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A web of relations : a grammar of rGyalrong Jiăomùzú (Kyom-kyo) dialects

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TEXTS

TEXT 1

The story of A-mysis Sgo-ldong

- 1 kəsce-sce bdət əʒi ʒəŋk^ham-j la
before-RED demon our world-LOC MD:SA
Long, long ago, there was a demon in our world, right.
- 2 bdət tʃəʔ tə bdət makəndʒa na-kə-ndoʔ na-ŋos
demon this C demon terrible PFT-NOM-have PFT-be
This demon was a very terrible demon.
- 3 rə bdət tə mənəŋos nə bdət tə w-ərɲi tə bdət tə
CON demon C FIL CON demon C 3s:GEN-name C demon C
The demon, eh, the demon's name - besides the demon
- c^happa raŋliŋ kə-ɲi kə maŋɲuʔ w-andʒiʔ tə mənəŋos nə
Chap.pa Rang.ling NOM-name PR moreover 3s:GEN-friend C FIL CON
called Chap-pa Rang-ling there was his lover, eh,
- w-arjaʔp tə mənəŋos nə bdət-mo haʃaŋ makə
3s:GEN-wife C FIL CON demon-FL Hashang Make
his wife, yeah, who was a demonness called Hashang Make.
- na-kə-ɲi na-kə-ŋos 'nə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-be.called PFT-NOM-be EV-be
- 4 rə ndzamləŋ kərgi tə ɲarpo kərgi tə mənəŋos nə
CON world one C king one C FIL CON
In the whole world there was one king -
- bdət tə kə tərmu ʃi kə-ndza na-kə-ŋos-jn 'nə-ŋos
demon C PR people often NOM-eat PFT-NOM-eat-3s:HON EV-be
the demon, he devoured people all the time.

- 5 rə tərmu tə ka-ndza tʃəʔ tʃe rə rjarpo kərgi tə
 CON people C NOM-eat this LOC CON king one C
 When [the manner in which] he ate people he grabbed a king

w-əspok kə-kə-nərko-w k^honə w-əspok-j
 3s:GEN-underside²²⁸ PFT-NOM-put-3s CON 3s:GEN-underside-LOC
 and put him under his rule; he did not allow that king to be independent,

ma-ka-ngo nə ʃi-kə-jok k^honə rə w-əspok
 NEG-NOM-go.upriver CON NEG/PFT-NOM-allow CON CON 3s:GEN-underside
 so he became subservient.

kə kə-rji-jn 'nə-ŋos
 PR NOM-go-3s:HON EV-be

- 6 na-kə-ra 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-must EV-be
 The king was forced to [do so by the demon].

- 7a rə manjuʔ rjarpo kə kərgi tə ndə tə ʒik makmu narənə
 CON besides king PR one C that C also soldier and
 There was one king, who was protected to the utmost by fiercely fighting soldiers -

kac^ha kawo-j ʃi makəndʒa wu-sca ndə sok na-kə-va-jn
 left right-LOC often exceedingly 3s:GEN-likeness this manner PFT-NOM-do-3p

k^honə bdət tə wu-je ndə tə makəndʒa w-əpke na-kə-k^hut
 CON demon C 3s-POSS that C exceedingly 3s:GEN-appetite PFT-NOM-able
 [but] the demon had an exceedingly good appetite, so that he often could not eat his fill

tə k^honə ndə tə kə-c^ha ʃi menə
 C CON that C NOM-win often CON
 [and so] he often won, regrettably

²²⁸ The *təspok* is the space between the belly of a four legged animal and the ground. The word here is used in several different ways. It shows the demon as a wild animal which stands over its prey and devours it from the space between its front paws. Figuratively *təspok* also means ‘area of influence or authority’. While the demon is portrayed as a wild animal devouring prey, the reality is that he made war on many kings and usurped their territory, and so put them and their people under his own authority, in his *təspok*. Later on in the story the good king is also said to have people in his *təspok*, meaning they belong to his kingdom and are under his benevolent authority.

- 7b kəmaʔk kəmaʔk rjarpo-ni nə ma-kə-c^ha-jn
 other other king-p CON NEG-NOM-able-3p
 the other kings couldn't gain victory over him,
- ndə sok ʃi na-kə-ŋos na-ŋos
 that manner all.the.time PFT-NOM-be PFT-be
 it was like that all the time.
- 8 w-əŋk^hu? nə wot cə²²⁹ pot-j amɲi zgordən kacəs tə mənəŋos nə
 3:GEN-after CON Tibet POSS Tibet-LOC ancestor Sgo.ldong say C FIL CON
 Afterwards, the Tibetan, the Tibetan²³⁰ ancestor called Sgo-ldong,
- rənə saŋrɲi-ni kə ndə tə-ni tə mənəŋos nə əji-je tʃəʔ na
 FIL enlightened.one-p PR this C-p:HON C FIL CON 1p-POSS this down
 the honoured enlightened ones, those ones, well, to bring peace to our place here, to do
- bdewa kə-pkot ndə tə tə na-kə-sə-vu na-kə-ŋos-jn 'nə-ŋos
 peace NOM-carry that C C PFT-NOM-CAUS-come₂ PFT-NOM-be-3p:HON EV-be
 that they sent him.
- 9 rə rjarpo kərgi wu-je w-əspok-j mə'naŋos nə ndə tə
 CON king one 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-underside-LOC FIL CON that C
 One king had among his people, eh, there were a servant woman and her husband who
- jokmo narənə rənə j-apa kəpəs tə kərscaŋ-zɲi
 servant.woman and FIL 1p:HON:GEN-old.man two C eight-ten
 were already eighty years old, each one of the two was eighty years old.
- kə-vi nə kəpəs tə kərscaŋ-zɲi kaka kə-vi-ndʒ na-kə-ŋos 'nə-ŋos
 NOM-come₁ CON two C eight-ten each NOM-come₁-3d PFT-NOM-be EV-be
 The two of them were in their eighties.

²²⁹ This is a slip of the tongue. The narrator starts to say *wot cə*, from the Tibetan literary form བོད་ཀྱི, *bod kyi*, meaning 'from Tibet' or 'Tibetan'. He then corrects himself and goes on with the rGyalrong way of saying things.

²³⁰ Note that *bot-j* means 'from Tibet' as in 'from that place', indicating that Sgo-ldong was from Tibet, not from the rGyalrong area. The rGyalrong people traditionally used *kəruʔ* as their autonym, meaning 'person from the rGyalrong area'. The people from Tibetan areas were called *pot*. After the official designation of the Tibetan minority nationality in the 1950s the term *kəru* came to mean 'Tibetan' in a general sense, with no distinction of geographic region.

- 10 rənə ndə ndʒ-apu? ki kərscaŋ-zji ji-vu-ndʒ tʃə? tʃe ndʒ-apu?
 CON that 3d:GEN-child IDEF eight-ten PFT-come₂-3d this LOC 3d:GEN-child
 And then, a child - when they were eighty years old they had a child!
- ki na-kə-ndo? 'nə-ŋos
 IDEF PFT-NOM-have EV-be
- 11 ndʒ-apu? ki na-kə-ndo? tə mənəŋos nə ndə tə tə nə pot-j
 3d:GEN-child IDEF PFT-NOM-have C FIL CON that C C CON Tibet-LOC
 The child that the two [old people] had, eh, that one was the one called Tibetan
- amɲi sgoldən kacəs tə ndə tə na-ŋos-jn k^honə na-'a-sci
 ancestor Sgo.ldong say C that C PFT-be-3p:HON CON PFT-NEV-be.born
 ancestor Sgo.ldong; after he was born, [the first day] he ate a *ro*²³¹ of grain...
- w-əmp^hro tʃə? tʃe nə rənə tərgo nə kə-ro.....w-əmo w-ənu?
 3s:GEN-after this LOC CON CON grain CON one-*ro*..... 3s:GEN-mother 3s:GEN-milk
 he drank his mother's milk and immediately he ate a *ro* of grain.
- tə ka-moʔt tə k^honə tərgo kə-tʃo to-kə-ndza-w 'nə-ŋos
 C NOM-drink C CON grain one-*tʃo* PFT-NOM-eat-3s EV-be
- 12 w-əmp^hro tʃə? tʃe nə w-apso nə kəpəs ro w-apso
 3s:GEN-after this LOC CON 3s:GEN-day.after CON two *ro* 3s:GEN-day.after
 After that, the next day, he ate two *ro* of grain, and the day after that he ate three
- nə kəsam ro w-əŋk^hu? nə ndə tə sok ʃi w-əjpo
 CON three *ro* 3s:GEN-after CON that C manner continuously 3s:GEN-*əjpo*
 ro, and on and on like that, until he ate a *kəjpo*²³² [each day] and continued to do so.
- sok ʃi wurə ndə w-at^ham-j nə təndze-ŋi kərkən
 manner continuously CON:REASON that 3s:GEN-time-LOC CON food-p scarce
 On and on like that; at that time, food was scarce

²³¹ A *kəŋto* is a measure of volume like the British 'cup'. The measure is a bamboo or wooden container used predominantly to measure grain. For barley, a *kəŋto* contains one *təŋpa*, 'pound' and eight *sraŋ*, 'unit of fifty grammes', so a total of 900 grammes. Since the *kəŋto* measures volume, the weight for other grains like wheat would be different, though the volume would be the same. The measure word is *kəŋto* for one unit, and *ro* for quantities from two onwards. So the boy ate on his first day a *kəŋto* of barley, and then two *ro*, on to three *ro*, etc.

²³² A *kəjpo* is ten *ro*.

k^honə ndə k^ho w-əmo narənə w-apa-ndʒ kə wuʃo-ndʒ
 CON that LOC 3s:GEN-mother and 3s:GEN-father-3d PR 3-d
 and moreover, his mother and father were already old, right,

ʒik kəmtʃoʔk 'nə-ŋos-ndʒ k^honə la
 also old EV-be-3d CON MD:SA

- 13 ka-ʃpət mə-kə-to-c^ha-ndʒ²³³ 'nə-ŋos
 NOM-bring.up TER₁-NOM-TER₂-able-3d EV-be
 [having exhausted all possibilities] there was simply no way [left] for them to bring up
 the child.

- 14a ka-ʃpət məto-c^ha-ndʒ tʃe j-apa kə la
 NOM-bring.up TER-able-3d LOC 1p:HON:GEN-old.man PR MD:SA
 When they were no longer able to bring it up, the old man said: "Come now,

tʃəʔ tʃ-apuʔ təza tə tʃəʔ tə sok ʃi ka-ʃpət nə
 this 1d:GEN-child boy C this C manner continuously NOM-bring.up CON
 this boy child of ours, we can't continue to bring it up like this.

ma-ngrel 'nə-ŋos k^honə ʃik^ha-j c^ho ki ʃi-p^hət-dʒ ra
 NEG-be.used.to EV-be CON forest-LOC LOC:IDEF IDEF VPT-throw-1d must
 We must abandon it some place in the forest, musn't we."

mə-maʔk²³⁴ to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 Q-not.be PFT-NOM-say EV-be

- 15 rənə j-apa kə ʃik^ha-j ka-p^hət w-uspe ka-nəvlo
 CON 1p:HON:GEN-old.man PR forest-LOC NOM-throw 3s:GEN-means NOM-deceive
 Then the old man, deceit being the means for abandoning [the child] in the forest,

ro-kə-tsep-w na-kə-ŋos
 PFT:towards.mountain-NOM-take-3s PFT-NOM-be
 took [the child] along [with him].

²³³ This form has marking for terminative aspect, *məto*, with nominaliser *kə* spliced into it. This happens because the nominalisation marker *kə* can appear only in the first or second slot of a verb phrase. In the following sentence the terminative aspect marking is kept together in *məto-c^ha-ndʒ*.

²³⁴ This interrogative form carries a strong flavour of a yes-no choice. The speaker is not looking for a discussion on the matter but seeks agreement or disagreement with his position.

- 16a ka-nəvlo ro-kə-tsep-w k^honə w-əza
 NOM-deceive PFT:towards.mountain-NOM-take-3s CON 3s:GEN-son
 He deceived him and took him along; then he said to his son:
- w-əmba-j nənjo mənəjos nə tər^hu kətsə ki na-kə-ndo?
 3s:GEN-toward-LOC you FIL CON pine.tree small IDEF PFT-NOM-have
 "You," - eh, there was a small pine tree there -
- k^honə nənjo mənəjos sta tʃəʔ nə-^lju-n
 CON you FIL origin this IMP-stay-2s
 "You stay right here.
- 16b rə mənəjos nə tʃəʔ w-əna tʃəʔ tʃe ʃu p^hot-ŋ
 CON FIL CON this 3s:GEN-below this LOC firewood cut-1s
 I'll cut firewood just below here.
- 16c w-əŋk^hu? nə ʃu-ni kə-p^hot-ŋ nə ndə tə nə ʃu w-əskaʔt
 3s:GEN-after CON firewood-p NOM-cut-1s CON that C CON firewood 3s:GEN-sound
 Afterwards, when there is no longer the sound of wood being cut,
- to-^a-mi? tʃəʔ tʃe narənə ŋa jaŋve letʔ-ŋ k^honə ndə tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 PFT-NEV-not.have this LOC FIL I signal hit₁-1s CON that this LOC CON
 I will make handsignals,
- a-na-tə-^lvi-n to-kə-cəs ^lnə-ŋos
 IRR-IMP:down-2-come₁-2s PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 and at that time you should come down."
- 17a owe to-kə-cəs ^lnə-ŋos k^honə
 okay PFT-NOM-say EV-be CON
 "Okay", the boy said -
- 17b karjo ʒik pok təskaʔt-ni ʒik pok tə ndə tə to-kə-məseʔm
 talk also all language-p also all C that C PFT-NOM-understand
 he understood everything that was said
- karjo to-kə-ʃpeʔ-w na-^a-stʃi k^honə
 talk PFT-NOM-can₃-3s PFT-NEV-be:CD CON
 and he also could talk, mercy on him.

