BÁIMǍ NOMINAL POSTPOSITIONS AND THEIR ETYMOLOGY[1]

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This article focuses on the nominal postpositions used for marking the agent, the instrument, the genitive, the definite, the locative, the ablative, the dative and the comitative in Báimǎ, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the south-west of the People's Republic of China.

Taking previous classifications of Báimǎ nominal postpositions (Nishida and Sūn 1990; Sūn 2003; Huáng and Zhāng 1995) as the starting point, I comment on the disputed issues in these analyses, propose a new summary of nominal postpositions in my data, argue for isomorphism of some postpositions and discuss their etymology. I demonstrate that Báimǎ nominal postpositions are etymologically heterogeneous, some being cognate to their Classical Tibetan counterparts, some being of possibly Qiangic provenance, while others being of yet unclear origin. The discussion is based on a corpus of Báimǎ stories collected in 2003-2004, of which one is appended to the article.

Keywords: Tibeto-Burman, Baima, postpositions, Sino-Tibetan, Qiangic, Tibetan

1. BÁIMǍ

Báimǎ is a non-literary Tibeto-Burman language, spoken by approximately 10.000 people in three counties (Jiǔzhàigōu, Sōngpān, Píngwǔ) in the north of Sìchuān Province and one neighboring county (Wénxiàn) in the south of Gānsù Province in the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Báimǎ people reside in the

immediate proximity of the Qiāng (to their south-west), the Chinese (east and south) and the Tibetans (west and north).

The Báimǎ language is currently regarded as unclassified, with a tentative affiliation to the Himalayish branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family (*Ethnologue*). Sūn Hóngkāi, who pioneered Báimǎ research in the late 1970s, classifies Báimǎ as an independent language in the Tibetan branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family (1983: 100). Other Báimǎ specialists consider it a dialect of Tibetan, probably of the Khams group.

The problematic affiliation of the Báimǎ language (separate language or Tibetan dialect) is partly due to the controversy surrounding the ethnic classification of the Báimǎ people. In 1951, the Báimǎ were classified as Tibetans. In the 1970s, they were argued to be descendents of the Dī people, who set up influential kingdoms in the third through the sixth centuries CE in the areas currently inhabited by the Báimǎ (Sìchuān Shěng Mínzú Yánjiūsuǒ 1980, Zēng et al. 1987). The Dī, whose name frequently appears together with that of the Qiāng in Chinese historical sources, are currently considered to be related to the Qiāng (cf. Lǐ 1987: 46, Mǎ 1984). Huáng & Zhāng (1995: 116-117) even argue for a Dī substratum in Báimǎ to account for a number of distinct non-Tibetan features in its lexicon, morphology and syntax. Almost nothing is however known about the linguistic affiliation or about the language of the Dī. Furthermore, the very designation "Dī" is probably a general label for a range of people in the west of ancient China, as is also the case with the name "Qiāng" (Wang 1992, 2005). For these reasons, to state that Báimǎ has a Dī substratum is equivalent to saying that Báimǎ has some kind of substratum which is not yet identified.

2. NOMINAL POSTPOSITIONS

This article focuses on nominal postpositions in Báimǎ. Such postpositions are formal reflections of the roles played by noun

phrases in relation to the verb or between noun phrases themselves. Nominal postpositions in Báimǎ are used for marking the topic, the agent, the instrument, the genitive, the locative, the ablative, the comitative, and the comparative, among other functions.

Scholars who previously worked on Báimǎ, Sūn Hóngkāi (Nishida and Sūn 1990; further developed in Sūn 2003a and 2003b) and Huáng Bùfán and Zhāng Mínghuì (Huáng & Zhāng 1995) describe nominal postpositions as case particles, in comparison to Tibetan data, thereby somewhat expanding the notion of case particles according to the traditional Tibetan model of analysis and including such markers as 'comparative', 'definite' and 'marker of disposal'. Table 1, based on Sūn's tabulation, lists the analyses of Sūn (2003a: 71; Báimǎ 1) and of Huáng & Zhāng (Báimǎ 2), both in original transcriptions. Sūn compares his own data with that of Huáng & Zhāng as well as with that of Classical Tibetan, as reflected in standard Written Tibetan orthography (hereafter WT) and the three groups of Modern Tibetan dialects spoken in the PRC (dBus-gTsang, Khams and Amdo). As noted by all authors, case particles in Báimǎ are significantly dissimilar to those in Tibetan dialects.

Case	Báimǎ 1	Báimǎ 2	WT	dBus-gTsang	Khams	Amdo
Ergative	i^{53}	$kæ^{53}$	gis	$kɛ$	ki	$kə$
Genitive	$tɛ^{5}$[sic.]/ ti^{53}	$tæ^{53}$	gi	ki	ki	$kə$
Allative	$tsɑ^{53}/iɛ^{53}$	$kæ^{53}$	la	la	le	la
Locative	$nɔ^{53}/kɛ^{53}$	$kæ^{53}$	na	la	le	na
Ablative	$iɔ^{53}$	$jɔ^{53}$	nas	$nɛ$	$nɛ$	$kə$
Comparative	$ɕyɛ^{53}$	$ɕyæ^{53}$	las/bas	$lɛ$	ji	$kə$
Comitative	re^{13}	$ʐæ^{53}$	da|	ta	do	ra
Disposal	i^{53}	$tæ^{53}$				
Definite	$lɛ^{53}/nɛ^{53}$					
Instrumental	$rɛ^{53}/nɔ^{53}$					

Table 1: Báimǎ and Tibetan case particles (Sūn 2003a: 71)

Though Huáng & Zhāng and Sūn all analyze the variety of Báimǎ spoken in the neighboring villages of Báimǎ Tibetan Township (Píngwǔ County, Sìchuān province), their classifications differ in a number of respects. The authors agree only in their marking of the ablative and comparative and partially also of the genitive and locative. The comitative marker, despite different transcriptions, also appears to be the same in both analyses. For the remaining particles they present dissimilar forms.

In Huáng & Zhāng's tabulation, the postposition [kæ^{53}] marks several distinct semantic roles: ergative, allative and locative. Huáng & Zhāng do not list instrumental and dative markers separately, because they deem the former identical with ergative and the latter with locative, as is the case in Tibetan. In contrast, Sūn distinguishes between ergative, denoted by [i^{53}], the same particle as the marker of disposal, and instrumental, viz. [rɛ^{53}]/[nɔ^{53}]. Similarly, Huáng & Zhāng analyze the form [tæ^{53}] as combining the functions of the genitive marker and the marker of disposal. In Sūn's classification, on the other hand, these are represented by distinct forms, [tɛ^{53}~ti^{53}] and [i^{53}], respectively. Sūn only sees the markers [i^{53}] (ergative and disposal) and [nɔ^{53}] (locative and instrumental) as multi-functional.

Given the discrepancy between Huáng & Zhāng's and Sūn's classifications, I propose a new summary of nominal postpositions in my data, also collected in Báimǎ Township. Furthermore, within the proposed range of postpositions, I (a) comment on the disputed points in the previous analyses (viz. markers of ergative, genitive, instrumental, definite and disposal), while arguing for isomorphism of some postpositions (genitive and agentive, definite and genitive, comitative and instrumental, locative and dative) and (b) discuss their etymology. Given that the etymology of many postpositions is yet unclear, I hope to initiate a discussion on their possible origins.

3. NOMINAL POSTPOSITIONS IN THE CORPUS

The present analysis is based on a corpus of Báimă stories collected in 2003-2004 in the Báimă Township (hereafter "corpus"). The stories were narrated by Zhaga Tsere [tʐɑ¹³gɑ⁵³ tsʰɛ¹³re³⁵], a 69-year old resident of Koshi [ko¹³ʂi⁵³] village (Shuǐniújiā in Chinese), and Lako [la¹³ko⁵³], a 75-year old resident of Iaru [ja¹³rɯ³⁵] village (Luòtōngbà in Chinese) and translated with the help of Lǐ Déguì, a 64-year old resident of Píngwǔ. The corpus comprises over 30 texts, one of which, "An Orphan and a Fox" by Lako, is appended to the present article.[2] Examples in this article are mostly drawn from this story and are marked by the line numbers they appear on. Given that this one story does not encompass all the forms under discussion, I also quote examples from other texts as well as from previous work on Báimă by Huáng & Zhāng and Sūn (in original transcriptions).

Table 2 summarizes nominal postpositions as attested in the corpus.

Function	Postposition	Meaning
Agentive/Genitive 1	ji⁵³	
Definite/Genitive 2	tɛ⁵³~ti⁵³	
Instrumental/ Comitative~Conjunction	rɛ⁵³	
Locative	lɑ⁵³/ tsɑ⁵³/ kɛ⁵³/ nɔ⁵³	'on'/ 'vicinity'/ 'on, above'/ 'inside'
Dative	kɛ⁵³	
Ablative	jɔ⁵³	
Comparative	ɕyɛ⁵³	'side'

Table 2: Báimă postpositions in the corpus

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[2]   This story appears to be shared by several unrelated ethnic groups in the area. The Qiang version of the story is given in LaPolla with Huang (2003: 256-269), there titled "An Orphan".

In my analysis, Báimă has seven distinct types of nominal postpositions, which can be further subdivided as follows. Báimă has two markers of the genitive, [ji^{53}], identical with the marker of the agentive, and [tɛ^{53}~ti^{53}], identical with the definite marker. The instrumental case is expressed by the same marker as the comitative and also the coordinative conjunction [rɛ^{53}]. One of the locative markers, [kɛ^{53}], also marks the dative.

