

A Shinekhen Buryat Text*

Teekheljeekhen Khubuun (The Boy Called “Teekheljeekhen”)

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This article grammatically analyzed a text produced in Shinekhen Buryat, a Mongolic language spoken by the Shinekhen Buryat people living around the Shinekhen River basin in Hulunbuir City, Inner Mongolia, People’s Republic of China. The text in this article is a folktale called *The Boy called “Teekheljeekhen,”* which was told by Ms. Dogarmaa, a Buryat woman (born in 1933).

Keywords: Buryat, Mongolic languages, folktale, pastoral culture in the Mongolian Plateau

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1. Introduction

In this article, I present a folktale recorded by a Shinekhen Buryat speaker. Shinekhen Buryat is a dialect of the Buryat language. Most of the Buryat people live in Russia. By contrast, the Shinekhen Buryat community (Shi. *s’inexeen bor^laad* or *s’inexeenei bor^laad*) inhabits 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 also the mother tongue of another ethnic group called Khamnigan Evenki (Shi. *xamnigan* or *tunjuus*), which inhabits the area around the Shinekhen River basin. These two ethnic groups are descendants of refugees from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) between 1918 and 1932. For more information about the socio-linguistic and linguistic outlines of Shinekhen Buryat, please see Yamakoshi (2011), which is available online.

The folktale I present here was told by Ms. Dogarmaa, a native speaker born in 1933. She kept collecting and memorizing several kinds of Buryat oral literature (e.g., folktales, proverbs, riddles, and songs). She was also a good storyteller and told me many of the folktales she knew. Some of these folktales have been published as part of the studies of Yamakoshi (2012a, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2022) and in an online database (Yamakoshi 2020–).

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The folktale I present here is called “Teekheljeekhen Khubuun” (The boy called “Teekheljeekhen”); the title references the name of its main character. This short story recounts a monster slaying. The teller develops the story quickly, and some scenes are not fully explained. There may be other versions of the story that are described in greater detail. However, it is also true that the short storyline makes the content fast-paced and easy to remember. This folktale shows some aspects of traditional Buryat (or Mongolian) pastoral culture. Therefore, after presenting the analyzed text in §2, some points are explained in §3.

In §2, I have separated the text in each “sentence” unit. However, it is often difficult to define the “sentences.” Therefore, in this paper, I established the following conditions in order to find a break between the sentences:

- a) Principally, a sentence break is inserted where a predicate appears, which is either accompanied by a sentence-final particle, a finite verb, an independent word attached with a predicative pronominal enclitic, or a combination of these elements.
- b) The criterion in (a) does not apply if noun phrases or adverbial phrases controlled by the predicate are supplementally added after the predicate. Here, the sentence break is put after the supplementary phrase.

Following these conditions, we can find multiple “sentences” satisfying (a) above in a complement led by the complementizer *gezʹe*. Such a structure can also be regarded as one complex sentence that includes many clauses within the complement; however, at the moment, I will apply (a) and separate each “sentence” in this paper. Often, there may be a pause between sentences. Interestingly, however, pauses are sometimes not placed in this text, even when (a) or (b) applies. For example, sentence (22) has a sentence-final particle =*daa*, and a new topic is introduced in (23). There is a clear syntactic break immediately after =*daa* in (22). However, we do not find any pauses between (22) and (23). This implies that a sentence’s syntactic boundary does not always match the phonetic boundary. Therefore, conditions (a) and (b) are not absolute. We must consider where sentences should be separated.

The text presented here will be included in an online database (Yamakoshi 2020–) with audio data.

2. The text of Shinekhen Buryat: Teekheljeekhen Khubuun (The boy called “Teekheljeekhen”)

Date of recording: 2002-08-28

Place: Shinekhen West Sum, Ewenke Autonomous Banner, 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 boy called Teekheljeekhen Khubuun. One day, Teekheljeekhen Khubuun killed his bull and boiled the meat, but he could not eat it; therefore, he was looking for someone to eat it. Then a monster with 15 heads said, “I’ll eat it.” The monster ate the bull up and then said he would eat Teekheljeekhen Khubuun, took

him to his yurt, and hung him. The hung Teekheljeekhen Khubuun killed the monster's children and boiled their meat. He then hid and waited for the monster's return. When the monster discovered that the children had been killed by Teekheljeekhen Khubuun, he chased Teekheljeekhen Khubuun, who ran away. As Teekheljeekhen Khubuun ran away, blood dripping from the sausages made with the children's blood fell onto the ice. The monster licked the blood off the sausages. Subsequently, his tongue stuck to the ice. Teekheljeekhen Khubuun then cut off all 15 heads of the monster and killed him.

