

A Shinekhen Buryat Text: Foals with Golden Breast and Silver Buttocks

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This article undertakes a grammatical analysis of a text in Shinekhen Buryat, one of the Mongolic languages spoken by the Shinekhen Buryat people residing around the Shinekhen river basin in Hulunbuir city, Inner Mongolia, People's Republic of China. The text in this article is from a folktale called 'Foals with Golden Breast and Silver Buttocks', told by a Buryat woman, Ms. Dogarmaa, born in 1933.

Keywords: Shinekhen Buryat, Mongolic languages, folktale

1. Introduction
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1. Introduction

This article presents a folktale told by a Shinekhen Buryat speaker. Shinekhen Buryat is a dialect of Buryat. The Buryat people mostly live in Russia, whereas the Shinekhen Buryat people (Shi. *š'inexeen bor^ɨaad* or *š'inexeenei bor^ɨaad*) inhabit the region around the Shinekhen river basin in Hulunbuir (Chi. *hulunbeier*) city, Inner Mongolia, People's Republic of China. In addition to the Shinekhen Buryat people, Shinekhen Buryat is the mother tongue of the Khamnigan Evenki (Shi. *xamnigan* or *tuŋguus*) ethnic group from around the Shinekhen river basin. These two ethnic groups are descendants of refugees from the USSR. Regarding both the sociolinguistic and linguistic outlines of Shinekhen Buryat, please refer to Yamakoshi (2011).

The folktale presented in this article was told by a native speaker, Ms. Dogarmaa, born in 1933. Ms. Dogarmaa was a collector of several kinds of Buryat oral literature such as folktales, proverbs, riddles, and songs, all of which she memorised. A good storyteller, she told the author many folktales. Some of these have been published under Yamakoshi (2012, 2014, 2016, 2018) and are even available online; please refer to Yamakoshi (2020–). The recording was made in March 2005 at Ms. Dogarmaa's home in the Hailar district, Hulunbuir city.

The folktale presented here is called 'Foals with Golden Breast and Silver Buttocks'. The phrase 'with golden breast and silver buttocks' seems rather curious, but in the folk context, it is symbolic of something particularly valuable. This phrase can also be found in other folktales, such as 'A Boy with a Golden Breast and Silver Buttocks', presented in Yamakoshi (2012). While 'golden breast' and 'silver buttocks' conjure up some fascinating images, these words are used to describe only appear in the introductory part of the story



and do not play any important roles. If I were to give this story a title, it would be ‘A Servant Boy and his Magical Colt’, in reference to the real hero. The author is unsure as to why the Buryat gave this story such a peculiar title. However, this story is not unique in this regard; there are other folktales named after unimportant characters who only make a brief appearance in the introduction, such as ‘Old Man and Old Woman with a Spotted Cow’ (Yamakoshi 2012). Although these seem to be unsuitable as titles, these phrases may function as triggers, reminding storytellers of plots from their oral literature.

The text presented here will be included in the online database, [Yamakoshi \(2020–\)](#).

2. Text of Shinekhen Buryat: Foals with Golden Breast and Silver Buttocks

Date of recording: 2005-03-16

Place: Hailar district, Hulunbuir city, Inner Mongolia, People’s Republic of China

Speaker: Ms. Galzuud Ts. Dogarmaa (born in 1933)

Plot: Once upon a time, there was a king who had a special mare that bore a foal with a golden breast and silver buttocks every night. However, every single one of these foals was stolen by a fat black bird, motivating seven heroes and a servant boy to attempt to recover them. The servant boy killed the bird and was successful at recovering the foals. However, the seven heroes became jealous, and they buried him alive in a hole in the ground on their way back to their country. Back home, the seven heroes received honours because people believed that they were responsible for bringing the foals back. However, with the help of his colt, the servant boy returned. Finally, the seven heroes’ lie was exposed and the servant boy married the king’s daughter.

- (1) *zaa nege baha =le xaan-ai-x^j bai-g-aa =xa =daa, bajan*
 INTJ one also =only king-GEN-NMLZ be-E-PTCP.IPFV =FUT =SFP rich

ɔdɔɔ oxaan-gui =le.
 now intellect-NEG =only

‘There was once an incredibly rich king.’

- (2) *ɔɔn adoo-tai juu-tei.*
 many horse.herd-PROP what-PROP

‘He had many horses and goods.’

- (3) *tii-g-eed tereen sɔɔ nege guun-ei =le hun^e bur^j =le*
 do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV that into one mare-GEN =only night every =only

altan seez^j-tei munjen bugse-tei onaga tur-deg
 golden breast-PROP silver buttocks-PROP foal:INDF bear-PTCP.HBT

bai-g-aa ge-ne.
 be-E-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS

‘Among his horses, there was a mare who bore a foal with a golden breast and silver buttocks every night.’

- (4) *tii-g-eed tur-hen =ter =in ugui bɔɔl-s^j-xɔ.*
 do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV bear-PTCP.PFV =TERM =3:POSS no become-PFV-PTCP.FUT

‘However, every foal she bore disappeared.’

