
TWO MANGGHUER STORIES

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ABSTRACT

Two Mangghuer (Minhe Monguor) stories are given with grammatical analysis and English translation. Qi Xiaofang wrote the stories based on versions she learned from elders in her home area.

KEYWORDS

folklore, Mangghuer, Minhe, Mongol, Monguor, Qinghai,

INTRODUCTION¹

These two stories contribute to the growing body of published Mangghuer literature and are particularly valuable to folklorists, students of Mangghuer culture, and linguists. The stories were written by Qi Xiaofang, who learned them from elders in her home area. The orthographic conventions and grammatical analysis of the stories basically follow that of Slater (2003) and Chen et al. (2005). A glossary of grammatical abbreviations is at the end of this paper. Line numbering indicates paragraph and sentence boundaries; for example, lines 8.1 and 8.2 of "Good Daughter Ping" are the first and second sentences, respectively, of the eighth paragraph of the story.

STORY NUMBER ONE

Gezaini Aguer Ping "Good Daughter Ping"

1 ***Gezaini Aguer Ping***
gezai =ni aguer Ping
 good GEN daughter Ping

Good Daughter Ping

2 ***Tiedongdu, yige shinagudu aguer liangkuer***
tiedong =du yi -ge shinagu =du aguer liang -kuer
 past DAT oneCL woman DAT daughter two CL

bang.

bang

OBJ.COP

Long ago, a woman had two daughters.

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3 **Yige qinni bang, niereni Hua**
yi -ge qin =ni bang niere =ni Hua
 oneCL self GEN OBJ.COP name POSS Hua

gelang.

ge -lang
 QUOTE OBJ.IMPERF

One was her own daughter, named Hua.

4 **Han yige ganni kuergan ma mieshiku bieri**
han yi -ge gan =ni kuergan ma mieshi -ku bieri
 other oneCL 3.SG GEN husband and first IMPERF wife

ghulani aguer bang, niereni Ping
ghula =ni aguer bang niere =ni Ping
 together GEN daughter OBJ.COP name POSS Ping

gelang.

ge -lang
 QUOTE OBJ.IMPERF

The other was the daughter of her husband and his ex-wife, and was named Ping.

5 **Gan jianni qin aguer Huadu jiaoye arong shini**
gan jian =ni qin aguer Hua =du jiaoye arong shini
 3.SG self GEN self daughter Hua DAT always clean new

gezaidada diersini musigha saolang,
gezai -dada dier -si =ni musi -gha sao -lang
 good such clothes PL ACC wear CAUSE sit OBJ.IMPERF

Hua yang gesa berlang.
Hua yang ge -sa ber -lang
 Hua what do COND become OBJ.IMPERF

She dressed her own daughter, Hua, in beautiful clothes, and Hua could do whatever she wanted.

6 **Ai xiderakuni shi, gan Pingla**
ai xidera -ku =ni shi gan Ping =la
 NEG be.like IMPERFGEN COP 3.SG Ping INST

gerku yigua weiliesini gegha
ger -ku yigua weilie -si =ni ge -gha
 houseIMPERF totally work PL ACC do CAUSE

saolang, gerku kunsidu shidieni
sao -lang ger -ku kun -si =du shidie =ni
 sit OBJ.IMPERF houseIMPERF personPL DAT early ACC

yama bajiaghani a, chushensidu wuyi
yama bajaia -gha -ni a chushen -si =du wuyi
 food prepareCAUSESUBJ.FUT PRT animal PL DAT fodder

hughani a, gerku kunsini
hu -gha -ni a ger -ku kun -si =ni
 giveCAUSESUBJ.FUT PRT houseIMPERF personPL GEN

diersini ghuaghani a ting
dier -si =ni ghua -gha -ni a ting
 clothesPL ACC wash CAUSESUBJ.FUT PRT that

gelang.
ge -lang
 QUOTE OBJ.IMPERF

On the contrary, she ordered Ping to do all kinds of housework, like cooking breakfast for the family, feeding domestic animals, and washing all the family's clothes.

7 **Han ganni Pingdu chudulang yama ma**
han gan =ni Ping =du chudu -lang yama ma
 also 3.SGGEN Ping DAT fill OBJ.IMPERF food and

khalen dier a guang.
khalen dier a guang
 hot clothes also OBJ.NEG.COP

In addition, Ping never had filling food or warm clothes.

8.1 **Tiyitiandu, yige naosa nuoyanni**
ti yi tian =du yi -ge nao -sa nuoyan =ni
 thatoneday DAT oneCL see COND official ACC

xideraku bayasiku ningger ge ni
xidera -ku bayasi -ku ningger ge ni
 be.like IMPERF glad IMPERF old.woman SG.INDEF this

shinaguni gerdu ri danang gandu keliji,
shinagu =ni ger =du ri danang gan =du keli -ji
 woman GEN houseDAT come after 3.SG DAT say IMPERF

"Qi dameidu yige aguernang
qi damei =du yi -ge aguer =nang
 2.SG 1.SG.DAT DAT oneCL daughter REFLPOSS

jieliegga, bi gerku weilienang ge
jielie -gha bi ger -ku weilie =nang ge
 borrow CAUSE 1.SG house IMPERF work REFLPOSS once

geghasa bernu?
ge -gha -sa ber -nu
 do CAUSE COND become SUBJ. FUT. QUEST

One day, an old woman who looked easily approachable and like an official came to her house and said to her, "Would you mind sending one of your daughters to help me with some housework?"

