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Dongxiang Short Stories (with gloss and annotations) Vol.1

Julie Lefort

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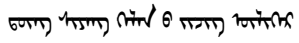
Dongxiang Short Stories (with gloss and annotations) Vol.1

First draft (25/02/2023)

Dunxian kielien
东乡语小故事


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(CNRS - EHESS - INALCO)

This volume is a series of text in the Dongxiang language transcribed from the *Teaching material of the bilingual experimental class of Narisi Primary school in the Dongxiang Autonomous County* (*Dōngxiāngzú zìzhìxiàn nàlēisì xiǎoxué shuāngyǔ jiàoxué shíyànbān shìyòng jiàocái* 东乡族自治县那勒寺小学双语教学实验班试用教材). The bilingual program was running from 2002 to 2010 under the supervision of Chen Yuanlong 陈元龙 and was implemented in first and second years of primary education. In this context, and after the release of the first Dongxiang-Chinese Dictionary[1] using the Dongxiang pinyin script (*Dunxian pinyin* 东乡拼音[2]) in 2001, a series of bilingual textbooks and teaching material have been edited. The bilingual textbooks comprised the *Dōngxiāngyǔ jìyīn fúhào* 东乡语记音符号 (Dongxiang Notation Symbols), the *hànyǔ kǒuyǔ xùnliàn* 汉语口语训练 (Training in Spoken Chinese), the *Dōngxiāngyǔ xiǎo gùshi* 东乡语小故事 (Dongxiang Short Stories) and *yǔ wén* 语文 (Dongxiang Language manual).

In this volume, I have transcribed, translated and glossed the *dōngxiāngyǔ xiǎo gùshi – dìbā cè* 东乡语小故事 – 第八册 "Dongxiang Short Stories (vol. 8)" written and edited by Ma Xinglong 马兴龙 and Wang Yilin 王艺霖.

I have kept the original Dongxiang script based on the *Dunxian pinyin* (see below chart) and the original Chinese translations. I have glossed each word and suffix in English, and translated the sentences into English and Mongolian[3]. The English translations have been adapted as much as possible to fit Dongxiang's word order and gloss.

Each text is first presented in Dongxiang and Chinese, as it is featured in the original textbook, which is decomposed into independent sentences. Each sentence comprises five line of explicative glosses: 1. The reference of the sentence name of the short text it belongs followed by its sequence number, 2. the morpheme to morpheme decomposed sentence in Dongxiang, 3. the glossed morphemes, 4. the English translation, and 5. the Mongolian translation.

Based on these texts, I have compiled a glossary with translation in English and, when possible, some etymological explanations as well as an index (forthcoming).

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[1] MA Guozhong 马国忠 (A.Shareff 阿・舍勒夫), CHEN Yuanlong 陈元龙 (A Ibulaheimai 阿・伊布拉黑麦). 2001. *Dunxian kielien khidei kielien kieleni lvgeqi* 东乡语汉语词典 *Dōngxiāng yǔ hànyǔ cídiǎn*. Lanzhou : Gansu minzu chubanshe.
[2] See Ma & Chen (2001 :13-14) for details.
[3] A special thanks to Oyona, teacher at the Ordos Mongolian School, Inner Mongolia, People's Republic of China for reviewing and editing the Mongolian translations.

a	[a]	ie	[iə]	t	[t]	j	[dʑ]
e	[ə]	iu	[iu]	n	[n] / [ŋ]	q	[tɕ]
i	[i]	ua	[ua]	l	[l]	x	[ɕ]
ii	[ɯ]	ui	[ui]	r	[r]	zh	[dʐ]
o	[o]	iao	[iao]	g	[g]	ch	[tʂ]
u	[u]	uai	[uai]	j	[k]	sh	[ʂ]
ai	[ai]	b	[b]	gh	[ɢ]	z	[dz]
ei	[əi]	p	[p]	kh	[q]	c	[ts]
ao	[ao]	m	[m]	h	[χ]	s	[s]
ou	[əu]	f	[f]	gv	[ʁ]	w	[w]
ia	[ia]	d	[d]	hh	[h]	y	[j]

Table 1 : *dunxian pinyin* transcription and API

Abbreviations

1PL - FIRST-PERSON PLURAL
2PL - SECOND-PERSON PLURAL
3PL - THIRD-PERSON PLURAL
2OBL - SECOND PERSON OBLIC CASE
2POSS - SECOND SINGULAR REGLEXIVE MARKER
3POSS - THIRD PERSON SINGULAR REFLEXIVE MARKER
1SG - FIRST-PERSON SINGULAR
1SG.LOG - FIRST-PERSON SINGULAR LOGOPHORIC
2SG - SECOND-PERSON SINGULAR
3SG - THIRD-PERSON SINGULAR
ABL - ABLATIVE (CASE)
ACC - ACCUSATIVE (CASE)
AS - ASSOCIATIVE (CASE)
BVA - BORROWED VERB AUXILIARY
BEN - BENEFACTIVE (CASE)
CS - CAUSAL (CONVERB)
CAUS - CAUSATIVE
CE - COUNTER EXPECTATION (CONVERB)
CLF - CLASSIFIER
COLL - COLLECTIF
COM - COMITATIF
COND - CONDITIONNAL (CONVERB)
COP - COPULA
DAT - DATIVE (CASE)
DEM - DEMONSTRATIVE
DES - DESIDERATIVE (MOOD)
DUPL - DUPLICATIVE (CONVERB)
FP - FINAL PARTICLE
GEN - GENITIVE (CASE)
I.NMLZ - IMPERFECTIVE NOMINALIZER
INS - INSTRUMENTAL (CASE)
INTEN - INTENSIFIER
INTER - INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE
IPFV - IMPERFECTIVE (ASPECT)
LOC - LOCATIVE (CASE)
M.ADV - MANNER ADVERBIAL
NEG - NEGATION
PFV - PERFECTIVE (ASPECT)
PL - PLURAL
P.NMLZ - PERFECTIVE NOMINALIZER
PR.NMLZ - PROGRESSIVE NOMINALIZER
PROG - PROGRESSIVE (ASPECT)
PURP - PURPOSIVE (CONVERB)
Q - QUESTION MARKER
REFL - REFLEXIVE
RES - RESULTATIVE
SEQ - SEQUENTIAL (CONVERB)
SDE - SIMULTANEOUS DIFFERENT EVENT (CONVERB)
SMLT - SIMULTANEITY (CONVERB)
SUB - SUBSTANTIVIZER
SUCC - SUCCESSIVE (CONVERB)
TM - TEMPORAL MARKER (CLITIC)

List of stories

1. Anei awi shi kewosilani chu gaoni laoshi 4
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8. Giegvun tegha usu uku 23
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1. Anei awi shi kewosilani chu gaoni laoshi

Parents are the children's best teachers

父母是孩子最好的老师

Anei awi shi kewosilani chu gaoni laoshi.

Xieniku qijiende, tawun oluku Eyibu nie guhuashuni barei anane guhua kieliegvazho. Anani kielien kielien guhuashuni jiedene Eyibuni gie dourase khizhewo. Eyibu sagveizhi xin wida anane ereile echiwo. Eyibu yawuzhi nieneine wijiende echi sudoro nie marase, anani zhin nieneiyini konni wagvazhi saozho. Eyibu jian khareizhi yawune giese nieneini anadeni jieliesenni sonosuwo: "Chi uduni wilie giezhi hhechezho, made banjizhi kon bu wagva. Anani kieliene: ese hhechezho, xieni konni nie wagvadene kijiese futanwo." Anani nieneideni kon wagvazhi balu Eyibuni gie doura echi nie uzhese, Eyibu gie doura wiwo. Anani khuinane nie uzhese, Eyibu nie nienpiin usuni donji ire kieliene: "Ana, kon wagva!" Eyibu anane yanzini suruzhi anadene kon wagvazhi ogizho.

父母是孩子最好的老师

晚上七点，五岁的艾一布拿着一本故事书让妈妈给他讲故事。妈妈讲着讲着放下故事书，走出了艾一布的房间。艾一布等得不耐烦了就去找妈妈。艾一布走到奶奶的门口往里一看，才知道妈妈正在帮奶奶洗脚。艾一布正要往回走却听到奶奶到妈妈说:你白天干活那么累，就不要帮我洗脚了。”妈妈说：“不累，晚上洗洗脚，睡觉舒服。”妈妈帮奶奶洗完脚后，到艾一布的房间一看，艾一布却不在房里。妈妈回头一看，艾一布端着一盆水向她走来说：“妈妈洗脚！”。

Best Teachers.001

anei	awi	shi	kewo-sila-ni	chu	gao-ni[4]	laoshi.
mom	dad	COP	children-PL-GEN	most	good-SUBS	teacher

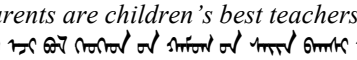
Parents are children's best teachers.

Best Teachers.002

xieniku	qijien-de,	tawun	olu-ku	Eyibu	nie	guhuashu-ni	barei ana-ne
night	seven.o'clock-DAT	five	obtain-I.NMLZ	Eyibu	one	story.book-ACC	hold mom-REFL

guhua	kielie-gva-zho.
old.story	tell-CAUS-PROG

At 7 o'clock in the evening, Eyibu, who turned five years old, takes a story book and asks his mom to read it to him.

