China’s na⁵³ mzi⁵³ Tibetan Life, Language, and Folklore: Volume One

by Libu Lakhi
with Tseringbum and Charles Kevin Stuart

Asian Highlands Perspectives
This remarkable book is the product of fruitful collaboration between a native speaker of the na₅³ mzi₅³ language, Tibetan and Chinese consultants, and a dedicated group of Westerners resident in China. It affords the reader an intimate glimpse into traditional na₅³ mzi₅³ life, now well on its way to disappearing along with hundreds of similar minority cultures in the world. The authors are to be congratulated for putting na₅³ mzi₅³ language and culture ‘on the map’ in such a clear and respectful fashion.

James A Matisoff

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China's na₃ mzi₃ Tibetans: Life, Language and Folklore
Volume One

中国纳木依藏族：生活，语言与民间文学
第一卷

by

Libu Lakhi (Li Jianfu 李建富, Dawa Tenzin 丹巴顿珠)

with

Tsering Bum 索朗多玛 and Charles Kevin Stuart
Dedicated to Andrew Sewell and Lorraine de Beaufort
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Li Caifu, male, b. 1945, Libu Lakhi's father, was born in a rich landlord family in Li Village, Minsheng Township, Lizhou Town, Xichang City, Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province. He never attended school. He married at the age of sixteen and has spent his entire life hunting in nearby mountains in winter, farming and herding. He is fluent in Nuosu (Yi) and did not experience difficulty in communicating in Sichuan Chinese Dialect while visiting relatives in Muli Tibetan Autonomous County in 1965. His contributions to this volume were collected by Libu Lakhi at his pasture bungalow with Libu Lakhi's elder brother, Jiujin, present.

Mbare, female, b. 1943, Libu Lakhi's mother, was born and lived in ka Village, near Village until she married at about the age of eighteen. She attended a local primary school for two years. She confided, "My parents didn't give me permission to attend school so I told them that I was going to work in the field, then I hid my mattock behind a grave and went to register. Later, when they learned what I was doing, they allowed me to continue." She is fluent in Nuosu. She had some difficulty in communicating in Chinese when traveling to Xichang City. Her stories were recorded by Libu Lakhi at their home in Village while his siblings watched TV in another room.

Li ndz, male, b. 1938, Li's elder brother, was born in Li Village, located on the upper area of a mountain slope, where the Clan settled and dwelt for fifteen years before moving to today's Village. He was the leader of Village for almost fifteen years. He was unable to attend school after obediently marrying 44 ma do as his parents requested and arranged, even though the government paid fifty RMB each year to students. His five sons and elder daughter are married and have their own homes in Village. He is fluent in the Sichuan Chinese Dialect and in Nuosu. He speaks mzi k to fellow villagers who are classified by the government as Tibetan and, while at home, to his youngest daughter.

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^ Jiujin = four and a half kilograms at birth. Many parents weigh a child when it is born and the child is given a name according to the weight.

^ All consultants are classified as Tibetan and all speak mzi k to fellow villagers who are classified by the government as Tibetan and, while at home, to his youngest daughter.

(People from Luoguodi County also say 'na'.)
a⁴⁴ ma⁵⁵ do⁵³ dzə⁵³, female, b. 1941, mbzə⁴⁴ m⁵⁵'s elder sister, was born in ka¹¹ pʰæ¹¹ tšu¹¹ Village. She never attended school. She herded livestock before marrying li⁴⁴ bu⁵⁵ ndzə⁵³ tʰbu¹¹ and moving to dzə¹¹ qu¹¹ Village. She is fluent in Nuosu and has some competency in Sichuan Chinese Dialect.

lu¹¹ tšu⁵³ a⁵³ zo⁴⁴, male, b. 1936, Libu Lakhi's distant relative, was born in Mu'er Village and now lives in Zhuangzi Village, Lianhe Township, Mianning County. He is fluent in Nuosu and Sichuan Chinese Dialect.
PREFACE
James A Matisoff

This remarkable book is the product of a fruitful collaboration among a native speaker of na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹, Tibetan and Chinese consultants, and a dedicated group of Westerners resident in China. It affords the reader an intimate glimpse into traditional na⁵³ mzi⁵³ life, now well on its way to disappearing along with hundreds of similar minority cultures in the world.

In Part One we learn something about the extraordinary biography of the central character in this enterprise, a polyglot na⁵³ mzi⁵³ man called Libu Lakhi (also known as Li Jianfu in Chinese, Dawa Tenzin in Tibetan and Zachary in English), whose inspiring pursuit of education has involved the acquisition of four Sino-Tibetan languages (na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹, Yi Nuosu, Tibetan, Chinese), as well as English.

Part Two of the volume (Introduction) contains short essays on aspects of na⁵³ mzi⁵³ life and culture. Especially interesting are accounts of the elaborate New Year's celebrations, and the section on Engagement and Marriage, where we hear the sad story of Libu Lakhi's sister Sanjin's attempts to avoid an arranged marriage.

The heart of the book is Part Three (Texts), which consists of eleven texts, presented in an ingenious format. Each na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ sentence is given word-by-word glosses in English, Tibetan and Chinese, with each word occupying a separate cell in a table; this is followed by connected translations in each of the three languages. These interlinear presentations are followed by separate fluent translations in each glossing language, with additional material inserted to clarify points omitted by the speaker since they were taken for granted by their original na⁵³ mzi⁵³ audience. These stories, with their often wild and fantastic narrative motifs, will be of great interest to folklorists. A couple of them are origin myths reminiscent of Rudyard Kipling's Just So Stories, where the purpose was to 'explain' why some phenomenon in the world is the way it is (e.g., how the leopard got his spots, how the camel got his hump, how the rhinoceros got his skin). Thus the story 'Two Sisters' offers an explanation for why our fingers are of uneven length. The story 'Rabbit Father-in-law' ends with a motif very much like the Abraham and Isaac story, where a man is asked to slaughter his own son to show his loyalty, but is stopped at the last minute once it is clear he is actually going to do the deed.

Finally, we have a Glossary of na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ words, followed by such useful appendices as the Swadesh list in na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹, charts of na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ consonants and vowels, pronouns and numerals. Finally a table of resemblant words in na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ and Nuosu Yi is given, although no attempt is made to distinguish borrowings from genuine cognates.

Complementing this volume are a number of audiovisual materials available for free download, including 'photo albums' (http://picasaweb.google.com/libulakhi) with nearly 250 images of na⁵³ mzi⁵³ people, landscapes, crops, artifacts and crafts, as well as audio files of all eleven texts

- http://www.archive.org/details/NamyiFolktales--audioFiles1-10OfElevenFolkloreAccounts
Given the phonetic complexity of na₅₃ mzi₅₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹, the clear voice of the speaker in the audio files is a great help, particularly in the realm of intonation. Video materials on various aspects of na₅₃ mzi₅₃ culture (a ritual for calling the soul back, sacrificing to the ancestors and sacrificing to the deities) may also be viewed at http://e-asia.uoregon.edu/easia/nufound.cfm.

The number of speakers of na₅₃ mzi₅₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ has been estimated at about 5,000, which places it firmly in the category of endangered languages. The sociolinguistic situation in na₅₃ mzi₅₃ villages is rapidly changing, with code-switching and macaronic mixtures with Chinese now rampant among the younger generation. Traditional customs are in rapid decline. When Libu Lakhi returned to his home in January 2006 to celebrate New Year's with his family, he found his eldest brother sprawled in front of the TV watching sitcoms instead of supervising the complex ritual preparations for the holiday.

The death of a language is an immeasurable loss, much worse than the loss of an animal species. It is a loss, first and foremost, to the culture of its former speakers, but also, from the more selfish point of view of the linguist, language death puts the ultimate quietus on intellectual curiosity. Many languages with relatively tiny numbers of speakers have furnished precious evidence for the reconstruction of ancient phonological and grammatical features. Any dying language might take the answers to many questions with it to the grave. Yet we may well ask whether it is even advisable or beneficent to try to maintain non-viable languages artificially, such as by trying to educate a new generation of children in a minority language that their elders are already abandoning. Is that really more kind or humane than trying to keep a mortally ill patient alive by heroic surgical interventions or multiple organ transplants? From a practical economic point of view, it is much more advantageous for a young person who comes from an endangered speech community to acquire mastery of a more robust language as early as possible, preferably the language of the majority culture (Matisoff 1991).

Part of the answer might lie in the multilingual capacity of human beings, nowhere more in evidence than in Southeast Asia. Perhaps the decline of certain minority languages can be slowed by 'language revitalization' projects, involving the preparation of better learning materials, the creation of practical orthographies and the coining of technical neologisms needed to keep pace with the modern world. Under favorable circumstances such projects might result in the coexistence of minority and dominant languages for the foreseeable future, each operating in its own sociolinguistic sphere, e.g., na₅₃ mzi₅₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ for use in the home and village, and Chinese, Tibetan or Yi in the wider world.

na₅₃ mzi₅₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ seems definitely to be a Qiangic language, though its genetic affiliation is complicated by a fair amount of contact with Yi (Nuosu). To some extent, na₅₃ mzi₅₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ shows the typical Qiangic development of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *-a to -i (Matisoff 2004):

\[ \text{na₅₃ mzi₅₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹} \]

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A Naxi linguist of my acquaintance claims that na₅₃ mzi₅₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ is mutually intelligible with Naxi, but this seems to be a wild exaggeration.
Sometimes, especially after a palatal glide, the na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ reflex of *-a is -ə:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td>*dzya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'field'</td>
<td>*hya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'meat'</td>
<td>*sya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be many/propagate'</td>
<td>*mya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There remain a few exceptions, where *-a remains na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ -a, but these seem all to be grammatical words (functors), which often display idiosyncratic phonological developments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTB</th>
<th>na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'1st person pronoun'</td>
<td>*ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'interrogative'</td>
<td>*ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'negative'</td>
<td>*ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'negative imperative'</td>
<td>*ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The authors of this book are to be congratulated for putting na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ and na⁵³ mzi⁵³ culture 'on the map' in such a clear and respectful fashion.

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A It is not clear which of the two na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ syllables descends from the PTB etymon.
B Another possible example is 'God/supreme spirit': PTB *way-sya > Nz. çi⁵³ vi⁵³, with the order of the syllables reversed (see Matisoff 1985).
C na⁵³ mzi⁵³ ja⁵³ 'tobacco' is a loan from Tai (probably via Yi); cf. Siamese jaa³³ 'medicine; tobacco'.
PART ONE: LIBU LAKHI

MATERNAL GRANDFATHER

Local custom dictated that Mother's father (b. 1917), the seventh of seven sons of a family living in Muli Tibetan Autonomous County, which currently borders Xichang City in southern Sichuan Province, was to be taken atop a mountain, killed, chopped into pieces and fed to vultures when he reached the age of twenty. To avoid this, he fled when he was about eighteen years old and came to the place where we live today—dz̄ə qu11 Village. Grandmother's parents allowed her to marry him and he supported the family as a carpenter.

"He had to walk at night and he had to swim across big strong rivers. And he just walked, not knowing where he was going," Mother said.

"Why didn't he walk during the daytime?" I asked.

"It was dangerous. He was being followed," Mother explained.

Grandfather told me that returning to his original home would have been very difficult because it was far away and the path he had taken was not a direct one.

LIBU LAKHI'S FAMILY

I was born in a poor family of farmers in 1981. There are nine people in my family. I have three elder brothers, one elder sister, a younger sister and a younger brother. They are all farmers. We ate and worked together when I lived at home. It was the largest and happiest family in our village. Many admired the fact that our family had so many children.

Slowly my parents began arranging marriages for us. This went well, except for my younger sister and for me. I describe what happened to both of us in detail elsewhere in this book.

EDUCATION

VILLAGE PRIMARY SCHOOL. In early September 1988 I started my education at the three-grade dz̄ə qu11 Primary School. Father took me to school with fifteen RMB on the first day. I was frightened to meet so many strangers.

Two men taught in that school. One Nuosu man taught math. The other was Han and taught the Chinese language. The Nuosu teacher called the students' names and gave them new books. The teacher and students were speaking in Nuosu. I understood nothing. The Nuosu teacher brought my new books to me because I had no Chinese name. He pointed at three Chinese characters on the first empty page of my new book and taught me how to pronounce them. I repeated slowly after him—Li Jianfu. Afterwards, that was my name—Li Jianfu—the name that all the students and teachers used for me.

^ Li Xiaolong (b. 1967), Li Bajin (b. 1973), Li Jiujin (b. 1978), Jabu (b. ~1984) and Sanjin (b. 1986).
There were twenty-five students, including five na[^53] mzi[^53] children, in that class. We studied math in Nuosu and Chinese in Sichuan Chinese Dialect. I learnt almost nothing at that time except fluent Nuosu from being with Nuosu classmates.

Sometimes, we dug a hole under the back door of the classroom and escaped while the teacher guarded the front door and forced us to memorize Chinese texts.

I quickly learned to communicate in Nuosu at school and did so, except when I was with the na[^53] mzi[^53] students. I also lost the idea that there was only one language that everybody spoke throughout the world.

One day, my Nuosu teacher told me to come to the blackboard and calculate the result of one plus one. I knew neither Chinese nor Nuosu well enough to be able to say, "One plus one equals two." The Nuosu teacher became enraged, grabbed me by the hair and beat my head against the blackboard. When I returned home with chalk dust in my hair, my parents calmly said, "It doesn't matter. The teacher did this because he is concerned about you and is trying to help you learn." I believed my parents and continued to attend school.

Several days later, I left school with some Nuosu students after classes were over. Not far from school they grabbed me, took off my hat with a long stick and threw it into the river. I cried and ran along the river but I could not get my hat out of the water.

Afterwards, whatever happiness that had come from attending school was clouded by scolding from the Nuosu teachers, being beaten by Nuosu students and being insulted because I was na[^53] mzi[^53]. For these reasons, I stopped going to school for a year and helped my parents at home. Still, I was envious when I saw other children laughing and shouting as they headed for school. Finally, I asked my parents to let me return to school.

TOWNSHIP PRIMARY SCHOOL. After I finished Grade Three in the village school, I went to Grade Four in the Minsheng Township Primary School with my elder brother who is two years older than me. My parents soon stopped him from attending school however, because he gambled away his food tickets. This was a boarding school so I had to leave home and experienced homesickness for the first time.

Students exchanged rice and dried radish leaves for soup and food tickets for our two daily meals a day. Seven to ten students slept together on a single bamboo platform.

We learnt math and Chinese in the Han language, which was my biggest challenge. Twelve teachers taught five classes to a total of 200 students. Most students were Nuosu, except for fifteen Han students and five na[^53] mzi[^53] students.

MIDDLE SCHOOL. My parents encouraged me to go to middle school and in 1996, I graduated from Minsheng Primary School, passed the entrance examination and then attended Xichang Nationalities Middle School. This also marked the time when I began to speak Nuosu and Chinese as well as native speakers. This was one reason why I was happier than in primary school.

There were only three na[^53] mzi[^53] students in the school and we stayed together much of the time. As graduation approached, I registered for the entrance examination to the Sichuan Tibetan Language School in Kangding. My relatives were all infuriated by this. They argued that the school was far away, that I had no relatives there and that learning Tibetan was useless because it would not lead to a job. They also reminded me that I was engaged and that it was time for me to marry and establish a family like my elder brothers.
This was a difficult situation for me as an eighteen year old. If I had obeyed them, they would have been happier and had an easier life but I would have been tied down and forced to work hard, like my elder brothers. I also thought that my life would be as meaningless as that of my previous generations—poor education and no modern skills would lead to another generation of poverty and discrimination by those around us.

I repeatedly explained everything to my parents and finally they sadly agreed that I could attend the school in Kangding.  

**SICHUAN TIBETAN LANGUAGE SCHOOL.** I entered the school in Kangding in June 1999. In my mind, I had conjured a mysterious, special school. Even though I had always been classified as, and imagined myself as belonging to the Tibetan ethnic group, I was surprised by everything, as I approached a culture that--despite being given the same official classification--was very different from my own. Reality proved to be very different from what I had imagined. The first night after I arrived at the welcome reception for new students, I was amazed when I heard a teacher, a monk and a school leader talking in Tibetan. I understood nothing they said. The monk wore a cassock and was bareheaded. This was my first encounter with anything Buddhist. I realized then that the religion of this culture was not about mountain deities or ɕi53 vi53. A

I was placed in a special class for ethnic Tibetans who did not speak, read or write Tibetan. On the second day a short, fat man entered our classroom, put a huge Tibetan robe around me, showed me how to wear it and said in Sichuan Chinese Dialect, "You must wear this and dance every day at noon like the other students." I was very nervous at that moment but never forgot the feeling of closeness as he helped me put on the Tibetan robe. It made me recall my mother helping me put on clothes when I was a little child. He was my Tibetan language teacher for the next four years.

My ideas began to change. Earlier I had thought that all Tibetans spoke the same language, wore the same type of clothes, ate the same foods and so on. I was very upset and disappointed with the real situation. Our special class was discriminated against by certain Tibetan students. One afternoon, I found a classmate from Shimian County sobbing when I entered the classroom.

"What happened?" I asked.

"They said I am not Tibetan," she replied, rubbing away tears from her cheeks with her right hand.

"Who are they?" I asked sadly.

"The students in the painting class. I heard them say that I looked like a Han when I passed by their classroom door," she said.

Later, some schoolmates asked me why I could not speak Tibetan. I replied I did speak Tibetan but it was different from their Tibetan. However, I wondered if I was Tibetan and where I belonged whenever I couldn't understand what my Tibetan teacher was saying in class. I did not know why I had such thoughts. I realized that many of my ideas were very childish and I knew that I must be strong. I also decided that I must take care of myself. The school tuition was 2,000 RMB a year. Each month I needed another 120 RMB for food. In total, I needed about 3,000 RMB yearly. At that time, our school had a rule that students could receive

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A For more on ɕi53 vi53, see the section on na53 mzi53 religion.  

•14•
one hundred to 2,000 RMB based on the final semester study results. I decided that I must study hard to receive the 2,000 RMB and that if I worked during the holidays, I would make enough to pay for my food.

During holidays, I telephoned my family and said, "Don't worry about me. All of my teachers and classmates are very kind to me. I will stay with my teachers and study. I don't need money now." My parents believed whatever I said. It was the first time I lied to them.

After classes stopped, I worked with Han people in Kangding digging foundations for new buildings. I worked eight hours and was paid twenty RMB each day. During work time, I did not dare raise my head to look around. If I did, then I would hear, "Get away! You! Such a little student! You don't know how to work..." from the boss, who constantly watched us. I was worried I would lose my job and then lack money for my food when school started. I was always patient and careful about everything in the work place, even when the supervisor was absent.

Everyday, I brought rtsam pa 'roasted barley flour', which was given to me by one of my Tibetan teachers and a bowl so I could have a cheap lunch during the noon to two-thirty p.m. break time. I went to the site watchman's hut, kneaded rtsam pa with his hot tea, ate and then napped on a long bench nearby. Sometimes, if he got angry or if there were too many workers in his hut, I had no choice but to find another place where there were no people to have lunch. Cold water did not melt the butter that was mixed with the barley flour and I could not swallow much rtsam pa without butter, but I still had to work, regardless of how little I ate.

I returned to school after two months and learned that I had earned the highest marks in my class.

CARING FOR UNCLE DENZIN. At the end of the following semester, I worked again as before. This time, I stayed with an old Tibetan man I called Uncle Denzin in our school's small, cheap hotel, which had twelve rooms and two floors. It was mainly for students' parents occasional visits. Uncle Denzin cared for the hotel at that time. My stay with him was arranged by a teacher who said, "You can stay with him and take care of him." Of course, I was very happy that I had a free place to stay during the summer holiday. I nodded in agreement and carried my belongings to the hotel after classes stopped.

At first, I knew nothing about him and tried my best to care for him, in addition to working full-time. He panted when he walked or worked for a couple of minutes. I started work at eight o'clock every morning. I got up at six, cooked and put the food in an electric warmer because he could not cook for himself, for I did not return until the curtain of dark night fell. I finished work at six p.m. and it was seven p.m. by the time I walked back to our school from downtown Kangding.

I saw him sitting by the door, waiting for me when I returned from work. I started cooking as soon as I arrived. I was sympathetic and treated him as well as I could. Fortunately, he could relieve himself, but I always went with him at night if I woke up.

Day after day, I went to work in the morning and returned late in the evening. He stayed at home and waited for my return. I do not know what he did during the daytime. We only had time to chat a little at night, but I was tired; every part of my body ached. I usually went to bed as soon as I got out of my dirty work clothes and washed.

"Why are you so late!" he demanded one evening when I returned. "I'm hungry and I can't do anything!" he said, angrily banging the cleaver into the chopping board with his right
hand. I was afraid he would throw the cleaver at me. I explained that the boss did not let me go until late. He calmed down after some minutes of complaining.

Later, he told me that he had returned to China from Nepal and had come to live in the school according to the local government's arrangement. He also told me he had no relatives except for a brother in Switzerland. Every day, I was exhausted after returning from work and I didn't ask questions. That is all I know about him.

One night, he came to the room I stayed in. He said his illness was worse. I suggested that we call the school headmaster but he refused.

I did what I had to do. I brought his bed into my room, and helped him get in. At midnight I was awakened by "A-yo—! A-yo—!" I was frightened, got up and turned on the light. His upper body was on the floor. His lower body was on the bed. I hurriedly picked him up and put him back in bed. I asked what had happened. He said he had wanted to go relieve himself and had tried to get up but he was too weak and had fallen. He said he had called to me for half an hour but there was no reply. I apologized. I explained that I had been too tired to wake up.

I helped him relieve himself and then put him back in bed. I lay down and tried to sleep again, but I could not. The image of what had just happened stayed in my head. I wondered what would happen if I did not wake up again in the night. I was afraid. I worriedly listened to his breathing. Sometimes, I stopped breathing for I heard a strange sound from under my bed. Maybe it was mice. I was truly afraid. I did not fall asleep again that night. Then at six a.m. I got up, cooked breakfast for both of us and then went to work as usual.

His eyes were set deep in a very swollen face when I returned. I went to the home of the teacher who had introduced me to Uncle Denzin. I described Uncle Denzin's swollen face and everything that had happened the night before. The teacher came over, spent some times with us and then left. Uncle Denzin's illness steadily worsened. I had to spoon-feed him and assist him in relieving himself. He could only eat barley soup and drink butter tea.

The school headmaster came in his private black car with the teacher one afternoon. The school headmaster asked me to continue to care for Uncle Denzin in the hospital. Though sympathetic, I refused because I thought of him falling out of bed and I understood how ill he was.

"It is not the hard and heavy work you did before. You can also study. We can't find a suitable person to do this job now because it is during the vacation," the school headmaster said, looking at me. I thought that since he was the leader of the teachers, I should obey. Finally, I agreed and went to hospital with them.

I still had 200 RMB that I had earned from working and I used this to buy our food, though he could only eat a little.

Our room had eight patients. Eight people took care of them. There were only eight beds for the patients and only eight chairs. At night, I sat in a chair and tried to sleep, as did the others, but I never really slept deeply.

My tired eyes seemed only to see white. Gradually, I came to hate white—the white clothes of the hospital workers. I hated the hospital smell.

Time passed and Uncle Denzin and I became closer and friendlier—an arrangement dictated by the special environment of the white hospital.

I helped him urinate in a bucket. Assisting him defecate was difficult. I supported him with one hand while holding the drip bottle above his head. He could not stand or sit by himself.
I was unhappy. Where were his relatives? Why had no one come to care for him? How wonderful if he could be cured and then he would not say "This devil illness," again and again everyday.

"Our school is going to start again tomorrow. They said they would find someone else to care for you. Don't worry, your illness will be cured soon," I said politely, sitting by his bed one night.

"No. Who will come to care for me as you have?" he said in a worried, disappointed tone.

I tried my best to comfort him and made more conversation that night. "Oh— Oh— I need to relieve myself..." It was five a.m. I got up, rubbed my eyes with my left hand and turned the light on as usual. He did not move when I touched him. I did not understand. I called his name repeatedly. I went to the nurses' room and knocked on the door as hard as possible with my fists. A nurse angrily opened the door. I did not know what to say, I just pulled her into our ward.

"Your patient is hopeless. Is he your father? Quickly, telephone your relatives!" she said after checking his pulse. She pulled the white quilt over him and left immediately.

Onlookers in the ward moved away. I could not believe what had just happened. I stared at the white bed. I pulled back the white quilt again and patted his cheeks. I thought he was still alive and called his name again and again, but there was no answer.

What was the difference between life and death? I did not understand how quickly a person died.

I rushed out of the hospital to dial our school headmaster's number, but no shops were yet open. I had no idea what to do. I went back and sat beside him in silence. I pitied him. I did not feel frightened, maybe because of the friendship that we had built up over two months, but I was uncomfortable.

I went out again and beat on a shop door loudly. The shopkeeper angrily opened the door. I dialed the headmaster and told him the old one was gone. He said he was very sorry to hear this and that he would come soon. I returned and waited by the corpse. I felt there was no meaning for a person to live in the world.

After thirty minutes, our school headmaster arrived with some other teachers and a monk. I undressed the corpse and wrapped it in white fabric after the monk chanted scriptures. They carried the corpse back to the small hotel to do more religious activities. I moved back to my dorm room that morning.

I was in the classroom with my classmates the first day of the new semester. The school headmaster's black car rolled by the window of our classroom. I knew the old one was being taken to the crematorium. Craning my neck out the window, I saw the black car pass through the school gate under the gray sky. I believed that Uncle Denzin was leaving for another world.

SUCCESS AT SCHOOL. I learned that my taking care of Uncle Denzin had been reported in our school newspaper under the title "A Great Model for Students." I did not know this until a classmate handed me a newspaper and said, "Look! You did a great job." I had matured in the course of experiencing all these hardships.

As time passed, I learned to read, write and speak Tibetan well. Our class subjects included painting, logic, Buddhist studies, Tibetan poetry, Chinese, Tibetan calligraphy, Tibetan and Chinese translation, Tibetan music and Tibetan dance. All these subjects were taught in
Tibetan. In addition to study, I continued loading trucks, digging building foundations, hauling sand, mixing concrete and so on during holidays. I was comfortable with being exhausted at each day's end, despite the boss' scolding, fellow workers' insults and homesickness.

My study results were excellent and for three out of the four years, my tuition was paid by the school.

I will never forget some of my Tibetan teachers and schoolmates who were very helpful and compassionate, especially the one who first taught me the Tibetan alphabet and the ones who helped and encouraged me to study Tibetan.

In September 2003, I was chosen to come to Xining City, the capital of Qinghai Province, to study English in the English Training Program (ETP), Qinghai Normal University by ETP representatives.
PART TWO: INTRODUCTION

THE na₅³ mʑᵢ₅³ PEOPLE

The na₅³ mʑᵢ₅³A are a little-studied group of people who reside in Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture in the southern part of Sichuan Province, the People's Republic of China. The na₅³ mʑᵢ₅³ have a reported population of 5,000 (Gordon 2005, Sun 2001:160). Linguists have generally classified the na₅³ mʑᵢ₅³ language into the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family (Gordon 2005). This book focuses on the na₅³ mʑᵢ₅³ who live in the communities of dzəⁿ¹ qu¹¹ and dzəⁿ³ qaⁿ³ tʂuⁿ¹ in Xichang City, and şaⁿ⁴ paⁿ³ and caⁿ¹ maⁿ¹ kʰᵘⁿ³ in Mianning County. These communities also have significant Han and Nuosu populations. Figure One provides geographic and approximate population information for each community.C

Figure 1. na₅³ mʑᵢ₅³ population in selected communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Jurisdiction</th>
<th>Township or Town</th>
<th>City or County</th>
<th>na₅³ mʑᵢ₅³ Pop.</th>
<th>Total Pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dzəⁿ¹ qu¹¹</td>
<td>Dashui Village</td>
<td>Minsheng Township</td>
<td>Xichang City</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzəⁿ³ qaⁿ³ tʂuⁿ¹</td>
<td>Xiangshui Village</td>
<td>Xiangshui Township</td>
<td>Xichang City</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caⁿ¹ maⁿ¹ kʰᵘⁿ³</td>
<td>Dongfeng Village</td>
<td>Zeyuan Township</td>
<td>Mianning County</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şaⁿ⁴ paⁿ³</td>
<td>Laoya Village</td>
<td>Shaba Town</td>
<td>Mianning County</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1,740</strong></td>
<td><strong>22,200</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Libu Lakhi's father states that family relatives live in Jianmei Township (na₅³ mʑᵢ₅³ kʰᵃⁿ¹ tʰ⁰ⁿ¹: dzəⁿ¹ miⁿ⁴⁴) and Xinxing Township (na₅³ mʑᵢ₅³ kʰᵃⁿ¹ tʰ⁰ⁿ¹: čᵢⁿ³ čᵢⁿ³) in Mianning County.

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A 'Namuyi' and 'Namizi' are transliterations of Chinese-character renderings of the word 'na₅³ mʑᵢ₅³. Both capture the phonological details of the ethnonym poorly, despite being established in the cosmopolitan literature (Matisoff 1991; Gordon 2005).


C Much of this introduction is taken from Libu Lakhi, Hefright and Stuart (2007).
The communities listed in Figure 1 are situated in valleys between mountains. Travel from dza⁵³ qa⁵³ təu¹¹ to dzə¹¹ qu¹¹ takes about one day on foot, dzə¹¹ qu¹¹ to ʂə⁴⁴ pa⁵³ takes about a half day on foot and dzə¹¹ qu¹¹ to Lizhou takes about forty minutes by motorcycle. The weather is warm with a long growing season; it snows only once or twice a year. The na⁵³ mzi⁵³ raise yaks, cows, goats, water buffalo, horses, pigs, chickens, ducks, geese, mules and donkeys. Rice, wheat, corn, barley, tobacco and beans are cultivated. Villagers derive cash income by selling livestock, small amounts of grain and tobacco and wild mushrooms that they collect in nearby forests from June through August. Increasing numbers of na⁵³ mzi⁵³ leave the area to earn cash by working on construction crews organized by Han Chinese in Xichang City; but

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* Figure 2 was adapted from a map created by the Wikipedia user Croquant (http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Utilisateur:Croquant) and distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/).
some na₃ mzi₃ also find work in Beijing and Guangdong. In 2005, the average annual cash
income per family was 500-800 RMB₃ (li⁴⁴ bu⁵⁵ şəⁿ¹ pəⁿ³, interview data).

ETHNONYMS

Although the na₃ mzi₃ speak what is likely a Qiangic language, they form part of China's
officially recognized Tibetan ethnic group. The ethnonym 'na₃ mzi₃' denotes not only speakers
of na₃ mzi₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹, but all Tibetans. Similarly, Nuosu people refer to the na₃ mzi₃ as 'ozzu'
'Tibetan' or 'Prmi/Pumi', a term that may have originally meant 'aborigine' (Huang 2004:16).
However, local Han use the term Xifan 'Western Barbarian', a traditional Chinese designation
for many of the Qiangic-speaking peoples of western Sichuan (Sun 2001), and reportedly the
term the na₃ mzi₃ used for themselves when speaking Chinese until their classification as part
of the Tibetan ethnic group in 1984 (Huang 1991:153). na₃ mzi₃ refer to Nuosu people as 'gy¹¹
cy⁴⁴' and Han people as 'va⁵³'.

In the Chinese literature on na₃ mzi₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹, the Chinese-character rendering of the
first syllable of na₃ mzi₃ as na₃ has prompted suggestions that the group is related to the
Naxi ethnic group of Lijiang Naxi Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province (Yang 2006). In
linguistic works that use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), authors have rendered the
However, as Liu notes, /m/ can appear both syllabically and as the first element of initial
consonant clusters (1996:185,187). The practice of writing the final syllable as yî 侬 or yî 义
has apparently contributed to a misimpression among certain speakers of Chinese that the na₃
mzi₃ are a subgroup of the Yi ethnic group. However, as Huang and Liu indicate, the value of
this syllable ranges from /ji/ to /zi/ to /zo/ in different varieties of na₃ mzi₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ (Huang
1992:212; Liu 1996:185). Huang and Sun have used 'Namuzi'/na⁵¹ mu⁵¹ dzə⁵⁵/ to represent the
ethnonym as pronounced by speakers in Muli County (Huang 1991:153; Sun 2001:159). Libu
Lakhi prefers the IPA rendering na₃ mzi₃ for the ethnonym as it is pronounced in the dzə¹¹ qu¹¹
variety.

na₃ mzi₃ ORIGINS

na₃ mzi₃ tell variations of the following origin story. li⁴⁴ bu⁵⁵ şəⁿ¹ pəⁿ³ provided this version:

Long ago, grasslands and thick forests abounded in what is now Xichang City. Livestock
and wild animals lived together peacefully. The melodious sound of birdsong filled the air.
In na₃ mzi₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹, that place was called o₃ ndzo₃—a word people cannot explain
today, other than to say it is the name of that place. One day a bird appeared and started
calling "a⁴⁴ zo⁵⁵ do¹¹ bi⁴⁴," In na₃ mzi₃ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹, a⁴⁴ zo⁵⁵ means 'grandmother' and do¹¹
bi⁴⁴ means 'buttock'. The bird continued to call this day after day. When na₃ mzi₃ parents,
sisters, brothers, the older generations and young people were working and chatting

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^ Approximately sixty to one hundred USD. In 2005, one US dollar was worth 8.23 Chinese
RMB.
together, they were very embarrassed to hear this sound. Finally, all the na₃ ma₃ decided to leave this hateful bird and find a new place to live. They left to ᶃ with their livestock and their tools for farming and herding. Finally, they reached the place where they now live and settled.

THE na₃ ma₃ LANGUAGE

$k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$ means 'language', and the na₃ ma₃ call their language na₃ ma₃ $k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$. To date, there have appeared only preliminary linguistic analyses of na₃ ma₃ $k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$. Disagreement continues among linguists over the genetic affiliation of na₃ ma₃ $k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$ within the Tibeto-Burman family. Sun argues that na₃ ma₃ $k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$ is a Qiangic language that has been strongly influenced by the Yi languages with which it is in contact (2001:178). This influence may be primarily structural rather than lexical: of the approximately 900 words of dzə₁¹ qu₁¹ na₃ ma₃ $k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$ that Libu Lakhi has collected, only three percent appear to be loanwords from the local variety of Nuosu.