8.2 **Dan gan geji gezai bisa, bi**
dan gan ge -ji gezai bi -sa bi
 if 3.SG do IMPERF good SUBJ. COP COND 1.SG

gandu ertang yimadai huwa."
gan =du ertang yi madai hu -wa
 3.SG DAT gold onejute bag give VOL

If she does well, I'll give her a jute bag full of gold."

9 **Ni shinagu mulaser ni ninggerni terghaila**
ni shinagu mula -ser ni ningger =ni terghai =la
 this woman think PROG this old.womanGEN head INST

nao khuer duoruo kuergahjiang, ni ningger
nao khuer duoruo kuer -gha -jiang ni ningger
 see foot under arriveCAUSEOBJ.PERF this old.woman

zanjin diersini musi danang, xinhuo
zanjin dier -si =ni musi danang xinhuo
 beautiful.and.luxuriant clothesPL ACC wear after believe

geku kun mubang zha, tingge, gan
ge -ku kun mubang zha ting ge gan
 do IMPERF person OBJ.COP OK that do 3.SG

tongyirajiang.
tongyira -jiang
 agree OBJ.PERF

As she looked the old lady up and down, she found her beautiful and ornately dressed, and decided she was a trustworthy person, so at last she agreed.

10 **You yige yuanyin shi, gan qiardu hudu**
you yi -ge yuanyin shi gan qiar =du hudu
 also oneCL reason COP 3.SG moneyDAT very

shangjin bang, qiarla gan zeihang dier
shangjin bang qiar =la gan zeihang dier
 addicted OBJ.COP moneyINST 3.SG beautiful clothes

zeihang dier durji berlang.
zeihang dier dur -ji ber -lang
 beautiful clothes buy IMPERF becomeOBJ.IMPERF

Another reason was that she was very much addicted to money, so she could buy beautiful clothes.

11 **Tingku,** **ganni ninggerdu bayasiji**
ting -ku gan =ni ningger =du bayasi -ji
 that IMPERF 3.SG.POSS old.woman.DAT glad IMPERF

kualaji, **"Shihuanang kelisa, bi**
kuala -ji shihua =nang keli -sa bi
 praise IMPERF truth REFL.POSS say COND 1.SG

liangge aguernang qimeidu jielieji
liang -ge aguer =nang qimei =du jielie -ji
 two CL daughter REFL.POSS 2.SG.DAT.DAT borrow IMPERF

nukuer berhawa, ni ajiadio
nukuer ber -gha -wa ni ajia diao
 companion become CAUSEVOL this elder.sister.younger.sibling

ghulani qi geghasa yang a geji
ghula =ni qi ge -gha -sa yang a ge -ji
 together ACC 2.SG do CAUSECOND what also do IMPERF

naghulang, han gezeidada ge
naghu -lang han gezei -dada ge
 can OBJ.IMPERF other good such SG.INDEF

geni a."
ge -ni a
 do SUBJ.FUT PRT

Therefore, she said to the old lady proudly and boastfully, "In fact, I can send you my two daughters to help you, the two sisters can do anything you ask, and (since they will pull together) they will do everything efficiently and perfectly."

12 **Ni ningger shiniser keliji, "Ni zhuyi**
ni ningger shini -ser keli -ji ni zhuyi
 this old.woman new PROG say IMPERF this idea

gezai bang."
gezai bang
 good OBJ.COP

The old lady smiled and said, "That's a good idea."

13 **Tingku,** **gan Hua ma Pingni mula tingda,**
ting -ku *gan Hua ma Ping =ni mula tingda*
 that IMPERF 3.SG Hua and Ping ACC small such

zangnang, popolanlandi biesi ger gedu
zangnang popolanlan -di biesi ger ge =du
 dirty broken.downADV straw house SG.INDEFDAT

duer xijiang.

duer xi -jiang
 lead goOBJ.PERF

Then, she took Hua and Ping to a very small, dirty, untidy, and poor straw storehouse.

14 **Yixiazi,** **gan maosai zangnang tingda**
yixiazi *gan mao sai zangnang tingda*
 all.at.once 3.SG bad beautiful dirty such

ningger ge ber saojiang, gan Huani
ningger ge ber sao -jiang gan Hua =ni
 old.woman SG.INDEF become sit OBJ.PERF 3.SG Hua ACC

xian ni gerni a arong shou ge geji.

xian ni ger =ni a arong shou ge ge -ji
 first this houseACC PRT clean sweep do QUOTEIMPERF

Suddenly, she became a very ugly, dirty old lady, and she ordered Hua first of all to clean the house entirely.

15.1 **Tingku,** **keliji gandu angtidun yama**
ting -ku *keli -ji gan =du angtidun yama*
 that IMPERF say IMPERF 3.SG DAT delicious food

yidun chinagha geji.

yi -dun china -gha ge -ji
 oneCL cook CAUSE QUOTEIMPERF

Next, she ordered Hua to cook a delicious meal for her.

15.2 **Zui khuainao, ganni ge dabanlagha**
zui khuainao gan =ni ge dabanla -gha
 most back 3.SGACC once dress.up CAUSE

suzuni gezaiher ge sangbulagha geji.
suzu =ni gezai -her ge sangbula -gha ge -ji
 hair ACC good COMP once comb CAUSE QUOTEIMPERF

Last of all, she told Hua to make her up and comb her tangled hair.

16 **Hua ni maogerni ge nao houhuiraji**
Hua ni mao ger =ni ge nao houhuira -ji
 Hua this bad houseACC once see regret IMPERF

suguoji ting gelang, Hua geji you
suguo -ji ting ge -lang Hua ge -ji you
 curse IMPERF that do OBJ.IMPERF Hua do IMPERF also

wudang you mao bang.
wudang you mao bang
 slowly also bad OBJ.COP

As Hua was looking around the poor house, she regretted and complained that she had come here, and Hua did all the work very slowly and ineffectively.

