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

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## TEXT 1

### The story of A-myis Sgo-ldong

1    kəsce-sce      bdət     əɟi   ʒəŋkʰam-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     makəndɽa   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   mənaŋos   nə    bdət    tə   w-əɽni       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

    cʰappa   raŋliŋ    kə-ɽni      kə   manɟuʔ   w-andɽiʔ       tə   mənaŋos   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-arɟaʔp      tə   mənaŋos   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-ɽni         na-kə-ŋos       ˈnə-ŋos
    PFT-NOM-be.called PFT-NOM-be   EV-be

4    rə   ndzamlaŋ  kərgi  tə   rɟarpo  kərgi  tə  mənaŋos  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       ˈnə-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    rɟarpo   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[228]           kə-kə-nərko-w      kʰonə    w-əspok-j
           3s:GEN-underside   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    ɟi-kə-jok           kʰonə   rə      w-əspok
           NEG-NOM-go.upriver   CON   NEG/PFT-NOM-allow      CON    CON   3s:GEN-underside
           so he became subservient.

           kə    kə-rɟi-jn         ˈnə-ŋos
           PR    NOM-go-3s:HON    EV-be

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

7a     rə       manɟuʔ   rɟarpo   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 -

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

           kʰonə   bdət     tə   wu-je     ndə   tə   makəndʐa     w-əpke          na-kə-kʰut
           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   kʰonə   ndə   tə   kə-cʰa      ʃi       menə
           C   CON     that   C   NOM-win   often   CON
           [and so] he often won, regrettably

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[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 rɟarpo-ɲi nə ma-kə-cʰa-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-əŋkʰuʔ    nə wot cə²²⁹ pot-j   amɲi   zgordən kacəs tə mənaŋos 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 saŋrɟi-ɲi        kə ndə tə-ɲi    tə mənaŋos nə  əɟi-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           ˈnə-ŋos
    peace NOM-carry that C C PFT-NOM-CAUS-come₂  PFT-NOM-be-3p:HON      EV-be
    that they sent him.

9   rə  rɟarpo kərgi wu-je  w-əspok-j           məˈnaŋos 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           kəɲes tə kərscat-zɟi
    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 kəɲes tə kərscat-zɟi kaka kə-vi-ndʒ     na-kə-ŋos    ˈnə-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.

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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      rǝnǝ ndǝ ndʒ-apuʔ     ki    kǝrscat-zɟi   ji-vu-ndʒ      tʃǝʔ tʃe    ndʒ-apuʔ
              CON that 3d:GEN-child IDEF eight-ten       PFT-come$_2$-3d this LOC    3d:GEN-child
              And then, a child - when they were eighty years old they had a child!

              ki     na-kǝ-ndoʔ       ˈnǝ-ŋos
              IDEF PFT-NOM-have     EV-be

11     ndʒ-apuʔ      ki     na-kǝ-ndoʔ    tǝ mǝnaŋos nǝ    ndǝ tǝ tǝ   nǝ    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     sgoldǝn    kacǝs tǝ ndǝ tǝ na-ŋos-jn        kʰonǝ na-ˈa-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-ǝmpʰro     tʃǝʔ tʃe   nǝ   rǝnǝ tǝrgo nǝ    kǝ-ro…….w-ǝmo        w-ǝnuʔ
              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.

              tǝ ka-moʔt      tǝ kʰonǝ tǝrgo kǝ-tʂo    to-kǝ-ndza-w       ˈnǝ-ŋos
              C NOM-drink     C   CON      grain    one-*tʂo* PFT-NOM-eat-3s   EV-be

12     w-ǝmpʰro     tʃǝʔ tʃe   nǝ   w-apso          nǝ    kǝŋes 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

              nǝ    kǝsam ro w-ǝŋkʰuʔ     nǝ   ndǝ tǝ sok     ʃi          w-ǝjpo
              CON three   *ro*   3s:GEN-after CON that C   manner continuously 3s:GEN-*ǝjpo*
              *ro*, and on and on like that, until he ate a *kǝjpo*[232] [each day] and continued to do so.

              sok      ʃi         wurǝ       ndǝ w-atʰam-j      nǝ tǝndze-ɲi kǝrkǝn
              manner continuously   CON:REASON that 3s:GEN-time-LOC CON food-p      scarce
              On and on like that; at that time, food was scarce

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[231] A *kǝtʂo* 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 *kǝtʂo* contains one *tǝrpa*, 'pound' and eight *srang*, 'unit of fifty grammes', so a total of 900 grammes. Since the *kǝtʂo* measures volume, the weight for other grains like wheat would be different, though the volume would be the same. The measure word is *kǝtʂo* for one unit, and *ro* for quantities from two onwards. So the boy ate on his first day a *kǝtʂo* of barley, and then two *ro*, on to three *ro*, etc.

[232] A *kǝjpo* is ten *ro*.

kʰonə ndə kʰo w-əmo narənə w-apa-ndʒ kə wuɟo-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 kəmtʂoʔk ˈnə-ŋos-ndʒ kʰonə la
also old EV-be-3d CON MD:SA

13  ka-ʃpət mə-kə-to-cʰa-ndʒ²³³ ˈnə-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-cʰa-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 ˈnə-ŋos kʰonə ʃikʰa-j cʰo ki ʃi-pʰət-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 ˈnə-ŋos
Q-not.be PFT-NOM-say EV-be

15  rənə j-apa kə ʃikʰa-j ka-pʰət 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].

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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 *mətocʰandʒ*.

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                 kʰonə    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           nənɟo   mənaŋos   nə     tərpʰu    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 -

        kʰonə   nənɟo   mənaŋos   sta       tʃəʔ    nə-'ɲu-n
        CON      you     FIL         origin   this    IMP-stay-2s
        "You stay right here.

16b     rə   mənaŋos     nə     tʃəʔ   w-əna          tʃəʔ   tʃe   ʃu         pʰot-ŋ
        CON FIL          CON     this   3s:GEN-below   this   LOC   firewood     cut-1s
        I'll cut firewood just below here.