Huang (1991) and Liu (1996) provide preliminary linguistic analyses of varieties of na₃ ma₃ $k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$ spoken in Muli County and Luoguodi, respectively. There are strong grammatical similarities between the Luoguodi variety and Libu Lakhi's dzə₁¹ qu₁¹ variety. However, there are also phonological and lexical differences, as demonstrated in Figure Three (Liu 1996):

Figure 3. A comparison of selected lexical items in dzə₁¹ qu₁¹ and Luoguodi na₃ ma₃ $k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dzə₁¹ qu₁¹</th>
<th>Luoguodi</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identical cognates</td>
<td>$f u^{53}$</td>
<td>$f u^{53}$</td>
<td>'to blow' (as wind)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dzə₃₃ (apical vowel)</td>
<td>dzə₅₃ (apical vowel)</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-identical cognates</td>
<td>ndza₁¹</td>
<td>dza₃¹</td>
<td>'thin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qa₁³</td>
<td>qa₁³</td>
<td>'to dig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-cognates</td>
<td>cə₁¹ tsʰə₄₄</td>
<td>pʰsə</td>
<td>'leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>də₄⁴ bu₃₃ ly₅₃</td>
<td>bu₅³</td>
<td>'mountain'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the table suggests, certain near-cognates differ in the occurrence of prenasalized stops (present in dzə₁¹ qu₁¹, absent in Luoguodi) and voicing (relative voice onset time). There is a more systematic difference in tonal categories. Liu describes four categories: 55, 53, 31 and 13 for the Luoguodi variety. However, Libu Lakhi produces lexical items cognate to those Liu describes as 55, slightly lower that the top of his voice range, a tone we represent as 44. Furthermore, he produces items cognate to those in 31 and 13 as a single low level tone, which we represent as 11. Due to this merger (or non-split), we describe five tonal categories for the Xichang variety as high (55), middle-high (44), high-falling (53), low-rising (14) and low (11). For purposes of comparison, we provide a complete Swadesh list of 207 English words with their dzə₁¹ qu₁¹ na₃ ma₃ $k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$ equivalents, as pronounced by Libu Lakhi, in Figure Five.

na₃ ma₃ $k^h a^{11} t^h o^{11}$ possesses no orthography, and in dzə₁¹ qu₁¹ only about ten percent of the population reads Chinese, two percent reads Nuosu and only Libu Lakhi reads Tibetan. However, the language is well preserved in the communities of dzə₁¹ qa₅³ tsə₁¹, dzə₁¹ qu₁¹ and
particularly so in džə⁵³ qa⁵³ tɕu¹¹, where only residents under the age of twenty who have attended primary school can speak Chinese. In dʒə¹¹ ku¹¹ and ša⁴⁴ pa⁵³, na⁵³ mzi⁵³ residents speak na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ among themselves, and fluent Nuosu and passable Chinese to people who prefer to speak those languages. na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ is less well preserved in cὰ¹¹ kʰu⁵³, where almost all na⁵³ mzi⁵³ people speak Nuosu and Chinese. Residents born before 1955 speak na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ to each other, but while younger people understand a great deal of na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹, they prefer to converse in Nuosu or Chinese. Very few Nuosu or Han residents of these communities speak or understand na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹.

The sociolinguistic situation is changing rapidly. During the New Year Festival in January-February 2005, Libu Lakhi's elder sister and sister-in-law came from ca¹¹ ma¹¹ kʰu⁵³ to visit the family home in dʒə¹¹ ku¹¹. Asked why they insisted on speaking Nuosu to family members, they replied, "It is stupid to speak such a useless language as na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ these days. We have to communicate with our Nuosu friends in Nuosu. There are only a very few people who speak na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹. It's just like walking off a cliff with your eyes closed if you only speak na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ and refuse to speak Nuosu."

When the author asked why their two seven-year old children only spoke and understood Chinese, they replied, "Who doesn't want their kids to find a good job, settle down and have a comfortable home? We should have our kids learn Chinese to help them find a job, shouldn't we?"

Libu Lakhi has also noticed that code-switching among na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹, Nuosu and Chinese is on the rise among the youngest generation in dʒə¹¹ ku¹¹. When Libu Lakhi visited his home in January-February 2005, he noted the following exchange with his niece (b. 1994), who attended the village primary school where Nuosu children comprise the majority of the student body:

A. Libu Lakhi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>no⁵³</th>
<th>tʰi¹⁴</th>
<th>pæ⁴⁴</th>
<th>kə⁵³</th>
<th>pi¹¹</th>
<th>zi¹¹</th>
<th>qʰa⁴⁴</th>
<th>na⁵³</th>
<th>kʰu⁵³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>DET</td>
<td>class</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td>there is/are</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Translation| 'How many students are in there in your class?'

B. Niece:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>ō⁴⁵</th>
<th>sʰa³¹</th>
<th>san³³</th>
<th>sʰa³¹</th>
<th>vu⁴⁵</th>
<th>gə</th>
<th>dzo⁴⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>Xichang Chinese</td>
<td>na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>students</td>
<td>thirty-five</td>
<td>CL</td>
<td>there is/are</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Translation| 'There are thirty-five students.'

In her response, Libu Lakhi's niece combines a Xichang Chinese noun phrase with a na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ existential verb. Interestingly, however, she uses na⁵³ mzi⁵³ kʰa¹¹ tʰo¹¹ noun-phrase

---

A The IPA transcription of the Xichang Chinese phrase reproduces Libu Lakhi's pronunciation.
constituent order, in which numeral-classifier constructions follow their noun heads, instead of the usual Chinese word order.

Noticing a cat dragging away his niece's handkerchief, Libu Lakhi initiated the following exchange:

A. Libu Lakhi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>ha₁₁ le₄⁴ nu₅³ ba₁¹ tsʰo₄⁴ tcə₁¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>cat your clothes pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>'The cat is pulling your clothes.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Niece:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>ji₅⁵ a¹¹ dzu₅⁵ tʰo₃⁴ tcə₁¹ cy₅³ hi₁¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>it doesn't matter let pull go away let</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>'It doesn't matter, let it pull it away and go.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this exchange, Libu Lakhi's niece begins with a phrase in Nuosu, ji₅⁵ a¹¹ dzu₅⁵ 'it doesn't matter', then finishes her utterance in na₅³ mzi₅³ kʰa₁¹ tʰo₁¹.A

There are three na₅³ mzi₅³ clans in dzə₁¹ qu₁¹ Village:
- li₄⁴ nu₅⁵ = ten households
- ka₁¹ pʰæ₁¹ = ten households
- ga₅³ pʰu₅³ = two households

Many older people can recite their ancestors' names. It is considered shameful to be unable to recite your ancestors' names because this indicates you are ignorant of whom you are descended from.

ni¹¹ ma¹¹ tsʰu₁¹ had three sons:B:
- a:₅³ xe₈⁴
- to₁¹ kʰa₁¹
- lu₁¹ ky₅³

a₅³ xe₈⁴'s descendants are unknown.

---

A The IPA transcription of the Nuosu phrase reproduces Libu Lakhi's pronunciation.

B The clan he and others listed here are not known to us, other than the li₄⁴ bu₅⁵ Clan.
Six clans are descended from to\textsuperscript{11} kʰa\textsuperscript{11}:

- dze\textsuperscript{11} wu\textsuperscript{44}
- gy\textsuperscript{11} šu\textsuperscript{44}
- na\textsuperscript{53} kʰu\textsuperscript{44}
- na\textsuperscript{11}
- ja\textsuperscript{11} dzə\textsuperscript{44}
- a\textsuperscript{11} pu\textsuperscript{44}

lu\textsuperscript{11} kv\textsuperscript{53} had two sons:
- tšʰu\textsuperscript{11} ga\textsuperscript{11}
- li\textsuperscript{44} ma\textsuperscript{55}

Five clans are descended from tsu\textsuperscript{11} ga\textsuperscript{11}:
- a\textsuperscript{11} tšʰa\textsuperscript{44}
- lu\textsuperscript{11} tšʰu\textsuperscript{44}
- a\textsuperscript{44} dzə\textsuperscript{55}
- m\textsuperscript{53} kʰa\textsuperscript{53}
- a\textsuperscript{44} tu\textsuperscript{55}

Seven clans are descended from li\textsuperscript{44} ma\textsuperscript{55} and li\textsuperscript{44} bu\textsuperscript{55} is the oldest son:
- li\textsuperscript{44} bu\textsuperscript{55}
- ha\textsuperscript{11} sa\textsuperscript{11}
- ha\textsuperscript{11} ja\textsuperscript{11}
- ha\textsuperscript{11} pʰæ\textsuperscript{11}
- ka\textsuperscript{11} pʰæ\textsuperscript{11}
- ka\textsuperscript{11} ja\textsuperscript{44}
- pa\textsuperscript{53} dzə\textsuperscript{44}

CLOTHING

People born before 1965 often wear a hũ\textsuperscript{53} ndzə\textsuperscript{53} ba\textsuperscript{11} tsʰə\textsuperscript{44} 'knee-length white robe made from the skin of thin hemp plants' (sa\textsuperscript{44} qʰæ\textsuperscript{11}) that grow as tall as a person. When the plant turns yellow in summer, people cut the plant, remove the skin and roll it on their thigh until it forms a string about one meter long. They then weave the strings into a fabric (hũ\textsuperscript{53} ndzə\textsuperscript{53}) from which they make the robes. Old people wrap a long strip of black cloth around their heads to make a řu\textsuperscript{53}jy\textsuperscript{44} 'turban'. Today, most young people wear traditional clothing only during festivals.

na\textsuperscript{53} mźi\textsuperscript{53} RELIGION

ɕi\textsuperscript{53} vi\textsuperscript{53}. na\textsuperscript{53} mźi\textsuperscript{53} elders teach that na\textsuperscript{53} mźi\textsuperscript{53} are descended from gods (who have no gender). On special days such as the New Year and during weddings, ɕi\textsuperscript{53} vi\textsuperscript{53} must be respected and offered the freshest and tastiest food, such as rice and animal blood. People believe if they do not offer these sacrifices, people and livestock may become ill and there will be no harvest or
the harvest will be very limited. A few old men pray to ɕi53 vi53 during such times as when children become ill and when livestock sicken and die. They might say, "Protect all the members of our family and let our livestock increase in number."

$pʰa53$ $tsə53$. Religious practitioners known as $pʰa53$ $tsə53$ hear what ɕi53 vi53 have to tell family members during rituals. The sole $pʰa53$ $tsə53$ in dzə11 qu11 in 2007 was born around 1945.

The $pʰa53$ $tsə53$ is a highly respected religious specialist who performs religious activities in na53 mzi53 daily life, for example, during death rituals, sickness and such times of misfortune as when livestock become ill or when a family has a poor harvest. Villagers frequently invite him into their homes to perform religious activities when family members are sick or when they encounter trouble.

I often followed the $pʰa53$ $tsə53$ to homes where he was to perform rituals. I was excited and interested when I saw the $pʰa53$ $tsə53$'s implements—the two-sided round drum covered with goatskin, the animals made from wheat flour and the ghosts made of rice straw.

Father sent for the $pʰa53$ $tsə53$ once when I was ill. Father is the most sincere believer in ɕi53 vi53 in my family. Sometimes he argues with my second elder brother, who does not really believe in ɕi53 vi53. The $pʰa53$ $tsə53$ brought his drum and other implements and made three lines in the courtyard with green tree branches. He put a one meter high effigy made of rice straw on the left side of the door and then placed a large blanket near the fireplace. The blanket was full of frogs, snakes and birds made of flour. He sat by the fireplace with a box of uncooked rice beside him and began chanting. Sometimes, he beat the drum with a stick and at other times, he beat the drum with a small ring.

Every now and then the $pʰa53$ $tsə53$ ordered all my family members to sit together by the fireplace and then he told other na53 mzi53 attendants who were not my family members\textsuperscript{A} to take the effigy and circle it around our collective head three times. Finally, he told us to go out on the left path made by the tree branches and return along the right path made by the branches. Next, he ordered other people who were not family members to hold the flour animals and circumambulate seven times around each of my female family member's heads and nine times around each male member's head. Then he told the non-relatives to go outside into the courtyard and throw the flour animal images in different directions, one by one. Before they left to go into the courtyard, the $pʰa53$ $tsə53$ gave instructions as to the directions.

I was incredibly curious after this activity and bombarded my parents with questions—"What does the rice effigy mean? What do the roads of green tree branches mean?" …and so on.

The only answer I received was, "You little child! Don't ask so many questions!" I then decided to become a $pʰa53$ $tsə53$ and learn more about ɕi53 vi53.

\textsuperscript{A} In this particular case, they were neighbors. Only men can assist the $pʰa53$ $tsə53$. 

\textsuperscript{26}
My father performed the "ka11 ju11 bu44 ritual for me many times during my childhood. The last time I remember him performing it was in the summer of 2002. One afternoon, after returning from working in the rice field, we were about to have supper, but I felt like vomiting and lay on the sofa by the hearth.

"Come eat supper," Mother called from the kitchen. I could smell the food cooking and I knew that supper was nearly ready without her telling me, but I didn't have much appetite.

After I failed to reply to Mother, Father came and said, "Didn't you hear? Come eat." "I don't want to eat anything. I feel like vomiting," I murmured. "When did you start to feel unwell?" he asked. "Just a couple of minutes ago," I said.

"It must be those hateful "ka11 ju11" (ghosts). Quickly go get a bowl, put a little water inside along with a few grains of cooked rice and bring it here," he ordered my mother.

I didn't have supper that night. Father beat the bowl with a pair of chopsticks above my head and chanted loudly as I lay on the sofa. After he finished chanting, he walked to the courtyard door and threw the water and rice grains outside. Next, my younger sister cleaned the floor with a broom, closed the door and threw what she had swept up out through the courtyard door. This was meant to further discourage the ghosts from returning. Then I went to sleep. I felt normal as usual when I woke up the next morning.

During the New Year festival in January-February of 2005, I was sitting on the sofa and reading a book when I suddenly heard chanting. I rushed out and saw Father doing the "ka11 ju11 bu44 ritual. I realized that my younger brother must be ill. He was sitting on a bag of grain. Father held a half-full bowl of water containing a few rice grains above his head and beat it with chopsticks. Father chanted things like, "Please return to where you are from, there is nothing here to eat and drink..."

People believe that the ghosts of people who have died from starvation or poisoning are prone to approach people and create sudden illness, causing dizziness, nausea and lack of appetite. The "ka11 ju11 bu44 ritual exorcises these ghosts. Both men and women who know the chant frequently perform the "ka11 ju11 bu44 ritual because it is informal and does not require the services of a pa53. In most cases, elder siblings perform it for whomever is ill. The only implements practitioners need are a bowl and a pair of chopsticks. They add water and a few grains of cooked rice to the bowl. It is considered best if all the family members are present at the time of the ritual and say things that will please the ghosts. After the ritual's completion, they clean the room and throw out garbage.

A transcription of the "ka11 ju11 bu44 ritual chant performed by li44 bu55 pa53, described in the account above, is given below. Libu Lakhi recorded the chant on video at his home in dzo11 qu11 during the New Year period, January-February 2005.
THE RITUAL CHANT

1. hobl teʰi³⁴ teʰi³⁴ teʰi³⁴ teʰi³⁴ teʰi³⁴...
   [Untranslated material here and below, both entire lines and line parts, consist of vocables.]

2. tʰ人们对 a³⁴ tʰ人们对 qʰy³⁴ tʰ人们对 sʰ人们对 tʰ人们对 NGY¹¹ tʰ人们对
   First circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle
   [Refers to circles made around the patient's head with a bowl and chopsticks.]

3. tʰ人们对 a³⁴ tʰ人们对 qʰy³⁴ tʰ人们对 sʰ人们对 tʰ人们对 NGY¹¹ tʰ人们对
   First circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle

4. hobl da³¹ tʰ人们对 bu⁵³ da³¹ tʰ人们对
   [Refers to Libu Lakhi's younger brother, li⁴⁴ bu⁵⁵ tʰ人们对 bu⁵³. He is identified in line thirty below as pa⁴⁴ NGi⁵⁵.]

5. rə³⁵ ma⁵³ qy³¹ tə¹¹ pe⁴¹ ma¹¹ qy³¹ le¹¹
   Because he doesn't know how to act

6. va⁵³ rə³⁵ tə¹¹ ka⁵³ pu³¹ su⁴⁴
   Met Han ghosts
   ['Ghosts' are the spirits of people who have died by drowning, poisoning, murder or falling from a cliff.]

7. na⁵³ rə³⁵ tə¹¹ ku³¹ pu³¹ su⁴⁴
   Met na⁵³ mzi⁵³ ghosts

8. hũ³⁵ sə³⁵ rə³⁵ tə¹¹ da⁴⁴ lo¹¹ ku³¹ pu³¹ su⁴⁴
   Met hũ³⁵ sə³⁵ ghosts

9. hobl da³¹ tʰ人们对

10. hũ³¹ mbzi¹¹ rə³⁵ tə¹¹ da⁴⁴ lo¹¹ ku³¹ pu³¹ su⁴⁴
    Met hũ³¹ mbzi¹¹ ghosts

11. tʰ人们对 je¹¹ da¹¹ tʰ人们对

12. a¹¹ mi⁴⁴ gə³¹ nu¹¹

13. sə¹¹ ndzi⁴⁴ cə⁴⁴ rə³⁵ tə¹¹ da⁴⁴ lo¹¹ ku³¹ pu³¹ su⁴⁴
    Met Song family's ghosts

14. tʰ朋友们对 je¹¹ da¹¹ tʰ人们对

15. a¹¹ mi⁴⁴ gə³¹ nu¹¹

16. xua¹¹ ndzi⁴⁴ cə⁴⁴ rə³⁵ tə¹¹
    Huang family's ghosts

17. hobl da³¹ tʰ朋友们对

18. ka¹¹ pʰæ¹¹ cə⁴⁴ rə³⁵ tə¹¹ da⁴⁴ lo¹¹ ku³¹ pu³¹ su⁴⁴
    Met ka¹¹ pʰæ¹¹ family's ghosts

19. tʰ朋友们对 je¹¹ da¹¹ tʰ朋友们对

20. li⁴⁴ bu⁵³ cə⁴⁴ rə³⁵ tə¹¹ da⁴⁴ lo¹¹ ku³¹ pu³¹ su⁴⁴
    Met li⁴⁴ bu⁵⁵ family's ghosts

21. hobl da³¹ tʰ朋友们对

22. hũ³⁵ sə³⁵ rə³⁵ tə¹¹ hũ³¹ mbzi¹¹ rə³⁵ tə¹¹
    hũ³⁵ sə³⁵ ghosts and hũ³¹ mbzi¹¹ ghosts

23. hobl da³¹ tʰ朋友们对
24. mi₁ ma₁ tʰbu₁ su₁ ra₃ tsa₁
   Ghosts without given names
25. lu₃ ma₄₁ tʰbu₁ su₄ ra₃ tsa₁
   Ghosts without zodiac names
26. tʰe₃ je₁₁ da₁₁ tec₁
27. dzɔ₃ ra₅₃ tsa₁₁ yɪ₁ ra₅₃ tsa₁₁
dzɔ₁₁ ghosts and livestock ghosts,
28. ho₁₁ da₁₁ tec₁
29. a₁₁ mi₄₄ gy₁₁ nu₁₁
30. pa₄₄ NGi₅₅ da₄₄ lo₁₁ mi₁₁ do₄₄ su₄₄ da₄₄ te₅₃
   Ghosts who asked pa₄₄ NGi₅₅
31. na₃₅ tɛʰo₃₅ lɪ₄₅ dzy₁₁ su₄₄ ji₁₄ ly₁₁
   Ghosts from the west
32. sa₁₁ tɛʰo₁₁ lɪ₄₅ dzy₁₁ su₄₄ ji₁₄ ly₁₁
   Ghosts from the east
33. a₁₁ mi₄₄ gy₁₁ nu₁₁
34. ndzs₄₄ xo₃₅ ndzs₄₄ mɛ₁₁ lɪ₄₅ dzy₁₁ su₄₄ ra₅₃ tsa₁₁
   Ghosts who come from north and south
35. hʊ₃₅ şo₃₅ ra₅₃ tsa₁₁ tɛ₄₄ hʊ₁₁ mbzɪ₁₁ ra₅₃ tsa₁₁ tɛ₄₄
   hʊ₃₅ şo₃₅ ghosts and hʊ₁₁ mbzɪ₁₁ ghosts
36. tʰe₃ je₁₁ da₁₁ tec₁
37. mi₁₁ ma₁₁ tʰbu₁ su₁ ra₅₃ tsa₁₁
   Ghosts without given names
38. lu₃₅ ma₄₄ tʰbu₁ su₄₄ ra₅₃ tsa₁₁
   Ghosts without zodiac names
39. tʰe₃ je₁₁ da₁₁ tec₁
40. pa₄₄ NGi₄₄ da₄₄ tɛ₄₄ ra₁₁ zo₃₃ ma₅₃ qy₁₁₁ tbu₁₁ pe₁₁ ma₁₁ qy₁₁₁ le₁₁
   Because pa₄₄ NGi₄₄ doesn't know how to act
41. a₁₁ mi₄₄ gy₁₁ nu₁₁
42. hʊ₅₃ şo₃₅ ra₅₃ tsa₁₁
   hʊ₃₅ şo₄₄ ghosts
43. ka₁₁ ju₁₁ da₁₁ va₃₅ ka₁₁ ju₁₁ da₁₁ lo₁₁ ku₅₃ pʃu₁₁ su₄₄
   Met Han ghosts
44. na₃₅ ka₁₁ ju₁₁ da₁₁ lo₁₁ ku₅₃ pʃu₁₁ su₄₄
   Met na₃₅ mzi₅₃ ghosts
45. tʰe₃ je₁₁ da₁₁ tec₁
46. a₁₁ mi₄₄ gy₁₁ nu₁₁
47. ho₁₁ da₁₁ tec₁
48. ti₁₁ tɛ₀₄₄ na₁₁ tɛ₀₁₁ qʰy₁₁ tɛ₀₁₁ şa₁₁ tɛ₀₁₁ NGy₁₁ tɛ₀₁₁
   First circle, fifth circle, sixth circle, seventh circle, ninth circle
49. ho₁₁ da₁₁ tec₁
50. hʊ₃₅ şo₃₅ ra₅₃ tsa₁₁
   hʊ₃₅ şo₄₄ ghosts
51. na₄₄ a₄ tɛ₄₄ zo₁₁ mi₁₁ tɛə₁₁ tɛe₁₁ zo₁₁ gy₁₁₁ lɪ₁₁ hʊ₁₁
   If you are hungry, return after I offer food
If you are thirsty, return after I offer food.

If you are hungry, return after I offer food.

If you are thirsty, return after I offer food.

If you are hungry, return after I offer food.

If you are thirsty, return after I offer food.

If you are hungry, return after I offer food.

If you are thirsty, return after I offer food.

If you are hungry, return after I offer food.

If you are thirsty, return after I offer food.

If you are hungry, return after I offer food.

If you are thirsty, return after I offer food.

If you are hungry, return after I offer food.

If you are thirsty, return after I offer food.

If you are hungry, return after I offer food.

If you are thirsty, return after I offer food.

If you are hungry, return after I offer food.

If you are thirsty, return after I offer food.
I command ghosts from the maternal side to return to the maternal side

I command ghosts from the paternal side to return to the paternal side

I command ghosts from the west to return to the west

I command ghosts from the east to return to the east

Ghosts who come from north and south

Wild animal ghosts and livestock ghosts

Maternal ghosts and paternal ghosts

Zhang family ghosts

Ghosts who wander at night

November 5, 2004 (Friday), eight a.m. Two men from dza₅³ qa₅³ tbu¹¹ Village, Xiangshui Township arrived in dza₁¹ qu¹¹ Village on motorcycle when my mother and I were talking with some neighbors in front of our gate. They came with bad news—my sister-in-law's mother had died. "₄₄ wa₅³, she was only fifty. Why wasn't it her crazy old man (the dead woman's husband), rather than her?" Mother said. We were surprised by this unexpected bad news. The surviving husband often behaved badly. His face was dark and he wore ragged clothing. I used to be very afraid of him. Nevertheless, I felt sympathy when others beat him when he said unacceptable and profane words in public. He went here and there and did not return home for many days. Sometimes he was gone for a month. He played with kids at weddings and funerals. Sometimes he grabbed someone's hat or a girl's scarf and vanished from the crowd. Later, the only way to get the 'stolen' item back was to offer him pieces of meat or a bottle of liquor. I do not know what he did when he was away from home but his neighbors kindly gave him food.

"₄₄ is leaving for dza₅³ qa₅³ tbu¹¹. I'll buy a cow there. It is very slow and difficult to drive a cow from here to dza₅³ qa₅³ tbu¹¹. I'll also have to kill and butcher cows for the funeral," my younger brother said and left immediately. We started to prepare for our journey from dza₁¹ qu¹¹ Village to dza₅³ qa₅³ tbu¹¹ with seven people, one from each na₅³ mzi₅³ family in my village, except for some families who were really busy with their farmwork. We collected ten to fifteen RMB from each family and bought fifteen kilograms of liquor and firecrackers at bi¹¹ ji₅³

---

⁸ An expression of surprise.
li₃ xo₁₁, where the local township government is located. We divided the liquor into three containers so three people could carry it easily and thus better deal with the steep path while climbing the mountain on our way to dza₃ qa₃ tsu₁₁.

Around 300 na₃ mzi₃ live in dza₃ qa₃ tsu₁₁. The sound of wailing and the rattle-tattle of firecrackers greeted us when we reached the home at six in the evening. We then set off our own firecrackers. Some people in our group wailed and went into the room where the corpse lay on a bed made of sandalwood.

According to na₃ mzi₃ custom, the family must invite ph₄₃ tsə₃ to chant and do many complicated rituals. Chanting is needed for at least three days and then the corpse is cremated. ph₄₃ tsə₃ also decide when, where and how far from the home the corpse should be taken. Moreover, only adults (those more than twenty years old) can participate in cremation.

A big fire was made in the courtyard center in front of the house after we finished dinner. People could clearly see everyone's face by the firelight. The ph₄₃ tsə₃ led fifteen young people in a dance around the corpse. He sang words (that I could not understand) that all the dancers repeated in a high-pitched voice. After the ph₄₃ tsə₃ led us singing and dancing for one circumambulation, he returned beside the corpse.

"Oh, it is you young ones' turn now. Tonight is the time we send her; it's not a time to chat and sleep. Continue and don't stop," he instructed as he settled back into his seat. At this moment, I remembered what Father had told me, "We cannot dance şə₁₁ tsʰo₁₁ without the ph₄₃ tsə₃'s permission." The dead person hears the villagers singing and is pleased. Thus the dance allows villagers to express their sadness and respect for the dead person and the dead person's relatives.

"OK, come, everyone, let's dance..." the young ones called to each other after the ph₄₃ tsə₃ said so. I joined them and felt great sadness in my heart when I sang with the villagers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1m₃ je₄₄ a₄₄ zo₅₅ nu₄₄ ha₁₁ dz₀₄₄ şə₁₁</td>
<td>You, a₄₄ zo₅₅ is sending you back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nu₁₁ je₄₄ mi₄₄ lo₁₁ tʃɔ₃ ha₁₁ dz₀₄₄ şə₁₁</td>
<td>You, get up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3qa₁₁ lu₄₄ va₁₁ mi₁₁ nu₄₄ li₄₄ pbu₁₁ ha₁₁ dz₀₄₄ şə₁₁</td>
<td>3q♭₁₁ lu₄₄ va₁₁ mi♭/c is sending you back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4qa₁₁ tsu₄₄ qa₁₁ pɛ₁₁ nu₄₄ li₄₄ pbu₁₁ ha₁₁ dz₀₄₄ şə₁₁</td>
<td>4The hearth is sending you back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5q♭₁₁ bo₁₁ q♭o₁₁ ndz₁₁ nu₄₄ li₄₄ pbu₁₁ ha₁₁ dz₀₄₄ şə₁₁</td>
<td>5The door threshold is sending you back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6dza₁₁ kʰ₄₄ tsʰa₄₄ pa₁₁ nu₄₄ li₄₄ pbu₁₁ ha₁₁ dz₀₄₄ şə₁₁</td>
<td>6The yard outside is sending you back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7nu₅₃ je₄₄ zə₁₁ mi₁₁ nu₄₄ li₄₄ pbu₁₁ ha₁₁ dz₀₄₄ şə₁₁</td>
<td>7Your daughters are sending you back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8nu₁₁ je₄₄ zi₅₃ ho₅₃ nu₄₄ li₄₄ pbu₁₁ ha₁₁ dz₀₄₄ şə₁₁</td>
<td>8Your sons are sending you back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9jo₅₃ tsə₄₄ jo₁₁ tsʰu₁₁ nu₄₄ li₄₄ pbu₁₁ ha₁₁ dz₀₄₄ şə₁₁</td>
<td>9Relatives are sending you back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10bo₁₁ ka₁₁ bo₁₁ lo₁₁ nu₄₄ li₄₄ pbu₄₄ ha₁₁ dz₀₄₄ şə₁₁</td>
<td>10Villagers are sending you back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A The sandalwood bed is made for the corpse to lie on. It is later taken with the corpse and used as fuel for cremation.
B dʰ zo₅₅ generally means 'mother-in-law' but may also be used as a respectful term of address used by young people when addressing older women.
C qa♭₁₁ lu₄₄ va♭/v mi♭/v 'three stones by the hearth' are used to support pots when they are heated by a fire underneath.
The words may be improvised. People took turns leading the circle to sing and dance until dawn. Many people danced near the corpse. A person sang out a line of song first, which others repeated. I saw some people were also dancing and singing in the courtyard outside because the room was very crowded. However, at midnight, only three to five men continued to dance and sing. The \textit{pa53 ts53} was upset because only a few people continued to dance and sing for the last two hours. Five o'clock in the morning is the best time for the soul to leave for it is then that the cocks crow at dawn before many people have risen. At this time, the \textit{pa53 ts53} stopped the dancing and did the soul-sending ritual by saying the name of each place, in order, where our ancestors had lived in the past. Around eleven o'clock, the \textit{pa53 ts53} chanted and people danced \textit{sa}/tsʰ\textit{ho}/ around the corpse for the last time. Then strong young men carried the corpse away to be cremated, as the home overflowed with wailing.

On the way home, my younger brother and I met his father-in-law. His face was covered with dirt and he carried a broom on his shoulder. "Mother-in-law passed away," I said.

"No, no, it is not true. I'm going to beat Han Chinese in the market," he said and walked away from us. Soon we couldn't see him anymore.

"It's better to not tell him. He's always like this," my younger brother sighed.

The deceased's relatives should visit with a gift of liquor soon after a death. Daughters and sons of the deceased must bring a goat, sheep, pig or cow. These animals are believed to accompany the dead person's soul. A relative of the dead person (most commonly a brother and the deceased's children) must offer a goat or sheep. Villagers also visit. If na\textit{mzi} in the village do not visit the deceased's family during the funeral, others believe they lack a sense of community spirit. Nuosu who have close relationships with the deceased's family also visit and bring one or two bottles of liquor.

The \textit{pa53 ts53} is the funeral director. He divines how long the corpse should be kept in the house, which is usually not longer than three days. He also chooses cremation or earth burial.

An exceptional situation occurs when the deceased has no sons or only daughters, in which case the religious activity is \textit{sa}/tsʰ\textit{ho}/ and chanting. The purpose of both is to send the dead person's soul back to \textit{pu53 ji44 la11 dz11 kʰv11}, the place where ancient na\textit{mzi} originated. \textit{sa}/tsʰ\textit{ho}/—'entertain the dead person'—is a crucial activity because it sends the soul of the deceased back to \textit{pu53 ji44 la11 dz11 kʰv11}. It is a simple circle dance comprised of a few dance movements that match the rhythm of what is sung. People only dance when the \textit{pa53 ts53} begins. He sings a few lines, which the others repeat. He may then stop singing and dancing, while others continue. \textit{sa}/tsʰ\textit{ho}/ continues in the room where the corpse lies throughout the night, though some villagers may return home to rest.

A bed, similar to a normal wooden bed, is made for the corpse, which is covered with white fabric. Adults never let children get near the corpse. Furthermore, cats and mice must not jump over the corpse. If they do, the corpse will wake up and frighten everyone.

Two to four \textit{pa53 ts53} work together chanting for the corpse during the daytime, which leads the soul back to \textit{pu53 ji44 la11 dz11 kʰv11}. If this is not done, the soul becomes a ghost and will do bad things. During the night, young people dance \textit{sa}/tsʰ\textit{ho}/ for the dead person and a
person in the circle sings loudly and sadly, which is repeated by the other dancers in the circle. Meanwhile, relatives are near the corpse, keeping children, cats and mice away.

The above describes the proceedings for old people when they die. The $pʰa⁵³$ $tso⁵³$ comes and divines the direction the corpse should be taken when people die from disease, are killed in fights and who commit suicide. In such cases, the corpse is generally cremated; the corpse is placed on a stack of wood, which is set on fire. The exact location of the stack of wood is determined by the $pʰa⁵³$ $tso⁵³$.

The family must clean the house after the corpse is removed.

THE NEW YEAR IN dzə¹¹ qu¹¹ VILLAGE

NEW YEAR RULES. The New Year period (according to the Chinese lunar calendar) lasts fifteen days for the na⁵³ mzi⁵³ and Han living in the village and is marked by the gathering of family members, visiting, sacrificing to dead relatives and ancestors, cleaning graves and village gatherings. The end of New Year is marked by removing $kʰṽ⁴⁴ sə⁵⁵ tʰo¹¹ po¹¹$ or the New Year pine trees. dzə¹¹ qu¹¹ Nuosu villagers celebrate the New Year about one month earlier.

na⁵³ mzi⁵³ observe the following New Year rules:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>do not eat meat or oil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not eat rice</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not blow on fires</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>causes wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not visit other homes</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one's animals should stay at their own home</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not pour water</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>disturbs life-forms in water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not fetch water</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>disturbs life-forms in water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not cut trees</td>
<td>1-15</td>
<td>disturbs life-forms in forests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not cultivate fields</td>
<td>1-15</td>
<td>disturbs life-forms in the earth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$kʰṽ⁴⁴ sə⁵⁵ a¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ v⁵⁵$ 'NEW YEAR ANCESTORS'. Younger na⁵³ mzi⁵³ family members return from helping relatives and friends' families build houses and doing housework in other villages, and working to earn cash income, e.g., doing construction work in such cities as Chengdu and Xichang. Children do not need to watch the livestock because the crops have been harvested and thus there are no crops for the livestock to damage and students are not in school. The family's attention turns to preparing for and then celebrating the annual $kʰṽ⁴⁴ sə⁵⁵$.

Children excitedly wait for the $kʰṽ⁴⁴ sə⁵⁵ a¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ v⁵⁵$ who return to celebrate $kʰṽ⁴⁴ sə⁵⁵$ with their descendants and relatives. Libu Lakhi's father typically gave this account when Libu Lakhi was a child:

My dear child, don't be naughty and misbehave, then you will get new clothes, new shoes and a new hat to wear and your dearest father will cut a very big pig foot for you to carry when the $kʰṽ⁴⁴ sə⁵⁵ a¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ v⁵⁵$ arrive. $kʰṽ⁴⁴ sə⁵⁵$ is coming! And the $kʰṽ⁴⁴ sə⁵⁵ a¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ v⁵⁵$ will not like you if you misbehave and cry all the time. If the $kʰṽ⁴⁴ sə⁵⁵ a¹¹ pʰu⁴⁴ a⁴⁴ v⁵⁵$ are
unhappy, then we will have poor harvests, our livestock will get sick and we will also become ill. Then our family will not have a happy life next year.

If Libu Lakhi curiously asked for more information about the kʰvə55 a11 pʰu44 a44 v55, his father further explained:

kʰvə55 a11 pʰu44 a44 v55 are all our ancestors who have died and do not live with us today. They are in m53 'the sky'. They return to our home to celebrate New Year with us every year. Of course we cannot see anything like bodies or hear any sounds from them, but their rə35 h33 'spirits' are here with us. Everyone likes that. After we die, we become spirits. Spirits can see what we are doing, hear what we say and smell what we offer them when they return to our home. That's why we always offer fresh meat (raw and cooked), rice and liquor to them before we eat. That shows we respect and are devoted to them. We should respect our ancestors.

