʃʰorjɕɐn te-ké-tsə=nəʔ*

SEQ PN IPFV-GP-say=DET

téwe kóŋtso ʰge-poj nɐ-ŋo

PN government.work IPFV-do₃ IPFV:PST-be₂

And the man named Chorjan, he was working for the government at Tawe,

15. *qʰoʔ nəʔ tʰɐ-nəwɛʔ*

SEQ ANA PFV:DOWNRIVER-come.back₂

qʰoʔ ó-ɕɛr mdɛ mŋo-ʰbɣɛʔ tsaxtsaʔ toʔ-cə

SEQ 3SG:POSS-side bullet five-round just exist-MED

and he had come back downriver, and he had just five rounds with him.

16. *qʰoʔ ʰdzajajə ó-pʰa nəʔ ne-kʰi-cə*

SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-place ANA PFV:TR-hand₂-MED

And he gave those (bullets) to 'Jamdbyangs.

17. *qʰoʔ ɐ-vɛʔ ʰdzajajə=kə*

SEQ 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle⁸⁵ PN=ERG

toʰdzəvʰɛr tsʰaŋkɛʃi o-jəlpe=rɛʔ te-rɛzde-cə

PN PN 3SG:POSS-neighbor=PL PFV:TR-ask.to.go.together₂-MED

qʰoʔ tʰɐ-wɛʔ-nə

SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂-3PL

And my uncle 'Jamdbyangs summoned Tondrevthar and Tangkashi and other neighbors of his, and they all went downriver.

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

18. *q^hoʔ káxsɛ=kə*
 SEQ leopard=ERG
fəto t^hɛvámʔ=p^hi 'ts^het te-tsom ŋoʔ
 up.there wild.cherry.tree=under goat PFV:TR:UP-take.thither₂ be
 And the leopard was up there under a wild cherry tree, taking the goat uphill.
19. *q^hoʔ ó-ta fənəʔ tə-kə-nlɔ mə^h n^hdenəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-top yet PFV:UP-NMLZ-come.out₂ not.exist for
sɛi^he nɛ-vɛlɣe nɛ-sɛmti fteʔ=kə
 place IPFV:PST-be.barren₂ IPFV:PST-be.seen₂ be:EMPH=INS
 Yet it would not come out above it at all, as the land was barren and (it) was visible.
20. *q^hoʔ ɐ-vɛʔ^h n^hdʒajəŋ=kə káxsɛ fə-te-fcɔ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN=ERG leopard AND-PFV:UP-skirt₂
 So my uncle 'Jamdbyangs went uphill and skirted the leopard.
21. *q^hoʔ n^hge-mp^hɛri=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:DOWN-look=SUB
k^háxsɛ t^hɛ-nk^həmdzjət
 leopard CONT:LTR-sit.on.haunches₂
n^hdec^ho p^hɛri kə^hr^hbjoʔ=rɛʔ nə-p^ha
 westward that.side.of.river person=PL 3PL:POSS-place
né-ro wɛjo
 IPFV:WEST-look be.seen
 When he was looking downward, he saw the leopard sitting on its haunches, looking westward at the people (across the river).

22. *q^hoʔ t^hv-kə-nk^həmdzjət* *ó-ta=nəʔ*
 SEQ CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-sit.on.haunches₂ 3SG:POSS-top=TOP
tomde kə-rdɔʔ ne-lêʔt=nəʔ
 gun one-CL PFV:TR-release₂=SUB
 And, when he fired a shot at the one that sat on its haunches,
23. *kətsáyχpu káxse t^hvəvəmʔ ó-p^hi nə-nlɔ*
 in.a.short.while leopard wild.cherry 3SG:POSS-underside PFV-come.out₂
 in a short while, the leopard emerged from under the wild cherry tree.
24. *q^hoʔ t^hvəvəmʔ o-ⁿdáco=z*
 SEQ wild.cherry.tree 3SG:POSS-westward.place=LOC
qéʂna=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 landslide-marred.patch=INDF exist=INS
 There was a barren landslide-marred patch to the west of the wild cherry tree.
25. *nəʔ ó-βvɐ nβ-vɐre=jənəʔ*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-surface PFV:DOWN-go₂=just.when
leʔ tomde kə-rdɔʔ ne-lêʔt=nəʔ te-xšəy-cə=kə
 again gun one-CL PFV:TR-fire₂=SUB PFV:TR-hit₂-MED=INS
 And just when (the leopard) went down over (the landslide-marred patch), he fired another shot and hit it.
26. *téjət nβ-nəmdɛrʔ rcánə*
 downward PFV:DOWN-jump₂ EMPH
poq^he=cəʔ nβ-to=rcánə
 tree.stump=INDF IPFV:PST-to₂=EMPH
ó-βvɐ ke-rtərtovʔ q^hoʔ poq^he kβ-nántsi te-je
 3SG:POSS-surface PFV:CISLOC:TR-wind SEQ stump INF-gnaw PFV:TR-begin₂

q^hoʔ o-jmɛ=rɛʔ loŋloŋʔ⁸⁶ ne-sátsə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tail=PL IDPH IPFV-cause₂

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

27. *q^hoʔ nəʔ poq^he t^hɛ-kə-nənts^hiʔ ó-ta=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA tree.stump CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-gnaw₂ 3SG:POSS-top=DET
leʔ tomde kə-rdɔʔ te-lêʔ
 again gun one-CL PFV:TR-release₂

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

28. *q^hoʔ sekóʔ=naŋ nɛ-ⁿdʒevʔ*
 SEQ underbrush=inside PFV:DOWN-roll₂
 And (the leopard) rolled downward into the underbrush.

29. *q^hónə mdɛ vde-ⁿbyɛʔ te-lêʔ-cə*
 SEQ:EMPH bullet four-CL PFV:TR-fire₂-MED
 So, four rounds he had already fired.

30. *q^hoʔ kə-ⁿbyɛʔ ⁿdenəʔ nə-kə-riʔ mɛ-cə*
 SEQ one-CL except PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-remain₂ not.exist-MED
 And no more than one round was left.

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

31. *nájənáʔ leʔ káxse kə-rdɔʔ nə-nlɔ*
 right.then again leopard one-CL PFV-come.out₂
q^hoʔ q^hənəʔ o-lɪaʔ ɲoʔ-cə nə-maq^huʔ-cə
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-child be-MED PFV-be.latter₂-MED
 Right then, another leopard came out. It turned out to be the young of the previous leopard, and it came out later (than its mother).

32. *leʔ nəʔ ó-ta tomde kə-rdɔʔ ne-lét*
 again ANA 3SG:POSS-top gun one-CL PFV:TR-shoot₂
 And he fired another shot at it.

33. *fənáʔ te-xsəy soʔ me-te-xsəy=nəʔ ántsejə mə-na-χselʔ*
 but PFV:TR-hit₂ Q NEG-PFV:TR-hit₂=SUB that.much NEG-IPFV:PST-be.clear₂
 But it was not that clear whether he hit it or not.

34. *q^hoʔ ⁿdec^ho=cɛ nə-nə⁸⁷-ⁿbloy fteʔ*
 SEQ westward.place=LOC:INDF PFV-SPON-go.out.of.view₂ be:EMPH
 And it went out of view (to our dismay) somewhere to the west.

35. *q^hoʔ mdɛʔ nə-ts^herʔ*
 SEQ bullet PFV-be.used.up₂
 And the bullets were used up.

36. *q^hoʔ kə-məko te-səsmét káxse=nəʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ-be.first PFV:TR-wound₂ leopard=DET
fəki o-rɲeʔ sekoʔ kə-rtəvəʔ=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 up.there 3SG:POSS-rock.face underbrush NMLZ:SBJ-be.thick=INDF exist=INS

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

nəʔ o-tserʔ lə-ɐre
 ANA 3SG:POSS-interstice PFV:UPRIVER-go₂

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

37. *qʰónə jəjəreʔ tərme=rəʔ tə-ɐre*
 SEQ 1PL man=PL PFV:UP-go₂

And we men went uphill.

38. *qʰoʔ ɐjiʔ tərpe=cəʔ tə-ⁿdi-aŋ*
 SEQ 1SG ax=INDF PFV-take₂-1SG
lə-rjəy-aŋ lə-ɐre-aŋ=nəʔ
 PFV:UPRIVER-run₂-1SG PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-1SG=SUB

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

39. *ɐ-vəʔ ⁿdʒajəŋ=kə*
 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN=ERG
mə-lə-tə-fə ⁿdenəʔ kəxse səⁿdze ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ
 NEG-IMP:UPRIVER-2-go or leopard bite.people be PFV:TR-say₂ be
 my uncle 'Jamdbyangs said, "Don't go upriver because the leopard will bite people!"

40. *qʰoʔ ɐjiʔ=kə kəxse kə-sⁿdze=rəʔ*
 SEQ 1SG=ERG leopard NMLZ-bite.people=PL
ŋɐmbɐr nə-kə-teʔ mə=kə
 care PFV-NMLZ-put₂ not.exist=INS
ʃənəʔ ne-səsiʔ-aŋ=nəʔ ⁿdɐ wɐⁿgiʔ-cə
 but IPFV-think-1SG=SUB EXCL be.right-MED

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

41. *q^hoʔ kəmtʰa lə-ere-aŋ*
 SEQ a.bit PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-1SG
ʃənəʔ ʃla t^hv-jwet-aŋ ʃteʔ
 but immediateley PFV:UPRIVER-turn.back₂-1SG be:EMPH
 So I went upriver a little bit, and quickly turned back downriver.
42. *q^hoʔ v-vəʔ ⁿdʒajaŋ=kə*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN=ERG
kəxsɛ t^hv-smo-cə té-tsə
 leopard CONT:LTR:Q-be.present₂-MED IPFV-say
 And my uncle 'Jamdbyangs was saying, "Is the leopard there?"
43. *q^hoʔ vʒiʔ=kə kə-mtiʔ məŋv*
 SEQ 1SG=ERG NMLZ:SBJ:U-see be.seen:NEG
ʃənəʔ vlik^ho=z rgéli=kəsci wəjo tə-tsiʔ-aŋ
 but 1SG:POSS-upriver.place=LOC cow.calf=like be.seen PFV-say₂-1SG
 And I said, "It is gone, but I see something like a cow calf somewhere upriver."
44. *q^hoʔ leʔ kətaʔ le-mp^héři-aŋ=nəʔ*
 SEQ again truly IPFV:UPRIVER-look-1SG=SUB
rgéli maʔ-cə kəxsɛ ŋoʔ-cə
 cow.calf not.be-MED leopard be-MED
 Looking carefully again, (I saw that the thing) was not a cow calf, but a leopard.
45. *q^hoʔ kəxsɛ=ntʰon tējət t^he-mp^héři*
 SEQ leopard=also downriver IPFV:UPRIVER-look
 And the leopard was also looking downriver.

46. *q^hoʔ kəmaʔ v-zde=rəʔ=kə*
 SEQ other 3SG:POSS-companion=PL=ERG
mə-lə-tə-fə^h ʔdenəʔ tə-oy-ⁿdze ŋoʔ té-tsə-nə
 NEG-IMP:UPRIVER-2-go or 2-INV-eat be IPFV-say-3PL
 And my other companions were saying, “Don’t go upriver, or it will bite you!”
47. *q^hoʔ mə-lə-vre-aŋ*
 SEQ NEG-PFV-go₂-1SG
 And I did not go upriver.
48. *q^hoʔ v-je=sc^hənəʔ toⁿdzət^hər=niʔ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-elder.brother=and PN=DU
káxsɛ o-kóta tə-vre-ⁿdzə
 leopard 3SG:POSS-place.above PFV:UP-go₂-3DU
 And my elder brother and Tondrethar went uphill above where the leopard was,
49. *q^hoʔ káxsɛ=ta tərəm ne-tfev-ⁿdzə*
 SEQ leopard=top falling.rock PFV:DOWN:TR-roll₂-3DU
 and rolled down falling rocks at the leopard,
50. *q^hoʔ káxsɛ sekóʔ=p^hi nəʔoséfsət t^he-tfet-ⁿdzə*
 SEQ leopard underbrush=under thus PFV:UPRIVER:TR-expel₂-3DU
 and in this way drove the leopard downriver from under the underbrush.
51. *q^hoʔ nə-nərdolɔ-jə*
 SEQ PFV:DOWN-bombard.with.stones₂-1PL
q^hoʔ fkótse=kə nə-sə-nt^heʔ-jə
 SEQ stone=INS PFV-CAUS-kill₂-1PL
 And we all threw down stones, and killed it with the stones.

52. *q^hoʔ laχpaŋ^{ʔ88} káxse vərvəŋʔ=cəʔ fieʔ fsát káma*
 SEQ EXCL leopard hero=INDF be:EMPH be.like moreover
o-sŋorʔ jə-ⁿbvət=ntʃ^hon=rcánəʔ
 3SG:POSS-breath PROS-snap=even=EMPH
ó-mŋa rlerleʔ ne-sátsə
 3SG:POSS-eye IDPH PFV:TR-cause₂
 And, by Jove, the leopard was truly like a hero, and moreover even when it breathed its last, it made its eyes wide and staring.

53. *q^hónə jə-set o-sŋorʔ mə-ⁿbvət orjáŋnə*
 then PROS-die 3SG:POSS-breath NEG-snap when
tsəjiʔ todzət^her=niʔ káxse tə-ⁿdi-tsə
 1DU PN=DU leopard PFV:UP-ride₂-1PL
 Then, when it was about to breathe its last and die, Todrethar and I mounted the leopard,

54. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ*
 SEQ while
káxse ké-ⁿdi v-nv-kə-nəŋiʔ=kə tə-tsəʔ-tsə
 leopard INF-ride IRR-PFV-NMLZ-experience=DM PFV-say₂-1PL
 meanwhile, we said, “Let’s have a try at riding a leopard!”

55. *q^hoʔ kəmaq^hu káxse=nəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards leopard=DET
v-vvʔ ⁿdzajaj ó-k^he lə-tsom-jə
 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle PN 3SG:POSS-home PFV:UPRIVER-take.thither₂-1PL
 And afterwards, we took the leopard upriver to uncle ’Jamdbyangs’s house.

⁸⁸ An exclamation uttered while taking an oath.

56. *q^hoʔ nə-jⁿdʒət-jə*

SEQ PFV-skin₂-1PL

And we skinned it.

57. *q^hoʔ kəⁿbjəʔ kənⁿgət nɛ-to-jə*

SEQ person nine IPFV:PST-exist₂-1PL

There were nine of us.

58. *q^hoʔ koŋve o-spe*

SEQ collar 3SG:POSS-material

ɛzəɣfɛn kənⁿgə-bⁿbyɛʔ t^hɛ-tfət-jə q^hoʔ

leopard.skin.collar.edge nine-CL PFV-take₂-1PL SEQ

nə-nəkri-jə

PFV-divide.among.oneselves₂-1PL

And we took out nine pieces of leopard-skin collar edge to make collars with, and we divided them among ourselves.

59. *q^hoʔ o-fɛru=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone=DET

jəjəɾɛʔ jə-tátwi kəruʔ-sménbe nəⁿbi-jə

1PL 1PL:POSS-village Tibetan.doctor PFV-give₂-1PL

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

60. *nəʔ nɛ-fsət nɛ-t^hoʔz*

ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

What happened was like that.

THE RANGDZEM FAMILY KILLED A TIGER

raŋⁿdzémpukə qeje nent^fhe?cə tonda?

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *ŋonts^he=z orje pe é-vu jermə orjaŋ?*
 formerly=LOC hundred year 1SG:POSS-grandparent about when
 A hundred years ago, at about my grandfather's time,
2. *qəc^hweri? raŋⁿdzémpu te-ké-tsə=nə?*
 PN PN IPFV-GP-say=SUB
kə-c^héle kə-stfez?cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.capable NMLZ:SBJ-be.prosperous-MED
q^ho? o-təro?=rə? kəmt^fa kə-to?=cə?
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-official=PL some.kind NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF
nə-ŋo-cə
 IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 there was once a family called Rangdzempu at Qaqiuli Village, (they were) capable and distinguished, and were officials of some kind.
3. *q^ho? kə-ŋji=cə=nə? raŋⁿdzémpu=rə?=kə ⁿbri=cə?*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=SUB PN=PL=ERG horse=INDF
moχtsu-mt^hε=z ʃə-le-koy?nə=cə?=nə?
 PN-mouth.of.valley=LOC AND-PFV:UPRIVER:TR-drive₂-3PL=INDF=SUB
 One day, as the Rangdzempu people drove a horse upriver at the mouth of the valley Mohsu,
4. *q^ho? tərmók^he=z nə-məŋe?-nəŋo*
 SEQ dusk=LOC PFV-not.be.seen₂-MED
 the horse suddenly disappeared at dusk.

5. *q^hoʔ ʃə-ne-qəseʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ nəⁿ-bri o-ʃpovʔ*
 SEQ AND-PFV:TR-search₂-3PL-MED=SUB 3PL:POSS-horse 3SG:POSS-corpse
tə-kə-ⁿdzeʔ o-ntʃ^hentʃ^hurʔ=cəʔ wəjo-cə
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-eat₂ 3SG:POSS-scattered.remains=INDF be.seen-MED
 When they went and searched for it, they found scattered remains of their horse.

6. *q^hoʔ o-vzər=z qəje o-rʒeʔ ome kə-xtɛʔ=cəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=LOC tiger 3SG:POSS-track very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF
nə-lə wəjo-nəŋo
 PFV-appear₂ be.seen-MED
 And by its side, very big tiger-tracks appeared.

7. *q^hoʔ ⁿbrɛⁿdzi=nəʔ t^he-nɛmts^həmtsi-nə-cə*
 SEQ horse's.skin=DET PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-drag₂-3PL-MED
 And they dragged the skin of the horse downriver,

8. *q^hoʔ q^həq^hu=z tɛrɪʔ=ta te-səŋŋɔ-nə-nəŋo*
 SEQ back.of.house=LOC drying.rack=top PFV:UP:TR-hang₂-3PL-MED
 and hung it on the drying rack at the back of the house.

9. *q^hoʔ mer=nəʔ qəje ⁿbrɛⁿdzi kə-ⁿdze wi=kə*
 SEQ night=DET tiger horse's.skin NMLZ:PURP-eat come=INS
ⁿge-kə-ntʃ^he reʔ-cə ne-səsi-nə-cə
 IPFV-GP-kill be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think₂-3PL-MED
 “As the tiger is going to come at night to eat the horse’s skin, we must kill it,” they thought.

10. *qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ tərme kəlɣótʃoy pərtseko=ta*
 SEQ night=DET man five.six roof.top=top
pozvu ne-stuki-nə-cə
 musket PFV:DOWN:TR-point₂-3PL-MED
 At night, five to six men pointed their muskets down from the roof's top,
11. *qʰoʔ sléɣe=rəʔ ɣjavaxjavʔ nə-to-cə*
 SEQ moon=PL IDPH⁸⁹ IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 there was a bleary moon (then).
12. *qʰoʔ fórⁿge jərme*
 SEQ midnight about
qəje kətaʔ ⁿbréⁿdzi kə-ⁿdze jə-wéʔ-cə
 tiger truly horse.skin PURP-eat PFV-eat₂-MED
 And, at around midnight, the tiger truly came to eat the horse's skin.
13. *jənəʔ pozvu te-lət-nə-cə*
 just.at.that.moment musket PFV:TR-release₂-3PL-MED
qʰoʔ kə-sáxsəy nə-cʰəʔ-nə-cə
 SEQ INF-cause.to.hit IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL-MED
 At that moment, they fired their muskets, and managed to hit the tiger.
14. *fənəʔ qəje=rcənəʔ tə-nəmdərʔ=nəʔ*
 but tiger=TOP:EMPH PFV:UP-jump₂=SUB
pərtseko=z jə-tə-lə kə-tsə nə-ŋo-cə
 roof=LOC PROS-PFV:UP-come.out₂ GP-say IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 But when the tiger leapt up, it almost came over the top of the roof, it is said.

⁸⁹ An ideophone describing a bleary state.

15. *q^hoʔ kəmaq^hunəʔ ne-ntʃ^heʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ afterwards PFV:TR-kill₂-3PL-MED
 And afterwards, they killed it.
16. *q^hoʔ qeje χʃikə nɐ-xtɐ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ tiger very IPFV:PST-big₂ be₂-MED
 The tiger was huge.
17. *q^hoʔ qejeⁿdzi=nəʔ tʃóχtse rjélpo=pha*
 SEQ tiger.skin=DET PN chieftain=place
te-p^həlʔ-nə nɐ-tʃ^hoz ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-present₂-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂ be₂-MED
 And they presented the tiger's skin to the chieftain of Cogtse, it is said.
18. *q^hoʔ tʃóχtse rjélpo=kə q^hɐ qejeⁿdzi=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN chieftain=ERG ANA tiger.skin=DET
leʔ krəʃizgəŋ rgonbe ó-p^ha te-nə-p^həlʔ
 again PN monastery⁹⁰ 3SG:POSS-place PFV:TR-SPON-present₂
 And the Cogtse chieftain in turn presented the tiger skin to the Krashizgang Monastery,
19. *q^hoʔ rgonbe smolɛm skarten ne-p^hɛvʔ-nə orjáŋnəʔ*
 SEQ monastery festival⁹¹ medium IPFV-descend-3PL when
o-sɐ-mdzuʔ te-sə-peʔ-nə ɲoʔ tʃ^hozʔ
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-sit₂ PFV:TR-cause.to.make₂-3PL be be.the.rule
 and made it into a seat for the mediums when they went into a trance during at the
 monastery Mask Dance Festival.

⁹⁰ One of the two monasteries in Tshobdun Township. Practising the Nyingma sect, this time-honored monastery is situated along the Kyomkyo River at some distance downriver from Cus Village.

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

20. *q^heʔ qeʝéⁿdʒi=nəʔ pəʃk^ho=ntʃ^hon*
 ANA tiger.skin=DET now=even
rgonbe=rəʔ nǎ-ja t^he-to
 monastery=PL 3PL-POSS-hand CONT:LTR-exist₂

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

21. *jəpəⁿdʒi ɛʝiʔ kə-mdʒɛl tə-ɐre-aŋ orjájɨnə=ntʃ^hon*
 year.before.last 1SG NMLZ:PURP-worship PFV-go₂-1SG when=even
q^heʔ qeʝéⁿdʒi wɛʝo
 ANA tiger.skin be.seen

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

22. *ʃənəʔ o-rmɐ nǎ-nⁿbət*
 but 3SG:POSS-hair PFV-be.worn₂
o-t^həyle mə-na-χselʔ=tsɐʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-stripe NEG-IPFV:PST-be.clear₂=a.bit-MED

But its hair was worn and its stripes had become a little bit unclear.

23. *q^hoʔ ranʒzémpu=rəʔ qɛʝe nɐ-kə-ntʃ^heʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN=PL tiger PFV-NMLZ-kill₂=DET
mǎ-nɐ-vdeʔ nɐ-tʃ^hoz
 NEG-IPFV:PST-be.good₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

It is said that it is not good for the Rangdzem family to kill the tiger,

24. *ⁿdenəʔ kəmaq^hunəʔ nǎ-rtseʃəyʔ t^he-nlɔ*
 SEQ afterwards 3PL:POSS-root PFV-come.out₂
 for afterwards their fortunes declined.

25. *q^hoʔ nphrumu ⁿge-səγroʔ-nə=nəʔ*
 SEQ fortune IPFV-cause.to.tell-3PL=SUB
 And when they had their fortunes told,
26. *q^heʔ qeje=nəʔ jəlke kəsroy nə-ŋo-cə*
 ANN tiger=TOP hamlet guardian IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 the tiger turned out to be the guardian of the (Ramdzem) hamlet.
27. *fənəʔ ne-ntʃ^heʔ-nə*
 but PFV:TR-kill₂-3PL
 But they killed it,
28. *q^hoʔ nə-yu mə-kə-ⁿdzəγʔ te-je*
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-body NEG-INF-right PF:TR-begin₂
 and things began to get rough for them,
29. *q^hoʔ detsátsə nə-ⁿblôt-nə*
 SEQ gradually PFV-decline₂-3PL
 and the family gradually declined.
30. *q^hoʔ qeje ne-ntʃ^heʔ-nə*
 SEQ tiger PF:TR-kill₂-3PL
nəʔ nə-ⁿdzeʔ ké-tsə ŋoʔ tʃ^hozʔ
 ANN PFV-be.at.fault₂ GP-say be be.the.rule
 And people say that it could all be attributed to their killing of the tiger.

WENCHUAN EARTHQUAKE

vəʃu

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *lo ɣni-stoŋ taŋ vɣet sləwə kámŋo sqəmniéti*
 year two-thousand and eight month five twelve
qʰoʔ sásuqʰu tətʰot ɣnez=scʰənəʔ ɣnezsqə-rce skərme
 SEQ afternoon hour two=and twenty-eight minute
kə-zɣôʔ orjájŋʔnəʔ
 PFV-arrive₂ when
 At 2:28 PM in the afternoon, May 12, 2008,
2. *ɣjiʔ slovtɕə=z kə-ntsʰɔʔ jə-mda nə-ŋo*
 1SG school=LOC INF-assemble.class PROS-be.time IPFV:PST-be₂
 it was about time for me to teach a class.
3. *qʰoʔ ɣjiʔ ɐ-sə-ntsʰɔʔ slovkʰaŋ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 1SG 1SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-assemble₂ classroom=DET
χso-téxxe ó-ta nə-ŋo
 three-floor 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:PST-be₂
 And the classroom where I would teach was on the third floor.
4. *qʰoʔ komʔ o-vzər=nəʔ*
 SEQ door 3SG:POSS-side=DET
támɛ ɣgerɣən ɣvaŋʃəɣʔ te-ké-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 woman teacher Dbangshig IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
nəʔ=scʰənəʔ kʰəvdəʔ nə-peʔ=tsə jənəʔ
 DET=and chatting IPFV:PST-do₂=1DU when

vəɬju *kə-məlmo* *te-je*
 earthquake INF-move PFV:TR-begin₂

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

5. *tʰe-mpʰəri-aj=nəʔ*

IPFV:ACROSS-look=SUB

tʃénʃen=scʰənəʔ *ⁿgol=rəʔ* *kə-zməlmo* *te-je*
 power.line=and tile=PL INF-cause.to.move PFV:TR-begin₂

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

6. *qʰoʔ* *ɛgɛrgɛn* *ɛvanʃəʔ=pʰa*

SEQ teacher Dbangshig=place

vəɬju *kə-məlmo* *te-je* *tə-tsəʔ-aj=nəʔ*
 earthquake INF-move PFV:TR-begin₂ PFV-say₂-1SG=SUB

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

7. *jə-zdeʔ* *ántsejə* *χáχo=rəʔ* *nə-tsiʔ* *mə*

1PL:POSS-companion that.much realization=PL IPFV:PST-understand₂ not.exist

Our colleague didn’t comprehend the situation so fully,

8. *tʰə* *ŋoʔ* *tʰə* *ŋoʔ* *jərmə* *té-tsə* *káma*

what be what be about IPFV-say only

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

9. *qʰoʔ* *ne-mpʰári-aj=nəʔ*

SEQ IPFV:WEST-look=SUB

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

kom? *o-p^hji?* *nə-ko?* *ké-tfēt=sc^hənə?*
 door 3SG:POSS-outside 3PL:POSS-head INF-take.out=and
kép^hi *o-ftfēke* *kə-pe* *te-je-nə*
 INF-escape 3SG:POSS-preparation INF-make PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL

And looking west (toward the students), (I saw) students, being smart, stuck their heads out the (classroom) doors and were getting ready to flee.

10. *q^ho?* *vəlju* *jə-nəne* *fite?^h=kə* *nə-səsi-aŋ*
 SEQ earthquake PROS-stop be:EMPH=DM PFV-think₂-1SG

And I thought that the quake would soon stop.

11. *fənə?* *təmdánə*
 but in.the.end
fla *kə-nəne=nə?* *ma?^h-cə=kə*
 quickly NMLZ-stop=TOP not.be-MED=INS

And as the earthquake turned out not stopping soon at all,

12. *q^ho?* *slome=rə?* *nə=p^ha*
 SEQ student=PL 3PL=place
n^hbət *kə-rjəγ?^h-nə* *o-p^hji?* *nə-lə?^h-nə* *tə-tsi?^h-aŋ*
 immediately IMP:EAST-run-2PL 3SG:POSS-outside IMP:DOWN-exit-2PL PFV-say₂-1SG
 so I said to the students, “Run east (toward me and the stairs) and get out downstairs right away!”

13. *q^ho?* *slome=rə?* *nəbuybuy?^h*⁹² *rdoskév?^h=ta* *nə-ərə-nə*
 SEQ student=PL IDPH stairs=top PFV:DOWN-go₂-3PL

And the students went down the stairs in a swarm.

⁹² An ideophone denoting moving continuously in a swarm.

14. *oʒorʔ v-vzər=rɐʔ*
 meanwhile 1SG:POSS-side=PL
ʁgerɣən Ɂvanʃəʔʔ=nəʔ=ntʃʰon ó-ja te-ⁿdi-nə
 teacher Dbangshig=DET=also 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR-take₂-3PL
qʰoʔ o-pʰjiʔ nɐ-nlɔ-nə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside PFV:DOWN-exit₂-3PL
 Meanwhile, by my side, (the students) also took Teacher Dbangshig’s hand and they went downstairs (together).

15. *qʰoʔ ó-ta*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-top
vde-téxse=scʰənəʔ mŋo-téxse nɐ-kə-smo=rɐʔ
 four-storey=and five-storey IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present=3PL
téjət kɐ-nɐmdɔ́mder=kəsə tsʰaŋkʰe=kə nɐ-wɛʔ=nə
 down INF-jump:RDPL=like in.a.crowded.state=INS PFV:DOWN-come₂-3PL
 And, above them, those who were on the forth and fifth storeys came downstairs, all jumping about and pressed together.

16. *qʰoʔ ne-səsiʔ-aŋ=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-think-1SG=SUB
kɐ-ojɐsɛ́jəz kɛ-pʰi reʔ ŋoʔ
 GP-hurry GP-escape be.necessary be
 And I was thinking, “One must hurry and escape.”

17. *ʃənəʔ tsʰaŋkʰe te-tʃʰɐm=nəʔ ɐyləylɐ-nə mɐ-ⁿdzəʔʔ*
 but in.a.crowded.state be.excessive=SUB rub:RDPL-3PL NEG-be.right
 “But if they are pressed too tight, they will tread each other. This is not right.”

18. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ*
 SEQ meanwhile
χsajŋvaŋʔ te-ké-tsə kgergen jɐ-zɣôʔt-cə
 Gsangdbang IPFV-GP-say teacher PFV-arrive₂-MED
 At this time, a teacher called Gsangdbang arrived (on the scene).
19. *q^hoʔ tsəjəniʔ=kə slome=rɐʔ nə-p^ha*
 SEQ 1DU:EXCL=ERG student=PL 3PL:POSS-place
kɐ-ojɐsɛʔjəz rɐʔ ŋoʔ
 INF-hurry be.necessary be
ʃənəʔ kɐ-nɛmdɔmder=sc^hənəʔ ts^haj^he kɐ-pe mɐ-joyʔ
 but INF-jump.about=and in.a.crowded.state INF-do NEG-be.allowed
tə-tsəʔ-tsə
 PFV-say₂-1DU
 And the two of us said to the students, “You must hurry, but there is no jumping about or jostling.”
20. *q^hoʔ slome=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ kə-ɛʃpɛlɐ*
 SEQ student=PL all NMLZ-be.swift
o-p^hjiʔ ké-tʃɛt nɐ-c^hɐʔ-tsə
 3SG:POSS-outside INF-take.out IPFV:PST-be.able₂-1DU
 And we managed to move all the students swiftly to the outside.
21. *q^hoʔ vəlɣu=nəʔ*
 SEQ earthquake=DET
kəʃné-rcet mjâo jɛrménəʔ nɐ-məlmo
 seven-eight second about IPFV:PST-shake₂
 And the earthquake continued for seven-eight seconds.

22. *q^hoʔ k^hep^hεʔ=rεʔ=kə*

SEQ some=PL=ERG

vəɬju tə-məlmo vəɬju ɲoʔ me-ne-səsi-nə=kə

earthquake PFV-shake₂ earthquake be NEG-PFV:TR-think₂-3PL=INS

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

23. *q^hɛlɛ kə-xteʔ=cəʔ te-peʔ q^hoʔ ⁿgol=rɛn*

wind NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV:TR-do₂ SEQ tile=even

te-səpərc^hov^ʔ⁹³ ne-səsi-nə ɲoʔ-cə

PFV:TR-cause.to.clank.together₂ PFV:TR-think₂-3PL be-MED

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

24. *təmdánə vəɬju nɐ-ɲo ɲoʔ*

in.the.end earthquake IPFV:PST-be₂ be

In fact, it was the earthquake.

25. *q^hoʔ slome nə-fwe kə-xtfiʔ=rεʔ*

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

rjɛré=naɲ nɐ-zɣô-t-nə=nəʔ

schoolyard=inside PFV:DOWN-arrive₂-3PL=SUB

And when the younger students got down to the schoolyard,

26. *nə-kórno tə-kə-zɣi*

3PL:POSS-brain PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-spin₂

q^hoʔ nə-zɣi=rɛn lɐ-kə-lɔ nɐ-to-nə

SEQ 3PL:POSS-nausea=even PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out₂ IPFV:PST-exist₂-3PL

there were those who felt dizzy and even vomited.

⁹³ From the ideophone root *rc^hov*, describing sounds of objects knocking against each other.

27. *q^hoʔ jəjərvəʔ=kə mə-tə-ⁿdzəʔ jə*
 SEQ 1PL=ERG NEG-PFV-be.right₂ DM
q^hoʔ o-vzəzəʔ=c^ho vəlju tə-məlmo taʔ nə-səsi-jə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-vicinity=LOC:INDF earthquake PFV-shake₂ DM PFV-think₂-1PL
 And we thought, “Something was wrong. An earthquake must have happened in our vicinity.”

28. *q^hoʔ tjeŋxwaʔ kə-nələlət tə-je-jə=nəʔ*
 SEQ telephone INF-make:RDPL PFV-begin₂-1PL=SUB
təmdánə wəntfwanʔ vəlju tə-məlmo ŋoʔ te-tsə-nə
 in.the.end Wenchuan earthquake PFV-shake₂ be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL
 And when we went about making phone calls, it turned out that (they said) it was the big Wenchuan Earthquake.

29. *q^hoʔ tət^hot mŋo skərme jərmə*
 SEQ time five minute about
tjeŋxwaʔ kə-nələlət nə-k^hút
 telephone GP-make:RDPL IPFV:PST-be.feasible₂
q^hoʔ kəməq^húnəʔ mə-nə-k^hút fteʔ
 SEQ then=DET NEG-PFV-be.feasible₂ be:EMPH
 For up to five minutes, one could still make telephone calls, but afterwards it became impossible.

30. *q^hónəʔ wəntf^hwanʔ vəljuʔ kə-t^hu tə-kə-məlmo*
 SEQ Wenchuan earthquake NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious PFV-NMLZ-shake₂
kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ nə-sizʔ-jə
 NMLZ-be=DET IPFV:PST-know₂-1PL
 And we found out that a serious earthquake had occurred in Wenchuan.

31. *fə̀nəʔ kə̀n˦bjoʔ tʰáscet nɐ-kə-set=sc˦hənəʔ tʰəjɛrmɐ*
 but person how.many PFV-NMLZ-die₂=and how
nə-kə-tʰuʔ=nəʔ kɛ-siz mə-nɐ-k˦hıt
 PFV-NMLZ-be.serious₂=DET GP-know NEG-IPFV:PST-be.feasible₂
 But it was impossible to know how many people died, and how serious it was.

32. *q˦oʔ tjenχwaʔ=sc˦həʔ tjensə=rɛʔ mə-nə-k˦hıt fteʔ*
 SEQ telephone=and television=PL NEG-PFV-be.feasible₂ be:EMPH
 And phones and televisions were out of service.

33. *q˦oʔ k˦ep˦hɛʔ=rɛʔ=kə sowjəntʰiʔ te-cu-nə*
 SEQ some=PL=ERG radio PFV:TR-turn.on₂-3PL
q˦oʔ nɐ-sɛŋiʔ-nə=nəʔ
 SEQ IPFV:PST-listen₂-3PL=SUB
wəntʰwɛnʔ vəlju ɔmɛ kə-tʰuʔ=cəʔ
 Wenchuan earthquake very NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious=INDF
tə-məlmo ŋoʔ-cə
 PFV-shake₂ be-MED
 Some people had turned on radios and were listening, and (knew that) a serious earthquake occurred in Wenchuan.

34. *˦denəʔ kəpɛʔ=kə pá-tʰi te-kɛ-tsə jɛrmɐ*
 as Chinese=INS eight-degree IPFV-GP-say about
kə-xteʔ tə-məlmo ŋoʔ-cə té-tsə-nə
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV-shake₂ be-MED IPFV-say-3PL
 As they say a magnitude 8 earthquake occurred according to the Chinese.

35. *q^hoʔ o-réŋəm=nəʔ k^hep^hεʔ=rεʔ=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-time=DET some=PL=ERG
ántsevəʔ vəlju kə-xteʔ tə-kə-məlmo=nəʔ
 that.much earthquake NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV-NMLZ-shake₂=DET
skélpe jə-ntʃ^həyʔ ráŋ=rən té-tsə-nə nε-ŋo
 destiny PROS-break DM=even IPFV-say-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂
 Right at that time, some people were even saying that now that such a great earthquake occurred, the world must be coming to an end.

36. *q^hoʔ mbər^hemʔ-we=rεʔ zdewe fonvənəŋəŋo*
 SEQ 'Barkhams-people=PL village whichever
k^hénanəŋ=rən kε-fε mə-nə-sənɔz
 home=even INF-go NEG-PFV-dare₂
 And people who live in 'Barkhams, no matter which village they are from, did not even dare to go home.

37. *q^hoʔ o-p^hjiʔ=z k^ho kε-pe=sc^hənəʔ zgər kε-p^həyʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside=LOC makeshift.tent INF-do=and tent INF-pitch
o-ftfεke te-je-nə
 3SG:POSS-preparation PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL
 And they began to make makeshift tents or pitch real tents outside.

38. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ=tsə*
 SEQ meanwhile=TOP
vəlju kə-xtʃi=nəʔ nε-məlmo əntsətse ʃteʔ=kə
 earthquake NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET IPFV:PST-shake₂ often be: EMPH=INS
 All the while, as small earthquakes occurred often,

39. *q^hoʔ jəjərvəʔ=nt^hon*
 SEQ 1PL=also
slome=rəʔ t^hjencintʂ^haŋ spəntɔʔ=ta nɛ-sərⁿguʔ-jə
 student=PL sport.field lawn=top IPFV:PST-cause.to.sleep₂-1PL
 we also made the students sleep on the lawn of the sport field.
40. *q^hoʔ mer=nəʔ tɔmu=rəʔ ⁿge-lət=nəʔ*
 SEQ night=TOP rain=PL IPFV-do=SUB
o-vzər=tsəʔ nə-sperʔ-jə
 3SG:POSS-side=a.bit PFV-move₂-1PL
 At night, when it was raining, we moved (the students) a bit to the side.⁹⁴
41. *q^hoʔ noosəfsət nɛ-smo-jə*
 SEQ in.this.way IPFV:PST-stay-1PL
 And we stayed (there) like that.
42. *q^hoʔ kɛ-rəvzjaŋ=rəʔ tə-znəneʔ-jə*
 SEQ INF-study=PL PFV-stop₂-1PL
 And we stopped all studying activities.
43. *q^hoʔ ɔzɔrʔ k^hroŋk^hro nɛ-to-nə ɲoʔ ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ meanwhile worry IPFV:PST-have₂-1PL be for
went^hwanʔ tʃoⁿbəjʔ ne-sti ʃteʔ
 Wenchuan road PFV:TR-block₂ be:EMPH
 And meanwhile we were worried, as roads going to Wenchuan were blocked.

⁹⁴ This refers to covered areas by the sport field.

44. *q^hoʔ zdwewe=rɐʔ kɐⁿdzeʔ kɛ^thi ɐrkɛrkɔn ne-səsi-nə*
 SEQ people=PL food drinks lack:RDPL PFV:TR-think₂-3PL
q^hoʔ kɐⁿdze=rɐʔ kə-lɛn ka-χtu
 SEQ food=PL NMLZ-be.much INF-buy
o-ts^həɣɐ te-je-nə
 3SG:POSS-manner PFV:TR-begin-3PL

And people thought that food and drinks will be lacking, so they began to show signs of buying a lot of food.

45. *ʃənəʔ mə-na-ɛduʔ ⁿdenəʔ*
 but NEG-IPFV-matter₂ for
ⁿbroχpe sɐtʃ^he tʃoⁿbɛjʔ nɐ-ⁿju ʃteʔ=kə
 nomad place road IPFV:PST-be.open₂ be:EMPH=INS

But it did not matter, as the roads going to the nomads' land were open.

46. *q^hoʔ lɛntʃúʔ-p^hʃɔ*
 SEQ Lanzhou-direction
ts^hɛjʔ=sc^hənəʔ kɐⁿdze=rɐʔ kɐ-wot ne-je-nə
 vegetable=and food=PL INF-bring PFV:DOWN:TR-begin₂-3PL

And people began to bring vegetables and various foods down from the Lanzhou direction.

47. *q^hoʔ kəlɣo-sɣi nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ five-day PFV-elapse₂=SUB
tʃ^həⁿduʔ=sc^hənəʔ wətʃ^hwánʔ-p^hʃɔ tʃoⁿbɛjʔ kɛ-tʃɛt
 PN=and PN-direction road INF-take.out
mə-nɐ-c^hɐʔ-nə
 NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL

Five days passed, and people were not able to clear the road going to Chengdu and Wenchuan.

48. *fənəʔ n̄bərkh'emʔ=sc'hənəʔ wəntʃ'nánʔ-p'hjɔ tʃo'nbejʔ le-n̄ju*
 but PN=and PN-direction road PFV:UPRIVER-open₂
 But the road coming from 'Barkhams to Wenchuan opened up(river).
49. *q'h'oʔ wəntʃ'wanʔ-p'hjɔ*
 SEQ Wenchuan-direction
latʃ'atʃ'he kə-tsomʔ=nəʔ noŋme te-je-nə
 various.goods INF-take.hither=SUB not.until PFV:UP:TR-begin₂-3PL
 Only then, did people begin to transport various goods up to Wenchuan.
50. *kə-tsomʔ o-ts'həyɐ=nəʔ*
 INF-take.hither 3SG:POSS-manner=TOP
st'hɔre tʃ'hənduʔ=sc'hənəʔ qémdzi-p'hjɔ qémdzi=sc'hənəʔ n̄bərkh'emʔ-p'hjɔ
 first PN=and PN-direction PN=and PN-direction
kə'dze le-wôt-nə nɐ-ŋo
 food PFV:UPRIVER:TR-bring₂-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂
 As to how the transportation was done, they brought foods upriver first from Chengdu to Dkarmdzes Prefecture, and then from Dkarmdzes to Mbrkhams.
51. *q'h'oʔ wəntʃ'wénʔ-p'hjɔ kə-rəvzjan nɐ-lɛnʔ=nə=kə*
 SEQ PN-direction NMLZ:SBJ-study IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity₂-3PL=INS
q'h'oʔ noŋme=nəʔ
 SEQ only.then=DET
n̄bərkh'éɛmʔ-p'hjɔ tétəm kə-nlɔʔ le-je-nə
 'Barkhams-direction up INF-exit PFV:UPRIVER:TR-begin₂-3PL
 Since students at Wenchuan were many, only then did they start to come out upriver to 'Barkhams.

52. *k^hep^hεʔ=rεʔ t^həʔtʂ^héʔ=naŋ k^hep^hεʔ=rεʔ rkaŋtaŋ=kəsə lε-wεʔ-nə*
 some=PL car=inside some=PL go.by.foot=like PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-3PL
 Some of them came in cars, others by foot.

53. *q^hoʔ me-te-ⁿdʒəʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ NEG-IPFV-be.right=SUB
kəⁿbjoʔ=nəʔ noŋmenəʔ nə-k^hεde=kəsə ne-fε
 person=TOP only.then 3PL:POSS-education=like IPFV-go
 And, it is only when things go wrong, that man learns a lesson.

54. *q^hoʔ p^hents^hən kε-χoχo*
 SEQ each.other GP-be.good.to:RDPL
q^hoʔ kε-səsiʔ kə-lɛn ne-mε ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ:U-think NMLZ-be.much IPFV-not.exist be-MED
 And one becomes good to each other without thinking much about other things.

55. *q^hoʔ ⁿbər^kemwe=rεʔ=kə raŋʔəʔ=kə*
 SEQ 'Barkhams.people=PL=ERG one's.own.accord=INS
tʃoⁿbəjʔ ŋətʃ^həfsəfsi tʃeʔ kə-nə-séle [kənséle]
 road everywhere tea NMLZ:SBJ-SPON-boil
ʃifan kə-nə-séle qéjwi kə-ná-pe
 gruel NMLZ:SBJ-SPON-boil bread NMLZ:SBJ-SPON-make
q^hoʔ wəntʃ^hwanʔ-p^hjɔ ne-mgronʔ-nə
 SEQ PN-direction PFV:TR-treat.with.food₂-3PL
 The people of 'Barkhams, of their own accord, boiled tea, boiled gruel, made bread and treated people (who came) from Wenchuan.

56. *q^hoʔ ʃoχkor=rεʔ kɛnbe me-te-jzom-nə nε-ŋo*
 SEQ money=PL at.all NEG-PFV:TR-collect-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂
 And they did not take money at all.

57. *q^hoʔ wəntʰwanʔ lə-kə-wɛʔ*
 SEQ PN PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂
k^hep^heʔ=rɛʔ ʃla jɛ-kə-ɛnəre
 some=PL immediately PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂
q^hoʔ k^hep^heʔ=rɛʔ kaɛne-sɲi=rɛn nɛ-kə-smo nɛ-to-nə
 SEQ some=PL several-day=even IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-stay IPFV:PST-exist₂-3PL
 Of those who came from Wenchuan, there were some who left immediately, and some who stayed for several days even.

58. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^hu ne-sɛŋi-nə*
 SEQ afterwards IPFV:PST-listen₂-3PL
wəntʰwanʔ jɪnʃu=sc^hənəʔ pɛtʰwanʔ ó-p^hjɔ
 PN PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-direction
vəlju ɣʃikə nɛ-t^huʔ
 earthquake very IPFV:PST-be.serious₂
 Afterwards, people listened (and heard) that in the direction of Wenchuan, Yingxiu, and Beichuan, the earthquake was very serious.

59. *q^hoʔ k^he=rɛʔ kəmdiʔ=tsɛʔ nɛ-nⁿbət*
 SEQ house=PL all=a.bit PFV:DOWN-collapse₂
q^hoʔ kəⁿbjoʔ mts^hót nɛ-set-nə kɛ-tsə te-je-nə
 SEQ person be.many PFV:DOWN-die₂-3PL INF-say PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL
 They began to say that almost all the houses collapsed, and many people died.

60. *q^hoʔ nəʔ nɛ-fsət nɛ-tʰoʔz-cə*
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED
 That was what happened.

A BIOGRAPHY OF TEACHER SONAM
ཕལ་གསུམ་མཚན་མེད་ཀྱི་འཇམ་དཔལ་མཚན་མེད་
Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *fsotər te-ké-tsə=nəʔ qeç^hwetriʔ kə-toʔ*
 PN IPFV-GP-say=SUB PN NMLZ-exist
 There was a person in Kakhyoris Village.
2. *q^hoʔ nə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-be.small₂=SUB
o-zdəγ=rəʔ nə-kə-t^həγ
 3SG:POSS-suffering=PL IPFV:PST-NMLZ-meet₂
q^hoʔ nə-kə-guʔ=cə nə-ŋo
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.poor₂=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂
 When he was young, he suffered hardship and poverty.
3. *q^hoʔ sə-xtfəxtfiʔ ó-mo nə-məʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ:OBL-be.small₂:RDPL 3SG:POSS-mother PFV-not.exist₂
 His mother died when he was small.
4. *q^hoʔ kə-nts^hɔʔ=rəʔ tə-c^həʔ jərmə*
 SEQ INF-become.monk=PL PFV-be.able₂ about
q^hoʔ qeç^hwetriʔ o-fwəts^hət rjémtsən te-ké-tsə toʔ=kə
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-coeval PN IPFV-GP-say=SUB exist=INS
nəʔ=sc^həniʔ kətáyre térvə vləme⁹⁵ tʃ^hómp^hel
 ANA=and together PN lama PN

⁹⁵ A learned and highly respected lama from Tárva of Kakhyoris Village. He resided at Bkrashisgang Monastery.

o-kræpe *ne-peʔ-ⁿdzə*
 3SG:POSS-disciple PFV:TR-do₂-3DU

When (he was) about the age suitable to become a monk, as there was a coeval of his from Kakhyoris Village called Gyamtsan, the two of them became disciples to a lama from Tarva.

5. *q^hoʔ* *tʃonaŋ* *kæ-vzjaŋ* *kə-reʔ=ræʔ*
 SEQ Jonang.school GP-study NMLZ-be.necessary=PL

kəmdiʔ *ne-vzjaŋʔ* *məkáts^hət*
 all PFV:TR-study₂ not.only

kæ-rət^hən *kə-reʔ=ræʔ=nt^hon* *ne-vzjaŋʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 GP-practice.reclusive.meditation NMLZ-be.necessary=PL=aslo PFV:TR-study₂ be

He not only learned everything there was to learn about Jonang Buddhism, but also studied what had to be learned about reclusive meditation.

6. *q^hoʔ* *kəmaq^húnə*
 SEQ afterwards

ɣgeláɣpə *t^hovdən.rgonbé=naŋ* *kə-nts^hɔʔ* *kə-ɐre*
 Yellow.sect Tshobdun-monastery=inside NMLZ:PURP-join.a.monastery PFV-go₂

q^hoʔ *nánəz* *nə-nts^hɔ*
 SEQ there IPFV:PST-join.a.monastery₂

Afterwards, he went to join Yellow-Sect Tshobdun Monastery, and there he stayed.

7. *q^hoʔ* *kəmɛq^húnə* *koŋpəʔ* *lɐ-zɣót*
 SEQ afterwards communists PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂

q^hoʔ *kə-nts^hɔʔ=ræʔ* *mə-nə-joy*
 SEQ INF-join.a.monastery=PL NEG-PFV-be.allowed₂

Afterwards, (the Chinese) communists came (upriver), and going to monasteries and what not was forbidden.

8. *q^hoʔ vlɛrge nɛ-kə-ɸpeʔ=rɛʔ*

SEQ monk PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become₂=PL

ná-ⁿge kəmdiʔ tə-o-səfcɛ-nə

3PL:POSS-clothes all PFV-INV-cause.to.change₂-3PL

And those that had become monks were forced to change all their clothing.

9. *q^hoʔ tátwi=nay nɛ-rɛmɛʔ-nə ɣoʔ*

SEQ Village=inside IPFV:PST-do.labor.in.field₂-3PL be

And they did labor in the field.

10. *q^hoʔ vlɛrge k^hep^hɛʔ=rɛʔ nɛ-nɾɛnlɔ-nə*

SEQ monk some=PL PFV-recant₂-3PL

Some of the monks recanted their faith.

11. *fənaʔ fsotɛr=nəʔ kə-ɣólɔ=cəʔ nɛ-ʃte=kə*

but PN=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂=INS

ó-ⁿge te-fcɛ káma kdenbe mə-nɛ-nɾɛnlɔ

3PL:POSS-clothing PFV:TR-change₂ except at.all NEG-PFV-recant₂

But since Fsotar was a virtuous one, he only changed his clothing, yet did not recant his faith at all.

12. *tátwi kénpu=rɛʔ=kə kɛ-sənpɛnlɔʔ o-ts^həyɸ*

village cadre=PL=ERG INF-cause.to.recant 3SG:POSS-manner

me-te-peʔ-nə mə

NEG-PFV:TR-do₂-3PL not.exist

The village cadres resorted to all methods to force him to recant.

13. *támε=rɛn ó-pʰəm fə-tʰe-lət-nə nɛ-ŋo*
 woman=even 3SG:POSS-bosom go.and-IPFV-put-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂
fənəʔ o-zdompe ɛdɛnbe mə-nɛ-forʔ ké-tsə tʃʰozʔ
 but 3SG:POSS-chastity at.all NEG-PFV-lose₂ GP-say be.the.rule
 It is said that they used even to shove women into his bosom, but he never lost his chastity.

14. *qʰoʔ fsotɛr=nəʔ kə-ɛwərloŋ=cəʔ nɛ-ŋo*
 SEQ PN=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-quick-tempered=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂
 Fsotar was a quick-tempered person.

15. *fənəʔ o-fsɛmpɛ=rɛʔ χfíkə kə-zroʔ*
 but 3SG:POSS-thought=PL very NMLZ:SBJ-be.good
kʰoŋnɛmbɛ=cəʔ nɛ-ŋo
 pure-minded=INDF NMLZ:SBJ-be.good
 But he was kind at heart and pure in his mind.

16. *qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰínə tátwi*
 SEQ afterwards village
kénpu=rɛʔ=kə tátwi o-pokwénjɛn tə-o-səpeʔ
 cadre=PL=ERG village 3SG:POSS-storekeeper PFV-INV-cause.to.make₂
 Afterwards, the village cadres made him storekeeper of the village.

17. *qʰoʔ tátwi o-rjuʔ=scʰənəʔ ó-jpo ʰge-nɛpóroj*
 SEQ village 3SG:POSS-property=and 3SG:POSS-foodstuff IPFV-look.after₃
qʰoʔ χfíkə ʰge-taʔ ʰge-tʃʰozʔ
 SEQ very IPFV-be.punctilious IPFV-be.the rule
 And he would look after the property and foodstuff of the village, and as a rule, he was very punctilious.

18. *q^hoʔ kénpu k^hetəʃe=nəʔ=rəʔ*
 SEQ cadre sometimes=DET=PL
fsotér=p^ha səqətsətsu spjəɾjuʔ kə-nlaⁿdʒom
 PN=place stealthily public.goods NMLZ:PURP-eat.with.hand
te-rénts^ha-nə ʃənə fsotər=kə ʁdɛnbe
 IPFV-prepare-3PL but PN=ERG at.all
nə-ja mə-kə-o-səst^hev^ʔ-nə nə-ʃ^hoz
 3PL:POSS-hand NEG-PFV:CISLOC-INV-cause.to.touch₂-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 Sometimes the cadres would try to embezzle public goods from Fsotar’s place in secret,
 but as a rule, they were not allowed to lay hands on them at all.
19. *kəmɛq^húnə kénpu=rəʔ te-zrɛmuruʔ*
 afterwards cadre=PL PFV:TR-cause.to.be.angry₂
 Afterwards, he enraged the cadres.
20. *q^hoʔ pokwénjɛn=rəʔ nə-o-səntɛv*
 SEQ storekeeper=PL PFV-INV-cause.to.lay.down₂
 And he was forced to resign his post as storekeeper.
21. *q^hoʔ nə-rɛmɛʔ nə-ɲfujɪʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-do.labor.in.field₂ IPFV:PST-do.sideline.job
 And he did labor in the field and took sidelines.
22. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnə tuʔʔ=rəʔ kɛ-vde te-je*
 SEQ afterwards current.political.situation=PL INF-be.good PFV:TR-begin₂
 Afterwards, the political situation turned for the better.
23. *q^hoʔ kɛ-nts^hɔ leʔ tə-joy*
 SEQ GP-join.a.monastery again PFV-be.allowed₂
 And it was again permitted to join a monastery.

24. *q^hónəʔ fsotən=nəʔ*

SEQ PN=TOP

leʔ vlərgéⁿge te-ⁿgeʔ

again monks.robe PFV:TR-wear₂

q^hoʔ ts^hovdən rgonb=z kə-nts^hɔ kə-ɐre

SEQ PN monastery=LOC NMLZ:PURP-join.a.monastery PFV-go₂

And Fsotar again put on monk's robe and joined Tshobdun Monastery.

25. *q^hoʔ o-mjits^he nɐ-nts^hɔ oʒorʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-life.time IPFV:PST-join.a.monastery₂ meanwhile

nɐ-rɐvzjaŋʔ oʒorʔ nɐ-rɐt^hənʔ

IPFV:PST-study₂ meanwhile IPFV:PST-practice.reclusive.meditation₂

And he stayed in a monastery all his life, studying and practising reclusive meditation.

26. *q^hoʔ ts^hoxɬ^hen komdzɐt=sc^hənəʔ vlɛme*

SEQ assembly.hall leading.sutra.teacher=and assembly.hall.lama

əntsətse ne-peʔ

frequently IPFV:TR-do₂

And he frequently served as leading sutra teacher and lama of the assembly hall.

27. *q^hoʔ kɐ-nts^hɔʔ=rɐʔ ne-krozʔ-nə=nəʔ⁹⁶*

SEQ INF-convene.for.sutra.chanting=PL IPFV-finish.class-3PL=SUB

o-slome ⁿge-lden=kə ⁿge-sɐsəxɬot

3SG:POSS-student IPFV-exist.in.quantity=INS IPFV-do.teaching

ⁿge-reʔ ɲoʔ

PFV-be.necessary be

And, after the sutra-chanting sessions were over, he had teaching to do as he had many students.

⁹⁶ Honorific use of plural marking.

28. *náŋzgo st^hoʔ kəməko=nəʔ*
 in.particular most first=TOP
jəʃərvəʔ kə-tácəv kənⁿgəsqeʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to-jə=kə
 1PL one-group nine-ten=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-1PL=INS
 In particular, first of all, there was our group of nine or ten (students).
29. *st^hɔre=nəʔ nɐ-o-səxʃðt-jə*
 first=TOP PFV-INV-teach₂-1PL
 So we were the first to be taught.
30. *q^hoʔ nəkəʔ vlərgən=nə*
 SEQ that old.monk=TOP
o-βóri χfíkə kə-γrəmʔ=cəʔ ŋo=kə
 3SG:POSS-front very NMLZ:SBJ-be.white=INDF be=INS
 And, since that old monk was one who brought good luck (to other people),
31. *o-slome taŋboʔ=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ kóŋtso nɐ-c^hɐʔ-nə*
 3SG:POSS-student first=PL all government.work IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL
 all his first students were able to get government jobs.
32. *q^hoʔ vlərgɐpu=ntʃ^hon o-slome ⁿge-lɛn ʃteʔ*
 SEQ young.monk=also 3SG:POSS-student IPFV-exist.in.quantity be:EMPH
 And he also had many young monks as his students.
33. *q^hoʔ ⁿge-wɐkɐʔ q^hoʔ o-rʃe ⁿgé-ts^he ŋoʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-be.stern SEQ 3SG:POSS-care IPFV-take be
 He was stern but caring.

34. *q^hoʔ o-slome vlɛrge=rɛn=ntʃ^hon*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-student monk=even=also
ome kə-ŋóle tə-kə-lə nɛ-to-nə
 very NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become₂ IPFV:PST-exist₂-3PL
 And even among his monk students, there were those who turned out very virtuous.

35. *q^hoʔ zdewe=rɛʔ=kə=ntʃ^hon ɣʃíkə ʔgo-ntɛtpe*
 SEQ village.people=PL=ERG=also very IPFV:INV-believe.in
q^hoʔ ʔgo-saxpaʔ ʃteʔ=kə
 SEQ IPFV:INV-revere be:EMPH=INS
 And as people in the village also believed in and revered him greatly,

36. *təɽjuʔ=sc^hənə ʃoxkor o-kə-nɛⁿbəⁿbiʔ*
 valuables=and money 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-give:RDPL
nɛ-mts^hót ʃteʔ
 IPFV:PST-be.many₂ be:EMPH
 there were many who (came from all over) to give him valuables and money.

37. *ʃənəʔ o-rjuʔ=rɛʔ rgonbé=ta*
 but 3SG:POSS-valuables=PL monastery=top
əntsátse ne-lét ʃteʔ káma
 frequently PFV:TR-put₂ be:EMPH except
 But except for constantly donating his valuables to the monastery,

38. *o-ɣrɛrɛʔ nə-ja kə-ʃkrevʔ me-ne-sɛɣre ʔdenəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-family 3PL:POSS-hand one-CL NEG-PFV:TR-cause.to.go₂ for
o-ɣrɛrɛʔ nə-p^ha
 3SG:POSS-family 3PL:POSS-place
 he did not let one bit (of it) go to the hands of his family. For he said to his folks,

39. *koʔ fkorzet=nəʔ*
 this something.undeserved=DET
nə-rqé=naŋ e-mə-tʰe-fə ʰdenə
 2PL:POSS-throat=inside IRR-NEG-IMP:DOWNRIVER-go for
 “Do not let this undeserved thing go down your throats, otherwise,”
40. *fsiʔ ne-ké-set=nəʔ*
 in.the.future IPFV-GP-die=SUB
tə-rqé=naŋ kʰro tʰe-kə-lêt=scʰənəʔ naχtʃəʔ
 GP:POSS-throat=inside cast.iron PFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-put₂=and be.like
ʰgé-tsə tʰozʔ
 IPFV-say be.the.rule
 “when you die in the future, it will feel like somebody has poured cast iron down your throats,” he often said.
41. *qʰónəʔ tárjan o-kəmjəmʔ=rəʔ kʰémtʃa ʰge-toʔ*
 SEQ often 3SG:POSS-illness=PL a.bit IPFV-exist
 He often suffered a bit from illnesses.
42. *fənəʔ ʰbərkhəmʔ kə-fə fə-kə-sərtəʔ=nəʔ*
 but PN INF-go go.and-INF-cause.to.examine=SUB
me-ʰgé-kʰut ʰdenəʔ
 NEG-IPFV-allow for
 But he could not be persuaded to go to 'Barkhams to have himself examined,
43. *o-kóru χíikə kə-rki=cəʔ ʰge-fteʔ*
 3SG:POSS-skull very NMLZ:SBJ-be.tough=INDF IPFV-be:EMPH
 he was a very strong-willed person.

44. *q^hoʔ jɕpe kɛ-nⁿgiʔ te-je*
 SEQ last.year INF-be.ill PFV:TR-begin₂
 And last year, he became ill.

45. *q^hoʔ o-yrɛrɛʔ=sc^hənəʔ o-slome=rɛʔ=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=and 3SG:POSS-student=PL=ERG
mɛfts^he ⁿbɛrk^hemʔ ʃə-te-sərtɔ-nə=nəʔ
 by.force PN go.and-PFV:TR-examine₂-3PL=SUB
nɛt kə-ɣɛn=nəʔ tə-mɣəm=cə
 illness NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=DET PFV-be.ill₂=EV

When his family and students made him have a checkup at 'Barkhams, he had the malicious disease (cancer).

46. *q^hoʔ smɛnbe=kə*
 SEQ doctor=ERG
nɛ-kəʔ kəlden mɛ-mdu ɣoʔ te-tsəʔ
 that.near.you much NEG-last be PFV:TR-say₂
 And the doctor said, "This (patient) won't last long now."

47. *q^hoʔ o-jiʔ=nt^hon*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also
nɛt kə-ɣɛn tə-kə-mɣəm=nəʔ ne-sizʔ ʃteʔ
 illness NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad PFV-NMLZ-be.ill₂=DET PFV:TR-know₂ be:EMPH
 And he himself also knew that he had cancer.

48. *q^hónəʔ o-yrɛrɛʔ=sc^hənəʔ o-slome=rɛʔ nə-p^ha*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=and 3SG:POSS-student=PL 3PL:POSS-place
ɕjiʔ 'set-aj ʃóχtenə rjɛnəɣ rewortserɣɛ=sc^hənəʔ
 1SG die-1SG before China PN=and

ɛlanʃʰen mdzɤl-an reʔ te-tsə
 PN take.a.pilgrimage-1SG be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂

And then he said to his family and students, “Before I die, I must take a pilgrimage to Wutai and Emei Mountains in China.”

49. *qʰoʔ ranpaʔ ʃə-nɐ-nɐmdzəmdzɤlʔ*
 SEQ special go.and-PFV-take.various.pilgrimages₂

qʰoʔ ʃla nɐ-nəwɛʔ
 SEQ quickly PFV:DOWN-come.back₂

qʰoʔ tsʰovdən tə-ɐnəre ʃteʔ
 SEQ PN PFV:UP-go.back₂ be:EMPH

And he took various special pilgrimages, and quickly came back, and then went back to Tshobdun.

50. *qʰoʔ o-yrɐrɐʔ=scʰənəʔ o-slome=pʰa*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=and 3SG:POSS-student=place

koʔ ɐ-kə-mɯəmʔ=koʔ o-tsʰəyɐ mɐ=kə
 this 1SG:POSS-illness=this 3SG:POSS-manner not.exist=INS

“Since this illness of mine is not looking good,”

51. *ɐ-rjɐrjɯʔ=scʰənəʔ ɐ-latʰa-tʰe tʰɐmtʃet=nəʔ*
 1SG:POSS-property:RDPL=and 1SG:POSS-thing:RDPL all=DET

kəmdiʔ ntsweʔ-an ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ
 all sell-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂

“I will sell out all my valuables and belongings,” he said.

52. *qʰónəʔ kə-sɯi=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP

o-rjɐrjɯʔ o-latʰatʰe tʰɐmɐrɐmtʃetnəʔ
 3SG:POSS-property:RDPL 3SG:POSS-thing:RDPL all:EMPH

n'dɛkaŋ *o-kómtʰɔ* *tʰe-ʃkʰi*
 sutra.chanting.hall 3SG:POSS-courtyard PFV:TR-spread₂

And one day, he laid out all of his valuables and belongings on the courtyard in front of the sutra-chanting hall.

53. *qʰoʔ* *o-koŋʔ* *kə-ⁿbêʔ=tsɐ* *əntsátse* *ne-ntswɐ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-price NMLZ:SBJ-be.cheap=a.bit continuously PFV:TR-sell₂

And he sold them out one by one at somewhat cheaper prices.

54. *qʰoʔ* *kʰepʰeʔ* *vlɛrge=rɐʔ*
 SEQ some monk=PL
kɐ-ná-χtu *kə-səsiʔ* *nə-foχkor* *kə-mɐ=rɐʔ*
 INF-SPON-buy NMLZ:SBJ-think 3PL:POSS-money NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=PL
kʰepʰeʔ *latʰe=rɐʔ* *ne-rɐⁿbi*
 some thing=PL PFV:TR-give.away₂

And some monks would like to buy but did not have money, and he would give away a few things (to them).

55. *qʰoʔ* *o-tʂaxʃaʔ=ntʰon* *o-koŋʔ* *kə-ⁿbêʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-monks.quarters=also 3SG:POSS-price NMLZ:SBJ-be.cheap
ne-ntswɐ
 PFV:TR-sell₂

And he sold even his monk's quarters at a cheap price.

56. *qʰoʔ* *kə-sŋi* *o-ʃɐrjuʔ=rɐʔ*
 SEQ one-day 3SG:POSS-property:RDPL=PL
kəmdiʔ *kɐ-ntsweʔ* *ne-səyjo*
 all INF-sell PFV:TR-finish₂

And in one day, he finished selling all his belongings and what not.

57. *q^hoʔ o-sem χfikə nə-vdeʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart very PFV-be.good₂
 And his heart was very contented.
58. *q^hoʔ foχkor nə-kə-lɔ=rɐʔ né-set-aŋ ozgég^hu*
 SEQ money PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become₂=PL IPFV-die-1SG after
kəmdi rgonbé=ta kɐ-lɛt reʔ te-tsəʔ
 all monastery=top GP-put be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂
 And he said, “After I die, one has to donate all the money from the selling to the monastery.”
59. *q^hoʔ o-lat^he ne-ntswe noʔofsáfsi=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-belongings PFV:TR-sell₂ next.morning=DET
rgonbé=naŋ nɐ-nts^hɔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 monastery=inside IPFV:PST-convene₂-3PL be-MED
 The following morning after he had sold his belongings, they convened (to chant sutra).
60. *q^hoʔ sasug^hu jɛrmɐ*
 SEQ afternoon about
q^hoʔ o-tɕaxfáʔ=naŋ lɐ-ɐnəre-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-monk’s.quarters=inside PFV:IN-go.back₂-MED
 Sometime in the afternoon, he went back up to his quarters.
61. *q^hoʔ o-mt^hotk^haŋ=z tə-ɐmdzuʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-shrine=LOC PFV-sit₂
q^hoʔ kɐ-rk^hɐⁿdon te-je
 SEQ INF-chant.short.sutra PFV:TR-begin₂
 And he sat down at his shrine and started to chant short sutras.

62. *qʰoʔ o-slome=rɐʔ nə-pʰa*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-student=PL 3PL:POSS-place
nəʔjɐrmɐ tə-mda ɲoʔ
 about.this.time PFV-be.time₂ be
qʰoʔ ɛ-nge=rɐʔ tə-o-səfcɐʔ-aj-nə te-tsəʔ
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-clothing=PL IMP-INV-cause.to.change-1SG-3PL PFV:TR-say₂
 And he said to his students, “It is about time now. Ask them to change my clothes.”

63. *qʰoʔ ó-ge χsérpe=rɐʔ te-səfcɐ-nə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-clothing be.new=PL PFV:TR-cause.to.change₂-3PL
qʰoʔ kɛ-nɔn⁹⁷ ne-je-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ INF-chant PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL be-MED
 And they changed his clothes, and started to chant sutras.

64. *o-jiʔ=ntʰon vlɛrge=rɐʔ nə-krəkrɐ nɐ-nɔnʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-self=also monk=PL 3PL:POSS-company IPFV:PST-chant₂ be-MED
 And he himself was chanting sutras with the monks.

65. *kəmɐqʰínə kámʰa mə-kɐ-cʰɐ te-je*
 afterwards a.bit NEG-INF-be.able PFV:TR-begin₂
 Afterwards, he began to lose it.

66. *qʰoʔ o-koʔ=rɐʔ kɐ-pʰɛvʔ=tsɐ ne-je ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-head=PL INF-lower=a.bit PFV:TR-begin₂ be-MED
 And his heads began to drop a bit.

⁹⁷ This refers to chanting the sutras for people who will soon transpire.

67. *q^hoʔ kəmɐq^húnə noósefsət ʔdoŋ tə-vʒəɣ-nə-cə*
 SEQ afterwards thus bone PFV-sit₂:HON-3PL-MED
q^hoʔ na-ɣʃá-nə ʔoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV-pass.away₂-3PL be-MED
 And afterwards he passed away in a sitting position.

68. *q^hoʔ vlɛrge=rɛʔ=kə rtserŋɐ=rɛʔ te-sqərteʔ-nə*
 SEQ monk=PL=ERG high.monks.hat=PL PFV:TR-cause.to.wear₂-3PL
 And the monks put a high monk's hat on him.

69. *q^hoʔ ó-ste te-wɐ-vdeʔ-nə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-place.where.one.is PFV:TR-make.proper₂-3PL
 Then, they positioned him properly where he was.⁹⁸

70. *q^hoʔ o-smolɛm=rɛʔ tʃ^hə kə-reʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sutra.for.delivering.the.deseased=PL what NMZL:SBJ-be.necessary
ne-ⁿdonʔ-nə ʔoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-chant₂-3PL be-MED
 And chanted all the needed sutras to deliver the dead for him.

71. *q^hoʔ ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=nəʔ*
 SEQ IRR-PFV-be=SUB
ʔdoŋ tɛ-vʒəɣʔ-nə=nəʔ kəʃne-sŋi jɛrmɐ
 bone PFV-sit₂:HON-3PL=SUB seven-day about
ne-kɐ-teʔ tʃ^hoʔzʔ ʔoʔ-cə
 IPFV-GP-put be.the.rule be-MED
 In the ordinary course of events, those who die in a sitting posture are left unburied for seven days.

⁹⁸ Putting his remains on a small box, and setting his head upright.

72. *fə̀nəʔ skə̀rtɔʔ skərme=nəʔ vde-sɲi jərme ʔdenəʔ*
 but funeral auspicious.day=TOP four-day about except
ne-kə-teʔ me-nə-joy-cə

IPFV-GP-put NEG-IPFV:PST-be.allowed₂-MED

But as for the auspicious day for the funeral, only four days of leaving the corpse unburied were allowed.

73. *qʰoʔ nəʔ vde-sɲi ó-nəŋ skuɔdoŋ ɣʰikə nə-xʰiʔ*
 SEQ ANA four-day 3SG:POSS-inside remains very PFV-be.small₂

And during the four-day period, the remains became very small.

74. *o-məke=nəʔ o-ləspu=rəʔ ɣʰikə*
 3SG:POSS-essense=TOP 3SG:POSS-body=PL very
kəxtəʔ=cəʔ nə-ŋo

NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂

In fact, his body was originally very big.

75. *fə̀nəʔ təmdánə kəxtʰipu jərme ʔdenəʔ nə-məʔ-cə*
 but in.the.end small.child about except PFV-not.exist₂-MED

But in the end it became no bigger than a small child.

76. *qʰoʔ vlərge=scʰənəʔ o-slome=rəʔ te-kə-mdzəl káma*
 SEQ monk=and 3SG:POSS-student=PL IPFV-NMLZ-worship except
kəmaʔ zdewe=rəʔ te-kə-mdzəl mə-nə-joy

other village.people=PL IPFV-NMLZ-worship NEG-IPFV:PST-be.allowed₂

But except for monks and his students, people from the village were not allowed to worship it.

77. *q^hoʔ jəʃəreʔ kóntso tə-kə-lə o-slome=rəʔ*
 SEQ 1PL government.work PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-get₂ 3SG:POSS-student=PL
te-rəzdəzde-jə q^hoʔ tə-ere-jə
 PFV:TR-invite.as.company:RDPL-1PL SEQ PFV:UP-go₂-1PL
 And we students of his who had found government work invited each other for company
 and went up (together) (to Tshobdun).

78. *q^hoʔ skuɔdoŋ nə-mdʒelʔ-jə*
 SEQ remains PFV-pay.obeisance.to₂-1PL
q^hoʔ jə-sni=rəʔ ʃfíkə nə-zdəɣ
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-heart=PL very PFV-be.sad₂
 And we paid obeisance to his remains, and we were so sad.

79. *q^hoʔ sqərtəʔ orjájəʔnəʔ*
 SEQ funeral when
rgonbe=rəʔ=kə st^ho vləme kə-zroʔ ne-ʃfaʔ-nə=nəʔ
 monastery=PL=INS most monk NMLZ:SBJ-be.good IPFV-die-3PL=SUB
o-vzənsraʔ o-tə-lét=kəsə
 3PL:POSS-cremation 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-perform₂=like
kə-pe reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə
 GP-do be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-3PL
 During the funeral, people from the monastery said that his cremation must be performed
 in a manner befitting the best monks that pass away.

80. *q^hoʔ naŋviʔ ozgég^hunəʔ vzənsraʔ ne-lét-nə*
 SEQ PN after cremation PFV:TR-perform₂-3PL
 And they performed the cremation behind the Nangvi House.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Name of Kirti Lama's residence at the Tshobdun Monastery.

81. *q^hoʔ rgonbe sprasku st^ho kə-xteʔ=kə*
 SEQ monastery living.buddha most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=ERG
vlɛrge=rɛʔ nə-nts^hoχtɛm te-lêʔ
 monk=PL 3PL:POSS-assembly.speech PFV:TR-do₂

And the biggest living Buddha at the monastery gave a speech to the monks.

82. *q^hoʔ nəjərəʔ vlɛrge=rɛʔ ɐ-nɛ-tə-rɛvzjaŋ*
 SEQ 2PL monk=PL IRR-IMP-2-study

“You monks must study hard.”

83. *q^hoʔ tə-rjuʔ=rɛʔ ɐ-nə-kɛ-fsɔʔ=nəʔ rɛʔ ʃteʔ*
 SEQ GP:POSS-valuables=PL IRR-IMP-GP-earn=SUB be.necessary be:EMPH

“One must earn property,”

84. *ʃənəʔ mdortɕɐ nɛ-wɛʔ=nəʔ*
 but essence PFV:DOWN-come₂=SUB

“but, above all,”

85. *nɛ-léco vlɛrgɛn=nəʔ*
 2SG:POSS-upriver.place old.monk=DET
ké-fsət ɐ-nɛ-sɛc^hɐ=nəʔ ɐⁿge taŋboʔ ŋoʔ
 INF-do.thus IRR-PFV-be.doable=SUB number first be

te-χsoŋʔ-nə¹⁰⁰ nɛ-tʃ^hoz
 PFV:TR-say₂:HON-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

“this old monk up there (near you), it would be the best thing if one can follow his example,” he said.

¹⁰⁰ Plural marking here indicates deference to the reincarnated Buddha.

A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF LIFE DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

wənxwatakémin orjáŋnə? jəjəkənfújire? tʃə nekənefsəfsət xpe

Narrator: Retawe 'Jamdbyangs

1. *cʰeʔ=z* *wənxwatakémin* *orjáŋnəz*
 former.time=LOC cultural.revolution when
tátwi=nay *ɛʒunu.pʰosə=rəʔ* *fə-kə-nfújini* *ⁿge-tʰozʔ*
 village=inside young.man=PL go.and-GP-do.sideline IPFV-be.the.rule
 Formerly, during the Cultural Revolution, it was customary for young men in the village to go and do sidelines.

2. *tátwi=kə* *kə-nfújini* *tə-o-wətʃet-jə*
 village=ERG NMLZ:SBJ-do.sideline PFV-INV-select₂-1PL
qʰoʔscʰənəʔ *sərʃayʔ* *tʰə-ɐrə-jə*
 SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-1PL
 We were selected by the village to do sidelines and went downriver to Sardzong.

3. *qʰoʔ* *məntsəkoyʔ* *te-ké-tsə=nəʔ* *nánəz* *nə-smo-jə*
 SEQ PN IPFV-GP-say=DET there IPFV:PST-stay-3PL
 And we stayed at a place called Mentsekou.

4. *qʰoʔ* *táɬrot* *kaχsovde-sle* *jərmə* *nə-peʔ-jə*
 SEQ charcoal three.four-month about IPFV:PST-make₂-1PL
 And we were making charcoal for about three to four months.

5. *jə-tsutʃay=nəʔ* *tʃʰraŋkéʃi* *nə-ŋo*
 1PL:POSS-section.leader=DET PN IPFV:PST-be₂
 And our section leader was Tsrangkashi.

6. *ɛjiʔ nə-futsutsaŋ o-ʃpəz=cəʔ nɛ-ŋo*
 1SG 1PL:POSS-vice.section.leader 3SG:POSS-makeshift=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂
 And I was a makeshift of a vice-section leader.

7. *qʰoʔ kənfúni=nəʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-do.sideline=DET
χotʂʰájɛn ŋavanj kərdáscɛv tʂaxpɛ ʃʃajlo lɛlutʃustɛndzən
 PN PN PN PN PN PN
ɤgeⁿdən rjémtsɛn ⁿbéjkosmolɛm nəʔ=rɛʔ nɛ-to-jə
 PN PN PN ANA=PL IPFV:PST-exist₂-1PL
 And those who did sidelines were Xothreyan, Ngawang, Kerdeskyab, Tragpa, Fshanglo, Laluchu Standzen, Dgenden, Rgyamtsan, Mbeyko Smolam and so on.

8. *qʰoʔ nɛ-ŋfujniʔ-jə*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-do.sideline₂-1PL
 And so we were doing sidelines.

9. *qʰoʔ rjéspe nə-tsoʔ jɛrmɛ*
 SEQ quite.a.while PFV-elapse₂ about
jə-tsʰɛjʔ=rɛʔ nə-joy
 1PL:POSS-vegetables=PL PFV-be.completely.consumed
jə-ndze=rɛʔ tə-ɛrkɛrkonʔ
 1PL:POSS-food=PL PFV-be.scarce₂
 After a while, our vegetables ran out, and out food became scarce.

10. *qʰoʔ mɛr=nəʔ kə-mərku tʰɛ-ɛre-jə*
 SEQ night=DET PURP-steal PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-1PL
 At night, we went downriver to steal.

11. *q^hoʔ pɛ́tsɛj=sc^hənəʔ njanɣépe ʋnez-fkorʔ tə-mərkuʔ-jə*
 SEQ bakchoy=and cabbage two-backload PFV-steal₂-1PL
 And we stole two backloads of bakchoy and cabbage.
12. *q^hoʔ təfkor lɛ-nə-wôt-jə*
 SEQ backload PFV:UPRIVER-SPON-bring₂-1PL
 And we brought the backloads upriver.
13. *q^hoʔ ɣotq^hójɛn nə-verʔ=kə*
 SEQ PN PFV-be.afraid₂=INS
nə-p^{hi} nɛ-tʃ^hoz
 PFV-escape₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 And Xothreyan got afraid and ran away. It was thus.
14. *nəʔ o-ri=rɛʔ əntséjə nə-nə-verʔ-jə mɛ*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder=PL that.much PFV-SPON-be.afraid₂-1PL not.exist
 The rest (of us) were not so afraid.
15. *q^hoʔ kəne-sɲi nəʔ=rɛʔ nɛ-ⁿdzeʔ-jə*
 SEQ a.couple.of-day ANA=PL IPFV:PST-eat₂-1PL
 And for the (next) couple of days we ate those (vegetables).
16. *q^hoʔ nə-ts^herʔ jɛrmɛ*
 SEQ PFV-be.over₂ about
leʔ tɕwatin^{ʔ101} tə-ⁿdi-jə janjuʔ
 again clasp.nail PFV-take₂-1PL potato

¹⁰¹ From Chinese *zhuādīng* (抓釘).

kə-mərku tʰv-ɐre-jə

PURP-steal PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-1PL

And they were almost all gone, and we again took up some clasp nails and went downriver to steal.

17. *qʰoʔ ʰbéjkosmoləm=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

ɐjiʔ tʂɛnkaŋʔ mə-tə-ko-səʰdi-aŋ-nə ʰdenəʔ

1SG standing.guard NEG-IMP-2→1-cause.to-take-1SG-3PL for

ɐ-rne mə-fsɐʔ ŋoʔ=kə

1SG:POSS-ear NEG-hear be=DM

And Mbeyko Smolam said, “Don’t make me stand guard, because I am hard of hearing.”

18. *ɐjiʔ jaŋjuʔ ʃə-té-tʃɛt-aŋ*

1SG potato go.and-IPFV-take.out-1SG

kádenəʔ jv-kɐ-wɛʔ nɐ-to

in.a.while PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂ IPFV:PST-exist₂

qʰónəʔ ɐ-kóʔ=ta

SEQ:EMPH 1SG:POSS-head=top

coʰgrúʃot ɐ-tʰv-tə-wéret-nə té-tsə

pebble.sand.and.dirt IRR-PFV:DOWNRIVER-2-throw-2PL IPFV-say

“I’ll go and dig for potatoes. If anyone should come, throw pebbles and sand at me,” he was saying.

19. *qʰoʔ rjémtsɛn=scʰənəʔ fsotɐr-ni tʂaŋkaŋʔ ne-ʰdi-ʰdzə*

SEQ PN=and PN-DU standing.guard PFV:TR-take₂-3DU

qʰoʔ jəjəɐɐʔ jaŋjuʔ nɐ-tʃɛt-jə

SEQ 1PL potato IPFV:PST-take.out₂-1PL

So Rgyamtsan and Fsotar took guard, and we dug for potatoes.

20. *q^hoʔ lɐ-nəwôʔt-jə*
 SEQ PFV:UPRIVER-bring.back₂-1PL
jə-kə-fsɛʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-mɛʔ
 1PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-hear=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist₂
 And we brought (potatoes) upriver, and no one discovered us.
21. *q^hoʔ leʔ tákrɔt=rɐʔ nɐ-peʔ-jə*
 SEQ again charcoal=PL IPFV:PST-make₂-1PL
 And we went back to making charcoals.
22. *q^hoʔ tékrɔt o-kə-sáʔkev=nəʔ*
 SEQ charcoal 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-cover.with.material=DET
χotɕ^hájɐn=sc^hənəʔ ɲavaɲ=niʔ nɐ-ɲo-ⁿdzə
 PN=and PN=DU IPFV:PST-be₂-3DU
 And Xothreyan and Ngawang were the ones who covered the (oak sticks) with (earth).
23. *q^hoʔ tékrɔt kɐ-sáʔkev=nəʔ te-nrərez^ʔ-ⁿdzə nɐ-ɲo*
 SEQ charcoal INF-cover.with.material=TOP PFV:TR-take.turns₂-3DU IPFV:PST-be₂
 And the two of them took turns covering the (oak sticks) with (earth).
24. *q^hoʔ ⁿge-smo-jə nɐ-ɲo*
 SEQ IPFV-stay-1PL IPFV:PST-be₂
 And we stayed (there like that).
25. *fənəʔ vɟu=cəʔ=kə já-ⁿge kɐmɲɐm ⁿge-ⁿdzɐ*
 but mouse=INDF=ERG 1PL:POSS-clothes often IPFV-eat₃
 But a mouse often bit our clothes.

26. *q^hoʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ nɐ-myɛʔ-jə*
 SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF PFV-catch₂-1PL
 And we caught it one time.

27. *q^hoʔ mɛr=nəʔ*
 SEQ night=TOP
ó-ʁɛr tʃ^hju tə-lêʔ-jə q^hoʔ tə-ʃnət-jə
 3SG:POSS-body gasoline PFV-put₂-1PL SEQ PFV-light₂-1PL
q^hoʔ noʔosɛʃsət nə-lêʔ-jə=nəʔ
 SEQ thus PFV-release₂-1PL=SUB
 At night, when we poured gasoline on its body, lit it up, and let it go like that.

28. *sekóʔ=naŋ nə-p^hi q^hoʔ ɣⁿdʒov le-te*
 bush=inside PFV-escape₂ SEQ fire PFV:UPRIVER:TR-cause₂
 It ran off into the bushes and caused a fire.

29. *q^hoʔ jəjəɐʔ tə-verʔ=kə kɐ-nəɣⁿdʒóʃmɛv tə-sɛje-jə*
 SEQ 1PL PFV-be.afraid₂=INS INF-put.out.fire PFV-begin₂=1PL
 We got scared, and began to put out the fire.

30. *q^hoʔ ʃəjji ⁿdenəʔ ké-ʃmɛv mə-nɐ-c^hɐʔ-jə*
 SEQ a.long.time not.until INF-put.out NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-1PL
 And did not manage to put it out until a long time afterwards.

31. *q^hoʔ nə=rɐʔ nɐ-ʃsət*
 SEQ ANA=PL IPFV:PST-be.like₂
 This was what happened.

32. *q^hoʔ leʔ kámʔa nə-tsoʔ jermə*

SEQ again a.bit PFV-elapse₂ about

q^hoʔ sɛrʔaŋʔ t^hv-ɛre-jə

SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-1PL

And after a while, we went again downriver to Sardzong.

33. *q^hoʔ t^hʰopoʔ=sc^hənəʔ t^hɛmk^hiʔ=niʔ kə-wɛʔ-ⁿdzə-cə*

SEQ PN=and PN=DU PFV:EAST-come₂-3DU-MED

And Chopo and Thamkhi came over.

34. *q^hoʔ jə-kɛⁿdze nə-mɛʔ ɲoʔ*

SEQ 1PL:POSS-food PFV-not.exist₂ be

nɛ-ⁿji nɛ-p^hov ɲoʔ=rɛʔ tə-tsəʔ-jə

IPFV:PST-be.in.a.bad.shape₂ IPFV:PST-be.in.a.bad.shape₂ be=PL PFV-say₂-1PL

And we said (to them), “We have no food, and we are in a terrible shape.”

35. *q^hoʔ t^hʰəpoʔ=sc^hənəʔ t^hɛmk^hiʔ=niʔ jə-p^ha*

SEQ PN=and PN=DU 1PL:POSS-place

nəscíwekə=rɛʔ tɛ-tsəʔ-ⁿdzə

EXCL=PL PFV:TR-say₂-3DU

And Chopo and Thamkhi expressed their sympathy to us.

36. *q^hoʔ t^hɛft^haʔcə nə-o-ⁿbəʔt^hi-jə*

SEQ simple PFV-INV-feed₂-1PL

q^hoʔ tátwi o-ⁿboleʔ ne-tɛ-ⁿbi-nə=kə

SEQ village 3SG:POSS-male.common.cattle IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM

tɛ-tsəʔ-ⁿdzə

PFV:TR-say₂-3DU

And they treated us to a simple meal, and said, “(We’ll) give you (our) village’s male common cattle!”

37. *qʰoʔ tsəjəʔ rjém̥tsən-ni qɕcʰwetriʔ lɐ-ɐre-tsa*
 SEQ 1DU PN-DU PN PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-1DU
qʰoʔ tátwi o-ⁿboleʔ kám̥ŋo jɛrmɐ nə-óy-ⁿbi-jə
 SEQ village 3SG:POSS-male.common.cattle five about PFV-INV-give₂-1PL
 So Rgyamtsan and I went upriver to Qachweri Village and they gave us five of the village's male common cattle.

38. *qʰoʔ tsəjəniʔ=kə ⁿboleʔ scɛⁿgo kə-tsom-tsa*
 SEQ 1DU=ERG male.common.cattle PN PFV:EAST-take₂-1DU
 Then the two of us took the male common cattle east to Scango.¹⁰²

39. *qʰoʔ scɛⁿgo zɛrɛtʰómpʰe ó-pʰa tʰɐ-ɐre-tsa*
 SEQ PN PN 3SG:POSS-place PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-1DU
 And went downriver to (a person called) Scango Zharachomphe.

40. *qʰoʔ zɛrɛtʰómpʰe=kə ɛjiʔ vlɛrge=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG 1SG monk=TOP
ⁿboleʔ kɐ-ntsweʔ=nəʔ mɐ-nétse ŋoʔ
 male.common.cattle GP-sell=SUB NEG-be.fitting be
 And Zharachomphe said, “As a monk, it is not fitting for me to sell male common cattle,”

41. *ɛju qɛⁿbruʔ kə-tsʰo=cəʔ toʔ=kə*
 1SG:POSS male.yak NMLZ:SBJ-be.fat=INDF exist=INS
nəʔ ne-té-ⁿbi-nə=kə te-tsaʔ
 ANA IPFV-1→2-give-2PL=DM PFV:TR-say₂
 “I have a fat male yak. I will give that away to you.”

¹⁰² Name of a place near Sardzong Village in Tshobdun Township, now a village in Rkakhog (紅原) County.

42. *q^hoʔ nəʔ=rɐʔ nə-oy-ⁿbi-jə*
 SEQ ANA=PL PFV-INV-give₂-1PL
fəʔnəʔ ó-fcɐ=rəʔ
 but 3SG:POSS-place=DET
ⁿboleʔ=cəʔ=rɐʔ kə-rdɔʔ jɛrmɐ nə-k^hi-tsə
 male.common.cattle=INDF=PL one-CL about PFV-hand.to₂-1DU
 And he gave that (male yak) to us. But in return we handed a male common cattle to him.
43. *q^hónəʔ qɐⁿbruʔ=sc^hənəʔ ⁿboleʔ=rɐʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH male.yak=and male.common.cattle=PL
jə-sɐ-nfuyiʔ kə-to=nəʔ nə-tsom-tsə
 1PL:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-do.sideline₂ NMZL-be.located=DET PFV:WEST-take₂-1DU
 And we brought the male yak and the male common cattle to where we were doing
 sideline work.
44. *fɛli spɛntɔʔ=ta lɐ-wôt-jə*
 upriver.place meadow=top PFV:UPRIVER-bring₂-1PL
 And we (all) brought them onto the meadow upriver.
45. *q^hoʔ qɐⁿbruʔ=nəʔ skɐm kə-ntʃ^he nɐ-ŋo-jə*
 SEQ yak=DET for.beef NMLZ-kill IPFV:PST-be₂-1PL
q^hoʔ ó-me=rɐʔ tə-xʃerʔ-jə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-leg=PL PFV-wrap.string.around₂-1PL
nɐ-ŋo=jənəʔ nə-nlɔy
 IPFV:PST-be₂=just.when PFV-break.loose₂
 We were going to kill the yak, and just when we were about to tie strings around its legs,
 it broke loose.

46. *q^hoʔ kə-sɛtʃ^huʔ=cəʔ nɛ-ŋo=kə*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-tend.to.gore.people=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂=INS
ʁgeⁿdən tə-oy-tʃ^hu ʃɛt^hit^hi t^hɛ-o-wɛrɛt
 PN PFV-INV-gore₂ downriver.place:FAR.DIST PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-throw₂
 As (the yak) was prone to gore people, it butted Gdendon and hurled him far downriver.

47. *q^hoʔ jəjəɾɛʔ təvɛrʔ=kə*
 SEQ 1PL fear=INS
kəmɛq^húnə tomde kɛ-lɛt kə-ɛtʃətʃi-cə
 afterwards gun INF-do INF-be.almost-MED
nooséfsət nɛ-wɛmɛʔ-jə
 in.that.manner PFV-butcher₂-1PL
 We got afraid and butchered it almost completely by firing guns.

48. *q^hoʔ leʔ koⁿɲɛlosɛr tə-mda jɛrmɛ=jənəʔ*
 SEQ again Chinese.New.Year PFV-be.time.for₂ about=just when
scɛⁿgo lɛ-wɛʔ
 PN PFV:UPRIVER-come₂
q^hoʔ nánəz ɔʒorʔ nɛ-nloserʔ-jə
 SEQ there meanwhile IPFV:PST-celebrate.New.Year₂-1PL
 And we went again to Scango just before the Chinese New Year and meanwhile spent the New Year there.

49. *q^hoʔ scɛⁿgo p^hosɛr=cəʔ=kə qɛⁿbruʔ tɛ-mərku-cə=kə*
 SEQ PN young.man=INDF=ERG yak PFV:TR-steal₂-MED=INS
səqɛtsútsu jəjəɾɛʔ tə-o-sɛxtuʔ-jə
 stealthily 1PL PFV-INV-sell₂-1PL
 A young man from Scango stole a yak, and sold it to us in secret.

50. *qʰoʔ ɕjiʔ qʰoʔ rjém̥tsən kəpʰərcə=cəʔ*
 SEQ 1SG SEQ PN and.group=INDF
mərdəʔ qfóʔ=nəŋ skəm nə-wəmɛʔ-jə
 PN gully=inside as.beef PFV-butcher₂-1PL

And Rgyamtsan and I and some others butchered it for beef inside the Merda Gully.

51. *qʰoʔ tʰɛmtʰɛm nə-rɛjʰdzət-jə=jənəʔ*
 SEQ just.then IPFV:PST-do.skinning.and.dressing₂-1PL=just.when
jə-qʰu rɛmde kámŋo jɛrmɛ nə-zɣót-nə
 1PL:POSS-back tracker five about PFV-arrive₂-3PL

Just when we were skinning and dressing, about five trackers arrived behind us.

52. *qʰoʔ jəɣu rjéspe mə-nə-nətseʔ*
 SEQ 2PL:POSS quite.a.lot NEG-PFV-be.suitable₂
 And (the situation) was quite embarrassing for us.

53. *qʰoʔ kádenə tʰopoʔ o-ɣnɛ*
 SEQ in.a.while PN 3SG:POSS-relative
tsʰeko te-ké-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə scəŋgo
 PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS PN
nə-ʂetʂaŋ nə-ŋo=kə nəʔ nə-zɣót
 3PL:POSS-Village.leader IPFV:PST-be₂=INS ANA PFV-arrive₂

And after a while, a relative of Chopo's called Tsheko, who was leader of Scango Village, arrived.

54. *q^hoʔ ma-ɛdu ma-ɛdu kəmdiʔ*
 SEQ NEG-matter NEG-matter all
kənəfsəʔfsɛ=sc^hənəʔ tɛɣnɛ ʃieʔ-jə-cə=kə¹⁰³ nəʔ té-tsə
 acquaintance=and relative be:EMPH-1PL-MED=DM ANA IPFV-say
 And he was saying, “Doesn’t matter! Doesn’t matter! We all are acquaintances and relatives.”

55. *q^hónəʔ jə-skɛm mə-nə-o-nsək^hi*
 SEQ:EMPH 1PL:POSS-beef NEG-PFV-INV-snatch.away
q^hoʔ ʃɛrɛʔ kə-nəjwɛt-nə
 SEQ 3PL PFV:EAST-return₂-3PL
q^hoʔ nəʔ=rɛʔ nɛ-fsət
 SEQ ANA=PL IPFV:PST-be.like₂
 So he did not take away our beef, and they went back east. That was what happened.

56. *leʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ jəjərəʔ kɛp^hərcɛ=rɛʔ*
 again one-time=LOC:INDF 1PL and.group=PL
scəngə kə-o-sɛɣre-jə
 PN PFV:EAST-INV-cause.to.go₂-1PL
q^hoʔ kónʃe o-rjɛrɛ nɛ-peʔ-jə
 SEQ township 3SG::POSS-courtyard IPFV:PST-make₂-1PL
 Again one time, we were instructed to go east with some other people to Scango to make a courtyard for the commune.

57. *q^hoʔ kónʃe o-rjɛrɛ nɛ-peʔ-jə*
 SEQ township 3SG:POSS-courtyard IPFV:PST-make₂-1PL
q^hoʔ pəkɔŋtəɣjuʔ nɛ-peʔ-jə
 SEQ pillbox IPFV:PST-make₂-1PL
 (There,) we were building a courtyard for the township government and also pillboxes.

¹⁰³ First-person plural marking is optional here.

58. *q^hoʔ ⁿbroχpe=rɐʔ=kə*
 SEQ nomad=PL=ERG
pəkoytəχjuʔ=nəʔ ome ⁿge-q^heʔ-nə
 pillbox=DET very IPFV-hate-3PL
 The nomads dislike pillboxes very much.
59. *q^hoʔ jə-təχjuʔ χsəmʔ-təfe=rɐn tə-peʔ-jə*
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-pillbox three-time=even PFV-make₂-1PL
ʃənəʔ nɐ-nⁿbət
 but PFV:DOWN-collapse₂
 And we built the pillbox three times, and it collapsed.
60. *q^hoʔ kɐ-rɛzⁿdɐ kə-mk^hɛzʔ*
 SEQ INF-make.wall NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled
stɛⁿbɐ=q^hoʔ ɐⁿdzən=rɐʔ nɐ-to
 PN=and PN=PL IPFV:PST-exist₂
 And there were Stanba and Andzen (among us) who were skilled in making walls.
61. *q^hoʔ kɐ-rɛzⁿdɐ ome tə-ɛzɐv-jə*
 SEQ INF-make.wall very PFV-take.great.care₂-1PL
ʃənəʔ=nt^hon mə-nɐ-p^henʔ
 but=still NEG-IPFV:PST-be.effective₂
 We took great care making the walls, but it didn't work.
62. *q^hoʔ jəjəɐrɐʔ=kə kóŋse=p^ha*
 SEQ 1PL=ERG township=place
ⁿbroχpe=rɐʔ jə-zⁿdɐ raypaʔ ⁿgé-p^hət-nə
 nomad=PL 1PL:POSS-wall on.purpose IPFV-cause.to.collapse-3PL

ŋoʔ=rɛn tə-tsəʔ-jə nɐ-re
 be=even PFV-say₂-1PL IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂

So we even had to tell the township, “The nomads are making our walls collapse on purpose.”

63. *qʰoʔ kóŋʂe ʂúci=nəʔ*
 SEQ township party.secretary=DET
nʰɛrkʰemwe tʰəojuʃiʔ te-ké-tsə=nəʔ nɐ-ŋo=kə
 person.from.'Barkhams PN IPFV-GP-say=DET IPFV:PST-be₂=INS
 And the party secretary of the township was a person from 'Barkhams called Chaoyushi.

64. *nəʔ nɐ-nəʃsɛʔ-jə*
 ANA IPFV:PST-know₂-1PL
qʰoʔ jə-ta ome nɐ-χoʔ
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-top very IPFV:PST-be.kind₂
 And we knew him well, and he was very nice to us.

65. *qʰoʔ tɛpi tʰəɾɐ=rɐʔ*
 SEQ butter cheese=PL
o-konʔ kə-nbət nə-o-sɛχtuʔ-jə
 3SG:POSS-price NMLZ:SBJ-be.low PFV-INV-sell₂-1PL
 And he sold us butter and cheese and what not at very low prices.

66. *qʰoʔ kóŋʂe wənʂuʔ=nəʔ=kə nəjəɾɐʔ zʰdɛ osto*
 SEQ township clerk=DET=ERG 2PL wall well
mə-tə-tə-peʔ-nə ŋoʔ=kə nə-ngre mé-kʰi-aŋ te-tsəʔ
 NEG-PFV-2-make₂-PL be=INS 2PL:POSS-wages NEG-give-1SG PFV:TR-say₂
 The township clerk said, “Since you failed to make the walls well, I will not pay your wages.”

67. *qʰoʔ tsəjəʔ tsʰaŋkɛʃi=niʔ=kə o-ɣrúmke tə-ⁿdi-tsə*
 SEQ 1DU PN=DU=ERG 3SG:POSS-wrist PFV-take₂-1DU
qʰoʔ kəmtʃʰa=rɐʔ tə-ⁿdzriʔ-tsə
 SEQ a.bit=PL PFV-twist₂-1DU

And Tshangkashi and I grabbed his wrist and twisted it a little,

68. *qʰoʔ jə-ⁿgre tʃʰɐ mə-tə-kʰɛ reʔ*
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-wages why NEG-2-give be.necessary
 “Why must you not pay our wages?”

69. *jəjəreʔ ráŋ=kə jəɣu tʰɐ-nfujɪʔ-tsə maʔ*
 1PL self=ERG 1PL:POSS CONT:LTR-do.sideline₂-1DU not.be
nəʔ tátwi óɣu tʰɐ-nfujɪʔ-jə ʃteʔ=kə
 ANA village 3SG:POSS CONT:LTR-do.sideline₂-1PL be:EMPH=INS
mɐ-kɛ-kʰi mə-joyʔ=rɐʔ tə-tsəʔ-tsə
 NEG-GP-give NEG-be.allowed=PL PFV-say₂-1DU

“Since we are doing sidelines for the village, it will not do not to pay,” we said.

70. *qʰoʔ jə-rpɐqʰu=kəsə=nəʔ*
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-backstage.supporter=like=DET
tʃʰɐɔjuʃiʔ nɐ-to ʃteʔ=kə
 PN IPFV:PST-exist₂ be:EMPH=INS
kəmɐqʰínə jə-ⁿgre=rɐʔ ne-kʰi-nə
 afterwards 1PL:POSS-wages=PL PFV:TR-give₂-3PL

Since there was Chaoyushi to back us up, they eventually paid our wages.

71. *qʰoʔ nə-nəwɛʔ-jə*
 SEQ PFV:WEST-come.back₂-1PL

And we came back.

72. *q^hoʔ nəʔ nɐ-fsət nɐ-tʃ^hoz*
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 That was what happened.

73. *leʔ m^horjɛn kóntso=rɐʔ jə-ri jɛrmɐ=nəʔ*
 again PN government.work=PL PROS-join about=SUB
qɛnorʔ o-léco
 hot.spring 3SG:POSS-place.upriver
ɲɛrəldə^hgu ʃə-nɛc^haŋxu-jə
 PN go.and-dig.for.Notopterygium.root-1PL
 And, just when (my eldest son) Mkhyorgyam was about to take a government job, we went to Ngareldengu upriver from the hot spring to dig for *Notopterygium* roots.

74. *q^hoʔ leʔ jə-rtɕembɐ=rɐʔ tə-ɛrkɛrkonʔ*
 SEQ again 1PL:POSS-tsampa=PL PFV-be.scarce₂
q^hoʔ o-léco
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-place.upriver
ⁿbroxpe nə-zɔʔ kə-rdzʔ ʃə-t^hɐ-mts^{hi}-jə
 nomad 3PL:POSS-bovine one-CL go.and-downriver-lead-1PL
 And again our food became scarce, and we went upriver and brought one of their bovines downriver.

75. *q^hoʔ skɛm nɐ-wɛmɛʔ-jə*
 SEQ for.beef PFV-butcher₂=1PL
q^hoʔ jə-kə-sərtɔʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-mɛʔ
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-discover=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist₂
 And we butchered it for beef, and no one discovered us.

76. *q^ho?* *le?* *kə-təʃe=cɛ=nə?*
 SEQ again one-time=LOC:INDF=DET
mts^hək^he=z *ʃə-nənpejmoɣ?-jə*
 PN=LOC go.and-dig.for.fritillary.bulb₂-1PL
 Once gain, we went to dig for fritillary bulbs at Mtshokhe.¹⁰⁴
77. *q^ho?* *kə-npéjmoɣ* *nɛ-joɣ=nə?*
 SEQ INF-dig.for.fritillary.bulb PFV-end₂=SUB
ⁿbroɣpe *o-qɛⁿbru?* *ʃə-tə-mts^hi-jə*
 nomad 3SG:POSS-yak go.and-PFV-lead-1PL
q^ho? *t^hɛ-nəwôt-jə*
 SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER-bring.back₂-1PL
 When we finished digging for fritillary bulbs, we went uphill and stole a yak from the nomads, and brought it back.
78. *q^ho?* *k^hrəwo=sc^hənə?* *sonɛmtɛrji?=ni?* *t^he-mts^hi-ⁿdzə*
 SEQ PN=and PN=DU PFV:TR-lead₂-3DU
 And Khrewo and Sonam Targyi led (the yak) downriver.
79. *q^ho?* *cɛtərdo* *t^he-sɛzyôt-ⁿdzə=jənə?*
 SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-cause.to.arrive₂-3DU=just.when
ne-fləɣ-ⁿdzə
 PFV:TR-let.break.loose₂-3DU
 Just when they got to Kyaterdo, it broke loose on them.

¹⁰⁴ Name of a place beside a small lake on the border between Tshobdun Township and Kirtima Village in Rngaba County.

80. *q^hoʔ o-ʒⁿbraʔ=nəʔ ⁿgoskor o-riʔ nɐ-ŋo*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-leash=DET meteor.hammer¹⁰⁵ 3SG:POSS-cord IPFV:PST-be₂
 It's leash was the cord of a meteor hammer.

81. *q^hoʔ qɐⁿbruʔ lé-p^hi=nəʔ*
 SEQ yak IPFV-escape=SUB
o-ⁿgoskor rc^haŋrc^haŋrc^haŋ ne-sətsə
 3SG:POSS-meteor.hammer IDPH IPFV-cause.to.do
 As the yak was escaping, the meteor hammer made continuous clinking sounds.

82. *q^hoʔ kəmɐq^húnəʔ leʔ qɐⁿbruʔ ne-mjeʔ-ⁿdzə*
 SEQ afterwards again yak PFV:TR-catch₂-3DU
q^hoʔ tátwi=kə skəm nɐ-nə-wɐmɛʔ-jə
 SEQ village=ERG for.beef PFV-SPON-butcher₂-1PL
 Afterwards, the two of them caught the yak again.

83. *q^hoʔ kəmɐq^húnə t^hiⁿdjuʃɛnkemin júntoŋ*
 SEQ afterwards 1976.Counter. revolutionary movement
te-ké-tsə=cəʔ jɐ-wɛʔ=kə
 IPFV-GP-say=INDF PFV-come₂=INS
 A movement called “1976 Counter-revolutionary Movement” started,

84. *nə-scon kə-toʔ*
 2PL:POSS-problem NMLZ:SBJ-exist
kɐ-səsiʔ kɐ-nsemŋɛn t^hɛmtʃet=rɛʔ tə-o-səɣ-ⁿdzor-jə
 GP-think GP-suspect all=PL PFV:UP-INV-cause.to.stand₂-1PL
 and they made all of us who people thought or suspected (lit. you) had problems stand up.

¹⁰⁵ A Tibetan-style weapon with a weight attached to a string, used to swing to keep fierce dogs at bay; cf. Amdo Tibetan <lcags.tho>.

85. *q^hoʔ c^heʔ zɔʔ ⁿge-kə-mərku=rɐʔ*
 SEQ formerly bovine IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-steal=PL
kəmdiʔ nɐ-to-jə
 all IPFV:PST-exist₂-1PL
 And all of us who used to steal bovines were there.
86. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ*
 SEQ meanwhile
səlɔfəntsə=rɐʔ=ntʃ^hon tə-o-səɣⁿdzor-nə
 Four-Categories.people=PL=also PFV:UP-INV-cause.to.stand₂-3PL
 And meanwhile, people of the “Four-Categories”¹⁰⁶ were also made to stand up.
87. *q^hoʔ rjəspe=rɐʔ kóŋʂe tʃitʃifəntsə=rɐʔ=kə*
 SEQ quite.a.while=PL township activist=PL=ERG
jə-kə-zrɐffət tə-rɛnts^ha-nə
 1PL:POSS-NMLZ-cause.to.confess PFV-try₂-3PL
 And for a long time the activists of the township tried to make us confess.
88. *q^hoʔ tét^hɔ sonəmɬərjiʔ=kə zɔʔ nɐ-kə-mərkuʔ=rɐʔ*
 SEQ PN PN=ERG bovine IPFV:PST-NMLZ-steal₂=PL
kəmdiʔ kə-rɐffət tə-rɛnts^ha
 all NMLZ-confess PFV-try₂
 And Sonam Targyi from Tatho Hamlet were ready to confess how we used to steal bovines.

¹⁰⁶ Four categories of people considered to be enemies of the revolution in China, including landlords, rich farmers, counter-revolutionaries, and “bad elements”.

89. *ʃənəʔ jəjərvəʔ=kə*
 but 1PL=ERG
jəjərvəʔ=ŋónə nɛ-mərkuʔ-jə mɛ
 1PL=TOP:EMPH IPFV:PST-steal₂-1PL not.exist
nɛjiʔ sonɛmterjiʔ tʃʰə nɛ-tə-mərkuʔ toʔ=nəʔ mé-siz-jə
 2SG PN what IPFV:PST-2-steal₂ exist=DET NEG-know-1PL
 But we (said), “As for us, we did not steal at all. As for whether you Sonam Targyi stole anything, we do not know.”

90. *toʔ qʰónə*
 exist SEQ:EMPH
nɛjiʔ kə-rdɔʔ=kə nɛnfútsɛj reʔ ʰdenəʔ
 2SG one-CL=ERG be.responsible₃ be.necessary for
jəjərvəʔ mɛ-nəkwenʔ-jə tə-tsəʔ-jə
 1PL NEG-be.concerned-1PL PFV-say₂-1PL
 “If you did, then you must be responsible for it alone. We will stay out of it,” we said.

91. *qʰónəʔ me-ne-rɛffɛt qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰúnə nə-oy-lét-jə*
 SEQ:EMPH NEG-IPFV-confess₂ SEQ afterwards PFV-INV-release₂-1PL
 So he did not confess. And afterwards, we were released.

92. *qʰoʔ nə-kɛ-pe=cəʔ nɛ-mɛʔ*
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist₂
 And there was nothing (they) could do.

93. *qʰoʔ kə-sasúqʰu=nəʔ səlafəntsə*
 SEQ one-afternoon=DET Four.Categories
χojíŋo kətáçɛv=cəʔ ne-nəʔⁿdəʔⁿduʔ-nə
 PN and.group=INDF PFV:TR-beat₂:RDPL-3PL

q^hoʔ ne-nɛltʂ^həlʃe-nə əntsátse

SEQ PFV:TR-drag.about₂₋₃PL continuously

And for one entire afternoon, they kept beating up “Four-Category” people like Hoyu’e and her group, and dragged them about.

94. *q^hónəʔ nəʔ=kəsci nɛ-fsât*

SEQ:EMPH ANA-like IPFV:PST-be

What happened what like that.

95. *jəjərcə=nəʔ mə-na-ɛduʔ*

1PL:POSS=TOP NEG-PFV-be.serious₂

As for us, things were not too serious.

96. *q^hoʔ nəʔ nɛ-fsât nɛ-tʃ^hoʔ*

SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

And that was what happened.

II. LOCAL HISTORY AND CULTURE

RGYALRONG TIBETAN NAMES

kəru? rmi?

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *kəru? tɛ-rmi? = nə?*
 Rgyalrong.Tibetan name=TOP
 Speaking of Rgyalrong Tibetan names,

2. *tɛlɲa? ʰge-to? ɣso-sɲi jɛrmɛ ne-tso*
 child IPFV:DOWN-exist three-day about IPFV-elapse
qʰo? vlɛrge maʰdenə? vlɛmesprəsku ó-pʰa
 SEQ monk or reincarnate.Buddha 3SG:POSS-place
tɛlɲa? o-rmi? ʃə-te-kɛ-sá-tʃɛt
 child 3SG:POSS-name AND-IPFV-GP-CAUS-take
 about three days after a child is born, one goes to a monk or a reincarnate Buddha, and asks him to name the child.

3. *qʰo? tɛtʃu stʰo? kə-xtɛ? = nə?*
 SEQ son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
vlɛrge o-spe ɲo? tʰoz? = kə
 monk 3SG:POSS-material be be.the.rule=INS
vlɛgɛ.rmi? kɛ-tʃɛt re? ɲo?
 monk.name GP-take be.necessary be
 Since the eldest son is supposed to be a monk, it is necessary to take a name given by monks.

4. *q^hoʔ o-rmiʔ st^hoʔ kə-mɲiʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-name most NMLZ:SBJ-be.few=DET
vde-táke toʔ ɲoʔ
 four-syllable exist be

His name should be at least four-syllables long.

5. *q^hoʔ vlɛrge o-spe=rɛʔ maʔ*
 SEQ monk 3SG:POSS-material=PL not-be
q^hónəʔ o-rmiʔ vde-táke kə-toʔ
 SEQ:EMPH 3SG:POSS-name four-syllable POSS-exist
tə-kɛ-ntʃet=fə k^hút
 PFV-GP-take₂=also be.feasible

If he is not supposed to be a monk, then his name can also be four-syllables long.

6. *maⁿdenəʔ ɣne-táke nɛ-ɲo=fə k^hút ʃeʔ*
 or two-syllable IPFV:PST-be₂=also be.feasible be:EMPH
 Or (the name) can also be two-syllables long.

7. *q^hoʔ kəru-rmiʔ v-tə-ké-tsə=nəʔ*
 SEQ Rgyalrong.Tibetan-name IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB
o-rmiʔ st^ho o-ɣóri=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-name most 3SG:POSS-front=DET
o-k^hɛʃu o-rmiʔ te-kɛ-pe ɲoʔ
 3SG:POSS-house.name 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say be
o-zqéq^hunəʔ noɲme o-rmiʔ kə-taʔ te-ké-tsə
 3SG:POSS-after only.then 3SG:POSS-name NMLZ:SBJ-be.real IPFV-GP-say

Speaking of Rgyalrong Tibetan names, the first is one's house-name, and only afterwards is one's real name.

8. *o-xper=kə* *v-tə-ké-tsə=nə?*
 3SG:POSS-example=INS IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB
ɕji? *v-rmi?* *rtənlo* *ŋo?*
 1SG 1SG:POSS-name PN be
 To give an example, my name is Bstanblo.

9. *ʃənə?* *kə-taŋ* *tonda?* *kə-xtɛ?*=*kəsə* *v-né-to*
 but NMLZ:SBJ-be.formal matter NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=like IRR-PFV-exist
qʰónə? *stʰɔre* *é-kʰe* *o-rmi?*
 SEQ:EMPH first 1SG:POSS-house 3SG:POSS-name
mɛlen *ké-tsə* *re?* *ŋo?*
 by.necessity GP-say be.necessary be
 But on formal occasions, it is necessary to say my house's name first.

10. *noozqéqʰunə?* *noŋme* *v-rmi?* *te-kə-pe*
 after.that only.then 1SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say
məndáci *rtənlo* *te-ké-tsə*
 PN PN IPFV-GP-say
 And only afterwards comes my real name: Mendeci Bstanblo.

11. *qʰónə?* *rjántunə* *kʰe* *o-rmi?*=*nə?* *ké-tsə* *mɛ-re?*
 SEQ:EMPH often house 3SG:POSS-name=DET GP-say NEG-be.necessary
 Then it is often not necessary for people to use house names.

12. *mɛnde?* *qʰónə?* *tərmi?* *kə-náxtfəy* *nɛ-to*
 except name NMLZ-be.same IPFV:PST-exist₂
qʰónə? *noŋménə?* *kʰərmi?* *te-kə-pe* *ŋo?*
 SEQ:EMPH not.until house.name IPFV-GP-say be
 Except when there are (people bearing) identical names, then people use the house names.

13. *tərmi?* *vde-táke* *kə-to?*=ntf^hon *zdumɲaŋ* *te-kə-pe*
 name four-syllable NMLZ:SBJ-exist=also shortened.name IPFV-GP-say

With four-syllable names also, one uses shortened names.

14. *o-xper=kə* *v-tə-ké-tsə=nə?*
 3SG:POSS-example=INS IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

ʲərmet *ɛdórʒe* *tərmi?*=nə? *ʲərdo*

PN PN name=DET PN

maⁿdenə? *o-rmi?* *le-kə-méko* *maⁿdenə?*

or 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.former or

le-kə-məq^hu *te-ké-tsə* *tsaxta?* *ŋo?*

IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.latter IPFV-GP-say just be

To give an example, from the name Ngyurmet Dorje, one can say (the blended form) Ngyurdo or just the first (Ngyurmet) or latter (Dorje) part of the name.

15. *ʲbrɔxpe* *v-tə-ké-tsə=nə?*
 nomad IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

kə-taŋ *nə-rmi?*=nə? *raŋraŋ* *ts^howe*

NMLZ:SBJ-be.formal 3PL:POSS-name=DET separately tribe

o-rmi?=cə? *to?* *ŋo?*=kə

3SG:POSS-name=INDF exist be=INS

nənə? *st^hore* *te-kə-pe*

that first IPFV-GP-say

As for the nomads, since their formal names contain the names of their respective tribes, one says those first.

16. *q^ho?* *no?ozgég^hu* *noɲme* *kə-ta?* *tə-rmi?*=nə? *te-ké-tsə*
 SEQ after.that only.then NMLZ:SBJ-be.real GP:POSS-name=DET IPFV-GP-say

And only after that does one say one's real names.

17. *o-χper=kə* *v-tə-ké-tsə=nə?*
 3SG:POSS-example=INS IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB
ts^howe *βɛfisaŋ* *maⁿdenə?* *χorésaŋ* *ké-tsə* *to?* *ŋo?*
 tribe PN or PN GP-say exist be
 For example, there are tribes that are called Dbashitshang or Xoratshang.

18. *q^ho?* *nə-rmi?*=*nə?*
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-name=DET
le? *βɛfi?*.*vlovzaŋ* *maⁿdenə?* *χorɛ.p^hənts^hɔ*
 also Dbashi.blo.bzang or Xora.phun.tshogs
nə?=*kəsə* *te-ké-tsə* *ŋo?* *t^hoz?*
 ANA=like IPFV-GP-say be be.the.rule
 And their names would be called Dbashi Lobzang or Xora Phuntshogs and the like.

19. *fənə?* *rjəntunə?* *ts^howe* *o-rmi?* *kə-pe=nt^hon* *ma-re?*
 but often tribe 3SG:POSS-name GP-make=also NEG-be.necessary
 But often the tribe's name is also not necessary.

20. *q^ho?* *o-rmi?* *tsaxtsa?* *te-kə-pe* *ŋo?* *t^hoz?*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-name only IPFV-GP-say be be.the.rule
 And as a rule one calls them only by their personal names.

21. *jəjəre?* *kuru?* *kəⁿbjo?* *né-set* *ozgég^hu*
 1PL Rgyalrong.Tibetan person IPFV-die afterwards
q^ho? *o-rmi?* *kə-nést^hor* *kə-pe* *mɛ-t^hoz?*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-name GP-grab GP-say NEG-be.the.rule
 After people die, we Rgyalrong Tibetans are not supposed to mention their names directly and rashly.

22. *m̥nəɾjɛʔ nə-kə-set o-rmiʔ kɐ-pe nɐ-ŋo=ntʰon*
 laity PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-set₂ 3SG:POSS-name GP-say IPFV:PST-be₂=even
 Even if one has to say the names of deceased laypeople,
23. *stʰɔre nə-kə-set tərme=nəʔ ˈdɔspe te-ké-tsə*
 first PFV-NMZL:SBJ-die₂ man=DET Ndaspa¹⁰⁷ IPFV-GP-say
qʰoʔ noŋme o-rmiʔ te-kɐ-pe
 SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say
 one first calls a deceased man “Ndaspa”, and then says his name.
24. *qʰoʔ nə-kə-set támɛ=nəʔ ˈdɔsme te-ké-tsə*
 SEQ PFV-NMZL:SBJ-die₂ man=DET Ndasma¹⁰⁸ IPFV-GP-say
qʰoʔ noŋme o-rmiʔ te-kɐ-pe
 SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say
 And one calls a deceased woman “Ndasma”, and then says her name.
25. *qʰoʔ vlɛrge nə-kə-χfa o-rmiʔ kɐ-pe nɐ-ŋo=ntʰon*
 SEQ monk PFV-NMZL:SBJ-die₂:HON 3SG:POSS-name GP-say IPFV:PST-be₂=also
 Also, if one is to say the name of a deceased monk,
26. *stʰɔre ffaχpe te-ké-tsə*
 first Gshegspa¹⁰⁹ IPFV-GP-say
qʰoʔ noŋme o-rmiʔ te-kɐ-pe tʰozʔ
 SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-GP-say be.the.rule
 as a rule, one first says “Gshegspa” and then says his name.

¹⁰⁷ WT <'das.pa> ‘the deceased’.

¹⁰⁸ WT <'das.ma> ‘the deceased (female)’.

¹⁰⁹ WT <gshegs.pa> ‘the deceased [HON]’.

27. *maⁿdeʔq^honə tə-jiʔ tə-ynə tʃ^hə kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ te-ké-tsə*
 or GP:POSS-self GP:POSS-relation what NMZL-be=DET IPFV-GP-say
maⁿdeʔq^honə k^hərmiʔ te-kə-pe
 or house.name IPFV-GP-say

Or one spells out one's relation with the deceased person, or says his house name.

28. *q^hoʔ noŋme=nəʔ ⁿdəspe ⁿdəsme ffaχpe te-ké-tsə*
 SEQ only.then=DET Ndaspa Ndasma Gshegspa IPFV-GP-say

And then says Ndaspe, Ndasme, or Gshegspa.

29. *o-χper=kə v-vəʔ ⁿdəspe*
 3SG:POSS-example=INS 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle Ndaspa

é-mo ⁿdəsme
 1SG:POSS-mother Ndasma

é-rpu ffaχpe
 1SG:POSS-maternal.uncle Gshegspa

mandenəʔ retawe ⁿdəspe nə-ləsɔʔ te-ké-tsə tʃ^hozʔ
 or PN Ndaspa and.so.on IPFV-GP-say be.the.rule

For example, one customarily says, my paternal uncle Ndaspa, my mother Ndasma, my maternal uncle Gshegspa, or Retawe Ndaspa, and so on.

DOGS WE TIBETANS KEEP

kəru? jək^heze?

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *spjər kəru? jə-k^heze? ɐ-nɐ-kɐ-ffət=nə?*
 in.general Tibetan 1PL:POSS-dog IRR-PFV-GP-narrate=SUB
mɐ-kə-náχtʃəχ χsəm? jɐrmɐ toʔ-cə
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same three about exist-MED

Generally speaking, we Tibetan have about three different kinds of dogs.

2. *nə? χsəm? tʃ^hə ɲo? ɐ-tə-ké-tsə=nə?*
 ANA three what be IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

As to what the three kinds of dogs are,

3. *roŋ? o-sətʃ^he*
 farming.area 3SG:POSS-land
raŋpa? k^heze? kə-raχta=cə? to? ɲo?
 special dog NMLZ:SBJ-do.chasing=INDF exist be

there is a special kind of hunting dog in the land of the agricultural Tibetans.

4. *ⁿbroχpe o-sətʃ^he=z zgoč^hi? o-spe*
 nomad 3SG:POSS-land=LOC watch.dog 3SG:POSS-material
lɐwo=sc^hənə? rjɐⁿbrəχ? to? ɲo?
 Tibetan.mastiff=and “four-eyed.dog” exist be

And in the land of the nomadic Tibetans, there are the Tibetan mastiff and the so-called “four-eyed dog”, which serve as watch dogs.

5. *q^hoʔ ⁿbroχc^hiʔ=sc^hənəʔ roŋc^hiʔ*
 SEQ dog.of.nomadic.area=and dog.of.agricultural.area
mɛ-kə-náχtʃəʔ=cəʔ toʔ=nəʔ
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same=INDF exist=TOP

As for the differences between dogs of nomadic and agricultural areas,

6. *ⁿbroχc^hiʔ xtɛʔ χfo q^hoʔ ɛwəzɛrʔ ŋoʔ*
 dog.of.nomadic.area be.big be.brawny SEQ be.intimidating be
ʃənəʔ ántsɛjə mɛ-ɛʃpɛlɛ ŋoʔ
 but that.much NEG-be.nimble be
 dogs of nomadic areas are big, brawny, and intimidating, but they are not that agile.

7. *ⁿbroχc^hiʔ ləwo taŋmɛ=nəʔ*
 Tibetan.mastiff pure.bred=DET
ⁿbroχpɛ káloy nə-sɛtʃ^he=z kə-toʔ ŋoʔ
 nomad herder 3PL:POSS-place=LOC NMLZ-exist be
 Pure-bred Tibetan mastiffs are found in the land of the nomadic herders.

