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Stories of Hmyo

Thirty-five Narrative Texts in Lan Hmyo

Edited by
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Contents

Preface	v
Notations	vi
Abbreviations	viii
Introduction	ix
1. Baihexian and Tigers	1
2. Two Brothers Dividing their Father's Property	13
3. Celebrating the Father-in-Law's Birthday	25
4. The Sun and the Moon	32
5. The Mountain Witch (1)	36
6. A Girl Born from an Egg (1)	43
7. The Fishing Festival	61
8. The Spring Festival	65
9. A Lesson from Birds	74
10. A Cannibal Tribe	79
11. The Story of Lan Yang	87
12. Sending Embroidery to the Father-in-Law	98
13. Sending a Corncob	100
14. Rice Farming	105
15. Wedding Ceremonies	113
16. How to Make Bean Curd	123
17. How to Make Cured Meat	125
18. A Tiger and a Buffalo	128
19. A Story of a Silly Man and his Smart Wife	133
20. The Origin of Green Manure	142
21. Eating Rice Cake Soup in Guangjinglong	145
22. Soul Summoning	148
23. Flying Squirrel	155
24. The Tiger and the Ear-clipper	158
25. Fetching a Drum from Sichuan	162
26. Go-in-oil-then-not-sticky	171
27. A Story of the Hunter Zhang Daqiang	180
28. A Man Destined to be Eaten by Tigers	198
29. A Girl Born from an Egg (2)	209
30. The Mountain Witch (2)	232
31. The Dragon's Head	261
32. War of Guizhou	292

33. Bullfighting	320
34. Studying in the Fifties	325
35. Replacement of Roof Tiles	332
Appendix 1	337
Appendix 2	343

Preface

This book is a collection of stories from Lan Hmyo, a Hmongic language spoken by an ethnic group belonging to the Miao people. This collection was compiled through the collaboration of two people: a linguist and a native speaker of Lan Hmyo. The former, Yoshihisa Taguchi, collected stories in Gaozhai Township for more than ten years. He designed the alphabetical system of notation for Lan Hmyo. After he met the other editor, Yun Song, in 2004, they began to collaborate in transcribing and interpreting the stories. The glosses, the English and Japanese translations, and annotations were added by Taguchi.

This book could not have come into being without the valuable cooperation of many local people. The two editors are grateful to Mr. Fugang Lan, Mr. Furong Lan, Mr. Jie Lan, and Mr. Wenjian Lan, who provided us the stories for this collection. Taguchi expresses special gratitude to Mr. Aiguo Lan and Mr. Mingyong Zhang for their kind help during his field trips. He expresses special thanks to Professor Qiguang Chen for giving him permission to include the first story of this book, which was collected in a 2001 collaborative session involving both parties and a native speaker. Taguchi also expresses his appreciation to Dr. Linjing Li and Mr. Baiyan Tang for providing valuable comments on improving the Chinese translation. Finally, the editors thank the Academic Link Center at Chiba University for English language editing. This book presents part of the results of Taguchi's research project titled 'A typological and historical study of the grammars of the Hmongic languages' (JSPS Kaken JP19K00595).

We hope that this collection of stories will provide resources for understanding the Lan Hmyo language and that it will introduce some aspects of Hmyo culture to the world.

Yoshihisa TAGUCHI
Yun SONG

Notations

1. Initial consonants

The initial consonants of Lan Hmyo are divided into four series: plain, prenasalized, nasal, and continuant. Each series is further divided into three types: unaspirated, aspirated, and voiced for plain and prenasalized series; preglottalized, voiceless, and voiced for nasal and continuant series.

	Plain			Prenasalized			Nasal			Continuant		
Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i>mph</i>	<i>mb</i>	<i>ʔm</i>	<i>hm</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ʔw</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>w</i>
Labio-palatal										<i>ʔɣ</i>	<i>hɣ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>
Labio-alveolo-palatal	<i>pʑ</i>	<i>phɕ</i>	<i>vʑ</i>	<i>mpʑ</i>		<i>mbʑ</i>						
Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ð</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>nth</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ʔn</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ʔl</i>	<i>hl</i>	<i>l</i>
Alveolar	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>ʈh</i>	<i>ʑ</i>	<i>nts</i>	<i>ntsh</i>	<i>ndʑ</i>						<i>s</i>
Alveolo-palatal	<i>tɕ</i>	<i>tɕh</i>		<i>ɲtɕ</i>	<i>ɲtɕh</i>	<i>ɲdɕ</i>	<i>ʔɲ</i>	<i>hɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ʔj</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>j</i>
Post-alveolar	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>ʈh</i>	<i>ʑ</i>	<i>ɳt</i>	<i>ɳth</i>	<i>ɳd</i>						
Velar	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ŋk</i>	<i>ŋkh</i>	<i>ŋg</i>			<i>ŋ</i>			
Uvular	<i>q</i>	<i>qh</i>	<i>ʁ</i>	<i>ŋq</i>	<i>ŋqh</i>	<i>ŋg</i>						<i>χ</i>
Labialized uvular	<i>qʷ</i>	<i>qʷh</i>	<i>ʁʷ</i>	<i>ŋqʷ</i>	<i>ŋqʷh</i>	<i>ŋgʷ</i>						<i>χʷ</i>

2. Initial clusters

	Plain			Prenasalized		
Labial	<i>pl</i>	<i>phl</i>	<i>vl</i>	<i>mpl</i>	<i>mphl</i>	<i>mb</i>
Uvular	<i>ql</i>	<i>qhl</i>	<i>ʁl</i>	<i>ŋql</i>	<i>ŋqhl</i>	<i>ŋg</i>

3. Vowels

Eight vowels are observed in indigenous words: *i*, *y*, *e*, *ø*, *æ* [a], *u*, *o*, *a* [a]. In addition, *z* [z̥] and *ə* are identified in certain environments. In loanwords, some additional vowels are observed: *ai*, *au*, *ei*, *ou*, *ui*, *ye*, *ua*, *uai*, *ia*, *iau*, *ər*.

4. Coda

Lan Hmyo has only one coda, a uvular nasal ŋ , which nasalizes the preceding vowel.

5. Tones

Lan Hmyo has three tones in indigenous words, transcribed using one of the capital letters: A, B, and C. Two additional tones are observed in some loanwords from Southwestern Mandarin Chinese, transcribed by a capital letter with an apostrophe, B' and C'. Tone B' and Tone C' are similar to Tone B and Tone C, respectively, in tone value, but do not trigger the tone-alternations observed in indigenous words with Tone B and Tone C.

Tones	A	B	C
Values	42	55	24

Abbreviations

1	First person	PROH	Prohibitive
2	Second person	PTCL	Particle
3	Third person	PURP	Purposive
ABL	Ablative	RCP	Reciprocal
ANPH	Anaphoric	RED	Reduplication
AUG	Augmentative	SG	Singular
AUG.RED	Augmentative Reduplication		
BNF	Benefactive		
CLF	Classifier		
CLNK1	Clause linker 1		
CLNK2	Clause linker 2		
COM	Comitative		
CONJ	Conjunction		
COP	Copular		
DAT	Dative		
DEM	Demonstrative		
DISP1	Disposal 1		
DISP2	Disposal 2		
DGR	Degree		
DU	Dual		
EXPR	Expressive		
FLL	Filler		
GOAL	Goal		
IDEO	Ideophone		
IGN	Ignorative		
INTJ	Interjection		
INTS	Intensive		
IRR	Irrealis		
MOD	Modification marker		
NEG	Negative		
NMLZ	Nominalizer		
PL	Plural		
PLNK	Phrase linker		
PN	Proper noun		
POT	Potential		

Introduction

1. People and language

The Hmyo people inhabit the mountainous regions in the central part of Guizhou, China. The residential area belongs to several administrative units: Fuquan City, Guiding County, Kaiyang County, and Longli County.

The native language that the Hmyo people speak is called *lanB hmøA*, which means ‘the speech of the Hmyo people,’ transcribed as “Lan Hmyo” in English. Lan Hmyo belongs to the Hmong-Mien language family, more specifically, the Luobohe subgroup of the West Hmongic group of the Hmongic branch.

From a linguistic typological perspective, Lan Hmyo is a typical Southeast Asian language with features such as lexical tone, meagre morphology, head-modifier order in nominal phrases, and SVO as the basic word order.

2. Narrators

All narrators of the texts collected in this book are native speakers of Lan Hmyo, born in one of the villages of the Eight Village Area, belonging to Gaozhai Township of Kaiyang County.

3. Texts

Table 1 is a list of the collected texts. Most texts were collected through recording and transcription, conducted in this order. The editors, however, used three other methods of collecting texts:

- a) Only transcription, no recording, to adhere to the narrator’s request (“Transcription Only” (T.O.))
- b) Recording after transcription (R.A.T.)
- c) Transcription based on recordings; however, the narrator edited the text to a considerable extent (“Transcription with Narrator’s Edition” (T.W.N.E))

Table 1. List of texts

No	Title	Time	Note
1	Baihexian and Tigers	2001.3	
2	Two Brothers Dividing their Father’s Property	2002.9	R. A. T.
3	Celebrating the Father-in-Law’s Birthday	2002.9	R. A. T.
4	The Sun and the Moon	2004.9	T. O.
5	The Mountain Witch (1)	2004.9	T. O.
6	A Girl Born from an Egg (1)	2004.9	
7	The Fishing Festival	2004.9	T. O.
8	The Spring Festival	2004.9	

9	A Lesson from Birds	2005.9	
10	A Cannibal Tribe	2005.9	
11	The Story of Lan Yang	2005.9	
12	Sending Embroidery to the Father-in-Law	2005.9	T. W. N. E.
13	Sending a Corncob	2005.9	T. W. N. E.
14	Rice Farming	2005.9	
15	Wedding Ceremonies	2005.9	
16	How to Make Bean Curd	2007.3	T. O.
17	How to Make Cured Meat	2007.3	T. O.
18	A Tiger and a Buffalo	2010.2	
19	A Story of a Silly Man and his Smart Wife	2010.2	
20	The Origin of Green Manure	2010.2	
21	Eating Rice Cake Soup in Guangjinglong	2010.2	
22	Soul Summoning	2010.3	
23	Flying Squirrel	2010.3	
24	The Tiger and the Ear-clipper	2010.3	
25	Fetching a Drum from Sichuan	2010.3	
26	Go-in-oil-then-not-sticky	2010.3	
27	A Story of the Hunter Zhang Daqiang	2011.3	
28	A Man Destined to be Eaten by Tigers	2011.3	
29	A Girl Born from an Egg (2)	2011.3	
30	The Mountain Witch (2)	2011.3	
31	The Dragon's Head	2011.3	
32	War of Guizhou	2011.3	
33	Bullfighting	2015.3	
34	Studying in the Fifties	2015.3	
35	Replacement of Roof Tiles	2015.3	

4. Guidance for texts

4.1 Construction of texts

Each chapter of this book is composed of several parts: the original text, gloss, English translation, footnotes, Chinese translation, and Japanese translation. Some chapters are followed by a map. Footnotes are marked with a serial number in square brackets ([xx]) at the end of the English translation.

4.2 Conventions in original texts

Table 2 provides instructions for the marking conventions used in the original texts.

Table 2. Marking conventions in original texts

Mark	
.	End of sentence
,	Break within a sentence
X-	X is a morpheme that is dependent on the following element
-X	X is a morpheme that is dependent on the preceding element
X-Y	Morpheme X and morpheme Y compose a word
...	Break following an incomplete sentence
***	Unidentifiable part
[]	Sentence(s) added by the narrator in the process of transcription

4.3 Conventions in footnotes

In the footnotes, a part of the original text is indicated, followed by a gloss part in parentheses. In the gloss part, each word of the text is represented by a series of the mark “◇”, which represents a syllable. The number of “◇” corresponds to the number of syllables in the word. After a series of “◇”, the meaning of the word is indicated. Examples are provided below:

nɔnA ŋiA tɔnC ŋɔaB (◇eat◇buffalo◇release◇drum) ‘to join a ceremony’
təAmpiC-ntoB (◇◇name◇paper) ‘a Chinese-style name’

1. Baihexian and Tigers

- 1 *εeA -eB, qoAloBmpoA khoB'jiB' piεnCʃhεnA təAnaA.*
time DEM tiger can change.into human
Once upon a time, tigers could change themselves into humans.
- 2 *woA-liB muA- maA təAnaA... təAnaA qwaC tɛiB.*
ten-mile NEG exist human human pass road
Nobody was around for ten miles.
- 3 *peAχoAεienB hnaA -eB qwaC tɛiB, niB ... niB-piB tɛiA-δanB kəBʔjeB hnaA -eB*
PN day DEM pass road 3 3-house three-CLF sisters day DEM
loB- qwaC tɛiB thonAszA- nduC joA təAtɛiB.
also pass road same.time walk CLF road
On that day, when Baihexian walked on the road, he came across three sisters. [1]
- 4 *nduC ... nduC joA təAtɛiB -eB muB, peAχoAεienB -niB ... tɛiA-δanB kəBʔjeB*
walk walk CLF road DEM go PN PTCL three-CLF sisters
zəC peAχoAεienB zəCseA.
tell PN tell
Walking on the same road, the three sisters spoke to him.
- 5 *təAnɟuCqhiC, qloB kəBnaB muB.*
boyfriend follow 1PL go
“Hi, friend, why don’t you come with us?”
- 6 *peAχoAεienB seA, kanB muA- muB -jaA.*
PN say 1SG NEG go PTCL
Baihexian said, “I will not come with you.”
- 7 *peAχoAεienB seA, naB, məAnaB muB ... məAnaB jonC muB kəB-piB muB.*
PN say CONJ 2PL go 2PL COP go 1SG-house go
He said, “You can come to my house.” [2]
- 8 *kanBnaB muA- muB -jaA.*
1PL NEG go PTCL
The three sisters said, “We will not come to your house.”

1 Presumably, the name, *peAχoAεienB*, is a loanword from Southwest Mandarin Chinese. As we do not know what Chinese characters we should use to transcribe this name, we only tentatively transcribe it as 白鹤仙 Bāihèxiān in Chinese.

2 The form *kəB* in *kəB-piB* is a weakened form of the first person pronoun *kanB*.

9 *aCnonB kəBnaB ... kəBnaB qwaC ʔana, ʋona ... ʋona ʔjuC ɳaC kəB-piB ʔiA-*
 this.way 1PL 1PL pass pull 2SG 2SG pull strong 1SG-house three-

ðanB kəBʔjeB -nonB, kəB-piB ʔiA-ðanB kəBʔjeB ʔoC- qloB ʋona muB.
 CLF sisters DEM 1SG-house three-CLF sisters CLNK1 follow 2SG go
 “OK, then let’s pull each other, and if you win, we will come with you.”

10 *naB, kəB-piB ʔiA-ðanB kəBʔjeB ʔjuC ɳaC ʋona, ʋona ʔoC- qloB*
 CONJ 1SG-house three-CLF sisters pull strong 2SG 2SG CLNK1 follow

kəB-piB ʔiA-ðanB kəBʔjeB -nonB muB.
 1SG-house three-CLF sisters DEM go
 “But if we win, you will come with us.”

11 *təBqweNanonB ʋona ʔjuC kanB, kanB ʔjuC ʋona.*
 thereafter 2SG pull 1SG 1SG pull 2SG
 Then, they pulled each other.

12 *təBqweNanonB peAχoAciēnB ʔjuC muA- ɳaC niB-piB ʔiA-ðanB kəBʔjeB -jaA.*
 thereafter PN pull NEG strong 3-house three-CLF sisters PTCL
 Eventually, Baihexian lost the game.

13 *peAχoAciēnB ʔoC- qloB niB-piB ʔiA-ðanB kəBʔjeB -eB, muB.*
 PN CLNK1 follow 3-house three-CLF sisters DEM go
 He had to go with the three sisters.

14 *peAχoAciēnB ʔoCseA, ... peAχoAciēnB ...peAχoAciēnB ʔoCseA, kanB muAtehoC təAtēiB*
 PN tell PN PN tell 1SG not.know road
 -jaA.
 PTCL
 Baihexian said, “I do not know the way to your house.”

15 *məAnaB ʔiA-ðanB kəBʔjeB -nonB aC ʔeibōiA, kanB aC təBqweNA qloB.*
 2SG three-CLF sisters DEM do ahead 1SG do behind follow
 “You three sisters lead the way. I will follow you.”

16 *peAχoAciēnB ʔoC- aC təBqweNA qloB niB-piB ʔiA-ðanB kəBʔjeB -eB.*
 PN CLNK1 do behind follow 3-house three-CLF sisters DEM
 Baihexian followed the three sisters.

17 *peAχoAciēnB aC təBqweNA ʔoC- mbuA niB-piB ʔiA-ðanB kəBʔjeB -eB*
 PN do behind CLNK1 see 3-house three-CLF sisters DEM

qaBlaAtoC ʔshenC təApluA.
 heel sprout hair
 When he followed them, he saw hair on the three sisters’ heels.

18 *peAχoAsienB* *tsoC-* *zoCseA*, *niB-piB* *tsiA-danB* *kəBʔjeB* *-eB* *jonC* *qoAloBmpoA*
 PN CLNK1 say 3-house three-CLF sisters DEM COP tiger

... *təAnaA* *pienCshenA* *qoAloBmpoA* *-dəBsiA*.
 human change.into tiger PTCL

He knew that the three sisters were tigers taking the shape of humans. [3]

19 *tsoC-* *muB*, *muB jeB* *tsoC-* *muB* ... *muB* *ʔwuA-joA* *ntuC* ... *ʔwuA-joA* *ntuC*
 CLNK1 go go FLL then go go two-ten more two-ten more

liB *teiB* *tsoC-* *muB* *mbuA* *εana* *piB*.
 CLF road CLNK1 go see CLF house

After walking for more than twenty miles, they eventually saw a house.

20 *tsoC-* *zoCseA*, *təAnquCqhiC*, *kəB-piB* *tsoC-* *ʔηona* *nthəBeB*.
 CLNK1 tell boyfriend 1SG-house then be.at there

The three sisters said, “Friend, we live there.”

21 *peAχoAsienB* *tsoC-* *qloB* *nthəBeB* *muB* *tsoC-* ... *qloB* *nthəBeB* *muB*, *muB zuC*
 PN CLNK1 ABL there go then ABL there go go arrive

niB-piB ... *zuC* *niB-piB* ... *zuC* *niB-piB* *ʔηona*.
 3-house arrive 3-house arrive 3-house be.at

Baihexian walked and reached their house.

22 *niB* *tsoC-* *aC* *ηaCpøA* *nona* *jenA*.
 3 CLNK1 do supper eat finish

Then, they had supper there. [4]

23 *aC* *ηaCpøA* *nona* *jenA* *-sanC*, *tsoC-* *zoC* *təAnquCqhiC* *ʋona* *ʔηona* *piB*.
 do supper eat finish CLNK2 CLNK1 tell boyfriend 2SG be.at house

When they finished supper, the three sisters said to Baihexian, “Friend, you stay here at home.”

24 *kanBnaB* *tsHuA* *muB* *aC* *nqoA* *-loA* *-liA*.
 1PL exit go do play PTCL PTCL

“We will go out for fun.”

25 *peAχoAsienB* *seA*, *uC*.
 PN say INTJ

Baihexian said, “I see.”

3 The literal translation would be, ‘He knew that the three sisters were humans taking the shape of tigers.’ We interpret this as mix-up between human and tiger by the original storyteller, so the translation has been edited accordingly.

4 In the villages of Hmyo, except for what they have before going to work in the field early in the morning, they have three meals a day. The first meal is called *ηaCyeA* ‘breakfast’, which they have when they come home from farm work in the morning. The second meal is called *ηaCsanC* ‘lunch’, which they have late in the afternoon. The final meal of a day is called *ηaApøA* ‘supper’, which they have late in the evening. The name of these meals also functions as an expression of time, denoting the approximate time of the meal in question.

26 *peAχoAeiɛnB* *tsɔC-* *tsʰiAtʰiBtsʰiAtʰiC-* *qloB* *qhɔnB-piB* *lanC* *tsiA-ðanB* *kəBʔjeB*
 PN CLNK1 secretly ABL hole-house look three-CLF sisters

-eB *tsʰuA* *muB*, *piɛnCʰshɛNA* *qoAloBmpoA* *taAtuB* *jeAleC* *tsʰuA* *muB* *tsɔC-*
 DEM exit go change.into tiger tail wag exit go CLNK1

tsʰuA -loA.
 exit PTCL

When they went out, Baihexian secretly took a peek through a hole on the wall. Then he saw the three sisters change themselves into tigers and walk away with tails wagging.

27 *peAχoAeiɛnB* *ntsʰeC* *qliB* *ntsʰeC* *ðaC*, *peAχoAeiɛnB* *tsɔC-* *ʔηɔNA* *niB-piB* ... *suiA-*
 PN fear * fear die PN CLNK1 be.at 3-house INTS

fænB *suiA-* *fænB* *niB-piB*, *χɔNA-* *fænB* *-tauB* *kuCtsuB*, *maA* *tsiA-tɛNA*
 examine INTS examine 3-house CLNK1 examine POT cupboard exist three-CLF

aAntɛnB, *maA* *tɛNA* *mpʰeC* *-loA.*
 knife exist CLF chipped PTCL

Baihexian got scared to death, so he searched all over their house, and then found three swords in the cupboard. One of them had a chipped edge.

28 *χɔNA-* *ʔηɔNB* *tɛNA* *ntɛnB-mpʰeC* *-eB* *tsɔC-* *muB* *χuB*, *χuB* *ɣæC* *qliB*
 CLNK1 use CLF knife-chipped DEM CLNK1 go sharpen sharpen sharp *

ɣæC *ðaC.*
 sharp die

He took the sword with the chipped edge, and sharpened it until very sharp.

29 *peAχoAeiɛnB* *tsɔC-* *ηɟiB* *niB-piB* *aAzɔNA*, *peAχoAeiɛnB* *tsɔC-* *tsʰuA* *luB* *tsɔC-*
 PN CLNK1 prop 3-house door PN CLNK1 exit come CLNK1

muB *ηtɛiC* *qoC* *aAηtɛnB-vɔnB* *tɛNA* *ntɔnC.*
 go climb GOAL periphery-pond CLF tree

Baihexian then propped the door closed, and went out. Then he climbed up a tree on the edge of a pond.

30 *tsɔC-* *ηtɛiC* *qoC* *aAηtɛnB-vɔnB* *tɛNA* *ntɔnC* *aAntɛC* *saA* *-eB* *-loA.*
 CLNK1 climb GOAL periphery-pond CLF tree treetop top DEM PTCL
 He climbed up to the treetop.

31 *ηtɔNAhmonC* *niB-piB* *tsiA-ðanB* *kəBʔjeB* *jiC-* *luB*, *tsɔC-* *luB* *χanC* *poA*
 midnight 3-house three-CLF sisters CLNK1 come CLNK1 come call open

aAzɔNA.
 door

At midnight, the three sisters came home and asked him to open the door.

- 32 *muA- maA naA tiA -jaA.*
 NEG exist human respond PTCL
 But nobody answered.
- 33 *tsɔC- ntɛnA aAzɔnA ntseAleC muB χəBηtɔnA piB muA- maA təAnaA*
 CLNK1 dash.oneself door enter go inside house NEG exist human
-jaA.
 PTCL
 They dashed themselves against the door and entered the house, but nobody was there.
- 34 *χɔnA- tauCtshuC muB thonB.*
 CLNK1 everywhere go search
 Then, they searched everywhere for him.
- 35 *χɔnA- thonB ... thonB... hlaC tsauC ... tsauC niB -moA jɛnBtszB ʔηɔnA χəBηtɔnA*
 CLNK1 search search moon light light 3 MOD shadow be.at inside
aAvonB χəBηtɔnA -eB.
 pond inside DEM
 After they searched for a long time, they saw moonlight reflecting Baihexian’s shadow on the surface of the pond. [5]
- 36 *tsiA-ðanB ... tsiA-ðanB kəBʔjeB -eB χɔnA- zɔCseA, ʋɔnA tshuA luB -seB.*
 three-CLF three-CLF sisters DEM CLNK1 tell 2SG exit come PTCL
 The three sisters said, “Come up here!”
- 37 *ʋɔnA muA- zanC luB -jaA, kanBnaB ngaB ðaA -waC -liA.*
 2SG NEG ascend come PTCL 1PL descend come PTCL PTCL
 “If you don’t come up, we will go down there.”
- 38 *loB- muA- tiA -jaA.*
 also NEG respond PTCL
 Baihexian didn’t answered.
- 39 *təBqwenAnonB niB-piB tsiA-ðanB kəBʔjeB -eB zɔCseA, aAtaC, ʋɔnA eiɛnB-*
 thereafter 3-house three-CLF sisters DEM tell sister 2SG first
muB.
 go
 Then they said to the eldest sister, “You go down first.” [6]

5 One of the editors, Yun Song, a native speaker, judges this sentence as unacceptable. According to him, one should use *qoC* instead of *ʔηɔnA* in this sentence.

6 *aAtaC* means ‘sister’. When the addressor is of the same sex as the addressee, one can only call elder ones with this word. Thus, in this case, *aAtaC* means ‘elder sister’. When the addressor is of the opposite sex, there is no such constraint. See Appendix 1 for the kinship terms of Lan Hmyo.

- 40 *niB-piB aAtaC nteC -ŋtɛanB ngaB muB loB- muA- tuC -jaA.*
 3-house sister jump EXPR descend go also NEG acquire PTCL
 The eldest sister jumped into the water, but she couldn't catch Baihexian.
- 41 *niB-piB ərCtɛeB nteC -ŋtɛanB ngaB muB loB- muA- tuC -jaA.*
 3-house second.sister jump EXPR descend go also NEG acquire PTCL
 Next, the second eldest sister jumped into the water, but she also couldn't catch Baihexian.
- 42 *niB-piB sanBtɛeB nteC -ŋtɛanB ngaB muB loB- muA- tuC -jaA.*
 3-house third.sister jump EXPR descend go also NEG acquire PTCL
 Next, the youngest sister jumped into the water, but she also couldn't catch Baihexian.
- 43 *niB-piB ... niB-piB ... niB-piB -moA sanBtɛeB χONA- kuB aAχuB lanC*
 3-house 3-house 3-house MOD third.sister CLNK1 raise head see

χəBsaA aAntseC-ntonC saA -eB.
 top treetop-tree top DEM
 The youngest sister raised her face to see the top of the tree.
- 44 *tsOC- seA, oC, ʋONA ʔŋONA aAntseC-ntonC χəBsaA -eB.*
 CLNK1 say INTJ 2SG be.at treetop-tree top DEM
 Then she said, "Oh, you are on the top of the tree."
- 45 *təŋɖuCqhiC ʋONA ngaB luB -seB.*
 boyfriend 2SG descend come PTCL
 "Come down here, my friend."
- 46 *təŋɖuC... təŋɖuC... peAχoAeiɛNB zoCseA, kanB muA- ngaB luB -jaA.*
 boyfriend boyfriend PN tell 1SG NEG descend come PTCL
 Baihexian said, "I won't come down."
- 47 *ʋONA muA- ngaB luB -jaA, kanBnaB zanC ɖaA -waC -liA.*
 2SG NEG descend come PTCL 1PL ascend come PTCL PTCL
 "If you don't come down, we will come up to you."
- 48 *məAnaB zanC ɖaA -manaA.*
 2PL ascend come PTCL
 "Come up here."
- 49 *niB-piB ... niB-piB tsɪA-ɖanB kəBʔjeB seA, aAtaC ʋONA eiɛNB- muB.*
 3-house 3-house three-CLF sisters say sister 2SG first go
 They said to the eldest sister, "You go first."
- 50 *niB-piB aAtaC nteC -ŋtɛanB zanC muB, əBntenB -qəAleC tsOC- nɖanB ɖaC*
 3-house sister jump EXPR ascend go CLF only CLNK1 chop die

-loA.
 PTCL
 The eldest sister jumped up the tree, but was slayed with one stroke of the sword.

51 *niB-piB əCtɛeB nteC -ɲtɛanB zanC muB, əBntɛnB -qəAleC tsoC- ndʒanB*
 3-house second.sister jump EXPR ascend go CLF only CLNK1 chop

ðaC -loA.

die PTCL

The second eldest sister jumped up the tree, but was slayed with one stroke of the sword.

52 *niB-piB sanBtɛeB nteC -ɲtɛanB zanC muB, əBntɛnB -qəAleC tsoC- ndʒanB ...*
 3-house third.sister jump EXPR ascend go CLF only CLNK1 chop

ndʒanB ðaC -loA.

chop die PTCL

The youngest sister jumped up the tree, but was slayed with one stroke of the sword.

53 *peAχoAɛienB ngwana senA -waC χona- ngaB luB.*
 PN sky dawn.break PTCL CLNK1 descend come

When day broke, Baihexian came down to the ground.

54 *χona- ngaB luB nduC hnaA ... nduC hnaA pəA -ɲiA χona- muB jaC*
 CLNK1 descend come walk day walk day dark EXPR CLNK1 go encounter

piB naA.

CLF human

Then, he walked a whole day until the sun set, and encountered a family.

55 *jaC piB naA niB χona- muB zoC, təA-loB naA, kanB luB*
 encounter CLF human 3 CLNK1 go tell NMLZ-old human 1SG come

ʋona-piB thonB təAtəhoC puC.

2SG-house look.for place sleep

He asked an old man from the family, “Could I come to your house and stay a night?”

56 *təA-loB naA zoCseA, naB ʋona tsoC- luB kəB-piB puC.*
 NMLZ-old human tell CONJ 2SG CLNK1 come 1SG-house sleep

The old man said, “Come to my house and stay.”

57 *muB niB-piB puC tsoC- zoC ðanB təA-loB naA -eB zoCseA.*
 go 3-house sleep CLNK1 tell CLF NMLZ-old human DEM tell

When he arrived at the old man’s house, Baihexian asked.

58 *təA-loB naA, ʋona maA qəBʔɲona muA- maA.*
 NMLZ-old human 2SG exist straw NEG exist

“Do you have some straw?”

59 *kanB ʔɲonB χiA ɲgoA khuCʔɲona.*
 1SG use weave CLF sandals

“I want to knit a pair of sandals.”

60 *qəBʔɲona maA -teC.*
 straw exist PTCL

“Yes, I have some straw.”

- 61 *jeB tsoC- δanB təA-loB naA -eB χoNA- tiB qəB?ηoNA paNA niB.*
 FLL CLNK1 CLF NMLZ-old human DEM CLNK1 take straw give 3
 The old man gave him some straw.
- 62 *niB χoNA- tsoNAhmonC muB saA hliC, saA zuC ηtoNAhmonC.*
 3 CLNK1 overnight go twist rope twist arrive midnight
 Then Baihexian made ropes until midnight with the straw.
- 63 *niB-piB -moA piB naA -eB pheia muA- ηaC niB -jaA.*
 3-house MOD CLF human DEM accompany NEG strong 3 PTCL
 The family of the old man got sleepy and could not accompany him.
- 64 *aAqoApuC oNA -tsaB tsoC- muB puC -loA ... muB puC saA nthena -loA.*
 sleep ache PTCL CLNK1 go sleep PTCL go sleep top attic PTCL
 They got terribly sleepy and went upstairs to sleep.
- 65 *peAχoAsienB tsoC- tsoNAhmonC saA hliC, niB-piB piB naA -eB puBleA-*
 PN CLNK1 overnight twist rope 3-house CLF human DEM all
jiAχaC- puC nqlana -waC.
 altogether sleep asleep PTCL
 While Baihexian was making ropes, all the family members fell asleep.
- 66 *niB-piB piB naA -eB jiAχaC- puC nqlana -waC, taAtuB teoC luB*
 3-house CLF human DEM altogether sleep asleep PTCL tale suspend come
-siBsiA.
 EXPR
 When they fell asleep, many tales hung down from the attic.[7]
- 67 *peAχoAsienB tsoC- ?ηoNB ... ?ηoNB hliC tsoC- qheA niB-piB -moA ... qheA*
 PN CLNK1 use use rope CLNK1 tie 3-house MOD tie
niB-piB -moA piB naA -moA taAtuB ... qheA taAtuB ... qheA taAtuB -loA.
 3-house MOD CLF human MOD tail tie tail tie tail PTCL
 Baihexian tied up the tales of the family members with the ropes that he had made.
- 68 *peAχoAsienB tsoC- tiB aAntenB tsoC- ηteiC zanC muB.*
 PN CLNK1 take knife CLNK1 climb ascend go
 Then he took the sword and climbed upstairs.
- 69 *jiAχaC- nzanB niB-piB piB naA δaC -loA.*
 altogether chop 3-house CLF human die PTCL
 He then killed all the family members with the sword.

7 *nthena* ‘attic’ refers to a space between the roof and the ceiling of the first floor, where people put some utensils or harvested products. The floor of this space is constructed with bamboo sticks or wood sticks, and there are many gaps between the sticks. In this story, when the tigers turn back to their original form in the attic, their tails hang down through the gaps of the attic.

- 70 *maA δanB ηjaCtuB tsoC- nteC -ηteanB ngaB luB zuC taAlaA.*
 exist CLF short.tail CLNK1 jump EXPR descend come arrive ground
 Then, a short-tailed tiger jumped down to the ground.[8]
- 71 *tsoC- zoCseA, əBnena woA-ɣwuA hlaC ... əBnena woA-ɣwuA hlaC.*
 CLNK1 say year ten-two month year ten-two month
 The tiger said, “There are twelve months in a year.”
- 72 *naB ... əBnena kanB ηoB woA-ɣwuA miB.*
 CONJ year 1SG bear ten-two CLF
 “I make twelve nests in a year.”
- 73 *əBmiB ... əBmiB ... əBmiB kanB ηoB woA-ɣwuA δanB, kanB thonB... jaC*
 CLF CLF CLF 1SG bear ten-two CLF 1SG look.for encounter

təAnaA, kanB jiAχaC- nonA təAnaA.
 human 1SG altogether eat human
 “I bear twelve cubs, and we eat all the humans that we come across.”
- 74 *peAχoAciēnB tsoC- tsoA aAntenB phaiA zōnA-nthenA tsoC- leA suA kiA.*
 PN CLNK1 lift knife beat door-attic CLNK1 resemble thunder sound
 Then Baihexian took the sword and beat the door of the attic with it. It resounded as loud as thunder.
- 75 *peAχoAciēnB zoC niB seA, ʋona tshiA təBtsiB.*
 PN tell 3 say 2SG speak IGN
 Baihexian then asked, “What did you say?”
- 76 *niB seA, oA, tchoC kanB tshiA təBtsiB kanB hnonAwēnC -loA.*
 3 say oh who.knows 1SG speak IGN 1SG forget PTCL
 The tiger replied, “Oh, I have forgotten what I had just said.”
- 77 *ʋona tshiA təBtsiB, ʋona zoCseA, əBnena maA woA-ɣwuA hlaC, əBnena*
 2SG speak IGN 2SG tell year exist ten-two month year

χona- ηoB miB, əBmiB χona- ηoB δanB.
 only bear CLF CLF only bear CLF
 Baihexian said, “You said, ‘There are twelve months in a year. you only make one nest a year, and bear only one cub in the nest.’”
- 78 *ʋona thonB tuC təA-nona jeB ʋona tsoC- thonB.*
 2SG look.for acquire NMLZ-eat FLL 2SG CLNK1 look.for
 “When you find something to eat, you eat it.”[9]

8 *ηjaCtuB* means an individual animal with a tail shorter than a normal individual. In this story, there happens to be a tiger that has a shorter tail, so Baihexian fails to tie its tail with a rope.

9 This sentence must be stated as “*ʋona thonB tuC təA-nona jeB ʋona tsoC- nonA.*” The last word should be *nonA* ‘to eat’. The translation is edited as such.

79 *ʁONÁ thonB muA- tuC tǎA-nONÁ -jǎA, jeB ʁONÁ tsoC- nONÁ aAlǎA-*
 2SG look.for NEG acquire NMLZ-eat PTCL FLL 2SG CLNK1 eat dirt-

ʁwɛnA.

yellow

“When you do not find anything to eat, you eat yellow dirt.”

【中文大意】

白鹤仙和老虎

从前，老虎能变成人。十里都没有人走路。那一天，白鹤仙走在路上，遇到了三姐妹。走在同一条路上，三姐妹对白鹤仙说。“小兄弟，跟我们一起吧。”白鹤仙说：“我不去。”白鹤仙说：“还是你们去我家吧。”三姐妹说：“我们不去。不然，咱们互相拉，如果你拉赢了，我们三姐妹就跟你去。如果我们三姐妹拉赢了，你就跟我们来。”于是，他们就互相拉了起来。结果，白鹤仙输给了三姐妹。于是就跟着三姐妹走了。白鹤仙说道：“我不认识路。你们三姐妹带路，我在后边跟着。”白鹤仙跟在那三姐妹后面走着。白鹤仙跟在后面走的时候，看见那三姐妹的脚后根上长有毛。白鹤仙心想，她们三姐妹必定是老虎变的。三姐妹说：“小兄弟，我们家就在那边。”白鹤仙就跟着去到了她们家里。然后，做了晚饭吃。吃完晚饭，三姐妹说：“小兄弟，你在家休息。我们出去玩儿。”白鹤仙说，“好的。”白鹤仙悄悄地透过墙缝看到三姐妹出去后，就变回老虎摇着尾巴出去了。白鹤仙非常害怕，就在她们家里到处翻，翻到橱柜里有三把刀，其中一把是有缺口的。他拿着那把有缺口的刀去磨，把它磨得非常锋利。白鹤仙把她们家的门用木棒顶上，就出去了。然后，他爬到池塘边的一棵树的树梢上面。到了半夜，三姐妹回来，喊开门。没有人回应。她们就撞门进去，发现家里没有人。她们就到处找。找着找着忽然看见月亮把白鹤仙的影子照在池塘里。三姐妹说：“你上来吧。你不上来的话，我们就下去了。”白鹤仙也不回答。于是，三姐妹就说：“姐姐，你先下去。”大姐跳下去，但是没捉到。二姐跳下去，还是没捉到。小妹跳下去，也没捉到。小妹抬头看树梢那边。说道：“原来你在树梢上边啊。小兄弟，你下来吧。”白鹤仙说道：“我不下去。”“你下不来的话，我们就上去了。”“你们上来吧。”三姐妹说：“姐姐，你先上去吧。”大姐爬上去，一刀就被砍死了。二姐爬上去，又是一刀被砍死了。小妹爬上去，也是一刀被砍死了。等到天亮了，白鹤仙才下来。下来后，一直走到天黑才终于碰到一家人。于是，他就问那家的老人，“老爷爷，能不能到你家借宿一晚。”老人说：“那你来我家住吧。”到老人的家后，就问那个老人。“老爷爷，你家有稻草吗？我想用来编双草鞋。”“有的。”老人拿来稻草给他。他用稻草打绳子打到半夜。老人的家人们早已发困而陪不了他了。他们困了就去楼上睡了。白鹤仙打了一晚上的绳，老人的家人们都睡着了。他家家人睡着后，好多根尾巴从暗楼一条一条地垂了下来。白鹤仙用绳子把他家家人的尾巴捆了起来。然后，白鹤仙就拿着刀爬到暗楼去了。把他家家人全部砍死了。有一头短尾巴的老虎跳到地上去了。老虎说道：“一年有十二个月。一年我筑十二个窝。一窝我生十二头老虎，把碰到的人类都吃掉。”白鹤仙用刀拍暗楼的门，声音响得像打雷似的。白鹤仙说道：“你说什么来着？”“哎呀！我说什么我都忘掉了。”白鹤仙说：“你是这么说的。一年有十二个月，一年你只有一个窝，一窝只生一头崽。你找的到吃的就吃。你找不到吃的就吃黄泥。”

【日本語大意】

白鶴仙と虎

その昔、虎は人に化けることができた。十里の間歩く人もいなかった。その日、白鶴仙は道を歩いていて三人の姉妹に出会った。同じ道を歩いていると、三姉妹が白鶴仙に言った。

「お兄さん、私たちについて来てくださいよ。」白鶴仙は言った。「いや、行きません。」白鶴仙は言った。「あなた方が私の家に来ませんか。」三姉妹は言った。「いや、行きません。じゃあ、引っ張り合いをして、あなたが勝ったら私たちはあなたの所へ行きましょう。もし私たち三姉妹が勝ったら、あなたは私たちについて来るんですよ。」それから彼らは互いに引っ張り合った。結局、白鶴仙は三姉妹に勝てなかった。白鶴仙は三姉妹について行くことになった。白鶴仙は言った。「私は道がわからない。あなたがた三姉妹が先に行ってください。私は後からついていきますから。」白鶴仙はその三姉妹の後について行った。白鶴仙が後からついていくと、三姉妹の踵に毛が生えているのが見えた。白鶴仙は思った。「この三姉妹は虎が人に化けているに違いない。」三姉妹は言った。「お兄さん、私たちの家はあそこにあるのよ。」白鶴仙は彼らについて行き、彼らの家に到着した。そこで晩御飯を作って食べた。晩御飯を食べ終わると、三姉妹は言った。「お兄さん、あなたは家で休んでいてくださいな。私たちは遊びに行ってきます。」白鶴仙は言った。「いいですよ。」白鶴仙はこっそりと壁の穴から三姉妹が行くのをみると、三姉妹は虎の姿に戻って、しっぽを振りながら出かけて行った。白鶴仙は死ぬほど怖くなり、彼らの家をそこらじゅう調べると、戸棚に三本の刀を見つけた。そのうちの一本は歯が欠けていた。彼は歯の欠けた刀を取って、その刀を研ぎ、とても切れるようにした。白鶴仙は家の扉につかえ棒をして外に出た。そして池の端の木の梢に上った。真夜中になって、三姉妹が帰って来て、戸をあけるように言った。誰も返事をしない。三姉妹は戸に体当たりをして中に入ったが、中には誰もいない。それで彼らはいたるところを探した。探しているうち、月が白鶴仙の姿を池に移しているのが目に入った。三姉妹は言った。「上がって来なさいな。あなたが上がってこないなら、私たちが下りて行くわよ。」それでも答えがない。それで三姉妹は言った。「姉さん、先に行ってみて。」姉は池に飛び込んだが、捕まえられない。二番目の姉が飛び込んだが、やはり捕まえられない。末の妹が飛び込んだが捕まえられない。妹は頭をあげて木の梢を見た。「あら、木の上にいるのね。あなた、下りてきなさいよ。」白鶴仙は言った。「私は下りないよ。」「あなたが下りてこないなら、私たちが上っていくわよ。」「上がってきなさいよ。」三人姉妹は言った。「お姉さん、先に行ってみてよ。」上の姉が上って行ったが、一刀の下に切り殺された。二番目の姉が上って行ったが、一刀の下に切り殺された。末の妹が上って行ったが、一刀の下に切り殺された。夜が明けると、白鶴仙は下りてきた。下りてくると、とっぷり日が暮れるまで歩いてやっとある一家に出会った。そこでその家の老人に言った。「お爺さん、あなたの家に行って泊まってもいいかな。」老人は言った。「うちに泊まりなさい。」老人の家に着くと、その老人に言った。「お爺さん、お宅に藁はあるか

ね。私は草履を編みたいのだが。」「藁ならあるよ。」老人は藁を彼にあげた。彼は藁で真夜中まで縄をなつた。すると家の人たちは眠くなって彼と一緒に起きていられなくなった。みんな眠くなって、屋根裏に上がっていった。白鶴仙は一晩中縄をなっていると、家の人たちはみんな眠ってしまった。家の人たちが眠ると、屋根裏から何本も尻尾が垂れ下がってきた。白鶴仙は縄で家の人たちの尻尾を結んだ。白鶴仙は刀を取ると屋根裏に上がっていった。そして家の人を全部切り殺した。すると尻尾の短い虎が一匹跳び下りてきた。虎は言った。「一年は十二ヶ月。一年で私は十二の巣を作る。巣一つに十二頭、出会った人間はすべて食う。」白鶴仙は刀を取って屋根裏部屋の扉を叩くと、それは雷のように響いた。白鶴仙は言った。「おまえ、何と言ったんだ。」「あれ、何と言ったか忘れてしまった。」白鶴仙は言った。「おまえはこう言ったのだ。一年は十二ヶ月、一年に巣は一つ、一つの巣に一頭しか産まない。食べ物が見つければそれを食べる。食べるものが見つからなければ、泥を食べるのだ。」

2. Two Brothers Dividing their Father's Property

- 1 *εeA -eB maA ʔwuA-δanB kəBðəA szA-peA piB.*
 time DEM exist two-CLF brothers RCP-divide house
 Once upon a time, two brothers divided their father's property between them.
- 2 *niB-piB aAniB tsoC- paNA tuC δanB ... tsoC- paNA tuC δanB juB.*
 3-house brother CLNK1 give acquire CLF CLNK1 give acquire CLF cow
 The elder brother got a cow. [10]
- 3 *niB-piB εONB'tiC' tsoC- paNA tuC δanB aAkuBtseB.*
 3-house brother CLNK1 give acquire CLF dog
 The younger brother got a dog.
- 4 *niB-piB aAniB tsoC- tɛONA juB muB siB χuA.*
 3-house brother CLNK1 lead cow go plow land
 The elder brother pulled the cow to plow the field.
- 5 *niB-piB εONB'tiC' tsoC- tɛONA aAkuBtseB muB siB lenA.*
 3-house brother CLNK1 lead dog go plow paddy
 The younger brother pulled the dog to plow the field.
- 6 *maA tsiA-δanB maC ntuA tsoC- kuB ntuA qwaC təAtɛiB.*
 exist three-CLF sell cloth CLNK1 carry cloth pass road
 Three cloth-sellers passed by carrying cloths.
- 7 *tsiA-δanB maC ntuA -eB tsoC- zoC, εONA -moA δanB aAkuBtseB -eB χwiC*
 three-CLF sell cloth DEM CLNK1 tell 2SG MOD CLF dog DEM can
siB -tauB lenA.
 plow POT paddy
 The three cloth-sellers said, "Can your dog plow paddy fields?"
- 8 *εONA siB tuC tsiA-kona, kanBnaB tsoC- ʔmiA tsiA-tanC ntuA -nonB paNA*
 2SG plow acquire three-CLF 1PL CLNK1 DISP1 three-CLF cloth DEM give
εONA muB.
 2SG go
 "If your dog can plow the field and make three trenches, we will give you three carrying-poles of cloth."
- 9 *niB zoCseA, jonC naA.*
 3 tell COP INTJ
 "OK, it's a deal.", the younger brother said.

10 *aAniB* means 'brother'. When the addressor is of the same sex as the addressee, one can only denote elder ones with this word. Thus, in this story, *aAniB* means 'elder brother'. When the addressor is of the opposite sex, there is no such constraint. See Appendix 1 for the kinship terms of Lan Hmyo.

- 10 *niB tsoC- paA tuC tsiA-thonC ηaCχona.*
 3 CLNK1 make acquire three-CLF half.cooked.rice
 He made three rice balls. [11]
- 11 *niB tsoC- ndoC thonC ηaC muB ?lana taA-qaAloB.*
 3 CLNK1 throw CLF rice go CLF NMLZ-corner
 He threw a riceball to an edge of the field.
- 12 *δanB aAkuBtseB -eB tsoC- penC muB nonA thonC ηaCχona -eB tsoC-*
 CLF dog DEM CLNK1 rush go eat CLF half.cooked.rice DEM CLNK1
tuC kona.
 acquire CLF
 The dog rushed to the riceball and ate it, then the dog made a trench.
- 13 *niB juCtɛiA- ndoC thonC ηaC -eB muB taA-qaAloB, δanB aAkuBtseB -eB*
 3 again throw CLF rice DEM go NMLZ-corner CLF dog DEM
penC muB nonA thonC ηaC -eB, juC- tuC kona.
 rush go eat CLF rice DEM again acquire CLF
 Next, he threw a riceball back to the other edge, the dog rushed to it and ate it, then the dog made another trench.
- 14 *niB juC- ndoC thonC ηaC -eB tɔnB muB taA-qaAloB, juC- tuC kona.*
 3 again throw CLF rice DEM return go NMLZ-corner again acquire CLF
 When he threw a riceball back to the other edge again, the dog made another trench.
- 15 *niB tsoC- siB tuC tsiA-kona, tsoC- tuC tsiA-tanC ntuA.*
 3 CLNK1 plow acquire three-CLF CLNK1 acquire three-CLF cloth
 The younger brother made three trenches, so he got three carrying-poles of cloth.
- 16 *niB tsoC- kuB tsiA-tanC ntuA -eB, muB piB, niB-piB aAniB tsoC- naC*
 3 CLNK1 carry three-CLF cloth DEM go house 3-house brother CLNK1 ask
niB.
 3
 When he came home carrying three carrying-poles of cloth, the elder brother asked him.
- 17 *βona qloB tɛuAδuB tuC tsiA-tanC ntuA -eB luB.*
 2SG ABL IGN acquire three-CLF cloth DEM come
 “Where did you get those three carrying-poles of cloth?”
- 18 *kanB tɛona aAkuBtseB muB siB, maA tsiA-δanB maC ntuA -eB kuB tsiA-*
 1SG lead dog go plow exist three-CLF sell cloth DEM carry three-
tanC ntuA -eB qwaC tɛiB.
 CLF cloth DEM pass road
 “When I led the dog to plow the field, three cloth-sellers passed by carrying cloths.”

11 *ηaCχona* denotes a state of cooked rice, which specifically denotes undercooked rice.

19 *niB tsoC- zoC kanB zoCseA, vonA -moA danB kuBtseB -eB xwiC siB -tauB*
 3 CLNK1 tell 1SG tell 2SG MOD CLF dog DEM can plow POT

lena.

paddy

They asked me, “Can your dog plow paddy fields?”

20 *vonA siB tuC tsiA-kona, kanBnaB tsoC- ?miA tsiA-tanC ntuA -nonB pana*
 2SG plow acquire three-CLF 1PL CLNK1 DISP1 three-CLF cloth DEM give

vonA muB.

2SG go

“If your dog can plow the field and make three trenches, we will give you three carrying-poles of cloth.”

21 *kanB tsoC- siB tuC tsiA-kona.*
 1SG CLNK1 plow acquire three-CLF

“I made three trenches.”

22 *kanB tsoC- tuC tsiA-tanC ntuA -nonB.*
 1SG CLNK1 acquire three-CLF cloth DEM

“Then I got these three carrying-poles of cloth.”

23 *niB-piB aAniB tsoC- zoCseA, aCnaB.*
 3-house brother CLNK1 tell INTJ

His brother said, “Really?”

24 *phiAnəAyeC pana kanB muB siB ?neA.*
 tomorrow give 1SG go plow CLF

“Tomorrow, let me plow the field.”

25 *niB-piB aAniB tsoC- tona muB siB.*
 3-house brother CLNK1 lead go plow

The elder brother led the dog to plow the field.

26 *tsiA-danB maC ntuA -eB juC- kuB tsiA-tanC ntuA qwaC teiB.*
 three-CLF sell cloth DEM again carry three-CLF cloth pass road

The three cloth-sellers passed by carrying cloths again.

27 *tsiA-danB maC ntuA -eB zoCseA, vonA -moA danB kuBtseB -eB xwiC*
 three-CLF sell cloth DEM tell 2SG MOD CLF dog DEM can

siB -tauB lenA.

plow POT paddy

The three cloth-sellers said, “Can your dog plow paddy fields?”

- 28 *ʁONA siB tuC ʁiA-kONA, kanBnaB ʁoC- ʁmiA ... kanBnaB ʁoC- ʁmiA ʁiA-*
 2SG plow acquire three-CLF 1PL CLNK1 DISP1 1PL CLNK1 DISP1 three-
tanC ntuA -nonB ʁana ʁONA muB.
 CLF cloth DEM give 2SG go
 “If your dog can plow the field and make three trenches, we will give you three carrying-poles of cloth.”
- 29 *niB ʁoC- ʁyæA ʁanB kuBʁeB -eB muA- nduC -jaA.*
 3 CLNK1 drive CLF dog DEM NEG walk PTCL
 The brother tried to make the dog plow the field, but it didn’t move.
- 30 *niB ʁoC- ʁuA ʁanB kuBʁeB -eB ʁaC -loA.*
 3 CLNK1 beat CLF dog DEM die PTCL
 He hit and killed the dog.
- 31 *niB ʁoC- ʁonB muB piB.*
 3 CLNK1 return go house
 He returned home.
- 32 *niB-piB ʁonBʻiCʻ ... niB-piB aA ... niB-piB aAʁaA ... niB-piB -moA ʁaAkuB təA-*
 3-house brother 3-house 3-house brother 3-house MOD brother NMLZ-
ʁjoC ʁoC- naC niB.
 small CLNK1 ask 3
 His younger brother asked him.
- 33 *kanB -moA aAkuBʁeB -niB.*
 1SG MOD dog PTCL
 “Where is my dog?”
- 34 *kanB siB ʁyæA muA- nduC -jaA.*
 1SG plow drive NEG walk PTCL
 “I tried to make it plow the field, but it didn’t move.”
- 35 *kanB ʁoC- ʁuA ʁaC -loA.*
 1SG CLNK1 beat die PTCL
 “So I beat it to death.”
- 36 *niB-piB ʁaAkuB təA-ʁjoC, ʁoC- ʁiBlaA ʁoC- muB ʁteA aAjoAlenA.*
 3-house brother NMLZ-small CLNK1 cry CLNK1 go arrive rice.field
 The younger brother then went to the paddy field crying.
- 37 *ʁoC- kuB ʁanB aAkuBʁeB -eB muB lonB ʁoC taAlaA.*
 CLNK1 carry CLF dog DEM go bury GOAL earth
 He carried the dog and buried it.
- 38 *təBqwenAnonB -niB, ʁoC- ʁʁenC tuC ʁenA ʁŋoA.*
 thereafter PTCL CLNK1 sprout acquire CLF bamboo
 After a while, there sprouted a bamboo tree at the place where he buried the dog.

- 39 *yeA-yeA muB ηtehuBηtehuA.*
 morning-RED go shake
 The younger brother went there and shook it.
- 40 *tenA aAηηoA -eB tsoC- ɣæNC ηiA luB.*
 CLF bamboo DEM CLNK1 fall silver come
 Then some money dropped from the bamboo tree.
- 41 *niB-piB aAniB tsoC- naC... niB-piB aAniB tsoC- zoC, ɸoNA qloB teuAðuB*
 3-house brother CLNK1 ask 3-house brother CLNK1 tell 2SG ABL IGN
tuC ηiA luB.
 acquire silver come
 His brother asked, “Where did you get the money?”
- 42 *aAniB, ɸoNA quA aAkuBteB δaC -loA.*
 brother 2SG beat dog die PTCL
 “You killed my dog, didn’t you?”
- 43 *kanB kuB muB lonB qoC taAlaA.*
 1SG carry go bury GOAL earth
 “I carried it and buried it.”
- 44 *təBqweNAnonB -niB, tsoC- tshenC tuC tenA ηηoA.*
 thereafter PTCL CLNK1 sprout acquire CLF bamboo
 “After a while, a bamboo sprouted from the place.”
- 45 *tiByeA, kanB muB ηtehuBηtehuA tsoC- ɣæNC ηiA luB.*
 morning 1SG go shake CLNK1 fall silver come
 “When I shook it in the morning, some money fell from the bamboo tree.”
- 46 *aCnaB.*
 INTJ
 “Really?”
- 47 *phiAnəAyeC kanB muB ηtehuBηtehuA ɸneA.*
 tomorrow 1SG go shake CLF
 “Tomorrow, I will go and shake it.”
- 48 *niB tsoC- muB ηtehuBηtehuA tsoC- ɣæNC qaB luB.*
 3 CLNK1 go shake CLNK1 fall excrement come
 When the elder brother went there and shook the bamboo, feces fell down on him.
- 49 *ɣæNC qaB tsoC- mpaB niB -puA?leBpuA?luC.*
 fall excrement CLNK1 stick 3 EXPR
 The feces stuck all over on his body.
- 50 *niB tsoC- ntuB tenA ηηoA -eB -loA.*
 3 CLNK1 cut CLF bamboo DEM PTCL
 Then he cut down the bamboo tree.

- 51 *niB-piB* *ðaakuB* *təA-ʔjoC* *ʂoC-* *ʂoCseA,* *ʋona* *ntuB* *kanB* *-moA* *hŋoA* *-loA.*
 3-house brother NMLZ-small CLNK1 tell 2SG cut 1SG MOD bamboo PTCL
 The younger brother said, “Brother, you cut down my bamboo tree, didn’t you?”
- 52 *niB-piB* *aAniB* *ʂoC-* *ʂoCseA,* *kanB* *muB* *ŋtshuBŋtshuA,* *puBleA-* *ponA* *qaB* ...
 3-house brother CLNK1 tell 1SG go shake fully fall excrement
puBleA- *ponA* *qaB* *mpaB* *kanB* *-puAʔleBpuAʔluC.*
 fully fall excrement stick 1SG EXPR
 The elder brother said, “When I shook it, feces fell from the bamboo, and stuck all over on my body.”
- 53 *kanB* *ʂoC-* *ntuB* *-loA.*
 1SG CLNK1 cut PTCL
 “So I cut it down.”
- 54 *niB-piB* *ðaakuB* *təA-ʔjoC* *ʂoC-* *muB* *khuAluB,* *tiB* *luB* *xiA* *woA-qeA.*
 3-house brother NMLZ-small CLNK1 go shave take come weave cage-chicken
 The younger brother split the bamboo to make a chicken cage. [12]
- 55 *niB* *ʂoC-* *tiB* *luB* *tenC* *qoC* *taA-qoAloB.*
 3 CLNK1 take come set GOAL NMLZ-corner
 He put it at a corner of his house.
- 56 *naA* *niA-piB* *-moA* *qeA,* *ʂoC-* *ðaA* *ndiC* *qwiC* *qoC* *χəBŋtonA* *-eB.*
 human ANPH-house MOD chicken CLNK1 come lay egg GOAL inside DEM
 Then chickens from other families came to his house and laid eggs in the cage.
- 57 *niB* *ʂoC-* *tiB* *qwiC* *muB* *maC.*
 3 CLNK1 take egg go sell
 He sold them.
- 58 *niB-piB* *aAniB* *ʂoCseA,* *ʋona* *qloB* *tɛuAðuB* *tuC* *qwiC* *luB.*
 3-house brother tell 2SG ABL IGN acquire egg come
 Then his brother asked him, “Where did you get those eggs?”
- 59 *niB* *ʂoC-* *ʂoCseA,* *ʋona* *ntuB* *kanB* *-moA* *hŋoA* *-loA.*
 3 CLNK1 tell 2SG cut 1SG MOD bamboo PTCL
 The younger brother said, “You cut my bamboo tree down, didn’t you?”
- 60 *kanB* *ʂoC-* *tiB* *luB* *xiA* *aAwoA-qeA.*
 1SG CLNK1 take come weave cage-chicken
 “I made a chicken cage with the bamboo.”

12 ‘Bird cage’ is *woA* in *aŋŋoAqeA* (Wopu 窝铺), *yoA* in *aAqloAʂoC* (Guangzhong 光中).

61 *kanB tsoC- tiB luB tenC qoC qoAloB-piB, naA niA-piB -moA qeA*
 1SG CLNK1 take come set GOAL corner-house human ANPH-house MOD chicken

daA ndiC qwiC qoC xəBηtonA -eB.
 come lay egg GOAL inside DEM

“I put the cage at a corner of my house, then chickens from other families came to my house and laid eggs in the cage.”

62 *kanB tsoC- tiB qwiC muB maC.*
 1SG CLNK1 take egg go sell
 “I sold them.”

63 *aiBjaA.*
 INTJ
 “Really?”

64 *phiAnəAyeC kanB szC tiB muB tenC qoC kanB -moA qoAloB-piB qoC*
 tomorrow 1SG try take go set GOAL 1SG MOD corner-house let

qeA luB ndiC qwiC.
 chicken come lay egg

“Tomorrow, I will put the cage at a corner of my house and let the chickens come and lay eggs.”

65 *əBqeA jiC- luB tsoC- luB woA-qeA tsonC qaB.*
 chicken CLNK1 come CLNK1 come cage-chicken deliver excrement
 The chickens came to his house and laid feces in the cage.

66 *niB tsoC- tɛhiA -tsaB, tsoC- tiB ʔlana woA-qeA -eB luB phɛiB -loA.*
 3 CLNK1 angry PTCL CLNK1 take CLF cage-chicken DEM come burn PTCL
 The elder brother got mad and burned the cage.

67 *niB-piB daAkub təA-ʔjoC tsoC- ηiBlaA.*
 3-house brother NMLZ-small CLNK1 cry
 The younger brother cried.

68 *ηteaC tɛiA-joA hmonC, muA- maA tsəBtsiB qwaC tsɛnA -jaA.*
 arrive three-ten evening NEG exist IGN pass new.year PTCL
 The last day of the year came, but they had nothing to eat going into the new year.

69 *niB tsoC- muB aAxuB-viB muB ηtuA ngeA luB qwaC tsɛnA.*
 3 CLNK1 go head-mountain go hit flesh come pass new.year
 The younger brother went to the mountain to hunt for some food.

70 *muB ηteaC nthanB aAtoCpiC -eB maA ʔlana təA-qhonB ... maA ʔlana*
 go arrive CLF cliff DEM exist CLF NMLZ-hole exist CLF

təA-qhonB.

NMLZ-hole

He reached a mountain cliff where he found a cave.

- 71 *maA δanB naA tsoC- naC niB zoCseA, kona δaA aC tsaBtsiB.*
 exist CLF human CLNK1 ask 3 tell 2SG come do IGN
 There was a man in the cave who asked him, “What are you doing around here?”
- 72 *kanB muA- maA tsaBtsiB qwaC tseNA -jaA.*
 1SG NEG exist IGN pass new.year PTCL
 “I have nothing to eat going into the new year.”
- 73 *kanB δaA ηtuA ?neA ngeA muB qwaC tseNA.*
 1SG come hit CLF flesh go pass new.year
 “I came here to get something to eat.”
- 74 *δanB naA -eB tsoC- zoC, sona taAwib luB.*
 CLF human DEM CLNK1 tell extend hand come
 The man said, “Put out your hand.”
- 75 *aCnaB tsoC- tuC mpaC zena.*
 this.way CLNK1 acquire CLF money
 Then the younger brother received some money.
- 76 *niB tsoC- tonB muB piB tsoC- luB nzanB ηkanC qwaC tseNA.*
 3 CLNK1 return go house CLNK1 come chop meat pass new.year
 He went back home and bought some meat to eat for the new year.
- 77 *niB-piB aAniB zoC niB seA, kona qlob teuaduB tuC ηiA luB nzanB*
 3-house brother tell 3 say 2SG ABL IGN acquire silver come chop
aηkanC.
 meat
 His brother said, “Where did you get the money to buy the meat?”
- 78 *kanB muB zanc aχuB-viB muB ηtuA ngeA.*
 1SG go ascend head-mountain go hit flesh
 I went to the mountain to hunt.
- 79 *maA δanB naA naC kanB zoCseA, kona δaA aC tsaBtsiB.*
 exist CLF human ask 1SG tell 2SG come do IGN
 There was a man who asked me, “What are you doing around here?”
- 80 *kanB muA- maA aηkanC qwaC tseNA -jaA.*
 1SG NEG exist meat pass new.year PTCL
 “I have nothing to eat going into the new year.”
- 81 *kanB δaA ηtuA ngeA luB qwaC tseNA.*
 1SG come hit flesh come pass new.year
 “I came here to get something.”
- 82 *δanB naA -eB tsoC- zoC, sona taAwib luB.*
 CLF human DEM CLNK1 tell extend hand come
 “That man said, ‘Put out your hand.’”

- 83 *kanB tsoC- sonA təAwib muB tsoC- tuC mpaC ŋiA.*
 1SG CLNK1 extend hand go CLNK1 acquire CLF silver
 “When I put the hand out, the man gave me some money.”
- 84 *aCnaB.*
 INTJ
 “Really?”
- 85 *phiAnəAyeC kanB szC muB ŋtuA ʔneA ngeA luB qwaC tseNA.*
 tomorrow 1SG try go hit CLF flesh come pass new.year
 “Tomorrow I will go to hunt to get something to eat for the new year.”
- 86 *niB tsoC- muB ŋtuA ngeA.*
 3 CLNK1 go hit flesh
 The elder brother went hunting.
- 87 *tsoC- muB ŋteəC nthanB toCpiC -eB.*
 CLNK1 go arrive CLF cliff DEM
 He reached the mountain cliff.
- 88 *maA ɔanB naA tsoC- naC niB, ʔona ɔaA aC təBtsiB.*
 exist CLF human CLNK1 ask 3 2SG come do IGN
 There was a man in the cave who asked him, “What are you doing around here?”
- 89 *muA- maA təBtsiB qwaC tseNA -jaA.*
 1SG NEG exist pass new.year PTCL
 “I have nothing to eat going into the new year.”
- 90 *kanB ɔaA ŋtuA ʔneA ngeA muB qwaC tseNA.*
 1SG come hit CLF flesh go pass new.year
 “I came here to get something to eat.”
- 91 *ɔanB naA -eB zoC ... tsoC- zoCseA, sonA təAwib luB.*
 CLF human DEM tell CLNK1 tell extend hand come
 The man said, “Put out your hand.”
- 92 *niB tsoC- tshzB təAwib qwaC muB.*
 3 CLNK1 extend hand pass go
 The elder brother put his hand out.
- 93 *aApiC tsoC- teA niB təAwib qoC χəBŋtonA -eB -loA.*
 cliff CLNK1 pinch 3 hand GOAL inside DEM PTCL
 Then the mountain cliff fell suddenly and crushed his hand.

【中文大意】

兄弟分家

从前，有两个兄弟分家。哥哥分得了一头牛。弟弟分得了一条狗。哥哥牵着牛去犁地。弟弟牵着狗去犁田。有三个卖布的，挑着布路过。那三个卖布的说：“你的狗会犁地？如果你能让它犁出三条沟，我们就把这三担布都送给你。”弟弟说，“好啊！”于是他捏了三个饭团。拿了一个饭团扔到角落。那条狗跑去吃那个饭团，就犁出了一条沟。他又拿了一个饭团扔到另一个角落，就又犁了一条沟。接着他又拿饭团扔回到原来的角落，就又犁了一条沟。他犁了三条沟，得到了三担布。担着那三担布回到家，他的哥哥问他。“你从哪里得来了三担布呢？”“我牵着狗去耕地，三个卖布的担着布路过。他们跟我说，“你的那条狗会犁地吗？如果你能让它犁出三条沟，我们就把这三担布送给你。”我犁了三条沟。然后就得到了这三担布。”哥哥说，“真的吗？那明天借给我去犁一下。”第二天哥哥就牵着狗去犁地了。那三个卖布的又担着三担布路过。三个卖布的说道：“你的那条狗会犁地吗？如果你能让它犁出三条沟，我们就把这三担布送给你。”哥哥就赶那条狗犁地，可是怎么赶也赶不动。于是就打死了那条狗。哥哥回到家来。弟弟问哥哥。“我的狗呢？”“我赶它犁地，怎么赶都赶不动。就把它打死了。”弟弟哭着去到自己的田里。抱着狗去埋了。后来，那里就长出了一根竹子。弟弟每天早上去摇。于是从竹子上就落下了银子。哥哥问弟弟，“你从哪里得的银子？”“哥，你打死了我的狗。我抱着它去埋了。后来，那里就长出了一根竹子。早上我去摇，就落下了银子。”“真的假的。明天我也去去摇一下看看。”哥哥去摇就落下了屎。弄得他全身上下都粘满了屎。他就砍了那根竹子。弟弟说，“你砍了我的竹子吗？”哥哥说，“我去摇，粘得一身屎。所以我就砍掉了。”弟弟就去削了那根竹子来编鸡笼。把它放在房子角落里。别人家的鸡进来在那个鸡笼里下蛋。弟弟就拿蛋去卖。哥哥问，“你从哪里得的鸡蛋？”弟弟说，“你砍了我的竹子。我就拿来编鸡笼。把它放在房子角落里，别人家的鸡就在那里头下了蛋。我就拿蛋去卖。”“真的假的。明天我也拿来放在我家的角落里，让鸡来下蛋。”鸡一来就在鸡笼里面拉屎。哥哥很生气，把鸡笼烧了。弟弟就哭了。到三十晚上，没有什么东西过年。弟弟就上山打猎来准备过年。走到了一个山崖，那里有一个山洞。有个人就问他，“你来干什么？”“我没有什么东西过年。想打点儿猎物来过年。”那个人说，“把手伸出来。”于是，弟弟就得到了一捧银子。他就回到家，切肉来准备过年。哥哥说，“你从哪里得的银子来买肉？”“我上山去打猎。有个人问我，“你来干什么？”我没有肉过年。想来打点猎物过年。那个人说，“把手伸出来。”我伸手过去，他就给了我一捧银子。”“真的假的。明天我也去去打猎试试。”第二天哥哥就去打猎了。来到了那个山崖。有个人就问，“你来干什么？”“没有什么东西过年。想来打点猎物过年。”那个人就说，“把手伸出来。”哥哥就伸出手。于是，山崖塌下来把他的手夹在里面了。

【日本語大意】

兄弟の分家

昔、二人の兄弟が分家することになった。兄は牛をもらった。弟は犬をもらった。兄は牛を牽いて畑を耕しに行った。弟は犬を牽いて田を耕しに行った。三人の布売りが布を担いで通りかかった。その三人の布売りは言った。「おまえさんの犬は田を耕せるのかい。おまえさんが溝を三つ作ることができたら、私たちはこの三担ぎの布をあげよう。」彼は言った。「いいよ。」彼は三つのおにぎりを握った。彼はおにぎり一つ田の隅っこに投げた。その犬が駆けて行ってそのおにぎりを食べると溝ができた。彼は今度はおにぎりを別の隅っこに投げると、その犬は駆けて行ってそのおにぎりを食べ、それでまた溝ができた。彼はま

たおにぎりを元の方へ投げるとまた溝ができた。彼は三つの溝を作れたので、三担ぎの布を得た。三担ぎの布を担いで家に戻ると、兄が尋ねた。「おまえどこからその三担ぎの布を手に入れたんだ。」「僕は犬を牽いて耕しに行くと、三人の布売りが三担ぎの布を担いで通りかかったんだ。彼は私に言った。おまえさんの犬は田を耕せるのか。おまえさんが溝を三つ作ることができたら、私たちはこの三担ぎの布をあげよう。僕は溝を三つ作ったんで、そこで三担ぎの布を手に入れることができたんだよ。」兄は言った。「本当かい。明日私にその犬で耕させてくれ。」次の日、兄は犬を牽いて耕しに行った。その三人の布売りが三担ぎの布を担いで通りかかった。その三人の布売りは言った。「おまえさんの犬は田を耕せるのかい。もしおまえさんが三つの溝を作ることができたら、この三担ぎの布をあなたにあげよう。」彼は犬を追い立てたが犬は動かない。そこで彼は犬を叩き殺した。兄は家に帰ってきた。彼の弟が彼に尋ねた。「僕の犬は。」「耕そうとしたが、追い立てても動かなかったんだ。それで叩き殺しちまったよ。」弟は泣いて、自分の田へ行ったら。その犬を担いでいって埋めた。しばらくすると一本の竹が生えてきた。彼は毎朝出かけてゆすった。すると、その竹からお金が落ちてきた。兄は尋ねた。「おまえはどこからお金を手に入れたんだ。」「兄さん、私の犬を叩き殺しただろ。僕は犬を担いでいって埋めたんだ。しばらくすると、一本の竹が生えてきた。朝行ってゆするとお金が落ちてきたんだ。」「本当かい。明日私も行ってゆすってみよう。」兄が行ってゆすると糞が落ちてきた。糞は落ちてきて彼の体中にべったりくっついた。彼はそこでその竹を切ってしまった。弟は言った。「兄さん、僕の竹を切ってしまったね。」兄は言った。「おれが行ってゆすると、糞が落ちてきて体中にべったりくっついた。だから切っちゃったよ。」弟はそこで行って竹を削り、鳥かごを編んだ。そしてそれを家の隅に置いておいた。他の家の鶏がやってきてその中に卵を産んだ。彼は卵を持って行って売った。兄は言った。「おまえどこから卵を手に入れたんだ。」彼は言った。「兄さんは僕の竹を切ってしまっただろ。僕はその竹で鳥かごを編んだんだ。それを家の隅に置いておいたら、他の家の鳥がやってきて卵を産んだんだ。それを持って行って売ったんだよ。」「なんと。明日おれもそれを持って行ってうちの家の隅に置いておいて、鶏に卵を産ませよう。」鶏はやってくると鳥かごに糞をした。兄は怒ってその鳥かごを燃やしてしまった。弟は泣いた。大晦日の晩になったが、何もないので正月も越せない。彼は山へ行って狩りをして正月を越すことにした。崖のところまで行くと、そこに洞窟があった。人がいて彼に尋ねた。「何をしに来たんだね。」「何もないので正月も越せません。狩りでもして正月を越そうと来たのです。」その人は言った。「手を出しなさい。」そうすると、一握りのお金をもらった。彼は家に帰り、肉を買って正月を越す準備をした。兄が言った。「おまえどこから金を手に入れて肉を買ったんだ。」「僕は狩りをしに山に入っていた。人がいて尋ねてきた。おまえ何をしに来たんだと。僕は言った。私は肉がなくて正月が越せません。狩りでもして正月を越そうと思ってきたのです。その人は言った。手を出しなさい。僕が手を伸ばすと、彼は私に一握りのお金をくれたんだ。」「本当かい。明日おれも行って狩

りを試してみようか。」次の日、兄は狩りをしに行った。そしてその崖まで来た。人がいて彼に尋ねた。「おまえ何をしに来たんだ。」「何もなくて正月が越せません。狩りでもして正月を越そうと思って来たのです。」その人は言った。「手を伸ばしなさい。」彼は手を伸ばした。すると崖が崩れてきて彼の手を挟んでしまった。

3. Celebrating the Father-in-Law's Birthday

1 *maA ʔwuA-ɔanB puBthiA, muB taA niB-piB aAtiA aC hnaA-ŋoB.*
 exist two-CLF brother-in-law go COM 3-house father-in-law do day-give.birth
 There were two men whose wives were sisters. One day, they went to celebrate their father-in-law's birthday. [13]

2 *jaBqhiC ɔaA -waC.*
 guest come PTCL
 The guests had arrived.

3 *niB-piB aAtiA ʃanC aAʔwuB tɔA-ʔwuA, ʋonA luB qweC jaBqhiC*
 3-house father-in-law call son-in-law NMLZ-two 2SG come take.care guest

tiB ɔaA -moA aAjiAjiC.
 take come MOD thing

The father-in-law called the younger son-in-law and said, "You take care of the goods that the guests have brought to us."

4 *aAʔwuB tɔA-ʔwuA muAtehoC nthuC tɔAtszC -jaA.*
 son-in-law NMLZ-two not.know write letter PTCL
 The younger son-in-law could not write.

5 *maA ɔanB ... maA ɔanB əBqhiC tiB ɔaA joA aAqaCthuB.*
 exist CLF exist CLF guest take come CLF devil's.tongue
 There came a guest who brought a devil's tongue.

6 *niB muAtehoC nthuC -jaA.*
 3 not.know write PTCL
 The younger son-in-law could not write.

7 *niB tsoC- ʃwaC ʔlanA qaCthuB maA taA-qonAjoNA.*
 3 CLNK1 draw CLF devil's.tongue exist NMLZ-root
 So he drew a picture of a devil's tongue with its roots.

8 *maA ɔanB qhiC sonC ɔaA aApyBʔyA joA.*
 exist CLF guest present come colza oil
 There came a guest who brought some colza-oil.

9 *niB muAtehoC nthuC -jaA.*
 3 not.know write PTCL
 The younger son-in-law could not write.

13 *puBthiA* is a word to denote a kinship between two people in which one's wife is the sister of the other's wife. In Southwestern Mandarin Chinese it is called 姨姥.

10 *niB mbuA əBjoA vaŋA qoC taAlaA χəBtiA -eB, maA təA-ŋɖuC təA-*
 3 see oil drop GOAL earth bottom DEM exist NMLZ-drop NMLZ

ŋɖuC.

drop

He saw drops of the oil on the ground.

11 *niB muAtehoC nthuC -jaA.*

3 not.know write PTCL

The younger son-in-law could not write.

12 *niB tsoC- χwaC jiAteB jiAteB.*

3 CLNK1 draw dot dot

He drew some dots on the paper.

13 *maA δanB qhiC juCteia- sonC δaA tɛnAntiB.*

exist CLF guest again present come swamp.eel

There came a guest who brought a swamp eel.

14 *niB muAtehoC nthuC -jaA.*

3 not.know write PTCL

The younger son-in-law could not write.

15 *niB tsoC- χwaC joA təA-ntiB.*

3 CLNK1 draw CLF NMLZ-long

He drew a long line.

16 *maA δanB qhiC juCteia- tiB δaA jonC tɛnAtshoA.*

exist CLF guest again take come COP loach

There came a guest who brought a loach.

17 *niB muAtehoC nthuC -jaA.*

3 not.know write PTCL

The younger son-in-law could not write.

18 *niB tsoC- χwaC joA ʔlanB ʔneA.*

3 CLNK1 draw CLF short CLF

He drew a short line.

19 *ŋaCsanC senB -waC, niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA, aAʔwuB təA-ʔwuA,*
 lunch ripe PTCL 3-house father-in-law tell son-in-law NMLZ-two

jaBqhiC tiB δaA tɛBtsiB.

guest take come IGN

When lunch was ready, the father-in-law said, “Son, what did the guests bring to us?”

20 *tshiA soB taCteab tɛiAmbiA ʔneA.*

speak DAT everyone listen CLF

“Could you tell us?”

- 21 *kanBnaB ʔyθnC nonA ɲaCsanC.*
 1PL good eat lunch
 “That would be a good amusement for us.”
- 22 *aAʔwuB təA-ʔwuA ʔoC ... ʔoCseA, puBthiA təA-hluA tiB luB tʃhiA pənA*
 son-in-law NMLZ-two tell tell son-in-law NMLZ-big take come speak give

taCteəB tɛiAmbiA.
 everyone listen
 The younger son-in-law said, “The elder son-in-law will tell us.”
- 23 *puBhliA təA-hluA ... puBthiA təA-hluA tiB luB lanC ʔoCseA, kanB tɛC*
 NMLZ-big son-in-law NMLZ-big take come look tell 1SG recognize

muA- tuC -jaA.
 NEG acquire PTCL
 The elder son-in-law took the note from the younger son-in-law and said, “I don’t know how to read this.”
- 24 *aAʔwuB təA-ʔwuA ʔoCseA, tiB luB kanB tʃhiA soB taCteəB tɛiAmbiA.*
 son-in-law NMLZ-two tell take come 1SG speak DAT everyone listen
 The younger son-in-law said, “I will read this for you.”
- 25 *maA təApluA -moA jonC qaCthuB.*
 exist hair MOD COP devil’s.tongue
 “What has hair on it is a devil’s tongue.”
- 26 *maA jiAteB jiAteB -moA jonC joA.*
 exist dot dot MOD COP oil
 “The picture of dots is oil.”
- 27 *təA-ntiB jonC tɛnAntiB.*
 NMLZ-long COP swamp.eel
 “The long line is a swamp eel.”
- 28 *təA-ʔlanB jonC tɛnAtʃoA.*
 NMLZ-short COP loach
 “The short line is a loach.”
- 29 *təBqwenAnonB tsoC- nonA ɲaCsanC.*
 thereafter CLNK1 eat lunch
 Then lunch started.
- 30 *niB-piB aAtiA tsoC- teA ɲuB-qeA ʔoC ... ʔoC niB-piB aAʔwuB*
 3-house father-in-law CLNK1 pinch head-chicken tell tell 3-house son-in-law

təA-hluA ʔoCseA.
 NMLZ-big tell
 The father-in-law took a chicken head and asked the elder son-in-law.

31 *təhiB -nonB jonC təBtsiB.*

CLF DEM COP IGN

“What is this?”

32 *niB-piB aAʔwuB təA-hluA ʔoCseA, ɔanB -nonB jonC aAχuB-qeA.*

3-house son-in-law NMLZ-big tell CLF DEM COP head-chicken

The elder son-in-law said, “That is a chicken head.”

33 *niB-piB a... niB-piB aAtiA ʔoC, ɔanB -nonB muA- jonC -jaA.*

3-house 3-house father-in-law tell CLF DEM NEG COP PTCL

The father-in-law said, “No, that is not the correct answer.”

34 *niB-piB aAtiA juC- ʔoCseA, aAʔwuB təA-ʔwuA, ɔanB -nonB jonC*

3-house father-in-law again tell son-in-law NMLZ-two CLF DEM COP

təBtsiB.

IGN

The father-in-law asked the younger son-in-law, “What is this?”

35 *aAʔwuB təA-ʔwuA ʔoCseA, ɔanB -nonB jonC fonCχwanAthouA.*

son-in-law NMLZ-two tell CLF DEM COP phoenix.head

The younger son-in-law said, “It is the head of a phoenix.”

36 *niB-piB aAtiA ʔoCseA, təsheB tuC -waC.*

3-house father-in-law say guess acquire PTCL

The father-in-law said, “That’s right.”

37 *nonA -seB.*

eat PTCL

“You eat this.”

38 *niB-piB aAtiA juC- teA taAtaB ʔoCseA, aAʔwuB təA-hluA ɔanB*

3-house father-in-law again pinch wing tell son-in-law NMLZ-big CLF

-nonB jonC təBtsiB.

DEM COP IGN

The father-in-law took the wing of a chicken and asked the elder son-in-law, “What is this?”

39 *aAʔwuB təA ... aAʔwuB təA-hluA ʔoCseA, ɔanB -nonB jonC qeA taAtaB.*

son-in-law NMLZ son-in-law NMLZ-big tell CLF DEM COP chicken wing

The elder son-in-law answered, “It is the wing of a chicken.”

40 *niB-piB aAʔwuB ... niB-piB ... niB-piB aAtiA ʔoCseA, ɔanB -nonB muA-*

3-house son-in-law 3-house 3-house father-in-law tell CLF DEM NEG

jonC -jaA.

COP PTCL

The father-in-law said, “No, that is not the correct answer.”

41 *niB-piB aA... niB-piB aA... niB-piB aAtiA juC- zoCseA, aA?wuB ... ?wuB*
 3-house 3-house 3-house father-in-law again tell son-in-law son-in-law

təA-?wuA δanB -nonB jonC tsəBtsiB.

NMLZ-two CLF DEM COP IGN

The father-in-law asked the younger son-in-law, “What is this?”

42 *niB-piB aA?wuB təA-?wuA zoCseA, maA taAtaB muA- ?jenC -jaA.*
 3-house son-in-law NMLZ-two tell exist wing NEG fly PTCL

The younger son-in-law said, “It is a wing, but it has nothing to do with flying.”

43 *niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA, tsheB tuC -waC.*
 3-house father-in-law tell guess acquire PTCL

The father-in-law said, “That’s right.”

44 *nonA -seB.*

eat PTCL

“You eat this.”

45 *niB-piB aAtiA juC- teA təAtoC zoCseA, aA?wuB təA-hluA δanB*
 3-house father-in-law again pinch foot tell son-in-law NMLZ-big CLF

-nonB jonC tsəBtsiB.

DEM COP IGN

The father-in-law took the foot of a chicken and asked the elder son-in-law, “What is this?”

46 *niB-piB aA?wuB təA-hluA zoCseA, δanB -nonB jonC təAtoC.*
 3-house son-in-law NMLZ-big tell COP DEM COP foot

The elder son-in-law answered, “It is a foot.”

47 *niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA, muA- jonC -jaA.*
 3-house father-in-law tell NEG COP PTCL

The father-in-law said, “No, that is not the correct answer.”

48 *niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA, aA?wuB təA-?wuA δanB -nonB jonC tsəBtsiB.*
 3-house father-in-law tell son-in-law NMLZ-two CLF DEM COP IGN

The father-in-law asked the younger son-in-law, “What is this?”

49 *aA?wuB təA-?wuA zoCseA, jonC ?wuA-pheC təAtoC khanB taAlaA.*
 son-in-law NMLZ-two tell COP two-CLF foot scratch earth

The younger son-in-law said, “It is a pair of feet for scratching the ground.”

50 *niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA, tsheB tuC -waC.*
 3-house father-in-law tell guess acquire PTCL

The father-in-law said, “That’s right.”

51 *nonA -seB.*

eat PTCL

“You eat this.”

52 *χuB-qeA, taB-qeA, təAtoC-qeA, niB-piB aAʔwuB təA-ʔwuA jiAχaC- ...*
 head-chicken wing-chicken foot-chicken 3-house son-in-law NMLZ-two all

jiAχaC- ... tuC nonA -loA.
 all acquire eat PTCL

The chicken head, chicken wing, and chicken foot, the younger son-in-law ate all of them.

53 *təBqwenAnonB niB-piB aAtiA tsoC- ... tsoC- lanC ɲtəhiC aAʔwuB*
 thereafter 3-house father-in-law CLNK1 CLNK1 see proud son-in-law

təA-ʔwuA -siA, tsoC- lanC muA- ɲtəhiC aAʔwuB təA-hluA -jaA.
 NMLZ-two PTCL CLNK1 see NEG proud son-in-law NMLZ-big PTCL

After this event, the father-in-law came to think highly of the younger son-in-law, and came to look down on the elder son-in-law.

【中文大意】

两个女婿祝岳父过生日

两个女婿去给他们的岳父过生日。客人们来了。岳父叫来二女婿说，“你来管客人拿来的东西。”二女婿不会写字。有个客人拿了魔芋来。他不会写字。他就画了个有根的魔芋。有个客人拿了菜籽油来。他不会写字。他看见油溢出来滴在地上的点点印迹。他不会写字。他就把那些一点一点的印迹画了出来。有个客人拿了黄鳝来。他不会写字。他就画了一条长线。有个客人拿了泥鳅来。他不会写字。他就画了一条短线。午饭好了，岳父问道：“二女婿，客人都拿了什么来呢？说给大家听听。刚好吃饭助助兴。”二女婿说：“让大哥说给大家听。”大女婿拿纸过来一看，就说道：“这些字我认不得。”二女婿说道：“那就让我说给大家听听。有毛的是魔芋。有点点的是油。长的是黄鳝。短的是泥鳅。”之后就吃午饭了。岳父就夹了个鸡头，问大女婿。“这是什么？”大女婿说道：“是鸡头。”岳父说：“不是啊。”岳父又问二女婿：“这是什么”二女婿说：“是凤凰头。”岳父说道：“答对了。给你吃吧。”岳父又夹了个翅膀问大女婿：“这是什么？”大女婿说：“是鸡翅膀。”岳父说道：“不是。”岳父又问二女婿：“这是什么？”二女婿回答说：“有翅膀但不会飞的东西。”“答对了。给你吃吧。”岳父又夹了个脚，问大女婿：“这是什么？”大女婿回答说：“是脚。”岳父说道：“不是。”岳父又问二女婿：“这是什么？”二女婿说：“是两只翻土脚。”岳父说道：“答对了。给你吃吧。”鸡头、鸡翅膀、鸡脚，都被二女婿一个人吃了。从那以后，岳父就看得起二女婿，看不起大女婿了。

【日本語大意】

舅の誕生日を祝う

二人の婿が彼らの義理の父親の誕生日の祝いに行った。客人たちがやってきた。舅は二番目の婿を呼んで言った。「客人の持ってきたものを管理してくれ。」二番目の婿は字が書けなかった。ある客はこんにゃく芋を持ってきた。彼は字が書けない。そこで彼は毛の生えたこんにゃく芋の絵を描いた。ある客は菜種油を持ってきた。彼は字が書けない。彼は油が地面にたれて地面に点々と跡がついているのを見た。彼は字が書けない。そこで彼は点々を描いた。ある客はタウナギを持ってきた。彼は字が書けない。彼は長い線を描いた。ある客はドジョウを持ってきた。彼は字が書けない。彼は短い線を描いた。昼御飯ができ

ると、舅は言った。「客人はどんなものを持ってきてくれたのかな。みんなに聞かせてくれないかね。お昼御飯の余興にしよう。」二番目の婿は言った。「お兄さんが話してくださいます。」上の婿は紙を見て言った。「私にはこれは読めません。」二番目の婿が言った。「じゃあ、僕から皆さんにお話ししましょう。毛の生えているのはこんにゃく芋です。点々のあるものは油です。長いのはタウナギです。短いのはドジョウです。」その後、昼御飯となった。舅は鶏の頭を箸で挟むと、上の婿に言った。「これは何かな。」上の婿は言った。「それは鶏の頭です。」舅は言った。「そうじゃない。」舅は今度は二番目の婿に言った。「これは何かな。」二番目の婿は言った。「それは鳳凰の頭です。」舅は言った。「そのとおり。食べなさい。」舅はまた翼を箸で挟んで上の婿に言った。「これは何かな。」上の婿は言った。「それは鶏の翼です。」舅は言った。「そうじゃない。」舅はまた二番目の婿に言った。「これは何かな。」二番目の婿は答えた。「翼はありますが飛ばないやつです。」舅は言った。「その通り。食べなさい。」舅はまた脚を箸で挟んで上の婿に言った。「これは何かな。」上の婿は言った。「それは脚です。」舅は言った。「そうじゃない。」舅はまた二番目の婿に言った。「これは何かな。」二番目の婿は言った。「地面を引っ搔く二本の脚です。」舅は言った。「そのとおり。食べなさい。」二番目の婿は鶏の頭、手羽、脚をすべて一人で食べてしまった。その後、舅は二番目の婿を尊重し、上の婿を馬鹿にするようになった。

4. The Sun and the Moon

- 1 *εeA -eB maA woA-ʔwuA ʔlaNA hnaA woA-ʔwuA ʔlaNA hlaC.*
time DEM exist ten-two CLF sun ten-two CLF moon
Once upon a time, there were twelve suns and twelve moons.
- 2 *phenA ʔjana qhenC ɳiA -loA phenA ɳaC jeB ɔaC -loA.*
dry seedling dry burn PTCL dry rice also die PTCL
Rice plants died from being scorched by the sunshine.
- 3 *ntonC wenB muB koA ʔjana, ntonC wenB muB koA ɳaC.*
wear pot go reap seedling wear pot go reap rice
People went to do fieldwork wearing pots on their head.
- 4 *maA ɔanB ɳɳuA ngeA ɳɳuA tuC ɔanB qoAloBmpoA.*
exist CLF hit flesh hit acquire CLF tiger
There was a hunter. He hunted a tiger.
- 5 *niB tsoC- ʔloA taA-qoBtoB aC tɛəBpiC ʔeNA tɛeC.*
3 CLNK1 strip NMLZ-hide do change CLF bow
He skinned the tiger to make a bow.
- 6 *niB tsoC- ɳɳeiC qoAɔoCmæB ɳɳeiC ɳɳeaC aAntseC-ntonC.*
3 CLNK1 climb Chinese.redbud climb arrive treetop-tree
Then he climbed the treetop of a Chinese redbud. [14]
- 7 *əBhnaA tsoC- tshuA ɔaA -waC.*
sun CLNK1 appear come PTCL
The suns rose.
- 8 *niB ʔmiA ... niB ʔmiA tɛeC tsoC- ɳɳuA woA-ʔwuA ʔlaNA hnaA ... niB tsoC-*
3 DISP1 3 DISP1 bow CLNK1 hit ten-two CLF sun 3 CLNK1
ʔmiA tɛeC ɳɳuA woA-ʔjiC ʔlaNA hnaA.
DISP1 bow hit ten-one CLF sun
He shot down eleven of them with the bow.
- 9 *juCɳeiA- ɳɳeaC təAhmonC hlaC tshuA ɔaA -waC.*
again arrive evening moon appear come PTCL
In the evening, the moons rose.
- 10 *niB ɳɳuA poNA woA-ʔjiC ʔlaNA hlaC.*
3 hit fall ten-one CLF moon
Then he shot down eleven of them.

14 *qoAɔoCmæB* is the name of a plant, its scientific name being *Cercis chinensis*.

11 *pəA tiA jeB pəA ngwəNA.*
 dark earth also dark sky
 It became dark all over the world.

12 *niB tsonC mpiC muB χəNC hnaA taA hlaC.*
 3 deliver pig go call sun COM moon
 He sent a pig to call the sun and moon to rise.

13 *əBhnaA muA- tshuA əA -jaA, əBhlaC jeB muA- tshuA luB -jaA.*
 sun NEG appear come PTCL moon also NEG appear come PTCL
 However, the sun and moon did not rise.

14 *pəA tiA jeB pəA ngwəNA.*
 dark earth also dark sky
 The whole world remained dark.

15 *niB tsoC- zoC mpiC muB ʔəONA ηʔONA ŋgaA muB nonA vuA-qwəNA -moA*
 3 CLNK1 tell pig go be.at inside pen go eat woman-rich MOD

ʔyA-mpiC ηaC-soA.
 vegetable-pig rice-sour

He made the pig go to the pig-pen, and made it eat the rich people's pig-food.

16 *ʔmiA aAɸwaC muB χəNC hnaA taA hlaC.*
 DISPL duck go call sun COM moon
 Next, he sent a duck to call the sun and moon.

17 *əBhnaA taA hlaC muA- tshuA əA -jaA.*
 sun COM moon NEG appear come PTCL
 However, the sun and moon did not rise.

18 *muB ʔəONA ηʔONA ŋgaA-ɸwaC, əBnəNA muB ndiC tsiA-piC ʔoC-joA ʔlənA*
 go be.at inside pen-duck year go lay three-hundred six-ten CLF

qwiC.
 egg

He made the duck go to the duck-pen and made it lay three hundred and sixty eggs a year.

19 *əBnəNA χəNA- maA hnaA təA-qwəNC.*
 year CLNK1 exist day NMLZ-cold
 After that, every year has one cold day when ducks cannot swim in the water. [15]

20 *χəNA- tsonC qeA muB χəNC hnaA taA hlaC.*
 CLNK1 deliver chicken go call sun COM moon
 Next, he sent a chicken to call the sun and moon.

15 This sentence means that since this time, there is a day in a year when it is very cold and ducks do not go into the water.

21 əBhnaA tshuA δaA -waC əBhlaC tshuA δaA -waC.
 sun appear come PTCL moon appear come PTCL
 Then, the sun and moon came out.

22 niB χONa- ʔmiA ʔiC-tsheC paNa qeA ntonC.
 3 CLNK1 DISP1 comb-lacquer give chicken wear
 He let the chicken wear a lacquered comb on its head.

23 χONa- zoC niB muB pheia qona pheia paB muB suC aʔoA.
 CLNK1 tell 3 go accompany ancestor accompany father go rest table
 He let the chicken sit at the table with the elders. [16]

24 təBqweNAnonB əBqeA χONa- χanC əBhnaA tiBqeA tshuA χONa- ... ʔaCsanC
 thereafter chicken CLNK1 call sun morning appear CLNK1 lunch

 χONa- sonC hnaA muB.
 CLNK1 escort sun go
 Now, chickens call the sun every morning and see the sun off every evening.

【中文大意】

鸡叫醒太阳和月亮

从前，有十二个太阳和十二个月亮。被太阳晒得秧也干了，稻子也死了。人戴着锅去薅秧，戴着锅去割稻子。有一个猎人打死了一只老虎。他就剥下皮来做成一张弓。他爬到马桑树的树梢。太阳出来了。他用弓射下了十一个太阳。过会儿，到了晚上，月亮出来了。他就射下了十一个月亮。天地都黑了。他让猪去叫太阳和月亮。太阳不出来，月亮也不出来。天地依然在黑暗中。他就叫猪去住猪圈，吃富人的猪草和酸饭。让鸭子去叫太阳和月亮。太阳和月亮不出来。他叫鸭子去住鸭圈，让它们一年下三百六十个蛋。自此，一年有一个冷天了。让鸡去叫太阳和月亮。太阳出来了，月亮也出来了。他拿过漆的梳子给鸡戴上。让它和男人共坐一桌。后来，鸡就早上叫太阳出，下午送太阳回了。

【日本語大意】

太陽と月

昔、十二個の太陽があり、十二個の月があった。日に晒されて稲の苗は枯れて死んでしまった。みんな鍋をかぶって苗を抜き、稲を刈り入れた。ある猟師が一頭の虎を仕留めた。彼は皮を剥ぎ、弓を一張作った。それから彼はハナズオウの梢に上った。太陽が出てきた。彼は弓で十一個の太陽を射ち落した。夜になると月が出てきた。彼は十一個の月を射ち落した。天地は暗くなった。彼は豚に太陽と月を呼びに行かせた。太陽は出てこず、月も出てこない。天地は暗いままだった。彼は豚を豚小屋の中へ住まわせてお金持ちの豚のえさを食べさせることにした。アヒルに太陽と月を呼びに行かせた。太陽は出てこず、月も出て

16 This means that chicken came to be one of the best dishes for ceremonies. In such ceremonies, chicken is served on the tables of elders as if they accompany the elders in drinking wine.

こない。アヒルをアヒル小屋に住まわせて、一年に三百六十個の卵を産ませることにした。一年に一日寒い日があることになった。そこで鶏に太陽と月を呼びに行かせた。太陽も月も出てきた。彼は漆塗りの櫛を鶏の頭に載せた。そして男たちが座る机に座らせた。それからというもの、鶏は朝は太陽を呼び、夕方には太陽を送るようになった。

5. The Mountain Witch (1)

1 *εeA -eB maA ʔwuA-δaNB aAtaNA niA-paB niA-miC muB nonA ɳiA*
 time DEM exist two-CLF child ANPH-father ANPH-mother go eat buffalo

tsoNC ɳɳaB -loA.
 release drum PTCL

Once upon a time, there were two children. They were staying at home while their parents went away to attend a ceremony. [17]

2 *qoC ʔwuA-δaNB aAtaNA -eB teA- ʔɳona piB, maA δaNB neA*
 make two-CLF child DEM separately be.at house exist CLF grandmother

qwaC teiB.
 pass road

When they were staying at home, they saw an old woman passing by.

3 *ʔwuA-δaNB aAtaNA -eB tsOC- χaNC neA, hmoNC -nonB δaA taA*
 two-CLF child DEM CLNK1 call grandmother evening DEM come COM

kanBnaB aC toAweC.
 1PL make friend

The two children spoke to the old woman and asked her to pass a night with them.

4 *δaNB neA -eB zoCseA, kanB muAtehoC tətəiB -jaA.*
 CLF grandmother DEM say 1SG not.know road PTCL

The old woman said, “I do not know the way to your home.” [18]

5 *kanB ʔmiA aAtshuB ɳɳuA tətəiB jeB ʔona tsOC- qloB aAtshuB δaA.*
 1SG DISP1 ash sprinkle road FLL 2SG CLNK1 follow ash come

The two children said, “We will mark the way by sprinkling some ash on the road. You can come following the ash.

6 *δaNB neA -eB δaA taA ʔwuA-δaNB aAtaNA -eB puC.*
 CLF grandmother DEM come COM two-CLF child DEM sleep

Then the old woman came to their house to stay the night with them.

7 *δaNB neA -eB zoCseA, məAnaB ʔwuA-δaNB aAtaNA -nonB qhliA*
 CLF grandmother DEM say 2PL two-CLF child DEM take.off

aAzuc luB sʒA-lanC δaNB naBtsiB -moA teNAtaNB εaB ʔneA.
 clothes come RCP-look CLF IGN MOD louse many CLF

The old woman said to the children, “You kids, take off your clothes to see which of you has more lice.”

17 *nonA ɳiA tsOC ɳɳaB* (◇eat◇buffalo◇release◇drum) is an idiomatic phrase that denotes to attend a ceremony such as a wedding or funeral.

18 There appears to be some fault in the storytelling, whereby it is presumed that the children met the old woman somewhere away from their home.

8 *δanB neA -eB τoC- qhliA niB-piB aAniB -moA aAzuC luB*
 CLF grandmother DEM CLNK1 take.off 3-house brother MOD clothes come

ηtehuBηtehuA qoC aAteAδoB.
 shake GOAL hearth

The old woman took off the clothes of the boy, and shook them at the fireplace. [19]

9 *τεNAtanB muA- maA -jaA.*
 louse NEG exist PTCL
 There were no lice in the clothes.

10 *niB-piB aAtaC tiB tuC mpaC pyB?yγA qoC χεBητοNA zuC.*
 3-house sister take acquire CLF colesed GOAL inside clothes
 The girl grasped a handful of coleseds and put them in her clothes.

11 *δanB neA -eB qhliA niB-piB -moA aAtaC -moA aAzuC ηtehuBηtehuA*
 CLF grandmother DEM take.off 3-house MOD sister MOD clothes shake

qoC aAteAδoB, aApyB?yγA poNA qoC aAteAδoB χεBητοNA -eB δoC εaB
 GOAL hearth colesed fall GOAL fireplace inside DEM explode many

-tsaB.
 PTCL

The old woman took off the clothes of the girl, and shook them at the fireplace. Then coleseds dropped and cracked in the fire.

12 *δanB neA -eB zoCseA, aAtaC βoNA -moA τεNAtanB εaB -tsaB, βoNA*
 CLF grandmother DEM say sister 2SG MOD louse many PTCL 2SG

teaA- puC δoNB aAniB taA kanB puC δoNB.
 separately sleep CLF brother COM 1SG sleep CLF

The old woman said, “You have many lice, so you sleep facing that direction, the boy will sleep with me facing this direction.” [20]

13 *niB τoC- puC ηteaC ητοNAhmonC thuC niB-piB aAniB -moA tεAntaBwiB*
 3 CLNK1 sleep arrive midnight pull.out 3-house brother MOD finger

nonA -loA.
 eat PTCL

When they slept until midnight, the old woman pulled out one of the boy’s fingers and ate it.

19 Lan Hmyo has a word *aAtaC* for ‘sister’ and *aAniB* for ‘brother’. When the addressor is of the same sex as the addressee, one can only denote elder ones with these words. In this case, *aAtaC* means ‘elder sister’, and *aAniB* means ‘elder brother’. However, when the addressor is of the opposite sex, one can use these words regardless of the age. Thus, in this story, we cannot determine which of the two children is the elder one. See Appendix 1 for the kinship terms of Lan Hmyo.

20 *δoNB* is a classifier that denotes an edge of a thing, e.g., a piece of furniture, such as a bed or a table.

- 14 *ðanB təAmpheB -eB zoCseA, aAneA ʁONA nonA tsəBtsiB.*
 CLF girl DEM say grandmother 2SG eat IGN
 The girl asked, “What are you eating, grandma?”
- 15 *ðanB neA -eB zoCseA, nonA jiA nonA qeAwuB.*
 CLF grandmother DEM say eat penis eat penis
 The old woman said, “I’m eating a tummy banana.”
- 16 *aAneA, tiB ʔneA paNA kaNB nonA.*
 grandmother take CLF give 1SG eat
 “Grandma, give me one.”
- 17 *ðanB neA -eB tsOC- ʔhuC tuC ʔeNA təAwib paNA niB-piB aAtaC*
 CLF grandmother DEM CLNK1 pull.out acquire CLF hand give 3-house sister

tiB.
 take
 The old woman pulled out another finger and gave it to the girl.
- 18 *aAneA, kaNB -moA ɣæB oNA -tsaB.*
 grandmother 1SG MOD urine sore PTCL
 Then the girl said, “I wanna pee.”
- 19 *ðanB neA -eB muA- taAjenc -jaA.*
 CLF grandmother DEM NEG permit PTCL
 The old woman did not permit her to go.
- 20 *ðanB təAmpheB -eB zoCseA, ʁONA ntshəC kaNB nduC -tsaB jeB, ʁONA tsOC-*
 CLF girl DEM say 2SG afraid 1SG leave PTCL FLL 2SG CLNK1

ʔmiA hliC təOC kaNB.
 DISP1 rope bind 1SG
 The girl said, “Grandma, you are afraid that I would run away. You can tie me up with a rope.”
- 21 *ðanB təAmpheB -eB ʔmiA hliC təOC qoC aAʔhaA-ŋɛziBðiA.*
 CLF girl DEM DISP1 rope bind GOAL fork-mortar
 The girl tied the rope to the pillar of the millstone. [21]
- 22 *ðanB neA -eB zoCseA, ʁONA tsONC ɣæB jəNA taCmaA.*
 CLF grandmother DEM say 2SG deliver urine finish NEG
 The old woman said, “Have you finished?”
- 23 *taCmaA -jaA.*
 NEG PTCL
 “Not yet,” the girl replied.

21 (*aAʔhaA-ŋɛziBðiA*) is an agricultural instrument of Hmyo, which is used for hulling rice. It is constructed with a long log set on a wood base. The wood base has two wood forks to support the log. These forks are called *aAʔhaA-ŋɛziBðiA* (◇◇fork-◇◇mortar).

- 24 *ðanB təAmpheB -eB tsoC- ηteiC qoC saA nthena -loA.*
 CLF girl DEM CLNK1 climb GOAL top attic PTCL
 The girl climbed to the attic.
- 25 *ðanB neA -eB χanC muA- luB -jaA.*
 CLF grandmother DEM call NEG come PTCL
 The old woman called for her to come back, but she didn't.
- 26 *ðanB neA -eB tsoC- soB luB toA joA.*
 CLF grandmother DEM CLNK1 rise come light oil
 The old woman got up to light an oil lamp.
- 27 *ðanB neA -eB tiB ηdziBðoB toA joA, ðanB təAmpheB -eB tsoC- ?miA*
 CLF grandmother DEM take ember light oil CLF girl DEM CLNK1 DISPL
ona juC mæB -loA.
 water pour go.out PTCL
 The old woman took a piece of ember and lit the oil lamp, but the girl put it out by pouring water from the attic.
- 28 *ðanB neA -eB zoCseA, aAηoB, vonA khaAtsiB- tsonC ηæB juC kanB*
 CLF grandmother DEM say cat 2SG PROH deliver urine pour 1SG
-moA ðoB -jaA.
 MOD fire PTCL
 The old woman said, “My dear cat, do not put out the fire.”
- 29 *kanB thonB tuC luB puAðanB taCteaB nonA.*
 1SG search acquire come 1DU together eat
 “We will find the girl and eat her together.”
- 30 *ðanB təAmpheB -eB tsoC- χanC zoCseA, aAneA əBsuA viA luB -waC.*
 CLF girl DEM CLNK1 call say grandmother thunder sound come PTCL
 Then the girl said, “Grandma, it has begun to thunder.”
- 31 *vonA nduC muB ηqeA -seB.*
 2SG walk go hide PTCL
 “You should hide quickly.”
- 32 *ðanB neA -eB tsoC- nduC muB ηqeA kuCtsuB -loA.*
 CLF grandmother CLF CLNK1 walk go hide drawer PTCL
 The old woman ran into a drawer to hide. [22]
- 33 *ðanB təAmpheB -eB tsoC- tiB soBðona muB soBðona kuCtsuB -loA.*
 CLF girl DEM CLNK1 take lock go lock drawer PTCL
 Then the girl locked the drawer.

22 According to the storyteller, mountain witches are afraid of being struck by thunder.

- 34 *niB-paB niB-miC luB, δanB təAmpheB -eB zoCseA.*
 3-father 3-mother come CLF girl DEM say
 When the children's parents came home, the girl said to them.
- 35 *aApaB, neA-mbzona nonA aAniB -loA.*
 father grandmother-crazy eat brother PTCL
 "Dad, a mountain witch ate my brother."
- 36 *kanB soBδona qoC xəBηtonA kuCtsuB, məAnaB muB phloA lanC.*
 1SG lock GOAL inside drawer 2PL go open look
 "I locked her in the drawer, so you go and take a look inside."
- 37 *phloA kuCtsuB luB lanC jonC δanB neA-mbzona.*
 open drawer come look COP CLF grandmother-crazy
 When her father opened the drawer, it was indeed a mountain witch.
- 38 *ʔmiA aAntenB muB hleA niB szB-δaC -xena, hleA jeB hleA muA- δaC.*
 DISPl knife go cut 3 PURP-die PTCL cut also cut NEG die
 He tried to kill her with a knife, but he couldn't kill her.
- 39 *δanB neA -eB zoCseA, niB- hleA kanB ... εanB hleA kanB szB-δaC,*
 CLF grandmother DEM say IRR cut 1SG wish kill 1SG PURP-die

hleA kanB taA-mbuAsenA kanB xona- δaC.
 cut 1SG NMLZ-liver 1SG CLNK1 die
 The old woman said, "If you want to kill me, stab my liver."
- 40 *təBqwenAnonB xona- ʔmiA aAntenB hleA niB -moA taA-mbuAsenA, niB xona-*
 thereafter CLNK1 DISPl knife cut 3 MOD NMLZ-liver 3 CLNK1

δaC -loA.
 die PTCL
 Then he stabbed her in the liver, and the old woman died.
- 41 *kuB niB puBqanB təBqwenAnonB tsoC- lanClanC, tshenC təBpiC vuBkaA luB.*
 carry 3 throw.away thereafter CLNK1 rot sprout change nettle come
 He carried the body and threw it away. Later, the body got rotten and changed into nettle.

