



**HAL**  
open science

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

Julie Lefort

► **To cite this version:**

Julie Lefort. Dongxiang Short Stories (with gloss and annotations) Vol.1: Dunxian kielen . 2023. hal-04015834v1

**HAL Id: hal-04015834**

**<https://hal.science/hal-04015834v1>**

Submitted on 6 Mar 2023 (v1), last revised 15 Sep 2023 (v2)

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Copyright

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

First draft (25/02/2023)

Dunxian kieliën

东乡语小故事

ᠳᠤᠨᠬᠢᠭᠢᠨ ᠬᠢᠯᠢᠭᠢᠨ ᠠᠨᠵᠢ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠰᠢᠶᠢᠨ ᠰᠢᠶᠢᠨ

Julie LEFORT

Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale, Paris - UMR8563  
(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 nàlěisì xiǎoxué shuāngyǔ jiàoxué shìyànbān 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<sup>1</sup> using the Dongxiang pinyin script (*Dunxian pinyin* 东乡拼音<sup>2</sup>) 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<sup>3</sup>. 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).

This publication is part of the project ‘Language contact in Northern China – Historical and Typological perspectives’ (LCNC, Programme CE27, ANR 2018) funded by the *Agence nationale de la recherche* (ANR, French National Agency for Research) and coordinated by Redouane Djamouri (CNRS, CRLAO, Paris).

<sup>1</sup> 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 kieliën khidei kieliën kieleni lvgeqi* 东乡语汉语词典 *Dōngxiāng yǔ hànyǔ cídiǎn*. Lanzhou : Gansu minzu chubanshe.

<sup>2</sup> See Ma & Chen (2001 :13-14) for details.

<sup>3</sup> 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	[dz]
e	[ə]	iu	[iu]	n	[n] / [ŋ]	q	[tɕ]
i	[i]	ua	[ua]	l	[l]	x	[ɕ]
ii	[ʉ]	ui	[ui]	r	[r]	zh	[dz]
o	[o]	iao	[iao]	g	[g]	ch	[tʂ]
u	[u]	uai	[uai]	j	[k]	sh	[ʂ]
ai	[ai]	b	[b]	gh	[g]	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	DUPL - DUPLICATIVE (CONVERB)
2PL - SECOND-PERSON PLURAL	FP - FINAL PARTICLE
3PL - THIRD-PERSON PLURAL	GEN - GENITIVE (CASE)
2OBL - SECOND PERSON OBLIC CASE	I.NMLZ - IMPERFECTIVE NOMINALIZER
2POSS - SECOND SINGULAR REGLEXIVE MARKER	INS - INSTRUMENTAL (CASE)
3POSS - THIRD PERSON SINGULAR REFLEXIVE MARKER	INTEN - INTENSIFIER
1SG - FIRST-PERSON SINGULAR	INTER - INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE
1SG.LOG - FIRST-PERSON SINGULAR LOGOPHORIC	IPFV - IMPERFECTIVE (ASPECT)
2SG - SECOND-PERSON SINGULAR	LOC - LOCATIVE (CASE)
3SG - THIRD-PERSON SINGULAR	M.ADV - MANNER ADVERBIAL
ABL - ABLATIVE (CASE)	NEG - NEGATION
ACC - ACCUSATIVE (CASE)	PFV - PERFECTIVE (ASPECT)
AS - ASSOCIATIVE (CASE)	PL - PLURAL
BVA - BORROWED VERB AUXILIARY	P.NMLZ - PERFECTIVE NOMINALIZER
BEN - BENEFACTIVE (CASE)	PR.NMLZ - PROGRESSIVE NOMINALIZER
CS - CAUSAL (CONVERB)	PROG - PROGRESSIVE (ASPECT)
CAUS - CAUSATIVE	PURP - PURPOSIVE (CONVERB)
CE - COUNTER EXPECTATION (CONVERB)	Q - QUESTION MARKER
CLF - CLASSIFIER	REFL - REFLEXIVE
COLL - COLLECTIF	RES - RESULTATIVE
COM - COMITATIF	SEQ - SEQUENTIAL (CONVERB)
COND - CONDITIONNAL (CONVERB)	SDE - SIMULTANEOUS DIFFERENT EVENT (CONVERB)
COP - COPULA	SMLT - SIMULTANEITY (CONVERB)
DAT - DATIVE (CASE)	SUB - SUBSTANTIVIZER
DEM - DEMONSTRATIVE	SUCC - SUCCESSIVE (CONVERB)
DES - DESIDERATIVE (MOOD)	TM - TEMPORAL MARKER (CLITIC)