8. *ʃənəʔ χʃíkə rkon tʃ^hozʔ*
 but very be.rare be.the.rule
 But they are very rare.

9. *q^hoʔ ləwo=nəʔ rgéli jɛrmɛ xtɛʔ taʔ*
 SEQ Tibetan.mastiff=DET heifer about be.big be.certain
 And, to be sure, the Tibetan mastiff is about as big as a heifer.

10. *χʃíkə χfo=sc^hənəʔ ʃtsɛn ké-tsə tʃ^hozʔ*
 very be.brawny=and be.fierce GP-say be.the.rule
 And they are very brawny and fierce.

11. *lɛwo* *oxtɛnəʔ*
Tibetan.mastiff in.the.main
zɔʔ *káloy=scʰənəʔ* *qɛjiʔ* *káloy* *nə-prɛke=z* *ké-vra-nə*
bovine herder=and sheep herder 3PL:POSS-camp.site=LOC IPFV-tie.up-3PL
In the main, Tibetan mastiffs are tied up at the camping areas of cowherders and sheep-herders.
12. *qʰoʔ* *kəmərku=scʰənəʔ* *χtʃɛⁿdzɛn* *mɛ-kə-wi*
SEQ thief=and carnivore NEG-NMLZ-come
nəʔ *o-spe* *ŋoʔ*
ANA 3SG:POSS-material be
Their function is to prevent thieves and carnivores from coming.
13. *qʰoʔ* *qɛjiʔ* *káloy* *nə-lɛwo*
SEQ sheep herder 3PL:POSS-Tibetan.mastiff
nányzgo *ftsɛn*
especially be.fierce
And Tibetan mastiffs owned by sheep-herders are especially fierce.
14. *nə-prɛke* *ɐ-lɛ-kɛ-fɛ* *qʰoʔ* *ɐ-nə-nlɔyʔ=nəʔ*
3PL:POSS-camp.site IRR-PFV:UPRIVER-GP-go SEQ IRR-PFV-break.loose=SUB
kə-taŋ *kɛ-oɣ-ⁿdze*
NMLZ-be.clear GP-INV-bite
If one goes upriver to their camping areas, and if they break loose, then one will surely get bitten.
15. *tɛ-kɛ-nwɛje* *nɛ-kɛ-ɞⁿdu=ntʃʰon* *ántsejə* *mɛ-pʰɛn*
IPFV-GP-fight.back IPFV-GP-beat=also that.much NEG-be.effective
Even if one fights back and beats them, it is not of much use.

16. *v-né-ŋo=nəʔ* *v-nv-svčʰv=nəʔ*

IRR-PFV-be=SUB IRR-PFV-be.doable=SUB

In fact, if this (i.e. fending off the attack) is to be feasible,

17. *o-rne* *ɛnez=nəʔ* *ne-kv-néstʰor*

3SG:POSS-ear two=DET IPFV-GP-grab

qʰoʔ *o-koʔ* *ⁿge-kv-znəkotsəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:DOWN-GP-push.into.ground

one must grab both of its (i.e. an attacking dog's) ears and push its head into the ground,

18. *qʰoʔ* *o-vdaxpo* *mə-jv-wɛʔ* *mɛpértʰv*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-owner NEG-PFV-come₂ not.until

ⁿge-ké-ⁿdi *tʰozʔ*

IPFV:DOWN-GP-hold be.the.rule

and hold it down until its owner comes.

19. *qʰoʔ* *méju* *qɛjiʔ* *káloy* *nə-kʰezeʔ*

SEQ further sheep herder 3PL:POSS-dog

mer=nəʔ *ne-lət-nə*

night=DET IPFV-release-3PL

Moreover, the sheep herders release their dogs at night,

20. *qʰoʔ* *nə-rjɛre* *te-sroŋ* *kəmərku* *mɛ-kə-wi =sčʰənəʔ*

SEQ 3PL:POSS-sheepfold IPFV-guard thief NEG-NMLZ-come =and

spjaŋku *qɛperʔ=rɛʔ* *mɛ-kə-wi* *te-poj* *ŋoʔ*

wolf dhole=PL NEG-NMLZ-come IPFV-do₃ be

and (the dogs) guard their sheepfolds and prevent thieves, wolves, dholes, and what not from coming.

21. *o-xper=kə*
 3SG:POSS-example=INS
 For example,
22. *qəjiʔ v-nə-βⁿdor=nəʔ*
 sheep IRR-PFV-be.dispersed=SUB
te-jzomʔ q^hoʔ ke-skor
 IPFV-gather SEQ IPFV-surround
q^hoʔ mβ-kə-nəʃǎʃə =sç^hənəʔ mβ-kə-rlaʔ te-poj ŋoʔ
 SEQ NEG-NMLZ-go.away =and NEG-NMLZ-be.lost IPFV-do₃ be
 if the sheep should become dispersed (the dogs) would gather them and then run around them, so they would not go astray and become lost.
23. *q^hoʔ k^hep^hεʔ k^hezeʔ=rəʔ*
 SEQ some dog=PL
o-tányxə=rəʔ χíikə kə-xtεʔ
 3SG:POSS-bluffing=PL very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big
té-mda=nəʔ o-sni kə-xtfi toʔ t^hozʔ
 IPFV-be.time=SUB 3SG:POSS-heart NMLZ-be.small exist be.the.rule
 Some of these dogs are great bluffers, but get cowardly when the time (of confrontation) comes.
24. *nányzgo ⁿgoskor te-ké-tfət maⁿdenəʔ*
 especially meteor.hammer IPFV-GP-take or
kə-nβⁿbjoʔ=cəʔ tǎ-ja-βər v-né-to
 NMLZ:SBJ-shine=INDF GP:POSS-hand-surface IRR-PFV-exist
q^hónə kβ-səyvər ⁿbét fteʔ
 SEQ GP-frighten be.easy be:EMPH
 Especially if one has in one's hand a swinging hammer or a shining object, then it is easy for one to frighten them.

25. *fənəʔ o-vdaχpo=nəʔ χʃikə kə-saχpaʔ=cəʔ*
 but 3SG:POSS-master=DET very NMLZ:SBJ-respect=INDF
 But they respect their masters a lot.

26. *məkətsʰət tərja ɐ-nə-rzɛʔ=nəʔ*
 not.only time IRR-PFV-be.long=SUB
tɛzdeʔ nɛjtsʰu ŋoʔ
 companion serve.as be
 Moreover, they keep one company if one feels lonely.

27. *tə-kə-néʰoj ɐ-né-to=nəʔ kɛ-o-qor ŋoʔ*
 GP:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-bully IRR-PFV-exist=SUB GP-INV-help be
 And they will come to one's assistance if one is being bullied.

28. *tsʰət=kə jenkʰɐ ɐ-nɛ-kə-tʰəʔ=nəʔ*
 not.only danger IRR-PFV-GP:NVOL-meet=SUB
tə-srɔʔ=rɛn kɛ-ret cʰɐ ŋoʔ
 GP:POSS-life=even INF-save be.able be
 Furthermore, if one runs into danger, they can even save one's life.

29. *qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə lɛwo=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS Tibetan.mastiff=DET
kərʰbjoʔ o-cɛvʔ=rɛn=nəʔ rʃəzʔ-nə
 person 3SG:POSS-rank=even=DET count.as-3PL
qʰoʔ χʃikə znɛje-nə ʃteʔ
 SEQ very cherish-3PL be:EMPH
 For these reasons, they (their masters) regard them almost as humans, and cherish them a great deal.

30. *q^hoʔ oxtə ⁿbroχpe o-sətʰe*
 SEQ in.the.main nomad 3SG:POSS-land
kə-némə kə-toʔ rjɐⁿbrəɣʔ=nəʔ
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.in.the.majority NMLZ:SBJ-exist four.eyed.dog=DET
mer=nəʔ χfíkə ɐⁿdzət tʰozʔ
 night=TOP very bark be.the.rule
 As for the “four-eyed” dogs, most of which are found in the land of the nomads, they as
 a rule bark a lot at night.
31. *nəʔ tʰɐz ɲoʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA why be=TOP
 As for why that is so,
32. *rjɐⁿbrəɣʔ=nəʔ*
 “four-eyed” dog=TOP
tájo=ntʰon mtɛʔ tʰozʔ kɛ-tsə ɲoʔ
 ghost=too see₃ be.the.rule GP-say be
 the four-eyed dogs see ghosts too, it is said.
33. *ɲonts^he=z kə-tápu ɸzɐme=cəʔ*
 former.time=LOC one-family married.couple=INDF
nɐ-to-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
 IPFV:PST-exist₂-2DU be-MED
 Once, there were a married couple in a family,
34. *ⁿdzə-kómt^hɔ=nəʔ rjɐⁿbrəɣʔ=cəʔ ⁿgɛ-vra-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə*
 3DU:POSS-courtyard=DET four.eyed.dog=INDF IPFV-bind-3DU be-MED
 they kept a “four-eyed” dog tethered to their courtyard.

35. *qʰoʔ mer tɛpɾiqʰu jɛrmɛ kɛ-ɛʰdzət tɛ-jɛʔ*
 SEQ night time.after.supper about INF-bark IPFV-begin₃

And at night about after supper, it would begin to bark.

36. *qʰoʔ mə-lɛ-fsiʔ məpɛrtʰɛ ʰge-ɛʰdzət ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ NEG-PFV-dawn₂ not.until IPFV-bark be-MED

And it would keep barking until dawn.

37. *qʰoʔ ó-ta vdaɣpo=niʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-top master=DU
ɛdɛnbe me-ʰge-znájɛv ɲoʔ-cə
 at.all NEG-IPFV-cause.to.fall.asleep be-MED

And would not let the two masters upstairs fall asleep at all.

38. *qʰoʔ ʒaʔ rjéspe nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ time quite.a.while PFV-elapse₂=SUB

After quite a while,

39. *ténma=nəʔ=kə*
 husband=DET=INS
 the husband (said),

40. *nəʔ kʰezeʔ mer kɛmjɛm tɛ-kə-ɛʰdzət*
 ANA dog night always IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-bark
tə-kornéqʰɛ ke-kə-cuʔ=nəʔ=kə
 GP:POSS-disturbance IPFV:IN-NMLZ:SBJ-open=DET=INS
mɛ-kɛ-o-znájɛv-cə=kə
 NEG:IPFV-GP-INV-cause.to.fall.asleep-MED=INS

“As that dog is one whose constant barking jars on one’s ears and prevents one from going to sleep,”

41. *fsáfsi ó-ta=nəʔ kʰezeʔ ʃə-kə-nəwəŋəŋə ɲoʔ*
 tomorrow 3SG:POSS-top=TOP dog AND-GP-drive.away be
 “tomorrow, one (i.e. I) will go and drive the dog away!”
42. *o-zdeʔ=pʰa te-tsəʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-spouse=place PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 He said thus to his wife.
43. *qʰoʔ o-zdeʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-spouse=DET=INS
mer kʰezeʔ te-kə-éⁿdzət=nəʔ
 night dog IPFV-NMLZ-bark=SUB
tʰə-kə-re-cə ɲoʔ ntorjə
 CONT:LTR-NMLZ-be.necessary₂-MED be DM
ne-kə-mə=nəʔ mə-vde ntor te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV-NMLZ-not.exist=SUB NEG-be.good DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And his wife said, “Perhaps the dog barks at night for a reason. Maybe it is not good not to have (it barking at night).”
44. *ʃənəʔ té-nma mə-nə-kʰút-cə*
 but husband NEG-IPFV:PST-allow₂-MED
 But the husband would not listen.
45. *qʰoʔ nəʔofʃáfsi=nəʔ ⁿdzə-kʰezeʔ ʃə-ne-nəŋəŋəʔ-cə*
 SEQ next.day=DET 3DU:POSS-dog AND-PFV-drive.away₂-MED
 The next day, he went and got rid of their dog.

46. *q^hoʔ nəʔ o-mer nɐ-rⁿguʔ-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-night IPFV:PST-sleep₂-3DU be-MED
 That night, they slept.

47. *q^hoʔ k^hezeʔ=rɐʔ kə-éⁿdzət nə-mɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ dog=PL NMLZ-bark PFV-not.exist₂ be-MED
q^hoʔ nɐ-scət-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV:PST-be.comfortable₂-3DU be-MED
 The dog's barking was gone, and they were comfortable.

48. *ʃənəʔ jə-ʃsiʔ jɛrmɐ=nəʔ*
 but PROS-dawn about=SUB
 But when day was about to break,

49. *kómt^hɔ komʔ tə-kə-znɐⁿderʔ=cəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 courtyard door PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.make.noises₂=INDF exist be-MED
 in the courtyard, something was causing the door to make noises.

50. *q^hoʔ ne-sɐɲi-ⁿdzə=nəʔ*
 SEQ PFV:TR-listen₂-3DU=SUB
 As they listened,

51. *kéde=nəʔ*
 in.a.while=TOP
skévnʔta=cɛ kəⁿbjoʔ tɛrtɐ kə-ɐs-qɐrte=cəʔ
 landing=INDF person hat NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear.hat=INDF
tə-wɛʔ
 PFV:UP-come₂
 in a moment, a man wearing a hat came upstairs to a place near the (first-floor) landing,

52. *qʰoʔ χfíkə nɐ-kə-mqɐʔ=kəsə*
 SEQ very IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.tired₂=like
oʒoʔ xəcʰəcʰu te-tsəʔ
 meanwhile IDPH PFV:TR-say₂
 uttering a panting sound as if he was very tired,
53. *qʰoʔ nə-mɐŋɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV-not.be.seen₂ be-MED
 and then he disappeared.
54. *nəʔəqʰuqʰoʔ kɐⁿdʒəməzdeʔ=niʔ*
 afterwards couple=DU
ⁿdʒə-rtóχpe tə-sceʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 3DU:POSS-suspicion PFV-grow₂ be-MED
 And the couple began to have misgivings.
55. *qʰoʔ nəʔofsáʔsi=nəʔ ténma=nəʔ kɐ-nⁿgiʔ te-je*
 SEQ next.day=DET husband=DET INF-be.ill PFV:TR-begin₂
 And the next day, the husband began to get sick.
56. *qʰónə kə-lɛn mə-nə-tsoʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH NMLZ-exist.in.quantity NEG-PFV-elapse₂
qʰoʔ nə-set ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV-die₂ be-MED
 And he died not long afterwards.
57. *nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
ɲɐⁿbrəyʔ mer te-kə-éⁿdzət=nəʔ
 four.eyed.dog night IPFV-NMLZ-bark=SUB

fə-kə-nəwəŋəŋə *mə-tʰozʔ*
 AND-GP-drive.away NEG-be.the.rule

Therefore, it is not proper to go and drive away a “four-eyed” dog which barks at night,

58. *ⁿdenəʔ* *təʃo* *te-néⁿdzət*
 for ghost IPFV-bark.at

qʰoʔ *mə-kə-wi* *te-poj* *tʰozʔ* *ké-tsə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ NEG-NMLZ-come IPFV-do₃ be.the.rule GP-say be-MED
 for it is said that it is barking at ghosts and preventing them from coming.

59. *qʰoʔ* *roŋʔ* *o-sətʰe* *kə-rəχta* *kʰezeʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ farming.area 3SG:POSS-land NMLZ:SBJ-do.chasing dog=TOP

As for hunting dogs in the land of agricultural Tibetans,

60. *xtfi* *mə-mtʰo* *əntsəjə* *mə-χfo*
 be.small NEG-be.strong that.much NEG-be.brawny

fənəʔ *χfikə* *ⁿbjəmʔ* *qʰoʔ* *əspələ* *tʰozʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 but very be.quick SEQ be.agile be.the.rule be
 they are as a rule small, weak, and not that brawny, but very quick and agile.

61. *redaʔ* *te-χtaʔ=nəʔ* *redaʔ* *ⁿge-mtəʔ*
 game.animal IPFV-chase=SUB game.animal IPFV-see₃

maʔ *ŋoʔ* *fənəʔ* *o-ldi* *ⁿge-fsəʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 not.be be but 3SG:POSS-scent IPFV-perceive₃ be

When they chase game animals, it is not the case that they see the game animals but rather they smell their scent.

62. *məkáts^het* *χso-sɲi* *jɝrmɛ* *nə-kə-tsoʔ* *redaʔ*
 not.only three-day about PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-elapse₂ game.animal
nɛ-kə-nkɛʔ=ntʰon *o-ldiʔ* *fsɛʔ* *ɲoʔ*
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-walk₂=also 3SG:POSS-scent perceive₃ be
 Moreover, they can even pick up scent left by animals that have walked by three days before.

63. *q^hoʔ* *o-χper*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-example
 For example,

64. *redaʔ* *o-ldi* *some* *ne-fsɛ* *ʃteʔ*
 game.animal 3SG:POSS-scent be.fresh IPFV-perceive₃ be:EMPH
q^hónə *kɛ-χtaʔ* *te-jɛʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH INF-chase IPFV-begin₃
q^hoʔ *rjəʔɣⁿdzət* *te-lɛt* *ɲoʔ*
 SEQ running.barking IPFV:UP-release be
 when they pick up fresh scent of game animals, they give chase right away, giving “on-the-run” barks.

65. *q^hoʔ* *redaʔ* *ne-səʔtʰɛt*
 SEQ game.animal IPFV-cause.to.become.exhausted
q^hoʔ *prá=nan* *maⁿdenəʔ* *sekóʔ=ta* *te-səʔɣɛ*
 SEQ steep.rocky.area=inside or tree=top IPFV:UP-cause.to.go
 And they exhaust the game animals, and force them to go into a steep rocky area or up a tree.

66. *q^hoʔ təfcət te-rkoj*
 SEQ cornering IPFV-do₃
q^hoʔ təfcət^mdzət te-lət ɲoʔ
 SEQ cornering.barking IPFV:UP-release be
 And have them (thus) cornered. And they give “cornering” barks.

67. *q^hoʔ kəqərɲiʔ=rəʔ=kə*
 SEQ hunter=PL=ERG
k^hezeʔ o-táⁿdzət te-nərtoɣpjet-nə
 dog 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-bark IPFV-observe-3PL
 And the hunters observe how the dogs bark.

68. *q^hoʔ rjəyⁿdzət te-lət=nəʔ*
 SEQ running-bark IPFV:UP-release=SUB
ná-ste te-mdzu-nə q^hoʔ ne-néji-nə
 3PL:POSS-where.something.is IPFV-sit-3PL SEQ IPFV-wait-3PL
 When the dogs give “on-the-run” barks, they just sit and wait where they are.

69. *təfcət^mdzət te-lət=nəʔ*
 cornering.bark IPFV:UP-release=SUB
q^hoʔ təfcət^mdzət kə-əsv-lét ó-p^hjɔ=nəʔ
 SEQ cornering.bark NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-release 3SG:POSS-diection=DET
tomde maʔⁿdenəʔ təfsəri təⁿbre téⁿdi-nə
 gun or hempan.rope IPFV:UP-take-3PL
q^hoʔ redaʔ kə-ntfe jə-fə-nə ɲoʔ tʃ^hozʔ
 SEQ game.animal NMLZ:PURP-kill IPFV-go-3PL be be.the.rule
 When the dogs give “cornering” barks, they take up guns or hempan ropes and go in the direction of (the dogs) that are giving “cornering” barks to finish off the game animals.

FISHES IN OUR COUNTRY

jəjəre? jəsətʃʰe qəjwε?

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *jəjəre? jə-sətʃʰe=z qəjwε? mŋo-tərem jərmε to?*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC fish five-CL about exist
 There are about five kinds of fish in our land.

2. *qεʰdze qʰo? χserjε*
 taimen¹¹⁰ and Prenant's schizothoracin¹¹¹
lənswiju tfajne fəpətsət ŋo?
 naked.carp¹¹² loach sisorid.catfish¹¹³ be
 They are the Sichuan taimen, the Prenant's schizothoracin, the naked carp, the loach, and the sisorid catfish.

3. *qʰo? qεʰdze=nə? oxtε qəjwεpu te-ʰdzε ŋo?*
 SEQ taimen=TOP in.the.main young.fish IPFV-eat₃ be
 The Sichuan taimens feed mainly on small fish.

4. *qʰo? stʰo? kə-xtε?=nə?*
 SEQ most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
orje tərpe jərmε to? kə-tsə tʃʰoz?
 hundred catty about exist GP-say be.the.rule
 The biggest of them can weigh one hundred catties, it is said.

¹¹⁰ A salmonidae fish (川陝哲羅鮭 *Hucho bleekeri*).

¹¹¹ A cyprinid fish of the Schizothorax genus (齊口裂腹魚 *Schizothorax prenanti*).

¹¹² A naked carp species (松潘裸鯉 *Gymnocypris potanini Herzenstein*).

¹¹³ A species of sisorid catfish (黃石爬鮡 *Euchiloglanis kishinouyei Kimura*).

5. *q^hoʔ o-ⁿdʒwɛʔ lden-ta ʒfíkə ɐmtʃə ɲoʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tooth exist.in.quantity-besides very be.sharp be
 It not only has lots of teeth, the teeth are also very sharp.

6. *q^hoʔ qɐⁿdʒɛ kɛ-tʃɛt=nəʔ*
 SEQ Sichuan.taimen GP-catch=TOP
oxtɛ fʃfɛrʔ qɛjwɛpu tɛ-kɛ-myɪiʔ
 in.the.main summer young.fish IPFV-GP-prepare
q^hoʔ qɐrtsu t^he-wi=nəʔ
 SEQ winter IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come=SUB
q^hoʔ qɐⁿdʒɛ o-sɐ-smo ʃə-tɛ-kɛ-nqɐⁿdʒɛ
 SEQ Sichuan.taimen 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-live₂ AND-IPFV-GP-catch.taimen
ɲoʔ tʃ^hozʔ
 be be.the.rule

To catch Sichuan taimens, one prepares young fish in the summer, and when winter comes one goes taimen-fishing to where Sichuan taimens live.

7. *q^hoʔ o-ʒpɛr=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-supposition=INS
sɐ-nqɐⁿdʒɛʔ=kə kɛ-sə-ⁿdi ɐ-nɐ-sɐc^hɐ=nəʔ
 NMLZ:OBL-catch.taimen₂=INS INF-CAUS-take IRR-PFV-be.doable=SUB
ʃla kɛ-rɛski mɐ-ɲɐn ⁿdenəʔ
 immediately GP-pull NEG-be.acceptable for
ʒʃó=tanəʔ ɐwɐmúru ʃtɛʔ=kə
 be.brawny-besides be.bad.tempered be:EMPH=INS
tə-sɐ-nqɐⁿdʒɛ kɛ-o-səʃluyʔ tʃ^hozʔ
 GP:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.taimen₂ GP-INV-cause.to.lose be.the.rule

Suppose one manages to hook a Sichuan taimen with the fishing rod, one must not pull it in right away as the brawny and bad-tempered fish will cause one to lose one's fishing tackle.

8. *q^hoʔ nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
təciʔ=naŋ t^he-réske orjáŋʔnəʔ t^he-kə-lət
 water=inside DOWNRIVER-pull₃ when DOWNRIVER-GP-release
ne-smo orjáŋʔnəʔ le-kə-réski
 IPFV-stop when IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-pull
nəʔoséfsət ne-kə-səytʃ^hət
 in.that.way IPFV-GP-cause.to.tire.out
 Therefore, one lets go (the line) downriver when (the fish) pulls it downriver, and when it stops, pulls it in upriver. And in the way, one exhausts (the fish).

9. *q^hoʔ təciʔvzər ne-kə-réski*
 SEQ river.bank IPFV-GP-pull
q^hoʔ o-p^hjiʔ ké-tʃət jóxte=nəʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside GP-take.out before=DET
st^hɔre ʃkótse=kə maⁿdenəʔ rkətu=kə o-koʔ te-kə-sá-xsəy
 first stone=INS or club=INS 3SG:POSS-head IPFV-GP-CAUS-hit
q^hoʔ noŋme=nəʔ o-p^hjiʔ te-ké-tʃət tʃ^hozʔ
 SEQ only.then=TOP 3SG:POSS-outside IPFV:UP-GP-take.out be.the.rule
 Before one pulls it to the riverbank and takes it out (of the water), one hits it on the head with a stone or a club, and only then does one land (the fish).

10. *q^hoʔ te-kə-mérpa=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:UP-GP-carry.on.shoulder=SUB
o-jmɛ sətʃ^hé=ta ⁿge-zɣot ŋoʔ tʃ^hozʔ
 3SG:POSS-tail ground=top IPFV:DOWN-arrive be be.the.rule
 When one carries it up onto the shoulder, its tail reaches down to the ground.

11. *q^hoʔ o-fe=nəʔ yrəmʔ-ta χʃikə mimʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET be.white-besides very be.tasty
 Its flesh is white and very tasty.

12. *ʃənəʔ toʒaʔ təcíʔ=naŋ tép^ho ⁿge-lət-nə*
 but nowadays river=inside dynamite IPFV:DOWN-release-3PL
q^hónəʔ qeʃweʔ=ʃə kə-nəŋjímjini
 SEQ fish=also INF-be.many:RDPL
qəⁿdze=ʃə kə-nəŋjímjini ne-je
 taiman=also INF-be.many:RDPL IPFV-begin
q^hoʔ əntséjə ké-tʃət nə-rkonʔ ʃteʔ
 SEQ that.much NMLZ:SBJ:U-catch PFV-be.rare₂ be:EMPH
 But nowadays people drop dynamite into rivers, and fishes as well as taimens are becoming fewer and fewer, and those that got caught have become rather rare.

13. *χserjə=nəʔ*
 Prenant's.schizothoracin=TOP
st^hoʔ kə-xte=nəʔ sqe-tərpe jərme toʔ t^hozʔ
 most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET ten-catty about exist be.the.rule
 As for the Prenant's schizothoracin, it weighs about ten catties at the most.

14. *q^hoʔ o-ʃwe=rəʔ mə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tooth=PL not.exist
o-zgeʔ=nəʔ ja=tsəʔ ŋoʔ
 3SG:POSS-back=DET be.black=a.bit be
o-po=nəʔ qərjəʔ=tsəʔ ŋoʔ
 3SG:POSS-belly=DET be.yellow=a.bit be

- q^hoʔ* *ó-bɛr=nəʔ* *júnin* *χfíkə* *kə-mp^hjor* *toʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-body=DET fishscale very NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful exist
 It has no teeth, its back is blackish, its belly is yellowish, and it has very pretty scales over its body.
15. *q^hoʔ* *o-fe=nəʔ* *leʔ* *γrəmʔ-ta* *mimʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET again be.white-besides be.tasty
 Its flesh is also white and tasty.
16. *q^hoʔ* *o-fěru=nəʔ* *ldén=ta* *jts^hem=tsəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone=DET exist.in.quantity=top be.thin=a.bit
kɛ-ⁿdze *me-te-kɛ-wɛvde=nəʔ*
 INF-eat NEG-IPFV-GP-make.proper=SUB
tə-rqé=naŋ *ra* *tʰozʔ*
 GP:POSS-throat=inside be.stuck be.the.rule
 Its bones are plenty and quite thin, and if one does not eat it properly, (the bones) will get stuck in one's throat.
17. *q^hoʔ* *oxtɛ=nəʔ* *ɲɛmgón=naŋ* *lden* *ŋoʔ*
 SEQ in.the.main=TOP big.river=inside exist.in.quantity be
 In general, they are found in large numbers in big rivers.
18. *q^hoʔ* *ftferʔ* *t^he-zɣot=nəʔ*
 SEQ summer IPFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive=SUB
tʰəláʔ=naŋ *tétəm* *le-wɛ-nə* *ŋoʔ* *tʰozʔ*
 creek=inside upward IPFV:UPRIVER-come-3PL be be.the.rule
 When summer comes, they will swim upriver into the creeks.

19. *q^hoʔ stonke ⁿge-joyʔ jɛrmɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ fall IPFV-end about=TOP
leʔ jɛmgón=nəŋ t^he-fɛ-nəŋo
 again big.river=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-go-MED
 Around the time when fall ends, they go back again downriver to the big rivers.

20. *ké-tfɛt=nəʔ sɛ-nqɛjwɛ k^hɛjŋɔʔ te-ké-ⁿdi*
 GP-catch=TOP NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish₂ fishing.rod IPFV-GP-take
q^hoʔ ó-ⁿdze o-spe qɛju=nəʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-food 3SG:POSS-means worm=DET
qɛjⁿdzeʔ maⁿdenəʔ cəpa te-ké-ⁿdi
 earthworm or scud IPFV-GP-take
 To catch them, one takes a fishing rod, and earthworms or scuds to use as bait.

21. *q^hónəʔ ké-tfɛt ⁿbét steʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH GP-catch be.easy be:EMPH
 And then it is very easy to catch them.

22. *q^hoʔ lənsiwíju=nəʔ*
 SEQ naked.carp=TOP
oxtɛ t^həláʔ=nəŋ lden ŋoʔ
 in.the.main creek=inside exist.in.quantity be
 As for the naked carp, creeks teem with them.

23. *q^hoʔ st^hoʔ kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
χsəm tərpe jɛrmɛ toʔ t^hoʔzʔ
 three catty about exist be.the.rule
 At the biggest, it weighs about three catties.

24. *q^hoʔ o-zgeʔ=nəʔ na=tsəʔ o-po=nəʔ ɣrəmʔ=tsəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-back=DET be.black=a.bit 3SG:POSS-belly=DET be.white=a.bit
q^hoʔ ó-βer=nəʔ júnin mə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-body=DET fish.scale not.exist

Its back is quite blackish, its belly whitish, and its body is without scales.

25. *q^hoʔ o-fe=nəʔ leʔ ɣrámʔ-ta χfíkə nɾu*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh again be.white-besides very be.tender
q^hoʔ o-fǽru lden məkátshət jts^hem ɲoʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone exist.in.quantity not.only be.thin be

Its flesh is also white and very tender; its bones are many and thin.

26. *q^hoʔ te-kə-sələ*
 SEQ IPFV-GP-boil
q^hoʔ o-ciʔ=nəʔ χfíkə mímʔ=ta
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-soup=DET very be.tasty=besides
tə-rtfi fə ɲoʔ
 GP:POSS-tonic go be

One boils it, and the soup is very tasty and nutritious for one.

27. *q^hoʔ ké-tfət=nəʔ k^hejɲoʔ te-kéⁿdi*
 SEQ GP-catch=TOP fishing.rod IPFV-GP-take
q^hoʔ o-sə-nqɛjwɛ qɛju qɛjⁿdzeʔ=sc^hənəʔ cápa
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish₂ worm earthworm=and scud
te-kə-mɲiʔ q^hónə ké-tfət epéⁿbet fteʔ
 IPFV-GP-prepare SEQ:EMPH GP-catch be.easy be:EMPH

To catch them, one takes a fishing rod, prepares worms, earthworms, and scuds for bait, and it will be easy to catch them.

28. *q^hoʔ qɛrtsu t^he-zɣot=nəʔ*

SEQ winter IPFV-arrive=SUB

p^hováŋ=p^hi maⁿdenəʔ təcíʔ=naŋ cóp^he=p^hi jémk^hɛr

boulder=under or water=inside slab=under fish.community

ke-poj q^hoʔ te-zgom-nə ŋoʔ t^hozʔ

IPFV:CISLOC-do₃ SEQ IPFV-hibernate-3PL be be.the.rule

And when winter arrives, the fish (gather to) form “fish communities” and hibernate.

29. *tfaŋe=nəʔ jɛmgon sc^həʔ t^həláʔ=naŋ kəmdiʔ toʔ fteʔ*

loach=TOP big.river and creek=inside all exist be:EMPH

As for the loach, it lives both in big rivers and in creeks.

30. *q^hoʔ o-mdɔʔ=nəʔ χfíkə ja*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-color=DET very be.black

ó-ta=sc^hənaʔ o-ɣmórmɛ kəkɛχso-ldze jɛrmɛ toʔ

3SG:POSS-top=and 3SG:POSS-moustache a.couple-CL about exist

Its color is very black, and moreover it has a couple of whiskers.

31. *q^hoʔ kə-t^hwe jɛrmɛ ⁿdenəʔ mɛ*

SEQ one-span about except not.exist

It is no more than one (finger) span in length.

32. *q^hoʔ ó-ɓɛr júnin=rɛʔ mɛ fənəʔ cəkje toʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-body fish.scale=PL not.exist but slime exist

q^hoʔ χfíkə mnoʔ q^hoʔ tǎ-ja=naŋ ⁿgjiʔ fteʔ

SEQ very be.slippery SEQ GP:POSS-hand=inside slide be:EMPH

Its body has slime but no scales; it is very slippery and slips from one’s hands.

33. *q^hoʔ nənəʔ raŋpaʔ ʃə-kə-tʃət mə*
 SEQ ANA specifically AND-NMLZ:SBJ-catch not.exist
óta o-ʃe ⁿdze-jə mə-tʃ^hozʔ ɲoʔ
 besides 3SG:POSS-flesh eat-1PL NEG-be.the.rule be

No one goes specifically to catch it, and besides, we generally do not eat its flesh.

34. *q^hoʔ te-kə-nqəjwεʔ orjáŋʔnəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-GP-catch.fish when
tʃajne ké-tʃət mə-jən
 loach GP-catch NEG-be.acceptable
ⁿdenəʔ tə-kóri mə-səstojʔ ké-tsə tʃ^hozʔ
 for GP:POSS-front NEG-cause.to.be.straight₃ GP-say be.the.rule

When one fishes, one must not catch it, for it is said that this will cause one to have bad luck.

35. *nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
le-ké-tʃət q^hoʔ o-koʔ ⁿge-kə-ɣⁿdu
 IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-catch SEQ 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:DOWN-GP-beat
q^hoʔ təcíʔ=naj t^he-kə-wéret tʃ^hozʔ
 SEQ water=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-throw be.the.rule

Therefore, catching one, one as a rule clubs it on the head and throws it back into the water.

36. *q^hoʔ ʃəpétsət=nəʔ*
 SEQ sisorid.catfish=TOP
oxtə jəmɡón=naj lden ɲoʔ
 mainly big.river=inside exist.in.quantity be

As for the sisorid catfish, it is found mainly in big rivers.

37. *q^hoʔ təcíʔ=naŋ*
 SEQ river=inside
cóp^he ó-p^hji maⁿdenəʔ p^hovaŋ ó-p^hji=c^ho
 slab 3SG:POSS-underside or boulder 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC:INDF
ne-smo ŋoʔ t^hozʔ
 IPFV-live be be.the.rule
 It lives under slabs or big rocks in the river.

38. *q^hoʔ st^hoʔ kə-xtεʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
χsəmʔ tərpe jərme toʔ t^hozʔ
 three catty about exist be.the.rule
 At the biggest size, it weighs about three catties.

39. *q^hoʔ o-k^he ⁿgéʔ=ta o-koʔ ɛʃpɛʃpɛ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mouth be.wide=besides 3SG:POSS-head be.flat
 Its mouth is wide and its head is flattened.

40. *q^hoʔ o-mdəʔ=nəʔ na=tsɛʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-color=DET be.black=a.bit
q^hoʔ ó-kɛr júnin=rɛʔ mə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-body scale=PL not.exist
 Its color is rather black, and its body has no scales.

41. *q^hoʔ o-ǰǰru=nəʔ qɛʃwɛʔ o-ǰǰru jərme mə-lden*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-bone=DET fish 3SG:POSS-bone than NEG-exist.in.quantity
q^hoʔ o-ǰe=nəʔ χǰíkə mimʔ məkátshɛt
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET very be.tasty not.only
zék^haŋ=naŋ ne-ntsweʔ-nə=nəʔ
 restaurant=inside IPFV-sell-3PL=SUB

o-kəŋʔ *χfíkə* *xteʔ* *tʰozʔ*
 3SG:POSS-price very be.big be.the.rule

Its bones are not as many as other fish, and its flesh is very tasty and, moreover, fetches a high price when people sell them in restaurants.

42. *qʰoʔ* *təciʔ=naŋ*

SEQ river=inside

zɔʔ *o-ʃpovʔ* *məⁿdenəʔ*
 cattle 3SG:POSS-corpse or

kəⁿbjoʔ *o-ʃpovʔ=kəsə* *v-nə-to=nəʔ*¹¹⁴

human 3SG:POSS-corpse=like IRR-PFV-exist=SUB

nəʔ *o-fe* *χfíkə* *kə-ⁿdze* *rge* *tʰozʔ*

ANA 3SG:POSS-flesh very INF-eat like be.the.rule

If there are dead cattle or human corpses in the river, it loves to eat their flesh.

43. *kə-təʃe=cɛ* *jəjərvəʔ* *jə-sətʰe=z*

one-time=LOC:INDF 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC

kə-nqəjweʔ *kə-rge=cəʔ* *tərmə* *nə-nqəjwe=nəʔ*

INF-catch.fish NMLZ:SBJ-like=INDF man IPFV:PST-catch.fish₂=SUB

Once in our land, when a man who loved to fish was fishing,

44. *ʃəpətsət* *sə-nqəjwe* *ó-ste=nəʔ*

sisorid.catfish NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish₂ 3SG:POSS-where.one.is=DET

əntsətse *ʃəpətsət* *ʃlanəʃla* *te-ⁿdzə*

continuously sisorid.catfish again.and.again IPFV-eat₃

qʰoʔ *káde* *o-perʔ* *mtsʰót* *le-tʃet*

SEQ in.a.while 3SG:POSS-interstice be.many PFV:UPRIVER:TR-catch₂

sisorid catfish were biting one after another at the spot where he fished for sisorid catfish, and within a short while he caught many of them.

¹¹⁴ Water-burial is still practiced sometimes in the Rgyalrong Tibetan country.

45. *q^hoʔ kəməq^húnəʔ*

SEQ afterwards

o-sə-nqəjwɛ=kə q^hɐʔ ó-ste=nəʔ

3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish₂=INS ANA 3SG:POSS-where.something.is=DET

təʃpovʔ te-zrɛski nɐ-tʃ^hoz

corpse PFV:UP:TR-pull₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

Afterwards, his fishing tackle pulled up a corpse where he was (fishing).

46. *q^hoʔ nɐ-nɛscérʔ=ta=sc^hənəʔ o-ʒi=rɛn jə-lɐ-lɔ*

SEQ PFV-be.scared₂=besides=and 3SG:POSS-nausea=even PROS-PFV-come.out₂

Not only was he scared, he almost threw up.

47. *q^hoʔ o-sə-nqəjwɛ k^hɛjɲɔʔ=rɐʔ=sc^hənəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-catch.fish₂ fishing.rod=PL=and

o-ʃəpétsət kəmdi təciʔ=nəj ke-wɐret

3SG:POSS-sisorid.catfish all river=inside PFV:CISLOC:TR-throw₂

nɐ-tʃ^hoz

IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

And he took his fishing rod and all the catfish and threw all of them into the river.

WHAT WE EAT AND DRINK

tárjan jakéⁿdze jakét^hinə?

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *jəjə?* *ts^hovdanwe* *tárjan* *jəⁿdzét^hi*
 1PL Tshobdun.people often 1PL:POSS-meal
t^hə *te-kə^h-fsət* *o-ffetpe* *kə-lət*
 what IPFV-NMLZ-be.like 3SG:POSS-recounting GP-do
 Let me recount (lit. one recounts) what we Tshobdun people normally eat.

2. *zərtfe=nə?*
 breakfast=TOP
 As for breakfast,

3. *st^hore* *'siz təmtfuy?* *te-kə-rəro*
 first morning IPFV-GP-get.up
 first, one gets up in the morning,

4. *q^ho?* *tfe?* *some* *te-kə-səle*
 SEQ tea new IPFV-GP-boil
 and boils new tea.

5. *tfe?* *te-le*
 tea IPFV-come.to.a.boil
q^ho? *p^hərtfu=nəŋ* *rtfəmtfú¹¹⁵* *ⁿge-kə-lət*
 SEQ bowl=inside hot.tea IPFV-GP-put.in
 When the tea comes to a boil, one pours it into the bowl,

¹¹⁵ Hot water poured into a bowl with which to mix tsampa dough; from Tibetan <rtsam.chu>.

6. *q^hoʔ ó-naŋ tɛpi ⁿge-kɛ-lɛt*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside butter IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in
 and puts butter into it,
7. *noŋme rtsambɛ ⁿge-kɛ-lɛt q^hoʔ te-kɛ-rɛpyi*
 then tsampa IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in SEQ IPFV-GP-mix
 then adds tsampa flour and mix it.
8. *q^hoʔ o-sɛⁿbrov tɛjniʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-what.goes.with.main.food pickled.turnip.leaves
p^hɛrtfu=naŋ te-kɛ-rko
 bowl=inside IPFV-GP-put.into.container
 And then, one puts into the bowl pickled turnip leaves to go with the tsampa.
9. *maⁿdenəʔ caŋʔ toʔ*
 or pickles exist
q^hónə caŋʔ te-kɛ-rko
 then pickles IPFV-GP-put.into.container
 Or, if pickles are available, one puts them in.
10. *q^hoʔ rtsəmbɛ te-kɛ-ⁿdze ŋoʔ*
 SEQ tsampa IPFV-GP-eat be
 And then one eats the tsampa.
11. *télo toʔ q^hónə tʃeʔ=naŋ télo te-kɛ-lɛt*
 milk exist then tea=inside milk IPFV-GP-put.in
 If milk is available,¹¹⁶ then one can put milk into tea,

¹¹⁶ Traditionally, milk is available only in summer and fall when cows bear calves.

12. *q^hoʔ vdetər ne-kɛ-t^{hi} ɲoʔ tʃ^hozʔ*
 SEQ to.one's.heart's.content IPFV-GP-drink be be.the.rule
 and drink it to one's heart's content. This is the custom.
13. *kɛnɛkɛ mandənəʔ losər tɛqɛ te-toʔ orjájɲnəʔ*
 rest.period or New Year leisure IPFV-exist when
 Or, during resting periods on the farm or when there is leisure during New Year,
14. *zɛrtʃɛ χtɛəytʃɛ te-kɛ-pe ɲoʔ tʃ^hozʔ*
 breakfast butter.tea IPFV-GP-make be be.the.rule
 it is the custom to make churned butter tea for breakfast.
15. *q^hoʔ sásu=nəʔ*
 SEQ lunch=DET
 As for lunch,
16. *tɛrovʔ te-kɛ-sqɛ*
 pork IPFV-GP-boil
 one boils (salted) pork.
17. *q^hoʔ tɛrovʔ né-smi*
 SEQ pork IPFV-be.cooked
 When the meat is cooked,
18. *tɛrovciʔ=naj janjuʔ kátfor te-kɛ-sɛpəpe*
 meat gravy=inside stir-fried.potatoes IPFV-GP-prepare
 one prepares stir-fried potatoes in the meat gravy,

19. *q^hoʔ t^hɛfke=naŋ qɛjwi t^he-kɛ-po*
 SEQ hearth=inside bread IPFV-GP-bake
 and bakes bread inside the hearth,
20. *q^hoʔ qɛjwi=sc^hənəʔ janjuʔ kátfor te-kɛ-ⁿdze*
 SEQ bread=and potato.and.pickles.soup IPFV-GP-eat
 and then eats the bread with the potato and pickles soup.
21. *q^hoʔ tɛrovʔ=nəʔ o-sɛfsət ⁿge-kɛ-rɛⁿdzeʔ*
 SEQ pork=DET 3SG:POSS-condition IPFV-GP-cut
q^hoʔ k^hé-rt^hɔ k^hé=rt^hɔ o-sɛfsət qɛjwi
 SEQ one-lump one-lump 3SG:POSS-condition bread
te-kɛ-sɛⁿbrovʔ
 IPFV-GP-eat.main.food.with
 And one cuts the (salted) pork (into pieces) just like that, and eat the bread with it, lump
 by lump.
22. *q^hoʔ tɛpriʔ=nəʔ o-xtɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ supper=DET 3SG:POSS-main=DET
 As for supper, in general,
23. *pɛjpɛj te-kɛ-sɛɛ*
 noodles IPFV-GP-boil
 one makes noodle soup,
24. *ó-naŋ janjuʔ kátfor tɛrovʔ=rɛʔ ke-kɛ-lɛt*
 3SG:POSS-inside stir-fried.potatoes cooked.meat=PL IPFV-GP-put.in
 into which one adds stir-fried potatoes and meat and what not.

25. *q^hoʔ maⁿdenəʔ ɲəməkét^hi te-kɛ-sɛlɛ*
 SEQ or maize.gruel IPFV-GP-boil
 Or one makes maize gruel.
26. *mandenəʔ janjuʔ te-kɛ-sqɛ*
 or potato IPFV-GP-boil
 Or one makes boiled potatoes.
27. *q^hoʔ mandenəʔ mts^holoʔ-some te-kɛ-sɛlɛ*
 SEQ or nettle-young IPFV-GP-boil
 Or one makes young-nettle soup.¹¹⁷
28. *mandenəʔ ʃe-pəjtsət te-kɛ-pe ɲoʔ t^hozʔ*
 or steamed.meat-bun.with.filling IPFV-GP-make be be.the.rule
 Or one makes steamed buns with meat filling.
29. *ne-kɛ-nɛpriʔ*
 IPFV-GP-eat.supper
q^hónə noɲme ke-kɛ-ná-rⁿgu ɲoʔ
 SEQ:EMPH only.then IPFV-GP-SPON-sleep be
 One eats supper, and only then goes to the bed.
30. *jəʃrɛʔ jə-kɛ-ⁿdze tájpo oxtɛ=nəʔ*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-eat grain in.the.main=DET
 As for the main types of grains we eat,

¹¹⁷ A soup made from salt and tender nettle leaves.

31. *qɛjʔ tɛʃe ʃɔ rjɛqɛjʔ tɔrja*
 wheat highland.barley buckwheat oats winter.wheat
rərəʔ stɔ rjɛstɔʔ
 beans broad.beans white.beans
ɲámɛ jaŋjuʔ tɛseʔ tápʰi nəʔtʰɛmtʃet ɲoʔ
 maize potato hemp.seeds flax.seeds et.cetera be
 (they are) wheat, highland barley, buckwheat, oats, winter wheat, broad beans, white beans, beans, soy beans, maize, potato, hemp seeds, flax seeds, and so on.

32. *jə-tʰɛjʔ o-xtɛ=nəʔ*
 1PL:POSS-vegetable 3SG:POSS-main=DET
kərulɛpʰuyʔ kəpɛlɛpʰuyʔ wosən laŋkɛʔ tsəŋkɛʔ
 radish carrot asparagus.lettuce pumpkin squash
praʃko dərku tʃəʃko tɛjmoɣ mtsʰoloʔ
 chive fiddlehead.fern wild.chive.sp. mushroom nettle
 Our main vegetables are radishes, carrots, asparagus lettuces, pumpkins, squashes, chives, fiddlehead ferns, wild chives, mushrooms, and nettles.

33. *tərjən jə-kɛndze ʃe oxtɛ=nəʔ*
 often 1PL:POSS-food meat in.the.main=DET
 As for the meats we often eat,

34. *paʃe=scʰənəʔ skɛmfɛ qʰoʔ redaʔ o-ʃɛʃe kʰɛmtʃʰa ɲoʔ*
 pork=and beef SEQ wild.animal 3SG:POSS-various.meats a.bit be
 (these) are pork, beef, and to some extent meats of various wild animals.

35. *qʰoʔ paʃe=nəʔ oxtɛ lɛʒoʔ ne-pe-jə*
 SEQ pork=DET in.the.main salted.pork IPFV-make-1PL
qʰoʔ maʰdenəʔ tɛngor ne-pe-jə
 SEQ or salted.whole.pork.fat IPFV-make-1PL

qʰoʔ skémʃe=nəʔ kʰémtʃʰa=rɐʔ ʃǽyɾɐm ne-pe-jə ɲoʔ
 SEQ beef=DET a.bit=PL dried.beef IPFV-make-1PL be

And most of the pork we make into salted pork or salted whole pork fat, and a small part of the beef we make into dried beef.

36. *qʰoʔ tɛlo tɐpi oxtɐ=nə*
 SEQ milk butter in.the.main=TOP
kómtʰɔ ɲe ʰge-nʰgoʔ-jə qʰoʔ ʰge-nɛlo-jə
 courtyard cow IPFV-raise-1PL SEQ IPFV-milk-1PL
tɛlo tɐpi nánəz jɐ-wi ɲoʔ
 milk butter there IPFV-come be

And as for milk and butter, in the main, we raise and milk cows and that is where milk and butter comes from.

37. *ʃɲontsʰe=nəʔ qɐjwɛʔ o-rɐrəyʔ me-ʰge-ʰdze-jə*
 former.time=TOP fish 3SG:poss-kind NEG-IPFV-eat-1PL
ʃənəʔ tozəʔ kʰémtʃʰa ʰdze-jə tʃʰozʔ
 fish nowadays a.bit eat-1PL be.the.rule

In the past, we did not eat fish and the like, but nowadays, we eat some fish.

38. *jəjəɾɐʔ jə-kɐʰdze jə-kétʰi=nəʔ pʰɐrtʃʰɛ*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-food 1PL:POSS-drink=TOP more.or.less
nəʔ tɛ-ʃsət ɲoʔ
 that IPFV-be.like be

Regarding our foods and drinks, that is more or less about it.

CHARACTERISTICS OF WOLVES AND DHOLES

spjankusc^hənə? qeper?ni? "dzəfere?

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *jəjərvə? jə-sətʰe=z*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC
 In our land,

2. *ʃɲonts^he-rəjənəm spjanjku=sc^hənə? qeper? nɛ-to kɛ-tsə məkátʰət*
 former.time-since wolf=and dhole IPFV:PST-exist₂ GP-say not.only
 it is said that not only did there use to be both wolves and dholes,

3. *ʃɲonts^he=nə? toʒa? foχtenə? məju nɛ-lden?*
 former.time=DET nowadays than further IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity₂
kɛ-tsə tʰoz?
 GP-say be.the.rule
 there were more of them at that time than nowadays.

4. *oxtənə? reⁿgo=c^ho ne-nɛsməsmo-nə te-qəŋɲi?-nə káma*
 in.the.main hill=LOC:INDF IPFV-stay-3PL IPFV-hunt-3PL besides
cəmiʔ=nə? ántsɛji mə-wi-nə tʰoz?
 riverside.farmland=TOP so.much NEG-come-3PL be.the.rule
 They mainly stay and hunt on the hills and do not come to the riverside much.

5. *tərezʔ=nə? rgon ó-p^hjə*
 this.year=TOP Rgon.Monastery 3SG:POSS-direction
t^he-ldenʔ-nə məkátʰət
 CONT:LTR-exist.in.quantity₂-3PL not.only

nánəz nə-rəlɣa o-ffɛt toʔ
 there PFV-bear.young₂ 3SG:POSS-account exist

In this year, many of them are noted to the direction of Rgon and rumor has it that they bore their young there.

6. *spjanɣku=nəʔ ɣʃikə ʃqraʔ kɛ-tsə ɣoʔ-cə*
 wolf=TOP very be.clever GP-say be-MED

People say that wolves are very smart.

7. *nəʔ tʃʰe ɣoʔ nəʔ*
 ANA why be DM

Why is it so?

8. *spjanku ne-rəlɣaʔ=nəʔ*
 wolf IPFV-bear.child=SUB

When wolves bear their young,

9. *o-vzɛvzər kɛrne zəzɔʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ mɐ-ⁿdzɐ*
 3SG:POSS-side place.nearby cattle=DET=PL NEG-eat₃

they do not eat the cattle near by.

10. *kɛrɣ^he=z ɣrɛko ʃə-ⁿge-pɣaʔ q^hoʔ*
 far.place=LOC ridge AND-IPFV-cross SEQ

nánəz=c^ho zəzɔʔ ʃə-te-ⁿdzɐ
 there=LOC:INDF cattle AND-IPFV-eat₃

But they go across distant ridges and eat the cattle there.

11. *q^hoʔ noɣmenəʔ o-sɐ-rəlɣa ne-nɐwəwi ɣoʔ-cə*
 SEQ only.then 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-bear.young₂ IPFV-come be-MED

And only then come back to the place where they breed their young.

12. *nəʔ tʰɛ ɲoʔ nəʔ*
 ANA why be DM
 Why is it so?

13. *o-sɛ-ralɲa o-vzɛ́vzɛr zazɔʔ ʰge-ntʰɛ*
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-bear.young₂ 3SG:POSS-side cattle IPFV-kill₃
joyʔ ʃənəʔ kəʳⁿbjɔʔ=kə o-sərtɔʔ ʃteʔ
 be.allowed but human=ERG INV-discover be:EMPH

Suppose they kill cattle close to the place where they bear their young, they will be discovered by people,

14. *q^hoʔ kopupu o-qɛrɲiʔ*
 SEQ child.and.all INV-hunt

and they will be hunted together with their puppies.

15. *nəʔ ne-nəffɛʔ kɛ-tsə ɲoʔ tʰozʔ*
 ANA IPFV-worry GP-say be be.the.rule

That is what they are concerned about, it is said.

16. *ʃɲonts^he=z ʰge-ffɛt=nəʔ ɛ-tə-kɛ-tsə=nəʔ*
 former.time=LOC IPFV-recount=SUB IRR-PFV-GP-say=TOP

To tell what used to be recounted in the past,

17. *spjaŋku o-jiʔ jɛste te-kə-nɛnkɛⁿjiʔ=nəʔ*
 wolf 3SG:POSS-self alone IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-move.about=DET
χʃikə sɛsəvɛr kəʳⁿbjɔʔ ⁿdzɛ tʰozʔ ɲoʔ
 very be.frightening human eat₃ be.the.rule be

it is said that lone wolves that move about by themselves are very frightening and will eat people.

18. *spjaŋku? kaβnεχsónvde*¹¹⁸ *te-kə-nənkeⁿji?=-nə?=-rε?*
 wolf a.couple IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-move.about=DET=PL
mε-sβsəγvεr mε-sé-ⁿdze ké-tsə tʰoz? *ηo?*
 NEG-be.frightening NEG-GP:U-eat GP-say be.the.rule be
 Whereas wolves that move about in small packs are not frightening and will not eat people, it is said.
19. *qʰo? qεper?=-nə? spjaŋku=sc^hənə? ⁿdzə-mε-sβ-naχtʰəγ=-nə?*
 SEQ dhole=TOP wolf=and 3DU:POSS-NEG-NMLZ:OBL-be.same₂=DET
χʰikə fser? ké-tsə ηo?
 very be.gluttonous GP-say be
 It is said that the differences between dholes and wolves are that the former are very gluttonous.
20. *qʰo? te-qεrri?=-nə? zɔ? te-naχtaχta?-nə*
 SEQ IPFV-hunt-3PL cattle IPFV-chase:RDPL-3PL
 And when they hunt and chase cattle,
21. *qʰo? st^hɔre ó-ʃqor kε-ⁿdze te-je?-nə*
 SEQ first 3SG:POSS-buttocks INF-eat IPFV-begin-3PL
 they begin eating it from the rear end,
22. *qʰo? kopəpε?=-sc^hənə? ʃεlpo? ʃεru=-rε? mε-kε-nεkəke*
 SEQ excrement.and.all=and meat.chunk bone=PL NEG-CVB-chew
oséʃsət t^he-mglə?-nə ηo? ké-tsə tʰoz?
 thus IPFV-swallow-3PL be GP-say be.the.rule
 and swallow whole chunks of flesh, bones, excrement and all, without even chewing, it, is said.

¹¹⁸ Literally ‘one-two-three-four’.

22. *q^hoʔ qɛperʔ ɐ-nɐ-kɐ-ntʃ^he=nəʔ*
 SEQ dhole IRR-PFV-GP-kill=SUB

If a dhole is killed,

23. *o-k^hʒɣpe=z fɛlpoʔ kə-mdɔmdiʔ*
 3SG:POSS-belly=LOC meat.chunk NMLZ:SBJ-be.whole
kə-təfe pɔjtsət kɐ-pe kə-rtəʔ=kəsə
 one-time bread.with.filling GP-make NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough=like
lɔʔ tʃ^hozʔ kɛ-tsə ɲoʔ
 come.out be.the.rule GP-say be

you find inside its belly whole chunks of meat enough to make a meal of bread with fillings, it is said.

24. *q^hoʔ koŋɲeʔ jə-wi jɛrmɐ*
 SEQ Chinesecommunists PROS-come about
qɛperʔ kaɪnaχsɔvdɛ təⁿgəmɲoʔ=z lɐ-wɛʔ-nə-cə
 dhole a.couple.of PN=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-come_{2-3PL}-MED

Around the time when the Chinese communists were about to come, a small pack of dholes came upriver to Tengemngo.¹¹⁹

25. *q^hoʔ sɐloyʔ jə-ɲe t^hɐ-kə-smo=nəʔ*
 SEQ pasture 1PL:POSS-cow CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-stay=DET
kə-rdɔʔ=cəʔ tɛ-χta-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 one-CL=INDF PFV:TR-chase_{2-3PL} be-MED

And chased a certain cow of ours that was there on the pasture.

¹¹⁹ Name of a local rubble slide, a landmark not far downriver from Mendeci, Bstanblo's home hamlet.

26. *noorjájəʔnəʔ*

at.that.time

rdêʔ é-mo pʰuyjuʔ=z tʰe-mpʰéʔri=nəʔ

exactly 1SG:POSS-mother PN=LOC IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB

*nəʔ ne-mti-cə*ANA PFV:TR-see₂-MED

At that very moment, my mother happened to take a look downriver from Phugyu¹²⁰ and saw this.

27. *qʰoʔ é-mo kə-raxʔfoʰbaʔ=scʰənəʔ qəjhijélo te-peʔ*SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother INF-yell=and EXCL PFV:TR-do₂*oʒorʔ təʰgəməŋoʔ=z kə-rjujʔ tʰe-ɐre-cə*meanwhile PN=LOC INF-run PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-MED

Mother started to yell and called out “Hey!” while she went running downriver toward Tengemngo.

28. *təʰgəməŋoʔ=scʰənəʔ pʰuyjuʔ o-péʔrtʰe=nəʔ*

PN=and PN 3SG:POSS-space.in.between=TOP

lewər kə-rdɔʔ jərmɐ=nəʔ toʔ

kilometer one-CL about=DET exist

There is about one kilometer between Tengemngo and Phugyu,

29. *qʰoʔ é-mo təʰgəməŋoʔ tʰe-zɣôʔt=nəʔ*SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive₂=SUB

when my mother arrived at Tengemngo,

¹²⁰ Name of a specific mound near the hamlet fields.

30. *qɛperʔ=rɛʔ=kə* *ŋe=nəʔ* *ó-fqor=z*
 dhole=PL=ERG cow=DET 3SG:POSS-buttocks=LOC
kɛ-ⁿdze *te-je-nə* *məkáts^hət*
 INF-eat PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL not.only
 the dholes had not only begun to eat the cow from its rear end,

31. *o-koʔ=sc^hənəʔ* *o-meléja* *jɛrmɛ-cə* *káma*
 3SG:POSS-head=and 3SG:POSS-limb about-MED except
kə-mdiʔ *ne-st^hət-nə* *wɛjo* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 NMLZ-be.all PFV:TR-consume₂-3PL be.seen be-MED
 but had almost consumed all of it except for the head and the limbs.

32. *q^hoʔ* *qɛperʔ* *kərⁿbjoʔ=nəʔ* *ántseja* *me-ne-nəɣvɛr-nə*
 SEQ dhole human=DET that.much NEG-IPFV-fear-3PL
ná-ta *sekoʔ=naj* *tə-ⁿbloj-nə*
 3PL:POSS-top underbrush=inside PFV:UP-go.out.of.view₂-3PL
 The dholes, seemingly not much afraid of people, disappeared into the uphill underbrush.

33. *nəʔ* *nɛ-fsət* *nɛ-t^hoz-cə*
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED
 What happened was like that, it is said.

RGYALRONG SOLDIERS JOINED TO FIGHT A WAR WITH A FOREIGN COUNTRY

potsc^hənə? p^hjáꞑjel nemqenə orjaŋ? rjəroŋɛma?ntʃ^hon nekəto

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *ʃɣonts^he=z pot=sc^hənə? pɛlpoʔ=niʔ ne-mqɛ-nə orjáŋ?nə?*
 former.time=LOC Tibet=and Nepal=DU PFV-fight₂-3PL when
 Once when Tibet and Nepal (armies) fought against each other,

2. *pot o-ɛmaʔ zimiʔ mə-jə-nəc^hɛʔ-nə*
 Tibetan 3SG:POSS-army almost NEG-PROS-be.able₂-3PL
nɛ-tʃ^hoz-cə
 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED
 the Tibetan army were almost going to lose, it is said.

3. *q^hoʔ læse=z rjəroŋ sɛtʃ^he=z skɛtʃe ne-səwôt-nə*
 SEQ Lhasa=LOC Rgyalrong land=LOC word PFV:TR-cause.to.bring₂-3PL
 Words were sent from Lhasa to the Rgyalrong area,

4. *rjəróŋwɛ ɛmaʔ kə-ʃɛ re?*
 Rgyalrong.person army NMLZ-go be.necessary
te-tsəʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-3PL be-MED
 saying that the Rgyalrong people must join the army.

5. *q^hoʔ rjəroŋ o-sɛtʃ^he=z*
 SEQ Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-land=LOC
tərmɛ kə-rkaŋ tə-ⁿdəz-nə
 man NMLZ:SBJ-be.strong PFV-gather₂-3PL
 And in the Rgyalrong country, strong men gathered up,

6. *q^hoʔ k^hərfaŋ ó-ta*
 SEQ carrying.rack 3SG:POSS-top
təmgriʔ=sc^hənəʔ lɛt pozvu te-ⁿdi-nə
 spear=and long.knife musket PFV:TR:UP-carry₂-3PL
q^hoʔ nə-nts^ha-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV-depart₂-3PL be-MED
 and packed spears, long swords, and muskets onto carrying racks and set off.

7. *q^hoʔ təyrərɛʔ=kə k^hé-jwət mə-c^hɛ-nə ntor*
 SEQ family=ERG INF-return NEG-be.able-3PL DM
ne-səsi-nə=kə
 PFV:TR-think₂-3PL=INS
 And as their family members thought that they would not be able to return,

8. *yréko=ta kərⁿbjoʔ k^he-rdɔʔ ó-vre rdotʔəʔ ne-sətseʔ*
 ridge=top person each-CL 3SG:POSS-share stele PFV:TR-stick₂
nɛ-tʃ^hoz ɲoʔ-cə
 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂ be-MED
 and stuck a memorial stele for each of them on top of mountain ridges, it is said.

9. *q^hoʔ rjɛroŋ o-sətʃe tə-kə-ɛre*
 SEQ Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-land PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂
ɛmaʔ=rɛʔ ɣʃikə ⁿge-tʃ^het-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 army=PL very IPFV-be.fierce-3PL be-MED
 And the soldiers that came (uphill) from Rgyalrong country were very fierce.

10. *ʃənəʔ palpoʔ-p^hjɔʔ=rɛʔ ɛlaŋbótʃe ɛmaʔ ke-wot-nə*
 SEQ Nepal-direction=PL elephant army IPFV:EAST-bring-3PL
 But the Nepalese side were bringing (eastward) an elephant army.

11. *q^hoʔ* *ɛlanbótʰe* *nə-ⁿdʒwéʔ=ta* *ⁿbrátʃu*
 SEQ elephant 3PL:POSS-tusk=top knife
kɛ-vra=sc^hənəʔ *nə-^fne=kə*
 NMLZ:SBJ:U-bind=and 3PL:POSS-nose=INS
pot *ɛmaʔ=rɐʔ* *ne-znɐrpərpəʔ-nə*
 Tibet soldier=PL IPFV-cause.to.slam-3PL
 And the elephants slammed the Tibetan army around with the knives bound to the tusks
 and their noses,
12. *q^hoʔ* *pot* *ɛmaʔ* *ome* *náyu* *nɐ-ɲenʔ* *ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ Tibet army very 3PL:POSS IPFV:PST-be.bad₂ be-MED
 and the Tibetan army were in a very miserable state.
13. *q^hoʔ* *pot* *ɛmaʔ* *ó-naŋ* *jəte-kə-fqraʔ=cəʔ*
 SEQ Tibet army 3SG:POSS-inside COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.clever=INDF
vlotʃen *nɐ-to-cə*
 resourceful.man IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 There was a clever and resourceful person in the Tibetan army.
14. *q^hoʔ* *q^hɛnəʔ=kə* *təvlo* *te-tʃet* *ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA=ERG idea PFV:TR-take.out₂ be-MED
 And that man offered an idea.
15. *q^hoʔ* *zəŋʔ=kə* *kə^rn^bjoʔ* *o-rq^hoʔ=kəsə* *nɛ-ffi-nə*
 SEQ copper=INS person 3SG:POSS-external.form=like PFV:TR-forge₂-3PL
 And they wrought copper into human shapes.

16. *q^hoʔ nəʔ ó-naŋ téɛrot te-rko-nə*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside charcoal PFV:TR-put.in₂-3PL
q^hoʔ te-zwərneʔ-nə nəʔoséfsət ne-teʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV:TR-redden₂-3PL thus PFV:TR-put₂-3PL be-MED
 And they put charcoals into them, burnt them red-hot, and left them there.

17. *q^hoʔ ɛlaŋbótʰe ke-wi-nə*
 SEQ elephant IPFV:EAST-come-3PL
q^hoʔ nə-fne=kə zaŋʔ tə-kə-wərne=nəʔ
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-nose=INS copper PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.red₂=DET
te-sə-rqʔ maⁿdenəʔ ke-sá-rtov ŋoʔ-cə
 IPFV-CAUS-encircle or IPFV:CISLOC-CAUS-wrap be-MED
 And the elephants would come and use their noses to pick up the red-hot copper figures or wrap around them.

18. *fənəʔ zaŋʔ tə-kə-wərne kəⁿhjoʔ nə-fte-cə*
 but copper PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.red₂ person IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂-MED
 But as (these human figures) were actually red-hot copper men,

19. *q^hoʔ ɛlaŋbótʰe nə-fne nə-fkəʔ*
 SEQ elephant 3PL:POSS-nose PFV-be.burnt₂
q^hoʔ nə-o-səɣp^hi-nə
 SEQ PFV-INV-cause.to.flee₂-3PL
 the elephants' trunks got burnt and they were caused to flee.

20. *q^hoʔ nəʃəq^hu q^hoʔ nɐ-o-znəʃterʔ-nə*
 SEQ henceforth SEQ PFV-INV-cause.to.learn.one's.lesson₂-3PL
q^hoʔ kɐ-səjwɐt mə-nɐ-k^hūt
 SEQ GP-cause.to.return NEG-IPFV:PST-allow₂
 From then on, they learned a lesson and refused to (be made to) return (to the battleground).
21. *q^hoʔ nəʔosɛʃsət klanjɔtʃ^he kmaʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ thus elephant army=DET
me-ne-səʃc^hɛʔ-nə kɛ-tsə tʃ^hozʔ
 NEG-PFV:TR-cause.to.be.able₂-3PL GP-say be.the.rule
 Thus they (the Tibetans) defeated the elephant army, it is said.
22. *q^hoʔ məju ne-mqɐ-nə orjəŋʔnəʔ*
 SEQ further IPFV:PST-fight₂-3PL when
 When they were engaged in more fight,
23. *rjaroŋ kmaʔ=rɐʔ*
 Rgyalrong army=PL
k^hetəʃe te-nəne-nə tʃeʔ te-teʔ-nə orjəŋʔnəʔ
 sometimes IPFV-rest-3PL tea IPFV-make-3PL when
 sometimes as the Rgyalrong soldiers were resting and making tea,
24. *ozorʔ tūt^hu=nəŋ*
 meanwhile pot=inside
kəɾⁿbjoʔ ó-ja=sc^hənəʔ ó-me=rɐʔ te-sqɐ-nə
 person 3SG:POSS-arm=and 3SG:POSS-leg=PL IPFV-boil-3PL
q^hoʔ te-nɐʃŋiʃŋiʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV-stir:RDPL-3PL be-MED
 they would boil human arms and legs inside pots and keep stirring them.

25. *nəʔ tʰv̥ ɲoʔ=nəʔ*

ANA why be=TOP

Why is that?

26. *kəʳⁿbjoʔ fe jə-ⁿdze-nə maʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

person flesh PROS-eat-3PL not.be be-MED

It was not that they were going to eat the human flesh.

27. *ʃənəʔ pəlpoʔ o-ʋmaʔ tɐpʰəpʰiz tʰv̥-kə-nəʃkroʔ*

SEQ Nepal 3SG:POSS-army in.secret CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-peek₂

nə-sʋsəɣvəɣverʔ ɲoʔ ɲoʔ-cə

3PL:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-scare₂:RDPL be be-MED

But it was to give a scare to the Nepalese soldiers who were peeking at them in secret.

28. *qʰoʔ pəlpoʔ o-ʋmaʔ*

SEQ Nepal 3SG:POSS-army

kə-nəʃkro kə-kə-wɛʔ-nə=rɐʔ né-jwɐt-nə

NMLZ:PURP-peek PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂-3PL=PL IPFV:WEST-return-3PL

And the Nepalese soldiers that came to spy (on the Tibetans) would go back (westward),

29. *qʰoʔ nə-zdeʔ=rɐʔ=pʰa*

SEQ 3PL:POSS-comrade=PL=place

koʔ pot o-ʋmaʔ mo-səɣcʰv̥-jə ʃteʔ taʔ-cə

this Tibet 3SG:POSS-army NEG:INV-defeat-1PL be:EMPH be.certain-MED

ⁿdenəʔ kəʳⁿbjoʔ fe=rɐn ⁿdze-nə-cə

for person flesh=even eat-3PL-MED

and said to their comrades, “We surely will not be able to defeat the Tibetan army, for they even eat human flesh!”

30. *q^hoʔ nəʔoséfsət kəmeq^hunəʔ*

SEQ thus afterwards

pot o-ɛmaʔ=rɐʔ rjɛlk^hɐ ne-t^hov-nə ɲoʔ-cə

Tibetan 3SG:POSS-army=PL victory PFV:TR-get₂-3PL be-MED

In that way the Tibetan army won the victory in the end.

31. *fənəʔ pot o-ɛmaʔ mts^hôʔ nə-set-nə*

but Tibetan 3SG:POSS-army be-many PFV-die₂-3PL

nɐ-tʃ^hoz ɲoʔ-cə

IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂ be-MED

But many of the Tibetan soldiers were dead, it is said.

32. *nánygo rjɛron o-sɛtʃ^he tə-kə-ɐre=rɐʔ*

certainly Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-land PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂=PL

kə-lden kɐ-nəjwɛt mə-nɐ-c^hɐʔ-nə

NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity INF-return NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL

ké-tsə tʃ^hozʔ

GP-say be.the.rule

And, surely, many of those who came up from the Rgyalrong country were unable to return home, it is said.

33. *o-xper=kə*

3SG:POSS-example=INS

ts^hovdən q^holɛciʔ sɛtʃ^he ɐ-tə-ké-tsə=nəʔ

PN PN land IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB

Take Kholakyi Village in Tshobdun Township for example,

34. *kərⁿbjɔʔ χsəmʔ jɛrmɐ ˈdenəʔ*
 person three about except
kɐ-nəjwɛt mə-nɐ-c^hɐʔ-nə kɛ-tɕə tʰoʔzʔ
 INF-return NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL GP-say be.the.rule
 only about three people were able to return (alive), it is said.
35. *q^hoʔ o-stɛpu rjɛlpo=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-local.person chieftain=ERG
 And the local chieftain (said to them),
36. *nəjərəʔ nɐ-kə-jwɛt χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɛʔ*
 2PL PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-return₂ three=DET=PL
 “The three of you who returned (downhill),”
37. *nɐ-kə-tɕ^hɛt ó-ta=z=sc^hənəʔ*
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.fierce₂ 3SG:POSS-top=LOC=and
nə-tsənʔ nɐ-kə-to kɛ-jwɛt nɐ-kə-c^hɐʔ
 2PL:POSS-merit IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-exist₂ INF-return IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.able₂
 “who were brave, achieved your merits (in battles) and were able to come back.”
38. *nə-sáqɐ=kəsə=nəʔ*
 2PL:POSS-reward=like=TOP
tʰə ne-tə-nrewe-nə toʔ tá-tsə-nə
 what IPFV-2-hope-2PL exist IMP-say-2PL
 “As for your rewards, just name your wishes,”
39. *nəʔ ó-ta kɐ-sáysəɣ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-top GP-cause.to.hit be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “and I shall fulfil them,” he said.

40. *q^hoʔ kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ one-CL=DET=ERG
ɐjiʔ ɣónə ɐ-jtʃe=cəʔ mə-rtaʔ=kə
 1SG TOP:EMPH 1SG:POSS-field=INDF NEG-be.enough=INS
kəmtʃ^ha təjtʃe=cəʔ nó-ⁿbi-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə
 a.bit field=INDF IMP:INV-give-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And one of them said, “As my field is a bit insufficient, give me some land.”

41. *leʔ kərdɔʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 again one-CL=DET=ERG
ɐjiʔ ɣónə fɔχaŋ¹²¹=cəʔ t^he-tɛʔ-aŋ
 1SG TOP:EMPH recreation.room=INDF IPFV:DOWNRIVER-put₃-1SG
ne-səsiʔ-aŋ=kə t^hɐ-o-sə-tɛʔ-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV-want-1SG=INS IMP:DOWNRIVER-INV-CAUS-put₃-1SG PFV-say₂-MED
 Another one of them said, “As for me, since I have been desiring to build a recreation room (in my house), let me build one!”

42. *nəʔ tʃ^hɐ ɣoʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA why be=TOP
 Why is it (that he should be making such a request)?

43. *sɣonts^he=z rjélpo kəma*
 former.time=LOC chieftain except
təfɔʔ=rɐʔ fɔχaŋ t^he-kɐ-teʔ
 serf=PL recreation.room IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-put
me-ⁿge-joyʔ ɣoʔ-cə
 NEG-IPFV-be.allowed be-MED
 (Because) in the past, except for chieftains, feudal serfs were not allowed to build recreation rooms.

¹²¹ A room with a large window, built on the third floor.

44. *q^hoʔ leʔ kərdɔʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ again one-CL=DET
ɛjiʔ ɲónə tári t^hoxtəm kɛ-lət ⁿge-mqɛ=kə
 1SG TOP:EMPH land.rent GP-pay IPFV-be.hard=INS
kofəq^hu tári t^hoxtəm kɛ-lət mɛ-kə-reʔ=cəʔ
 from.now.on land.rent GP-pay NEG-NMLZ-be.necessary=INDF
ne-nrewe-aŋ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV-hope-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the other man said, “As for me, since paying land rent is hard, I hope to be exempt from ever paying land rent hereafter.”

45. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=kə nə=rɛʔ kəmdiʔ*
 SEQ chieftain=ERG ANA=PL all
wɛ nanlaskə nəjəreʔ nə-tʂənʔ kə-toʔ tə-ɲoʔ-nə=kə
 EXCL of.course 2PL 2PL:POSS-merit NMLZ-exist 2-be-2PL=INS
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the kind said to all (of them), “Yes, to be certain, for you are men of merits!”

46. *q^hoʔ nəʔ məkəts^hɛt*
 SEQ ANA not.only
nəʔ te-kə-fsət kə-joyʔ
 ANA IPFV-NMLZ-do.thus NMLZ:SBJ-be.allowed
nə-jəye ne-tʂet ɲoʔ-cə
 3PL:POSS-letter PFV:TR-take.out₂ be-MED

Moreover, he also issued official papers allowing them to do the above things.

47. *q^hoʔ nəʔ jəye=nəʔ koŋjeʔ=rəʔ lɛ-wɛʔ-nə*
 SEQ ANA paper=DET communist=PL PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-3PL
oq^hu=ntʃ^hon kə-ɐrjiʔ nɛ-to-nə kɛ-tsə tʃ^hozʔ
 after=also NMLZ:SBJ-possess IPFV:PST-exist₂-3PL GP-say be.the.rule
 And those who still possessed (such papers) could still be found even after the communists came, it is said.

48. *q^hoʔ təjtfe reʔ tə-kə-tsəʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ field be.necessary PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say₂=DET
o-jtfe nə-xtɐ ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-field PFV-be.big₂ be-MED
 The one who said he wanted farming land got bigger land,

49. *ʃənəʔ tərɪt^hoxtɐm kɐ-lɛt óyu méju nə-mqɐʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 but land.rent GP-pay 3SG:POSS further PFV-be.hard₂ be-MED
 but the (increased) land rent was also harder on him.

50. *ʃóχaŋ t^hɐ-kə-te=nəʔ*
 recreation.room PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-put₂=DET
o-mp^hjorʔ nɛ-to ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-be.beautiful₂ IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
ʃənəʔ ó-mnu=nəʔ nɛ-mɛʔ kɛ-tsə tʃ^hozʔ-cə
 but 3SG:POSS-practical.value=DET IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ GP-say be-MED
 The one who built the recreation room got a beautiful sight but lacks practical value, it is said.

51. *qʰoʔ tóri tʰoxtəm kə-lət óyu mə-nə-kə-re=nəʔ*
 SEQ from.now.on GP-pay 3SG:POSS NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.necessary₂=DET
ó-mnu nɛ-to
 3SG:POSS-practical.value IPFV:PST-exist₂
stʰoʔ nɛ-fqra kɛ-tsə tʰozʔ-cə
 most IPFV:PST-be.intelligent₂ GP-say be-MED
 And the one who did not have to pay any land rent got real benefit, and was the smartest of them all, it is said.

52. *méju leʔ rjɛroŋ ɛmaʔ tə-kə-ɛre*
 further also Rgyalrong army PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂
nɛ-tʂʰét-nə qʰoʔ nə-tʂənʔ
 IPFV:PST-be.brave₂-3PL SEQ 3PL:POSS-merit
nɛ-to o-tənʔ=kə
 IPFV:PST-exist₂ 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
 Furthermore, because the Rgyalrongs who joined the army were brave and won merits,

53. *pot rjélpə=kə*
 Tibet chieftain=ERG
rjɛróŋwɛ kɛ-sɛxtʂezʔ=scʰənəʔ nə-rjɛʔ
 Rgyalrong.people NMLZ-favor=and 3PL:POSS-face
kɛ-wɛtoʔ o-tənʔ=kə
 NMLZ-cause.to.have 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
 the Tibetan King, owing to his favor granted to the Rgyalrong people and in order to honor them,

54. *l̥se=z ranpa? sɛtʰe te-r̥vzo*
 PN=LOC specially place PFV:TR-set.aside₂
qʰoʔ r̥r̥oŋ kʰaŋʃtsɛn ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ
 SEQ Rgyalrong quarters be PFV:TR-say₂
 has set aside some specific land at Lhasa and declared it the Rgyalrong quarters.

55. *qʰoʔ oqʰunəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards
r̥r̥oŋŋwɛ fo n̥-kə-nŋəŋo=cəʔ
 Rgyalrong.person who IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be₂:RDPL=INDF
r̥r̥oŋ kʰaŋʃtsɛn=z ne-k̥-n̄s̄mo=nəʔ
 Rgyalrong quarters=LOC IPFV-GP-stay=SUB
 And thereafter when any Rgyalrong person stays at the Rgyalrong quarters,

56. *t̄r̄ŋeʔ toʔ*
 face exist
m̄k̄ətsʰɛt t̄-k̄-n̄ərtʃeʔ=r̄eʔ ʋd̄ɛnbe m̄
 not.only PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-provoke₂=PL at.all not.exist
k̄é-tsə tʃʰozʔ-cə
 GP-say be.the.rule-MED
 not only would he have face but no one would make trouble for him, it is said.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MKHARDGU AND PALA HEADMEN

mk^hérgu téro?sc^hə̀nə? péle téro? nekemqə

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *c^heɽ=z* *péle téro?=cə?* *nə-to*
 former.time=LOC PN headman=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂
o-tʃu *knéz* *nə-to* *ŋoɽ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-son two IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 Once, there was a headman at Pala Village, he had two sons.

2. *q^hoɽ* *χfíkə* *nə-scez* *ŋoɽ-cə*
 SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.prosperous₂ be-MED
 And he was very prosperous.

3. *q^hoɽ* *ts^hovdən* *mk^hérgu* *téro?* *te-ké-tsə=cə?* *nə-to* *ŋoɽ-cə*
 SEQ PN headman IPFV-GP-say=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 And there was a headman of Kha'ergu Village's at Tshobdun.

4. *q^hoɽ* *χfíkə* *nə-fqə?* *q^hoɽ* *nə-znefqəfqə?* *ŋoɽ-cə*
 SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.powerful₂ SEQ IPFV:PST-be.domineering₂ be-MED
 He was very powerful and was domineering.

5. *q^hoɽ* *ts^hovdən* *təjtsi?* *c^húχji* *nə-mε*
 SEQ PN PN name.of.household 3PL:POSS-daughter
χfíkə *kə-mp^hjor=cə?* *nə-to* *ŋoɽ-cə*
 very NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 There was a very beautiful daughter from the Chugyi House in Teutses Village of Tshobdun Township.

6. *q^hoʔ nəʔ ó-p^ha*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place
péle tɛroʔ=sc^hənəʔ mk^hérgu tɛroʔ
 PN headman=and PN chieftain
ⁿdzə-tʃu=niʔ ɛnoŋne=nəʔ q^hɛʔ támɛ=nəʔ ne-rgeʔ-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
 3DU:POSS-son=DU both=DET ANA woman=DET IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 The Pala and Mkhardgu headmen's sons both loved that woman,
7. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^hú^hunəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards
p^hɛnts^hən zəzdaŋ=sc^hənəʔ rotʃe kɛ-pe
 each.other jealousy=and jealousy NMLZ-do
q^hoʔ támɛ kɛ-néⁿdət kɛ-tʃətʃi
 SEQ woman INF-contend.for INF-do.sth.on.the.side
 afterwards, they were jealous of each other and also contended over the woman,
8. *q^hoʔ ⁿdzə-pért^hɛ=nəʔ ⁿgerwe tə-ɛre ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3DU:POSS-space.in.between=DET conflict PFV:UP-go₂ be-MED
 conflict arose between them.
9. *q^hoʔ mk^hérgu tɛroʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ PN headman=DET=ERG
péle tɛroʔ ⁿge-kɛ-ntʃ^he ne-səsi ɲoʔ-cə
 PN headman IPFV-INF-kill PFV:TR-desire₂ be-MED
 And Mkhardgu headman wanted to kill the Pala headman.
10. *q^hoʔ nəʔ o-vlo əntsátse ne-peʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-method constantly PFV:TR-do₂-MED
 And he was constantly scheming about it.

11. *q^hoʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ*

SEQ one-day=INDF=DET

pélɛ tɛroʔ nə-zɔʔ nə-rla-cə

PN headman 3PL:POSS-bovine PFV-be.lost₂-MED

One day, the Pala headman lost their cattle.

12. *q^hoʔ pélɛ tɛroʔ o-tʃu st^hoʔ kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ PN headman 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET=ERG

o-zdeʔ tərmɛ káɲɛ te-ⁿdi

3SG:POSS-companion man a.couple PFV:TR-take₂

q^hoʔ ⁿbroɲpe o-sɛtʃ^he=z

SEQ nomad 3SG:POSS-land=LOC

zɔʔ kə-nərtɕetʃ^hot kə-ɛre-nə ɲoʔ-cə

bovine NMLZ:PURP-retrieve.sth.stolen PFV:EAST-go₂-3PL be-MED

And the Pala headman's oldest son went east to the nomadic land with a couple of his men to retrieve the stolen cattle.

13. *q^hoʔ mk^hérgu taroʔ=kə ne-sizʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ PN chieftain=ERG PFV:TR-know₂ be-MED

The Mkhardgu Chieftain found out about (this).

14. *q^hoʔ nəʔ ⁿbroɲpe kə-kə-ɛre nə-zgɛq^hu=nəʔ*

SEQ ANA nomad PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂ 3PL:POSS-back=DET

ɓmaʔ kənⁿgə-sqeʔ ke-tsom ɲoʔ-cə

soldier nine-ten PFV:TR:EAST-take.thither₂ be-MED

And he took with him nine or ten armed men in the wake of those who had gone east to the nomads.

15. *q^hoʔ q^holɛciʔ reⁿgo=z ɲɛɛ kə-toʔ*
 SEQ PN hill=LOC pass NMLZ:SBJ-exist
kəⁿbjoʔ te-sɛɲɛjiʔ kə-vde=nəʔ=z
 person IPFV-wait.for.people₂ NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=DET=LOC
pɛlɛ tɔrotʃu=nəʔ te-nɛjiʔ-nə-cə
 PN chieftain's.son=DET PFV:TR-wait.for_{2-3PL}-MED

And they waited for the Pala Chieftain's son at a place on the Kholakyi Hill where there was a mountain pass and a place good for one to ambush people.

16. *q^hoʔ pɛlɛ tɔroʔ kɛ-nərtsɛiʃ^hot nɛ-c^hɛʔ-nə*
 SEQ PN headman INF-retrieve IPFV:PST-be.able_{2-3PL}
q^hoʔ ⁿdec^ho nə-nəwɛʔ-nə
 SEQ west PFV:WEST-return_{2-3PL}
q^hoʔ ɲɛɛ kə-toʔ=nəʔ nə-zyôʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ
 SEQ pass NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET PFV:WEST-arrive₂-MED=SUB

Just when the Pala headman (and others) were successful in retrieving (the stolen cattle), went back westward, and got to where the pass was,

17. *mk^hérgu ɓmaʔ lɛ-kə-ɔre=rɛʔ=kə*
 PN soldier PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂=PL=ERG
pove ne-ʃtsəy-nə-cə
 gunman PFV:TR-deploy_{2-3PL}-MED
q^hoʔ tomde te-lêʔ-nə-cə
 SEQ gun PFV:TR-release_{2-3PL}-MED

the Mkhardgu soldiers who had come upriver deployed gunmen (there) and opened fire.

18. *ʃənəʔ pɛlépu=rɛʔ nɛ-ɛʃpɛlɛʔ-nə-cə*
 but Pala.people=PL IPFV:PST-be.nimble_{2-3PL}-MED
q^hoʔ ʃla sɛʃ^he kə-ʃtsɛn ɣovʔ=kəsci
 SEQ immediately place NMLZ:SBJ-be.difficult.of.access hollow=like

ó-naŋ *nɛ-ɐre-nə-cə*
 3SG:POSS-inside PFV:DOWN-go₂-3PL-MED

But the Pala people were swift, they immediately went down inside a hollow at a strategic location difficult of access.

19. *qʰoʔ* *pʰentsʰən* *tomde* *ne-mə-ləlét-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ each.other gun IPFV:TR-RECIP-release₂-3PL be-MED

And they kept shooting at each other.

20. *ʃənəʔ* *mkʰɛrgúpu=rɛʔ=kə* *pɛlépu=nəʔ*
 but Mkhardgu.people=PL=ERG Pala.people=DET
ɛdɛnbe *ké-xɬəɣ* *mə-nɛ-cʰɛʔ-nə-cə*
 at.all INF-hit NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL-MED

But the Mkhardgu people were not able to hit the Pala people at all.

21. *qʰoʔ* *pɛlépu* *tɛroʔ* *o-tʃu=nəʔ*
 SEQ Pala.people headman 3SG:POSS-son=DET
o-tomde *nɛ-ʒro* *o-mdɐ* *nɛ-lɛnʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-gun IPFV:PST-be.fine₂ 3SG:POSS-bullet IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity₂-MED
ó-ta *pove* *nɛ-rkaŋʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-top gunman IPFV:PST-be.skilled₂-MED
qʰoʔ *mkʰɛrgúpu* *kaɳnáχsəm=cəʔ* *te-səsmét-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ Mkhardgu.people two-three=INDF PFV:TR-wound₂-3PL be-MED

The Pala headman's son had a better gun and many bullets, and in addition had more skilled gunmen and they wounded several Mkhardgu people.

22. *q^hoʔ p^hents^hən nəkəsə nɐ-fsət-nə*
 SEQ each.other thus IPFV:PST-do.thus₂-3PL
q^hoʔ fqé-nɲət mə-nɐ-saxselʔ-cə
 SEQ victory-defeat NEG-IPFV:PST-be.obvious₂-MED
 And they went on (shooting) like that, and it was not obvious who were winning and who were losing.

23. *q^hoʔ nəjermɐ péle tɛrotʃu*
 SEQ about.the.time PN chieftain's.son
o-vzər t^hɐ-kə-smo
 3SG:POSS-side CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-be.present₂
o-jiʔ o-kərⁿbjoʔ=cəʔ=kə tə-o-sətomdeʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-self 3SG:POSS-person=INDF=ERG PFV-INV-shoot.with.gun₂-MED
q^hoʔ nə-o-ntʃeʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV-INV-kill₂-MED
 Around this time, the Pala chieftain's son was shot and killed by one of his own men who was beside him.

24. *q^hoʔ pələpu nɐ-kə-sɛntʃeʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ Pala.people PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-do.killing.of.people₂=DET=ERG
o-tɛrotʃu mk^hérgu¹²² ó-ja ne-nəsprét ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-chieftain's.son PN 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR-turn.in₂ be-MED
 The Pala person who did the killing betrayed his own chieftain's son into the hands of the Mkhardgu (Chieftain).

25. *q^hoʔ mk^hérgúpu=rɛʔ*
 SEQ Mkhardgu.people=PL
péle tɛroʔ o-tʃu kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ
 PN headman 3SG:POSS-son NMLZ-be.big=DET

¹²² Referring to the Mkhardgu Chieftain.

nəosəfsət ne-ntʰeʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 thus PFV:TR-kill₂-3PL be-MED

And in this way, the Mkhargu people killed the Pala headman's eldest son.

26. *qʰoʔ leʔ mkʰérgu tɛroʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ again PN headman=DET=ERG
péle tɛroʔ=nəʔ o-tʃu nə-set mé-siz ʃoxte=z
 PN headman=DET 3SG:POSS-son PFV-die₂ NEG-know before=LOC
qʰoʔ ʃə-tʰe-sə-nge-cə
 SEQ AND-PFV:TR:DOWNRIVER-CAUS-call₂-MED

And again, the Mkhargu Chieftain sent people to summon the Pala Chieftain downriver before he found out that his son had died.

27. *qʰoʔ tondaʔ=cəʔ toʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ matter=INDF exist PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And told him that there was a matter (to discuss).

28. *qʰoʔ péle tɛroʔ=nəʔ=kə ne-nzɐʷgiʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN headman=DET=ERG PFV:TR-believe₂-MED

And the Pala headman believed him.

29. *qʰoʔ mkʰérgu tɛroʔ=kə*
 SEQ PN chieftain=ERG
tərmɛ ɛnez tomde te-səʷdi-cə
 man two gun PFV:TR-cause.to.take₂-MED
qʰoʔ qɛcʰwetriʔ məʷdáci=z
 SEQ PN PN=LOC

33. *q^hoʔ pɛ̃lɛ tɛroʔ o-tʃu st^hoʔ kə-xtʃi=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN headman 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ-be.small=DET
ɛmaxpon o-q^hu=z
 PN 3SG:POSS-back=LOC
paχko te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
nánəz tɛk^hu tətswɛ ne-peʔ-cə
 there opium selling IPFV:TR-d₀₂-MED

And the smallest son of the Pala headman was selling opium at a place called Pagko behind the Gmaxpon Mountain.

34. *o-zgɛq^hu ó-pe=sc^hənəʔ o-je=niʔ*
 3SG:POSS-back 3SG:POSS-father=and 3SG:POSS-elder.sibling=DU
nɛ-kə-v-ntʃ^heʔ kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ mɛ-siz ŋoʔ-cə
 PFV-NMLZ-PASS-kill₂ NMLZ-be=DET NEG-know be-MED

And he did not know that his father and elder brother had been killed after he had left.

35. *q^hoʔ mk^hɛrgu tɛroʔ=kə nəʔ mɛ-siz ʃoχte=z*
 SEQ PN headman=DET ANA NEG-know before=LOC
leʔ tɛrmɛ kətʃoy jɛrmɛ te-səypreʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 again man six about PFV:TR-dispatch₂ be-MED

And the Mkhardgu again dispatched about six men before he was aware of it.

36. *q^hoʔ paχko=z*
 SEQ PN=LOC
pɛ̃lɛ tɛroʔ o-tʃu st^hoʔ kə-xtʃi=nəʔ
 PN headman 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ-be.small=DET

kə-ntʰe *tʰe-səyɾe* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 NMLZ:PURP-kill PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-cause.to.go₂ be-MED

And he made them go downriver to Pagko to kill the youngest son of the Pala Chieftain.

37. *qʰoʔ* *qʰeʔ* *tərmə* *kátʃoɣ=nəʔ=rəʔ*
 SEQ ANA man six=DET=PL
péle *təroʔ* *o-ɣnə=scʰənəʔ* *o-jəlpe=kəsə*
 PN headman 3SG:POSS-relative=and 3SG:POSS-neighbor=like
nə-ʃie-nə *ŋoʔ-cə*
 IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂-3PL be-MED

And the six men were sort of like kinsmen and neighbors of the Pala headman's.

38. *qʰoʔ* *qʰeʔ* *péle* *təroʔ* *o-tʃu=pʰa*
 SEQ ANA PN headman 3SG:POSS-son=place
mkʰérgu *təroʔ=kə*
 PN headman=ERG
nə-kə-ntʰe *tʰe-o-səwɛʔ-jə* *ŋoʔ*
 2SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-kill PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-cause.to.come₂-1PL be

And they said to the Pala headman's son, "It is the Mkhargu headman who sent us downriver to have you killed,"

39. *təyɾə* *jəlpe=kəsə* *ŋoʔ-jə*
 relative neighbor=like be-1PL
ʃənəʔ *nəjiʔ* *mə-kə-ntʰe=nəʔ* *mə-tə-kʰút* *ŋoʔ*
 but 2SG NEG-GP-kill=SUB NEG-PFV-be.doable₂ be

"we are sort of like your kinsmen and neighbors, but it has become disallowed for one not to kill you,"

40. *q^hónə t^hə te-kə-pe re? te-tsəʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ:EMPH what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-3PL be-MED
 “so what should one do?” they said.

41. *q^hoʔ q^həʔ pélé tərotʃu=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ ANA PN chieftain'.son=DET=ERG
mə-ɬdu mk^hərgúpu=kə
 NEG-be.serious Mkhardgu.people=ERG
jəjəreʔ pələpu jə-rtsemet tʃět-nəŋo
 1PL Pala.people 1PL:POSS-extermination take.out-MED
 And the Pala chieftain’s son said, “Alright, so the Mkhardgu Chieftain will annihilate
 us the Pala people,”

42. *q^hoʔ mk^hérgu=p^ha le-koy-tsomʔ-aŋ=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN=place IPFV:UPRIVER-2→1-take.thither₂-1SG=SUB
ʃənəʔ sət-aŋ ʃteʔ
 but die-1SG be:EMPH
 “if you take me upriver to the Mkhardgu people, I will still die.”

43. *q^hónə nəjəreʔ=nt^hon*
 SEQ:EMPH 2PL=also
ná-ja tə-tʃět-nə mə-reʔ
 2PL:POSS-hand 2-take.out-2PL NEG-be.necessary
 “So no need to raise your hands (against me),”

44. *əjiʔ qəŋnəmʔ=nəŋ t^he-ncámder-aŋ*
 1SG river=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-drown.oneself-1SG
q^hoʔ nəʔ ʃteʔ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ ANA be:EMPH=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “I will just leap into the river and drown myself, and that will do it,” he said.

45. *q^hoʔ kə-səntʃ^he t^hv-kə-ɐre=rɐʔ=kə*
 SEQ NMLZ-do.killing PFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂=PL=ERG
vde te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 be.good PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED

And those who went downriver to do the killing said, “OK.”

46. *q^hónə pélé ɬərotʃu=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ:EMPH PN chieftain’s.son=DET=ERG
p^hétsət=kə o-koʔ ó-mɲa=rɐʔ te-nsəyloj
 handkerchief=INS 3SG:POSS-head 3SG:POSS-eye=PL PFV:TR-cover₂
q^hoʔ ɬəciʔ=nəj t^hv-nəmdərʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ water=inside PFV:DOWNRIVER-jump₂ be-MED

And the Pala Chieftain’s son covered his head and eyes with a handkerchief and jumped into the river.

47. *q^hónə nəʔoséʃsət=kə*
 SEQ:EMPH thus=INS
mk^hərgúpu=kə pélépu=nəʔ o-rtɬəmet
 Mkhardgu.people=ERG Pala.people=DET 3SG:POSS-extermination
te-tʃet-nə q^hoʔ nəʔ nə-fsət
 PFV:TR-take.out₂-3PL SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.thus₂
nə-tʃ^hoz ɲoʔ-cə
 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂ be-MED

And in this way the Mkhardgu (chieftain) exterminated the Pala (chieftain and his family). That was the way it happened, it is said.

BZHAGBRA MOUNTAIN

vzári

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *vzári=nə?*

PN=TOP

ts^hovdən jə-sətʰe=sc^hənə? kəldzəm̩ sətʰe

PN 1PL:POSS-land=and PN land

o-səmts^həm=cɛ=z kə-toʔ=cə? ɲo?

3SG:POSS-boundary=LOC:INDF=LOC NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF be

The Bzhagbra Mountain is located somewhere on the border between Tshobdun and Kirtima.¹²⁵

2. *q^hoʔ v zári=nə? ts^hovden pélə q^hoʔ kəldzəm̩=rə?*

SEQ PN=TOP PN PN SEQ PN=PL

ʃə-kə-mʃ^hot kə-reʔ=cə?

AND-INF-worship NMLZ:SBJ-be.necessary=INDF

zəvdaʔ ʃíikə kə-ftsənʔ=cə? ɲo?

mountain.deity very NMLZ:SBJ-be.powerful=INDF be

The Bzhagbra Mountain is a very powerful mountain deity that (people from) Tshobdun, Pala, and Kirtima must all go and worship.

3. *q^hoʔ zəvdaʔ ʃtsowo o-vzər=nə?*

SEQ mountain.deity main.peak 3SG:POSS-side=DET

ɛgeffí zəvdaʔ q^hoʔ sménbe zəvdaʔ te-ké-tsə toʔ

PN mountain.deity SEQ PN mountain.deity IPFV-GP-say exist

Beside the main peak of Bzhagbra Mountain (Deity) are found the Bkrashis and Smanpa mountain deities.

¹²⁵ A Village in Rongwam (茸安) Township, southern Rngaba County.

4. *q^hoʔ sɲonts^he=nəʔ*

SEQ former.time=TOP

vzári o-koʔ te-kɛ-fɛ

PN 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:UP-GP-go

q^hoʔ lɛsɛ-p^hɔʔ te-kɛ-mp^hɛri=nəʔ

SEQ PN-direction IPFV:UP-GP-look=SUB

rtsepotɛlɛ o-komʔ sɛmtiʔ kɛ-tsə tʃ^hozʔ

Potala 3SG:POSS-door be.visible GP-say be.the.rule

It is said that in the past, when one ascended the peak of the Bzhagbra Mountain and looked in the direction of Lhasa, the door of the Potala Palace was visible.

5. *q^hoʔ o-ɣóri=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-front=DET

mts^ho ome kə-xteʔ=cəʔ jəmoŋ kəlŋo-tʃo-sqe jɛrmɛ
lake very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF mu five-six-ten about

kə-toʔ=cəʔ toʔ

NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF exist

And in front of it there is a very big lake with an area of about fifty-sixty *mu*.¹²⁶

6. *q^hoʔ mts^ho o-vzər=nəʔ*

SEQ lake 3SG:POSS-side=DET

tʃeʔ kə-ɣmɛru te-kɛ-teʔ q^hoʔ mts^ho ke-kɛ-skor

tea one-pot IPFV-GP-make SEQ lake IPFV:CISLOC-GP-circle

q^hoʔ kə-tɛskor te-kɛ-lɛt=nəʔ

SEQ one-circle IPFV-GP-do=SUB

noŋme tʃeʔ kə-ɣmɛru te-lɛ tʃ^hozʔ ŋoʔ

only.then tea one-pot IPFV-boil be.the.rule be

And when one prepares a pot of tea at the lakeside and then circles the lake, the pot of tea does not come to a boil until one has completed a full circle, it is said.

¹²⁶ A unit for measuring area, equals to 667 square meters.

7. *q^hoʔ mts^ho=nəʔ ɛrŋiʔ ɲəɣɲəɣʔ*¹²⁷

SEQ lake=DET be.blue IDPH

o-vzər=nəʔ=rɛʔ o-q^hɛ səmtiʔ

3SG:POSS-side=DET=PL 3SG:POSS-bottom be.visible

The lake is blue, and near its bank the bottom is visible,

8. *ʃənəʔ o-ɣcəl=nəʔ rna ofétkə ɲa qəvqəvʔ*¹²⁸

but 3SG:POSS-center=DET be.deep so be.black IDPH

q^hoʔ tə-komɛzɛr=rɛʔ ne-kə-səmdzuʔ=cəʔ

SEQ GP:POSS-creepy.feeling=PL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.sit=INDF

ŋoʔ tʃ^hozʔ

be be.the.rule

but the center of the lake it is so deep that it is black, and makes one feel creepy.

9. *sɲonts^he=nəʔ mts^ho-vzər*

former.time=DET lake-side

zɔʔ nɛ-kə-ⁿdi=cəʔ nɛ-ljo-cə=nəʔ

cow IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-ride₂=INDF PFV:DOWN-drown₂-MED=SUB

kozəzɔʔ ɲniʔ o-p^héři

together.with.cow PN 3SG:POSS-other.bank

dəmtʃɔ¹²⁹=z tə-nlɔ ké-tsə nɛ-tʃ^hoz-cə

PN=LOC PFV:UP-come.out₂ GP-say IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

In the past, someone riding a cow was drowned (in the lake) and (his corpse) came up at Demco on the other bank of the river in Rnyi Village.

¹²⁷ Ideophone describing blue color.

¹²⁸ Ideophone describing black color.

¹²⁹ Name of a small place in Rnyi Village, formerly occupied by a single household, now site of the relocated Bkrashissgang Monastery.

10. *nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
vzəremtsʰo o-qʰv=nəʔ dəmtʃə toʔ ké-tsə tʰozʔ
 PN 3SG:POSS-bottom=DET PN exist GP-say be.the.rule
 That is because the bottom of the Bzhagbra Lake was located at Demco, it is said.

11. *qʰoʔ cʰeʔ=z=nəʔ mtsʰo o-vzər=nəʔ*
 SEQ former.time=LOC=TOP lake 3SG:POSS-side=DET
ʃjontsʰe vlukzoh=scʰənəʔ rtfaməʔ
 former.time arm.guard=and iron.helmet
qʰoʔ puzvu qʰoʔ toŋʔ
 SEQ musket SEQ white.conch
nəʔ=rəʔ ne-teʔ nɐ-tʰoz
 ANA=PL PFV:TR-place₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 Originally, old arm guards, an iron helmet, a musket, a white conch and what not were placed by the lake side.

12. *ʃənəʔ toʒaʔ=nəʔ ʃjontsʰərjuʔ nəpʰu té-tsə-nə=kə*
 but nowadays=TOP antic be.valuable IPFV-say-3PL=INS
 But since people nowadays believe that antics are valuable,

13. *kəmɐqʰúnəʔ toŋʔ kəma*
 afterwards white.conch except
nəʔ o-ri=nəʔ nə-rla ʃteʔ
 ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder=DET PFV-be.lost₂ be:EMPH
 so afterwards all except the white conch got lost.

14. *qʰoʔ ʒəndaʔ ó-ɐvɐ smɐnrəʔ ʰdzɐmənʰdzɐ toʔ=kə*
 SEQ sacred.mountain 3SG:POSS-surface medicinal.herb of.all.kinds exist=INS
 And since there are all kinds of medicinal herbs (growing) on the sacred mountain,

15. *sménbe=rɛʔ zəvdaʔ=ɛɛr fə-nəsmən-nə tʃʰozʔ*
 doctor=PL sacred.mountain=body AND-collect.medicinal.herb-3PL be.the.rule
 doctors will go and collect medicinal herbs on the sacred mountain.

16. *fənəʔ zəvdaʔ=ɛɛr te-kɛ-fɛ=nəʔ*
 but sacred.mountain=body IPFV:UP-GP-go=SUB
kɛ-rɛχʰfoʰbaʔ=scʰənəʔ qəqijélo kɛ-pe mɛ-jɛn
 INF-shout=and EXCL INF-do NEG-be.doable
 But, when one goes up the sacred mountain, one must not shout or yell greetings,

17. *ʰdenəʔ támu tʃʰəkəsci nɛ-jəm=ntʃʰon*
 for weather however IPFV:PST-be.sunny₂=even
mtsʰo=nəŋ zʰdəmʔ lɔrnəlɔr¹³⁰ te-kə-nlɔʔ=cəʔ ŋoʔ
 lake=inside cloud IDPH IPFV-NMLZ-come.out=INDF be
 for even if the weather was sunny before, puffs of clouds will continue to rise out of the lake,

18. *qʰoʔ tʰɔʔ-ʰbrəyʔ-lɔʔ-χsəm*
 SEQ thunderbolt-thunder-lightning-three
fla te-kə-pe=cəʔ ŋoʔ tʃʰoz
 immediately IPFV-NMLZ-do=INDF be be.the.rule
 and as a rule it will thunder and lightning right away.

¹³⁰ A derived ideophone from *lor*, describing small, rounded objects or people.

19. *q^hoʔ pʃəve vdíti jə-mda jərmə=nəʔ*
 SEQ Flower-Viewing.Festival¹³¹ PROS-be.time about=SUB
ts^hovdən tɛjtsɛpu=rɐʔ
 PN people.from.Teutses=PL
steʔ kə-təpu=cəʔ tərme kə-rdɔʔ kɐ-rɛnts^ha reʔ
 each one-household=INDF man one-CL INF-provide be.necessary
q^hoʔ vʒári kə-mtʃ^hot le-kɐ-fɛ ŋoʔ
 SEQ PN NMLZ:PURP-worship IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-go be

When the Flower-Viewing Festival is around the corner, each household at Teutses Village in Tshobdun must provide a male person and (together) they go upriver to worship the Bzhagbra Mountain (Deity).

20. *q^hoʔ kəldzámɐ jə-kɐ-zɣot=nəʔ=z*
 SEQ PN PROS-GP-arrive=SUB=LOC
mts^hok^he te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF exist=INS
nánə=z prɛke te-kɛ-ⁿdi
 there=LOC camp IPFV-GP-take

And where one is about to reach Kirtima there is a place called Mtshokha, and they (lit. one) make camp there,

21. *q^hoʔ skəm=rɐʔ ⁿge-kɐ-wémɐ q^hoʔ ⁿbrɛrjəɣ=rɐʔ te-kɐ-pe*
 SEQ cattle=PL IPFV-GP-slaughter SEQ horse.race=PL IPFV-GP-do
q^hoʔ ʒəvdaʔ ʃə-te-kɐ-mtʃ^hot ŋoʔ tʃ^hozʔ
 SEQ mountain.deity AND-IPFV-GP-worship be be.the.rule

they slaughter dry cows, hold horse races, and go uphill to worship the mountain deity.

¹³¹ An important traditional festival of the Rgyalrong Tibetans (in Situ Rgyalrong *rzomjōk*), featuring mountain-deity worshipping amid various communal merry-making and outdoor activities, held between May and July in the Lunar Calendar.

22. *q^hoʔ tə-kə-zuʔ kə-reʔ=rəʔ kəmdiʔ*
 SEQ GP:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-request NMLZ:SBJ-be.necessary=PL all
te-ké-tsə q^hoʔ zəvdaʔ ftsən
 IPFV-GP-say SEQ mountain.deity be.powerful
o-tánʔ=kə tə-zdoŋtʂəʔ ʃfikə
 3SG:POSS-reason=INS GP:POSS-assistance very
poj ké-tsə t^hozʔ
 do₃ GP-say be.the.rule

And tell (the mountain deity) all that must be requested, and since the mountain deity is so powerful, it very commonly grants one's requests, it is said.

HISTORY OF THE RNATA PALACE

rnéta rjɛlse lorju?

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *koʃənaŋʔ=nəʔ rnéta rjɛlse=nəʔ*
 former.time=TOP Rnata palace=TOP
qɛcʰwəriʔ ʃotʰaŋʔ¹³²=z nɐ-to ɲoʔ-cə
 PN PN=LOC IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 The chieftain's palace at Rnata used to be located at Shotang Hamlet.

2. *o-ŋóri tétʰɔ=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-front flat.area.inside.ravine=DET
o-rjɛlʒoŋ nɐ-ŋo tʰoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-chieftain.farming.land IPFV:PST-be₂ be.the.rule-MED
 The flat area in front of it used to be the chieftain's farming land.

3. *qʰoʔ tʰətʰən ome kə-xtɛʔ tʰɐ-wɛʔ*
 SEQ flood very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂
qʰoʔ o-rjɛlʒoŋ kəmdiʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-chieftain's.farming.land all
tʰe-nətsom tʰoʔ-cə
 PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂ be.the.rule-med
 A big flood came and washed away all the chieftain's farming land.

¹³² A place in Kakhyoris Village of Tshobdun Township located on the banks of Kholakyi River, where ruins of a former school (built by the communists) are found, hence the Chinese-based name *ʃotʰaŋʔ* (學堂).

4. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=kə¹³³ fsiʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ chieftain=ERG future=DET
koʔ təciʔ=kə ɐ-rjɛlse=ntʃ^hon nətsomʔ-cə ne-səsi
 this river=ERG 1SG:POSS-palace=also take.thither-MED PFV:TR-think₂
 And the chieftain thought, “This flood will one day wash away my palace also.”

5. *q^hoʔ mɛta=z o-rjɛlse te-sperʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ Rnata=LOC 3SG:POSS-palace PFV:UP:TR-move₂ be-MED
 And he moved his palace uphill to Rnata.

6. *ngé-fqɐ fteʔ-cə=kə*
 IPFV-be.powerful be:EMPH-MED=INS
 As he was so powerful,

7. *nk^hormanɯ ome kə-lɛn te-jzom*
 masses very NMLZ-exist.in.quantity PFV:TR-gather₂
q^hoʔ ne-zrɛmɐʔ fteʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.labor₂ be:EMPH be-MED
 he summoned lots of the masses and forced them to do labor.

8. *χsəm-pe nə-tsoʔ jɛrmɐ=nəʔ*
 three-year PFV-elapse₂ about=TOP
rjɛlse vde-téxse kə-toʔ
 palace four-storey NMLZ:SBJ-exist
q^hoʔ χfíkə kə-zroʔ te-sənts^ha-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ very NMLZ-be.fine PFV:TR-finish₂-3PL be-MED
 And in about three years’ time, they completed a fine palace of four storeys.

¹³³ The chieftain’s name is now forgotten, but the palace was build under counsel from his brother, a powerful lama named *ʃnóŋbo snaŋmdzət*.

9. *q^hoʔ rjɛlse o-zgɛq^hu=nəʔ*
 SEQ palace 3SG:POSS-back=TOP
k^hrop^hər=nəʔ mɲo-tɛxsɛ nɐ-to ɲoʔ
 stone.watch.tower=DET five-storey IPFV:PST-exist₂ be
 At Rnata, the palace had four storeys; at its back, there was a five-storey stone watch-tower.
10. *k^hrop^hər o-zgɛq^hu=nəʔ*
 stone.watch.tower 3SG:POSS-back=TOP
mts^hɔχkɛ ome kə-zroʔ nɐ-to ɲoʔ-cə
 assembly.hall very NMLZ-be.fine IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 And behind the stone watch-tower there was a very impressive assembly hall.
11. *q^hoʔ rjɛlse k^he-tɛxsɛ=nəʔ ⁿk^horlo əntsətse nɐ-to*
 SEQ palace each-storey=TOP prayer.wheel all IPFV:PST-exist₂
 On each storey of the palace there were prayer wheels.
12. *mɛkət^hɛt fkɛⁿjər stɛⁿjər mts^hɔt*
 not.only Kanjur Tanjur be.many
rjɛlse=nəɲ ne-zⁿdɛʔ¹³⁴ ɲoʔ-cə
 palace=inside IPFV:PST:TR-stack₂ be-MED
 Moreover, many volumes of Kanjur and Tanjur texts were stacked inside the palace.
13. *q^hoʔ mts^hɔχkɛ stot=nəɲ*
 SEQ assembly.hall upper.level=inside
tʃuwu nɐ-to ɲoʔ-cə
 Sakyamuni.Buddha IPFV:PST-exist be-MED
 And on the upper level of the assembly hall, there was a (statue of) the Sakyamuni Buddha.

¹³⁴ This verb form has an *impersonal passive* reading.

14. *q^hoʔ méju sku ⁿdzəməⁿdzə*

SEQ further Buddha.statue various

mts^hôṭ nɐ-to ɲoʔ-cə

be.many IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED

And there were in addition many various statues of Buddha.

15. *q^hoʔ kɛrjaŋ kɛt^hoŋ*

SEQ long.pillar short.pillar

ó-kɛr ⁿbrulɔʔ nɐ-kɛ-fkôṭ nɐ-to ɲoʔ-cə

3SG:POSS-surface dragon PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-carve₂ IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED

And on the surfaces of the long and short pillars were carved dragons.

16. *q^hoʔ komʔ=rɐʔ χfíkə kə-mp^hjor*

SEQ door=PL very NMLZ-be.beautiful

nɐ-ɲo ɲoʔ tʃ^hozʔ-cə

IPFV:PST-be₂ be be.the rule-MED

And the doors were very beautiful.

17. *q^hoʔ o-p^hjiʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-outside=TOP

leʔ ⁿk^horlo kə-téskor ke-fɐ nɐ-ɲo ɲoʔ-cə

again praying.wheel one-CL IPFV:CISLOC-go IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED

And on the outside, there was another circle of praying wheels.

18. *q^hoʔ rnéta rjɛlse=nəʔ*

SEQ Rnata palace=TOP

ɲjonts^he=z o-tɛrəsku χfíkə kə-ʒroʔ

former.time=LOC 3SG:POSS-giant.tangka very NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine

kávdə jərmə nɐ-to ɲoʔ-cə
 four about IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED

The Rnata Palace used to have about four fine-quality giant tangkas.

19. *kəmdiʔ koxtʃɛ̃ⁿdzi=kə tɛtsəɾ nɐ-kɐ-te*
 all silken.thread=INS embroidery PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-put₂
əntsátse nɐ-ɲo tʃ^hozʔ-cə
 all IPFV:PST-be₂ be.the.rule-MED

And all of them had embroidery made of silk threads on them.

20. *nənəʔ rjənəɲ=z ʃə-lɐ-kɐ-χtuʔ nɐ-ɲo tʃ^hozʔ-cə*
 that PN=LOC AND-PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ:U-buy₂ IPFV:PST-be₂ be.the.rule-MED
 Those (materials) people went and bought from China (back upriver).

21. *o-fcɐ=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-exchange=TOP
 In exchange,

22. *méta kəɾⁿbjoʔ tʰe-kɐ-zrakgrɛzʔ=nəʔ*
 Rnata person IPFV-GP-cause.to.line.up=SUB
tɛtsom¹³⁵ tʰe-kə-zɣot nəʔ jərmə kə-lɛn
 Tatsom IPFV-NMLZ-arrive ANA about NMLZ-exist.in.quantity
ɛjɔʔ o-spe ne-kʰi tʃ^hozʔ ké-tsə ɲoʔ-cə
 servant 3SG:POSS-material PFV:TR-hand.to₂ be.the.rule GP-say be-MED
 (the chieftain) gave so many people away as servants that if one lined them up, the line
 would go from Rnata to Tatsom, it is said.

¹³⁵ A river-crossing at Dadu River at Rnyi Village, about two kilometers from Rnata. This is also the current site of Bkrashissgang Monastery.

23. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo nanso snjóŋbo snanmdzɛt te-kɛ-tsə=nəʔ*
 SEQ chieftain PN IPFV-GP-say=DET
mɛ́ta rjɛlpo nɛ-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə
 Rnata chieftain IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED

And the chieftain known as Nangso Snyongbo Snangmdzat was the chieftain of Rnata.

24. *q^hoʔ χfíkə nɛ-scez*
 SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.prosperous₂
mɛkátshɛt o-ɛvaŋ χfíkə nɛ-xtɛ ŋoʔ-cə
 not.only 3SG:POSS-power very IPFV:PST-be.big₂ be-MED
 He was not only very prosperous but also very powerful.

25. *q^hoʔ sómo tʃóχtse rdzəⁿga fǎta rŋepe fəsmɛt=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN PN PN north.of PN south.of=DET
kəmdiʔ ne-nəmdzət ŋoʔ-cə
 all IPFV:PST-rule.over₂ be-MED

And he ruled over all the land north of Somang, Cogtse, and Rdzaong'gag and south of Rngaba.

26. *q^hoʔ rjɛlsɛ k^haxsəm o-rgonbe=nəʔ*
 SEQ manor.of.the.three-chieftains¹³⁶ 3SG:POSS-monastery=DET
mɛ́ta nɛ-to
 PN IPFV:PST-exist₂

mɛkátshɛt krɛfizgəŋ rgonbe nɛ-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə
 not.only Zhaxirigang monastery IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED

And the monastery serving the manors of the three chieftains was at Rnata, and it was none other than the Bkrashissgang Monastery.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Written Tibetan <khag.gsum> 'three-division', referring to the manor of Cogtse, Somang, and Rdzong'gag Chieftains, the three powerful feudal lords of this region.

¹³⁷ An ancient monastery of the Jonangpa Sect, now over seven hundred years old.

27. *q^hoʔ kreʃizganʁ gonbe=nəʔ rjɛlsɛ k^haχsəm nəɣu*
 SEQ PN monastery=TOP manor.of.the.three-chieftains 3PL:POSS
kə-nts^hɔʔ nɛ-ŋo-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-gather.to.chant.sutra IPFV:PST-be₂-3PL be-MED
 And (the monks of the) Bkrashissgang Monastery did their religious services for the three chieftains.

28. *q^hoʔ pɛlɛ ʃət^hɛco*
 SEQ PN downriver.from
k^haŋsɛr wəⁿdəzʔ kɛto smonmoʔ ts^hovzi t^he-kə-wi
 PN PN PN PN four.tribe IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come
mk^hɛrgu ʃəlɛco=nəʔ təri t^hoχtəm=nəʔ
 PN upriver.from=DET land.rent=DET
mɛta rjɛlse=z ʃə-te-kɛ-lɛt nɛ-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə
 PN palace=LOC AND-IPFV:UP-GP-pay IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED
 And everyone downriver from Pala, including Khangshan, Wendez, Kato, Smonmo, and the Four Tribes¹³⁸ and upriver from Mkhardgu all used to go uphill to Rnata Palace to turn in land rent.

29. *q^hoʔ təʃɔʔ=rɛʔ=kə k^he-pe=nəʔ*
 SEQ serf=PL=ERG each-year=TOP
rjɛlpo o-kɛju=nəʔ kɛ-nrərəzʔ
 chieftain 3SG:POSS-firewood=DET INF-take.truns
kɛ-wot ⁿge-reʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 INF-bring IPFV-be.necessary be-MED
 Each year, the serfs must take turns bringing in firewood for the chieftain.

¹³⁸ Referring to Kakhyoris, Cus, and Po'ge Villages in present-day Tshobdun Township, an area within Khangsar Township.

30. *q^hoʔ kə-ⁿdʒoz χso-fkorʔ*

SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.coarse three-CL¹³⁹

kə-ⁿdev ɛne-fkorʔ

NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine two-CL

kə-lət nɛ-re ɲoʔ-cə

GP-put IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂ be-MED

And either three loads of thick firewood sticks or two loads of thin firewood sticks were required.

31. *q^hoʔ ome nɛ-c^hɛlɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.capable₂ be-MED

And he was very capable.

32. *ʃənəʔ kəmɛq^huq^hoʔ detsətɕə kɛ-ɲɛm ne-je*

but afterwards gradually INF-decline PFV:TR-begin₂

But afterwards his power began to gradually decline.

33. *q^hoʔ kɛ-nɛpóro kə-ɲóɛ mɛ-kɛ-c^hɛ ne-je*

SEQ INF-take.care.of NMLZ-be.well NEG-INF-be.able PFV:TR-begin₂

And he started to be unable to manage (his state affairs) well.

34. *q^hónə kəmɛq^húnəʔ tʃóχtɕe rjélpo tə-fqɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ:EMPH afterwards PN chieftain PFV-be.powerful₂ be-MED

Afterwards, the Cogtse Chieftain became powerful.

35. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnəʔ*

SEQ afterwards

konyɛʔ=rɛʔ jə-zɣot jɛrmɛ=nəʔ

communist=PL PROS-arrive about=TOP

¹³⁹ Classifier for loads carried on back.

méta tʃuwu o-rɣəmʔ
 PN Sakyamuni.Buddha 3SG:POSS-tears
nɛ-wɛʔ nɛ-tʃʰoz-cə
 PFV:DOWN-come₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

Afterwards, when the (Chinese) communists were about to arrive, the (statue of) Sakyamuni Buddha at Rnata was said to have shed tears.

36. *kəmɛqʰu qʰónə kɔŋɛʔ lɛ-zɣôʔ*
 afterwards SEQ:EMPH communist PFV:UPRIVER-come₂
qʰónə rnéta rjɛlse=nəʔ te-tʃovʔ-nə ɣoʔ-cə
 SEQ:EMPH PN palace=DET PFV:TR-burn₂-3PL be-MED

Afterwards, the communists came upriver and burned the Rnata Palace to the ground.

37. *qʰoʔ rjɛlse o-lorjuʔ nə-kə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ palace 3SG:POSS-history PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-elaspe₂=DET
stɔŋtso-pe jɛrmɛ nə-tsoʔ tʃʰozʔ ɣoʔ-cə
 thousand-year about PFV-elapse₂ be.the.rule be-MED

The history of the palace is said to span about one thousand years.

HOW OPIUM CAME TO OUR LAND

jəjəre? jəsətʰez təkʰuna tʰəoséfsət jəkəwε? kəŋo?

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *koʃənaŋ? ɛji? sqémŋo sqéftʰoy jərmε jε-wεʔ-əŋ=nə?*
 formerly 1SG fifteen sixteen about PFV-come₂-1SG=SUB
 When I was about fifteen or sixteen years of age,¹⁴⁰

2. *rjənəŋ rdardɔ? kəpε? kə-ntʰom*
 PN individual Han.Chinese NMLZ:SBJ-be.wandering
jəjəre? jə-sətʰe=z kε-to? te-jε məkátʰεt
 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC INF-exist PFV:TR-begin₂ not.only
 individual wandering Chinese persons began to be found in our land.

3. *kʰepʰε? kə-nénma=rε? kε-to? te-jε*
 some NMLZ:SBJ-marry.into.wife's.family=PL INF-exist PFV:TR-begin₂
 Some of them also began to marry into (local women's) families.

4. *qʰo? qʰənəʔ=rεʔ=kə təkʰúrwi te-wót-nə*
 SEQ ANA=PL=ERG poppy.seed PFV:UP:TR-bring₂-3PL
 And these people brought in opium seeds.

5. *qʰo? stʰɔrenə? jεrε? ne-ji-nə*
 SEQ at.first 3PL PFV:TR-plant₂-3PL
jəjəreʔ=nə? ʃla ké-ji mə-nε-speʔ-jə
 1PL=TOP immediately INF-plant NEG-IPFV:PST-know.how₂-1PL
 At first, they alone planted (opium); and as for us, we did not know how to plant
 (opium) right away.

¹⁴⁰ Around the year 1939.

6. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^hunəʔ kɛ̌-ji kɛ̌-spe te-je-jə*
 SEQ afterwards INF-plant INF-know.how PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL
 Afterwards, we began to know how to plant it.
7. *q^hoʔ kəlɣo-pe jɛrmɛ nɐ-ji-jə*
 SEQ five-year around IPFV:PST-plant₂-1PL
 And for about five years we were planting it.
8. *q^hoʔ tʃóɣtse rjélpo=kə o-c^hɐ me-ne-jzom*
 SEQ PN chieftain=ERG 3SG:POSS-tax NEG-IPFV:PST-gather₂
 And the Cogtse Chieftain did not levy tax.
9. *fənəʔ leʔ kə-pe jɛrmɛ nə-tsoʔ*
 but again one-year about PFV-elapse₂
q^hónə o-c^hɐ kɛ̌-jzomʔ te-je
 then 3SG:POSS-tax INF-gather PFV:TR-begin₂
 But about one year later, he began to levy tax.
10. *rjélpo=kə jəjərvəʔ jə-sɐtʃ^he=z*
 chieftain=ERG 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC
c^hɐ kə-jzomʔ k^he-rdɔ̌-ɪnez=kəsə te-səwɐ
 tax NMLZ:SBJ-gather about-one-two=like PFV:UP-dispatch₂
 And the chieftain dispatched about two tax collectors uphill to our land.
11. *q^hoʔ təjtʃe te-xʃɛʔ*
 SEQ field PFV:TR-measure₂
 And they measured the fields.

12. *tək^huŋa jəmoŋ¹⁴¹ kə-rdəʔ=nəʔ*

opium *mu* one-CL=TOP

tək^huŋa mŋo-sraŋ jərmə te-jzomʔ nɐ-ŋo

opium five-tael about PFV:TR-gather₂ IPFV:PST-be₂

And for each *mu* of (opium-growing) land, he levied tax of about five taels of opium.