- (5) *xolgai ab-dag =jum =gu ugui =gu.*
 thief take-PTCP.HBT =MOD =Q no =Q
 ‘Was there a thief at work?’
- (6) *xaan-ai ixе ѿдѿ ner-tei ner-tei baatar-nood manaa-ls^j-aa(d)*
 king-GEN great now name-PROP name-PROP hero-PL watch-RCP-CVB.PFV
alda-s^jx^j-ѿд =le bai-dag bai-ba ge-ne.
 lose-PFV-CVB.PFV =only be-PTCP.HBT be-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘Decorated heroes stood guard but failed to protect the foals.’
- (7) *tii-xe-de =n tende =s^je nege s^jitaɣxai*
 do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS there =2SG:POSS one be.burned
s^jarga daaga-tai, s^jar hejii degel-tei zarsa xubuun
 whitish-yellow colt-PROP yellow felt costume-PROP servant boy
bai-xa.
 be-PTCP.FUT
 ‘There was a servant boy who dressed in yellow felted cloth and had an adust whitish-yellow-coloured colt.’
- (8) *tere xubuun bii nege man-aad uz-xe =b ge-be*
 that boy 1SG:NOM one watch-CVB.PFV see-PTCP.FUT =1SG say.that-IND.PST
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘The boy said, “I will try standing guard”.’
- (9) *tii-xe-de =n xaan xel-hen.*
 do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS king:NOM tell-PTCP.PFV
 ‘Then, the king said’,
- (10) *zaa, s^jii id =dee.*
 INTJ 2SG:NOM queer =SFP
 ‘“You are silly!”’
- (11) *s^jutger-eer s^jad-ba g-eegs^je baatar-nood-ai man-aad*
 ghost-INS be.able.to-IND.PST say.that-PTCP.AGT hero-PL-GEN watch-CVB.PFV
alda-xa =jum.
 lose-PTCP.FUT =MOD
 ‘“Heroes who can beat ghosts failed to stand guard”.’
- (12) *s^jii moo id =dee.*
 2SG:NOM bad queer =SFP
 ‘“You are so silly!”’
- (13) *jaa-xa xe =m =s^je ge-be.*
 do.what-PTCP.FUT who =Q =2SG say.that-IND.PST
 ‘“What will you be able to do?” he asked’. (lit. ‘“Who to do what are you?” he said’.)

- (14) *ugui, man-aad uz-huu =le =dee,*
no watch-CVB.PFV see-IND.FUT =only =SFP
‘‘I would like to try keeping watch’’.’
- (15) *g-eed goi-g-aad bai-xa-da =n xaan-ai tere*
say.that-CVB.PFV request-E-CVB.PFV be-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS king-GEN that
basgan =in xel-ee ge-ne.
daughter =3:POSS tell-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
‘The boy made this request, following which the king’s daughter, the princess, told the king.’
- (16) *zaa, ere xun-ei zorig buu mɔxɔɔ-gtii =daa.*
INTJ man person-GEN courage:INDF PROH weaken-2PL.OPT =SFP
‘‘You shouldn’t disparage his courage’’.’
- (17) *man-aad uz-ee =haa uz-eg =le =dee, ge-be*
watch-CVB.PFV see-PTCP.IPFV =COND see-3.OPT =only =SFP say.that-IND.PST
ge-ne.
say.that-IND.PRS
‘‘If he wishes to try, you should allow him to do so’’, she said.’
- (18) *zaa, tii-g-ee =haa tiig-eg =le =dee,*
INTJ do.like.that-E-PTCP.IPFV =COND do.like.that-3.OPT =only =SFP
g-eed =le tere xubuun =sʲe nege hunʲe =le mana-ba
say.that-CVB.PFV =only that boy =also one night =only watch-IND.PST
=xa =daa.
=FUT =SFP
‘‘I see. If you say so, I will allow him to do this’’, the king said, and the boy stood guard one night.’
- (19) *man-aad =le a-xa-da ende zuun xɔin-ɔhɔɔ nege mantaj*
watch-CVB.PFV =only be-PTCP.FUT-DAT here east north-ABL one fat
xar sʲoboon ir-eed =le tere tur-hen onaga-jii =n
black bird:NOM come-CVB.PFV =only that bear-PTCP.PFV foal-ACC =3:POSS
altan seezʲ-tei mujgen bugse-tei onaga-jii =n ab-aad
golden breast-PROP silver buttocks-PROP foal-ACC =3:POSS take-CVB.PFV
jab-sʲ-ɔɔ ge-ne.
GO-PFV-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
‘When he was standing guard, a fat black bird flew in from the northeast,¹ stole the foal with a golden breast and silver buttocks, and escaped.’

¹ *zuun xɔito zug* ‘Northeast’ is believed to be an unlucky direction by the Buryat people. In East Asia, it was commonly believed that the northeast was the route to hell, through which ghosts or monsters travelled. For example, the Japanese sometimes refer to the northeast direction as *kimon* (鬼門) which means ‘the gate of the ogre’. This idea is based on *Wuxing* (五行) in Chinese, or *Five Phrases*, which is a fivefold conceptual scheme. On *kimon*, see Mizuno (2008).