These groupings relate to those that show significant isomorphy in LaPolla's (1995a, 1995b) survey of 145 Tibeto-Burman languages and dialects. As is the case in those languages and dialects (1995b: 1171), agentive-genitive isomorphy in Báimă is of a different nature than the other patterns of isomorphy. While the syncretism of the comitative and the instrumental, and of the locative and the dative is due to metaphorical extensions, the agentive and the genitive are homophonous and are originally distinct forms that fell together because of sound changes.

3.1   The genitive and the agentive [ji^{53}]

In the corpus, the marker [ji^{53}] has the following four functions:

I. (sporadically) marker of genitive (cf. WT *kyi* and its allomorphs *gyi*, *gi* and *yi/'i*), e.g. [ɲe^{53}rɛ^{53} ji^{53} jy^{35}] 'other people's sheep' (T 17).

Genitive is a case with the basic role of marking nouns or noun phrases which are dependent on another noun. Mostly, [ji^{53}] as the genitive marker is retained in oblique forms of pronouns, as discussed below.

II. nominalizer for verb phrases, e.g. [ndu^{35}] 'drink', [ndu^{13}ji^{53}] 'drinkables'. [ji^{53}] also typically nominalizers the clause preceding the verb [dzɛ^{35}] 'said' (e.g. sentence (16)) or in future contexts and conditional sentences, the clause

preceding the verb [re^{13}] 'be' (e.g. T 20 and T 29), transforming in both cases the clause into the object of the verb.

III. non paradigmatic agentive case marker (ergative in Huáng & Zhāng's and Sūn's analyses) (cf. WT *kyis* and its allomorphs *gyis*, *gis* and *yis/'is*), see examples in this section. In linguistic theory, the ergative case is taken to mark the agent of a transitive verb. Many Tibeto-Burman languages exhibit non-systematic ergative marking. LaPolla (1995a) argues this to be a relatively recent development that has as its main function disambiguation of two potential agents. LaPolla also notes that, since the ergative in Tibeto-Burman at large does not pattern paradigmatically, it is dissimilar to what is normally referred to as *ergativity*, for which reason he uses in his (1995a) article the term *agentive* instead of *ergative*. I take up this usage in the present discussion. Under the term *agentive*, I understand "the case of the (typically animate) perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb", in Fillmore's formulation (1968: 24).

IV. marker showing determination to do something (WT *kyis* and allomorphs, cf. Hoffmann 1955: 74, 78-79 and "the promise particle" in Beyer 1992: 353-354), e.g. [ɲɛ^{35}ji^{53}] 'I am certainly going to sleep.'.

Semantically and etymologically, the genitive/relative and the nominalizing functions on the one hand and the agentive and the showing determination to do something on the other, can be grouped together respectively.[3] Below I will concentrate on the isomorphy of the genitive and the agentive.

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[3]   On the connection between nominalization and relative-genitive constructions in Tibeto-Burman languages see Matisoff (1972) and DeLancey (1986). On the polysemy between the various functions of WT *kyis*, see Nagano (1995).

Sūn (2003a: 73; 2003b: 71) and Huáng & Zhāng (1995: 114) comment on the fact that personal pronouns in Báimǎ have special genitive/accusative forms, reproduced in Table 3:

Case	First person pronoun	Second person pronoun	Third person pronoun
NOM	$ŋɑ^{53}$	$tɕ^hø^{53}$	$wu^{21}læ^{53}{\sim}\ læ^{53}$
ACC/GEN	$ŋu^{53}$	$tɕ^hy^{53}$	$wu^{21}li^{53}{\sim}\ li^{53}{\sim}\ wu^{21}$

Table 3: Nominative and genitive/accusative forms of personal pronouns in Huáng & Zhāng (1995: 113, original transcriptions)

In my analysis, the 'accusative-genitive' forms are oblique. Cross-linguistically, oblique forms are commonly used to indicate possession. Moreover, oblique forms also typically serve as a base to which other case markers can be added, cf. oblique forms in Tamil (Schiffman 1999: 27). In Báimǎ, oblique forms are precisely such base forms to which all other case markers described in this article are attached. For example, in the sentence $[tɕ^hø^{53}\ ŋu^{53}\ kæ^{53}\ dzæ^{35}\ wæ^{53}]$ 'You told me.' (Huáng & Zhāng 1995: 113, original transcriptions), the dative marker $[kæ^{53}]$ is added to the oblique form of the first person pronoun $[ŋu^{53}]$.

In addition to the oblique forms of personal pronouns listed in Sūn and Huáng & Zhāng, the alternative oblique form of the second person pronoun in my data is $[tɕ^hi^{53}]$, as in (1):[4]

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[4]   This article represents work in progress: not all glosses and tone sandhi are final.   Tentative WT glosses have been added to all Báimǎ words in example sentences to make the article more accessible to Tibetologists. The "?" sign marks those cases where no good Written Tibetan etymology can be proposed. In Tibetan transcriptions, I follow Wylie's (1959) standard system. Italicized words in the transcription line are loans from Chinese, in the gloss line, they are Pīnyīn transcriptions of Chinese words and also refer to place and personal names. [n-] in consonant clusters stands for prenasalization and is homorganic with the following consonant.   Verbs in Báimǎ mostly have two stems, imperfective and perfective/imperative.   Some verbs have only one stem; and a few verbs have three stems (mostly in suppletive distribution), imperfective, perfective and imperative. Verbs with one stem are marked in the gloss line only for their meaning.

(1) $tɕ^hi^{53}$ $ni\tilde{a}^{13}tsi^{53}$ $ta^{13}rɯ^{35}$ $ma^{13}\text{-}we^{53}$

     khyod.kyi   *niángzi*   da.ring   ma-'ongs

     2S.OBL   wife   still   NEG.CMPL-come:PF

     $ʂə^{13}$.

     ?

     PF.N-VOL[5]

     'Your wife hasn't come yet.'

Not only personal pronouns, but also demonstratives have oblique forms in the corpus. The oblique form of [$ndɛ^{53}$] 'this' is [ndi^{53}] 'of this' and that of [$tɛ^{53}$] 'that, he' is [ti^{53}] 'of that, his'. For example:

(2) $wu^{13}li^{53}$ $pu^{13}ndʒa^{53}$ re^{13}, ndi^{53} $ɲa^{13}ɲy^{53}$ re^{13}.

     ?.'i   ?   red   'di.'i   nyag.nyog   red

     3S.OBL   wife   COP   this.OBL   child   COP

     'It is his wife, it is his child.'

(3) ti^{53} $pɯ^{53}$ $tɛ^{53}$ $tʃ^hu^{13}ndʑi^{35}$ $s^ha^{53}tʃa^{53}$ tse^{53}

     de.'i   bu   de   *Chóngqìng*   sa.cha   slebs

     that.OBL   boy   that   *Chongqing*   place   reach

     $ɲi^{53}$, ti^{53} $pɯ^{53}$ $tɛ^{53}$ $ʂə^{53}\text{-}ku^{13}nbɔ^{13}$ $ʂə^{13}$.

     ni   de.'i   bu   de   shi-?   ?

     TOP   that.OBL   boy   that   die:PF-CMPL.EMPH   PF.N-VOL

     'After his son arrived in Chongqing, he died.'

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[5]   Báimǎ shares the general Tibetan pattern whereby one set of copulas and auxiliaries is used with first person in declarative sentences and second person subject in questions and another set with second and third person subjects in declarative sentences and third person subject in questions. The choice of an appropriate copula or auxiliary reflects the appreciation of the speaker of the action as performed volitionally or non-volitionally.

In my analysis, the forms [tɕʰi⁵³], [wu¹³li⁵³], [ndi⁵³] and [ti⁵³] are all fusions of the pronouns [tɕʰø⁵³] 'you', [wu¹³lɛ⁵³] 'he, she', [ndɛ⁵³] 'this' and [tɛ⁵³] 'that' with the genitive marker [ji⁵³] (*kyi*). This is similar to the genitive marking on nouns with a final vowel in Written Tibetan in Khams dialects. For instance, in sDe.dge, the genitive form of the demonstrative [te²³¹] 'that one' is [ti¹³], as in [ti¹³kʰa⁵³le] 'on the top of that one' (Gésāng 2002: 155-156; cf. also Häsler 1999: 99-100). In contrast to sDe.dge, however, which freely marks the genitive by vowel alternation in words with a final vowel in WT, the range of words with genitive forms in Báimǎ is restricted only to the words discussed in this section.

[ji⁵³] as an agentive marker is also relatively infrequent. It serves to disambiguate two potential agents, as in examples (4) and (5) below and, in some instances, to emphasize the agent.

(4)   kʰɯ⁵³   tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵   gu¹³ka⁵³   ta⁵³   ɣa⁵³   ji⁵³
      kho   de.ring   dgong.ka   da   wa   yis
      1S.LOG⁶   today   evening   now   fox   AGT

      kʰɯ⁵³   se⁵³-ndʒa⁵³.
      kho   bsad-'cha⁷
      1S.LOG   kill-eat:IPF
      'I ... tonight the fox will eat me.' (T 42-43)

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⁶   The form [kʰɯ⁵³] '1s.LOG', e.g. in example (4), is a logophoric pronoun (i.e. pronoun used in indirect speech to refer to the person whose speech is being reported) etymologically related to the third person pronoun [kʰɯ¹³ɲe⁵³]. The form [kʰɯ⁵³] is thus typical for story narrations. It does not have an oblique form and is therefore not listed in Table 3.

⁷   Sun (2004: 834) notes that the WT verb *'cha.ba* 'gnaw' is attested in the meaning 'eat' in many dialects of the area, including, besides Báimǎ, Zhongu, Chos-rje and Zhānglà (lCang.la).

