SPEECH REPORTING STRATEGIES IN KINNAURI NARRATIVES

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1. INTRODUCTION

Dialogues do not have the same function and prerequisites in narratives as in conversation. In narratives they occur when the narrator decides to use them to further the purpose of narration. It is also the narrator who decides on its content and form and the perspective taken. A number of speech reporting strategies occur in Kinnauri narratives. They are: (i) the quotative construction, (ii) sequences of exchange between participants, (iii) isolated instances of direct speech and (iv) non-direct speech. The aim of this paper is to examine the functions of these speech reporting strategies in Kinnauri narratives. It will be suggested here that these strategies display a gradual variation in the speaker's involvement and thereby also in their evidential interpretations. Further, there is a difference in the dramatization of the speech contents in the various strategies. In the quotative construction the narrator reports verbatim someone else's speech (retaining both the form and the content of an "utterance" by a participant earlier in the narrative), thereby retaining the responsibility for the speech with the original speaker and not with the narrator. The next strategy, i.e., direct speech, seems to have different functions when it occurs as an isolated instance ("isolated instances of direct speech") occurring one utterance at a time, and when it comprises an exchange between two or more participants ("segments of instances of direct speech"). Furthermore, among the sequences of exchange, there is a distinction between ritualized narrative exchanges and non-ritualized exchanges. The latter encode important episodes - episodes which have consequences for the story, e.g. in climax situations. Presenting this event as a verbal exchange between two participants provides an opportunity for the listeners to experience the event directly, to relive the experience. This adds to the dramatization of the event, increasing the tempo in story-telling. There is, however, a gradual difference in the length of these exchanges and thereby also in their intensity. The ritualized narrative exchange, on the other hand, is a stylistic feature in some narratives (a sign of traditional oral narratives), where the repetition seems to have the same function as stanzas in songs. Finally, the non-direct speech reporting strategy is the neutral mechanism of narrating events which happened a long time ago. The last-mentioned strategy is lowest on the scale of dramatization and direct involvement.

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2.1 BACKGROUND: ON KINNAURI NARRATIVES

Kinnauri is a West Himalayish language spoken in the Himachal Pradesh region of India. It is a verb-final language. A finite unit in Kinnauri is not infrequently composed of a converb segment along with one or more embeddings.

The data for this study comes from the Kinnauri narrative corpus which I have compiled.[1] For the present purposes, I have examined narratives 07, 08, 12 and 13 in my Kinnauri corpus.[2] In traditional Kinnauri narratives (unlike spontaneous narratives) the participants are regularly identified and the structure is more stable. The corpus displays two main narrative styles: one where the narrative comprises sequences of exchange between the various participants, and one where the bulk of the story is told by the narrator in non-direct speech with sporadic occurrences of direct speech. It is the latter which will be the focus of this paper. These narratives are traditional folktales. Traditional folktales in Kinnauri are very often about one specific person and that person's journey through a series of events ("episodes"), where other participants of varying importance show up in one or more episodes before they disappear from the scene. The moral of these narratives is usually the victory of good over evil. A brief sketch of the narratives examined here is as follows.[3]

Narrative 07 is about a girl and some events in her life, namely, her being sent away with a demon, named *Birma Chostin*; her marriage to the king, who used to live six months in heaven and six months on earth; about giving birth to a son; the demon's wicked ways of capturing the girl; and finally the happy ending where the king and the girl (now the queen) and their son are reunited.

Narrative 08 is also about a girl and her life. Her father, remarried to a female demon, leaves his five daughters (from the first wife) in the forest. The girls meet a demon there, who forces them to stay at his place. Each day he sends all but one girl to do errands. He eats the one who stays at home. On their return, the girls discover that the one who was at home is no longer there. After having continued like this for some days, only two girls are left. They are scared and they ask a crow, a fox and finally a mouse for help. The mouse comes up with a scheme which helps the girls to escape. The girls then meet a

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[1]   I would like to express my gratitude to the late Smt. Jwala Sukhi Negi and Santosh Negi who narrated the folktales examined here.

[2]   Kinnauri data collection was supported in part by NSF grant BNS-8711370, an Olof Gjerdman grant from Uppsala University, and by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation as part of the research programme *Translation and interpreting as a meeting of languages and cultures*. The latter foundation has also in part financed the compilation of the corpus of Kinnauri narratives.