- (20) *tii-g-eed tere nugøø dǎᠯᠠᠨ baatar-nood =s^je*
do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV that above.mentioned seven hero-PL =also
manaan-da gar-xa-da ont-aad =le ɔɔidᠠᠶ enee-jii
guard-DAT go.out-PTCP.FUT-DAT sleep-CVB.PFV =only perfectly this-ACC
=n med-deg-gui bai-g-aa.
=3:POSS know-PTCP.HBT-NEG be-E-PTCP.IPFV
'The seven heroes who had stood guard before had not noticed the bird since they had been sleeping.'
- (21) *ii-g-eed ene zarsa xubuun enee-jii =n med-ee.*
do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV this servant boy this-ACC =3:POSS know-PTCP.IPFV
'Thus, the servant boy was the only one to notice it.'
- (22) *ᠠᠳᠤ zuun xᠠitᠤ zug-ehēe ene mantaj s^joboᠨ ir-ēed onaga-jii*
now east north direction-ABL this fat bird come-CVB.PFV foal-ACC
=tnai ab-aad-s^jx^j-ᠠᠳᠤ ene.
=2PL take-CVB.PFV-PFV-PTCP.IPFV this
'The fat bird came from the northeast and robbed your foal.'
- (23) *zaa, ii-g-ēed =le xaan =s^je ᠠᠳᠤ jaa-g-aa bolai*
INTJ do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV =only king =also now do.what-E-PTCP.IPFV great
xubuun bai-ba g-ees^je =b.
boy:NOM be-IND.PST say.that-PTCP.AGT =Q
'The king said, "What a great boy!"'
- (24) *zaa, berxe =s^je =daa.*
INTJ great =2SG =SFP
'"Yes, you are great".'
- (25) *tii-g-ēed =le zuun xᠠitᠤ zug uruu =le tere ᠠᠳᠠᠨ*
do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV =only east north direction toward =only that many
ᠠᠳᠠᠨ onaga-jii xoloo-g-aa tere =s^jni.
many foal-ACC get-E-PTCP.IPFV that =2SG:POSS
'Then, he (the boy) decided to go towards the northeast to retrieve the stolen foals.'
- (26) *tere onaga-j-aa nex-ee =n bᠠᠯ-xᠠᠵ bᠠᠯ-ᠪᠠ*
that foal-ACC-REFL chase-PTCP.IPFV =3:POSS become-PTCP.FUT become-IND.PST
=daa.
=SFP
'He decided to chase the foals.'
- (27) *zaa dᠠᠯᠠᠨ baatar =le ᠠᠳᠤ xojigl-aad =le ixe gᠠᠵ-ᠴᠠᠷ*
INTJ seven hero:NOM =only now armor-CVB.PFV =only great beautiful-INS
=le nex-e-xe bᠠᠯ-ᠵ^jai-na =daa.
=only chase-PTCP.FUT become-PROG-IND.PRS =SFP
'The seven heroes also prepared for the chase and put on their beautiful armour.'

- (28) *ɔdɔɔ nom haadag-tai ɔdɔɔ xɔŋⁱ xɔŋⁱga al-aa =le xunehe*
 now bow quiver-PROP now sheep lamb:INDF kill-PTCP.IPFV =only food
jum beldx-eed =le nexex-zⁱe ɔŋⁱ-nɔ, zuun
 thing:INDF prepare-CVB.PFV =only chase-PTCP.FUT reach-IND.PRS east
xɔisⁱ-ɔɔ.
 north-REFL
 ‘They readied their bows and quivers and killed sheep and lamb for food in preparation of going northeast in search of the foals.’
- (29) *tii-xe-de =n tere sⁱar hejii degel-tei sⁱitaŋxai*
 do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS that yellow felt costume-PROP be.burned
sⁱarga daaga-tai =ni bii baha ɔŋⁱ-ɔld-xɔ
 whitish-yellow colt-PROP =3:POSS 1SG:NOM also reach-RCP-PTCP.FUT
=m ge-be ge-ne.
 =1SG:POSS say.that-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘Then the boy who dressed in yellow felted cloth and had an adust whitish-yellow-coloured colt said again, “I will also go with them”.’
- (30) *ee, sⁱii sⁱutger-eer ux-xe =sⁱ.*
 INTJ 2SG:NOM ghost-INS die-PTCP.FUT =2SG
 ‘“Oh-oh, you will be killed by a ghost”.’
- (31) *zandaa ux-xe =sⁱe ge-zⁱe jaa-xa =sⁱe g-eesⁱe*
 like.that die-PTCP.IPFV =2SG say.that-CVB.IPFV do.what =also say.that-PTCP.AGT
=b =dee ge-be ge-ne.
 =Q =SFP say.that-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘“You will die; what will you do?” the king asked.’
- (32) *tii-xe-de =n basgan =in baha =le*
 do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS daughter:NOM =3:POSS also =only
xel-be ge-ne.
 tell-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘Again his daughter spoke to him.’
- (33) *ugui ere xun-ei zɔrig buu mɔxɔɔ-gtii.*
 no man person-GEN courage:NOM PROH weaken-2PL.OPT
 ‘“You shouldn’t disparage his courage”.’
- (34) *jab-aa =haa jab ge-ne =dee ge-be*
 go-PTCP.IPFV =COND go(2SG.OPT) say.that-IND.PRS =SFP say.that-IND.PST
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘“You should say, ‘If you wish to go, you may go’,” she said.’
- (35) *zaa, sⁱeed jab-aa =haa jab-ag g-eed =le sⁱitaŋxai*
 INTJ then go-PTCP.IPFV =COND go-3:OPT say.that-CVB.PFV =only be.burned