13. *q^hoʔ fərvə=rɛʔ=kə ŋɛʈʰəʃsəʃsi tərjuʔ lɛʈʰe kə-zroʔ*

SEQ Moslem=PL=ERG everywhere goods NMLZ-be.fine

pjəru ɛju srəm spofel mdɛwuləʈʰe

coral turquoise otter.skin amber weapon

zəŋʔrjuʔ qɛri zəŋʔscɔʔ zəŋʔzrolaʔ

copperware copper.pot copper.ladle copper.bucket

q^hónə koxʈfen rjɛkɛr jəŋzɐ nəʔ lɛsɔʔ nɛ-nɛwəwət-nə

SEQ satin fedora ANA and.so.on PFV:TR-bring₂.RDPL-3PL

And Moslems kept bringing in from all over the place fine goods, such as corals, turquoise, otter skins, amber, weapons, copperware (pots, ladles, buckets), satin, fedoras, and what not.

14. *q^hoʔ tək^huŋa te-fcɛʔ-nə nɐ-ŋo*

SEQ opium IPFV-exchange₂-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂

And these they were exchanging for opium.

15. *q^hoʔ jəjərvəʔ jə-sɛʈʰe=z təjpo-tsə*

SEQ 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC grains-TOP

əntsɛjə mɛ-nəp^hu-cə

so.much NEG-fetch.good.price-MED

As for grains in our land, they do not fetch much of a good price.

¹⁴¹ From Chinese (一畝. 畝) *mǔ* is a unit of area equivalent roughly to 667 square meters.

16. *q^hónə təxtə? kə-soz? jərmə=cə?*
 SEQ:EMPH belly NMLZ:SBJ-feed about=INDF
lotə? te-ji-nə kəma
 crops PFV:TR-plant₂-3PL except
 So except for growing just enough crops to fill their bellies,
17. *nə? o-ri=nə?*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-remainder=DET
kəmdi? tək^huŋa kə-ji te-je-nə
 all opium INF-plant PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL
 people began to (use) all the remaining (land) for growing opium.
18. *məkáts^hət k^hep^hε? tərmə=rə?*
 moreover some man=PL
tək^huŋa kə-ski? te-je-nə nə-ŋo
 opium INF-smoke PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂
 And moreover, some of the men began to smoke opium.
19. *q^ho? tək^huŋa te-kə-ski?=rə?=nt^hon*
 SEQ opium IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-smoke=PL=also
nə-rju? t^he-ntswe?-nə q^ho? tək^hu te-fcε?
 3PL:POSS-property IPFV:AWAY-sell-3PL SEQ opium IPFV-exchange
q^ho? ⁿge-ski?-nə nə-ŋo
 SEQ IPFV-smoke-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂
 And the opium-smokers would also sell their properties in exchange for opium and they kept smoking it.
20. *kəmεq^húnə? tək^huŋa o-jən? kə-ⁿdʒə te-je*
 afterwards opium 3SG:POSS-yen INF-cling PFV:TR-begin₂
 Afterwards, a yen for opium began to take hold.

21. *q^hoʔ nə-mdɔʔ=rɐʔ kɛ-ŋɐn te-je*
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-complexion=PL INF-be.bad PFV:TR-begin₂

And their complexion began to turn bad.

22. *q^hoʔ kɛ-rɐmɐ me-ne-c^hɐ-nə*
 SEQ INF-do.labor NEG-IPFV-be.able-3PL
nə-sqɐraʔ=rɐn kɛ-sɛsəɣʔ me-ne-c^hɐ-nə nɐ-ŋo
 3PL:POSS-belt=even INF-tighten NEG-IPFV-be.able-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂

They could not do labor, nor even tighten their own belts.

23. *q^hoʔ nəkəsə kɛ-nəldəlden ne-je*
 SEQ thus INF-exist.in.quantity:RDPL PFV:TR-begin₂

And more and more people began to end up like that.

24. *q^hoʔ tɛk^hɥna=nəʔ sqe-pe jɐrmɐ ne-ji-nə*
 SEQ opium=DET ten-year about IPFV:PST-plant₂-3PL

For about ten years they were planting opium.

25. *q^hoʔ konɐʔ lɐ-zyôʔ*
 SEQ communists PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂

And then the communists arrived (coming upriver).

26. *q^hoʔ konɐʔ=kə tɛk^hɥna kɛ-ji mɐ-joyʔ ʔdenəʔ*
 SEQ communist=ERG opium INF-plant NEG-be.allowed for

kə^rn^hjoʔ səmɥôʔ ŋoʔ tɛ-tsə
 person ruin be IPFV-say

The communists were saying that growing opium was not allowed because (opium) ruins people.

27. *q^hoʔ nəʔəq^hu tək^huŋa kɛ̃-ji mə-nə-joy*
 SEQ from.then.on opium INF-plant NEG-PFV-be.allowed₂
 From then on, growing opium was forbidden.
28. *q^hoʔ kə-skiʔ=rɛʔ=ntʃ^hon kɛ̃-skiʔ o-spe nə-mɛʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-smoke=PL=also INF-smoke 3SG:POSS-material PFV-not.exist₂
 And that which the opium-smokers' smoke was also gone.
29. *nəʔəq^hu q^hoʔ tək^huŋa=nəʔ*
 from.then.on SEQ opium=TOP
jə-sɛtʃ^he=z nɐ-ⁿblôt nɐ-tʃ^hoʔ
 IPL:POSS-place=LOC PFV-be.extinct₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 And from then on, opium disappeared from our land.
30. *q^hoʔ tək^huŋa kɛ̃-ji=nəʔ*
 SEQ opium GP-plant=TOP
 As for planting opium,
31. *ŋámɐ o-tá-ji te-kɐ-pe*
 maize 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-plant IPFV-GP-do
 one does it in the same way as one plants maize.
32. *wowo t^he-kɐ-lweʔ*
 small.hole IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-dig¹⁴²
 One digs small holes.

¹⁴² Downriver orientation occurs here as the local seed-planters dig holes downwards from the top side of the fields.

33. *q^hoʔ* *ó-naŋ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside
tək^húrwi *k^he-mtʃoʔ* *k^he-mtʃoʔ* *ⁿge-kə-lət*
 poppy.seed each-pinch each-pinch IPFV:DOWN-GP-put
 And puts poppy seeds into them pinch by pinch.
34. *máⁿdenəʔ* *t^hejrəʔ* *t^he-kə-stukiʔ*
 or plough.groove IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-stretch.out
q^hoʔ *tək^húrwi* *t^hejrəʔ=nəŋ* *ⁿge-kə-lət*
 SEQ poppy.seed plough.groove=inside IPFV:DOWN-GP-put
 Or plough out grooves (in the field) and puts the poppy seeds in the grooves.
35. *q^hoʔ* *te-ké-ji* *q^hoʔ* *kə-nəpóro=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-GP-plant SEQ GP-care.for=TOP
ʃfikə *kə-mqə* *q^hoʔ*
 very NMLZ:SBJ-be.tiring SEQ
kə-əbʒəvʔ *kə-reʔ=cəʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.attentive NMLZ-be.necessary=INDF be
 Planting (poppies) and taking care of them takes a lot of tiring labor and attention.
36. *səjniʔ=rəʔ* *kdənbe* *ⁿge-toʔ* *mə-kə-joyʔ=cəʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 weed=PL at.all IPFV-exist NEG-NMLZ-be.allowed=INDF be
 Weeds are not allowed to exist at all.
37. *q^hoʔ* *kámʃ^ha* *te-xteʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ a.bit IPFV:UP-be.big=SUB
te-kə-ntfo *te-kə-séwor*
 IPFV-GP-loosen.earth IPFV-GP-heap.soil.around.roots
 When (the poppy plants) grow up a little bit, one hoes the poppy field to loosen the earth, and heap soil around the roots.

- 38 *q^hoʔ mɛ̃ju te-xtɛʔ=nəʔ*
SEQ further IPFV:UP-be.big=SUB

q^hoʔ o-metɔʔ kɐ-lɛt ne-ʝɐʔ
SEQ 3SG:POSS-flower INF-bloom IPFV-begin₃

When they grow up more, their flowers begin to bloom.

39. *q^hoʔ o-metɔʔ=nəʔ*
SEQ 3SG:POSS-flower=TOP

k^huləʔ o-vzəʔ metɔʔ o-lvaʔ kaβnáyxsəm
seed.pod 3SG:POSS-rim flower 3SG:POSS-leaf several

ʝɛrmɐ toʔ
about exist

As for their flowers, the buds have several petals (growing) at the rims.

40. *q^hoʔ o-mdɔʔ=nəʔ*
SEQ 3SG:POSS-color=TOP

kə-ɣrəmʔ kə-wɛrneʔ kə-qɛrɛʔ kə-ɛrɛiʔ
NMLZ:SBJ-be.white NMLZ:SBJ-be.red NMLZ:SBJ-be.yellow NMLZ:SBJ-be.blue

nəkəsə "dzɛmə"dzɐ toʔ ɲoʔ
thus all.kinds.of exist be

As for the colors, they may be white, red, yellow, and blue. There are all kinds of colors like these.

41. *ʃfikə mp^hʝor*
very be.beautiful

They are so beautiful.

42. *q^hoʔ o-metɔʔ ʔge-nⁿbor*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-flower IPFV-wither
q^hoʔ o-k^hulərʔ ne-p^hɣiʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-seed.pod IPFV-be.grey
q^hoʔ kɛ-rtse tɛ-mda ɲoʔ
 SEQ INF-make.a.cut.on IPFV-be.time be

Their flowers wither, their seed pods turn grey, and it is time to make cuts on them.

43. *te-kɛ-rtse=nəʔ*
 IPFV-GP-make.a.cut.on=SUB
k^hulərʔ=nəŋ tɛlo=kəsə ne-nlɔʔ ɲoʔ
 seed.pod=inside milk=like IPFV-come.out be

When one makes a cut, a milk-like substance comes out from inside the seed pods.

44. *təm^u=rɛʔ jə-lɛt orjájɲnəʔ*
 rain=PL PROS-rain when

When it is about to rain,

45. *fə-kɛ-rtse mɛ-ɲɛn ʔdenəʔ tɛlo=kəsə=nəʔ ɣtʃɛ*
 AND-GP-make.a.cut.on NEG-be.acceptable for milk=like=DET wash₃
q^hoʔ kə-mɛ səpoj ɲoʔ
 SEQ NMLZ-not.exist cause.to.become₃ be

one must not go and cut the poppies for (rain) will wash away and cause the milk-like (sap) to be lost.

46. *nəʔ o-tánʔ=kə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
sas^uq^hu təm^u=rɛʔ mɛ-lɛt q^hónə te-kɛ-rtse
 afternoon rain=PL NEG-rain SEQ:EMPH IPFV-GP-make.a.cut.on

Therefore, when it does not rain in the afternoon, one does the cutting of the poppies.

47. *k^hulər?* *kərdɔʔ=ta* *st^ho?* *kə-lɛn=nə?*
 seed.pod one-CL=top most NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity=TOP
sqəmneʔ-təfe *jərmə* *te-ké-rtse* *ŋo?* *tʃ^hoʔ?*
 twelve-time about IPFV-GP-make.a.cut.on be be.the.rule
 At the most, one can as a rule make about twelve cuts on a poppy seed pod.

48. *q^ho?* *nəʔosəfsi=nə?* *təmʃuɣʔzərna?* *təworʔ=rə?* *to?*
 SEQ next.day=TOP early.morning frost=PL exist
təjʃfənəŋ *t^he-kə-fə*
 field.inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-go
 The next day, one goes downriver into the (poppy) field in the early frosty morning.

49. *q^ho?* *ték^hu* *o-k^hulər?*
 SEQ opium 3SG:POSS-seed.pod
tə-kə-rtse? *kə-toʔ=nə?*
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-make.a.cut.on₂ NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET
tərts^hɔʃju=kəsə *jlotjlot¹⁴³* *ke-tə?*
 caterpillar=like IDPH IPFV:CISLOC-form₃
 And something soft and tender like a caterpillar forms where one has made a cut on the poppy seed pod.

50. *q^ho?* *nənə?* *p^hərtiú=nəŋ* *t^he-kə-k^hrət*
 SEQ that bowl=inside IPFV-GP-scrape
 And one scrapes that into a bowl.

¹⁴³ An ideophone describing something slender and rounded.

51. *stʰo kə-cʰv=nəʔ*
 most NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=TOP
kə-siz=nəʔ kʰe-kənⁿgə-sraŋ jərmə te-svtoʔ-nə tʰozʔ
 one-morning=TOP about-nine-tael about IPFV-get-3PL be.the.rule
 In one morning, the most capable ones, they can get about nine taels of (raw opium).
52. *otsəlv=rəʔ kʰe-mŋosraŋ jərmə te-svtoʔ-nə*
 ordinary.person=PL about-five-tael about IPFV-get-3PL
 And an ordinary (opium-gatherer) gets about five taels.
53. *qʰoʔ jə-wot-nə tʰozʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-bring-3PL be.the.rule
 And they bring it back.
54. *qʰoʔ qʰənəʔ ne-kə-ʃkʰi*
 SEQ ANA IPFV-GP-air.dry
 And one air-dries it.
55. *kə-rem=rəʔ jə-jəʔ jərmə*
 INF-be.dry=PL PROS-begin₃ about
ʃəmskət jəte-kə-jtsʰem jərmə
 iron.wire COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.thin about
nəʔ o-kóʔ=ta təkʰu
 ANA 3SG:POSS-head=top opium
jə-tə-kə-remʔ=nəʔ te-kə-teʔ
 PROS-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.dry₂=DET IPFV-GP-put
 When it is beginning to get dry, one puts some opium that has almost become dry on the tip of thin wire,

56. *q^hoʔ rkəwu ó-ta te-kə-nəpyala t^he-kə-wéyset*
 SEQ butter.lamp 3SG:POSS-top IPFV-GP-turn.over IPFV:OUT-GP-heat.up
 and turns it around over a butter lamp to heat it up.
57. *q^hoʔ tápɔ=kəsə ne-kə-pe*
 SEQ mugwort.fluff=like IPFV-GP-do
q^hoʔ fəmskət=nəʔ t^he-kə-χfɔʔ
 SEQ wire=DET IPFV:OUT-GP-draw.out
 And one makes it into something like a mugwort fluff and then withdraw the wire.
58. *q^hoʔ q^həʔ tápɔ=kəsə ó-naŋ=nəʔ k^hoŋsjoŋ ŋoʔ*
 SEQ ANA mugwort.fluff=like 3SG:POSS-inside=DET be.hollow be
 And that which looks like a mugwort fluff is hollow inside.
59. *q^hoʔ tək^hu o-sə-ski raŋpaʔ toʔ=kə*
 SEQ opium 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-smoke₂ special exist=INS
nəʔ ó-ta te-kə-teʔ q^hoʔ le¹⁴⁴-kə-np^haŋen
 ANA 3SG:POSS-top IPFV-GP-put SEQ IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-lie.on.one's.side
 And as there is a special instrument for smoking opium, one puts the opium on top of it,
 and lies down on one's side.
60. *q^hoʔ tək^hu=nəʔ*
 SEQ opium=DET
rkəwu ó-ta ⁿge-kə-sáyts^hu=tsə
 butter.lamp 3SG:POSS-top IPFV-GP-bring.close=a.bit
 And bring the opium a bit closer to the top of the butter lamp.

¹⁴⁴ Upriver orientation is used here as the opium-smoker lies down toward the head ('pillow-side') of the bed.

61. *qʰoʔ le-ké-χov ɲoʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:IN-GP-inhale be
 And then one inhales.

62. *nəʔoséʃsət təkʰu te-kə-skiʔ*
 thus opium IPFV-GP-smoke
 In that fashion, one smokes the opium.

63. *qʰoʔ kə-skiʔ te-joyʔ=scʰənəʔ*
 SEQ INF-smoke IPFV-finish=SUB
kámʈʰa ke-kə-rⁿgu qʰoʔ noɲme te-kə-rəro
 a.bit IPFV-GP-sleep SEQ only.then IPFV:UP-GP-get.up
 Having finished smoking opium, one sleeps for a while and then gets up.

64. *qʰoʔ ⁿge-ffət-nə ʃteʔ ʃənəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-tell-3PL be:EMPH but
təkʰuɲa kə-skiʔ ⁿge-joyʔ
 opium INF-smoke IPFV:DOWN-finish
qʰoʔ tə-ʃǝru=rən ne-kə-vde=cəʔ ɲoʔ tsə-nə tʰozʔ
 SEQ GP:POSS-bone=even IPFV-NMLZ-be.good=INDF be say-3PL be.the rule
 And people say that when one finishes smoking opium, one feels good even in one's bones.

65. *q^hoʔ zɡolɔʔ=naŋ kɛmɲɛm tɛk^hu te-kɛ-skiʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ room=inside often opium IPFV-GP-smoke=SUB
zɡolɔʔ=naŋ vɟu ⁿɡe-kə-smo-rɛn=ntʃ^hon
 room=inside mouse IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-live=even=also
o-jənʔ kɛ-ⁿdʒɔ ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-yen IPFV-cling be-MED

If one often smokes inside a room, even mice which live in the room become addicted to opium.

66. *məkáts^hɛt zɡolɔʔ=naŋ*
 moreover room=inside
tɛk^hu kɛɲnaχso-sɲi ɐ-mə-tə-kɛ-skiʔ=nəʔ
 opium several-day IRR-NEG-PFV-GP-smoke=SUB

And furthermore, if one does not smoke in the room for a couple of days,

67. *vɟu=ntʃ^hon tɛk^hu-jənʔ te-rɛro*
 mouse=also opium-yen IPFV-get.up
q^hoʔ mk^hɛrke rkáɣⁿdɛ-kɛr kɛ-sɛrⁿdárⁿdi me-ne-c^hɐ
 SEQ ceiling rafter-surface INF-hold.tight NEG-IPFV-be.able
q^hoʔ ⁿɡe-ɐntɛr tʃ^hoʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV:DOWN-fall.from height be.the rule-MED

the mice's craving for opium also arises, and they cannot hold tight onto the ceiling rafters and they will fall down.

68. *nəʔ o-tán=kə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-cause=INS
tɛk^hɯŋa=nəʔ nántsɛjə t^hɐ-sɛq^hɐ-nəŋo
 opium=DET that.much CONT:LTR-be.harmful-MED

From this (one can see) how harmful opium is.

WAR BETWEEN KHROCHU AND RMEBA CHIEFTAINS

k^hrutʃu rjɛlposc^hənəʔ ʋme rjɛlponiʔ sɲonts^hez nekəvmqɛⁿdzəcə ɣpe

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *kofənəŋʔ=nəʔ k^hrutʃu rjɛlpo o-roŋɣmaʔ=nəʔ*
 former.time=TOP Khrochu chieftain 3SG:POSS-farming.area.army=TOP
ɣʃikə ⁿge-tʂ^het-nə kɛ-tsə tʃ^hozʔ-cə
 very IPFV-be.fierce.and.skillful.in.battle-3PL GP-say be.the.rule-MED
 It is said that the farming-area army of the Khrochu chieftain were very fierce and skillful in battle.

2. *ʋme¹⁴⁵ rjɛlpo=nəʔ o-ⁿbroɣmaʔ=nəʔ*
 Rmeba chieftain=TOP 3SG:POSS-nomadic.area.army=TOP
 As for the Rmeba chieftain, and his nomadic-area army,

3. *mdɛwulatʃe ɣʃikə ⁿge-mts^hɛmts^hóŋ=ta*
 weapon very IPFV-be.fully.equipped=beside
rtəɣmaʔ ɣʃikə ⁿge-rkaŋ ŋoʔ-cə
 cavalry very IPFV-be.powerful be-MED
 they were armed to the teeth and their cavalry was also very powerful.

4. *q^hoʔ sɲonts^he=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ former.time=LOC:INDF=DET
k^hrutʃu rjɛlpo=sc^hənəʔ ʋme rjɛlpo=niʔ te-vmqɛ-ⁿdzə-cə
 PN chieftain=and PN chieftain=DU PFV:TR-fight₂-3DU-MED
 Once, the Khrochu and Rmeba chieftains fought with each other.

¹⁴⁵ Referring to a chieftain in what is now Rkakhog County.

5. *q^hoʔ k^hrutʃu rjɛlpo=kə ɛme rjɛlpo=ta*
 SEQ PN chieftain=ERG PN chieftain=top
roŋɣmaʔ le-tʃet ɲoʔ-cə
 farming.area.army PFV:UPRIVER:TR-take.out₂ be-MED

And the Khrochu chieftain sent his farming-area army upriver to attack the Rmeba chieftain.

6. *q^hoʔ khrutʃu roŋɣmaʔ=rɐʔ*
 SEQ Khrochu farming.area.army=PL
spantɔʔ=ta kə-sɐⁿbjəmʔ o-tánʔ=kə
 grassland=top NMLZ-cause.to.be.speedy 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
nə-xtse ⁿgɛ-tʃɛt-nə
 3PL:POSS-shoe IPFV:DOWN-take.off-3pl

And in order to be swift the Khrochu farming-area soldiers would take off their shoes.

7. *rkerʒən te-nkɐ-nə nə-mt^he vʒoste ne-tʃər-nə*
 bare.footed IPFV-walk-3PL 3PL:POSS-waist small.ax IPFV:DOWN-stick-3PL
nə-ja tənɐ^hwe o-ju kə-rzɛʔ tɛ-ⁿdi-nə
 3PL:POSS-hand sickle 3SG:POSS-handle NMLZ:SBJ-be.long IPFV-take-3PL

They would walk barefooted, sticking small axes down their waists, and holding long-handled sickles in the hands.

8. *q^hoʔ ⁿbroɣmaʔ=sc^hənəʔ te-mqeʔ-nə*
 SEQ nomadic.area.army=and IPFV-fight-3PL

And they would fight the nomadic-area soldiers.

9. *q^hoʔ* *ˈbroχmaʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ nomadic.area.army=DET

ˈbrí=ta *tənc^hweʔ=kə* *ˈge-o-z-réski-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
horse=top sickle=INS IPFV:DOWN-INV-CAUS-pull-3PL be-MED

And the nomadic-area soldiers would be pulled down from the horses by the sickles.

10. *q^hoʔ* *k^hrutfu* *roŋχmaʔ=rəʔ=kə*

SEQ PN farming.area.army=PL=ERG

tányχə *kə-pe* *kə-tʃətʃi=kə*
intimidating NMLZ-do NMLZ-d.sth.while.one.is.at.it=INS

And the Khrochu farming-area soldiers, by way of intimidating (their enemies) while they were at it,

11. *kə^rˈbjoʔ* *ˈge-ntʃe-nə*

person IPFV-kill-3PL

q^hoʔ *nə-sni* *té-tʃət*

SEQ 3PL:POSS-heart IPFV:UP-take.out-3PL

q^hoʔ *ka-χnez* *tákur* *te-ˈdze-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ one-two mouthful IPFV-eat-3PL be-MED

would kill people, take out their hearts, and eat them up in one or two mouthfuls.

12. *q^hoʔ* *k^hrutfu* *roŋχmaʔ=rəʔ* *təlɛlɛ* *ˈge-tʃ^het-nə*

SEQ PN farming.area.army=PL battle IPFV-be.fierce-3PL

məkátʃ^hət *nə-vlot^həvʔ* *ome* *ˈge-toʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
not.only 3PL:POSS-stratagem very IPFV-exist be-MED

The army of the Khrochu farming-area were not just fierce in battle, but are also very guileful.

tətsərtser? *nə-nəlvəlɔ-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 cracks.and.crevices PFV-come.out₂:REDP-3PL be-MED

But when they arrived downriver at the edge of the camps, the farming-area soldiers kept coming out from cracks and crevices,

17. *q^hoʔ* *ɤme* *o-ⁿbroɤmaʔ=rɐʔ*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-nomadic.area.army=PL
nə-χaʔ *nɐ-oy-te-nə* *nɐ-tʃ^hoz-cə*
 3PL:POSS-defeat PFV-INV-put₂-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

and the Rmeba chieftain's nomadic soldiers were dealt with a crushing defeat.

18. *q^hoʔ* *nəfəq^hu* *ⁿbroɤmaʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ henceforth nomadic.area.army=TOP
roŋɤmaʔ *χfikə* *ne-kə-nəyver=kəsə*
 farming.area.army very IPFV-NMLZ-fear=like
ne-peʔ-nə *tʃ^hozʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 PFV:TR-do₂-3PL be.the.rule be-MED

From then on, this has apparently caused the nomadic-area army to become in great fear of the farming-area army.

19. *o-məke* *v-tə-ké-tsə=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-essense IRR-PFV-GP-say=SUB
ⁿbroχpe=rɐʔ *nə-ta* *roŋɤmaʔ* *v-lɐ-ké-tʃət=nəʔ*
 nomad=PL 3PL:POSS-top farming.area.army IRR-PFV:UPRIVER-GP-take.out=SUB

The essense of this (fear) is, to send the farming-area army to attack the nomadic-area soldiers,

20. *ⁿbroχpe=rɛʔ mɛ-nɛχteⁿbre məkóts^hɛt*

nomad=PL NEG-be.lucky not.only

coŋ χsom-pe jɛrmɛ wi tse-nə tʃ^hoʔʔ

disaster three-year about come say-3PL be.the.rule

would not only be unlucky for the nomadic people, but there would also be three consecutive years of disasters, it is said.

HOW THE TSHOBDUN PEOPLE FOUGHT THE KIRTIMA PEOPLE OVER PASTURES

ts^hovdānwesc^hānā? kāldzāmwewerē sēnā? tepenā otonda?

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *ts^hovdenwe=sc^hānā? kāldzāmwewe=rē? oxtē*
 Tshobdun.people=and Kirtima.people=PL mostly
rgonbe kə-náχtǎy ŋo?
 monastery NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.same be
 The Kirtima¹⁴⁷ people and Tshobdun people share the same monastery.¹⁴⁸

2. *q^ho? p^hents^hān jǎlpe ŋo?-jǎ*
 SEQ each.other neighbor be-1PL
 And we are neighbors.

3. *fānā? kovdān-lo ftfer?=nā?=z*
 but ninety.seven-year summer=DET=LOC
χfíkā sēnā? kə-ŋēn=cā? jǎ-te-pe?-nā
 very dispute.over.pasture NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious=INDF PROS-PFV:TR-do₂-3PL
 But in the Summer of 1997 a serious dispute over pastures almost broke out between us.

4. *nā? t^hē ŋo?=nā?*
 ANA why be=TOP
 And why was that?

¹⁴⁷ Kirtima (*kāldzāmwē*; WT <ki-rti.ma>) Village of Rongwam Township in southern Rngaba County.

¹⁴⁸ Referring to the Tshobdun Monastery situated in Teutses Village. The communities served by this monastery traditionally include Teutses, Gtsotse, Kholakyi, and (in part) Kakhyoris Villages of Tshobdun Township and several hamlets in the Amdo Tibetan-speaking Kirtima Village in Rngaba County.

5. *ʃɔntse-rɛjɔm ts^hovdɔnew=rɛʔ kɔldzɔmɛ nɔ-sɛtʃ^hé=ta*
 former.time-since Tshobdun.people=PL PN 3PL:POSS-land=top
ʃɔ-ⁿge-nɔ-péjmoɣ-jɔ ʃteʔ
 AND-IPFV-dig.for.fritillary.bulb-1PL be:EMPH
 Since long long ago, we Tshobdun people have gone and digged for fritillary bulbs on Kirtima land.
6. *ʃɛrɛʔ=ntʃ^hon jɔjɔrɛʔ jɔ-sɛtʃ^hé=ta zɔʔ ⁿgé-loy ʃteʔ*
 3PL=also 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=top cattle IPFV-herd be:EMPH
 And they also have herded cattle on our land.
7. *p^hɛnts^hɔn=nɔʔ tɛmqɛ ⁿge-mɛ*
 each.other=DET quarrel IPFV-not.exist
sɛnɔʔ ge-mɛ
 dispute.over.pasture IPFV-not.exist
 Between us, there had been no quarrels and no disputes over pasture.
8. *ʃɔnɔʔ nɔʔ o-pe=nɔʔ*
 but ANA 3SG:POSS-year=DET
kɔldzɔmɛwe=rɛʔ rɛmɣiʔ kɛé-ri jɛrmɛ tɔ-ⁿdɔz-nɔ
 Kirtima.people=PL rider two-hundred about PFV-gather₂-3PL
 But in that year, around two hundred horsemen among the Kirtima people gathered.
9. *q^hoʔ ʃɛrɛʔ nɔ-sɛtʃ^hé=ta*
 SEQ 3PL 3PL:POSS-land=top
ts^hovdɔnwe t^hɛ-kɔ-nɔpejmoʔ
 Tshobdun.people CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-dig.for.fritillary.bulb₂

tʰəmərémʃet=nəʔ=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ tʰe-sɔʃətʃet-nə
 all:EMPH=DET=PL all PFV:TR-expel₂-3PL

And they drove out each and everyone of the Tshobdun folks digging for fritillary bulbs on their land.

10. *qʰoʔ tsʰovdənɐw=rɐʔ*

SEQ Tshobdun.people=PL

χʃikə nə-múru tə-n gu-cə
 very 3PL:POSS-anger PFV-rise₂-MED

And the Tshobdun people got very angry.

11. *qʰoʔ tsʰovdən ʃaŋʔ tɕroʔ=rɐʔ*

SEQ PN township official=PL

nə-péʳtʰe kə-pe tə-rɛntsʰa-cə
 3PL:POSS-arbitration NMLZ:PURP-do PFV-try₂-MED

ʃənəʔ mə-nɐ-cʰɐʔ-cə

but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED

The officials of Tshobdun Township tried to arbitrate, but they failed.

12. *qʰoʔ tátwi kátʃoy jərmɐ raŋʔ=kə te-nəkroz-nə-cə*

SEQ village six about self=ERG PFV:TR-discuss₂-3PL-MED

And about six villages (within Tshobdun Township) discussed (the matter) among themselves.

13. *qʰoʔ tərɐ tʰəmʃet mdɛwu lɛʃʰe te-ké-n di*

SEQ man all weapon IPFV-INF-take

qʰoʔ reⁿgo məlen kɐ-fɛ kə-reʔ maⁿdenəʔ

SEQ hill by.necessity INF-go NMLZ-be.necessary or.else

tʰətpe kə-toʔ te-peʔ-nə-cə
 punishment NMLZ-exist PFV:TR-do₂-3PL-MED

And they commanded that all men (in these hamlets) should take up arms and march uphill to the hills or face punishment.

14. *qʰoʔ tɛʝtsiʔ qvɕʰweriʔ χtsəʝtsʰeʔ qʰolɕciʔ tʃiʔ póʱgɕ*
 SEQ PN PN PN PN PN PN
tátwi kətʃoʝ=rɕʔ tərme ʃo kə-cʰv=nəʔ
 village six=PL man who NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=DET
nə-lakden te-ⁿdi-nə-cə
 3PL:POSS-weapon PFV:TR-take₂-3PL-MED
reⁿgo lɕ-ɕre-nə-cə
 hill PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3PL-MED

And any men in Teutses, Kakhyoris, Gtsotse, Kholakyi, Cus, and Po'ge villages who were able took up their weapons and went up to the hills.

15. *qʰoʔ tsʰovdənwe=scʰənəʔ kəldʒəmɕwe*
 SEQ Tshobdun.people=and Kirtima.people
nə-sɛntsʰɛm=z zimiʔ stɔŋtso jɛrmɕ lɕ-ⁿdəz-nə-cə
 3PL:POSS-boundary=LOC close.to thousand about PFV-gather₂-3PL-MED

And the Tshobdun and Kirtima camps assembled close to a thousand people at their borders.

16. *qʰoʔ tondaʔ mɕ-kɕ-vde te-ʝe-cə*
 SEQ matter NEG-INF-be.good PFV:TR-begin₂-MED

And the matter become serious.

17. *q^hoʔ kəldzəmɐwe=rɐʔ=kə*
 SEQ Kirtima.people=PL=ERG
st^hɔre p^hɛnts^hən te-kɛ-nəkrozʔ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 first each.other IPFV-GP-discuss be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 And the Kirtima people said, “First, let us talk to each other.”

18. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ*
 SEQ meanwhile
ts^hovdən rgonbe sprəsku vlovzjən
 PN monastery reincarnate.Buddha PN
nə-perʔ kə-pe ne-sqor-nə-cə
 3PL:POSS-interstice NMLZ:PURP-do PFV:TR-send.for₂-3PL-MED
 Meanwhile, they sent for reincarnate buddha Vlovzyen of Tshobdun Monastery to arbitrate the dispute.

19. *q^hoʔ sɛnts^hɛm=z zgɐr ome kə-xteʔ ne-p^həy-nə-cə*
 SEQ boundary=LOC tent very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV:TR-pitch₂-3PL-MED
 And they pitched a huge tent at the boundary.

20. *q^hoʔ ts^hovdən tətwi kətfoɣ lɐ-kə-ɐre*
 SEQ PN village six PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂
ó-naŋ rgɐrgon jəte-kə-tsi
 3SG:POSS-inside old.person COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-understand
tətwi ⁿgomdʒəyʔ=rɐʔ=sc^hənəʔ
 village leader=PL=and
kəldzəmɐwe rɛmɲiʔ ɛnesqe jɐrmɐ nə-kə-wɛʔ-nə
 Kirtima.people horseman twenty about PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂-3PL

kə-sʃi ne-nəkroz-nə-cə

one-day PFV:TR-discuss₂-3PL-MED

And the more knowledgeable elders from the six Tshobdun villages, village officials, and about twenty of the Kirtima horsemen who came westward discussed among themselves for a whole day.

21. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^hunəʔ sprasku ome tə-rɛfɣɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ afterwards reincarnate.buddha very PFV-do.scolding₂-MED
 Afterwards, the reincarnate buddha severely reprimanded the people.

22. *ʃɔnts^he ⁿbərəmⁿbɛɣnɛ kə-toʔ məkəts^hɛt*
 former.time kinsmen NMLZ:SBJ-exist not.only
nə-rgonbe kə-náχtʃəɣ t^hɛ-tə-ŋo-nə ɲoʔ
 2PL:POSS-monastery NMLZ:SBJ-be.same CONT:LTR-2-be₂-2PL be
 (Saying) “You not only have kins among yourselves since olden times, but you are also members of the same monastery.”

23. *sɛnɔʔ kɛ-pe mɛ-tʃ^hozʔ=kə*
 pasture.dispute GP-do NEG-be.the.rule-DM
 “Engaging in disputes for pastures is improper.”

24. *koʃəqu ts^hovdənwe=rɛʔ kəldzəmɛwe o-sɛtʃ^hé=ta*
 hereafter Tshobdun.people=PL Kirtima.people 3SG:POSS-land=top
te-kɛ-npéjmoɣ kə-joyʔ
 IPFV-GP-dig.for.fritillary.bulb NMLZ-be.allowed
q^hoʔ kəldzəmɛre=rɛʔ=ntʃ^hon ts^hovdən o-sɛtʃ^hé=ta
 SEQ Kirtima.people=PL=also PN 3SG:POSS-land=top
ne-ké-loy kə-joyʔ
 IPFV-GP-herd NMLZ-be.allowed

nákəsə nə-pértʰə te-peʔ-cə
 thus 3PL:POSS-arbitration PFV:TR-do₂-MED

And he arbitrated the dispute, allowing Tshobdun people hereafter to dig for fritillary bulbs on Kirtima land, and also Kirtima people to herd cattle on Tshobdun land.

25. *qʰoʔ pʰentsʰən nákəsə ó-ta təkroz nə-weʔ*
 SEQ each.other thus 3SG:POSS-top agreement PFV-come₂
qʰoʔ kə-mqeʔ mə-nə-re-cə ʰdenəʔ
 SEQ GP-fight NEG-IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED otherwise

And the two sides thus came to terms with each other, and one did not need to fight, for otherwise,

26. *v-tə-əmqeʔ-nə v-né-ŋo=nəʔ*
 IRR-PFV-fight-3PL IRR-PFV-be=SUB
kəldzəmewe=rəʔ nə-χaʔ kə-fə-nə nə-ŋo-cə
 Kirtima.people=PL 3PL:POSS-great.defeat NMLZ-go-3PL IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 if there had been a fight, the Kirtima people would have been trounced.

27. *ʰdenəʔ nəʔ tʰə ŋoʔ v-tə-ké-tsə=nəʔ*
 for ANA what be IRR-PFV-say=SUB
 For, if one thinks about it (lit. talks about it),

28. *tsʰovdənewe=rəʔ kəʳʰbjoʔ nə-ldeŋʔ-nə ótanəʔ*
 Tshobdun.people=PL person IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity₂-3PL not.only
nə-lakden=rəʔ χfíkə nə-əmtsʰəmtsʰoŋʔ-nə-cə
 3PL:POSS-weapon=PL very IPFV:PST-be.fully.equipped₂-3PL-MED
 the Tshobdun people outnumbered their opponents and were armed to the teeth,

29. *q^hoʔ kərⁿbjəʔ nə-χaʔ ⁿge-kə-teʔ məkəts^hət*
 SEQ person 3PL:POSS-great.defeat IPFV-INF-place not.only
nə-səloyʔ=z ⁿyəósu¹⁴⁹ t^he-kə-χtor
 3PL:POSS-pasture=LOC urea IPFV-INF-scatter
q^hoʔ nə-zəʔ ⁿge-kə-nt^he=kəsə təkroz nə-toʔ fteʔ-cə
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-cattle IPFV-INF-kill=like dicussion IPFV:PST-exist₂ be:EMPH-MED
 and they had plans to not only crush the (Kirtima) men but also to scatter urea on their
 pastures to kill off their cattle.

¹⁴⁹ A loan from Chinese *niàosù* (尿素).

STORY-TELLING

sjonts^hez χpe kɛffɛt tʃ^hə ⁿgekəʃsət fʃɛtʃfɛt

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *sjonts^he=nəʔ*
former.time=TOP
tjɛntəŋʔ=sc^hənəʔ tjénɛsə=rɛʔ ⁿge-mɛ
electric.light=and television=PL IPFV-not.exist
In the past, there were no electric lights and television.

2. *q^hoʔ mer sɛ-nɛkəmɛʔ=rɛʔ ⁿge-mɛ*
SEQ night NMLZ:OBL-have.fun₂:RDPL=PL IPFV-not.exist
At night, places for going about for fun was non-existent.

3. *q^hoʔ sŋi=nəʔ ne-kɛ-rɛmɛ*
SEQ day=TOP IPFV-GP-do.labor
mer=nəʔ smi te-kɛ-vluʔ
night=TOP fire IPFV-GP-build
q^hoʔ ke-kɛ-k^herʔ q^hoʔ ke-kɛ-nəbjom
SEQ IPFV-GP-form.a.circle SEQ IPFV-GP-warm.oneself.by.fire
People do labor during daytime, and at night, build a fire and surround it to warm themselves.

4. *oʒorʔ kəxtɛʔ=rɛʔ χpe ⁿge-kɛ-sə-ffɛt nɛ-tʃ^hoʒ*
meanwhile NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=PL story IPFV-GP-CAUS-tell IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
In the mean time, they ask the elders to tell stories.

5. *nájzgo ⁿdʒowe kə-nárme=kəsə=rɛʔ v-nɛ-to=nəʔ*
particularly guest NMLZ:SBJ-spend.the.night=like=PL IRR-PFV-exist=SUB
And, in particular, if there were guests who stayed overnight and the like,

6. *təpriʔ foχre kʰəvdeʔ=rəʔ ʰge-kə-pe*
 supper before chatting=PL IPFV-GP-do
 people will chat before supper.
7. *qʰoʔ təpriqʰu=nəʔ*
 SEQ time.after.supper=TOP
kəxtʃipu=rəʔ=kə ʰdʒowe=nəʔ χpe=rəʔ ʰge-kə-sə-ffət ʰge-tʃʰoʔ
 small.child=PL=ERG guest=DET story=PL IPFV-INF-CAUS-tell IPFV-be.the.rule
 After supper, the small children will as a rule ask the guest to tell stories.
8. *qʰoʔ χpe kə-ffət=nəʔ=kə χpe ʰge-ffət orjájʔnəʔ*
 SEQ story NMLZ:SBJ-tell=DET=ERG story IPFV-tell when
məlen kʰe-táke ké-tsə ʰge-joyʔ oqʰuqʰoʔ
 by.necessity each-sentence INF-say IPFV-end afterwards
jaŋ ké-tsə ʰge-reʔ
 EXCL INF-say IPFV-be.necessary
 And the one telling stories is supposed to say “jaŋ” at the end of every sentence.
9. *kə-səŋi=nəʔ=kə*
 NMLZ:SBJ-listen=DET=ERG
χpe kə-ffət jaŋ te-tsəʔ=nəʔ
 story NMLZ:SBJ-tell EXCL IPFV-say=SUB
ð kə-tsə ʰge-reʔ
 EXCL INF-say IPFV-be.necessary
 And the listeners are supposed to say ð when the storyteller says *jaŋ*.
10. *nájzgo mer ke-kə-rʰgu=nəʔ*
 in.particular night IPFV-GP-go.to.bed=SUB
məlen nákasə ké-tsə ʰge-reʔ ʰdenəʔ
 by.necessity thus INF-say IPFV-be.necessary for

kə-səŋi=nəʔ *osto* *tʰe-səŋiʔ* *so* *kə-nəjɛvʔ-cə*
 NMLZ:SBJ-listen=DET well INF-say or PFV-fall.asleep₂-MED
kə-χsəl *o-tənʔ=kə* *ⁿge-ŋoʔ*
 NMLZ-be.clear 3SG:POSS-reason=INS IPFV-be

Especially when people go to bed at night, (storytelling) must be like that, as it is clear whether the listeners are listening closely or have fallen asleep.

11. *qʰoʔ* *kəxtʃipu=rɐʔ* *te-ⁿdʒɛsqɐ-nə=nəʔ*
 SEQ small.children=PL IPFV-have.a.potluck-3PL=SUB
qʰoʔ *mer* *kətəyɾe* *ke-rⁿgu-nə=nəʔ*
 SEQ night together IPFV-go.to.bed-3PL=SUB
χpe *kɐ-ffɛt* *kɐ-nəɾərezʔ* *ⁿge-reʔ*
 story INF-tell INF-take.turns IPFV-be.necessary

When small children have a potluck and go to bed together at night, they must take turns telling stories.

12. *qʰoʔ* *kə-sɛsəyɾɐ* *təjo* *χpe=rɐʔ* *ⁿge-ffɛt-nə=nəʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.frightening ghost story=PL IPFV-tell-3PL=SUB
ne-kɐ-vɐɾ *qʰoʔ* *tə-koʔ=rɐʔ*
 IPFV-GP-be.afraid SEQ GP:POSS-head=PL
tʰe-kɐ-ployʔ *ⁿge-tʰozʔ*
 IPFV:IN-GP-make.disappear IPFV-be.the.rule

And when they tell frightening ghost stories, one gets scared and buries one's head (in the blanket).

13. *qʰoʔ* *kʰepʰɛʔ* *rgɐrgon* *kámʃʰa* *jəye* *kə-spe=rɐʔ*
 SEQ some elderly.people a.bit book NMLZ:SBJ-know=PL
jəyɛ=ta *ⁿge-mpʰɛri* *qʰoʔ* *ozorʔ* *ⁿge-ffɛt-nə*
 book=top IPFV-look SEQ meanwhile IPFV-tell-3PL

Some elderly people who know how to read would look at books as they tell stories.

14. *q^hoʔ kə-ffət=rəʔ χfíkə te-səŋəm-nə*
 SEQ NMZL:SBJ:U-tell=PL very IPFV-cause.to.be.vivid-3PL
q^hoʔ kə-səŋi=nəʔ
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-listen=DET
nə-sni ne-zdəyʔ ne-vəvo-nə=rəʔ ʔge-tʃ^hozʔ
 3PL:POSS-heart IPFV-be.sad IPFV-weep-3PL=PL IPFV-be.the.rule
 And they make their storytelling so vivid that the listeners feel sad and weep.
15. *q^hoʔ mer kə-nəmáγⁿdzer te-reʔ orjáŋʔnəʔ*
 SEQ night INF-do.milling.at.night IPFV-be.necessary when
k^hertə p^hentsən te-kə-rəzdázde
 friend mutually IPFV-GP-ask.to.accompany:RDPL
 When it is necessary to do milling at night, friends ask each other for company.
16. *q^hoʔ zdewé=naŋ*
 SEQ villager=inside
χpe st^ho kə-ffət kə-mk^həzʔ=nəʔ ne-kə-sqorʔ
 story most INF-tell NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=DET IPFV-GP-send.for
 One sends for a villager who is the most skilled in telling stories.
17. *q^hoʔ ləzoʔ=rəʔ te-kə-sqə retapajpaj=rəʔ te-kə-sələ*
 SEQ salted.pork=PL IPFV-GP-boil noodle.soup=PL IPFV-GP-boil
təwaʔ=rəʔ ne-ké-f^hi
 booze=PL IPFV-GP-give.to.drink
 And one cooks salted pork and noodle soup for him, and gives him booze to drink.
18. *q^hoʔ χpe ʔge-kə-sə-ffət ʔge-tʃ^hozʔ*
 SEQ story IPFV-GP-CAUS-tell IPFV-be.the.rule
 And ask him to tell stories.

COLLECTIVE VILLAGE MERRYMAKING

zdewe kenébe

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *shoŋts^he rɛŋəm zdewe kɛ-nébe=nə?*
 former.time since village.people GP-have.leisurely.fun=TOP
k^he-pe ɓnez-təfe jɛrmɛ ne-kɛ-nébe tʰoz?
 each-year two-time about IPFV-GP-have.leisurely.fun be.the.rule
 Regarding the ancient (tradition of) village merrymaking, (village) people as a rule enjoy leisurely fun (together) about twice each year.

2. *kə-təfe=nə? pjəvevdíti mɛlen ne-nébe-jə*
 one-time=TOP Flower-Viewing.Festival by.necessity IPFV-have.leisurely.fun-1PL
 The first is the Flower-Viewing Festival during the Month of the Mouse of the Tibetan Calendar, when we must (gather to) enjoy leisurely fun.

3. *q^ho? kə-təfe=nə?*
 SEQ one-time=TOP
stonke=rɛ? ⁿge-joy? tɛmɛ=rɛ? ⁿge-ⁿdʒəγzə?
 autumn=PL IPFV-end labor=PL IPFV-be.completed
 As for the other (occasion), (it occurs when) autumn ends and labor in the field is done.

4. *q^ho? kəpɛrtsəz zləwɛ ftʃupɛ rjɛston*
 SEQ Chinese.calendar month tenth National.Day
jɛrmɛnə? ne-kɛ-nébe tʰoz?
 about IPFV-GP-have.leisurely.fun be.the.rule
 During October in the Chinese Calendar at around the National Day, we will (gather to) enjoy leisurely fun.

5. *kə-néʔə=nəʔ*

INF-have.leisurely.fun=TOP

stʰɔre kəpe=nəʔ ləspe kəʔnaxso təpu=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 first one-year=TOP organizer two.three family=INDF exist=INS

As to how this is carried out, first, as each year two or three families (draw lot) and serve as organizers,

6. *nənəʔ=rəʔ=kə fkoʔtpe tʰe-lət-nə*
 that=PL=ERG arrangement IPFV-make-3PL

qʰoʔ tʰəʔscet sɣi kə-néʔə kə-ŋoʔ
 SEQ how.many day GP-have.leisurely.fun NMLZ-be

those (people) are to make arrangements as to how many days the merrymaking is to last,

7. *qʰoʔ kə-néʔə orjəŋəʔ tʰəʔtʰə kəʔdze kə-toʔ*
 SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun when what:PL food NMLZ-exist

qʰoʔ məju kə-néʔə orjəŋəʔ
 SEQ further GP-have.leisurely.fun when

ʔdzəyləm=rəʔ tʰé-fkʰrəm-nə ŋoʔ
 regulation=PL IPFV-lay.down-3PL be

what kinds of food there should be, and furthermore they are to lay down the regulations (to observe) during merrymaking.

8. *qʰoʔ kə-néʔə tɛ-mda orjəŋəʔ*
 SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun IPFV-be.time when

kʰe-təpu kʰe-təpu sə-nəʔəʔ=z
 each-family each-family NMLZ:OBL-have.leisurely.fun₂=LOC

zɣər tɛ-kə-səskor ʔge-kə-pʰuʔ
 tent IPFV-GP-cause.to.encircle IPFV-GP-pitch

When it is time to do merrymaking, each and every family pitches a tent, making a circle of tents.

9. *qʰoʔ læspe=kə ʃoχkor ne-sɐⁿbórⁿbi*
 SEQ organizer=ERG money IPFV-ask.around.for
qʰoʔ oʒorʔ zɔdewe=rɐʔ=kə ʃoχkor=scʰənəʔ latʃʰatʃʰe
 SEQ meanwhile people=PL=ERG money=and various.things
kə-nə-sé-ri toʔ-nə ʃteʔ=kə
 NMLZ-SPON-donate exist-3PL be:EMPH=INS

And the helpers will go around collecting (donated) money, meanwhile there will surely be people who donate money and various things.

10. *qʰoʔ skəm kəlɲótʃo te-χtu-nə*
 SEQ beef.cattle five-six IPFV-buy-3PL
qʰoʔ ⁿge-wɐmɐ-nə
 SEQ IPFV-butcher-3PL

And they buy five or six beef cattle, and have them butchered.

11. *qʰoʔ kəcʰiʔ tɛwaʔ kwátsə χwaʃənʔ=rɐʔ te-χtu-nə*
 SEQ candy booze melon.seed peanut=PL IPFV-buy-3PL

And they buy candy, booze, melon seeds, peanuts, and so on.

12. *qʰoʔ kɐ-néɐɐ orjányʔnəʔ nəʔ=rɐʔ tʰe-kri-nə ɲoʔ*
 SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun when ANA=PL IPFV-distribute-3PL be

And these they distribute during the merrymaking.

13. *qʰoʔ tátwi=kə zɐrtʃe=nəʔ χtʃəyʔtʃe te-poj*
 SEQ village=ERG breakfast=TOP butter.tea IPFV-make₃
sásu=scʰənəʔ sasuqʰu=nəʔ pʰɛʒoʔ te-sɐle ɲoʔ
 noon=and afternoon=TOP beef.and.potatoes.soup IPFV-boil₃ be

In the morning, the township (officials) make butter tea, and at noon and in the afternoon, they make beef and potato soup.

14. *q^hoʔ zɛrtʃe tʃ^haχoʔ te-ké-ⁿdi*
 SEQ morning teapot IPFV:UP-GP-take
q^hoʔ χtʂəytʃe ʃə-ke-kə-nə-cuʔ
 SEQ butter.tea AND-IPFV:CISLOC-SPON-receive
 And, in the morning, they take the butter tea up, and people get around (the person with the teapot) and hold out (their cups) to receive the butter tea.
15. *q^hoʔ ne-kə-nzɛrtʃe*
 SEQ IPFV-GP-eat.breakfast
 And then they eat breakfast.
16. *q^hoʔ sásu=sc^hənəʔ sasʊq^huʔ=ntʃ^hon*
 SEQ noon=and afternoon=also
p^hɛʒoʔ ɸmɛru te-ké-ⁿdi
 beef.and.potato.stew aluminum.pot IPFV:UP-GP-take
q^hoʔ k^hénanə kəⁿbjoʔ tʃ^hʰəscet kə-toʔ
 SEQ home person how.many NMLZ-exist
o-ts^hɛt=nəʔ ʃə-ke-kə-nə-cuʔ
 3SG:POSS-measure=DET AND-IPFV:CISLOC-SPON-receive
 And, at noon and in the afternoon also, beef stew is taken up in aluminum pots, and people get around it to receive the soup depending on how many people there are in one's family.
17. *q^hoʔ raŋraŋ zɡér=p^hi*
 SEQ individually tent=under
tə-ʃkóⁿɡu.qɛjwi=sc^hənəʔ tə-lɛʒoʔ=sc^hənəʔ
 GEN:POSS-baked.chive.bread=and GEN:POSS-salted.pork=and

tə-kəruvɔʔ *te-kɛ-tʃət*
 GEN:POSS-distilled.booze IPFV-GP-take.out

And each (of the families) take out their own chive bread, salted pork and distilled booze,

18. *qʰoʔ* *te-kɛ-nə-n dzɛ́tʰi* *qʰoʔ* *təwaʔ=rɛʔ* *ne-kɛ-tʰi*
 SEQ IPFV-GP-SPON-eat.meal SEQ booze=PL IPFV-GP-drink
qʰoʔ *ne-kɛ-rəscətpoʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-GP-have.a.good.time be
 and they dine and drink booze, and have a good time.

19. *qʰoʔ* *kʰepʰɛʔ=rɛʔ* *prɛŋəɣʔ* *te-pe-nə*
 SEQ some=PL tent.visiting IPFV-do-3PL
qʰoʔ *kətəɣre* *təwaʔ* *né-tʰi-nə*
 SEQ together booze IPFV-drink-3PL
kʰevdɛʔ *tʰe-pe-nə* *qʰoʔ* *te-sɛrɛ-nə* *ŋoʔ*
 chatting IPFV-do-3PL SEQ IPFV-perform.amusing.act-3PL be
 And some people walk around visiting tents, drink booze together, chat, and perform amusing acts.

20. *kəxtʃipu=rɛʔ* *o-ɟɔ* *kətəɣre* *ne-nə-né-kɛ-nə*
 child=PL separately together IPFV-SPON-have.leisurely.fun-3PL
qʰoʔ *ʃə-te-tʃaʔ-nə* *ŋoʔ*
 SEQ AND-IPFV-do.mischief-3PL be
 And, separately (from adults), children have fun and do mischief together.

21. *qʰoʔ sasʊqʰu sɲiⁿgu jɛrɱɱ=nəʔ tɛŋɱ tʰe-wɛʃo*
 SEQ afternoon late.afternoon about=TOP sun IPFV-decline.toward.the.west
qʰoʔ kɛ-rtʃone te-jeʔ-nə
 SEQ INF-dance IPFV-begin-3PL

Around late afternoon, the sun declines to the west, and they begin to dance.¹⁵⁰

22. *tʃone kə-sɛmʈsʰiʔ=nəʔ kə-mkʰɛzʔ káɱnez=cəʔ*
 dance NMLZ:SBJ-lead.people=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-be.skillful several=INDF
toʔ=kə te-nə-rəre-nə ŋoʔ
 exist=INS IPFV-SPON-take.turns-3PL be

As for dance-leaders, as there are several people skilled (in it), they take turns (doing it).

23. *qʰoʔ tʃone kʰe-tərem ⁿge-joyʔ=nəʔ tɛwaʔ=rɛʔ né-tʰi-nə*
 SEQ dance each-CL IPFV-end=SUB booze=PL IPFV-drink-3PL

When each dance ends, they drink booze.

24. *qʰoʔ leʔ ⁿge-rtʃone-nə ŋoʔ*
 SEQ again IPFV-dance-3PL be

And (then) they dance again.

25. *qʰoʔ kɛ-rtʃone=rɛn nə-gu né-ge-nə*
 SEQ INF-dance=even 3PL:POSS-interest IPFV-lose-3PL
qʰoʔ te-sɛrɛ-nə ŋoʔ
 SEQ IPFV-perform.amusing.act-3PL be

When they are tired of dancing even, they perform amusing acts,

¹⁵⁰ This refers to group dancing in the Rgyalrong Tibetan style.

26. *qʰoʔ maʰdenəʔ kɛ-jólɛ te-saxʃəvʔ-nə*
 SEQ or INF-wrestle IPFV-compete-3PL
maʰdenəʔ lɛju ʰge-pe-nə
 or song IPFV-make-3PL
 compete in wrestling, or sing songs.

27. *qʰoʔ mer=nəʔ te-qʰnu=nəʔ*
 SEQ night=DET IPFV-darken=SUB
kə-xtɛʔ=rɛʔ kʰɛnanɿ ne-nə-nɛʃəʃv-nə
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=PL home IPFV-SPON-leave-3PL
qʰoʔ zəzəʔ=rɛʔ ʃə-ne-ʰbəʃtʰi-nə
 SEQ livestock=PL AND-IPFV-feed-3PL
 And, when night darkens, the adults return home, to go feed the livestock.

28. *qʰoʔ kəxtʃipɯ=rɛʔ zɡér=pʰi ne-kɛ-nqʰope*
 SEQ child=PL tent=under IPFV-GP-keep.house
 And the children keep house under the tents.

29. *qʰoʔ kəxtʃipɯ kə-nqope=rɛʔ*
 SEQ child NMLZ:SBJ-keep.house=PL
kətáyre ne-kɛ-néʃv ɔʒorʔ
 together IPFV-GP-have.leisurely.fun meanwhile
χpe=rɛʔ kɛ-ffɛt te-kɛ-nə-rərezʔ ɲoʔ
 story=PL INF-tell IPFV-GP-take.turns be
 And the children who keep house have fun among themselves, while take turns telling stories.

30. *qʰoʔ kɛ-néʃv=nəʔ nəʔ te-ká-ʃsət-cə*
 SEQ GP-have.leisurely.fun=TOP ANA IPFV-NMLZ-be.like-MED
 And, regarding (village) merrymaking, it is like that.

31. *q^hoʔ* *kəlɣo-tʃo-sɲi* *jɐrmɐ* *ne-kɐ-néɛɛ* *tʃ^hoʔ*
 SEQ five-six-day about IPFV-GP-have.leisurely.fun be.the.rule
 As a rule, the merrymaking lasts for five to six days.

III. FOLKLORE

THE DELUGE (CREATION MYTH)¹⁵¹

skélpe təkántfʰəy χpe

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *sjontsʰe=z*

former.time=LOC

kɛʰdʒá-xtəy=cəʔ *χsəmʔ* *nɛ-to-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*

COL-brother=INDF three IPFV:PST-exist₂-3PL be-MED

In olden times, there were three brothers.

2. *qʰoʔ* *tɛkɛʔ* *stʰoʔ* *kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET

rəyʃen=cəʔ *nɛ-ŋo* *ŋoʔ-cə*

person.with.magic.powers=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED

The youngest brother was a person with magic powers.

3. *qʰoʔ* *kə-rjaʔ=cɛ=nəʔ*

SEQ one-night=LOC:INDF=DET

tɛkɛʔ *stʰoʔ* *kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ=kə*

young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG

One night, the youngest brother (dreamed that),

¹⁵¹ Compare a similar deluge folklore told in Japhug Rgyalrong in Jacques & Chen (2010: 73–86). The two versions share an almost identical storyline, but complement each other in the details provided. For example, the Japhug version gives a clearer reason why the boy's two elder brothers did not survive the deluge, whereas the Tshobdun version contains more episodes to develop the story, such as what happened to the boy after he was taken to the sky, what the immortal wife did after she returned to earth with the boy, and the consequences of the lie told by the crow.

4. *noŋme kəʃnɛ-rjaʔ=nəʔ=z*
 just seven-night=DET=LOC
skɛlpe ntʃʰəyʔ təciʔ mtsʰót ŋoʔ=kə
 destiny break water be.full be=INS
 “In just seven nights’ time, the world will be destroyed and flooded.”
5. *nə-kómtʰə nə-ŋe=nəʔ nɛ-ntʃʰe-nə*
 2PL:POSS-courtyard 2PL:POSS-cow=DET IMP-kill-2PL
qʰoʔ o-ʃe ɛdɛnbe mə-tə-tə-ⁿdze-nə
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-flesh at.all NEG-IMP-2-eat-2PL
qʰoʔ ʒⁿbru tə-pe-nə
 SEQ boat IMP-make-2PL
 “kill your cow in your courtyard but do not eat its meat at all, and make a boat.”
6. *nəʔ te-ká-tsə ká-sci=cəʔ ne-wɛjmiʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 ANA IPFV-NMLZ-say NMLZ:SBJ-be.like=INDF PFV:TR-dream.of₂ be-MED
 He dreamed of someone who said the foregoing.
7. *qʰoʔ noofsáʃsi=nəʔ o-jé=niʔ ⁿdzə-pʰa*
 SEQ next.morning=DET 3SG:POSS-elder.sibling=DU 3DU:POSS-place
o-jmi=nəʔ te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-dream=DET PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 The next morning, he told his brothers his dream.
8. *ʃənəʔ tɛje=niʔ=kə me-ne-nzɛⁿgi-ⁿdzə-cə*
 but elder.sibling=DU=ERG NEG-IPFV-believe-3DU-MED
 But the two brothers did not believe it.

9. *q^hoʔ leʔ χso-rjaʔ nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ again three-night PFV-elapse₂=SUB
tʰɛkəʔ st^hoʔ kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ=kə
 young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG
leʔ nəkəsə ne-wɛjmiʔ-nəŋo
 again thus PFV:TR-dream₂-MED

After three more nights passed, the youngest brother again dreamed the same dream.

10. *q^hoʔ o-je=niʔ ⁿdzə-p^ha leʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-older.brother=DU 3DU:POSS-place again PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And he again told it to his two elder brothers.

11. *q^hoʔ tɛje=niʔ t^hɛvt^haʔ ne-nzɐⁿgi-ⁿdzə*
 SEQ elder.sibling=DU reluctantly PFV:TR-believe₂-3DU
 And the brothers believed him reluctantly.

12. *q^hoʔ nə-ŋe=nəʔ ne-nt^heʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-cow=DET PFV:TR-kill₂-3PL-MED
 And they killed their cow.

13. *q^hoʔ tɛje=niʔ=kə*
 SEQ elder.sibling=DU=ERG
a kotsɛji ŋe kə-ʒroʔ
 EXCL such cow NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine
ⁿge-kɐ-nt^he=nəʔ o-fe mɐ-kɐ-nə-ⁿdze=nəʔ
 IPFV-GP-kill=SUB 3SG:POSS-flesh NEG-GP-SPON-eat=SUB
stonbe fiʔ-kə
 unacceptable be:EMPH-DM

And the two elder brothers said (to themselves), “Ah! It is unacceptable to kill such a fine cow and not eat its meat!”

14. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^hunəʔ nə-ŋe o-fe=nəʔ te-ⁿdzeʔ-ⁿdzə-cə*
 SEQ afterwards 3PL:POSS-cow 3SG:POSS-flesh=DET PFV:TR-eat₂-3DU-MED
 And they ate their cow's meat.
15. *ʃənəʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ=kə mə-te-ⁿdzeʔ-nəŋo*
 but NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG NEG-PFV:TR-eat₂-MED
 But the youngest brother did not eat it.
16. *q^hoʔ kəʃne-rjaʔ nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ seven-night PFV-elapse₂=SUB
 When seven nights passed,
17. *sət^he=z təciʔ kə-^hmts^hot te-je-nəŋo*
 land=LOC water INF-be.full PFV:TR-begin₂-MED
 water began to cover the land completely.
18. *q^hoʔ təciʔ=nəʔ k^hɛxtə-ⁿdi kə-zɣot te-je=nəʔ*
 SEQ water=DET verandah-edge INF-arrive PFV:TR-begin₂=SUB
nə-ʒⁿbru=nəʔ təciʔ=nəŋ ne-rkoʔ-nə-cə
 3PL:POSS-boat=DET water=inside PFV:TR-put.in₂-3PL-MED
 And when the water began to reach the edge of the verandah of the house, they put their boat into the water,
19. *q^hoʔ st^hɔre tɛje st^hoʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ nɐ-ʒⁿgoʔ-cə*
 SEQ at.first elder.sibling most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET IPFV:PST-row₂-MED
 at first, the eldest brother was rowing the boat,

20. *fə̀nəʔ tɛjmiʔ=naŋ tə-kɛ-tsəʔ ó-ta*
 but dream=inside PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-say₂ 3SG:POSS-top
ŋɛʃe te-kɛ-ⁿdze mə-nɛ-joy ŋoʔ-cə
 cow.meat IPFV-GP-eat NEG-IPFV:PST-be.allowed₂ be-MED
fə̀nəʔ te-ⁿdzeʔ-cə
 but PFV:TR-eat₂-MED

but as was said in the dream, it was not allowed to eat the meat of the cow and he still ate it,

21. *q^hónə kəməq^hunəʔ nɛ-ljo-nəŋo*
 SEQ:EMPH afterwards PFV:DOWN-drown₂-MED
 so he ended up falling into the water and drowned.

22. *q^hoʔ leʔ təlezʔ=nəʔ nɛ-ʒⁿguʔ-cə*
 SEQ again middle=DET IPFV:PST-row₂-MED
fə̀nəʔ=nt^hon o-je o-sɛʃsət
 but=also 3SG:POSS-elder.sibling 3SG:POSS-manner
náŋtərkə nɛ-ljo-nəŋo
 likewise PFV:DOWN-drown₂-MED

And then the second eldest brother was rowing, but in the same manner as his elder brother, he also fell into the water and drowned.

23. *q^hoʔ tɛkɛʔ st^hoʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
nɛ-ʒⁿgoʔ nɛ-ʒⁿgoʔ əntsətse-nəŋo
 IPFV:PST-row₂ IPFV:PST-row₂ continuously-MED

And the youngest brother kept on rowing and rowing,

24. *q^hoʔ kəmɐq^hunəʔ təciʔ kɛ-rɤo ne-ɟe-nəŋo*
 SEQ afterwards water INF-be.dry PFV:DOWN-begin₂-MED
 afterwards, the water began to recede,¹⁵²
25. *q^hoʔ ʒⁿbru=nəʔ vʒári ó-ɤɐr le-te-nəŋo*
 SEQ boat=DET PN 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UPRIVER-put₂-MED
 and it left the boat stranded on the face of Mount Bzhagbra.
26. *q^hoʔ kəmaq^hunəʔ təciʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-rɤo*
 SEQ afterwards water=PL PFV:DOWN-be.dry₂
 And afterwards, the flood receded.
27. *q^hoʔ tɐkɛʔ st^hoʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ young.brother most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
o-ɟiʔ ɟɐste vʒári=ta ⁿge-smo-nəŋo
 3SG:POSS-self alone PN=top IPFV-stay-MED
 And the youngest brother remained on Mount Bzhagbra all by himself.
28. *q^hoʔ 'siz nɐmk^hé=nəŋ 'q^hri=cəʔ ɤsəmʔ ⁿge-we-nə*
 SEQ morning sky=inside dove=INDF three IPFV:DOWN-come-3PL
q^hoʔ vʒarém^hts^ho o-vʒər=nəʔ=z ⁿge-nəne-nə
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-side=DET=LOC IPFV-rest-3PL
 In the morning, three doves would come down from the sky, and they would rest by the side of Lake Bzhagbra.

¹⁵² Literally ‘began to dry downwards’.

29. *q^hoʔ 'q^hri=naj=nəʔ təme ʃfikə kə-mp^hjor=cəʔ*
 SEQ dove=inside=DET woman very NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful=INDF
kəⁿdʒəsq^hvə ʃsəmʔ ne-nlɔʔ-nə
 sister three IPFV-come.out-3PL

And out of the doves three very beautiful women that were sisters would come out,

30. *q^hoʔ mts^hó=naj=c^ho ⁿge-raχtʃəməχtʃi-nə*
 SEQ lake=inside=LOC:INDF IPFV-wash.this.and.that-3PL
q^hoʔ mts^ho vʒər=c^ho ⁿge-nékvə-nə
 SEQ lake side=LOC:INDF IPFV-loaf-3PL

and bathe in the lake, and spend relaxing time by the lakeside.

31. *q^hoʔ tərmók^he=nəʔ nə-q^hriⁿge=rəʔ te-ⁿge-nə*
 SEQ dusk=DET 3PL:POSS-dove.skin=PL IPFV-put.on-3PL
q^hoʔ nəmk^hé=naj te-nəʃvə-nə=rəʔ ⁿge-mteʔ-nəŋo
 SEQ sky=inside IPFV:UP-go.back-3PL=PL IPFV-see₃-MED

And at dusk, they would put on their dove skins and return into the sky, and he would see all this happen.

32. *q^hoʔ kə-sŋi=cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP
nəmk^hé=naj kəⁿdʒəsq^hvə ʃsəmʔ=nəʔ=rəʔ leʔ nə-wεʔ-nə-cə
 sky=inside sister three=DET=PL again PFV:DOWN-come₂-3PL-MED

One day, the three sisters again came down from the sky.

33. *q^hoʔ nə-q^hriⁿge=nəʔ ne-səntəv-nə-cə*
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-lay.down₂-3PL-MED
q^hoʔ ʃvəvʔ mts^hó=naj nə-vəχtʃəməχtʃiʔ-nə orjaŋʔ
 SEQ 3PL lake=inside IPFV-bath₂-3PL when

And when they laid down their dove skins and were bathing in the lake,

34. *q^hɐʔ tətʃu=nəʔ səqətsútsu nɐ-ɐre-cə*
 ANA lad=DET stealthily PFV:DOWN-go₂-MED
q^hoʔ q^hrɪⁿge st^hoʔ kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ te-ts^hɛt-cə
 SEQ dove.skin most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET PFV:TR-try.on₂-MED
ʃənəʔ o-tsɐləʔ nɐ-ma-cə
 but 3SG:POSS-fitting IPFV:PST-not.be₂-MED
 the lad went downhill stealthily, and tried on the largest dove skin, but it did not fit.

35. *q^hoʔ leʔ tələzʔ q^hrɪⁿge=nəʔ te-ts^hɛt-cə*
 SEQ again medium dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-try.on₂-MED
ʃənəʔ leʔ o-tsɐləʔ nɐ-ma-cə
 but again 3SG:POSS-fitting IPFV:PST-not.be₂-MED
 And he tried on the medium-sized dove skin, but it again did not fit.

36. *q^hoʔ kəməq^hɪnə st^hoʔ kə-xtʃiʔ*
 SEQ afterwards most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small
q^hrɪⁿge=nəʔ te-ts^hɛt-cə=nəʔ
 dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-try.on₂-MED=SUB
noŋmenəʔ o-tsɐləʔ nɐ-ŋo-cə
 only.then 3SG:POSS-fitting IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 And afterwards, when he tried on the smallest dove skin, it finally fit.

37. *q^hoʔ tə-jiʔ=ntʃ^hon=nəʔ*
 SEQ GP:POSS-self=also=TOP
ne-kɐ-qɐlⁿbjəmʔ k^hút ŋoʔ ntor ne-səsi-cə
 IPFV-GP-fly be.feasible be DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And he thought to himself, “Would it be possible for one to fly (in it)?”

38. *q^hoʔ kə-qɛlⁿbjəmʔ tə-rɛnts^ha-cə ʃənəʔ mə-nɛ-c^hɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ NMLZ:PURP-fly PFV-make.ready₂-MED but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED
 And made ready to fly, but was unable to do so.

39. *q^hoʔ q^hɛʔ q^hrɪⁿge=nəʔ ne-nɛtsu-cə*
 SEQ ANA dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-hide₂-MED
 And so he hid the dove skin.

40. *q^hoʔ tərmo^khɛ=z tɛje=niʔ*
 SEQ dusk=LOC elder.sibling=DU
ⁿdzə-q^hrɪⁿge=nəʔ te-nəⁿgeʔⁿdzə-cə
 3DU:POSS-dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-put.back.on₂-3DU-MED
q^hoʔ nɛmk^hé=naŋ tə-ɛnəre-ⁿdzə-cə
 SEQ sky=inside PFV:UP-go.back-3DU-MED
 At dusk, the two elder sisters put their dove skins back on and went back up into the sky.

41. *ʃənəʔ tɛsq^hɛ st^hoʔ kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ*
 but sister most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
mts^ho-vzər əntsátse o-q^hrɪⁿge ne-qɛseʔ
 lake-side continuously 3SG:POSS-dove.skin PFV:TR-search₂
oʒorʔ nɛ-vɛvoʔ-cə
 meanwhile IPFV:PST-weep₂-MED
 But the youngest sister kept looking for her dove skin by the lakeside, weeping all the while.

42. *ʃənəʔ ó-ja mə-jɛ-wɛʔ-cə*
 but 3SG:POSS-hand NEG-PFV-come₂-MED
 But she could not find it.

43. *q^hoʔ q^heʔ tətʃu=nəʔ=kə t^hv-nlɔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA lad=DET=ERG PFV:OUT-come.out₂-MED
q^hoʔ q^heʔ təmɛ nɛ-q^hrɪⁿge ɛʃiʔ 'siz-aŋ ne-tv-séjwət
 SEQ ANA woman 2SG:POSS-dove.skin 1SG know-1SG IPFV-1→2-return
ʃənəʔ ofcɛnə ɛʃiʔ=nt^hon
 but in.return 1SG=also
nɛmk^he tə-oy-tsomʔ reʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 sky IMP:UP-INV-take.thither must PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the lad came out and (said to) the girl, “I know about your dove skin and I will return it to you, but in return you must take me to the sky also,” he said.

44. *q^hoʔ təmɛ=nəʔ=kə nɛmk^he te-tv-tsomʔ joyʔ*
 SEQ girl=DET=ERG sky IPFV:UP-1→2-take.thither be.allowed
ʃənəʔ v-yrɛvɛʔ=kə o-nɛmqeʔ-aŋ-nəŋo
 but 1SG:POSS-family=ERG INV-scold-1SG-MED
 The girl said, “I may take you to the sky, but my folks will scold me,”

45. *ʃənəʔ q^hrɪⁿge nɛ-ko-séjwət-aŋ ofcɛnə*
 but dove.skin IPFV-2→1-return-1SG in.return
te-tv-tsomʔ tʃɛt
 IPFV:UP-1→2-take.thither be.necessary
 “but in return for your returning my dove skin back to me, I have no choice but take you up.”

46. *ʃənəʔ sléŋvɛ=sc^hənəʔ skɛrme o-vzər te-zyot-tsə=nəʔ*
 but moon=and star 3SG:POSS-side IPFV:UP-arrive-1DU=SUB
odʒudʒu¹⁵³ mə-tə-tá-tsə
 EXCL NEG-IMP-2-say
 “But when we get to the sides of the moon and the stars, do not say *Ojuju*,”

¹⁵³ An exclamation uttered when one feels cold.

47. *téŋɐ* *o-vzər* *te-zyot-tsə=nəʔ* *ɛtsətso*¹⁵⁴ *mə-tə-tá-tsa*
 sun 3SG:POSS-side IPFV:UP-arrive-1DU=SUB EXCL NEG-PFV-2-say
 “and when we get to the side of the sun, do not cry *Atsatso*,”

48. *ˀdenəʔ* *kɐ-tsomʔ* *mɐ-tɐ-cʰɐ* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 for INF-take.thither NEG-1→2-be.able be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “for otherwise I will not be able to take you up,” she said.

49. *qʰoʔ* *tɛtʃu=nəʔ=kə* *wɐ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ lad=DET=ERG EXCL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the lad said, “Alright.”

50. *qʰoʔ* *nɛmkʰe* *te-tsom* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ sky PFV:TR-take.thither₂ be-MED
 And she took him up into the sky.

51. *ʃənəʔ* *sléŋɐ=scʰənəʔ* *skɛrme* *o-vzər* *tə-zyôt-ˀdzə=nəʔ*
 but moon=and star 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UP-arrive₂-3DU=SUB
odʒudʒu *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 EXCL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 But when the two of them got to the sides of the moon and the stars, he cried, “*Ojuju!*”

52. *téŋɐ* *o-vzər* *tə-zyôt-ˀdzə=nəʔ* *ɛtsətso* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 sun 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UP-arrive₂-3DU=SUB EXCL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And when they got to the side of the sun, he cried, “*Atsatso!*”

¹⁵⁴ An exclamation uttered when one feels hot.

53. *q^hoʔ təmɛ=nəʔ=kə q^hvəʔ tətʃu=nəʔ ne-fləy-cə*
 SEQ girl=DET=ERG ANA lad=DET PFV:TR-drop.unintentionally₂-MED
 And the girl dropped the lad unintentionally,

54. *ʃənəʔ təmɛ=nəʔ ʁlojot=cəʔ nɐ-fte-cə*
 but girl=DET honest.person=INDF IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂-MED
q^hoʔ leʔ nɐ-jwet-cə
 SEQ again PFV:DOWN-return₂-MED
 but the girl was an honest person, and she went back down.

55. *q^hoʔ tətʃu=p^ha odʒudʒu=sc^hənəʔ ɐtsɐtsɔ mə-tə-tə-tʂə*
 SEQ lad=place EXCL=and EXCL NEG-IMP-2-say
té-tsə-aŋ=nəʔ nəʔ fsât ŋoʔ ko
 IPFV-say-1SG=SUB ANA be.like be DM
 And said to the lad, “When I tell you not to say *Ojuju* or *Atsatsɔ*, that was what happens (if you do not listen).”

56. *q^hoʔ leʔ tətʃu=nəʔ nɐmt^hé=naŋ te-tsom-cə*
 SEQ again lad=DET sky=inside PFV:UP-take.thither₂-MED
 And she took the lad up into the sky again.

57. *q^hoʔ nəʔ kə-təʃe ó-ta=nəʔ*
 SEQ that one-time 3SG:POSS-top=DET
ʃənəʔ sléŋvɐ=sc^hənəʔ skɐrme o-vzər tə-zɣôt-ⁿdzə=nəʔ
 but moon=and star 3SG:POSS-side PFV:UP-arrive₂-3DU=SUB
tʃǎle nɐ-ké-tsə nɐ-c^hvəʔ-cə
 anything NEG-INF-say IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED
 And this time, when the two of them got to the side of the moon and the stars, (the lad) managed not uttering any sound.

58. *q^hoʔ nɛmk^he nəosɛ́fsət tə-zɣôʔ-ⁿdzə-nəŋo*
 SEQ sky thus PFV:UP-arrive₂-3DU-MED
 And thus they arrived in the sky.

59. *q^hoʔ nɛmk^he kə-smo=rɐʔ*
 SEQ sky NMLZ:SBJ-dwell=PL
k^hɛxp^he t^he-kɛ-lət ⁿge-tʃ^hozʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 millstone IPFV:OUT-GP-do IPFV-be.the.rule be-MED
 And those who live in the sky are said to use millstones.

60. *q^hoʔ q^hɐʔ təme kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ ANA woman NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET=ERG
tə-kɛ-tsom tətʃu=nəʔ
 PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ:U-take.thither₂ lad=DET
k^hɛxp^he o-vzər ne-nɛtsu-cə
 millstone 3SG:POSS-side PFV:TR-hide₂-MED
 And the youngest woman hid the lad who had been taken up there beside the millstone.

61. *nəʃəq^hu k^hɛnan k^hɛxp^he kɛ-lət tɛ-mda=nəʔ*
 thereafter home millstone INF-apply IPFV-be.time=SUB
o-jiʔ əntsətse ⁿge-ojɐsəvjət ŋoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-self constantly IPFV-cause.oneself.to.be.given.assignment be-MED
 And thereafter when it was time to mill flour at home, she always volunteered for the work.

62. *q^hoʔ q^hɐʔ tətʃu=nəʔ əntsətse səqɛtsútsu ⁿge-nⁿgojʔ*
 SEQ ANA lad=DET continuously in.secret IPFV-feed₃
ŋoʔ o-tánʔ=kə o-rtɕembɛ=nəʔ
 be3 SG:POSS-reason=INS 3SG:POSS-tsampa=DET

kə-nətsom? *kámʈʰa* *me-ne-rta?* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 NMLZ:SBJ:U-take.back a.bit NEG-IPFV-be.enough be-MED

And because she kept feeding the lad in secret, the tsampa for taking back was a little bit insufficient.

63. *qʰoʔ* *o-je* *stʰoʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-elder.sibling most
kə-xtɛʔ=nəʔ=kə *o-ɣrɛrɛʔ=pʰa*
 NMLZ:SBJ=be.big=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-family=place
koʔ *ɐ-ʁɛʔ=koʔ*
 this 1SG:POSS-younger.sister=this
rtɕembɐ *mɐ-kə-rtaʔ-cə* *əntsətse* *ne-nɛwəwot=kə*
 tsampa NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough-MED often IPFV-bring:RDPL=INS
koʔ *o-kɐ-nʰgoʔ=cəʔ* *toʔ* *máso=kə*
 this 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-feed=INDF exist Q=DM

And the eldest sister said to her family, “This younger sister of mine, can it be that she has someone she is feeding, for she often brings home insufficient tsampa?”

64. *josŋiʔ* *ŋónə*
 today TOP
ɐjiʔ *rtɕembɐ* *kə-nkʰɛxpʰe* *ʃɐ-aŋ* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 1SG tsampa NMLZ:PURP-mill go-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “Today, I will go and mill tsampa myself,” she said.

65. *qʰoʔ* *o-ʁɛʔ* *mə-nɐ-kʰút-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sister NEG-IPFV:PST-allow₂-MED
 Her younger sister would not allow it.

66. *ʃənəʔ tɛje=nəʔ mɛʃtsʰe ʃə-nɐ-nkʰɛxpʰeʔ-cə*
 but elder.sibling=DET by.force AND-PFV:DOWN-mill₂-MED
 But the elder sister willfully went down to mill tsampa.

67. *qʰoʔ nɐ-nkʰɛxpʰeʔ orjájŋʔnəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-mill₂ when
tɛʃfu ó-ja ke-cu-cə=nəʔ
 lad 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:CISLOC:TR-hold₂-MED=SUB
ʃla tɛje=kə ne-nɛstʰorʔ ne-ⁿdi-cə
 SEQ elder.sibling=ERG PFV:TR-snatch₂ IPFV:PST-hold₂-MED
 When she was milling (tsampa), and when the lad reached out his hand toward the mill,
 the elder sister grabbed and held it,

68. *qʰoʔ o-yrɛrɛʔ=pʰa*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family.member=place
v-ɛɛʔ kókəsci tɛʃfu
 1SG:POSS-younger.sibling like.this lad
o-kɐ-nⁿgoʔ toʔ o-tánʔ=kə
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-feed exist 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
 and (she said to the family), “Since my younger sister has a lad who has been fed like
 this,”

69. *jə-rtɕɛmbɛ mɛ-kə-rtaʔ ne-nɛwəwot ŋoʔ-cə*
 1PL:POSS-tsampa NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough IPFV-bring:RDPL be-MED
te-tsəʔ te-jⁿdʒu ŋoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂ PFV:TR-accuse₂ be-MED
 “she has been bringing home insufficient tsampa,” she said, accusing her.

70. *q^hoʔ tɛpe tɛmo=niʔ χfíkə tə-rɛmuruʔ-ⁿdzə-cə*
 SEQ father mother=DU very PFV-be.angry₂-3DU-MED
 The father and the mother got very angry.
71. *q^hoʔ p^hɛntʃ^hɛt k^hákh^o=z ⁿdzə-sɛ-smo*
 SEQ from.now.on here=LOC 2DU:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-be.present₂
tə-kə-mɛʔ=nəʔ fsát ɲoʔ
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-exist₂=SUB be.like be
 And they said, “From now on, it will be like as if there is no place for you two here.”
72. *koʔ tɛtʃu=nəʔ ɲétʃ^hɛz tə-tə-wôt ɲonəʔ nánɛz*
 this lad=DET where PFV:UP-2-bring₂ TOP:EMPH there
nɛ-fɛ-ⁿdzə
 IMP:DOWN-go-2DU
 “go down to which ever place you brought up this lad!”
73. *nɛ-q^hriⁿge=nəʔ tɛ-ⁿbiʔ ɲoʔ=ⁿdenəʔ tə-malⁿbjəmʔ*
 2SG:POSS-dove.skin=DET 1→2-give be=for 2-fly
reʔ=kə
 be.necessary=INS
 “We will give you your dove skin, as you need to fly.”
74. *nəʔ káma χtʃərvú=kə pəʃk^ho-rɛɲəm nɛ-nlɔʔ-ⁿdzə reʔ*
 ANA except naked=INS now-EMPH IMP:DOWN-exit-2DU be.necessary
tɛ-tsəʔ-ⁿdzə-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-3DU-MED
 “Except for that, you two must get out right now, and go down to earth naked!”

75. *q^hoʔ q^heʔ tóme=nəʔ χfíkə o-sni nə-zdəγ-cə*
 SEQ ANA woman=DET very 3SG:POSS-heart PFV-be.painful₂-MED
 And the woman felt very sad.
76. *q^hoʔ o-γrərərəʔ=p^ha*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=place
koy-tfēt-ay fóχtenə nə-mdzotk^ho
 2→1-expel-1SG before 2PL:POSS-storeroom
ó-nay lə-o-səγfə-ay te-tsəʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-inside IMP:UPRIVER-INV-cause.to.go₂-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And she said to her family, “Before you expel me, let me go into your storeroom.”
77. *q^hoʔ χtfərnu o-séfsət=kə*
 SEQ naked 3SG:POSS-manner=INS
nə-mdzotk^hó=nay lə-o-səyre-cə
 3PL:POSS-storeroom=inside PFV:UPRIVER-INV-cause.to.go₂-MED
 And so she was allowed to go naked into the storeroom.
78. *q^hoʔ ηétʰə kəⁿjuʔ kəspóʔ=nay*
 SEQ where hole hole=inside
oⁿ-dzruʔ o-mcerʔ ləsoʔ tərwi te-nətsu-cə
 3SG:POSS-nail 3SG:POSS-interstice and.so.forth seed PFV:TR-hide₂-MED
 And she hid seeds in every crack and crevice of her body and even inside her nails.
79. *q^hoʔ o-q^hriⁿge=nəʔ teⁿgeʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-dove.skin=DET PFV:TR-put.on₂-MED
q^hoʔ tətʃu=sc^hənəʔ k^ho sətʰe=cε=nəʔ nəⁿbəvⁿ-dzə-cə
 SEQ lad=and here place=LOC:INDF=DET PFV:DOWN-land₂-3DU-MED
 And she put on the dove skin, and landed with the lad somewhere near this place.

80. *q^hoʔ təmɛ=nəʔ təkəmʃe ó-me ⁿge-ʃteʔ*
 SEQ woman=DET heaven 3SG:POSS-woman IPFV-be:EMPH
o-tánʔ=kə rəytʃen ⁿge-ʃteʔ ʝoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-reason=INS one.with.magic.powers IPFV-be:EMPH be-MED
 And because the woman was a female immortal, she was one with magic powers.

81. *q^hónə tətʃu mer ke-rⁿgu orjáɣnə*
 SEQ:EMPH lad night IPFV-sleep when
ʃíikə nk^hormanɣ kə-lden t^hv-kə-rəmɛʔ=kəsə
 very populace NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-work=like
o-rnɛwɛ né-ʃsət-nəɣo
 3SG:POSS-ear.perception IPFV-be.like-MED
 When the lad was going to bed at night, he seemed to hear as if many people were doing labor.

82. *q^hoʔ le-ʃsi=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-dawn=SUB
tʃǝlɛ ⁿk^hormɛrmɛɣ=rɛʔ kə-ntoʔ kánlɛ mɛ ʝoʔ-cə
 anything populace=PL NMLZ:SBJ-exist:EMPH not.exist be-MED
 But when it dawned, there was not a single soul there.

83. *q^hoʔ kə-sɣi=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP
ⁿdzə-k^he k^hayrɛvʔ=cəʔ tə-to ʝoʔ-cə
 3DU:POSS-house mansion=INDF PFV-exist₂ be-MED
 And one day, a grand mansion of theirs suddenly came into existence.

84. *q^hoʔ ⁿdzə-ɣtʃe=rɛʔ nəsɛʃsət te-to ʝoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3DU:POSS-field=PL thus PFV-exist₂ be-MED
 And in like manner, their fields came into existence.

85. *qʰoʔ tərwérwi ne-wôt tʰəmtʃet=nəʔ=rɛʔ*
 SEQ seed.of.all.kinds PFV:DOWN:TR-bring₂ all=DET=PL
təjtʃé=nəŋ te-ji-dzə-nəŋo
 field=inside PFV:TR-sow₂-3DU-MED

And they sowed in the fields the various kinds of seeds that she had brought down from heaven.

86. *qʰoʔ kɛʳdze ké-tʰi=nəʔ mtsʰôt tə-to-nəŋo*
 SEQ food drink=TOP be.full PFV-exist₂-MED

And plenty of things to eat and drink came into being.

87. *ʃənəʔ təkɪ qéjʳdɔ ó-rwi kɛ-wot ne-jmât-nəŋo*
 but turnip turnip.tuber 3SG:POSS-seed INF-bring PFV:TR-forget₂-MED

But she forgot to bring down seeds for turnip tubers.

88. *qʰoʔ qɛrɛ=cəʔ=pʰa*
 SEQ crow=INDF=place
nɛjiʔ təmkəmʃe tə-ʃɛ
 2SG heaven IMP:UP-go
qʰoʔ é-mo=pʰa təkɪ ó-rwi
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-mother=place turnip 3SG:POSS-seed
kɛ-wot nə-jmât-aŋ=cəʔ=kə
 INF-bring PFV-forget₂-1SG=INDF=INS

təkɪ ó-rwi kɛ-séʳbi kʰétʃo ɛ-tə-tá-tsə
 turnip 3SG:POSS-seed GP-ask.for please IRR-IMP-2-say

And she (said) to a crow, “Go up to the heaven and (say) to my mother: ‘I have forgotten to bring down turnip seeds, and I ask for some turnip seeds, please.’”

89. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ koʔ tɐpimɐrlɔʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ meanwhile this butter.hunk=DET
é-mo o-skəɾme ŋoʔ ɐ-tə-tá-tsə te-tsəʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-mother 3SG:POSS-gift be IRR-IMP-2-say PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And she said, “Meanwhile, this hunk of butter is a gift for my mother, you say it (to my mother)!”

90. *q^hoʔ qɐɾɐ nɛmk^he te-sɛyɾe-cə*
 SEQ crow sky PFV:UP:TR-cause.to.go₂-MED
 And then she sent the crow up into the sky.

91. *q^hoʔ qɐɾɐ tə-ɐɾe-cə*
 SEQ crow PFV:UP-go₂-MED
q^hoʔ tɐpi=rɐʔ tɛmo=p^ha ne-k^hi-cə tɐpri
 SEQ butter=PL mother=place PFV:TR-hand.to₂-MED message
te-nəmnet-cə
 PFV:TR-repeat₂-MED
 The crow went up, and it handed the butter to the mother, and also conveyed the message to her.

92. *q^hoʔ tɛmo=nəʔ=kə tɐpi mɐ-náfsɐ ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ mother=DET=ERG butter NEG-be.familiar.with be-MED
 The mother was not familiar with butter.

93. *q^hoʔ qɐɾɐ=p^ha*
 SEQ crow=place
koʔ kɐ-ⁿdze=nəʔ tʃ^hátekɐso ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 this GP-eat=TOP how be PFV:TR-say₂-MED=SUB
 When she said to the crow, “How does one eat this?”

94. *qəvə=kə nekənə? smí=naŋ tʰe-ké-po ŋo? te-tsə?*
 crow=ERG that.near.you fire=inside IPFV-GP-bake be PFV:TR-say₂
 The crow said, “One bakes that in the fire.”

95. *təmdánə qəvə o-ji?=ntʰon*
 in.truth crow 3SG:POSS-self=also
təpi kəⁿdze? tʰətəkəsə? kə-ŋo? mé-siz ŋo?-cə
 butter GP-eat how NMLZ-be NEG-know be-MED
qʰo? tətʰe te-pe?-cə
 SEQ falsehood PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 In fact, the crow itself did not know how to eat the butter either, and just uttered a lie.

96. *qʰo? təpi smékrət=ta tʰe-po?-cə=nə?*
 SEQ butter live.coal=top PFV:TR-bake₂-MED=SUB
 When she baked the butter on live coals,

97. *təpi=nə? tэмto tə-lə-cə*
 butter=DET foam PFV:UP-become₂-MED
qʰo? nəⁿdʒwi-cə smékrət=naŋ nə-ere-cə
 SEQ PFV:DOWN-melt₂-MED live.coal=inside PFV:DOWN-go₂-MED
 the butter turned into foams, and it melted down and disappeared into the live coals,

98. *kəⁿdze nə-mə?-cə*
 food PFV-not.exist₂-MED
 and nothing was left to eat.

99. *qʰo? tэмo=nə? χʰikə tə-rəmuru?-cə*
 SEQ mother=DET very PFV-be.angry₂-MED
 And the mother got very angry.

100. *q^hoʔ* *é-mɛ=kə* *v-skəɾme=nəʔ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-daughter=ERG 1SG:POSS-gift=DET
nákəsci *səwot=kə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 thus cause.to.bring=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And (she said), “(How could) my daughter have this kind of gift brought to me!”

101. *q^hoʔ* *ó-mɛ=ɣu* *təkírwi* *te-sɛpəpɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-daughter=POSS turnip.seed PFV:TR-prepare₂-MED
 And she prepared the turnip seeds for her daughter.

102. *fənəʔ* *oʒorʔ*
 SEQ meanwhile
koʔ *táki=nəʔ* *fkorʔ=nəʔ* *v-nɛ-rji*
 this turnip=TOP carry.on.back=SUB IRR-PFV-be.heavy
ˈdzɐ=nəʔ *témto* *v-nə-poj* *te-tsəʔ*
 eat=TOP foam IRR-PFV-become₃ PFV:TR-say₂
q^hoʔ *nákəsə* *smolɛm* *te-ɬdɛv-nəŋo*
 SEQ thus prayer PFV:TR-offer₂-MED
 Meanwhile, she made a curse thus, “Let this turnip be heavy when it is carried on back, and let it become foamy when it is eaten!”

103. *q^hoʔ* *v-né-ŋo=nəʔ* *nɛmk^he=z* *təkírwi*
 SEQ IRR-PFV-be=SUB sky=LOC turnip.seed
χfíkə *kə-ʒroʔ* *ˈge-toʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə* *fənəʔ*
 very NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine IPFV-exist be-MED but
nákəsə *ó-mɛ=ɣu* *me-ne-sətsom-cə*
 thus 3SG:POSS-daughter=POSS NEG-PFV:DOWN:TR-cause.to.take.thither₂-MED
 There would have been very fine turnip seeds in heaven, but she did not have those taken down to her daughter.

104. *q^hoʔ mɛ-kə-vde=nəʔ*

SEQ NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=DET

te-kɛ-fkorʔ=nəʔ kə-rji

IPFV:UP-GP-carry.on.back=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-be.heavy

te-kɛ-ⁿdze=nəʔ tɛmto ne-kə-poj=kə

IPFV:UP-GP-eat=TOP foam IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-become₃=INS

kɛ-ⁿdze kə-mɛ

NMLZ:SBJ:U-eat NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist

As for the inferior (turnips), they are heavy to carry on back and nothing to be eaten owing to their being soggy.

105. *toʔaʔ jə-təki nəkəsənəʔ ne-səwôt-ŋo-nəŋo*

nowadays 1PL:POSS-turnip thus PFV:DOWN-cause.to.bring₂-MED

And she had (the crow) bring down to earth that which is like our turnips today.

106. *q^hoʔ nəʔ oxténəʔ*

SEQ ANA mainly

qɛrɛ=kə kɛ-nɛpriʔ osto me-te-so

crow=ERG INF-deliver.message properly NEG-PFV:TR-do₂

nɛ-ⁿdzeʔ ŋoʔ kɛ-tsə tʃ^hozʔ-cə

IPFV:PST-be.to.blame₂ be GP-say be.the.rule-MED

And it is said that this was mainly because the crow did not deliver the message properly, and so it was to blame.

107. *q^hoʔ q^hɛʔ=niʔ nəoséfsatkə kəⁿbjoʔ ne-səmp^herʔ=ⁿdzə*

SEQ ANA=DU thus human PFV:TR-propagate₂=3DU

kɛ-tsə ŋoʔ tʃ^hozʔ-cə

GP-say be be.the.rule-MED

And it is said that in this way the two of them propagated the human race.

108. *nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə pəʃkʰo jə-pe jə-mo=nəʔ*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS now 1PL:POSS-father 1PL:POSS-mother=DET
kərdəʔ ʃteʔ
 one be:EMPH

Therefore, our forefathers now (lit. fathers and mothers) are one and the same.

109. *jə-mo=nəʔ nɛmkʰɛmɛ*
 1PL:POSS-mother=TOP female.immortal
jə-pe=nəʔ qʰɛʔ tɛʃu=nəʔ nɛ-ŋo tʰozʔ-cə
 1PL:POSS-father=TOP ANA lad=DET IPFV:PST-be₂ be.the.rule-MED
 Our mother was the female immortal, and our father was that lad, it is said.

GOITER

kɛⁿdzəjəlpeni? ⁿdzəsqɛzje nekətocə xpe

Narrator: Nyimathar

1. *ɣjonts^he=z*

former.time=LOC

ⁿdzə-sqɛzje nɛ-kə-to=cə?

3DU:POSS-goiter IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-exist₂=INDF

kɛⁿdze-jəlpe nɛ-to=ⁿdzə ɣoʔ-cə

COL-neighbor IPFV:PST-exist₂=3DU be-MED

Once there were two neighbors, both of whom had a goiter.

2. *jəlpe kə-rdoʔ=nə? kə-timʔ=cə? nɛ-ɣo-cə*

neighbor one-CL=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED

jəlpe kə-rdoʔ=nə? kə-ⁿgu=cə? nɛ-ɣo-cə

neighbor one-CL=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED

One of the neighbors was rich, and the other neighbor was poor.

3. *q^hoʔ kəsɣi=cɛ=nə? tərmók^he*

SEQ day=LOC:INDF=DET dusk

kə-ⁿgu o-ɣe mə-jɛ-wɛʔ-cə

NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor 3SG:POSS-cow NEG-PFV-come₂-MED

One day at dusk, the poor one's cow did not come back home.

4. *q^hoʔ kəⁿgu=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG

qfoʔ=nəɣ o-ɣe ʃə-kə-qɛse

valley=inside 3SG:POSS-cow AND-NMLZ:PURP-seek

lɐ-ɐre *nɐ-re-cə*
 PFV:UPRIVER-go₂ IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED

And the poor one had to go upriver into the valley to look for it.

5. *ʃənəʔ* *o-ŋe* *kɐ-mtiʔ* *mə-nɐ-c^hɐʔ-cə*
 but 3SG:POSS-cow INF-see NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED
 But he could not find his cow.

6. *q^hoʔ* *tə-qɐnu-cə*
 SEQ PFV-darken₂-MED
q^hoʔ *mer* *tərgi* *ó-p^hi* *nɐ-nəɾme-cə*
 SEQ night pine 3SG:POSS-underside IPFV:PST-spend.the.night₂-MED
 It became dark, and at night he rested for the day under a pine tree.

7. *káde* *nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ* *tájo* *mts^hót* *jɐ-wɛʔ-nə-cə*
 in.a.while PFV-elapse₂=SUB demon be.many PFV-come₂-3PL-MED
 After a while, many demons came.

8. *q^hoʔ* *nɐ-o-mti-cə*
 SEQ PFV-INV-see₂-MED
q^hoʔ *tájo=rɐʔ=kə* *prá=p^hi* *kə-oy-tsom-cə*
 SEQ demon=PL=AGT boulder=under PFV:EAST-INV-take.thither₂-MED
 He got spotted and was taken east under a boulder by the demons.

9. *q^hoʔ* *tájo=rɐʔ* *nɐ-nɾɛsqɐʔ-nə*
 SEQ demon=PL IPFV:PST-hold.potluck.party₂-3SG
 The demons were having a potluck party.

10. *q^hoʔ fe ne-nəkriʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ meat PFV:TR-distribute₂-3PL-MED=SUB
nə-fe mə-nə-rta-cə
 3PL:POSS-meat NEG-be.enough₂-MED

When they distributed meat among themselves, their meat was not enough to go around.

11. *q^hoʔ tʰjo kə-rdɔʔ=kə*
 SEQ demon one-CL=ERG
nɛ-t^hɛco o-sqɛzje nə-p^hət-nə te-tsəʔ-cə
 2SG:POSS-downriver.place 3SG:POSS-goiter IMP-pluck-2PL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And one demon said, “That one down(river) there, pluck off his goiter!”

12. *q^hoʔ o-sqɛzje ne-p^hət-nə-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-goiter PFV:TR-pluck₂-3PL-MED
 Then they plucked off his goiter.

13. *q^hoʔ nəʔosáfsi=nəʔ tʰjo=rɛʔ jɛ-nəʃɛʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ next.day=DET demon=PL PFV-go.back-3PL-MED
 The next morning, the demons all went away.

14. *q^hoʔ q^hɛnəʔ o-rqe ne-nɛməme=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-neck PFV:TR-feel₂=SUB
o-sqɛzje ɛdɛnbe kə-toʔ nə-mɛʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-goiter EMPH NMLZ:SBJ-exist PFV-not.exist₂-MED
 When he felt his neck, (he found that) his goiter had completely disappeared.

15. *q^hoʔ tə-χe=kə t^hɛ-ɛnəre-cə*
 SEQ NMLZ-be.happy=INS PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back₂-MED
 And he happily went back home.

16. *q^hoʔ o-jəlpe kə-timʔ=kə ne-mti-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-neighbor NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=ERG PFV:TR-see₂-MED=SUB
ko o-sqəzje nə-meʔ-cə
 ANA 3SG:POSS-goiter PFV-not.exist₂-MED
ántʰə te-so ŋoʔ ne-səsi-cə
 what.on.earth IPFV-do be PFV:TR-think₂-MED

The rich neighbor saw this and thought, “His goiter disappeared. How did he do it?”

17. *q^hoʔ ne-rwet-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ PFV:TR-ask₂-MED=SUB
kə-ⁿgu=nəʔ=kə nəʔoforme tʰə
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG the.previous.night what
nə-kə-fsət=rəʔ kəmdiʔ nə-rəffët-cə
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂=PL all PFV-recount₂-MED

And when he asked (the poor neighbor), (the poor neighbor) told him everything that had happened the previous night.

18. *q^hoʔ kə-timʔ=nəʔ=kə χfíkə ne-nəsmə-cə*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=DET=AGT very PFV:TR-envy₂-MED
q^hoʔ əjiʔ=ntʰon nəʔ te-kə-fsət
 SEQ 1SG=also ANA IPFV-GP-do.thus
reʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə
 be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And the rich one envied him very much and thought, “I must do likewise, too!”

19. *q^hoʔ kə-timʔ=nəʔ nəʔofsəmer=z qfoʔ=nəŋ*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=DET the.following.night=LOC valley=inside
ŋe kə-qʰse te-nəʔpəzʔ lə-ʋre-cə
 cow NMLZ-seek PFV:TR-pretend₂ PFV-UPRIVER-go₂-MED
 The following night, the rich neighbor went into the valley, pretending to seek his cow.

20. *q^hoʔ mer=nəʔ*
 SEQ night=DET
nəʔ tʰrgi ó-p^hi nə-nəʔme-cə
 ANA pine.tree 3SG:POSS-underside IPFV:PST-spend.the.night₂-MED
 And, at night, he rested for the night under that pine tree.

21. *káde nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ tʰjo=rəʔ leʔ jə-weʔ-nə-cə*
 a.while PFV-elapse₂=SUB demon=PL again PFV-come₂-3PL-MED
q^hoʔ prá=p^hi kə-oy-tsom-cə
 SEQ boulder=under PFV:EAST-INV-take₂-MED
 After a while the demons came again, and he was taken away under the boulder.

22. *q^hoʔ tʰjo=rəʔ leʔ nə-nrəsqəʔ-nə*
 SEQ demon=PL again IPFV:PST-hold.potluck.party₂-3PL
 Again, the demons were having a potluck party.

23. *ʃe ne-nəkriʔ-nə=nəʔ*
 meat PFV:TR-distribute₂-3PL=SUB
kə-tʰla koʔ ŋónəʔ nə-ʃe nə-riʔ-cə
 one-time TOP TOP:EMPH 3PL:POSS-meat PFV-be.left₂-MED
 When they distributed meat, this time they had extra meat left.

24. *q^hoʔ tájɔ kərdɔʔ=kə*
 SEQ demon one=AGT
nəkəʔ fe nə-kə-riʔ=nəʔ
 that.on.your.side meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left₂=DET
nə-t^héco o-sqəzdʒé=ta t^hv-wéju-nə te-tsəʔ-cə
 2SG:POSS-downriver 3SG:POSS-goiter=on IMP-add.to-2PL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 One of the demons said, “That extra meat, add it onto the goiter of that one over there!”

25. *q^hoʔ kəmaʔ tájɔ=rəʔ=kə vde te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ other demon=PL=AGT good PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
q^hoʔ q^hvənəʔ tə-kə-tsəʔ kəsənəʔ te-nəməʔ-nə-cə
 SEQ ANA PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say₂ thus PFV:TR-do₂-3PL-MED
 The other demons said, “Good!” and did as he said.

26. *q^hoʔ lə-fsi tájɔ=rəʔ jv-nəfeʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ PFV-dawn₂ demon=PL PFV-go.back₂-3PL-MED=SUB
o-rqe te-rtɔ=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-neck PFV:TR-examine₂=SUB
 When the demons all went back at dawn, and when the rich one examined his neck,

27. *o-sqəzdʒe=rcənəʔ t^hveʔ-fɔχtenə kɲi-zlɔʔ nə-xtv-cə*
 3SG:POSS-goiter=TOP:EMPH former-COMP two-fold PFV-become.big₂-MED
 his goiter had become twice as big as before.

28. *q^hoʔ k^hronk^hro=kə k^hénay t^hv-ənəre nə-re-cə*
 SEQ be.sad=INS home PFV-go.back₂ IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED
 He had no choice but go back home in sadness.

29. *kəkoʔ* *χpe=nəʔ* *kərⁿbjəʔ* *náŋts^ha*
 this story=TOP person among.each.other
zəzdaŋ *kə-ntʰi* *mə-ŋɛn=ⁿdenəʔ* *təkrísɣə*
 jealousy NMLZ-use NEG-be.acceptable=otherwise maybe
tə-ɟ *lɛmⁿdzo* *kə-fɛ* *mɛ* *ké-tsə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 GP:POSS-self:GEN smooth NMLZ-go not.exist GP-say be-MED

The (moral of the) story is that one must not be jealous of other people, otherwise unfavorable consequences may be brought upon oneself.

TWO POWERFUL MEN
yrɛtsɐyɥzu schənəʔ mdzɛldɛcɛt
Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *ʃɔntsʰe=z* *yrɛtse*¹⁵⁵=z *yrɛtsɐyɥzu* *te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ*
 former.time=LOC Gratse=LOC Gratsagzu IPFV-GP-say=INDF
nɐ-to *ŋoʔ-cə*
 IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED

Once upon a time, there was a person named Gratsagzu at Gratse.

2. *qʰolɛciʔ mdzɛldiʔ=z* *mdzɛldɛcɛt* *te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ* *nɐ-to* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 PN=LOC PN IPFV-GP-say=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED

And there was a person named Mjaldakjat at Mjaldi¹⁵⁶ in Kholakyi Village.

3. *qʰoʔ* *mɐ-kə-nɛχtʃəy=kəsə*
 SEQ NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same=like
ⁿgɛ-χʃo-ⁿdzə *ŋoʔ* *tʃʰozʔ-cə*
 IPFV-be.brawny-2DU be be.the.rule-MED

The two of them were extraordinarily strong and brawny.

4. *qʰoʔ* *tɐmɐ* *χʃikə* *ⁿge-rkaŋ-ⁿdzə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ man very IPFV-be.capable-3DU be-MED

And they were very capable and resourceful men.

5. *qʰoʔ* *mdzɛldɛcɛt=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN=TOP

As for Mjaldakjat,

¹⁵⁵ Name of the confluence of Kholakyi River and Dadu River.

¹⁵⁶ Name of a place within Kholakyi Village.

6. *sɲi təjtʃé=naŋ ʃə-ne-rəmɐ*
 day field=inside AND-IPFV-do.labor
 during the day, he would go and do labor in the field,
7. *mer=nəʔ ó-ja=kə ne-sqɛjⁿdzɛ*
 night=DET 3SG:POSS-hand=INS IPFV-make.butter₂
o-ʃqór=pʰi tʰⁿdzi ⁿge-rkoj
 3SG:POSS-buttocks=under skin IPFV:DOWN-put.into.container¹⁵⁷
qʰoʔ ⁿge-sá-χtsov ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV-CAUS-rub be-MED
 at night he would make butter with his hands, while rubbing raw skin inserted under his buttocks.
8. *nákəsə kʰe-təʃe*
 thus each-time
təmɐ kʰe-ɛnɛz-təŋu ne-səⁿgrəvʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 labor each-two-piece IPFV-accomplish be-MED
 In that way, he would accomplish two pieces of labor at one time.
9. *γrɛtsɐyzu=ntʰon=nəʔ leʔ nákəsə ⁿge-nɛʃsáʃsət ŋoʔ-cə*
 Gratsagzu=also=TOP again thus IPFV-do.thus be-MED
 And as for Gratsagzu, he would also do (labor) in that way.
10. *qʰoʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ tə-ɐmqɐ-ⁿdzə-cə*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=TOP PFV-quarrel₂-3DU-MED
 One day, the two of them got into a quarrel.

¹⁵⁷ The verb “put into container” here denotes putting the raw skin into the hollow under one’s seat.

11. *q^hoʔ* *yrɛtsɛyʒu* *tə-rɛmuruʔ*
 SEQ PN PFV-be.angry₂
 Gratsagzu got angry,
12. *q^hoʔ* *p^howay* *retaʔ=kəsə* *kə-xtɛʔ*
 SEQ boulder mill=like NMLZ:SBJ-be.big
mdʒɛldécɛt=ta *le-wɛrêʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 PN=top PFV:UPRIVER:UP-throw₂ be-MED
 and he hurled a boulder the size of a mill at Mjaldakjat.
13. *q^hoʔ* *nəʔ* *p^howay=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA boulder=DET
mdʒɛldiʔ *o-t^héco*
 PN 3SG:POSS-downriver.place
rjámɔzor¹⁵⁸ *kə-toʔ=nəʔ* *le-sɛzyôʔ*
 PN NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET PFV:UPRIVER:TR-cause.to.arrive₂
ké-tsə *tʃ^hozʔ-cə*
 GP-say be.the.rule-MED
 And the boulder, he made it land upriver at a place called Rgjemdzor, close to Mjaldi, it is said.
14. *q^hoʔ* *nəʔ* *p^howay=nəʔ* *pəʃk^ho=ntʃ^hon* *kə-mtiʔ* *toʔ*
 SEQ ANA boulder=DET now=also NMLZ:SBJ:U-see exist
 And that boulder can still be seen even today.
15. *q^hoʔ* *mdʒɛldécɛt=ntʃ^hon* *tə-rɛmuruʔ*
 SEQ PN=also PFV-be.angry₂
 Mjaldakjat also got angry,

¹⁵⁸ Name of a place in Kholakyi Village.

16. *q^hoʔ leʔ p^howaŋ retaʔ=kəsə kə-xtɛʔ*
 SEQ also boulder mill=like NMLZ:SBJ-be.big
ɣrɛtsɛ́gzu ó-ta t^he-wɛrɛ́t ɲoʔ-cə
 PN 3SG:POSS-top PFV:UPRIVER:UP-throw₂ be-MED
 and he also hurled a boulder the size of a millstone upriver at Gratsagzu.

17. *q^hoʔ nəʔ p^howaŋ=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA boulder=DET
ɣrɛtse o-léco mími tʃuʔ te-sɛy-fɛʔ
 PN 3SG:POSS-upriver.place a.bit PN IPFV-NMLZ:OBL-go₂
kə-toʔ=nəʔ t^he-sɛzyət ɲoʔ-cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET PFV:UPRIVER:UP-cause.to.arrive₂ be-MED
 And the boulder, he made it land a little distance upriver from Gratse (where there was a side-road) going toward Cus.

18. *nəʔ p^howaŋ=nəʔ pəʃk^ho=ntʃ^hon kɐ-mtiʔ toʔ tʃ^hozʔ*
 ANA boulder=DET now=also NMLZ:SBJ:U-see exist be.the.rule
ké-tso ɲoʔ-cə
 GP-say be-MED
 And that boulder can still be seen even today, it is said.

A GHOST ATTENDED WEDDING

tájontʃon kərərtənmu? nəkre ʃənekəneʃe? oɣre

Narrator: Lemi

1. *tájocə? nə-to-cə*
ghost=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
There was a ghost.
2. *qʰo? kə-sɲi=cɛ=nə?*
SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP
kərⁿbjo? kə-rərtənmu? nə-kre
person PURP-celebrate.wedding 3PL:POSS-company
oʃi?=ntʃon nə-nɛʃe-cə
3SG=also IPFV:PST-idel.about₂-MED
One day, it idled about with people attending a wedding celebration.
3. *qʰo? mer rətmu? nə-joy*
SEQ night wedding PFV-end₂
qʰo? kʰɛnəŋ jɛ-ɛnəre?-cə=nə?
SEQ home PFV-go.back₂-MED=SUB
And, as it went back home after the wedding ended,
4. *o-zde? tájo=rɛ?=kə*
3SG:POSS-companion ghost=PL=ERG
josɲi? rətmu? nə-sɛscət te-tsə?-nə-cə=nə?
today wedding IPFV:PST:Q-be.enjoyable₂ PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED=SUB
when its companion ghosts asked it saying, “Was the wedding today enjoyable?”

5. *nə-kə-rərtənmu* *təjo=nəʔ=kə*
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-attend.wedding ghost=DET=ERG
 And the ghost who attended the wedding said,

6. *josŋiʔ rtənmuʔ χʃikə nə-səscət*
 today wedding very IPFV:PST-be.enjoyable₂
kəⁿdze kət^hi=rəʔ nə-mts^hôt
 food drink=PL IPFV:PST-be.plenty₂
 “The wedding today was very enjoyable, and the food and drinks were plenty.”

7. *ʃənəʔ zəme kə-səpəpəʔ=nəʔ*
 but food NMLZ:SBJ-prepare.many.things₂=DET
st^hɔre zəme tə-səpəpəʔ=kə nə-nəjklɔj
 first food NMLZ-prepare.many.things=INS IPFV:PST-do.with.zest₂
 “But the one who prepared food, he was at full steam preparing the food at the start.”

8. *q^hoʔ kəmaq^huʔnə o-tʃantweʔ kolevʔ o-mcerʔ nə-ɐre*
 SEQ afterwards 3sg:poss-chopper floor 3sg:poss-crevice pfv:down-go₂
q^hoʔ kə-səpəpəʔ=nəʔ=kə me-ne-sərtɔ
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-prepare.many.things₂=DET=ERG NEG-PFV:TR-find₂
 “Afterwards, his chopper fell into crevices on the floor, and he could not find it.”

9. *q^hoʔ tʃantweʔ=nəʔ təjo=kə jɐ-tsom ŋoʔ ʃteʔ=kə*
 SEQ chopper=DET ghost=ERG PFV-take.away₂ be be:EMPH=DM
te-tsəʔ q^hoʔ nə-rɛfqaʃqəʔ
 PFV:TR-say SEQ IPFV:PST-do.scolding₂
ɐjiʔ ɛ-ta te-te
 1SG 1SG:POSS-top PFV:TR-put₂
 “And he swore repeatedly, saying, ‘(Who) the ghost took away the chopper,’” and put the blame on me.

10. *qʰoʀ* *nəʀ* *tsax̣tsaʀ* *ɐ-kə-nəmɣeʀ* *kəma*
 SEQ ANA only ISG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-scold except
noʀori *mɐ-kə-sɛscət* *nɐ-mɛʀ* *te-tsəʀ*
 the.rest NEG-NMLZ-be.comfortable IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ PFV:TR-say₂
 “Everything was enjoyable, except for that person who scolded me,” it said.

THE ROC HELPS A POOR MAN FIND GOLD
pjerjelc^hontsfenkə kəⁿgucə χser fənəkəsəyro

Narrator: Lemi

1. *ʃɲonts^he=z* *kə-tim^ʔ=cə^ʔ* *nɐ-to* *ŋo^ʔ-cə*
 former.time=LOC NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
kə-ⁿgu=cə^ʔ *nɐ-to* *ŋo^ʔ-cə*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 Once upon a time, there were a rich man and a poor man.

2. *q^ho^ʔ* *jəlpe* *ⁿge-ŋo^ʔ-ⁿdzə* *ŋo^ʔ-cə*
 SEQ neighbor IPFV-be-3DU be-MED
 The two of them were neighbors.

3. *q^ho^ʔ* *kə-ʃɲi=cɛ=nə^ʔ*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET
kə-tim^ʔ *nɐ-rɛχtu^ʔ* *ŋo^ʔ-cə*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich IPFV:PST-do.sutra.chanting₂ be-MED
 One day, the rich man was having a sutra-chanting session (at home).

4. *q^ho^ʔ* *kɐ-raxtu=rɛ^ʔ* *jə-joγ^ʔ* *jɛrmɐ=nə^ʔ*
 SEQ INF-do.sutra.chanting=PL PROS-finish about=SUB
 When the chanting was just about to come to an end,

5. *kə-ⁿgu=kə* *o-tfu=p^ha*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be poor=ERG 3SG:POSS-son=place
é-tfu *st^ho* *ká-xte* *k^hɛxtə* *fə-tə-mp^héri*
 1SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big:VOC roof-top.platform AND-IMP:UP-look
q^ho^ʔ *jə-jəlpe=rɛ^ʔ=kə*
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG

né-pe *ká-p^hu* *lè-wi*
 2SG:POSS-father PURP-beg.for.food IMP:UPRIVER-come
te-ká-tsə=tsə *vré-to* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 IPFV-NMLZ-say=SUB Q-exist PFV:TR-say₂-MED

the poor man said to (one of) his sons, “My eldest son, you go up to the roof-top platform, and take a look, and see if our neighbors are saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”

6. *q^hoʔ* *o-tʃu=nəʔ* *k^hɛxto* *ʃə-tə-mp^hɛri-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son=DET roof-top.platform AND-PFV:UP-look₂-MED
q^hoʔ *nɛ-nəwɛʔ* *ó-pe=p^ha*
 SEQ PFV:DOWN-come.back₂ 3SG:POSS-father=place

And his son went up to the roof-top platform, took a look, came back down, and (said) to his father,

7. *é-pe* *jə-jəlpe=rɛʔ=kə*
 1SG:POSS-father 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG
zet *té-tsə-nə* *jə-nəjɔʃlojʔ-nə*¹⁵⁹ *káma*
 EXCL IPFV-say-3PL PROS-do.with.zest-3PL except
né-pe *lè-p^hu* *te-ká-tsə*
 2SG:POSS-father IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food IPFV-NMLZ-say
mɛ *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 not.exist PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“Father, our neighbors were zealously exclaiming *zet*. Aside from that, they were not saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”

¹⁵⁹ Referring to a ritual toward the end of sutra chanting, while the monks call out “*zet*”, to summon the guardian deities.

8. *q^hoʔ leʔ o-tʃu tələzʔ ó-p^ha*
 SEQ again 3SG:POSS-son middle 3SG:POSS-place
é-tʃu tələz nɛʃiʔ k^hɛxtɔ ʃə-tə-mp^hɛri
 1SG:POSS-son middle 2SG roof-top.platform AND-IMP:UP-look
jə-jəlpe=rɛʔ=kə
 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG
nɛ-pe ká-p^hu lɛ-wi
 2SG:POSS-father PURP-beg.for.food IMP:UPRIVER-come
te-ká-tsə=tsə vré-to te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV-NMLZ-say=SUB Q-exist PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And he said again to his middle son, “My middle son, go up to the roof-top platform and take a look to see if our neighbors are saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”

9. *q^hoʔ o-tʃu tələzʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son-to middle=DET
k^hɛxtɔ ʃə-tə-mp^hɛri-cə
 roof-top.platform AND-PFV:UP-look₂-MED
q^hoʔ leʔ nɛ-nəwɛʔ
 SEQ again PFV:DOWN-come.back₂
q^hoʔ ó-pe=p^ha
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=place

His middle son went up to the roof-top platform, took a look, came back down, and (said) to his father,

10. *é-pe* *jə-jəlpə=rəʔ* *fsófsó* *ɛsɛ-wɛrɛt-nə* *káma*
 1SG:POSS-father 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL EXCL CONT:HTR-throw-3PL except
lé-p^hu *te-ká-tsə* *mɛ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food IPFV-NMLZ-say not.exist PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “Father, our neighbors were throwing tsampa offering while saying ‘Fso-fso’,¹⁶⁰ aside from that, they were not saying ‘Come and beg for food,’” he said.
11. *leʔ* *o-tfú* *st^hoʔ* *kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ* *ó-p^ha*
 again 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET 3SG:POSS-place
ɛ-tfú *st^hoʔ* *ká-xtfi*
 1SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be small:VOC
nɛjiʔ *k^hɛxtó* *fə-tə-mp^hɛri*
 2SG roof-top.platform AND-IMP:UP-look
jə-jəlpə=rəʔ=kə *nɛ-pe* *lé-p^hu*
 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL=ERG 2SG:POSS-father IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food
te-ká-tsə=tsə *vré-to* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 IPFV-NMLZ-say=SUB Q-exist PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 Again, he said to his smallest son, “My smallest son, go up to the roof-top platform and take a look to see if our neighbors are saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”
12. *q^hoʔ* *o-tfú* *st^hoʔ* *kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
k^hɛxtó *fə-tə-mp^hɛri-cə*
 roof-top.platform AND-PFV:UP-look₂-MED
q^hoʔ *leʔ* *nɛ-nəwɛʔ* *q^hoʔ* *ó-pe=p^ha*
 SEQ again PF:DOWN-come.back₂ SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=place
 His smallest son went up to the roof-top platform and took a look, came back down, and said to his father,

¹⁶⁰ An utterance of invitation to guardian deities.

13. *é-pe* *jə-jəlpə=rəʔ* *ləɾjélo*¹⁶¹
 1SG:POSS-father 1PL:POSS-neighbor=PL EXCL
ɛsɛ-pe-nə *káma* *né-pe* *lé-p^hu*
 CONT:HTR-do-3PL except 2SG:POSS-ather IMP:UPRIVER-beg.for.food
te-ká-tsə *mɛ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say not.exist PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “Father, our neighbors were (doing their closing ritual while) calling out ‘Larjalo’. Aside from that, they were not saying, ‘Let your father come and beg for food.’”

14. *q^hoʔ* *kə-ⁿgu=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG
maɣdu *maɣdu=kə* *zɛscət*¹⁶² *mɛ=nəʔ*
 alright alright=DM eating.happiness not.exist=SUB
*ʃɛscət*¹⁶³ *kɛ-ná-pe* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 firewood.happiness GP-SPON-do be PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 “Alright, alright! If there isn’t going to be happy eating, I will at least get some happy firewood-burning,” the poor man said.

15. *q^hoʔ* *ó-m^he* *tərpe* *ne-tʃərʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-waist ax PFV:DOWN:TR-stick₂-MED
q^hoʔ *ʃɛlili* *qʃoʔ=nəŋ=cɛ* *lɛ-ɛre-cə*
 SEQ upriver.yonder ravine=inside=LOC:INDF PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED
 He stuck an ax in his belt (lit. in his waist), and went inside a yonder ravine upriver.

¹⁶¹ Exclamation (*qi lə jɛlo*) made collectively at the conclusion of the sutra chanting ceremony, meaning ‘We have won!’.

¹⁶² From Tibetan <za.skyid>.

¹⁶³ From Tibetan <shing.skyid>, lit. ‘firewood-happiness’, referring to warm hearths with ample firewood that even paupers can afford to enjoy.

16. *q^hoʔ zdoŋbo ome kə-xteʔ=cəʔ ne-mti-cə*
 SEQ tree very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV:TR-see₂-MED
q^hoʔ nəʔ te-nəʒuriʔ
 SEQ ANA PFV:TR-confront₂
q^hoʔ zdoŋbo=ʒər tərpe kə-lət te-je-cə
 SEQ tree=body ax INF-apply PFV:TR-begin₂-MED
 He saw a very big tree, confronted it, and started to hew at the trunk.

17. *q^hoʔ nəʔ zdoŋbo=ta fferjɛlc^hoŋtʃen=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA tree=top roc=TOP
o-ləʔ nə-to ŋoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-nest IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 On top of that tree, the roc had its nest there.

18. *q^hoʔ fferjɛlc^hoŋtʃen=kə kə-ⁿgu=p^ha*
 SEQ roc=ERG NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=place
nəkənəʔ zdoŋbo mə-nə-tə-p^hət
 that.near.you tree NEG-IMP-2-cut
ⁿdenəʔ ʒ-ⁿgəmʔ tə-wérət tə-c^hovʔ ŋoʔ k^hétʂo te-tsəʔ-cə
 or 1SG:POSS-egg 2-throw 2-break be please PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the roc said to the poor man, “Please do not cut that tree there or you will throw out my eggs and break them.”

19. *q^hoʔ kə-ⁿgu=nəʔ=kə ŋoʔ ʃənəʔ ɛjiʔ é-ⁿdze*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG be but 1SG 1SG:POSS-eat
mɛ ŋoʔ q^hoʔ zɛscət mɛ=nəʔ ʃɛscət
 not.exist be SEQ eating.happiness not.exist=SUB firewood.happiness
ne-pɔ-aŋ q^hoʔ kéju né-p^hət-aŋ
 IPFV-do₃-1SG SEQ firewood IPFV-cut-1SG

ne-səsiʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV-want-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the poor man said, “Alright, but I don’t have anything to eat. And if there is no happiness from eating, I must have happiness of a warm hearth! And so I want to cut some firewood.”

20. *qʰoʔ fferjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=kə*
 SEQ roc=ERG
ma-kdu=kə

NEG-be.serious=DM

fsáfsi téŋɐ mə-fɛr kʰákʰoz ɐ-lɐ-tə-wi
 tomorrow sun NEG-rise here IRR-IMP:UPRIVER-2-come

The roc said, “No problem! Come here tomorrow before the sun rises.”

