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

Here I present three folktales collected from a Shinekhen Buryat speaker. Shinekhen Buryat is spoken by the Shinekhen Buryat people (Shi. ś'ineexeen bor'aad or ś'ineexeenei bor'aad) 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 tunguus).

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 Khorii 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 “*.”

2. Phonological and Grammatical Outline

2.1. Phonological Inventory
The following tables present the inventory of phonemes of Shinekhen Buryat.

### Table 1: Vowels

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e[ə--e]</td>
<td>ø</td>
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<tr>
<td>œ</td>
<td>a[ɑ--a]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2: Consonants

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b'</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative voiceless</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s'[ʃ]</td>
<td>x'[ç]</td>
<td>x[x–x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z'[ʒ]</td>
<td>g'[ʝ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate voiceless</td>
<td>(c[tʂ])</td>
<td>(c'[ʧ])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m'</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n'[ɲ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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 (Folktale)

**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 mungen bugse-tei xubuun jar-z*a*  
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) *teed tere xaan ixe xɔl gazar dain-da*  
then that king:NOM great far place war-DAT  
*mɔrdb-xɔ bɔl-ɔɔ ge-ne.*  
leave-FUT.PTCP become-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS  
The king was going into battle far away.
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(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) s'ii ire-xe-de=m juu
2SG:NOM come-FUT.PTCP-DAT=1SG:POSS what:INDF
x-eed bai-xa=b=ʃ'a ge-ʃ'e.
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) Ḳii-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 ɡɔjɔ degel ɡj-ɔɔd
1SG:NOM one beautiful costume:INDF sew-PFV.CVB
bai-xa=b' s'am-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=ʃ'a ge-ʃ'e
be-FUT.PTCP=Q=2SG:POSS say.that-IPFV.CVB
hor-xa-da=ni bii nege ɡɔjɔ gotal
ask-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS 1SG:NOM one beautiful boots:INDF
ɡj-ɔɔd bai-xa=b' ge-b ge-ne.
wow-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) zaag ii-g-eed xamag-ai baga 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) Ḳii-xe=n baga xatan=in
do.in.that.way-FUT.PTCP=3:POSS little queen:NOM=3:POSS
Then, the youngest queen said,

“I will have borne (you) a boy with a golden breast and silver buttocks,” she said.

In this way, he went into battle.

After he went into battle, the first queen made a beautiful costume.

The middle queen made beautiful boots; then, the little queen bore him a boy with a golden breast and silver buttocks.
Then, the first and middle queen envied the little queen. “She got higher credit
than us.”

Because they envied her, (they) told their servants to bury that boy under the
sill.

They have buried.

(1-22) (al-aa=go)\(^1\)
(kill-IPFV.PTCP=Q
(Did (they) kill him?)

(1-23) (al-aa=le=jun=buddee.)
(kill-IPFV.PTCP=only=MOD=MOD
(They might kill him.)