16c     w-əŋkʰuʔ     nə   ʃu-ɲi       kə-pʰot-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-miʔ           tʃəʔ   tʃe   narənə   ŋa   jaŋve   letʔ-ŋ      kʰonə   ndə   tʃəʔ   tʃe   nə
        PFT-NEV-not.have   this   LOC   FIL       I      signal   hit$_1$-1s   CON      that   this   LOC   CON
        I will make handsignals,

        a-na-tə-'vi-n                 to-kə-cəs        'nə-ŋos
        IRR-IMP:down-2-come$_1$-2s   PFT-NOM-say   EV-be
        and at that time you should come down."

17a     owe   to-kə-cəs        'nə-ŋos   kʰonə
        okay   PFT-NOM-say   EV-be      CON
        "Okay", the boy said -

17b     karjo   ʒik   pok   təskaʔt-ɲi    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           kʰonə
        talk     PFT-NOM-can$_3$-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-tʃʰe
      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-ndoʔ    w-əmba-j      h-ata    tʃe   na    nɟilək 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   nɟilək ki   na-kə-jok      kʰonə rənə tʃəʔ 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-va-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 kəneʔk 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   tʃəʔ ŋ-apa       tə tʃəʔ-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-əskaʔt     kə    to-miʔ       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-rɟi     tʃəʔ tʃe   nə   rə     tamkʰu   kəneʔk   tə   mənaŋos   nə   jaŋve   tə
      PFT-go$_2$   this   LOC   CON   CON   cloth      black     C   FIL      CON   signal   C
      When he went down - the black cloth, since there was wind the signal

      kʰalu   kə   to-kə-va-w      kʰonə   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 -

      kʰonə   tamkʰu   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-əŋkʰuʔ      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     kʰonə   tərpʰu      w-apa-j          na-kə-ɲi
      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     kʰonə   ndə   kʰonə   pəɟu      patʃu   mda   ki      nə-kə-bzok       pəɟu      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-saɟa-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-saɟa-w            o
      PFT-NOM-begin-3s   MD:CF
      killing pheasants and rabbits for food too.

22     w-əmpʰro      tʃəʔ tʃe   nə   rə    kəmənkʰuʔ   nə   to-kə-kʰut      tə   kʰonə
      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

kartsʰe kərek kəɲes 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-ɟa-w ˈnə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-CAUS-begin-3s EV-be

23 kartsʰe kəməŋkʰuʔ nə….. kartsʰe kəngu tərpʰu ʒənder…..w-apʰispok-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…

tərpʰu ʒənder kəngu ʃu ka-rko manɟuʔ w-apʰispok-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 kartsʰe kəngu w-əngem tə w-apʰispok-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-cʰa na-kə-ŋos ˈnə-ŋos
that manner 3s:GEN-likeness C PR PFT-NOM-able PFT-NOM-be EV-be

24 a rɟarpo kərgi nə nde w-əŋkʰu-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 tʃəʔ tə bdət tə kə sok jiɟi-ɲo pəʒək sok wu-vəravlak-j loskiʒik
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

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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<sup>h</sup>onə t<sup>h</sup>i ka-va me nə ndə k<sup>h</sup>ormaŋ 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 ˈnə-ŋos

muster IDEF NOM-do need PFT-NOM:HON-say EV-be

together and be mustered," he said.

26 k<sup>h</sup>ormaŋ 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<sup>h</sup>ə tʃe na-kə-ɲi

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 ˈna-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

ˈna-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 kərscat-zɟi 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 makəndʐa tavlu kəktu ki kə-vi ndʒ-apuʔ 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 ˈna-ndoʔ

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-ɟi-cʰa  nə
that C  C  PR  this  C  demon C  that  PR  NOM-break[237]  COND-NEG/PFT-able  CON

If that child is not able to completely destroy that demon,

ndə  kʰonə  kə-cʰa  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-ɲi  kə  wastop  skarme  ki  na-kə-tso-w  w-əŋkʰuʔ-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.

kʰonə  ndə  to-kə-cəs  ˈnə-ŋos
CON  that  PFT-NOM-say  EV-be

29a[238]  rənə  kʰormaŋ  stamce  to-ka-sə-bzə  kʰonə  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  nənɟo  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

tʰi  sok  ndoʔ  nənɟo  n-apuʔ  tʰi  sok  ndoʔ  nənɟo  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];

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[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.

| tʰi | sok | ndoʔ | tʰi | sok | ndoʔ | ʃi | | tʰi | 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

| ŋos | ʃi | (ndə tə wurə) | tʰi | to-kə-psok | ŋos | 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
| kʰonə | w-əŋkʰuʔ | ndə | tə | wu-je | təɲe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CON | 3s:GEN-behind | that | C | 3s-POSS | all.of.the.people |

there in the back.

30a
| rə | ndʐamən | kəsam | kəbdu | to-kə-pa | 'na-ŋos | nə | ndə | tapuʔ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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-pʰət | 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-ŋos | kʰonə |
|---|---|
| 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 | tʃəʔ | tʃe | nə | ndə | tʃe | na |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PFT:to.river-arrive | this | LOC | CON | that | LOC | down |

said to them:

30c
| a | nənɟo | ndə | sok | kə-vi | tə | wu-rtsəs | makəndʐa | ndə | kʰonə |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ah | 2s | that | manner | NOM-come₁ | C | 3s:GEN-number | different | that | CON |

"Well, the outcome of the calculation [of the divination] is amazing.

| ndʒənɟo | ndʒ-apuʔ | kə-nɟər | kə-ndoʔ | 'nə-miʔ | kʰonə | ndʒənɟo |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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-apuʔ    rɟarpo ki    ˈnə-ŋos   kʰonə ndʒənɟo  ndʒa-puʔ  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            ˈnə-ŋos
need  PFT-NOM/HON-say     EV-be

31a    rənə  a  ndə  tʃəno  tʃ-apuʔ        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-apuʔ        nə   kə-ndoʔ  miʔ
       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-miʔ
       NOM-not.have
       No we don't at all.