21. *qʰoʔ χser corⁿbuʔ=naŋ*
 SEQ gold cobble-covered.riverbank=inside
tɐ-tsomʔ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə

1→2-take.thither be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“And I will take you inside a riverbank covered with gold cobbles.”

22. *qʰoʔ kə-nⁿgu=nəʔ=kə wɐ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=ERG yes PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the poor man said, “Alright!”

23. *qʰoʔ nəʔofsáfsi təmtʃuyʔ zɐrnaʔ=nəʔ lɐ-ɐre-cə*
 SEQ next.day dawn=DET PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED
qʰoʔ fferjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=nəʔ=kə zdóŋbo=ta
 SEQ roc=DET=ERG tree=top

kə-taʔ *tʰə-oy-nəʒiʔ-cə*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.true CONT:LTR-INV-wait₂-MED

Next morning before dawn, he went upriver, and the roc was indeed waiting for him on the tree.

24. *qʰoʔ* *ffəɾjəlcʰoŋtʃen=kə* *tə-o-fkor-cə*
 SEQ roc=ERG PFV:UP-INV-carry.on.back₂-MED

qʰoʔ *kəɾqʰəɾqʰe=z* *χser*
 SEQ faraway.place=LOC gold

corⁿbuʔ=naŋ *nə-oy-tsom-cə*
 cobble.covered.riverbank=inside PFV-INV-take.thither₂-MED

And the roc carried him up onto its back, and took him to a far-off riverbank strewn with gold cobbles.

25. *qʰoʔ* *kə-ⁿguʔ=pʰa*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=place

tə-oyəsəjəz *nə-təkəmʔ=naŋ* *χser* *tə-rkoj* *ⁿdenəʔ*
 IMP-hurry 2SG:POSS-bag=inside gold IMP-put.in₃ for

kédenəʔ *téŋə* *kánⁿgət* *lɔʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 in.a.while sun nine come.out be

qʰoʔ *kə-náʃə* *mə-səcʰə* *kə-oy-tʃov* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ INF-go.back NEG-be.doable GP-INV-burn be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And it said to the poor man, “Hurry up and put the gold into your bag, for in a while nine suns will come out, one will not be able to go back, and one will be scorched.”

26. *qʰoʔ* *kə-ⁿgu=nəʔ* *tə-oyəsəjəz²-cə*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET PFV-hurry₂-MED

qʰoʔ *χser* *kə-təkəm* *te-rkoʔ-cə*
 SEQ gold one-bag PFV:TR-put.in₂-MED

So the poor man made haste and loaded a bag full of gold.

27. *q^hoʔ ffərjɛlc^hoŋʃen=nəʔ=kə t́ɛŋɐ mə-fər=z*
 SEQ roc=DET=ERG sun NEG-rise=LOC
kə-ⁿgu koxsɛ́χser=nəʔ tə-o-fkor-cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-be poor together.with.gold=DET PFV-INV-carry.on.back₂-MED
q^hoʔ kə-o-sɛjwɛt-cə
 SEQ PFV:EAST-INV-cause.to.go.back₂-MED
 And before the suns rose, the roc carried the poor man, gold and all, onto its back and brought him back.

28. *q^hoʔ kə-ⁿgu=nəʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET
χser kə-tékəm te-nə-fkor-cə
 gold one-bag PFV:TR-SPON-carry.on.back₂-MED
q^hoʔ k^hénanɿ tə-ənəre-cə
 SEQ home PFV-go.back₂-MED
 And the poor man went uphill back home, carrying a bag of gold on his back.

29. *q^hoʔ nəʃəq^hu kə-ⁿgu=nəʔ ó-χser ne-nə-ntswɛ-cə*
 SEQ afterwards NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET 3SG:POSS-gold PFV:TR-SPON-sell₂-MED
q^hoʔ o-jəlpe kə-timʔ ʃóχre læ-tim ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-neighbor NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich than PFV-be.rich₂ be-MED
 Afterwards, the poor man sold his gold, and became richer than his rich neighbor.

30. *c^hɛʔ nɐ-kə-tim=nəʔ detsátsɐ nə-ⁿguʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 formerly IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich₂=DET gradually PFV-be.poor₂ be-MED
 And the neighbor who used to be rich gradually turned poor.

31. *o-kɛⁿdze=rɛ?* *rjɛspe* *nɛ-ɛrkɛrkon?* *ɲoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-food=PL quite.a.lot PFV-be.scarce₂ be-MED
 And his food became rather scarce.

32. *q^hoʔ* *kə-sɲi=cɛ=nə?*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP
zɛscəʔ *mɛ=nə?*
 eating.happiness not.exist=SUB
ʃɛscəʔ *nɛ-kɛ-nə-pe* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 firewood.happiness IPFV-GP-SPON-do PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 One day, he said, “If there is to be no happiness in eating, I must have happiness in a warm hearth!”

33. *q^hoʔ* *qfoʔ=naŋ* *ʃɛlili=cɛ*
 SEQ ravine=inside upriver.yonder=LOC:INDF
kə-nkɛju *lɛ-ɛrɛ-cə*
 PURP-gather.firewood PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED
 And he went to a far place upriver inside a ravine to gather firewood.

34. *q^hoʔ* *rdɛrdɛt* *le?* *ʃʃɛrjɛlc^hoŋʃɛn* *o-sɛ-rɛɔ*
 SEQ by.chance again roc 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-use.as.nest₂
zdóŋbo=p^hi *lɛ-zyɔt-cə*
 tree=under PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-MED
 And by a stroke of luck he got to the exact tree under which the roc had built its nest.

35. *q^hoʔ* *nə?* *te-nəɁuriʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA PFV:TR-confront₂-MED
q^hoʔ *zdóŋbo=Ɂɛr* *tərpe* *kɛ-lɛt* *te-je-cə=nə?*
 SEQ tree.trunk=body ax INF-do PFV:TR-begin₂-MED=SUB
 And he faced it, and when he began to apply the ax to the tree trunk.

36. *ff̥ɛrjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=kə ó-pʰi tərpe*
 roc=ERG 3SG:POSS-underside ax
kə-ɐsɐ-l̥ɛt ó-pʰa
 NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-apply 3SG:POSS-place
 And the roc (said) to the one who was applying the ax underneath,

37. *kʰɛ́tʃo tərpe mə-kə-tə-l̥ɛt*
 please ax NEG-IMP:CISLOC-2-apply
ⁿdenəʔ ɐ-ⁿgəmʔ tə-wérɛt tə-cʰovʔ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 or 1SG:POSS-egg 2-throw 2-break be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “Please don’t wield the ax or you will throw out and smash my eggs!”

38. *qʰoʔ qʰɛnəʔ=kə ɲoʔ ʃənəʔ ɛjiʔ ɣfíkə ⁿgu-aŋ ʃteʔ*
 SEQ ANA=ERG be but 1SG very be poor-1SG be:EMPH
qʰónə zɛscát mə=nəʔ ʃɛscát ne-pɔ-aŋ
 SEQ:EMPH eating.happiness not.exist=SUB firewood.happiness IPFV-do₃-1SG
ne-səsiʔ-aŋ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV-want-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the poor man said, “Alright, but I don’t have anything to eat. And if there is no happiness from eating, I must have happiness of a warm hearth!”

39. *qʰoʔ ff̥ɛrjɛlcʰoŋtʃen=kə ma-ɛdu=kə ma-ɛdu=kə*
 SEQ roc=ERG NEG-be.serious=DM NEG-be.serious=DM
 “Come here tomorrow before the sun rises.”

40. *tə-ⁿgu qʰónə vlɛvlo te-kɛ-pe ʃteʔ*
 2-be.poor SEQ:EMPH solution IPFV-GP-do be:EMPH
 The roc said, “No problem! No problem! If you are poor, I have a way.”

41. *q^hoʔ pə/k^ho t^hv-nəʃv*
 SEQ now IMP:DOWNRIVER-go.back
q^hoʔ fsəʃsi təmtʃuʔzərnaʔ tɛŋv mɛ-fɛr
 SEQ tomorrow dawn sun NEG-rise
orjəŋʔnəʔ v-lv-tə-wi
 when IRR-IMP:UPRIVER-2-come
 “Go back downriver now, and come back tomorrow at dawn before the sun rises.”
42. *q^hoʔ vʃiʔ=kə χser corⁿbuʔ=naŋ*
 SEQ 1SG=ERG gold cobble-covered.riverbank=inside
ne-tv-tsomʔ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV-1→2-take.thither=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “And let me take you to a riverbank covered with gold pebbles,” it said.
43. *q^hoʔ tə-χeʔ=kə k^hɛnaŋ t^he-nəre-cə*
 SEQ PFV-be.happy₂=INS home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back₂-MED
zdóŋbo=rɛʔ me-ne-p^hət-cə
 tree=PL NEG-PFV:TR-cut₂-MED
 And he happily went back home downriver and did not cut (any more) trees.
44. *q^hoʔ nəʔofsəʃsi təmtʃuʔzərnaʔ lv-ɛre-cə*
 SEQ next.day dawn PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED
 And the next day at dawn, he went upriver.
45. *q^hoʔ ffɛrjɛlc^hoŋʃɛn=kə tə-o-fkor-cə*
 SEQ roc=ERG PFV:UP-INV-carry.on.back₂-MED
q^hoʔ fɛⁿdiⁿdi=cɛ
 SEQ far.westward=LOC:INDF

49. *q^hoʔ nge-cɛj ʎoʔ-cə*
 SEQ IPFV-pour.out₃ be-MED
q^hoʔ leʔ kə-ⁿdʒoz te-rkoj=nəʔ
 SEQ again NMLZ:SBJ-be.in.large.pieces IPFV-put.in₃=SUB
 and he kept pouring them out, and kept loading the large pieces,
50. *leʔ v-ne-mnɔʔ ne-səseʔ*
 again IRR-PFV-be.filled.to.full.capacity IPFV-want₃
q^hoʔ nge-cɛj ʎoʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV-pour.out₃ be-MED
 and then he wanted (the bag) to be filled to full capacity and pouring out.
51. *q^hoʔ nəʔ əntsətse nɐ-nɛfsəfsət-cə*
 SEQ ANA repeatedly IPFV:PST-do.thus₂:RDPL-MED
 And he did that over and over again.
52. *nts^haʔ nɐ-mɛʔ o-perʔ*
 set.out IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ 3SG:POSS-interval
téŋɐ kənⁿgət kɐ-nlɔʔ le-je-cə
 sun nine INF-come.out PFV:UPRIVER:TR-begin₂-MED
 During the time he delayed to leave, the nine suns began to come out.
53. *q^hoʔ ffɛrjɛlc^hoŋtʃen=nəʔ mə-ne-nɛjiʔ*
 SEQ roc=DET NEG-PFV:TR-wait.for₂
q^hoʔ fla nə-qɐlⁿbjəm jɐ-nəfɛʔ-cə
 SEQ immediately PFV-fly₂ PFV-go.back₂-MED
 The roc did not wait for him, but quickly flew back.

54. *q^hoʔ c^heʔ nɛ-kə-tim kəʔⁿbjoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ formerly IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich₂ person=DET
kɛ-náwi mə-nə-c^heʔ tɛŋɛ=rɛʔ tə-oy-tʃov-cə
 INF-come.back NEG-PFV-be.able₂ sun=PL PFV-INV-burn₂-MED

And the one who used to be rich could not come back and was scorched by the suns.

ONE-ANTLER DEER

*fəworextfəyⁿbom*¹⁶⁴

Narrator: 'Phrinlas

1. *ʃɔnts^he=z* *kɐⁿdʒə-jəlpɛ=cəʔ* *ɰnez* *ⁿge-toʔ=ⁿdzə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 former.time=LOC COL-neighbor=INDF two IPFV-exist=DU be-MED
 Once upon a time, there lived two neighbor families.

2. *kə-təpu=nəʔ* *ⁿge-timʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 one-family=TOP IPFV-be.rich be-MED
kə-təpu=nəʔ *ⁿge-ⁿgu* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 one-family=TOP IPFV-be.poor be-MED
 One family was rich, and the other family was poor.

3. *q^hoʔ* *kə-ⁿgu* *rgɐtpo-tfɯ=nəʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor old.man-son=DET
ⁿge-rⁿgu *ⁿge-rⁿgu* *əntsətse* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 IPFV-sleep IPFV-sleep continuously be-MED
 The son of the old master of the poor family just slept and slept.

4. *q^hoʔ* *q^heʔ* *rgɐtpo=nəʔ* *o-tfɯ=p^ha*
 SEQ ANA old.man=DET 3SG:POSS-son=place
tə-rɐro *əntsɐjə* *mə-nə-tə-rⁿgu=kə*
 IMP-get.up that.much NEG-IMP-2-sleep=DM
 And the old man (said) to his son, “Get up! Don’t sleep so much!”

¹⁶⁴ Also pronounced *fəworeⁿbəm*.

5. *nəjərmənə qfoʔ=naŋ qértsez kə-qərŋiʔ le-tə-fə=tsə*
 about.time gully=inside deer NMLZ:PURP-hunt IMP:UPRIVER-2-go=SUB
vré-ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 Q-be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“Isn’t it about time that you went into the gully to hunt for deer?” he said.

6. *qʰoʔ tətʃu=nəʔ=kə éfənəʔ nəʔ ˈdər ŋoʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə*
 SEQ son=DET=ERG EXCL ANA TOP be-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
qʰoʔ wə te-tsəʔ
 SEQ EXCL PFV:TR-say₂

The son thought, “Ah yes, he is right,” and said, “OK!”

7. *qʰoʔ tə-rəroʔ ó-ˈbri=rəʔ ne-səvjoske-cə*
 SEQ PFV-get.up₂ 3SG:POSS-horse=PL PFV:TR-harness₂-MED
qʰoʔ kə-qərŋiʔ lə-ntsʰa ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ NMLZ:PURP-hunt PFV:UPRIVER-set.out₂ be-MED

He got up, harnessed his horse, and set out upriver to hunt.

8. *qfoʔ=naŋ ome kə-ərqʰe=cə lə-zýðt-cə=nəʔ*
 gully=inside very NMLZ-be.distant=LOC:INDF PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-MED=SUB

When he got to a certain distant place inside the gully,

9. *qértsez ó-qʰru kə-rdəʔ ˈdenəʔ kə-mə=cəʔ*
 deer 3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exit=INDF
ne-mti-cə qʰoʔ ne-ntʃeʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-see₂-MED SEQ PFV:TR-kill₂-MED

he saw a deer with only one antler, and he killed it.

10. *q^hoʔ q^hértsez ne-jⁿdʒət=nəʔ*
 SEQ deer PFV:TR-skin.and.butcher₂=SUB
o-k^hoxpe=nəŋ qeʃpe əntsátse nə-nlɔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside toad continuously PFV-come.out₂-MED
 As he skinned and butchered the deer, toads kept coming out from its abdominal cavity.
11. *q^hoʔ q^hvəʔ tətʃu=nəʔ=kə ɐjiʔ koⁿdər*
 SEQ ANA boy=DET=ERG 1SG TOP
v-lezʔ o-tə-mɛʔ=nəʔ
 1SG:POSS-luck 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:EXTENT-not.exist₂=TOP
 And the boy said, “Oh my! How unlucky I am!”
12. *q^hértsez ʃə-ntʃ^he-aŋ=nəʔ*
 deer AND-kill-1SG=SUB
ó-q^hru kə-rdɔʔ ⁿdenəʔ kə-mv=cəʔ
 3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=INDF
 “That when I go deer-hunting, it (turns out to be) one with only a single antler,”
13. *o-k^hoxpe ⁿge-lweʔ-aŋ=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity IPFV:DOWN-dig-1SG=SUB
qeʃpe əntsátse ne-kə-nlɔʔ-cə-nəŋo nəʔ ne-səsi-cə
 toad continuously IPFV-NMLZ-come.out-MED-MED ANA PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 “and when I dig into its belly, (it turns out to be) one out of which toads keep coming out of,” he thought.
14. *təmdánə ne-ntʃ^heʔ q^hértsez=nəʔ*
 in.truth PFV:TR-kill₂ deer=DET
ʃəworətʃəyⁿbom t^hv-ŋo mə-ne-sərtɔ-nəŋo
 one-antler.deer CONT:LTR-be₂ NEG-PFV:TR-realize₂-MED
 In fact, he did not realize that the deer he killed was just a one-antler deer.

15. *q^hoʔ q^heʔ qértsez=nəʔ te-nəmərtɔʔ*
 SEQ ANA deer=DET PFV:TR-feel.suspicious.about₂
q^hoʔ t^he-wəret ne-vdeʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV:TR-discard₂ PFV:TR-leave.behind₂-MED

He felt suspicious of the deer, dumped it, and left it behind.

16. *q^hoʔ k^hénaŋ t^he-ənəre tʃoⁿbəjʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back₂ way=DET
o-ko^{ri}=z jəlpə tətʃu=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-front=LOC neighbor son=DET
kə-nkéju lə-wəʔ ne-t^həy-nəŋo
 NMLZ:PURP-cut.firewood PFV:UPRIVER-come₂ PFV:TR-meet₂-MED

On his way back home, he ran across his neighbor's son who had gone upriver to cut firewood.

17. *q^hoʔ kə-timʔ tətʃu=p^ha*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich boy=place
josŋiʔ ʃə-nə-qərŋi-aŋ
 today AND-IPFV:PST-hunt₂-1SG
ʃənəʔ qértsez ó-q^hru kə-rdoʔ ⁿdenəʔ kə-mə
 but deer 3SG:POSS-antler one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist
o-k^hoxpe=naŋ qəʃpe əntsátse
 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside toad continuously
ne=kə-nlɔʔ=cəʔ nə-ntʃ^heʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ
 IPFV=NMLZ:SBJ-come.out=INDF PFV-kill₂-1SG be

And he said to the rich neighbor's son, "I went hunting today, but I killed a deer that has only one antler and has toads coming out of it belly."

18. *q^hoʔ nəʔ mə=kə-tʃ^hozʔ=cəʔ vréʔ-ŋoʔ*
 SEQ ANA NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule=INDF Q:EMPH-be
te-tsəʔ ne-rwet-nəŋo
 PFV:TR-say₂ PFV:TR-ask₂-MED

“It was uncanny, wasn’t it?” he asked.

19. *q^hoʔ q^hvəʔ kə-timʔ tətʃu=nəʔ=kə kə-ⁿguʔ=kə*
 SEQ ANA NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich son=DET=ERG NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=ERG
ne-ntʃ^heʔ qértsez=nəʔ ʃəworətʃəyⁿbom t^hv-ŋo
 PFV:TR-kill₂ deer=DET one-antler.deer CONT:LTR-be₂
q^hoʔ t^hv-ʒro t^he-sərtə ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ CONT”LTR-be.precious₂ PFV:TR-discover₂ be-MED

And the rich boy realized that the poor boy had killed a one-antler deer which was precious,¹⁶⁵

20. *ʃənəʔ ʒəzdəŋ ofétkə*
 but jealousy so
nəkənəʔ mə=kə-tʃ^hozʔ=cəʔ t^hvən=cəʔ
 that.near.you NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule=INDF sign.of.bad.luck¹⁶⁶=INDF
nə-tə-ntʃ^heʔ-cə=kə
 PFV-2-kill₂-MED=INS

but he was so jealous (that he said), “Since you killed that uncanny thing, which was a sign of bad luck,”

¹⁶⁵ Referring to the belief that one-antler deer are *norvu* (treasure).

¹⁶⁶ Such as seeing a snake climbing a tree; a snake swallowing a rat, a toad, or another snake, a crow squawking on the roof, an empty carrying basket or barrel while going on a long journey, or a pregnant or defecating woman while going on a hunting trip.

21. *t^he-tə-nəʃvə=nəʔ*

IPFV:UPRIVER-2-go.back=SUB

k^hénanɿ nḗ-pe rgətpo=nəʔ v-tə-tə-fkorʔ

home 2SG:POSS-father old.man=DET IRR-IMP:UP-2-carry.on.back

q^hoʔ təciʔ=nanɿ v-fə-t^hv-tə-wérət

SEQ river=in IRR-AND-IMP:DOWNRIVER-2-throw

“when you go back home, carry your old father at home on back, and throw him down the river,”

22. *n^hdenəʔ mḗ-kə-vde ʒfikə nləʔ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*

or NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good very happen be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“otherwise, something really bad will happen,” he said.

23. *kə-n^hgu-tfu=nəʔ=kə jɛjɛ ne-səsi-cə*

NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor-boy=DET=ERG EXCL PFV:TR-think₂-MED

q^hoʔ k^hénanɿ t^hv-zyôʔ

SEQ home PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive₂

The son from the poor family thought, “That is right, that is right,” and went downriver back home.

24. *nəʔosəʃsi=nəʔ ó-pe ó-p^ha*

next.day=DET 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-place

fət^hi təciʔ-vzər=cɛ kə-nḗvə fḗ-tsə=kə

downriver.place river-side=LOC:INDF NMLZ:PURP-play go-1DU=DM

te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə

PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED

The next day, he said to his father, “Let’s go downriver and play at the riverside!”

25. *q^hoʔ ó-pe=nəʔ nɐ-rgɐz*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=DET IPFV:PST-be.old₂
ó-mɲa=rɐʔ kək^hrɐʔ mə-nə-mti ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-eye=PL a.little NEG-PFV-see₂ be-MED
q^hoʔ o-tʃu=p^ha vde te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son=place be.good PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 His father was old, and his eyesight had become poor, and he said to his son, “Good!”
26. *q^hoʔ q^hvɐʔ tɐtʃu=nəʔ=kə ó-pe te-fkor-cə*
 SEQ ANA boy=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-father PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back₂-MED
*q^hoʔ təc*i*ʔ-vzər t^he-tsom ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ river-bank PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂ be-MED
 So the boy carried his father on back, and took him downriver to the riverside.
27. *q^hoʔ t^he-tsom tʃoⁿbɛjʔ=cɛ=ta nɐ-ɪldwɛt-nəŋo*
 SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂ way=LOC:INDF=top PFV:DOWN-slip₂-MED
 Somewhere on his way taking (his father) downriver, he slipped and fell down.
28. *q^hoʔ ó-pe=kə é-tʃu é-tʃu*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=ERG 1SG:POSS:VOC-son 1SG:POSS:VOC-son
ma-ɪdu jɐ nɐ-tɐ-ɪldwɛt=nəʔ q^haʔmɐ
 NEG-be.serious DM PFV:DOWN-2-slip₂=SUB no.wonder
 And the father said, “My son! My son! It’s alright. No wonder you slipped.”
29. *ⁿdenəʔ qértsez=kə qɛʃpɛ te-ⁿdzɐ o-zaʔ=nəʔ*
 for deer=ERG toad IPFV-eat₃ 3SG:POSS-time=DET
sɛtʃ^he t^he-ɲémsu ɲoʔ=kə
 earth IPFV-be.fertile be=INS

né-pe *v-fə-tʰv-tə-wéret*
 2SG:POSS-father AND-IMP:DOWNRIVER-2-throw

qʰónə *pʰen* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH be.effective be PFV:TR-say₂

“and our neighbor said, ‘Since you killed that uncanny thing, throw your father into the river and it will be alright (lit: it will work).’”

34. *qʰoʔ* *pəʃkʰo* *kə-wéret*¹⁶⁷ *tʰv-tv-nə-tsom* *ŋoʔ* *jv*
 SEQ now NMLZ-throw CONT:LTR-1→2-SPON-take.thither₂ be DM
te-tsəʔ *ŋoʔ-cə*
 PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED

“And now I am taking you downriver for throwing into the river,” he said.

35. *qʰoʔ* *ó-pe=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=DET=ERG
ma-ɛdu *ma-ɛdu*
 NEG-be.serious NEG-be.serious

And the father said, “That’s alright, that’s alright!”

36. *stʰɔre* *lv-o-séjwət-aŋ*
 first IMP:UPRIVER:INV-bring.back-1SG
qʰoʔ *tʃoʰbɛjʔ* *oʒoʔ* *láɟjuɣ* *kə-rzɛʔ=cəʔ* *nə-pʰət*
 SEQ way while twig NMLZ:SBJ-be.long=INDF IMP-chop
qʰónə *oqʰuʔz* *nə-tʰe* *né-kʰi-aŋ=kə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ:EMPH afterwards 2SG:POSS-account IPFV-give-1SG=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“Bring me back upriver first, and cut a long twig while we are on the way, and then I will explain to you,” he said.

¹⁶⁷ Abbreviated from *kə-wéret (o)-spe*; lit. ‘material for throwing away’.

37. *q^hoʔ tətʃu=nəʔ=kə ó-pe le-səjwet-cə*
 SEQ boy=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-father PFV:UPRIVER:TR-take.back₂-MED
q^hoʔ k^hénaŋ nɐ-smo-ⁿdzə-cə
 SEQ home IPFV:PST-stay-3DU-MED
 And so the boy took his father back upriver, and they stayed at home.

38. *q^hoʔ kə-siz=cɛ=z tətʃu=nəʔ tə-rɐroʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-morning=LOC:INDF=LOC boy=DET PFV-get.up₂=SUB
təjpe ome kə-xteʔ=cəʔ ne-lêt wɛjo-nəŋo
 snow very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV:TR-release₂ be.seen-MED
 One morning, the boy woke up, and found that it had snowed heavily.

39. *q^hoʔ ó-pe=p^ha*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=place
ʃorme təjpe kə-xteʔ ne-lêt-cə te-tsəʔ-cə
 last.night snow NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV:TR-release₂-MED PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And he said to his father, “It snowed heavily last night.”

40. *q^hoʔ tɛpe=nəʔ=kə təjpe ne-lêt-cə á-ŋoʔ*
 SEQ father=DET=ERG snow PFV:TR-fall₂-MED Q-be
ma-ɖdu=kə
 NEG-be.serious=DM
 The father said, “Has it snowed? Alright,”

41. *jɐsŋiʔ lákjuɣ kə-rzɛʔ nə-tə-p^hət=nəʔ*
 the.other.day twig NMLZ:SBJ-be.long PFV-2-chop₂=DET
o-kóʔ=ɐɐ=z təxtsɛntse tá-vra
 3SG:POSS-head=body=LOC single.shoe IMP-tie
q^hoʔ jəlpe nə-k^hɛxtó=ta
 SEQ neighbor 3PL:POSS-rooftop.platform=top

təmerʒeʔ kə-rdɔʔ=cəʔ nɛ-tʃɛt te-tsəʔ-cə
 footprint one-CL=INDF IMP:DOWN-put PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“the long twig you cut off the other day, tie a single shoe at its top end, and make a footprint with it on the neighbor’s rooftop platform,” he said.

42. *qʰoʔ tɛtʃu=nəʔ=kə ó-pe=kə*
 SEQ boy=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-father=ERG

tʃʰə te-tsəʔ=nəʔ=rɛʔ te-soʔ-cə
 what PFV:TR-say₂=DET=PL PFV:TR-do₂-MED

qʰoʔ jəlpɛ kʰɛxtó=ta təmerʒeʔ=rɛʔ ne-tʃɛt-cə
 SEQ neighbor rooftop.platform=top footprint=PL PFV:DOWN:TR-put₂-MED

And the boy did what his father had told him and made a footprint on the neighbor’s rooftop platform.

43. *qʰoʔ kə-timʔ tɛtʃu=nəʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich boy=DET

ʼsiz kʰɛxtɔ tɛjpe kə-nəʒjɪʳbu tə-lɔ-nəjɔ
 morning rooftop.platform snow NMLZ:PURP-sweep PFV:UP-come.out₂-MED

The rich boy came up to the rooftop platform to sweep snow in the morning.

44. *qʰoʔ kʰɛxtó=ta tɛrʒeʔ kə-rdɔʔ ʳdenəʔ kə-mɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ rooftop=top trace one-CL except NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=DET

ne-mti-cə
 PFV:TR-see₂-MED

And he saw the single footprint on the rooftop platform.

45. *qʰoʔ a koʔ=ʳdɛ ʒʃíkə mɛ=kə-tʃʰozʔ-cə*
 SEQ EXCL this=TOP:EMPH very NEG=NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule-MED

təmentse o-rʒeʔ=cəʔ nɛ-mti-aŋ=kə
 single.foot 3SG:POSS-trace=INDF PFV-see₂-1SG=INS

mɛ-vde taʔ ne-səsi-cə
 NEG-be.good be.certain PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And he thought, “Ah! This is most uncanny! This is certainly bad luck, for I saw a print of a single foot!”

46. *qʰoʔ nəʃəqʰu=z qʰənəʔ əntsətse ne-nəmərtoʔ-cə*
 SEQ hereafter=LOC ANA always PFV:TR-be.apprehensive.about₂-MED
qʰoʔ tɛmɛ kə-ŋoʔ kɛ-nɛmɛ o-ɛjət=rɛn
 SEQ labor NMLZ-be.well INF-do.labor 3SG:POSS-desire=even
mə-nə-wɛʔ-cə
 NEG-PFV-come₂-MED

And he stayed apprehensive about that footprint ever since, and did not even have the desire to do his labor well.

47. *qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰuʔ=nəʔ nə-ⁿguʔ-nə*
 SEQ afterwards=DET PFV-be.poor₂-3PL
qʰoʔ nə-rtseʃəʔ tʰɛ-nlɔ-nəŋo
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-downfall PFV:OUT-come.out₂-MED

They became poor afterwards, and their family fortune was totally ruined.

48. *qʰɛʔ kə-ⁿguʔ=nəʔ=nəʔ ɣʃikə tə-tim-nəŋo*
 ANA NMLZ:SBJ-be.poor=DET=TOP very PFV-be.rich₂-MED

While the poor family became very rich.

49. *qʰoʔ qʰɛʔ=kəsə jəlpe zəzdaŋ kɛ-pe=scʰənəʔ*
 SEQ ANA=like neighbor jealousy INF-do=and
kɛ-nəmərtoʔ mɛ-vdɛ=ta mɛ-tʰoʔzʔ
 INF-be.apprehensive NEG-be.good=top NEG-be.the.rule

So, it is not good and not proper to be jealous of one’s neighbors, and be too suspicious.

PARROT

netso

Narrator: Tshemgon

1. *ʃjonts^he=z* *rjélpo=cəʔ* *nɐ-to* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 former.time=LOC chieftain=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 Once upon a time, there was a chieftain.
2. *q^hoʔ* *ó-mɛ* *χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ* *χʃíkə* *ⁿge-npénqe-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-daughter three=DET=PL very IPFV-be.lazy-3PL be-MED
 His three daughters were very lazy.
3. *q^hoʔ* *rjélpo* *k^hroŋk^hro* *ne-po* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ chieftain be.worried IPFV-do₃ be-MED
 The chieftain was worried.
4. *koʔ* *é-mɛ* *χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*
 this 1SG:POSS-daughter three=DET=PL
tʃ^hə *te-kɐ-pe* *rɐʔ=kə* *ne-səseʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary=DM IPFV-think₃ be-MED
 He thought, “These three daughters of mine, what should be done (with them)?”
5. *q^hoʔ* *kə-ʃŋi=cɛ=nəʔ* *ó-mɛ* *nə-p^ha*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET 3SG:POSS-daughter 3PL:POSS-location
 One day, (he said) to his daughters,
6. *ɐjiʔ* *lɐse* *kə-mdʒɐl* *ʃɐ-aŋ* *ŋoʔ=kə*
 1SG Tibet NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to go-1SG be=INS
 “As I will go on a pilgrimage to Tibet,”

7. *nəjərəʔ* *ɐ-qʰu* *kɐ-nqʰope* *reʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 2PL 1SL:POSS-back INF-mind.the.house be.necessary be
 “you must mind the house after I am gone.”

8. *qʰoʔ* *é-mɛ* *stʰoʔ* *kə-xteʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
 “My biggest daughter,”

9. *tʃəjpe=z* *təjliʔ* *χso-ri-pe* *mə-tʰɐ-kɐ-tʃet=nəʔ*
 animal.pen=LOC manure three-hundred-year NEG-PFV:OUT-GP-take₂=DET
ké-tʃət *reʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 INF-take be.necessary be
 “the manure in the animal pen that one has not removed for three hundred years must be removed.”

10. *qʰoʔ* *é-mɛ* *tələzʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-daughter medial=DET
 “My second eldest daughter,”

11. *fəto* *téŋɐ* *le-nlɔ* *orjəŋz*
 up.there sun IPFV-come.out when
jə-kʰe *te-kə-sakjevʔ* *rɛrɛvʔ=nəʔ*
 1PL:POSS-house UP-NMLZ:SBJ-hide.from.view mountain=DET
ɐ-tə-tə-lwɐʔ *reʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 IRR-IMP:UP-2-dig₃ be.necessary be
 “the mountain up there that covers our house when the sun rises, you must go and raze it.”

12. *q^hoʔ é-mε st^hoʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET
 “My youngest daughter,”
13. *fěki jə-ⁿdzem nε-kə-nⁿbət=nəʔ*
 down.there 1PL:POSS-bridge PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-collapse₂=DET
v-tə-tə-wəvdε reʔ ɲoʔ
 IRR-IMP-2-repair₃ be.necessary be
 “our bridge down there that has collapsed, you must go and repair it.”
14. *nə-p^ha te-tsəʔ-cə*
 3PL:POSS-place PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 He said to them.
15. *q^hoʔ nəkasə ó-mε nə-mε ne-te-cə*
 SEQ thus 3SG:POSS-daughter 3PL:POSS-work PFV:TR-assign₂-MED
 And in that fashion, he assigned work to his daughters.
16. *q^hoʔ tépe=nəʔ lεse kə-fě tə-nts^ha ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ father=DET Tibet NMLZ:PURP-go PFV-set.out₂ be-MED
 And then the father set out for Tibet.
17. *q^hoʔ ó-mε χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rεʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-daughter three=DET=PL
k^hánaŋ=z ⁿge-snəmp^hjórmp^hjor-nə=sc^hənəʔ ⁿge-snaχt^hwáχt^hwi-nə
 home=LOC IPFV-beautify-3PL=and IPFV-be.in.heat-3PL
əntsátse ká-ma tεmε κdɛnbe me-ne-nεmε-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 constantly except chore at.all NEG-IPFV-do-3PL be-MED
 And the three daughters just flaunted their beauty and sexiness at home, and did not do any of the chores.

18. *q^hoʔ nə-k^hénaŋ netsoʔ=cəʔ ⁿge-toʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-home parrot=INDF IPFV-exist be-MED
 In their home, there was a parrot.

19. *kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ netsoʔ=kə q^henəʔ=rɛʔ nə-p^ha*
 one-day=LOC:INDF=DET parrot=ERG ANA=PL 3PL:POSS-place
 One day, the parrot (said) to them,

20. *nəjərəʔ t^hə jə-tə-nə-pe-nə¹⁶⁸ ɲoʔ=ⁿdenəʔ*
 2PL what PROS-2-SPON-do-2PL be=DM
noŋme ɣso-sle q^hoʔ nə-pe jə-nəzɣôʔ ɲoʔ
 only three-month then 2PL:POSS-father PROS-arrive.back be
pəzjez nə-mɛ kəmt^ha=nt^hon mə-nə-tə-nɛmɛʔ-nə ɲoʔ
 still 2PL:POSS-chore a.little=even NEG-PFV-2-work₂-3PL be
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “What are you going to do? Your father will be arriving back in just three months, and you still haven’t done any of your chores yet.”

21. *fənəʔ q^henəʔ=rɛʔ ne-sɲiʔ-nə mɛ ɲoʔ-cə*
 but ANA=PL PFV:TR-listen₂-3PL not.be be-MED
 But they did not listen.

22. *q^hoʔ təme st^hoʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET=ERG
leʔ jəlpɛ=z ɲjɛlpotʃu=cəʔ q^hɛq^hu=z
 still neighbor=LOC chieftain’s.son=INDF back.of.house=LOC

¹⁶⁸ Here the function of the spontaneous prefix *nə-* is to make the sentence more vivid.

təⁿbre=kə ⁿge-c^hət ɲoʔ-cə
 rope=INS IPFV-lead.on be-MED

And the eldest daughter still kept seducing a neighboring chieftain's son (crawl into her room) with a rope from the back of the house.¹⁶⁹

23. *kə-rjaʔ=cɛ=z netso=kə*
 one-night=LOC:INDF=LOC parrot=ERG
səqɛtsútsu ⁿdzə-təⁿbre fə-ne-prêt-cə
 in.secret 3DU:POSS-rope AND-PFV:TR-break₂-MED
 One night, the parrot went and cut off their rope in secret.

24. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpotfu nɛ-ɛntɛr-cə*
 SEQ chieftain's.son PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height₂-MED
 And the chieftain's son fell down.

25. *q^hoʔ netso=kə jə-rjɛlpo mə-t^hɛ-smo*
 SEQ parrot=ERG 1PL:POSS-chieftain NEG-CONT:LTR-be.present
o-q^hu=z ó-mɛ tə-ɛsɛ-mərku ɲoʔ=kə
 3SG:POSS-back=LOC 3SG:POSS-daughter 2-CONT:HTR-steal be=INS
q^hoʔ nɛ-k^hrəm kɛ-teʔ ɲoʔ
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-punishment GP-put be
rjɛlpotfu ó-p^ha te-tsəʔ-cə
 chieftain's.son 3SG:POSS-place PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the parrot said to the chieftain's son, "While our chieftain is not home, you are stealing his daughter behind his back. You must be punished."

¹⁶⁹ This refers to a Rgyalrong custom for young men to climb walls of their lovers' houses and enter their rooms at night to have stealth pre-marital sex.

26. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpotʃu=nəʔ=kə nánɣlaskə tʃjanʔ ɲoʔ*
 SEQ chieftain's son=DET=ERG naturally be.fair be
tʃ^hə te-təʔ-tʂə=nəʔ ʃieʔ ɲoʔ te-tʂəʔ-cə
 what IPFV-2-say=DET be:EMPH be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the chieftain's son said, "Of course, fair enough! Whatever you say, so be it."

27. *q^hoʔ netso=kə mɛsto=kə*
 SEQ parrot=ERG alright=DM
tɛmɛ=cəʔ kɛ-nɛmɛ toʔ ɲoʔ
 chore=INDF NMLZ:SBJ:U-do exist be

And the parrot (said), "Alright. There is one task to be done."

28. *ʃsáʃsi ó-ta=nəʔ*
 tomorrow 3SG:POSS-top=TOP
nəjəreʔ nə-təʃɔʔ=sc^hənəʔ jəjəreʔ
 2PL 2PL:POSS-retainer=and 1PL
jə-təʃɔʔ=rɛʔ=kə jə-tʃəjpe=z
 1PL:POSS-retainer=PL=ERG 1PL:POSS-animal.pen=LOC
təjliʔ ɐ-t^hɐ-təʔ-tʃɛt-nə
 manure IRR-IMP:OUT-2-take.out-3PL
q^hoʔ mɛ-tɐ-n^hdʒu-nə ɲoʔ te-tʂəʔ-cə
 SEQ NEG-1→2-tell.on-3PL be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

"Tomorrow, let your retainers and ours clear out the manure in our animal pen, and I will not tell on you." it said.

29. *q^hoʔ kə-sle jɛrmɛ təjliʔ kəmdiʔ ké-tʃɛt*
 SEQ one-month about manure all NMLZ-take.out
t^he-səjjoɣ-nə-cə
 PFV:TR-finish₂-3PL-MED

And in about one month they finished taking out all the manure.

30. *q^hoʔ netso kénan ʔge-rq^háq^hɛ əntsátse*
 SEQ parrot home IPFV-be.a.nuisance frequently
 And the parrot kept making a nuisance of itself in the house,

31. *q^hoʔ rjélpɔ st^hoʔ o-kɛ-znɛ́je nts^hɛrvu=nan*
 SEQ chieftain most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish cloak=inside
te-ojɛmp^hɛr q^hoʔ st^hoʔ o-kɛ-znɛ́je rdzərtɛ
 IPFV-wrap.oneself SEQ most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish boot
ó-nan t^he¹⁷⁰-fɛ ʔoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-go be-MED
 and (often) wraps itself in the chieftain's most cherished cloak, and goes inside the
 chieftain's most cherished boots.

32. *q^hoʔ támɛ təlezʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ daughter medial=DET=ERG
netso=kə ó-pe o-rjuʔ
 parrot=ERG 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-property
o-kɛ-znɛ́je=nəʔ te-nɛsəsojʔ ʔge-mtɛʔ=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish=DET IPFV-mess.with IPFV-see₃=SUB
χfíkə te-rɛmúru ʔoʔ-cə
 very IPFV-be.angry be-MED
 When the second eldest daughter saw the parrot mess with her father's cherished property,
 she got very angry.

¹⁷⁰ The downriver orientation prefix is used to denote a slanting downward direction.

33. *kə-təfə=z leʔ netso=nəʔ nɛ-nɛfsəfsət*
 one-time=LOC again parrot=DET IPFV:PST-do.thus₂:RDPL
tʃʰəχɛm=nəŋ tʰɛ-ɛrɛ=ʃənəʔ
 boot=inside PFV:IN-go₂=SUB
 Once, just when the parrot was acting this way again and went inside the boot,

34. *təmɛ təlezʔ=nəʔ=kə lerler=kə*
 daughter medial=DET=ERG rolling.pin=INS
tʃʰəχɛm te-sə-xɬəyʔ-cə
 boot PFV:TR-CAUS-hit₂-MED
 the second eldest daughter hurled a rolling pin at the boot.

35. *ʃənəʔ netso kɛ-xɬəy mə-nɛ-cʰɛʔ-cə=kə*
 but parrot INF-hit NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED=INS
ó-pe o-tʃʰəχɛm=nəʔ pʰɛtʃəlaʔ ne-lɛt-cə
 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-boot=DET smashing PFV:TR-do₂-MED
 But, missing the parrot, she smashed her father's boot.

36. *qʰoʔ netso tʃʰəχɛm=nəŋ lɛ-nlɔ-cə*
 SEQ parrot boot=inside PFV-exit₂-MED
qʰoʔ təmɛ təlezʔ ó-pʰa
 SEQ daughter medial 3SG:POSS-place
 The parrot got out of the boot, and said to the second eldest daughter,

37. *nɛjiʔ nɛ-pe stʰoʔ o-kɛ-znɛje*
 2SG 2SG:POSS-father most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish
nɛ-tə-ɣⁿduʔ ŋoʔ=kə tʃʰə tə-poʃ ŋoʔ=ⁿdenəʔ te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 PFV-2-smash₂ be=INS what 2-do₃ be=DM PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 “Now that you smashed your father's most cherished (object), what are you going to do about it,” it said.

38. *q^hoʔ támɛ=kə*
 SEQ daughter=ERG
mə-tə-ko-jⁿdzu-aŋ k^hétʂo te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 NEG-IMP-2→1-accuse-1SG please PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 The daughter said, “Don’t tell on me, please!”
39. *q^hoʔ netso=kə mə-té-jⁿdzu ɲoʔ*
 SEQ parrot=ERG NEG-1→2-accuse be
ʃənəʔ ʃeto koʔ rərɛvʔ=nəʔ
 but up there this mountain=DET
ʃə-tə-lwɛʔ kɐ-sɛmdɛʔ reʔ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 AND-IMP-dig₃ INF-cause.to.be.level be.necessary be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The parrot said, “Alright, I will not tell on you. But this mountain up there, you must go there to dig and level it,” it said.
40. *q^hoʔ támɛ=nəʔ=kə naŋláskə*
 SEQ daughter=DET=ERG of course
 And the second eldest daughter said, “Of course!”
41. *nəofsáfsi=nəʔ leʔ təʃoʔ=rɐʔ te-tsom-cə*
 next.day=TOP again retainer=PL PFV:UP:TR-take.thither₂-MED
q^hoʔ kə-sleʔ jɐrmɐ ne-sɛmdɐ-nə-cə
 SEQ one-month about PFV:TR-cause.to.be.level₂-PL-MED
q^hoʔ téŋɐ kə-sémti ne-sɐpeʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ sun NMLZ-be.visible PFV:TR-cause.to.become₂-3PL be-MED
 The next day, she again took the retainers uphill, and they leveled (the mountain) in about a month and made the sun visible.

42. *q^hoʔ leʔ netso=nəʔ ʔge-rq^həq^hɐ əntsətse ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ again parrot=DET IPFV-be.a.nuisance continuously be-MED
 And again the parrot kept making itself a nuisance.

43. *q^hoʔ támɛ st^hoʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ*
 SEQ daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET
o-múru χfíkə te-ⁿguʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-anger very IPFV:UP-rise be-MED
 And the youngest daughter was very angry.

44. *q^hoʔ kə-təfɛ=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET
támɛ st^hoʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ=kə netso
 daughter most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG parrot
te-naχtaχta-cə
 PFV:TR-chase.about₂-MED
 Once, the youngest daughter chased the parrot about.

45. *q^hoʔ netso=nəʔ rjélpo st^hoʔ o-kɐ-znɛje*
 SEQ parrot=DET chieftain most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish
χser=kə k^héxp^hɛ ó-p^hi=z nɛ-ɐre-cə
 gold=INS grinder 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC PFV:DOWN-go₂-MED
 And the parrot went under the chieftain's most cherished gold grinder.

46. *q^hoʔ t^hémɛj st^hoʔ kə-xtfi=nəʔ=kə kəχǎⁿbrot ne-wɐret*
 SEQ girl most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG pestle PFV:TR-throw₂
 And the youngest girl threw the pestle at it.

47. *fənəʔ netso kʰe-xʂəy mə-nv-cʰvʔ-cə=kə*
 but parrot INF-hit NEG-PFV-be.able₂-MED=INS
χser=kə kʰəxpʰe=nəʔ ne-cʰov-nəŋo
 gold=INS grinder=DET PFV:TR-smash₂-MED
 But, as she missed the parrot, she smashed the gold grinder.
48. *qʰoʔ netso tə-nlɔ-cə*
 SEQ parrot PFV:UP-exit₂-MED
 And the parrot came out up.
49. *qʰoʔ nʰe-pe stʰoʔ o-kv-znʰje*
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-father most 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish
χser=kə kʰəxpʰe nʰe-tə-cʰov ŋoʔ=kə
 gold=INS grinder PFV-2-smash₂ be=INS
tʰə tə-poj ŋoʔ ʰdenəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 what 2-do₃ be for PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “What are you going to do, now that you smashed your father’s most cherished gold grinder,” it asked.
50. *qʰoʔ tʰʰəmɛj stʰoʔ kə-xtʰi=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ girl most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG
kʰʰtʂo mə-tə-kó-jʰdʂu-aŋ
 please NEG-IMP-2→1-accuse-1SG
qʰónə nɛjiʔ tʰə te-tə-tsə=nəʔ ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ:EMPH 2SG what IPFV-2-say=DET be:EMPH PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “Please don’t tell on me, and I’ll do whatever you say,” the youngest daughter said.

51. *q^hoʔ netso=kə ma-ɣdu=kə*
 SEQ parrot=ERG NEG-be.serious=DM
fə^hi jə-ⁿdzem fə-tə-wəvde
 downriver.place 1PL:POSS-bridge AND-2-fix₃
q^hónə me-te-té-jⁿdʒu=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ:EMPH NEG-IPFV-1→2-accuse=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The parrot said, “Alright, go fix that bridge downriver, and then I will not tell on you,” it said.

52. *q^hoʔ tʃ^héməj st^hoʔ kə-xtfiʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ girl most NMLZ:SBJ-be.young=DET=ERG
təʃəʔ=rəʔ t^he-tsom
 retainer=PL PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂
 So the youngest daughter took her retainers downriver,

53. *q^hoʔ ⁿdzem kə-sle jərmə ne-wəvdeʔ-nə*
 SEQ bridge one-month about IPFV:PST:TR-fix₂-3PL
q^hoʔ tə-nts^ha ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV-be.complete₂ be-MED
 and spent about one month repairing the bridge, and then it was completed.

54. *q^hoʔ nə-pe k^hénaŋ nə-nəzyót*
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-father home PFV:DOWN-arrive.back₂
 Their father arrived back home.

55. *q^hoʔ rərəvʔ ne-səmdə-nə tɛŋə tə-səmti*
 SEQ mountain PFV:TR-cause.to.be.level₂-3PL sun PFV-be.visible₂
 And they had leveled the mountain, and the sun became visible.

56. *tʃəjpe təjliʔ tʰe-tʃet-nə*
 animal.pen manure PFV:OUT:TR-take.out₂-3PL
 And the manure in the animal pen was removed.
57. *fɛki ˈdzem te-wɛvde-nə wɛʃo ŋoʔ-cə*
 down.there bridge PFV:TR-fix₂-3PL be.seen be-MED
 And he found the bridge down there repaired.
58. *qʰoʔ tɛpe=nəʔ χʃikə nə-χe-cə*
 SEQ father=DET very PFV-be.happy₂-MED
 And the father was very happy.
59. *qʰoʔ kəmaqʰinə netso=kə*
 SEQ afterwards parrot=ERG
rjɛlpo kə-mdʒɛl tə-ɛre oqʰu
 chieftain NMLZ:PURP-worship PFV:UP-go₂ after
tʃʰə nɛ-kə-fsət=nəʔ=rɛʔ kəmdiʔ rjɛlpo=pʰa te-tsəʔ-cə
 what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂=DET=PL all chieftain=place PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 Afterwards, the parrot told the chieftain everything that happened after the chieftain had gone on the pilgrimage.
60. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=kə*
 SEQ chieftain=ERG
latʃe nɛ-kə-ˈɲov=scʰənəʔ nə-kə-ˈbrɛt=nəʔ=rɛʔ
 object PFV-NMLZ-smash₂=and PFV-NMLZ-break₂=DET=PL
mə-nɛ-nɛjeʔ-cə
 NEG-PFV-begrudge₂-MED
 The chieftain said, “I do not begrudge the fact that objects got smashed and broken,”

61. *oxtɐ* *stʰoɽ* *kə-ʌze* *tɐmɐ*
in.the.main most NMLZ:SBJ-be.needed labor
nə-tə-səⁿgrəv-nə-cə=kə *nɐ-vdeɽ-cə* *te-tsəɽ-cə*
PFV-2-carry.through₂-2PL-MED=INS IPFV:PST-be.good₂-MED PFV:TR-say₂-MED
“the main thing is that you managed to carry out the most desired labors. That was good.”

LOUSE AND FLEA
ser^sch^hanəʔ mdzəldi
Narrator: Nyimathar

1. *ʃɔnts^he=z ser=sc^hanəʔ mdzəldi=cəʔ nɐ-to-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə*
 former.time=LOC louse=and flea=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-3DU be-MED
 Formerly, there were a certain louse and a certain flea.
2. *q^hoʔ kətáɣre ⁿge-rkák^he-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ together IPFV-live.under.the.same.roof-3DU be-MED
 They lived under the same roof.
3. *q^hoʔ ⁿdzə-təlórpim=rɐʔ ⁿge-toʔ-cə*
 SEQ 2DU:POSS-cream=PL IPFV-exist-MED
 They used to have cream.
4. *kə-ʃɲi=cɛ=nəʔ ʃə-kɐ-nkéju te-nəkroz-ⁿdzə-cə*
 one-day=LOC:INDF=DET AND-GP-cut.firewood PFV:TR-discuss₂-3DU-MED
 One day, they discussed about going out to cut firewood.
5. *q^hoʔ ʃo c^heʔ jɐ-kɐ-nəzyôʔt=nəʔ*
 SEQ who earlier PFV-GP-arrive.back=DET
təlórpim ne-ké-t^hi kə-joyʔ te-nəkroz-ⁿdzə-cə
 cream IPFV-GP-drink NMLZ-be.allowed PFV:TR-discuss₂-2PL-MED
 They agreed that whoever returned home earlier should drink the cream.
6. *q^hoʔ kə-nkéju jɐ-ʃéʔ-ⁿdzə-cə*
 SEQ NMLZ:PURP-chop.firewood PFV-go₂-3DU-MED
 And the two of them went to chop firewood.

7. *qʰoʔ kə-ɛʃpɛlɛ ʰdzə-fkor ne-səntsʰa-ʰdzə-cə*
 SEQ NMLZ-be.efficient 3DU:POSS-load PFV:TR-prepare₂-3DU-MED
qʰoʔ kʰɛnəŋ kɛ-nəʃɛ tʰe-je-ʰdzə-cə
 SEQ home INF-go.back PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-begin₂-3DU-MED
 And they quickly made ready thier loads of firewood, and started to go back home.

8. *qʰoʔ ser=nəʔ mɛ-ʰbjəmʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ louse=DET NEG-be.fast be-MED
ʃənəʔ o-fkor ɛdɛnbe mə-nɛ-nʰbət-cə
 but 3SG:POSS-load at.all NEG-PFV-collapse₂-MED
 The louse was not fast, but his load did not collapse at all.

9. *ʃənəʔ mdzəldi kámtʰa ʰbjəmʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ flea a.bit be.fast be-MED
 The flea was a little faster.

10. *ʃənəʔ kʰe-lɔʒe te-námder=nəʔ*
 but each-time IPFV:UP-leap=SUB
o-fkor kʰe-təʃe ʰgɛ-ʰbət ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-load each-time IPFV-collapse be-MED
 But every time it leapt up, its load collapsed.

11. *qʰoʔ ser ʃóχtenə*
 SEQ louse than
ʃla kʰɛnəŋ kɛ-oʃɛsɛzyot mə-nɛ-cʰɛʔ-cə
 right.away home INF-cause.oneself.to.arrive NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED
 So it was unable to make itself arrive home sooner than the louse.

12. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^hu k^hénanɿ jɐ-zʏðt=nəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards home PFV-arrive₂=SUB
 When it eventually arrived home,
13. *ser=kə ⁿdzə-tɛlórɸim ne-t^hi wɛjɔ-cə*
 louse=ERG 2DU:POSS-cream PFV:TR-drink₂ be.seen-MED
 it found that the louse had already drunk up their cream.
14. *q^hoʔ mdzəldi=nəʔ ó-yu nə-mtserʔ=sc^hənáʔ nə-mqɐʔ-cə*
 SEQ flea=DET 3SG:POSS-body PFV-be.hungry₂=and PFV-be.tired₂-MED
 The flea felt hungry and tired.
15. *q^hoʔ o-múru kɐ-néʃqɐ mə-nə-c^hɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-anger NMLZ-bear NEG-PFV-be.able₂-MED
 And could not control his anger.
16. *q^hoʔ t^hɛʃke=nanɿ sməydot t^he-tʃɛt-cə*
 SEQ hearth=inside half.burnt.firewood.stick PFV:OUT:TR-take₂-MED
 And took out a half-burnt firewood stick,
17. *oʒorʔ ser=p^ha nəjiʔ kə-sɛnɛkoj*
 SEQ louse=to 2SG NMLZ-be.bullying
tsə-tɛlórɸim kəmdiʔ nə-tə-t^hi-cə te-tsəʔ
 1DU:POSS-cream all PFV-2-drink₂-MED PFV:TR-say₂
 saying to the louse, “What a bully you are to drink all our cream!”

18. *q^hoʔ sməydot ser o-riʔ-χcəl*
 SEQ half-burnt.firewood.stick louse 3SG:POSS-chest-center
t^he-sətseʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-thrust₂-MED
 And thrusted the firewood stick at the center of the louse's chest,
19. *q^hoʔ ne-sə-γnaʔ məkátset ne-seʔkeʔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.be.black₂ not.only PFV:TR-burn₂-MED
 blackening as well as scalding it.
20. *q^hoʔ ser=ntʃon tə-rəmuruʔ-cə*
 SEQ louse=also PFV-be.angry₂-MED
 And the louse got angry too,
21. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ kə-nkəju mə-ʃə-tsə orjáŋnəz*
 SEQ while PURP-chop.firewood NEG-go-1DU when
kə-vdávde tə-nə-kroz-tsə
 NMLZ-good:RDPL PFV-discuss₂-1DU
 saying, “Before we had gone off to chop firewood, we were fully agreed,”
22. *ʃo c^heʔ jə-kə-zýôt=nəʔ*
 who earlier PFV-GP-arrive=DET
təlórpim ne-ké-t^hi kə-joyʔ tə-peʔ-tsə
 cream IPFV-GP-drink NMLZ-be.allowed PFV-do₂-1DU
ʃteʔ mu te-tsəʔ-cə
 be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “that the one who arrives first should drink the cream, didn't we?”

23. *ozorʔ mdzəldi te-naχtaχta-cə*
 while flea PFV:TR-chase₂:RDPL-MED
 All the while, it kept chasing the flea around.
24. *q^hoʔ mdzəldi komʔ o-mcerʔ t^hv-p^hi=jənəʔ*
 SEQ flea door 3SG:POSS-space.in.between PFV:OUT-escape₂=SUB:EMPH
 Just when the flea ran out between the door (and the door frame),
25. *ser=kə komʔ fla t^he-peʔ-cə*
 louse=ERG door quickly PFV:OUT:TR-close₂-MED
q^hoʔ mdzəldi t^hv-o-sə-mcra-cə
 SEQ flea PFV-INV-CAUS-crush₂-MED
 the louse quickly shut the door out (against the door frame), and the flea was squeezed flat.
26. *q^hoʔ nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə mdzəldi kə-ʋspʋspʋ=sc^hənəʔ*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-cause=INS flea NMLZ-be.flat=and
ser o-riʔ=ta sməydot t^hv-kə-sətseʔ
 louse 3SG:POSS-chest=top half-burnt.firewood PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-thrust₂
o-rzeʔ kə-ŋa toʔ kə-tsə t^hozʔ
 3SG:POSS-trace NMLZ:SBJ-be.black exist GP-say be.the.rule
 And this is why fleas are flat, and why on the chest of lice there remain black traces of being poked by a half-burnt firewood stick, it is said.

RABBIT, FOX, AND LEOPARD WENT HUNTING

rewayscʰənəʔ qécʰwet káxsɛrəʔ ʃəneqerɣinə

Narrator: Athar

1. *kə-sɣi=cɛ=nəʔ*
 one-day=LOC:INDF=DET
reway=scʰənəʔ qécʰwet káxsɛ=rəʔ kə-qerɣiʔ tə-ɛre-nə-cə
 rabbit=and fox leopard=PL NMLZ:PURP-hunt PFV:UP-g02-3PL-MED
 One day, the rabbit, the fox, and the leopard went uphill hunting.

2. *qʰoʔ tfoʰbejʔ=z vlɛrge nɛ-kə-nəvlɛmifôʔt=cəʔ*
 SEQ way=LOC monk IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-chant.sutra2=INDF
ne-tʰəɣ-nə-cə
 PFV:TR-meet2-3PL-MED
 On their way hunting, they ran into a monk who did sutra-chanting services.

3. *qʰoʔ vlɛrge o-tɛlen ne-nsəkʰi-nə-cə*
 SEQ monk 3SG:POSS-saddle.bag PFV:TR-snatch2-3PL-MED
qʰoʔ nə-pʰi-nə
 SEQ PFV-escape2-3PL
 And they snatched the monk's saddle bag from him and ran away.

4. *kərʰbjoʔ sɛ-mɛʔ=z tɛlen te-rqje-nə-cə=nəʔ*
 person NMLZ:OBL-not.exist2=LOC saddle.bag PFV:TR-untie2-3PL-MED=SUB
ó-nəŋ=z tʃərwu ʰdɛʰbɛru ʰdʒərtɛ kə-tʃʰe=scʰənəʔ
 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC bell tambour riding.boot one-pair=and
kɛʰdze kə-minʔ tə-nlɔ-cə
 food NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty PFV-be.revealed2-MED
 When they untied the saddle bag at a place where there was no one around, a bell, a tambour, a pair of riding boots, and some delicious food were revealed.

5. *q^hoʔ rewaŋ nɐ-rɐkriʔ-cə*
 SEQ rabbit PFV-do.distributing₂-MED
 And the rabbit did the distributing (of the booty).
6. *q^hoʔ tʂərwu=sc^hənəʔ ⁿdɐⁿbɐru te-ⁿdi-cə*
 SEQ bell=and tambour PFV:UP-take₂-MED
 It took up the bell and the tambour,
7. *q^hoʔ qɛc^hwet ó-p^ha=z*
 SEQ fox 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
nɛjiʔ nɐ-lŋaʔ=rɐʔ lden-nə-cə=kə
 2SG 2SG:POSS-child=PL exist.in.quantity-3PL-MED=INS
kəkoʔ nɐ-lŋaʔ nə-təzɐv ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=kə
 this 2SG:POSS-child 3PL:POSS-toy IRR-IMP-be=DM
tə-ná-ⁿde te-tsəʔ-cə
 IMP-SPON-take₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 and said to the fox, “Since you have many children, let these be their toys, take them!”
8. *q^hoʔ qɛc^hwet tə-χe=kə jɐ-nəfɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ fox NMLZ-happy₂=INS PFV-go.back₂-MED
 And the fox happily went back home.
9. *leʔ rewaŋ=kə ⁿdʒərtɐ te-ⁿdi-cə*
 again rabbit=ERG boot PFV:UP-take₂-MED
q^hoʔ káxsɛ ó-p^ha=z te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ leopard 3SG:POSS-place=LOC PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the rabbit picked up the boots, and said to the leopard,

10. *nɛʝiʔ kɛmɲɛm ʃə-tə-qɛrɲiʔ reʔ-cə=kə*
 2SG often AND-2-hunt be.necessary-MED=INS
kəkoʔ ⁿdʒərtɛ kə-xʂət=nəʔ nɛʝiʔ tə-ná-ⁿdɛ
 this boot NMLZ:SBJ-be.warm=DET 2SG IMP-SPON-take₃
 “Since you often have to go hunting, you take these warm boots!”
11. *q^hoʔ káxʂɛ=ntʃ^hon tə-χe=kə jɐ-nəʃɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ leopard=also NMLZ-happy₂=INS PFV-go.back₂-MED
 And the leopard also went back home happily.
12. *q^hoʔ=(sc^hə)nəʔ rewaŋ kɛⁿdʒe kə-minʔ nə-kə-riʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ=EMPH rabbit food NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left₂=DET
o-ʝə ó-vre ne-nə-peʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-self:GEN 3SG:POSS-share PFV:TR-SPON-do₂-MED
 And the rabbit gladly made the tasty food that was left his own share.
13. *q^hoʔ ʃla te-sɐⁿdʒəⁿdʒeʔ q^hoʔ jɐ-nə-p^hi-cə*
 SEQ quickly PFV:TR-eat.various.things₂ SEQ PFV-SPON-escape₂-MED
 It quickly ate all the food and ran away.
14. *qéč^hwet o-tʂərwu=sc^hənəʔ ⁿdɛⁿbɛru te-ⁿdi-cə*
 fox 3SG:POSS-bell=and tambour PFV:TR-take₂-MED
q^hoʔ o-k^hɛnaŋ lɐ-ɐnəre-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-home PFV:UPRIVER-go.back₂-MED
 The fox took the bell and the tambour and went back home.

15. *q^hoʔ o-lŋaʔ=rɛʔ ná-p^ha=z*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-child=PL 3PL:POSS-place=LOC
josŋiʔ nə-təzɛv kə-vde lɛ-wôt-aŋ
 today 3PL:POSS-toy NMLZ:SBJ-be.good PFV:UPRIVER-bring₂-1SG
ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And it said to its children, “I have brought good toys today.”
16. *q^hoʔ tʂərwu=sc^hənəʔ ⁿdɛⁿbɛru te-tʃet-cə*
 SEQ bell=and tambour PFV:TR-take.out₂-MED
q^hoʔ o-lŋaʔ=rɛʔ nά-p^ha ne-ʒⁿbri-cə=nəʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-child=PL 3PL:POSS-place PFV:TR-make.sound₂-MED=SUB
 When it took out the bell and the tambour and sounded them to his children,
17. *qərc^hwetpu=rɛʔ=kə*
 fox.puppy=PL=ERG
kɛ-fsɛʔ mə-nɛ-kɛ-rŋi mə-kə-náχtʃəy=cəʔ
 INF-hear NEG-IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ:U-experience₂ NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.common=INDF
ne-fsɛ-nə=rcənəʔ
 PFV:TR-hear₂-3PL=SUB:EMPH
 when the fox puppies heard the strange (sounds) that they had not heard before,
18. *tə-verʔ nə-fet=kə kəmdiʔ nə-p^hi-nə-cə*
 NMLZ-fear 3PL:POSS-extent=INS all PFV-escape₂-3PL-MED
ⁿdeʔ kɛ-nəwi mə-nɛ-noz-nə-cə
 again INF-come.back NEG-IPFV:PST-dare₂-3PL-MED
 they got so frightened that they all fled, and they never dared come back home again.

19. *q^hoʔ nəʃəq^hu o-lɲaʔ=rɐʔ na-βⁿdorʔ-nə*
 all henchforth 3SG:POSS-child=PL PFV-be.separated₂-3PL
q^hoʔ kɐ-qɛse ó-ja mə-jɐ-weʔ-cə
 SEQ INF-look.for 3SG:POSS-hand NEG-PFV-come₂-MED

And henceforth its children got separated from it and, searching, it could never find them.

20. *q^hoʔ kəxsɛ=nəʔ kə-taʔ ⁿdʒərtɐ te-ⁿgeʔ-cə*
 SEQ leopard=DET NMLZ-be.true boot PFV:UP:TR-put.on₂-MED
q^hoʔ ʃə-nɐ-qɐrɲi-cə=nəʔ
 SEQ AND-IPFV:PST-hunt₂-MED=SUB
pra ó-ta t^hɐ-ɐre=nəʔ
 cliff 3SG:POSS-top PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂=SUB

And when the leopard really put on the riding boots and went hunting, and when it went downriver over the cliff,

21. *ⁿdʒərtɐ=kə nɐ-o-saɪldwɛt-cə*
 boot=ERG PFV:DOWN-INV-cause.to.slip.and.fall₂-MED
q^hoʔ nɐ-ɛntɐ nɐ-set-cə
 SEQ PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height₂ PFV:DOWN-die₂-MED
 the boots made it slip, and it fell down and died.

WOLF AND SHEEP
spjaŋkuscʰənəʔ qeʝiʔcə ɣpe
Narrator: Athar

1. *spjaŋku-cə nɐ-to ɣoʔ-cə*
 wolf-MED IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 There was a wolf.
2. *qʰoʔ kə-sɣi=cɛ=nəʔ ʃə-nɐ-qɛrɣi-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=TOP AND-IPFV:PST-hunt₂-MED=SUB
kɐ-ⁿdzaŋ mə-nɐ-cʰɐʔ-cə
 INF-be.careful NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED
qʰoʔ toŋtoŋ ome kə-rna=cəʔ=naŋ nɐ-rdelʔ-cə
 SEQ pit very NMLZ-be.deep=INDF=inside PFV:DOWN-fall.in₂-MED
 One day, as it went out hunting, it was careless and fell into a very deep pit.
3. *qʰoʔ toŋtoŋ=naŋ rjɛspe nɐ-smo*
 SEQ pit=inside quite.a.while IPFV:PST-stay
 And it stayed in the pit for quite a while.
4. *qʰoʔ kɐ-mtser kɛ-ʃpa=rɐʔ ne-ʃe ɣoʔ-cə*
 SEQ NMLZ-be.hungry NMLZ-be.thirsty=PL PFV:TR-begin₂ be-MED
 And it began to get hungry and thirsty.
5. *qʰoʔ nəʝɛrmɐ toŋtoŋ o-kʰe te-mpʰɛri=nəʔ*
 SEQ about.that.time pit 3SG:POSS-opening IPFV:UP-look=SUB
qeʝiʔ kə-rdɔʔ=cəʔ toŋtoŋ o-kʰe=z tʰɐ-wɛʔ-nəŋo
 sheep one-CL=INDF pit 3SG:POSS-opening=LOC CONT-come₂-MED
 Just about that time, as it was looking upward at the opening of the pit, (it saw) a sheep was coming by the opening of the pit.

6. *q^hoʔ spjaŋku=kə qɛʝiʔ=p^ha*
 SEQ wolf=ERG sheep=place
k^hétʂo ptʂéʃi tə-o-réski-aŋ ⁿdenəʔ
 please IMP:UP-pull-1SG for
toŋtoŋ=nəŋ nɐ-rdelʔ-aŋ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 pit=inside PFV:DOWN-fall.in2-1SG be PFV:TR-say2-MED
 The wolf said to the sheep, “Please pull me up, for I have fallen into the pit.”

7. *q^hoʔ qɛʝiʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ sheep=DET=ERG
mɐ-tɐ-réski ⁿdenəʔ koŋ-ⁿdze-aŋ ʃieʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 NEG-1→2-pull for 2→1-eat-1SG be:EMPH PFV:TR-say2-MED
 The sheep said, “I will not pull you up, for you will eat me.”

8. *q^hoʔ leʔ spjaŋku=kə qɛʝiʔ=p^ha*
 SEQ again wolf=ERG sheep=place
nɐ-me=cəʔ kəmtʃ^ha nɐ-stokɛʔ ⁿdenəʔ mɐ-reʔ
 2SG:POSS-leg=INDF a.bit IMP:DOWN-hold.out3 except NEG-be.necessary
q^hoʔ toŋtoŋ=nəŋ kɐ-nlɔʔ c^hɐ-aŋ ɲoʔ
 SEQ pit=inside NMLZ-exit be.able-1SG be
 And the wolf again (said) to the sheep, “Just stick a leg of yours down a bit, and I will be able to come out of the pit.”

9. *te-nlɔʔ-aŋ=nəʔ ɛdɛnbe mɐ-tɐ-ⁿdze te-tsəʔ*
 IPFV:UP-exit-1SG=SUB at.all NEG-1→2-eat PFV:TR-say2
 “And when I come out, I will by no means eat you,” it said.

10. *q^hoʔ mne te-lét ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ oath PFV:TR-do2 be-MED
 And it took an oath.

11. *q^hoʔ qəʝiʔ=nəʔ=kə ne-nzɐⁿgiʔ-cə*
 SEQ sheep=DET=ERG PFV:TR-believe₂-MED
q^hoʔ ó-me ne-stoki
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-leg PFV:DOWN:DOWN-stick.out₂
q^hoʔ spjaŋku te-rəʃe-cə
 SEQ wolf PFV:UP:TR-pull₂-MED
 The sheep believed it, and stuck a leg down and pulled the wolf up.

12. *q^hoʔ spjaŋku tə-nlɔ q^hoʔ nə-səⁿdʒɔskizʔ-cə*
 SEQ wolf PFV:UP-exit₂ SEQ PFV-stretch.oneself₂-MED
 The wolf came out up and stretched itself.

13. *oʒorʔ josŋiʔ=rcənəʔ*
 meanwhile today=TOP:EMPH
təmtserʔ təʃpaʔ χfíkə t^hɐ-to=kə
 hunger thirst very.much CONT:LTR-exist₂=INS
te-tɐⁿdze tʃët-cə te-tsəʔ
 IPFV-1→2-eat be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-say₂
 Meanwhile, it said, “Today, I have no choice but eat you, for I am so hungry and thirsty.”

14. *q^hoʔ qəʝiʔ=kə mə-tə-koyⁿ-dze-aŋ ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ sheep=ERG NEG-IMP-2→1-eat-1SG for
nəʝiʔ mə-tɐⁿ-dze mne tə-tə-lêt ŋoʔ
 2SG NEG-1→2-eat oath PFV-2-do₂ be
 “Don’t eat me, for you have taken an oath ‘I will not eat you,’” the sheep said.

15. *mɛlen koyⁿ-dze-aŋ reʔ*
 by.necessity 2→1-eat-1SG be.necessary
q^hónə elík^ho ʃɐ-tsə
 SEQ:EMPH place.upriver go-1DU

q^hoʔ *te-koy-ⁿdze-an* *tʂanʔ* *soʔ* *mɛ-tʂanʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-2→1-eat-1SG be.just or NEG-be.just
fə-rérwet-tsə=kə *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 AND-do.asking-1DU=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“If you will have to eat me, let us go upriver and ask people if it is just for you to eat me or not,” it said.

16. *q^hoʔ* *spjanʔku=kə*
 SEQ wolf=ERG
vde *q^hoʔ* *fə-rérwet-tsə* *joyʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 be.good SEQ AND-do.asking-1DU be.allowed PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “Very well, we may go and ask people,” the wolf said.

17. *q^hoʔ* *oléco* *lɛ-ɛre-ⁿdzə* *lɛ-ɛre-ⁿdzə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ place.upriver PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3DU PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3DU be-MED
 And they went and went upriver.

18. *q^hoʔ* *jle* *mdzorgɛn=cəʔ* *t^hɛ-nəruʔ* *ne-mti-ⁿdzə-nəŋo*
 SEQ dzo old.dzo=INDF CONT:LTR-graze₂ PFV:TR-see₂-3DU-MED
 And they saw an old dzo grazing.

19. *q^hoʔ* *mdzorgɛn* *ó-p^ha*
 SEQ old.dzo 3SG:POSS-place
t^hə *nɛ-kə-fsət* *nɛ-kə-me¹⁷¹=rɛʔ*
 what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-NMLZ-(dummy.syllable)=PL
kəmdiʔ *nə-rɛffɛt-ⁿdzə-cə*
 all PFV-recount₂-3DU-MED
 The two of them gave the old dzo an accounting of everything that had happened.

¹⁷¹ A dummy reduplicating morph accompanying *nɛ-kə-fsət* in this elaborate expression.

20. *q^hoʔ qɛjiʔ=kə jle mdzorgen=p^ha*
 SEQ sheep=ERG dzo old.dzo=place
koʔ spjaŋku=kə tə-oⁿdze-aŋ
 this wolf=ERG IPFV-INV-eat-1SG
tʂaŋʔ soʔ mə-tʂaŋ tʰ-tʂə te-tʂəʔ-cə
 be.just or NEG-be.just IMP-say PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the sheep said to the old dzo, “Please tell us if it is just or not for this wolf to eat me.”

21. *q^hoʔ mdzorgen=kə*
 SEQ old.dzo=ERG
te-toyⁿdze tʂaŋʔ soʔ mə-tʂaŋʔ=nəʔ mə-siz-aŋ
 IPFV-2:INV-eat be.just or NEG-be just=SUB NEG-know-1SG
 And the old dzo (said), “I do not know if it is just for you to be eaten or not,”

22. *ⁿdenəʔ ɐ-vdaχpo=rɛʔ=kə*
 for 1SG:POSS-master=PL=ERG
noy-tʰɔʔ-aŋ noy-tʰɔʔ-aŋ
 IPFV:PST:INV-use.for.tilling₂-1SG IPFV:PST:INV-use.for.tilling₂-1SG
koʔ məpɛrt^hɐ noy-tʰɔʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ
 till.now IPFV:PST:INV-till₂-1SG be
 “for my master have worked me and worked me at the plough until now,”

23. *q^hoʔ məⁿdɐ¹⁷² nə-rgɛz-aŋ*
 SEQ TOP PFV-be.old₂-1SG
qraχsi kɛ-rɛski mə-nə-c^hɐʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ
 plough INF-pull NEG-PFV-be.able₂-1SG be
 “but I have become old now, and unable to pull the plough,”

¹⁷² An emphatic topic marker denoting change of state, i.e. ‘but now...’.

24. *q^hoʔ pəʃk^ho tərʉ-tserʔ lə-o-koyʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ now pasture-inside PFV:UPRIVER-INV-put.out.of.pen.to.graze₂-1SG
 “now, I have been put out of the pen to graze inside the pasture.”

25. *q^hoʔ t^hé-tsh^ho-aŋ=nəʔ skəm o-wəmɐ-aŋ-nə ɲoʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-be.fat=SUB beef.cattle INV-kill-1SG-3PL be
nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 ANA PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “And when I fatten, I will be slaughtered for beef,” it said.

26. *q^hoʔ spjaŋku=kə nəʔ fsât ko*
 SEQ wolf=ERG ANA be.like DM
te-tv⁻ⁿdze tʂaŋʔ-cə múna tv⁻ⁿdze ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV-1→2-eat be.just-MED DM 1→2-eat be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the wolf said, “You see, it is just to eat you! And I will eat you.”

27. *fənaʔ qəʃiʔ=kə kámʈʰa mə-tə-tə⁻ⁿbəmʔ*
 but sheep=ERG a.bit NEG-IMP-2-hurry
leʔ ɛlík^ho ʃə-rérwet-tsə te-tsəʔ-cə
 again upriver AND-do.asking-1DU PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 But the sheep said, “Not so soon please, let’s go upriver to ask more people.”

28. *q^hoʔ leʔ kə-rérwet lə-nts^ha⁻ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ again NMLZ:PURP-do.asking PFV:UPRIVER-set.out₂-3DU be-MED
 And they set out upriver again to ask people.

29. *qʰoʔ fɛlɪli=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ far.upriver=INDF=DET
ftsɔrgɛn=cəʔ tʰv-nəruʔ wɛjo-nəŋo
 old.female.dzo=INDF CONT:LTR-graze₂ be.seen-MED
 At some place far upriver, they saw an old female dzo grazing.
30. *qʰoʔ leʔ qɛjiʔ=scʰənəʔ spjaŋku=niʔ=kə*
 SEQ again sheep=and wolf=DU=ERG
tʰə nə-kə-fsət=rɛʔ kəmdiʔ te-tsəʔ-n-dzə ŋoʔ-cə
 what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂=PL all PFV:TR-say₂-3DU be-MED
 And again the sheep and wolf told it everything that had happened.
31. *qʰoʔ qɛjiʔ=kə ftsɔrgɛn ó-pʰa*
 SEQ sheep=ERG old.female.dzo 3SG:POSS-place
toɣ-n-dze-aŋ tʂaŋʔ soʔ mə-tʂaŋʔ tət-tə te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV:INV-eat-1SG be.just or NEG-be.just IMP-say PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the sheep said to the old female dzo, “Tell us if it is just or not for me to be eaten.”
32. *fənəʔ ftsɔrgɛn=kə*
 but old.female.dzo=ERG
v-vdaxpo=rɛʔ komɛpértʰv nə-o-nɛloʔ-aŋ əntsətse ŋoʔ
 1SG:POSS-master=PL until.now IPFV:PST-INV-milk₂-1SG continuously be
 But the old female dzo said, “My masters had continuously milked me,”
33. *qʰoʔ məndɛ nə-rgɛz-aŋ*
 SEQ TOP PFV-be.old₂-1SG
kɛ-rɛlɣaʔ mə-nə-cʰɛʔ-aŋ é-lo nə-mɛʔ
 INF-bear.child NEG-PFV-be.able₂-1SG 1SG:POSS-milk PFV-not.exist₂

q^hoʔ tərutserʔ lə-o-koyʔ-aŋ-nə

SEQ pasture PFV:UPRIVER-INV-put.out.of.pen.to.graze-1SG-3PL

“but now I have become old, and unable to bear calves, and my milk has run dry, I was put out of the pen upriver to the edge of the pasture to graze.”

34. *q^hoʔ fsiʔ=nəʔ t^hé-ts^ho-aŋ=nəʔ*

SEQ in.future=DET IPFV-be.fat-1SG=UB

skəm o-wəmə-aŋ-nə ŋoʔ

beef.cattle INV-kill-1SG-3PL be

“And when I fatten in the future, they will kill me for beef,”

35. *q^hoʔ nəjiʔ te-toy-ⁿdze tʂaŋʔ soʔ mə-tʂaŋʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ 2SG IPFV-2:INV-eat be.just or NEG-be.just=SUB

əjiʔ mə-siz-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə

1SG NEG-know-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“so I don’t know whether it is just or not for you to be eaten,” it said.

36. *q^hoʔ spjaŋku=kə leʔ nəʔ fsət ko*

SEQ wolf=ERG again ANA be.like DM

te-tə-ⁿdze tʂaŋʔ-cə múna

IPFV-1→2-eat be.just-MED DM

tə-ⁿdze ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə

1→2-eat be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And again the wold said, “You see, it is just to eat you! And I will eat you.”

37. *fənəʔ qəjiʔ=kə leʔ kámf^ha mə-tə-tə-ⁿbəmʔ*

but sheep=ERG again a.bit NEG-IMP-2-hurry

leʔ kə-təʃe=fənəʔ fə-rérwet-tsə te-tsəʔ-cə

again one-time=just AND-ask.people-1DU PFV:TR-say₂-MED

q^hoʔ noŋmenəʔ tʂaŋʔ q^hónə tə-koy-ⁿdze-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ still be.just then PFV-2→1-eat-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED

But again the sheep said, “Not so soon please, let’s go upriver to ask people just one (more) time. If the answer is still ‘It is just,’ then you can eat me,” it said.

38. *q^hoʔ spjaŋku=kə vde vde kə te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ wolf=ERG be.good be.good DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the wolf said, “OK, OK.”

39. *leʔ fɛlili=cɛ lɐ-ɐre-ⁿdzə-cə=nəʔ*
 again far.upriver=INDF PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3DU-MED=SUB

ⁿdzə-ɣóri rewaŋ=cəʔ t^hɐ-wɛʔ-cə
 3DU:POSS-front rabbit=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂-MED

As they again went farther upriver, a rabbit came downriver ahead of them.

40. *q^hoʔ qɛjiʔ=sc^hənəʔ spjaŋku=niʔ=kə*
 SEQ sheep=and wolf=DU=ERG
rewaŋ=p^ha t^hə nɐ-kə-fsət=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ te-tsəʔ-ⁿdzə-cə
 rabbit=place what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂=PL all PFV:TR-say₂-3DU-MED

And the sheep and the wolf told the rabbit everything that had happened.

41. *q^hoʔ qɛjiʔ=kə*
 SEQ sheep=ERG
tə-o-ⁿdze-aŋ tʂaŋʔ soʔ mɐ-tʂaŋʔ=nəʔ
 IPFV-INV-eat-1SG be.just or NEG-be.just=SUB
tə-tsə k^hétʂo te-tsəʔ-cə
 IMP-say please PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the sheep said, “Please tell us whether it is just for me to be eaten.”

42. *q^hoʔ rewaŋ=kə kəmɿʰa ⁿdɛⁿdjaŋ ne-lét-cə*
 SEQ rabbit=ERG a.bit thinking PFV:TR-do₂-MED

And the rabbit thought about it for a while (and said),

43. *q^hoʔ pəʃk^ho mə-tə-tə-ⁿbəmʔ-ⁿdzə jwét-jə*
 SEQ now NEG-IMP-2-hurry-2DU return-1PL
q^hoʔ tʃ^hə nɛ-kə-ʃsət-ⁿdzə=nəʔ
 SEQ what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like-2DU=SUB

ɛjiʔ kə-ŋólɛ te-némɿi-aŋ kə
 1SG NMLZ-be.well IPFV-watch-1SG DM

“Now, do not hurry and let all of us go back, and let me observe carefully what happened between you two.”

44. *q^hoʔ noŋmenəʔ tɕaŋʔ soʔ mə-tɕaŋʔ*
 SEQ only.then be.jsut or NEG-be.just
té-tsaŋ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 IPFV-say-1SG=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“Then I will tell you whether it is just or not,” it said.

45. *q^hoʔ rewaŋ qɛjiʔ spjaŋku=rɛʔ*
 SEQ rabbit sheep wolf=PL
spjaŋpu o-sɛ-rdelʔ=z t^hɛ-jwet-nə-cə
 wolf 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-fall.in₂=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER-return₂-3PL-MED

And the rabbit, the sheep, and the wolf returned downriver to where the wolf had fallen in (the pit).

46. *q^hoʔ rewan=kə*
 SEQ rabbit=ERG
fq^hvʔ tʰə nɐ-tə-fsət-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ=nəʔ
 just.now what IPFV:PST-2-do.thus₂-2DU be=TOP
leʔ tə-fsət-ⁿdzə te-tsəʔ
 again IMP-do.thus-2DU PFV:TR-say₂
 “You two re-enact what happened between you just now,” the rabbit said.
47. *q^hoʔ spjan^hku=nəʔ leʔ toŋtoŋ=nan nɐ-nəmdɛrʔ-cə*
 SEQ wolf=DET again pit=inside PFV:DOWN-jump₂-MED
 And the wolf jumped again into the pit again.
48. *q^hoʔ fq^hvʔ koʔ tə-fsət-an nɐ-rdelʔ-an ɲoʔ*
 SEQ just.now this PFV-do.thus-1SG PFV:DOWN-fall.in₂-1SG be
q^hoʔ qɛjiʔ=kə o-χfi ne-stoki
 SEQ sheep=ERG 3SG:POSS-thigh PFV:DOWN:TR-stick.out₂
q^hoʔ tə-o-rɛski-an ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV:UP-INV-pull₂-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “I did like this and fell in just now, and the sheep stuck a thigh downward and pulled me up,” it said.
49. *q^hoʔ rewan=kə nəŋo nəŋo¹⁷³*
 SEQ rabbit=ERG EXCL EXCL
 And the rabbit said, “I see, I see.”
50. *nɛjiʔ nɛkəʔ toŋtoŋ=nan ne-tə-nə-smo*
 2SG that.near.you pit=inside IPFV-2-SPON-stay
 “You just stay by yourself inside that pit,”

¹⁷³ An exclamation uttered when one understands a situation.

51. *qɛʝiʔ=nəʔ me-te-tə-rɛskɛ qʰoʔ tʰe-tə-nəʃɛ*
 sheep=DET NEG-IPFV:UP-2-pull SEQ IPFV:DOWNRIVER-2-go.back
 “and the sheep just goes downriver back home and not pulls you up,”
52. *tsjaŋʔ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə*
 be.just-MED PFV:TR-say2-MED
 “and it would be just,” it said.
53. *qʰoʔ qɛʝiʔ=nəʔ tə-χe=kə jɛ-nəʃɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ sheep=DET NMLZ=be.joyful2=INS PFV-go.back2-MED
 And the sheep joyfully went back home.
54. *qʰoʔ spjaŋku=nəʔ leʔ toŋtoŋ=naŋ nɛ-smo*
 SEQ wolf=DET again pit=inside IPFV:PST-stay
 And the wolf stayed inside the pit.
55. *qʰoʔ nəʃəqʰu o-kə-rɛski kdenbe nɛ-mɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ thereafter 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-pull at.all IPFV:PST-not.exist2-MED
 And afterwards there was no one at all to pull it out.

A WOMAN FROM GRATSE LIVING WITH A ONE-LEGGED DEMON

yřetse tǎmεcǎ rkaŋlo nekǎnezde

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *řhonts^he=z yřetse tǎmε=cǎ? nř-to ŋo²-cǎ*
 former.time=LOC PN woman=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
q^ho² rkaŋlo ne-nřzde ŋo²-cǎ
 SEQ one.legged.demon PFV:TR-live.with₂ be-MED
 Once there was a woman at Gratse, she lived with a one-legged demon.

2. *nǎ? rkaŋlo=nǎ? kǎ-ręytim nř-ŋo-cǎ*
 ANA one.legged.demon=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.bringing.in.riches IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 That one-legged demon was the kind that makes one rich.¹⁷⁴

3. *q^ho² tǎřju² latf^he mǎ-jř-wǎt mř ŋo²-cǎ*
 SEQ goods NEG-PFV:TR-bring₂ not.exist be-MED
 And there were no goods that it would not bring back.

4. *řǎnǎ? kǎmęq^hu*
 but afterwards
tǎmε=kǎ rkaŋlo kř-fqa² ne-sǎsi ŋo²-cǎ
 woman=ERG one.legged.demon INF-ward.off^h PFV:TR-want₂ be-MED
řǎnǎ? me-ⁿge-c^hř ŋo²-cǎ
 but NEG-IPFV-be.able be-MED
 But afterwards, the woman wanted to ward off the one-legged demon, but was unable to do so.

¹⁷⁴ According to local folklore, there are two kinds of one-legged demons: a diligent kind that causes one to become rich, and a lazy kind that causes one to become poor.

5. *q^hoʔ tʃuʔ=z*
 SEQ PN=LOC
vləme χʃikə kə-ŋólə=cəʔ nɐ-to ŋoʔ-cə
 lama very NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 There was a very virtuous lama at Cus Village.

6. *q^hoʔ q^hɐʔ támɛ=nəʔ vləme=p^ha tə-ɐre-cə*
 SEQ ANA woman=DET lama=place PFV:UP-go₂-MED
 And the woman went (uphill) to the lama.

7. *q^hoʔ vləme o¹⁷⁵.ffɛffɛt ne-peʔ*
 SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-telling PFV:TR-do₂
 And related her story for the lama.

8. *q^hoʔ rkanʎo kɐ-fqaʔ ne-səsiʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ one.legged.demon INF-ward.off PFV:TR-want₂-1SG
q^hoʔ tʃ^hə te-pɔ-aŋ=nəʔ kɐ-fqaʔ c^hɐ-aŋ-cə
 SEQ what IPFV-do₃-1SG=SUB INF-ward.off be.able-1SG-MED
te-tsaʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 She asked, “I want to ward off the one-legged demon. What am I to do to be able to ward it off?”

9. *q^hoʔ vləme=kə*
 SEQ lama=ERG
 And the lama (said),

¹⁷⁵ Referring to the recipient, the lama.

10. *rkaŋlo=p^ha* *tərjuʔlatʃ^he* *mə-jə-tə-wôt* *mə*
 one.legged.demon=place goods NEG-PFV-2-bring₂ not.exist
q^hoʔ *rjəkər* *nə-fə* *q^hoʔ* *p^hoŋe-rémo* *fə-kə-rojʔ*
 SEQ India IMP:WEST-go SEQ broomcorn-drying.rack AND-IMP:EAST-fetch₃
q^hónə *tə-tə-səyts^haŋʔ* *ŋoʔ* *ə-tə-tá-tsə*
 SEQ:EMPH PFV-2-cause.to.be.complete₂ be IRR-IMP-2-say
 “Tell the one-legged demon, “There is nothing that you did not bring me. Go west to India and bring back a drying rack made of broomcorn, and you will make everything complete.””
11. *q^hónə* *p^hoŋe-rémo=nəʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH broomcorn-drying.rack=DET
fla *kə-roʔ* *mə-c^hə* *fieʔ=kə*
 immediately INF-fetch NEG-be.able be:EMPH=INS
 “And as it cannot fetch the drying rack made of broomcorn right away,”
12. *nə-c^həʔ=ntʃ^hon*
 IPFV:PST-be.able₂=even
kəfne-rjaʔ *jərmə* *fə-tso* *reʔ=kə*
 seven-night about AND-elapse be.necessary=INS
 “and since even if it can (fetch it), it is going to take about seven nights.”
13. *nəʔ* *o-pért^hə=nəʔ*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-space.in.between=TOP
o-χtu *ne-kə-pe* *zgrápe* *ŋe-ké-ⁿdi*
 3SG:POSS-sutra IPFV-GP-do spell IPFV-GP-hold
 “One chants sutras against it in the meantime, and hold (the demon) under the spell.”

14. *q^hoʔ kə-fqaʔ sɛc^hɛ ʃieʔ te-tsaʔ*
 SEQ INF-ward.off be.doable be:EMPH PFV:TR-say₂

“And it will be feasible to ward it off,” he said.

15. *q^hoʔ nəkəsə o-vlo te-tʃet ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ thus 3SG:POSS-idea PFV:TR-take.out₂ be-MED

And thus offered his idea (to her).

16. *q^hoʔ təmɛ=nəʔ yrətse nɛ-ɛnəre*
 SEQ woman=DET PN PFV:DOWNHILL-go.back₂

And the woman went back to Gratse.

17. *q^hoʔ rkaŋlɔ=p^ha nəʔ=rɛʔ te-tsaʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ one.legged.demon=place ANA=PL PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED

And said the above to the one-legged demon.

18. *q^hoʔ rkaŋlo rjɛkɛr=z*
 SEQ one.legged.demon India=LOC
p^hoŋerɛmo ʃə-kə-roʔ nə-ɛre ɲoʔ-cə
 broomcorn.drying.rack AND-NMLZ:PURP-fetch PFV:WEST-go₂ be-MED

And the one-legged demon went west to India to fetch a drying rack made of broomcorn.

19. *q^hoʔ o-q^hu=nəʔ=z*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-back=DET=LOC
vlɛme kosloməme təmɛ=p^ha nɛ-ɛre-nə
 lama with.disciple woman=place PFV:DOWN-go₂-3PL

After it was gone, the lama and his disciples went downhill to the woman.

20. *qʰoʔ kəʃne-rjaʔ nɐ-raxtuʔ-nə*
 SEQ seven-night IPFV:PST-chant.sutra₂-3PL
qʰoʔ zgrəpe ne-ⁿdi-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ spell IPFV:PST:TR-hold₂-3PL be-MED
 And they kept chanting sutras for seven nights and cast a spell.

21. *qʰoʔ kəʃne-rjaʔ nə-tsoʔ=tsɐ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ seven-night PFV-elapse₂=almost be-MED
 And almost seven nights passed.

22. *vlɛme=kə o-krəpe nə-pʰa*
 lama=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple 3PL:POSS-place
ʰbəlve kdenbe mə-nə-tə-mje-nə
 offering at.all NEG-IMP-2-take-2PL
káma mə-vde ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 otherwise NEG-be.good be PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 The lama said to his disciples, “Do not take any offering (from the woman), or it will be inauspicious.”

23. *qʰoʔ kɐ-rɛxtu=rɐʔ ne-səyjoʔ-nə*
 SEQ INF-chant.sutra=PL PFV:TR-finish₂-3PL
qʰoʔ kɐ-nəʃɐ tə-mda ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ INF-go.back PFV-be.time₂ be-MED
 And they finished chanting sutras, and it was time to go home.

24. *qʰoʔ təmɛ=kə*
 SEQ woman=ERG
nə-ⁿbəlve rɲəl rtsémkəɣ=nəɲ ne-rkoʔ-cə
 3PL:POSS-offering silver tsampa.pouch=inside PFV:TR-put.into₂-MED
 And the woman put some silver into tsampa pouch as offering to them.

25. *q^hoʔ vlɛme nǎ-p^ha*

SEQ lama 3PL:POSS-place

n^hbəʋe tǎ-ⁿdi-nǎ te-tsəʔ-cə

offering IMP-take-2PL PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And said to the lama, “Please take the offering.”

26. *ʃənǎʔ vlɛme=kǎ n^hbəʋe kɛ-sǎ-ⁿdi kdenbe mə-nɛ-k^hūt-cə*

but lama=ERG offering INF-CAUS-take at.all NEG-IPFV:PST-allow₂-MED

But the lama refused to be given any offering at all.

27. *q^hoʔ tǎ-mɛ=kǎ*

SEQ woman=ERG

koʔ vlɛme=rɛʔ n^hbəʋe mə-ⁿdi=nǎʔ

SEQ lama=PL offering NEG-take=SUB

q^hónǎ ɛju mə-p^hen=nǎʔ ʃteʔ ne-səsɛʔ

SEQ:EMPH 1SG:POSS NEG-be.effective=SUB be:EMPH PFV:TR-think₂

And the woman thought, “If the lama (and his disciples) do not take offerings, then (the exorcism rituals) will surely not be effective work for me.”

28. *q^hoʔ səqətsútsu q^hɛʔ rŋəl rtsémkəɣ=nǎʔ vlɛme*

SEQ stealthily ANA silver tsampa.pouch=DET lama

nǎ-ⁿbri o-lvéʔ=p^hi=z te-səmqə ɲoʔ-cə

3PL:POSS-horse 3SG:POSS-mane=under=LOC PFV:TR-cause.to.hang₂ be-MED

And she had someone hang the tsampa pouch containing the silver under the mane of the lama’s horse on the sly.

29. *qʰoʔ vlɛme=rɛʔ=kə me-ne-sərtɔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ lama=PL=ERG NEG-PFV:TR-discover₂-3PL-MED
qʰoʔ tʃuʔ tə-vnəre-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ PN PFV:UP-go.back₂-3PL be-med

And the lama and others did not realize this, and they went back uphill to Cus.

30. *tʃuʔ jə-kɛ-zɣot ʃəjnɛtɛko kə-toʔ*
 PN PROS-GP-arrive PN NMLZ:SBJ-exist
lɛ-zɣô-t-nə jɛrmɛ=nəʔ
 PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-3PL about=SUB

Just when they were about to reach a place called Sheynatako¹⁷⁶ almost reaching Cus Village,

31. *vlɛme o-krəpe kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ*
 lama 3SG:POSS-disciple one-CL=DET
lɛmɛstəmpɛt ó-me tə-mɣəm
 suddenly 3SG:POSS-leg PFV-be.ill₂
 one of the lama's disciple's feet suddenly began to hurt.

32. *qʰoʔ kɛ-tʰɔ=rɛn mə-nə-kʰút ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ GP-lay.foot.on.ground=even NEG-PFV-be.feasible₂ be-MED
 And could not even set them down on the ground.

33. *qʰoʔ vlɛme=kə o-krəpe=pʰa*
 SEQ lama=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple=place
nɛkəʔ táme=kə ʰbəlve ne-kʰi=nəʔ
 that.near.you woman=ERG offering PFV:TR-hand.to₂=DET

¹⁷⁶ Name of a place on a footpath leading uphill to Cus Village.

fo=kə tə-tə-n di-nə ŋoʔ ʰdenəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 who=ERG PFV-2-take₂-2PL be DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the lama asked his disciples, “Did one of you take the offering that the woman handed to us?”

34. *ʃənəʔ o-krəpe=rəʔ=kə*
 but 3SG:POSS-disciple=PL=ERG
te-n di=nəʔ nɐ-mɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-take₂=DET IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ be-MED

But none of his disciples took the offering.

35. *qʰoʔ vləme=kə*
 SEQ lama=ERG
ʰbri ó-kɐr=ntʃʰon tə-nɐrtərtəʔ-nə te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 horse 3SG:POSS-body=also IMP-examine-2PL PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED

And the lama ordered them to check the body of the horse also.

36. *qʰoʔ kəmɐqʰínəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards
ʰbri o-lvéʔ=pʰi rtsémkəy ɐ-səmqoʔ wɛjo ŋoʔ-cə
 horse 3SG:POSS-mane=under tsampa.pouch PASS-hang be.seen be-MED

Afterwards, they discovered that somebody had hung the tsampa pouch under the horse’s mane.

37. *qʰoʔ vləme=kə*
 SEQ lama=ERG
ʰbɐt nɛkəʔ rŋəl rtsémkəy=nəʔ
 immediately that.near.you silver tsampa.pouch=DET

- támε* *ó-p^ha* *ʃə-t^he-séjwət-nə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 woman 3SG:POSS-place AND-IMP:DOWNRIVER-return-3PL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the lama said, “Go right away and return the tsampa pouch of silver to the woman!”
38. *q^hoʔ* *o-krəpe=rəʔ=kə* *ʃla*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=PL=ERG quickly
ʃə-t^he-səjwət-nə-cə
 AND-PFV:TR:DOWNRIVER-return₂-3PL-MED
 And his disciples quickly went downriver and returned it.
39. *q^hoʔ* *noŋme=nəʔ* *tʃuʔ* *tə-ənəre-nə-cə*
 SEQ only.then=TOP PN PFV:UP-go.back₂-3PL-MED
 Only then did they go back uphill to Cus.
40. *o-krəpe* *ó-me* *tə-kə-mŋəm=nəʔ=rəʔ* *nə-zi-cə*
 3SG:POSS-disciple 3SG:POSS-leg PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-hurt₂=DET=PL PFV-recover₂-MED
 And his disciple’s feet that were hurting recovered.
41. *q^hoʔ* *kəʃne-rjəʔ* *nə-tsoʔ* *oq^huq^hoʔ*
 SEQ seven-night PFV-elapse₂ after
rkaŋlo=kə *rjəkər=z* *p^hoŋerémo* *ke-səzyôʔ*
 one.legged.demon=ERG PN=LOC broomcorn.drying.rack PFV:EAST:TR-make.arrive
 After seven nights passed, the one-legged demon brought the broomcorn drying rack
 from India.

42. *qʰoʔ tséⁿbɐ ó-ɕɐr=z*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-surface=LOC
rémɔ ɐz-nɛɲe qʰoʔ ɣrɛtse ⁿge-mpʰéri ɲoʔ-cə
 drying.rack CONT:HTR-use.as.walking.stick SEQ PN IPFV-look be-MED
 Leaning on the drying rack as a walking stick, it was looking from the slope of Mount Tsemba.¹⁷⁷

43. *ʃənəʔ vlɛme=kə zgrápe te-ⁿdi*
 but lama=ERG spell PFV:TR-hold₂
qʰoʔ o-sɛɣ-ʃɛʔ nə-mɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-go₂ PFV-not.exist₂ be-MED
 But as the lama cast a spell, its access was gone.

44. *qʰoʔ rkanlo=nəʔ*
 SEQ one.legged.demon=DET
tséⁿbɐ-ɕɐr=z grɔŋɔŋo ne-vɛvo
 Tsemba-surface=LOC IDPH¹⁷⁸ IPFV-weep
 And the one-legged demon was weeping¹⁷⁹ bitterly on Mount Tsemba.

45. *qʰoʔ ɣrɛtse=z ⁿge-mpʰéri káma*
 SEQ PN=LOC IPFV:DOWN-look except
o-sɛɣ-ʃɛʔ nɛ-mɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-go₂ IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ be-MED
 And it could only look down on Gratse with no access to it.

¹⁷⁷ Name of a high peak opposite of Gratse near Ya'erzu.

¹⁷⁸ Describing the sound of loud, continuous weeping.

¹⁷⁹ Notice the present imperfective verb form is used instead of the past imperfective for vividness.

46. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^hunəʔ nəʔosɛʔsət*
 SEQ afterwards thus
kəmaʔ sətʃ^he=z jɛ-ɛre nɛ-re
 other place=LOC PFV-go₂ IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂
kɛ-tsa nɛ-tʃ^hoʔz-cə
 GP-say IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

Afterwards, it just had to leave like that and go to other places, it is said.

A WOMAN FROM COGTSE LIVING WITH A ONE-LEGGED DEMON

tʃoxtsépu táməkə rkeŋlo nekənzde

Narrator: Tsheskyid

1. *ʃɲontsʰe=z tʃóxtse sɐtʃʰe=z*
former.time=LOC PN place=LOC
támɛ=cəʔ nɛ-to ŋoʔ-cə
woman=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
Once there was a woman at Cogtse.

2. *qʰoʔ rkaŋlo ne-nɛzde ŋoʔ-cə*
SEQ one.legged.demon PFV:TR-live.with₂ be-MED
She lived with a one-legged demon.

3. *ʃənəʔ zaʔ kə-lɛn nə-tsoʔ*
but time NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity PFV-elapse₂
qʰoʔ támɛ=nəʔ=kə
SEQ woman=DET=ERG
rkaŋlo ne-kɛ-vdɛ ne-səsɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə
one.legged.demon IPFV-INF-forsake IPFV-desire₃ be-MED
After a long time, the woman wanted to get rid of the one-legged demon.

4. *ʃənəʔ kɛdɛnbe mə-nɛ-cʰɛʔ-cə*
but at.all NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED
But she could not do it at all.

5. *q^hoʔ o-zdewe=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-village=TOP
vlɛme ome kə-ŋólɛ=cəʔ nɛ-to-cə
 lama very NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 There was a very virtuous lama at her village.
6. *q^hoʔ nəʔ ó-p^ha ʃə-te-zu ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place AND-PFV-say:HON₂ be-MED
 And she went and told him about this.
7. *q^hoʔ vlɛme=kə*
 SEQ lama=ERG
 And the lama (said),
8. *ma-κdu rkanló=p^ha*
 NEG-matter one.legged.demon=place
nɛjiʔ mə-jɛ-tɛ-wôt mɛ ŋoʔ
 2SG NEG-PFV-2-bring₂ not.exist be
ʃənəʔ toŋʔ=kə cɛⁿgo=cəʔ ɐ-jɛ-tɛ-wot
 but white.conch=GEN kneading.trough=INDF IRR-IMP-2-bring
q^hónə tə-tə-səyts^həŋʔ ŋoʔ ɐ-tə-tá-tsə
 SEQ:EMPH PFV-2-cause.to.be.complete₂ be IRR-IMP-2-say
 “No problem. Tell (the one-legged demon), ‘There were nothing that you did not bring. But go bring a kneading trough made of white conch, and you will make everything complete.’”
9. *q^hoʔ nəʔ o-kə-nɛŋoroʔ ʃɛ ʃteʔ=kə*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-seek go be:EMPH=INS
nəʔ o-pért^hɛ zgrápe ⁿge-ké-ⁿdi
 ANA 3SG:POSS-space.in.between spell IPFV-GP-hold

qʰoʔ nə-raxtuʔ-nə ʎoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV-chant.sutra₂-3PL be-MED

And after it was gone, the lama and others chanted sutras and cast a spell at the woman's home.

15. *qʰoʔ kəʃne-rjaʔ nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ seven-night PFV-elapse₂=SUB

When seven nights passed,

16. *rkaŋlo=kə toŋʔ cʰŋgo jɛ-wôt*
 one.legged.demon=ERG white.conch kneading.trough PFV-bring₂
nɛ-cʰɛʔ ʎoʔ-cə
 IPFV:PST-be.able₂ be-MED

the one-legged demon was able to bring back the kneading trough made of white conch.

17. *ʃənəʔ tʃóxtse reⁿgo=cɛ=z kə-zɣôt-cə=nəʔ*
 but PN hill=INDF=LOC PFV:EAST-arrive₂-MED=SUB

But when it got to somewhere on the Cogtse Hill,

18. *zgrápe ne-ⁿdi-nə ne-zraxtuʔ-nə o-tánʔ=kə*
 spell PFV:TR-hold₂-3PL PFV:TR-cause.to.chant.sutra₂-3PL 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
o-sɛ-nəɣʃɛʔ nə-mɛʔ ʎoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-go.back₂ PFV-not.exist₂ be-MED

its access back (to Cogtse) disappeared as a result of the spell-casting and sutra-chanting.

19. *qʰoʔ rkaŋlo tə-rɛmuruʔ*
 SEQ one.legged.demon PFV-be.angry₂

The one-legged demon got angry,

20. *q^hoʔ toŋʔ cáⁿgo=nəʔ rerévnʔ=ta ne-c^hov*
 EQ white.conch kneading.trough=DET untain=top PFV:TR-smash₂
q^hoʔ ó-ste t^he-wbrét ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-where.something.is PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw₂ be-MED
 and it smashed the kneading trough made of white conch and dumped it right where it was on the mountain.

21. *nəʔ o-tánʔ=kə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
 For that reason,

22. *tʃóxtse yréko=ta=nəʔ*
 PN ridge=top=TOP
qɛpi=kə corⁿbuʔ toŋ nɛ-kɛ-c^hov=kəsə
 flint=INS pile.of.rocks white.conch PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-smash₂=like
pəʃk^ho=ntʃ^hon kɛ-mtiʔ toʔ ké-tsə tʃ^hozʔ
 now=also NMLZ:SBJ:U-see exist GP-say be.the.rule
 even now a pile of flints that look like a smashed white conch can be seen on the (Cogtse) ridge, it is said.

FIRST STORY OF OLD WOMAN'S SON AND RABBIT

rgenmutfusc^hənə? rewan

Narrator: Nyimathar

1. *şyonts^he=z* *rgenmu* *kəⁿdʒətʃətʃu=cə?*
former.time=LOC old.woman together.with.son=INDF
nə-to-ⁿdzə *ŋoʔ-cə*
IPFV:PST-exist₂-3DU be-MED
Once there lived an old woman and her son.

2. *q^hoʔ* *ⁿdzə-jtʃe=cə?* *kə-ⁿdzɔʔ* *nə-to-cə*
SEQ 3DU:POSS-field=INDF one-piece IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
q^hoʔ *nə?* *ó-nan=nə?* *rərə?* *ne-ji-ⁿdzə-cə*
SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside=DET peas IPFV:PST:TR-plant₂-3DU-MED
They had a piece of farming land, and were growing peas inside it.

3. *q^hoʔ* *ⁿdzə-jtʃe* *χcəl=nə?*
SEQ 3DU:POSS-field center=DET
rⁿgu=cə? *ome* *kə-xteʔ=cə?* *nə-to-cə*
boulder=INDF very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
In the center of their field, there was a big boulder.

4. *q^hoʔ* *rewan=cə?* *kə-rdɔʔ* *təjtʃé=nan* *kəmɲəm* *ⁿge-wi*
SEQ rabbit=INDF one-CL field=inside often IPFV:DOWN-come
A certain rabbit would often come downhill inside their field.

5. *q^hoʔ* *ⁿdzə-rərə?* *o-te-ⁿdzə*
SEQ 3DU:POSS-peas come.and-IPFV-eat₃
And come to eat their peas.

6. *q^hoʔ te-vjaʔ jərmə*
 SEQ IPFV-be.full about
q^hoʔ rⁿgú=ta te-fə q^hoʔ te-nəne ŋoʔ-cə
 EQ boulder=top PFV:UP-go₃ SEQ IPFV-rest be-MED
 And when it is about full, it would go up the top of the boulder and rest.

7. *q^hoʔ rgəmutfu=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG
koʔ rewaŋ kə-sənək^hoj v-rəreʔ te-ⁿdze
 this rabbit NMLZ:SBJ-be.bullying 1SG:POSS-peas IPFV-eat₃
ó-ta te-vjaʔ q^hoʔ rⁿgú=ta o-kə-nəne=rəʔ wəjo
 3SG:POSS-top IPFV-be.full SEQ boulder=top 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-rest=PL be.seen
ne-səsi-cə
 PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And the son of the old woman thought, “What a bully this rabbit is! On top of eating my peas, look, it comes and rest on the boulder when it is full.”

8. *q^hoʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=TOP
rgənmufu=kə siz təmtfuyʔ zərnaʔ rⁿgú=ta
 old.woman's.son=ERG dawn boulder=top
téⁿdzuɣ mts^hót ne-ɛmər
 resin be.much PFV:TR-smear₂
 One day at dawn, the old woman's son smeared a lot of resin on top of the boulder.

9. *q^hoʔ káde=nəʔ rewaŋ leʔ təjtʃé=naŋ*
 SEQ in.a.while=TOP rabbit again field=inside
rəreʔ kə-ⁿdze nɛ-wɛʔ-cə
 peas NMLZ:PURP-eat PFV:DOWN-come₂-MED
 In a while, the rabbit again came downhill into the field to eat the peas.

10. *q^hoʔ tə-vja q^hoʔ leʔ rⁿgú=ta kə-nəne*
 SEQ PFV-be.full₂ SEQ again boulder=top NMLZ:PURP-rest
tə-vre-cə=nəʔ t^hdzuy=kə rewaj
 PFV:UP-go₂-MED=SUB resin=ERG rabbit
ó-fqor ne-ⁿdi-cə
 3SG:POSS-buttocks PFV:TR-hold₂-MED

When it was full and went up to the top of the boulder to rest, the resin caught the rabbit's buttocks.

11. *q^hoʔ rgemutʃu=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=ERG
nəʔoséʃsət rewaj ne-mjeʔ nɛ-c^hɐʔ ɣoʔ-cə
 thus rabbit PFV:TR-catch₂ IPFV:PST-be.able₂ be-MED

In that way, the old woman's son was able to catch the rabbit.

12. *q^hoʔ rewaj kə-ntʃ^he tə-rənts^ha=nəʔ*
 SEQ rabbit NMLZ:PURP-kill PFV-make.preparations₂=SUB

Just when he was about to kill the rabbit,

13. *rewaj=kə*
 rabbit=ERG
k^hétsə váʃsəm mə-nə-ko-ntʃ^he-aŋ
 please NEG-IMP-2→1-kill-1SG
nɛ-rəreʔ tʃ^hə tə-ⁿdzeʔ-aŋ t^həmtʃetrɛ kəmdiʔ te-rɛlɛʔ-aŋ
 2SG:POSS-peas what PFV-eat₂-1SG all:EMPH IPFV-recompense-1SG

the rabbit said, "Please don't kill me. I will recompense you for all the peas I have eaten,"

14. *nəʔ məkəts^hət*

ANA not.only

o-ffáχp kə-ηólə te-pɔ-aj=kə te-tsəʔ-cə

3SG:POSS-making.up NMLZ-be.fine IPFV-do₃-1SG=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“not only that, but I will make it up nicely to you,” it said.

15. *q^hoʔ rgənmutfu=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG

ηoʔ fteʔ kə ne-səsi-cə

be be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And the old woman’s son thought, “OK, this is it.”

16. *q^hoʔ rewaj ne-lêt-cə*

SEQ rabbit PFV:TR-release₂-MED

And he set the rabbit free.

17. *q^hoʔ fənəʔ rgənmutfu=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ but old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG

tajtfe χcəl r^mgu kə-toʔ=nəʔ kə-wəmə ne-səsəʔ ηoʔ-cə

field center boulder NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET INF-remove IPFV-want₃ be-MED

But the old woman’s son would want to remove the boulder located at the center of the field.

18. *q^hoʔ ó-mo=p^ha*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=place

v-foχpeʔ qéjwi xfi-xte χsəmʔ=cəʔ tə-poj

1SG:POSS-buckwheat.bread bread be.small-be.big three=INDF IMP-make₃

te-tsəʔ-cə

PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And he said to his mother, “Make me three pieces of big and small buckwheat bread.”

19. *q^hoʔ ó-mo=kə* *o-qéjwi* *χsəm* *te-peʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG 3SG:POSS-bread three PFV:TR-make₂ be-MED

And his mother made him three pieces of bread.

20. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə* *rⁿgú=ta* *tə-ɛmdzuʔ-cə*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG boulder=top PFV:UP-sit₂-MED

And the old woman's son sat on top of the boulder.

21. *q^hoʔ ó-mo=p^ha*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=place
ɐ-foχpeʔ qéjwi *st^hoʔ* *kə-xtʃiʔ=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-buckwheat.bread most NMLZ:SBJ-be.small=DET
lɛ-k^hɛ *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 IMP:UPRIVER-hand.to₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And he said to his mother, “Hand me my smallest piece of buckwheat bread.”

22. *q^hoʔ ó-mo=kə* *le-k^hi-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG PFV:UPRIVER:TR-hand.to₂-MED

And his mother handed it (to him).

23. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə* *te-ⁿdzeʔ* *te-səχjoy* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG PFV:TR-eat₂ PFV:TR-finish₂ be-MED

And the old woman's son ate it up.

24. *q^hoʔ o-xsiʔ* *kəmt^ha* *ne-lét-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-fart a.bit PFV:TR-release₂-MED=SUB
rⁿgu *tətserʔ* *ne-səyre* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 boulder crack PFV:TR-cause.to.go₂ be-MED

And when he farted a little, causing a crack in the boulder.

25. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə ó-mo=p^ha*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-mother=place
ʃoxpeʔ qéjwi jəte-kə-xteʔ=nəʔ
 buckwheat.bread more-NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
lé-k^hɛ te-tsəʔ-cə
 IMP:UPRIVER-hand.to₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the old woman's son said to his mother, "Hand me the bigger piece of buckwheat bread."

26. *q^hoʔ ó-mo=kə le-k^hi-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG PFV:UPRIVER:TR-hand.to₂-MED
 And his mother handed it (to him).

27. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə qéjwi te-ⁿdzeʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG bread PFV:TR-eat₂=SUB
o-xsiʔ jəte-kə-xteʔ=cəʔ t^he-lét-cə
 3SG:POSS-fart COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV:TR:OUT-release₂-MED
 And when the old woman's son ate up the bread, he let loose a bigger fart.

28. *q^hoʔ rⁿgu rjéspe kə-xteʔ ne-p^haʔ-cə*
 SEQ boulder quite NMLZ-be.big PFV:TR-split₂-MED
 And split quite a big crack in the boulder.

29. *q^hoʔ leʔ ó-mo=p^ha*
 SEQ again 3SG:POSS-mother=place
qéjwi st^hoʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ lé-k^hɛ te-tsəʔ-cə
 bread most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET IMP:UPRIVER-hand.to₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And he said to his mother, "Hand me the biggest piece of bread!"

30. *q^hoʔ* *ó-mo=kə* *le-k^hi-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mother=ERG PFV:UPRIVER:TR-hand.to₂-MED
 And his mother handed it (to him).
31. *q^hoʔ* *rgənmufu=nəʔ-kə*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG
qéjwi *st^hoʔ* *kə-xtəʔ=nəʔ* *te-ⁿdzeʔ* *ne-st^hət* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 bread most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET PFV:TR-eat₂ PFV:TR-eat.up₂ be-MED
 And the old woman's son ate all of the biggest piece of bread.
32. *q^hoʔ* *o-xsiʔ* *χfíkə* *kə-xtəʔ* *t^he-lét-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-fart very NMLZ-be.big PFV:OUT:TR-release₂-MED=SUB
 And when he let loose a very big fart,
33. *rⁿgu* *ome* *kə-xtəʔ* *ne-p^haʔ* *məkáts^hət*
 boulder very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big PFV:TR-split₂ not.only
nəʔ *ó-naŋ* *o-jiʔ* *nə-ra* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside 3SG:POSS-self PFV:DOWN-be.stuck₂ be-MED
 he not only split a very big crack in the boulder, but he sank and got stuck inside it.
34. *q^hoʔ* *rⁿgu* *kə-χtor* *kə-wəmə* *mə-nə-c^həʔ-cə*
 SEQ boulder INF-break.apart INF-remove NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED
 He was unable to break the boulder apart and clear it away.
35. *q^hoʔ* *rⁿgu* *tətserʔ* *nə-kə-əre* *ó-naŋ*
 SEQ boulder crack PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂ 3SG:POSS-inside
əntsátse *nə-smo* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 continuously IPFV:PST-stay be-MED
 And he stayed (stuck) inside the crack he got into.

36. *q^hoʔ* *ó-ta* *t^he-kə-fə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-go
t^he-kə-wi=rəʔ *mts^hót* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-come=PL be.many be-MED
 And many people were coming and going over him.

37. *q^hoʔ* *éto*¹⁸⁰ *tə-o-rəʃé-əŋ-ʃe-əŋ*¹⁸¹
 SEQ PRON:UP:VOC IMP:UP-INV-pull-1SG-pull:RDPL-1SG
nə-ⁿgre *kə-ŋólə* *nənə-pó-əŋ-pɔ-əŋ*¹⁸²
 2SG:POSS-wages NMLZ-be.nice SPON:RDPL-do-1SG-do:RDPL-1SG
ne-tsəʔ *ŋoʔ-cə*
 IPFV:PST:TR-say₂ be-MED
 And he kept saying, “You who is above me, pull me up, and I will pay you well.”

38. *ʃənəʔ* *nə-qə* *kə-mə*
 but 3PL:POSS-free.time NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist
ɣⁿbi *kə-əsvə-fkor* *zəʃ^her* *kə-əsvə-ⁿdi*
 drum NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-carry.on.back cymbal NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-hold
əntsətse *ŋoʔ-cə*
 continuously be-MED
 But they were all those who did not have time, busy carrying drums on their backs and holding cymbals,

39. *q^hoʔ* *kə-réski* *v-qə* *mə* *ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ INF-pull 1SG:POSS-free.time not.exist for
v-vəʔ=rəʔ *nə-ɣⁿbi* *ʃə-séjwət-əŋ*
 1SG:POSS-paternal.uncle=PL 3PL:POSS-drum AND-return-1SG

¹⁸⁰ Pronominal use of an orientational adverbial, in the vocative case.

¹⁸¹ This special reduplication pattern occurs only in song lyrics and not permitted in ordinary language.

¹⁸² As above.

nə-zəytʰər *fə-séjwət-aŋ*
 3PL:POSS-cymbal AND-return-1SG
te-ká-tsə *əntsətse* *nə-ŋo-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say continuously IPFV:PST-be-3PL be-MED

and they were all those who said, “I don’t have time for pulling, because I will go and return to my uncles their drums and their cymbals.”

40. *qʰoʔ* *kəməqʰunəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards

o-tsupoyruʔ *kə-əsvə-fkor=cəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-carrying.basket NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:TR-carry.on.back=INDF
ɛʒunu *mə-bretbrət¹⁸³=cəʔ* *lə-wəʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 young.man IDPH=INDF PFV:UPRIVER-come₂ be-MED

Afterwards, a tall and stout young man came upriver carrying his basket on back.

41. *qʰoʔ* *nəʔ=kə* *tə-o-rəfe* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA=ERG PFV-INV-pull₂ be-MED

məkátsʰət *o-tsupoyrúʔ=nəŋ* *tə-o-rkoʔ*
 not.only 3SG:POSS-carrying.basket=inside PFV:UP-INV-put.into₂
qʰoʔ *tʰə-o-nətsom* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-take.thither₂ be-MED

And (the old woman’s son) was not only pulled up, but put into the latter’s carrying basket and carried downriver by him.

42. *nəʔ* *ɛʒonu=nəʔ* *táfo* *nə-ŋo* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ young.man=DET demon IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED

This young man was a demon.

¹⁸³ A derived ideophone from the root *brət*, describing a person being tall and strong.

43. *qʰoʔrewaŋ=kə rgənmutʃu o-rəreʔ kə-rʋeʔ*
 SEQ rabbit=ERG old.woman's.son 3SG:POSS-peas NMLZ:PURP-recompense
nʋ-wɛʔ-cə=nəʔ
 IPFV:PST-come₂-MED=DET
 When the rabbit came downhill to recompense the old woman's son for his peas,

44. *táʃo=kə tʰɐ-o-nətsom ne-fsʋ-cə*
 Demon=ERG PFV:DOWNRIVER-INV-take.thither₂ PFV:TR-hear₂-MED
 it heard that he had been taken downriver by the demon.

45. *qʰoʔ táʃo kʰénaŋ mə-nʋ-smo orjáŋnəʔ*
 SEQ demon home NEG-IPFV:PST-be.present₂ when
təʃoʔ kʰénaŋ tʰɐ-ɐre-cə
 demon home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-MED
 It went downriver to the demon's home at a time when the latter was not at home.

46. *qʰoʔ rgəmʃu=niʔ=scʰənəʔ táʃo o-kómtʰɔ=z*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DU=and demon 3SG:POSS-courtyard=LOC
káxsɛ ke¹⁸⁴-vraʔ-ndzə ŋoʔ-cə
 leopard PFV:CISLOC:TR-tether₂-3DU be-MED
 Together with the old woman's son, the two of them tethered a leopard to the demon's courtyard.

¹⁸⁴ The orientation prefix *ke-* denotes “tying the leash on the leopard *around* a long object (e.g. a pole, a tree)” at the courtyard.

47. *q^hoʔ o-rjalɛⁿjuʔ=naŋ qɛpreʔ ne-səsmoʔⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-latch.hole=inside snake PFV:TR-cause.to.stay₂-3DU be-MED
o-tʰítʰɔ kəxʃəmⁿbrot ne-teⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-top.of.ladder pestle PFV:TR-put₂-3DU be-MED
 And they made a snake stay inside (the demon's) latch hole, and placed a pestle on the top of his ladder.
48. *q^hoʔ rewaŋ=kə rgɛnmufu=p^ha*
 SEQ rabbit=ERG old.woman's.son=place
 And the rabbit (said) to the old woman's son,
49. *p^hróm^hrom=sc^hənaʔ xp^hɛstot təⁿdɛ*
 coarse.flour=and upper.millstone IMP-take₃
q^hoʔ mk^hɛrke tə-fɛ
 SEQ ceiling IMP:UP-go
 "Take some coarse flour and an upper millstone, and go up the ceiling,"
50. *q^hoʔ tájo=kə támu nɛ-sə-wɛ tɛ-tsa=sc^hənaʔ*
 SEQ demon=ERG rain IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come₃ IPFV-say=SUB
nɛ-rⁿbe ɛ-nɛ-tə-lɛt
 2SG:POSS-urine IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-release
 "and when the demon says 'Let it rain!', rain down your piss!"
51. *p^hróm^hrom nɛ-səwɛ tɛ-tsa=sc^hənaʔ*
 sleet IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come₃ IPFV-say=SUB
p^hróm^hrom ɛ-nɛ-tə-χtor
 coarse.flour IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-scatter
 "And when he says 'Let it sleet!', scatter the coarse flour down!"

52. *q^hoʔ t^hɔʔ nɐ-səwɐ tɛ-tsa=sɕ^hənəʔ*
 SEQ thunderbolt IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come₃ IPFV-say=SUB
xp^hɛstot ɐ-nɐ-tə-wɛrɛt
 upper.millstone IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-throw
q^hoʔ tɔʃo ɐ-nɐ-tə-nt^hɐ tɛ-tsaʔ-cə
 SEQ demon IRR-IMP-2-kill₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“And when he says, ‘Let thunderbolts strike down!’, cast down the upper millstone and kill the demon,” it said.

53. *q^hoʔ tɔʃo=nəʔ o-k^hɛnanɿ jɐ-nəwɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ demon=DET 3SG:POSS-home PFV-come.back₂-MED
 And the demon returned to his home.

54. *q^hoʔ o-kómt^hɔ káxsɛ tə-kɐ-vraʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-courtyard leopard PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-tie₂=DET=ERG
tə-oy-ⁿdzeʔ-cə
 PFV-INV-bite₂-MED
 And he got bitten by the leopard tethered to his courtyard.

55. *q^hoʔ tɔʃo=kə*
 SEQ demon=ERG
ɛldzəy pɔldzəy¹⁸⁵ mə-wɐruʔ¹⁸⁶
 IDPH IDPH NEG-be.necessary

¹⁸⁵ This utterance (and what follows in 57, 59) mixes in words from Showu Rgyalrong to create a humorous effect. This storytelling strategy works since Tshobdun and Showu Rgyalrong speakers live in adjacent areas and thus have been in frequent contact and are familiar with each other’s language. The forms *ɛldzəy pɔldzəy*, and *ɛldza pɔldza* in (57), *ɛzgrəy pɛzgrəy* are ideophones based on the ideophone roots *ldzəy*, *ldza*, and *zgrəy*, all describing differing sensations of pain.