- 17c w-apa nə wurə w-əza tə ka-nəŋgli wu-je wu-tʰe
 3s:GEN-father CON CON 3s:GEN-son C NOM-deceive 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-reason
 So the way in which the father deceived his son was like this:

kə nə ʃu wu-je ʃu-mden ki ndə tə sok ʃu-mden
 PR CON firewood 3s-POSS three-branch IDEF that C manner tree-branch
 there was a tree that had a branch, a branch that was like so,

kə-ndo? w-əmba-j h-ata tʃe na ŋilək ki na-kə-jok kʰonə
 NOM-have 3s:GEN-near-LOC D-above LOC down stone IDEF PFT-NOM-hang CON
 and from it he suspended a stone, from above hanging downwards;

- 17d ŋilək ki na-kə-jok kʰonə rənə tʃə? tə sok ʃu-mden w-əmba
 stone IDEF PFT-NOM-hang CON CON this C manner tree-branch 3s:GEN-vicinity
 having hung the stone he set it swinging towards the tree trunk in such a way

sku nteŋ-ntəŋ-ntəŋ to-kə-cəs sok to-kə-sə-wa-w na-'a-ŋos
 upstream pok-pok-pok PFT-NOM-say manner PFT-NOM-CAUS-do-3s PFT-NEV-be
 that it sounded like 'pok pok pok', that's how he made it work.

- 18 w-ənge tə ʃastot kəne?k na-kə-pʰot kʰonə h-ata tʃe na ndə tə
 3s:GEN-clothes C shirt black PFT-NOM-tear CON D-up LOC down that C
 He tore up his black shirt

ʃu-wo na ndə kərek na-kə-jok-w na-'a-ŋos
 tree-head down that one PFT-NOM-hang-3s PFT-NEV-be
 and hung it from the top of the tree.

- 19a tʃə? ŋ-apa tə tʃə?-pu nə ʃu kə-pʰot nə kə-sa-ʃi
 this 1s:GEN-father C this-now CON firewood NOM-cut CON NOM-CAUS-know
 The boy thought: "This father of mine, he is now chopping wood; [but] the

w-əska?t kə to-mi? kʰonə tʰi 'nə-ŋos
 3s:GEN-sound PR IMPF-not.have CON what EV-be
 sound by which I know he is chopping wood is no longer there; so now what?

- 19b pəʃkʰa ndə 'na-cəs kʰonə kərek ʃi-natso-ŋ 'na-ra to-kə-səso-w
 just.now that OBS-say CON one VPT-see-1s OBS-need PFT-NOM-think-3s
 He told me about this just now, I must go and have a look.

- 19c na-rji tʃəʔ tʃe nə rə tamk^hu kəneʔk tə mənəŋos nə jaŋve tə
PFT-go₂ this LOC CON CON cloth black C FIL CON signal C
When he went down - the black cloth, since there was wind the signal
- k^halu kə to-kə-va-w k^honə tʃəʔ sok vej-vej-vej-vej to-kə-cəs
wind PR PFT-NOM-do-3s CON this manner flap-flap-flap-flap PFT-NOM-say
was waving about, making a sound like flap flap flap flap -
- k^honə tamk^hu w-arna-j kərek na-kə-məndə na-'a-ŋos
CON cloth 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC one PFT-NOM-arrive PFT-NEV-be
he arrived underneath the cloth.
- 20 to-miʔ tʃəʔ tʃe nə ndə w-əŋk^huʔ nə pəʒur w-asta
PSTIMP-not.have this LOC CON that 3s:GEN-after CON again 3s:GEN-origin
When he found that [his father] was not there, after that he went back up to the place he
- sto to-kə-nəjwa na-'a-ŋos
upwards PFT-NOM-return PFT-NEV-be
had come from.
- 21a w-asta to-kə-nəjwa k^honə tər^hu w-apa-j na-kə-ŋi
3s:GEN-origin PFT-NOM-return CON pine.tree 3s:GEN-below-LOC PFT-NOM-stay
He returned to the place where he had come from and stayed near the pine tree.
- 21 k^honə ndə k^honə pəʒu patʃu mda ki nə-kə-bzok pəʒu patʃu sta
CON that CON mouse bird spear IDEF PFT-NOM-carve mouse bird origin
Then he carved a spear that could kill a mouse or a bird.
- ka-sat na-kə-saʒa-w kə rə ʃiru kalaʔ ka-sat
NOM-kill PFT-NOM-begin-3s PR CON pheasant rabbit NOM-kill
He began to kill animals for food, starting with mice and birds, then moving on to
- na-kə-saʒa-w o
PFT-NOM-begin-3s MD:CF
killing pheasants and rabbits for food too.
- 22 w-əmp^hro tʃəʔ tʃe nə rə kəmənk^huʔ nə to-kə-k^hut tə k^honə
3s:GEN-after this LOC CON CON in.the.end CON PFT-NOM-can C CON
Afterwards, eventually, having mastered the skill of hunting, he began

karts^he kərek kənes kəsam kəpdu ndə tə sok ʃi ka-sat
 deer one two three four that C manner often NOM-kill
 killing one, two, three or four deer, often like that, for food you see.

na-kə-sa-ʃa-w 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-CAUS-begin-3s EV-be

- 23 karts^he kəmənkh^hu? nə..... karts^he kəngu tərph^hu ʒənder.....w-ap^hispok-j...
 deer in.the.end CON deer nine pine.tree huge 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC...
 In the end the deer, ..eh, nine deer and logs of a tree.... under his arm...

tərph^hu ʒənder kəngu ʃu ka-rko manʃu? w-ap^hispok-j
 pine.tree huge nine firewood NOM-put moreover 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC
 he put nine logs for firewood under his armpit and under his other arm, eh, he put

mənaŋos nə karts^he kəngu w-əngem tə w-ap^hispok-j ka-rko
 FIL CON deer nine 3s:GEN-dead.body C 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC NOM-put
 the carcasses of nine deer and in such a way he was able to survive.

ndə sok w-ərsca tə kə to-kə-c^ha na-kə-ŋos 'nə-ŋos
 that manner 3s:GEN-likeness C PR PFT-NOM-able PFT-NOM-be EV-be

- 24 a rʃarpo kərgi nə nde w-əŋkh^hu-j nə h-ana-j rə təjzə²³⁵
 ah king one CON that 3s:GEN-back-LOC CON D-below-LOC CON muster
 Well then, after that, a king down in the valley called the people together.

na-kə-sə-va-w na-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-CAUS-do-3s PFT-be

- 25 a tʃə? tə bdət tə kə sok jɪi-ŋo pəʒək sok wu-vəravlak-j loskizik
 ah this C demon C PR manner we:i-p again manner 3/1-exterminate-1p for.sure
 "Ah, this here demon again is sure to destroy us

²³⁵ A *təjzə* is a celebratory meeting specifically connected to victory over an enemy. The word here is used in anticipation, since the victory over the demon has not been won yet. But since the rGyalrong New Year is said to be the commemoration of this victory the word *təjzə* is at the root of the festival and thus imported into this story. I have chosen here to translate it *muster* because the battle against the demon is still forthcoming and the people are gathered to prepare for it.

k^honə t^hi ka-va me nə ndə k^hormanj stamce-ce tə
 CON what NOM-do CON CON that people all-RED C
 what to do? All the people need to get

təjzə ki ka-va ra to-ka-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 muster IDEF NOM-do need PFT-NOM:HON-say EV-be
 together and be mustered," he said.

- 26 k^hormanj stamce təjzə ki to-va-jn tʃəʔ tʃe ndə j-əmo
 people all muster IDEF PFT-do-3p this LOC that 1p:HON:GEN-mother
 When all the people came together for the muster, that old man and the old woman,

narə j-apa-ndʒ kə h-ardo tapt^hə tʃe na-kə-ŋi
 and 1p:HON:GEN-father-3d PR D-towards.river low.place LOC PFT-NOM-sit
 the two of them sat at the lower end.²³⁶

- 27a rə wastop skarme ki 'na-kəsna tso-jn nə wastop skarme
 CON very star IDEF OBS-good see-3p:HON CON very star
 Then they laboured to get a good divination done. When the excellent divination

'na-kəsna tso-jn tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 OBS-good see-3p:HON this LOC CON
 was in progress, [the astrologer] said:

- 27b a j-əmo j-apa ki kərsat-zʃi kə-vi
 ah 1p:HON:GEN-mother 1p:HON:GEN-father IDEF eight-ten NOM-come
 "There are an old mother and an old father who are already in their eighties,

ki makəndʒa tavlu kəktu ki kə-vi ndʒ-apu? ki
 IDEF very age big IDEF NOM-come₁ 3d-child IDEF
 who are very very old indeed and who gave birth to a child.

na-kə-sci ki 'na-ndo?
 PFT-NOM-give.birth IDEF OBS-have

²³⁶ Traditionally in rGyalrong culture people are seated according to their social status and rank. The old parents had no status because they were very poor and had no rank in the king's court. They were seated at the far or lower end of the king's hall.

27c ndə tə tə kə tʃəʔ tə bdət tə ndə kə ka-pter mə-ji-c^ha nə
 that C C PR this C demon C that PR NOM-break²³⁷ COND-NEG/PFT-able CON
 If that child is not able to completely destroy that demon,

 ndə k^honə kə-c^ha miʔ-jn to-ka-cəs
 that CON NOM-able not.have-3p PFT-NOM/HON-say
 then no one else can. He is the only one."

28 tsopa-ni kə wastop skarme ki na-kə-tso-w w-əŋk^huʔ-j
 diviner-p:HON PR very star IDEF PFT-NOM-look-3s 3s:GEN-after-LOC
 That's what the diviner said after he had done a very careful divination.

 k^honə ndə to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 CON that PFT-NOM-say EV-be

29a²³⁸ rənə k^hormaŋ stamee to-ka-sə-bzə k^honə ndə tʃe nə
 CON people all PFT-NOM/HON-CAUS-call.together CON that LOC CON
 At at that time, when the people had all been called together, they said over and over

29b j-əmo j-apa-ndʒ nəŋʂo n-apuʔ
 1s:HON:GEN-mother 1p:HON:GEN-father-3d you 2s:GEN-child
 again: "Mother, father, what is your child like? What is your child like? What is your

 t^hi sok ndoʔ nəŋʂo n-apuʔ t^hi sok ndoʔ nəŋʂo n-apuʔ
 what manner have you 2s:GEN-child what manner have you 2s:GEN-child
 child like? [And they] continuously said: "What is really the case [about this child];

²³⁷ The verb *kapter* means 'break' in the sense of 'causing to be obedient or accept a ruler', as of 'breaking a horse'.

²³⁸ The following passage in the story gives the excited responses of the villagers to the pronouncement of the diviner. They know there is only one such old couple in their midst but have no idea about the existence of a child. They cluster around the old people and ask them incessantly (29). The old man answers that he got rid of the child a few years ago (30a). While the exchange with the villagers is going on the diviner, who does not know the couple, but is interested in the commotion, comes to see what is the matter (30b). Hearing the conversation, he concludes that this is the old couple indicated in his calculation, and that their child must be the one who can defeat the demon (30c). One of the more challenging aspects of rGyalrong narratives and conversation is that so many actors are not explicitly mentioned. In this passage, for instance, it is not at all clear who comes towards the old couple. Only the internal logic of the story – the fact that just before the hubbub caused by the villagers the diviner was the focus of the story – helps make the choice of the diviner as the person addressing the old couple in 30c.

t^hi sok ndo? t^hi sok ndo? ʃi t^hi to-kə-psok
 what manner have what manner have continuously what PFT-NOM-like
 what is the story?” – over and over (well eh) “what’s the story?” they said [in a way

ɲos ʃi (ndə tə wurə) t^hi to-kə-psok ɲos to-ka-cəs
 be continuously (that C CON) what PFT-NOM-like be PFT-NOM-say
 that demanded an answer], all of the people spoke like that to the ones who were sitting

- 29c k^honə w-əŋk^hu? ndə tə wu-je təpə
 CON 3s:GEN-behind that C 3s-POSS all.of.the.people
 there in the back.

- 30a rə ndɾamən kəsam kəbdu to-kə-pa 'na-ɲos nə ndə tapu?
 CON a.while three four PFT-NOM-year OBS-be CON that child
 “It’s been about three or four years, my getting rid of that child, about

ro-ka-ʃi-p^hət tə ndə tə ndə sok to-kə-pa
 PFT:to.mountain-NOM-VPT-throw C that C that manner PFT-NOM-year
 that many years have passed.