17 **Gan yama bajiaji a shun guang,**
gan yama bajia -ji a shun guang
 3.SG food prepareIMPERF also smooth OBJ.NEG.COP

yinwei ni gan touyici saijin yama
yinwei ni gan touyici saijin yama
 because this 3.SG first.time spend.time food

bajialang.
bajia -lang
 prepareOBJ.IMPERF

Her cooking did not go smoothly, either, because this was the first time that she had spent much time cooking.

18 **Khuainao,** **ganni suzuni**
khuainao *gan =ni suzu =ni*
 back 3.SGGEN hair ACC

sangbulaghaku **shijiedu,** **ganmei dangdadage**
sangbula -gha -ku *shijie =du* *ganmei dangdadage*
 comb CAUSEIMPERF time DAT 3.SG strongly

ganni ninggerni you werkuer you
gan =ni ningger =ni you werkuer you
 3.SGACC old.womanACC also be.angry also

bieteghalang.

biete -gha -lang
 suffer.painCAUSEOBJ.IMPERF

After that, when she combed the old lady' white hair, she did it purposely and strongly so that she made the old lady angry and hurt.

19 **Khuainao,** **gan Pingla xideraku weilieni**
khuainao *gan Ping =la xidera -ku weilie =ni*
 back 3.SG Ping INST be.like IMPERF work ACC

geghajiang, **Ping ni mula gerni shou**
ge -gha -jiang *Ping ni mula ger =ni shou*
 do CAUSEOBJ.PERF Ping this small houseACC sweep

ghergha danang nongminni ger shige zhuangxiu
gher -gha danang nongmin =ni ger shige zhuangxiu
 go.outCAUSE after peasant GEN house like decorate

gherghajiang.

gher -gha -jiang
 go.outCAUSEOBJ.PERF

Later, when she had Ping do the same task, Ping cleaned and decorated the small house very tidily so it was like a normal peasant's house.

20 **Khuainao,** **ganni ninggerdu angtidun yama**
khuainao *gan =ni ningger =du angtidun yama*
 back 3.SGACC old.womanDAT delicious food

yidun chinaghajiang, ni ningger ganni
yi -dun china -gha -jiang ni ningger gan =ni
 oneCL cook CAUSE.OBJ.PERF this old.woman 3.SGGEN

touliangge gesang weiliedu hudu bayasi danang
tou liang -ge ge -sang weilie =du hudu bayasi danang
 firsttwo CL do PERF work DAT very glad after

puza ganni gedalasang suzuni banlagha
puza gan =ni gedala -sang suzu =ni banla -gha
 another 3.SGGEN tangle PERF hair ACC tie CAUSE

geji.

ge -ji
 QUOTEIMPERF

Later, after she had cooked a very delicious meal for the old lady, the old lady was very satisfied with the first two tasks she had done and asked her to comb her tangled long hair.

21 **Ping bian marmardi sangbulalang bian**
Ping bian marmar -di sangbula -lang bian
 Ping side slow ADV comb OBJ.IMPERF side

ganni shiqingsini erseghehang.
gan =ni shiqing -si =ni erseghe -lang
 3.SGGEN matter PL ACC ask OBJ.IMPERF

While Ping combed gently, she asked the old lady about her former life.

22 **Gan han ersegheji yang puza geku**
gan han erseghe -ji yang puza ge -ku
 3.SG other ask IMPERF what another do IMPERF

weilie bainu geji, ni ningger
weilie bainu ge -ji ni ningger
 work OBJ.COP.QUEST QUOTEIMPERF this old.woman

ganni khalen zhuerge ma renzhengni nao danang
 gan =ni khalen zhuerge ma renzheng =ni nao danang
 3.SG.GEN hot heart and diligence ACC see after

hudu bayasilang.

hudu bayasi -lang
 very glad OBJ.IMPERF

Ping also asked if she had other things need to do for her, and the old lady was delighted with Ping's carefulness and enthusiasm.

23 Khuainao ni liangge ajiadiao

khuainao ni liang -ge ajia diao
 back this two CL elder.sisteryounger.sibling

gerdunang xiku shijie kuerjiang, ni
 ger =du =nang xi -ku shijie kuer -jiang ni
 house.DATREFLPOSS go.IMPERF time arrive.OBJ.PERF this

ningger yijiadu shuguo madai ge hu danang
 ningger yijia =du shuguo madai ge hu danang
 old.woman each DAT big jute bag SG.INDEF give after

keliji, "Aguer liangge, muni ertang dong
 keli -ji aguer liang -ge muni ertang dong
 say IMPERF daughter two CL 1.SG.GEN gold hole

mula wula geni khuainao bang, ni
 mula wula ge =ni khuainao bang ni
 small mountain SG.INDEFACC back OBJ.COP this

wula mieshi suzu yitiao bang, qi xian
 wula mieshi suzu yi -tiao bang qi xian
 mountain front water oneCL OBJ.COP 2.SG first

suzuni nuoqiku kerlikunang, tasi jienang
 suzu =ni nuoqi -ku kerli -kunang tasi jie =nang
 waterACC pass IMPERF must.OBJ.FUT 2.PL selfREFLPOSS

kedu hesa a berni."
 kedu he -sa a ber -ni
 how.much takeCOND also becomeSUBJ.FUT

Later, when it was the time for the two sisters to go back home, the old lady gave each of them a big jute bag and said, "You two girls, the cave where I put gold is behind a small mountain, and there is a river in front of the mountain. You have to cross the river first, and then each of you may take as much gold as you can."