【中文大意】

山中女妖（一）

从前有两个孩子，他们的父母出门吃酒去了。那两个孩子看家时，有个老婆婆路过。两个孩子问那个老婆婆今天晚上要不要过来和我们做伴。老婆婆就说：“我不认识路。”“我们把灰洒在路上，你跟着灰来。”于是，那个老婆婆就跟来陪他们两个睡觉了。老婆婆说：“你们两个把衣服脱下来，我看看谁的虱子多。”老婆婆脱下男孩的衣服在地炉边摆了摆。没有虱子。女孩拿了一捧油菜籽放在衣服里面。老婆婆脱下女孩的衣服在地炉边一摆，油菜籽落地炉里就炸开了。老婆婆说：“你虱子多，你一个人睡那头，他和我睡这头。”睡到半夜，老婆婆拔掉了男孩的手指吃了。女孩问老婆婆：“老婆婆，你在吃什么呢？”老婆婆就说：“吃小鸡鸡啊。”“老婆婆，也拿点给我吃吧。”于是，老婆婆又拔掉一根手指拿给了她。“老婆

婆，我要尿尿。”老婆婆不让她去。女孩就说：“你是怕我逃走吧，那拿绳子捆着我呗。”女孩把绳子捆在确白的木柱上。老婆婆说：“你好了吗？”“还没有。”女孩子上到暗楼上去了。老婆婆叫她，她没回来。老婆婆就起来点灯。老婆婆拿起火种点灯，女孩就拿水浇灭了。老婆婆说：“小猫，你别撒尿浇灭我的火。等我抓到她咱们一起吃。”女孩大声的喊道：“老婆婆，打雷了啊。你应该去躲躲吧。”老婆婆听到就躲去橱柜里了。于是，女孩就拿锁把橱柜锁上了。孩子们的父母回来了，女孩说道：“爸爸，山妖吃了小弟。我把她锁在了橱柜里头，你们去打开看看。”打开橱柜一看，确实是个山妖。拿刀来杀她，却怎么也杀不死。那个老婆婆说道：“想杀死我，就扎我的肝，那样我就会死。”于是，拿刀扎了她的肝，她就死了。把她扔到野地里，一会儿就腐烂变成荨麻了。

【日本語大意】

山姥（一）

昔、二人の子供がいて、両親は冠婚葬祭で出かけて行った。彼ら二人が留守番をしていると、一人のおばあさんが通りかかった。二人の子供はおばあさんに今夜私たちと過ごしてくれないかと声を掛けた。そのおばあさんは言った。「私は道がわからない。」「灰を道に撒いておきますから、それに従って来てください。」そのおばあさんは来て二人の子供と夜を過ごすことになった。そのおばあさんは言った。「おまえたち服を脱いで、どっちが虱が多いか見てごらん。」そのおばあさんは男の子の服を脱がせていろり端でゆすった。虱はいなかった。女の子は菜種をひとつかみ服の中に入れた。そのおばあさんが女の子の服を脱がせていろり端でゆすると、菜種がいろりに落ちてたくさんはじけた。おばあさんは言った。「おまえは虱が多い。おまえは向こうむきに、坊やと私は一緒にこっち向きに寝ようかね。」おばあさんは真夜中になると、男の子の指を引き抜いて食べた。女の子はおばあさんに言った。「おばあちゃん、何を食べているの。」おばあさんは言った。「おちんちんを食べているんだよ。」「おばあちゃん、私にもください。」おばあさんは一本引き抜くと、女の子にあげた。「おばあちゃん、おしっこ行きたいんだけど。」おばあさんは行かせなかった。女の子は言った。「私が逃げると思っているんでしょ。じゃ、私に縄をつけて。」女の子は縄を唐臼の支柱に結び付けた。おばあさんは言った。「おしっこは済んだかい。」「まだよ。」女の子は屋根裏に上った。老婆が戻れと言っても戻らない。老婆は明かりをつけようと起き上がった。おばあさんが火種を取って明かりをつけると、女の子は水をたらして火を消した。おばあさんは言った。「猫や、おしっこして火を消さないでおくれ。女の子を見つけて一緒に食べようじゃないかい。」女の子は大声で言った。「おばあさん、雷様が鳴り出したわ。はやく隠れたほうがいいわよ。」そのおばあさんは戸棚の中に隠れた。そこで女の子は錠を持ってきて戸棚に錠をかけた。女の子の両親が返ってくると、女の子は言った。「お父さん、山姥があの子を食べちゃったのよ。私、山姥を戸棚に閉じ込めてあるの、行って開けてみて。」戸棚を開けてみると確かに山姥だった。刀で刺して殺そうとしたが、刺しても死なない。そのおばあさんは言った。「私を殺したいんなら、肝臓を刺すがいい、そうすれば死ぬ。」

そこで、刀で肝臓を刺すと死んだ。運んで行って捨てたが、しばらくして腐ると、イラクサになった。

6. A Girl Born from an Egg (1)

1 *teiBōiA hnaA, maA ʔwuA-ðanB kəBōaA, maA ðanB jonC qlenAqaA, maA ðanB*
 before day exist two-CLF brother exist CLF COP PN exist CLF

jonC ηɖuCmbæC.
 COP PN

A long time ago, there were two brothers. One of them was named Qlenqa, and the other was named Ndumba. [23]

2 *qlenAqaA ηganB -tsaB, hnaA-hnaA teiA- puC aAqoApuC.*
 PN lazy PTCL day-RED separately sleep sleep
 Qlenqa was a lazy cat, and he always took a nap.

3 *ηɖuCmbæC ngaC -tsaB, yeA-yeA teiA- soB muB qwaA tshoB.*
 PN diligent PTCL morning-RED separately get.up go cut grass
 Ndumba was very diligent; he got up early every day and went out to cut weeds.

4 *niB muB qwaA nthanB tshoB -eB, qwaA yeAnonB -waC, phiAnəAyeC*
 3 go cut CLF grass DEM cut this.morning PTCL tomorrow

teiA- maA.
 separately exist

One day, he went to a place to cut weeds. However, the next day, he found that the same place had weeds again.

5 *niB qwaA yeAnonB ... niB qwaA phiAnəAyeC -waC, siBhnaA muB*
 3 cut this.morning 3 cut tomorrow PTCL day.after.tomorrow go

teiA- maA.
 separately exist

He cut the weeds again, but on the third day, he found the place had weeds again.

6 *niB tsoC- muB kuB ʔenA aAqoBtshoA tsoC- muB khaA nthanB təAtshoC*
 3 CLNK1 go carry CLF spade CLNK1 go dig CLF place

lanC tsoC- khaA tuC ʔwuA-ʔlanA qwiC.
 look CLNK1 dig acquire two-CLF egg

He brought a hoe and dug the ground, and then, he dug out two eggs.

7 *niB tiB zuC piB, qlenAqaA tsoC- nonA ʔlanA -loA, jeB tsoC- sonA*
 3 take arrive house PN CLNK1 eat CLF PTCL FLL CLNK1 leave

ʔlanA -qəAleC.
 CLF only

When he came home with the two eggs, Qlenqa ate one of them, so only one egg remained.

23 *ηɖuCmbæC*, used as a personal name in this story (and in the same story told by another storyteller, see Chapter 30), has a structure ◊young male◊single. It can be used as a noun meaning ‘bachelor’.

- 8 *niB tsoC- tiB muB qoC xəBŋtɔNA xANA.*
 3 CLNK1 take go GOAL inside jar
 Ndumba kept it in a jar.
- 9 *tiB muB qoC xəBŋtɔNA xANA -niB, tsoC- tɛəBpiC δanB təAmpheB tsoC-*
 take go GOAL inside jar PTCL CLNK1 change CLF girl CLNK1
hnaA-hnaA tɛiA- taA niB-piB aC ŋaC.
 day-RED separately COM 3-house do rice
 After a while, the egg hatched into a girl, and the girl prepared food for them every day.
- 10 *jeB ɣwua-δanB kəBδaA -eB muB aC xua tɔNB luB, jeB luB qwana ...*
 FLL two-CLF brother DEM go do land return come FLL come thank
qwana vuA... vuA-tsoA vuA-ɣəNB.
 thank woman-village woman-village
 Every day, the brothers found the prepared food when they came home. They went to thank all the women in the village thinking that it was those women that prepared food for them. [24]
- 11 *vuA-tsoA vuA-ɣəNB zoCseA, khaAtsiB- qwana kanBnaB -jaA.*
 woman-village woman-village tell PROH thank 1PL PTCL
 However, the women replied, “Don’t thank us.”
- 12 *jiAkanB kanBnaB niA-zəNB quA kanBnaB.*
 a.while 1PL ANPH-husband beat 1PL
 “Our husbands might beat us.”
- 13 *niB xona- phaiC qlenAqaA luB ɣyB, qlenAqaA tsoC- puC nqlana -loA,*
 3 CLNK1 dispatch PN come watch PN CLNK1 sleep asleep PTCL
tsoC- ɣyB muA- tuC -jaA.
 CLNK1 watch NEG acquire PTCL
 Qlenqa tried to watch their house to find out who prepared the food, but he fell into sleep and failed to see the person.
- 14 *ŋduCmbæC xona- luB ɣyB.*
 PN CLNK1 come watch
 Then, Ndumba watched the house.
- 15 *luB ɣyB -niB, tsoC- soB luB ... δanB ... δanB ... ɣana ... ɣana qwiC tsoC-*
 come watch PTCL CLNK1 get.up come CLF CLF CLF CLF egg CLNK1
tɛəBpiC δanB təAmpheB tsoC- soB luB aC ŋaC.
 change CLF girl CLNK1 get.up come do rice
 While Ndumba was watching, he found that the egg hatched into a girl and began to cook.

24 *vuA-tsoA vuA-ɣəNB* is a four-syllable phrase meaning, ‘village women’. *tsoA* is a Chinese loanword, and *ɣəNB* is an indigenous word, both meaning ‘village’.

16 *aC* *ŋaC* *-niB*, *niB* *ʔoC-* *zoC* *ðanB* *təAmpheB* *-eB* *zoCseA*, *kaAtsiB-* ...
do rice PTCL 3 CLNK1 tell CLF girl DEM tell PROH

kaAtsiB- *nduC* *muB* *ŋdeA* *-jaA*.
PROH walk go hide PTCL

When she began to cook, Ndumba showed up and said, “Don’t run away and hide.”

17 *ʋona* *muA-* *ŋdeA* *loB-* *ʔoC-* *jonC* *kəB-siB* *ŋdeA* *loB-* *ʔoC-* *jonC* *kəB-siB*.
2SG NEG hide also CLNK1 COP 1SG-wife hide also CLNK1 COP 1SG-wife
“You will be my wife whether you hide or not.”

18 *jonCmuAʔoA-* *ŋdeA* *-waC*.
NEG hide PTCL
“So you do not have to hide.”

19 *jeB* *qlenAqaA* *muB* *aC* *χuA* *ʔonB* *luB*, *jeB* ... *ʔoC-* *zoCseA*, *kanB* *tuC* *ðanB*
FLL PN go do land return come FLL CLNK1 tell 1SG acquire CLF

siB *-waC*.
wife PTCL

When Qlenqa came home, Ndumba said to him, “I got a wife.”

20 *jeB* *qlenAqaA* *ʔoC-* *zoCseA*, *aCnonB* *ʔyøNC* *-ʔaB* *-ləA* *-mana*.
FLL PN CLNK1 tell this.way good PTCL PTCL PTCL
Qlenqa said, “Really, that’s good for you.”

21 *qlenAqaA* *muB* *aC* *ðoB* *luB*, *niB* *muA-* ... *niB* *muA-* *qwana* ... *muA-* *qwana*
PN go make firewood come 3 NEG 3 NEG thank NEG thank

qlenAqaA *-jaA*.
PN PTCL

When Qlenqa went to make firewood and came home, the girl did not thank him.

22 *ŋduCmbæC* *aC* *ðoB* *luB*, *niB* *zoCseA*, *ʋona* *kuB* *εaB* *-ʔaB*, *ʋona*
PN make firewood come 3 tell 2SG carry much PTCL 2SG

aC *zoC-zoC* *kuB* *ʔneA*.
make little-RED carry CLF

When Ndumba went to make firewood and came home, she said, “You carried too much, do not carry that much.”

23 *jeB* *qlenAqaA* *zoCseA*, *εonBʔiCʔ*, *ʋona* *jonA* *ðanB* *siB* *-nonB* *jonC*
FLL PN tell brother 2SG take CLF wife DEM COP

nonA *senA* *nonA* *ŋoB* *-siA*.
eat new eat raw PTCL

Qlenqa said to his brother, “Your wife is a raw meat eater.” [25]

25 *nonA senA nonA ŋoB* is a four-syllable phrase, meaning ‘eat something raw’. *senA* is a Chinese loanword, and *ŋoB* is an indigenous word, both meaning ‘raw’.

24 *jeB niB muA- εANB'εENC' -jaA.*
 FLL 3 NEG believe PTCL
 Ndumba did not believe him.

25 *jeB qlenAqaA tsoC- ?miA təApluA-qeA təApluA-εwaC muB qoC niB -moA*
 NEG PN CLNK1 DISP1 hair-chicken hair-duck go GOAL 3 MOD
χυBηtεoNC-təhoC.
 pillow-bed
 Then, Qlenqa put some chicken feathers and duck feathers by the girl's bedside. [26]

26 *jeB niB seA, aAniB muA- εANB'εENC' εONA muB fεNB ... εONB'itiC' muA-*
 FLL 3 say brother NEG believe 2SG go search brother NEG
εANB'εENC', εONA muB fεNB lanC.
 believe 2SG go search look
 He said, "If you don't believe me, go and see." [27]

27 *niB muB fεNB lanC, jeB tsoC- maA təApluA-qeA maA təApluA-εwaC.*
 3 go search look FLL CLNK1 exist hair-chicken exist hair-duck
 When Ndumba went there, he found some chicken feathers and duck feathers.

28 *jeB niB loB-... niB tsoC- muA- εANB'εENC' -jaA.*
 FLL 3 also 3 CLNK1 NEG believe PTCL
 He still didn't believe Qlenqa.

29 *niB zoC ... təAleA... ηduCmbæC zoCseA, εONA muB thoB ?lanA toC-qeA*
 3 tell FLL PN tell 2SG go build CLF house-chicken
-manA.
 PTCL
 Meanwhile, the girl said to Ndumba, "Make a henhouse."

30 *niB seA, qeA tsoC- muA- maA qeA ?wuC, muB thoB toC-qeA aC*
 3 say chicken CLNK1 NEG exist chicken feed go build house-chicken do
təBtsiB.
 IGN
 Ndumba said, "I have no chickens to feed, what are you going to do with it?"

31 *thoB qoC -manA.*
 build GOAL PTCL
 "Just make one."

26 Probably this part of the story should be placed after the sentence No.41 below: First Ndumba did not believe Qlenqa, but after Ndumba found the evidence confirming Qlenqa's story, he came to believe him and decided to divorce his wife.

27 The narrator first used the word *aAniB*, which in this context means 'elder brother'. The narrator, however, immediately restated the sentence with the word *εONB'itiC'*, which means '(younger) brother'. This fact suggests that the narrator thought Qlenqa was elder than Ndumba.

- 32 *ʃhoB qoC ʔyɔŋC, niB tsaA- muAtehoC maA -mana.*
 build GOAL good 3 independently know exist PTCL
 When you make it, chicken will come.”
- 33 *aC tuC ʔlana ʃoC-qeA, jeB phiAnəAyeC soB -qhlanB yeA soB*
 build acquire CLF house-chicken FLL tomorrow get.up EXPR morning get.up
luB tsoC- maA ʃoC qeA.
 come CLNK1 exist CLF chicken
 He made a henhouse, and the next morning when he got up, he found the henhouse full of chickens.
- 34 *jeB ɔanB təAmpheB -eB tɛiA- χanC niB zoCseA, ʋona muB ʃhoB ʔlana*
 FLL CLF girl DEM again call 3 tell 2SG go build CLF
ʃoC-ɛwaC -mana.
 house-duck PTCL
 Next, the girl said to Ndumba, “Make a duck house.”
- 35 *aAɛwaC tsoC- muA- maA aAɛwaC ʔwuC, muB ʃhoB ʃoC-ɛwaC aC tɔBtsiB.*
 duck CLNK1 NEG exist duck feed go build house-duck do IGN
 Ndumba said, “I have no ducks to feed, what are you going to do with it?”
- 36 *ʃhoB qoC -mana.*
 build GOAL PTCL
 “Just make one.”
- 37 *ʃhoB qoC ʔyɔŋC, tsoC- ... phiAnəAyeC soB -qhlanB yeA soB luB tsoC-*
 build GOAL good CLNK1 tomorrow get.up EXPR morning get.up come CLNK1
maA ʃoC ... ʃoC ɛwaC.
 exist CLF CLF duck
 He made a duck house, and the next morning when he got up, he found the duck house full of ducks.
- 38 *niB zoC ɔanB qlenAqaA ... zoC ... niB zoC ŋɖuCmbæC zoCseA, muB ʃhoB ʔlana*
 3 tell CLF PN tell 3 tell PN tell go build CLF
ŋgaA ... ŋgaA-ŋiA -mana.
 pen pen-buffalo PTCL
 Next, the girl said to Ndumba, “Make a cow house.”
- 39 *ŋiA tsoC- muA- maA ŋiA ʔwuC, muB ʃhoB ŋgaA-ŋiA aC tɔBtsiB.*
 buffalo CLNK1 NEG exist buffalo feed go build pen-buffalo do IGN
 Ndumba said, “I have no cows to feed, what are you going to do with it?”
- 40 *niB seA, ʋona ʃhoB qoC -mana.*
 3 say 2SG build GOAL PTCL
 “Just make one.”

41 *ʃhoB qoC ʔyøNC puC zaA aAqoApuC luB tiByeA tsoC- maA ðanB ...*
 build GOAL good sleep CLF sleep come morning CLNK1 exist CLF

maA ŋgaA juB.
 exist CLF cow

He made a cow house, and the next morning when he got up, he found the cow house full of cows.

42 *jeB qlenAqaA zoCseA, ʋona-siB tAðeNA jonC tA-nona senA nonA ŋoB*
 FLL PN tell 2SG-wife really COP NMLZ-eat new eat raw

-siA -liA, niB seA.
 PTCL PTCL 3 say

Then, Qlenqa said to Ndumba again, “Your wife is a raw meat eater.”

43 *teAðuB oA, muA- maA tɛhiB szC -nonB -jaA.*
 IGN INTJ NEG exist CLF matter DEM PTCL

“It cannot be true.”

44 *niB xona- muB ... ʔwuA-ðanB kəBðəA -eB tsoC- ... tsoC- szA-təhanC luB.*
 3 CLNK1 go two-CLF brother DEM CLNK1 CLNK1 RCP-squabble come
 The two brothers began to quarrel.

45 *jeB niB muB fæNB xubŋteonC-təhoC -eB tsoC- tAðeNA maA tApluA-qeA*
 FLL 3 go search pillow-bed DEM CLNK1 really exist hair-chicken

-naB maA tApluA-ɛwaC -naB.
 PLNK exist hair-duck PLNK

When Ndumba checked out the girl’s bedside, he found some chicken feathers and duck feathers.

46 *jeB ŋɖuCmbæC tsoC- tsonC niB-siB loA -loA.*
 FLL PN CLNK1 deliver 3-wife disappear PTCL

Then, Ndumba drove out his wife.

47 *jeB tsonC niB-siB -seA, naB ʋona tsonC kanB muB -seA, khuA aɛwaC*
 FLL deliver 3-wife CLNK2 CONJ 2SG deliver 1SG go CLNK2 lock.up duck

-naB khuA qeA -naB khuA juB -naB szB-ʔyøNC -liA.
 PLNK lock.up chicken PLNK lock.up cow PLNK PURP-good PTCL

His wife said, “If you really drive me out, you must firmly lock up your ducks, chickens, and cows.”

48 *kanB khuA ʔyøNC -tsaB.*
 1SG lock.up good PTCL

“I locked them up very firmly.”

49 *təBqwenAnonB* *ðanB* *təAmpheB* *-eB* *teiC* *tuC* *thonA* *onA* *luB* *ŋteaC*
 thereafter CLF girl DEM draw acquire CLF water come reach

aAqaBpiB.

entrance

Then, the girl carried a bucket of water to the front of their house. [28]

50 *jeB* *niB* *tsɔC-* *muA-* *ŋonB* *-jaA*.

FLL 3 CLNK1 NEG use PTCL

Ndumba did not want that.

51 *ðanB* *təAmpheB* *-eB* *tsɔC-* ... *tsɔC-* *ŋtehaB* *thonA* *onA* *qoC* *aAqaBpiB*.
 CLF girl DEM CLNK1 CLNK1 sprinkle CLF water GOAL entrance

Then, the girl sprinkled the water at the entrance of their house.

52 [*aAqaBpiB* *tsɔC-* *teəBpiC* *ɳlanA* *vonB*, *ðanB* *təAmpheB* *-eB* *tsɔC-* *ngaB*
 entrance CLNK1 change CLF pond CLF girl DEM CLNK1 descend

qoC *onA* *-loA*.]

GOAL water PTCL

A pond then appeared in the entrance, and the girl went down into the water.

53 *jeB* *niB* ... *jeB* *niB* *tsɔC-* *zoCseA*, *ŋɖuCmbæC* *ʋonA* *yeA* *kanB* *tsiA-saA*
 FLL 3 FLL 3 CLNK1 tell PN 2SG hold.back 1SG three-CLF

jeB *kanB* *tsɔC-* *tonB* *luB* *-mbeC* *-ləA* *-manA*.

FLL 1SG CLNK1 return come PTCL PTCL PTCL

The girl said to Ndumba, “Ndumba, if you stop me three times, I will come back to you.”

54 *muB* *tsɔC-* *muB* *-waC* *-ləA* *-manA*.

go CLNK1 go PTCL PTCL PTCL

Ndumba said, “Go away.”

55 *naBtsiB* *vuB-* *niB-* *yeA* *ʋonA*.

IGN still IRR hold.back 2SG

“Nobody is stopping you.”

56 *jeB* ... *jeB* *muB* *ŋteaC* *jeB* *tonB* *ŋteaC* *taA* ... *taAqlaB* *jeB* *niB* *tsiA-* *zoCseA*,
 FLL FLL go reach FLL soak reach waist FLL 3 again tell

ŋɖuCmbæC *yeA* *kanB* *tsiA-saA* *kanB* *tonB* *luB* *-mbeC* *-ləA* *-manA*.

PN hold.back 1SG three-CLF 1SG return come PTCL PTCL PTCL

When she went down and the water came up to her waist, she again said, “Ndumba, if you stop me three times, I will come back to you.”

28 *aAqaBpiB* is a noun denoting space in front of the main door of a house. See Appendix 2 for a typical house design of the Hmyo people.

57 *jeB niB zoCseA, kanB ... kanB muAðiB- ʔŋonB -waC.*
 PTCL 3 tell 1SG 1SG NEG need PTCL
 He said, “I don’t want you anymore.”

58 *muB tsoC- muB vonA -moA -siA.*
 go CLNK1 go 2SG MOD PTCL
 “Go away.”

59 *niB jiC- tonB moA -loA -waC aAɓwaC ... *** ... aAɓwaC taA qeA taA*
 3 CLNK1 dive sink PTCL PTCL duck duck COM chicken COM

juB jiAɣaC- ʔjenC -phuAlaBphuAluC.
 cow altogether fly EXPR

When she went under the water, the ducks, chickens, and cows flew away altogether.

60 *jeB ŋɖuCmbæC paA qeA jeB qeA taA-ŋɖoA tsoC- yeA -loA.*
 FLL PN grasp chicken FLL chicken NMLZ-mouth CLNK1 bend PTCL
 When Ndumba grasped the beak of a chicken to catch it, the beak became crooked.

61 *paA kwaC taA-ŋɖoA jeB kwaC taA-ŋɖoA tsoC- piaB -loA.*
 grasp duck NMLZ-mouth FLL duck NMLZ-mouth CLNK1 flat PTCL
 When Ndumba grasped the beak of a duck to catch it, the beak became flat.

62 *paA ŋiA tɔA-kanA jeB ŋiA tɔA-kanA tsoC- piaB -loA.*
 grasp buffalo NMLZ-horn FLL buffalo NMLZ-horn CLNK1 flat PTCL
 When Ndumba grasped the horn of a cow, the horn became flat.

63 *jeB tɔBqwenAnonB ŋɖuAmbæC zoCseA, kanB qlaA vonA -ðəBsiA.*
 FLL thereafter PN tell 1SG fool 2SG PTCL
 Then Qlenqa said, “I cheated you.”

64 *muA- maA jiAɣwiA szCtəhena -nonB -jaA.*
 NEG exist one matter DEM PTCL
 “What I said to you is a lie.”

65 *jeB ŋɖuCmbæC tsoC- ŋiBlaA qliB ŋiBlaA ðaC.*
 NEG PN CLNK1 cry * cry die
 Ndumba cried bitterly.

66 *ŋiBlaA ... ŋiBlaA qliB ŋiBlaA ðaC jeB hnaA-hnaB-hnaA teiA- muB ʔŋonA*
 cry cry * cry die FLL day-RED separately go be.at

ʔlanA vonB nthanB -eB ŋiBlaA.
 CLF pond CLF DEM cry

He went to the pond and cried there every day.

67 *maA ðanB qanBɣaA zoCseA, ŋɖuCmbæC vonA ŋiBlaA tɔBtsiB.*
 exist CLF toad tell PN 2SG cry IGN
 Then a toad appeared and said, “What are you crying for?”

- 68 *kəB-piB qlenAqaA qIaA kANB tsoNC siB -loA, jeB qoC xəBηtonA -nonB*
 1SG-house PN fool 1SG deliver wife PTCL FLL move inside DEM
-loA jeB kANB hnaA-hnaA teiA- δaA ηiBlaA -siA.
 PTCL FLL 1SG day-RED separately come cry PTCL
 “Because Qlenqa cheated me and made me divorce my wife, so I come here and cry every day.”
- 69 *naB kONa muB jONa muB muA- muB, kONa muB jONa jeB kANB tsoC-*
 CONJ 2SG go take go NEG go 2SG go take FLL 1SG CLNK1
jONa kONa muB jONa.
 take 2SG go take
 “Then do you want to bring your wife back? If you want, I will take you there.”
- 70 *naB kANB muB -teC -mana.*
 CONJ 1SG go PTCL PTCL
 “I will go.”
- 71 *kONa luB kANB ?wuA jeB kONa kaAtsiB- tuA -jaA -liA.*
 2SG come 1SG carry FLL 2SG PROH laugh PTCL PTCL
 The toad said, “I will carry you, so do not laugh.”
- 72 *uC.*
 INTJ
 Ndumba replied, “I see.”
- 73 *jeB jONa ... jeB ... jeB ... niB muB ... qANBtaA ?wuA, qANBtaA menC qoC*
 FLL take FLL FLL 3 go toad carry toad dive GOAL
xəBηtonA oNA -loA jeB niB tsoC- tuA ... tuA saA ... tuA saA -qəAleC
 inside water PTCL FLL 3 CLNK1 laugh laugh CLF laugh CLF only
qANBtaA taA-təhuA tsoC- tonC -loA.
 toad NMLZ-stomach CLNK1 blow.up PTCL
 When the toad began to dive into the water carrying Ndumba on his back, Ndumba gave a chuckle, then the stomach of the toad burst.
- 74 *jeB niB teiA- ?miA ?lana szAmaC luB təəBpoA ... təəAleA ... aAqANBtaA*
 FLL 3 separately DISP1 CLF towel come wrap FLL toad
taA-təhuA jeB aAqANBtaA ... aAqANBtaA teiA- ?wuA niB muB ngweC.
 NMLZ-stomach FLL toad toad separately carry 3 go CLF
 Ndumba wrapped the stomach of the toad with a towel, then the toad dived into the water.
- 75 *niB zoCseA, kaAtsiB- tuA -waC -liA.*
 3 tell PROH laugh PTCL PTCL
 The toad said, “Do not laugh.”
- 76 *uC.*
 INTJ
 “I see.”

77 *ʔwuA niB muB ɲɛaC χəBɲɔNA -eB, niB χɔNA- muB jaC niB-siB ...*
 carry 3 go reach inside DEM 3 CLNK1 go encounter 3-wife

niB-siB... χɔNA- muB jaC niB-taNA.
 3-wife CLNK1 go encounter 3-child

This way, they reached the bottom of the pond, then Ndumba found his wife and his children.

78 *jeB niB-siB zoCseA, δaA aCnonB aC kəB-paB muA- qweAsenA ʋona -jaA*
 FLL 3-wife tell come this.way do 1SG-father NEG welcome 2SG PTCL

-liA.

PTCL

His wife said, “My father won’t welcome you.”

79 *jeB seA, muA- ntsheC -jaA.*

FLL say NEG fear PTCL

She said, “But don’t be afraid.”

80 *jeB təAmpheB ... δanB ... niB-siB tsoC- ʔmiA niB muB ʔyeA qoC χəBɲɔNA χanaA.*
 FLL girl CLF 3-wife CLNK1 DISP1 3 go hide GOAL inside jar

She made his husband hide in the jar.

81 *jeB niB-piB aAtiA jiC- luB jeB tsoC- zoCseA.*

FLL 3-house father-in-law CLNK1 come FLL CLNK1 tell

Then her father came into the room and said.

82 *ʋona ... χəBɲɔNA -nonB maA təA-tsuCtsuC senA tsuCtsuC ɲoB.*

2SG inside DEM exist NMLZ-smelly raw smelly raw

“There is something raw-smelling here.” [29]

83 *muA- maA -jaA.*

NEG exist PTCL

His daughter said, “No, there is no such thing.”

84 *təAðeNA.*

true

“Yes, there must be.”

85 *təBqweNanonB niB-piB aAtiA tsoC- muB fæNB tuC niB-piB δanB*
 thereafter 3-house father-in-law CLNK1 go search acquire 3-house CLF

qlenAqaA ... δanB ɲɖuCmbæCfæNB tuC δanB ɲɖuCmbæC qloB ɲɔNA χanaA
 PN CLF PN search acquire CLF PN ABL inside jar

luB.

come

Her father searched and found her husband in the jar.

29 The expression *tsuCtsuC senA tsuCtsuC ɲoB* is an idiomatic expression. *tsuCtsuC* is a verb meaning ‘to be smelly’, and both *senA* and *ɲoB* mean ‘raw’, the former being a loanword from Chinese 生 *shēng*, the latter an indigenous word.

86 *ðanB təAmpheB -eB χONa- zoCseA, uA, jonC kanB ... jonC kanB-zONB*
 CLF girl DEM CLNK1 tell oh COP 1SG COP 1SG-husband

-siA.

PTCL

Her daughter said, “Oh, he is my husband.”

87 *aCnonB jeB təBqwenAnonB niB χONa-... niB-piB aAtiA -eB χONa-*
 this.way FLL thereafter 3 CLNK1 3-house father-in-law DEM CLNK1

faA niB... χONa- ?miA niB muB nzanB pheC tseA.
 punish 3 CLNK1 DISPl 3 go chop CLF forest

After that, his father-in-law told him to cut down all the trees in the forest.

88 *nzanB pheC tseA nzanB jena -waC, niB-piB aAtiA tsoC- maB'sanC'-*
 chop CLF forest chop end PTCL 3-house father-in-law CLNK1 immediately

χanC niB tsonC ðoB kana.
 call 3 deliver fire burn

When he finished cutting down the trees, his father-in-law told him to burn them.

89 *jeB vuB- təA-ηoB -siA, niB kana muA- jeC -jaA.*
 FLL still NMLZ-raw PTCL 3 burn NEG catch PTCL

However, these pieces of wood were still raw, so they did not catch fire.

90 *jeB niB hnaA-hnaA tsiA- ηiBlaA.*
 FLL 3 day-RED separately cry

Then he cried every day.

91 *jeB ðanB təAmpheB -eB seA, ηiBlaA təBtsiB.*
 FLL CLF girl DEM say cry IGN

His wife asked him, “What are you crying for?”

92 *bonA-paB zoC kanB muB kana pheC tseA -eB -χaB, vuB- təA-ηoB -siA*
 2SG-father tell 1SG go burn CLF forest DEM CLNK2 still NMLZ-raw PTCL

kana muA- jeC -jaA.
 burn NEG catch.fire PTCL

“Your father told me to burn wood, but it is still raw, and it doesn’t catch fire.”

93 *kaAtsiB- ηiBlaA -waC.*
 PROH cry PTCL

“You don’t have to cry.”

94 *jeB phiAnəAyeC kanB taA bonA kana.*
 FLL tomorrow 1SG COM 2SG burn

“Tomorrow I will help you burn it.”

95 *ðanB təAmpheB -eB χONa- muB tiB zONC-ʔlanA kuBðoB χONa- muB suaiB*
 CLF girl DEM CLNK1 go take seven-CLF torch CLNK1 go throw

təAeB suaiB nonB ʔlanA.
 there throw here CLF

His wife prepared seven torches, and put them here and there.

96 *jeB χONa- phæA qyB təA-ndanC tɛiC luB jeB χONa- kana jɛNA -loA.*
 FLL CLNK1 blow CLF NMLZ-big wind come FLL CLNK1 burn finish PTCL
 Next, she blew out and raised a big wind, and burned the wood.

97 *jeB kana jɛNA -loA, niB-piB aAtiA tɛiA- ʔoCseA, ʁONa taA*
 FLL burn finish PTCL 3-house father-in-law separately say 2SG COM

kanB tiB tɛiA-qlONa... tɛiA-qlONa... tɛiA-qlONa ʔoC-tuB -moA tʃhanB muB
 1SG take three-CLF three-CLF three-CLF six-CLF MOD millet go

piA.

sow

Then his father-in-law said, “Take three shi six dou of millet and sow them.” [30]

98 *təBqweNA nonB niB-piB ðanB ʔwuB -eB niB-piB ðanB qlɛNAqaA -eB*
 thereafter 3-house CLF son-in-law DEM 3-house CLF PN DEM

tsoC- tiB muB piA -waC.

CLNK1 take go sow PTCL

The son-in-law took the millet seeds to sow. [31]

99 *piA -waC -niB, niB-piB aAtiA tɛiA- ʔoCseA, ʁONa taA kanB*
 sow PTCL PTCL 3-house father-in-law separately say 2SG COM 1SG

khoA luB -χɛNA.

collect seed PTCL

When he finished sowing, his father-in-law said, “Collect all the millet seeds that you sew.”

100 *ðanB ηɖuCmbæC -eB tɛiA- ηiBlaA qliB ηiBlaA ðaC.*
 CLF PN DEM separately cry * cry die

Ndumba cried bitterly again.

101 *jeB niB-piB ðanB ... niB ðanB siB ʔoCseA, ηiBlaA tɛəBtsiB.*
 FLL 3-house CLF 3 CLF wife say cry IGN

The girl asked Ndumba, “What are you crying for?”

102 *ʁONa-paB ʔoC kanB khoA hnɛNA-tʃhanB szB-jɛNA -χɛNA.*
 2SG-father tell 1SG collect seed-millet PURP-finish PTCL

“Your father told me to collect the millet seeds that I sew.”

30 Both *qlONa* and *tuB* are units of volume for grain, *tuB* being one tenth of *qlONa*. *qlONa* corresponds to Chinese 石 *shí*, *tuB* corresponds to Chinese 斗 *dǒu*. We translate *qlONa* as *shi*, *tuB* as *dou*.

31 The story-teller refers to *qlɛNAqaA* in this sentence, but it must be *ηɖuCmbæC*.

103 *muA- jauCtænB -jaA.*
 NEG problematic PTCL
 “No problem,” she said.

104 *phiAnəAyeC kanB tɛaA- χANc noC muB toC ʁONa khoA.*
 tomorrow 1SG separately call bird go BNF 2SG collect
 “Tomorrow, I will tell the birds to collect them for you.”

105 *təBqweNAnonB δANB təAmpheB -eB tsoC- χANc noC-naB muB khoA, jiC-*
 thereafter CLF girl DEM CLNK1 call bird-PL go collect CLNK1

khoA luB jeB tsoC- jiAχaC- khoA jɛNA -waC.
 collect come FLL CLNK1 altogether collect finish PTCL

Then she called the birds and told them to collect the seeds, and the birds went to collect them all at once.

106 *jeB aAnqaA tsoC- nonA -loA tɕiA-qlonA tɔC-tuB tsoC- jiAχaC- nonA jɛNA*
 FLL dove CLNK1 eat PTCL three-CLF six-CLF CLNK1 altogether eat finish

-loA.
 PTCL

Doves ate up all of the three shi six dou of seeds. [32]

107 *jeB təBqweNAnonB niB zɔCseA, aAtiA kanB jiAχaC- khoA jɛNA -waC.*
 FLL thereafter 3 say father-in-law 1SG altogether collect finish PTCL
 He said to his father-in-law, “Father, I collected all of them.”

108 *niB-piB aAtiA jiC- muB lanC jeB tsoC- jiAχaC- khoA jɛNA*
 3-house father-in-law CLNK1 go look FLL CLNK1 altogether collect finish

-loA.
 PTCL

When the father-in-law went to check it, he found that the millet seeds were collected.

109 *jeB δANB ... δANB ... niB ... δANB ... ηɖuCmbæC zɔCseA, peB δaC kanB.*
 FLL CLF CLF 3 CLF PN say tired die 1SG
 Then Ndumba said to himself, “I am tired to death.”

110 *təBqweNAnonB niB-piB aAtiA jeB zɔCseA, ʁONa tɛaA- muB thonB*
 thereafter 3-house father-in-law FLL say 2SG separately go search.for

ʁlanA təA-peB δaC kanB pANa kanB.
 CLF NMLZ-tired die 1SG give 1SG

Then his father-in-law said, “Find and give me what makes you tired to death.”

32 The doves are assumed to be the birds that the girl called.

111 *jeB təAmpheB... ηduCmbæC tɛiA- ηiBlaA qliB ηiBlaA δaC.*
 FLL girl PN separately cry * cry die
 Ndumba cried bitterly again.

112 *ηduCmbæC tɛiA- zoCseA, ... niB-siB tɛiA- zoCseA, ʋONA ηiBlaA ... ηiBlaA*
 PN separately say 3-wife separately say 2SG cry cry

təBtsiB.

IGN

The girl asked, “What are you crying for?”

113 *ʋONA-paB zoC kanB thonB ʋlana təA-peB δaC kanB paNA niB.*
 2SG -father tell 1SG search.for CLF NMLZ-tired die 1SG give 3

“Your father told me to find and give him what makes one tired to death.”

114 *jeB phiAnəAyeC kanB taA ʋONA ɛanB ʋlana paNCfa.*
 FLL tomorrow 1SG COM 2SG think CLF method

His wife said, “Tomorrow, I will help you handle it.”

115 *təBqweNAnonB niB χONA- muB aC... χONA- muB aC tuC ʋlana qwiC.*
 thereafter 3 CLNK1 go make CLNK1 go make acquire CLF egg

His wife made an egg.

116 *jeB təBqweNAnonB niB-piB δanB ... δanB ... ηduCmbæC χONA- tiB qwiC muB*
 FLL thereafter 3-house CLF CLF PN CLNK1 take egg go

paNA niB-piB aAtiA.

give 3-house father-in-law

Ndumba gave it to his father-in-law.

117 *jeB jiC- tsonC δoB kana jeB tsoC- tsaC... niB-piB aA... tsaC... tsaC...*
 FLL CLNK1 release fire burn FLL CLNK1 explode 3-house explode explode

niB-piB aAtiA taA niB-piB aAneA jiAχaC- δaC -loA.

3-house father-in-law COM 3-house mother-in-law altogether die PTCL

When his father-in-law warmed it with fire, the egg exploded and killed his parents-in-law.

118 *jeB aAqanBtaA χONA- jona ʋwua-δanB siB-zonB taA niB aAtana jiAχaC-*
 FLL toad CLNK1 take two-CLF wife-husband COM 3 child altogether

χONA- luB? ηONA təAnaA... χONA- luB tɛəBpiC təAnaA.

CLNK1 come be.at human CLNK1 come change human

Then, the toad carried Ndumba and his wife and children and returned home. They lived there as humans.

【中文大意】

蛋姑娘（一）

从前，有两个兄弟，一个叫格林嘎，一个叫顿巴。格林嘎很懒，天天睡觉。顿巴很勤快，每天清早起来去薅草。有一天他去薅一个地方的草，薅完，第二天那里又长出来了。今天薅完，第二天，第三天就又有了。于是，他就拿了一把锄头去挖，结果挖到了两个蛋。他把蛋带回家，格林嘎吃了一个，只剩下一个了。顿巴就拿去放在坛子里。放入坛子后，那个蛋就变成一个姑娘，天天给他们两兄弟做饭。他家两兄弟干完活回家，看到饭做好了就去感谢村里的妇女。村里的妇女说：“不要感谢我们。”“回头我们丈夫听到了会打我们的。”于是，让格林嘎来守家，但格林嘎睡着了，没有守到。换顿巴来守。就看见那个蛋变成了一位姑娘起来做饭。等她开始做饭，他出来就跟姑娘说：“不用躲着（悄悄地做呀）。你躲不躲都是我的妻子。不用躲着。”格林嘎干完活回到家，他就告诉格林嘎：“我有妻子了。”格林嘎说：“真的吗，那太好了。”格林嘎砍柴回来时，她对格林嘎不闻不问。顿巴砍柴回来时，她会说：“你抬得太多，少抬一点儿。”格林嘎说：“弟弟，你娶的那个妻子是吃生肉的。”顿巴不相信。格林嘎就拿鸡毛、鸭毛放在她的枕头底下。“你不相信的话、可以去看一下。”他去查看，就发现了鸡毛和鸭毛。但他还是不相信。她跟顿巴说：“你去做个鸡圈吧。”他说：“也没有鸡喂，做鸡圈干什么？”“做好了，鸡会自己来的。做嘛。”第二天早上起来一看，鸡圈里真有一群鸡了。她又说：“去做个鸭圈。”“鸭也没有鸭喂，去做鸭圈干什么？”“做嘛。”做好了第二天早上起来一看，鸭圈里真有一群鸭了。她又跟顿巴说：“去做个牛圈吧。”“也没有牛喂，做牛圈干什么？”她说：“做嘛。”做好了，睡个觉，早上起来一看，牛圈里真有一群牛了。看到这，格林嘎又一次说：“你的妻子是吃生肉的呀。”“不可能的。”两兄弟就开始为此吵架。他去检查了床头枕头下，发现有鸡毛、鸭毛。于是，顿巴就把他的妻子赶出去了。妻子说：“你赶我走的话，你要把鸡、鸭、牛都关好啊。”“我关好的。”然后，他妻子搬了一桶水到他家门口。他说不要。妻子就把那桶水倒在门口那里。于是门口就出现了一个池塘，妻子就下到水里去了。她说：“顿巴，你挽留我三回，我就回来。”“去就去吧。”“谁还留你。”水淹到腰部，她又说了一遍：“挽留我三回，我就回来。”他说：“我不会再要你了。去就去吧。”等她沉入水中，鸭子、鸡、牛都乱飞了起来。顿巴捏了下鸡嘴，鸡嘴就弯了。捏一下鸭嘴，鸭嘴就扁了。捏一下牛角，牛角也扁了。这时格林嘎说：“其实我都是骗你的。你妻子并没有吃生肉这回事。”顿巴哭得要命。每天都去那个池塘边哭。有个癞蛤蟆说：“你哭什么？”“我家的格林嘎骗我把我的妻子赶到这里面去了。所以我天天就来这哭。”“那你想不想去接她回来，去的话我可以带你去。”“我去。”“那我背你去，你别笑啊。”“好的。”他让癞蛤蟆背他潜下水去，他不小心笑了一声，癞蛤蟆的肚子就破了。他拿手帕把癞蛤蟆的肚子包好，又重新坐它背上去了。癞蛤蟆说：“你别笑啊。”“好的。”终于到水池里面见到他的妻子和孩子了。他妻子说：“你来这儿，我爸爸不会欢迎你的。但你也不用担心。”他妻子让他躲在坛子里。他的岳父一进来就说。“这里有腥味。”他妻子说：“没有啊。”“真的有。”他的岳父就在坛子里找到了顿巴。他妻子说：“啊，他是我丈夫。”然后他的岳父让他去砍光一片森林。砍完森林后，他的岳父又让他去烧。但那些木头都还是湿的，点不着火。他就天天哭。妻子问他：“你哭什么？”“你爸爸让我去烧那片森林，但是树都是湿的，根本

33 *kuiBjiAlaA* is a Southwestern Mandarin Chinese expression 归一了, meaning ‘a perfect resolution (to a problematic situation)’.

点不着火。”“别哭了。明天我去帮你烧。”妻子作了七个火把，这里放一个，那里放一个。然后，她吹起了一股大风，树就烧完了。烧完了以后，他的岳父又说：“拿三石六斗的小米去撒。”他就拿去撒了。撒完之后，他的岳父又让他去全部捡起来。顿巴又大哭起来。他的妻子又问他：“你哭什么？”“你爸爸让我把小米全部捡起来。”“没事。明天我让小鸟去捡。”他妻子叫来小鸟去捡，小鸟一开始捡起来马上就捡完了。鸽子吃了三石六斗，全部吃完了。然后，他去和岳父说：“岳父，我全部捡完了。”岳父去看了一下的确是捡完了。顿巴说：“累死我了。”接着，他的岳父说：“你去找一个能累死我的东西来。”顿巴又哭了，哭得要命。他妻子又问他：“你哭什么？”“你爸爸让我去找一个能累死我的东西给他。”他妻子就说：“明天我帮你想个办法。”妻子就去做了一个蛋。然后，顿巴把那个蛋交给他的岳父。岳父点火去烧那个蛋，那个蛋就炸死了岳父和岳母。于是，癞蛤蟆带着他们两个和孩子回去，他们一家人住在一起生活。可喜可贺。

【日本語大意】

卵から生まれた娘（一）

その昔、二人の兄弟がいて、一人はクリンカ、もう一人はドゥンバといった。クリンカは怠け者で毎日居眠りばかりしていた。ドゥンバは働き者で、毎朝早く起きて草刈りをした。ある日彼があるところの草を刈ると、次の日にはまた草が生えている。今日の朝刈って、翌日も刈ると、その次の日にはまた生えている。そこで彼は鍬を担いで行ってその場所を掘ると、二つの卵を掘り当てた。彼は卵を持って家に帰ると、クリンカは一つ食べてしまい、一つだけになった。ドゥンバはその卵を甕の中に入れておいた。甕の中に入れておくと、その卵は女の子に変身して毎日彼らにご飯を作ってくれた。彼ら兄弟は家に帰ってくると、食事ができているので、村の女性たちに礼を述べた。ところが村の女性たちは言った。「感謝なんてしないで。」「後で夫に叩かれるじゃないの。」そこでクリンカに家を見張らせることにしたが、彼は居眠りしてしまい、見張りはうまくいかない。そこでドゥンバが見張ることになった。見張っていると、その卵は女の子の姿になって起きてきてご飯を作った。女の子がご飯を作りだすと、ドゥンバは出てきてその女の子に言った。「隠れなくてもいいんだよ。君は隠れても隠れなくても僕の妻だ。隠れる必要はない。」クリンカが返ってくると、ドゥンバはクリンカに言った。「おれ、嫁さんができたんだ。」クリンカは言った。「本当かい。そりゃよかったな。」クリンカが柴刈りに行ってきても、彼女はクリンカに礼を言わない。ドゥンバが柴を刈って家に帰ると、彼女は言った。「たくさん担ぎすぎよ、少し少なめにしなさいな。」クリンカは言った。「おまえの嫁は生肉を食べるんだぞ。」ドゥンバは信じなかった。そこでクリンカは鶏の毛、アヒルの毛を彼女の枕元に置いておいた。「おまえ、信じないなら行って見てみろよ。」ドゥンバが行ってみると確かに鶏の毛、アヒルの毛がある。それでも彼は信じない。彼女はドゥンバに言った。「鶏小屋を作りなさいな。」彼は言った。「餌をやる鶏もいないのに鶏小屋を作ってどうするんだ。」「作ってみなさいな。作ったら、鶏はひとりでに来るわよ。」鶏小屋を作って次の日の朝起きてみると、小屋いっぱい鶏がいた。その女の子は言った。「アヒル小屋を作りなさいな。」「餌をやるアヒルも

いないのにアヒル小屋を作ってどうするんだ。」「作ってみなさいな。」作り終わって次の朝起きてみると、小屋いっぱいのアヒルがいた。彼女はドゥンバに言った。「牛小屋を作りなさいな。」「餌をやる牛もないのに、牛小屋を作ってどうするんだ。」彼女は言った。「作ってみなさいな。」作り終わって、寝て、朝起きてみると、小屋いっぱい牛がいた。クリンカはまた言った。「おまえの嫁は生肉を食べるんだぞ。」「そんなことはないよ。」兄弟二人は喧嘩を始めた。彼が枕元を調べてみると鶏の毛、アヒルの毛があった。そこでドゥンバは妻を追い出した。彼の妻は言った。「私を追い出すのなら、鶏、アヒル、牛をよく閉じ込めておきなさい。」「ちゃんと閉じ込めてあるさ。」それからその女の子は桶一杯の水を家の前に運んできた。彼は要らないと言った。その女の子はその桶の水を家の前にまいた。すると家の前に池が現れ、彼女は中へ入っていった。彼女は言った。「ドゥンバ、私を三回引きとめてくれたら、戻ってあげるわ。」「行ってしまえ。誰も引き留めないよ。」腰まで水につかると彼女はもう一度言った。「私を三回引きとめたら、戻ってあげるわ。」彼は言った。「私はもうおまえなんか要らないね。行ってしまえ。」彼女が水に潜ると、アヒル、鶏、牛はバラバラと飛んで行った。ドゥンバが鶏の嘴を掴むと、鶏の嘴は曲がった。アヒルの嘴を掴むと、アヒルの嘴は平たくなった。牛の角を掴むと、牛の角は平たくなった。クリンカは言った。「実はおまえを騙していたんだ。おまえの嫁が生肉を食べるなんてことはないよ。」ドゥンバはひどく泣いた。毎日その池の端へ行っていて泣いていた。一匹のヒキガエルが来て言った。「何を泣いているんだい。」「クリンカが僕を騙して、嫁を追い出させたんだ。だから毎日ここにきて泣いてるのさ。」「じゃ、奥さんを連れ戻しに行くかい。行くなら私が連れて行ってあげるよ。」「行くよ。」「私が背負ってあげるから、笑ったらだめだよ。」「わかった。」ヒキガエルに背負ってもらって水に潜ると、彼はクスッと笑ってしまった。するとヒキガエルのお腹が破裂した。彼は手ぬぐいでヒキガエルのお腹を包むと、もう一度ヒキガエルの背に乗って行った。ヒキガエルが言った。「笑ったらだめだよ。」「わかった。」それでやっと池の中へ降りて行き、妻と子供に会うことができた。妻は言った。「あなたがここに来たら父があなたを歓迎しないわ。」彼女は言った。「でも心配しないで。」彼の妻は彼を甕の中に隠した。彼の義理の父がやってきて言った。「ここは生臭いにおいがする。」「そんなことないわ。」「いや本当だ。」義理の父は、彼を甕の中に見つけた。その女の子は言った。「あら。この人は私の夫です。」その後、義理の父は彼に森の木を全部切るように言いつけた。木を切り終わると、今度はそれを燃やすように言いつけた。木はまだ生で、火がつかない。彼は毎日泣いた。その女の子は彼に尋ねた。「何を泣いているの。」「お父さんが私に森を焼くように言ったんだが、木が生で、火が着かないんだ。」「泣かないで。明日私が燃やしてあげる。」その女の子は七本のたいまつを作り、あっちの一つこっちの一つと置いて回った。それから大きな風を吹いて起こすと木を燃やしてしまった。燃やし終わると、義理の父は言った。「三石六斗の粟を撒いてきてくれ。」その婿は粟を持って撒きに行った。撒き終わると義理の父はまた言った。「全部拾ってきてくれ。」ドゥンバはまたひどく泣いた。

彼の妻はまた尋ねた。「何を泣いているの。」「お父さんが粟を全部拾えと言うんだ。」「大丈夫よ。明日鳥を呼んで拾わせるから。」その後、その女の子は鳥を呼んで全部拾わせた。鳥は拾い出すと、すべて拾いつくした。ハトは三石六斗を全部食べつくした。それから、彼は言った。「お父さん、全部拾いました。」義理の父が行ってみると確かに全部拾っている。ドゥンバは言った。「疲れて死にそうだ。」すると義理の父は言った。「おまえ、疲れて死にそうになるというやつを一つ探して持ってきてくれ。」ドゥンバはまたひどく泣いた。彼の妻がまた尋ねた。「何を泣いているの。」「お父さんが疲れて死にそうにさせるというやつを探して来いと言うのさ。」彼女は言った。「明日なんとかするわ。」彼女は卵を一つ作った。そして、ドゥンバはその卵を義理の父に渡した。義理の父がそれに火をつけて焼こうとすると、その卵は破裂して義理の父と母を殺してしまった。それで、ヒキガエルは二人とその子供を連れて戻り、彼らは人となって暮らした。めでたしめでたし。

7. The Fishing Festival [34]

1 *kanBnaB hmøA naA -moA təA-ŋθheNA mbiB tɛeAzzA ʔŋona tɛhenBmiA*
 IPL PN human MOD NMLZ-pierce fish festival be.at Chingming

təA-poAŋθona.

NMLZ-middle

The fishing festival of the Miao people is held around the period of the Chingming festival.

2 *aAχuB-viB -moA aAŋtɛiA təA-mblona tshenC ntiB -waC.*
 head-mountain MOD Platycarya.strobilacea NMLZ-leaf grow long PTCL
 The leaves of *Platycarya strobilacea* in the mountain grow long. [35]

3 *kanBnaB χona- muB qliC aAŋtɛeA təA-mblona luB piB χona- ʔmiA*
 IPL CLNK1 go prick P.strobilacea NMLZ-leaf come house CLNK1 DISP1

aAŋtɛiBðiA ntoA.

mortar smash

We go to the mountain to collect the leaves of the plant and smash into powder with mortar.

4 *aAŋtɛeA ntoA jenA -waC, ʔmiA qəBʔŋona tɛəBpoA χona- kuB muB*
 P.strobilacea smash finish PTCL DISP1 straw wrap CLNK1 carry go

aAθhaAsuC.

PN

Having smashed the leaves of *P. strobilacea*, we wrap them with rice-plant straw, and then carry them to River Junction. [36]

5 *təA-kuB jeB kuB ŋtɛeA.*
 NMLZ-carry FLL carry P.strobilacea
 The people who carry things carry them to River Junction.

34 The fishing festival is one of the Hmyo's festivals. In this festival, the Hmyo people living along the basin of Qingshuijiang 清水江 do fishing in groups. It is held around the period of the Qingming Festival. Villages along the river basin are grouped into several pairs depending on the section of the river. The pairs are: (i) *aAqloAzonC* (Guangzhong 光中) and *aAtɛiA* (Jiangbian 江边), (ii) *aAviCʔyiA* (Puwo 铺窝) and *aAvoCqhwanB* (Changzhai 长寨), and (iii) *aAðoCmblaA* (Dingpa 顶趴) and *aAzonCŋtonA* (Wangka 王卡). See Map 1 at the end of this chapter for the geographical locations of these places. Each pair of villages is in charge of organizing a fishing festival in each section. The festival begins from a lower section, and moves to an upper section after a one-day or two-day interval. Guangzhong organizes twice: in *aAyiAteAwenB* and *aAθhaAsuC* (River Junction). A person can join any individual festival if s/he brings some medicine made with *Platycarya strobilacea*. This festival ceased to be held after the Dahua dam was built.

35 *aAŋtɛiA* is a plant, its scientific name is *Platycarya strobilacea*. The powdered form of *P. strobilacea* leaves has a narcotic effect and was used to paralyze the fish.

36 *aAθhaAsuC*, which has the construction of a 'fork-river', is a place name for the junction of two rivers, Luobeihe 落北河 and Nanminghe 南明河 (see Map 1). The river after the junction point is called Qingshuijiang 清水江. We call this place 'River Junction' in this book.

6 *təA-kuB jeB kuB aAηtheNA taA veNA muB aAηtanB-suC tsoNC mbiB.*
 NMLZ-carry FLL carry fishing.spear COM net go periphery-river deliver fish
 They also carry fishing spears and nets to the river-side, and do fishing.

7 *vuAnaA aC ηaC qhuB δaA aAηtanB-suC χeA mbiB.*
 woman make rice carry come periphery-river scoop fish
 Women prepare food, carry it to the river-side, and scoop fish.

8 *ηteaC ?wuA-nqanB təAnaA δaA tshiB -waC.*
 reach two-o'clock human come get.together PTCL
 Around two o'clock, people gather together at River Junction.

9 *χoNA- eena kaA qoC aAηtanB-suC.*
 CLNK1 push medicine GOAL periphery-river
 Then people begin to put medicine into the river.

10 *mbiB ntonC luB -waC.*
 fish float come PTCL
 After that fish begin to float.

11 *təAnaA təAδenBtəAδenC- eab tsoC- qwaC szB-beA təBtenB ηtheNA mbiB*
 human extremely many CLNK1 pass PURP-tilted side stab fish

-siA.

PTCL

There are so many people in the river, so they stab the fish forming a line with their bodies twisted.

12 *mbiB təAδenBtəAδenC- eab.*
 fish extremely many
 There are plenty of fish in the river.

13 *ηtheNA mbiB tuC eeA, kaNBnaB tsoC- muB nonA ηaCsanC.*
 stab fish acquire a.while 1PL CLNK1 go eat lunch
 After stabbing the fish for a while, we have lunch.

14 *nonA ηaCsanC jena -waC, təA-loB naA tsoC- kuB mbiB luB piB*
 eat lunch finish PTCL NMLZ-old human CLNK1 carry fish come house

aC ηaCpøA.

make supper

When we finish eating lunch, the elder people go back home carrying the fish to prepare supper.

15 *təA-tanC naA tsoC- ?ηona təAtwiB jaC təAηguA təAmpheB jaC təAηduC.*
 NMLZ-young human CLNK1 be.at road find young.girl girl find young.boy
 The young people go to the street to find a partner. [37]

37 *təAηguA* means ‘young female of marriageable age’. *təAηduC* means ‘young male of marriageable age’.

【中文大意】

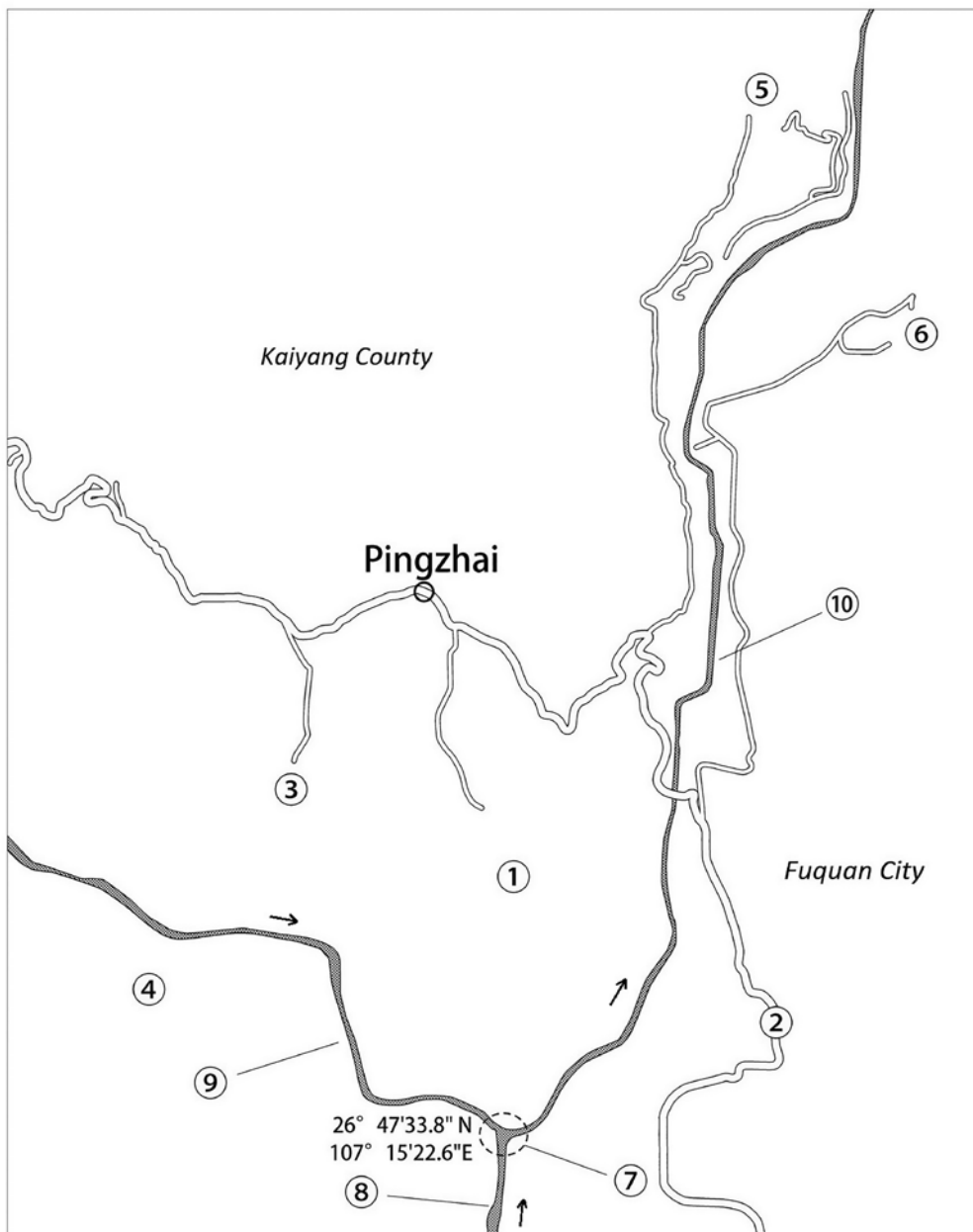
杀鱼节

我们苗族的杀鱼节在清明节的时候举行。山上的化香叶长了。我们就去把化香叶摘回家用木碓舂。然后，把舂完的化香叶，用稻草包好，抬到两岔河去。抬东西的人要抬化香叶做的药。也要把鱼叉和网抬去河边准备捕鱼。妇女们做好饭拿到河边来准备舀鱼。到两点人来齐了。人们在河里撒药。鱼浮上来了。人非常多，大家就并排侧着身叉鱼。鱼非常多。叉鱼叉了一段时间，到午饭时间了。午饭吃完后，老人们就抬着鱼回家做晚饭。年轻的男孩女孩们就在路上找对象谈恋爱。

【日本語大意】

殺魚祭

私たちミャオ族の殺魚祭は清明節のころ行われる。山の野胡桃の葉が茂った。そうしたら、私たちは野胡桃の葉を採取し、家に帰り、唐臼で搗く。野胡桃の葉を搗いたら、稲藁で包み、川の合流点へ運ぶ。運び手が野胡桃の葉で作った薬を運ぶ。運び手はヤスと網を川縁に運んで魚採りをする。女たちはご飯を作って川縁に来て魚を掬う。二時になると人がそろそろ。薬を川に撒く。魚が浮かび上がってくる。人が非常に多いので、みんな横並びに並んで体をひねって魚を刺す。魚は非常に多い。魚をしばらく採ると、昼ご飯になる。昼ご飯を食べると、老人たちは魚を担いで家に帰り晩御飯を作る。若者たちも女の子も道端で恋の相手を探す。



Map 1

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| ① Guangzhong 光中 | ⑥ Wangka 王卡 |
| ② Jiangbian 江边 | ⑦ River Junction 两岔河 |
| ③ Puwo 铺窝 | ⑧ Luobeihe 落北河 |
| ④ Changzhai 长寨 | ⑨ Nanminghe 南明河 |
| ⑤ Dingpa 顶驮 | ⑩ Qingshuijiang 清水江 |

8. The Spring Festival

- 1 *aBneNA muB -loA -waC.*
 year go PTCL PTCL
 A year goes.
- 2 *hlaCmaBtsenA niB- luB -waC.*
 new.year IRR come PTCL
 A new year comes. [38]
- 3 *hmøA naA piB-piB eienB- paB oNA thuA szB-mpuC, χONA- hleA mpiC.*
 PN human CLF-RED first DISP2 water heat PURP-boiled CLNK1 kill pig
 Each Miao family boils water and kills a pig.
- 4 *ʔmiA oNA ... ʔmiA oNA hleNA χONA- qloC təApluA.*
 DISP1 water DISP1 water scald CLNK1 shave hair
 First, scald the pig skin with boiled water and shave the hair of the pig.
- 5 *χONA- ʔmiA aAntenB phaC ... phaC, tɛhyB taA-mbuAsenA, tɛhyB taAhŋiB,*
 CLNK1 DISP1 knife cut cut take.out NMLZ-liver take.out intestine
tɛhyB təAmpyC.
 take.out lung
 Then, cut open the body of the pig with a knife and take out its liver, intestines, and lungs.
- 6 *aC ntsheA -waC.*
 do clean PTCL
 Now, it is clean.
- 7 *χONA- ʔmiA aAntenB ndzanB mpiC -moA tətɛiB aC tsheNA təA-ntsheA*
 CLNK1 DISP1 knife cut pig MOD body do become NMLZ-CLF
aAŋkanC.
 meat
 Then, cut the body of the pig into pieces.
- 8 *χONA- ʔmiA ntsiB luB ʔjenA, χONA- ʔmiA qweC szB-ʔyøNC, χONA- ʔmiA*
 CLNK1 DISP1 salt come salt CLNK1 DISP1 hang PURP-good CLNK1 DISP1
ðoB luB tuB qhenC szB-ŋdæC.
 firewood come burn parch PURP-dry
 Next, salt the pieces of meat, hang them, and parch them with fire.

38 In the Hmyo language, each month is named using one of the names of twelve animal signs in the Oriental Zodiac. January, the first month of a year, is called *hlaCmaB* (◇month◇horse) or *hlaCmaBtsenA* (◇month◇horse◇first). *tsenA* of the latter word is a Chinese loan morpheme 正 ‘the first month’.

9 *juCtɛiA- ... juCtɛiA- ʔmiA ɳaCmbloA taA-tsuAŋkuA ... ɳaCmbloA aAtsuAŋkuA*
 next next DISP1 glutinous.rice NMLZ-unhusked.rice glutinous.rice unhusked.rice

ɳtʉA tɛəBpiC ɳaCmbliA.
 hit become husked.rice
 Next, husk some glutinous rice.

10 *χONa- luB ... χONa- ʔmiA ... χONa- ʔmiA ɳaCmbloA luB tɛnA.*
 CLNK1 come CLNK1 DISP1 CLNK1 DISP1 glutinous.rice come steam
 Then, steam the husked glutinous rice.

11 *χONa- ʔmiA ... ʔmiA qoC χəBŋtɔNA qlɔNA, χONa- luB ʔmiA aAtɛoAŋkaB luB*
 CLNK1 DISP1 DISP1 GOAL inside mortar CLNK1 come DISP1 pestle come

ntanB, χONa- aC tʃhɛnA ... χONa- aC tʃhɛnA təA-ntsɛhA ŋkaB.
 pound CLNK1 do become CLNK1 do become NMLZ-CLF rice.cake
 Then, put the steamed rice into a mortar and pound it into rice cake using a pestle.

12 *χONa- ʔmiA ɳaCmbloA luB aC... aC szB-sɛnB χONa- ʔmiA aAŋkaBsonA*
 CLNK1 DISP1 glutinous.rice come do do PURP-ripe CLNK1 DISP1 rice.malt

luB mphonC χONa- tɛəBpiC tɛoB-qoAʔyɛA.
 come sprinkle CLNK1 become wine-sweet
 Next, steam some glutinous rice again and put some rice malt to make sweet rice wine.

13 *tɛhiB-tɛhiB tɛiA- aC ʔyɔNC -waC.*
 CLF-RED separately do good PTCL
 Now everything is ready.

14 *zuC woA-ʔwuA ... woA-ʔwuA hlaC -moA tɛiA-joA hmonC ngwana niB- pəA.*
 arrive ten-two ten-two month MOD three-ten evening sky IRR dark
 When it starts to become dark on new year's eve, ...

15 *hməA naA piB-piB tɛiA- tɔNC poC.*
 PN human CLF-RED separately deliver firecracker
 ... every family sets off firecrackers.

16 *ɳtɛaC... ɳtɛaC... ɳtɛaC nonA ɳaCpəA.*
 reach reach reach eat supper
 When dinner time comes, ...

17 *piB-piB tɛiA- tɔNC poC taA χoBχwaB ʔŋona poAŋtɔNA ngwana.*
 CLF-RED separately deliver firecracker COM firework be.at middle sky
 ... every family sets off firecrackers and fireworks.

18 *maA taA-mpɛA maA taA-ʔlɛNA maA taA-ɛwɛNA maA taA-qlɔA.*
 exist NMLZ-blue exist NMLZ-red exist NMLZ-yellow exist NMLZ-white
 You can see blue, red, yellow, and white fireworks in the sky.

- 19 *puAtɛiBpuAjanC jienAseA tuB maA.*
 various color together exist
 There are so many colors.
- 20 *thaiC ʔyøNC -loA.*
 very good PTCL
 It is so great.
- 21 *thaiC ʔyøNC lanC -loA.*
 very good see PTCL
 It is so beautiful.
- 22 *zuC tsenByeA ... zuC hlaCmaBtsenA senAʔjiC piB-piB -moA aAtana*
 arrive new.year arrive new.year the.first.day CLF-RED MOD child

təmpheB aAtana təAjənC phæA ɛwana muB jiBtsuB aC yeC nteC ɛwana.
 girl child boy blow reed.pipe go PN do song jump reed.pipe
 On New Year's day, boys and girls of every family go to Pingzhai Town to dance and sing, and boys blow pipes while travelling to town. [39][40]
- 23 *puAtɛiBpuAjanC -moA təA-aC nqoA.*
 various MOD NMLZ-do pleasure
 There are a lot of activities for fun.
- 24 *təA-loB naA təA-tənC naA təAtana aAtana wiA qoC ... ʔhona miB*
 NMLZ-old human NMLZ-young human small child enclose GOAL be.at CLF

naA -moA aAŋqoBkoA wiA ... wiA ... wiA ... ʔhona miB naA -moA
 human MOD back enclose enclose enclose be.at CLF human MOD

aAŋqoBkoA wiA.
 back enclose
 Elders, young people, and children gather around the dancers and singers.
- 25 *ŋteC ʔwuA-joA ... hlaCmaBtsenA ʔwuA-joA-pæA təApaBnaA ʔmiA zənA luB*
 reach two-ten new.year two-ten-five leader DISP1 money come

panA hmøA naA aC nqoA.
 give PN human do pleasure
 On January 25th, village leaders provide some money and let people have fun in the festival.

39 *ɛwana* ‘reed pipe’ is a musical instrument made with bamboo. It is a symbolic music instrument of the Hmyo people that is played by males in traditional festivals.

40 *jiBtsuB*, Pingzhài 平寨 in Chinese, is the name of a town, an economical center of the area. *jiB* means ‘market’, and *tsuB* is one of the twelve animal signs in the Oriental Zodiac, denoting ‘tiger’. Thus, *jiBtsuB* means ‘tiger market’. We call this town Pingzhai in English.

26 *hməA naA χONa- tʃheA tuC δanB naA luB χanC miB naA -nonB luB*
 PN human CLNK1 select acquire CLF human come call go human DEM come

tsONC ηiA szA-ηtoC.
 deliver buffalo RCP-fight

People elect a person and let him call people and arrange a bullfight festival.

27 *ηONa jiBtsuB tsONC ... tsONC szA-ηtoC.*

be.at PN deliver buffalo RCP-fight

The bullfight festival is held at Pingzhai Town.

28 *təApaBnaA jiAχaC- δaA ... δaA lanC, jiAχaC- δaA ... jiAχaC- δaA wiAtʃhza*
 leader together come come see together come together come maintain

khaAtsiB- paNa naA szA-qua.

PROH give human RCP-hit

All the leaders come and see to it that nobody has a quarrel.

29 *jiC- ηteaC nqanB -waC poC jiC- suC, əBηiA szA-ηtoC ... tsOC-*
 CLNK1 reach o'clock PTCL firecracker CLNK1 sound buffalo RCP-fight CLNK1

tsONC ηiA szA-ηtoC.

deliver buffalo RCP-fight

At one o'clock, the bullfight festival begins with the sound of firecrackers.

30 *təA-tsONC faA ... təA-tsONC ηiA szA-ηtoC faA.*

NMLZ-deliver method NMLZ-deliver buffalo RCP-fight method

Let me introduce how to make buffalos fight with each other.

31 *eiəNB- ?miA δanB aC tɛiBðiA muB ... aC tɛiBðiA muB ηanBtsuanB, χONa- ?miA*
 first DISPL CLF do front go ... do front go set.up CLNK1 DISPL

δanB tsOC- qloB pheC luB ... tɛhiC luB szB-ɣiC χONa- tsONC szA-ηtoC.
 CLF CLNK1 ABL CLF come drag come PURP-near CLNK1 deliver RCP-fight

First, take a buffalo to the battlefield and make it wait there, then take another buffalo into the field, drag it close to the other buffalo, and then let them fight with each other.

32 *ʔwuA-δanB juB jiAχaC- ɣiC -tsaB -waC χONa- tsONC təAwib.*

two-CLF cow together near PTCL PTCL CLNK1 deliver hand

When the two buffalos get very close to each other, release them.

33 *jiC- tsONC təAwib ʔwuA-δanB tsOC- szA-ηtoC -taAlaBtaAluC.*

CLNK1 deliver hand two-CLF CLNK1 RCP-fight EXPR

When they get released, they fiercely fight with each other.

34 *szA-ηtoC maA tɛəNC qliB maA tɛəNC δaC.*

RCP-fight exist strength * exist strength die

The fight is always very hard and bitter.

- 35 *ητοC taA-maC taA-mbiA jiAχαC- jonC təAntshenB -siA.*
 fight NMLZ-face NMLZ-ear together COP blood PTCL
 Their faces and ears might get covered with blood.
- 36 *niB- ηtuA ... niB- szA-ητοC pluA-pæA-joA fenBtsɔnB.*
 IRR strike IRR RCP-fight four-five-ten minute
 Sometimes, buffalos fight for forty or fifty minutes, ...
- 37 *muA- ... muA- ... muA- fenB təA-ntsheC.*
 NEG NEG NEG divide NMLZ-afraid
 ... but neither one can beat the other. [41]
- 38 *təA-keA juB -moA təAnaA tsɔC- ʔmiA aAhηoA luB ... təA-keA*
 NMLZ-separate cow MOD human CLNK1 DISP1 bamboo come NMLZ-separate
ηiA -moA təAnaA tsɔC- ʔmiA aAhηoA luB ʔηoNA taA-poBηtoNA mploA
 buffaloMOD human CLNK1 DISP1 bamboo come be.at NMLZ-middle whip
nduC -χenA.
 leave PTCL
 In that case, those who are in charge of separating the buffalos come to draw them apart by whipping them with a bamboo pole. [42]
- 39 *təApaBnaA tsɔC- ʔmiA əBntuA luB qweC qoC ηiA təA-kanA.*
 leader CLNK1 DISP1 cloth come hang GOAL buffalo NMLZ-horn
 A leader hangs a piece of red cloth on the horns of the winning buffalo.
- 40 *jeB luB faA zenA χoNA- luB tsɔnC poC.*
 FLL come deliver money CLNK1 come deliver firecracker
 After the bullfight is over, leaders give some money to the bull-owners that participated in the match.
- 41 *əBηiA szA-ητοC -moA təAtehoC maA wanC... niB- maA wanC δanB*
 buffalo RCP-fight MOD place exist ten.thousand IRR exist ten.thousand CLF
naA lanC.
 human look
 There are approximately ten thousand people watching the fight in the bullfight field.
- 42 *təA-nteC wuB -moA təAnaA ʔηoNA saA jiB... ʔηoNA saA jiB nteC wuB*
 NMLZ-jump dance MOD human be.at top street be.at top street jump dance
nteC βwana.
 jump reed.pipe
 Dancers take part in reed-pipe-dancing on the street.

41 *ntsheC* ‘be afraid’ is a verb to denote a kind of feeling, but it also denotes a state of being defeated in a battle.

42 To elaborate this, when the leader decides that the fight should be stopped, a number of ‘buffalo-separators’ come into the field with bamboo poles. They draw the two buffalos apart by pulling them to the opposite directions while whipping their heads with a bamboo pole.

- 43 *təA-phæA ɛwɑnA -moA təAjɛnC nteC ... nteC muB nteC luB.*
 NMLZ-blow reed.pipe MOD boy jump jump go jump come
 The males, who blow reed pipes, walk while dancing.
- 44 *təA-pəA ɛwɑnA -moA təAmpheB peBluC aC yeC təAwɪB təAtoC peBluC*
 NMLZ-follow reed.pipe MOD girl PLNK do song hand foot PLNK
nteC.
 jump
 The females, following the males, sing songs while dancing.
- 45 *maA puAtɛiBpuAjɑnC -moA təA-aC faA.*
 exist various MOD NMLZ-do method
 There are many compositions of dance.
- 46 *ʔɛnɑ taAŋdɔB ... ʔɛnɑ təA-nteC ɛwɑnA -moA taA-ŋdɔBkɔA -moA təAnɑA*
 be.at be.at NMLZ-jump reed.pipe MOD NMLZ-back MOD human
χɛNB'- ɛaB.
 very many
 Around the dancers, there are many people watching the dance.
- 47 *təApɑBnɑA luB wiAtshzA kɑAtsiB- pɑnA nɑA ntseAleC luB.*
 leader come maintain PROH give human enter come
 Leaders watch over so that nobody other than the dancers joins the dance.
- 48 *kɑnBnɑB nteC jɛnA -wɑC juCtɛiA- ... juCtɛiA- faA zɛnA pɑnA miB nɑA*
 1PL jump finish PTCL again again deliver money give CLF human
-eB.
 DEM
 When the dancing is over, leaders give some money to the dancers.
- 49 *təA-aC yeC -moA təAnɑA taA təA-ɬɔnC tɛɔnA szA-ŋtɛɔA -moA təAnɑA*
 NMLZ-do song MOD human COM NMLZ-deliver huamei RCP-bite MOD human
tɛɑkɑAweC- ʔɛnɑ χəBŋtɔnA aAmɔC aC yeC ɬɔnC noC... ɬɔnC noC
 separately be.at inside sawtooth.oak do song deliver bird deliver bird
szA-ŋtɛɔA.
 RCP-bite
 People who join the singing contest and people who join the birdfight of huamei separately do their activities in the sawtooth oak woods. [43]

43 *tɛɔnA* ‘huamei’ is the name of a kind of bird, whose scientific name is *Garrulax canorus*. This bird is famous in China for its loud chirp and violent temper. The Hmyo people love to keep huamei birds as pets.

- 50 *təA-aC yeC -moA qoAzəNə aC qoAzəNə -moA təhiB yeC.*
 NMLZ-do song MOD each.person do each.person MOD CLF song
 People who join the singing contest sing whatever they want to sing.
- 51 *təA-təoNC noC szA-ηtəoA -moA təoC- təshəNB kuanBləNA.*
 NMLZ-deliver bird RCP-bite MOD CLNK1 chase inside.of.cage
 In the birdfight, people put two birds into a single cage and let them fight with each other.
- 52 *jeB szA-ηtəoA ... aC yeC jəNə -waC təoC- faA zəNə.*
 FLL RCP-bite do song finish PTCL CLNK1 deliver money
 When the singing contest is over, participants receive some money.
- 53 *təoNC noC szA-ηtəoA jəNə -waC, təA-ηaC -moA təoC- tuC zəNə, təA-*
 deliver bird RCP-bite finish PTCL NMLZ-strong MOD CLNK1 acquire money NMLZ
ηaC ... taA-muA- ηaC -niB, təoC- muA- tuC zəNə -jaA.
 NMLZ-NEG strong PTCL CLNK1 NEG acquire money PTCL
 When the birdfight is over, winners get some money, whereas losers do not get any money.
- 54 *kanBnaB hməA naA -moA təA-aC nqəA jonC kanBnaB təA-loB naA*
 1PL PN human MOD NMLZ-do pleasure COP 1PL NMLZ-old human
təhuaA ngəB luB -moA.
 transmit descend come MOD
 Our new year activities have been transmitted from our ancestors.
- 55 *kanBnaB *** kanBnaB hməA naA təA-aC nqəA -niB ... χəNB'- ʔyənC.*
 1PL 1PL PN human NMLZ-do pleasure PTCL very good
 These activities are very good.
- 56 *kanBnaB jonB'jyənB' ... kanBnaB ɛɛA -tsiB təoC- muA- ... muA- ... kanBnaB ɛɛA*
 1PL forever 1PL time IGN CLNK1 NEG NEG 1PL time
-tsiB təoC- muA- mbeC -jaA.
 IGN CLNK1 NEG stop PTCL
 We will continue doing these activities for ever.
- 57 *təA-aC nqəA ... təA-aC ... kanBnaB hməA naA -moA təA-aC nqəA*
 NMLZ-do pleasure NMLZ-do 1PL PN human MOD NMLZ-do pleasure
təiC'suC' faAjəNA ngəB muB.
 continually develop descend go
 These activities will continuously develop.
- 58 *kuiBjiAləA.*
 perfect
 This is all that I have to say.

【中文大意】

苗乡过新年

一年过去了。到正月了。苗族各家都烧开水，准备杀猪。先用开水烫过之后再刮毛。之后，再用刀剖开取出肝、肠、肺。这样就算弄干净了。然后，用刀把猪的身体，分成一块一块的。再抹上盐巴，从上至下挂好，用火烤干。接着，把糯米谷子打成糯米。再拿糯米来蒸。蒸好后，拿一部分糯米放到粑槽里用杵来舂，做成一块一块的糍粑。拿另一部分糯米用来发酵，撒上酒曲，做成甜酒。这样就全部都做好了。十二月三十日晚上，天快要黑了。苗族家家都放鞭炮。到了吃晚饭的时候。大家都朝着天空放鞭炮和烟花。蓝色的、红色的、黄色的和白色的。各种各样的颜色都有。非常漂亮。十分好看。到了正月初一，各家的小女孩、小男孩都吹着芦笙去山寨跳芦笙舞，唱歌。有各式各样的活动。老人们、年轻人们和孩子们都围在跳芦笙舞的那群人的后面观看。到了正月二十五，村长会给大家发钱让他们去玩。苗族会选一个人出来做组织者，集合大家来参加斗牛。斗牛在山寨举行。组织的人也要监督注意不让大家发生争吵打架。到了一点，鞭炮一响，斗牛就开始了。下面介绍一下斗牛的方法。首先，先带一头牛入场等候，然后再带一头从另一边入场，彼此靠近之后，就放手让他们互相斗。两头牛靠的很近之后再放手。放手之后，两头牛就会互相强劲的斗来斗去。场面非常激烈。牛的脸、耳朵斗的全都是血。斗了四五十分钟。都分不出输赢。拉牛的人用竹竿在两头牛中间敲打，来把两头牛分开。组织的人拿一块红布挂在牛角上。然后，发奖金，放鞭炮。斗牛场差不多有一万人来看。跳芦笙舞的人在街上跳芦笙舞。吹芦笙的男孩子一边跳一边走。跟在吹芦笙后面的女孩子们一边唱一边跳。有各种各样的跳法。非常多的人围在芦笙舞的附近观看。组织的人要监督注意不让其它人进去。舞跳完了，组织的人给他们发奖金。参加唱歌比赛的人和参加斗画眉鸟的人各自在青冈树树林里唱歌斗鸟。参加唱歌比赛的人各自唱自己想唱的歌。参加斗画眉鸟的人把两只鸟放在同一个鸟笼里让他们互相斗。歌唱完了，就发奖金。鸟斗完了，赢的得奖金，输的没有。我们苗族新年的活动是从先祖传下来的。我们苗族的新年活动丰富多彩。我们以后会一直做下去。我们苗族的活动今后也会继续发展下去。讲完了。

【日本語大意】

ミャオ族の年越し

一年が過ぎ去り、正月がやって来る。ミャオ族はそれぞれの家でまずお湯を沸かし、それから豚を殺す。お湯をかけて毛を剃る。それからナイフで切り裂いて肝臓を取り出し、腸を取り出し、肺を取り出す。これできれいになった。それからナイフで豚の体を切って、ひと塊の肉にしていく。それから塩づけにして、上から吊り下げ、薪で火を起こして火であぶって乾かす。しばらくしてもち米の粑を搗いてもち米を精米する。それからもち米を蒸す。それから臼に入れて杵で搗いて、ひと塊の餅にしていく。それからもち米を発酵させて、こうじを混ぜて甘酒を作る。これですべてが完成した。十二月三十日の晩、もうすぐ暗くなるころ、ミャオ族はすべての家が爆竹を鳴らす。晩御飯の時間になると、すべての家が空に向かって爆竹を鳴らし、花火を上げる。青い色、赤い色、黄色い色、白い色がある。いろいろな色がある。大変すばらしい。大変にきれいだ。正月一日になると、すべての家の女の子、男の子は蘆笙を吹いて平寨に行き、蘆笙ダンスを踊り、歌を歌う。さまざまな催しがある。老人、若者、子供たちは蘆笙ダンスの集団の周りを取り囲む。正月二十五日に

なると、村のリーダーが皆にお金を配って遊びに行かせてくれる。ミャオ族は一人の人を選出してリーダーとし、人々を呼び集め、闘牛に参加する。闘牛は平寨で行われる。リーダーは全員で喧嘩が起きないように見張る。一時になると、爆竹を鳴らして闘牛が始まる。闘牛の方法を紹介する。まず先に一頭の牛を連れてきて待たせ、それからもう一頭を別の一方から連れてきて、互いに近づけてから戦わせる。二頭の牛が十分に近づいたら手を放す。手を放すと、二頭の牛は互いに激しく押し合う。戦いは非常に激しい。牛の顔、耳は血だらけになる。戦うこと四、五十分。勝負はつかない。牛を引き離す人が竹ざおを持って二頭の牛の間をたたき、二頭を引き離す。リーダーが赤い布を牛の角に掛ける。それから賞金を出し、爆竹を鳴らす。闘牛場にはほぼ一万人の人が見に来る。蘆笙ダンスを踊る人は街で踊る。蘆笙を吹く男の子が踊りながら歩く。蘆笙の後につき従う女の子は歌を歌いながら踊る。いろいろな踊りがある。非常に多くの人たちが蘆笙ダンスを周りで見ている。リーダーが人が入らないように見張る。ダンスが終わると、リーダーが賞金を出す。のど自慢大会に参加する人と画眉鳥の闘鳥に参加する人は別々にクヌギ林で活動に参加する。のど自慢大会に参加する人は、それぞれ歌いたい歌を歌う。画眉鳥の闘鳥をする人は、一つの籠に二羽の鳥を入れて戦わせる。歌い終わると賞金が出る。画眉鳥が戦い終わると、勝ったものは賞金を得るが、負けた者は得られない。私たちミャオ族の新年の出し物は先祖から伝えられたものである。我々ミャオ族の新年の活動はすばらしい。私たちは永遠にこれを行っていく。私たちミャオ族の活動はこれからも発展していくのだ。おしまい。

9. A Lesson from Birds

1 *εeA -eB maA δanB tA-loB naA niB jonC tA-tanC εeA -eB*
 time DEM exist CLF NMLZ-old human 3 COP NMLZ-young time DEM

teaA- jonA tuC ... jonA tuC tɔC-δanB siB, jiAχaC- δaC -loA.
 separately take acquire take acquire six-CLF wife altogether die PTCL
 Once upon a time, there was an old man. When he was young, he married six women successively, but all of them died.

2 *niB χona- muB jonA tuC δanB tɔBqwenAnonB χona- luB senB*
 3 CLNK1 go take acquire CLF after.that CLNK1 come give.birth

tuC δanB aAtana tAjenc.
 acquire CLF child boy
 Then he married another woman, who only bore a boy.

3 *niB tAδenBtAδenC- tshiC -tsaB, niB aC ηaC senB, δonB niB δanB aAtana ...*
 3 extremely love PTCL 3 do rice ripe wait 3 CLF child

aC ηaC senB, δonB δanB aAtana -nonB luB χona- nonA ηaC.
 do rice ripe wait CLF child DEM come CLNK1 eat rice
 He cherished the boy very much. When the old man cooked rice, he did not eat until the boy came home.

4 *niB jonA δanB aAtana -nonB hluA -waC δanB ... niB-paB tɔC- δaC -loA.*
 3 take CLF child DEM big PTCL CLF 3-father CLNK1 die PTCL
 When the boy grew old, his father died.

5 *niB taA δanB ... niB taA niB-miC teaA- muB aC χuA.*
 3 COM CLF 3 COM 3-mother separately go do field
 After his father's death he and his mother did fieldwork.

6 *tiByeA niB muB aC χuA, niB-miC aC ηaCyeA sonC δaA.*
 morning 3 go do field 3-mother do breakfast send come
 In the morning, the boy went out to the field, then his mother came to deliver breakfast for him.

7 *sonC δaA sonC ηaCyeA δaA ntsuB, δanB aAtana -nonB tɔC- quA.*
 send come send breakfast come early CLF child DEM CLNK1 beat
 If his mother came earlier than he expected, he beat his mother.

8 *sonC ηaCyeA δaA onB, δanB ... δanB aAtana -nonB tɔC- quA niB-miC.*
 send breakfast come late CLF CLF child DEM CLNK1 beat 3-mother
 If she came later than he expected, he also beat her.

9 *niB-piB χuA taA-ηtanB maA tenA ntonC.*
 3-house field NMLZ-periphery exist CLF tree
 At the edge of the family's field, there was a tree.

- 10 *maA miB noC vluC maA miB təA-tANA.*
 exist CLF bird hatch exist CLF NMLZ-child
 There was a bird nest in the tree, and a baby bird was born.
- 11 *təA-tANA tshuA -waC, təA-miC kuB tənA luB ʔwuC ... təA-miC*
 NMLZ-child appear PTCL NMLZ-mother carry insect come feed NMLZ-mother
kuB tənA luB ʔwuC təA-tANA.
 carry insect come feed NMLZ-child
 When the baby bird was born, its mother went to catch worms to feed her child.
- 12 *təA-tANA noC hluA ... hluA -waC, təA-miC tsoC- ... taAtaB tsoC-*
 NMLZ-child bird big big PTCL NMLZ-mother CLNK1 wing CLNK1
soC -loA tsoC- pona -loA.
 be.exhausted PTCL CLNK1 fall PTCL
 When the baby bird grew up, the wings of its mother became worn.
- 13 *taAtaB təApluA tsoC- pona -loA.*
 wing feather CLNK1 fall PTCL
 The feather of her wings fell down.
- 14 *təA-tANA juCtəiA- kuB tənA luB ʔwuC təA-miC.*
 NMLZ-child separately carry insect come feed NMLZ-mother
 Then, her child went to catch worms to feed her mother.
- 15 *əNB aAtANA -nonB mbuA, lanC əNB noC -nonB təA-tANA kuB tənA luB*
 CLF child DEM see look CLF bird DEM NMLZ-child carry insect come
ʔwuC təA-miC, əNB aAtANA -nonB tsoC- ɛanBthonB -loA.
 feed NMLZ-mother CLF child DEM CLNK1 realize PTCL
 Having seen the young bird feeding her mother, the boy realized what he should do.
- 16 *niB-miC sonC ɲaCyeA əA, niB zoC niB-miC zoCseA, khaA- nduC -jaA.*
 3-mother send breakfast come 3 tell 3-mother tell PROH leave PTCL
 When his mother came to deliver breakfast, he told her not to leave.
- 17 *jeB niB-miC tsoC- ntshəC -tsaB tsoC- nduC, niB-miC tsoC- təBqlonB əaC*
 FLL 3-mother CLNK1 afraid PTCL CLNK1 leave 3-mother CLNK1 tumble.over die
-loA.
 PTCL
 But, she was so afraid of her child that she left after delivering food. She tumbled over and died on the way home.
- 18 *jeB niB tsoC- ... niB tsoC- kuB niB-miC muB lonB.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 3 CLNK1 carry 3-mother go bury
 He carried her body and buried her.

19 *lonB -waC niB ... niB ... niB mbuA maA δanB vuAloBneA, jeB tēhanC*
 bury PTCL 3 3 3 see exist CLF old.woman FLL resemble

niB-miC -tsaB.
 3-mother PTCL

After the burial, he saw an old woman who resembled his mother very much.

20 *jeB niB tsoC- zoCseA, vonA jonC kanB-miC.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 tell 2SG COP 1SG-mother

He spoke to the woman saying, “You are my mother, aren’t you?”

21 *jeB δanB vuAloBneA -eB zoCseA, kanB muA- jonC vonA-miC -jaA.*
 FLL CLF old.woman DEM tell 1SG NEG COP 2SG-mother PTCL

However, she said, “I am not your mother.”

22 *δanB vuAloBneA -eB tsoC- loA -loA tsoC- loA -loA.*
 CLF old.woman DEM CLNK1 disappear PTCL CLNK1 disappear PTCL

Saying that, the woman went away.

23 *təBqwenAnonB niB tenC niB-miC -tsaB, jeB niB χona- muB ... kuB tuC ...*
 after.that 3 miss 3-mother PTCL FLL 3 CLNK1 go carry acquire

kuB tuC ?miA ndonC ntonC luB kheA ... tiauB niB-miC ... tiauB niB-miC
 carry acquire DISP1 CLF tree come carve carve 3-mother carve 3-mother

-moA εanC.
 MOD image

After that, he terribly missed his mother, so he found a piece of lumber and carved a statue of his mother.

24 *jeB niB hlaCtshiB tiByeA jeB soB taA niB ... taA niB-miC ntsiB aAmaC.*
 FLL 3 spring morning FLL get.up COM 3 COM 3-mother wash face

In spring, he washed the face of his mother’s statue.

25 *hlaCmpaNC jeB niB ... niB ?miA niB-miC muB puC saA aAtehoC, niB tuB*
 winter FLL 3 3 DISP1 3-mother go sleep top bed 3 burn

thanC qwaC qaB-tēhoC pana niB-miC ntiC.
 charcoal pass bottom-bed give 3-mother warm

In winter, he took his mother to a bed, and warmed her by making fire with charcoal under the bed.

26 *təBqwenAnonB niB jonA tuC δanB siB luB.*
 after.that 3 take acquire CLF wife come

Later, he married a woman.

27 *niB-siB... niB-siB mbuA niB yeA-yeA teiA- ... yeA-yeA teiA- muB*
 3-wife 3-wife see 3 morning-RED separately morning-RED separately go

fuAszC ndonC ntonC -nonB.

serve CLF tree DEM

His wife saw that her husband served the piece of lumber every morning.

28 *jeB niB-siB tsoC- ?miA kOnA hnuC danB ... ndonC ntonC -nonB taA-maB.*
 FLL 3-wife CLNK1 DISP1 needle prick CLF CLF tree DEM NMLZ-eye
 His wife took a needle and pricked the eye of the lumber.

29 *jeB tsoC- qhlenC taAnshenB luB.*
 FLL CLNK1 flow blood come
 Then the eye of lumber bled.

30 *jeB niB tsoC- ... niB taA niB-siB... niB tsoC- taA niB-siB sza-qeC.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 3 COM 3-wife 3 CLNK1 COM 3-wife RCP-scold
 Her husband got angry and they quarreled with each other. [44]

【中文大意】

向鸟学习孝道

从前，有一个老人，他年轻的时候娶了六个妻子，但是都死了。于是，又娶了一个妻子，那个妻子生了一个男孩。他非常疼爱男孩，饭煮熟了，都要等他回到家之后才吃饭。男孩长大后，父亲去世了。他和母亲一起去干农活。早上他去干活，母亲送早饭来。送早饭送的早了，他就打他母亲。送的晚了，也打他母亲。他家的田地边上有一棵树。树上有一个鸟窝，里面有一窝小鸟。小鸟出壳后，母鸟抓虫子回来喂它们吃。小鸟长大后，母鸟的羽毛掉了，翅膀也变秃了。于是，换小鸟捕虫子回来喂母鸟吃。那个男孩看见小鸟叼虫子回来喂母鸟吃的场景，洗心革面了。他母亲送早饭来的时候，他就跟他母亲说，不要跑了。可是，他母亲很惧怕他，于是跑了，跑的路上摔倒去世了。他就扛着他母亲去埋了。埋完后，他看见了一位和自己母亲长的很像的老婆婆。他就说：“你是我母亲吧。”但是，那个老婆婆说，“我不是你母亲。”说完就走了。那之后，他很思念母亲，于是拿来一根木头，雕了个母亲的木雕。春天，他早上起来后会帮它洗脸。冬天，他会让它睡在床上。并在床下烧炭来暖和它。后来，他娶了个妻子。他妻子看见丈夫每天早上都照料那个木雕。他妻子就用针刺了一下那个木雕的眼睛。然后出血了。他就和他妻子吵架了。

【日本語大意】

鳥の教え

昔、ある老人がいて、若いころ六人の妻を次々に娶ったが、すべて亡くなってしまった。さらにもう一人を娶ったが、その妻は一人の男の子を産んだ。彼はその子を非常にかわい

44 Unfortunately, the narrator stopped telling in the middle of the story. Thus, the text as a story is incomplete. However, considering that the part of the story that the narrator was successful in telling has important information about the language and culture of the Hmyo people, the editors decided to include this story in the book.

がり、ご飯が炊きあがってもその子が帰るのを待ってから食べるほどだった。その子が大きくなると、父親は死んだ。彼と彼の母親は野良仕事に出かけた。朝、彼が仕事に行くと母親が朝ご飯を届けに来た。朝ご飯を届けるのが早いと、その子は早いと言って母親を叩いた。届けるのが遅いとまた叩いた。彼の家の土地の端っこに一本の木があった。その木には鳥の巣があって、小鳥が生まれた。小鳥が生まれると、母鳥は虫を捕まえてきて小鳥に食べさせた。小鳥が大きくなると、母鳥の羽毛が抜け落ちて翼はボロボロになった。すると、小鳥が虫を捕まえてきて母親に食べさせた。その子は小鳥が母親に虫を食べさせる様子を見て、改心した。母親が朝ご飯を届けに来ると、母親に逃げないでと言った。しかし、母親は彼を恐れて逃げ、転んで死んでしまった。彼は母親を担いでいって埋葬した。その後、彼は自分の母親によく似た老婆を見かけた。彼は「母さんだ。」と言って話しかけた。しかしその老婆は、「おまえの母さんじゃないよ」と言って立ち去った。その後、彼は母親のことが忘れられず、一本の木を持ってきて、母親の像を彫った。温かい時は、彼は朝起きると母親の顔を洗ってやった。寒くなると母親をベッドに寝かせ、ベッドの下に炭を焚いて母親を温めた。その後彼は嫁をもらった。彼の妻は、彼が毎朝その木の世話をしているのを見た。彼の妻は、針でその木の目を刺してみた。すると血が出た。それで彼は妻とけんかになった。

10. A Cannibal Tribe

- 1 *εeA -eB maA δanB aAtANA təAjənC jonA tuC δanB siB.*
 time DEM exist CLF child boy take acquire CLF wife
 Once upon a time a young man married a girl.
- 2 *jonA tuC woA-puA-nenA -waC tsoC- muAtehoC δanB təAmpheB -nonB*
 take acquire ten-some-year PTCL CLNK1 not.know CLF girl DEM
niA-piB ?ηONA tεuAδuB.
 ANPH-house be.at IGN
 Ten years had passed since they married, and he still did not know where her family lived.
- 3 *jeB δanB siB -nonB luB senB tuC δanB aAtANA ... janC tuC δanB*
 FLL CLF wife DEM come bear acquire CLF child bear acquire CLF
... niB δanB siB -nonB luB janC tuC δanB aAtANA.
 3 CLF wife DEM come bear acquire CLF child
 After a while, his wife bore a child.
- 4 *jeB niB ... niB δanB siB -nonB zoCseA.*
 FLL 3 3 CLF wife DEM say
 His wife said to him.
- 5 *kanB luB szAnaCteiB -waC, kanBnaB muB nduC kəB-paB kəB-miC ?neA.*
 1SG come a.long.time PTCL 1PL go walk 1SG-father 1SG-mother CLF
 “Many years have passed since I came here. We should pay a visit to my parents.”
- 6 *jeB niB-zonB, δanB aAtANA təAjənC -nonB zoCseA, jonC.*
 FLL 3-husband CLF child boy DEM say COP
 He said, “You are right.”
- 7 *jeB phiAnəAyeC ... niB-siB zoCseA, phiAnəAyeC ?ona muB qwaA tshoB, jeB*
 FLL tomorrow 3-wife say tomorrow 2SG go cut grass FLL
kanB ?ηONA piB aC ηaCyeA.
 1SG be.at house make breakfast
 His wife said, “Tomorrow I will make breakfast while you go out to cut grass.”
- 8 *?ona qwaA tshoB qoC jeB puAδanB szA-jonA muB.*
 2SG cut grass GOAL FLL 1DU RCP-take go
 When you finish cutting grass, we can both go for my parents’ house.”
- 9 *niB ... niB-zonB zoCseA, uC.*
 3 3-husband say INTJ
 He replied, “OK.”

10 *niB-zoNB muB ... ðanB joC -nonB muB qwaA tshoB, jeB niB-siB ?nonA piB*
 3-husband go CLF man DEM go cut grass FLL 3-wife be.at house

aC naCyeA.
 make breakfast

On the next day, he went to cut grass, his wife made breakfast at home.

11 *qwaA tuC tanC luB -waC zoCseA, senB ... naC senB taCmaA.*
 cut acquire CLF come PTCL say cooked rice cooked NEG
 When he carried grass with a carrying pole and came back to his house, he asked, “Is breakfast ready?”

12 *taCmaA -jaA.*
 NEG PTCL
 She said, “Not yet.”

13 *juCteia- niB-zoNB teia- muB qwaA ... qwaA ... qwaA luB?wuA-tanC, qwaA*
 again 3-husband separately go cut cut cut second-CLF cut

luB zuC piB -waC, naCyeA senB taCmaA.
 come arrive house PTCL breakfast cooked NEG

He went again to cut grass and came back with another carrying-pole of grass, and then he asked, “Is breakfast ready?”

14 *taCmaA -jaA.*
 NEG PTCL
 She said, “Not yet.”

15 *jeB niB-siB tsoC- ?mia ðanB aAtana -nonB luB teana qoC saA tsanC.*
 FLL 3-wife CLNK1 DISP1 CLF child DEM come steam GOAL top steamer
 When he went again, his wife steamed her child with a steamer.

16 *jeB qwaA luBtsia-tanC luB zuC piB, niB zoCseA, naCyeA senB*
 FLL cut third-CLF come arrive house 3 say breakfast cooked

taCmaA.
 NEG

He went again to cut grass and came back with another carrying-pole of grass, and then he asked, “Is breakfast ready?”

17 *naCyeA senB -waC.*
 breakfast cooked PTCL
 This time his wife said, “It’s ready.”

18 *jeB niB tsoC- teəBpoA aAtana -kiBηkoA qoC saA tehoC, jeB tsoC- nonA*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 wrap child firmly GOAL top bed FLL CLNK1 eat

naC.
 rice

His wife wrapped her child on the bed, and then they had breakfast.

- 19 *nonA ηaCyeA tsoC- ... nonA ηaC jeNA tsoC- szA-joNA muB.*
eat breakfast CLNK1 eat rice finish CLNK1 RCP-take go
After they had breakfast, they got on the way to her family's home.
- 20 *muB ηteaC ndonC-teiB, jeB niB zoC niB-siB seA, tsonC aAtana luB nonA ?neA.*
go reach half-road FLL 3 tell 3-wife say release child come eat CLF
On the way, he said, "Let our baby eat something."
- 21 *niB-siB zoCseA, aAtana qweA -tsaB, jeB puAðanB muB ... muB -seB.*
3-wife say child good.child PTCL FLL 1DU go go PTCL
But his wife said, "No, our baby is OK. We should hurry forward."
- 22 *juCteiA- muB ηteaC ?lana qhoBloA.*
again go reach CLF well
After going for a while, they reached a well.
- 23 *ηteaC ?lana qhoBloA nthanB -eB tsoC- nonA ηaCsanC.*
reach CLF well CLF DEM CLNK1 eat lunch
They had lunch there.
- 24 *nonA ηaCsanC niB-zonB zoCseA, tsonC aAtana luB nonA ?neA.*
eat lunch 3-husband say deliver child come eat CLF
When they were having lunch, he said, "Let our baby eat something."
- 25 *niB-siB zoCseA, ðanB aAtana -nonB qweA -tsaB, puAðanB muB -seB,*
3-wife say CLF child DEM good.child PTCL 1DU go PTCL
jiAkanB ngwana pøA.
a.while sky dark
But his wife said, "No, our baby is OK. We should hurry forward. In a short time, it will be dark."
- 26 *təBqweNanonB tsoC- muB.*
after.that CLNK1 go
Then they headed off.
- 27 *jeB muB ηteaC niB-piB -niB, niB tsoC- ?miA ðanB ... ðanB aAtana -nonB*
FLL go reach 3-house PTCL 3 CLNK1 DISP1 CLF CLF child DEM
qloB aAηqoBkoA luB pana niB-paB niB-miC-naB nonA ... pana ... pana niB-paB
ABL back come give 3-fahter 3-mother-PL eat give give 3-fahter
niB-miC-naB nonA -loA.
3-mother-PL eat PTCL
When they reached her parents' house, his wife brought down her baby from her back, and gave it to her parents to eat.
- 28 *jeB niB-zonB ... ðanB zonB -nonB mbuA -loA.*
FLL 3-husband CLF husband DEM see PTCL
After the man saw this,

- 29 *jeB niB-zoNB tɛhiA -tsaB.*
 FLL 3-husband angry PTCL
 ... he became mad.
- 30 *tɛhiA -tsaB jeB tsoC- nonA ɲaCpøA, nonA ɲaCpøA jɛnA.*
 angry PTCL FLL CLNK1 eat supper eat supper finish
 Afterwards, he had supper in his wife's house.
- 31 *jeB niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA.*
 FLL 3-house father-in-law say
 His father-in-law said.
- 32 *aAʔwuB, hnaA -nonB kanB-piB muA- maA tɛhoC puC -jaA -liA.*
 son-in-law day DEM 1SG-house NEG exist bed sleep PTCL PTCL
 "My son, we do not have a bed for you today."
- 33 *jeB ʋona muB puC tɛʔAnglɛnA ʔlanA qlona -eB.*
 FLL 2SG go sleep hall CLF trough DEM
 "So please sleep in the trough in the hall." [45][46]
- 34 *niB-piB ɔanB ʔwuB seA, uC.*
 3-house CLF son-in-law say INTJ
 He said, "That's OK."
- 35 *niB-piB ɔanB aAʔwuB tsoC- muB puC -loA... nonA ɲaCpøA jɛnA tsoC-*
 3-house CLF son-in-law CLNK1 go sleep PTCL eat supper finish CLNK1
puC ʔlanA qlona -eB.
 sleep CLF trough DEM
 He went to the hall and slept in the trough.
- 36 *puC ʔlanA qlona ɲtɛaC ɲʔonAhmonC -niB, niB ... niB-piB aAtiA-naB tsoC-*
 sleep CLF trough reach midnight PTCL 3 3-house father-in-law-PL CLNK1
 ... *tsoC- niB...niB tsoC- ... niB-piB ɔanB aAʔwuB -nonB tsoC- ... tsoC-*
 CLNK1 3 3 CLNK1 3-house DEM son-in-law DEM CLNK1 CLNK1
muAtehoC niB-piB aAtiA-naB niB- ... niB- ... niB- ɣaiC niB.
 know 3-house father-in-law-PL IRR IRR IRR kill 3
 He stayed in the trough until midnight. He knew that his father-in-law would kill and eat him.

45 *tɛʔAnglɛnA* is a hall, which is situated in the middle of a house. See Appendix 2 for a typical house design of the Hmyo people.

46 *qlona* is a term to denote a big square wooden tub, which can be used as a utensil to make rice cake or as a trough to feed horses.

37 *niB* *tsOC-* *ʔmiA* *tonBzɔnA* *qoC* *χəBηtonA* *qlonA* *tsOC-* *ʔmiA* *aAtshonA* *luB*
 3 CLNK1 DISP1 stool GOAL inside trough CLNK1 DISP1 quilt come

ʔwuB *-ηtaA*, *niB* *tsOC-* *soB* *nduC* *luB* *piB* *-loA*.
 cover EXPR 3 CLNK1 get.up walk come house PTCL

So he got up at midnight, and placed a stool in the trough and cover it with a quilt. Then, he left the house.

38 *jeB* *soB* *luB* *nduC* *luB* *piB* *-niB*, *niB-piB* *aAkuBtseB* *woA* *-tsaB*.
 FLL get.up come walk come house PTCL 3-house dog furious PTCL
 He knew that his father-in-law had some very fierce dogs.

39 *niB* *tsOC-* *muB* *saA* *nthenA* *fæNB* *tuC* *əBhluB* *aAqoBtshonB-naA*.
 3 CLNK1 go top attic search acquire CLF bone-human
 Before he left, he climbed up to the attic and found a sack of human bones.

40 *jeB* *niB* *tsOC-* *tiB* *hluB* *aAqoBtshonB-naA* *-eB* *luB* ... *luB* ... *aAkuBtseB* *tsOC-*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 take CLF bone-human DEM come come dog CLNK1

ʔyæA.
 chase

He took the sack of bones and left the house, and soon the dogs chased him.

41 *ʔyæA* *niB-* *ηteaC* *niB-* *ηteaC* *niB* *-waC*, *jeB* *niB* *tsOC-* *ʔmiA* *aAqoBtshonB-naA*
 chase IRR reach IRR reach 3 PTCL FLL 3 CLNK1 DISP1 bone-human

jiC- *suaiB*, *aAkuBtseB-naB* *tsOC-* *szA-χiA* ... *aAkuBtseB* *tsOC-* *szA-χiA*
 CLNK1 throw dog-PL CLNK1 RCP-rob dog CLNK1 RCP-rob

aAqoBtshonB-naA *-loA*.
 bone-human PTCL

When the dogs almost caught him, he threw some bones to the dogs. The dogs then scrambled for the bones.

42 *jeB* *niB* *tsOC-* *nduC* *-loA* *teiBtoB* ... *niB* *tsOC-* *nduC* *-loA* *teiBtoB* *təA-*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 walk PTCL so.much 3 CLNK1 walk PTCL so.much NMLZ-

qwiA *-waC*.
 far PTCL

So he ran away from the dogs for a while.

43 *aAkuBtseB* *ʔyæA* *niB-* *ηteaC* *niB* *-waC*, *jeB* *niB* *tsOC-* *ʔmiA* *qoBtshonB-naA*
 dog chase IRR reach 3 PTCL FLL 3 CLNK1 DISP1 bone-human

suaiB *jeB* *aAkuBtseB* *tsOC-* *szA-χiA* *qoBtshonB-naA* *nonA* *-loA*.
 throw FLL dog CLNK1 RCP-rob bone-human eat PTCL

The dogs finished eating the bones and chased him again. When they almost caught him, he threw some more bones to the dogs. The dogs then scrambled for the bones.

- 44 *jeB niB tsoC- nduC -loA tɛiBtoB təA-qwiA.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 walk PTCL so.much NMLZ-far
 That let him run further for a while.
- 45 *jeB niB tsoC- nduC ɛwaA -loA.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 walk escape PTCL
 Eventually, he escaped the chasing dogs.
- 46 *nduC ɛwaA -loA jeB niB ɣoNA- muB piB ŋteA piB, niB ɣoNA- muB maB*
 walk escape PTCL FLL 3 CLNK1 go house reach house 3 CLNK1 go buy
tuC δanB maB.
 acquire CLF horse
 After he returned to his home, he purchased a horse.
- 47 *hnaA-hnaA tɛiA- jeA.*
 day-RED separately ride
 He rode it every day.
- 48 *jeA δanB maB, δanB maB -eB tɛiAmbiA lanB.*
 ride CLF horse CLF horse DEM hear speech
 That horse came to follow his instructions.
- 49 *niB ɣoNA- jeA δanB maB tɔNB muB tseA niB-siB.*
 3 CLNK1 ride CLF horse return go receive 3-wife
 Then, he rode the horse and went to his father-in-law's house.
- 50 *jeB niB tsoC- peA tɛnA aAntenB -teC.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 wear CLF sword PTCL
 This time, he took a sword with him.
- 51 *jeB muB ... muB ŋteA piB niB-piB niB-siB ... muB ŋteA piB aAtiA piB,*
 FLL go go reach 3-house 3-wife go reach 3-house father-in-law house
niB-siB zoCseA ... niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA, aAɣwuB δaA -waC.
 3-wife tell 3-house father-in-law tell son-in-law come PTCL
 When he arrived at his father-in-law's house, his father-in-law said, "My son-in-law has come."
- 52 *jeB niB-siB tsoC- tshuA luB.*
 FLL 3-wife CLNK1 exit come
 Then, his daughter came out of the house.
- 53 *jiC- tshuA luB niB tsoC- ɣmiA aAntenB hnuC niB-siB δaC ... hleA niB-siB*
 CLNK1 exit come 3 CLNK1 DISP1 sword pierce 3-wife die kill 3-wife
δaC -loA.
 die PTCL
 When she came out, the man drew the sword and slashed her down.