- (1) *erte or^jd-iin sag-ta, teexelz^jeexen xubuun ge-z^je*
 early before-GEN time-DAT PSN boy say.that-CVB.IPFV
bai-ba =le =dee.
 be-IND.PST =only =SFP
 'Once upon a time, there was a boy called Teekheljeekhen Khubuun.'
- (2) *teeg malaan sar-tai bai-g-aa ge-ne.*
 tag bald bullock-PROP be-E-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
 'He had a bald bull with him.'
- (3) *nege uder-t-θθ deere gar-aad teeg malaan sar-aa, teherse*
 one day-DAT-REFL OVER go.OUT-CVB.PFV tag bald bullock-REFL break.off
mᠠᠬᠢᠷᠰᠣᠨ ᠰᠠᠬᠢ-ᠵᠠᠳᠠ al-s^jx^ja-baa.
 bent hit-CVB.PFV kill-PFV-IND.PST
 'One day, he beat the bald bull to death.' (see also §3.1)
- (4) *ii-g-eed m^jax-ii =n s^jan-aad id^j-xe-de, ᠋ᠷ mᠠᠬᠢᠷ*
 do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV meat-ACC =3:POSS boil-CVB.PFV eat-PTCP.FUT-DAT only bent
huul-ii =n bar^j-z^ja jad-aad gara-n gansa
 tail-ACC =3:POSS seize-CVB.IPFV be.unable-CVB.PFV go.OUT-CVB.MOD only
xabh-ii =n bar^j-z^ja jad-ba ge-ne.
 rib-ACC =3:POSS seize-CVB.IPFV be.unable-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS
 'Then he tried to boil and eat the meat but could not even hold a crooked tail or rib.' (see also §3.2)
- (5) *ii-g-eed id^j-uul-xe xun-ii bid^jer-z^je*
 do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV eat-CAUS-PTCP.FUT person-ACC search-CVB.IPFV
gar-b-aa.
 go.OUT-IND.PST-EMPH
 'Thus, he went in search of someone to eat the meat.'
- (6) *jab-z^jai-tar =in nege xiree taar-aa ge-ne.*
 go-PROG-CVB.TERM =3:POSS one crow run.into-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS

‘While he was looking, he met a crow.’

- (7) *ii-g-eed xiree-de xel-ee =jum bai-na.*
 do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV CROW-DAT tell-PTCP.IPFV =MOD be-IND.PRS
 ‘He said to the crow,’
- (8) *bii malaan sar al-aad m^jax-ii =n bar^j-z^ja*
 1SG:NOM bald bullock:INDF kill-CVB.PFV meat-ACC =3:POSS seize-CVB.IPFV
jad-aad id^j-uul-xe xun bid^jer-z^jai-na =b
 be.unable-CVB.PFV eat-CAUS-PTCP.FUT person:INDF search-PROG-IND.PRS =1SG
 ‘I killed a bald bull, but I can’t eat all the meat, so I’m looking for someone to eat it.’
- (9) *xiree, bii id^j-xe =b id^j-xe =b ge-z^jai-na*
 crow 1SG:NOM eat-PTCP.FUT =1SG eat-PTCP.FUT =1SG say.that-PROG-IND.PRS
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘The crow said, “I’ll eat it, I’ll eat it.”’
- (10) *juu-jii =n id^j-xe =b =s^je.*
 what-ACC =3:POSS eat-PTCP.FUT =Q =2SG
 ‘Which part do you eat?’
- (11) *gansa n^jud-ii =n id^j-xe =b ge-ne.*
 only eye-ACC =3:POSS eat-PTCP.FUT =1SG say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘“I’ll only eat one eye,” he said.’
- (12) *ee, toho-gui.*
 INTJ help-NEG
 ‘Oh, it doesn’t help.’
- (13) *saas^j-aa bid^jer-z^je jab-tar nege s^jon-toi*
 over.there-REFL search-CVB.IPFV go-CVB.TERM one wolf-COM
taar-b-aa.
 run.into-IND.PST-EMPH
 ‘As he was looking for more (people to eat), he met a wolf.’