## List of stories

1. Anei awi shi kewosilani chu gaoni laoshi .....	4
2. Ayinshe shu onshile echiku .....	7
3. Bagva gie banjiku .....	9
4. Bunzhu ho giezhi suruku .....	12
5. Chinshini Hhabi .....	15
6. Danzi Milani Maoer .....	17
7. Gao zhugvetu jiedeidei .....	20
8. Giegvan tegha usu uku .....	23
9. Goyene jien wagvaku .....	25
10. Hongjinni baohu giekku .....	28





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

“Mom, let’s wash your feet!” [lit. mom washes feet<sup>5</sup>]  
 << 𐌁𐌃𐌀𐌃𐌆 𐌑𐌂𐌆 𐌋𐌊𐌆𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐 >> 𐌂𐌆𐌇𐌈

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.*  
 𐌁𐌃𐌀 𐌂𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊 𐌋𐌊𐌆𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐 𐌑𐌂𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐 𐌁𐌃𐌀𐌃𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐

<sup>5</sup> 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 genitive case, the accusative case and the desiderative mood would be expected, as in *ana-ni kon-ni wagva-ye* lit. mom-GEN foot-ACC wash-DES ‘mom let’s wash your feet’.



















## 5. Chinshini Hhabi

Habib, the Honest boy

诚实的哈比

ḥabīb al-ḥaqq al-ḥabīb

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 khizhegwawo, qiangu uzhesse nie biehuju qienbao wo. Hhabi sumulase qienbao widagvasen kun jinda alane, ene oronde niecha sagveiyee. 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。

Honest Habib.001  
chinshi-ni Hhabi  
honest- Habib  
SUBS<sup>14</sup>

*Habib, the Honest boy*

ḥabīb al-ḥaqq al-ḥabīb

Honest 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.*

ḥabīb šī niē xiěshīn wǒ, hē cūnmín chīnshī wǒ. ḥabīb COP one student COP 3SG smart honest COP

Honest 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.*

niūdù-de fúgiē chāsūn bāo-zhō, mò jiēre, mùtūn jiēre, giē jiēre, chāsūn zhūzhān hīn wǒ.

Honest Habib.004

Hhabi fugie chasun dunda onshi-le echiwo.  
Habib big snow middle read-PURP go-PFV

*Habib was braving the snow to go to school<sup>15</sup>. [lit. Habib was going to school in the middle of the big snow]*

ḥabīb fúgiē chāsūn dūndū onshī-le ēchīwǒ.

Honest Habib.005

Hhabi chasun-ni qiaoyi-n qiaoyi-n yawu-ku-de nie khara ojen-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

<sup>14</sup> See note 4 on the use of *-ni*.

<sup>15</sup> See note 6.



qiangu uzhe-se nie biehuju 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.

הוא הלך והכה את השלג (באותו הזמן), כשהחלה להופיע דבר שחור [הוא עשה דבר שחור להופיע על ידי כוון את השלג]. כשהרים אותו, ראה שהוא כדורית.  
“הוא ”

Honest Habib.006

Hhabi sumula-se qienbao wida-gva-sen kun jinda ala-ne, ene oron-de niecha sagvei-ye.  
Habib think-SDE wallet lose-CAUS-P.NMLZ person panic kill-IPFV DEM place-LOC a.while wait-DES

“The owner must be very anxious; I’ll wait here for a while”, Habib thought.

הוא חשב שבעלים של הכרטיס חייב להיות מאוד חשוד. “אני אמת כאן לזמן מה”, חשב הוא.

Honest Habib.007

Hhabi niecha sagvei-se kiemenda erei-le ese ire-wo, hhe xiexiao-de echi qienbao-ni  
Habib a.while wait-SDE nobody look.for-PURP NEG come-PFV 3SG school-LOC go wallet-ACC

laoshi-de jiaoyi-wo.  
teacher-BEN hand.to-PFV

After waiting for a while, no one came to look for it, so Habib went to school and handed the wallet to his teacher.

אחרי שהמתנה זמן מה, לא בא אף אחד לראות אותו, אז הלך חביב לבית הספר והעביר את הכרטיס למורה שלו.

Honest Habib.008

laoshi qienbao wida-gva-sen kun-ni daqinla-zhi olu-wo.  
teacher wallet lose-CAUS-P.NMLZ person-ACC ask.about-SMLT obtain-PFV

The teacher asked around and found out about the owner of the lost wallet.

המורה שאל סביב והתברר לו על ידי שאלות שהשאל את בעל הכרטיס האבוד.

Honest Habib.009

qienbao wida-gva-sen kun yibai kuai baer-ni barei Hhabi-de feixin kielie-le  
wallet lose-CAUS-P.NMLZ person one.hundred yuan money-ACC hold Habib-BEN thank tell-PURP

ire-wo.  
come-PFV

The owner of the lost his wallet took 100 yuans and handed it to Habib to thank him. [lit. to tell him thanks]

בעל הכרטיס האבוד לקח 100 יואן והעביר אותם לחביב כדי להודות לו.