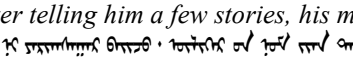


Best Teachers.003

ana-ni	kielie-n	kielie-n	guhuashu-ni	jie-dene	Eyibu-ni	gie	doura-se
mom-3POSS	talk-DUPL	talk- DUPL	story.book-ACC	set.aside-SEQ	Eyibu-GEN	room	inside-ABL

khizhe-wo.
get.out-IPFV

After telling him a few stories, his mom puts the book aside and goes out of Eyibu's room.



[4] The expression *chu gaoni* lit. most good-SUBS is a calque from Chinese *zui haode* 最好的 'the best' lit. most good-de, where *de* 的 is used to introduce an attribute under the form of an adjective. Here, *-ni* is not a case marker (usually used with nouns, not adjectives).

Best Teachers.004
Eyibu sagvei-zhi xin wida ana-ne erei-le echi-wo.
Eyibu wait-SMLT heart lose mom-REFL look.for-PURP go-IPFV

After waiting for a moment, Eyibu feels restless and goes out to look for his mom.
[illegible]

Best Teachers.005
Eyibu yawu-zhi nienei-ne wijien-de echi sudoro nie mara-se, ana-ni zhin
Eyibu go-SLMT grand-mother-REFL door-LOC go inside one look.in-CS mom-3POSS in.the.process

nienei-yi-ni wagva-zhi sao-zho.
grand-mother-ACC-3POSS wash-SMLT in.the.process.of-PROG

Eyibu walks to his grandmother's doorway and looks inside: his mom is washing his grandmother's feet.
[illegible]

Best Teachers.006
Eyibu jian kharei-zhi yawu-ne gie-se nienei-ni ana-de-ni kielie-sen-ni
Eyibu about.to go.back-SMLT go-PFV say-SDE grand-mother-3POSS mom-BEN-3POSS say-P.NMLZ-ACC

sonosu-wo:
hear-IPFV

As Eyibu was about to go back home, he hears what his grandmother says to his mother:
[illegible]

Best Teachers.007
"chi udu-ni wilie gie-zhi hheche-zho, made banji-zhi kon bu wagva."
2SG day.time-TM work do-SMLT tired-PROG to.me help-SMLT foot NEG wash

"You work during the day and you are tired, no need to wash my feet". [lit. do not help me wash my feet]
[illegible]

Best Teachers.008
ana-ni kielie-ne:
mom-3POSS say-IPFV

His mom answers:
[illegible]

Best Teachers.009
"Ese hheche-zho, xieni kon-ni nie wagva-dene kijie-se futan-wo."
NEG tired-PROG night foot-ACC one wash-SEQ sleep-CS comfortable-IPFV

"I am not tired, one sleep better at night after washing his feet." [lit. because one washes his feet]
[illegible]

Best Teachers.010
ana-ni nienei-de-ni kon wagva-zhi balu Eyibu-ni gie doura echi nie uzhe-se,
mom-3POSS grand-mother-LOC-ACC foot wash-SMLT finish Eyibu-GEN room inside go one look-CE

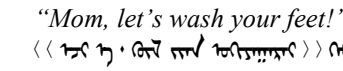
Eyibu gie doura wi-wo.
Eyibu room inside not.be-IPFV

After she finishes to wash his grandmother's feet, Eyibu's mom goes to his room to look for him, but Eyibu is not inside.
[illegible]

Best Teachers.011
ana-ni khuina-ne nie uzhe-se, Eyibu nie nienpiin usu-ni donji ire kielie-ne:
mom-3POSS back-REFL one look- CS Eyibu one basin water-ACC hold come say-PFV

His mom looks back and sees Eyibu coming towards her carrying a basin of water, and says to her:
[illegible]

Best Teachers.012
“ana kon wagva!”
mom foot wash

“Mom, let’s wash your feet!” [lit. mom washes feet[5]]


Best Teachers.013

Eyibu	ana-ne	yanzi-ni	suru-zhi	ana-de-ne	kon	wagva-zhi	ogi-zho
Eyibu	mom-REFL	model-GEN	learn-SMLT	mom-BEN-REFL	foot	wash-SMLT	give-PROG

Eyibu has learned from his mom, and washed her feet.

[5] The expression *ana kon wagva* is a calque of unmarked Chinese expression *mama xi jiao* 妈妈洗脚 lit. : mom-wash-feet ‘mom, let’s wash your feet’. In Dongxiang, the gentive case, the accusative case and the desiderative mood would be expecte, as in *ana-ni kon-ni wagva-ye* lit. mom-GEN foot-ACC wash-DES‘mom let’s wash your feet’.

2. Ayinshe shu onshile[6] echiku

Ayinshe goes to school

阿英舍上学

Ayinshe shu onshile echiku

Ayinshe shi nie saigvan oqin wo, hheni shigharade gien kuruzhi dogvolozho, mo yawuse chijia no wo. Ayinshe pusedu kewonsila shubaoni beilie shu onshile echikuni kuxiezhi alane. Ayinshe giezhe shubaoni beilie shu onshile echise giezhi onxian giezho. Hufeiye, Fatume, Hejizhe enela Ayinshe onxian giesenni miejie shanliandazhi banman giene giezho. Hufeiye adadene xiahua giezhi Ayinshede nie zhugun giegvawo. Fatume anane xiahua giezhie nie shubao giegvawo. Hejizhe biinzi khugvozhi iregvawo. Ghurala nie magvani Ayinsheni fuyizhi shu onshile echizho. Xiexiao tagvase ghurala Ayinsheni khugvozhi giedeni echigvazho. Hhela jiu ingiezhi hhantu xiaoxie, chuzhongji onshizhi zhuanzhon kaoyiwo.

阿英舍上学

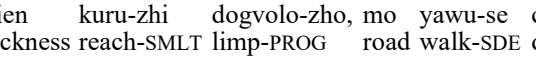
阿英舍是个漂亮的小女孩，可是她的腿有病，走路很困难。她非常羡慕背着书包去上学的小朋友。她渴望有一天能背起书包去上学。胡菲也、法图麦、合吉者知道了阿英舍的愿望，就商量帮助她。胡菲也求爸爸给阿英舍做了副拐杖。法图麦求妈妈做了书包。合吉者送来了作业本。三个小朋友每天早上挽着阿英舍去上学。放学后三个小朋友把阿英舍送回家。就这样她们和阿英舍一起读完了小学、初中、一起考上了小中专。

Ayinshe goes to school.001
Ayinshe shi nie saigvan oqin wo,
Ayinshe COP one beautiful girl COP

Ayinshe was a beautiful little girl.

Ayinshe goes to school.002
hhe-ni shighara-de gien kuru-zhi dogvolo-zho, mo yawu-se chijia no wo.
3SG-GEN leg-LOC sickness reach-SMLT limp-PROG road walk-SDE difficult very COP

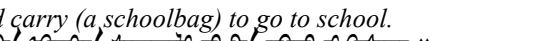
(But) her leg had a problem, and she was limping, so it was difficult for her to walk.



Ayinshe goes to school.003
Ayinshe pusedu kewon-sila shubao-ni beilie shu onshi-le echi-ku-ni
Ayinshe other child-PL schoolbag-ACC carry.on.the.back book read-PURP go-I.NMLZ-ACC

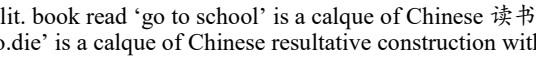
kuxie-zhi ala[7]-ne
like-SMLT kill-IPFV

She really envied the children who were going to school, carrying school bags on their backs.



Ayinshe goes to school.004
Ayinshe beilie shu onshi-le echi-se gie-zhi onxian[8] gie-zho
Ayinshe carry.on.the.back book read-PURP go-COND say-SMLT hope BVA-PROG

She hoped that she could carry (a schoolbag) to go to school.



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[6] The expression *shu onshi* lit. book read 'go to school' is a calque of Chinese 读书 *dushu* lit. read book 'go to school'.
[7] The use of the verb *ala* 'to.die' is a calque of Chinese resultative construction with the verb *si* 死'die' which emphases the verb it precedes.
[8] Aslo found as *wanxian.*

Ayinshe goes to school.005

Hufeiye Fatume Hejizhe ene-la Ayinshe onxian gie-sen-ni mejie shanlianda-zhi banman
Hufeiye Fatima Hejizhe DEM-PL Ayinshe hope BVA-P.NMLZ-ACC know discuss-SMLT help

gie-ne gie-zho
BVA-IPFV say-PROG

Hufeiya, Fatima and Hejizhe knew about Ayinshe's hope, so they discussed together to find a way to help her.
[illegible]

Ayinshe goes to school.006

Hufeiye ada-de-ne xiahua gie-zhi Ayinshe-de nie zhugun gie-gva-wo;
Hufeiye dad-LOC-REFL ask.for BVA-SMLT Ayinshe-BEN one crutches do-CAUS-PFV

Hufeiya asked her father to make a pair of crutches for Ayinshe.
[illegible]

Ayinshe goes to school.007

Fatume ana-ne xiahua gie-zhi nie shubao gie-gva-wo;
Fatima mom-REFL ask.for BVA -SMLT one schoolbag do-CAUS-PFV

Fatima asked her mother to make a school bag.
[illegible]

Ayinshe goes to school.008

Hejizhe biinzi khugvo-zhi ire[9]-gva-wo.
Hejizhe notebook gift-SMLT come-CAUS-PFV

Hejizhe gifted her notebooks.
[illegible]

Ayinshe goes to school.009

ghurala nie magva-ni Ayinshe-ni fuyi-zhi shu onshi-le echi-zho.
three.together one morning-TM Ayinshe-ACC hold.up-SMLT book read-PURP go-PROG

Every morning, the three children hold up Ayinshe's arm to take her to school.
[illegible]

Ayinshe goes to school.010

xiexiao tagva-se ghurala Ayinshe-ni khugvo-zhi gie-de-ni echi-gva-zho
school finish.school-SDE three.together Ayinshe-ACC accompany-SMLT home-LOC-3POSS go-CAUS-PROG

After school, the three children took Ayinshe home. [lit.: as school was finished]
[illegible]

Ayinshe goes to school.011

hhela jiu ingie-zhi hhantu xiaoxie, chuzhong-ji onshi-zhi zhuanzhon
3PL so like.this-SMLT together primary.school middle.school-ACC read-SMLT technical.school

kaoyi-wo.
take.an.exam-PFV

Together, they went through primary school, middle school and succeeded to pass for junior technical secondary school.
[illegible]

[9] Here, *ire* 'come' is used as a directional verb and is a calque of Chinese constructions verb + *lai* 来 'come' to indicate an action in the direction of the speaker.

