A Narrative Text from the Family Problems Picture Task: Sibe (SJO)*

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The present paper provides a text of Sibe (ISO 639-3:SJO) that was collected by means of the stimulus-elicitation methodology the Family Problems Picture task following the procedures outlined in San Roque et al. (2012) for the Social Cognition Parallax Interview Corpus (SCOPIC) project.

1. Introduction
2. Grammatical notes on Sibe
3. Data collection
4. Text

1. Introduction

The present paper presents a text of Sibe (ISO 639-3:SJO) that was recorded by the author by means of the stimulus-elicitation methodology the Family Problems Picture task following the procedures outlined in San Roque et al. (2012) for the Social Cognition Parallax Interview Corpus (SCOPIC) project (See Barth and Evans 2017 for the details of the project). Sibe is a Tungusic (Manchu-Tungusic) language spoken in the Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region in China by around 20,000 speakers. Within the Tungusic group of languages, Sibe is considered similar to Manchu and is also called Spoken Manchu in some literature. Sibe and Manchu are thought to be genetically distinct from the other Tungusic languages. Many languages such as Chinese, Modern Uyghur, and Kazakh are spoken in Xinjiang, and as a result most Sibe speakers are multilingual and speak these languages in their daily lives (See Kubo et al. (2011) and Kogura (2018a, b) for details). Sibe is also spoken by immigrants in other countries such as the United States, Japan, and Australia, who often immigrate with their family and thus use the language and actively interact with it in their daily lives, and thus, many Sibe still keep their language even after they leave their homeland. The speakers who participated in the recording was likewise such individuals.

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2. Grammatical notes on Sibe

Sibe has agglutinative morphology, postpositional construction, and SOV word order. In this section, we will briefly survey the phonology and morphology of Sibe.

2.1. Phonemes and transcription

The transcription given in this paper is based on the phonemic transcription proposed by Kubo et al. (2011), according to which Sibe has 5 vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ and 23 consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, q, G, f, s, š, x, χ, c, j, r, l, m, n, ŋ, N, y, w/. In addition, the symbol "X" stands for the archphoneme of /x/ and /χ/, the symbol "'" stands for marked accent, the symbol "#" stands for a (phonological or morphological) word boundary, the symbol "-" stands for a suffix boundary, and the symbol "=" stands for a clitic boundary. The symbol "..." in the original and analysed text lines stands for speech disfluency.

2.2. Grammatical elements

Nouns take the case elements =*i* (genitive), =*de* (dative), =*we* (accusative), =*deri'* (ablative), =*ci'* (allative), and =*maqe* (instrumental). Nouns without case elements are in nominative case. Nouns also take a number element -*se* (plural), but this is not obligatory and nouns without -*se* seem to be neutral for number.

Verbs take the TAM elements -*Xe* (realis perfective), -*maχe* (realis imperfective), and -*re* (irrealis). Sibe has three finite verb forms that can occur in the predicates of the main clauses: indicatives (*V-TAM=i*), verbal nouns (*V-TAM=ŋe*), and participles (*V-TAM*). The participle occurs in the predicates of adnominal (relative) clauses, and can also occur in those of nominal and main clauses. Verbal nouns occur in the predicates of nominal clauses and in main clauses, but cannot occur in adnominal clauses. Indicatives (*V-TAM=i*) can only occur in main clauses, not in nominal or adnominal clauses. The irrealis indicative -*mi* is thought to be the amalgamation of -*re* and =*i*. For functional details of finite verbs, see Kogura (2018a, 2019).

Sibe also has non-finite verb forms (converbal forms) that occur in subordinate clauses: simultaneous (*V-me*), causal (*V-maqe*), sequential (*V-fe'*), conditional (*V-ci'*), and consessive (*V-cini'*).

The sentence final particle *na* marks a polar question, and *ba* denotes an inference. In addition, there are two elements =*ni'* (topic) and *da* (focus) for marking information structure. See Kogura (2017) for details of these elements.

3. Data collection

The recording was made on November 8, 2018, in Sydney, Australia. Two Sibe speakers, Guoqing and GUAN Youying, both born in 1968, participated in the recording. They are immigrants from China and have been in Australia for around 15 years. They had lived in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region and Sibe was one of their primary languages of communication before they immigrated to Australia. Since they live together in Sydney

and some of their relatives live in Sydney, they still speak Sibe in their daily life and maintain a native-speaker level of spoken fluency in Sibe.