'na-ɲos k^honə
 OBS-be CON

- 30b ndə j-əmo j-apa ndʒ-əmba-j
 that 1p:HON:GEN-mother 1s:HON:GEN-father 3d:GEN-proximity-LOC
 [The diviner], when he came to where the old couple was,

rə-məndə tʃə? tʃe nə ndə tʃe na
 PFT:to.river-arrive this LOC CON that LOC down
 said to them:

- 30c a nənʒo ndə sok kə-vi tə wu-rtəs makəndɾa ndə k^honə
 ah 2s that manner NOM-come₁ C 3s:GEN-number different that CON
 “Well, the outcome of the calculation [of the divination] is amazing.

ndʒənʒo ndʒ-apu? kə-ŋər kə-ndo? 'nə-mi? k^honə ndʒənʒo
 2d 2d:GEN-child NOM-change NOM-have EV-not.have CON 2d
 your son, there is no doubt about it, your child is a king,

ndʒ-apu? rʒarpo ki 'nə-ŋos kʰonə ndʒənʒo ndʒa-pu? ka-vi
 2d-child king IDEF EV-be CON 2d 2d-child NOM-come
 and he must come [you must produce him]."

ra to-ka-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 need PFT-NOM/HON-say EV-be

- 31a rənə a ndə tʃəno tʃ-apu? nə kəsce-sce tʃəʔ-pu
 CON ah that 1d 1d:GEN-child CON before-RED here-now
 The old couple said: "Ah, yes, our child – some three or four years ago

kəsam kəpdu to-kə-pa sci kʰonə tʃ-apu? nə kə-ndo? mi?
 three four PFT-NOM-year be.born CON 1d:GEN-child CON NOM-have not.have
 a child was born to us but now we don't have a child.

- 31b kə-mi?
 NOM-not.have
 No we don't at all.

- 31c wu-tʃʰe kə-ndo? mi? kʰonə tʰi ʒik a ka-ʃi-naro
 3s:GEN-information NOM-have not.have CON what also ah NOM-VPT-search
 We have no information, no idea about this child, no clue as to where one, ah,

wu-spe nə kə-ndo? mi? to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 3s-material CON NOM-have not.have PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 should go to look for it."

- 32 rʒarpo kə kə-mi? ma-kə-kʰut ʃi ma-ka-vi ma-kə-jok
 king PR NOM-not.have NEG-NOM-can MD:THR NEG-NOM-come NEG-NOM-allow
 Then the king said: "You can't not have him, or else... It is not allowed for him

ʃi to-ka-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 MD:THR PFT-NOM/HON-say EV-be
 not to be produced, or there will be consequences."

- 33 rənə kʰonə j-apa nə wu-kə-naro
 CON CON 1s:HON:GEN-father CON 3s:GEN-NOM-search
 So the father had no choice but to go and look for the child.

ro-kə-r̥ji 'na-kə-ra na-'a-ŋos
 PFT:to.mountain-NOM-go₂ OBS-NOM-need PFT-NEV-be

- 34 j-apa nə wu-kə-naro ro-kə-r̥ji
 1s:HON:GEN-father CON 3s:GEN-NOM-search PFT:to.mountain-NOM-go₂
 So the father went to look for him.

k^honə w-aka tʃəʔ tʃe nə ndə tə w-əmba-j
 CON 3s:GEN-bottom this LOC CON that C 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC
 At the place from before, when he arrived at that place

ro-məndə tʃəʔ tʃe nə j-apa nə k^honə
 PFT:to.mountain-arrive this LOC CON 1p:HON:GEN-old.man CON CON
 the old man – now, beside [that place] there was a pile of bones like this,

o w-arnam-j ʃarə rərep tə tʃəʔ tə sok təjeʔm kəpsok kəktu
 MD:CF 3s:GEN-side-LOC bone pile C this C manner house similar big
 as big as a house; bones of the purest white piled up in a great expanse

ʃarə rərep kəpraʔm zijok-zijok sa kə rərep
 bone pile white EXP:bright.and.expansive earth PR pile
 on the ground - there was someone there who had made that pile!

to-ka-səva na-kə-ndoʔ na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-do PFT-NOM-have PFT-NEV-be

- 35 a tʃəʔ tə nəŋjo n-əza tə wu-kə-ndza tə w-arnam tʃəʔ
 ah this C you 2s:GEN-son C 3s:GEN-NOM-eat C 3s:GEN-side this
 [The old father said to himself:] "Oh, this one....the one who ate your son....

tə ʃarə rərep kə-sə-va tə nəŋjo n-əza tə to-kə-ndza ʃi k^honə
 C bone pile NOM-CAUS-do C you 2s:GEN-son C PFT-NOM-eat MD:HON CON
 the one who made this pile of bones here to the side, he surely ate your son.

t^hi a-to-va-ŋ ŋə-ka-tsep nə kə-ndoʔ miʔ k^honə
 what IRR-PFT-do-1s 1s:GEN-NOM-take CON NOM-have not. have CON
 What to do? There is nothing for me to bring home!" he was convinced.

to-kə-so
 PFT-NOM-think

- 36 j-apa nə makəndʒa to-kə-nəsu to-kə-ʒdar
 1s:HON:GEN-old.man CON very PFT-NOM-believe PFT-NOM-afraid₂
 The old man very much believed [that his son had been eaten] and was terribly scared

na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NEV-be
 [that the king would punish him for not delivering the boy].

- 37 rə tərphu w-awo-j to-kə-rji kʰonə wamo
 CON pine.tree 3s:GEN-top-LOC PFT-NOM-go₂ CON what.on.earth
 Nevertheless he climbed to the top of the tree – “I’ll have a look at whatever is

tʰi sok 'nə-ŋos kərek natso-ŋ kʰonə tərphu w-awo sto
 what manner OBS-be one see-1s CON pine.tree 3s:GEN-top upwards
 coming!” - so he climbed up to the top of the tree,

to-kə-rji kʰonə w-awo mdzo-j w-əla-j to-kə-rji
 PFT-NOM-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-top tip-LOC 3s:GEN-middle-LOC PFT-NOM-go₂
 to the centre of the top of the tree he went, and from there he kept on looking down

ndə na rənə ana-j kə-vi tə ʃi
 that downwards CON below-LOC NOM-come₁ C continuously
 to see who would come below.

na-kə-natso na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-see PFT-NEV-be

- 38 kərek ji-vu tʃə? tʃe nə satʃʰe ka-sadəkdek
 one PFT-come₂ this LOC CON earth NOM-shake
 Right at the approach of someone below, the earth began to shake.

w-apʰispok-j kə-təcu mənəŋos nə tərphu ʒənder kəngu ʃu
 3s:GEN-earmpit-LOC one-opening FIL CON pine.tree huge nine wood
 Under his one arm, really, he had nine logs of firewood and

na-kə-ndo? manʃu? kə-təcu mənəŋos nə kartsʰe kəngu
 PFT-NOM-have moreover one-opening FIL CON deer nine
 under his other arm he had nine dead deer;

w-əngem tə w-ap^hispok-j kə-təcu ndə tə sok na-kə-kcar
 3s:GEN-dead.body C 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC one-opening that C manner PFT-NOM-carry
 under his arms, like that,

ndi ji-kə-vu k^honə tər^hu kəngu ʃu tə
 towards.speaker PFT-NOM-come₂ CON pine.tree nine wood C
 he came up carrying all that;

to-kə-plu-w k^honə w-ərka-j karts^he kəngu tə kə ka-sa-pu
 PFT-NOM-burn-3s CON 3:GEN-top-LOC deer nine C PR NOM-CAUS-roast
 he made a fire of the nine logs and roasted the nine deer on it,

rənə to-kə-ndza-w na-'a-ŋos
 CON PFT-NOM-eat-3s PFT-NEV-be
 and then he ate.

- 39 to-ʃkut tʃəʔ tʃe nə a h-ata nə w-əsto-j
 PFT-finish.meal this LOC CON ah D-above CON 3s:GEN-lap-LOC
 When he had finished eating -

makəndʒa to-kə-ʒdar k^honə w-aʃcu ʒik nə-kə-ʃlak na-'a-ŋos
 very PFT-NOM -afraid₂ CON 3s:GEN-pee also PFT-NOM-drip PFT-NEV-be
 you see, the one up above was so terribly scared that he pissed in his pants,

wə-ʒdar kə
 3s:GEN-afraid₂ PR:REASON
 because of his fear.

- 40 w-apa nə wə-ʒdar kə w-aʃcu nə-ʃlak tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 3s:GEN-father CON 3s:GEN-afraid₂ PR:REASON 3s:GEN-pee PFT-drip this LOC CON
 While his father was so scared that he wet his pants,

w-əza w-ajiʔk w-əŋk^huʔ təʃuʔ c^hot c^hot c^hot kə-cəs kə
 3s:GEN-son 3s:GEN-back 3s:GEN-back water pling pling pling NOM-say PR
 water came spashing pling pling pling onto the back of his son's hand.

na-kə-vu na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-come₂ PFT-NEV-be

- 41 rə a t^{hi}i kə-ŋos menə to-kə-so
 CON ah what NOM-be CON PFT-NOM-think
 "What on earth is the matter here?" he thought.
- 42 kərek to-natso-w tʃəʔ tʃe nə ndə tʃe nə w-apa
 one PFT:up-look-3s this LOC CON that LOC CON 3s:GEN-father
 When he looked up, just then, he saw the one who was just then sitting up there!
- h-ata tʃəʔ tʃe kə-ŋi tə na-kə-məto-w na-'a-ŋos
 D-above this LOC NOM-sit C PFT-NOM-see-3s PFT-NEV-be
- 43a a ŋ-apa ŋə-tə-ŋos-n k^honə kərek na-'vi-n
 ah 1s:GEN-father 1s-2-be-2s CON one IMP:down-come₁-2s
 "Hey, my father, it's you! Come on down.
- 43b tawo ʒik ʒa-ŋa-məmtə-dʒ k^honə aha tʃəʔ ʒə-nipa ʒa
 before also NEG/PFT-REC-see-1d CON INT this NEG/PFT-well MD:SUP
 We didn't see each other before; oh dear, this really wasn't done very well,"
- to-kə-cəs k^honə
 PFT-NOM-say CON
 he said.²³⁹
- 43c rənə apa ndə na-'vi-n t^{hi}i ʒik təʒder ma-ra
 CON father that IMP:down-come₁-2s what also fear NEG-need
 And then, "Father, come on down, there is no need at all to have any fear.
- 43d ŋa n-əza ŋos-ŋ
 1s 2s:GEN-son be-1s
 I'm your son.
- 43e rə w-aka tʃəʔ tʃe ndə na-kə-pso ŋos ndə sok
 CON 3s:GEN-before this LOC that PFT-NOM-compare be that manner
 The way it was before,

²³⁹ This sentence expresses the son's embarrassment about not noticing his father up in the tree earlier, before he ate all the meat, leaving nothing for his father. It is a good example of rGyalrong hospitality: any host would be mortified at having unexpected guests and finding himself unable to provide even the smallest refreshment for them.

r̥jarə nə ɛji-je kəsce como ka-cəs na-kə-ŋgrel
 meat CON 1p-POSS before *como* NOM-say PFT-NOM-be.used.to
 meat – we used to say ‘*como*’²⁴⁰ –

ndə w-əngu tʃəʔ tʃe wuvjot ki rə-kə-kʰit kʰonə
 that 3s:GEN-inside this LOC much IDEF PFT:toward. river-NOM-pull CON
 he pulled lots of meat from there [between his teeth];

46 rə r̥jarə nə la wuvjot to-kə-ndza-w 'nə-ŋos
 CON meat CON MD:SA much PFT-NOM-eat-3s EV-be
 [A-myis Sgo-ldong] you see ate lots of meat; [and he pulled enough from between his

47 w-apa nə kəndzət e tʃəʔ sok kəndzət me la
 3s:GEN-father CON a.tiny.bit eh this like a.tiny.bit only MD:SA
 teeth to fill a *como*, so that] his father could eat no more than only

ka-ndza ʃi-kə-cʰa na-'a-ʃci
 NOM-eat NEG/PFT-NOM-able PFT-NEV-be:CD
 the smallest amount [of it], more's the pity.

48 tawo w-əʃwa na-kə-nakjok tə la ndə wu-je sto
 before 3s:GEN-tooth PFT-NOM-pick.one's.teeth C MD:SA that 3s-POSS up
 The meat that he had picked out from between his teeth before, he pulled out

ndə sok kərjik rə-kə-kʰit na-'a-stʃi
 that manner EXP:a.big.pile PFT:towards.river-NOM-pull PFT-NEV-be:CD
 before his father in such a huge pile – mercy -

kʰonə ndə.kʰo kəndzət me nə kandza ʃi-kə-cʰa
 CON no.way.but a.tiny.bit only CON eat NEG/PFT-NOM-able
 that he had no way to eat but only a tiny little bit of it.

²⁴⁰ A *como* is a tray or trough shaped implement fashioned from a hollowed out block of wood used for kneading dough or butter. It has a volume of about ten liters. Nomadic herders used them because they were movable. rGyalrong farmers now usually have fold-up tables that are built into a wall of the communal kitchen for preparing dough.