(1-24) zaa tii-g-eed=le n’eleen=še odaan
INTJ do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CV B=only fairly=also slowly
bol-ɔɔd=le tere xaan=s’nī tere dain-ahaa
become-IPFV.CV B=only that king:NOM=2SG:POSS that war-ABL
xar=lauf ir-be=x-e-de
come.back-IPFV.CV B come-PST=NMLZ-DAT
ir-xe-de=n ɔdɔɔ jaa-han
come-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS now do.what-IPFV.CV B
berxe-d=le ixe xatan gojɔ degel
amazing-PL=only great queen:NOM beautiful costume:INDF
gar-g-aa g-eed iim oxaan-gui.
go.out-CAUS-IPFV.PTCP say.that-IPFV.CV B 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 goj-ɔɔr ɔj-ɔɔn gotal
   middle queen:NOM=3:POSS beautiful-INS sew-PFV.CVB boots:INDEF
   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 ʃiini xubuun=ʃ'e
   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=ʃ'
do.in.this.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT that king:NOM=2SG:POSS
   soxal-aa xur-eed xodal-aar xel-be=ʃ' xun-ii
   anger-REFL reach-PFV.CVB lie-INS tell-PST=2SG man-ACC
   mexel-ʃ'e 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:INDEF lean-CAUS-PFV.CVB=only
   sɔx j-ɔɔd ulde-z je xɵɵ-z je 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=ʃ' tii-g-eer xudoo-g-oor
   INTJ 3SG:NOM=2SG:POSS do.in.that.way-E-INS countryside-E-INS
   goilinsʃ'al-aad=le tii-g-eer
   be.beggar-PFV.CVB=only do.in.that.way-E-INS
   amidar-aa=xa-da tere=ʃ'e.
   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-‘a  bai-‘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-IPFV.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  bol-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
dɔɔ  dxjɔ  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=nni  jum  tat-xa
do.what-E-IPFV.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  mala-t-n  ge-hen  altan
do.in.that.way-E-IPFV.CVB  dig-CNTX.CVB  say.that-PFV.PTCP  golden
seez-tei  mungen  bugse-tei  xubuun=in  tende
breast-PROP  silver  buttocks-PROP  boy:NOM=3:POSS  there
bol-aa-tai  bai-‘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-‘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.
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(1-39)  
zaa  ii-g-eed=le  ene=s'ni  tere
INTJ  do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB=only  this:NOM=2SG:POSS  that
xɔjɔr  ixe  xatan=s'ni  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)  
boro  bol-ɔɔ.
mistake  become-IPFV.PTCP
That is their mistake.

(1-41)  
jaag-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  baga  xatan-aa
do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB  little  queen-REFL
bidjer-uu-l-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  bidjer-eeed  dɔɔgoorxj'a
do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB  search-PFV.CVB  lower
zon=in  bidjer-eeed  bidjer-eeed=le
people:NOM=3:POSS  search-PFV.CVB  search-PFV.CVB=only
ɔl-ɔɔ=xo-db  tere  baga  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  baga  xatan  ɔdɔɔ  tere
do.in.that.way-PFV.CVB=only  little  queen:NOM  now  that
juu-jii=n  xilis-ii=n  sagaaxa-zj'a
what-ACC=3:POSS  sin-ACC=3:POSS  whiten-IPFV.CVB
ug-oo=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
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After coming, that queen gained great glory.

(1-47) ɔdɔɔ altan seezj-tei muŋgen bugse(-tei) xubuu
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=x-a-da bolta.

please-PFV.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 Village, 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'ee-gs'e^3 un'ee-tee ubgen emgen xo jur

spotted-FEM cow-PROP old.man:NOM old.woman:NOM two

bai-z'a ge-n=ee.

be-IPFV.CVB say.that-PRS=MOD

An old man and his wife lived with a spotted cow.

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^3 Shinken village was formerly divided into three villages; Shinekhen West, Shinekhen East, and Möngön Culuun village. In the 2000s, Möngön Culuun village was absorbed into Shinekhen East village. Later, Shinekhen West and Shinekhen East villages were merged as Shinekhen village.

^ This suffix is used to indicate female domestic animals. Please compare with er'een in (2-18).
(2-2) ene negen ufger=dee.
this one folktale=MOD
That is this folktale.

(2-3) erte or'd-iin sag-ta=š=etee.
early before-GEN time-DAT=MOD
Long time before,

(2-4) nege er'ee-gš'e un'ee-tee ubgen emgen
one spotted-FEM cow-PROP old.man:NOM old.woman:NOM
xɔjɔr bai-šee.
two be-PST
An old man and his wife lived with a spotted cow.

(2-5) ii-g-eed tere nege ɔrɔi bɔr ɔɔ(n) ixe
do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB that one night rain:NOM great
ɔr-z'ai-g-aa ge-ne.
come-PROG-E-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS
One night, it kept raining so much.

(2-6) bɔrɔɔ-teee ɔrɔi.
rain-PROP night
Rainy night.

(2-7) tere er'ee-gš'e un'ee-ji=n xoloo-xo
that spotted-FEM cow-ACC=3:POSS steal-FUT.PTCP
ge-xe nege xolagai-š'an gazaaw
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 xuł'e-ž'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-gš'e un'ee-ji=n id'-xe ge-š'e
spotted-FEM cow-ACC=3:POSS eat-FUT.PTCP say.that
xuł'e-ž'ai-na.
wait-PROG-PRS
At that time, one tiger was there. He waited to eat the spotted cow.