- (14) *sʲɔn-dɔ baha xel-ee =jum bai-na.*
 wolf-DAT again tell-PTCP.IPFV =MOD be-IND.PRS
 ‘He also told the wolf,’
- (15) *malaan sar al-aad mʲaxa idʲ-uul-xe xun*
 bald bullock:INDF kill-CVB.PFV meat:INDF eat-CAUS-PTCP.FUT person:INDF
bidʲer-zʲe jab-na =b.
 search-CVB.IPFV go-IND.PRS =1SG
 ‘I’ve killed a bald bull and I’m looking for someone to eat the meat.’
- (16) *sʲɔn, bii idʲ-ne =b idʲ-ne =b ge-zʲai-na*
 wolf 1SG:NOM eat-IND.PRS =1SG eat-IND.PRS =1SG say.that-PROG-IND.PRS
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘The wolf said, “I’ll eat it, I’ll eat it.”’
- (17) *juu-jii =n idʲ-xe =b =sʲe.*
 what-ACC =3:POSS eat-PTCP.FUT =Q =2SG
 ‘Which part do you eat?’
- (18) *nege goj-ii =n idʲ-xe =b g-ee g-ee.*
 one leg-ACC =3:POSS eat-PTCP.FUT =1SG say.that-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘The wolf said, “I’ll eat one of its thighs.”’
- (19) *ee, tos-gui buddee.*
 INTJ help-NEG SFP
 ‘Oh, it doesn’t help.’
- (20) *baha saasʲ-aa jab-zʲa bai-ba ge-ne.*
 again over.there-REFL go-CVB.IPFV be-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘Thus, he went further afield again.’
- (21) *jab-zʲai-tar =in arban taban tarʲxʲa-tai axai mangad-tai*
 go-PROG-CVB.TERM =3:POSS ten five head-PROP elder.brother monster-COM
oolza-b-aa.
 meet-IND.PST-EMPH
 ‘While going, he met a monster with fifteen heads.’

- (22) *axai mangad-da xel-ee =daa.*
 elder.brother monster-DAT tell-PTCP.IPFV =SFP
 ‘He said to the monster.’
- (23) *bii malaan sar al-aad m^jaxa id^j-uul-xe*
 1SG:NOM bald bullock:INDF kill-CVB.PFV meat:INDF eat-CAUS-PTCP.FUT
xun bid^jer-z^jai-na =b^j.
 person:INDF search-PROG-IND.PRS =1SG
 ‘I’ve killed a bald bull and I’m looking for someone to eat its flesh.’
- (24) *aa, bəl-nə, bəl-nə.*
 INTJ allow-IND.PRS allow-IND.PRS
 ‘Oh, good, good.’
- (25) *bii id^j-xe =b^j ge-z^jai-na ge-ne.*
 1SG:NOM eat-PTCP.FUT =1SG say.that-PROG-IND.PRS say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘‘I’ll eat it,’’ he said.’
- (26) *sad-aa-gui =haa s^jam-tai-g-aar id^j-s^je-xe =b g-ee*
 be.full-PTCP.IPFV-NEG =COND 2SG-PROG-E-INS eat-PFV-PTCP.FUT =1SG say.that-PTCP.IPFV
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘‘And if that’s not enough, I’ll eat you with it,’’ he said.’
- (27) *zaa, bəl-nə g-eed ger-t-ee dax-ool-aad*
 yes allow-IND.PRS say.that-CVB.PFV yurt-DAT-REFL follow-CAUS-CVB.PFV
asar-aa.
 bring-PTCP.IPFV
 ‘‘Oh, good,’’ (the monster) said, and (the monster) took (the boy) home.’
- (28) *asar-aad =le m^jax-ii =n tere mangad =s^jni*
 bring-CVB.PFV =only meat-ACC =3:POSS that monster:NOM =2SG:POSS
m^jax-ii =n am-aar-aa id^j-eed xamar =in jah-aar-aa
 meat-ACC =3:POSS mouth-INS-REFL eat-CVB.PFV nose =3:POSS bone-INS-REFL
tor^jj-aad xəɔ id^j-s^jx^je-be ge-ne sar-iin m^jaxa.
 snort-CVB.PFV whole eat-PFV-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS bullock-GEN meat:INDF
 ‘When the monster brought him home, he swallowed whole the bull’s meat, snorted at the bones, and ate it all up. Bull’s meat.’