SHOPPING. na53 m3i53 and Han dz31 qu11 villagers prepare for the New Year by slaughtering pigs; making kʰvə55 qʰɔ44 'New Year purchases' (usually from lu11 ma44/Lizhou) of vegetables, fireworks, liquor, candy, bowls, spatulas, new pots if the old ones need replacing, etc. on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth days of the twelfth lunar month and by cleaning the home. In Libu Lakhi's home, his eldest brother or father usually went shopping on foot with a kʰa11 'large bamboo back-basket', along a narrow path running from dz31 qu11 Village to lu11 ma44. An entire day was required to go and return. If Libu Lakhi's father went, Libu Lakhi and his elder brother went out on the path to wait for his return and greet him in the evening.

The sun gleamed gently above the western mountain as my elder brother (Jiujin) and I started our greeting journey.

"Did you see our brother returning?" we asked every passerby returning from shopping in lu11 ma44.

"Who is your brother? What's his name?" replied many Nuosu. We were then silent as we sat on a boulder by the path, looking into the distance, hoping to see someone resembling Xiaolong. As we waited patiently and the light dimmed, the end of the path came nearer to us as the density of fog and murkiness increased.

"What are you two doing here?" came a voice some minutes later from the darkness.

"Did you buy new clothes for us? We have been waiting for you to return!" Jiujin blurted out.

"Did you get many firecrackers for the New Year?" I asked in extreme excitement.

"Can we both have a look, dear brother?" we both begged, eager to see our new clothes and the firecrackers, which have a very distinctive odor.

^ In 2007, this had changed with most dz31 qu11 Village families owning a motorcycle. In 2007, there were three taxi vans that went from dz31 qu11 Village to lu11 ma44 (four to five RMB one-way).
"Quickly! Quickly! What are you two talking about? We cannot find our way back home in the darkness if you continue talking like this. You'll have a chance to see and enjoy your new clothes after we get home," Xiaolong said in such a mature, confident tone that we shut up and obediently followed him home.

Back home, Brother Xiaolong took out two jackets and two black hats from his basket. Jiujin and I then ran to our parents and showed them our new clothes. Meanwhile, Mother was sorting out the vegetables and new bowls and chopsticks that Xiaolong had bought beside the hearth. It was the happiest time when our parents said "Wow! My son is really good-looking today!"

Father often reminded us to keep the firecrackers far from the hearth. He never let us kids touch them out of concern for our safety.

When we asked why only Han people were able to make firecrackers, he would tell us the following story.

Long ago, our li44 nu55 Clan had a special gun an armspan long called sa53 ja53 pʰo11. It had three barrels and we could shoot them all at the same time. They didn’t use firecrackers like today. Now it is very different. We just buy firecrackers from the market and use them to sacrifice with instead of the sa53 ja53 pʰo11 because it is so convenient. No families have a sa53 ja53 pʰo11 today.”

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DAY OF THE TWELFTH LUNAR MONTH: qʰo44 ʂa55 ŋga53. On the twenty-sixth day of the eleventh lunar month, every household does qʰo44 ʂa55 ŋga53 ‘soot clean’. Cleaning involves cleaning inside and outside of the house (the house courtyard and outside the courtyard). The home interior is cleaned first. The walls, pillars, sacrifice place, kitchen and ceiling are dark and dirty because smoke from the hearth fire has coated them with soot. A long bamboo pole with a bunch of leaves at the top is prepared. ga53 ha53 'sacrifice box' (Figure 17), beds, quilts, clothes and so on are moved outside into the courtyard.

Father cut and trimmed a long bamboo pole and began cleaning the ceiling while Mother and I were cleaning the things we had moved into the courtyard.

"Liujin, don't come in until I tell you, OK? The air is full of swirling dust!" Father yelled from inside the house.

"Yes, don't go inside, otherwise you'll get sick from the dust," Mother added.

"OK! Mother, why do we have to clean like this?" I asked.

"We do so every year in order to greet our ancestors when they return to celebrate the New Year with us. And we also have more time now to clean the house than at any other time," Mother explained while stuffing dirty clothing into a bag. "Go out and see if your elder sister

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^ qʰo44 ʂa55 = soot on the walls and ceiling of a home that has accumulated from burning a fire in the hearth.

^ The ga53 ha53 is made of wood boards and is on the left side of the hearth.

^ Liujin = six jin or three kilograms; his weight at birth.
and elder brother have finished cleaning \textit{ji\textasciitilde{u}}\textasciitilde{54} \textit{d\textasciitilde{bu}}\textasciitilde{55} \textit{q\textasciitilde{a}}\textasciitilde{53}'around the house', and then tell them to take these clothes to the river and wash them."

My brother and sister were making a big pile of tree leaves on the right side of our house when I reached them. "Wow! It's extremely clean. You two did a good job," I said, looking around.

"We must, otherwise our ancestors will be unhappy when they visit us during the New Year time," Elder Sister said seriously.

Elder Brother said, "You're so lucky not to have to do the work we are doing. You don't have to do as much work as us! I'll tell Mother and Father that you also should do the same work as us next year."

"Sure! I can do everything you are doing now but later, after I grow up. Mother said you should wash these clothes in the river," I said and then got ready to run back to Mother.

"Yes, but wait a minute, Younger Brother. We also must help Father clean the house and carry the dirt here," Elder Sister said, pointing to a nearby pile of dirt.

"OK, I'll tell Mother. Why must we add the dirt from the house on this same pile?" I asked.

"In order to do better ka\textasciitilde{11} me\textasciitilde{53} qo\textasciitilde{53} ka\textasciitilde{11} ca\textasciitilde{11} pi\textasciitilde{53} activity,"\(^\text{A}\) Elder Sister replied gently.

"What is ka\textasciitilde{11} me\textasciitilde{53} qo\textasciitilde{53} ka\textasciitilde{11} ca\textasciitilde{11} pi\textasciitilde{53}?" I asked.

"Ask Mother what we should do next. We'll tell you later," Elder Sister said.

I went back, asked Mother, returned and said, "Mother said you two come help Father and she'll wash the clothes. Tell me what ka\textasciitilde{11} me\textasciitilde{53} qo\textasciitilde{53} ka\textasciitilde{11} ca\textasciitilde{11} pi\textasciitilde{53} is now," I said.

"Dear Younger Brother, go back and ask Mother because we must help Father, otherwise we will have no time. Tomorrow, we have to kill the kv\textasciitilde{44} \textit{s\textasciitilde{55} a11 k\textasciitilde{11} o11} 'New Year pig'," Elder Sister said patiently.

When I got back to the doorway, I could hear Father coughing. "My throat is coated with dust," he said. "I finished cleaning the ceiling, wall and pillars. You two please clean the floor and carry the dirt out for ka\textasciitilde{11} me\textasciitilde{53} qo\textasciitilde{53} ka\textasciitilde{11} ca\textasciitilde{11} pi\textasciitilde{53} during New Year," Father said to my brother and sister, then slapped his clothes, sending out new clouds of dust.

Elder Sister and Elder Brother went into the house with brooms. I followed and saw the floor was covered with a thin layer of soot. The ceiling, walls and pillars looked new, as though the house had been built recently.

I went outside. Mother had gone to wash the clothes. Father was resting, sitting on the courtyard floor, leaning against a wall.

"Liujin bring me a basin of water. I want to wash my face," he said. I saw his nose was covered with soot and I wanted to laugh, but then I quickly hurried away.

"Come out quickly, Liujin. The house is full of soot. You'll get sick from it," Father added as I scurried away.

When I came back, I asked, "Father, what is ka\textasciitilde{11} me\textasciitilde{53} qo\textasciitilde{53} ka\textasciitilde{11} ca\textasciitilde{11} pi\textasciitilde{53}?" I couldn't get those words out of my head.

"You do ka\textasciitilde{11} me\textasciitilde{53} qo\textasciitilde{53} ka\textasciitilde{11} ca\textasciitilde{11} pi\textasciitilde{53} during the New Year time," he said, as he washed his face with the towel I had brought.

"But I don't know what is it!" I said.

\(^\text{A}\) ka\textasciitilde{11} = eagle; me\textasciitilde{53} qo\textasciitilde{53} = to not look at someone directly because you are displeased with them; ca\textasciitilde{11} pi\textasciitilde{53} = blind.
"The \textit{ka} is a very huge, powerful bird with sharp talons. At the beginning of every year, they come to catch chickens. They like to eat chickens and it is very easy for them to catch and carry away small chickens. The trees are bare at the beginning of every year so it is a perfect time for them to catch chickens. At other times of the year, it is harder for them to catch chickens because the chickens can run into bushes or under trees with thick leaves. In order to prevent the chickens from being caught by \textit{ka}—since long ago, I don't know when exactly—our ancestors believed \textit{ka me} \textit{ka} \textit{pi} was very effective. Years ago, the activity was performed by adults, the \textit{sa} \textit{ja} \textit{p} was shot and everyone repeated ‘\textit{ka me} \textit{ka} \textit{pi}’. In time however, adults lost interest in doing this so now only children do it with firecrackers. People clean their houses and use the garbage and dirt to make smoke around their houses and say ‘\textit{ka me} \textit{ka} \textit{pi}’, but not many people remain interested in doing such things," Father sadly concluded.

\textit{THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY OF THE TWELFTH LUNAR MONTH: SLAUGHTERING PIGS}. "Get up and help me make a fire," Father urged while I still was in bed.

"O... OK," I said, sat up and got dressed quickly, which was unusual for me. I rushed out and saw smoke coming from every home's courtyard, sending thick clouds above the village.

"Bring some fuel and let's make a fire," Father said, while digging a hole in the ground. When he finished, he placed a cauldron atop it, brought water in a bucket from the river and filled it. Meanwhile, I made a fire under the cauldron.

All the young \textit{na} men and kill New Year pigs in the order of oldest to youngest families. About twelve young men came to our home after we had breakfast.

"Oh, please sit first. Please sit," Mother said and asked me to bring some bowls for liquor.

"First pour a cup and put it on the sacrifice place, then offer each person a bowl of liquor," Father said as I cut \textit{cy} \textit{cy}, put it in the \textit{cy} \textit{qa}, added glowing charcoal from the hearth and then placed it on the sacrifice place.

"Whose New Year pig is the biggest this year?" Qijin, a villager in his thirties asked curiously, holding a cup of liquor in his right hand.

"Bajin's family," Father replied, taking a sip of his own liquor.

"No, I think your family's is biggest, Qijin. Yesterday, I saw your family's pig," Mother commented.

"OK, is everyone at home? We still have to go to other homes to kill pigs," Father said.

"Yes, all the family members are at home," Mother replied from the kitchen.

When New Year pigs are slaughtered, everyone must be at home. Traditionally, people believe that if someone is missing from the family at this time, a family member might become ill, the family's livestock might not grow well and such disasters as floods might harm the family.

\textsuperscript{A} Here 'oldest' refers to the family that has the oldest person (either male or female).

\textsuperscript{B} \textit{cy} \textit{cy} is sandalwood cut from the mountain, which has a pleasing odor when burnt as a sacrifice to the ancestors. \textit{tsa} burn \textit{cy} \textit{cy} during such rituals as funerals and exorcisms.

\textsuperscript{C} \textit{cy} \textit{cy} \textit{qa} = container in which \textit{cy} \textit{cy} is burnt.

\textsuperscript{D} Qijin = seven \textit{jin}, or three and a half kilograms.

\textsuperscript{E} Bajin = eight \textit{jin}, or four kilograms.
My elder brother set off firecrackers and their explosions briefly deafened me as the men slaughtered my family's New Year pig.

"Quickly, put the blood on the sacrifice place while it is warm and toss ash on the ground to cover the blood," Father said to Mother and my elder brother in a hurried tone. Then he left with the other men to help them do the same thing at other homes.

"Why can't we let our dog lick the blood on the ground, Mother?" I asked.  
"Our ancestors will be upset if we let the dog lick the blood before we offer it to them," Mother answered calmly, putting the basin of blood on the sacrifice place.

"Mother, I want to go see the pigs slaughtered at the other homes!" I said.

It was about noon. Elder Brother and Mother were almost finished scalding and scraping the pig carcass. It was time for Father to return because only he knows how to butcher the pig correctly in order to offer sacrifices to the ancestors of the New Year.

"Wow! We don't have to worry about anything this year. Oh, wait a moment... here, there is a little bit of the *va*/'spleen' rolled outside, but I think it is still fine. The spleen is generally as flat as a board," Father said, holding the spleen in his hands, turning it over and over, examining it carefully.

"Oh... quickly cut out the *tsa* 'bladder' and have a look," Mother said, looking both happy and worried.

"There isn't too much *mbae* 'urine' in the bladder. It will be a little dry this year, but don't worry. It should be OK," Father comforted us and himself.

"Liujin, go stretch the bladder for the ancestors," Father said, handing me the bladder.

I ran out excitedly with it and tried my best to stretch it by rubbing it on the ground and blowing it up and rubbing it on the ground again because when our ancestors come to celebrate New Year, they receive many offerings and they use the bladder to store the offerings when they leave.

*sa*/'sacrificing roasted pork', is an important part of New Year rituals. The spleen is roasted and placed on the sacrifice place before people or animals have a chance to eat any part of the New Year pork.

"Quickly, let's offer the spleen and then we can roast lean pork to eat," Father urged while cutting up the pig carcass.

That evening, Mother used the New Year pig's large intestines to make *ce*/'blood-sausage' for dinner. Fresh intestines are turned inside-out by inserting the end of a chopstick in one end and then pulling the intestine over the chopstick, which provides something to grip. Then they are washed. Bamboo strips are cut, bent into a circle the same diameter as the

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A If the edge of the spleen is rolled slightly inwards, this is seen as a good omen—the family will make money and the family will be lucky. If the edge of the spleen is rolled slightly outwards, then it is seen as a bad omen—the family may lose money and experience bad luck. A flat spleen is seen as neither a good nor bad omen. The bladder foretells the weather. If it is full, it suggests that there will be too much precipitation and there may be flooding. Conversely, if the bladder is empty or nearly so, it will be a dry year. A half-full bladder is considered best.

B *sa*/'roasted lean pork'; *ke*/'to sacrifice.

C Pieces of lean pork are placed directly on coals in the hearth.
intestines and tied at the ends to keep them circular; the rings are put at the mouth of an intestine and the end of the intestine is pulled over the ring so that the sausage filling (leftover cooked rice mixed with pig blood, ginger, salt, prickly ash and garlic) may be easily placed into the intestines using the hands. The filled intestines are tied at either end and boiled for about half an hour. Periodically, a chopstick or bamboo strip is used to puncture a sausage to see if red blood comes out. Cooking continues until there is no red color. Usually, this is the only time stuffed sausages are made and eaten in the home.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF THE TWELFTH LUNAR MONTH: MAKING THE \textit{sa}^{44} \textit{nda}^{55}. The twenty-eighth day has no certain activities other than young men building the \textit{sa}^{44} \textit{nda}^{55} that consists of two wood poles taken from a nearby forest. One pole is about three meters long and the other is about ten meters long. A hole is dug and the shorter pole is stood upright and its base is buried. This shorter pole is sharpened at the end and then stuck through a hole made in the center of the longer pole. This is used for entertainment by two people—one person sits on each end of the pole and then they run and swing counterclockwise. People are busy during this time and the \textit{sa}^{44} \textit{nda}^{55} is not used much until the first day of the first lunar month.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DAY OF THE TWELFTH LUNAR MONTH: MAKING SAUSAGE. No special activities are done on the twenty-ninth day. A family might ask someone to go shopping for needed items. Pork sausage is made using the small intestines.

THE THIRTIETH DAY OF THE TWELFTH LUNAR MONTH. The thirtieth day of the twelfth lunar month until the third day of the first lunar month are the most important days of the entire New Year period. All family members should be at home during this time. Most families invite a \textit{p}^{ba} \textit{ts}^{53} to hold the \textit{mbo}^{53} \textit{k}^{ho}^{53} \textit{puu}^{11} ritual in the morning. This ritual expels disease and evil and is held at around five a.m., which is considered the best time to do the ritual before sentient creatures awaken. The ritual continues until dawn or a cock crows.

The first thing to do on this morning is to cut \textit{k}^{hy} \textit{ts}^{53} \textit{po}^{11} or pine trees of the New Year. Such trees are considered a very pure greeting to the ancestors of the New Year. Usually, it requires five small green pine trees with three whorls that should be as tall as a person. Two are tied on both sides of the \textit{ga}^{53} \textit{ha}^{53} ‘sacrifice place’ and two are leaned against both sides of the door. The fifth one is inserted into the courtyard center in front of the door.

After breakfast, as Father instructed, I went looking for small pine trees in the forest on a high mountain. It was challenging for me because the trees were very tall and it was difficult to find trees with three whorls. My parents were waiting for me to have lunch with them when I returned with five small trees. I placed them all in their proper places as soon as I finished.

\textsuperscript{A} During \textit{mbo}^{53} \textit{k}^{ho}^{53} \textit{puu}^{11}, the \textit{p}^{ba} \textit{ts}^{53} chants to dispel such evil things as illness and curses put on family members by others.

\textsuperscript{B} Misfortune is caused by evils, which can easily hear the \textit{p}^{ba} \textit{ts}^{53}‘s chants before people and such other life-forms as frogs and birds awaken and begin making noise.
lunch. Father began collecting needles to build the \(k\text{v}^{44}\ \text{ʂə}^{55}\ a^{11}\ p\text{h}^{44}\ \text{a}^{44}\ \text{v}^{55}\ \text{rə}^{44}\ \text{gv}^{53}\) 'path of the ancestors of the New Year' from under the \(\text{ga}^{53}\ \text{ha}^{53}\) to the doorway. We completed a green, eight-centimeter wide path in about ten minutes.

Around two p.m., the sound of conches being blown suddenly broke the silence of the quiet valley, followed by the rattle-tattle of fire crackers. I felt anxious because Mother had told me that if we sacrificed very late on New Year's Eve, the clan's dead relatives and ancestors would become enraged and then crops mature late. This is why families compete to be the first to sacrifice to their ancestors.

I ran back into our house and saw Father cutting sandalwood. Mother and my sisters were busy cooking in the kitchen while Elder Brother was preparing the firecrackers. This is the most ceremonious part of the New Year. However, I was a child and only interested in firecrackers and watching them explode.

"Go with your elder brother and bring back a big dead tree trunk for a fire," Father commanded.

"No! Father I want to see the firecrackers," I objected.
"Quickly! Otherwise, we won't have a big New Year pig next year," Father said.
"Let's go far away and find the biggest one," Elder Brother suggested.
"Can you carry it if it is really big?" I worried.
"I have a rope. I can carry it on my back with the rope. Our New Year's pig will be very big next year if we can bring back the biggest one," he said and showed me the rope that he had already prepared.

"Yeah, let's go find the biggest one. I'm sorry I'm too small to help very much, Brother," I apologized.

We did bring a big trunk back home finally, but we were not sure if it was the biggest.

"May I play with one please, Brother?" I asked, squatting in front of him. I wanted to touch some of those attractive red bunches of firecrackers.

"No! Father will scold you if you do. Father said it is very dangerous for kids to play with them," he said sternly.

"OK! Everyone come prostrate to our ancestors," Father said, standing in front of the \(\text{ga}^{53}\ \text{ha}^{53}\). The sacred sound of the conch echoed in my ears and then all of us prostrated in front of the ancestors while Father chanted:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ho}^{53}\ \text{da}^{11}\ \text{te}^{11}, \ & \ \text{ta}^{11}\ \text{hū}^{11}\ \text{da}^{11}\ \text{te}^{11} & \quad \text{Oh da te, tonight is} \\
\text{la}^{44}\ \text{lu}^{53}\ \text{ti}^{11} \ & \ \text{kh}^{53}\ \text{ru}^{11}\ \text{dja}^{44} & \quad \text{The night of the Tiger Year} \\
\text{la}^{44}\ \text{lu}^{53}\ \text{ti}^{11} \ & \ \text{kh}^{53}\ \text{ru}^{11}\ \text{kh}^{44}\ \text{ʂə}^{55}\ \text{su}^{44} & \quad \text{The New Year of the Tiger Year} \\
\text{ʂə}^{11}\ \text{na}^{11}\ \text{v}^{53}\ \text{na}^{53}\ \text{no}^{53}\ \text{ke}^{11}\ \text{te}^{b}\text{ʂə}^{53} & \quad \text{We offer you meat and liquor...}
\end{align*}
\]

I rushed out as soon as I received the \(\text{v}^{53}\ \text{dzu}^{53}\) from Father to see my elder brother setting off firecrackers.

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\textsuperscript{A} The pine needles are used to build a road for the ancestors when they join their living descendants during the New Year.

\textsuperscript{B} \(\text{v}^{53}\ \text{dzu}^{53}\) = liquor elders offered younger generations to drink after finishing the sacrifice just described was believed to be a lucky medicine with blessings from the ancestors.

\*41*
"OK, tonight is the only chance we can all be together in the whole busy year. Our crops were very good last year, our livestock didn't get sick and none of our family members were ill. Everything has gone very well. From examining the pig's bladder of our New Year pig, our crops next year will grow well with enough water. The only thing that's a little unsure is that the spleen was..." Father continued while everyone else ate, enjoying the food.

"Don't talk so loud, your father is talking," Mother said.

"It's normal for siblings to disagree with each other and with us—your parents. We should care for and forgive each other. Especially, elders should be more patient with the younger ones," Father said, paused and took a sip of liquor.

"I want to go to visit our aunt's home in śa⁴⁴ pa⁵³ Village and..." said Younger Sister, seizing the chance when Father paused.

"Let your father finish first, kid," Mother said.

"Next year, your younger sister is going to marry. After that, we won't have much chance to celebrate the New Year together like tonight," Father said.

"Please eat, Father, you have been drinking a long time without eating very much," Elder Sister said in concern that Father would become badly drunk quickly.

"OK, I will. OK! Now everyone please say whatever you want to say," Father said and began eating.

"Right. Your elder sister is also going to marry and leave our home. Next year, if we care about each other and help each other, then there is nothing that can stop us, even though the spleen of the New Year is not as good as we wished," Mother said, taking over the speaking role Father had relinquished.

It was almost midnight and the candles on the sacrifice place gleamed in a dim, sacred way. We had earlier put the large end of the trunk in the hearth and, as it burned, we continued to push it back into the hearth. By the time we had finished the New Year meal, only a bit of the trunk had burnt.

"Oh, we haven't washed our legs," Elder Sister remembered.

"Yeah, I almost forgot. The big wooden basin is behind the door, and also we have to go to the stream and take enough water for three days," Mother said, pointing to the door.

We nine family members washed our legs together in the big wooden basin because it encourages family unity and it brings good luck. Then my elder sister and brother went to fetch water and filled our home's water containers.

"I feel dizzy from drinking. You all please protect the ridges of the rice fields," Father said and then went to bed.

"Tonight, we should stay up all night to protect the edges of our rice fields' edges, but please go to bed when you feel real sleepy," Mother encouraged.

"Mother, why should we stay up the whole night?" I asked.

^ During the first, second and third days of the New Year, sentient creatures are believed to be resting. It is taboo for people to take water from a stream or even touch water in a stream. To do so is to destroy such life-forms in the water as frogs, fish and dragons.

^ All family members are expected to stay at home through the night. One significance of doing this is that it protects the rice fields' edges from collapsing, in which case the fields drain and produce no crops.
"If we all sleep, nobody will keep our ancestors company and then the edges of the rice fields will surely collapse," Mother explained.

THE FIRST DAY OF THE FIRST LUNAR MONTH: EATING nò53 bo11 ly44 ly11. A Prolonged blares from the sacred conch woke me the next morning as I lay in bed. I realized Father was sacrificing to the ancestors again. The aromatic odor of smoldering cy44 cy44 and Father's chanting made me so energetic that I leapt out of bed.

"Please take this and sacrifice it before it gets cold," Father said, handing me a big bowl with three nò53 bo11 ly44 ly11 as large as fists from the ga53 ha53. I took the bowl and placed it for a moment besides each of the following places: the qa11 pæ11 'by the hearth', qa11 pæ11 'by the doorway', ka44 d bq55 pæ11 'by the kitchen' and the t'ó11 po11 zi44 pæ11 'by the New Year pine tree' in the courtyard. Each time I placed the bowl in these locations, I bowed to show respect to the spirits that dwell there.

"Please have some nò53 bo11 ly44 ly11, then help your father t'ó11 ka11 t's'y53 'stick pine needles'," Mother said, offering me a bowl of nò53 bo11 ly44 ly11.

"Now, don't blow on the fire. And be sure you don't pour water out today," she said as I was about to blow on the fire in the hearth to make myself warmer, holding the bowl of bo11

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^nò53 po11 is a type of rice plant that is twice as tall as ordinary rice plants or dzì44 po11. nò53 po11 grains are bigger and longer than dzì44 po11 grains. nò53, grains of nò53 po11 are steamed and then the resulting sticky substance is beaten with the blunt side of an ax, a mallet or a big hammer. It is then eaten with honey. Uncooked nò53 is called nò53 zo11 t's'o11. After the boiled nò53 zo11 t's'o11 is removed from the same large pot it was boiled in, the pot is cleaned, dried and then oil is added. After the oil is hot, nò53 zo11 t's'o11 is added and the fire is reduced. The pot is covered and the nò53 zo11 t's'o11 cooks for ten to twenty minutes. After nò53 zo11 t's'o11 is cooked it becomes nò53 zo11. Next, the nò53 zo11 is served and eaten in bowls. Salt may be added. Another food is made from nò53: rice is soaked in water for several hours and then the grains are ground in a hand millstone in the home. The resulting thick white liquid (resembling yogurt) flows through a clean cloth into a mo44 d'ə44 'large bamboo container'. After the grinding is finished, a second clean cloth is put atop the first cloth and a thick layer of ash from the hearth is put atop the cloth to dry the mixture. The next morning, the mixture inside the mo44 d'ə44 has solidified, is cut into pieces, dried under the sunshine and rolled in the hands. It easily breaks and becomes as fine as flour, which is put in a container. Water is then added and the mixture is kneaded into dough. Pinches of dough are rolled into balls and the balls are put in boiling water. The balls first sink to the bottom, but rise to the top when cooked. These balls 'nò53 bo11 ly44 ly11' are served in bowls and eaten with honey. Few families made this at home in 2006. Instead, wet nò53 was taken to one of two homes in the village with a machine that ground it into the thick, yogurt-like liquid described above for a nominal fee. This was attractive because it was convenient. However, there was a consensus that nò53 bo11 ly44 ly11 made in this way was not as tasty as nò53 bo11 ly44 ly11 made from hand-milled paste.

^ Cold and odorless offerings do not please deities and ancestors. They delight in odors in the same way living humans enjoy drinking and eating.
ly ly in my right hand. "Please eat more. There's a lot left. It's not tasty after it's cold," Mother urged.

After I finished eating the bo ly I took a knife and cut carefully under the bark of the pine tree branches. This gave me strips of pine needles still attached to the bark. I then took bits of bo ly and coated the inside of the bark with it. I stuck the short strips of pine needles to the top edge of the ga ha, one or two strips on the zu 'pillars', several strips on the nde pe 'both sides of the room', a neat row of strips above the q bo 'door', a neat row of strips above the door of our home's three livestock (pigs, water buffalo, goats) rooms, a tidy row of strips above the ka db 'kitchen' door, a tidy row of strips above the tobacco-drying room, and a tidy row of strips above the courtyard gate. And I did it in that order.

Father then drove our goats and water buffalo to the mountains to graze.

Later, I went to the sanda where villagers had gathered. This meeting demonstrates traditional village leadership. Elders talk about what we have done that is good for our village and what should continue; they also discuss what has been detrimental for our village. Younger generations listen and often change their behavior accordingly, e.g., people should help families that request help in planting and harvesting crops.

It is also an opportunity for young villagers to enjoy themselves. Many young women in traditional clothing form a circle and dance. They are led by a man playing a qa 'short flute' until late at night. Others enjoy swinging and seesawing on the sanda while yelling xo xo and hi hi. This gathering encourages a sense of unity among villagers and a sense of wanting to help each other. Each family brings firewood, a piece of pork, a bottle of liquor and bowls, pots and wooden basins. Villagers cook and eat together.

Children are not very interested in cooking but are keen to compare their cooked pig feet. Children dressed in their ba ts 'new clothes' carry a pig foot in a fabric bag, gather in a children's group and compare their pig feet to see whose is biggest. Parents comfort children who are disappointed that their pig foot was not the largest by saying, "Oh, don't cry, don't cry, we will raise a very big New Year pig next year and you will surely win the competition." Children sit down together and happily gnaw their pig feet.

Elders return home in the evening. Young people make a huge bonfire and sing and dance until late at night from the first to third days of the New Year.

THE SECOND DAY OF THE FIRST LUNAR MONTH: EATING ṃ. On the second day of the New Year people can only eat ṃ. They do not eat meat and soup. As was the case the previous day, people continue to gather in the village, dance, sing and enjoy themselves on the sanda.

THE THIRD DAY OF THE FIRST LUNAR MONTH: EATING ṃ. The ancestors leave the home on the third day of the New Year. Sacrifices are made to the ancestors at home.

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A People yell to express excitement and happiness while playing on the sanda.

B ṃ is made from ṃ flour. This is made into dough and pieces of the dough are formed into round flat pieces, put into a pot with hot melted lard in the bottom and then the dough pieces are mashed and beaten until they become larger and larger. The dough pieces are turned over repeatedly until they are cooked.
and in front of the graves; water is fetched from the stream and relatives begin visiting each other. People start sacrificing to the ancestors when the rooster crows at around five in the morning. ȵo⁴⁴ fu⁵３ is the main food that is offered to the ancestors in the morning.

"Why must we always get up so early to sacrifice?" I asked Mother.

"Our ancestors will complain that they cannot return with their friends if they must wait a long time for ȵo⁴⁴ fu⁵３," she explained gently.

Every year, I was awakened by "dong dong dong..." the sound of Father beating the ȵo⁵³ cake in the kitchen. Everyone gets up and shows respect to the ancestors by prostrating to them, which also brings good luck. Simultaneously, the village is full of the sounds of conch horns being blown and the popping of firecrackers as ȵo⁴⁴ fu⁵３ is offered to the ancestors. In addition to sacrificing, the ancestors' graves are visited and offered ȵo⁴⁴ fu⁵３ after daybreak.

Some families invite others and especially children, for qʰo¹¹ bo¹¹ NGæ⁵³ 'Jump Through the Door'. It is taboo for people to visit each other or for domestic animals to leave one's own home until this simple ritual is performed. A child's zodiac year and the zodiac symbol associated with the New Year determine which children are invited.

"Liujin, come jump through our door. Your zodiac year is the chicken," Qijin, a neighbor standing outside our courtyard door, called on the second day of the New Year.

"Yeah, sure, I'll be there soon," I said excitedly because I knew I would be given candy and money from çi⁵³ vi⁵³ and the family's ancestors.

"kʰv⁴⁴ so⁵³ a¹¹ su⁴⁴ su⁴⁴ o¹¹ 'Is the New Year happy'? I said, holding three sticks of smoldering Chinese incense in my right hand and standing outside the door of Qiqin's home.

"kʰv⁴⁴ so⁴⁴ su⁴⁴ su⁴⁴ o¹¹ 'The New Year is very happy', please come in quickly,' Qijin said, waiting for me inside his house.

I entered, put the three sticks of incense on their ga⁵³ ha⁵³ and prostrated three times in front of the ga⁵³ ha⁵³. Qijin began chanting and beating a drum. Then he gave me a cup of liquor, which was a gift from çi⁵³ vi⁵³ and his family's ancestors. I drank it and was very happy to receive half a RMB after having breakfast at their home.

Relatives visit each other, bringing half a pig head and liquor, and also set off firecrackers. Commonly understood rules determine which pieces of pork to take when visiting. For example,

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A ȵo⁴⁴ fu⁵３ is a ȵo⁵³ cake that is made by mixing and adding flour to cold water until it becomes thick, kneading it, taking a fist-size piece of dough, which is put it into a large pot containing hot oil on the kitchen stove. The dough is then beaten with a large heavy spatula until it becomes thin and wide. Salt is sprinkled on top.

B We are unsure of the rules that determine this.
when visiting parents and grandparents, half a pig head or a pig tongue is a suitable gift. Other families, including those of siblings, receive la⁹⁴ zu⁴⁴.

THE THIRD TO THE FIFTEENTH DAYS OF THE FIRST LUNAR MONTH: RELATIVES VISIT EACH OTHER. People continue to visit and relax until the fifteenth day of the New Year. A local saying goes 'The fifteenth day of the New Year is far more important than the first day of the New Year'. On the night of the fifteenth, the family cooks half a pig head and offers it to the ancestors, who return to the home, after having left on the morning of the third day.

Family members took the small, dry pine trees and circled the home, for the ancestors would be back to take them away the next morning. "The ancestors of the New Year will take away all the bad things of the last year," Father told me when I asked him why we did such things. The small pine trees cannot be removed from the home until the next New Year if any family members are absent (not at home at that moment, or those who did not return for the New Year rituals) because family members will fall ill.

On the fifteenth day of the New Year, Father walked through the rooms of our home, collecting the New Year pines and then circled the outside of the courtyard counterclockwise.

I returned to my home in January 2006 to celebrate the New Year with my family. I noticed traditions were changing fast. "Just put the pork on the ga⁵³ ha⁵³, I feel lazy," Eldest Brother said to his son, Guoqiang (b. 1988), from where he was sprawled on the sofa watching TV.

"Wait a moment and I'll do it after this sitcom ends," Guoqiang said.

I said nothing but my heart felt heavy.

^ Strips of pork are hung from the ceiling and over time, they become dry. However, during this time of visiting and presenting gifts, the pork (la⁹⁴ zu⁴⁴) is fresh—not dry.
"Do you think you're very handsome? Do you think I cannot get another one? Do you…"

I ran and ran and dared not look back. The more I ran, the rougher and louder the voice became. There were four girls—bu44 ve55 (the one engaged to me) and three other girls—her friends—whose names I didn't know. Finally I slowed and saw that they had stopped chasing me.

The mountain, scattered with green trees, had taken on a yellowish twinge in the gleaming, diminishing sun. Boy shepherds drove their goats and sheep back to their households, hidden from view by the branches of trees growing on the mountain slope. Smoke rose straight into the blue sky from bu44 ve55’s home. The outer yard was full of villagers. Suddenly, a gentle breeze sprang up, bringing the disagreeable odor of burning goat hair; a smell and sight I had seen many times before during weddings, funerals and engagement parties.

Father remained behind. I wanted to return and see him but I recalled the scolding and yelling I had received from the four girls and what Father had just said to me: "Son, go back home quickly and secretly. They seemed very angry. They won't do anything to an old man. I'll deal with everything."

I immediately did what he said, even though I was extremely interested in the children playing a wolf and sheep game. Father is the person I admire and respect the most. I never dared disobey him. He taught me how to use a gun on the mountain during hunting times, educated me about how to be brave and how to behave properly in daily life.

Hunger, exhaustion and the fact that it was getting dark urged me home. I recalled Mother's upset face and Brother's angry scolding, the result of my opposing the marriage they had arranged for me.

"Liujin, quickly put these on," Father said, pushing a ball of a ragged shirt and a pair of trousers into my chest. I realized the black trousers were my elder brother's and the red shirt was my elder sister's. Both were covered with patches.

"Why?" I asked in confusion. I rarely wore clothes, even underwear—except during the several months of winter each year.

"We are going to dza55 qa55 tšu11 to visit your aunt, uncle and cousins," he replied while changing his own clothes.