49a a ŋ-əza c^hasumtʃ^he rjarpo kə nə ŋa nə
 ah 1s:GEN-boy please²⁴¹ king PR CON I CON
 "My dear boy, please, the king - I

tʃəʔ tə sok kə-tə-ndoʔ-n nə t^hi ʒik ma-'nə-ʃi-ŋ k^honə
 this C manner NOM-2-have-2s CON what also NEG-OBS-know-1s CON
 had no idea whatsoever that you were [still] alive like this -

49b rjapo kə nə tʃəʔ tə rə nənjo nə-je kərscaŋ-zji
 king PR CON this C CON you 2s-POSS eight-ten
 the king said this, that you, the son of old people in their eighties,

ji-mo-ji-pa kə-ŋu tə kərscaŋ-zji kə-vi-jn
 1s:HON:GEN-mother-1s:HON:GEN-father NOM-stay C eight-ten NOM-come₁-2p
 the child of you two old people in their eighties -

tʃəʔ tʃe ndʒ-apuʔ kə ndə tə tə mənəŋos nə ndə tə tə bdət tə wu-je
 this LOC 2d-child PR that C C FIL CON that C C demon C 3s-POSS
 really, he is the one who is able to destroy the demon;

wu-kə-pter kə-c^ha tə nə ndə tə me nə kə-maʔk
 3s:GEN-NOM-destroy NOM-able C CON that C only CON NOM-not.be
 Except for him, there is no one else [who can do it].

kə-ndoʔ miʔ na-cəs-jn k^honə
 NOM-have not.have PFT-say-1s:HON CON

49c ŋa nə tʃəʔ-pu tʃəʔ sok kə-tə-ndoʔ-n kə-ŋos nə ma-'nə-ʃi-ŋ
 I CON this-now this manner NOM-2-have-2s NOM-be CON NEG-OBS-know-1s
 I had no idea about your being alive

k^honə
 CON

50 w-əŋk^huʔ-j nə kə-tə-ndoʔ-jn sok rə
 3s:GEN-back-LOC CON NOM-2-have-2s:HON manner CON
 And then - I had no idea that you were still alive in this manner -

²⁴¹ Professor Āwàng spells this word སྐྱལ་སྤྱུ་མཆོ (skyabs su mche) in his lexicon of the bTshanlha dialect. The term can be used either to request a favour, like 'please' or as an expression of gratitude, 'thank you' and normally occurs in situations that call for respectful terms of address.

ma-'nə-ʃi-ŋ kʰonə ma-ka-va-naro-n nə ma-'nə-jok
 NEG-OBS-know-1s CON NEG-NOM-VPT-look.for-1/2 CON NEG-OBS-allow
 I had no option but to come and search for you;

r̥jarpo kəpke 'nə-ŋos kʰonə nə-kə-naro
 king authority EV-be CON 2s:GEN-NOM-look.for
 the king is the law so I came to look for you.

ro-vu-ŋ
 PFT:to.mountain-come₂-1s

- 51 h-ardu rə mənəŋos nə rənə ma-kə-vi-n nə ma-kə-jok ju
 D-below CON FIL CON FIL NEG-NOM-come₁-2s CON NEG-NOM-allow MD:C
 Over there in the valley...eh, well, you absolutely must come

stʃi na-cəs
 be:CD PFT-say
 he said over and over again.

- 52 ha ndə mənəŋos nə rtsamko ki ndə tə tə rə-'tsep-w
 well that FIL CON rtsam.pa.bag IDEF that C C IMP:to.river-take-2s
 Ok, well, [said the son,] take this here rtsam-pa bag.

- 53 w-əŋkʰu? manju? mənəŋos nə ə tangor kəŋgu mpʰjar tərscoḱ
 3s:GEN-back besides FIL CON eh side.of.fat nine CL *tərscoḱ*
 And you must also, eh, have a *tərscoḱ*²⁴² made of nine sides of pork fat with the

ka-sə-tʃop ra
 INF-CAUS-sew need
 skin still on it.

- 54 ə tartsi kəŋgu mpʰjar w-artu ka-sə-tʃop ra
 eh lard nine CL 3s:GEN-hat INF-CAUS-sew need
 [And] eh you must have a hat made of nine sheets of lard.

- 55 manju? mənəŋos nə ʃam-rstʃa? pərja-kərscaṭ-zji tərpa kətʰot
 besides FIL CON iron-claw hundred-eight-ten pound full.measure
 Besides you need to make a rake²⁴³, one that weighs fully

²⁴² A *tərscoḱ* is a traditional Tibetan robe made of skins worn with the leather side out and the fleece on the inside.

wu-je ʃam-ʃtʰat ki ka-va ra
 3s-POSS iron-claw IDEF INF-make need
 one hundred and eighty pounds.

- 56 ʃam-to mənəŋos nə pərʃa-kərscat-zʃi tərpa ki kətʰot
 iron-hammer FIL CON hundred-eight-ten pound IDEF full.measure
 [And] you have to make an iron hammer that weighs fully one hundred and eighty

wu-je wu-ʃam-to ki ka-va ra
 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-iron-hammer IDEF INF-make need
 pounds.

- 57 ʒonpjak²⁴⁴ mənəŋos nə pərʃa-kərscat-zʃi tərpa kətʰot
 shovel FIL CON hundred-eight-ten pound full.measure
 [and] a shovel that weighs fully one hundred and eighty pounds.

wu-je wu-ʒonpjak ki ka-va ra
 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-shovel IDEF INF-make need

- 58 tʃəʔ tə w-əŋkʰuʔ tʃəʔ tʃe tʃəʔ tə ŋə-rtse-kʰok tə mənəŋos nə
 this C 3s:GEN-back this LOC this C 1s:GEN-deer-bag C FIL CON
 After that, you have to fill up my deerskin meat bag

ŋə-candru ʃa-kʰok tə ndə tə w-əngu tʃəʔ tʃe rənə
 1s:GEN-deerskin meat-bag C that C 3s:GEN-in this LOC CON
 with lots of rtsam-pa.

təskar wuvjot ki ka-rko ra ə
 rtsam.pa much IDEF INF-put need eh

²⁴³ There is a pun here. The word for ‘rake’, *ʃamkʰret*, literally means ‘iron claw’. Later in the story A-myis Sgo-ldong will have a contest in clawing. The demon only has his own claw of flesh and blood but A-myis Sgo-ldong uses his ‘iron claw’ and wins. Throughout the contests A-myis Sgo-ldong uses giant versions of tools and implements intimately familiar from rGyalrong farmers’ daily life. In this way the story shows that with inventivity and enterprise simple farming folk can overcome adversity and misfortune and affirms the farmer’s identity and values. For more on the central role of the A-myis Sgo-ldong story in rGyalrong culture, see Prins 2007.

²⁴⁴ A *ʒonpjak* is an implement used in baking bread. The dough is put on a flat iron surface connected to a long handle, and the whole put on the open fire. Once the bread is somewhat cooked it is shoved into the hot ashes, after which the *ʒonpjak* is withdrawn until the bread is done. The *ʒonpjak* is the natural complement of the *como* or baking trough.

- 59 *manju? mənəŋos nə k^hamgok²⁴⁵ jiʃo mbotaʃam ka-cəs tə*
 besides FIL CON pressure.cooker we:i *mbotaʃam* NOM-say C
 And also you need a pressure cooker, what we call a '*mbotaʃam*',
- tajam kəpaʔ-jam kəktu makəndʒa w-ərsca tə*
 pot Chinese-pot big exceedingly 3s:GEN-likeness C
 which is similar to an exceedingly big Chinese pot,
- ndə tə w-əŋgi-j c^hədə kəŋgu tajam ka-va ra to-kə-cəs*
 that C 3s:GEN-inside-LOC porridge nine pot INF-make need PFT-NOM-say
 you need to make nine pots of porridge," the son said.
- na-ŋos*
 PFT-be
- 60 *ndə-ŋo 'to-sa-va-va-jn k^ho ŋa ndə wu-ʒakma tʃəʔ tʃe kəkək*
 that-p PFT-CAUS-prepare-RED-3p CON I that 3s:GEN-time this LOC one
 "When you are done preparing all that, on that day I will come," he said
- ŋgo-ŋ to-ka-cəs nə*
 go.upstream-1s PFT-NOM/HON-say CON
- 61 *wurənə rjapo kə nə ndə sok c^ha-ŋ kə-cəs tə nə noskiʒik*
 CON king PR CON that manner capable-1s NOM-say C CON of.course
 The king [thought or said]: "If he says he can do it like that, then sure, let's do it!"
- 62 *ŋk^hormanj nə təpʃe kə-va stamce tə to-'a-sa-məmtə k^honə*
 people CON blacksmith NOM-do all C PFT-NEV-CAUS-meet CON
 [He] got all the people who were blacksmiths to meet together in order to do the
- ʃam-rstʃaʔ ʃam-to ʒoŋpjak ndə-ŋo təpʃə kə-va-ŋi kə*
 iron-claw iron-hammer shovel that-p blacksmith NOM-do-p PR
 forging; the blacksmiths all began to make that iron claw, and the iron
- ka-səva na-kə-saʃo-w 'nə-ŋos*
 NOM-prepare PFT-NOM-begin-3s EV-be
 hammer, and the shovel.

²⁴⁵ A *k^hamgok* is an early version of a high pressure cooker. It is a pot the lid of which fits very tightly so that no steam can escape. This sort of pot was often used for cooking meat. Since meat is cooked in large quantities and in huge chunks, the pots for cooking meat are very large.

63a ə nk^hormanɯ-ni mənaŋos nə wu-rtse-k^hok tə mənaŋos nə
 eh people-p FIL CON 3s:GEN-deer-bag C FIL CON
 The people eh....the deerskin bag.....

ndə tə tə w-əŋgu tʃə? tʃe a rjapo kə tʃə? sok w-ərscat
 that C C 3s:GEN-inside this LOC ah king PR this manner 3s:GEN-likeness
 in that bag at that time...ah, the king said: “Oh well, a bag [so puny] as this,

tə narənə ŋə-ʃo ŋame kə-pjot jok to-kə-cəs na-ŋos rə
 C CON 1s:GEN-self own NOM-fill permit PFT-NOM-say PFT-be CON
 I myself can take care of filling it up on my own.”

63b wuʃo w-ərɡo wastop kəktu kə-ndo? stamce tə na-rko-w
 he 3s:GEN-grain very big NOM-have all C PFT-put-3s
 When he had put all the grain that he had, a very large amount indeed, in the bag -

tʃə? tʃe w-apa tʃe rscamja²⁴⁶ ki sok me nə ndo? kə
 this LOC 3s:GEN-bottom LOC pinch IDEF manner only CON have PR
 mercy, there was only a tiny bit in the bottom of the bag, like the pinch one

na-kə-mi? na-^la-stʃi
 PFT-NOM-not.have PFT-NEV-be:CD
 puts in a tea bowl!

64 ndə k^hormanɯ-ni stamce tə-ni ndə tə təʃəm kərek
 that people-p all C-p that C kitty one
 [But] when the people all pulled together, each giving a little bit,

na-va-jn tʃə? tʃe ndə tʃe nə rtsam-k^hot tə ka-pjot na-^la-c^ha-jn
 PFT-do-3p this LOC that LOC CON rtsam.pa-bag C NOM-fill PFT-NEV-able-3p
 they were able to fill up the bag, that's what is said.

ka-cəs ^lnə-ŋos
 NOM-say EV-be

²⁴⁶ Before pouring tea rGyalrong people often put a pinch of rtsam-pa in their bowl. This small amount of rtsam-pa is called the *rscamja*. For lack of a better term I translate it here as ‘pinch’.

64 ndə rtsam-k^hok ka-pjot na-kə-c^ha-jn ndə nə stombrel na-kə-ndo?
 that rtsam.pa-bag NOM-fill PFT-NOM-able-3p that CON celebration PFT-NOM-have
 It is said that after they had managed to fill up that bag they held a celebration.²⁴⁷

- 68 w-artu mənəŋos nə tartsi kəngu mp^hjar wu-je w-artu tə
 3s:GEN-hat FIL CON lard nine sheets 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-hat C
 the hat that was made of nine sheets of lard he put on.

to-kə-nə-taʔ-w na-^la-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-EREFL-put.on-3s PFT-NEV-be

- 69 ʃam-to pərja-kərscaŋ-zji tərpa kə-t^hot tə
 iron-hammer hundred-eight-ten pound NOM-full.measure C
 The iron hammer that weighed fully one hundred and eighty pounds,

ʒoŋpja pərja-kərscaŋ-zji tərpa kə-t^hot tə
 shovel hundred-eight-ten pound NOM-full.measure C
 the shovel that weighed fully one hundred and eighty pounds,

ʃam-rstʃaʔ mənəŋos nə pərja-kərscaŋ-zji tərpa kə-t^hot tə
 iron-claw FIL CON hundred-eight-ten pound NOM-full.measure C
 and the iron claw that weighed fully one hundred pounds,

ndə tə-ŋo ɲ-apk^he no-kə-nə-rko-ɲn rənə
 that C-p 3s:HON:GEN-fold.of.robe AF-NOM-EREFL-put-3s:HON CON
 he put them in the fold (breastflap, bossom) of his robe.

kə-kə-rji-ɲn na-kə-ŋos ka-cəs ^lnə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-go₂-3s:HON PFT-NOM-be NOM-say EV-be
 And so he set out, it is said.