¹⁸⁶ The form *wɐru* here imitates the Showu verb *var̄* (where macron marks level tone) ‘be necessary’.

ⁿdenəʔ v-ⁿgre kə-náɰmet rəwəŋʔ¹⁸⁷ rcércv¹⁸⁸
 for 1SG:POSS-wages NMLZ-demand.payment I.am.coming be:EMPH
 And the demon said, “Ouch! Ouch! This is uncalled for, as I am coming to demand to be paid back!”

56. *qʰoʔ rjaləⁿjúʔ=nəŋ ó-ja le-rkoʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ latch.hole=inside 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR:IN-put.in₂-MED=SUB
qəprɛʔ=kə tə-o-ⁿdzeʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 snake=ERG PFV-INV-bite₂ be-MED

And when he put his hand into the latch hole, the snake bit him.

57. *qʰoʔ ɛldza páldza mə-wɛruʔ*
 SEQ IDPH IDPH NEG-be.necessary
ⁿdenəʔ v-ⁿgre kə-náɰmet rəwəŋʔ rcércv
 for 1SG:POSS-wages NMLZ-demand.payment I.am.coming be:EMPH
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And (the demon) said, “Ouch! Ouch! This is uncalled for, as I am coming to demand to be paid back!”

58. *qʰoʔ tʰi-ta tə-ɛre-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ stairs-top PFV:UP-go₂-MED=SUB
kəxʃəmbrot=kə nɛ-o-wɛrɛt ŋoʔ-cə
 pestle=INS PFV:DOWN-INV-throw₂ be-MED

When he went up the stairs, he was thrown downstairs by (stepping on) the pestle.

¹⁸⁷ The form *rəwəŋʔ* here imitates the Showu primary continuous verb form *rə-vī-ŋ* ‘I am coming’.

¹⁸⁸ The form *rcércv* here imitates the reduplicated Showu emphatic copula *rcɛ*.

59. *q^hoʔ* *éʒgrəʔ* *péʒgəʔ* *mə-wəruʔ*
 SEQ IDPH IDPH NEG-be.necessary
ˈdenəʔ *v-ˈgre* *kə-nákmet* *rəwəŋʔ* *rcércə*
 for 1SG:POSS-wages NMLZ-demand.payment I.am.coming be:EMPH
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And (the demon) said, “Ouch! Ouch! This is uncalled for, as I am coming to demand to be paid back!”

60. *q^hoʔ* *tájo* *mk^hərke=z* *te-mp^héri=nəʔ*
 SEQ demon ceiling=LOC IPFV:UP-look=SUB
rgənmutfu *ne-mti* *wəjo* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 old.woman’s.son PFV:TR-see₂ be.seen be-MED
 As the demon looked up, he saw and discovered the old woman’s son.

61. *q^hoʔ* *tájo=kə* *rgənmutfu=p^ha*
 SEQ demon=ERG old.woman’s.son=place
nəkánə *tʃ^hə* *kə-pe* *tə-tə-vre* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 where.you.are what NMLZ:PURP-do PFV:UP-2-go₂ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the demon said to the old woman’s son, “What did you go up there to do?”

62. *q^hoʔ* *rgənmutfu=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG
tómu *kə-səylət* *tə-vre-aŋ* *te-tsəʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 rain NMLZ:PURP-cause.to.release PFV:UP-go₂-1SG PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 And the old woman’s son said, “I have gone up to cause rain to come down.”

63. *q^hoʔ təʃo=kə*
 SEQ demon=ERG
jɐ məsto kə təmu nɐ-səwɐ té-tsə-cə=nəʔ
 EXCLM alright DM rain IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come₃ IPFV-say-MED=SUB
rgɛnmufju=nəʔ=kə ó-rⁿbe ne-lét ŋoʔ-cə
 old.woman's.son=ERG 3SG:POSS-release₂ PFV:TR-release₂ be-MED
 And the demon said, “Alright, (if you are so smart) then cause rain to come,” and then the old woman’s son let loose his urine.

64. *q^hoʔ tə-c^hɐ ŋoʔ q^hónə*
 SEQ 2-be.able be SEQ:EMPH
p^hróm^hrom nɐ-səwɐ te-tsəʔ-cə
 sleet IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And (the demon) said, “If you can do it, then cause sleet to come down!”

65. *q^hoʔ p^hróm^hrom ne-səwɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ coarse.flour PFV:DOWN:TR-cause.to.come₂-MED
 And (the old woman’s son) caused the coarse flour to come down.

66. *q^hoʔ məsto kə tə-c^hɐ q^hónə*
 SEQ alright DM 2-be.able SEQ:EMPH
t^hɔʔ nɐ-səwɐ te-tsəʔ-cə
 thunderbolt IMP:DOWN-cause.to.come₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And (the demon) said, “Alright, if you can do it, cause thunderbolts to come down!”

67. *q^hoʔ xp^hɛstot ne-wɐrɛt-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ upper.millstone PFV:DOWN:TR-throw₂-MED=SUB
təʃo ne-nt^he-cə
 demon PFV:TR-kill₂-MED
 And (the old woman’s son) threw down the upper millstone, and killed the demon.

68. *q^hoʔ* *rewaŋ=sc^hənaʔ* *rgənmutʃu=niʔ* *lɛ-ɛnəre-ⁿdzə*
SEQ rabbit=and old.woman's.son=DU PFV:UPRIVER-go.back₂-3DU
q^hoʔ *kákh'e* *ke-nəpeʔ-nə* *ké-tsə* *ɪ^hozʔ*
SEQ family PFV:TR-do₂-3PL GP-say be.the.rule
*tɛ-təmʔ tɛ-rɛ nɛ-wɛʔ-cə*¹⁸⁹

And rabbit and the old woman's son went back upriver, and lived together as a family, it is said.

¹⁸⁹ This is a formulaic expression uttered at the end of a story.

SECOND STORY OF OLD WOMAN'S SON AND RABBIT

rgenmutfusc^hənə? rewan

Narrator: Nyimathar

1. *şyonts^he=z rgenmutfu=cə? nɛ-to ɲoʔ-cə*
former.time=LOC old.woman's.son=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
Once there was an old woman's son.

2. *q^hoʔ rewan=cə? nɛ-to ɲoʔ-cə*
SEQ rabbit=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
And there was a rabbit.

3. *q^hoʔ kə-şɲi=cɛ nɛ-qɛrɲi-ⁿdzə-cə=nə?*
SEQ one-day=INDF IPFV:PST-hunt₂-3DU-MED=SUB
ⁿbron=cə? ne-nt^heʔ-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
wild.yak=INDF PFV-kill₂-3DU be-MED
One day, while they were hunting, they killed a wild yak.

4. *q^hoʔ ⁿdzə-prɛke o-vzər*
SEQ 3DU:POSS-campsite 3SG:POSS-side
ⁿbron o-fe ne-zⁿdɛʔ-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
wild.yak 3SG:POSS-meat IPFV:PST:TR-stack.up₂-3DU be-MED
And they were stacking up the wild yak's meat beside their campsite.

5. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnə? t^he-mp^hɛri-ⁿdzə=nə?*
SEQ afterwards IPFV-look-3DU=SUB
ɛzonu kəqɛrɲi? ɲsəmʔ=cə? lɛ-weʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə
youth hunter three=INDF PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-3PL be-MED
Afterwards, as they were looking downriver, (they saw) three young hunters came upriver.

6. *qʰoʔ rewaŋ=kə rɣɛnmɯtʃu o-vlo te-tʃet ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ rabbit=ERG old.woman's.son 3SG:POSS-idea PFV:TR-take.out₂ be-MED
 And the rabbit offered an idea to the old woman's son,

7. *káde=nəʔ*
 in.a.while=TOP
ɐ-mkɛ tə-vra qʰoʔ kəqɛrŋiʔ=rɐʔ nə-pʰa
 3SG:POSS-neck IMP-tether SEQ hunter=PL 3PL:POSS-place
ɐjiʔ ɐ-kʰezeʔ rewaŋ=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 1SG 1SG:POSS-dog rabbit=INDF exist=INS
sekóʔ=nəŋ ne-kɛ-lɛt qʰoʔ χso-sŋi ne-tso jɛrmɛ
 underbrush=inside IPFV-GP-release SEQ three-day IPFV-elapse about
kʰezeʔ=kə redaʔ mtsʰóʔ ntʰɐ
 dog=ERG game.animal be.many kill₃
qʰoʔ fe nəwəwot ŋoʔ ɐ-tə-tə-tsa
 SEQ meat bring:RDPL be IRR-IMP-2-say
 “In a while, you tell the hunters, ‘I have a rabbit as my dog. If one releases it into the underbrush, and in about three days, it will kill many animals and bring back meat from all over.’”

8. *qʰoʔ kəqɛrŋiʔ=rɐʔ=kə nə-kʰezeʔ tə-o-saxtu-jə tsə-nə=kə*
 SEQ hunter=PL=ERG 2SG:POSS-dog IMP-INV-sell-1PL say-3PL=INS
 “Since the hunters will then say, ‘Sell your dog to us!’”

9. *ɐ-tə-tə-sɛχtɛ qʰoʔ nə-ɐɐr lɛtʰɛ*
 IRR-IMP-2-allow.to.buy₃ SEQ 3PL:POSS-body thing
tʰə kə-toʔ məlɛj=nəʔ
 what NMLZ:SBJ-exist all=DET

kəmdiʔ v-nə-tə-nə-sákhε te-tsəʔ-cə
 all IRR-IMP-2-SPON-cause.to.hand.over₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“Let them buy (me), and take away everything they have on them,” it said.

10. *q^hoʔ kəmtʰa nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse₂=SUB

kəqerriʔ χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rəʔ rgenmutʃu=sc^hənəʔ rewayɲ=niʔ ⁿdzá-p^ha
 hunter three=DET=PL old.woman’s.son=and rabbit=DU 3DU:POSS-place
lɐ-zɣôʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-3PL be-MED

After a while, the three hunters got upriver to where the old woman’s son and the rabbit were.

11. *q^hoʔ ne-nəmp^heriri=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-look:RDPL=SUB

rgenmutʃu=nəʔ prəke vʒər t^hɐ-ɐmdzuʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 old.woman’s.son=DET campsite side CONT:LTR-sit₂ be-MED
o-vʒər=nəʔ rewayɲ ɐ-vra ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-side=DET rabbit PASS-tether be-MED

q^hoʔ méju o-vʒər=nəʔ ʃe ɐ-zⁿdε wəjo ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ further 3SG:POSS-side=DET meat PASS-stack₃ be.seen be-MED

As they were looking, the old woman’s son was sitting beside the campsite, the rabbit was tethered by his side, and furthermore, meat was stacked beside him.

12. *q^hoʔ kəqerriʔ χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rəʔ=kə rgenmutʃu ó-p^ha*
 SEQ hunt three=DET=PL=ERG old.woman’s.son 3SG:POSS-place
nəkánə tʰə tə-ɐsɐ-pe ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ
 where.you.are what 2-CONT:HTR-do be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED=SUB

When the three hunters said to the old woman’s son, “What are you doing over there?”

13. *rgɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə*

old.woman's.son=DET=ERG

ɛʝiʔ ɐ-kʰezeʔ rewaŋ ʃʝikə kə-ʒroʔ=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 1SG 1SG:POSS-dog rabbit very NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine=INDF exist=INS
ⁿge-qɛrŋiʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ
 IPFV-hunt-1SG be

And the old woman's son (said), "Since I have a very nice rabbit as my dog, I have been hunting."

14. *koʔ ɐ-kʰezeʔ sekóʔ=naŋ le-kɛ-lɛt*
 this 1SG:POSS-dog underbrush=insdie IPFV:UPRIVER-GP-release

qʰónə ne-kɛ-nɛʝi ⁿdenəʔ kə-reʔ mɛ
 SEQ:EMPH IPFV-GP-wait except NMLZ-be.necessary not.exist
χso-sŋi jɛrmɛ ne-tso
 three-day about IPFV-elapse

qʰoʔ redaʔ o-fe mtsʰót nɛwəwot fteʔ
 SEQ game.animal 3SG:POSS-meat be.much bring:RDPL be:EMPH
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED

"release this dog of mine, and one needs to do nothing else than wait. In about three days, it will bring back lots of game meat from all over," he said.

15. *qʰoʔ kəqɛrŋiʔ χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɛʔ=kə*

SEQ hunt three=DET=PL=ERG

rgɛnmufu o-kʰezeʔ nəjɛrmɛ kə-ʒroʔ
 old.woman's.son 3SG:POSS-dog so NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine
kə-toʔ=nəʔ ʃʝikə ne-nɛsme-nə-cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET very IPFV:TR-envy₂-3PL-MED

And the three hunters envied very much that the old woman's son had such a fine dog.

16. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmufu=p^ha nɐ-k^hezeʔ*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=place 2SG:POSS-dog
tə-o-sɛxtu-jə te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 IMP-INV-allow.to.buy-1PL PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 And they said to the old woman's son, "Sell us your dog!"
17. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə χfíkə ne-kə-znɛje=rɐʔ*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG very IPFV-NMLZ-begrudge=PL
te-nəʃpəzʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-pretend₂-MED
 And the old woman's son pretended to begrudge it very much.
18. *q^hoʔ q^hɐʔ rewaŋ=nəʔ kəqɛrɲiʔ χsəmʔ=rɐʔ te-saxtuʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA rabbit=DET hunter three=PL PFV:TR-allow.to.buy₂ be-MED
 And then agreed to let the three hunters buy the rabbit.
19. *o-ffɔv=nəʔ kəqɛrɲiʔ χsəmʔ=rɐʔ nə-lat^he t^hə*
 3SG:POSS-return=TOP hunter three=PL 3PL:POSS-object what
kə-toʔ mɛlɛj=rɐʔ
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist all=PL
kəmdiʔ ne-sək^hi ɲoʔ-cə
 all PFV:TR-cause.to.hand.over₂ be-MED
 In return, he made the three hunters hand over all their possessions.
20. *q^hoʔ kəqɛrɲiʔ=rɐʔ tə-χe=kə*
 SEQ hunter=PL NMLZ:EXTENT-be.happy₂=INS
rewaŋ te-nəmts^hi-nə-cə q^hoʔ jɐ-ɐnəre-nə-cə
 rabbit PFV:TR-lead.along₂-3PL-MED SEQ PFV-go.back₂-3PL-MED
 And the hunters happily led the rabbit back.

21. *q^hoʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ kəqɐŋŋiʔ χsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ=kə*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=TOP hunter three=DET=PL=ERG
rɛwəŋ tɛ-mts^{hi}-nə-cə
 rabbit PFV:TR-lead.along₂-3PL-MED
q^hoʔ sekóʔ=nəŋ ne-lêʔ-nə-cə
 SEQ underbrush=inside PFV:TR-release₂-3PL-MED

One day, the three hunters led the rabbit along and released it into the underbrush.

22. *q^hoʔ q^hɐʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ nə-stɛ=z*
 SEQ ANA=DET=PL ANA-where.something.is=LOC
χso-sŋi χso-rjaʔ məpér^hɛ ne-nɛʝi-nə-cə
 three-day three-night not.until IPFV:TR-wait.for₂-3PL-MED
 And three days and three nights, they waited right there for it.

23. *fənəʔ jɐ-kə-ɐwɛʔ fe jɐ-kɐ-wót*
 but PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂ meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-bring₂
κdɛnbe nɐ-mɛʔ-cə
 at.all IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED
 But nothing came back at all, and no meat was brought back at all.

24. *q^hoʔ kám^{tʰ}a nə-rtóχpe tə-sceʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ a.bit 3PL:POSS-suspicion PFV-grow₂ be-MED
 They grew a little suspicious.

25. *fənəʔ nəʔ=ntʰon=nəʔ*
 but ANA=also=TOP
χso-sle jɛrmɐ ne-nɛʝiʔ-nə-cə
 three-month about IPFV:TR-wait.for₂-3PL-MED

fənəʔ rewan ɛdɛnbe jɐ-kə-ɐwɛʔ mɐ ɲoʔ-cə
 but rabbit at.all PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂ not.exist be-MED

But despite that, they still waited for about three months, yet the rabbit did not return at all.

26. *qʰoʔ rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə tə-o-nəvlo-jə-cə=kə*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG PFV-INV-cheat₂-1PL-MED=INS

fə-nɛɲoroʔ-jə ɲoʔ te-mətsətsəʔ-nə-cə
 AND-seek-1PL be PFV:TR-say₂:RECP-3PL-MED

And they said to each other, “The old woman’s son fooled us, let’s go and look for him!”

27. *qʰoʔ rgɛnmutfu kə-nɛɲoroʔ nə-ntsʰa-nə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ old.woman's.son NMLZ:PURP-look PFV-depart₂-3PL be-MED

And they set out to look for the old woman’s son.

28. *qʰoʔ tajtfe ome kə-xtɛʔ*
 SEQ field very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big
o-vzər=cɛ jɐ-zɣôʔ-nə-cə=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-side=INDF PFV-arrive₂-3PL-MED=SUB

And when they arrived at a place beside a very big field,

29. *rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə tajtʃé=nəɲ kʰezeʔ ɲnez ɐsɐ-tʃʰɔ*
 old.woman's.son=DET=ERG field=inside dog two CONT:HTR-use.to.plough
ne-mti-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-see₂-3PL be-MED

they saw the old woman’s son using two dogs to plough the field.

30. *qʰoʔ kəqərŋiʔ χsəm=nəʔ=rɛʔ=kə rgɛnmutfú=pʰa*
 SEQ hunter three=DET=PL=ERG old.woman's.son=place
nɛʝiʔ kə-sɛnɛkʰoj jɛsŋiʔ tə-ko-nəvloʔ-jə-cə
 2SG NMLZ:SBJ-be.excessively.unkind the.other.day PFV-2→1-cheat₂-1PL-MED
jə-rjuʔ kəmdiʔ nə-ko-səkʰi ɲoʔ
 1PL:POSS-property all PFV-2→1-cause.to.hand.over₂ be
nə-o-séjwɛt-jə ʰdenəʔ kɛdɛnbe mə-joʝʔ ɲoʔ
 IMP-INV-return-1PL or.else at.all NEG-be.allowed be
te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED

“You are going too far! You cheated us and made us hand over all our belongings. By all means give all of it back to us,” the three hunters said to the old woman’s son.

31. *qʰoʔ rgɛnmutfu=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG
tə-wɛʰgiʔ-nə χfíkə tə-tʃjaŋʔ-nə ɲoʔ
 2-be.right-2PL very 2-be.correct-2PL be
fənəʔ koʔ təjtʃe kɛ-tʃʰɔ=cə le-səʝjoʝʔ-aŋ
 but this field INF-plough=INDF IPFV:UPRIVER-finish-1SG
qʰoʔ noŋme ɐ-kʰɛnəŋ fɛ-jə
 SEQ only.then 1SG:POSS-home go-1PL
qʰoʔ rjuʰdʒɐʔ pɔ-aŋ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ compensation make₃-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

The old woman’s son said, “You are right! You are correct! But let me finish ploughing this field, and then let’s go to my house and I will recompense you.”

32. *qʰoʔ te-nɛrtɔχpjet-nə=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-observe-3PL=SUB
nəʔ kʰezeʔ kə-tɛwɛ=niʔ=kə nɛkəʔ təjtʃe tséʝi
 ANA dog one-CL=DU=ERG that.near.you field so

kə-xteʔ=nəʔ *ké-tʃʰɔ* *joʏʔ* *mɐ=kə*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET INF-plough finish not.exist=DM

They observed and (thought), “It is out of the question for that team of two dogs to finish ploughing so much field of yours!”

33. *rgɛnmufu* *ó=pʰa* *jəjəreʔ* *ne-réski-jə=kə* *te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*
 old.woman’s.son 3SG=place 1PL IPFV-pull-1PL=DM PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED

So they said to the old woman’s son, “Let us pull (the plough for you)!”

34. *qʰoʔ* *rgɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə* *nə-mkɐ* *rtaxsi*
 SEQ old.woman’.son=DET=ERG 3PL:POSS-neck yoke
ne-rkoj-cə
 PFV:DOWN:TR-put.into₂-MED

And the old woman’s son put their necks into the yoke,

35. *qʰoʔ* *tɛmdzo* *lékjəy* *kə-rzərze* *ne-qəseʔ-cə*
 SEQ thorny.plant whip NMLZ:SBJ-be.long:RDPL PFV:TR-see₂-MED
qʰoʔ *kəqərriʔ* *nə-fqor* *rtártov* *te-lét-cə*
 SEQ hunter 3PL:POSS-buttocks beating.with.rod PFV:TR-release₂-MED

and he looked for a long whip of thistles and gave them a severe beating on their buttocks.

36. *qʰoʔ* *kəqərriʔ=rɐʔ* *rgɛnmufu* *kɐ-nəcot* *fóχtenəʔ*
 SEQ hunter=PL old.woman’s.son INF-get.back.at instead.of
tɛvəvo=kə *jɐ-pʰi-nə* *nɐ-re-cə*
 weep=INS PFV-escape₂-3PL IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED

And the hunters, before they could get back at the old woman’s son, had to run away weeping.

37. *nákasə kə-ŋən vlo tə-kə-tʃet=nə?*
 thus NMLZ:SBJ-be.vicious idea PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-take.out₂=DET
rəwəŋ nə-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə
 rabbit IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED

And it was the rabbit who came up with that vicious idea.

38. *qʰoʔ leʔ rjéspe ʒaʔ tʰə-əre=nə?*
 SEQ again quite.a.while time PFV-go₂=SUB

After quite some time went by,

39. *kəqərŋiʔ=rəʔ=kə jəsŋiʔ ŋónə*
 hunter=PL=ERG the.other.day TOP:EMPH
leʔ tə-əjəznəvloʔ-jə ŋoʔ=kə
 again PFV-cause.oneself.to.be.cheated₂-1PL be=INS
kətəla leʔ rɣənmutʃu ʃə-nəŋoroʔ-jə
 this.time again old.woman's.son AND-look-1PL
qʰoʔ kə-ŋólə=cəʔ nəcot-jə ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 SEQ NMLZ-be.nice=INDF get.back.at-1PL be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED

the hunters said, “The other day, we got ourselves cheated again, so this time let us go and look for the old woman’s son and get back at him well.”

40. *qʰoʔ leʔ rɣənmutʃu kə-nəŋoroʔ nə-ntsʰa-nə ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ again old.woman's.son NMLZ:PURP-look PFV-set.out₂-3PL be-MED

And again, they set out to seek out the old woman’s son.

41. *kəmɛqʰu=cɛ=nəʔ rɣənmutʃu ó-kʰe kɛ-zyot*
 afterwards=INDF=TOP old.woman'.son 3SG:POSS-house INF-arrive
nə-cʰəʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL be-MED

Sometime afterwards, they were able to get to the house of the old woman’s son.

42. *q^hoʔ k^hénaŋ tə-ɐre-nə=nəʔ*

SEQ home PFV:UP-go₂-3PL=SUB

rgɛnmufu=nəʔ mk^hɐrke tə-ɐre

old.woman's.son=DET ceiling PFV:UP-go₂

q^hoʔ təmnu ɐsɐ-ⁿdi wɛʃo ŋoʔ-cə

SEQ awl CONT:HTR-hold be.seen be-MED

And as they went up inside the house, they saw that the old woman's son had gone to the ceiling, holding an awl.

43. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmufú=p^ha nəkəna t^hə kə-pe*

SEQ old.woman's.son=place where.you.are what NMLZ:PURP-do

tə-tə-ɐre ŋoʔ jɛsŋiʔ leʔ

PFV:UP-2-go₂ be the.other.day again

tə-ko-nəvloʔ-jə-cə nəʃiʔ kə-sɛnɛk^hoj

PFV-2→1-cheat₂-1PL-MED 2SG NMLZ:SBJ-be.excessively.unkind

And they said to the old woman's son, "What are you doing going up there? The other day, you cheated us again. You went too far!"

44. *josŋiʔ=ta nə-saxsɛl reʔ ⁿdenəʔ*

today=top IMP-clarify be.necessary except

mɛ-joyʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə

NEG-be.allowed PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED

"Today, you must clarify the matter with us," they said.

45. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə*

SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG

χfíkə tə-tsjaŋ²-nə ŋoʔ

very 2-be.correct-2PL be

And the old woman's son said, "You are so right!"

46. *fənəʔ kʰə́kʰoz ɐ-qɐ kámʈʰa tʰɐ-mɛʔ*
 but here 1SG:POSS-free.time a.bit CONT:LTR-not.exist₂
təmkəmʃe o-ymórmɐ ká-vra tə-ɐre-aŋ
 Heavenly.god 3SG-moustache NMLZ:PURP-tether PFV:UP-go₂-1SG
 “But I am being a little occupied here. I have gone up to attach a moustache to Heavenly God,”

47. *qʰoʔ te-səχjoɣʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ IPFV-finish-1SG
mími ʃla nɐ-we-aŋ ʃteʔ-kə
 right.away immediately DOWN-come-1SG be:EMPH-DM
nə-oɣ-néji-aŋ-nə te-tsəʔ-cə
 IMP-INV-wait.for-1SG-3PL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “as soon as I am done, I will be down right away. Please wait for me,” he said.

48. *qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ kəqɐŋiʔ=rɐʔ nə-ymórmɐ ʰge-mɐ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA hunter=PL 3PL:POSS-moustache IPFV-not.exist be-MED
 The hunters did not have moustaches.

49. *qʰoʔ o-ymórmɐ kə-toʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-moustache NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET
χʃíkə ʰge-nɛsmɛʔ-nə tʃʰozʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV-envy-3PL be.the.rule be-MED
 And they were always very envious of those who had moustaches.

50. *qʰoʔ kəqɐŋiʔ=rɐʔ=kə rgɐnmʉʃú=pʰa*
 SEQ hunter=PL=ERG old.woman’s.son=place
təymórmɐ ké-vra tə-spoj=nəʔ
 moustache INF-tether 2-know.how=SUB

jəʃərvəʔ=ntʃʰon jə-ɣmórmə tə-vra reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 1PL=also 1PL:POSS-moustache 2-tether be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 And the hunters said to the old woman's son, "If you know how to tether (i.e. plant) moustaches, then you must plant moustaches for us also."

51. *qʰoʔ rɣənmutʃu=nəʔ=kə kɛʃʃet te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET=ERG no.problem PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the old woman's son said, "No problem!"

52. *qʰoʔ mkʰərke=z ʃla nə-nɔ-cə*
 SEQ ceiling=LOC immediately PFV:DOWN-come.out₂-MED

qʰoʔ təmnu te-ⁿdi nə-ɣmor=rəʔ
 SEQ awl PFV:TR:UP-hold₂ 3PL:POSS-mouth=PL
te-nətʃʰəvʔ¹⁹⁰ ne-səspə
 PFV:TR-IDPH₂ PFV:TR-make.hole₂

qʰoʔ nə-ɣmórmə te-vraʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-moustache PFV:UP-tether₂ be-MED

And he came down immediately from the ceiling, held up the awl, made small holes on their mouths, and attached moustaches to them.

53. *qʰoʔ kəqərɲiʔ=rəʔ leʔ kə-sənəcot ʃóχtenəʔ*
 SEQ hunter=PL again NMLZ-get.back.at.people before
təvəvo=kə jə-znəʃʃeʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 weeping=INS PFV-cause.to.go₂-3PL be-MED

And again the hunters, before they could get back at the old woman's son, were driven away weeping.

¹⁹⁰ A derived ideophone verb, from the root *tʃʰəv*, describing the sound of sth sharp entering a human body.

54. *q^hoʔ nəkəsə vloŋən tə-kə-tʃet=nəʔ*
 SEQ thus vicious.idea PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-take.out₂=DET
leʔ rewaŋ nɐ-ŋo ŋoʔ-cə
 again rabbit IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED
 And it was again the rabbit who provided such a vicious idea.

55. *q^hoʔ kəqerŋiʔ=reʔ=kə*
 SEQ hunter=PL=ERG
jəjəreʔ rgɛnmufu kɐ-nəcot=nəʔ
 1PL old.woman's.son INF-get.back.at=TOP
mə-o-səy^hɐ-jə ʃteʔ-cə=kə
 NEG-INV-cause.to.be.able-1PL be:EMPH-MED=INS
χsonərʒetʃórjəl ó-p^ha kə-séⁿdʒu ʃɐ-jə=kə
 PN 3SG:POSS-place NMLZ:PURP-accuse.people go-1PL=DM
te-mətsətsəʔ-nə-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂:RECP-3PL-MED
 And the hunters said to each other, “Since we got foiled getting back at the old woman’s son, let’s go and make accusation to the Yama.”

56. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmufu te-ⁿdʒu-nə ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ old.woman's.son PFV:TR-accuse₂-3PL be-MED
 And they sued the old woman’s son.

57. *q^hoʔ leʔ rewaŋ=kə*
 SEQ again rabbit=ERG
rgɛnmufu o-vlo te-tʃet-cə
 old.woman's.son 3SG:POSS-idea PFV:TR-take.out₂-MED
 And again the rabbit offered the old woman’s son an idea.

58. *nə-qeⁿbru?* *χfíkə* *tə-zrémph^hjor*
 2SG:POSS-male.yak very IMP-cause.to.be.dressed.up
q^ho? *fət^hi=z* *t^hv-fē*
 SEQ downriver.place=LOC IMP:DOWNRIVER-go
 “Dress up your male yak, and go downriver,”
59. *q^ho?* *χsonárze t^hórjəl* *tərke* *ⁿdε*
 SEQ PN mule ride₃
q^ho? *nə-βóri* *wi* *fte?^h=kə*
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-front come be:EMPH=INS
nə-nwətfe?^h-aη *q^ho?* *nə-kə-q^hro*
 IPFV:PST-be.at.fault₂-1SG SEQ 2SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-meet
t^hv-wε?^h-aη *ηo?* *v-tə-tá-tsə*
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂-1SG be IRR-IMP-2-say
 “as Yama will come up in front of you riding a mule, say (to him) ‘I (admit that I) am at fault! I have come downriver to meet you!’”
60. *q^ho?* *nə-qeⁿbru?^h=nə?* *χsonárze t^hórjəl* *v-tə-tə-sáⁿdε*
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-male.yak=DET PN IRR-IMP:UP-2-cause.to.ride₃
nəji?^h=nə? *o-tərke* *v-tə-tá-ⁿdε*
 2SG=TOP 3SG:POSS-mule IRR-IMP:UP-2-ride₃
q^ho? *v-lv-tə-zmékoi*
 SEQ IRR-IMP:UPRIVER-2-cause.to.go.in.front₃
 “And make the Yama mount your male yak, and as for you, mount his mule. And let him go upriver in front of you.”
61. *feto* *qésya*
 up.there mountain.slope.with.mudflow.traces
kə-to?^h=nə? *le-zyot=nə?*
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=DET IPFV:UPRIVER-arrive=SUB

ɛjiʔ=kə o-qɛⁿbruʔ znɛscer-aŋ ŋoʔ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 1SG=ERG 3SG:POSS-male.yak startle-1SG be=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“And when you arrive upriver at where there is a mountain slope with mudflow traces, I will startle his male yak,” it said.

62. *q^hoʔ rɣɛnmufu=nəʔ qɛⁿbruʔ=rɛʔ te-zrɛmp^hʃorʔ-cə*
 SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET male.yak=PL PFV:TR-cause.to.be.dressed.up₂-MED

q^hoʔ ʃɛt^{hi}=cɛ t^hɛ-ɛrɛ=nəʔ
 SEQ downriver.place=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂=SUB

And when the old woman’s son dressed up the male yak and went up to a certain place downriver,

63. *o-ɣóri=z χsonárzetʃ^hórjɛl tɛrkɛ ɛsɛ-ⁿdi*
 3SG:POSS-front=LOC PN mule CONT:HTR-ride

o-ɣóri lɛ-wɛʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-front PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-MED

before him, Yama came up in front toward upriver, riding a mule.

64. *q^hoʔ rɣɛnmufu=nəʔ=kə χsonárzetʃ^hórjɛl=p^ha*
 SEQ old.woman’s.son=DET=ERG PN=place

nɛ-nwɛtʃɛʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ
 IPFV:PST-be.at.fault₂-1SG be
nɛ-kə-q^hro t^hɛ-wɛʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 2SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-meet PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the old woman’s son said say to Yama, “I am at fault! I have come downriver to meet you!”

65. *q^hoʔ* *o-qeⁿbruʔ=nəʔ* *χsonárzetʃ^hórjɐl* *te-səⁿdi-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-male.yak=DET PN PFV:TR-cause.to.ride₂-MED
oʃiʔ=nəʔ *χsonárze tʃ^hórjɐl* *o-tərke* *te-ⁿdi-cə*
 3SG=TOP PN 3SG:POSS-mule PFV:TR-ride₂-MED
q^hoʔ *le-zmɛko-cə*
 SEQ PFV:UPRIVER:TR-cause.to.go.in.front₂-MED
 And he made Yama mount his male yak, and he himself mounted Yama's mule; and he made Yama go in front.
66. *q^hoʔ* *qésna* *ó-ta*
 SEQ mountain.slope.with.mudflow.traces 3SG:POSS-top
tʃoⁿbɛjʔ *ne-kə-fɛ* *kə-toʔ* *lɛ-zɣô-t-ⁿdzə=nəʔ*
 road IPFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-go NMLZ:SBJ-exist PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-3DU=SUB
 And when the two of them arrived at where the road went through a mountain slope with mudflow traces,
67. *tʃóq^hu* *qémp^hɔ=nəŋ*
 road.side.of.mountain oak.copse=inside
rewəŋ *lɛmɛstəŋjɛt* *ʃla* *t^hɐ-nəmdɛrʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 rabbit suddenly quickly PFV:DOWNRIVER-jump₂-MED=SUB
 and when the rabbit leapt suddenly downriver from inside an oak copse on the mountain side of the road,
68. *χsonárze tʃ^hórjɐl* *o-qeⁿbruʔ* *ne-sənp^ha-cə*
 PN 3SG:POSS-male.yak PFV:TR-cause.to.startle.and.flee₂-MED
 and caused Yama's male yak to startle and flee,

69. *q^hoʔ* *χsonáɾzɛtʃ^hórjɛl* *o-qɛⁿbruʔ=niʔ*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-male.yak=DU
qésna=ta *nɛ-ɛntɛr-ⁿdzə*
 mountain.slope.with.mudflow.traces=top PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height₂-3DU
q^hoʔ *koqɛⁿbruⁿbruʔ* *nɛ-set-ⁿdzə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ together.with-male.yak PFV:DOWN-die₂-3DU be-MED
 Yama, together with the yak, fell down from the slope with mudflow traces and were killed both.

70. *q^hoʔ* *təmdánə*
 SEQ in.the.end
kəqɛrŋiʔ *χsəmʔ=rɛʔ* *rgɛnmutfu* *kɛ-nəcot*
 hunter three=PL old.woman's.son INF-get.back.at
mə-nɛ-c^hɛʔ-nə *məkáts^hɛt* *χsonáɾzɛ tʃ^hórjɛl*
 NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL not.only PN
nɛ-sqor-nə=ntʃ^hon *rgɛnmutfu*
 PFV:TR-send.for₂-3PL=also old.woman's.son
kɛ-nəcot *mə-nɛ-c^hɛʔ-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 INF-see.justice NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL be-MED
 In the end, not only were the three hunters unable to get back at the old woman's son, they were unable to do so even when they sought the help of Yama.

KHYERGOPU THE TRICKSTER FOOLED A BALD HEADMAN

c^hərgópu^{kə} t̪əro[?] k̪atim[?] t̪əkənəvlo[?]cə ɣpe

Narrator: Nyimathar

1. *c^hərgópu=nə[?] k̪aru[?] o-s̪et^he*
 PN=DET Rgyalrong 3SG:POSS-place
k̪ə-s̪ənəvlo k̪ə-rkaj o-ff̪et
 INF-do.cheating NMLZ:SBJ-be.adept 3SG:POSS-fame
k̪ə-to[?]=cə[?] n̪ə-ŋo-cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 Khyergopu was a man in the Rgyalrong land famed for his skills in cheating people.

2. *q^ho[?] k̪ə-s̪ŋi=c̪e=nə[?] yr̪éko=ta n̪ə-nk̪e[?]-cə=nə[?]*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET ridge=top IPFV:PST-walk₂-MED=SUB
f̪eki ⁿge-mp^héri=nə[?]
 down.yonder IPFV:DOWN-look=SUB
ⁿgobl̪e=cə[?] w̪ɛjo n̪ə-ŋo
 bald.person=INDF be.seen IPFV:PST-be₂
 One day, as he was walking on a mountain ridge, he looked downhill and saw a bald man.

3. *q^ho[?] c^hərgópu=k̪ə nə[?] ó-p^ha*
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-place
q̪əj f̪eki ⁿgobl̪e
 EXCL down.yonder bald.person:VOC
ɣsu-s̪ŋi m̪ə-tso=z ɐ-p^hje
 three-day NEG-elapse=LOC 1SG:POSS-excrement
t̪ə-s̪əq̪érte t̪ə-ts̪ə[?]-cə
 1→2-cause.to.wear PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And Khyergopu called to that man, “Hey, you bald chap down there, before three days pass I will make you wear my excrement!”

4. *q^hoʔ ʔgoʔlɛ=nəʔ nánəz sɛtʰe=nəʔ*
 SEQ bald.person=DET there place=DET
tɛroʔ kə-timʔ=cəʔ nɛ-ŋo-cə
 headman NMLZ:SBJ-be.rich=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 The bald person was a rich headman of that region.

5. *q^hoʔ nákəsə kɛ-ɔʔɛsnəsmɛp^hɛvʔ mɛ-ŋɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ thus INF-cause.oneself.to.be.insulted NEG-experience₃ be-MED
q^hoʔ o-múru o-ʃet=kə jə-nə-ⁿbaʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-anger 3SG:POSS-extent=INS PROS-PFV-burst₂-MED
 He had never got himself insulted like that, and he almost exploded with anger.

6. *ʃənəʔ c^hərgópu=nəʔ ʃeto yréko=z t^hɛ-smo ʃieʔ-cə*
 but PN=DET up.there ridge=LOC CONT:LTR-be.present₂ be:EMPH-MED
q^hónə kɛ-pe=cəʔ nɛ-mɛʔ-cə
 SEQ:EMPH NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED
 But Khyergopu was up there on the mountain ridge, and there was nothing he could do about it.

7. *q^hoʔ ʃsu-sŋi nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ c^hərgópu=kə ɛrtʃo*
 SEQ three-day PFV-elapse₂=DET PN=ERG pilgrim
te-nəʃpəzʔ-cə q^hoʔ q^hɛnəʔ ʔgoʔlɛʔ ó-p^ha
 PFV:TR-disguise₂-MED SEQ ANA bald.person 3SG:POSS-place
ʃə-nɛ-nərmɛʔ-cə
 AND-IPFV-spend.the.night₂-MED
 After three days, Khyergopu disguised himself as a pilgrim, and went to spend the night at the bald person's place.

8. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə ˈgoʊlɐ=pʰa nɛjiʔ nɐ-kormɐ*
 SEQ PN=ERG bald.person=place 2SG 2SG:POSS-hair.of.head
mɐ-cə=kə ɛjiʔ=kə nɐ-kormɐ tɛ-kə-wi
 not.exist-MED=INS 1SG=ERG 2SG:POSS-hair IPFV:UP-NMLZ-grow
pɔ-aŋ ŋoʔ tɛ-tsəʔ-cə
 do₃-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

Khyergopu said to the bald person, “Since you have no hair on your head, I will make your hair grow out.”

9. *qʰoʔ ˈgoʊlɐ=nəʔ=kə a: kʰétʂo ptʂéfi*
 SEQ bald.person=DET=ERG EXCL thank.you
ʒfikə tə-mjɔn ŋoʔ tɛ-tsəʔ-cə
 very 2-be.in.one’s.debt be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the bald one said, “Ah, thank you very much, I am so grateful to you!”

10. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə qʰənəʔ=rɐʔ ná-pʰa*
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA=PL 3PL:POSS-place
tsəntoʔ=cəʔ ʃə-tə-nɛjoroʔ-nə
 scissors=INDF AND-IMP-find-2PL
ɛjiʔ ɛtoʔ nɛmkʰe=z tɛrmɐ ʃə-séʰbi-aŋ
 1SG up.here sky=LOC hair AND-ask.for-1SG
qʰoʔ nɐ-kormɐ vli-aŋ ŋoʔ tɛ-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-hair plant-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And Khyergopu said to them, “You go and find me a pair of scissors, I will go up in the sky and ask for hair, and plant hair for you.”

11. *qʰoʔ tsəntoʔ ʃə-tɛ-nɛjoroʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ scissors AND-PFV-see₂-3PL-MED

And they went away to look for scissors.

12. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=kə ó-p^həm=naŋ səqətsútsu*
 SEQ PN=ERG 3SG:POSS-bosom=inside stealthily
tərmə=rəʔ kə-mtʃəʔ ne-rkoʔ-cə
 hair=PL one-pinch PFV:TR-put.in₂-MED
 And Khyergopu stealthily put a pinch of hair in his bosom.

13. *q^hoʔ pərtseko tə-vre-cə*
 SEQ roof.platform PFV:UP-go₂-MED
q^hoʔ tərmə fə-ne-kə-səⁿbi te-nəʃpəzəʔ-cə
 SEQ hair AND-IPFV:PST-NMLZ-ask.for₂ PFV:TR-pretend₂-MED
 And he went upstairs to the roof platform, and pretended to be asking for hair.

14. *q^hoʔ tərmə ne-wôt-cə*
 SEQ hair PFV:DOWN:TR-bring₂-MED
q^hoʔ təjtʃəʃruʔ lə-vre-cə
 SEQ inner.side.of.field PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED
 He brought the hair downstairs, and then went up to the upper side of a field.¹⁹¹

15. *q^hoʔ pəliʔ=cəʔ te-ⁿdi-cə*
 SEQ felt.hat=INDF PFV:TR-take₂-MED
q^hoʔ pəliʔ=naŋ tərmə ne-rko
 SEQ felt.hat=inside hair PFV:TR:DOWN-put.in₂
o-p^hje ne-lêt-cə
 3SG:POSS-excrement PFV:TR:DOWN-release₂-MED
 And took a felt hat, put the hair in, and shitted in it.

16. *q^hoʔ ⁿgoklə=nəʔ te-sqərteʔ-cə*
 SEQ bald.person=DET PFV:TR-cause.to.wear₂-MED
 And he made the bald one wear (the hat).

¹⁹¹ The upper side of a hillside terrace field.

17. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
kəkoʔ pɔliʔ=nəʔ χso-sɲi χso-rjaʔ v-mə-nv-tə-mjv
 this felt.hat=DET three-day three-night IRR-NEG-IMP:DOWN-2-take₃
q^hónə nə-kormv wi fieʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ:EMPH 2SG-hair.of.head come be:EMPH PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “Don’t take this felt hat down until after three days and three nights, and your hair will surely come out,” Khyergopu said.

18. *q^hoʔ ⁿgoklv=kə q^hvnəʔ pɔliʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ bald.person=ERG ANA felt.hat=DET
χso-sɲi χso-rjvʔ ne-qvrtvʔ-cə
 three-day three-night IPFV:PST:TR-wear₂-MED
 And the bald one wore the felt hat for three days and three nights.

19. *q^hoʔ o-tfu st^hoʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ ó-p^ha=z*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
nevjiʔ v-tfu st^hoʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ tə-ʃkraʔ=kə
 2SG 1SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET 2-be.intelligent=INS
v-koʔ tə-rtvʔ tʃ^hə t^hv-ʃsəʔt-cə=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 1SG:POSS-head IMP-check what CONT:LTR-be.like₂-MED=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And then he said to his eldest son, “My eldest son, since you are intelligent, check my head and see what it is like now.”

20. *q^hoʔ o-tfu st^hoʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET=ERG
ó-pe o-koʔ te-rtv-cə=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-head PFV:TR-check₂-MED=SUB

é-pe təp^hje-ldi ne-mnəm[?] te-tsə[?]-cə
 1SG-father excrement-odor IPFV-give.off PFV:TR-say₂-MED

When his eldest son checked his father's head, he said, "Father smells of excrement!"

21. *q^ho[?] ⁿgoɣlɐ=nə[?] tə-rəmuru[?]-cə*
 SEQ bald.person=DET PFV-get.angry₂-MED
q^ho[?] o-tʃu st^ho[?] kə-xtɛ[?] ó-p^ha=z
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ:SBJ-be.big 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
skətɥɐn=nə[?] tə-tsə=kə
 bad.language=DET 2-say=DM

And the bald one got angry, and (said) to his eldest son, "You speak nothing but foul language!"

22. *q^ho[?] o-tʃu tələz[?]=nə[?] ó-p^ha=z*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son second=DET 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
ɐ-tʃu tələz[?]=nə[?] tə-ʃkra[?]=kə
 1SG:POSS-son second=DET 2-be.intelligent=INS
ɐ-ko[?] tə-rtɔ[?] tʃ^hə t^hɐ-ʃsət-cə=kə te-tsə[?]-cə
 1SG:POSS-head IMP-check what CONT:LTR-be.like₂-MED=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And he said to his second son, "My second son, as you are intelligent, check my head and see what it is like."

23. *q^ho[?] o-tʃu tələz[?]=nə[?]=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-on second=DET=ERG
ó-pe o-ko[?] te-rtɔ-cə=nə[?]
 3SG:POSS-father 3SG:POSS-head PFV-check₂-MED=SUB
le[?] o-tʃu st^ho[?] kə-xtɛ[?]=kə te-tsə[?]=kəsə=nə[?]
 again 3SG:POSS-son most NMLZ-be.big=ERG PFV:TR-say₂=like=DET

nɛ-koʔ *ó-ta* *kətaʔ* *təpʰje* *wɛjo*
 2SG:POSS-head 3SG:POSS-top really excrement be.seen

When he checked it thoroughly, (he said) “Father, my two brothers are right. There is really excrement on your head.”

27. *tʂʰucənəmána*

perhaps

jɛsɲiʔ *qəj* *ɐ-pʰje* *tɛ-səqérte*
 the.other.day EXCL 1SG:POSS-excrement 1→2-cause.to.wear
tə-kə-tsaʔ=nəʔ *nɛ-tə-tʰəɣ* *másoⁿdenəʔ* *tɛ-tsaʔ-cə*
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say₂=DET PFV-2-meet₂ DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“Perhaps you ran into the man who said ‘Hey, I will make you wear my excrement.’”

28. *qʰoʔ* *ⁿgoɪlɛ=nəʔ* *təpʰje* *ɐsɐ-qərte* *nɛ-sərtə-cə*
 SEQ bald.person=DET excrement CONT:HTR-wear PFV:TR-realize₂-MED

And the bald one realized that he was wearing excrement.

29. *qʰoʔ* *ɛhɛhɛɛ:*
 SEQ EXCL

ʃórⁿdzi *ɐrtʃo=nəʔ=kə*
 the.day.before.yesterday pilgrim=DET=ERG
tə-ɔjɛsənəvloʔ-aŋ-cə *jɐ* *nɛ-səsi-cə*
 PFV-cause.oneself.to.be.cheated₂-1SG-MED DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And he thought, “Alas! I got myself tricked by that pilgrim the day before yesterday!”

30. *qʰoʔ* *leʔ* *o-múru=kə* *jə-nə-ⁿbaʔ-cə*
 SEQ again 3SG:POSS-anger=INS PROS=PFV-burst₂-MED

And again he almost exploded with anger.

31. *q^hoʔ rəmde o-kə-χtaʔ lə-ɐre-cə*
 SEQ track 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-chase PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED
 And he went upriver to track him down.

32. *q^hoʔ fəli=cɛ lə-zɣôʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ upriver=INDF PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂=SUB
rgonbe=cəʔ wɛʝo ŋoʔ-cə
 monastery=INDF be.seen be-MED
 When he arrived at a certain place upriver, he found a monastery there.

33. *q^hoʔ rgonbe cent^haŋ ó-p^hi=nəʔ*
 SEQ monastery fresco 3SG:POSS-underside=DET
c^hərgópu o-mdzorʔ fɔkótse kə-támdzor ɛsɛ-ⁿdi
 PN 3SG:POSS-lap stone one-lapful CONT:HTR-hold
q^hoʔ ó-p^həm=z rɣəlkor=rɐʔ kámʃ^ha ne-nəʃkro
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-bosom=LOC silver.coin=PL a.bit IPFV-reveal
q^hoʔ t^hɐ-smo wɛʝo-nəŋo
 SEQ CONT:LTR-be.present₂ be.seen-MED
 And there Khyergopu was, under the fresco of the monastery holding a lapful of stones, and some silver coins were partially revealed in his bosom.

34. *q^hoʔ ⁿgoʝlɐ=nəʔ=kə c^hərgópu ó-p^ha*
 SEQ bald.person=DET=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-place
c^hərgəŋ nəʝiʔ kə-sɛnəvlo
 old.chap 2SG NMLZ:SBJ-cheat.people
ⁿdeʔ ké-p^hi mə-nɐ-tə-c^hɐ-cə wɐ te-tsəʔ-cə
 more INF-escape NEG-IPFV:PST-2-be.able-MED DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the bald one said to Khyergopu, “You old swindler! You can’t run away anymore, can you?”

35. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə nɛ-kʰe nɛ-ⁿde*
 SEQ PN=ERG 2SG:POSS-mouth IMP-hold₃
 And Khyergopu said, “Hold your mouth!”

36. *kʰəʔkʰoz cɛntʰaŋ kɛ-nɛmdzu qʰri kɛ-juʔ tɛmɛ*
 here fresco INF-guard.over pigeon INF-guard.against job
χʰíkə kə-vde=cəʔ wɛʃo
 very NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=INDF be.seen
 “I’ve found a very good job here guarding over the fresco against pigeons.”

37. *koʔ ne-kɛ-nɛmdzu qʰoʔ vlɛrgɛ=rɛʔ tʰe-krozʔ-nə=nəʔ*
 this IPFV-GP-guard SEQ monk=PL IPFV:OUT-come.off.class-3PL=SUB
rɲalkor kʰe-lvaʔ koy-ⁿbiʔ-nəŋo te-tsəʔ-cə
 silver.coin each-piece GP:INV-give-MED PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “One watches over this, and when the monks come off from class, each of them will give one a silver coin,” he said.

38. *qʰoʔ ⁿgoʔlɛ=nəʔ=kə cɛntʰaŋ ne-kɛ-nɛmdzu tsaxtsaʔnəʔ*
 SEQ bald.person=DET=ERG fresco IPFV-GP-guard merely
vlɛrgɛ=rɛʔ=kə rɲalkor ántsɛʃi kə-lɛn koy-ⁿbiʔ-cə
 monk=PL=ERG silver coin.so NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity GP:INV-give-MED
qʰoʔ nəʔ χʰíkə vde-cə ne-səsi-cə
 SEQ ANA very be.good-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And the bald one thought, “One merely stands guard and the monks give away so many silver coins! This is very good!”

39. *qʰoʔ ⁿgoʔlɛ=nəʔ=kə cʰərgópu ó-pʰa*
 SEQ bald.person=DET=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-place
ʃórⁿdzi tə-ko-nəvloʔ-aŋ
 day.before.yesterday PFV-2→1-cheat₂-1SG

nə-p^hjeʔ=rəʔ *tə-ko-səqərtəʔ-aŋ*
 2SG:POSS-excrement=PL PFV-2→1-cause.to.wear₂-1SG

And the bald one (said) to Khyergopu, “You cheated me the day before yesterday, and made me wear your excrement,”

40. *ʃənəʔ* *nəkənəʔ* *kə-némdzu* *təmɐ=nəʔ* *ɐjiʔ* *nə-o-znətəʔ-aŋ*
 but that.near.you INF-guard job=DET 1SG IMP-INV-yield-1SG
q^hónə *poj* *ʃteʔ=kə*
 SEQ:EMPH do₃ be:EMPH=DM

“but yield to me (the task of) guarding it, and (my grievances against you) are settled.”

41. *méju* *é-ⁿbri* *ɐ-tomde=rəʔ* *jɐ-nə-tsomʔ*
 further 1SG:POSS-horse 1SG:POSS-gun=PL IMP-SPON-take.thither
q^hónə *tenaxpjet¹⁹²=kə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ so.be.it=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“Furthermore, take away my horse and my gun, and so be it,” he said.

42. *q^hoʔ* *c^hərgópu=kə* *ʃííkə* *nə-kə-znɐjeʔ* *te-nəʃpəzʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG very PFV-NMLZ-begrudge₂ PFV:TR-pretend₂-MED

And Khyergopu pretended to begrudge it very much.

43. *q^hoʔ* *ⁿgoɐlɐ* *ó-p^ha=z*
 SEQ bald.person 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
ʃteʔ *ʃteʔ* *jɐsɲiʔ* *tə-tɐ-nəvloʔ-cə=kə*
 be:EMPH be:EMPH the.other.day PFV-1→2-cheat₂-MED=INS
q^hónə *nə-tɐ-znətəʔ* *tʃĕt* *ⁿdenəʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ:EMPH IPFV-1→2-yield be.necessary DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And he said to the bald one, “Alright, alright, I cheated you the other day, so I just have to yield (the task) to you.”

¹⁹² A frozen unanalyzable expression uttered when one is resigned to an undesirable situation.

44. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=kə ⁿgoblə ó-ⁿbri=rəʔ te-ⁿdi-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG bald.person 3SG:POSS-horse=PL PFV:TR:UP-mount₂-MED
o-tomde=rəʔ te-fkor-cə q^hoʔ jə-nə-ʃéʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-gun=PL PFV:UP:TR-put.on.back₂-MED SEQ PFV-SPON-go₂-MED

And Khyergopu mounted the bald one's horse, carried the gun up on back, and left.

45. *q^hoʔ ⁿgoblə=nəʔ cənt^haŋ kə-némdu te-je ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ bald.person=DEF fresco INF-guard PFV:TR-begin₂ be-MED

And the bald one began to guard the fresco.

46. *q^hri k^he-rdoʔ le-wi¹⁹³ cənt^haŋ ó-ta*
 pigeon each-CL IPFV:UPRIVER-come fresco 3SG:POSS-top
ⁿge-nəne=nəʔ ʃkótse k^he-rdoʔ te-wérət ŋoʔ-cə
 IPFV:DOWN-alight=SUB stone each-CL IPFV:UP-throw be-MED

Each time a pigeon came up to light on the fresco, he would throw a stone at it.

47. *q^hoʔ vlərge=rəʔ t^hə-kroz-nə*
 SEQ monk=PL PFV:OUT-come.off.class₂-3PL
o-p^hjiʔ t^hə-nlɔ-nə-cə=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-outside PFV:OUT-exit₂-3PL-MED=SUB

When the monks came off a (sutra chanting) session and came out,

48. *q^hənəʔ ⁿgoblə=nəʔ=kə cənt^haŋ ó-ta*
 ANA bald.person=DET=ERG fresco 3SG:POSS-top
ʃkótse te-wérət ne-mti-nə-cə məkəts^hət
 stone IPFV-throw PFV:TR-see₂-3PL-MED not.only
cənt^haŋ ó-ʋə=rcənəʔ
 fresco 3SG:POSS-face=EMPH

¹⁹³ The present imperfective creates an effect of vividness.

rtsʰartsʰəmɛlɛʔ *ne-səʏso* *wɛʝo* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 IDPH¹⁹⁴ PFV:TR-cause₂ be.seen be-MED

they saw that the bald one was throwing stones at the fresco, and moreover, he had made a big mess of the surface of the fresco.

49. *qʰoʔ* *vlɛrge=rɛʔ* *χʃikə* *nə-múru* *tə-ⁿgu-cə*
 SEQ monk=PL very 3PL:POSS-anger PFV-rise₂-MED
qʰoʔ *qʰɛnəʔ* *ⁿgoʝlɛ=nəʔ=rcənəʔ*
 SEQ ANA bald.person=DET=EMPH
táβⁿdət=kə *vdajaʔ*¹⁹⁵ *ne-lêʔ-nə-cə*
 beating=INS severely PFV:TR-do₂-3PL-MED

The monks got very angry, and gave the bald one a severe beating.

50. *qʰoʔ* *ⁿgoʝlɛ=nəʔ=kə* *cʰərgópu=kə* *leʔ*
 SEQ bald.person=DET=ERG PN=ERG again
tə-ɔjɛznəvloʔ=nəʔ *noŋme-ⁿdenəʔ*
 PFV-cause.oneself.to.be.cheated₂=SUB until.now-except
me-ne-sərtɔ-cə
 NEG-PFV:TR-realize₂-MED

Only then did the bald one realize that he once more got himself fooled by Khyergopu.

51. *qʰoʔ* *χéwo* *ne-səsi-cə*
 SEQ EXCL PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And he thought, “Damn!”

¹⁹⁴ An ideophone describing sth hard getting all kinds of dents and holes.

¹⁹⁵ An adverbial describing severity of beatings, from Tibetan <rdung.yag>.

52. *fə̀nəʔ* *kə-pe* *nə-meʔ-cə*
but NMLZ:SBJ:U-do IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED
lastoŋ *kʰénaŋ* *tʰə-ənəre* *nə-re-cə*
empty-handed home PFV:DOWNRIVER-go.back₂ IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED
But there was nothing he could do, and he just had to go back home empty-handed.

KHYERGOPU THE TRICKSTER TEACHES A CHIEFTAIN HOW TO TELL LIES

c^hərgópu

Narrator: Lemi

1. *ʃɲonts^he=cɛ=z* *rjélpo=cəʔ* *ⁿge-toʔ* *ɲoʔ-cə*
 former.time=INDF=LOC chieftain=INDF IPFV-exist be-MED
 Once there was a chieftain.
2. *q^hoʔ* *rjélpo=nəʔ* *c^hərgópu=p^ha*
 SEQ chieftain=DET PN=place
tətʃe *kə-vzjaŋ* *ⁿge-səseʔ* *ɲoʔ-cə*
 lying INF-learn IPFV-want₃ be-MED
 The chieftain wanted to learn how to tell lies from Khyergopu.
3. *q^hoʔ* *kə-ʃɲi=cɛ=nəʔ* *rjélpo=nəʔ* *tə-rənts^ha-cə*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET chieftain=DET PFV-make.preparations₂-MED
 One day, the chieftain made preparations.
4. *koχtʃen* *táⁿge* *te-ⁿgeʔ-cə*
 satin clothes PFV:TR-put.on₂-MED
o-ɲjɔʔ=rɐʔ *te-ⁿdi-cə* *ⁿbri* *te-ⁿdi-cə*
 3SG:POSS-servant=PL PFV:TR-take₂-MED horse PFV:TR-ride₂-MED
q^hoʔ *k^hepo=rɐʔ* *te-fkor-cə*
 SEQ rifle=PL PFV:TR-carry.on.back₂-MED
q^ho *c^hərgópu* *kə-qése* *nə-nts^ha* *ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN NMLZ:PURP-seek PFV-set.out₂ be-MED
 He put on his satin clothes, took his servants, mounted his horse, carried his rifle up on back, and set out to look for Khyergopu.

5. *qʰoʔ tʃoʰbajʔ=cɛ ɐrtʃo=cəʔ ne-mti-cə*
 SEQ road=INDF pilgrim=INDF PFV:TR-see₂-MED
 Somewhere on his way, he saw a pilgrim.

6. *qʰoʔ ɐrtʃo=kə qʰɛʔ=rɐʔ nə-pʰa=nəʔ*
 SEQ pilgrim=ERG ANA=PL 3PL:POSS-place=DET
ŋɛtʃʰəz tə-fɐ-nə ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 where 2-go-2PL be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the pilgrim said to these people, “Where are you going?”

7. *qʰoʔ jəjərəʔ cʰərgópu=pʰa*
 SEQ 1PL:EXCL PN=place
tɛtʃe kə-vzjan jə-fɐ-jə ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 lying NMLZ:PURP-learn PROS-go-1PL be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 They said, “We are going to learn the art of lying from Khyergopu.”

8. *qʰoʔ ɐrtʃo=nəʔ=kə a: cʰərgópu=nəʔ ɐjiʔ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ pilgrim=DET=ERG EXCL PN=DET 1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The pilgrim said, “Ah, I am Khyergopu himself.”

9. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə josŋiʔ ŋónə*
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG today TOP
ɐ-ɬóri ne-sto-cə
 1SG:POSS-front IPFV-be.straight₂-MED
qʰoʔ tɛtʃe kɐ-pe=cəʔ kəmtʃʰa nɐ-o-sám-tsi-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ lying INF-do=INDF some IMP-INV-teach-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The chieftain said, “Today is my lucky day! Teach me something about lying.”

10. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=nəʔ=kə kə-sám̥tsi=nəʔ tɐ-sám̥tsi*
 SEQ PN=DET=ERG INF-teach=DET 1→2-teach
 And Khyergopu said, “As for teaching, yes, I will teach you.”
11. *fənəʔ tətʃe kə-pe v-jəʃe mə-tə-ⁿdi-aŋ-cə*
 but lying INF-do 1SG:POSS-book NEG-PFV-take₂-1SG-MED
q^hoʔ fə-kə-roʔ ləʔ-cə jɐ
 SEQ AND-INF-fetch have.no.choice.but-MED DM
 “But I have not taken my book on lying with me. I will have to go and fetch it,” he said.
12. *kə-nkə ne-fɐ-aŋ joyʔ fənəʔ ɐrq^he-cə*
 INF-walk IPFV-go-1SG be.allowed but be.far-MED
q^hoʔ né-ⁿbri té-ⁿdi-aŋ ləʔ
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-horse IPFV-ride-1SG have.no.choice.but
máso te-tsəʔ-cə
 DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “I may go by foot, but it will be far. So I have to ride on your horse, don’t I?” he said.
13. *q^hoʔ rjélpo=nəʔ=kə vde q^hoʔ ⁿbri tə-ⁿde te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG be.good SEQ horse IMP-ride₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The chieftain said, “Alright. Ride my horse!”
14. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=kə ⁿbri te-ⁿdi-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG horse PFV:TR-ride₂-MED
q^hoʔ ⁿbri o-zgɛ=ta tɛqɐv ⁿge-sétʃɐ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ horse 3SG:POSS-back=top needle IPFV:DOWN-prick₃ be-MED
ⁿbri te-znɐmderámder ɲoʔ-cə
 horse PFV-cause.to.jump₂:RDPL be-MED
 Khyergopu mounted the horse, pricked a needle repeatedly into the horse’s back, and made the horse leap about.

15. *ozorʔ koʔ né-ⁿbri=nəʔ rətʂi-cə=kə*
 while this 2SG:POSS-horse=DET be.shy.of.strangers-MED=INS
né-ⁿge nɛ-rtɛ te-ⁿge-aŋ te-qérte-aŋ
 2SG:POSS-clothes 2SG:POSS-hat IPFV-put.on-1SG IPFV-wear(.hat)-1SG
q^hoʔ nɛ-k^hepo=rɛʔ te-fkoʔ-aŋ tʃét-cə te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-rifle=PL IPFV-carry.on.back-1SG be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 Meanwhile, he said, “Since your horse is shy of strangers, I will have to put on your clothes and your hat, and put your rifle on my back.”

16. *q^hoʔ rjélpo=nəʔ=kə vde vde te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG be.good be.good PFV:TR-say₂-MED
q^hoʔ ó-ⁿge o-rtɛ o-k^hepo
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-clothes 3SG:POSS-hat 3SG:POSS-rifle
kəmdiʔ ne-sɛk^hək^hi-cə
 all PFV:TR-hand.to₂:RDPL-MED
 The chieftain said, “Alright, alright,” and handed his clothes, his hat, and his rifle all to him.

17. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN=DET
təciʔ=nəŋ kə-¹⁹⁶nɛⁿgoʔ p^héri tə-nlɔ-cə
 river=inside PFV-cross₂ other.bank PFV:UP-come.out₂-MED
 And Khyergopu waded (on horseback) across the river and came up at the other side of the river.

¹⁹⁶ Eastward or *cislocative* orientation is used here for the meaning ‘toward center of the river’.

18. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
kə-sənóvlo=nəʔ nəʔ te-kə-so ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 GP-do.cheating=DET ANA IPFV-GP-do be:EMPH PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And Khyergopu said, “Rip people off is just like this!”
19. *q^hoʔ rjélpo o-múru=rcənəʔ*
 SEQ chieftain 3SG:POSS-anger=TOP:EMPH
c^hərgópu v-nə-set o-m^hu=cəʔ
 PN IRR-PFV-die 3SG:POSS-curse=INDF
ʃə-ⁿge-kə-sələt reʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə
 AND-IPFV-GP-cause.to.do be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 The chieftain got so angry and thought, “I must go and make someone put a curse of death on Khyergopu.”
20. *q^hoʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ prak^hóη=p^hi*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET cliff.cave=under
t^hv-kə-rənts^hem=cəʔ ne-mti ηoʔ-cə
 CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-meditate₂=INDF PFV:TR-see₂ be-MED
 One day, he saw someone who was meditating under a cliff cave.
21. *təmdátsənəʔ t^hv-kə-rənts^hem=nəʔ*
 in.truth CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-meditate₂=DET
c^hərgópu t^hv-ηo me-t^he-nə-sərtə ηoʔ-cə
 PN CONT:LTR-be₂ NEG-CONT:LTR-SPON-realize₂ be-MED
 He was not aware that the meditating person was in fact Khyergopu himself.

22. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə q^hənəʔ ó-p^ha*
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-place
jvsnjɪʔ c^hərgópu tə-o-nəvloʔ-aj=kə
 the.other.day PN PFV-INV-cheat₂-1SG=INS
o-mt^hu=cəʔ kə-lət vre-sənoz te-tsəʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-curse=INDF INF-release Q-be.able PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the chieftain said to that person, “Khyergopu cheated on me the other day. Could you place a curse on him?”

23. *q^hoʔ q^hənəʔ=kə keffət¹⁹⁷ c^hv-aj te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA=ERG EXCL be.able-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And he replied, “No problem, I can do it.”

24. *q^hoʔ fsáfsi t^he-wi-aj kə*
 SEQ tomorrow IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come-1SG DM
mt^hotk^haj v-nə-tə-saxsiʔ-nə k^hevísi=rəʔ v-nv-tə-ʃk^hi-nə
 chapel IRR-IMP-2-clean.up-2PL rug=PL IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-spread-2PL
q^hoʔ kəⁿdze kə-mimʔ=sc^hənəʔ v-rjɔⁿbɔ v-tə-tə-pe-nə
 SEQ food NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty=and 1SG:POSS-popped.grains IRR-IMP-2-make-2PL
q^hoʔ v-tə-tə-səpəpe-nə te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ IRR-IMP-2-do.RDPL-2PL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “Since I will come downriver to you tomorrow, clean up the chapel, spread down a woolen rug, make tasty food and popped grains for me! You do the above things,” he said.

25. *q^hoʔ nəʔosáfsi=nəʔ t^hv-ereʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ next.day=DET PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂ be-MED
 And the next day, he went downriver.

¹⁹⁷ An exclamation meaning ‘No problem!’.

26. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ=rɐʔ=kə tʃə kə-reʔ*
 SEQ chieftain=DET=PL=ERG what NMLZ:SBJ-be.needed
kəmdiʔ tsʰəntsʰənʔ ne-sətsəʔ-nə¹⁹⁸ ɲoʔ-cə
 all IDPH¹⁹⁹ PFV:TR-cause₂-3PL be-MED

And the chieftain and the others had properly prepared all that was needed.

27. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə mtʃʰotkʰaŋ kʰevísi ó-ta tə-ɐmdzuʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG chapel rug 3SG:POSS-top PFV-sit₂-MED

And Khyergopu sat down on the rug in the chapel.

28. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=rɐʔ nə-pʰa tʃeʔ kə-kéntse=scʰənəʔ*
 SEQ chieftain=PL 3PL:POSS-place tea one-bronze.teapot=and
tʃʰəŋɲóʰbɔ=nəʔ tə-wot-nə te-tsəʔ-cə
 parched.grains=DET IMP:UP-bring-2PL PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And he said to the chieftain and others, “Bring me a pot of tea and parched grains!”

29. *qʰoʔ nəʔ=rɐʔ te-sətsətsom-nə-cə*
 SEQ ANA=PL PFV:UP-take₂:RDPL-3PL-MED

And they took all these things up(stairs) to him.

30. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə tʃʰəŋɲóʰbɔ kə-təkʰe te-ⁿdzɐ ɔʒorʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG parched.grains one-mouthful IPFV-eat₃ while
tʃeʔ kʰe-χov né-tʰe ɲoʔ-cə
 tea each-mouthful IPFV-drink₃ be-MED

¹⁹⁸ The verb *sə-tsə* ‘cause to say’ is used idiomatically with ideophones denoting results; in this case *tsʰəntsʰənʔ sə-tsə* ‘do sth properly, flawlessly’.

¹⁹⁹ An ideophone meaning ‘properly’.

*qʰoʔ tʰɐ-mim ɲoʔ-cə ko*²⁰⁰

SEQ CONT:LTR-be.tasty₂ be-MED DM

And while eating each mouthful of parched grains, Khyergopu drank a mouthful of tea.
(This, you know, was delicious!)

31. *qʰoʔ oʒorʔz ó-ja kɐ-pe te-je*
SEQ meanwhile 3SG:POSS-hand INF-do PFV:TR-begin₂

*cʰərgópu kóʔ=ta*²⁰¹ *ɐ-mə-nɐ-fɐ=nəʔ*
PN this=top IRR-NEG-PFV-go=SUB

*nəʔ ó-ta ɐ-nɐ-fɐ*²⁰²
that 3SG:POSS-top IRR-PFV-go

Meanwhile, he began to move his hands about saying,²⁰³ “If the curse does not befall this (Khyergopu), let it befall that (Khyergopu)!”

32. *qʰoʔ kəmaʔ=rɐʔ=kə jəqrəkə te-mətsətsə-nə*
SEQ other=PL=ERG EXCL²⁰⁴ IPFV-say:RDPL-3PL

And the other were saying to each other, “Yeah!”

33. *cʰərgópu o-mʰu jə-fɐ ɲoʔ jɐ ne-səsiʔ-nə-cə*
PN 3SG:POSS-curse PROS-go be DM PFV:TR-think₂-3PL-MED

They thought, “The curse is about to fall on Khyergopu.”

²⁰⁰ The sentence-final particle *ko* adds an explanatory comment on the preceding clause.

²⁰¹ When casting curses, one usually writes down the victim’s name on a piece of paper or have a photo or other personal belonging of his and say *o-mʰu kóʔ=ta ɐ-nɐ-fɐ* ‘Let the curse befall him/her!’

²⁰² Jussive use of the irrealis.

²⁰³ Pretending to be exercising his curse-casting magic.

²⁰⁴ An exclamation expressing approval at what is said.

34. *q^hoʔ nəʔomer=nəʔ c^hərgópu=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ that.night=DET PN=DET=ERG
*kə-mer=ce=nəʔ c^hərgópu=kə nə-toŋraŋcaʔ*²⁰⁵
 one-night=INDF=DET PN=ERG 2PL:POSS-white.conch.name
kə-mərku wi ŋoʔ-cə
 NMLZ:PURP-steal come be-MED
 That night, Khyergopu (said), “One of these nights, Khyergopu is going to come and steal your famous white conch,”

35. *támɛ=rɐʔ kətáyre v-kə-tə-rⁿgu-nə*
 woman=PL together IRR-IMP-2-sleep-2PL
vlerge=rɐʔ kətáyre v=kə-tə-rⁿgu-nə
 monk=PL together IRR=IMP-2-sleep-2PL
tətʃu=rɐʔ kətáyre v=kə-tə-rⁿgu-nə
 young.man=PL together IRR=IMP-2-sleep-2PL
 “you women sleep together! You monks sleep together! You men sleep together!”

36. *q^hoʔ nə-toŋraŋcaʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 2PL:POSS-white.conch.name=DET
k^həxp^he ó-p^hi v-nv-tə-rko-nə
 grinder 3SG:POSS-underside IRR-IMP-2-put-2PL
 “And put your famous white conch under the grinder,”

37. *q^hoʔ tʃəjpe=z ⁿboleʔ v-nv-tə-səvjoskeʔ-nə*
 SEQ cowpen=LOC male.cattle IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-harness-2PL
kómt^hɔ=z ⁿbri v-t^hv-tə-səvjoskeʔ-nə te-tsəʔ
 courtyard=LOC horse IRR-IMP-2-saddle-2PL PFV:TR-say₂
 “and harness the male cattle in the cowpen, and the horse in the courtyard too,” he said.

²⁰⁵ Name of a valuable white conch meaning ‘one that sounds itself’.

38. *nə-vlo te-tfet ŋoʔ-cə*
 3PL:POSS-idea PFV:TR-take.out₂ be-MED
 Thus he offered them an idea (to forestall Khyergopu).
39. *q^hoʔ mer=nəʔ c^hərgópu səqətsútsu tə-rəroʔ-cə*
 SEQ night=DET PN stealthily PFV-get.up₂-MED
 At night, Khyergopu stealthily got up,
40. *támɛ=rɛʔ nə-kormɛ ne-sələyu*
 woman=PL 3PL:POSS-hair.of.head PFV:TR-connect₂
vlɛrge=rɛʔ nə-ɸzɛn ne-sələyu
 monk=PL 3PL:POSS-monk's.cloak PFV:TR-connect₂
tɛtʃu=rɛʔ nə-pjɛlɛʔ ne-sələyu-cə
 lad=PL 3PL:POSS-plait PFV:TR-connect₂-MED
 he tied together the women's hair, tied together the cloaks of the monks, and tied together the lads' plaits,
41. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo o-zdeʔ o-kóʔ=ta=z*
 SEQ chieftain 3SG:POSS-spouse 3SG:POSS-head=top=LOC
mp^həleʔ ne-te-cə
 flax.fiber PFV:DOWN:TR-put₂-MED
 and he put flax fiber on the chieftain's wife's head.
42. *rjálpo o-vot=naŋ kəxʃəⁿbrot t^he-rkoʔ-cə*
 chieftain 3SG:POSS-sleeve=inside pestle PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-put.in₂-MED
 And he put a pestle into the chieftain's sleeve.

43. *q^hoʔ k^héxp^he ó-p^hi toŋʔraŋcaʔ te-nə-tʃet-cə*
 SEQ grinder 3SG:POSS-underside white.conch PFV:UP:TR-SPON-take₂-MED
ó-ste=nəʔ tɛmdzo ne-rkoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-where.something.is=DET thorn PFV:TR:DOWN-put.in₂-MED
q^hoʔ nəʔó-ta o-p^hjeʔ ne-lêt-cə
 SEQ ANA-3SG:POSS-top 3SG:POSS-excrement PFV:TR-release₂-MED
 And he picked up the famous white conch under the grinder, put thorns in its place, and shitted on top of them.
44. *q^hoʔ k^hénanŋ rereʔ ne-nɛχtaxtorʔ-cə*
 SEQ inside .of.house beans PFV:TR-broadcast₂:RDPL-MED
 And he cast beans about the inside of the house.
45. *q^hoʔ tʃəjpe=z ⁿboleʔ nə-təskeʔ=rɐʔ*
 SEQ cowpen=LOC male.cattle 3PL:POSS-saddle=PL
o-koləjmɐ te-sɛkofcɐ-cə
 3SG:POSS-head.and.tail PFV:TR-reverse₂-MED
 He reversed the saddles on the male cattle,
46. *q^hoʔ kómt^hɔ=z ⁿbri te-ⁿdi-cə q^hoʔ nə-p^hi-cə*
 SEQ courtyard=LOC horse PFV:TR-mount₂-MED SEQ PFV-escape₂-MED
 mounted the horse in the courtyard, and escaped.
47. *q^hoʔ fɛto ɣréko lɐ-zyôʔt=nəʔ*
 SEQ up.there ridge PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂=SUB
toŋraŋcaʔ t^he-3ⁿbri-cə q^hoʔ qəjhihi te-tsəʔ-cə
 white.conch.name PFV:TR-sound₂-MED SEQ EXCL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 When he got to the ridge up there, he sounded the famous white conch and yelled
 “Qeyhihi!”

48. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=nəʔ ɛjiʔ ɲoʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ PN=DET 1SG be-1SG
toŋraŋcaʔ jɛ-nə-tsom-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə
 white.conch PFV-SPON-take.thither₂-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “I am Khyergopu himself, and I have taken away the conch,” he yelled.

49. *q^hoʔ kəmaʔ=rɛʔ=kə éhehe c^hərgópu jɛ-wɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ other=PL=ERG EXCL²⁰⁶ PN PFV-come₂-MED
jɛ ne-səsiʔ-nə ɔʒorʔz p^həp^həsisɪ²⁰⁷ kɛ-rɛroʔ
 DM PFV:TR-think₂-3PL while IDPH INF-get.up
te-jɛ-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL be-MED
 The others thought, “Alas! Khyergopu has come,” as they began to get up in a flurry.

50. *vɛrge=rɛʔ nə-ɛzɛn t^he-ləyu ɲoʔ-cə*
 monk=PL 3PL:POSS-monk’s.cloak CONT:LTR:TR-be.connect₂ be-MED
q^hoʔ ɛ-ɛzɛn nə-tɛʔ te-mətsətsə-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-cloak IMP-let.go₃ IPFV-say:RECP-3PL be-MED
 And the monk’s cloaks were all tied together, and they were all saying to one another,
 “Let go of my cloak!”

51. *támɛ=rɛʔ nə-komeʔ t^he-ləyu ɲoʔ-cə*
 woman=PL 3PL:POSS-hair.of.head CONT:LTR:TR-be.connected₂ be-MED
q^hoʔ ɛ-komeʔ nə-tɛʔ te-mətsətsə-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-hair.of.head IMP-put₃ IPFV-say:RECP-3PL be-MED
 And the women’s hair were all tied together, and they were all saying to one another,
 “Let go of my hair!”

²⁰⁶ An exclamation showing dismay.

²⁰⁷ An ideophone meaning ‘in a flustered manner’.

52. *q^hoʔ tətʃu=rɐʔ nə-pjɛlɐʔ t^hv-ɛləyʉ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ lad=PL 3PL:POSS-plait CONT:LTR:TR-be.connected₂ be-MED

q^hoʔ v-pjɛlɐʔ nə-tɐʔ te-mətsətsə-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-plait IMP-put IPFV-say:RECP-3PL be-MED

And the lads' plaits were all tied together, and they were all saying to one another, "Let go of my plait!"

53. *oʒorʔ kɐ-mqeʔ te-je-nə-cə*
 meanwhile INF-quarrel PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL-MED

Meanwhile, they began to quarrel with one another.

54. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpomu=niʔ=nt^hon p^həp^həsisɪ tə-rɐro-ⁿdzə*
 SEQ chieftain.and.spouse=DU=also IDPH PFV-get.up₂-3DU

The chieftain and his wife also got up in a flurry.

55. *q^hoʔ tɛzdeʔ=nəʔ smi kɐ-vlu*
 SEQ spouse=DET fire INF-build
ɸunəɸu kɐ-tsə te-je ɲoʔ-cə
 EXCL INF-say PFV:TR-begin₂ be-MED

And the wife began to build a fire, and saying, "Fu! Fu!" she began to blow on (the fire).

56. *nəʒənəʔ smi tə-nət oʒorʔ*
 at.that.moment fire PFV-burn₂ while
o-kóʔ=ta mp^həleʔ te-mjeʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-head=top flax.fiber PFV:TR-catch₂ be-MED

At the instant, the fire started into flame, and caught the flax fiber on her head.

57. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=kə tɛzdeʔ o-kóʔ=ta*
 SEQ chieftain=ERG spouse 3SG:POSS-head=top
mp^həleʔ t^hv-kə-n dʒovʔ=nəʔ
 flax.fiber CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-catch.fire₂=DET
ká-fmev tə-rɛnts^ha ó-ja te-jəʔ=nəʔ
 NMLZ:PURP-extinguish PFV-try₂ 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR:UP-raise₂=SUB
kəxʃəⁿbrot nɛ-ɛntɛr tɛzdeʔ o-koʔ
 pestle PFV:DOWN-fall.from.height₂ spouse 3SG:POSS-head
χc^həv te-sətsəʔ-cə
 IDPH PFV:TR-cause₂-MED

And when the chieftain raised his hand in an attempt to put out the flax fiber on his wife's hair that had caught fire, the pestle fell with a thud on his wife's head.

58. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo kɛ-rjəyʔ xp^he ó-p^hi*
 SEQ chieftain INF-run grinder 3SG:POSS-underside
toŋʔ raŋcaʔ kə-rtəʔ kə-ɛre-cə
 white.conch.Rangkya NMLZ:PURP-check PFV:EAST-go₂-MED

And the chieftain ran to check out the Rangkya conch under the grinder.

59. *q^hoʔ xp^he ó-p^hi ó-ja ne-rkoʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ grinder 3SG:POSS-underside 3SG:POSS-hand PFV:TR-put.in₂-MED=SUB
təp^hje nə-mtʃozʔ-cə
 excrement PFV-be.stained₂-MED
q^hoʔ oʒorʔ tɛmdzo tə-ɛtseʔ-cə
 SEQ meanwhile thorn PFV-prick₂-MED

When he put his hand down into the grinder, his hand got stained with excrement, and at the same time the thorns pricked it.

60. *q^hoʔ nə-mɨəm=sc^hənəʔ*
 SEQ PFV-hurt₂=SUB
ó-ja o-k^hé=naɨ le-tsom-cə=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-hand 3SG:POSS-mouth=inside PFV:IN:TR-take.thither₂-MED=SUB
c^hərgópu o-p^hje tə-o-səⁿdzeʔ ɨoʔ-cə
 PN 3SG:POSS-excrement PFV-INV-cause.to.eat₂ be-MED
 It (his hand) hurt, and as soon as he put his hand into his mouth, he was made to eat Khyergopu's excrement.
61. *o-toɨʔ nə-rla ɨoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-conch PFV-be.lost₂ be-MED
 And his conch was missing.
62. *q^hoʔ kəmaq^hunəʔ t^hv-nlɔ-nə ɨoʔ-cə*
 SEQ afterwards PFV:OUT-exit₂-3PL be-MED
ʃənəʔ rereʔ ó-ta t^hv-ɸldwét-nə ɨoʔ-cə
 but peas 3SG:POSS-top PFV-slip₂-3PL be-MED
 Afterwards they all got out, but slipped and fell on the peas.
63. *q^hoʔ nəʔoséʃsət tʃəjpe=naɨ nə-ere-nə-cə*
 SEQ in.that.way cowpen=inside PFV:DOWN-go₂-3PL-MED
 And they went down thus (slipping and falling) into the ground-floor cowpen.
64. *q^hoʔ məsəmtimti nəkəsə*
 SEQ blindly thus
ⁿboleʔ ké-ⁿdi te-je-nə ɨoʔ-cə
 male.cattle INF-ride PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL be-MED
 And began to mount the cattle as if they had been blind.

65. *təmdánə cʰərgópu=kə pʰjəru sɲəru*
 in.fact PN=ERG cantle pommel
te-səkofcə ʃteʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-reverse₂ be:EMPH-MED
qʰoʔ ʰboleʔ te-nəqʰu-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ cattle PFV:TR-sit.backward.on₂-3PL be-MED

And since Khyergopu turned out to have reversed the pommels and cantles of the saddles, they actually sat with their backs toward the heads of the cattle.

66. *qʰoʔ səqʰúsqʰuz o-koləɲu kə-mə te-nkə-nə*
 SEQ backwards 3SG:POSS-order NMLZ-not.exist IPFV-walk-3PL

And they were moving backwards in complete disorder.

67. *qʰoʔ tʃəjpe o-pʰjiʔ kə-tʃət mə-kʰut ɲoʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ cowpen 3SG:POSS-outside GP-drive.out NEG-be.feasible be-MED=SUB
nə-nəfsəfsət-nə=nəʔ
 PFV-do.thus₂:RDPL-3PL=SUB
o-perʔ=z cʰərgópu=nəʔ cʰeʔ-rəɲəm jə-nəpʰi-cə
 3SG:POSS-interval=LOC PN=DET long-since PFV-escape₂-MED

And while it was impossible to drive the cattle out of the cowpen, and they just behaved like that, Khyergopu had long since escaped.

68. *qʰoʔ kəmaʔ=rəʔ nə-nə-cʰeʔ-nə mə-cə*
 SEQ other=PL IPFV:PST-SPON-win₂-3PL not.exist-MED

And they could not win over him.

69. *q^hoʔ rjélpo=nəʔ χíikə nɛ-rɛmuruʔ-cə*
 SEQ chieftain=DET very IPFV:PST-be.angry₂-MED
ʃǎʃə=cɛ c^hərgópu o-χíirtsot pɔ-aŋ reʔ
 when=INDF PN 3SG:POSS-revenge do₃-1SG be.necessary
ⁿge-səsɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 IPFV-think₃ be-MED
 And the chieftain was very angry, and he kept thinking, “I must take revenge on Khyergopu one of these days!”

70. *q^hoʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET
rjélpo=nəʔ rgonbe ome kə-xtɛʔ
 chieftain=DET monastery very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big
o-vzər=cɛ nɛ-nkɛʔ-cə=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-side=INDF IPFV:PST-walk₂-MED=SUB
 One day, when the chieftain was walking beside a very big monastery,

71. *c^hərgópu nts^hoχtʃ^hen o-kómt^hɔ=z*
 PN assembly.hall 3SG:POSS-courtyard=LOC
χtevtʃi ɛsɐ-ⁿdi ne-mti ŋoʔ-cə
 folding.knife CONT:HTR-hold PFV:TR-see₂ be-MED
 he saw Khyergopu holding a folding knife in the courtyard of the assembly hall.

72. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=p^ha lɐ-ɐre-cə*
 SEQ PN=place PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED
q^hoʔ nɛʃiʔ kəsɛnɛk^ho
 SEQ 2SG bully

jəʂŋiʔ tə-ko-nəvloʔ-aŋ ɐ-rjuʔ nə-ko-səkʰi-aŋ=kə
 the.other.day PFV-2→1-cheat₂-1SG 1SG:POSS-riches PFV-2→1-rob₂-1SG=INS

And he went up to Khyergopu and said, “You bully! You cheated me the other day, and ripped off my riches.”

73. *josŋiʔ ŋónə məlen ɐ-rjuʔ nə-kʰɛ*
 today TOP by.necessity 1SG:POSS-riches IMP-hand.to
maⁿdenəʔ tə-nəⁿbɣɐ reʔ
 or IMP-recompense be.necessary
ⁿdenəʔ mə-tɐ-teʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 or.else NEG-1→2-let.off PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“Today, you must by all means give back my property, or pay me for it, or else I won’t let you off,” he said.

74. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
tə-tɕjaŋʔ ŋoʔ nəŋlǎskə kʰétɕo ptɕéfi
 2-be.fair be of.course sorry

And Khyergopu said, “That would be fair! Of course! I am sorry!”

75. *fənəʔ josŋiʔ ŋónə tɕɕetsaŋ²⁰⁸=rɐʔ=kə*
 but today TOP monks.in.a.monastery.division=PL=ERG
ɐ-fkótpe te-te-nə=kə
 1SG:POSS-assignment PFV:TR-place₂-3PL=INS
nə-xtse məŋolen=nəʔ kəmdiʔ qa-aŋ reʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 3PL:POSS-shoe sole=DET all peel.off-1SG be.necessary be-MED

“But today, as the monks in this monastery division have assigned me work to do, I must peel the soles off all their shoes,”

²⁰⁸ WT <grwa.tshang>, a division inside a Tibetan monastery. Here the word refers collectively to all the monks in one such divisions.

76. *nəʔ v-mə-nv-cʰv-aŋ=nəʔ χfíkə mə-ⁿdzəʔ ɲoʔ*
 ANA IRR-NEG-PFV-be.able-1SG=SUB very NEG-be.proper be
 “it would be very improper if I should be unable to finish the job,”

77. *koʔ v-mv=nəʔ ne-səʔjoʔ-aŋ*
 this 1SG:POSS-task=DET IPFV-finish-1SG
qʰoʔ nəʔiʔ tʃʰə tə-tsə=nəʔ fteʔ kʰétʂo te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ 2SG what 2-say=SUB be:EMPH please PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “let me finish this task of mine, and then (I will do) whatever you say, please!” he said.

78. *qʰoʔ rjélpo=nəʔ tʰv-ⁿbəm fieʔ-cə=kə*
 SEQ chieftain=DET CONT:LTR-be.in.a.hurry₂ be:EMPH-MED=INS
cʰərgópu=pʰa ma-κdu ma-κdu
 PN=place NEG-be.serious NEG-be.serious
nəkənəʔ mɲolen vjiʔ tʰé-qa-aŋ=kə
 that.near.you sole 1SG IPFV:OUT-peel.off-1SG=DM
nəʔiʔ v-rjuʔ fə-kə-roʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 2SG 1SG:POSS-property AND-IMP-fetch PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And as the chieftain was in hurry (to get his property back), he said to Khyergopu,
 “Alright, alright, let me peel off those soles for you, you just go and fetch my property!”

79. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə χtevtʂi rjélpo=pʰa ne-kʰi-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG folding.knife chieftain=place PFV:TR-hand.to₂-MED
qʰoʔ jv-fv ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV-go₂ be-MED
 And Khyergopu handed the folding knife to the chieftain and went away.

80. *rjélpo=nəʔ vlɛrgɛ=rɐʔ nə-mɲolen kɛ́-qa te-je-cə*
 chieftain=DET monk=PL 3PL:POSS-sole INF-peel.off PFV:TR-begin₂-MED
qʰoʔ káde məkətso kəmdiʔ tʰe-qaʔ-cə
 SEQ in.a.short.while all PFV:TR-peel.off₂-MED

And the chieftain started to peel off the soles of the monks, and, in a short while, peeled all of them off.

81. *qʰoʔ nəʔʔənəʔ vlɛrgɛ=rɐʔ tʰɐ-kroz-nə-cə*
 SEQ just.then monk=PL PFV:OUT-come.off.class₂-MED
qʰoʔ kómtʰɔ nə-xtse kɐ-nge
 SEQ courtyard 3PL:POSS-shoe NMLZ:SBJ:U-wear
ne-wɛmɛʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-cause.not.to.exist₂-MED

And just then the monks in the assembly hall got off class, and (the chieftain) had caused them to have no shoes to wear in the courtyard.

82. *qʰoʔ vlɛrgɛ=rɐʔ=kə*
 SEQ monk=PL=ERG
qʰɐʔ rjélpo=nəʔ tákʰdət=kə rtoɲjaʔ nə-oy-lét-cə
 ANA chieftain=DET beating=INS beating PFV-INV-do₂-MED
qʰoʔ kɐ-nəxtsu mənbe kɐ-náʃɐ nə-re-cə
 SEQ INF-crawl almost INF-go.back IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED

And the monks gave the chieftain such a severe beating that he almost had to crawl back home.

83. *qʰoʔ leʔ cʰərgópu əntsátse ʰge-qése ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ again PN continuously IPFV-see be-MED

And he kept on looking out for Khyergopu.

84. *q^hoʔ kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET
leʔ kɛvɛlden²⁰⁹ rgonbe o-vzər=cɛ nɐ-nkɛʔ-cə=nəʔ
 again PN monastery 3SG:POSS-side=INDF IPFV:PST-walk₂-MED=SUB
c^hərgópu=kə tɛrmótʃ^he²¹⁰ ɐsɐ-rqɔ ne-mti ŋoʔ-cə
 PN=ERG main.flagpole CONT:HTR-embrace PFV:TR-see₂ be-MED
 One day when he was walking by the side of the Gandan Monastery, he saw Khyergopu again, holding onto the main flagpole.

85. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə c^hərgópu=p^ha nɛʃiʔ kəʂɛnɛk^ho*
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG PN=place 2SG bully
jɐsŋiʔ ɐ-rjuʔ tə-ko-nəvloʔ-aŋ mɛts^hɛt
 the.other.day 1SG:POSS-property PFV-2→1-cheat₂-1SG not.only
vlɛrɛ=rɛʔ=kə nə-ko-saʂ^hduʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ
 monk=PL=ERG PFV-2→1-cause.to.beat₂-1SG be
ʃosŋiʔ ŋónə kdenbe mɐ-tɐ-teʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 today TOP at.all NEG-1→2-let.off PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the chieftain said to Khyergopu, “You bully! You not only ripped off my property the other day, you also caused me to be beaten up by the monks. Today, I will definitely not let you off!”

86. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=kə tə-tɕjaŋʔ ŋoʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG 2-be.fair be
jɐsŋiʔ ŋónə ɕʃíkə nɐ-nəwɛtʃeʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ k^hétɕo
 the.othe.day TOP very IPFV:PST-be.at.fault₂-1SG be sorry
 And Khyergopu said, “That would be fair! It was indeed my fault the other day. I am sorry!”

²⁰⁹ WT <dga.lدان>, one of the four big monasteries of Lhasa.

²¹⁰ This refers to one of the two main flagpoles places in front of the monastery.

87. *fənəʔ josŋiʔ vlərge=rɐʔ=kə leʔ nə-o-sqor-aŋ=kə*
 but today monks=PL=ERG again PFV-INV-send.for₂-1SG=INS
koʔ tərmoʔtʰe jə-kə-ɐldeʔ=nəʔ tʰɐ-o-səʳdi-aŋ ɲoʔ
 this flagpole FUT-NMLZ:SBJ-fall=DET CONT:LTR-INV-cause.to.hold₂-1SG be
 “But, today, the monks have sent for me again, and are making me hold this flagpole
 which is going to fall over,”

88. *qʰónə koʔ ne-teʔ-aŋ joyʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH this IPFV:DOWN-put-1SG be.allowed
fənəʔ tərmoʔtʰe ɐldeʔ fteʔ-cə
 but flagpole fall.over be:EMPH-MED
qʰoʔ mə-nən ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ NEG-be.acceptable be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “I may let go, but then the main flagpole will fall over, and that would be unacceptable,”
 he said.

89. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə nəkəʔ tərmoʔtʰe ɐldeʔ*
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG that.over.there flagpole fall.over
o-ffət mə=kə
 3SG:POSS-talk not.exist=DM
nɛjiʔ leʔ jə-ko-návlo-aŋ ɲoʔ=kə mə-joyʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 2SG again PROS-2→1-cheat-1SG be=DM NEG-be.allowed PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the chieftain said, “There is no such thing as a flagpole like that one falling over!
 You are fooling me again. I won’t take that!”

90. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə mə-sto=kə mə-tə-nzɐʳgɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG neg-be.serious=DM NEG-2-believe=SUB
kʰo kə-wi
 here IMP:EAST-come

q^hoʔ *ʃɛto* *tɛrmóʈʰe* *o-koʔ* *tə-mp^hɛri*
 SEQ up.there flagpole 3SG:POSS-head IMP:UP-look
*naŋ*²¹¹ *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And Khyergopu said, “Alright, if you don’t believe it, come over here and take a look at the tip of the flagpole up there!”

91. *q^hoʔ* *rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə* *ʃə-tə-mp^hɛri-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG AND-PFV:UP-look₂-MED=SUB
naŋ ləskə *tɛrmóʈʰe* *o-kóʔ=ta* *zⁿdəmʔ* *ke-wi* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 surely flagpole 3SG:POSS-tip=top cloud IPFV:EAST-come be-MED

And when the chieftain went and took a look upward, sure enough, clouds were coming eastward toward the tip of the flagpole,

92. *q^hoʔ* *o-koʔ=nəʔ* *ⁿdec^ho* *ne-kə-fɛ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-head=DET westward IPFV:WEST-NMLZ-go
jə-kə-ɛldɛʔ-cə *né-fsət* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 FUT-NMLZ-fall.over-MED IPFV-be.like be-MED
 and it seems that the tip was going westward and was about to fall over.

93. *q^hoʔ* *rjɛlpo=nəʔ=kə* *nəʔ* *kə-wɛⁿgiʔ* *ne-səsi*
 SEQ chieftain=DET=ERG ANA NMLZ-be.right PFV:TR-think₂
 And the chieftain thought, “What he said is right!”

²¹¹ Discourse marker for gentle imperative.

94. *q^hoʔ mɛ-sto=kə nɛkənəʔ ɐjiʔ ⁿgɛ²¹²-ⁿdi-aŋ=kə*
 SEQ neg-beserious=DM that.near.you 1SG IPFV-hold-1SG=DM
nɛjiʔ ɐ-rjuʔ ʃə-tə-nɛŋorojʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 2SG 1SG:POSS-property AND-seek PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“Alright, I will hold that for you. You go and find my property!” he said.

95. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=nəʔ jɐ-ʃɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=DET PFV-go₂-MED

And Khyergopu went away.

96. *o-jiʔ tɛrmót^he ne-rqɔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-self flagpole IPFV:PST-embrace₂-MED

And (the chieftain) himself kept holding onto the flagpole.

97. *q^hoʔ leʔ tɛrmót^hi o-koʔ te-mp^héri=nəʔ*
 SEQ again flagpole 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:UP-look=SUB
méju jə-kɛ-nə-ldəldɛʔ jə-kə-ɛnəldəldɛʔ=cəʔ
 still FUT-NMLZ-fall.over:RDPL PROS-NMLZ-fall.over:RDPL=INDF
né-fsət ŋoʔ-cə
 IPFV-seem be-MED

When looked again at the tip of the flagpole, it still seemed that it was falling over.

98. *q^hoʔ tə-nts^hɛv-cə q^hoʔ tə-ɾaxtʃoⁿba-cə*
 SEQ PFV-be.flustered₂-MED SEQ PFV-make.a.racket₂-MED
tɛrmót^he jə-ɐldɛʔ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ tə-nɛⁿgozⁿge-cə
 flagpole PROS-fall.over be PFV:TR-say₂ PFV-call₂:RDPL-MED

And he became flustered and made a racket yelling, “The flagstaff is going to fall over!”

²¹² The downward orientation prefix here marks durativity.

99. *q^hoʔ vlɛrge=rɛʔ nts^hoχtʃ^hen=naŋ t^hv-nlɔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ monk=PL assembly.hall=inside PFV:OUT-exit₂-3PL-MED
q^hoʔ nəγəvγəvʔ²¹³ jv-wɛʔ-nə-cə
 SEQ IDPH PFV-come₂-3PL-MED

And the monks went out of the assembly hall, and came in a swarm.

100. *nɛkəʔ tɛrmóʃ^he jə-kə-ɛldɛʔ mɛ-cə*
 that.over.there flagpole FUT-NMLZ-fall.over not.exist-MED
nɛ-tə-sɛnɛk^hoʃʔ=nəʔ²¹⁴
 2SG:POSS-NMLZ-act.in.a.bullying.manner₂=DET
nɛ-k^he χtembre kə-ŋɛn
 2SG:POSS-mouth luck NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad
mə-tə-tá-tsə=kə te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 NEG-IMP-2-say=DM PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED

“There is no such thing as that flagpoles there falling over! You are going too far! Don’t utter those inauspicious words,” they said.

101. *q^hvʔ rjɛlpo=nəʔ leʔ táɸⁿdət=kə rtovjaʔ tə-oy-tʃet-cə*
 ANA chieftain=DET again beating PFV-INV-do₂-MED
q^hoʔ leʔ kɛ-nəxtsu mɛⁿbe kɛ-náʃɛ nɛ-re-cə
 SEQ again INF-crawl almost INF-go.back IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED

The chieftain was again given a severe beating, and he almost had to crawl his way back home.

²¹³ An ideophone for ‘in a swarm’.

²¹⁴ A possessed nominalized structure involving the nominal prefix *tə-* and the past verb stem, literally ‘that bullying act of yours’.

102. *təmdánə* *cʰərgópu* *o-χirtsot* *kə-pe=scʰənəʔ*
in.the.end PN 3SG:POSS-revenge INF-do=and
o-rjuʔ *kə-znəʰbyə*
3SG:POSS-property INF-cause.to.recompense
nə-ncʰəʔ *nə-nləʔ*²¹⁵ *mə-cə*
IPFV:PST-be.able₂ IPFV:PST-be.able₂ not.exist-MED

And in the end, he was unable at all to revenge himself on Khyergopu, or make him recompense for his stolen property.

²¹⁵ An elaborated variant of *nə-cʰəʔ* ‘was able’.

WHY KHYERGOPU THE TRICKSTER DID NOT COME TO OUR LAND

c^hərgópu jəjəreʔ jə-sətʃ^he tʃ^he məjekewéʔ xpe

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *c^heʔ=nəʔ* *c^hərgópu* *jəjəreʔ* *jə-sətʃ^he=z*
 former.time=TOP Khyergopu 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC
kə-wi *tə-rənts^ha* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 PURP-come PFV-make.ready₂ be-MED

Once upon a time, Khyergopu was about to come to our land.

2. *q^hoʔ* *jə-sətʃ^he* *reⁿgo=z=cə* *nə-zɣôʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 1PL:POSS-land hill=LOC=INDF PFV-arrive₂=SUB

When he got to a place on the hill (overlooking) our land,

3. *o-ʒóri=z* *támɛ* *nə-kə-loyʔ*
 3SG:POSS-front=LOC woman IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd₂
sémbə *4kə-fkorʔ* *ɐsɐ-fkor*
 twigs.and.sticks one-loadful CONT:HTR-carry.on.back
q^hoʔ *o-ʒóri* *t^hɐ-wéʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-front CONT:LTR-come₂ be-MED

in front of him a woman who had been herding was coming, carrying a full load of twigs and sticks on her back.

4. *q^hoʔ* *c^hərgópu=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
koʔ *nə-kə-loyʔ=nəʔ* *te-kɐ-nərtʃeʔ* *reʔ-cə*
 this IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd₂ IPFV-GP-provoke be.necessary-MED
nə-səsi-cə
 PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And Khyergopu thought, “I have (lit. one has) to tease this herder.”

5. *q^hoʔ nɐ-kə-lóʔ=p^ha*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd₂=place
nəʔ nɐ-fkor o-tə-xtɐ=nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 that 2SG:POSS-load 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.big₂=DET PFV:TR-say-MED=SUB
 And when he said, “What a big load that one of yours is!”

6. *nɐ-kə-loʔ=kə*
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd₂=ERG
naŋ xtɛʔ xtɛʔ ⁿdenəʔ
 of.course be.big be.big for
kə-sŋi ɐ-ylevʔ t^hɐ-ŋo ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 one-day 1SG:POSS-workload CONT:LTR-be₂ be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The herder said, “Of course it is big; it’s one full day’s workload of mine.”

7. *q^hoʔ le c^hərgópu-kə ɔ nəʔ nɐ-fkor*
 SEQ again PN=ERG EXCL that 2SG:POSS-load
o-tə-xtʃi=nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.big₂=DET PFV:TR-say-MED=SUB
 And when again Khyergopu said, “What a small load that one of yours is!”

8. *naŋ xtʃi xtʃi ⁿdenəʔ*
 of.course be.small:EMPH be.small:EMPH for
é-xtʃu ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 1SG:POSS-task.done.while.doing.sth.else be:EMPH PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 (The herder) said, “Of course it is small, for it is just what I did while doing something else.”

9. *q^hoʔ c^hərgópu=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
eʔ koʔ káloy=nəʔ rjéspe fgraʔ-cə
 EXCL this herder=DET quite.a.lot be.clever-MED
jə ne-səsi-cə
 DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And Khyergopu thought, “Hey! This herder is quite clever!”

10. *q^hoʔ leʔ te-kə-nərtfeʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ again IPFV-GP-provoke=SUB
kə-taŋ fgraʔ á-ŋoʔ ne-səsi-cə
 NMLZ-be.real be.clever Q-be PFV:TR-think₂-MED

“Let me provoke her again (to see) if she is really clever,” he thought.

11. *q^hoʔ nəʔ nə-nuʔ o-tə-oxtə=nəʔ*
 SEQ that 2SG:POSS-breast 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.big₂=DET
te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED=SUB

And when he said (to the herder), “How big are those breasts of yours!”

12. *nə-kə-loyʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-herd₂=DET=ERG
naŋ xteʔ xteʔ ⁿdenəʔ
 of.course be.big be.big for
mɲəluzʔ rəⁿbót^he o-sa-χso ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 human.body be.precious 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-raise₂ be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

The herder said, “Of course they are big; they are what the precious human body is fed with.”

13. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
nəʔ nɐ-nuʔ o-tə-xtʃi=nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nə
 that 2SG:POSS-breast 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-be.small₂=DET PFV:TR-say₂-MED=SUB
 And when Khyergopu said, “How small are those breasts of yours!”

14. *nəʔ kəloyʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 that herder=DET=ERG
naŋ xtʃi xtʃi ˀdenəʔ
 of.course be.small be.small for
tənuʔ ʃɛru=ta tə-kə-sceʔ ʃteʔ
 breast bone=top PFV-NMLZ-grow₂ be:EMPH
qʰoʔ ˀge-xtʃi²¹⁶ reʔ ˀdenəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV-be.small be.necessary DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The herder said, “Of course they are small; they grew on bones, so they must be small!”

15. *qʰoʔ cʰərgópu=kə ne-səseʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG PFV:TR-think₂=SUB
koʔ kəloy təmɛ=ntʃʰonnəʔ
 this herder woman=even
ʃqraʔ məkətsʰət o-kʰe nəntsejə mpʰɛr-cə=kə
 be.clever not.only 3SG:POSS-mouth that.much be.eloquent-MED=INS
 And Khyergopu thought, “Even this woman herder is not only clever, but also so eloquent,”

²¹⁶ Here, one can also use the irrealis form *ɐ-nɐ-xtʃi*.

16. *koʔ nəjəlkkʰəm-pʰjɔ ne-fʰe-aŋ joyʔ*
 this region-direction IPFV:DOWN-go-1SG be.allowed
fənaʔ kə-sənəvlo=koʔ mə-cʰe-aŋ-cə ne-səsi-cə
 but INF-cheat.people=this NEG-be.able-1SG-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 “I may go in the direction of this region, but I will not be able to cheat people,” he thought.

17. *qʰoʔ kə-nəjwet qʰoʔ mə-nə-wɛʔ kʰe-tsə tʰoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV:EAST-return₂ SEQ NEG-PFV:WEST-come₂ GP-say be.the.rule-MED
 And he returned east, and never came west, it is said.

18. *qʰoʔ kʰe-tsə e-nʰe-ŋo=nəʔ*
 SEQ GP-say IRR-PFV-be=SUB
cʰərgópu=nəʔ kə-ewəsonəm=cəʔ nə-ŋo-cə=kə
 PN=TOP NMLZ:SBJ-be.blessed=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED=INS
 In fact, Khyergopu was blessed by fortune.

19. *nə-nənkkʰji sətʰe=rɛʔ kəməqʰunə*
 IPFV-stroll₂ place=PL afterwards
ome kə-snəm=scʰənəʔ kə-timʔ ne-peʔ-nə
 very NMLZ-be.prosperous=and NMLZ-be.prosperous PFV:TR-do₂-3PL
kʰe-tsə tʰoʔ-cə
 GP-say be.the.rule
 And the areas that he walked through would be prosperous and rich, it is said.

FIRST STORY ABOUT A PILGRIM'S WIT

lɛsɛ kəmdzɛl tʃo^hbɛjʔz

Narrator: 'Phrinlas

1. *lɛsɛ kəmdzɛl kə-fɛ=cəʔ*
Lhasa NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage NMLZ:SBJ-go=INDF
ɛrtʃówe nɛ-to ŋoʔ-cə
pilgrim IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
There was a pilgrim who (often) went to Lhasa on pilgrimages.

2. *kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ*
one-day=INDF=DET
leʔ kəmdzɛl kə-fɛ
again NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage NMLZ:PURP-go
lɛ-nts^ha-cə
PFV:UPRIVER-set.out₂-MED
One day, he again set out upriver to go on a pilgrimage.

3. *q^hoʔ kə-sɲi tɛmqɛʔ oʒoʔ nɛ-nkɛʔ-cə*
SEQ one-day hardship meanwhile IPFV:PST-walk₂-MED
He was trudging hard all day long.

4. *tərmók^he=nəʔ kɛ-nárme jə-mda ŋoʔ-cə*
dusk=DET INF-rest.for.the.day PROS-be.time be-MED
At dusk, it was going to be time to rest for the day,

5. *q^ho le-mp^hé^ri=nə[?] mə-ká-erq^he=z*
 SEQ IPFV:UPRIVER-look=SUB NEG-NMLZ-be far=LOC
prak^hoŋ=cə[?] wɛjo ŋo[?]-cə
 cliff.cave=INDF be.seen be-MED
 looking upriver, he found a cliff cave in a place not far away.
6. *q^ho[?] prak^hoŋ ó-p^hi=z tə-nərme-cə*
 SEQ cliff.cave 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC PFV:UP-spend.the.night₂-MED
 And he went uphill to sleep for the night under the cliff cave.
7. *q^ho[?] smi te-vlu-cə*
 SEQ fire PFV:TR-burn₂-MED
 And he built a fire.
8. *le-mp^hé^ri=nə[?]*
 IPFV:IN-look=SUB
prak^hoŋ ó-nəŋ=z qe/pe=cə[?] t^he-nlɔ-cə
 cliff.cave 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC toad=INDF PFV:OUT-exit₂-MED
 Looking inside, he (saw that) a toad came out from the cliff cave.
9. *q^ho[?] χfíkə sɛrɛ ŋo[?]-cə*
 SEQ very be.amusing be-MED
 And it was very amusing.
10. *q^ho[?] ɛrtówɛ=kə qe/pe ne-mye[?]-cə*
 SEQ pilgrim=ERG toad PFV:TR-catch₂-MED
q^ho[?] o-rtśémkəŋ ó-nəŋ t^he-rko[?]-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tsampa.pouch 3SG:POSS-inside PFV:IN-put.in₂-MED
 The friar caught the toad, and put it into his tsampa pouch.

11. *q^hoʔ nɛ-smo-cə*

SEQ IPFV:PST-stay-MED

And he stayed there.

12. *détsɛ=nəʔ rɕɔmpɿʔ=cəʔ kaɛna-χsəm jɐ-wɛʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*

after.a.while=DET rider=INDF two-three PFV-come₂-3PL be-MED

q^hoʔ ɐrtʃówɐ nɛ-o-mti-cə

SEQ pilgrim PFV-INV-see₂-MED

After a while, two or three riders came, and the pilgrim was spotted (by them).

13. *q^hoʔ o-vzər ʃə-te-mdzuʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-side AND-PFV-sit.down₂-3PL be-MED

And they went to sit beside him.

14. *q^hoʔ ɐrtʃówɐ=kə tə-sɛnɛrtɕɰpjét=nəʔ*

SEQ pilgrim=ERG PFV-observe.people₂=SUB

mɛ-ká-fsət wɛjo ɲoʔ-cə

NEG-NMLZ-be.like be.seen be-MED

When the pilgrim did some observing, he realized that something was wrong.

15. *q^hoʔ éhɛhɛʔé josɲiʔ ɲónə*

SEQ EXCL today TOP:EMPH

rtʃaχpe nɛ-t^həγ-aɲ ɲoʔ-cə

bandit PFV-meet₂-1SG be-MED

q^hoʔ tʃ^hə te-kɐ-pe reʔ=kə nɛ-səsi-cə

SEQ what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary=DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED

“Alas! I have run into bandits today. What should I do,” he thought.

16. *kəmɛqʰúnəʔ o-vlo kə-vde=cəʔ*
 then=DET 3SG:POSS-idea NMLZ-be.good=INDF
o-sém=naŋ jɐ-wɛʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-heart=inside PFV-come₂-MED
 Then, a good idea came to his mind,
17. *qʰoʔ o-rtśémkəŋ o-kʰe kəmtʰa ne-cu-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tsampa.pouch 3SG:POSS-opening a.little PFV:TR-open₂-MED
 and he pulled open the opening of the tsampa pouch a little bit.
18. *kádenəʔ rtśémkəŋ o-kʰe=z qɛʃpe lɐ-nəʃkroʔ-cə*
 after.a.while tsampa.pouch 3SG:POSS-opening=LOC toad PFV:OUT-peek₂-MED
 In a minute, the toad peeked out from the opening of the tsampa pouch.
19. *qʰoʔ qɛʃpe=nəʔ ó-γɐ=z*
 SEQ toad=DET 3SG:POSS-body=LOC
rtśembɐ ʔoŋʔoŋʔ²¹⁷ nə-mʔoʔzʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 tsampa IDPH PFV-stain₂ be-MED
 The body of the toad was stained white with tsampa.
20. *qʰoʔ qɛʃpe ó-ja o-rŋéʔ=ta=z te-tsomʔ*
 SEQ toad 3SG:POSS-hand 3SG:POSS-face=top=LOC PFV:UP:TR-take.thither₂
ne-rɐpʰjɔpʂəz ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-wipe.about₂ be-MED
 And the toad held its hands to its face and kept wiping it.

²¹⁷ A derived ideophone from the root *ʔoŋ*, describing the state of being completely covered in sth powdery.

21. *ó-ja* *χfíkə* *nəntʰi* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-hand very be.nimble be-MED
 Its hands were very nimble.
22. *qʰoʔ* *ɛrtʃówɛ=nəʔ=kə* *qɛʃpe* *o-koʔ* *tʰé-stʰɔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ pilgrim=DET=ERG toad 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:IN-push be-MED
 And the pilgrim was pushing the head of the toad inside (the pouch),
23. *oʒorʔz* *kámɪʰa* *mé-mda* *té-tsə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 meanwhile a.little NEG-be.time₂ IPFV-say₂ be-MED
 all the while saying, “It’s not the right time yet.”
24. *kádenəʔ* *qɛʃpe* *leʔ* *le-nlɔʔ*
 in.a.moment toad again IPFV:OUT-exit
 After a while, the toad poked its head out again.
25. *qʰoʔ* *leʔ* *nəʔ* *té-fsət* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ again ANA IPFV-do.thus be-MED
 And it was doing the same thing again.
26. *ɛrtʃówɛ=kə* *leʔ* *nəʔ* *té-tsə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 pilgrim=ERG again ANA IPFV-say be-MED
 And the pilgrim was saying the same thing again.
27. *qʰoʔ* *rtʃaxpe=rɛʔ=kə* *ne-mti-nə* *te-mətsátsə-nə* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ bandit=PL=ERG PFV:TR-see₂-3PL IPFV-say:RECP-3PL be-MED
 The bandits saw this, and were saying to each other,

28. *kəkoʔ ɐrtʃowɐ=nəʔ kɐ-nərtʃeʔ mɐ-ɲɛn-cə ˈdenəʔ*
 this pilgrim=DET INF-provoke NEG-be.acceptable-MED for
kə-sɛsəɣvɐr=cəʔ ɐrɟiʔ-cə
 NMLZ-be.frightening=INDF possess-MED
 “One should not provoke this pilgrim, for he has something frightful!”

29. *qʰoʔ ʃla nə-pʰi-nə-cə*
 SEQ immediately PFV-escape₂-3PL-MED
 And they immediately fled.

30. *təmdánə ɐrtʃowɐ o-vlo nɐ-vdeʔ otənkə*
 as.a.result pilgrim 3SG:POSS-idea IPFV:PST-be.good₂ because
kɐ-nsəkʰi mə-nɐ-ⁿgru-cə
 INF-rob NEG-IPFV:PST-manage₂-MED
 In the end, because the pilgrim’s strategy worked well, the bandits were unable to rob him.

SECOND STORY ABOUT A PILGRIM'S WIT

lēse kəmdzəl tfoⁿbəjʔz

Narrator: 'Phrinlas

1. *lēse kəmdzəl kə-fə=cəʔ ertʃówə=cəʔ*
 PN NMLZ:PURP-go.on.pilgrimage NMLZ:SBJ-go=INDF pilgrim=INDF
nə-to ŋoʔ-cə
 IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED

There was a pilgrim who went on pilgrimages to Lhasa.

2. *kə-sŋi=cə nə-nkəʔ-cə=nəʔ o-zgəq^{hu}*
 one-day=INDF IPFV:PST-walk₂-MED=SUB 3SG:POSS-back
t^he-mp^həri=nəʔ rʃaxpe ⁿbri ká-ⁿdi
 IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB bandit horse NMLZ:SBJ-ride
kaknásəm lə-wəʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 two-three PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-3PL be-MED

One day when he was walking, and looking back downriver, (he saw that) two or three mounted bandits came upriver.

3. *q^hoʔ ertʃówə=kə t^hə te-kə-pe reʔ=kə ne-səsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ pilgrim=ERG what IPFV-GP-do be.necessary=DM IPFV-think₃-MED

The pilgrim thought, “What should I do?”

4. *ozorʔz xʃikə lə-ɔjəsəjəzʔ lə-məko-cə*
 while very PFV:UPRIVER-hurry₂ PFV:UPRIVER-get.ahead₂-MED
q^hoʔ t^hə^hkəzər=cəʔ t^hə-ərə-cə
 SEQ river.bank=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-MED

Meanwhile, he hurried upriver, and got ahead of the bandits to the riverside.

5. *q^hoʔ q^éⁿbət ne-lwe*
 SEQ sand PFV:DOWN:TR-dig₂
ó-naŋ smi te-vlu tʃeʔ te-sʋlɛʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-inside fire PFV:TR-build₂ tea PFV:TR-boil₂-MED
 He dug (a hole) in the sand, built a fire in it, and boiled tea.
6. *q^hoʔ q^éⁿbət=kə pəme o-vzɛ́vzər smi=rɐʔ*
 SEQ sand=INS pot 3SG:POSS-surrounding fire=PL
kəmdiʔ ne-sə-fkev-cə
 all PFV:TR-CAUS-cover₂-MED
 And with sand, he covered up the fire all around the pot.
7. *ke-kə-mp^héri=nəʔ*
 IPFV:CISLOC-GP-see=SUB
pəme ó-naŋ tʃeʔ t^hv-kə-ʋlɛʔ=ⁿdenəʔ
 teapot 3SG:POSS-inside tea CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-boil₂=except
mɐ-sémti ŋoʔ-cə
 NEG-be.visible be-MED
 If one looks at it, all that was visible was tea boiling inside the pot.
8. *q^hoʔ tʃoⁿbɛjʔ o-vzər zɔʔkoʔ ʃə-te-nɛŋoro*
 SEQ road 3SG:POSS-side bovine.skull AND-PFV:TR-look.for₂
 And he went to look for a skull of a bovine by the side of the road.
9. *q^hoʔ ó-kɐ rŋəl kə-toʔ=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ zɔʔkóʔ=ta*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-body silver NMLZ:SBJ-exist=PL all bovine.skull=top
nákəsə ne-səntɐv-cə
 thus PFV:TR-let.go₂-MED
 And he left all of the silver he had on him on top of the bovine skull just like that.

10. *q^hoʔ o-sqɐraʔ=kə o-mé-ntse te-zrɛski*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-belt=INS 3SG:POSS-leg-one.of.a.pair PFV:UP:TR-cause.to.pull₂
q^hoʔ ó-mt^he=z ke-xferʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-waist=LOC PFV:CISLOC:TR-tie.up₂
o-p^hjiʔ ó-nge=kə ne-sə-fkev-cə
 3SG:POSS-outside 3SG:POSS-clothes=INS PFV:TR-CAUS-cover₂-MED
 And he pulled up one of his legs with his belt, tied it around his waist, and covered it up with his clothes.
11. *q^hoʔ nɛ-smo-cə*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-stay-MED
 And he stayed there.
12. *kádenəʔ rɪʔaxpe=rɐʔ jɐ-zɣót-nə-cə*
 in.a.moment bandit=PL PFV-arrive₂-3PL-MED
 In a moment, the bandits arrived.
13. *q^hoʔ ɐrtʃówɐ te-nəʃkoŋʃkoŋʔ*
 SEQ pilgrim IPFV-leap.on.one.leg
 And the pilgrim was leaping swiftly about on one leg.
14. *oʒorʔz nəʒɐrɐʔ nɐ-mqɐʔ-nə²¹⁸ nɐ-mqɐʔ-nə*
 meanwhile 2PL IPFV:PST-be.tired₂-2PL IPFV:PST-be.tired₂-2PL
tʃeʔ nə-t^hi-nə tʃeʔ nə-t^hi-nə té-tsə ŋoʔ-cə
 tea IMP-drink-2PL tea IMP-drink-2PL IPFV-say be-MED
 at the same time he was saying, “You must be tired, you must be tired! Drink tea, drink tea!”

²¹⁸ This is a greeting involving a special usage of the verb *kə-mqɐ* ‘be tired’. Note that dual and plural suffixes are permitted, but not the second-person index *tə-*.

15. *q^hoʔ* *rtʃaχpe=rɐʔ=kə* *le-mp^hɛri-nə*
 SEQ bandit=PL=ERG IPFV:UPRIVER-look-3PL
 As the bandits were looking,
16. *pɐme* *ó-nay* *tʃeʔ* *t^hɐ-nəblublu* *t^he-lɛʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 teapot 3SG:POSS-inside tea CONT:LTR-bubble.away₂ CONT:LTR-boil₂ be-MED
ʃənəʔ *pɐme* *ó-p^hji=z*
 but teapot 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC
smi *ɛdɛnbe* *t^hɐ-kə-lu* *mɐ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 fire at.all CONT:LTR-NMLZ-burn₂ not.exist be-MED
 (they saw that) tea was bubbling away to a boil, but there was no fire burning under the pot at all.
17. *q^hoʔ* *mɛju* *ne-nɛmp^hɛriri-nə=nəʔ*
 SEQ further IPFV-look.around:RDPL-3PL=SUB
 And when they looking around more,
18. *zɔʔ* *o-kóʔ=ta* *rŋəl* *kɐ-teʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*
 bovine.skull 3SG:POSS-head=top silver NMLZ:SBJ:U-put=DET=PL
q^hoʔ *q^hɐʔ* *ɐrtʃówɐ* *te-kə-nəʃkoŋʃkoŋʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ*
 SEQ ANA pilgrim IPFV-NMLZ-leap.on.a.single.foot=DET=PL
ne-mti-nə-cə
 PFV:TR-see₂-3PL-MED
 they saw the silver placed atop the bovine skull, and that pilgrim hopping about on one leg.

19. *q^hoʔ* *rtʃaxpe=rɐʔ=kə* *wu* *émokətʃ^{hi}*²¹⁹
 SEQ bandit=PL=ERG EXCL good.heavens
jəjəɐɐʔ *josŋiʔ* *rkaŋlo* *nɐ-t^həɣ-jə-cə*
 1PL today one.legged.demon PFV-meet₂-1PL-MED
te-mətsátsə-nə *ŋoʔ-cə*
 PFV:TR-say₂:RDPL-3PL be-MED
 And the bandits said to each other, “Oh, good heavens! We have run into a one-legged demon today!”

20. *q^hoʔ* *təverʔ* *o-fét=kə*
 SEQ fear 3SG:POSS-extent=INS
ˈbri *fla* *te-ˈdi-nə* *q^hoʔ* *jɐ-p^{hi}-nə-cə*
 horse quickly PFV:TR-ride₂-3PL SEQ PFV-escape₂-3PL-MED
 They were so frightened that they quickly mounted their horses and fled.

21. *q^hoʔ* *təmdána* *ɐrtʃówɐ* *o-vlo* *kə-vde* *o-tánʔ=kə*
 SEQ in.the.end pilgrim 3SG:POSS-idea NMLZ-be.good 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
rtʃaxpe=rɐʔ=kə *ɐrtʃówɐ* *kɐ-nərtʃaxpe* *mə-nɐ-c^hɐʔ-nə-cə*
 bandit=PL=ERG pilgrim INF-rob NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3PL-MED
 In the end, thanks to the pilgrim’s good strategy, the bandits were not able to rob him.

²¹⁹ An exclamation of shock and dismay involving the word *émo* ‘my mother’ and two nonsense syllables.

THE BALD CORPSE
"gobl̥ t̥ʃpov̥? o-xpe
Narrator: Don'grub

1. *kə-sɣi=cɛ=nəʔ*
 one-day=INDF=TOP
kə-t̥ʃpu=cəʔ *ó-nay* *kə-set* *nə-lɔ-nəŋo*
 one-household=INDF 3SG:POSS-inside NMLZ-die PFV-occur₂-MED
 One day, someone died in a certain household.
2. *qʰoʔ* *nə-kə-set=nəʔ* *"gobl̥=cəʔ* *nɐ-ŋo* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-die₂=DET bald.person=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED
 And the deceased was a bald person.
3. *qʰoʔ* *t̥ʃpov̥?=nəʔ*
 SEQ corpse=DET
p̥ertsɛpʰi *refkəɣʔ*²²⁰ *te-peʔ-nə*
 hey.loft shroud.wrapping.method PFV:TR-do₂-3PL
qʰoʔ *nɛ-te-nə-nəŋo*
 SEQ PFV:DOWN:TR-place₂-3PL-MED
 And they wrapped up the corpse with white cloth, and placed it in the heyloft.
4. *qʰoʔ* *vl̥me* *ko-krəpəpe=cəʔ* *vl̥mtʃot*
 SEQ lama together.with-disciple:RDPL=INDF religious.services
nɐ-smo-ⁿdzə
 IPFV:PST-stay-3DU
 And a certain lama and his disciple stayed to perform religious services.

