

Three Folktales in Shinekhen Buryat

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Shinekhen Buryat is one of the Mongolic languages spoken in northern Inner Mongolia, China (see Map 1). This article undertakes a grammatical analysis of the text of Shinekhen Buryat. The text consists of three folktales titled “A Boy with a Golden Breast and Silver Buttocks”, “Old Man and Old Woman with a Spotted Cow” and “Why Did People Stop Killing the Elderly ?” The three folktales appearing here are narrated by a native Shinekhen Buryat speaker. However, not all the stories may be of Buryat origin. For example, the plot of “Old Man and Old Woman with a Spotted Cow” is widely found in Asia as “Tiger and Dried Persimmon” in Korea, as “Leaking of a Shabby House” in Japan, and so on. These texts would be worth examining in folklore studies as well as in language documentation.

Keywords: Buryat, Mongolic languages, folktale, Inner Mongolia, folklore studies

1. Introduction
2. Phonological and Grammatical Outline
3. Text of Shinekhen Buryat

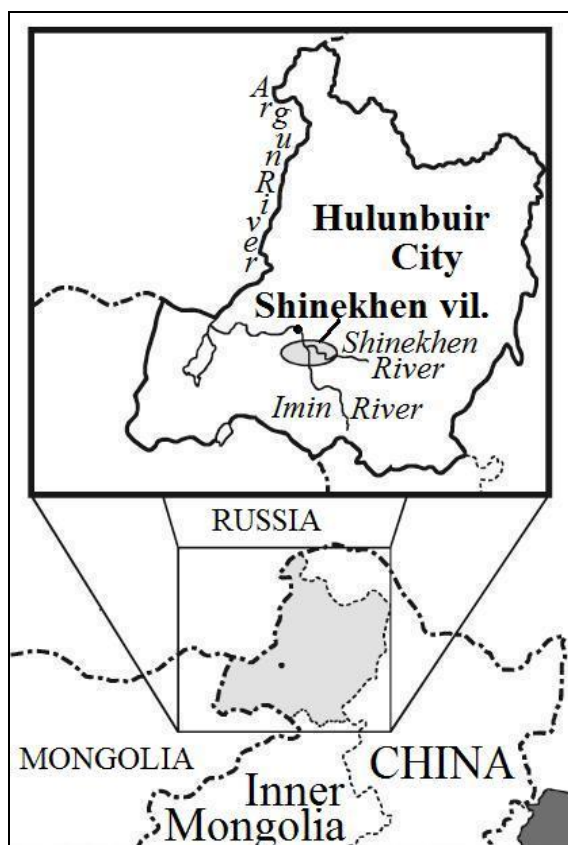
1. Introduction

Here I present three folktales collected from a Shinekhen Buryat speaker. Shinekhen Buryat is spoken by the Shinekhen Buryat people (Shi. *š'inexeen bor¹aad* or *š'inexeenei bor¹aad*) who inhabit the region around the Shinekhen river basin in Hulunbuir (Chi. *hulunbeier*) City, Inner Mongolia, China (see Map 1). Furthermore, Shinekhen Buryat is the mother tongue of another ethnic group called the Khamnigan Evenki (Shi. *xamnigan* or *tunjuus*).

The ancestors of the Shinekhen Buryat and Khamnigan Evenki people lived in the Russian Empire until the Russian Civil War. About 3,000 Buryat and Khamnigan Evenki refugees crossed the Argun River (a branch of the Amur River) after the war. Migration continued until 1931, when the Manchukuo demarcated the border. Language consultants now say that about 6,000 people live around the Shinekhen basin and speak Shinekhen Buryat as their mother tongue. The linguistic characteristics of Shinekhen Buryat are very similar to those of the eastern dialects of Buryat (i.e., the Aga and Khori dialects), which were used by most of the Buryat ancestors (refugees). Hattori (1937) researched Mongolic languages in Hulunbuir in the 1930s, and recognized their language as the Aga dialect.

However, three generations have passed since they migrated from Russia (USSR). Mongolian and Chinese, which are used in daily conversations in this area, have influenced their language. On the other hand, Buryat in Russia has been influenced by Russian. It can be observed that each dialect of Buryat has changed during these three generations. Therefore, I distinguish Shinekhen Buryat from other Buryat dialects spoken in Russia. We can see such influences in this material. The speaker sometimes uses Mongolian words or suffixes; I have indicated these with “*.”

The other language materials of Shinekhen Buryat were collected and published by the author: Yamakoshi (2002) text of folktales; (2003) basic vocabulary; (2006) text of daily conversations; (2011) a grammatical sketch). For further information, see Yamakoshi (2011).



Map 1: Area in which Shinekhen Buryat is Spoken.

2. Phonological and Grammatical Outline

2.1. Phonological Inventory

The following tables present the inventory of phonemes of Shinekhen Buryat.

Table 1: Vowels

i	u
e[ə~e]	ə o
	ɔ
	a[ɑ~a]

Table 2: Consonants

Stop	voiceless	p	pʲ	t	tʲ	(kʲ)	(k)	
	voiced	b	bʲ	d	dʲ			
Fricative	voiceless			s	sʲ[f]	xʲ[ç]	x[x~χ]	h
	voiced			z	zʲ[ʒ]	gʲ[j]	g[ɣ~ʁ]	
Affricate	voiceless			(c[ts])	(cʲ[tʃ])			
Liquid				l	lʲ			
				r	rʲ			
Nasal		m	mʲ	n	nʲ[n]		ŋ	
Glide		w			j			

* The parenthesized consonants are used only for loanwords.

2.2. Grammatical Outline

Shinekhen Buryat is one of the typical agglutinative languages. Grammatical relations are indicated by various bound morphemes (suffixes or enclitics). It has no prefixes or proclitics. In word formation, suffixation is the most productive. A word stem takes other suffixes to form new stems.

The basic word order is S-V / A-O-V, Dependent-Head. The grammatical case is also indicated by several case suffixes. The case-marking pattern is nominative-accusative. S and A are indicated by nominative; O is indicated by accusative, indefinite accusative, or reflexive possessive. The predicates (not only verbs but also nouns) agree with the person and number. For further grammatical information, see Yamakoshi (2011).

3. Text of Shinekhen Buryat

Perhaps not all of the stories appearing here have originated from Buryat or Mongolian. For example, the plot of “Old Man and Old Woman with a Spotted Cow” (3.2) can be found widely in Asia, appearing as *Horangiwa Gotgam* (Tiger and Dried Persimmon) in Korea, *Furuya no Mori* (Leaking of a Shabby House) in Japan, and so on. It is said that

the Japanese proverb *Koroo yori moru ga osoroshi* (Leaking is more frightening than a tiger or a wolf) is derived from these stories. Furthermore, the tiger is not a major animal of Buryatia and Mongolia. This is why I think that this story is not of Buryat-origin. The third story, “Why Did People Stop Killing the Elderly?” is also similar to other legends of the abandonment of elderly people widely known in Asia.

The speaker sometimes uses Mongolian vocabulary or inflection instead of Buryat. The word or suffix I indicated with “*” is a Mongolian word or a suffix.

3.1. A Boy with a Golden Breast and Silver Buttocks (Folktales)

Date of recording: 2005-03-16

Place: Hailar District, Hulunbuir City, Inner Mongolia, China

Speaker: Mrs. Dogarmaa (born in 1933)

Plot: There was a king who had three queens. One day while preparing to go to battle, he asked his queens what they would give him when he came back. The third queen answered that she would bear a boy with a golden breast and silver buttocks. After the king went to battle, the third queen bore such a boy. However, the first and second queens hid the boy because they envied the third queen.