The recording was made by the author in the restaurant that the speakers run together. The session was conducted acccording to the stimulus-elicitation methodology the Family Problems Picture task following the procedures outlined in San Roque et al. (2012) for the Social Cognition Parallax Interview Corpus (SCOPIC) project. As a part of the task, the speakers were presented 16 pictures and asked to describe each picture and make a narrative out of them. The task consisted of four phases, and in each phase the speakers were asked to (1) describe each picture presented to them, one at a time, and in an order that would not let the speaker discern the logic among the cards in terms of narration; (2) sort the pictures into an order that the speakers think is coherent, as a narrative; (3) tell the story to other people in the rearranged order of sequence, and (4) tell the story as a first-person narrative from the point of view of the characters in the story. See Barth and Evans (2017) for the details of the task. In this session, the story in (3) was told by GUAN Youying, and the story in (4) was told by Guoqing. The text in the following is from the third part told by GUAN Youying.

4. Text

In the text, each sentence consists of four lines. The first line shows a phonemic transcription without morphological analysis, the second line shows the analysed texts, the third line provides glosses, and a translation in English is given after each sentence.

Homecoming

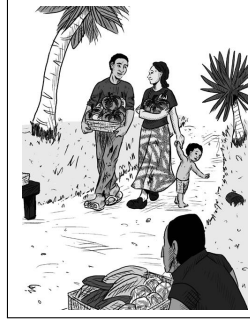(1)　daci’ da eme boχuN biXei.

　　daci’　da　eme　boχuN　bi-Xe=i.
　　once　FOC　one　family　exist-PFV=IND

　　‘Once there was a family.’

(2)　eme boχuNdeni’ da yixeN xexe ju nane, eme sewde eyi’ biXei, tukume da yixeN xexe ju nanedeni’ gele eme χaχeji biXei.

Walking together

eme boχuN=de=ni'   da   yixeN   xexe   ju   nane,   eme   sewde
one   family=DAT=TOP   FOC   husband   wife   two   person   one   old

eyi'   bi-Xe=i,   tuku-me   da   yixeN   xexe   ju
grandfather   AUX-PFV=IND   do.such-CVB.SIM   FOC   husband   wife   two

nane=de=ni'   gele   eme   χaχeji   bi-Xe=i.
person=DAT=TOP   also   one   son   AUX-PFV=IND

'There were a husband and wife and an old grandfather in the family. The husband and wife had a boy.'

(3) tukume da eme boχuNdeni' baNjemi.

tuku-me   da   eme   boχuN=de=ni'   baNje-mi.
do.such-CVB.SIM   FOC   one   family=DAT=TOP   live-IRR.IND

'They lived as a family.'

(4) ere bo χaχeni' da tyulxude geneme weileme, jiχa betame Gajeme da bo e bo naneweni' ujime da,

ere   bo   χaχe=ni'   da   tyulxu=de   gene-me   weile-me,   jiχa
this   home   male=TOP   FOC   outside=DAT   go-CVB.SIM   work-CVB.SIM   money

beta-me   Gaje-me   da   bo   e   bo   nane=we=ni'   uji-me
earn-CVB.SIM   bring-CVB.SIM   FOC   home   FIL   home   person=ACC=TOP   feed-CVB

da,
FOC

'The man in the family goes out for work, earns some money for the family, and supports his family,'

(5) tukume da yixeN xexe ju naneni' bodeni' yixeNni' medame jime da ju naneni' geneme, e tyulxude ere geneme, e χaliN tere sulxo jaqe betame Gajeme, e jusedeni' bodeni' baiteleme,

tuku-me   da   yixeN   xexe ju   nane=ni'   bo=de=ni'
do.such-cvb.sim foc husband wife two person=top   home=dat=top

yixeN=ni'   meda-me   ji-me   da   ju   nane=ni'
husband=top   come.back-cvb.sim   come-cvb.sim foc two   person=top

gene-me, e   tyulxu=de   ere   gene-me, e   χaliN tere sulxo jaqe
go-cvb.sim fil outside=dat this go-cvb.sim fil tree   that apple thing

beta-me   Gaje-me,   e   juse=de=ni'   bo=de=ni'   baitele-me,
earn-cvb.sim bring-cvb.sim fil child=dat=top   home=dat=top   use-cvb.sim

'And when this husband and wife come back, when these two people go out, they get and take some wood and fruits and use them for their child.'