54 niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA, tiB aAtanAtoC luB janC təAntshenB -seB.
 3-house father-in-law tell take bowl come catch blood PTCL
 Seeing this, his father-in-law shouted, "Bring a bowl and catch the blood!"

55 tiB aAtanAtoC luB janC təAntshenB -seB.
 take bowl come catch blood PTCL
 "Bring a bowl and catch the blood!"

【中文大意】

吃人一族

从前有一个年轻人娶了一个妻子。娶了十几年了，也不知道她家在哪里。他的妻子生了一个孩子。妻子说道：“我来这么久了，我们去访问一下我父母吧。”丈夫说：“好的。”妻子说：“明天你去割草，我在家里做早饭。你割好草，我们两个一起出门。”他说：“好的。”第二天，丈夫去割草，妻子在家做早饭。丈夫割了一担草回来问：“早饭做好了吗？”妻子回答说：“还没有。”丈夫接着去割草了，割了第二担草回来问：“早饭做好了吗？”妻子回答说：“还没有。”他一出去，妻子就把孩子放进甑子里蒸了。丈夫去割草了，割了第三担草回来问：“早饭做好了吗？”妻子说：“做好了。”妻子在床上包了孩子后，两个人就吃饭了。吃完饭，他们就出门了。走到半路，丈夫说：“把孩子放下来，喂他吃一点东西吧。”妻子说：“孩子很乖，没事的，咱们快点赶路。”过一会儿，他们走到一个水井边。他们在水井边吃了午饭。丈夫说：“把孩子放下来，喂他吃一点东西吧。”但是妻子说：“孩子很乖，没事的，咱们快点赶路，怕天黑。”于是就又出发了。到了妻子老家，妻子把孩子从背上放下来，然后交给她父母吃了。丈夫看见了。他非常生气。一会儿就吃晚饭了。吃完晚饭，岳父说道：“女婿，我家今天没有多余的空床给你睡。你去堂屋的耙槽里睡吧。”女婿说：“好的。”女婿吃完晚饭就去那个耙槽里睡了。在耙槽睡到半夜，女婿意识到岳父一家人要杀他。他拿了个凳子放在耙槽里，上面盖好被子，然后就走出去了。岳父家养了几条很凶的狗。他上去岳父家的暗楼，发现了一袋人骨。他拿着那袋人骨走出门，岳父家的狗追了上来。快追到他的时候，他就把骨头扔给狗，狗就互相抢着吃了。趁着这个间隙逃远了。狗快追到他的时候，他又把骨头扔给狗，狗就互相抢着吃了。趁着这个间隙逃了很远。终于逃掉了。回到家，他买了一匹马。每天骑着它。马也很听话。他骑马回到岳父家。他佩了一把刀去的。到了岳父家，岳父就说：“女婿来了。”他的妻子也出来了。妻子一出来，他就拿刀把妻子砍死了。见状，岳父说：“快拿木盆来接血啊！快拿木盆来接血啊！”

【日本語大意】

食人族

昔々あるところに一人の若者がいて妻を娶った。結婚して十数年たったが妻の実家がどこにあるか知らなかった。彼の妻は子供を一人産んだ。妻は言った。「ここに来てずいぶん経つので一度うちの両親の顔を見にいきましょう。」夫は言った。「そうだな。」妻は言った。「明日あなたが草刈りに行ったら私は家で朝ご飯を作ります。あなたの草刈りが終わったら一緒に出かけましょう。」彼は言った。「わかった。」次の日、夫が草刈りに行くと、妻は家でご飯を作った。夫が天秤棒一担ぎ分の草を刈って帰ると聞いた。「ご飯はもう炊けたかい。」妻は答えた。「まだよ。」夫はもう一度草刈りに行き、一担ぎ担いで帰ると聞いた。「ご

飯はもう炊けたかい。」妻は答えた。「まだよ。」彼が出ていくと、妻は子供を甕の中に入れて蒸した。夫はもう一度草刈りに行き、三担ぎ目の草を担いで帰ると聞いた。ご飯はもう炊けたかい。」妻は答えた。「炊けたわ。」妻は子供をしっかりと包んでベッドの上に置くと、彼らのご飯を食べた。ご飯を食べ終わると彼らは出発した。途中で夫は言った。「子どもを下ろして何か食べさせよう。」妻は言った。「この子はいい子だから大丈夫。先を急ぎましょう。」しばらく歩いて井戸のところに着いた。井戸のところでお昼ご飯を食べた。夫は言った。「子どもを下ろして何か食べさせよう。」ところが妻は言った。「この子はいい子だから大丈夫。先を急ぎましょう。暗くなるといけないから。」それで出発することになった。妻の実家に着くと、彼の妻は背中から子供を下ろして父母に渡すと、彼らは食べてしまった。夫はそれを見た。夫は激しく怒った。その後晩ご飯となった。ご飯を食べ終わると義理の父は言った。「婿さん、うちには今日あんたの分のベッドがないんだ。広間にある餅つき桶の中で寝てくれ。」婿は言った。「わかりました。」婿はご飯の後、桶の中で寝た。桶の中で真夜中まで寝たが、彼は義理の父親の一家が彼を殺そうとしていることに気づいていた。彼は腰掛を桶の中に置き、上から掛布団をかけて家を出た。義理の父の家には獰猛な犬がいた。彼は義理の父親の家の屋根裏部屋に上がって行って袋に入った人骨を見つけた。彼がその人骨をもって家を出ると、犬たちが追いかけてきた。もう少しで追いつかれそうになった時、彼は骨を取り出して投げると犬たちは争って食べた。それでしばらく犬から逃げることができた。また犬たちが追いかけてきて追いつかれそうになった時、彼はまた骨を取り出して投げると、犬たちはまた争って食べた。それで遠くまで逃げることもできた。そしてついに逃げきった。彼は家に帰ると、馬を一頭買った。毎日それに乗った。馬も彼によくなつた。彼は馬に乗って義理の父親の家に戻った。彼は刀を差していった。義理の父親の家に着くと、義理の父親が言った。「婿さんが来たぞ。」すると彼の妻が出て来た。妻が出て来るや、彼は刀を抜いて妻を切り殺した。すると、義理の父親は叫んだ。「早くお椀を持ってきて血を受けろ。早くお椀を持ってきて血を受けろ。」

11. The Story of Lan Yang

1 *εεA -eB jiBtsuB maA ... εεA -eB jiBtsuB maA piB naA jonC onApiB.*
 time DEM PN exist time DEM PN exist CLF human COP PN
 Once upon a time, there was a family in Pingzhai whose family name was He.

2 *niB-piB maA δanB təA-loB naA δaC -loA.*
 3-house exist CLF NMLZ-old human die PTCL
 An old man in the He family died.

3 *χoNA- χanC tuC δanB... χoNA- χanC tuC δanB təA-lanC tiA -moA*
 CLNK1 call acquire CLF CLNK1 call acquire CLF NMLZ-look land MOD

aAszAsenA taA niB-piB lanC tiA.
 teacher COM 3-house look land
 They called a geomancer to practice geomancy in order to decide where they should bury the body.

4 *niB-piB zoCseA, szAsenA, ʔmiA qoC tɛuAδuB.*
 3-house tell teacher DISP1 GOAL IGN
 The Hes said, “Master, where should we bury him?”

5 *ʔmiA qoC aAηqoBkoA-piB ... ʔmiA qoC ʋoNA-piB aAηqoBkoA-piB.*
 DISP1 GOAL back-house DISP1 GOAL 2SG-house back-house
 The geomancer said, “You should bury him at the back of your house.”

6 *niB-piB zoCseA, uC.*
 3-house tell INTJ
 The Hes said, “I see.”

7 *niB-piB juC- muB lanC tsoC- zoCseA.*
 3-house again go look CLNK1 tell
 The geomancer said.

8 *ʔmiA qoC saA -nonB... ʔmiA qoC ʋoNA-piB aAηqoBkoA-piB -niB, ʋoNA-piB*
 DISP1 GOAL top DEM DISP1 GOAL 2-house back-house PTCL 2SG-house

niB- janC kanB zuC hnaA təA-δaC muB -liA.
 IRR take.care 1SG arrive day NMLZ-die go PTCL

The geomancer added. “When the funeral is over, you must take care of me until the last day of my life.”

9 *uC jonC, uC.*
 INTJ COP INTJ
 The Hes said, “That’s OK.”

10 *niB-piB* *tsɔC-* *kuB* *muB* *lonB* *qoC* *χəBsaA* *-eB*.
 3-house CLNK1 carry go bury GOAL top DEM
 After that, the Hes buried the old man up there. [47]

11 *ðanB* *təA-lanC* *tiA* *szAsenA* *-nonB* *-niB,* *taA-maB* *tsɔC-* *ðoC* *-loA*.
 CLF NMLZ-look land teacher DEM PTCL NMLZ-eye CLNK1 blind PTCL
 Then the geomancer's eye went blind.

12 *jeB* *niB-piB* *ɣenAntsuB* *loB-* *maA* *taA* ... *loB-* *maA* *təApaBnaA,* *tsuA* *loB-*
 FLL 3-house PN PTCL exist PTCL exist leader PN PTCL

maA *təApaBnaA,* *jiBjonA* *loB-* *maA* *təApaBnaA*.
 exist leader PN PTCL exist leader

After that, some men of the He family became the governor of Guiyang City, the director of Kaiyang County, and the director of Yangchang Township. [48]

13 *niB-piB* *tsɔC-* *luB* *χiA* *kanBnaB* *-moA* *jaAtshoA* *hməA* *-moA* *ðonBχwana* *-loA*.
 3-house CLNK1 come rob 1PL MOD PN PN MOD territory PTCL
 After that, the He family seized the land of the Eight Villages Miao. [49]

14 *aAviCɔɣiA* *tsɔC-* *maA* *ðanB* *qoAloB-ŋganB* *piB* *tsɔC-* *maA* *ðanB* *aAtana-ŋganB*.
 PN CLNK1 exist CLF old-PN house CLNK1 exist CLF child-PN
 There lived a family in Puwo, whose family name was Lan. The Lans had a son. [50]

15 *tsɔC-* *tsuanBmiA-* *niB-piB* ... *niB* *tsɔC-* *tsuanBmiA-* *muB* *taA* *onApiB* *teaB*
 CLNK1 always 3-house 3 CLNK1 always go COM PN pasture

juB.
 cow

He worked as a cow keeper for the He family for a long time.

47 In this context, *χəBsaA* ‘top, upper part, higher place’ denotes the space behind the house. As houses in a Hmyo village are usually built on a slope, the backyard of a house is higher than the house.

48 *ɣenAntsuB* is the Lan Hmyo name of Guiyang 贵阳, the capital city of Guizhou Province. *tsuA* is the Lan Hmyo name of Kaiyang 开阳 County, *jiBjonA* (◇market◇sheep) is the Lan Hmyo name of Yangchang 羊场 Township.

49 *jaAtshoA* (◇eight◇village) is a proper name designating the area of the Hmyo people that is the west side of Qingshuijiang river and the north side of the Nanming river. As its name suggests, it comprises eight villages: *aAqloAzonC* (Guangzhong 光中), *aAqlenB* (Mashi 马市), *aAqhaCpiB* (Houzhai 后寨), *aAŋqoAqeA* (Wopu 窝铺), *aAqanAmbiaA* (Daguangba 大光巴), *aAliCloA* (Xiaoguangba 小光巴), *aAviCɔɣiA* (Puwo 蒲窝), and *aAtuAteaA* (Yaolao 么老). See Map 2 at the end of this chapter for the geographical locations of these villages.

50 *ŋganB*, literally ‘lazy’, is a family name of the Hmyo people, which is a translation of the Chinese family name 蓝 *lán*. As 蓝 *lán* and 懒 *lǎn* ‘lazy’ are segmentally homophonous, the Chinese family name 蓝 is translated into the Hmyo language using the Hmyo word for ‘lazy’. Yoshihisa Taguchi, one of the editors, calls this type of borrowing ‘homonymic translation’. See fn. 51 (p.89) for another example of this borrowing device.

16 *jeB niB tsoC- muB aC aAtshzAχwiA təApluA-qeA təApluA-βwaC thanC muB*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 go do lime hair-chicken hair-duck ember go

lonB qoC kanBnaB hmøA naA -moA əBχuA -moA təAtəhoC -moA
 bury GOAL 1PL PN human MOD land MOD place MOD

taA-ŋtanB.

NMLZ-periphery

Once, he buried lime, chicken feathers, duck feathers, and ember at the edge of the Miao people's land to mark the boundary.

17 *niB tsaB juB hluA -waC, niB χona- muB taA onApiB ŋjuA aAzona-βwaC.*
 3 pasture cow big PTCL 3 CLNK1 go COM PN strike gate-duck

When he grew up, he took legal action against the He family. [51]

18 *muB zuC jiBjona loB- tsauA quA, muB zuC tsuA loB- tsauA quA,*
 go arrive PN PTCL encounter beat go arrive PN PTCL encounter beat

muB zuC yənAntsuB loB- tsauA quA.
 go arrive PN PTCL encounter beat

He went to Yangchang to file a suit, but he was beaten by the people there. Next, he went to Kaiyang, but he was also beaten there. Then, he went to Guiyang, but he was also beaten there.

19 *quA tsiApaCqaB tchiB koApaA luB.*
 beat bottom get scab come

His bottom got a scab.

20 *aAonApiB təBqwenAnonB ... aAonApiB qleA ðanB təA-lanC tiA -nonB -muAtszA*
 PN after.that PN look CLF NMLZ-look land DEM NEG

-jaA.
 PTCL

Meanwhile, the He family came to mistreat the geomancer.

21 *jeB tsoC- ʔmiA niB muB ntanB aŋɕiBðiA.*
 FLL CLNK1 DISPL 3 go pound mortar

They made the geomancer pound the mortar.

22 *ntanB aŋɕiBðiA -niB, niB pheC- ntanB aŋɕiBðiA jeB pheC- aC yeC.*
 pound mortar PTCL 3 PLNK pound mortar FLL PLNK do song

The geomancer sang songs while pounding the mortar.

51 *ŋjuA aAzona-βwaC* (◇strike◇gate◇duck), literally ‘strike a duck’s gate’, means ‘take a legal action’. *aAzona-βwaC* is a compound composed of two words: *aAzona* ‘gate’ and *βwaC* ‘duck’. This compound is constructed based on a Chinese word 衙门 *yá-mén*, which is composed of *yá* ‘government’ and *mén* ‘gate’. As 衙 *yá* ‘government’ and 鸭 *yā* ‘duck’ is homophonous in Southwestern Mandarin, this Chinese word is translated into the Hmyo language using the Hmyo words for ‘duck’ and ‘gate’.

23 *maA δanB ... niB maA δanB təAweC qwaC tɛiB, hnuB -loA jeB tsoC- qwaC*
 exist CLF 3 exist CLF friend pass road hear PTCL FLL CLNK1 pass

muB lanC.

go look

A friend of the geomancer passed nearby and heard the geomancer singing.

24 *jeB tsoC- naC niB zoCseA, naB szAsenA naB ʋona aAmaB aC tɔBtsiB*
 FLL CLNK1 ask 3 tell CONJ teacher CONJ 2SG eye do IGN

aCnonB -loA.

this.way PTCL

He went up to the geomancer and asked, “What happened to your eyes?”

25 *kanB taA niB-piB lanC ʔlana tətəhoC -nonB -χaB, kanB taA-maB tsoC-*
 1SG COM 3-house look CLF place DEM CLNK2 1SG NMLZ-eye CLNK1

δoC -loA.

blind PTCL

“I practiced geomancy for the He family, and I became blind.”

26 *jeB ɛeA -nonB niB-piB qleA kanB -muAtszA -jaA.*
 FLL time DEM 3-house look 1SG NEG PTCL

“But now they look down on me.”

27 *jeB ʔmiA kanB ntanB ɳdziBɔiA -siA.*
 FLL DISP1 1SG pound mortar PTCL

“They made me pound the mortar.”

28 *naB maA tɔBtsiB təA- ... maA tɔBtsiB təA- ... təA- ... maA tɔBtsiB təA- ... maA*
 CONJ exist IGN exist IGN exist IGN exist

tɔBtsiB təA-kaiB faA -tsiB muA- maA.

IGN NMLZ-mend method IGN NEG exist

The friend asked, “Is there any way to cure it?”

29 *maA -teC.*

exist PTCL

“Yes.”

30 *naB δaCaC aC -mana.*

CONJ IGN do PTCL

“Tell me what to do.”

31 *ʋona muB niB-piB -moA maCpiB taA joA konC.*

2SG go 3-house MOD side construct CLF bridge

“You go and build a bridge on the side of their house.”

- 32 *muB niB-piB aAzona xəBtiA -eB tʰoB ʔlana piB.*
 go 3-house gate bottom DEM build CLF house
 “Next, build a house in front of their house.” [52]
- 33 *tʰoB ʔyʰoNC -waC jeB ʋona tsoC- tana kanB muB xəBsaA -eB muB*
 build good PTCL FLL 2SG CLNK1 escort 1SG go top DEM go

tʰiA ʔwuA-saA.
 speak two-CLF
 “When you finish building these things, take me there to cast a spell.”
- 34 *jeB kanB taA-maB tsoC- ʋwena -waC.*
 FLL 1SG NMLZ-eye CLNK1 bright PTCL
 “Then I will regain my eyesight.”
- 35 *jeB niB xona- muB euB danB ... niB danB təAwəC -nonB xona- zoC onApiB*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 go build CLF 3 CLF friend DEM CLNK1 tell PN

zoCseA.
 tell
 His friend went to the He family and said.
- 36 *ʋona-piB maCpiB euB ʔlana konC, aAqaBpiB tɛiBdiA tʰoB ʔlana piB,*
 2-house side build CLF bridge entrance front build CLF house

ʋona-piB vuBjaA- ʔyʰoNC ʔneA.
 2SG-house still.more good CLF
 “If you build a bridge on the side of your house and build a house in front of your house, your family will be more prosperous.”
- 37 *niB-piB tsoC- luB tʰoB ... luB maCpiB taA joA konC, luB muB*
 3-house CLNK1 come build come side construct CLF bridge come go

aAqaBpiB ... muB aAqaBpiB taA ... tʰoB ʔlana piB.
 entrance go entrance construct build CLF house
 The He family then built a bridge on the side of their house, and built a house in front of their house.
- 38 *tʰoB ʔyʰoNC -waC, xona- xanC danB szAsena -nonB xona- muB xəBsaA -eB*
 build good PTCL CLNK1 call CLF teacher DEM CLNK1 go top DEM

muB tʰiA.
 go speak
 When they finished building, the geomancer’s friend took the geomancer to the back of the He family house to cast a spell.

52 In this context, *xəBtiA* ‘bottom, lower part, lower place’ denotes the space in front of the house. See fn. 47 (p.88).

- 39 *ðanB szAsenA -eB zoCseA.*
 CLF teacher DEM tell
 The geomancer said.
- 40 *konC jonC ... konC jonC aAqaCqoA, əBpiB jonC ... təAleA ... hnaB.*
 bridge COP bridge COP bow house COP FLL arrow
 “Bridge is a bow, house is an arrow.”
- 41 *jeB ηtuA onApiB -moA təA-ηaC naA szB-... szB-jenA -χenA.*
 FLL strike PN MOD NMLZ-strong human PURP PURP-finish PTCL
 “Shoot down all the chiefs of the He family!”
- 42 *jeB ðanB ... ðanB szAsenA -nonB taA-maB tsoC- kwenA -loA.*
 FLL CLF CLF teacher DEM NMLZ-eye CLNK1 bright PTCL
 Then, the geomancer regained his eyesight.
- 43 *jeB tsoC- szA-jonA nduC -loA.*
 FLL CLNK1 RCP-take leave PTCL
 The geomancer and his friend ran away.
- 44 *jeB ðanB aAtana-ηganB -nonB χanC jaAtshoA -moA taCteab taA ... taA niB-*
 FLL CLF child-PN DEM call PN DEM people COM COM 3-

piB aC χuA.
 house do land
 Meanwhile, one day, the son of the Lan family asked people to come and help him do fieldwork.
- 45 *jeB niB zoCseA, miB naA qweC ηaCsanC qoC tenA ðuAyøA -nonB.*
 FLL 3 tell CLF human hang lunch GOAL CLF tung.tree DEM
 He said, “Everybody, hang your lunch on the tung tree.” [53]
- 46 *ηteaC ηaCsanC tenA ðuAyøA -nonB tɛəBqlonB, jeB tsoC- muB tshiA ... tsoC-*
 reach lunch CLF tung.tree DEM fall FLL CLNK1 go speak CLNK1

muB tshiA onApiB tɛəB... tɛəBqlonB -mana.
 go speak PN fall PTCL
 “If the tung tree falls by noon, it means that the He family will fall down.”
- 47 *zuAkoB- tenA ðuAyøA -nonB muA- tɛəBqlonB -jaA -niB, onApiA tsoC- muA-*
 CLNK2 CLF tung.tree DEM NEG fall PTCL PTCL PN CLNK1 NEG

tɛəBqlonB -jaA.
 fall PTCL
 “If the tree does not fall, the He family will not fall down.”

53 *ðuAyøA* is a name of a plant, generally known as tung tree. Its scientific name is *Vernicia fordii*.

- 48 *ηteaC ηaCsanC -niB, ʔena δuAγθA -nonB tsoC- teəBqlonB -loA.*
 reach lunch PTCL CLF tung.tree DEM CLNK1 fall PTCL
 Eventually, the tung tree fell at noon.
- 49 *jeB δanB aAtana-ηganB -nonB χona- muB χeAtəaA ... muB taA χeAtəaA muB*
 FLL CLF child-PN DEM CLNK1 go PN go COM PN go
ηtuA aAzona-βwaC.
 strike gate-duck
 Then, the son of the Lan family took legal action against the He family.
- 50 *jeB muB ηtuA -niB, ʔenAntsuB thaC ... thaC təApaBnaA -loA.*
 FLL go strike PTCL PN change change leader PTCL
 When he went to Guiyang, he found that the governor had been changed.
- 51 *jiBjona loB- thaC təApaBnaA -loA.*
 PN also change leader PTCL
 Furthermore, the mayor of Yangchang had been changed.
- 52 *əBtsuA loB- thaC təApaBnaA -loA.*
 PN also change leader PTCL
 The mayor of Kaiyang had also been changed.
- 53 *jeB tsoC- tshiA onApiB ... təApaBnaA ... təApaBnaA naC niB zoCseA ... naC*
 FLL CLNK1 speak PN leader leader ask 3 tell ask
aAtana-ηganB zoCseA.
 child-PN say
 The new governor asked him.
- 54 *naB βona zoCseA, niB-piB ... niB-piB tseNA miB naA -moA δonBχwana*
 CONJ 2SG tell 3-house 3-house fight CLF human MOD territory
-loA jeB, βona maA təBtsiB -moA ... βona maA təBtsiB -moA ... təBleA ...
 PTCL FLL 2SG exist IGN MOD 2SG exist IGN MOD FLL
jiB'teyC' muA- maA.
 proof NEG exist
 “You say that the He family robbed you of your land; then, what evidence do you have for it?”
- 55 *kanB maA teC.*
 1SG exist PTCL
 “I have evidence.
- 56 *kanB -moA jonC ... təAleA... kanBnaB jaAtshoA -moA jonC təApluA-qeA təApluA-*
 1SG MOD COP FLL 1PL PN MOD COP hair-chicken hair-
βwaC tshzAχwiA aAηdziBδoB jonC szAqanC.
 duck lime ember COP borderline
 “The land of Eight Villages is originally demarcated with chicken feathers, duck feathers, lime, and ember.”

57 *təBqweNAnonB niB tsoC- luB khaA lanC ... təApaBnaA tsoC- luB khaA*
 after.that 3 CLNK1 come dig look leader CLNK1 come dig

lanC.

look

The governor went to dig the land to check this.

58 *tsoC- maA tshzAχwiA maA təApluA-qeA maA təApluA-ɛwaC maA aAŋdɛiBðoB.*
 CLNK1 exist lime exist hair-chicken exist hair-duck exist ember
 Then he found chicken feathers, duck feathers, lime, and ember there.

59 *təBqweNAnonB tsoC- kanBnaB jaAtshoA -moA hnaA -nonB -moA ðonBχwana χona-*
 after.that CLNK1 1PL PN MOD day DEM MOD territory CLNK1

suA tɔNB luB.

collect return come

This is how we got our land back into our hands.

60 *jeB ðanB aAtana-ŋganB -nonB χona- luB ŋɟuA tuC jaA-ɣlana ɣɟiA luB*
 FLL CLF child-PN DEM CLNK1 come strike acquire eight-CLF stone come

panA kanBnaB jaA- ... jaA-ɣlana tshoA -nonB ɣlana tshoA ... ɣlana tshoA liA
 give 1PL eight eight-CLF village DEM CLF village CLF village set.up

ɣlana, jeB qoC ... qoC tɛiCŋienC.

CLF FLL leave leave memory

The son of the Lan family built a monument for each village in Eight Villages to commemorate the event. [54]

61 *jeB tsoC- jonC naB -siA.*
 FLL CLNK1 COP this.way PTCL

This is the story of Lan Yang.

【中文大意】

蓝央

从前平寨有个何家。何家有个老人死了。请了一位风水先生给他家看风水。何家问：“先生，埋在哪儿比较好呢？”风水先生说：“埋在你家的后面比较好。”何家人说：“好的。”何家再去请先生看风水时，先生说：“埋在你家后面的话，你家得照顾我到我死的那天。”何家说：“好啊！”于是就把老人埋在了那里。接着，风水先生的眼睛就看不见了。后来何家人在贵阳、开阳、羊场都当上了长官。于是，他家就抢了我们苗族八个寨子的土地。铺窝的蓝家有个叫小蓝的小孩。他一直在给何家放牛。他就拿着石灰、鸡毛、鸭毛、炭埋在了苗族土地的地界周围。他放着牛长大了。长大了他就去跟何家打官司。去到羊场被打了，去到开阳也被打

54 Though the story stated in this chapter is fully dramatized, it is based on a real incident. *aAtana-ŋganB* is a real person, whose Chinese name is 蓝央 Lán Yāng. In Wopu 窝铺, there is a stone monument mentioned in the story. The monument says that the incident stated in the story occurred in the twenty-sixth year of Qianlong (1761).

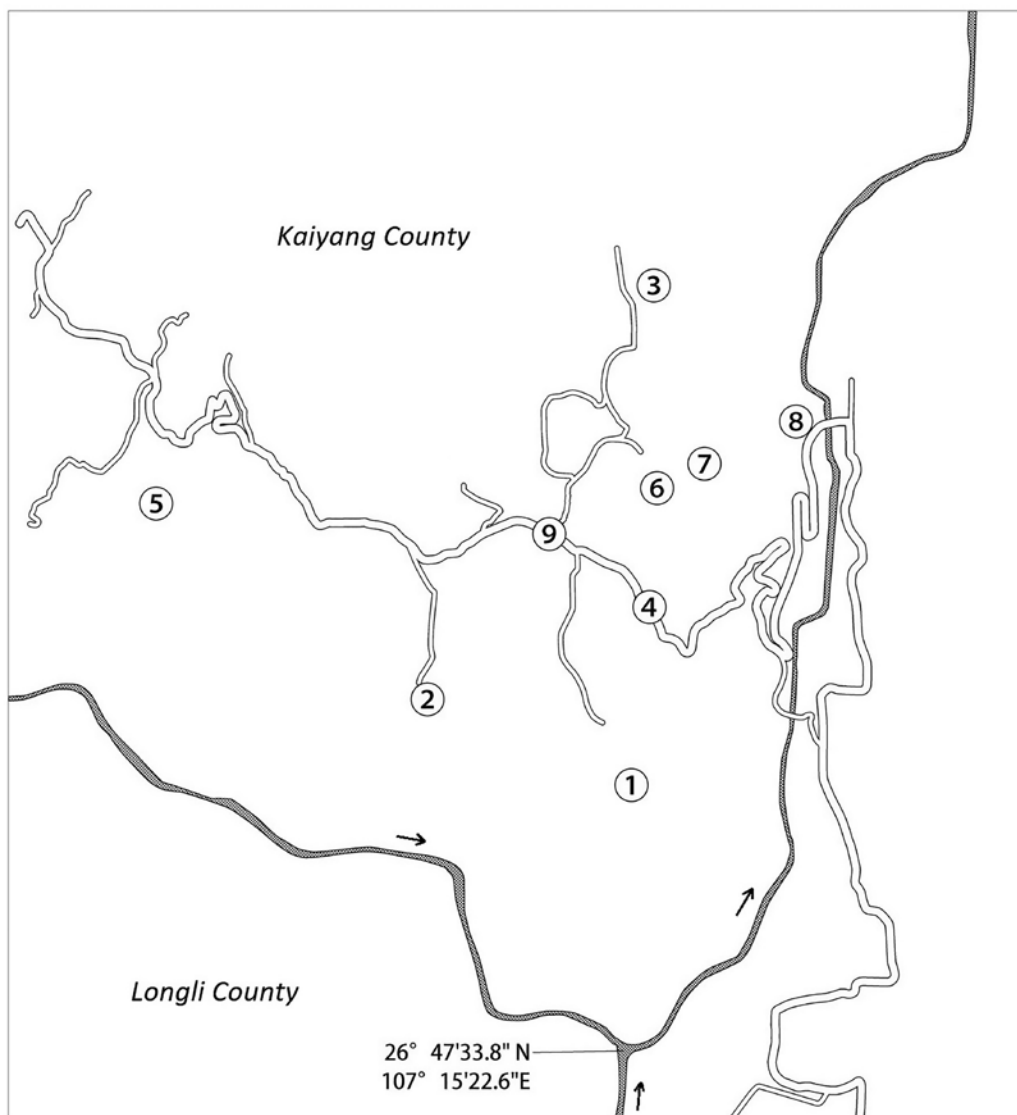
了，去到贵阳也被打了。打得屁股上都是伤疤。另一方面，在那之后何家开始嫌弃那个风水先生。于是就让他去踩石堆。风水先生一边踩石堆一边唱歌。他有个朋友路过听见他的歌声就走过来看他。问他：“师傅，你的眼睛怎么了？”“我给何家看了土地的风水之后，眼睛就看不见了。然而，他家却嫌弃我。让我在这踩石堆呢。”“有没有治疗的方法？”“有的。”“什么方法？”“去他家的旁边架座桥。接着去他家门前建个房子。建好之后再把我带到那个房子的上面，让我唱几句。我的眼睛就能看见了。”于是，他的朋友就去跟何家说。“你们如果在房子旁边架座桥，前面再建个房子，你们家就会有更好的发展。”何家听后就在旁边架了一座桥，又在门口前边建了个小屋。建好之后，他朋友就带风水先生到房子上面去，让他唱了几句。风水先生这样唱道：“桥化作弓，小屋化作箭。打尽何家的长官！”唱完，风水先生的眼睛就看得见了。先生和他的朋友一道跑了。那个小蓝找了八个寨子的人帮他家干农活。他说：“大家把中午饭挂在这棵桐子树上。到中午如果这棵桐子树倒了，就说明，何家必败。如果没倒的话，我们就不能打败何家。”到了中午，这棵桐子树果真倒了。小蓝就去跟何家打官司。去打官司的时候就发现贵阳的长官已经换人了。羊场的长官也换了。开阳的长官也换了。长官问小蓝，“你说何家夺取了大家的地盘，你有什么证据吗？”“有的。我们八个寨子的土地是用鸡毛、鸭毛、石灰、烬作为界限的。”于是，长官去挖来检查。里面果然挖出了鸡毛、鸭毛、石灰、烬。这样，我们八个寨子的土地就都收回来了。小蓝在八个寨子里各立了一个石碑来纪念。就是这么一个故事。

【日本語大意】

藍央地主と戦う

昔々、平寨に何氏という一族がいた。何家で老人が一人亡くなった。そこで、風水師を呼んでどこに埋めたらよいか風水を見てもらった。何家の人は言った。「先生、どこに埋めたらよいですか。」風水師は言った。「家の裏に埋めるのがよいでしょう。」何家の人は言った。「わかりました。」何家の人が再び風水師に見てもらおうと風水師は言った。「あなたの家の裏に埋めたら、お宅には私を死ぬ日まで養ってまいりますよ。」何家は二つ返事で承諾した。それで何家はその場所に埋葬した。すると風水師の目は見えなくなった。その後、しばらくすると、貴陽でも開陽でも羊場でも何家の人間が長官となった。すると、何家はわれわれミャオ族の土地を奪った。鋪窩に藍家があり、藍家には一人の息子がいた。その子は長い間何家の使用人として牛の放牧をしていた。彼は石灰、鶏の毛、アヒルの毛、炭を持って行ってミャオ族の土地の境界に埋めた。牛を追いながら育ち、大きくなると何家の所業をお上に訴え出た。すると、羊場へ行ってもたたかれ、開陽へ行ってもたたかれ、貴陽へ行ってもたたかれた。お尻にかさぶたができた。さて、その後何家は風水師をさげすむようになっていた。それで風水師に唐白を踏ませていた。風水師は唐白を踏みながら歌を歌っていた。風水師に友人がいて、通りすがりに彼の歌声を聞いた。そこで行って彼に尋ねた。「目はどうしたんですか。」「何家のために土地の風水を見てやったんだが、それで目が見えなくなったのだ。ところが彼らは私をさげすむようになって、それで唐白を踏ませられているんだよ。」「それで直す方法はあるんですか。」「あるとも。」「どうすればいいんですか。」「何家の家のわきに橋を一本掛けてくれ。次に彼らの家の前に一軒家を建ててくれ。

建ておわったら、家の上側へ私を連れて行って一言唱えさせてくれ。そうすれば私の目は見えるようになる。」彼の友人は何家のところへ行ってこう言った。「もしお宅の家のわきに橋を架け、家の入口の前に家を建てたらお宅はさらに繁栄するでしょう。」何家はそれを聞いて家のわきに橋を一本かけ、家の入口に家を一軒建てた。建ておわるとその友達は風水師を家の後方へ連れて行って唱えさせた。風水師はこう唱えた。「橋は弓なり、小屋は矢なり。すべての何家の強者を打ち尽くせ。」すると風水師の目は見えるようになった。風水師とその友人は連れ立って去っていった。さて、かの藍家のせがれは八ヶ村の人々を呼んで畑仕事を手伝ってもらっていた。彼は言った。「みんな、昼飯をアブラギリの木の枝に掛けてくれ。お昼になってアブラギリの木が倒れたら、何家も倒れると予言しよう。もし木が倒れなかったら、何家も倒れないだろう。」お昼になると、果たしてアブラギリは倒れた。そこで藍家の息子は何家に対して訴訟を起こした。訴えに行ってみると、貴陽では長官が交代していた。羊場でも長官が交代した。開陽でも交代していた。長官は藍家の息子にこう尋ねた。「おまえは何家がミャオ族の土地を奪ったというが、なにか証拠があるのか。」「あります。私たち八ヶ村の土地は、鶏の毛、アヒルの毛、石灰、燃えさしで境界を示しています。」そこで、長官は行って掘って調べてみた。すると果たして中から鶏の毛、アヒルの毛、石灰、燃えさしが出てきた。こうして私たち八ヶ村の土地を取り戻すことができた。藍家の息子は八ヶ村の村のそれぞれに石碑を建ててこれを記念した。そういうことだ。



Map 2

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| ① Guangzhong 光中 | ⑥ Daguangba 大光巴 |
| ② Puwo 蒲窝 | ⑦ Xiaoguangba 小光巴 |
| ③ Mashi 马市 | ⑧ Yaolao 幺老 |
| ④ Houzhai 后寨 | ⑨ Pingzhai 平寨 |
| ⑤ Wopu 窝铺 | |

12. Sending Embroidery to the Father-in-Law

1 *εεA -eB maA piB naA niB-piB maA δanB qoAloB-aAtiA maA tsia-δanB*
 time DEM exist CLF human 3-house exist CLF old-grandfather exist three-CLF

aAtana, maA tsia-δanB ?ηiA.
 child exist three-CLF son's wife

Once upon a time, there was an old man who lived with three sons and their wives.

2 *jeB niB-piB aAtiA ?ηona saA nthenA saA -eB qheA aAqiB-mbziA.*
 FLL 3-house grandfather be.at top attic top DEM bind stalk-sorghum
 Once, the old man was binding sorghum stalks in the attic of his house. [55]

3 *niB-piB tsia-δanB ?ηiA ?ηona χəBtiA -eB nthuC oB.*
 3-house three-CLF son's wife be.at bottom DEM write embroidery
 The three daughters-in-law were embroidering in the hall.

4 *jeB niB-piB qoAloB-aAtiA lanC niB-piB tsia-δanB ?ηiA -eB ?yθnC*
 FLL 3-house old-grandfather look 3-house three-CLF son's wife DEM good

-tsaB.

PTCL

The old man thought the three daughters-in-law were so beautiful.

5 *niB tsoC- εanB ?lana tsuB'jiC' ?ηona saA nthenA nthuC phienB ntoB.*
 3 CLNK1 think CLF idea be.at top attic write CLF paper
 So, he decided to play tricks on them and wrote a note in the attic.

6 *niB εanB aC tsia-δanB ?ηiA -eB tsoC- nthuC zocseA.*
 3 think make threeCLF son's wife DEM CLNK1 write say
 The note said.

7 *saA ngwana ponA luB phienB ntoB.*
 top sky drop come CLF paper
 "There drops a note from the heaven."

8. *tsia-δanB ?ηiA ?ηona təθAnglena nthuC oB.*
 three-CLF son's wife be.at hall write embroidery
 "Three daughters-in-law are embroidering in the hall."

9. *naBtsiB muA- panA aAtiA -jaA, naBtsiB tsoC- tsauA təAsuA ηtuA.*
 IGN NEG give grandfather PTCL IGN CLNK1 encounter thunder strike
 "The one who won't send her embroidery to her father-in-law will be punished by the god of thunder."

55 The kinship term *aAtiA* means 'grandfather' or 'father of one's spouse'. *qoAloB-aAtiA*, with the element *qoAloB-* 'old', means 'old man'.

10 *tsiA-ðanB* *ʔŋiA* *-eB* *lanC* *phienB* *ntoB* *jenA* *-waC*, *ðanB* *lanC* *ðanB*,
three-CLF son's wife DEM look CLF paper finish PTCL CLF look CLF

szA-χiA *paŋA* *aAtiA*.
RCP-rob give grandfather

The three daughters-in-law saw the note, looked to each other, and then scrambled to send their embroidery to the old man.

11 *aAtiA* *qoAsenA* *ðaC*.
grandfather happy die
The old man was very happy to see this.

【中文大意】

送公公刺绣

从前，有个地方有一位老人和三个儿子，他们三个也都各自娶了三个媳妇。有一天，老人在暗楼上捆高粱杆。他家的三个媳妇在堂屋里绣刺绣的花纹。老人看那三个媳妇长得很好看。突然就想了个主意在暗楼上写了一张纸。他想逗一逗那三个媳妇，就这么写。“天上掉下一张纸，三个媳妇在堂屋里绣着刺绣的花纹，谁不把它给公公，谁就会被雷公打。”三个媳妇看到了那张纸，面面相觑，然后争着拿去给老人。老人高兴得要命。

【日本語大意】

舅に刺繍を贈る

昔々、あるところに一人の老人がいて三人の息子があり、それぞれに嫁がいた。ある時、老人が屋根裏で高粱のわらを束ねていた。三人の嫁は居間で刺繍の図柄を描いていた。老人は三人の嫁をきれいだと思って眺めていたが、突然あることを思いついて屋根裏で紙に字を書いた。彼は三人の嫁をからかってやろうと思いきう書いた。「天から紙が降ってくる。三人の嫁が居間で刺繍の図柄を描いている。それを舅に贈らない者がいたら雷様が雷を落とす。」三人の嫁はその紙を読んで互いに顔を見合わせると争って舅に刺繍を贈った。老人はとても喜んだ。

13. Sending a Corncob

1 *εeA -eB maA piB naA maA tsIA-δanB təAmpheB ʔjaB tsIA-δanB zONB.*
 time DEM exist CLF human exist three-CLF girl marry threeCLF husband
 A long time ago, there was a family with three daughters. Each daughter was married to a man.

2 *δanB təAmpheB təA-hluA -eB ʔjaB δanB zONB niA-piB jonC qwana-*
 CLF girl NMLZ-big DEM marry CLF husband ANPH-house COP rich-

piB.

house

The eldest daughter was married to a man whose family was rich.

3 *δanB təAmpheB təA-ʔwuA ʔjaB δanB zONB niA-piB jaA- qwana ʔneA.*
 CLF girl NMLZ-two marry CLF husband ANPH-house more rich CLF
 The second eldest daughter was married to a man whose family was even richer than the family of the eldest daughter's husband.

4 *δanB təA-ʔjoC -eB ʔjaB δanB zONB niA-piB jonC tshaC-piB.*
 CLF NMLZ-small DEM marry CLF husband ANPH-house COP poor-house
 The youngest daughter was married to a man whose family was poor.

5 *jeB niB-piB aAtiA χanC niB-piB aAʔwuB muB qwaC taAnthana.*
 FLL 3-house father-in-law call 3-house son-in-law go pass seasonal.festival
 The father-in-law asked his three son-in-laws to come to his house to celebrate a seasonal festival.

6 *δanB aAʔwuB təA-hluA -eB jeA maB muB.*
 CLF son-in-law NMLZ-big DEM ride horse go
 The eldest son-in-law went to his father-in-law's house riding a horse.

7 *niB-piB aAtiA jeB χanC niB tɛoC maB tɛaA- tɛoC qoC nthanB.*
 3-house father-in-law FLL call 3 picket horse separately picket GOAL CLF
 When he arrived, his father-in-law told him to picket the horse.

8 *δanB aAʔwuB təA-ʔwuA -eB jeA maB muB.*
 CLF son-in-law NMLZ-two DEM ride horse go
 The second eldest son-in-law also arrived riding a horse.

9 *niB-piB aAtiA jeB χanC niB tɛoC maB tɛaA- tɛoC qoC nthanB.*
 3-house father-in-law FLL call 3 picket horse separately picket GOAL CLF
 When he arrived, his father-in-law told him to picket the horse.

10 *δanB aAʔwuB təA-pziA -eB tɔC- jeA muAmaB muB -siA.*
 CLF son-in-law NMLZ-three DEM CLNK1 ride wood-horse go PTCL
 The third son-in-law went to the house riding a wood-horse.

- 11 *niB-piB aAtiA tsoC- muA- tsanB -jaA.*
 3-house father-in-law CLNK1 NEG pay.regard PTCL
 His father-in-law just completely ignored him.
- 12 *muB ηteaC niB-piB aAtiA piB tsoC- nonA ηaCpəA jəNA -waC.*
 go reach 3-house father-in-law house CLNK1 eat supper finish PTCL
 When they arrived there, they ate dinner.
- 13 *niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA, aAɽwuB təA-hluA, ʋona tiB tshoB muB ɽwuC*
 3-house father-in-law tell son-in-law NMLZ-big 2SG take grass go feed
maB.
 horse
 The father-in-law said to the eldest son-in-law, “Take some grass to feed your horse.”
- 14 *niB-piB aAɽwuB təA-hluA tiB tshoB muB ɽwuC maB.*
 3-house son-in-law NMLZ-big take grass go feed horse
 The eldest son-in-law took some grass to feed his horse.
- 15 *aAɽwuB təA-ɽwuA, ʋona tiB tshoB muB ɽwuC maB.*
 son-in-law NMLZ-two 2SG take grass go feed horse
 The father-in-law said to the second eldest son-in-law, “Take some grass to feed your horse.”
- 16 *niB-piB aAɽwuB təA-ɽwuA tsoC- tiB tshoB muB ɽwuC maB.*
 3-house son-in-law NMLZ-two CLNK1 take grass go feed horse
 The second eldest son-in-law took some grass to feed his horse.
- 17 *zoC ɔanB aAɽwuB təA-pziA -eB zoCseA, tiB tshoB muB ɽwuC maB -seB.*
 tell CLF son-in-law NMLZ-three DEM tell take grass go feed horse PTCL
 The father-in-law said to the youngest son-in-law, “Take some grass to feed your horse.”
- 18 *niB-piB aAɽwuB təA-pziA tsoC- tiB ntuC qəBɽηona muB tszBqaA*
 3-house son-in-law NMLZ-three CLNK1 take CLF straw go cover
muAmaB -siA.
 wood-horse PTCL
 The youngest son-in-law took a bundle of straw and placed it on the wood-horse.
- 19 *niB-piB aAɽwuB təA-hluA puC ηteaC ηŋonAhmonC tsoC- soB muB lanC*
 3-house son-in-law NMLZ-big sleep reach midnight CLNK1 get.up go look
maB -loA.
 horse PTCL
 The eldest son-in-law woke up at midnight to take care of his horse.
- 20 *ɔanB ɽwuB təAtana tsoC- tiB qaB muB qoC ɽwuB təA-hluA*
 CLF son-in-law small CLNK1 take excrement go GOAL son-in-law NMLZ-big
-moA saA tchoC.
 MOD top bed
 Then, the youngest son-in-law got up, took some dung, and put it in the eldest son-in-law’s bed.

21 *ðanB ʔwuB təA-hluA -eB ʔonB luB lanC saA tɛhoC jiAχaC- jonC*
 CLF son-in-law NMLZ-big DEM return look top top bed all COP

qaB -siA.
 excrement PTCL

The eldest son-in-law came back to his bed and found that it was covered with excrement.

22 *aAʔwuB təA-hluA jeA maB tsoC- nduC luB piB -loA.*
 son-in-law NMLZ-big ride horse CLNK1 walk come house PTCL

Then the eldest son-in-law went back to home.

23 *sonA ðanB ʔwuB təA-ʔwuA taA təAtANA tɛaA- ʔŋonA niB-piB*
 leave CLF son-in-law NMLZ-two COM small separately be.at 3-house

aAtiA piB -siA.
 father-in-law house PTCL

The second eldest son-in-law and the youngest son-in-law remained.

24 *tiBɣeA nonA ŋaCɣeA jenA.*
 morning eat breakfast finish

The next morning, they ate breakfast in the father-in-law's house.

25 *niB-piB aAtiA piB qhuB ŋaC qhuB ŋkanC tiB muB nthonA ðanB*
 3-house father-in-law house wrap rice wrap meat take go send CLF

ʔwuB təA-hluA -eB.
 son-in-law NMLZ-big DEM

The father-in-law then wrapped some rice and food to send to the eldest son-in-law.

26 *ʔmiA panA ðanB ʔwuB təA-ʔjoC -eB tiB muB nthonA aAʔwuB*
 DISP1 give DEM son-in-law NMLZ-small DEM take go send son-in-law

təA-hluA.
 NMLZ-big

They handed the food to the youngest son-in-law and asked him to deliver it to the eldest son-in-law.

27 *aAʔwuB təA-ʔjoC -eB tiB luB ŋtɛaC piB jiAχaC- nonA ŋaC nonA*
 son-in-law NMLZ-small DEM take come reach house all eat rice eat

ŋkanC jenA -loA.
 meat finish PTCL

The youngest son-in-law took the food to his own house and ate up all of it.

28 *niB tsoC- tiB ʔlanA qoBtshonB-təBŋaC muB nthonA niB-piB aAʔwuB təA-*
 3 CLNK1 take CLF bone-corn go send 3-house son-in-law NMLZ

hluA -siA.
 big PTCL

Then, he took a corncob to deliver to the eldest son-in-law.

- 29 *muB zuC aAʔwuB təA-hluA piB tsoC- zoCseA.*
 go arrive son-in-law NMLZ-big house CLNK1 tell
 When he arrived at the eldest son-in-law's house, he said,
- 30 *aAniB, taAhnəBpəA ʋona mpziA qaB qoC aAtiA piB saA*
 brother yesterday.night 2SG shit excrement GOAL father-in-law house top
təhoC -loA.
 bed PTCL
 "Brother, you defecated in the bed at our father-in-law's house yesterday night, didn't you?"
- 31 *aAtiA zoCseA, tiB ʔlana qoBtshonB-təBŋaC -nonB tsuA təAqhonBqaB*
 father-in-law tell take CLF bone-corn DEM block.up anus
-χeNA.
 PTCL
 "Our father-in-law said to you, 'Take this corncob to plug your buttohole!'"
- 32 *qwaC luB ʔwuA-hnaA, niB-piB aAtiA muB aC jiB jaC niB-piB*
 pass come two-day 3-house father-in-law go do market find 3-house
aAʔwuB təA-hluA.
 son-in-law NMLZ-big
 Two days later, when the father-in-law went to the market, he saw the eldest son-in-law.
- 33 *niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA, aAʔwuB, aAʔwuB təA-ʔjoC tiB aAjiAjiC*
 3-house father-in-law tell son-in-law son-in-law NMLZ-small take thing
panA ʋona -teC -loBmaAjaA.
 give 2SG PTCL PTCL
 The father-in-law spoke to the eldest son-in-law, "Son, did my youngest son-in-law give you something from me?"
- 34 *ðanB ʔwuB təA-hluA -eB tsoC- tɛuAteuC taA-χuB tsoC- zoCseA, tiB*
 CLF son-in-law NMLZ-big DEM CLNK1 shake NMLZ-head CLNK1 tell take
zuC -waC, tsoC- nduC -loA.
 arrive PTCL CLNK1 leave PTCL
 The eldest son-in-law replied shaking his head, "I got it", and then walked away. [56]

【中文大意】

送玉米秆

从前有一家人有三个女孩，嫁给了三个男的。老大嫁的丈夫家是有钱人家。老二嫁的丈夫家更加富裕些。老三嫁的丈夫家是穷人家。女孩们的父亲叫这些女婿到家里来一起过节。大女婿骑马去了岳父家。岳父单独给了他一个地方拴马。二女婿也骑马去了。岳父也单独给

56 *tɛuAteuC taA-χuB* denotes a motion of shaking one's head from side to side, which signals a negative response in general. In this context, it signals the eldest son-in-law's disappointment.

他一个地方拴马。三女婿是骑木马去的。岳父就不管他。到了岳父家之后就吃晚饭了。岳父说：“大女婿，你拿些干草去喂马。”大女婿就拿了些干草去喂马了。“二女婿，你也拿些干草去喂马。”二女婿也拿了些干草去喂马。岳父对三女婿也说：“你拿些干草去喂马吧。”三女婿就拿了一捆干草盖在木马上。大女婿睡到半夜起来去看马。三女婿就拿屎放在了大女婿的床上。大女婿回来发现床上都是屎。大女婿就骑马回家去了。剩下二女婿和三女婿在他们岳父家过夜。第二天早上他们在岳父家吃早饭。岳父家打包了饭和肉，准备送给大女婿。他们让三女婿拿去交给大女婿。三女婿就拿回自己家把饭和肉全部吃掉了。然后，他就拿根玉米秆去送给大女婿。到了大女婿家他就说：“大哥，昨天你在岳父家床上拉屎了。岳父说：拿这根玉米秆堵上你的肛门。”几天后，岳父去赶集，碰见了他家大女婿。岳父问大女婿：“三女婿拿东西给你了吗？”大女婿就摇着头说拿到了，就走了。

【日本語大意】

トウモロコシの芯を贈る

昔、ある一家に三人の娘がいたが、それぞれ嫁に行った。長女が結婚した相手の家は金持ちだった。二番目の娘が結婚した相手の家はまだ金持ちだった。一番下の娘が結婚した相手の家は貧乏人だった。娘たちの父は、三人の婿を家に呼んで節句のお祝いをした。長女の婿は馬に乗って岳父の家に向かった。岳父は彼に場所を与えて馬をつがなせた。二番目の娘の婿も馬に乗っていった。岳父は彼にも場所を与えて馬をつがなせた。一番下の娘の婿は、木馬に乗っていった。岳父は彼を無視した。岳父の家に着くと晩御飯を食べた。岳父は言った、「上の婿さん、馬に干し草をあげなさい。」一番上の婿は干し草を持って行って馬にあげた。「二番目の婿さん、馬に干し草をあげなさい。」二番目の婿は干し草を持って行って馬にあげた。岳父は一番下の婿にも「馬に干し草をあげなさい。」と言った。一番下の婿は、干し草のたばを持って行って木馬の上にかけた。一番上の婿は真夜中に起きると馬の様子を見に行ったら。すると一番下の婿はうんこを持って行って一番上の婿のベッドの上にまいた。一番上の婿が戻ってみると、ベッドの上はうんこだらけである。それを見て一番上の婿は馬に乗って家に帰った。二番目の婿と一番下の婿が残った。次の日の朝、彼らは岳父の家で朝ご飯を食べた。岳父の家では、ご飯や肉を用意して一番上の婿に届けようとした。そこで一番上の婿に渡してくれと言って一番下の婿にあずけた。一番下の婿は自分の家に持って帰ってご飯も肉も全部食べてしまった。それからトウモロコシの芯を一番年上の婿のところに持って行った。一番上の婿の家に着くと彼は言った。「兄さん、あんた昨日義理の父さんの家でベッドにうんこしただろ。義理の父さんが言ってたよ、これをあんたの尻の穴に詰めとけて。」数日後、義理の父が市に行くと、一番上の婿に出会った。義理の父は言った。「一番下の婿さんからものを受け取ってくれたかね。」一番上の婿は首を横に振って「受け取りました。」と言って立ち去った。

14. Rice Farming

- 1 *kanB tʃhiA kanBnaB hmøA naA aC χuA.*
 1SG speak 1PL PN human do field
 I will talk about how we Hmyo do field work.
- 2 *kanB tʃhiA muA- ʔyøNC -jaA, χaB, kanB tʃhiA ʔwuA-saA.*
 1SG speak NEG good PTCL CONJ 1SG speak two-CLF
 I cannot talk about it so well but try to explain it briefly.
- 3 *mpaNC joB -waC.*
 ice melt PTCL
 When ice melts, ...
- 4 *aAhlaCtʃhiB luB -waC.*
 spring come PTCL
 ... the spring season comes.
- 5 *zuC hlaC-təaA ... hlaC-təaA poA ... hlaC-təaA poAŋtəNA jəNC kanBnaB*
 arrive month-monkey month-monkey month-monkey middle COP 1PL
-moA hmøA naA -moA təA-aC ləNA -moA təAhnaA ... təAhnaA.
 MOD PN human MOD NMLZ-do rice.field MOD season season
 The middle of March is the time when we begin to work in the field. [57]
- 6 *ʔyøA noC luB -waC.*
 fall rain come PTCL
 Rainy season comes.
- 7 *χəNA- tʃhiC juB ... ʔyøA noC luB -waC.*
 CLNK1 drag cow fall rain come PTCL
 Rainy season comes.
- 8 *χəNA- muB qəNB əNA szB-ʔyøNC.*
 CLNK1 go block water PURP-good
 Then, we trap the water in the field.
- 9 *χəNA- təəNA juB kuB liA kuB vaA χəNA- muB ... χəNA- muB aAjoAləNA.*
 CLNK1 pull cow carry plough carry rake CLNK1 go CLNK1 go rice.field
 Next, we pull a cow, carrying a plough and a rake, and go to the rice nursery.

57 As briefly mentioned in fn. 38 (p.65), in the Hmyo language, each month is named using one of the names of twelve animal signs in the Oriental Zodiac. Note that month names in Lan Hmyo denote months in the Chinese lunar calendar.

- 10 *muB aAjoAlenA ... ηteaC aAjoAlenA siB ... siB tuC siB ... siB tauC'*
 go rice.field reach rice.field plough plough acquire plough plough CLF
- jenA -waC luB paA, paA tauC' jenA -waC juCteia- luB siB, siB*
 finish PTCL come rake rake CLF finish PTCL again come plough plough
- jenA -waC teia- luB paA, paA jenA -waC teia- luB siB.*
 finish PTCL separately come rake rake finish PTCL separately come plough
 When we arrive at the field, we first plough the field to turn up the soil, then rake it to level the soil. Once we finish raking, we plough the soil again. When we finish ploughing, we rake the soil again. When we finish raking, we plough once again.
- 11 *jeB niB χONA- ?ηONA ONA.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 be.at water
 This way, the field can hold water.
- 12 *aC luA -waC, aC ?ηONC -waC χONA- luB mpaB toAlenA.*
 do fine PTCL do good PTCL CLNK1 come construct dike
 When the soil becomes fine enough, we construct dikes.
- 13 *mpaB toAlenA jenA -waC tsoC- tonB luB piB.*
 construct dike finish PTCL CLNK1 return come house
 After the dikes are made, then we return home.
- 14 *tonB luB piB ... tonB luB piB χONA- luB zuC ηaC.*
 return come house return come house CLNK1 come soak rice
 Returning home, we soak seed rice in the water.
- 15 *zuC ηaC -niB... əBhnaA ... əBhnaA ηteaC tsiA-hnaA thaC ngweC ONA.*
 soak rice PTCL day day reach three-day change CLF water
 Three days later, the water must be changed.
- 16 *tuC pluA-hnaA tsoC- ?miA niB luB soC qoC aAsuC luB luC.*
 acquire four-day CLNK1 DISPl 3 come scoop GOAL sieve come filter
 On the fourth day, we scoop the seed rice and filter it with a sieve.
- 17 *χONA- ?miA aAhluB luB təəBpoA niB luB phenA kwənB szB-suBsuB, niB*
 CLNK1 DISPl sack come wrap 3 come dry sunshine PURP-warm 3
- χONA- faA təAmbæC.*
 CLNK1 emit sprout
 Next, we put the seed rice into a bag and warm it in the sunshine. Then it will sprout.
- 18 *χONA- tiB niB muB ... χONA- tiB niB muB piA qoC lenA.*
 CLNK1 take 3 go CLNK1 take 3 go sow GOAL rice.field
 We take it to the rice nursery and sow it there.
- 19 *piA qoC lenA teia- tsonC ONA-?jana*
 sow GOAL rice.field separately release water-seedling
 After sowing the seed rice, we drain the water of the field.

20 *piA qoC lenA niB ... niB -moA təAmbæC soB luB -waC, χONA- tsONC*
 sow GOAL rice.field 3 3 MOD sprout rise come PTCL CLNK1 release

niB luB phenA kwANB.
 3 come dry sunshine

After we sow the seed rice in the field, and the sprouts begin to grow, we drain the water of the field to expose the sprout to the sun.

21 *tsONC niB luB phenA kwANB -waC, niB taA ... niB -moA təAtANA mbæC*
 release 3 come dry sunshine PTCL 3 3 3 MOD small sprout

mpæA -waC χONA- tsONC oNA luB ... luB tsBqaA.
 green PTCL CLNK1 release water come come cover

When the sprouts become green, we draw water into the field.

22 *tsONC oNA luB tsBqaA -niB niB hluA -waC.*
 release water come cover PTCL 3 big PTCL

After the rice seedlings have their roots immersed with water, they begin to grow.

23 *zuC hlaC-qeA ʔyθA təA-ndanC noC luB χONA- kuB liA χONA- kuB*
 arrive month-chicken fall NMLZ-big rain come CLNK1 carry plough CLNK1 carry

vaA muB ŋtuA lenA-ntshaA.
 rake go strike rice.field-coarse

When the rainy season comes in April, we go to the field carrying a plough and a rake.

24 *ŋtuA lenA-ntshaA -niB, ŋtuA szB-tuC ... ŋtuA szB-tuC tsIA-NGweC paA*
 strike rice.field-coarse PTCL strike PURP-acquire strike PURP-acquire three-CLF rake

szB-tuC tsIA-NGweC χONA- luB mpaB toAlenA.
 PURP-acquire three-CLF CLNK1 come construct dike

When we make a rice field, we plough it three times and rake it three times. After that, we build dikes.

25 *mpaB toAlenA jenA -waC, əBʔjana ntiB -waC.*
 construct dike finish PTCL seedling long PTCL

When we finish building dikes, rice seedlings grow very high.

[26 *qwaA ŋqONA kuB muB qoC χəBŋtonA lenA.*]
 cut grass carry go GOAL inside rice.field
 We also cut weeds and put it into the field.

[27 *χONA- ʔmiA təAtoC muB ŋtzeA ŋqONA qoC lenA taAlaA χəBŋtonA.*]
 CLNK1 DISPl foot go tread grass GOAL rice.field soil inside
 Then, we tread the weeds into the soil of the field. [58]

58 In this area, people put weeds into the field to use as fertilizer. On the origin of this custom, see Chapter 20.

28 *zuC hlaC-qliB χ_{ON}A- θ_uC ʔ_{ja}NA χ_{ON}A- χ_{AN}C naA tsA ʔ_{ja}NA*
 arrive month-dog CLNK1 pull.out seedling CLNK1 call human insert seedling

... *χ_{ON}A- χ_{AN}C naA muB θ_uC ʔ_{ja}NA.*
 CLNK1 call human go pull.out seedling

In May, we call people and go to pull out seedlings for transplanting them.

29 *θ_uC ʔ_{ja}NA jeNA, χ_{ON}A- ts_{ON}C əBmaB muB θ_oA, θ_oA ʔ_{ja}NA muB*
 pull.out seedling finish CLNK1 deliver horse go carry carry seedling go

aAjoAlenA.

rice.field

Having pulled out the seedlings, we carry them to the rice field.

30 *təAnaA kuB ʔ_{ja}NA muB aAjoAlenA χ_{ON}A- muB tsA ʔ_{ja}NA.*
 human carry seedling go rice.field CLNK1 go insert seedling

When we arrive at the rice field, we begin to plant the seedlings into the field.

31 *tsA ʔ_{ja}NA jeNA -waC, ts_oC- muB lanC ... muB lanC oNA szB-ʔ_uθ_{ON}C.*
 insert seedling finish PTCL CLNK1 go look go look water PURP-good

When transplanting has finished, we adjust the amount of water.

32 *χ_{ON}A- muB θ_uC ʔ_{ja}NA -moA ts_hoB ... θ_uC lenA -moA ts_hoB.*
 CLNK1 go pull.out seedling MOD grass pull.out rice.field MOD grass

Then, we go and remove weeds from the ricefield.

33 *θ_uC lenA -moA ts_hoB tuC n_gw_eC -waC, tuC ʔ_{wu}A-tsiA-k_huA jiB,*
 pull.out rice.field MOD grass acquire CLF PTCL acquire two-three-CLF market

jeB ts_iA- muB θ_uC n_gw_eC.

FLL again go pull.out CLF

Two or three weeks later, we weed the field again. [59]

34 *ŋ_təaC aA_hlaC-mp_iC, aA_toAlenA suA -ts_aB.*
 reach month-pig dike flourishing PTCL

In June, the dike is covered with grass.

35 *χ_{ON}A- muB q_waA t_oAlenA -moA ts_hoB -χ_{en}A.*
 CLNK1 go cut dike MOD grass PTCL

So we also weed the dikes.

36 *q_waA χ_uBlenA q_waA t_oAlenA.*
 cut higher.dike cut dike

We weed the higher and lower ridges. [60]

59 *k_huA* is a classifier to count *jiB* ‘market’. In the area where the Hmyo people live, a market is held every six days. Thus, *k_huA jiB* means ‘six days’. In this book, we translate *k_huA jiB* into English as ‘a week’.

60 The ridges separating paddy fields are called *t_oAlenA* in general. In the area where the Hmyo people are living, a paddy field is constructed on a slope of a mountain. Thus, a paddy field has one

37 *ηteaC hlaC-mpiC χoNA- peA ... χoNA- tiB aAkoB χoNA- kuB aAtaNC*
 reach month-pig CLNK1 take CLNK1 take sickle CLNK1 carry carrying.pole

χoNA- muB qwaA χuBlena taA toAlena -moA tshoB.
 CLNK1 go cut higher.dike COM dike MOD grass

We go to the dike carrying a sickle and a carrying pole, and weed the higher and lower ridges.

38 *ηteaC hlaC-nenB ηaC tshoB -waC.*
 reach month-mouse rice have.ears PTCL
 In July, rice plants form ears.

39 *tsoC- muB phuA aAveNA-ηaC.*
 CLNK1 go push.through flower-rice
 When the rice flowers bloom, we go into the field to push through the rice plants. [61]

40 *ηteaC hlaC-juB, ηaC kwena -waC.*
 reach month-cow rice yellow PTCL
 In August, the rice ripens.

41 *ηteaC hlaC-juB taA-poAηtoNA, χoNA- kuB ... χoNA- tiB ... χoNA- peA aAkoB,*
 reach month-cow NMLZ-middle CLNK1 carry CLNK1 take CLNK1 take sickle

χoNA- tiB ... tsAleA ... kaCthonB χoNA- χaNC...
 CLNK1 take FLL threshing.box CLNK1 call

We go to the field with sickles and threshing-boxes, and ...

42 *ηteaC hlaC-juB, ηaC senB -waC.*
 reach month-cow rice ripe PTCL
 In August, the rice ripens.

43 *ηteaC hlaC-juB taA-poAηtoNA, jeB χoNA- χaNC tAnaA χoNA- kuB*
 reach month-cow NMLZ-middle FLL CLNK1 call human CLNK1 carry

kaCthonB χoNA- peA aAkoB χoNA- muB ηtuA ηaC.
 threshing.box CLNK1 take sickle CLNK1 go strike rice

Then, we get people together and go to the field with threshing-boxes and sickles to harvest the rice. [62]

ridge higher than the other ones. The higher ridge is called *χuBlena*, which has the construction of *χuB* ‘head’ and *lena* ‘rice field’.

61 This sentence describes the motion of assisted pollination. People push their way through paddy fields to disperse rice pollen.

62 *aAkaCthonB* is a large wooden tub for threshing grain. After cutting a handful of rice plants, one strikes them against the inside of the tub to thresh rice grains.

44 *muB ηtuA ηaC -niB, təA-qwaA ηaC -moA jeB qwaA tsiA-paA luB aC*
 go strike rice PTCL NMLZ-cut rice MOD FLL cut three-CLF come make

paA təA-ndanC.

CLF NMLZ-big

When we harvest rice, a person in charge of cutting the rice plant makes a bundle with three handfuls of rice plant.

45 *jeB təA-ηtuA ηaC jeB χONA- aC təBqwENA ?juC aAkaCthonB ηtuA.*
 FLL NMLZ-strike rice FLL CLNK1 do behind pull threshing.box strike

A person in charge of threshing rice follows a rice cutter and pulls a threshing-box and threshes the bundle of rice that the rice cutter hands him.

46 *ηtuA jeB χONA-... χONA- qheA ... χONA- qheA təA-ntuC ... təA-ntuC*
 strike FLL CLNK1 CLNK1 tie CLNK1 tie NMLZ-CLF NMLZ-CLF

aAqəB?ηONA.

straw

After threshing, we tie the rice-straw into a bundle. [63]

47 *χONA- ?miA təA-ntuC taA-qəB?ηONA luB phenA kwənB.*
 CLNK1 DISP1 NMLZ-CLF NMLZ-straw come dry sunshine

We put the rice straws on the ground to dry them in the sun.

48 *ηtuA ηaC jəNA -waC, jeB χONA- kuB luB piB χONA- luB ?miA luB*
 strike rice finish PTCL FLL CLNK1 carry come house CLNK1 come DISP1 come

phenA szB-konC.

dry PURP-dry

When harvesting has finished, we carry the rice grains and dry it in the sun.

49 *phenA szB-konC χONA- luB khoA qoC.*
 dry PURP-dry CLNK1 come collect GOAL

When the rice becomes dry, we store it.

50 *ηtəaC hlaC-tuB, ηaC jiAχaC- ηtuA jəNA -waC.*
 reach month-tiger rice all strike finish PTCL

In September, we finish harvesting rice.

51 *ηaC jiAχaC- ηtuA jəNA -waC, qəB?ηONA ... muB tuA qəB?ηONA ... muB tuA*
 rice all strike finish PTCL straw go pile.up straw go pile.up

qəB?ηONA təA-ηtəeC.

straw NMLZ-dry

When harvesting is finished, we pile up the straw.

63 After threshing rice, one must dry the rice straws. One ties them into a conical shape and dries them under the sun. The cone-shaped straw is counted by a classifier *ntuC*.

52 *χON-A- luB siB χuA χON-A- luB siB lenA ηquA aApθB?iyA χON-A-*
 CLNK1 come plough field CLNK1 come plough rice.field sow colza CLNK1

aC muC.
 make wheat

Then, we plough the field once more and sow colza first, and next sow wheat.

53 *siB χuA aC muC jEN A -waC, tsoC- ... tsoC- jEN A -waC.*
 plough field make wheat finish PTCL CLNK1 CLNK1 finish PTCL
 After sowing wheat, the fieldwork of the year is complete.

【中文大意】

苗家种田

我说一下我们苗族怎么种田。我说得不好，就简单地说一下。冰化了。春天来了。三月中旬是我们苗族开始种田的月份。也是下雨的季节。首先，我们把田里的排水口堵住。然后牵牛，抗着犁和耙去田里。犁好了耙，耙好了犁，犁好了再耙，耙好了再犁。多次反复之后，田就不会漏水。土松软了之后，开始敷田坎。敷好了就回家。回到家把大米种子浸泡在水里。泡到第三天要换一次水。第四天就可以用手捧出来，放入笕箕中过滤。然后把大米种子装进袋子里，拿到太阳下晒一晒，让它暖和一下，它就能发芽。发芽之后把它拿去种在田里。种好了再把水放出去。芽长起来些后，就把水放掉让它晒晒太阳。晒了太阳，芽逐渐长出叶子，这个时候再（在田里）蓄水。让芽浸在水里生长。到了四月，下过雨之后，带着犁和耙去田里。耕田的时候，犁三次，耙三次，然后开始敷田坎。敷完田坎，秧苗也长高了。接着，割点草放到田里。用脚把草踩进田地的土里。到了五月，请人去拔秧苗。拔完秧苗，用马搬运过去。运到田里后就开始插秧。插完秧，调整好田里的水量。然后去把田里的杂草除了。除了之后过两三个星期，再去一次杂草。到了六月，田坎边的杂草生长很繁茂。要去除田坎上的杂草。拿着镰刀和扁担去割田坎上的杂草，靠近山顶一侧和靠近山谷一侧的杂草都要割掉。到了七月，稻子开始抽穗。稻子抽穗扬花的时候就到田里去赶花。到了八月中旬，稻谷熟了。于是集合大家一起拿着镰刀和禾桶去（帮忙）收庄稼。收庄稼的时候，割稻谷的人会把割好的稻谷每三把堆成一大把。然后脱粒的人在后面拉着禾桶打谷子。把脱完稻谷的稻草捆起来，在地上摆成圆锥形。然后放在太阳下晒干。收完庄稼，把米也拿回家晒干。晒干了再收起来。到九月，庄稼就全部收完了。去把晒干的稻草堆起来。然后再犁田，种油菜和麦子。麦子种好了一年也就结束了。

【日本語大意】

ミャオ族の米作り

私たちミャオ族の野良仕事について話そう。うまくは話せないが、簡単に話そう。氷が解けて、春がやってくる。三月中旬は私たちミャオ族が稲作を始める時期だ。雨の季節がやってくる。まずそこで田んぼの水をせき止める。牛を引いて、犁やレーキを担いで苗代へ向かう。犁を入れたらレーキを入れ、レーキを入れたらまた犁を入れ、犁を入れたらまたレーキを入れ、レーキを入れたらまた犁を入れる。こうすると水をためることができる。土が十分に細かくなったら、畦を作る。畦を作ったら家に帰る。家に帰ると種籾を水につ

ける。三日つけたら水を替える。四日経ったら手ですくい出し、箕に入れて濾過する。種粃は袋に入れて日に当てて温めると発芽する。それから持って行って苗代に播く。種粃を播いたら田から水を抜く。芽が伸びたら水を抜いて日に当てる。日を浴びて苗は葉をつけるようになる。そうしたら水を入れる。水につかると苗は成長する。四月になって雨が降ると、犁やレーキを担いで田んぼに行く。田んぼ作りは、三回犁を入れ、三回レーキを入れ、それから畦を作る。畦が完成することには苗は高く成長している。このころ、草を刈って田んぼの中に入れる。足で草を踏んで田んぼの土の中に入れる。五月になると人を頼んで苗を抜く。抜いたら馬で苗を運ぶ。田んぼまで運んだら田植えを行う。田植えが終わったら、水の量を適切に調整する。それから田んぼに生えた草を取る。草取りをして二三週間したらもう一回草取りをする。六月になると田んぼの畦には草が繁茂する。そこで畦の草取りをする。鎌と天秤棒を担いで行って、山側の畦も谷側の畦もどちらも草取りをする。七月になると、稲は穂をつける。稲の花が咲くと田んぼの中に入って稲をかき分ける作業をする。八月中旬になると稲が実る。そこで人を集めて脱穀槽と鎌を持って収穫に向かう。収穫に際しては、刈り取る人は三つかみ分の稲でひとまとまりを作る。脱穀をする人は、刈り取る人の後ろから脱穀槽を引っ張ってついてきて、稲を受け取って脱穀する。脱穀したら稲わらは縛って円錐形にして地面に置く。それを日にさらして乾かす。収穫が終わると米を家に持って行って日にさらして乾かす。乾いたら収納する。九月には収穫はすべて完了する。収穫が終わると、稲わらを積み上げる。その後、もう一度犁を入れて、アブラナと麦を植える。麦を植えたらそれで一年が終わる。

15. Wedding Ceremonies

1 *kanBnaB hmøA naA -moA təA-jonA siB -moA təAhnaA -niB, kanB tʃhiA*
 1PL PN human MOD NMLZ-take wife MOD time PTCL 1SG speak

muA- ʔyøNC -jaA -χaB, kanB suiApienC tʃhiA -mbeC.
 NEG good PTCL CLNK2 1SG randomly speak PTCL

I will tell you about the marriage of Hmyo. I cannot tell it well, but let me try.

2 *kanBnaB hmøA naA -moA təA-tənC ɛeA -eB, muB sʒA-jonA muB qʌaA*
 1PL PN human MOD NMLZ-young time DEM go RCP-take go tease

təAmpheB.

girl

When we are young, us guys go together to find girlfriends.

3 *təAmpheB taA təAjənC tʃhiA ... təAmpheB taA təAjənC ʔwuA-ðanB naBtsiB*
 girl COM boy speak girl COM boy two-CLF IGN

-tsoC hŋoC -waC, χonA- təAmpheB χonA- muB nthonA niB-paB niB-miC,
 CLNK1 agree PTCL CLNK1 girl CLNK1 go tell 3-father 3-mother

təAjənC χonA- muB nthonA niB-paB niB-miC.
 boy CLNK1 go tell 3-father 3-mother

When a boy and a girl come to an agreement of marriage, they inform their parents of their intention.

4 *təAjənC niA-piB χonA- muB tənB aAnduCtəiB.*
 boy ANPH-house CLNK1 go invite matchmaker

Then, the parents of the boy find a matchmaker. [64]

5 *taA təAmpheB niA-piB tʃhiA ... χonA- taA aAtanA təAmpheB niA-paB*
 COM girl ANPH-house speak CLNK1 COM child girl ANPH-father

niA-miC tʃhiA.
 ANPH-mother speak

6 *təAjənC niA-piB vuB- niB- tsonC ʔlanA χanAvenA tuC tsoB tiB ʔwuA-poA*
 boy ANPH-house still IRR deliver CLF bottle put wine take two-CLF

ŋtəhuC, χonA- muB taA təAmpheB niA-piB tʃhiA.
 cigarette CLNK1 go COM girl ANPH-house speak

The boy's family then prepares a bottle of wine and two cartons of cigarettes for the matchmaker, who visits the girl's family to talk about the marriage.

64 A matchmaker is called *aAnduCtəiB* before acquiring the approval from the two families. After that, they are called *aAlaCquB*. The narrator of this story told us that he forgot this fact and kept using the former word throughout the story.

7 *təA-* ... *təAmpheB* *niB* ... *nəA-paB* *nəA-miC*... *aAtana* *təAmpheB* ... *təAmpheB* ...
 girl 3 ANPH-father ANPH-mother child girl girl

aAtana *təAmpheB* *niA-paB* *aAtana* *təAmpheB* *niA-miC* *hŋoC* *-waC*.
 child girl ANPH-father child girl ANPH-mother agree PTCL
 Say the girl's parents agree about the marriage.

8 *ðanB* *aAnduClɛiB* *-nonB* *χONA-* *ʔonB* *luB* *piB*.
 CLF matchmaker DEM CLNK1 return come house
 Then, the matchmaker goes back to the boy's house, ...

9 *χONA-* *ʔonB* *luB* *piB* *luB* *nthonA* *təAjɛnC* *niA-piB*.
 CLNK1 return come house come tell boy ANPH-house
 ... and tells the boy's parents about the negotiation.

10 *nthonA* *təAjɛnC* *niA-piB* *zoCseA*, *hŋoC* *-waC*.
 tell boy ANPH-house tell agree PTCL
 He tells them that the girl's parents have agreed.

11 *təAjɛnC* *niA-piB* *χONA-* *lanC* *təAhnaA-təAhmonC*.
 boy ANPH-house CLNK1 look time-evening
 Then, the boy's family plans the date of marriage.

12 *χONA-* *muB* *saA* *jiB*, *χONA-* *muB* *nɛzanB* *aAŋkanC*, *χONA-* *maB* *ŋtɛhuC*,
 CLNK1 go top market CLNK1 go cut meat CLNK1 buy cigarette

χONA- *kuB* ... *χONA-* *muB* *maB* *ŋtɛhuC*, *χONA-* *muB* ... *χONA-* *luB* *piB*
 CLNK1 carry CLNK1 go buy cigarette CLNK1 go CLNK1 come house

ɣyA *aAtəAχuB*, *χONA-* *kuB* *tɛnAtɛona*.
 grind bean.curd CLNK1 carry noodle

They go to the market to buy meat and cigarette, and make bean curd and noodles at home. [65]

13 *jeB* *χONA-* *muB* ... *tsəAleA* ... *təAmpheB* *niA-piB* ... *χONA-* *χanC* *tsʰoAɣonB* *-moA*
 FLL CLNK1 go FLL girl ANPH-house CLNK1 call village MOD

təA-ʔanC *naA*.

NMLZ-young human

Then, they ask the matchmaker and the young guys in the village to come.

14 *χONA-* *kuB* *aAjiA*... *χONA-* *ʔuC* *qoC* *χana*... *χONA-* *ʔmiA* *tɛoB*... *ʔmiA* *tɛoB* *ʔuC*
 CLNK1 carry things CLNK1 put GOAL bottle CLNK1 DISPl wine DISPl wine put

qoC *χana*, *ʔmiA* *ŋaC* *ʔuC* *qoC* *aAhluB*, *tɛoB* *taA* *hluB* *aC* *tanC*.
 GOAL bottle DISPl rice put GOAL bag wine COM bag make CLF

They prepare things to carry to the girl's house; they put wine into a bottle, put rice into a bag, and make a carrying pole using the bottle of wine and the bag of rice.

65 *tɛnAtɛona* literally means 'earth worm', but it metaphorically denotes noodles here.

15 *aAŋkanC taA aAlanAlana ... aAŋkanC taA təAxuB taA tɛnAtɛona aC tanC.*
 meat COM candy meat COM bean.curd COM noodles make CLF
 They make another carrying pole using bean curd and noodles.

16 *maA muAðuB ... maA muAðuB ðanB naA tsoC- ... maA muAðuB tanC tsoC-*
 exist IGN exist IGN CLF human CLNK1 exist IGN CLF CLNK1

maA muAðuB ðanB naA kuB muB təAmpheB piB.
 exist IGN CLF human carry go girl house
 They ask as many boys as necessary to carry these carrying poles.

17 *kuB muB təAmpheB piB, təAmpheB piB xona- muB xanC niB-piB -moA*
 carry go girl house girl house CLNK1 go call 3-house MOD

təA-hluA təA-ʔjoC.
 NMLZ-big NMLZ-small

When they arrive at the girl's house, the girl's parents call their family members.

[18 *miB təA-kuB aAjiAjiC -nonB taA laCquB tsoC- tonB luB təAjenC piB.*]
 CLF NMLZ carry thing DEM COM matchmaker CLNK1 return come boy house
 Those carrying items and the matchmaker then go back to the boy's house.

19 *xanC jaB xanC qhiC xona- ðaA təAmpheB piB nonA ŋaC.*
 call * call guest CLNK1 come girl house eat rice
 The girl's family call their relatives and eat a meal together.

20 *ŋteaC ... ŋteaC ... hlaC ... hlaC-mpiC xona- ... təAjenC niA-piB xona- ... xona-*
 reach reach month-pig CLNK1 boy ANPH-house CLNK1 CLNK1

tiB tɔB tiB ŋtɛhuC kuB aAŋkanC xona- muB təAmpheB niA-piB, xona-
 take wine take cigarette carry meat CLNK1 go girl ANPH-house CLNK1

muB paNA təAhmonC.
 go give evening

In June, the boy's family buys wine, cigarettes, and meat, and go to the girl's house to decide the schedule of marriage.

21 *paNA təAhmonC hŋoC -waC, niB-paB niB-miC hŋoC -waC, niB xona- ... xona- ...*
 give evening agree PTCL 3-father 3-mother agree PTCL 3 CLNK1 CLNK1

aAnduCtɛiB xona- tonB luB piB.
 matchmaker CLNK1 return come house

When the girl's parents agree to the date of marriage, the matchmaker comes back.

22 *tonB luB piB, niB-piB xona- ... niB-piB xona- lanC hnaA lanC hmonC,*
 return come house 3-house CLNK1 3-house CLNK1 look day look evening

xona- muB ... xona- muB ... xona- muB ... xona- tɛaAkəAweC- sonC təAhnaA-
 CLNK1 go CLNK1 go CLNK1 go CLNK1 separately deliver time-

təAhmonC muB.

evening go

When the matchmaker comes back, the boy's parents notify everybody about the date of marriage.

- 23 *sonC təAhnaA-təAhmonC muB -niB, jeB muB ηteaC ... ηteaC təAhnaA-təAhmonC*
deliver time-evening go PTCL FLL go reach reach time-evening

... jeB ηteaC təAhnaA-təAhmonC -waC.

FLL reach time-evening PTCL

The marriage day arrives.

- 24 *niB-piB χONA- kuB tɔB kuB aAηkanC kuB ηaC kuB tɔiA-δanB təAʔloBqeA*
3-house CLNK1 carry wine carry meat carry rice carry three-CLF rooster

χONA- maB tɛNA sanC.

CLNK1 buy CLF umbrella

The boy's family prepares wine, meat, rice, and three chickens. They also buy an umbrella. [66]

- 25 *jeB χONA- ... χONA- χanC aAnduCtɛiB taA ... taA tʃhoA-naA -moA təA-*
FLL CLNK1 CLNK1 call matchmaker COM COM village-human MOD NMLZ

tanC naA χONA- muB taA təAjenC piB kuB aAjiAjiC.

young human CLNK1 go COM boy house carry thing

The boy's family asks the matchmaker and young men of the village to go to the girl's house carrying the prepared items.

- 26 *muB ηteaC -niB... ηteaC təAmpheB niA-piB.*

go reach PTCL reach girl ANPH-house

When they arrive at the girl's house, ...

- 27 *jonC pɛA-nqanB... pɛA-ηduC ... pɛA-ηduC -waC.*

COP five-o'clock five-o'clock five-o'clock PTCL

... it is five o'clock in the evening.

- 28 *tɔC- muB ʔχONA tuC ɛeA, təAmpheB niA-piB təA-aC ʔyA təA-*
CLNK1 go sit acquire a.while girl ANPH-house NMLZ-make dish NMLZ-

aC ηaC tɔC- χanC muB nonA ηaCpɔA.

make rice CLNK1 call go eat supper

After taking rest for a while in the girl's house, cooks announce to the people that dinner is ready.

66 A red umbrella is a necessary item in the wedding ceremony. When the boy's family takes the bride to their house, the bride must be escorted under an umbrella.

29 *nonA ηaCpəA jenA -waC, δanB aAnduCtəiB -nonB χona- muB taA təAmpheB*
 eat supper finish PTCL CLF matchmaker DEM CLNK1 go COM girl

niA-piB aAqəAniB χona- muB szA-tshiA zəNA.
 ANPH-house uncle CLNK1 go RCP-speak money

When dinner is finished, the matchmaker and a maternal uncle of the bride begin to talk over the betrothal money. [67]

30 *szA-tshiA zəNA -niB, təAmpheB ... təAjənC niA-piB tiB zəNA muB zoC*
 RCP-speak money PTCL girl boy ANPH-house take money go little

-loA, təAmpheB niA-piB aAqəAniB ʔηonB zəNA ɛaB -loA.
 PTCL girl ANPH-house uncle want money much PTCL

The boy's family tries to give less, while the uncle of the girl's family tries to get more.

31 *jeB aAvuB- niB- szA-tshiA pənC.*
 FLL still IRR RCP-speak CLF

Thus, they talk over the issue for a good long time.

32 *szA-tshiA muA- ʔyənC -jaA, niB-piB δanB aAqəAniB tsoC- vuB- niB- nduC*
 RCP-speak NEG good PTCL 3-house CLF uncle CLNK1 still IRR leave

muB -χəNA.
 go PTCL

If they cannot come to an agreement, the uncle of the girl's family would run away.

33 *jeB δanB təAnduCtəiB -nonB χona- muB thonB niB luB təAkəAweC- tshiA.*
 FLL CLF matchmaker DEM CLNK1 go look.for 3 come separately speak
 Then the matchmaker must look for the uncle and have a talk with him once again.

34 *tshiA ʔyənC -waC, χona- ʔmiA ... χona- ʔmiA ... χona- muB kuB təAjənC piB*
 speak good PTCL CLNK1 DISP1 CLNK1 DISP1 CLNK1 go carry boy house

kuB muB -moA δiB ηaC, aAηkanC, tsoB, ηtəhuC, χona- tiB luB ... χona-...
 carry go MOD CLF rice meat wine cigarette CLNK1 take come CLNK1

χona- tiB luB.
 CLNK1 take come

When they come to an agreement, people take out the rice, meat, wine, and cigarettes that are carried from the boy's house and prepare another meal.

35 *tiB luB χona- ʔmiA ηaC luB tsoB, χona- muB ... χona- ʔmiA aAηkanC*
 take come CLNK1 DISP1 rice come steam CLNK1 go CLNK1 DISP1 meat

luB aC, χona- hleA qeA luB aC.
 come make CLNK1 kill chicken come make

They steam the rice, cook the meat, and kill the chicken to cook dishes.

67 The person that negotiates betrothal money with the matchmaker is fixed to be *aAqəAniB*, one of the brothers of the bride's mother. See Appendix 1 for kinship terms.

36 *χONA- χANC niB-piB -moA piB naA təA-hluA... təA-hluA təA-loB taA*
 CLNK1 call 3-house MOD CLF human NMLZ-big NMLZ-big NMLZ-old COM

jaBqhiC.

relatives

Then, they call their elder family members and relatives.

37 *taA ... təAjenC niB-piB tənB -moA phoB təA-kuB aAjiAjiC -eB jiAχaC-*
 boy 3-house invite MOD CLF NMLZ-carry thing DEM together

muB nonA tonB ηaC -nonB.

go eat CLF rice DEM

The young men that have carried the items join in this meal together.

38 *nonA tonB ηaC -nonB ngaB luB -niB, əBqeA qaC -waC.*
 eat CLF rice DEM descend come PTCL rooster crow PTCL

While eating this meal, roosters begin to crow.

39 *tsiA-nqanB ... tsiA-nqanB tuC -waC.*
 three-o'clock three-o'clock acquire PTCL

It has gone past three o'clock in the morning.

40 *tiBqeA -moA ngwana senA -waC.*
 morning MOD sky new PTCL

After a while, it becomes dawn.

41 *zuC tiBqeA -waC.*
 arrive morning PTCL

Day begins to break.

42 *jeB təAmpheB niA-piB χONA- χANC miB təA-aC ηaC luB aC ηaC,*
 FLL girl ANPH-house CLNK1 call CLF NMLZ-make rice come make rice

χONA- χANC miB təA-aC ɽyA luB aC ɽyA, χONA- luB aC ηaC
 CLNK1 call CLF NMLZ-make dish come make dish CLNK1 come make rice

nonA.

eat

Then, the girl's family asks the cooks to make breakfast.

43 *aC ηaC nonA jena -waC, təA-aC ɽyA χONA- kuB aAtoA luB qoC*
 make rice eat finish PTCL NMLZ-make dish CLNK1 carry table come GOAL

aAteəAnglenA χONA- luB qonB aAzona-hluA.

hall CLNK1 come stop gate-big

When breakfast is finished, the cooks carry tables to the hall to block the doorway of the house.

44 *qoNB aAzona-hluA -niB, aC tuC ?wuA-khona aAŋkanC, peC tuC ?wuA-*
 stop gate-big PTCL make acquire two-CLF meat pour acquire two-

venA teoB.

CLF wine

Then, they prepare two bowls of meat and two bottles of wine.

45 *əBkhona- peC... ?miA ?wuA-?lana khona peC.*

CLF pour DISP1 two-CLF bowl pour

They prepare another two bowls and fill them with wine.

46 *əanB naA -niB ?oA ?wuA-ndonC-khona szB-jenA -?ena, jeB ?ona- pana*
 CLF human PTCL drink two-CLF PURP-finish PTCL FLL CLNK1 give

tshuA muB aAqaBpiB.

exit go entrance

People sitting inside the bride's house can go out of the house only when they finish drinking two half bowls of wine. [68]

47 *tshuA muB aAqaBpiB -waC, piB naA -moA təA-hluA... təA-hluA təA-?joC*
 exit go entrance PTCL CLF human MOD NMLZ-big NMLZ-big NMLZ-small

-moA aAmiC taA jaBqhiC -moA aAvuA təAmpheB niA-piB ?ona-
 MOD mother COM relatives MOD woman girl ANPH-house CLNK1

?miA əanB naA ?wuA-phona zuC ?ona- luB phaiA ?wuA-mbeA.

give CLF human two-CLF clothes CLNK1 come line.up two-CLF

When they manage to get out of the house to the gateway, women from the bride's family, young and old, and also women of their relatives, are waiting there, each holding two pieces of clothes in their hands.

48 *jeB təAtana ... təAtana ... təAtsuBpiB -moA ... təAmpheB niA-piB -moA*
 FLL small small host MOD girl ANPH-house MOD

... piB naA -moA aAtana ... təAtana aAtana taA jaBqhiC -moA təAtana
 CLF human MOD child small child COM relatives MOD small

aAtana ?ona- muB ?ona təAmpheB niA-piB -moA ŋuA -moA tēhiB
 child CLNK1 go sit girl ANPH-house MOD strike MOD CLF

aAtoA kuCtsuB phoB jiAjiC təA-kuB muB təAjenC piB -eB, jeB əanB ...
 table drawer CLF thing NMLZ-carry go boy house DEM FLL CLF

68 This part of the story describes the most entertaining section of the wedding ceremony. Each participant from the bridegroom's family, including the matchmaker, who has had a meal inside the house of the bride's family, can only exit the house when s/he completes the mission of drinking two half bowls of rice wine and eating two large pieces of fat. The participants of the ceremony enjoy watching how these people from the bridegroom's family struggle with the hard mission.

ðanB naA ʔŋona ʔlanA.
 CLF human sit CLF

Children from the bride's family and their relatives sit on the tables, drawers, and the items that the boy's family will carry back to their house. Each child sits on one piece of item.

49 *jeB ʔwuA-ðanB təAjenC ... təAjenC niA-piB -moA ʔwuA-ðanB nduCtəiB*
 FLL two-CLF boy boy ANPH-house MOD two-CLF matchmaker
-nonB ʔona- ʔmiA ... ʔona- ʔmiA zəNA ʔona- luB taA ʔhoB ... ʔhoB miC
 DEM CLNK1 DISP1 CLNK1 DISP1 money CLNK1 come COM CLF CLF mother

-nonB ʔona- luB maB eBtəNA maB aAzuC jeB ʔona- tiB muB qheA.
 DEM CLNK1 come buy skirt buy clothes FLL CLNK1 take go tie
 The two matchmakers buy the clothes and wrap them up. [69]

50 *tiB muB qheA jəNA -waC niB ʔona- luB ʔmiA zəNA luB paNA miB*
 take go tie finish PTCL 3 CLNK1 come DISP1 money come give CLF

aAtəNA təA-ʔona aAtoA -nonB, təA-ʔona... təAleA... kuCtsuB -nonB.
 child NMLZ-sit table DEM NMLZ-sit FLL drawer DEM
 Next, they buy the furniture that the children are sitting on.

51 *jeB niB-piB ʔona- kuB aAjiAjiC muB.*
 FLL 3-house CLNK1 carry thing go
 Then, the bridegroom's people carry the items to his house.

52 *kuB aAjiAjiC muB ŋtəC təAjenC niA-piB, təAjenC niA-piB tsoC- tsonC*
 carry thing go reach boy ANPH-house boy ANPH-house CLNK1 deliver

ʔwuA-thonC poC tseA ʔŋiA-səNA ntseAleC piB.
 two-CLF cannon accept bride-new enter house
 When people carrying the items arrive at the bridegroom's house, the bridegroom's family set off fireworks to welcome the bride.

53 *tseA ntseAleC piB -niB, ðanB təAjenC ʔona- ʔwuA -moA ... ʔwuA joA ʔwaA*
 accept enter house PTCL CLF boy CLNK1 carry MOD carry CLF

... ʔwaAʔləNA ʔona- muB taA jaBqhiC ŋtoC aAχuB ... taA təA-nona ŋəC
 red.pongee CLNK1 go COM relatives bow head COM NMLZ-eat rice

... taA təA-nona ŋəC -moA jaBqhiC ŋtoC aAχuB.
 with NMLZ-eat rice MOD relatives bow head

Then the bridegroom, wearing a red pongee, meets the elders of his relatives and bows his head to them.

69 This part of the story describes another activity of entertainment. The clothes that the women of the bride's family and their relatives hold as well as the furniture that the children are sitting on are the items that the bride's family are going to take back to their house. The matchmaker must 'buy' the items by giving small amounts of money for each item.

【中文大意】

苗族的婚礼

我们苗族结婚的事，我讲的不好，试着讲一下。我们苗族年轻的时候，大家一起去找对象。如果女孩和男孩同意了，女孩就去通知她家父母，男孩就去通知他家父母。接着，男孩家的父母去请媒人。然后男孩家再准备个瓶子装酒，准备两包烟摆脱这个媒人去女孩家说亲。女孩父母同意了。媒人就回来。通知男孩父母。告诉他们说，“女孩家同意了。”于是，男孩家开始考虑结婚的日程安排。他们上街去买肉，买烟，在家磨豆腐和准备面条。然后请媒人和寨子里的年轻人。帮忙把酒装进瓶子里，把大米装进袋子里，酒和大米做成一担。肉、豆腐和面条做成一担。有多少扁担就请多少个人来帮忙抬去女孩家。抬到女孩家后，女孩家就叫她们的亲戚们来。这些帮忙抬东西的人和媒人就又转回男孩家。女孩家叫亲戚们过来一起吃饭。到了六月，男孩家买些烟、酒和肉去请媒人，让他帮忙去跟女孩家商量结婚的日子。女孩家父母同意结婚的日子了，媒人就转回来。媒人回来后，男孩家就告诉大家他的结婚日子。到结婚日子了。男孩家就准备酒、肉、大米和三只公鸡，另外还有一把伞。然后再请媒人和村里的青年人帮他把这些东西抬去女孩家。到女孩家的时候，已经傍晚五点了。他们到女孩家先休息一会儿，女孩家请的做饭的人做好饭后就叫他们吃晚饭。晚饭吃完了，媒人就去和女孩家的舅父商量彩礼的事。彩礼方面呢，男孩家想尽量少给，女孩家想尽量多要。所以他们会商量很长的时间。如果没谈拢的话，女孩家舅父就会离席。媒人就又要去找他回来重新谈。如果谈拢了的话，就会把男孩家抬来的大米、肉、酒、烟都接过来。然后把大米拿来煮饭，把肉拿来做菜，把鸡也切好做菜。请她家的老人们、亲戚们、还有男孩家请的帮他抬东西来的人们一起吃这顿饭。正在吃这顿饭的时候，公鸡也打鸣了。到早上的三点了。天亮了，到了第二天早上。女孩家会叫做饭的人去准备饭菜。饭吃完后，做饭的人就把桌子搬到堂屋来拦住门口。拦住门口，然后准备两碗肉和两瓶酒。用两个碗来装酒。家里的客人必须要喝完两个半碗酒才能出门。出去之后，女孩家的妇女们，包括亲戚家的妇女们，无论老少，都一人拿着两件衣服站在出口两侧。女孩家的小孩们包括亲戚家的小孩们都坐在准备抬去男孩家的柜子、桌子和凳子上。一人坐在一物品上。此时，男孩家的两个媒人就把钱拿出来买下这些衣服，并把它们包好。衣服包好后，再拿钱给那些坐在桌子和柜子上的小孩们，来买下这些物品。接着，男孩家就把这些东西都搬去新郎家。把东西搬到新郎家时，新郎家就放两筒鞭炮来迎接新娘。然后新郎背着一条红绸带给坐在桌子前的亲戚们鞠躬敬礼。

【日本語大意】

ミャオ族の婚礼

私たちミャオ族の結婚について、うまく話せないが、話してみよう。私たちミャオ族は若い時分は、連れ立って行って恋人を探しに行く。女の子と男の子が結婚に同意すると、女の子は自分の両親に知らせ、男の子も自分の両親に知らせる。そこで、男の子の両親は、仲人を立てる。男の子の家は、酒を瓶に入れ、たばこを二包み用意して、それをもって女の子の家に行って結婚の話をする。それで、女の子の両親が同意する。仲人はそこで帰ってきて、男の子の両親に首尾を報告する。女の子の両親が同意したと報告する。そこで、男の子の家では結婚に向けたスケジュールを考える。次に、市場に行って肉とたばこを買い、家で豆腐を作り面を準備する。それから仲人を呼び、村の若者を集める。酒を瓶に入れ、米

を袋に入れて、酒と米で天秤棒一担ぎ分を作る。肉と豆腐と面で天秤棒一担ぎ分を作る。天秤棒の数だけ人を頼んで女の子の家まで担いでいく。女の子の家まで運んでいくと、女の子の家では親戚に声をかける。運び人と仲人はものを置いたら男の子の家に帰ってくる。女の子の家では親戚を呼んで一緒にご飯を食べる。六月になると、男の子の家ではたばこ酒と肉を買い、仲人を呼んで結婚式の日取りを決めるために女の子の家に行ってもらう。結婚式の日取りについて女の子の家の同意を取り付けると仲人は戻る。仲人が戻ってくると、男の子の家は結婚式の日取りをみんなに知らせる。結婚式の日がやってきた。男の子の家では、酒、肉、米、三羽の雄鶏、それに傘を一本用意する。そして仲人と村の若者を呼んできて、それらのものを担いで行ってもらう。女の子の家につくと、すでに夕方の五時ごろである。到着してしばらく休んでいると、女の子の家が頼んでいる料理人が晩御飯ができた知らせに来る。晩御飯を食べ終わると、仲人は女の子の家の叔父さんと結納金について話し合いを始める。結納金については、男の子の家ではできるだけ少なくしたいし、女の子の家はできるだけ多くしたい。というわけで話し合いはかなり長い間続く。話し合いが合意に至らない場合には、女の子の家の叔父さんは席を立てしまう。仲人は叔父さんを探し出して改めて話し合う。話し合いがまとまると、男の子の家が持ってきた米、肉、酒、たばこが運ばれてくる。米は炊いて、肉は料理を作り、鶏はさばいて料理を作る。家の老人たちと親戚たちを呼ぶ。男の子の家が頼んだ担ぎ手の人たちも一緒にご飯を食べる。このご飯を食べていると雄鶏が時を告げる。朝の三時になる。朝になり新しい日になる。女の子の家では、料理人にご飯と料理を作ってもらって食べる。ご飯を食べ終わると、料理人は机を玄関の広間に運んできて机で出口をふさぐ。出口をふさぐと、どんぶりに二杯の肉と二本の酒を準備する。お椀を二つ用意してそれに酒を注ぐ。家の中にいるお客は、お椀に半分の酒を二杯飲まないとは外に出ることはできない。外に出ると、女の子の家の女性たちと親戚の女性たちが、老人も若者も一人が二着の服を手にもって出口の両側に並んで待っている。女の子の家と親戚の子供たちは、男の子の家に運んでいくタンス、机、椅子の上に座っている。一つに一人が座っている。男の子の家の二人の仲人は、お金を出してこれらの服やスカートを買い、それらをまとめる。服をまとめると、今度は机やタンスの上に座っている子供たちにお金をあげてそれらのものを買い取る。男の子の家はそれらのものを家に運んでいく。ものを新郎の家に運んでいくと、新郎の家では二本の花火を打ち上げ新婦を歓迎する。新郎は赤い新郎の帯飾りを身にまとって食卓についている親戚たちにお辞儀をする。

16. How to Make Bean Curd

- 1 *tɛiBɔ̌iA ʔmiA oNA zuC aAnoAmiC.*
 first DISPl water soak soybean
 First, put soybeans in water and soak them.
- 2 *faʔtsaNC -waC, ʔmiA aAɣyB ɣyA tɛəBpiC taʔtɛiB.*
 swell PTCL DISPl mortar grind change soup
 When they swell up, grind them into soup with a mortar.
- 3 *ʔmiA qoC saA wɛnB tɛoB szB-sɛnB.*
 DISPl GOAL top pot cook PURP-cooked
 Then, put them into a pot and cook them well.
- 4 *təBqweNA ʔmiA aAhluAphaC luB luC.*
 after.that DISPl cloth come filter
 After that, filter them with a cloth.
- 5 *taʔtɛiB ʔmiA qoC saA wɛnB tsoC- ʔmiA aʔtɛiBsoA ʔuC.*
 soup DISPl GOAL top pot CLNK1 DISPl fermented.soup put.in
 Put the filtered soup into a pot, and add some fermented soup. [70]
- 6 *tɛhiAmaBtɛhəAmaC- ʔuC.*
 slowly put.in
 You must add it slowly.
- 7 *ðoB ʔuB szB-ʔjoC ʔneA.*
 fire burn PURP-small CLF
 After this, reduce the heat of the fire.
- 8 *ntʂheA -waC, ʔmiA hluAphaC luB ʔnenA ʔmiA aAsuC luB qoC*
 clear PTCL DISPl cloth come push DISPl sieve come GOAL

aAhluAphaC ɣəBsaA ʔmiA aAphiauA luB ɣeA aʔtɛiBtʂhuC ndoC tɛəBpiC
 cloth top DISPl dipper come ladle.up liquid throw change

təʔɣuB -waC.
 bean.curd PTCL
 When the soup becomes clear, put a cloth on the surface and put a sieve on the cloth, and take a
 dipper and ladle up the liquid. Then, bean curd is produced.
- 9 *aʔtəʔɣuB ʔmiA nonA.*
 bean.curd DISPl eat
 Bean curd is for eating.

70 *aʔtɛiBsoA*, which has the construction of a root *tɛiB* ‘soup’ modified by a verb *soA* ‘sour’, is a kind of fermented soup made with water leftover from washing rice.

10 aAteiBtshuC ?miA aC aAteiBsoA.
liquid DISP1 make fermented.soup
The liquid that you ladle up is used to make fermented soup.

11 aAfaA?uC ?miA ?wuC mpiC.
bean.curd.refuse DISP1 feed pig
The bean curd refuse that you get after filtering the soybean soup is used for feeding pigs.

【中文大意】

磨豆腐

首先用水泡大豆。发涨了，就用石磨磨成汤。把它放在锅里煮熟。然后，拿帕子来过滤。把过滤出来的汤放在锅里，就放酸汤。放酸汤时，要慢慢地放。这时，火要烧得小一点儿。汤清了，就拿帕子来从上面按，再拿笊箕来搁在帕子上，把渗透出来的水用水瓢来舀，就形成豆腐了。豆腐拿来吃。舀来的水，用来做酸汤。豆渣拿来喂猪。

【日本語大意】

豆腐作り

まず大豆を水に漬ける。水を吸って膨れたら石臼で引いてスープ状にする。それを鍋に入れて火を通す。その後布で濾す。濾して出てきたスープを鍋に入れ、チソ（発酵水）を入れる。チソを入れるときにはゆっくりと入れる。この時、火は弱火にする。スープが透き通ってきたら、布を上にかけて少し押し、ざるをその上において、しみ出してくる水を柄杓で汲むと豆腐が出来上がる。豆腐は食べる。汲み上げた水はチソを作るのに使う。おからは豚の餌にする。

17. How to Make Cured Meat

1 *ηkanC-ʔjeNA khoA qoC təAponC-ðoB -moA tətəhoC niB- qwenB əBneNA*
 meat-cure collect GOAL air-fire MOD place IRR preserve year

ηteaC ʔwuA-neNA.
 reach two-year

You can preserve cured meat for one or two years if you put it in a place where it is exposed to smoke from the hearth.

2 *ηkanC-ʔjeNA δaCaC aC.*
 meat-cure IGN make

I will tell you how to make cured meat.

3 *ʔηona hlaC-ɣona hlaC-ʔneNA tsoC- aC -waC.*
 be.at month-dragon month-snake CLNK1 make PTCL

We begin to make cured meat in November or December.

4 *ʔmiA təA-ntsheA aAnkanC ʔmiA ntsiB luB ʔjeNA.*
 DISP1 NMLZ-CLF meat DISP1 salt come cure

First, salt down lumps of meat.

5 *ʔmiA niB luB qoC ηtonA thonA tsoC- tiB aAqlonC luB qheA ʔlenC*
 DISP1 3 come GOAL inside bucket CLNK1 take stick come tie attached

nthenA.
 attic

Then, put them in a bucket. Next, take a wooden stick and attach it to the ceiling.

6 *tuC hnaA tsoC- tiB təA-ntsheA aAnkanC luB qweC qoC aAqlonC.*
 acquire day CLNK1 take NMLZ-CLF meat come hang GOAL stick

A day later, hang the lumps of meat over the stick.

7 *luB ʔuB ðoB qhenC szB-ηðeC χona- muA- vluC teNA.*
 come burn fire dry PURP-dry CLNK1 NEG hatch worm

If you burn a fire to dry the meat, they do not have worms.

8 *qhenC ηðeC -waC tsoA niB luB qoC təAponC-ðoB tətəhoC.*
 dry dry PTCL lift 3 come GOAL air-fire place

After the meat is dried, carry them to the place where they get exposed to smoke from the hearth.

9 *muA- tsoA qoC təAponC-ðoB tətəhoC -jaA, ηkanC-ʔjeNA tsoC- niB- faA*
 NEG lift GOAL air-fire place PTCL meat-cure CLNK1 IRR get

meiA
 moldy

If you do not put them in the place with smoke exposure from the hearth, they will get moldy.

- 10 *tiB ηkanC-ʔjeNA luB aC nonA.*
 take meat-cure come make eat
 We use cured meat to make dishes.
- 11 *muA- ʔηonB taA-qoBtoB -jaA jeB ɛenA.*
 NEG want NMLZ-skin PTCL also good
 You do not have to use the skin.
- 12 *ʔηonB taA-qoBtoB -teC ʔoC- niB- ʔmiA ɔoB pheiB taA-qoBtoB ʔona- ʔmiA*
 want NMLZ-skin PTCL CLNK1 IRR DISP1 fire burn NMLZ-skin CLNK1 DISP1
ηkanC-ʔjeNA muB qoC ona təA-suBsuB ʔona- ntsiB szB-ntsheA.
 meat-cure go GOAL water NMLZ-warm CLNK1 wash PURP-clean
 If you do use the skin, you first burn the skin of the cured meat, and then wash it clean in warm water.
- 13 *ntsiB ntsheA -waC ʔmiA muB qoC wenB teoB szB-senB.*
 wash clean PTCL DISP1 go GOAL pot cook PURP-cooked
 After it becomes clean, cook the cured meat in a pot.
- 14 *tiB aAndonB sonA tɛəBpiC təA-ɔanB ηkanC tuB ɔoB pheiB wenB szB-kanA*
 take knife cut change NMLZ-CLF meat burn fire burn pot PURP-hot
ʔoC- ʔmiA ηkanC muB teəA.
 CLNK1 DISP1 meat go fry
 Cut the meat into slices, heat up the pot, and then fry the slices of meat.
- 15 *aC ηkanC-ʔjeNA maA puA-təhiB təA-aC faA.*
 make meat-cure exist some-CLF NMLZ-make method
 There are a number of appropriate ways of making dishes with the cured meat.
- 16 *təA-ʔjiC ʔmiA ηkanC-ʔjeNA luB aC taAtəiB jeB ɛenA.*
 NMLZ-one DISP1 meat-cure come make soup also good
 First, you can make soup with cured meat.
- 17 *təA-ʔwuA ʔmiA ηkanC-ʔjeNA luB teəA təA-ηdæC taA siAʔwaB,*
 NMLZ-two DISP1 meat-cure come fry NMLZ-dry COM fermented.soybean
ʔmiA aAmbæB mphonC ʔoC- nonA.
 DISP1 chili.pepper put.in CLNK1 eat
 Second, you can fry cured meat with fermented soybeans seasoned with chili pepper.
- 18 *təA-ʔziA sonA ηkanC-ʔjeNA təA-zona ʔmiA lanAlana tuC teəA ʔoC- nonA.*
 NMLZ-three cut meat-cure NMLZ-lard DISP1 sugar put fry CLNK1 eat
 Third, you can slice fatty cured meat and fry it seasoning with sugar.
- 19 *təA-pluA ʔmiA ηkanC-ʔjeNA təAηaC ʔmiA aAtəiBsoA thuA szB-mpuC*
 NMLZ-four DISP1 meat-cure lean.meat DISP1 fermented.soup boil PURP-boiled
ʔoC- nonA.
 CLNK1 eat
 Fourth, you can cook lean cured meat with fermented soup.