24 **Gansi zaijian keli danang, ni**
gan -si zaijian keli danang ni
 3.SGPL goodbye say after this

ajiadiao ghula kaishi shuguo
ajia diao ghula kaishi shuguo
 elder.sister.younger.sibling together begin big

madainang bari danang ertang wulani
madai =nang bari danang ertang wula =ni
 jute bagREFLPOSS take after gold mountainACC

yerrila xijiang.
yerri -la xi -jiang
 look.forPURP goOBJ.PERF

After they said goodbye, the sisters carried their big jute bags and went to look for the gold cave.

25 **Gansini suzuni nuoqi wulani pake**
gan -si =ni suzu =ni nuoqi wula =ni pake
 3.SGPL POSS waterACC pass mountainACC climb

nuoqisa, yishu geigandada ertang yanshuini
nuoqi -sa yi -shu geigan -dada ertang yanshui =ni
 pass COND oneCL clear such gold color GEN

guang gansini nududu ruojiang.
guang gan -si =ni nudu =du ruo -jiang
 light 3.SGPL GEN eye DAT enterOBJ.PERF

When they crossed the river and climbed the mountain, a bright, golden light appeared to their eyes.

26 **Hua shuguo khailaji,** **"Bi bayang aguer**
Hua shuguo khaila -ji *bi bayang aguer*
 Hua big shout IMPERF 1.SG rich daughter

berjiang a," gan kaishi shuguo
ber -jiang a gan kaishi shuguo
 becomeOBJ.PERF PRT 3.SG begin big

madainang zhuoluojiang.
madai =nang zhuoluo -jiang
 jute bagREFLPOSS put.into OBJ.PERF

Hua yelled, "I am a rich girl now," and she started to put the gold into her big jute bag.

27 **Yige tegherduni, shuguo madai tiduoruo**
yi -ge tegher =du =ni shuguo madai tiduoruo
 oneCL while DATPOSS big jute bag inside

chan kunni nuduni yinkeku ertang bang.
chan kun =ni nudu =ni yinke -ku ertang bang
 totally personGEN eye ACC attractIMPERF gold OBJ.COP

In a short time, the big jute bag was filled with attractive gold.

28 **Danshi, Ping nisini nao jian dunang**
danshi Ping ni -si =ni nao jian =du =nang
 but Ping thisPL ACC see self DATREFLPOSS

keliji, "Bi zhang jian nigenang heji
keli -ji bi zhang jian nige =nang he -ji
 say IMPERF 1.SG only self one REFLPOSS takeIMPERF

xiya a," khuainao, ertang tashi jige
xi -ya a khuainao ertang tashi ji -ge
 goVOL PRT back gold stone severalCL

tiaoke danang madainang zhuoluojiang.
tiaoke danang madai =nang zhuoluo -jiang
 choose after jute bagREFLPOSS put.into OBJ.PERF

However, Ping looked at the gold and said to herself, "I just want the part that belongs to me," and then she selected only a few gold chunks and put them in her own jute bag.

29 **Zuihou, ni ajiadiao ghula**
zuihou ni ajia diao ghula
 at last this elder.sisteryounger.sibling together

madainang beila gerdunang xijiang.
madai =nang beila ger =du =nang xi -jiang
 jute bagREFLPOSS carry houseDATREFLPOSS goOBJ.PERF

Finally, the two sisters shouldered their jute bags and went home.

30 **Gansini ana, nige mianzini shuguo**
gan -si =ni ana nige mianzi =ni shuguo
 3.SG PL GEN mother one face ACC big

naoku shinagu xian Huani madaini
nao -ku shinagu xian Hua =ni madai =ni
 see IMPERF woman first Hua GEN jute bagACC

kaikeghajiang, yinwei gan nige naosa
kaike -gha -jiang yinwei gan nige nao -sa
 begin CAUSEOBJ.PERF because 3.SG one see COND

shuguo bang.
shuguo bang
 big OBJ.COP

Their mother, the vain and greedy woman, opened Hua's jute bag first because hers¹ looked big.

31 **Gansini geiharakuni shi, Hua**
gan -si =ni geihara -ku =ni shi Hua
 3.SG PL ACC surprise IMPERFGEN COP Hua

¹ *gan nige* 'hers' might instead be analyzed as *gan=ni ge* 3SG=ACC SG.INDEF. We are not sure which analysis is correct.

zhensibahuo beilaji risang ertang ti
 zhensibahuo beila -ji ri -sang ertang ti
 with.great.difficulty carry IMPERF come PERF gold that

madai kungsi ai a naoku tashi ber
 madai kun -si ai a nao -ku tashi ber
 jute bag person PL NEG also see IMPERF stone become

saojiang.

sao -jiang
 sit OBJ.PERF

To their astonishment, the gold that Hua had carried on her back with great difficulties had become a bag of worthless stones.

32 **Gan geiharaser werkuerji ting gelang,**
 gan geihara -ser werkuer -ji ting ge -lang
 3.SG surprise PROG be.angry IMPERF that do OBJ.IMPERF

puza zhuergenang khedengteghaji Ping
 puza zhuerge =nang khedengte -gha -ji Ping
 another heart REFLPOSS steel CAUSE IMPERF Ping

nigeni kaikeghajiang, naosa chan ertang
 nige =ni kaike -gha -jiang nao -sa chan ertang
 one ACC open CAUSE OBJ.PERF see COND totally gold

bang.

bang
 OBJ.COP

The mother was very shocked and angry, and then steeling her heart she started to open Ping's jute bag, but discovered that the bag was full of gold.