3. Bagva gie banjiku

The frog and the geese

青蛙搬家

[illegible]

Bagva gie banjiku

Nie fugie laoba shida nie bagva, ghua tonghorei saozho, hhela chanban hhantu naduzho. Olon cha ghura ese baose laobani usu xigveiwo, tonghorei banjizhi usutu oronde saole echine giezho. Bagva kieliene: “bi tanle hhantu yawuye!” Tonghorei kielie: “bijiende ciban waine, musirei mejiene, chi bijienni kuzhe dane!” Bagva nie gao banfa sumulazhi khizhewo: ghua tonghoreini nie ganguzini lianmiense zhaogvazho, goyene dundase zhaozho, ingie hhantu musireile qiyiwo”. Hhela nie agvinse musireizhi dawakude kunla chanla waradazhi kieliene: “Ta uzhendu a! Tonghorei bagvani dailadene musireizho, tonghorei cunmin no wo!” Bagva chenliese zhugvede futan wiwo. Hhela puse nie agvinse musireizhi dawakude kunla chanla waradazhi kieliene: “ta uzhendu a! Tonghorei bagvani dailadene musireizho, tonghorei cunmin no wo!” Bagva chenlie yagvani ho kuruwo. Hhela puse nie agvinse musireizhi dawakude kunla chanla waradazhi kieliene: Ta uzhendu a! Tonghorei bagvani dailadene musireizho, tonghorei cunmin no wo!”. Bagva chenlie ho kuru alawo, onghonozhi kieliene: “Ene banfa shi bi simulazhi khizhesenwo!” Ingiezhi kieliekude asiman jierese anda baozhewo.

青蛙搬家

一个大湖的旁边，住着一只青蛙和两只大雁，他们常常一起玩耍。很久不下雨，湖水慢慢地干了。大雁想搬到有水的地方去住。青蛙说：我想跟你们一起走。大雁他们说：“我们有翅膀，会飞，你跟不上我们呀！”青蛙挺聪明，想出个好办法:他们两只大雁咬着棍子的两头，自己咬着中间，一起飞了起来。大雁飞过一个村子，人们看见了，喊：“你们看啊，大雁带着青蛙飞，大雁真聪明！”青蛙听了，心里挺不高兴。大雁飞过一个村子，人们看见了，喊：“你们看啊，大雁带着青蛙飞，大雁真聪明！”青蛙听了，更不高兴。大雁飞过第三个村子，很多人看见，喊：“大家赶快来看哪，大雁带着青蛙飞，大雁真聪明！”青蛙听了简直气炸了，就大声嚷起来：“这办法是我想出来的！”那知道青蛙就从天上掉下来了。

Frog and geese.001
nie fugie laoba shida nie bagva, ghua tonghorei sao-zho, hhela chanban hhantu nadu-zho.
one big pond side one frog two wild.goose live-PROG 3PL often together play-PROG

A frog and two geese were living next to a big lake; and were often playing together.
[illegible]

Frog and geese.002
olon cha ghura ese bao-se laoba-ni usu xigvei-wo,
many time rain NEG fall-CS pond-GEN water dry-PFV

It didn’t rain for a long time, so the lake dried up. [lit. As it did not rain for a long time, the lake dried up]
[illegible]

Frog and geese.003
tonghorei banji-zhi usutu oron-de sao-le echi-ne gie-zho.
wild.goose move-SMLT with.water place-LOC live-PURP go-IPFV say-PROG

The geese wanted to move to a place where there was water to live there.
[illegible]

Frog and geese.004
bagva kielie-ne: “bi tan-le hhantu yawu-ye!”
frog say-IPFV 1SG 2PL-COM together go-DES

The frog said: “I’m coming with you!”
[illegible]

Frog and geese.005
tonghorei kielie: “bijien-de ciban wai-ne, musirei mejie-ne, chi bijien-ni kuzhe da-ne.”
wild.goose say 1PL-LOC wing have-IPFV fly know-IPFV 2SG 1PL-ACC keep.up.with cannot-IPFV

The geese answered: “We have wings and we can fly, you can’t keep up with us!”
ཡིག་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི: 〈〈 ཕྱུག་ལས་ལས་ཀར་ཡོད་ཅིང་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ཚོ་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཡོད།, ང་ཚོ་ཧ ལས་ཤེས་ཀྱི ལས་ཀ 〉〉 ཟེར།

Frog and geese.006
bagva nie gao banfa sumula-zhi khizhe-wo:
frog one good solution think-SMLT get.out-PFV

The frog came up with a good idea.
རྒྱལ་པོ་ཕྱུག་ཕྱུག་ཟློག་ཡིན་ཡོད་ཟན།, ཐེངས།

Frog and geese.007
ghua tonghorei-ni nie ganguzi-ni lianmien-se zhao-gva-zho, goye-ne dunda-se
two wild.goose-AS one small.stick-GEN two.sides-ABL bite-CAUS-PROG self-REFL middle-ABL

zhao-zho, ingie hhantu musirei-le qiyi-wo.
bite-PROG then together fly-PURP get.up-PFV

The two geese would bite the two extremities of a stick, and the frog would bite the middle, so they would fly all together.
ཡིག་ཁྱིམས་ཁ་ཏོ ཅ ཡིག་ཐང་ཐང་ཅིག་ཏུ་ཤོར་ནས། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཤ ཡིན་ལ ཁ ཡིན། ཡིག་ཁྱིམ ཁ ཡིན།

Frog and geese.008
hhela nie agvin-se musirei-zhi dawa-ku-de kun-la chanla warada-zhi kielie-ne:
3PL one village-ABL fly-SMLT pass-I.NMLZ-DAT person-PL see shout-SMLT say-IPFV

The geese flew over a village, when people saw them, they shouted:
ཡིག་ཁྱིམས ལམ་ཁར་ ཅ ལམ་ཁུངས་ཁར་ ཐང་ལམ་ཁ ལ ཁྱོད་ལ ཐང་ཁ

Frog and geese.009
“ta uzhe-ndu a! tonghorei bagva-ni daila-dene musirei-zho, tonghorei cunmin no wo!”
2PL look-COLL FP wild.goose frog-ACC carry-SEQ fly-PROG wild.goose smart very COP

“Look! The geese are carrying the frog while flying, the geese are so clever!”
〈〈 ལྟ་ཤེ ཁ་ཤར།, ཡིག་ཁྱིམ ཁྱོང་ ལ ལྟ་ཤ ཁ ཁྱོད།, ཡིག་ཁྱིམ ཐང་ལམ ཁྱོང་ 〉〉 ཡང་ ཡོད ལ

Frog and geese.010
bagva chenlie-se zhugve-de futan wi-wo[10].
frog hear-CS heart-LOC comfortable not.be-PFV

The frog was quite unhappy to hear this. [lit. because of what it heard, it did not fell comfortable in its heart]
ཁྱོང་ཤར་ཐུགས་ཀར།

Frog and geese.011
hhela puse nie agvin-se musirei-zhi dawa-ku-de kun-la chanla warada-zhi kielie-ne:
3PL again one village-ABL fly-SMLT pass-I.NMLZ-DAT person-PL see shout-SMLT tell-IPFV

The geese flew over another village, when people saw them, they shouted:
ལྟ་ཤ ཐེངས་ ལམ ལམ་ཁ ཅ ལམ་ཁུངས ལ ཁྱོད ལ ཐང

Frog and geese.012
“ta uzhe-ndu a! tonghorei bagva-ni daila-dene musirei-zho, tonghorei cunmin no wo!”
2PL see-COLL FP wild.goose frog-ACC carry-SEQ fly-PROG wild.goose smart very COP

“Look! The geese are carrying the frog while flying, the geese are so clever!”
〈〈 ལྟ་ཤ ཁ་ཤར།, ཡིག་ཁྱིམ ཁྱོང་ ལ ལྟ་ཤ ཁ ཁྱོད།, ཡིག་ཁྱིམ ཐང་ལམ ཁྱོང་ 〉〉 ཡང་ ཡ ལ

Frog and geese.013
bagva chenlie yagvani ho kuru-wo.
frog hear very anger reach-PFV

The frog became angry hearing that.
ཁྱོང་ཤར་ཐ་ཚུགས།, ཐ ཐ

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[10] The expression *zhugvede futan wi* lit. heart-LOC confortable NEG ‘Feel uncomfortable’ is a calque from Chinese *xinli bu shufu* 心里不舒服 lit. heart inside NEG comfortable ‘Feel uncomfortable’.