- š'arga daaga-j-aa on-aad š'ar hejii degel-tei, nege*
whitish-yellow colt-ACC-REFL ride-CVB.PFV yellow felt costume-PROP one
tuleg al-ž'a xunehe xe-ž'e ug-θθ.
lamb.in.the.second.year:INDF kill-CVB.IPFV food:INDF make-CVB.IPFV give-PTCP.IPFV
'The king told the servant that he could go. Then, the servant boy dressed in
yellow felted cloth rode on his adust whitish-yellow-coloured colt and killed a
two-year-old sheep for food.'
- (36) *ii-g-eed =le dɔlɔɔn baatar-ii dax-aad =le jab-ba*
do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV =only seven hero-ACC follow-CVB.PFV =only go-IND.PST
=jum bai-na, tere =š'ni.
=MOD be-IND.PRS that =2SG:POSS
'In this way, he followed the seven heroes.'
- (37) *š'eed jab jab-ahaar zuun xɔitɔ zug-ii bar^š-aad =le jab*
then go go-CVB.DUR east north direction-ACC catch-CVB.PFV =only go
jab-ahaar bai-tar-aa =le, nege xar-xa-da =n,
go-CVB.DUR be-CVB.TERM-REFL =only one see-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS
'After going northeast for a very long time, they suddenly found'
- (38) *tere altan seežⁱ-tei muŋgen bugse-tei onagan =in бага nege*
that golden breast-PROP silver buttocks-PROP foal =3:POSS little one
hureg adoon bɔl-š'ɔ-nɔ arab garan ɔɔidɔɔ tiim.
herd horse.herd become-PFV-IND.PRS ten over perfectly like.that
'the foals with golden breast and silver buttocks herded together; there were more
than 10 foals.'
- (39) *altan seežⁱ-tei muŋgen bugse-tei adoohan jab-ž'ai-na*
golden breast-PROP silver buttocks-PROP horse.herd:NOM go-PROG-IND.PRS
ge-ne.
say.that-IND.PRS
'They had come upon the herd of horses with golden breast and silver buttocks.'
- (40) *tii-g-eed =le altan otxool-ta-jaa muŋgen xotg-ahaa nege*
do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV =only golden ladle-PROP-REFL silver knife-ABL one
moo bɔribgɔr xɔmbɔ ubgen ohal-ž'a bai-na
bad gnarled tapered.off old.man:NOM water-CVB.IPFV be-IND.PRS
ge-ne, tere onaga-jii, adoo-jii =n.
say.that-IND.PRS that foal-ACC horse.herd-ACC =3:POSS
'Then a gnarled old man with a golden ladle and a silver knife gave water to the
horses, that is to say, to the foals.'
- (41) *tii-xe =n xaz^šood =in muŋgen serge*
do.like.that-PTCP.FUT =3:POSS side =3:POSS silver post.for.hitching.horse
deer nege mantaj xar š'boon hoo-ž'a hoo-na ge-ne.
over one fat black bird:NOM sit-CVB.IPFV sit-IND.PRS say.that-IND.PRS

‘Beside him was a fat black bird atop a silver hitching post.’

- (42) *ii-xe-de* =*n* *ɔɔɔ* *ene* *ʃ'oboo-jii* *al-aa-gui* =*haa*
do.like.this-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS now this bird-ACC kill-PTCP.IPFV-NEG =COND

ene adoo ab-z'a ʃ'ad-xa-gui.
this horse.herd:INDF take-CVB.IPFV be.able.to-PTCP.FUT-NEG

‘We must kill the bird to get back the horses.’

- (43) *ʃ'eed* =*le* *dɔɔɔn* *baatar-nood* *xarba-xa-da* =*le* *ugui*
then =only seven hero-PL:NOM shot.an.arrow-PTCP.FUT-DAT =only no

ge-ne =*le* =*dee*, *ɔɔidɔɔ.*
say.that-IND.PRS =only =SFP perfectly

‘The seven heroes shot their arrows but failed to hit the bird.’

- (44) *ude-de* *al-ii* =*n* *xalta* *xolta* *surgee-g-eed* =*le* *ɔɔi-dɔ*
noon-DAT either-ACC =3:POSS ONM ONM shot-E-CVB.PFV =only late-DAT

ɔn-nɔ-gui ge-ne.
hit-IND.PRS-NEG say.that-IND.PRS

‘They could hit perfectly in the daytime, but failed at night.’

- (45) *ii-xe-de* =*le* *tere* *moo* *xubuun* *zarsa* *xubuun*
do.like.this-PTCP.FUT-DAT =only that bad boy servant boy:NOM

xarba-xa eelz'en bɔɔl-bɔ ge-ne.
shot.an.arrow-PTCP.FUT turn become-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS

‘Then it was the turn of that bad boy, the servant boy, to shoot.’