(2-10) tii-g-eed=le erte ubgen emgen
do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB=only early old.man:NOM old.woman:NOM
この朝の、男の子と女の人を話す。

この文章は、 choses jarja-lsa-z'ai-na ge-ne.
two talk-RCP-PROG-PRS say.that

今早、男の子と女の人を話す。

今早、男の子と女の人を話す。

(2-11) ödɔɔ ubgen=in xel-z'ai-na ge-n=ee,
ow old.man:NOM=3:POSS tell-PROG-PRS say.that-PRS=MOD
barsa=le aims'ag-tee=daa ge-z'ee.
tiger:NOM=only fear-PROP=MOD say.that-PST

この朝の、男の子と女の人を話す。

(2-12) t'ii-xe-de=n emgen=in
do.in.that.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS old.woman:NOM=3:POSS
xel-z'ai-na ge-n=ee, barsa=s'ee 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

この朝の、男の子と女の人を話す。

(2-13) bii good'-dog-cho=le ixe ai-z'ai-na
1SG:NOM leak-HBT.PTCP-ABL=only great fear-PROG-PRS
ge-n=ee ödɔɔ ger=in jadoo jum=s'ni
say.that-PRS=MOD now house:NOM=3:POSS poor thing=2SG:POSS
jer-iin boroc(n) or-xo-do good'-coc=s'ete.
usual-GEN rain:NOM come-FUT.PTCP-DAT leak-IPFV.PTCP=MOD

(2-14) ix-eer good'-dog-cho=le ai-na=b'=daa
great-INS leak-HBT.PTCP-ABL=only fear-PRS=1SG=MOD
ge-z'ee xel-ee ge-ne.
say.that-IPFV.CVB tell-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS

(2-15) ii-g-eed barsa bod-z'ai-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=s'ni barsa nam-ahaa xesuu good'-dog
INTJ this=2SG:POSS tiger 1SG-ABL tough leak-HBT.PTCP
gle-z'e jamar xesuu aims'ig-tee jum bai-g-aa
say.that-IPFV.CVB how tough fear-PROP thing be-E-IPFV.PTCP
g-ees'd=e=dee ge-z'e=dee
say.that-CNCS.CVB=MOD say.that-IPFV.CVB=MOD
bod-z'ai-z'a xeit-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=s’e ubgen do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB 3PL:NOM two=also old.man:NOM
emgen xɔjɔr onta-aa fanza-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-s’an, ord-aa do.in.this.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT that theft-ACTR:NOM front-REFL
nege er’een jum xebte-z’ai-xa-da un’een=in one spotted thing:NOM lay-PROG-FUT.PTCP-DAT cow:NOM=3:POSS
ge-z’e bɔd-ɔɔd xolagai-s’an say.that-IPFV.CVB think-PFV.CVB theft-ACTR:NOM
ii-g-eed aba-s’-ɔɔ ge-ne er’een do.in.this.way-E-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 gɔɔz j-dɔg ge-gs je=n lose-IPFV.PTCP now leak-HBT.PTCP say.that-ACTR.PTCP=3:POSS
nam-ajii bar’-z’a id’-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-z’e. 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 xɔito zug-te=le 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=s’e baha deer-ehee ona-x-ahaa arga-gui,
that man=also also above-ABL fall-FUT.PTCP-ABL way-NEG

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4 Perhaps, this direction has some symbolic meaning in this story. In East Asia, the Earthly Branches (dizhi in Chinese, jūnishi 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).
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tere xolagai-s’an.
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-z’a=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) i’eed jab-ahaar jab-aad n’eelen xɔl
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
xur-xe-de=n eðcɔ ɔn-oood
reach-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS now people-PL:NOM
buhel-eed barsa-jii=n barl-z’a
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) edcɔ jum bɔd-z’ɔ bai-xa
med-xe-gui 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 otsl-s’ad tabl-s’a-jii=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 otsl-s’ad bars-aa tabl-aa.
tail-ACC=3:POSS cut.up.shortly-PFV.CVB tiger-REFL set-PFV.PTCP
They set the tiger (free) after cutting off his tail.