Frog and geese.014

hhela	puse	nie	agvin-se	musirei-zhi	dawa-ku-de	kun-la	chanla	warada-zhi
3PL	again	one	village-ABL	fly-SMLT	pass-I.NMLZ-DAT	person-PL	see	shout-SMLT

kielie-ne:
tell-IPFV

The geese flew over a third village, many people saw them and shouted:

[illegible]

Frog and geese.015

"ta	uzhe-ndu	a!	tonghorei	bagva-ni	daila-dene	musirei-zho,	tonghorei	cunmin	no	wo!"
2PL	look-COLL	FP	wild.goose	frog-ACC	carry-SEQ	fly-PROG	wild.goose	smart	very	COP

"Look! The geese are carrying the frog while flying, the geese are so clever!"

[illegible]

Frog and geese.016

bagva	chenlie	ho	kuru[11]	ala-wo,	onghono-zhi	kielie-ne:
frog	hear	anger	reach	kill-PFV	yell-SMLT	tell-IPFV

The frog was furious, it shouted:

[illegible]

Frog and geese.017

"ene	banfa	shi	bi	sumula-zhi	khizhe-sen	wo!"
DEM	solution	COP	1SG	think-SMLT	finish-P.NMLZ	COP

"I am the one that came up with this idea!"

[illegible]

Frog and geese.018

ingie-zhi	kielie-ku-de	asiman	jiere-se	anda	bao-zhewo.
like.this-SMLT	say-I.NMLZ-DAT	sky	on-ABL	let.go	fall-PROG

Then the frog fell from the sky.

[illegible]

[11] The word *ho kuru* lit. anger reach 'to get angy' is a calque from Chinese *shengqi* 生气 lit. reach anger 'to get angy'.

4. Bunzhu ho giezhi suruku

The sparrow learns to build a nest

麻雀学筑窝

𖼇𖼈𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼇𖼅 𖼇𖼈𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼇𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼅

Bunzhu ho giezhi suruku

Nie bunzhu musireizhi hhechese sumulazhuo: nie sagvan, futanni ho bise giedu gaowo! Niudude, bunzhu banbulayi honi uzhedene kuxiezhi kieliene: “Ta made nie surugva ba! Bi ye nie hotu oluse.” Banbun kielie: “Chi xian chizhe jierese ban layile echi, banghala giene, laghala ho giene.” Bunzhu zhugvedene sumulazho: ene taixian madawo, bi shimatu ho nie gieye ma! Kuaichu udu, bunzhu kharanchayi honi chujiegve sumulase ene gao wo, ingie kharanchalade kielene: “Tan made ho giekuni surgvase olu nu ulie?” Kharancha kieliene: “Chi xien shuwani nie ama nie amnji amalazhi ire, inge gouji goujiji gie mayende niagva…” Bunzhu shuwani jian amalase nunpu khizhi iregvawo. Khunashi khuruse bunzhu puse kunlase ho giezhi suruku duran widawo.

麻雀学筑窝

一只麻雀飞雷了想：要是有一个又漂亮又有舒服的窝，那该多好啊！有一天，麻雀看到蜜蜂的窝，心里非常羡慕说：“你们教教我吧，让我也有一个窝。”蜜蜂说：“你先去采花粉酿蜜做蜡筑窝。”麻雀心想：“多麻烦，窝还是筑个简单的窝吧！”第二天，麻雀看到燕子的窝觉得不错，麻雀对燕子说：“你们教我筑窝好吗？”燕子说：“你先去把泥一口一口地衔来，再一点一点地粘在天花板上。。。”麻雀刚把泥衔到嘴里，就吐了出来，以后麻雀在也不想跟别人学筑窝了。”

Sparrow’s nest.001
bunzhu ho gie-zhi suru-ku
sparrow nest do-SMLT learn-I.NMLZ

The sparrow learns to build a nest.
𖼇𖼈𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼇𖼅 𖼇𖼈𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼇𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼅

Sparrow’s nest.002
nie bunzhu musirei-zhi hheche-se sumula- zhuo,
one sparrow fly-SMLT tired-CS think-PROG

A sparrow, who was tired of flying, was thinking:
𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼇𖼈𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼇𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼇𖼈𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼇𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 ··

Sparrow’s nest.003
nie saigvan, futan-ni[12] ho bi-se giedun gao-wo!
one beautiful comfortable-SUB nest have-COND many good-PFV

“If (I had) a beautiful and comfortable nest, how nice it would be!”
𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼇𖼅 𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼇𖼅 𖼇𖼈𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼇𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 ··

Sparrow’s nest.004
niudu-de, bunzhu banbu-la-yi ho-ni uzhe-dene kuxie-zhi kielie-ne:
one.day-DAT sparrow bee-PL-GEN nest-ACC see-SEQ like-SMLT say-IPFV

One day, the sparrow saw the bees’ nest and said to them with envy:
𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼇𖼈𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼇𖼅 𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅𖼆𖼅 ··

[12] See note 4 on the use of -*ni* with adjectives.

Sparrow’s nest.005

“ta made nie suru-gva ba bi ye nie hotu olu-se.”
2SG 1SG.BEN one learn-CAUS FP 1SG aslo one with.nest feasible-PST

“Please teach me how to build a nest so I can have one too.” [lit. so I can be with nest too]
ꑍꑣꑍꑦꑸ ꑍꑣꑦ 〈〈 ꑍꑣ ꑦꑭ ꑦꑭꑸ ꑣꑦ ꑍꑣꑦꑸ ꑍꑣꑦꑸꑣꑦꑸꑣꑦꑸ

Sparrow’s nest.012

khuinashi	khuru-se	bunzhu	puse	kun-la-se	ho	gie-zhi	suru-ku	duran	wida-wo.
later	arrive-SDE	sparrow	again	person-PL-ABL	nest	do-SMLT	learn-I.NMLZ	will	lose-PFV

After that, the sparrow never wanted to learn to build a nest from anyone else again. [lit. lost the will of learning from other people how to make a nest]

5. Chinshini Hhabi

Habib, the Honest boy

诚实的哈比

Chinshini Hhabi

Hhabi shi nie xieshin wo, hhe cunmin chinshi wo. Niudude fugie chasun baozho, mo jiere, mutun jiere, gie jiere chasun zhuzhan hin wo. Hhabi fugie chasun dunda onshile echiwo. Hhabi chasunni qiaoyin qiaoyin yawukude nie khara ojienni qiaoyi khizhegvawo, qiangu uzhese nie biehuhuji qienbao wo. Hhabi sumulase qienbao widagvasen kun jinda alane, ene oronde niecha sagveiye. Hhabi niecha sagveise kiemenda ereile ese irewo, hhe xiexiaode echi qienbaoni laoshide jiaoyiwo. Laoshi qienbao widagvasen kunni daqinlazhi oluwo. Qienbao widagvasen kun yibai kuai baerni barei, Hhabide feixin kieliele irewo. Hhabi baerni ese jiele kieliene “ene shi bi giekuniwo”. Laoshi qienban xieshinni melie Hhabini kuaiyizhiwo. Eneni khuinase qienban xieshinla Hhabini suruzhi haoshi giechin kun olodowo.

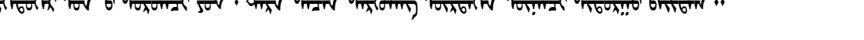
诚实的哈比

哈比是一个学生，他又聪明又诚实。有一天，下着鹅毛般的大雪，路上、树上、房顶上铺着一层厚厚的雪，哈比冒着大雪去上学。哈比边走边用脚踢着雪，忽然提出一个黑色的东西他捡起来一看，原来是一个鼓鼓囊囊的钱包。哈比想：失主一定很着急，在这儿等一会儿吧。哈比等了一会儿，没人来领，就到学校把钱包交给老师。老师打听到了失主。失主拿着一百元钱向哈比表示感谢，哈比没要钱，说：“这是我应该的”。老师在全班学生前表示扬了哈比。从此以后，全班同学向哈比学习, 班上的好人好事多了。

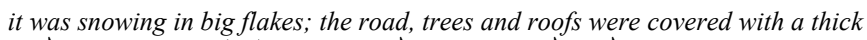
Honnest Habib.001
chinshi-ni Hhabi
honest- Habib
SUBS[14]

Habib, the Honest boy

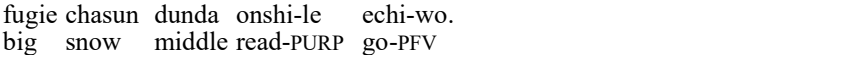
Honnest Habib.002
Hhabi shi nie xieshin wo, hhe cunmin chinshi wo.
Habib COP one student COP 3SG smart honest COP

Habib is a (primary) school student, he is smart and honest.


Honnest Habib.003
niudu-de fugie chasun bao-zho, mo jiere, mutun jiere, gie jiere, chasun zhuzhan hin wo.
one.day-DAT big snow fall-PROG road on tree on house on snow thick very COP

One day, it was snowing in big flakes; the road, trees and roofs were covered with a thick (layer of) snow.