When the king returned from the battle, he found the third queen had no child. He was angry and banished her. One day, however, the king found the boy hidden under the sill. Then he searched for the third queen. Finally, the king and the third queen lived happily with their son with a golden breast and silver buttocks.

(1-1) *altan seez'-tei munġen bugse-tei xubuun jar'-za*
 gold breast-PROP silver buttocks-PROP boy tell-IPFV.CVB
ug-xe=m=gu.
 give-PFV.PTCP=1SG=Q

Have I told about the boy with a golden breast and silver buttocks?

(1-2) *nege gazar-ta nege ixe xaan bai-g-aa ge-ne.*
 one place-DAT one great king:NOM be-E-IPFV.PTCP say-PRS
 There was a king somewhere.

(1-3) *gorban xatan-tai.*
 three queen-PROP
 He has three queens.

(1-4) *t'eed tere xaan ixe xol gazar dain-da*
 then that king:NOM great far place war-DAT
mord-xo bol-oo ge-ne.
 leave-FUT.PTCP become-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
 The king was going into battle far away.

- (1-5) *tere mɔrdɔ-xɔ deer-ee gorban hamga-d-ahaa*
 that leave-FUT.PTCP upon-REFL three wife-PL-ABL
xatan-ahaa hor-aa=jum bai-na.
 queen-ABL ask-IPFV.PTCP=MOD be-PRS
 When leaving, he asked three queens.
- (1-6) *ixe xatan-ahaa hor-aa ge-ne.*
 great queen-ABL ask-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
 He asked the first queen.
- (1-7) *sʲii ire-xe-de=m juu*
 2SG:NOM come-FUT.PTCP-DAT=1SG:POSS what:INDF
x-eed bai-xa=b=sʲa ge-zʲe.
 do-PFV.CVB be-FUT.PTCP=Q=2SG say.that-IPFV.CVB
 He said, “When I come back, what will you have done?”
- (1-8) *tʲii-xe-de=n ixe xatan=in*
 do.in.that.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS great queen:NOM=3:POSS
xel-ee ge-ne.
 tell-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
 Then the first queen told him.
- (1-9) *bii nege gɔʲɔ degel ɔj-ɔɔd*
 1SG:NOM one beautiful costume:INDF sew-PFV.CVB
bai-xa=bʲ sʲam-da ge-b ge-ne.
 be-FUT.PTCP=1SG 2SG-DAT say.that-PST say.that-PRS
 “I will have sewn the beautiful costume for you,” she said.
- (1-10) *xɔʲɔr-dogaar xatan=in juu x-eed*
 two-ORD queen:NOM=3:POSS what:INDF do-PFV.CVB
bai-xa=b=sʲa ge-zʲe
 be-FUT.PTCP=Q=2SG:POSS say.that-IPFV.CVB
hor-xa-da=ni bii nege gɔʲɔ gotal
 ask-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS 1SG:NOM one beautiful boots:INDF
ɔj-ɔɔd bai-xa=bʲ ge-b ge-ne.
 sew-PFV.CVB be-FUT.PTCP=1SG say.that-PST say.that-PRS
 The king asked “The second queen, what will have you done?” “I will have sewn beautiful boots,” she said.
- (1-11) *zaa ii-g-eed xamag-ai бага xatan-ahaa*
 INTJ do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB all-GEN little queen-ABL
hor-aa ge-ne.
 ask-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
 In this way, (he) asked the youngest queen.
- (1-12) *tʲii-xe=n бага xatan=in*
 do.in.that.way-FUT.PTCP=3:POSS little queen:NOM=3:POSS

xel-z^je *bai-na* *ge-ne.*
 tell-IPFV.CVB be-PRS say.that-PRS
 Then, the youngest queen said,

- (1-13) *bii* *altan* *seez^j-tei* *mungen* *bugse-tei* *xubuu*
 1SG:NOM golden breast-PROP silver buttocks-PROP boy:INDF
tur-eed *bai-xa=b^j* *ge-z^je* *xel-be*
 bear-PFV.CVB be-FUT.PTCP=1SG say.that-IPFV.CVB tell-PST
ge-ne.
 say.that-PRS
 “I will have borne (you) a boy with a golden breast and silver buttocks,” she said.

- (1-14) *baga* *xatan=in.*
 little queen:NOM=3:POSS
 the youngest queen.

- (1-15) *zaa* *ii-g-eed* *tere* *xaan=s^je*
 INTJ do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB that king:NOM=also
tii-g-eed=le *dain-da* *mɔrd-ɔɔ=jum=buddee.*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB=only war-DAT leave-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD
 In this way, he went into battle.

- (1-16) *xɔl* *gazar* *n^jeleen* *odaa-xan=s^je* *jab-aa=jum=buddee.*
 far place fairly long-DMN=also go-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD
 (He) has been far away for a long time.

- (1-17) *tii-g-eed* *ɔs^j-hɔn* *xɔinɔ=le* *ixe*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB leave-PFV.PTCP back=only great
xatan=in=s^je *degel*
 queen:NOM=3:POSS=also costume:INDF
ɔj-ɔɔ=jum=xede *gɔjɔ* *degel.*
 sew-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=NMLZ-DAT beautiful costume:INDF
 After he went into battle, the first queen made a beautiful costume.

- (1-18) *donda* *xatan=in* *gɔjɔ* *gotal-aa*
 middle queen:INDF=3:POSS beautiful boots-REFL
ɔj-ɔɔ=jum=xede, *ii-g-eed* *baga*
 sew-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=NMLZ-DAT do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB little
xatan=in=s^je *altan* *seez^j-tei* *mungen* *bugse-tei*
 queen:NOM=3:POSS=also golden breast-PROP silver buttocks-PROP
xubuu *ture-b* *ge-ne.*
 boy:INDF bear-PST say.that-PRS
 The middle queen made beautiful boots; then, the little queen bore him a boy with a golden breast and silver buttocks.

- (1-19) *ii-xe-de=n* *tere* *ixe* *xatan* *donda*
do.in.this.way-FUT.PTCP=3:POSS that great queen:NOM middle
xatan *xɔʝɔr* *ter-ee=n* *ataarx-aad* *ene* *man-ahaa*
queen:NOM two 3SG-REFL=3:POSS envy-PFV.CVB this 1PL-ABL
uhuu *ɔdɔɔ* *n'uur-tei* *bɔl-hɔn,* *altan* *seez^ɟ-tei*
extra now face-PROP become-PFV.PTCP golden breast-PROP
munʝen *bugse-tei* *xubuu* *tur-ee.*
silver buttocks-PROP boy:INDF bear-IPFV.PTCP
Then, the first and middle queen envied the little queen. “She got higher credit than us.”
- (1-20) *ii-g-eed* *tereen-ii* *xɔrs-ɔɔd* *ataarx-aad*
do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB 3SG-ACC hate-PFV.CVB envy-PFV.CVB
tere *xubuu-jii=n* *tere* *zarsan-ood-aar-aa* *hemee-xen*
that boy-ACC=3:POSS that servant-PL-INS-REFL gently-DMN
xel-eed *uuden-ei-ɲɡaa* *bɔʝɔhɔ* *dɔr* *bol-ool-aa.*
tell-PFV.CVB door-GEN-REFL sill under bury-CAUS-IPFV.PTCP
Because they envied her, (they) told their servants to bury that boy under the sill.
- (1-21) *bol-z^ɟax^ɟ-ɔɔ.*
bury-PFV-IPFV.PTCP
They have buried.
- (1-22) *(al-aa=go)¹*
kill-IPFV.PTCP=Q
(Did (they) kill him?)
- (1-23) *(al-aa=le=jum=buddee.)*
kill-IPFV.PTCP=only=MOD=MOD
(They might kill him.)
- (1-24) *zaa* *tii-g-eed=le* *n'eleen=s^ɟe* *odaa*
INTJ do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB=only fairly=also slowly
bɔl-ɔɔd=le *tere* *xaan=s^ɟni* *tere* *dain-ahaa*
become-PFV.CVB=only that king:NOM=2SG:POSS that war-ABL
xar^ɟ-z^ɟa *ir-be=xe-de*
come.back-IPFV.CVB come-PST=NMLZ-DAT
ir-xe-de=n *ɔdɔɔ* *jaa-han*
come-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS now do.what-PFV.CVB
berxe-d=le *ixe* *xatan* *gɔʝɔ* *degel*
amazing-PL=only great queen:NOM beautiful costume:INDF
gar-g-aa *g-eed* *iim* *oxaaŋ-gui.*
go.out-CAUS-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PFV.CVB such idea-NEG
Then, after a long time, when that king came back from the war, he said to the