20 təA-pæA sonA ŋkanC-ʔjəNA -moA aAqoBtʃonB sonA aAqanAndanCqloA taA
 NMLZ-five cut meat-cure MOD bone cut radish COM

oNA ʔmiA qoC saA wenB luB tsoB szB-senB, aC tsiB-mbæA ntʃoA
 water DISPl GOAL top pot come cook PURP-cooked make soup-hot dip

tsoC- nonA.

CLNK1 eat

Finally, you can cut cured meat with bones and cook it with radish in water. After the meat is cooked, you can make dipping sauce with chili pepper, and enjoy the meat dipped with the sauce.

【中文大意】

做腊肉

腌肉放在有烟火的地方，能保存一年到两年。给你讲一下腌肉的做法。在十一月或腊月，我们就开始做。拿块状的肉用盐来腌。把它放在桶里，然后拿棍子把它捆在天花板的木板上。过一天就拿那块肉来挂在棍子上。烧火来把它炕干（熏干），肉就不会生虫。炕干了，就把它抬到有烟火的地方。不放在有烟火的地方的话，腌肉就要发霉。用腌肉来做菜。不用皮也可以。用皮的话，就用火来烧它的皮，然后把腌肉放在温水里洗干净。洗干净了，把它放在锅里煮熟。拿菜刀把它切成肉片，烧火烧热锅，就炒那些肉片。做腊肉菜有几种方法。第一，用腌肉来做汤也行。第二，把腊肉和豆豉一起干炒，放点儿辣椒就吃。第三，切肥腌肉，放点儿糖炒来吃。第四把瘦腌肉用酸汤煮沸就吃。第五，切腌肉的骨头（排骨），切白萝卜和水放在锅里煮熟，做辣椒水蘸着吃。

【日本語大意】

塩漬け肉の作り方

塩漬け肉は囲炉裏の煙があるところにおけば一年から二年保存できる。塩漬け肉の作り方を話す。十一月或は十二月に作り始める。塊状の肉を塩で塩漬けにする。それを桶の中に入れ、それから木の棒を持ってきて天井板に結びつける。一日経ったら、塩漬け肉の塊をその棒に掛けて吊り下げる。下から火を焚いて燻すと肉は虫がつかなくなる。十分に乾燥したら囲炉裏の煙のある所にもっていく。煙のある所に置かないとカビが生えてしまう。塩漬け肉はそれで料理を作る。皮を使わなくてもよい。皮を使う場合には、火で皮を焼いてから温水につけてきれいに洗う。きれいに洗ったら、鍋に入れて煮る。包丁で薄切りにして、熱した鍋に入れて炒める。塩漬け肉で料理を作るのにはいくつかの料理法がある。第一に、塩漬け肉でスープを作るのもよい。第二に、塩漬け肉と納豆と一緒に炒めて、唐辛子で味付けして食べる。第三に、塩漬け肉の脂身を切り、砂糖を入れて炒めて食べる。第四に、塩漬け肉の赤身を発酵スープで煮て食べる。第五に、骨付きの塩漬け肉と大根を切って鍋に水を入れて煮込み、唐辛子の漬け汁を作って漬けて食べる。

18. A Tiger and a Buffalo

- 1 *εeA -eB maA δanB naA τoNC əBηiA muB tεaB.*
 time DEM exist CLF human release buffalo go pasture
 Once upon a time, there was a man pasturing a buffalo.
- 2 *jeB qoAloBmpoA niB- luB nonA ηiA.*
 FLL tiger IRR come eat buffalo
 A tiger tried to eat the buffalo.
- 3 *jeB əBηiA təA-kanA juC- ntiB ηiA juC- ndanC, əBηiA τoC- ηfoC*
 FLL buffalo NMLZ-horn PLNK long buffalo PLNK big buffalo CLNK1 fight

qoAloBmpoA ntšheC -loA.
 tiger afraid PTCL
 Buffalos have horns, and they are very big, so the buffalo defeated the tiger.
- 4 *qoAloBmpoA τoC- χanC ηiA aAniB.*
 tiger CLNK1 call buffalo elder.brother
 Thereafter, the tiger, called the buffalo ‘Big brother’.
- 5 *luB?wuA-hnaA əBηiA ... təAnaA tēhiC ... δanB naA -eB tēhiC ηiA muB*
 second-day buffalo human lead CLF human DEM lead buffalo go

siB.
 plow
 The next day, the man took the buffalo to plow. [71]
- 6 *siB ... siB tuC ndonC-yeA.*
 plow plow acquire half-morning
 The buffalo plowed for half of the morning. [72]
- 7 *δanB qoAloBmpoA -eB ?ηoNA χuB-viB zoC ... δanB ηiA ... δanB*
 CLF tiger DEM be.at head-mountain say CLF buffalo CLF

qoAloBmpoA -eB ?ηoNA χuB-viB zoC δanB ηiA -eB ... χanC δanB
 tiger DEM be.at head-mountain say CLF buffalo DEM call CLF

ηiA -eB, aAniB.
 buffalo DEM elder.brother
 The tiger called to the buffalo from the top of the hill, “Hi, brother.”

71 *luB?wuA-* (◇come◇two) is an expression that means ‘the second’. Here, *luB?wuA-hnaA* means ‘the second day, the next day’.

72 *ndonC-yeA* (◇half◇morning) means the time period after people go to work in the morning and before breakfast (*ηaCyeA*). See fn. 4 (p.3) about the mealtime of the Hmyo people.

8 *aAniB,* *ʁONA juC- ndanC juC- ȷaC,* *ʁONA muB tsauA* *ðanB təAtanaA*
 elder.brother 2SG PLNK big PLNK strong 2SG go encounter CLF small

naA -eB siB.
 human DEM cultivate

“You are so big and strong, it’s strange that you are working under small human’s orders.”

9 *əBȷiA zɔC ... əBȷiA zɔCseA.*
 buffalo say buffalo say
 The buffalo replied.

10 *ʁONA lanC niB ȷɔC -siA.*
 2SG look 3 little PTCL
 “You should not underestimate humans.”

11 *niB -moA ... təAnaA -moA tɛiC’χwaC’ ndanC -tsaB.*
 3 MOD human MOD plan big PTCL
 “Human’s tactics are so deep.”

12 *ʁONA muA- εanB’εenC’, ʁONA szC luB ... ʁONA ngaB luB szC.*
 2SG NEG believe 2SG try come 2SG descend come try
 “If you do not believe me, come down here and have a try.”

13 *qoAloBmpoA tsoC- ngaB luB tsoC- zɔCseA.*
 tiger CLNK1 descend come CLNK1 say
 The tiger came down and said to the man.

14 *ȷeAnonB kanB niB- nonA ʁONA.*
 this.morning 1SG IRR eat 2SG
 “I will eat you this morning.”

15 *ðanB naA -eB zɔCseA.*
 CLF human DEM say
 The man said.

16 *kanB εeA -nonB kanB juC- tʃheAȷaC kanB juC- ndzaB.*
 1SG time DEM 1SG PLNK hungry 1SG PLNK thin
 “Now I am hungry and thin.”

17 *ʁONA nonA kanB ... muA- maA aAȷkanC -jaA.*
 2SG eat 1SG NEG exist meat PTCL
 “I do not have much flesh to eat.”

18 *naB ðaCaC aC ʁONA χona- seC zɔnC -niB.*
 CONJ IGN do 2SG CLNK1 fast fat PTCL
 “Then, what makes you fat?”

19 *qoC kanB muB piB nonA ŋaC δaA -tsoB, jeB ʋona ... ʋona tɛhəAmaC- nonA*
 let 1SG go house eat rice come PTCL FLL 2SG 2SG later eat

kanB.
 1SG

“Let me go home to eat first and come back here, then you can eat me.”

20 *naB jiAkanB- ʋona nduC muB -niB.*
 this.way a.while 2SG leave go PTCL
 “But you will run.”

21 *kanB muA- nduC -jaA.*
 1SG NEG leave PTCL
 “I will not run.”

22 *ʋona ntʃheC kanB nduC -tsaB, kanB tɛoC ʔlana qona-ntonC -nonB.*
 2SG afraid 1SG leave PTCL 1SG tie CLF root-tree DEM
 “If you are afraid that I will run, then ‘I will tie to the tree root.’”

23 *kanB tsoC- ʔonB δaA jeB tsoC- nonA kanB.*
 1SG CLNK1 return come FLL CLNK1 eat 1SG
 “When I come back here, then eat me.”

24 *jonC -mana.*
 COP PTCL
 “That is ok.”

25 *tsoC- ʔmiA hliC tɛoC δanB qoAloBmpoA -eB qoC ... qheA δanB qoAloBmpoA*
 CLNK1 DISP1 rope tie CLF tiger DEM let tie CLF tiger

-eB qoC aAqona-ntonC.
 DEM GOAL root-tree

The man then tied the tiger to the tree root with a rope.

26 *qheA ʔyɔnC kiBɲkoA -waC, δanB naA -eB tsoC- muB piB nonA ŋaCɣeA*
 tie good firmly PTCL CLF human DEM CLNK1 go house eat breakfast

-loA.
 PTCL

After tying the tiger very tightly, the man went home and ate breakfast.

27 *nonA ŋaCɣeA δaA tsoC- tiB aAqlonC δaA quA δanB qoAloBmpoA δaC -loA.*
 eat breakfast come CLNK1 take stick come beat CLF tiger die PTCL
 After eating breakfast, he took a wooden club and went back to the tree root, and beat the tiger to death.

28 *δanB ŋiA tsoC- ... tsoC- ʒoCseA.*
 CLF buffalo CLNK1 CLNK1 say
 The buffalo said.

29 *kanB zoCseA, niB -moA teiC'χwaC' ndanC -tsaB.*
 1SG tell 3 MOD plan big PTCL
 “I told you that the human’s tactics are very deep.”

30 *vonA muA- eanB'eenC', eeA -nonB vonA tsauA quA daC -waC.*
 2SG NEG believe time DEM 2SG encounter beat die PTCL
 “You didn’t believe me, so you got killed by the man.”

31 *danB niA -eB soC- tuA qliB tuA daC soC- tuA taA-ηdzoA tsuanC*
 CLF buffaloDEM CLNK1 laugh* laugh die CLNK1 laugh NMLZ-mouth collide

toAlena χəBsaA təAhmenB soC- ʔluB -loA.
 dike top teeth CLNK1 break.up PTCL

The buffalo laughed so crazily that he knocked up against the dike, and his upper teeth broke.

32 *eeA -nonB -moA niA -niB, χəBsaA... χəBsaA χona- muA- maA təAhmenB*
 time DEM MOD buffalo PTCL top top CLNK1 NEG exist teeth

-jaA, jeB maA χəBtiA təAhmenB -siA.
 PTCL FLL exist bottom teeth PTCL

That is why buffalos do not have front teeth in the upper jaw, and they only have front teeth in the lower jaw.

【中文大意】

老虎和水牛

从前有个人放水牛。老虎想过来吃水牛。水牛的牛角长身体也大，老虎没能打败水牛。于是，老虎就称水牛为大哥。第二天，那个人牵着水牛去耕地。耕了半个上午。老虎在山上叫水牛：“大哥。大哥你明明又大又强，却被那么小的人类使唤。”水牛说：“别小看他们。人类的智谋很深。你不相信的话可以下来试试看。”于是，老虎就下来对人说：“现在我要把你吃掉。”那个人说：“我现在又饿又瘦的。没有肉啊。”“那怎么做你能变肥呢？”“先放我回家，等我吃饱了饭回来，你再吃我就行了。”“那你肯定就跑了。”“我不跑啊。你怕我跑的话，我可以系在这个树根这里。这样等我回来的时候，你就可以吃我了。”“好啊。”于是，那个人就用绳子把老虎捆在了那个树根上。捆紧之后，那个人就回家吃早饭了。吃完早饭，拿着棍子回来把老虎打死了。水牛说：“我说人类的智谋很深吧。你不相信，现在被人打死了。”水牛哈哈大笑，笑过头嘴巴撞到了田坎上，上面的牙齿断了。所以现在的水牛没有上面的牙齿，只有下面才有牙齿。

【日本語大意】

虎と水牛

昔、ある人が水牛を放牧していた。虎がやってきて水牛を食べようとした。水牛は角も長く体も大きくて虎は水牛に勝てなかった。そこで虎は水牛を兄貴と呼んだ。次の日、その水牛の飼い主は、水牛を引いて田んぼを耕しに行った。そして午前中の半分耕した。虎は山の上から水牛に呼び掛けた。「兄貴。兄貴は、でかくて強いのに、こんな小さな人間に

使われているのか。」水牛は言った。「人間をなめちゃいかん。人間の智略には深いものがある。信じないんなら山から下りてきて試してみるといい。」虎は下りてきて人に言った。「今おまえを食ってやるよ。」その人間は言った。「俺は今はお腹がすいてやせ細っている。食べる肉もないよ。」「じゃどうすれば太るんだ。」「まず俺を家に帰らせて、飯を食わせろよ。そしたら戻ってくるから、それから俺を食べればいい。」「すぐにおまえは逃げてしまうだろう。」「俺は逃げないよ。俺が逃げるのが怖いなら、この木の根っこに縛り付けておくよ。俺が戻ってきたら、俺を食べればいい。」「いいだろう。」ということで、人間は虎をその木の根っこに縛り付けた。しっかりと縛り付けてから、人間は家に帰って朝ご飯を食べた。朝ご飯を食べ終わると、こん棒を持って元いた場所に戻り、虎をたたき殺した。水牛は言った。「俺は人間の智略は深いといったのに。おまえは信じないから殺されちゃったんだ。」水牛は大笑いして、笑いすぎて畦に口をぶつけてしまって、上の歯が折れてしまった。現在水牛に上顎には前歯がなく、下顎にしかないのはこうしたわけなのだ。

19. A Story of a Silly Man and his Smart Wife

- 1 *hnaA -nonB kanB paiB -moA qoApaBlanB jonC vuA-qweA joC-?waB.*
 day DEM 1SG tell MOD story COP woman-smart man-silly
 Today I will tell you a story of a silly man and his smart wife.
- 2 *maA δanB joCnaA jona tuC δanB siB.*
 exist CLF man take acquire CLF wife
 A man married a woman.
- 3 *niB muAtehoC taA niB-siB puC -jaA.*
 3 not.know COM 3-wife sleep PTCL
 He did not know how to sleep with his wife.
- 4 *niB tsuanBmiA- mpziB niB-siB taA-maC -siA.*
 3 always kiss 3-wife NMLZ-face PTCL
 He just kept kissing her face.
- 5 *niB δanB zonB -nonB muB zuC niB-piB aAneA piB, niB-piB*
 3 CLF husband DEM go arrive 3-house mother-in-law house 3- house
aAneA naC niB zoCseA.
 mother-in-law ask 3 tell
 When he went to visit his mother-in-law, she asked him.
- 6 *aAniB, aAtaC maA aAtana taCmaA.*
 brother sister exist child NEG
 “Has my daughter had a baby?”
- 7 *taCmaA -jaA.*
 NEG PTCL
 “Not yet?”
- 8 *maA -waC.*
 exist PTCL
 He replied, “She has already.”
- 9 *taA-maC ?leNA-δaC-?leNA-δaC -waC.*
 NMLZ-face red-die-RED PTCL
 Her face has become very red.”
- 10 *luB?wuA-hnaA niB-piB ... niB-piB aAtaC, niB δanB siB -nonB muB zuC niB-*
 second-day 3-house 3-house sister 3 CLF wife DEM go arrive 3-
piB, niB-miC ... təAmpheB niB-miC teiA- naC.
 house 3-mother girl 3-mother separately ask
 The next day, his wife went to visit her mother, and her mother asked.

- 11 *naC zoCseA, aAtaC, aAniB zoCseA, ʁONA maA aAtana -waC*
 ask tell sister brother tell 2SG exist child PTCL
 “Your husband said that you had a baby.”
- 12 *taCmaA -jaA ... muA- maA -jaA.*
 NEG PTCL NEG exist PTCL
 She answered, “No, I never had.”
- 13 *niB muAtehoC taA kanB puC -jaA.*
 3 not.know COM 1SG sleep PTCL
 “Actually, he does not know how to do it.”
- 14 *aCnonB jeB ngweC -nonB, niB-miC zoCseA.*
 this.way FLL CLF DEM 3-mother tell
 “I see.” her mother said.
- 15 *aAtaC, ngweC -nonB muB teeA ʁneA aAnoAmiC nonA ʁONA- ʁteaC ʁtonAhmonC*
 sister CLF DEM go fry CLF soybean eat CLNK1 reach midnight

nonA.
 eat
 “Then you go home and fry soybeans, and eat them at midnight.”
- 16 *jeB niB zoC ʁONA zoCseA, nonA tʁBtsiB.*
 FLL 3 tell 2SG tell eat IGN
 “When your husband asks you what you are eating, ...”
- 17 *kanB nonA tʁA-ʁanB tʁA-kuC.*
 1SG eat NMLZ-fragrant NMLZ-
 “... you say ‘I am eating a special food, ...’”
- 18 *ʁONA nonA muA- tuC -jaA.*
 2SG eat NEG acquire PTCL
 “... but you can’t eat this.”
- 19 *ʁanB tʁAmpheB -nonB tonB zuC muB ... tonB qloB niB-piB ... qloB niB-piB*
 CLF girl DEM return arrive go return ABL 3-house ABL 3-house

tonB zuC tʁAjɛnC piB ... tonB zuC tʁAjɛnC piB ... niB ʁONA- luB teeA
 return arrive boy house return arrive boy house 3 CLNK1 come fry

aAnoA nonA.
 bean eat
 The daughter came home, and fried soybeans.
- 20 *puC ʁteaC ʁtonAhmonC tʁAmpheB ʁONA- tiB aAnoA luB nonA.*
 sleep reach midnight girl CLNK1 take soybean come eat
 When she slept until midnight, she got up and ate the soybeans.

- 21 *niB δanB zONB zoCseA.*
 3 CLF husband say
 Her husband said.
- 22 *ʋONa nonA tɔBtsiB.*
 2SG eat IGN
 “What are you eating?”
- 23 *kanB nonA ɛana nonA kuC, ʋONa nonA muA- tuC -jaA.*
 1SG eat fragrant eat * 2SG eat NEG acquire PTCL
 She replied, “I am eating special food, but you can’t eat this.”
- 24 *jeB δanB joC -eB tɔC- ... tɔC- soB qwaC muB, niB δanB siB -eB*
 FLL CLF man DEM CLNK1 CLNK1 get.up move go 3 CLF wife DEM

tɔC- vaC niB, jeB niB nʃheC niB-siB taA-tɛhuA tonC -loA.
 CLNK1 hug 3 FLL 3 afraid 3-wife NMLZ-belly break PTCL
 When the husband got up and ran to his wife, she suddenly hugged him. The man thought that he pierced a hole in his wife’s belly.
- 25 *jeB niB tɔC- soB ... soB nduC.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 get.up get.up leave
 So he got up and ran.
- 26 *aAzeB muA- tuC aAzuC muA- mpaC tɔC- soB nduC -loA.*
 trousers NEG wear clothes NEG wear CLNK1 get.up leave PTCL
 He ran without wearing clothes or trousers.
- 27 *jeB phoB aAtana ... ngwana senA luB -waC ... phoB aAtana -eB δaA tɛaB*
 FLL CLF child sky new come PTCL CLF child DEM come pasture

juB jeB niB zoC niB-siB zoCseA ... niB zoC phoB aAtana -eB zoCseA.
 cow FLL 3 tell 3-wife say 3 tell CLF child DEM say
 When the day broke, boys came to put cattle to pasture. The man asked these boys.
- 28 *δanB aAmboB δaC -loBmaJaA.*
 CLF brother’s.wife die PTCL
 “Is my wife dead?” [73]
- 29 *aAvuB- ʔŋona -siA.*
 still live PTCL
 The boys replied, “She is there.”
- 30 *jeB niB tɔC- ... niB tɔC- tonB luB piB*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 3 CLNK1 return come house
 Then he returned home.

73 *aAmboB* is a kinship term denoting an elder brother’s wife, a younger brother’s wife if you are female, or a wife’s elder sister. See Appendix 1 for the kinship terms of Lan Hmyo.

- 31 *luBɔwuA-hnaA ...luBɔwuA-hnaA niB taA ... niB taA ... ɔanB joCnaA taA*
 second-day second-day 3 COM 3 COM CLF man COM
niB-siB szA-jona muB niB-piB aAneA piB.
 3-wife RCP-take go 3-house mother-in-law house
 The next day, the man and his wife went to her parents' house together.
- 32 *niB-piB aAtiA taA niB-piB aAneA taBχoB- ɔɔona aC tuA.*
 3-house father-in-law COM 3-house mother-in-law together be.at make clump
 The parents-in-law were together at home.
- 33 *jeB niB tsoC- zoC niB-siB zoCseA.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 tell 3-wife say
 Then he said to his wife.
- 34 *ɔona pana kanB ɔneA.*
 2SG give 1SG CLF
 "Give me a bit."
- 35 *niB-siB zoCseA.*
 3- wife say
 His wife replied.
- 36 *aAmaC tiA qliB tiA ɔaC tsoC- muAtehoC zena aAmaC.*
 face thick * thick die CLNK1 not.know be.ashamed face
 "How shameless you are!"
- 37 *qoC muB piB ɔteac piB -tsoB muA- tuC.*
 let go house reach house PTCL NEG acquire
 "When we get home, I will give you."
- 38 *jeB tɔBqweNanonB ɔwuA-ɔanB siB-zonB ɔonB luB ɔteac ndonC-teiB.*
 FLL after.that two-CLF wife-husband return come reach half-road
 After a while, they were on their way home.
- 39 *jeB niB teiA- ɔkonB niB-siB zoAseA, pana kanB ɔneA.*
 FLL 3 separately demand 3-wife tell give 1SG CLF
 On the way, he said to his wife again, "Give me a bit."
- 40 *niB-siB zoCseA.*
 3-wife tell
 His wife said.
- 41 *ɔona ... ɔona muB ɔteac piB -tsoB.*
 2SG 2SG go reach house PTCL
 "Wait till we get home."

42 *χONA- niB tsaA- ... niB δANB siB khoA tuC ?lANA χuB?yiA qoC ... tiB*
 CLNK1 3 separately 3 CLF wife collect acquire CLF stone GOAL take

qoC tAwiB.

GOAL hand

His wife took up a stone in her hand.

43 *jeB niB δANB ... niB δANB aAZONB zoCseA, paNA kanB ?neA.*
 FLL 3 CLF 3 CLF husband tell give 1SG CLF

He said again, “Give me a bit.”

44 *niB aAZONB ... jeB ... nthanB -eB tsoC maA ?lANA vonB.*
 3 husband FLL CLF DEM CLNK1 exist CLF pond

There was a pond beside the road.

45 *jeB niB aAZONB zoCseA, paNA kanB ?neA.*
 FLL 3 husband tell give 1SG CLF

When he said again, “Give me a bit, ...

46 *niB δANB siB -eB tsoC- ?miA χuB?yiA ndoC qoC ?ηONA vonB -loA.*
 3 CLF wife DEM CLNK1 DISP1 stone throw GOAL inside pond PTCL
 ... his wife threw the stone into the pond.

47 *jeB niB-siB zoCseA.*

FLL 3-wife tell

She said.

48 *βONA nqheNA -tsaB, muB χəBηTONA χaB ... muB χəBηTONA -eB tiB -seB.*
 2SG thirsty PTCL go inside search go inside DEM take PTCL
 “If you want it, go and take it out from there.”

49 *?ηONA χəBηTONA -eB.*

be.at inside DEM

“It is inside the pond.”

50 *təBqwənAnonB niB tsoC- muB χəBηTONA muB χaB ... muB χaB ... muB ... muB ...*
 after.that 3 CLNK1 go inside go search go search go go

muB tiB ... muB tiB, tiB muA- tuC -jaA.

go take go take take NEG acquire PTCL

He went down into the pond and searched for the stone, but he couldn’t find it.

51 *jeB maA ?wuA-δANB naA qwaC tsiB, juC- mbuA niB ?ηONA χəBηTONA -eB*
 FLL exist two-CLF human pass road again see 3 be.at inside DEM

χaB ... muB χaB -ntaAzaBntaAzuC.

search go search EXPR

Two men who passed there by chance saw the man searching for something down in the pond.

- 52 *jeB ʔwuA-ðanB naA -eB zoCseA.*
 FLL two-CLF human DEM say
 They said to him.
- 53 *thonB ʋona tiB tsəBtsiB.*
 search 2SG take IGN
 “What are you looking for?”
- 54 *kanB χəBηtonA -eB thonB aAjiAjiC -siA.*
 1SG insides DEM search thing PTCL
 “I am searching for a thing.”
- 55 *jeB ʔwuA-ðanB naA -eB ngaB muB χoC niB.*
 FLL two-CLF human DEM descend go help 3
 The two men went down into the water to help him.
- 56 *ʔwuA-ðanB naA -eB muB tɛiBnduA onA qwanC -tsaB jeB tsoC- phæA*
 two-CLF human DEM go swim water cold PTCL FLL CLNK1 blow

təAwɪB.
 hand
 As the water was very cold, the two men blew their hands.
- 57 *niB tsoC- zoCseA, ʋona nonA kanB -moA -loA.*
 3 CLNK1 say 2SG eat 1SG MOD PTCL
 Then the man said to them, “You ate my thing!” [74]
- 58 *niB tsoC- quA ʔwuA-ðanB naA -eB.*
 3 CLNK1 beat two-CLF human DEM
 Then, he beat the two men.
- 59 *jeB niB-siB tsoC- zoCseA.*
 FLL 3-wife CLNK1 say
 His wife said.
- 60 *ʋona tonB luB ðaC -seB.*
 2SG return come die PTCL
 “Come back here now!”
- 61 *ðanB -nonB aAvuB- ʔηona nonB -siA.*
 CLF DEM still be.at here PTCL
 Your thing is still here!”
- 62 *təBqwenAnonB niB tsoC- tonB luB, niB tsoC- tonB luB jeB, niB χona-*
 after.that 3 CLNK1 return come 3 CLNK1 return come FLL 3 CLNK1

74 The stupid man said this sentence because he misunderstood the two men’s action of blowing their hands as eating what he was looking for.

muAtehoC... tsAAlaA ... taA vuAnaA ... taA niB-siB puC.
 know FLL COM woman COM 3-wife sleep
 He returned to his wife. In this way, he knew how to sleep with his wife.

63 *təBqweNAnonB ... niB-siB tshonBmiNA -tsaB, niB-siB qweA -tsaB.*
 after.that 3-wife smart PTCL 3-wife smart PTCL
 His wife was very knowledgeable.

64 *jeB niB χONa- ... niB χONa- ... təAnaA χONa-... təBqweNAnonB təA-loB naA*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 3 CLNK1 human CLNK1 after.that NMLZ-old human
χONa- luB tsic aAsoBweNA paNA vuAnaA senC -loA.
 CLNK1 come produce apron give woman wear PTCL
 Later, some ancestor invented an apron and made women wear it. [75]

65 *jeB χONa- muA- tuC joCnaA qweA -jaA.*
 FLL CLNK1 NEG acquire man smart PTCL
 Then women came to know less than men.

66 *tsOC- jəNA -waC.*
 CLNK1 finish PTCL
 This is the end of the story.

【中文大意】

笨蛋男和聪明女

今天我要讲的是笨蛋男和聪明女的故事。有个男人娶了一个妻子。但是，他不知道怎么和他妻子过生活。他只知道一个劲儿地亲他妻子的脸。这个男人去他岳母家，他岳母就问他。“我家姑娘怀上孩子了吗？还没有？”“有了吧。因为她的脸都是红红的了。”第二天，他妻子回她娘家的时候，她母亲又问：“孩子呀，你丈夫说你有了孩子了。”“还没有啊。他不知道怎么做呢。”她母亲听完说：“孩子呀，那你回家之后炒点儿黄豆，然后等到了半夜再吃。你丈夫问你吃什么的话，你就说，我在吃很好吃的东西。你不能吃的东西。”那个女孩回到家后就炒了黄豆。等睡到半夜，就起来开始吃黄豆。然后她的丈夫就问了：“你在吃什么呀？”她回答说：“我在吃很好吃的东西，但是你不能吃。”那个男的就起来跑去他妻子那里，他妻子突然抱住了他。他以为他把他妻子杀了。他起身跑了出去。裤子也没穿衣服也没穿地跑了出去。天亮了，孩子们来放牛的时候，他就问他们：“我的妻子死了吗？”孩子们回答说：“没有，活着的呀。”于是，他就回家了。第二天那个男人和他妻子一起去了他岳母家。岳父岳母两个人都在家。他就跟他妻子说：“你给我一点。”他妻子说：“你真不害臊。等回家了再说。”后来夫妻两回家了，半路上。他又求他妻子说：“给我一点。”他妻子说：“你到家后再说嘛。”他妻子捡了一个石头拿在手里。路边有个池塘。然后，他丈夫又说“给我一点”的时候，妻子就把石头扔进池塘里。妻子说：“你这么想要的话，就去池塘里找回来吧。你想要的东西在那里头呢。”他就去池塘里找了，可是怎么找都找不到。有两个人过路看见他在那里边拼命找东西的样子。那两个男子说：“你在找什么呀？”“我在找东西呢。”那两个人就下去帮他一起找。因为池水很冰，那两个人就呼呼地朝手上吹气。这时候他就说：“肯定是你们两个把我的东西吃了。”他就打那两个人。妻子就说：“你快回来！你想要的东西还在这儿呢。”他听到这么说就回去了。

75 *aAsoBweNA* ‘apron’ is a piece of women’s clothing, which is a piece of cloth with a waist belt.

这样他就知道怎么和他妻子过生活了。他的妻子见多识广，知道的多。后来祖先发明了腰带让女人们带。于是女人就没有男人知道得多了。故事到此结束了。

【日本語大意】

馬鹿な男と賢い女の話

今日は馬鹿な男と賢い女の話をしてしよう。ある男が妻をめとった。だが、男は妻とどう過ごしたらよいか知らなかった。ただひたすら妻の顔に接吻をしていた。この男が妻の実家に行くと、義理の母が彼に聞いてきた。「うちの娘は子供ができましたかね。それともまだですかね。」彼は答えた。「できましたとも。何しろ彼女の顔はもう真っ赤ですから。」次の日、彼の妻が実家に帰ると、母親が尋ねた。「娘や、おまえの旦那はおまえに子どもができたっていつてるがね。」「できてないわよ。あの人はどうやったらいいか知らないのよ。」そこで母親は言った。「娘や、それじゃ家に帰ったら大豆を炒めて、真夜中になったら食べなさい。旦那が何を食べてるのか聞いてきたら、すごくおいしいものを食べているんだけど、あなたは食べてはいけないものよと言いなさい。」娘は家に帰ると大豆を炒めた。真夜中まで寝て、それから起きて大豆を食べ始めた。すると彼女の夫が尋ねた。「何を食べているんだい。」彼女は答えた。「すごくおいしいものよ、でもあなたは食べられないわ。」男が起きて妻のもとへ駆け寄ると、彼女は突然彼を抱きしめた。彼はお腹に穴をあけて彼女を殺してしまったと思った。彼は立ち上がって駆け出した。ズボンもはかず服も着ないまま駆け出した。夜が明けて子どもたちが牛を放牧にやってくると、彼は尋ねた。「うちの嫁さん死んじゃったかい。」子供たちは言った。「いや、生きてるけど。」それで彼は家に戻った。次の日その男は妻と一緒に彼女の実家に行った。義理の父母はそろって家にいた。彼は妻に言った。「ちょっとくれよ。」妻は言った。「よくそんなことを、ほんとに恥知らずね。家に帰ってからにして。」その後二人は家に帰ったが、その帰り道。彼はまた妻に言った。「ちょっとくれよ。」妻は言った。「家に帰ってからって言ってるでしょ。」彼の妻は石を一つ拾って手に取った。道端に池があった。そして夫がまた「くれよ。」と言うと、妻は石を池の中に放り込んだ。妻は言った。「そんなにほしいんなら行って取ってらっしゃい。あなたが欲しいものは池の中よ。」彼は池の中に入って探したがいくら探しても見つからない。そうこうするうち二人の人が通りかかって彼が必死に何かを探しているのを見た。二人の男は言った。「あんた何探してんだ。」「ものを探してんだよ。」その二人は手伝おうと池の中に入った。池の水は冷たかったので、二人の男はふーふーと手に息をかけた。すると彼は言った。「おまえらおれのものを食いやがったな。」彼はその二人に殴りかかった。妻は言った。「戻ってきなさいって。あんたがほしいものはまだここにあるわよ。」そう言われて彼は戻った。そういうわけで彼は妻と暮らすすべを覚えた。彼の妻は物知りだった。そのの

ち、ご先祖様が前掛けというものを発明して女たちに着させるようになった。それで男よりも物知りだってことはなくなった。この話はこれでおしまい。

20. The Origin of Green Manure

- 1 *εeA -eB maA δanB təAjenC jonA tuC δanB təAmpheB luB.*
time DEM exist CLF boy take acquire CLF girl come
Once upon a time, a young man married a girl.
- 2 *δanB təAmpheB -nonB muA- ηeA δanB təAjenC -nonB -jaA.*
CLF girl DEM NEG like CLF boy DEM PTCL
The girl did not like him.
- 3 *hnaA-hnaA nonA ηaC tsuanBmiA- sza-qeC -siA.*
day-RED eat rice always RCP-scold PTCL
They quarreled every day during meal time.
- 4 *təBqwεNAnonB δanB təAjenC -nonB ...δanB təAjenC -nonB χanC δanB təAmpheB*
after.that CLF boy DEM CLF boy DEM call CLF girl
-nonB muB tsA ʔjana ... taA niB-piB tsA ʔjana.
DEM go insert seedling COM 3-house insert seedling
One day, the man made his wife help his family plant rice.
- 5 *jeB δanB təAmpheB -nonB tēhiA -tsaB, tsoC- ʔmiA aAmblonA-tonA təBpoA*
FLL CLF girl DEM angry PTCL CLNK1 DISP1 leaf-pumpkin wrap
aAqonA-ʔjana tsA, qoC ʔjana szB-δaC -χeNA.
root-seedling insert make seedling PURP-die PTCL
The girl was so angry that she wrapped rice seedlings with pumpkin leaves and planted them in order to make rice seedlings die.
- 6 *tsA ngAB muB tuC χwiC -waC, mblonA-tonA jiC- lanClanC, əBʔjana ...*
insert descend go acquire a.while PTCL leaf-pumpkin CLNK1 rot seedling
əBʔjana ʔyøNC -tsaB.
seedling good PTCL
The pumpkin leaves rotted in the earth, and made the rice seedlings grow very well.
- 7 *niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA.*
3-house father-in-law say
Her father-in-law asked her.
- 8 *aAtaC, naB ʔonA tsA ʔyøNC -moA ʔjana δaCaC tsA.*
sister CONJ 2SG insert good MOD seedling IGN insert
“How did you plant the rice seedlings?”
- 9 *ʔonA -moA ʔjana ʔyøNC -tsaB.*
2SG MOD seedling good PTCL
“The seedlings that you planted have grown very well.”

- 10 *jeB niB zoCseA.*
 FLL 3 say
 She replied.
- 11 *kanB ?miA mblona-tonA tsA -siA.*
 1SG DISP1 leaf-pumpkin insert PTCL
 “I used pumpkin leaves.”
- 12 *aAmblonA-tonA tɛəBpoA aAqona-?jana tsA -siA.*
 leaf-pumpkin wrap root-seedling insert PTCL
 “I wrapped rice seedlings with pumpkin leaves and planted them.”
- 13 *niB-piB aAtiA zoCseA.*
 3-house father-in-law say
 Her father-in-law said.
- 14 *uA, ?miA mblona-tonA ... ?miA mblona-tonA tɛəBpoA tsA luB.*
 INTJ DISP1 leaf-pumpkin DISP1 leaf-pumpkin wrap insert come
 “Oh, you wrapped rice seedlings with pumpkin leaves?”
- 15 *aA.*
 INTJ
 “Yes.”
- 16 *təBqwenAnonB niB-piB aAtiA ... niB-piB aAtiA tsoC- jiB niB*
 after.that 3-house father-in-law 3-house father-in-law CLNK1 according.to 3

?lana təA-tsaA ?jana -nonB tsoC- xanC naA aCeB tsA ... aCeB luB
 CLF NMLZ-insert seedling DEM CLNK1 call human that.way insert that.way come

tsA.
 insert
 After that, her father-in-law told his family to plant rice according to her method.
- 17 *niB-piB -moA ?jana ?yɔnC -tsaB.*
 3-house MOD seedling good PTCL
 Then, his family’s rice was very good.
- 18 *təBqwenAnonB niB-piB aAtiA xona- ... xona- ... xona- xanC niB-piB luB*
 after.that 3-house father-in-law CLNK1 CLNK1 CLNK1 call 3-house come

qwaA ηqona tuC lenA jeB xona- luB tsA ?jana.
 cut weed put.in field FLL CLNK1 come insert seedling
 Later, her father-in-law told his family to cut weeds and put it into the paddy field before planting rice.
- 19 *ηaC yeA- kauB yeA- ?yɔnC, tsoC- zuC ... tshuaA zuC ɛeA -nonB.*
 rice PLNK do PLNK good CLNK1 arrive hand.on arrive time DEM
 Rice grew better than before, so this method has been handed down to the present day.

20 piAeyB- niB- qwaA nɔŋoŋA tuC leŋA χoŋA- tsA ʔjaŋA, jeB ŋaC χoŋA-
must IRR cut weed put.in field CLNK1 insert seedling FLL rice CLNK1

ʔɣoŋC.

good

When you plant rice, you must cut weeds and put it into the paddy before planting rice. [76]

【中文大意】

割青的由来

从前有个男孩娶了一个女孩。那个女孩不喜欢这个男孩。每天吃饭的时候，都在吵架。后来，这个男孩把女孩叫来老家帮他插秧。女孩很生气，种田的时候，就拿南瓜叶把秧苗的根部包起来种，不想让秧苗活。种完之后过了一段时间，南瓜叶烂了，秧苗却长得更好了。岳父问她：“你是怎么种的呀？你插的秧都长得很好。”她说：“我拿南瓜叶把秧苗包起来种的。”岳父说：“噢，用南瓜叶包起来种嘛？”“是的。”接着，岳父就叫人都按照她的那种方法来种。他家的秧苗都长得很好。后来，岳父就叫他家的人割一些草放在田里之后再插秧。于是，大米越种越好，这个方法就一直传到了现在。一定要割一些草放在田里之后再插秧，这样大米才会长得好。

【日本語大意】

緑肥の始まり

昔、ある男が女の子をめぐった。女の子はその男が好きではなかった。毎日ご飯の時にはけんかをした。そののち、男が女の子を実家に呼んで田植えを手伝うように言った。女の子は腹を立てて、田植えの時にカボチャの葉で苗の根っこを包んで植えて、苗を死なせようとした。田植えが終わってしばらくすると、カボチャの葉が腐って、苗はとてよく育った。義理の父親は言った。「あんた、どうやって苗を植えたんだね。あんたが植えた苗は育ちがいい。」彼女は答えた。「カボチャの葉で包んで植えたんです。カボチャの葉で苗を包んで植えたんです。」義理の父親は言った。「おお、カボチャの葉で包んで植えたのか。」「はい。」その後、義理の父親は家のものに彼女のやり方で田植えをするように言った。その家の苗は育ちが良かった。それから義理の父親は家のものに草刈りをして草を田んぼに敷いてから田植えをするように言った。そうすると稲はますますよく育った。この方法が今に伝わっている。必ず草を刈って田んぼに敷いてから田植えをする。そうすると稲が良く育つのだ。

76 The method of planting rice stated in this story is also mentioned in Chapter 14, *Rice Farming*.

21. Eating Rice Cake Soup in Guangjinglong

- 1 *εeA -eB aAqlenAtεiA maA piB naA.*
 time DEM PN exist CLF human
 Once upon a time, there was a family in Guangjinglong.
- 2 *niB-piB δanB aAtanA təAjənC -eB jonA tuC δanB siB luB.*
 3-house CLF child boy DEM bring acquire CLF wife come
 The son of the family married a girl.
- 3 *δanB aAtanA təAmpheB -eB muA- ηeA δanB təAjənC -eB -jaA.*
 CLF child girl DEM NEG like CLF boy DEM PTCL
 The girl whom he married did not like him.
- 4 *hnaA-hnaA nonA ηaC tεiA- aC tεhiC'.*
 day-RED eat rice respectively make anger
 Every day, they quarreled while eating.
- 5 *muA- aC χuA -jaA.*
 NEG do work PTCL
 She did not do field work.
- 6 *hnaA-hnaA tεiA- taA niB-siB szA-qeC.*
 day-RED respectively COM 3-wife RCP-swear
 Every day, the man and his wife swore at each other.
- 7 *niB muA- ʔηonA təAjənC piB -jaA, muA- hηoC ... muA- hηoC ʔjaB δanB*
 3 NEG be.at boy house PTCL NEG agree NEG agree marry CLF
təAjənC -nonB -jaA.
 boy DEM PTCL
 She did not live in her husband's house. She had not wanted to marry him.
- 8 *δanB təAjənC -nonB jeB muA- mbeC δanB təAmpheB -nonB -jaA.*
 CLF boy DEM FLL NEG give.up CLF girl DEM PTCL
 However, the man did not want to divorce her.
- 9 *δanB təAjənC -nonB zoC δanB təAmpheB -nonB zoCseA.*
 CLF boy DEM tell CLF girl DEM say
 The man said to his wife.
- 10 *waCjiA- muA- ηeA kanB -jaA, jeB ʋonA tsoC- muB taA kanB-piB tsaA*
 CLNK2 NEG like 1SG PTCL FLL 2SG CLNK1 go COM 1SG-house insert
ʔjanaA.
 seedling
 "If you do not like me, then you come and plant rice."

- 11 *kanB ... kanB muA- muB taA ʋONA-piB tsA ʔjaNA -jaA.*
 1SG 1SG NEG go COM 2SG-house insert seedling PTCL
 She said, “I will not plant rice for you.”
- 12 *ʋONA muB taA kanB-piB tsA ʔjaNA -niB, ʋONA ʔwuA ʃuC aAɣyB muB*
 2SG go COM 1SG-house insert seedling PTCL 2SG carry CLF mortar go
tsA ʔjaNA -teC.
 insert seedling PTCL
 “When you come and plant rice for us, carry a mortar while planting.”
- 13 *jeB tsA tuC hnaA jeB ʋONA tsOC- muB ... ʋONA tsOC- muB -siA.*
 FLL insert acquire day FLL 2SG CLNK1 go 2SG CLNK1 go PTCL
 “If you can plant rice for a day, then you can leave here.”
- 14 *kanB muA- yeA ... kanB muA- ... kanB muA- yeA ʋONA -jaA.*
 1SG NEG hold.back 1SG NEG 1SG NEG hold.back 2SG PTCL
 I will not hold you back.”
- 15 *təBqwenANONB ɔanB təAmpheB -nonB tsOC- ... tsOC- hŋoC -loA, jeB tsOC-*
 after.that CLF girl DEM CLNK1 CLNK1 agree PTCL FLL CLNK1
ʔwuA aAɣyB ... ʔwuA ʃuC aAɣyB muB taA niB-piB tsA ʔjaNA.
 carry mortar carry CLF mortar go COM 3-house insert seedling
 Then, his wife agreed to plant rice for his family carrying a mortar.
- 16 *tsA zuC ŋaCsanC -qəAleC ɔanB təAmpheB -nonB ʔwuA aAɣyB ... ʔwuA aAɣyB*
 insert arrive lunch only CLF girl DEM carry mortar carry mortar
tsA zuC nonA ŋaCsanC, ɔanB təAmpheB -nonB tsOC- ɔaC -loA.
 insert arrive eat lunch CLF girl DEM CLNK1 die PTCL
 She planted rice with a mortar on her back until lunch time, and then she died.
- 17 *ɔaC -loA -niB, niB-piB tsOC- ʔmiA muB lonB qoC aAqaBpiB -moA*
 die PTCL PTCL 3-house CLNK1 DISPl go bury GOAL entrance MOD
əBqhana aAqaAɔa-ləNA.
 CLF dike-field
 The husband’s family buried her in the dike of a rice field in front of his house.
- 18 *ɔanB təAmpheB -nonB tsOC- təBpiC ɔanB noC zoC ... tsOC- təBpiC ɔanB*
 CLF girl DEM CLNK1 change CLF bird say CLNK1 change CLF
noC zoC ... zoC... təBpiC ɔanB noC tʃhiA zoCseA, ... tʃhiA ... təBpiC ɔanB noC
 bird say say change CLF bird speak say speak change CLF bird
viA.
 chirp
 She changed into a bird and sang the following way.

19 *qlenAtsiA tsoB əBɲkaB-thANA xoA, qlenAtsiA tsoB əBɲkaB-thANA xoA.*
PN cook rice.cake-soup drink PN cook rice.cake-soup drink
“Cook and have rice cake soup in Guangjinglong, Cook and have rice cake soup in
Guangjinglong.” [77]

【中文大意】

光京隴煮汤粑喝

从前光京隴住了一户人。他家的男孩娶了妻子。那个妻子不喜欢那个男孩。每天吃饭的时候都生气。她也不干农活。夫妻俩天天都吵架。她不住男孩家。很是讨厌嫁给这个男孩。但是，男孩不想和她分开。就跟妻子说：“如果怎么做你都不喜欢我的话，你就去帮我们家插秧。”她说：“我是不会帮你们家插秧的。”“你去帮我们家插秧的时候，你背着石磨去插。如果你能插完一天，你就可以离开了。我不留你。”后来那个女孩同意了背着石磨去给他家插秧。她背着石磨开始插秧，结果只插到中午饭的时候，就死了。她死了之后，男孩家就把她埋在家门口的田坎里。后来，那个女孩变成了一只鸟，唱着：“光京隴煮汤粑喝，光京隴煮汤粑喝。”

【日本語大意】

光京隴にて汁餅を食う

昔、光京隴というところにある一家が住んでいた。その家の息子が嫁をもらった。その嫁はその男のことが嫌いだった。毎日ご飯を食べるごとに腹を立てた。彼女は野良仕事もしなかった。夫婦は毎日けんかをした。彼女はその男の家には住まなかった。その男との結婚はいやだった。しかし、夫の方は彼女と別れたくなかった。その男は妻に言った。「もしどうしても俺が嫌なら、俺の家の田植えの手伝いをしな。」「あなたの家の田植えの手伝いなんかしないわ。」と彼女は言った。「うちの田植えの手伝いをするときに、石臼を背負って植えるんだ。もし一日田植えをしたら出て行っていいよ。引き留めないから。」彼女はついに石臼を背負って田植えをすることに同意した。彼女は石臼を背負って田植えをし始めたが、お昼時まで植えたところで死んでしまった。彼女が死ぬと、一家は彼女を家の前の田んぼの畦に埋めた。その後彼女は鳥に姿を変えて歌を歌ったということだ。「光京隴にて汁餅を食う、光京隴にて汁餅を食う。」

77 This is a translation of what the bird call sounded like.

22. Soul Summoning

1 *εeA -eB phuC naA -eB jonC pheC qlenA jonC pheC naA.*
 time DEM CLF human DEM COP half god COP half human
 Long ago, people were part god and part human. [78][79]

2 *maA piB naA -moA qhoBloA ... maA piB naA -moA maCpiB maA ?lanA*
 exit CLF human MOD well exist CLF human MOD side exst CLF

qhoBloA, qhoBloA taA-χuB maA ntsoC aAhηoA.
 well well NMLZ-head exit CLF bamboo

There was a well beside the house of a family, and there was a stub of bamboo on the hill at the foot of where the well was. [80]

3 *maA δanB nqaA taA-qloA hnaA-hnaA ?ηoNA χəBsaA -eB ... ?ηoNA hηoA*
 exit CLF dove NMLZ-white day-RED be.at top DEM be.at bamboo

χəBsaA -eB κiA.
 top DEM cry

A white dove crowed at the top of the bamboo tree every day.

4 *maA δanB vuAnaA muB teiC oNA, juC κiA tsoC- quB aAχuB lanC.*
 exist CLF woman go draw water again cry CLNK1 raise head look
 A woman went to the well to draw water, and she noticed the dove crowing.

5 *luB?wuA-yeA niB teiA- muB teiC oNA.*
 second-morning 3 again go draw water
 On the next morning, she went to draw water again.

6 *tsoC- mbuA δanB nqaA taA-qloA -nonB ?ηoNA aAχuB-qhoBloA saA -eB*
 CLNK1 see CLF dove NMLZ-white DEM be.at head-well top DEM

κiA ... ?ηoNA ntsoC aAhηoA χəBsaA -eB κiA.
 cry be.at CLF bamboo top DEM cry

Then she saw the dove crowing at the top of the bamboo tree.

7 *niB tsoC- quB aAχuB lanC.*
 3 CLNK1 raise head look
 She raised her head to look at it.

8 *nqaA ... δanB taNA-nqaA taA-qloA -nonB tsoC- tsoNC qaB ngaB luB.*
 dove CLF child-dove NMLZ-white DEM CLNK1 deliver excrement descend come
 Then the white dove dropped a piece of excrement.

78 *phuC* is a classifier which means ‘generation, period’. *phuC naA -eB* means ‘people of that time period’.

79 *jonC pheC qlenA jonC pheC naA* literally means ‘to be half spirit and to be half human’. *qlenA* means ‘god, spirit, ghost’.

80 Wells in the areas where the Hmyo people live are generally installed at the foot of a hill.

- 9 *δanB vuAnaA -nonB tsoC- ngonB jeC -loA.*
 CLF woman DEM CLNK1 swallow catch PTCL
 The woman happened to swallow it.
- 10 *ngonB jeC muB ...ngonB jeC ngonB tuC puA-hlaC hnaA -waC tsoC-*
 swallow catch go swallow catch swallow acquire some-month day PTCL CLNK1
maA aAtanaA -loA.
 exist child PTCL
 Several months later, the woman bore babies.
- 11 *jiC- janC luB jonC tsiA-δanB təAmpheB.*
 CLNK1 bear come COP three-CLF girl
 She bore three girls.
- 12 *tsiA-δanB təAmpheB -nonB juC- ʔyɔNCŋguA juC- aC ntoB tuC juC-*
 three-CLF girl DEM PLNK beautiful PLNK make paper acquire PLNK
muAtehoC tshiA.
 know speak
 The three girls were beautiful, smart, and good at talking.
- 13 *tsiA-δanB təAmpheB -nonB hluA luB -waC tsoC- muB ʔjaB naA piB.*
 three-CLF girl DEM big come PTCL CLNK1 go marry human house
 When they grew old, the three girls got married.
- 14 *tuanB ...tuanBmiA- qlaA naA -moA zena ʔŋonB -siA.*
 always cheat human MOD money use PTCL
 Then they cheated their husbands out of their money.
- 15 *niB muA- ʔjaB naA -jaA.*
 3 NEG marry human PTCL
 They then ran away from their husbands.
- 16 *luBʔwuA-nenA niB tsaAkəAweC- ʔjaB δanB, niB qlaA tuC zena ʔŋonB*
 second-year 3 separately marry CLF 3 cheat acquire money use
-waC, jeB niB tsoC- ... muB ... niB tsoC- nduC -loA.
 PTCL FLL 3 CLNK1 go 3 CLNK1 leave PTCL
 The next year, they each married another man but they again cheated their husbands out of their money and ran away.
- 17 *luBpziA-nenA niB tsiA- muB ʔjaB ... ʔjaB δanB.*
 third-year 3 separately go marry marry CLF
 The third year, they got married again.
- 18 *niB qlaA tuC zena ʔŋonB -waC, niB tsoC- nduC -loA.*
 3 cheat acquire money use PTCL 3 CLNK1 leave PTCL
 Again, they cheated their husbands out of their money and ran away.

19 *təBqweNAnoNB maA ...maA piB naA tsoC- muB zoC zuC təApaBnaA piB.*
 after.that exist exist CLF human CLNK1 go tell arrive leader house
 After that, one family went to the government and reported the case. [81]

20 *təApaBnaA piB xoNA- xoNC tsiA-ðanB təAmpheB -nonB muB naC.*
 leader house CLNK1 call three-CLF girl DEM go ask
 The chief of the government called up the three girls to investigate the case.

21 *jeB niB ðanB təApaBnaA -nonB maA ðanB təAweC ʔhoNA niB-piB -teC.*
 FLL 3 CLF leader DEM exist CLF friend be.at 3-house PTCL
 By the way, the chief had a friend staying in his house. [82]

22 *jeB niB zoCseA, təAweC, vonA ʔhoNA qoAloB-zoNA nthanB -nonB -mbeC -liA.*
 FLL 3 tell friend 2SG be.at corner-door CLF DEM PTCL PTCL
 The chief said, “Brother, stay at the gate.”

23 *kanB naC tsiA-ðanB təAmpheB -nonB, naC tsiA-ðanB təAmpheB -nonB jenA,*
 1SG ask three-CLF girl DEM ask three-CLF girl DEM finish

jeB tsiA-ðanB təAmpheB -nonB tshuA luB, kaAtsiB- qloB muB -jaA -liA.
 FLL three-CLF girl DEM exist come PROH follow go PTCL PTCL
 “I will investigate those three girls now. When the investigation finishes, they will come out.
 You must not follow the girls.”

24 *uC.*
 INTJ
 The friend said, “OK.”

25 *jeB muB naC tsiA-ðanB təAmpheB -nonB, jeB tsiA-ðanB təAmpheB -nonB*
 FLL go ask three-CLF girl DEM FLL three-CLF girl DEM

tsoC- tshaB naA -moA nqaC -loA.
 CLNK1 owe human MOD debt PTCL

Through investigation, the chief found that the three girls had others debts.

26 *jeB tsoC- zoC niB muB ...muB vuA naA niA-piB -moA nqaC tsoC-*
 FLL CLNK1 tell 3 go go pay.back human ANPH-house MOD debt CLNK1

təəBpiC muB aAtana-mpic muB vuA naA niA-piB -moA nqaC.
 change go child-pig go pay.back human ANPH-house MOD debt

Then the chief told the three girls to change into pigs to pay back their debts.

81 This likely refers to a family of a man cheated by one of the three girls.

82 *təAweC* is a noun which means a relationship with an ordinary friend. *aAðaa* in sentence No. 29 and 30, and *aAjuC* in sentence No. 50 and 51, which denotes the same person in this story, mean a relationship between sworn brothers.

27 *ðanB ... ðanB joC -nonB -niB, lanC tsia-ðanB təAmpheB -nonB ʔuθnC -tsaB.*
 CLF CLF man DEM PTCL look three-CLF girl DEM good PTCL
 When the three girls went out, the friend of the chief saw the girls and was struck by their beauty.

28 *ðanB joC -nonB tsOC- qloB tsia-ðanB təAmpheB -nonB tsuA -loA.*
 CLF man DEM CLNK1 ABL three-CLF girl DEM exit PTCL
 So the man followed them and went with them.

29 *qloB tsia-ðanB təAmpheB -nonB tsuA -loA -niB, təBqwenAnonB niB ... niB*
 ABL three-CLF girl DEM exit PTCL PTCL after.that 3 3

ðanB joC -nonB ... jeB təA-aC ... təA-aC teaB -nonB tsuA luB,
 CLF man DEM FLL NMLZ-make NMLZ-make official DEM exit come

muAðiB- mbuA niB-piB aAðaa -jaA.
 NEG see 3-house friend PTCL

When the chief went out of the house, his friend had disappeared.

30 *tsOC- mbuA niB-piB aAðaa təBqloNB qoC qoAloB-zoNA təAeB -siA.*
 CLNK1 see 3-house friend fall GOAL corner-door there PTCL
 He then found his friend fallen down at the corner of the gate.

31 *jeB ... jeB niB -moA qoAvloA tsOC- muA- qloB niB -jaA.*
 FLL FLL 3 MOD soul CLNK1 NEG follow 3 PTCL
 His friend's soul was gone from his body.

32 *jeB ðanB naA -nonB... ðanB təApaBnaA -nonB tsOC- muB ŋteaC piB naA*
 FLL CLF human DEM CLF leader DEM CLNK1 go reach CLF human

... ðanB təA-ŋoB tanA-mpiC -nonB niA-piB xoNA- zoCseA.
 CLF NMLZ-bear child-pig DEM ANPH-house CLNK1 say

The chief then went to visit the pig breeder.

33 *kanB ðaA xoNA-piB taA xoNA-piB maB aAtana ... taA xoNA-piB maB*
 1SG come 2SG-house COM 2SG house buy child with 2SG house buy

aAtana-mpiC.

child-pig

He said, "I came here to buy a baby pig."

34 *kanB ðaA taA xoNA-piB maB aAtana-mpiC.*
 1SG come COM 2SG-house buy child-pig

"I came here to buy a baby pig."

35 *taAhnəBpəA kəB-piB aAtana-mpiC xoNA- ŋoB kanB muAtaC- maC -jaA.*
 yesterday.night 1SG-house child-pig then bear 1SG NEG sell PTCL
 The pig breeder said, "Our baby pigs have just been born yesterday, so I won't sell them."

- 36 *suiAðaCaC kanB niB- ?ηONB.*
no.matter.how 1SG IRR get
“I must buy one at any cost.”
- 37 *ηoB muAðuB δanB -waC.*
bear IGN CLF PTCL
“How many pigs were born?”
- 38 *ηoB pluA-δanB.*
bear four-CLF
“Four.”
- 39 *maA muAðuB δanB taAqaA.*
exist IGN CLF male
“How many male pigs were born?”
- 40 *maA δanB -qəAleC.*
exist CLF only
“Only one.”
- 41 *maA muAðuB δanB təA-miC.*
exist IGN CLF NMLZ-mother
“How many female pigs were born?”
- 42 *maA tsiA-δanB.*
exist three-CLF
“Three.”
- 43 *uC, naB kanB niB- muB toC ʁONa-piB maB δanB taAqaA -nonB.*
INTJ CONJ 1SG IRR go BNF 2SG-house buy CLF male DEM
“All right, I will buy the male one.”
- 44 *muA- ɛeNA -jaA.*
NEG okay PTCL
“No, no.”
- 45 *χONAtoc- ηoB ... χONAtoc- ... χONAtoc- ηoB nonB kanB muAtaC- maC -jaA.*
just bear just just bear here 1SG NEG sell PTCL
“It has just been born, so I won’t sell it.”
- 46 *kanB ... kanB tshuA təA-panB hlaC -moA taAnqaC toC ʁONa-piB maB.*
1SG 1SG provide NMLZ-full moon MOD price BNF 2SG-house buy
The chief said, “Then I will buy the baby pig for the price of a one-month-old.”
- 47 *jonC -manA.*
COP PTCL
“OK, it’s a deal.”
- 48 *naB tsoC- maC panA niB -loA.*
CONJ CLNK1 sell give 3 PTCL
Then the pig breeder sold the pig to the chief.

- 49 *maC paNA niB -loA -niB, niB tsoC- tiB muB nteaC piB.*
 sell give 3 PTCL PTCL 3 CLNK1 take go reach house
 The chief took the pig to his house.
- 50 *niB tsoC- muB phaC danB tana-mpiC -nonB -moA ?lana tAploB -eB*
 3 CLNK1 go cut.open CLF child-pig DEM MOD CLF heart DEM
tsoC- tiB muB mpaA ... mpaA niB-piB aJuc -moA aAmbuAsena.
 CLNK1 take go attach attach 3-house friend MOD chest
 He then cut it open and took out its heart, and put it on the chest of his friend.
- 51 *niB-piB aJuc tsoC- jeAnaA luB -loA.*
 3-house friend CLNK1 alive come PTCL
 Then his friend came back to life.
- 52 *jeB eA -nonB tAnaA pheCtheA, jeB xona- hleA ... hleA ... hleA qeA jeB*
 FLL time DEM human soul.summoning FLL CLNK1 kill kill kill chicken FLL
tsoC- ?miA ?lana tAploB -eB muB mpaA naA -moA aAmbuAsena.
 CLNK1 DISPl CLF heart DEM go attach human MOD chest
 Today, we still do this magic of soul summoning by putting the heart of a chicken on a person's chest.
- 53 *jeB xona- ... xona- zoCseA, kaAtsiB- ... kaAtsiB- leC- nonA naA, kaAtsiB-*
 FLL CLNK1 CLNK1 say PROH PROH at.one's.will eat human PROH
leC- qlaA naA.
 at.one's.will cheat human
 At the same time, we say that you must not cheat people.
- 54 *jeB jenA -waC.*
 FLL finish PTCL
 The end.

【中文大意】

招魂

很久以前，人还是半神半人的时候。有家人的房子旁边有口水井，水井旁的山上长了一株竹子。一只白鸽每天都在竹子上叫。有个女人来到泉边打水，听到鸽子叫就抬头看了一眼。第二天她又去打水。又听见那只白鸽在竹子上叫。她又抬头看。于是，那只白鸽拉了坨屎落下来。女人把它吞下去了。吞下去之后，过了几个月，就生孩子了。生了三个女孩。三个女孩又好看又聪明又很会说话。三个女孩长大后就各自嫁人了。但是，总是骗夫家的钱。然后从夫家逃走。第二年她们另外和别人结婚了，又骗钱跑了。第三年她们又嫁给别人。又骗钱跑了。后来，有一家人就去找头人告状。头人就把这三个女孩叫来审问。头人有个朋友在他家。头人说：“你在门口这里等我。我审问这三个女孩，审问完之后，她们出来的时候，你千万不能跟她们走啊。”“好的。”审问了这三个女孩后，发现她们欠了别人的钱。头人就把她们三个变成小猪的样子，命令她们去还钱。头人的朋友看这三个女孩长的很好看。于是他就等她们出来后跟着她们走了。三个女孩出去后，头人出来看，没有看到他朋友的身影。只见他朋友倒在了

门口那里。他的魂已经不在他身上。于是，这个头人立马就到养猪人家里去询问了。“我来找你买小猪。”“我家的小猪昨天晚上才生下来，还不卖哦。”“无论如何我一定要买到。生了几只呢？”“生了四只。”“有几只公的？”“只有一只。”“有几只母的？”“有三只。”“这样啊，我想要买这只公的。”“不行。才刚刚生下来，我还不卖哦。”“那我出满月的价买。”“那可以。”于是，就卖给他了。买了后，他就拿回家。然后剖出那只猪的心，压在他朋友的胸口处。他朋友就活过来了。现在人们说的招魂就是杀鸡取它的鸡心压在人的胸口上。然后说，不能骗人哦。这样就讲完了。

【日本語大意】

招魂

昔々、まだ人が半神半人だった時代のことだ。ある人の家の傍らに泉があり、泉の上の山に一株の竹が生えていた。一匹の白鳩が毎日竹の上で鳴いていた。ある女が水を汲みに泉に来ると鳥が鳴いたので顔をあげてみた。次の日にも彼女は水を汲みに行った。見ると例の白鳩が竹の上でまた鳴いている。彼女は顔をあげて見た。すると白鳩はうんちを落とす。その女はそれを呑み込んでしまった。呑み込んでから数か月して、その女は子供を産んだ。産んでみるとそれは三人の娘だった。三人の娘は、見目美しく、聡明で、言葉巧みな子に育った。三人の娘は大きくなるとそれぞれ嫁に行った。しかし、ひたすら人から金をだまし取った。そして結婚先から逃げ出した。次の年、彼らはまた別な人と結婚したが、そこでも金を騙し取り逃げた。三年目にはまた別の人と結婚した。そこでもまた金を騙し取り逃げた。その後、ある人が彼らをお上に訴え出た。お上は三人の娘を呼び出して審問した。お上の長には一人の友人がいて、長の家に滞在していた。長は言った。「君は門のところに来てくれ。私が三人の娘を審問し終わったら、その子たちは出てくるが、決して一緒に行ってはいけない。」「わかった。」三人の娘を審問してみると、その子たちには他人に返さなければいけない借金があることがわかった。長は、三人の娘に子豚に姿を変えて借金を返すように命じた。例の長の友人は、三人の娘を見てきれいな姿に心を奪われた。その男は三人の娘が出てくるとそれについて行った。三人の娘が出て行ったあとで、長が出て来てみると、例の友人の姿がない。見ると門口に彼が倒れていた。彼の魂はすでに彼の体から離れていた。その長はすぐに養豚家のもとへ行って尋ねた。「子豚を買いに来たのだ。」「昨日の晩生まれたばかりでまだ売らないよ。」「何が何でも買わねばならん。何匹生まれたのだ。」「四匹だよ。」「オスは何匹だ。」「一匹だけだ。」「メスは何匹だ。」「三匹だよ。」「そうか。ではそのオスをもらおう。」「だめだ。生まれたばかりでまだ売らないよ。」「ではひと月の値で買おう。」「それならいいよ。」というわけでその男は長に子豚を売った。買うと長は家に戻った。そしてその豚の心臓を切り出すと、友人の胸に押し当てた。すると友人は生き返った。今でも招魂と言って、鳥を捌いてその心臓を人の胸に当てることをする。そして言うのだ、人を騙してはいけないよと。というわけでこの話はおしまい。

23. Flying Squirrel

- 1 *εeA -eB jonC nENA huanB nENA loA.*
 time DEM COP year ruined year *
 Once upon a time, there was a period of war.
- 2 *təAnaA muA- maA ηaC nonA -jaA.*
 human NEG exist rice eat PTCL
 People had little food to eat.
- 3 *χoNA- luB szA-ndzanB ... χoNA- luB szA-ndzanB szA-taC.*
 CLNK1 come RCP-cut ... CLNK1 come RCP-cut RCP-cut
 People fought each other.
- 4 *woA-liB muA- maA ... muA- maA təAnaA ?ηoNA.*
 ten-mile NEG exist NEG exist human be.at
 There were no people living within ten miles of each other.
- 5 *ngεA loB- szA- ... ngeA loB- szA-ndzanB szA-taC.*
 beast also RCP beast also RCP-cut RCP-cut
 Beasts also fought each other.
- 6 *aAnoC loB- szA-ndzanB szA-taC.*
 bird also RCP-cut RCP-cut
 Birds also fought each other.
- 7 *təBqwεAnonB təAnaA luB ... luB thaiCphiNA -waC.*
 after.that human come come peace PTCL
 After a while, peace came to the human world.
- 8 *aAnoC luB thaiCphiNA -waC.*
 bird come peace PTCL
 Peace also came to the world of birds.
- 9 *aAnoC χaNC ... aAnoC luB χaNC noC sanC ... sanC tsuC.*
 bird call bird come call bird pay pay tax
 Then, birds told their comrades to pay tax.
- 10 *maA tēhiB noC -niB, təAnaA χaNC jonC noCaAϖlenAndeNA.*
 exist CLF bird PTCL human call COP flying.squirrel
 There is a kind of bird, which we humans call flying squirrel. [83]
- 11 *niB ηganB -tsaB.*
 3 lazy PTCL
 It is very lazy.

83 The original word *noCaAϖlenAndeNA* has *noC* ‘bird’ in the name, and although flying squirrel is actually a mammal, this story regards it as a species of bird.

- 12 *niB muA- aC xuA -jaA.*
3 NEG do field PTCL
It does not do field work.
- 13 *aAnoC xANC niB sanC tsuC, jeB niB zoCseA.*
bird call 3 pay tax FLL 3 say
When birds came to it to collect tax, it said.
- 14 *kanB jonC noC -siA ... kanB jonC ngeA -siA.*
1SG COP bird PTCL 1SG COP beast PTCL
“I am a beast.”
- 15 *aAnoC seA, naB vonA nduC pana kanB lanC.*
bird say CONJ 2SG walk give 1SG look
Birds said, “If you say that you are a beast, show me your walking ability.”
- 16 *niB tsoC- nduC teiB pana noC lanC.*
3 CLNK1 walk road give bird look
Then it walked.
- 17 *jeB niB tsoC- muA- sanC tsuC -jaA.*
FLL 3 CLNK1 NEG pay tax PTCL
Thus, it did not pay tax.
- 18 *əBngeA -moA ... əBngeA -moA təpaB juCtəiA- xANC danB noCaAvlenAndeNA*
beast MOD beast MOD leader again call CLF flying.squirrel

-nonB sanC tsuC.
DEM pay tax
The leader of beasts came to the flying squirrel and asked it to pay tax.
- 19 *jeB danB noCaAvlenAndeNA -nonB ŋganB -tsaB muA- aC xuA -jaA.*
FLL CLF flying.squirrel DEM lazy PTCL NEG do field PTCL
It is very lazy and does not do field work.
- 20 *jeB niB zoCseA, kanB jonC noC -siA.*
FLL 3 say 1SG COP bird PTCL
It said, “I am a bird.”
- 21 *kanB muA- sanC tsuC -jaA.*
1SG NEG pay tax PTCL
“So I do not pay tax.”
- 22 *danB noC təpaBnaA ... danB əBngeA təpaBnaA zoCseA.*
CLF bird leader CLF beast leader say
The leader of beasts said to it.
- 23 *naB vonA jonC noC, vonA ?jenC pana kanB lanC.*
CONJ 2SG COP bird 2SG fly give me look
“If you say that you are a bird, show me your flying ability.”

24 niB tsOC- teəBpiC noC tsOC- ʔjenC -vlonC, jeB niB tsOC- muA- sanC tsuC
 3 CLNK1 change bird CLNK1 fly EXPR FLL 3 CLNK1 NEG pay tax

-jaA.

PTCL

Then, it changed into a bird and flew away. Thus, it did not pay tax.

25 jeB tɛhiB noC -nonB ɛeA -nonB təAnaA χanC jonC noCaAɸlenAndenA.
 FLL CLF bird DEM time DEM human call COP flying.squirrel

Now we call this bird a flying squirrel.

【中文大意】

飞鼠

很久以前，世间还是一片荒乱。吃食都没有的时代。战争不断。方圆十里没有人住。野兽们也在相互争夺着。鸟儿们也在相互争抢着。后来，战争结束，人们和睦了。鸟儿们也和睦了。鸟就叫鸟类们来纳税。有一种叫飞鼠的鸟。它很懒。也不干活。鸟叫它去纳税，它就说：“我是野兽。”鸟就让它走给它们看一下。它就走给鸟儿们看。于是它就没纳税了。野兽的头领就叫飞鼠纳税。但是，飞鼠是个很懒的家伙，不干活。它说：“我是鸟啊。我不纳税。”野兽的头领说：“你是鸟的话，你飞给我看一下。”它就变成鸟飞了起来，于是，他就没纳税了。现在把这种鸟叫做飞鼠。

【日本語大意】

ムササビ

その昔、世は乱れに乱れていた。食べるものもない時代だった。互いに争いが絶えなかった。十里四方住んでいる人もいなかった。獣たちも互いに争っていた。鳥たちも互いに争っていた。その後人間に平和が訪れた。鳥たちにも平和が訪れた。鳥は鳥の仲間に税金を納めるように呼び掛けた。ムササビと呼ばれている一種の鳥がいる。ムササビは怠惰な動物である。ムササビは仕事をしない。鳥が税金を納めるように言うと、ムササビは言った。「私は獣だ。」鳥たちは彼に歩いて見せるように言った。すると彼は歩いて見せた。それで税金は納めなかった。獣の長が来てムササビに税金を納めるように言った。しかし、ムササビは怠惰な奴で仕事をしない。彼は言った。「私は鳥だ。だから税金は納めない。」獣の長は言った。「鳥だというんなら、飛んで見せろ。」すると彼は鳥に変身して飛び立ち、それで税金を納めなかった。今この鳥はムササビと呼ばれている。

24. The Tiger and the Ear-clipper

1 *εA -eB kanBnaB hmøA naA maA δanB qəAzanC-ntonC tsiC tuC təA-*
 time DEM 1PL PN human exist CLF master-tree produce acquire NMLZ

aC χuA -moA aAjiAjiC, naA χanC jonC aAηdiB.
 do field MOD thing human call COP ear-clipper

Long ago, a Hmyo woodworker produced a farming tool, which people called *ndi* (ear-clipper).
 [84]

2 *niB δanB qəAzanC -nonB -niB, tiB muB ... tiB muB ηdiA tshanB.*

3 CLF master DEM PTCL take go take go clip millet
 The woodworker took this tool to clip millet.

3 *niB aC tuC pheA tshanB, jeB niB tiB muB ηdiA pheA tshanB -eB.*
 3 do acquire CLF millet FLL 3 take go clip CLF millet DEM

He planted a field of millet, and he took the tool to harvest the millet.

4 *əByeA -qəAleC ηdiA ... ηdiA tuC tanC tshanB.*
 morning only clip clip acquire CLF millet

He only worked in the morning, and he harvested one carrying-pole amount of millet.

5 *δanB qəAloBmpoA -eB ʔηonA aAχuB-viB tsoC- mbuA δanB təAnaA -nonB*
 CLF tiger DEM be.at head-mountain CLNK1 see CLF human DEM

ʔηonB tənA aAηdiB -nonB.
 use CLF ear-clipper DEM

A tiger saw the man harvesting with the ear-clipper.

6 *əByeA -qəAleC ηdiA tɛiBtoB ... ηdiA tɛiBtoB təA-qwhana.*
 morning only clip so.many cut so.many NMLZ-wide

The man harvested millet from a vast extent of land just in the morning.

7 *δanB qəAloBmpoA -nonB seA, kanB szC ngaB muB lanC.*
 CLF tiger DEM say 1SG try descend go look

The tiger said to himself, "I will go down to see the situation."

8 *jiC- ngaB muB lanC -niB, δanB qəAzanC-ntonC -nonB tsoC- ʔmiA*
 CLNK1 descend go look PTCL CLF master-tree DEM CLNK1 DISP1

qweC qoC əBtənA ... qweC qoC tənA aAqlonC.
 hang GOAL CLF hang GOAL CLF stick

When the tiger went down to the field, he saw the woodworker hanging the ear-clipper on a stick.

84 *aAηdiB* is an agricultural instrument to clip grains such as millet. The instrument is comprised of a blade set in a half-moon shaped wood.

9 *jeB qoAloBmpoA tsoC- zoCseA, ?neA tA-tiB-tA-tanA jiAjiC -nonB əByeA*
 FLL tiger CLNK1 say CLF AUG.RED-small thing DEM morning

-qəAleC tsoC- nonA muAðiBtəiB tA-qwhanA.
 only CLNK1 eat so.many NMLZ-wide

The tiger said, “This tiny thing can eat the millet from a large extent of land only in the morning.

10 *aAvuB- muA- maA kanB -moA xiB, kanB szC teaC.*
 still NEG exist 1SG MOD CLF 1SG try bite
 “That thing is not as big as my mouth. I will go and bite it.”

11 *ðanB qoAloBmpoA -nonB əBxiB -qəAleC tsoC- teaC tsoC- khaB qoC... tənA*
 CLF tiger DEM CLF only CLNK1 bite CLNK1 get.stuck GOAL CLF

aAŋdiB -nonB ... tAhmenB... tsoC- khaB qoC ... tAhmenB -moA ... tAhmenB
 ear-clipper DEM tooth CLNK1 get.stuck GOAL tooth MOD tooth

-loA.
 PTCL

When the tiger bit the ear-clipper, it got stuck between his teeth. [85]

12 *tszBhnaA ?hona nthanB -eB khuA?yC ... tsəAleA... taA-ŋdzoA tA-ndonC-hnaA.*
 all.day be.at CLF DEM pick FLL NMLZ-mouth NMLZ-half-day
 He tried to remove it throughout the day.

13 *ðanB naA -nonB loB- muA- kæB ngaB muB ŋdiA pheC tshanB -eB.*
 CLF human DEM also NEG dare descend go clip CLF millet DEM
 The woodworker didn’t dare to go down to the field to harvest the rest of the millet.

14 *zuC ngwana-pəA maA ðanB aAvliB qwaC tēiB.*
 arrive sky-dark exist CLF goat pass road
 When it got dark, a goat passed the place.

15 *niB zoC ðanB aAvliB -eB zoCseA.*
 3 say CLF goat DEM say
 The tiger said to the goat.

16 *ʋona qwaC luB taA kanB aC ?neA szC ... aC ?neA szC.*
 2SG pass come COM 1SG do CLF issue do CLF issue
 “Come here and help me.”

17 *aC tsəBtəiB -manA.*
 do IGN PTCL
 “What can I do for you?”

85 According to one of the editors, Yun Song, this sentence should be said as follows: ‘*ðanB qoAloBmpoA -nonB əBxiB -qəAleC tsoC- teaC tənA aAŋdiB -nonB, tənA aAŋdiB -nonB tsoC- khaB qoC tAhmenB -loA.*’

- 18 *ʁONA qwaC luB -mana*.
2SG pass come PTCL
“Come here first.”
- 19 *ðanB aAvliB -nonB ʁONA- qwaC muB taA niB lanC*.
CLF goat DEM CLNK1 pass go COM 3 look
The goat went to the tiger.
- 20 *lanC -niB, niB ʁoCseA, ʁONA taA kanB aC luB -niB, kanB muA- nonA*
look PTCL 3 say 2SG COM 1SG do come FLL 1SG NEG eat

ʁONA -jaA.
2SG PTCL
The tiger said, “If you do me a favor, I will never eat you.”
- 21 *aC muA- luB -jaA kanB tsoC- niB- nonA ʁONA*.
do NEG come PTCL 1SG CLNK1 IRR eat 2SG
“If you do not, I will eat you.”
- 22 *ðanB aAvliB -nonB seA, jonC*.
CLF goat DEM say COP
The goat said, “OK.”
- 23 *ðanB aAvliB -nonB ʁONA- ʔmiA təAkuC taA niB tɛaA tʃuA luB -loA*.
CLF goat DEM CLNK1 DISPl hoof COM 3 pinch exit come PTCL
The goat pinched out the ear-clipper with his hooves.
- 24 *tɛaA tʃuA luB -loA -niB, niB ʁoC ðanB aAvliB -eB ʁoCseA, kanB muA-*
pinch exit come PTCL PTCL 3 tell CLF goat DEM say 1SG NEG

nonA ʁONA -jaA.
eat 2SG PTCL
When the goat pinched out the ear-clipper, the tiger said, “I won’t eat you.”
- 25 *jeB hnaA -tsiB ʁONA hnuB kanB təAponC, jeB ʁONA tsoC- viA*.
FLL day IGN 2SG feel 1SG smell FLL 2SG CLNK1 bark
“Whenever you smell my odor, then bleat.”
- 26 *jeB kanB tsoC- muA- nonA ʁONA -jaA*.
FLL 1SG CLNK1 NEG eat 2SG PTCL
“Then I won’t eat you.”
- 27 *jeB ɛeA -nonB aAvliB jiC- viA, jeB təAnaA tsoC- ʁoCseA, maA qoAloBmpoA*
FLL time DEM goat CLNK1 bark FLL human CLNK1 say exist tiger

-loA, muA- muB ... kaAtsiB- ... kaAtsiB- muB nthanB -eB -jaA.
PTCL NEG go PROH PROH go CLF DEM PTCL
Today, when people hear goats bleat, they say, “Do not go to that place, a tiger is out there.”

【中文大意】

摘禾刀和老虎

从前，我们苗族的木匠制造了一种农具叫做摘禾刀。这个木匠用它来收小米。他在地里种了一些小米，拿摘禾刀去收那块地的小米。早上收了一担小米。一只老虎在山上看到这个木匠用这个摘禾刀。仅一个上午就收好了一大片地的小米。心里琢磨着：要下去看一看。老虎下来看，木匠把那个摘禾刀挂在一根棍子上。老虎心想：“这么一个小小的东西一上午就能吃那么大片地的小米嘛。还没有我的一口大吧，我咬一口试试。”老虎一口咬下去后，摘禾刀就卡在牙齿上了。之后，一整天都在那里为了取下来而挣扎。那个木匠也因为害怕不敢下去收那半边的小米。天黑的时候，有一只山羊路过。老虎就对那只山羊说：“你过来帮我一下可以吗？”“怎么了？”“你先过来吧。”山羊就过去看了看它。老虎说：“你帮我的话，我保证不吃你。你不帮的话，我就吃了你。”山羊说：“好的。”山羊用蹄子帮它把摘禾刀夹了出来。夹出来后，老虎跟山羊说：“我不吃你。今后如果你闻到是我的气味，你就鸣叫。那样的话我就不吃你。”于是，现在只要山羊一鸣叫，人们就说：“有老虎，不能去那边。”

【日本語大意】

穂摘具と虎

昔、ミャオ族の木工師が畑仕事をする道具を作ったが、それを人は穂摘具と呼んだ。その木工師はそれを使って粟を収穫した。彼はある土地に粟を育てており、穂摘具を使ってその土地の粟を刈り取った。朝のうちに一担ぎの粟を収穫した。かの虎は山の上でかの木工師が穂摘具を使うのを見ていた。午前中だけで広い土地の粟を刈り取った。虎は思った。「ちょっと山を下りて見に行こう。」虎が下りていくと、木工師は穂摘具を棒の上に引っ掛けていた。虎は思った。「こんなちっぽけなものが午前中だけであんな広い土地の粟を食ったのか。俺の一口の大きさもないようなものじゃないか、一口噛んでやろう。」虎が穂摘具に噛みつく、穂摘具は虎の歯にはさまった。虎はそれを取ろうと一日中もがいた。かの木工師も恐ろしくて粟を収穫に下りていけなかった。空が暗くなるころ、一頭の山羊が通りかかった。かの虎はその山羊に声をかけた。「ちょっと来て手を貸してくれないか。」「何事だね。」「いいから来てくれ。」その山羊は虎のところへ行って彼の様子を見た。虎は言った。「手を貸してくれたらおまえを食べないよ。手を貸してくれないならおまえを食べてやる。」山羊は言った。「わかった。」山羊はかの穂摘具を蹄で挟んで引っ張り出した。穂摘具が取れると、虎は山羊に言った。「俺はおまえを食べないよ。今後俺の匂いを嗅ぎつけたら鳴き声をあげるといい。そうすればおまえを食べることはない。」それで現在でも山羊が鳴くと人々は「虎がいるぞ、そこへは行くな」と言うのだ。

25. Fetching a Drum from Sichuan

- 1 *εeA -eB maA piB qwANA-piB maA δanB aAtANA tAjenC.*
time DEM exist CLF rich-house exist CLF child boy
Long ago, there was a young man from a rich family.
- 2 *jonC tA-aC... jonC tA-aC teaB.*
COP NMLZ-make COP NMLZ-make official
He was an official.
- 3 *naC tuC δanB siB jonA luB ηteaC piB tuC nENA -waC.*
ask acquire CLF wife take come arrive house acquire year PTCL
He got married, but only a year after the marriage, ...
- 4 *ona -tsaB tsOC- δaC -loA.*
sick PTCL CLNK1 die PTCL
... his wife died of a disease.
- 5 *luB?wuA-nENA δanB aAtANA tAjenC -nonB tA-aC teaB -nonB juC- muB*
second-year CLF child boy DEM NMLZ-do official DEM again go

jonA tuC δanB siB.
take acquire CLF wife
The next year, he got married again.
- 6 *ona -tsaB juC-... juCteiA- δaC -loA.*
sick PTCL again die PTCL
However, the second wife again died of a disease.
- 7 *luBpziA-nENA δanB ... niB teiA- muB jonA tuC əBδanB siB.*
third-year CLF 3 separately go take acquire CLF wife
In the third year, he got married again.
- 8 *δanB siB -nonB tsOC- luB janC tuC əBδanB aAtANA tAmpheB -qəAleC.*
CLF wife DEM CLNK1 come give.birth acquire CLF child girl only
The wife, then, gave birth to a girl.
- 9 *δanB tAmpheB -nonB hluA -waC.*
CLF girl DEM grow PTCL
This girl grew big.
- 10 *δanB tAAnaA ... teaB piB... teaB piB tsOC- δaA naC δanB aAtANA*
CLF human official house official house CLNK1 come ask CLF child

tAmpheB -nonB.
girl DEM
A family of an official came to ask her to marry their son.

- 11 *tshaC-piB loB- δaA naC δanB aAtana təAmpheB -nonB.*
 poor-house also come ask CLF child girl DEM
 A poor family also came to ask her to marry their son.
- 12 *niB-paB zoCseA, kanB ... naBtsiB piB kanB tsoC- muA-... muA- tsonC.*
 3-father say 1SG IGN house 1SG CLNK1 NEG NEG send
 Her father said, “I will not allow her to marry just anybody now.”
- 13 *zuC kanB tshaA hnaA... kanB tshaA hnaA təA-γyθNC, jeB kanB aC ʔlana*
 reach 1SG select day 1SG select day NMLZ-good FLL 1SG make CLF
əBkoA, jeB kəB-piB δanB təAmpheB -nonB ndoC ʔlana koA -nonB pana
 hat FLL 1SG-house CLF girl DEM throw CLF hat DEM give
naBtsiB, naBtsiB tsoC- jonC niB-zonB.
 IGN IGN CLNK1 COP 3-husband
 “I will select a day, and I will prepare a hat. The person whom my daughter throws the hat to can marry her.”
- 14 *niB-piB lanC tuC ʔlana əBhnaA təA-γyθNC -waC.*
 3-house look acquire CLF day NMLZ-good PTCL
 He selected a good day.
- 15 *δanB təAmpheB -nonB niA-piB χona- χanc... χona-... χona- χanc teaB*
 CLF girl DEM ANPH-house CLNK1 call CLNK1 CLNK1 call official
piB taA tshaC-piB aAtana jiAχaC- qwaC niB-piB aAqaBpiB.
 house COM poor-house child altogether pass 3-house entrance
 The girl’s family called the son of the official and the son of the poor family, and let them pass the gate of their house.
- 16 *δanB təAmpheB -nonB ndoC pana naBtsiB, jeB naBtsiB tsoC- jonC niB-zonB.*
 CLF girl DEM throw give IGN FLL IGN CLNK1 COP 3-husband
 The person whom the girl throws the hat to can be her husband.
- 17 *təBqwenAnonB teaB piB teaB təA-maA ntoB niA-piB ... təA- ... təA-*
 after.that official house official NMLZ-exist paper ANPH-house NMLZ NMLZ
maA ntoB niA-piB aAtana jeA maB qwaC teiB.
 exist paper ANPH-house child ride house pass road
 First, the son of the official passed the gate of the house riding a horse.
- 18 *δanB təAmpheB -nonB tsoC- muA- ndoC ʔlana koA pana δanB ... δanB*
 CLF girl DEM CLNK1 NEG throw CLF hat give CLF CLF
aAtana -eB -jaA.
 child DEM PTCL
 The girl did not throw the hat to the son of the official.

- 19 *ðanB təA-qwenB zuC niA-piB aAtanA tɛiA- jeA maB qwaC tɛiB.*
 CLF NMLZ-manage soldier ANPH-house child separately ride horse pass road
 Second, the son of a military man also passed the gate of the house riding a horse. [86]
- 20 *niB ðanB təAmpheB -nonB tsoC- muA- ndoC koA paNA ðanB... ðanB*
 3 CLF girl DEM CLNK1 NEG throw hat give CLF CLF
aAtanA... ðanB tɛaB təA-qwenB zuC niA-piB aAtanA -jaA.
 child CLF official NMLZ-manage soldier ANPH-house child PTCL
 The girl did not throw the hat to the son of the military man.
- 21 *tshaC niA-piB -moA ðanB aAtanA kuB tuC tanC ðoB qwaC*
 poor ANPH-house MOD CLF child carry acquire CLF firewood pass
ŋtonA jiB ... qwaC niB-piB aAqaBpiB.
 inside market pass 3-house entrance
 Finally, the son of the poor family passed the gate of the house carrying firewood on his back.
- 22 *niB tsoC- ndoC ʔana koA -nonB paNA ðanB təA-kuB ðoB -loA.*
 3 CLNK1 throw CLF hat DEM give CLF NMLZ-carry firewood PTCL
 Then, the girl threw the hat to the firewood-carrier.
- 23 *niB-paB ðanB təAmpheB -nonB nəA-paB muA- ... muA- hŋoC tsonC ʔjaB ðanB*
 3-father CLF girl DEM ANPH-father NEG NEG agree deliver marry CLF
tshaC-naA nəA-piB aAtanA -jaA.
 poor-human ANPH-house child PTCL
 However, her father did not agree to let his daughter marry the son of the poor family.
- 24 *ðanB niB-paB ... ðanB təAmpheB... ðanB təAmpheB -nonB niA-paB juCtɛiA-*
 CLF 3-house CLF girl CLF girl DEM ANPH-father again
χanC zoCseA.
 call say
 The father of the girl called the boys again.
- 25 *təA-nthuC ntoB təApaBnaA niA-piB aAtanA jeB ... loB- ðaA.*
 NMLZ-write paper leader ANPH-house child FLL also come
 The son of the official came.
- 26 *χanC təA-qwenB zuC niA-piB aAtanA loB- ðaA.*
 call NMLZ-manage soldier ANPH-house child also come
 The son of the military man also came.

86 *təA-qwenB zuC* (◇NMLZ◇control◇soldier), which literally means a manager of soldiers, denotes a military man. In this sentence, the story-teller makes the son of a military man appear abruptly in the story. He said that he had forgotten to mention the son of a military man when he had begun the story.

27 *loB- χanC δanB təA-tshaC naA niA-piB aAtanA təA-kuB δoB -eB*
 also call CLF NMLZ-poor human ANPH-house child NMLZ-carry firewood DEM

loB- δaA.
 also come
 The son of the poor who carried firewood also came.

28 *niB δaA -niB, jiC- δaA zuC niB-piB -niB, niB tsoC- zoCseA.*
 3 come PTCL CLNK1 come arrive 3-house PTCL 3 CLNK1 say
 When they arrived, the father of the girl said to them.

29 *təA-nthuC ntoB nəA-piB ... təA-aC təaB niA-piB aAtanA -niB, nthuC*
 NMLZ-write paper ANPH-house NMLZ-do official ANPH-house child PTCL write

szB-tuC tsIA-tshenA tətʰszC... tsIA-tshenA ʔlanA tətʰszC.
 PURP-acquire three-thousand letter three-thousand CLF letter
 “The son of the official must write three thousand characters.”

30 *təA-aC ... təA-qwenB zuC nəA-piB aAtanA -niB, tiB təc muB ηtuA*
 NMLZ-make NMLZ-manage soldier ANPH-house child PTCL take bow go strike

aAηqoBkoA-piB -moA ʃenA tseBkliA təA-venA szB-jenA -χenA.
 back-house MOD CLF peach.tree NMLZ-flower PURP-finish PTCL
 “The son of the military man must shoot all the flowers of the peach tree in the backyard.”

31 *zoC δanB tshaC-naA niA-piB aAtanA -niB, muB pluAtəhonA muB tiB szB-*
 tell CLF poor-human ANPH-house child PTCL go PN go take PURP-

tuC ʔlanA ηqəB luB.
 acquire CLF drum come
 Then, he told the son of the poor family to go to Sichuan to get a drum. [87]

32 *təBqwenAnonB δanB tshaC niA-piB aAtanA -niB, tsoC- muB szCtshuanB tiB*
 after.that CLF poor ANPH-house child PTCL CLNK1 go PN take

ηqəB.
 drum
 Thus, the son of the poor family had to go to Sichuan to get a drum.

33 *əBδanB təaB piB ... δanB təA-aC ntoB -nonB təaB nəA-piB aAtanA*
 CLF official house CLF NMLZ-do paper DEM official ANPH-house child

-niB, nthuC tsIA-tshenA ʔlanA tətʰszC.
 PTCL write three-thousand CLF letter
 The son of the official had to write three thousand characters.

87 In this sentence and the next sentence, the story-teller used two different borrowed words from Chinese denoting the province name of Sichuan 四川. *pluAtəhonA* in this sentence is a loan translation of the province name: *pluA* is a Lan Hmyo’s numeral meaning ‘four’, and *təhonA* is a transportation/adaptation of Chinese *chuan* 川. In the next sentence, the story-teller used *szCtshuanB*, which is a borrowing from Southwestern Mandarin, the local variety of Chinese.

34 *əBðanB təA-qwenB zuC niA-piB aAtanA -niB, ŋtuA aŋqoBkoA-piB*
 CLF NMLZ-manage soldier ANPH-house child PTCL strike back-house

tɛnA venA szB-jenA -χenA.
 CLF flower PURP-finish PTCL

The son of the military man had to shoot all the flowers of the peach tree in the backyard.

35 *təBqwenAnonB ðanB ... ðanB aAtanA tshaC nəA-piB aAtanA -eB tsoC- muB*
 after.that CLF CLF child poor ANPH-house child DEM CLNK1 go

pluAtəhona muB tiB ŋqəB.
 PN go take drum

Meanwhile, the son of the poor family headed to Sichuan to get a drum.

36 *jeB muB tiB ŋqəB -niB, tsoC- muB ŋtəaC aŋŋtanB-ŋtaBsuC.*
 FLL go take drum PTCL CLNK1 go reach periphery-river

After he walked a while, he came across a river.

37 *tsoC- maA ðanB qoAloB-aAtiA zoC niB zoCseA.*
 CLNK1 exist CLF old-grandfather tell 3 say

There was an old man and he spoke to him.

38 *ʁona ðaA aC təBtsiB.*
 2SG come do IGN

“What have you come here for, man?”

39 *uA, kəB-piB aAtiA ... kəB-piB aAtiA piB χona- jonC ðanB*
 INTJ 1SG-house grandfather 1SG-house grandfather house CLNK1 COP CLF

təAmpheB -qəAleC.
 girl only

He said, “I want to marry a girl, and she is the only child in her family.”

40 *niB-piB ʔŋonB naA zənC zəna.*
 3-house want human ascend gate

“So, they want to adopt a man and want him to marry their daughter.” [88]

41 *jeB niB χənC kanBnaB ... χənC kanB ðaA χəBnaB -nonB tiB... təAleA... ʔlanA*
 FLL 3 call 1PL call 1SG come place DEM take FLL CLF

ŋqəB.
 drum

“They gave me an assignment to get a drum around here.”

88 *zənC zəna*, literally ‘to ascend to the gate’, is a calque of a phrase in Chinese, which means ‘(for a man) to marry a girl and become a member of the girl’s family’.

42 *tiB tuC muB jeB tsoC- ... jeB danB taAmpheB -nonB tsoC- jonC kaB-siB,*
 take acquire go FLL CLNK1 FLL CLF girl DEM CLNK1 COP 1SG-wife

tiB muA- tuC -jaA jeB tsoC- jonC ... taA-aC teaB niA-... niA-taNA
 take NEG acquire PTCL FLL CLNK1 COP NMLZ-do official ANPH- ANPH-child

niA-siB.

ANPH-wife

“If I get a drum, their daughter will be my wife. If I can’t, she will marry the son of an official.”

43 *uA, naB kaNB jonA vonA muB.*

INTJ CONJ 1SG take 2SG go

The old man said, “OK, come with me.”

44 *taBqwenAnonB danB ... danB qoAloB-aAtiA -eB tsoC- muB tiB tuC ?lana*
 after.that CLF CLF old-grandfather DEM CLNK1 go take acquire CLF

ndab pana danB aAtana -nonB tiB tonB luB.

drum give CLF child DEM take return come

Then, the old man went somewhere and came back with a drum, and gave it to the son of the poor family.

45 *jeB tiB luB nteaC aAqaBpiB -niB, danB aAtana taA-tshaC -nonB tsoC-*
 FLL take come reach entrance PTCL CLF child NMLZ-poor DEM CLNK1

tshiA zoCseA.

speak say

The son of the poor family came back to the gateway of the girl’s house and said loudly.

46 *taA-nthuC ntoB ... taA- ... taA-nthuC ntoB taA-aC teaB naA-piB aAtana*
 NMLZ-write paper NMLZ-write paper NMLZ-do official ANPH-house child

nthuC tsiA-tshena nthuC tuC ?wuA-tshena.

write three-thousand write acquire two-thousand

“The son of the official has the assignment of writing three thousand characters, but he has only written two thousand.”

47 *taA-ntuA ... taA-ntuA tseBkliA taA-vena -moA... taA- ... taA-qwenB zuC*
 NMLZ-strike NMLZ-strike peach.tree NMLZ-flower MOD NMLZ NMLZ-manage soldier

niA-piB aAtana ntua tseBkliA taA-vena ntua ... ntua tuC
 ANPH-house child strike peach.tree NMLZ-flower strike strike acquire

pheCsenA.

half

“The son of the military man has the assignment of shooting all the flowers of the peach tree, but he has only shot half of them.”

48 *kanB qloB pluAtəhona tiB ɲɔaB luB -waC, ɔanB təAmpheB -nonB tsoC-*
 1SG ABL PN take drum come PTCL CLF girl DEM CLNK1

jonC kəB-siB.
 COP 1SG-wife

“I have come back from Sichuan with a drum, so the girl will be my wife.”

49 *ɔanB təAmpheB vuB- peC aAjiB panA əBɔanB təA-nthuC ntoB -eB ... ɔanB*
 CLF girl still pour tea give CLF NMLZ-write paper DEM CLF

təA-nthuC ntoB ɲoA -niB, niB tsoC- ... niB tsoC- ʔɲona ɲɲona piB tiA.
 NMLZ-write paper drink PTCL 3 CLNK1 3 CLNK1 be.at inside house respond
 The girl was pouring tea for the son of the official, but she responded to his voice and said to the official’s son.

50 *niB tsoC- zoCseA.*
 3 CLNK1 say
 She said.

51 *ʋona ɲoA ... ɲoA kanB -moA aAjiB, jeB ʋona ʔmiA ... tɔAleA... peiBpeiB panA*
 2SG drink drink 1SG MOD tea FLL 2SG DISP1 FLL cup give

kanB.
 1SG
 “When you finish drinking, please give the cup back to me.”

52 *kanB-zonB qloB pluAtəhona tiB ɲɔaB luB -waC.*
 1SG-husband ABL PN take drum come PTCL
 “My husband has come back from Sichuan.”

53 *eeA -nonB kanB tsoC- leA aAtəona, kanB tsoC- niB- ʔjenC tshuA əByoA.*
 time DEM 1SG CLNK1 resemble huamei 1SG CLNK1 IRR fly exit cage
 “Now, I will go out of the cage like a huamei bird.”

54 *ɔanB təAmpheB -nonB tsoC- taA tshaC-piB -moA ɔanB aAtana -nonB tsoC-*
 CLF girl DEM CLNK1 COM poor-house MOD CLF child DEM CLNK1

szA-jona... tsoC- ... tsoC- ... tsoC- szA-ʔjaB -loA.
 RCP-take CLNK1 CLNK1 CLNK1 RCP-marry PTCL
 Thus, the girl married the son of the poor family.

55 *niB-paB tɛhiA qliB tɛhiA ɔaC.*
 3-father angry * angry die
 Her father got very angry.

56 *niB-paB tsoC- tɛhiA ɔaC -loA.*
 3-father CLNK1 angry die PTCL
 Her father was mad to death.

【中文大意】

四川取鼓

从前有一户富人家，家里有一个男孩。那个男孩是当官的。娶了妻以后一年。妻子生病去世了。第二年，这个当官的男孩又娶了一个妻子。但是，那个妻子也生病去世了。第三年，他又娶了一个妻子。这个妻子生了一个女孩。这个女孩子长大了。官员家们就来跟这个女孩求婚。穷人家们也来跟这个女孩求婚。她父亲说：“我的女儿岂能这么轻易的交给你们。等我选个好日子，再准备顶帽子。我女儿抛那个帽子给谁，谁就是他丈夫。”他决定好了日子。女孩家就把官员家的孩子和穷人家的孩子都叫来路过家门口。女孩抛给谁，谁就是他的丈夫。首先，文官家的孩子骑马路过。女孩没有把帽子抛给那个文官家的孩子。接着，武官家的孩子也骑马路过。女孩也没有把帽子抛给那个武官家的孩子。最后，穷人家的孩子担着一担木柴从他家门口过。她就把帽子抛给了那个担柴的男孩。女孩的父亲不同意她嫁给穷人家的孩子。于是，女孩的父亲又把他们叫到家里来。文官家的孩子来了。武官家的孩子也来了。担木柴的那个穷人家的孩子也来了。来了之后，她父亲就说：“文官家的孩子要写三千个字。武官家的孩子要拿弓箭把后院的桃花全部射下来。穷人家的孩子要去四川取一个鼓回来。”于是，穷人家的孩子就要去四川去取鼓了。文官家的孩子写三千个字。武官家的孩子把后院的桃花全部射下来。然后，穷人家的孩子也起身去四川取鼓了。他走了一段时间，来到了河边。有一个老者跟他说：“你来这干什么呀？”“我有一个想娶的女孩。但是她是独生女，所以她家想要招婿入赘。她父亲要我取一个鼓带回去。取到的话，就把那个女孩嫁与我作为妻，取不到的话，她就会成为官员家孩子的妻子。”老人说：“跟我来。”于是，那个老者就拿来了一个鼓让他带回去了。拿回到门口时，穷人家的孩子就说：“文官家的孩子才写了两千字。武官家的孩子才射了一半的桃花。我从四川把鼓取回来了，所以她是我的妻子。”女孩此时正在给写字的文官家孩子倒茶，她就在屋里这样说道：“你喝完茶，请把杯子还给我。我的丈夫从四川取鼓回来了。现在我想像画眉鸟一样，立刻从鸟笼里飞出去。”于是，这个女孩就和穷人家的孩子结婚了。她父亲气得要死。

【日本語大意】

四川の太鼓

昔々あるところに金持ちの一家がいて、息子が一人いた。その息子は役人をしていて。妻を娶り一年がたったとき、その妻は病死してしまった。次の年、役人の男はまた妻を娶った。ところが、その妻も病死してしまった。さらに次の年、また妻を娶った。この妻は、一人の女の子を産んだ。この女の子が大きくなった。役人の家がこの子に求婚した。貧乏人の家もこの子に求婚した。その子の父親は言った。「娘はそう簡単にはやれん。良い日を選んで、帽子を準備しよう。家の娘が帽子を投げた相手を婿にしよう。」彼は良い日を決めた。女の子の家は、役人の息子と貧乏人の息子と呼び、家の門の前を通らせた。その女の子が投げた相手が彼女の夫となる。まず、文官の息子が馬に乗って通った。女の子は文官の息子には帽子を投げなかった。次に、武官の息子が馬に乗って通り過ぎた。女の子は、武官の息子には帽子を投げなかった。最後に貧乏人の息子が薪を背負って家の前を通った。すると、女の子は薪を背負ったその男に帽子を投げた。女の子の父親は、娘をその貧乏人の息子に嫁がせなかった。女の子の父親は、もう一度彼らを家に招いた。文官の息子が来た。

武官の息子も招かれてきた。薪を背負った貧乏人の息子も呼ばれて来た。彼らが来ると、父親は言った。「文官の息子は字を三千字書かなければならん。武官の息子は裏庭の桃の木の花を弓で全部打ち落さねばならん。貧乏人の息子は四川に行って太鼓を取ってこなければならん。」というわけで、貧乏人の息子は四川に太鼓を取りに行くことになった。文官の息子は字を三千字書く。武官の息子は裏庭の桃の木の花を全部打ち落とす。さて、貧乏人の息子は四川に太鼓を取りに出発した。しばらく行くと川辺に着いた。一人の老人がいて話しかけてきた。「何をしに来たんだね。」「結婚したい女の子が一人っ子なんだ。それで彼女の家では婿を取りたがってるのさ。それで僕にこのあたりで太鼓を一つ取って来いというんだ。太鼓を持っていければその子は僕の妻になる。できないと、役人の家の嫁になっちまう。」その老人は言った。「ついてきなさい。」すると、その老人は太鼓を一つ持ってきて彼に持って帰らせた。門の前に着くと、貧乏人の息子は声をあげた。「文官の息子は三千字のうち、二千字書いた。武官の息子は桃の木の花をやっと半分まで打ち落とした。私は四川から太鼓を取ってきた。だから彼女は私の妻だ。」女の子はそのとき文官の息子にお茶を入れていたが、家の中からこう答えた。「お茶を飲み終わったら、お茶碗をお返しくださいね。私の夫が四川から太鼓を持って帰ってきました。今私は画眉鳥のように鳥かごから飛び立ちます。」というわけで、女の子は貧乏人の息子と結婚した。彼女の父親は怒り心頭だった。

26. Go-in-oil-then-not-sticky

1 *εeA -eB maA piB naA niB-miC ... maA piB naA maA tsiA-δanB*
 time DEM exist CLF human 3-mother exist CLF human exist three-CLF

tANA-paB tANA-miC.
 child-father child-mother

Once upon a time, there lived a family consisting of parents and a son.

2 *niB-miC δaC -loA.*
 3-mother die PTCL

The child's mother died.

3 *χONA- sONA ʔwuA-δanB tANA-paB -qəAleC.*
 CLNK1 leave two-CLF child-father only

The son and his father were left.

4 *niB-piB δanB aAtana -eB aC aAləCηiC ηaC -tsaB.*
 3-house CLF child DEM do thief strong PTCL

The child was an excellent thief.

5 *əBtshoA-naA təAeB loB- zoCseA jonC niB ηiC, təAnonB loB- zoCseA jonC*
 village-human there also tell COP 3 steal here also tell COP

niB ηiC.
 3 steal

In the village, many things were stolen here and there, and people said that it was the child that stole them.

6 *niB-paB tēhiA -tsaB.*
 3-father angry PTCL

His father was very angry about this.

7 *niB-paB zoCseA, ʋONA aC aAləCηiC ηaC -tsaB, jeB ʋONA -moA ... kanB qhliA*
 3-father tell 2SG do thief strong PTCL FLL 2SG MOD 1SG strip

ʋONA -moA aAzuC -χeNA, qhliA ʋONA -moA aAzēB -χeNA.
 2SG MOD clothes PTCL strip 2SG MOD trousers PTCL

His father said, "They say you are a great thief. Now I will undress you."

8 *ʋONA muB ηiC tuC δanB aAtəoAkhuC -eB -moA əBtēNA əBkonA luB jeB,*
 2SG go steal acquire CLF shoemaker DEM MOD CLF needle come FLL

kanB tsoC- qloB ʋONA muB aC aAləCηiC.
 1SG CLNK1 follow 2SG go do thief

If you can steal the shoemaker's needle and bring it back, I will follow you as a thief."

9 *δanB aAtana -nonB tsoC- muB ηiC ... tsoC- muA- mpaC aAzeB ... muA- mpaC*
 CLF child DEM CLNK1 go steal CLNK1 NEG wear trousers NEG wear

aAzuC muA- tuC aAzeB tsoC- muB, aC taAntsaCteaA muB ηiC δanB
 clothes NEG wear trousers CLNK1 go do naked go steal CLF

aAteoAkhuC -moA əBkonA.
 shoemaker MOD needle

The boy went to the shoemaker's house with nothing on to steal his needle.

10 *tsoC- ?miA ?ena konA -eB tɛhona qoC təAqhonBqaB tsoC- luB.*
 CLNK1 DISP1 CLF needle DEM pierce GOAL anus CLNK1 come
 He came home with the needle inserted in his anus.

11 *niB-paB tsoC- zoCseA, δanB aAtana -nonB təAðena aC aAləCηiC ηaC aCnonB.*
 3-father CLNK1 tell CLF child DEM truly do thief strong this.way
 His father said to himself, "What a great thief my son is!"

12 *kanB qlob niB muB aC.*
 1SG follow 3 go do
 "OK, I will become a member of his team."

13 *niB-paB tsoC- qlob δanB aAtana -nonB muB ... muB ηiC piB naA.*
 3-father CLNK1 follow CLF child DEM go go steal CLF human
 In this way, his father went to steal following his son.

14 *ηiC piB naA -niB, piB naA -eB tsoC- muAtehoC -loA.*
 steal CLF human PTCL CLF human DEM CLNK1 know PTCL
 When they entered a house to steal, people in the house noticed them.

15 *tsoC- sob luB ?yæA.*
 CLNK1 get.up come chase
 They got up and chased them.

16 *?yæA -niB tsoC- ngwiB tuC niB-paB -loA.*
 chase PTCL CLNK1 catch acquire 3-father PTCL
 The people caught the father thief.

17 *δanB aAtana tsoC- nthac kwaa -loA.*
 CLF child CLNK1 run escape CLF
 The boy thief escaped.

18 *δanB aAtana -nonB nthac kwaa -loA -niB, niB-paB muA- luB -jaA.*
 CLF child DEM run escape PTCL PTCL 3-father NEG come PTCL
 The boy thief came home, and found that his father didn't make it.

19 *jeB niB tsoC- tsonC doB muB kana naA piB.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 deliver fire go burn human house
 He set the house that they stole from afire to save his father.

20 *kanA naA niA-piB -niB, təAnaA tsoC- ʔmiA niB-paB muB qoC χəBηtonA*
 burn human ANPH-house PTCL human CLNK1 DISP1 3-father go GOAL inside

hluA-maB χəBηtonA -eB khuA ... khuA -ηtaA ... qheA qoC ηtonA hluA-maB
 sack-hemp inside DEM confine confine EXPR tie GOAL inside sack-hemp

-loA.

PTCL

The people of this house had packed the father thief in a sack.

21 *δanB ... təA ... təAnaA tsoC- muB tɛuA δoB -loA.*

CLF human CLNK1 go save fire PTCL

When their house caught on fire, the people began to put out the fire.

22 *δanB aAtana -nonB tsoC- nthac tonB luB tsoC- luB nthablaB aAhluA-maB*
 CLF child DEM CLNK1 run return come CLNK1 come open sack-hemp

tsonC niB-paB tshuA -loA.

release 3-father exit PTCL

The boy thief went into the house and opened the sack, and saved his father.

23 *jeB niB tsoC- muB ... niB tsoC- muB ngwiB piB naA -moA δanB təA-*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 go 3 CLNK1 go catch CLF human MOD CLF NMLZ-

loB naA luB khuA qoC χəBηtonA aAhluB.

old human come confine GOAL inside sack

Then, he captured the family's father and packed him in the sack.

24 *niB tsoC- qheA ηdzoA-hluB -loA jeB ʔwuA-δanB tana-paB tsoC- nduC*
 3 CLNK1 tie mouth-sack PTCL FLL two-CLF child-father CLNK1 leave

-loA.

PTCL

The boy thief and the father thief ran away.

25 *εεAceA əbtshoA naA -eB -moA naA jiC- tɛuA δoB luB -niB, tsoC- luB*
 a.while CLF human DEM MOD human CLNK1 save fire come PTCL CLNK1 come

quA δanB ... quA δanB qoAloB-aAtiA -nonB.

beat CLF beat CLF old-grandfather DEM

After people in the village extinguished the fire, they came to the house to beat the father thief.

26 *quA δanB qoAloB-aAtiA -nonB -niB, δanB qoAloB-aAtiA -nonB tsoC-*
 beat CLF old-grandfather DEM PTCL CLF old-grandfather DEM CLNK1

zoCseA, miAnaB kaAtsiB- quA kanB -jaA.

tell 2PL PROH beat 1SG PTCL

When people began beating the sack, the man in the sack said, "Don't beat me."