- 70 ha kə-rji-ɲn tʃəʔ tʃe nə wuʃo nə rjapo kə kərgi tə
 well PFT-go₂-3s:HON this LOC CON he CON king PR:ERG one C
 Well, he set out, and in the meantime he [the demon] had killed off one king;

na-kə-raklat k^honə ndə wu-rjasep w-əŋgi na-kə-nə-ɲu
 PFT-NOM-destroy CON that 3s:GEN-king's.seat 3s:GEN-in PFT-NOM-EREFL-live
 he himself moved into that king's palace and lived there.

na-nə-scit k^honə
 PFT-EREFL-move CON

- 71 rənə wu-k^hambu²⁴⁸ sto-j jawnəjaw jawnəjaw ʃo
 CON 3s:GEN-yard upwards-LOC hey hey continuously
 From below at street level someone was calling up again and again: "Hey, hello there!"
- to-kə-ʃi-cəs na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-VPT-say PFT-NEV-be
 Hey!"
- 72 ha rə w-əza stoŋ kəktu tə w-əmba-j ŋa ŋ-əmba-j
 well CON 3s:GEN-son SUP big C 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC
 So he said to his oldest son: "Someone is calling me over and over,
- jaw ʃi kə-və-cəs k^honə ndə si ka-cəs tə 'nə-ŋos kərek
 hey often NOM-VPT-say CON that who NOM-say C EV-be one
 go and see who it is that is calling."
- na-ʃi-na'tso-w to-kə-cəs na-'a-ŋos
 IMP-VPT-see-2s PFT-NOM-say PFT-NEV-be
- 73 kərek na-ʃi-natso-w wu-tʃe-j aha ŋ-apa n-aka-j ʒik
 one PFT-VPT-see-3s 3s:GEN-here-LOC oho 1s:GEN-father 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC also
 After [the son] had gone to look [he returned] and said, "Oh boy, dad, there is someone
- kənəmdok ki wu-gzək kəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos to-kə-cəs na-'a-ŋos
 strong IDEF 3s:GEN-build strong IDEF EV-be PFT-NOM-say PFT-NEV-be
 out there who is stronger than you, handsome and well-built, his strength is greater!"
- 74 rə jaw to-ʃi-cəs tʃe nə²⁴⁹ a n-apa w-əmba-j ana
 CON hey PFT-VPT-say LOC CON eh 2s: GEN-father 3s: GEN-vicinity-LOC below
 When he [the oldest son] went [back] to answer [A-myis Sgo-ldong's call], [A-myis
- kərek naro-n to-ʃi-'cəs to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 one look.for²⁵⁰-2s IMP-VPT-say PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 Sgo-ldong] said: 'Go tell your father to come down and meet me here.'"

²⁴⁸ Traditional rGyalrong houses have a stable for livestock on the ground floor, with an enclosed yard attached to it. The yard is called the *k^hambu*. On the second level is the main floor with the communal kitchen and living room, and the main door of the house. Visitors to the house will call up from the yard at ground level for admittance.

²⁴⁹ The person calling here is the son, who, after reporting to his father that there is a strong person standing outside, goes back to see what this person actually wants.

²⁵⁰ The verb *kanaro* means both 'look for' and 'meet'.

- 75a ndə nə rənə w-apa n-aka-j kənəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos
that CON CON 3s:GEN-father 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong IDEF EV-be
When the son told his father that there really was one out there stronger than him,
- 75b n-apa w-əmba-j ana ki naro-n na-'a-cəs
2s:GEN-father 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC below IDEF meet-2s PFT-NEV-say
who had told him [the son] to tell his father to come down and meet with him,
- to-kə-cəs tʃe na-ŋos
PFT-NOM-say LOC PFT-be
- 75c kənə^haʔm ŋə-ʒo ŋ-aka-j kənəmdok si 'na-ndoʔ to-kə-cəs
stupid 1s-self 1s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong who OBS-have PFT-NOM-say
[the father] said "You stupid boy, who can there be that is stronger than I am??"
- w-əza w-əʒba-j ki kərek nə-kə-laʔt w-əza
3s:GEN-son 3s:GEN-cheek-LOC IDEF one PFT-NOM-hit₂ 3s:GEN-son
and he dealt his son a blow on the cheek, [so that]
- ler na-kə-nə-sat na-'a-ŋos
EXP:instantly PFT-NOM-EREFL-kill PFT-NEV-be
with one fell blow he instantly killed his son.
- 76 rə pəʒik w-əza təli ki na-kə-ndoʔ na-'a-ŋos
CON still 3s:GEN-son middle IDEF PFT-NOM-have PFT-NEV-be
There was still a second son.
- 77 w-əza təli tə kə ha jawnəjaw jawnəjaw ʃi na-kə-cəs k^honə
3:-son middle C PR oh hey hey often PFT-NOM-say CON
That second son, since there was this incessant calling of "hey, hey hello there!",
- pəʒik ndə ma-ka-ʃi-natso nə ʒo-kə-k^hut k^honə
still that NEG-NOM-VPT-see CON NEG/PFT-NOM-can CON
that [second one] had no option but to go and see, so
- w-əza təli tə nə-kə-ɾʃi na-'a-ŋos
3:GEN-son middle C PFT-NOM-go₂ PFT-NEV-be
the second son went out.

78a w-əza təli tə nə-rji tʃəʔ tʃe nə ndə tʃe nə pəʒik a ŋ-apa
 3:GEN-son middle C PFT-go₂ this LOC CON that LOC CON still well 1s:GEN-father
 When the second son had gone out [and looked], at that time he also said to his father:

ŋ-ajze nə na-tə-sat -w menə kə-ŋər kə-mi? nəŋo
 1s:GEN-older.brother CON PFT-2-kill-3s CON NOM-change NOM-not.be you
 "Well, father, even killing my older brother isn't going to change anything:

n-aka-j kənəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos
 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong IDEF EV-be
 there is one stronger than you [out there]. That one said:

78b ja n-apa w-əmba-j ana-j kərek na-'vi-n to-'cəs-n
 ya 2s:GEN-father 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC below-LOC one IMP-come-2s IMP-say-2s
 "Listen, tell your father to come on down."

na-cəs k^honə
 PFT-say CON

78c ŋə-ʒo w-aka-j kənəmdok si 'na-ndo? to-kə-cəs
 1s:GEN-self 3s:GEN-vicinity -LOC strong who OBS-have PFT-NOM-say
 "Who is there that is stronger than I am!" [the father] said,

78d w-əʒba-j kərek nə-ka-laʔt na-'a-ŋos
 3s:GEN-cheek-LOC one PFT-NOM-hit PFT-NEV-be
 [and] he dealt him a blow to his face.

79 pəʒik w-əza təli tə na-kə-nə-sat na-'a-ŋos
 still 3s:GEN-son middle C PFT-NOM-EREFL-kill PFT-NEV-be
 He himself killed his second son.

80 pəʒik jawŋəjaw jawŋəjaw ʃi to-kə-cəs k^honə
 still hey hey often PFT-NOM-say CON
 Still there was this ongoing calling: "Hey, hey!"

81a ha w-əza stoŋ kətsu w-əmba-j nəŋo nə-ʃi-na'tso-w
 well 3s:GEN-son SUP small 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC you IMP-VPT-see-2s
 Well, [then] he said to his youngest son: "You go and have a look."

to-kə-cəs
 PFT-NOM-say

- 81b wurə w-əza tə nə stoŋ kətsu tə pəzɪk kərek nə-kə-ʃi-natso-w rənə
 CON 3s:GEN-son C CON SUP small C still one PFT-NOM-VPT-see-3s CON
 So when his youngest son had gone to have a look, [he came back] and said:
- 82c he haha ŋ-apa nəŋɔ n-aka-j kənəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos kʰonə
 oh well 1s:GEN-father you 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong IDEF EV-be CON
 "Really, father, there is one who is stronger than you [down there],
- n-apa w-əmba-j ana sku-j kərek na-'vi-n nə
 2s:GEN-father 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC down upstream-LOC one IMP-come-2s CON
 he told me to tell you to come down.
- to-'cəs-n na-cəs kʰonə
 IMP-say-2s PFT-say CON
- 82d nəŋɔ n-aka-j kənəmdok 'nə-ŋos
 you 2s:GEN-LOC strong EV-be
 He is stronger than you.
- 82e ŋ-ajze-ndʒ kəpəs tə na-tə-sat-w menə nəŋɔ n-aka-j
 1s:GEN-older.brother-3d two C PFT-2-kill-2s CON you 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC
 Even though you killed both my older brothers, there is one who is stronger than you."
- ʒɪk kənəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos to-kə-cəs
 also strong IDEF EV-be PFT-NOM-be
- 82f ŋə-ʃo ŋ-aka-j kənəmdok si 'na-ndoʔ to-kə-cəs
 1s:GEN-self 1s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong who OBS-have PFT-NOM-say
 "Who is there that is stronger than me??" [the father] said.
- 82g pəzɪk w-əʒba-j nə-kə-laʔt-w ler na-kə-nə-sat-w
 still 3s:GEN-cheek-LOC PFT-NOM-hit-3s EXP:instantly PFT-NOM-EREFL-kill-w
 And with one swift blow he killed him instantly.
- na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NEV-be
- 83 a jawnəjaw ʃi to-kə-cəs kʰonə ndə kʰonə hawə w-arjaʔp
 ah hey often PFT-NOM-say CON that CON o.dear 3s:GEN-wife
 Well there was that ongoing calling of "Hey, hey there!",

w-əpraʔk ji-kə-məndak na-'a-ŋos
 3s:GEN-turn PFT-NOM-be.one's.turn PFT-NEV-be
 so that, oh dear, it then was his [the demon's] wife's turn.

- 84a w-ərjaʔp nə ana ndə bdət-mo makəndʒa rənə srənmo²⁵¹ makəndʒa
 3s:GEN-wife CON FIL that demon-FL exceedingly FIL demoness exceeding
 His wife was a terrific demoness, like a horrifyingly fierce *srənmo*, more's

w-ərscat tə na-kə-stʃi na-'a-ŋos kʰonə
 3s:GEN-likeness C PFT-NOM-be:CD PFT-NEV-be CON
 the pity.

- 84b ndə tə zik pəzik nə nənʒo nə-ʃi-na'tso-w to-kə-cəs kʰonə
 that C also still CON you IMP-VPT-see-2s PFT-NOM-say CON
 The demon said [to her]: "you also go and have a look."

- 84c rə nə-kə-ʃi-natso-w kʰonə
 CON PFT-NOM-VPT-see-3s CON
 So she went and looked.

- 84d nə-ʃi-natso-w tʃəʔ tʃe nə ha ŋ-əza-ŋo kəsam tə na-tə-sat-w
 PFT-VPT-see-3s this LOC CON well 1s:GEN-son-p three C PFT-2-kill-2s
 And when she had gone and looked [and had returned] she said [to her husband]: "Well,

menə ha nənʒo n-aka-j kənəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos to-kə-cəs
 CON ah you 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong IDEF OBS-be PFT-NOM-say
 even though you have killed my three sons, there is one that is stronger than you."

- 84e nə ndə tʃe ŋə-ʒo ŋ-aka-j kənəmdok si 'na-ndoʔ
 CON that LOC 1s:GEN-self 1s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong who OBS-have
 Then he said: "Who is there that is stronger than I am?"

to-kə-cəs w-ərjaʔp w-əzba-j kərek nə-laʔt-w tʃe kasat
 PFT-NOM-say 3s:GEN-wife 3s:-cheek-LOC one PFT-hit₂-3s LOC kill
 He slapped her face, but he since he wasn't able to kill her

²⁵¹ The *srənmo* in rGyalrong tradition is a very powerful female kind of demon. This sort of demon can be expelled but it cannot be manipulated into submission, neither can it be killed by humans.

ji-kə-c^ha na-'a-stʃi nə manʃuʔ kərek nə-kə-laʔt-w w-arʃaʔp
 NEG/PFT-NOM-able PFT-NEV-be:CD CON again one PFT-NOM-hit-3s 3s:GEN-wife
 he dealt her another blow, and so he himself killed his wife.

na-kə-nə-sat-w na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-EREFL-kill-3s PFT-NEV-be

- 85a w-ən^huʔ pəʒik ato sto jawnəjaw jawnəjaw ʃi
 3s:GEN-back still above upwards hey hey often
 After all that, still down below the calling of "Hey, hey hello there!" went on and on.

to-kə-cəs k^honə
 PFT-NOM-say CON

- 85b ata-j ata-j ata-j-ʃo ʃi to-kə-cəs k^honə
 up-LOC up-LOC up-LOC-self often PFT-NOM-say CON
 "Hey, up there, up there, hey you people up there!" on and on it went.

- 86 rə pəʒik wuʃo ma-ka-l^hoʔk nə məto-kə-k^hut na-'a-ŋos
 CON still he NEG-NOM-appear CON TER-NOM-can PFT-NEV-be
 There was no way for him not to show himself.

- 87a wuʃo nə-l^hok tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 he PFT-appear this LOC CON
 Just as he was coming out, he thought -

pəʒik wuʃo ʒik w-əndʒo tʃe kə ŋ-əza narə rənə
 still he also 3s:GEN-truth LOC PR 1s:GEN-son CON FIL
 when he realised [that the one looking for him] truly [was stronger than himself] – he

ŋ-arʃaʔp-ŋo ka-nə-sat 'na-ʃi-vaca-ŋ k^honə
 1s:GEN-wife-p NOM-EREFL-kill OBS-VPT-be.wrong CON
 thought to himself: "I am the one to blame for killing my wife and my sons, and that's

w-əndʒo 'nə-ŋos to-kə-səso
 3s:GEN-truth OBS-be PFT-NOM-think
 the truth."