Garden

(6)   tukume da gele usiN tyareXe biXei, laŋu tyareXe biXei, syogu tyarXe biXei, syaN baNjere sideNde da,

tuku-me   da   gele usiN tyare-Xe   bi-Xe=i,   laŋu   tyare-Xe
do.such-cvb.sim foc also farm plow-pfv   aux-pfv=ind pumpkin plow-pfv

bi-Xe=i,   syogu   tyare-Xe   bi-Xe=i,   syaN baNje-re   sideN=de da,
aux-pfv=ind vegetable plow-pfv   aux-pfv=ind good live-irr   while=dat foc

'And (they) also plow a field, plant pumpkins, plant vegetables, live a good life.'

Sitting drinking

(7) ere eme bade eme GaseNde baNjere χaχe guruNni' da aceme aceme ayrke aymire χaχe guruNni' da χaχeweni' χulame Gamemaqe da aceme temaqe da "moNmaqe eme meji' aymi. mese meji' e, ayrki aymime meji' aχuNdu jaweki." seme sere.

ere	*eme*	*ba=de*	*eme*	*GaseN=de*	*baNje-re*	*χaχe*	*guruN=ni'*	*da*
this	one	place=DAT	one	village=DAT	live-IRR	male	people=TOP	FOC

ace-me	*ace-me*	*ayrke*	*aymi-re*	*χaχe*	*guruN=ni'*	*da*
meet-CVB.SIM	meet-CVB.SIM	liquor	drink-IRR	male	people=TOP	FOC

χaχe=we=ni'	*χula-me*	*Game-maqe*	*da*	*ace-me*	*te-maqe*
male=ACC=TOP	call-CVB.SIM	take-CVB.CAUSAL	FOC	meet-CVB.SIM	sit-CVB.CAUSAL

da	*"moN=maqe*	*eme*	*meji'*	*aymi.*	*mese*	*meji'*	*e,*	*ayrki*
FOC	1.PL.EXCL=INST	one	a.little	drink.IMP	1.PL.INCL	a.little	FIL	liquor

aymi-me	*meji'*	*aχuNdu'*	*jawe-ki".*	*seme*	*se-re.*
drink-CVB.SIM	a.little	brother	grab-OPT	COMP	say-IRR

'One day, those men who live in the village gather and those who drink called that guy, saying "Let's sit and have a drink together with us, drink, and make a brotherhood."'

Drunken gossip

(8) tukume da tere sideNde da e meji' malχuN aymime tese tesemaqeni' pyale seNdare sideNde da eme χaχeni' cicimaqe da ere boi boi nanedeni' gisereme biXei.

tuku-me	*da*	*tere*	*sideN=de*	*da*	*e*	*meji'*	*malχuN*	*aymi-me*
do.such-CVB.SIM	FOC	that	while=DAT	FOC	FIL	a.little	a.little	drink-CVB.SIM

tese	*tese=maqe=ni'*	*pyale*	*seNda-re*	*sideN=de*	*da*	*eme*	*χaχe=ni'*
3.PL	3.PL=INST=TOP	chat	release-IRR	while=DAT	FOC	one	male=TOP

cici-maqe	*da*	*ere*	*bo=i*	*bo=i*	*nane=de=ni'*
go.out-CVB.CAUSAL	FOC	this	home=GEN	home=GEN	person=DAT=TOP

| *gisere-me*	*bi-Xe=i.*
speak-CVB.SIM	AUX-PFV=IND

'Then, while (the guy) drank well and chat with them, one man came (to that guy) and said to the guy.'

(9) "si aqu sideNde siN xexe uNcu nanemaqe embade baNjeXei", seme gisuN
     syusyume biXei.

"si   aqu   sideN=de   siN   xexe uNcu nane=maqe   embade
2.SG not.exist while=DAT 2.SG.GEN wife other person=INST together

baNje-Xe=i,"   seme gisuN syusyu-me   bi-Xe=i.
live-PFV=IND   COMP word   whisper-CVB.SIM   AUX-PFV=IND

'He whispered, "While you were absent (from home), your wife lived together
with another man."'
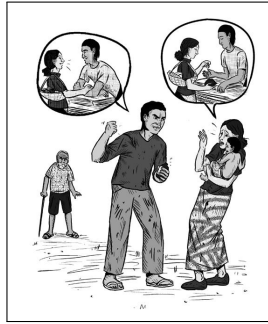
About to hit

(10) tere sideNde da ere naneni' ayrki aymiXe, meji' soqtumaqe da bodeni' genemaqe
      da xexedeni' fyaNjiXei sere. "si erane erane nanemaqe yaweXene na seme
      fyaNjiXei sere".