(2-27) i’eed nege gazar-ai xaan tɔgɔ-xɔ-gui,
then one place-GEN king:NOM settle-FUT.PTCP-NEG
xaan hoo-*bal5 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).
Then, the people said, “The prophet told us that a man who rides the tiger will come from the south-west.”

The thief riding a tiger answered to the prophecy. “He must be our king,” they said. “We must crown him king of the country.”

This thief was so confused.

“What will I do? However, if I become the king, what can I do?”

“You must ascend the throne,” they said and took him.
The man ran away in the night.

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

(2-36) hun’ teriil-eed jab-z'ai-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) \( tii-xe-de=n \) megd-eed \
do.in.that.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS be.confused-PFV.CVB \
ai-g-aad mɔdn deere ab'r-aad \
fear-E-PFV.CVB wood above climb-PFV.CVB \
bai-z'ai-g-aa ge-ne. \
be-PROG-E-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS \
He was surprised with fear and climbed up a tree.

(2-38) \( tii-xe-de=n \) tere barsa=s'e \
do.in.this.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS that tiger:NOM=also \
ir-eed nege negen deere dees'-ee gar-z'ai-na \
come-PFV.CVB one one above up-REFL go.out-PROG-PRS \
geo-ne. \
say.that-PRS \
Then, the tigers came to him and piled up on each other.

(2-39) beje beje deer-ee zɔgs-ɔɔd, \( \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \) 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) \( \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \) ai-z'ai-na. \
now fear-PROG-PRS \
(He) feel (so much) fear.

(2-41) \( \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \) gente xara-n ge-hen xamag-ai \
then suddenly watch-CNTX.CVB say.that-PFV.PTCP all-GEN \
dɔr zɔgs-ɔɔn 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-ʃai-g-aa ge-ne._  
be-PROG-E-IPFV.PTCP say.that-PRS  
That was the short-tailed big tiger.

(2-43)  

_aa, ŋii-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, ʃii oodam barsa ende bai(-na)=ʃ_  
INTJ 2SG:NOM big tiger here be-PRS=2SG  

_ge-xe-de=le tereen ɔddɔ munoo-x’e_  
say.that-PF.TPCP-DAT=only 3SG:NOM now certain-EXST  
gɔɔɔ-ʃog=mni g-ee=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)  

_ghi-ʃ’e ʃɔxɔ-ʃɔ-dɔ=n deere-ʃ’e_  
run.away-IPFV.CVB abandon-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS above-EXST  

_bars-ooʃ’a=ʃn baha on-aad=le ɔddɔ jun_  
tiger-PL=3:POSS also fall-PFV.CVB=only now what:NOM  

_bol-ʃo g-eeɛ’e bolto dæk-ʃaad_  
become-PST say.that-CNCS.CVB whole be.contagious-PFV.CVB  

_xoo gui-l’d-eed jab-ʃ-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-eeʃ ene xun, amʃ’-aa_  
do.in.this.way-E-IPFV.CVB this man:NOM life-REFL  

go.out-IPFV.PTCP=MOD  
In this way, the man survived.

(2-47)  

_ŋii-g-eer tere ʒɔn baha bidɛr-eed_  
do.in.that.way-E-INS that people:NOM also search-PFV.CVB  

_ɔl-ʃɔ ab-aʃ=ʃum=ʃudde._  
find-IPFV.CVB take-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD  
Then the people found him again and took him to the country.

(2-48)  

_zaaʃhɔɔ xaam hoo ge-ʃ’e._  
must king:INDF sit(2SG:IMP) say.that-IPFV.CVB  
“You must be a king!” (they) said.

(2-49)  

_ii-g-eeʃ jab-ahaa=in xolagai-ʃ’ɔn_  
do.in.this.way-E-IPFV.CVB go-CONC=3:POSS theft-ACTR:NOM
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 s’am-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 turun 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=s’etee=dee.
upper period-DAT-REFL=MOD=MOD
many years ago.