"OK," I replied, quickly donning the trousers and shirt.

I was extremely excited because I had never before left the village where I was born.

The sky was bright and clean above the green mountain ridges. The rice plants in the rice fields near the winding river were vibrantly green. Farmers walked along the irrigation ditches between the fields, ensuring that water diverted from the river was properly irrigating
the fields. They did this as carefully as parents rear their children. Children swam in the pools in the river with the water buffaloes they were tending. The sounds of birds twittering in the trees beside the river and the laughter of children playing and splashing water at each other vibrated in a gentle breeze laden with the perfume of countless flowers. On the way, as we left the fields and climbed into the mountains, we heard various birds sing. I gazed in the direction of this music but I could not see any birds. Instead, some goat-like animals rushed into the thick forest, disturbed by the sounds of our arrival. Father carried two and half kilograms of liquor in a white plastic container. I followed energetically, delighted with my 'new' clothes.

"Father, what happened in Aunt's home?" I asked.

"Nothing special. We just want to visit. You can make friends and play with your cousins," he replied.

As soon as we reached Aunt's home, Father talked to their family members. I was very excited to meet them for the first time.

Slowly as darkness descended, more village kids gathered and we played wolf and sheep. That was the happiest night of my childhood. We shouted and squealed as we escaped from the wolf. Finally, I was out of breath. When I felt my bare feet getting hot, I sat on the ground to watch the others play. Gradually, they came and sat around me, wearing curious expressions.

"Are you a girl or a boy?" bu⁴⁴ ve⁵⁵, the one I was engaged to, asked curiously.
"Of course, I am a boy," I replied in irritation.
"No, you're wearing girl's clothes. You're a girl," another boy insisted. They all burst into laughter simultaneously.

My face seemed to burn. I called to Father but I got no reply.
"Oh, let's see," one said and then they all took turns putting their hands on my chest.

I was frightened by this bullying and ran back into the house, intent on telling Father about these kids' bad behavior. I was surprised as soon as I entered the room. Under the dim light of resin, Father held the end of a small pig's gall bladder and was intoning loudly to the people who filled the room:

Tonight, we two families gather here
Tonight, Liujin and bu⁴⁴ ve⁵⁵ meet here
Like two bright stars meeting each other
Like the sun and the moon meeting each other
Like…

As soon as Father finished, ndza⁴⁴ ha⁵⁵, bu⁴⁴ ve⁵⁵'s father, took the gallbladder from Father's hands and repeated what Father had said, but in a slightly altered way.

"Father, what's this about?" I asked curiously, unable to control myself.
"Shut up! What does a seven year-old kid know?" he answered smiling, and resumed listening to ndza⁴⁴ ha⁵⁵'s speech.

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A A group of children make a line, each holding the child in front of them. The child at the front of the line is the 'ewe' and seeks to protect/block the children from being caught by the 'wolf' who is another child who faces the 'ewe'.

B Pinewood containing much resin is burned at night for lighting.
I found myself at the foot of a huge tree trunk by the path that zigzagged up the mountain slope. I realized I had slipped and fallen in the dark. Suddenly, everything was deadly quiet. It was hard to see the path at night. Everything I had just recalled was now utterly forgotten. My hair stood on end as a dark human-like figure loomed in front of me. I could hardly breathe. The figure became steadily larger. Fortunately, a dog's bark from far away encouraged me to look more carefully. It was only a tree trunk. Night birds began chirping and I started to sing loudly, quickening the speed of my steps without looking back.

All my family members were sleeping. Father's obedient hunting dog jumped up on me, wagging its tail at the door. After I ate some leftovers in the kitchen, I lay in bed, took a deep breath and tried to sleep.

I was afraid of Mother and Elder Brother's reaction the next day. The argument from the night before replayed: "Liu Jin, you will marry ʙu44 ve55 after you graduate from middle school in a year," Father said, sitting by the hearth after finishing dinner.

"What about my study? You mean I should just stop?" I demanded, continuing to eat my bowl of noodles.

"What you have learned in middle school is good enough. Think about us, your parents. We never went to school for even a day, but have almost finished dealing with our lives," Mother added.

"I want to continue studying in college after I graduate because I'll then be able to find a job and have a better life," I said, suddenly losing my appetite.

"From the days of our ancestors to our current generation, nobody has ever had an official job. Farming and herding are our fate. We depend on our land and livestock," Elder Brother said.

"Yes. Furthermore, our ʟi44 ʙu55 Clan has no connections with important people, as do some families. It would be very hard to get an official job, even if you got more education and a diploma," Father said.

"I can find a job," I said. I wondered why not even one person from our ʟi44 ʙu55 Clan had an official job. I made a strong decision that I would continue studying until I got an official job.

"I think it's better to return home, marry early and form your own family. We won't waste much money on that," Father said.

"Yes, don't go to school anymore. We know you have tried very hard at school. But for a poor family with seven kids, this is the best way to..." Mother started.

"Yes, it's the best way. We can marry her into our home this winter," Father said.

"Then there'll be another family," Mother said.

"No, no, no, I won't. I won't. I want to continue to go to school and find a job," I said.

Elder Brother Bajin had come to our home that night to help convince me to stay at home and marry, rather than studying Tibetan in Kangding. "It's useless to study Tibetan. You won't find a job in the future," he said.

"Yes, but Liu Jin won't listen to us," Mother said.

"I have always listened to you. But this is so significant that I can't consent. I want to study and I especially want to learn Tibetan because I am Tibetan," I said and started packing in preparation for leaving the next day. A heavy stone lay on my heart.
"Don't be silly. Listening to your parents is always right. You're still young. You don't know many things. Listen to us," Father said, taking out his pipe, getting ready to smoke.

"It's so stupid that you want to study Tibetan. This is China. It's better to get married and make a family of your own rather than wasting four years in that Tibetan school," Bajin said.

"I want to learn Tibetan. I just want to, I don't know why, Brother," I said.

"Where will the money come from? It doesn't grow on trees. I have no money to support your study," Bajin said angrily.

"I don't need even one yuan from you for my school fees," I said, pointing the index finger of my right hand at him suddenly, a very rude gesture in na53 mzi53 culture.

He stared at me for a long time in surprise. Later I regretted and felt guilty for having behaved that way. He bought gifts for me when I got the top score in my class. And he was the one who always encouraged me to study hard in both primary and middle school. Every time his family cooked some special food he invited me to his home to eat. He always supported me. I didn't understand why he had changed his mind.

"Shut up! You don't know how hard it was to raise you guys from infants to this stage and now you behave like this," Mother continued.

"Please inform them that I will never marry her until I finish my study and find a job," I said.

"How can we just go there and say that? If we do, our families will become enemies," Brother said.

"No, no!" I shouted and ran outside.

I found myself in the water buffalo stable in the darkness. Tears streamed down my face and drenched my sleeves.

"Liujin, Liujin, where are you?" Father called.

"Brother, Brother..." my younger sister called.

I knew all of my family members were looking for me. They soon came to me, holding torches of wheat stalks.

"My dear son, come back and sleep. You must get up early tomorrow and go to school," Father said gently.

"No, I won't until you all agree that I don't have to marry her," I said. Father then promised that whatever happened he would help me continue to attend school.

"Come back and sleep. I promise you will go to school as long as you want. We will try our best to support you, even though our family condition is not very good," he said, holding my right hand. Then I followed him.

That night I slept with Father and it was one the most comfortable and unforgettable nights of my childhood.

The cackling of our neighbor's rooster awakened me the next morning. I got up and decided to stay at home another day. The next day, Father returned with the outcome of the consultation with my bride-to-be—we paid 700 RMB, a goat and five kilos of liquor. None of us went to the field to work that day, although Younger Brother went to herd on the mountaintop. A goat, five kilos of liquor and 700 RMB were worth about 1,000 RMB—an astronomical sum at that time for a poor family of ordinary farmers.
I arrived in dza⁵³ qa⁵³ tṇu¹ Village in the late afternoon to attend a funeral. After a night of funeral rituals, singing and dancing I was exhausted and hungry the next morning. My sister-in-law brought me to a neighbor's home to end my gnawing hunger. A woman with a baby on her back served me. "Please make yourself at home and eat. You are a student and must have been tortured a lot last night," she said, bringing me a wooden bowl of cooked beef and a second bowl of beef soup.

"Yes, yes," I replied respectfully.

"Add chili and salt as you like," she said, placing small bowls of salt and chili on the table and then handing me a pair of chopsticks.

"Yes, yes," I said.

I ate as soon as I got the chopsticks. I finished three bowls of rice without so much as raising my head. She saw me stop eating and came over. "Please eat more, please eat more," she encouraged.

"Oh, I'm full, I'm really full," I replied with a smile and saw her face turn red.

"Please..." she said and then turned and fled without completing the sentence.

"Why did she behave like that? Is she falling in love with me? Have I done something wrong?" I wondered.

Sister-in-law came in at that moment and said, "OK, we're leaving."

Our hostess came to the courtyard gate to see us off and said, "OK, please go slowly, go slowly."

On the way, Sister-in-law laughed and asked, "Did you recognize her?"

"Who?" I said.

"The one who served you," she said.

"No. Who is she?" I said, puzzled.

"tṇu⁴⁴ ve⁵⁵, the one you were engaged to a long time ago," she said.

"What? You mean she is..." I said in astonishment.

SANJIN'S ARRANGED MARRIAGE

"Save me, Brother. I beg you. You're the only one who can save me from danger. It is only one week—seven days. They are forcing me to marry. I hate everything and everyone around me. Everything around me seems to press me down. I only want to get out of this darkness..."

"What's wrong? How can I help?" Meiduo's voice broke my reverie after I finished reading the letter from my distant home.

"Read this," I said and handed her the letter. She was not only my classmate, but also a good friend. She took it gently with a nod. I soon discovered tears flowing down her cheeks, dropping on the letter in her hands, written in pencil.

"Dawa, don't worry. First let's help her get out of there and into our school. She can stay with us. We can try to find a restaurant job for her. Oh, I never heard of such a pitiful girl in this world," she said, wiping her cheeks and sniffing.

^ Sanjin = three jin or one and a half kilograms.
"Is it possible?" I asked.
She nodded.
I was extremely impressed by her compassionate, loyal and pure heart. However, I still hesitated for I was not in my hometown. The Sichuan Tibetan Language School is located in Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. I had no relatives, no money and no home there. I was still a mere vocational school student—a drop of water in an ocean. What could I do for my younger sister? Bring her to Kangding?

A couple of days later I called a Han family who, at that time, had the only phone in our village. They charged other villagers to use it. I eventually was able to talk to my second eldest brother. He is considered the most decisive and smartest among my siblings. "Women! They'll follow a dog if married to a dog and follow a chicken if married to a chicken. Ignore her. She refuses now, but she won't later. Just do your study," he said impatiently.

I put the receiver down heavily and did not know what to do. I could not concentrate on my study. Was it really true that women did whatever their husbands wanted? Should women always follow men? These questions went through my mind and then I decided that I must try to help my sister. Then I faced many questions: Where would she stay if she came to my school? What would she do? Where was the money for food? What if she got ill? What if something happened to her during the journey? Ignore it? She was only fifteen. Would she commit suicide? Would her husband be good to her after she married?

"Dawa, go eat. The other students have finished," Meiduo said. I was sitting under a pine tree by our school's sports ground.
"I have no appetite," I said.
"Come on. It's important to not get too preoccupied. Your studies will suffer," Meiduo said.
"There's nothing in my heart except my younger sister right now," I replied.
"Everything will be OK. We'll figure it out," Meiduo said.
"I won't be OK until I have solved this," I said.
"I think Aunt Xiaohong will help. She's very kind," Meiduo said with sudden inspiration.
I didn't know very much about this woman. The students referred to her as 'Aunt Xiaohong'. She was a widow, her son was twelve and her late husband had been a teacher. She was the door guard at the girl's dormitory. I hesitated and didn't visit her until noon the next day.

"Aunt Xiaohong, I'm in great trouble. I don't know if you can help me," I said meekly, plucking the window's metal bars. Boys were not allowed to enter the girls' dormitory.
"Ya, say it. What is it?" she stared at me directly. "Just say it. Quickly, what happened?" she said.
"My sister is going to marry in six days. This has been arranged by my parents and relatives..." after I said this I felt a little excited and relieved and explained the situation in detail. However, my heart was pounding. This and my hot face made me uncomfortable. I observed her reaction periodically now and then.
"Oh, I see. Sure, she can stay and eat with me if she doesn't mind. How terrible. You should bring her here," she said.
"Thank you, Aunt Xiaohong. Thank you very much. I'll start on this immediately. Thank you," I blurted out, a tingling sensation filling my body.
"Don't worry," Aunt Xiaohong said.
Many people encouraged me. I felt confident. Yes, I would do it. For me, an eighteen-year-old boy, it all seemed believable and true.

I phoned her after afternoon classes. "Younger Sister, can you come to Kangding by yourself?" I asked.
"Sure. But nobody will give me bus fare," she said.
"Don't worry. I'll send it to you in an express envelope. Go to town and check the post office every day beginning three days from now," I said.
"OK. Will you meet me at the Kangding Bus Station?" she asked.
"Of course," I said.
"But I'm worried about how to…" she said.
"Go to the Xichang Bus Station and get a Xichang-Kangding ticket after you get the money. It's a direct bus. Make sure you call me right after you get the letter," I said.

I had already paid the money I had earned from doing construction work during the last vacation to our school's cafeteria for my food bill so I borrowed one hundred RMB from a teacher. I put the money and a piece of paper with general instructions into an envelope, sent it by express mail and waited for her phone call.

Beside a rumbling river, our school settled into relative silence. A road ran abreast of the river, stretching out from the valley. In the early morning, an opaque sun rose drowsily from above a snow-covered mountain summit, shooting out colorful, glimmering rays. Students entered the classroom building, bustling with books under their arms and in their Tibetan robe pouches, which made them appear pregnant. On every floor of the building, students read as they slowly paced back and forth to the melodic songs of morning birds perched in trees around the schoolyard. Other students mopped and cleaned the area in front of the classroom. Suddenly, the sounds of morning chanting emanated from the whole building and, as they mixed with the songs of birds, the whole ambiance was that of a remote monastery. I sat in my classroom and prayed that all would be well with my sister.

I waited and waited... three days, two days, one day...

"Hi, Brother... I'm so scared. Everyone hates me and I hate everyone except you..." she said and rushed into my arms.
"Thank the gods. You arrived safely. Oh, thank the gods. Now no one can force you to marry someone you don't love. You are completely free," I exulted, wiping away tears from her delicate cheeks with trembling hands.
"Will they come to kill our parents and burn down our house?" she asked.
"No, wealth and position do not make them above the law," I said.
"But how can we live without a single relative?" she asked.
"I'll ask help from Brother Bajin. He has saved more than 30,000 RMB. He's the richest person in our village," I said.
"But you said you would never ask for any of his money," she said.
"Oh, yes. I do remember," I said.
"I have an idea... Let's go to the mountain top and ask cì53 vì53 for help," I said.
A compassionate-looking face appeared under a huge tree trunk. Green thick leaves under the blue sky contrasted sharply with the whiteness of several tufts of clouds floating by. "What do you want children?" the face asked.

"Your holiness, we have come for help," I said.

"I see everything. You, girl, escaped from an arranged marriage. You, boy, have disobeyed your family. You compassionate and brave children. You have experienced pleasure and suffering. Come, there is no sorrow, no..."

I found myself in bed with my eyes full of tears. It was five o'clock the next morning.

"Hello, this is Liujin. May I speak to my sister?" I said after dialing my second older brother's home.

"Oh, sorry. She is still at her wedding..." an impatient voice grumbled.

I rushed up the mountain behind our school. I gasped tearfully. Sweat washed my face. The river and road grew increasingly vague. An eagle hovered and squawked in a cold strong wind under the cloud-littered sky.

I set out with my friends from Liangshan Prefecture for the bus station several months later. The winter holiday had just begun. We were going home. We were the only ones on the quiet, frozen street at such an early hour. Towering buildings and tall streetlights on both sides seemed to be sentinels.

About fifteen hours later I was at home and quickly I was being questioned. "Did you really think you could take responsibility for her if we had given her the one hundred RMB you sent?" Bajin asked.

I said nothing.

"How dare you, a mere student, knowing only a little Tibetan..." he scolded.

I said nothing.

The next morning I chatted with my sister in our vegetable garden, "You changed your mind, Sister?"

"They did not let me go to town after your last phone call," she sobbed. "Our nephew, Guoqiang, was beside me when we talked on the phone."

"He repeated what we said?" I asked.

"Yes, to Mother. Later, she went to the post office every day and didn't let me leave the home. She got the letter and pretended nothing had happened before I married..." she sobbed, unable to continue.

It became darker and we returned home.

"Why did all of you force her, Mother?" I asked.

"What does she know? Pula's family is the richest in the Xichang area. Her husband, Lopa, is also not bad. They are attracted by her height and beauty. As someone with only a primary school education, she should understand but she doesn't," Mother said.

"But she has never liked that guy," I said.

"She's a child. Where else can we find a family as rich as this one? She'll accept this if all of us work together and persuade her. What other future has she got?" Mother said.

"Right. Her father-in-law works for the County Education Bureau. He probably can help you after you graduate," Father said.
"Money and position cannot replace true love. You made the decision without her agreement, without a phone call to me. It's her life," I said loudly.
"I also married your father this way, child," Mother said.
"Mother, times are different," I said.
"In fact, she agreed," Mother said.
I said nothing.

"Mother said you actually agreed. Did you?" I asked while we were herding the goats together on the mountain the next day.
"I had no idea what else to do. Mother said she would jump into the river in front of our house if I didn't agree. Everyone says I'm so stupid for being unhappy to join such a wealthy family," she said, tears rolling down her face again.

New Year's Eve soon came and the whole village exploded with the sound of blaring conches and drumbeats as sacrifices were made for the ancestors while the sun beamed crimson rays into the valley from above the mountains. In the evening, all my family members surrounded a circular table laden with various foods after we had finished sacrificing to our ancestors.

"This year, everything has gone well. No one got sick, no livestock died and we had a good harvest. Tonight is the last night of the whole year and it is also the last New Year party with my daughter, Sanjin," Father began.

According to local custom, everyone should say something about both the New Year and the past year. The order of giving these little speeches is from the oldest to the youngest family members. Everyone was eating and listening except Sanjin. She put her head down. I couldn't see her face.

"After New Year, we will choose a day and send Sanjin there," Father continued, holding a cup of liquor.
"No, I won't go for at least two years," Sanjin retorted in a low weak voice, her head still bent down.
"You devil! You want my head?" Mother scolded viciously. The rage in this utterance pushed my head down as though it were a boulder.
"Quickly, follow her!" Father said, scolding Mother. Sanjin had fled.

We all rushed out in the darkness, searching and calling Sanjin's name with burning rice-straw torches. My hair stood on end. I felt bewildered. "Go to the river, quickly!" Father ordered and we raced to the river, holding the torches high. But we found nothing except ruthless rocks and the sound of quickening water. Some neighbors came and tried to help. My heartbeat slowly returned to normal only when we were told she had been seen running along the road in the direction of the township. We started off in that direction and soon I saw Father holding a torch high in one hand while the other was holding sniffing, sobbing Sanjin.
Father offered liquor and incense to ɕi33 vi53 at the sacrifice place, for nothing bad had happened to my younger sister after we returned home. Mother sat silently in her previous seat.

That night I could not sleep. Numerous questions presented themselves: "What should I do? What could I do? Yes, I was just a student who knew only a little Tibetan as Bajin said. Should I help her reject our family's decision?"
"I got a phone call from Pula's family. They are waiting," said Bajin the next morning.
"Tomorrow is perfect. You'll have to leave for school soon. We all should go and have fun," Father said, looking at me. "Bring the flute for dancing," he continued, looking at Jiujin. He played the flute very well even though he was a quiet young man.

Some hours later, Father and my siblings were sitting in Pula's house after a long journey on foot.

"Is he Daka Liwa who works for the County Education Bureau?" I whispered to Jiujin, motioning to a bald man in his forties wearing a black jacket. My brother nodded and I expected that he would say something very cultivated.

"You didn't bring your daughter before the New Year. Now you come. Looking for what? My dick?" he exploded in Nuosu.\(^A\) We all sat up and pointed fingers at each other. Fortunately, many people mediated. My niece and Sanjin cried out in fear.

The next day, in spite of Pula's family's persuasion, Sanjin returned home with us.

"I will never let my daughter pass through their doorway again," Father said angrily from his seat by the fireplace.

"You should be patient. He was probably drunk," Mother responded.

"You are always on their side, widow," Father retorted.

"That's the result of liking wealth," Bajin inserted.

"They must separate for we have seen what happened," I suggested.

"Just go back to school and do your stuff," Bajin said.

We all sat in silence.

A month later I was back in school, holding this letter in my hands:

Dear Brother,

How is everything at school? I miss you very much. I got a job in a Tibetan restaurant in Xichang. I am paid 300 RMB per month so I can live. After your departure, they agreed to send me back because Pula's family sent 1,000 RMB to apologize. Father tried to help me end the engagement but Bajin and Mother disagreed. The night I arrived there, Lopa came back at midnight reeking of liquor. He scolded, "Bitch! Get as far away from me as you can. Do you think your family clan is better than ours? I'll find someone much better than you with the money from one night's gambling. Get out of here!" I tried to run off but he pushed me against the wall. Finally I escaped and ran into a home. I heard they spent 60,000 RMB on the wedding. What an amount for us poor people. I will never go there again…"

I folded the letter and put it inside my Tibetan history textbook.

After class, I went to our school's apple orchard hoping this exposure to Nature would cheer me, but I turned away immediately in embarrassment when I saw Tsering and Drolma sitting arm in arm under a tree.

\(^A\) He probably spoke in Nuosu because most na\(^53\) mzi\(^53\) in his village speak Nuosu.
Four years passed and I was a student at Qinghai Normal University. The winter holiday came again and I returned for the New Year. "Where is Father?" I asked Mother after I put down my bag.

"He is on the mountain grazing our livestock. Go visit him and come back together," she said. She was delighted to see me.

I brought the two and half kilograms of butter and a bottle of spirits that I had brought from Qinghai and started up the mountain. I came to a small yellow wood surrounded by grassland. Goats and water buffalo stood around a bungalow but I didn't see Father. He appeared from behind the bungalow after I called to him loudly.

"Did you visit your sister in Xichang on your way back?" he asked after we talked about my education.

"No, I lost her phone number, Father," I said.

"How pitiful your younger sister is. She could only cry. I wanted to break the engagement but your mother scolded me terribly. They all forced her. My heart was broken," Father said.

"Let's go down. Then we all can talk together," I advised after having dinner in his small, dark, smoke-stained room.

"No, I like it here. It's quiet with my livestock and the bird songs in the forests. They know nothing but watching TV the whole night and cannot get up the next morning. Take this flashlight. It's already dark. Bring some salt and rice for me and when you have time, come stay with me and read," he said, passing me a flashlight. I felt uncomfortable leaving him alone on the mountain and stayed with him that night. Tears filled my eyes when I touched his body for it seemed to be a bag of bones.

"Mother, why don't we bring her back? Many unpleasant things have happened," I advised.

"We are in the middle of the river and Pula's family is extremely angry right now," she replied.

"We can also retreat because she has never liked him. We can earn money slowly, selling livestock. It's OK if all our family members are healthy," I said.

"Your father absolutely agreed at first. Why did he change his mind? It's your father controlling her. It's not that she doesn't agree to go to Pula's home," she said, becoming angry.

I said nothing.

"If we all agree... she is just a child... persuade your father and..." she said.

"Children are also human, Mother," I said.

"How pitiful I am. I have raised seven children for him. In your eyes I am nothing," she said, tears rolling down her cheeks.

I felt guilty for it seemed I was the only one who had made Mother cry.

After the New Year period, the husband of one of my older cousins visited our home in the morning and said, "They are very angry. They want 60,000 RMB. They will burn your house if you don't pay." We then called Sanjin and she came to our home that evening.
"Get up and ask her the last time. They will come soon. I'm afraid," Mother said the next morning. I got up and took Sanjin outside.

The yellow sun strode skyward from behind a red earth mountain covered with leafless trees. Bamboo groves grew behind our house. Green wheat terraces were on both sides of the winding river at the valley bottom. The songs of morning birds lingered throughout the valley.

"So, you will never go back, will you? We wouldn't be in this situation if you had got the letter four years ago. I'm also afraid of Mother's crying," I said.

"Brother, if you have no courage then I will return, like a dog. I feel sorry if you will be unable to find a job because of my behavior," she said and began sobbing. Through my own tears, I saw smoke from our chimney stabbing into the sky.

I wrung my fists tightly and said, "Don't worry Sister, you will never go back." Then we went to my oldest brother's home for breakfast. Afterwards, we started back to our parents' home. When we got near, we saw four red vans parked by the road.

Men were standing in groups and smoking in our yard as I entered our home. They silently stared at me. The house was full of people. Some were sitting along the wall; others were sitting on a piece of cloth and some leaned against the pillar in the middle of the room. A bald man caught my attention and I remembered what he had said earlier. He raised his head a little to look me over. Then he resumed his motionless black-leather-clad posture, as unmoving as a stone.

"Is he the one studying in Qinghai?" a man asked.

I nodded with a forced smile. I took a pack of cigarettes and offered one to each person even though I didn't know who they were. The hearth was lifeless. Cigarette smoke filled the room as though a fire of wet, smoldering wood was trying to burn. Mother sat by the hearth in front of the sacrifice place because Father hadn't returned from the pasture.

"Will Uncle come, Mother?" I said, making conversation with her when I realized nobody wanted to talk to her even though she was the oldest person in the room.

"He will come," Mother answered.

More people came and Father also returned. He bowed a little, came in and said, "You are all welcome." I could see his exposed belly from under his green soil-stained clothes.

"Is everything going well in your village?" he politely asked, while removing his shoes and then beating them against a stone beside the fireplace to shake the soil loose into the fireplace.

Father pinched my calf surreptitiously and I followed him outside. "Take care of your younger sister. Break them into pieces if someone comes to beat her," he said.

"OK, Father," I said.

"I'll stab my dagger into Daka Liwa's throat if he dares touch me. This will get rid of it I think," he said, hiding his dagger under his clothes.

"Don't worry, they won't dare," I said calmly.

Fortunately, mediators separated us after dinner. Daka Liwa's group went to another home. Later, three of Daka Liwa's representatives—two na and one Nuosu—came to our home and the discussion resumed (in Nuosu).

"We need a wife for our son. Is there any possibility that you can persuade your daughter to return with us?" their helpers asked, beginning a long period of negotiation.

"We have never stopped persuading. Let's ask Sanjin," Father responded.

"Say it! Quickly Sanjin!" some villagers whispered beside her.
"I went to Pula's family because my parents asked me to. Ask your Lopa what he did," Sanjin said, raising her voice.

"OK. We spent 60,000 RMB for the marriage entertainment. Now we need 180,000 RMB for what we spent and to recover our family's honor," they retorted.

"Please listen. I grew up nursing my mother's milk and ate solid food when I grew older. I did not grow up being threatened and frightened," Father said angrily and loudly.

They left, very displeased after Father said that.

"Wow! It will probably take three days and three nights to settle this," some villagers murmured.

A big fire glimmered in the open air in front of the home where Daka Liwa's group stayed. Some of them drank liquor nearby. Others slept in their clothes. Liquor fumes floated in the air and laughter broke the serene dark night every now and again.

Finally, the mediators came up with a decision the next morning that surprised the villagers: We were to pay 20,000 RMB and two pigs.

"Will you go back to Xichang, Sanjin? Shouldn't you stay at home?" I asked.

"Why not? Who will pay for her? She has to earn the money by herself," Mother said, not letting her speak.

Sanjin and I carried our bags and left home three days later. She returned to her restaurant job in Xichang and I returned to school.

In dzə¹¹ qu¹¹, na⁵³ mzi⁵³ mostly marry other na⁵³ mzi⁵³ from dza⁵³ qa⁵³ ṭa¹¹, ša⁴⁴ pa⁵³ and dzə¹¹ qu¹¹ villages. There are certain rules about who can marry whom, e.g., it is taboo to marry one's mother's sister's daughter or father's brother's daughter. It is acceptable to marry one's mother's brother's daughter. To marry one's father's sister's daughter is considered the best marriage.

Occasionally, two families meet and discuss their children marrying when they are older. At this meeting va¹¹ bu⁴⁴ tʂə¹¹ ly¹¹ɣ 'examining a pig's gallbladder' is done. A piglet is killed and both sides check the bile. If the gallbladder is full of bile, it signifies that the marriage will be very successful. If the gallbladder is only half full of bile or less than half full, it suggests that the marriage will be usual. Engagement never proceeds if there is no bile.

Little children who are engaged know nothing about adult married life. When Libu Lakhi was engaged at the age of five, he was delighted with the meat that was served at the meeting and the company of other children, including the girl he was being engaged to. At this engagement meeting, the date of the eventual marriage was decided as well as how much money the boy's family should give the girl's family—800-5,500 RMB. Usually, half of this sum is given at the engagement meeting and the other half at the actual wedding years later.

On the wedding day, the groom's parents invite a pʰa⁵³ tʂə⁵³ to their home to choose one or two young men who will greet the bride on the basis of the young man's zodiac year compatibility with the zodiac year of the bride. The pʰa⁵³ tʂə⁵³ also directs seven young men to go in and out of the doorway in turn, seven to nine times carrying bottles of wine, a conch and a round bamboo container of roasted beans and wheat flour.

A va¹¹ bu⁴⁴ = piglet; tʂə¹¹ = piglet's bladder; ly¹¹ɣ = to examine.
A man stands behind the door and closes the door when the young men exit. He then offers a cup of liquor to the person who first enters. For this reason, a young man who likes to drink is always shoved to the front. Usually the group consists of seven or nine young men chosen by the \( p^h a^53 \ tso^53 \).

Within the group of seven young men, two blow conch horns and must not stop blowing until they reach the family hearth in front of the home sacrifice place. When they reach the fireplace, they toss a little barley flour into the fire and yell, "\( xwe^53 \ldots xwe^53 \ldots \)."

After these preliminary activities are completed, the bride-greeters go to the bride's home leading a strong horse and carrying a stick tied with colorful pieces of fabrics 'tju^44 mbə^55'.

The time required to reach the bride's home depends on the locations of the bride and groom's homes. When the bride-greeters reach the bride's home, the bride's friends and relatives gather outside the bride's home's gate awaiting the arrival of the bride-greeters. The young women and older girls stand by both the courtyard entrance and the door of the home with hidden wooden buckets of water and dippers.

The bride-greeters know all this but they must proceed. The girls prevent the bride-greeters from entering the courtyard gate by throwing dippers of water on them. Once inside the house, the girls continue to throw water on the men until the men give them a satisfactory amount of money. It is winter, and the cold water and cold weather make the men uncomfortable.

After the water-throwing ritual, a meal is served of goat meat, pork, mutton, rice and meat soup. The meat is in fist-sized chunks and people usually eat it with their hands.

After the meal, older people begin singing about how the bride should be a proper woman in her husband's home. Generally, the first singers are the bride's parents, uncles and elder siblings. Next, the bride-greeters and the bride's side sing back and forth to each other with the bride's side expressing concern about the bride's future in the groom's home and the bride-greeters reassuring that all will be well.

The bride laments about her imminent departure and her friends sing songs to comfort and encourage her.

The bride's side decides how many people and who will escort the bride to the groom's home, as well as the departure time.

At around five a.m. people get up and ready everything. Before sunrise, a \( p^h a^53 \ tso^53 \) does religious activities at the bride's home similar to the activities done at the groom's home.

In most cases, it is a one day walk to the groom's home. Women prepare the bride with na^53 mzi^53 clothing, jewels, a black fabric hat and a colorful scarf that covers her head. It is an absolute rule that nobody can remove the scarf until the bride reaches the groom's home. Usually, about twenty people are in the bride's entourage. The most important people are the bride's uncle (father's brother) and brother. On the way, her brother must lead the horse and ensure that the scarf continues to cover her head. All female members of the entourage are dressed traditionally.

Once they reach the groom's home, the groom's mother removes the scarf in the sitting room and says, "My son's wife is very beautiful," and happily reaches into a bamboo container of rice with a wooden spoon. She puts a spoonful of rice into the bride's mouth, which the bride chews and swallows. Next, the groom's mother reaches into a wooden container of meat soup and puts this into the bride's mouth, which she also swallows.
Later in the day, the guests and groom's side compete in dancing, telling jokes, wrestling and singing far into the night.

The next day, all the na³̂ mзи³̂ families in the village invite the entourage to their homes. Pigs, goats and sheep are butchered, chopped into pieces and cooked. People sing and dance the whole day. Women and men of the same generation put pot soot on each other's faces, creating much laughter.

At night, the guests return to the groom's home and make merry before the bride's entourage leaves the next day. The game бu⁴⁴ dɔz⁵⁵ ʢv³⁵ ʢv³⁵ ʂu¹¹ 'searching for the hole of the earthworm' is played. First, two young men dressed in traditional female clothing each hold a buffalo horn filled with liquor. They pretend to be a mare and a stallion. They move around, searching for 'the hole of the earthworm'. They say, "Where is the hole of the earthworm?" when ordered to do so by old people sitting by the hearth. Audience members periodically say, "It is there!" "It is here!" while pointing their fingers. The two performers rush in the direction suggested. People laugh excitedly when the 'mare' speaks in a female voice or when the 'stallion' mounts the 'mare's' back, in imitation of horses.

Before the guests leave the next morning, аp³̂ a⁵³ tʂ⁵³ comes and gives money to the female guests and the bride's brother and uncle. Usually, the uncle receives one hundred RMB, the brother gets five RMB and each of the female guests receive two RMB. The money is believed to be from цi⁵³ вl³⁵. The hosts hold a bottle of liquor and cups and stands in front of the departing guests, offering them a last cup of liquor to bid them much luck and farewell. Many older women guests lament when they leave the bride. Songs are sung between the two sides. These songs continue to be sung even when the guests are far out of sight.

MONSTER тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mі¹¹

The тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mі¹¹ is a female monster with very long breasts and long fingernails that often appears in na³̂ mзи³̂ stories. "Don't cry or тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mі¹¹ will come with her long breasts flung over her shoulders..." my parents said when I cried. Every time they said this, the hair on my head stood up and I stopped crying immediately. At night, children dare not go outside to urinate after their parents or other adults tell тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mі¹¹ stories.

Children are unafraid of тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mі¹¹ during the day, except when livestock graze on тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ tsʰo⁵³ ro⁴⁴ Mountain. тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ refers to тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mі¹¹, тsʰo⁵³ means 'dance' and ro⁴⁴ refers to the place where тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mі¹¹ dance. тsʰo⁵³ is particularly frightening because it specifically refers to the dance done at funerals. The mountain has many pine trees. Goats and sheep enjoy grazing lush grass at the foot of the mountain. When goats and sheep go there, children dare not follow them. They stare at the mountain and think of тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mі¹¹. Recalling the sentence "hʊ¹¹ NGv¹¹ te¹¹ тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mі¹¹ tʂu¹¹ ma¹¹ ʂi¹¹ mі¹¹ ʘ⁴⁴ тsʰo⁵³ ʢv¹¹ ji²² so¹¹m "It was said that thousands of тsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mі¹¹ dance and sing there at night," which mothers say many times, children routinely return home without bringing their livestock back.
RESEARCH IN XICHANG AND MIANNING

NOVEMBER 6, 2003 (SATURDAY). At around one p.m., I went to ʈʂʰa₁¹ dza₁¹ pʰa₅³ ʦa₅³'s (b. 1929) home in dza₅³ qa₅³ tsu¹¹. He is one of Father's best friends. I had heard that he had become blind when he was seventy-eight. Now he is seventy-nine and because he and his wife do not get along with each other, he lives separately from his wife and two sons in a small, low adobe room in his family's courtyard. I yelled, "Uncle ʈʂʰa₁¹ dza₁¹!" from far away, holding a stick in my hands. I heard an old man's voice amid a dog's fierce barking. I remembered my family had invited him to our home to do religious activities many times. He was very welcome in my village when I was a child even though he was from dza₅³ qa₅³ tsu¹¹ Village.