¹ Another consultant (Mrs. Dogarmaa's husband) asked Mrs. Dogarmaa as (1-22), and she answered as (1-23).

first queen, “How amazing! The first queen gave me such a beautiful costume!”

- (1-25) *donda* *xatan=in* *gɔj-ɔɔr* *ɔjɔ-hɔn* *gotal*
 middle queen:NOM=3:POSS beautiful-INS sew-PFV.CVB boots:INDF
gar-ga-b *ge-ne.*
 go.out-CAUS-PST say.that-PRS
 The middle queen gave him the boots sewn beautifully.

- (1-26) *zaa* *baga* *xatan-ahaa* *sʲinii* *xubuun=sʲe*
 INTJ little queen-ABL 2SG:GEN boy:NOM=2SG:POSS
alin=be *ge-xe-de* *bai-xa-gui.*
 which=Q say.that-FUT.PTCP-DAT be-FUT.PTCP-NEG
 “Where is your boy?” (the king) asked the little queen, but the boy was not there.

- (1-27) *ii-xe-de* *tere* *xaan=sʲ*
 do.in.this.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT that king:NOM=2SG:POSS
soxal-aa *xur-eed* *xodal-aar* *xel-be=sʲ* *xun-ii*
 anger-REFL reach-PFV.CVB lie-INS tell-PST=2SG man-ACC
mexel-zʲe *g-eed* *tere* *xatan-aa*
 deceive-IPFV.CVB say.that-PFV.CVB that queen-REFL
uld-ee.
 strand-IPFV.PTCP
 Then that king said with anger, “You are a liar; you deceived me!” and stranded her.

- (1-28) *taabar* *urgel-eed=le* *tajag* *tol-ool-aad=le*
 shackles strap-PFV.CVB=only stick:INDF lean-CAUS-PFV.CVB=only
sɔxʲ-ɔɔd *ulde-zʲe* *xθθ-zʲe* *jab-ool-aa.*
 beat-PFV.CVB strand-IPFV.CVB drive.off-IPFV.CVB go-CAUS-IPFV.PTCP
 After hitting (the little queen) with strapping shackles, (the king) banished her.

- (1-29) *buu* *bai* *ende.*
 PROH be(2SG:IMP) here
 (He said,) “You mustn’t be here.”

- (1-30) *zaa* *tere=sʲ* *tii-g-eer* *xudθθ-g-θθr*
 INTJ 3SG:NOM=2SG:POSS do.in.that.way-E-INS countryside-E-INS
goilinsʲal-aad=le *tii-g-eer*
 be.beggar-PFV.CVB=only do.in.that.way-E-INS
amidar-aa=xa-da *tere=sʲe.*
 live-IPFV.PTCP=NMLZ-DAT 3SG:NOM=2SG:POSS
 In this way, she lived as a beggar in (the) countryside.

- (1-31) *tii-g-eed* *tii-g-eed=le*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB=only

amidar-z'a *bai-z'ai-g-aa=jum=buddee.*
 live-IPFV.CVB be-PROG-E-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD
 She has lived so for a long time.

(1-32) *tii-g-eed* *nege uder* *xaan* *gazaa*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB one day king:NOM outside
gar-xa-da=n *bɔgɔhɔ* *dɔr* *nege* *jumen*
 go.out-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS sill under one thing:NOM
xɔrmɔi-hɔɔ=n *tat-xa* *s'enge* *bɔl-bɔ* *ge-ne.*
 skirt-ABL=3:POSS pull-FUT.PTCP like become-PST say.that-PRS
 Then, one day, when the king was going outside, he felt someone pull his skirt
 from the sill.

(1-33) *tii-xe-de=n* *gaix-aad=le* *ɔdɔɔ*
 do.in.that.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS surprise-PFV.CVB=only now
dɔɔdx'ɔ *zɔn-ɔɔr-ɔɔ* *malt-ool-aa.*
 lower people-INS-REFL dig-CAUS-IPFV.PTCP
 He was surprised, and he made the people of humble state dig (the sill).

(1-34) *ende* *jun* *bai-na=ba.*
 here what:NOM be-PRS=Q
 “What is here?”

(1-35) *jaa-g-aad* *xɔrmɔi-hɔɔ=mni* *jum* *tat-xa*
 do.what-E-PFV.CVB skirt-ABL=1SG:POSS thing:NOM pull-FUT.PTCP
s'enge=be *ge-z'e.*
 like=Q say.that-IPFV.CVB
 “Why do I feel something pull my skirt,” he said (to himself).

(1-36) *tii-g-eed* *malta-n* *ge-hen* *altan*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB dig-CNTX.CVB say.that-PFV.PTCP golden
seez'-tei *munjen* *bugse-tei* *xubuun=in* *tende*
 breast-PROP silver buttocks-PROP boy:NOM=3:POSS there
bol-aa-tai *bai-z'a* *bai-na* *ge-ne.*
 bury-IPFV.PTCP-PROP be-IPFV.CVB be-PRS say.that-PRS
 Then they dug the sill, and they found a boy with a golden breast and silver
 buttocks buried there.

(1-37) *am'idii* *bai-z'a* *bai-na* *ge-ne.*
 alive be-IPFV.CVB be-PRS say.that-PRS
 He is alive,

(1-38) *ab-ahaa.*
 father-ABL
 away from his father.