Honnest Habib.004
Hhabi fugie chasun dunda onshi-le echi-wo.
Habib big snow middle read-PURP go-PFV

Habib was braving the snow to go to school[15]. [lit. Habib was going to school in the middle of the big snow]


Honnest Habib.005
Hhabi chasun-ni qiaoyi-n qiaoyi-n yawu-ku-de nie khara ojien-ni qiaoyi khizhe-gva-wo,
Habib snow-ACC kick-DUPL kick- DUPL walk-I.NMLZ-DAT one black object-ACC kick get.out-CAUS-PFV

[14] See note 4 on the use of *-ni*.
[15] See note 6.

qiangu uzhe-se nie biehuhuji qienbao wo.
pick.up see-CS one bulging wallet COP

Habib was walking and kicking the snow (at the same time), when a black thing came up [he made a black thing come up by kicking the snow]. *As he picked it up, he saw that it was a bulging wallet.*
ᡥᡳᡳᡴᡠ ᡩᡳᡴᡳᡴᡳ ᡳᡴᡳᡴᡳ ᡴᡳᡳᡴᡠ ᡳᡴᡳ ᡴᡠᡵᡠᡴᡳᡴᡠ ᡴᡳᡴᡳᡴᡳᡴᡳᡴᡳ᠂ ᡩᡳᡴᡳᡴᡳᡴᡳᡴ

6. Danzi Milani Maoer

The fearful cat

胆子小的猫咪

Danzi Milani Maoer

Nie ga maoer osisen sagvan no wo, jiushi danzi-ni mila no wo. Naran khalungvanji wo. Ga maoer zhin mutun xiaojiaode tonghosi dayizho, ingiekude nie tolaji « piadapiadaji » fayi qiyiwo. Ga maoer ayidene holu banxian doura oro niuwo. Zemin jiere nie gieda jieku wo, ga mila maoer hheni zhuazhuaghalane wayizho. Ga maoer naduzhi hheche khidene kharene giezho, nie miejie dase jieku khuinadu londeni taoyiwo. Ga maoer jiekuni dao nie uzhude nie qiemu gongo balasenni ulie mejiene. Hhe nie yawuse gongo “khonlanlan”ji tungulie qiyiwo, ga maoer ayizhi nie jiaoli holu qiyiwo. Ga maoer gon shaitan funjiezho giezhi hunshiyini usunla man zhadei baiwo. Ga maoer anane ode zonghodozhi oro tegharan tegharan kielien: “shaitan irewo”. Aneini xinien kieliene : « shaitan khala wo, chi uzhe. ». Ga maoer aneine khani gongoni chanla shizhezhi qierunne ghodeiwo.

胆子小的猫咪

有一只猫咪，长得很漂亮，可就是胆子太小。太阳暖融融的，猫咪在树荫下打瞌睡。正好有一辆拖拉机“哒哒哒”发动起来。猫咪一口气跳到了柜子底下藏起来。地上有一堆绳子，猫咪伸出爪子去拨弄。猫咪玩累了，准备回家，谁知道一个绳圈套住了他的后腿。小猫咪不知道绳子的另一头拴着一个小铁罐。他一走，小铁罐“框啷啷”响起来，猫咪吓了一跳，他散开腿就跑。猫咪以为是什么妖怪追来了，身上的毛全竖起来了。猫咪一头扑进妈妈得怀里，颤抖着说：“妖怪来了”。猫妈妈笑起来“那有什么妖怪！你看看！”。猫咪看见妈妈手里的小铁罐不好意思极了。

Fearful cat.001
danzi mila-ni[17] maoer.
courage smal-SUBS cat

The fearful cat.

Fearful cat.002
nie ga maoer osi-sen sagvan no wo, jiushi danzi-ni mila no wo.
one small cat look-P.NMLZ pretty very COP indeed courage-3POSS small very cop

There was a very beautiful cat, but he was very fearful.

Fearful cat.003
naran khalun-gvan-ji wo, ga maoer zhin mutun xiaojiao-de tonghoshi dayi[18]-zho.
sun warmth-INTENS-SUB COP small cat in.the.process.of tree shadow-LOC nap hit-PROG

(The day was) warming up as the sun was hot, and the cat was dozing under the tree shade.

Fearful cat.004
ingie-ku-de nie tolaji piadapiada-ji fayi qiyi-wo.
like.this-I.NMLZ-DAT one tractor sound.of.engine-M.ADV burst.out start-PFV

As he was doing so, a tractor started its engine up with a “vroom vroom” noise.

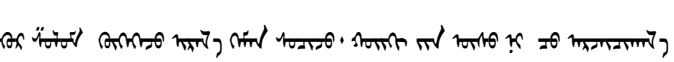
[17] The expression *danzi mila-ni maoer* lit. courage-small-SUBV cat ‘coward cat’ is a calque of Chinese *danzi xiaode maoer* 胆子小的猫儿 lit. courage small SUB cat ‘coward cat’. See note 4.

[18] The expression *tonghoshi dayi* lit. nap hit ‘take a nap’ is a calque of Chinese *da dun* 打盹 lit. hit nap ‘take a nap’

Fearful cat.005

ga	maoer	ayi-dene	holu	banxiang	doura	oro	niu-wo.
small	cat	scared-SEQ	run	cupboard	under	enter	hide-PFV

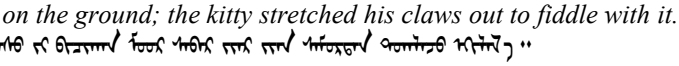
The kitty got scared and ran under a cupboard to hide.



Fearful cat.006

zemin	jiere	nie	gieda	jieku	wo,	ga	mila	maoer	hhe-ni	zhuazhua-ghala-ne	wayi-zho.
ground	on	one	knot	string	COP	small	small	cat	DEM-aCC	claw-INS-REFL	dig-PROG

There was a ball of yarn on the ground; the kitty stretched his claws out to fiddle with it.

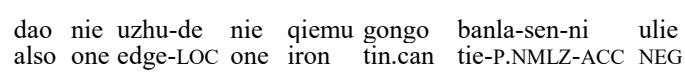


Fearful cat.007

ga	maoer	nadu-zhi	hheche	khi-dene	kharei-ne	gie-zho,	nie	mejie	da-se	jieku	
small	cat	play-SMLT	tired	come.out-SEQ	go.back-IPFV	say-PROG	one	know	cannot-CE	string	

khuinadu	kon-de-ni	taoyi-wo.
back	foot-LOC-3POSS	entangle-PFV

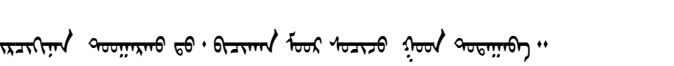
The kitty got tired of playing and was ready to go home, (but) he did not notice that a loop of rope got caught on his hind leg. [lit. he could not know]



Fearful cat.008

ga	maoer	jieku-ni	dao	nie	uzhu-de	nie	qiemu	gongo	banla-sen-ni	ulie	mejie-ne.
small	cat	string-GEN	also	one	edge-LOC	one	iron	tin.can	tie-P.NMLZ-ACC	NEG	know-IPFV

The kitty did not know there was a small tin can tied to the other end of the yarn.'



Fearful cat.009

hhe	nie	yawu-se	gongo	“khonlanlan”-ji	tungulie	qiyi-wo,	ga	maoer	ayi-zhi
3SG	one	walk-CS	tin-can	sound.of.metal-M.ADV	make.loud.noise	start-PFV	small	cat	scared-SMLT

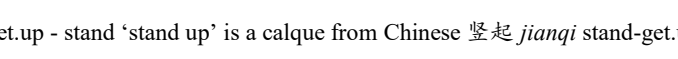
nie	jiaoli	holu	qiyi-wo.
one	sauter	run	start-PFV

As soon as he started walking, the tin-can started to make a loud “cling clang” sound; the kitty got scared and ran away.

Fearful cat.010

ga	maoer	gon-shaitan	funjie-zho	gie-zhi	hunshiyi-ni	usun-la	man	zhadei bai[19]-wo.
small	cat	monster	pursue-PROG	say-SMLT	fur-GEN	hairs-PL	all	get.up stand-PFV

The kitty thought that (some kind of) monster was coming after him, and his fur spiked up (all over its body). [lit. was pursuing him]

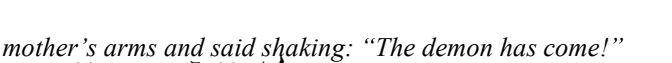


Fearful cat.011

ga	maoer	ana-ne	o-de	zonghodo-zhi	oro	teghara-n	teghara-n	kielie-ne:
small	cat	mom-REFL	bust-LOC	snuggle-SMLT	enter	shake-DUPL	shake- DUPL	say-IPFV

“shaitan ire-wo!”	
demon	come-PFV

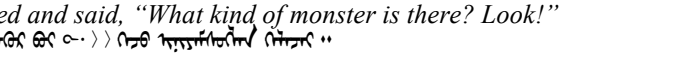
The kitty jumped into his mother’s arms and said shaking: “The demon has come!”



Fearful cat.012

anei-ni	xinie-n	xinie-n	kielie-ne:	“shaitan	khala	wo,	chi	uzhe.”
mother-3POSS	smile-DUPL	smile-DUPL	say-IPFV	demon	where	COP	2SG	look

The kitty’s mother laughed and said, “What kind of monster is there? Look!”