(5) ɣa⁵³   ku¹³ly⁵³   tʰɛ³⁵   ji⁵³   ka⁵³-ku¹³nbɔ¹³.
     wa   sku.lus   thal.ba yis   bkab-ʔ
     fox   body   ashes   AGT   cover-CMPL.EMPH
     'The ashes covered the fox from head to toe.' (T 74)

Similar to the genitive marker, the agentive [ji⁵³] commonly fuses with the pronoun [tɛ⁵³] 'that' to [ti⁵³]. For example:

(6) ɣa⁵³   ti⁵³   pɯ³⁵   tɛ⁵³,   ɲa¹³ɲy⁵³   tɛ⁵³   tɛ⁵³...
     wa   de.'is   bu.mo   de   nyag.nyog   de   de
     fox   DEF.AGT   girl   DEF   child   DEF   DEF

     tɛ⁵³   se⁵³-ndʒa⁵³   ʐɯ³⁴¹   ɕe⁵³   ʂə¹³.
     de   bsad-'cha   zhabs   byas   ?
     DEF   kill-eat:IPF   below   do:PF   PF.N-VOL
     'The fox was about to eat the girl.' (T11-13)

The homophony of the genitive and the agentive [ji⁵³] resembles the case in Modern Tibetan dialects, where the original WT distinction between the ergative marker *kyis* and the genitive marker *kyi* has become obscured through phonological attrition (cf. markers of the agentive and the genitive in Khams and Amdo in Table 1). Báimǎ [ji⁵³] is thus cognate with the WT forms *kyi* and *kyis* and all their allomorphs.[8]

The generalization of the allomorphs *yi/'i* and *yis/'is* (following an open syllable) of all other allomorphs of *kyi* and *kyis*, respectively, might be an indication that codas were dropped in Báimǎ early. This early depletion of codas also resulted in the homophony of the genitive and the agentive markers. It is plausible that subsequently [ji⁵³] were retained as the agentive marker, whereas a new genitive marker—grammaticalized from the demonstrative pronoun [tɛ⁵³]—

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[8]   An alternative possibility is to consider Báimǎ genitive marker [ji⁵³] as derived from the Proto-Tibetan genitive *ʔi* (Simon 1942, Gong 2002: 425-426).

arose. The old genitive [ji⁵³] has been retained in a number of high frequency words.

3.2   *The definite and the genitive [tɛ⁵³ ~ ti⁵³]*

Sūn (2003: 73) and Huáng & Zhāng (1995: 114) disagree as to what should be seen as the genitive marker in Báimǎ. Both note that the genitive is expressed by the marker [tɛ⁵³] (in Huáng & Zhāng's transcription [tæ⁵³]), but only when the modified part is omitted, as in example (7), quoted from Huáng & Zhāng (ibid., original transcriptions, my glosses):

(7)   ta²¹ʐe³⁵   ndæ⁵³   ɱbu²¹tɕʰɔ³⁵   tæ⁵³   ʐe²¹.
       sta.re   'di   ?mùjiàng   de   red
       axe   this   carpenter   that   COP
       'This axe is that of the carpenter.'

When both the modifier and the modified are present, Huáng & Zhāng (1995: 114) argue that Báimǎ has no genitive marker and that the relationship of possession, belonging or ownership is expressed by the word order instead (modifier first, modified second), as in the example [ʔa²¹kø⁵³ ʂa⁵³] 'elder brother's hat'.   In contrast, in addition to [tɛ⁵³], Sūn (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 253) describes the genitive marker [ti⁵³], as in [ɑ¹³kø³⁵ ti⁵³ kø³⁵] 'elder brother's clothes', which he sees as a probable loan from Chinese. Although the resemblance of the Báimǎ genitive marker [ti⁵³] to the subordinative particle *di* [ti] in the Píngwǔ dialect of Mandarin is striking, the two are not connected, as I will show below. It is nonetheless conceivable that the native genitive marker [ti⁵³] in Báimǎ has been reinforced due to its similarity to the Chinese subordinative particle *di* (Randy LaPolla, personal communication, September 2005).

Finally, Huáng & Zhāng (1995: 114) treat [$tɛ^{53}$] also as a marker of disposal, as in the following example (original transcriptions, my glosses):

(8) $ɕi^{21}tʂu^{53}$ $tæ^{53}$ $ɕe^{21}la^{53}$ $ʐu^{35}$ $kʰu^{21}$ $tɕʰæ^{21}$ $ʂə^{21}$.
     bye.phrug de by a.glag 'jus khur chas ?
     little.bird that eagle catch carry go:PF PF.N-VOL
     'The little bird was caught by the eagle.'

Sūn (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 257), on the other hand, notes that the marker [$tɛ^{53}$] can be used to emphasize the subject or the object of the sentence, which function (*definite* in Sūn's formulation) is primarily performed by the markers [$lɛ^{53}$] and [$nɛ^{53}$]. For example (original transcription, my glosses):

(9) $tɕʰø^{53}$ $ʃo^{35}$ $lɛ^{53}$ $ka^{13}la^{53}$ $tɕʰɛ^{13}$ $ʃɿ^{13}$.
     khyod sring.smo ? ga.logs chas ?
     2S younger.sister that where go:PF PF.N-VOL
     'Where did your little sister go?'

I will return to the marker [$lɛ^{53}$] at the end of this section. (The marker [$nɛ^{53}$] is infrequent in the corpus.) As for the marker [$tɛ^{53}$], Sūn (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 258) remarks that it is not yet clear whether the genitive [$tɛ^{53}$] and the definite [$tɛ^{53}$] are two homophonous words or whether the function of [$tɛ^{53}$] is expanding (from genitive to definite).

In the corpus, [$tɛ^{53}$] has been identified by my language consultants as the demonstrative pronoun 'that'. The same word is also frequently used as an anaphoric pronoun, as in (10):

(10) $tɛ^{53}$... $tɛ^{53}$ $tsʰu^{13}$-$nɔ^{53}$ tse^{53}...
    de   de   tshu-nang   slebs
    that   that   here-LOC   reach
    'She came here...' (T48-49)

$[tɛ^{53}]$ is in all probability cognate with the Tibetan demonstrative and also anaphoric pronoun *de* 'that, that one, he'. Hence, $[tæ^{53}]$ in the expression $[mbu^{21}tɕʰɔ^{35} tæ^{53}]$, from example (7), is in my opinion a true demonstrative, pointing to the topic $[ta^{21}ze^{35}]$ 'axe', literally 'that of the carpenter'. The possessive relation is expressed by word order, modifier first, modified second.

In Jäschke's (1998: 255) analysis, *de* in Written Tibetan frequently stands in the place of the English definite article 'the', e.g. *pa de log-ste song-ngo* 'The father went back.', where it adds to perspicuity. $[tɛ^{53}]$ in Báimǎ has an analogous function to that of *de* in WT, as in the following example:[9]

(11) $ɣa^{53}$ $tɛ^{53}$ ja^{35} $dzɛ^{35}$ $ʂə^{13}$.
    wa   de   ?   bzlos   ?
    fox   DEF   agree   say:PF PF.N-VOL
    'The fox agreed.' (T 21-22)

Contrary to Huáng & Zhāng's argument that $[tɛ^{53}]$ is the marker of disposal, this meaning in example (9) is not the product of the use of $[tɛ^{53}]$, but rather of the topicalization of a non-agent argument.

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[9] The corresponding indefinite marker in Báimǎ is $[ʂə^{13}]$ (WT *shig*), as in (i).

(i) $jɔ^{53}$ $tɕi^{35}$ la^{53} $nu^{13}tɕa^{53}$ $ʂə^{13}$ $rɛ^{53}$ $tsʰe^{53}$...
    lam   dkyil   la   nor.skyag   shig   ?   phrad
    road   center   LOC   cow.turd   INDEF   COM   encounter
    'On the way, she met a cow turd.' (T 25-26)

The marker [ti⁵³] is the oblique form of the demonstrative [tɛ⁵³] 'that one, he', as discussed in §3.1. A construction where the possessor is presented as a kind of clausal topic, but also figures as a possessive modifier of the possessee, is cross-linguistically one of the most common sources for attributive possession (Heine 1997: 148). For instance, the demonstrative and the third person pronoun *zhī* in Classical Chinese is also a possessive marker (Mullie 1942: 6, 10-14). Commenting on the functional similarity of *zhī* and the WT genitive marker *kyi*, Simon (1942: 965) notes that the original meaning of *kyi* 'seems to be "this", or perhaps even "this latter", thus clearly referring to what immediately precedes it.'

The oblique form of the topic marker [tɛ⁵³] 'that, he', [ti⁵³], in Báimǎ functions in a similar fashion.

(12) | *tiɛ̃¹³tsɿ⁵³* | ti⁵³ | ʐy¹³dɑ³⁵ | ti⁵³ | ɲɑ¹³ɲy⁵³ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *diànzi* | de.'i | yon.bdag | de.'i | nyag.nyog |
| hotel | that.OBL | owner | that.OBL | child |

tɛ⁵³...	tɛ	pɯ	ɕe	de	ʂə.
de	de	bu.mo	byas	bdog	?
DEF	DEF	girl	do:PF	PROG	PF.N-VOL

'The child of the owner of the hotel... eh, was a girl.'

[lɛ⁵³], listed by Sūn (Nishida and Sūn 1990: 257-258) as a definite marker, is also attested in my corpus, as in the following example. This sentence is quoted from a story about a legendary thief, Master Ange, who was once challenged for a bet to steal the trousers of the wife of a local mandarin.