A moment later, the old man, who was outside his room in the front of the courtyard, scooted on his bottom to me and asked, "Who is this?" while looking around with both eyes closed.

I said my name loudly. He recognized who I was and led me back to his low, small shelter. I started to feel sad while he was feeling around for mo⁵³ ʈʂə⁵³ vɛ¹¹ ŋga¹¹. "Please have some mo⁵³ ʈʂə⁵³ vɛ¹¹ ŋga¹¹. That's all I have, kid. How is your study?" he said, trying to get a bowl of mo⁵³ ʈʂə⁵³ vɛ¹¹ ŋga¹¹ for me from a wooden box, but I refused.

"My study is going very well. My father asked me to give you his regards," I said.

"Oh, I'm very happy to hear that. Please tell your father to come see me when he has time. I am old and blind and cannot go anywhere now in the forest. Nobody comes to invite me to do rituals now that I'm blind..."

"Uncle, I need to record chants and Father said you are the best," I said.

"Great! That's what I dream about everyday. You know, I have two sons. One is never interested in this kind of thing; the other learnt half of how to be a pʰa₅³ ʦa₅³ but then he gave up and never mentioned trying again. I am very sad about this. Now, finally today here is someone to continue my work. I will try my best to teach you!"

"No, Uncle, I'm not trying to be a pʰa₅³ ʦa₅³. My parents don't agree. I also have to continue my study. I just want to record your chants and keep them. Otherwise they will be lost."

"OK. That's still very good. You can record them. It is better than them being lost. Yes, please study hard and then you can find a job. But please also come see me with your father often when you have time. Only your father understands my chanting and I feel very close to him because of that."

"Uncle, I can't stay here very long. How long will it take if I record all your chants?" I asked.

"At least seven days, but only having the chants is not helpful. You also need to study and practice the rituals. There are many things you will never understand until you have experienced them," he said.

"I don't have time to study, I just need to record the chants now," I said.

"OK. Let's go outside. Maybe you feel a little bit cold inside here and outside is very quiet," he said.

I helped him collect his drum and cymbals. We went outside and he started chanting while beating his drum and cymbals. He concentrated deeply. Listening to him chanting, I remembered when I was five to eight years old and Father had invited him to do rituals. Our
house was crowded. Everyone respected him and believed in him. I had then wished to become
a \( p^b_{a53} ts\dot{e}53 \).

Some time passed. His lips were dry from chanting loudly, so I asked him to rest for a
while.

"You know kid, I did \( p^1\) 'rituals' almost everyday when I was young for na\(^{53}\) mzi\(^{53}\) and
Han. I was very busy then. I saved many patients from danger," he said.

Unfortunately, I could not continue to listen to all his interesting stories for I had to
leave after three days. He said it was very difficult to chant continually for several days.
"Kid, please come back, OK?" he said.
"Yes, I will. I'm sure I will," I said and left, very concerned about his blindness.
"Come back, then you can stay here longer and learn more," he said.

The sounds of his words became weaker and weaker as I trudged into the distance.

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**NOVEMBER 11TH (THURSDAY), 8 A.M.** "I'll go by myself. You don't need to worry," I said
again, but Father was not convinced.

"No, Son. You don't know a single person there. Your work is important. How can I feel
comfortable about you going alone? We will bring your younger sister. I'm old and close to
death. I can't often be with you since you study away from home and it is difficult for you to
return home often. It's the same for your younger sister—she is usually not at home, like you.
And now she'll marry soon while you're not at home. No, you can't go alone. I'll take you to
your Uncle lu\(^{11}\) tsu\(^{53}\) a\(^{53}\) zo\(^{44}\). He's the person who knows most about na\(^{53}\) mzi\(^{53}\) these days,"
Father continued. I could not disagree.

Xiaolong used his motorcycle to send Sanjin, my father and me from dzə\(^{11}\) qu\(^{11}\) Village
to lu\(^{11}\) ma\(^{44}\) Town. Then we took a bus from lu\(^{11}\) ma\(^{44}\) to Mianning, which cost each person forty
RMB. We arrived in Luoguodi at five p.m. Luoguodi is part of Lianhe Township, Mianning
County. According to the local na\(^{53}\) mzi\(^{53}\) explanation, the real name is lu\(^{11}\) ky\(^{53}\) tsu\(^{11}\). A 'lu\(^{11}\) ky\(^{53}\"
indicates an earlier generation of the li\(^{44}\) tsu\(^{55}\) Clan lineage while 'tsu\(^{11}\)' means 'place' or 'area.'

That evening after a day's journey in the bus, we reached Uncle Liqi's home near the
Lianhe bus station. Uncle lu\(^{11}\) tsu\(^{53}\) a\(^{53}\) zo\(^{44}\) returned home around eleven p.m.

"Oh, my son, I heard you would come and the reason why. It is very good that you are
doing such things," he said.

I felt awkward because it was my first time to meet him. He treated me very nicely.
After dinner, I learned he was the uncle whom father had mentioned before.

"Father, I hope you will help me. I only know a little about na\(^{53}\) mzi\(^{53}\)," I said
respectfully.

"Oh, why not. I wish I could pour all my knowledge into your head just like water.
That's how I feel when I meet such a good son like you. Others care nothing about na\(^{53}\) mzi\(^{53}\).
They are only interested in modern clothes and dance. What a pity after we die. They don't
know what to do when a na\(^{53}\) mzi\(^{53}\) gets sick or at weddings, funerals, sacrificing to the
mountain gods..." he couldn't stop complaining.

Mu'er, Zhuangzi, Hetao and Dachuanhao villages are all in Lianhe Township. Nearly all
the residents are na\(^{53}\) mzi\(^{53}\), except for Dachuanhao Village where there are some Nuosu. There

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\(^{A}\) It is pronounced as 'lu\(^{11}\) ky\(^{53}\) tsu\(^{11}\)' in dzə\(^{11}\) qu\(^{11}\) Village.
is one primary school for all four villages' children. However each village also has its own primary school, except for Zhuangzi Village.

**NOVEMBER 12TH (SUNDAY).** I spent the day with Uncle lu₁¹ tʂu⁵³ a⁵³ zo⁴⁴ and recorded the names of the places where na⁵³ mzi⁵³ lived before they came to live in their present homes, how the original two na⁵³ mzi⁵³ brothers divided into many different families and how na⁵³ mzi⁵³ came to the earth (Sky-na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ and Human-Son le¹¹ su⁴⁴ ru¹¹). The place-names are listed below from the most recent to the original home place.

1. li⁴⁴ bu⁵⁵ o⁵³ ndʒo⁵³
2. dzʒ⁴⁴ lo⁴⁴ a¹¹ gy⁴⁴ dz⁴¹
3. bu¹¹ sa¹¹ ka¹¹
4. ho¹¹ jy¹¹ NGY¹¹ kʰi⁴⁴
5. lu¹¹ ky⁵³ tʂu¹¹
6. li⁴⁴ mʊ⁵⁵ ha¹¹ na¹¹ lo⁴⁴
7. ha¹¹ sa¹¹ pʂa¹¹ lo¹¹ bu⁴⁴
8. şu⁵³ bo⁴⁴ ræ⁵³ tʂa⁵³
9. ha¹¹ ga¹¹ dzə⁵³ gy⁴⁴
10. la⁴⁴ kʰy⁵³ ndza⁵³ gy⁵³ tʂa¹¹ ro⁴⁴
11. ha¹¹ tʂa¹¹ mo⁵³ tće⁵³ ro⁴⁴
12. m⁵³ sə⁵³ lo⁴⁴ ga¹¹ ky¹¹
13. la⁴⁴ kʰy⁵³ mo⁵³ tjo⁵³ mi⁴⁴
14. tće¹¹ dzi⁴⁴ he⁵³ ge⁴⁴A
15. şu⁵³ tʂu⁴⁴ la⁵³ sa⁵³ fu¹¹
16. jy¹¹ ga¹¹ tho¹¹ je¹¹ ga¹¹
17. dzə¹¹ me⁴⁴ ha⁴⁴ nju⁴⁴
18. na⁴⁴ me⁴⁴ jy⁴⁴ ga⁵³ fu¹¹
19. ha¹¹ tho¹¹ ni⁴⁴ ve⁴⁴ ga⁴⁴
20. ha¹¹ na⁴⁴ lu⁵³ qv⁵³ tʂu¹¹ ro⁴⁴
21. na⁴⁴ me⁵⁵ NGV¹¹ kʰy¹¹
22. na⁴⁴ me⁵⁵ fu¹¹
23. na⁴⁴ me⁵⁵ ru¹¹ ja¹¹ ka¹¹
24. na⁴⁴ me⁵⁵ ro⁴⁴ gy⁵³
25. dzə¹¹ ra⁴⁴ ʂa¹¹ tʂu⁴⁴ tʂu⁵³
26. dzə¹¹ ra⁴⁴ lu⁴⁴ tʂu⁴⁴ tʂu⁵³
27. tʂu⁵³ tʂu⁵³ ndʒə⁵³ gy⁴⁴ na⁴⁴
28. tʂu⁵³ tʂu⁵³ żə⁵³ pʰu⁵³ dz⁴¹
29. ho⁵³ pi⁵³ NGV¹¹ kʰy¹¹
30. sə¹¹ m¹¹ na⁴⁴ la⁴⁴ ʂæ⁵³
31. jə⁴⁴ ni⁴⁴ pʰo¹¹ dzə¹¹ gy¹¹
32. ja¹¹ wu⁴⁴ ʂo⁴⁴ lo⁴⁴ bu⁴⁴
33. pʂu¹¹ m¹¹ na¹¹ dzə⁴⁴ gy¹¹
34. żə⁵³ tʂu⁵³ ji⁴⁴ ga⁵³ rə⁵³

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A We use 'g' in place of 'ɡ'.
35. ma¹¹ ni⁴⁴ bo⁴⁴ ro⁵⁵
36. ma³₃ pi³₃ tšu¹¹ ji⁴⁴ ga⁵⁵
37. bu⁴⁵ ro⁵³ ni¹¹ ža⁴⁴ dzυ¹¹⁰
38. ni⁴⁴ ma⁵³ la¹¹ sa¹¹ dzυ¹¹⁰
39. pʰu⁴⁵ ji⁴⁴ la¹¹ dzυ¹¹¹ kʰy¹¹

na³₃ mzi³¹⁵ believe li⁴⁴ bu⁵⁵ o³⁵ ndzo⁵³ refers to Xichang. The fifth place-name, lu¹¹ ky⁵³ tšu¹¹, refers to a large valley that includes lu¹¹ tšu³¹ a³¹ žo⁴⁴'s home village, as well as several other villages where nearly all residents are na³₃ mzi³¹⁵. Lu¹¹ tšu³¹ a³¹ žo⁴⁴ said the next to the last place-name referred to Lhasa and the last name referred to a place between Nepal and Lhasa and when people die their souls go through all these places and, finally, to the sky. When na³₃ mzi³¹⁵ die, these place-names are chanted by pʰa³¹⁵ tšə⁵³. Usually, there are two to four pʰa³¹⁵ tšə⁵³ at a funeral. The pʰa³¹⁵ tšə⁵³ stand together by the corpse and slowly and sadly chant the names of the places while holding a short sword above the dead person, guiding the soul of the deceased back to the original home.

**NOVEMBER 13TH (MONDAY).** I went to Zhuangzi Village and met Ji Wendong, the village leader. "There is a better primary school for all the villages in our township, but a few rich people have started to send their children to more expensive schools in Mianning County," he said. "Now more and more young people leave the village to earn money and young children are at school, so only old people and kids are left at home. There's nobody left to dance now," he answered when I asked him if people still danced na³₃ mzi³¹⁵ traditional dance.

**NOVEMBER 14TH (TUESDAY).** In the afternoon, I arrived at a Han pʰa³¹⁵ tšə⁵³'s home on the upper part of a mountain after an hour's horseback ride up a steep, zigzag road. Local people say he is the only local pʰa³¹⁵ tšə⁵³. He showed me his conch, animal horns and old scriptures.

"Can you read these?" I asked, pointing to the scriptures, written in Tibetan.

"No. A friend promised to help pay for me to study Tibetan but I couldn't go. I had to take care of my family." From my talks with him, I learned that people believed in him and invited him to do various rituals. Local na³₃ mzi³¹⁵ do sacrifice rituals to the mountain god every nine years, which involves killing chickens, sheep, goats and yaks. This ritual lasts eight days. The pʰa³¹⁵ tšə⁵³ must chant to the mountain god.

Then he took me to see his ci⁵³ vi⁵³ dza¹¹ tšə¹¹ ro⁴⁴ behind his home, which is the place where food and animal blood is offered to ci³¹⁵ vi³¹⁵. Every local na³₃ mzi³¹⁵ family has a ci⁵³ vi⁵³ dza¹¹ tšə¹¹ ro⁴⁴ in a high and clean place. Usually it is under a large tree.

"Why is there no big tree here?" I asked.

"There, you see... but it is dead now," he said, pointing to a dead trunk, the only remnant of the sacred tree. The big trees are gone. Only some trunks remain because people don't care; they don't offer food and animal blood to them..." From what he said, I gathered that the big trees symbolize ci⁵³ vi⁵³. Na³₃ mzi³¹⁵ respect ci⁵³ vi⁵³ and offer them the best fresh food and animal blood and in return, the people are protected by ci³¹⁵ vi³¹⁵.

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A We do not know the significance of holding a knife above the corpse at this time.
B ci³¹⁵ vi³¹⁵ = mountain god, dza¹¹ = food, tšə¹¹ = raise, ro⁴⁴ = place.
November 16th (Thursday). I visited Uncle lu¹¹ tbu⁵³ a⁵³ zo⁴⁴'s daughter's home and had a chance to see a tsha¹¹ 'loom', which I had never seen before. Y¹¹ ka⁵³ mi⁵³ is skilled at using it. Her home is by a road and I got there easily by paying ten RMB to rent a motorcycle taxi. Y¹¹ ka⁵³ mi⁵³ told me that she uses the loom when she is free to make kwat⁴⁴ ta⁵⁵ 'knee-length vests'. She sells them for one hundred RMB each.
PART THREE: TEXTS

MYTHS

DESCENDANTS OF HUMAN-SON le₁¹ ru⁴⁴ ru₁¹ AND SKY-na₁¹ gu⁴⁴ mi₁¹
lu₁¹ tbu₅³ a₅³ zo⁴⁴A

(1)²
i ni a sọ te za ja go zi so zi dzọ di le
ancient DP brothers three CL EXT say MP
古代 连词 弟兄 三 量词 存在 传说 语气

'It was said in ancient times there were three brothers.'

(2)
zi a no tʰi ja te tsʰo zi le ᵐu ru mi
son young DET CL DP man son le ᵐu ru call
儿子 小 限词 量词 连词 人 儿子 名字 叫

'The youngest son was called Man-Son le₁¹ ru⁴⁴ ru₁¹.'

(其中)小儿子的名字叫人子勒物如。

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² Note the similarity between this account and the Qiang account 'The Creation of the World' (LaPolla and Huang 2003:251-252).
²² See http://www.vuze.com/details/YLYW2MTRKDP5HYKFKA6WQCWUPEPSPT5E.html for recordings of these and other folklore materials glossed in this study. Libu Lakhi recorded and transcribed the folklore material from various consultants. He then re-recorded it to improve sound quality.
'The three brothers often went to dig (cultivate) fields.'

A na₅³ mzi₅³ generally live in hilly areas and depend on cultivating rice (always irrigated) and dry land farming (corn, potatoes, soybeans). Every year, farmers abandon some dry land plots for they are no longer fertile, and open up new dry land for cultivation.
'The three sons were very puzzled in the head.'

'When it was evening one day, (they) went back to dig fields; they all three hid under trees and watched.'

^ 'ma₄⁴' is negative and 'ʁa₄⁴' means 'OK'. For example, it is OK or not OK to do something, however, here 'ma₄⁴ ʁa₄⁴' means 'very'.

*69*
(9)  
=tʰi tʰbu te la mo ti gy
DET CL DP old man one CL
老头子 量词 连词 老头子 一 量词

(10)  
ʂu ŋo tʰbu la vo ta le dzy ro
metal stick CL carry DP come PT
铁 棒 量词 扛 连词 来 去时

'At this moment, one old man carried one metal (walking) stick and came.'
这时候, 一个老头子扛着一根铁棒来了。

(11)  
ŋo tʰbu la le rə lo li tca pʰu lo pa^ ro
stick OTM DP field GOAL back overturn ITR PT
棒 宾标 连词 土地 目词 回 翻 重复 去时

'(He) used (the) stick and turned the field back over as quickly as possible.'
(他) 用 (那根) 铁棒 (把三个兄弟挖过的) 土地起劲地往回翻。

^ lo^ and lo^ pa^ increase the degree, speed of the verb and indicates the repetition of the verb.
The old man was caught by the three brothers.'

The big one (the oldest brother) said, "(He) needs to be killed quickly."

The middle (of the three brothers) said, "(He) needs to be tied up to a tree."
The youngest (brother) said, "Don't kill (him for he) is pitiful."

(Their) youngest brother said, "Don't kill (him for he) is pitiful!"

Later, (the three brothers) asked the old man.

Later, (the three brothers) asked the old man.

(They) asked, "Why did you come to overturn these fields of ours?"

(They) asked, "Why did you come to overturn these fields of ours?"
The old man said, "All men will die, so what (is the point of) digging fields?"

那个老头子说: “所有的人都要死了挖土地来干什么?”

'They three were scared and said, "What should be done?"

他们三个害怕地问: “(那我们)该怎么办呢?”
'The old man said, "The big one makes a metal boat, the middle one makes a wooden boat and the youngest one makes a leather boat and (each of you) jump down into self's (your own) boat, when water comes to bubble."'
Later, water really came bubbling.

The big one jumped down and went inside the metal boat.

The middle one jumped down and went inside the wood boat.
The young one, with his younger sister ʂo⁴⁴ ʂo⁵⁵ ba⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵, jumped down and went inside the leather boat.

The young one, with his younger sister ʂo⁴⁴ ʂo⁵⁵ ba⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵, jumped down and went inside the leather boat.

The young one, with his younger sister ʂo⁴⁴ ʂo⁵⁵ ba⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵, jumped down and went inside the leather boat.
'The two elder brothers' boats were very heavy so sank down inside the water and only left the youngest one's.'

两个哥哥的船身很沉，所以 (都沉)到水里面去了，只剩下老幺的(皮船)。

(32)

ndzə bo li cy nu te tsʰo o ba ʂə qo pi tsa
water recede after DP people all die finish

水退后，(所有的)人都死了。

(33)

tʰjo ni qy ni zo qo le ma sa ro
they two CL hungry DP very PT

他们二/俩量词饥饿连词很去时

'They two were very hungry.'

他们俩很饿。
'(They) walked and walked and seven days and nights passed.'

(他俩)走呀走, 过了七天七夜。

'Later, they saw two (columns of) smoke.'

后来, 他俩看到了两股烟。

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\(^{A}\) *dzyl* may mean 'come' or 'go' depending on the context.

\(^{B}\) When *le* is repeated, it emphasizes the time spent.
'One (column of) smoke was dense, and one (column) was thin.'

'le11 xu44 ru11 took the flute and gave it to (his) younger sister and left behind the knife.'

'And then themself (they each) went to each (their own) place.'
'Man-son le٠١ ڪ鲁١ 走 watched (faced) the big smoke and left.'

妹妹朝着那股淡烟走去。

'Younger Sister watched (faced) the small (column of) smoke and left.'

哥哥遇上了一家食人鬼。

'Elder Brother met one ghost family of man eaters.'

哥哥遇上了一家食人鬼。
'(He) peered through the door crack and there was one child at home.'

(他) 他往门缝里望时，(看见)有一个孩子在家。

'All inside the house and outside the house were full of human corpses.'

屋内屋外都堆满着人的尸体。

'At this moment, le11 ru44 ru11 was very scared.'

这时候, 勒物如很害怕。
(46)

tʰe da nu hī a da a mi qʰa cy ro di te
him DAT you GEN father mother where went PT ask DP

(47)

tshö mo ni mo ræ li ma ka sə ka
man corpse two CL PRE-ATT back NEG take out still DP

(48)

lo qʰo ko mo šu cy te li ma džy sə di
valley LOC corpse find went/left DP back NEG come still say

'(le₁¹ ṛu⁴⁴ ru¹¹) asked him, "Where did your father and mother go?" and then (the ghost child) said, "(We) still didn't get two corpses (youngest son and his sister's) back out of the water, so (my parents) went to take corpses out of the water in the valley and (they) still haven't come back yet."
At this moment, le₁¹ ru₄⁴ was more and more scared, so (he) didn't dare look back and ran away.

这时，勒物如更加害怕，连头也不敢回地往外跑了。

(He) ran and ran, and reached a very far place.

跑呀跑，(跑)到了很远的地方。

^ When bo⁵⁷ zo⁵⁷ is repeated two or more times it suggests 'very very' and is more emphatic than ma₄⁴ ka₄⁴.
'Outside, (he) always picked tree leaves and bamboo leaves (as food) to eat.'

'(他)天天在外面摘树叶和竹叶吃。

'One day, le\^1\ nhu\^d ru\^1 arrived at one river bank.'

'笛子笛子声音一量他前体听去时'

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A verb followed by *tɛʔ* indicates continuing action.
'He heard one flute sound.'

这时,他听到了一声笛声。

(55)
le ru ru a za za m ba he le lo su cy te
le ru ru slow AVM listen DP GOAL search went DP

名字 慢慢 副标 听 连词 月词 找 去 连词

(56)
zə mi ti ja o da ru mdy zə zə m ka ky fu
girl one CL there cry while AVM flute blow

姑娘 一 量词 那儿 哭 时 副标 笛子 吹

'le\textsuperscript{11} ru\textsuperscript{11} slowly searched and went and there was one girl crying while playing a flute.'

勒物如慢慢地 (朝着笛声的方向)找去时, (看见)一个姑娘在那儿哭着吹笛子。

(57)
zə mi tʰi ja te nu ŋa hí mi zi mo a ndo di
girl DET CL DP you I GEN brother INT see ask

姑娘 DET 量词 连词 你 我 属格 哥哥 疑问 见 说

'The girl asked, "Did you see my brother?"'

姑娘问道: "你看见我的哥哥了吗?"
'le11 ru11 also asked her, "Did you see my sister?"

'As soon as (they) saw each other's knife and flute then (they) recognized (each other).'

(他们)一见各自的刀子和笛子, 就(互相)认出了(对方)。
'The brother was brought by his sister and went to her father-in-law's home.'

哥哥被他的妹妹带到她的公公家里去了。

(62)

a γ dʑe ji bu ɕe ɕ̄ qo ma to tʰbu ni ji mo mi zi mo
father-in-law dʑe ji bu GEN home NEG reach when elder sister brother

(63)
da dza ndʑo tʰbu tʃe a γ so qʰ o tsa dʑe pi tsa
DAT meal eat when DP father-in-law three CL eat finish

(64)
sɔ ni nu ti qʰ o tsa na na dʑ a ʁa di
only after you one CL only eat can say

'When (they) hadn't reached father-in-law dʑe¹¹ jì⁴⁴ bu¹⁴ home, Sister said to Brother, "When eating the meal, you can only eat one mouthful only after Father-in-law eats three mouthfuls."'

没到公公甲谱家的时候，妹妹就向哥哥说：“吃饭时，公公吃完三口你才能吃一口。”
When eating at Father-in-law's home, le¹¹ ʂu⁴⁴ ru¹¹ was hungry and ate as quickly as possible without remembering even anything.'

公公家吃饭的时候，因为饿得(没有顾及他人，自己)快快地吃了。

'dze¹¹ ji¹¹ bu⁴⁴ was angry and le¹¹ ʂu⁴⁴ ru¹¹ was beaten by him and died.'

甲谱生气得把勒物如打死了。
' sợ̣44  sọ̣́44 bạ̣44 cried and said to dzẹ̣11 jị̣11 bụ̣44, "I have been your son's wife, carried water and cooked meals, but you still kill my brother so I won't be your (son's) wife (anymore) even if I am dying."

硕硕巴米哭着对甲谱说: “我当你的儿媳, (为你)挑水, 做饭, (你)还是杀了我的哥哥, 我死也不会 (再)当你们家的 (儿)媳了。”
'dze'11 ji'44 bu'44 also (started to) scold her, "Run to where you (want) to go."

甲谱也骂她说: “你想到哪儿就滚到哪儿去！”

(72)
mi tchʰo su ma dzo te la qo tchʰo ga dza nda
fire make GEN NEG EXT DP crow make know very

火 生 属格 否定 存在 连词 乌鸦 生 会 很

"If there is no one to make fire, then crows know (how to make fires for cooking) very (well),"
(said dze'11 ji'44 bu'44).'

“(我家) 没有(人)烧火的话, 乌鸦会烧火。”

(73)
ndzo tʰby su ma dzo te pa mi tʰby pʰa nda
water carry GEN NEG EXT DP frog carry able very

水 挑 属格 否定 存在 连词 青蛙 挑 能 很

"If there is no one to carry water, then frogs are very capable to carry (it," said dze'11 ji'44 bu'44).'

“没有 (人)挑水的话, 青蛙能挑。”
"If there is no one to grind grain, then dragons are very capable to grind grain," (said dze¹¹ ji¹¹ bu⁴⁴).

“没有(人)推磨的话, 龙能推。”

"If there is no one to herd goats, then pheasants are able to herd (goats," said dze¹¹ ji⁴⁴ bu⁴⁴).

“没有(人)看山羊的话, 野鸡能看.”

'After so⁴⁴ so⁵⁵ ba⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵ ran away, wild animals came to help dze¹¹ ji⁴⁴ bu⁴⁴.'

索索巴米走掉后, 动物们来帮甲谱了。
'Crows knew making fire but didn't know (how to) add (the fuel to the) fire.'

'Frogs knew carrying water but didn't know (how to) take the shoulder pole off (from carrying two buckets of water).'  

'Dragons knew grinding grain but didn't know (how to) put grains (into the millstone hole).'
(80)  
野鸡 山羊 看 知道 连词 山羊 回 收 否定 知道 去时

'Pheasants knew (how to) herd goats but didn't know (how to) collect the goats.'

野鸡知道放山羊,但是不会把(山羊)收回来。

(81)  
甲谱 妻子 连词 她 才 家庭 料理 知道 赶快 副标

'dze¹¹ ji⁴⁴ bu⁴⁴'s wife said, "Only she knows (how to) take care of the family; it is not OK if we don't go to find her (and bring her) back quickly."

甲谱的妻子说: "(只有)她才懂得(怎样)料理家务, 如果(再)不去把她找回来就不行了。"
(83)
dze ji bu me kʰa le le hru ru ɕəɕə le li so ro ro
dze ji bu at a loss DP le hru ru make DP again alive PT

'dze xu44 bu xu44 had no choice and made le xu44 ru xu44 alive again.'

甲谱没办法就使勒物如复活了。

(84)
mi zi mo li so ro nu te ni ji mo ha li dzy ro
brother back alive after DP sister also again come PT

'After Brother (le xu44 ru xu44) was alive again, Sister also came back.'

哥哥复生后, 妹妹也回来了。

(85)
le hru ru li so ro le ni ji mo na li hru pbu te ni ji mo
le hru ru back alive DP sister and back/again meet DP sister

(86)
i'I ja mi zi mo hĨ tʂʰ mi la da ni mi tsu tsu nda so
DET CL brother GEN wife about worry very still

限词 量词 哥哥 属格 妻子 关于 着急 很 仍然
'le¹¹ ʁu³⁴ ru¹¹ was back alive and met Sister again but Sister was still very worried about Brother (not having a) wife.'

勒物如复活了跟妹妹重逢, 妹妹还是非常地关心关于哥哥的婚事。

(87)

\[
\begin{align*}
ti & \ ni & le & ʁu & co & ly & ly & qʰo & cy & te & m & ji & a & y \\
\end{align*}
\]

one CL le ʁu tree fruit pick go DP sky GEN father-in-law

(88)

\[
\begin{align*}
hĩ & zu & mi & ço & ja & su & jĩ & dsu & tsʰo & ndzu & le & day & ko \\
\end{align*}
\]

GEN girl seven CL wing take DP earth/world LOC

(89)

\[
\begin{align*}
mbɛ & tʰo & ly & ko & gy & mɛ & tsʰo & su & tʰe & ræ & ndo & ro \\
\end{align*}
\]

lake CL LOC body wash GEN he PRE-ATT see PT

A Light wings.
'One day, when le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹ went to pick tree fruits (he) saw Sky-father-in-law's seven daughters sitting in su³³ jì³³ wings, (who had) come to wash (their) bodies (bathe) in a lake in the world.'

A Holy people live in the sky and their daughters come to the world to bathe at special times.
'le'³¹ ru⁴⁴ hid the youngest girl's wing plane.'

勒物如就把小女儿的姪伊都次藏了起来。

'The youngest one's name was called Sky-na'¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹.'

小女兒的名字叫亮古米。

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A The *dbu*⁴⁴ *tsʰ₁ᵗś* is a very light plane made from wings that sky creatures use to fly.
All these other girls already flew back but Sky-na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ lost (her) wing plane so (she) was not able to go back.

亮古米为了找到娷伊都次, 便来问勒物如。

'na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ asked le¹¹ ru⁴⁴, "Did you see my wing plane?"'

亮古米问勒物如: "你看见我的娷伊都次了吗?"
'le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ said, "Your wing plane was bitten and (pulled) away by mice."

勒物如说：“你的娷伊都次被老鼠咬去了。”

'At this time, na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ said, "If who (the one who) finds my wing plane and gives (it) back to me, then I will be his wife."

这时，亮古米说: “如果谁把我的娷伊都次找回来，（还）给我话，我要当他的妻子。”
'Now le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ said, "Your wing plane was bitten and hidden in ndopʰu cluster by Mouse na¹¹ teʰy⁴⁴ teʰy⁴⁴."'

这时候，勒物如说：“你的娷伊都次被老鼠-纳曲曲(一种老鼠)咬到荨麻丛里藏着。”
(105)

'tʰɛ hĩ ʰə tsu le m ʰə li ɕy
her GEN wing plane LOC sit DP sky LOC back went

她 属格 嫲伊都次 位格 坐 连词 天 位格 回去

'After na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ found her wing plane, she had le¹¹ ṭu⁴⁴ ru¹¹ sit on her wing plane and went back to the sky.'

(106)

m li to nu te na gu mi ɭo li ʂa ma
sky back arrive after DP na gu mi home back tell NEG

天 回 到达 后 连词 亮古米 家 回说 否定

(107)

ŋa m le ṭu ru tʰɛ nɭ la ro tʰo a qv nu tʂə pæ
dare AVM le ṭu ru she ERG OTM mill behind hide

敢 副标 名字 她 作格 宾标 磨子 背后 藏

'After arriving back to the sky, na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ didn't dare tell (the people in her) home (and) had le¹¹ ṭu⁴⁴ ru¹¹ hide behind a mill.'

回到天上以后，亮古米不敢告诉家人，把勒物如藏在磨子背后。
(108)

na gu mi te dza pau le le ru ru tco cy tco tco
na gu mi DP food send DP le ru ru give to eat went often/always

名字 送饭 给 送饭 约物如 吃 去 天天

'na\(^{11}\) gu\(^{44}\) mi\(^{11}\) always sent food and gave (it to) le\(^{11}\) ru\(^{44}\) ru\(^{11}\) to eat.'

亮古米天天去送饭给勒物如吃。

(109)

ti ni te m ji a zo zo tco dzy te
one CL DP sky GEN mother-in-law grain grind come DP

他属格 妻子 是以为 连词 站 位格 目词 来 连词

(110)

th\(^{e}\) hi tsh\(^{ho}\) mi dja tsa ka lo tco o lo dzy ro
he GEN wife be suppose DP stand LOC GOAL come PT

他属格 妻子 是以为 连词 站 位格 目词 来 去时

'One day, when Sky-mother-in-law came to grind grain, (le\(^{11}\) ru\(^{44}\) ru\(^{11}\)) supposed (it) was his wife and stood up.'

他属格 妻子 是以为 连词 站 位格 目词 来 去时

一天，天婆婆来推磨的时候，(勒物如)以为是他的爱人(亮古米)，于是站起了起来。
All people were hairy long ago, according to na\textsuperscript{53} mzi\textsuperscript{53} traditional thought. ts\textsuperscript{b}o/\textsuperscript{no} suggests 'fuzzy' or 'hairy' in describing lɛ\textsuperscript{11} ʁu\textsuperscript{44} ru\textsuperscript{11}. An adjective repeated twice adds emphasis.
(114)

m ji a γ gi nu te pæ o ly dzy te
sky GEN father-in-law hear after DP run there see come DP

After Sky-father-in-law heard, then (Sky-father-in-law) came and ran there to see.

天 属格 岳父 听见 后 连词 冲 那儿 看来 连词

(115)

m ji a γ ni hũ mæ qy le lo təo dzy
sky GEN father-in-law ERG hair hold DP GOAL pull come

Sky-father-in-law held (le 11 ɾu 11s) hair and pulled (him) up.

天 属格 岳父 作格 头发 抓住 连词 目词 拉 来

(116)

la tca ndzə ŋu ka ʂu pбу nι^ təu pə ta
OTM cook eat say/want DP metal steamer empty EXT

A pбу' nι'' is a homemade rice steamer usually made from wood. In this story however, Sky-father-in-law's family had a special metal pбу' nι''.
'(They) wanted to cook and eat (him) so they emptied the metal rice steamer.'

(他們)想把他蒸著吃,清空了鐵蒸子。

(117)

ndzə tebi tsʰə dzy nu te
hot water boil after DP

开水 开后 连词

(118)

m ji ay ni la tʰa ro
sky GEN father-in-law ERG OTM scald PT

天属格岳父作格宾格烫去时

'After the water boiled, (le¹¹ ru⁴¹) was scalded by Sky-father-in-law.'

水开了以后, 天岳父(把勒物如放到大锅里用开水)烫。

(119)

tʰa pi tsa qa qa tʰu te na gu mi li dzy ro
scald finish almost when DP na gu mi back come PT

烫完刚时候 连词名字 回来去时

'When (they had) almost finish scalding (him), na¹¹ gu⁴¹ mi¹¹ came back (and made them stop scalding him).'

快烫完的时候, 亮古米回来了。
'At this moment only a few hairs (were) left on the head and under the armpits, (where) hot water could not reach.'

这时候, 仅在开水汤不到的头上和腋窝下剩了一点毛发。
'Now there is no fuzz on men's bodies because it was scalded by him (Sky-father-in-law.)'\(^{A}\)

'If you kill him, the last man from earth, then there will never be humans again.'\(^{B}\)

---

\(^{A}\) Modern humans do not have hairy bodies because the hair was all scalded off by Sky-Father-in-law that day.