(3-3) l’eed ene huul-de jaa-g-aad al-x-aa
then this tail-DAT do.what-E-PFV.CVB kill-FUT.PTCP
bɔl-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)  
\[
\text{bii tern-iiji sɬam-da xel-zje ug-je.} \\
1\text{SG:NOM that-ACC 2SG-DAT tell-IPFV.CVBA give-1:IMP} \\
\]
I will tell you that story.

(3-5)  
\[
\text{erte orjda sag-ta, nege gazar-ta nege xaan} \\
\text{early before period-DAT one place-DAT one king:NOM} \\
bai-g-aa=jum=buddee. \\
\text{be-E-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD} \\
\]
A long, long time ago, a king ruled a country.

(3-6)  
\[
\text{ixe bajan xun.} \\
great rich man:NOM \\
(\text{He was}) a very rich man.
\]

(3-7)  
\[
\text{ixe hambaar#sanxoo-da ixe bodaa-tai ge-ne.} \\
great warehouse#storehouse-DAT great grain-PROP say.that-PRS \\
It is said that he had abundant grain in his big storehouse.
\]

(3-8)  
\[
\text{ii-g-ee} \text{d} \text{tere bodaa-jii=n} \text{sun}^8 \text{bur} \text{j} \\
do.in.this.way-E-IPFV.CVBA that grain-ACC=3:POSS night every \text{œdoo nege jum xolgoo-z'a id-ne.} \\
\text{now one thing:NOM steal-IPFV.PFV eat-PRS} \\
\]
Then, someone secretly eats his grain every night.

(3-9)  
\[
\text{tere manaa-s'an tabl-na.} \\
3\text{SG:NOM guard-ACTR:INDF set-PRS} \\
\]
He deploys a guardsman.

(3-10)  
\[
\text{manaa-s'an tabl-xa, manaa-s'an-ii=n} \\
guard-ACTR:INDF set-FUT.PTCP guard-ACTR-ACC=3:POSS \text{id'-s'ex'-œd bai-na.} \\
eat-PFV-PFV.CVBA be-PRS \\
\]
When he sets the guardsman, the guardsman is eaten.

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8 In Buryat, this word should be *bur* as in (2-34).
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(3-11) manaa-s’an-tai nege-de id’s’le-b.
guard-ACTR-PROP one-DAT eat-PFV-PST
(Someone) eats grain with the guardsman.

(3-12) tii-g-eed neriin ɔlɔn xun *sun#sunj
do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVBR very many man:NOM night#RDP
xun man-aad=le id-uul-eed=le bai-na.
man:NOM watch-PFV.CVBR=only eat-CAUS-PFV.CVBR=only be-PRS
Many people watched (the warehouse), and they would be eaten.

(3-13) ii-g-eed=le xun-ii eel’el-eed=le
do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVBR=only man-ACC shift-PFV.CVBR=only
dood#dood-ahaar tere=’le xaana
call#RDP-DUR.CVBR 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) ɔdɔɔ munɵɵder *margaas’^one nam-ajii g-eed=le
now today tomorrow this 1SG-ACC say.that-PFV.CVBR=only
dood-aad saŋxoo man-ool-na.
call-PFV.CVBR 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.CVBR go-DUR.CVBR#RDP-DUR.CVBR one
xubuun-de ɔdɔɔ noɔ-gdɔ-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.

# In Shinekhen Buryat, ugloower or uglooder 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 erj-ee *bai-bal\textsuperscript{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 sayxoo 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’-hon 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=h’
1SG:NOM now go-FUT.PTCP become-PRS=1SG
I have to go now.