[3]   These summaries do not reflect the linguistic structure (including the temporal frame) of the Kinnauri narratives.

cow who hides them. The demon, chasing the girls, meets the cow and manages to eat one of the two remaining girls. The cow belongs to a priest couple, who take care of the girl. The priest later gives the girl a golden body. A king finds out about the girl with a golden body and marries her. Then the king and girl meet a female demon and her niece. The female demon turns her niece into the queen and the queen into a servant to the royal couple. Finally the king finds out about this and throws the niece out.

Narrative 13 is about a prince who is portrayed as lazy by his family, and his journey to return to his father's country as a rich and successful king. Because this prince didn't do anything while living at home, his share of the property is soon expended. He decides to go abroad with his wife and two children to try his luck. At one place the prince's wife goes to a village to beg for food, where she is taken in as a slave by the villagers. After having waited for her for a while, the prince decides to cross the river with one child at a time. When he had crossed the river with one child, the river rose suddenly and the prince disappeared, leaving one child on each side of the river. A washerman and his wife hear the crying and come to their rescue, and decide to raise the children. When the children grow up, one day they go to look for their parents. They go to a king's court and request the king to give them employment. The king says that they can look after an old woman who is staying at the graveyard if they promise to watch her the whole night. In order to stay awake all night, they narrate their life story to each other, which the old woman hears. She sees similarities between their stories and her own children's life stories. Next day she asks the king to listen to their story. When the children narrate the story, the king and the old woman each think that the children are telling his/her story. They finally recognize that the old woman is the prince's wife and that the children are their own children. After making her his queen, the prince (now the king) decides to return to his father's country with pomp and ceremony.

Unlike narratives 07, 08 and 13, narrative 12 is a chain of episodes which are loosely connected to one another. Each episode has its own main character(s). The first episode is about the friendship between a calf and two lion-cubs and the cubs' greedy mother who ate up the cow. The cubs' took revenge by killing their own mother. Later the calf dies too. They put the remains of the calf in a stone house, into which they also entered. From that stone house there grew a tree which bore fruit. The second episode concerns a king and his two queens and their inability to conceive children. A demon promises to help them. He brings two pieces of fruit from the stone house to be given to the queens. The king gives the core of the fruit to the queen whom he liked best. The skin of the fruit is thrown in the garbage, which the other queen picks up and eats. After a while both the queens give birth to sons. The much-

liked queen's son is not smart, whereas the other queen's son is. Afterwards the demon returns and claims the two sons. He decides to take the smart one. The next episode tells how the smart son kills the demon and returns to his country, where one of the queens is happy and the other is not. The last episode is about the other queen, who then tries to kill the smart son by poisoning his food. But, the smart son fed the food first to his cat and dog who died. The narrative ends abruptly at this point - a typical feature of oral narrative.

2.2 BACKGROUND: DIRECT AND INDIRECT SPEECH IN KINNAURI NARRATIVES

There is a long tradition of regarding direct quotations as verbatim reproductions of their original utterance. Bally, for instance, suggests that direct quotation is "a phonographic reproduction of the thoughts and words" (1914:422). For Li, it '...olves reproducing or mimicking the speech of the reported speaker" (1986:40) and for Coulmas "he commits himself to faithfully rendering form and content of what the original speaker said" (Coulmas 1985:42, all as reported in Clark and Gerrit 1990). Clark and Gerrit (1990) argue against direct quotation being verbatim reproduction. They suggest that quotations depict what speakers commit themselves to to as the the depiction of selected aspects of the referent. Verbal reproduction *per se* has nothing to do with it" (1990:795). The occurrence of direct speech in Kinnauri narratives supports Clark and Gerrit's viewpoint.

Kinnauri makes a distinction between direct and indirect speech, as illustrated in (1) and (2).[4]

(1) *ram-ɪs*   *rɪŋ-ɔ*   *gə*   *kaməŋ*   *šuŋšuŋ*   *to-k*
     name-ERG   say-PST   I   work   finish/PERF   be-1SG
     Ram said "I have finished the work".

(2) *ram-ɪs*   *rɪŋ-a*   *ki*   *dɔ-s*   *kaməŋ*   *šuŋšuŋ*   *to*
     name-ERG   say-PST   COMP   s/he-ERG   work   finish/PERF   be/PRST
     Ram said that he (Ram) has finished the work.