\(^{B}\) "If you kill him, the last man from earth, then there will never be humans again."
'At this moment, na₁¹ gu₄⁴ mi₁¹ told her father sentence by sentence of what le₁¹ ru₄⁴ ru₁¹ had come to do.'

'Father-in-law didn't want to let his daughter be le₁¹ ru₄⁴ ru₁¹'s wife.'

'Father-in-law didn't want to let his daughter be le₁¹ ru₄⁴ ru₁¹'s wife.'
'Father-in-law said to le₁¹ ru₄⁴ ru₁¹, "You go dig nine dry land¹, you dig nine (fields of) dry land then I will give my daughter to you."

天岳父对勒物如说：“你去挖九块旱地，挖完九块旱地后(我就将)女儿(嫁)给你。"

¹ dry land is non-irrigated land on mountain slopes used to grow corn, potatoes, beans and so on.
(133)

na gu mi ni nu tza tsʰo NGy la la re mæ lo tza
na gu mi ERG you mattock nine OTM take field edge GOAL put

Leo mi 作格 你 锄头 九 宾标 拿地 底端 目词 放

(134)

ka NGy qæ hĩ nu lo qæ NGy lo mæ nu lo qæ ŋu
DP Nine CL you GOAL dig nine CL you GOAL dig say

连词 九 量词 你 目词 挖 九 量词 你 目词 挖 说

(135)

tә nu qæ ma hũ di
DP you dig NEG need say

连词 你 挖 否定 需要 说

'na¹¹ gu¹¹ mi¹¹ said, 'You take nine mattocks and put (them) at the edge of the field and say, 'Dig you nine mattocks and dig you nine fields,' and you don't need to dig.'

亮古米说: ‘你拿九把锄头放在旱地的底端, 然后说‘挖你九锄头, 挖你九块(地),’你不需挖。’

(136)

lê ku ru na gu mi sa m ka he re NGy tsʰu ñu ro
lê ku ru na gu mi tell AVM DP field nine CL become PT

勒物如 亮古米 说 副标 连词 旱地 九 量词 变成 去时
'le" ru" ru" did as na" gu" mi" told and it became nine fields.'

Many trees and branches are cut when opening new land for cultivation and then burned to fertilize the land.
(140)

field end GOAL put DP nine CL you GOAL light

土地 底端 目词 放 迹词 九 量词 你 目词 点

(141)

nine CL you GOAL light say PT again

九 量词 你 目词 点 说 去时 又

'na11 gu44 mi11 said to le11 ku44 ru11 again, "You light nine torches and put (them) on the edge of the fields and say, 'Burn you nine torches and burn you nine fields.'"

这时，亮古米又对勒物如说: “你点上九根火把，放在土地的底端，然后说‘点你九根火把，点你九块土地。’”

(142)

le ϲu ru thε hi ba he le ro mi tɛɕ ɕy ro so
le ϲu ru he/her GEN listen DP field fire light went PT again

勒物如 她 属格 听 迹词 土地 火 点 去 去时 又

'le11 ϲu44 ru11 listened to her and went again to light the fire.'

勒物如听了她的(话)，又去点旱地(里的树枝和杂草)了.
(143)
mi tʰʰy ʰɪ ɴɡv tʰʰy ʰɪ ɡv tʰɛ ni tʃɛ le ro ɡv tsʰu
torch nine CL he ERG light DP field nine CL
火把 九 量词 他 作格 点 连词 土地 九 量词

(144)
ɡv mæ lo tʃo ka ɡv ka hi nu lo tʃo
nine end GOAL put DP nine CL you GOAL light
九 底端 目词 放 连词 九 量词 你 目词 点

(145)
lo mæ nu lo tʃo di te tʃo pi tsə ro so
CL you GOAL light say DP light finish PT again
量词 你 目词 点 说 连词 点 完 去时 又

'He lit nine torches and put (them) on edges of the nine fields and said, "Light you nine torches and light you nine fields," then finished lighting again.'

他点着了九根火把，放在了九片土地的底端，说：“点你九根火把，点你九块土地，”(九块土地里的树枝杂草一会儿)就又烧完了。

(146)
li dzy le ay kʰa ro tʃʰo ta he ro o ba mi tʃe
back went DP father-in law beside from field all burn
回 去 连词 岳父 旁边 从 旱地 都 烧
(147)

pi tsa ro nu hī zō mi ko a qæ ro a y di
finish PT your GEN girl give INT will PT father-in-law say

完 去时 你 属格 女儿 给 疑问 要 去时 岳父 说

'(le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹) went back beside Father-in-law and said, "All the fields are burned so will you give your daughter (to me)?"

(勒物如)回到天岳父的身边去说: “岳父, 旱地(里的树枝)都烧完了, 你的女儿可以给(我)了吗?”

(148)

m ji a y tʰi tʰu te nu mi ta pi tsa ro de
sky GEN father-in-law DET CL DP you burn finish PT INT

天 属格 岳父 限词 量词 连词 你 烧 完 去时 疑问

(149)

nu he ro tʰi NGY tʰu lo li tca pʰu hū di
you dry land DET nine CL GOAL back overturn go say

你 旱地 限词 九 量词 目词 回 翻 去 说

'Now Sky-father-in-law said, "You finished burning? Then you go overturn\(^{\text{a}}\) the nine (fields of) dry land back up."'

这时, 天岳父说: “(哦,)你烧完了吗? 你回去把那九块旱地(都)再翻(一遍)吧。”

\(^{\text{a}}\) New land is dug with a pick. When bushes and trees are encountered, they are cut, left to dry, burned and then a long-handled mattock is used to turn over the soil to put the ash inside the soil.
At this moment, le₁¹ ru₄⁴ ru₁¹ only shook (his) head.'

'Na₁¹ gu₄⁴ mi₁¹ came and arrived beside him again.'

You mattock nine CL OTM field end put DP nine CL

---

A Shaking the head back and forth indicates one is at a loss as to what to do.
'na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ said, "You take nine mattocks and put (them at) the field edges and say, 'Overturn you nine mattocks, overturn you nine fields.'"

(亮古米)说："你(把)九把锄头放到(那九块)旱地的底端, 就说'挖你九锄头，挖你九块土地。'"

'le¹¹ ru¹¹ finished overturning the fields and came back again.'

翻完之后, 勒物如回来了。
(156)
ro li tca pʰu pi tsa ro di
field back overturn finish PT say/tell
土地 回翻 完 去时 说

'le₁¹ ʂu⁴⁴ ru¹¹ told (his) father-in-law, "(I) finished overturning the fields back again."'

勒物如对天岳父说：“旱地翻完了。”

(157)
nu ja qʰa NGY be dau la o pʰa li hù di
you buckwheat nine CL OTM there sow back go say
你荞麦九量词宾标那儿播种回去说

'(Father-in-law) said, "You take nine packages of buckwheat (seed) and sow back there."

(天岳父)说：“你拿九袋荞麦(种子), 去回撒到那儿地里(九块地里)。”

(158)
le kʰu ru me kʰa le na gu mi da mi do li cy ro se
le kʰu ru at a loss DP na gu mi DAT ask back went PT again
勒物如 没办法 连词 亮古米 与格 询问回去 去时 又

'le₁¹ ʂu⁴⁴ ru¹¹ was at a loss and went back to ask na₁¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ again.'

勒物如束手无策, 又回去询问亮古米。
'na" gu" mi") said, "Don't worry, don't worry, you take the nine packages of buckwheat (seed) and put (them) on the edges of the nine fields and say, 'Sow you nine packages of buckwheat (seed), sow you nine fields.'"
(163)
jā pha cyə ro sə
buckwheat sow went PT again
荞麦 撒播 去 去时 又

'le¹² ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹, like before, went to sow buckwheat again as na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ told.'
勒物如还是按亮古米所说的一样去撒播荞麦。

(164)
ṅgy be dbu nu lo pha ṅgy lo mæ nu lo pha
nine CL you GOAL sow nine CL you GOAL sow

(165)
di te ti thbu m pha pi tsa ro sə
say DP one CL AVM sow finish PT again

'(He) said, "You sow nine packages (of buckwheat seed), you sow nine fields," and finished sowing in one moment (immediately).'

(他) 说：“撒你九袋(荞麦), 撒你九片(旱地),” 一会儿工夫就(把种子)撒完了。
勒物如他属格岳父旁边回去去时又

'le⁴⁴ ru¹¹ went back beside his father-in-law again.'

勒物如又回到了他的岳父身边。

(He) said to his father-in-law, "Father-in-law, (I) finished sowing the buckwheat (seed)."

(勒物如)对他的岳父说:“岳父,荞麦撒完了。”

天属格岳父限词量词连词你荞麦回检连词
'At this moment, Sky-father-in-law said, "You collect the buckwheat (seed) back then (I) will give my daughter to you."

这时，天岳父说："你(去把刚撒完了的那九包)荞麦捡回来，(我就把)我的女儿(嫁)给你。"

'le11 ru44 ru11 said to na11 gu44 mi11, "Your father will never let we two be one (family)."

勒物如对亮古米说："无论如何，你的爸爸都不会让我们俩成为一家的。"
(173)

na gu mi te nu ge ræ m ɲa rə ga çy
na gu mi DP you real AVM I love if

亮古米 连词 你 实际 副标 我 喜欢 如果

(174)

li tʰa hù ti ni te tʰə ha me kʰa da mi di
back NEG go one CL DP he also at a loss MP say

回 否定 去 一 量词 连词 他也 没办法 语气 说

‘na’11 gu44 mi11 said, "If you really love me, then don't go back, one day he also will be at a loss and (agree)."

亮古米说: “如果你真爱我的话就别回去, 有一天, 他也会束手无策的。”

(175)

na gu mi tʰə da tʰə bu ɲə la la da ka
na gu mi he DAT sack nine CL take/bring come DP

亮古米 他 与格 口袋 九 量词 拿 来 连词

(176)

ŋə tʰə bu nu lo za ɲə lo mæ nu lo za ɗi
d nine sack you GOAL collect nine CL you GOAL collect say

九 口袋 你 量词 收 九 量词 你 量词 收 说

(177)
'na\textsuperscript{11} gu\textsuperscript{44} mi\textsuperscript{11} said to him, "Take nine sacks and say, 'You collect nine sacks, you collect nine fields (of buckwheat seed).'''

亮古米给他说："拿九根口袋来，（放在那九片旱地的底端），然后说'收你九袋(荞麦)，收你九块地(里的荞麦)。'"

(177)
le \textit{ru ru} na gu mi ša m ka li za pi tsa ro te
le \textit{ru ru} na gu mi tell AVM DP back collect finish PT DP

勒物如 亮古米 说 副标 连词 回 收 完 去时 连词

(178)
ja qʰa ly ly so ly li ma lu ro di
buckwheat pellet/seed three CL miss PT say

荞麦 颗粒 三 量词 差 去时 说

'le\textsuperscript{11} ru\textsuperscript{44} ru\textsuperscript{11} collected (the seed) back as na\textsuperscript{11} gu\textsuperscript{44} mi\textsuperscript{11} (had) told (him to do) but three buckwheat seed were missing.'

勒物如按亮古米所说的做后就收完了，但是差了三粒荞麦。

(179)
m ji a y le \textit{ru ru} da ja qʰa tʰi so ly su
sky GEN father le \textit{ru ru} DAT buckwheat DET three CL find

天 属格 岳父 名字 与格 荞麦 限词 三 量词 找
(180)
li ma da çy ŋa hĩ ze mi nu ko ma qæ di
back NEG come if I GEN daughter you give NEG will say

'Sky-father-in-law said to le¹¹ u⁴⁴ ru¹¹, "If you don't find and bring the three buckwheat (seed) will not give my daughter to you."'

(181)
le ru te qʰa ja qʰa ly ly so ly lo su li
le ru DP where buckwheat pellet/seed three CL GOAL find back

'le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ said, "Where will I go to find (and bring) back the three (missing) buckwheat seed?" and was at a loss again.'

(182)
bi ra ro di ka me kʰa ro sə
go FT FT say DP at a loss PT again

'le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ said, "Where will I go to find (and bring) back the three (missing) buckwheat seed?" and was at a loss again.'
At this moment, na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ came to le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹'s side again.'

这时候，亮古米又来到了勒物如的身边。

'(na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹) asked le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹, "Was there anything there when (you) were collecting buckwheat (seed)?''

(她)说: “收荞麦的时候, 哪儿有什么吗?”

'l¹¹ ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹ said, "A turtledove came and arrived there.'

勒物如说: “那儿有一只斑鸠(飞)来过。”
(186) 
明天早上连词回来未时又你前面来

(187) 
'tʰi ja le ta qʰa ma di DET CL aim DP shoot MP say

'na¹¹ guʰ⁴ mi¹¹' said, "Tomorrow morning (the turtledoves) will come back again; you aim at the (turtledove) in front and shoot."

(亮古米)说: “明天早上又要(飞)回来，(拿一把枪等候,)你就瞄准(最)前面(飞)来的(那只)开枪。”

(188) 
后来一量词连词物如枪宾标树枝芽位格

(189) 
斑鸠限词量词瞄知道连词开否定知道去时
'The next morning, le11 ku44 ru11 only knew to take the gun, aimed it at the turtledove on the tree branch but didn't not know how to shoot.'

第二天早上, 勒物如只知道拿枪瞄树枝上的那只斑鸠, 但不知道开枪。

(190)
na gu mi me kʰa le tʰe la ka tʰi nga sə ni ræ qʰa
na gu mi at a loss DP his hand GOAL beat only after PRE-ATT shoot

亮古米 没办法 连词 他 手 日词 打 才 前体 打

'Then (he) shot (the turtledove but) only after na11 gu44 mi11 beat his hand.'

亮古米没办法, 后来, (她用手) 碰了一下他的手, (勒物如) 才射到 (那只斑鸠)。

(191)
tʰo jy lo lo ḍo ja qʰa tʰi so ly qo qæ

turtledove crop LOC buckwheat DET three CL dig

斑鸠 方位词 位格 荞麦 限词 三 量词 挖

(192)
le m ji a v ko li cy ro sə
DP sky MP father-in-law give back went PT again

连词 天 语气 岳父 给 回 去 去时 又
(le₁¹ ᵗᵘ⁴⁴ ru¹¹) dug the three buckwheat (seed) from the turtledove's crop and went to Sky-father-in-law and gave (the three buckwheat seed) back to (Sky-father-in-law).'

Sky Father-in-law and Sky Mother-in-law could transform themselves into various animal forms. In this instance, Sky Father-in-law wants le₁¹ ᵗᵘ⁴⁴ ru¹¹ to find out which animal they were to gauge his cleverness.
'Again, he didn't know what (he) should do.'

亮古米又不知道该做什么了。

(196)
na gu mi te da ta hū jo ru şo lo li da ti ja
na gu mi he DAT tonight sheep front GOAL back come DET CL

亮古米 他 与格 今晚 绵羊 前面 目词 回 来 限词 量词

(197)
ta ræ ti tco ta ka a zo a zo nu di
neck LOC hug DP mother-in-law mother-in-law say say

脖子 位格 抱住 连词 岳母 岳母 说 说

'na11 gu44 mi11 said to him, "Tonight hug the neck of the sheep that comes in front, and say, 'Mother-in-law, Mother-in-law.'"'

亮古米对他说："今晚, 抱住(走)在最前面回来的那只绵羊的脖子就喊'岳母, 岳母。""

(198)
le ku ru ni jo ru şo li dzy ti ja hi ta ræ
le ku ru ERG sheep front back come DET CL GEN neck

名字 作格 绵羊 前面 回 来 限词 量词 属格 脖子
'le"1 鲅" ru" hugged the neck of the sheep that came back in front and said, "Mother-in-law, Mother-in-law," and (he) found Mother-in-law and (brought her) back.'

傍晚，牛羊回来时，勒物如抱住(走)在最前面回来的那只绵羊的脖子，就喊‘岳母，岳母，’就找回了岳母。
'(le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹) said, "Father-in-law, is it time to give your daughter to me?" and (Father-in-law) said, "You find and (bring) me back again now."

(勒物如)说: "岳父, 你的女儿可以给我了吗?” (岳父)又说: “现在, 你把我找回来。”

(203)
le le ru ru na gu mi da ʰa m hũ ro di
le le ru ru na gu mi DAT I how do should FT say

勒物如: 亮古米与格我怎么做应该未时说

'le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹' said to na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹, "What should I do?"

勒物如给亮古米说: “我该怎么办呢?”

(204)
na gu mi te da ta hũ te bu ru şã li da tʰi
na gu mi he DAT tonight DP yak front back come DET

亮古米他与格今晚连词牦牛前面回来限词

(205)
pʰa hĩ ta ræ tʰi tœo ta ka a γ a γ ʰu di
CL GEN neck GOAL hug DP father-in-law father-in-law say say/tell

量词属格脖子目词抱住连词岳父岳父说说
'Na11 gu44 mi11 told him, "Tonight hug the yak that comes back in front and say, 'Father-in-law, Father-in-law.'"

亮古米对他说："今晚，抱住(走)在最前面回来的那头牦牛的脖子，就喊 '岳父，岳父。'"

(206)

m ji a v ha le su ru ni li ræ ro
sky GEN father-in-law also le su ru ERG back find PT

'Sky-father-in-law was also found by le11 ru44 ru11 and (brought) back.'

天岳父也被勒物如找了回来。

(207)

m ji a v thi thбу te me kʰa ro ka
sky GEN father-in-law DET CL DP at a loss PT DP

天属格岳父也勒物如作格回去找去时

(208)

nu hù te ta ni thi li sa go te e qo li thʰa da ro di
you go DP today from DP home back NEG come PT say

你去连词今天从连词家回否定来去时说
'Sky-father-in-law was at a loss and said, "You go and don't come back home from today."

这时，天岳父束手无策了就(对女儿)说：“你去吧，但是从今以后别回家里来了。”

(209)

m ji a γ ẓo ẓe na va bu ra tṣo o ba vi
sky GEN father-in-law family grain seed and livestock all divide

天属格岳父家粮食种子和牲畜都分

(210)

le pa bu tʰjo ni qy ko li dzy
DP send they two CL give back come

天属格岳母他们二量词给回来

'Sky-father-in-law's family divided all the grain seed and livestock, gave (them to the new couple), sent they two (away) and (they) went back (to the world).'

天岳父家把粮食种子和家畜给他俩分了(一份，)就送(他们)回到(人间)来.

(211)

m ji a ze tʰjo ni ky da
sky GEN mother-in-law they/them two CL DAT

天属格岳母他们二量词与格
Sky-mother-in-law told the two of them, "(You two) can not sing songs on the way, even one sentence."

They two drove the livestock, took the grain seed, came back down to the world and made a family together.
回到斯木亚尼山垭口的时候，亮古米很想家，唱了几句山歌，这时所有家畜都飞的飞，跑的跑了。
we raise DET some PRE-ATT back cover GEN be MP

we raise DET some PRE-ATT back cover GEN be MP

我们饲养限词一些前体回盖属格是语气

'(na₁¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹) used (her) skirt end and quickly covered (the escaping animals) back down and covered these (animals) we raise now.\(^A\)

(她)赶紧用裙摆将(正逃走的家畜)盖住，于是就盖到了现在我们养的这些(家畜)。

亮古米限词量词才她属格妈妈说属格回忆想起

'na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ remembered (what) her mother had told (her) only after this moment (this happened).'

亮古米这才想起了天岳母说的(话)。

\(^A\) na⁵³ mzi⁵³ believe that the livestock they raise today are descended from those covered by na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ with her skirt and wild animals are descended from those na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ lost on sə⁵³ m¹⁴ ja¹¹ ni¹¹ Pass that day.
At this moment (they) drove back these livestock that they had covered back, came and arrived back to the family of earth watching humans.

It was very difficult after (they) came and arrived back to the earth.

Humans who lived on the earth are referred to as 'earth watching humans', meaning that when the two returned to earth they watched over human families.

从前，居住在地球上的人称为'大地看守人'。
(227)
ji mi tɛ ma ga dza ka ɕə ka ji mi ro ndzu
house build NEG know DP branch house LOC stay
房子 修 否定 知道 连词 树枝 房子 位格 坐

'(They) didn't know house building so stayed in a house of branches.
不懂得修房子, 就住在树枝房子里。'

(228)
m ji aγ ɕɛ ha mi do li bi ma ṇa
sky GEN father-in-law family also ask back go NEG dare
天 属格 岳父 家 也 问 回去 否定 敢

'(They) also didn't dare to go back to ask Sky-father-in-law's family (for help).'
也不敢回到天岳父家去问 (到底该怎么办)。

(229)
mæ te la qo jo mba ṇu t'jo ɛ qo to dzy
later DP crow SELF able say they home arrive come
后来 连词 乌鸦 它 能 说 他们 家 到来

'Later Crow arrived at their home and said (it was) able (to go to Sky-father-in-law's home).'
后来, 乌鸦说它能(帮忙)就来到他们家。
(230)
'tʰjo tʰi tʰbu te la qo da lo ra to
they DET moment DP crow DAT GOAL ask for help

这时，他们向乌鸦求助。

(231)
me bu ṅgy bzə kʰv le la qo tʰi ja ko
tear nine CL get DP crow DET CL give

(他俩) 接了九杯 (自己哭泣的) 泪水，交给了那只乌鸦。

(232)
ro gy ti te ṭo to te tɛʰ nda ka me bu
road/way one CL LOC arrive DP hot very DP tear

(233)
tʰi ki o ba tʰe ni ndzə pi tsa ro
these all it ERG drink finish PT

这些都它作格喝完去时
'(Crow) arrived half-way, and was very hot so it drank and finished all the tears.'

天到後連詞你們的女兒家連詞富裕連詞

(乌鸦飞)到半路上热得把那些泪水都喝光了。

'After reaching the sky (Crow) said, "Your daughter's family is rich and cannot see the sky and cannot see the earth\(^a\) (the family is extremely rich)."'

到了天上后说："你们的女儿家很富裕。"

\(^a\) नि\(^53\) मा\(^44\) न्दो\(^53\) दब्जा\(^44\) मा\(^44\) न्दो\(^53\) = 'extraordinary', 'tremendous'.

**141**
'Both Father-in-law and Mother-in-law were very happy (about their daughter's wealth).'

岳父岳母俩(听了)都很高兴。

'At this moment, Crow said, "Your daughter's family uses pork as wood to make a fire and uses grain to clean shit."'

这时，乌鸦(接着)说："你们的女儿家呀，把猪肉当柴火烧，拿粮食擦屁股呢。"
'Sky-father-in-law was angry suddenly, and drove away the crow and sent three groups of tigers and (three groups of) wild boars down (to the earth).'

天岳父一下子大发雷霆，赶掉乌鸦，往(人间)放了三群老虎和三群野猪。
'Earth-watching Man's family's few grains there were also destroyed by tigers and wild boars again.'

在（地里）的大地看守人家的那点儿(庄稼)也被野猪和老虎糟蹋完了。

(244)
le ᵐru ru na na gu mi te ᵐru mdǝy da ga dza ro
le ᵐru ru and na gu mi DP cry only know PT

勒物如 和 亮古米 连词 哭泣 只 知道 去时

'l le¹¹ ru¹¹ and na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ only knew to cry (after the grain was destroyed).'

勒物如和亮古米只知道哭泣。

(245)
ti ni te bi la no tsǝ ti ja o to dzy
one CL DP bat one CL there arrive come

一天, 一只蝙蝠飞来。

(246)
bi la no tsǝ tʰi ja tʰe tʰe ndǝ do pa pʰa ji
bat DET CL SELF message carry can say

蝙蝠 限词 量词 自己 口信 带 能 说
'The bat itself said it could carry a message.'

蝙蝠说: “我能带口信(给你们的双亲)。”

'It said it only needed nine drops of tears so it took nine drops of tears and went to Sky-father-in-law's home.'

它说: “我只需要九滴泪水,” 带九滴泪水到天岳父家去。
The bat took the nine teardrops and gave (them) to Sky-father-in-law and Mother-in-law, and told (them what had happened down on earth).
'The bat finished telling, but the two, Sky-father-in-law and Mother-law, would not tell (them) what (they) should do.'

蝙蝠说完了, 但是天岳父和岳母俩都不肯说该怎么办。

'When it was time to sleep at night, the bat said "I usually sleep outside," and hung on the spear outside.'

晚上睡觉的时候，蝙蝠说：“我经常睡在外面，”掉在外面(院子里)的那根矛(杆上栖息)。
'At midnight, Sky-mother-in-law talked about (her) daughter (na11 gu44 mi11).'

深夜时，天岳母开始唠叨关于女儿(的遭遇)。

(Mother-in-law said), "Don't they know to place three qa11 lu44 (stones) on the hearth if children are not born?"
(Mother-in-law continued), "Don't they know to prop pillars and build if (they) don't know house building?"

“不会修房子的话, 不知道立柱子来修嘛!”

(Mother-in-law continued), "Don't they know (how to) dig irrigation ditches in the fields if the harvest is not rich?"

“庄稼不好的话, 不知道在地里疏通水沟嘛!”

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\[^A \text{vo}^{44} \text{ta}^{53} \text{is a verb for the existence of avian animals.}\]
The bat hid beside the bed and listened and got seen (by them) only after (Sky Mother-in-law) finished talking.'

'The bat's nose is flat because it was beaten by Sky Father-in-law.'
'At this moment, Bat asked if Sky-Father-in-law's family still had three bad messages or three good messages (in addition to what Bat had already heard) but (they) said, "(We do) not have," so (Bat) came back.'
'Earth-watching Man's family propagated up from here only after Bat brought three good messages (what Bat had overheard) back.'

蝙蝠把(那偷听来的)好消息带回来后大地看守人家才从此(开始)繁衍起来的。
FAMILY CLAN
mbz̕u⁴⁴ m̅

(1)
ta hũ so tsʰi ki te m ji na gu mi na tsʰo zi le ru ru
tonight tell these DP sky GEN na gu mi and human son le ru ru
今晚说这些 DP 天属格 亮古米和人子勒物如

'These, (that I am) telling tonight, are (about) Sky-na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ and Human-son le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹.'
今晚说的这些是(关于)天女亮古米和凡人勒物如(俩的故事)。

(2)
zi ŋŋ⁴ ja na zo mi ʂo ja su te
son nine CL and daughter seven CL GEN DP
子九量词和女儿七量词属格 连词

(3)
tsʰo zi le ru ru na m ji na gu mi hĩ zi zo mi dja
human son le ru ru and sky GEN na gu mi GEN children be
人子勒物如和天属格亮古米属格孩子是

'Nine sons and seven daughters were Human-son le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹ and Sky-na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹’s children.'
九个儿子和七个女儿是天女亮古米和凡人勒物(婚后生下)的孩子。
'Then nine sons became nine families and seven girls became seven families.'
于是,九个儿子(结婚后)成了九家人,七个女儿(也)成为七家人了。

'The nine sons' filial piety was not good, so Sky-father-in-law's family was angry.'
(儿女成家后)那九个儿子不孝顺,所以天岳父家生气。
Sky Father-in-law's family is very powerful and can create such disasters as floods and droughts if they are unhappy.
'Then only two, Sky-na¹¹ gu⁴⁴ mi¹¹ and Human-son le¹¹ ru⁴⁴ ru¹¹'s children, were left.'
只剩下天女亮古米和凡人勒物如的两个孩子。

'Only the youngest son and the youngest daughter were left.'
只剩下他们的幺儿子和幺女儿。

'And two sisters, the youngest and the second sister, were left.'
只剩下说妹妹的两个孩子。
'(Sister) said, "We two (must) make back one family.'

妹妹说: “我们俩（头）做一家（人）吧!”

(15)

'ti jy li m ŋu te mi zi mo ma na'

one family back make say DP brother NEG agree

一家回做说连词哥哥否定同意

'(Sister) said, "(We two must) make one family," but (her) brother did not agree.'

(妹妹)说回(头)做一家(人),但哥哥(坚持)不同意。

(16)

'mi zi mo me kʰa ka ti gy ro tʰo ti mo pʰa hū hū le'

brother at a loss DP one CL millstone one half carry DP

哥哥没办法连词一量词石磨一量词背连词

(17)

'o ljo po po bo tcʰo ta mi mbu le li da'

up there hill LOC from GOAL roll back come

上面山位格从目词滚回来

(18)

'ro tʰo tʰi ni mo pʰa ti gy gy da li ja ta le lo qʰo'

millstone DET two half each other DAT back stick DP valley

石磨限词二半互相与格回合连词山谷
Brother was at a loss and said, "We (will) each carry one half of one millstone to the hill and roll (them) back down and if the two millstone halves are stuck back to each other in the valley, then we two may make one family."

哥哥没有办法就说：“（我俩）一人背上一半石磨，（各自走上山顶，）从山（顶）上（把那两块石磨）滚下来，如果两半石磨（能）在山谷里合在一起的话，我们俩就回（头）做一家（人）吧。"

'One went up that side (of a mountain valley) and one went up this side (of a mountain valley).'

于是，（他俩）一人从（山）那边（走）上去，一人从（山）这边（走）上去。
'Oh, after (they) rolled the two millstone halves back down (they) stuck back to each other very well in the valley.'

(从山上)滚下来后，(两半石磨)在山谷里完完整整地合在一起了。

'Oh, like this, (the two millstone halves) stuck there (in the valley), so they thought, "It is not OK to not make back one family," so (they) made back one family.'

哦，(两半石磨)就那样合在了一起，所以(他俩)以为不回(头)做一家(人)就不好了，于是，成为一家人了。
(25)
'After (they) made back one family, (they) were very happy.'

(26)
'Later, it was time (for the sister to) give birth to children, but it was also not OK, and two more months passed.'

(27)
'Later, it was time (for the sister to) give birth to children, but it was also not OK, and two more months passed.'
'After two more months passed (she) gave birth.'

(산후)超过两个多月后生了下来。

'(She) gave birth down out (and there) came (out) one (blob of) yellow (stuff), like cow excrement (in the amount of) one ba53 ki53.A

生下了一簸箕像牛粪一样黄的(东西)。

^ ba53 kř33 = bamboo container used to transport grain.
'Then, (they were) upset and cried badly.'

这下(他俩)伤心，哭泣。

'(They cried and) after three days and three nights passed, the sister said to (her) husband, "You carry (the blob) and go, then scoop one blob of (excrement-like material) to stick here, and scoop one blob to stick there.'
'Like this, (according to the sister's instruction, he) carried (the yellow excrement), and dug one blob (of yellow excrement) to stick here and dug one blob to stick there, after (he) finished sticking (he was) very sad so (he) slept here (where he finished sticking).

(37) ha ti mbæ ji næ le li şu te
here one CL sleep DP wake up DP

这儿 一 量词 睡觉 连词 醒 连词
(38)
ti bu vae qʰa ja te su ti jy dbu ro
one CL dig where stick DP man one CL become PT

一量词挖哪儿粘连词人一量词成为去时

(39)
ji mi ti ly ha ndzε mi kʰy ti bi ha dzy
house one CL here EXT smoke one CL here raise

房子一量词这儿存在烟一量词这儿升

'(He) slept here for one period of time and woke up and it became one man's family, where (he)
had scooped one blob (of yellow excrement) to stick; and there was one house here and one
(column of) smoke rose (from) here.'

在那里睡了一觉醒来时，(他刚才)粘了东西的地方出现了一户户人家，有一个个房子,
(还有)一股股(炊)烟从那儿升起。

(40)
cʰo po ja cʰo po mi lu qa ja lu qa mi
tree stick tree name stone stick stone name

树粘树取名石头粘石头取名

'(Then they) named (the family) cʰoʰ po⁵³ (or tree, for he had scooped out some amount of
excrement) and stuck (the excrement) on the tree; (they) named (the family) lu⁵³ qa⁵³ (or stone,
for he had scooped out some amount of excrement) and stuck on the stone.'

于是，(他俩把)粘到树(上的人家)取名为'西伯', 粘到石头上的取名为'鲁呷'.
(41)
现在，我们李家族和王家族这些连词

(42)
这儿从目词取名方向词来属格判断

'Now, we, these Li families and Wang families, were named back (there) and came from here.'

(43)
后来连词判断牛粪像这些作格

'Later, humans were propagated back up by these cow-excrement-like ones.'

(44)
人目词繁育回来属格语气

'Later, humans were propagated back up by these cow-excrement-like ones.'
THE HERO $a^{53} p^{hi44} ræ^{53} ngæ^{53}$

li$^{44}$ bu$^{55}$ ʂ$^{11}$ p$^{53}$

(1)

i ni a şə te na na mzi te

ancient DP we na mzi DP

古代 连词 我们 纳木依 连词

(2)

a p$^{hi}$ ræ ngæ ɳu ta gy _crossentropy za

a p$^{hi}$ ræ ngæ say/call thus CL mystical^*

阿坯冉呷 叫 这样 量词 神勇

'In ancient (times among) we na$^{53}$ mzi$^{53}$, a person called a$^{53}$ p$^{hi53}$ ræ$^{53}$ ngæ$^{53}$ was mystical.'

古时候, 我们纳木依有一个神勇的(人)叫阿坯冉呷。

(3)

te _crossentropy za le a t$^{h}$a ha rə ta su dja le

DP mystical DP almost success GEN BE MP

连词 神勇 连词 几乎 成就大业 属格 判断 语气

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^ ʂə$^{44}$ za$^{44}$ is used to describe such amazing things as a person flying, leaping over mountains and being invincible/immortal.
'Then (the person) was mystical and almost successful.'

'Then later (he was) very mystical so was killed by Han.'

'(he) very mystical, so was killed by Han.'
'(Han) tried very hard to kill him but were also unable (to kill him), so later (Han) brought one Han lord's girl and gave (her) to him.'

怎么也不能 (杀死他), 所以后来 (汉族君王将自己的) 女儿(嫁)给了他。

'After (they) brought the girl of the lord and gave (her) to him, later (the family of the lord's daughter and a) had one girl (daughter).'

君王的女儿嫁给他后, (妻子)生了个女儿。
(11)
女孩 DET CL 走路 PT 也 告诉 NEG 愿意

'(When the) girl (got old enough to) walk (a53 pʰi53 ræ53 ŋgæ53) would also not tell (why he was chopped to pieces by Han but then became a healthy man again—why he could not be killed).'

那个女儿(能够)走路了, 但是(他)还是不肯说(他如此神勇的秘密)。

(12)
一天 DP 你也 SELF 妻子 成为 去时 想 连词

'One day, one night of the New Year Eve (a53 pʰi53 ræ53 ŋgæ53) thought, "You (my wife) also became my wife and I will tell you the real truth."'

一天，在除夕的晚上，(阿坯冉呷)想：“你也成为我的妻子了. 今晚，就给你讲(我神勇的)真实(秘密)吧!”
One New Year Eve night, (he) drank liquor (became) drunk and told the wife.

Then (he said), "(From) tonight (on I will trust you because) you also became my wife."

Lit: kʰvə ti ha te γ ndzə ka zə qa nu te New Year Eve one night DP liquor drink DP drunk after DP

除夕 一 晚 连词 酒 喝 连词 醉 后 连词

wife DET CL DAT GOAL tell PT

连词 今晚 连词 你 也 自己 妻 成为 去时

'One New Year Eve night, (he) drank liquor (became) drunk and told the wife.'

'From tonight on I will trust you because you also became my wife.'