33 **Niker shijiedu, ganni yanziku gongji**
 niker shijie =du gan =ni yanzi -ku gongji
 this time DAT 3.SG GEN yard IMPERF rooster

kaishi khailalang, "Ping gezai aguer bang,
kaishi khaila -lang Ping gezai aguer bang
 begin shout OBJ.IMPERF Ping good daughter OBJ.COP

Hua mao aguer bang."
Hua mao aguer bang
 Hua bad daughter OBJ.COP

At that moment, the rooster in their yard started to crow, "Ping is a good girl, while Hua is a bad girl."

STORY NUMBER TWO

Mang'huzi Ningger "The Long-haired Devil"

¹ ***Mang'huzi Ningger***
mang'huzi ningger
 monster old.woman

The Long-haired Devil¹

2.1 ***Tiedongdu a, ningger yigedu kao yikuer***
tiedong =du a ningger yi -ge =du kao yi -kuer
 past DAT PRT old.woman oneCL DAT son oneCL

xijin yikuer bang bai.
xijin yi -kuer bang bai
 daughter oneCL OBJ.COP EMPH

Long long ago, an old woman had a son and a daughter.

2.2 ***Ni ningger jiaoduer bulailanang khuoni***
ni ningger jiaoduer bulai =la =nang khuoni
 this old.woman every.day child INSTREFLPOSS sheep

¹ The term *mang'huzi ningger* is literally 'monster old lady.' The person indicated, though, seems to be a young woman, not an old woman. However, the monster may not be the same individual as the younger sister - as the conclusion of the story suggests. We use the translation 'long-haired devil,' indicating the monstrous nature of the unnatural creature.

danglaghala xilang, tingku, ni bulai
dangla -gha -la xi -lang ting -ku ni bulai
 herd CAUSEPURP goOBJ.IMPERF that IMPERF this child

xujundiaonang a dur xilang.
xujun diao =nang a dur xi -lang
 daughteryounger.siblingREFLPOSS also lead goOBJ.IMPERF

The old woman sent her boy to herd sheep every day, and the boy used to take his younger sister with him, too.

2.3 **Ni bulai yibian khuoni danglalang yibian**
ni bulai yi bian khuoni dangla -lang yi bian
 this child onese side sheep herd OBJ.IMPERF onese side

ganni xujundiaoni terghaiku bosini
gan =ni xujun diao =ni terghai -ku bosini =ni
 3.SGGEN daughteryounger.siblingGEN head IMPERF lice ACC

alaghalang.
ala -gha -lang
 kill CAUSEOBJ.IMPERF

While the boy was herding sheep, he killed lice from his sister's head.

2.4 **Jiaoduer ning ge murgurdi bosini ala danang**
jiaoduer ning ge murgurdi bosini =ni ala danang
 every.day this do pinch lice ACC kill after

ganni xujundiaoni terghaidi yeber
gan =ni xujun diao =ni terghai =di yeber
 3.SGGEN daughteryounger.siblingGEN head LOC horn

liangge gher rijiang, ganni yeber
liang -ge gher ri -jiang gan =ni yeber
 two CL go.out comeOBJ.PERF 3.SGGEN horn

yitiantian shuguotulang.
yi tian tian shuguotu -lang
 oneday day grow.up OBJ.IMPERF

Because of his cleaning every day, a couple of horns grew on his sister's head, and the horns were becoming bigger and bigger each day.

3.1 **Ti yitiandu, jiaoduerla xideraji**
ti yi tian =du jiaoduer =la xidera -ji
 that oneday DAT every.dayINST be.like IMPERF

gaga ma xujundiao ghula khuoni
gaga ma xujun diao ghula khuoni
 elder.brother and daughteryounger.sibling together sheep

danglala xijiang.
dangla -la xi -jiang
 herd PURP goOBJ.PERF

One day, the brother together with his younger sister went to herd sheep like every day.

3.2 **Zheng ni gagani bosì alaghaku**
zheng ni gaga =ni bosì ala -gha -ku
 just.then this elder.brotherPOSS lice kill CAUSEIMPERF

shijiedu, ni xujundiaoni khailaji,
shijie =du ni xujun diao =ni khaila -ji
 time DAT this daughteryounger.siblingPOSS shout IMPERF

"Gaga, qi xian bao ala a, bi ge
gaga qi xian bao ala a bi ge
 elder.brother 2.SG first PROHIB kill PRT 1.SG once

sherla xiya."
sher -la xi -ya
 urinatePURP goVOL

Just as her brother was killing lice, this younger sister shouted "Brother, you stop killing lice for a minute, I will go to pee."

3.3 **Yuanlai ganni xujundiao jiaoduer bosì**
yuanlai gan =ni xujun diao jiaoduer bosì
 actually 3.SGGEN daughteryounger.sibling every.day lice

alagha danang khuonisini diku mang'huzi
 ala -gha danang khuoni -si =ni di -ku mang'huzi
 kill CAUSE after sheep PL ACC eat IMPERF monster

ningger ge ber saojiang.
 ningger ge ber sao -jiang
 old.woman SG.INDEF become sit OBJ.PERF

Actually, the fact was that after he killed his sister's lice every day, she had become a long-haired devil who ate sheep.

4.1 **Tiaoshuliandu, gansi gerdunang xisa,**
 tiaoshulian =du gan -si ger =du =nang xi -sa
 that evening DAT 3.SGPL house DAT REFL POSS go COND

ganni ana xigua ni bulaini suguoji nadu
 gan =ni ana xigua ni bulai =ni suguo -ji nadu
 3.SG GEN mother totally this child ACC curse IMPERF play

sao khuonini ai nao danang chuna diaoke
 sao khuoni =ni ai nao danang chuna diaoke
 sit sheep ACC NEG see after wolf snatch.with.teeth

yaojiang geji.
 yao -jiang ge -ji
 go OBJ.PERF QUOTE IMPERF

That night, when they went home, their mother complained that the boy was addicted to playing instead of caring for the sheep; consequently, she thought that one of their sheep was eaten by a wolf.