- (29) *ii-g-eed teexelz^jeexen xubuun s^jamaiji id^j-xe =b.*
 do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV PSN boy 2SG:ACC eat-PTCP.FUT =1SG
 ‘Then (he said), “Teekheljeekhen Khubuun, I’m going to eat you.”’
- (30) *sad-aa-gui =b.*
 be.full-PTCP.IPFV-NEG =1SG
 ‘I haven’t had enough.’
- (31) *g-eed bar^j-aad ger-t-ee abaas^j-aad т᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋-ᠬ᠋᠋᠋᠋*
 say.that-CVB.PFV catch-CVB.PFV yurt-DAT-REFL take-CVB.PFV skylight-ABL
s^jartgal-aad д᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ gal tul-eed ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋-᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ tere
 stagger-CVB.PFV center fire:INDF make.a.fire-CVB.PFV abandon-CVB.PFV that
axai mangad =in jab-aa ge-ne gazaas^j-aa
 elder.brother monster =3:POSS go-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS outside-REFL
gar-aad,
 go.OUT-CVB.PFV
 ‘And the monster caught him and put him in the house and left him hanging from the skylight, while the monster went outside.’ (on the skylight, see also §3.3)
- (32) *tii-xe-de tere =s^je д᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ gal tul-ee-tei*
 do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT that =2SG:POSS under-ABL fire make.a.fire-NMLZ-PROP
megd-eed s^jeehen =in г᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ge-ne.
 notice-CVB.PFV urine:NOM =3:POSS drop-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘Then the boy peed himself because of the fire in the fireplace under him.’
- (33) *tii-xe-de =n axai mangad-ai xuuged-uud x᠋᠋᠋᠋,*
 do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS elder.brother monster-GEN child-PL INTJ
s^jar т᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ s^jar т᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ge-z^jai-z^ja
 [yellow oil](melted.butter) yellow oil say.that-PROG-CVB.IPFV
s^jeeh-ii =n д᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ge-ne.
 urine-ACC =3:POSS lick-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘And the monster’s children said, “Oh! Melted butter! Melted butter!” and licked his pee.’
- (34) *tii-xe-de =n tere teexelz^jeexen xubuun xel-ee*
 do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS that PSN boy:NOM tell-PTCP.IPFV
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘Then, that Teekheljeekhen Khubuun said,’

- (35) *ab-aiŋ-g-aa dŋgɔrgɔ ug-gtii.*
 father-GEN-E-REFL penknife:INDF give-2PL.OPT
 ‘Give me (your) father’s penknife.’
- (36) *tii-g-ee =haa =tnai us^jee ixē*
 do.like.that-E-PTCP.IPFV =COND =2PL.POSS more great
s^jar tɔhɔ gar-ga-z^ja ug-xe =b
 [yellow oil:INDF](melted.butter) go.out-CAUS-CVB.IPFV give-PTCP.FUT =1SG
g-ee ge-ne.
 say.that-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘If you do so, I will give you more melted butter.’
- (37) *ii-xe-de =n tere xuuged-uud dŋgɔrg-ii =n*
 do.like.this-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS that child-PL:NOM penknife-ACC =3:POSS
ab-aad ug-ee ge-ne.
 take-CVB.PFV give-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘Then, the children handed him the penknife.’
- (38) *tii-xe-de =n tere dŋgɔrg-ɔɔr =in ojaa-g-aa taha*
 do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS that penknife-INS =3:POSS rope-E-REFL ONM
ɔgtɔl-ɔɔd boo-g-aad xuuged-uud¹ =s^jni xɔɔ al-aad, dɔlɔɔn
 cut.off-CVB.PFV go.down-E-CVB.PFV child-PL =2SG:POSS whole kill-CVB.PFV seven
xuuged-tei bai-g-aa ge-ne =gu, jum =gu.
 child-PROP be-E-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS =Q thing =Q
 ‘Then, he cut the rope with the penknife and went down and killed all the children, there were seven children or so.’
- (39) *tere xuuged-iin tar^jx^ja xunz^jel sɔɔ negs^je xɔɔ tab^j-aad*
 that child-GEN head:INDF quilt under all.together whole set-CVB.PFV
xos^j-aad m^jax-ii =n s^jan-aad tabag tab^j-aad tereguur
 cover-CVB.PFV meat-ACC =3:POSS boil-CVB.PFV dish:INDF set-CVB.PFV in.that.way
tabagl-aad tab^j-aad bai-z^ja,
 set.dish-CVB.PFV set-CVB.PFV be-CVB.IPFV
 ‘He placed the heads of the children under the duvet and covered them with it, boiled their meat, put it on a plate on it, and served it.’