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[4]   The meanings of the abbreviations used in this study are as follows. 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, 1/2 = object agreement, ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, ADV = adverbial, AGR = agreement, AUX = auxiliary, COMP = complementizer, DAT = dative, DIMINU = diminutive, N.PST = narrative past, EMP = emphasis, ERG = ergative, F = feminine, FUT = future, H/HON = honorific, IMP = imperative, IMPF = imperfective, INST = instrumental, LOC = locative, NEG = negative, NF = nonfinal verb, NOM = nominalizer, NONFUT = nonfuture, NP = noun phrase, PERF = perfective, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive, PRST = present, PST = past, SG = singular, V = verb.

The two diagnostic criteria for distinguishing between direct and indirect speech in Kinnauri are the referential strategy of pronouns and the retention of modality information in direct speech.

(i) Pronouns

Not all languages structurally distinguish between direct and indirect speech. Further, even among those languages which do make this distinction, one observes variation in the range of linguistic differences between direct speech and indirect speech, ranging from languages with an elaborate set of structural distinctions between direct and indirect speech to languages which distinguish the two constructions minimally. Despite this difference, all languages which structurally differentiate direct and indirect speech have at least one thing in common: the first and second person arguments in direct speech refer to the reported speaker and the reported addressee, respectively. Conforming with this, the reference of the third person arguments in direct speech can never be either the reported speaker or the reported addressee outside the direct quote. In a sentence, such as (3) for instance, the third person pronoun does not refer back to the reported speaker. This, in part, can be gathered from the choice of the auxiliary (see Saxena 1995a, 1997 and to appear (b)).

(3) ram-ɩs   rɩŋ-a   ki   dɔ-s   kamaŋ   šuŋšuŋ   du
     name-ERG   say-PST   COMP   s/he-ERG   work   finish/PERF   be/PRST
     Ram said that he (someone else) has finished the work.

(ii) Modality information

The difference between imperative and declarative is maintained in the direct speech construction, but this distinction is structurally lost in indirect speech in Kinnauri.

(4) gə-s   dɔ-pəŋ   ʃaŋ-ts   bo   lo-k
     I-ERG   s/he-DAT   here-ABS   go/IMP   say-1SG
     I asked him to go from here.

(5) gə-(s)   dɔ-pəŋ   ʃaŋ-ts   bi-mu   lo-k
     I-ERG   s/he-DAT   here-ABS   go-NOM   say-1SG
     I asked him to go from here.

Furthermore, direct and indirect speech also differ concerning the degree of "fusion" of the "main clause" and the complement. In Kinnauri the complementizer *ki*[5] may occur between the main clause and the complement, but it does not occur with direct quotes, e.g.:

(6) *ama-s*   *riŋ-a-š*   *ki*   *čʰaŋ*   *tɔrɔ*   *toto*   *du*
    mother-ERG   say-PST-3(HON)   COMP   boy   today   sick   be/PRST

    Mother said that the boy is sick today.

(7) *nŋa-s*   *tʰas-e-č*   *ki*   *ram*   *žitɔtɔya*   *du*
    we-ERG   hear-PST-1PL   COMP   name   win/PERF   be/PRST

    We heard that Ram has won (X).

A further distinction between direct and indirect speech in Kinnauri is the intonation break between a direct quote and the verb of saying, which does not occur between an indirect quote and the verb of saying.

Even though Kinnauri structurally makes a distinction between direct and indirect speech in directly elicited data, a text analysis of Kinnauri narrative suggests that it is not always possible to distinguish indirect speech from the narrator's narration. In the narratives examined for the present paper, there was not a single instance of indirect speech including a head, such as *he said that*. In the following two excerpts, for example, it is not clear if the bolded pieces of propositions are instances of indirect speech or whether they are part of the narrator's narration.

(8) *gə*   *bi-tɔ-k*   *gə*   *byɔbyɔ*   *kɔr-ta-k*   *riŋ-ɔ*
    I   go-FUT-1SG   I   go/PERF   bring-FUT-1SG   say-PST

    katai   ***maš***   ***kod-o***   ***du***
    at.all   refuse   tell-PROG   be/PRST

    dok   ***byo-o***   ***du***
    then   go-PROG   be/PRST

    "I will go. I will go and bring it." He is refusing. Then he is going (away).