4.2 **Khuainao, ganni khuonini puza yige**
 khuainao gan =ni khuoni =ni puza yi -ge
 back 3.SG GEN sheep POSS another one CL

guidajiang, naohui ni bulai ganni
 guida -jiang nao hui ni bulai gan =ni
 disappear OBJ.PERF this instance this child 3.SG GEN

xujundiao **disangni** **miedie gejiang,**
xujun diao *di -sang =ni miedie ge -jiang*
 daughteryounger.sibling eatPERF ACC know do OBJ.PERF

yinwei gan diaonang **yitian dagha**
yinwei gan diao *=nang yi tian dagha*
 because 3.SG younger.siblingREFLPOSS oneday follow

saojiang.
sao -jiang
 sit OBJ.PERF

Later, another one of the family's sheep disappeared, and this time the boy realized that his sister had eaten it, because he had been following his sister all day.

4.3 **Ganni xujundiao** **sherla xila**
gan =ni xujun diao *sher -la xi -la*
 3.SG GEN daughteryounger.sibling urinatePURP goPURP

bi ge jiekouni yerriji **shijishang gan**
bi ge jiekou =ni yerri -ji *shiji shang gan*
 SUBJ.COP QUOTE excuseACC look.forIMPERF truthup 3.SG

khuoninang dila xilang.
khuoni =nang di -la xi -lang
 sheep REFLPOSS eatPURP goOBJ.IMPERF

His sister made the excuse of saying she had to go to the toilet but actually she went to eat their sheep.

5.1 **Ni bulai ananang** **kelisa,** **ganni ana**
ni bulai ana =nang keli -sa gan =ni ana
 this child motherREFLPOSS say COND 3.SG GEN mother

ai xinhuoluolang, **gan mulaji,** **"Ai,**
ai xinhuo -lang gan mula -ji ai
 NEG believe OBJ.IMPERF 3.SG think IMPERF EXCL

bi khuoni yanyerni diamangduni aguerni
bi khuoni yanyer =ni diamang =du =ni aguer =ni
 1.SG sheep sheeppen GEN door DATPOSS daughter ACC

xige saowa."
xige sao -wa
 watch sit VOL

He talked to his mother about this surprising thing but his mother did not believe it, then he thought, "Hey, maybe I can wait for my sister around the sheeppen gate (to capture some evidence)."

5.2 **Tiaoshulianduni, gan khudang**
tiao shulian =du =ni gan khudang
 that evening DATPOSS 3.SG shed

diamangdunang xige saojiang, hudu
diamang =du =nang xige sao -jiang hudu
 door DATREFLPOSS watch sit OBJ.PERF very

yizheng xigesa ganni mang'huzi ningger
yizheng xige -sa gan =ni mang'huzi ningger
 after.a.short.time watch COND 3.SG GEN monster old.woman

bersang xijindiao khuonini dila
ber -sang xijin diao khuoni =ni di -la
 become PERF daughter.younger.sibling sheep ACC eat PURP

rijiang.
ri -jiang
 come OBJ.PERF

That night, he waited at the gate of the sheep pen, and just as he thought, his sister, who had already become a long hair devil, came to eat sheep.

5.3 **Gan ananang daodaji riji**
gan ana =nang daoda -ji ri -ji
 3.SG mother REFLPOSS call IMPERF come IMPERF

kelighaji **hulang,** **niher shijiedu,**
keli -gha -ji *hu -lang* *ni -her shijie =du*
 say CAUSEIMPERF giveOBJ.IMPERF thisCL time DAT

ganni ni xijundiao **anadunang**
gan =ni ni xijun diao *ana =du =nang*
 3.SGGEN this daughteryounger.sibling motherDATREFLPOSS

piankeji **keliji,** **"Ana,** **qini bulai**
pianke -ji *keli -ji* *ana* *qi =ni bulai*
 trick IMPERF say IMPERF mother 2.SGGEN child

dameidu begheba."
damei =du beghe -ba
 1.SG.DATDAT hit SUBJ.PERF

He called his mother to tell her (the truth that he had discovered), but at this time, his sister lied to her mother, saying, "Mother, your son hit me."

5-4 **Ni anani ganni wugeni chenli danang**
ni ana =ni gan =ni wuge =ni chenli danang
 this motherPOSS 3.SGGEN word ACC hear after

bulainang gerla zhua gherghajiang.
bulai =nang ger =la zhua gher -gha -jiang
 child REFLPOSS houseINST catch go.outCAUSEOBJ.PERF

After hearing her words, the mother decided to drive her boy from home without any hesitation.

5-5 **Ni bulai niezhangni, yidao mer kunsisa**
ni bulai niezhang =ni yidao mer kun -si =sa
 this child wretched GEN at.once road personPLABL

kerliji diji gediesinang
kerli -ji di -ji gedie -si =nang
 want IMPERF eat IMPERF belly PL REFLPOSS

chudughalang.
chudu -gha -lang
 fill CAUSEOBJ.IMPERF

The boy was pitiful, begging food to fill his belly from strangers who lived near the road.

5.6 **Khuainao, gan bayang aguer geni**
khuainao gan bayang aguer ge =ni
 back 3.SG rich daughter SG.INDEFACC

shangmen nüxu danglajiang.
shang men nüxu dangla -jiang
 up gate son.in.law serve.asOBJ.PERF

Eventually, he became the husband of a rich girl.