(13) | tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵ | ɦõ³⁵ | ɑ¹³nge³⁵ | *lo¹³i⁵³* | tɕʰy⁵³ | kʰu¹³zə⁵³ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| de.ring | yang | ? | *lǎoyé* | khyod | *kùzi* |
| today | again | *Ange* | master | 2S.OBL | trousers |

lɛ⁵³... kʰu¹³zə⁵³ ku⁵³ zo⁵³ wu⁵³ re¹³, dzɛ³⁵.

?	kùzi	rku	bzo	‘ong	red	zlos
that	trousers	steal	do:IPF	come:IPF	COP	say:PF

‘“Today Master Ange will come to steal your pants ... pants”, he said.'

Similar to [tɛ⁵³], [lɛ⁵³] is a demonstrative and an anaphoric pronoun 'that, he'. Whereas [tɛ⁵³] is presumably of Tibetan provenance, [lɛ⁵³] appears to be a native Báimǎ word; cf. the third person singular pronoun [wu¹³lɛ⁵³ ~ lɛ⁵³], stemming from a distal demonstrative pronoun. This marker is similar to one of the two definite markers, /le/, in Qiang (LaPolla with Huang 2003: 59).

To conclude, Báimǎ expresses possession by word order (modifier-modified) and by oblique forms of personal and demonstrative pronouns.

3.3. The comitative/conjunction and the instrumental [rɛ⁵³]

The marker for the instrumental case, "the case of the inanimate force or object causally involved in the state or action identified by the verb" (Fillmore 1968: 24), [rɛ⁵³], has been identified by my language consultants as identical with that expressing the comitative (i.e. denoting persons or things which accompany or take part in the action) and the coordinate conjunction, [rɛ⁵³]. Sūn (2003a: 71, 2003b: 73) posits different morphemes for the instrumental ([re¹³]) and the comitative ([rɛ⁵³]). The former, [rə¹³] in my transcription, is most likely the sandhi form of [rɛ⁵³].[10] Furthermore, in the word

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[10]   [rɛ⁵³] is the emphatic or citation form of the coordinate conjunction 'and', [rə¹³] is its weakened form. Báimǎ has four tones: low rising [13], high rising [35], high falling [53], and rising-falling [341]. The original tone of a monosyllabic word is subject to change to the low rising tone when followed by the high rising or the high falling tone. Function words (particles, prepositions, conjunctions, modal and auxiliary verbs, etc.) follow the same sandhi rule. For instance, the comitative/conjunction marker [rɛ⁵³] changes its original tone to the low rising tone when followed by a word in the high rising or high falling tone, as in example (14).

list concluding Nishida and Sūn's study (1990: 366), the Báimǎ coordinate conjunction 'and' is given as [rɛ⁵³], i.e. identical in form to Sūn's instrumental marker [rɛ⁵³].

The difference between the conjunction and the comitative marker, both linking two noun phrases, can be explained as follows. The conjunction connects two noun phrases into a single plural noun phrase. In the case of the comitative marker, one noun phrase is made the topic of the sentence, whereas the second noun phrase, followed by the comitative marker, is the object 'together with' or 'accompanied by whom' the action under discussion is performed. Sentence (14) is an example of the use of [rɛ⁵³] as a conjunction:

(14)   ɣa⁵³ rə¹³   pɯ³⁵   ndʒɯ¹³-re³⁵   ɕe⁵³   de¹³.
         wa   ?   bu.mo   mchong-re   byas   bdog
         fox CONJ   girl   jump-RECP   do:PF   PROG
         'The fox and I were competing in jumping.' (T 30-31)

The distinction between comitative and instrumental is based on animacy.   An animate object involved in the state or action identified by the verb is read as expressing human accompaniment, whereas an inanimate object involved in the state or action identified by the verb is understood as an instrument. Consider the following two examples, where [rɛ⁵³] is used as the marker of the comitative (15), and as the marker of the instrumental (16):

(15)   ɣa⁵³   rɛ⁵³   tsʰe⁵³   ʂə¹³...
         wa   ?   phrad   ?
         fox   COM   encounter   PF.N-VOL
         'The girl met a fox.' (T 10)

(16)   "tʃʰu¹³ndʐɑ³⁵   rɛ⁵³   kʰa¹³ŋu⁵³   tɕy⁵³   nbe⁵³,
         chu.'khyags   ?   kha.ngo   bkrus   mbod
         water   INSTR   face   wash:PF/IMP call:IPF

ɦo~³⁵   tsʰi³⁵   ge³⁴¹   re¹³ʼʼ   ji⁵³   dzɛ³⁵.
yang   'tshol   sgos   red   yi   bzlos
again   search   want   COP   NOM   say:PF
'"Let me wash my face [with water] before I look for the
girl again," - said the fox.' (T 76-78)

Whereas the markers of the agentive and the genitive in Báimǎ
are most likely cognate with the WT markers *kyis, kyi* and *de*, the
etymology of the marker of the comitative and the instrumental in
Báimǎ is less clear. In addition to [rɛ⁵³], Sūn lists [nɔ⁵³] 'inside'
(WT *nang*) used in those cases where the instrument is a container.
The pair [rɛ⁵³]/[nɔ⁵³] in Báimǎ is thus reminiscent of the Shǐxīng
instrumental markers [rɛ̃³³] and [nõ⁵⁵] (Dài et al. 1991: 193).

3.3   *The locative and the dative [kɛ⁵³]*

A noticeable feature of the Báimǎ system is its apparent orientation
to the location of the described entity, which is a characteristic
quality of Qiangic languages (Huáng 1991: 344-345). Thus Báimǎ
has several locative postpositions: [lɑ⁵³] 'there, on', [tsɑ⁵³]
'vicinity', [kɛ⁵³] 'above, on', and [nɔ⁵³] 'inside'.[11] Of these
markers, the former two are more general.

The form [tsɑ⁵³], listed by Sūn (2003: 73) as allative, is in my
view an all-purpose locative marker, as in sentence (17) below. As
noted by Nishida (1996: 297), [tsɑ⁵³] is probably cognate with the
Tibetan *rtsa* (*rtsa-ba*) 'root, origin' also 'at, near, to, near', cf.
Jäschke (1998: 437) *rtsar byung-nas* 'coming near, stepping up to'.

(17)   ɲe⁵³rɛ⁵³   tsɑ³⁵   rɑ¹³-jy³⁵
        mi.?   rtsa   ra-lug
        other.people   LOC   goat-sheep

---

[11]   For [lɑ⁵³], see the example in footnote 9.

ndzɔ¹³-ɲe⁵³   ɕe⁵³   ʂǝ¹³.
'tsho-mi   byas   ?
graze:IPF-person   do:PF   PF.N-VOL
'She was a shepherdess to other people.' (T3)

The marker [kɛ⁵³] 'on, above' indicates position above or on top of something. For example:

(18)   nu¹³tɕa⁵³   guɛ¹³lɛ³⁵   kɛ⁵³   ɲe³⁵   de¹³...
        nor.skyag   sgo.ba.leb   ?   nyal   bdog
        cow.turd   threshold   LOC   sleep   PROG
        'The cow turd was sleeping on the threshold...' (T86)

Finally, the form [nɔ⁵³] indicates position inside something:

(19)   tɕʰø⁵³... ɲi¹³ndʐe³⁵   nɔ⁵³   dʒuɛ³⁵
        khyod   mig.'bras   nang   mchil.ma
        2S   eye   LOC   fluid

        kua˩⁵⁵   ɕe⁵³   kʰu⁵³   nɔ¹³.
        ?   byas   khur   snang
        ONOM   do:PF   carry   exist
        'Your eyes are filled with tears.' (T27-28)

The locative marker [kɛ⁵³] is also used to mark the dative, i.e. the animate being affected by some state or action identified by the verb.

(20)   ɑ¹³ɲe³⁵   gɑ¹³sɑ³⁵   dzɛ³⁵   ɲi¹³,   ndʐɛ⁵³   pʰɑ¹³   ndʐu⁵³
        a.mes   *Ge.sar*   bzlos   ni   'dre   phag   mchu
        master   *Gesar*   say:PF   TOP   ghost   pig   snout

kɛ⁵³: "tʃʰɿ⁵³   ɕɑ⁵³   de¹³,"   dzɛ³⁵.
?   chi   skrag   bdog   bzlos
DAT   what   be.afraid   PROG   say:PF
'So Master Gesar asked the ghost with a pig snout: "What are you afraid of?" '

Cross-linguistically, the syncretism of dative and locative is frequent (Anderson 1971: 103-106; DeLancey 1981: 633-638; Kuryłowicz 1964: 190-195; LaPolla 1995b: 1174-1176). Báimǎ exemplifies this general trend.

As mentioned in §3.1, the marker of dative in Báimǎ is linked to the oblique form of the preceding word, provided that the word has such a form. For example:

(21) to³⁵ pe¹³ʐɑ³⁴¹ tʃʰe⁵³ tɛ⁵³ tʃʰu³⁵ ti⁵³-kɛ⁵³   to³⁵
     ?   spun.skya chen   de   chu   de.'i-?   ?
     LNK   brother   big   DEF   little DEF.OBL-DAT   LNK

kã⁵³pu¹³tɕʰi⁵³.
kànbuqǐ
look.down.upon
'So the elder brother looked down upon the younger brother.'

As far as the etymology of the locative markers is concerned, three of them, [lɑ⁵³], [tsɑ⁵³] and [nɔ⁵³], are clearly cognate with Tibetan, whereas the origin of one, the locative/dative marker [kɛ⁵³], is less clear.