Honest Habib.010

Hhabi baer-ni ese jielie, kielie-ne: “ene shi bi gie-ku-ni wo.”  
Habib money-ACC NEG accept say-IPFV DEM COP 1SG do-I.NMLZ-ACC COP

(But) Habib did not accept the money and said: “It was my duty to do so”.

חביב לא קיבל את הכסף והוא אמר: “היה לי חובה לעשות ככה”.

Honest Habib.011

laoshi qienban xieshin-ni melie Hhabi-ni kuayi-zhiwo.  
teacher all.class student-GEN before Habib-ACC praise-PROG

The teacher praised Habib in front of the whole class.

המורה שבח את חביב בפני כל הכיתה.

Honest Habib.012

ene-ni khuina-se qienban xieshin-la Hhabi-ni suru-zhi haoshi giechin kun olodo<sup>16</sup>-wo.  
DEM-TM back-ABL all.class student-PL Habib-ACC learn-SMLT good.action good person increase-PFV

From then on, the whole class took example from Habib and made more good actions.

מאז הריחוק, כל הכיתה לקחה דוגמה מחביב ועשתה מעשים טובים יותר.

<sup>16</sup> The expression *haoshi giechin kun* is a calque of Chinese *haoren haoshi* 好人好事 lit. good people good things ‘good people and their good deeds’

## 6. Danzi Milani Maoer

The fearful cat  
胆子小的猫咪  
ኩሳታል ስላሳ

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 दौरा 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 londoni 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“框唧唧”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<sup>17</sup> maoer.  
courage smal-SUBS cat

The fearful cat.  
ኩሳታል ስላሳ

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.  
ኩሳታል ስላሳ ከገጠሞቹ ስላሳ ብዙም ይሆናል ።

Fearful cat.003  
naran khalun-gvan-ji wo, ga maoer zhin mutun xiaojiao-de tonghoshi dayi<sup>18</sup>-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.  
ኩሳታል ስላሳ ከገጠሞቹ ስላሳ ብዙም ይሆናል ። ከገጠሞቹ ስላሳ ብዙም ይሆናል ።

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.  
ኩሳታል ስላሳ ስላሳ ብዙም ይሆናል ። ኩሳታል ስላሳ ብዙም ይሆናል ።

<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>18</sup> 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.013

ga maor 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.*

ᠭᠠ ᠮᠠᠣᠷ ᠠᠨᠡᠢ-ᠨᠡ ᠬᠠ-ᠨᠢ ᠭᠣᠩᠭᠣ-ᠨᠢ ᠴᠢᠨᠯᠠ ᠰᠢᠵᠡ-ᠵᠢ ᠠᠢᠷᠦᠨ-ᠨᠡ ᠭᠢᠬᠣᠳᠡᠢ-ᠠᠣᠡ .  
ᠰᠢᠮᠠᠯ ᠴᠠᠲ ᠮᠣᠳᠡᠷ-ᠷᠡᠬᠯ ᠮᠠᠢ-3ᠫᠣᠰᠤ ᠲᠢᠨ-ᠴᠠᠨ-ᠠᠴᠴ ᠰᠡᠸ ᠰᠢᠬᠢ-ᠰᠮᠯᠲ ᠬᠡᠳ-ᠢᠫᠫᠦᠪᠦ ᠭᠯᠠᠷᠡ-ᠫᠫᠦ ᠡᠡ



Kind grandfather.004  
jiedeidei tonghorei-ni tai anda<sup>22</sup>-gva-wo.  
grandfather wild.goose-ACC liberate let.go-CAUS-IPFV

*The grandfather freed the goose.*  
ᠠᠨᠠᠳᠠ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ

Kind grandfather.005  
tonghorei fudude warada-zho jiedeidei 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]  
ᠠᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ

Kind grandfather.006  
jiedeidei ula-de caoye erei-le echi-se nie shan daila<sup>23</sup>-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.*  
ᠠᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ

Kind grandfather.007  
jiedeidei 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]  
ᠠᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ

Kind grandfather.008  
jiedeidei 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.*  
ᠠᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ

Kind grandfather.009  
ga lugo jiaoli-n jiaoli-n ula-de holu-wo, khuina -ne ochira -zhi jiedeidei-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,*  
ᠠᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ ᠠᠨᠳᠤ ᠠᠵᠢ

Kind grandfather.010  
chi shi nie gao zhugvetu jiedeidei wo gie-zhi kielie-sen-ni xianli wo.  
2SG COP one kindhearted grandfather COP say-SMLT tell-P.NMLZ-ACC resemble COP

<sup>22</sup> 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’.  
<sup>23</sup> 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’.