- (46) *tere* *xarba-xa-da* =*le* *ʃ'oboo-jii* =*ʃ'ni* *ux-ter*
that:NOM shot.an.arrow-PTCP.FUT-DAT =only bird-ACC =2SG:POSS die-CVB.TERM

xarb-aa =*xa-d-aa* *al-aa* *ɔɔidɔɔ* *nege-de* =*le*
shot.an.arrow-PTCP.IPFV =FUT-DAT-REFL kill-PTCP.IPFV perfectly one-DAT =only

ii-g-eed.
do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV

‘He shot an arrow; it hit its mark and killed the bird.’

- (47) *tii-g-eed* =*le* *tede* =*ʃ'e* *tere* *ɔɔn* *adoo-g-aa*
do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV =only 3PL:NOM =2SG:POSS that many horse.herd-E-REFL

ab-aad =*le* *bos-ba* =*jum* *bai-na.*
take-CVB.PFV =only go.home-IND.PST =MOD be-IND.PRS

‘Then they decided to bring the horses back to their country.’

- (48) *baha* *tede* =*ʃ'e* *ɔɔn* *xɔnɔg-ɔi* *ajan* *xe-z'e*
also 3PL:NOM =2SG:POSS many overnight-GEN journey do-CVB.IPFV

xur-ee =*jum* =*bud* =*dee.*
reach-PTCP.IPFV =MOD =SFP =SFP

‘They started the long journey back.’

- (49) *altan seez^ʃ-tei mujgen bugse-tei adoo-g-aa nege hureg*
golden breast-PROP silver buttocks-PROP horse.herd-E-REFL one herd:INDF
tuu-g-eed =le bosa-z^ʃa jab-na.
collect-E-CVB.PFV =only go.home-CVB.IPFV go-IND.PRS
‘They brought all the horses with a golden breast and silver buttocks.’
- (50) *ʃeed =le bosa-z^ʃa jab-tar-aa tede dɔlɔɔn baatar*
then =only go.home-CVB.IPFV go-CVB.TERM-REFL 3PL:NOM seven hero:NOM
=s^ʃe baha moo hanaa gar-ga-ba.
=also also bad idea go.OUT-CAUS-IND.PST
‘On their way back to their country, the seven heroes hit upon a “bad” idea.’
- (51) *ene moo xubuun =le ene tɔm s^ʃoboo al-han al-z^ʃa*
this bad boy:NOM =only this big bird:INDF kill-PTCP.PFV kill-CVB.IPFV
adool ab-han gab^ʃjaa-tai bɔl-xɔ =n bai-na.
horse.herd:INDF take-PTCP.PFV honor-PROP become-PTCP.FUT =3:POSS be-IND.PRS
‘Now, only this bad boy will achieve fame since he killed the bird and got back the horses.’
- (52) *maand-ahaa uluu.*
1PL-ABL more
‘He will be more famous than us.’
- (53) *eneen-ii nege arga =le s^ʃiidberle-ne.*
this-GEN one way:INDF =only decide-IND.PRS
‘Then they made a decision.’
- (54) *ii-g-ee =le nege tere ger-tei juu-tei jab-dag*
do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV =only one that house-PROP what-PROP go-PTCP.HBT
=jum =bud =dee, maixan-tai =jum =gu.
=MOD =SFP =SFP tent-PROP =MOD =Q
‘They were going back with a yurt.’
- (55) *ii-g-eed nuxe malt-aa =le, tere maixan-da*
do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV hole:INDF dig-PTCP.IPFV =only that tent-DAT
sɔɔ-g-ɔɔ.
into-E-REFL
‘They dug a pit under the yurt.’
- (56) *deere =n iim xɔb^ʃood d^ʃebt-eed ii-g-eed zoor-aa*
over =3:POSS such carpet:INDF lay-CVB.PFV do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV during-REFL
nairla-xa, id^ʃeel-xe bɔl-ɔɔ =jum =bud =dee.
have.a.feast-PTCP.FUT eat-PTCP.FUT become-PTCP.IPFV =MOD =SFP =SFP
‘They laid a carpet over the pit and started a feast.’
- (57) *tii-g-eed =le tere moo zarsa xubuun-ei ir-xe-de*
do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV =only that bad servant boy-GEN come-PTCP.FUT-DAT
s^ʃii dees^ʃ-ee dees^ʃ-ee hoo.
2SG:NOM upper-REFL upper-REFL sit(2SG.OPT)

‘When the servant boy came, they told him to sit in the seat of honour.’

- (58) *ɔdɔɔ xar sʰoboo al-han gabʰjaa-tai =xa-da deere enee-xen-de*
 now black bird:INDF kill-PTCP.PFV HONOR-PROP =FUT-DAT OVER this-DMN-DAT
hoo, g-eed =le ɔlbɔg xɔbʰood deere ɔsʰ-ɔɔd
 sit (2SG.OPT) say.that-CVB.PFV =only mat carpet over reach-CVB.PFV
tulxʰ-eed =le hoo-lga-xa ge-xe-de =n tere =le
 push-CVB.PFV =only sit-CAUS-PTCP.FUT say.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS that =only
gunzgii ge-gʰe =n nux-eer ona-sʰ-ba =xa =daa, tere
 deep say.that-NMLZ =3:POSS hole-INS fall-PFV-IND.PST =FUT =SFP that
moo xubuun.
 bad boy:NOM

‘They said to him, “Sit in the seat of honour! You deserve it because you killed the black bird. Sit here!” As the boy moved towards the carpet, he fell into the deep pit.’