Finally, as for the etymologies of the two case markers not discussed in this article, the ablative [jɔ⁵³] and the comparative [ɕyɛ⁵³], the former is probably derived from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman form *lam* 'road' (Matisoff 2003: 599), a common source for locative markers in several Tibeto-Burman languages (Randy

LaPolla, personal communication, September 2005). The etymology of the latter can probably be traced to the WT word *phyogs* 'side, direction', but its use as a comparative marker is certainly an innovation.

4. *Báimǎ and the neighboring languages*

As evident from the WT glosses of the Báimǎ examples in the text, most of the Báimǎ lexicon is of Tibetan provenance and derived from Tibetan in multiple waves of borrowings, as evidenced by complex sound correspondences between Báimǎ and Written Tibetan (Zhāng 1994; Huáng & Zhāng 1995). For example, one WT cluster *khr* corresponds in Báimǎ in Zhāng's analysis (1994: 14) to [tɕʰ], [tʂʰ] and [tʃʰ], and in Huáng & Zhāng's analysis (1995: 85) to [tɕʰ], [kʰ] and [ʂ]. To give just two examples from the cited sentences, WT *l* is treated in Báimǎ as *j* (e.g. WT *lam* 'road' is [jɔ⁵³] in Báimǎ, WT *langs* 'bright' is [jɔ³⁵], WT *lug* 'sheep' is [jy³⁵]) and as *l* (e.g. WT locative particle *la* is [lɑ⁵³] in Báimǎ, WT *rdo.lo* 'pestle' is [da¹³lu⁵³]). One WT final *ing* is treated as [ɯ] (e.g. [tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵] *de.ring* 'today') and as [i] (e.g. [ti¹³pa⁵³] *ding.pa* 'now').

Báimǎ nominal postpositions appear to include WT case particles (e.g. the agentive [ji⁵³] and the locative [lɑ⁵³]) and markers of possibly Qiangic provenance (e.g. the instrumental [rɛ⁵³] and the definitie [lɛ⁵³]). Yet some are of less clear origin (the ablative [jɔ⁵³] and the comparative [ɕyɛ⁵³]). The range of grammatical markers of arguably Qiangic origin from the quoted examples can be expanded. The linking particle [to³⁵] is similar to a common discourse particle in Qiang, *(a)tu* (Randy LaPolla, personal communication, March 2005). The non-volitional past marker [ʂə¹³], mostly reduced to [ʂ] rapid in speech, is reminiscent of the past particle in Qiangic languages, cf. [sɿ³³] in Shǐxīng.

In sum, Báimǎ can be seen as combining predominantly Tibetan lexicon with grammar which is arguably divergent from WT.

Whether this is the result of substratum influence, language contact, or genetic relationship still requires further investigation.

ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person pronouns
agt	agentive
cmpl	completion
com	comitative
conj	conjunction
cop	copula
dat	dative
def	definite
dir	directional prefix
excl	exclamation
emph	emphatic
gen	genitive
indef	indefinite
imp	imperative verb form
inst	instrumental
ipf	imperfective (present-future) verb form
lnk	clause linking particle, consistently translated by my informant as the Chinese clause linking element *jiu* 'then, just'
loc	locative
log	logophoric pronoun
nom	nominalizer
n-vol	non-volitional
obl	oblique
onom	onomatopoeic
p	plural
prog	progressive aspect
pf	perfective verb form

pf/imp	perfective-imperative verb form
recp	reciprocal form
s	singular
sim	simultaneous
term	terminative
top	topic marker
vol	volitional
wt	Written Tibetan

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Appendix

"AN ORPHAN AND A FOX"

ɲɑ¹³ɲy⁵³	tø⁵³tø⁵³	rɛ⁵³	ɣa⁵³
nyag.nyog	dwa.dwa	?	wa
child	orphan	COM	fox

1
tɔ¹³ngɔ⁵³	ɲe⁵³	tø⁵³tø⁵³.	ɲe⁵³	tø⁵³tø⁵³.	ɲɑ¹³ɲy⁵³	tʃu¹³te³⁵
?	mi	dwa.dwa	mi	dwa.dwa	nyag.nyog	cig.pu
in.the.past	person	orphan	person	orphan	child	single

2
ɕe⁵³	ʂə¹³.	a¹³pa⁵³	mɑ¹³-de⁵³,	a¹³ma⁵³	mɑ¹³-de⁵³.
byas	?	a.pha	ma-bdog	a.ma	ma-bdog
do:PF	PF.N-VOL	father	NEG.CMPL-exist	mother	NEG.CMPL-exist

3
ɲe⁵³rɛ⁵³	tsɑ³⁵	rɑ¹³-jy³⁵	ndzɔ¹³-ɲe⁵³	ɕe⁵³	ʂə¹³.
mi.?	rtsa	ra-lug	ʻtsho-mi	byas	?
other.people	LOC	goat-sheep	graze:IPF-person	do:PF	PF.N-VOL

4
ɲe⁵³rɛ⁵³	tsɑ³⁵	rɑ¹³-jy³⁵	ndzɯ³⁵	ʂə¹³.	rɑ¹³-jy³⁵
mi.?	rtsa	ra-lug	sos	?	ra-lug
other.people	LOC	goat-sheep	graze:PF/IMP	PF.N-VOL	goat-sheep

5
ndzɯ³⁵	ɲi⁵³.	ɲi¹³ndʒi⁵³	ʂə¹³	tɛ⁵³	rɑ¹³-jy³⁵	ɕe⁵³.
sos	ni	nyin.cig	shig	de	ra-lug	byas
graze:PF/IMP	TOP	one.day	INDEF	TOP	goat-sheep	do:PF

6
rɑ¹³-jy³⁵	pɔ⁵³-nbɔ¹³	ʂə¹³.	rɑ¹³-jy³⁵	pɔ⁵³-nbɔ¹³
ra-lug	ʻbor-?	?	ra-lug	ʻbor-?
goat-sheep	throw:PF-CMPL	PF.N-VOL	goat-sheep	throw:PF-CMPL

7　şə^{13}.　　rɑ^{13}-jy^{35}　　po^{53}-nbɔ^{13}　　ɲi^{53}.　rɑ^{13}-jy^{35}　　tsʰi^{35}
　　?　　　　ra-lug　　　'bor-?　　　　ni　ra-lug　　　'tshol
　　PF.N-VOL　goat-sheep　throw:PF-CMPL　TOP　goat-sheep　search

8　tɕʰɛ^{35}　şə^{13}.　　rɑ^{13}-jy^{35}　　tsʰi^{35}　tɕʰɛ^{35}.　to^{35}　ɲɑ^{35}
　　chas　?　　　　ra-lug　　　'tshol　chas　　?　　nyung.ba
　　go:PF　PF.N-VOL　goat-sheep　search　go:PF　LNK　a.little

9　nɑ^{13}wɯ^{53}　rə^{13}mu^{53}ra^{53}ma^{35}　tɛ^{53}　ʐu^{13}-re^{13}.　ya^{53}　rɛ^{53}　tsʰe^{53}
　　nag.po　?rab.rib　　　　de　yod-red　　wa　?　　phrad
　　black.NOM　dimness　　　TOP　probably　fox　COM　encounter

10　şə^{13}.　　ya^{53}　rɛ^{53}　tsʰe^{53}　şə^{13}.　　ya^{53}...　ya^{53}　rɛ^{53}
　　?　　　　wa　?　　phrad　　?　　　　wa　　wa　?
　　PF.N-VOL　fox　COM　encounter　PF.N-VOL　fox　fox　COM

11　tsʰe^{53}　ɲi^{53}.　ya^{53}　ti^{53}　pɯ^{35}　tɛ^{53}.　 nɑ^{13}ɲy^{53}
　　phrad　ni　　wa　de.'is　bu.mo　de　　nyag.nyog
　　encounter　TOP　fox　DEF.AGT　girl　DEF　child

12　tɛ^{53}　tɛ^{53}...　　tɛ^{53}　se^{53}-ndʒa^{53}　ʐɯ^{341}　ɕe^{53}
　　de　de　　　de　bsad-'cha　　zhabs　byas
　　DEF　DEF　　DEF　kill-eat:IPF　below　do:PF

13　şə^{13}.　　se^{53}-ndʒa^{53}　ʐɯ^{341}　ɕe^{53}　ɲi^{53}.　nɑ^{13}ɲy^{53}　pɯ^{35}
　　?　　　　bsad-'cha　　zhabs　byas　ni　nyag.nyog　bu.mo
　　PF.N-VOL　kill-eat:IPF　below　do:PF　TOP　child　　girl

14　ti^{53}　dzɛ^{35}　ɲi^{53}.　"ya^{53}.　ya^{53}.　ya^{53}...　ya^{53}...　ya^{53}...　to^{35}
　　de.'is　bzlos　ni　　wa　　wa　　wa　　wa　　wa　　?
　　DEF.AGT　say:PF　TOP　fox　fox　fox　fox　fox　LNK

15 ɲɑ³⁵   dʑɛ¹³ndzə⁵³   re¹³,   ɣa⁵³,ɣa⁵³, tɛ⁵³   tɕʰø⁵³   tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵
     nyung.ba   ?   red   wa   wa   de   khyod   de.ring
     a.little   clever   COP   fox   fox   that   2S   today

16 kʰɯ⁵³   ɲɑ³⁵   se⁵³   mɑ¹³-ndʒa⁵³.   kʰɯ⁵³   tø⁵³tø⁵³   re¹³.
     kho   nyung.ba   bsad   ma-'cha   kho   dwa.dwa   red
     1S.LOG   a.little   kill   NEG.CMPL-eat:IPF   1S.LOG   orphan   COP