(9) *an-e-nu*   *pə*   *rani-le*   *bal*   *dukʰəŋ-ts*
    self-EMP-POSS   four   queen-EMP   much   sad-INST

    hun   ***tə***   ***hode-s***   ***šare***   ***tsʰetsʰəmi***   ***kɔr-a-š***
    now   EMP   that-INST   beautiful   girl   bring-PST-3HON

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[5] This complement construction, along with its complementizer *ki*, is a borrowing in Kinnauri from Indic languages.

dɔ	nipi	rāja	tə	bal	kʰuš-ɪs	rāj	tsəlaya-ɔ
he	after	king	EMP	head	happy-INST	estate	run-PST

His four wives were feeling sad. (Thinking that) he has married a beautiful woman. The king lives happily.

Such an ambiguity is understandable in oral narratives, keeping in mind that a story is told within the physical and temporal frame of the world-view the narrator has created for the story, and it is within this frame that different characters play their roles. The narrator tells the story for the most part from one particular point of view, but (s)he does not have to be restricted to that particular perspective. Rather, (s)he has the freedom to move from one perspective to another, describing the situation as a whole at one moment and then elaborating on the same event from the point of view of one of the characters. This flexibility makes it difficult to structually distinguish what is traditionally referred to as indirect speech from the rest of the narration.

There are several linguistic strategies used for reporting events in the Kinnauri narratives examined here. They are: (i) quotative constructions, (ii) sequences of exchanges, (iii) isolated occurrences of direct speech and (iv) narration (non-direct speech). It will be suggested that they are rhetorical strategies which a skilled narrator uses to steer the listener's attention.

3.1 ON THE QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN KINNAURI NARRATIVES

Kinnauri has two verbs of saying, *lo* and *rɪŋ*. Both occur with direct speech. *Lo* occurs predominantly in presentential position, i.e. before the direct speech (10), while *rɪŋ* appears post-sententially (11):

(10)
šalɪts-ɪs	*lo-kyɔ* //	*ham*	*to-ke-ñ* //
fox-ERG	say-N.PST	where	be-PST-2H

The fox said: "Where were (you)?"

(11)
dɔk	dɔ	dobi	bayərəŋ-s	nəŋsya-pəŋ-le
then	(s)he	laundry.man	husband.wife-ERG	that-NOM-ACC-EMP

jəŋ	kərkər/
here	bring/PERF

Then the laundry man and his wife, having brought them,

kišaŋ-s	*palya-te* //	*rɪŋ-ɔ* //
we(2)-ERG	palte.hai/LET'S	say-PST
"We will raise you!"		SAID

dɔk	*kər-gyɔ*	*nəŋ-c*	*ǰəŋ* //
then	bring-N.PST	there-ABL	here

Then they took (?him/them) from there.

Another difference between these two cognition-utterance verbs is that *lo* occurs predominantly with the narrative past tense (see (10) above), which is also the default finite verb marker in non-direct speech constructions in most traditional Kinnauri narratives (Saxena, to appear, b). On the other hand, *rɪŋ* never occurs with the narrative past tense. Instead it takes the other past tense marker ɔ, (see (11) above). *rɪŋ* shares this characteristic with direct speech. The narrative past tense does not occur inside a direct speech either.

When *rɪŋ-ɔ* (literally 'say-PST') functions as a lexical verb, the direct speech ("complement clause") does not encode a repeated utterance; rather it is always a first-time utterance (see (11) above, for instance). This, as we will see below, distinguishes *rɪŋ-ɔ* when it functions as a lexical verb from its quotative function. As mentioned above, *rɪŋ-ɔ*, functions also as the quotative marker, occurring after the quoted material. The quotative construction retains direct speech characteristics. For example, first and second person pronouns in the quoted material refer to the original speaker and hearer and not to the person who is reporting the message.

(12) *ki-sya   bɪrma-čʰostɛn raksɛs-u   dor   bi-ri-ñ   rɪŋ-ɔ*
     you(H)-NOM *name*   demon-POSS with   go-IMP-2H   say-PST

The queen said to the king: "You had said: 'You (=queen) (please) go with the demon *Birma-Chosten'*".

In the quotative construction the contents occur first as direct speech between the original speaker and the hearer and is then repeated at various points in the narratives. The repeated unit is almost always identical (in terms of the choice of the lexical items and their inflections) with the first-time utterance (compare the three occurrences of the message *the boy is born* in the narrative provided in example (13) below). The repeated utterance in each case is followed by the quotative marker (*rɪŋ-ɔ*). In this example there are minor differences (concerning the choice of the lexical item for *boy* and presence/absence of *only*, for instance). These variations can be attributed to the oral nature of the narratives.