[19] The verb *zhadei bai* lit. get.up - stand ‘stand up’ is a calque from Chinese 竖起 *jianqi* stand-get.up ‘stand up’.

Fearful cat.013

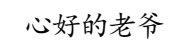
ga	maoer	anei-ne	kha-ni	gongo-ni	chanla	shizhe-zhi	qierun-ne	ghodei-wo.
small	cat	mother-REFL	main-3POSS	tin-can-ACC	see	shy-SMLT	head-IPFV	glare-PFV

The kitty saw the tin-can in his mother's pawn and felt so embarrassed that he looked down.

7. Gao zhugvetu jiedei

The kindhearted Grandfather

心好的老爷



Gao zhugvetu jiedei.

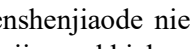
Nie jiedei ji dagvaku mo jiere nie cibande shan dailasen tonghoreini chanlawo. Jiedei tonghoreini qieru giedene khareiwo, hheni shanni uzhezhi gaodagvawo. Jiedei tonghoreini tai andagvawo. Tonghorei fudude waradazho jiedei “chini feixin giegvawo” giezhi kielieseni xianli. Jiedei ulade caoye ereile echise, nie shan dailasen ga lugoni chanlawo. Jiedei shan dailasen ga lugoni qieruzhi giedene irewo, hheni shanni uzhezhi gaodagvawo. Jiedei ga lugoni khugvozhi ulade khireigvawo, ga lugo jiaolin jiaolin ulade holuwo, “chi shi nie gao zhugvetu jiedei wo” giezhi kieliesenni xianli. Jiedei mutun linkode mogugu sidale echise, shenshenjiaode nie zhangheini chanlawo. Jiedei hhende ubali xiyizi jiuyi khizhewo. Zhanghei shenshenjiaose khizhese amanne angheizho, “chi made idun gao heifan khugvozhi iregvawo” giezhi kieliesenni xianli. Jiedei jindazhi “aminni jiuyi ya!” giezhi waradazho, mutun linkode wilie giesen ghuran nasun chighan kun ire zhangheini egvi alawo.

心好的老爷

有一个爷爷在赶集的路上遇到了一只翅膀受了伤的大雁。爷爷把大雁抱回家中，治好了它的伤。爷爷把大雁解放了。大雁长长地叫着，好像说“老爷爷，幸苦你！”。爷爷在山上采药，遇到了一只受了伤的小鹿。爷爷把受了伤的小鹿抱回家中，治好了它的伤。爷爷把小鹿送回到山上。小鹿蹦蹦跳跳地向山上跑去，回头望了一下爷爷，好像说：“您真是个好心的爷爷”。爷爷去树林采蘑菇，发现了一只困在陷井的狼。爷爷可怜它，就把它救了上来。狼一出陷阱后，就呲牙咧嘴，好像说：“你可给我送来了一顿丰盛的晚餐。爷爷急得大喊救命，在树林干活的三个小伙子赶到了，他们几下把狼打死了。

Kind grandfather.001
Gao zhugvetu[20] jiedei
kindhearted grandfather

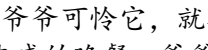
The kindhearted grandfather.



Kind grandfather.002
nie jiedei ji dagva-ku mo jiere nie ciban-de shan.daila-sen tonghorei-ni
one grandfather going.to.market-I.NMLZ road on one wing-LOC injured-P.NMLZ wild.goose-ACC

chanla-wo.
see -IPFV

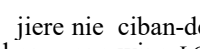
An old man was on his way to the market when he saw a goose with a wounded wing.



Kind grandfather.003
jiedei tonghorei-ni qieru gie-de-ne kharei-wo, hheni shan-ni uzhe -zhi
grandfather wild.goose-ACC carry home-LOC-REFL go.back-IPFV 3SG.GEN injury-ACC look-SMLT

gaoda[21]-gva-wo.
get.better-CAUS-IPFV

The grandfather took the goose back home and took care of its injury. [to his own house]



[20] The word *gao zhugve-tu* lit. good-heart-with ‘kind-hearted’ is a calque of Chinese *hao xin* 好心 lit. good – heart ‘kind-hearted’.

[21] The expression *uzhe gaoda* lit. see-good ‘heal’ is a calque of Chinese *kan hao* 看好 lit. see-good ‘heal’.

Kind grandfather.004

jiedei	tonghorei-ni	tai	anda[22]-gva-wo.
grandfather	wild.goose-ACC	liberate	let.go-CAUS-IPFV

The grandfather freed the goose.

Kind grandfather.005

tonghorei	fudude	warada-zho	jiedei	chini	feixin	gie-gva-wo	gie-zhi
wild.goose	elongate	shout-PROG	grandfather	2SG.ACC	take.a.lot.of.trouble	do-CAUS-IPFV	say-SMLT

kielie-se-ni	xianli.
tell- P.NMLZ-ACC	resemble

The goose called a long and hard cackling, as if it was saying "Thank you, grandpa!" [lit. I caused you a lot of trouble]

Kind grandfather.006

jiedei	ula-de	caoye	erei-le	echi-se	nie	shan	daila[23]-sen	ga
grandfather	mountain-LOC	medicinal.herb	look.for-PURP	go-CS	one	injury	carry-P.NMLZ	small

lugo-ni	chanla-wo.
deer-ACC	see-IPFV

(Another day,) As the grandfather was collecting medicinal herbs on the mountain, he came across a wounded fawn.

Kind grandfather.007

jiedei	shan	daila-sen	ga	lugo-ni	qieru-zhi	gie-de-ne	ire-wo,	hheni
grandfather	injury	carry-P.NMLZ	small	deer-ACC	carry-SMLT	house-LOC-REFL	come-IPFV	3SG.GEN

shan-ni	uzhe-zhi	gaoda-gva-wo.
injury-ACC	look-SMLT	get.better-CAUS-IPFV

He carried the injured fawn back home and healed its injury. [lit. to his own house]

Kind grandfather.008

jiedei	ga	lugo-ni	khugvo-zhi	ula-de	khirei-gva-wo.
grandfather	small	deer-ACC	send.out-SMLT	mountain-LOC	come.out-CAUS-IPFV

The grandfather freed the fawn on the mountain.

Kind grandfather.009

ga	lugo	jiaoli-n	jiaoli-n	ula-de	holu-wo,	khuina -ne	ochira -zhi	jiedei-ni
small	deer	jump-DUPL	jump - DUPL	mountain-LOC	run-IPFV	back-REFL	rotate-SMLT	grandfather-ACC

nie	uzhe-wo,
one	look-PFV

The fawn jumped and ran up the hill, and looked back at the grandfather,

Kind grandfather.010

chi	shi	nie	gao zhugvetu	jiedei	wo	gie-zhi	kielie-sen-ni	xianli	wo.
2SG	COP	one	kindhearted	grandfather	COP	say-SMLT	tell-P.NMLZ-ACC	resemble	COP

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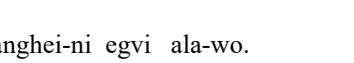
[22] The compound verb *tai anda* lit. liberate-let.go 'set.free' is a claque from Chinese *jiefang* 解放 lit. liberate-let.go 'set.free'.

[23] The compound verb *shan daila* lit. injury-carry 'to be injured' is a claque from Chinese *fu shang* 负伤 lit. injury-carry 'to be injured'.

as if it was saying :"You are a kindhearted grandpa!".

Kind grandfather.011
jiedei mutun.linko[24]-de mogugu sida-le echi-se shenshenjiao-de nie zhanghei-ni chanla-wo.
grandfather forest-LOC mushroom pick-PURP go-CS trap-LOC one wolf-ACC see-IPFV

(Another day,) the grandfather was picking mushrooms in the forest and found a wolf in a trap.


Kind grandfather.012
jiedei hhende ubali xiyi[25]-zhi jiuyi khizhe-wo.
grandfather DEM.LOC pity pity-SMLT save get.out-IPFV

The grandfather felt sorry for it and took it out to save it. [lit. took pity on it]

Kind grandfather.013
zhanghei shenshenjiao-se khizhe-se aman-ne anghei-zho,
wolf trap-ABL get.out-CS mouth-REFL open.mouth-PROG

As the wolf was out of the trap, it bared its teeth

Kind grandfather.014
Chi made idun gao heifan khugvo-zhi ire-gva-wo gie-zhi kielie-sen-ni xianli.
2SG 1SG.BEN CL good dinner send.out -SMLT come-CAUS-IPFV say-SMLT tell-P.NMLZ-ACC resemble

as if it was saying: "You will be a good dinner for me".

Kind grandfather.015
jiedei jinda-zhi "amin-ni jiuyi ya!" gie-zhi warada-zho,
grandfather panic-SMLT life-ACC save PF say-SMLT shout-PROG

The grandfather screamed out for help.

Kind grandfather.016
mutun.linko-de wilie gie-sen ghuran nasun.chighan kun ire zhanghei-ni egvi ala-wo.
wood forest-LOC work do- P.NMLZ three young person come wolf-ACC beat kill-IPFV

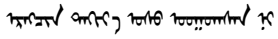
Three boys working in the woods came over and beat the wolf to death.

[24] *mutun linko* lit. tree - forest 'woods' < is a calque from Chinese *shu lin* 树林 lit. tree - forest 'wook'.
[25] The compound verb *ubali xiyi* (< pers. *ubali* - < cn. *xi* 惜) lit. pity (n.) – pity (v.) 'take pity on' is a calque of Chinese *lianxi* 怜惜 lit. pity - pity 'take pity on'.