- 87b wuʃo ʒik wuʃo ana makəndʒa sijiŋ kə to-kə-ʒdar
 he also he below exceedingly EXP:hair.on.end PR PFT-NOM-afraid₂
 And he was so terribly scared that his hair stood on end.

na-'a-ŋos nə
PFT-NEV-be CON

- 88c ndə tə nə w-əndʒo wu-zəkrjət kəktu ki 'nə-ŋos
that C CON 3s:GEN-truth 3s:GEN-physical.form big IDEF OBS-be
"That one is really very strong," he thought.

kʰonə to-kə-səso kʰonə
FIL PFT-NOM-think CON

- 88d ndə tʃe nə zet to-ʒdar tʃəʔ tʃe nə
that LOC CON little PFT-afraid₂ this LOC CON
At that time, just while he was a little scared,

- 88e tʃəʔ wu-grawla kə ndə tə ʒik wu-grawla kə na-kə-snam
this 3s:GEN-courage PR that C also 3s:GEN-courage PR PFT-NOM-implode
his courage also imploded.

na-'a-ŋos
PFT-NEV-be

- 89a rə ndə kʰonə wuʒo nə ma-ka-rji ji-kə-kʰut kʰonə
CON that CON he CON NEG-NOM-go₂ NEG/PFT-NOM-can CON
There was no way for him to avoid going down.

- 89b ha n-andʒi? ŋa a təkʃet kə-nəsapso ki kə-vu-ŋ kʰonə
well 2s:GEN-friend I eh strength NOM-compare IDEF NOM-come₂-1s CON
"Friend, I've come to have a match to see who's stronger," said A-myis Sgo-ldong.

- 89c rə kalu ki mənəsapso-dʒ to-kə-cəs na-'a-ŋos
CON wrestling IDEF Q-compare-1d PFT-NOM-say PFT-NEV-be
"Shall we have a wrestling match?"

- 90 ha owe to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
well yes PFT-NOM-say EV-be
"Okay," said the demon.

- 91 kalu kərek to-kə-va-jn na-'a-ŋos
wrestling one PFT-NOM-do-3p PFT-NEV-be
They had a bout of wrestling.

- 92 rə kalu kərek to-va-jn ndə tʃe nə kərgi tə kə kərek
 CON wrestling one PFT-do-3p that LOC CON one²⁵² C PR one
 While they wrestled, the demon dealt A-mysis Sgo-ldong a terrific blow;
- nə-kə-laʔt-w tə ndə tʃe bdət tə ʒik makəndʒa
 PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s C that LOC demon C also exceedingly
 and at that time, the demon, more's the pity, really
- kə-ŋac^hac^ha ki na-kə-stʃci na-'a-ŋos
 NOM-quite.strong IDEF PFT-NOM-be:CD PFT-NEV-be
 had quite some strength!
- 93a ndə k^honə ʒik amɲi ʒgordən-ɲi ʒik hajʒik dʒamən
 that CON also A.mysis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON also a.little quite
 He caused A-mysis Sgo-ldong quite some trouble.
- na-kə-sə-k^ha na-'a-ŋos nə
 PFT-NOM-CAUS-difficult PFT-NEV-be CON
- 93b w-əŋk^huʔ-j pəʒik amɲi ʒgordən-ɲi wuʒo ɲi-praʔk kərek
 3s:GEN-back-LOC still A.mysis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON he 3s:HON:GEN-turn one
 After that, A-mysis Sgo-ldong's turn came [at wrestling], so
- to-kə-məndak k^ho
 PFT-NOM-be.one's.turn₂ CON
- 93c kərek na-laʔt-w tʃəʔ tʃe nə ndə tʃe nə pəʒik ndə tə tə katʃap
 one PFT-hit₂-3s this LOC CON that LOC CON still that C C throw.down
 when he dealt a blow, just then, he managed to throw down the demon.
- na-kə-c^ha-jn na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-able-3s:HON PFT-NEV-be
- 94 ja tʃəʔ w-əmp^hro tʃəʔ tʃe t^hi nəsapso-dʒ to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 INT this 3s:-after this LOC what compare-1d PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 Well, after this he said: "What kind of match shall we have next?"

²⁵² Numerals as well as demonstratives are commonly used by speakers who, for some reason, do not want to use a person's proper name. In this case the narrator is disinclined to honour the demon by using even a personal pronoun or demonstrative, showing his contempt of the demon. Also, as in many cultures, in rGyalrong there is a tendency to avoid mentioning or naming evil.

- 95a ə tʃəʔ w-əmp^hro tʃəʔ tʃe nə tarku ki nəsapsoʔt-dʒ to-kə-cəs
 eh this 3s:GEN-after this LOC CON fist IDEF compare-1d PFT-NOM-say
 "After this, let's have a boxing match," he said;
- 95b rə tarku nə bdət tə w-əmba-j nəŋʃo bdət c^happa raŋ.liŋ
 CON fist CON demon C 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC you demon Chap.pa Rang.ling
 then, for the boxing, A-mysis said to the demon: "You," - to demon Chap-pa Rangling -
 w-əmba-j nəŋʃo to-va-səʔja-w to-kə-cəs
 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC you IMP-VPT-begin-2s PFT-NOM-say
 "you start."
- 95c wuʃo bdət c^happa raŋliŋ tə kə amɲi zgordəŋ-ni ɲa-wo
 he demon Chap.pa Rang.ling C PR A.mysis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON 3s:HON:GEN-head
 Then the demon Chap-pa Rang-ling hit A-mysis Sgo-ldong a blow, smack right on
 ʃo tarku to-kə-laʔt-w
 EXP:right.on fist PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s
 his head, with his fist.
- 95d tangor kəngu mp^hjar... maʔk tartsu kəngu mp^hjar tə ndə tə
 pork.side nine sheet not.be lard nine sheet C that C
 The blow caused the nine sides of pork fat – no, the hat made of nine sheets of lard,
 k^hapacakcak na-^la-sə-va-w
 grind.to.powder PFT-NEV-CAUS-do-3s
 to completely disintegrate.
- 96 ɲ-awo-j zəmə mənə na-ʃi-mdə-w kacəs ^lnə-ŋos nə
 3s:HON:gen-head-LOC almost CON PFT-VPT-arrive-3s say EV-be CON
 Just a little more and he would have touched on his head.
- 97 rə ndə k^honə amɲi zgordəŋ-ni kə nə pəʒik wuʃo w-awo-j
 CON that CON A.mysis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON PR CON still he 3s:GEN-head-LOC
 Then A-mysis Sgo-ldong hit the demon over the head with the iron hammer,
 ʃam-tok kərek to-kə-laʔt-jn k^honə w-ənoʔk tsijok
 iron-hammer one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON CON 3s:GEN-brain EXP:erupt
 so that his brain forcefully spilled out.

- 98a ha pəʒik ndə w-əmp^hro t^hi nəsapso to-kə-cəs
ah still that 3s:GEN-after what compare PFT-NOM-say
After all that he said: "What other kind of contest shall we have?"
- 98b a jakpozak ki nəsapso to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
ah open.hand IDEF compare PFT-NOM-say EV-be
Let's have a contest of fighting with open hands."
- 99a jakpozak ki to-kə-nəsapso nə wuʒo kə ʒik pəʒik
open.hand IDEF PFT-NOM-compared CON he PR also still
So they had this contest of openhanded fighting,
- amɲi zgordən ɲi-ʒba-ʒ jo kərek nə-kə-laʔt-w
A.myis Sgo.llong 3s:HON:GEN-cheek-LOC EXP:right.on one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s
in which the demon smacked A-myis Sgo.llong precisely right on the cheek,
- 99b rə pəʒik wastop na-kə-vəkʃet na-'a-stʃi k^honə
CON still very PFT-NOM-powerful PFT-NEV-be:CD CON
and since he was still very powerful, more's the pity,
- 99c xər ka-məʒir kə-ra kəsok w-ərsəcət tə sok ki
EXP:full.circle NOM-spin NOM-need manner 3s:GEN-likeness C manner IDEF
he gave A-myis Sgo.llong a blow such that it almost sent him spinning,
- nə-kə-laʔt-w na-'a-stʃi nə
PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s PFT-NEV-be:CD CON
more's the pity.
- 99d pəʒik amɲi zgordən wuʒo ɲi-praʔk to-kə-məndak k^honə
still A.myis Sgo.llong he 3s:HON:GEN-turn PFT-NOM-be.one's.turn₂ CON
Then it was A-myis Sgoldon's turn,
- tʃəʔ sok manʒuʔ kərek nə-kə-laʔt-ɲi na-'a-ŋos
this manner also one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON PFT-NEV-be
and he hit him like so!

100 kərek nə-laʔt-jn tʃəʔ tʃe nə tʃəʔ tʃe nə w-aworpi kə-məʒur
 one PFT-hit₂-3s:HON this LOC CON this LOC CON 3s:GEN-dizzy NOM-spinning
 When he hit him, at that time, [the blow was to terrific that] it made [the demon feel] as

w-ərscat tə kərek nə kə-sə-va-jn na-¹a-ŋos
 3s:GEN-likeness C one CON NOM-CAUS-do-3s:HON PFT-NEV-be
 if he was spinning with dizziness.

101a a tʃəʔ w-əmp^hro tʃe t^{hi} nəsapso to-kə-cəs nə tərstʃaʔ
 ah this 3s:GEN-after LOC what compare PFT-NOM-say CON claw
 "Well, what kind of match shall we have next?" he said;

nəsapso to-kə-cəs
 compare PFT-NOM-say
 "Let's have a contest in clawing," he said.

101b hə rə bdət c^happa ranliŋ ndə ndə tə w-əmba-j nənjo
 eh CON demon Chap.pa Rang.ling that that C 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC you
 eh, "You start," said A-mysis Sgo-ldong to the demon Chap-pa Rang-ling;

to-va¹sce-w to-kə-cəs k^honə
 IMP-go.first₁-2s PFT-NOM-say CON

101c bdət c^happa ranliŋ tə ndə tə wuʒo w-ajiʔk ndʒondʒo tə
 demon Chap.pa Rang.ling C that C he 3s:GEN-hand really C
 demon Chap-pa Rang-ling's hand was a real hand [made of flesh],

na-¹a-kə-stʃi k^honə
 PFT-NEV-NOM-be:CD CON
 more's the pitty -

101d ndə tajakndzəru tə tərstʃaʔ kərek ka-laʔt tʃəʔ tʃe təʃkra sku
 that nail C claw one NOM-hit₂ this LOC side upstream
 when he clawed with the nails of his hand,when he struck deep into [A-mysis

kərek ka-laʔt tʃəʔ tʃe tangor kəngu mp^hjar tə w-əngu tʃe
 one NOM-hit₂ this LOC side.of.pork nine sheet C 3s:GEN-inside LOC
 Sgo-ldong's] side and then ripped downwards, A-mysis Sgo-ldong's robe, which was

w-arzu tə menə ndə tə w-ərka-j stamce pok tə rə
 3s:GEN-layer.of.fat C except that C 3s:GEN-top-LOC all all C CON
 made of the nine sides of pork fat with the skin still on, except for the fat [on the inside

kə-kə-p^hjak na-'a-ŋos kacəs 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-tear PFT-NEV-be say EV-be
 of the robe], the outside of the robe was utterly ripped apart, that's what they say.

- 102 ha rənə kərek nə-kə-rakʃok tə ndə k^honə tangor
 ah CON one PFT-NOM-tear.with.claw C that CON side.of.pork
 Ah, with one tearing rip [of his claw] downwards,

kəngu mp^hjar tə ndə tə w-arpek nə-kə-rakʃok na-'a-ŋos
 nine sheet C that C 3s:GEN-piece PFT-NOM-tear PFT-NEV-be
 he tore that [robe], made of nine sides of pork fat and skin, to pieces.

- 103a wurə ampi zgordən ʒi-praʔk to-kə-məndak k^honə
 CON A.myis Sgo.ldong 3sHON:GEN-turn PFT-NOM-be.one's.turn₂ CON
 Then A-myis Sgo-ldong's turn came,

- 103b wu-je w-arnok kə ʃam-rstʂaʔ kərek kalaʔt tʃəʔ tʃe
 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-brain PR iron-claw one hit₂ this LOC
 When he gave one blow with his iron rake to the demon's brain [and ripped down-

wu-naŋce w-undʂu rə rʂiek rə-kə-k^hit
 3s:GEN-intestine 3s:GEN-reality CON EXP:all.at.once PFT-NOM-spill
 wards], his intestines all at once, with a blob sound, spilled out,

- 103c rənə ndə k^honə w-arnok narə rənə ndə tə nə to-kə-ʃmu-jn
 CON that CON 3s:GEN-brains and CON that C CON PFT-NOM-mix.together-3p
 so that his brains and his intestines all got mixed up in a big heap,

k^honə
 CON

- 103d ndə k^honə bdət c^happa ranliŋ ndə tʃe na-'a-kə-ptəl-jn
 that CON demon Chap.pa Rang.ling that LOC PFT-NEV-NOM-destroy-3s:HON
 and so the demon Chap-pa Rang-ling was destroyed at that time, it is said.