The quotative construction may be considered as marking evidentiality, where both the form and the content of the "original speaker" are preserved. By retaining the original speech and by demarcating the quoted message from the rest of the narrative, this speech reporting strategy may be seen as a linguistic device used to declare that the responsibility for the form as well as the content does not lie with the narrator. No other form of say except *rŋ-ɔ* occurs in this context, a sign of grammaticalization.[6][7]

(13.a)

Then, "A son is born"	Become-PERF
SAID,	SAY-PST
(she) is giving a letter to a dumb boy.	Give-PROG BE-AGR

(13.b)

"A son is born"	Become-PERF
SAID	Say-PST
(ı) gave (a letter),	Give-PERF
(and) the king,	
"Please send son in an iron cage!	send/PERF KEEP-IMP
You, please, go with the demon Birma-	Go-IMP
Chostin!"	
SAID	Say-PST
(he) wrote,	Write-PERF
(he) gave	Give-PERF

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[6]   *rŋ-ɔ* in these narratives also occurs in contexts, where it has a 'reason' interpretation (see the example below). This represents yet another level of grammaticalization of the verb *say* (Saxena 1995b).

dɔk	an	ai	čʰaŋ-u	pʰyo-mu /	rŋ-ɔ /
then	self	another	child-ACC	take.away-NOM	SAY-PST
Then he went to bring his other child,					SAID

jɔŋ	bɔ-d-o	du //
here	come-ʔ-PROG	BE/PRST
(he) is going		

[7]   Examples are provided here in their literal translation, retaining the Kinnauri structure to the extent possible (the detailed examples are provided in the appendix at the end of the paper). The elements provided within parentheses () do not occur in the Kinnauri original. Each finite unit in the text is demarcated by means of a solid horizontal line. The last column in the example provides information about the verb form.

(13.c)

The king said:	Say-PST-AGR
"I live at Indar,	Stay-IMPF
I also have a queen.	Be
The queen, "a son is born",	Become-PERF
Sent a letter,	Send-PERF
"(our son) doesn't even have a head."	NEG/be
SAID,	SAY-PST
"(he) doesn't even have feet or hands.	NEG/be
(He) is limbless."	Be
SAID,	SAY-PST
I sent a letter.	Give-PST-AGR
"However, (he) is,	Stay-NOM
please keep (him)!"	Keep-PERF KEEP-IMP
SAID	SAY-PST

3.2 ON DIRECT SPEECH IN KINNAURI N ' "'   ,

Direct speech (both sequences of exchange and is ' ... instances of direct speech) differ from the quotative construction in two ys. First, direct speech does not take the quotative marker or for that matter, ... other grammaticalized marker, isolating the direct speech from its context. Second, it does not typically provide repetitions of previous instances of direct speech. They do, however, retain the characteristic features of direct speech (such as the first person pronoun referring to the speaker, described in section 2.2 above).

Sequences of exchange form two subgroups: first, sequences of exchange as part of the ritualized narrative units, and second, sequence of exchange in other contexts. It is suggested here that longer sequences of exchange belonging to the second subgroup is a linguistic mechanism to encode peaks in Kinnauri narratives.

3.2.1 On ritualized narrative units

Some narratives exhibit characteristics of ritualized episodes. Each ritualized narrative unit is presented as one compact slot. An important characteristic of a ritualized narrative unit is repetition at regular intervals, similar to stanzas in songs. This is seen in the length of the each sub-ritualized unit, in the length of the finite units (both direct speech and other finite units) comprising the sub-ritualized unit and also in the choice of lexical items and their inflections. An example of the ritualized narrative unit is presented below in example (14). The ritualized narrative unit encodes exchange between the *girls* (the main participant) and a *crow*, a *fox* and a *mouse*. This has one "original" component

(units 1-5) and two "repeated" components (units 7-11 and 11-13). The introductory line is the same in the repeated components (6 and 11), with obvious variations consistent with the advances in the story-line. The second finite unit is direct speech in all three components (units 2, 7, and 12). This is identical in all three components, with the exception that the *he said*-clause occurs only in the first component. The third unit is again direct speech. The third component in the ritualized narrative unit is not the end of the conversation between the *girls* and the *mouse*. The exchange between *girl* and *crow*, and *girl* and *fox* is identical (with obvious modifications) and the exchange between *girl* and *mouse* matches them.