tere sideN=de da   ere   nane=ni'   ayrki aymi-Xe, meji'
that while=DAT FOC this person=TOP liquor drink-PFV a.little

soqtu-maqe   da   bo=de=ni'   gene-maqe   da   xexe=de=ni'
get.drunk-CVB.CAUSAL FOC home=DAT=TOP go-CVB.CAUSAL FOC wife=DAT=TOP

fyaNji-Xe=i se-re.   "si   erane   erane   nane=maqe   yawe-Xe=ne   na
ask-PFV=IND say-IRR 2.SG like.this like.this person=INST go-PFV=FN   Q

seme fyaNji-Xe=i se-re."
COMP ask-PFV=IND say-IRR

'At that time, the guy has already drunk, got drunk a bit, so he went back to home
and asked his wife, "Did you go together with a man like that?"'

Hitting

(11) tukume da xexeni' "aqu aqu" seci' elei aqu seci' da ere χaχeni' elei faNcemaqe da xexeweni' jawemaqe emgeri' taNdeme aci-Xe biXei.

tuku-me   da   xexe=ni'   "aqu   aqu"   se-ci'   elei   aqu
do.such-CVB.SIM FOC wife=TOP   not.exist not.exist say-COND   more   not.exist

se-ci'   da   ere   χaχe=ni'   elei   faNce-maqe   da   xexe=we=ni'
say-COND   FOC   this   male=TOP   more   get.angry-CVB.CAUSAL FOC   wife=ACC=TOP

jawe-maqe   emgeri' taNde-me   aci-Xe   bi-Xe=i.
grab-CVB.CAUSAL   already hit-CVB.SIM AUX-PFV   AUX-PFV=IND

'Then the wife said "No. No," but the more she says no, the angrier the guy got, and he grabbed the wife by the hand and began to hit her.'

(12) juseweni' juseni' χaχejini' gelemaqe sewde naneni' gele ai areXe, tamaqe aseleme mutuqu.

juse=we=ni'   juse=ni'   χaχeji=ni'   gele-maqe   sewde nane=ni'   gele
child=ACC=TOP   child=TOP   son=TOP   fear-CVB.CAUSAL old   person=TOP also

ai   are-Xe,   ta-maqe   asele-me   mutu=qu.
what   do-PFV   sit-CVB.CAUSAL behave-CVB.SIM be.able.to=IRR.NEG

'Their child got scared, and what did the old man (=the grandfather) do? He just saw it and couldn't do anything.'
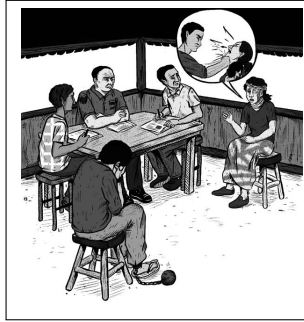
In court

(13) tukume da tere sideNde da e, alweN naneni' jiqu oXe na, jime da "si ane xexewe taNdemi." seme fyaNjime biXei.

tuku-me   *da* *tere* *sideN=de* *da* *e,* *alweN* *nane=ni'*
do.such-CVB.SIM FOC that while=DAT FOC FIL public person=TOP

ji=qu   *o-Xe*   *na,* *ji-me*   *da* *"si* *ane* *xexe=we*
come=IRR.NEG AUX-PFV Q come-CVB.SIM FOC 2.SG why wife=ACC

taNde-mi." *seme* *fyaNji-me*   *bi-Xe=i.*
hit-IRR.IND COMP fyaNji-CVB.SIM AUX-PFV=IND

'Then, at that time, an officer came to them, and asked "Why did you hit your wife?"'

(14) tukume da eme naneweni' beini' eraŋe nanei gisuNbe dyaNjimaqe da bode jimaqe xexeweni' taNdeXei seme,

tuku-me   *da* *eme* *nane=we=ni'*   *bei=ni'* *eraŋe*   *nane=i*
do.such-CVB.SIM FOC one person=ACC=TOP REFL=TOP like.this person=GEN

gisuN=be *dyaNji-maqe*   *da* *bo=de*   *ji-maqe*   *xexe=we=ni'*
word=ACC hear-CVB.CAUSAL FOC home=DAT come-CVB.CAUSAL wife=ACC=TOP

taNde-Xe=i *seme,*
hit-PFV=IND COMP

'Then, (the guy) told the officer that he heard something like this from a person and came back home and hit his wife.'