17 kʰɯ⁵³   ɲe⁵³rɛ⁵³   tsɑ³⁵   jɑ¹³wɑ⁵³   ndzɯ³⁵.   ɲe⁵³rɛ⁵³   j
     kho   mi.?   rtsa   lag.(gyog.)pa   sos   mi.?   y
     1S.LOG   other.people   LOC   helper   graze:PF/IMP   other.people   O

18 jy³⁵   ndzɔ⁵³   de¹³...   rɑ¹³-jy³⁵   ndzɔ⁵³   de¹³.¨ tʂu⁵³ dzɛ³⁵
     lug   'tsho   bdog   ra-lug   'tsho   bdog   'dra   bzlos
     sheep   graze:IPF   PROG   goat-sheep   graze:IPF   PROG   thus   say:PF

19 ʂə¹³.   "tɕʰø⁵³   tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵ gu¹³ka⁵³   ndzɛ⁵³   to³⁵... to³⁵   kʰɯ⁵³
              khyod   de.ring   dgong.ka   mtshan   ?   ?   kho
     PF.N-VOL   2S   today   evening   night   LNK   LNK   1S.LOG

20 se⁵³-ndʒa⁵³   ji⁵³   re¹³.   se⁵³-ndʒa⁵³   to³⁵   se⁵³-ndʒa⁵³
     bsad-'cha   yi   red   bsad-'cha   ?   bsad-'cha
     kill-eat:IPF   NOM   COP   kill-eat:IPF   LNK   kill-eat:IPF

21 ʂuɛ⁵³.   ti¹³pa⁵³   ɲɑ³⁵   se⁵³   mɑ¹³-ndʒa⁵³.¨   to³⁵
     shog   ding.pa   nyung.ba   bsad   ma-'cha   ?
     come:IMP   now   a.little   kill   NEG.CMPL-eat:IPF   LNK

22 ɣa⁵³   tɛ⁵³   jɑ³⁵   dzɛ³⁵   ʂə¹³.   to³⁵...   mo¹³ri⁵³...   ɲɑ¹³ɲy⁵³
     wa   de   ?   bzlos   ?   ?   ma.rabs   nyag.nyog
     fox   DEF   agree   say:PF   PF.N-VOL   LNK   woman   child

23 tɛ⁵³ ɣa¹³ra³⁵ ndʐɯ⁵³. ɲɑ¹³ɲɣ⁵³ pɯ³⁵ tɛ⁵³ ɣa¹³ra³⁵ ndʐɯ⁵³.
   de ʔskor.ba 'gro nyag.nyog bu.mo de ? 'gro
   DEF in.a.circle go:IPF child girl DEF ? in.a.circle go:IPF

24 ɣa¹³ra³⁵ ndʐɯ⁵³ ɲi⁵³. ŋu⁵³ ʂi⁵³ ɣa¹³ra³⁵ ndʐɯ⁵³ we⁵³. ŋu⁵³
   ʔskor.ba 'gro ni ngu bzhin.du ? 'gro 'ongs ngu
   in.a.circle go:IPF TOP cry SIM in.a.circle go:IPF come:PF cry

25 ʂi⁵³ ɣa¹³ra³⁵ ndʐɯ⁵³ we⁵³. jo⁵³ tɕi³⁵ lɑ⁵³ nu¹³tɕa⁵³
   bzhin.du ? 'gro 'ongs lam dkyil la nor.skyag
   SIM in.a.circle go:IPF come:PF road center LOC cow.turd

26 ʂə¹³ rɛ⁵³ tʂʰe⁵³. nu¹³tɕa⁵³ ʂə¹³ rɛ⁵³ tʂʰe⁵³: "pɯ³⁵pɯ⁵³.
   shig ? phrad nor.skyag shig ? phrad bu.mo.?
   INDEF COM encounter cow.turd INDEF COM encounter girl

27 tɕʰø⁵³ tʃʰə⁵³ ŋu⁵³ de¹³? tɕʰø⁵³... ɲi¹³ndʑe³⁵ nɔ⁵³ dʑuɛ³⁵
   khyod chi ngu bdog khyod mig.'bras nang mchil.ma
   2S what cry PROG 2S eye LOC fluid

28 kua⁴⁵⁵ ɕe⁵³ kʰu⁵³ no¹³. tɕʰø⁵³ tʃʰə⁵³ ŋu⁵³ de¹³?"
   ? byas khur snang khyod chi ngu bdog
   ONOM do:PF carry exist 2S what cry PROG

29 dzɛ³⁵. "kʰɯ⁵³ tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵ ndzɛ⁵³ ta⁵³ nɔ³⁵ mə¹³-jo³⁵ ji⁵³ re¹³,
   bzlos kho de.ring mtshan da nam mi-langs yi red
   say:PF 1S.LOG today night now sky NEG-be.bright NOM COP

30 kʰɯ⁵³ mə¹³-ndy⁵³ ji⁵³ re¹³. ɣa⁵³ rə¹³ pɯ³⁵ ndʑɯ¹³-re³⁵
   kho mi-'dug yi red wa ? bu.mo mchong-re
   1S.LOG NEG-reside NOM COP fox CONJ girl jump-RECP

31 ɕe⁵³   de¹³.¨   dzɛ³⁵   ɲi⁵³.   ¨ndʒɯ¹³-re³⁵¨   dzɛ³⁵.   ¨kʰɯ⁵³
    byas   bdog   bzlos   ni   mchong-re   bzlos   kho
    do:PF   PROG   say:PF   TOP   jump-RECP   say:PF   1S.LOG

32 kʰɔ⁵³-nbɔ¹³   ʂə¹³.   kʰɯ⁵³   kʰɔ⁵³-ku¹³nbɔ¹³   ɲi¹³.   tɯ¹³ru
    ?   ?   kho   ?   ni   de.ring
    be.defeated-CMPL   PF.N-VOL 1S.LOG   be.defeated-CMPL.EMPH   TOP   today

33 ndzɛ⁵³   ta⁵³   ɣa⁵³   tɛ⁵³   kʰɯ⁵³   se⁵³-ndʒa⁵³   wu⁵³   re¹³.¨
    mtshan   da   wa   de   kho   bsad-¨cha   ¨ong   red
    night   now   fox   DEF   1S.LOG   kill-eat:IPF   come:IPF COP

34 ¨fie.   tɕʰɑ⁵³   mɑ¹³-tɕɑ⁵³.   tɕʰɑ⁵³... ʂa⁵³... ʂa¹³ma⁵³   ɲɛ¹³ɲi
    ?   khyod.?   ma-skrag   khyod.?   sran   sran.ma   ?
    EXCL   2S.EMPH   NEG.CMPL-be.afraid   2S.EMPH   pea   pea   gruel

35 lɔ¹³wu⁵³   kɔ⁵³   ki⁵³   ʐɑ³⁴¹.   ʂa¹³ma⁵³   ɲɛ¹³ɲi⁵³   lɔ¹³wu⁵³
    ?   gang   skol   bzhag   sran.ma   ?   ?
    cooking.pot   full   boil   put:PF/IMP   pea   gruel   cooking.pot

36 kɔ⁵³   ki⁵³   ʐɑ³⁴¹.   gu¹³ka⁵³   ɲɛ⁵³   nda⁵³   ruɛ⁵³   wu⁵³
    gang   skol   bzhag   dgong.ka   me   ʻde   rogs   ʻong
    full   boil   put:PF/IMP evening   fire   get.warm companion come:

37 de¹³.¨ tʂu⁵³ dzɛ³⁵   ʂə¹³.   to³⁵   jɑ³⁵   dzɛ³⁵.   fio~³⁵   ɲɑ³⁵.
    bdog   ʻdra   bzlos   ?   ?   ?   zlos   yang   nyung.ba
    PROG   thus   say:PF PF.N-VOL LNK   agree say:PF   again   a.little

38 fio~³⁵...   fio~³⁵   tu¹³nba⁵³   we⁵³.   fio~³⁵   tu¹³nba⁵³   we⁵³   ɲi¹³
    yang   yang   dum.pa   ʻongs   yang   dum.pa   ʻongs   ni
    again   again   one.part   come:PF   again   one.part   come:PF   TOP

39 jo⁵³   tɕi³⁵   lɑ⁵³...   jo⁵³   tɕi³⁵   ndʒa¹³nba⁵³   ʂə¹³   de⁵³.
    lam   dkyil   la   lam   dkyil   chan.pa   shig   bdog
    road   center   LOC   road   center   scissors   INDEF   exist

40 ndʒa¹³nba⁵³   tɛ⁵³   ndʒa¹³nba⁵³   tɛ⁵³   kʰa⁵³tɕʰɑ⁵³.   ndʒa¹³nba⁵³
    chan.pa   de   chan.pa   de   kha.ˋchad   chan.pa
    scissors   DEF   scissors   DEF   speak   scissors

41 tɛ⁵³: ¨pɯ³⁵pɯ⁵³.   tɕʰø⁵³   tʃʰə⁵³   ɕe⁵³   de¹³.   tɕʰø⁵³
    de   bu.mo.?   khyod   chi   byas   bdog   khyod
    DEF   girl   2S   what   do:PF   PROG   2S

42 ŋu⁵³   de¹³.¨   dzɛ³⁵.   ¨kʰɯ⁵³   tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵   gu¹³ka⁵³   ta⁵³   ɣa⁵³
    ngu   bdog   bzlos   kho   de.ring   dgong.ka   da   wa
    cry   PROG   say:PF   1S.LOG   today   evening   now   fox