5.7 **Duer nuoqiji gezaitujiang.**
duer nuoqi -ji gezaitu -jiang
 day pass IMPERF become.goodOBJ.PERF

They lived happily.

6.1 **Yige shijiandu, gan gersinang**
yi -ge shijian =du gan ger -si =nang
 oneCL time DAT 3.SG housePL REFLPOSS

sanajiang, tingku gan gerku
sana -jiang ting -ku gan ger -ku
 rememberOBJ.PERF that IMPERF 3.SG houseIMPERF

kundunang keli danang mieshiku
kun =du =nang keli danang mieshi -ku
 personDATREFLPOSS say after front IMPERF

gernang naola xijiang.
ger =nang nao -la xi -jiang
 houseREFLPOSS see PURP goOBJ.PERF

At one point, he missed his hometown, so after speaking to his wife's family he went to visit his former family.

6.2 **Xisa zhenge hangtoudu yikuer kun**
xi -sa zhenge hangtou =du yi -kuer kun
 goCOND total together DAT oneCL person

guang, gan mulaji ni kending shi
guang gan mula -ji ni kending shi
 OBJ.NEG.COP 3.SG think IMPERF this certainly COP

mang'huzi ningger di geji bi a
mang'huzi ningger di ge -ji bi a
 monster old.woman eat do IMPERF SUBJ.COP PRT

geji.
ge -ji
 QUOTEIMPERF

Going into the village, he found that there was nobody on the paths, so he believed that the long-hair devil must have eaten all the villagers.

6.3 **Gan mang'huzi ninggerni yerrila xiji**
gan mang'huzi ningger =ni yerri -la xi -ji
 3.SG monster old.womanACC look.forPURP goIMPERF

alagha geji, gernang ruoji
ala -gha ge -ji ger =nang ruo -ji
 kill CAUSE do IMPERF houseREFLPOSS enterIMPERF

xisa, mang'huzi ganni gerdu sao saoser
xi -sa mang'huzi gan =ni ger =du sao sao -ser
 goCOND monster 3.SGGEN houseDAT sit sit PROG

bang.
bang
 OBJ.COP

He decided to look for and kill it, and when he entered his old house, he found the devil was living in his home.

6.4 **Mang'huzi keliji, "Aya, gaga**
mang'huzi keli -ji aya gaga
 monster say IMPERF EXCL elder.brother

gan puza guori kunni dila xini ya.
 gan puza guori kun =ni di -la xi -ni ya
 3.SG another more.than personACC eatPURP goSUBJ.FUT PRT

The boy guessed correctly her intention to eat him, and he made a promise to kill the devil, because otherwise he was sure she would eat more people in the future.

7.2 **Gan ger khuainaoni shuguo beghe sankuo**
 gan ger khuainao =ni shuguo beghe san -kuo
 3.SG house back GEN big tree three CL

khagha xi danang, qizhong yikuodi pabula
 khagha xi danang qizhong yi -kuo =di pabula
 near go after among oneCL LOC crawl

gher xjiang.
 gher xi -jiang
 go.out goOBJ.PERF

He went behind his house to where there were three tall trees, and climbed to the top of one of them.

8.1 **Niker shijiedu, mang'huzi ningger**
 ni -ker shijie =du mang'huzi ningger
 thisCL time DAT monster old.woman

zouhanglanang gherji ri danang
 zouhang =la =nang gher -ji ri danang
 kitchen INSTREFLPOSS go.outIMPERF come after

"Gaga gaga" di khailaji.
 gaga gaga di khaila -ji
 elder.brother elder.brother QUOTE shout IMPERF

At this time, the devil came out of her kitchen shouting, "Brother, Brother!"

8.2 **Danshi kunni bantian qigela guang,**
 danshi kun =ni bantian qige -la guang
 but personACC long.time see IMPERF OBJ.NEG.COP

gan pudera yaosangni meidiejiang.

gan pudera yao -sang =ni meidie -jiang
 3.SG run go PERF ACC know OBJ.PERF

But she didn't see anyone for a long time, so she realized that the boy had already run away.

8.3 Gan mani ghada pudera gher xi danang

gan mani ghada pudera gher xi danang
 3.SG immediately outside run go.out go after

yerri lujiang (beghe jianjierdu bang),

yerri lu -jiang beghe jianjier =du bang
 look.for findOBJ.PERF tree peak DAT OBJ.COP

"Gaga a, qi yaji gherji

gaga a qi ya -ji gher -ji
 elder.brother PRT 2.SG what IMPERF go.out IMPERF

xiba ya?"

xi -ba ya
 goSUBJ.PERF PRT

She ran outside and found him immediately (at the top of the high tree), "My dear brother, could you tell me how you climbed to that height?"

9 Ni bulai keliji, "Bi zhuazilanang pake

ni bulai keli -ji bi zhuazi =la =nang pake
 this child say IMPERF 1.SG claw INSTREFLPOSS climb

gher riba."

gher ri -ba
 go.out comeSUBJ.PERF

The boy said, "I climbed with my paws."

10.1 Ni mang'huzi ningger a

ni mang'huzi ningger a
 this monster old.woman also

pakeni geji, danshi ni beghe you
pake -ni ge -ji danshi ni beghe you
 climbSUBJ.FUT QUOTEIMPERF but this tree also

shuguo you wenduer bang, zuihou ganni zhuazi
shuguo you wenduer bang zuihou gan =ni zhuazi
 big also high OBJ.COP at last 3.SGGEN claw

khughuer burajiang.
khughuer bura -jiang
 break finishOBJ.PERF

The devil thought to climb up with her claws, but because the tree was large and tall, in the end her paws were broken off.