妻子 限词 量词 与格 目词 说 去时

连词 今晚 连词 你 也 自己 妻 成为 去时

"今晚(以后, 我会真信任你) 你也真成了我的妻子!"
(17)  
jo qo\(^{\text{A}}\) ti la te o tjo \(\text{ba tsa bu mae}^{\text{B}}\) zə  
SELF qo one CL DP over there \(\text{ba tsa bu mae}\) EXT  
自己 命根子 一 量词 连词 那边 哈杂布马 存在

(18)  
ti la te o mo ta ji ga ky zə  
one CL DP down there ta ji range EXT  
一 量词 连词 下面 达亚 山系 存在

(19)  
ti la te o mo o ndzo \(\text{ba kʰy}^{\text{C}}\) zə  
one CL DP down there o ndzo \(\text{ba kʰy}\) EXT  
一 量词 连词 下面 噢卓 哈库 存在

'(He continued), 'One of my qo\(^{\prime\prime}\) is down there in \(\text{ka}^{11}\) tsa\(^{11}\) bu\(^{44}\) mæ\(^{55}\) (Mountain Range), one is down there in ta\(^{14}\) ja\(^{11}\) (Mountain Range) and one is down there in ondro \(\text{ka}^{44}\) kʰy\(^{11}\) (Mountain Range).''

\(\text{li}^{44}\) bu\(^{55}\) sə\(^{1}pə^{53}\), \(\text{ka}^{11}\) tsa\(^{11}\) bu\(^{44}\) mæ\(^{55}\) and ta\(^{13}\) ja\(^{11}\) are mountains in Mianning County.

A mountain in Xichang City today, but the exact location is unclear.

\(^{\text{A}}\) qo\(^{\prime\prime}\) is a crucial component of the human body. When qo\(^{\prime\prime}\) is in the hands, one can, for example, be very successful at killing birds by throwing stones. When qo\(^{\prime\prime}\) is in the eyes, one can see things clearly at that time. qo\(^{\prime\prime}\) moves around in the bodies of ordinary people. Powerful people have qo\(^{\prime\prime}\) in their bodies and also in mountains and trees.

\(^{\text{B}}\) According to li\(^{44}\) bu\(^{55}\) sə\(^{1}pə^{53}\), \(\text{ka}^{11}\) tsa\(^{11}\) bu\(^{44}\) mæ\(^{55}\) and ta\(^{13}\) ja\(^{11}\) are mountains in Mianning County.

\(^{\text{C}}\) A mountain in Xichang City today, but the exact location is unclear.
An ordinary person has three souls. Very powerful people have more than three. Here described the locations of his souls from the most important soul to the least important.

Lu is a mountain in Mianning County.

Dtsa la is a sacred mountain in Lizhou Township.

A mountain in an unknown location.
'One of my souls is up in lu¹¹ ky³³ yi¹¹ ni¹¹ mi⁴⁴ (Mountain Range), one is up in tʰa¹¹ la¹¹ ma⁴⁴ (Mountain Range), one is there in—ni¹¹ bo⁴⁴ zi⁴⁴ bo⁴⁴ (Mountain Range), one is with Mother and one is with you, and the one with you is here, beside (under) the qa¹¹ lu⁴⁴ stone here.'

"我的一个灵魂在泸古衣尼米山里，一个在的叉拉马山里，一个在那尼泊泽伯山里，一个跟随着妈妈，(还有)一个跟随着你，跟随着你的那个就在这儿，呷鲁下面。"

'(He was) drunk so (he) told (her) and out came (these secrets).'

(他)喝醉酒了就说出了这些(秘密)。
The woman (had) no time to go and bring back a pen (so she) bit down (bit off) one-half of (one of) her little fingers and wrote as quickly as possible.

(30)
so pi tsa te ra pi tsa ro
tell finish DP write finish PT

^ tʰi\textsuperscript{i}...tʰi\textsuperscript{i} pa\textsuperscript{ii} is a phrase emphasizing the speed of doing something, hence our translation 'to do something as quickly as possible'.
'(When he) finished telling, (she) finished writing.'

(阿坯冉呷)一说完, (她也)写完了。
'(His wife) said, "You are such a powerful person, are you able to shoot a letter about we two having the New Year to my father's family's third door?'''

(君王的女儿)说: "你是这样厉害的，今晚你能把关于我俩过年的这封信射到我家的第三扇大门上吗?"

(35)
a qæⁿ nu tʰi pʰæ te
MP you DET CL DP

(36)
u nu vae qæⁿ qʰo bo ho kʰγ ha jo mba le nu
you more door ten CL also SELF able MP say

'(He) said, "You, such a little thing (to shoot through three doors, and if there were), ten more doors also I am able to (shoot through them)."

(阿坯冉呷)说: "你这只是小事一桩，你(再让我射另外)十扇(门)我都能。"

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^ It is locally believed that people lived in houses with three doors or entrances in Han kingdoms long ago. The outer two were huge gates and the king lived inside the third or inner entrance.

^ A sound indicating the belief that something is very easy to do.
'(He) said, "You take the (letter) and put (it) on my arrow tip."

(他继续)说: "你把它拿来系到我的箭头上。"

\(^{\text{a}}\text{ti}^{1} \, p^{\text{h}a}^{44} \, h^{a}^{4} = \text{even a little.} \)
'The wife took (the letter) and put (it) on the arrow tip and he shot (it) through the three doors with the paper was not even a little torn.'

妻子拿(起信纸)，系到箭头上后，他射穿了(他丈人家的)那三扇门，可是这张信纸一点也没有损坏。

(41)

古代的箭是能把在千里之外的人都能射死的。
Then it (the letter) was seen (by the lord's family).'

'于是, (信纸)被(君王家的人)看见了。

'The lord family's soldiers came.'

'君王家的(兵)追起来了。'

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\(^{A}\) lo\(^{i i}\) tɕ\(^{i i}\) dzy\(^{i i}\) emphasizes the idea of 'come'.

•179•
'Then Han soldiers came and always dug, dug, dug where his qo' and where his soul (were located).'

汉兵来了，哪儿有他的命根子和灵魂，就在哪儿不停地挖。

'(They) dug (into) ʁa₁¹ tsa₁¹ bu⁴⁴ mæ⁴⁴ (Mountain that exists) now, for more than one month.'

在现在的这座哈杂布马山上挖了一个多月。
'It was said that one night (the soldiers) said, "(We) will go back and will not dig (anymore) after (that)."'

那天晚上，(君王家的兵)就想回去，不想(再)挖了。

'Then an old man had left a pipe there and went back to pick up the pipe.'

(这些兵里，有个老兵)，这老头子因为烟斗丢在那儿，所以就回去取那只烟斗。
(53)
te o wo\textsuperscript{A} ji kʰo mi da ʦʰa ro le ɲu
DP EXC one CL rice only left PT MP say

(54)
o kʰa tʰo su ʊ ndzo tʰi gy ræ gi ro
there speak GEN old man DET CL PRE-ATT hear PT

There the old man heard (a\textsuperscript{A} pʰi\textsuperscript{53} ræ\textsuperscript{53} Ngæ\textsuperscript{53}’s soul) saying and speaking (to himself) there, "Oh, only one distance of rice\textsuperscript{B} is left (to reach me)."

(55)
ho kʰwæ tje ʦwæ le kʰwæ tje dzwæ le ɲu
EXC quick little return come quick little return come say

(56)
ka ma tʰe ni ndzo li dzy pi tsa\textsuperscript{C}
DP soldier he ERG call back come finish

\textsuperscript{A} o\textsuperscript{53} wo\textsuperscript{11} = sound indicating fear, e.g., "I'm nearly scared to death."

\textsuperscript{B} One distance of rice = the length of a rice grain, or 'very near' or 'just about to happen'.

\textsuperscript{C} pt\textsuperscript{44} tsa\textsuperscript{53} = completed action.
'He (the old man) yelled, "Return, come back quickly; return, come back quickly!" and called the soldiers back.'

他(大声地)喊着: “快点回来, 快点回来!” 把兵都叫了回来。

(57)

te ti tʰbʰu da qæ m tʰe hî
DP one CL only dig AVM he GEN

(58)

qo tʰi la na qʰʂə na qʰʂə m o dzy dzy dzy ro
qo DET CL black black AVM there come out PT

(They) only dug for one moment and his black, black qo only came out there.'

只挖了一会儿, 他的那根命根子就黑黑的(露)了出来。

(59)

te ma tʰi ki ni o mi nda te
DP soldier these ERG there GOAL cut DP


These soldiers cut (it) there and blood the size of xwa:\textsuperscript{11} tʰ_o\textsuperscript{63} gushed up there and all the soldiers were dead (drowned) by the blood that day.'

然后，这些兵(用刀)往那儿一砍就涌出了一股黄桶\textsuperscript{B}般粗的血，那天，那些兵都(阿坯冉呷的)血淹死了。

\textsuperscript{A} xwa:\textsuperscript{11} tʰ_o\textsuperscript{63} = a large container shaped like a column that stores rice chaff, rice, corn, wheat or buckwheat.

\textsuperscript{B} 一种半径 1 米左右的木制容器。
'(It was) said now all the soil and stones of ʁa₁¹ tsa₁¹ bu⁴⁴ mæ⁴⁴ (Mountain) were painted by his blood on that one day (which explains their red color).'

说是现在的这座哈杂布玛山上(红色)的土和石都是那一天被他的血染成的。

'(After they cut the qo₁¹ then (they) started to (chase and) catch the body.)'
'(They started to chase and) catch the body but also (they were) unable to catch (him).'

抓身体也抓不到。

'It was said he was born in the place now called ŋætuʂʰa.'

传说，他是出生在现在叫安路岔的那个地方。

'(He was) chased from that place (ŋætuʂʰa) and jumped over above ta (Mountain).'

(君王家的兵)从那个地方追，经过达亚山。
(69)

\[t^\text{ṭ} \hbar \text{mo te ti lo te}\]
he GEN horse DP one CL DP

(70)

\[\text{ti qæ qæ da dâu qy ji so}\]
one step only become usually say MP

(71)

\[\text{NGæ le t^\text{ṭ} o lo^A to te ma k^\text{ḥ}o lo t^\text{ḥ}i NGæ}\]
jump DP t^\text{ṭ} o lo reach DP ma k^\text{ḥ}o lo GOAL jump

\[\text{過 连词 骆洛 到达 连词 玛阔洛 目词 过}\]

'It is said that usually one valley became only one step of his horse.'

据说, 他的(骏)马一步可以越过一条山沟。

'After jumping over and reaching t^\text{ṭ} o^11 lo^11 then (a^53 p^\text{ḥ} i^53 ræ^53 NGæ^53) jumped over ma^53 k^\text{ḥ} o^44 lo^11.'

(越)过了鸵洛就（越）过玛阔洛。

---

\(^A\) t^\text{ṭ} o^11 lo^11 = \text{Langhuan Township, Xichang City.} \cdot 187\cdot
(72) ma kʰ o lo a mi tʰ e hɨ mo me ra ha ndze sa
ma kʰ o lo now he GEN horse footprint here EXT still
玛阔洛 现在 他 属格 马 痕迹 这儿 存在 还

'Now his horse's footprints are still here in ma₃ kʰ o₃ lo₁₁ (on a stone).'

(73) ma kʰ o lo ga le tʰ i m ko tʰ i to
ma kʰ o lo pass DP tʰ i m ko GOAL reach
玛阔洛 经过 连词 齐木高 目词 到达

'(He) passed by ma₃ kʰ o₄₄ lo₁₁ and reached tʰ i₄₃ m₁¹ ko₄₄.'

(74) tʰ i m ko tʰ e ta lu ma tʰ i to te
tʰ i m ko from lu ma GOAL reach DP
齐木高 从 路玛 目词 到达 连词

(75) me ru ræ ro ka li to tʰ eo kæ lo ɲu ka
footprint find PT DP find foot/footprint MP say DP
足迹 得到 去时 连词 得到 足迹 语气 说 连词
'From teʰ⁵³ m¹¹ ko⁴⁴ (he went on) and reached lu¹¹ ma⁴⁴ then (the Han soldiers who were pursuing him) found his footprints, (and the Han soldiers) said, "(We) found (his) footprints," so now Han call lu¹¹ ma⁴⁴ Lizhou.\(^A\)

从齐木到达路玛（今礼州）的时候, (君王家的兵)找到了(阿坯冉呷的)足迹, 说:“找到足迹了,” 并给路玛这个地方取名为礼州。

\(^A\) In Sichuan Chinese Dialect, the pronunciation of li 礼 suggests 'found something' which explains why Lizhou 礼州 was so named.
'(They) went and went (on) and reaching lu$^{10}$ ky$^{53}$ then (they lost the footprints) so now the word (name) Lugu comes from here (this story).

(他们)到达泸古的时候, 再也找不到(阿坯冉呷的足迹), 所以现在汉语中的这个'泸古'名字就是从这里来的。

"Later (soldiers) caught him and came back.'

\(^{\text{a}}\) lo$^{11}$ is similar in sound to luo 落 in Sichuan Chinese Dialect, which means 'lose', thus the place was called lo$^{11}$ ky$^{53}$. It is Lugu泸沽 in Chinese.
'(The soldiers) took several metal ropes (chains) tied him and (came) back to the place (and when they had) almost reached ʁa₁¹ tsa₁¹ bu⁴⁴ mæ⁴⁴ (Mountain he) said, "I am thirsty for water," so (they) let (him) drink water.'

用很多铁链子捆着，快回到哈杂布玛山的时候，(阿坯冉呷)说：“我口渴得很，”(押解他的土兵)就让(他)喝水。
(85)

te a wa^ a mi ndza qy te
DP MP there GOAL drink know DP

(86)

li lo tə ma qy ro
back stand NEG know PT

(87)

ma sa ro ʃu o mi lo cy te
NEG OK PT say there GOAL look went DP

(88)

ra bi ni la qʰa tsa qʰa qa ta m
dragon two CL mouth wide open AVM

(89)

tʰɛ lo ho qa qa ro
he GOAL swallow almost PT

^ a^ əd wa^ss = an expression of surprise.
'Then, 던 다우, (he put his head) down to drink (and he drank and drank and didn't) know (how to stop), didn't know (how to) stand back up again (because he was drinking and drinking), so (the soldiers) said, "It is not OK," and (the soldiers) went to look (into the water and there were) two dragons that had almost swallowed him with their wide-open mouths.'

噢, (他)知道喝(水)就不知道(抬)起(头)来, 他们说: "不对呀!" 往(水里)看时有两条龙正张开大大的嘴巴快要把他吞下去了。

'(It is) said he would have been swallowed down by the dragons if (the soldiers) had not seen it one moment (before it would have happened).'

说是如果再延误一会儿的话, (他)就要被龙吞下去了.
'Then (the soldiers) said, "It is not OK, it is not OK," and pulled back up the metal ropes (chains), pulled (him) and went back (to the lord's place), and killed him.'

然后, (他们慌乱地)说: “不好了, 不好了,” 马上往上拉铁链, 押解回去后把他杀了。
In ancient (times), one person, our li\textsuperscript{44} bu\textsuperscript{55}’s family, called li\textsuperscript{44} bu\textsuperscript{55} ta\textsuperscript{11} ndi\textsuperscript{11}, was said to be mystical like this.

古时候，我们里布家有一个神勇的人叫里布达帝。

\textsuperscript{1}q^hν = 'to call'. A powerful p\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{53} ts\textsuperscript{s}\textsuperscript{53} is able to summon či\textsuperscript{53} vi\textsuperscript{53} and such wild animals as deer, wild pigs and ghosts.
Then, he was expert at doing religious activity and what he called (during his religious activity), then what came and what he did (during his) religious activity then (that is) what changed.\(^A\)

(他)精通于做法事，叫什么，什么就来，做什么法事都能如愿以偿。

---

\(^A\) A capable \(p^b a^{53}\) \(ts\sigma^{53}\) is able to change things, e.g., make an ill person well, make a healthy person sick and bring such disasters to a family that ensure their crops will fail, that illness comes to family members and that their livestock suddenly die.

\(^B\) A \(za^{11}\) is a manifestation of \(ci^{53}\) \(vi^{53}\) and is about the size of a round bean. There are various \(za^{11}\). A \(p^b a^{53}\) \(ts\sigma^{53}\) often summons \(za^{11}\) to help during rituals. If a \(p^b a^{53}\) \(ts\sigma^{53}\) is very powerful, many \(za^{11}\) come as he chants. \(li^{44}\) \(bu^{55}\) \(so^{11}\) \(po^{53}\) (b. 1941) said that \(za^{11}\) fall one after another in front of the container when he chants, if he is powerful.

\(^C\) 

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ti ᵁ nu te ti ᵁ ʰ ni qʰv dzy
one CL need DP one CL he ERG call come

'What za¹ (he) called, then what (za¹) came and if (he) needed one ᵁ (of za¹), then one ᵁ (of za¹) was called and came because of his (chanting) and if (he) needed one ma⁻⁷ qʰa⁵⁵ (of za¹), then one ma⁻⁷ qʰa⁵⁵ (of za¹) was called and came because of his (chanting).'

呼什么酒，什么酒就来，需要一氏(酒)的话，一氏(酒能)被他叫来，需要一码卡⁵的话，一码卡(能)被他叫来。

A ʂə⁴⁴ = is a measure word used in conjunction with ʂə⁵³ ndzə⁵³ or a wooden container for storing rice, corn, wheat or barley. The ʂə⁵³ ndzə⁵³ is commonly used as a measure. It is convenient to use when borrowing and returning grain from nearby households. In 2006, most households no longer owned ʂə⁵³ ndzə⁵³.

B A ma⁻⁷ qʰa⁵⁵ is a container woven from long bamboo strips and used to store cooked rice.

C 一种竹制容器。
'Then later, (about) ndzy\textsuperscript{53} mo\textsuperscript{53}'s family...

后来是因为君王家(他的人生就改变了)。

(9)  
va \textsuperscript{tʰi} jy \textsuperscript{tʰe} ndzə\textsuperscript{ka} zə\textsuperscript{ka}  
Han DET CL he right/power fight for power DP  
汉族 限词 量词 他 权利 争夺 连词  

(10)  
qʰa ni ni m \textsuperscript{ndzy mo zi} da kʰv kʰv  
often AVM king son DAT provoke  
汉族(想)争夺他(君王家)的权利, 就总是向王子挑战。

(11)  
te mæ te va ni nu hî şu mo mo tʰi ly na  
DP later DP Han ERG you GEN metal hat DET CL and  
汉族 后来 汉族 作格 你 属格 铁 帽子 限词 量词 和  

\textsuperscript{A} ndzy\textsuperscript{53} mo\textsuperscript{53} = a powerful Han family living at the same time as li\textsuperscript{44} bu\textsuperscript{55} ta\textsuperscript{11} ndi\textsuperscript{11}.
Then later the Han (people) said, "Take your metal hat and our grass hat and put (them) onto (above) the lake and whose (hat) doesn't sink down (into the lake) will take the power."

汉人(对君王家的儿子)说: “(我们把)你的那个铁帽和我们的草帽往湖里放，谁的不沉底谁就掌握权利。”
'It was said the king's hat weighed 1,200 jin.'

据说，君王的帽子有一千二百斤重。

'The Han's grass hat was not even two jin.'

而汉族的草帽子却两斤都没有。

'Han these'
'These Han thought that his (the lord's hat) was very heavy and would go (sink) down.'

汉人认为他的帽子非常的沉重，所以会沉下去。

(20)
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te va ni m cy
DP Han ERG cheat went
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'Then (the lord) was cheated by the Han and went (to the lake where they had prearranged everything).'

这样，(君王家)被汉族骗(到湖边)去了。

(21)
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ti ni m¹ lo ha
one day AVM wait DP
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(22)
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va hi mo mo ma dzo gi ro ha
Han GEN hat NEG EXT PT DP
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^ $³³ n³³ = one day. $³³ n³³ m³³ = all day.
(23) 他属格连词下日词走否定想肯

'(They) waited (for the metal hat to sink) all day but the Han hat disappeared, (while) his (the lord's hat) would not go down.'

等了一整天后，汉族的帽子已经(从湖面)消失了，但是他（君王）的铁帽却不肯往下沉。

(24) 口唇GOAL压连词那儿目词去

(25) 唇GOAL压连词那儿目词去

(26) 边缘目词压连词那儿目词去去时
'Then the Han gestured (with his) lips to the paddler and (the paddler) used the paddle, pressed the brim (of the hat) and (the hat) went down there.'

这时，汉族人向那个划船的(人)做了个暗势，于是，(划船的人)用船桨把(铁帽的边沿)一压就(沉)了下去。

(27)

handzə te ami o ndzo tehoŋ xe ti ly dja le

lake DP now o ndzo tehoŋ xe DET CL BE MP

湖 限词 现在/今天 西昌 邛海 量词 判断 语气

'The lake is tehoŋ¹¹ xe¹¹ in o₃₅ ndzo₅₃ now.'

(这片)湖就是今天的西昌邛海。

(28)

ten ndzy mo çe te me kʰa ro

DP king family DP at a loss PT

连词 君王/君王 家 连词 没办法 去时

'The king's family was at a loss.'

(面对眼前的情况,)君王家束手无策了。

^ tehoŋ¹¹ xe⁵³ is in today's Xichang City.
'Then (the king's family) pasted a paper (announcing a search for someone who could get the metal hat from the lake) along the road.'

'(The notice) said, "Who is able to get my metal hat (from the lake), then I will give silver (if the person) requires silver and I will give gold (if the person) requires gold."'
(32)
ta ndi te jo mba ŋu ji le
.ta ndi DP SELF able say say MP
达帝 连词 自己 能 说 传说 语气

'It was said that ta11 ndi11 said, "I am able (to do what they want)."'
传说, 达帝(见了布告后)就说: “我能(捞回那个铁帽)。”

(33)
te ta ndi ndzo dzy ro
DP ta ndi call come PT
连词 达帝 叫 来 去时

'Oh, then (the people of ndzy53 mo53's family) came to call ta11 ndi11 (to help them).
噢, 于是, (君王家派人)来邀请达帝。

(34)
mo la ta ndi ndzo cy le pi
horse OTM tan di call went DP do ritual
马 宾标 达帝 叫 去 连词 做法

'(They) used a horse to call ta11 ndi11 (then he) went to do rituals.'
(他们)用马把达帝邀请去做法。
(35)  
te pi le za ni ko šə^A  
DP do ritual DP za two CL

(36)  
tʰε ni qʰγ le tʰε hĩ pi zi^B ko ta  
he ERG call DP he GEN apprentice give EXT

(37)  
jo rə ηæ ηæ te no li tçə  
SELF rope shake DP you back pull

(38)  
jo mo mo ræ la tʰbu te rə ηæ ηæ ŋu  
SELF hat PRE-ATT take/bring when DP rope shake say

^ko^A šə^A = a container and measure twice the size of a šə^B ndzə^B.

^B pi^B zi^B = apprentices/students of a pʰə^B tsə^B who assist him during rituals.
'(ta"ndi") did rituals and called two ko" of za" and gave (them) to his apprentices and said, "You pull back the (rope) when I shake the rope and when (I) get a chance to take the hat then I will shake the rope."

(达帝开始)做法，呼了两锅氏酒给他的做法弟子，并(再三)嘱咐：“我在(底下)摇绳子的时候，你们往上拉，我拿到帽子后就会摇动绳子。”

(39)
za ro q′a ma ta vi ta
straw rope many roll EXT

(弟子们)编织了很多草绳。

(40)
jo te sə qo cy te za t′i ki tby q′ae le
SELF DP die if DP za these crush DP

^ Plant materials such as wheat and rice straw are rolled into lengths that are then made into rope.
'(He) also said, "If I die, then crush these za' and put (them) into my eyes and nose.'

(他)还对弟子们说："假如我死了的话，把这些酒碾碎，放入我的眼睛和鼻子里。"
'(They) rolled these grass ropes\(^*\) for seven days and seven nights, then tied (the ropes around his) waist and put (him) down into the lake.'

七天七夜里，弟子们不分昼夜地编草绳，然后，系在(帝的)腰上，让他(跳入)湖里。

(45)
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{zə po} & \text{so po o ndze te} \\
\text{sandalwood} & \text{three} & \text{CL} & \text{there} & \text{EXT} & \text{DP}
\end{array}
\]

(46)
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{hĩ ngi} & \text{ti po} & \text{ro} & \text{ru tsʰu} & \text{ta} & \text{ji le} \\
\text{middle} & \text{DET} & \text{CL} & \text{LOC} & \text{cover} & \text{EXT} & \text{say} & \text{MP}
\end{array}
\]

'It was said that there were three sandalwood (trees) there (underwater) and (the hat) was covering (the top of) the middle one (sandalwood tree).'

据说，湖底长着三棵檀木，铁帽正好罩在中间的那棵树梢上。

(47)
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{te} & \text{rə bi so la te} \\
\text{DP} & \text{dragon} & \text{three} & \text{CL} & \text{DP}
\end{array}
\]

\(^*\) Grass rope is made by rolling grass between the hands to make rope of whatever length is desired.
'Then there were three dragons wound (around) the three sandalwood (trees).'

三条龙(分别)缠绕着那三棵檀木。

'(达帝)一次又一次地往那儿去拿, 但那三条龙也一次又一次地向他咬来。'
After (he) was unable to get (the hat), then (he) shook the grass rope, but the water was very deep and (his helpers) did not know (he was shaking the rope), so tan11 di11 died here (in the lake).
'Then (he) died (and his corpse) came back and appeared above (the water) only after noon.'

后来,死了,(尸体)下午才漂出水面来。

(55)

```
DP apprentice these sad DP before he how tell AVM
```

(56)

```
za these crush DP he mouth and nose LOC put
```

'Then these apprentices were sad and crushed these za11 (and put it) into his mouth and nose as like how he had told (them) before.'

(57)

```
DP crush LOC put finish DP
```

弟子们伤心地把那些酒按他(生)前所说的那样,碾碎后,放入他的嘴巴和鼻子里。
'(After these apprentices) finished crushing (za11 and putting the powder) into his nose and eyes, (ta11 ndi11) disgorged back out much water and revived.'

碾碎了(酒), 一放完, 他吐了很多水, (又神奇地)复活了。

'(The king's family) asked, "What do you require?" and (he) said, "(I) need nothing, give me three dogs, three chickens and three cats."'

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(After these apprentices) finished crushing (za11 and putting the powder) into his nose and eyes, (ta11 ndi11) disgorged back out much water and revived.'
'He did not take anything because) he had been scared by the dragons and (had failed so) was (full of) self-contempt.'

'He was scared so much by the dragons!'

'Then (the lord's family) gave him three dogs, three chickens and three cats and he went back (to his home).'

\(^{\text{A}}\) \(ni\text{\textsuperscript{1} mi\text{\textsuperscript{4}} go\text{\textsuperscript{4}} pa\text{\textsuperscript{5}}} = \text{'heart fall' or 'self-contempt'}.\)

\(\text{•214•}\)
Then (he) came back here atop ta\textsuperscript{11} ji\textsuperscript{11} Mountain and cursed, "Will we li\textsuperscript{44} bu\textsuperscript{55}s family say 'k\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{44} ro\textsuperscript{44}, k\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{44} ro\textsuperscript{44}' and do rituals after (this) again?"\textsuperscript{b}

\textsuperscript{a} p\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{53} ts\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{53} chant differently when starting a ritual. k\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{44} ro\textsuperscript{44}, k\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{44} ro\textsuperscript{44} are vocables li\textsuperscript{44} bu\textsuperscript{55} p\textsuperscript{h}a\textsuperscript{53} ts\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{44} pronounced to begin a ritual.

\textsuperscript{b} At this time, he killed all these chickens, dogs and cats and took a solemn oath to stop doing rituals by posing this rhetorical question atop ta\textsuperscript{11} ji\textsuperscript{11} Mountain.
'In fact, when (he) arrived back home (his) wife was sick (because the) god was unhappy (because) he killed dogs and cats.'

原来，山神为（他）杀害狗和猫的行为而愤怒，回来后他的妻子又生病了。

^ni˧˥ mi˧˨ ma˧˧ xi˥ = 'the heart is not easy' or 'unhappy'.
'Then (he) was at a loss for it was not OK to not do rituals but (he) didn't dare say 'kaʰ roʰ' and do rituals (because he had sworn not to) so (he) said, "so¹¹ so¹¹ laʰ ʐə⁴⁴" and did rituals back again.'

最后，(他)没有办法，(觉得)不做法(自己的妻子)就不行了，可不敢念'卡容，卡容'就念着'索索拉支'做法了。

'(His wife was (made) well again by him doing rituals and (he) didn't do rituals after (that time).')
'So (he) was not able to be mystical (anymore).'

'He lost the mystical power not because he didn't do the rituals, but because he mistakenly killed the dogs and chickens (when he took the oath on the mountain).'
So now we (members of the) li⁴⁴ bu⁵⁵ lineage, do rituals... also do not do rituals and also have no pʰa⁵³ tso⁷³.

所以, 现在, 我们里布家族不做法也没有帕仔。
MONSTERS AND HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

THE SEVEN DAUGHTERS

d^{44} ma^{55} do^{53} dz^{53}

(1) 

'In ancient (times), there was one family of seven girls, like this.'

从前, 连词 女儿 七 量词 存在 这样 一 量词 存在

从前, 有门户(人家)有七个女儿。

(2) 

老头子 限词 量词 连词 别人 位格 打卦 去 连词

(3) 

你 女儿 限词 七 量词 杀 后 连词

(4) 

你 儿子 回 立/有 能 再说
The old man went to others for fortune telling, then (the fortune teller) said, "If you kill your seven girls then you still will be able to have sons again."

老头子（女人的爸爸）到别人那儿去算卦，(算卦的人)说: “你把这七个女儿杀掉后,你还能有男孩。”
Later the old man cheated the seven daughters by saying "(Let's) go pull up onions" and (they) went (because he wanted ts'o' ro'mi's family) to kill and eat (them) so (he) cheated (them) and (so they) went.

后来，老头骗七个女儿说: “(我们)去拔葱吧!” (他)想把(他们)骗到措容米家，(让措容米)杀来吃掉。

---

^ cy^3 indicates a completed action.
The seven daughters were standing in a pond and their father was adding water to the pond to drown his daughters. This is not mentioned in the story, but understood from repeated telling.
te ma ṭa sa na ja dũ qʰæ ji kʰy to sə ni tɛo di
dP NEG OK still we armpit under reach only after pull up say

When the water) reached here (waist high, the girls) said, "Father is it OK to pull up (the onions)?" but (the father) said, "It is still not OK, we will pull up (the onions) only after (the water) reaches under (your) armpits."

Later (Father) said, "(We will) pull (onions) up only after (the water) reaches to (your) necks."

后来, (爸爸)说(水)到脖子上才去拔。
'All seven girls were drowned to death (in a pond), one like our fish pond, by him.'

他把七个女儿淹死在一个鱼塘里了，就是我们今天的这种（鱼塘）。

'(It was) said that (tsʰo⁽¹¹⁾ ro⁽⁴⁴⁾ mi⁽¹¹⁾) took (the girls) one (by one) out of the water and tickled (them) one (by one).'

据说，（措容米从池塘里把她们）一个个地捞上来，并且一个个地挠痒痒。

'(tsʰo⁽¹¹⁾ ro⁽⁴⁴⁾ mi⁽¹¹⁾) only took back (to their home) the ones only after (the bodies) didn't move.'
(22)
girl youngest DET CL DP NEG die DP
diemian zuodar qianqian yingqian qianqian te de

(23)
NEG DP move NEG DP make noise AVM DP

(24)
all AVM tsʰo ro mi ERG carry DP back went PT

du 句子 错容米 作格 扛 连词 回去 去时

'The youngest girl was not dead but neither moved nor made noise; tsʰo ro mi carried all (these girls) back (to their home).'

(25)
others these DP kill eat finish

别人 这些 连词 杀 吃 完
'It was said others were killed and eaten (by tsho¹⁰ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) and only the youngest girl was left.'

说是别的(女儿)都被杀来吃了, 就只剩下那个小女儿。
'She had all her sisters' jewels, and the daughter of tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹'s family admired these (her jewels) so (tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹'s daughter) said, "a⁴⁴ we⁵⁵, shall we two change (our jewels)?"\(^A\)

她有姐姐们的所有项链, 所以措容米家的女儿羡慕地说: “哎, 我俩可以换吗?”

(30)

te nu jo thi ki nu te
DP you SELF these need DP

(31)

na ni ky jy ro tæ qæ ta hũ di
we two CL bedroom change tonight say

我们二量词寝室换今晚说

'(The youngest girl said), "If you need these, my (jewels), then we two can change bedrooms tonight."

(小女儿)说: “你需要我这些的话, 今晚我俩换睡觉的地方吧。”

(32)

te nu jy ro ṇa tæ qæ a qæ
DP you bedroom I change INT would

^A a²⁴ we⁵⁵ = a sound suggesting a person wants to make a transaction with another person.
'Then (the younger sister continued and) said, "Would you change bedrooms with me? Change bedrooms with me, then I (will) give (you) these (jewels)."'

(小女儿继续)说:“你跟我换睡觉的地方吗？换睡觉的地方的话我给你这些。”

'Then tsʰo¹¹ mi¹¹ (tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹'s daughter) thought it was right and said, "Yes," and changed (bedrooms) with the girl, our (girl).'

然后,措容米(的女儿)以为是真的就跟我们的小女儿换了。
'It was said that later (they) changed (bedrooms, but tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹'s family) thought this (the girl) was the only one (they had got) and (they) watched (the daughter) and came to their daughter when (they) wanted to kill the girl (the youngest daughter) to eat.'
mother mother say DP your mother down there far away EXT say

妈妈 妈妈 说 连词 你们 妈妈 下面 远处 存在 说

'It was said that the girl of tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹'s family said, "Father, Father," then (tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) said, "Your father is far away." The girl of tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹'s family said, "Mother, Mother," then (tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) said, "Your mother is far away," and caught their own daughter and killed (her).'

措容米家的那个女儿喊道："爸爸！爸爸！"(措容米说): "你的爸爸在那很远很远的地方；(她)喊道: "妈妈！妈妈!" (措容米)说: "你的妈妈在那很远很远的地方," 就把他们(自己)的女儿杀了。
It was said, later, at one (o'clock) the next morning, (the tsʰoʰ² ro⁴⁴ mi³¹ parents) got up and called their daughter, "Come send meat," but (the parents) still didn't know (that they had killed their own daughter).'

第二天早上, (措容米)对他们自己的女儿说: “起来, (去给邻居家们)送肉,” 时还不知道(自己把自己的亲生女儿杀了)。

---

^ pbu²ⁱ = send. It is customary to send meat to other homes when a family has meat.
'Our girl was afraid and said, "My stomach is a little bit unwell," and (she) would not get up and come.'

"Our girl was afraid and said, "My stomach is a little bit unwell," and (she) would not get up and come.'

(47)

mae sani lo te dzy te

later only get up come DP

后来才起床来连词

(48)

se qae le te ko bo ka vi cy hii ro

meat scoop DP she ABS neighbor divide went PER PT

肉舀连词她肯定家分去祈使去时

'(She) only got up and came later, and (the parents) scooped meat and ordered her to divide (it) for the neighbors.'

后来才起来时, (措容米)舀肉给她, 并让她去分给邻居家。

(49)

ti qa qe te ko o mo thi jy ce pa huu ma ju

one CL scoop she give down DET CL family give go MP say

一量词舀她给下面限词量词家庭给去语气说

'(The ts'o' ro' mi' mother) scooped one ball (of soup made of their cooked daughter) to her and said, "Go give (this) to the family down there."