Taken by police

(15) alweN nanedeni' gisereXeŋe da alweN naneni' seNdame oXe na tukume da
      naneweni' jaweme yaweXe.

alweN   nane=de=ni'   gisere-Xe=ŋe   da   alweN   nane=ni'   seNda-me
public   person=DAT=TOP   speak-PFV=FN   FOC   public   person=TOP   release-CVB.SIM

o-Xe   na   tuku-me   da   nane=we=ni'   jawe-me   yawe-Xe.
AUX-PFV   Q   do.such-CVB.SIM   FOC   person=ACC=TOP   grab-CVB.SIM   leave-PFV

'After (the guy) told the officer that, how could the officer release him? The officer
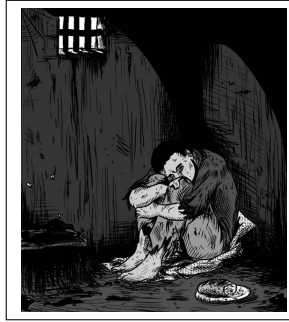arrested the guy and left with him.'

(16) jaweme Gamemaqe da bodeni' xexeweni' juseweni' wyarimaqe da yaweXe.

jawe-me   Game-maqe   da   bo=de=ni'   xexe=we=ni'   juse=we=ni'
grab-CVB.SIM   take-CVB.CAUSAL   FOC   home=DAT=TOP   wife=ACC=TOP   child=ACC=TOP

wyari-maqe   da   yawe-Xe.
throw.away-CVB.CAUSAL   FOC   leave-PFV

'(The officer) arrested (the guy) and left. Leaving the wife and the child.'

Receiving clothes

Alone

(17) jaweme geneme da tere laobode dyasimaqe da laobodeni' udu ani baNjemi baNjere
      sideNde da beiŋei uχuli' as...aseleXe acenequ baiteweni' beini' bodume, beiŋei
      xexedeni' beiŋei jusedeni' boi sewde guruN ame'deni' e, waqe baitewe icixyaXei
      seme boduqu oXe na.

> *jawe-me   gene-me   da   tere   laobo=de   dyasi-maqe   da*
> grab-ᴄᴠʙ.ꜱɪᴍ   go-ᴄᴠʙ.ꜱɪᴍ   ꜰᴏᴄ   that   jail=ᴅᴀᴛ   enter-ᴄᴠʙ.ᴄᴀᴜꜱᴀʟ   ꜰᴏᴄ

> *laobo=de=ni'   udu   ani   baNje-mi   baNje-re   sideN=de   da   beiŋe=i*
> jail=ᴅᴀᴛ=ᴛᴏᴘ   how.many   year   live-ɪʀʀ.ɪɴᴅ   live-ɪʀʀ   while=ᴅᴀᴛ   ꜰᴏᴄ   ʀᴇꜰʟ=ɢᴇɴ

> *uχuli'   asele-Xe   acene=qu   baite=we=ni'   bei=ni'   bodu-me,*
> all   behave-ᴘꜰᴠ   meet=ɪʀʀ.ɴᴇɢ   affair=ᴀᴄᴄ=ᴛᴏᴘ   ʀᴇꜰʟ=ᴛᴏᴘ   think-ᴄᴠʙ.ꜱɪᴍ

> *beiŋe=i   xexe=de=ni'   beiŋe=i   juse=de=ni'   bo=i   sewde   guruN*
> ʀᴇꜰʟ=ɢᴇɴ   wife=ᴅᴀᴛ=ᴛᴏᴘ   ʀᴇꜰʟ=ɢᴇɴ   child=ᴅᴀᴛ=ᴛᴏᴘ   home=ɢᴇɴ   old   people

> *ame'=de=ni'   e,   waqe   baite=we   icixya-Xe=i   seme   bodu=qu*
> father=ᴅᴀᴛ=ᴛᴏᴘ   ꜰɪʟ   not.right   affair=ᴀᴄᴄ   do-ᴘꜰᴠ=ɪɴᴅ   ᴄᴏᴍᴘ   think=ɪʀʀ.ɴᴇɢ

> *o-Xe   na.*
> ᴀᴜx-ᴘꜰᴠ   Q

'(The officer) arrested (the guy) and (he) entered the jail and however many years
he lived (in the jail), if he thinks about all his bad behavior, doesn't he think that
he did bad things to his wife, child, and the old father?'