- 27 *kanB jonC ʁONA-paB -siA.*
 1SG COP 2SG-father PTCL
 “I am your father!”
- 28 *piB naA -eB zoCseA, ʁanB aAqoAloB-aAləCɲiC -nonB vuB- zoCseA jonC*
 CLF human DEM tell CLF old-thief DEM still tell COP
kanB-paB -siA, tʁONC ɣɣC quA.
 1SG-father PTCL deliver strength beat
 The people replied, “This thief dares to say he is our father! Beat him up!”
- 29 *təBqwenAnonB quA lauBɣoB luB -seA, tʁoC- ... jiC- nthaBlaB ɲɔzoA-hluB*
 after.that beat heavily come CLNK2 CLNK1 CLNK1 open mouth-sack
luB lanC -seA, təAðena jonC niB-paB -siA.
 come look CLNK2 truly COP 3-father PTCL
 After they beat him up for a while, they opened the sack. They found that it was their father that they had beaten.
- 30 *ʁwuA-ʁanB aAləCɲiC tʁoC- nduC -loA.*
 two-CLF thief CLNK1 leave PTCL
 The two thieves had run away.
- 31 *luBʁwuA-hnaA ʁanB aAləCɲiC -nonB juCtɛiA- muB ... juCtɛiA- muB ... muB -niB,*
 second-day CLF thief DEM again go again go go PTCL
muB ...jaC ʁwuA-ʁanB aAləCɲiC ... aAləCɲiC ... juCtɛiA- jaC ʁwuA-
 go encounter two-CLF thief thief again encounter two-
ʁanB aAləCɲiC.
 CLF thief
 The next day, the boy thief encountered two thieves.
- 32 *ʁwuA-ʁanB aAləCɲiC -nonB zoCseA, ʁONA jonC tʁəBtsiB təAmpɪC -tsiB.*
 two-CLF thief DEM tell 2SG COP IGN name IGN
 The two thieves asked him, “What’s your name?”
- 33 *kanB jonC ngaB joA tʁoC- muA- ... ngaB joA tʁoC- muA- ʁlenC.*
 1SG COP descend oil CLNK1 NEG descend oil CLNK1 NEG sticky
 He answered, “My name is Go-in-oil-then-not-sticky.”
- 34 *naB ʁONA ... naB ʁONA -niB.*
 CONJ 2SG CONJ 2SG PTCL
 He asked one of the thieves, “What’s your name?”
- 35 *kanB jonC ... kanB jonC joA ngoA.*
 1SG COP 1SG COP oil slippery
 One thief said, “My name is Slippery-oil.”

- 36 *ðanB -eB -niB.*
CLF DEM PTCL
“What is his name?”
- 37 *uA, kanB jonC tðAleA ngoA ... ngoA joA.*
Oh, 1SG COP FLL slippery slippery oil
The other thief answered, “My name is Oil-slippery.”
- 38 *tɿA-ðanB -nonB sʒA-jonA muB aC aAləCɿiC ... sʒA-jonA muB aC aAləCɿiC.*
three-CLF DEM RCP-take go do thief RCP-take go do thief
The three thieves then went to steal together.
- 39 *muB ɿiC -niB, piB naA -moA əB ... əBɿiA.*
go steal PTCL CLF human MOD silver
They were going to enter a house to steal money.
- 40 *phoB naA -eB tsoC- qloB xəBsaA waB muB ɿiC, jeB tsoC ʒoCseA.*
CLF human DEM CLNK1 ABL top tile go steal FLL CLNK1 say
They decided to enter the house from the top of the house.
- 41 *niB ʒoCseA, niB aC aAləCɿiC ɿaC -tsaB jeB kanBnaB qoC niB muB.*
3 say 3 do thief strong PTCL FLL 1PL let 3 go
The two thieves whom the boy thief met talked to each other. “The boy is the best amongst us, so make him go into the house.”
- 42 *qoC niB muB xəBɿiɿonA piB.*
let 3 go inside house
They decided that the boy thief would enter the house.
- 43 *təBqwenAnonB ðanB aAtana -eB tsoC- muB xəBɿiɿonA piB ɿiɿonA -eB muB*
after.that CLF child DEM CLNK1 go inside house inside DEM go
ɿiC zəna.
steal money
The boy thief went into the house to steal money.
- 44 *jeB ɿwuA-ðanB -eB tsoC- ɿɿonA xəBsaA waB saA -eB tsoC ɛanBeanB.*
FLL two-CLF DEM CLNK1 be.at top tile top DEM lift.up box
The other two were at the top of the house and ready to lift up the money boxes.
- 45 *tsoC tuC əBeanB luB -waC.*
lift.up acquire CLF come PTCL
Now a box went up.
- 46 *jeB ðanB aAtana -nonB tsoC- ʒoCseA, kɿenB'tinC'- niB jiC- tuC ɿwuA-*
FLL CLF child DEM CLNK1 say definitely 3 CLNK1 acquire two-
ɛanB zanC muB -waC -niB, niB tɿeAtina nduC -siA.
CLF ascend go PTCL PTCL 3 definitely leave PTCL
The boy thief thought, “They are going to run when they get the second box.”

- 47 *niB muA- ... niB muA- δoNB ... niB muA- ρηoNB kanB -jaA.*
 3 NEG 3 NEG wait 3 NEG want 1SG PTCL
 They will leave me here.”
- 48 *δaNB aAtana -nonB tsoC- muB ηdeA ... ηdeA ... muB ηdeA luBρwuA-εaNB -moA*
 CLF child DEM CLNK1 go hide hide go hide next-CLF MOD
χəBηtonA εaNBεaNB -loA.
 inside box PTCL
 So the boy thief hid in the second money box.
- 49 *jeB ρwuA-δaNB tsoC- θhuC zanC muB.*
 FLL two-CLF CLNK1 pull ascend go
 The two thieves pulled up the second box to the top.
- 50 *θhuC zanC muB tsoC- ... tsoC- ... tsoC- ... θhuC δaNB aAtana zanC -loA.*
 pull ascend go CLNK1 CLNK1 CLNK1 pull CLF child ascend PTCL
 What they pulled up was the boy thief.
- 51 *təBqweNAnonB ρwuA-δaNB tsoC- kuB ρwuA-εaNB zeNA -eB nduC.*
 after.that two-CLF CLNK1 carry two-CLF money DEM leave
 After that, they ran away carrying the two money boxes.
- 52 *tsoNAhmonC nduC hmonC, kuB nduC ηteaC tiByeA -moA poAn-tonA yeA.*
 overnight walk night carry walk reach morning MOD middle morning
 They ran all through the night until the next day morning.
- 53 *nqheNA onA -tsaB.*
 thirsty water PTCL
 They got very thirsty.
- 54 *ρwuA-δaNB naA -nonB -niB, ... ρwuA-δaNB aAləCηiC -nonB -niB, tsoC- tsuC*
 two-CLF human DEM PTCL two-CLF thief DEM PTCL CLNK1 put.down
əBηiA qoC təAtəiB.
 silver GOAL road
 The two thieves put the money boxes down on the road.
- 55 *jeB tsoC- muB ηiC qwaA ... ηiC naA niA-piB -moA qwaA nonA.*
 FLL CLNK1 go steal melon steal human ANPH-house MOD melon eat
 They then went to steal some melons to eat.
- 56 *jiC- muB ηiC naA niA-piB -moA qwaA nonA -niB, təAnaA jiC-*
 CLNK1 go steal human ANPH-house MOD melon eat PTCL human CLNK1
təeNAnqwaC.
 shout
 When they went to steal a melon, somebody noticed them and shouted.

57 *aAləCɲiC.*

thief
“Thief!”

58 *aCnonB jeB δanB aAtanA -nonB tsoC- qlob χəBɲtonA ɛanBeanB -eB tshuA*
this.way FLL CLF child DEM CLNK1 ABL inside box DEM exit

luB tsoC- zoCseA.
come CLNK1 say

At that moment, the boy thief jumped out of the box and said.

59 *uB, muA- jonC kanB -jaA.*
INTJ NEG COP 1SG PTCL

“Oh, it’s not me.”

60 *jonC ʔwuA-δanB -nonB -siA.*
COP two-CLF DEM PTCL

“Those two are the thieves!”

61 *naB ʔwuA-δanB tsoC- nthac -loA.*
this.way two-CLF CLNK1 run PTCL

The two thieves ran away.

62 *jeB δanB aAləCɲiC -nonB tsoC- teaA- tuC ɛanB zenA -eB -siA.*
FLL CLF thief DEM CLNK1 independently acquire CLF money DEM PTCL

So the boy thief got the money.

【中文大意】

下油就不粘

从前有一家三口。母亲去世后。只剩下父子俩了。他家孩子偷东西很厉害。村民那里都说这个是他偷的，那个也是他偷的。他父亲很生气。他父亲说：“你既然偷东西很厉害，那么你把衣服和裤子都脱掉试试。如果这样你也能把补鞋人的针偷回来的话，那我以后就跟你一起去当小偷。”因此，这个孩子就不穿裤子不穿衣服，赤裸着去偷补鞋人的针了。他把那根针藏在肛门里带了回来。他父亲心想：“这孩子偷东西这么厉害啊！我也跟他去偷吧。”于是，他父亲就跟这个孩子一起去偷别人家的东西了。但是，进去偷东西的时候，被那家人发现了。那家人就追了出来。父子俩被追到后，抓到了父亲。孩子跑掉了。虽然孩子跑掉了，但是他父亲回不来。于是，他就放火去烧那家人的房子。那家人把他父亲装在麻袋里面。发现着火之后，就去救火了。这个孩子就趁机溜进房间，解开麻袋，把他父亲救出来了。然后，他又把那家的老人抓了过来，装进了袋子里。系好麻袋口，父子俩就跑了。过一会儿火灭掉了之后，那家人又返回来打装在袋子里的那个父亲。一打，麻袋里的老人就说：“你们不要再打了。我是你们的父亲啊。”那家人说：“这个小偷，尽然还敢说是我们的父亲，再用力打！”他们狠狠地打了一会儿后，解开袋口发现，真的是他们的父亲。两个小偷已经逃走了。第二天，那个孩子碰到了两个小偷。两个小偷问：“你叫什么名字？”他回答道：“我叫下油就不粘。你呢？”“我叫滑油。”“那那个呢？”“我叫油滑。”这三个人决定一起去偷东西。想去偷别人家的银子。三个人打算从屋顶进去。他们两个说：“他偷东西厉害些，让他去吧。让他进屋里去。”最终决定那个孩子负责进去屋里偷钱。他们两个负责在屋顶上吊箱子。先吊上来了一个箱子。那个孩子心想：“如果让他们得到两个箱子的话，他们肯定就跑了。我就没用了。”于是，那个孩子就躲

进了第二个箱子里面。两个小偷把第二个箱子拉上去了。他们拉上来的其实是那个孩子。两个小偷就抬着两个箱子跑了。跑了一整晚，跑到第二天凌晨。口很渴了。两个小偷把箱子放在路边。然后去偷别人家的黄瓜来吃。那家人发现了他们，大喊道：“小偷！”那个孩子听到了就从箱子里跳出来：“不是我。是那两个人。”那两个小偷就跑了。于是，那个小孩就得到那些钱了。

【日本語大意】

油に入ればくつつかない

昔、あるところに三人の親子がいた。母親は亡くなって、父と子が残された。その息子は盗みが非常にうまかった。村のあちこちでこれはあいつが盗んだ、それもあいつが盗んだとうわさされていた。父親は憤慨した。父親は言った。「おまえ、盗みがうまいらしいな。じゃ、服もズボンも脱いでみろ。もし、それで靴職人の針を盗んで来れたら、俺もおまえと一緒に泥棒になってやる。」その息子は服も着ずズボンもはかずに、素っ裸で靴職人の針を盗みに行った。それで針を肛門から中へ差し込んで持って帰ってきた。父親は思った。「こいつはなんと盗みがうまいんだ。おれも一緒に盗みをしよう。」さて、父親は息子とともにある家に盗みに入った。ところが盗みに入ると、家にものに気づかれてしまった。その家の人は追いかけてきた。追いつかれて父親は捕まった。息子の方は逃げおおせた。息子は逃げられたが、父親は戻ってこなかった。すると息子はその家に火をかけた。さて、その家の人は、父親を麻袋の中に閉じ込めていた。火が付いたので、家の人は火を消しにかかった。息子はその家に入ると、麻袋を開けて父親を救い出した。そしてその家の老人を捕まえると、麻袋に放り込んだ。麻袋の口を縛ると、息子と父親は立ち去った。しばらくして火が消えると、家の人は戻ってきてかの父親を叩こうとした。叩くと麻袋の中の老人は叫んだ。「おまえたち、叩くな。わしはおまえたちの父親だぞ。」その家の人は言った。「この泥棒、俺たちの父親だとよ、もっと力を入れて叩け。」しばらく激しく叩いた後、袋を開けてみると、なんと自分たちの父親だった。二人の泥棒は逃げおおせた。次の日、泥棒の息子は二人の泥棒に出会った。二人の泥棒が聞いてきた。「おまえ、名前はなんて言うんだ。」彼は答えた。「俺の名前は、油に入ればくつつかないだよ。じゃ、おまえの名前は。」相手の泥棒は答えた。「俺の名前は、滑る油だよ。」「そいつのは。」もう一人の泥棒が答えた。「俺の名前は、油滑りだよ。」三人の泥棒は一緒に盗みに行き、人の家の金を盗もうということになった。泥棒たちは屋根から入ろうと算段した。二人の泥棒は言った。「あいつは盗むのがうまい。だからあいつに行かせよう。」それで、かの息子が中に入って金を盗むことになった。二人の泥棒は、屋根の上から金の箱を吊り上げる役だった。まず一箱吊り上げられた。かの息子は思った。「こいつら二つの箱を吊り上げたら、逃げるに違いない。俺のことはもうどうでもよくなる。」二人の泥棒は、二つ目の箱を引っ張り上げた。そこで息子は二番目の箱の中に隠れた。彼らが引っ張り上げたのは、例の息子だった。二人の泥棒は、二つの箱

を担いで逃げ出した。夜通し逃げて、昼前まで逃げた。のどがカラカラになった。そこで二人の泥棒は、箱を道端に置いて、人の家の胡瓜を盗んで食べた。すると、その家の人気づいて叫んだ。「泥棒だ。」そこでかの息子は箱から飛び出して叫んだ。「俺じゃない。あいつら二人だ。」二人の泥棒は逃げ出した。というわけで、かの息子は金を手に入れたのだった。

27. A Story of the Hunter Zhang Daqiang

- 1 *εeA -eB kanBnaB -moA hmøA naA maA δanB təA-ηtuA tʰonA.*
time DEM 1PL MOD PN human exist CLF NMLZ-strike gun
Once upon a time, there was a hunter in the Miao tribe.
- 2 *tsuanBmiA- ηtuA tʰonA janC ηdzoA, ηtuA ngeA ηtuA ngonC, ηtuA tɛnA ηtuA*
always strike gun feed mouth strike flesh strike* strike insect strike
noC janC ηdzoA.
bird feed mouth
Every day, he went hunting to earn a living. [89]
- 3 *maA hnaA niB tsʰuA muB, maA δanB noC əBʔηonA saA ntonC əBɛiA.*
exist day 3 exit go exist CLF bird be.at top tree chirp
One day when he went hunting, he noticed a bird singing on the top of a tree.
- 4 *χəBtiA tsoC- maA ʔwuA-δanB yøNA szA-ηtoC, əBtʰonA -qəAleC tsoC- ηtuA*
bottom CLNK1 exist two-CLF dragon RCP-fight CLF only CLNK1 strike
δanB noC ponA luB.
CLF bird drop come
Under the tree, there were two dragons fighting. The man shot the bird down with a single shot.
- 5 *ʔwuA-δanB yøNA -eB szA-ηtoC -niB, δanB tsoC- nduC -loA.*
two-CLF dragon DEM RCP-fight PTCL CLF CLNK1 leave PTCL
Then, one of the dragons ran away.
- 6 *nduC -loA jeB, δanB yøNA -eB luBʔwuA-hnaA tonB zuC niB-piB.*
leave PTCL FLL CLF dragon DEM second-day return arrive 3-house
The other dragon returned home on the next day.
- 7 *əBhnaA -nonB δanB aAtsiB ηtuA tɛnA tʰonA -nonB aB.*
day DEM CLF IGN strike CLF gun DEM INTJ
He asked, “Today, who made that shot?”
- 8 *jonC tsanBtaBtehanB aAnaA.*
COP PN PTCL
Someone answered. “It was Zhang Daqiang who made the shot.”
- 9 *uA, aAnaB aA.*
INTJ INTJ INTJ
“Oh, I see.”

89 Both *ηtuA ngeA ηtuA ngonC* and *ηtuA tɛnA ηtuA noC* are idiomatic expressions. *ngeAnɡonC* is a word meaning ‘beasts in general’, and *tɛnAnoC* is a word meaning ‘birds in general’. The verb *ηtuA* ‘strike’ divides each word into two parts, and takes each part as its object to create a four-syllable phrase.

10 *toC kanB muB fanB'thinC' ?neA.*
 BNF 1SG go visit CLF
 “Visit him for me.”

11 *niB ?ηONA teuAduB.*
 3 be.at IGN
 “Where does he live?”

12 *jeB toC kanB χANC niB luB.*
 FLL BNF 1SG call 3 come
 “Ask him to come to see me.”

13 *χauB ... təBqweNAnonB jeB lonAwana piB tsoC- phaiC məAnaBtəAχwanApiA*
 INTJ after.that FLL dragon.king house CLNK1 dispatch FLL

δanB... yθNA -moA tszBsenB tēəBpiC δanB naA tsoC- zuC tsanBtaBtehanB
 CLF dragon MOD offspring change CLF human CLNK1 arrive PN

piB.

house

The dragon king transformed one of his offsprings into a human, and sent him to Zhang Daqiang’s house.

14 *seA, tsanBtaBtehanB.*
 say PN
 The offspring said, “Zhang Daqiang!”

15 *əBhnaA -nonB hmonC -nonB jonC ʁONA ηtuA θhona.*
 day DEM evening DEM COP 2SG strike gun
 “Was it you who shot a gun today?”

16 *aA, uA.*
 INTJ INTJ
 “Yes.”

17 *jonC kanB ηtuA.*
 COP 1SG strike
 “It was me.”

18 *?ηONA nthanB ntonC -eB ηtuA -loA -mana.*
 be.at CLF tree DEM strike PTCL PTCL
 “Did you make a shot in the woods?”

19 *aA, jonC kanB.*
 INTJ COP 1SG
 “Yes, it was me.”

20 *yθNA piB hnaA -nonB χANC ʁONA ngaB muB suC, aAnaA, zoCseA.*
 dragon house day DEM call 2SG descend go rest PTCL say
 “The dragon king invites you to his house.”

- 21 *oA, naB χANC kanB ngaB muB suC.*
 INTJ CONJ call 1SG descend go rest
 “Oh, does he invite me to his house?”
- 22 *aA.*
 INTJ
 “Yes.”
- 23 *tsANBtaBtehanB -niB, əBɣøNA piB hnaA -nonB χANC ʁONA ngaB muB suC.*
 PN PTCL dragon house day DEM call 2SG descend go rest
 “Zhang Daqiang, the dragon king invites you to his house.”
- 24 *niB paNA ʁONA tsIA-sena mbliA tsOC- tsIA-sena ŋiA, tsIA-sena teNA ... tsIA-3*
 3 give 2SG three-CLF rice CLNK1 three-CLF silver three-CLF gold three-
sena tsANB tsOC- tsIA-sena teNA, ʁONA khaA- ʔŋONB -jaA.
 CLF millet CLNK1 three-CLF gold 2SG PROH want PTCL
 “He will give you three shengs of rice, which are actually three shengs of silver coins, and three shengs of millet, which are actually three shengs of gold coins. But do not accept those things.”
 [90]
- 25 *jeB ʁONA tsOC- ʔŋONB δANB noC təAtANA -eB -mbeC.*
 FLL 2SG CLNK1 want CLF bird small DEM PTCL
 “You should ask him to give you the bird of his house.”
- 26 *δANB noC təAtANA -eB -niB, tsOC- jonC niB-tANA təAmpheB.*
 CLF bird small DEM PTCL CLNK1 COP 3-child girl
 “That bird is his daughter.”
- 27 *jeB ʁONA tsOC- ʔŋONB δANB -eB -mbeC.*
 FLL 2SG CLNK1 want CLF DEM PTCL
 “You should request for that bird.”
- 28 *uA, aAnaA.*
 INTJ PTCL
 Zhang Daqiang said, “Oh, I see.”
- 29 *χauB, niB tsOC- muB ɣøNA piB -niB, tsOC- suaB tuC tsIA-hnaA,*
 INTJ 3 CLNK1 go dragon house PTCL CLNK1 have.fun acquire three-day
jeB tsIA-hnaA -niB, χauB niB tsOC- niB- ʔONB.
 FLL three-day PTCL INTJ 3 CLNK1 IRR return
 Zhang Daqiang went to the dragon king’s house, and spent three days there. Then he decided to go home.

90 *seNA* denotes a vessel to measure grain. It is also used as a unit of measure for grain, being one tenth of *tuB*. *seNA* is a loanword from Chinese 升 *shēng*. Here we translate it as ‘sheng’ in English.

- 30 *əBʏəNA zoCseA, tsənBtaBtehanB, ʁONA niB- muB piB.*
 dragon say PN 2SG IRR go house
 The dragon king said, “Zhang Daqiang, you want to go home, don’t you?”
- 31 *aA, kanB muB piB.*
 INTJ 1SG go house
 “Yes, I do.”
- 32 *χauB, ʁONA suC ʁneA -tsoB -mana.*
 INTJ 2SG rest CLF PTCL PTCL
 “You should stay a little more.”
- 33 *aiA, kanB niB- muB.*
 INTJ 1SG IRR go
 “Oh, I must go home.”
- 34 *aAnaB, ʁONA niB- muB jeB, muA- maA tsəBtsiB -jaA jeB.*
 INTJ 2SG IRR go FLL NEG exist IGN PTCL FLL
 “Oh, I see. If you go home, I want to give you something though I do not have anything good.”
- 35 *əBtshoA tsiA-senA mbliA panA niB.*
 scoop three-CLF rice give 3
 The dragon king said, “Give him three shengs of rice”.
- 36 *əBtshoA tsiA-senA mbliA -eB niB tsoC- muA- hŋoC ʁŋonB -jaA.*
 scoop three-CLF rice DEM 3 CLNK1 NEG agree want PTCL
 However, Zhang Daqiang declined the offer.
- 37 *əBtshoA tsiA-senA tshanB panA niB.*
 scoop three-CLF millet give 3
 Then the dragon king said, “Give him three shengs of millet”.
- 38 *tshoA tsiA-senA tshanB loB- tsoC- muA- ʁŋonB -jaA.*
 scoop three-CLF millet also CLNK1 NEG want PTCL
 However, Zhang Daqiang again declined the offer.
- 39 *tsənBtaBtehanB ʁONA toC kanB χiA tuC əBʁlanA tətəhoC -nonB eiA.*
 PN 2SG BNF 1SG rob acquire CLF land DEM INTJ
 “Zhang Daqiang, you helped me to get this land.”
- 40 *lanAtauC ʁONA tsoC- muA- ʁŋonB -jaA.*
 how.dare 2SG CLNK1 NEG want PTCL
 I want to express my thanks to you, how can you decline this?”
- 41 *aA, kanB muA- ʁŋonB -jaA -dəBsiA.*
 INTJ 1SG NEG want PTCL PTCL
 Zhang Daqiang said, “Oh, I just do not want those things.”
- 42 *naB, ʁONA niB- ʁŋonB tətəBtsiB -mana.*
 CONJ 2SG IRR want IGN PTCL
 “OK, then, what do you want?”

- 43 *aiA, niB- ʔŋoNB -χaB, muA- ʔɣoNC zoC -jaA.*
 INTJ IRR want CLNK2 NEG good tell PTCL
 “Actually, I want something, but I hesitate to say this.”
- 44 *ʋoNA ʔŋoNB tɛəBtsiB kaNB tsoC- ʔmiA paNA ʋoNA.*
 2SG want IGN 1SG CLNK1 DISP1 give 2SG
 “I will give you anything you want.”
- 45 *aA, kaNB ʔŋoNB ʋoNA -moA δanB təAtana noC -eB, təA-khuA qoC*
 INTJ 1SG want 2SG MOD CLF small bird DEM NMLZ-confine GOAL
ɣoA-noC -eB.
 cage-bird DEM
 “Then, I say, I want that small bird confined in the cage.”
- 46 *khoB’jiB’ khoB’jiB’, ʔmiA paNA ʋoNA tiB muB, aAnaA.*
 okay okay DISP1 give 2SG take go PTCL
 “OK, OK, I will give you that.”
- 47 *niB tsoC- tiB δanB təAtana noC luB, tsoC- zuC piB.*
 3 CLNK1 take CLF small bird come CLNK1 arrive house
 This way, Zhang Daqiang took the small bird to his house.
- 48 *niB hnaA-hnaA-hnaA tsoC- muB ŋtuA noC -loA.*
 3 day-RED CLNK1 go strike bird PTCL
 As usual, he went hunting every day. [91]
- 49 *jeB niB -moA δanB təAtana noC -nonB tsoC- tɛəBpiC δanB naA, tsoC-*
 FLL 3 MOD CLF small bird DEM CLNK1 change CLF human CLNK1
toC niB aC ʔɣyA -naB, aC ŋaC -naB, aiAjaA, tsoC- aC δoNB niB.
 BNF 3 make dish PLNK make rice PLNK INTJ CLNK1 make wait 3
 When he went out for hunting, the small bird changed herself into a human, and prepared a meal for him.
- 50 *niB luB zuC piB -niB, aiAjaA, aCəaC δanB aAtsiB toC kaNB aC δanB*
 3 come arrive house PTCL INTJ IGN CLF IGN BNF 1SG make CLF
ʔɣyA -nonB, δanB ŋaC -nonB -niB.
 dish DEM CLF rice DEM PTCL
 When he came home, he found that somebody had prepared a meal for him. “Who on earth did this for me?”

91 *hnaA-hnaA-hnaA* is an example of classifier reduplication that expresses the distributive meaning ‘every’ or ‘each’ in Lan Hmyo. In this example, the story-teller duplicated the classifier *hnaA* ‘day’ twice, which expresses intensification.

- 51 *aiAjaA, kanB qwana tAnaA -mbeC, niB zoCseA.*
 INTJ 1SG thank human PTCL 3 say
 “OK, I must say my thanks to the people who did this.”
- 52 *jeB qwana vuA-tshoA vuA-yoNB, tA-hluA tA-ʔjoC, kanB muB ɛwiA*
 FLL thank woman-village woman-village NMLZ-big NMLZ-little 1SG go leisure
hnaA-hnaA ŋtuA tɛnA ŋtuA noC jeB, miA tsaA- toC kanB aC ʔyA
 day-RED strike insect strike bird FLL 2PL voluntarily BNF 1SG make dish
aC ŋaC.
 make rice
 He went to thank the women of his village. “I went hunting every day. You people prepared a meal for me. Thank you so much.”
- 53 *aiAjaA, tshoA -moA phoB vuA-miC, aiAjoA, tA-hluA tA-ʔjoC tsoC-*
 INTJ village MOD CLF woman-mother INTJ NMLZ-big NMLZ-little CLNK1
qeC niB.
 swear 3
 To his surprise, they began to scold him.
- 54 *ɛona ɔanB joCmbæC-qlenA, əBqlenA ɔanB -tsiB toC ɛona aC ʔyA aC ŋaC.*
 2SG CLF bachelor-ghost ghost CLF IGN BNF 2SG make dish make rice
 “You bachelor, nobody prepares meals for you.”
- 55 *khaAtsiB- qlaA piA-siB, piA ... piA-tana piA-zonB ... piA-siB... qeC piA -siA*
 PROH cheat 1PL-wife 1PL-child 1PL-husband 1PL-wife swear 1PL PTCL
oA.
 INTJ
 “Stop talking rubbish. Our husband might scold us.”
- 56 *qlenA toC ɛona aC ŋaC.*
 ghost BNF 2SG make rice
 “Only ghosts make meals for you.”
- 57 *seA, jiC.*
 say INTJ
 He said to himself, “Oh, it’s ridiculous!”
- 58 *qliBɛona -liA, kanB qwana miA -liA, miA fanBəɾA vuB- qeC kanB.*
 INTJ PTCL 1SG thank 2PL PTCL 2PL on.the.contrally still swear 1SG
 Why do people swear at me when I thank them?” [92]

92 *qliBɛona* is an interjection expressing irritation and vexation, which has the construction
 ◇dog◇copulate.

- 59 *χauB*.
INTJ
“All right!”
- 60 *tsɔC- seA, hnaA -nonB jeB kanB khaAtsiB- muB*.
CLNK1 say day DEM FLL 1SG PROH go
He said, “Today, I won’t go hunting.”
- 61 *khaAtsiB- aC jeB*.
PROH do FLL
“I will not work”
- 62 *kanB tsɔC- tuA aAzɔNA -ŋtaA, tuA aAzɔNA -ŋtaA jeB*.
1SG CLNK1 close door EXPR close door EXPR FLL
“I will close the door.” He closed the door.
- 63 *kanB tsɔC- ŋdeA, ŋdeA jeB*.
1SG CLNK1 hide hide FLL
“I will hide myself.” He hid himself.
- 64 *szC lanC jonC tɛəBtsiB miNAthana -tsiB, aAnaA*.
try look COP IGN trick IGN PTCL
“Let’s see what will happen.”
- 65 *χauB, tsɔC- paB aAzɔNA ntsenC -ŋtaA*.
INTJ CLNK1 DISP2 door lock EXPR
“I will lock the door.”
- 66 *tsɔC- paB aAzɔNA ntsenC -ŋtaA tsɔC- tshiAtshiC- muB ŋdeA saA nthenaA*.
CLNK1 DISP2 door lock EXPR CLNK1 secretly go hide top attic
He locked the door and then he went up to the attic and hid himself.
- 67 *ŋdeA saA nthenaA tsɔC- tshiAtshiC- lanC*.
hide top attic CLNK1 secretly look
He secretly watched underneath from the attic.
- 68 *jiC- zuC təA-senA ŋaCsanC -seA, əBðanB noC tsɔC- tɛəBpiC ðanB*
CLNK1 arrive NMLZ-new lunch CLNK2 CLF bird CLNK1 change CLF

təAmpheB, ɣʊøNC qliB ɣʊøNC ðaC, tsɔC- luB toC niB aC ŋaC.
girl good * good die CLNK1 come BNF 3 make rice
When it became lunch time, the bird suddenly changed itself into a surprisingly beautiful girl
and began to prepare a meal for him.
- 69 *aC ɣyA aC jenA aC jonB tsɔC- paA tuC thonC tətanaA ŋaC*.
make dish make finish make * CLNK1 grasp acquire CLF small rice
After she finished preparing the meal, she made a small rice ball. [93]

93 *aC jenA aC jonB* is a four-syllable idiomatic expression, which means ‘do something perfectly’.
The last syllable does not represent a morpheme.

70 *phloA aAzonA-yoA-noC tsoC- nteC -ŋtəanB, tsunB'piC' niB- muB təəBpiC noC*
 open door-cage-bird CLNK1 jump EXPR try IRR go change bird

jeB.

FLL

She opened the door of the cage to enter, and began to change herself back into a bird.

71 *tsanBtaBtehanB tsoC- zoCseA.*

PN CLNK1 say

Zhang Daqiang suddenly shouted.

72 *thaiBtshuA, kanB mbuA -waC -luA -liA.*

INTJ 1SG see PTCL PTCL PTCL

“Wait, I have seen everything!”

73 *aiBjaA tsanBtaBtehanB konA mbuA loB- puAđanB tsoC- jonC siB-zonB.*

INTJ PN 2SG see also 1DU CLNK1 COP wife-husband

The girl said, “Zhang Daqiang, we are a couple if you have seen this.”

74 *konA muA- mbuA -jaA loB- tsoC- puAđanB tsoC- jonC đanB siB-zonB.*

2SG NEG see PTCL also CLNK1 1DU CLNK1 COP CLF wife-husband

“We are a couple if you haven’t seen this.” [94]

75 *χauB.*

INTJ

“Great!”

76 *tsoC- piənC muAđiB- -ŋtəhiC noC -waC jeB tsoC- təəBpiC təAnaA -siA.*

CLNK1 change NEG POT bird PTCL FLL CLNK1 change human PTCL

After that, she could no longer change herself into a bird, so she lived as a human.

77 *təəBpiC təAnaA -seA, jeB, tsanBtaBtehanB tsoC- muB aC χuA.*

change human CLNK2 FLL PN CLNK1 go do work

After he lived with her as a human, Zhang Daqiang as always went hunting.

78 *muB aC χuA jeB, aiAjaA, niB-siB tsoC- ʔyənC -tsaB, ʔyənC -tsaB, təAđiBtəAđiC-*
 go do work FLL INTJ 3-wife CLNK1 good PTCL good PTCL extremely

ʔyənC -tsaB, niB tsoC- tenC -tsaB.

good PTCL 3 CLNK1 miss PTCL

However, when he went hunting, as his wife was so beautiful, he soon began to miss her.

79 *naB, tenC -tsaB jeB aC ɛəAɛəA χuA -dəB, niB tsoC- ʔonB luB lanC.*

CONJ miss PTCL FLL do a.while work PTCL 3 CLNK1 return come look

So he worked for a while, then he went back home to see her.

94 This sentence with the previous sentence together constitute a couplet, which means that ‘we are a couple regardless whether you have seen this situation or not.’

- 80 *aC eAeAeAeA χuA -ðeB, niB tsoC- tʃonB luB lanC.*
do a.while work PTCL 3 CLNK1 return come look
After he saw her, he left for work again, but just worked for a while, and he went back home to see her again.
- 81 *niB-siB tsoC- zoC niB zoCseA, tsanBtaBtehanB, kanB ʔηona piB aC ηaC*
3-wife CLNK1 tell 3 say PN 1SG be.at house make rice

-waC jeB, βona tsoC- muB aC ʔneA χuA -mana.
PTCL FLL 2SG CLNK1 go do CLF work PTCL
His wife said, “Zhang Daqiang, I am at home preparing a meal, so you go to work.”
- 82 *βona ... eAeAeA βona tsoC- nduC luB lanC, eAeAeA βona tsoC- nduC*
2SG a.while 2SG CLNK1 walk come look a.while 2SG CLNK1 walk

luB lanC.
come look
“You go for just a while, and then come back.”
- 83 *jeB tsanBtaBtehanB zoCseA, kanB tiB-tenC βona -tsaB, aAnaA.*
FLL PN say 1SG AUG-miss 2SG PTCL PTCL
Zhang Daqiang said, “I miss you so much.”
- 84 *χauB -loA.*
INTJ PTCL
“I see.”
- 85 *βona tiB-tenC kanB -tsaB jeB, kanB tsoC- χwaC kanB -moA ʔlana ... ʔlana*
2SG AUG-miss 1SG PTCL FLL 1SG CLNK1 draw 1SG MOD CLF CLF

moAjanC -naB ʔlana εanC -naB pana βona muB lanC, aAnaA.
picture PLNK CLF portrait PLNK give 2SG go look PTCL
“You say you miss me so much. Then I will draw a picture of myself so that you can see my face while you are working.”
- 86 *aCnaB jeB, χauB, tsanBtaBtehanB tsoC- χwaC ... niB-siB tsoC- χwaC ʔlana*
this.way FLL INTJ PN CLNK1 draw 3-wife CLNK1 draw CLF

εanC -nonB -niB, tsoC- pana niB muB.
portrait DEM PTCL CLNK1 give 3 go
His wife drew her face and gave it to him.
- 87 *aiAjaA, tsanBtaBtehanB muB aC χuA -ðeB, eAeAeA tsoC- thanB lanC aCnonB.*
INTJ PN go do work PTCL a.while CLNK1 open.up look this.way
Zhang Daqiang went to work. He worked for a while, and then he opened up the picture to see her face.
- 88 *aiAjaA, tiB-tenC -tsaB eAeAeA tsoC- thanB lanC aCnonB.*
INTJ AUG-miss PTCL a.while CLNK1 open.up look this.way
He truly missed his wife, so he looked at her picture again and again while he worked.

- 89 *aiAjoA, tsoC- taB tsiC tA-ndanC tsoC- phæA -vlonC tsoC- phæA -loA.*
 INTJ CLNK1 CLF wind NMLZ-big CLNK1 blow EXPR CLNK1 blow PTCL
 Who knew, but suddenly a blast of wind blew her picture away.
- 90 *phæA -loA tAnaA tsoC- khoA ... khoA lanC.*
 blow PTCL human CLNK1 collect collect look
 Someone found the picture and saw her face.
- 91 *tsaiAjoA, ðanB naA -nonB ʔyøNCɥguA qliB ʔyøNCɥguA ðaC aCnonB.*
 INTJ CLF human DEM beautiful * beautiful die this.way
 The person said, “Oh, what a beautiful woman she is!”
- 92 *jonC aAtsiB niA-siB.*
 COP IGN ANPH-wife
 “Whose wife is she?”
- 93 *tauCtshuC fanB muB fanB luB.*
 everywhere visit go visit come
 People went everywhere to find out who the woman was.
- 94 *ðanB aAtsiB niA-siB ʔyøNC aCnonB -niB.*
 CLF IGN ANPH-wife good this.way PTCL
 “Is there such a beautiful woman?”
- 95 *aiAjoA, jonC tsanBtaBtehanB niA-siB.*
 INTJ COP PN ANPH-wife
 People finally found that she was Zhang Daqiang’s wife.
- 96 *aiAjoA eienc’ ... senB kuanBfuB tsoC- luB *** miA zoCseA, aiAjoA ... ðanB*
 INTJ county province government CLNK1 come 2PL say INTJ CLF
senB-kuanB ... aiAjoA, laAxaB, aiAjoA ... senB-liB’mienc’ laAseB -moA tAnaA
 province-official INTJ FLL INTJ province-inside FLL MOD human
-xaB, zoCseA, eeA -eB xanC aAzonAwia naA -xaB, wonA -moA zonC-ðanB
 CLNK2 say time DEM call government human CLNK2 2SG MOD seven-CLF
siB tsoC- muA- tuC tsanBtaBtehanB niA-siB -moA pheC qəApiC aAnaA.
 wife CLNK1 NEG acquire PN ANPH-wife MOD CLF leg PTCL
 The officials of the government, which in those days were called ‘city-people’, said to the
 governor, “Even your seven wives cannot be compared with a single leg of Zhang Daqiang’s
 wife.”
- 97 *zonC-ðanB siB pheC qəApiC.*
 seven-CLF wife CLF leg
 Oh! Seven wives compared with a single leg!

98 *aiAjaA, aAnaB aA, χauB, təBqwenAnonB zoCseA, muB zoC tsanBtaBtehanB*
 INTJ INTJ INTJ INTJ after.that say go tell PN

jonA niB-siB δaA kanB lanC ʔneA.
 take 3-wife come 1SG look CLF

The governor said, “Zhang Daqiang, bring your wife to see me.”

99 *aiAjaA, jonA niB-siB muB lanC -seA, aiAjaA, senB -moA ... laAχaB ... δanB ...*
 INTJ take 3-wife go look CLNK1 INTJ province MOD FLL CLF

δanB teab tsoc- χiA niB-siB ʔjaB -loA.
 CLF official CLNK1 rob 3-wife marry PTCL

When Zhang Daqiang brought his wife to the government, the governor stole Zhang Daqiang’s wife and forced her to marry him.

100 *tsoc- muA- panA muB -jaA.*
 CLNK1 NEG give go PTCL
 He did not let her go back.

101 *aiAjaA, tsoc- zoCseA, uA, muB aiAjaA, senB -moA δanB təApaB teab χiA*
 INTJ CLNK1 say INTJ go INTJ province MOD CLF leader official rob

vonA-siB ʔjaB -loA.
 2SG-wife marry PTCL

Oh, no! The governor robbed Zhang Daqiang’s wife of him and made her marry him.

102 *aiAjaA, tsoc- ʔiBlaA -tsaB ʔiBlaA -tsaB jeB, niB-siB zoCseA, tsanBtaBtehanB,*
 INTJ CLNK1 cry PTCL cry PTCL FLL 3-wife say PN

khaA- ʔiBlaA -jaA -liA.
 PROH cry PTCL PTCL

Zhang Daqiang cried and cried. But his wife said to him, “Don’t cry.”

103 *vonA khaA- ʔiBlaA jeB, vonA muB ʔtuA noC, ʔtuA teenB ʔtuA noC,*
 2SG PROH cry FLL 2SG go strike bird strike insect strike bird

ʔtuA ngeB ʔtuA ngonC.
 strike beast strike *

“Don’t cry. Go and hunt as many wild animals as possible.” [95]

104 *vonA muB soA teəBpiC phona aAzuC.*
 2SG go sew change CLF clothes

“And make a suit of clothes using the fur of the animals.”

95 Both *ʔtuA teenB ʔtuA noC* ‘to hunt birds’ and *ʔtuA ngeB ʔtuA ngonC* ‘to hunt beasts’ are idiomatic phrases. See fn. 89 (p.180) for the construction of the phrases. Here, the second syllable of each phrase has Tone B, not Tone A, which the relevant word should have. Presumably, the narrator used the tonal template of four-syllable expressives, i.e., A-B-A-C.

105 *jeB* *ʁona* *mpaC* *jeB* *kanB* *ðaA* *lanC* *ʁona*.
 FLL 2SG wear FLL 1SG come look 2SG
 “When you make a suit of fur clothes, wear it. Then, I will come to see you.”

106 *uA*, *aAnaA*.
 INTJ PTCL
 “Oh, I see.”

107 *ʁanBtaBtehanB* *jeB* *ʁoC-* *luB* *ŋtuA* *noC*, *ŋtuA* *teɛnA* *ŋtuA* *noC*, *ŋtuA* *ngeA*
 PN FLL CLNK1 come strike bird strike insect strike bird strike beast

ŋtuA *ngonC*.
 strike *

“I see.” Zhang Daqiang went hunting, and hunted as many wild animals as possible.

108 *χauB*, *ʁoC-* *luB* *soA* *teəBpiC* *phona* *aAzuC*.
 INTJ CLNK1 come sew change CLF clothes
 Then he made a suit of fur clothes.

109 *ʁoC-* *təAvenB* *təAoB* *ʔyøŋClanC* *-tsaB* *jeB*.
 CLNK1 NMLZ-flower NMLZ-embroidery good-looking PTCL FLL
 The suit was so colorful and beautiful.

110 *aA*, *hnaA* *-eB* *niB* *ʁoC-* *mpaC* *ʔlana* *ʁoC-* *muB*.
 INTJ day DEM 3 CLNK1 wear CLF CLNK1 go
 One day, Zhang Daqiang wore the clothes and went to the province.

111 *muB* *senB* *ʁoC-* *muB* *phæA* *pheC* *ʁwana*.
 go province CLNK1 go blow CLF reed.pipe
 When he reached the province, he began to blow a pipe.

112 *kaBnaB*, *kaBnaB*, *kaBnaB*, *kaBnaB*, *kaBnaB*.
 IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO
 The pipe sounded loudly.

113 *aiAjoA*, *szCnaA* *ðaA* *lanC*.
 INTJ many.people come look
 Oh, many people came to see him.

114 *aiAjaA*, *phæA* *ʁwana* *suC* *-tsaB*.
 INTJ blow reed.pipe loud PTCL
 The sound of the pipe was so big.

115 *ðanB* *teəB* ... *laAχaB* ... *senB* *-moA* *təA-aC* *teəB* *ðaA* *lanC* *-siA*.
 CLF official FLL province MOD NMLZ-do official come look PTCL
 The governor also came to see what was happening.

116 aiAjaA, təBqwenAnonB, δanB təAmpheB tshuA luB -seA, tsoC- mbuA -seA,
INTJ after.that CLF girl exit come CLNK2 CLNK1 see CLNK2

tsoC- tuA qliB tuA δaC kauBkauBɛenAɛenA -moA tsoC- tuA -tsaB.
CLNK1 laugh* laugh die delighted MOD CLNK1 laugh PTCL

The girl also came with him. When she looked at Zhang Daqiang, she burst into laughter. She laughed so happily.

117 aiA, ɸona ʔjaB kəB-piB muAliBtɛiB nena, ʔjaB kəB-piB ʔwuA-tsiA-pluA-
INTJ 2SG marry 1SG-house so.many year marry 1SG-house two-three-four-

nena ɸona tsoC- muA- tuA -liA.
year 2SG CLNK1 NEG laugh PTCL

The governor was so surprised and asked her. “You have married me for so many years, but you have never laughed once.

118 ɸona mbuA δanB tɛəBtsiB -moA naA -tsiB aCnonB.
2SG see CLF IGN MOD human IGN this.way

“What are you laughing at?”

119 ɸona tɛhoAszA- tuA -teA ʔyɔnC -waC, zoCseA.
2SG really laugh DGR good PTCL say

“You are laughing so merrily.”

120 aiAjoA, jonC ɸona mpaC jeB kanB vuBjaA- tuA ʔyɔnC ʔneA.
INTJ COP 2SG wear FLL 1SG still laugh good CLF

She answered. “Oh, if you wear those clothes, I would laugh more merrily.”

121 aiAjoA, təBqwenAnonB, senBfuB -moA δanB təApaB tɛaB -eB zoCseA.
INTJ after.that province.government MOD CLF leader officialDEM say

Hearing this, the governor said to Zhang Daqiang.

122 ɸona leC muA- leC, puAδanB leC -mana.
2SG exchange NEG exchange 1DU exchange PTCL

“Could you exchange clothes with me?”

123 jeB tsanBtaBtehanB muA- hɔC leC -jaA.
FLL PN NEG agree exchange PTCL

Zhang Daqiang at first refused this.

124 niB-siB zoCseA, ɸona toC niB leC -mana.
3-wife say 2SG BNF 3 exchange PTCL

His wife said to Zhang Daqiang, “Let him exchange clothes with you.”

125 naB tsoC- leC, ɸona mpaC tsoC- mpaC zuC oA.
CONJ CLNK1 exchange 2SG wear CLNK1 wear clothes INTJ

So Zhang Daqiang agreed to exchange clothes.

126 *aA, tɛaB piB tɔApaB tɛaB aAzɯC tsoC- leC paNA tsanBtaBtehanB,*
 INTJ official house leader official clothes CLNK1 exchange give PN

tsanBtaBtehanB tsoC- leC niB -moA phonA- aAzɯC-noC-tɔApluA aiAjoA
 PN CLNK1 exchange 3 MOD CLF clothes-bird-hair INTJ

χwaBliBχwaBmoB tsoC- paNA δanB tɛaB tsoC- muB tiB ɛwana luB
 colorful CLNK1 give CLF official CLNK1 go take reed.pipe come

phæA, kaBnaB kaBnaB kaBnaB -siA.
 blow IDEO IDEO IDEO PTCL

This way, the governor wore Zhang Daqiang's clothes, and Zhang Daqiang wore the governor's clothes. The governor began to blow a pipe wearing the fur clothes.

127 *aiAjoA tsanBtaBtehanB niB-siB seA.*
 INTJ PN 3-wife say
 Then, suddenly, Zhang Daqiang's wife shouted.

128 *mB.*
 INTJ
 "Oh, boy!"

129 *δanB jonC tɛəBtsiB -moA kuaiCwuA -tsiB.*
 CLF COP IGN MOD monster IGN
 "What monster this is!"

130 *jonC tɛəBtsiB -moA ngeA -tsiB.*
 COP IGN MOD beast IGN
 "What beast this is!"

131 *ɛeA δuA naA.*
 afraid bite human
 "It might bite people."

132 *toC kanB ngwiB luB hleA -χeNA.*
 BNF 1SG capture come kill PTCL
 "Capture it and kill it!"

133 *ngwiB luB hleA.*
 capture come kill
 "Capture it and kill it!"

134 *tsoC- ngwiB senB piB δanB tɛaB luB hleA luB jeB.*
 CLNK1 capture province house CLF official come kill come FLL
 Thus, the people captured the governor and killed him.

135 *tsoC- tsɔnC tsanBtaBtehanB tsoC- aC senB -moA tɔApaBnaA.*
 CLNK1 dispatch PN CLNK1 make province MOD leader
 Then, Zhang Daqiang became the governor of the province.

【中文大意】

张打枪

从前，我们苗族有一个打枪的。专门靠用枪打些野兽、鸟类来维持生计。有一天他出去打猎的时候，有一只鸟在树上叫。下面有两条龙在打架，他架枪一枪击落了那只鸟。那两条正在打架的龙，其中一条就逃跑了。另一条龙第二天回到龙宫里，问：“今天是谁打的枪？”“是张打枪”“噢，是他啊。帮我去访问一下他。他住在哪儿？帮我把他叫过来。”于是，让龙王的孩子在龙宫化成人类的样子，去到张打枪的家里。“张打枪！今天是你打的枪吗？”“啊，是啊。是我打的。”“是在那个树林里打的吗？”“啊，是的。”“龙王叫你去龙宫玩。”“是吗，是叫我吗？”“是的。张打枪，虽然龙王叫你去龙宫，但是，如果他给你三升大米，那其实是三升银子，如果给你三升小米，那其实是三升金子，你千万别要。你说你想要那只小鸟。那只小鸟，是龙王的女儿。你要那只鸟就好。”“噢，好的。”他去龙宫玩了三天，第三天的时候要回去了。龙王说，“张打枪你就要回家了嘛。”“嗯，我要回去了。”“你再玩一会儿呀。”“不了，要回去了。”“噢，你要回去啊，龙宫里也没有什么贵重的东西。”龙王准备舀三升大米给他。龙王舀给他三升大米，他却不要。于是，龙王打算舀三升小米给他。龙王舀给他三升小米，他也不要。“张打枪，你帮我夺得了这个地盘。难道这些你都不需要啊。”“是的，这些我都不需要。”“那你想要什么？”“想要的东西倒是有，但是不好意思开口。”“你想要的话，我什么都给你。”“那，我想要关在鸟笼里的那只小鸟。”“可以可以，送给你带回家吧。”就这样，他带着那只小鸟回家了。他每天都去打鸟。他出去后，那只小鸟就变成人帮他做菜啦，做饭啦，等等。张打枪回到家吃惊的说道：“哎呀，到底是谁在帮我做饭做菜呀。”他又说：“我必须要跟她们说句谢谢。”于是，他就去跟村里的姑娘们道谢：“我每天外出去打鸟打兽的时候，谢谢你们给我做好饭做好菜。”令人震惊的是，村里的姑娘们，都骂他：“像你这样的单身狗，谁要给你做饭做菜哦。”“别搞笑了，再说我们的丈夫要生气骂人了。”“谁会给你做饭做菜哦。”他惊讶道：“什么！我向你们表达谢意，你们却反过来对我说这么过分的话。”“这样的话。今天我就不出去了。不干活了。”一边说着：“我这就把门关好。”，一边就把门关上。一边说着：“我这就躲好。”，一边就躲了起来。“看看到底发生了什么事。好了，把门锁也锁了。”把门关好后就偷偷的躲到暗楼里去了。躲在暗楼里偷偷的看着。一到午饭的时间，那只小鸟就变成了一个非常漂亮的女孩，然后开始给他做饭做菜。做完饭还捏了一小个饭团。做完后，她打开鸟笼的门，正轻轻跳跃着准备变回鸟的时候。张打枪就说：“等一下，我全部都看见了。”那个女孩说：“张打枪，你说看见我了，我们俩是夫妻呀。你就算说没看见我，我们俩也是夫妻呀。”“这样啊！”因此，女子也再不能变回鸟了，就作为人和张打枪一起生活了。变成人一起生活之后，张打枪接着出去打猎。但是，去打猎的时候，由于他妻子非常漂亮，他时刻都想着她。非常想她，每次稍微打了一会儿猎就立马回去看她。打了一会儿猎就立马回去看她。妻子就说：“张打枪，我在家里做饭，你就安心去打猎吧。你打一会儿就跑回来看，打一会儿就跑回来看。”张打枪说：“我老太想你了。”“好吧。你既然那么想我，我就画个我的画给你拿去看吧。”于是，他的妻子就画了一幅自己的画，让他带在身上。张打枪出去打猎呢，过一会儿就立马打开画来看。非常想妻子，过一会儿就立马打开画来看。看的时候，一阵大风吹来，把妻子的画吹飞了。有人捡到那幅被吹飞的画看了。说道：“这个人非常漂亮啊。是谁的妻子啊。”大家交头接耳的传着流言到处打听。“这个漂亮的姑娘是谁家的妻子呢？”“是张打枪的妻子！”省里的官员们，以前在城楼上当职的，他们跟省里的长官说：“你的七个妻子加起来都比不过张打枪他妻子的一条腿。”七个妻子，一只腿。后来呢，长官说：“张打枪，你把

妻子带过来让我看一下。”没有办法，因为长官说了带去给他看，所以张打枪就带他妻子去了。结果，长官强行把他的妻子据为己有。不让他妻子回家。哎呀，长官抢了他的妻子。他哭的很是伤心，他的妻子对他说：“张打枪，你不要哭了。你不要哭了，听我说。你去打猎，打很多很多的野兽。打到了，你就用它们的皮毛缝一件衣服。然后，你穿着那件衣服。我就来看你。”“好的。”于是，张打枪就去打猎，打了很多的野兽。打到后，他就用它们的皮毛缝衣服。那件衣服五颜六色的，很是好看。那一天他就穿着那件衣服去了。到省里的街道上吹起了芦笙。《芦笙声》很多人围过来看。哎呀，芦笙吹的好好啊。省里的长官也来看了。然后，张打枪的妻子也来看了。她看着张打枪就笑得非常开心。长官说：“你嫁给我这么多年，从来没有这样开心的笑过。你是看到什么了才笑得这么开心呢？真的笑得很开心呢。”“如果是你穿那件衣服的话，我会笑得更开心呢。”于是，长官就说：“你和我换一下衣服嘛。”张打枪不同意换。他的妻子说：“你和他换一下吧。”于是，就换过来穿了。长官的衣服给张打枪穿了，张打枪的那件漂亮衣服给长官穿了，然后长官拿着芦笙吹了起来。这时，张打枪的妻子说：“啊啊啊！有怪物！是野兽！很危险！帮我把它杀了！快杀了它！”于是，随行的人就把长官杀掉了。然后，张打枪就成了长官了。结束了！

【日本語大意】

張打槍

昔、我々ミャオ族に一人の鉄砲打ちがいた。もっぱら鉄砲で鳥を打って生計を立てていた。ある日狩りに出かけようとすると、木の梢で鳥が鳴いている。木の下では二匹の竜が戦っている。彼は鉄砲を構えると一発で鳥を撃ち落とした。すると、戦っていた二匹の竜のうち、一匹が逃げ出した。もう一匹の竜は、次の日家に帰りついた。そして言った「今日誰が鉄砲を打ったんだ。」「張打槍だ。」「おお、そうか。彼に会いに行ってくれないか。どこに住んでいるのだ。彼を呼んできてくれないか。」それで、竜王の家では子供を人間に化けさせて、張打槍の家に使いに出した。「張打槍さん。今日鉄砲を打ったのはおまえさんかい。」「ああ、そうだよ。俺が打った。」「あの森で打ったやつだが。」「ああ、俺だよ。」「竜王がおまえさんを家に遊びに来ないかと呼んでるんだ。」「そうかい、俺を呼んでいるのか。」「そうだ。」「張打槍さん、竜王が家に来ないかと呼んでいるわけだが、竜王がおまえさんに三升の米をあげようと言ったら、そりゃ三升の銀で、三升の粟をあげようと言ったら、そりゃ三升の金なんだが、そんなものもらっちゃだめだ。あの家にいる小鳥が欲しいと言うんだ。あの家の小鳥は竜の娘なんだよ。その小鳥をもらいなさい。」「ああ、わかった。」張打槍は竜王の家に行くこと三日の間遊んだが、三日目になり、帰ることにした。竜王は言った。「張打槍、おまえさんもう帰るのかい。」「はい、もう帰ります。」「もうちょっと遊んでからにいなさいよ。」「いや、帰ります。」「そうか、帰ってしまうのかい。家には碌なものもないんだが。」竜王は配下に命じて言った。「彼に三升の米を与えよ。」三升の米をすくって与えようとしたが、彼は受け取ろうとしない。竜王はまた配下に命じた。「三升の粟をすくって彼に与えよ。」三升の粟をすくって与えようとしたが、彼は受け取ろうとしない。「張打槍、おまえさんはわしがこの土地を手に入れるのを助けてくれたんだよ。まさか受け取らない

というんじゃないだろうね。」「ええ、要らないんです。」「それじゃ、おまえさん何が欲しいんだね。」「いや、欲しいものはあるんですか、言いにくいんでして。」「おまえさんが欲しいんなら何でもやるよ。」「じゃ、あの籠に入られているあの小鳥が欲しいんです。」「わかった、わかった。あげるから持っていきなさい。」というわけで、張打槍はその小鳥を連れて帰った。彼は毎日鳥打ちに出かけた。彼が出ていくと、その小鳥は人間に化けて、彼のためにご飯やら料理やらを作った。張打槍が帰ってくると驚いた。「あれ、いったい誰がご飯や料理を作ってくれたのやら。」彼は言った。「彼女らにお礼を言わなきゃなあ。」彼は村の女たちに礼を言った。「俺が毎日鳥打ちに行っている間、俺のために飯を作ってくれてありがとうな。」驚いたことに、村の女たちは口々に彼を罵った。「おまえみたいな独り者に、誰が飯を作ってやるもんかね。」「いい加減なことを言うのはやめとくれ、うちの亭主からどやされるじゃないか。」「誰がおまえに飯を作るもんかね。」彼は驚いた。「なんでだい。お礼を言ってるのになんでひどいことを言われるのかな。よし。こうなったら、今日は出かけないぞ。仕事もしない。ドアを閉めよう。」と言ってドアをピタッと閉めた。「隠れるぞ。」と言って隠れた。「さていったい何が起こるか見てやろう。よし、ドアの鍵も閉めたぞ。」ドアを閉めるとこっそりと屋根裏部屋に隠れた。屋根裏部屋に隠れてこっそりと様子を見ていた。昼飯時になると、かの小鳥は非常にきれいな女の子に変身して彼のためにご飯の支度を始めた。ご飯を作り終わると小さなおにぎりを握った。そして鳥かごの扉を開けると、ぴょんと飛んで鳥に変身しようとした。そこで張打槍は言った。「こらまで、全部見たぞ。」「張打槍、私を見たって私たちは夫婦よ。私を見なくたって私たちは夫婦よ。」「そうか。」それで女の子は鳥に戻れなくなり、人間として暮らすことになった。その子が人間となって暮らし始めてから、張打槍はまた狩り行った。しかし、狩りに行くと、女房がきれいなばっかりに恋しくてしょうがない。恋しくてちょっと狩りに行くとすぐに会いに戻ってきた。またちょっと狩りをしては、すぐにまた会いに戻ってきた。妻は言った。「張打槍、私は家でご飯を作っているから、仕事をしに行って。ちょっとしたかと思ったらすぐ戻ってくるんだから。」張打槍は言った。「おまえが恋しくって仕方ないんだ。」「わかったわ。」「そんなに私が恋しいんなら、私の絵をかいてあげるから持って行って見なさいな。」というわけで、彼の女房は自分の絵を一枚書いて彼に持たせた。張打槍は狩りをしに行ったが、しばらくすると絵を広げて妻を見た。なんととっても彼女が恋しくて、しばらくするとすぐまた絵を広げて見た。そうするうちに、突然強い風が吹いてきて彼女の絵を吹き飛ばした。吹き飛ばされた絵を人が拾って見た。そして言った。「こりゃすごいきれいな人だ。誰の女房なんだ。」みんながうわさをして聞きまわった。「誰の女房なんだ、このきれいな女は。」「それは、張打槍の女房だぞ。」省政府の役人たち、昔はお城の役人と呼んだものだが、彼らが省の長官に言うには、「あなたの七人の妻全部合わせても張打槍の女房の足一本にも及ばないでしょう。」七人の女房が一本の足だと。その後、省の長官は言った。「張打槍、おまえの嫁を連れて見せに来てくれないか。」こりゃ大変、張打槍が女房を見せに行くと、長官は彼の

妻を強引に自分のものにした。家にも帰らせなかった。おやまあ、長官が彼の妻を奪ったのだ。彼は泣きに泣いたが、彼の妻は彼に言った。「泣かないでいいのよ。泣かないで聞いて。狩りに行ってたくさん獣を取って。取ったらその毛皮で服を一着縫うのよ。そしてその服を着て。そして私が会いに来るわ。」「わかった。」それで、張打槍は狩りに出かけてたくさん獣を狩った。狩ると、その毛皮で服を縫った。その服は色とりどりでそれはきれいだった。さて、その日、彼はその服を着て出かけた。省の町へ出かけて蘆笙を吹いた。カナカナカナカナと蘆笙の音が響いた。たくさんの人が見に来た。おやおや、何といい蘆笙の響き。省の長官も見に来た。それから張打槍の女房も来た。彼女は張打槍を見ると楽しそうに大笑いした。長官は言った。「おまえが私のところに嫁に来て何年にもなるのに、一度も笑ったことはなかった。何を見てそんなに笑っているんだ。実に楽しそうに笑っているじゃないか。」「あなたがあれを着たらもっと笑うでしょう。」そこで長官は言った。「おまえ、わしと服を交換せんか。」張打槍は同意しなかった。彼の女房は言った。「交換してあげなさいな。」ということで張打槍も交換に同意した。それで長官の服を張打槍に着させて、張打槍のきれいな服を長官に着させると、長官は蘆笙を手にとって吹いた。カナカナカナ。すると張打槍の女房は叫んだ。「きゃあ。化け物よ。けだものよ。危険よ。殺してちょうだい。早く殺して。」それで周りのものが長官を殺してしまった。それで張打槍が長官になったということだ。おしまい。

28. A Man Destined to be Eaten by Tigers

1 *εeA -eB seA, maA δanB naA muB sonA miA, sonA miA jeB,*
time DEM say exist CLF human go calculate fortune calculate fortune FLL

zoCseA, qoAloBmpoA nəB- δuA niB.
tell tiger IRR bite 3

Once upon a time, a man went to consult a fortune-teller and was told that he would get eaten by tigers. [96]

2 *aiAjaA, sonA ngweC loB- tsoC- zoCseA, qoAloBmpoA δuA niB.*
INTJ calculate CLF also CLNK1 tell tiger bite 3

So he went to consult another fortune-teller and again was told that he would get eaten by tigers.

3 *luBɔwuA-hnaA, juCteaA- muB thonB δanB təA-sonA miA.*
second-day again go search CLF NMLZ-calculate fortune

On the next day, he went to consult another fortune-teller.

4 *loB- tsoC- zoCseA, qoAloBmpoA nəB- δuA niB.*
again CLNK1 tell tiger IRR bite 3

He once again was told that he would get eaten by tigers.

5 *aiAjaA, aAmbuAseNA muA- ɣuθNC -jaA, loB- tsoC- luB puC.*
INTJ liver NEG good PTCL also CLNK1 come sleep

Oh, no! He felt blue, so he went home and went to bed. [97]

6 *puC -sanC luBtsiA-hnaA teaA- muB thonB təA-sonA miA.*
sleep CLNK2 third-day separately go search NMLZ-calculate fortune

On the third day, he went to consult another fortune-teller.

7 *aiAjaA, loB- tsoC- zoCseA, qoAloBmpoA nəB- δuA niB.*
INTJ also CLNK1 tell tiger IRR bite 3

Once again, he was told that he would get eaten by tigers.

8 *thonB tuC ɣoA-δanB sonA miA loB- tsoC- zoCseA, qoAloBmpoA nəB-*
search acquire ten-CLF calculate fortune also CLNK1 tell tiger IRR

δuA niB.

bite 3

He consulted ten fortune-tellers and all of them said that he would get eaten by tigers.

9 *thonB δaA thonB muB tsoC- thonB tuC ɣoA-ɔwuA δanB.*
search come search go CLNK1 search acquire ten-two CLF

Altogether, he consulted twelve fortune-tellers.

96 *sonA miA* (◇calculate◇fortune) ‘fortune-telling’ is a loanword from Chinese 算命.

97 *aAmbuAseNA* ‘liver’ is an organ where humans possess feeling and emotion in the Hmyo people’s spiritual world. For example, *aAmbuAseNA ɣuθNC* (◇◇liver◇good) means ‘to feel good’.

10 *thonB tuC* *ɣoA-ɔwuA* *ðanB suanC* *luB seA, aiAjaA, qoAloBmpoA* *χaiAszC-*
 search acquire ten-two CLF calculate come say INTJ tiger even.so

luB *ðuA* *ɸona.*
 come bite 2SG

The twelfth fortune-teller told him that, eventually, he would get eaten by tigers.

11 *qoAloBmpoA luB* *ðuA ɸona jeB, aiAjaA, niB -moA aAmbuAsena ziC, zoCseA.*
 tiger come bite 2SG FLL INTJ 3 MOD liver bitter tell
 He realized his destiny was that he would get eaten by tigers. He felt truly blue and said.

12 *χauB -loA.*
 good PTCL
 “All right.”

13 *qoAloBmpoA luB* *ðuA kanB jeB, kanB muB thonB qoAloBmpoA muB, aAnaA.*
 tiger come come 1SG FLL 1SG go search tiger go PTCL
 “Say a tiger will come to eat me, then I myself go to find the tigers that will eat me.”

14 *niB ɬoC- qloB aAχuB-viB aAχuB-viB, qloB təAtoC-piC ɬoC- muB thonB.*
 3 CLNK1 ABL head-mountain head-mountain ABL foot-cliff CLNK1 go search
 He crossed over many mountains and valleys to find the tigers.

15 *thonB jeB ɬoC- thonB jaC ɔlanA təA-qhonB jeB.*
 search FLL CLNK1 search encounter CLF NMLZ-hole FLL
 Finally, he found a mountain cave.

16 *miB qoAloBmpoA -niB, jonC ... laAχaB jonC ɛienB ... ɛienBfuB -siA jeB.*
 CLF tiger PTCL COP FLL COP magic.tiger PTCL FLL
 A band of tigers, which were magic tigers, lived there.

17 *ɬoC- təBhnaA təBpiC qoAloBmpoA, aA, təAhmonC luB piB ɬoC- ntana*
 CLNK1 daytime change tiger INTJ evening come house CLNK1 wet

-ɬaB qhliA aAzuC qoC aAηɔoA-qhonB phena.
 PTCL take.off clothes GOAL mouth-hole dry

During the daytime, they changed themselves into tigers, and when they came home in the evening, and because they had gotten sweaty, they took off their clothes and hung them at the cave mouth to dry.

18 *ðanB naA -eB ɬoC- muB thonB jaC jeB, ɬoC- khoA ðanB ... miB*
 CLF human DEM CLNK1 go search encounter FLL CLNK1 collect CLF CLF

qoAloBmpoA aAzuC ɬoC- jiAχaC- kuB zanC χəBsaA taA-ηɔoA ɬoC-
 tiger clothes CLNK1 altogether carry ascend top NMLZ-mouth CLNK1

jiAχaC- muB jaA əBmblona luB ɔwuB -loA.
 altogether go collect leaf come cover PTCL

The man knew that these were the tigers that he had been looking for, so he took those clothes to the top of the mountain and hid them among leaves.

19 *jaA mblonA ʔwuB -loA jeB, niB tsoC- ntseAleC muB zuC taA-zəBη̄tɔnA*
 collect leaf cover PTCL FLL 3 CLNK1 enter go arrive NMLZ-inside

-eB.

DEM

After hiding the clothes among leaves, he entered the inside of the cave.

20 *miB qoAloBmpoA -eB aAvuB- leA miB təAnaA aAvuB- η̄tuA pheA.*
 CLF tiger DEM still resemble CLF human still strike cards
 The band of tigers were playing cards like humans.

21 *aiAjaA, η̄tuA pheA jeB, δanB naA -eB zoCseA.*
 INTJ strike cards FLL CLF human DEM tell
 The man said to the tigers.

22 *aiAjaA, miAnaB phoB szAsenA -nonB aAvuB- ʔη̄ɔnA taA-zəBη̄tɔnA -teC.*
 INTJ 2PL CLF mister DEM still be.at NMLZ-inside PTCL
 “Oh, masters, you are inside.”

23 *aA, ʔonA δaA nonB -loA.*
 INTJ 2SG come here PTCL
 “Oh, you’ve come here.”

24 *aA, kanB δaA nonB -loA.*
 INTJ 1SG come here PTCL
 “Oh, yes, I’ve come here.”

25 *miB qoAloBmpoA lanC tsoC- jonC δanB naA -eB.*
 CLF tiger see CLNK1 COP CLF human DEM
 The tigers looked at the man, and found that he was the very man that they wanted.

26 *aA, niB jonC niB- δuA δanB naA -eB, aAnaB.*
 INTJ 3 COP IRR bite CLF human DEM this.way
 “OK, we must eat the guy.”

27 *miB qoAloBmpoA -eB tsoC- tshuA, mpaC aAzuC δuA niB.*
 CLF tiger DEM CLNK1 exit wear clothes bite 3
 The tigers went out of the cave to take the clothes to change themselves into tigers.

28 *tshuA luB, aAzuC ndoC luAtɔnA muA- mbuA -jaA, juCtsaA- tɔnB.*
 exit come clothes throw outdoors NEG see PTCL again return
 One of the tigers came out, but he could not find his clothes, so he returned.

29 *maA δanB tsA- tshuA, thonB muA- tuC aAzuC -jaA, aA.*
 exist CLF separately exit search NEG acquire clothes PTCL INTJ
 Another tiger came out, but he could not find his clothes either.

30 *δanB juCtsaA- tshuA muB.*
 CLF again exit go
 Another tiger came out.

- 31 *aiAjaA, loB- tsoC- thonB muA- tuC aAzuC -jaA.*
 INTJ also CLNK1 search NEG acquire clothes PTCL
 He could not find his clothes either.
- 32 *jeB tsaA- tonB luB.*
 FLL separately return come
 He returned.
- 33 *aiAjaA, danB zoCseA, thonB muA- tuC aAzuC -jaA.*
 INTJ CLF tell search NEG acquire clothes PTCL
 A tiger said, “Our clothes have disappeared.”
- 34 *thonB muA- tuC -jaA aAnaA.*
 search NEG acquire PTCL PTCL
 “They have disappeared.”
- 35 *juCtsaA- tonB.*
 again return
 He returned.
- 36 *miB qoAloBmpoA jiAxaC- tshuA, tsoC- thonB muA- tuC aAzuC -jaA jeB.*
 CLF tiger altogether exit CLNK1 search NEG acquire clothes PTCL FLL
 All the tigers went out to look for their clothes, but they could not find them.
- 37 *miB qoAloBmpoA tsoC- zoCseA, aiAjaA, naB wonA daA aC teəBtsiB aA.*
 CLF tiger CLNK1 tell INTJ CONJ 2SG come do IGN INTJ
 Then the tigers asked the man, “What do you want?”
- 38 *uA, kanB sonA miA luB jeB zoCseA, miAnaB niB- ?nonB kanB*
 INTJ 1SG calculate fortune come FLL tell 2PL IRR use 1SG
koAzeA- kanB tsAtseA- daA thonB miAnaB -mbeC.
 myself 1SG directly come search 2PL PTCL
 The man said, “Fortune-tellers said that you tigers would eat me, so I came to find you by choice.”
- 39 *aCnonB -niB, miB qoAloBmpoA zoCseA, aA, kanBnaB muA- ?nonB wonA -jaA.*
 this.way PTCL CLF tiger tell INTJ 1PL NEG use 2SG PTCL
 The tigers said, “Oh, we do not want you.”
- 40 *eiA, kanB thonB yoa-?wua danB naA taA-sonA miA tsoC- zoCseA,*
 INTJ 1SG search ten-two CLF human NMLZ-calculate fortune CLNK1 tell
miAnaB niB- ?nonB kanB -liA.
 2PL IRR use 1SG PTCL
 The man said, “I consulted twelve fortune-tellers. All of them said you tigers would want to eat me.”
- 41 *eiA, muA- maA danB szC -nonB -jaA.*
 INTJ NEG exist CLF fact DEM PTCL
 “Oh, that’s not the case.”

42 *aiAjaA, miAnaB xaiAszA- niB- ?ηONB kanB, kanB xONa- δaA thonB miAnaB*
 INTJ 2PL even.so IRR use 1SG 1SG CLNK1 come search 2PL

-siA.

PTCL

“Oh, you should eat me. If it were not the case, I would not have come here.”

43 *nthonCnaB muA- zoC -jaA, muA- tuC sonA miA zoC aCnaB, kanB*
 3PL NEG tell PTCL NEG acquire calculate fortune tell this.way 1SG

muA- xwiC δaA thonB miA -jaA.

NEG can come search 2PL PTCL

The man went on saying, “If the fortune-tellers had not said that, I would not have visited you.”

44 *aiAjaA, kanB tēiAδeBtēiAδeC- thonB miAnaB thonB peB qliB peB δaC.*
 INTJ 1SG with.difficulty search 2PL search tired * tired die

“Oh, I have had a hard time finding you. Now, I have become totally exhausted.”

45 *kanB tsaA- thonB... laAxaB... yoA-puA-nenA -nonB, xONa- thonB jaC*
 1SG separately search FLL ten-some-year DEM CLNK1 search encounter

miAnaB miB -nonB.

2PL CLF DEM

“I have spent ten some years to find you.”

46 *jeB miAnaB ?ηONB kanB jeB tsoC- ?ηONB kanB -mbeC, zoCseA.*
 FLL 2PL use 1SG FLL CLNK1 use 1SG PTCL tell

“So, if you want me, just eat me.”

47 *aiAjaA, qliBtonA, jeB, thonB ... ?nenC muA- tuC aAzuc -jaA.*
 INTJ INTJ FLL search search NEG acquire clothes PTCL

The tigers said, “Damn it. We can’t find our clothes.”

48 *naB, kanBnaB ?ηONB vonA -xaB, kanBnaB -moA aAzuc, vonA δaA mbuA*
 this.way 1PL use 2SG CLNK2 1PL MOD clothes 2SG come see

-teC muA- mbuA aA.

PTCL NEG see INTJ

“To eat you, we need to wear our clothes. Have you seen our clothes?”

49 *niB tsoC- qlaA miB qoAloBmpoA zoCseA.*
 3 CLNK1 cheat CLF tiger tell

Then the man played a trick on the tigers and said.

50 *aiAjaA, vonA -moA aAzuc -niB, kanB kuB qoC kəB-piB -loA.*
 INTJ 2SG MOD clothes PTCL 1SG carry GOAL 1SG-house PTCL

“Oh, I found them and took them to my house.”

51 *aAnaB aA.*
 INTJ INTJ

“Really?”

52 *naB szC lanC kanB aCɔaCaC kauB, miAnaB ʔŋonB kanB tsoC- ʔŋonB kanB.*
 CONJ try see 1SG IGN do 2PL use 1SG CLNK1 use 1SG
 “What I can do for you? If you want me, just eat me.”

53 *aiA, ʔŋonB ʋona naB -χaB.*
 INTJ want 2SG INTJ CLNK2
 “Of course we want you, but ...”

54 *naB ʋona kuB ʋona-piB -loA jeB.*
 CONJ 2SG carry 2SG-house PTCL FLLPN
 “You took our clothes to your house.”

55 *aCnonB.*
 this.way
 “Ok.”

56 *tiB jeB, tiB ʋona -moA təAmpic luB.*
 take FLL take 2SG MOD name come
 “Bring your name here.”

57 *tiB ʋona -moA təAmpic luB jeB, ʋona ɔuA ʋona -moA təAwib szB-qlenC*
 take 2SG MOD name come FLL 2SG bite 2SG MOD hand PURP-flow

təAntshenB.

blood

“Bring your name here, and bite your finger and let it bleed.”

58 *jeB ʋona tsoC- sonC ʋona -moA təAmpic -χenA jeB, kanBnaB χona- ʔŋonC*
 FLL 2SG CLNK1 wipe 2SG MOD name PTCL FLL 1PL CLNK1 good

muB, laAχaB, ʔiCχwana piB -eB muB pauC' ʋona -moA təAmpic jeB,
 go FLL PN house DEM go report 2SG MOD name FLL

χona- ʔŋonC ɛauB ʋona.
 CLNK1 good cancel 2SG

“Mark out your name with the blood. Then, we go to report your name to Jade Emperor. This way, we can erase your name from the Destiny Book.” [98]

59 *jeB ... jeB ... ʋona tsoC- muB jeB, tsoC- toC kanBnaB kuB aAzuc ɔaA,*
 FLL FLL 2SG CLNK1 go FLL CLNK1 BNF 1PL carry clothes come

zoCseA.

tell

“Then, you go to your house and bring our clothes back.”

98 *ʔiCχwana* is a loanword from Chinese 玉皇 ‘Jade Emperor’, which denotes one of the supreme gods in Daoist theology. Because the man’s destiny is determined and registered in the Destiny Book, the tigers suggested the man to erase his name with his blood to change his destiny.

- 60 *oA, naB ɛeNA -teC.*
INTJ CONJ okay PTCL
The man said, “It’s a deal.”
- 61 *naB ɛONA ɔuA təAwɪB szB-ntshenB.*
CONJ 2SG bite hand PURP-bleed
“Now, bite your finger.”
- 62 *niB tsoC- ɔuA təAwɪB ntshenB qliB ntshenB ɔaC jeB.*
3 CLNK1 bite hand bleed * bleed die FLL
The man bit his finger and let it bleed. It bled copiously.
- 63 *tsoC- fæNB niB -moA təAmpɪC-ntoB luB jeB, niB tsoC- ʔmiA niB -moA*
CLNK1 search 3 MOD name-paper come FLL 3 CLNK1 take 3 MOD
təAntshenB tsoC- sonC niB -moA təAmpɪC -jeB.
blood CLNK1 wipe 3 MOD name FLL
He found his name in the Book of Destiny and marked it out with the blood. [99]
- 64 *χauB, niB tsoC- zoC miB qoAloBmpoA zoCseA.*
good 3 CLNK1 tell CLF tiger tell
Then he said to the tigers.
- 65 *χauB, miAnaB qloB kanB muB, kuB miAnaB -moA aAzɔC tɔNB luB.*
good 2PL follow 1SG go carry 2PL MOD clothes return come
“OK. Now, come with me to get your clothes back.”
- 66 *aCnaB jeB miB qoAloBmpoA -eB tsoC-, uA, naB, kanBnaB tsoC- tsonC*
this.way FLL CLF tiger DEM CLNK1 INTJ CONJ 1PL CLNK1 deliver
ɔanB naA qloB ɛONA muB, aAnaA.
CLF human follow 2SG go PTCL
The band of tigers said, “OK, we will make one of us go with you.”
- 67 *tsoC- ɔanB naA qloB niB zuC niB-piB jeB.*
CLNK1 CLF human follow 3 arrive 3-house FLL
Thus, a tiger came to his house with him.
- 68 *niB tsoC- zoCseA, miAnaB -moA aAzɔC, kanB onA qoC miAnaB -moA*
3 CLNK1 say 2PL MOD clothes 1SG cover GOAL 2PL MOD
qhɔNB taA-χuB χəBsaA χuB-viB -eB.
cave NMLZ-head top top-mountain DEM
When they reached his house, he said, “Actually, I buried your clothes on the top of the mountain just above your cave.”

99 *təAmpɪC-ntoB* (◇◇name◇paper) is a Chinese-style name written in Chinese characters. The Hmyo people have two names: a name in the Hmyo language and a Chinese-style name.

- 69 *kanB ʔmiA aAlaA oNA -saNC, kanB χoNA- ʔmiA mblona muB oNA.*
 1SG DISP1 mud cover CLNK2 1SG CLNK1 DISP1 leaf go cover
 “I buried them in the earth, and covered them with leaves.”
- 70 *jeB miAnaB muB khaA tuA mblona -eB, khaA szB-nsheA jeB, miAnaB*
 FLL 2PL go dig CLF leaf DEM dig PURP-clean FLL 2PL
ʔsoC- tuC aAzuC -waC.
 CLNK1 acquire clothes PTCL
 “Go there and sweep away the leaves, then you will find your clothes.”
- 71 *aiAjaA, miB qoAloBmpoA ʔsoC- zoCseA, aiAjaA, naB ʔηoNA kanBnaB taA-χyB*
 INTJ CLF tiger CLNK1 say INTJ CONJ be.at 1PL NMLZ-head
saA -eB -siA, aA.
 top DEM PTCL INTJ
 “Oh”, said the tiger, “The clothes have been just on the top of our house.”
- 72 *qoAloBmpoA ʔsoC- ʔonB luB jeB, χoNA- luB khaA tɛBʔsiB mblona, jeB*
 tiger CLNK1 return come FLL CLNK1 come dig IGN leaf FLL
χoNA- luB khaA tuC niB -moA aAzuC.
 CLNK1 come dig acquire 3 MOD clothes
 The tiger went back to his house and swept away the leaves, and dug out their clothes.
- 73 *miB qoAloBmpoA seA, aiA, kanBnaB aAvuB- ʔsauA niB lona jeC kanBnaB*
 CLF tiger say INTJ 1PL still encounter 3 cheat hit 1PL
-loA.
 PTCL
 The tigers said, “We got cheated by the man.”
- 74 *aAzuC ʔηoNA saA -eB -siA, jena.*
 clothes be.at top DEM PTCL INTJ
 “Our clothes have all along been at the top of our house!”
- 75 *aA, ɛeA -nonB, tɔAmpiC jiBʔeNB pauC' zanC ʔiCχwana piB -waC.*
 FLL time DEM name already report ascend PN house PTCL
 By this time, the change in his destiny had been reported to the Jade Emperor and fixed.
- 76 *ɛeNA -waC aCnonB ʔsoC- ɛeNA -waC.*
 OK PTCL this.way CLNK1 OK PTCL
 Everything went well.
- 77 *ʔsoC- kuiBjiAlaA.*
 CLNK1 perfect
 All is well that ends well.

【中文大意】

算命

从前，有一个人去算命，算命先生说，“你会被老虎吃。”找别的算命先生再算一次也说，“你会被老虎吃。”第二天，又找了一个算命先生算。那个先生也说，“你会被老虎吃。”这算的也太过分了，心情糟糕的回家睡觉。睡到第三天，他又另外找了个算命先生算。竟然，还是说，“你会被老虎吃。”找了十个算命先生算，大家都说，“你要被老虎吃。”又接着去找，找了十二个算命先生算。结果，十二个算命先生都说，“你要被老虎吃。”知道是要被老虎吃的命，他非常失落的说道，“好吧。既然注定被老虎吃，那不如我自己去找老虎。”他就从山顶找到山脚。终于找到了一个山洞。那里住着一群老虎，它们是魔虎。它们白天变成老虎，晚上回洞来。因为汗湿了衣服，所以都把衣服脱了挂在洞口晾着。男人知道他找到了老虎，就把那些老虎的衣服收起来放到山洞的上面，然后拿落叶盖上去藏起来。用叶子盖好后，他就进到洞里去了。那些老虎像人一样正在打牌。男人说，“哎呀，先生们都在啊。”“啊，你怎么来了？”“是啊，我来了。”老虎们看了看，确定是那个男人。“正是我们要吃的那个人。”老虎们为了吃男人，准备出去穿衣服。出去一看，晾在外面的衣服找不到了，于是回到了洞里。另一只出去找，也没找到衣服。又一只出去了。还是找不到衣服。只能回来了。“衣服找不到吗？”“找不到。”又回来了。那些老虎全部出去找，也都没有找到衣服。老虎们就说，“对了，你来这干什么呀？”“算命先生说，你们会吃我，所以我自己上门来给你们吃。”老虎说，“这样啊，我们不会吃你呀。”“可是，我找了十二个算命先生算，他们都说明你们会吃我的呀。”“没有那回事。”“哎呀，请你们吃了我吧，我特意为了这件事才来找你们的。如果算命先生不那样说，我也不会来找你们。唉，我费了老大的力找你们，已经快累死了。找了十几年才找到你们。所以，要吃的就吃了我吧。”“可是，衣服找不到呢。我们想吃你，但是需要穿衣服。你来的时候看见我们衣服了吗？”于是，他就骗老虎们说。“你们的衣服呀，我拿回家了。”“这样啊。”“那怎么办，你们要吃我的话就请吃吧。”“当然想吃你，但是，你把我们的衣服拿回家了。拿你的名字来。拿到你的名字后，你把你的手指咬出血来。用那个血把你的名字抹掉，这样的话，我们才能去玉皇大帝那里报你的名字。这样就能抹掉你的名字。然后，你回家帮我们衣服拿回来。”男人说：“好啊。”“那你咬你的手指让它出血吧。”他就咬自己的手指，出了很多血。然后打开生死簿找到自己的名字，用血把那个名字抹掉了。“好了。”他对老虎们说。“好了，那你们跟我一起去拿你们的衣服吧。”老虎说，“我们派一只跟你去。”那只老虎就跟着他来到他家。到家后他就说：“其实我把你们的衣服埋在了你们的洞穴上。用泥巴盖好后，上面又铺了一层落叶。你们把那些叶子全部移开就能看到衣服了。”“哎呀，原来衣服在我们家上面呢。”老虎回去后就把那些叶子移开，挖出了衣服。老虎们说：“我们都被他骗了。原来衣服在这上面呢。”现在，名字的变更已经报到玉皇大帝那里去了。就这样圆满结束了。可喜可贺。

【日本語大意】

虎に食われる運命

昔々ある一人の男が占い師に見てもらったところ、「おまえは虎に食われるだろう」と言われた。もう一度別の占い師に見てもらったところ、また「おまえは虎に食われるだろう」と言われた。次の日、また別の占い師に見てもらった。ところが、またもや「おまえは虎に食われるだろう」と言われた。こりゃひどい、気分が悪くなり家に帰って寝た。三日目になって、また別の占い師に見てもらった。なんと、また「おまえは虎に食われるだろう」と言われた。十人の占い師に見てもらったが、彼らは口をそろえて「おまえは虎に食われるだ

ろう」と言った。探しに探して十二人の占い師に見てもらった。結局十二人の占い師全員に「おまえは虎に食われるだろう」と言われた。虎に食われる運命にあることを知って彼はひどく落ち込んで言った。「よし。虎に食われるというなら、こちらからその虎を探しに行ってみよう。」彼は山の頂からふもとまでいたるところを探した。そしてついにある洞穴を見つけた。そこには一群の虎が住んでいたが、その虎は魔物の虎だった。彼らは昼間は虎に変身し、夜になると帰ってきて、汗をかいて濡れているので服を脱いで洞穴の入り口に干していた。男は虎を探し当てたのを知り、その虎の服をもって洞窟の上に上がり、落ち葉を集めて服を覆い隠した。落ち葉で覆い隠してから、男は洞穴の中に入っていった。その虎たちは人間よろしくカード遊びをしていた。男は言った。「おや、先生方、中にいらっしやっただけですね。」「おや、おまえ来たのか。」「はい、来ました。」虎たちが見ると、確かにその男である。「まさしく食べることになっているやつだ。」虎たちは男を食うために服を着ようとして外に出た。出てみると、外に置いてあった服が見つからない。それで中に戻った。一人がまた外に出て探したが見つからない。一人がまた外に出た。探したが見つからない。それでまた中に戻った。「見つからないのか。」「見つからないんだ。」それで戻った。こうしてすべての虎が出て探したが見つからない。そこで虎たちは言った。「それでおまえ何をしに来たんだ。」「占い師が、みなさんが私を食べるので、自分から皆さんを探しに来たんです。」虎は言った。「そういうことなら、俺たちはもうおまえは要らないよ。」「いやいや、十二人も占い師に見てもらって全員がみなさんが私を食べると言ったんですよ。」「そんなことはないよ。」「いやいや、みなさん是非食べてくださいよ、それでわざわざ来たんですから。占い師があんな風に言わなかったらみなさんのところに来ることはなかったんですから。ああ、苦勞して皆さんを探してもうすっかりくたびれました。もう十数年の間探してみなさんをやっとなし出したんですよ。だから、食べるんならどうぞ食べてください。」「いや、服が見つからないんでね。食べたいんだが、服を着ないとね。おまえ来るときに俺たちの服を見なかったかい。」そこで男は虎たちを騙して言った。「皆さんの服なら、実は私が家に持って帰ってしまいました。」「そうだったのか。」「どうしたらいいんでしょうね。私のことを食べるんならどうぞ食べてください。」「いや食べたいんだがね。おまえが服を持って帰ってしまったわけだ。よし、おまえの名前を持ってこい。おまえの名前を持ってきたら、それから指を噛んで血を出すんだ。その血でおまえの名前を消すんだ、そうすれば玉皇のところへ行っておまえの名前について報告できるから。そうすればおまえの名前を消すことができる。そしておまえは家に行って俺たちの服を持ってきてくれ。」男は言った。「いいですよ。」「じゃ、指を噛んで血を出してくれ。」彼は自分の指を噛んで血をたくさん出した。そして寿命帳の中から自分の名前を探し出し、その名前を血で消した。「よし。」男は虎たちに言った。「よし、ではみなさん私と一緒に服を取りに行きましょう。」虎は言った。「一人おまえに同行させよう。」その虎は男について彼の家まで来た。家に着くと彼は言った。「実は服は君たちの洞穴の上に埋めてあるんだ。泥をかぶ

せてその上から落ち葉をかけてある。落ち葉をきれいにどければ服が見つかるよ。」「えっ、じゃあもともと俺たちの頭上にあったってわけか。」虎は戻って行って落ち葉をどけると服を掘り出した。虎たちは言った。「俺たちはまんまとあの男に騙された。服はもともと上にあったんじゃないか。やれやれ。」そのときには名前についての変更はすでに玉皇のもとへ届けられてしまっていた。というわけでうまくいったわけだ。めでたしめでたし。

29. A Girl Born from an Egg (2)

- 1 *εeA -eB maA ʔwuA-piB naA tsoC- qoC ʔwuA-δanB aAtanaA.*
time DEM exist two-CLF human CLNK1 leave two-CLF child
Once upon a time, there were two families with only two children remaining.
- 2 *muA- maA siB -jaA.*
NEG exist wife PTCL
They were not married.
- 3 *jeB δanB tsoC- pana aC qlenAqaA.*
FLL CLF CLNK1 give make PN
People called one of the boys Qlenqa.
- 4 *maA ... maA δanB loB- tsoC- muA- maA siB tsoC- χanC joCmbæC.*
exist exist CLF also CLNK1 NEG exist wife CLNK1 call PN
The other boy was called Ndumba as he was not married. [100]
- 5 *ʔwuA-δanB -nonB -niB, δanB aAtsiB loB- tsoC- muA- maA ... laAχaB...*
two-CLF DEM PTCL CLF IGN also CLNK1 NEG exist FLL

təA-tshiC -jaA.
NMLZ-love PTCL
Nobody had sympathy for them.
- 6 *jeB ʔwuA-δanB tsoC- muB ʔηona aC tuA.*
FLL two-CLF CLNK1 go be.at make clump
So they lived together.
- 7 *ʔwuA-δanB muB ʔηona aC tuA -niB, aA, tsoC- muB aC δoB.*
two-CLF go be.at make clump PTCL INTJ CLNK1 go make firewood
They lived together and went to gather firewood together.
- 8 *aC δoB -naB, qwaA tshoB -naB.*
make firewood PLNK cut grass PLNK
They went to gather firewood and cut grass.
- 9 *aiAjaA, aC δoB qwaA tshoB -seA, tsoC- muB mbuA ... jaC ʔwuA-*
INTJ make firewood cut grass CLNK2 CLNK1 go see encounter two-

ʔlana qwiC.
CLF egg
While they gathered firewood and cut grass, they found two eggs.

100 *joC-mbæC* means ‘bachelor’. Below, this person is called *ηduCmbæC*, which is the combination of *ηduC* ‘young man’ and *mbæC* ‘single person, orphan’, and also means ‘bachelor’.

10 *jaC* *ʔwuA-ʔlanA* *qwiC* *ʔnonA* *aC* *tuA* *-seA*, *aiAjaA*, *ʔwuA-ðanB* *tsuC-*
 encounter two-CLF egg be.at make clump CLNK2 INTJ two-CLF CLNK1

khoA *luB* *zuC* *piB*.
 collect come arrive house

They picked up the two eggs and took them home.

11 *khoA* *luB* *zuC* *piB* *jeB*, *aiAjaA* ... *laAɣaB* ... *qlenAqaA* *-niB*, *tiB* *zuC* *piB*
 collect come arrive house FLL INTJ FLL PN PTCL take arrive house

-niB, *tsuC-* *ʔmiA* *teoB* *nonA* *-loA*.
 PTCL CLNK1 DIS1 boil eat PTCL

When they came home, Qlenqa boiled one of the eggs and ate it.

12 *aiAjaA*, *jonCmbæC* *-niB*, *tiB* *luB* *tsuC-* *khoBeiA* *-tsaB*, *tsuC-* *ʔmiA* *qoC*
 INTJ PN PTCL take come CLNK1 precious PTCL CLNK1 DIS1 GOAL

aAmbonC *tsuC-* *mbonC*.
 pocket CLNK1 carry

Ndumba felt the egg was too precious to eat, so he put it in his pocket and carried it around.

13 *jeB* *mbonC* *ðaA* *mbonC* *muB* *-seA*, *tsuC-* *ɛluC* *tsuA* *ðanB* *təAmpheB*.
 FLL carry come carry go CLNK2 CLNK1 hatch exit CLF girl

After he carried the egg around for some days, a girl hatched out from the egg.

14 *ɛluC* *tsuA* *ðanB* *təAmpheB* *-seA*, *tsuC-* *ʔyønCyguA* *qliB* *ʔyønCyguA* *ðaC* *tsuC-*
 hatch exit CLF girl CLNK2 CLNK1 good.girl * good.girl die CLNK1

taA *niB* *puC* *tsuC-* *tsiA* *lanB* *-kaAtaBkuAtuC*.
 COM 3 sleep CLNK1 speak speech EXPR

The girl was astonishingly beautiful. At night, Ndumba went to bed with her and talked with her endlessly.

15 *aiAjaA*, *qlenAqaA* *taA* *jonCmbæC* *tsuC-* *puC* *aAtəhoC*, *jeB*.
 INTJ PN COM PN CLNK1 sleep bed FLL

Qlenqa and Ndumba slept on the same bed.

16 *aCðaC* *hmonC* *-nonB* *maA* *naA* *taA* *ɓonA* *tsiA* *lanB* *-kaAtaBkuAtuC*.
 IGN evening DEM exit human COM 2SG speak speech EXPR

Qlenqa said, “How come you are speaking with somebody endlessly this evening?”

17 *jeB*, *jonCmbæC* *zoCseA*, *aA*, *kanB* *taA* *kanB* *-moA* *aAŋenCɓzB* *tsiA*
 FLL PN say INTJ 1SG COM 1SG MOD button speak

lanB *-siA* *-ləA* *-manA*.
 speech PTCL PTCL PTCL

Ndumba said, “Oh, I am talking with my buttons.”

18 *aAnaB*, *aA*.
 INTJ INTJ
 “Oh, really.”

- 19 *jeB tsA- suC eeA tsA- tshiA lanB -kaAtaBkuAtuC.*
 FLL separately rest a.while separately speak speech EXPR
 After a while, Qlenqa heard someone talking with Ndumba again.
- 20 *qlenAqaA tsOC- zoCseA, naB wonA taA danBtsiB tshiA lanB aCnaB.*
 PN CLNK1 say CONJ 2SG COM IGN speak speech this.way
 Qlenqa said, “Who are you talking with?”
- 21 *eiB, kanB taA kanB -moA xuBηteonC tshiA lanB -siA -laA -mana, aAnaA.*
 INTJ 1SG COM 1SG MOD pillow speak speech PTCL PTCL PTCL PTCL
 “I am talking with my pillow.”
- 22 *jeB tsA- suC eeA tsA- tshiA lanB -kaAtaBkuAtuC.*
 FLL separately rest a.while separately speak speech EXPR
 After a while, Qlenqa heard someone talking with Ndumba again.
- 23 *eiA.*
 INTJ
 “OK!”
- 24 *ηduCmbæC, wonA taA danBtsiB tshiA lanB aCnaB.*
 PN 2SG COM IGN speak speech this.way
 “Ndumba, who are you talking with?”
- 25 *aiAjaA, kanB taA kanB -moA aAzuC tshiA lanB -laA -mana.*
 INTJ 1SG COM 1SG MOD clothes speak speech PTCL PTCL
 “I am talking with my clothes.”
- 26 *aiAjaA, eeAeeA tæAtana -seA, qlenAqaA tsOC- ... toA doB kwena -vlonC.*
 INTJ a.while a.little CLNK2 PN CLNK1 light fire bright EXPR
 After a while, Qlenqa got up and lit a fire on the lamp.
- 27 *jeB lanC -seA, jiB, ηduCmbæC, wonA jona danB tæAmpheB danB aAtsiB*
 FLL look CLNK2 INTJ PN 2SG take CLF girl CLF IGN
piB -moA aCnonB ηuonCηguA qliB ηuonCηguA daC -nonB, eeAeeA tæAnaA
 house MOD this.way beautiful * beautiful die DEM a.while human
daA ngwiB wonA hleA -liA.
 come capture 2SG kill PTCL
 Then he saw Ndumba with a girl on the bed and said, “Where did you pick up such a beautiful girl? Somebody will come and kill you.”
- 28 *jeB ηduCmbæC seA, jiC.*
 FLL PN say INTJ
 Ndumba said, “No, no.”
- 29 *naB puAdanB khoA ηwuA-ηlanA qwiC -niB, kanB vaC kanB -moA mbonC ...*
 CONJ IDU collect two-CLF egg PTCL 1SG hug 1SG MOD carry

kanB mbonC ... mbonC tsoC- kluC teəBpiC ðanB naA -nonB luB -ləA
 1SG carry carry CLNK1 hatch change CLF human DEM come PTCL

-manA.

PTCL

“Remember that you and I got two eggs. I put one of them in my pocket and carried it around. Then this girl hatched out from the egg.”

30 *naB ʋona -moA -niB.*

CONJ 2SG MOD PTCL

“What happened with your egg?”

31 *uA, kanB -moA kanB nonA -ləA.*

INTJ 1SG MOD 1SG eat PTCL

“Oh, I ate that.”

32 *jiB, ʋona muA- maA ... ðanB naA -nonB aAmbuAsena muA- ŋteana -jaA.*

INTJ 2SG NEG exist CLF human DEM liver NEG good PTCL

“You, evil-hearted!”

33 *ʋona aCnonB mbonC tsoC- tuC ðanB siB -waC -teC -ləA -manA.*

2SG this.way carry CLNK1 acquire CLF wife PTCL PTCL PTCL PTCL

“If you were like me, you would have a wife.”

34 *ʋona nonA -ləA.*

2SG eat PTCL

“But you ate your egg!”

35 *aiAjaA, ʋwua-ðanB -eB muB aC χuA.*

INTJ two-CLF DEM go do field

Oh, the two boys went to work.

36 *aiAjaA, qlenAqaA tsoC- zocseA, kanB szB-ngaC-szB-ngaC jeB ... qoC kanB ʋjaB*
 INTJ PN CLNK1 say 1SG PURP-strong-RED FLL let 1SG marry

... qoC niB ʋjaB kanB -mbeC.

let 3 marry 1SG PTCL

Qlenqa said to himself, “I will work very hard and make her marry me.”

37 *aiAjaA, ʋwua-ðanB jeB muB aC χuA, qlenAqaA tsoC- aC -ŋteəAlena wiC*
 INTJ two-CLF FLL go do field PN CLNK1 do EXPR *

-ŋteəAlena.

EXPR

Oh, the two boys were at work. Qlenqa worked really hard.

- 38 *ηδuCmbæC tshəAmaBtshəAmaC- aC.*
 PN slowly do
 Ndumba worked slowly.
- 39 *aiAjaA, δanB təAmpheB tsoC- zoCseA.*
 INTJ CLF girl CLNK1 say
 But, the girl said.
- 40 *aiA, qlenAqaA βona tiB-ngaC -tsaB -χaB, muA- tuC ηδuCmbæC aC*
 INTJ PN 2SG AUG-diligent PTCL CLNK2 NEG acquire PN do
ʔyøNC -jaA.
 good PTCL
 “Qlenqa, you worked very hard, but not as hard as Ndumba.”
- 41 *aiAjaA, jeB ***, jeB, ... laAχaB ... ηδuCmbæC tsoC- maA ʔneA tshiA.*
 INTJ FLL FLL FLL PN CLNK1 exist CLF angry
 Oh, hearing this, Qlenqa got a little angry. [101]
- 42 *jeB muB aC δoB -niB, qlenAqaA zoCseA, kanB kuB yuC szB-h̄ɣonB-*
 FLL go make firewood PTCL PN say 1SG carry CLF PURP-heavy-
szB-h̄ɣonB szB-εaB-szB-εaB jeB, qoC niB tsoC- ʔjaB kanB.
 RED PURP-many-RED FLL let 3 CLNK1 marry 1SG
 They went to gather firewood. Qlenqa said to himself, “I will carry a big and heavy bundle of firewood, and make her marry me.”
- 43 *aiAjaA, muB aC δoB -niB, qlenAqaA tsoC- kuB yuC təA-paBliB-təA-paBloB,*
 INTJ go make firewood PTCL PN CLNK1 carry CLF AUG.RED-big
ηδuCmbæC tsoC- kuB təAtana -qəAleC.
 PN CLNK1 carry a.little only
 They went to gather firewood. Qlenqa carried a big bundle of firewood, and Ndumba carried a little bundle.
- 44 *kuB zuC aAηdoBβoA-piB tsoC- δoC -mpuA.*
 carry arrive back-house CLNK1 sound EXPR
 When they came home, Qlenqa put his bundle in the backyard. It made a big sound. [102]
- 45 *ηδuCmbæC -moA δoB ntshiA -khaA.*
 PN MOD firewood sound EXPR
 Ndumba put his firewood on the ground. It made a small sound.

101 In this sentence, the narrator said ‘Ndumba got a little angry’, but it is clear that it is Qlenqa that got angry. The translation is edited as such.

102 *-mpuA* in this sentence and *-khaA*, *-mɣonC*, and *-tshaA* in the subsequent sentences belong to the word class called ‘expressives’. *-mpuA* and *-mɣonC* express the sensation of a big sound, and *-khaA* and *-tshaA* the sensation of a small sound.

- 46 *aA, δanB təApheB zoCseA, aiAjaA, qlenAqaA -moA δoC -mplonC.*
 INTJ CLF girl say INTJ PN MOD sound EXPR
 The girl said, “Oh, Qlenqa’s firewood made a big sound.”
- 47 *aiAjaA ηduCmbæC -moA δoC -tshaA.*
 INTJ PN MOD sound EXPR
 “Ndumba’s firewood made a small sound.”
- 48 *aiAjaA, qlenAqaA -moA muA- tuC ηduCmbæC -moA εaB, χaC’χaC’ tsoC-*
 INTJ PN MOD NEG acquire PN MOD many always CLNK1
zoC ... laAχaB... ηduCmbæC -moA εaB -siA.
 say FLL PN MOD many PTCL
 “However, Qlenqa’s firewood is less than Ndumba’s.” Everytime, she said Ndumba’s firewood was larger.
- 49 *aiAjaA, jiC- muB qwaA tshoB -niB, ... aiAjaA, tεBtsiBliA... ηduCmbæC ... laAχaB*
 INTJ CLNK1 go cut grass PTCL INTJ FLL PN FLL
qlenAqaA tsoC- zoCseA.
 PN CLNK1 say
 When they went to cut weed, Qlenqa said to himself.
- 50 *soB kanB qwaA tanC təApaBloB.*
 let 1SG cut CLF big
 “I will cut a big bundle of grass.”
- 51 *tsoC- qwaA tanC təA-paBliB-təA-paBloB luB, tsoC- δoC -mplonC.*
 CLNK1 cut CLF AUG.RED-big come CLNK1 sound EXPR
 So he cut a big bundle of grass and carried it home. It made a big sound.
- 52 *aiAjaA, qlenAqaA tsoC- ... ηduCmbæC tsoC- qwaA ?neA təAtana -qəAleC.*
 INTJ PN CLNK1 PN CLNK1 cut CLF small only
 Ndumba, on the other hand, only cut a little bundle.
- 53 *jiC- luB ndoC -mpuA qoC nthəBeB.*
 CLNK1 come throw EXPR GOAL there
 He came home and put it on the ground.
- 54 *aiAjaA, δanB təAmpheB tsoC- zoCseA.*
 INTJ CLF girl CLNK1 say
 The girl said.
- 55 *aiAjaA, ηduCmbæC ndoC δoC -mpuA, aA, qlenA ... laAχaB ηduCmbæC...*
 INTJ PN throw firewood EXPR INTJ FLL PN
qlenAqaA ndoC δoC -mpuA.
 PN throw sound EXPR
 “Oh, Qlenqa’s grass made a big sound.”

56 *ηδuCmbæC tēhēNAmaC- tsoNC qoC χaB, ηδuCmbæC -moA εaB qoC*
 PN slowly throw GOAL CONJ PN MOD many than
qlēNAqaA -moA -tēiBtiBtēiBtaA.
 PN MOD EXPR
 “Ndumba put his bundle of grass slowly, but Ndumba’s grass is much more than Qlenqa’s.”

57 *aiAjaA, δanB qlēNAqaA tsoC- tēhiA -tsaB jeB.*
 INTJ CLF PN CLNK1 angry PTCL FLL
 Qlenqa got very angry.

58 *χauB, qlēNAqaA tsoC- tēhiA -tsaB, niB tsoC-tāAhmonC, niB tsoC- muB*
 INTJ PN CLNK1 angry PTCL 3 CLNK1 evening 3 CLNK1 go
ηiC naA -moA qeA, ηiC naA -moA aAkwāC, ηiC naA -moA
 steal human MOD chicken steal human MOD duck steal human MOD
aAngoB, ηiC naA -moA aAmpīC tsoC- luB nonA.
 goose steal human MOD pig CLNK1 come eat
 One night, he stole other people’s chicken, duck, goose, and pig, and ate them all.

59 *jeB nonA jeB, tsoC- ?miA tāAntshēNB muB sonC qoC tāAmpheB -moA*
 FLL eat FLL CLNK1 DISP1 blood go smear GOAL girl MOD
taA-ηdzoA.
 NMLZ-mouth
 Then he took blood of those animals and smeared it on the mouth of the girl.

60 *sonC tāAmpheB taA-ηdzoA jeB, χauB, tāBqwēNanonB, niB tsoC- ... niB tsoC- ...*
 smear girl NMLZ-mouth FLL FLL after.that 3 CLNK1 3 CLNK1
zoC ηδuCmbæC zoCseA.
 say PN say
 After that, he said to Ndumba.

61 *aiAjaA, wonA zoCseA, wonA -moA δanB siB ?yōNC -tsaB.*
 INTJ 2SG say 2SG MOD CLF wife good PTCL
 “You said that your wife is a good wife.”

62 *wonA -moA δanB siB jonC δanB aAnonAsēNA -siA.*
 2SG MOD CLF wife COP CLF monster PTCL
 “But, your wife is a man-eating monster.” [103]

63 *wonA lanC, tāAhmonC-tāAhmonC, muB ηiC naA -moA aAngoB, ηiC naA -moA*
 2SG look evening-RED go steal human MOD goose steal human MOD
aAkwāC, ηiC naA -moA qeA, ηiC naA -moA tanA-mpīC nonA aCnonB.
 duck steal human MOD chicken steal human MOD child-pig eat this.way
 “Every night your wife steals and eats someone’s geese, ducks, chickens, and piglets.”

103 *aAnonAsēNA* is a noun analyzable as ◊prefix◊eat◊raw ‘a raw eater’.

- 64 *taA-ŋdzoA puBleA- təAntshenB -siA.*
 NMLZ-mouth all blood PTCL
 “You see her mouth is full of blood.”
- 65 *ʋONA ʔŋONA ʔneA -teC, ʋONA muA- ɛenC’, niB vuB- niB- nonA ʋONA muB.*
 2SG be.at CLF PTCL 2SG NEG believe 3 still IRR eat 2SG go
 “If you don’t believe me, she will eat you.”
- 66 *aiAjaA, ŋɖuCmbæC tsoC- ntsheC -liA.*
 INTJ PN CLNK1 afraid PTCL
 Ndumba got scared.
- 67 *puAleC- təAðeNA jonC ðanB aAnonAsenA -siA, aAnaA.*
 possibly really COP CLF monster PTCL PTCL
 “She must be a man-eating monster.”
- 68 *oA, tsonC niB -χeNA -mbeC, aCnonB jeB.*
 INTJ release 3 PTCL PTCL this.way INTJ
 “OK, I will divorce her.”
- 69 *aiAjaA, ŋɖuCmbæC tsoC- zoCseA.*
 INTJ PN CLNK1 say
 So, Ndumba said to his wife.
- 70 *aA, naB tsoC- ɛanB’ɛenC’ ðanB ... tsoC- ɛenC’ ... aC tɛəBtsiB aAliA ...qlenAqaA*
 INTJ CONJ CLNK1 believe CLF CLNK1 believe do IGN FLL PN
jeB tsoC- zoCseA.
 FLL CLNK1 say
 Ndumba believed Qlenqa’s story and said to his wife.
- 71 *kanB tsonC ʋONA muB -mbeC.*
 1SG release 2SG go PTCL
 “I will divorce you.”
- 72 *kanB muA- ʔŋONB ʋONA -jaA.*
 1SG NEG need 2SG PTCL
 “I don’t need you anymore.”
- 73 *aiAjaA, ŋɖuCmbæC, aCðaCaC ʋONA niB- tsonC kanB.*
 INTJ PN IGN 2SG IRR release 1SG
 “Oh, no. why do you divorce me?”
- 74 *aiAjaA, kanB muA- ʔŋONB ʋONA -jaA.*
 INTJ 1SG NEG need 2SG PTCL
 “I don’t need you.”

75 *naB ηduCmbæC naB εeA aAtsiB puAðanB tsoC- jonC siB-zonB, kona*
 CONJ PN CONJ time IGN 1DU CLNK1 COP wife-husband 2SG

niB- tsonC kanB.
 IRR release 1SG

“Ndumba, we said that we are a couple forever, and now you say you will divorce me?”

76 *aiAjaA, kanB muA- ηnonB kona -jaA.*
 INTJ 1SG NEG need 2SG PTCL

“I don’t need you.”

77 *kona muB kona -moA -mbeC, aAnaA.*
 2SG go 2SG MOD PTCL PTCL

“Get out of my house.”

78 *aiAjaA, niB tsoC- muB, aA, ?lana vonB, tsoC- muB zuC ?lana vonB, tsoC-*
 INTJ 3 CLNK1 go INTJ CLF pond CLNK1 go arrive CLF pond CLNK1

muB zuC ?lana vonB, tsoC- jiC- tonB ona, tsoC- tonB zuC taqwiCtoC.
 go arrive CLF pond CLNK1 CLNK1 dive water CLNK1 dive arrive ankle
 Then, his wife went to a pond and stood in the ankle-deep water.