31c    wu-tʃʰe               kə-ndoʔ  miʔ       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-ndoʔ  miʔ       to-kə-cəs       ˈnə-ŋos
       3s-material CON  NOM-have  not.have  PFT-NOM-say    EV-be
       should go to look for it."

32     rɟarpo kə  kə-miʔ         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            ˈnə-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-rɟi               ˈna-kə-ra       na-ˈa-ŋos
PFT:to.mountain-NOM-go₂   OBS-NOM-need  PFT-NEV-be

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

     kʰonə 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    kʰonə
     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    təɟeʔm 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-ˈa-ŋos
     PFT-NOM-do    PFT-NOM-have   PFT-NEV-be

35     a tʃəʔ  tə   nənɟo 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 nənɟo n-əza      tə to-kə-ndza   ʃi      kʰonə
     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.

     tʰi   a-to-va-ŋ      ŋə-ka-tsep      nə   kə-ndoʔ   miʔ      kʰonə
     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

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36      j-apa                      nə     makəndʐa  to-kə-nəsu       to-kə-ʒdar

1s:HON:GEN-old.man  CON  very        PFT-NOM-believe  PFT-NOM-afraid$_2$

The old man very much believed [that his son had been eaten] and was terribly scared

na-ˈa-ŋos

PFT-NEV-be

[that the king would punish him for not delivering the boy].

37      rə    tərpʰu     w-awo-j       to-kə-rɟi      kʰonə  wamo

CON  pine.tree  3s:GEN-top-LOC  PFT-NOM-go$_2$  CON     what.on.earth

Nevertheless he climbed to the top of the tree – "I'll have a look at whatever is

tʰi     sok     ˈnə-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-rɟi      kʰonə  w-awo    mdzo-j    w-əla-j        to-kə-rɟi

PFT-NOM-go$_2$  CON     3s:GEN-top  tip-LOC  3s:GEN-middle-LOC  PFT-NOM-go$_2$

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-come$_1$  C  continuously

to see who would come below.

na-kə-natso     na-ˈa-ŋos

PFT-NOM-see    PFT-NEV-be

38      kərek  ji-vu     tʃəʔ  tʃe  nə    satʃʰe  ka-sadəkdək

one     PFT-come$_2$  this  LOC  CON  earth    NOM-shake

Right at the approach of someone below, the earth began to shake.

w-apʰispok-j      kə-təcu    mənaŋos nə     tərpʰu  ʒənder kəngu ʃu

3s:GEN-armpit-LOC  one-opening  FIL      CON  pine.tree huge    nine    wood

Under his one arm, really, he had nine logs of firewood and

na-kə-ndoʔ    manɟuʔ    kə-təcu    mənaŋos 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-apʰispok-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      kʰonə tərpʰu      kəngu   ʃu      tə
towards.speaker   PFT-NOM-come₂   CON   pine.tree    nine      wood    C
he came up carrying all that;

to-kə-plu-w      kʰonə w-ərka-j      kartsʰe   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-ˈa-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 -

makəndɽa   to-kə-ʒdar      kʰonə      w-aʃcu      ʒik   nə-kə-ʃlak      na-ˈa-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-əŋkʰuʔ      təɟuʔ   cʰot    cʰot    cʰot   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-ˈa-ŋos
PFT-NOM-come₂   PFT-NEV-be

41    rə    a    tʰi    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-ɲi   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   kʰonə  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   ɟa-ŋa-məmto-dʒ     kʰonə  aha  tʃəʔ  ɟə-nipa       ja
       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       kʰonə
       PFT-NOM-say   CON
       he said.[239]

43c   rənə  apa  ndə  na-'vi-n              tʰi   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,

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[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.

na-kə-maʔk        ŋos  kʰonə
PFT-NOM-not.be    be   CON
that's not how it is now.


43f    rə    nənɟo  n-əmdzə        kə-ndoʔ    miʔ
       CON   you    2s:GEN-blame   NOM-have   not.have
       There is no blame on you.


43g    ŋa  mənaŋos  nə    tʃəʔ  tə  rənə  stoŋ  lhaju    na    na-kə-vu-ŋ                ŋos
       I   FIL      CON   this  C   FIL   SUP   heaven   down  PFT:down-NOM-come₂-1s     be
       In truth, this ah… I've come down from the highest heavens.


43h    tʃəʔ  rənə  dewa  kə-pkot     na-kə-vu-ŋ            ŋos  kʰonə
       this  FIL   peace  NOM-bring  PFT-NOM-come₂-1s     be   CON
       [I came in order to] to bring peace, so


       nənɟo  mənaŋos  nə    n-əmdzə        nə    tʰi    kə-ndoʔ    miʔ        kʰonə
       you    FIL      CON   2s:GEN-blame   CON   what   NOM-have   not.have   CON
       there is no blame on you whatsoever.


43i    tʃəʔ  tə  sok     təʒder-ɲo  ma-ra     je  na-ˈvi-n            to-kə-cəs
       this  C   manner  fear-p     NEG-need   MD  IMP:down-come-2s    PFT-NOM-say
       There is no need at all to have so much fear, come on down," he said.


       kʰonə
       CON


44     rə   w-apa          na-kə-rɟi           kʰonə
       CON  3s:GEN-father   PFT:down-NOM-go₂    CON
       Then his father went down.


45a    rə   rɟarə  nə    pok  tə  to-kə-ʃkut           ˈnə-stʃi    kʰonə
       CON  meat   CON   all  C   PFT-NOM-finish.meal  EV-be:CD    CON
       He had finished his meal of meat, more's the pity,


45b    w-əʃwa           w-acep         kərek  nə-nakjok               tʃəʔ  tʃe
       3s:GEN-tooth     3s:GEN-gap     one    PFT-pick.one's.teeth    this  LOC
       but when he picked at the gap between his teeth,


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rɟarə nə eʑi-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    rɟarə nə la wuvjot to-kə-ndza-w ˈnə-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 ʑi-kə-cʰa na-ˈa-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 kərɟik rə-kə-kʰit na-ˈa-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 ʑi-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.