Thinking about gaol

(18) boduXe, aseleXe, beyini' GuniXe faNceXe, tere sini' gele m ere, guruN bo naneni'
      faNcemaqe taNdequ na gele toqu na ere naneweni' si, e sase#belaqe beyiŋe xexewe
      sini' taNdeXei seme,

bodu-Xe,   asele-Xe,   beyi=ni' Guni-Xe faNce-Xe,   tere sini' gele m
think-PFV behave-PFV self=TOP think-PFV get.angry-PFV that EMPH also FIL

ere, guruN bo   nane=ni'   faNce-maqe   taNde=qu   na gele
this people home person=TOP get.angry-CVB.CAUSAL hit=IRR.NEG Q   also

to=qu   na ere nane=we=ni'   si,   e   sase#belaqe beyi=ŋe
scold=IRR.NEG Q   this person=ACC=TOP 2.SG FIL   stupid   REFL=FN

xexe=we sini' taNde-Xe=i seme,
wife=ACC EMPH   hit-PFV=IND COMP

'(He) thought, got angry at himself, and (was afraid that) the officer might get
angry, and insult and hit him for hitting his wife for a stupid reason.'

Thinking of home

(19) tukume da ere naneni' elei bodume elei acenequ beyiŋei acenequŋeweni' Gume
      bodumaqe da GuniXei sere.

tuku-me   da   ere nane=ni'   elei bodu-me   elei acene=qu
do.such-CVB.SIM FOC this person=TOP more think-CVB.SIM more meet=IRR.NEG

beyiŋe=i   acene=qu=ŋe=we=ni'   Gume   bodu-maqe   da
REFL=GEN   meet=IRR.NEG=FN=ACC=TOP   all   think-CVB.CAUSAL   FOC

Guni-Xe=i   se-re.
think-PFV=IND   say-IRR

'Then, this guy, the more he thought, the more he thought about all his faults, and wished.'

(20) "bi bode medame geneme, miN xexe jusemaqe χojui baNjeme oXe, ai seci gele bi miN xexewe taNdequ, miN jiwe χojui ujime. sewde guruNbe syaN giŋuleme," seme bodume biXei.

"bi   bo=de   meda-me   gene-me,   miN   xexe   juse=maqe
1.sg   home=DAT   go.back-CVB.SIM   go-CVB.SIM   1.SG.GEN   wife   child=INST

χoju=i   baNje-me   o-Xe,   ai   se-ci'   gele   bi   miN
good=ADVLZ   live-CVB.SIM   AUX-PFV   what   say-COND   also   1.SG   1.SG.GEN

xexe=we   taNde=qu,   miN   ji=we   χoju=i   uji-me.   sewde
wife=ACC   hit=IRR.NEG   1.SG=GEN   child=ACC   good=ADVLZ   feed-CVB.SIM   old

guruN=be   syaN   giŋule-me,"   seme   bodu-me   bi-Xe=i.
people=ACC   good   respect-CVB.SIM   COMP   think-CVB.SIM   AUX-PFV=IND

'He thought, "When I go back, I will live well with my wife and child. I will never hit my wife, and I will bring up my child, and be filial to the old man (=my father).'"

Standing in the light

(21) tukume da eme nineŋeni' ere arweNni' arweN naneni' gisereXei sere. "si boci' medame ome oXei." seme. tukume da seNdaXe biXei.

tuku-me   da   eme   nineŋe=ni'   ere   arweN=ni'   arweN   nane=ni'
do.such-CVB.SIM   FOC   one   day=TOP   this   public=TOP   public   person=TOP

gisere-Xe=i   se-re.   "si   bo=ci'   meda-me   o-me
speak-PFV=IND   say-IRR   2.SG   home=ALL   come.back-CVB.SIM   become-CVB.SIM

o-Xe=i."   *seme.*   *tuku-me*   *da*   *seNda-Xe*   *bi-Xe=i.*
AUX-PFV=IND   COMP   do.such-CVB.SIM   FOC   release-PFV   AUX-PFV=IND

'Then, one day, the (prison) office said, "Now you can go back home," and released him.'