79 *niB zoCseA, ηduCmbæC, ηnonB kanB muA- ηnonB, ηnonB kanB, kanB tsoC-*
 3 say PN need 1SG NEG need need 1SG 1SG CLNK1

tonB luB -mbeC -laA -manaA.
 return come PTCL PTCL PTCL

She said, “Ndumba, do you need me? If you need me, I will just come back to you!”

80 *ηduCmbæC seA, kanB muA- ηnonB kona -jaA.*
 PN say 1SG NEG need 2SG PTCL

Ndumba said, “I don’t need you.”

81 *jeB tsaA- tonB zuC aηkhaAlaAtoC.*
 FLL separately dive arrive knee

She sank to her knee in the water.

82 *ηduCmbæC, kona ηnonB kanB -teC muA- ηnonB, ηduCmbæC, kanB tsoC-*
 PN 2SG need 1SG PTCL NEG need PN 1SG CLNK1

tonB luB -mbeC -laA -manaA, ηduCmbæC.
 return come PTCL PTCL PTCL PN

She said, “Ndumba, do you need me? If you need me, I will just come back to you!”

83 *kanB muA- ηnonB kona -jaA.*
 1SG NEG need 2SG PTCL

Ndumba said, “I don’t need you.”

84 *oA, juCtsaA- tonB zuC taqIaB.*
 INTJ again dive arrive waist

She sank to her waist in the water.

85 *ηduCmbæC*, *ƀONA ʔηONB kanB muA- ʔηONB, ʔηONB kanB, ʔONB luB -mbeC*
 PN 2SG need 1SG NEG need need 1SG return come PTCL

-ləA -mana, ηduCmbæC.

PTCL PTCL PN

She said, “Ndumba, do you need me? If you need me, I will just come back to you!”

86 *aiAjaA, kanB muA- ʔηONB ƀONA -jaA.*

INTJ 1SG NEG need 2SG PTCL

Ndumba said, “I don’t need you.”

87 *jeB tsəA- nduC, ʔoCseA, ηduCmbæC, ... naB tsəC- tonB zuC aAqoAtsuC.*
 FLL separately walk say PN CONJ CLNK1 dive arrive armpit

She sank to her armpit in the water.

88 *ηduCmbæC, ʔηONB kanB muA- ʔηONB, ʔηONB kanB tsəC- ʔONB luB -mbeC*
 PN need 1SG NEG need need 1SG CLNK1 return come PTCL

-ləA -mana, ηduCmbæC.

PTCL PTCL PN

She said, “Ndumba, do you need me? If you need me, I will just come back to you!”

89 *aiAjaA, niB loB- tsəC- muA- ʔηONB.*

INTJ 3 also CLNK1 NEG need

Ndumba said that he did not need her.

90 *juCtsəA- tonB zuC... tonB zuC... khaAtsiB- tshiA -jaA ... aiAjaA tonB zuC ... təAhmiB*
 again dive arrive dive arrive PROH speak PTCL INTJ dive arrive tooth

-nonB.

here

She sank to her teeth in the water. [104]

91 *ηduCmbæC ʔηONB kanB -mbeC, ʔηONB kanB tsəC- ʔONB luB -mbeC,*
 PN need 1SG PTCL need 1SG CLNK1 return come PTCL

ηduCmbæC.

PN

She said, “Ndumba, do you need me? If you need me, I will just come back to you!”

92 *aiAjaA, kanB muA- ʔηONB ƀONA -jaA.*

INTJ 1SG NEG need 2SG PTCL

Ndumba said, “I don’t need you.”

93 *tsəC- tonB zuC taA-maB ʔoCseA.*

CLNK1 dive arrive NMLZ-eye say

She sank to her eyes in the water.

104 *khaAtsiB- tshiA -jaA* (◇◇PROH◇speak◇PTCL ‘Do not speak.’) in this sentence is an inserted sentence, which was addressed to a person who talked to the narrator during the story-telling.

94 ηδuCmbæC, βONA ?ηONB kanB muA- ?ηONB, muA- ?ηONB kanB τoC- loA
 PN 2SG need 1SG NEG need NEG need 1SG CLNK1 disappear

kanB -moA -waC -liA.
 1SG MOD PTCL PTCL

She said, “Ndumba, do you need me? If you do not need me, I will leave you!”

95 aA, kanB muA- ?ηONB βONA τoC- muA- ?ηONB.
 INTJ 1SG NEG need 2SG CLNK1 NEG need
 Ndumba said, “I’m saying I don’t need you.”

96 βONA muA- ?ηONB kanB -seA, kanB jiC- muB -seA, kanB -moA aAβwaC
 2SG NEG need 1SG CLNK2 1SG CLNK1 go CLNK2 1SG MOD duck

-naB, əBqeA -naB, aANGoB -naB, aAmpic -naB, əBηiA -naB, əBmaB -naB,
 PLNK chicken PLNK goose PLNK pig PLNK buffalo PLNK horse PLNK

τoC- qloB kanB jiAχaC- muB -liA.
 CLNK1 follow 1SG altogether go PTCL

“If you divorce me, I will leave you, and then, our ducks, chickens, geese, pigs, buffalos, and horses will go away with me.”

97 aiAjaA, kanB ntɛnC kanB -moA βuB -tsaB uA.
 INTJ 1SG lock.up 1SG MOD firm PTCL INTJ
 “Hey, I locked up my animals in the barn.”

98 βuB -tsaB, ntʃheC kanB muB -seA, kanB τoC- loA kanB -moA -waC
 firm PTCL afraid 1SG go CLNK2 1SG CLNK1 disappear 1SG MOD PTCL

-liA.
 PTCL

“Then I go.”

99 niB τoC- tonB oNA moA -mploNC -siA.
 3 CLNK1 dive water sink EXPR PTCL
 She sank into the water.

100 aiAjaA, əBqeA, aAβwaC, aANGoB, əBηiA, əBjuB, əBmaB, τoC- ntana loC
 INTJ chicken duck goose buffalo cow horse CLNK1 open door

ʃhuA -phøC τoC- qloB niB -loA.
 exit EXPR CLNK1 follow 3 PTCL

When she went away, their chickens, ducks, geese, buffalos, cows, and horses bolted out of the barn and went away with her.

101 aiAjaA, əBqeA luB paA qeA taA-χuB pinB -ntaA τoC- təβpiC təA?weA.
 INTJ chicken come grasp chicken NMLZ-head flat EXPR CLNK1 change crest
 As he tried to catch the chickens and grabbed their heads, the heads got flat, and formed a crest.

- 102 *aAkwac muB paA kwaC taA-penB tsoC- maA tʂA-ɣwuA.*
 duck go grasp duck NMLZ-neck CLNK1 exist foot-two
 As he tried to catch the ducks and grabbed their necks, the necks became extended to one foot two long.
- 103 *aANgoB muB paA ngoB taA-penB tsoC- maA tʂA-pæA.*
 goose go grasp goose NMLZ-neck CLNK1 exist foot-five
 As he tried to catch the geese and grabbed their necks, the necks became extended to one and a half foot long.
- 104 *əBɲiA muB paA ɲiA təA-kanA tsoC- piaB -ntaA.*
 buffalo go grasp buffalo NMLZ-horn CLNK1 flat EXPR
 As he tried to catch the buffalos and grabbed their horns, the horns became flat.
- 105 *əBjuB -moA təA-kanA muB ... əBjuB jeB muB paA juB-kanA hlenC -mbzONC.*
 cow MOD NMLZ-horn go cow FLL go grab cow-horn pointed EXPR
 As he tried to catch the cows and grabbed their horns, the horns became pointy.
- 106 *əBmaB jiC- muB paA maB təA-kanA juA -qhlONB.*
 horse CLNK1 go grasp horse NMLZ-horn drop EXPR
 As he tried to catch the horses and grabbed their horns, the horns dropped off.
- 107 *əBmpic muB paA mpiC taA-mbiA tsoC- mbziA -ntonB, aiAjaA, tsoC- qloB*
 pig go grasp pig NMLZ-ear CLNK1 flap EXPR INTJ CLNK1 follow
niB -loA.
 3 PTCL
 As he tried to catch the pigs and grabbed their ears, the ears flapped downwards.
- 108 *aiAjaA, ntseAleC aAvONB -loA jeB.*
 INTJ enter pond PTCL FLL
 The animals went into the pond following the girl.
- 109 *qlenAqaA zoCseA, aiAjaA, ɲɖuCmbæC kanB qlaA wONa -siA uA.*
 PN say INTJ PN 1SG cheat 2SG PTCL INTJ
 After she left, Qlenqa said to Ndumba that he cheated Ndumba.
- 110 *wONa -moA ɖanB siB ɣʉONC -tsaB, kanB qlaA wONa -siA, uA, aAnaA.*
 2SG MOD CLF wife good PTCL 1SG cheat 2SG PTCL INTJ PTCL
 “Your wife was so good, so I envied you.”
- 111 *aiAjaA, qlaA wONa -siA aA.*
 INTJ cheat 2SG PTCL INTJ
 “I cheated you into divorcing your wife.”
- 112 *ɲɖuCmbæC tsoC- jonC *** ... muB ɣlanA vonB -eB tsoC- ɲiBlaA qliB ɲiBlaA*
 PN CLNK1 COP go CLF pond DEM CLNK1 cry * cry
ɖaC.
 die
 Ndumba went to the pond and cried.

113 *ɲiBlaA qliB ɲiBlaA ɔaC -siA.*
 cry * cry die PTCL
 He cried bitterly.

114 *aiAjaA, maA hnaA -seA, tsoC- maA ɔanB qaBtaA, qaBtaAɣøA laAɣaB jeB*
 INTJ exist day CLNK2 CLNK1 exist CLF toad toad FLL FLL

ɔanB qaBtaAɣøA tsoC- naC zoCseA.
 CLF toad CLNK1 ask say
 One day a toad came up to him and asked.

115 *ɲɔuCmbæC, naB ɓona ɲiBlaA tɛiBaAtsiB aB.*
 PN CONJ 2SG cry IGN INTJ
 “What are you crying for?”

116 *uA, kanB muB qwaA tshoB jeB... qlenAqaA puAɔanB muB qwaA tshoB, khoA*
 INTJ 1SG go cut grass FLL PN 1DU go cut grass collect

tuC ɲwuA-ɲlanA qwiC jeB.
 acquire two-CLF egg FLL
 “When Qlenqa and I went to cut weed, we found two eggs.”

117 *qlenAqaA tshana -tsaB jeB, niB tsoC- ɲmiA niB -moA tɔoB nona -loA jeB.*
 PN greedy PTCL FLL 3 CLNK1 DISPl 3 MOD cook eat PTCL FLL
 “Qlenqa is a greedy guy, so he cooked and ate his egg.”

118 *kanB tsoC- mbonC kanB -moA jeB ɓluC tshuA ɔanB tɔAmpheB ɲyønCɲguA*
 1SG CLNK1 carry 1SG MOD FLL hatch exit CLF girl beautiful

-tsaB, niB tsoC- ɲjaB kanB jeB.
 PTCL 3 CLNK1 marry 1SG FLL
 “I put mine in my pocket, then one day it hatched and a beautiful girl came out, and she married me.”

119 *aiAjaA, qlenAqaA, laAɣaB, tsoC- qlaA zoCseA, uA, niB muB ɲiC naA -moA*
 INTJ PN FLL CLNK1 cheat say INTJ 3 go steal human MOD

aAngoB, ɲiC naA -moA ɓwaC, ɲiC naA -moA qeA, ɲiC naA -moA
 goose steal human MOD duck steal human MOD chicken steal human MOD

tana-mpic luB nona jeB tsoC- ɲmiA tɔAntshenB sonC taA-ɲɔoA jeB,
 child-pig come eat FLL CLNK1 DISPl blood wipe NMLZ-mouth FLL

tsoC- zoCseA, jonC ɔanB, laAɣaB, aAnonAsena -siA.
 CLNK1 say COP CLF FLL monster PTCL
 “Qlenqa stole other people’s chickens, ducks, geese, and pigs, ate them all, wiped her lips with the blood of those animal, and told me that my wife was a monster.”

120 zuAkoB- zoCseA ʁONA muA- ʁONC niB muB, hnaA -ʁiB niB- nonA ʁONA
 CLNK2 say 2SG NEG divorce 3 go day IGN IRR eat 2SG

aCnonB jeB, kanB ʁoC- nʁsheC -ʁaB jeB.

this.way FLL 1SG CLNK1 afraid PTCL FLL

“He said that if I didn’t divorce her, she would eat me, then I got scared.”

121 kanB ʁoC- aCnaB kanB ʁoC- ʁONC niB jeB.

1SG CLNK1 this.way 1SG CLNK1 release 3 FLL

“So I divorced her and drove her away.”

122 ʁONC niB ʁoC- tonB qoC ʁlana vonB -nonB -loA jeB,
 release 3 CLNK1 dive GOAL CLF pond DEM PTCL FLL

“Then she went down into the pond.”

123 niB ʁoC- tonB ʁlana vonB ponA ʁlana vonB -loA jeB, aiAjaA,
 3 CLNK1 dive CLF pond fall CLF pond PTCL FLL INTJ

təBqwenAnonB qlenAqaA zoCseA, kanB qlaA ʁONA aC nqoA -ʁiA.
 after.that PN say 1SG cheat 2SG make play PTCL

“After she went down there, Qlenqa told me that he had cheated me.”

124 aiAjaA, kanB ʁiC nonA jeB, kanB sonC taA-ŋɛoA -ʁiA aCnaB jeB.
 INTJ 1SG steal eat FLL 1SG wipe NMLZ-mouth PTCL this.way FLL

“Qlenqa said that it was he that stole those things and wiped blood on her lips.”

125 kanB tiB-tenC niB -ʁaB, kanB ɔaA ʁiBlaA niB -ʁiA.
 1SG AUG-miss 3 PTCL 1SG come cry 3 PTCL

“I miss her, so I came here and was crying.”

126 aAnaB.

INTJ

“Oh, really.”

127 uA.

INTJ

“Yeah.”

128 ʁONA niB- ɛanB muB thonB niB.

2SG IRR want go look.for 3

“Do you want to see her?”

129 aA, kanB ɛanB muB thonB niB.

INTJ 1SG want go look.for 3

“Oh, yes, I do.”

130 naB, ʁONA khaAʁiB- ... ʁONA khaAʁiB- ʁiBlaA -waC jeB.
 this.way 2SG PROH ... 2SG PROH cry PTCL FLL

“Then stop crying.”

131 *soB kanB xoA oNA szB-vaC -xeNA.*
 let 1SG drink water PURP-end PTCL
 “I will drink up the water of the pond.”

132 *jeB kanB joNA vonA muB thonB niB.*
 FLL 1SG take 2SG go look.for 3
 “Then I will take you down there to find your wife.”

133 *aiAjaA, danB qaBtaA tsoC- zoC danB, laAxaB, nduCmbæC aCnaB jeB.*
 INTJ CLF toad CLNK1 say CLF FLL PN this.way FLL
 The toad said so.

134 *danB qaBtaA tsoC- xoA oNA, khaAtsiB- ***, soB kanB xoA oNA -xeNA.*
 CLF toad CLNK1 drink water PROH let 1SG drink water PTCL
 The toad then began to take in the water.

135 *danB qaBtaA tsoC- xoA oNA -seA, tsoC- xoA, aiAjoA xoA taA-maB*
 CLF toad CLNK1 drink water CLNK2 CLNK1 drink INTJ drink NMLZ-eye

-tsiAkliAtsiAkliA.

EXPR

When the toad began to take in the water, his eyes began to pop out of its head.

136 *aAvonB niB- vaC -diB, aiAjaA, nduCmbæC mbuA mbuA, teB muA- ηaC -jaA,*
 pond IRR end PTCL INTJ PN see see resist NEG strong PTCL

tsoC- tuA.

CLNK1 laugh

Ndumba saw the toads eyes popping out of its head, and when the water was almost gone, he could not resist laughing.

137 *jiC- tuA, danB qaBtaA tsoC- seA, vonA khaAtsiB- tuA -jaA.*
 CLNK1 laugh CLF toad CLNK1 say 2SG PROH laugh PTCL
 The toad said to him, “Do not laugh.”

138 *jiC- tuA jeB kanB tsoC- xoA muA- muB -jaA -laA -mana.*
 CLNK1 laugh FLL 1SG CLNK1 drink NEG go PTCL PTCL PTCL
 “Once you laugh, I will not be able to keep drinking.”

139 *ngweC -nonB khaAtsiB- tuA -jaA -liA.*
 CLF DEM PROH laugh PTCL PTCL
 “Next time, you cannot laugh.”

140 *uC.*
 INTJ
 “OK.”

141 *oA, danB qaBtaAuyA tsaA- xoA oNA.*
 INTJ CLF toad separately drink water
 The toad then began to take in the water again.

142 *tsɔC- χoA -ητεəAlenA wiC -ητεəAlenA taA-maB *** luC -ðiB.*
 CLNK1 drink EXPR * EXPR NMLZ-eye explode PTCL
 When the toad began to take in the water, his eyes began to pop out of its head.

143 *ηduCmbæC teB muA- tuC tsɔC- tuA -qhlɔNB.*
 PN resist NEG acquire CLNK1 laugh EXPR
 This time again, he could not resist and burst into laughter.

144 *aiAjaA, oNA tsA- mplaC -mɔlonB, zoCseA.*
 INTJ water separately flow.over EXPR say
 The water got back to the pond.

145 *eiA.*
 INTJ
 “Oh, no.”

146 *ngweC -nonB βONA khaAtsiB- tuA -waC -liA.*
 CLF DEM 2SG PROH laugh PTCL PTCL
 “Next time, you cannot laugh.”

147 *βONA tuA -waC, kanB tsɔC- muAðiB- χoA -waC -liA.*
 2SG laugh PTCL 1SG CLNK1 NEG drink PTCL PTCL
 “If you laugh, I cannot take in the water anymore.”

148 *βONA khaAtsiB- tuA -waC, kanB tsɔC- χoA oNA szB-kaC -χeNA, kanB jona*
 2SG PROH laugh PTCL 1SG CLNK1 drink water PURP-end PTCL 1SG take

βONA muB -mana, βONA tuA qliB tuA ðaC.
 2SG go PTCL 2SG laugh * laugh die
 “Don’t laugh. I am saying that when I drain the pond, I will take you down there. How can you laugh that much?”

149 *qaBtaAyθA tsɔC- qeC ðanB ηduCmbæC -eB.*
 toad CLNK1 scold CLF PN DEM
 The toad scolded Ndumba.

150 *naB, ngweC -nonB βONA χoA jeB, kanB tsɔC- teonC aAmaB -χeNA.*
 this.way CLF DEM 2SG drink FLL 1SG CLNK1 bend face PTCL
 “OK, next time, when you take in the water, I will bend my head so as not to see you.”

151 *aiAjaA, təBqweNAnonB ðanB qaBtaAyθA -nonB jeB, niB tsɔC- mpuC aAmaB jeB,*
 INTJ after.that CLF toad DEM FLL 3 CLNK1 cover eye FLL

tsɔC- muB χoA oNA.
 CLNK1 go drink water
 Then, Ndumba closed his eyes, and the toad began to take in the water.

152 *tsɔC- χoA oNA, taA-maB -tsiAkliAtsiAβliA tsɔC- əβχiB -qəAleC tsɔC- χoA*
 CLNK1 drink water NMLZ-eye EXPR CLNK1 CLF only CLNK1 drink

ʔlANA vONB -moA oNA βaC -mponB -waC jeB.

CLF pond MOD water end EXPR PTCL FLL

The toad's eyes began to pop out of its head, and took in the water at one gulp.

153 *χauB, χoA oNA eA -nonB oNA βaC -waC jeB, kanB jONa βONa muB,*
 INTJ drink water time DEM water end PTCL FLL 1SG take 2SG go

aAnaA.

PTCL

“All right, now the water is gone, I will take you down.”

154 *tsɔC- jONa ngaB ʔlANA vONB ngaB təAðenBtəAðenC- *** muB zuC ʔlANA*
 CLNK1 take descend CLF pond descend extremely go arrive CLF

təA-qhonB taA-zəBηtonA -eB.

NMLZ-hole NMLZ-inside DEM

Then the toad took him down into the hole in the pond.

155 *aiAjaA, ðanB təAmpheB tsəAvuB- ʔηONa nthəBeB.*
 INTJ CLF girl still be.at there

The girl was there.

156 *zɔCseA, ηduCmbæC, βONa ðaA nonB.*
 say PN 2SG come here

She said, “Ndumba, you came here.”

157 *aA.*

INTJ

“Yeah.”

158 *aCnonB, βONa ðaA aC tɛəBtsiB.*
 this.way 2SG come do IGN

“What have you come here for?”

159 *kanB ðaA thonB βONa.*
 1SG come look.for 2SG

“I have come here to find you.”

160 *naB βONa muA- ηeA kanB jeB, χONa- tsONC kanB, βONa ðaA thonB kanB.*
 CONJ 2SG NEG like 1SG FLL CLNK1 release 1SG 2SG come look.for 1SG
 “To find me? But you do not like me, so you divorced me, didn't you?”

161 *aCnaB jeB, aiA, kanB tiB-tenC βONa -tsəB.*
 this.way FLL INTJ 1SG AUG-miss 2SG PTCL

“I miss you so much.”

162 *ʋONA tenC kaNB -tsaB.*
 2SG miss 1SG PTCL
 “You say you miss me?”

163 *ʋONA khaAtsiB- ʔŋONA -waC -liA.*
 2SG PROH be.at PTCL PTCL
 “You cannot be here.”

164 *aCseB ʋONA muB -liA.*
 quickly 2SG go PTCL
 “Leave here now.”

165 *ɛeA kaNB zuC tiA -nonB, kaNB ʔjaB ʋONA niA-tana -waC -liA, kaNB*
 a.while 1SG arrive bottomDEM 1SG marry dragon ANPH-child PTCL PTCL 1SG

ʔjaB, laAɣaB, ʋONA niA-tana -waC -liA.
 marry FLL dragon ANPH-child PTCL PTCL
 “Soon, I will go to the bottom of the pond to marry a son of a dragon.”

166 *ʋONA ʔonB muB, khaA- ʔŋONA nthəBnonB -waC.*
 2SG return go PROH be.at here PTCL
 “You go back home. You cannot be around here.”

167 *jeB, kaNB ʔmiA tsia-sena mbliA taA tsia-sena tshanB, ʋONA tsoC- tiB*
 FLL 1SG give three-CLF rice COM three-CLF millet 2SG CLNK1 take

muB, ʋONA tsoC- muB janC ŋɛoA muB.
 go 2SG CLNK1 go feed mouth go
 “I will give you three shengs of rice and three shengs of millet, so you take them home to feed yourself.”

168 *ʋONA ʔŋONA təAnonB ɛeA, laAɣaB niB luB hleA ʋONA -liA.*
 2SG be.at here a.while FLL 3 come kill 2SG PTCL
 “You will be killed if you stay here.”

169 *niB zoCseA, oA, aCnaB, aA.*
 3 say INTJ this.way INTJ
 “Oh, I see.” He said.

170 *ʔmiA tsia-sena mbliA tsoC- zoCseA sanB senB jenAtszB, tsia-sena tshanB*
 give three-CLF rice CLNK1 say three CLF silver three-CLF millet

tsoC- zoCseA sanB senB tɛnBtszB.
 CLNK1 say three CLF gold
 “Three shengs of rice are three shengs of silver coins, and three shengs of millet are three shengs of gold coins, you know.”

171 *ʋONA tiB ʔonB muB, tiB ʔonB muB janC ŋɛoA muB.*
 2SG take return go take return go feed mouth go
 “You take them back home to feed yourself.”

172 aiAjaA, təBqwenAnonB, ŋɔCmbæC tsoC- tiB ʔonB muB jeB, tsoC- luB
 INTJ after.that PN CLNK1 take return go FLL CLNK1 come

tuC ʔneA -eB janC ŋɔzoA, paNA niB-miC janC ŋɔzoA.
 acquire CLF DEM feed mouth give 3-mother feed mouth
 Then, Ndumba took the gifts home and fed himself.

173 aCnonB tsoC- jenA -ntuA.
 this.way CLNK1 end EXPR
 That is all.

【中文大意】

蛋姑娘（二）

从前某个地方有两家人，家人们都去世了，留下了两个孩子。他们都没结婚。其中一个，人家给他起名为格林嘎。另外一个，因为没结婚，所以人家叫他顿巴（单身汉的意思）。他们两人都不受人待见。于是，就搭伙住在一起了。两个人住在一起后，一起去砍柴。一起去砍柴，一起去割草。砍柴割草的时候，他们碰到了两个蛋。碰到两个蛋在一起，两个人就捡回家。捡回家后，格林嘎就把它煮来吃了。顿巴觉得吃了很可惜，就把它放到怀里。放到怀里走了一会儿，从蛋里孵出了一个女孩。那个女孩特别漂亮。到了晚上，他就带着她一起睡，在被窝里一直小声地和她说说话。格林嘎和顿巴一起睡在一个床上。格林嘎听到顿巴好像在和谁说话，就问说：“我怎么一直听见有人在小声地和你说话？”顿巴说：“啊，我在跟我的扣子说话呢。”“噢，这样啊。”睡了一会儿，又听见有人在悄悄地说话。格林嘎说：“你在和谁说话呢。”“啊，我在跟我的枕头说话呢。”“噢，这样啊。”睡了一会儿，又听见有人在悄悄地说话说个不停。“喂！顿巴你在跟谁说话呢。”“哎呀，我在跟我的衣服说话呢。”过了一会儿，格林嘎起来点亮油灯。看到顿巴和一个女孩睡在一起就说：“你把谁家的女孩带来了？这么漂亮，迟早有人要来找，你会被杀啊。”“不是的。我们俩不是捡了两个蛋嘛，我揣在怀里走，走着走着，这个女孩就出生了。你的呢。”“我的吃了。”“呵，你个没爱心的人。如果你也像我这样做你也不能有妻子了嘛。结果你吃了。”之后，两个人出去干活了。格林嘎心里想：“我努力的劳作给她看，然后让她嫁给我吧。”于是，两个人出去干活时，格林嘎就拼命的做。顿巴则慢悠悠的做。即使这样那个女孩还是说：“格林嘎虽然你做的很努力，但是没有顿巴做的好啊。”听到她这么说，格林嘎有点儿生气了。接着又去砍柴了，格林嘎心里想，“我担一捆很大很大的柴给她看，让她嫁给我。”去砍柴的时候，格林嘎就担了一捆很大很大的柴，而顿巴只担了一捆小小的。格林嘎担到家后面放下时，都发出了好大的声响。顿巴把柴放下时发出的声音很小。那个女孩说：“格林嘎放柴的声音好大。顿巴放柴的声音小。格林嘎担的柴没有顿巴的多。”她每次都说顿巴担的柴更多。接着又去割草了，格林嘎心里想：“我要割一满担草。”他割了满满的一担草回来，放下时发出了很大的声响。而顿巴就割了一点点。回来后也放在那里。那个女孩说：“格林嘎放的声音真大。顿巴虽然放的轻，但顿巴割的草比格林嘎割的多得多。”格林嘎就很生气。晚上，他就偷别人家的鸡、鸭、鹅、猪来全部吃了。吃完后，又拿动物的血擦在女孩的嘴上。擦完后，他跟顿巴说：“你说你的妻子好。可她是个吃生的妖怪呀。每天晚上去偷人家的鹅、鸭、鸡、猪来吃。嘴巴全是血呀。你不信的话，她等会儿可能还要吃你。”顿巴听完觉得很害怕。害怕她真的是吃生的妖怪。“那把她赶出去吧。”顿巴说。他相信了格林嘎说的话，于是对着女孩说：“我把你赶出去。我不要你了。”“顿巴，你为什么不要我了。”“我不想要你了。”“我们永远都是夫妻呀，你还要赶我走吗。”“我不要你了。你走吧。”女孩来到池塘边，然后走进水里，水到脚踝的时候。她问：“顿巴，你真的不要我了吗，要的话我就回去。”顿巴说：“不要了。”水淹到膝盖的时候，她又问：“顿巴，你真的不要我了吗，要的话我就回

去。”“不要了。”水淹到腰的时候，她又问：“顿巴，你真的不要我了吗，要的话我就回去。”“不要了。”水淹到胳膊窝的时候，她又问：“顿巴，你真的不要我了吗，要的话我就回去。”他还是说不要。水淹到牙齿的时候，她又问：“顿巴，你真的不要我了吗，要的话我就回去。”“不要了。”水淹到眼睛的时候，她又问：“顿巴，你真的不要我了吗，要的话我就回去。”“不要了就是不要了。”“你不要我了，我走了的话，我的鸭、鸡、鹅、猪、水牛、马也都会和我一起走哦。”“我把它们关得紧紧的。”“那我走了。”她就沉下去了。于是，鸡呀，鸭呀，鹅呀，水牛呀，黄牛呀，马呀，都打开门一起飞奔出去，跟着女孩一起走了。鸡要走，他抓住鸡头就变扁成了鸡冠。鸭子要走，他抓住鸭子的脖子，鸭子的脖子就变成一尺二寸了。鹅要走，他抓住鹅的脖子，鹅的脖子就变成一尺五了。水牛要走，他抓住水牛角，水牛角就变成扁扁的了。黄牛要走，他抓住牛角，牛角就变成尖尖的了。马要走，他抓住马角，马角就掉了。猪要走，他抓住猪耳朵，猪耳朵就趴下来了。全部跟着女孩进到池塘里去了。格林嘎说：“顿巴，其实我是骗你的。我羡慕你有这么好的妻子，所以骗了你。”知道是骗他之后。顿巴就去那个池塘旁边哭，不停的哭。一直不停的哭。有一天，有一只癞蛤蟆问他：“顿巴你为什么哭啊？”“格林嘎和我去割草，捡了两个蛋。格林嘎那小子嘴馋，把他的那个蛋煮来吃了。我把我的蛋揣在怀里，于是，从蛋里孵出来了一个特别漂亮的女孩，我和她成了夫妻。格林嘎骗了我，说她偷人家的鹅、鸭、鸡、猪吃，还把血擦在女孩的嘴巴上，说她是吃生肉的妖怪。他还吓我说，如果你不把她赶走，她就会把我也吃了，他这么说我就害怕了。于是，我就把她赶走了。赶她出去，她就走到这个池塘里去了。她走下去之后，格林嘎就说他是骗我的。他说，是我偷吃的，也是我把血涂在她的嘴巴上的。我很想她，所以来到这里哭呢。”“这样子啊。”“嗯。”“你想见她吗？”“嗯，我想见她。”“那么，你别哭了。你先等我把这个池塘的水喝光。然后我带你去找她。”那只癞蛤蟆跟顿巴这么说。癞蛤蟆就开始喝水。癞蛤蟆开始喝水，它的眼睛就一转一转的。池塘的水快要喝光了，顿巴憋不住笑了。癞蛤蟆说：“你别笑。你一笑，我就喝不下去了。接下来不要笑了。”“好的。”癞蛤蟆又开始喝水。一直拼命不停的喝，它的眼睛一转一转的，像是要飞出来了一样。顿巴憋不住又笑了。水又回去了。“说了别笑。接下来不要笑了。你再笑，我就再也不喝了。不要笑啊，明明都说了等我把水喝干后就带你去，为什么你还会笑得那么厉害。”癞蛤蟆呵斥着顿巴。“那下一次你喝的时候，我就低头不看。”然后，顿巴埋头闭上眼睛，癞蛤蟆又开始喝了。眼睛一转一转的开始喝，一口气就把那个池塘的水全部喝光了。“好了，这次喝完了，我带你去。”癞蛤蟆跳进池中，带他进了池底的洞里。那个女孩在那里。她说：“顿巴，你来了。”“是的。”“你来干什么呢？”“我来找你。”“你不喜欢我才赶走的我，现在怎么又来找我了。”“我非常想你。”“你想我？你不要在这里了。赶快回去吧。待会儿我就要嫁给龙王的儿子了。你赶紧回去，别待在这儿了。我给你三升大米和三升小米，你拿回去用它生活。你在这儿的话，待会儿龙王的儿子来了，你会被杀了的。”他说：“好吧。”“三升大米就是三升银子，三升小米就是三升金子。你拿回去用它生活。”于是，顿巴就拿着它们回去生活了。这样就结束了。

【日本語大意】

卵から生まれた娘（二）

昔、あるところに二つの家族があったが、家族はみないなくなって二人の子供が残された。彼らは結婚していなかった。そのうちの一人はクリンカと名付けられた。もう一人は結婚していないので、それでドゥンバ（独り者の意）とよばれた。この二人の子供は誰からも愛情を受けることがなかった。それで、二人で一緒に暮らすことにした。二人は一緒に暮らして、一緒に柴刈りに行った。柴を刈ったり草を刈ったりしに行った。ある時、柴刈り

や草刈りをしていると、二つの卵が並んでいるのを見つけた。二人はその卵を拾って家に帰った。家に帰るとクリンカはその卵を煮て食べてしまった。ドゥンバは食べるのはもったいなくて、懐の中に入れておいた。懐に入れて持ち歩いていると、中から一人の女の子が生まれた。生まれてきた子は、それはそれはきれいな女の子で、ドゥンバは夜になると一緒にベッドに入り、ひそひそ話にふけた。クリンカとドゥンバは一つのベッドで寝ていた。クリンカはドゥンバが誰かと話しているのを聞いて言った。「どうして誰かがおまえとひそひそ話をしているんだ。」ドゥンバは言った。「ああ、ボタンとお話ししているんだ。」「ああ、そうか。」しばらくすると、また誰かがひそひそ話しているのが聞こえる。クリンカは言った。「誰と話しているんだ。」「ああ、枕とお話ししているんだよ。」「ああ、そうか。」しばらくするとまた誰かがひそひそ話をしているのが聞こえる。「おい。ドゥンバ、おまえ誰と話をしているんだ。」「いや、服とお話ししているんだって。」しばらくして、クリンカは起きて明かりをつけた。見るとドゥンバが女の子と寝ている。「どこの家の子を連れて来たんだ。こんなきれいな子、今に誰か来ておまえ殺されちゃうぞ。」「違うって。僕ら卵を二つ拾っただろ。僕は懐に入れて持ち歩いていたんだ。そしたら、この子が中から生まれたんだよ。君のはどうしたんだい。」「俺のは食べちゃった。」「うわ、悪い奴だな。君だって僕みたいにしていたら、女房が手に入ったのにさ。でも食べちゃったんだ。」その後、二人は野良に仕事に出かけた。クリンカは思った。「すごく働いてみせて、あの子に俺の女房になってもらおう。」仕事に出かけると、クリンカは必死に働いた。ドゥンバはのろのろと働いた。それでも女の子は彼らに言った。「クリンカはよく働くわね、でもドゥンバほどじゃないわ。」それを聞いてクリンカはちょっと苛立った。次に柴刈りに出かけた。クリンカは思った。「すごく重くて大きな薪の束を担いでいってみせて、あの子に俺の女房になってもらおう。」柴刈りに行くと、クリンカはとても大きな薪の束を担いだが、ドゥンバは小さな束を担いただけだった。クリンカは家の裏へ運んで行って薪を下ろすと、どすんと大きな音がした。ドゥンバの薪はぱさっと小さな音がした。女の子は言った。「クリンカの薪は大きな音がしたわ。ドゥンバの薪は音が小さかったわね。でもクリンカの薪はドゥンバほど多くないわ。」女の子はいつもドゥンバの方が多いいと言った。次に草刈りに行くことになった。クリンカは思った。「天秤棒に一杯草を刈り取ってやる。」彼は天秤棒にあふれんばかりの草を持って帰ると、どさっと大きな音を立てた。ドゥンバは、ちょっと刈っただけだった。帰ってくると下に置いた。女の子は言った。「クリンカの草は大きな音がしたわ。ドゥンバはゆっくり置いたけど、ドゥンバの草の方がクリンカのよりずっと多かったわ。」クリンカは怒った。夜になると、クリンカは人の家の鶏、アヒル、ガチョウ、豚を盗んできて全部食べた。食べ終わると、動物の血を女の子の口に塗りつけた。塗りつけると、ドゥンバを呼んで言った。「おまえ、自分の女房はいい女房だって言ってたよな。でも、あれは生肉を食う妖怪だぜ。夜な夜な、人の家のガチョウ、アヒル、鶏、子豚を盗んで食っているんだ。口は血だらけだ。俺の話信じないと、そのうちおまえまで食われちゃうぞ。」ドゥンバはそれを聞いて

怖くなった。もしかしたら、本当に生肉を食う妖怪かもしれない。よし、追い出すことにしよう。それでドゥンバはクリンカの言うことを信じて言った。「おまえを離縁するよ。おまえはもう要らない。」「ドゥンバ、どうして私を離縁するの。」「おまえは要らなくなったんだ。」「私たち永遠に夫婦なのよ、それなのに追い出すの。」「もう要らないんだ。出て行ってくれ。」女の子は池のところまで行き、水に入った。水に入ると足首まで水に浸かった。彼女は言った。「ドゥンバ、本当に要らないの、要るなら戻るわよ。」「要らないよ。」彼女は膝まで水に浸かった。「ドゥンバ、本当に要らないの、要るなら戻るわよ。」「要らないよ。」彼女は腰まで水に浸かった。ドゥンバ、本当に要らないの、要るなら戻るわよ。」「要らないよ。」彼女はわきの下まで水に浸かった。「ドゥンバ、本当に要らないの、要るなら戻るわよ。」彼はそれでも要らないと言った。彼女は歯まで水に浸かった。「ドゥンバ、本当に要らないの、要るなら戻るわよ。」「要らないよ。」彼女は目まで水に浸かった。「ドゥンバ、本当に要らないの、要らないなら行っちゃうわよ。」「要らないったら要らないよ。」「私を離縁して、私が出て行っちゃったら、私のアヒル、鶏、ガチョウ、豚、水牛、馬も全部私と一緒に行っちゃうわよ。」「家畜はしっかり閉じ込めてあるさ。」「じゃ私は出て行くわよ。」彼女は水の中に沈んでいった。すると、鶏、アヒル、ガチョウ、水牛、牛、馬はみんな小屋の戸を開けて一斉に飛び出し、彼女について行ってしまった。彼が鶏の頭をつかむとぺたっと平らになり、鶏冠ができた。アヒルの首をつかむと首が伸びて一尺二寸の長さになった。ガチョウの首をつかむと首が伸びて一尺五寸の長さになった。水牛の角をつかむとぺたっと平らになった。牛の角をつかむとぴんと尖った形になった。馬の角をつかむとすぽっと抜けてしまった。豚の耳をつかむと耳は下にパサッと垂れた。みんな彼女について池の中に入っていった。すると、クリンカはドゥンバに言った。「いや、実はおれはおまえを騙していたんだ。おまえの女房がうらやましくて騙したのさ。」騙していたんだと。ドゥンバは池の傍へ行ってさめざめと泣いた。本当にさめざめと泣いた。そうしてある日のこと、一匹のヒキガエルがドゥンバに尋ねた。「ドゥンバ、何を泣いているんだ。」「クリンカと僕は草刈りに行って卵を二つ拾ったんだ。クリンカの奴は食いしん坊だから自分の分を煮て食べちゃったのさ。僕は自分の分を懐の中に入れていたら、そこからきれいな女の子が生まれた。それでその子は僕の嫁になったんだ。クリンカは僕を騙して、あの子が人の家のガチョウ、アヒル、鶏、子豚を盗んで食べていると言ったんだ。それから、その子の口に血を塗り付けて、生肉を食う妖怪だと言ったんだ。彼が言うには、もし追い出さないとおまえを食っちゃまうぞと脅かしたんだ。それで僕は怖くなった。それで僕は彼女を追い出してしまった。彼女は追い出されて池の中に潜っていった。彼女が潜って行ってしまったあと、クリンカは実は騙していたんだと言ったんだ。盗んで食べたのは俺で、俺が彼女の口に血を塗ったのさと。彼女が恋しくてたまらなくて、ここに来て泣いていたんだ。」「そうだったのか。」「うん。」「君は彼女に会いたいのか。」「ああ、会いたいよ。」「じゃ、泣くのはやめな。俺が池の水を飲み干すから待ちな。それからおまえを連れて彼女を探しに行こう。」ヒ

キガエルはドゥンバにそう言った。ヒキガエルは水を飲み始めた。ヒキガエルが水を飲み始めると、目がぐりぐりと飛び出した。池の水がもう少しでなくなるというところで、ドゥンバは我慢ができなくなって吹き出した。ヒキガエルは言った。「笑うなよ。笑ったら飲めなくなるから。次は笑うなよ。」「わかった。」ヒキガエルはまた飲み始めた。必死になって飲み続けて、目が飛び出しそうになった。ドゥンバは我慢できずにぷっと吹き出した。水はまた元に戻ってしまった。「ダメだって。次は笑うなよ。次笑ったらもう飲まないからね。笑うなよ。水を飲み干したらおまえを連れて行ってやるというのに、なんでそんなに笑うかな。」ヒキガエルはそうドゥンバを叱りつけた。「じゃ、次は君が飲んでいてる間顔を伏せているよ。」それで彼が顔を伏せてから、ヒキガエルは水を飲み始めた。目をぐりぐりさせて飲み始めると、一息に池の水を全部飲み干した。「よし、これで飲み干したから、君を連れて行こう。」ヒキガエルは池の中を潜っていき、池の底にある洞窟の中に入っていった。女の子はそこにいた。彼女は言った。「ドゥンバ、来たの。」「ああ。」「それで何をしに来たの。」「君を探しに来たんだ。」「私が嫌いになったから追い出したんでしょ。それで会いに来たって。」「君が恋しくて仕方ないんだ。」「私が恋しいですって。ここにいちゃだめよ。早く帰りなさい。もうすぐ私は竜の息子に嫁入りしに行きます。早く戻りなさい。ここにいたら、竜の息子が来て殺されるわよ。」「ああ、わかった。」と彼は言った。「三升のお米は三升の銀、三升の粟は三升の金。これを持って帰って暮らしなさい。」その後、ドゥンバはそれを持って帰りそれを頼りに暮らしたということだ。ということでおしまい。

30. The Mountain Witch (2) [105]

- 1 *εeA -eB aAndziBaAndziB jeB, aA, maA piB naA tsaA- ?ηONA nthanB.*
time DEM long.ago FLL INTJ exist CLF human separately be.at CLF
A long time ago, there was a family living independently in a place.
- 2 *jeB niB-piB -moA δanB aAneA -eB, taA niB-piB muAsaA- szA-?ηONC*
FLL 3-house MOD CLF grandmother DEM COM 3-house NEG RCP-good
-jaA, jeB tsaA- θhoB piB tsoC- ?ηONA ?lana taAvuBηdanA.
PTCL FLL separately build house CLNK1 be.at CLF valley
The grandmother of the family was at odds with the family, thus, was living alone in the mountain valley.
- 3 *jeB, χauB, təBqwεnAnonB piB naA -niB, niB-piB maA aAneA ...*
FLL INTJ after.that CLF human PTCL 3-house exist grandmother
waiCphoA waiCkonB tsoC- δaC -loA.
maternal.grandmother maternal.grandfather CLNK1 die PTCL
Then, the maternal grandparents of the family died.
- 4 *δaC -loA jeB, χauB, niB-paB niB-miC tsoC- muB χoA tεoB nonA ηiA*
die PTCL FLL INTJ 3-father 3-mother CLNK1 go drink wine eat buffalo
tsonC ηdanB -loA jeB.
release drum PTCL FLL
The father and mother went to attend the funeral.
- 5 *niB-paB niB-miC zoCseA.*
3-father 3-mother say
They said to their children.
- 6 *kanBnaB loA -loA, jeB, εeAεeA təAtana jeB βona muB χanC neA*
1PL disappear PTCL FLL a.while a.little FLL 2SG go call grandmother
δaA -niB, taA məAnaB aC təAweC.
come PTCL COM 2PL make friend
“When we go out, go and ask your grandmother to come here and stay with you.”
- 7 *niB-piB δanB aAniB taA δanB aAtaC tsoC- seA.*
3-house CLF brother COM CLF sister CLNK1 say
Their children replied.
- 8 *uC, aAnaB -ləA -mana.*
INTJ this.way PTCL PTCL
“OK, we will do that.”

105 This story is the same story as that of Chapter 5 told by another story-teller.

9 *χauB, təBqwenAnonB -niB, niB-paB niB-miC loA -sanC -niB, aiAjaA, δanB*
 INTJ after.that PTCL 3-father 3-mother disappear CLNK2 PTCL INTJ CLF

aAtana -eB ... niB-piB aAniB tsoC- ... taA niB-piB aAtaC tsoC- χanC zoCseA.
 child DEM 3-house brother CLNK1 COM 3-house sister CLNK1 call say
 When their parents went away, their son and daughter called their grandmother.

10 *aAneA, eAeA jeB boNA taA kanBnaB aC təAweC -liA.*
 grandmother a.while FLL 2SG COM 1PL make friend PTCL
 “Grandma, please come and join us.”

11 *kəB-paB kəB-miC muB kəB-piB -moA aAneA taA aAtiA δaC -loA,*
 1-father 1-mother go 1SG-house MOD grandmother COM grandfather die PTCL

muB χoA tsoB nonA niA tsonC ηdaB -loA, jeB, eAeA jeB təAhmonC
 go drink wine eat buffalo release drum PTCL FLL a.while FLL evening

boNA δaA taA kanBnaB aC təAweC, aA.
 2SG come COM 1PL make friend INTJ

“Our maternal grandparents died, and papa and mama went to attend the funeral. So, please come and stay with us in the evening.”

12 *jiC- zuC təAhmonC jeB χəBnaB -niB ... əBδanB ηtonBmaB, tsoC- jonC*
 CLNK1 arrive evening FLL here PTCL CLF mountain.witch CLNK1 COP

tonCsena χaA, ηtonBmaB jeB tsoC- hnuB -loA, tsoC zoCseA.
 cave.monster INTJ mountain.witch FLL CLNK1 hear PTCL CLNK1 say

A mountain witch, which is a man-eater living in a mountain cave, heard this and replied.

13 *uC, eAeA kanB δaA.*
 INTJ a.while 1SG come
 “OK, I will come.”

14 *niB-piB aAneA tsoC- muAtaC- hnuB -jaA jeB.*
 3-house grandmother CLNK1 NEG hear PTCL FLL
 Their grandmother did not receive their message.

15 *χauB, jiC- zuC təAhmonC -niB, δanB ηtonBmaB -eB tsoC- jonC*
 INTJ CLNK1 arrive evening PTCL CLF mountain.witch DEM CLNK1 COP

tonCsena χaA, ηtonBmaB jiC- δaA jeB tsoC- zoCseA.
 cave monster INTJ mountain.witch once come FLL CLNK1 say

In the evening, the mountain witch came to their house.

16 *phoB aAtana, poA aAzona, kanB δaA.*
 CLF child open door 1SG come
 She said, “I’ve come. Open the door.”

17 *aiAjaA jiC- poA aAzona -seA, jiC- tshzB tAwiB luB -seA, aiAjaA*
 INTJ CLNK1 open door CLNK2 CLNK1 extend hand come CLNK2 INTJ

tAwiB tshenC tApluA -tsaB.
 hand grow hair PTCL

When they opened the door, they found a hand extending inside, which had a lot of hair on it.

18 *oA niB-piB aAtaC taA aAniB, aiAjoA, kanBnaB tiB-ntsheC -tsaB.*
 INTJ 3-house sister COM brother INTJ 1PL AUG-afraid PTCL
 They shouted, “Oh, it’s so scary!”

19 *aiAjaA, aAneA aCnonB kanB tiB-ntsheC -tsaB.*
 INTJ grandmother this.way 1SG AUG-afraid PTCL
 “Oh, Grandma, you are so scary.”

20 *waiBtoA, poA aAzona pana kanB daA -mana.*
 INTJ open door give 1SG come PTCL
 “Look, I have come. Open the door!”

21 *mB, kanB tiB-ntsheC -tsaB.*
 INTJ 1SG AUG-afraid PTCL
 “No, you are too scary.”

22 *χauB, wonAnaB tiB-ntsheC -tsaB jeB, wonA tsoC- ?miA ?lana qwiC pana*
 INTJ 2PL AUG-afraid PTCL FLL 2SG CLNK1 DISP1 CLF egg give

kanB.

1SG

“If you are too scared to open the door, give me an egg.”

23 *χauB, niB-piB aAtana jeB, danB aAtaC taA aAniB jeB, tsoC- ?miA ?lana*
 FLL 3-house child FLL CLF sister COM brother FLL CLNK1 DISP1 CLF

qwiC tsoC- pana niB jeB.

egg CLNK1 give 3 FLL

They gave an egg to her.

24 *niB tsoC- muB ntanB, ntanB ?lana qwiC -eB tsoC- tɛəBphluC tAwiB.*
 3 CLNK1 go crack crack CLF egg DEM CLNK1 put.on hand
 The mountain witch cracked the egg and put it on her hand.

25 *tsoC- mblenC -leBleA jeB*
 CLNK1 smooth EXPR FLL
 Then, her hand became smooth.

26 *χauB, niB-piB aAtaC taA niB-piB aAniB zoCseA.*
 FLL 3-house sister COM 3-house brother say
 The two children said to the mountain witch.

- 27 *** *təAwɪB kanBnaB szC szAmbluA.*
 hand 1PL try touch
 “Let us touch your hand.”
- 28 *jiC- szAmbluA jeB tsoC- muAðiB- maA təApluA -waC.*
 CLNK1 touch FLL CLNK1 NEG exist hair PTCL
 When they touched it, they did not find any hair on it.
- 29 *oA naB tsoC- poA aAzona, aiAjaA, tsoC- poA aAzona jeB, naB*
 INTJ this.way CLNK1 open door INTJ CLNK1 open door FLL this.way
tsoC- ʔɣona, suC, aAnaA.
 CLNK1 be.at take.rest PTCL
 Then, they opened the door and let her enter the house.
- 30 *jeB zuC hmonC-sena jeB, tuC ɳaC nonA, jeB tsoC- tuC ɳaC nonA*
 FLL arrive evening-new FLL put.into rice eat FLL CLNK1 put.into rice eat
jeB, nonA ɳaC -sanC jeB.
 FLL eat rice CLNK2 FLL
 When night fell, they had supper.
- 31 *χauB, təAhmonC jeB seA, puC.*
 INTJ evening FLL say sleep
 Then, it was time to go to bed.
- 32 *oA, tsoC- puC, oA.*
 INTJ CLNK1 sleep INTJ
 It was time to go to bed.
- 33 *əBðanB aAneA vuA-mbzona -eB tsoC- jonC tonCsena, aAneA*
 CLF grandmother woman-crazy DEM CLNK1 COP cave.monster grandmother
vuA-mbzona zoCseA.
 woman-crazy say
 The mountain witch, which is a monster living in a mountain cave, said to the children.
- 34 *aA, kanB taA ðanB aAtsiB puC aC ðonB aB.*
 FLL 1SG COM CLF IGN sleep make CLF INTJ
 “Who will sleep in the same direction with me?”
- 35 *aA ... ðanB aAtsiB maA teenAhmena -tsaB -seA, kanB tsoC- muA- taA*
 INTJ CLF IGN exist flea PTCL CLNK2 1SG CLNK1 NEG COM
ðanB aAtsiB puC -jaA -liA.
 CLF IGN sleep PTCL PTCL
 “I won’t sleep with a child that has fleas on their body.”

36 *niB-piB aAtaC lanC ... niB-piB aAtaC lanC δanB ... δanB laAχaB*
 3-house sister look 3-house sister look CLF CLF FLL

ητονBmaB -niB taA-maB qIaA naA ntsheC -tsaB taA-maB juC- βwenA.
 mountain.witch PTCL NMLZ-eye scare human afraid PTCL NMLZ-eye again bright
 The girl saw the grandmother's eyes glaring so dreadfully.

37 *oA, taA-ηδoA juC- ... tAhmenB juC- υαC, tAkuAwIB juC- ntiB.*
 INTJ NMLZ-mouth PLNK tooth PLNK sharp fingernail PLNK long
 She also noticed her teeth were very sharp and her fingernails very long.

38 *tsOC- ntsheC -tsaB jeB, tsOC- tiC paA aAhnenB paA aApøB?yA qoC*
 CLNK1 afraid PTCL FLL CLNK1 grasp CLF perilla.seed CLF coleseed GOAL

tAtaiB aCnonB.
 body this.way
 The girl got scared, so she grasped a handful of perilla seeds and coleseeds to hide inside her body.

39 *szC lanC δanB aAtsiB ηtshuBηtshuA δanB aAtsiB maA teenAtanB -tsaB, kanB*
 try look CLF IGN shake CLF IGN exist louse PTCL 1SG

tsOC- muA- taA δanB aAtsiB puC -jaA.
 CLNK1 NEG COM CLF IGN sleep PTCL
 The mountain witch said, "You children, shake your body to see if you have lice on your body. I won't sleep with one who has lice."

40 *niB-piB δanB aAtaC ntsheC -tsaB jeB tsOC- tiC aApøB?yA taA*
 3-house CLF sister afraid PTCL FLL CLNK1 grasp coleseed COM

aAhnenB qoC tAtaiB tsOC- ηtshuBηtshuA jeB aApyB?yA υαnC -siA.
 perilla.seed GOAL body CLNK1 shake FLL coleseed fall PTCL
 The girl was scared so much, and grasped a handful of perilla seeds and coleseeds to hide inside her body; when she shook herself, the seeds fell to the ground.

41 *aiAjaA, aAtaC maA teenAtanB -tsaB, kanB muA- taA aAtaC puC -jaA.*
 INTJ sister exist louse PTCL 1SG NEG COM sister sleep PTCL
 The mountain witch said, "Oh, you have so many lice, so I won't sleep with you."

42 *aAniB szC ηtshuBηtshuA, aAniB ηtshuBηtshuA jeB niB-piB aAniB ?joC ?neA*
 brother try shake brother shake FLL 3-house brother young CLF

muAtehoC -jaA jeB tsOC ηtshuBηtshuA.
 not.know PTCL FLL CLNK1 shake
 The boy, who was still very young, did not know what was going on, so he just shook his body.

43 *aCnonB kanB tsOC- taA aAniB puC aC δonB -mbeC, aCnaB -laA -manA.*
 this.way 1SG CLNK1 COM brother sleep do CLF PTCL this.way PTCL PTCL
 The mountain witch said, "I will sleep with the boy."

44 *oA, puC zuC ηtonAhmonC jeB, xaA, danB ηtonBmaB -niB, tsoC- paB*
 INTJ sleep arrive midnight FLL INTJ CLF mountain.witch PTCL CLNK1 DISP2

niB-piB aAniB tsoC- nzeC daC -loA.
 3-house brother CLNK1 squeeze die PTCL

At midnight, the mountain witch strangled the boy to death.

45 *nzeC daC -niB, tsoC- thuC niB -moA tAwiB thuC tAtoC tsoC- nonA ...*
 squeeze die PTCL CLNK1 pull 3 MOD finger pull foot CLNK1 eat

tsoC- luB nonA.
 CLNK1 come eat

After killing the boy, the mountain witch pulled out his fingers and ate them.

46 *tsoC- nonA -muAδaBmuAδuC aAηdzoA ntshiA -ηkuAγæBηkuAγyC jeB.*
 CLNK1 eat EXPR mouth sound EXPR FLL

She ate them greedily, making a rattling sound.

47 *niB-piB -moA danB aAtaC zoCseA.*
 3-house MOD CLF sister say

The girl asked.

48 *aAneA, naB vonA nonA teBtsiB.*
 grandmother CONJ 2SG eat IGN

“What are you eating, grandma?”

49 *aiAjaA, kanB nonA, aAteBtsiB -leA, aAnoAmiC -siA -laA -mana.*
 INTJ 1SG eat IGN PTCL soy.bean PTCL PTCL PTCL

“Oh, I’m eating soybeans.”

50 *uA.*
 INTJ

“Oh, really.”

51 *jiC- tsA- suC eeA, jiC- tsA- nonA taA-ηdzoA ntshiA*
 CLNK1 separately take.rest a.while CLNK1 separately eat NMLZ-mouth sound

-ηkuAγæBηkuAγyC.
 EXPR

After a while, the girl heard the rattling sound again.

52 *aAneA, naB vonA nonA teBtsiB.*
 grandma CONJ 2SG eat IGN

“What are you eating, grandma?”

53 *aiAjaA, nonA eana nonA kuC aAtana nonA muA- tuC.*
 INTJ eat delicious eat * child eat NEG acquire

“Oh, I’m eating a delicious thing that children cannot eat.”

- 54 *juC- tɛəBtsiB nonA -muAðəBmuAðuC.*
 again IGN eat EXPR
 She continued eating making a rattling sound.
- 55 *aAneA, naB ʋONA nonA tɛəBtsiB aCnaB.*
 grandmother CONJ 2SG eat IGN this.way
 “What are you eating, grandma?”
- 56 *aiAjaA, kanB nonA ɛana nonA kuC, nonA peB -tsaB -waC jeB,*
 INTJ 1SG eat delicious eat * eat tired PTCL PTCL FLL
 “Oh, I ate so much. I’m tired of eating.”
- 57 *kanB təAhmenB tɜzBkhoa -tsaB jeB kanB zuBɣyA təAhmenB -siA -ləA -mana.*
 1SG tooth itch PTCL FLL 1SG file tooth PTCL PTCL PTCL
 “My teeth are itchy, so I’m filing my teeth.”
- 58 *uA.*
 INTJ
 “Oh, I see.”
- 59 *tsəC- nonA ntshiA -ŋkuAɣəBŋkuAɣyC jeB.*
 CLNK1 eat sound EXPR FLL
 The witch kept eating.
- 60 *aiAjaA, niB-piB aAtaC ntshəC -tsaB jeB, tshiAtshiBtshiAtshiC- lanC jeB.*
 INTJ 3-house sister afraid PTCL FLL secretly look FLL
 Being so scared, the girl looked at the witch secretly.
- 61 *aiAjaA niB tsəC- ... ðanB ... ðanB aAneA vuA-mbɜnA tsəC- nonA niB-piB*
 INTJ 3 CLNK1 CLF CLF grandma woman-crazy CLNK1 eat 3-house
aAniB jənA -ləA jeB.
 brother finish PTCL FLL
 She saw that the witch finished eating her brother.
- 62 *aiAjaA, niB-piB aAtaC tiB-ntshəC -tsaB jeB niB ɜəCseA.*
 INTJ 3-house sister AUG-afraid PTCL FLL 3 say
 The girl was extremely scared and said.
- 63 *aAneA, kanB muB tsənC ɣəB.*
 grandmother 1SG go deliver urine
 “Grandma, I want to go to pee.”
- 64 *naB, ʋONA muB aCnonB tsənC jeB.*
 CONJ 2SG go this.way deliver FLL
 “OK, you go and pee.”
- 65 *naB, kanB jonA ʋONA muB tsənC qəC tɛəAnglənA -mana.*
 CONJ 1SG take 2SG go deliver GOAL hall PTCL
 “I will take you to the hall to pee.”

- 66 *aiAjaA kanB tiB-ntsheC -tsaB, aAnaA.*
 INTJ 1SG AUG-afraid PTCL PTCL
 “Oh, no, I am scared to go there.”
- 67 *naB ʁONA muB ʁONC qoC aAteʁAðoB -manaA.*
 CONJ 2SG go deliver GOAL hearth PTCL
 “Then you go to the hearth to pee.”
- 68 *aiAjaA ʁONC qoC aAteʁAðoB luB kanB tiB-ntsheC -tsaB.*
 INTJ deliver GOAL hearth come 1SG AUG-afraid PTCL
 “Oh, no, I am scared to go there.”
- 69 *naB ʁONA muB ʁONC ... ʁONC qoC aAηɕiBðiA.*
 CONJ 2SG go deliver deliver GOAL mortar
 “Then you go to the mortar to pee.”
- 70 *oA, kanB ʁoC- muB ʁONC qoC aAηɕiBðiA.*
 INTJ 1SG CLNK1 go deliver GOAL mortar
 “OK, I will go to the mortar to pee.”
- 71 *aiAjaA niB-piB ðanB aAtaC -niB ʁoC- muB aAηɕiBðiA jeB ʁoC- ʁoC joA*
 INTJ 3-house CLF sister PTCL CLNK1 go mortar FLL CLNK1 tie CLF
- hliC.*
 rope
 The girl went to the mortar and tied the rope to it. [106]
- 72 *ʁoC- ʁjuC aAηɕiBðiA ʁoC- zanC qoC saA aAηɕiBðiA taA-χuB -moA ʁlanA*
 CLNK1 pull mortar CLNK1 ascend GOAL top mortar NMLZ-head MOD CLF
- nthenA -eB -loA.*
 attic DEM PTCL
 When the witch pulls the rope, the girl can climb the mortar and ascend to the attic.
- 73 *niB ʁoC- peC mpaA oNA.*
 3 CLNK1 scoop CLF water
 The girl got a can of water.
- 74 *aiAjaA naB jeB, niB ʁoC- peC mpaA oNA -seA, niB-piB aAneA*
 INTJ CONJ FLL 3 CLNK1 scoop CLF water CLNK2 3-house grandmother
- ʁoC- luB seA ... χanC zoCseA... ðanB aAneA ʁoC- χanC ... ηʃoNBmaB*
 CLNK1 come say call say CLF grandmother CLNK1 call mountain.witch

106 Based on the story of Tale No.5 in Chapter 5, we can understand this part of the story as the following. The mountain witch tied a rope on the body of the girl to prevent her from fleeing. When the girl went to the mortar, she untied the rope and tied it to the mortar. When the witch pulled the rope, the mortar, which moves like a seesaw, raised one of its edges. The girl climbed the mortar and ascended to the attic. The story-teller describes the details below.

ʔoC- χaNC zoCseA.
 CLNK1 call say
 Then the mountain witch said.

75 *aAtaC, ʔoNA ʔoNC qaB jəNA taCmaA.*
 sister 2SG deliver excrement finish NEG
 “Have you finished?”

76 *taCmaA -jaA.*
 NEG PTCL
 “Not yet.”

77 *niB ʔaAvuB- qheA ʔlana aAηdziBðiA -eB.*
 3 still tie CLF mortar DEM
 The girl was still tying the rope to the mortar.

78 *aAtaC, ʔoNC qaB jəNA taCmaA.*
 sister deliver excrement finish NEG
 “Have you finished?”

79 *taCmaA -jaA.*
 NEG PTCL
 “Not yet.”

80 *niB ʔoC- ʔeNB- qheA ʔlana aAηdziBðiA -eB joA hliC qheA ʔuB qliB ʔuB*
 3 CLNK1 intently tie CLF mortar DEM CLF rope tie firm * firm

ðaC, zoCseA.
 die say
 She was trying to tie the rope firmly.

81 *aAtaC, ʔoNA ʔoNC qaB jəNA taCmaA.*
 sister 2SG deliver excrement finish NEG
 “Have you finished?”

82 *taCmaA -jaA.*
 NEG PTCL
 “Not yet.”

83 *oA, niB qheA ʔlana aAηdziBðiA ʔuB -waC -siA.*
 INTJ 3 tie CLF mortar firm PTCL PTCL
 Finally she tied the rope to the mortar firmly.

84 *niB ʔoC- ηteiC qloB joA hliC ʔoC- ηdzeA ʔlana aAηdziBðiA ʔoC-*
 3 CLNK1 climb follow CLF rope CLNK1 step CLF mortar CLNK1

nqlaCnqluA ʔoC- zanC qoC χəBsaA -eB, əC'tauC'luA -siA.
 seesaw CLNK1 ascend GOAL top DEM second.floor PTCL
 She stepped on the mortar and went up to the second floor. [107]

107 This utterance is difficult to interpret, and thus, the translation is only a tentative one.

- 85 *εAεεA aAneA vuA-mbzonA zoCseA.*
a.while grandmother woman-crazy say
After a while, the witch said again.
- 86 *aAtaC, tsonC qaB jεnA taCmaA.*
sister deliver excrement finish NEG
“Have you finished?”
- 87 *δanB aAtaC loB- muA- tiA.*
CLF sister also NEG respond
The girl did not respond.
- 88 *aAtaC tsonC qaB jεnA taCmaA.*
sister deliver excrement finish NEG
“Have you finished?”
- 89 *δanB aAtaC loB- muA- tiA.*
CLF sister also NEG respond
The girl did not respond.
- 90 *aAtaC tsonC qaB jεnA taCmaA.*
sister deliver excrement finish NEG
“Have you finished?”
- 91 *δanB aAtaC muA- tiA.*
CLF sister NEG respond
The girl did not respond.
- 92 *aAntshenB niB- δaC, χanC muA- tiA, βona soB kanB δaA.*
blood IRR die call NEG respond 2SG let 1SG come
“Bastard, if you do not respond, I will come to you.”
- 93 *βona δaA jeB kanB -moA εBχiB muB nδona βona szB-δaC -χεnA, aAnaA.*
2SG come FLL 1SG MOD CLF go bite 2SG PURP-die PTCL PTCL
“I will bite you to death with a single bite.”
- 94 *δanB neA vuA-mbzonA tsoC- χaB tθA-pθA muB χaB*
CLF grandmother woman-crazy CLNK1 find.one’s.way NMLZ-dark go find.one’s.way

tθA-pθA muB -siA.
NMLZ-dark go PTCL
The witch felt her way in the dark.
- 95 *aiAjaA, δanB niB-piB ... δanB aAtaC tsoC- ntshεC -tsaB tsoC- qhliA aAzuC,*
INTJ CLF 3-house CLF sister CLNK1 afraid PTCL CLNK1 take.off clothes

jiAχaC- ?miA ?lanA aAηdziBθiA -εB ... mpaC qoC ?lanA aAηdziBθiA -εB.
together DISP1 CLF mortar DEM wear GOAL CLF mortar DEM
The girl became extremely scared, so she took off her clothes and covered the mortar with them.

96 əBkoA aAzɛB aAkhuC-ntuA tsoC- ʔmiA qoC ʔlanA aAŋɕiBðiA -eB mpaC
 hat trousers shoe-cloth CLNK1 DISP1 GOAL CLF mortar DEM wear

-siA.

PTCL

She took off her hat, trousers, and shoes, and put them on the mortar.

97 niB-piB aAneA tshaA joA ʔwɛnA -vlonC -siA.
 3-house grandmother light oil bright EXPR PTCL
 The mountain witch lit the oil lamp.

98 təAmpheB-ðəC ʔanC ʔona muA- tiA.
 girl-die call 2SG NEG respond
 “You bastard, why don’t you respond!”

99 tsoC- tsonC aAŋɕoA muB ðuA ʔlanA aAŋɕiBðiA -ŋkonB.
 CLNK1 deliver mouth go bite CLF mortar EXPR
 Then the witch gave a big bite to the mortar.

100 aiAjaA, ðuA ʔlanA aAŋɕiBðiA ... aAŋɕiBðiA ... tsoC- ... təAhmenB ʔænC -phyA.
 INTJ bite CLF mortar mortar CLNK1 tooth fall EXPR
 Then all her teeth fell out.

101 ʔona ðanB ntshenB-ðəC -nonB, kanB ntshəC jonC ʔona aCnonB -siA, jonC
 2SG CLF blood-die DEM 1SG afraid COP 2SG this.way PTCL COP

ʔlanA aAŋɕiBðiA -siA, aC kanB aAzuC ʔænC -phyA.
 CLF mortar PTCL do 1SG chisel fall EXPR

“You bastard, I thought it was you, but it is the mortar. Now all my teeth have fallen out.”

102 oA soB ... kanB -moA joA mæB -waC soB kanB toA joA ðaA -tsoB,
 INTJ let 1SG MOD oil go.out PTCL let 1SG light oil come PTCL
 “The lamp has gone out, so let me light it first.”

103 jiC- toA joA muB -ðiB, zuC ʔəBnaB -ðiB, niB-piB ðanB aAtaC tsoC-
 CLNK1 light oil go PTCL arrive there PTCL 3-house CLF sister CLNK1

qlob saA -eB tsoC- tiB mpaA ona tsoC- juC joA mæB -ŋiA.
 ABL top DEM CLNK1 take CLF water CLNK1 pour oil go.out EXPR

When the witch lit the lamp, the girl poured water from above and put it out.

104 aAntshenB-ðəC, aC kanB -moA joA mæB -loA.
 blood-die make 1SG MOD oil go.out PTCL
 “Bastard, you put out my lamp.”

105 soB kanB toA joA -tsoB.
 let 1SG light oil PTCL
 “Let me light the lamp.”

106 *jiC- tsA- toA joA, niB-piB aAtaC tsOC- ?miA oNA tsOC- juC*
CLNK1 separately light oil 3-house sister CLNK1 DISP1 water CLNK1 pour

mæB -ŋiA.
go.out EXPR

When the witch lit the lamp again, the girl poured water from above and put it out.

107 *aAntshenB-ðaC, aC kanB -moA joA mæB -ŋiA.*
blood-die make 1SG MOD oil go.out EXPR
“Bastard, you put out my lamp.”

108 *oA, soB kanB toA joA -ðiB, toA joA -sanC, tsOC- aC joA tsA-*
INTJ let 1SG light oil PTCL light oil CLNK2 CLNK1 make oil separately

mæB -ŋiA.
go.out EXPR

When the witch lit the lamp, the girl poured water from above and put it out again.

109 *eiA.*

INTJ

“Damn!”

110 *ðanB ŋoB qlenA ŋoB ðaC -nonB tsOC- tsONC ɣæB juC kanB -moA ðoB -siA.*
CLF cat ghost cat die DEM CLNK1 deliver urine pour 1SG MOD fire PTCL
“Bastard cat, you peed and put out my lamp.”

111 *ðanB ŋtonBmaB tsOC- muB toA joA, niB-piB aAtaC tsOC- tiB mpaA*
CLF mountain.witch CLNK1 go light oil 3-house sister CLNK1 take CLF

oNA muB juC, juC mæB -ŋiA -siA.
water go pour pour go.out EXPR PTCL

It was the girl that poured water and put out the lamp.

112 *əBqeA jiC- qaC.*

rooster CLNK1 crow

Then, a rooster crowed.

113 *aiAjaA qeA qaC -siA.*

INTJ rooster crow PTCL

Oh, a rooster crowed.

114 *ðanB ŋtonBmaB seA, qeA qaC -waC kanB muB -seB.*

CLF mountain.witch say rooster crow PTCL 1SG go PTCL

The mountain witch said, “A rooster has crowed, so I must go.”

115 *eeAeA jeB, tAnaA mbuA jeB zoCseA, kanB jonC ŋtonBmaB -siA, muA-*
a.while FLL human see FLL say 1SG COP mountain.witch PTCL NEG

jonC niB-piB aAneA -jaA.
COP 3-house grandmother PTCL

“After a while, people will see me and say that I am a mountain witch, not the grandmother of the family.”

116 *aCnonB jeB δanB ητονBmaB τσοC- loA -loA.*
 this.way FLL CLF mountain.witch CLNK1 disappear PTCL
 The mountain witch went away.

117 *jeB loA -loA -seA, niB-piB δanB aAniB jonC δanB ... laAχαB*
 FLL disappear PTCL CLNK2 3-house CLF brother COP CLF FLL

ητονBmaB nonA δaC -loA -siA.
 mountain.witch eat die PTCL PTCL
 The witch went away, but the girl's brother was eaten by the witch.

118 *χauB, niB-piB δanB aAtaC τσοC- ?ηονA ... aiA, ntsheC -tsaB jeB, juC- qwiA,*
 INTJ 3-house CLF sister CLNK1 be.at INTJ afraid PTCL FLL PLNK far

*niB-piB ... niB-piB -moA δanB waiCkonB taA waiCphoA juC- *** qwiA.*
 3-house 3-house MOD CLF grandfather COM grandmother PLNK far
 The girl was left alone and very scared. The house of her maternal parents was very far.

119 *χauB, niB τσοC- mbuA δanB aAqaCwoB ζοCseA.*
 INTJ 3 CLNK1 see CLF crow say
 She saw a crow and spoke to it.

120 *aAqaCwoB.*
 crow
 "Crow."

121 *aAqaCwoB τσοC- ζοCseA.*
 crow CLNK1 say
 The crow answered.

122 *wiB, βona χanC teiBaAtsiB.*
 INTJ 2SG call IGN
 "What do you want?"

123 *kanB ?miA ?lana poBpoBηiA pana βona jeB, βona muB χanC kəB-paB*
 1SG DISP1 CLF necklace give 2SG FLL 2SG go call 1SG-father

kəB-miC luB -ləA -mana.
 1SG-mother come PTCL PTCL
 "I will give you a necklace, so go and call my parents back home."

124 *kəB-piB aAniB tsauA δanB ... laAχαB ... ητονBmaB vuA-mβzona nonA -loA.*
 1SG-house brother encounter CLF INTJ mountain.witch woman-crazy DEM PTCL
 "My brother was eaten by a mountain witch."

125 *oA aAqaCwoB τσοC- tiB ?lana poBpoBηiA τσοC- ?jenC muB.*
 INTJ crow CLNK1 take CLF necklace CLNK1 fly go
 The crow took the necklace and flew away.

126 *tsɔC- muB zuC niB-piB aAneA piB aAtiA piB waiCkɔnB*
 CLNK1 go arrive 3-house grandmother house grandfather house maternal.grandfather

zɔCseA.

say

It flew to her maternal grandparents' house and said.

127 *aA, məAnaB ʔwuA-ðanB təA-loB təA-ʔjanA təA-oC nonA jenA -loA.*
 INTJ 2PL two-CLF NMLZ-old NMLZ-seedling NMLZ-* eat finish PTCL
 “Your child was eaten.” [108]

128 *sonA ðanB ... laAχaB ... ðanB lauBwaAlauBpuB ʔɲonA saA nthənA -siA -liA.*
 remain CLF INTJ CLF youngest.child be.at top attic PTCL PTCL
 “The remaining child is left in the attic.”

129 *məAnaB tɔnB muB -seB.*
 2PL return go PTCL
 “You must go home now.”

130 *niB-paB niB-miC zɔCseA.*
 3-father 3-mother say
 Her parents answered.

131 *aAqaCwoB qlenA aAqaCwoB ðaC.*
 crow ghost crow die
 “You bastard crow!”

132 *kanBnaB ðaA χoA tɛoB nonA ɲaC təA-ʔɣθnC -liA.*
 1PL come drink wine eat rice NMLZ-good PTCL
 “We are joining a ceremony.”

133 *muB zɔC aCnaB.*
 go say this.way
 “You go back and say this.”

134 *aAqaCwoB tsɔC- ʔjenC tɔnB luB, -niB tɔnB luB zɔCseA.*
 crow CLNK1 fly return come PTCL return come say
 The crow flew back and told to the girl.

135 *aAqaCwoB, naB kəB-paB kəB-miC muA- luB -jaA.*
 crow CONJ 1SG-father 1SG-mother NEG come PTCL
 “Crow, so my parents will not come back.”

108 *təA-ʔjanA təA-oC* is an idiomatic phrase meaning ‘offspring’. *təA-ʔjanA* means ‘seedling’.

136 *aiAjaA, kanB zoC ʁONA-paB ʁONA-miC, ʁONA-paB ʁONA-miC zoCseA, aAqaCwoB*
 INTJ 1SG tell 2SG-father 2SG-mother 2SG-father 2SG-mother say crow-

qlenA aAqaCwoB ɔaC, kanBnaB ʁoA teoB nonA ɳaC tɔA-ʔyθNC -liA.
 ghost crow die 1PL drink wine eat rice NMLZ-good PTCL
 “I told your parents to come back, but they said to me, ‘You bastard crow, we are joining
 a ceremony ...”

137 *ʁONA muB tʃhiA aCnaB, kanB tsoC- ʔjenC luB.*
 2SG go say this.way 1SG CLNK1 fly come
 ... You go back and say this.’ so I flew back here.”

138 *uA, aAnaB.*
 INTJ this.way
 “Oh, really.”

139 *jeB, maA ɔanB aAqaBtsaB ʔjenC qaBtsaB, qaBtsaB.*
 FLL exist CLF magpie fly IDEO IDEO
 Then a magpie flew chirping.

140 *aAqaBtsaB.*
 magpie
 The girl called for it, “Magpie!”

141 *wiB.*
 INTJ
 “Hi.”

142 *kanB pana ʁONA phona aAzuCtsheA jeB, ʁONA muB ʁanC kanB-paB kanB-*
 1SG give 2SG CLF clothes FLL 2SG go call 1SG-father 1SG-
miC luB -lɔA -mana.
 mother come PTCL PTCL
 “I will give you a piece of clothing, so go and call my parents back home.” [109]

143 *kanB-piB aAniB tsauA ɳtonBmaB nonA -loA.*
 1SG-house brother encounter mountain.witch eat PTCL
 “My brother was eaten by a mountain witch.”

144 *aAnaB aA.*
 INTJ INTJ
 “Oh, really.”

145 *oA, aAqaBtsaB tsoC- mpaC phona aAzuCtsheA tsoC- ʔjenC muB.*
 INTJ magpie CLNK1 wear CLF clothes CLNK1 fly go
 The magpie put on the clothes and flew away.

109 *aAzuCtsheA* is a kind of clothing that old women wear. It is made of black cloth and has little embroidery. This part of the story tells us why the body-color of magpies is black.

146 *ʔjenC muB -seA, tsoC- xanC seA, qaBtsaB, qaBtsaB, aiAjaA, təA-ʔjana*
 fly go CLNK2 CLNK1 call say IDEO IDEO INTJ NMLZ-seedling

təA-oC nonA jənA.
 NMLZ-* eat finish

It flew to the maternal grandparent's house, and said, "Your child was eaten."

147 *məAnaB muB ʔonB -seB, sonA ɔanB təA-ʔjoC ... lauBwaAlauBpuB tsoC-*
 2PL go return PTCL leave CLF NMLZ-young youngest.child CLNK1

ʔənəA saA nthenA -siA -liA.
 be.at top attic PTCL PTCL

"You must go home now. The remaining child is left in the attic."

148 *mA, aAqaBtsaB qlənA aAqaBtsaB ɔaC.*
 INTJ magpie ghost magpie die

"You bastard magpie!"

149 *kanBnaB xoA tsoB nonA xaC təA-ʔyənC uA.*
 1PL drink wine eat rice NMLZ-good INTJ

"We are joining a ceremony."

150 *ʋonA luaA tshiA, ʔonB muB.*
 2SG carelessly speak return go

"You are just bullshitting. Go back!"

151 *aAqaBtsaB jiC- luB.*
 magpie CLNK1 come
 The magpie returned home.

152 *qaBtsaB, kanB-paB kanB-miC muA- luB -jaA.*
 magpie 1SG-father 1SG-mother NEG come PTCL

"Magpie, my parents will not come home."

153 *aiAjaA, ʋonA-paB ʋonA-miC kanB xanC -niB, naB aAvuB- zoCseA, aAqaBtsaB*
 INTJ 2SG-father 2SG-mother 1SG call PTCL CONJ still say magpie

qlənA aAqaBtsaB ɔaC.
 ghost magpie die

"I called your parents, but they said, 'You bastard magpie, ...'"

154 *aiAjaA, kanBnaB xoA tsoB təA-ʔyənC -laA, ʋonA ɔaA qeC kanB tonB.*
 INTJ 1PL drink wine NMLZ-good PTCL 2SG come swear 1SG CLF

"... We are joining a ceremony. You came here to swear at us."

155 *aA, muA- ʔyənC tɛəAmbiA -jaA, kanB xonA- luB nthonA ʋonA.*
 INTJ NEG good listen PTCL 1SG CLNK1 come tell 2SG

"They are really intolerable. So I came back."

156 *aAnaB, aA.*
INTJ INTJ
“Oh, really.”

157 *aiAjaA, δanB soBoCηdzenA ʔηona ntonC ʋiA.*
INTJ CLF cicada be.at tree shrill
There was a cicada on the tree. [110]

158 *soBoCsoBoCηdzenB, soBoCsoBoCηdzenB.*
IDEO IDEO
It was shrilling loudly.

159 *aiAjaA, δanB təAmpheB, niB-piB aAtaC ʒoCseA, aAsoBoCηdzenA.*
INTJ CLF girl 3-house sister say cicada
The girl spoke to it, “Cicada!”

160 *wiB.*
INTJ
“Hi.”

161 *ʋona muB ʒanC kəB-paB kəB-miC luB jeB.*
2SG go call 1SG-father 1SG-mother come FLL
“Please go and call my parents for me.”

162 *kəB ʔmiA tənA kona paNA ʋona -ləA -mana.*
1SG DISP1 CLF needle give 2SG PTCL PTCL
“If you go for me, I will give you a needle.”

163 *oA, naB, soBoCηdzenA ʒona- tiB tənA kona δaA tʰeA qoC niB -moA*
INTJ CONJ cicada CLNK1 take CLF needle come insert GOAL 3 MOD

aAmbonC.
front.part
The cicada took the needle and inserted it in its chest. [111]

164 *niB tsoC- ʔjenC tsoC- muB ngloA niB-paB niB-miC -moA ... aAmbonCsena.*
3 CLNK1 fly CLNK1 go stop 3-father 3-mother MOD chest
It flew to the maternal grandparent’s house, and perched on the chest of the girl’s parents.

165 *ʔηona nthəBeB ʋiA.*
be.at there shrill
It began to shrill there.

166 *soBoCηdzenA, soBoCηdzenA.*
IDEO IDEO
It shrilled loudly.

110 *soBoCηdzenA* is a kind of cicada, presumably *Meimuna opalifera*. Its name comes from its shrilling sound, which is described by an ideophone *soBoCsoBoCηdzenB*.

111 This part of the story tells us why cicadas have a needle, which is the proboscis of a cicada.

167 təA-ʔjəNA təA-oC nonA jəNA -loA, tʃhaB δəNB lauBwaAlauBpuB tsoC-
NMLZ-seedling NMLZ-* eat finish PTCL leave CLF youngest.child CLNK1

ʔŋəNA saA nthəNA -siA -liA.
be.at top attic PTCL PTCL

“Your child was eaten. The youngest child is left in the attic.”

168 oA, niB-paB niB-miC seA, eiB, tɔNB muB -seB, δəNB tɛnA δəNB noC -nonB
INTJ 3-father 3-mother say INTJ return go PTCL CLF insect CLF bird DEM

kiA aCnonB.
shrill this.way

Then, her parents said, “Oh, no, we must return home. The insect is informing us of an emergency!”

169 aiAjaA, jonC təAðəNA aCðaCaC, ʔŋəNA puAðəNB -moA aAmbonC aCnonB kiA,
INTJ COP truly IGN be.at 1DU MOD front.part this.way shrill

naB məAnaB ... puAðəNB tɔNB muB -seB, tɔNB muB -seB, tɔNB muB -seB.
CONJ 2PL 1DU return go PTCL return go PTCL return go PTCL

“Oh, it’s true. It is shrilling loudly on our chests. We must return home now!”

170 aiAjaA, χəNA- tɔNB muB zuC piB.
INTJ CLNK1 return go arrive house

At last they came back home.

171 zuC piB χəNA- χəNC seA, aAtaC, aAtaC, aAtaC.
arrive house CLNK1 call say sister sister sister

When they arrived home, they called their daughter.

172 aA, məAnaB luB -waC, aApaB, aAmiC.
INTJ 2PL come PTCL father mother

Their daughter said, “Dad! Mum! You have come back.”

173 aA.

INTJ

“Oh, yes.”

174 məAnaB luB szB-seC ʔneA -maNA.
2PL come PURP-fast CLF PTCL

“You should have come back earlier.”

175 phaiC nthəNCnaB χəNC miA, kanB ʔmiA poBpoBŋiA paNA aAqaCwoB, aAqaCwoB
send 3PL call 2PL 1SG DISP1 necklace give crow crow

ðəA χəNC, jeB məAnaB aAvuB- qeC niB tonB, niB χəNA- luB.
come call FLL 2PL still swear 3 CLF 3 CLNK1 come

“I sent animals to call you back. I gave a necklace to a crow and asked it to go and call you back. But, you swore at it, so it came back.”

176 *kanB* *ʔmiA* *aAzuCtsheA* *pANA* *aAqaBtsaB*, *aAqaBtsaB* *mpaC* *ðaA* *χANc* *miA*,
 1SG DISP1 clothes give magpie magpie wear come call 2PL

məAnaB *qeC* *niB*.

2PL swear 3

“I gave a piece of clothing to a magpie and asked it to go and call you back. But, you swore at it.”

177 *jeB* *məAnaB* *χONA-* *ʔONB*.

FLL 2PL CLNK1 return

“So it came back.” [112]

178 *kanB* *χONA-* *ʔmiA* *ʔENA* *kONA* *luB* *pANA* *soBoCηɕɕENA*.

1SG CLNK1 DISP1 CLF needle come give cicada

“Finally, I gave a needle to a cicada.”

179 *zoC* *ðANB* *soBoCηɕɕENA* *ngloA* *məAnaB* *-moA* *aAmbONC* *ʔiA*, *məAnaB* *χONA-*
 tell CLF cicada stop 2PL MOD front.part shrill 2PL CLNK1

luB.

come

“I asked it to perch on your chest and shrill. You came back at last.”

180 *uA*, *kanBnaB* *zoCseA*, *jonC* *təA-ʔyθONC* *-siA*, *naB*, *aCðaCaC* *-loA*.

INTJ 1PL say COP NMLZ-good PTCL CONJ IGN PTCL

“Oh, I see. We went there to join a ceremony. Then, what happened?”

181 *uA*, *məAnaB* *loA*, *kanB* *χANc* *aAneA*, *aiAjoA*, *tehoC* *ðANB*
 INTJ 2PL disappear 1SG call grandmother INTJ who.knows CLF

aAneA *-eB* *ðaA*, *aiAjoA* *nonA* *aAniB* *-loA* *-ləA* *-mana*,
 grandmother DEM come INTJ eat brother PTCL PTCL PTCL

“After you had left home, I called our grandmother. But, the one who came ate my brother.”

182 *aiAjoA*, *niB-piB* *tsOC-* *ηiBlaA* *qliB* *ηiBlaA* *ðaC*.

INTJ 3-house hen cry * cry die

Oh, no! They cried bitterly.

183 *ηiBlaA* *qliB* *ηiBlaA* *ðaC* *jeB* *aA*.

cry * cry die FLL INTJ

They cried their hearts out.

184 *jeB* *seA*, *χauB*, *aCnaB* *jeB*, *hmonC* *-nonB* *jeB*, *χANc* *niB* *ðaA*.

FLL say INTJ this.way FLL evening DEM FLL call 3 come

Her parents said, “We will call the monster here tonight.”

112 The subject of this sentence is the second person plural pronoun *məAnaB*, but it should be the third person singular pronoun *niB*. The translation is edited as such.

185 *χaNC niB δaA jeB, kaNBnaB ?nenC ?neA teoB qoC.*
 call 3 come FLL 1PL look.for CLF wine GOAL
 “We will prepare some wine.”

186 *oA, aAnaA.*
 INTJ PTCL
 “Oh, yes.”

187 *aiAjaA, niB-paB niB-miC tsoC- thuA tuC əBwenB oNA kana qliB kana δaC.*
 INTJ 3-father 3-mother CLNK1 burn acquire CLF water hot * hot die
 Her parents boiled water in a big pot.

188 *əB?lana qlona ndanC qliB ndanC δaC.*
 CLF trough big * big die
 They also prepared a big trough.

189 *aiAjaA, jeB, zoCseA, βona χaNC -manaA.*
 INTJ FLL say 2SG call PTCL
 Then her parents said to the girl, “OK, you call the monster.”

190 *aA, aAneA.*
 INTJ grandmother
 The girl called the mountain witch, “Hi, grandma.”

191 *wiB.*
 INTJ
 “Hi.”

192 *oA, hmonC -nonB kaB-paB kaB-miC xoA teoB luB -waC jeB, χaNC βona*
 INTJ evening DEM 1SG-father 1SG-mother drink wine come PTCL FLL call 2SG

δaA suC ?neA.
 come rest CLF
 “This evening, my parents have come home. They want you to come and stay with us.”

193 *uC, naB eAceA kaNB δaA -manaA.*
 INTJ CONJ a.while 1SG come PTCL
 “OK, I will come soon.”

194 *aA, δanB ηtonBmaB tsoC- hnuB -siA.*
 INTJ CLF mountain.witch CLNK1 hear PTCL
 Oh, the mountain witch heard the girl’s voice.

195 *δanB ηtonBmaB seA, oA, niB luB -waC jeB.*
 CLF mountain.witch say INTJ 3 come PTCL FLL
 The witch said to herself, “They have been back.”

196 *kheAðiB- maA təA-?yθnC nonA.*
 definitely exist NMLZ-good eat
 “Probably they have something good to eat.”

- 197 *aiAjaA, δanB ητονBmaB ητονAhmonC τoC- δaA.*
 INTJ CLF mountain.witch midnight CLNK1 come
 At midnight, the mountain witch came.
- 198 *muAδanB luB -waC.*
 2DU come PTCL
 “You two have come back.”
- 199 *aA, luB -waC.*
 INTJ come PTCL
 “Yes, we have come back.”
- 200 *aiAjoA, tAδeNA jonC δanB ητονBmaB -liA, seA.*
 INTJ really COP CLF grandmother PTCL say
 “Oh, it really is a mountain witch!”
- 201 *aA, aAneA suC aAfoA nthəBnonB.*
 INTJ grandmother rest table here
 The girl said, “Grandma, please sit at the table.”
- 202 *uC.*
 INTJ
 “OK.”
- 203 *aiAjaA, τoC- aAηkanC, əBteoB, aiAjoA, τoC- teANA khiouC.*
 INTJ CLNK1 meat wine INTJ CLNK1 steam steamed.pork
 Then, they served meat dishes and wine. They also made steamed-pork.
- 204 *aAneA naB βONA nonA teəBtsiB.*
 grandmother CONJ 2SG eat IGN
 “Grandma, what will you eat?”
- 205 *kanB nonA tēhiB -nonB.*
 1SG eat CLF DEM
 “I will eat this one.”
- 206 *aAneA, naB βONA χoA ?neA teoB.*
 grandmother CONJ 2SG drink CLF wine
 “Grandma, drink some wine!”
- 207 *uA, naB τoC- χoA ?neA teoB.*
 INTJ CONJ CLNK1 drink CLF wine
 “OK, I will drink wine.”
- 208 *aAneA, χoA -tauB muAδuB.*
 grandmother drink POT IGN
 “Grandma, how much can you drink?”
- 209 *χoA -tauB teNA.*
 drink POT CLF
 “I can drink a catty of wine.”

210 *tsɔC- zoCseA.*

CLNK1 say

Then, her parents said.

211 *χoA -tauB teɛNA tsɔC- aC ʔwuA-teɛNA paNA niB χoA.*

drink POT CLF CLNK1 make two-CLF give 3 drink

“If she can drink a catty, we make her drink two catties.”

212 *χoA ɛeAɛeA tətANA.*

drink a.while a.little

The mountain witch drank for a while.

213 *aAneA, χoA teoB.*

grandmother drink wine

“Grandma, drink some wine!”

214 *uC.*

INTJ

“OK.”

215 *jeB tsɔC- χoA.*

FLL CLNK1 drink

The mountain witch drank some more.

216 *aAneA, χoA ʔneA teoB -maNA.*

grandmother drink CLF wine PTCL

“Grandma, drink some wine!”

217 *uC.*

INTJ

“OK.”

218 *aAneA, tiB aAŋkanC-mpiC.*

grandmother take meat-pig

“Grandma, eat some pork!”

219 *tsɔC- tiB aAŋkanC-mpiC nonA.*

CLNK1 take meat-pig eat

The mountain witch ate some pork.

220 *aAneA, χoA ʔneA teoB -teC -maNA.*

grandmother drink CLF wine PTCL PTCL

“Grandma, drink some wine!”

221 *uC.*

INTJ

“OK.”

- 222 *jeB* *ʔoC-* *χoA*.
 FLL CLNK1 drink
 The mountain witch drank some more.
- 223 *aiAjoA*, *ʔoC-* *kuBtauBtɛhiA-* *χoA tuC* *ʔwuA-tɛnA* *-waC -siA*.
 INTJ CLNK1 forcibly drink acquire two-CLF PTCL PTCL
 This way, they forcibly made the mountain witch drink two catties of wine.
- 224 *peC* *ʔneA luB* *-teC*, *ʔoC-* *peC tuC* *pheC tɛnA*.
 scoop CLF come PTCL CLNK1 scoop acquire half CLF
 The mountain witch was able to drink more, so they poured another half catty for her.
- 225 *aAneA*, *aiAjoA*, *kanBnaB loA*, *χaiC* *ʔona* *ðaA toC* *kanBnaB lanC*
 grandmother INTJ 1PL disappear trouble 2SG come BNF 1PL watch
piB.
 house
 “Grandma, when we were absent, thank you for watching our house.”
- 226 *szC* *tɛaB pheC tɛnA -teC*.
 try add half CLF PTCL
 “Try another half of catty.”
- 227 *ʔoC-* *ʔmiA pheC tɛnA* *ʔoC-* *kuaiC*.
 CLNK1 DISPl half CLF CLNK1 pour
 They made her drink another half catty.
- 228 *ðaNB aAneA* *ŋtonBmaB seA*, *ʔoC-* *kuaiC* *ʔuC -ntiC*.
 CLF grandmother mountain.witch say CLNK1 pour drunk EXPR
 Then, the mountain witch got drunk.
- 229 *ʔuC -ntiC -waC jeB*.
 drunk EXPR PTCL FLL
 She was truly drunk.
- 230 *aAneA*, *szB-ɛnBɛnB* *ʔneA*.
 grandmother PURP-awake CLF
 “Grandma, wake up.”
- 231 *χanC* *χanC* *χanC*, *muAðiB-* *ɛnB -waC*, *ʔuC tɛoB -waC*.
 call call call NEG awake PTCL drunk wine PTCL
 They called her name many times to wake her up, but she did not awaken. She was completely drunk.
- 232 *ʔuC tɛoB -waC jeB*, *niB-paB niB-miC* *ʔoC-* *ʔjuC* *ðaNB* *ŋtonBmaB* *qoC*
 drunk wine PTCL FLL 3-father 3-mother CLNK1 pull CLF mountain.witch GOAL
ʔana qlona, *ʔoC-* *peC ona-kanA*.
 CLF trough CLNK1 ladle water-hot
 Then, the girl’s parents dragged the mountain witch to the trough, put her inside, and scooped boiling water.

233 *peC oNA-kaNA tsoC- hleNA danB ηtonBmaB tsoC- hleNA.*
 ladle water-hot CLNK1 scald CLF mountain.witch CLNK1 scald
 They then poured the water on the mountain witch.

234 *aiAjoA, tsoC- teəBnteC -χoAlaBχoAluC tsoC- ?miA aAηteoAvaA -naB ?miA*
 INTJ CLNK1 jump EXPR CLNK1 DISP1 rake PLNK DISP1
aAtehaA tsoC- tenA qoC qlona.
 fork CLNK1 push.down GOAL trough
 The mountain witch began to thrash her arms and her legs about in the trough, so they pushed her down inside with a rake and a fork.

235 *aCnaB tsoC- hleNA danB ηtonBmaB daC jenA -ntuA -loA -siA.*
 this.way CLNK1 scald CLF mountain.witch die finish EXPR PTCL PTCL
 This way, they killed the mountain witch.

236 *muA- jonC aAneA -laA -mana, jonC ηtonBmaB -siA -laA -mana.*
 NEG COP grandmother PTCL PTCL COP mountain.witch PTCL PTCL PTCL
 She was not the grandmother, but a mountain witch.

237 *naB ... kanB χanC niB tiA -loA.*
 CONJ 1SG call 3 respond PTCL
 When the girl called her grandmother, the monster had responded.

238 *kanB muAtehoC jonC ηtonBmaB -jaA.*
 1SG not.know COP mountain.witch PTCL
 She did not know that she was a mountain witch.

239 *aAneA tsoC- ... təBqwenaNonB tsoC- paB ηtonBmaB hleNA daC jenA*
 grandmother CLNK1 after.that CLNK1 DISP2 mountain.witch scald die finish
-ntuA.
 EXPR
 In the end, they killed the mountain witch.

240 *jeB, laAχaB, tsoC- jenA -ntuA.*
 FLL FLL CLNK1 finish EXPR
 This is the end of the story.

241 *tsoC- kuiBjiAlaA.*
 CLNK1 perfect
 All's well that ends well.

【中文大意】

山中女妖（二）

很久很久以前，有一家人单独住在一个地方。那家的奶奶和家里人处不来，一个人在山里搭了个房子住。后来，那家的外公外婆过世了。他家的父母去办丧事。父母对孩子们说：“我们走了之后，你们把奶奶叫过来和你们一起有个伴。”他家儿子和女儿就说：“好的。”父

母走了以后，儿子和女儿就叫奶奶说：“奶奶，你过来我们这儿一起有个伴吧。我家外公外婆死了，爸妈去办葬礼了，晚上你过来我们这儿吧。”山中有个老婆婆，是住在山洞里的妖怪，听到她们这么说就回答：“好，待会儿就去。”而真的奶奶并没有听到。到了晚上，那个山妖就来他们家了，“孩子们，是我，帮我开下门吧。”门刚打开，一只手就伸了进来。细看上面还长了很多毛。孩子们吓到：“太恐怖了！奶奶，你这个样子我们害怕。”“别怕，是我呀，快帮我开一下门。”“不，不，太吓人了。”“既然你们这么害怕的话，那你拿一个蛋给我。”他们两个就拿了一个蛋递给她。山妖把蛋磕破，抹在手上。然后她的手就变得滑溜溜的了。两个孩子就说：“奶奶，拿手来给我们摸一下。”摸了一下，发现已经没有毛了。于是她说帮她开一下门就开了，让她进来坐下了。到了晚上，一起吃饭，吃完后。“很晚了，睡觉吧。”“好的，睡吧。”那个山妖就说：“谁和我睡在一头呢？我不跟虱子多的人睡哦。”女孩看那个山妖的眼睛很诡异的闪着光。她的牙齿也尖尖的，手指甲也长长的。女孩很害怕，就抓了一把苏麻种，一把油菜籽，放在身上。山妖说：“你们动一下身体看看，哪个虱子多，我就不跟哪个睡。”女孩之前因为很害怕抓了油菜籽和苏麻种放在身上，所以一摇身体，油菜籽就掉了出来。山妖说：“姐姐虱子多，我不跟姐姐睡。”她弟弟还小，什么都不知道，就单纯的动了一下。山妖说：“那我跟弟弟睡在一头。”到了半夜，山妖就把弟弟掐死了。掐死后，拔断他的手脚吃了。一边发着声响一边不停的吃。女孩听到声响问：“奶奶，你在吃什么啊？”“哎呀，我在吃黄豆呢。”“哦，这样啊。”过了一会儿，又听到她吃的声响。“奶奶，你在吃什么啊？”“哎呀，我在吃小孩不能吃的好东西呢。”她又接着在不停的吃着。“奶奶，你在吃什么啊？”“太好吃了，都吃累了。牙齿有点痒，我在锉牙呢。”“这样啊。”还听到她吃的声响。女孩很害怕，瞧瞧的看了看奶奶。山妖把她的弟弟全部吃掉了。女孩害怕的说道：“奶奶，我想去撒尿。”“去吧。我带你去堂屋撒尿吧。”“那里有点吓人。”“那带你去地炉边撒尿吧。”“去那里撒尿也有点吓人。”“那去石臼附近撒尿呢。”“好的，我去石臼附近撒尿吧。”女孩去到石臼附近，然后把绳子拴在石臼上。山妖一拉绳子，石臼的另一端就会被抬起来，女孩想借着石臼上到暗楼里。她舀了一罐水带上去。这个时候，山妖问她：“姐姐你撒完了吗？”“还没有。”她还在绑石臼。“姐姐你撒完了吗？”“还没有。”她在石臼上把绳子系得非常结实。“姐姐你撒完了吗？”“还没有。”她用绳子绑紧了石臼。然后就踩着石臼上到二楼去了。过了一会儿，山妖又问：“姐姐你撒完了吗？”女孩没有回答。“姐姐你撒完了吗？”女孩没有回答。“姐姐你撒完了吗？”女孩没有回答。“不做声啊，真让人头疼，你等着我来。我一口就咬死你。”山妖就在黑暗里摸索着前进。女孩非常害怕，她就把衣服脱下来给石臼穿上。帽子、裤子、鞋全部给石臼穿上。山妖划亮火柴来照明。“真是让人不省心的孩子，怎么不回我话啊。”说完，山妖就一口咬了上去。咬在石臼上，把牙齿全咬掉了。“该死的，我以为是你，没想到是石臼，害我把牙齿全咬掉了。火灭了，等我先点个油灯。”山妖一点燃油灯，女孩就从上面用水把火灭了。“该死的，把我的光灭了。我先点个火。”山妖刚点燃火，女孩又用水把火灭了。“该死的，把我的光灭了。”山妖一点亮，女孩就用水把它灭了。“真是该死的！这个该死的猫，撒尿把我的火灭了。”山妖一点亮，女孩就倒水把它灭了。不知不觉，公鸡打鸣了。“哎呀，公鸡都打鸣了。”山妖说：“公鸡打鸣了，我要赶紧回去。不然一会儿被别人发现，说我是山妖，不是他家的奶奶。”山妖就逃走了。山妖虽然走了，但弟弟被女妖吃掉了。只剩女孩一个人在家，非常害怕。父母去的外公外婆家又很远。她看见一只乌鸦就对它说：“乌鸦！”乌鸦回答问：“怎么啦？”“我把这个项链给你，你能帮我去叫我父母回家吗？我弟弟已经被山妖吃了。”乌鸦就拿着那个项链飞去了。飞到女孩外公外婆家说：“你们的孩子被吃了哦。剩一个小孩藏在暗楼上，你们赶紧回家去吧。”她父母说：“该死的乌鸦。我们在办酒呢。你回去这么说。”乌鸦飞回去这么说了，“乌鸦，那我父母不回了么？”“我转告你父母了，你父母说：该死的乌鸦，我们正在喝酒吃饭呢。你回去这么说吧，我就飞回来了。”“是这样啊。”一只喜鹊扑腾扑腾的飞过来了。“喜鹊！”“怎么了？”“我把黑色的衣服给你，你能帮我把我父母叫回来吗？我弟弟被山妖吃掉了。”“太惨了！”喜鹊就穿着那件衣服飞去了。喜鹊飞到说：“喳一喳一，小孩被吃掉了。你们快回去吧！”

剩一个小孩藏在暗楼里。”“该死的喜鹊。我们正在办酒呢。别乱说话！快走！”喜鹊飞回来了。

“喜鹊，我父母没有回来吗？”“哎呀，我转告了你父母。结果他们说，这该死的喜鹊。我们正在喝酒吃饭呢，别在这乱说话。他们说的话太难听了，我就回来了。”“这样啊。”一只知了在树上。它“啾一啾一”的叫。女孩说：“知了！”“怎么了？”“你去帮我把我父母叫回来吧。我给你一根针。”知了把那根针插在胸前的衣服上。它飞过去落在她父母的胸膛上。在那里叫。“啾一啾一”地叫。“小孩被吃掉了，剩一个小孩藏在暗楼里。”听完，她父母说：“糟糕，虫子这样说的话，必须要回去了。”“真的，虫子在胸膛上那样叫着，我们俩快回去，快回去。”终于他们回家了。回到家就喊，“姐姐，姐姐。”“啊，爸，妈，你们回来了。”“是啊。”“你们应该早点儿回来的。我让它们去叫你们，先是拿项链给乌鸦让它去通知你们，你们把它骂回来了。我再拿黑色的衣服给喜鹊让它去通知你们，结果你们又骂它了。然后它也回来了。最后我拿了一根针给知了。让它去帮我通知你们，落在你们的胸前叫，你们才终于回来了。”“我们去办酒了，发生什么了。”“你们去了之后，我就去叫了奶奶。谁知道那个奶奶来家里把弟弟吃了。”太惨了，一家人都哭得停不下来。一家人都在伤心的哭着。“今晚把那家伙叫过来。提前准备点酒。”“好！”女孩父母就烧了一大锅滚烫滚烫的开水。还准备了一个很大很大的桶（马槽）。父母说：“好了，你去把那个奶奶叫过来。”“奶奶！”“怎么了？”“今晚我父母回来了，叫你来家里坐坐。”那个山妖听到了。“这样啊，那过一会儿我就去。”说：“他们回来了啊。一定会有什么好吃的吧。”到了晚上，山妖来了。“你们俩回来了啊。”“是啊，回来了。”真的是个山妖。“奶奶，你坐吧。”“好的。”于是就拿出肉和酒，还准备了蒸扣肉。“奶奶，你想吃哪个？”“我想吃这个。”“奶奶，喝点酒。”“好的，我也喝点。”“奶奶，能喝多少？”“一斤吧。”这时他们就说：“能喝一斤就给两斤给她喝。”喝了一会儿。“奶奶，喝点酒吧。”“好的。”山妖喝了。“奶奶，喝点酒吧。”“好的。”“奶奶，吃块猪肉吧。”山妖就吃了块猪肉。“奶奶，喝点酒吧。”“好的。”山妖喝了。就这样劝她喝了两斤酒。想再让她喝点，于是又舀了半斤。“奶奶，我们走了，辛苦您帮我们看家了。再喝半斤吧。”就这样又劝她喝了半斤酒。这下山妖就喝醉了。完全喝醉了。“奶奶，醒醒呀。”叫了她好几次，都没反应，完全喝醉了。于是，她父母就把那个山妖拖到马槽里，然后往里面舀开水。朝那个山妖身上倒开水。山妖在马槽里被烫的手脚乱动，他们就拿钉耙和叉子把她按在马槽里。这样，就把山妖消灭了。“她不是我们的奶奶，是山妖。我叫的时候回答我的是山妖啊。我不知道来的是山妖。”于是就把山妖消灭了。这样就结束了。可喜可贺。

【日本語大意】

山姥（二）

昔々、ずっと昔、ある一家があるところにぼつんと住んでいた。その家のおばあさんは、その家の人と折り合いが悪く、一人で山間に家を建てて住んでいた。その後、その家の外祖父、外祖母が亡くなった。その家の父母はお葬式に出かけることになった。父母は子供たちに言った。「私たちが行ったら、おばあちゃんを呼んできて一緒にいてもらいなさい。」その家の息子と娘は言った。「はい。」その後父母が行ってしまうと、息子と娘はおばあちゃんを呼んで言った。「おばあちゃん、うちに来て一緒にいてね。母方のおばあちゃんとおじいちゃんが死んじゃったの。それで父さんと母さんはお葬式に行ったの。それで夜になったらうちに来てね。」山姥が、これは山の洞穴に巣くう妖怪だが、これを聞きつけて答えた。「もうすぐ行くよ。」本当のおばあさんには聞こえなかった。夜になると、くだんの山姥

が家にやってきた。「子供たち、私だよ、戸を開けておくれ。」戸を開けると手が差し込まれてきた。見ると毛がいっぱい生えている。子供たちは言った。「怖い！おばあちゃん、それ怖い。」「これ、私が来たんだよ、戸を開けておくれ。」「だめだめ。怖い。」「そんなに怖がるなら、卵を一つおくれ。」彼らは山姥に卵を一つ渡した。山姥は卵を割ると、手に塗った。それで山姥の手はすべすべになった。二人の子供は言った。「おばあちゃん、手を触らせて。」触ってみるともう毛はなかった。それで戸を開けようということで開けて、中に入り座った。夜になりご飯を食べようということで食べた。「夜になったから寝ようか。」「ああ、じゃ寝よう。」ということになった。山姥、かの妖怪だが、は言った。「誰が私と同じ向きに寝るのかな。蚤が多い方とは寝ないよ。」女の子を見ると、その山姥は目が恐ろしげでキラキラ光っていた。歯も尖っていて爪も長い。女の子はおびえて、しその実を一つかみ、菜種の実を一つかみ体に隠した。山姥は言った。「おまえたち、体を振ってみなさい、虱が多い方とは寝ないから。」女の子はひどくおびえて菜種の実としその実を体に隠していたので、体をゆすると菜種の実が落ちてきた。山姥は言った。「女の子は虱が多い、一緒には寝ないよ。」弟はまだ小さく何もわからなかったのでただゆすった。山姥は言った。「じゃあ、この子と寝ようかね。」夜中、山姥は男の子の首を絞めて殺した。絞め殺すと、手や足を引き抜いて食べた。ごりごりと音を立ててがつがつ食べた。女の子は聞いた。「おばあちゃん、何を食べているの。」「なに、大豆を食べているんだよ。」「そうなの。」しばらくすると、またごりごりと食べる音がする。「おばあちゃん、何を食べているの。」「ああ、子供にはあげられない好いものを食べているんだよ。」山姥はがつがつと食べ続けた。「おばあちゃん、何を食べているの。」「美味しくて食べ疲れたよ。歯が痒くなったから鑿をかけてるんだよ。」「そうなの。」またごりごりと食べる音がする。女の子はおびえてこっそりとおばあちゃんを見た。山姥は弟を全部食べてしまった。女の子はおびえて言った。「おばあちゃん、おしっこ行きたい。」「じゃ行きなさい。じゃ、広間まで連れて行ってあげようかね。」「そこは怖い。」「じゃ、いろいろのところでしなさい。」「いろいろのところにしに行くのは怖い。」「じゃ、唐臼のところでしなさい。」「うん、唐臼のところにいってする。」彼女は唐臼のところに行ってそこに縄を結びつけた。山姥が縄を引くと唐臼が持ち上がり、女の子は唐臼を登って屋根裏に上られる。彼女は甕に水を汲んで持って行った。すると山姥は言った。「おねえちゃんはおしっこ終わったかな。」「まだ。」彼女は唐臼を縛っていた。「おねえちゃんはおしっこ終わったかな。」「まだ。」彼女は唐臼に縄を非常に固く縛りつけようとした。「おねえちゃんはおしっこ終わったかな。」「まだ。」彼女は唐臼に縄を固く結びつけた。彼女は唐臼を登って上の階へ上って行った。しばらくして山姥は言った。「おねえちゃんはおしっこ終わったかな。」女の子は答えない。「おねえちゃんはおしっこ終わったかな。」女の子は答えない。「おねえちゃんはおしっこ終わったかな。」女の子は答えない。「返事をしないとはいしょうがない子だね、待っておいて。ひと噛みでかみ殺してあげるからね。」山姥は手探りで暗闇を進んだ。女の子はおびえて服を脱いで唐臼の上に被せた。帽子、ズボン、靴全部を唐臼に

被せた。山姥はマッチを擦ってあたりを照らした。「しょうのない子だね、なんで返事をしないの。」そう言って山姥は唐臼にガブリとかみついた。唐臼にかみつくと、歯がぼろっと抜けてしまった。「なんてこった、おまえだと思ったら、唐臼だったじゃないか、歯が抜けちゃったよ。火が消えちゃったから、まず明かりをつけようかね。」明かりをつけるや、女の子は上から水をかけて消してしまった。「畜生め、明かりを消したね。まず火をつけようかね。」山姥が火をつけようとすると女の子は水をかけて消してしまった。「畜生め、明かりを消したね。」山姥が明かりをつけると女の子はまた水をかけて消した。「なんてこった。この子猫め、おしっこをかけて明かりを消しちゃった。」山姥が明かりをつけると女の子はまた水をかけて消したのだ。そのうち、雄鶏が啼いた。「おやまあ、雄鶏が啼いたよ。雄鶏が啼いたから帰らなくちゃいけない。しばらくしたら人に見られて、山姥だ、この家のばあさんじゃないとばれてしまう。」というわけで山姥は出て行った。山姥は去ったが、男の子は山姥に食われてしまった。女の子は一人残されておびえた。父母が行った外祖父母の家は遠かった。彼女はカラスを見て呼んだ。「カラス。」カラスは答えた。「はいな。何の用だい。」「ネックレスをあげるから、父さん母さんに帰ってくるように呼びに行ってくれない。弟が山姥に食べられちゃったのよ。」カラスはネックレスを持って飛んで行った。外祖父母の家まで飛んで行って言った。「あなたたちの子供は食べられちゃったよ。子供が一人残されて屋根裏部屋にいるよ、早く家に帰りなさい。」彼女の父母は言った。「カラスめ。祭礼に出ているんだ。帰ってそう言うんだ。」カラスは戻って行って言った。「カラス、父さん母さんは戻らないの。」「あなたの父さん母さんに言ったら、あなたの父さん母さんは、カラスめ、祭礼に出ているんだって言ったのよ。おまえ、帰ってそう言いなさいって。それで戻ってきたのよ。」「ああ、そうだったの。」カササギが一羽カサカサ音を立てて飛んできた。「カササギ。」「はいな。」「服をあげるから、父さん母さんに帰ってくるように呼びに行ってくれない。弟が山姥に食べられちゃったのよ。」「そりゃ大変。」カササギはその服を着て飛んで行った。飛んで行って呼んだ「カサカサ、子供が食べられたよ。早く戻りなさい、残された子供が屋根裏部屋にいるよ。」「カササギめ。今祭礼に出ているんだ。でたらめを言いおって、帰れ。」カササギは戻ってきた。「カササギ、父さんと母さんは帰ってこないの。」「やれやれ、あなたの父さんと母さんと呼んだんですよ。そしたら、このカササギめ。祭礼に出ているのに、なんてこと言うんだ。聞くに堪えないこと言うんで帰って来たんですよ。」「そうだったの。」蝉が一匹木の上で鳴いていた。ソーオーンジン、ソーオーンジンと鳴いていた。女の子は言った。「蝉。」「はいな。」「行って父さんと母さんと呼んできて。針を一本あげるから。」蝉は針を服の胸のところに挿した。蝉は飛んで行って、彼女の父母の胸の上にとまった。そしてそこで鳴いた。ソーオーンジン、ソーオーンジンと鳴いた。「子供が食べられちゃったよ、あと一人小さな子が屋根裏にいるよ。」すると彼女の父母は言った。「大変だ、帰らなきゃいかん。この虫が知らせている。」「大変だ、蝉が胸のところにとまってあんな風に鳴いたんだ、早く帰らなければ。」それでやっと彼らは帰った。帰ると叫んだ。

「おねえちゃん、おねえちゃん。」「あ、父さん、母さん、帰ってきたのね。」「ああ。」「もっと早く帰ってきてほしかったのに。彼らをやって呼んだのに、まずネックレスをカラスにやって呼びにやったら、怒鳴りつけて返したでしょ。次に黒い服をカササギにやって呼びにやったら、怒鳴りつけたでしょ。それでカササギは帰ってきたわ。最後に針を蟬にやったの。蟬に呼びに行かせて、蟬が父さん母さんの胸にとまって呼んだら、やっと帰って来たのよ。」「お葬式をしに行ったんだよ、何があったんだね。」「父さん母さんが行った後、おばあちゃんを呼んだのよ、そしたらあのおばあちゃんがやってきてあの子を食べちゃったのよ。」「なんとひどいこと、彼ら一家は泣くに泣いた。本当に泣くに泣いた。」「じゃ、今夜そいつをここに呼ぼう。あらかじめお酒を準備しておこう。」「そうしましょう。」「女の子の父母は鍋いっぱいにくつぐつ煮えたぎるお湯を沸かした。そしてすごく大きな桶を用意した。父母は言った。」「よし、あのおばあちゃんを呼んでおいで。」「おばあちゃん。」「あいよ。」「今晚父さん母さんが帰って来たの、おばあちゃんに遊びに来てって。」「そうかい、じゃちょっとしたら行くからね。」「山姥は声を聴きつけたのだ。山姥は思った。」「彼らが帰って来たのか。きっとおいしいものがあるんだろうね。」「夜になって山姥がやってきた。」「戻ってきたのかい。」「ええ、戻ってきました。」「なんと、本当に山姥だ。」「おばあちゃん、席に座って。」「あいよ。」「そこで肉や酒を出した。さらに蒸し豚肉も作った。」「おばあちゃん、何食べる。」「これをもらおうかね。」「おばあちゃん、お酒飲んでよ。」「じゃあ飲もうかね。」「おばあちゃん、どのくらい飲めるの。」「一斤かね。」「そこで彼らは考えた。」「一斤飲めるんなら、二斤飲ませよう。」「その後しばらく飲んだ。」「おばあちゃん、お酒飲んで。」「あいよ。」「山姥は飲んだ。」「おばあちゃん、お酒飲んで。」「あいよ。」「おばあちゃん、豚肉食べて。」「山姥は豚肉を食べた。」「おばあちゃん、お酒飲んで。」「あいよ。」「山姥は飲んだ。こうして無理に二斤の酒を山姥に飲ませた。もうちょっと飲めるということで、さらに半斤汲んできた。」「おばあちゃん、私らが行った後で留守番お疲れ様でした。あと半斤飲んでください。」「それで山姥にさらに半斤飲ませた。これで山姥も酔っぱらった。完全に酔っぱらった。」「おばあちゃん、目を覚まして。」「何度も呼んだが山姥は目を覚まさない。酔っぱらったのだ。そこで父母は、山姥を引きずって行って桶の中に入れ、そこで熱湯を汲んだ。そして山姥に熱湯をかけた。山姥は桶の中でバタバタ暴れ出したので、レーキやフォークで飼い葉桶の中に押さえつけた。こうして山姥を退治した。」「おばあちゃんではなかったの、山姥だったのよ。呼んだら答えたのは山姥だったの。来たのが山姥だとはわからなかったの。」「それで山姥を退治したのだ。というわけでおしまい。めでたしめでたし。

31. The Dragon's Head

1. *εeA -eB, maA ʔwuA-δanB ɣθNA ʔηθNA təAmiCsuC viB -eB*
 time DEM exist two-CLF dragon be.at PN higher.place DEM

ɣθNAntsoC szA-tseNA δanA.
 PN RCP-fight territory

Once upon a time, at Yonntso in the Qingshuijiang valley, two dragons fought each other for territory. [113] [114]

2. *szA-tseNA δanA jeB, əBδanB tsoC- tseNA muA- ηaC -jaA.*
 RCP-fight territory FLL CLF CLNK1 fight NEG strong PTCL

After fighting for a while, one of the dragons was defeated.