43 ji⁵³   kʰɯ⁵³   se⁵³-ndʒa⁵³.   ɣa⁵³   rə¹³   pɯ³⁵   ndʒɯ¹³-re³⁵   ɕe⁵³
    yis   kho   bsad-ˋcha   wa   ?   bu.mo   mchong-re   byas
    AGT   1S.LOG   kill-eat:IPF   fox   CONJ   girl   jump-RECP   do:PF

44 ɲi¹³.   kʰɯ⁵³   kʰɔ⁵³-nbɔ¹³   tɕʰɛ¹³.   kʰɔ⁵³-nbɔ¹³   tɕʰɛ¹³.
    ni   kho   ?   chas   ?   chas
    TOP   1S.LOG   be.defeated-CMPL   TERM   be.defeated-CMPL   TERM

45 tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵   gu¹³ka⁵³   ta⁵³   se⁵³-ndʒa⁵³.¨   ¨ɦe.   tɕʰɑ⁵³.   ɦõ~³⁵
    de.ring   dgong.ka   da   bsad-ˋcha   ?   khyod.?   yang
    today   evening   now   kill-eat:IPF   EXCL   2S.EMPH   again

46 ʂa¹³ma⁵³   ŋɛ¹³ɲi⁵³   ki⁵³   zɑ³⁴¹.   gu¹³ka⁵³   ŋɛ⁵³   nda⁵³
    sran.ma   ?   skol   bzhag   dgong.ka   me   ˋde
    ᶮpea   gruel   boil   put:PF/IMP   evening   fire   get.warm

47   wu^{53} de^{13}.¨   dze^{35} ʂə^{13}.   ¨gu^{13}ka^{53} ɲɛ^{53} nda^{53}
      ʻong   bdog   bzlos   ?   dgong.ka   me   ʻde
      come:IPF   PROG   say:PF   PF.N-VOL   evening   fire   get.warm

48   wu^{53} de^{13}.   ɲɛ^{53} nda^{53} ruɛ^{53} wu^{53} de^{13}.¨
      ʻong   bdog   me   ʻde   rogs   ʻong   bdog
      come:IPF   PROG   fire   get.warm   companion   come:IPF   PROG

49   tɛ^{53}...   tɛ^{53} tsʰu^{13}-nɔ^{53} tse^{53}.   ɕa^{53}guɛ^{35} rɛ^{53} tʂʰe^{53}.
      de   de   tshu-nang   slebs   bya.sgong   ?   phrad
      that   that   here-LOC   reach   egg   COM   encounter

50   ɦõ^{35} tʂu^{53} dze^{35} ʂə^{13}.   ɦõ^{35} ¨ɲɛ^{53} nda^{53} ruɛ^{53}
      yang   ʻdra   bzlos   ?   yang   me   ʻde   rogs
      again   thus   say:PF   PF.N-VOL   again   fire   get.warm   compar

51   wu^{53} de^{13}.¨   dze^{35}.   tɛ^{53} tsʰu^{13}-nɔ^{53} tse^{53}.   kʰɯ^{53}
      ʻong   bdog   bzlos   de   tshu-nang   slebs   kho
      come:IPF   PROG   say:PF   that   here-LOC   reach   needle

52   rɛ^{53} tʂʰe^{53},   ¨ɲɛ^{53} nda^{53} ruɛ^{53} wu^{53} de^{13},
      ?   phrad   me   ʻde   rogs   ʻong   bdog
      COM   encounter   fire   get.warm   companion   come:IPF   PROG

53   mɑ^{13}-ɲu^{53}.¨   dze^{35}.   tɛ^{53} tsʰu^{13}-nɔ^{53} tse^{53}...   tɛ^{53}
      ma-ngu   bzlos   de   tshu-nang   slebs   de
      NEG.CMPL-cry   say:PF   that   here-LOC   reach   that

54   tsʰu^{13}-nɔ^{53} tse^{53},   yɛ^{13}wa^{53} rɛ^{53} tʂʰe^{53}.   ɦõ^{35} ¨ɲɛ^{53}
      tshu-nang   slebs   sbal.ba   ?   phrad   yang   me
      here-LOC   reach   frog   COM   encounter   again   fire

55   nda⁵³   ruɛ⁵³   wu⁵³   de¹³.   mɑ¹³-ŋu⁵³.
     'de   rogs   'ong   bdog   ma-ngu
     get.warm   companion   come:IPF   PROG   NEG.CMPL-cry

56   ne¹³ne³⁵   mɑ¹³-ɕe⁵³. "   tɛ⁵³   tsʰu¹³-nɔ⁵³   tse⁵³.   kʰɯ⁵³   rɛ⁵³
     ??   ma-byas   de   tshu-nang   slebs   kho   ?
     be.worried   NEG.CMPL-do:PF   that   here-LOC   reach   needle   COM

57   tsʰe⁵³.   ɦõ³⁵   tsu⁵³   dzɛ³⁵   sə¹³.   tɛ⁵³   ɕi⁵³-we⁵³.
     phrad   yang   'dra   bzlos   ?   de   khyim-'ongs
     encounter   again   thus   say:PF   PF.N-VOL   that   DIR-come:PF

58   to³⁵   da¹³lu⁵³   rɛ⁵³   tsʰe⁵³.   da¹³lu⁵³   dzɛ³⁵: "kʰɯ⁵³   ɲɛ⁵³
     ?   rdo.lo   ?   phrad   rdo.lo   bzlos   kho   me
     LNK   pestle   COM   encounter   pestle   say:PF   1S.LOG   fire

59   nda⁵³   ruɛ⁵³   wu⁵³   de¹³.   sa¹³ma⁵³   ɲɛ¹³ɲi⁵³   ki⁵³
     'de   rogs   'ong   bdog   sran.ma   ?   skol
     get.warm   companion   come:IPF   PROG   pea   gruel   boil

60   zɑ³⁴¹.   kʰɯ⁵³   ɲɛ⁵³   nda⁵³   ruɛ⁵³   wu⁵³   de¹³."
     bzhag   kho   me   'de   rogs   'ong   bdog
     put:PF/IMP   1S.LOG   fire   get.warm   companion   come:IPF   PROG

61   ndzɛ⁵³   tɛ⁵³   ta¹³nbe³⁵   ɣa⁵³   tɛ⁵³   we⁵³   sə¹³.   ɲɑ¹³ɲy⁵³
     mtshan   de   bden.pa   wa   de   'ongs   ?   nyag.nyog
     night   TOP   really   fox   DEF   come:PF   PF.N-VOL   child

62   tɛ⁵³   ndʒa⁵³   we⁵³   sə¹³.   ɲɑ¹³ɲy⁵³   tɛ⁵³   ndʒa⁵³   we⁵³
     de   'cha   'ongs   ?   nyag.nyog   de   'cha   'ongs
     DEF   eat:IPF   come:PF   PF.N-VOL   child   DEF   eat:IPF   come:PF

63 ɲi^{53}. ngue^{53} ti^{13}-kɛ^{53} ɣa^{53} ti^{53} wa^{13}tʃa^{53} du^{35} ɕe^{13}.
    ni   mgo   de.ʼi-?   wa   de.ʼis   ?   ʔʼthogs   byas
    TOP   head   DEF.OBL-LOC   fox   DEF.AGT   claw   catch   do:PF

64 wa^{13}tʃa^{53} du^{35} ɕe^{53}.   sʰɔ^{13}-tɛ^{53} ja^{35} kɛ^{53} tsu^{53} ɕe^{53}
    ?   du^{35} ʔʼthogs byas   so-de   lag   ?   ʻdzugs   byas
    claw   catch   do:PF   comb-DEF   hand   LOC   prick   do:PF

65 ʂə^{13}.   tsʰa^{53}ʂue^{53} tsu^{53} ʂə^{13}.   ˮndɛ^{53} tʃʰə^{53} re^{13}.ˮ
    ?   ?tshugs.?   ʻdzugs   ?   ʻdi   chi   red
    PF.N-VOL   ache   prick   PF.N-VOL   this   what   COP

66 dzɛ^{35}.   to^{35} ʂa^{53}...   ʂa^{53} ti^{13}-kɛ^{53} ndʒø^{35} ɕe^{53}.   kʰɯ^{53}
    bzlos   ?   zhwa   zhwa   de.ʼi-?   ʻchang   byas   kho
    say:PF   LNK   hat   hat   DEF.OBL-LOC   touch   do:PF   needle

67 tɛ^{53} ze^{53} ɕe^{53}.   ɦõ^{35}...   kɛ^{13}wa^{53} ti^{13}-kɛ^{53} ke^{53} ɕe^{53}.
    de   gzer   byas   yang   rked.pa   de.ʼi-?   ?   byas
    DEF   prick   do:PF   again   waist   DEF.OBL-LOC   stroke   do:PF

68 ndʒa^{13}nba^{53} ti^{53}...   ndʒa^{13}nba^{53} ti^{53} tʃa^{53} ɕe^{53}.
    chan.pa   de.ʼis   chan.pa   de.ʼis   bcad   byas
    scissors   DEF.AGT   scissors   DEF.AGT   cut   do:PF

69 dzɛ^{35} ɲi^{53}.   ˮndɛ^{53} tʃʰə^{53} re^{13},   pʰu^{13}la^{53} ke^{53} re^{13}
    bzlos   ni   ʻdi   chi   red   pha.la   ?   red
    say:PF   TOP   this   what   COP   there.LOC   stroke   COP