(14)

Unit			
1	Crow	**(The crow) said "kau-kau".**	say-N.PST
2	Girls	**Those two said:** **"What! kao-kao crow?,** **Have (you) seen our sisters?"**	say-N.PST see-PST-AGR-Q
3	Crow	**The crow said:** **"If (you) give (me) an ear-full of bribe,** **(then) (I) will tell."**	say-N.PST give-NOM tell-FUT-AGR
4	Girls	**(They) gave.**	give-N.PST
5	Fox	The crow saying "kao kao", went.	say-PROG (lodo) go-N.PST
6	Fox	A fox, saying "khwa", came.	say-PROG come-N.PST
7	Girls	**(The girls said:)** **"What, khwa fox, have (you) seen our** **sisters?"**	see-PST-AGR-Q
8	Fox	**The fox said:** **"If (you) give (me) an ear-full of bribe,** **(then) (I) will tell."**	say-N.PST give-NOM tell-FUT-AGR
9	Girls	**(They) gave (him).**	give-N.PST
10	Fox	*Having said: "khwa",* *(he) went.*	say-PERF go-N.PST
11	Mouse	A mouse, saying "cu cu", came.	say-PROG come-N.PST
12	Girls	**(The girls said:)** **"cu cu mouse, have (you) seen our sisters?"**	see-PST-AGR-Q
13	Mouse	**(The mouse said:)** **"If (you) give (me) an ear-full of bribe,** **(I) will tell."**	give-NOM tell-FUT-AGR

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The form in these ritualized narrative units is not always identical, but it is almost identical: the occurrence of the ritualized narrative units seems to be the result of a long oral tradition, where the narrative has been told many times previously and has n   nalized some of its phrasing.[8] The ritualized narrative unit, it is su   here, is a stylistic linguistic devi₋₋ and does not contribute functionally to the narrative in the same way as other direct speech strategies.

3.2.2 On sequences of exchange

Kinnauri narratives have both a sequence of exchanges comprising just two direct quotations (one by each participant) as well as exchanges which are relatively longer. The longest exchange in the material examined here comprises nine direct quotations in the material examined here. I suggest that there is a gradual difference in their intensity. The longer exchanges occur in climactic and other similar situations. There is one or at most two longer exchanges in each narrative, comprising units which encode climax situations, an example of which is provided below in example (15). This exchange comprises seven instances of direct speech, mostly encoding an exchange between the *king* and the *queen*. It occurs towards the end of the narrative, leading to the happy ending (i.e., reuniting the family). All instances of direct speech here have a *he said*-clause and the subject occurs explicitly in each case (even though both the *king* and the *queen* are known and significant participants in the story). This is probably done to increase the tempo by quickly switching focus between the two participants. Furthermore, the use of the V-PROG BE/PRST occurs in peak-situations, not only comprising direct speech, but also in narrative units (see Sa×₋ na (to appear, b).

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8   A major difference between spontaneous narratives and traditional folktales (especially in cultures with long oral tradition) is the frequency of repeated occurrences. As seen in this section, the ritualized narrative units present the rendering of identical propositions in traditional narratives. Distinct from this, studies such as Isaacs 1989, Hjelmquist and Gidlund 1985, reported in Clark and Gerrit (1990), have highlighted problems with the exact reproduction of an utterance in spontaneous narratives.

(15)