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[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      cʰasumtʃʰe    rɟarpo   kə   nə   ŋa   nə

         ah   1s:GEN-boy   please[241]      king   PR   CON   I    CON

         "My dear boy, please, the king - I

         tʃəʔ   tə   sok     kə-tə-ndoʔ-n     nə    tʰi   ʒik   ma-ˈnə-ʃi-ŋ       kʰonə

         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    rɟapo   kə   nə   tʃəʔ   tə   rə   nənɟo   nə-je     kərscat-zɟi

         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-ɲu      tə   kərscat-zɟi   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   mənaŋos   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-cʰa      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         kʰonə

         NOM-have    not.have     PFT-say-1s:HON   CON

49c    ŋa   nə   tʃəʔ-pu   tʃəʔ   sok     kə-tə-ndoʔ-n   kə-ŋos   nə      ma-ˈnə-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

         kʰonə

         CON

50     w-əŋkʰuʔ-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 -

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[241] Professor Āwàng spells this word སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆེ (*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-ˈnə-ʃi-ŋ          kʰonə  ma-ka-va-naro-n              nə   ma-ˈnə-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;

rɟarpo  kəpke      ˈnə-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-come$_2$-1s

51   h-ardu     rə    mənaŋos nə    rənə  ma-kə-vi-n              nə    ma-kə-jok        ɟu
     D-below    CON   FIL          CON   FIL   NEG-NOM-come$_1$-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  mənaŋos  nə     rtsamko       ki    ndə  tə  tə  rə-ˈtsep-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-əŋkʰuʔ        manɟuʔ   mənaŋos nə   ə   tangor        kəngu  mpʰjar  tərscok
     3s:GEN-back     besides  FIL          CON eh  side.of.fat   nine   CL      *tərscok*
     And you must also, eh, have a *tərscok*[242] made of nine sides of pork fat with the

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

54   ə   tartsi kəngu mpʰjar w-artu       ka-sə-tʂop        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   manɟuʔ mənaŋos nə    ʃam-rstʂaʔ    pərɟa-kərscat-zɟi   tərpa   kətʰot
     besides FIL      CON  iron-claw     hundred-eight-ten   pound   full.measure
     Besides you need to make a rake[243], one that weighs fully

---

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

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

56     ʃam-to        mənaŋos nə   pər�ja-kərscat-zɟi  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  mənaŋos nə   pərɟa-kərscat-zɟi    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-ʒoŋpjak   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  mənaŋos 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-candʐu       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 ʒoŋpjak 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 ʒoŋpjak is withdrawn until the bread is done. The ʒoŋpjak is the natural complement of the como or baking trough.

59    manɟuʔ   mənaŋos   nə    kʰamgok²⁴⁵      jiɟo   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 makəndʐa     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          cʰədə   kəngu 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-ɲo  ˈto-sa-va-va-jn              kʰo  ŋa ndə  wu-ʒakma   tʃəʔ tʃe  kərek
      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   rɟapo  kə  nə   ndə sok      cʰa-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    ŋkʰormaŋ   nə    təpʃe      kə-va    stamce tə   to-ˈa-sa-məmto         kʰonə
      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-rstʐaʔ   ʃam-to        ʒoŋpjak ndə-ɲo təpʃə     kə-va-ɲi      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-saɟo-w        ˈnə-ŋos
      NOM-prepare    PFT-NOM-begin-3s    EV-be
      hammer, and the shovel.

---

²⁴⁵ A *kʰamgok* 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   nkʰormaŋ-ɲi   mənaŋos   nə      wu-rtse-kʰok    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       tʃəʔ   tʃe   a   rɟapo   kə   tʃəʔ   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-ɟo       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   wuɟo   w-ərgo        wastop   kəktu   kə-ndoʔ     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 -

      tʃəʔ   tʃe   w-apa      tʃe   rscamɟa[246]   ki   sok       me   nə   ndoʔ    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-miʔ         na-ˈa-stʃi
      PFT-NOM-not.have    PFT-NEV-be:CD
      puts in a tea bowl!

64    ndə   kʰormaŋ-ɲi   stamce   tə-ɲi   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   tʃəʔ   tʃe   ndə   tʃe   nə   rtsam-kʰot     tə   ka-pjot   na-ˈa-cʰa-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      ˈnə-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 *rscamɟa*. For lack of a better term I translate it here as 'pinch'.

64     ndə rtsam-kʰok   ka-pjot   na-kə-cʰa-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]

      na-kə-ŋos     ka-cəs     ˈnə-ŋos

      PFT-NOM-be   NOM-say   EV-be

65     ə ndə w-əŋkʰuʔ     nə ndə wu-ʒakma tʃe rɟi-ŋ     to-kə-cəs

      eh that 3s:gen-back   CON that 3:GEN-time LOC come$_2$-1s   PFT-NOM-say

      Well, then - he had said that he would come at that time [when the people had finished

      wu-ʒakma   tə tʃe nə rənə na-ka-vu-jn         ˈnə-ŋos

      3s:GEN-day   C   LOC CON CON   PFT-NOM/HON-come$_2$-1s:HON   EV-be

      all the preparations], and right at that time he did come!

66     na-kə-vu-jn            kʰonə ndə rə ə cʰədə    narə kəngu tajam ndə tə

      PFT-NOM-come-1s:HON   CON     that CON eh porridge FIL nine pot     that C

      He came, and the nine pots that were stting there,

      tə-ɲi   tə tajam makəndṛa    kəktu w-əŋgi       tʃəʔ tʃe

      C-p    C pot     exceedingly big   3:GEN-inside   this LOC

      those exceedingly big pots full of porridge -

      kə-kə-ʃkut        na-ˈa-ŋos

      PFT-NOM-finish      PFT-NEV-be

      he polished off everything that was in those pots.