3. *əBδanB tsoC- thouA luB təBpiC aAqoAvleNA δanB qoAloB-aAtiA niA-tanA*
 CLF CLNK1 be.born come become PN CLF old-grandfather ANPH-child

-loA.
 PTCL

The defeated dragon got reborn as a son of an old man who lived in Gubin.

4. *təBpiC δanB qoAloB-aAtiA niA-tanA.*
 become CLF old-grandfather ANPH-child

Thus, he became a son of the old man.

5. *jeB, δanB aAtanA -eB, thouA təBpiC δanB aAtanA -eB, δanB aAtanA tsoC-*
 FLL CLF child DEM be.born become CLF child DEM CLF child CLNK1

hluA maA ɣoA-ʔwuA nena.
 grow exist ten-two year

That boy, the reborn dragon, grew up to be twelve years old.

6. *ɣoA-ʔwuA nena -waC jeB, δanB aAtanA -eB tsoC- aC -teA laAχaB ... ʔoC*
 ten-two year PTCL FLL CLF child DEM CLNK1 make DGR FLL tell

tshoA δanB aAqəAzanC təA-ηtuA hloC tsoC- muB ηtuA tuC tsiA-tseNA
 village CLF master NMLZ-strike iron CLNK1 go strike acquire three-CLF

aAntenB.
 sword

When he became twelve years old, the boy made a blacksmith of the village make three swords.

113 *təAmiCsuC*, literally ‘mother river’, is the name of the river that flows from Guiding County. The Chinese name of the river is Luobeihe 落北河 or Luobohe 罗泊河, which is used for the Chinese name of the lect group to which Lan Hmyo belongs. About the location of each place name in this story, see Map 3 at the end of this chapter.

114 *ɣθNAntsoC* is the name of a place that is located in the Qingshuijiang valley, not far from River Junction mentioned in this story. As this place does not have a Chinese name, we tentatively create a Chinese word 永左 Yǒngzuǒ to denote this place.

7. *ŋjuA tuC ʔsiA-ʔɛnA aAntɛnB jeB, niB-paB muB aC jiB ʔsoC- ʔoCseA.*
 strike acquire three-CLF sword FLL 3-father go do market CLNK1 say
 After the blacksmith made them, when his father went to the market, the boy said to his father.
8. *hnaA -nonB ʔona muB aC jiB jeB, maA ʔanB aʔanC-hloC kuB ʔsiA-ʔɛnA*
 day DEM 2SG go do market FLL exist CLF master-iron carry three-CLF
aAntɛnB ʔaA, aA.
 sword come INTJ
 “Today, when you go to the market, you will see a blacksmith carrying three swords with him.”
9. *əBʔɛnA ʔəA-ndanC ʔona khaA- ʔŋonB, əBʔɛnA ʔəA-ʔjoC ʔona khaA- ʔŋonB*
 CLF NMLZ-big 2SG PROH want CLF NMLZ-small 2SG PROH want
-jaA.
 PTCL
 “Do not buy the big one, or the small one.”
10. *ʔona ʔsoC- ʔŋonB ʔɛnA muA- hluB muA- ʔjoC -mbeC.*
 2SG CLNK1 want CLF NEG big NEG small PTCL
 “Buy the medium-sized one.” [115]
11. *hnaA -eB -seA, niB-paB muB aC jiB, ʔəAʔɛnA maA ʔanB ʔanC-hloC*
 day DEM CLNK2 3-father go do market really exist CLF master-iron
ʔsoC- kuB ʔsiA-ʔɛnA aAntɛnB ʔaA.
 CLNK1 carry three-CLF sword come
 When his father went to the market, a blacksmith truly appeared carrying three swords with him.
12. *aiAjaA, niB ʔsoC- muB naC ʔsiA-ʔɛnA aAntɛnB -siA.*
 INTJ 3 CLNK1 go ask three-CLF sword PTCL
 His father went up to talk to the blacksmith.
13. *əBʔɛnA ʔəA-ndanC loB- muA- ʔŋonB, əBʔɛnA ʔəA-muA- ʔjoC loB- muA-*
 CLF NMLZ-big also NEG want CLF NMLZ-NEG small also NEG
ʔŋonB, ʔsoC- ʔŋonB ʔɛnA muA- hluB muA ʔjoC.
 want CLNK1 want CLF NEG big NEG small
 “I don’t want the big one, nor the small one, I want that medium-sized one.”
14. *jeB ʔsoC- maB ʔshɛnA ʔsiA-lanB jɛnAʔsɛB.*
 FLL CLNK1 buy become three-CLF silver
 He bought it for three liangs of silver. [116]

115 The word for ‘big’, *hluA*, has Tone A, but in this sentence, the word follows the tonal pattern of the four-syllable expressives in Lan Hmyo, A-B-A-C, and assumes Tone B, a high level tone.

116 *lanB* is a measure word denoting a unit of weight, which corresponds to Chinese 两 *liǎng*.

- 15 *tsiA-lanB niA tsOC- maB tshenA tsiA-lanB niA jeB.*
 three-CLF silver CLNK1 buy become three-CLF silver FLL
 The blacksmith said three liangs of silver, so the father bought it for three liangs of silver.
- 16 *tsOC- tiB zuC piB luB zoCseA.*
 CLNK1 take arrive house come say
 Then, the father came home and said to his son.
- 17 *aAtsaiB.*
 son
 “Son.”
- 18 *wiB.*
 Yes
 “Yes.”
- 19 *kanB toC vonA maB aAntenB luB -waC.*
 1SG BNF 2SG buy sword come PTCL
 “I bought the sword for you.”
- 20 *aAnaB, aA.*
 INTJ INTJ
 “Really?”
- 21 *uA.*
 INTJ
 “Yes.”
- 22 *naB, niB-tanA tsOC- laAxaB muB kuB tuC ?lanA ?niA-yæC luB.*
 CONJ 3-child CLNK1 FLL go carry acquire CLNK1 stone-sharp come
 Then the son brought a grindstone to his father.
- 23 *tsOC- zoC niB-paB zoCseA.*
 CLNK1 tell 3-father say
 Then he said to his father.
- 24 *vonA tsOC- toC kanB xuB tenA aAntenB -nonB jeB, kanB muA- ?nonB vonA*
 2SG CLNK1 BNF 1SG grind CLF sword DEM FLL 1SG NEG want 2SG

aC xuA -jaA.
 do field.work PTCL
 “I want you to sharpen this sword. I don’t want you to do field work.”
- 25 *aAnaB, aA.*
 INTJ INTJ
 “Oh, I see.”
- 26 *aiAjaA, tsOC- nonA naC zoC niB-paB tsOC- xuB tenA aAntenB -eB -siA -liA.*
 INTJ CLNK1 eat rice tell 3-father CLNK1 grind CLF sword DEM PTCL PTCL
 Then, the boy made his father sharpen the sword.

- 27 *tsɔC- χuB -ʔjiAʔjaBʔjiAʔjuC tsɔC- χuB tuC tsɪA-nɛNA.*
 CLNK1 grind EXPR CLNK1 grind acquire three-year
 His father continuously sharpened the sword for three years.
- 28 *jeB niB-paB tsɔC- zoC niB-tanC zoCseA.*
 FLL 3-father CLNK1 tell 3-child say
 Then, the father said to the son.
- 29 *aAɬsaiB, aAntɛnB χuB ɣæC -waC -liA.*
 child sword grind sharp PTCL PTCL
 “My son, the sword has been sharpened.”
- 30 *muAtaC- ɣæC -jaA naB -manA.*
 NEG sharp PTCL this.way PTCL
 “Not yet.”
- 31 *eiA, ɣæC -waC -liA.*
 INTJ sharp PTCL PTCL
 “It has been sharpened.”
- 32 *eiA, muAtaC- ɣæC -jaA.*
 INTJ NEG sharp PTCL
 “It hasn’t been sharpened yet.”
- 33 *təAðɛnA ɣæC -waC -liA.*
 truly sharp PTCL PTCL
 “Truly sharpened.”
- 34 *ɣæC -waC, naB, ɣæC -waC jeB tsɔC- muB szC ʔneA -manA.*
 sharp PTCL CONJ sharp PTCL FLL CLNK1 go try CLF PTCL
 “If you say it is sharpened, let us try the sword.”
- 35 *niB-tana ntuB tuC ʔɛnA aAnɬɔnA, qhɛnC ɳɬɛC qliB ɳɬɛC ðaC.*
 3-child cut acquire CLF shiny.xylosma roast dry * dry die
 The boy cut a shiny xylosma tree and dried it with fire. [117]
- 36 *tsɔC- zoCseA, naB, ʋɔnA muB ʔɳɔnA χəBtiA -ɛB ðɔnB -manA.*
 CLNK1 say CONJ 2SG go be.at bottom DEM wait PTCL
 Then he said, “Dad, you go down to the bottom and wait there.”
- 37 *jeB kanB tsɔnC nɳaB luB ʋɔnA szC nɬɛnB.*
 FLL 1SG throw descend come 2SG try cut
 “I will throw a piece of wood to you. Try and cut it with the sword.”
- 38 *oA, aAnaA.*
 INTJ PTCL
 “OK.”

117 *aAnɬɔnA* is the name of a plant, commonly known as shiny xylosma (scientific name *Xylosma congestum*).

39 *tsoC- zoC niB-tanA tiB tenA aAntenB -eB tsoc- ?nonA tAtoC-viB donB.*
 CLNK1 tell 3-child take CLF sword DEM CLNK1 be.at foot-mountain wait
 He made his father wait at the foot of the mountain with the sword in his hand.” [118]

40 *niB-paB laAxaB ... niB-tanA tsoc- kuB tenA aAtsheA laAxaB... tenA*
 3-father FLL 3-child CLNK1 carry CLF ring-cupped.oak FLL CLF
aAtsəBtsiB... aAndzonA -eB tsoc- qloB xaBsaA aAxB-viB tsoc- hpenA
 FLL shiny.xylosma DEM CLNK1 ABL top head-mountain CLNK1 push

-daAlaBduAluC.

EXPR

He took a piece of shiny xylosma wood and threw it from the top of the mountain. The piece of wood then slid down swiftly. [119]

41 *vonA ndzanB -seB -manA, ndzanB -seB -manA.*
 2SG cut PTCL PTCL cut PTCL PTCL
 “Try and chop it! Try and chop it!”

42 *niB-paB tsoc- aC ntenB muB -seA, tsoc- xonA- loA pheC -qəAleC.*
 3-father CLNK1 do CLF go CLNK2 CLNK1 only disappear CLF only
 His father tried to chop the piece of wood, but he could only cut it halfway.

43 *tsoc- zoCseA.*
 CLNK1 say
 He said.

44 *muAtaC- yæC -jaA, muAtaC- yæC -jaA.*
 NEG sharp PTCL NEG sharp NEG
 “It hasn’t been sharpened yet!”

45 *jeB, vonA zoCseA, yæC -waC.*
 FLL 2SG say sharp PTCL
 “You said that it got sharpened though.”

46 *eiA, xuB ?neA -tsob, aAnaA.*
 INTJ grind CLF PTCL PTCL
 “OK, sharpen it a bit more.”

47 *niB-paB tsA- luB xuB -?jiA?jaB?jiA?juC tsoc- xuB pziA-hlaC xaB, pziA-*
 3-father separately come grind EXPR CLNK1 grind three-month FLL three-
hlaC xaB, luB xuB toC-hlaC.
 month FLL come grind six-month
 His father began to sharpen the sword, and continuously sharpened it for three months and another three months, altogether for six months.

118 This sentence states that the father told his son to wait at the foot of the mountain, but it is clear from the context that it was instead the son that told his father to wait.

119 In this sentence, the storyteller first used the word *aAtsheA* instead of *aAndzonA*. The former is a noun denoting ring-cupped oak (scientific name *Quercus glauca*), whose Chinese name is 青冈树.

- 48 *niB-paB zoCseA, ngweC -nonB yæC -waC -siA.*
 3-father say CLF DEM sharp PTCL PTCL
 His father said, “This time it has been sharpened.”
- 49 *aAnaB, yæC -waC.*
 this.way sharp PTCL
 “You see it’s sharpened.”
- 50 *yæC -waC jeB, muB.*
 sharp PTCL FLL go
 “If it’s sharpened, then we go.”
- 51 *puAðanB szC muB kauC -naA, tsoC- muB szC ʔneA -naA.*
 1DU try go try PTCL CLNK1 go try CLF PTCL
 “We go and try it.”
- 52 *zoCseA, vonA ʔnonA xəBtiA ðonB, xaA.*
 say 2SG be.at bottom wait INTJ
 “You wait at the foot of the mountain.”
- 53 *oA, aAnaA.*
 INTJ PTCL
 “OK.”
- 54 *aiAjaA, tsoC- muB ʔnonA xəBtiA ðonB jeB.*
 INTJ CLNK1 go be.at bottom wait FLL
 His father went to the foot of the mountain and waited there.
- 55 *niB-paB tsoC- kuB ndonC laAxaB aAnɕona tsoC- qlob xuB-viB hyeNA*
 3-father CLNK1 carry CLF FLL shiny.xylosma CLNK1 ABL head-mountain push
*luB hyeNA -ðaAlaBðuAluC ponA ngaB luB -seA, *** zoC niB-paB, nɕanB*
 come push EXPR fall descend come CLNK2 tell 3-father cut
-seB -mana, nɕanB -seB -mana.
 PTCL PTCL cut PTCL PTCL
 His son brought a piece of shiny xylosma wood and threw it down to his father. Then, he said,
 “Try and chop it!”
- 56 *niB-paB aC ntenB -qəAleC -seA, ndonC aAnɕona tsoC- lonB aC*
 3-father do CLF only CLNK2 CLF shiny.xylosma CLNK1 chop make
ʔwuA-ndonC.
 two-CLF
 His father struck the sword onto the piece of wood, and chopped it into two pieces.
- 57 *aA, ngweC -nonB ʔnonC -waC, ʔnonC -waC, yæC -waC, yæC -waC.*
 INTJ CLF DEM good PTCL good PTCL sharp PTCL sharp PTCL
 “Wow, it’s good, this time. It’s sharpened. It’s sharpened.”

- 58 *ɣæC -waC tsoC- ɣuB -teC -tsoB.*
sharp PTCL CLNK1 grind PTCL PTCL
“It’s sharpened, but it still needs more sharpening.”
- 59 *tsoC- ɣuB, tsA- ɣuB -ʔjiAʔjaBʔjiAʔjuC ʔoCseA.*
CLNK1 grind separately grind EXPR say
Then he, again, sharpened the sword for a long time.
- 60 *tsaiB, ɣæC -waC -ləA -manA.*
kid sharp PTCL PTCL PTCL
“Son, it’s sharpened.”
- 61 *ɣæC -waC jeB, puAðanB tsoC- muB, aAnaA.*
sharp PTCL FLL 1DU CLNK1 go PTCL
“It’s sharpened, then we both go.”
- 62 *puAðanB tsoC- muB, aAnaA.*
1DU CLNK1 go PTCL
“We both go.”
- 63 *jeB muB jeB tsoC- qlob piCqweA ɣona- zuC tsoC- ɳdʒeA qlob ðanB kanB*
FLL go FLL CLNK1 ABL PN CLNK1 arrive CLNK1 tramp from CLF water
ðanB kanB zanC luB jeB.
CLF water ascend come FLL
They went through Piqwe and climbed up wading many waters. [120]
- 64 *aA, jiC- zuC ... aAtəBtsiBliA ... aA laAɣaB ... lonAthouAsanB təAeB, tsoC- ʔoCseA.*
INTJ CLNK1 arrive FLL FLL FLL PN there CLNK1 say
Arriving at Longtoushan, the son said. [121]
- 65 *aA, nthanB -nonB aA, ɣona- jonC tsia-joA təAtəiB -qəAleC, muA- ʔuəNC*
INTJ CLF DEM INTJ only COP three-CLF road only NEG good
-jaA.
PTCL
“Oh, there are only three roads here, so it’s not a good place.”
- 66 *tsaiC zanC jiAthanc.*
again ascend once
“We must go up further.”
- 67 *tsoC- zanC -ʔjiAʔjaBʔjiAʔjuC.*
CLNK1 ascend EXPR
And they went up continuously.

120 *piCqweA* is the name of a division of Qingshuijiang valley. As this place does not have a Chinese name, we tentatively create a Chinese word 比桂 Bǐguì to denote the place. We name this place Piqwe in English.

121 *lonAthouAsanB* is a place name for a mountain standing at the edge of the Qingshuijiang valley. It is a loanword from Chinese 龙头山 Lóngtóushān.

- 68 *ʈoC- zanC luB zuC ʃhaA-suC ʈoC- zoCseA.*
 CLNK1 ascend come arrive junction-river CLNK1 say
 When they reached River Junction, the son said.
- 69 *aA, ʈoC- jonC nthanB -nonB -aA.*
 INTJ CLNK1 COP CLF DEM INTJ
 “Oh, this is it.”
- 70 *nthanB -nonB jeB ʈoC- jaA-joA jaA-ntsaC konC, jaA-joA jaA-ntsaC ʈeiB*
 CLF DEM FLL CLNK1 eight-CLF eight-* bridge eight-CLF eight-* road
aA, nthanB -nonB xona- lauCzeA aA.
 INTJ CLF DEM CLNK1 flourishing INTJ
 “This place has many bridges and many roads. This is a thriving spot.”
- 71 *ʋona ʔona nthonB -nonB xaA.*
 2SG be.at CLF DEM INTJ
 The son said, “Dad, you stay here, OK?”
- 72 *zoCseA, ʋona ʔona nthonB -nonB jeB, kanB toC ʋona ʈʃiA xaA.*
 say 2SG be.at CLF DEM FLL 1SG BNF 2SG speak INTJ
 “Please listen to me.”
- 73 *əBona ʈoC- panB zuC ʋona -moA taA-penB luB, ʋona khaA- nʃheC xaA.*
 water CLNK1 swell.up arrive 2SG MOD NMLZ-neck come 2SG PROH afraid INTJ
 “The water will come up to your neck, but don’t be afraid.”
- 74 *ʋona khaA- nʃheC.*
 2SG PROH afraid
 “Don’t be afraid.”
- 75 *ʋona ʈuCjiC xaA, ʂanB təA-mpaC zuC taA-mpæA, ʂanB ɣona taA-mpæA ʋona khaA- nʂanB -liA.*
 2SG careful INTJ CLF NMLZ-wear clothes NMLZ-green CLF dragon NMLZ
 green 2SG PROH cut PTCL
 “Watch carefully. Don’t slash the dragon wearing blue clothes.”
- 76 *ʋona ʈoC- nʂanB ʂanB taA-mpoA -mbeC -liA.*
 2SG CLNK1 cut CLF NMLZ-gray PTCL PTCL
 “It is the dragon wearing gray clothes that you must slash down.”
- 77 *ʂanB taA-mpæA -niB, ʈoC- jonC niB-tana mpaC phona- aʂuʂ jenBtanB*
 CLF NMLZ-green PTCL CLNK1 COP 3-child wear CLF clothes *
muB, ʈoC- tɛəBpiC ʂanB taA-mpæA.
 go CLNK1 change CLF NMLZ-green
 His son then put on blue clothes and changed into a blue dragon. [122]

122 We do not know the meaning of the word *jenBtanB*.

78 *aiAjaA, nəB-taNA ... *** ... ʔoC- muB ʔoC- taA δanB laAχaB ɣəNA ʔoC-*
 INTJ 3-child CLNK1 go CLNK1 COM CLF FLL dragon CLNK1

muB szA-χiA təAtehoC təAeB aAɣəNAntsoC viB -eB.
 go RCP-rob place there PN higher.place DEM
 Then his son began to fight against the gray dragon for Yonntso.

79 *aiAjaA, ʔoC- muB szA-χiA ʔoC- szA-ηfoC, ɣwuA-δanB ɣəNA szA-ηfoC*
 INTJ CLNK1 go RCP-rob CLNK1 RCP-fight two-CLF dragon RCP-fight

-ntaAzaBntuAzuC, szA-ηfoC szA-ηfoC zuC aAθhaA-suC.
 EXPR RCP-fight RCP-fight arrive fork-river
 The two dragons fought against each other furiously, and came to River Junction.

80 *niB-paB ɣəNA aAteic aApiCηgoAηduC təAtoC təAeB, ɣwuA-δanB ɣəNA szA-*
 3-father be.at PN PN foot there two-CLF dragon RCP-

ηfoC.
 fight
 The father was standing on the foot of the Lover's cliff near Jiangbian. The father saw the two dragons fighting each other. [123]

81 *aiAjaA, laAχaB teanBχoA δanB oNA paNB -ngleAnglaC, aiAjaA, ɣwuA-δanB*
 INTJ FLL river CLF water swell.up EXPR INTJ two-CLF

ɣəNA szA-ηfoC δanB oNA penB -mpuAjaBmpuAjuC.
 dragon RCP-fight CLF water swing EXPR
 The water of the river swelled up rapidly, and as the dragons fought with each other furiously, the water swang in waves.

82 *aiAjaA, oNA ʔoC- ɣaB zuC niB-paB taA-penB luB.*
 INTJ water CLNK1 swell arrive 3-father NMLZ-neck come
 Finally, the water swelled up to the neck of the father.

83 *δanB ɣəNA taA-mpəA lanC lanC lanC δanB ɣəNA taA-mpoA muA-*
 CLF dragon NMLZ-green look look look CLF dragon NMLZ-gray NEG

ʔuCjiC -seA, ʔoC- aC ɣlana ʔona kana ʔoC- təhuB luB niB-paB
 pay.attention CLNK2 CLNK1 do CLF FLL horn CLNK1 throw come 3-father
taA-ngleNA.
 NMLZ-front
 The blue dragon caught the gray dragon off guard, and threw the gray dragon with his horns right in the front of his father.

84 *niB-paB ʔoC- aC ɣlana ʔona ntenB -seA, δanB ɣəNA taA-mpoA ʔoC-*
 3-father CLNK1 make CLF FLL CLF CLNK2 CLF dragon NMLZ-gray CLNK1

123 *aApiCηgoAηduC* (◇◇cliff◇CLF:pair◇young.man) ‘the Lover’s cliff’ is a place name, which denotes a pair of rock cliffs standing at the Qingshuijiang riverside.

lonB aC ʔwuA-ndonC.

cut make two-CLF

His father stroke the gray dragon, and slashed it into two pieces.

85 waC, niB-tanaC tsoC- paA ʔlanaC ʒuB-ɣoNA -ɲkonB, onaC tsoC- ʔluC -phyA.

INTJ 3-child CLNK1 grasp CLF head-dragon EXPR water CLNK1 withdraw EXPR

When the boy grasped the gray dragon's head, the water withdrew swiftly.

86 ʔluC -phyA -sanC jeB, niB zoC niB-paB zoCseA, aCnonB aA, kanB
withdraw EXPR CLNK2 FLL 3 tell 3-father say this.way INTJ 1SG

muB qoC aAɣoNAntsoC ʔɲonaC ɔanaC -loA.

go GOAL PN be.at territory PTCL

When the water withdrew, the boy said to his father, "I will go to Yonntso and guard it."

87 jeB wonaC tsoC- tiB ʔlanaC taA-ʒuB muB janC ndzjoA muB.

FLL 2SG CLNK1 take CLF NMLZ-head go feed mouth go

"You take this dragon head to earn a living."

88 aAnaB, aA.

INTJ INTJ

"Oh, really."

89 naB ɔaCaC janC ɲɔoA aA.

CONJ IGN feed mouth INTJ

"How can I earn a living with this head?"

90 wonaC muB -manaC.

2SG go PTCL

"You go to ..."

91 nthanB aAtsiB tɕhyeA onaC, jeB wonaC tsoC- zoC niB.

CLF IGN lack water FLL 2SG CLNK1 tell 3

"... to a place where people want water, then say to them."

92 kanB toC miAnaB khaA qhoBloA luB, jeB miAnaB ... laAɣaB miAnaB ɣeAjiA
1SG BNF 2PL dig well come FLL 2PL FLL 2PL willing

janC kanB laAɣaB ɔBɔanAnaA, kanB tsoC- toC miA laAɣaB euB aAqhoBloA.
feed 1SG FLL life 1SG CLNK1 BNF 2PL FLL build well

"If you are willing to feed me all my life long, I will bore a well for you."

93 ɣaB, miAnaB muA- ɣeAɣiA janC -jaA, jeB kanB tsoC- muA- euB -jaA.

CONJ 2PL NEG willing feed PTCL FLL 1SG CLNK1 NEG build NEG

"But if you people don't feed me, I won't bore a well."

94 aCnonB jeB niB tsoC- nduC zuC aAɔoCmblaA.

this.way FLL 3 CLNK1 walk arrive PN

He went to Dingpa.

95 *nduC zuC aAðoCmblaA jeB tsoC- zoC aAðoCmblaA zoCseA.*
 walk arrive PN FLL CLNK1 tell PN say
 Arriving at Dingpa, he said to the people.

96 *eiA, məAnaB hŋoC janC kanB muA- hŋoC.*
 INTJ 2PL agree feed 1SG NEG agree
 “Will you take care of me?”

97 *hŋoC janC kanB jeB, kanB toC məAnaB tsoNC qyB oNA luB laAχaB paNA*
 agree feed 1SG FLL 1SG BNF 2PL deliver CLF water come FLL give

məAnaB.
 2PL

“If you are willing to feed me, I will bore a well for you.”

98 *təAðeNA.*
 true
 “Really?”

99 *oC, naBmiC təAðeNA -liA.*
 INTJ of.course true PTCL
 “Oh, of course.”

100 *χauB.*
 INTJ
 “It’s a deal.”

101 *niB tsoC- qliC ʔwuA-təNA aAqəAŋiC-γθNA tsoC- muB ntsoA qoC*
 3 CLNK1 take.out two-CLF whisker-dragon CLNK1 go insert GOAL

aAðoCmblaA χəBviB ʔlana χuB-viB təAtoC təAeB.
 PN higher.place CLF head-mountain foot there

He pulled out two hairs of dragon whisker, then he inserted them at the mountain foot which was higher than Dingpa.

102 *aiAjaA, qyB oNA tsoC- qhlenC -ŋtəaAlaBŋtəuAluC, aAðoCmblaA tsoC- aC*
 INTJ CLF water CLNK1 flow EXPR PN CLNK1 make

leNA aC ntshanC -weAweA.
 paddy make swell EXPR

Then plenty of water flew out continuously, and many people in Dingpa began to make paddies.

103 *aiAjaA, jiC- janC ðanB qoAloB-aAtiA -nonB -seA, puBleA- maA nonA*
 INTJ CLNK1 feed CLF old-grandfather DEM CLNK2 altogether exist eat

maA ʔŋonB -waC -seA, tsoC- muA- maA ðanBtsiB mpyC ðanB qoAloB-
 exist want PTCL CLNK2 CLNK1 NEG exist IGN care CLF old-

aAtiA -eB -jaA.

grandfather DEM PTCL

The people of Dingpa took care of the old man at first, but when they had no trouble with food and clothes, nobody cared him.

104 *tsOC- muAðiB- hñoC janC jeB.*

CLNK1 NEG agree feed FLL

Nobody was willing to take care of him.

105 *ðanB qoAloB-aAtiA -eB tsOC- muB tðAmiCsuC aAyoNAntsoC nthəBeB tsOC-*
CLF old-grandfather DEM CLNK1 go PN PN there CLNK1

ñiBlaA.

cry

The old man went to Yonntso in the Qingshuijiang valley and cried there.

106 *ñiBlaA zoCseA ... niB-tanA seA, aCðaCaC -ləA -manA.*

cry say 3-child say IGN PTCL PTCL

The son came up and asked the old man, “What’s wrong with you?”

107 *aiA, ɛeA -nonB ʁona zoC kanB laBɣaB ... kanB muB toC naA tsONC qyB*
INTJ time DEM 2SG say 1SG FLL 1SG go BNF human deliver CLF

ona -nonB -ɣaB, qyB ona ɛeA -nonB -moA ... janC muA- hñoC janC
water DEM CLNK2 CLF water time DEM MOD feed NEG agree feed

kanB -jaA, tɛhiBthouA niB hñoC janC kanB, ɛeA -nonB muA- hñoC janC kanB
1SG PTCL at.first 3 agree feed 1SG time DEM NEG agree feed 1SG

-jaA.

PTCL

“Oh, I went to Dingpa to bore a well for the people there. They agreed to take care of me at first, but now, nobody cares me.”

108 *aAnaB aA.*

INTJ INTJ

“Oh, really.”

109 *naB, ʁona ʔmiA aCðaCaC luB.*

CONJ 2SG DISP1 IGN come

“What did you do?”

110 *kanB tsOC- qliC ʔwuA-ʃenA taA-qəCñiC ntsoA qoC nthəBeB -siA.*

1SG CLNK1 pick two-CLF NMLZ-whisker insert GOAL there PTCL

“I took out two hairs of dragon whisker and inserted them over there.”

111 *aCnaB muAðuB ... naB muB.*

this.way IGN CONJ go

“I see, then let’s go there.”

112 *muB jeB, puAðanB muB tsuA onA -χenA.*
 go FLL 1DU go stop water PTCL
 “I will stop the water.”

113 *naB tsuC- tsuA.*
 CONJ CLNK1 stop
 “OK, let’s go and stop it.”

114 *jeB, ʔwuA-ðanB paB-tanA tsuC- zuC laAχaB aAðoCmblaA -moA qhoBloA*
 FLL two-CLF father-child CLNK1 arrive FLL PN MOD well

təA-faA onA nthəBeB.
 NMLZ-emit water there
 They arrived at the well of Dingpa.

115 *niB ðanB aAtanA -eB tsuC- qhliA ŋgoA khuC-ntuA qoC taA-zonA.*
 3 CLF child DEM CLNK1 take.off CLF shoe-cloth GOAL NMLZ-gate
 Then the boy took off his cloth shoes and put them at the gate of the well.

116 *niB tsuC- zoC niB-paB zoCseA.*
 3 CLNK1 say 3-father say
 He said to his father.

117 *ʋonA khaAtsiB- tuA -jaA -liA.*
 2SG PROH laugh PTCL PTCL
 “Don’t laugh.”

118 *tuA -seA, tsuC- tsuA muA- -ŋtəhiC -jaA -liA.*
 laugh CLNK2 CLNK1 stop NEG POT PTCL PTCL
 “If you laugh, I cannot stop the water.”

119 *uC, aAnaA.*
 INTJ PTCL
 “I see.”

120 *niB-tanA tsuC- tsuA.*
 3-child CLNK1 stop
 The son began to stop the water.

121 *niB tsuC- qhliA ŋgoA ... niB-tanA tsuC- qhliA ŋgoA khuC qoC taA-zonA*
 3 CLNK1 take.off CLF 3-child CLNK1 take.off CLF shoe GOAL NMLZ-gate

nthəBeB.
 there
 The son took off his shoes and put them at the gate of the well.

122 niB tsoC- tsuA jeB ŋgoA ... ŋgoA khuC tsoC- tɛəBnteC.
 3 CLNK1 stop FLL CLF CLF shoe CLNK1 leap
 When he began to stop the water, his shoes leaped. [124]

123 tsuA senA ʔneA, ŋgoA tsoC- tɛəBnteC senA ʔneA, ŋgoA khuC tsoC- tɛəBnteC
 stop tall CLF CLF CLNK1 leap tall CLF CLF shoe CLNK1 leap

ʔwuA-ðanB ...
 two-CLF

The more water he pushed back, the higher the shoes leaped.

124 niB ðanB aAtanA tɛyNBbiA tsuA ðanB onA -eB tsoC- tsuA szB-fænB tshuA
 3 CLF child ready stop CLF water DEM CLNK1 stop PURP-reverse exit

aAqlenB -χeNA, muA- panA muB aAðoCmblaA.
 PN PTCL NEG give go PN

The son tried to stop the water and make it flow out to the Mashi village, thereby depriving Dingpa of water.

125 jiC- tsuA ðanB onA -eB zuC poAŋŋona piC saA -eB -seA, oA, niB-paB
 CLNK1 stop CLF water DEM arrive middle cliff top DEM CLNK2 INTJ 3-father

lanC lanC -seA, ŋgoA khuC tɛəBnteC -seA, niB-paB tsoC- tuA -qhlona.
 look look CLNK2 CLF shoe leap CLNK2 3-father CLNK1 laugh EXPR

When the son pushed back the water up to the middle of the mountain, the father burst into laughter looking at the shoes leaping.

126 aiAjoA, onA tsoC- mplaC -mplanB tsoC- tshuA luB -siA.
 INTJ water CLNK1 overflow EXPR CLNK1 exit come PTCL

The son couldn't keep stopping the water, and the water overflowed from the well.

127 niB-tanA zoCseA.
 3-child say

The son said,

128 eiC.

INTJ

“Oh, no.”

129 khaAtsiB- tuA, zoC ʋona khaAtsiB- tuA.
 PROH laugh tell 2SG PROH laugh

“I told you not to laugh, didn't I?”

130 eeA -nonB ʋona tuA, tsuA muAðiB- -tauB -waC -liA.
 time DEM 2SG laugh stop NEG POT PTCL PTCL

“Now you laughed, I can't stop the water anymore.”

124 The relation between stopping water and leaping of shoes is not clear.

131 *aiAjaA, naB tsoC- tsuA muA- -tauB -waC jeB.*
 INTJ CONJ CLNK1 stop NEG POT PTCL FLL
 The water cannot be stopped.

132 *oNA tsoC- mplaC luB jeB.*
 water CLNK1 overflow come FLL
 It now overflowed from the well.

133 *niB-paB zoCseA.*
 3-father say
 The father said,

134 *muB.*
 go
 “OK, then we go.”

135 *suanC -loA, tsuA muAðiB- -ñtəhiC -waC.*
 all.right PTCL stop NEG POT PTCL
 “Forget it, it cannot be stopped.”

136 *niB-paB tsoC- jonA ... niB-tana tsoC- jonA niB-paB.*
 3-father CLNK1 take 3-child CLNK1 take 3-father
 The son took his father’s hand and said.

137 *muB.*
 go
 “Let’s move.”

138 *muB *** muB thonB teuAðuB janC ñdzoA muB.*
 go go search IGN feed mouth go
 “Go somewhere to make a living.”

139 *zoC ʋona khaA- tuA khaA- tuA.*
 tell 2SG PROH laugh PROH laugh
 “I told you not to laugh.”

140 *aCnaB jeB tsoC- toC aAðoCmblaA.*
 this.way FLL CLNK1 BNF PN
 This way, eventually they helped Dingpa.

141 *ɣwuA-ʃenA aAqəʌŋiC -eB toC aAðoCmblaA tuC oNA jeB tsoC- jonA niB-*
 two-CLF whisker DEM BNF PN acquire water FLL CLNK1 take 3-

paB.
 father
 They gave water to Dingpa with two hairs of dragon whisker.

142 *aiAjaA, xONa- tsA- jONa niB-paB zuC siBviB aAðeCyaA.*
 INTJ CLNK1 separately take 3-father arrive PN PN
 Then, the boy led his father to Dega of Sivi. [125]

143 *aiAjaA, aAðeCyaA -moA leNA ʔʏONC, xuA jeB- ʔʏONC, muA- maA ONA.*
 INTJ PN MOD paddy good field also good NEG exist water
 The field of Dega was good but had no water.

144 *niB tsOC- zoC aAðeCyaA zoCseA.*
 3 CLNK1 say PN say
 Then, the old man went there and said.

145 *naB məAnaB hŋOC muA- hŋOC.*
 CONJ 2PL agree NEG agree
 “Do you agree to my proposal?”

146 *məAnaB hŋOC jeB, kanB toC məAnaB khaA ʔlANA loA jeB.*
 2PL agree FLL 1SG BNF 2PL dig CLF well FLL
 “I will dig a well for you.”

147 *jeB məAnaB janC kanB szB-loBnaA -ləA -mana.*
 FLL 2PL feed 1SG PURP-old PTCL PTCL
 “If you agree to take care of me for the rest of my life.”

148 *naB, khoB'jiB' -mana.*
 CONJ okay PTCL
 “That's all right.”

149 *tsOC- ʔŋONB kONa zoC -sanC tsOC- jonC, khaA szB-tshuA aAloA -liA.*
 CLNK1 need 2SG say CLNK2 CLNK1 COP dig PURP-exit well PTCL
 “You must keep your word. You must dig a well for us.” [126]

150 *jonC -waC, zoC -sanC tsOC- jonC -waC, aAnaA.*
 COP PTCL say CLNK2 CLNK1 COP PTCL PTCL
 “Of course. No problem.”

151 *aiAjaA, niB tsOC- muB tsONC ʔlANA xuB-ʏONa -eB tsOC- xANC qoC ʔlANA*
 INTJ 3 CLNK1 go deliver CLF head-dragon DEM CLNK1 set.up GOAL CLF

təAtoC-viB.
 foot-mountain

He took the dragon head that he carried and set it up at the foot of a mountain.

125 *siBviB* is the name of an area located to the southeast of Xianqiao (see Map 3), which belongs to Fuquan City. *aAðeCyaA* is the name of a village belonging to *siBviB*. As these place names do not have a Chinese name, we tentatively create Chinese words, 思威 *Sīwēi* and 德噶 *Dégā*, respectively. In English, we transcribe these place names as Sivi and Dega, respectively.

126 *zoC -sanC tsOC- jonC* (◇tell◇CLNK2◇CLNK1◇COP), literally means ‘once you have said it, it is a deal,’ is an idiomatic expression, which means ‘one must keep his/her word’.

- 152 *aiAjaA, aAðeCyaA -moA oNA ndanC qliB ndanC ðaC.*
 INTJ PN MOD water big * big die
 Then, a huge amount of water came out from there.
- 153 *aiAjoA, leA vliA leA suC luB -mpuAjaBmpuAjuC.*
 INTJ resemble stream resemble river come EXPR
 The water began to flow like a big river.
- 154 *euB aAñenBtszB aC ntshanC -weAweA.*
 build mortar make swell EXPR
 They built many water mills.
- 155 *aiAjaA, tshoA naA -eB maA -tsaB -waC -siA.*
 INTJ CLF human DEM exist PTCL PTCL PTCL
 The villagers of Dega became very rich.
- 156 *juCtsaA- muAðiB- hñoC janC ðanB qoAloB-aAtiA -nonB -jaA.*
 again NEG agree feed CLF old-grandfather DEM PTCL
 When they became rich, they came to neglect the old man.
- 157 *ðanB qoAloB-aAtiA zoCseA.*
 CLF old-grandfather say
 Then the old man said.
- 158 *tsaiC- tsA- muB ñiBlaA, muB aAyoñAntsoC ñiBlaA tuC niB-tana jeB.*
 again separately go cry go PN cry put 3-child FLL
 He went to Yonntso and called for his son crying.
- 159 *niB-tana zoCseA, naB, ðaCaC -laA -mana.*
 3-child say CONJ IGN PTCL PTCL
 The son came and asked, “What’s wrong with you?”
- 160 *aiAjaA, zoC kanB muB aAðeCyaA ... aAðeCyaA jeB, kanB tsA- muB toC*
 INTJ say 1SG go PN PN FLL 1SG separately go BNF
naA aC ... aC qhoBloA jeB.
 human make make well FLL
 “Oh, I went to Dega following your advice and dug a well for them.”
- 161 *naB, vona ðaCaC aC.*
 CONJ 2SG IGN do
 “How did you do that?”
- 162 *kanB tsonc aAxuB-yona muB ntseAleC qoC taA-zəBñtonA -eB.*
 1SG release head-dragon go enter GOAL NMLZ-inside DEM
 “I threw the dragon head inside the mountain foot.
- 163 *eiA, aAnaB aB, muB, muB, muB, puAðanB muB tsuA szB-ñdæC.*
 INTJ INTJ INTJ go go go 1DU go stop PURP-dry
 “I see. Then, let’s go there and stop the water.”

164 *oA, niB-taNA tsoC- muB khaA phaC kaNA.*
 INTJ 3-child CLNK1 go dig * *
 Then his son went to dig *. [127]

165 *ʋoNA soB -χeNA.*
 2SG step.aside PTCL
 “You step aside.”

166 *khaAtsiB- ... khaAtsiB- tuA -jaA, szB-qwiA ʔneA.*
 PROH PROH laugh PTCL PURP-far CLF
 “You mustn’t laugh. Step aside.”

167 *oA, aAnaA.*
 INTJ PTCL
 “I see.”

168 *niB tsoC- khaA phaC kaNA.*
 3 CLNK1 dig * *
 He then dug it out.

169 *oA tsoC- tiB muB ʔlaNA qhoBloA -eB.*
 INTJ CLNK1 take go CLF well DEM
 Then, he took it to the well.

170 *taA-zoNA tɛhəAmaC- muB tuA, tuA, tuA, tuA, tuA, tuA ʔlaNA χuB-γoNA tshuA*
 NMLZ-gate slowly go lure lure lure lure lure lure CLF head-dragon exit
 -ηteanB.
 EXPR
 At the entrance of the well he lured the dragon head with it. Then the dragon head suddenly jumped out.

171 *niB aAtana tsoC- paA χuB-γoNA -ηkoA.*
 3 child CLNK1 grasp head-dragon EXPR
 The son swiftly caught the dragon head.

172 *aiAjaA, luB -waC aCnonB jeB.*
 INTJ come PTCL this.way FLL
 “OK, it finally came out.”

173 *aiAjaA, aAdeCyaA təBqweNanonB tsoC- ηdzeC qliB ηdzeC δaC, aAdeCyaA*
 INTJ PN after.that CLNK1 dry * dry die PN
 tsoC- ʔnenC muA- tuC oNA χoA.
 CLNK1 search NEG acquire water drink
 After that, Dega dried up, and people could not get water to drink there.

127 We do not know what *phaC kaNA* exactly means. This must have been something that can be used to lure the dragon head.

174 *aCnaB zoCseA, oA ntSheC tɛnAmbliB jeB, muB aAðeCyaA, aAðeCyaA laAχaB,*
 this.way say INTJ afraid leech FLL go PN PN FLL

oNA tsoC- muA- maA tsoC- puBleA- ηdʒeC -loA jeB.
 water CLNK1 NEG exist CLNK1 altogether dry PTCL FLL

People said, “If you are afraid of water leeches, go to Dega. It is absolutely dried up.”

175 *χauB, aCnaB jeB, tsoC- ʔmiA ʔlana χuB-γoNA paNA niB-paB, seA.*
 INTJ this.way FLL CLNK1 DISP1 CLF head-dragon give 3-father say
 This way, the old man’s son handed the dragon head to his father and said.

176 *χauB, ʁona tsoC- kuB muB janC ηdʒoA muB.*
 INTJ 2SG CLNK1 carry go feed mouth go
 “You take this to earn a living with it.”

177 *oA.*
 INTJ
 “I see.”

178 *aiAjaA, niB-paB kuB peB kuB ʔleB, kuB muB tɛuAðuB, tɛuAðuB muA-*
 INTJ 3-father carry tired carry exhausted carry go IGN IGN NEG

hηoC ʔηoNB -jaA
 agree need PTCL

The father took it here and there, but he could not find a place that would take care of him.

179 *kuB peB -tsaB jeB, tsoC- muB zuC tɛanBpienBjauA zanC χəBviB*
 carry tired PTCL FLL CLNK1 go arrive PN ascend higher.place

χəBviB taA-χəBviB -eB, təAmiCsuC ... laAχaB aAloAvoC zanC
 higher.place NMLZ-higher.place DEM PN FLL PN ascend

viB -eB.
 higher.place DEM

Then the father got tired of doing this business. So he went to Jiangbianyao, and continuously climbed up to the upper valley, up to Guiding. [128]

180 *aiAjaA, tiB-peB -tsaB jeB.*
 INTJ AUG-tired PTCL FLL
 Then he got completely tired.

181 *tsoC- tɛhiA tsoC- suaiB ndoC qoC χəBviB -loA.*
 CLNK1 angry CLNK1 throw throw GOAL higher.place PTCL
 He threw away the dragon head onto a hill top in a fit of temper.

128 Jiangbianyao (江边窑) is the name of a place in Guiding County.

182 *tsɔC- suaiB ndoC qoC χəBviB, oA, χəBviB tsɔC- tɛəBpiC aAʋliA*
 CLNK1 throw throw GOAL higher.place INTJ higher.place CLNK1 change stream

aAsuC tsɔC- luB jeB.
 river CLNK1 come FLL

When he threw away the dragon head, then, there ran out a stream that became a river.

183 *tsɔC- tshuA aAŋtaBsuC, aAŋtaBsuC tsɔC- ʋluC luB -siA jeB.*
 CLNK1 exit river river CLNK1 hatch come PTCL FLL

This way, the mother river was born.

184 *niB tsɔC- luB ŋiBlaA tuC niB-tanA.*
 3 CLNK1 come cry put.into 3-child

He made an appeal to his son with tears.

185 *naB, ʋONA ŋiBlaA tɛəBtsiB -manA.*
 CONJ 2SG cry IGN PTCL

“What are you crying for?”

186 *naB, aAχuB-ʋəNA -niB.*
 CONJ head-dragon PTCL

“What about the dragon head?”

187 *aiAjaA, ʋONA zoC kanB kuB jeB kuB peB qliB peB ɔaC.*
 INTJ 2SG tell 1SG carry FLL carry tired * tired die

“Oh, you told me to earn a living with the dragon head, but I got tired of doing that.”

188 *tauC'tshuC' naC, naC loB- muAɔiB- hŋoC janC kanB jeB.*
 everywhere ask ask also NEG agree feed 1SG FLL

“I went everywhere to find a place where people agreed to take care of me, but I couldn't find a place.”

189 *kanB tɛhiA -tsaB, kanB tsɔC- ndoC qoC χəBviB -loA.*
 1SG angry PTCL 1SG CLNK1 throw GOAL higher.place PTCL

“I threw away the dragon head onto a hill top in a fit of temper.”

190 *ndoC qoC χəBviB jeB, *** ndoC qoC χəBviB təAʋloAviB -eB tshuA*
 throw GOAL higher.place FLL throw GOAL higher.place basin DEM exit

χəBtiA təAʋloA luB -siA.
 bottom basin come PTCL

“When I threw away the dragon head into a basin on the hill, the river ran down over to the lower basin.” [129]

191 *aAnaB aA.*
 INTJ INTJ
 “Oh, I see.”

129 This sentence is difficult to interpret, and thus, the translation is only a tentative one.

192 *χauB -loA, naB ʋona muA- muB viB -jaA jeB.*
 INTJ PTCL CONJ 2SG NEG go higher.place PTCL FLL
 “OK, you do not have to go to the mountains.”

193 *ʋona tsoC- χiA ʎana ʋoA-mbiB qoC təAnonB.*
 2SG CLNK1 weave CLF creel-fish GOAL here
 “You make a creel and put it here in the water.”

194 *əBhnaA-jiB-hnaA-jiB δaA jeB ʋona tsoC- soC muB jeB, tsuB ʋona nonA*
 day-market-RED come FLL 2SG CLNK1 scoop go FLL enough 2SG eat

khuA jiB, jeB ʋona tsaA- luB tiB qoC χəBtiA -nonB.
 CLF market FLL 2SG separately come take GOAL bottom DEM

“When a market day comes, you come here and collect the fish and take to the market. It will give you enough to eat for a week. Then, you can put the creel back here again.”

195 *oA, aAnaA.*
 INTJ PTCL
 “Oh, I see.”

196 *aiAjaA, təBqwenAnonB jeB, niB-paB tsoC- χiA ʎana ʋoA-mbiB.*
 INTJ after.that FLL 3-father CLNK1 weave CLF creel-fish
 Then his father made a creel.

197 *jeB tsoC- muB ndoC qoC aAʎonAntsoC aAqhoBloA təAeB.*
 FLL CLNK1 go throw GOAL PN well there
 He set it in the water running out of the well of Yonttso.

198 *zuC khuA-jiB-khuA-jiB -diB, muB soC tuC mbiB.*
 arrive CLF-market-RED PTCL go scoop acquire fish
 Every market day he went there to get fish.

199 *jeB tsoC- tiB muB aAjiBqeA maC, jeB tsoC- tsuB niB nonA.*
 FLL CLNK1 take go PN sell FLL CLNK1 enough 3 eat
 He took the fish to Xianqiao and got enough money to live on. [130]

200 *khuA jiB nduC peB -tsaB jeB.*
 CLF market walk tired PTCL FLL
 But, he felt tired of going to the market every week.

201 *εeA -eB niB-piB maA δanB aAtaC tsoC- ʎjaB aAδoAlonC.*
 time DEM 3-house exist CLF sister CLNK1 marry PN
 At that time, he had a sister who was married to a man living in Dalang.

130 *aAjiBqeA*, 仙桥 Xiānqiáo in Chinese, is the name of a town in Fuquan City. *jiB* means ‘market’, and *qeA* means ‘chicken’. Thus, *aAjiBqeA* means ‘chicken market’. We call this town Xianqiao in English.

202 *niB tsoC- zoC niB-piB aAqəAjaB zoCseA.*
 3 CLNK1 say 3-house uncle say
 He told his brother-in-law. [131]

203 *aiAjaA, kanB tszBtsaB muB -siA, phiAnəAyeC wona daA aAjiBqeA jeB.*
 INTJ 1SG difficult go PTCL tomorrow 2SG come PN FLL
 “It’s hard for me to walk there. Could you go to Xianqiao ...”

204 *wona toC kanB tiB soC daA -mbeC.*
 2SG BNF 1SG take scoop come PTCL
 “... and collect fish for me?”

205 *ma, kanB muB soC tsoC- muA- zoC *** məAnaBpəC *** qloB taA-ηtonA -eB*
 INTJ 1SG go scoop CLNK1 NEG say FLL ABL NMLZ-inside DEM
luB qlaA kanB tsaA- ntsheC.
 come scare 1SG separately afraid
 The brother-in-law replied, “Oh, no. It comes from inside. I’m so scared.” [132]

206 *nqonB nshanC -weAweA.*
 roar swell EXPR
 “It roars so horribly.”

207 *aiAjaA, niB juC- nqonB niB juC- wiA.*
 INTJ 3 PLNK roar 3 PLNK bark
 “It roars so loudly.”

208 *jeB wona tsoC- zoCseA, aiAjaA, miAnaBtəAχwanApiA aAqəAniB χanC kanB*
 FLL 2SG CLNK1 say INTJ FLL uncle call 1SG
toC niB soC -liA.
 BNF 3 scoop PTCL
 The old man said, “Then you say, ‘My brother-in-law told me to collect fish here.’”

209 *wona *** tiB-wiA -tsaB -seA, kanB tsoC- muA- kuB -jaA -liA.*
 2SG AUG-bark PTCL CLNK2 1SG CLNK1 NEG carry PTCL PTCL
 “If you roar at me, I won’t carry fish for him.”

210 *uA, aAnaA jeB.*
 INTJ PTCL FLL
 “Oh, I see.”

211 *aiA, təBqweNanonB jeB, niB-piB danB aAqəAniB qloB aAδonClonC daA.*
 INTJ after.that FLL 3-house CLF uncle ABL PN come
 After that, the brother-in-law came to the place from Dalang.

131 *aAqəAjaB* is a kinship term denoting a wife’s brother or a sister’s husband. See Appendix 1 for the kinship terms of Lan Hmyo.

132 We could not understand some parts of this utterance, and thus, the translation is only a tentative one.

212 *qloB aAðoAlonC ðaA jeB, çONA- ðaA təAnonB soC soC aiAjaA niB-piB*
 ABL PN come FLL CLNK1 come here scoop scoop INTJ 3-house

aAniB tsoC- qloB taA-çəBηtonA -eB tsoC- təəBpiC ðanB yəNA tsoC- nqonB.
 brother CLNK1 from NMLZ-inside DEM CLNK1 change CLF dragon CLNK1 roar
 When the brother-in-law came and began to take up fish, the son of the old man changed himself into a dragon and roared.

213 *əBona nshanC -weAweA zuBmpəB ʔana kanB ʔana kanB jeB.*
 water swell EXPR stir.up CLF water CLF water FLL
 The sound was so big that the water swelled up and got stirred up furiously.

214 *mpuAjaBmpuAjuC ... niB-piB aAqəAjaB tsoC- tshiA.*
 EXPR 3-house uncle CLNK1 speak
 The brother-in-law said to the dragon.

215 *wiB.*
 INTJ
 “Hey!”

216 *əNA aCnonB -seA, kanB tsoC- muAðiB- ... suiA- aAqəAniB tshəA loB-*
 2SG this.way CLNK2 1SG CLNK1 NEG CLNK2 uncle hungry also

tshaC ... ðaC loB- kanB tsoC- muA- qwenB -jaA -liA.
 poor die also 1SG CLNK1 NEG matter PTCL PTCL
 “If you do that, I won’t be able to help your father and he’ll get hungry or die.”

217 *niB zoC kanB toC əNA seA.*
 3 tell 1SG BNF 2SG say
 “He told me to say this to you.”

218 *aA, təBqwenAnonB ðanB onA -eB tsoC- soA -mpəA.*
 INTJ after.that CLF water DEM CLNK1 subside EXPR
 Then, the water subsided abruptly.

219 *soA -mpəA jeB çONAtoC- niB tiB muB.*
 subside EXPR FLL just 3 take go
 When the water subsided, the brother-in-law carried the fish.

220 *tiB mbiB muB çONA- muB maC.*
 take fish go CLNK1 go sell
 He carried the fish to the market and sold them.

221 *çONA- muB janC, janC, janC, muB jeB təBqwenAnonB jeB, çauB, niB-piB*
 CLNK1 go feed feed feed go FLL after.that FLL INTJ 3-house

aAqəAniB çONA- ðaC -ηtonA.
 uncle CLNK1 die EXPR
 In this way, the brother-in-law took care of the old man for a long time until eventually the old man died.

222 *təBqwenAnonB* *ðaC* *-ŋtɔNA* *-loA* *-waC* *jeB*, *χauB*, *tsɔC-* *χɔNA-* *taA* *niB-piB*
 after.that die EXPR PTCL PTCL FLL INTJ CLNK1 CLNK1 COM 3-house

ðanB *təA-tana* *zɔC*.

CLF NMLZ-child say

After the old man died, the brother-in-law informed the old man's son.

223 *hnaA* *aAtsiB* *kanB* *loA* *kanB* *ðaC* *-waC* *jeB*, *ʋɔNA* *khaAtsiB-* ... *ŋteuC*
 day IGN 1SG disappear 1SG die PTCL FLL 2SG PROH remember

szB-ɣɔŋC *-liA*.

PURP-good PTCL

The son said, "Someday, I will die. I hope you remember this."

224 *aiAjaA* *kanB* *ŋteuC* *ɣɔŋC* *-waC* *-ləA* *-mana*.
 INTJ 1SG remember good PTCL PTCL PTCL

"I will remember."

225 *kanB* *jonC* *ðanB* *ɣɔNA* *təBpiC* *təAnaA*.
 1SG COP CLF dragon change human

"I am a dragon, and became a human."

226 *naA* *tsaA-* *χɔC* *kanB* *təBpiC* *ðanB* *ɣɔNA* *ɣɔNA* *χəBtiA* *-nonB*.
 human separately help 1SG change CLF dragon be.at bottom DEM

"Humans helped me become a human and secure this place."

227 *hnaA* *aAtsiB* *təAnaA* *ponA* *ɣlana* *kanB* *-nonB* *jeB*, *jonC* *təAnaA* *ponA* *ɣlana*
 day IGN human fall CLF water DEM FLL COP human fall CLF

kanB *-nonB* *tsɔC-* *muA-* *χwiC* *ðaC* *-jaA*, *aAnaA* *-ləA* *-mana*.
 water DEM CLNK1 NEG can die PTCL PTCL PTCL PTCL

"From now on, even if humans fall into the water here, they won't die."

228 *təBqwenAnonB* *jeB*, *χauB*, *aAɣɔNAntsɔC* *təAmiCsuC* *fænAsuiA-* *təAnaA* *ponA* *ɣlana*
 after.that FLL INTJ PN PN even.if human fall CLF

kanB *tsɔC-* *muA-* *χwiC* *ðaC* *-jaA*.
 water CLNK1 NEG can die PTCL

Actually, when people fell into the water of Yonntso, nobody died.

229 *jeB* *tsɔC-* *naB* *tsɔC-* *jenA* *-ntuA*.
 FLL CLNK1 this.way CLNK1 finish EXPR

This is the end of the story.

230 *tsɔC-* *kuiBjiAlaA*.

CLNK1 perfect

All is well that ends well.

龙头

从前，有两头龙在清水江贵定境内一个叫永左的地方争地盘。争抢中，其中一头输了。那头龙就投胎转生成了谷宾的一位老人的儿子。转生的那个儿子长大到十二岁了。到十二岁的时候，那个儿子就叫村里的一个打铁师傅打了三把刀。打好三把刀，他的父亲要去赶集的时候，他就跟他父亲说：“今天你去赶集的时候，有一个铁匠会抬着三把刀来。大的你不要买，小的你也不要买。你就把那把不大不小的买回来。”等到那一天他的父亲去赶集时，果然有个铁匠抬了三把刀来。父亲就对铁匠说：“大的不要，小的也不要，给我那把不大不小的。”用三两银子买下了它。三两银子就三两银子吧。回到家对孩子说：“孩子啊。”“诶。”“我帮你把刀买回来了。”“真的吗。”“是的。”于是他的儿子就抬了一个磨刀石来。对他父亲说：“接下来你帮我磨这把刀，农活什么的也先放着。”“真的吗。”就这样让他父亲去帮他磨刀了。一磨就磨了三年。父亲对他说：“孩子啊，刀磨好了。”“还没有吧。”“已经很锋利了。”“还没有吧。”“真的很锋利了。”“既然你说很锋利了，那我们就去试一下吧。”他儿子就砍了一棵椴子树把它放在火上炕干。“父亲，你在下面等一下。我这就把它放下去，你拿它来砍试试。”“好的。”他就让他父亲拿着刀在山脚下等着。他把椴子树从山上扔下来，木材就沿着山坡咝溜咝溜地滑了下来。“快砍！快砍！”父亲一刀砍下去，只砍了一半。儿子说道：“磨的还不够，还差点吧。虽然你说已经锋利了。总之，先再磨一磨吧。”他的父亲又接着开始磨，磨了三个月又三个月，总共磨了六个月。他父亲就说，“这回真的磨好了。你看已经锋利了。”“锋利了的话，我们出去一趟。再去试一下。父亲，你在下面等一下。”“好的。”父亲在下面等着，儿子扛着一根椴子树从山上猛的扔了下来。儿子说：“快砍！快砍！”父亲一刀下去把椴子树砍成了两段。“这次成功了，确实是锋利的，锋利的也再磨一磨吧。”父亲又接着不断的磨着，又磨了很长时间就说：“孩子啊，刀子磨好了。”“磨好了，我们俩就走吧。”“那我们走吧。”他们翻过比桂，又跨过很多溪流，向上攀登。走到龙头山那里，儿子说：“这里只有三条路，不合适。接着往上面走吧。”又向上攀爬了一段。走到两岔河的时候，说：“就是这个地方。这里有八座桥，八条路，很好的地方。”儿子说：“父亲，你待在这里。我跟你讲，你好好听。即便水涨到你的脖子这里了，你也别害怕。别害怕。你小心一点，注意不能砍穿着蓝衣服的龙。你要砍穿着灰衣服的龙。”他的儿子穿上一件蓝衣服就变成了青龙。紧接着，他儿子就和一条龙在为抢永左而争斗。两头龙激烈的争斗，斗到了两岔河那里。他父亲站在江边的恋人崖下面，看见两头龙相斗相争。河里的水位不断上涨，随着两条龙相斗，河水也波涛汹涌，波浪四起。水猛的就涨到了他父亲脖子处了。青龙趁着灰龙分神的间隙，用龙角把灰龙顶到了他父亲面前。父亲也抓住机会立马挥刀把灰龙砍成了两段。他儿子把龙头抓起来，水一下子也退了下去。水退了之后，儿子就说：“父亲，现在我要去永左守护那块地盘。你就拿着这个龙头去谋生吧。”“这样啊。可是这怎么谋生呢？”“哪里缺水，你就去哪里，然后说。如果你们愿意照顾我一辈子，我就帮你们挖个水井。如果你们不愿意照顾我的话，我就不给你们挖。”父亲去到顶驮。到了顶驮就对那里的人们说：“你们愿意照顾我嘛？愿意的话，我帮你们挖一口井。”“真的吗？”“当然是真的。”“愿意。”他就摘了两根龙须插在顶驮上面一个山的山脚下。于是，水就源源不断的流了出来，顶驮那里也开始能够种水田了。一开始大家还照顾他，可是等到大家都吃穿不愁的时候，谁都不想管那个老头的事了。谁也不愿意照顾他了。那个老头就去清水河永左那里哭。他儿子过来问：“你怎么了？”“唉，我去帮一个村子弄来了水，一开始都说愿意照顾我，可结果现在谁都不愿意管我了。”“这样啊。那你是怎么弄出水来的？”“我摘了两根龙须插在那里就有水了。”“这样啊，那咱们走。我们去把那个水堵掉。”“那就堵了吧。”父子俩来到顶驮的井水那里。儿子脱下布鞋放在水井的入口处。他就跟他父亲说：“你不能笑啊。笑了就堵不住了。”“好的。”儿子就开始堵水。他脱下鞋，把它放在水井入口处。他开始堵的时候，鞋子就跳来跳去的。水越堵鞋就跳的越高。他要让堵的水流到山对面的马市寨那边去。把水堵回到半山腰的时候，他父亲看到鞋子在跳，就扑哧笑了出来。于是，水就溢出来了。他儿

子说：“哎呀。都说了不要笑。现在你笑了，就堵不上了。”于是就堵不上了。水已经溢出来了。他父亲说：“走吧。算了，已经堵不住了。”他儿子就牵着他父亲的手说：“走吧。去找个能生活的地方吧。我都说了让你别笑。”结果反倒是帮了顶馱。用两根龙须帮顶馱弄来了水。之后，他带着父亲来到了福泉思威地区的德噶村。这个德噶村有非常好的土地，可惜没有水。父亲就问德噶村的人说：“你们愿不愿意？你们愿意的话，我就帮你们挖个水井。但是说好你们要照顾我一辈子的啊。”村里人说：“当然可以。不能骗人哦，必须得有水哦。”“好啊，肯定有水。”他拿着那个龙头放在山脚下。于是，德噶村突然间涌现了很多很多水。水像大河一样滔滔不绝的流着。碾白的水车小屋也修了很多。村里人的生活也变得富裕了起来。富起来之后，他们也就不再愿意照顾那个老人了。他去到永左找他儿子哭诉。他儿子过来问：“怎么了？”“我按你说的去到德噶村给他们挖了口水井。”“你是怎么弄到水的呢？”“我把龙头放在里面了。”“这样啊，那我们俩去把它堵掉吧。”他儿子就去挖*。“你让开。别笑啊，离远一点。”“好的。”他就挖出了*。然后拿到那个水井的地方去。到了水井前面，拿着它做诱饵去逗，突然那个龙头就飞出来了。他儿子一把抓住了那个龙头。“终于出来了。”那之后，德噶村的水逐渐干涸，再也出不了水了。人们说：“你怕蚂蟥就去德噶村，德噶村一滴水都没有，全干了。”他儿子就把那个龙头还给他父亲说：“好了，你拿着它去谋生吧。”“好的。”但是，不管他父亲拿去哪儿，人家都不愿意照顾他，走着走着人也疲累了。他去到江边窑，从那里往上不停的走，去到贵定县那边的山上去了。来到那儿，已经完全累坏了。他非常生气就把龙头扔在了山上。扔在山上后，那里就变成一条河流了。这样就形成了落北河（罗泊河）。他哭着叫他的儿子。儿子来了问：“你哭什么呀？龙头呢？”“我按你说的拿着龙头回来生活，但是太累了。到处都去问了，可是谁都不愿意照顾我。我很生气，就把它扔在山上了。把它扔到上面去之后，河流就从山坳那里出来了。”“是这样啊。好了，你就不要再上去上边了。编个鱼篓放在这儿。每到赶集的日子，你就过来收鱼。里面的鱼应该也够你吃到下一次赶集了，然后你再把鱼篓放好。”“好的。”之后，他父亲就编一个鱼篓。然后放在永左的泉水那里。每到赶集那天他就过来收鱼。然后，他拿着鱼去仙桥卖，也能卖得够吃饭的钱。但是，他赶集也赶累了。当时他有个妹妹嫁到了打朗寨。他就跟他妹妹的丈夫说。“我现在走路也困难，明天你能帮我去仙桥赶集吗。你帮我去把鱼收回来吧。”于是妹妹的丈夫说：“不不，我去了的话，里面出来的*太恐怖了。那东西的叫声很吓人。叫声又响又吓人的。”他说，“你这样说就可以了，妻子的哥哥让我来帮他收鱼才来的。你这么叫的话，我就不收了哦。”“原来如此。”后来，他妹妹的老公就从打朗寨来了。从打朗寨过来，准备捞鱼时，他的儿子就变成龙开始怒吼。非常响的声音，响到把全部水池的水都震动了。水面波涛汹涌，他的妹夫就说。“喂。你这样做的话，大舅是饿是死我都不管了。他让我这么说的。”这样一说，水就平息了。水平息了，他就去收鱼了。拿着鱼去集市上卖。就这样照顾着他生活下去，后来那个老人去世了。老人死了之后，妹夫就跟他儿子说。他儿子说：“将来哪一天我也会死。你好好记啊。”“我好好记着的。”“我是龙，变成了人的模样。是人帮我变回一条龙住在了这里。今后，人即使掉到这里的水里也不会淹死。”后来，在永左那里就算有人掉到水里，也没有淹死。讲完了。可喜可贺。

【日本語大意】

竜がもたらした水源

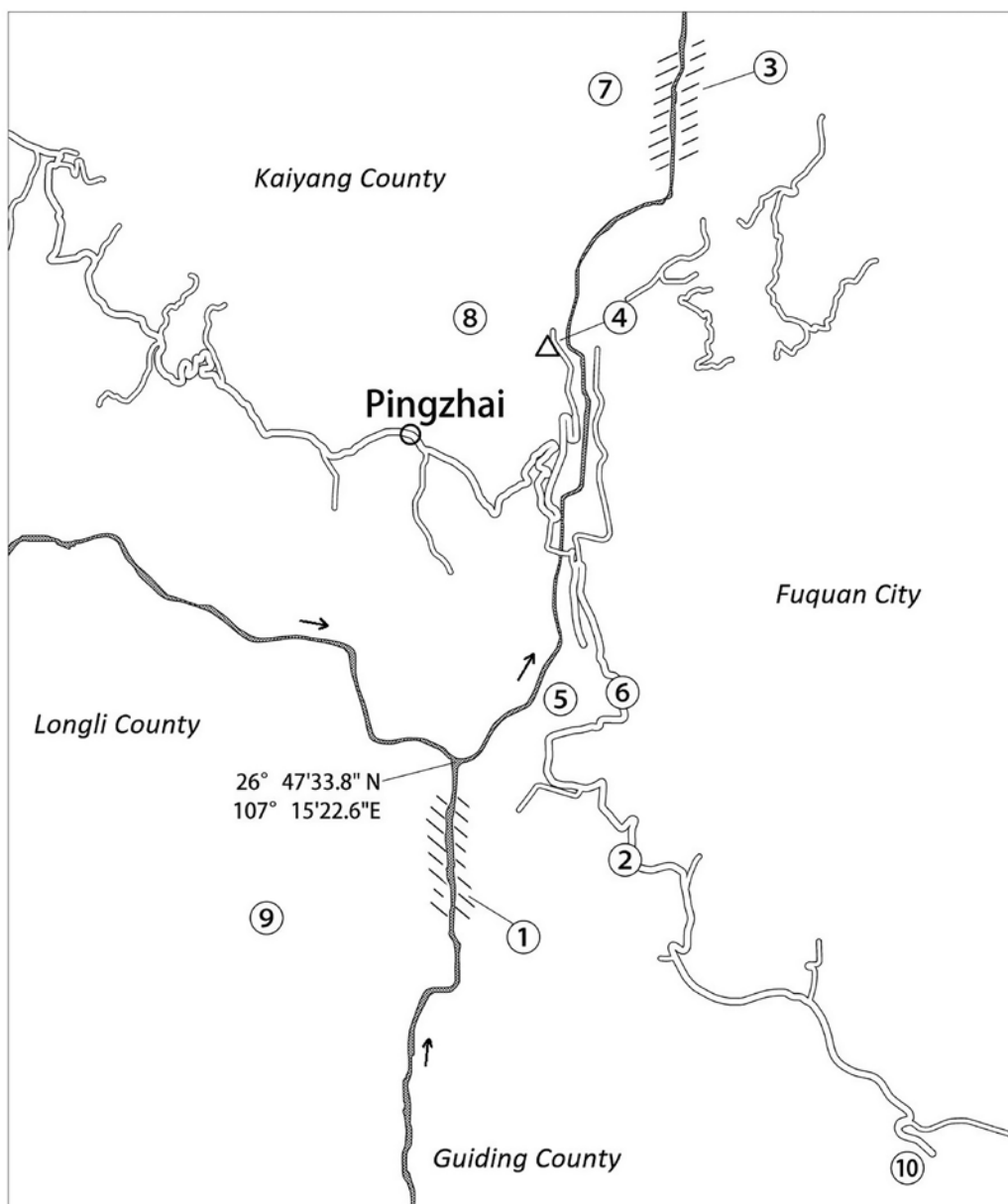
昔、二頭の竜が清水江のヨンツォオというところで領地をめぐって戦った。争っていたが、そのうちの一頭は負けてしまった。その竜は生まれ変わって谷賓のとある老人の息子となった。生まれ変わったその息子は十二歳になった。十二歳になると、その息子は村の鍛冶屋に三本の刀を作らせた。三本の刀ができると、彼の父親が市に出かけるときに彼は

言った。「今日市に行ったら、とある鍛冶屋が三本の刀をもって来ます。大きいのは要らない、小さいのも要らない。大きくもなく小さくもないのを買って来てください。」その日になって、彼の父親が市に出かけると、果たしてとある鍛冶屋が三本の刀を持ってやってきた。父親は鍛冶屋に言った。「大きなのは要らない、小さいのも要らない。大きくも小さくもないのをくれ。」それを三両の銀で購入した。三両の銀なら三両の銀ということで購入した。家に帰ると息子に言った。「息子や。」「はいな。」「刀を買ってやったぞ。」「そうですか。」「ああ。」すると息子は砥石を担いできた。そこで父親に言った。「これからこの刀を研いでほしいんです、野良仕事はしなくていいですから。」「そうかい。」ということで父親にその刀を研がせた。ひっきりなしに研ぐこと三年が経った。父親は息子に言った。「息子や、刀は研げたよ。」「いやまだでしょう。」「いや、研げたよ。」「いやまだでしょう。」「本当に研げたよ。」「研げたというのなら、試してみましよう。」息子は、クスドイゲを一本切り倒してくると、それを火であぶってカラカラに乾かした。「父さん、下で待っていてください。これを上から落とすから下で切ってみてください。」「分かった。」彼は父に刀を持たせて山のふもとで待たせた。息子はクスドイゲを上から投げ落とすとクスドイゲはスルスルと滑って行った。「さあ、切って、切って。」父は刀で切りつけたが、半分切れただけだった。息子は言った。「まだ研げていない。まだですね。もう研げたって言ったけど。とにかく、まず研ぎましょう。」父は再び研ぎはじめ、ひっきりなしに研ぎ続け、三カ月また三カ月、ついに六カ月研いだ。父は言った。「今度は研げたぞ。ほら、研げた。」「研げたのなら、出かけましょう。行って試しましょう。父さん、下で待っていて。」「分かった。」父は下で待っていると、息子はクスドイゲを担いできて山の上から一気に投げおろした。息子は言った。「さあ、切って、切って。」父はクスドイゲを一刀のもとに二つに切った。「今度は大丈夫だ、研げた、研げた。」「じゃさらに研ぎましょう。」父はさらに延々と研いだ。「息子や、刀は研げたよ。」「研げたのなら、出かけましょう。さあ出かけましょう。」彼らはピークを越えて、多くの溪流を越えて登って行った。竜頭山につくと息子は言った。「ここには道が三本あるだけで、いいところじゃない。もっと上流へ行こう。」そしてどんどん登って行った。そして川の分岐点まで来ると言った。「ああ、まさにここだ。ここには八本の橋、八本の道があって、栄えるところだ。」息子は言った。「父さん、ここにいてください。いいですか、よく聞いてください。水が首まで上がってきても怖がらないで。怖がらないでください。いいですか、青い服を着た竜は切りつけてはダメですよ。切りつけるのは灰色の服を着た竜です。」息子は青い服を着ると、青い竜に変身した。すると彼の息子は、一匹の竜とヨソツオオをめぐって戦い始めた。二頭の竜は激しく戦いながら川の分岐点まで来た。父親は江辺の恋人崖の下に立っていると、二頭の竜が戦っているのが見えた。川の水はどんどん膨れ上がり、二頭の竜が戦うにつれてぎぶんぎぶんと波立った。水は膨れ上がって父親の首のところまで来た。青い竜は、灰色の竜が隙を見せたのを見て、角で灰色の竜を彼の父親の目の前に突き出した。父親はすかさず刀を振って灰色の竜を一刀両断にした。

息子が竜の頭をぱっとつかむと水はさっと引いて行った。水が引くと息子は言った。「父さん、私はヨンツォオに行ってそこを守ります。父さんはこの竜頭を持って行って生活してください。」「そうか。それでどうやって生活すると言うんだ。」「どこでも水がない所へ行って言うんです。井戸を掘ってあげましょう。私を一生涯面倒を見てくれるというなら、井戸を掘ってあげましょう。でも、面倒を見てくれないなら掘ってあげませんと。」父親は頂臥村へ行った。頂臥村へ行くとその人に言った。「私の面倒を見てくれる気はあるかね。面倒を見てくれるなら、一つ井戸を掘ってやろう。」「本当かね。」「ああ、もちろん本当だ。」「いいだろう。」彼は竜のひげを二本抜いて頂臥村の上にある山のふもとに挿した。するとどうだろう、水が止めどもなく流れ出して、頂臥村ではみんなが田んぼを作ようになった。最初は面倒を見ていたが、みんなが食べるのにも着るのにも困らなくなると、誰も面倒を見なくなった。老人は清水江のヨンツォオへ行って泣いた。息子がやってきて言った。「どうしたんですか。」「ああ、村のために水を出してやったのだが、最初は私の面倒を見ると言っていたのに、今や面倒を見てはくれなくなったんだ。」「そうでしたか。どうやって水を出したのですか。」「竜の髭を二本抜いてあそこに挿したんだ。」「そうですか。じゃ、行きましょう。行って水を止めましょう。」「そうか、じゃあ止めよう。」父と子は頂臥村の井戸のところに着いた。息子は靴を脱いで井戸の入り口に置いた。彼は父に言った。「笑ったらだめですよ。笑ったら止められないですから。」「わかった。」息子は水を止め始めた。彼は靴を脱いで井戸の入り口に置いた。彼が水を止め始めると靴が飛び跳ねた。水を止めれば止めるほど靴は高く飛び上がった。彼は頂臥村に出ている水を止めて反対側の馬市村の方へ水を出そうとした。水を山の中腹の高さまで押し返したとき、父は靴が飛び跳ねているのを見てぷっと吹き出してしまった。おやまあ、すると水がどっと溢れ出してきてしまった。息子は言った。「ああっ。笑わないでって言ったでしょ。笑ったから止められなくなったじゃないですか。」それで止められなくなってしまった。水がまたあふれだした。父は言った。「もう行こう。もういい、止められなくなったんだから。」息子は父の手を取って言った。「行きましょう。どこか生計を立てるところを探しに行きましょう。笑うなって言ったのに。」それで結果として頂臥村を助けることになったのだ。二本の竜の髭で頂臥村に水をもたらしただった。それから息子は父を連れて福泉のスイーヴィー地区のデーガー村にやって来た。デーガー村はよい田畑を持っていたが、水がなかった。父はデーガー村の人に言った。「みなさん、どうだね。話があるんだが、ご賛同くだされば、井戸を掘って差し上げよう。死ぬまで私の面倒を見ていただくということなんだが。」村人は言った。「もちろん、いいよ。嘘じゃないんだろうね。必ず井戸を掘ってもらおうよ。」「いいとも。必ずやるよ。」彼は竜頭をつかむと山のふもとに据えた。おお、するとデーガー村に突然水が大量に湧き出た。おお、水は大河のように滔々と流れだした。碾き白の水車小屋もたくさんできた。村人は非常に豊かになった。豊かになると彼らはかの老人の面倒を見なくなった。老人は言った。彼はヨンツォオに行って息子に泣

いて訴えた。息子が来て言った。「どうしたんですか。」「言われたとおりにデーガー村に行って井戸を掘ってやったんだ。」「どうやって掘ったんですか。」「龍頭を中に放り込んだんだ。」「やれやれ、じゃあ行って水を止めよう。」「息子は*を掘りに行った。「ちょっとどいて。笑わないで、ちょっと離れていて。」「わかった。」「彼は*を掘り出した。それからその井戸のところへ行った。井戸の前に行くと、それをもって誘いをかけると龍頭がぴよんと飛び出してきた。息子は龍頭をパツとつかんだ。「やっとなってきた。」「その後、デーガー村では水がすっかり枯れてしまい、水が出なくなってしまう。人は言った。「蛭が怖かったらデーガー村に行きな。デーガー村には水は一滴もなく干上がっているから。」「息子は龍頭を父親に返して言った。「じゃ、これを担いでいって生活なさい。」「わかった。」ところが、父親は行く先々で面倒を見てもらえず、そのうちすっかりくたびれてしまった。父親は江辺窯へ行き、そこからどんどん登って行って貴定県の山の方にまで行った。そこまで来てすっかりくたびれてしまった。彼は腹立ちまぎれに龍頭を山の上に放り投げた。山の上に投げるとそこは川となって水が流れ出した。こうして落北河（羅泊河）は生まれたのだ。彼は泣いて息子に訴えた。息子が来て言った。「なにを泣いているのですか。龍頭はどうしたんですか。」「言われたように龍頭を担いで回ったが、疲れ果ててしまったよ。あらゆるところを訪ね回ったが、誰も私の面倒を見てくれない。頭にきて山の上に龍頭を投げ捨ててしまったよ。上の谷に投げたら、川が下の谷まで流れてきたんだ。」「そうでしたか。わかりました。もう上の方にはいなくていいです。魚籠を編んでここに置いてください。市の立つ日が来たらこの魚籠をあげてください。そうしたら次の市の日まで食べられるのに十分でしょう。そしたらまた魚籠をここに仕掛けて下さい。」「おお、そうか。」それでその後父親は魚籠を編んだ。そしてヨンツォオの泉のところに仕掛けておいた。市の日が来るたびに魚を手に入れた。そして魚を仙橋の市へ持っていきご飯を食べられるだけのお金を手に入れることができた。しかし、毎週市へ行くのもしんどかった。当時彼の姉妹の一人が打朗村へ嫁に行っていた。彼は妹の夫に言った。「わしはそこへ行くのも大変でね、明日君が仙橋へ行ってくれないか。替わりに魚を取ってきてくれ。」すると妹の夫は言った。「いや、そこへ行ったら、中から出てきて恐ろしいから。すごい吠え声がするんだ。それは吠えるわ鳴くわで。」彼は言った。「こう言えばいいんだ、妻の兄が魚を取ってくれと言うから来たんだ。そんなに吠えるなら、魚をもって行かないぞ。」「なるほど。」その後、彼の妹の夫は打朗村からやってきた。打朗村からやってきて魚をあげていると、彼の息子が竜に姿を変えて吠えた。凄まじい音量で、すべての水たまりの水が波だった。水はあふれんばかりに波打った。彼の妹の夫は言った。「おい。そんなことをするんなら、おじさんが飢えようが死のうが知らないぞ。こう言えって言われたんだ。」言い終わると、水は収まった。水が収まると魚を取って行った。市場に魚を持って行って売った。こうしてかの老人を養っていったのだが、その後、その老人は亡くなった。老人が亡くなると、妹の夫は彼の息子に伝えた。息子は言った。「いつの日か私も死んでしまうだろうが、よく覚えておいてくれ。」

「よく覚えておこう。」「私は竜で人間に姿を変えた。人間は私が竜となってここに住むのを助けてくれた。今後人間がこの水に落ちても死ぬことはない。」その後、ヨンツォオで人が水に落ちても死ぬことはなかった。というわけでこの話はおしまい。めでたしめでたし。



Map 3

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------|
| ①Yonntso 永左 | ⑥Jiangbian 江边 |
| ②Gubin 谷宾 | ⑦Dingpa 顶驮 |
| ③Piqwe 比桂 | ⑧Mashi 马市 |
| ④Longtoushan 龙头山 | ⑨Dalang 打朗 |
| ⑤the Lover's cliff 恋人崖 | ⑩Xianqiao 仙桥 |

32. War of Guizhou [133]

- 1 *εeA -eB nenAðəA ngwANA ηdzεC muA- maA ηaC -jaA.*
 time DEM those.days sky dry NEG exist rice PTCL
 Once upon a time, there was a period of long drought when people could not find food.
- 2 *təAnaA tʃheB ηaC -tsaB.*
 human starve rice PTCL
 People were starving.
- 3 *ηanBphaiA muA- tsouB'tauC' -jaA.*
 arrangement NEG well-managed PTCL
 The policies of the government had no effect.
- 4 *χoAərcwANA tsoC- χanC təAnaA laAχaB lauC'szC', jiC- lauC'szC' təAnaA*
 PN CLNK1 call human FLL cause.a.stir CLNK1 cause.a.stir human
qloB niB.
 follow 3
 A person named King He-er, then, planned to rise in a riot. People followed him in it. [134]
- 5 *jeB niB tsoC- ʔηonB.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 use
 If people followed him in rioting, he let them work for him.
- 6 *təAnaA muA- qloB niB -jaA, niB tsoC- hleA.*
 human NEG follow 3 PTCL 3 CLNK1 kill
 If people rejected to work for him, he would kill them.
- 7 *oA, χoAχoA, muA- qloB niB tsoC- hleA -liA, χaA.*
 INTJ INTJ NEG follow 3 NEG kill PTCL INTJ
 Yes, if you reject working for him, he would kill you!
- 8 *təAnaA qloB niB, niB tsoC- ηanC szAszA niB tsoC- tanC niB -moA*
 human follow 3 3 CLNK1 according.to reality 3 CLNK1 treat 3 MOD
tiC'εonB' jeB niB tsoC- ʔηonB.
 brother FLL 3 CLNK1 use
 If people worked for him, he treated them as a member of his society.
- 9 *toC niB tʃhenAniA jeB ... toC senBfuB luB szA-qeC szA-ηtuA aA.*
 BNF 3 establish FLL BNF government come RCP-quarrel RCP-strike INTJ
 He opposed the government.

133 Presumably, this story is related to a historical incident, the revolt of the Miao People that occurred in 1856, called Qian Rebellion.

134 *χoAərcwANA* is a proper noun, which can be analyzed as *χoA* ‘Chinese surname 何 Hé’, *ərc* ‘two/second’ and *wANA* ‘king’. In English, we translate this name as ‘King He-er’. In Chinese, we transcribe this word as ‘何二王’.

10 *szA- ηtuA jeB niB χONAtoC- aC -niB, niB tsoC- aC ngaB luB -liA.*
 RCP- strike FLL 3 just make PTCL 3 CLNK1 make descend come PTCL
 In order to make war against the government, he began to prepare for action.

11 *tsoC- luB tshenAniA jenAtsaiC, ?ηONA χəBnaB zONCηtonA -moA sanCtaCphiNA.*
 CLNK1 come establish camp be.at there PN MOD PN
 He built a camp at Shangdaping of Wangka. [135]

12 *χauB, tsaB piB -niB, tsoC- phaiC tsauCsanB'taCzenA jeB tsoC- luB*
 FLL official house PTCL CLNK1 dispatch PN FLL CLNK1 come

taA niB szA-ηtuA, χaA.

COM 3 RCP-fight INTJ

The government dispatched General Zhao-san to quell the riot. [136]

13 *tsauCsanB'taCzenA -niB, niB tsaA pluA-joA-jaA ?lanA -moA jena tsunBpiA -niB*
 PN PTCL 3 make four-ten-eight CLF MOD camp prepare FLL

niB- ngwiB niB.

IRR capture 3

General Zhao-san formed forty eight camps to capture King He-er.

14 *niB- ngwiB niB jeB, aA, χoAərcwana jiC- lanC -niB, tsauCsanB'taCzenA*
 IRR capture 3 FLL FLL PN CLNK1 look FLL PN

tsaA tuC pluA-joA-jaA ?lanA -moA jena -waC.

make acquire four-ten-eight CLF MOD camp PTCL

King He-er saw that General Zhao-san formed forty eight camps.

15 *χauB, niB tsoC- zoA, niB tsoC- ntsheC, niB tsoC- muB niB-piB əBhməA-*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 scared 3 CLNK1 afraid 3 CLNK1 go 3-house PN-

qlana.

black

He was so afraid that he went down to his home base where the Black Miao people lived. [137]

135 *zONCηtonA* is a place name called 王卡 Wángkǎ in Chinese. This place name comprises several villages under it, including *sanCtaCphiNA* (上大坪 Shàngdàping), and *aχuAjaA* (花牙 Huāyá). See Map 4 at the end of this chapter for the geographical locations of the place names appearing in this story.

136 *tsauCsanB'taCzenA* is a proper noun, which can be analysed as *tsauC* 'Chinese surname Zhao', *sanB* 'three/third', and *taCzenA* 'master, man of virtue'. In this text, we translate this word as 'General Zhao-san' in English, and 赵三大人 in Chinese.

137 *əBhməA-qlana* (◇◇Hmyo-◇black) denotes a subgroup of ethnic Miao people living in the Eastern part of Guizhou Province. This group is called 黑苗 (Black Miao) in Chinese, and speaks lects belonging to East Hmongic (aka, Qiandong dialect of Miao).

16 *tsɔC- muB pæB niB-piB -moA təA-ŋaC tiC'ɛɔNB' jeB ɔaA jeB ɔaA*
 CLNK1 go collect 3-house MOD NMLZ-strong brother FLL come FLL come

taA tsəBtsiBliA ... tsauCsanB'taCzenA szA-ŋtuA.
 COM FLL PN RCP-fight

He went there to collect some strong soldiers to fight against General Zhao-san.

17 *χauB, niB jiC- muB niB-piB hməA-qlanA muB pæB pinB -loA -niB,*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 go 3-house PN-black go collect soldier PTCL PTCL

zonCŋtonA aAχuAjaA -moA aAqoAloApoB tsɔC- muB nthonA tsauCsanB'taCzenA
 PN PN MOD PN CLNK1 go inform PN

zɔCseA.

say

After King He-er went to his home base to collect soldiers, a person named Qolopo from Huaya of Wangka went to inform General Zhao-san of King He-er's move.

18 *oA, χoAərCwanA muB niB-piB -moA həAðuC χanC təAnaA -loA.*
 INTJ PN go 3-house MOD lower.place call human PTCL

He said, "King He-er went to his home base to collect soldiers."

19 *jeB tsɔC- χanC tsauCsanB'taCzenA ... suC -mana suC -ntsua suC -ntsua*
 FLL CLNK1 call PN rest PTCL rest EXPR rest EXPR

-mana ... χanC tsauCsanB'taCzenA tsɔC- taiC' pinB' tsɔC- muB sanCtaCphiNA.
 PTCL call PN CLNK1 lead soldier CLNK1 go PN

He made General Zhao-san take troops to Shangdaping. [138]

20 *aiAjaA, tsɔC- muB taA χoAərCwanA -moA phoB zuC szA-ŋtuA.*
 INTJ CLNK1 go COM PN MOD CLF soldier RCP-fight
 General Zhao-san went there and fought a battle with King He-er's soldiers.

21 *jeB χoAərCwanA jeB niB jonC təA-ŋaC, niB tsɔC- qoC həAðuC*
 FLL PN FLL 3 COP NMLZ-strong 3 CLNK1 move lower.place

-loA.

PTCL

King He-er, who was very strong, had gone to his home base and was not there.

22 *sonA niB -moA miB təA-tanA ʔŋonA piB -siA jeB.*
 leave 3 MOD CLF NMLZ-child be.at house PTCL FLL
 Only some of his men held the fort for him.

138 The phrase *suC -mana suC -ntsua suC -ntsua -mana* (◇take.rest◇PTCL◇take.rest◇EXPR◇take.rest◇EXPR◇PTCL, 'Take a seat and rest.') in this sentence is an inserted utterance directed to some people entering the room when the story-teller was telling this story.

- 23 *sonA δanB jenAsaiC təA-ɣɿyB aAzɔnA.*
 leave CLF gatekeeper NMLZ-watch gate
 There was a soldier guarding the gate.
- 24 *aiAjaA, tsauCsanB'taCzenA χanC naA muB jeB χauB tsɔC- phaiC kanBnaB*
 INTJ PN call human go FLL INTJ CLNK1 dispatch 1PL
-moA aAqhaCpiB aAtshuCpiB -moA laAχaB aAtiAtiCjanA.
 MOD PN PN MOD FLL PN
 General Zhao-san sent a person named Titijan of the Chen Family from Houzhai to attack the gate.
- 25 *tsɔC- muB taA tsauCsanB'taCzenA -moA δanB təA-ɣɿɔnA aAzɔnA-jenA -eB*
 CLNK1 go COM PN MOD CLF NMLZ-be.at gate-camp DEM
tsɔC- tiB aAntenB tsɔC- szA-ɣlenB.
 CLNK1 take sword CLNK1 RCP-fight
 Titijan fought the gatekeeper with a sword. [139]
- 26 *ɣlenB -loA tsɔC- aAntenB ɣluB -loA jeB, tsauCsanB'taCzenA tsɔC- χanC*
 fight PTCL CLNK1 sword break PTCL FLL PN CLNK1 call
niB -moA δanB szC'pinB' -moA.
 3 MOD CLF soldier MOD
 After a while, the sword of Titijan broke. General Zhao-san saw this and said to his soldiers.
- 27 *χɔC niB -liA.*
 help 3 PTCL
 “Back him up!”
- 28 *tsɔC- hleA niB taA-mbiA.*
 CLNK1 chop 3 NMLZ-ear
 Then, the soldiers chopped down the gatekeeper’s ear.
- 29 *χɔAərCwɔnA -moA δanB jenA ... laAχaB ...jenAsaiC təA-ɣɿyB aAzɔnA tsɔC-*
 PN MOD CLF FLL gatekeeper NMLZ-guard gate CLNK1
δaC jeB.
 die FLL
 King He-er’s gatekeeper was killed.
- 30 *tsɔC- aiAjaA tsɔC- hleA δaC tɛiBtoB -moA naA uA, tsɔC- tsɔnC δoB kanA*
 CLNK1 INTJ CLNK1 kill die so.many MOD human FLL CLNK1 deliver fire burn
niB -moA əBjenA.
 3 MOD camp
 They killed a lot of King He-er’s soldiers and set fire to the camp.

139 This sentence states that Titijan fought General Zhao-san’s gatekeeper, but it is clear from the context that it was King He-er’s gatekeeper that he fought.

31 *ðanB ɲiA taA ðanB əBtɛnA -eB joB leA tɕiA-ðanB təApaBɲiA.*
 CLF silver COM CLF gold DEM melt resemble three-CLF ox
 The gold and silver in the camp melted and became three lumps that looked like three bulls.

32 *aiAjaA, təBqwenAnonB kuB muA- ɲaC tɕoC- tɔNB muB -loA.*
 INTJ after.that carry NEG strong CLNK1 return go PTCL
 They could not carry the lumps of gold and silver so just left it when they went back.

33 *tɔNB muB -loA jeB ɲoAərCwanA tɕoC- tɔNB luB, tɔNB luB zoCseA.*
 return go PTCL FLL PN CLNK1 return come return come say
 After General Zhao-san's troops left, King He-er came back and said.

34 *ðanB aAɕiB ɲanC təAnaA ðaA aCnonB aA.*
 CLF IGN call human come this.way INTJ
 "Who let them in here?"

35 *qliBɕonA, mA, qliBɕonA.*
 INTJ FLL INTJ
 "Son of a bitch!"

36 *khenB'tinC' kanBnaB -moA taA-zəBɲɪtɔNB -nonB -niB, maA təA-təB naA.*
 definitely 1PL MOD NMLZ-inside DEM PTCL exist NMLZ-bad human
 "We definitely have a traitor inside."

37 *kanB loA -sanC muB ɲanC naA.*
 1SG disappear CLNK2 go call human
 "After I left here, he brought them in."

38 *ɲonA- luB zoC ɲonA- luB tɕhiA, tɕhiA, tɕhiA, tɕoC- *** oA jonC*
 CLNK1 come say CLNK1 come speak speak speak CLNK1 INTJ COP

aAɲuAjaA qoAloApoB.
 PN PN

Through investigation, he found that it was Qolopo from Huaya that was responsible for this.

39 *aiAjaA, təBqwenAnonB tɕoC- paB aAɲuAjaA qoAloApoB tɕoC- nɲwiB luB.*
 INTJ after.that CLNK1 DISP2 PN PN CLNK1 capture come
 Qolopo was captured and brought to King He-er.

40 *aA, muB nɲwiB luB ɲonA- naC qoAloApoB.*
 INTJ go capture come CLNK1 ask PN
 Then Qolopo was interrogated.

41 *qoAloApoB tɕhenAzɛnC -sanC, aCnaB təBqwenAnonB jeB, aA, ɲonA- paB*
 PN admit CLNK2 this.way after.that FLL INTJ CLNK1 DISP2

qoAloApoB saBthiA ðaC -loA jeB.
 PN slay die PTCL FLL

Qolopo confessed to being involved, so King He-er executed him.

- 42 *χauB, niB χoNA- tsA- luB taA sanB'taCzeNA szA-ηtuA.*
 FLL 3 CLNK1 separately come COM PN RCP-fight
 Then, King He-er once again fought a battle with General Zhao-san.
- 43 *taA sanB'taCzeNA ?ηoNA χəBnaB taCmaAwoB tsauCteAByeNA χəBnaB szA-ηtuA.*
 COM PN be.at there PN PN there RCP-fight
 The battle took place in Damawo and Zhaojiayuan.
- 44 *szA-ηtuA -lanAlanBleAleC jeB.*
 RCP-fight EXPR FLL
 The battle was so furious.
- 45 *χauB, sanB'taCzeNA zoCseA, aCδaCaC hnaA -nonB -moA δanB zoNC -nonB*
 FLL PN say IGN day DEM MOD CLF battle DEM
muA- ?yøNC ηtuA -jaA.
 NEG good strike PTCL
 General Zhao-san said, “How come today’s battle is so hard to win?”
- 46 *χoNA- zoC, χəBnaB aAliCjaA δanB ... maA loAtəaB piB aC niB -moA δanB*
 CLNK1 say there PN CLF exist PN house do 3 MOD CLF
teanBteynB thouAtsANC' muB kuanB'tsANC', niB muB hnaA -nonB muB ηtuA
 general first.battle go scout 3 go day DEM go strike
aCnonB.
 this.way
 Under the command of General Zhao, there was a general from the Luo family of Liya. On that day, he went to scout. [140]
- 47 *jiC- muB jeB χoAərcwəNA maA δanB təA-ηtuA ?hona -moA tsOC-*
 CLNK1 go FLL PN exist CLF NMLZ-strike gun MOD CLNK1
?ηoNA təAtəiB tsOC- maiAfuA, ?hona tsOC- ηtuA δaC -loA.
 be.at road CLNK1 ambush CLF CLNK1 strike die PTCL
 One of King He-er’s snipers was hiding in ambush. When the general came up, the sniper shot the general in a single shot.
- 48 *zoCseA, uA, δanB -nonB ηtuA δaC -loA -liA,*
 say INTJ CLF DEM strike die PTCL PTCL
 The gunner said, “I got him.” [141]
- 49 *aAnaB.*
 INTJ
 “Oh, really.”

140 This sentence is difficult to interpret, and thus, the translation is only a tentative one. Liya is the name of a village in Fuquan.

141 This sentence can also be interpreted as ‘The person was killed by someone’.

- 50 *jeB taA-χuB -niB, χoAərCwənA niB tsoC- hleA -loA.*
 FLL NMLZ-head PTCL PN 3 CLNK1 cut PTCL
 King He-er chopped off the general's head.
- 51 *taA-mbuAsenA niB tsoC- phaC -loA.*
 NMLZ-liver 3 CLNK1 cut.open PTCL
 He took out the general's liver.
- 52 *zəCseA sanB'taCzenA tsoC- uA δanB hleA δaC -loA, sanB'taCzenA tiB-hηaC*
 say PN CLNK1 INTJ CLF kill die PTCL PN AUG-sad
-tsaB tsoC- muB lanC.
 PTCL CLNK1 go look
 General Zhao-san mourned the general's death and went to observe the site.
- 53 *jeB muB lanC jeB, təBqwenAnonB juCtsaA- tsauA χoAərCwənA tsA-*
 FLL go look FLL after.that again encounter PN separately
tsənC niB -moA szCpinB tsoC- ηtuA tsauCsanB'taCzenA δaC -loA jeB.
 deliver 3 MOD soldier CLNK1 strike PN die PTCL FLL
 When he went there, King He-er sent a troop and took down General Zhao-san.
- 54 *taA-χuB niB tsoC- kuB, taA-mbuAsenA niB tsoC- phaC -loA jeB.*
 NMLZ-head 3 CLNK1 carry NMLZ-liver 3 CLNK1 cut.open PTCL FLL
 He chopped off the general's head, and took out his liver.
- 55 *χauB, təBqwenAnonB jeB, oA, juCtsaA- luB peAtəBjenA ηtuA jeB.*
 FLL after.that FLL INTJ again come PN strike FLL
 After that, King He-er came to Baijiaying and fought with the government's troops. [142]
- 56 *aiAjoA taA peAtaCzenA szA-ηtuA jeB.*
 INTJ COM PN RCP-strike FLL
 This time, he fought a battle with General Bai.
- 57 *aiAjaA, peAtaCzenA taA, laAχaB, χoAərCwənA szA-ηtuA, szA-ηtuA*
 INTJ PN COM FLL PN RCP-strike RCP-strike
-lanAlanBleAleC.
 EXPR
 The battle between General Bai and King He-er was also very furious.
- 58 *δanB ... δanB loB- muA- ntsheC δanB.*
 CLF CLF also NEG afraid CLF
 The battle was a dead heat.

142 *peAtəBjenA* is the name of a place, that is not far from Mount Longtoushan. As this place name seems to be a Chinese name, we tentatively translate it as 白家营 in Chinese, and Baijiaying in English.

59 *aCnonB jeB, təBqwenA xoAərCwanA tsoC- seA ʔlanA lonAmənAtsenC.*
 this.way FLL after.that PN CLNK1 set.up CLF plan
 Then, King He-er thought out a plan.

60 *tsoC- tiB kanA-juB muB ʔŋona aAxuB aAndzanC jiC- phæA, xauB*
 CLNK1 take horn-cow go be.at head PN CLNK1 blow FLL

peAtaCzenA zoCseA.
 PN say

He took up a horn and went up to Andzan and blew the horn. General Bai heard this and said.
 [143]

61 *aiAjoA, qliBtonA, xoAərCwanA -moA zuC zuC saA -eB -waC.*
 INTJ INTJ PN MOD soldier arrive top DEM PTCL
 “Son of a bitch, King He-er’s troops have arrived at the hilltop”.

62 *aCnaB jeB, peAtaCzenA tsoC- nthaC, nthaC jeB tsoC- zanC aAkauB’tsaiC’.*
 this.way FLL PN CLNK1 run run FLL CLNK1 ascend PN
 General Bai ran and escaped up to Gaozhai.

63 *təA-ŋaC jeB tsoC- zanC, taA-muA- ŋaC ... oA phoB taA-muA- ŋaC*
 NMLZ-strong FLL CLNK1 ascend NMLZ-NEG strong INTJ CLF NMLZ-NEG strong

tsoC- venC aApiCyuC tsoC- daC -teA ŋenC’szC’ wuAfaA- teeBteyeA -jaA.
 CLNK1 cross PN CLNK1 die DGR badly NEG solve PTCL

Strong soldiers went up with him, but many of the weaker soldiers drowned when they crossed the Shunyanhe passing.

64 *təAnaA tsoC- ŋdʒeA təA-dəC naA tsoC- qwaC suC.*
 human CLNK1 stamp NMLZ-die human CLNK1 pass river
 Soldiers crossed the river by stepping on the dead.

65 *xauB, təBqwenAnonB, peAtaCzenA xoNA- muB ʔŋona, laAxaB aAvuBeanAvuBtuB*
 FLL after.that PN CLNK1 go be.at FLL PN

tsonC poC-hloC.
 release cannon-iron

After General Bai went to Zhuyangping, he fired a cannon.

66 *tsonC poC-hloC jeB, xoAərCwanA zoCseA.*
 deliver cannon-iron FLL PN say
 Hearing the cannon, King He-er said.

67 *aiAjoA, qliBtonA, peAtaCzenA zuC xəBsaA -eB -waC.*
 INTJ INTJ PN arrive top DEM PTCL
 “Son of a bitch, General Bai has arrived at the hilltop too.”

143 *aAndzanC* is the name of a division of Qingshuijiang valley. As this place does not have a Chinese name, we tentatively create a Chinese word 安暂 Ānzǎn to denote this place. We name this place Andzan in English.

- 68 *aAnonB jeB, təBqwenAnonB jeB, tsoC- tɔnB -mblonC əByæNA jeB.*
 this.way FLL after.that FLL CLNK1 return EXPR PN FLL
 Then, King He-er suddenly went down to Yuan. [144]
- 69 *oA, szAtaCzeNA zoCseA, xoAərCwANa ηtəaC xəBviB aClonAnaB -waC.*
 INTJ PN say PN reach hilltop this.way PTCL
 General Bai said, “King He-er has already arrived at the hilltop.” [145]
- 70 *peAtaCzeNA tsoC- tiB muA- ηaC tsoC- nthaC tsoC- venC məCntonC.*
 PN CLNK1 resist NEG strong CLNK1 run CLNK1 cross PN
 General Bai thought that he could not defeat King He-er, so he ran to Pingshan.
- 71 *venC məCnthonC nthaC -loA jeB.*
 cross PN run PTCL FLL
 He crossed the river and ran to Pingshan.
- 72 *χauB, təBqwenAnonB juCtsaA- muB tshuC luB jeB, təBqwenAnonB jeB,*
 INTJ after.that again go PN come FLL after.that FLL
- xoAərCwANa tsəA- juCtsaA- luB paB peAtaCzeNA luB ... paB*
 PN separately again come DISP2 PN come DISP2
- məAnaBtəAχwanApiA szAtaCzeNA ηtuA məAnaBtəAχwanApiA jəNA -ntuA,*
 FLL PN strike FLL finish EXPR
- təNB'koC' kanBnaB -moA kuiC'tsouB', aiAjoA phoB ɛienC' təhyenApuC aC*
 all 1PL MOD PN INTJ CLF county all make
- vzonA jəNA -ntuA -waC jeB.*
 level finish EXPR PTCL FLL
 After that, King He-er went to Fuquan, then he defeated General Bai and conquered all the counties of Guizhou.
- 73 *tsoC- tshaB məAnaB aAyeNAntsuB tshaB aAyeNAntsuB jeB, təBqwenAnonB*
 CLNK1 leave 2PL PN leave PN FLL after.that
- jeB, χauB.*
 FLL FLL
 Guiyang was left unconquered. [146]

144 *əByæNA* is the name of a place in the vicinity of Guangzhong. As this place does not have a Chinese name, we tentatively create a Chinese word 垣 Yuán to denote the place. We name this place Yuan in English.