70 tsʰa^{53}ʂue^{53}, mu^{13}la^{53} ke^{53} re^{13} tsʰa^{53}ʂue^{53} zi^{341} de^{13}.
    ?tshugs.?   ma.la   ?   red   ?tshugs.?   yin   bdog
    ache   down.LOC   stroke   COP   ache   COP   PROG

71 ɲɛ⁵³ nbi⁵³ gɐ³⁴¹ re¹³˙ ̈ dzɛ³⁵. ɕa⁵³guɛ³⁵ tɛ⁵³ tʰɛ¹³-no⁵³
    me 'bud dgos red bzlos bya.sgong de thal.ba-nang
    fire blow:IPF want COP say:PF egg DEF ashes-LOC

72 ɲɛ³⁵ de¹³. ɲɛ¹³tɛ³⁵ zɯ³⁴¹ ɲɛ³⁵. ̈ɲɛ⁵³ nbi⁵³
    nyal bdog me.? zhabs nyal me 'bud
    sleep PROG large.firewood below sleep fire blow:IPF

73 gɐ³⁴¹ re¹³. ̈ ɕa⁵³guɛ³⁵ tɛ⁵³ pʰo~⁵⁵ kʰu¹³ ɕe⁵³. nbɑ⁵³
    dgos red bya.sgong de ? ?khur byas 'bar
    want COP egg DEF ONOM ?carry do:PF explode

74 tɕʰɛ³⁵. ɣa⁵ ku¹³ly⁵³ tʰɛ³⁵ ji⁵³ ka⁵³-ku¹³nbɔ¹³. ɣa⁵³
     ₃
    chas wa sku.lus thal.ba yis bkab-? wa
    TERM fox body ashes AGT cover-CMPL.EMPH fox

75 ka⁵³-ku¹³nbɔ¹³. ɲi¹³ndʐe³⁵ ka⁵³-ku¹³nbɔ¹³ tɕʰɛ³⁵. ɲi¹³ndʐe³⁵...
    bkab-? mig.'bras bkab-? chas mig.'bras
    cover-CMPL.EMPH eye cover-CMPL.EMPH TERM eye

76 ɣa⁵³: ̈tʃʰu¹³suɛ⁵³... tʃʰu¹³ndʐɑ³⁵ rɛ⁵³ kʰa¹³ŋu⁵³
    wa chu.bzom chu.'khyags ? kha.ngo
    fox water.bucket water INSTR face

77 tɕy⁵³ nbe⁵³. ɦo~³⁵ tsʰi³⁵ gɐ³⁴¹ re¹³˙ ̈ ji⁵³
    bkrus mbod yang 'tshol sgos red yi
    wash:PF/IMP call:IPF again search want COP NOM

78 dzɛ³⁵. tʃʰu¹³suɛ⁵³ ti¹³-kɛ⁵³... tʃʰu¹³suɛ⁵³ ti¹³-nɔ⁵³
   bzlos chu.bzom de.ʼi-? chu.bzom de.ʼi-nang
   say:PF water.bucket DEF.OBL-LOC water.bucket DEF.OBL-LOC

79 yɛ¹³wa⁵³ tɛ⁵³ tʃʰi⁵³ dzɛ³⁵ tɕa⁵³ ʂə¹³. to³⁵ pɯ³⁵
   sbal.ba de ? bzlos grags ? ? bu.mo
   frog DEF ONOM say:PF cry.out PF.N-VOL LNK girl

80 se⁵³-ndʒa⁵³ ga⁵³ mɑ¹³-re¹³. se⁵³-ndʒa⁵³ ga⁵³
   bsad-ʻcha ? ma-red bsad-ʻcha ?
   kill-eat:IPF be.able NEG.CMPL-COP kill-eat:IPF be.able

81 mɑ¹³-re¹³ ʂə¹³. to³⁵ ''tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵ to³⁵
   ma-red ? ? de.ring ?
   NEG.CMPL-COP PF.N-VOL LNK today LNK

82 wɛ³⁵ mɑ¹³-re¹³. nɔ¹³ue³⁵ wu⁵³ ge³⁴¹ re¹³.
   ? ma-red nangs.pa ʻong sgos red
   succeed NEG.CMPL-COP tomorrow come:IPF want COP

83 tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵ pʰu¹³lɑ⁵³ tɕʰɛ³⁵ re¹³ mə¹³-ndʑɯ³⁵ ʂə¹³.
   de.ring pha.la chas red mi-ʻgrub ?
   today there.LOC go:PF COP NEG-happen PF.N-VOL

84 mu¹³lɑ⁵³ tɕʰɛ³⁵ re¹³ mə¹³-ndʑɯ³⁵ ʂə¹³.'' gə¹³tsə⁵³
   ma.la chas red mi-ʻgrub ? sgo.slad
   down.LOC go:PF COP NEG-happen PF.N-VOL outside

85 ndʑi⁵³, ''tɯ¹³rɯ³⁵ ta⁵³ wɛ³⁵ mɑ¹³-re¹³.'' gə¹³tsə⁵³ tɕʰɛ³⁵.
   mchi de.ring da ? ma-red sgo.slad chas
   go:IPF today now suceed NEG.CMPL-COP outside go:PF

86 nu¹³tɕa⁵³ guɛ¹³lɛ³⁵ kɛ⁵³   ɲɛ³⁵   de¹³.   nu¹³tɕa⁵³ xɛ˩³⁵
   nor.skyag sgo.ba.leb ?   nyal   bdog   nor.skyag ?
   cow.turd   threshold LOC   sleep   PROG   cow.turd   ONOM

87 gɛ³⁵   tɕʰɛ³⁵. na¹³ngɛ⁵³ da¹³lu⁵³ tʰɔ¹³jy³⁵-we⁵³, ɣa⁵³
   rgal   chas   ?   rdo.lo   thur.?-'ongs   wa
   stretch.over go:PF on.the.top pestle   DIR-come:PF   fox

88 nguɐ⁵³ tɕi³⁵   ndʐu⁵³   ɕe⁵³.   ɣa⁵³ se⁵³-nbɔ¹³   we⁵³.
   mgo   dkyil   'brab   byas   wa   bsad-?   'ongs
   head   middle hit   do:PF   fox   kill-CMPL   PF.VOL

89 tʂu⁵³   dzɛ³⁵   ʂə¹³.
   'dra   bzlos   ?
   thus   say:PF   PF.N-VOL

Narrator: Lako (b. 1930)
Recorded: 22 December 2003

"AN ORPHAN AND A FOX"
(English free-style translation)

In the past, there was an orphan, you know, an orphan, a single child. She had no father or mother and served as a shepherdess to other people.

One day, while herding her goats and sheep, she lost them and went to search for them. While she was looking for her goats and sheep, she met a fox somewhere in the darkness [of the forest]. [The fox and the girl had a jumping competition. The girl lost and the fox was supposed to eat her.] The fox was about to eat the girl, when the girl begged: "Fox, clever fox, please do not eat me now. I am an orphan, I am everybody's servant. I herd goats and sheep for other people. If you are to eat me tonight, then eat me, come to eat

me, but please do not eat me now. [Let me first find the lost goats and sheep.]" The fox agreed. So, the girl went back, crying as she walked. She was crying and walking and on her way she met a cow turd. The cow turd asked: "Little girl, what are you crying about? Your eyes are filled with tears. Why are you crying?" "I won't live to see the dawn of the day, I am going to die. The fox and I had a jumping competition and I lost," replied the little girl, "I lost and tonight the fox will come and eat me." "Oh, don't be afraid. Cook a pot of pea porridge, you cook a pot of pea porridge and I will come tonight. We will sit around the fire together to warm ourselves and I will help you," said the cow turd. The little girl agreed. Again she walked for a little while and on the road she met a pair of scissors. The scissors talked to her. They asked: "Little girl, what happened to you that you are crying so hard?" The girl said: "Tonight, the fox will eat me. The fox and I had a jumping competition and I lost. I lost and now I will be eaten." "Oh, cook a pot of pea porridge. I am coming tonight to help you," the scissors said, "Tonight we will sit together around the fire to warm ourselves." Closer to the village the little girl met an egg, who also told her that it would come to help her that night. She was getting closer to the village when she met a needle. "I will come to keep you company tonight, don't cry," it said. As the girl approached the village, she met a frog. The frog said: "I will come to keep you company tonight. Don't cry. Don't worry." So, the little girl returned home and met a pestle. The pestle said: "I will come to help you, cook a pot of pea porridge and I will come to stay with you tonight."

That night sure enough the fox came to eat the girl. When [in complete darkness] he reached the head of the girl with his claws, the comb [in the girl's hair] pricked him. The fox felt pain. "What is that?" he asked. So he stroked the hat of the little girl, and the needle [which was sleeping there] pricked him too. The fox then felt the waist of the girl and the scissors [which were sleeping under

the belt] cut his paws. The fox said: "What is going on? Wherever I touch, I get hurt. I need to light the fire so that I can see better." The egg was sleeping in the ashes, under large chunks of [charcoaled] firewood. "I need to light the fire so that I can see better," repeated the fox. [As the fox fanned the fire,] the egg exploded with a loud 'plop!'. The ashes covered the fox from head to toe and got in his eyes. The fox said: "Let me wash my eyes before I look for the girl again." But in the bucket the frog gave a loud croak: 'ribbit, ribbit!' The fox [got so scared that he] could not eat the girl. "Today nothing seems to work; I will come back tomorrow," said the fox. "Whatever I do, it just won't work. Today it just does not seem to work." So, the fox left. The cow turd was sleeping on the threshold. It stretched over [and the fox slipped over it] 'squish!'. The pestle fell and hit the fox on his head, and the fox was killed. This is how the story ends.