'nə-ŋos kacəs 'nə-ŋos zo
 EV-be say EV-be MD:end

- 104a rə ha bdət tə ka-ptəl na-c^ha-jn tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 CON ah demon C NOM-destroy PFT-able-3s:HON this LOC CON
 When the demon had been defeated by A-myis Sgo-ldong,

nk^hormanj stamce tə wastop kə-ŋalalaʔt nə h-anu-j
 people all C very NOM-fight₂ CON D-downriver-LOC
 All the people fought tremendously hard; downriver,

- 104b ha rjapo h-anu tə kə təmdə rjapo ndə tə wu-nk^hormanj
 ah king D-downriver C PR Təmdə king that C 3s:GEN-people
 ah.... the king downriver, the people of the king of Təmdə, and the ones

h-aku wu-je bdət wu-je wu-spok to-kə-ŋaru-w
 D-upriver 3s-POSS demon 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-underside PFT-NOM-take.part-3s
 upriver, the people who had become part of and taken part in the demon's dominion.

- 105 wuʃo zik tawo tʃe kərek ka-ŋa-la-laʔt
 he also head LOC one NOM-REC-RED-fight₂
 He [the king or leader of a people] himself fought first of all,

rənə ndə tə w-əmp^hro mo tʃe ʃi-nk^hormanj stamce tə
 CON that C 3s:GEN-next directly LOC 3s:HON:GEN-people all C
 and then right after that he made all his people fight -

ka-sə-lalaʔt kəsce ndə na-kə-ngrel na-'a-ŋos la
 NOM-CAUS-fight₂ before that PFT-NOM-be.used.to PFT-NEV-be MD:SA
 that's how they did things long ago, right.

- 106a bdət tə wurə wuʃo-ndʒ makpo-ndʒ tə kərek ka-ŋalalaʔt k^honə
 demon C CON 3-d general-3d C one NOM-fight₂ CON
 the demons - when those two generals fought,

- 106b ndə tʃe nə ʃikpe-ʃime tə sok ʃi-k^ha-j tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 that LOC CON precisely C manner 3p:GEN-middle-LOC this LOC CON
 at that time precisely from among their midst

bdət tə mənəŋos nə ndə k^honə ka-sat rə ka-pker narə
 demon C FIL CON that CON NOM-kill CON NOM-divide CON
 the demons²⁵³ were divided out [from among the good people] and killed and

²⁵³ In traditional rGyalrong culture it is quite normal to speak of enemies as 'demons'. I am not certain whether the narrator here means that in the army of the demon there were many smaller demons that had to be vanquished and killed or if it concerns human enemy troops. It is most likely that the good people of Təmdə fought enemy troops made up of all the people who had been oppressed by the demon and that the demons who were divided out and killed were those people who had become collaborators of the demon in the general oppression of their fellow humans.

ndə tə na-səjok-jn tʃeʔ tʃe nə h-aku w-ərscaɬ-j
 that C PFT-finish-3HON this LOC CON D-upriver 3s:GEN-likeness-LOC
 when that was finished, the ones who lived upriver

ʃniŋe.ʃnerga kə satʃʰe makəndʒra w-ərscaɬ ndə tə sok kə
 happy PR place exceedingly 3s:GEN-likeness that C manner PR
 made their country a very happy one.

to-kə-va-jn kʰonə
 PFT-NOM-do-3p CON

106c h-aku h-anu kə-ɲi tə kə-cʰa to-^la-ŋaməmtə-jn kʰonə
 D-upriver D-downriver NOM-live C NOM-able PFT-NEV-see-3p CON
 the ones upriver saw that the ones from downriver had won

106d rjapo kərgi w-əspok to-^la-va-jn kʰonə
 king one 3s:GEN-underside PFT-NEV-do-3p CON
 and they all became the people of the one king.

106e ndə tə bdət tə mənəŋos nə ndə tə ə kʰəvək kəngu taʃcək
 that C demon C FIL CON that C eh hole nine floor
 As for the demon, A-mysis Sgo-ldong made a hole nine storeys deep

na-ka-cu ndə w-əŋgi-j na-ka-rko w-ərka nə coŋba kəngu
 PFT-NOM-open that 3s:GEN-in-LOC PFT-NOM-put 3s:GEN-top CON flat.stone nine
 and put the demon in there; on top he put nine flat stones which he layered crosswise

mpʰjar w-orka nə kə-mpʰjar kəngu tarta na-ka-taʔ
 sheet 3s:GEN-top CON one-sheet nine cross.wise PFT-NOM-put
 back and forth beautifully;

w-ərka-j mɕʰorten kəngu taʃcək to-^la-sə-va-jn kʰonə
 3s:-on-LOC stupa nine layer PFT-NEV-CAUS-do-1s:HON CON
 on top of that they built a stupa nine storeys high.

106f ndə nkʰormanj nə ndə-je dɛwa təscit ji-^la-vi kʰonə
 that people CON that-POSS peace happiness PFT-NEV-come CON
 Peace and happiness came to those people,

106g pot-je ampi zgordən-ni ndə tə zjasam na-mbi-jn
 Tibet-POSS A-mysis Sgo.ldong-p:HON that C thirteen PFT-come:HON-3s:HON
 so the Tibetan ancestor Sgo-ldong, he came on [the] thirteen[th] day;

106h na-mbi-jn w-əʃnu dewa na-pko-jn ka-cəs tə
 PFT-come:HON-3s:HON 3s:GEN-day peace PFT-carry-3s:HON NOM-say C
 on the day that he came he brought peace, about that saying

w-arngaʔ-ni kə-ndoʔ
 3s:GEN-dance-p NOM-have
 there are dances

w-əŋkʰuʔ nə wu-kʰakpe-ni kə-ndoʔ ndə tə tə mənəŋos nə ndə tə
 3s:GEN-after CON 3s:GEN-story-p NOM-have that C C FIL CON that C
 Afterwards, there were also stories [about him], that is how it is, they say.

ʼnə-ŋos kacəs ʼnə-ŋos o
 EV-be say EV-be MD:CF

TEXT 2

How the thrush deceived the rabbit.²⁵⁴

1. mbərtʃu ki kalaʔ ki na-kə-ndoʔ-ndʒ 'nə-ŋos
thrush IDEF rabbit IDEF PRF-NOM-have-3d EV-be
There were a rabbit and a bird.

2. ndə-ndʒ ndə rənə mbərtʃu kə nə kalaʔ kanəvlo wu-tʃ^he kə talek
that-3d that CON bird PR CON rabbit cheat 3s:GEN-reason PR trap
Well, about those two - in order to cheat the rabbit the thrush set up a trap for the
express purpose of catching the thrush;

to-'a-kataʔ w-əŋgi sku wuʒo ku na-kə-mbjam nə
PFT-NEV-put 3s:GEN-inside inwards he downstream PFT-NOM-fly upstream
he flew into it, back and forth and up and down he flew.

na-kə-mbjam 'nə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-fly EV-be

3. e ŋa-je kalaʔ tʃəʔ tə kapsoʔt stʃi tʃəʔ tə kapsoʔt tʃəʔ tə
hey 1s-POSS rabbit this C be.similar be:CD this C be.similar this C
"Hey, my friend rabbit, this is all there is to it!

kamaʔk stʃi to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
not.be be:CD PSTIMP-NOM-say EV-be
It's a piece of cake!" he said.

4. ku kərek nə kərek na-mbjam ndə tʃe nə a kalaʔ kə
downstream one upstream one PSTPROG-fly that LOC CON oh.well rabbit PR
When he was flying back and forth like that

²⁵⁴ This story is a moral lesson, often used to teach children that they can outsmart those who are more powerful or more clever than they are, if they use their brains - they can be thrushes, so to speak. A common manner of speech which shows the other side of the equation is *nənʒo pəʃnu kalaʔ totəvaw*, 'you were a rabbit today'. The speaker here tells the hearer that, though he thought he was smart like the traditional rabbit, he was outsmarted by someone.

ʒik ɲa kaŋgo kə-kʰut mə-maʔk-ɲ to-kə-səso-w 'nə-ɲos
 also I go.downstream NOM-can Q-not be-1s PSTIMP-NOM-think-3s EV-be
 "Oh well," thought the rabbit, "I can have a go too, can't I?"

5. w-əŋgi sku kə-rji tʃe nə ndə rə w-əmka kə
 3s:GEN-inside inwards NOM-go₂ LOC CON that CON 3s:GEN-neck PR
 When he had gone in[to the trap] - then his neck got stuck, causing his lips to be

kə-ndʒe-w kʰonə w-əʃwa rɲek-rɲek to-'a-kə-sə-va-w
 NOM-get.stuck-3s CON 3s:GEN-tooth EXP-RED: grinning PFT-NEV-NOM-CAUS-do-3s
 pulled back in a wide grin [the ghastly grin of death] - at that time

tʃe nə e kalaʔ tari w-ari təʃwa w-arɲekrɲek kacəs tə tʃəʔ
 LOC CON hey rabbit laugh 3s:GEN-laugh tooth 3s:GEN-grinning say C this
 "Hey, rabbit, the expression 'laughing with a wide grin in a manner that shows a full set

tə ɲos kəne to-'a-cəs kʰonə kalaʔ kanəvlo kə-cʰa tə mbərtʃu kərek
 C be MD:AS PSTIMP-NEV-say CON rabbit cheat NOM-able C thrush one
 of bright white teeth', I'm telling you, that's what this is!" the thrush said; now that's

na-ɲa-ndoʔ kacəs 'nə-ɲos
 PFT-IMPS-have say EV-be
 why they say that there once was a thrush who managed to cheat a rabbit.

TEXT 3

The eighteen rGyalrong kingdoms

1. ɟarɔŋ ɾɟarkap wu-je t^{hi} sok $\text{kə-kə-c}^{\text{hak}}$
rGyalrong kingdom 3s-POSS what manner PFT-NOM-establish
How the rGyalrong kingdoms came into being.

2. rdɔŋɾɟa $\text{ts}^{\text{ha}}\text{ɟa}$ ralpo kacəs ki na-kə-ndo? 'nə-ŋos
Rdɔŋɾɟa Tshaɟa Ralpo say IDEF PFT-NOM-have EV-be
There was a man called Rdɔŋɾɟa Tshaɟa Ralpo.

3. ɾɟarpo kacəs ki na-kə-ndo? rdɔŋɾɟa $\text{ts}^{\text{ha}}\text{ralpo}^{255}$ wurənə w-əza
king say IDEF PFT-NOM-have Rdɔŋɾɟa Tsharalpo CON 3s:GEN-son
A man who was called a king, Rdɔŋɾɟa Tsharalpo, well he had three sons.

 kəsam na-kə-ndo? 'nə-ŋos
three PFT-NOM-have EV-be

4. ndə rə w-əza kəsam tə ndə t^{hi} sok na-ndo?-jn tʃə? tʃe nə
that CON 3s:GEN-son three C that what manner PFT-have-3p this LOC CON
So at that time, the manner in which those three sons lived, well in those days -

 kə-ɟnu kə nə ndə ʒəŋkem tə tərmu makəndʒa kərkən na-kə-ŋos 'nə-ŋos
one.day PR CON that land C person very sparse PFT-NOM-be EV-be
one day - that land was very sparsely populated,

 wurənə rənə spjaŋkə kəməca ki spjaŋ-nak kacəs kəməca makəndʒa
CON FIL wolf many IDEF wolf-black say many very
so [one day] lots of wolves, the kind that is called "black wolves", enormous

 ji-kə-vu-jn wurə təza-ŋo kəzu tə $\text{na-kə-p}^{\text{h}}\text{o-jn}$ 'nə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-come₂-3p CON son-p all C PFT-NOM-flee-3p EV-be
numbers of those wolves came, and the sons all ran away.

²⁵⁵ The narrator here makes a slight mistake and muddles the name of the king. The name proper is *rdɔŋɾɟa ts^{ha}ɟa ralpo*, as in the previous sentence.