- (1-39) *zaa ii-g-eed=le ene=s^jni tere*
 INTJ do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB=only this:NOM=2SG:POSS that
xəjər ixe xatan=s^jni ɔdɔɔ
 two great queen:NOM=2SG:POSS now
mood-aa=jum=buddee.
 be.bad-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD
 The two queens' (conditions) became worse.
- (1-40) *boroo bəl-ɔɔ.*
 mistake become-IPFV.PTCP
 That is their mistake.
- (1-41) *jaa-g-aad eneen-iiji=n ende bol-han*
 do.what-E-PFV.CVB this-ACC=3:POSS here bury-PFV.PTCP
bai-b=ta.
 be-PST=2PL
 "Why have you buried this boy here?"
- (1-42) *tii-g-eed бага xatan-aa*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB little queen-REFL
bid^{er}-uul-ee.
 search-CAUS-IPFV.PTCP
 Then, (the king) made (his servants) search for the little queen.
- (1-43) *ɔdɔɔ xaana jab-na=b tere.*
 now where go-PRS=Q 3SG:NOM
 Where is she going now?
- (1-44) *tii-g-eed bid^{er}-eed dɔɔgoor^ja*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB search-PFV.CVB lower
zɔn=in bid^{er}-eed bid^{er}-eed=le
 people:NOM=3:POSS search-PFV.CVB search-PFV.CVB=only
ɔl-ɔɔ=xɔ-dɔ tere бага xatan.
 find-IPFV.PTCP=NMLZ-DAT that little queen:INDF
 After searching and searching, the humble people found the little queen.
- (1-45) *tii-g-eed=le бага xatan ɔdɔɔ tere*
 do.in.that.way-PFV.CVB=only little queen:NOM now that
juu-jii=n xilis-ii=n sagaatxa-z^aa
 what-ACC=3:POSS sin-ACC=3:POSS whiten-IPFV.CVB
ug-əə=jum=buddee.
 give-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD
 She was made innocent.
- (1-46) *tii-g-eed=le asar-aad=le tere*
 do.in.that.way-PFV.CVB=only take-PFV.CVB=only that

xatan=s^je *ᠠᠳᠠᠭ* *ixe* *gabijaa-tai* *ᠪᠠᠯ-ᠠᠭ*.
 queen:NOM=2SG:POSS now great glory-PROP become-IPFV.PTCP
 After coming, that queen gained great glory

(1-47) *ᠠᠳᠠᠭ* *altan* *seez^j-tei* *munḡen* *bugse(-tei)* *xubuu*
 now golden breast-PROP silver buttocks(-PROP) boy:INDF
tur-hen.
 bear-PFV.PTCP
 such as (she) bore a boy with a golden breast and silver buttocks.

(1-48) *ii-g-eed=le* *amban-d-aa* *haixan*
 do.in.this.way-PFV.CVB=only peaceful-DAT-REFL good
jarg-aa=xa-da *bolta*.
 please-IPFV.PTCP=NMLZ-DAT whole
 After then, they all lived well and peacefully.

3.2. Old Man and Old Woman with a Spotted Cow

Date of recording: 2002-08-28

Place: Shinekhen West Village², Hulunbuir City, Inner Mongolia, China

Speaker: Mrs. Dogarmaa (born in 1933)

Plot: There was an old man and old woman with a spotted cow. One rainy night, a thief came to their house to steal the spotted cow. At the same time, a tiger came to their house to eat the spotted cow. The old man and old woman were talking and saying that “leaking” was the most terrible thing. The tiger did not know what leaking was. After the old man and old woman fell asleep, the thief approached the spotted one, which was the tiger. When the thief caught the tiger, the tiger ran away because he thought that “leaking” had attacked him. The tiger with the thief on his back was caught by the people of that place. The people thought that the thief should be their king. However, the thief was afraid of becoming a king. So he ran away but encountered tigers. He was about to be eaten, but he found the big tiger and said, “I am leaking!” The tigers were surprised and ran away. After that, he ascended the throne.

(2-1) *er^jee-g^se³* *un^jee-tee* *ubgen* *emgen* *x᠋ᠵ᠋ᠣᠷ*
 spotted-FEM cow-PROP old.man:NOM old.woman:NOM two
bai-z^ja *ge-n=ee*.
 be-IPFV.CVB say.that-PRS=MOD
 An old man and his wife lived with a spotted cow.

² Shinekhen village was formerly divided into three villages; Shinekhen West, Shinekhen East, and Mōngön Culun village. In the 2000s, Mōngön Culun village was absorbed into Shinekhen East village. Later, Shinekhen West and Shinekhen East villages were merged as Shinekhen village.

³ This suffix is used to indicate female domestic animals. Please compare with *er^jeen* in (2-18).

- (2-2) *ene negen ul'ger=dee.*
 this one folktale=MOD
 That is this folktale.
- (2-3) *erte or'd-iin sag-ta=s'etee.*
 early before-GEN time-DAT=MOD
 Long time before,
- (2-4) *nege er'ee-g's'e un'ee-tee ubgen emgen*
 one spotted-FEM cow-PROP old.man:NOM old.woman:NOM
xəjər bai-z'ee.
 two be-PST
 An old man and his wife lived with a spotted cow.
- (2-5) *ii-g-eed tere nege ɔɔi bəɔɔ(n) ixɛ*
 do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB that one night rain:NOM great
ɔɔr-z'ai-g-aa ge-ne.
 come-PROG-E-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
 One night, it kept raining so much.
- (2-6) *bəɔɔ-tee ɔɔi.*
 rain-PROP night
 Rainy night.
- (2-7) *tere er'ee-g's'e un'ee-ji=n xoloo-xo*
 that spotted-FEM cow-ACC=3:POSS steal-FUT.PTCP
ge-xe nege xolagai-s'an gaza
 say.that-FUT.PTCP one theft-ACTR:NOM outside
ir-ee=buddee.
 come-IPFV.PTCP=MOD
 A thief came to steal the cow.
- (2-8) *tedeen-ei=n onta-x-iiji=n xul'ee-z'ai-na.*
 3PL:GEN=3:POSS speep-FUT.PTCP-ACC=3:POSS wait-PROG-PRS
 He waited for them to sleep.
- (2-9) *dax'aad nege barsa, barsa ir-eed*
 again one tiger:NOM tiger:NOM come-PFV.CVB
er'ee-g's'e un'ee-ji=n id'xe ge-z'e
 spotted-FEM cow-ACC=3:POSS eat-FUT.PTCP say.that
xul'ee-z'ai-na.
 wait-PROG-PRS
 At that time, one tiger was there. He waited to eat the spotted cow.
- (2-10) *t'ii-g-eed=le erte ubgen emgen*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB=only early old.man:NOM old.woman:NOM

- xəjər* *jar¹a-lsa-z¹ai-na* *ge-ne.*
two talk-RCP-PROG-PRS say.that
This morning, the old man and woman talked to each other.
- (2-11) *əɔɔ* *ubgen=in* *xel-z¹ai-na* *ge-n=ee,*
now old.man:NOM=3:POSS tell-PROG-PRS say.that-PRS=MOD
barsa=le *aims¹ag-tee=daa* *ge-z¹ee.*
tiger:NOM=only fear-PROP=MOD say.that-PST
The old man told the old woman, “I’m only afraid of a tiger.”
- (2-12) *t¹ii-xe-de=n* *emgen=in*
do.in.that.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS old.woman:NOM=3:POSS
xel-z¹ai-na *ge-n=ee,* *barsa=s¹e* *barsa*
tell-PROG-PRS say.that-PRS=MOD tiger:NOM=also tiger:NOM
bai-na=daa *jaa-xa=b.*
be-PRS=MOD do.what-FUT.PTCP=Q
The old woman told him, “A tiger is a tiger; that’s no matter.”
- (2-13) *bii* *gɔɔz¹-dɔg-ɔhɔɔ=le* *ixe* *ai-z¹ai-na*
1SG:NOM leak-HBT.PTCP-ABL=only great fear-PROG-PRS
ge-n=ee *əɔɔ* *ger=in* *jadoo* *jum=s¹ni*
say.that-PRS=MOD now house:NOM=3:POSS poor thing=2SG:POSS
jer-iin *bɔrɔɔ(n)* *ɔr-xɔ-dɔ* *gɔɔz¹-ɔɔ=s¹ete.*
usual-GEN rain:NOM come-FUT.PTCP-DAT leak-IPFV.PTCP=MOD
“I’m very afraid of leaking, only the leaking. We’re too poor to repair our house,
so our house always leaks whenever it rains.”
- (2-14) *ix-eer* *gɔɔz¹-dɔg-ɔhɔɔ=le* *ai-na=b¹=daa*
great-INS leak-HBT.PTCP-ABL=only fear-PRS=1SG=MOD
ge-z¹e *xel-ee* *ge-ne.*
say.that-IPFV.CVB tell-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
“I’m greatly afraid of leaking,” she said.
- (2-15) *ii-g-eed* *barsa* *bɔd-z¹ai-na* *ge-ne.*
do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB tiger:NOM think-PROG-PRS say.that-PRS
Then the tiger thought,
- (2-16) *ajaa,* *ene=s¹ni* *barsa* *nam-ahaa* *xesuu* *gɔɔz¹-dɔg*
INTJ this=2SG:POSS tiger 1SG-ABL tough leak-HBT.PTCP
ge-z¹e *jamar* *xesuu* *aims¹ig-tee* *jum* *bai-g-aa*
say.that-IPFV.CVB how tough fear-PROP thing be-E-IPFV.PTCP
g-ees¹e=dee *ge-z¹e=dee*
say.that-CNCS.CVB=MOD say.that-IPFV.CVB=MOD
bɔd-z¹ai-z¹a *xebt-ee* *ge-ne.*
think-PROG-IPFV.CVB lie-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
“Oh-oh, they said that it was more terrible than me. What a terrible thing
‘leaking’ is!” he thought and lay down.