67     rə ndə ɲ-ərscok       mənaŋos nə tangor kəngu mpʰjar tə

      CON that 1s:HON:GEN-clothes FIL       CON side nine    sheet    C

      Then about his clothes, he put on the robe that was made out of nine sides of

      to-kə-nə-wat-w          na-ˈa-ŋos

      PFT-NOM-EREFL-put.on-3s   PFT-NEV-be

      pork-fat including the skin,

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[247] Since the king could not fill the bag, the chances of enlisting A-myis Sgo-ldong's help in defeating the demon diminished rapidly. The moral here is, of course, that when people work together they can accomplish what one individual cannot.

68    w-artu       mənaŋos  nə    tartsi  kəngu  mpʰjar  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-ˈa-ŋos
       PFT-NOM-EREFL-put.on-3s     PFT-NEV-be

69    ʃam-to          pərɟa-kərscat-zɟi   tərpa  kə-tʰot           tə
       iron-hammer   hundred-eight-ten  pound  NOM-full.measure  C
       The iron hammer that weighed fully one hundred and eighty pounds,

       ʒoŋpja  pərɟa-kərscat-zɟi    tərpa  kə-tʰot           tə
       shovel  hundred-eight-ten   pound  NOM-full.measure    C
       the shovel that weighed fully one hundred and eighty pounds,

       ʃam-rstɽaʔ  mənaŋos  nə    pərɟa-kərscat-zɟi   tərpa  kə-tʰot           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-ɲo    ɲ-apkʰe             no-kə-nə-rko-jn           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-rɟi-jn         na-kə-ŋos    ka-cəs     ˈnə-ŋos
       PFT-NOM-go$_2$-3s:HON   PFT-NOM-be   NOM-say     EV-be
       And so he set out, it is said.

70    ha    kə-rɟi-jn         tʃəʔ  tʃe  nə    wuɟo  nə   rɟapo  kə       kərgi  tə
       well  PFT-go$_2$-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       kʰonə  ndə  wu-rɟasep         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          kʰonə
       PFT-EREFL-move   CON

71      rənə    wu-kʰambu[248]    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-ˈa-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       kʰonə ndə  si   ka-cəs     tə  ˈnə-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-naˈtso-w    to-kə-cəs     na-ˈa-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    ˈnə-ŋos to-kə-cəs     na-ˈa-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  nə[249]  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-ˈcəs    to-kə-cəs     ˈnə-ŋos
        one   look.for[250]-2s  IMP-VPT-say  PFT-NOM-say  EV-be
        Sgo-ldong] said: 'Go tell your father to come down and meet me here.'"

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[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 *kʰambu*. 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    ˈnə-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-ˈa-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     kənchaʔm    ŋə-ɟo   ŋ-aka-j           kənəmdok si   ˈna-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-hit$_2$   3s:GEN-son
        and he dealt his son a blow on the cheek, [so that]

        ler           na-kə-nə-sat         na-ˈa-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-ˈa-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    khonə
        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     ɟo-kə-khut          khonə
        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-rɟi     na-ˈa-ŋos
        3:GEN-son   middle   C   PFT-NOM-go$_2$   PFT-NEV-be
        the second son went out.

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78a    w-əza      təli     tə   nə-rɟi   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-nɟər     kə-miʔ     nənɟo
       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      ˈnə-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-ˈvi-n        to-ˈcəs-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     kʰonə
       PFT-say   CON

78c    ŋə-ɟo        w-aka-j            kənəmdok   si    ˈna-ndoʔ    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-ˈa-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-ˈa-ŋos
       still   3s:GEN-son middle C   PFT-NOM-EREFL-kill   PFT-NEV-be
       He himself killed his second son.

80     pəʒik jawnəjaw jawnəjaw ʃi     to-kə-cəs      kʰonə
       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          nənɟo nə-ʃi-naˈtso-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 pəʒik 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      nənɟo 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    nənɟo n-aka-j      kənəmdok    'nə-ŋos
        you   2s:GEN-LOC   strong       EV-be
        He is stronger than you.

82e    ŋ-ajze-ndʒ         kəɲes tə na-tə-sat-w    menə   nənɟo 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."

        ʒik kənəmdok ki    'nə-ŋos     to-kə-cəs
        also strong     IDEF   EV-be    PFT-NOM-be

82f    ŋə-ɟo        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    pəʒik 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-arɟaʔp
        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-ˈa-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-arɟaʔp     nə   ana ndə bdət-mo   makəndɽa  rənə srənmo²⁵¹  makəndɽa
       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-ˈa-ŋos      kʰonə
       3s:GEN-likeness  C  PFT-NOM-be:CD  PFT-NEV-be   CON
       the pity.

84b   ndə tə ʒik pəʒik nə   nənɟo nə-ʃi-naˈtso-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-ɲo       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 nənɟo n-aka-j          kənəmdok ki    ˈnə-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-ɟo      ŋ-aka-j            kənəmdok si    ˈna-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-arɟaʔp    w-əʒba-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

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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.

ɟi-kə-cʰa na-'a-stʃi nə manɟuʔ kərek nə-kə-laʔt-w w-arɟaʔp
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-ənkʰuʔ 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 kʰonə
PFT-NOM-say CON

85b ata-j ata-j ata-j-ɟo ʃi to-kə-cəs kʰonə
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 wuɟo ma-ka-lʰoʔk nə məto-kə-kʰut 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 wuɟo nə-lʰok tʃəʔ tʃe nə
he PFT-appear this LOC CON
Just as he was coming out, he thought -

pəʒik wuɟo ʒik w-əndʐo 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-arɟaʔp-ɲo ka-nə-sat 'na-ʃi-vaca-ŋ kʰonə
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-əndʐo 'nə-ŋos to-kə-səso
3s:GEN-truth OBS-be PFT-NOM-think
the truth."

87b wuɟo ʒik wuɟo ana makəndʐa 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-ˈa-ŋos    nə
PFT-NEV-be  CON

88c  ndə tə nə  w-əndʐo    wu-zəkrɟət          kəktu ki    ˈnə-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-sɲam
       this 3s:GEN-courage  PR that C  also 3s:GEN-courage  PR  PFT-NOM-implode
       his courage also imploded.

       na-ˈa-ŋos
       PFT-NEV-be

89a  rə    ndə kʰonə wuɟo nə  ma-ka-rɟɨ     ɟi-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-andʐiʔ       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    mə-nəsapso-dʒ to-kə-cəs      na-ˈa-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     ˈnə-ŋos
       well yes PFT-NOM-say    EV-be
       "Okay," said the demon.