¹ According to the principle governing the use of the accusative/indefinite accusative (Yamakoshi 2011: 149), this word would be expected to be *xuuged-uud-ii* with an accusative suffix, but it is an indefinite accusative. In this text, there are several places where the indefinite accusative noun appears where an accusative noun would be expected.

- (40) (*aa, bes^j-ee,*)
INTJ NOT-EMPH
(Oh, I mistook it.)
- (41) *us^jee tere =s^jni xotɔɔd =in s^joha-jii =n s^jotx-aa*
more that =2SG:POSS bowels =3:POSS blood-ACC =3:POSS drop-PTCP.IPFV
ge-ne, xuuged-iin.
say.that-IND.PRS child-GEN
'He poured blood into the intestines of the children—the children's blood.'
- (42) *ii-g-eed xotɔɔd-tɔi s^joha-jii =n ab-aad ger-ei*
do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV bowels-PROP blood-ACC =3:POSS take-CVB.PFV yurt-GEN
zabag-ta ɔr-ɔɔd bai-z^jai-na
gap.between.the.felt.wall.and.the.roof.of.the.yurt-DAT enter-CVB.PFV be-PROG-IND.PRS
ge-ne.
say.that-IND.PRS
'And he went behind the felt of the wall of the yurt with the blood sausages.' (on the blood sausages, see also §3.4)
- (43) *bai-xa-da =le axai mangad tus^jgen-eed*
be-PTCP.FUT-DAT =only elder.brother monster beat.hardly-CVB.PFV
ir-z^jai-na ge-ne.
COME-PROG-IND.PRS say.that-IND.PRS
'Then, the monster came rattling around.'
- (44) *ir-eed =le ger-te ɔr-xɔ-dɔ =n tabag-tai m^jaxan*
come-CVB.PFV =only yurt-DAT enter-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS dish-PROP meat:NOM
xuuged-uud =s^je xunz^jel-de onta-z^jai-xa janza-tai.
child-PL:NOM =also quilt-DAT sleep-PROG-PTCP.FUT state-PROP
'When he returned and entered the house, he found the meat on a plate and the children sleeping on the bedding.'
- (45) *ii-g-eed =le axai mangad, xøø, xuuged-uud*
do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV =only elder.brother monster:NOM INTJ child-PL:NOM
bɔdɔ-gtii.
get.up-2PL.OPT
'Then, the monster (said), "Hey, kids, wake up!"'
- (46) *m^jaxa id^je-gtii.*
meat:INDF eat-2PL.OPT

‘Eat the meat.’

- (47) *g-eed =le xunz^jel-ee tata-n ge-xe-de =n*
 say.that-CVB.PFV =only quilt-REFL pull-CVB.MOD say.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS
xuuged-ei tar^jx^ja xɔɔ mɔnsɔgɔn-ɔɔd ona-s^j-ba ge-ne.
 child-GEN head:INDF whole roll-CVB.PFV fall-PFV-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘He said so and overturned the duvet and all the children’s heads rolled around.’
- (48) *een, teexelz^jeexen xubuun xuuges^j-ii =m al-aa.*
 INTJ PSN boy:NOM child-ACC =1SG:POSS kill-PTCP.IPFV
 ‘Alas, Teekheljeekhen Khubuun killed my children.’
- (49) *xaana bai-na =s^j g-ee ge-ne.*
 where be-IND.PRS =2SG say.that-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘“Where are you?” he said.’
- (50) *orda zabag-ta, g-ee*
 south gap.between.the.felt.wall.and.the.roof.of.the.yurt-DAT say.that-PTCP.IPFV
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘He said, “In the south wall.”’ (on the word *zabag*, see §3.5)
- (51) *ɔdɔɔ xatx-aad ab-xa-da =n ugui bai-ba ge-ne.*
 now thrust-CVB.PFV take-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS no be-IND.PST say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘So, the monster stabbed (the shelf), but he was not there.’
- (52) *teexelz^jeexen xubuun xaana bai-na =b =s^je ge-hen.*
 PSN boy where be-IND.PRS =Q =2SG:POSS say.that-PTCP.PFV
 ‘Teekheljeekhen Khubuun, where are you?’
- (53) *baroon zabag-ta, ge-be*
 west gap.between.the.felt.wall.and.the.roof.of.the.yurt-DAT say.that-IND.PST
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘“In the western wall,” he said.’