- (2-17) *ii-g-eed* *tede* *xɔjɔr=sʰe* *ubgen*
do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB 3PL:NOM two=also old.man:NOM
emgen *xɔjɔr* *onta-aa* *janza-tee*
old.woman:NOM two sleep-IPFV.PTCP situation-PROP
bɔl-ɔɔ *ge-ne.*
become-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
The old man and old woman seemed to fall asleep.
- (2-18) *ii-xe-de* *tere* *xolagai-sʰan,* *ord-aa*
do.in.this.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT that theft-ACTR:NOM front-REFL
nege *erʰeen* *jum* *xebte-zʰai-xa-da* *unʰeen=in*
one spotted thing:NOM lay-PROG-FUT.PTCP-DAT cow:NOM=3:POSS
ge-zʰe *bɔd-ɔɔd* *xolagai-sʰan*
say.that-IPFV.CVB think-PFV.CVB theft-ACTR:NOM
ii-g-eed *aba-sʰ-ɔɔ* *ge-ne* *erʰeen*
do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB take-PFV-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS spotted
juumen-de.
thing-DAT
Then, the thief was going to take a lying spotted creature, which the thief thought to be the cow, in front of him.
- (2-19) *tii-xe-de=n* *barsa-ai=n* *oxaa*
do.in.that.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS tiger-GEN=3:POSS mind
ald-aa, *ɔdɔɔ* *gɔɔzʰ-dɔg* *ge-gsʰe=n*
lose-IPFV.PTCP now leak-HBT.PTCP say.that-ACTR.PTCP=3:POSS
nam-ajii *barʰ-zʰa* *idʰ-xe=jum* *bai-na*
1SG-ACC catch-IPFV.CVB eat-FUT.PTCP=MOD be-PRS
g-eed=le *om+xom-gui* *g-eed*
say.that-PFV.CVB=only ONM+ONM-NEG say.that-PFV.CVB
gui-zʰee.
run.away-PST
Then, the tiger lost his wits and ran away immediately since he thought that “leaking” had attacked him (and was going) to eat (him).
- (2-20) *dabaan-da=le* *zuun* *xɔitɔ* *zug-te=le*⁴
pass-DAT=only east north direction-DAT=only
gui-g-ee *ge-ne* *ɔdɔɔ.*
run.away-E-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS now
The tiger ran straight to the north-east pass.
- (2-21) *tere* *xun=sʰe* *baha* *deer-ehēe* *ona-x-ahaa* *arga-gui,*
that man=also also above-ABL fall-FUT.PTCP-ABL way-NEG

⁴ Perhaps, this direction has some symbolic meaning in this story. In East Asia, the Earthly Branches (*dizhi* in Chinese, *juuniši* in Japanese, etc.) are traditionally used to indicate the direction. In the Earthly Branches, the north-east is thought to be the middle position between the ox and the tiger. The thief mistook the tiger as the cow, so the tiger ran away to the north-east, between the ox and the tiger (Mr. Masanori Fukuda’s suggestion).

- tere* *xolagai-sʲan.*
that theft-ACTR:NOM
The man, the thief, was on the tiger's back, (but did) not fall off the tiger.
- (2-22) *ii-g-eed* *jab-zʲa=le* *bai-na* *ge-ne.*
do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB go-IPFV.CVB=only be-PRS say.that-PRS
In this way, they kept going.
- (2-23) *tʲeed* *jab-ahaar* *jab-aad* *nʲeleen* *xɔl*
then go-DUR.CVB go-PFV.CVB fairly far
gui-g-ee=jum=buddee.
run.away-E-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD
They kept running far away.
- (2-24) *ii-g-eed* *nege* *gazar-ta*
do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB one place-DAT
xur-xe-de=n *ɔdɔɔ* *zɔn-ood*
reach-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS now people-PL:NOM
buhel-eed *barsa-jii=n* *barʲ-zʲa*
bind.with.a.rope-PFV.CVB tiger-ACC=3:POSS catch-IPFV.CVB
ab-aa *ge-ne.*
take-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
When they reached a country, the tiger was caught with a rope by some people.
- (2-25) *ɔdɔɔ* *jum* *bɔd-zʲɔ* *bai-xa*
now thing:INDF think-IPFV.CVB be-FUT.PTCP
med-xe-gui *ɔdɔɔ* *onaa-jii=tni*
know-FUT.PTCP-NEG now ride-ACC=2SG.HON:POSS
jaa-xa=b *ge-xe-de=n*
do.what-FUT.PTCP=Q say.that-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS
huul-ii=n *ɔtɔl-ɔɔd* *tabʲ-sʲa-ji* *ge-ne.*
tail-ACC=3:POSS cut.up.shortly-PFV.CVB set-PFV-ACC say.that-PRS
Now, the people said to the thief, who was confused, "What shall we do with your ride?" And the thief said with confusion, "Let's set the tiger free after cutting off his tail."
- (2-26) *huul-ii=n* *ɔtɔl-ɔɔd* *bars-aa* *tabʲ-aa.*
tail-ACC=3:POSS cut.up.shortly-PFV.CVB tiger-REFL set-IPFV.PTCP
They set the tiger (free) after cutting off his tail.
- (2-27) *tʲeed* *nege* *gazar-ai* *xaan* *tɔgtɔ-xɔ-gui,*
then one place-GEN king:NOM settle-FUT.PTCP-NEG
xaan *hoo-*balʲ*⁵ *ux-eed=le* *bai-na.*
king:NOM sit-COND.CVB die-PFV.CVB=only be-PRS
In that place, there was no king. If a person ascends the throne, he will die.

⁵ In Buryat, this word should be *hoo-baha* (sit-COND.CVB) or *hoo-g-aa=haa* (sit-E-IPFV.PTCP=COND).

The man ran away in the night.

- (2-35) *bii* *jaa-zʰa* *xaan* *hoo-xa=b=bi,*
 1SG:NOM do.what-IPFV.CVB king:INDF sit-FUT.PTCP=Q=1SG
xolagai-sʰan *xun.*
 theft-ACTR man:NOM
 “How will I ascend the throne?” the thief (asked himself).