Shepa-shampa are saying: **"The queen is not recognizing the king."**	Say-PROG NEG-know-PROG
Then the king is saying: **"What are those two saying?"**	Say-PROG BE /PRST Say-PROG BE/PRST
The queen said: **"How do you live?"**	Say-PST-AGR Stay-IMPF
The king said: **"I live at Indar,** **I also have a queen.** *The queen, "A son is born.",* *Sent a letter,* **"(our) son) doesn't even have a head.** **SAID,** **(he) doesn't even have feet or hands.** **(He) is limbless.** **SAID,** **I sent a letter.** **"However, (he) is,** **please keep (him)!"** **SAID**	Say-PST-AGR Stay-IMPF Be Become-PERF Send-PERF NEG/be SAY-PST NEG/be Be SAY-PST Give-PST-AGR Stay-NOM Keep-PERF KEEP-IMP SAY-PST
The queen is saying: **You (had said:) "Send (our) son in an iron cage,** **You yourself, please, go with the demon!"** **SAID** **(you) had written.** **(But I) didn't go with the demon.** **(But I) have sent (our) son in an iron cage.** **I met sun and moon,** *Those two gave me a bagar horse tazi-raŋ,* *The horse said:* **"if (you) can watch over me all night,** **(I) don't die** **Otherwise (I) will die.** **If (I) die,** **While laughing,** **Skin (me),** *Separate all my body parts,* *Send (them) in a stable!"* **Ribs became a palace,** *The animal skin became a field,* *Lungs-livers became two puppies, Shepa-Shampa"*	Say-PROG BE-AGR Send-PERF KEEP-PERF Go-IMP-IMP SAY-PST Write-PERF BE-PST-AGR NEG-go-AGR Send-PERF BE/PRST Meet-PERF Give-PERF SAY-PST Watch.over-NOM Capable-NOM NEG-die-AGR Die-FUT-AGR Die-NOM Laugh-PROG Skin-PERF Send-IMP-IMP Become-PERF Become-PERF -
The king said: **"Oh! Where did (you) send (our) son?"**	Say-PST-AGR Send-AGR
"(I have) put (our) son in an iron cage"	Keep-PERF
(King) sent Shepa and Shampa, (and) brought (his) son.	keep-PERF Bring-PST-AGR

Saxena, A. 2002, "Speech reporting strategies in Kinnauri narratives", in *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 165-190. (purl.org/sealang/saxena2002speech.pdf)

The occurrence of direct speech to highlight events in climax situations is not unique to Kinnauri. This is also reported in Aguaruna (Larsson 1978), in Teribe (Koontz 1977:113), Guarano (Waltz 1977:89), Guajiro (Mansen and Mansen 1976:223). Languages use linguistic devices to distinguish main events from the rest of the narrative. It is, however, not always the occurrence of direct speech which marks the main event, it can also be the reverse, i.e, the whole narrative might be in direct speech while it is the main event/climax which lacks direct speech. This is attested in languages such as Aguaruna. This also suggests that it is not direct speech as a type which is the linguistic means to encode main events, rather it is the 'change of pace' which encodes main events (Longacre 1976:223-225, Baynham 1996).

3.2.3 On isolated instances of direct speech

Traditional oral narratives should perhaps be seen as live performances. Though they are primarily monologues (as opposed to conversations), the narrator takes on the role of different characters in the course of the story-telling – at times to enhance the performance aspect of the story-telling, and at other times to bring the narration ⁝ ⁚ to the real situation. An example of enhancing the live performanc⸱ i⸱ l⸱ ᴄ⸱ ᴀ⸱ᴀ⸱ᴀⁱⱼ ᴄinging an excerpt of the song a participant (the *girls* in narrative 07) is said to have sung as part of the narrative. Occurrences of isolated instances of direct speech is yet another linguistic device to highlight the performance aspect of story-telling.

Isolated instances of direct speech in Kinnauri narrativ⸱.⸱ express predominantly the magnitude of emotions. These include the feeling of sorrow, exasperation, frustration and anger. See, for instance, units 2, 4, 6 in example (16) below. It is easier to demonstrate such emotions by "retaining" the direct speech than by describing these emotions by more indirect linguistic means.

(16)

Unit		
1	(He) fell down on the lentils.	fell-N.PST
2	"Oh! I am dead." (He) said.	die-AGR say-N.PST
3	(He) poked in the fire.	pocked-N.PST
4	(he said:) "Oh!"	- -
5	(He) got burnt with the salt.	got.burnt-N.PST
6	(He) said: "Oh!"	say-N.PST

Direct speech also occurs in contexts where it encodes commands. The use of the speaker's choice of the imperative marker[9] and other linguistic expressions

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[9] In Kinnauri the imperative construction is the major linguistic device for making requests and commands. The difference between a *request* and a *non-honorific direct command* is made by means of the choice of the imperative markers on the verb (Saxena to appear (a)).

maintain the seriousness (and thereby, also the authenticity) of that command - how directly or indirectly the command is made. In non-direct speech the narrator usually abides by the social norms, avoiding, for instance, the use of taboo expressions or the use of non-honorific expressions for participants with positive social standing (for example, terms of reference to a father from a daughter or to a king from a demon). Such socially unacceptable *expressions* occur, however, rather freely in direct speech. This is probably one means of providing the real flavor of a situation to the listener, without the narrator having to take the responsibility for the socially unacceptable behavior. Clark and Gerrit (1990) suggest ineffability as one of the factors determining the choice of direct speech. According to them, "whether speakers describe or demonstrate an aspect should depend, all else being equal, on which is easier. Ineffability is a strong reason for quoting instead of describing" (*op.cit.*:793). The isolated instances of direct speech in Kinnauri narratives seem to support ineffability as a significant factor in the occurrence of direct speech.