145 In this sentence, a new proper noun *szAtaCzeNA* suddenly appears. We interpret this as a slip of the tongue, and translate it as ‘General Bai’.

146 *aAyeNAntsuB* is the Lan Hmyo name of Guiyang, the capital city of Guizhou Province.

74 *aiAjoA, təBqwenAnonB ʔŋona hmonC, aiA, ɣoAərCwəNA tsoC- ɣənC niB*
 INTJ after.that be.at evening INTJ PN CLNK1 call 3

-moA zuC.

MOD soldier

At night, King He-er called his soldiers.

75 *tʂhaB ɣenAntsuB jeB, kanBnaB muB paB ɣenAntsuB ŋtuA szB-vzona.*
 leave PN FLL 1PL go DISP2 PN strike PURP-level
 “Only Guiyang is left, let’s go and take it down.”

76 *zɔC phanBsanBwəNA zɔCseA.*
 tell PN say
 He said to King Pang-san. [147]

77 *piAnaB ŋtuA ɣenAntsuB szB-vzona, jeB kanB ʔŋona ɣenAntsuB, jeB piAnaB*
 1PL strike PN PURP-level FLL 1SG be.at PN FLL 1PL

təhəAmaC- muB ɣenAnəNA ŋtuA.
 next go PN strike

“When we take down Guiyang, we will stay at Guiyang for a while, then we go and conquer Yunnan.”

78 *jeB kanB muB ʔŋona ɣenAnəNA muB jeB ʂona phanBsanBwəNA ʔŋona*
 FLL 1SG go be.at PN go FLL 2SG PN be.at

ɣenAntsuB, aCnaB -ləA -mana.
 PN this.way PTCL PTCL

“When we take down Yunnan, I will stay at Yunnan, and King Pang-san, you will stay at Guiyang.”

79 *ɣəuB, aAnaA.*
 FLL PTCL
 Pang-san said, “I see.”

80 *aA, ɣoAərCwəNA muB ŋtuA ɣenAntsuB jeB.*
 FLL PN go strike PN FLL
 King He-er then went to attack Guiyang.

81 *aiAjoA, ɣona- ntseAleC ɣona- ŋtuA luB jeB, ɣenAntsuB maA təA-ŋəC,*
 INTJ CLNK1 enter CLNK1 strike come FLL PN exist NMLZ-strong

szA-ŋtuA ʔneA təAtəNA -qəAleC jeB.
 RCP-strike CLF a.little only FLL

Unfortunately, Guiyang had strong garrison and King He-er could do little about it.

147 *phanBsanBwəNA* is a proper noun, which can be analyzed as *phanB* ‘Chinese surname 庞 Pāng’, *sanB* ‘three/third’, and *wəNA* ‘king’. We translate this name as ‘King Pang-san’ in English and 庞三王 in Chinese.

82 *niB zoC niB -moA phoB zuC, zoCseA, kanB ntseAleC muB, konAnaB daA*
 3 tell 3 MOD CLF soldier say 1SG enter go 2PL come

-seB -liA.
 PTCL PTCL

King He-er said to his soldiers, “I will break in, so you follow after me.”

83 *niB ntseAleC muB, phoB zuC daA muA- seC -jaA.*
 3 enter go CLF soldier come NEG quick PTCL
 He broke in, but his soldiers could no catch up with him.

84 *szA-ηtuA nshanC -weA, niB tsoC- pziA -ηtanB tshuA luB jeB.*
 RCP-strike swell EXPR 3 CLNK1 jump EXPR exit come FLL
 After both sides fought furiously for a while, King He-er suddenly came out of the battle, and said.

85 *zoC miA daA miA muA- daA.*
 tell 2PL come 2PL NEG come
 “I told you to follow after me, but you didn’t come.”

86 *kanB tanB tsoC- ηtonA taA-ζəBηtonA -eB aC muA- ηaC.*
 1SG 1SG CLNK1 be.at NMLZ-inside DEM do NEG strong
 How can I defeat the enemy alone!”

87 *niB tchiA -ntsenB niB tsoC- hleA niB -moA ɣwuA-δanB zuC daC -ηtonA.*
 3 angry EXPR 3 CLNK1 kill 3 MOD two-CLF soldier die EXPR
 He got mad and killed two of his soldiers.

88 *hleA niB -moA ɣwuA-δanB zuC daC -ηtonA jeB, niB tsoC- tonB luB.*
 kill 3 MOD two-CLF soldier die EXPR FLL 3 CLNK1 return come
 He then retreated the troops.

89 *tsoC- luB ηanBtiNA tsanC’szC’ suC ɣneA thinCtszB.*
 CLNK1 come PN temporarily rest CLF cease
 Then, he came to Anding and stopped fighting. [148]

90 *zoCseA, paB zuC, laAχaB janC szB-ɣyθnC -tsoB.*
 say DISP2 soldier FLL take.care PURP-good PTCL
 He said, “Let the soldiers take some rest first.”

91 *aiAjaA, danB -eB -seA, zuC ηtonAhmonC, ηtonAhmonC -seA, əBsaA ngwana*
 INTJ CLF DEM say arrive midnight midnight CLNK2 top sky

tsoC- leA suA ɓiA.
 CLNK1 resemble thunder sound
 On that day at midnight, it suddenly thundered.

148 *ηanBtiNA* might be a place name, and is translated as such, but unfortunately we cannot identify the location.

- 92 *χuaAlaA, tsoC- tshuA taA- ... aiCjoA ... ?lenA -thiAthaC.*
 IDEO CLNK1 exit NMLZ INTJ red EXPR
 The flash of lightning made the sky red.
- 93 *χuaAlaA, aiCjoA, tsoC- pθA -ntseNB.*
 IDEO INTJ CLNK1 dark EXPR
 Then the sky turned dark.
- 94 *aCnonB jeB tθBqwenAnonB jeB, χoAθrCwana tsoC- θaC -loA.*
 this.way FLL after.that FLL PN CLNK1 die PTCL
 That night, King He-er died.
- 95 *aiAjoA, χoAθrCwana θaC -waC jeB, tsoC- tshaB phanBsanBwana, oA,*
 INTJ PN die PTCL FLL CLNK1 leave PN FLL
luAtszBteynB taA χoAθrCwana niB-siB jeB.
 PN COM PN 3-wife FLL
 After King He-er died, King Pang-san, Luo Zijun, and King He-er's wife remained. [149]
- 96 *χauB, nthonCnaB tsoC- muB *** laAχaB χθBnaB aAloAvoC ... aAloAvoC, kuiCtiNA*
 FLL 3PL CLNK1 go FLL there PN PN PN
aAloAvoC, muB ?ηona aAloAvoC jeB.
 PN go be.at PN FLL
 They went to Guiding and entrenched themselves there.
- 97 *aiAjoA, maA hnaA jeB, χauB, mθAnaBtθAχwanApiA szA-ηtuA -vuAθaBvuAθuC,*
 INTJ exist day FLL FLL FLL RCP-strike EXPR
szA-ηtuA muA- ngaB -jaA jeB
 RCP-strike NEG descend PTCL FLL
 The government's troops fought with them but could not defeat them.
- 98 *yoA-pziA nena -waC ηtuA muA- ngaB -jaA jeB,*
 ten-three year PTCL strike NEG descend PTCL FLL
 They fought for thirteen years.
- 99 *χauB, aAyeNAntsuB tsoC- maA naA tsoC- muB kauC zuC wiAtiC piB.*
 INTJ PN CLNK1 exist human CLNK1 go report arrive emperor house
 After that, a report was sent to the Emperor from Guiyang.
- 100 *wiAtiC piB zoCseA, χaiA, naB yoA-pziA nena -nonB -liA, tsauC ...*
 emperor house say INTJ CONJ ten-three year DEM PTCL
tsauCsanB'taCzenA tsoC- phaiC thanCthonBniB ηtuA tsoC- aC muA-
 PN CLNK1 dispatch PN strike CLNK1 make NEG

149 *luAtszBteynB* is a proper noun, and is probably a Chinese name. We transcribe this name as ‘Luo Zijun’ in English and 罗子君 in Chinese.

ngaB -jaA.
descend PTCL

The Emperor said, “These thirteen years, General Zhao-san sent Tang Tongli to break down the rebellion, but he didn’t make it. [150]

101 *aiAjaA, təBqweNAnonB, phaiC thanCthonBniB ηtuA, ηtuA muA- ngaB -jaA*
INTJ after.that dispatch PN strike strike NEG descend PTCL

jeB.

FLL

After that, we sent Tang Tongli, but he also didn’t make it.”

102 *aiAjaA, wiAtiC piB χONa- phaiC tɛnBtshaiBʼtaCzɛNA.*
INTJ emperor house CLNK1 dispatch Imperial.Commissioner.
Then, the Emperor dispatched an Imperial Commissioner. [151]

103 *phaiC tɛnBtshaiBʼtaCzɛNA luB jeB, tɛnBtshaiBʼtaCzɛNA tsoC- luB*
dispatch Imperial.Commissioner come FLL Imperial.Commissioner CLNK1 come

maC ʔyA-ηdɛC.

sell vegetable-dry

The Imperial Commissioner arrived to Guiyang, and he began to sell dried vegetables.

104 *maC ʔyA-ηdɛC jeB, aiAjaA, thanCthonBniB -moA δanB zuC tsoC- qwaC*
sell vegetable-dry FLL INTJ PN MOD CLF soldier CLNK1 pass

tɛiB.

road

When he was selling dried vegetables, one of Tang Tongli’s soldiers passed by.

105 *tɛnBtshaiBʼtaC ... δanB ... ʔoCseA.*
Imperial.Commissioner say

Imperial Commissioner said to him.

106 *aiA, aAsəAsɛNA, maB ʔyA-ηdɛC nonA -manA.*
INTJ mister buy vegetable-dry eat PTCL

“Sir, why don’t you buy some dried vegetables?”

107 *aiA, muA- maA zɛNA -jaA.*
INTJ NEG exist money PTCL

“Oh, I have no money.”

150 *thanCthonBniB* is a proper noun, and is probably a Chinese name. We transcribe this name as ‘Tang Tongli’ in English and 唐通李 in Chinese.

151 *tɛnBtshaiBʼtaCzɛNA* is a name of a government post. *tɛnBtshaiBʼ* is a loanword of Chinese 钦差, which means a temporary post in charge of resolving a special issue, mostly warfare. We translate this word as ‘Imperial Commissioner’ in English and 钦差大人 in Chinese.

108 *muA- maA zeNA -jaA, naC təA-hluA naA ʔŋonB -aA.*
 NEG exist money PTCL ask NMLZ-big human use PTCL
 “If you have no money, you can ask your supervisor to give you some.”

109 *aCnonB jeB, tɛnB ... thanCthonBniB -moA ɔanB zuC jeB tsoC- muB nthonA*
 this.way FLL PN MOD CLF soldier FLL CLNK1 go report
tɛnBtshaiB ʔaCzeNA zoCseA.
 Imperial.Commissioner say
 Tang Tongli’s soldier went back to report the incident to Tang Tongli. [152]

110 *hnaA-nonB, kanB qwaC tɛiB ʒonA- maA ɔanB qoAloB-aAtiA zoC kanB maB*
 day-DEM 1SG pass road CLNK1 exist CLF old-grandfather tell 1SG buy
ʔyA-ŋɛeC nonA.
 vegetable-dry eat
 “Today, when I was going on the road, an old man asked me to buy some dried vegetables.”

111 *kanB zoCseA, aiA, muA- maA zeNA -jaA.*
 1SG say INTJ NEG exist money NEG
 I said, “I have no money.”

112 *muA- maA zeNA -jaA jeB, naC ... aAtsəBtsiBliA, aA ... təA-hluA naA ʔŋonB*
 NEG exist money PTCL FLL ask FLL FLL NMLZ-big human request
-maNA.
 PTCL
 The old man said, “If you have no money, you can ask your supervisor to give you some.”

113 *aAnaB, aA.*
 INTJ INTJ
 Tang Tongli said, “Really?”

114 *toC kanB ʒanC niB luB.*
 BNF 1SG call 3 come
 “Call the old man.”

115 *tsoC- ʒanC ... tsoC- ʒanC məAnaBpæC ɔanB qoAloB-aAtiA muB jeB.*
 CLNK1 call CLNK1 call FLL CLF old-grandfather go FLL
 Then, the soldier went to call the old man.

116 *ɔanB zoCseA, eiA, taAndziB jeB, jonC ʋonA zoC kanB seA, maB*
 CLF say INTJ some.time.ago FLL COP 2SG tell 1SG say buy
ʔyA-ŋɛeC nonA.
 vegetable-dry eat
 He said, “Is it you that asked me to buy some dried vegetables?”

152 The original sentence says that the report was made to the Imperial Commissioner, but, based on the context, the report must have been made to Tang Tongli.

117 *aA, jonC kanB zoC.*
INTJ COP 1SG tell
“Yes it’s me.”

118 *oA, oA, jeB təA-hluA naA zoCseA, zoC kanB χanC ʋona muB -liA,*
INTJ INTJ FLL NMLZ-big human say tell 1SG call 2SG go PTCL
“OK, the general told me to take you to him.”

119 *aAnaB, aA.*
INTJ INTJ
“Oh, really?”

120 *χanC niB δaA.*
call 3 come
“Call the man here.”

121 *zuC χona- zoCseA.*
arrive CLNK1 say
When the old man came, General Tang asked.

122 *eiA, taAnɕiB ʋona zoCseA, ʋona zoC kanB -moA δanB ... δanB tiC'εonB'*
INTJ some.time.ago 2SG say 2SG tell 1SG MOD CLF CLF brother

zoCseA, maB ʔyA-ηɕeC nonA.
say buy vegetable-dry eat
“Is it you that asked one of my soldiers to buy dried vegetables?”

123 *aA, jonC kanB zoC.*
INTJ COP 1SG tell
“Yes, it’s me that said that.”

124 *ʋona zoCseA, muA- maA zena -jaA jeB naC təA-hluA naA ʔhonB*
2SG say NEG exist money PTCL FLL ask NMLZ-big human use

-ləA -mana.
PTCL PTCL
“Did you said that if he did not have money, he could ask his supervisor to give some money?”

125 *aA, jonC kanB tshiA.*
INTJ COP 1SG speak
“Yes, I said that.”

126 *kanB -moA zena ʔhona teuAduB.*
1SG MOD money be.at IGN
“Do you want to know where my money is?”

- 127 *ʔsoC- ʔmiA ʔenA təA-ndanC ntenB.*
 CLNK1 grab CLF NMLZ-big sword
 General Tang grabbed a big sword with his hand. [153]
- 128 *naB, zenA xaBnonB.*
 CONJ money be.here
 “The money is here!” [154]
- 129 *aiAjaA, təBqwenAnonB ɔanB qoAloB-aAtiA ʔsoC- ʔoCseA.*
 INTJ after.that CLF old-grandfather CLNK1 say
 Then the old man said.
- 130 *aiA, təA-hluA naA -niB hleA kanB muA- ʔenC.*
 INTJ NMLZ-big human PTCL kill 1SG NEG *
 “So, General, are you going to kill me?”
- 131 *kanB -moA aAzuC mpaC tiA -tsaB.*
 1SG MOD clothes wear thick PTCL
 “As you see, I am wearing so many clothes.”
- 132 *jeB, kanB qhliA aAzuC -xenA, ʔona təhəAmaC- hleA kanB.*
 FLL 1SG take.off clothes PTCL 2SG next kill 1SG
 “Let me take them off first so that you can kill me easily.”
- 133 *aiAjoA, ɔanB jiC- qhliA aAzuC -seA, jonC xwanAsanC -moA*
 FLL CLF CLNK1 take.off clothes CLNK2 COP emperor MOD
ʔenBtshaiB ʔaCzenA.
 Imperial.Commissioner
 When the old man took off his clothes, he revealed himself as the Imperial Commissioner.
- 134 *aCnaB kuaiBluA, thanCthonBniB taA-maB ʔsoC- hŋaB -ʔŋaA.*
 this.way INTJ PN NMLZ-face CLNK1 turn.pale EXPR
 Oh, no! General Tang suddenly turned pale.
- 135 *aCnaB jeB niB-miC ʔoCseA, kanB aAtana ŋtuA muA- ŋaC -waC, ʔsoC-*
 this.way FLL 3-mother say 1SG child strike NEG strong PTCL CLNK1
khaAtsiB- ŋtuA.
 PROH strike
 General Tang’s mother said, “My son is not good at fighting, so he should not fight.”
- 136 *ʔona-tana muA- ŋtuA ʔsoC- naC ʔona ŋtuA.*
 2SG-child NEG strike CLNK1 ask 2SG strike
 The Imperial Commissioner said, “If your son does not fight, I will make you fight!”

153 One of the editors, Yun Song, a native speaker, judges this sentence as unacceptable. *ʔmiA* cannot be used as a full verb, and *tiB* should be used instead.

154 This sentence means that if you ask me where my money is, the sword is my answer.

137 *ʁONA ʔŋONB zENa jeB ʁONA tsoC- ʔŋONB.*
 2SG use money FLL 2SG CLNK1 use
 “You, General Tang, used money as you want.”

138 *ʁONA jeB ʁONA ŋʈuA zONC jeB ʁONA muA- ŋʈuA -jaA naB.*
 2SG FLL 2SG strike battle FLL 2SG NEG strike PTCL this.way
 “You do not fight in the battlefield.”

139 *jiAthienB kanBnaB ʔmiA ʈoC-lanB -moA zENa paNA phoB təA-nona zuC*
 one.day 1PL DISP1 six-CLF MOD money give CLF NMLZ-eat soldier
 -nonB.
 DEM
 He continued, “The government is giving each soldier six liangs a day.”

140 *ðanB ʁONA ʁONA- ʔmiA tsiA-lanB, ðanB ʁONA nonA -loA pheC.*
 CLF 2SG CLNK1 give three-CLF CLF 2SG eat PTCL half
 “However, you only give each soldier three liangs, and take the other half for yourself.”

141 *muA- ŋʈuA tsoC- niB- hleA ʁONA.*
 NEG strike CLNK1 IRR kill 2SG
 “If you do not fight in the battlefield, I will kill you.”

142 *aiAjaA, təBqwenAnonB jeB, thanCthonBniB niB-miC ʁONA- zoCseA.*
 INTJ after.that FLL PN 3-mother CLNK1 say
 General Tang’s mother said to herself.

143 *aiA, tsiAqwhiAteiAtoB -ðiB, khaAtsiB- qoC aAtana aC jana aC teaB -ðiB.*
 INTJ however.poor PTCL PROH let child do PN do official PTCL
 “Oh, however poor you are, don’t let your son enter government service.” [155]

144 *aC jana aC teaB aCnonB qlaA naA ntsheC -tsaB, aCnonB jeB, tsoC-*
 do PN do official this.way cheat human afraid PTCL this.way FLL CLNK1
zoC aCnonB jeB.
 say this.way FLL
 “A government official is so intimidating,” she said.

145 *təBqwenAnonB thanCthonBniB ʁONA- ... ʁONA- phaiC tshonCeenB ŋʈuA*
 after.that PN CLNK1 CLNK1 dispatch again strike
aCnonB -ləA -mana.
 this.way PTCL PTCL
 Then, General Tang resumed his battle.

155 *aC jana aC teaB* is a idiomatic expression meaning ‘do government service’. *jana* is a noun denoting Han Chinese.

146 *χoNA- luB muB aAloAvoC taA tsauCsanB'taCzenA taA luAtszBteynB taA*
 CLNK1 come go PN COM PN with PN with

χoAərCwANA -moA siB ηtuA jeB.
 PN MOD wife strike FLL

He went to Guiding and fought with King Pang-san, Luo Zijun, and King He-cr's wife. [156]

147 *χauB, tiCjiAtshzC ηtuA tiCjiAtshANA.*
 INTJ first.time strike first.battle
 The first battle began.

148 *ηtuA tiCjiAtshANA jeB jonC aAqloAzonC lanAtsonBjeA taiC' tuiC' tsoc- jic-*
 strike first.battle FLL COP PN PN lead troop CLNK1 CLNK1

ηtuA jeB.
 strike FLL

In the first battle, Lan Zhongye, who is from Guangzhong, lead a troop and fought. [157]

149 *aiAjoA, lanAtsonBjeA zoCseA, thanC'taCzenA -moA qliBtonA danB zonC -nonB*
 INTJ PN say PN MOD FLL CLF battle DEM

maA pneA teenBχoB, kanBnaB thuiC' jiApuC.
 exist CLF severe 1PL withdraw one.step

Lan Zhongye said to General Tang, "The battle situation is not good, pull the troops out of here."

150 *naB thuiC' jiApuC -mana.*
 CONJ withdraw one.step PTCL
 General Tang said, "OK, we will pull back."

151 *jic- thuiC' jiApuC -seA, tsaiAjoA, sanB'taCzenA luAtszBteynB χoAlonB*
 CLNK1 withdraw one.step CLNK2 INTJ PN PN altogether

*luB tsoc- hleA *** thanCthonBniB -moA zuC.*
 come CLNK1 kill PN MOD soldier

Unfortunately, when they pulled back, King Pang-san and Luo Zijun joined together and rushed at General Tang's troops. [158]

152 *aiAjoA, phienC'tiC' tehanC mAnaBtəAχwanApiA qliB-mpiC, tsaiAjoA, χauB'*
 INTJ everywhere resemble FLL dog-pig INTJ so

156 This sentence says that General Tang fought with General Zhao, but the person who General Tang fought with was not General Zhao, but King Pang-san.

157 *lanAtsonBjeA* is a proper name. *lanA* is a Chinese family name 藍. Although this is a Chinese name, the person denoted by this name is a Hmyo person, who is from *aAqloAzonC* 光中, one of the Hmyo villages in Kaiyang County. Also See fn. 159 (p.310).

158 This sentence says that General Zhao-san and Luo Zijun joined together and rushed at General Tang's troops, but it is King Pang-san who did so. The translation is edited as such.

liC'χaiA oA.
incredible FLL

Oh, no! All of the battlefield was covered with dead bodies like slaughtered animals.

153 thanCthonBniB, lanAtsonBjeA, lauBtszB niB- ʔmiA ʋona hleA -χeNA.
PN PN 1SG IRR DISP1 2SG kill PTCL
General Tang said to Lan Zhongye, “I must execute you.”

154 ʋona qiaA lauBtszB thuiC' jiApuC, ɔaC -loA zoAkanB -moA tiC'ʋonB'.
2SG cheat 1SG withdraw one.step die PTCL many MOD brother
“You tricked me into pulling back, and I have lost many soldiers.”

155 lauBtszB niB- ʔmiA ʋona hleA -χeNA.
1SG IRR DISP1 2SG kill PTCL
“I must execute you.”

156 aiAjaA, phoB hmøA -eB tsoC- zoCseA.
INTJ CLF PN DEM CLNK1 say
Oh, no! The Miao people said.

157 aA məAnaBpæC, suC ɛeA -seB jeB.
INTJ INTJ take.rest a.while PTCL FLL
“Oh, crap, we must take rest.”

158 kanBnaB muB khoA aAtɛuB lonB muB.
1PL go collect PN bury go
“We go and pick up Acu’s body to bury it.” [159]

159 qliBtsonA, aAtɛuB niB- tsauA niB hleA -liA.
INTJ PN IRR encounter 3 kill PTCL
“Damn it, Acu will be killed.”

160 qliBtsonA, kuaiB -waC -liA.
INTJ terrible PTCL PTCL
“Oh, my God!”

161 χauB, təBqwenAnonB jeB, thanCthonBniB tsA- maA tɛhiB naA təA-qweA
FLL after.that FLL PN separately exist CLF human NMLZ-wise

-eB muB zoC thanCthonBniB zoCseA.
DEM go say PN say

After a while, one of the General Tang’s staff went to him to persuade him not to kill Lan Zhongye.

162 ʋona ... ʋona ʔmiA məAnaBpæC lanAtsonBjeA hleA muB.
2SG 2SG DISP1 FLL PN kill go
“I’ve heard that you will kill him.”

159 This utterance reveals that Lan Zhongye is a Hmyo person whose Hmyo name is aAtɛuB.

163 *ntsheC hleA ʋONA uA, aAzɔŋC ɔaCaC ŋʈuA.*
 afraid kill 2SG FLL battle IGN strike
 “I’m afraid that that is tantamount to suicide. How do you fight this battle without him?”

164 *thouʋsanC ʋoC- jonC lanʋsonBjeA ŋʈuA -siA -liA.*
 first.battle CLNK1 COP PN strike PTCL PTCL
 “It was he that fought the first battle.”

165 *ʋONA szC ʔmiA niB hleA muB, qlenA ɔanʋʋiB taA ʋONA ŋʈuA ʋeiBɔiA.*
 2SG try DISP1 3 kill go ghost IGN COM 2SG strike front
 “If you kill him, who fights in the front for you?”

166 *χauB, aCnaB, thanCthonʋniB ʋoCseA, aA, aCnaB ʋoC- khaʋʋiB- ŋʈuA niB*
 INTJ this.way PN say INTJ this.way CLNK1 PROH strike 3
-jaA, aCnaB jeB, khaʋʋiB- ŋʈuA niB -jaA.
 PTCL this.way FLL PROH strike 3 PTCL
 “OK,” said General Tang. “I will not kill him.”

167 *aCnaB ʋoC- muA- ŋʈuA niB jeB.*
 this.way CLNK1 NEG strike 3 FLL
 In this way, the execution was cancelled.

168 *lanʋsonBjeA, penʋsenB hnaA -nonB kanB ʋoC- niB- hleA ʋONA -χaB,*
 PN originally day DEM 1SG CLNK1 IRR kill 2SG CLNK2
nthonCnaB ʋoCseA, muAɔiB- ʔmiA ʋONA hleA -jaA jeB.
 3PL say NEG DISP1 2SG kill PTCL FLL
 General Tang said, “Today, I intended to kill you, but some people advised me not to kill you.”

169 *qoC ʋONA ŋʈuA ʋeiBɔiA.*
 let 2SG strike front
 “I will let you fight in the front.”

170 *χauB, ngweC -nonB ʋONA toC kanB ŋʈuA ʋeiBɔiA szB-ʔʈɔŋC.*
 INTJ CLF DEM 2SG BNF 1SG strike front PURP-good
 “This time you must win the battle.”

171 *aCnonB jeB.*
 this.way FLL
 He said so.

172 *lanʋsonBjeA ʋoCseA.*
 PN say
 Lan Zhongye said.

173 *χauB, sanʋtienB jeB kanB ʋoC- kuB aAleCɥiC taA-χuB luB ʋauB ʋONA,*
 INTJ three.days FLL 1SG CLNK1 carry thief NMLZ-head come hand.over 2SG
aAnaA.
 PTCL
 “I understand. I will bring the head of the enemy to you in three days.”

174 *χauB, zoC -sanC tsoC- jonC, aAnaA.*
 INTJ say CLNK2 CLNK1 COP PTCL
 “OK, so let it be!”

175 *sanBtienB lanAtsonBjeA tsoC- ntseAleC daA aAloAvoC.*
 three.days PN CLNK1 enter come PN
 In three days, Lan Zhongye broke into Guiding.

176 *aiAjaA, tænC tonBmenA jeB, tshuA eiBmenA jeB, tænC mæAnaBtæAχwanApiA*
 INTJ enter east.gate FLL exit west.gate FLL enter FLL

lanAmenA tshuA peAmenA.
 south.gate exit north.gate
 He broke into the city and defeated the enemy everywhere. [160]

177 *ηjuA -teA ηenC'szC' tæAnaA ηenC'szC' luanC'tæhiAbaAtsauB' zenA tsoC- muA-*
 strike DGR brave human brave extremely human CLNK1 NEG

maA δanB aAtsiB kæB tsuB'tanB' niB jeB.
 exist CLF IGN dare stop 3 FLL
 He carried all before him.

178 *χauB, niB lanC, oA, δanB phanBsanBwana miB -eB tæhiA -waC, tsoC-*
 INTJ 3 see INTJ CLF PN CLF DEM angry PTCL CLNK1

tsuanB ntshæC, jiC- tsuanB ntshæC tsoC- ?miA tæAnaA maiAfuA qoC
 disguise afraid CLNK1 disguise afraid CLNK1 DISP1 human ambush GOAL

tæAtæiB.
 road
 He saw that King Pang-san and their comrades were upset, so he pretended to withdraw and set up an ambush.

179 *jiC- zuC tæAtæiB jiAsenB χauAniA -qæAleC jeB, aiAjaA, tsoC- hÿenA*
 CLNK1 arrive road one.voice command only FLL INTJ CLNK1 push

aA?yiA luB szC'tshuC' ntanB.
 stone come all.directions crush
 When they came to the place of ambush, he gave a command to push down stones from all around.

180 *aiAjoA, qonB tæAtæiB ?wuA-pheC tsoC- qonB -ηtaA tsoC- hleA,*
 INTJ stop road two-CLF CLNK1 stop EXPR CLNK1 kill

mæAnaBtæAχwanApiA.
 FLL
 He stopped the road from both sides and attacked the enemy.

160 The literal translation of this sentence would be as follows: ‘He entered the city from the East Gate and exited from the West Gate. Then, he entered the city from the South Gate and exited from the North Gate’.

181 *phanBsanBwana -moA zuC δaC -lanAlanBleAleC.*
 PN MOD soldier die EXPR
 Many soldiers of King Pang-san's troops were killed.

182 *tsɔC- kuB taA-χuB ηtɛaC ηenAntsuB leA naA kuB toNA kuB woC*
 CLNK1 carry NMLZ-head reach PN resemble human carry pumpkin carry taro
jeB.
 FLL
 Lan Zhongye's soldiers carried the heads of the enemy soldiers like carrying pumpkins and taros.

183 *aiAjaA, tɔBqwenAnonB χona- ngwiB tuC phanBsanBwana.*
 INTJ after.that CLNK1 capture acquire PN
 After that, King Pang-san was captured.

184 *aiAjaA luAtszBteynB χoAərCwana niB-siB jeB aiAjaA tɔBqwenAnonB χona- muB*
 INTJ PN PN 3-wife FLL INTJ after.that CLNK1 go
teauB senBfuB jeB.
 hand.over government FLL
 After that, King Pang-san was captured. Luo Zijun and King He-er's wife were also turned over to the government.

185 *senBfuB tsɔC- ʔjuC qoC wiAtiC piB -loA.*
 government CLNK1 pull GOAL emperor house PTCL
 The government then turned them over to the Imperial court.

186 *tsɔC- jonC naB, jeB tsɔC- jenA -ntuA.*
 CLNK1 COP this.way FLL CLNK1 finish EXPR
 This is the end of the story.

【中文大意】

贵州大战

很久以前天下大旱，没有粮食。人们都很饥饿。官府也没有很好的政策。有一个叫何二王的人想找人去闹事，大家也就跟着一起了。他把那些跟随他的人都当作自己的部下。不跟随他的人则就杀掉。真的！不跟随他的话就杀掉啊。跟随他的人，看情况他会把他们当做伙伴对待。他与官府对抗。他把这件事做了下去。在王卡的上大坪设了营寨。官府就派赵三大人去对付他。赵三大人扎了四十八个营寨准备抓他。何二王看到赵三大人扎了四十八个营寨。他感到害怕就去了他老家的黑苗那里。他想去找那里的壮汉来跟赵三大人打仗。他一去黑苗那里招兵，王卡花牙的哥罗伯就去和赵三大人告密。“何二王去他老家那里叫人了。”就让赵三大人带兵去上大坪。赵三大人在那跟何二王的士兵打了起来。虽然何二王非常厉害，但是他去黑苗那边去了，人不在。只有他的部下守在那里。留了一个士兵守门。赵三大人派了当地后寨陈家的迪迪羊去。迪迪羊和何二王的守门士兵拔刀打了起来。打来打去，赵三大人看到迪迪羊的刀子断了，就对他的士兵说：“去帮他！”于是，就砍了那个守门士兵的耳朵。何二王的守门士兵就死了。后来又杀掉了许多何二王的士兵。还放火烧掉了他的营寨。那些烧化的银子和金子都变的像三头牛一样大。由于金银也抬不动，就回去了。赵三大人撤军回去以后，

何二王回来了。回来就问：“是谁带他们来的？该死的！我们这里面肯定有个叛徒。我走了以后他去叫来了他们。”经过一番调查就发现是花牙的哥罗伯干的。于是，就抓了花牙的哥罗伯。抓回去审问哥罗伯。哥罗伯承认了，就把他处刑了。何二王接着再跟赵三大人打仗。跟赵三夫人在仙桥的大麻窝和赵家院那里打仗。双方打得很激烈。赵三夫大人说：“今天的仗怎么这么不好打？”拉亚的罗家有一个人是赵三夫大人的将军，当天去侦察。何二王有一个打枪的兵在路上埋伏，等那个将军来视察的时候，一枪打倒了他。他说：“这个我打死了。”“是吗？”何二王砍了那个将军的头。剖了他的肝脏。赵三夫大人听到那个将军的死讯很伤心，就去现场看了。何二王就送他的士兵就把赵三夫大人打死了。何二王把赵三夫大人的头砍下，把他的肝脏也剖掉了。后来何二王又到白家营去打仗。这回是跟白大人打。白大人和何二王打得相当激烈。不分胜负。于是何二王设了一个计。他拿着牛角到阿誓的山崖上去吹牛角，白大人听到牛角声就说：“该死的！何二王的兵好像已经到上面了。”白大人就逃去高寨了。过顺岩河的时候，强壮的士兵穿过了，那些不强壮的就大多都淹死了。士兵们就踏过死人渡了河。后来呢，白大人在主洋平那里打大炮。听到大炮声何二王就说：“该死的！白大人也到上面来了。”于是他突然回光中附近的垣去了。白大人说：“何二王好像是去上面了。”白大人觉得抵挡不住就逃去平山了。过河逃去平山了。后来，何二王又去福泉县城，打败了白大人，平定了整个贵州的县城。只剩一个贵阳还没攻下来。到了晚上，何二王叫来他的兵士们。“还剩一个贵阳。接下来我们去把贵阳攻下来吧。”何二王跟庞三王说：“我们俩攻下贵阳之后，我在贵阳驻扎，然后我们俩再攻打云南吧。我到云南驻扎，你庞三王就驻扎贵阳就行。”庞三王答应了。于是，何二王去攻打贵阳了。去攻打了贵阳，但贵阳有厉害的士兵把守，攻打不下。何二王对他的那些兵士说：“我攻进去之后你们跟上来。”他攻了进去，但他的士兵跟不上他。双方打得相当激烈，打了一段何二王就从中逃出来。说：“明明说了来，为什么没来。我一个人在里面怎么可能打的赢。”于是，他发怒把两个兵士杀死了。杀了之后，他就退兵了。他到了安定后暂时休战。他说：先让战士们养精蓄锐。到了半夜像打雷一样响了。电光闪闪，天空中亮起了红色的光。刚想着是不是打雷的电光时候，突然的天又黑了。这天晚上何二王就死了。何二王死了，留下来的是庞三王，罗子君和何二王的妻子。他们到贵定去驻扎了。后来官军跟他们打得相当激烈也不分成败。打了十三年都还没有结果。于是，贵阳的人去报告皇帝。皇帝说：这十三年赵三夫大人派唐通李去打，没有打赢。后来，又派唐通李去打，还是没打赢。于是皇帝派了钦差大人。钦差大人来到当地，就开始卖起了干菜。他卖干菜的时候，唐通李的兵路过。钦差大人说：“先生，买点干菜吃吧。”“唉，我没有钱呢。”“你没有钱的话，去问大人要就有了呀。”于是，唐通李的兵就通知唐通李说：“今天我在路上，有一个老人问我要不要买点干菜。我说没有钱。他说：你没有钱，问大人要就有了嘛。”“什么！给我把他叫来！”于是，那个兵就去叫那个老人了。士兵问：“刚才是你问我要不要买点干菜吃吗？”“是的，是我。”“大人让我叫你过去。”“这样啊。”“叫他来。”老人到了唐通李就问。“刚才是你问我的士兵买不买点干菜吗？”“是的，是我。”“你是不是跟他说，没有钱的话就问大人要？”“是的，是我说的。”“那你说说我的钱在哪里呀？”说着，唐通李就拿起一把大刀。“钱就在这里呢！”那个老人见状说：“大人是打算杀我吗？我穿了好几件衣服。等我脱了衣服，你再杀我。”那个老人脱下衣服，原来他就是皇上派来的钦差大人！哎哟，糟糕了，唐通李看到，惊的脸都发青了。他的母亲说：“我儿子不会打仗，别让他打比较好。”钦差大人说：“你儿子不打仗就让你去打！你钱是照用不误。仗却不打。朝廷一天发六两钱给这些士兵们。一个人你才给三两，留了一半在自己口袋里。如果你不打，我就杀了你。”唐通李的母亲听完叹气说：“唉，不管怎么穷，都不能让孩子去当汉官了。因为当了汉官要说很恐怖的事。”因为这件事，唐通李又开始打仗了。去贵定跟庞三王，罗子君和何二王的妻子打仗。第一战开始了。打第一战的时候，是光中的蓝中爷带队打的。蓝中爷对唐通李说：“这次打仗的形势非常严峻，我们先退军吧。”唐通李说：“那么，先退吧。”但是，退军的时候，庞三王和罗子君联合兵力偷袭了唐通李的兵。哎哟，地上好似屠宰厂一样满眼都是尸体。唐通李

跟藍中爷说：“老子要杀了你。你说退军，结果却死了这么多兄弟！老子要杀了你。”那些苗族就说：“哎呀，该死的！我们歇会儿吧。”“我们去捡阿九（藍中爷）来埋了吧。”“该死的！阿九要被他杀了。真是糟心的事。”后来，唐通李的几个智者去跟唐通李谏言。“你要杀藍中爷嘛。那相当于是自杀呀，杀了他，这仗还怎么打呀？第一战是藍中爷打的。你要把他杀了的话，谁帮你在前线打呢？”唐通李说：“是啊，那还是不杀他了。”于是，就没有杀他了。唐通李对藍中爷说：“本来我自己今天要杀你的，但是有人让我不要杀你。让我派你去前线打。这次你一定要打赢。”这样说完。藍中爷说：“好的，三天之后我会把敌人的头取回来交给你。”“好，一言为定。”三天之后他打进了贵定。从东门突袭进去贯穿到西门，从南门进从北门出。所向披靡，无人能挡。藍中爷看庞三王他们着急，就假装退兵，然后让自己的士兵埋伏在路上。等他们过来，就号令把石头从四面扔下来进攻。然后再从两侧夹击他们。庞三王的兵接连不断的倒下。把砍下的头运去贵阳的样子好像抬南瓜芋头一样。后来呢，抓到庞三王了。罗子君和何二王的妻子也转交给省府了。省府把他们押去了皇宫。这个故事就讲完了。

【日本語大意】

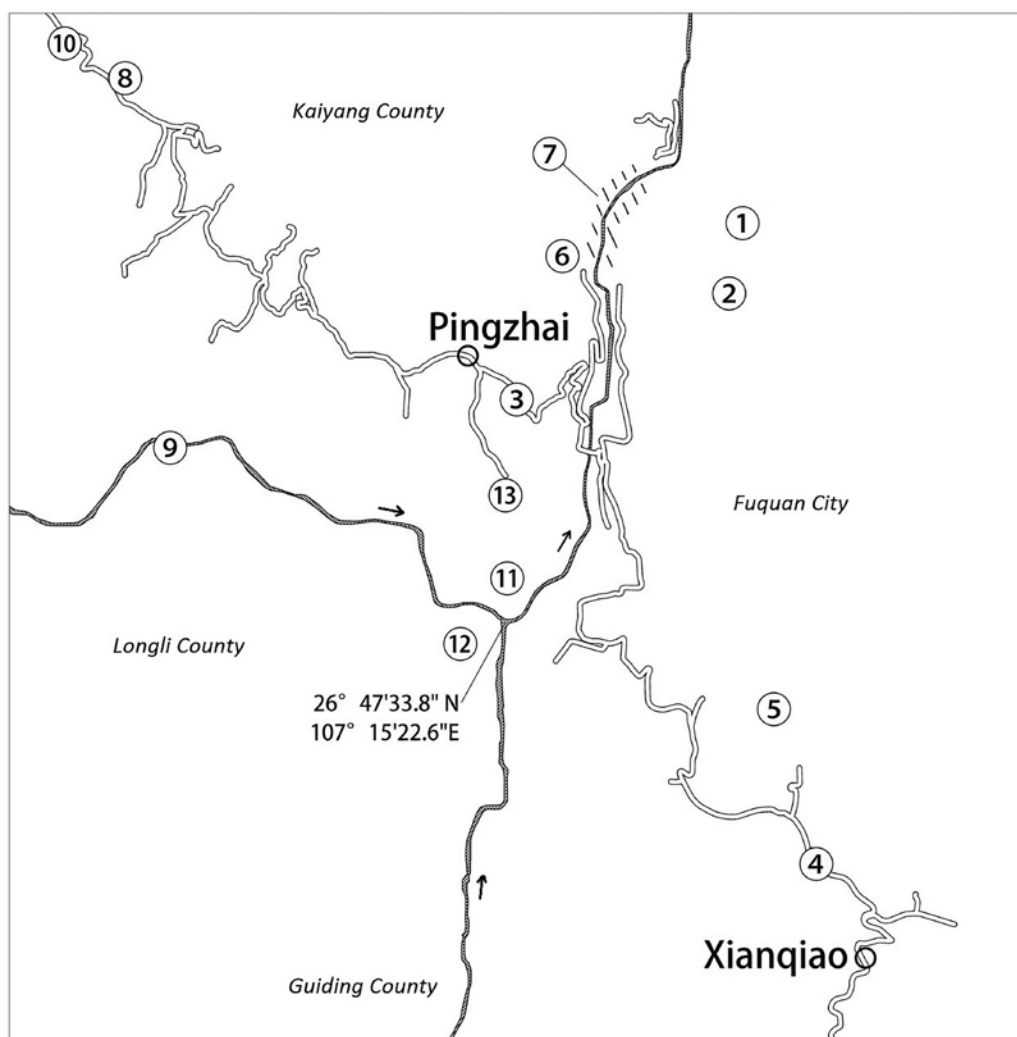
貴州大戦

昔、日照りが続き食料がない時があった。皆とても飢えていた。政府の政策もうまくいっていなかった。何二王という人がいて、人を集めて一揆を起こそうとしたが、人もそれに従った。従うものを彼は部下にした。もし従わないと彼は殺した。そう、従わなければ殺したのだ。従うものは、実情に応じて仲間として待遇した。彼は政府と敵対した。彼は事を進めていった。王卡の上大平というところに軍営を設置した。政府は趙三大人を派遣してこれと戦わせた。趙三大人は四十八の軍営を設営して何二王を捉えようとした。何二王は趙三大人が四十八の軍営を設営したのを見た。彼はこれを恐れて彼の故郷の黒ミャオ族のところへ行った。彼は故郷の屈強の仲間を連れて趙三大人と戦おうとした。何二王が黒ミャオ族のところへ行ってしまうと、王卡の花牙というところのコロポという人が趙三大人へ密告して言った。「何二王は故郷の方へ行って人を集めています。」そして趙三大人に兵を連れて上大平へ向かわせた。趙三大人はそこで何二王の兵士と戦った。何二王は強かったが、黒ミャオ族のところへ行っていてその場にいなかった。部下の兵士がそこを守っていた。一人の兵士が門番をしていた。趙三大人は後寨の陳家のティティヤンを派遣した。ティティヤンは何二王の門番の兵士と刀を抜いて戦った。戦っているとティティヤンの刀が折れたのを見て、趙三大人は兵に向かって言った。「彼に助太刀せよ。」そしてその門番の兵士の耳を切り落とした。何二王の門番の兵士は死んだ。そして何二王の多くの兵士を殺し、彼の軍営に火を放った。金や銀が溶けて三頭の牛ほどの大きさになった。それで運ぶことができないまま軍を返した。趙三大人が軍を引いた後、何二王が戻ってきた。戻って来ると言った。「誰があいつらを引き入れたのか。畜生めが。我々の内部に裏切り者がいるに違いない。私が行った後に引き入れたのだ。」その後いろいろ調査をすると、花牙のコロポがやったということがわかった。そして花牙のコロポを捕まえて来た。捕まえてくる

とコロボを尋問した。コロボは自分がやったと認めたので、彼を処刑した。何二王は改めて趙三大人と戦った。趙三大人ととの戦いは、大麻窩と趙家院において発生した。激しい戦闘が行われた。趙三大人は言った。「今日の戦いはどうして厳しいのか。」リヤの羅家の人で、大人配下の将軍している人がいて、その日偵察に出かけた。何二王の鉄砲兵が道に埋伏しており、その将軍が視察に来ると一撃で打ち倒した。「打ち取ったぞ。」「そうか。」何二王はその将軍の首を切った。肝臓を屠った。趙三大人はその将軍の死を聞いて嘆き、現場を見に行った。趙三大人が見に行く、何二王は兵を送って趙三大人を打ち取った。何二王は趙三大人の首を取り、肝臓を屠った。その後、何二王は白家營でも戦った。今度は白大人と戦った。白大人と何二王は激しく戦った。双方譲らず勝敗はつかない。そこで何二王は一計を案じた。彼は角笛をもってアンザンの崖の上へ行き吹いた。白大人はそれを聞いて言った。「畜生め、何二王の兵が上の方にいったようだ。」白大人は高寨へと逃げた。順岩河を渡るところで屈強の兵士は渡れたが、そうでないものはどうしようのないほどたくさん死んだ。兵士たちは死人を踏み越えて川を渡った。それから、白大人は主洋平というところで大砲を打った。それを聞いて何二王は言った。「畜生め。白大人も上の方に来たな。」そしてまた垣というところへと移動した。白大人は言った。「何二王は上の方に行ったようだ。」白大人は勝てないと考えて平山へと逃げた。川を渡って平山へと逃げた。その後、何二王は、福泉県城に到達し、白大人を打ち破ると、貴州省の県を全て平らげてしまった。ただ貴陽だけが攻め落とせないでいた。夜になって何二王は部下の兵士を呼んだ。「あとは貴陽だけだ。これから行って貴陽を落とそう。」何二王は龐三王に言った。「貴陽を落としたら私は貴陽に駐留するが、それから次に雲南を攻めよう。その後は私が雲南に駐留するから、龐三王は貴陽に駐留すればよい。」龐三王は了承した。ということで、何二王は貴陽を攻めた。貴陽を攻めたが、貴陽には屈強の兵士がおり、なかなか手が出せない。何二王は部下の兵士に言った。「私が攻め入るからおまえたちついてこい。」彼は攻め入ったが、部下の兵士は彼についていけなかった。双方は激しく戦ったが、何二王は中から脱出してきて言った。「俺が来いと言っているのに何で来ない。俺様一人で中に入って勝てるわけがない。」何二王は激怒して二人の兵士を切り殺した。二人の兵士を殺したのち、何二王は兵を退いた。そして安定というところへ来てしばらく休戦した。そして言った。「まずは兵士に休息を取らせよう。」さて真夜中になって雷のような音が轟いた。稲光がきらめき、空が赤く光った。雷光がぴかっと光ったかと思うや突然真っ暗になった。この夜何二王は死んだ。何二王が死んで、残るは龐三王と羅子君と何二王の妻となった。彼らは貴定県に立てこもった。その後官軍とこれら残党は激しく戦ったが決着がつかない。戦いは十三年に及んだが、決着はつかなかった。そこで貴陽から皇帝に報告がなされた。皇帝は言った。「この十三年趙三大人が唐通李を送って戦わせたが勝てない。その後唐通李を送って戦わせたが勝てなかった。」皇帝はそこで欽差大人を送った。欽差大人は現地にやってくると、干し菜を売り始めた。彼が干し菜を売っていると、唐通李の兵が通った。欽差大人は言った。「旦那、干

し菜は要らんかね。」兵は答えた。「いや、金がないんだ。」「金がないなら大人に言ってもらえばいい。」そこで唐通李の兵は戻って行って唐通李に報告した。「今日道を通ったら、ある老人が干し菜を買えって言ってきたんです。私は金がないと言いました。彼が言うには、金がないなら大人に言ってもらえばいいと。」「なんだと。そのものをすぐに呼んで来い。」そこで兵士はその老人を呼びに行った。兵士はたずねた。「さっき、私に干し菜を買えと言ったのはおまえか。」「はい、私です。」「そうか、大人がおまえを呼んで来いと言っている。」「そうですか。」「そのものを呼んで来い。」老人がやってくると唐通李は言った。「先ほど、おまえが私の兵に干し菜を買えと言ったのか。」「はい、私です。」「金がないなら大人に言ってもらえと言ったのか。」「はい、私が言いました。」唐通李は声を荒らげた。「俺の金がどこにあるかって。」そして大刀を手を取った。「金はここだ。」そこで老人は言った。「大人、私を殺すおつもりですか。私は何枚も服を着ておまして。服を脱ぎますからそれから殺してください。」その老人が服を脱ぐと、なんと彼は皇帝陛下の派遣した欽差大人ではないか。あらまあ、大変、唐通李の顔は見る間に気を失った。彼の母親は言った。「息子は戦いがへたなんだから戦わせなければいい。」欽差大人は言った。「あなたの息子が戦わないならあなたに戦わせるぞ。おまえは金は使うだけ使って、戦うことはしないのだ。お上は一日に六両の金を兵たちに与えているが、おまえは一人に三両しか与えず半分を懐に入れていたのだ。戦わないと言うならおまえを殺す。」それで唐通李の母親はこう言って嘆いた。「ああ、どんなに貧しくても息子を官吏になんかしてはいけないよ。官吏になるとこんな恐ろしいことを言うんだから。」こう言ったものだ。そういうことで、唐通李は改めて戦闘を開始した。それで貴定県に向かい、龐三王と羅子君と何二王の妻と戦った。初戦が始まった。初戦は、光中の藍中爺が部隊を率いて戦った。藍中爺は唐通李に言った。「この戦いはなかなか厳しいので、一度軍を退きましょう。」唐通李は言った。「では、退くことにしよう。」ところが、軍を引いたところ、龐三王と羅子君は兵を合わせて唐通李の兵に襲い掛かった。あら大変、あたり一面屠殺場のごとく死体だらけになった。唐通李は藍中爺に言った。「おまえを殺さねばならん。おまえが退けと言ったから退いたら、味方がこんなに死んだのだ。おまえを殺さねばならん。」ミャオ族たちは口々に言った。「やれやれ、畜生め、一休みしよう。」「アチュ（藍中爺）の遺体を受け取って埋めることにしよう。」「畜生め、アチュがあいつに殺されちまう。」「全くもってひどい話だ。」その後、唐通李の何人かの軍師が唐通李のもとへ行ってこう諫めた。「藍中爺を殺すつもりですね。それは自殺行為です。彼を殺したらどうやって戦うつもりですか。初戦で戦ったのは藍中爺ですよ。彼を殺したら、誰があなたのために前に出て戦うのですか。」「なるほど。」唐通李は言った。「では殺すのはやめにしよう。」というわけで殺すのはやめになった。唐通李は藍中爺に言った。「本当は今日おまえを殺すつもりだったが、おまえを殺すなというものがいた。おまえに前線を任せよう。今度は必ず勝利せよ。」そう言った。藍中爺は言った。「わかりました。三日後に敵の首を取ってきてお渡しします。」「よし、きっとだぞ。」藍中爺は三日で貴定に打ち入っ

た。東門から突撃して西門を貫くと思えば、南門から入って北門へ抜けるという大立ち回り。向かうところ敵なし、彼を止められるものは誰もいなかった。藍中爺は龐三王たちが焦っているのを見て、わざと負けたふりをして退き、道に伏兵を敷いた。彼らが道に来ると号令一下周囲から石を落として攻めた。両側から挟み撃ちにして攻撃した。龐三王の兵はバタバタと倒れた。取った首を貴陽に運んで行ったが、まるでカボチャやイモを運ぶかのようなようだった。その後、龐三王を捉えた。羅子君と何二王の妻も省政府に引き渡された。省政府は彼らを朝廷へ引き渡した。ということでこれにてこのお話はおしまい。



Map 4

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| ①Wangka 王卡 | ⑧Gaozhai 高寨 |
| ②Huaya 花牙 | ⑨Shunyanhe 顺岩河 |
| ③Houzhai 后寨 | ⑩Zhuyangping 主洋平 |
| ④Damawo 大麻窝 | ⑪Yuan 垣 |
| ⑤Zhaojiayuan 赵家院 | ⑫Pingshan 平山 |
| ⑥Baijiaying 白家营 | ⑬Guangzhong 光中 |
| ⑦Andzan 安暂 | |

33. Bullfighting

- 1 *tsɔŋC ŋiA szA-ŋtoC hnaA taAtsiB aC nqoA -niB.*
 deliver buffaloRCP-fight day IGN do play PTCL
 (Interviewer) When are the bullfights held each year?
- 2 *koAnenA -moA tsenBɣeA tsɥuBwuB, tsɥuBluA, szAwuB, szAluA, ərCszAwuB,*
 each.year MOD New.Year the.fifth the.sixth fifteenth sixteenth twenty-fifth
ərcszAluA.
 twenty-sixth
 Every year it is held on January the fifth, sixth, fifteenth, sixteenth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth.
- 3 *tsɥuBwuB, tsɥuBluA jiApanB- jonC miNAteienB tszCfaA tsuBtshzA.*
 the.fifth the.sixth generally COP private voluntarily hold
 The bullfights held on the fifth and sixth are held voluntarily by the local people.
- 4 *ərcszAwuB ərcszAluA -niB, ɕeA -nonB jonC tsenCfuB luB tsuBtshzA.*
 twenty-fifth twenty-sixth PTCL time DEM COP government come hold
 The bullfights held on the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth are sponsored by the government.
- 5 *tsɥuBwuB tsɥuBluA szAwuB szAluA jeB, tanBthienB tsɔC- tɕhoAtinC szA-ŋtoC*
 the.fifth the.sixth fifteenth sixteenth FLL on.the.day CLNK1 determine RCP-fight
-siA, ərcszAwuB, ərcszAluA piAeyB pauC miNA, jonC tsenCfuB ŋanBphaiA
 PTCL twenty-fifth twenty-sixth must report name COP government arrangement
luB ŋtoC.
 come fight
 In the bullfights held on the fifth, sixth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, you can participate in the fight by applying on the day, but in the bullfights held on the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, you must apply in advance and the government makes arrangements for you.
- 6 *ʔŋona tɕuAduB tsɔŋC ŋiA szA-ŋtoC.*
 be.at IGN release buffalo RCP-fight
 (Interviewer) Where are the bullfights held?
- 7 *ʔŋona aAjiBtsuB -moA aAɕoA tsɔŋC ŋiA szA-ŋtoC.*
 be.at PN MOD PN release buffalo RCP-fight
 They are held at Aho in Pingzhai. [161]
- 8 *ðanBtsiB-naB muB tsɔŋC ŋiA szA-ŋtoC.*
 IGN-PL go release buffalo RCP-fight
 (Interviewer) Who can participate in the fight?

161 Aho is a place name, which is located on the way to Guangzhong from Pingzhai. As this place does not have a Chinese name, we tentatively create a Chinese word 阿侯 Āhòu to denote the place.

9 *εεA -nonB tshenAliA maA touCniuAεεAχwiC, touCniuAεεAχwiC taA tA-*
time -DEM establish exist bullfighting.society bullfighting.society COM NMLZ-

ɔwuC ηiA -moA niB-piB -moA naA.
feed buffalo MOD 3-house MOD human

Now, we have a bullfighting society. The people who are members of the society as well as buffalo breeders can participate in the fight.

10 *ηiA aCɔaCaC tsonC.*
buffalo IGN release

(Interviewer) How do people arrange the bullfighting?

11 *əBηiA tsonC -niB, souBeienB- fenB tA-ndanC tA-ɔjoC, tAAtana tA-*
buffalo release PTCL first divide NMLZ-big NMLZ-small small NMLZ

ndanC, ... tA-kanA tshaBpuBtoB jiAjanc tsoC- tsonC szA-ηtoC.
big NMLZ-horn approximately same CLNK1 release RCP-fight

First, people classify buffalos by size, then select two buffalos of the same size, and let them fight.

12 *zuAkoB- aAɔiC- εεAsanB ɔyɔnC -waC, tsoC- tsonC szA-ηtoC.*
CLNK2 CLNK2 negotiate good PTCL CLNK1 release RCP-fight

When the arrangement is completed, then the buffalos are allowed to fight.

13 *tsonC ηiA εεA -eB, εienB- tsonC ɔanB ηiA muB aAχoA tAeB ɔonB,*
release buffalo time DEM first release CLF buffalo go PN there wait

təBqwena juC tɛhiC ɔanB muB.
afterwards again draw CLF go

In the match, first, people let one buffalo enter the battlefield and wait there, then they bring in another buffalo.

14 *aAɔiC- ηiA szA-mpeA tsoC- tsonC taA-mbyB -moA hliC, niB tsoC-*
CLNK2 buffalo RCP-be.close CLNK1 release NMLZ-nose MOD rope 3 CLNK1

tεaA- szA-ηtoC.
independently RCP-fight

When the two buffalos come close enough to each other, they are released from restraint and the buffalos begin fighting by themselves.

15 *tsonC taA-mbyB, aAɔiC- ηtoC -niB, tsoC- qoC niB suiA- szA-ηtoC.*
release NMLZ-nose CLNK2 fight PTCL CLNK1 let 3 INTS RCP-fight

Once they begin fighting, they are allowed to fight at will.

16 *zuAkoB- aAɔiC- ntshεC -loA -niB, maA ɔanB tsoA taA-χyB tsoC- nthac,*
CLNK2 CLNK2 afraid PTCL PTCL exist CLF lift NMLZ-head CLNK1 run

tA-jεnA -moA ɔanB -eB tsoC- ɔyεA, phoB tA-keA ηiA tsoC-
NMLZ-win MOD CLF DEM CLNK1 chase CLF NMLZ-separate buffalo CLNK1

ʔjuC taAtuB tsoC- keA.
pull tail CLNK1 separate

When one of the buffalos is defeated, it will raise its head and run. The winning buffalo will chase it. Then, the personnel in charge of separating the buffalos will come in and pull the buffalos' tails.

17 *ŋiA ŋtoC jɛNA -loA, təA-jɛNA -moA təAnaA tuC muA- tuC zɛNA.*
buffalo fight win PTCL NMLZ-win MOD human acquire NEG acquire money
(Interviewer) If a buffalo wins the match, can the breeder of the buffalo get money?

18 *koAzɛNA tɛzCfɛA tɛuBtɛhɛA -moA tɛhiB -eB muA- maA zɛNA -jaA -χaB,*
individual spontaneous hold MOD CLF DEM NEG exist money PTCL CLNK2

tɛɛNCfɛB tɛuBtɛhɛA -moA tɛhiB -eB tuC zɛNA -teC.
government hold MOD CLF DEM acquire money PTCL

In the bullfights held voluntarily by people, they receive no money.

19 *tɛhuBwuB tɛhuBluA szAwuB szAluA ŋɛA tɛɔNC -moA tɛhiB naA -eB muA-*
the.fifth the.sixth fifteenth sixteenth like release MOD CLF human DEM NEG

maA zɛNA -jaA, tɛɔC- tɛɔNC lanC aC nqoA -siA.
exist money PTCL CLNK1 release look make fun PTCL

People who organize the bullfights on the fifth, sixth, fifteenth, and sixteenth do not receive any money. They just hold bullfights to enjoy watching them.

20 *taAtsiB-naB muB lanC ŋiA szA-ŋtoC.*

IGN-PL go look buffalo RCP-fight

(Interviewer) What kind of people can go to watch the fight?

21 *tɛzB'jauC' ŋɛA ŋiA -moA təAnaA, jaAtɛhoAjaAntɛɔB -moA, taA təA-*
only.if like buffalo MOD human PN MOD COM NMLZ

mpeA təAeB -moA ɛiɛNC' jeB fuC'tɛɛNC' ɛiɛNC' liB'miɛNC' -moA, koAtɛɔNB
be.close there MOD county FLL nearby county inside MOD various

təAnaA tɛzB'jauC' ŋɛA lanC -moA təAnaA tɛɔC- muB lanC.
human only.if like look MOD human CLNK1 go look

Whether you are living in Eight Villages or living in some nearby counties, as long as you love to watch bullfighting, you can go to watch it.

22 *təA-paB təA-tɛNC, təA-hluA təA-ʔjoC, təA-vuA təA-miC tɛɔC-*
NMLZ-father NMLZ-young NMLZ-big NMLZ-small NMLZ-woman NMLZ-mother CLNK1

jiAχaC- khoB'jiB' muB.

together can go

Anybody can go to watch regardless of age and gender, old or young, male or female.

23 *muA- ʔŋɔNB maB phiɛuC' χaA.*
NEG need buy ticket INTJ

You don't have to buy a ticket.

24 eiA, muA- ʔŋonB maB phiauC', lanC ŋiA szA-ŋʃoC muA- ʔŋonB zenA
INTJ NEG need buy ticket look buffalo RCP-fight NEG need money

-jaA, tsoC- muB lanC təA-qloA -siA.
PTCL CLNK1 go look NMLZ-free PTCL
Watching bullfighting is free.

【中文大意】

斗牛

采访者：“斗牛每年什么时候举行？”

受访者：“每年的正月初五、初六、十五、十六、二十五、二十六号举行。初五、初六一般是民间自己举办。二十五、二十六是政府举办。初五、初六、十五、十六是当天进行对战，二十五、二十六必须先报名由政府安排。”

采访者：“斗牛在哪个地方进行呢？”

受访者：“在平寨的一个叫阿侯（老斗牛场）的地方进行。”

采访者：“有哪些人能参加斗牛比赛？”

受访者：“现在成立了一个斗牛协会，他们和养有水牛家的人能参与。”

采访者：“头牛的时候具体怎么斗呢？”

受访者：“首先把水牛按大小分开，选出两头差不多大小的牛，让它们相斗。协商好了就放牛相斗。放牛的时候，先牵一头牛去斗牛场里等着，然后再牵另外一头过去。互相靠近了之后就放掉拴牛鼻子的绳子，它们就会自己开始相斗起来。斗牛开始了就让他们自己相斗。如果其中一头牛输了，它就会开始跑，而赢了的牛会追在后面，这个时候负责分开牛的那些人就会拉住牛尾巴把它们分开。”

采访者：“斗牛斗赢了的话，养牛的人有奖金吗？”

受访者：“民间自己举办的斗牛没有奖金，政府举办的斗牛有奖金。所以，初五、初六、十五、十六的斗牛是没有奖金的，他们就单纯是自己斗着玩儿。”

采访者：“有哪些人会去看斗牛呢？”

受访者：“只要是喜欢看斗牛的人都会去看，这里铺窝八寨的，以及相邻县里的，各种各样的人，只要是喜欢斗牛就都会去看。男女老少都会去。不用买票。是的，看斗牛不需要花钱，免费看。”

【日本語大意】

闘牛を語る

—闘牛は毎年いつ開催されるのですか。

毎年正月の五日、六日、十五日、十六日、二十五日、二十六日に開催される。五日と六日は一般に民間で自主的に開催する。二十五日と二十六日は政府が開催する。五日と六日、十五日と十六日は当日に行って対戦するが、二十五日と二十六日は必ずあらかじめ政府に届け出なければならない。

—闘牛はどこで行われるのですか。

平寨のアホというところで開催する。

—誰が闘牛に参加できるのですか。

今は闘牛協会と言うのがあり、彼らと水牛を飼っている家の人が参加する。

—闘牛はどうやってやるんですか。

まず水牛を大小によって分け、だいたい同じくらいの牛を選んで戦わせる。協議が終わると闘牛が始まる。水牛を放すときには、まず先に一頭を闘牛場に牽いて行って待たせ、それからもう一頭を牽いていく。両者が十分に近づいたら水牛の鼻につけている縄を放すと、牛は自発的に戦い始める。戦いが始まると水牛が戦うに任せる。どちらか一頭が負けると、その牛は走り出し、勝った方はそれを追いかける。そこで牛を引き離すための人たちが尻尾をもって引き離す。

—牛が勝つと牛を飼っている人は賞金をもらえるのですか。

民間で主催する場合には賞金はないが、政府主催のものは賞金が出る。だから、五日と六日、十五日と十六日の闘牛は賞金はもらえない。彼らは楽しみのために闘牛をするのだ。

—どういった人が観戦するんですか。

ただ闘牛を見るのが好きな人たちが行ってみるのだ。ここ八ヶ村とその近隣の県の人たち、いろんな人が闘牛が好きなら行って観戦する。老若男女みんな行く。チケットを買う必要はない。そう、闘牛観戦は無料なのだ。

34. Studying in the Fifties

1. *wuBszAnienC'taiC' eεA -eB senBχoAthiauAtkienC taA eienC'tsaiC' muA- jiAjanC*
 fifties time DEM living.condition COM present NEG same

-jaA.

PTCL

In the 1950s, our life condition was not the same as the present.

2. *eεA -eB muA- maA tienC, muA- maA tszClaiAsuiB.*
 time DEM NEG exist electricity NEG exist water.supply
 At that time, there was no electricity or water supply.

3. *nonA ηaC -niB, nonA aAtəBηaC, təBηaC jonC təA-?lanA -siA, aAvuB- qwaC*
 eat rice PTCL eat corn corn COP NMLZ-CLF PTCL still use

γyA szB-τəBpiC taA-pluB luB aC nonA -moA.
 grind PURP-change NMLZ-powder come make eat MOD

We ate corn. When we ate corn, we had to grind it to powder using a mortar.

4. *muA- leA eienC'tsaiC' ?miA ηaCmbliA εaC qoC wenB tsOC- khoB'jiB' luC*
 NEG resemble present DISP1 tice put GOAL pot CLNK1 can filter

luB tsOC- nonA -jaA.

come CLNK1 eat PTCL

Everything was different from the present. Today, we can eat rice after we boil rice in the pot and strain the rice.

5. *senBχoAthiauAtkienC teienBkhuB -tsaB.*
 living.condition hard PTCL
 At that time, the living conditions were hard.

6. *eεA -eB kanBnaB aC ntoB -niB, kanBnaB muB aAjiBtsuB aAnqhena aC -loA.*
 time DEM 1PL do paper PTCL 1PL go PN PN do PTCL
 We had to walk to Anqhen of Pingzhai to study. [162]

7. *qloB təAnonB aAqloAzonC muB aAjiBtsuB -niB, tchiAmaB- muB pluA-liB*
 ABL here PN go PN PTCL at.least go four-CLF

təAtəiB, əBhnaA niB- nduC pluA-ngweC.

road day IRR walk four-CLF

From here in Guangzhong to Pingzhai, it is four miles. We walked the route four times a day.

8. *tiByeA soB luB tsOC- muB aAjiBtsuB aC ntoB, muB aAjiBtsuB aC ntoB,*
 morning get.up come CLNK1 go PN do paper go PN do paper

162 Anqhen is a place name, where the school of Pingzhai was located. As this place does not have a Chinese name, we tentatively create a Chinese word 昂垦 ángkěn to denote the place.

aC yeA ntoB tsoC- tɔNB luB piB nonA ɲaCyeA.
do morning paper CLNK1 return come house eat breakfast

In the morning, we got up and went to Pingzhai to study. When we finished the morning classes, we went home and ate breakfast.

9 *nonA ɲaCyeA jɛnA -sanC jeB tɛaA- tɔNB muB aC ntoB, aC ɛaCwuB*
eat breakfast finish CLNK2 FLL separately return go do paper do afternoon

ntoB jɛnA -sanC -niB, juCtɛaA- tɔNB muB piB, tɔNB muB piB jiApanB-
paper finish CLNK2 PTCL again return go house return go house generally

tsoC- toC piB qwaA tʂhoB ʔwuC ɲiA ʔwuC juB luB toC piB ʔyB
CLNK1 BNF house cut grass feed buffalo feed cow come BNF house watch

ona -naB, muB kuB ona -naB, toC piB qwaA tʂhoB -naB, tɛaB maB
water PLNK go carry water PLNK BNF house cut grass PLNK pasture horse

tɛaB juB -naB, aC ɔiB szCtɛhɛnA -nonB -siA.
pasture cow PLNK do CLF matter DEM PTCL

After eating breakfast, we went back to school to study, and when we finished studying the day's classes, we returned home. Upon returning home, we usually helped our family do housework: cutting weeds, feeding buffalos, feeding cows, queuing up for drawing water, carrying water home and taking horses and cows out to pasture. We did these things.

10 *ɛeA -eB kəB-paB niB jonC aC xuA weiCtsuB -χaB, niB aAvuB- lenC*
time DEM 1SG-father 3 COP do land mainly CLNK2 3 still draw

ʔneA maB taA -teC.
CLF horse add PTCL

During those days, my father mainly made a living by farming, but got some money by carrying things by horse.

11 *lenC ʔneA maB, toC naA thoA aAjiAjiC niB khoB'jiB' tuC ʔneA zenA.*
draw CLF horse BNF human carry thing 3 can acquire CLF money
He helped others to carry things by horse and received some money.

12 *soBjiB seA, kanBnaB aC ntoB -niB, tʂhaB -tsaB.*
therefore say 1PL do paper PTCL poor PTCL
Our study conditions were very poor.

13 *juC- muA- maA khuC tuC, tɔnC təCtoC muB aC ntoB -siA.*
again NEG exist shoe wear deliver foot go do paper PTCL
At that time, we did not have shoes to wear, so we went school barefoot.

14 *tɔnC təCtoC muB aC ntoB -siA, nduC muB nduC luB -niB, təCtoC tsoC-*
deliver foot go do paper PTCL walk go walk come PTCL foot CLNK1

tɛhiB taAkaApaA luB.
occur blister come

We really went to school barefoot. Walking on the road every day, we got blisters on our feet.

- 15 *jouBszAχoA aAvuB- χuB?qiA jeB qwaA ... qwaA qhlenC ntshenB -naB, δoC ...*
 sometimes still stone FLL cut cut flow blood PLNK crack

δoC kaApaAliBkaApaAleC ... təCtoC δoC kaApaAliBkaApaAleC.
 crack rough foot crack rough

Sometimes, stepping on a stone, the soles of our feet bled. The sore of our feet had many cracks.

(Interviewer) How many students were there in the school?

- 16 *εεA -eB, εεA -eB -moA jiAkoC panB niB- maA ərCszAtoB'koC εoAsenB*
 time DEM time DEM MOD one class IRR exist twenty.or.so student

-qeAleC.
 only

In those days, one class only had twenty or so students.

- 17 *jinB'weiC' εεA -eB təAnaA muAsaA- tsənC'szC' aC ntoB -jaA.*
 CLNK2 time DEM human NEG respect do paper PTCL
 This is because people did not make much of education at that time.

- 18 *εoAsenB zoC -tsaB.*
 student few PTCL

The number of students was very limited.

- 19 *jiAkoC təhyenAεauC -niB, maA ?jiC-?wuA-tsiA-piC naA, jiApanB- jiAkoC*
 one whole.school PTCL exist one-two-three-hundred human generally one

εoAεauC maA luAkoC panB.
 school exist six class

One school had one hundred, two hundred, or at most three hundred students. In general, one school had six classes.

- 20 *piC-paB -ntuC δanB εoAsenB -qəAleC, jinB'weiC' thiauAteienC muA- ?yθnC,*
 hundred-around more CLF student only CLNK2 condition NEG good

təAnaA muAsaA- tsənC aAtana aC ntoB -jaA.
 human NEG deliver child do paper PTCL

There were only one hundred or so students. Since the study conditions were not good, people were not willing to send their children to school.

(Interviewer) What kind of subjects did you have?

- 21 *aC ntoB tsəC- aC yBwena taA suanCsuA -siA, yBwena taA*
 do paper CLNK1 do Chinese.class COM arithmetics PTCL Chinese.class COM

suanCsuA.
 arithmetic

At that time, we only had Chinese language classes and math classes.

22 *aC ɣyBwɛnA taA suanCsua təA-ntuC, jiApənB- tɛhiAθaB -moA khoC'*
do Chinese.class COM arithmetic NMLZ-more generally other MOD class

tsɔC- muA- ... χɛnB'- sauB' zənC.

CLNK1 NEG very few join

At least, the majority of classes were Chinese language classes and math classes. The other classes were few.

23 *θiB'ɣyAkhoC' taA meIBsuAkhoC' -niB, sənC -teA χɛnB'- zoC.*
gymnastics.class COM art.class PTCL join -DGR very few
Gymnastics and art classes were very seldom.

24 *szBɛənB'khoC' tsɔC- muA- maA, tɛiBpənB'sənC'- taA ɛiənC'tsaiC' muA- jiAjanC,*
ideology.class CLNK1 NEG exist basically COM present NEG same

*muAtaC- *** szBɛənB'khoC' ***, muA- maA tɛhiAθaB' khoC'waiC' χoAtonC*
NEG ideology.class NEG exist other extra/curricular activity

-naB.

PLNK

There were no classes on ideology. The situation was different from the present. We had no extra-curricular activities.

25 *aAθiC- aC ntoB jɛnA, nduC tɛiB, szAtɛiənB' zoC -tsaB, szAtɛiənB' zoC -tsaB,*
CLNK2 do paper finish walk road time few PTCL time few PTCL

muA- maA szAtɛiənB' muB ɛoA muAliBtɛiB -jaA.

NEG exist time go study much PTCL

After the classes were over, we walked home. We did not have much time in school, so we could not learn much.

26 *ʔɛnA ɛoAɛauC -moA szAtɛiənB' maA ɛiənC' -loA.*
be.at school MOD time exist limit PTCL

We did not have much time in school.

27 *soBjiB tsuB'jauC'- sənC ɣyBwɛnA taA suCɛoA.*

therefore mainly join Chinese.class COM math

Thus, we only studied Chinese language and math.

28 *aAszAsɛnA sənC jɛnA -niB, tsɔC- tsənC ɛoA qoAzɛnA tsɔC- luB piB.*
teacher join finish PTCL CLNK2 release school individual CLNK1 come house
Teachers went home themselves after school was over.

29 *ʔɛnA piB juC- muA- tuC təAnaA fuBtauB, jiAkoC zɛnA tszCtɛoA ɛoAciA*
be.at house again NEG acquire human review one human by.oneself study

-siA.

PTCL

At home, we did not have anyone to help us in studying. We had to study by ourselves.

30 *soBjiB soA, təAnaA aC ntoB tshuA luB χenB'- zoC.*
 therefore say human do paper exit come very few
 Thus, few students could graduate school.

31 *εeA -eB ... εeA -eB maA piC δanB naA tszBtsaB maA δanB aC tshuA*
 time DEM time DEM exist hundred CLF human difficult exist CLF do exit
luB.
 come
 In those days, only one out of one hundred students graduated.

32 *muA- leA εienC'tsaiC' εoAεauC ʔηoNA aAzona, juC- maA tshεBtszB, juC-*
 NEG resemble present school be.at door again exist car again
maA tienCtenB, senBχoAthiauAtsienC ʔyθNC, juC nonA ηaC... ηaCmbliA, juC-
 exist electric.light living.condition good again eat rice rice again
tuC khuC, maA aAzuC mpaC, juC- mpaC tiA.
 wear shoe exist clothes wear again wear thick
 The situation was very different from the present. Today, your school is close to your house, or
 you can take a bus to go there. The living conditions are far better than in those days. We have
 electric light, much to eat, have shoes to wear, and have warm clothes, and can stay warm.

33 *jyenAlaiA aC ntoB -niB, zuC mpaC ηenB, juC- qwanC.*
 those.days do paper PTCL clothes wear thin again cold
 In those days, when we studied, we did not have enough clothes to stay warm, so we felt very
 cold.

34 *aC ntoB muA- leA εeA -nonB -jaA, aC ntoB -niB, εeA -eB khuB -tsaB,*
 do paper NEG resemble time DEM PTCL do paper PTCL time DEM bitter PTCL
 Thus, studying was hard work. It is very different from the present.

35 *soBjiB təAnaA aC ntoB zoC -tsaB, muA- maA naA aC ntoB, muAsaA- maA*
 therefore human do paper few PTCL NEG exist human do paper NEG exist
naA aC ntoB -jaA.
 human do paper PTCL
 Therefore, the number of people who wanted to study was very limited.

【中文大意】

五十年代的上学情况

受访者：“五十年代的生活条件和现在不一样了。当时没有通电，也没有通水。吃饭呢，也就是吃玉米糊，玉米是一颗一颗的，把它用石磨磨成玉米粉来吃。不像现在把它放在锅里煮过之后再捞出来吃。生活条件非常艰苦。当时我们去学校读书都要走到平寨昂垦（平寨小学所在地）那个地方去。从光中这里走去平寨至少也有两公里路，一天要来回往返两次。早上起来就去平寨的学校，在平寨上完上午的课，就回家吃早饭。吃完早饭又接着回学校上下午的课，上完再回家。回到家一般就帮着家里割草喂水牛喂黄牛啦，去水场舀水啦，抬水啦，又去割草，放马放牛啦，大概做这些事情。当时我父亲他是做农业为主，但也赶马去运行李来补贴家

用。赶马去帮人拖东西，可以赚到一些钱。所以说我们当时读书的环境和条件都很差。也没有鞋穿，光着脚走去学校读书的。光着脚走去读书，走着走着呢，脚就起茧了。走的时候经常被石头割破脚底流血。脚底都是疤痕。”

采访者：“学校一个班有几个学生？”

受访者：“当时的学校一个班只有二十个学生左右。当时大家也不大重视读书。学生很少。一个全校全部有二三百人左右，一般一个学校有六个班。只有百把个学生。学习环境也不好，所以大家也不太愿意送孩子去学校读书。”

采访者：“有什么课呢？”

受访者：“读书就是读语文和数学。基本都是语文和数学，其他的课很少。体育课和美术课基本上没有。也没有政治课，和现在完全不一样。其他的课外活动也没有。下课了就马上回家，时间很紧，也没有太多时间去学习。在学校的时间也有限。所以主要是上语文和数学。老师上完课也立马回家了。在家也没有谁能教我们，只能自己一个人学习。所以能从学校毕业的学生很少。当时一百个人里面有一个人毕业都是好的了。不像现在学校就在附近，又有车子，又有电灯，生活条件也好，又有吃的，又有鞋穿，又有衣服穿，非常暖和，这些在以前都是没有的。当时读书的时候，能穿的衣服也少，非常冷。读书和现在不同，当时是很苦的。所以读书的人非常少。”

【日本語大意】

五十年代の通学

五十年代の生活環境は現在とは違っていた。当時は電気は通っていないくて水道もなかった。ご飯を食べる、といってもトウモロコシご飯なんだが、トウモロコシは粒だから、これを臼で挽いて粉にしてそれから食べたのだ。今のように米を鍋に入れて煮て水を濾したら食べられるなんてことはなかった。生活環境も厳しいものだった。当時学校に行くのも平寨のアンケンまで歩いて行っていた。ここ光中から平寨まで少なくとも二キロあるが、一日に二往復しなければならなかった。朝起きると平寨の学校まで行くのだが、平寨で午前の授業が終わると家に帰って朝ご飯を食べた。朝ご飯を食べて学校に戻って午後の授業を受け、それが終わると家に帰った。家に帰ると一般に家の手伝いで草刈りをして水牛や牛に与えたり、水場に並んで水を汲んだり運んだりした。また草刈りや牛や馬の放牧などそんなことをやっていた。当時私の父は農家だったが、馬で荷物運びをして家計の足しにしていた。馬で荷物運びをしていくらか金を稼いでいたのだ。そういうわけで勉強する環境はよくなかった。履く靴もなくて裸足で学校に通ったのだ。裸足で学校に通っているうちに足に豆ができた。歩いていると石で足の裏が割れて血が出た。足の裏はひび割れだけだった。

——一つのクラスには何人の学生がいたんですか。

当時の学校は一つのクラスには二十人くらいしかいなかった。当時みんな勉強することを重要視していなかった。生徒は少なかった。一つの学校に二、三百人くらいで、クラスは一般に6クラスくらいだった。百人くらいしか生徒はおらず、学習環境もよくなかったので、みんなあまり子供を学校に送りたがらなかった。

—どんな教科があったんですか。

勉強というのは国語と算数だった。国語と算数がほとんどだった。一般に他の授業は少なかった。体育や美術などはほとんどなかった。思想の授業もなく、いまとは全然違った。他の課外活動もなかった。授業が終わるとすぐ家に帰ったので、時間もなくてたくさんのことを勉強することはできなかった。学校にいる時間は限られていた。それで基本的に国語と算数だけやっていた。先生も授業が終わるとすぐ家に帰った。家にも誰も教えてくれる人もおらず、ひとりで勉強するしかなかった。それで学校を卒業する人は少なかった。当時百人中一人卒業できればいい方だった。今のように学校がすぐそばにあって、交通機関もあって、電灯もあって、生活環境もよくて食べるものもあり、靴もあって、服もあって暖かくできるなんてことは当時は全くなかった。当時は勉強するときも着る服も少なくて寒かった。勉強は今とは違って当時は苦しいものだった。それで勉強する人はとても少なかったのだ。

35. Replacement of Roof Tiles [163]

- 1 *səAsenA -moA piB jonC ɛeA taAtsiB thoB -moA.*
 teacher MOD house COP time IGN build MOD
 (Interviewer) When was your house built?
- 2 *jonC ɔanBtsiB thoB -moA.*
 COP IGN build MOD
 (Interviewer) Who built it?
- 3 *jonC jiA-tɛuB-szC-wuB niɛnA thoB -moA.*
 COP one-nine-four-five year build MOD
 It was built in 1945.
- 4 *jonC kanB-paB kanB-miC thoB -moA.*
 COP 1SG-father 1SG-mother build MOD
 My father had built it.
- 5 *tɛhenB səAsenA tʃhiA ɸona-piB aCɔaAaC thoB.*
 ask teacher say 2SG-house IGN build
 (Interviewer) Could you tell me how the house is structured?
- 6 *kəB-piB -moA piB jonC ntonC-piB, tsiA-khonB piB ɸwuA-khonB zɛnB.*
 1SG-house MOD house COP tree-house three-CLF house two-CLF annex
 My house is a wooden house. It has three divisions in the main house and two divisions in the annex.
- 7 *tsiA-khonB piB maA ɸlanA aAqoBtsoA, maA ɸlanA aAtɛəAɔoB, maA ɸlanA*
 three-CLF house exist CLF kitchen exist CLF hearth exist CLF
aAtɛəAnglɛnA.
 hall
 The three divisions of the main house are: kitchen, hearth place, and hall.
- 8 *aAtɛəAɔoB maA khonB taAnɔaA, aAqoBtsoA maA khonB taAnɔaA.*
 hearth exist CLF room kitchen exist CLF room
 Both kitchen and hearth place have a room inside.
- 9 *aAtɛəAnglɛnA jonC thonBtɛiɛnB.*
 hall COP one.room
 The hall is not divided into rooms.
- 10 *saA zɛnB aC aAnɔaA-piB ɸəBtiA -eB aC ŋgaA tsoC- ɸwuC ŋiA-juB*
 top annex make room-house bottom DEM make shed CLNK1 feed buffalo-cow
qliB-mpiC.
 dog-pig
 The annex has two floors, with two rooms on the second floor and a cattle shed on the first floor where we feed buffalos, cows, dogs, and pigs.

163 See Appendix 2 for a typical house design of the Hmyo people.

- 11 *ʁona weiCtsəBtsiB niB- leC waB.*
 2SG IGN IRR replace tile
 (Interviewer) Why did you decide to change the roof tiles?
- 12 *jinB'weiC'- piB tʃhoB liA -tsaB, əBwaB təA-vuBlaB ɛaB -tsaB, piB*
 CLNK2 house build long.time PTCL tile NMLZ-break many PTCL house
luC -tsaB.
 leak PTCL
 Since a long time had passed since it was built, it had many broken tiles. Thus, the roof leaked badly.
- 13 *khoA piB muA- maA waB tɛaB -jaA. maAfaNA -tsaB, soBjiB kanB leC*
 collect house NEG exist tile add PTCL troublesome PTCL therefore 1SG replace
tɛəBpiC təA-sɛnA waB.
 change NMLZ-new tile
 I tried to add some new tiles, but I could not find tiles of the same type. So, I decided to exchange all the tiles with tiles of a new type.
- 14 *ðanB waB -nonB khoB'jiB' qwenB ʔwuA-tsiA-joA nɛnA.*
 CLF tile DEM can last two-three-ten year
 The tiles of the new type that I used this time can last for twenty or thirty years.
- 15 *ngweC -nonB leC waB aCɔaAaC leC, toC kanB tʃhiA ʔneA.*
 CLF DEM replace tile IGN replace BNF 1SG speak CLF
 (Interviewer) How did you exchange the tiles this time? Could you tell me the procedure?
- 16 *kanB tɛhenB phoB aAzanC ðaA leC, waB jonC niB -moA, lauAliA jonC*
 1SG ask CLF master come replace tile COP 3 MOD labor COP
niB -moA.
 3 MOD
 I asked craftsmen to exchange the tiles. It was the craftsmen that brought the tiles, and they prepared the labor.
- 17 *kanB ʔmiA *** khuaiB tɛhiɛnA, niB tɛhyɛnApuC toC kanB leC jɛnA aC*
 1SG DISP1 CLF money 3 altogether BNF 1SG replace finish make
jɛnA.
 finish
 I gave them * yuan, and they completed all the work for me.
- 18 *phoB aAzanC -ɛB ɛiɛnB- tɛɛA təA-qanA waB ngaB luB, waB ɛaC*
 CLF master DEM first take.down NMLZ-old tile descend come tile take.down
jɛnA -waC, niB tsoC- ntsɛnC aAŋkanAwaB, ntsɛnC jɛnA -waC niB tsoC-
 finish PTCL 3 CLNK1 nail roof.board nail finish PTCL 3 CLNK1

zanC təA-senA waB, zanC jenA -waC, niB tsoC- phæC waB.
 lift.up NMLZ-new tile lift.up finish PTCL 3 CLNK1 cover tile
 The craftsmen first took down the old tiles. After they finished taking down the tiles, they nailed the roof board on the rafters. After that, they lifted up the tiles onto the roof. When all the tiles were on the roof, they tiled the roof.

19 taC'kaiC'- ηteaC təAhmonC luA tienBtsonB tsoC- aC jenA.
 approximately arrive evening six o'clock CLNK1 make finish
 The work was finished at about six o'clock in the evening.

20 phæA jenA -waC, təhenB phoB aZanC -eB nonA tonB ηaC, xoA tonB teoB.
 cover finish PTCL ask CLF master DEM eat CLF rice drink CLF wine
 When the work was completed, I invited the craftsmen to dinner with food and wine.

21 teoB xoNA- ηteaC təAhmonC szA tienBtsonB xoNA- muB piB.
 wine CLNK1 arrive evening ten o'clock CLNK1 go house
 We had dinner and drank wine together up until ten o'clock, and then we went home.

22 luB?wuA-hnaA vuB- maA szC -teC muA- maA.
 second-day still exist thing PTCL NEG exist
 (Interviewer) Did you do something on the second day?

23 kanB ?miA zenA təhenB naA toC kanB kuB təhiA aAmpheC-waB.
 1SG DISP1 money ask human BNF 1SG carry sweep piece-tile
 I employed some people to clean up the broken pieces of tiles.

24 kanB təhenB pæA-ðanB naA ðanB naA piC ntshEA zenA jiAχaC- toC
 1SG ask five-CLF human CLF human hundred CLF money altogether BNF

kanB təhiA ntshEA kuB jenA.
 1SG sweep clean carry finish
 I employed five people, giving one hundred yuan to each. They cleaned up the tiles for me.

25 piC ntshEA zenA təhenB ?lana tshEB ?juC aAmpheC-waB ndoC -loA.
 hundred CLF money ask CLF car pull piece-tile throw.away PTCL
 I paid another one hundred yuan to hire a truck to carry the tiles away.

26 kɔNA -moA piB ɛeA -nonB muA- maA naA ?ɲona -jaA. hnaApaB aCðaAaC
 2SG MOD house time DEM NEG exist human be.at PTCL future IGN

kauB.
 do
 (Interviewer) For the time being, nobody lives in that house of yours. What will you do with it in the future?

27 *kanB phæC qoC tæAeB, piB jonC paB-miC qoC -moA, kanB piAeyB*
 1SG cover GOAL there house COP father-mother leave MOD 1SG must

pauB'fuC' szB-ɣʉŋC, ntuC-ntuC ʔŋŋŋA ʔneA szAtkienB, khaAtsiB- paŋA niB
 save PURP-good more-RED be.at CLF time PROH give 3

vuBlaB -jaA.

decay PTCL

I own that house in the village. It is what my parents left me. I must take care of it to prolong its life as much as possible. I cannot leave it as it decays by itself.

28 *juCtæaA- ðanB piB -eB sanC mboC nduC jaB nduC qhiC tuC*
 furthermore CLF house DEM rise grave walk relative walk guest acquire

ʔŋŋŋA.

be.at

I can still use the house when I go to visit the grave of our ancestors or visit our relatives.

【中文大意】

换瓦

采访者：“你的房子是什么时候盖的？是谁盖的呢？”

受访者：“是1945年盖的。我父亲盖的。”

采访者：“请讲一下你们盖房子的故事呗。”

受访者：“我家的房子是木房子，正屋有三间房，另外还加建了两间厢房。三间房有一间厨房，一间火炉房，一间堂屋。厨房和火炉房里面还有小房间。堂屋是通间，没有隔小房间。厢房的上面是房间，下面是养水牛，牛，狗和猪的畜圈。”

采访者：“怎么想到要换瓦呢？”

受访者：“因为房子盖了很久了，烂的瓦很多，漏雨很严重。要修也没有同样的瓦，自己弄也很麻烦。所以干脆全部换成新的瓦了。这个新瓦好像能保持个两三十年。”

采访者：“怎么换瓦的？请你讲一下。”

受访者：“请了好几个师傅来，瓦是他们帮忙准备的，瓦工也是他们帮忙带来的。我总共付了*块钱，他们全部帮我做好了。那些师傅先把旧瓦卸下来，瓦下来后，就钉橡皮，钉完之后把新瓦抬上去，然后开始盖瓦。大概傍晚六点钟左右就完工了。盖完后，请了师傅们吃饭喝酒。吃到晚上十点钟以后，他们就回家了。”

采访者：“第二天还需要干什么吗？”

受访者：“我请了几个人帮我把瓦片渣清理干净。我请了五个人，一人一百块钱，他们帮我全部弄干净了。然后再花一百块钱叫了一辆货车帮我把瓦片渣都拖走了。”

采访者：“现在你那边的房子没有人住。以后有什么打算吗？”

受访者：“那是我的家，也是父母留给我的东西，无论如何我都必须要保护好它，尽量让它能多待更久的时间，不要坏掉。然后，扫墓、走亲戚的时候也能用来住一下。”

【日本語大意】

瓦の葺き替え

—お宅はいつ建てられたんですか。どなたが建てたのでしょうか。

建てたのは1945年だ。父が建てたものだ。

—お宅の造りをお話してください。

うちの家は木造家屋で、母屋に三部屋、建て増しした別棟に二部屋ある。三部屋のうち一つは台所、一つは囲炉裏部屋、もう一つは中心の部屋だ。台所と囲炉裏部屋には中に小部屋がある。中心の部屋は小部屋に仕切られてない。別棟の二階は部屋があって、一階は水牛、牛、犬、豚を飼う場所だ。

—どうして瓦を替えようと思ったのですか。

建ててからずいぶん時がたって、壊れた瓦が多くなり、雨漏りがひどくなったので。修理するにも同じ瓦はないし、自分でやるのは大変だ。それで全部新しい瓦にすることにした。この新しい瓦は二、三十年持つそうだ。

—どうやって瓦の葺き替えをしたのかお話してください。

何人か親方をお願いして、彼らに瓦も準備してもらい、働き手もつれてきてもらった。
*元払ってすべて彼らにやってもらった。親方たちはまず古い瓦を下ろし、下ろし終わったら屋根板をくぎ打ちして、それから新しい瓦を上あげて、それから瓦を葺いた。だいたい夕方六時に終わった。完成した後、親方たちを呼んでご飯とお酒をご馳走した。十時まで飲み食べした後、彼らは帰っていった。

—二日目には何かやることはあったんですか。

何人か人を頼んで瓦のかけらを掃除してもらった。頼んだのは五人で一人百元払って、片付けてもらった。さらに百元払ってトラックを呼んで瓦のかけらを運んでもらった。

—そのお宅は住む人がいないですが、今後はどうするつもりですか。

その家は私の家だし、私の父母が残してくれたもので、なんとか保っていかなければならない。できるだけ長く保って、壊れてしまわないようにしたい。また、お墓参りや親戚巡りの時に泊まるのに使えるのだ。

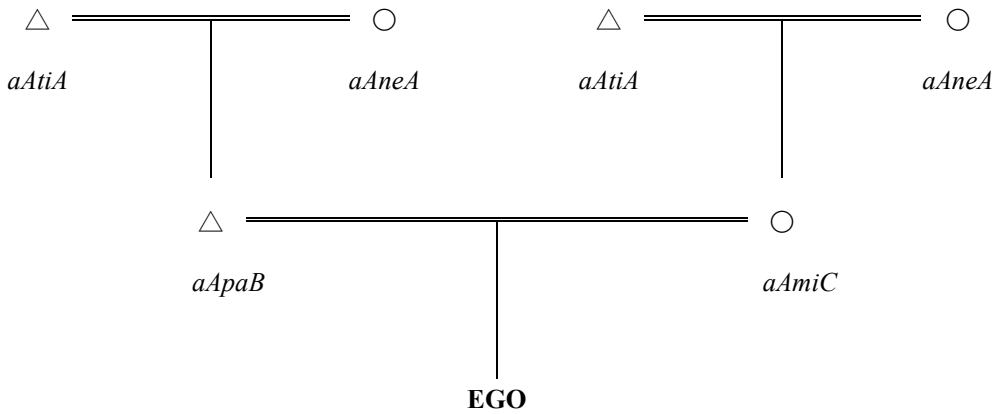
Appendix 1

Kinship Terms

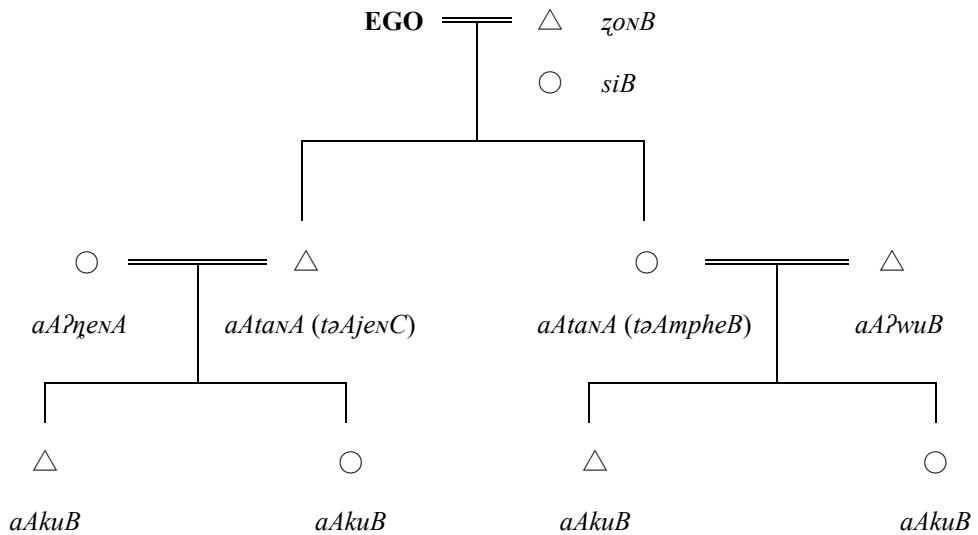
(Terms of reference)

△: Male ○: Female

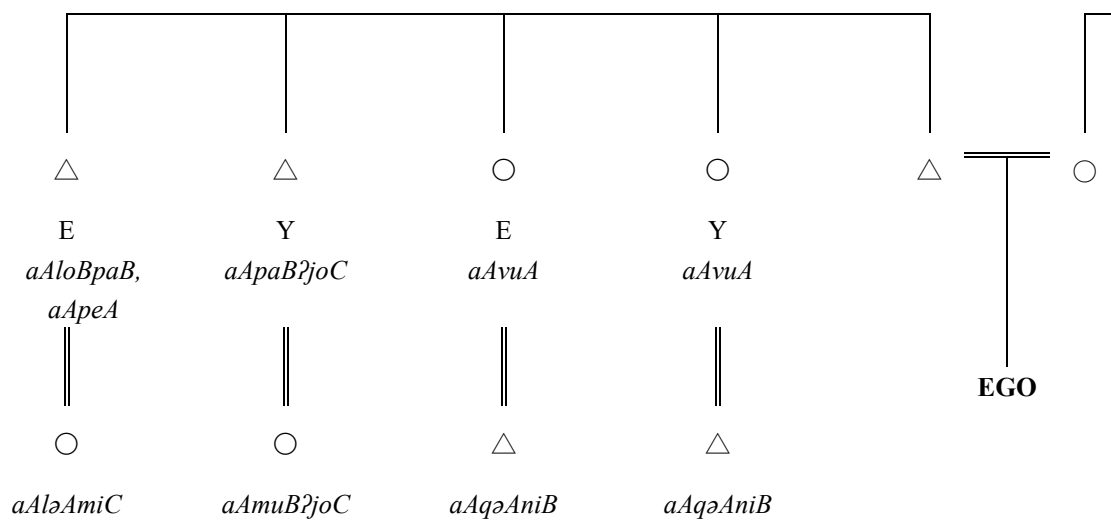
1. Parents and grandparents



2. Spouses, children and grandchildren

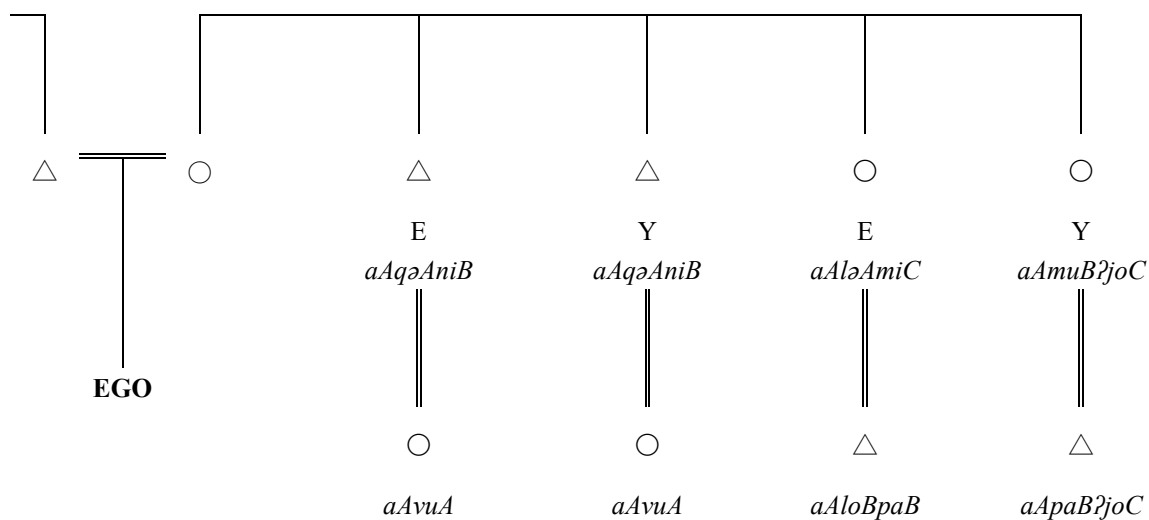


4. Father's siblings and their spouses



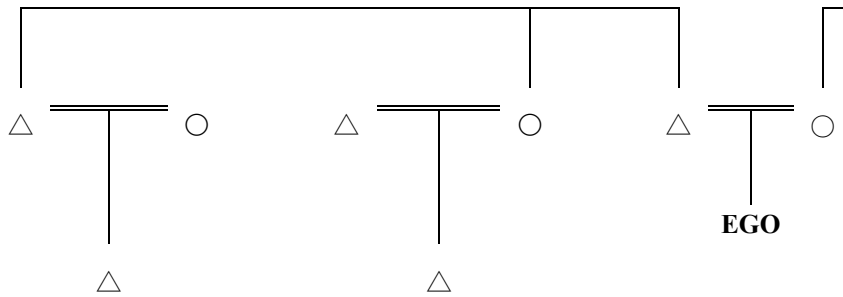
(E: Elder than EGO's father; Y: Younger than EGO's father)

5. Mother's siblings and their spouses



(E: Elder than EGO's mother; Y: Younger than EGO's mother)

6. Cousins



aAniB

○

aAtaC

aAqəAjaB (EGO=△)

aApoBloB (EGO=○, E)

aAmboB (EGO=○, Y)

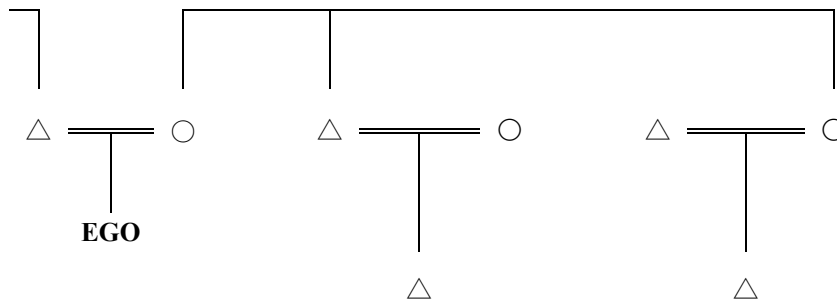
○

aAmboB (EGO=○)

aAmboB (EGO=△, E)

aAmuBʔjoC (EGO=△, Y)

(E: Elder than EGO; Y: Younger than EGO)



aAqəAjaB (EGO=△)

aApoBloB (EGO=○, E)

aAmboB (EGO=○, Y)

○

aAmboB (EGO=○)

aAmboB (EGO=△, E)

aAmuBʔjoC (EGO=△, Y)

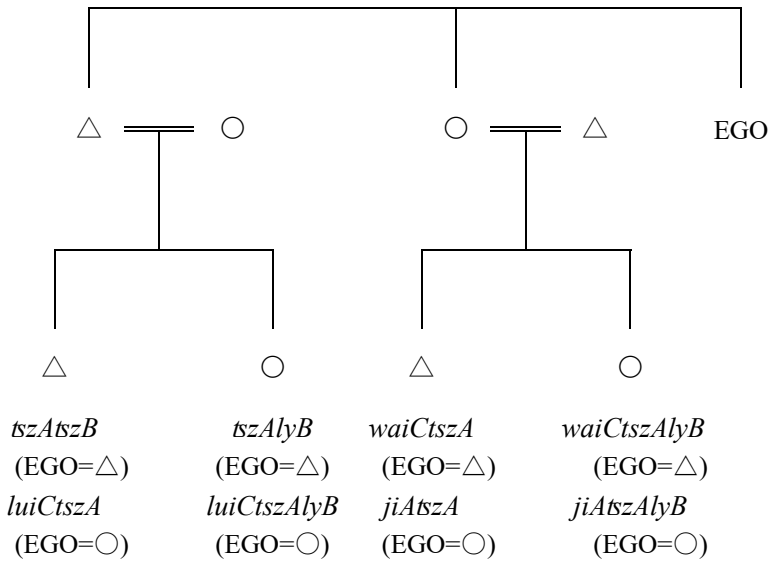
aAniB

○

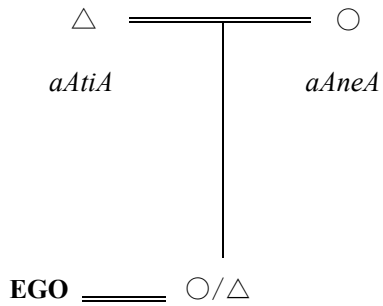
aAtaC

(E: Elder than EGO; Y: Younger than EGO)

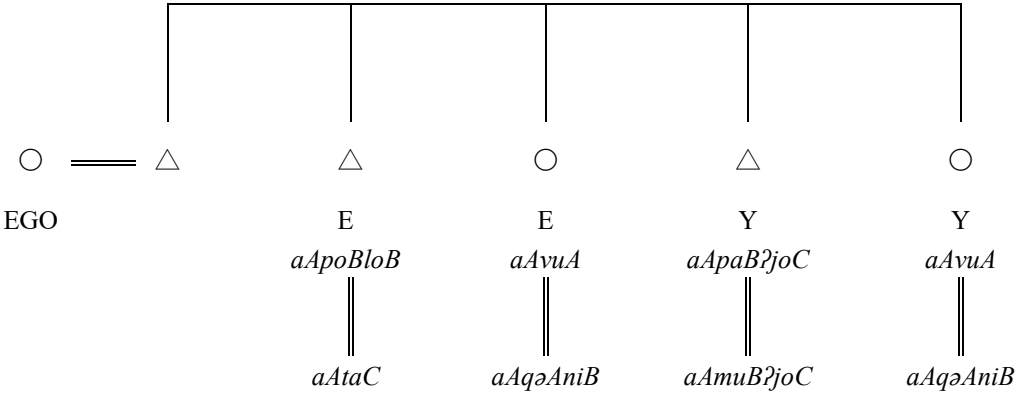
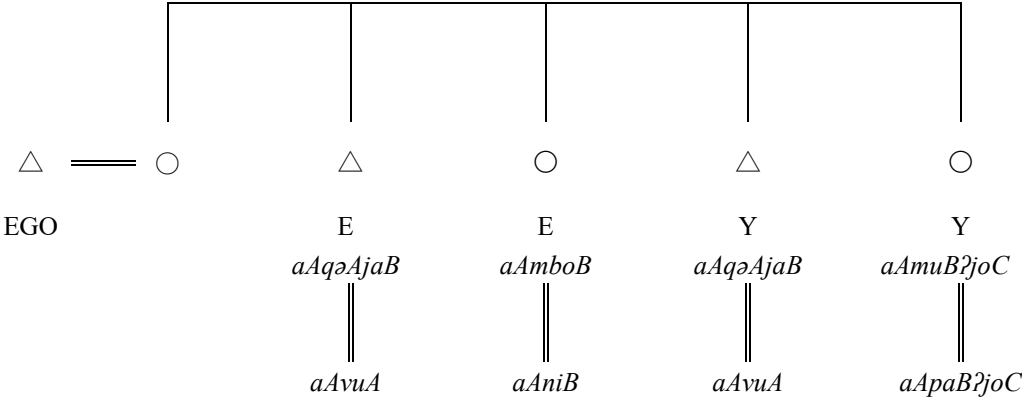
7. Nephews and nieces



8. Spouse's parents



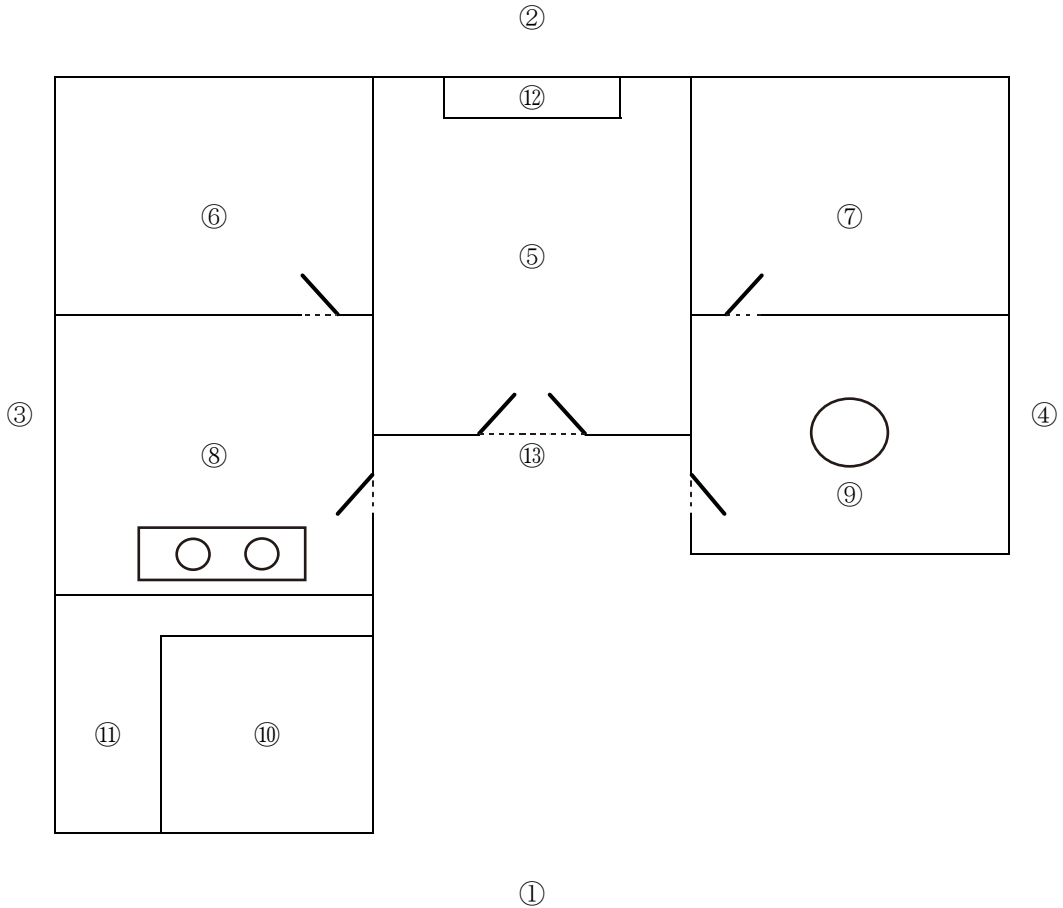
9. Spouse's siblings and their spouses



(E: Elder than EGO's spouse; Y: Younger than EGO's spouse)

Appendix 2

House Design



- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| ① <i>aAqaBpiB</i> (Space in front of the house) | ⑩ <i>ngaA</i> (Pen/stable) |
| ② <i>aAηδοBβοAπιB</i> (Space behind the house) | ⑪ <i>aAqhaCqaB</i> (Lavatory) |
| ③ <i>aAmaCπιB</i> (Space beside the house) | ⑫ <i>aAεανBχοB</i> (Altar) |
| ④ = ③ | ⑬ <i>aAzονAhluA</i> (Front door) |
| ⑤ <i>aAτεεANglεNA</i> (Hall) | |
| ⑥ <i>taAηqaA</i> (Room) | |
| ⑦ = ⑥ | |
| ⑧ <i>aAqοBtsoA</i> (Kitchen/oven) | |
| ⑨ <i>aAτεεAδοB</i> (Hearth place) | |

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