- (54) *xatx-aad baha ugui ge-ne.*
 thrust-CVB.PFV again no say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘The monster stabbed him there, but he was not there again.’
- (55) *teexelz^jeexen xubuun xaana bai-na =s^j ge-be.*
 PSN boy where be-IND.PRS =2SG say.that-IND.PST
 ‘‘Teekheljeekhen Khubuun, where are you?’’ he said.’
- (56) *xoitɔ zabag-ta, g-ee*
 north gap.between.the.felt.wall.and.the.roof.of.the.yurt-DAT say.that-PTCP.IPFV
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘‘In the north wall,’’ he said.’
- (57) *xatx-aad ab-xa-da =le baha ugui ge-ne.*
 thrust-CVB.PFV take-PTCP.FUT-DAT =only again no say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘The monster tried to stab him, but he was gone again.’
- (58) *teexelz^jeexen xubuun xaana bai-na =s^j.*
 PSN boy where be-IND.PRS =2SG
 ‘Teekheljeekhen Khubuun, where are you?’
- (59) *zuun zabag-ta, ge-be*
 east gap.between.the.felt.wall.and.the.roof.of.the.yurt-DAT say.that-IND.PST
ge-ne.
 say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘‘In the eastern wall,’’ he said.’
- (60) *ɔdɔɔ xatxa-xa bɔl-xɔ-dɔ =n ɔr-xɔ gazar-gui*
 now thrust-PTCP.FUT become-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS enter-PTCP.FUT place-NEG
bɔl-ɔɔd xɔtɔɔd-tɔi s^joh-aa ab-aad =le bar^j-aad
 become-CVB.PFV bowels-PROP blood-REFL take-CVB.PFV =only catch-CVB.PFV
teriil-ee.
 run.away-PTCP.IPFV
 ‘When the monster tried to stab him, he finally ran out of places to hide, so he took the blood sausages and ran away.’

- (61) *gəl-ɔi mul^hhen deeguur teriil-ee.*
 river-GEN ice above run.away-PTCP.IPFV
 ‘He fled across the frozen river.’
- (62) *tere xətɔɔd-tɔi s^hoh-aa dohaa-z^ha jab-z^ha ii-g-eed*
 that bowels-PROP blood-REFL drop-CVB.IPFV go-CVB.IPFV do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV
teriil-ee.
 run.away-PTCP.IPFV
 ‘In this way, he fled with the blood dripping from the sausages.’
- (63) *tii-xe-de =n axai manɣad xɔinɔ-hɔɔ*
 do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS elder.brother monster:NOM north-ABL
nerej-uul-z^he ir-eed,
 grumble-CAUS-CVB.IPFV come-CVB.PFV
 ‘Then, the monster came chasing after him from behind with a clatter and’
- (64) *høəm, høø, xairan xuuged-ei =m s^hohan g-eed mul^hhen deere*
 INTJ INTJ lovely child-GEN =1SG:POSS blood say.that-CVB.PFV ice above
bai-han s^hoha dɔl^hɔɔ-xɔ-dɔ, xelen =in mul^hhen-de
 be-PTCP.PFV blood:INDF lick-PTCP.FUT-DAT tongue =3:POSS ice-DAT
n^haalda-s^h-b-aa.
 stick-PFV-IND.PST-EMPH
 ‘‘‘Oh, alas, my dear children’s blood,’’ he said and licked the spilled blood on the ice, whereupon his tongue stuck to the ice.’
- (65) *ii-g-eed axai manɣad xel-z^hai-na ge-ne.*
 do.like.this-E-CVB.PFV elder.brother monster:NOM tell-PROG-IND.PRS say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘Then, the monster said,’
- (66) *tere teexelz^heexen xubuun-de, xele =m mul^hhen xɔjɔr-iin xɔɔrɔndo*
 that PSN boy-DAT tongue =1SG:POSS ice two-GEN between
sabs^h-aad ug, g-ee ge-ne.
 cut-CVB.PFV give(2SG:OPT) say.that-PTCP.IPFV say.that-IND.PRS
 ‘Then, the monster said to Teekheljeekhen Khubuun, ‘‘Cut my tongue off from the ice!’’’
- (67) *tii-xe-de =n teexelz^heexen xubuun ord-ahaa =n*
 do.like.that-PTCP.FUT-DAT =3:POSS PSN boy:NOM south-ABL =3:POSS
aman xuzuun, amargal xuzuun xɔjɔr-ɔi xɔɔrɔnd-ɔɔ
 [mouth neck](atlas):NOM [atlas neck](atlas):NOM two-GEN between-REFL

sabs^j *ge-ne =g =s^je* *g-eed* *nege tar^jx^ja =n*
 cut(2SG:OPT) say.that-IND.PRS =Q =2SG say.that-CVB.PFV one head:INDF =3:POSS
taha sabs^ja-s^jx^j᠔-b᠔.
 ONM cut-PFV-IND.PST