5. nə-p^ho-jn tʃe nə ɲ-apsɔ-j ɲ-apa tə
 PFT-run away-3p LOC CON 3p:GEN-together-LOC 3p:GEN-father C
 When they ran, they did not manage to bring their father with them.
- ka-nəndʒi ʃ-'a-c^ha-jn
 NOM-take.along NEG/PFT-NEV-able-3p
6. ʃi-kə-c^ha-jn 'nə-ŋos
 NEG/PFT-NOM-able-3p EV-be
 They did not manage it.
7. tambat w-awo-j to-lhok tʃe təŋk^hu? na-lhok tʃə? tʃe nə
 mountain 3s:GEN-head-LOC PFT-appear LOC back PFT-appear this LOC CON
 When they emerged at the top of a mountain and had crossed over and
- nəŋʒo n-apsɔ-jn ŋ-apa mə-ndo? nəŋʒo n-apsɔ-jn
 you 2s:GEN-together-2p 1s:GEN-father Q-have you 2s:GEN-together-2p
 reappeared on the other side of it, they all called out one to the other, saying: "Is my
- ŋ-apa mə-ndo? kacəs kəʒu-ʒu tə to-'a-ŋa-k^hori-jn
 1s:GEN-father Q-have say all-RED C PFT-NEV-REC-call-3p
 father with you all? Is my father with you all?"
8. to-ŋa-məmto-jn tʃə? tʃe nə ɲ-apa ɲ-apsɔ-j
 PFT-REC-meet-3p this LOC CON 3p:GEN-father 3p:GEN-together-LOC
 When they met each other they found that they had not succeeded in bringing their
- ka-nəndʒi ʃ-'a-kə-c^ha-jn
 NOM-bring.along NEG/PFT-NEV-NOM-able-3p
 father along with them.
9. ahaha ʃ-apa ʃ-apsɔ-j ka-nəndʒi ʃ-'a-c^ha-jn
 ahaha 1p:GEN-father 1p:GEN-together-LOC NOM-bring.along NEG/PFT-NEV-able-3p
 "oh oh, we did not manage to bring our father along!" they said.
- ko to-kə-cəs
 MD:ANX PFT-NOM- say
10. na-jwa-jn tʃə? tʃe nə ɲ-apa tə ndə rənə ndə tə ɲi-sa-ɲu
 PFT-return-3p this LOC CON 3p:GEN-father C that FIL that C 3p:GEN-NOM-live
 Upon their return home, [it turned out that] their father - at their place they used to

tʃəʔ tʃe təkuʔ ʃi kacop na-kə-ŋgrel 'nə-ŋos rənə ndə tə
 this LOC dried.dung often burn PFT-NOM-be.used.to EV-be CON that C
 burn dried yak dung; they had stacked that yak dung around the enclosure [for animals];

ʃuk^har na-ka-taʔ tə kəʒu tə na-kə-cop wurənə ʃu p^haŋmo
 enclosure PFT-NOM-put₂ C all C PFT-NOM-burn CON wood conflagration
 and all this dung had been burnt and the wooden enclosure went up in a great

to-'a-kə-teʔ-w 'nə-ŋos
 PFT/P-NOM-put₁-3s EV-be
 conflagration.

11. təkuʔ p^haŋmo to-'a-kə-teʔ-w ndə tə ʃeŋʃeŋ ʃeŋʃeŋ kə-mber
 dried.dung conflagration PFT-NEV-NOM-put₁-3s that C EXP EXP NOM-burn
 While the dried dung burnt in a huge fire spewing smoke and sparks

w-əla-j ɲ-apa na-kə-ndoʔ 'nə-ŋos wurənə spjaŋkə-ɲo
 3s:GEN-middle-LOC 3p:GEN-father PFT-NOM-have EV-be CON wolf-p
 their father stood in the middle [of the enclosure]

kə kandza ʃi-kə-c^ha-jn 'nə-ŋos
 PR eat NEG/PFT-NOM-able-3p EV-be
 and so the wolves had not been able to devour him.

12. ndə ʃi-c^ha-jn tʃe nə təza-ɲo kə nə a tʃəʔ-pu narə
 that NEG/PFT-able-3p LOC CON son-p PR CON well this-now and
 The wolves having failed to eat their father, the sons

j-apa na-nəməto-j spjaŋkə kə nə ʃi-no-ŋo-ndza tʃəʔ-pu nə
 1p:GEN-father PFT-find-1p wolf PR CON NEG/AF/PFT-PAS-eat this-now CON
 [said]: "well, now that we have found our father, and the wolves have not eaten

j-apa na-kə-nəsten.....²⁵⁶ kəhaw makəndʒa na-kə-nəsten 'nə-ŋos
 1p:GEN-father PFT-NOM-care.for good very PFT-NOM-care.for EV-be
 him, now we must take care of our father....they took very good care of their father."

²⁵⁶ The narrator switches here in mid-sentence, from direct speech (the sons talking about taking care of their father) to narration (the narrator telling the audience that the sons took good care of their father).

13. korə wurə ɲ-apa na-kə-mtʂoʔk ndə tə ɲ-apa tə na-kə-ʃu 'nə-ŋos
but CON 3p:GEN-father PFT-NOM-old that C 3p:GEN-father C PFT-NOM-die EV-be
But then, since their father was old, he died.
14. ɲ-apa na-ʃu tʃe nə wuʂo-ɲo kə a tʃəʔ-pu nə jiʂo kaʃiktek
3p:GEN-father PFT-die LOC CON 3-p PR well this-now CON we:i brothers
After their father had died, they said: "Well, now we three brothers
- kəsam tʃəʔ sok ʃə ka-ɲu nə-maʔk
three this manner unsatisfactory NOM-live OBS-not be
should not live alone like we used to.
- tʃəʔ tə tambat tə w-əŋkʰuʔ kə nə tsʰo kəsam 'na-ndoʔ ndə
this C mountain C 3s:GEN-behind PR CON lake three OBS-have that
Behind this mountain, as we remember, there are three lakes.
- w-əpʰa-s kərek tʰo-j to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
3sGEN-vicinity-LOC one ascend-1p PFT-NOM-say EV-be
Let's go up to that area."
15. mtsʰo kərek taɲmo nə ɤo-mtsʰo²⁵⁷ kacəs 'nə-ŋos
lake one that's.right CON milk-lake say EV-be
One lake, yes that was called Milk Lake.
16. kərek taɲmo nə maɲʃuʔ kərek taɲmo nə ser-mtsʰo²⁵⁸ kacəs 'nə-ŋos
one that's.right CON besides one that's.right CON gold-lake say EV-be
One, that's right, another lake, yeah, was called Gold Lake.
17. kərek tə spjaɲ-mtsʰo kacəs
one C wolf-lake say
One was called Wolf Lake.
18. mtsʰo kəsam tə wurənə ndə tə kaʃiktek-ɲo wurənə wu-takpo kaka tə
lake three C CON that C brothers-p FIL 3s:GEN-owner one.each C
The three brothers went for the purpose of becoming masters, each of one lake.

²⁵⁷ The word *ɤomtsʰo* comes from literary Tibetan འཇམ་, *oma*, 'milk' and མཚོ་, *mtsho*, 'lake'. The normal Jiāomùzú term for 'milk' is *təloʔ*. The use of Tibetan terms in this story points to a high register, as do honorific stems for verbs. This myth of origin is, for the narrator, clearly more than 'just a story'.

²⁵⁸ The word *sermtsho* is a Tibetan loan, from literary Tibetan གསེར་, *gser*, 'gold' and མཚོ་, *mtsho*, 'lake'. The indigenous Jiāomùzú term for gold is *tarni*.

to-kə-ʃi-va-jn ʼnə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-VPT-do-3p EV-be

19. ndə-j w-əmtə-j na-ɲu tʃəʔ tʃe nə wurə w-əŋgi sto
that-LOC 3s:GEN-edge-LOC PFT-live this LOC CON CON 3s:GEN-inside upward
After they had started living up there,

kəʃoʔ w-apuʔ kətsə-tsə kəmpʃer makəndʒa kəpraʔm kaka
sheep 3s:GEN-child small-RED beautiful very white one.each
three small white lambs, very beautiful, came up, one out of each lake.

to-kə-lhok ʼnə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-appear EV-be

20. o ndə rə ndə tə-ɲo na-kə-nə-ʃpət kʰonə ndə sok na-kə-ɲu
well that CON that C-p PFT-NOM-EREFL-breed CON that manner PFT-NOM-live
Well, then, they lived there, they themselves breeding the lambs; but when they

ʼnə-ŋos koronə ndə tə na-ɲu tʃəʔ tʃe ndə wurə w-əŋgi sto
EV-be but that C PFT-live this LOC that CON 3s:GEN-in upwards
lived there, then up out of the lakes emerged three very beautiful women.

pəʒuk təmuʔ kəmpʃer makəndʒa kəsam to-kə-lhok ʼnə-ŋos
again woman beautiful very three PFT-NOM-appear EV-be

21. ndə nə təmuʔ kəmpʃer mtsʰo w-əŋgi sto təmuʔ kəmpʃer kəsam
that CON woman beautiful lake 3s:GEN-in upwards woman beautiful three
When those three very beautiful women came up out of the lakes, they lived there and

to-lhok tʃe nə ndə tə w-əŋgi na-kə-ɲu rənə ser-mtsʰo kacəs
PFT-appear LOC CON that C 3s:GEN-in PFT-NOM-live CON gold-lake say
then the one called Goldlake, yeah, she became the wife of the oldest brother.

taŋmo nə w-ajze stoŋ kəktu w-andʒiʔ²⁵⁹ to-kə-va-w
that's.right CON 3s:GEN-older.brother most big 3s:GEN-friend PFT-NOM-do-3s

ʼnə-ŋos
EV-be

²⁵⁹ The word *tandʒiʔ* means 'friend', but is often used to refer to a spouse or lover.

22. ʁo-mts^ho kacəs taŋmo nə w-ajze kəməla w-andʁi?
 milk-lake say that's.right CON 3s:GEN-older.brother middle 3s:GEN-friend
 The one called Milklake, that's right, she became the wife of the middle brother.
- to-kə-va-w 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be
23. spjaŋ-mts^ho kacəs nə stoŋ kətsə wu-je w-andʁi? nə-'a-kə-va-w
 wolf-lake say CON most small 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-friend PFT-NEV-NOM-do-3s
 And the one called Wolflake became the wife of the youngest brother.
- 'nə-ŋos
 EV-be
24. ndə tə nə-va-w tʃe nə ndə rənə ndə tə wu-p^ha-s no-s
 that C PFT-do-3s LOC CON that CON that C 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC down-LOC
 As they lived like that, these couples had children, so then when
- ɲ-apu? na-kə-ndo? wurənə ndə tə ɲ-apu? na-ndo? na-ndo?
 3p:GEN-child PFT-NOM-have CON that C 3p:GEN-child PFT-have PFT-have
 these children had many many children, lots and lots of descendants,
- na-ndo? na-ndo? ʃi ʃi ʃi tʃe nə ndə rənə ser-mts^ho kacəs
 PFT-have PFT-have often often often LOC CON that CON gold-lake say
 the children of the one called Goldlake became,
- wu-je w-apu? taŋmo nə ndə rə kəməvun^kh^u? təʃok kərscaɬ
 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-child that's.right CON that CON in.the.end clan eight
 in the end, eight clans.
- nə-kə-va-w 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be
25. ʁo-mtsho kacəs taŋmo nə təʃok kətʃoʔk nə-kə-va-w 'nə-ŋos
 milk-lake say that's.right CON clan six PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be
 The descendants of the one called Milklake, right, developed into six clans.

26. *kombo fox tək²⁶⁰ kacəs tə nə-kə-ve-w 'nə-ɲos*
kombo clan six say C PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be
 They became what is called the six clans of the Milk people.
27. *spjaŋ-mts^ho kacəs taŋmo nə ndə tə wu-je taŋmo təʃok kəpdu*
wolf-lake say that's.right CON that C 3s-POSS that's.right clan four
 The descendants of the one called Wolflake increased and became four clans.
- to-kə-tʃ^hak 'nə-ɲos*
PFT-NOM- EV-be
28. *mə.spjaŋ sde wʒə²⁶¹ kacəs tə ndə tʃe wurənə rjaron rjarkap*
person.wolf village four say C that LOC CON rGyalrong kingdom
 They are called the four villages of the Wolf people;
- corjeɽ²⁶² wu-je w-əʃok tə ndə tə kaʃikteɽ kəsam ɲi-p^ha*
eighteen 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-clan C that C brothers three 3p:GEN-vicinity
 and so those clans of the Eighteen Kingdoms of the rGyalrong came from three
- na-kə-mbjo-ɲn ɲos kacəs ɲos*
PFT-NOM-come/HON-3p be say be
 brothers, it is said.
29. *wurənə təza kəktu wu-je taŋmo tə xserwa mtʃerjat²⁶³*
CON son big 3s-POSS that's.right C xserwa mtʃerjat
 So the oldest brother's descendants, that's right, they became the eight clans of the Gold
- kəməla wu-je taŋmo kombo sotək*
middle 3s-POSS that's.right kombo sotək
 people, the descendants of the middle one, right, became the six clans of the Milk
- kətsə wu-je taŋmo mə spjaŋ sde wʒə kacəs wurə*
small 3s-POSS that's.right person wolf village four say CON

²⁶⁰ A Tibetan appellation, from literary Tibetan ཤོག་རྩལ, *shog drug*, 'six clans'.

²⁶¹ A Tibetan appellation, literary Tibetan: མི་སྤྱང་སྡེ་བཞི, *mi spyang sde bzhi*, 'the four villages of the wolf people'.

²⁶² A Tibetan appellation, from literary Tibetan: རྒྱལ་རོང་རྒྱལ་ཁམ་བོ་བརྒྱད, *rGyal rong rgyal khab bco brgyad*, 'the eighteen kingdoms of rGyalrong'.

²⁶³ A Tibetan appellation, from literary Tibetan ཚོ་བ, *tshopa*, 'tribe' and བརྒྱད, *brgyad*, 'eight'.

people; and the descendants of the youngest brother, right, became the four villages of
 təʃok corscat tə ndə tʃe kə kətʃʰak ŋos kacəs
 clan eighteen C that LOC PR develop be say
 the Wolf people; the eighteen clans, that is how they developed, it is said,

rʃaronʃ rʃarkap corscat wu-je tə
 rGyalrong kingdom eighteen 3s-POSS C
 the eighteen kingdoms of the rGyalrong.