(22)   tukume da yaciN boderi' cicimaqe eme medaN taXeŋe da tyulxu šuNni' tuduruN
syaN, afqani' tuduruN giliŋe giliŋe, tukume da boduXei sere. "eri' bi bode
medame da Gasqe eme buXei" sere, "bi medame geneme da ai seci gele omi.
boi guruNmaqe χojui baNjeme oXe" seme gisuN giseremi.

tuku-me   *da*   *yaciN*   *bo=deri'*   *cici-maqe*   *eme*   *medaN*
do.such-CVB.SIM   FOC   sky   home-ABL   go.out-CVB.CAUSAL   one   time

ta-Xe=ŋe   *da*   *tyulxu*   *šuN=ni'*   *tuduruN*   *syaN,*   *afqa=ni'*   *tuduruN*
see-PFV=FN   FOC   outside   sun=TOP   like.that   good   sky=TOP   like.that

giliŋe#giliŋe,   *tuku-me*   *da*   *bodu-Xe=i*   *se-re.*   *"eri'*   *bi*
glitterling   do.such-CVB.SIM   FOC   think-PFV=IND   say-IRR   INTJ   1.SG

*bo=de*   *meda-me*   *da*   *Gasqe*   *eme*   *bu-Xe=i"*   *se-re,*   *"bi*
home=DAT   come.back-CVB.SIM   FOC   reflection   one   give-PFV=IND   say-IRR   1.SG

meda-me   *gene-me*   *da*   *ai*   *se-ci'*   *gele*   *o-mi.*
come.back-CVB.SIM   go-CVB.SIM   FOC   what   say-COND   also   become-IRR.IND

bo=i   *guruN=maqe*   *χoju=i*   *baNje-me*   *o-Xe"*   *seme*
home=GEN   people-CVB.CAUSAL   well-ADVLZ   live-CVB.SIM   become-PFV   COMP

gisuN   *gisere-mi.*
word   speak-IRR.IND

'Then (he) came out from the dark room and saw, the sun is so beautiful, the sky is glittering. He thought and said, "Oh, I reflected well." "I will surely live a good life with my family."'
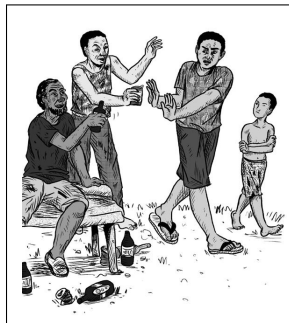
Refusing drink

(23)   tukume da bocini' medare sideNde da gele tere embade ayrki aymiXe nanese
jawemaqe da "mese eNbade ayrki aymi, ayrki aymeki" seme gisereXei sere.

tuku-me   da   bo=ci=ni'   meda-re   sideN=de   da   gele   tere
do.such-cvb.sim   foc   home=all=top   go.back-irr while=dat   foc   also   that

embade   ayrki   aymi-Xe   nane-se   jawe-maqe   da   "mese   embade
together   liquor   drink-pfv person-pl grab-cvb.causal foc   1.pl.incl together

ayrki   aymi   ayrki   ayme-ki,"   seme gisere-Xe=i   se-re.
liquor   drink.imp   liquor   drink-opt   comp speak-pfv=ind say-irr

'And when (he) go back to home, those who drank together caught him and said, "Let's drink together, drink together!"'

(24) tukume da naneni' gisereXe bi aymiqu oXe oXei, "bi geneme da geneme χojui miN xexe jusemaqe bo baNjeme oXe" seme gisuN giseremi.

tuku-me   da   nane=ni'   gisere-Xe bi   aymi=qu   o-Xe
do.such-cvb.sim   foc   person=top   speak-pfv 1.sg drink=irr.neg aux-pfv

o-Xe=i,   "bi   gene-me   da   gene-me   χoju=i   miN   xexe
aux-pfv=ind   1.sg   go-cvb.sim foc   go-cvb.sim well-advlz   1.sg wife

juse-maqe   bo   baNje-me   o-Xe"   seme gisuN gisere-mi.
child-inst   home live-cvb.sim aux-pfv   comp word   speak-irr.ind

'The guy said, "I won't drink now, I will live a good life with my wife and child."'
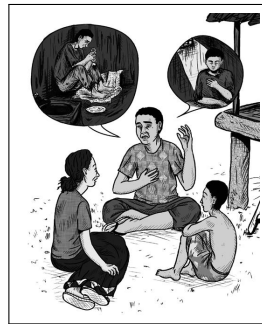
Family talking together