‘Teekheljeekhen Khubuun said from the front, “Did you tell me to separate your atlas from your head?” (lit. Did you tell me to cut off between your atlas and your atlas?). And he cut off one head at a time.’ (see also §3.6)

- (68) *iige* *ii-g-eheer* *arban taban tar^jx^ja =n* *ᠬᠣᠳᠤ* *sabs^j-aad,*
 do.like.this do.like.this-E-CVB.DUR ten five head =3:POSS whole cut-CVB.PFV
ene axai *maᠩᠭ᠎ᠠᠰ^j-ii* *al-aad,* *ᠶᠳᠣᠴᠣ* *amitan xun-tei*
 this elder.brother monster-ACC kill-CVB.PFV now creature person-PROP
bolt-aar-aa *amban-d-aa* *haixan z^jarga-ba.*
 altogether-INS-REFL peace-DAT-REFL good be.pleased-IND.PST

‘In this way, one after another, he cut off all fifteen heads of the monster and killed this monster, so that all the people and animals were happy.’

3. Special mentions

In this section, I will specifically explain several points where readers require some knowledge of Mongolian/Buryat traditional culture to understand the story accurately.

3.1. How to slaughter livestock in (3)

Animals can be slaughtered in two ways. For small livestock (sheep and goats), the slaughterer (an adult male) restrains the animal on its back and cuts its solar plexus using a knife; the slaughterer then inserts his hand into this incision to cut the aorta. In this way, the animal is killed instantly and disassembled (for the slaughter and dismantling process, see Fig. 1 and 2 and Yamakoshi [2012b: 30]). However, it is difficult for slaughterers to restrain large animals (cattle, horses, and camels), so the slaughterer strikes hardly the middle of the forehead first. After killing the animal, the slaughterer begins to disassemble it.

3.2. Why Teekheljeekhen Khubuun could not eat up the meat and sought out someone to share it in (4)–(23)

According to consultants, it is customary to slaughter a cow after November when the temperatures drop below freezing. The meat from the cow is then typically consumed during the winter months. Since the amount of meat is too much for a single person to consume alone, the boy probably looked for someone to share it with, as the story unfolds later on. The teller said that ‘the boy could not hold even a tail or a rib’ in (4). This expression is meant to indicate that the bull is larger than what listeners expected, I think.



Fig. 1 Killing a sheep by cutting its solar plexus
(Photo by Yasuhiro Yamakoshi [taken at Shinekhen West Sum in 2014])



Fig. 2 The slaughterer inserts his hand into the incision to cut the aorta
(Photo by Yasuhiro Yamakoshi [taken at Shinekhen West Sum in 2014])

Furthermore, there is a preservation technique known as *x'almas* in Fig. 3. This is the frozen rumen (the first stomach of a cow) stuffed with the cow's other internal organs. Buryats make such *x'almas* after slaughtering a cow and use it as an ingredient in dumplings or soup (Fig. 4).



Fig. 3 The rumen stuffed with other internal organs, called *x'almas*
(Photo by Yasuhiro Yamakoshi [taken at Shinekhen West Sum in 2003])



Fig. 4 Making dumplings with *x'almas*
(Photo by Yasuhiro Yamakoshi [taken at Shinekhen West Sum in 2003])

3.3. What the *toono* (the skylight of the ger) in (31) is

The upper part of a Mongolian yurt (*ger*) has a skylight called *toono* (ᠲᠣᠨᠠ) in the center, and the fireplace is set directly below the skylight. See Fig. 5.



Fig. 5 The skylight and the fire spot of the Mongolian yurt
(Photo by Nobuyuki Nozawa [taken at Töv aimag, Mongolia, in 1993])

3.4. How to make blood sausages in (42)

In the artery-cutting dismantling method, as indicated above, blood flows from the arterial pools in the abdominal cavity. In Mongolia/Buryat, blood is stuffed into the intestines and boiled to make blood sausages. See Fig. 6 and 7.