- (59) *aa, tii-xe-de =n dɔlɔɔn baatar =sʰni*
 INTJ do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS seven hero:NOM =2SG:POSS
ɔrxʰ-ɔɔd =le, aa, deere =n baa-g-aa
 abandon-CVB.PFV =only INTJ over =3:POSS defecate-E-PTCP.IPFV
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS

‘The seven heroes left him in the pit and defaecated over him.’

- (60) *dɔlɔlɔol-aa baa-g-aa ge-ne.*
 with.seven-REFL shit-E-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘All seven heroes defaecated on him.’

- (61) *ʰeed =le baa-xa burʰ tere xubuun =sʰe dɔr-ɔhɔɔ*
 then =only shit-PTCP.IPFV every that boy:NOM =2SG:POSS under-ABL
ii-ge-zʰe nege zʰɔlɔɔ-g-ɔi tɔxɔi-g-ɔɔr arah-iiji =n
 do.like.this-CVB.IPFV one reins-E-GEN dent-E-INS skin-ACC =3:POSS
ii-ge-zʰe esxʰe-zʰe ab-aad =le bai-g-aa
 do.like.this-CVB.IPFV cut-CVB.IPFV take-CVB.PFV =only be-E-PTCP.IPFV
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS

‘As the heroes were defaecating on him, the boy scratched their buttocks with his reins.’

- (62) *dɔlɔlɔoolan-ahaa =n ab-aa,*
 with.seven-ABL =3:POSS take-PTCP.IPFV
 ‘The boy scratched all the seven heroes at the buttocks.’

- (63) *bugs-ein arahan-ahaa ii-g-eed, zʰɔlɔɔ.*
 buttocks-GEN skin-ABL do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV reins
 ‘Their buttocks, in this way, with his reins.’

- (64) *tii-xe-de* =*n* *tere dɔlɔɔn baatar xəθ-eld-ez^jai-na.*
do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS that seven hero:NOM talk-RCP-PROG-IND.PRS
'Then the seven heroes discussed.'
- (65) *jaa-g-aa mooxai xər-tɔi =b.*
do.what-E-PTCP.IPFV dirty poison-PROP =Q
'How poisonous you are!'
- (66) *zorig-ogs^jɔ bugse xolta xəθ-z^je bai-na, zorig*
courage-NMLZ buttocks:INDF ONM chase-CVB.IPFV be-IND.PRS courage:NOM
=s^jni g-eed xaraa-g-aad =le deere =n
=2SG:POSS say.that-CVB.PFV abuse-E-CVB.PFV =only over =3:POSS
baa-g-aad =le adoo-g-aa ab-aad =le bos-aa
shit-E-CVB.PFV =only horse.herd-E-REFL take-CVB.PFV =only go.home-PTCP.IPFV
=jum bai-na =daa, tede =s^jni.
=MOD be-IND.PRS =SFP 3PL:NOM =2SG:POSS
“‘You are a bad boy who scratched our buttocks”, they abused him and, after defaecating on him some more, they returned to their country with the horses.’
- (67) *tii-g-eed =le tere =s^je nuxen-ei ajool-ta*
do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV =only 3SG:NOM =2SG:POSS hole-GEN danger-DAT
ɔrs^j-hɔn ɔdɔɔ bai-z^jai-na, tere =s^je.
exist-PTCP.PFV NOW be-PROG-IND.PRS 3SG:NOM =2SG:POSS
'The boy remained in the pit.'
- (68) *tii-g-eed tere s^jitaɣxai s^jarga daagan =in baha*
do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV that be.burned whitish-yellow colt:NOM =3:POSS also
ixe xobirgaan mɔrin, tere s^jarga daagan =in
great incarnation horse that whitish-yellow colt:NOM =3:POSS
ɔs^j-z^jo tere xaan-ai basgan-da xel-ee.
reach-CVB.IPFV that king-GEN daughter-DAT tell-PTCP.IPFV
'Then his adust whitish-yellow-coloured colt, which was a great incarnation of God, went to the princess to tell her what had happened.'
- (69) *ene iim jum bɔl-ɔɔ.*
this:NOM like.this thing become-PTCP.IPFV
“‘This is what has happened’”.
- (70) *tere xubuun =le nuxen sɔɔ on-aad bai-na.*
that boy:NOM =only hole into fall-CVB.PFV be-IND.PRS
“‘The boy is in the pit’”.
- (71) *tii-xe =n xaan-ai basgan, tere =s^jni*
do.like.that-PTCP.FUT =3:POSS king-GEN daughter:NOM 3SG:NOM =2SG:POSS
goj s^jarga mɔrin bɔl-ɔɔ =xɔ-dɔ goj, tere
beautiful whitish-yellow horse:NOM become-PTCP.IPFV =FUT-DAT beautiful that