8. Giegvun tegha usu uku

The rooster drinks water

公鸡喝水



Giegvun tegha usu uku

Kiekieli giegvun tegha ghuala hhantu naduzho, naduzhi hhechese hhantu usu erizhi ule echiwo. Niecha ereise ereizhi olu dawo, kiekieli kieliene: “idaonie matan ghuala laoba nie wayiye!” Giegvun qierunne yaoqine, hhe taixien langan wo. Kiekieli goyene wayizho, nietan wayise usu ghudu ghuduji maoyizhi khizhewo. Kiekieli qierunne ghodei gaode idun uwo. Giegvun undasuzhi bazila dadene ye ule echiwo. Kiekieli kielene: “Chi imutu langan wo, chini asiman uzhezhi dawa dase ugun qilane.” Giegvun chenlie ayizhi bazila dazho, hheni khuinase tegha nie aman use ya asiman jiere nie uzhene.

公鸡喝水

山鸡和公鸡一起玩儿，玩累就一起去找水。找了半天也没有找着，山鸡说：“干脆，我们俩一起挖一个水塘吧!”公鸡摇摇头，太懒了。山鸡只好自己挖，挖了好长时间，水咕嘟咕嘟冒出来了。山鸡埋下头饱饱的喝了一顿。公鸡渴得受不了也去喝水。山鸡说:“你这么懒，雷公公看不惯，会把你劈死的。”公鸡听了很害怕，从此，它没喝一口水，就抬起头来看看天。

Rooster drinks water.001
Giegvun tegha usu u-ku
Rooster water drink-I.NMLZ
The rooster drinks water.

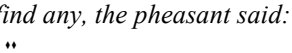
Rooster drinks water.002
kiekieli giegvun.tegha ghuala hhantu nadu-zho, nadu-zhi hheche-se hhantu usu eri-zhi
pheasant rooster two together play-PROG play-SMLT tired-CS together water look.for-SMLT

u-le echi-wo.
drink-PURP go-PFV

The rooster and the pheasant were playing together. As they got tired of playing, they went to look for water together.

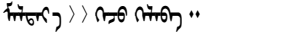
Rooster drinks water.003
niecha erei-se erei-zhi olu da-wo, kiekieli kielie-ne.
a.while look.for-SDE look.for-SMLT obtain cannot-PFV pheasant say-IPFV

After searching for long time, they could not find any, the pheasant said:



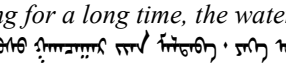
Rooster drinks water.004
“idaonie matan ghuala laoba nie wayi-ye”
simply 1PL two pond one dig-DES

“Why don’t we simply dig a watering hole together!”

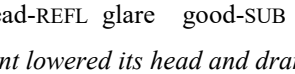


Rooster drinks water.005
giegvun qierun-ne yaoqi-ne, hhe taixien langan wo.
rooster head-REFL shake-IPFV 3SG too lazy COP

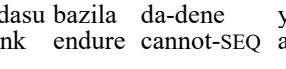
The rooster shook his head to say no, it was too lazy.



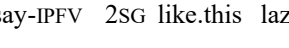
Rooster drinks water.006
kiekieli goye-ne wayi-zho, nietan wayi-se usu ghudughuduji maoyi-zhi khi-zhewo.
pheasant self-REFL dig-PROG some.time dig-CS water sound.of.water come.out -SMLT pop.out-PROG

After digging for a long time, the water came out with a gurgle.


Rooster drinks water.007
kiekieli qierun-ne ghodei gao-de[26] idun[27] u-wo.
pheasant head-REFL glare good-SUB CL drink-PFV

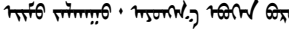
The pheasant lowered its head and drank to its heart's content. [lit. drank a meal]


Rooster drinks water.008
giegvun undasu bazila da-dene ye u-le echi-wo.
rooster drink endure cannot-SEQ also drink-PURP go-PFV

The rooster was so thirsty that could not resist and went to drink too.


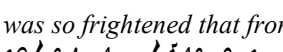
kiekieli kielie-ne: "chi imutu langan wo, chini[28] asiman uzhe-zhi dawa da[29]-se
pheasant say-IPFV 2SG like.this lazy COP 2SG.ACC sky see-SMLT pass cannot-CS

ugun.qila-ne."
struck.by.lightning-IPFV

The pheasant said, "If you are so lazy, the sky will not stand it and strike you by lightning."


Rooster drinks water.009
giegvun chenlie ayi-zhi bazila da-zho, hhe-ni khuina-se tegha nie aman u-se
rooster hear to.be.scared-SMLT endure cannot-PROG DEM.GEN after-ABL chicken one mouth drink-SDE

ya asiman jiere nie uzhe-ne.
PF sky on one see-IPFV

The rooster was so frightened that from then on, each time he drank water, he lifted his head to look at the sky.


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[26] The word *gao-de* lit. good-SUB 'a good' + noun is a calque of Chinese construction *haode* 好的+noun where *de* 的 substantivizes the adjective it follows. In the Dongxiang contruction, the first morpheme *gao* is Mongolic while *de* is a direct loan.

[27] From Chinese *yidun* 一顿 lit. 'one – classifier for meals, usually associated with *fan* 饭 'meal', used here to express that the pheasant drinks for a long time.

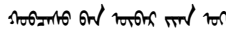
[28] Here the second personal person pronoun is expected to be suffixed the dative case. Here the use of the accusative case could be a calque from Tangwang or Linxia Chinese where accusative and dative cases are formally identical.

[29] The expression *uzhe dawa da* lit : see-pass-not.able 'not bear the sight of' is a calque from Chinese *kan bu guoqu* 看不过去 lit. see-NEG-pass.by 'not bear the sight of'.

9. Goyene jien wagvaku

Washing clothes myself

自己洗衣服



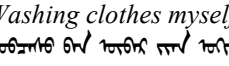
Goyene jien wagvaku

Umerei shi nie wilie gao ulie gieku kewon wo, hhe goye shoujin wazilane dao anadene wagvagvane. Nie xinqini udude, hhe Eminetayi giede echise, Eminne zhin jienne wagvazhi saozho. Hhe Eminede kieliene: “jienni anachiyi wagva gie, matan ghuala zuqiu nadule yawuye.” Emine kielie “bi jienne goye wagvane, chi goyene nadule echi!”. Hhe puse Numanitayi giede echise, Numani ye jienne wagvazhi saozho. Hhe Numanide kieliene: “Numani, matan ghuala nadule yawuye!” Numani kielie: “chini jienni uzhe, zannan no wo, giedene nie wagvale echi!”. Umerei qierunne ghodeidene lalagvan yawuzhi giedene khareiwo. Hhe giedene echi goye jienne taidene wagvale qiyiwo. Hheni khuinase, hhe nie wilie giekude xiqini kewon gholuwo. Anani bayasizhi fugie kha ghurunne zhafeigvazho.

自己洗衣服.
吾麦勒是个不受劳动的孩子，就连手绢、袜子也要扔给妈妈洗。一个星期天，他来到艾米乃家，见艾米乃正在洗衣服。他对艾米乃说：“让你妈妈洗，咱们去踢足球吧！”艾米乃说“我要自己洗衣服，你去玩儿吧！”他又来到奴么尼家，奴么尼也在洗衣服。他对奴么尼说：“奴么尼，咱们去玩儿吧！”奴么尼说：“看你的衣服太脏了，回家洗洗吧！”吾麦勒低着头慢慢地回了家。他到家后开始洗衣服。从此，他变成了一个爱劳动的孩子. 妈妈高兴地竖起大拇指。

Wash clothes yourself.001
goye-ne jien wagva-ku
self-REFL clothes wash-I.NMLZ

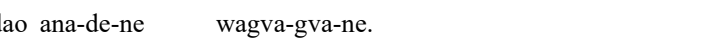
Washing clothes myself



Wash clothes yourself.002
Umerei shi nie wilie gao ulie gie[30]-ku kewon wo, hhe goye shoujin wazi-la-ne
Omar COP one work good NEG do-I.NMLZ child COP 3SG self handkerchief socks-PL-REFL

dao ana-de-ne wagva-gva-ne.
also mom-LOC-REFL wash-CAUS-IPFV

Omar is a child who does not like to do labour, he even gives his handkerchiefs and socks to his mother to wash.



Wash clothes yourself.003
nie xinqi-ni udu[31]-de, hhe Emine-tayi gie-de echi-se, Emine zhin jien-ne
one week-GEN day-DAT 3SG Amin-PL.GEN house-LOC go-CS Amin in.the.process.of clothes-REFL

wagva-zhi sao[32]-zho
wash-SMLT sit-PROG

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[30] The expression *gao ulie gie* lit. good-NEG-do ‘not do well’ is a calque of Chinese *zuobuhao* 做不好 do-NEG-good ‘not do well’.
[31] The compound word *xingqini udu* lit. week-GEN day ‘Sunday’ is a calque of Chinese *xinqi tian* 星期天. In Dongxiang, *xingqi* is a direct loan from Chinese and *udu* is of Mongolic origin.
[32] The verb sit *sao* ‘to sit’ is used as an auxiliart to express ‘in the process of doing something’ and is inheritated from Mongolic *suu-* ᠰᡡᡳ ‘to sit’.