10.2 **Gan puza ersegheji, "Gaga, qi**
gan puza erseghe -ji gaga qi
 3.SG another ask IMPERF elder.brother 2.SG

zhenni yaji gherba sha?"
zhen =ni ya -ji gher -ba sha
 true GEN whatIMPERF go.outSUBJ.PERF PRT

She inquired again, "Brother, please tell truly me how you came up, OK?"

11 **Ni bulai keliji gan shudulanang**
ni bulai keli -ji gan shudu =la =nang
 this child say IMPERF 3.SG teeth INSTREFLPOSS

ghazha gherba geji, tingku,
ghazha gher -ba ge -ji ting -ku
 bite go.outSUBJ.PERF QUOTEIMPERF that IMPERF

mang'huizi ningger you shudulanang
mang'huizi ningger you shudu =la =nang
 monster old.woman also teeth INSTREFLPOSS

ghazhaji **gherwa geji,** **ganni shudu**
 ghazha -ji gher -wa ge -ji gan =ni shudu
 bite IMPERF go.outVOL QUOTEIMPERF 3.SGGEN teeth

yigua degheba bao rijiang.
 yigua degheba bao ri -jiang
 totally fall go.down comeOBJ.PERF

The boy replied that he used his teeth to climb, and so, and she intended to use her teeth to climb, but all her teeth fell out.

12 **Mang'huzi jilajiang,** **"Qi**
 mang'huzi jila -jiang qi
 monster get.worked.upOBJ.PERF 2.SG

shihuanang keli qi yaji gherba."
 shihua =nang keli qi ya -ji gher -ba
 truth REFLPOSS say 2.SG whatIMPERF go.outSUBJ.PERF

The devil roared violently and impatiently, "You must tell me truly how you got up."

13.1 **Ni bulai keliji,** **"Bi shighailanang**
 ni bulai keli -ji bi shighai =la =nang
 this child say IMPERF 1.SG leg INSTREFLPOSS

pake gherba."
 pake gher -ba
 climb go.outSUBJ.PERF

The boy answered, "I climbed with my legs."

13.2 **Tingku,** **gan shighailanang** **pakeji**
 ting -ku gan shighai =la =nang pake -ji
 that IMPERF 3.SG leg INSTREFLPOSS climbIMPERF

gherjiang, **danshi gan yadaji** **ting**
 gher -jiang danshi gan yada -ji ting
 go.outOBJ.PERF but 3.SG be.tiredIMPERF that

gelang.*ge -lang*

do OBJ.IMPERF

Then, she climbed with her legs; unfortunately, it was very difficult for her (because she had already wasted most of her energy with the former useless way).

14 **Niker shijiedu, tiangerela shuguo tashi**
ni -ker shijie =du tiangere =la shuguo tashi
 thisCL time DAT sky INST big stone

ge bao ri gang'hao ganni zake
ge bao ri gang'hao gan =ni zake
 SG.INDEF go.down come exactly 3.SGACC crush

baoghajiang, ni mang'huzi ningger
bao -gha -jiang ni mang'huzi ningger
 go.down CAUSE OBJ.PERF this monster old.woman

fugujiang.*fugu -jiang*

die OBJ.PERF

At this moment, a huge stone dropped from the sky, exactly onto her head, and this long-haired devil died.

15.1 **Ni bulai bughe jianjierdila bao ri**
ni bulai bughe jianjier =di =la bao ri
 this child tree peak LOCINST go.down come

danang, gernang puza yidao xijiang,
danang ger =nang puza yidao xi -jiang
 after house REFLPOSS another at.once go OBJ.PERF

xisa ganni xujundiaoni hegangdi
xi -sa gan =ni xujun diao =ni hegang =di
 go COND 3.SG GEN daughter younger.sibling POSS kang LOC

anjindi nerriser bang, gan ayi danang khaila
anjin -di nerri -ser bang gan ayi danang khaila
 quiet ADV sleep PROG OBJ.COP 3.SG fear after shout

bosighajiang.

bosi -gha -jiang
 get.up CAUSE OBJ.PERF

The boy climbed down from the top of the tree and went back to his house; when he went in, (to his surprise) he found his sister was sleeping peacefully on the bed, and he was so shocked that he shouted and awakened her.

15.2 **Ganni xujundiao keliji,**
gan =ni xujun diao keli -ji
 3.SG GEN daughter younger.sibling say IMPERF

"Gaga, bi mao jiaodong ge
gaga bi mao jiaodong ge
 elder.brother 1.SG bad dream SG.INDEF

jiaodonglijiang, ayi fugukunang a."
jiaodongli -jiang ayi fugu -kunang a
 dream OBJ.PERF fear die OBJ.FUT PRT

His sister said, "Brother, I had a long nightmare, it scared me to death."

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
ADV	adverbializer
CAUSE	causativizer
CL	classifier
COMP	comparative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
DAT	dative case
EXCL	exclamation
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive case
INDEF	indefinite
IMPERF	imperfective aspect
INST	instrumental case
LOC	locative case
NEG	negative
OBJ	objective perspective
PERF	perfective aspect
PL	plural number
POSS	possessive (non-reflexive)
PRT	particle
PROG	progressive aspect
PROHIB	prohibitive negative
PURP	purpose
QUEST	interrogative (question)
QUOTE	direct quotation marker
REFLPOSS	reflexive possessive
SG	singular number
SUBJ	subjective perspective
VOL	voluntative

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