91    kalu     kərek to-kə-va-jn     na-ˈa-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 one[252]  C  PR  one
      While they wrestled, the demon dealt A-myis Sgo-ldong a terrific blow;

      nə-kə-laʔt-w       tə ndə tʃe bdət  tə  ʒik makəndɽa
      PFT-NOM-hit$_2$-3s  C  that LOC demon C  also exceedingly
      and at that time, the demon, more's the pity, really

      kə-ŋacʰacʰa      ki  na-kə-stʃci     na-'a-ŋos
      NOM-quite.strong  IDEF PFT-NOM-be:CD   PFT-NEV-be
      had quite some strength!

93a  ndə kʰonə ʒik amɲi  zgordən-ɲi      ʒik hajʒik  dɽamən
      that CON   also A.myis  Sgo.ldong-3s:HON also a.little  quite
      He caused A-myis  Sgo-ldong quite some trouble.

      na-kə-sə-kʰa       na-'a-ŋos     nə
      PFT-NOM-CAUS-difficult  PFT-NEV-be   CON

93b  w-əŋkʰuʔ-j      pəʒik amɲi  zgordən-ɲi      wuɻo ɲi-praʔk      kərek
      3s:GEN-back-LOC still    A.myis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON  he  3s:HON:GEN-turn one
      After that, A-myis Sgo-ldong's turn came [at wrestling], so

      to-kə-məndak       kʰo
      PFT-NOM-be.one's.turn$_2$  CON

93c  kərek na-laʔt-w    tʃəʔ tʃe nə   ndə tʃe nə  pəʒik ndə tə  tə katɽap
      one   PFT-hit$_2$-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-cʰa-jn        na-'a-ŋos
      PFT-NOM-able-3s:HON   PFT-NEV-be

94    ja tʃəʔ w-əmpʰro tʃəʔ tʃe  tʰi   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?"

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95a     ə    tʃəʔ   w-əmpʰro    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         nənɟo   bdət   cʰappa   raŋ.liŋ

       CON   fist     CON   demon   C   3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC     you     demon   Chap.pa   Rang.ling

       then, for the boxing, A-myis said to the demon: "You," - to demon Chap-pa Rangling -

       w-əmba-j           nənɟo    to-va-sə'ɟa-w        to-kə-cəs

       3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC   you     IMP-VPT-begin-2s     PFT-NOM-say

       "you start."

95c     wuɟo   bdət   cʰappa   raŋliŋ      tə   kə   amɲi   zgordəŋ-ɲi         ɲa-wo

       he     demon   Chap.pa   Rang.ling   C   PR   A.myis   Sgo.ldong-3s:HON   3s:HON:GEN-head

       Then the demon Chap-pa Rang-ling hit A-myis Sgo-ldong a blow, smack   right on

       ɟo              tarku   to-kə-laʔt-w

       EXP:right.on        fist     PFT-NOM-hit$_2$-3s

       his head, with his fist.

95d     tangor     kəngu   mpʰjar… maʔk     tartsu   kəngu   mpʰjar   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,

       kʰapacakcak        na-'a-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   'nə-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   kʰonə   amɲi   zgordən-ɲi        kə   nə   pəʒik   wuɟo   w-awo-j

       CON   that   CON   A.myis   Sgo.ldong-3s:HON   PR   CON   still     he     3s:GEN-head-LOC

       Then A-myis Sgo-ldong hit the demon over the head with the iron hammer,

       ʃam-tok        kərek   to-kə-laʔt-jn       kʰonə   w-ərnoʔk       tsijok

       iron-hammer    one     PFT-NOM-hit$_2$-3s:HON   CON    3s:GEN-brain     EXP:erupt

       so that his brain forcefully spilled out.

to-kə-kʰit      na-kə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-spill  PFT-NOM-be

98a    ha  pəʒik  ndə  w-əmpʰro    tʰi   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   jakpoʒak   ki     nəsapso  to-kə-cəs       ˈnə-ŋos
      ah  open.hand  IDEF   compare  PFT-NOM-say  EV-be
      Let's have a contest of fighting with open hands."

99a    jakpoʒak    ki   to-kə-nəsapso      nə   wuɟo  kə  ʒik  pəʒik
      open.hand  IDEF  PFT-NOM-compare  CON  he     PR   also  still
      So they had this contest of openhanded fighting,

      amɲi     zgordən  ɲi-ʒba-j             ɟo        kərek  nə-kə-laʔt-w
      A.myis  Sgo.ldong  3s:HON:GEN-cheek-LOC  EXP:right.on  one   PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s
      in which the demon smacked A-myis Sgo-ldong precisely right on the cheek,

99b    rə  pəʒik  wastop  na-kə-vəkʃet      na-ˈa-stʃi       kʰonə
      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-ərscət     tə  sok   ki
      EXP:full.circle  NOM-spin   NOM-need  manner  3s:GEN-likeness  C  manner  IDEF
      he gave A-myis Sgo-ldong a blow such that it almost sent him spinning,

      nə-kə-laʔt-w      na-ˈa-stʃi      nə
      PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s   PFT-NEV-be:CD   CON
      more's the pity.