One Sunday, he went to Amin's house and saw him washing himself his clothes.
ئەمىن ئۆيگە بېرىپ ھەم ئۇنىڭ ئۆزىنى كىيىمىنى يۇۋاتقانلىقىنى كۆردى ۔

Wash clothes yourself.004
hhe Emine-de kielie-ne: "jien-ni ana-chiyi wagva gie, matan ghuala zuqiu nadu-le
3SG Amin- DAT tell-IPFV clothes-ACC mom-2POSS wash do 1PL two football play-PURP

yawu-ye!"
go-DES

He said to Amin: "Let your mother do the washing and let's go play football together!" [lit. both of us]
ئەمىن ئۆيگە كەلدى: «ئانامنىڭ كىيىمىڭنى يۇيۇپ بېرىۋەر ھەم ئىككىمىز توپ ئويناشقىلى بارايلى» دېدى ۔

Wash clothes yourself.005
Emine kielie: "bi jien-ne goye wagva-ne, chi goye-ne nadu-le echi!"
Amin say 1SG clothes-REFL self wash-IPFV 2SG self-REFL play-PURP go

Amin said, "I'll wash my clothes myself, you go and play!" [lit. go play yourself]
ئەمىن: «مەن كىيىمىمنى ھەممىنى ئۆزۈم يۇيۇپ، سەن ئويناشقىلى بار» دېدى ۔

Wash clothes yourself.006
hhe puse Numani-tayi gie-de echi-se, Numani ye jien-ne wagva-zhi sao-zho.
3SG again Numan-PL.GEN house-LOC go-CS Numan also clothes-REFL wash-SMLT sit-PROG

He went to Numan's house who was also washing his clothes.
ئەمىن نۇمىنىڭ ئۆيگە كەلدى، نۇمىنىڭ ئۆزىمۇ كىيىمىنى يۇيۇۋاتاتتى ۔

Wash clothes yourself.007
hhe Numani-de kielie-ne: "Numani matan ghuala nadu-le yawu-ye!"
3SG Numan-LOC say-IPFV Numan 1PL two play-PURP go-DES

He said to Numan: "Numan, let's go play together!" [lit. both of us]
ئەمىن نۇمىنغا: «نۇمىن ئىككىمىز توپ ئويناشقىلى بارايلى» دېدى ۔

Wash clothes yourself.008
Numani kielie: "chini jien-ni uzhe, zannan no wo, gie-de-ne nie wagva-le echi!"
Numan say 2SG.GEN clothes-ACC see dirty very COP home-LOC-REFL one wash-PUR go

Numan answered: "Look at your clothes, they are so dirty, go home and wash them!"
نۇمىن ئەمەرگە: «كىيىمىڭگە قارا، قىنىدەك قىپقارا، ئۆيگە بېرىپ يۇيۇۋالغىن» دېدى ۔

Wash clothes yourself.009
Umerei qierun-ne ghodei-dene lalagvan yawu-zhi gie-de-ne kharei-wo.
Omar head-REFL glare-SEQ slowly walk-SMLT home-LOC-REFL go.back-PFV

Omar went back home slowly, with his head down.
ئەمەر ئەستىنى ئېگىپ، ئاستىدا ئىشىكىگە ئۆيگە كىرىپ كەتتى ۔

Wash clothes yourself.010
hhe gie-de-ne echi goye jien-ne tai-dene wagva-le qiyi-wo.
3SG home-LOC-REFL go self clothes-REFL take.off.clothes-SEQ wash-PURP start-PFV

'When he arrived home, he took off his clothes and began to wash them.'
ئۆيگە كەلگەندىن كىيىمىنى ئېلىپ يۇيۇشقا كىرىشتى ۔

Wash clothes yourself.011
hheni khuina-se hhe nie wilie gie-ku-de xiqi-ni[33] kewon gholu-wo.

[33] The use of gentive *-ni* is a calque of Chinese particle *de* 的 when used to nominalise clauses: 喜欢打工的孩子 [*xihuan dagong de*] *haizi* lit. [like-work-**de**] child 'a child who likes to work'.

DEM.GEN after-ABL 3SG one work do-I.NMLZ-LOC like-GEN child change-PFV

Since then, he started loving labour. [lit. he changed to be a child who likes labour]
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10. Hongjinni baohu gieku

Protection of the environemnt

保护环境

𐰋𐰇𐰼 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼 𐰇𐰼 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇

Hongjinni baohu gieku.

Hhaya, Younusi, Exiye, Selime ene giedulie ezegven andatu ijiewuni qila chunyou giele echiwo. Hhela nie kixie osuntu oronde irewo, yanyanji ga chizhe, jian fayizhi khizhesen mutun lachinni uzhese, zhugvesene bayasisen hin wo. Niecha shi, hhela hheche oliesi bazila dazho, ingie hhela eqiegvense zhunbi giesen fanbienmien, binjilin, mienbaoni agizhi khizhe ijiendule qiyiwo. Hhela ijiezhi, ochizhi baluse, gochude fanbienmien daizi, binjilin hezi, chugulani man bunda durugvazho. Hhela puse holuzhi niemende toreile echiwo, niecha dawase cai Selime ese iresenni mejiewo. Hhaya, Younusi, Exiye ghuralie puse khareizhi hhe oronde uzhele echise, Selime zhin dogvolon dogvolon suliao daizi, binjilin hezilani qianguzhi saozho. Hhe ghuralie chanla kieliene: “Enede gonjichin kun wiwo, matan bundasenni kiemen ese chanlazho, gonjizhi yan giene!”. Selime kieliene: “Matan goye zijiegvan honjinni baohu giekuwo”. Hhe ghuralie yama gholuda qierunne ghodei ye qiangule qiyiwo. Naran nudun pudale qiyiwo, hhela qianguzhi ganjinragvasen oronni uzhe bayasizhi xiniewo.

保护环境

哈牙、尤奴斯、艾西也、色力麦他们几个带着好多好吃的东西去春游。他们来到一片草地上，观赏着五颜六色的小野花和刚发芽的树叶，开心极了。不一会儿，他们又饿又累，于是他们把早已准备好的方便面、冰淇淋、面包等拿出来吃。吃饱喝足后，方便面袋子、冰淇淋盒子、卫生筷等扔得到处都是。他们又跑去看别的景色，过了一会儿，才发现色力麦不在场。
哈牙、尤奴斯、艾西也他们三个到老地方找她，看见色力麦正一瘸一拐的在捡地上扔下的塑料袋和冰淇淋盒。他们三个看见了说：“这儿没有人管，也没有人看见我们扔的，管它干么？”。色力麦说：«我们应该自觉地保护环境» 他们三个不好意思地底下了头，开始和色力麦一起捡扔下地垃圾。太阳已经偏西了，他们几个看着洁净地草地，会心地笑了。

Protect the environment.001
honjin-ni baohu gie-ku
environment-ACC protect BVA-I.NMLZ

Protecting the environment.
𐰋𐰇𐰼 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼 𐰇𐰼 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇

Protect the environment.002
Hhaya Younusi Exiye Selime ene giedulie ezegven andatu ijiewu-ni qila chunyou gie-le
Haya Yanis Asiya Salima DEM few.people a.few tasty food-ACC carry spring.outing do-PURP

echi-wo.
go-PFV

Haya, Yanis, Ashiya and Salima took lots of tasty things to eat for the spring outing.
𐰋𐰇𐰼 · 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼 · 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇 · 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇 𐰋𐰇𐰼 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇 𐰋𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇𐰼𐰇 ··

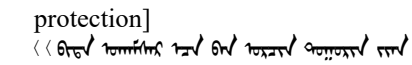
Protect the environment.003
hhela nie kixie osuntu oron-de ire-wo, yanyanji ga chizhe, jian fayi-zhi
3PL one piece with.grass place-LOC come-PFV all.kind.of small flower about.to burst.out-SMLT

khizhe-sen mutun lachin-ni uzhe-se, zhugve-se-ne bayasi-sen hin wo.
get.out-P.NMLZ tree leave-ACC see-CS heart-ABL-REFL happy-P.NMLZ very COP

They arrived to a meadow and felt so happy to see all the colourful wild flowers, the tree leaves that just sprouted and what not.
ᡥᡳᡳᡴᡳᡳᡴᡳᡳᡴ

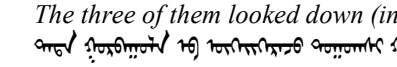
Selime kielie-ne: “matan goye zijiegvan honjin-ni baohu gie-ku-wo.”
Salima say-IPFV 1PL self be.aware.of environment-ACC protect BVA-I.NMLZ-PFV

Salima answered: “We should take care of the environment ourselves” [lit. be aware ourselves of environment protection]



Protect the environment.010
hhe ghuralie yama gholuda qierun-ne ghodei ye qiangu-le qiyi-wo.
3SG three.together whatsoever embarrassed head-REFL lower.the.head also pick.up-PURP start-PFV

The three of them looked down (in embarrassment), and started to pick up the rubbish.



Protect the environment.011
naran nudun puda-le qiyi-wo, hhela qiangu-zhi ganjinra-gva-sen oron-ni uzhe bayasi-zhi
sun eye sink-PURP start-PFV 3PL pick.up-SMLT clean-CAUS-P.NMLZ place-ACC look happy-SMLT

xinie-wo.
smile-PFV

The sun was already heading down and they looked at the place they cleaned and smiled heartily. [lit. smiled of happiness]