措容米)舀了一盆 (肉) 给她说: “去送给那一家吧。”
Then after (the daughter) arrived half-way, (she) pulled up the root (bottom part) of (her) skirt and she poured (out) all of the soup and took the meat and filled the skirt root.\(^{\text{A}}\)

\[^{\text{A}}\text{ When she got half-way, she pulled up her skirt a bit above her belt, poured the soup out on the ground and put the meat in the small pouch she had formed with the skirt top. After she did this several times, the small pouch she had made was full of meat.}\]
It was said (the daughter was) sent and after finishing (being) sent to several families, the $q^h^a$ root was also full (of meat).

后来, 她送完后跑了。
'At this moment, after (she) ran away, (tsʰ'o¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹'s parents) yelled, "All neighbors, I (unknowingly) killed my daughter and ate (her flesh); untie the nde¹¹ pe⁴⁴ dogs, quickly untie the nde¹¹ pe⁴⁴ dogs."

It was said that the nde¹¹ pe⁴⁴ dogs came with the sound of hi¹¹ hoŋ³ hi¹¹ hoŋ³.'
(61)
dzy te pæ le thε mæ mæ qa qa sa^ kʰɣ kʰɣ tɛʰa
come DP run DP she close nearly ALTIT quickly

(62)
tsʰo ro mi so ni nde qν o thʰa te
tsʰo ro mi meat/flesh two CL throw there GOAL sow/strow DP

(63)
tsʰo thʰi ki to tɛʰa le dzə so thε ti pæ tsʰu se m
dog these fight DP eat ALTIT she one run DP ALTIT AVM

(64)
qʰo pa le qʰo pa le şə pi tsa nu te
chase DP chase DP meat/flesh finish after DP

^ saʰ⁴ used three times refers to the actions of walking, beating and biting again and again.
(The dogs and tsʰo₁¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) chased and chased and reached one (wooden) bridge beside one river after finishing (eating) the flesh.'

(狗把她)追呀追, 肉扔完后, 来到了河边的一座桥边。

'(One end of the) bridge was lifted up by her (after she crossed to the other side and it fell) down (into the river) and was destroyed.

她(走过桥)把桥的一边抬起来, 拆掉了。
'On the other side of (the river), there was one straw pile here and she went into the straw pile (to hide but) the two sash\textsuperscript{a} ends came out (above the straw pile).'

\textsuperscript{a} Many na\textsuperscript{53} mzi\textsuperscript{33} women wear a sash with two triangular ends.
These nde⁴ dog⁴ dogs thought, "Oh, tsʰʰ mi⁴ also came out so it's time for spring sowing," and went back.

Those nen⁷ dog⁷ (whose emergence in spring signals the time to begin spring plowing and sowing) dogs thought, "Oh, tsʰʰ mi⁴ also came out so it's time for spring sowing," and went back.

This dish is eaten with rice and potatoes.
'Then, at this moment, our girl, (how) pitiful (she was), ran back (away).'

'(She) ran and ran, and then met one family spinning hemp but, in fact, it was one `tsʰo mi` family again.'

^ *sa^* has three meanings: (1) the hemp plant, (2) the outside part of the hemp and (3) clothes made from the hemp plant.
The $ts^h o^l$ ro$^h m^i^l$ said to her, "Oh, it is very good of you, you come up to help spin hemp for one moment and I'll cook lunch to eat."

那个措容米对她说: “噢, 你（来得）太好了, 来帮我纺一下(麻), 我去做一点午饭来吃。”

---

\(^a\) na"n nga"n q"s o" = snot.
It was said after (tsʰo₁¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) left (to fix lunch), one child came and arrived at her side, eating one piece of snot.

措容米)走后，一个孩子吃着一块鼻屎来到她面前。

SELF father mother DP metal steamer there steam

你杀吃说 说
'Then (the girl) asked, "Where did your father go, where did your mother go?" then (the child) said, "My father and mother are steaming the metal steamer there and saying (they) will kill you to eat."

(她就)问: "你爸爸去哪儿了? 妈妈去哪儿了?" (小孩)说: "我的爸爸妈妈在准备蒸笼, 说要把你杀来吃。"

(86)
o pæ ro sə MP run PT again
语气 跑 去时 又

'Oh, (the girl) ran again.'
哦, (小女孩)撒腿就跑了。

(87)
te şə qa qa m ji tca pæ te DP die almost AVM one CL run DP
连词 死 大概 副标 一 量词 跑 连词

(88)
sa nda ti jy cə lo hu pəvə ro sə hemp weave one CL family GOAL meet PT again
麻 编织 一 量词 家庭 目词 遇见 去时 又
'Then (she) ran for a period of time, (which made her) almost die and met again one hemp-weaving family.'

(她)气喘吁吁地跑了一会儿，又碰到了一家织麻的人家。

'(She) met one hemp-weaving family and (tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) said, "Quickly, come help for one moment, I will go cook lunch and bring (it here and we will) come to eat."'
'Again, like this, one child squeezed a ball of snot, arrived and came here again.'

Then (the girl thought) again it was not right and ran back and arrived back and came (to her) home.'
'At (the) night (the daughter) arrived back at home; one (of her) brothers died.'

(96)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{At (the) night (the daughter) arrived back at home; one (of her) brothers died.}
\end{align*}
\]

回到家的那个晚上, (她的)一个弟弟死了。

(97)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'After (her brother) died, the old man (Father) would not acknowledge her back (as his daughter).'}
\end{align*}
\]

(一个弟弟)死后, 爸爸不肯认她。

(98)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'Later the old man told her like this…'}
\end{align*}
\]

后来, 老头子给她这样说。
'(He) said, "First, you cut a log (into) two (pieces) and roll (them) down from up here^ and see if (the two pieces are) close (to each other or not) in a flat place (where they stop rolling)."

^ If the two pieces rolled down the mountain and stopped rolling so that the two sawed ends were against one another, it would indicate that she was his true daughter.
'(The two pieces of the log were) close (to each other but the) old man would not acknowledge (her) back.'

'(两节木头)合(在一起)了，但是老头子(仍然)不肯认回(自己的女儿)。

'Later (the old man) said, "You roll two millstone halves down (into the valley) and see if (they) are back close to (each other) or not in the flat place."'

'后来，(老头子)说："你(从山顶)往(山沟)里滚两半石磨，看(它们)能否在平地上合在一起。"
(106)
li m m ro ha li zœ ma na
back close PT DP back acknowledge NEG would
回 合 去 时 连 词 回 认 否定 想/回

'(The two millstone halves) were back close to each other but (the old man still) would not acknowledge (her) back.'

(两半石磨)合(在一起)了, 但是(他)还是不肯认。

(107)
pʰu mi ly la kʰa ka
pot CL OTM bake DP
锅 量 词 宾 标 烤 连 词

(108)
tsa ræ ti su pʰo o mi tʰo
saliva one CL spit there GOAL SUF-COM
口水 一 量 词 吐 那儿 目 词 后 体

(109)
vʒø da cə nu ŋa zo mi dja di
bubble come if you I daughter BE say
起泡 来 如果 你 我 女儿 判断 说
'(The old man) took a pot and baked (it) in the hearth and said, "Spit one (bit of) saliva down (into the pot and) if it bubbles, come then, you are my daughter."

老头子在灶火上烤了一个锅, 说: “往里吐一滴口水, 如果溢出来的话, 那你就是我的女儿。”

'Bubbles came (when she spat) but (her father still) would not acknowledge (her) back.'

(口水)溢出来了, 但是(老头子)还是不肯认。
Then her mother said, “My daughter, your father also will not acknowledge you back (as his daughter, and I am) at a loss, so I will divide (our property) and give you one of each kind of all I raise here and then (you leave) and marry where all (the livestock) make noise.”
Go and arrive at places where there were very attractive houses, and half of the cows and goats made noise but the other half didn't make noise.

Later (she) always followed the cows and goats.

---

^ An expression of surprise.

^ She could not stop in these places because her mother had told her to marry in a place where all the livestock made noises.
'Then (the daughter) went and at one corn shelter, all the (the livestock) made noise without even one remaining (not making noise).'

跟到一个玉米杆(做成的)茅屋门口时，(那些牛羊)全部都叫唤了。

(123)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yi</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>qʰo rae</th>
<th>tʰi ki</th>
<th>la</th>
<th>ha</th>
<th>tʰo</th>
<th>dzō</th>
<th>hí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>these</td>
<td>OTM</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>EXT</td>
<td>PER</td>
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</table>

牛 和 羊 这些 宾标 这儿 肯定 存在 祈使
Then (she) thought, "My mother told me (that this place, where all the livestock make noise, is where I should stay)," and (she) left these cows and goats here, and went into the (corn) shelter to see (have a look) and there was only an old woman, like me, sitting there.'

于是，(她)想: "那是妈妈给我说的，" 让牛羊停下，(自己走进)茅屋去看时只有一个像我一样老婆婆趴在里面。

^ The storyteller described the old woman in the story as being about her age.
'(The girl) asked, "Mother-in-law, do you have sons?" and (the old woman) answered, "(I) have a son but would you come to like our son?"

(小女儿)问：‘婆婆，你有儿子吗?’ (婆婆)说：‘有儿子，但是你不会看上我们的儿子吧。’
'(The girl) said, "a44 wa55, I will be your (family's) wife. Do (you) have sons?" and (the old woman) answered, "(I) have (a son)."'

小女儿对老婆婆说: “哎呀！我(会)当你们的(儿)媳妇的, (你)到底有没有儿子呀?” (老婆婆)说: “有!”

'It was said (the son) really came back (home) later.'

后来, (儿子)真的回来了。
'It was said the son came back from down there (at the doorway) and looked, leaning back into the shelter; (he) was shy and would not come back (inside).'

'Then (the old woman) said, "She says (she) will be your wife, come back (inside)," then (the boy) came back (inside) with one bag of trapped birds.'
Then our girl made a fire; carried the old woman to get warm by the fire; roasted the birds and gave (them to) the old woman to eat, and then (the old woman) said, "Oh, roasted (bird) is also tasty, tasty."
Later (the girl) was with him (the boy) and asked, "Where did you trap these (birds)?" but (he) would not tell.

后来，(她) 跟着他问: “你这是从在哪儿捕来的?”但是 (他) 不肯说。
'Later she took one needle and threaded the string (from the) ball top and inserted (the needle) into his (upper) clothes' edge and let (the string follow the boy) and went (to the place where he had trapped the birds).'

后来，她用一根针穿过一个线团的一端，（把针）插到他的衣襟上去。

(145)
kʰi tʰo ly tʰi ly la e qo tзо ta ka  
string ball DET CL OTM home leave DP

(146)
tʰe ɕy ti zo te kʰi tʰi ly tʰe ni tзе  
he went as long as DP string DET CL he ERG pull

(147)
le ɕy ɕy ɕy m ɕy tзе tзе  
DP smooth AVM went often/always

'(She) left the string ball at home and the string was always pulled and went smoothly with him as long as he went.'

把线团放在家里, 只要他一走, 这根线也被他慢慢地拉走。
'(He) went and reached the place (he should) reach, and when the string was here it didn't move (anymore).'

(148)
went DP reach LOC reach when DP string DET CL

(He)走到了该到的地方时, 这根线一动也不动地停在那儿了。

(149)
NEG move AVM here EXT PT

(150)
girl DET CL DP string DET CL along went often

(151)
DP over there gold island DP there EXT fact DP
'The girl always went along with the string; in fact, there was one gold island there and (he) was untying the birds (taking the birds out of traps) there.'

'(The boy and girl) came back home after (he finished) untying the birds.'

'(The boy and girl) came back home after (he finished) untying the birds.'

'The girl always went along with the string; in fact, there was one gold island there and (he) was untying the birds (taking the birds out of traps) there.'

'(The boy and girl) came back home after (he finished) untying the birds.'

'(The boy and girl) came back home after (he finished) untying the birds.'
'Then the son spoke to her (the girl) like this.'

然後, 儿子对她这样说。

(155)

'At night, don't you be scared when it sounds tɕə tʂə tɕə sounded and, (when) not even seven days had come, one beautiful house formed.'

晚上, 叽喳, 叽喳的声音在响时, 你不要害怕。
When the time of blooming rape (came), her mother went back along with the rape (flower) road to look for her.

Her mother visited there (at her daughter's home) one time and came back…

It is understood that the mother gave her daughter some rape seed which she scattered throughout her travels after her father refused to acknowledge her.
'(The mother) came back and said (to her husband), "a53 ma53, it was (that) you wouldn't acknowledge my daughter, and now (she) is very rich."

回来后，(女儿的妈妈)说: “我的女儿,你不愿意认的, 现在富得不得了了。”

---

A a53 ma53 = an expression of astonishment.
The old man also said, "I also should go to visit once."

老头子也（自不量力地）说: “我也该(到女儿家)去玩一趟呀!”

(165)
te ů ndz tʰi gy ha
DP old man DET CL also

油菜 路 限词 量词 也

(166)
tʰe tsə rə gy tʰi la tso tso cy
rape road DET CL along went

于是, 老头子也沿着这条油菜路(走)去。

(167)
a wo a wo nu hə qʰo bo ga da
father father you gold door go through INT

爸爸 爸爸 你 金 门 过/进 疑问

(168)
nu qʰo bo ga le ŋu
silver door through MP say

银 门 过/进 语气 说
'The daughter saw him and) asked, "Father, Father, will you go through the gold door or silver door?"'

(女儿见爸爸站在门口)便问: “爸爸, 爸爸, 你(想)进金门还是银门?"

(Then Father) answered, "Since (I already) came, (I) will go through the gold door.'

(爸爸)说: "(既然)来都来了, 还不过金门嘛!"

---

^ ma\textsuperscript{44} ga\textsuperscript{44} or 'not go through', followed by the sound word te\textsuperscript{53} emphasizes and suggests "I surely will go through the gold door."
'Then (the daughter) let (him) go through one wooden door, (and the door) nearly fell down and crashed on him.'

(女儿)却让他往一扇几乎要倒下(来)，压在人(身)上的木门里进去。

'After (Father) arrived (at the daughter's) home, (the daughter) asked, "Father, would you like to eat goat (meat) or yak (meat)?" and (Father) answered, "Since (I already) came, (I) will eat yak (meat)."'

到家里后, (女儿)问: “爸爸, 你想吃羊肉还是牦牛肉?" (爸爸)说: “既然来都来了, 还不该吃牦牛(肉)吧!”
Go to the daughter, he is not able to stand (because it was so weak) and gave (the lamb's meat) to him to eat.

'The daughter) killed a scoury lamb, that was also unable to stand (because it was so weak) and gave (the lamb's meat) to him to eat.'

但是, (女儿)杀了只腹泻得站也站不(稳)的羊羔给他吃。

At night (the daughter) asked, "Father do you want to sleep in the gold bed or silver bed?"

'At night (the daughter) asked, "Father do you want to sleep in the gold bed or silver bed?"'
'(Father) said, "My daughter, since (I) came, (I) will sleep in the gold bed."

(爸爸)说: “我的女儿呀, 既然来都来了, 还不该睡金床吗?”

'It was said that later (he) slept in the silver bed and bit (the silver on the bed) with a qæ11 ræ11 qæ53 ræ53 sound.'

说是后来, (他)睡在金床上时在那儿咯吱, 咯吱地在啃(那床上的金子)。
(181)
qæ ræ qæ ræ m o qʰæ te a wo nu tʰ a qʰæ
OP OP AVM there bite DP father you NEG bite

(Father) bit with qæʰ ræʰ qæʰ sounds and (the daughter) said, "Father, don't you bite, I will give (silver and gold) to you when you go back (home)."

(182)
li bi te jo nu ko di
back go DP SELF you give say

'(Father) bit with qæʰ ræʰ qæʰ sounds and (the daughter) said, "Father, don't you bite, I will give (silver and gold) to you when you go back (home)."

(183)
a wo li cy ti ni te
father back went one CL DP

(184)
a la mbo bu rə pa mi ti bi zi cy cy nu te
wasp snake frog one bag fill after DP

(他) 正在那儿咯吱, 咯吱地在啃的时候，(女儿)说："爸爸, 你不要啃, 回去时我给你。"
One day Father went back (got ready to leave, and the daughter) said, "This is (your) lunch," and gave (it) to him after filling one bag up with wasps, snakes and frogs.

爸爸回去的那一天, (女儿)装了一包马蜂, 蛇和青蛙, 便说是(路上吃的)午饭就 (交)给了他。

'The daughter) said, "When you get back to the pass there (between the daughter's home and her parents' home), then tie the horse to your legs and eat lunch."'

(女儿给他) 说: “你回到 (路上的)那个山垭口时, 把马系到腿上就吃午饭。”
'(When the Father reached the pass, he) opened the bag, and wasps flew (out) to sting the horse and snakes (came out) to bite the horse, then the old man was pulled by the horse and ran (pulling the old man).'

(爸爸走到山垭口，) 打开包时，马蜂飞出来蛰马，蛇爬出来咬马，(马一惊) 老头子也就被马拖着跑了。
'It was said only a leg of the old man arrived back at home (pulled by the horse).'

你说是只有一支腿(被马拖)回家里。
'It was said that the old woman said, "(That is because) you would not acknowledge (your own) daughter," and untied only the leg and cremated (it).'

老婆婆说: “这是你自己不肯认女儿的(报应)啊!” 解开那支腿烧掉了。
THE PUPPY
li⁴⁴ bu⁵⁵ šə¹¹ po⁵³

(1)
i ni a ʂə te a da bi zi ni ky dzö ji le
ancient DP father son two CL EXT say MP

古时候 连词 爸爸 儿子 俩 量词 存在 说 语气

'It was said, in ancient times, there were two, a father and a son.'

传说, 古时候有一对父子。

(2)
a da tʰi gy te tʂʰo tɕə cy tɕə tɕə
father DET CL DP hunt went often

爸爸 限词 量词 连词 打猎 去 经常

'The father often went to hunt.'

爸爸经常去打猎。

(3)
zi tʰi ja te tʂʰo no ti ja ʂə sə o pa tɕə tɕə
son DET CL DP puppy one CL take with there EXT often

儿子 限词 量词 连词 小狗 一 量词 牵/带 那儿 存在 经常

'The son often took one puppy with (him).'
One day, the father went to hunt again.

一天，爸爸又去打猎了。
'All these big hounds were taken and went with his father, so the son often only took the little puppy with (him) to herd livestock.'

大大的猎狗都被爸爸带走了,儿子经常带着只小狗（在家）放牛羊。

(8)
'ti ni pæ pæ ti ly la dzø ga m tæ tæ
one day rice ball one CL OTM lunch make often

(9)
ti ni ni mi gy te zi tʰi ja dzø ga dzø tʰu te
one day noon DP son DET CL lunch eat when DP

(10)
tʰɑ no tʰi ja ha nɑ cɑ ky sə ky sə nɑ pæ pæ nɯ
puppy DET CL also VOB OP OP I rice ball need/want

Everyday (he) often took one rice ball to make (his) lunch.'

(他)经常每天带一个米饭团充当山上吃的午饭。
'Noon one day, when the son ate lunch, the puppy also said, "ky' sə, ky' sə, I want a rice ball, I am very hungry."

The son was angry and said, "I also have not (got) enough to eat, you go die."'

The son was angry and said, "I also have not (got) enough to eat, you go die."
(14)
tsho no t'i ja ŋu mdav le ji jį ta hū te
puppy DET CL cry DP OP tonight DP

小狗 限词 量词 哭泣 连词 拟声 今晚 连词

(15)
tsho ro mi nu tṣu nu dzə da ʁæ ji di
tsho ro mi you kill you eat come FT say say
措容米 你 杀 你 吃 来 未时 说 说

The puppy cried and said, "ji44 ji44, tsʰo11 ro44 mi11 said, tonight, (she) will come, kill you and eat you."

那只小狗哭着说: “咦, 呀, 措容米说今晚要来杀你, 吃你。”

(16)
zi tʰi ja tʰi tʰbu te qy li xi nda ka kʰy kʰy tʃʰa
son DET CL DET CL DP scare very DP quickly

儿子 限词 量词 限词 量词 连词 害怕 很 连词 立即

(17)
ale jo qʰo tsho ro mi ge ræ m ȵa dzə da ʁæ ji djɛ di
friend tsho ro mi really AVM I eat come FT say MP say/ask

朋友 措容米 真的 副标 我 吃 来 未时 说 语气 说/问

^ The sound of crying.
The son, at this moment, was very scared and quickly asked, "Friend, did tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹ really say (she) will come eat me?"

儿子(听了)很害怕, 立即问道: “朋友, 措容米真的说了要来吃我吗?"

Then the puppy answered, "(tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) said (she) would really come."

小狗说: “(措容米)真的说了要来。”
'Then, (the son) said, "What will (I) do? My father also went to hunt; only me, what should (I) do?"

'然后，(小孩可怜地)说: “那该怎么办，我爸爸也去打猎了，我一个人该怎么办呢?”

(21)
ŋa jo qʰo nu ha ŋa ma ko ko te
I friend you also I NEG help DP

(22)
vaे qæ qʰa gy ŋa ko ko da kæ di
other who I help come FT say

'(The son) said, "My friend, if you also don't help me, then, others, who else will come help me?")

(小孩想了想)说: “我的朋友, 如果你也不帮我的话, 别的还有谁会来帮我呢?”

(23)
tʰo no tʰi ja te
puppy DET CL DP
小狗却毫不慌乱地说：‘别担心，别担心，回去就告诉你，回到家后给我说该怎么办。’
'They two, together, drove all the livestock and went back (home).’

'他俩一起把牛羊都赶了回去。'

(28)
zi  tʰi  ja  qy  li  xi  le
son  DET  CL  scare  DP

儿子  限词  量词  害怕  连词

(29)
ræ  ndzu  ræ  hĩ  ma  pʰa  ro
PRE-ATT  sit  PRE-ATT  stand  NEG  able  PT

孩子害怕得坐立不安。'

(30)
tʰi  no  tʰi  ja  te  zi  tʰi  ja  da
puppy  DET  CL  DP  son  DET  CL  DAT

小狗  限词  量词  连词  儿子/孩子  限词  量词  与格

(31)
u nu  ta  hũ  te  yi  no  qo  lo  lo  tsæ  pæ  hũ  di
you  tonight  DP  cattle  stable  inside  GOAL  hide  go  say

你  今晚  连河  牛  圈  里面  目词  藏  去  说
The puppy said to the son, "You, tonight, go hide inside the cattle stable."

小狗对孩子说: “今晚, 你到牛圈里面去藏。”

(32)

te  t$w$ n$o  t$i  ja  sa  m
DP puppy DET CL tell AVM

(33)
yi  $n$ o  qo  lo  lo  ts$a  p$e  $c$ y  ro
cattle stable inside GOAL hide went PT

(34)

n$i$  m$i$  r$o$  te  ta  h$u$  te
heart LOC DP tonight DP

(35)
go  d$b$  da  k$e$  ma  s$e$  ro  $n$ u
what happen come FT NEG know PT say/think

Then, the (son) went inside the cattle stable to hide like the puppy said.'

Then, the (son) went inside the cattle stable to hide like the puppy said.'

(小孩)按小狗说的藏到牛圈里面去。

什么 出 来 未时 否定 知道 去时 说/想
(36)
ka yi nọ ro tso pə́ ta
DP cattle stable LOC hide EXT

连词 牛 圈 位格 藏 存在

'In (his) heart, (he) thought "(It is unknown) what will come and happen tonight," and hid in the cattle stable loft.'

(小孩) 藏在牛圈楼上，心里想: “今晚不知道会出什么事呀!”

(37)
a za za m na hū dzy ro
slow AVM dark come PT

慢慢 副标 天黑 来 去时

'Slowly darkness came.'

天慢慢地(变)黑了。

(38)
tʰi tʰbu te tʰo ro mi tʰi ja te puŋ puŋ m
DET moment DP tʰo ro mi DET CL DP OP OP AVM

限词 时 连词 措容米 限词 量词 连词 拟声 拟声 副标

(39)
ny ny la ha zy o zy m dzy ro ji le
breast OTM here thrash there thrash AVM come PT say MP

奶/乳房 宾标 这儿 打 那儿 打 副标 来 去时 说 语气
'(It was) said (that) at this moment, tsʰo₁¹ ro⁴⁴ mi₁¹ used (her) breasts to thrash here and thrash there and came.'

这时候, 措容米一边用(她那对长长的)乳房到处打, 一边(往牛圈里冲)来。

(40)

\[
yi \qo qʰo bo tay qʰæ le qo lo lo dzy ro
\]
cattle stable door break DP inside GOAL come PT

 למרות זה היאＮｎＧｉזＡｎＡｎＧWithContext: 里面
牛圈门打破连词里面目词来去时

'(tsʰo₁¹ ro⁴⁴ mi₁¹) broke the cattle stable door and came inside.'

(措容米)打破牛圈门(冲)了进来。

(41)

\[
qo lo lo dzy te yi ni
\]
inside GOAL come DP cattle ERG

牛圈门打破连词来里面目词牛作格

(42)

\[
u nu ta ə ko ə ta nu ko
\]
you butt I give I butt you give

你抵撞我给我抵撞你给
(43) m mendte li pæ ro
AVM dawn come DP back run PT
副标 天亮 连词 回 跑 去时

'(tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) came inside and was butted by the cattle from one to another and (tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) ran back (when) dawn came.'

进来后, 被牛(用角)抵来抵去, 天亮时跑了回去。

(44) zi thi ja dzọ ga pæ pæ do dzọ nda ly tsʰo ka
son DET CL lunch rice ball big very one press DP
儿子 限词 量词 午饭 米饭团 大 很 一 捏/做 连词

(45) mæ ti ni te jo jo yi na qʰo ræ lu cy ro so
next one day DP together livestock herd went PT again
以后 一 天 连词 一起 牛羊 放 去 去时 又

'Next day, the son pressed one very big lunch rice ball and (the boy and puppy) went to herd livestock together again.'

第二天, 小孩子做了一个大大的米饭团, 又(跟小狗)一起去放牛羊了。
The son divided one half of the rice ball down to the puppy to eat and said, "What will (we) do tonight?" and tears streamed (from his eyes).
The puppy said, "Don't be scared, don't be scared and, don't cry; tonight, you go hide inside the horse stable."

'That night, (the son) also, like the puppy said, went to the horse stable to hide.'

今晚, (小孩)还是照小狗说的藏到马圈里面去了。
'That night, also like the night before, (tsʰ’o ro mi tʰi ja na hũ tʰu te), when (it was) dark, used (her) very long pair of breasts to thrash here and thrash there and came inside the horse stable again.'

今晚, 天黑的时候, 措容米也像昨晚一样, 一边用那双长长的乳房到处打, 一边往马圈里(冲)来。
'The son was (so) scared that he didn't even dare to breathe a breath.'

孩子害怕得连气都不敢出。

(57)
\[
\text{ts}^\text{bo ro mi t}^\text{hi ja ha şo ta m mo ni ts}^\text{bu li tô c}
\]

'The \text{ts}^\text{bo} \text{ro mi} \text{DET} \text{CL} \text{still} \text{like this} \text{horse ERG} \text{kick back} \text{SUF-COM}'

措容米 限词 量词 还是 这样 马 作格 踢 回 后体

措容米还是这样被马踢(来踢去的, 天亮时)回去了。

(58)
\[
\text{mæ ti ni te } t^\text{jo ni ky jo q}^\text{bo va qæ na jo jo}
\]

'\text{next one day DP they two CL friend other and with}'

以后 一 天 他们 俩 量词 朋友 别的 和 跟随

(59)
\[
\text{le yi na q}^\text{bo ræ lu çy ro so}
\]

'\text{DP livestock herd went PT again}'

连词 牛羊 看/放 去 去时 又

第二天, 他俩又跟别的朋友一起去放牛羊了。
The son quickly divided the rice ball and gave the bigger half down (to the puppy) to eat and asked again, "Friend, tonight, what will (I) do?"

小孩立即分了一大半米饭团给它吃，又问道："朋友，今晚该怎么办呢？"
The puppy unworriedly said, "Don't be scared, don't be scared, tonight you go inside the sheep stable to hide."

小狗却不慌不忙地说：‘别害怕, 别害怕, 今晚你到羊圈里面去藏。’
'After (they) finished collecting back the livestock, (the son) went, like the puppy said, inside the sheep stable to hide.'

把牛羊收回去后, 按小狗说的藏到羊圈里面去。

(68)

a za za m na hũ dzy tʰu te tʃh o ro mi tʰi ja
slow AVM dark come when DP tʃh o ro mi DP CL

(69)

ha şə ta m dzy ro sə
still like this come PT again

(70)

tʃh o ro mi jo ɾo qʰo bo tʰy qʰæ le qo lo lo dzy te
tʃh o ro mi sheep stable door break DP inside GOAL come DP

(71)

jo ni nu ta ɾa ko ɾa ta nu ko
sheep ERG you butt I give I butt you give

'When darkness slowly came, the tʃh o₁¹ ro₄⁴ mi₁¹ still came again like this (as before).'

天慢慢地变黑的时候, 措容米还是像以前一样来了。
(72)

'The tsʰoᵲ ro⁴ mᵲ₁破 the sheep stable door, came inside and was butted, butted to each other by sheep and went back when dawn came.'

措容米打破羊圈门(冲进城)来时, 被羊（用头）顶来顶去, 天亮时就（跑）回去

(73)

'then, next day, after (they) finished eating a meal they two together went to herd livestock on the hill.'

第二天吃完饭后, 他俩一起到山上放牛羊去了。
'Today, he took the whole rice ball and gave (it all) down to the puppy to eat and said, "Friend, the cattle stable, horse stable and sheep stable were hid in by me, (they are) finished so, tonight, where will I go hide?" and cried.'
The puppy still said unworriedly, "Don't be scared, don't be scared and don't cry and tonight, (you) go hide in (our) family loft, then Father will come back."

小狗还是不慌不忙地说: “别害怕, 别害怕, 别哭泣, 今晚你到(我们)家的楼上去藏, 爸爸就要回来了。”
After (the son) finished closing the livestock back (up in the stables) and eating a meal, the puppy told him what (he) should do.

"In the hearth, keep the charcoal red."

“首先, 让火灶里的炭烧的旺旺的。”

^ A kʰa^ is a bamboo container woven of bamboo strips carried on the back. There are two types. The smaller is woven very tightly and used most often to carry corn and rice and to store grain. The larger basket is woven more coarsely and used to carry grass and potatoes.
'(The son) carried one pair of buckets full of water and put (them) in the loft.'

水一量词挑连词楼位格放

‘然后，挑一担水放在楼上。’
'The puppy) said, "Bolt the door tightly, and if I say, ky\text{\textsuperscript{11}} sə\text{\textsuperscript{53}} ky\text{\textsuperscript{11}} sə\text{\textsuperscript{53}}, then it is Father coming back and you open the door," (and the puppy) said, "if I say pjaŋ\text{\textsuperscript{44}} pjaŋ\text{\textsuperscript{44}}, then it is ts\text{\textsuperscript{11}}o\text{\textsuperscript{44}} ro\text{\textsuperscript{44}} mi\text{\textsuperscript{11}} coming, so don't open the door."'

"把门紧紧地顶住，如果我叫'咕嘶-咕嘶'的话是爸爸回来了，你就开门，如果我叫'表-表'的话是措容米来的（警报），(你)别开门。"

'After (they) ate a meal, the son bolted the door and hid in the loft like the puppy said.'

吃完饭后, 小孩就照小狗说的把门顶住之后藏在楼上。
At night, the puppy made the sound * pijâ pijâ*. 

晚上，那只小狗表-表-地叫了。

Then, at night, tsʰ́o raj mi⁴⁴ used (her) breasts to thrash here and thrash there and came again.'

晚上，措容米又摇动着乳房, 左右甩打着来了。
'(The door was opened by her and she came inside, then she) thought the back-basket was him (the son) and (she) was very happy.'

'(她破门而入), 以为那个背兜是他就非常高兴。'

'(The charcoal in the hearth was blown on by her and (became) red.'

'It was said (tsʰoʰ₁ roʰ₄ mi¹¹) chewed the back-basket with a qvʰ₁ 'roʰ₄ qvʰ₃ roʰ₃ sound.'

'(儿子) 从 小心 副标 水
The son carefully poured a little water onto the hearth from the loft and then (tsʰo₁₁ ro₄⁴ mi₁₁) said, "Cat, don't urinate urine, don't urinate urine, then we two (will) roast (the son's flesh) to eat together."

小孩从楼上小心地往火灶里倒了一点水，（措容米就）说: “哎，小猫眯呀，别洒尿，不洒尿的话，我俩就一起烧 (这个小孩的肉) 来吃噢!”

^ Foods such as potatoes and meat are placed directly on charcoal to cook.
Then, after the charcoal was blown on and reddened by her, the son scooped a little water and poured (it) down (into the hearth), and then (tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) said, "Don't urinate urine then we two (will) roast (the son's flesh) and eat (it)."

Like this, (tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) blew and blew and then ran back (when) dawn came.

Like this, (tsʰo¹¹ ro⁴⁴ mi¹¹) blew and blew and then ran back (when) dawn came.
Today, the son cried again.

'The puppy still unworriedly said, "Don't cry, don't cry, tonight your father will really come back."'

'Somehow the puppy was in no hurry, saying, "Don't cry, don't cry, tonight your father will really come back."'
'Then (they) collected the livestock and went back; Father carried much game and came back.'

(小孩) 把牛羊收回去时，他的爸爸背着很多猎物回来了。

(111)
zi ti j a kʰy kʰy tʰa a da ti tɕo t a k a a da
son DET CL quickly father GOAL hug DP father

儿子 限词 量词 立即 爸爸 日词 拥抱 连词 爸爸

(112)
ŋa a tʰ a ha nu li ma nd o ro ŋ u ʂu mdo by ro
I nearly you again NEG see PT say cry PT

我 差点儿 你 回/再 否定 看见 去时 说 哭泣 去时

'The son quickly hugged (his) father and said, "I nearly couldn't see you again," and cried.'

小孩立即抱住爸爸说: “爸爸, 我差点儿就没能见到你了,” 就哭了。

(113)
a da te qo tʰ o le tʰ o ro mi nda ŋ u ka y mi so
father DP angry DP tʰ o ro mi hack say/want DP ax sharp

爸爸 连词 生气 连词 措容米 砍 说/想 连词 斧头 磨

'Father was angry, wanting to hack tʰ o11 ro44 mi11 and sharpened an ax.'

爸爸生气得想砍(死)措容米, 就在磨斧头。
今晚 连词 饭 吃 以后 连词 火灶 位格 火烧

'Tonight, after eating a meal, (they) made a fire in the hearth, Father took an ax and hid behind the door.'

措容米来了，见到敞开着的门，就想“今晚能吃(到这个孩子的肉)了!”

•309•
tsʰo ro mi ʂə 赉 一 量词 门 里面 量词 踩 连词 斧头

la mi nda te be mi qa mi dza ro

It was said then that the hounds fought (with each other) for (tsʰo₁¹ ro₄⁴ mi₁¹¹'s flesh) and it was swallowed.

措容米的一只脚刚踏入门里面，(爸爸就)用斧头砍下去，(措容米)便倒在了灶下方的(地板上)。

(As soon as) one of tsʰo₁¹ ro₄⁴ mi₁¹¹'s feet stepped inside the door, (Father) took the ax and hacked down (on her foot) and (she) fell on the down-hearth.'