99d    pəʒik  amɲi  zgordən  wuɟo  ɲi-praʔk        to-kə-məndak        kʰonə
      still  A.myis  Sgo.ldong  he   3s:HON:GEN-turn  PFT-NOM-be.one's.turn₂  CON
      Then it was A-myis Sgoldon's turn,

      tʃəʔ  sok     manɟuʔ   kərek  nə-kə-laʔt-jn        na-ˈa-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-aworɲi      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-ˈa-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-əmpʰro     tʃe  tʰi  nəsapso  to-kə-cəs       nə   tərstʂaʔ
      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   cʰappa raŋliŋ       ndə  ndə tə w-əmba-j          nənɟo
      eh  CON  demon  Chap.pa Rang.ling   that that C  3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC  you
      eh, "You start," said A-myis Sgo-ldong to the demon Chap-pa Rang-ling;

      to-vaˈsce-w        to-kə-cəs        kʰonə
      IMP-go.first₁-2s   PFT-NOM-say     CON
101c  bdət   cʰappa    raŋliŋ      tə ndə tə wuɟo w-ajiʔk       ndʐondʐo 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-ˈa-kə-stʃi             kʰonə
      PFT-NEV-NOM-be:CD     CON
      more's the pitty -

101d  ndə  tajakndzəru tə     tərstʂaʔ 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-myis

      kərek ka-laʔt    tʃəʔ tʃe tangor       kəngu mpʰjar 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-myis 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-pʰjak    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  kʰonə  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  mpʰjar  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  amɲi  zgordən  ɲi-praʔk        to-kə-məndak         kʰonə
         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-rstɽaʔ  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-naɲce      w-undɽu      rə  rɟiek         rə-kə-kʰit
         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  kʰonə  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,

         kʰonə
         CON


103d   ndə  kʰonə  bdət  cʰappa  raŋliŋ    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-cʰa-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,

nkʰormaŋ 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 rɟapo h-anu tə kə təmdə rɟapo ndə tə wu-nkʰormaŋ
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  wuɟo ʒik 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-əmpʰro mo tʃe ɲi-nkʰormaŋ 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 wuɟo-ndʒ makpo-ndʒ tə kərek ka-ŋalalaʔt kʰonə
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 ɲi-kʰa-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 mənaŋos nə ndə kʰonə ka-sat rə ka-pker narə
demon C FIL CON that CON NOM-kill CON NOM-divide CON
the demons[253] were divided out [from among the good people] and killed and

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[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-ərscat-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 makəndʈra   w-ərscat      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-ˈa-ŋamərto-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  rɟapo kərgi w-əspok         to-ˈa-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 mənaŋos nə   ndə tə ə  kʰəvok kəngu taʃcək
      that C demon  C FIL          CON that C eh hole   nine  floor
      As for the demon, A-myis Sgo-ldong made a hole nine storeys deep

      na-ka-cu     ndə w-əngi-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     mcʰorten kəngu taʃcək to-ˈa-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 nkʰormaŋ nə   ndə-je    dewa  təscit    ji-ˈa-vi      kʰonə
      that people   CON that-POSS peace happiness PFT-NEV-come  CON
      Peace and happiness came to those people,


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106g   pot-je         amɲi     zgordən-ɲi         ndə  tə zɟasam     na-mbi-jn
      Tibet-POSS   A-myis   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-ɲi       kə-ndoʔ
      3s:GEN-dance-p   NOM-have
      there are dances

      w-əŋkʰuʔ     nə   wu-kʰakpe-ɲi    kə-ndoʔ     ndə tə tə mənaŋos 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.

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

How the thrush deceived the rabbit.[254]


1.　　mbərtʃu ki　　kalaʔ ki　　na-kə-ndoʔ-ndʒ　　ˈnə-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-tʃʰe　　　　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-ˈa-kataʔ　　w-əŋgi　　　　sku　　wuɟo　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　　ˈnə-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　　　　ˈnə-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 *nənɟo 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 ŋa kaŋgo kə-kʰut mə-maʔk-ŋ to-kə-səso-w ˈnə-ŋos
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-rɟi tʃe nə ndə rə w-əmkə 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-ndɽe-w kʰonə w-əʃwa rŋek-rŋek to-ˈa-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-arŋekrŋek 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 ŋos kəne to-ˈa-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-ŋa-ndoʔ kacəs ˈnə-ŋos
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. ɟaroŋ     rɟarkap   wu-je   tʰi    sok      kə-kə-cʰak
   rGyalrong kingdom   3s-POSS what   manner   PFT-NOM-establish
   How the rGyalrong kingdoms came into being.

2. rdoŋrɟa   tsʰaɟa   ralpo   kacəs ki    na-kə-ndoʔ      ˈnə-ŋos
   Rdongrɟa  Tshaɟa   Ralpo   say   IDEF  PFT-NOM-have   EV-be
   There was a man called Rdoŋrɟa Tshaɟa Ralpo.

3. rɟarpo kacəs ki    na-kə-ndoʔ     rdoŋrɟa   tsʰaralpo[255]   wurənə   w-əza
   king   say   IDEF  PFT-NOM-have   Rdoŋrɟa   Tsharalpo        CON      3s:GEN-son
   A man who was called a king, Rdoŋrɟa Tsharalpo, well he had three sons.

   kəsam    na-kə-ndoʔ      ˈnə-ŋos
   three    PFT-NOM-have    EV-be

4. ndə   rə    w-əza        kəsam   tə   ndə   tʰi    sok      na-ndoʔ-jn    tʃəʔ   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-ʃnu     kə    nə    ndə   ʒəŋkem   tə   tərmu    makəndʐa   kərkən   na-kə-ŋos      ˈnə-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   makəndʐa
   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-ɲo   kəʒu tə   na-kə-pʰo-jn      ˈnə-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.

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[255] The narrator here makes a slight mistake and muddles the name of the king. The name proper is *rdoŋrɟa tsʰaɟa ralpo*, as in the previous sentence.

5.　　　nə-pʰo-jn　　　　tʃe　nə　　ɲ-apso-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-nəndʐi　　　　ɟ-'a-cʰa-jn
　　　　NOM-take.along　　NEG/PFT-NEV-able-3p

6.　　　ɟi-kə-cʰa-jn　　　　　　　ˈnə-ŋos
　　　　NEG/PFT-NOM-able-3p　　　EV-be
　　　　They did not manage it.