- (2-36) *hunʰ* *teriil-eed* *jab-zʰai-tar* *nege* *ɔlɔn*
 night run.away-PFV.CVB go-PROG-LMT.CVB one many
barsa *taar-aa* *ge-ne.*
 tiger:INDF encounter-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
 Running away in the night, he encountered many tigers.

- (2-37) *tʰii-xe-de=n* *megd-eed*
 do.in.that.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS be.confused-PFV.CVB
ai-g-aad *mɔdɔn* *deere* *abʰr-aad*
 fear-E-PFV.CVB wood above climb-PFV.CVB
bai-zʰai-g-aa *ge-ne.*
 be-PROG-E-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
 He was surprised with fear and climbed up a tree.

- (2-38) *ii-xe-de=n* *tere* *barsa=sʰe*
 do.in.this.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS that tiger:NOM=also
ir-eed *nege* *negen* *deere* *deesʰ-ee* *gar-zʰai-na*
 come-PFV.CVB one one above up-REFL go.out-PROG-PRS
ge-ne.
 say.that-PRS
 Then, the tigers came to him and piled up on each other.

- (2-39) *beje* *beje* *deer-ee* *zɔgs-ɔɔd,* *ɔdɔɔ* *ene* *xun-de*
 body body above-REFL stand-PFV.CVB now this man-DAT
xur-x-ee *bai-na.*
 reach-FUT.PTCP-REFL be-PRS
 The tigers piled up on each other one by one. Now, they almost reach the man.

- (2-40) *ɔdɔɔ* *ai-zʰai-na.*
 now fear-PROG-PRS
 (He) feel (so much) fear.

- (2-41) *tʰeed* *gente* *xara-n* *ge-hen* *xamag-ai*
 then suddenly watch-CNTX.CVB say.that-PFV.PTCP all-GEN
dɔr *zɔgsɔ-hɔn* *jum* *bai-na* *ge-ne.*
 under stand-PFV.PTCP thing:NOM be-PRS say.that-PRS
 However, suddenly he found what was at the bottom of the tigers' pile.

- (2-42) *huul-ii=n* *ɔgtɔr-hɔn* *oodam* *barsa*
tail-ACC=3:POSS cut.up.shortly-PFV.PTCP big tiger:NOM
bai-z^jai-g-aa *ge-ne.*
be-PROG-E-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
That was the short-tailed big tiger.
- (2-43) *aa,* *t^jii-x-eer=in* *tere* *xel-ee.*
INTJ do.in.that.way-FUT.PTCP-INS=3:POSS that:NOM tell-IPFV.PTCP
Oh, then he told (the tiger).
- (2-44) *aa,* *s^jii* *oodam* *barsa* *ende* *bai(-na)=s^j*
INTJ 2SG:NOM big tiger here be-PRS=2SG
ge-xe-de=le *tereen* *ɔdɔɔ* *munθθ-x^je*
say.that-FUT.PTCP-DAT=only 3SG:NOM now certain-EXST
gɔɔz^j-dɔg=mni *g-eed=le.*
leak-HBT.PTCP=1SG:POSS say.that-PFV.CVB=only
“Oh, you, the big tiger, are you here? I am ‘leaking,’” he said.
- (2-45) *gui-z^je* *ɔrx^jɔ-xɔ-dɔ=n* *deere-x^je*
run.away-IPFV.CVB abandon-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS above-EXST
bars-oos^ja=n *baha* *on-aad=le* *ɔdɔɔ* *jun*
tiger-PL=3:POSS also fall-PFV.CVB=only now what:NOM
bɔl-bɔ *g-ees^je* *bɔltɔ* *dax-aad*
become-PST say.that-CNCS.CVB whole be.contagious-PFV.CVB
xoo *gui-ld-eed* *jab-s^j-ɔɔ* *ge-ne.*
perfectly run.away-RCP-PFV.CVB go-PFV-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
The tiger ran away. Then, the other tigers above the tiger also ran away together.
- (2-46) *ii-g-eed* *ene* *xun,* *am^j-aa*
do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB this man:NOM life-REFL
gar-aa=s^jetee.
go.out-IPFV.PTCP=MOD
In this way, the man survived.
- (2-47) *t^jii-g-eer* *tere* *zɔn* *baha* *bid'er-eed*
do.in.that.way-E-INS that people:NOM also search-PFV.CVB
ɔl-z^jɔ *ab-aa=jum=buddee.*
find-IPFV.CVB take-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD
Then the people found him again and took him to the country.
- (2-48) *zaalhaa* *xaan* *hoo* *ge-z^je.*
must king:INDF sit(2SG:IMP) say.that-IPFV.CVB
“You must be a king!” (they) said.
- (2-49) *ii-g-eed* *jab-ahaar=in* *xolagai-s'an*
do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB go-CONC=3:POSS theft-ACTR:NOM

tere nege gazar-ai xaan bɔl-sʲ-ɔɔ
 that one place-GEN king:NOM become-PFV-IPFV.PTCP
ge-ne.
 say.that-PRS
 In this way, the thief ascended the throne.

3.3. Why did People Stop Killing the Elderly

Date of recording: 2002-08-28

Place: Shinekhen West Village, Hulunbuir City, Inner Mongolia, China

Speaker: Mrs. Dogarmaa (born in 1933)

Plot: There was a country where the people killed the elderly when they reached seventy years of age. The king of the country was so rich that he had many warehouses. However, the grain in his warehouses was stolen every night. Then, the king set a guard. However, every time he set a guard, the guard was killed. One day, the king ordered a boy to watch the warehouses. The boy's father was over seventy. He loved his father, so he could not kill him. When the boy went to watch, his father told him to take a cat. Thanks to his father's advice, the boy could kill the creature (rat) and came back safely. After that, people stopped killing the elderly.

(3-1) *bii sʲam-da jaa-ja, ene *nas-tai⁶ xun-ii*
 1SG:NOM 2SG-DAT do.what-1:IMP this age-PROP person-ACC
al-dag bai-g-aa turuun dal-da
 kill-HBT.PTCP be-E-IPFV.PTCP top seventy-DAT
*xur-*bel⁷.*
 reach-COND.CVB

What will I do for you? Well, people have killed the elderly who become seventy years old

(3-2) *deere uje-d-ee=sʲetee=dee.*
 upper period-DAT-REFL=MOD=MOD
 many years ago.

(3-3) *tʲeed ene huul-de jaa-g-aad al-x-aa*
 then this tail-DAT do.what-E-PFV.CVB kill-FUT.PTCP
bɔlʲ-hɔn ge-hen nege dɔmɔg bai-na.
 stop-PFV.PTCP say.that-PFV.CVB one story be-PRS

⁶ In Buryat, this word should be *naha-tai* as in (3-18).

⁷ In Buryat, this word should be *xur-behe* (reach-COND.CVB) or *hur-ee=haa* (reach-IPFV.PTCP=COND).

Then, there is the story of why they have stopped killing at last.

- (3-4) *bii tern-iiji s'am-da xel-z'e ug-je.*
 1SG:NOM that-ACC 2SG-DAT tell-IPFV.CVB give-1:IMP
 I will tell you that story.

- (3-5) *erte or'da sag-ta, nege gazar-ta nege xaan*
 early before period-DAT one place-DAT one king:NOM
bai-g-aa=jum=buddee.
 be-E-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD
 A long, long time ago, a king ruled a country.

- (3-6) *ixe bajan xun.*
 great rich man:NOM
 (He was) a very rich man.