²²⁰A method of wrapping up a corpse in a bent sitting position, using white cotton cloth and ropes.

5. *q^hoʔ mer=nəʔ mtʃ^hotk^hay=nay kə-nə-rguʔ-ⁿdzə-nəŋo*
 SEQ night=DET shrine=inside PFV-SPON-sleep₂-3DU-MED
 And at night, the two of them went to sleep by themselves inside the shrine.

6. *q^hoʔ jonəvdaʔ=rəʔ nə-tʃ^hi=nəʔ kə-nəməmeʔ əntsətse=kə*
 SEQ host=PL 3PL:POSS-ladder=DET INF-stroke repeatedly=INS
nə-seʔ q^hoʔ ɛləɛlə nə-ɸpeʔ-nəŋo
 PFV-be.smooth SEQ IDPH PFV-become₂-MED
 The hosts (of the household) had stroked their ladder repeatedly, and it had become smooth.

7. *q^hoʔ mer*
 SEQ night
vləme o-krəpe=nəʔ nə-vər q^hoʔ ó-rjev
 lama 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET PFV-be.afraid₂ SEQ 3SG:POSS-sleep
me-ⁿge-wi-nəŋo
 NEG-IPFV-come-MED
 And at night, the lama's disciple got afraid, and could not fall asleep.

8. *q^hoʔ noʔomer=nəʔ sléŋɸ=rəʔ kəmtʃ^ha nə-to-cə*
 SEQ that.night=DET moon=PL a.bit IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 That night, there was a bit of moonlight.

9. *q^hoʔ vləme ko-krəpəpe ⁿdzə-sərⁿguʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ lama together.with-disciple 3DU:POSS-sleeping.place=DET
təfɛzʔ=kə tə-kə-səworʔ=cəʔ
 interwoven.stake=INS PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-surround₂=INDF

rjɛzɛvʔ o-χte nɛ-ŋo-cə
 partition 3SG:POSS-replacement IPFV:PST-be₂-MED

And the lama and his disciple's sleeping place was surrounded by interwoven stakes as a makeshift for a plank partition.

10. *q^hoʔ vlɛme o-krəpe=nəʔ tɚʃɛzʔ o-mcɛrʔ*
 SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET stake 3SG:POSS-interstice
ne-mp^hɛri=nəʔ
 IPFV-look=SUB

And when the lama's disciple was looking through the interstices of the stakes,

11. *o-koʔ ɁlɛɁlɛ kə-pe=cəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-head IDPH NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF
tʃ^himŋoʔ=z tə-kə-nlɔ=cəʔ nɛ-fsət ŋoʔ-cə
 top.edge.of.ladder=LOC PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come.out₂=INDF IPFV-be.like be-MED
 it seemed as if something came out from the top edge of the ladder, with its head bald and smooth.

12. *q^hoʔ vlɛme o-krəpe=nəʔ*
 SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET
o-q^hostot ʃla t^he-jɔʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-upper.body immediately PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-raise₂-MED
q^hoʔ təʃpovʔ tə-wɛʔ ŋoʔ ne-səsi-cə
 SEQ corpse PFV:UP-come₂ be PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And the lama's disciple immediately sat upright (lit. raised his upper body), and thought, "The corpse has come upstairs!"

13. *q^hoʔ o-vlɛme=p^ha*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-lama=place
ɐ-vlɛme ɐkiʔ koʔ=nəʔ tə-wɛʔ ʃteʔ
 1SG:POSS-lama on.down.there this=DET PFV:UP-come₂ be:EMPH
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And he said to his lama, “My lama, this one down there has come upstairs!”

14. *q^hoʔ o-vlɛme=kə tʃ^hə tə-wɛʔ ŋoʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-lama=ERG what PFV:UP-come₂ be
te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ ʔ^hdɛ nə-mp^hɛri
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED=SUB EXCL IMP-look
təʃpovʔ tə-wɛʔ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 corpse PFV:UP-come₂ be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 When his lama said, “What has come up,” (he said), “Why, look! The corpse has come upstairs!”

15. *q^hoʔ o-vlɛme=nəʔ ʃla*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-lama=DET immediately
o-q^hostot t^he-ʃoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-upper.body PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-raise₂-MED
nə-mp^hɛri-cə=nəʔ
 PFV-look₂-MED=SUB
kətaʔ təʃpovʔ tə-kə-wɛʔ=cəʔ né-ʃsət ŋoʔ-cə
 really corpse PFV-NMLZ-come₂=INDF IPFV-be.like be-MED
 His lama sat upright right away and looked, and it really seemed that the corpse had come upstairs.

16. *təmdánə tərfezə? o-mcer? ne-mp^héri-ⁿdzə*
 in.fact stake 3SG:POSS-interstice IPFV-look-3DU
ozor? ne-málmó-ⁿdzə=nə?
 meanwhile IPFV-move-3DU=SUB
fèⁿdi sləŋeŋⁿgu? t^hi o-ko? k^lə^lə^lə? né-pe
 place.to.the.west moonlight ladder 3SG:POSS-head IDPH IPFV-do
q^ho? ne-kə-málmó-cə né-fsət ŋo?-cə
 SEQ IPFV-NMLZ-move-MED IPFV-be.like be-MED
 The truth is, when the two of them were looking through the interstices of the stakes, and moving at the same time, the top of the ladder looked smooth under the moonlight and appeared to be moving.

17. *q^ho? vləme ko-krəpəpe=ni?[?]=kə*
 SEQ lama together.with-disciple:RDPL=DU=ERG
təfpov? tə-we? ŋo? ne-səsi-ⁿdzə-cə
 corpse PFV:UP-come be PFV:TR-think₂-3DU-MED
 And the lama and his disciple thought that the corpse had come upstairs.

18. *q^ho? ⁿdzə-mkom pərvú=nay rtsəmpə*
 SEQ 3DU:POSS-head.side flour.box=inside tsampa
kə-rko=nə?[?]=rə? no?oséfsət t^hi
 NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in=DET=PL thus ladder
o-kó?[?]=ta ne-wérét-ⁿdzə-cə
 3SG:POSS-head=top PFV:TR-throw₂-3DU-MED
 And they threw the tsampa in the flour-box by the head side (of the sleeping place) at the top of the ladder just like that.

19. *q^hoʔ noʔosáfsi=nəʔ ne-mp^hɛri-ⁿdzə=nəʔ*

SEQ next.day=DET PFV:TR-look₂-3DU=SUB

t^himŋoʔ rtsempɛ t^hoŋʔt^hoŋʔ ne-sə-tsəʔ-ⁿdzə

top.edge.of.ladder tsampa IDPH²²¹ PFV:TR-CAUS-do₂-3DU

The next day, when they took a look, (they saw that) they had made the top edge of the ladder covered with the tsampa.

20. *q^hoʔ təmdánə təʃpovʔ nɛ-ma t^hi*

SEQ in.fact corpse IPFV:PST-not.be₂ ladder

o-koʔ nɛ-ʃte-nəŋo

3SG:POSS-head IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂-MED

The truth was, it wasn't the corpse, it was just the top ends of the ladder.

21. *q^hoʔ χfíkə tə-mŋo ne-tʃeʔ-ⁿdzə nɛ-t^hoz-cə*

SEQ very GP:POSS-face PFV:TR-lose₂-3DU IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

And the two of them lost a lot of face, it was said.

²²¹ An ideophone describing powdery objects scattered all over the place.

FIRST STORY OF AN OLD MONK FOOLED BY HIS DISCIPLE

vlergensc^hanə? ovgéprucə xpe

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *šyonts^he=z vlergen koḡgeprúpru=cə? ⁿge-to^l-ⁿdzə ŋo^l-cə*
 former.time=LOC old.monk with.disciple=INDF IPFV-exist-DU be-MED
 Once there lived an old monk and a disciple of his.

2. *q^ho^l pa=cə? ⁿge-nⁿgo^l-ⁿdzə ŋo^l-cə*
 SEQ pig=INDF IPFV-keep-DU be-MED
 And they kept a pig.

3. *kə-šji^l=cε=nə? pa ne-nt^he^l-ⁿdzə*
 one-day=INDF=DET pig PFV:TR-kill₂-DU
 One day, they killed the pig.

4. *q^ho^l vlergen=kə o-vgépru ó-p^ha=z*
 SEQ old.monk=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
paše ts^hoŋrvə=z t^hv-tsom?
 pork market=LOC IMP:DOWNRIVER-take.thither
q^ho^l v-nə-tə-ntswə? te-tsə^l-cə
 SEQ IRR-IMP-2-sell₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the old monk said to his disciple, “Take the pork to the marketplace and sell it.”

5. *vgépru=nə^l=kə xšíkə paše kv-ⁿdze ne-səse? ŋo^l-cə*
 disciple=DET=ERG very pork INF-eat PFV:TR-want₂ be-MED
 The disciple wanted to eat the pork very much.

6. *fə̀nəʔ o-vlɛrgɛn=kə v-ʃə-nə-tə-ntswɛʔ te-tsəʔ*
 but 3SG:POSS-old.monk=ERG IRR-AND-IMP-2-sell₃ PFV:TR-say₂
 But the old monk said, “Go and sell it!”

7. *qʰónəʔ noʔofsəʃsi=nəʔ paʃe te-fkor-cə*
 SEQ:EMPH next.day=DET pork PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back₂-MED
qʰoʔ tsʰoŋrɛ=z tʰe-tsom-cə
 SEQ market=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂-MED
 So the following day, he carried up the pork on his back, and took it downriver to the market.

8. *qʰoʔ pa-sno-fe kə-náχtu tá-toʔ-nə əntsátse*
 SEQ pig-be.crazy-flesh NMLZ:SBJ-buy²²² 2:Q-exist-3PL repeatedly
ne-nɛtsətsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂:REDL-MED
 And he repeatedly said, “Does anybody want to buy pork of a crazy pig?”²²³

9. *fə̀nəʔ nanlǎskəʳdenəʔ pa-sno-fe kə-náχtu=nəʔ*
 but certainly pig-be.crazy-meat NMLZ:SBJ-buy=DET
mɛ ɲoʔ-cə
 not.exist be-MED
 But of course no one would buy pork of a crazy pig!

10. *qʰoʔ le-sɛjwɛt-cə*
 SEQ PFV:UPRIVER:TR-take.back₂-MED
 And he took it back upriver.

²²² With the spontaneous prefix *nə-*, this verb means ‘buy willingly’.

²²³ Literally ‘Are there buyers of crazy pig’s flesh?’

11. *q^hoʔ o-vlɛrgɛn ó-p^ha=z*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-old.monk 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
paʃe=nəʔ tʃ^hə ɲoʔ=ˈdenəʔ
 pork=DET what be=for
ɛdenbe kə-náχtu mɛ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə
 EMPH NMLZ:SBJ=buy not.exist-MED PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And said to his old monk, “I don’t know why but no one wanted to buy the pork.”

12. *o-vlɛrgɛn=kə paʃe kə-náχtu kə-mɛ*
 3SG:POSS-old.monk=ERG pork NMLZ:SBJ-buy NMLZ-not.exist
mɛ-kə-tʃ^hoʔz²²⁴
 NEG-NMLZ-be.the.rule
 The old monk (said), “No one to buy the pork! How could that be?”

13. *ʃsáʃsi=nəʔ ɛjiʔ=ntʃ^hon t^he-wi-aŋ*
 tomorrow=DET 1SG=also IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come-1SG
reʔ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə
 be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “I must also come downriver (with you) tomorrow,” he said.

14. *leʔ nəʔofsáʃsi=nəʔ ts^hoŋrɛ=z t^hɛ-ɛre-ˈdzə*
 again next.day=DET market=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂-3DU
 And they went downriver again the next day.

²²⁴ Exemplified here is an idiomatic, accented use of the nominalized verb *kə-tʃ^hoʔz* ‘be the rule’. A copula here would be ungrammatical.

15. *q^hoʔ* *ʁgɛpru=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ disciple=DET=ERG
ʃorʔ *paʃe=nəʔ* *tə-náχtu-nə* *əntse* *ne-nɛtsətsəʔ-cə*
 yesterday pork=DET IMP-buy-2PL repeatedly IPFV-say:REDL-MED
 And the disciple kept saying, “Buy yesterday’s pork!”
16. *ʃənəʔ* *paʃe* *kə-náχtu* *nɐ-mɛʔ* *məkəts^hɛt*
 but pork NMLZ-buy IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ not.only
kəmaʔ=rɐʔ=kə *kə-sɛnɛk^hoj*
 other=PL=ERG NMLZ:SBJ-be.bullying
nɛkəʔ *pa-sɲo-fe* *kə-náχtu* *mɛ=kə*
 there.at.your.location pig-crazy-meat NMLZ:SBJ-buy not.exist=DM
té-tsə=nə *oʒorʔ*
 IPFV-say-3PL meanwhile
 But, not only was there no one to buy the pork, but the others (i.e. the village folks) while saying, “Outrageous! Who wants to buy pork of a crazy pig!”
17. *rkɛtu* *te-ⁿdi-nə-cə*
 stick PFV:UP-take₂-3PL-MED
q^hoʔ *kɐ-sɛ-ɐⁿdu* *te-je-nə-cə*
 SEQ INF-GP-beat.up PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL-MED
 Meanwhile, they picked up sticks, and began to beat up the two of them.
18. *q^hoʔ* *ʁgɛpru=kə* *o-ɐlɛrgɛn* *te-fkor-cə*
 SEQ disciple=ERG 3SG:POSS-old.monk PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back₂-MED
 And the disciple carried his master up onto his back.

19. *q^hoʔ v-vlɛrgɛn mə-nə-tə-βⁿdu-nə*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-old.monk NEG-IMP-2-beat.up-2PL
v-vlɛrgɛn mə-nə-tə-βⁿdu-nə te-nɛtsətsəʔ
 1SG:POSS-old.monk NEG-IMP-2-beat-2PL PFV:TR-say₂:RDPL
 And kept saying, “Don’t beat my old monk! Don’t beat my old monk!”
20. *oʒorʔz o-vlɛrgɛn ɣétʰəsfəsʰsi ne-nɛʃtʰəʃtʰəzʔ-cə*
 while 3SG:POSS-old.monk here.and.there PFV:TR-present₂:RDPL-MED
 All the while presenting his old monk here and there (to meet the blows).
21. *q^hoʔ vlɛrgɛn=nəʔ rtártov tə-oy-lét-cə*
 SEQ old.monk=DET beating.with.rod PFV-INV-do₂-MED
 And his old monk was given a good rod-beating.
22. *q^hoʔ tə-p^{hi}=kə²²⁵ le-nəre-ⁿdzə*
 SEQ NMLZ-escape₂=INS PFV:UPRIVER:TR-go.back₂-3DU
nɛ-re-cə
 IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED
 And they had to run away back upriver.
23. *q^hoʔ tʃoⁿbɛjʔ o-vzər prak^hoŋ ó-p^{hi}=z*
 SEQ way 3SG:POSS-side cliff.cave 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC
nɛ-nərmɛʔ-ⁿdzə-cə
 IPFV:PST-spend.the.night₂-3DU-MED
 And they rested for the night under a cliff cave along the way.

²²⁵ The verbal meaning ‘escape’ is here expressed as an adverbial comprising the nominal form *tə-p^{hi}*. Alternatively, the infinitive form *ké-p^{hi}* or even a finite form *lɛ-p^{hi}-ⁿdzə* may be used a serial verb construction with the main verb *lɛ-nə-βre-ⁿdzə*.

24. *q^hoʔ mer=nəʔ kɛ-rⁿgu tə-mda=nəʔ*
 SEQ night=DET INF-sleep PFV-be.time₂=SUB
 And when it was about time to go to bed,

25. *vlɛrgɛn=kə forʔ=z*
 old.monk=ERG yesterday=LOC
v-ɣgépru=kə tə-o-nəvloʔ=ɑŋ məkəts^hɛt
 1SG:POSS-disciple=ERG PFV-INV-cheat₂-1SG not.only
josŋiʔ nɛ-o-saɣⁿduʔ-ɑŋ=kə
 today PFV-INV-cause.to.beat₂=1SG=DM
 the old monk (thought), “My disciple not only cheated me yesterday but also caused me to be beaten up today,”

26. *jomerʔ ɣónə*
 tonight TOP:EMPH
o-χirtsot kə-vdəvde=cəʔ te-pɔ-ɑŋ reʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-revenge NMLZ:SBJ-be.good:RDPL=INDF IPFV-do₃-1SG be.necessary-MED
ne-səsi-cə
 PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 “tonight, I must take good revenge on him,” he thought.

27. *q^hoʔ o-ɣgépru=nəʔ tɛmt^he*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET bottom.side.of.sleeping.place
ne-səɣⁿguʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-cause.to.sleep₂-MED
 And he made his disciple sleep at the bottom side.

28. *fə̀nəʔ ʁgɛ́pru=kə*
 SEQ disciple=ERG
o-vlɛrgɛn tʃʰə jə-pɔj ŋonəʔ ne-sərtɔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-old.monk what PROS-do₃ TOP:EMPH PFV:TR-discover₂-MED
 But the disciple discovered what his old monk was going to do.
29. *qʰoʔ vlɛrgɛn=nəʔ χʃikə o-kɛ-znɛ́je χserzgeʔ=cəʔ*
 SEQ old.monk=DET very 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cherish gold.saddle=INDF
nɛ-to ŋoʔ-cə
 IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 And the old monk had a much cherished golden saddle.
30. *qʰoʔ nənəʔ=nəʔ ʰdzə-vzər ne-te-cə*
 SEQ ANA=DET 3DU:POSS-side PFV:TR-put₂-MED
 And he put that beside them.
31. *qʰoʔ fɔ́rⁿge=nəʔ o-ʁgɛ́pru səqɛtsútsu tə-rɛroʔ-cə*
 SEQ midnight=DET 3SG:POSS-disciple stealthily PFV-get.up₂-MED
qʰoʔ tɛmtʰe=nəʔ χserzgeʔ ne-te-cə
 SEQ bottom.side.of.sleeping.place=DET gold.saddle PFV:TR-put₂-MED
 And at midnight, the disciple stealthily got up, and put the gold saddle at the bottom side of their sleeping place.
32. *qʰoʔ o-jiʔ=nəʔ ʰdzə-pafɛ tʰe-poʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=DET 3DU:POSS-pork PFV:TR-roast₂
qʰoʔ kɛ-ⁿdze te-je-cə
 SEQ INF-eat PFV:TR-begin₂-MED
 And as for himself, he roasted their pork and began to eat it.

33. *détsə jərmə=nəʔ vlərgən=ntʰon tə-steʔ-cə*
 after.a.while about=DET master=also PFV-wake.up₂-MED
 After a while, the old monk also woke up.

34. *qʰoʔ taqajsuʔ tʰe-lêʔ*
 SEQ kicking PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-do₂
oʒorʔz koʔ tə-ⁿdzə te-tsəʔ-cə
 meanwhile this IMP-eat₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And he gave (at the bottom side of the sleeping place) a kick, saying meanwhile, “Eat this!”

35. *qʰoʔ təmdána o-χserzgeʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ in.fact 3SG:POSS-gold.saddle=DET
pra ó-pʰi=z qərnəmʔ nə-to-cə
 cliff 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC large.river IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-nəʃ=z tʰe-nə-wəret-cə
 SEQ ANN 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-SPON-throw₂-MED
 What really happened was he kicked the gold saddle down into a large river below the cliff.

36. *qʰoʔ v-kgépru*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-disciple
tʰv-nə-wəret-aŋ ŋoʔ ne-səsi-cə
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-SPON-throw₂-1SG be PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And he thought, “I have kicked my disciple down river!”

37. *qʰoʔ o-sem kə-vde leʔ kə-nəjevʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart NMLZ-be.good again PFV-fall.asleep₂-MED
 And he felt good and fell back to sleep again.

38. *nəʔofsəfsi təmtʃuʔ vlərgən=nəʔ tə-rəroʔ*
 next.day early.morning old.monk=DET PFV-get.up₂
 Early next morning, the old monk got up.
39. *q^hoʔ t^he-mp^həri=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB
 When he was looking,
40. *o-vgépru=kə pafe vsv-ⁿdze*
 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG pork CONT:HTR-eat
o-fət=kə jə-səyzət ŋoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-extent=INS PROS-eat.up be-MED
 (he saw that) his disciple was eating so much pork he had almost consumed it.
41. *q^hoʔ vlərgən χfikə nə-ənəmts^herʔ-cə*
 SEQ old.monk very PFV-be.surprised₂-MED
 And the old monk was very surprised.
42. *q^hoʔ án-tʃ^hə tə-əsv-pe ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ EMPH-what 2-CONT:HTR-do be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “What on earth are you doing?” he said.
43. *o-vgépru=nəʔ=kə ándə forme koʔ tə-ⁿdze tə-tə-tsəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG EXCL last.night this IMP-eat₃ PFV-2-say₂
q^hónə pafe te-kə-ⁿdze ŋoʔ-cə nə-səsi-aŋ
 SEQ:EMPH pork IPFV-GP-eat be-MED PFV-think₂-1SG
q^hoʔ vsv-ⁿdze-aŋ ŋoʔ
 SEQ CONT:HTR-eat-1SG be
 And the disciple (answered), “Oh, because last night you said, ‘Eat this!’ I thought it is OK to eat the pork, so I am eating it!”

44. *o-vlɛrgɛn=kə* *ne-fsɛ-cə=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-old.monk=ERG PFV:TR-hear₂-MED=SUB
o-múru=kə *jə-nə-ⁿbaʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-anger=INS PROS-PFV-burst₂-MED
 When his old monk heard this, he almost exploded with rage.
45. *ʃənəʔ* *o-ké-tsə=cəʔ* *nɛ-mɛʔ-cə*
 but 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-say=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED
 But he had nothing to say.
46. *q^hoʔ* *kɛ-náʃɛ* *tə-mda=nəʔ*
 SEQ INF-go.back PFV-be.time₂=SUB
vlɛrgɛn *o-χserzgeʔ* *məŋɛ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 old.monk 3SG:POSS-gold.saddle not.be.seen be-MED
 When it was time to go back, the old monk found his gold saddle missing.
47. *q^hoʔ* *o-ɸgépru* *ó-p^ha=z*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
ɸχserzgeʔ *tʃ^hə* *nə-fsət* *ŋoʔ* *tɛ-tsəʔ-cə*
 1SG:POSS-gold.saddle what PFV-happen₂ be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And he asked his disciple, “What happened to my gold saddle?”
48. *q^hoʔ* *o-ɸgépru=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG
ándɛ *forme* *nɛjiʔ* *tʃ^hɛ* *ŋoʔ* *ⁿdenəʔ*
 EXCL last.night 2SG why be for
taqajsuʔ *t^hɛ-tə-lét*
 kicking PFV:DOWNRIVER-2-do₂

q^hoʔ taciʔ ó-naŋ nɛ-tə-nə-wɛrɛt te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ river 3SG:POSS-inside PFV-2-SPON-throw₂ PFV:TR-say₂-MED

His disciple said, “Last night, I didn’t know why but you gave it a kick and made it fall into the river.”

49. *q^hoʔ vlɛgɛn=nəʔ méju o-múru tə-ⁿgu-cə*
 SEQ old.monk=DET further 3SG:POSS-anger PFV-rise₂-MED

And the old monk grew even more angry.

50. *ʃənəʔ o-kɛ-pe=cəʔ nɛ-mɛʔ-cə*
 but 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED

But there was nothing he could do about it.

51. *q^hónə nəʔosɛfsət lɛ-ɛnəre-ⁿdzə-cə*
 SEQ thus PFV:UPRIVER-go.back₂-3DU-MED

And so they went back home just like that.

SECOND STORY OF AN OLD MONK FOOLED BY HIS DISCIPLE

vlərgəns^hənaʔ oŋgəpruca ɣpe

Narrator: Don'grub

1. *kə-təpu=cəʔ kə-set kə-rdoʔ nə-lo ŋoʔ-cə*
 one-household=INDF NMLZ-die one-CL PFV-occur₂ be-MED
 In a certain household, a person died.

2. *q^hoʔ vləme ko-krəpəpe=cəʔ*
 SEQ lama together.with-disciple:RDPL=INDF
vləmtʃot ʃə-ne-sqor-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 religious.services go.and-PFV:TR-send.for-3PL be-MED
 And they went and invited a lama and his disciple to come render religious services.

3. *q^hoʔ vləme o-krəpe=nəʔ*
 SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET
mə-rəvloj kə-mə=cəʔ nə-ŋo-cə
 NEG-think.of.ways.to.do.something NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 The disciple was one who was full of ideas.

4. *q^ho o-vləme=sc^hənaʔ nə-nəvləmtʃõtⁿdzə-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-lama=and IPFV:PST-do.religious.services_{2-3DU}-MED
 And he and his lama were performing religious services.

5. *q^hoʔ tərmók^he ɛvaŋ kə-skur tə-mda=nəʔ*
 SEQ dusk power INF-endow PFV-be.time₂=SUB
 At dusk, when it was time to perform the consecration ceremony,²²⁶

²²⁶ WT <dbang.skur>, referring to a ritual at the end of sutra-chanting during which the host family gather to be sprinkled with holy water and blessed by the lama.

6. *o-vlɛme=nəʔ* *tʃʰɛfsaŋ* *je-vre-cə*
 3SG:POSS-lama=DET urine PFV-go2-MED
 his lama went away to relieve himself.
7. *qʰoʔ* *nəʔ* *o-pɛrtʰv=scʰənəʔ*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-interval=SUB
o-krəpe=nəʔ=kə *səqɛtsútsu* *tɛrⁿdəmmye*
 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG stealthily business.end.of.flail
fə-te-nɛŋoro-cə
 go.and-PFV:TR-see2-MED
 During that interval, the lama's disciple stealthily went and sought a business end of flail.
8. *qʰoʔ* *tɛrⁿdəmmye* *ó-fnoz=nəʔ*
 SEQ business.end.of.flail 3SG:POSS-end=DET
təʃpovʔ *ó-pʰi* *le-tʃərʔ-cə*
 corpse 3SG:POSS-underside PFV:TR-stick2-MED
 And stuck the end of the business end of flail under the corpse.
9. *qʰoʔ* *leʔ* *o-ntse* *ó-fnoz=nəʔ*
 SEQ again 3SG:POSS-other.part 3SG:POSS-end=DET
o-vlɛme *o-vjó=pʰi* *tʰe-kə-ʃv* *te-pe-cə*
 3SG:POSS-lama 3SG:POSS-cushion=under IPFV-NMLZ-go PFV:TR-do2-MED
 And made the tip of the other end of the flail go out under the lama's cushion.
10. *qʰoʔ* *tɛrⁿdəmmye* *o-χcəl* *ó-pʰi=nəʔ*
 SEQ business.end.of.flail 3SG:POSS-center 3SG:POSS-underside=DET
tɛremʔ *tʰe-tʃərʔ-cə*
 plank PFV:TR-insert2-MED
 And he inserted a plank under the middle part of the business end of flail.

11. *q^hoʔ p^hents^hən te-kə-ntonʔtenʔ te-pe-cə*
 SEQ each other IPFV-NMLZ-work.like.a.lever PFV:TR-do₂-MED
 And made the two (objects) work like a lever.
12. *q^hoʔ káde nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ a.while PFV-elapsed₂=SUB
o-vlɛme kə-wɛʔ-cə q^hoʔ ó-ste tə-ɛmdzuʔ-cə=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-lama PFV:EAST-come₂-MED SEQ 3SG:POSS-place PFV-sit₂-MED=SUB
 In a while, when his lama came back and sat down at his seat,
13. *o-sém=p^hi=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-heart=under=TOP
təʃpovʔ juɣ²²⁷ nə-kə-peʔ=cəʔ nə-fsət-cə
 corpse IDPH PFV-NMLZ-do₂=INDF PFV-be.like₂-MED
 he felt that the corpse seemed to have twitched.
14. *q^hoʔ vlɛme=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ lama=DET=ERG
tʃ^hítʃ^hikə²²⁸ təʃpovʔ=nəʔ
 EXCL corpse=DET
kə-málmo te-je máʔsokə ne-səsi-cə
 INF-move PFV:TR-begin₂ DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And the lama thought, “Hey! Could it be that the corpse has started to move?”
15. *q^hoʔ rjéspe nə-ⁿdonʔ*
 SEQ quite.a.while IPFV:PST-chant₂
 And he chanted on for quite a while.

²²⁷ An ideophone describing a twitching or shuddering motion.

²²⁸ An exclamation expressing great surprise.

16. *q^hoʔ p^howe=rɐʔ nɛ-zɣôʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ *phowa*²²⁹=PL PFV:DOWN-arrive₂=SUB
q^hoʔ təʃpovʔ o-p^howe te-lêʔ-cə
 SEQ corpse 3SG:POSS-*phowa* PFV:TR-do₂-MED

When (he chanted down the sutra text till) it was time for the *phowa* ritual, he performed it on the corpse.

17. *q^hoʔ p^huz te-tsəʔ=ʃənəʔ*
 SEQ EXCL PFV:TR-say₂=SUB:EMPH
təʃpovʔ leʔ nə-kə-məlmo=cəʔ nə-fsâʔ-cə
 corpse again PFV-NMLZ-move₂=INDF PFV-be.like₂-MED

Just when he said, “*Phus!*” (while blowing a breath of air on the head of the corpse), the corpse again seemed to move.

18. *təmdána o-krəpe=kə*
 in.reality 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG
tɛrⁿdəmmɲe toŋtenʔ tə-kə-səpe te-peʔ
 business.end.of.flail lever PFV-NMLZ-cause.to.do₂ PFV:TR-do₂

The truth was that his disciple caused the business end of the flail to work like a lever.

19. *q^hoʔ vlɛme o-ʃiʔ ne-məlmo=sc^hənəʔ*
 SEQ lama 3SG:POSS-self IPFV-move=SUB
təʃpovʔ ne-məlmo ʃteʔ-nəŋo
 corpse IPFV-move be:EMPH-MED

Whenever the lama was moving, the corpse was moving.

²²⁹ WT <’pho.ba>, a deathbed-rituals for assisting the transference of the spirit of the deceased into bardo (WT <bar.do>), the transitional state between death and rebirth, performed by lamas chanting a soul-delivering sutra called *smolɛm* and blowing a breath of air toward the top of the head of the deceased to help the soul to transmigrate.

20. *fənaʔ o-vləme=kə nəʔ me-ne-sərtə ɲoʔ-cə*
 but 3SG:POSS-lama=ERG ANA NEG-PFV:TR-discover₂ be-MED
 But his lama never realized this.
21. *qʰoʔ vləme=nəʔ=kə təʃpovʔ jə-rəro ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə*
 SEQ lama=DET=ERG corpse PROS-get.up be PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And the lama thought, “The corpse is going to rise!”
22. *qʰoʔ xwɛl²³⁰ tə-ⁿdzɔr-cə*
 SEQ IDPH PFV-stand₂-MED
qʰoʔ kɛ-rjuyʔ tə-p^{hi}=kə nɛ-nlɔ-cə
 SEQ INF-run NMLZ-escape₂=INS PFV:DOWN-exit₂-MED
 And he quickly stood up and fled, running downstairs.
23. *təmdána o-slome=kə tə-o-nɛts^həts^hɛt nɛ-ʃte-nəɲo*
 in.truth 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG PFV-INV-play.prank.on₂ IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂-MED
 The truth was that he had been played a prank on by his disciple.
24. *qʰoʔ təmɲo ɣʃikə ne-tʃet kɛ-tsə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ face very PFV:TR-lose₂ GP-say be-MED
 And he lost much face, it is said.

²³⁰ An ideophone describing a thickly-clothed person suddenly standing up.

ANAMTSHERANG THE HUNTER

kəqərɲiʔ enəmʈsʰéɾaŋ

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *ʂɲontsʰe=z kəqərɲiʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to-cə*
 former.time=LOC hunter=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 Once there was a hunter.
2. *enəmʈsʰéɾaŋ nɐ-rmi-cə*
 PN IPFV:PST-be.named₂-MED
 His name was Anamtsherang.
3. *qʰoʔ ʃə-nge-qərɲiʔ əntsətse ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ AND-IPFV-hunt often be-MED
 He often went hunting.
4. *qʰoʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET
naɲtʃen ome kə-xtɛʔ ó-naŋ nɐ-qərɲi-cə
 forest.virgin very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big 3SG:POSS-inside IPFV:PST-hunt₂-MED
 One day, he was hunting in a very big virgin forest.
5. *qʰoʔ tə-qənuʔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV-darken₂-MED
 And it became dark.
6. *qʰoʔ naɲtʃen ó-naŋ nɐ-nəɾme-cə*
 SEQ virgin.forest 3SG:POSS-inside IPFV:PST-spend.the.night₂-MED
 And he spent the night inside the virgin forest.

7. *smi=rɛʔ te-vlu tʃeʔ=rɛʔ ne-nsɛʎɛʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 fire=PL PFV:TR-make₂ tea=PL IPFV:PST-boil₂-MED=SUB
 When he built a fire and was boiling tea,
8. *káde jɛrmɛ=nəʔ fɛku yréko ó-ta=cɛ*
 after.a.while about=DET there.in.the.east ridge 3SG:POSS-top=LOC:INDF
ne-kə-ⁿgozⁿge=cəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 IPFV:WEST-NMLZ:SBJ-call₂=INDF exist be-MED
 in a while, there was someone calling him from somewhere near the ridge in the east,
9. *qi: ɛnɛmts^héranɲ te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 EXCL PN PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 “*Qi!* Anamtsherang!” the man called.
10. *q^hoʔ ɛnɛmts^héranɲ=kə koʔ naɲtʃɛn sɛstɔŋ=nəʔ ɐ-rmiʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG this virgin.forest wilderness=DET 1SG:POSS-name
te-kə-pe=nəʔ nəʔ fo ɲoʔ kə ne-səsi-cə
 IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-call=DET ANA who be DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And Anamtsherang thought, “Who can it be that calls my name in this wild virgin forest?”
11. *otɛ k^hénanɲ é-pe é-mo=rɛʔ*
 EXCL²³¹ home 1SG:POSS-father 1SG:POSS-mother=PL
mɛ-kə-ɛvdɔvde toʔ vréʔ-ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.well exist Q:EMPH-be PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 “Ah, could there be something wrong with my father and my mother at home?” he thought.

²³¹ An exclamation uttered when a possibility suddenly occurs to one.

12. *q^hoʔ o-jiʔ=ntʃ^hon qi: te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also EXCL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And so he also yell back “*Qi!*”

13. *q^hoʔ káde jərmə=nəʔ*
 SEQ after.a.while about=DET
enəmts^héraj o-rmiʔ te-kə-pe
 PN 3SG:POSS-name IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-do
qi: te-kə-tsə=nəʔ
 EXCL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say=DET
ó-p^ha=z kə-nərnərne kə-nərnərne ne-je-cə
 G:POSS-place=LOC INF-get.close:RDPL NF-get.close:RDPL FV:TR-begin₂-MED
 After a while, the one who called Anamtsherang’s name and yelled “*Qi!*” began to come closer and closer toward him.

14. *détsə jərmə=nəʔ o-t^héco sekotserʔ=z*
 in.a.while about=DET 3SG:POSS-downriver.place underbrush=LOC
o-jiʔ kə-sci enəməne
 3SG:POSS-self NMLZ:SBJ-be.like identically
ⁿbri=rəʔ kə-əsvə-mts^hi
 horse=PL NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-lead
fərtsaʔ kə-əsvə-ⁿge
 deerskin.coat NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear
tomde kə-əsvə-fkor=cəʔ
 gun NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-carry=INDF
lə-nlɔ ŋoʔ-cə
 PFV:UPRIVER-exit₂ be-MED

In about a while, out of the clearing in the bushes at the downriver side came a man exactly resembling Anamtsherang, riding a horse, wearing a deer-skin coat, and carrying a gun on his back.

15. *q^hoʔ tʃɛ̃lɛ ɛdenbe mɛ-kɛ-tʂə*
 SEQ anything at.all NEG-INF-say
ɛnɛmts^hɛraŋ o-sq^hje-vzəɹ ʃə-te-mdzuʔ-cə
 PN 3SG:POSS-stone.makeshift.trivet-side AND-PFV-sit₂-MED
 Without saying a word, he just went over and sat down beside Anamtsherang's stone trivet.

16. *q^hoʔ ɛnɛmts^hɛraŋ o-komɛzɛr kámʃ^ha ne-mdzu ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-creepy.feeling a.bit IPFV-sit be-MED
 Anamtsherang was feeling a bit creepy (lit. his hair stood on end).

17. *q^hoʔ ɛnɛmts^hɛraŋ=kə kɛŋɪk^hu te-tʃet-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG tobacco.leaf PFV:TR-take out₂-MED
 And Anamtsherang took out some tobacco leaves,

18. *q^hoʔ q^hɛnəʔ ó-p^ha tɛk^hu tə-skeʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place tobacco IMP-smoke₃ PFV:TR-say₃-MED
 and said to him, “Smoke some tobacco!”

19. *ʃənəʔ q^hɛnəʔ=kə nɛʃiʔ nɛ-tɛk^hu mɛ-skiʔ-aŋ*
 but ANA=ERG 2SG 2SG:POSS-tobacco NEG-smoke-1SG
ɛʃiʔ ɛ-tɛk^hu toʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 1SG 1SG:POSS-tobacco exist PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 But the creature said, “I do not smoke your tobacco, I have my own tobacco.”

20. *q^hoʔ o-jiʔ o-ték^hu*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self 3SG:POSS-tobacco
te-nə-tʃet te-ski-cə=nə
 PFV:TR-SPON-take.out₂ PFV:TR-smoke₂=SUB
 And as he took out his own tobacco and smoked,
21. *təmdánə o-ték^hu=nəʔ*
 in.fact 3SG:POSS-tobacco=DET
rtəxsəʔ tə-kə-səʔremʔ ɣoʔ ɣoʔ-cə
 horse.dung PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-dry₂ be be-MED
 it turned out to be dried horse dung.
22. *q^hoʔ kə-nəpriʔ tə-mda=nəʔ*
 SEQ INF-eat supper PFV-be.time₂=SUB
 When it was time to eat supper,
23. *ənəmts^héran=kə*
 PN=ERG
q^hənəʔ ó-p^ha rtsembə tə-ⁿdzə te-tsəʔ-cə
 ANA 3SG:POSS-place tsampa IMP-eat₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 Anamtsherang said to that man, “Eat (some) tsampa!”
24. *ʃənəʔ ɛjiʔ ɛ-rtsembə te-ná-ⁿdze-an joyʔ*
 ut 1SG 1SG:POSS-tsampa PFV-SPON-eat-1SG be.allowed
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 But he said, “I can eat my own tsampa.”

25. *q^hoʔ o-jiʔ o-rtɕembɐ te-nə-ⁿdzeʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self 3SG:POSS-tsampa PFV:TR-SPON-eat₂-MED
 And he ate his own tsampa.
26. *q^hoʔ təmdánə te-ⁿdzeʔ rtɕembɐ=nəʔ qɐrɐtyze ŋoʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ in.fact PFV:TR-eat₂ tsampa=DET sawdust be be-MED
 In fact what the tsampa that he ate was sawdust.
27. *q^hoʔ ɐnɐmts^héɾaŋ=kə nəʔ t^hɐmtʃet ne-mti=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA all PFV:TR-see₂=SUB
 When Anamtsherang saw all that,
28. *kə^rʔbjoʔ kə-maʔ=nəʔ ne-sərtɔ-cə*
 human NMLZ-not.be₂=DET PFV:TR-realize₂-MED
 he realized that this was no human being.
29. *q^hoʔ jomerʔ tájɔ nə-t^həy-ŋ-cə ne-səsi*
 SEQ tonight demon PFV-meet₂-1SG-MED PFV:TR-think₂
 And thought, “I have run into a demon tonight!”
30. *oʒorʔ χfíkə ne-vɐr ŋoʔ-cə*
 meanwhile very IPFV-be.afraid be-MED
 And he was very scared.
31. *q^hoʔ ʃənəʔ te-kɐ-ləlɐt=nəʔ*
 SEQ but IPFV-GP²³²-fight:RDPL=SUB
kətaʔ mɐ-kɐ-o-səyɕ^hɐ ʃteʔ kə ne-səsi-cə
 certainly NEG-GP-INV-defeat be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 “But if we fight, I will certainly fail,” he thought.

²³² The generic person prefix *kɐ-* here refers to the speaker himself.

32. *fə̀nəʔ kə̀-pe=cəʔ nə̀-meʔ-cə qʰoʔ*
 but NMLZ:SBJ:U-do=INDF IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED SEQ
nə̀-znamama-cə
 IPFV:PST-act.normal₂-MED

But he could not do anything, so he acted as if everything was normal.

33. *qʰoʔ mer kə̀-rⁿgu tə̀-mda=nəʔ*
 SEQ night INF-sleep PFV-be.time₂=SUB

When it was time to go to bed at night,

34. *ənəm̄tsʰéran̄=kə qʰənəʔ ó-pʰa*
 PN=ERG ANA 3SG:POSS-place
nə̀jiʔ ɲétʰə tə̀-rⁿgu te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 2SG where 2-sleep PFV:TR-say₂-MED=SUB

when Anamtsherang asked the creature, “Where do you want to sleep?”

35. *qʰənəʔ=kə ɲiʔ tʰɛfke-vzər rⁿgu-an̄ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 ANA=ERG 1SG fireplace-side sleep-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 It said, “I will sleep beside the fireplace.”

36. *ənəm̄tsʰéran̄=kə ɲiʔ ɲónə*
 PN=ERG 1SG TOP:EMPH
fə̀ⁿdi tórgi ó-pʰi=z
 there.to.the.west fir 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC
fə̀-ne-nə̀-rⁿgu-an̄ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 AND-IPFV-SPON-sleep-1SG be PFV-say₂-MED

And Anamtsherang said, “As for me, I will sleep below that fir tree over there to the west.”

37. *q^hoʔ kə-nə-rⁿguʔ-n dzə-cə*
 SEQ PFV-SPON-sleep₂-3DU-MED
 And the two went to bed each one by himself.
38. *kəmtʰa nə-tsoʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 a.little PFV-elapse₂-MED=SUB
 After some time,
39. *ənəmʰtʰéɾaŋ səqətsútsu tə-rəroʔ-cə*
 PN stealthily PFV-get.up₂-MED
 Anamtsherang stealthily got up,
40. *q^hoʔ kɛmɛru ó-naŋ t^həxpe te-səleʔ-cə*
 SEQ aluminum.pot 3SG:POSS-inside noodle.soup PFV:TR-boil₂-MED
 and boiled some noodle soup in a small pot.
41. *q^hoʔ kɛmɛru=nəʔ o-mkom=z ne-te-cə*
 SEQ small.pot=DET 3SG:POSS-head.side.of.bed=LOC PFV:DOWN:TR-put₂-MED
 And then he put the small pot down at the head side of his sleeping place.
42. *q^hoʔ tə-koʔ o-ʃpəz te-peʔ-nəŋo*
 SEQ GP:POSS-head 3SG:POSS-semblance PFV:TR-do₂-MED
 And made it look like his head.
43. *o-mt^he=z o-xtse ne-te-cə*
 3SG:POSS-foot.side.of.bed=LOC 3SG:POSS-shoe PFV:TR-put₂-MED
 And he put his shoes down at the foot side of his sleeping place,

44. *q^hoʔ* *ó-me* *t^he-kə-nlɔʔ* *o-fpəz-nəŋo*²³³
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-foot IPFV-NMLZ-come.out 3SG:POSS-semblance-MED
 and made it seem as if his feet were coming out.
45. *q^hoʔ* *ənəmst^héran* *skesném-rjət* *tomde* *te-fkor-cə*
 SEQ PN pants-only gun PFV:UP:TR-carry.on.back₂-MED
 And Anamtsherang, in his pants only, carried the gun onto his back,
46. *q^hoʔ* *tərgi-koʔ* *tə-vre-cə*
 SEQ fir.tree-head PFV:UP-go₂-MED
 and climbed up to the top of the fir tree.
47. *q^hoʔ* *skəmbə* *le-rəski-cə*
 SEQ hammer PFV:TR-pull₂-MED
 He pulled back the hammer (of the gun),
48. *q^hoʔ* *fəki* *t^hv-kə-rⁿguʔ=nəʔ* *ne-nəmŋaʔ-cə*
 SEQ down.there CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep₂=DET PFV:DOWN:TR-aim₂-MED
 and aimed down at the one who was sleeping below.
49. *q^hoʔ* *fórnge* *nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ midnight PFV-elapse₂=SUB
 When midnight passed,
50. *q^hənəʔ* *tə-rəroʔ-cə* *q^hoʔ* *smip^homŋe* *ne-te-cə*
 ANA PFV-get.up₂-MED SEQ blazing.fire PFV:TR-put₂-MED
 it (the demon) got up, and made a blazing fire.

²³³ This is a verbless sentence. Cf. the equivalent expression:

<i>ó-me</i>	<i>t^he-kə-nlɔʔ=kəsə</i>	<i>te-pe-nəŋo</i>
3SG:POSS-leg	IPFV:OUT-NMLZ-come.out=like	PFV:TR-do ₂ -MED

51. *q^hoʔ o-mtʃ^hen=z corlu ne-tʃet-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-armpit=LOC cobble PFV:TR-take.out₂-MED
 And it took out a cobble from its armpit,
52. *q^hoʔ smí=naŋ ne-wəret-cə*
 SEQ fire=inside PFV:DOWN:TR-throw₂-MED
 and threw it down into the fire,
53. *q^hoʔ smi rjéspe ne-vlu-cə*
 SEQ fire quite.a.while PFV:TR-burn₂-MED
 and burned it in the fire for quite a while.
54. *q^hoʔ q^henəʔ=kə smí=naŋ corlu=nəʔ t^he-tʃet-cə*
 SEQ ANA=ERG fire=inside cobble=DET PFV:OUT:TR-take.out₂-MED
 And then it took the cobble out from inside the fire,
55. *q^hoʔ o-jaɣpé=ta ne-yléʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-palm=top IPFV-rub₂ be-MED
 and was rubbing it in its palms.
56. *q^hoʔ naŋláskə corlu t^he-wərne ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ of.course cobble CONT:LTR-red₂ be-MED
 Of course, the cobble was red-hot,

57. *q^hoʔ o-jaxpé=naŋ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-palm=inside
smártsev nət^hjan^hjan^ʔ²³⁴ ne-nlɔʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 sparkle IDPH IPFV-come.out₂ be-MED
 and bright sparkles were coming from its palms.
58. *ʃənəʔ o-tə-wərne*
 but 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-be.red₂
mɛ-rtaʔ ɲoʔ ʃsât ⁿdenəʔ
 NEG-be.enough be be.like for
 But, as though it was not red-hot enough,
59. *leʔ smí=naŋ méju t^he-zwərne ɲoʔ-cə*
 again fire=inside further PFV:TR-redden₂ be-MED
 it threw it back into the fire and reddened it further.
60. *káde jɛrme nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 in.a.while about PFV-elapse₂=SUB
smí=naŋ corlu ʃla te-tʃet-cə
 fire=inside cobble quickly PFV:TR-take.out₂-MED
 After a while, it quickly took the cobble out of the fire,
61. *q^hoʔ ɛnɛmts^héran o-sɛ-rⁿgu-mkom*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-sleep₂-head.side.of.bed
ɛmɛru kɛ-teʔ ó-ta-ʃənəʔ
 small pot NMLZ:SBJ:U-put₂ 3SG:POSS-top-DET:EMPH

²³⁴ An ideophone describing bright sparkles jumping out continuously.

χc^həv²³⁵ ne-wəret-cə=nəʔ

IDPH PFV:TR-throw₂-MED=SUB

and hurled it straight at the small pot that got placed at the head side of Anamtsherang's sleeping place (and landed) with a dull sound.

62. *t^həxpe=rcənəʔ ɲét^hə fsəʔsi nə-nt^hwa ɲoʔ-cə*
noodle soup=TOP:EMPH everywhere PFV-burst₂ be-MED

And the noodle soup burst out all over the place.

63. *q^hoʔ q^hənəʔ=kə*

SEQ ANA=ERG

ənəm^héray ó-rnə nə-nt^hwa ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə

PN 3SG:POSS-brains PFV-burst₂ be PFV:TR-think₂-MED

It thought, "That must be Anamtsherang's brains bursting out."

64. *q^hoʔ tərɐ χəfcaʔ ne-lét-cə=nəʔ*

SEQ resounding.laughter PFV:TR-release₂-MED=SUB

And as it burst out into resounding laughter,

65. *ənəm^héray=kə tərɟi o-koʔ=z tomde te-lét-cə*

PN=ERG fir.tree 3SG:POSS-head=LOC gun PFV:TR-release₂-MED

Anamtsherang fired his gun on the fir tree,

66. *q^hənəʔ=rcənəʔ*

ANA=TOP:EMPH

te-zraχtfoⁿba kə-qfoʔ=rcənəʔ ne-səχtforɲəm-cə

PFV:TR-cause.to.scream₂ one-ravine=TOP:EMPH PFV:TR-cause.to.resound₂-MED

and made it utter screams and caused the whole ravine to resound with its screams.

²³⁵ An ideophone describing the dull sound of rocks or fists hitting human heads.

67. *q^hoʔ χfíkə wɐⁿdʒi²³⁶ ηoʔ-cə*
 SEQ very be.cold be-MED
 It was very cold,
68. *ʃənəʔ enəmts^héranj tējət kɐ-nlɔʔ=ntʃ^hon mə-nɐ-noz*
 but PN down INF-come.out=still NEG-IPFV:PST-dare₂
 but Anamtsherang did not dare come down yet.
69. *mə-lɐ-fsi məpért^he tǎrgi=ta nɐ-smo-cə*
 NEG-PFV-dawn₂ until fir.tree=top IPFV:PST-stay-MED
 And he stayed on the tree until it dawned.
70. *q^hoʔ lɐ-fsi noŋme o-sekóʔ=ta nɐ-nlɔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV-dawn₂ only.then 3SG:POSS-tree=top PFV:DOWN-come.out₂-MED
 And did not come down from his tree until it had dawned.
71. *q^hoʔ ʃə-kə-mp^heri-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ AND-PFV:EAST-look₂-MED=SUB
 And when he went over to take a look eastward,
72. *q^hənəʔ ó-ste=nəʔ*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-where.something.is=DET
kəjko o-ʃpovʔ=cəʔ kámaⁿdenəʔ
 red-billed.chough 3SG:POSS-corpse=INDF except
kdənbe tʃǐlɐ kə-toʔ nɐ-mɛʔ-cə
 at.all anything NMLZ:SBJ-exist IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED
 there was nothing at the place of that creature except the corpse of a red-billed chough.

²³⁶ Here the non-past verb form creates a vivid effect.

EXORCIST

χtfootépéwe

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *σηonts^he=z χtfootépéwe*
 former.time=LOC exorcist
χfíkə kə-rkaiη=cə? ⁿge-toʔ-cə
 very NMLZ:SBJ-be.capable=INDF IPFV-exist-MED
 Once upon a time, there was a very capable exorcist.

2. *q^hoʔ o-βgéprəγ-cə=rəʔ kə-rdɔʔ ⁿge-toʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=PL one-CL IPFV-exist-MED
 He had a disciple.

3. *q^hoʔ χtfootépéwe=nəʔ te-qénu*
 SEQ exorcist=DET IPFV-darken
q^hoʔ ne-nεʔǎfε ηoʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV-go:RDPL be-MED
 The exorcist would go to various places when it got dark.

4. *q^hoʔ mə-lε-fsi məpért^hε*
 SEQ NEG-PFV-get.light₂ not.until
me-ne-nεwáwi ηoʔ-cə
 NEG-IPFV-come:RDPL be-MED
 And he did not come back until daylight.

5. *təmdánə q^hεʔ χtfootépéwe=nəʔ mer ne-nεʔǎfε*
 in.fact ANA exorcist=DET night IPFV-go:RDPL
q^hoʔ o-ləspu pjεftaiη ne-tεʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-body bird.burial IPFV-place₃

q^hoʔ tájɔ=rɐʔ te-səⁿdzɐ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ ghost=PL IPFV-feed₃ be-MED

In fact, the exorcist went out to various places at night and sacrificed his body in bird-burial fashion to feed the ghosts.

6. *q^hoʔ χtʃotpéwe o-ɤgéprəɣ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ exorcist 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG
ɐ-ɤgerɣən mer ne-kə-nɐʃǎʃɐ=nəʔ
 1SG:POSS-master night IPFV-NMLZ-go:RDPL=SUB
tʃ^hə ne-pɔj ɲoʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə
 what IPFV-do₃ be=DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And the exorcist's disciple thought, "Why does my master keeps going out at night?"

7. *q^hoʔ kə-rjaʔ=cɛ=z o-ɤgerɣən te-nəŋq^huʔ-cə*
 SEQ one-night=INDF=LOC 3SG:POSS-master PFV:TR-follow₂-MED

One night, he followed his master,

8. *q^hoʔ o-ɤgerɣən o-ləspu pjɛʃtaŋ ne-tɛʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-master 3SG:POSS-body bird.burial IPFV-place₃
mɐⁿdzɐʔ=rɐʔ te-ffɛm
 offering.to.ghosts=PL IPFV-lay.out
tájɔ ne-ⁿbǎʃt^hɛ=nəʔ ne-sərtɔ-cə
 ghost IPFV-feed₃=SUB PFV:TR-discover₂-MED

and discovered that his master was laying out his own body as if in a bird burial to feed the ghosts.

9. *q^hoʔ ne-mp^héri=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-look=SUB

As he was looking,

10. *o-ɣgerɣen* *o-kʰoɣpe=rɐʔ* *ne-pʰaʔ*
 3SG:POSS-master 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=PL PFV:TR-split₂
 his master cut open his abdominal cavity,
11. *qʰoʔ* *tájo=rɐʔ=kə* *o-nanʈʂanʈʂu=rɐʔ*
 SEQ ghost=PL=ERG 3SG:POSS-innards=PL
kɐ-nʌdze *te-je-nə-cə=nəʔ*
 INF-eat PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL-MED=SUB
 and as the ghosts began to eat his innards,
12. *ɣgéprəɣ* *ɣʰikə* *ne-nəffɪ-cə*
 disciple very PFV:TR-feel.concerned.for₂-MED
 the disciple felt greatly concerned for his master.
13. *qʰoʔ* *tájo=rɐʔ* *kɐ-znɐpʰipʰi* *ne-səsi-cə*
 SEQ ghost=PL INF-cause.to.escape:RDPL PFV:TR-desire₂-MED
 He intended to make the ghosts go away,
14. *qʰoʔ* *ʃkótse* *ne-wɐret-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ rock PFV:TR-throw₂-MED=SUB
 and when he threw a rock,
15. *ʃkótse=nəʔ* *o-ɣgerɣen* *o-kʰoɣpé=nan*
 rock=DET 3SG:POSS-master 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside
nɐ-ɐre-cə
 PFV:DOWN-go₂-MED
 the rock fell into his master's abdominal cavity.

16. *q^hoʔ tǎjo=rɐʔ nǎ-p^hi-nǎ-cǎ*
 SEQ ghost=PL PFV-escape₂-3PL-MED
 And the ghosts all ran away.
17. *o-ʒgergɐn tǎ-steʔ-cǎ*
 3SG:POSS-master PFV-wake₂-MED
 And his master woke up.
18. *o-k^hoxpe o-lǎspu=rɐʔ*
 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity 3SG:POSS-body=PL
c^heʔ nǎŋter nɐ-kǎ-fsǎt=nǎʔ nǎ-fsǎt-cǎ
 former original.state IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like₂=DET PFV-be.like₂-MED
 And his abdominal cavity went back to its original state.
19. *q^hoʔ kǎtǎyre k^hénaŋ kǎ-ɐnǎre-ⁿdzǎ-cǎ*
 SEQ together home PFV:EAST-go.back₂-3DU-MED
 And they went east back home together.
20. *ʃǎnǎʔ o-ʒgergɐn o-k^hoxpé=naŋ*
 but 3SG:POSS-master 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside
ʃkótse tǎ-ʒni ŋoʔ-cǎ
 rock PFV-exist₂ be-MED
 But the rock got inside his master's abdominal cavity.
21. *q^hoʔ χtʃotpéwe=nǎʔ=kǎ o-ʒgéprǎy=p^ha*
 SEQ exorcist=DET=ERG 3SG:POSS-disciple=place
jomerʔ osto mǎ-tǎ-tǎ-so ŋoʔ
 tonight well NEG-PFV-2-do₂ be
 And the exorcist said to his disciple, “Tonight, you did not do things right,”

22. *v-kʰoχpé=naŋ* *ʃkótse tə-ɛni* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 1SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside rock PFV-exsit₂ be-MED
 “and the rock got inside my abdominal cavity.”
23. *kɛ-səsoʔ=nəʔ*
 INF-come.back.to.life=TOP
kɛ-səsoʔ *kəŋóɮe* *mɛ-cʰɛ-aŋ* *ŋoʔ*
 INF-come.back.to.life properly NEG-be.able-1SG be
 “As for coming back to life, I cannot properly come back to life.”
24. *qʰoʔ* *fsemer* *ta*
 SEQ tomorrow.night 3SG:POSS-top
ɛjiʔ *v-ləspu* *leʔ* *pjɛftaŋ* *ʃə-tɛʔ-aŋ* *ŋoʔ*
 1SG 3SG:POSS-body again bird.burial AND-place₃-1SG be
 “Tomorrow night, I will go again to sacrifice my body in a bird-burial fashion.”
25. *ʃorme* *tʃʰə* *nɛ-kə-ʃsət=nəʔ* *ʃə-ʃsət-aŋ* *ŋoʔ*
 last.night what IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like₂=DET AND-do.thus-1SG be
 “I will go and do exactly like what happened last night.”
26. *qʰoʔ* *nɛjiʔ* *ɛdɛnbe* *v-mə-nə-tə-vɛr*
 SEQ 2SG at.all IRR-NEG-IMP-2-fear
 “Do not be afraid at all.”
27. *qʰoʔ* *v-kʰoχpe=rɛʔ* *ⁿgɛ-ʃkʰɛ-aŋ* *orjájŋʔʂənəʔ*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=PL IPFV-spread.out₃-1SG when:EMPH
 “And the moment when I spread out (the innards in) my abdominal cavity,”

28. *kə-rjəɣʔ* *v-nə-tə-wi*
 INF-run IRR-IMP-2-come
 “come running,”
29. *qʰoʔ* *v-kʰoχpé=naŋ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside
ʃkótse *tə-kə-βni=nəʔ* *ʃla* *v-tə-tə-tʃət*
 rock PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-exist₂=DET quickly IRR-IMP:UP-2-take.out
 “and quickly remove the rock that got stuck in my belly.”
30. *nəʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 ANA PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 He said thus.
31. *qʰoʔ* *nəʔofsəmer=nəʔ*
 SEQ the.following.night=DET
βgéprəɣ=kə *o-βgergəβn* *tʃʰə* *te-tsəʔ=nəʔ=rəʔ*
 disciple=ERG 3SG:POSS-master what PFV:TR-say₂=DET=PL
tə-fsət-cə
 PFV-do.thus-MED
 And on the following night, the disciple did what his master had told him to do,
32. *qʰoʔ* *o-kʰoχpé=naŋ* *ʃkótse* *ké-tʃət*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside rock INF-take.out
nə-cʰvʔ-cə
 IPFV:PST-be.able₂-MED
 and managed to remove the rock inside his belly.

33. *q^hoʔ o-ɣgerɣen=nəʔ*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-master=DET

noŋme kəŋólɛ tə-səso-cə q^hoʔ mə-nə-set

only.then properly PFV-revive₂-MED SEQ NEG-PFV-die₂

And only then did the master completely revive and did not die.

34. *kɛ́-tsə nɛ-tʃ^hoʔ-cə*

GP-say IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

This is what people say happened.

SEKHAMALOSMAN

sek^hemelosmen

Narrator: Nyimathar

1. *rgenmu keⁿdzəmámε=cə?* *nε-to-ⁿdzə* *ηo[?]-cə*
 old.woman parent.and.daughter=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-2DU be-MED
 Once there lived an old woman with her daughter.
2. *q^ho[?] rgenmu ó-mε=nə?*
 SEQ old.woman 3SG:POSS-daughter=DET
sek^hemelosmen nε-rmi ηo[?]-cə
 PN IPFV:PST-be.named₂ be-MED
 The old woman's daughter was named "Sekhamalosman."
3. *q^ho[?] χíikə nε-mp^hjor?* *ηo[?]-cə*
 SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.beautiful₂ be-MED
 And she was very beautiful.
4. *q^ho[?] o-kə-séⁿbi χíikə nε-lден?* *ηo[?]-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-ask.for very IPFV:PST-exist.in.quantity₂ be-MED
 And there were many who asked to marry her.
5. *q^ho[?] tájο=kə=nt^hon*
 SEQ demon=ERG=also
rgenmu=ni? ⁿdzə-kómt^hɔ=z *ʃə-te-ⁿgózⁿge*
 old.woman=DU 3DU:POSS-courtyard=LOC AND-IPFV:UP-call
 And the demon would also go to the old woman and her daughter's courtyard and call them.

6. *q^hoʔ nə-mɛ kɐ-sɛⁿbi əntsətse ⁿgɛ-tɕə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 2PL:POSS-daughter GP-ask.for continuously IPFV-say be-MED
 And it kept saying, “Give your daughter (to me)!”

7. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmu=nəʔ=kə təʃo=p^ha*
 SEQ old.woman=DET=ERG demon=place
ɛ-mɛ o-rmiʔ kɛ-tɕə nɐ-tə-c^hɛʔ
 1SG:POSS-daughter 3SG:POSS-name INF-say IPFV:PST-2-be.able₂
q^hónə nɛ-rjɛv o-spe tɐ-ⁿbiʔ ɲoʔ
 SEQ:EMPH 2SG:POSS-wife 3SG:POSS-material 1→2-give be
nəʔ te-tɕəʔ-cə
 ANA PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the old woman said to the demon, “If you can call my daughter’s name, then I will give her to you as your wife.”

8. *q^hoʔ mer te-qɛnu=nəʔ*
 SEQ night IPFV-darken=SUB
rgɛnmú=kə ó-mɛ o-rmiʔ
 old.woman=ERG 3SG:POSS-daughter 3SG:POSS-name
kdɛnbe me-te-poj ɲoʔ-cə
 at.all NEG-IPFV-do₃ be-MED
 And when it got dark at night, the old woman would refrain completely from saying out her daughter’s name,

9. *ⁿdenəʔ təʃo=kə fsɐʔ kɐ-səsiʔ=kə*
 for demon=ERG hear₃ INF-think=INS
 thinking that the demon might hear it.

10. *qʰoʔ kə-ɾjaʔ=cɛ*
 SEQ one-night=INDF
qʰɛcʰwet=cəʔ²³⁷ rgɛnmu ʰdzə-βʰjuʔ=pʰi nɛ-sɛŋiʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 fox=INDF old.woman 3DU:POSS-window=under IPFV:PST-listen₂ be-MED
 One night, a fox was eavesdropping under the old woman and daughter's window.
11. *ʃənəʔ rgɛnmu=kə*
 but old.woman=ERG
ó-mɛ rmiʔ βdɛnbe me-te-poj ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-daughter name at.all NEG-IPFV-do₃ be-MED
 But the old woman was not saying her daughter's name at all.
12. *qʰoʔ nəʔosɛʃsət lɛ-fsi-cə*
 SEQ thus PFV-dawn₂-MED
 And it was just like this until it dawned.
13. *qʰoʔ le-fsiʔ qʰónə*
 SEQ IPFV-dawn SEQ:EMPH
tájo ne-nɛʃəʃɛ ʃteʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 demon IPFV-go.away be:EMPH be-MED
 And when it dawns, demons as a rule will go away.
14. *ʃənəʔ qʰɛcʰwet=nəʔ nəʔosɛʃsət kámʃʰa nɛ-smo-cə*
 but fox=DET thus a.bit IPFV:PST-stay-MED
 But the fox stayed (eavesdropping) in that manner for a little while.

²³⁷ According to folk belief, the fox is an accomplice to demons.

15. *q^hoʔ kɛde ne-sɛŋi=nəʔ*
 SEQ in.a.while IPFV-listen=SUB
rgɛnmu=kə ó-mɛ=p^ha t^hɸ-nⁿgozⁿge
 old.woman=ERG 3SG:POSS-daughter=place CONT:LTR-call₂
é-mɛ sek^hɸmɛlosmɛn tə-rɸro ⁿdenəʔ lɸ-fsi ŋoʔ
 1SG:POSS-daughter PN IMP-get.up for PFV-dawn₂ be
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And, in a while, when it was listening, (it heard that) the old woman was calling (her daughter), saying, “Get up, my daughter Sekhamalosman, for it has dawned.”

16. *q^hoʔ qɛc^hwet=kə rgɛnmúme t^hɸə kə-rmiʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ fox=ERG old.woman’s.daughter what NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=DET
ne-səftaʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-memorize₂-MED
 And the fox memorized what the old woman’s daughter was named,

17. *q^hoʔ stɸ-rjəyʔ jɸ-fɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ CVB-run PFV-go₂-MED
q^hoʔ tájo fə-ne-səyʔðt-cə
 SEQ demon AND-PFV:TR-inform₂-MED
 and went away running and informed the demon.

18. *q^hoʔ nəʔomer=nəʔ*
 SEQ that.night=DET
tájo rgɛnmu=niʔ ⁿdzə-p^ha lɸ-ɸre-cə
 demon old.woman=DU 3DU:POSS-place PFV:UPSTRTEAM-go₂-MED

q^hoʔ sek^hemelosmən o-rmiʔ=rəʔ kə-pe nɐ-c^hɐʔ ɣoʔ-cə
 SEQ Sekhamalosman 3SG:POSS-name=PL INF-do IPFV:PST-be.able₂ be-MED
 That night, the demon went upriver to the old woman and her daughter and was able to
 say her name.

19. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmu kɐⁿdʒəmámɛ=niʔ*
 SEQ old.woman together.with.daughter=DU
ɣfíkə ⁿdʒə-sni nə-zdəɣ ɣoʔ-cə
 very 3DU:POSS-heart PFV-be.painful₂ be-MED
 And the old woman and her daughter felt very sad.

20. *fənəʔ ts^həytóʔ=ta kə-smo nɐ-re-cə*
 but agreement=top GP-stay IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED
 But one must abide by the agreement.

21. *q^hónə nəʔoséfsət sek^hemelosmən=nəʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH thus PN=DET
tájo nɐ-ⁿbi nɐ-re ɣoʔ-cə
 demon PFV:TR-give₂ IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂ be-MED
 So (the old woman) had to give Sekhamalosman to the demon.

22. *q^hoʔ sek^hemelosmən=nəʔ ɣfíkə nɐ-vɐvoʔ*
 SEQ PN=DET very IPFV:PST-weep₂
q^hoʔ o-ʒəvʔ mə-nɐ-ɐre ɣoʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart NEG-IPFV:PST-go₂ be-MED
fənəʔ mə-nɐ-p^henʔ-cə
 but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.effective₂-MED
 Sekhamalosman wept bitterly and was very unwilling, but it was useless.

23. *q^hoʔ tɔ̃jo o-kɾɐ kɐ-nts^ha tə-mda ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ demon 3SG:POSS-companion INF-set.out PFV-be.time₂ be-MED
 And the time came for her to set out with the demon.

24. *q^hoʔ rgɛnmu=niʔ ⁿdzá-ⁿbri χfikə kə-ʒroʔ*
 SEQ old.woman=DU 3DU:POSS-horse very NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine
caŋfartɐ kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to ŋoʔ-cə
 PN NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 The old woman and her daughter had a very fine horse named Kyangshirta.

25. *q^hoʔ sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn kómt^hɔ nɐ-nlɔ=nəʔ ⁿbriʔ tə-wɐc^hɛvlevʔ*
 SEQ PN courtyard PFV:DOWN-exit₂=SUB horse PFV-talk₂
 When Sekhamalosman went out to the courtyard, the horse talked (in human language).

26. *q^hoʔ sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn ó-p^ha kə-ɛdu mɐ*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-place NMLZ:SBJ-be.serious not.exist
fsiʔ=nəʔ nɐ-zdəɣ χfikə ne-t^həɣʔ=cəʔ toʔ=kə
 future=TOP 2SG:POSS-hardship very IPFV-meet=INDF exist=INS
 And said to Sekhamalosman, “It is alright! In the future, you will run into great hardships.”

27. *nəʔorjáŋnəʔ ɛjiʔ ɐ-tə-koy-tʂənʔ-aŋ q^hoʔ oʒorʔ*
 at.that.time 1SG IRR-IMP-2→1-think.of-1SG SEQ meanwhile
caŋfartɛmc^hɛn ɐ-tə-tá-tsə
 PN IRR-IMP-2-say
 “at that moment, think of me and in the mean while call (my name) ‘Kyangshirta Mkhyen!’”

28. *q^hoʔ ɛʃiʔ ʃla nɛzyəzyot-aŋ ʃteʔ=kə*
 SEQ 1SG immediately arrive:RDPL-1SG be:EMPH=DM
q^hoʔ tɐ-nɛtsəmtsomʔ ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ 1→2-take.thither:RDPL be:EMPH PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “And I will surely arrive (out of nowhere) immediately, and take you away,” it said.
29. *q^hoʔ sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn=kə nəʔ=rɐʔ ne-səftaʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA=PL PFV:TR-memorize₂-MED
 And Sekhamalosman memorized all that.
30. *q^hoʔ tájo=sc^hənáʔ t^hɐ-nts^ha-ⁿdzə ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ demon=and PFV:DOWNRIVER-depart₂-3DU be-MED
 And she departed downriver with the demon.
31. *q^hoʔ tájo=kə sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn=nəʔ*
 SEQ demon=ERG PN=DET
pra ʃorŋəmʔ kə-toʔ=cəʔ ó-bɐr tə-oy-tsom
 steep.cliff NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF 3SG:POSS-body PFV-INV-take.thither₂
 And Sekhamalosman was taken uphill by the demon onto a steep cliff.
32. *q^hónə tájo=kə prazgo ʃfi²³⁸ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ:EMPH demon=ERG rock-door open PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the demon said, “Rock door, open!”
33. *q^hoʔ pra komʔ tə-ⁿju-cə*
 SEQ rock door PFV-open₂-MED
 And the rock door opened up.

²³⁸ From Tibetan <brag.sgo.phye>.

34. *q^hoʔ ó-naŋ lɛ-oy-tsom*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside PFV:IN-INV-take.thither₂
 And (she) was taken inside.

35. *q^hoʔ prazgo zbo²³⁹ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ rock-door IDPH PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And (the demon) said, “Rock door, close!”

36. *q^hónə pra komʔ t^he-peʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ rock door PFV:TR-close₂ be-MED
 And the rock door closed.

37. *q^hoʔ nəʔ kə-rjaʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA one-night=DET
tájo=sc^hənəʔ nɛ-rmeʔ-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
 demon=and IPFV:PST-spend.the.night₂-3DU be-MED
 That night, she spent the night with the demon.

38. *q^hoʔ lɛ-fsi=sc^hənəʔ*
 SEQ PFV-dawn₂=SUB
tájo=kə sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn=p^ha nɛjiʔ josɲiʔ nə-nq^hope jɛ
 emon=ERG PN=place 2SG today IMP-keep.house DM
ɛjiʔ op^hjiʔ=c^ho fə-te-nɛnkɛⁿjiʔ-aŋ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 1SG outside=LOC:INDF AND-walk.around=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 When day broke, the demon said to Sekhamalosman, “You keep house today, and I will take a stroll outside!”

²³⁹ The syllable *zbo* appears to be an onomatopoeic word mimicking the sound of a door closing.

39. *q^hoʔ tájɔ=kə sek^həmɛlosmən*
 SEQ demon=ERG PN
o-zdeʔ=nəʔ líli=cəʔ ne-səsmoʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-companion=DET cat=INDF PFV:TR-cause.to.stay be-MED
 And the demon made a cat stay to keep Sekhamalosman company.
40. *q^hoʔ o-mkom=nəʔ=z lɛntʃaʔpépe=cəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-top.side.of.bed=DET=LOC hand.squeezed.coarse.tsampa.dough=INDF
ne-te ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-put₂ be-MED
 And placed a hand-squeezed lump of coarse tsampa dough by the top side of her bed.
41. *q^hoʔ tájɔ jɐ-fɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ demon PFV-go₂ be-MED
 And the demon went away.
42. *q^hoʔ sásu tə-mda jɛrmɐ=nəʔ*
 SEQ lunch PFV-be.time₂ about=SUB
sek^həmɛlosmən t^he-mp^héri=nəʔ
 PN IPFV-look=SUB
líli=kə lɛntʃaʔ kə-tákur
 cat=ERG hand-squeezed.coarse-tsampa.dough one-mouthful
te-ⁿdzeʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-eat₂ be-MED
 Around lunchtime, as Sekhamalosman was looking, she saw that the cat ate up the lump of coarse tsamp dough in one mouthful,

43. *fə̀nəʔ lə̀ntʃaʔ=kə lili te-ⁿdzeʔ ɣoʔ-cə*
 but hand-squeezed.coarse-tsampa.dough=ERG cat PFV:TR-eat₂ be-MED
q^hoʔ ɛnoŋne nə-mɛŋeʔ ɣoʔ-cə
 SEQ both PFV-not.be.seen₂ be-MED
 but the lump of coarse tsampa dough ate the cat up, and both disappeared.

44. *q^hoʔ sek^hɛmɛlosmən=nəʔ ɣʃikə nə-verʔ ɣoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=DET very PFV-be.afraid₂ be-MED
 And Sekhamalosman was very much afraid.

45. *q^hoʔ nəʔosɛʃsət nə-smo nə-re-cə*
 SEQ thus IPFV:PST-stay IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂-MED
 And she had to stay there just like that.

46. *leʔ nəʔofsəʃsi=nəʔ*
 again next.day=TOP
leʔ təʃo=kə sek^hɛmɛlosmən o-vzər=nəʔ
 again demon=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-side=DET
rgɛli=cəʔ ne-səsmoʔ
 heifer=INDF PFV:TR-cause.to.stay
 And the next day, the demon again made a heifer stay beside Sekhamalosman.

47. *q^hoʔ o-mkom=nəʔ=z təyriʔ=cəʔ ne-te ɣoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-front=DET=LOC hay=INDF PFV:TR-put₂ be-MED
 And placed some hay in front of it.

48. *q^hoʔ o-jiʔ=nəʔ leʔ op^hjiʔ jv-ʃɛʔ ɣoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=DET again outside PFV-go₂ be-MED
 And it went out again.

49. *q^hoʔ sásu jermə nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ lunch about PFV-be.time₂=SUB
sek^həmɛlosmən t^he-mp^héri=nəʔ
 PN IPFV-look=SUB
rgéli=kə təyriʔ kə-tákur te-ⁿdzeʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 heifer=ERG hay one-mouthful PFV:TR-eat₂ be-MED
 At around lunchtime, as Sekhamalosman was looking, she saw that the heifer ate up the hay in one mouthful,

50. *ʃənəʔ təyriʔ=kə rgéli te-ⁿdzeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 but hay=ERG heifer PFV:TR-eat₂ be-MED
q^hoʔ ɛnoŋne nə-məŋeʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ both PFV-not.be.seen₂ be-MED
 but the hay ate the heifer up, and both disappeared.

51. *q^hoʔ sek^həmɛlosmən leʔ χfíkə nə-verʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN again very PFV-be.afraid₂ be-MED
 And again Sekhamalosman was very much afraid.

52. *q^hoʔ nəʔ t^hə=cəʔ te-kə-pe reʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə*
 SEQ ANA what=INDF IPFV-GP-do be-DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And she thought, “What am I to do about this?”

53. *oʒorʔ t^he-mp^héri=nəʔ*
 meanwhile IPFV-look=SUB
komq^hu=z svəcuʔ χfíkə nə-kə-seʔ=cəʔ
 back.of.door=LOC key very PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.smoothed.out₂=INDF

wɛʃo *ŋoʔ-cə*
 be.seen be-MED

At the same time, she saw that there was a key that had been smoothed out (from use) behind the door.

54. *qʰoʔ* *nəʔ* *ne-mjeʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA PFV:DOWN:TR-take₂-MED

She took it down,

55. *qʰoʔ* *o-léco* *zgoʊʔ* *nɛ-kɛ-sətseʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside.place room PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-lock₂-MED
nɛ-to *ŋoʔ-cə*
 IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED

and there was a room which was locked further indoors from her.

56. *qʰoʔ* *nəʔ* *kɛ-cu* *te-tsʰét* *ŋoʔ-cə=nəʔ* *fla* *tə-ⁿju-cə*
 SEQ ANA INF-open PFV:TR-try₂ be-MED=SUB immediately PFV-open₂-MED

As she tried to open it, (the door) immediately opened.

57. *qʰoʔ* *le-mpʰéri=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-look=SUB

rgɛnmu *jə-ká-set*
 old.woman PROS-NMLZ:SBJ-die

qʰoʔ *nə-zgéʔ=ta* *tɛmɲəyʔ* *nɛ-kɛ-sətseʔ=kəsə*
 SEQ 3PL:POSS-back=top bamboo.straw PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-stick₂=like

əntsátse *ŋoʔ-cə*
 all be-MED

As she was looking, she saw a lot of dying old women, each with a bamboo straw stuck into her backs.

58. *q^hoʔ sek^hemɛlosmɛn ó-p^ha*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-place
nɛʝiʔ k^háʔk^ho=z tʃ^hv jɛ-tɛ-wɛʔ ɲoʔ ⁿdenəʔ
 2SG here=LOC why PFV-2-come₂ be DM
 And they (said) to Sekhamalosman, “Why have you come here?”
59. *c^heʔ=z jəjəreʔ nɛʝiʔ fóχte=rɛn*
 former.time=LOC 1PL 2SG than=even
nɛ-mp^hjorʔ-jə nɛ-nɛtselɛjʔ-jə
 IPFV:PST-be.beautiful₂-1PL IPFV:PST-be.good-looking₂-1PL
 “At one time, we were even more beautiful and good-looking than you are.”
60. *fənəʔ jə-fwe t^hv-wɛ*
 but 1PL:POSS-age PFV-come₂
q^hónə kə-néjts^hu nə-mɛʔ-jə
 SEQ:EMPH NMLZ:SBJ-be.serviceable₂ PFV-not.exist₂-1PL
 “But we have become old and useless.”
61. *q^hoʔ koʔ nə-o-xso-jə ɲoʔ*
 SEQ this PFV-INV-do₂-1PL be
 “And we have been made to be like this.”
62. *q^hónə nɛʝiʔ pəʃk^ho-rɛɲəm tə-rénts^ha*
 SEQ:EMPH 2SG now-EMPH IMP-set.out
 “Get ready to set out right now!”
63. *komq^hu méju sɛcuʔ mts^hót v-teʔ=kə nəʔ tá-ⁿdɛ*
 back.of.door further key be.many PASS-put=INS ANA IMP-take₃
 “And as many more keys are placed behind the door, take them.”

64. *q^hoʔ fəmʔ zɡolɔʔ=sc^hənəʔ kɛju zɡolɔʔ o-sɛcuʔ*
 SEQ iron room=and wood room 3SG:POSS-key
ranran ʋdɛnbe ɐ-mə-nə-tə-sɛkofcɐʔ
 separately at.all IRR-NEG-IMP-2-exchange₃
 “Do not mix up the keys to iron rooms with those to wooden rooms.”

65. *q^hoʔ ó-nan ɐ-lɐ-tə-fɛ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside IRR-IMP:IN-2-go PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 “Just go inside!” they said.

66. *q^hoʔ sɛk^hɛmɛlosmɛn=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
kɛju sɛcuʔ=sc^hənəʔ fəmʔ sɛcuʔ te-ⁿdi-cə
 wood key=and iron key PFV:TR-take₂-MED
q^hoʔ sɛcuʔ ʋdɛnbe mɛ-ne-sɛkofcɐ-cə
 SEQ key at.all NEG-PFV:TR-exchange₂-MED
 Sekhamalosman picked up the wood keys and the iron keys, and she kept them completely separate.

67. *q^hoʔ zɡolɔʔ=nən leʔ zɡolɔʔ=kəsə ó-nan lɐ-ɐre-cə*
 SEQ room=inside again room=like 3SG:POSS-inside PFV:IN-go₂-MED
 And she went into rooms inside rooms,

68. *q^hoʔ st^hoʔ zɡolɔʔ o-p^huyʔ*
 SEQ most room 3SG:POSS-innermost.end
kə-toʔ=cəʔ lɐ-zɣɔt-cə=nəʔ
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF PFV:IN-arrive₂-MED=SUB

vləme=cəʔ tʰv-rvətʰənʔ wɛʝo ɲoʔ-cə
 lama=INDF CONT:LTR-practice.reclusive.meditation₂ be.seen be-MED
 when she reached an innermost room, she found a lama who was practicing reclusive meditation.

69. *qʰoʔ vləme=kə*
 SEQ lama=ERG
kʰəʔkʰoʔ kɛ-zɣot nɛ-tə-cʰvʔ=nəʔ vde-cə
 here INF-arrive IPFV:PST-2-be.able₂=SUB be.good-MED
 And the lama said, “It is good that you were able to get to here.”

70. *qʰoʔ vləme=kə*
 SEQ lama=ERG
sekʰəmɛlosmən rjɛntʃe piru mtsʰət tə-o-sqərweʔ-cə
 PN jewelry be.many PFV-INV-put.around.neck₂-MED
 And the lama put a lot of jewelry on Sekhamalosman’s neck,

71. *qʰoʔ rgɛnmú-ⁿdzi tə-o-ʒⁿgeʔ-cə*
 SEQ old.woman-skin PFV-INV-cause.to.wear₂-MED
 and dressed her with an old woman’s skin.

72. *qʰoʔ vləme=kə*
 SEQ lama=ERG
fɛtʰi qʃoʔ=nəŋ tʰe-tə-fv=nəʔ
 place.donwriver ravine=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-2-go=SUB
nɛ-ɸóri qʰv təʝo=nəʔ kəvnez-təʃe jɛrmv wi=kə
 2SG:POSS-front ANA demon=DET a.couple-time about come=INS

kdənbe v-mə-nə-tə-vər

at.all IRR-NEG-IMP-2-be.afraid

And the lama said, “When you go downriver inside the ravine over there, the demon will appear in front of you a couple of times. Don’t be afraid at all.”

73. *q^hoʔ tɛzgrɛzgre ⁿge-fsɐʔ=sc^hənəʔ*

SEQ all.kinds.of.sounds IPFV-hear=SUB

tájo=kə nəʔ tʰə o-zgre ŋoʔ tɛ-tsə=sc^hənəʔ

demon=ERG ANA what 3SG:POSS-sound be IPFV-say=SUB

“When it hears all kinds of noises (coming from your body) and asks what the sounds are,”

74. *ɛjiʔ nəŋjémk^hoj-aŋ ofétkə v-fǽru tɛ-rpəroʔ*

1SG be.thin-1SG so.much 1SG:POSS-bone IPFV-bump:RECP

q^hoʔ nəʔ o-zgre fteʔ v-tə-tá-tsə

SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-sound be:EMPH IRR-IMP-2-say

“tell him, ‘I am so thin that my bones rattle against each other, that is what the sound is,’”

75. *q^hoʔ nəʔoséfsət v-t^hv-tə-fv*

SEQ thus IRR-IMP:DOWNRIVER-2-go

fɛt^hit^hi=z=nəʔ rjélpo=cəʔ toʔ=kə

downriver.place:FAR.DIST=LOC=DET chieftain=INDF exist=INS

nəʔ nə-múru=z v-nə-tə-smo

ANA 3PL:POSS-place.for.drawing.water=LOC IRR-IMP-2-stay

“go downriver like that, and as there is a chieftain yonder downriver, (go and) stay at the place where they draw water.”

76. *q^hoʔ tə-o-nɛpóro fteʔ=kə*

SEQ 2-INV-take.in be:EMPH-DM

“And you will be taken in.”

77. *nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 ANA PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 He said the above.
78. *q^hoʔ sek^heməlosmən=nəʔ qfóʔ=nanj t^hv-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=DET ravine=inside PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂ be-MED
 And Sekhamalosman went downriver in the ravine.
79. *q^hoʔ rjɐspəspe t^hv-ɐre=nəʔ*
 SEQ quite.a.while:EMPH PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂=SUB
o-ɰóri tǎjo lɐ-wɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-front demon PFV:UPRIVER-come₂ be-MED
 After she had gone downriver for quite a while, the demon came upriver toward her.
80. *q^hoʔ χfikə ne-vɐr ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ very IPFV-be.afraid be-MED
 And she was very much afraid.
81. *q^hoʔ nə-wɛjuyjuyʔ=sc^hənəʔ rɣɛnmú-ⁿdʒi=nanj*
 SEQ PFV-tremble₂=and old.woman-skin=inside
o-piru=rɐʔ te-rpəpoʔ
 3SG:POSS-coral=PL IPFV-collide₂:RECP
q^hoʔ ne-wɐrq^hárq^hət²⁴⁰ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV-IDPH be-MED
 She trembled, and the corals knocked against each other inside the old woman's skin, and made clanking sounds.

²⁴⁰ Derived verbal ideophone describing sounds of small rounded objects.

82. *q^hoʔ tájɔ=kə*
 SEQ demon=ERG
nəʔ tʃ^hə o-zgre ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 ANA what 3SG:POSS-sound be PFV:TR-say₂-MED=SUB
 And when the demon asked, “What is that sound?”

83. *sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn=kə ɛʃiʔ rɣɛnmu ɐ-ɲəm ɣʃíkə k^hoj*
 PN=ERG 1SG old.woman 1SG:poss-body very be.thin
q^hoʔ ɐ-ʃǝru te-rpərhoʔ
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-bone IPFV-bump:RECP
q^hoʔ nəʔ o-zgre ʃieʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-sound be:EMPH PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 Sekhamalosman said, “I am an old woman, and very thin. And my bones rattle together. That is what the sound is about.”

84. *q^hoʔ tájɔ=kə sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn kə-ɲoʔ=nəʔ me-ne-sərtɔ-cə*
 SEQ demon=ERG PN NMLZ:SBJ-be=SUB NEG-PFV:TR-discover₂-MED
 And so the demon did not discover that (the old woman) was Sekhamalosman.

85. *q^hoʔ leʔ nəʔosɛʃsət t^hɐ-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ again thus PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂ be-MED
 And again in this way she went on downriver.

86. *q^hoʔ rjélpo o-sɐ-smo=nəʔ=z jə-zyot*
 SEQ chieftain 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-be.present₂=SUB=LOC PROS-arrive
jɛrmɐ leʔ o-ʋóri=nəʔ tájɔ lɐ-wɛʔ-cə
 about again 3SG:POSS-front=DET demon PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-MED
 And as she was about to get to where the chieftain was, the demon again came upriver toward her.

87. *q^hoʔ leʔ kəmɛko o-ʋóri lɛ-kə-wɛʔ*
 SEQ again before 3SG:POSS-front PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂
tʰə nɛ-kə-fsâʔ=nəʔ=rɛʔ leʔ rdêt nɛ-fsâʔ-cə
 what IPFV:PST-be.like₂=DET=PL again exactly IPFV:PST-be.like₂-MED
 And she did exactly the same as with the (demon) who had come toward her before.

88. *q^hoʔ tájɔ=kə sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn leʔ me-ne-sərtɔ-cə*
 SEQ demon=ERG PN again NEG-PFV:TR-discover₂-MED
 And again, the demon failed to discover Sekhamalosman.

89. *q^hoʔ sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn rjélpo o-múru=z*
 SEQ PN chieftain 3SG:POSS-place.for.drawing.water=LOC
t^hɛ-zɣôʔ q^hoʔ ⁿge-smo ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-arrive₂ SEQ IPFV-stay be-MED
 Sekhamalosman arrived downriver at the water-drawing place of the chieftain's and stayed there.

90. *q^hoʔ o-rɛnɲúⁿdzi=rɛʔ ne-ná-ʔfɛt*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-old.woman's.skin=PL IPFV-SPON-take.off
q^hoʔ ⁿge-ráχʔfi ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV-wash.oneself be-MED
 And she would shed her old woman's skin and wash herself.

91. *q^hoʔ rjélpo o-ɛjɔʔ=rɛʔ=kə nɛ-o-mti-cə*
 SEQ chieftain 3SG:POSS-servant=PL=ERG PFV-INV-see₂-MED
 And was seen by the chieftain's servants.

92. *q^hoʔ rjélpo o-ɛjɔʔ=rɛʔ=kə rjélpo=p^ha*
 SEQ chieftain 3SG:POSS-servant=PL=ERG chieftain=place
 And the chieftain's servants (said) to the chieftain,

93. *ɐ̃ⁿdík^ho* *múru* *kə-toʔ=nəʔ*
 location.to.the.west place.for.drawing.water NMLZ-exist=SUB
rgɛnmu=cəʔ *jɐ̃-wɛʔ*
 old.woman=INDF PFV-come₂
q^hoʔ *o-rgɛnmúⁿdʒi=nəʔ* *né-ntʃɛt* *kə-k^hút=cəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-old.woman.skin=DET IPFV-take.off NMLZ:SBJ-be.feasible=INDF
q^hoʔ *χfíkə* *kə-mp^hjor=cəʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə* *te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ very NMLZ:SBJ-be.beautiful=INDF be-MED PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 “An old woman, who is able to take off her old woman’s skin and who is very beautiful, has come to the place for drawing water west from here,” they said.

94. *q^hoʔ* *rjɛlpo=kə*
 SEQ chieftain=ERG
mɐ̃-κdu *kə* *k^hə́k^hoz* *ɐ̃-jɐ̃-tɐ̃-wot=nəʔ*
 NEG-be.serious DM here IRR-IMP-2-bring-2PL
q^hónə *nəʔ* *ʃteʔ* *kə* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ:EMPH ANA be:EMPH DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the chieftain said, “That’s alright. Just bring her to me!”

95. *q^hoʔ* *sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn=nəʔ* *rjɛlpo=kə* *tə-o-nɛporoʔ* *mɛkátʃɛt*
 SEQ PN=TOP chieftain=ERG PFV-INV-take.in₂ not.only
o-rgɛnmúⁿdʒi=rɐ̃ʔ *ne-te*
 3SG:POSS-old.woman.skin=PL PFV:TR-get.rid.of₂
q^hoʔ *χfíkə* *nge-mp^hjor* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ very IPFV-be.beautiful be-MED
 So Sekhamalosman was taken in by the chieftain, and she cast away her old woman’s skin and was very beautiful.

96. *q^hoʔ kəməq^húnəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards
rjélpo o-vdamuʔ tə-vpeʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 chieftain 3SG:POSS-queen PFV-become₂ be-MED
 And afterwards, she became the chieftain's queen.
97. *q^hoʔ kəməq^húnəʔ mə-nə-nərkiʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ afterwards NEG-PFV-be.strong₂ be-MED
 And afterwards, she became pregnant.
98. *ʃənəʔ q^hoʔ rjélpo reⁿgo=z*
 but SEQ chieftain hill=LOC
kə-nəvdítí tə-vre ɲoʔ-cə
 NMLZ:PURP-celebrate.Flower.Viewing.Festival PFV:UP-go₂ be-MED
 But the chieftain happened to have gone up the hills to celebrate Flower-Viewing Festival.
99. *q^hoʔ oq^huz sek^həmɛlosmən=nəʔ ne-q^hoʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ afterwards PN=TOP PFV:TR-deliver₂ be-MED
 And afterwards, Sekhamalosman gave birth (to a baby).
100. *q^hoʔ təlɲaʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ child=DET
o-q^hoʔstot toɲʔ kə-ɲoʔ
 3SG:POSS-upper.body white.conch NMLZ:SBJ-be
o-q^hoʔsmət χser kə-ɲoʔ
 3SG:POSS-lower.body gold NMLZ:SBJ-be
rəytʃen=cəʔ jə-wôt ɲoʔ-cə
 person.with.supernatural.powers=INDF PFV-bring₂ be-MED
 As for the (baby) child, she gave birth to one with supernatural powers, with an upper body of white conch and lower body of gold.

101. *q^hoʔ sek^hemelosmen=kə jəye ne-ret*

SEQ PN=ERG letter PFV:TR-write₂

And Sekhamalosman wrote him a letter.

102. *q^hoʔ nə-kə-ɛq^hoʔ²⁴¹*

SEQ PFV-NMLZ-recover₂

q^hoʔ təlɣaʔ tʃ^hə=kəsə kə-ŋoʔ=rɐʔ kəmdiʔ ne-ret

SEQ child what=like NMLZ:SBJ-be=PL all PFV:TR-write₂

She wrote all about her delivery and what the child was like and what not.

103. *q^hoʔ ʃla ɐ-nɐ-nəwi te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ immediately IRR-IMP:DOWN-come.back PFV:TR-say be-MED

“Come back downhill right away,” she wrote.

104. *q^hoʔ ɛjɔʔ=kə jəye rjəlpo=p^ha te-tsom ŋoʔ-cə*

SEQ servant=ERG letter chieftain=place PFV:UP:TR-take.thither₂ be-MED

And the servants took the letter uphill to the chieftain.

105. *ʃənəʔ rjəlpo=p^ha mə-jɐ-zɣət ʃoχte*

but chieftain=place NEG-PFV-arrive₂ before

c^heʔ təjo=nəʔ ɛjɔʔ=kə ne-t^həɣ ŋoʔ-cə

before demon=DET servant=ERG PFV:TR-meet₂ be-MED

But before the servant had got to the chieftain, he ran into the same demon (as before).

²⁴¹ Original meaning ‘recover’, here used as an euphemistic replacement for *təlɣaʔ* ‘deliver (a baby)’.

106. *q^hoʔ tájɔ=kə*
 SEQ demon=ERG
nɛʝiʔ ɳétʰəz jə-tə-fɛ ɳoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 2SG where PROS-2-go be PFV:TR-say₂-MED=SUB
 When the demon asked him, “Where are you going?”²⁴²
107. *ɛʝəʔ=kə vdamu ne-q^hoʔ=kə*
 servant=ERG queen PFV:TR-deliver₂=INS
o-jəʝe ɳélpɔ=p^ha
 3SG:POSS-letter chieftain=place
jə-tsomʔ-aŋ ɳoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 PROS-take.thither-1SG be PFV:TR-say-MED
 “As the queen has delivered (a child), I am taking her letter to the chieftain,” said the servant.
108. *q^hoʔ tájɔ=kə ɳɛ jəʝe ɛʝiʔ tə-o-znəmɳe-aŋ*
 SEQ demon=ERG EXCL letter 1SG IMP-INV-show₃-1SG
te-tsəʔ ɳoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 And the demon said, “Come, let me look at the letter!”
109. *q^hoʔ tájɔ=kə jəʝe ó-naŋ*
 SEQ demon=ERG letter 3SG:POSS-inside
q^hoʔstot ʔpa kə-ɳoʔ q^hoʔsmət k^hezeʔ kə-ɳoʔ
 upper.body pig NMLZ:SBJ-be lower.body dog NMLZ:SBJ-be
jɛ-wôt-aŋ ɳoʔ q^hoʔ tʰə ne-kɛ-soʔ
 PFV-bring₂-1SG be SEQ what IPFV-GP-do

²⁴² Lit. ‘Where are you about to go?’

ŋoʔ ʰdenəʔ kɛ́-tsə ne-zjəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 be DM INF-say PFV:TR-change₂ be-MED

And the demon changed the letter to read, “I gave birth to one with the upper body of a pig and the lower body of a dog. What am I to do?”

110. *qʰoʔ ŋɛ́lpo=kə jəʔe ó-ja jɛ-wɛʔ*
 SEQ chieftain=ERG letter 3SG:POSS-hand PFV-arrive₂

qʰoʔ ɛjiʔ cʰeʔ wi-aŋ fteʔ=kə
 SEQ 1SG early come-1SG be:EMPH=INS

páʔje tɛlŋaʔ tʃɛ́lɛ kɛ́-nɛsəsoʔ²⁴³ mɛ-reʔ
 still child anything GP-do NEG-be.necessary

kɛ́-tsə sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn o-jəʔe ne-ret ŋoʔ-cə
 INF-say PN 3SG:POSS-letter PFV:TR-write₂ be-MED

The chieftain, having received the letter, wrote a letter to Sekhamalosman saying, “Since I will come (back) ahead of time, there is no need yet to do anything to the child.”

111. *fənəʔ qʰoʔ tʃoʰbɛjʔ=z leʔ tájo=kə*
 but SEQ way=LOC again demon=ERG

sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn o-jəʔɛ́=nəŋ=nəʔ
 PN 3SG:POSS-letter=inside=DET

sekʰɛmɛlosmɛn kolŋəlŋaʔ=niʔ ɛ-nə-spjuʔ=nəʔ
 PN together.with.child=DU IRR-PFV-banish=SUB

kɛ́-tsə ne-zjəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 CVB-say PFV:TR-change₂ be-MED

But on the way, the demon again changed the letter to Sekhamalosman, saying that Sekhamalosman was to be banished together with the child.

²⁴³ The ambulative form here expresses the meaning ‘dispose of the child in various ways’.

112. *qʰoʔ sekʰəmɛlosmɛn=nəʔ*

SEQ PN=TOP

kɛ-spjuʔ mə-nɛ-tsoʔ o-lɣaʔ te-fkor
 INF-banish NEG-PFV-have.time.for₂ 3SG:POSS-child PFV:TR-carry.on.back₂

qʰoʔ rjɛlpo=pʰa tə-pʰi tə-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ chieftain=place PFV:UP-escape₂ PFV:UP-go₂ be-MED

And Sekhamalosman, before she was banished, had carried the child onto her back and fled uphill to the chieftain.

113. *ʃənəʔ tʃoʰbɛjʔ=z leʔ təjo=nəʔ ne-tʰəɣ ɲoʔ-cə*
 but way=LOC again demon=DET PFV:TR-meet₂ be-MED

But again she ran across the demon on the way.

114. *qʰoʔ təjo=kə*

SEQ demon=ERG

nɛjiʔ kɛ-nɛɲoroʔ=kə ʰdzɛmboklɣaŋ o-tɛskáskor nɛ-ro-aŋ
 2SG INF-seek=INS PN 3SG:POSS-circle:EMPH IPFV:PST-circle₂-1SG

ʃəmʔ təxtse=scʰənəʔ ʃəmʔ tɛɲe=ntʰon tʰɐ-səɣzɛt-aŋ
 iron shoe=and iron walking.stick=even PFV-wear.out₂-1SG

nə-tsoʔ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV-elapse₂ be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the demon said, “In order to look for you, I was circling and circling the entire Southern Continent, and so much time has elapsed that I have worn out iron shoes and iron walking sticks.”

115. *qʰoʔ o-lɣaʔ=rɐʔ ne-səkʰi qʰoʔ te-ⁿdzeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-child=PL PFV:TR-snatch₂ SEQ PFV:TR-eat₂ be-MED

And her child was snatched from her, and (the demon) ate it up.

116. *qʰoʔ sekʰəmɛlosmən=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

fla ʰbri caŋfərtə=nəʔ te-tʂən-cə

immediately horse PN=DET PFV:TR-think.of₂-MED

qʰoʔ ʰbri caŋfərtə mcʰen te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ

SEQ horse PN PFV:TR-say-MED=SUB

fla caŋfərtə jə-zɣôʔ

immediately PN PFV-arrive₂

Sekhamalosman thought of the horse Kyangshirta right away, and when she called “Kyangshirta Mkhjen!”, Kyangshirta came immediately.

117. *qʰoʔ caŋfərtə te-ⁿdi qʰoʔ nə-o-ʃpʰi ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ PN PFV-ⁿhold₂ SEQ PFV-INV-assist.to.flee₂ be-MED

And she mounted Kyangshirta and it helped her escape.

118. *qʰoʔ təʝo=kə*

SEQ demon=ERG

leʔ sekʰəmɛlosmən kə-nənqʰu mə-nə-cʰəʔ ɲoʔ-cə

again PN INF-follow NEG-PFV-be.able₂ be-MED

And again the demon failed to follow Sekhamalosman.

119. *qʰoʔ caŋfərtə=kə sekʰəmɛlosmən*

SEQ PN=ERG PN

sətʰe ɣfikə kə-vde=cɛ jə-o-sɛzɣôʔ ɲoʔ-cə

place very NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=INDF PFV:EAST-INV-cause.to.arrive₂ be-MED

And Kyangshirta took Sekhamalosman to a very good place.

120. *qʰoʔ caŋfərtə=kə sekʰəmɛlosmən=pʰa*

SEQ PN=ERG PN=place

And Kyangshirta said to Sekhamalosman,

121. *ɸjiʔ nə-o-ntʃʰe-aŋ qʰoʔ nə-ó-jʰdʒət-aŋ*
 1SG IMP-INV-kill-1SG SEQ IMP-INV-flay-1SG
 “Kill me and flay me.”
122. *qʰoʔ ɸ-fe tʃʰəmu=kəsci=cəʔ=ntʃʰon*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-flesh thimble=like=INDF=even
sɸtʃʰé=ta mə-nɸ-tə-səʃʰɸ
 ground=top NEG-IMP:DOWN-2-cause.to.go
 “Don’t let even a small thimble-like piece of my flesh drop to the ground,”
123. *qʰoʔ ɸ-ⁿdʒi=kə fe ɸ-tə-tə-mpʰər*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-skin=INS flesh IRR-IMP-2-wrap
qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-ta=nəʔ ɸ-koʔ
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET 1SG:POSS-head
ɸ-nɸ-tə-təʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 IRR-IMP:DOWN-2-place₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “wrap up my flesh with my skin, and put my head on top of it,” it said.
124. *qʰoʔ sekʰɸmɸlosmən=nəʔ ʃʃíkə nə-rəkʰroykʰroʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=TOP very PFV-be.sad₂-MED
 Sekhamalosman was very sad.
125. *qʰoʔ nɸjiʔ tséjə nɸ-tʃənʔ kə-xteʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 2SG so.much 2SG:POSS-benevolence NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=DET
kɸ-ntʃʰe mɸ-tɸ-cʰɸ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 INF-kill NEG-1→2-be.able be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 She said, “You were so benevolent to me, I cannot kill you!”

126. *q^hoʔ caŋʃərtv=kə*

SEQ PN=ERG

mɛ-ʌdu nəʃiʔ ɛʃiʔ kɛ-ntʃ^he mɛ-koy-c^hv-aŋ

NEG-be.serious 2SG 1SG INF-kill NEG-2→1-be.able-1SG

q^hónə ɛʃiʔ oʃɛntʃ^he-aŋ ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə

SEQ:EMPH 1SG kill.oneself-1SG be:EMPH PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And Kyangshirta said, “Alright, since you cannot (make yourself) kill me, I will kill myself.”

127. *q^hoʔ nə-oʃɛntʃ^heʔ ɲoʔ-cə*

SEQ PFV-kill.oneself₂ be-MED

And it killed itself.

128. *q^hoʔ sek^hɛmɛlosmɛn=kə 'nɔbri ne-jdʒət-cə*

SEQ PN=ERG horse PFV:TR-flay₂-MED

q^hoʔ o-ʃe=rɛʔ tʰndʒi=kə te-sə-mp^hərʔ ɲoʔ-cə

SEQ 3SG:POSS-flesh=PL skin=INS PFV:TR-CAUS-wrap be-MED

q^hoʔ nəʔ ó-ta=nəʔ 'nɔbrɛkoʔ=rɛʔ ne-te-cə

SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET horse.head=PL PFVB:TR:DOWN-put₂-MED

And Sekhamalosman flayed the horse, wrapped up its flesh with its skin, and put its head on top of this.

129. *q^hoʔ nə-ɲet*

SEQ PFV-be.sleepy₂

q^hoʔ o-vzər=nəʔ=z kámtʃ^ha kə-nəʃevʔ ɲoʔ-cə

SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=DET=LOC a.bit PFV-fall.asleep₂ be-MED

She felt sleepy, and fell asleep for a while besides it.

130. *q^hoʔ détsənəʔ ⁿbréⁿdʒi=kə fe tə-kə-mp^hərʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ gradually horse.skin=INS flesh PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-wrap₂=DET
rgonbe ome kə-xteʔ=sc^hənəʔ vlørge mts^hót nə-ⁿjərʔ
 monastery very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=and monk be.many PFV-change₂
 And gradually the flesh wrapped in the horse skin changed into a very big monastery full
 of monks.

131. *q^hoʔ o-jiʔ=ntf^hon nánəz jə-zɣót wəjo ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also there PFV-arrive₂ be.seen be-MED
q^hoʔ ome nə-scât
 SEQ very IPFV:PST-be.happy₂
 And she herself was transported there and she was very happy.

132. *q^hoʔ rgonbe o-vzər=nəʔ nə-smo ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ monastery 3SG:POSS-side=DET IPFV:PST-stay be-MED
 And she lived there by the side of the monastery.

133. *q^hoʔ rjélpo o-vdamuʔ sek^hemblosmən=nəʔ nə-kə-q^hoʔ*
 SEQ chieftain SG:POSS-queen PN=DET PFV-NMLZ-deliver₂
q^hoʔ təlɲaʔ tʃ^hə nə-kə-fsât=rəʔ kəmdiʔ ne-sizʔ-cə
 SEQ child what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂=PL all PFV:TR-know₂-MED
 And the chieftain discovered all about his queen Sekhamalosman's delivery of the child
 and what had happened to the child.

134. *q^hoʔ χfíkə o-sni nə-zdəɣ q^hoʔ tə-rəmunuʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ very 3SG:POSS-heart PFV-be.painful₂ SEQ PFV-be.angry₂ be-MED
 He felt very sad and very angry.

135. *q^hoʔ kəməq^húɳəʔ*

SEQ afterwards

o-rjɛlse=sc^hənəʔ o-nk^hormaŋ=rɛʔ ne-sɛvdəvdɛʔ

3SG:POSS-palace=and 3SG:POSS-masses=PL PFV:TR-give.up₂:DISTRIB

q^hoʔ nə-nt^homʔ ɲoʔ-cə

SEQ PFV-be.wandering₂ be-MED

Afterwards, he forsook his palace and his masses and became a wanderer.

136. *q^hoʔ kəməq^húɳəʔ*

SEQ afterwards

q^hɛʔ rgonbe o-vzər=nəʔ jɛ-zɣôʔ-cə=nəʔ

ANA monastery 3SG:POSS-side=DET PFV-arrive₂-MED=SUB

o-ɔdamuʔ sek^hɛmɛlosmən ne-mti ɲoʔ-cə

3SG:POSS-queen PN PFV:TR-see₂ be-MED

Afterwards, when he got to the side of that monastery, and saw his queen Sekhamalosman.

137. *q^hoʔ noŋme=nəʔ kək^hɛ kɛ-pe nɛ-c^hɛʔ-ⁿdzə*

SEQ only.then=TOP family INF-do IPFV:PST-be.able₂-3DU

q^hoʔ nɛ-scəʔt-ⁿdzə

SEQ IPFV:PST-be.happy₂-3DU

Only then, they were able to be reunited as a family and they were happy.

138. *q^hoʔ nəʔəq^hu=nəʔ*

SEQ from.then.on=TOP

təʃo=nt^hon kɛ-wi mə-nɛ-c^hɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə

demon=also INF-come NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂ be-MED

And from then on, the demon was unable to come (and bother them).

LAMA RGYALBABZANG OF CHURZHI

tʃurzi rjelwəvzəŋ

Narrator: Tshemgon

1. *ʃɔntsʰe=z tʃurzi²⁴⁴ nə-vləme rjelwəvzəŋ*
 former.time=LOC PN 3PL:POSS-lama PN
kə-rmiʔ=cəʔ nə-to ŋoʔ-cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.named=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 In olden days, there was a lama of ours by the name of Rgyalbabzang.
2. *qʰoʔ nəʔ vləme=nəʔ χʃikə mə-kə-náχtʃəy*
 SEQ ANA lama=DET very NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.ordinary
 That lama was very extraordinary,
3. *o-rizʔ ʰge-toʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-foresight IPFV-exist be-MED
 for he had foresight.
4. *ó-pe=nəʔ scəʃli nə-rmi ŋoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-father=DET PN IPFV:PST-be.named₂ be-MED
 His father was named Scasli.
5. *qʰoʔ qʰənəʔ ó-pʰa scəʃli-tʃu té-tsə-nə ʰge-ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-place PN-son IPFV-say-3PL IPFV-be-MED
 So people were calling the lama “Scasli’s son”.

²⁴⁴ Name of a religious leader from Dzamthang County, who spread Jonang Buddhism to the present Stodpa region.

6. *q^hoʔ ó-pe=nəʔ sɲaxpəwe²⁴⁵ nɐ-ŋo-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-father=DET defrocked.monk IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 His father was a defrocked monk,

7. *q^hoʔ ⁿge-nəvləmtʃot ŋoʔ-cə q^hoʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-perform.religious.services be-MED SEQ
n^bəlvə²⁴⁶=rɐʔ ⁿge-mɲɐ q^hoʔ k^hɛnəŋ le-nətsomʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 offering=PL IPFV-receive₃ SEQ home IPFV:UPRIVER-take.back be-MED
 and would perform religious services and bring back home the food offerings that he
 would receive.

8. *q^hoʔ o-tʃu=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son=DET=ERG
nɛkəʔ ⁿbəlvə ɐ-mə-jɐ-tɐ-wot ⁿdenəʔ
 that.near.you offering IRR-NEG-IMP-2-bring for
mɐ-lve ŋoʔ mɐ-t^hozʔ ŋoʔ tɛ-tsə ŋoʔ-cə
 NEG-be.proper be NEG-be.the.rule be IPFV-say be-MED
 And his son would say (to his father), “Do not bring back home the offerings, for it is
 improper and against the rule to do so.”

9. *ʃənəʔ ó-pe me-ⁿgɛ-k^hut ŋoʔ-cə*
 but 3SG:POSS-father NEG-IPFV-allow be-MED
 But his father would not listen.

²⁴⁵ A defrocked monk has left the clergy and hence is not allowed to perform full religious services. He can still chant certain sutras for the people, such as the *Mgonbo*.

²⁴⁶ Food (tsampa, chunks of meat, butter, etc.) offered to monks who make house calls to perform certain religious services. It is not considered appropriate for a defrocked monk to receive this, much less bring it home to share with the family.

10. *q^hoʔ kə-təʃe=ce=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-time=INDF=TOP
ó-pe nə-raqtuʔ=nəʔ o-krə
 3SG:POSS-father IPFV:PST-chant.sutra₂=SUB 3SG:POSS-company
t^hə-ərə ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:downriver-go₂ be-MED
 Once, when his father went downriver to perform sutra-chanting services, he went with him.
11. *q^hoʔ kə-raqtu nə-səɣjoy q^hoʔ lə-nəweʔ-n-dzə*
 SEQ INF-chant.sutra PFV:TR-finish₂ SEQ PFV:UPRIVER-come.back₂-2SG
 They finished chanting sutras and went back home upriver.
12. *t^hoⁿbəjʔ=zⁿ dzə-n**b**əʋe te-raqje-n-dzə*
 road=LOC 3DU:POSS-offering PFV:TR-untie₂-3DU
q^hoʔ kə-n-dzerve tə-rənts^ha-n-dzə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ NMLZ:PURP-eat.outdoors PFV-make.ready₂-3DU be-MED
 On the road, they untied their food offering and were about to eat it.
13. *q^hoʔⁿ dzə-n**b**əʋe=nəʔ rtsémkəy=nəŋ te-tʃet-n-dzə=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3DU:POSS-offering=DET tsampa.bag=inside PFV:TR-take.out₂-3DU=SUB
qəpreʔ qəʃpe tə-nlɔ ɲoʔ-cə
 snake toad PFV:UP-exit₂ be-MED
 As they took out their offering from the tsampa bag, snakes and toads came up out of it.
14. *q^hoʔ o-tʃu=nəʔ=kə nəʔ ʃsət ko*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-son=DET=ERG ANA be.thus DM
*nəkənəʔ n**b**əʋe stoŋⁿbələtaŋ ne-kə-mje=nəʔ*
 that.near.you offering without.good.reason IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-receive=DET

mɛ-lve ofɛtkə nəʔ né-fsət ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 NEG-be.proper so ANA IPFV-be.thus be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the son said, “What did I tell you? That offering which is received without good reason is so improper that it ends up like this,” he said.

15. *qʰoʔ leʔ kə-təfe=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ again one-time=INDF=TOP

On another occasion,

16. *pɛlépu=rɛʔ reⁿgo=z ó-ta=cɛ=nəʔ*
 Pala²⁴⁷-people=PL hill=LOC 3SG:POSS-top=INDF=DET
kə-nəvdíti tə-ɛre-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 NMLZ:PURP-celebrate.Vditi.festival PFV:UP-go₂-3PL be-MED

people of Pala Village²⁴⁸ went somewhere up the hills to celebrate the Vditi Festival.

17. *qʰoʔ cʰɛmdɛʔ te-tsom-nə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ barley.beer.in.a.jar PFV:TR-take.thither₂-3PL be-MED

They took with them barley beer in a jar,

18. *ʃənəʔ cʰɛmdɛroʔ ne-jmât-nə-cə*
 but bamboo.tube PFV:TR-forget₂-3PL-MED

but forgot (to bring) bamboo tubes.

19. *scɔsli-tʃu=nəʔ=kə*
 Scasli-son=DET=ERG
cʰɛmdɛroʔ ɛjiʔ ʃə-qése-aj ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 bamboo.tube 1SG AND-look.for-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the son of Scasli said, “I will go and look for bamboo tubes,”

²⁴⁷ A village in Zbu Township (in Chinese 巴朗).

²⁴⁸ A Showu-speaking village within the Zbu Township in 'Barkhams City.

20. *náŋlaskə spəntɔʔ χcəl nɐ-smo-nə ʃteʔ-cə*
 surely meadow center IPFV:PST-be.present₂₋₃PL be:EMPH-MED
 surely, as they were in the middle of a meadow,
21. *qʰənəʔ=z ʲɟwɛʔ-roʔ mákə*
 ANA=LOC bamboo-tube let.alone
rtsəke kə-rzɛʔ=ntʃʰon mɐ ɲoʔ-cə
 grass NMLZ:SBJ-be.long=even exist:NEG be-MED
 there were not even long grasses, let alone bamboo tubes there.
22. *qʰoʔ káde nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ a.while PFV-elapse₂=SUB
cʰəmdɛroʔ kəlɲo-tʃʰ-ɰʰbye=cəʔ jɐ-wôt ɲoʔ-cə
 bamboo.tube five-six-CL=INDF PFV-bring₂ be-MED
 After a while, he brought back five or six bamboo tubes,
23. *qʰoʔ zdewe=rɛʔ=kə χʃíkə nə-ɐnɐmtsʰerʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ people=PL=ERG very PFV-be.surprised₂₋₃PL be-MED
 and the people were very surprised.
24. *qʰoʔ nəʃəqʰu*
 SEQ afterwards
scɐslitʃu=rɛʔ kɛ-tsə mə-nə-noz-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 son.of.Scasli=PL NMLZ-say NEG-PFV-dare₂₋₃PL be-MED
 Afterwards, they no longer dared to call him “Son of Scasli”.

25. *qʰoʔ rjɛlwɛvzɑŋ=nəʔ χʰikə mə-kə-náχʰtʰəɣ nə-ʃte*
 SEQ PN=DET very NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.ordinary IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂
ŋoʔ-cə qʰoʔ vʒɛrismɛnrtsi²⁴⁹=sɕʰənəʔ kofsoʔ kʰɛrtɛ ʰge-ŋoʔ-ⁿdzə-cə
 be-MED SEQ PN=and friend IPFV-be-3DU-MED
 Rgyalbabzang was so extraordinary that he befriended the deity of Mount Bzhagbra Smarntsi.

26. *qʰoʔ kɛmɲɛm ʰge-rkʰɛvdɛʔ-ⁿdzə ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ often IPFV-chat₂-3DU be-MED
 And they often chatted with each other.

27. *qʰoʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-time=INDF=DET
rjɛlwɛvzɑŋ=kə vʒɛrismɛnrtsi ó-pʰa
 PN=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-place
nɛjiʔ nə-skɛt kɛ-ʃsɛʔ káma
 2SG 2SG:POSS-voice GP-hear except
nɛ-ɛzəɣʔ kɛ-mtiʔ mə-cə²⁵⁰
 2SG:POSS-body GP-see not:exist-MED
 Once, Rgyalbabzang said to Bzhagbra Smarntsi, “One (i.e. I) only hears your voice but does not see your body,”

28. *qʰoʔ kə-təʃe=koʔ*
 SEQ one-time=this
nɛ-ɛzəɣʔ kɛ-mtiʔ nə-tʃɛt reʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 2SG:POSS-body GP-see IMP-take.out be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “this time, you must reveal your visible body,” he said.

²⁴⁹ Name of one of the guardian deities of the Bzhagbra Mountains, also known as Bzhagbra.

²⁵⁰ The mediative evidential *-cə* here is used in a non-evidential sense to convey a complaint.

29. *q^hoʔ* *vʒéri smənrtsi=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ PN=DET=ERG
nəʔ *mɐ-ɲən* *ˈdenəʔ* *tə-nɐsce* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 ANA NEG-be.acceptable for 2-be.scared be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And Bzhagbra Smanrtsi said, “This is unacceptable, for you will be frightened.”
30. *ʃənəʔ* *ɲɛlwɛvzəŋ=kə* *mɐ-kdu* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 but PN=ERG NEG-be.serious PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 But Rgyalbabzang said, “It’s alright.”
31. *q^hoʔ* *ɲɛlwɛvzəŋ* *nɐ-ˈdonʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN IPFV:PST-chant₂ be-MED
 And Rgyalbabzang chanted sutras,
32. *q^hoʔ* *kádenəʔ* *mts^hó=naŋ* *ne-wɐˈdárˈdár²⁵¹* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ in.a.while lake=inside IPFV-rumble be-MED
 in a while, there was a rumbling in the lake,
33. *mts^hó=naŋ* *ˈbrəɣlɔʔ* *tə-nlɔ*
 lake=inside dragon PFV:OUT-exit₂
q^hoʔ *mts^hok^he* *χso-tʰskor* *te-ro*
 SEQ lake.bank three-time PFV:TR-circle₂
 a dragon came up from inside the lake and circled the lake three times.
34. *q^hoʔ* *ɲɛlwɛvzəŋ* *o-t^héco=nəʔ=z*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-downriver.side=DET=LOC
o-koʔ *le-te* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-head PFV:UPRIVER:TR-put₂ be-MED
 And put its head up upriver not far from Rgyalbabzang.

²⁵¹ From ideophone root *ˈdár*, denoting a rumbling sound.

35. *q^hoʔ rjɛlwɛvzɑŋ t^hv-m^hp^heri=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN PFV:DOWNRIVER-look₂=SUB
nɛ-nɛscerʔ oʃɛtkə tərdoʔ t^he-wɛret
 IPFV:PST-be.scared₂ so grain PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-throw₂
q^hoʔ vʒári o-koʔ te-xɬəy=sc^hənəʔ
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-head PFV:TR-hit₂=SUB
vʒári mts^hó=naŋ nɛ-ɛrkərkoʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 PN lake=inside PFV:DOWN-fall.in.a.heap₂ be-MED

Rgyalbabzang took a look downriver and had such a scare, that he threw at it the grains (in his hand) and no sooner had it hit the dragon deity on the head, that it fell downward into the lake in a heap.

36. *q^hoʔ vʒári tə-nⁿgi ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN PFV-be.ill₂ be-MED
 And Bzhagbra Smanrtsi became ill,

37. *q^hoʔ vʒári=kə rjɛlwɛvzɑŋ=p^ha ɐ-kzəyʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG PN=place 1SG:POSS-body
ké-fi^həz mɛ-ŋɛn té-tsə-aŋ=nəʔ mɛ-tə-k^hut=kə
 INF-show NEG-be.acceptable IPFV-say-1SG=SUB NEG-2-allow=INS
nəʔ fʂə́t tə-ko-sənⁿgi-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 ANA do.thus PFV-2→1-cause.to.be.ill₂-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

and Bzhagbra Smanrtsi said to Rgyalbabzang, “I am telling you that I cannot show my body and you do not listen, and see how you got me ill like this.”

38. *q^hoʔ rjɛlwɛvzɑŋ=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
o-χtu mə-nə-ʒi məpértʰɛ ne-peʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-chant NEG-PFV-recover not.until PFV:TR-do₂ be-MED
 And Rgyalbabzang chanted sutras for it until it got well.
39. *q^hoʔ vʒári nə-ʒi=sc^hənəʔ*
 SEQ PN PFV-recover₂=SUB
rjɛlwɛvzɑŋ ó-rko χser=kə k^hreʔ te-rkoʔ-nəŋo
 PN 3SG:POSS-reward gold=GEN chair PFV:TR-give₂-MED
 As soon as Bzhagbra Smanrtsi got well, he rewarded Rgyalbabzang with a golden chair,
40. *q^hoʔ rjɛlwɛvzɑŋ=kə χser=kə k^hreʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG gold=GEN chair
o-krəpe te-səfkor
 3SG:POSS-disciple PFV:TR-cause.to.carry.on.back₂
 and Rgyalbabzang had a disciple of his carry the golden chair up onto his back,
41. *q^hoʔ ne-tə-tsomʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:DOWN-2-take.thither=SUB
ɛdɛnbe v-mə-kə-tə-nq^horo te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 at.all IRR-NEG-IMP-2-look.back PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 and (said to him), “When you carry this away downhill, do not look back at all,” he warned.

42. *q^hoʔ o-krəpe=nəʔ=kə te-fkor*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-disciple=DET=ERG PFV:TR-carry.on.back₂
nə-ɐre pəlérɡon=ta nə-zyôʔ=sc^hənəʔ
 PFV:DOWN-go₂ PN=top PFV:WEST-arrive₂=SUB
 Just as his disciple carried it on back, went downhill, and arrived westward at Pala Monastery,

43. *o-krəpe=kə kəkəʔ=nəʔ tʰə ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə*
 3SG:POSS-disciple=ERG this=DET what be PFV:TR-think₂-MED
q^hoʔ kámjʰa kə-nq^horoʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ a.bit PFV:EAST-turn.head₂ be-MED
 the disciple thought, “What is this thing?” and turned his head a little bit (to look).

44. *q^hoʔ təmdánə*
 SEQ as.a.result
o-zgé=ta χserk^hreʔ=nəʔ ʃkótse
 3SG:POSS-back=top gold.chair=DET stone
kə-fkorʔ mə-kə-səc^hɐ=kəsə nə-ⁿʃərʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 INF-carry.on.back NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.doable=like PFV-change₂ be-MED
 As a result, the gold chair on his back changed into a rock impossible to carry on back,

45. *q^hoʔ ó-ste=z*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-where.something.is=LOC
ne-səntəv nə-re ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-lay.down₂ IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂ be-MED
 and he had to lay it down on the spot.

46. *nənəʔ* *nɛ-kɛ-ffɛ̃t* *χserkʰreʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-recount₂ gold.chair=DET
pəlérɡon=ta *ʃkótse=kə* *kʰreʔ=kəsə* *ɛnɛmɛnɛ*
 PN=top stone=INS chair=like be.indential
toʒaʔ=ntʃʰon *tʰɛ-to-cə*
 nowadays=also CONT:LTR-exist₂-MED

As for the gold chair mentioned in the story, there is a rock looking exactly like a chair above Pala Monastery even today.

WILD MAN SAVED A PILGRIM
mjərgotkə kənlɛsɛ təkoscovʔcə ɣpɛ
Narrator: Stagthar

1. *ʃɔnts^he=z o-jiʔ jɛstɛ kə-nlɛsɛ*
 former.time=LOC 3SG:POSS-self alone NMLZ:PURP-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa
tə-kə-vrɛ=cəʔ nɛ-to ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED
 Once upon a time, there was a man who was going alone on a pilgrimage to Lhasa.

2. *q^hoʔ kə-ʃɲi=cɛ=nəʔ lɛ-vrɛ lɛ-vrɛ*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET PFV:UPRIVER-go₂ PFV:UPRIVER-go₂
naɣtʃɛn omɛ kə-xtɛʔ=cəʔ=naŋ lɛ-zɣôʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 forest very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF=inside PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂ be-MED
 One day, he went and went upriver, and arrived at a very big forest.

3. *q^hoʔ kɛ-səʃpɛʔ=vrɛʔ mə-nɛ-tsoʔ kɛ-qɛnu tɛ-jɛ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ INF-go.through=PL NEG-PFV-have.time₂ INF-darken PFV:TR-begin₂ be-MED
 It had become dark before he had time to make it through (the forest).

4. *q^hoʔ naɣtʃɛn=naŋ*
 SEQ forest=inside
nəʔosɛʃsət tə-nərmɛʔ nɛ-re ɲoʔ-cə
 thus PFV-spend.the.night₂ IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂ be-MED
 And he had no choice but to spend the night in the forest just like that.