(25) tukume da bodeni' medame geneXeŋe da taXeŋe da e, beyiŋe ame'ni' gele aqu oXei sere, beyiŋei χaχejini' gele teske aNbu' oXei, xexeni' gele sewdeXei sere, syaŋeN finxe sere, tukume da beyini', bode temaqe da xexe jusedeni' gisereXei sere,

tuku-me   da   bo=de=ni'   meda-me   gene-Xe=ŋe da
do.such-cvb.sim   foc   home=dat=top   go.back-cvb.sim go-pfv=fn   foc

ta-Xe=ŋe   da   e,   beyi=ŋe   ame'=ni'   gele aqu   o-Xe=i
see-pfv=fn   foc   fil   refl=fn   father=top   also not.exist   become-pfv=ind

se-re,   beyi=ŋe=i   χaχeji=ni' gele teske   aNbu' o-Xe=i,
say-IRR   REFL=FN=GEN son=TOP   also like.that big   become-PFV=IND

xexe=ni'   gele sewde-Xe=i   se-re,   syaŋeN finxe se-re,
wife=TOP   also get.old-PFV=IND say-IRR, white   hair   say-IRR,

tuku-me   da beyi=ni', bo=de   te-maqe   da xexe
do.such-CVB.SIM FOC self=TOP, home=DAT sit-CVB.CAUSAL FOC wife

juse=de=ni'   gisere-Xe=i   se-re,
child=DAT=TOP speak-PFV=IND say-IRR

'Then he went back home. His father had passed away, his son had grown up, and
his wife had got old. She now had white hair. He sat in the house and said to his
wife and child,'

(26) "oXei bi law... tuduruN lawdu e GalwaN baite icixyaXei, medame jiXeŋe sewde,
sewde eyi' gele aqu oXe tukume sirame da χojui bo baNjeki so," gele xexedeni'
gisereXei sere. "si gele eme faNcere, mese ju nane χojui jiwe χuaseweki, χojui,
χuaje χualyasuN baNjeki," seme gisereXei sere.

"o-Xe=i   bi   law... tuduruN lawdu e   GalwaN baite
AUX-PFV=IND 1.SG much like.that much FIL   dirty   affair

icixya-Xe=i,   meda-me   ji-Xe=ŋe   sewde, sewde eyi'
conduct-PFV=IND, come.back-CVB.SIM come-PFV=FN old   old   grandfather

gele aqu   o-Xe   tuku-me   sirame   da χoju=i
also not.exist become-PFV   do.such-CVB.SIM in.the.future FOC well-ADVLZ

bo   baNje-ki   so," gele xexe=de=ni' gisere-Xe=i   se-re.   "si   gele
home live-OPT   2.PL also wife=DAT=TOP speak-PFV=IND say-IRR 2.SG also

eme   faNce-re,   mese   ju   nane   χoju=i   ji=we
PROH get.angry-IRR 1.PL.INCL two person well-ADVLZ child=ACC

χuase-we-ki,   χoju=i,   χuaje#χualyasuN baNje-ki," seme gisere-Xe=i
grow.up-CAUS-OPT   well-ADVLZ   in.harmony   live-OPT   COMP speak-PFV=IND

se-re.
say-IRR

"'All right, I did so many bad things. When I came back my old father had passed
away. So, let's live a good life in the future," and also said to the wife, "Please
don't get angry, let's bring up the child well, and live in harmony."'

(27) wajeXei.

waje-Xe=i.
waje-PFV=IND

'That's all'

Abbreviations

ᴀʙʟ	ablative	ɪɴᴄʟ	inclusive
ᴀᴄᴄ	accusative	ɪɴᴅ	indicative
ᴀᴅᴠʟᴢ	adverbalizer	ɪɴsᴛ	instrumental
ᴀʟʟ	allative	ɪɴᴛᴊ	interjection
ᴀᴜx	auxiliary	ɪʀʀ	irrealis
ᴄᴀᴜs	causative	ɴᴇɢ	negation
ᴄᴀᴜsᴀʟ	causal	ᴏᴘᴛ	optative
ᴄᴏᴍᴘ	complementizer	ᴘꜰᴠ	perfective
ᴄᴏɴᴅ	conditional	ᴘʟ	plural
ᴄᴠʙ	converb	ǫ	question
ᴅᴀᴛ	dative	ʀᴇꜰʟ	reflexive (pronoun)
ᴇᴍᴘʜ	emphatic	sᴇǫ	sequential
ᴇxᴄʟ	exclusive	sɢ	single
ꜰɪʟ	filler	sɪᴍ	simulteneous
ꜰɴ	functional noun	ᴛᴏᴘ	topic
ꜰᴏᴄ	focus	1	first person
ɢᴇɴ	genitive	2	second person
ɪᴍᴘ	imperative	3	third person
ɪᴍᴘꜰᴠ	imperfective		

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