- (3-7) *ixe hambaar#sarxoo-da xie bodaa-tai ge-ne.*
 great warehouse#storehouse-DAT great grain-PROP say.that-PRS
 It is said that he had abundant grain in his big storehouse.

- (3-8) *ii-g-eed tere bodaa-jii=n *sun^j8 bur^j*
 do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB that grain-ACC=3:POSS night every
ᠠᠳᠠᠳᠠ nege jum xolgoo-z'a id-ne.
 now one thing:NOM steal-IPFV.PFV eat-PRS
 Then, someone secretly eats his grain every night.

- (3-9) *tere manaa-s'an tab'-na.*
 3SG:NOM guard-ACTR:INDF set-PRS
 He deploys a guardsman.

- (3-10) *manaa-s'an tab'-xa, manaa-s'an-ii=n*
 guard-ACTR:INDF set-FUT.PTCP guard-ACTR-ACC=3:POSS
id'-s'ex'-ᠠᠳᠠᠳᠠ bai-na.
 eat-PFV-PFV.CVB be-PRS
 When he sets the guardsman, the guardsman is eaten.

⁸ In Buryat, this word should be *hun'* as in (2-34).

- (3-11) *manaas'an-tai nege-de id's'xe-b.*
 guard-ACTR-PROP one-DAT eat-PFV-PST
 (Someone) eats grain with the guardsman.
- (3-12) *tii-g-eed neriin olon xun *sun'#sun'*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB very many man:NOM night#RDP
xun man-aad=le id-uul-eed=le bai-na.
 man:NOM watch-PFV.CVB=only eat-CAUS-PFV.CVB=only be-PRS
 Many people watched (the warehouse), and they would be eaten.
- (3-13) *ii-g-eed=le xun-ii eelzel-eed=le*
 do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB=only man-ACC shift-PFV.CVB=only
dood#dood-ahaar tere=s'e xaana
 call#RDP-DUR.CVB that:NOM=also where
ux-xe-gui=jum=dee.
 die-FUT.PTCP-NEG=MOD=MOD
 In this way, (he) continues calling and changing the guards, but where exists a man who cannot die? (Everyone who guards must die.)
- (3-14) *odal munøoder *margaas⁹ ene nam-ajii g-eed=le*
 now today tomorrow this 1SG-ACC say.that-PFV.CVB=only
dood-aad saŋxoo man-ool-na.
 call-PFV.CVB warehouse:INDF watch-CAUS-PRS
 (The king) called the people to watch the warehouse, day after day.
- (3-15) *ii-g-eed jab-ahaar#jab-ahaar nege*
 do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB go-DUR.CVB#RDP-DUR.CVB one
xubuun-de dal now now-gdo-z'ai-na.
 boy-DAT now hit-PASS-PROG-PRS
 In this way, time passed, and one day, a boy was called.
- (3-16) *saŋxoo mana-xa tere xubuun=buddee,*
 warehouse watch-FUT.PTCP that boy:NOM=MOD
 The boy was to watch the warehouse.

⁹ In Shinekhen Buryat, *ugløoder* or *ugløoder* is usually used for “tomorrow.”

- (3-17) *ab=in* *ɔdɔɔ dal* *garoi nahal-aad* *ɔdɔɔ*
 father:NOM=3:POSS now seventy about grow.old-PFV.CVB now
al-xa-haa *xairl-aad* *n'oo-g-aad* *bai-g-aa*
 kill-FUT.PTCP-ABL love-PFV.CVB hide-E-PFV.CVB be-E-IPFV.PTCP
ge-ne.
 say.that-PRS

His father was to be seventy years old; however, the boy couldn't kill his father.
 So, he had hidden his father.

- (3-18) *ɔdɔɔ eɽ-ee* **bai-bal*¹⁰ *al-na,* *naha-tai-jii.*
 now find-IPFV.PTCP be-COND.CVB kill-PRS age-PROP-ACC
 If someone finds the father, the elderly person must be killed.

- (3-19) *aba-j-aa* *n'oo-g-aad* *bai-z'a*
 father-ACC-REFL hide-E-PFV.CVB be-PFV.CVB
ii-g-eed *xaan-ai* *saŋxoo* *mana-xa*
 do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB king-GEN warehouse:INDF watch-FUT.PTCP
ɔs'-xɔ *bɔl-ɔɔ.*
 leave-FUT.PTCP become-IPFV.PTCP

The boy who hid his father was to watch the warehouse.

- (3-20) *ɔs'-hɔn* *xun* *am'ida ir-deg-gui.*
 leave-PFV.PTCP man:NOM alive come-HBT.PTCP-NEG
 All the men who had watched had never come back.

- (3-21) *ii-g-eed* *aba-d-aa*
 do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB father-DAT-REFL
xel-ee=jum=buddee.
 tell-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD
 Then, he told his father.

- (3-22) *bii* *ɔdɔɔ jab-xa* *bɔl-nɔ=b'.*
 1SG:NOM now go-FUT.PTCP become-PRS=1SG
 I have to go now.

¹⁰ In Buryat, this word should be *bai-g-aa=haa* (be-IPFV.PTCP=COND).

- (3-23) *ɔdɔɔ am'ida erge-z'e s'ad-xa-gui.*
 now alive return-IPFV.CVB be.able.to-FUT.PTCP-NEG
 I will not be able to return safely.
- (3-24) *ii-xe-de=n ab=in*
 do.in.this.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS father:NOM=3:POSS
xel-ee ge-ne.
 tell-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
 Then, his father told (to him).
- (3-25) *s'ii *moor¹¹, (moor med-ne=buddee, mii.)¹²*
 2SG:NOM cat:INDF cat:INDF know-PRS=MOD kitten:INDF
moor ab-aad ɔs^j-ii=s^j ge-z'e
 cat:INDF take-PFV.CVB leave-2.IMP=2SG say.that-IPFV.CVB
xel-ee ge-ne.
 tell-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
 “You take the cat.” (“You know *moor*, don’t you? It’s *mii*.”)
- (3-26) *zaa, t'eed ab-aiŋ-gaa ug-eer nege moor*
 INTJ then father-GEN-REFL word-INS one cat:INDF
*t'ebr-eed=le ɔdɔɔ *sun^j manaan-da gar-z'a,*
 hold-PFV.CVB=only now night guard-DAT go.out-IPFV.CVB
manaan-da gar-aad bai-xa-da t'ees^j=in
 guard-DAT go.out-PFV.CVB be-FUT.PTCP-DAT over.there=3:POSS
nege buduu jum turs^jegen-eed=le
 one big thing:NOM sound.mysteriously-PFV.CVB=only
ir-ee ge-ne.
 come-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
 Then following his father’s advice, the boy went to keep guard with a cat.
 When he was watching, something big came to him with a mysterious sound.
- (3-27) *ex'e=n tere ab=in xel-ee, s'ii*
 first=3:POSS that father:NOM=3:POSS tell-IPFV.PTCP 2SG:NOM
moor-aa tere uje-de tab^j-aarai ge-z'e.
 cat-REFL that period-DAT set-2SG:FUT.IMP say.that-IPFV.CVB

¹¹ In Shinekhen Buryat, *xeesxe* (<Rus. *koška*) is used for a cat. The word *moor* is thought to be borrowed from *maor* in Chinese.

¹² Mrs. Dogarmaa told me to check whether I knew the word *moor* or not. The word *mii* also means a cat.

His father had said before, “If such a matter occurs, you set your cat.”