3.5. What is *zabag* found in (50)(53)(56)(59)

zabag refers to the gap between the top part of the felt used for constructing the walls of the yurt and the felt used in the roof. See Fig. 8 and 9. It is the junction between the wall and roof. When building a Mongolian yurt, the top part of the felt used for constructing the wall side is wrapped around the wall so that it hangs over the roof; next, the felt used in the roof side is placed down such that the areas overlap. The gap created by this overlap is called *zabag*. There seems to be no place to hide oneself; however, Teekheljeekhen Khubuun says that he hid himself in the *zabag*.

3.6. What are the words *aman xuzuun*, and *amargal xuzuun* in (68)

Both *aman xuzuun* and *amargal xuzuun* refer to the atlas—that is, the first cervical vertebra. Therefore, the literal translation of cutting between the atlas and atlas does not make sense. I believe that this is intended to create a rhythmic sounding effect, as both *aman xuzuun* and *amargal xuzuun* contain the common part *ama....xuzuun*. When Mongolian/Buryat peoples slaughter livestock, the animal's head is always cut off between



Fig. 6 The blood in the abdominal cavity was scooped into a tub
(Photo by Yasuhiro Yamakoshi [taken at the Shinekhen West Sum in 2002])



Fig. 7 Making blood sausages
(Photo by Yasuhiro Yamakoshi [taken at the Shinekhen West Sum in 2014])



Fig. 8 Inside the Mongolian yurt
(Photo by Gen Sawai [taken at Ömnögov' aimag, Mongolia, in 1995])

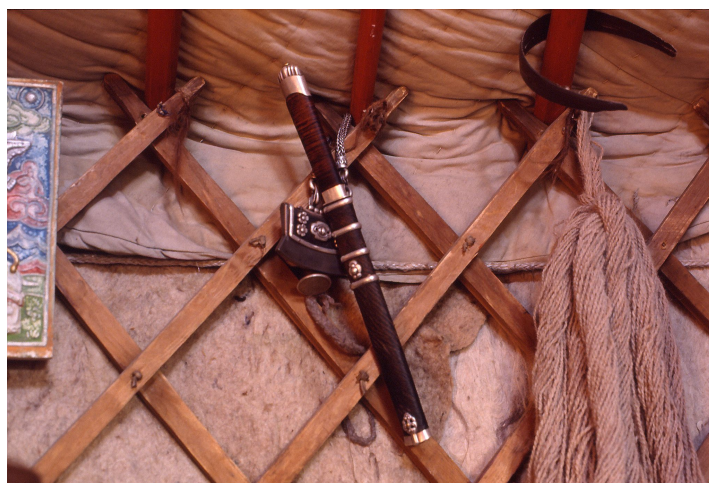


Fig. 9 The junction between the wall and the roof of a Mongolian yurt
(Photo by Nobuyuki Nozawa [taken at Ömnögov' aimag, Mongolia, in 1993])

the skull and atlas (Fig. 10 shows a sheep's head being sectioned off). Therefore, the description of this area is also translated as implying “between the skull and the first cervical vertebrae.”



Fig. 10 Cutting off a sheep's head between the skull and the atlas
(Photo by Yasuhiro Yamakoshi [taken at Shinekhen West Sum in 1993])

Symbols and Abbreviations

| | | | |
|---------|-----------------------|------|-------------------------|
| - | affix boundary | NEG | negative |
| = | clitic boundary | NMLZ | nominalizer |
| 1, 2, 3 | person | NOM | nominative |
| ABL | ablative | ONM | onomatopoeia |
| ACC | accusative | OPT | optative |
| CAUS | causative | PFV | perfective |
| COM | comitative | PL | plural |
| COND | conditional | POSS | possessive |
| CVB | converb | PROG | progressive |
| DAT | dative-locative | PROP | proprietary |
| DUR | durative | PRS | present |
| E | epenthesis | PSN | Person name |
| EMPH | emphasis | PST | past |
| FUT | future | PTCP | participle |
| GEN | genitive | Q | interrogative marker |
| IND | indicative | REFL | reflexive |
| INDF | indefinite accusative | SFP | sentence-final particle |
| INS | instrumental | SG | singular |
| INTJ | interjection | TERM | terminative |
| IPFV | imperfective | Chi. | Mandarin Chinese |
| MOD | modal / modality | Shi. | Shinekhen Buryat |

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