5. *q^hoʔ smi=vrɛʔ tɛ-vlu q^hoʔ tʃɛʔ=vrɛʔ tɛ-tɛ-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ fire=PL PFV:TR-burn₂ SEQ tea=PL PFV:TR-put₂-MED=SUB
 Just when he built a fire and made tea,

6. *o-vzər* *sekotserʔ=naŋ*
 3SG:POSS-side underbrush=inside
ne-kə-wɛχtʃʰəvɑχtʃʰəv=cəʔ *toʔ*
 IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.make.rustling.sound²⁵²=INDF exist
məkátsʰət *o-jiʔ* *ó-pʰjə* *kə-wɛʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 not.only 3SG:POSS-self 3SG:POSS-direction NMLZ:SBJ-come₂ be-MED
 something was making rustling noises in the underbrush beside him, and was coming in his direction.
7. *qʰoʔ* *détsə* *o-vzər* *kə-zyôʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ gradually 3SG:POSS-side PFV:CISLOC-arrive₂=SUB
 And when it gradually got close to him,
8. *o-qʰostot* *o-rmɐ=rɐʔ* *tétəm* *te-kə-rⁿgu*
 3SG:POSS-upper.body 3SG:POSS-hair=PL upward IPFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep
o-qʰosmɛt *o-rmɐ=rɐʔ* *téjət*
 3SG:POSS-lower.body 3SG:POSS-hair=PL downward
ⁿge-kə-rⁿgu=cəʔ *kəʳbjoʔ* *jəte-ká-fsət=kəsci*
 IPFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-sleep=INDF person COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like=like
kə-zyôʔ
 PFV:CISLOC-arrive₂
 and a rather human-like (creature) arrived, the hair in its upper body pointing upwards and the hair of its lower body pointing downwards,
9. *qʰoʔ* *tʃǝlɐ* *ɛdɛnbe* *me-té-tsə*
 SEQ anything at.all NEG-IPFV-say
qʰoʔ *o-vzər* *tə-ɛmdzuʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side PFV-sit₂ be-MED
 not saying a word, it sat down beside him.

²⁵² From ideophone root *χtʃʰəv*, describing a rustling sound.

10. *q^hoʔ q^hɐʔ kə-nlɛse=nəʔ təverʔ*
 SEQ ANA NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET fear
o-fet=kə kɐ-málmə=sc^hənəʔ o-sɲorʔ
 3SG:POSS-extent=INS INF-move=and 3SG:POSS-breath
kə-xtɛʔ=rɛn kɛ-tʃɛt mə-nə-noz ɲoʔ-cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=even INF-take.out NEG-PFV-dare₂ be-MED

And the pilgrim to Lhasa was so afraid that he dared not move or even draw a deep breath.

11. *q^hoʔ nəʔosɛʃsə nɐ-smo-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ thus IPFV:PST-stay-3DU be-MED

And they just sat there like that.

12. *q^hoʔ ɲɛspəspe nə-tsoʔ*
 SEQ quite.a.long.while PFV-elapse₂
q^hoʔ leʔ ɣɛko=ta=cɛ qi: te-ká-tsə=cəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ again ridge=top=INDF EXCL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say=INDF exist be-MED

After quite a long while, something else was calling “*Qi!*” somewhere on the mountain ridge.

13. *q^hoʔ nəʔ qi: te-ká-tsə=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA EXCL IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say=DET
detsátsɐ detsátsɐ ⁿdzə-vzər kɐ-nərnərɛ te-je ɲoʔ-cə
 gradually gradually 2DU:POSS-side INF-approach:RDPL PFV:TR-begin₂ be-MED

And that which was calling “*Qi!*” gradually got closer and closer to the two of them.

14. *q^hoʔ kádenəʔ*
 SEQ in.a.while
ˈndzə-vzər staməʔzəyʔ lə-nlɔ ɲoʔ-cə
 2DU:POSS-side tiger.leopard²⁵³ PFV:UPRIVER-exit₂ be-MED
 And in a moment, a tiger-leopard came out from their side.
15. *nəʔʃənəʔ kəʳⁿbjoʔ=kəsə=nəʔ*
 at.that.moment human=like=DET
ʃla staməʔzəyʔ=ta t^hv-nəmdərʔ-cə
 immediately tiger.leopard=top PFV:DOWNRIVER-jump₂-MED
 At that moment, the human-like creature immediately pounced on the tiger-leopard.
16. *q^hoʔ rjəspe ne-ɐjələʔ-ˈndzə*
 SEQ quite.a.while IPFV:PST-wrestle₂-3DU
 And they wrestled with each other for quite a while.
17. *q^hoʔ kəmɐq^hínəʔ kəʳⁿbjoʔ=kəsə=nəʔ nɐ-c^hvʔ*
 SEQ afterwards human=like=DET IPFV:PST-win₂
q^hoʔ staməʔzəyʔ=nəʔ ne-səyp^hi ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ tiger-leopard=DET PFV:TR-cause.to.flee₂ be-MED
 Afterwards, the man-like creature was winning and forced the tiger-leopard to flee.
18. *q^hoʔ kə-nlɐse=nəʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET
noɲme o-zgeʔ=rɐʔ nə-ˈno
 only.then 3SG:POSS-back=PL PFV-be.loose₂
q^hoʔ o-sem nə-vdeʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart PFV-be.good₂ be-MED
 Only then did the pilgrim to Lhasa relax and feel relieved.

²⁵³ Legendary feline animal, a cross between a tiger and a leopard.

19. *q^hoʔ kə-nlɛse=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET=ERG
koʔ kəⁿbjoʔ=kəsə=nəʔ
 this human-like=DET
v-kə-ⁿdze jv-wɛʔ nə-ma=kə
 1SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-eat PFV-come₂ PFV-not.be₂=DM
v-kə-sroŋ jv-wɛʔ-nəŋo ne-səsi-cə
 1SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-protect PFV-come₂-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And the pilgrim to Lhasa thought, “So this man-like creature comes in order to protect me, not to eat me!”

20. *q^hoʔ kəⁿbjoʔ=kəsə ó-p^ha*
 SEQ human=like 3SG:POSS-place
tə-vm̥dzu q^hoʔ nə-ⁿdzɛt^hi=rɐʔ te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 IMP-sit SEQ IMP-dine=PL PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 And he said to the man-like creature, “Sit down and eat,” and what not,

21. *fənəʔ q^hɛnəʔ nɐ-nə-tsiʔ soʔ meʔ=nəʔ*
 but ANA IPFV:PST-SPON-understand₂ whether or.not=SUB
m̥ɛ-siz ⁿdenəʔ o-vzər=nəʔ nɐ-vm̥dzuʔ-cə
 NEG-know but 3SG:POSS-side=DET IPFV:PST-sit₂-MED
 and it is not known whether it understood him or not, but it sat beside him.

22. *q^hoʔ jə-fsi jɛrmɛ=nəʔ noŋme jv-fɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PROS-dawn about=TOP only.then PFV-go₂ be-MED
 And until it was almost dawn, it did not go away.

23. *q^hoʔ lɐ-fsiʔ q^hoʔ*

SEQ PFV:UPRIVER-dawn₂ SEQ

kə-nlɐse=nəʔ

tə-rɐroʔ-cə

NMLZ:SBJ-go.on.a.pilgrimage.to.Lhasa=DET PFV-get.up₂-MED

q^hoʔ lɐse kə-fɛ leʔ nə-nts^ha ŋoʔ-cə

SEQ PN NMLZ:PURP-go again PFV-set.out₂ be-MED

Then day broke and the pilgrim got up and set out again on his way to Lhasa.

24. *nəʔ nɐ-fsət nɐ-tʰoʔ-cə*

ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be₂-MED

That was how it happened, it is said.

5. *q^hoʔ* *o-prəkε=z* *o-rovʔ* *o-kɐⁿdze=rɐʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-campsite=LOC 3SG:POSS-cooked.meat 3SG:POSS-food=PL
kəmdiʔ *te-kəⁿdze=cəʔ* *əntsətse* *toʔ-nəŋo*
 all PT-NMLZ:SBJ-eat₂=INDF often exist-MED
 and often ate up his meat and food at his campsite.

6. *q^hoʔ* *q^hɐʔ* *kəqɐrɲiʔ=nəʔ* *kə-sɲi=cε=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA hunter=DET one-day=INDF=DET
prəkε=z *tɐrovʔ=rɐʔ* *te-sqɐʔ-cə*
 campsite=LOC meat=PL PFV:TR-boil₂-MED
 One day, the hunter boiled meat and what not,

7. *q^hoʔ* *tʃ^həkɐwɐkɐ=rɐʔ* *tʃ^hwatʃ^hwaʔ* *te-sətsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ camping.chore=PL nicely PFV:TR-do₂-MED
 and nicely did his camp chores.

8. *q^hoʔ* *ó-m^he* *ldəwiʔ=rɐʔ* *ne-tʃərʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-waist chopper=PL PFV:TR-stick₂-MED
 And he stuck his chopper and what not at his waist,

9. *q^hoʔ* *jɐ-kə-ɐʃɛʔ* *te-nəʃpəzʔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV-NMLZ-go₂ PFV:TR-pretend₂-MED
q^hoʔ *o-vzər=cε* *nə-ojɐnɐtsuʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side=INDF PFV-hide.oneself₂-MED
 and, pretending to leave, he hid himself someplace nearby.

10. *q^hoʔ kámʈʰa nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ o-prəkə=z*
 SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse₂=SUB 3SG:POSS-campsite=LOC
m̥nərgot=cəʔ jə-wɛʔ-nəŋo
 wild.man=INDF PFV-come₂-MED
 After a short while, a wild man came to his campsite.

11. *q^hoʔ t̥rovʔ tə-kə-sqəʔ=rəʔ te-tʃet-cə*
 SEQ cooked.meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-boil₂=PL PFV:UP-take.out₂-MED
q^hoʔ oʒorʔ jɛχpéter ne-lét ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ meanwhile clapping PFV:TR-do₂ be-MED
 It took up the boiled meat, all the while clapping its hands.

12. *q^hoʔ kə-ⁿdze te-je-cə*
 SEQ INF-eat PFV:TR-begin₂-MED
 And it began to eat.

13. *q^hoʔ kəqərŋiʔ=kə mɛ-ɣdu jɛjɛ²⁵⁵ ne-səsi-cə*
 SEQ hunter=ERG NEG-matter EXCL PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And the hunter thought, “Alright, let’s wait and see!”

14. *q^hoʔ t̥emu sɛʈʰe=z ɣmamiʔ nɛ-kə-smo=rəʔ*
 SEQ PN place=LOC red.army IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-stay=PL
ná-p^ha tʰə nɛ-kə-fsət ʃə-te-tsəʔ-cə
 3PL:POSS-place what IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like₂ AND-PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And he went to where the Red-Army soldiers were staying at Lhamu and told them what happened.

²⁵⁵ An exclamation meaning “Let’s wait and see!”.

15. *q^hoʔ ʁmamiʔ=rɐʔ=kə júloŋ=naŋ tɐwaʔ te-rkoʔ-nə-cə*
 SEQ red.army=PL=ERG urn=inside liquor PFV:TR-put.in₂-3PL-MED
 And the Red-Army soldiers put liquor into an urn,
16. *q^hoʔ o-vzər fe tə-kɐ-sqɐʔ=rɐʔ mts^hót*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-side meat PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-boil₂=PL be.much
ne-te-nə-cə
 PFV:TR-put₂-3PL-MED
 and put much boiled meat beside it,
17. *q^hoʔ q^hénə=z ke-k^her-nə-cə*
 SEQ there=LOC PFV:CISLOC:TR-surround₂-3PL-MED
 and sat around there in a circle,
18. *q^hoʔ tɐwaʔ ne-ká-t^hi fe te-kə-ⁿdze=rɐʔ*
 SEQ liquor IPFV-NMLZ-drink meat IPFV-NMLZ-eat=PL
te-nəʃpəzʔ-nə-cə
 PFV:TR-pretend₂-3PL-MED
 and pretended to drink liquor and eat meat.
19. *q^hoʔ kámtʃ^ha nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ a.bit PFV-elapse₂=SUB
jɐ-ʃɛʔ-nə-cə o-vzər=cɛ nə-nəɣjɛtsu-nə-cə
 PFV-go₂-3PL-MED 3SG:POSS-side=INDF PFV-hide.oneself₂-3PL-MED
 After a short while, they left to hide themselves somewhere nearby.
20. *q^hoʔ kádenəʔ mɲnərgot=nəʔ leʔ jɐ-wɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ in.a.while wild.man=DET again PFV-come₂ be-MED
 Later, the wild man came again,

21. *q^hoʔ júlon=nan tɕwɕʔ kɛ-t^hi ne-je-cə*
 SEQ urn=in liquor INF-drink PFV:TR-drink₂-MED
ozorʔ fe=rɕʔ te-ⁿdzeʔ-cə
 meanwhile meat=PL PFV:TR-eat₂-MED
 and began to drink the liquor in the urn, and it ate the meat in the meantime.

22. *q^hoʔ χfikə nə-χeʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ very PFV-be.happy₂ be-MED
 And it was very happy.

23. *fənəʔ rjespe nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ kɕ-ldeʔ te-je-cə*
 but quite.a.while PFV-elapse₂=SUB INF-be.drunk PFV-begin₂-MED
 But after quite a while, it began to get drunk.

24. *q^hoʔ kəmaq^hunəʔ nə-lde o-fét=kə*
 SEQ afterwards PFV-be.drunk₂ 3SG:POSS-extent=INS
'pa=cəʔ nə-fsət-cə
 pig=INDF PFV-be.like₂-MED
 Afterwards, it became as drunk as a pig.

25. *q^hoʔ ɕmamiʔ=rɕʔ kə-ɕre-nə-cə*
 SEQ red.army=PL PFV:CISLOC-go₂-3PL-MED
 And the Red-Army soldiers went up from all sides,

26. *q^hoʔ q^hɕʔ mɲərgot kə-səsoʔ ne-myeʔ-nə*
 SEQ ANA wild.man NMLZ-be.alive PFV:TR-catch₂-3PL
 and caught the wild man alive.

27. *q^hoʔ rjɛnaŋ=cɛ t^he-tsom-nə*
 SEQ PN=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂-3PL

And they took it downriver to some place in China,

28. *q^hoʔ toŋwújen=naŋ ke-rkoʔ-nə kɛ-tsəʔ nɛ-tʃ^hoz-cə*
 SEQ zoo=inside PFV:TR-put.in₂-3PL GP-say IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED

and put it into a zoo, it was said.

A MORAL LESSON FOR MEN
kərⁿbjɔʔ təspjot^he sərevzjaŋʔcə ɣpe
Narrator: 'Phrinlas

1. *sɲonts^he=z*

former.time=LOC

zdóŋbo ome kə-xtɛʔ=cəʔ nɛ-to ɲoʔ-cə
 tree very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-MED

Once there was a big tree.

2. *zdóŋbo st^hoʔ o-koʔ=nəʔ=z*

tree most 3SG:POSS-head=DET=LOC

ffərjɛlt^hoŋt^hen kɛⁿdʒəlŋəlŋaʔ ⁿge-smo-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 roc together.with.children IPFV-live-3PL be-MED

At the very top of the tree lived a roc and her children.

3. *nəʔ ó-p^hi=z zdóŋbo k^hoŋrəl ó-naŋ=z*

AN 3SG:POSS-underside=LOC hole.inside.tree 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC

vju=cəʔ ⁿge-smo ɲoʔ-cə
 mouse=INDF IPFV-live be-MED

Underneath them, inside a hollow of the tree, lived a mouse.

4. *zdóŋbo ó-p^hi=nəʔ*

tree 3SG:POSS-underside=DET

ɛlaŋbót^he=cəʔ ⁿge-naɛjevʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 elephant=INDF IPFV-rest.under.shade be-MED

Under the tree, an elephant (often) sought shelter in its shade.

5. *q^hoʔ ffɛrjɛltʃ^hoŋtʃ^hen=rɛʔ nə-p^hje ná-rⁿbe=nəʔ*
 SEQ roc=PL 3PL:POSS-excrement 3PL:POSS-urine=DET
vju o-kómt^hɔ əntsətse ⁿge-lɛt-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 mouse 3SG:POSS-courtyard repeatedly IPFV-release-3PL be-MED
 The roc and her children would repeatedly drop their excrement and urine down at the mouse's courtyard.
6. *q^hoʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ vju=kə ffɛrjɛltʃ^hoŋtʃ^hen ó-p^ha=z*
 SEQ one-day=INDF=DET mouse=ERG roc 3SG:POSS-place=LOC
a: v-toʔ=rɛʔ nə-p^hje ná-rⁿbe=nəʔ
 EXCL 1SG:POSS-that.which.is.above=PL 2PL:POSS-excrement 2PL:POSS-urine=DET
kɛrɔ^he=z v-fə-nə-tə-lɛt-nə
 far.away.place=LOC IRR-AND-IMP-2-release-2PL
 One day, the mouse said to the roc, “Hey, you guys up there! Go and drop your excrement and your urine at a far away place!”
7. *ɛjiʔ v-kómt^hɔ əntsətse ⁿge-tə-səwe-nə ɲoʔ*
 1SG 1SG:POSS-courtyard repeatedly IPFV:DOWN-2-cause.to.come-2PL be
nə(-nə)ʔ te-kɛ-fsət mɛ-tʃ^hoʔʔ=kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 ANA IPFV-GP-do.thus NEG-be.the.rule=DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 You keep dropping (your excrement) down on my courtyard, it is improper to do things like that!” it said.
8. *ffɛrjɛltʃ^hoŋtʃ^hen=nəʔ o-snaŋwe ɲíikə mt^ho ɲoʔ-cə*
 roc=DET 3SG:POSS-pride very be.high be-MED
q^hoʔ mɲɛⁿbɛr me-ne-peʔ-cə
 SEQ pay.attention NEG-PFV:TR-do₂-MED
 The roc was very proud, and did not pay any attention.

9. *q^hoʔ=ntʰon nə-p^hje nə-rⁿbe=nəʔ ⁿge-lət ʈoʔ-cə*
 SEQ=still 3PL:POSS-excrement 3PL:POSS-urine=DET IPFV-release be-MED
 And kept dropping down their excrement and urine.

10. *kəmaq^huʔ=nəʔ vju ʋlaŋbótʰe ó-p^ha nɛ-ɐre-cə*
 afterwards=DET mouse elephant 3SG:POSS-place PFV:DOWN-go₂-MED
 After that, the mouse went down to the elephant (and said),

11. *ʋlaŋbótʰe nɛʈiʔ ʈəʈəreʔ redəʔ=rɛʔ ʈə-tɛroʔ=kəsə tə-ŋoʔ*
 elephant 2SG 1PL-INCL beast=PL 1PL-headman=like 2-be
 “Elephant, among us beasts you are like our headman.”

12. *tə-sɛsəyver tə-tɕ^het tə-tɕaŋʔ ʈoʔ-cə*
 2-be.frightening 2-be.brave 2-be.just be-MED
 “You are frightening, brave, and just.”

13. *q^hoʔ nɛʈiʔ=kə ʃfɛrjɛltʰoŋtʰen=sc^hənəʔ ɛʈiʔ*
 SEQ 2SG=ERG roc=and 1SG
tsə-perʔ=cəʔ tə-poj k^hétɕo
 1DU:EXCL:POSS-between=INDF IMP-do₃ please
 “Please be the middleman between us the roc and myself.”

14. *q^hoʔ ʃfɛrjɛltʰoŋtʰen tʰə te-ká-fsət kəmdiʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ roc what IPFV-NMLZ-be.like all PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And it told (the elephant) everything.

15. *fə́nəʔ* *ɛlanbótʰe* *leʔ* *vju* *me-ne-nərtaʔ* *fiteʔ-cə*
 but elephant again mouse NEG-IPFV-despise be:EMPH-MED
qʰónə *ⁿdzə-perʔ=rɐʔ* *te-nə-peʔ* *mɐ-cə*
 SEQ:EMPH 3DU:POSS-middleman=PL IPFV-SPON-do₂ NEG:exist-MED
 But the elephant also looked down upon the mouse, and did not serve as their middleman at all.

16. *qʰoʔ* *vju=kə* *nə=rɐʔ* *mə-tə-nɛfsəʔsət-ⁿdzə* *ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ mouse=ERG ANA=PL NEG-IMP-do.thus-2DU or
fə́jə=cɛ=nəʔ *kə-ŋɐn=cəʔ* *pɔ-aj* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 when=INDF=DET NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=INDF do-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the mouse said, “Don’t you two act like that, or I will do something bad (to you) sometime.”

17. *qʰoʔ* *ffɛrjɛltʰoŋtʰen=nəʔ*
 SEQ roc=DET
o-ɛérⁿdzem *tʰɐ-nə-to* *fiteʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-wing CONT:LTR-SPON-exist₂ be:EMPH-MED
qʰónə *mɲɐⁿbɐr* *ne-nə-peʔ* *mɐ-cə*
 SEQ:EMPH attention PFV:TR-SPON-do₂ not.exist-MED
 Since the roc proudly owned such wings, she did not pay attention at all.

18. *ɛlanbótʰe=nəʔ* *vju=niʔ*
 elephant=DET mouse=DU
xtfixtɐ *ome* *tʰɐ-ɛcʰɛt-ⁿdzə* *fiteʔ-cə*
 size very CONT:LTR-differ₂-3DU be:EMPH-MED
qʰónəʔ *leʔ* *mɲɐⁿbɐr* *ne-nə-peʔ* *mɐ-cə*
 SEQ:EMPH again attention PFV:TR-SPON-do₂ not.exist-MED
 And since there was such a difference in size between the elephant and the mouse, it did not pay attention at all, either.

19. *kə-sŋi=cɛ=nəʔ* *vju* *o-múru* *o-fet=kə*
 one-day=INDF=DET mouse 3SG:POSS-anger 3SG:POSS-extent=INS
kɛ-nɛʃqɛ *mə-nə-cʰɛʔ-cə*
 INF-tolerate NEG-PFV-be.capable₂-MED
qʰoʔ *ɋlanbótʰe* *o-fne=naŋ* *lɛ-ɛre-cə*
 SEQ elephant 3SG:POSS-nose=inside PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-MED
 One day, the mouse was so angry it couldn't stand it any more and went into the elephant's nose.

20. *ɋlanbótʰe* *o-fne* *χfíkə* *nə-rɛjeʔ-cə*
 elephant 3SG:POSS-nose very PFV-itch₂-MED
qʰoʔ *o-fne=kə* *zdónbo* *ke-sərtovʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-nose=INS tree PFV:CISLOC:TR-strike.with.sweeping.motion₂
qʰoʔ *ne-səldɛ-cə*
 SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.fall₂-MED
 The elephant's trunk itched terribly, and it swung it against the tree and felled it.

21. *qʰoʔ* *ɋlanbótʰe* *nɛ-o-rʰɛʔ* *nə-set-cə*
 SEQ elephant PFV-INV-press₂ PFV-die₂-MED
 And the elephant was crushed to death.

22. *ffɛrjɛltʰoŋtʰen* *kolŋəlŋaʔ=rɛʔ=ntʰon* *kəmdiʔ* *nɛ-ɛntɛr-nə*
 roc together.with.children=PL=also all PFV-fall.from.height₂-3PL
qʰoʔ *nɛ-set-nə-cə*
 SEQ PFV:DOWN-die₂-3PL-MED
 The roc and her children all fell down also and died.

23. *q^hoʔ vju ʋlanbótʃ^he o-fne=naŋ nɐ-smo ʃteʔ-cə*
 SEQ mouse elephant 3SG:POSS-nose=inside IPFV:PST-stay be:EMPH-MED
q^hónə mə-na-ʋduʔ-cə
 SEQ:EMPH NEG-PFV-be.serious₂-MED

And the mouse stayed inside the elephant's nose, and so it was alright.

24. *q^hoʔ t^hv-nlɔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV:OUT-exit₂-MED

And it came out.

25. *nəʔ o-fsáʃsi=nəʔ kəqerŋiʔ ʃsəmʔ=cəʔ jv-wɛʔ-nə-cə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-next.day=DET hunter three=INDF PFV-come₂-3PL-MED

The following day, three hunters came.

26. *q^hónə ʋlanbótʃ^he o-ʃpovʔ=sc^hənəʔ ʃfɛrjɛltʃ^hoŋtʃ^hen o-ʃpovʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH elephant 3SG:POSS-corpse=and roc 3SG:POSS-corpse
ne-mti-nə-cə=nəʔ q^hoʔ ʃʃíkə nə-ʃe-nə
 PFV:TR-see₂-3PL-MED=SUB SEQ very PFV-be.glad₂-3PL

And when they saw the corpses of the roc and the elephant, they were very glad.

27. *q^hoʔ nánəz tə-smo-nə-cə*
 SEQ there PFV-stay-3PL-MED
q^hoʔ tʃeʔ te-te-nə-cə
 SEQ tea PFV:TR-make₂-3PL-MED

And so they stayed there and made tea.

28. *q^hoʔ kə-rdɔʔ=nəʔ=kə təciʔ ʃə-le-kə-roʔ*
 SEQ one-CL=DET=ERG water AND-IPFV:UPRIVER-INF-fetch
ɲnez=nəʔ=kə smi te-kə-vluʔ te-peʔ-nə-cə
 two=DET=ERG fire IPFV-INF-build PFV:TR-do₂-3PL-MED

They agreed that one of them was to fetch water upriver, and the other two were to build a fire.

29. *q^hoʔ smi te-kə-vluʔ=niʔ=kə tsə-zdeʔ ⁿge-kə-ntʃ^he=nəʔ*
 SEQ fire UP-NMLZ:A-build=DU=ERG 1DU-comrade IPFV-GP-kill=SUB
tərjuʔ tsəʃəniʔ kə-nəkri k^hūt-cə
 property 1DU:EXCL GP-divide.among.oneselves be.feasible-MED
te-mətsətsəʔ-ⁿdzə-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂:RDPL-3DU-MED

And the two fire-builders said to each other, “If we kill our comrade, we will be able to divide the property among us.”

30. *q^hoʔ rtsəmbe ó-nəŋ=nəʔ ɲlanbótʃ^he o-fe*
 SEQ tsampa 3SG:POSS-inside=DET elephant 3SG:POSS-meat
kámʃ^ha ne-lêʔ-ⁿdzə-cə
 some PFV:TR-put₂-3DU-MED

And they put some elephant meat into the tsampa,

31. *ɲlanbótʃ^he o-fe te-kə-ⁿdze=nəʔ*
 elephant 3SG:POSS-flesh IPFV-GP-eat=SUB
kə-o-ntʃ^he tʃ^hozʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 GP-INV-kill be.the.rule be-MED

(this is because) if one eats elephant meat one would be killed, it is said.

32. *təci?* *ʃə-lə-kə-ro=nə?*=ntʰon
 water AND-PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-fetch₂=DET=also
v-zde=ni? *ⁿge-kə-ntʰe=nə?*
 1SG:POSS-comrade=DU IPFV-GP-kill=SUB
təɽju? *kəmdi?* *ɸji?* *é-ja* *wi-cə* *ne-səsi-cə*
 property all 1SG 1SG:POSS-hand come-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And the one who went upriver to fetch water also thought, “If I kill my two comrades, all the property will belong to me.”
33. *qʰo?* *təci?*=naŋ *ɸlaŋbótʰe* *o-fe* *kámtʰa* *le?* *ne-lêt-cə*
 SEQ water=inside elephant 3SG:POSS-meat a.bit also PFV:TR-put.in₂-MED
 And he put some elephant flesh into the water.
34. *qʰo?* *o-zde?*=ni? *ⁿdzə-pʰa* *lə-jwet-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-comrade=DU 3DU:POSS-place PFV:UPRIVER-return₂-MED
 And he went back upriver to his comrades.
35. *qʰo?* *təci?* *lə-kə-ro=nə?*
 SEQ water PFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-fetch₂=DET
tʃe? *rdɸⁿbe* *mə-ne-tʰi-cə=ⁿdenə?*
 tea at.all NEG-PFV:TR-drink₂-MED=SEQ
təci?=naŋ *nə-kə-lêt=nə?* *tʰe-siz?* *ŋo?*-cə
 water=inside PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-put₂=DET CONT:LTR:TR-know₂ be-MED
 And the one who had gone to fetch water did not drink the tea at all, for he knew what had been put inside it.
36. *qʰo?* *rtɸembɸ=ⁿdenə?* *mə-te-ⁿdze?*-cə
 SEQ tsampa=except NEG-PFV:TR-eat₂-MED
 And he ate only the tsampa.

37. *kəmaʔ=niʔ rtsəmbə ɛdɛnbe mə-te-ⁿdzeʔ-ⁿdzə-cə=ⁿdenəʔ*
 other=DU tsampa at.all NEG-PFV:TR-eat₂-3DU-MED=SEQ
nəʔ ó-naŋ=z nə-kɛ-lét=nəʔ
 ANA 3SG:POSS-inside=LOC PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in₂=DET
t^he-sizʔ-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
 CONT:LTR:TR-know₂-3DU be-MED

And the other two did not eat the tsampa at all, for they knew what was put inside it.

38. *q^hoʔ tʃeʔ əntsətse ne-t^hi-ⁿdzə-cə*
 SEQ tea continuously PFV:TR-drink₂-3DU-MED

And they kept drinking the tea.

39. *təmdánə kəmdiʔ nə-set-nə-cə*
 as.a.result all PFV:DOWN-die₂-3PL-MED

As a result, they all dropped dead.

40. *q^hoʔ nəʔoq^huʔnəʔ qɛrɛ=cəʔ jɛ-weʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards crow=INDF PFV-come₂-MED=SUB
ʃe=rcənəʔ nə-ɛc^həle ɲoʔ-cə
 meat=TOP:EMPH IPFV:PST-be.abundant₂ be-MED

Afterwards when a crow came along, there was plenty of meat.

41. *ʃənəʔ kɛ-ⁿdze ne-znɛjɛ ɲoʔ-cə*
 but INF-eat IPFV-begrudge₃ be-MED

But it begrudges eating it.

42. *q^hoʔ st^hɔre=nəʔ tʃ^hə=cəʔ te-kɛ-ⁿdze reʔ-cə nə-səsi-cə*
 SEQ first=TOP what=INDF IPFV-GP-eat be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And it thought, “What should I eat first?”

43. *ozorʒʔ kámtʰa ne-kə-réxʃet reʔ=rəʔ*
 meanwhile a.bit IPFV-GP-be.frugal be.necessary=PL
ne-səsi-cə ʒoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-think₂-MED be-MED
 Meanwhile it thought, “I must be frugal a little.”
44. *kəmaq^hunəʔ ke-mp^héri=nəʔ*
 afterwards IPFV:CISLOC-look=SUB
qərtsəldiʔ t^hv-kə-zroŋʔ wəʒo ʒoʔ-cə
 crossbow PFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ:U-cock₂ be.seen be-MED
 Then, when it was looking, it found a cocked crossbow.
45. *nəʔ o-mdəkóʔ=ta=nəʔ təsə=rəʔ ɐmtfoz ʒoʔ-cə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-bolt.head=top=DET blood=PL be.stained be-MED
 The tip of the bolt of that (crossbow) was stained with blood.
46. *q^hoʔ st^hɔre nənəʔ ʃə-te-kə-ldaʔ reʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə*
 SEQ first that AND-IPFV-GP-lick be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 It thought, “I must go and lick that up first.”
47. *q^hoʔ ʃə-te-lda-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ AND-PFV:TR-lick₂-MED=SUB
qərtsəldiʔ lə-nt^hwerʔ-cə=nəʔ nə-o-ntʰeʔ-cə
 crossbow PFV:UPRIVER-spring₂-MED=SUB PFV-INV-kill-MED
 When it went and licked it, and when the crossbow (bolt) sprung up, it was killed.
48. *q^hoʔ vju=kə nəʔ=rəʔ kəmdiʔ ne-mti-cə*
 SEQ mouse=ERG ANA=PL all PFV:TR-see₂-MED
 The mouse saw it all.

49. *q^hoʔ lɛju=cəʔ t^he-pe-cə*
 SEQ song=INDF PFV:TR-dO₂-MED
 And it sang a song.

50. *ŋɛɽɽɛl kə-xtɛʔ tətst^hot ne-kə-mɛ kə^rʰbjoʔ=rɛʔ*
 self.importance NMLZ:SBJ-be.big limit IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist person=PL
ʃfɛɽɽɛltʃ^hoŋtʃ^hen=p^ha kə-mp^hɛri-nə nəʔ ʃsət ɲoʔ
 roc=place IMP:CISLOC-look-2PL ANA be.thus be
 You people whose self-importance knows no limit, take a look around the roc, that is your example.

51. *χponboʔ takvaŋ kə-toʔ ʃənəʔ*
 official power NMLZ:SBJ-exist but
zdewe nə-tənʔ mɛ-kə-pe kə^rʰbjoʔ=rɛʔ
 common.people 3PL:POSS-affairs NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-do person=PL
ɛlaŋbótʃ^he kə-mp^hɛri-nə nəʔ ʃsət ɲoʔ
 elephant IMP:CISLOC-look-2PL ANA be.thus be
 Those officials who have powers but do not serve the interests of the people, take a look around the elephant, that is your example.

52. *kə-ɛwəɽɽɽɽɽɽ kə^rʰbjoʔ=rɛʔ kəqɛɽɽɽɽ ɲsəmʔ nə-p^ha*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.greedy person=PL hunter three 3PL:POSS-place
kə-mp^hɛri-nə nəʔ ʃsət ɲoʔ
 IMP:CISLOC-look-2PL ANA be.thus be
 Greedy people, take a look around the three hunters, that is your example.

53. *kə-fkren* *nə-serəsne* *kə-xtɛʔ=rɐʔ*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.stingy 3PL:POSS-stinginess NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=PL
qɐrɐ *ó-pʰa=z* *kə-mpʰéri-nə* *nəʔ* *fsət* *ŋoʔ*
 crow 3SG:POSS-place=LOC IMP:CISLOC-look-2PL ANA be.thus be
 People who are stingy and begrudging, take a look at the crow, that is your example.

BEROTSANA
"berotsana
Narrator: Chopo

1. *pot sɛtʰe=nəʔ*
 Tibet land=DET
rjɛlpo tʂʰəʂoŋ.vdeftʂɛn o-vlɛmtʂot
 king PN 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services
"berotsɛnɛ te-kʰ-tʂə=cəʔ nɛ-to-cə
 PN IPFV-GP-call=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 In Tibet, there was one who performed religious services for King Khrisung Bdebsan called Berotsana.²⁵⁶

2. *tʂʰəʂoŋ.vdeftʂɛn o-zdeʔ=nəʔ*
 PN 3SG:POSS-spouse=DET
ftʂɛnmo mɛrjɛlmɛ te-kʰ-tʂə=cəʔ nɛ-to-cə
 queen PN IPFV-GP-call=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂-MED
 King Khrisung Bdebsan had a wife, called Queen Margyalma.

3. *qʰoʔ "berotsɛnɛ "ge-nəvlɛmtʂot ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN IPFV-performing.religious.services be-MED
 And Berotsana performed religious services.

²⁵⁶ WT <bai.ro.tsana> (in Chinese 白若雜納 or 遍照光), one of the twenty-five main disciples of Padmasambhava, and one of the great translators of Buddhist texts in Tibet.

4. *q^hoʔ ftsənmə məɾjɛlmə=nəʔ*
 SEQ queen PN=DET
o-vləmtʃot kə-nənts^heʔ te-je=cə
 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services INF-love PFV:TR-begin₂-MED
 And Queen Margyalma fell in love with her monk who performed religious services.

5. *o-rjeʔ ke-mp^hɛri=nəʔ ne-nétse ɲoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-face IPFV:CISLOC-look=SUB IPFV-be.handsome be-MED
té-tsə=nəʔ o-sém=p^hi ne-kə-nwəⁿgəⁿgiʔ=cəʔ
 IPFV-say=SUB 3SG:POSS-heart=under IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.right=INDF
né-fsət ɲoʔ-cə
 IPFV-be.like be-MED
q^hoʔ detsátsə ɾtsetoŋʔ=rəʔ kə-toʔ te-je ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ gradually amorous.feeling=PL INF-exist PFV:TR-begin₂ be-MED
 Looking at his face, (Berotsana) seemed so handsome, and what he said sounded so true in her heart, and gradually amorous feelings began to form.

6. *q^hoʔ kə-sɲi=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-day=LOC:INDF=DET
ftsənmə o-ɸvaŋ ⁿge-xteʔ-cə=kə
 queen 3SG:POSS-power IPFV-be.big-MED=INS
q^hoʔ ɾjɛlpo=sc^hənəʔ vlónbo=rəʔ
 SEQ king=and minister=PL
o-p^hjiʔ jə-ɸre te-znəkətətəy-cə
 3SG:POSS-outside PFV-go₂ PFV:TR-cause.to.occur.by.chance₂-MED
 One day, as she had a lot of power, she caused it (the religious services) to occur when the king and his ministers' had gone out.

7. *q^hoʔ kəxtʃipu t^hɛmtʃet=rɛʔ o-p^hjiʔ kə-néʔɛ jɛ-sɛyre-cə*
 SEQ child all=PL 3SG:POSS-outside NMLZ-play PFV-cause.to.go₂-MED
 She made all the children go outside to play.

8. *q^hoʔ o-jiʔ p^hovraŋ o-koʔ st^hoʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self palace 3SG:POSS-head most
kə-sɛscət=nəʔ=z o-vlɛmtʃot
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.comfortable=DET=LOC 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services
ˈberotsɛnɛ te-tsom-cə q^hoʔ ne-mgronʔ-cə
 PN PFV:UP:TR-take.thither₂-MED SEQ PFV:TR-treat₂-MED
 And took Berotsana to the most comfortable place on the top (floor) of her palace, and treated him with food.

9. *q^hoʔ ó-p^ha=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-place=DET
nɛjiʔ ɐ-myɑⁿdi=nəʔ ne-tə-nənɛtsátse
 2SG 1SG:POSS-eye.front=DET IPFV-2-be.handsome:RDPL
te-tá-tsə=nəʔ t^hɛmtʃet=rɛʔ ne-tə-nwɛⁿgəⁿgiʔ ʃteʔ q^hónəʔ
 IPFV-2-say=DET all=PL IPFV-2-be.right be:EMPH SEQ:EMPH
ɐ-myɪts^he=koʔ nɛjiʔ=kəsə ne-tɔ-rge=nəʔ mɛ ɲoʔ
 1SG:POSS-life=this 2SG:POSS-like IPFV-1→2-like=DET not.exist be
 And said to him, “In front of my eyes, you look all the more handsome, and all of what you say sounds all the more true. And in my whole life, I have not loved as I love you now.”

10. *q^hoʔ tsəjəniʔ ká-k^he pe-tsə reʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ 1DU one-family do-1DU be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “And the two of us must make one family,” she said.

11. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsəɳə o-sém=p^{hi}=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-heart=under=DET
ɛʝiʔ vlørge ʃteʔ-aŋ q^hónəʔ kə-néjts^{hu} mə
 1SG monk be:EMPH-1SG SEQ:EMPH NMLZ-be.meaningful not.exist
ne-ké-p^{hi} so tʰə=cəʔ te-kə-pe=kə ne-səsi-cə
 IPFV-GP-escape whether what=INDF IPFV-GP-do=DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And Berotsana thought to himself, “I am a monk, so this is meaningless. Should I run away? What should I do?”

12. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsəɳə=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN=DET
q^hónəʔ st^hɔre p^hovraŋ komʔ-cəʔ ʃə-t^he-pɔ-aŋ=kə
 SEQ:EMPH first palace door-closing AND-IPFV-do₃-1SG=DM
te-tsəʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And Berotsana said, “Let me first go and shut the palace door.”

13. *q^hoʔ ʃtsənmo=nəʔ=kə ŋoʔ ʃteʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə*
 SEQ queen=DET=ERG be be:EMPH=DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 The queen thought, “Sure, alright.”

14. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsəɳə komʔ kə-pe nə-ɛre*
 SEQ PN door PURP-close PFV:DOWN-go₂
q^hoʔ ké-p^{hi} nə-ɛsətʃətʃiʔ-cə
 SEQ INF-escape PFV-go.directly₂-MED
 And Berotsana went downstairs to close the door, and escaped directly.

15. *q^hoʔ ftsənmə=nəʔ=kə ne-nəʒiʔ əntsətse*
 SEQ queen=DET=ERG PFV:TR-wait.for₂ continuously
fəʈnəʔ tə-kə-wɛʔ mə ɲoʔ-cə
 but PFV:UP-NMLZ-come₂ not.exist be-MED

The queen waited and waited for him, but he never came back up.

16. *q^hoʔ fə-nɐ-mp^hɛri=nəʔ*
 SEQ AND-PFV:DOWN-look₂=SUB
o-lɲaʔ=rɛʔ kɐ-nɐwəwi ne-je-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-child=PL INF-come:RDPL PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL be-MED

She took a look downstairs, and (saw that) her children had begun to come back.

17. *q^hoʔ kəməq^húinəʔ rjɛlpo=sc^hənəʔ vlónbo=nt^hon*
 SEQ afterwards=DET king=and minister=also
kɐ-nɐwəwi ne-je-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 INF-come:RDPL PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL be-MED

Afterwards, the king and the minster also began to come back.

18. *q^hoʔ ftsənmə=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ queen=DET=ERG
ê nəʔ mə-tə-ⁿdʒəɣ
 EXCL ANA NEG-PFV-be.right₂
o-ts^həɣɐ mə-tə-wɛʔ ɲoʔ ne-səsi-cə
 3SG:POSS-manner NEG-PFV-come₂ be PFV:TR-think₂-MED

And the queen thought, “Oh no, this is awful. The plan has fallen through!”

19. *q^hoʔ o-rnɛjuʔ=sc^hənəʔ o-komeʔ=rɐʔ t^he-prêt*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-earring=and 3SG:POSS-hair=PL PFV:TR-break₂
q^hoʔ tə-vɛvo=kə p^hovráŋ=naŋ nə-nəjɛloj ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ NMLZ-weeping=INS palace=inside PFV-do.with.fervor be-MED
 And she torn down her earrings and hair, and wept vehemently in the palace.
20. *q^hoʔ vlónbo=kə*
 SEQ minister=ERG
nɛjiʔ néyɯ ɪ^hə mə-tə-ⁿdʒəɣ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 2SG 2SG:GEN what NEG-PFV-be.right be PFV:TR-say₂-MED=SUB
 And when the minister said (to the queen), “What is wrong with you?”
21. *ftsənmə=kə ⁿberotsɛnɛ=kə ɐ-kə-nék^hoj tə-rɛnts^ha ɲoʔ-cə*
 queen=ERG PN=ERG 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-harrass PFV-try₂ be-MED
koʔ nə-oy-so-aŋ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 this PFV-INV-do₂-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The queen said, “Berotsana tried to harass me, and caused me to become like this.”
22. *q^hoʔ vlónbo=kə*
 SEQ minister=ERG
nɛkəʔ vlɛmtʃot kə-sɛnék^hoj
 that monk.performing.religious.services NMLZ:SBJ-harrass
nɛkəʔ vlɛrge nə-ma=kə kə-sɛnék^hoj ɲoʔ-cə
 that monk PFV-not.be₂=DM NMLZ:SBJ-harrass be-MED
nɛkəʔ ⁿge-kɐ-nt^he kə-rɛʔ=nəʔ ɲoʔ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə
 that IPFV-GP-kill NMLZ-be.necessary=DET be-MED PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the minister said, “That monk performing religious services is a harasser! That one is no monk, he is a harasser! It is necessary to kill him!”

23. *ozor?* *kə-saxta?* *tə-rəntʰa-nə-cə*
 meanwhile NMLZ:PURP-do.chasing.of.people PFV-prepare₂-3PL-MED
 And, meanwhile, they made ready to give chase.

24. *qʰo?* *rjélpo=kə*
 SEQ king=ERG
nəkə? *v-ftsənmə* *nə-rge?* *v-né-ŋo=βənəŋ* *nə-kə-nbi?* *ʃte?*
 ANA 1SG:POSS-queen PFV-like₂ IRR-PFV-be=TOP IPFV-GP-give be:EMPH
 But the king said, “If he has fallen in love with my wife, one (i.e. I) will simply give (her to him).”

25. *v-vzər* *kə-səsmo* *v-né-kʰut=nə?*
 1SG:POSS-side INF-cause.to.stay IRR-PFV-allow.oneself=SUB
nəkátseji *kə-mkʰezʔ=nə?* *v-ftsənmə* *ˈbiʔ-aŋ* *ʃte?*
 so NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=DET 1SG:POSS-queen give-1SG be:EMPH
 “If he is willing to stay at my side, I’ll give my wife to one who is so skilled.”

26. *qʰo?* *nəkə?* *kə-χta?* *mə-re?*
 SEQ ANA GP-chase NEG-be.necessary
nə-re=ntʰon *əji?* *ʃə-χtaʔ-aŋ* *ʃte?*
 IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂=even 1SG AND-chase-1SG be:EMPH
 “So it is unnecessary to chase him. Even if it is necessary to do so, let me chase him myself.”

27. *qʰo?* *rjélpo=kə* *ˈbri=rə?* *te-n di*
 SEQ king=ERG horse=PL PFV:TR-ride₂
qʰo? *ˈberotsəne* *te-nəŋqʰuʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN PFV:TR-follow₂-MED
 And the king mounted a horse and what not, and followed Berotsana.

28. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsəvə ome kuʔ=z=cε kə-zʏðt*
 SEQ PN very location.to.the.east=LOC=LOC:INDF PFV:EAST-arrive₂
q^hoʔ nə-mtserʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV-be.hungry₂ be-MED
 Berotsana got to a very distant place in the east, and felt hungry.
29. *q^hoʔ kəffɪʔ=cəʔ o-kómt^hɔ=nəʔ fə-tə-ⁿgózⁿge ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ blacksmith=INDF 3SG:POSS-courtyard=DET AND-PFV:UP-call₂ be-MED
 And he called up at the courtyard of a certain blacksmith.
30. *q^hoʔ kəffɪʔ ó-rjev=nəʔ*
 SEQ blacksmith 3SG:POSS-wife=DET
o-koʔ ne-χtʃiʔ nə-ɛnkətətoʏ
 3SG:POSS-head PFV:TR-wash₂ IPFV:PST-happen₂
 And it so happened that the blacksmith's wife was washing her hair.
31. *q^hoʔ o-koʔ rjɛntʃ^he=rɐʔ k^hɛxp^he=ta ne-te ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-head jewelry=PL hand.mill=top PFV:TR-place₂ be-MED
 And she placed her head jewelry on the hand mill.
32. *q^hoʔ ó-nma=p^ha nəkəʔ te-kə-ⁿgózⁿge*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-husband=place ANA IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-call
fə-nənwolen te-tsəʔ-cə
 AND-respond PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And she said to her husband, “Go and respond to the one who is calling up,”
33. *q^hoʔ kəffɪʔ=nəʔ fə-ne-nwəlenʔ-cə*
 SEQ blacksmith=DET AND-PFV:DOWN:TR-respond₂-MED
 and he went and responded to him.

34. *ⁿberotsəne=kə nə-mtserʔ-aŋ=kə*
 PN=ERG PFV-be.hungry₂-1SG=INS
rtəmpa kámʈʰa kə-séⁿbi te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 tsampa a.bit GP-ask.for PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 And Berotsana said, “I am hungry, so I am asking for some tsampa.”

35. *qʰoʔ kəffɪʔ o-zdeʔ=pʰa*
 SEQ blacksmith 3SG:POSS-spouse=place
əkiʔ kómʈʰɔ=nəʔ vlərge jəte-kə-nétse=cəʔ
 down.there courtyard=DET monk COMP-NMLZ:SBJ-be.handsome=INDF
rtəmpə kámʈʰa kə-séⁿbi=nəʔ té-tsə
 tsampa a.bit GP-ask.for=DET IPFV-say
nəʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 ANA PFV:TR-say₂-MED

The blacksmith said to his spouse, “Down there at the courtyard, a rather handsome monk is saying ‘Please give me some tsampa.’”

36. *qʰoʔ kəffɪʔ ó-rjev=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ blacksmith 3SG:POSS-wife=DET=ERG
naŋ ɐ-tə-wi ne-kə-ⁿbəʈʰi ʃteʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 EXCL IRR-IMP:UP-come IPFV-GP-feed be:EMPH PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The blacksmith’s wife said, “Alright, let him come up, and let us feed him!”

37. *qʰoʔ kəffɪʔ ɓzəwe=niʔ=kə vlərge=nəʔ vjəχtsəyʔ*
 SEQ blacksmith couple=DU=ERG monk=DET to.one’s.fill
ne-ⁿbəʈʰi-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-feed₂=DU be-MED
 And the blacksmith and wife fed the monk to his fill.

38. *q^hoʔ vlɛrge=nəʔ te-nə-tsa te-nə-poʔ²⁵⁷ mɛ*
 SEQ monk=DET IPFV-SPON-say IPFV-SPON-do₃ not.exist
q^hoʔ vjɑχtsəʔ nə-ⁿdzɛt^hi-cə
 SEQ to.one's.fill PFV-dine₂-MED

The monk ate to his fill without saying or doing anything.

39. *q^hoʔ jɛ-ɛrɛ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PFV-go₂ be-MED

And then left.

40. *q^hoʔ nɛ-kə-rɑχtʃiʔ kəffʃiʔ o-zdeʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-do.washing₂ blacksmith 3SG:POSS-spouse=DET
o-rjɛntʃ^he nə-mɛɲɛʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-jewelry PFV-not.be.seen₂-MED

And the blacksmith's wife who was doing washing (of her hair) found her jewelry missing.

41. *q^hoʔ kəffʃiʔ ó-rjev=kə ó-nma=p^ha*
 SEQ blacksmith 3SG:POSS-wife=ERG 3SG:POSS-husband=place
nɛkəʔ nɛ-ⁿdzɔwe=nəʔ
 ANA 2SG:POSS-guest=DET
vlɛrge nə-ma=kə kəmərku nə-ɲo
 monk PFV-not.be₂=DM thief PFV-be₂

And the blacksmith's wife said to her husband, "That guest of yours, he is not a monk, he is a thief."

²⁵⁷ Pronounced [téntsə] and [ténpoj].

42. *pəʃkʰo=rɛŋəm fə-nɛ-ntʃʰɛ re? kəma*
 now=EMPH AND-IMP-kill₃ be.necessary except
mɛ-joyʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 NEG-be.allowed PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“You go down and kill him right now, it must be done,” she said.

43. *qʰoʔ kəʃfiʔ=nəʔ=kə mdaʔʒu te-ⁿdi-cə*
 SEQ blacksmith=DET=ERG crossbow PFV:TR-take₂-MED
qʰoʔ vlɛrge fə-ke-χta ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ monk AND-PFV:EAST:TR-chase₂ be-MED

And the blacksmith took up his crossbow, and went east to chase the monk.

44. *qʰoʔ kəmɛqʰúnəʔ ke-lcʰɛv*
 SEQ afterwards PFV:EAST:TR-catch.up.with₂

And afterwards he caught up with him.

45. *qʰoʔ kɛ-tsə kɛ-pe kə-mɛ*
 SEQ INF-say INF-do NMLZ-not.exist
vlɛrgé=ta mdaʔʒu ke-lét ŋoʔ-cə
 monk=top arrow PFV:EAST:TR-release₂ be-MED
qʰoʔ mdaʔʒu=nəʔ vlɛrge o-jəye ne-fkor=nəʔ
 SEQ arrow=DET monk 3SG:POSS-book IPFV:PST:TR-carry.on.back₂=DET
ó-ta kə-ɛtseʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-top PFV:EAST-enter₂ be-MED

And without saying or doing anything else, he shot a bolt at the monk. And the bolt went into the books the monk was carrying on back.

46. *q^hoʔ vlɛrge=kə*
 SEQ monk=ERG
nəʔ nɛjiʔ tʃ^hvɛz ɛjiʔ nəʔ tə-oy-soʔ-aj reʔ
 EXCL 2SG why 1SG ANA PFV-INV-do₂-1SG be.necessary
ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the monk said, “Hey, why did you have to do that to me?”

47. *q^hoʔ kəʃfiʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ blacksmith=DET=ERG
ʃq^hvɛʔ nɛjiʔ kəmŋon nə-tv-ⁿbəʃi^{hi}=nəʔ
 just.now 2SG favor PFV-1→2-feed₂=SUB
nɛjiʔ ɛ-rjev o-rjɛntʃ^he tə-tə-mərku-cə=kə
 2SG 1SG:POSS-wife 3SG:POSS-jewelry PFV-2-steal₂-MED=INS
josŋiʔ nɛjiʔ mɛlen tɛ-ntʃ^he reʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 today 2SG by.necessity 1→2-kill be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the blacksmith said, “We gave you a favor feeding you just now, and you stole my wife’s jewelry. So today I must kill you.”

48. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsənɛ=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
nəʔ mə-tə-tə-tsə ⁿdenəʔ nəʔ kə-nɛʃsəʃsət=cəʔ məʔ-aj
 ANA NEG-IMP-2-say for ANA NMLZ:SBJ-be.like:RDPL=INDF not.be-1SG
 And Berotsana said, “Don’t say that, for I am no such person.”

49. *ɛjiʔ nɛji nɛ-rjuʔ jɛrmɛ kə-nɛrtaʔ=cəʔ*
 1SG 2SG 2SG:POSS-property about NMLZ:SBJ-feel.contented=INDF
v-nɛ-ŋo=nəʔ
 IRR-PFV-be=SUB
 “If I were a man who is contented only by just your property,”

50. *səŋɲiʔ rjélpo o-vlɛmtʃot* *nɛ-ŋo-aŋ*
 PN king 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services IPFV:PST-be₂-1SG
 “I used to be the monk performing religious services for the King of Samye.”

51. *məkátsʰɛt ftsənmə məɽjɛlmɛ ó-nma* *te-pɔ-aŋ*
 not.only queen PN 3SG:POSS-husband IPFV-make₃-1SG
qʰoʔ rjélpo o-rjuʔ tʰɛmtʃet
 SEQ king 2SG:POSS-property all
te-nəɽjuʔ-aŋ nɛ-kʰút
 IPFV-possess-1SG IPFV:PST-be.feasible₂
 “And moreover I was able to become queen Margyalma’s husband and could have possessed all the king’s property.”

52. *nəʔ təɽjuʔ mə-kɛ-rge otánkə kə-nlɔ-aŋ* *ŋoʔ*
 ANA property NEG-GP-like because PFV:EAST-come.out₂-1SG be
 “I came out east, exactly because I do not like that property.”

53. *nɛ-zdeʔ o-rjɛntʃʰe=nəʔ*
 2SG:POSS-spouse 3SG:POSS-jewelry=DET
kəxtʃipɯ=rɛʔ nɛ-nəɽzɛv-nə=nəʔ tɛmcerʔ=cʰo
 child=PL PFV:TR-play.with₂-3PL=SUB interstice=LOC:INDF
soʔ ɛmɛru=nəŋ nɛ-ɛre ʃteʔ kəma te-tsəʔ-cə
 or pot=inside PFV:DOWN-go₂ be:EMPH except PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “Your wife’s jewelry must have fallen into some interstice or pot while the children were playing with it. And there are no other possibilities.”

54. *q^hoʔ mɐ-sto=kə nɐ-smolɐm tɛ-kdɛvʔ-aŋ*
 SEQ NEG-matter=DM 2SG:POSS-prayer IPFV-pray-1SG
q^hoʔ nɐ-mərkuʔ-aŋ ɐ-nɛ-ŋo q^hónə
 SEQ IPFV:PST-steal₂-1SG IRR-PFV-be SEQ:EMPH
koʔ nɐ-mdakʒu=koʔ ɐ-nə-nəfsátʃsət
 this 2SG:POSS-crossbow=this IRR-PFV-be.like
nɐ-mərkuʔ-aŋ maʔ q^hónə nɐ-mdakʒu ʒser
 IPFV:PST-steal₂-1SG not.be SEQ:EMPH 2SG-crossbow gold
ɐ-nə-poj tɛ-tsəʔ-cə
 IRR-PFV-become₃ PFV:TR-say₂-MED

“No problem. Let me pray for you. If I had stolen (it), let your crossbow remain just like that; if I did not steal it, let your crossbow turn into gold,” he said.

55. *q^hoʔ smolɐm tɛ-kdɛv-cə=nəʔ mdakʒu ʒser nə-ɐpeʔ-cə*
 SEQ prayer PFV:TR-pray₂-MED=SUB crossbow gold PFV-become₂-MED
 He said a prayer, and the crossbow turned into gold.

56. *q^hoʔ kəʃfiʔ=kə o-mdakʒu=rɐʔ ʔge-némŋɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ blacksmith=ERG 3SG:POSS-crossbow=PL IPFV:DOWN-observe₃=SUB
ʒser ŋoʔ-cə q^hoʔ o-sem ʒíikə nə-vdeʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 gold be-MED SEQ 3SG:POSS-mood very PFV-be.good₂ be-MED
 And the blacksmith was observing his crossbow, and they are gold. And he was very happy.

57. *q^hoʔ kəʃfiʔ=nəʔ o-mdakʒu=rɐʔ tɛ-ⁿdi*
 SEQ blacksmith=DET 3SG:POSS-crossbow=PL PFV:UP:TR-take₂
q^hoʔ nə-nəjwet ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV:WEST-return₂ be-MED

And the blacksmith took up his crossbow, and went back west.

58. *q^hoʔ tʃoⁿbɛjʔ o-ʋóri=nəʔ rjɛlpo=kə*
 SEQ road 3SG:POSS-front=DET king=ERG
ⁿberotsəne kə-nəŋq^hu kə-weʔ ne-t^həɣ ɲoʔ-cə
 PN NMLZ:PURP-follow PFV:EAST-come₂ PFV:TR-meet₂ be-MED

In front of his way, he met the king who had come east to follow Berotsana.

59. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=kə kəffɪʔ=p^ha*
 SEQ king=ERG blacksmith=place
ántseji t^hɛz ne-tə-ɣeʔ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 so why IPFV-2-be.happy be PFV:TR-say₂-MED=SUB

And the king said to the blacksmith, “Why are you so happy?”

60. *â ɛkúk^ho=z vlɛrge kə-kə-ɛre=nəʔ=kə*
 EXCL east.place=LOC monk PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂=DET=ERG
ɛ-smoləm te-ɛdɛv
 1SG:POSS-prayer PFV:TR-pray₂
q^hoʔ ɛ-mdəɣzu ɣser ne-peʔ
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-crossbow gold PFV:TR-do₂

And (the blacksmith said,) “Ah, the monk who came east prayed for me at a place to the east, and turned my crossbow into gold.”

61. *q^hoʔ tʃ^həʔtʃə nə-kə-fsət=rɛʔ ne-səxʃõt-cə*
 SEQ what:RDPL IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂=PL PFV:TR-recount₂-MED

And he recounted everything that happened.

62. *q^hoʔ k^hénaŋ nə-nəzɣõt ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ home PFV:WEST-arrive.back₂ be-MED

And he arrived back home.

63. *q^hoʔ* *ó-rjev=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-wife=ERG
aʔ *vlørge* *vreʔ* *nə-tə-ntʰeʔ* *ˈdenəʔ*
 EXCL monk Q PFV-2-kill₂ for
v-rjəntʰe *təmdánəʔ* *ɛmərɯ=naŋ* *nə-vre*
 1SG:POSS-jewelry in.fact pot=inside PFV:DOWN-go₂
ʃteʔ-cə *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 be:EMPH-MED PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And his wife said, “Ah, did you kill the monk? Actually, my jewelry had fallen into the pot.”
64. *q^hoʔ* *kəffirʔ=nəʔ=kə* *mə-nə-c^hvʔ-aŋ* *ˈdenəʔ*
 SEQ blacksmith=DET=ERG NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂-1SG for
smoləm *té-ɛdɛv*
 prayer PFV:TR-pray₂
q^hoʔ *v-mdaɣzu* *χser* *nə-vpeʔ* *ʃteʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-crossbow gold PFV-become₂ be:EMPH PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the blacksmith said, “I wasn’t able to, as (the monk) said a prayer and my crossbow turned into gold.”
65. *q^hoʔ* *ɛzəwe=niʔ* *χʃikə* *nə-χe-ˈdzə*
 SEQ couple=DU very PFV-be.happy₂-3DU
 And the couple were very happy.
66. *q^hoʔ* *ʃq^hvʔ* *vlørge=nəʔ*
 SEQ just.now monk=DET
χʃikə *mə-kə-náχtʰəɣ* *kə-ŋólɐ=cəʔ* *nə-ŋo-cə*
 very NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.same NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂-MED

te-mətsətsəʔⁿdzə-cə

PFV:TR-say₂:RDPL-3PL-MED

And they said to each other, “That monk just now is so special and kind!”

67. *q^hoʔ rjɛʎpo ⁿberotsəvə kə-kə-χta=nəʔ*

SEQ king PN PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-chase₂=DET

təciʔ ome kə-xtɛʔ=cɛ=z ke-lc^hɛv ɲoʔ-cə

river very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=LOC:INDF=LOC PFV:TR-catch.up.with₂ be-MED

And the king who chased Berotsana east caught up with him at a place near a very large river.

68. *fənəʔ o-vləmtfot=nəʔ kə-nvⁿgoʔ*

but 3SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services PFV-CROSS₂

p^hɛri kə-nlɔ ɲoʔ-cə

other.side.of.river PFV:CISLOC-come.out₂ be-MED

And the monk who performed religious services for him had already crossed the river and come out the other side of the river.

69. *q^hoʔ rjɛʎpo kə-ⁿgozⁿge-cə*

SEQ king PFV:CISLOC-shout₂-MED

And the king shouted,

70. *nɛjiʔ v-vləmtfot tə-ɲoʔ-cə=kə*

2SG 1SG:POSS-monk.performing.religious.services 2-be-MED=INS

nɛjiʔ ɛjiʔ ɛ-p^ha kɛ-smo nɛ-kjət v-nɛ-wi q^hónə

2SG 1SG 1SG:POSS-place INF-stay 2SG:POSS-mind IRR-PFV-come SEQ:EMPH

ɛjiʔ v-ftsənmə=nəʔ nɛjiʔ nɛ-p^ha tɛ-p^həl-aɲ joyʔ

1SG 1SG:POSS-queen=DET 2SG 2SG:POSS-place IPFV-offer-1SG be.allowed

“As you have become my monk who performs religious services, if you are willing to stay with me, I may offer to you my wife.”

71. *q^hoʔ nberotsɛnɛ=kə nɛkəʔ ɐ-nɛ-tə-sərtɔʔ reʔ n^hdenəʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA IRR-PFV-2-realize be.necessary for
 And Berotsana said, “You must realize something about that person (your wife),”
72. *kə-ŋóʌ tə-kə-tsomʔ=nəʔ táme ŋoʔ*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous GP:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-take.thither=DET woman be
 “for it is women who take one away from what is virtuous.”
73. *k^horwe=naŋ tə-kə-səʃoŋ=nəʔ táme ŋoʔ*
 life.of.endless.labor=inside GP:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.fall=DET woman be
 “It is women who cause one to fall into a secular life of endless labor.”
74. *tə-ɛɛr=kə ɲonmoŋtəyχsəm kə-səyⁿdzom=nəʔ*
 GP:POSS-body=GEN three.poisons NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.be.equipped=DET
támɛ ŋoʔ
 woman be
 “And it is women who cause one to be equipped with one’s body’s three poisons.”
75. *q^hoʔ nɛʃiʔ nɛ-ftsənmo=sc^hənəʔ nɛ-rjuʔ=rɐʔ*
 SEQ 2SG 2SG:POSS-queen=and 2SG:POSS-property=PL
ɐju kə-re mɐ
 1SG:POSS NMLZ:SBJ-be.needed not.exist
 “I have no need for your wife or your property.”
76. *ɐʃiʔ mé-jwɛt-aŋ nɛʃiʔ=nt^hon nə-nə-jwɛt*
 1SG NEG-return-1SG 2SG=also IMP:WEST-SPON-return
 “I will not go back, and you go back yourself.”

82. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsəne ne-rənts^hem*
 SEQ PN IPFV:PST-meditate.in.seclusion₂
oʒoʔ ʌlu te-ⁿgəɣ ŋoʔ-cə
 meanwhile Naga PFV:TR-hook₂ be-MED
 While Berotsana meditated in seclusion, he summoned the Naga to his presence.
83. *q^hoʔ ʌlu=kə neʒiʔ prakoŋ=nay t^hv-kə-rənts^hem=nəʔ*
 SEQ Naga=ERG 1SG cavern=inside CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-meditate₂=SUB
əʒiʔ mts^ho=nay t^hv-kə-smo=nəʔ t^hv ko-nərtʃeʔ-ay
 1SG lake=inside CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-live=SUB why 2→1-provoke-1SG
reʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the Naga said, “You are meditating in the cavern, and I am dwelling in the lake. Why do you have to provoke me?”
84. *əʒiʔ neʒiʔ tɐ-nərtʃeʔ=rɐʔ kə-reʔ mɐ*
 1SG 2SG 1→2-provoke=PL NMLZ-be.necessary not.exist
ʃənəʔ k^hɐrtɐ tɛ-npe-tsə ne-səsiʔ-ay ŋoʔ
 but friend IPFV-make-1DU IPFV-want-1SG be
 “I have no need to provoke you, but just want to make friends with you.”
85. *q^hoʔ k^hɐrtɐ nənə-pe-tsə*
 SEQ friend SPON-do-1DU
q^hoʔ tsəʒəniʔ p^hvənts^hən mɐ-kə-ⁿdzəɣ=kəsə=rɐʔ v-nɛ-to=nəʔ
 SEQ 1DU each.other NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.right=like=PL IRR-PFV-exist=SUB
p^hvənts^hən kɐ-ⁿgomt^həmt^he kə-reʔ pe-tsə te-tsəʔ-cə
 each.other INF-help:RECP NMLZ-be.necessary do-1DU PFV:TR-say-MED
 “Let’s make friends, and if we have any problems, we must help each other,” he said.

86. *q^hoʔ Ɂlu=kə*
 SEQ Naga=ERG
nəkəsə ɲoʔ q^hónəʔ Ɂjiʔ st^hoʔ Ɂ-ʒəvʔ kə-fɁ ɲoʔ
 thus be SEQ:EMPH 1SG most 1SG:POSS-mind NMLZ-go be
 And the Naga said, “If so, (this) is that which I am most contented with.”
87. *q^hoʔ nɛjiʔ tʃ^hə mə-kə-ⁿdʒəɣʔ toʔ-cə te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ 2SG what NEG-NMLZ-be.right exist-DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “What problems do you have?”
88. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsɛnɛ=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
Ɂjiʔ kəmaʔ mə-kə-poj mə
 1SG other NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.good₃ not.exist
ʃənəʔ Ɂⁿdiʔ sɛmɲiʔ ftsənmə məɲjɛlmɛ=nəʔ
 but place.west.from.here PN queen PN=DET
Ɂ-Ɂgre st^hoʔ kə-ɲɛn ɲoʔ
 1SG:POSS-enemy most NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad be
 Berotsana said, “I don’t have other problems, but west from here at Samye, Queen Margyalma is my worst enemy.”
89. *q^hoʔ nəʔ ʃə-kə-sənⁿgiʔ reʔ ɲoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA AND-GP-cause.to.be.ill be.necessary be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 “One must go and make her sick,” he said.
90. *q^hoʔ Ɂlu=kə*
 SEQ Naga=ERG
nəʔ tɛmɛ st^hoʔ kə-ⁿbét nəɲo te-tsəʔ-cə
 ANA task most NMLZ-be.easy be:MED PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And Naga said, “That is the easiest task!”

91. *q^hoʔ mer=nəʔ ɛlu=nəʔ səmɲiʔ məɾjɛlmɛ=p^ha nə-ɐre-cə*
 SEQ night=DET Naga=DET PN PN=place PFV:WEST-go₂-MED
q^hoʔ o-k^hoχpé=naŋ t^hɐ-ɐre
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-abdominal.cavity=inside PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂
q^hoʔ smɛn.káki.tsɐləʔ t^he-lét-cə q^hoʔ
 SEQ name.of.poison PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-put₂-MED SEQ
te-səmɲəm ŋoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-cause.to.be.ill₂ be-MED
 And at night, the Naga went west to Margyalma of Samye, went inside her abdominal cavity, and released a poison, and made her ill.
92. *q^hoʔ nəʔosáfsi=nəʔ ftsənmɔ məɾjɛlmɛ=nəʔ ne-saxp^her²⁵⁸-cə*
 SEQ next.day=DET queen PN=DET PFV:TR-cause.to.be.swollen₂-MED
 And the next day, it had caused Queen Margyalma to be swollen all over.
93. *q^hoʔ sménbe əntsátse ⁿge-səpe-nə ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ doctor continuously IPFV-cause.to.do-3PL be-MED
fənaʔ kɔdənbe me-ⁿge-p^hen ŋoʔ-cə
 but at.all NEG-IPFV-be.effective be-MED
 They kept seeking medical advice, but to no avail at all.
94. *q^hoʔ ftsənmɔ kɛ-set=nəʔ me-né-set*
 SEQ queen INF-die=TOP NEG-IPFV-die
kɛ-ziʔ=nəʔ me-ne-ziʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 INF-recover=TOP NEG-IPFV-recover be-MED
 Speaking of dying, the queen did not die; speaking of recovering, she could not recover.

²⁵⁸ From ideophone root *χp^her*, describing the state of being globally swollen as if from edema.

95. *q^hoʔ nákəsə zdəʔsɲel xpátu ne-mɲoŋʔ-cə*
 SEQ thus suffering.and.torment endlessly PFV:TR-go.through₂-MED
 And like that, she went through endless suffering and torment.
96. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsənb=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
mp^hrumu kə-roʔ=cəʔ te-kə-zgrəvʔ
 diving NMLZ:SBJ-perform=INDF IPFV-GP-fullfill
reʔ-cə ne-səsi=cəʔ
 be.necessary-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And Berotsana thought, “I must make (myself become) a diviner.”
97. *q^hoʔ ʂoŋme xpəldənləmu=p^ha*
 SEQ guardian.deity PN=place
mp^hrumuʔ kə-roʔ=cəʔ kə-zgrəv te-zu-cə
 diving NMLZ:SBJ-perform=INDF INF-fulfill PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And he requested the Guardian Deity Dpaldanlamu to make him a diviner.
98. *q^hoʔ səmɲiʔ səʔ^he=z mp^hrumu əntsətse ne-ro-cə*
 SEQ PN place=LOC divination continuously PFV:TR-perform₂-MED
 And he kept practicing divination in Samye land.
99. *q^hoʔ mp^hrumu kə-roʔ=rəʔ ʂfikə mtiʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ divination INF-divine=PL very be.accurate be-MED
 And his divination was very accurate.
100. *q^hoʔ rjélpo=rəʔ=kə mp^hrumuʔ kə-roʔ nə-o-sqor-cə*
 SEQ king=PL=ERG divination NMLZ:SBJ-perform PFV-INV-send.for₂-MED
 And he was sent for by the king and his men to perform divination.

101. *q^hoʔ ftsənmō t^hv-nⁿgi ŋoʔ q^hoʔ o-smən=sc^hənəʔ*
 SEQ queen CONT:LTR-be.ill₂ be SEQ 3SG:POSS-medicine=and
o-χtu mə-tə-peʔ-jə mɐ ʃənəʔ ʌdɐnbe
 3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting NEG-PFV-do₂-1PL not.exist but at.all
kɐ-səyziʔ mɐ-kə-k^hut=cəʔ wɛjo te-tsəʔ-cə
 INF-cause.to.heal NEG-NMLZ-be.feasible=INDF be.seen PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And (the king) said (to him), “The queen is ill. We have tried all kinds of medicine and
 sutra-chanting, but found that there is no healing her at all.”

102. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsɐnɐ=kə mp^hrumu te-ro ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG divination PFV:TR-perform₂ be-MED
 And Berotsana performed divination.

103. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpō=nəʔ=p^ha*
 SEQ king=DET=place
ftsənmō=kə vlɛrge=cəʔ ó-ta=nəʔ mɛnisprəscon
 queen=ERG monk=INDF 3SG:POSS-top=DET defamation
mɐ-kə-tsjəŋʔ=cəʔ te-te-cə
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.just=INDF PFV:TR-place₂-MED
 And he said to the king, “The queen placed an unjust slander on a certain monk.”

104. *q^hoʔ nəʔ wat^haʔ kə-ŋɐn=kə tə-o-sənⁿgi*
 SEQ ANA entrenched.habit NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=ERG PFV:INV-cause.to.be.ill₂
ŋoʔ-cə q^hoʔ nɐkəʔ=nəʔ kɐ-səyziʔ ʌdɐnbe mɐ-cə
 be-MED SEQ ANA=DET INF-cause.to.recover at.all not.exist-MED
 “And that malicious entrenched habit²⁵⁹ has made her sick. And there is no cure for her
 at all.”

²⁵⁹ WT <bag.changs> (cf. Sanscrit *vāsanā*), a technical term meaning a behavioural tendency or karmic imprint from past-life perceptions which influences the present behaviour of a person.

105. *v-né-ŋo=nə sloxpon=kə*²⁶⁰
 IRR-PFV-be=SUB PN=ERG
v-tə-nəsmən q^hoʔ o-χtu=rəʔ v-nə-poʃ=nəʔ
 IRR-PFV-treat SEQ 3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting=PL IRR-PFV-do₃=SUB
kə-səyziʔ=cə toʔ fsət
 NMLZ:SBJ:U-cause.to.recover=INDF exist be.like
 Actually, it seems that if Padmasambhava could treat her and chant sutras for her, she might be cured.

106. *q^hoʔ sloxpon mə-fə-kə-sqorʔ mə-nə-k^hût-cə*
 SEQ PN NEG-AND-GP-send.for NEG-IPFV:PST-be.feasible₂-MED
q^hoʔ rjélpo=kə sloxpon fə-ne-sqor ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ king=ERG PN AND-PFV-send.for₂ be-MED
 And they had no choice but to send for Padmasambhava, and the king sent for him.

107. *q^hoʔ sloxpon=kə ftsənmə=p^ha*
 SEQ PN=ERG queen=place
nəjiʔ təsŋer=nəʔ tēmə kə-ŋen=cəʔ nə-tə-nēməʔ-cə
 1SG former.time=DET act NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=INDF PFV-2-do₂-MED
q^hoʔ nəʔ wat^haʔ t^həmtʃet=nəʔ tə-tə-o-sənⁿgi ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ ANA entrenched.habit all=DET PFV-2-INV-cause.to.be.ill₂ do-MED
 And Padmasambhava said to the queen, “You once did an evil act, and all its entrenched habit caused you to be ill.”

108. *q^hoʔ nəjiʔ jəⁿdə tʃaŋrtəm=cəʔ*
 SEQ 2SG TOP truth=INDF
mə-nə-tə-rəffət=nəʔ məpért^hə nekəʔ nə-nət=nəʔ
 NEG-PFV-2-confess₂=SUB not.until ANA 2SG:POSS-illness=DET

²⁶⁰ The term *sloxpon* (WT <*slob.dpon*>) refers to *pətməⁿbjoŋniʔ* Padmasambhava.

mə-ʒiʔ-cə *te-tsəʔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 NEG-recover-MED PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED

“So as for you, until you tell the truth about it, your illness will not heal,” he said.

109. *q^hoʔ* *ftsənmə=nəʔ* *ʔdɛnbe* *tʂaŋrtəm*
 SEQ queen=DET at.all truth
kə-zrɛffɛt *mə-nɐ-k^hût-cə*
 INF-cause.to.confess NEG-IPFV:PST-allow.oneself₂-MED

And the queen could not be made to tell the truth at all.

110. *q^hoʔ* *o-kəmjəmʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-illness=DET
k^he-sŋi *fóχtenəʔ* *k^he-sŋi* *kə-t^hu* *ne-je-cə*
 each-day than each-day INF-be.serious PFV:TR-begin₂-MED

And, as each day went by, her illness got worse.

111. *q^hoʔ* *ftsənmə* *o-yrɛrɛʔ=rɛʔ* *ne-vəvo-nə* *q^hoʔ* *ftsəmo=p^ha*
 SEQ queen 3SG:POSS-family=PL IPFV-weep-3PL SEQ queen=place
nɛkəʔ *sloxpon* *tséjə* *kə-χo* *kə-ŋólɐ=nəʔ*
 ANA PN so NMLZ:SBJ-be.kind NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=DET
ó-p^ha *tʂaŋrtəm=cəʔ* *nə-rɛffɛt* *joγʔ* *ˈdenəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-place truth=INDF IMP-confess be.allowed for
kə-ɛdu *mɐ=kə* *te-tsəʔ-nə-cə*
 INF-matter not.exit=DM PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED

And the queen’s family were weeping, as said to her, “That Padmasambhava is so kind and virtuous, please confess to him. It won’t matter,” they said.

112. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnəʔ noŋménəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards not.until
ⁿberotsəne ké-le tʃ^hətʃ^hə nɛ-kə-fsət kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ
 PN INF-wrong what:RDPL IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like₂ NMLZ:SBJ-be=DET
nə-rɛffɛt ŋoʔ-cə
 PFV-confess₂ be-MED
 Not until afterwards did she finally confess how she had wronged Berotsana.

113. *q^hoʔ rjélpo o-tfu=kə ⁿbri te-ⁿdi-cə*
 SEQ king 3SG:POSS-son=ERG horse PFV:TR-take₂-MED
q^hoʔ ⁿberotsəne o-kə-q^hro kə-ɤre ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-receive PFV:EAST-go₂ be-MED
 And the king's son mounted a horse and went east to meet Berotsana.

114. *q^hoʔ prak^hoŋ kə-to=nəʔ kə-zɣôt=nəʔ*
 SEQ cliff.cave NMLZ:SBJ-be.located PFV:EAST-arrive₂=DET
ⁿberotsəne t^hɛ-rɛnts^hem wɛjo ŋoʔ-cə
 PN CONT:LTR-meditate.in.seclusion₂ be.seen be-MED
 And he found Berotsana meditating in seclusion under the cliff cave.

115. *ⁿbri=nəʔ o-koŋʔ ⁿge-p^hɛvʔ*
 horse=DET 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:DOWN-lower
q^hoʔ o-rŋəmʔ ⁿge-wi ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-tears IPFV:DOWN-come be-MED
q^hoʔ t^hɛ-kə-rɛnts^hem=nəʔ ⁿberotsəne
 SEQ CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-meditate.in.seclusion=DET PN
kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ sətɔʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 MLZ:SBJ-be=DET know be-MED
 And the horse lowers its head, and sheds tears, as it knows that the one who is meditating is Berotsana.

116. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpotfu=nəʔ=kə nɛʒiʔ mɛlɛn ne-tə-wi reʔ*
 SEQ king's.son=DET=ERG 2SG by.necessaity IPFV:WEST-2-come be.necessary
ˈdenəʔ ɛ-mo t^hɛ-nⁿgi
 for 1SG:POSS-mother CONT:LTR-be.ill₂
q^hoʔ nɛ-kə-q^hro kə-wɛʔ-aŋ ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-NMLZ-meet NMLZ-come₂-1SG be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the king's son said, "You must come west, as my mother is ill, and I have come east to meet you."
117. *q^hoʔ ˈberotsɛnɛ=kə wɛ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG EXCL PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And Berotsana said, "Alright!"
118. *q^hoʔ ˈdec^ho nə-wɛʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ westward PFV:WEST-come₂-MED=SUB
redaʔ χɪfɛⁿdzɛn t^hɛmtfɛt kə-sɛlɛt nə-wɛʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə
 herbivore carnivore all NMLZ-do.seeing.off PFV:WEST-come₂-3PL be-MED
 And when he came westward, all the herbivore and carnivore animals came west to see him off.
119. *q^hoʔ rjɛlse o-vzəʔ jɛrmɛ nə-zɣôʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ palace 3SG:POSS-side about PFV:WEST-arrive₂=SUB
rjɛlpo χɪkə o-nⁿjóʔpe tə-sceʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 king very 3SG:POSS-guilt PFV-grow₂ be-MED
 When he almost got to the environs of the palace, the king grew very guilty.

120. *q^hoʔ ne-səseʔ=nəʔ*

SEQ IPFV-think₃=SUB

ftsənmə p^hovraŋ=nəŋ ne-smo vlɛrge ʔntsɛʃi

queen palace=inside IPFV-live monk so

kəŋóɬɛ=nəʔ prak^hoŋ=nəŋ te-rɛnts^hemʔ ŋoʔ-cə

NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous=DET cliff.cave=inside IPFV-meditate be-MED

And he thinks, “The queen lives in the palace, and the monk of such virtues meditates in a cliff cave.”

121. *ʃənəʔ o-kə-lɛt nəkəsə redaʔ kə-lɛn ne-wi*

but 3SG:POSS-NMLZ-see.off thus animal NMLZ-be.many IPFV:WEST-come

“And so many animals are coming west like that to see him off.”

122. *q^hoʔ məju=kəsə=kə ⁿberotsɛnɛ ó-ɬɛr=nəʔ tɛtpe*

SEQ further=like=INS PN 3SG:POSS-body=DET faith

tə-sceʔ ŋoʔ-cə

PFV-grow₂ be-MED

And his faith in Berotsana has grown stronger.

123. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=kə k^horman t^hɛmtʃɛt te-zduʔ*

SEQ king=ERG populace all PFV:TR-gather₂

q^hoʔ nə-ɬóri=nəʔ

SEQ 3PL:POSS-front=DET

sloxpə ⁿberotsɛnɛ q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=nt^hon tə-ɛmdzuʔ-nə ŋoʔ-cə

PN PN SEQ king=also PFV-sit₂-3PL be-MED

And the king gathered all the populace, and Padmasambhava, Berotsana, and also the king sat down in front of them.

124. *ftsənmə=kə tʰə nə-kə-fsət tʰəmtʃet=nəʔ=rəʔ*
 queen=ERG what IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.like₂ all=DET=PL
kʰrjaŋkʰrjaŋʔ nə-rəffjēt-cə
 IDPH²⁶¹ PFV-confess₂-MED

And the queen made a clean breast of herself about everything that had happened.

125. *qʰoʔ nəʔorjájəʔnəʔ saŋⁿjiʔtʰuluʔ ⁿge-mə*
 SEQ at.that.time Buddhism IPFV-not.exist
qʰoʔ vlərge=rəʔ ántseʃi nə-kə-ntətpe
 SEQ monk=PL that.much 3PL:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-believe.in₂
ⁿge-mə ʃoʔ-cə
 IPFV-not.exist be-MED

At that time, there was no Buddhism, and no one believed that much in monks.

126. *ʃənəʔ qʰoʔ nəʔʃəqʰu zdewe=scʰənəʔ rjélpo=rəʔ=kə*
 but SEQ afterwards populace=and king=PL=ERG
vlərge kə-ŋólə kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ kə-sərtəʔ=scʰənəʔ
 monk NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous NMLZ-be=DET INF-know=and
kə-ntətpe=nəʔ noŋme te-je-nə ʃoʔ-cə
 INF-believe.in.Buddhism=TOP only.then PFV:TR-begin₂-3PL be-MED

And only afterwards did the populace and kings began to know that monks were virtuous, and began to believe in them.

127. *qʰoʔ rjélpo=pʰa*
 SEQ king=place
χser=scʰənəʔ rŋəl ⁿbeⁿdərjə rənpótʰe tərziʔtər.snə
 gold=and silver glass treasure bits.of.cloth.category

²⁶¹ An ideophone describing the state of being clean.

smən.snə mdzə.snə o-k^hvlmólme=kəsə te-naʷmet-cə
 herb.category grain.category 3SG:POSS-load:RDPL=like PFV:TR-demand₂-MED
 And Berotsana demanded loads and loads of gold, silver, glass, jewels, miscellaneous bits of cloth, herbs, and grains from the king.

128. *q^hoʔ rənpóɿ^he=nəʔ=rɐʔ p^həntsə=nay te-rkoʔ-cə*
 SEQ treasure=DET=PL basin=inside PFV:TR-put.in₂-MED
q^hoʔ ftsənmə o-kóri ne-te
 SEQ queen 3SG:POSS-front PFV:DOWN:TR-place₂
q^hoʔ o-χtu ne-peʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-sutra.chanting PFV:TR-do₂ be-MED
 And he put the treasures inside a basin, and placed it in front of the queen, and chanted sutras for her.

129. *q^hoʔ ftsənmə lə-qjɔ-cə*
 SEQ queen PFV-vomit₂-MED
q^hoʔ nət t^həmtfet=nəʔ p^həntsə=nay kəmdiʔ lə-nlɔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ illness all=DET basin=inside all PFV:OUT-come.out₂ be-MED
 The queen vomited, and all the illness came out into the basin.

130. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsənə=kə q^heʔ tərjuʔnombə t^həmtfet=nəʔ kəmdiʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA treasure all=DET all
mts^ho=nay fə-ne-zwɐrɛt-cə
 lake=inside AND-PFV:TR-cause.to.throw₂-MED
 And Berotsana had all the treasures thrown into the lake.

131. *ˈdenəʔ Ɂlu=kə ˈberotsɛnɐ o-təqorʔ te-peʔ=nəʔ*
 for Naga=ERG PN 3SG:POSS-help PFV:TR-do₂=SUB
qʰoʔ o-jiʔ=ntʃʰon Ɂlu o-gomtʰe poj reʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self=also Naga 3SG:POSS-help do₃ be.necessary be-MED
 Since the Naga helped Berotsana, Berotsana himself also had to offer help to the Naga.

132. *qʰoʔ nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS be-MED
 That was the reason.

133. *qʰoʔ tsʰɛsmɛn tsɛndɛn.sərtʃʰu nəkəsə*
 SEQ fever.medicine sandalwood.medicine thus
tʰɛmtʃet=rɐʔ ne-fiʰi-nə-cə
 all=PL PFV:TR-give.to.drink₂-3PL-MED
 And they made her drink fever medicine, sandalwood medicine, and all that.

134. *qʰoʔ ˈdetsətse ʃtsənmo=nəʔ kʰɛŋo=rɐʔ kɐ-ntətəŋ te-je*
 SEQ gradually queen=DET complexion=PL INF-be.health:RDPL PFV:TR-begin₂
qʰoʔ kəmɐqʰu nəʔosɛʃsət nə-ɐqʰoʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ afterwards thus PFV-recover₂ be-MED
 And little by little the queen's complexion kept getting healthier, and afterwards she recovered like that.

135. *qʰoʔ rjɛlpo kɛtsə mɐ*
 SEQ king GP-say not.exist
ˈberotsɛnɐ=scʰənəʔ ʃtsənmo=rɐʔ kəmɔdi
 PN=and queen=PL all

p^hjiwot *ⁿge-kε-mp^hεri=nə?* *tə-mt^hən[?]-nə* *ηo[?]-cə*
 outside.appearance IPFV-GP-look=sub PFV-be.harmonious₂-3PL be-MED

And not to mention the king, Berotsana and the queen appeared on the outside to get along well.

136. *fənə?* *fɪsənmo* *o-sém=p^hi=nə?* *ⁿdεr*
 but queen 3SG:POSS-heart=under=DET TOP

ⁿberotsənε=kə *v-təm^hjo* *ne-tfεt=kə*
 PN=ERG 1SG:POSS-face PFV:TR-take.out₂=INS

fəpəcε *óyu* *kə-ηən=cə?* *pɔ-a^hη* *re?*
 sometime 3SG:POSS NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=INDF do₃-1SG be.necessary

But in her heart the queen thought, “Berotsana made me lose face. I must do something bad to him one day.”

137. *nə?* *o-q^hχpe=na^h* *t^hv-ntəto* *fte[?]-cə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-heart=inside CONT:LTR-exist₂:RDPL be:EMPH-MED

And the idea persisted in her heart.

138. *q^ho?* *kəmεq^húnə* *k^hrən^hrəy?* *ome* *kə-xte?[?]=cə?* *tə-rεro?*
 SEQ afterwards turmoil very NMLZ:SBJ-be.big=INDF PFV-rise₂

And afterwards, a very big turmoil arose.

139. *q^ho?* *kəmqε?* *nε-re* *ηo[?]-cə*
 SEQ fighting IPFV:PST-be.necessary₂ be-MED

fənə? *rjélpo* *mə-nε-c^hv?* *ηo[?]-cə*
 but king NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂ be-MED

And fighting was necessary, and the king lost.

140. *q^hoʔ² ⁿberotsəne rjəkər nə-ere*
 SEQ PN India PFV:WEST-go₂
q^hoʔ² βηοτςəγʔⁿbjəŋχter te-ké-tsə=nə fə-ne-vzjaŋʔ² ηοʔ-cə
 SEQ PN IPFV-GP-say and-PFV:TR-study₂ be-MED
 And Berotsana went west to India, and went to study a sutra called *Dngo-drug-'byong-gter*.

141. *βηοτςəγʔⁿbjəŋχter=nəʔ² pəʃk^ho mgónbo kəⁿdon te-ké-tsə=cəʔ²*
 PN=TOP now PN sutra IPFV-GP-say=INDF
toʔ=kə nəʔ=nəʔ² ηοʔ-cə
 exist=INS ANA=DET be-MED
 As for *Dngo-drug-'byong-gter*, there is now a sutra called Mgonbo, and that is it.

142. *q^hoʔ² kə-vzjaŋ ne-səχjoγ*
 SEQ INF-study PFV:TR-finish₂
q^hoʔ² kə-nəwi tə-mda ηοʔ-cə
 SEQ INF-come.back PFV-be.time₂ be-MED
 After he finished his studies, it was time to come back.

143. *q^hoʔ² rjəkər pəntʃətə ome kə-ηólə=cəʔ² nə-to=kə*
 SEQ India pandita very NMLZ-be.capable=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂=INS
 And there was a very virtuous pandita in India.

144. *mer=nəʔ² o-jmiʔ² kə-ⁿbəv ηοʔ-cə*
 night=DET 3SG:POSS-dream PFV-fall₂ be-MED
 He had a dream at night.

145. *q^hoʔ rjɛkɛr nə-komʔ=nəʔ kəmdiʔ*
 SEQ India 3PL:POSS-door=DET all
pot zəŋk^hɛm ke-kəro=cəʔ
 Tibet realm IPFV:EAST-NMLZ-look=INDF
o-jiʔ pɛntʂəʔtə o-sni=sc^hənəʔ o-mts^hi=rɛʔ
 3SG:POSS-self pandita 3SG:POSS-heart=and 3SG:POSS-liver=PL
ⁿberotsɛnɛ=kə kə-kə-nətsom=cəʔ ne-wɛjmiʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 PN=ERG PFV:EAST-NMLZ-take.thither₂=INDF PFV:TR-dream₂ be-MED
 He dreamed that all the doors of India open west toward the Tibetan realm, and the heart and the liver of the pandita himself were taken to the east by Berotsana.

146. *q^hoʔ pɛntʂəʔtə o-sém=p^hi=nəʔ*
 SEQ pandita 3SG:POSS-heart=under=DET
nɛkəʔ ⁿberotsɛnɛ=kə jəjəɾɔ kə-zroʔ=cəʔ
 ANA PN=ERG 1PL:POSS NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine=INDF
jə-nə-tsomʔ ŋoʔ taʔ-cə ne-səsi-cə
 PROS-SPON-take.thither be be.certain-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 The pandita thought, “That Berotsana is certainly going to take away something precious of ours.”

147. *q^hoʔ noʔosəʔfsi=nəʔ rjɛkɛr rjɛlpo=p^ha te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ next.day=DET India king=place PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the next day, he told (this) to the King of India.

148. *q^hoʔ leʔ nəʔ rjɛlpo=kə*
 SEQ again ANA king=ERG
ⁿberotsɛnɛ kɛ-mjɛ o-ts^həyɛ te-peʔ-nə-cə
 PN INF-catch 3SG:POSS-manner PFV:TR-do₂-3PL-MED
 And then, the king (and his men) prepared to capture Berotsana.

149. *ʃənəʔ nberotsənə=kə rkaŋmɔʔ²⁶² te-zgrəvʔ-cə*
 but PN=ERG fast.foot.magic PFV:TR-fulfill₂-MED
q^hoʔ orɛŋəmə kə-p^hi ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ right.then PFV:EAST-escape₂ be-MED
 But Berotsana practiced fast-foot magic, and instantly escaped east.
150. *q^hoʔ ʃənəʔ kə-o-χta ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ but PFV:EAST-INV-chase₂ be-MED
q^hoʔ ʃɛku ome kə-ɛrq^he kuʔ=z
 SEQ there.in.the.east very NMLZ:SBJ-be.far place.in.the.east=LOC
kə-zɣôʔ q^hoʔ jə-kə-o-lc^hɛv ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:EAST-arrive₂ SEQ PROS-PFV:EAST-INV-catch.up.with₂ be-MED
 But he was chased (east), and arrived at a far place in the east. And there he was almost caught up with.
151. *q^hoʔ rgənmu=cəʔ ó-k^he nɐ-nərməʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ old.woman=INDF 3SG:POSS-house IPFV:PST-spend.the.night₂ be-MED
 And he spent the night at an old woman's house.
152. *q^hoʔ rəmde=rɐʔ kə-zɣôʔ-nə*
 SEQ pursuers=PL PFV:EAST-arrive₂-3PL
q^hoʔ rgənmu=p^ha nə-rɛrwet-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ old.woman=place PFV-ask.question₂-3PL be-MED
 And the pursuers arrived, and asked the old woman questions.

²⁶² WT <rkang.mgyogs>.

153. *fə́nəʔ rənmu=kə ˈberotsə́nə kə-ɐre ɣso-sɲi=rən nə-tsoʔ*
 but old.woman=ERG PN PFV:EST-go₂ three-day=even PFV-elapse₂
fteʔ tʂʰəɣʔcənəmánəʔ²⁶³ ké-lcʰev mə-tə-cʰɐ-nə
 be:EMPH perhaps INF-catch.up.with NEG-2-be.able-2PL
te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 PEV:TR-say₂ be-MED

But the old woman said, “Berotsana had already gone east three days ago, and you may not be able to catch up with him.”

154. *tə́mdánə kʰé́nəŋ ɐz-nɐtsu fteʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 in.fact home CONT:HTR-hide be:EMPH be-MED

In truth, she was hiding him in her home.

155. *qʰoʔ rəmde=rɐʔ nə-keʔ nə-ˈbi*
 SEQ pursuers=PL 3PL:POSS-morale PFV-be.lost₂
qʰoʔ nə-nə-jwet-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ PFV:WEST-SPON-go.back₂-3PL be-MED

And the pursuers lost morale, and went back west.

156. *qʰoʔ kəmɐqʰínəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards
pot o-sɐtʰe=z skətʃe kə-pe
 Tibet 3SG:POSS-place=LOC rumor NMLZ:SBJ-do
ke-sɐyre-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:EAST:TR-cause.to.go₂-3PL be-MED

Afterwards, they sent east to Tibet someone who was to spread rumors.

²⁶³ A formulaic expression meaning ‘perhaps’.

157. *q^hoʔ kɛ̃-tsə o-ts^həyɐ=nəʔ*
 SEQ INF-say 3SG:POSS-manner=DET
nɛkəʔ rjɛkɛr nɐ-kə-rɐvzjaŋʔ
 ANA India IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-study₂
q^hoʔ jɛsŋiʔ kə-kə-nəwɛʔ vlɛrge=nəʔ
 SEQ the.other.day PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-come.back₂ monk=DET
 And the way (the rumor) goes was, “That monk who studied in India, and who returned east the other day,”

158. *rjɛkɛr=z mɛnsŋaʔ st^hoʔ kə-ŋɛn=nəʔ*
 India=LOC mantra most NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=DET
rjɛlpo=fənəʔ ⁿge-kə-səyʒəyʔ=nəʔ=cəʔ
 king=also IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.decline=DET=INDF
zdewe =fənəʔ te-kə-sɐmqeʔ=cəʔ
 populace = also IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-cause.to.quarrel=INDF
kɛⁿdon kə-ŋɛn=cəʔ kə-sɛsəmtsi kə-wɛʔ ŋoʔ
 sutra NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad=INDF NMLZ-teach.people PFV:EAST-come₂ be
 “he has come east to teach people a most malicious mantra from India which makes kings go into decline, and causes the populace to quarrel with one another.”

159. *nɛkəʔ vlɛrge=nəʔ fla nɐ-ntʃ^he-nə*
 ANA monk=DET immediately IMP-kill-2PL
ⁿdenəʔ osto mɛ̃-fsət²⁶⁴
 or well NEG-be.like
 “Quickly kill the monk, or things will go awfully wrong.”

160. *nákətsə skɛtʃɛ te-peʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 thus rumor PFV:TR-do₂ be-MED
 And he spread rumors like that.

²⁶⁴ An idiomatic expression meaning ‘go awfully wrong’.

161. *o-mæke noʔorjájŋʔnəʔ pot zəŋkʰem=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-essense at.that.time Tibet realm=DET
ponboʔ nɛ-fie sanŋiʔtʰuluzʔ=nəʔ nɛ-mɛʔ
 Bon.religion IPFV:PST-be:EMPH Buddhism=DET IPFV:PST-not.exist₂
qʰoʔ me-ne-rgeʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ NEG-PFV:TR-like₂-3PL be-MED
 The truth is, at that time in Tibet it was the Bon religion (that held sway) and there was no Buddhism, and people did not like it.

162. *qʰoʔ nə=rɛʔ kəmdiʔ tʰoʔ tə-tʰəy-cə*
 SEQ ANA=PL all chance PFV:TR-meet₂-MED
 And he (Berotsana) happened to come across all these.

163. *qʰoʔ zdewe=scʰənəʔ vlónbo=rɛʔ tə-lanʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ populace=and minister=PL PFV-protest₂-3PL be-MED
qʰoʔ nəkəʔ ʰberotsənɛ=nəʔ kɛ-ntʰe reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 SEQ ANA PN=DET GP-kill be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 And the populace and ministers protested (against him), and said, “One must kill that Berotsana!”

164. *qʰoʔ rjélpo=kə nəʔ kɛ-ntʰe=tséjə*
 SEQ king=ERG ANA INF-kill=to.the.extent
ɛ-né-ma=kə te-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 IRR-PFV-not.be=DM PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 And the king said, “Let’s not go so far as to kill him.”

165. *ʃənəʔ zdewe=rɛʔ mə-nɛ-kʰût-nə-cə*
 but populace=PL NEG-IPFV:PST-allow₂-3PL-MED
 “But the populace would not allow this.”

166. *q^hoʔ rjélpo=kə*
 SEQ king=ERG
ⁿberotsəne=kəsə enəmənə vlɛrge=cəʔ te-nɛjoro
 PN=like identical monk=INDF PFV:TR-look.for₂
 And the king looked for a monk who looked completely like Berotsana.
167. *q^hoʔ rgəm=naŋ te-rkoʔ-nə*
 SEQ trunk=inside PFV:TR-put.in₂-3PL
q^hoʔ zdewe=rɛʔ nə-mɲakóri taciʔ=naŋ te-wɛrɛt-nə ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ populace=PL 3PL:POSS-eye.front river=inside PFV:TR-throw₂-3PL be-MED
 And they put him inside a trunk and threw him into the river in the presence of the populace.
168. *q^hoʔ təmdánə ⁿberotsəne=nəʔ jɛⁿgɛr=cɛ tə-o-nɛtsu ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ in.fact PN=DET secluded.place=LOC:INDF PFV-INV-hide₂ be-MED
 In fact, he had hidden Berotsana at a secluded place.
169. *q^hoʔ rjélpo=nəʔ*
 SEQ king=DET
sɲi=nəʔ ⁿberotsəne=p^ha kɛ-fɛ me-ⁿgɛ-noz ɲoʔ-cə
 daytime=DET PN=place INF-go NEG-IPFV-dare be-MED
 The king did not dare go to (see) Berotsana during daytime.
170. *ʃənəʔ mer=nəʔ ⁿberotsəne=p^ha jɛ-fɛ*
 but night=DET PN=place IPFV-go
q^hoʔ ʃə-ⁿge-rɛvzjaŋ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ AND-IPFV-study be-MED
 But at nighttime, he went to Berotsana and studied (with him).

171. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnə ftsənmo=kə*
 SEQ afterwards queen=ERG
koʔ rjélpo=nəʔ kɛmɲɛm=cəʔ mer=nəʔ jɛ-nɛʃəʃɛ=kə
 this king=DET often=INDF night=DET IPFV-go.away=INS
o-zdeʔ=cəʔ toʔ máso ne-səsi-cə
 3SG:POSS-companion=INDF exist DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 Afterwards, the queen thought, “The king often go away at night. Could there be a lover of his?”

172. *q^hoʔ kə-təʃe=cɛ=nəʔ səqɛtsútsu rjélpo te-nənq^huʔ-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ one-time=LOC:INDF=DET in.secret king PFV:TR-follow₂-MED=SUB
təmdánə ⁿberotsɛnɛ=sc^hənəʔ t^hɐ-smo-ⁿdzə ne-mti ŋoʔ-cə
 in.truth PN=and CONT:LTR-be.at-3DU PFV:TR-see₂ be-MED
 Once, she followed the king in secret and saw that he turned out to be with Berotsana.

173. *q^hoʔ ftsənmo=nəʔ ó-qrɔ nɛ-ntfoʔ*
 SEQ queen=DET 3SG:POSS-luck PFV-find₂
q^hoʔ χtirtsot kɛ-pe tə-mda-cə ne-səsi-cə
 SEQ revenge INF-do PFV-be.time.for₂-MED PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 And the queen was overjoyed and thought, “It is time to take revenge!”

174. *q^hoʔ noʔosəʃsi=nəʔ zdewe nə-p^ha te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ next.day=DET populace 3PL:POSS-place PFV:TR-say₂-MED
rjélpo=kə ⁿberotsɛnɛ ne-nt^heʔ maʔ-cə
 king=ERG PN PFV:TR-kill₂ not.be-MED
nɛkəʔ pəʃk^ho t^hɐ-to ʃteʔ-cə
 ANA now CONT:LTR-exist₂ be:EMPH-MED
 And the next day, she told the populace, “The king did not kill Berotsana at all, and that man is still there now.”

175. *q^hoʔ leʔ zdwewe=rɐʔ=kə*
 SEQ again populace=PL=ERG
nɛkəʔ vlɛrge kɐ-ntʃ^he reʔ te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 ANA monk GP-kill be.necessary PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED
 And again, the populace said, “One must kill that monk!”

176. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=kə kɐ-ntʃ^he=nəʔ ɐ-nɛ-ma=kə*
 SEQ king=ERG INF-kill=DET IRR-PFV-not.be=DM
ɲɛtʃ^hə sɛtʃ^he mɐ-fsɐ-fsɛm=cɛ ʃə-ne-spjəʔ-əŋ
 where place NEG-hear-think=LOC:INDF AND-IPFV-banish-1SG
á-joy te-tsəʔ-cə
 Q-be.allowed PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 The king said, “Let him not be killed. What about banishing him to some place no one has heard of or thought about?”

177. *q^hoʔ vlónbo=sc^hənəʔ te-nəkroz-nə=nəʔ*
 SEQ minister=and PFV:TR-discuss₂-3PL=SUB
kɐ-spjəʔ kə-joyʔ=cəʔ te-peʔ-nə-cə
 INF-banish NMLZ-be.allowed=INDF PFV:TR-do₂-3PL-MED
 And (he) discussed this with the ministers and decided that he be banished.

178. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=kə ⁿberotsəne te-zrɛnts^ha ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ king=ERG PN PFV:TR-cause.to.make.preparations₂ be-MED
 And the king had preparations made for Berotsana.

179. *q^hoʔ sɐ-spjəʔ o-sɛtʃ^he=nəʔ*
 SEQ NMLZ:OBL-banish₂ 3SG:POSS-place=DET
təmdánəʔ rjɛlmots^hɛwéroŋ jəjəreʔ jə-sɛtʃ^he=z nɛ-ɲo ɲoʔ-cə
 in.truth PN 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED
 And it turned out that the location of his banishment was Rgyalmotshabarong in our area.

180. *q^hoʔ rjɛlmots^hɛwɛroŋ sɛtʃ^he=cɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN place=LOC:INDF=DET
mdoʒe rjɛlpo te-kɛ-tsə=cəʔ nɛ-to ŋoʔ-cə
 PN king IPFV-GP-say=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be-med
 And, somewhere at Rgyalmotshabarong, there was a king called King Mdozhe.

181. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsənɛ=kə nəʔ ʃə-te-χtəy ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=ERG ANA AND-PFV:TR-appeal.to₂ be-MED
 And Berotsana went there to appeal to him.

182. *q^hoʔ tʃ^hə nɛ-kə-fsə̂t=rɛʔ*
 SEQ what IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂=PL
rjɛlpo o-ffɛffɛ̂t ne-peʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 king 3SG:POSS-recounting PFV:TR-do₂ be-MED
 And recounted for the king everything that had happened.

183. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=kə nɛjiʔ nəʔ=kəsci tə-ʃteʔ*
 SEQ king=ERG 2SG ANA=like 2-be:EMPH
q^hónəʔ jəjɛrɛʔ=ntʃ^hon nɛjiʔ kɛ-nɛpóro mɛ-noz-jə te-tsəʔ
 SEQ:EMPH 1PL=also 2SG INF-take.in NEG-dare-1PL PFV:TR-say₂
 And the king (and others) said, “As you are like that,²⁶⁵ we dare not take you in either.”

184. *q^hoʔ mɛstókə ʒaʔ ɛnezsqɛfte-sɲi jɛrmɛ=nəʔ ⁿbətoŋ=nəŋ*
 SEQ no.matter time twenty.one-day about=DET insect.pit=inside
tɛ-səsmo nɛ-rɛmde=rɛʔ nɛ-mɛʔ q^hoʔ
 1→2-cause.to.stay 2SG:POSS-pursuers=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist₂ SEQ

²⁶⁵ Referring to Berotsana’s status as a person in exile.

mə-nə-tə-set q^hónəʔ tɛ-nɛpóro ŋoʔ tɛ-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 NEG-PFV-2-die₂ SEQ:EMPH 1→2-take.in be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED

“No matter. I will make you stay into the insect pit for twenty-one days. If afterwards there are no pursuers of yours, and you do not die, then we will take you in.”

185. *q^hoʔ ⁿbətoŋ=naŋ nɛ-o-wɛrɛt-nə ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ insect.pit=inside PFV-INV-throw₂-3PL be-MED

And they threw him into the pit.

186. *q^hoʔ kɛzsqɛfte-sŋi nə-tsoʔ=nəʔ ʃə-nɛ-mp^hɛri-nə-cə=nəʔ*
 SEQ twenty.one-day PFV-elapse₂=SUB AND-PFV:INV-throw₂-3PL-MED=SUB

náŋtɛr c^heʔ nɛ-kə-fsə́t=kəsə=nəʔ
 original.state formerly IPFV:PST-NMLZ-be.like₂=like=DET

ɛnɛméne t^hɛ-fsə́t wɛjo ŋoʔ-cə
 identically CONT:LTR-be.like₂ be.seen be-MED

When they went to take a look down (the pit) after twenty-one days, they saw that he looked exactly like what he was before.

187. *q^hoʔ nɛ-kɛ-spjəy ʃtɛʔ-cə*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ:U-banish₂ be:EMPH-MED

q^hónəʔ o-kə-nrɛmde=rɛʔ nɛ-mɛʔ-cə
 SEQ:EMPH 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-pursue=PL IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED

And as he was one who was being banished, and no one pursued him,

188. *q^hónəʔ ⁿbətoŋ=naŋ tə-oy-tʃɛt*
 SEQ:EMPH insect.pit=inside PFV-INV-take.out₂

q^hónəʔ kɔ̀vɛndzɛn=rɛʔ tɛ-peʔ-nə
 SEQ:EMPH formal.reception=PL PFV:TR-do₂-3PL

they took him up from inside the insect pit and gave him a formal reception.

189. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnə rjélpo o-káloy tə-ɸpeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ afterwards king 3SG:POSS-herder PFV-become₂ be-MED
 Afterwards, he became a herder for the king.

190. *q^hoʔ reⁿgo=z o-krɛ káloy kəχtʃipɯ=rɛʔ nə-χpe=rɛʔ ⁿge-ffɛt*
 SEQ hill=LOC 3SG:POSS-with herder child=PL 3PL:POSS-story=PL IPFV-tell
q^hoʔ oʒorʔ jəɣe=sc^hənəʔ tʃ^hoʒʔ nɛ-sɛsəmtsiʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ meanwhile writing=and Dharma IPFV:PST-do.teaching₂ be-MED
 And he told stories to the herder children who were with him on the hills, and meanwhile also taught people writing and the Dharma.

191. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnə o-slome=rɛʔ kɛ-nəldálden te-je*
 SEQ afterwards 3SG:POSS-student=PL INF-be.many:RDPL PFV:TR-begin₂
q^hoʔ nɛ-sɛsəmtsiʔ nɛ-sɛsəmtsiʔ əntsátse ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ IPFV:PST-do.teaching₂ IPFV:PST-do.teaching₂ continuously be-MED
 And afterwards, and he began to have more and more students. And he continuously taught and taught.

192. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnə prap^həɣʔ=nəɲ nɛ-rɛt^hənʔ*
 seq afterwards cave=inide IPFV:PST-meditate.in.seclusion₂
oʒorʔ nɛ-sɛsəmtsiʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 meanwhile IPFV:PST-do.teaching₂ be-MED
 After that, he practiced reclusive meditation and, meanwhile, he kept teaching.

193. *q^hoʔ o-kə-sten=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-tend.to=DET
təwəʔ kə-sqɛ rgɛnmɯ=cəʔ nɛ-to ɲoʔ-cə
 booze NMLZ:SBJ-brew old.woman=INDF IPFV:PST-be₂ be-MED
 As for the person who took care of him, there was an old woman who brew booze.

194. *q^hoʔ nəʔ o-tʃu=nəʔ χʃikə jəye ne-səmtsiʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-son=DET very book PFV:TR-teach₂ be-MED
 And he made a special effort to teach that (woman)'s son.
195. *q^hoʔ rgənmutʃu=nəʔ o-watʃ^haʔ*
 SEQ old.woman's.son=DET 3SG:POSS-consciousness.of.past-life.perceptions
kə-toʔ=cəʔ nɛ-ʃte ɲoʔ-cə
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist=INDF IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂ be-MED
q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnəʔ χʃikə tə-mk^hɛz ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ afterwards very PFV-be.skilled₂ be-MED
 And the woman's son was one who retained consciousness formed from past-life perceptions. And afterwards, he became very skilled.
196. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnə ʰberotsɛnɛ=nəʔ*
 SEQ afterwards PN=DET
o-slome=nəʔ læse te-sɛyre ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-student=DET Lhasa PFV:UP-cause.to.go₂ be-MED
 Afterwards, Berotsana sent his student up to Lhasa.
197. *q^hoʔ o-slome læse nɛ-nɛsməsmo=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-student Lhasa IPFV:PST-stay:RDPL=SUB
pot rjɛlpo=kə rjɛkɛr=z pɛntʃɛn²⁶⁶
 Tibet king=ERG India=LOC great.pandita
ʰdánəmədʒɛ ʃə-ke-sqor-cə
 PN AND-PFV:EAST:TR-send.for₂-MED
 When the student had stayed for a long time in Lhasa, the King of Tibet went to send for the great pandita Ndenemedra.

²⁶⁶ Abbreviated form of *pɛntʃətɛ tʃ^henboʔ* or 'great learned master'.

198. *q^hoʔ tʰozʔ kə-ffɛt=sc^hənəʔ kə-sɛsəm̩tsi ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ dharma NMLZ:SBJ-recount=and NMLZ:SBJ-do.teaching be-MED
 And he was a recounter of the Dharma and a teacher of men.

199. *ʃənəʔ pɛntʃen=nəʔ k^hriʔ o-naŋton kə-ɲoʔ*
 but great.pandita=DET that.much 3SG:POSS-contents NMLZ:SBJ-be
kɛ-sɛsəm̩tsi mə-t^hɛ-noz ɲoʔ-cə
 INF-do.teaching NEG-CONT:LTR-dare₂ be-MED
 But the great pandita did not dare teach people its full content.

200. *nəʔ tʰɛz ɲoʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA why be=SUB
noorjányənəʔ saŋⁿjiʔtʰuluʔ nətsɛjiʔ mə-nɛ-ter
 at.that.time Buddhism to.that.extent NEG-IPFV:PST-be.prosperous₂
 Why is that? Buddhism was not that prosperous at that time.

201. *q^hoʔ kə-ɲoʔ o-sɲóⁿgu kɛ-ffɛt mə-sénoʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-be 3SG:POSS-core INF-recount NEG-dare be-MED
ⁿdenəʔ zdewe=rɛʔ=kə tʰə jə-kɛ-oɣ-soʔ kə-χsɛl
 for populace=PL=ERG what PROS-GP-INV-do NMLZ-be.clear
mɛ ɲoʔ-cə
 not.exist be-MED
 So one did not dare recount its core (content), as it was not clear what the populace would do to one.

202. *q^hoʔ ɛrtfo tə-kə-ɛre=nəʔ pɛntʃátɛ ⁿge-ffɛt-nə=nəʔ*
 SEQ mendicant PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-go₂=DET pandita IPFV-recount-3PL=SUB
o-t^héco tɛɲe=rɛʔ tɛ-ⁿdɛ
 3SG:POSS-downriver.place walking.stick=PL IPFV-take₃

q^hoʔ ke-fv̄ ne-wi
 SEQ IPFV:EAST-go IPFV:WEST-come

And as the pandita was teaching (the Dharma), the mendicant who had gone uphill would go back and forth down there holding a walking stick.

203. *q^hoʔ o-k^he=naŋ tʃ^huxciʔ=rɐʔ tɛ-tsə ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-mouth=inside something=PL IPFV-say be-MED

And he would say something in his mouth.

204. *q^hoʔ pɛntʂátɐ nɐ-nɐrɛʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ pandita PFV-laugh₂ be-MED

And the pandita laughed.

205. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo=kə nɛjiʔ k^ho kə-tə-nəwəwɛʔ*
 SEQ king=ERG 2SG here PFV:EAST-2-come₂:RDPL

josŋiʔ=ⁿdenəʔ nɐ-tə-nɐrɛʔ mɐ
 today=not.until PFV-2-laugh₂ not.exist

And the king said, “Since you came here, you never laughed until now.”

206. *ɐrtʃo=kə tʃ^hɐ nɐ-rɐ ne-səwɛʔ ŋo*
 mendicant=ERG why 2SG:POSS-laughing PFV:TR-cause.to.come₂ be

q^hoʔ tʃ^hə tɛ-tsə ŋo te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ what IPFV-say be PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED

“Why did the mendicant make you laugh, and what is he saying?” he asked.

207. *q^hoʔ pɛntʂátɐ=kə*
 SEQ pandita=ERG

ɐrtʃo=kə ɛ-p^ha nɛjiʔ mdzɛzwu ⁿge-tə-ffɛt káma
 mendicant=ERG 1SG:POSS-place 2SG result IPFV-2-recount except

rju me-ⁿge-tə-ffət nə? tɛ-tsə ɲo? te-tsəʔ-cə
 cause NEG-IPFV-2-recount ANA IPFV-say be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

The pandita said, “The mendicant was saying, ‘You are just talking about the result, you’re not talking about the cause!’”

208. *q^ho? rjɛlpo=rɛʔ=kə*
 SEQ king=PL=ERG
q^hɛʔ ɛrtfo=nə? fə-te-nɛɲoro-nə-cə
 ANA mendicant=DET AND-PFV:TR-see₂-3PL-MED
q^ho? ɛrtfo=p^ha nɛji? əntsejə kə-mk^hɛzʔ=nə?
 SEQ mendicant=place 2SG to.that.extent NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=DET
nɛ-ɣgergen fo nɛ-ɲo te-tsəʔ-nə-cə
 2SG:POSS-teacher who IPFV:PST-be₂ PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED

The king and others went to seek out the mendicant and said to him, “You are so learned; who was your teacher?”

209. *q^ho? ɛrtfo=kə*
 SEQ mendicant=ERG
ɛji? ɛ-ɣgergen=nə? ⁿberotsɛnɛ ɲo? tɛ-tsəʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 1SG 1SG:POSS-teacher=DET PN be PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED
 And the mendicant said, “My teacher is Berotsana.”

210. *q^ho? mɛsto=kə nɛji? t^hɛ-ffət=naɲ tɛ-tsəʔ-nə ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ no.matter=DM 2SG IMP-recount=DM PFV:TR-say₂-3PL be-MED
 And they said, “No matter! You teach (the Dharma)!”

211. *q^ho? ɛrtfo=nəʔ=kə t^hɛ-ffət-cə=nə?*
 SEQ mendicant=DET=ERG PFV:TR-recount₂-MED=DET
rjɛkɛr kə-kə-wɛʔ pɛntʂáte jɛnʔ=cəʔ nɛ-ma=nt^hon
 India PFV:EAST-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂ pandita be.high=INDF IPFV:PST-not.be₂=also

ó-p^{hi} *mè-kà-fv=cà?* *ne-ffët* *ηο?-cà*
 3SG:POSS-underside NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-go-INDF PFV:TR-recount₂ be-MED

When the mendicant recounted (dharma), and if he did not excel over the pandita who had come from India, he did not perform less well either.

212. *q^{ho?}* *zdewe=rè?=kà* *ⁿberotsènev=nà?*
 SEQ populace=PL=ERG PN=DET
ántsevjà *kà-mk^hvz?[?]=cà?* *nev-fte=nà?*
 to.that.extent NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=INDF IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂=DET
ne-kè-znevγfǎγfè=cà? *nev-ma-cà* *ne-sàsi-nà-cà*
 IPFV-GP-cause.to.leave=INDF IPFV:PST-not.be₂-MED PFV:TR-think₂-3PL-MED
q^{ho?} *ⁿjotpe* *tà-sce?* *ηο?-cà*
 SEQ regret PFV-grow₂ be-MED

And the populace thought, “Since Berotsana is such a learned one, we shouldn’t have made him leave.” And they regreted it.

213. *q^{ho?}* *zdewe=rè?=kà* *rjélpo=p^{ha}*
 SEQ populace=PL=ERG king=place
ⁿberotsènev *ántsevjà* *kà-mk^hvz?[?]=nà?* *fà-te-kè-nevoro?*
 PN to.that.extent NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled=DET AND-IPFV-GP-seek
ηο? *te-tsà?-nà-cà*
 be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL-MED

And the populace said to the king, “One should go and seek out Berotsana, who is so learned,”

214. *q^{ho?}* *rjélpo=kà* *ⁿberotsènev*
 SEQ king=ERG PN
o-kà-q^{hro} *vlørge* *ne-sàwε?* *ηο?-cà*
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-meet monk PFV:DOWN:TR-cause.to.come₂ be-MED
 and the king sent a monk down to meet Berotsana.

215. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsəɳə kə-fə t^he-rgeʔ ʃieʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN INF-go CONT:LTR:TR-like₂ be:EMPH-MED
q^hoʔ leʔ rkaŋmɔʔ te-zgrəv-cə
 SEQ again fast.foot.magic PFV:TR-fullfill₂-MED
 Berotsana did like to go, and he practiced fast-foot magic.

216. *q^hoʔ k^há k^hoʔ = s^hə nəʔ ləse p^hé t^hv = nəʔ*
 SEQ here=and Lhasa up.to=DET
kəʃnez-sŋi te-peʔ n^v-t^hoʔ-cə
 seven-day PFV:TR-do₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED
 And covered (the distance) between here²⁶⁷ and Lhasa in seven days.

217. *q^hoʔ ləse tə-vre tʃoⁿbəjʔ = nəʔ = z*
 SEQ Lhasa PFV:UP-go₂ road=DET=LOC
rgətpo ome n^v-kə-rgəz = cəʔ ó-p^ha
 old.man very IPFV:PST-NMLZ:SBJ-be.old₂=INDF 3SG:POSS-place
n^v-nərmeʔ-ⁿdzə-nəŋo
 IPFV:PST-spend.the.night₂-3DU-MED
 On their way to Lhasa, the two of them spent the night at an old man's place who was very old.

218. *q^hoʔ rgətpo = kə ⁿdzəjəniʔ ŋét^hə jə-tə-fə-ⁿdzə ŋoʔ te-tsəʔ-cə*
 SEQ old.man=ERG 2DU where PROS-2-go-2DU be PFV:TR-say₂-MED
 And the old man asked, “Where are you going?”

²⁶⁷ Referring to the Rgyalrong country in western Sichuan.

219. *q^hoʔ² ⁿberotsəne=kə tsəjəniʔ ləse kə-rəvzjaŋ jə-fə-tsə ŋoʔ*
 SEQ PN=ERG 1DU Lhasa NMLZ:PURP-study PROS-go-1DU be
té-tsə ŋoʔ-cə
 IPFV-say be-MED

Berotsana said, “We are going to Lhasa to study.”

220. *q^hoʔ² rgətpo=kə a: ləse te-tə-fə-ⁿdzə=nəʔ*
 SEQ old.man=ERG EXCL Lhasa IPFV:UP-2-go-2DU=DET
tʃ^hə fə-tə-vzjaŋ-ⁿdzə ŋoʔ nəʔstónəʔ né-jwət-ⁿdzə
 what AND-2-study-2DU be instead IMP:DOWN-return-2DU

And the old man said, “Ah, what will you study when you go to Lhasa? Rather, just go back down.”

221. *q^hoʔ² rjəlmots^hewéronj sətʃ^he=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN land=DET
ɤgergən ɣfíkə kə-mk^həzʔ ⁿberotsəne te-ké-tsə toʔ=kə
 teacher very NMLZ:SBJ-be.learned PN IPFV-GP-say exist=INS
nəʔ ó-p^ha fə-nə-rəvzjaŋ-ⁿdzə=nəʔ
 ANA 3SG:POSS-place AND-IMP:DOWN-do.studying-2DU=SUB
kəmk^həzʔ kə-lɔʔ k^hūt te-tsəʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 learned.man INF-become be.feasible PFV:TR-say₂ be-MED

“And in the Rgyalmotshabarong land, there is a very learned teacher by the name of Berotsana. If you go down and study with him, you may become learned men,” he said.

222. *q^hoʔ² ⁿberotsəne=kə*
 SEQ PN=ERG
ⁿberotsəne te-ké-tsə=nəʔ ɤjiʔ t^hə-ŋo-aŋ te-tsəʔ-cə=nəʔ
 PN IPFV-GP-say=DET 1SG CONT:LTR-be₂-1SG PFV:TR-say₂-MED=DET

rgɛtpo=nəʔ *o-sem* *χfíkə* *nə-vdeʔ-cə*
 old.man=DET 3SG:POSS-mood very PFV-be.good₂-MED

q^hoʔ *o-sni=rɛʔ* *nə-zdəɣ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-heart=PL PFV-be.emotional₂ be-MED

When Berotsana said, “I am none other than Berotsana himself,” the old man felt very happy, and got very emotional.

223. *q^hoʔ* *ɛjiʔ* *ɐ-myɲits^he=nəʔ*
 SEQ 1SG 1SG:POSS-lifetime=DET

vlɛmɛ *ⁿberotsɛnɐ* *kɐ-mdʒɛl=cəʔ* *ɐ-nɐ-c^hɐ-aŋ* *wɐ*
 lama PN INF-worship=INDF IRR-PFV-be.able-1SG DM

antsátse *nɐ-səsi-aŋ=nəʔ*
 continuously IPFV:PST-wish₂-1SG=SUB

josŋíʔ=ta *ɐ-kɐ-səsiʔ=nəʔ* *nə-ⁿgrəv* *ŋoʔ* *te-tsəʔ-cə*
 today=top 1SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-wish₂=DET PFV-fulfill₂ be PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And he said, “I used to keep wishing that I might be able to visit and worship Berotsana Lama in my lifetime. My wish has been fulfilled today!” he said.

224. *q^hoʔ* *ⁿberotsɛnɐ* *ne-rqɔ* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN IPFV:PST:TR-embrace₂ be-MED

And he embraced Berotsana.

225. *q^hoʔ* *ⁿberotsɛnɐ* *o-skɔŋt^haʔ* *te-tʃet*
 SEQ PN 3SG:POSS-leather.band.for.binding.books PFV:TR-take.out₂

q^hoʔ *rgɛtpo* *ke-sə-skor*
 SEQ old.man PFV:CISLOC:TR-CAUS-encircle₂

And Berotsana took out the leather band (binding his books), and encircled the old man with it (to bless him).

226. *q^hoʔ nɛjiʔ ts^heχtʃəγʔl̥aχtʃəγʔ kɛ-nəsəŋrjiʔ kə-c^hɐ=cəʔ*
 SEQ 2SG this.life INF-become.buddha NMLZ-be.able=INDF
nákəsə o-smoləm te-ɬdəv ŋoʔ-cə
 thus 3SG:POSS-prayer PFV:TR-pray₂ be-MED

And prayed for him (saying), “May you become a Buddha in your lifetime!”

227. *q^hoʔ kəmɛq^húnəʔ rgɛtpo nə-nəsəŋrji tʃ^hozʔ kɛ-tsə ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ afterwards old.man PFV-become.buddha₂ be.the.rule GP-say be-MED

It is said that afterwards the old man became a Buddha.

228. *q^hoʔ lɛse tə-zγôʔ*
 SEQ Lhasa PFV:UP-arrive₂

And (Berotsana) arrived in Lhasa.

229. *q^hoʔ rjɛlpo kɛ-tsə mɐ zdewe kɛ-tsə mɐ*
 SEQ king GP-say not.exist populace GP-say not.exist
kəmdiʔ=kə χʃíkə nə-o-saχtʃez
 all=ERG very PFV-INV-show.affection₂

- q^hoʔ nɐ-o-ntɛtpeʔ ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ IPFV:PST-INV-believe.in₂ be-MED

And (Berotsana) arrived in Tibet, and not only the king but also the populace loved him very much, and believed in him.