- (3-28) *zaa tere buduu jum ir-xe-de=le*
 INTJ that big thing:NOM come-FUT-PTCP-DAT=only
moor-j-aa tab^j-z^ja,
 cat-ACC-REFL set-IPFV.CVB
 When the big thing came, he set his cat.

- (3-29) *moor=in nege jum-tee nɔsɔ-lɔ-ɔɔd=le s^jil*
 cat:NOM=3:POSS one thing-PROP attack-RCP-PFV.CVB=only ONM
s^jal ge-z^ee z^jeg-tee jum bɔl-ɔɔ.
 ONM say.that-IPFV.CVB bizarre-PROP thing become-IPFV.PTCP
 The cat fought with that creature, with a curious sound like “shil, shall!”

- (3-30) *tere xubuun baha xaz^joo-haa xamh-aa(d)*
 that boy:NOM also side-ABL cooperate-PFV.CVB
sɔx^j-ɔɔ=jum=buddee.
 hit-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD
 The boy also hit the creature.

- (3-31) *ii-ge-xe-de=n buduun ɔdɔɔ xolaganan*
 do.in.this.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS big now rat:NOM
bai-g-aa.
 be-E-IPFV.PTCP
 Then, he found that the big creature was a rat.

- (3-32) *teren-ei moor-taj-aa xamh-aa(d)*
 3SG-GEN cat-COM-REFL cooperate-PFV.CVB
al-z^j-ɔrx^j-ɔɔ.
 kill-IPFV.CVB-PFV-IPFV.PTCP
 Cooperating with his cat, he killed the rat.

- (3-33) *t^jii-g-eed *margaas^j erte=n*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB tomorrow early=3:POSS
bɔl-xɔ-dɔ ene xubuun am^jidaj-aa,
 become-FUT.PTCP-DAT this boy:NOM be.alive-IPFV.PTCP
tar^jaan-ai sanxoo=n xolagai baha
 grain-GEN warehouse:INDF=3:POSS thief:NOM also

᠋ᠣᠷ-᠋ᠵ᠋ᠤ-gui.

enter-IPFV.PTCP-NEG

Then the next morning, this boy was alive and the warehouse was also safe.

- (3-34) *ene xubuun baha ux-ee-gui bai-g-aa*
 this boy:NOM also die-IPFV.PTCP-NEG be-E-IPFV.PTCP

ge-ne.

say.that-PRS

This boy was also alive.

- (3-35) *ii-g-eed=in xun*
 do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB=3:POSS man:NOM
gaixa-xa-gui-d-aa jaa-g-aad s'ii
 surprise-FUT.PTCP-NEG-DAT-REFL do.what-E-PFV.CVB 2SG:NOM

ii-z'e tere am'tan-da
 do.in.this.way-IPFV.CVB that creature-DAT

bar^j-ool-han-gui am'ida-jaa gar-aa=b=s'a.
 catch-CAUS-PFV.PTCP-NEG alive-REFL go.out-IPFV.PTCP=Q=2SG

The people were surprised, “Why were you alive, not being eaten by the creature?”

- (3-36) *t'ii-g-eed nege buduun ene xolaganan*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB one big this rat:NOM
ux-s'e-hen en-iiji bii al-aa=b'.
 die-PFV-PFV.PTCP this-ACC 1SG:NOM kill-IPFV.PTCP=1SG

Then, the boy (answered), “This rat died. I killed it.”

- (3-37) *᠋ᠵ᠋ᠤᠵ᠋ᠤ jaa-g-aad al-aa=b=s'a.*
 now do.what-E-PFV.CVB kill-IPFV.PTCP=Q=2SG
 “How did you kill it?”

- (3-38) *t'ii-g-eed tere xubuun xel-ee*
 do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB that boy:NOM tell-IPFV.PTCP

ge-ne.

say.that-PRS

Then, he told them.

- (3-39) *bii aba-j-aa n'oo-g-aad*
 1SG:NOM father-ACC-REFL hide-E-PFV.CVB
bai-g-aa=ham=bi, xairl-aad.
 be-E-IPFV.PTCP=PFV=1SG love-PFV.CVB
 “I have hidden my father secretly, because I love my father.”
- (3-40) *ɔdɔɔ naha-tai bɔl-ɔɔ, al-xa xemz'ee-t*
 now age-PROP become-IPFV.PTCP kill-FUT.PTCP level-PROP
xur-ee.
 reach-IPFV.PTCP
 “Now he became old (and) was to be killed.”
- (3-41) *ii-g-eed aba=mni arga-jii*
 do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB father:NOM=1SG:POSS way-ACC
zaa-z'a ug-θθ.
 teach-PFV.CVB give-IPFV.PTCP
 “This is the way my father taught me.”
- (3-42) *moor ab-aad ɔs' ge-z'e.*
 cat:INDF take-PFV.CVB leave(2SG:IMP) say.that-IPFV.CVB
 “ ‘Hold a cat,’ he said.”
- (3-43) *bii t'eed moor-tee ire-hen tol-da ene*
 1SG:NOM then cat-PROP come-PFV.PTCP so.that-DAT this
am'tan-ijji diil-ee=b' ge-z'e.
 creature-ACC win-IPFV.PTCP=1SG say.that-IPFV.CVB
 “Then, I came with a cat. This is why I won the creature.”
- (3-44) *zaa ii-g-eed en-ehee xɔis'ɔ, tere gazar-ta*
 INTJ do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB this-ABL back that place-DAT
*ɔdɔɔ *nas-tai xun-ijji al-x-aa bɔl'-ɔɔ*
 now age-PROP man-ACC kill-FUT.PTCP stop-IPFV.PTCP
ge-ne.
 say.that-PRS
 It is said that after that, people in that place stopped killing the elderly.
- (3-45) *tii-g-ee=s'e al-x-aa*
 do.in.that.way-E-IPFV.PTCP=2SG:POSS kill-FUT.PTCP-REFL

bɔl'-hɔn.

stop-PFV.PTCP

In this way, (the people) stopped killing (the elderly).

- (3-46) *ha,ha,ha,ha,* *dooh-aa.*
 (laughing) finish-IPFV.PTCP
 Hahaha, that's all.

Symbols and Abbreviations

-	suffix boundary	INDF	indefinite accusative
=	clitic boundary	INS	instrumental
+	word boundary in a compound word	INTJ	interjection
#	word boundary in a phrase	IPFV	imperfective
1, 2, 3	person	LMT	limitative
ABL	ablative	MOD	modality
ACC	accusative	NEG	negative
ACTR	actor noun	NMLZ	nominalizer
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative
CNCS	concessive	ORD	ordinal number
CNTX	contextual	ONM	onomatopoeia
COM	comitative	PASS	passive
COND	conditional	PFV	perfective
CVB	converb	PL	plural
DAT	dative-locative	POSS	possessive
DMN	diminutive	PROG	progressive
DUR	durative	PROH	prohibitive
E	epenthesis	PROP	proprietary
EXST	existence	PRS	present
FEM	feminine	PST	past
FUT	future	PTCP	participle
GEN	genitive	Q	question marker
HBT	habitual	RCP	reciprocal
HON	honorific	RDP	reduplicated form
IMP	imperative	REFL	reflexive possessive
		SG	singular

Acknowledgement

This work was supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists (B) by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (“Descriptive Studies of Shinekhen Buryat: One of the Endangered Mongolic Languages” #22720163, headed by Yasuhiro Yamakoshi, 2010-2012). I am very grateful to Mrs. Dogarmaa, who is one of the best story-tellers in Shinekhen Buryat. I also thank the Shinekhen Buryat people who supported and helped my research.

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