\textsuperscript{10} In Buryat, this word should be bai-g-aa=haa (be-IPFV.PTCP=COND).
(3-23) ɔdɔɔ amlida erge-z’e ʃad-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) ʃii  *moor¹¹, (moor med-ne=buddee, mii)¹²
2SG:NOM cat:INDF cat:INDF know-PRS=MOD kitten:INDF
moor  ab-aad  ɔʃ-ii=ʃ  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, ʃe  ab-ain-gaa  ug-eer  nege  moor
INTJ then father-GEN-REFL word-INS one cat:INDF
ʃebr-eed=le  ɔdɔɔ  *sun/ manaan-da  gar-z’a,
hold-PFV.CVB=only now night guard-DAT go.out-IPFV.CVB
manaan-da  gar-aad  bai-xa-da  ʃeess=ʃ
guard-DAT go.out-PFV.CVB be-FUT.PTCP-DAT over.there=3:POSS
nege  buduu  jum  turs’egen-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) eʃ’e=n  tere  ab=in  xel-ee,  ʃii
first=3:POSS that father:NOM=3:POSS tell-IPFV.PTCP 2SG:NOM
moor-aa  tere  uje-de  tab’-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) 

\[
\text{zaa tere buduu jum ir-xe-de=le}
\]

INTJ that big thing:NOM come-FUT-PTCP-DAT=only

\[
\text{moor-j-aa tabl'-z'a,}
\]
cat-ACC-REFL set-IPFV.CVB

When the big thing came, he set his cat.

(3-29) 

\[
\text{moor=in nege jum-tee nɔɔ-ld-ɔɔd=le s'il}
\]
cat: NOM=3:POSS one thing-PROP attack-RCP-PFV.CVB=only ONM

\[
\text{sal \text{\_\_} ge-z' \text{\_\_} z'eg-tee jum bol-cc.}
\]
ONM say.that-IPFV.CVB bizarre-PROP thing become-IPFV.PTCP

The cat fought with that creature, with a curious sound like “shil, shal!”

(3-30) 

\[
\text{tere xubuun baha xaz'-oo-haa xamh-aa(d)}
\]
that boy:NOM also side-ABL cooperate-PFV.CVB

\[
\text{sɔx j-ɔɔ=jum=buddee.}
\]
hit-IPFV.PTCP=MOD=MOD

The boy also hit the creature.

(3-31) 

\[
\text{ii-ge-xe-de=n buduun xo xo xolaganan}
\]
do.in.this.way-FUT.PTCP-DAT=3:POSS big now rat:NOM

\[
\text{bai-g-aa.}
\]
be-E-IPFV.PTCP

Then, he found that the big creature was a rat.

(3-32) 

\[
\text{teren-ei moor-taj-aa xamh-aa(d)}
\]
3SG-GEN cat-COM-REFL cooperate-PFV.CVB

\[
\text{al-z'-orl-cc.}
\]

kill-IPFV.CVB-PFV-IPFV.PTCP

Cooperating with his cat, he killed the rat.

(3-33) 

\[
\text{tii-g-eeed *margaas j erte=n}
\]
do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB tomorrow early=3:POSS

\[
\text{bol-xɔ-dɔ ene xubuun am'idaj-aa,}
\]
become-FUT.PTCP-DAT this boy:NOM be.alive-IPFV.PTCP

\[
\text{tar'aan-ai sayxoo=n xolagai baha}
\]
gain-GEN warehouse:INDF=3:POSS thief:NOM also
Then the next morning, this boy was alive and the warehouse was also safe.

(3-34)  
\[
\text{ene xubuun baha ux-ee-gui bai-g-aa} \\
\text{this boy:NOM also die-IPFV.PTCP-NEG be-E-IPFV.PTCP} \\
\text{ge-ne.} \\
\text{say.that-PRS} \\
\text{This boy was also alive.}
\]

(3-35)  
\[
\text{ii-g-ee=in xun} \\
\text{do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB=3:POSS man:NOM} \\
\text{gaixa-xa-gui-d-aa jaa-g-aad s'ii} \\
\text{surprise-FUT.PTCP-NEG-DAT-REFL do.what-E-PFV.CVB 2SG:NOM} \\
\text{ii-'e tere am'tan-da} \\
\text{do.in.this.way-IPFV.CVB that creature-DAT} \\
\text{bar'-ool-han-gui am'ida-jaa gar-aa=b=S'a.} \\
\text{catch-CAUS-PFV.PTCP-NEG alive-REFL go.out-IPFV.PTCP=Q=2SG} \\
\text{The people were surprised, “Why were you alive, not being eaten by the creature?”}
\]