## 9. Goyene jien wargvaku

Washing clothes myself

自己洗衣服

ᠰᠡᠭᠣᠶᠡᠨᠡ ᠵᠢᠨ ᠠᠨᠠᠷᠠᠨᠠᠳᠡᠨᠡ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠢ

Goyene jien wargvaku

Umerei shi nie wylie gao ulie gieku kewon wo, hhe goye shoujin wazilane dao anadene wargvavane. Nie xinqini udude, hhe Eminetayi giede echise, Eminne zhin jienne wargvazhi saozho. Hhe Eminede kieliene: “jienni anachiyi wagva gie, matan ghuala zuqiu nadule yawuye.” Emine kielie “bi jienne goye wargvane, chi goyene nadule echi!”. Hhe puse Numanitayi giede echise, Numani ye jienne wargvazhi saozho. Hhe Numanide kieliene: “Numani, matan ghuala nadule yawuye!” Numani kielie: “chini jienni uzhe, zannan no wo, giedene nie wargvale echi!”. Umerei qierunne ghodeidene lalagvan yawuzhi giedene khareiwo. Hhe giedene echi goye jienne taidene wargvale qiyiwo. Hheni khuinase, hhe nie wylie gieku 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 wargva-ku  
self-REFL clothes wash-I.NMLZ

*Washing clothes myself*

ᠰᠡᠭᠣᠶᠡᠨᠡ ᠵᠢᠨ ᠠᠨᠠᠷᠠᠨᠠᠳᠡᠨᠡ ᠠᠨᠠᠨᠢ

Wash clothes yourself.002  
Umerei shi nie wylie gao ulie gie<sup>30</sup>-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 wargva-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<sup>31</sup>-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<sup>32</sup>-zho  
wash-SMLT sit-PROG

<sup>30</sup> 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’.

<sup>31</sup> The compound word *xinqini udu* lit. week-GEN day ‘Sunday’ is a calque of Chinese *xinqi tian* 星期天. In Dongxiang, *xinqi* is a direct loan from Chinese and *udu* is of Mongolic origin.

<sup>32</sup> The verb *sit sao* ‘to sit’ is used as an auxiliary to express ‘in the process of doing something’ and is inherited from Mongolic *suu-* ‘to sit’.

*One Sunday, he went to Amin's house and saw him washing himself his clothes.*

ኅሉዌ ሰንበት ዓለ ላገሩን ማን ስራ ማሳገጥ ለመገኘት ወይንም ለማግኘት የሚሰጥ ሰዓት ሳይሆን ስለሆነው ማህበራዊ ግብርና ነው።

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]  
ኅሉዌ ላገሩን ማን ስራ ማሳገጥ ለመገኘት ወይንም ለማግኘት የሚሰጥ ሰዓት ሳይሆን ስለሆነው ማህበራዊ ግብርና ነው።

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]  
ኅሉዌ ላገሩን ማን ስራ ማሳገጥ ለመገኘት ወይንም ለማግኘት የሚሰጥ ሰዓት ሳይሆን ስለሆነው ማህበራዊ ግብርና ነው።

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.*  
ኅሉዌ ላገሩን ማን ስራ ማሳገጥ ለመገኘት ወይንም ለማግኘት የሚሰጥ ሰዓት ሳይሆን ስለሆነው ማህበራዊ ግብርና ነው።

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]  
ኅሉዌ ላገሩን ማን ስራ ማሳገጥ ለመገኘት ወይንም ለማግኘት የሚሰጥ ሰዓት ሳይሆን ስለሆነው ማህበራዊ ግብርና ነው።

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!”*  
ኅሉዌ ላገሩን ማን ስራ ማሳገጥ ለመገኘት ወይንም ለማግኘት የሚሰጥ ሰዓት ሳይሆን ስለሆነው ማህበራዊ ግብርና ነው።

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.*  
ኅሉዌ ላገሩን ማን ስራ ማሳገጥ ለመገኘት ወይንም ለማግኘት የሚሰጥ ሰዓት ሳይሆን ስለሆነው ማህበራዊ ግብርና ነው።

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.’*  
ኅሉዌ ላገሩን ማን ስራ ማሳገጥ ለመገኘት ወይንም ለማግኘት የሚሰጥ ሰዓት ሳይሆን ስለሆነው ማህበራዊ ግብርና ነው።

Wash clothes yourself.011

hheni khuina-se hhe nie wilie gie-ku-de xiqi-ni<sup>33</sup> kewon gholu-wo.

<sup>33</sup> The use of genitive *-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’.