- mɔɔʃ* *on-aad* =*le* *gui-lge-zʰe* *ir-eed* =*le*, *orta*
horse:INDF ride-CVB.PFV =only run-CAUS-CVB.IPFV come-CVB.PFV =only long
- gezge-tei* =*jum* =*bud* =*dee*.
plaited.hair-PROP =MOD =SFP =SFP
- ‘Then the princess rode on a beautiful whitish-yellow horse, into which the servant boy’s colt transformed, and arrived at the hole. She had long plaited hair.’
- (72) *gezge-j-ee* *nuxen oroo tabʰ-aa* *ge-ne*.
plaited.hair-ACC-REFL hole DIR set-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
‘She lowered her plaited hair into the pit.’
- (73) *tii-xe* =*n* *tere gezg-ehee* =*n* *dax-aad* *tere*
do.like.that-PTCP.FUT =3:POSS that plaited.hair-ABL =3:POSS follow-CVB.PFV that
- xubuun gar-aad* *nuxen-ehee gar-aad* *xur-zʰe*
boy:NOM go.OUT-CVB.PFV hole-ABL go.OUT-CVB.PFV reach-CVB.IPFV
- ir-b-aa*.
come-IND.PST-EMPH
- ‘The boy grabbed her plaited hair and climbed out of the pit.’
- (74) *zaa, ii-g-ee* =*le* *xaan-ai basgan-tai, tere sʰarga*
INTJ do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV =only king-GEN daughter-COM that whitish-yellow
- mɔɔrin-dɔ oha ondald-aad* =*le* *xaan-ai-da tabʰ-zʰa*
horse-DAT water:INDF water-CVB.PFV =only king-GEN-DAT set-CVB.IPFV
- ɔʃʰ-bɔ* =*xɔ-dɔ, xɔin-ɔhɔɔ ende*.
reach-IND.PST =FUT-DAT north-ABL here
- ‘Then the princess and the boy gave the colt some water and set off from the north towards the king.’
- (75) *ɔʃʰ-xɔ-dɔ* =*n* *dɔlɔɔn baatar ɔdɔɔ adoo*
reach-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS seven hero:NOM now horse.herd:INDF
- ɔl-zʰɔ* *ire-hen, ixē nair bɔl-zʰai-na*
find-CVB.IPFV come-PTCP.PFV great feast:NOM become-PROG-IND.PRS
- ge-n-ee*.
say.that-IND.PRS-EMPH
- ‘When they arrived at the palace, they found themselves in the midst of a great feast in honour of the seven heroes for retrieving the horses.’
- (76) *dɔlɔɔn baatar* =*sʰe* *ixē* =*le* *xundel-uul-zʰa* *bai-na*
seven hero:NOM =2SG:POSS great =only entertain-CAUS-CVB.IPFV be-IND.PRS
- ge-ne*.
say.that-IND.PRS
- ‘The seven heroes were given a warm reception.’
- (77) *oxaan-gui jum bɔl-zʰɔ* *bai-na ge-ne*.
intellect-NEG thing:NOM become-CVB.IPFV be-IND.PRS say.that-IND.PRS
- ‘It was an incredible feast.’

- (78) *tii-g-eed* *ɔsʲ-ɔɔd* *tere* *xaan-ai* *basgan* *ɔdɔɔ*
do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV reach-CVB.PFV that king-GEN daughter:NOM now

xel-ee =*jum* =*bud* =*dee*.
tell-PTCP.IPFV =MOD =SFP =SFP
‘Then the princess went there and said.’
- (79) *ene* *xubuu-jii* =*n* *ene* *xubuun* =*le* *ʃ’oboo* *xarba-zʲa*
this boy-ACC =3:POSS this boy:NOM =only bird:INDF shot.an.ARTOW-CVB.IPFV

al-han *bai-g-aa*.
kill-PTCP.PFV be-E-PTCP.IPFV
‘‘This boy, and only this boy, was the one to shoot and kill the bird’’.
- (80) *ii-g-eed* *adoo-g-aa* *ab-aa*.
do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV horse.herd-E-REFL take-PTCP.IPFV
‘‘In this way, he recovered the horses’’.
- (81) *ir-zʲe* *jab-tara* *ene* *dɔlɔɔn* *baatar* *ii-g-eed*
come-CVB.IPFV go-CVB.TERM this seven hero:NOM do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV

nuxen-de *onagaa-g-aad* *ɔrxʲ-hɔn* *bai-ba* *ge-zʲe*, *xaan*
hole-DAT drop-E-CVB.PFV abandon-PTCP.PFV be-IND.PST say.that-CVB.IPFV king

aba-d-aa *xel-ee* =*xe-de*, *ii-g-eed* *jamar*
father-DAT-REFL tell-PTCP.IPFV =FUT-DAT do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV how

gersʲe *bai-xa* =*b* *ge-be* *ge-ne*.
evidence:NOM be-PTCP.FUT =Q say.that-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS
‘‘After the horses had been recovered, the seven heroes dropped him into a pit and abandoned him’’, she told the king. The king asked the boy, ‘‘Do you have any evidence that the seven heroes dropped you into the pit?’’
- (82) *tere* *xubuun-ahaa* *ʃ’amai* *nuxen-de* *onag-aa*.
that boy-ABL 2SG:ACC hole-DAT drop-PTCP.IPFV
‘(The king asked) To him, ‘‘(You do not have the evidence that) they dropped you into the pit’’.’
- (83) *ugui*, *bugse-de* =*n* *uz-ee* =*haa* =*tnai* *bugs-ehēe* *negen*
no buttocks-DAT =3:POSS see-PTCP.IPFV =COND =2PL buttocks-ABL one