(3-36)  
\[
\text{ii-g-ee nege buduun ene xolaganan} \\
\text{do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB one big this rat:NOM} \\
\text{ux-'s'ej-en en-iiji bii al-aa=b'l.} \\
\text{die-PFV-PFV.PTCP this-ACC 1SG:NOM kill-IPFV.PTCP=1SG} \\
\text{Then, the boy (answered), “This rat died. I killed it.”}
\]

(3-37)  
\[
\text{oo jaa-g-aad al-aa=b=S'a.} \\
\text{now do.what-E-PFV.CVB kill-IPFV.PTCP=Q=2SG} \\
\text{“How did you kill it?”}
\]

(3-38)  
\[
\text{ii-g-ee tere xubuun xel-ee} \\
\text{do.in.that.way-E-PFV.CVB that boy:NOM tell-IPFV.PTCP} \\
\text{ge-ne.} \\
\text{say.that-PRS} \\
\text{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 xemζee-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-żə ug-oo.
teach-PFV.CVB give-IPFV.PTCP
“This is the way my father taught me.”

(3-42) moor ab-aad ɔʃ/ ge-że.
cat:INDF take-PFV.CVB leave(2SG:IMP) say.that-IPFV.CVB
“ ‘Hold a cat,’ he said.”

(3-43) bii ʃeed moor-tee ire-hen tol-da ene
1SG:NOM then cat-PROP come-IPFV.PTCP so.that-DAT this
am 퐵tan-iiji diil-e=b'/ ge-że.
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) zaɔ ii-g-eed en-ehee ɔiςʃʃ, tere gazar-ta
INTJ do.in.this.way-E-PFV.CVB this-ABL back that place-DAT
ɔdɔɔ *nas-tai xun-iiji 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=ʃ'e al-x-aa
do.in.that.way-E-IPFV.PTCP=2SG:POSS kill-FUT.PTCP-REFL
boo-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  \text{INDF} \text{ indefinite accusative}
= clitic boundary  \text{INS} \text{ instrumental}
+ word boundary in a \text{INTJ} \text{ interjection}
compound word  \text{IPFV} \text{ imperfective}
\# word boundary in a phrase  \text{LMT} \text{ limitative}
1, 2, 3 person  \text{MOD} \text{ modality}
\text{ABL} \text{ ablative}
\text{NEG} \text{ negative}
\text{ACC} \text{ accusative}
\text{NMLZ} \text{ nominalizer}
\text{ACTR} \text{ actor noun}
\text{NOM} \text{ nominative}
\text{CAUS} \text{ causative}
\text{ORD} \text{ ordinal number}
\text{CNCS} \text{ concessive}
\text{ONM} \text{ onomatopoeia}
\text{CNTX} \text{ contextual}
\text{PASS} \text{ passive}
\text{COM} \text{ comitative}
\text{PFV} \text{ perfective}
\text{COND} \text{ conditional}
\text{PL} \text{ plural}
\text{CVB} \text{ converb}
\text{POSS} \text{ possessive}
\text{DAT} \text{ dative-locative}
\text{PROG} \text{ progressive}
\text{DMN} \text{ diminutive}
\text{PROH} \text{ prohibitive}
\text{DUR} \text{ durative}
\text{PROP} \text{ proprietive}
\text{E} \text{ ephenthesis}
\text{PRS} \text{ present}
\text{EXST} \text{ existence}
\text{PST} \text{ past}
\text{FEM} \text{ feminine}
\text{PTCP} \text{ participle}
\text{FUT} \text{ future}
\text{Q} \text{ question marker}
\text{GEN} \text{ genitive}
\text{RCP} \text{ reciprocal}
\text{HBT} \text{ habitual}
\text{RDP} \text{ reduplicated form}
\text{HON} \text{ honorific}
\text{REFL} \text{ reflexive possessive}
\text{IMP} \text{ imperative}
\text{SG} \text{ singular}

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