230. *q^hoʔ ⁿberotsənɐ=ntʃ^hon o-p^hɛme nɐ-rgɛz ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ PN=also 3SG:POSS-parent IPFV:PST-be.old₂ be-MED
ʃənəʔ kɛ-t^həγʔʔ=rɐʔ nɐ-c^hɐʔ kɛ-tsə ŋoʔ-cə
 but INF-meet=PL IPFV:PST-be.able₂ GP-say be-MED

And also, Berotsana’s parents were old but he was still able to see them.

231. *q^hoʔ o-jiʔ lotséwə ʃteʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-self translator be:EMPH-MED
q^hónəʔ pot ʒəŋk^həm=z tʃ^hozʔ kə-zjər ne-je
 SEQ:EMPH Tibet region=LOC Dharma INF-translate PFV:TR-begin₂

And as he was himself a translator, he started to translate the Dharma in the Tibetan area.

232. *q^hoʔ pot o-sətʃ^he=z=nəʔ*
 SEQ Tibet 3SG:POSS-place=LOC=DET
sanjiʔtʃ^huluzʔ kə-sŋi ʃóχtenə kə-sŋi tə-ter
 Buddhism one-day than one-day PFV-be.prosperous₂
q^hoʔ kə-tsə tʃ^hozʔ-cə
 SEQ GP-say be.the.rule-MED

And it is said that Buddhism became more and more prosperous in Tibet each day.

233. *ə-tə-kə-tsə=nəʔ*
 IRR-PFV-GP-say=DET
pot o-sətʃ^he sanjiʔtʃ^huluzʔ tə-kə-ter=nəʔ
 Tibet 3SG:POSS-place Buddhism PFV-NMLZ-prosper₂=DET
ⁿberotsəwə o-tʃənʔ nə-xtə kə-tsə tʃ^hozʔ-cə
 PN 3SG:POSS-credit IPFV:PST-be.big₂ GP-say be.the.rule-MED

Take it all round, Berotsana's contributions to making Buddhism prosper in Tibet were great, it is said.

IV. PROCEDURAL TEXTS

HOW RGYALRONG HOUSES ARE BUILT

*kārúk^he kəpe tʃ^hə tekəsoʔ***Narrator: Bstanblo**

1. *jəjərvəʔ jəsvətʃ^he=z k^he kə-pe=nəʔ*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-land=LOC house GP-make=SUB
st^hɔre ó-ste ne-kə-qése
 first 3SG:POSS-where.something.is IPFV-GP-seek

In our land, when one builds a house, one first seeks its site.

2. *q^hoʔ vləme maʔⁿdenəʔ svətʃ^he kə-rtɔʔ kə-spe*
 SEQ lama or land INF-determine NMLZ:SBJ-be.skilled
ʃə-ne-kə-sqorʔ q^hoʔ k^héste te-kə-sərtɔʔ
 AND-IPFV-GP-send.for SEQ foundation IPFV-GP-cause.to.determine

One sends for a lama or someone skilled in geomancy and asks him to practice divination regarding the foundation.

3. *q^hoʔ k^héste kə-rtɔʔ=kə*
 SEQ foundation NMLZ:SBJ-determine=ERG
k^həkomʔ ɳétʃ^həz ó-p^hjɔ ne-ká-ro kə-joyʔ=rəʔ
 house.door where 3SG:POSS-direction IPFV-NMLZ-face NMLZ-be.allowed=PL
te-rəvzɔjʔ ɳoʔ
 IPFV-plan₃ be

And the “foundation determiner” determines in which direction the main door of the house must face.

4. *q^hoʔ p^hjɔvzi təvzər=nəʔ*
 SEQ four.direction outer.edge=DET
sətʰe kə-mnən o-spe
 land NMLZ:SBJ-suppress 3SG:POSS-material
səpəmʔ ⁿge-kə-rko
 object.for.warding.off.evils IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in
 And at the four outer edges of the house, (the foundation examiner) puts in evil-expelling objects to ward off (evils of) the land.

5. *q^hoʔ k^hep^hεʔ=rəʔ o-χtu kə-pe reʔ tʰozʔ kə*
 SEQ some=PL 3SG:POSS-sutra GP-do be.necessary be.the.rule DM
 And one has to chant sutras for some of the (inauspicious) house foundations.

6. *nəʔ=rəʔ ne-kə-səpe*
 ANA=PL IPFV-GP-cause.to.do
 One has all the above performed.

7. *q^hoʔ k^he o-tʰətʰu*
 SEQ house 3SG:POSS-materials
ʃkótse ʃoŋtʰe cóp^he rkáyⁿdε tḗⁿdzo ləsɔʔ te-kə-mɲiʔ
 rock log stone.slab rafter clay and.so.on IPFV-GP-prepare
q^hoʔ te-kə-wərtaʔ
 SEQ IPFV-GP-cause.to.be.sufficient
 And then one prepares a sufficient quantity of building materials: rocks, logs, stone slabs, rafters, clay, and so on.

8. *q^hoʔ leʔ skərme kə-rtɔʔ=p^ha*
 SEQ again auspicious.day NMLZ:SBJ-determine=place
skərme fə-ⁿge-kə-səyro
 auspicious.day AND-IPFV-GP-cause.to.tell
 And again one goes to someone (skilled in) determining auspicious days, and asks him to find an auspicious day.

9. *q^hoʔ nəʔ-ó-ta=nəʔ=z zⁿdéj-q^hə ⁿge-kə-lweʔ*
 SEQ ANA-3SG:POSS-top=DET=LOC wall-foundation IPFV:DOWN-GP-dig
q^hoʔ k^he kə-pe te-kə-səje ɲoʔ
 SEQ house GP-make IPFV-GP-begin be
 On that day, one digs the wall foundation (of the house), and begins construction of the house.

10. *q^hoʔ foŋvdəʔ ka-knez=sc^hənəʔ zⁿdə kə-pe*
 SEQ wall one-two=and wall NMLZ:SBJ-make
sqeʔ kəri jərmə oɔ fə-kə-sqorʔ reʔ ɲoʔ
 ten more.than about separately AND-GP-send.for be.necessary be
 And as for wall-making masons, one must send for ten-odd of them separately.

11. *nəʔ ó-nanɲ=nəʔ rdoχpon kə-rdɔʔ te-kə-wéifət*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside=DET head.mason one-CL IPFV-GP-elect
 And one choose among these masons a head-mason,

12. *q^hoʔ rdoχpom oxténəʔ*
 SEQ head.mason in.the.main
zⁿdə te-stoʔ soʔ meʔ
 wall IPFV-be.straight or not

ozor? *zⁿdε* *kə-pe* *nə-fkótpe* *kə-te?* *ŋo?*
 meanwhile wall NMLZ:SBJ-do 3SG:POSS-order NMLZ:SBJ-put be
 the head-mason is responsible for seeing whether the walls are made straight or not, and
 for supervising the wall-builders.

13. *nə?* *o-tán?[?]kə*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS
o⁻ⁿgre=ntj^hon *kəma?* *kə-réⁿdε* *fóχtenə?*
 3SG:POSS-wages=also other NMLZ:SBJ-build.walls than
kə-lden *ne-ké-k^hi* *re?* *ŋo?*
 NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity IPFV-GP-give be.necessary be
 For this reason, one also needs to pay higher wages to him than to the other wall-builders.

14. *q^ho?* *f^kótse=sc^hənə?* *taχnu* *kə-nəzβε?[?]nə?*
 SEQ rock=and mud.plaster NMLZ:SBJ-transport=DET
 As for the transporters of rocks and mud plaster,

15. *jəlpe=sc^hənə?* *təynε=rε?* *kə-qor?* *wε-nə* *fite?[?]kə*
 neighbor=and relative=PL NMLZ:PURP-help come-3PL be:EMPH=INS
nə?[?]kə *te-kε-znəzβε?*
 ANA=ERG IPFV-GP-cause.to.transport
 since neighbors and relatives will come to help, one asks them to transport (the materials).

16. *q^ho?* *sásu=sc^hənə?* *tərmók^he=nə?*
 SEQ lunch=and dusk=TOP
kə-qor?[?]rε? *mɛlen* *ne-kε-nbáft^hi* *re?*
 NMLZ:SBJ-help=PL by.necessity IPFV-GP-feed be.necessary
 And at lunchtime and at dusk, one must feed the helpers.

17. *rdovzoʔ=scʰənəʔ* *ʃoɣvzoʔ=nəʔ=ntʃʰon* *kɐ-nbáʃtʰi* *reʔ* *mɛkásʰɛt*
 mason=and carpenter=DET=also GP-feed be.necessary not.only
nə-n dzéʰi *oɔ* *kə-minʔ* *te-kɐ-sɛpəpe* *ŋoʔ*
 3PL:POSS-food separately NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty IPFV-GP-do be

As for the masons and carpenters, not only does one have to feed them, but one must also prepare tasty food for them separately.²⁶⁸

18. *qʰoʔ* *kə-téxse* *te-zɣot*
 SEQ one-CL IPFV:UP-reach
qʰoʔ *kɐ-réʃkev* *té-mda* *orjáŋnəʔ*
 SEQ INF-put.cover.on IPFV-be.time when

When (the construction) reaches one storey and it is time for making the ceiling,

19. *kə-qorʔ* *méju* *kə-lɛn* *wɛ-nə=kə*
 NMLZ:SBJ-help further NMLZ:SBJ-exist.in.quantity come₄-3PL=INS
qʰoʔ *kə-sɣí=nəŋ* *ké-fkev* *ne-kɐ-səɣjoyʔ*
 SEQ one-day=inside INF-cover IPFV-GP-cause.to.finish

since even more helpers will come, one finishes making the ceiling within one day.

20. *qʰoʔ* *nəʔofséʃsət* *ɛnez-téxse* *χso-téxse=ntʃʰon* *ne-ké-fkev* *ŋoʔ*
 SEQ thus two-CL three-CL=also IPFV-GP-cover be

And in this manner one also covers the tops of two or three storeys.

21. *qʰoʔ* *tozaʔ=nəʔ* *χso-téxse* *te-kɐ-pe*
 SEQ nowadays=TOP three-CL IPFV-GP-do
nəʔ *ó-ta=nəʔ* *ⁿgolⁿbri=cəʔ* *tʰe-kɐ-teʔ*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET stone.slab.pitched.roof=INDF IPFV-GP-put

²⁶⁸ It is the local custom for the hosts to treat skilled workers among the house-builders to specially prepared meals, served in a room reserved for guests.

ŋoʔ tʰozʔ

be be.the.rule

Nowadays, people usually build three-storey houses with a pitched roof of stone slabs placed on top.

22. *qʰoʔ ɐ-nɐ-sɛʃpɐlɐ=nəʔ*

SEQ IRR-PFV-be.speedy=SUB

kə-sle jɛrmɐ kə²⁶⁹-səɣjoʔ ʃteʔ kə

one-month about GP:NVOL-finish be:EMPH DM

If things happen fast, one finishes the task in about one month.

23. *te-joyʔ qʰoʔ nəʔosɛʃsət kəlŋo-tʃo-sle jɛrmɐ ne-kɐ-teʔ*

IPFV-end SEQ thus five-six-month about IPFV-GP-place

qʰoʔ te-ʒʃəm

SEQ IPFV-be.dry

And one leaves the finished house like that for about five-six months while the house (partially) dries.

24. *qʰoʔ noŋme=nəʔ*

SEQ only.then=TOP

nanʃtʃət kə-rko ʃoŋvzoʔ ne-kɐ-sqorʔ

interior.decoration NMLZ:SBJ-install carpenter IPFV-GP-send.for

qʰoʔ ʃoŋvzoʔ ne-kɐ-səpe

SEQ wood.work IPFV-GP-cause.to.do

And only then, one sends for the carpenters specializing in interior decoration and ask them to do the wood work.

²⁶⁹ The non-volitional generic person index *kə-* indicates lack of volitional control regarding the shortest time required to finish the task.

25. *q^hoʔ nəʔ ne-joyʔ noŋmənəʔ te-kə-rmɛvluʔ*
 SEQ ANA IPFV-end only.then IPFV-GP-light.a.fire
 And only when that is finished does one move in to live.²⁷⁰
26. *q^hoʔ skərme kə-vde=cɛ o-sŋi=nəʔ*
 SEQ auspicious.day NMLZ:SBJ-be.good=LOC:INDF 3SG:POSS-day=TOP
k^haŋston te-kə-pe ŋoʔ
 house.warming.party IPFV-GP-do be
 And, on a certain auspicious day, one holds a house-warming party.
27. *k^haŋston kə-pe orjánaʔ*
 house.warming.party GP-do when
kə-wi lden-nə fieʔ=kə
 NMLZ:SBJ-come exist.in.quantity-3PL be:EMPH=INS
 And, since many people will come when one holds the house-warming party,
28. *kəⁿdze kə-minʔ=sc^hənəʔ tɛwaʔ mɛlen ne-kə-səŋniʔ*
 food NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty=and booze by.necessity IPFV-GP-serve
q^hoʔ jɛ-kə-ɐwi=rɐʔ
 SEQ IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come=PL
sɐrɐ-nə k^hɐrjɐʔ=rɐʔ rtsot-nə
 perform.amusing.act-3PL banter=PL do-3PL
 one must serve delicious food and booze, and those who come (to the party) will perform
 amusing acts and banter each other.
29. *q^hoʔ kə-sŋi tɛwaʔ t^hi-nə t^hoʔzʔ ŋoʔ*
 SEQ one-day booze drink-3PL be.the.rule be
 And people will drink booze for the whole day.

²⁷⁰ Literally ‘light a fire (in the hearth)’.

30. *q^hónə* *noŋménəʔ*

SEQ only.then

k^he *katáŋnəʔ* *tə-kə-joɣ=nəʔ* *fsət* *ŋoʔ*

house formally PFV-NMLZ-end₂=SUB be.like be

And only then does the house (-building matter) come to a proper end.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS

skértɔʔ kəpɛ tʃəʔ tekəso kəŋoʔ ofʃɛffɛtɕə

Narrator: Stagthar

1. *tsʰovdən jə-sətʃʰe=z kəʀⁿbjoʔ jə-set orjájɯz*
 PN 3PL:POSS-place=LOC person PROS-die when
vlərge kəʀnéz-rdɔ ʃə-tʰe-ké-ⁿge
 monk several-CL AND-IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-summon

At our place Tshobdun, when a person is about to die, one goes and summons one or two monks.

2. *qʰoʔ stʰɔre o-smoləm ne-ⁿdon-nə*
 SEQ first 3SG:POSS-deliverance.sutra IPFV-chant-3PL

First, they chant deliverance sutras for the dying person.

3. *qʰoʔ né-set*
 SEQ IPFV-die
qʰoʔ nəʔ ó-nan vlərge kə-ŋólɛ kə-rdɔʔ
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside monk NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous one-CL
o-pʰoloŋ te-lɛt-nə²⁷¹ ŋoʔ
 3SG:POSS-*phowa* IPFV-perform-3PL be

And, after he dies, a high monk among the monks performs *phowa* for him.

4. *pʰoloŋ kə-lɛt=nəʔ*
phowa.ritual INF-perform=TOP
me-ne-ké-set=ntʃʰon vləmɛ=pʰa pʰoloŋ
 NEG-IPFV-GP-die=also lama=place *phowa.ritual*

²⁷¹ Honorific use of plural marking.

te-kɛ-nəsəlet *tʰozʔ=cə*
 IPFV-GP-cause.to.perform be.the.rule= MED

As for performing the *phowa* ritual, it is also customary to ask a lama to perform it before death.

5. *kɛ-lɛt* *tʰə́tekɛso=nəʔ*
 INF-perform how=TOP

As to how it (*phowa*) is done,

6. *stʰoreʔ=z* *vlɛrme=kə* *raŋpaʔ* *o-kɛ-ⁿdon=cəʔ* *toʔ*
 first=LOC lama=ERG special 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ:U-chant=INDF exist

first, the lama has a special kind of sutra to chant.

7. *qʰoʔ* *káset* *o-ʃpovʔ* *o-koɣcəl* *te-wémot*
 SEQ deceased 3SG:POSS-corpse 3SG:POSS-crown IPFV-blow

Then, the lama blows on the crown of the deceased.

8. *qʰoʔ* *o-koɣcəl=z*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-crown=LOC
tɛrmɛ *kə-mʈɔʔ* *né-ⁿbət* *ŋoʔ* *tʰozʔ-cə*
 hair one-CL IPFV-come.off be be.the.rule-MED

It is said that this has the effect of making a tuft of hair come off his crown.

9. *qʰoʔ* *o-vlɛ=nəʔ* *o-koɣcəl=naŋ* *te-nlɔʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-soul=DET 3SG:POSS-crown=inside IPFV:UP-exit

And his soul would come out from inside the crown,

10. *qʰoʔ* *vdewétʃɛn* *kɛ-ʃɛ* *kə-kʰút* *pʰen* *ŋoʔ-cə*
 SEQ paradise GP-go NMLZ-be.feasible be.effective be-MED

and it would be feasible for him to go to paradise.

11. *q^hoʔ o-sɲorʔ ne-mɐ oq^húq^hoʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-breath IPFV-not.exist after
q^hoʔ vlɐrge=rɐʔ=kə
 SEQ monk=PL=ERG
káset o-ɣgewe kɐ-pe te-jeʔ-nə ɲoʔ
 deceased 3SG:POSS-deliverance INF-do IPFV-begin-3PL be
 And after he breathes his last, the monks begin to chant sutras for the deliverance of the dead.
12. *q^hoʔ o-k^hénaɲ=rɐʔ=kə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-family=PL=ERG
o-fpovʔ ɣtsaɲme te-kɐ-pe
 3SG:POSS-corpse cleaning IPFV-GP-do
 And his family would cleanse his corpse,
13. *q^hoʔ rezʔ kə-ɣrəmʔ=kə*
 SEQ cotton.cloth NMLZ:SBJ-be.white=INS
o-koʔ ⁿge-kɐ-sɐjeʔ o-me ⁿge-ké-tʃɐt
 3SG:POSS-head IPFV:DOWN-GP-begin 3SG:POSS-foot IPFV-GP-draw
q^hoʔ te-kɐ-ɲp^hər
 SEQ IPFV-GP-wrap
 and wrap it from his head to his feet with white cloth,
14. *q^hoʔ nəʔoséʃsət tɐlɔʔ=ta ne-kɐ-teʔ*
 SEQ thus bed=top IPFV-GP-put
 and one lays the corpse down like that on the bed.

15. *qərtsu v-nə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*

winter IRR-PFV-be=SUB

kəʃne-sŋi kəʃne-rjaʔ jərmə ne-teʔ-nə tʰozʔ

seven-day seven-night about IPFV-put-3PL be.the.rule

If it is during winter, the corpse will be placed there for about seven days and seven nights.

16. *ʃənəʔ ʃtʃerʔ v-nə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ*

but summer IRR-PFV-be=SUB

təʃpovʔ ʃso-sŋi ʃso-rjaʔ jərmə ne-teʔ-nə tʰozʔ

corpse three-day three-night about IPFV-put-3PL be.the.rule

But if it is during summer, the corpse is placed there for about three days and three nights only.

17. *təʃpovʔ ne-teʔ-nə kə-rjaŋʔ*

corpse IPFV-put-3PL whole-time

təʃpovʔ o-mkom o-ʋgewe əntsətse ne-pe-nə ŋoʔ

corpse 3SG:POSS-pillow 3SG:POSS-deliverance continuously IPFV-do-3PL be

The whole time the corpse is laid there, and they keep chanting sutras for its deliverance at its pillow.

18. *qʰoʔ nəʔorjaŋʔz káset o-kʰénaŋ=rəʔ=kə vləmé=pʰa*

SEQ then deceased 3SG-family=PL=ERG lama=place

o-tərse=scʰənəʔ ʃəʃi o-skərtəʔ kə-pe kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ

3SG:POSS-burial.ground=and when 3SG:POSS-funeral GP-do NMLZ-be=SUB

skərme ʰge-sərtəʔ-nə ŋoʔ

date IPFV-find.out-3PL be

At that time, the family of the dead would ask the lama to determine the proper burial site and date for the funeral.

19. *skərtɔʔ kə-pe vde-tərem toʔ*
 funeral INF-do four-CL exist

There are four methods of performing the funeral.

20. *kə-tərem=nəʔ vʒənsraʔ ɲoʔ*
 one-CL=TOP cremation be

The first method is cremation.

21. *ʋne-tərem=nəʔ pʃɛftaŋ ɲoʔ*
 two-CL=TOP bird-burial be

The second method is bird-burial.

22. *χsəmʔ-tərem=nəʔ sɛtʰé=naŋ ʰge-kə-səldot ɲoʔ*
 three-CL=TOP earth=inside IPFV:DOWN-GP-bury be

The third method is ground burial.

23. *vde-tərem=nəʔ qəŋɲámʔ=naŋ tʰe-kə-wéret*
 four-CL=TOP river=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-cast

The fourth method is water burial.

24. *ó-ta vde-tərem=nəʔ*
 3SG:POSS-top four-CL=TOP
oxténəʔ tʰə kə-nétse=nəʔ te-kə-pe ɲoʔ tʰozʔ
 in.the.main what NMLZ:SBJ-be.suitable=DET IPFV-GP-do be be.the.rule

As a rule, one uses the four methods above mainly depending on which one is appropriate.

25. *fə̀nəʔ kə̀rⁿbjoʔ o-jiʔ jə̀-set orjə̀ŋnəʔ fə̀ⁿdzu ne-teʔ*
 but person 3SG:POSS-self PROS-die when last.will IPFV:DOWN-put₃
ó-ta=nəʔ ⁿge-kə̀-sáxsəʔ ŋoʔ tʰoʔzʔ
 3SG:POSS-top=DET DOWN-GP-execute be be.the.rule
 But if the person leaves a last will before he dies, one generally has to execute it.

26. *vʒə̀nsraʔ oxténəʔ*
 cremation in.the.main
vlə̀rgə̀rge=rəʔ ne-ɣfaʔ-nə̀= nəʔ vʒə̀nsraʔ kə̀-lət tʰoʔzʔ
 monk=PL IPFV-pass.away-3PL=SUB cremation GP-perform be.the.rule
 As for cremation, one as a rule performs cremation mainly when lamas pass away.

27. *fə̀nəʔ vlə̀rge kə̀-maʔ=ntʰon joyʔ*
 but monk NMLZ:SBJ-not.be=also be allowed
 But a lay person may also be allowed (to be cremated).

28. *q^hoʔ pjə̀ftaŋ=nəʔ*
 SEQ bird.burial=TOP
syonts^he=z fə̀nə̀ŋŋə̀ŋo ne-kə̀-teʔ nə̀-tʰoʔz-cə
 former.time=LOC whoever IPFV-GP-do IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂-MED
 As for bird burial, it used to be performed on any deceased one.

29. *fə̀nəʔ toʒaʔ rgot nə̀-rkonʔ-cə*
 but nowadays vulture PFV-be.rare₂-MED
nəʔ o-tánʔ=kə̀ pjə̀ftaŋ=nəʔ
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS bird.burial=TOP
t^he-kə̀-teʔ nə̀-meʔ=tsəʔ fiteʔ
 IPFV:DOWNRIVER-NMLZ:SBJ-put PFV-not.exist₂=a.bit be:EMPH
 But nowadays vultures have become rare; therefore, those who practice bird burial are almost non-existent.

30. *fənaʔ sertə ɛ-nə-kə-tsomʔ*
 but PN IRR-PFV-GP-take.thither
qʰoʔ pjeftaŋ=nəʔ pəzje toʔ
 ANA bird.burial=DET still exist
 But if one takes the corpse to Gserrrta County, bird burial is still practiced (there).²⁷²
31. *qʰoʔ qerŋəmʔ=nəŋ kə-nʰgərʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ big.river=inside GP-cast=TOP
oxtənəʔ kəxtʃipu=rɛʔ né-set-nə=nəʔ
 in.the.main child=PL IPFV-die-3PL=SUB
təciʔ=nəŋ tʰe-kə-nʰgərʔ ŋoʔ tʰozʔ
 river=inside IPFV:DOWNRIVER-GP-cast be be.the.rule
 As for river burial, it is mainly when small children die that one casts them into the river.
32. *skərtɔʔ kə-pe mə-kə-néχtʃəy vde-tərem=nəʔ*
 funeral GP-do NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.same four-CL=DET
tʃʰə te-kə-soʔ kə-ŋoʔ=nəʔ o-mpʰroʔ ʰge-kə-ffət=nəʔ
 what IPFV-GP-do NMLZ-be=TOP 3SG:POSS-sequence IPFV-GP-recount=SUB
 If one recounts how one performs the four different ways of burial one by one,
33. *vzənsraʔ kə-lət=nəʔ*
 cremation GP-perform=TOP
stʰore=z ʰsɪtəmtʃuyʔ kʰepʰɛʔ=rɛʔ təʃpovʔ=nəʔ te-nəpúʰdi-nə
 first=LOC morning some=PL corpse=DET IPFV:UP-carry.together-3PL
 as for performing cremation, first, some folks carry the corpse uphill together in the morning,

²⁷² This refers to the sky burial site about one kilometer north of the famed Blarung Lngarig Buddhist Academy (in Chinese 喇榮寺五明佛學院) in Gserrrta County, Dkarmdzes Prefecture.

34. *nəʔori=nəʔ sətʰe vʒənsraʔ o-sə-lét=z*
 other=DET place cremation 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-perform₂=LOC
χfáʔ nə-kə-səyɲi=nəʔ te-kə-tsomʔ
 fir.plank PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-make.ready₂=DET IPFV:UP-GP-take.thither
 others carry previously prepared fir planks for cremation uphill to the cremation site,

35. *qʰoʔ ˈge-ké-zⁿdɛ*
 SEQ IPFV-GP-stack
qʰoʔ təʃpovʔ=nəʔ nəʔ ó-ta te-kə-təʔ
 SEQ corpse=DET ANA 3SG:POSS-top IPFV:UP-GP-put₃
qʰoʔ χfáʔ te-ké-ʃnət
 SEQ fir.plank IPFV-GP-set.aflake
 and lay the fir planks down to make a fuel stack, place the corpse on top of it, and set the
 fir planks aflame,

36. *qʰoʔ tsʰúni maⁿdenəʔ tɛpi ˈge-kə-rɛⁿdzeʔ ˈge-kə-lət*
 SEQ vegetable.oil or butter IPFV:DOWN-GP-slice IPFV:DOWN-GP-put
 and put vegetable oil on it, or else slices up butter and put on it,

37. *qʰoʔ te-ké-tʃov oʒorʔ*
 SEQ IPFV:UP-GP-burn while
nəʔ o-vʒər=z vlɛrge=rɛʔ ˈge-ⁿdon-nə ɲoʔ
 ANA 3SG:POSS-side=LOC monk=PL IPFV-chant.sutra-3P be
 while one burns (the corpse), the monks keep chanting sutras by the side.

38. *q^hoʔ kɛ-tʃov te-joyʔ q^hoʔ o-ɣzɣyze=nəʔ*
 SEQ INF-burn IPFV-finish SEQ 3SG:POSS-remains=DET
sɛtʃ^hé=naŋ ŋomaʔ q^hɛlduy ⁿge-kɛ-sá-fkev ŋoʔ tʃ^hozʔ
 earth=inside casually dirt IPFV:DOWN-GP-CAUS-cover be be.the.rule
 One finishes the burning, and will just unceremoniously covers the remains on the ground with dirt.

39. *káset vlɛme kə-ŋólɛ ɛ-né-ŋo=nəʔ*
 deceased lama NMLZ:SBJ-be.virtuous IRR-PFV-be=SUB
o-fɛruyze=nəʔ te-kɛ-nɛpóro q^hoʔ rəli te-kɛ-pe
 3SG:POSS-ashes=DET IPFV-GP-collect SEQ pellet IPFV-GP-make
q^hoʔ kɛsék^hu o-coʔ te-kɛ-lɛt tʃ^hozʔ
 SEQ juniper.powder 3SG:POSS-addition IPFV-GP-put be.the.rule
 If the deceased is an eminent lama, one collects his ashes to make into pellets and add sanctified juniper powder to them.

40. *pjɛfian kɛ-teʔ=nəʔ*
 bird.burial GP-do=TOP
kə^rbjoʔ né-set oq^hu q^hoʔ yréko=ta rgot
 person IPFV-die after SEQ ridge=top vulture
o-sɛ-to=z mɛlen nánəz
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-exist₂=LOC by.necessity there
kɛ-tsomʔ reʔ ŋoʔ
 GP-take.thither be.necessary be
 As for bird burial, after a person dies, one must take (the corpse) to the mountain ridge where there are vultures.

41. *q^hoʔ təʃpovʔ kə-rɛⁿdzeʔ raŋpaʔ=kə*
 SEQ corpse NMLZ:SBJ-cut special=ERG
pjɛftaŋ o-sɛ-te=z təʃpovʔ koʃɛrúru ⁿge-rɛⁿdzeʔ
 bird.burial 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:OBL-put₂=LOC corpse bones.and.all IPFV-cut
q^hoʔ nəʔoséʃsət spɛntóʔ=ta ne-tɛʔ
 SEQ thus grassland=top IPFV-place₃
 And a corpse-disposal specialist cuts the corpse up bones and all at the site for bird burial,
 and then leaves it thus on the grassland.

42. *q^hoʔ kəⁿbjoʔ=rɛʔ təʃpovʔ o-vzər ne-kɛ-neʃʃɛ*
 SEQ person=PL corpse 3SG:POSS-side IPFV-GP-leave
kə-ɛr^he=tsɛʔ ne-kɛ-smo
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.far.away=a.bit IPFV-GP-stay
 And people leave the corpse and stay at a little distance.

43. *q^hoʔ détsɛnəʔ rɔt ne-nɛwəwɛ-nə*
 SEQ in.a.short.while vulture IPFV-come.from.various.places-3PL
q^hoʔ təʃpovʔ vjaχtsəyʔ te-ⁿdze-nə
 SEQ corpse to.one's.fill IPFV-eat-3PL
 And in a short while vultures will come from all over and gorge themselves on the corpse.

44. *q^hoʔ leʔ ne-neʃʃɛ-nə ŋoʔ*
 SEQ again IPFV-leave-3PL be
 And then they will leave.

45. *q^hoʔ rɔt=kə ʃɛru kə-xteʔ*
 SEQ vulture=ERG bone NMLZ:SBJ-be.big
kɛ-ⁿdze o-mɛ-kɛ-c^hɛ=nəʔ=rɛʔ
 INF-eat 3SG:POSS-NEG-NMLZ:SBJ:U-be.capable=DET=PL

51. *q^hoʔ káset o-yrɛrɛʔ=kə*
 SEQ deceased 3SG:POSS-family=ERG
fɛ kə-mɛ t^həxpe te-sɔɛ-nə
 meat NMLZ:SBJ-not.exist porridge IPFV-boil-3PL
q^hoʔ skɛrtɔʔ kə-pe jɛ-kə-ɐwɛʔ=rɛʔ ne-kɛ-mgron t^hozʔ
 SEQ funeral NMLZ:PURP-do PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=PL IPFV-GP-treat be.the.rule
 The family of the dead prepare porridge with no meat in it and feed those who come to the funeral.

52. *skɛrtɔʔ kə-pe jɛ-kə-ɐwɛʔ=rɛʔ=kə*
 funeral NMLZ:PURP-do IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=PL=ERG
káset o-k^hɛnanɿ
 deceased 3SG:POSS-home
foχkor maⁿdenəʔ rɛrɛzʔ tájpo=kəsə ne-ⁿbiʔ-nə t^hozʔ
 money or cloth grains=like IPFV-give-3PL be.the.rule
 People who visit the house of the dead will give gifts of money, cotton cloth, or grains and what not.

53. *ne-kɛ-ⁿbiʔ orjáŋʔnəʔ*
 IPFV-GP-give when
koʔ kə-rtaʔ mɛ-cə fənəʔ nə-námjɛ
 this NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough not.exist-MED but IMP-accept
nákəsə skɛttfɛ kɛ-tsə mɛ-t^hozʔ
 thus expression GP-say NEG-be.the.rule
 When one presents (the gift) one does not say, “Please accept this gift although there isn’t enough,” or expressions of that kind.

54. *nəʔ t^hɐ ɲoʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA why be=TOP
 Why is that?

55. *kə-rtaʔ mə te-ké-tsa=nəʔ*
 NMLZ:SBJ-be.enough not.exist IPFV-GP-say=SUB
 If one says, “There isn’t enough,”
56. *oqʰuz méju ká-set ɐ-nə-lɔʔ=kəsə*
 afterwards further NMLZ-die IRR-PFV-occur=like
χteⁿbrɛ tə-kə-tsaʔ=nəʔ né-fsət ɲoʔ-cə
 wish PFV-NMLZ-say₂=SUB IPFV-be.like be-MED
 it sounds as if one has expressed a wish for more deaths to occur afterwards.
57. *qʰoʔ ká-set o-yrɛrɛʔ=rɛʔ=kə*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-die 3SG:POSS-family=PL=ERG
skɛrtɔʔ orjáŋʔnəʔ
 funeral during
kəcʰiʔ rɛskət kəfmoʦʰo maʔⁿdenəʔ foχkor kʰe-lvaʔ=kəsə
 candy thread match or money one-CL=like
skɛrtɔʔ jɐ-kə-ɐwɛʔ=rɛʔ ná-pʰa tʰe-kɐ-kri
 funeral PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=PL 3PL:POSS-place IPFV-GP-distribute
 During the funeral, family members of the deceased distribute pieces of candy, thread, matches, or one-dollar banknotes to those who come to attend the funeral.
58. *nəʔ tʰɐ ɲoʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA why be=TOP
 Why is this?
59. *mɛni sɐ-sɐⁿbi ɲoʔ tʰoʦʔ-cə*
 mantra NMLZ:OBL-ask.for₂ be be.the.rule-MED
 These are means for begging others to chant mantras for the dead.

60. *q^hoʔ skɛrtɔʔ kəmdiʔ ⁿge-ɣjɛɣjo*
 SEQ funeral all IPFV-finish
 And the funeral is all done.

61. *q^hoʔ káset o-zərgu káⁿdi vlɛrge=cəʔ kə-rdɔʔ*
 SEQ deceased 3SG:POSS-forty.nine.day.virgil NMZL:SBJ-hold monk=INDF one-CL
mɛlen nəʔ ó-k^he kɛ-smo o-ɛgewe kɛ-pe
 by.necessity ANA 3SG:POSS-home INF-stay 3SG:POSS-merit INF-do
reʔ ɲoʔ
 be.necessary be

And there must be a monk who stays at the deceased person's home to keep a forty-nine-day virgil and chant sutras for his merit.

HOW TO MAKE BOOZE

jəjəre? tɛwa? kɛ́tʃɛt tʃʰətekɛso? kəŋo?

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *tsʰovdən jə-sɛtʃʰe=z tɛwa? kɛ-pe*
 Tshobdun 1PL:POSS-place=LOC booze GP-make
tʃʰətekɛso? ŋónə? ˈge-ʃʃɛt-aŋ kə
 how TOP IPFV-recount-1SG DM

Let me describe how we brew booze in our country Tshobdun (Township).

2. *stʰɔre=nə?*
 first=DET
tɛfe qɛj? máʰdenə? jámɛ
 highland.barley wheat or maize
te-kɛ-sqɛ ne-kɛ-wésmi
 IPFV-GP-boil IPFV-GP-cause.to.be.cooked

First of all, one boils (highland) barley or wheat or maize and makes it cooked,

3. *qʰo? tɛci? tʰe-kɛ-fser? qʰo? te-kɛ-tʃɛt*
 SEQ water IPFV:OUT-GP-drain SEQ IPFV:UP-GP-take.out
 then one drains out the water, and takes the grain out.

4. *ˈbrɛsém=naŋ kámʃʰa ne-kɛ-ʃkʰi te-kɛ-sáspa*
 flat.bamboo.container=inside a.bit IPFV-GP-spread.to.dry IPFV-GP-cause.to.be.dry
 Then one airs it a bit in a bamboo container, and then dries it.

5. *qʰo? nə? ó-ta=nə? pʰɛv? nɛ-kɛ-ɣˈdu? =nə? ne-kɛ-χtor*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-top=DET yeast PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-smash₂=DET IPFV-GP-sprinkle
 On top of it one sprinkles smashed yeast,

6. *q^hoʔ tʰəʀzɛʔ=naŋ te-kɛ-rko*
 SEQ urn=inside IPFV:UP²⁷³-GP-put.into.container
 and then puts it up into a beer-brewing urn.
7. *q^hoʔ tʰəʀzeʔ ó-fkeɐ kə-ŋólɛ ne-kɛ-nzɛle*
 SEQ urn 3SG:POSS-cover NMLZ-be.good IPFV-GP-plaster.over
 And carefully plasters up the cover of the urn.
8. *q^élɛ mə-kə-nlɔʔ te-kɛ-pe*
 wind NEG-NMLZ-exit IPFV-GP-make
 And makes air unable to come out.
9. *q^hoʔ təxpóʔ=naŋ máⁿdenəʔ sɔmé=naŋ te-kɛ-səⁿgu*
 SEQ woolen.cloak=inside or barley.stalk=inside IPFV-GP-cause.to.sleep
 And one causes it to ferment (wrapped) inside woolen cloaks or barley stalks.
10. *q^hoʔ nəosɛ́fsət ne-kɛ-teʔ*
 SEQ thus IPFV-GP-put
 And one leaves it like that.
11. *q^hoʔ χso-sŋi jɛrmɛ ne-tso*
 SEQ three-day about IPFV-elapse
 About three days afterwards,
12. *q^hoʔ tɛwaʔ-ldi ne-mnəmʔ*
 SEQ booze-smell IPFV-emit.smell
 it gives off a scent of booze.

²⁷³ Upward orientation marking here refers to holding the grain up in order to put it into the urn.

13. *q^hónə t^hɛftʰaʔ te-pɔ ʃteʔ*
 SEQ basically IPFV-be.ready₃ be:EMPH
 Then basically it is done.
14. *q^hoʔ tʰərzeʔ ó-fkeɐ te-kɐ-cuʔ*
 SEQ urn 3SG:POSS-cover IPFV-GP-open
 Then one opens the cover of the urn.
15. *q^hoʔ ɛləm kəmʰa te-ké-tʃət ŋoʔ*
 SEQ malt.solid a.bit IPFV:UP-GP-take.out be
 And one takes out some of the malt solids.
16. *nənəʔ ɛləm kə-lɛn tséjə*
 that malt.solid NMLZ-exist.in.quantity to.the.extent
ké-tʃət mɐ-nɐn ʰdenəʔ
 GP-take.out NEG-be.acceptable for
 One must not remove too much of the malt solids,
17. *ne-kə-ri=nəʔ tɐwaʔ ké-tʃət reʔ ŋoʔ*
 IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-remain=DET booze NMLZ-take.out be.necessary be
 as one needs to extract booze from the rest of them.
18. *q^hoʔ ɛləm=nəʔ te-kɐ-xɬər te-kɐ-ⁿdze=nəʔ ɣʰíkə mimʔ*
 SEQ malt.solid=DET IPFV-GP-stir.fry IPFV-GP-eat=SUB very be.tasty
 And one stir-fries and eats them. They are very tasty.
19. *q^hoʔ leʔ tʰərzeʔ=nəŋ taciʔŋyéle nə-kə-qərku ʰge-kɐ-lət*
 SEQ again urn=inside boiled.water PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.cold₂ IPFV-GP-put.in
 Then one again puts cold boiled water into the urn.

20. *qʰoʔ ó-naŋ cʰəmdəroʔ ʰge-kə-tʃər*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-inside bamboo.tube IPFV:DOWN-GP-stick
 And sticks a bamboo-tube inside it.

21. *cʰéji ne-ké-tʰi kʰút ɲoʔ*
 beer IPFV-GP-drink be.feasible be
 And then one can drink the barley beer from it.

22. *qʰoʔ nəʔ kə-təŋu ɲoʔ*
 SEQ ANA one-CL be
 And that is one way of (making booze).

23. *qʰoʔ ɐraʔ ké-tʃət reʔ qʰónə*
 SEQ liquor GP-take.out be.desired SEQ:EMPH
 If one wants to brew liquor (distilled booze), then,

24. *cʰéji mə-ne-ké-tʰi*
 beer NEG-IPFV-GP-drink
 one does not drink the beer,

25. *qʰoʔ cʰéji kəʋləʋləm=nəʔ qəri=naŋ*
 SEQ beer together.with.malt.solid=DET copper.pot=inside
ʰge-kə-lət qəri=ta tʰoŋ ʰge-kə-teʔ
 IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in copper.pot=top barrel IPFV:DOWN-GP-place
 but puts the beer together with the malt solids into a copper pot, and places a barrel on its top,

26. *tʰóŋ=ta leʔ ɐraʋjəmʔ ʰge-kə-teʔ*
 barrel=top again liquor.wok IPFV:DOWN-GP-put
 and then one places a liquor wok on top of the barrel,

27. *q^hoʔ qəjlobeʔ=kə tɛjlov ne-sə-nlɔ kə-k^hūt*
 SEQ dough=INS steam IPFV:OUT-NMLZ:OBL-exit₂ NMLZ:SBJ-be.feasible
kəspɔʔ=rəʔ prjaŋprjaŋʔ ne-kə-nzɐle
 hole=PL IDPH²⁷⁴ IPFV-GP-plaster
 and tightly plasters all the holes through which the steam may escape with dough.

28. *q^hoʔ ɐrakjəmʔ=naŋ tɛjpəmʔ ⁿge-kə-rko*
 SEQ liquor.wok=inside ice IPFV:DOWN-GP-put.in
 Then one puts ice into the liquor wok.

29. *q^hoʔ noŋmeʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ only.then=DET
qəri=p^hi smi kə-vlu le-kə-jeʔ
 copper.pot=under fire INF-light IPFV:IN²⁷⁵-GP-begin
 And then one begins to light a fire under the copper pot.

30. *q^hoʔ kəmtʃ^ha kə-xset te-jəʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ a.bit INF-warm IPFV:UP-begin₃=SUB
q^hoʔ ɐraʔ kə-nlɔʔ t^he-jəʔ ʃteʔ
 SEQ liquor INF-exit IPFV:OUT-begin₃ be: EMPH
 When it begins to warm up a bit, distilled liquor begins to come out.

31. *q^hoʔ st^hɔre t^he-kə-nlɔʔ ɐraʔ=nəʔ ɣʃikə mimʔ ŋoʔ*
 SEQ first IPFV:OUT-NMLZ:SBJ-exit liquor=DET very be.tasty be
 The liquor that comes out first is very tasty.

²⁷⁴ An ideophone describing the state of being air-tight.

²⁷⁵ The “upriver” orientation marking here refers to the inserting action of firewood *into* the hearth to light the fire.

32. *jəjərvəʔ=kə nənəʔ tʰaŋ^ogo²⁷⁶ té-tə-ʃə ɲoʔ*
 1PL=ERG that first-brewed liquor IPFV-say-1PL be
 And we call it “first-brewed liquor.”

33. *ʃənəʔ nəozgəq^hu tʰe-kə-nlɔʔ tɕwəʔ=nəʔ*
 but afterwards IPFV:OUT-NMLZ:SBJ-exit booze=DET
mə-ne-nəməməmʔ ɲoʔ
 NEG-IPFV-be.tasty:RDPL be
 But the liquor that comes out afterwards becomes less and less tasty.

34. *q^hoʔ təjpo kə-ɣne=kə*
 SEQ grain one-thirty.catty=INS
ɐraʔ ɣsosqe-tərpe jɕrmɐr kɛ-tʃɛt k^hut
 liquor thirty-catty about GP-take.out be.feasible
 It is possible for one to extract about thirty catties of liquor out of thirty catties of grain.²⁷⁷

35. *kəkoʔ t^hoŋraʔ*
 this liquor.brewed.in.barrels
ʃɲonts^he o-tə-tʃɛt=nəʔ
 former.time 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:MANNER-take.out₂=DET
 This old way of distilling liquor,

²⁷⁶ WT <chang.mgo>.

²⁷⁷ This high (almost one-to-one) grain-to-distilled liquor conversion rate is possible only with highland barley.

36. *jəjərvə? ts^hovdən o-sətʰe=sc^hənə? cəmāci? tʃóχtse sətʰe=rə?*
 1PL PN 3SG:POSS-place=and PN PN place=PL
nákəsə ká-tʃət to? jərmə ʃte?
 thus NMLZ:SBJ-take.out exist about be:EMPH
 brewers of liquor in that fashion are found only in our Tshobdun country and in Kyomkyo and Cogtse areas.

37. *ⁿdenə? kəmə? sətʰe=rə? nákəsə ká-tʃət rkon*
 except other place=PL thus NMLZ:SBJ-take.out be.rare
 Except (these places), those who brew (liquor) in that fashion are rare in other areas.

38. *jəjərvə? jə-təwə? kə-t^hi o-ts^həyɐ=nə? ɲez-tərem to?*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-booze INF-drink 3SG:POSS-manner=DET two-kind exist
 We have two ways of drinking our liquor.

39. *kə-tərem=nə? tʃ^hayⁿdəm t^he-kə-pe q^ho? ne-kə-t^hi*
 one-kind=DET butter.booze IPFV-GP-make SEQ IPFV-GP-drink
 The first way is to make and drink butter booze.

40. *ɲez-tərem=nə? tʃ^hayⁿdəm mə-kə-pe o-səfsət*
 two-kind=DET butter.booze NEG-GP-make 3SG:POSS-manner
ne-kə-t^hi ɲo?
 IPFV-GP-drink be
 The second way is to drink it plain, without making it into butter booze.

41. *tʃ^hayⁿdəm kə-pe tʃ^hətəkəso? kə-ɲo?=nə?*
 butter.booze GP-make how NMLZ-be=TOP
 As to how one makes butter booze,

42. *st^hɔre tɛpi máⁿdenə[?] tɛrtse[?] t^he-kɛ-rtfwi[?]*
 first butter or grease IPFV-GP-melt
 first, one melts butter or grease,
43. *q^ho[?] nə[?] ó-naŋ tɛⁿgəm[?] te-kɛ-xsər*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-inside egg IPFV-GP-stir.fry
q^ho[?] ʃəlkerɛ ke-kɛ-lət
 SEQ crystal.sugar IPFV:CISLOC-GP-put.in
 and fries some eggs and puts sugar into it,
44. *q^ho[?] noŋme=nə[?] ɛra[?] maⁿdénə c^héji ke-kɛ-lət*
 SEQ only.then=DET liquor or beer IPFV:CISLOC-GP-put.in
 and then one puts liquor or beer into it.
45. *q^ho[?] té-xset q^hónə kɛ-t^hi te-pɔ ʃte[?]*
 SEQ IPFV:UP-be.warm SEQ GP-drink IPFV-cause₃ be:EMPH
 And gradually it warms up, and then it is made ready to drink.
46. *tʃ^haŋⁿdəm tə-kə-xset ne-kɛ-t^hi=nə[?] ɣʃíkə ɛwəʃet*
 butter.booze PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.warm₂ IPFV-GP-drink=SUB very be.strong
 When drinking warmed butter booze, it is very strong.
47. *naŋzgo²⁷⁸ 'siz ne-kɛ-t^hi=nə[?]*
 especially morning IPFV-GP-drink=SUB
mim[?] óta tə-ləspu ɣʃíkə mp^hrot
 be.delicious besides GP:POSS-body very be.fitting
 Especially if one drinks it in the morning, it is tasty and very good for one's body.

²⁷⁸ From Amdo Tibetan <nang.sgos.su>.

HOW WE MAKE DAIRY PRODUCTS

tɛpi ʒoʔ tʃʰəre lɛsɔʔ kepe otsʰəyɛ

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *jəjəʔ kəruʔ=rɛʔ tɛlo ʰgɛ-tʃɛt-jə*
 1PL Rgyalrong=PL milk IPFV-take-1PL
mími qʰoʔ te-sɛlɛ-jə
 immediately SEQ IPFV-boil-1PL

When we Rgyalrong people extract milk, we boil it right away.

2. *qʰoʔ tə-kə-ɛlɛʔ tɛlo=nəʔ*
 SEQ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-boil₂ milk=SUB
ʒlo=nəŋ te-rko-jə ne-sqɛrquʔ-jə
 container=inside IPFV-put.in-1PL IPFV-make.cool-1PL

And then we put the milk that has come to a boil into a container and cool it down.

3. *qʰoʔ kə-rjaʔ jɛrmɛ ne-teʔ-jə*
 SEQ one-night about IPFV-put-1PL

And put it (there) for about one night.

4. *qʰoʔ tɛlɔʃəm kə-ja tsɛʃi ke-tɛjʔ ɲoʔ*
 SEQ butterfat NMLZ:SBJ-thick rather IPFV-form be

And rather thick butterfat forms.

5. *nəʔ tɛlɔʃəm mdortsɛ nɛ-wɛʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA butterfat essence PFV-come₂=SUB
tɛpi o-spe tʰɛ-ŋo
 butter 3SG:POSS-material CONT:LTR-be₂

Butterfat is, after all, what butter is made of.

6. *q^hoʔ q^heʔ təlóʃəm=nəʔ t^he-něʃəm-jə*
 SEQ ANA butterfat=SUB IPFV-skim-1PL
 And we skim off that butterfat,
7. *q^hoʔ p^həntsəʔ=nəŋ o-ʃə te-rko-jə*
 SEQ basin=inside 3SG:POSS-self:GEN IPFV-put-1PL
 and put it into a basin by itself.
8. *q^hoʔ n^ge-sějtu-jə ŋoʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-accumulate-1PL be
 And we accumulate it.
9. *q^hoʔ q^heʔ nə-kə-səjtuʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-accumulate₂=SUB
təlórpim té-tsə-jə ŋoʔ
 cream IPFV-say-1PL be
 And we call what has been accumulated “cream.”
10. *q^hoʔ təlórpim χsu-sŋi vde-sŋi ne-tso rjəspe te-toʔ*
 SEQ cream three-day four-day IPFV-elapse quite.a.lot IPFV-exist
kə-qəjⁿdzu te-rtaʔ jərmə
 INF-make.butter IPFV-be.enough about
 In about three to four days there is quite a lot of it, about enough for making butter.
11. *q^hoʔ ne-qəjⁿdzu-jə*
 SEQ IPFV-make.butter-1PL
 And we make butter.

12. *qʰoʔ tɐpi o-ʒə tɛ-tʃɛt-ʒə*
 SEQ butter 3SG:POSS-self:GEN IPFV:UP-take-1PL
 We extract butter by itself.
13. *nə-kə-riʔ tɛlo=nəʔ təkɾálo rmiʔ ɲoʔ*
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left₂ milk=SUB buttermilk be.named be
 The milk that is left is called buttermilk.
14. *qʰoʔ təkɾálo leʔ te-sɛle-ʒə qʰoʔ tɛ-rⁿdi*
 SEQ buttermilk again IPFV-boil-1PL SEQ IPFV-curdle
 We boil the buttermilk again and it curdles.
15. *qʰoʔ t^he-ftsəʔ-ʒə*
 SEQ IPFV:OUT-strain-1PL
 Then we strain it.
16. *qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ nə-kə-riʔ o-lpeʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.left₂ 3SG:POSS-chunk=SUB
né-ʃkʰi-ʒə te-səyɾem-ʒə
 IPFV-spread.in.the.sun-1PL IPFV-make.dry-1PL
 And we spread the chunk that remains in the sun to dry,
17. *qʰónə tʃʰəɾɐ nə-poj ɲoʔ*
 SEQ cheese IPFV-become₃ be
 and then it become cheese.
18. *qʰoʔ ʒoʔ kɐ-pe ʒə-ɟjətʔ te-wi*
 SEQ yogurt INF-make 1PL:POSS-desire IPFV-come
 When we want to make yogurt,

19. *q^hónə télo nɛ-kɛ-tʃet mə-tə-kɛ-sɛlɛʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ milk PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ:U-take₂ NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-boil₂=SUB
ó-naŋ ʒorme ⁿge-lɛt-jə
 3SG:POSS-inside yogurt.starter IPFV-put-1PL
 we put yogurt starter into milk that has been extracted and not yet boiled,
20. *q^hoʔ te-fɲiʔ-jə*
 SEQ IPFV-stir-1PL
 and we stir it,
21. *q^hoʔ nooséfsət kə-rjaʔ jɛrmɛ ne-sántɛv-jə*
 SEQ in.this.way one-night about IPFV-lay.down-1PL
 and lay it down like that for about one night.
22. *q^hónə ʒoʔ te-poj ɲoʔ*
 SEQ yogurt IPFV-become₃ be
 And then it becomes yogurt.
23. *nəʔ ʒoʔ=nəʔ*
 ANA yogurt=DET
st^hoʔ kə-mimʔ ɛrlonʒoʔ rmiʔ ɲoʔ
 most NMLZ:SBJ-be.tasty full.cream.yogurt be named be
 That yogurt is a most tasty kind called full-cream yogurt.
24. *q^hoʔ maⁿdenəʔ télo*
 SEQ or.else milk
t^hɛ-kɛ-nɛʃəmʔ=nəʔ ó-naŋ ʒorme ⁿge-lɛt-jə
 PFV:OUT-NMLZ:SBJ:U-skim₂=SUB 3SG:POSS-inside yogurt.starter IPFV-put-1PL
 Alternatively, we put a yogurt starter in skimmed milk.

25. *q^hoʔ te-fʝiʔ-jə*
 SEQ IPFV-stir-1PL
 And we stir it,
26. *q^hoʔ noosɛʃsət kə-rʝaʔ jɛrmɐ ne-kɐ-teʔ*
 SEQ in.that.way one-night about IPFV-GP-put
 and one leaves it there for one night,
27. *q^hónə tɛrʝoʔ te-poj ʃteʔ*
 SEQ sour.yogurt IPFV-become₃ be:EMPH
 and it becomes sour yogurt.
28. *ʃənəʔ ɛrlonʝoʔ jɛrmɐ mɐ-mimʔ*
 but full.cream.yogurt as NEG-be.tasty
 But it is not as tasty as full-cream yogurt.

HOW TO KILL BADGERS IN OUR COUNTRY
jəstʃʰeʒ ɣveʒ kəntʃʰe tʃʰə tekəsoʔ kəŋoʔ otondaʔ
Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *ɣveʒ=nəʔ jəjəreʔ jə-sətʃʰe=z sŋontsʰe-rəŋəm*
 badger=DET 1PL 1PL:POSS-place=LOC earlier.times-since
ⁿge-kə-toʔ məkətsʰət
 IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-exist not only
 The badger²⁷⁹ has not only been around in our country since long ago,

2. *lotɔʔ ɛnótpe ne-kə-pe*
 crop damage IPFV:SBJ-NMLZ-do
ome kə-səqʰeʔ=cəʔ ŋoʔ tʰozʔ
 very NMLZ:SBJ-be.annoying=INDF be be.the.rule
 it does great damage to crops and is a very annoying pest.

3. *otɛ tʃʰə ɛnótpe ne-poj ɐ-tə-ké-tsə=nəʔ*
 chiefly what damage IPFV-do₃ IRR-PFV-GP-say=TOP
 As for what major kinds of damage it causes,

4. *te-kə-rəji orjáŋnə maʳdenəʔ stonke rtsepya te-kə-pe*
 IPFV-GP-do.sowing.of.seeds when or fall turn.over.soil IPFV-GP-do
qʰoʔ tətʃʰwət²⁸⁰ tʰe-kə-lət
 SEQ second.sowing IPFV-GP-release

²⁷⁹ The hog badger, *Arctonyx collaris*.

²⁸⁰ This refers to sowing seeds for turnip and buckwheat after the main yearly crop of highland barley is harvested in mid October.

táki=rɐʔ kámtʰa te-wi jɐrmɐ

turnip=PL a.bit IMPF:UP-come about

at the time to sow seeds, or in the fall when soil is turned, second sowing of turnips is done, and turnip seedlings begin to break the earth,

5. *qʰoʔ mer=z tájtʰé=naŋ ʰge-wi*

SEQ night=LOC field=inside IPFV:DOWN-come

qʰoʔ tárwɪ tʰɐ-kɐ-lét=scʰənəʔ táki=rɐʔ

SEQ seed PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-release₂=and turnip=PL

kámtʰa tə-kə-wɛʔ=nəʔ

a.bit PFV:UP-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=DET

sləslɔ te-lət ŋoʔ tʰozʔ

a.mess IPFV-do be be.the.rule

it will come down to the fields and mess up the broadcast seeds and the turnip seedlings that have only emerged a bit from the earth.

6. *qʰoʔ kɐ-ntʰe ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=nəʔ χíikə ɐpɛʰbet fieʔ*

SEQ GP-kill IRR-PFV-be=DET very be.easy be:EMPH

If one wants to kill it, it is very easy.

7. *nəʔ tʰɐz ŋoʔ=nəʔ*

ANA why be=TOP

As for why this is the case,

8. *ɣvez ó-mɲa kəʰdʒəjəjəʔ mɐ-mteʔ*

badger 3SG:POSS-eye be.well NEG-see₃

(it is because) the badger cannot see well.

9. *oxtənəʔ o-fne χʰíkə ɛχsɪz ɲoʔ*
 chiefly 3SG:POSS-nose very be.acute be
 But the main thing is that it has a keen nose,

10. *qʰoʔ kəʳⁿbjoʔ-lɪdi ⁿge-fsəʔ mɪmi*
 SEQ human-scent IPFV-perceive₃ as.soon.as
qʰoʔ fla nɛpʰəpʰi ɲoʔ
 SEQ immediately flee be
 and it will flee as soon as it picks up human scent.

11. *qʰoʔ te-rəsɬoʔ o-fne sətʰé=naŋ*
 SEQ IPFV-do.digging.with.snout 3SG:POSS-nose earth=inside
ⁿge-ftʃəmʔ orjəŋʔnəʔ
 IPFV-immersed when
 But when it is digging, with its snout buried deep in the earth.

12. *o-vzəʳ te-ké-ⁿdzor=ntʰon mə-kə-o-fsɛʔ mə-kə-o-mtiʔ*
 3SG:POSS-side IPFV-GP-stand=even NEG-GP-INV-perceive NEG-GP-INV-see
 It will not smell or see one, even if one stands right above it.

13. *qʰoʔ rkətu o-fné=ta ⁿge-kə-lət*
 SEQ club 3SG:POSS-nose=top IPFV:DOWN-GP-do
 And then one strikes its nose with a club,

14. *qʰónə o-kórno te-zyiʔ qʰoʔ kə-nɛpʰəpʰi mə-cʰɛ*
 SEQ:EMPH 3SG:POSS-brain IPFV-spin SEQ GP-run.away NEG-be.able
 and it is stunned and unable to escape.

15. *q^hónə nəʔoséʃsət ne-kə-nərkətu ŋoʔ tʃ^hozʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH in.that.way IPFV-GP-beat.with.club be be.the.rule
 And in that way, one beats it with a club.

16. *maʔⁿdenəʔ k^hezeʔ k^hep^hεʔ=rəʔ te-raχta*
 or dog some=PL IPFV-do.chasing
nəʔ káma mə-kə-ⁿdzət toʔ tʃ^hozʔ=kə
 ANA except NEG:IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-bark exist be.the.rule=INS
 Alternatively, as there are certain dogs that just give chase without barking.

17. *nákəsə k^hezeʔ=nəʔ sləŋəjⁿguʔ=z te-ké-ⁿdi*
 thus dog=DET moonlight=LOC IPFV-GP-take
q^hoʔ tə-jiʔ=kə rkətu te-ké-ⁿdi
 SEQ GP:POSS-self=ERG club IPFV-GP-take
q^hoʔ təjtʃé=naŋ t^he-kə-fə joyʔ ⁿdenəʔ
 SEQ field=inside IMPF:DOWNRIVER-GP-go may for
γvez tɛpɾiq^hu jɛrmə q^hoʔ təjtʃé=naŋ kə-wi sejɛjʔ ʃteʔ
 badger 8-9PM about SEQ field=inside INF-come begin₃ be:EMPH
 One may take along such a dog on a moonlit night, and also a club for oneself, and go downriver into the fields, for the badger will begin to come into the fields at around 8 or 9 PM.

18. *q^hoʔ k^hezeʔ=kə te-kə-znaχtaχtaʔ*
 SEQ dog=ERG IPFV-GP-cause.to.chase
 And one sets the dog on the badger.

19. *ʃənəʔ kə-ⁿdzaŋ reʔ ⁿdenəʔ*
 but GP-be.cautious be.necessary for
 But one must be cautious,

20. *k^hezeʔ=kə ɣvez o-zgəq^hu te-ⁿdzɐ=nəʔ*
 dog=ERG badger 3SG:POSS-back IPFV-bite₃=SUB
ʃla t^he-nq^horo q^hoʔ sɐnwəje məkəts^hɛt
 immediately IPFV-turn.head SEQ fight.back.against.people not.only
kɐ-sɛⁿdze ɐ-nɐ-c^hɐ=nəʔ ⁿge-kɐ-ntʃ^he=ntʃ^hon mɐ-tɐʔ tʃ^hoʔ
 INF-bite.people IRR-PFV-be.able=SUB IPFV-GP-kill=even NEG-let.go₃ be.the.rule
 for when the dog tries to bite the backside of the badger, the badger will turn immediately
 and fight back. Moreover, if it manages to give one a bite, it will not let go even after one
 has killed it.

21. *q^hoʔ k^hezeʔ=kə=ntʃ^hon nəʔ sətɔʔ ʃteʔ=kə*
 SEQ dog=ERG=also ANA recognize be:EMPH=INS
 Since dogs also knows that,

22. *ɣvez ɐ-t^hɐ-nq^horo=nəʔ*
 badger IRR-PFV-turn.head=SUB
k^hezeʔ=kə ɣvez ʃla tɛjʔ ʃteʔ
 dog=ERG badger immediately let.go₃ be:EMPH
 if the badger turns its head, the dog immediately lets go of the badger.

23. *nəʔ=rɐʔ te-nɛfsətʃsət-ⁿdzə jɛrmɐ*
 ANA=PL IPFV-do.thus:RDPL-3DU about.the.time.when
 And about the time when the two animals are doing thus,

24. *q^hoʔ ɣvez ne-kɐ-nərkɛtu q^hoʔ ⁿge-kɐ-ntʃ^he ŋoʔ tʃ^hoʔ*
 SEQ badger IPFV-GP-beat.with.club SEQ IPFV-GP-kill be be.the.rule
 one clubs the badger and kills it.

25. *q^hoʔ* *ɣvez* *o-fe=nəʔ* *o-χfət* *toʔ*
 SEQ badger 3SG:POSS-meat=DET 3SG:POSS-odor exist
q^hoʔ *kə-ⁿdze* *rkon*
 SEQ NMLZ:SBJ-eat be.rare

Badger meat has a stench, so few people eat it.

26. *fənəʔ* *krajzi=rɐʔ* *p^hen* *ké-tsə* *tʰozʔ*
 but rheumatism=PL be.effective GP-say be.the.rule

But they say it is good for rheumatism and what not.

27. *q^hoʔ* *ó-ⁿdzi* *ⁿge-kɐ-séjtu*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-skin IPFV-GP-accumulate
q^hoʔ *kəlɲo-tfó-lva* *jɐrmɐ* *te-toʔ*
 SEQ five-six-CL about IPFV-exist
q^hoʔ *ⁿge-ké-χtsov* *q^hoʔ* *tɐvjo* *ne-kɐ-pe* *ɲoʔ* *tʰozʔ*
 SEQ IPFV-GP-rub SEQ cushion IPFV-GP-make be be.the.rule

And one gathers badger skins until there are about five or six of them, and then one rubs them and makes cushions from them.

28. *q^hoʔ* *nəʔ* *ɣvéⁿdzi* *tɐvjo=nəʔ* *kámtʰa* *wɐsruʔ*
 SEQ ANA badger.skin cushion=DET a.bit be.coarse

This badger-skin cushion is a bit coarse,

29. *fənəʔ χʰikə xsət məkətsʰət kraŋzi kə-toʔ=rəʔ*
 but very warm not.only rheumatism NMLZ:SBJ-exist=PL
ó-ta ne-kə-rⁿgu=nəʔ
 3SGPOSS-top IPFV-GP-sleep=SUB
kraŋzi pʰen tʃʰoʔ
 rheumatism be.effective be.the.rule

but it is not only very warm, but also when people suffering from rheumatism sleep on it, it is said to be good for the disease.

V. OTHER TEXTS

PEAR STORY

tʃʰətʃenpaʃiʔ oxpe

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *stonke nɐ-wɛʔ-cə*
autumn PFV:DOWN-come₂-MED
Autumn has come.

2. *qʰoʔ rgɐʔpo o-tʃʰətʃenpaʃiʔ=rɐʔ ɐwəʃkóʃket ɲoʔ-cə*
SEQ old.man 3SG:POSS-pear=PL be.abundant:EMPH be-MED
And the old man's pears are in great abundance.

3. *qʰoʔ rgɐʔpo kəxʃiʔ ɛnez jɐrmɐ te-ⁿdi*
SEQ old.man basket two about PFV:TR-take₂
qʰoʔ paʃiʔtʃʰətʃen kə-pʰət nɐ-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə
SEQ pear NMLZ:PURP-pick PFV:DOWN-go₂ be-MED
And the old man took two baskets and went down to pick pears.

4. *qʰoʔ paʃi=rɐʔ ɛnez-kəxʃi jɐrmɐ jə-te-sɐto*
SEQ pear=PL two-basketful about PROS-PFV:TR-pick₂
qʰoʔ leʔ paʃiʔ=ta tə-ɐre ɲoʔ-cə
SEQ again pear.tree=top PFV:UP-go₂ be-MED
He almost gathered two basketfuls, and went up the pear tree again (to pick more).

5. *q^hoʔ ó-p^hi=nəʔ ts^het*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-underside=DET goat
kə-ɐsɐ-mts^hi=cəʔ t^hɐ-wɛʔ
 NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-lead=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂
 And under him, someone leading a goat came passing by,

6. *q^hoʔsc^hənəʔ 'ts^het=kə fɛki kəxʃiʔ=nəŋ*
 SEQ goat=ERG place.downriver basket=inside
pafiʔ kɐ-rko=nəʔ ome kɐ-ⁿdze ne-səseʔ
 pear NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in=DET very INF-eat IPFV-want₃
 and the goat wanted to eat the pears that were put in the baskets downriver very much.

7. *fənəʔ q^hɛnəʔ 'ts^het o-vdaxpo=nəʔ=kə*
 but ANA goat 3SG:POSS-owner=DET=ERG
le-mts^hi q^hoʔ nákasə jɐ-ɐre
 PFV:UPRIVER:TR-lead₂ SEQ thus PFV-go₂
 But the owner of the goat led upriver, and they went away like that.

8. *kádenəʔ rɛtɔpo leʔ pafiʔt^hətʃen ne-p^hət*
 in.a.while old.man again pear PFV:TR-pick₂
q^hoʔ ɛnez-kəxʃi jɛrmɐ te-səmts^hót
 SEQ two-basketful about PFV:TR-fill₂
 And the old man again picked pears and got about two full basketfuls of them.

9. *q^hoʔ pafiʔ=ta tə-ɐre*
 SEQ pear.tree=top PFV:UP-go₂
pafiʔ ne-p^hət
 pear PFV:DOWN:TR-pick₂

q^ho? *o-mdzór?*=*naŋ=z* *ne-rko?* *ne-ŋo=nə?*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-lap=inside=LOC PFV:DOWN-put.in₂ IPFV:PST-be₂=SUB

Just as he went up the pear tree and kept picking pears and putting them into his lap,

10. *kəxtfi**pu* *tʃartv* *kə-ɐsɐ-nⁿdi=cə?* *t^hɐ-wɛ?*
 small.child bicycle NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-ride=INDF PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂
 a small child riding a bicycle came downriver.

11. *q^ho?**sc^hənə?* *sekó?*=*ta* *te-mp^héri=nə?*

SEQ tree=top IPFV:UP-look=SUB

rgɛtpo *o-rəxpɛ=rɐ?* *ɐsɐ-χtêt*

old.man 3SG:POSS-mind=PL CONT:HTR-focus

q^ho? *o-pafi?* *ɐsɐ-nə-p^hət* *ne-mti*

SEQ 3SG:POSS-pear CONT:HTR-SPON-pick PFV:TR-see₂

As he was looking up the tree, he saw that the old man was focused his attention on picking his pears.

12. *q^ho?* *kəxtfi**pu=kə*

SEQ small.child=ERG

pafi?=*p^hi* *kəxʃi?*=*naŋ* *pafi?* *kɐ-rko=nə?*

pear.tree=under basket=inside pear NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in=DET

te-kɐ-mərku *ne-səsi*

IPFV-INF-steal PFV:TR-want₂

And the small child wanted to steal the pears that were placed in the basket under the pear tree.

13. *q^ho?* *st^hɔre* *te-nɛrtɔχpjêt=nə?*

SEQ first PFV:TR-observe₂=SUB

At first, he observed.

14. *rgətpo paʃiʔ kɛ-pʰət=rɐʔ o-rəxpe ɐsɐ-χtɛt wɛʃo*
 old.man pear INF-pick=PL 3SG:POSS-mind CONT:HTR-focus be.seen
 And the old man could be seen riveting his attention on picking the pears.
15. *qʰoʔ o-paʃiʔ te-kɛ-mərku kʰūt-cə ne-səsi*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-pear IPFV-GP-steal be.feasible-MED PFV:TR-think₂
 And (the child) thought it could be done to steal his pears.
16. *qʰoʔ o-paʃiʔ kə-kəχʃi=nəʔ tʃartɐ o-zgɛqʰu te-te*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-pear one-basketful=DET bicycle 3SG:POSS-back PFV:TR:UP-put₂
qʰoʔ tʰe-tsom tʰe-sərjərjəy
 SEQ PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂ PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-cause.to.run₂
 And he put a basketful of pears on the back of his bicycle and ran off with them.
17. *qʰoʔ tʃoʰbɛjʔ tʰɐ-ɐre*
 SEQ road PFV:DOWNRIVER-go₂
qʰoʔ naŋlaskə ʃla ne-kɛ-ʃpʰi ne-səsi ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ naturally quickly IPFV-INF-make.off.with.sth.stolen PFV:TR-want₂ be-MED
 And he went down the road, naturally wanting to make off quickly with (the stolen pears).
18. *ʃənəʔ kɛ-mərku=nəʔ mɐ-nərjəʰbriʔ ŋoʔ ʃteʔ ʰdenəʔ*
 but INF-steal=TOP NEG-just be be:EMPH for
 But, since it is sinful to steal,
19. *tʃoʰbɛjʔ ʃkótse kɛ-te=cəʔ wɛʃo qʰoʔ*
 road rock NMLZ:SBJ:U-put=INDF be.seen SEQ
nəʔ ó-ta o-tʃartɐ tʰe-sərpo
 ANA 3SG:POSS-top 3SG:POSS-bicycle PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-cause.to.bump.into₂
 a rock placed on the road was seen, and he rammed his bicycle into it.

20. *q^hoʔ* *kokoχfiχfiʔ* *nɐ-jⁿdzuʔ*
 SEQ together.with.basket PFV:DOWN-fall₂
 And he fell down, basket and all.
21. *q^hoʔ* *o-χpəmʔ=rɐʔ* *ne-nəɾpo* *nɐ-ⁿGra*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-knee=PL PFV:TR-bump₂ PFV-be.torn₂
q^hoʔ *paʃiʔʔʰətʃen* *t^he-lvɔ*
 SEQ pear PFV:OUT:TR-pour₂
q^hoʔ *ɣɐtʰəʃsəʃsi* *nɐ-ɐⁿdorʔ*
 SEQ everywhere PFV:DOWN-be.scattered₂
 And he bumped and broke his knees, and the pears poured out and were scattered all over the place.
22. *q^hoʔ* *nəʔ* *nɐ-fsəʔt=jənəʔ*
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂=just.when
o-ɐóri=z *kəxtʃipu=cəʔ* *χsəmʔ* *lɐ-wɛʔ-nə*
 3SG:POSS-front=LOC small.child=INDF three PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-3PL
 Just when it was like that, ahead of him three small children came upriver.
23. *q^hoʔ* *kəχfiʔ=nəŋ* *paʃiʔ* *nɐ-kə-ɐⁿdorʔ=rɐʔ*
 SEQ basket=inside pear PFV:DOWN-NMLZ:SBJ-be.scattered₂=PL
kɐ-nərdɔʔ *tɛ-qorʔ-nə* *lɛʔ* *kəχfiʔ=nəŋ* *tɛ-rkoʔ-nə*
 INF-pick.up PFV:TR-help₂-3PL again basket=inside PFV:UP:TR-put.in₂-3PL
 And they helped him pick up the pears scattered from the basket, and put them back into the basket.
24. *q^hoʔ* *kəxtʃipu* *o-paʃiʔ=nəʔ* *lɛʔ* *t^he-nətsom*
 SEQ small.child 3SG:POSS-pear=DET again PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂
 And the child again took the pears upriver.

25. *q^hoʔ q^heʔ kəxtʃipu kəχsəmʔ=nəʔ=rɛʔ*
 SEQ ANA small.child three=DET=PL
ʃq^heʔ paʃiʔ kəχʃiʔ=nəŋ te-rkoʔ-nə oʒorʔ
 just.now pear basket=inside PFV:TR-put.in-3PL meanwhile
nə-p^həm=nəŋ k^he-rdoʔ jɛrmɛ ne-nə-rkoʔ-nə-cə
 3PL:POSS-bosom=inside one.or.two-CL about PFV:TR-SPON-put.in-3PL-MED
 And, while putting the pears in the basket, the three small children put into their bosoms
 a pear or two.

26. *o-lɛco kɛ-nkɛ lɛ-nəre-nə*
 3SG:POSS-upriver.place INF-walk PFV:UPRIVER-come.back₂-3PL
oʒorʔ paʃiʔ ne-ⁿdzeʔ-nə
 meanwhile pear IPFV:PST-eat₂-3PL
 And they walked back upriver (from the basket), eating pears.

27. *q^hoʔ paʃiʔtʃətʃen kə-ɛsɛ-p^hət*
 SEQ pear NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-pick
o-vzər=nəʔ lɛ-zɣôt-nə=nəʔ
 3SG:POSS-side=DET PFV:UPRIVER-arrive₂-3PL=SUB
 And as they got near the one who was picking pears,

28. *rdət ʃoŋp^hóŋ=ta rgɛtpo*
 exactly fruit.tree=top old.man
paʃiʔ kə-ɛsɛ-p^hət=nəʔ nɛ-nlɔ
 pear NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-pick=DET PFV:DOWN-come.out₂
 just at that moment, the old man who was picking pears came down the tree.

29. *q^hoʔ o-kəχʃiʔ kə-rdoʔ=nəʔ mə-nə-ts^hayʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-basket one-CL=DET NEG-PFV-be.complete₂-MED
 One of his baskets was missing.

30. *q^hoʔ v-kəxʃiʔ=nəʔ fo=kə jv-tsom ʏoʔ ne-səsi*
 SEQ 1SG:POSS-basket=DET who=ERG PFV-take.thither₂ be PFV:TR-think₂
 And he thought, “Who carried away my basket?”
31. *q^hoʔ oʒorʔ t^he-mp^hári=nəʔ*
 SEQ meanwhile IPFV:DOWNRIVER-look=SUB
kəxtʃipu=cəʔ ʃsəmʔ pafiʔ vʒ-nəʒor-nə
 small.child=INDF three pear CONT:HTR-eat.while.doing.something.else-3PL
lv-wεʔ-nə ʏoʔ-cə ʃənəʔ kəxʃiʔ=nəʔ məjv
 PFV:UPRIVER-come₂-3PL be-MED but basket=DET not.be.seen
 While he was looking downriver, (he saw that) there came three small children eating pears, but no basket could be seen.
32. *nəʔ tʃ^hə ʏoʔ=kə ne-səsi-cə*
 ANA what be=DM PFV:TR-think₂-MED
 “What is that about,” he wondered.
33. *q^hoʔ o-tóχpe=nəʔ kámʃ^ha tə-sceʔ-cə*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-suspicion=TOP a.bit PFV-grow₂-MED
ʃənəʔ rdét kəxtʃipu ná-ta
 but exactly small.child 3PL:POSS-top
kε-sáyna nε-meʔ-cə
 INF-have.evidence.for.accusation IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED
 He grew a bit suspicious, but there was no exact proof to accuse the boys (of theft),
34. *q^hoʔ kəxtʃipu=rεʔ=nəʔ=kə*
 SEQ small.child=PL=DET=ERG
mjvⁿbεr ne-ná-pe-nə mε
 seriousness IPFV-SPON-do-3PL not.exist

q^hoʔ paʃiʔ vɛz-nəʒoɾ-nə

SEQ pear CONT:HTR-eat.while.doing.something.else-3PL

q^hoʔ lɛ-nə-vre-nə ɲoʔ-cə

SEQ PFV:UPRIVER-SPON-go₂-3PL be-MED

and the boys, acting as if absolutely nothing was on their mind, just went upriver eating pears.

35. *q^hoʔ rgɛtɔ=nəʔ*

SEQ old.man=TOP

kəxtʃiɸu nə-zgɛq^hu le-mp^hɛri kəma

small.child 3PL:POSS-back IPFV:UPSTRTEAM-look except

tʃɛlɛ kɛ-pe nɛ-mɛʔ-cə

anything NMLZ:SBJ:U-do IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED

As for the old man, nothing at all could be done except staring at the backs of the boys.

THE NORTH WIND AND THE SUN

pjanp^hja? qélesc^hanə? téɣeni?

Narrator: Bstanblo

1. *kə-sɣi=cɛ=nə?*
 one-day=LOC:INDF=DET
 One day,
2. *pjanp^hja? qéle=sc^hanə? téɣe=ni? nɛ-wɛc^hɛvlev²⁻ⁿdzə ɣo²-cə*
 north.wind=and sun=DU IPFV:PST-chat₂₋₃DU be-MED
 the north wind and the sun were chatting.
3. *q^ho? pjanp^hja? qéle=kə*
 SEQ north.wind=ERG
nɛji? téɣe jóχtenə? ɛji? rkaɣ ɛ-sɛsni to?
 2SG sun than 1SG be.strong 1SG:POSS-ability exist
te-tsə? t^hoz? ɣo²-cə
 PFV:TR-say be.the.rule be-MED
 The north wind said, “I am stronger and more able than you the sun.”
4. *fənə? téɣe=kə*
 but sun=ERG
nɛji? pjanp^hja? qéle jóχtenə? ɛji? rkaɣ ɛ-sɛsni to?
 2SG north.wind than 1SG be.stong 1SG:POSS-ability exist
te-tsə? ɣo²-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂ be-ME
 But the sun replied, “I am stronger and more able than you the north wind.”

5. *qʰoʔ fo kə-cʰɐ mə-kə-cʰɐ*
 SEQ who NMLZ-be.able NEG-NMNLZ-be.able
ne-nɐⁿdət-ⁿdzə əntsətse ɣoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-dispute.over_{2-3DU} continuously be-MED
 So they kept on disputing who was able and who was not.
6. *fənəʔ fla fqe-nɣət mə-nɐ-χselʔ ɣoʔ-cə*
 but immediately win-lose NEG-IPFV:PST-be.clear₂ be-MED
 But it did not become immediately clear who won and who lost.
7. *qʰoʔ qʰɐʔ=niʔ=kə*
 SEQ ANA=DU=ERG
mɛsto ɐlikʰo=z fə-rɛtsʰɛt-tsə
 no.matter upriver.place=LOC AND-test-1DU
qʰónə noɣme χsɐl fiɛʔ=kə te-tsəʔ-ⁿdzə ɣoʔ-cə
 SEQ: EMPH only.then be.clear be:EMPH-DM PFV:TR-say_{2-3DU} be-MED
 And the two of them said, “It doesn’t matter. Let us go upriver and have a competition and then things will be clear.”
8. *qʰoʔ o-lɛco lɐ-ɐre-ⁿdzə=nəʔ*
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-upriver.place PFV:UPRIVER-go_{2-3DU}=SUB
 As they went toward upriver,
9. *tʃoⁿbɛjʔ=ta tərçʰo ome kə-ja kə-ɐsɐ-ⁿge=cəʔ*
 road=top cloak²⁸¹ very NMLZ-be.thick NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear=INDF
tʰɐ-wɛʔ ɣoʔ-cə
 CONT:LTR-come₂ be-MED
 on the road someone wearing a very thick sheepskin cloak was coming downriver.

²⁸¹ Cloak made of thick sheepskin.

10. *q^hoʔ q^hvɛʔ=niʔ=kə ʃɛki*
 SEQ ANA=DU=ERG place.downriver
tərc^ho kə-vsv-ⁿge t^hv-kə-wɛʔ=nəʔ
 cloak NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear CONT:LTR-NMLZ:SBJ-come₂=DET
o-rc^ho kə-sətʃɛt ʃo kə-c^hv pe²⁸²-tsə
 3SG:POSS-cloak INF-cause.to.remove who NMLZ-be.able do-1DU
te-tsəʔ-ⁿdzə ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂-3DU be-MED
 And they said, “That one who is coming downriver wearing the thick sheepskin cloak, let’s (do what we can to) see who will be able to make him remove his cloak!”
11. *q^hoʔ st^hɔrenəʔ pjaŋp^hjoʔqɛɛ tə-rɛts^hɛt ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ first north.wind PFV-try₂ be-MED
 First, the north wind tried to do it.
12. *q^hoʔ qɛɛ ome kə-xɛʔ qɛlep^hodzeʔ te-səpeʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 SEQ wind very NMLZ-be.big gale PFV:TR-cause₂ be-MED
 He blew a tremendous gale,
13. *q^hoʔ nəʔosɛʃsət o-rc^ho mɛʃts^he ne-kə-sətʃɛt*
 SEQ thus 3SG:POSS-cloak by.force IPFV-INF-cause.to.remove
ne-səsi ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-want₂ be-MED
 desiring to force him to remove his cloak.

²⁸² Here the word *kə-pe* is used in its causative sense.

14. *fənəʔ qɛ̃le te-səpɔj ɔtsʰɛt*
 but wind IPFV-cause₃ the.more
o-sqaraʔ mɛ̃ju ke-sɛsəɣʔ kəma
 3SG:POSS-belt more IPFV-tighten only

But the more gale he blew, (the man) only tightened his belt the more.

15. *o-rcʰo kɛ-sátʃɛt mə-nɛ-cʰɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə*
 3SG:POSS-cloak INF-cause.to.remove NEG-IPFV:PST-be.able₂ be-MED

And (the north wind) was unable to make him remove his cloak.

16. *qʰoʔ tɛ̃ɲɛ=kə*
 SEQ sun=ERG
nɛ̃jiʔ mə-tə-cʰɛ-cə múnə ɛ̃jiʔ te-rɛtsʰɛt-aɲ kə te-tsəʔ-cə
 2SG NEG-2-be.able-MED DM 1SG IPFV-try-1SG DM PFV:TR-say₂-MED

And the sun said, “Now that you can’t do it, let me give it a try!”

17. *qʰoʔ tɛ̃ɲɛ=kə támu ome ne-səɣjəm-cə*
 SEQ sun=ERG sky very PFV:TR-cause.to.be.sunny₂-MED
qʰoʔ tsʰɛdəɣʔ ne-səpɛʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 SEQ heat PFV:TR-cause₂ be-MED

And the sun made the sky sunny and hot.

18. *tərcʰo kə-ɛsɛ-ⁿge=nəʔ detsátʃɛ kɛ-ntsʰɛdəɣʔ*
 cloak NMLZ:SBJ-CONT:HTR-wear=DET gradually INF-feel.hot
ne-je ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-begin₂ be-MED

And the man who wore the cloak gradually began to feel hot.

19. *kəmaq^hunəʔ q^hoʔ nəosəfsət ts^hədəyʔ=kə*
 afterwards SEQ thus heat=INS
o-rc^ho ne-tʃet ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-cloak PFV:TR-take.off₂ be-MED

And eventually he took off his cloak owing to the heat.

20. *q^hoʔ tɛŋv=kə nəʔ fsət ko*
 SEQ sun=ERG ANA be.like DM
ɐjiʔ tɛ-tsə-aŋ=nəʔ mɐ-ko-nzɐⁿgi-aŋ kə
 1SG IPFV-say-1SG=SUB NEG-2→1-believe-1SG DM
te-tsəʔ tʃ^hozʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 PFV:TR-say₂ be.the.rule be-MED

And the sun said, “You see? When I say so (i.e. that I am more able), you just won’t believe me.”

21. *q^hoʔ nəʔ o-tənʔ=kə tondaʔ=cəʔ kɐ-nɐmɐ ɐ-nɛ-ŋo=nəʔ*
 SEQ ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=INS affair=INDF GP-do IRR-PFV-be=SUB

Therefore, suppose one is to do something,

22. *tərkípe te-kɐ-pe zde te-kɐ-nmɛfts^he=nəʔ*
 doing.by.force IPFV-GP-do others IPFV-GP-force=SUB

and if one does it by obstinately forcing others to do it,

23. *tondaʔ mɐ-ⁿgrəvʔ kɛ-tsə tʃ^hozʔ ɲoʔ*
 affair NEG-succeed GP-say be.the.rule be

one will not succeed, it is said.

24. *nəʔ fɔχtenəʔ tə-k^he te-kɐ-wɐmp^hjor*
 ANA than GP:POSS-mouth IPFV-GP-cause.to.be.beautiful

Instead, if one talk (to people) nicely,

25. *zde tərme ó-βər tʰotʰəvʔ kə-ⁿdʒəm te-kə-ntʃʰi=nəʔ*
others man 3SG:POSS-surface strategy NMLZ-be.mellow IPFV-GP-use=SUB
and uses mellow approaches with others,

26. *təmɐ kə-vde ⁿgrəvʔ kɛ́-tsə tʃʰozʔ ɲoʔ*
work NMLZ-be.good succeed GP-say be.the.rule be
one's work will be successful, it is said.

A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

tenχwa? kəlet

Narrator: Bstanblo and Tsheskyid

(Bstanblo)

1. *é-mo* *tʰə* *tə-ɐsɐ-pe-nə* *ŋo?*
 1SG:POSS-mother what 2-CONT:HTR-do-2PL be
kɛɐnez-sɲi *tenχwa?* *nɐ-lét-aŋ* *əntsətse*
 several-day telephone IPFV:PST-do₂-1SG continuously
ʃənə? *me-nɐ-kʰût*
 but NEG-IPFV:PST-be.feasible₂

“Mother, what have you been doing? I have been trying to call you but have failed (to reach you).”

(Tsheskyid)

2. *á'dɛ* *qɛcʰweri?* *kə-nəvdéti*
 EXCL PN NMLZ:PURP-celebrate.Flower.Viewing.Festival
lɐ-ɐre-jə *kəlŋotfo-sɲi=rɐn* *lɐ-tsoʔ-jə*
 PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-1PL five-six-day=even PFV:UPRIVER-spend.time₂-1PL

“Oh, (that is because) we went upriver to Kakhyoris Hamlet to celebrate the Flower-Viewing Festival, and we even gone (upriver) there for a couple of days.”

3. *ɐji?nə?* *retawe=z* *vde-rja?* *jɐrmɐ* *nɐ-nərməʔ-aŋ*
 1SG=TOP PN=LOC four-night about IPFV:PST-spend.the.night₂-1SG

“As for me, I stayed at the Retawe’s²⁸³ for four nights.”

²⁸³ Name of the house occupied by the family into which Tsheskyid’s daughter Dbyangan marries.

(Bstanblo)

4. *nəʔ ɲoʔ ˈdenəʔ*
 ANA be for
tenχwaʔ maʔˈdenəʔ me-ˈŋé-kʰut
 telephone either NEG-IPFV-be.feasible
maʔˈdenəʔ o-kə-sɛŋi ˈŋe-mɐ
 or 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-listen.to IPFV-not.exist
 “So that’s why the phone either could not go through, or there was no one answering (lit. listening to) it.”

5. *qʰoʔ tʃʰəʃʰə tə-ɐsɐ-pe=nəʔ mɐ-kə-ɐvdɔvde*
 SEQ what:RDPL 2-CONT:HTR-do=DET NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.well
tʰɐ-mɛʔ so
 CONT:LTR-not.exist₂ Q
 “There isn’t anything unsmooth-going in all you do, is there?”

(Tsheskyid)

6. *mɐ-kə-ɐvdɔvde tʰɐ-mɛʔ*
 NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.well CONT:LTR-not.exist₂
 “There is nothing unwell.”
7. *nɐ-je=nəʔ ʃórˈdzi qʰoʔ*
 2SG:POSS-elder.sibling²⁸⁴=TOP day.before.yesterday SEQ
ɐlikʰo=z qéˈbət tɛjtsiʔ=z ɐz-nəzɐ
 upriver.place=LOC sand PN=LOC CONT:HTR-transport
ʃɛku tɛjtsiʔ=z kʰe kə-pe=cəʔ toʔ ɲoʔ raŋ
 there.in.the.east PN=LOC house NMLZ:SBJ-do=INDF exist be DM

²⁸⁴ Referring to Bstanblo’s second eldest brother by the name of *ɸwanˈdor*, master of the house at the Mendeci household where Tsheskyid lived at the time.

ɛjiʔ=nəʔ o-rmiʔ kə-pe=rɛʔ mə-spo-aŋ
 1SG=TOP 3SG:POSS-name INF-do=PL NEG-know.how₃-1SG
josŋiʔ=ntʃʰon=nəʔ nənəz kə-ɛre
 today=also=TOP there PFV:EAST-go₂

“Your elder brother²⁸⁵ has been transporting sand from somewhere upriver to Teutses since the day before yesterday, I guess someone east in Teutses, I don’t know what his name is, is building a house. Even today, he (your brother) went there too.”

8. *tsʰepopoʔ=nəʔ ɛlikʰo ʃkokiʔ=z lɛ-ɛre*
 PN=TOP upriver.place vegetable.garden=LOC PFV:UPRIVER-go₂
nənə=z=cɛ tʰɛ-nɛsməsmo
 there=LOC=LOC:INDF CONT:LTR-stay:RDPL

“And Tshepopo²⁸⁶ has gone upriver to the vegetable garden and stays around there.”

(Bstanblo)

9. *qʰoʔ nɛ-ɣpəmʔ mə-tʰɛ-mŋəm so*
 SEQ 2SG:POSS-knee NEG-CONT:LTR-hurt₂ Q
 “Your knees are not hurting, are they?”
10. *ʃɛku sɛrɛfsɔ tʰɛ-to ŋoʔ raŋ*
 there.in.the.east place.for.making.money CONT:LTR-exist₂ be DM
qʰoʔ vdíti raŋraŋ nɛ-tə-nə-nɛɛɛʔ-nə so
 SEQ Flower.Viewing.Festival separately IPFV:PST-2-SPON-idle.about₂-2PL Q
tátwi=kə ʃoxkor te-tʃet
 township.government=ERG money PFV:TR-take.out₂

²⁸⁵ Referring to *ɛwaŋⁿdor*.

²⁸⁶ Wife of *ɛwaŋⁿdor*.

q^hoʔ nɐ-tə-o-znɐɐʔ-nə

SEQ IPFV:PST-2-INV-cause.to.idle.about₂-2PL

“So there is a place for making some money to the east? Have you been celebrating Flower-Viewing Festival separately, or has the Township Government taken out money to let you celebrate it?”

(Tsheskyid)

11. *é-me mə-t^hɐ-ɛduʔ*

1SG:POSS-leg NEG-CONT:LTR-be.serious₂

jɐsɲiʔ ʃɛtke orjájɲəʔ kámɬ^ha nɐ-mɲəm

the.other.day spring when a.bit IPFV:PST-hurt₂

ʃənəʔ kəkɲezɲi smɐn=rɐʔ k^hémt^ha ⁿge-ⁿdze-aɲ

but these.days medicine=PL once.or.twice IPFV-eat-1SG

q^hónə me-ⁿge-mɲəmʔ

SEQ:EMPH NEG-IPFV-hurt

“My legs are OK. They were a little painful in the Spring, but I have been taking medicine occasionally these days and they don’t hurt.”

12. *vdítí=nəʔ raŋraŋ nɐ-nə-nɐɐʔ-jə*

Flower.Viewing.Festival=TOP separately IPFV:PST-SPON-idle.about₂-1PL

tétwi=kə=rɐʔ nɐ-o-znɐɐʔ-jə mə

township.government=ERG=PL IPFV:PST-INV-cause.to.idle.about₂-1PL not.exist

“As for the Flower-Viewing Festival, we are celebrating it separately on our own, the Township Government has not organized us to celebrate it together.”

(Bstanblo)

13. *tʰɛrɛzʔ tʰamu ɛz-zwɛvde so*
 this.year rain CONT:HTR-cause.to.be.abundant Q

lotɔʔ tʰə tʰɛ-fsət
 crops what CONT:LTR-be.like₂

“Rainfall has been abundant this year, hasn’t it? How are the crops?”

14. *jɛsɲiʔ ɛjiʔ jəməɾwi tə-χtuʔ-əŋ=nəʔ á-vde-cə*
 the.other.day 1SG maize.seeds PFV-buy₂-1SG=DET Q-be.good-MED

“The maize seeds that I bought the other day, are they good?”

15. *qʰoʔ vdíti nə-joy*
 SEQ Flower.Viewing.Festival PFV-end₂
qʰónə qɛcwʰerípu=rɛʔ kə-npéjmo
 SEQ:EMPH Kakhyoris.people=PL NMLZ:PURP-dig.for.fritillary.bulbs
lɛ-ɛre-nə so
 PFV:UPRIVER-go₂-3PL Q

“And, after the Flower-Viewing Festival ended, did the Kakhyoris people go upriver to dig for fritillary bulbs?”

(Tsheskyid)

16. *fórⁿdzi vdíti orjáŋnə*
 day.before.yesterday Flower.Viewing.Festival at.the.time
ɛne-tərmókʰe tərmu ne-lét
 two-evening hailstone PFV:TR-release₂

“Two evenings during the Flower-Viewing Festival (that ended) the day before yesterday, hailstones fell.”

17. *q^hoʔ ʃámɤ=sc^hánəʔ stɔ=rɤʔ kámʃ^ha te-xšəɣ*
 SEQ maize=and broad.beans=PL a.bit PFV:TR-hit₂
ʃámɤ=nəʔ o-lvaʔ=rɤʔ te-sa ʃánəʔ mɤ-ɛdu-cə
 maize=DET 3SG:POSS-leaf=PL PFV:TR-tease₂ but NEG-be.serious-MED
pəʃk^ho leʔ kɤ-sce te-je
 now again INF-grow PFV:UP-begin₂
 “And (hailstones) hit the maize and broad beans a little. As for the maize, the leaves were torn, but it was not serious, they have now begun to grow back.”

18. *ʃánəʔ stɔ o-pyɤmojʔ=rɤʔ o-mkɤ kámʃ^ha*
 but broad.bean 3SG:POSS-feather²⁸⁷=PL 3SG:POSS-neck a.bit
te-xšəɣ=kə nəʔ sɤʃ^hé=ta kámʃ^ha ne-wɤret
 PFV:TR-hit₂=INS ANA place=top a.bit PFV:DOWN:TR-throw₂
q^hoʔ nəʔ nɤ-ɛduʔ=tsɤʔ ɲoʔ
 SEQ ANA IPFV:PST-be.serious₂=a.bit be
 “And as the (hailstones) hit the broad bean flowers around their stems, and strike them off to the ground, this was rather serious.”

19. *stɔ=nəʔ o-pyɤmojʔ=nəʔ ne-wɤret*
 broad.bean=TOP 3SG:POSS-petal=TOP PFV:DOWN:TR-throw₂
q^hónə ⁿdeʔ o-kɤ-sce mɤ ɲoʔ
 SEQ:EMPH again 3SG:POSS-INF-grow not.exist be
 “Broad beans, if hailstones strike off their flower petals, these won’t grow back again.”

20. *q^hoʔ tɤrezʔ ɲónə*
 SEQ this.year TOP:EMPH
péjmoɣ o-konʔ loʔ te-kə-tsə toʔ=kə
 fritillary.bulb 3SG:POSS-price come.out IPFV-NMLZ:SBJ-say exist=INS

²⁸⁷ Referring to the five-petal flowers of the broad bean (*Vicia faba*).

q^hoʔ *tʂ^həⁿduʔ* *kaʂne-sɲi* *jərmə* *nɛɛɛ-aŋ*
 SEQ PN several-day about idle.about-1SG
q^hoʔ *le-náwi-aŋ* *ʃteʔ*
 SEQ UPRIVER-come.back-1SG be:EMPH

“Today is the twenty-fifth of the Chinese calendar. And I will come back west (to China) on the thirtieth, spend a few days in Chengdu, and then come back upriver (to Ma’erkang).”

24. *ʃq^hɛʔ* *tʂ^haŋtəɽjiʔ* *ó-p^ha* *tenχwaʔ* *nə-lét-aŋ*
 just.now PN 3SG:POSS-place telephone PFV-do₂-1SG
q^hoʔ *pəʃk^ho* *ˈbɛrk^hemʔ* *t^hɛ-smo-cə*
 SEQ now PN CONT:LTR-be.present₂-MED

“I just called Tshangtarji, and he is at Ma’erkang now.”

(Tsheskyid)

25. *pəʃk^ho=nt^hon* *t^hɛjwɛnʔ* *t^hɛ-tə-smo* *ʃteʔ* *raŋ*
 now=also PN CONT:LTR-2-be.present₂ be:EMPH DM
nɛkənəʔ *ó-p^hu=rɛʔ* *mts^hót* *ʃɛ* *mɛʃte*
 that.near.you 3SG:POSS-price=PL be.full go DM

“So you are still in Taiwan! The (telephone) fees over there must be very high, aren’t they?”

26. *q^hoʔ* *ne-tə-náwi*
 SEQ WEST-2-come.back
q^hónə *tenχwaʔ=rɛʔ* *ɛ-tə-tə-lət*
 SEQ:EMPH telephone=PL IRR-IMP-2-do
nɛ-tə-tsoʔ=nəʔ *k^hénay* *ɛ-tə-tə-náwi*
 IPFV:PST-2-have.free.time₂=SUB home IRR:IMP:UP-2-come.back

“And when you come back, give me a call. And come back home if you have free time.”

(Bstanblo)

27. *tenχwaʔ óp^hu=rɛʔ kámɬ^ha ʃɛ ʃteʔ jɛ*
 telephone 3SG:POSS-price=PL a.bit go be:EMPH DM
ʃənəʔ mɛ-ɛdu
 but NEG-be.serious

“Yeah, telephone charges are a little high, but it’s OK.”

28. *ne-náwi-aŋ q^hoʔ nɛ-tsoʔ-aŋ=nəʔ nəwi-aŋ*
 WEST-come.back-1SG SEQ IPFV:PST-have.free.time₂-1SG=SUB come.back
ʃteʔ q^hoʔ nəʔ ʃteʔ jɛ
 be:EMPH SEQ ANA be:EMPH DM

“When I am back and have free time, I will come back home. Alright, this is it.”

(Tsheskyid)

29. *wɛ q^hónə ɛ-tə-tə-stó^hbɛɬ jɛ*
 OK SEQ:EMPH IRR-IMP-2-take.care DM

“Alright, then, take care!”

A CONVERSATION ABOUT DHOLES

qɛper?

Narrator: Bstanblo and Tsheskyid

(Bstanblo)

1. *ɣɔŋtʰe=z* *kɔŋɣɛ?* *mə-lɛ-wɛ?* *orjájŋ?nəz*
 former.time=LOC Chinese.Communicants NEG-PFV:UPRIVER-come₂ when
qɛper? *nɛ-sɛⁿdze?* *o-ffɛt* *to?*
 dhole IPFV:PST-tend.to.bite.people₂ 3SG:POSS-recounting exist
nə? *ʃǎjə.orjaŋ?* *nɛ-ŋo*
 ANA when IPFV:PST-be₂

“In the past, before the Chinese Communists came upriver, there were stories of dholes biting people. When did that happen?”

(Tsheskyid)

2. *nə?* *jǎⁿdɛ* *mŋosqe-pe* *kə-ri=cə?* *nə-tso?²cə*
 ANA TOP fifty-year NMLZ:SBJ-be.extra=INDF PFV-elapse₂-MED

“It was more than fifty years ago now.”

3. *q^ho?* *nə?orjájŋ?nə?*
 SEQ at.that.time
reⁿgo *qɛper?* *nə-ɣno?* *q^ho?* *cɛmi?* *t^hɛ-wɛ?*
 hill dhole PFV-be.crazy₂ SEQ riverside.farmland PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂

“At that time, dholes from the hills became crazy (i.e. rabid) and came downhill to the riverside farmland.”

4. *q^ho?* *zɔ?* *teⁿdze?*
 SEQ bovine PFV:TR-bite₂
pa=fǎ *teⁿdze?* *k^heze?²=fǎ* *teⁿdze?*
 pig=also PFV:TR-bite₂ dog=also PFV:TR-bite₂

kərnʰbjoʔ=fə te-nʰdzeʔ ɲoʔ
 human=also PFV:TR-bite₂ be

qʰoʔ tʃʰə ne-nəmtəmti te-nʰdzeʔ ɲoʔ
 SEQ what PFV:TR-see₂ PFV:TR-bite₂ be

“They bit bovines, and also pigs, dogs, and humans; they bit whatever they saw.”

5. *tərva=cɛ kərnʰbjoʔ kə-rdɔʔ te-nʰdzeʔ*
 PN=LOC:INDF person one-CL PFV:TR-bite₂

qʰoʔ ne-səʂnoʔ ɲoʔ
 SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.be.crazy₂ be

tʃuʔ=z kə-rdɔʔ te-nʰdzeʔ qʰoʔ ne-səʂnoʔ ɲoʔ
 PN=LOC one-CL PFV:TR-bite₂ SEQ PFV:TR-cause.to.be.crazy₂ be

“They bit a man some place at Tarva and caused him to become crazy, and also someone at Chu Village and caused him to become crazy.”

6. *qʰoʔ zɔʔ kərnʰbjoʔ nə-kə-ʂnoʔ*
 SEQ bovine person PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂

o-kə-nʰdʒəvʔ kɛ-tʃɛt kə-cʰɐ=cəʔ
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:SBJ-suck INF-take.out NMLZ:SBJ-be.able=INDF

fɛtʰi kɛmɲo=cɛ=z
 place.downriver PN=LOC:INDF=LOC

vləme kə-χo=cəʔ nɐ-to ɲoʔ
 lama NMLZ:SBJ-be.powerful=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂ be

“And some place downriver at Kamnyo Village, there was a powerful lama who was able to practice sucking (method) on bovine and people who became rabid.”

7. *qʰoʔ nə-kə-ʂnoʔ kərnʰbjoʔ kɛ-tsə mɐ*
 SEQ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂ person GP-say not.exist

zɔʔ kɛ-tsə mɐ kəmdiʔ vləme=pʰa
 bovine GP-say not.exist all lama=place

o-kə-n dʒəv? *tʰe-tsom-nə*
 3SG:POSS-NMLZ:PURP-suck PFV:DOWNRIVER:TR-take.thither₂-3PL
nə-tʰoʒ
 IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

“And as a rule, no matter rabid people or rabid bovines, people took them to the lama to be treated by sucking.”

8. *qʰoʔ vləme=kə kə-n dʒəvʔ=kəsə=nəʔ*
 SEQ lama=ERG INF-suck=like=TOP
kərjól=nəŋ təciʔ te-rkoj qʰoʔ ʰge-n don ɲoʔ-cə
 ceramic.bowl=inside water IPFV-put.into₃ SEQ IPFV-chant.sutra be-MED
 “As for the lama’s sucking (method), he would put water into a ceramic bowl, and chant sutras.”

9. *qʰoʔ scəpə tə-kə-n dzeʔ təymeʒ ó-ta=nəʔ tʰe-təʔ*
 SEQ long.knife PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-bite₂ wound 3SG:POSS-top=DET IPFV-put₃
qʰoʔ ó-fnoʒ=nəʔ le-kə-ntsəvʔ o-fpəz te-poj
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-end=DET IPFV:UPRIVER-NMLZ-suck 3SG:POSS-semblance IPFV-do₃
qʰoʔ ó-mcəʒ=nəʔ təciʔ pʰərtʃú=nəŋ kə-rko=nəʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-spittle=DET water bowl=inside NMLZ:SBJ:U-put.in=DET
nəʔ ó-nəŋ ʰge-lət
 ANA 3SG:POSS-inside IPFV:DOWN-throw
 “And then he would put a long knife on top of the bitten wound, and pretend to blow on it from the other end (of the knife), and he would spit spittle into a bowl containing water.”

10. *qʰónəʔ tʰə=kə nə-kə-səʒnoʔ kə-ɲoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH what=INS PFV-GP-cause.to.be.crazy₂ NMLZ:SBJ-be=DET
o-n dʒəʔ təsə=kəsə=nəʔ pʰərtʃú=nəŋ ne-poj ɲoʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-shape blood=like=DET bowl=inside IPFV-become₃ be-MED
 “And in the bowl, what causes one to be rabid takes the form of something like blood.”

11. *q^hoʔ nooséfsət=kə mts^hót ne-səʔzi nɐ-ŋo*
 SEQ thus=INS be.many PFV:TR-heal₂ IPFV:PST-be₂
 “In that manner, he healed many people.”
12. *ʃənəʔ tə-kɐ-ⁿdzeʔ nə-kə-tsoʔ=nəʔ*
 but PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-bite₂ PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-elapse₂=DET
q^hónəʔ kɐ-nəsmən mə-nɐ-c^hɐʔ
 SEQ:EMPH INF-treat NEG-PFV:PST-be.able₂
q^hoʔ o-kɐ-pe nɐ-mɛʔ ké-tsə tʃ^hozʔ
 SEQ 3SG:POSS-GP-do IPFV:PST-not.exist GP-say be.the.rule
 “But it is said that those who had been bitten for a considerable period of time could not be treated, and one could do nothing (to help them).”
13. *q^hoʔ tʃuʔ táme tə-kɐ-ⁿdzeʔ nə-kə-snoʔ=nəʔ*
 SEQ PN woman PFV-NMLZ:SBJ:U-bite PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy=DET
ʼsiz təmtʃuʔ taciʔ kə-roʔ nə-ɐre-cə=nəʔ
 morning water NMLZ:PURP-fetch PFV:WEST-go₂-MED=SUB
oʔóri=z k^hezeʔ=kəsci kə-wɛʔ-cə
 3SG:POSS-front=LOC dog=like PFV:EAST-come₂-MED
təmdánə qɐperʔ nə-kə-snoʔ nɐ-ŋo-cə
 in.fact dhole PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 “As for the woman of Chu Village who got bitten and became rabid, she had gone west to fetch water one morning, and a dog-like animal came toward her. It turned out to be a rabid dhole.”
14. *q^hoʔ nəʔ=kə nə-o-nɐpəlɣevʔ*
 SEQ ANA=ERG PFV-INV-tear.about₂
q^hoʔ kámʃ^ha tə-oʔ-ⁿdzeʔ ŋoʔ-cə
 SEQ a.bit PFV-INV-bite₂ be-MED

nə-tʰuɿ=rɐʔ *ənɿ=tseʃi* *nɐ-mɛɿ-cə*
 PFV-be.serious₂=PL that.much IPFV:PST-not.exist₂-MED

“It attacked her fiercely and bit her a little bit, but it was not that serious.”

15. *ʃənəʔ* *o-kʰɐrlɔŋ* *tə-o-xɿəɣ-cə*
 but 3SG:POSS-breath PFV-INV-hit₂-MED
qʰoʔ *nə-ʃnoʔ* *qʰoʔ* *nə-set* *nɐ-tʰoʔ*
 SEQ PFV-be.crazy₂ SEQ PFV-die₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂

“But the dhole’s breath got to her, and she became rabid and died.”

16. *qʰoʔ* *qɐcʰweriʔ* *tɛrva* *tsʰraŋʃcɛv* *te-kɛ-tɿə=nəʔ* *leʔ*
 SEQ PN PN PN IPFV-GP-say=DET also
təmtʃuɣⁿgroⁿgroʔ *kómtʰɔ* *zɔʔ* *ká-tʃɐt*
 early.morning courtyard bovine NMLZ:PURP-put.out₂
nɐ-ɐre-cə=nəʔ
 PFV:DOWN-go₂-MED=SUB

“And also, the man called Tsrangskyab of Tarva in Qachweri Village went to his courtyard to put out cattle in the early morning,”

17. *qɐperʔ* *nə-kə-ʃnoʔ=kə* *toy-ⁿdzeʔ*
 dhole PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂=ERG PFV:INV-bite₂
qʰoʔ *kəmɐqʰúnə* *qʰoʔ* *nə-ʃnoʔ* *qʰoʔ* *nə-set* *ʃteʔ*
 SEQ afterwards SEQ PFV-be.crazy₂ SEQ PFV-die₂ be:EMPH

“and was bitten by a rabid dhole, and he became rabid and died.”

18. *omɛkénə* *reⁿgo* *qɐperʔ* *cɐmiʔ* *wi* *mɐ-tʰoʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 actually hill dhole riverside.farmland come NEG-be.the.rule be
 “Actually, it is abnormal for dhole of the hills to come down to the riverside.”

19. *fə̀nəʔ nəʔ tuzʔorjaíjə̀nə reːŋo qə̀pə̀rʔ cə̀miʔ*
 but that era hill dhole riverside.farmland
tʰə̀-wə̀rʔ qʰoʔ mə̀-nə̀-tʰoʔ ɲoʔ ne-tʂəʔ-nə̀
 PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂ SEQ NEG-IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂ be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL
 “And at that era dhole of the upper hills did come downriver to the riverside, and that was abnormal, people said.”

20. *nəʔ nə̀-fsə̀t nə̀-tʰoʔ*
 ANA IPFV:PST-be.like₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 “What happened was like that.”

(Bstanblo)

21. *qə̀pə̀rʔ nə̀-kə̀-snoʔ=kə̀ te-kə̀-oy-ːdʒe=nəʔ*
 dhole PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂=INS IPFV-GP-INV-bite=SUB
ʒaʔ tʰə̀ jə̀rmə̀ ne-tso
 time what about IPFV-elapse
qʰoʔ kə̀-sənːgiʔ kə̀-səsno te-(sə̀)jə̀rʔ ɲoʔ
 SEQ INF-cause.to.be.ill INF-cause.to.be.crazy IPFV-begin₃ be
 “When (one) is bitten by a rabid dhole, how much time does it take before one begins to be made sick and rabid?”

(Tsheskyid)

22. *tə̀-kə̀-oy-ːdʒe qʰónəʔ kə̀-sle jə̀rmə̀ mə̀-tso*
 IPFV-GP-INV-bite SEQ:EMPH one-month about NEG-elapse
qʰónəʔ tə̀-kə̀-o-sənːgiʔ ɲoʔ
 SEQ:EMPH IPFV-GP-INV-cause.to.be.ill be
 “One gets bitten, and in less than a month’s time one is made ill.”

23. *jəjərvə? jə-pa=nə?*
 1PL 1PL:POSS-pig=DET
le? qəper? nə-kə-sjio?=kə te-ⁿdze?=kə
 also dhole PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂=ERG PFV:TR-bite₂=INS
jə-pa nə-sjio? nə-tʃ^hoʔ
 1PL:POSS-pig PFV-be.crazy₂ IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 “Our pig also became rabid from getting bitten by a rabid dhole.”

24. *q^hoʔ ɣoʔmaʔnə? nə-kə-sjio? kə-tsa=kə*
 SEQ at.every.turn PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂ GP-say=INS
pa nənjənjəy? stoŋⁿbələtaŋ səq^húzq^huz
 pig IDPH²⁸⁸ without.good.reason backwards
t^hé-jwət maʔⁿdenə? nəntəyntəy? zⁿdə=ɣər
 IPFV:DOWNRIVER-move.backwards or IDPH²⁸⁹ wall=face
ʃə-le-rpo? nə-tʃ^hoʔ
 go.and-IPFV:UPRIVER-bump IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 “And the pig would walk straightly backwards for no reason, or bump recklessly into the face of the wall.”

25. *q^hoʔ tsəjə? nə-la=ni?=kə*
 SEQ 1DU 2SG:POSS-maternal.aunt=DU=ERG
o-k^hərloŋ=kə mə-kə-ojəsəxsəy o-tʃ^həvʔ=kə
 3SG:POSS-breath=INS NEG-NMLZ-cause.oneself.to.be.hit 3SG:POSS-purpose=INS
lájəy kə-rzə? tə-ⁿdi-tə q^hoʔ kə-nəst^hólɔ=kəsə=kə
 swish NMLZ:SBJ-be.long PFV-take₂-1DU SEQ INF-push.along=like=INS

²⁸⁸ A derived verbal ideophone from the root *nəy*, describing a continuous, unimpeded motion.

²⁸⁹ A derived verbal ideophone from the root *ntəy*, describing an action in an obsessed, reckless manner.

k^heⁿdáco *k^hent/á?=*naŋ** *lɛ-jeʔ-tsə*
 place.west.of.house dilapidated.house=inside PFV:UPRIVER-pen.in₂-1DU

“And your aunt and I, in order not to cause ourselves to be hit by its breath, took a long swish and pushed and shoved it upriver and penned it into a dilapidated house west of the house.”

26. *q^hoʔ* *nəʔofsáʔsi=nəʔ*
 SEQ the.next.day=DET
ʃə-nəmp^hɛriʔ-tsə=nəʔ *nə-set-cə*
 go.and-look.at₂-1DU=SUB PFV-die₂-MED

“And when we went to take a look at it the next day, it had died.”

27. *q^hoʔ* *təⁿbré=kə* *tə-sə-vraʔ-tsə*
 SEQ rope=INS PFV-CAUS-tie₂-1DU
q^hoʔ *təciʔ=*naŋ** *ʃə-t^hɛ-wɛret-tsə* *ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ river=inside go.and-PFV:DOWNRIVER-throw₂-1DU for
nə-kə-snoʔ *o-ʃe* *kɛ-ⁿdze* *mɛ-sneʔ* *ŋoʔ*
 PFV:NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂ 3SG:POSS-flesh INF-eat NEG-be.good be

“We bound it with ropes and went downriver and threw it into the river, as flesh of rabid (animals) is not good to eat.”

28. *nəʔ* *o-tánʔ=kə* *kɛ-sno* *ne-je*
 ANA 3SG:POSS-reason=ins INF-be.crazy IPFV-begin
q^hónəʔ *kɛ-nəsmɛn* *ⁿge-mɛ*
 SEQ:EMPH INF-treat IPFV-not.exist
q^hónəʔ *kə-set* *ne-kɛ-néji* *káma* *tɛmɛ* *ⁿge-mɛ* *ŋoʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH NMLZ-die IPFV-GP-wait except work IPFV-not.exist be

“So when (an animal) starts to become rabid, there is no treating it and one cannot do anything but wait for it to die.”

29. *qʰónəʔ kɛ-ⁿdzaŋ ome ⁿge-reʔ ⁿdenəʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH INF-be.cautious very IPFV-be.necessary for
o-kʰərloŋ=kə ɐ-tə-kó-xɿəŋ
 3SG:POSS-breath=INS IRR-PFV-GP:INV-hit
qʰónəʔ kɛ-o-səʂno nɐ-ʃte
 SEQ:EMPH GP-INV-cause.to.be.crazy IPFV:PST-be:EMPH₂

“But one needs to be very cautious, since if its breath ever hits one, one as a rule will be made rabid.”

(Bstanblo)

30. *qɛperʔ=nəʔ tʰɐz cɛmiʔ tʰɐ-ɐwi ŋoʔ*
 dhole=DET why riverside.farmland IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come be
reⁿgo o-kɛⁿdze nə-mɛʔ raŋ
 hill 3SG:POSS-food PFV-not.exist₂ DM

“Why is it that dholes came downriver to the riverside? Did their food run out on the upper hills?”

(Tsheskyid)

31. *reⁿgo o-kɛⁿdze nə-mɛʔ=rɐʔ maʔ*
 hill 3SG:POSS-food PFV-not.exist₂=PL not.be
ʃənəʔ qɛperʔ cɛmiʔ tʰɐ-kə-wɛʔ=nəʔ
 but dhole riverside.farmland PFV:DOWNRIVER-come₂=DET
tʰɛn ŋoʔ
 sign.of.bad.luck be
mə-nɐ-tʰoʔ ne-tɿəʔ-nə
 NEG-IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂ PFV:TR-say₂-3PL

“It is not that their food on the hills ran out. Rather, it was a sign of bad luck for the dhole to come down to the riverside, it was abnormal, they said.”

32. *qəper kə-rdɔʔ ʁnez jərmə nɐ-ma=kə*
 dhole one-CL two about IPFV:PST-not.be₂=INS
kʰe-kənⁿgə-sqeʔ=kəsə kətáyre tʰe-wɛ-nə nɐ-tʰoz
 each-nine-ten=like together IPFV:DOWNRIVER-come-3PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂
 “It wasn’t just a matter of one or two dholes, as each time nine or ten of them would come
 downriver together.”

(Bstanblo)

33. *nəʔ mɐ-kə-tʰozʔ tʰɛn=nəʔ*
 ANA NEG-NMLZ:SBJ-be.the.rule sign.of.bad.luck=TOP
tʰə nɐ-ŋo ne-tsəʔ-nə
 what IPFV:PST-be₂ PFV:TR-say₂-3PL
tuzʔ jə-ⁿbyaʔ o-tánʔ=kə tsəvɾeʔ-nɐ-ŋo
 era PROS-reverse 3SG:POSS-reason=INS Q-IPFV:PST-be₂
 “As for that abnormal sign of bad luck, what did people say it was? Was it a sign for the
 overturning of the era?”

(Tsheskyid)

34. *tuzʔ jə-ⁿbyaʔ ŋoʔ ne-tsəʔ-nə=rɐʔ nɐ-tʰoz ⁿdenəʔ*
 era PROS-reverse be PFV:TR-say₂-3PL=PL IPFV:PST-be.the.rule₂ for
qəperʔ χíkə nɐ-sɐⁿdzeʔ
 dhole very IPFV:PST-tend.to.bite.people₂
 “People did say that it was a sign that the era was going to reverse, since the dhole were
 so prone to bite people.”

35. *ɐjiʔ=nəʔ qəperʔ ántsɐjə me-ⁿge-sərtɔʔ-aŋ*
 1SG=TOP dhole that.much NEG-IPFV-know-1SG
 “As for me, I do not know dholes that much.”

36. *kə-təʃe=cɛ* *tétʰɔ*²⁹⁰ *nɐ-smo-aŋ*
 one-time=LOC:INDF PN IPFV:PST-be.at-1SG
qʰoʔ *kecʰopʰéʀi* *ke-mɸʰéʀi-aŋ=nəʔ*
 SEQ opposite.bank IPFV:CISLOC-look-1SG=SUB
ʰnɸri *o-ɸóri=nəʔ* *kʰezeʔ=kəsci* *ɸnez* *tʰɐ-kʰəmdzjəy-ⁿdzə*
 horse 3SG:POSS-front=DET dog=like two CONT:LTR-sit.on.haunches₂-3DU
təmdánə *qɸperʔ* *nɐ-ŋo-cə*
 actually dhole IPFV:PST-be₂-MED
 “Once I was at Tatho, I took a glance at the opposite bank, and (saw) two dog-like (animals) squatting in front of a horse. They were in fact dholes.”

37. *sŋontsʰe* *ké-tsə=nəʔ*
 formerly GP-say=TOP
qɸperʔ=kə *ʰnɸri* *o-mtʰi* *kə-éntɐ* *nɸje* *ké-tsə*
 dhole=ERG horse 3SG:POSS-lip NMLZ-fall.from.height wait₃ GP-say
tʰozʔ=kə *nəʔ* *ŋoʔ* *ráj* *ʰdenəʔ*
 be.the.rule=INS ANA be DM for
ʰnɸri *o-ɸóri=z* *tʰɐ-smo-ⁿdzə-cə*
 horse 3SG:POSS-front=LOC CONT:LTR-stay-3DU-MED
 “As the old saying goes, a dhole would wait for a horse to drop its (lower) lip. How true it seems to be, as the (dholes) were sitting in front of the horse.”

38. *qʰoʔ* *ɸjiʔ=kə* *qəj=rɐʔ* *tə-tsəʔ-aŋ=nəʔ*
 SEQ 1SG=ERG EXCL=PL PFV-say₂-1SG=SUB
qʰoʔ *ʃla* *zəʔ* *kə-kɐ-koyʔ*
 SEQ immediately livestock TOWARD.OTHER.BANK-NMLZ:SBJ:U-drive₂
nə-χtʃəl=nəʔ *tə-ɸre-ⁿdzə*
 3PL:POSS-center=DET PFV:UP-go₂-DU

²⁹⁰ Name of a river plain near the speaker’s home.

q^hónə? qəʒi? ʃla kə-rdɔ? ne-mjeʔⁿdzə
 SEQ:EMPH sheep immediately one-CL PFV:TR-catch₂-DU

“When I uttered a cry, they immediately went uphill into the center of the livestock that had been driven to the other bank of the river and they immediately caught a sheep.”

39. *q^hónə? jə-lpe vdércət=sc^hənə? t^hv-ɾjəʒ-tsə*
 SEQ:EMPH neighbor PN=and PFV:DOWNRIVER-run₂-1DU
ʃənə? tsə-kuríri qəʒi? ne-ntʃ^heʔⁿdzə ʃteʔ-cə
 but 1DU:POSS-time.before sheep PFV:TR-kill₂-3DU be:EMPH-MED

“And (our) neighbor Vdercet and I ran downriver (to where the sheep were) but just moments before (arriving), they had already killed the sheep.”

40. *q^ho? oq^hukuri*
 SEQ before.and.afterwards
jəjərvə? jə-ŋe kə-zrəʒro ɳnez rgéli=cə? kə-rdɔ?
 1PL 1PL:POSS-cow NMLZ:SBJ-be.fine:INT two female.calf=INDF one-CL
pa káʃnez jərmə ne-ntʃ^heʔ ɳo?
 pig seven about PFV:TR-kill₂ be

“And before and afterwards, they had killed two very fine cows, one female calf, and seven pigs of ours.”

41. *jəlpə nə-ŋe=sc^hənə? ⁿbole? kátʃoʒ jərmə*
 neighbor 3PL:POSS-cow=and male.cattle six about
ⁿbrəscitəʒvə o-q^hu=z ne-ntʃ^heʔ
 PN 3SG:POSS-back=LOC PFV:TR-kill₂
méʒu nə-pámo=cəʔ=rəʔ ne-ntʃ^heʔ ɳo?
 further 3SG:POSS-sow=INDF=PL PFV:TR-kill₂ be

“And they killed our neighbor’s cow and six male cattle behind the Mbraskyi Pass, and moreover also one of their sows.”

42. *q^hoʔ qɐc^hweriʔ zɛzəʔ sɐqɐʔ*
 SEQ PN environs secluded.place
kə-toʔ=nəʔ=rɐʔ zəzɔpa mts^hɔt te-ⁿdzeʔ nɐ-ŋo
 NMLZ:-SBJ-exist=DET=PL livestock be.many PFV:TR-eat₂ IPFV:PST-be₂
 “And they ate many farm animals in secluded corners surrounding Qachweri Village.”

43. *q^hónəʔ qɐperʔ kə-sɛⁿdze ó-nay=nəʔ*
 SEQ:EMPH dhole NMLZ:SBJ-tend.to.bite.people 3SG:POSS-inside=DET
nə-kə-sɲoʔ=cəʔ nɐ-to=kə
 PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂=INDF IPFV:PST-exist₂=INS
nəʔ te-ⁿdzɐ=nəʔ
 ANA IPFV-bite₃=SUB
zɔʔ kəⁿbjoʔ ne-səɲoj nɐ-ŋo
 bovine human IPFV-cause.to.be.crazy₃ IPFV:PST-be₂
 “Within dholes, which tend to bite people, there were some that were rabid. If they bite, then they cause bovines and people to become rabid.”

44. *ⁿdenəʔ kəmaʔ mə-nə-kə-sɲoʔ qɐperʔ=kə*
 except other NEG-PFV-NMLZ:SBJ-be.crazy₂ dhole=ERG
zɔʔ te-ⁿdzɐ o-ri=rɐʔ jəjəʔ=kə nɐ-ⁿdzeʔ-jə ʃteʔ
 bovine IPFV-bite₃ 3SG:POSS-be.left=PL 1PL=ERG IPFV:PST-eat₂-1PL be:EMPH
nəʔ mə-nə-o-sənⁿgi-jə
 ANA NEG-PFV-INV-cause.to.be.ill₂-1PL
 “The other dholes that did not become rabid, we would eat what was left of the bovines they eat, and that did not make us sick.”

45. *ʃənəʔ təmdána*
 but actually
χtʃɐⁿdzɐn o-ⁿdzɐri=nəʔ te-kɐ-ⁿdze mə-vde
 carnivore 3SG:POSS-eaten.leftover=DET IPFV-GP-eat NEG-be.good

ké-tsə tʰozʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 GP-say be.the.rule be-MED

“But actually, they say it is not good to eat leftover carcasses eaten by carnivores.”

46. *nəʔ te-kə-ndze=nəʔ*

ANA IPFV-GP-eat=SUB

kə-o-sənⁿgiʔ nət kə-ɲən wot
 GP-INV-cause.to.be-ill illness NMLZ:SBJ-be.bad bring

ké-tsə tʰozʔ ɲoʔ-cə
 GP-say be.the.rule be-MED

“Eating those makes one sick, and brings bad diseases, it is said.”

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