= *in* *negen-ei* *zʲɔlɔɔ* *abtar-zʲa* *ab-han* *bai-xa* =*b*
=3:POSS one-GEN reins:NOM take.off-CVB.IPFV take-PTCP.PFV be-PTCP.FUT =1SG

xara-gtii =*ʃ’*.
see-2PL.OPT =2SG
‘‘Yes! if you check the heroes’ buttocks, you will find their buttocks scratched by the reins. Please take a look!’’
- (84) *xara-n* *ge-hen* *neeree* *abtar-zʲa* *ab-han* *bai-ba*
see-CVB.MOD say.that-PTCP.PFV surely take.off-CVB.IPFV take-PTCP.PFV be-IND.PST

ge-ne.
say.that-IND.PRS

‘The king checked and found their buttocks scratched.’

- (85) *dələloolan-ai bugse-te bai-na ge-ne, zʲələw ug-hen.*
 with.seven-GEN buttocks-DAT be-IND.PRS say.that-IND.PRS reins:INDF give-PTCP.PFV
 ‘All the seven heroes’ buttocks were cut off by the reins.’

- (86) *ii-g-ee =le dələw baatar =sʲe ixe xəisʲ-əw*
 do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV =only seven hero:NOM =2SG:POSS great back-REFL
gar-ba =xa =daa.
 go.out-IND.PST =FUT =SFP
 ‘In this way, the seven heroes found themselves in a bad position.’

- (87) *xodl-aar xel-hen.*
 lie-INS tell-PTCP.PFV
 ‘They had told a lie.’

- (88) *zʲiqxen abar-han tere xubuu-jii nuxen-de onag-aa-han moo*
 really save-PTCP.PFV that boy-ACC hole-DAT drop-caus-PTCP.PFV bad
bəl-bə.
 become-IND.PST
 ‘They dropped the boy who was the real saviour into the pit.’

- (89) *xəisʲ-əw gar-ba.*
 back-REFL go.out-IND.PST
 ‘They became in a bad position.’

- (90) *tere xubuun ədəw ixe gabʲjaa-tai bəl-bə =jum =bud =dee.*
 that boy:NOM now great honor-prop become-IND.PST =MOD =SFP =SFP
 ‘The boy now achieved great fame.’

- (91) *adoo əl-zʲəw ab-han ene ixe.*
 horse.herd:INDF find-CVB.IPFV take-PTCP.PFV this great
 ‘This great boy got back the horses.’

- (92) *tii-g-eed =le huul-de =n tere =sʲni tiim*
 do.like.that-E-CVB.PFV =only last-DAT =3:POSS 3SG:NOM =2SG:POSS like.that
sʲar hejii degel-tei sʲitaɣxai sʲarga daaga-tai =sʲe
 yellow felt costume-prop be.burned whitish-yellow colt-prop =2SG:POSS
xubuun bisʲe bai-g-aa =xa =daa, ixe xobirgaan.
 boy:NOM not be-E-PTCP.IPFV =FUT =DAT great incarnation
 ‘It was made clear that the boy dressed in yellow felted cloth and his adust
 whitish-yellow-coloured colt were both the great incarnation of God. He was not
 a boy.’

- (93) *morin =in =sʲe xobirgaan.*
 horse:NOM =3:POSS =also incarnation
 ‘His horse is also an incarnation of God.’

- (94) *xun-ei xele med-deg.*
 person-GEN language:INDF know-PTCP.HBT
 ‘He understands what people are saying.’
- (95) *øøŕ-øø =s^je ixe gəj seber xubuun bai-han.*
 self-REFL =also great beautiful clean boy:NOM be-PTCP.PFV
 ‘The boy was also very good looking.’
- (96) *ii-g-eed huul-de xaan-ai xur^jgen bəl-ɔɔd =le*
 do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV last-DAT king-GEN bridegroom:NOM become-CVB.PFV =only
amban-d-aa haiخان z^jarg-aa =xa =daa.
 peace-DAT-REFL good be.pleased-PTCP.IPFV =FUT =SFP
 ‘Thus, at last, he became the king’s son-in-law (he married the princess) and lived happily ever after.’

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Abbreviations

Chi.	in Chinese (Mandarin)	INS	instrumental
Shi.	in Shinekhen Buryat	INTJ	interjection
-	morpheme boundary	IPFV	imperfective
#	word boundary	MOD	modal/modality
=	clitic boundary	NEG	negative
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	NMLZ	nominalizer
ABL	ablative	NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative	ONM	onomatopoeia
AGT	agentive	OPT	optative
CAUS	causative	PFV	perfective
COM	comitative	PL	plural
COND	conditional	POSS	possessive
CVB	converb	PROG	progressive
DAT	dative-locative	PROH	prohibitive
DIR	directive	PROP	propriative
DMN	diminutive	PRS	present
DUR	durative	PST	past
E	epenthesis	PTCP	participle
EMPH	emphasis	Q	interrogative marker
FUT	future	RCP	reciprocal
GEN	genitive	REFL	reflexive
HBT	habitual	SFP	sentence final particle
IND	indicative	SG	singular
INDF	indefinite accusative	TERM	terminative

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