7.　　　tambat　　w-awo-j　　　　　to-lhok　　　　tʃe　təŋkʰuʔ　na-lhok　　　tʃəʔ　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

　　　　nənɟo　n-apso-jn　　　　　　ŋ-apa　　　　　mə-ndoʔ　nənɟo　n-apso-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-ndoʔ　kacəs　kəʒu-ʒu　tə　to-'a-ŋa-kʰori-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　　tʃəʔ　tʃe　nə　　ɲ-apa　　　　　ɲ-apso-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-nəndʐi　　　　ɟ-'a-kə-cʰa-jn
　　　　NOM-bring.along　NEG/PFT-NEV-NOM-able-3p
　　　　father along with them.

9.　　　ahaha　j-apa　　　　　j-apso-j　　　　　　ka-nəndʐi　　　　ɟ-'a-cʰa-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　　　tʃəʔ　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        ˈnə-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];

ʃukʰar       na-ka-taʔ      tə kəʒu tə na-kə-cop      wurənə ʃu    pʰaŋmo
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-ˈa-kə-teʔ-w          ˈnə-ŋos
PFT/P-NOM-put₁-3s        EV-be
conflagration.

11.   təkuʔ          pʰaŋmo          to-ˈa-kə-teʔ-w           ndə tə ɬeŋɬeŋ ɬeŋɬeŋ 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    ˈnə-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  ɟi-kə-cʰa-jn          ˈnə-ŋos
      PR    eat     NEG/PFT-NOM-able-3p   EV-be
      and so the wolves had not been able to devour him.

12.   ndə ɟi-cʰa-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    ɟi-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 makəndʐa na-kə-nəsten      ˈnə-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."

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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     ˈnə-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  wuɹo-ɲo kə a    tʃəʔ-pu   nə jiɹo 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 ˈna-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      ˈnə-ŋos  
        3sGEN-vicinity-LOC one     ascend-1p PFT-NOM-say EV-be  
        Let's go up to that area."

15.     mtsʰo   kərek taŋmo      nə   ʁo-mtsʰo[257] kacəs ˈnə-ŋos  
    lake    one    that's.right CON milk-lake     say   EV-be  
    One lake, yes that was called Milk Lake.

16.     kərek taŋmo     nə   manɹuʔ kərek taŋmo     nə   ser-mtsʰo[258] kacəs ˈnə-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 spjaŋ-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.

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[257] The word ʁomtsʰo comes from literary Tibetan ཨོ་མ, oma, 'milk' and མཚོ, mtsho, 'lake'. The normal Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú term for gold is tarni.

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

19.  ndə-j      w-əmto-j          na-ɲu    tʃə?  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,

     kəɟo?   w-apu?        kətsə-tsə   kəmpʃer   makəndɽa   kəpra?m   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          ˈnə-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

     ˈnə-ŋos  koronə  ndə  tə  na-ɲu       tʃə?  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   təmu?    kəmpʃer   makəndɽa   kəsam  to-kə-lhok          ˈnə-ŋos
     again   woman    beautiful  very        three  PFT-NOM-appear    EV-be

21.  ndə  nə   təmu?  kəmpʃer   mtsʰo  w-əŋgi     sto      təmu?  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-andʐi?[259]   to-kə-va-w
     that's.right   CON  3s:GEN-older.brother  most  big    3s:GEN-friend  PFT-NOM-do-3s

     ˈnə-ŋos
     EV-be

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[259] The word *tandʐi?* means 'friend', but is often used to refer to a spouse or lover.

22. 
| ʁo-mtsʰo | kacəs | taŋmo | nə | w-ajze | kəməla | w-andʐiʔ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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 | ˈnə-ŋos |
|---|---|
| PFT-NOM-do-3s | EV-be |

23.
| spjaŋ-mtsʰo | kacəs | nə | stoŋ | kətsə | wu-je | w-andʐiʔ | nə-ˈa-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 joungest brother.

| ˈnə-ŋos |
|---|
| EV-be |

24.
| ndə | tə | nə-va-w | tʃe | nə | ndə | rənə | ndə | tə | wu-pʰa-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-apuʔ | na-kə-ndoʔ | wurənə | ndə | tə | ɲ-apuʔ | na-ndoʔ | na-ndoʔ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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-ndoʔ | na-ndoʔ | ʃi | ʃi | ʃi | tʃe | nə | ndə | rənə | ser-mtsʰo | 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-apuʔ | taŋmo | nə | ndə | rə | kəməvuŋkʰuʔ | təʃok | kərscat |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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 | ˈnə-ŋos |
|---|---|
| PFT-NOM-do-3s | EV-be |

25.
| ʁo-mtsho | kacəs | taŋmo | nə | təʃok | kətʐoʔk | nə-kə-va-w | ˈnə-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.     ʁombo ʃox tʈək[260] kacəs tə nə-kə-ve-w ˈnə-ŋos
        ʁombo clan six say C PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be
        They became what is called the six clans of the Milk people.

27.     spjaŋ-mtsʰo 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-tʃʰak ˈnə-ŋos
        PFT-NOM- EV-be

28.     mə.spjaŋ sde wʒə[261] kacəs tə ndə tʃe wurənə rʲaroŋ rʲarkap
        person.wolf village four say C that LOC CON rGyalrong kingdom
        They are called the four villages of the Wolf people;

        corʲɛt[262] wu-je w-əʃok tə ndə tə kaʃiktek kəsam ɲi-pʰa
        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-jn ŋos kacəs ŋos
        PFT-NOM-come/HON-3p be say be
        brothers, it is said.

29.     wurənə təza kəktu wu-je taŋmo tə xserwa mtʃerʲat[263]
        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 ʁombo sotʈək
        middle 3s-POSS that's.right *ʁombo sotʈək*
        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

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[260] A Tibetan appelation, from literary Tibetan ཤོག་དྲུག, *shog drug*, 'six clans'.

[261] A Tibetan appelation, 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་ཁབ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད, *rGyal rong rgyal khab bco brgyad*, 'the eighteen kingdoms of rGyalrong'.

[263] A Tibetan appellation, from literary Tibetan ཚོ་པ, *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,

| rɟaroŋ | rɟarkap | corscat | wu-je | tə |
|--------|---------|---------|-------|-----|
| rGyalrong | kingdom | eighteen | 3s-POSS | C |

the eighteen kingdoms of the rGyalrong.