(17)

1-2 During the daytime (she) used to go to the field to chase away the birds (bird).	Chase-NOM Go-IMPF BE-N.PST
(The saintly man) said: "(Please) don't catch the birds with (your) hands! (Please) throw (them) away with a stick!	Say-PST-AGR PROH-catch-IMP-IMP Throw-IMP-IMP
She was coming near the bird.	Come-PROG BE-N.PST

One additional function of direct speech seems to be to disclose the inner thoughts of the speaker (including revealing or presenting schemes/plans for the first time).

(18)

By eating (consuming) everything got finished.	eat/PERF finish-?-N.PST
That day (he) is thinking: "What should I do now? We don't have anything to eat." "What should we eat?" like that he is saying. "Let's go abroad! Let's go abroad! We must earn something. Here there is nothing." Then (they) went away.	feel-PROG BE - NEG/be eat-NOM keep-LET'S keep-LET'S go-LET'S go-LET'S earn-NOM NEG-be go-N.PST

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Even though observations made here present an overall pattern for the use of isolated instances of direct speech, there remain cases where its functional motivations are not entirely clear. For example,

(19)

In the meantime sun and moon came under (the tree).	Come-PST-AGR
From inside the tree (she) is talking (=saying): *"My parents (parents-ERG) sent me with the demon Birma-Chostin, I'm inside this (the tree)."*	**Talk-PROG BE-AGR Send-PERF Be-AGR**
That time king's servants are coming.	Come-PROG BE/PRST

3.2.4 On non-direct speech in Kinnauri narratives

Non-direct speech presents events as a chronological sequence of episodes. In such cases the events are presented as distant compact events which happened a long time ago. Distance is maintained between the events on the one hand, and the narrator and the listeners on the other. The focus in such cases is on the neutral presentation of events (see Saxena to appear (b)) for details).

Kinnauri makes frequent use of the converb construction, where one or more converb segments are followed by a base segment which also carries the finite verb morphology. Converbs are semantically neutral clause-linkage device. Their default interpretation is to mark sequentiality. Converbs are propulsive and move the storyline ahead (see Johansson 1995). There are other syntactic devices available in the language which provide more specific information about the type of clausal relationship.

(20) də   raža   bəbə   puja   lanlan   hɔdɔ   mačʰɛs   lanlan
     (s)he king   come/NF   prayer make/NF   that   fish   make/NF
     that king came,   (he) prayed,   (he) prepared the fish,

     naŋ-o-nu   mažʰaŋ-o   tata   du-gyɔ   mə
                                                             //
     plate-PL-POSS   middle-LOC   keep/PERF   BE-N.PST   ?
     (and he) put (it) on the plate.

An examination of the distribution of the converb segments and the finite verbs in narratives in non-direct speec[10] suggests that the finite verb in Kinnauri narratives has a discourse-related function. It marks the end of a discourse unit, which may perhaps be referred to as a thematic unit or an episode. A distinction

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[10] Converb segments may or may not end with the base segments. In the latter case they occur as part of another complex "sentence."

is made here between a *narrative information unit* and a *background information unit*, where the narrative information unit moves the story-line ahead and the background information unit provides the background information. Some of the discourse factors which trigger the narrative information units are: change in discourse topic, shift in point of view, change in time and place and world-shift. Converb segments within one finite unit encode one thematic unit in Kinnauri narratives. Each converb segment represents one sub-unit which contributes to the making of the thematic unit. The base segment (i.e., the finite clause in the converb construction) links one thematic unit to the next.

4.1 DISCUSSION

Traditional Kinnauri narratives display features of live performance, where the narrator takes on the role of different participants during the course of narrating. The speech reporting strategies, described here, are linguistic tools which the narrator uses to steer the listeners' attention and to get them involved. Direct speech draws the listeners' attention to the speaker's thoughts and feelings vividly (Tannen 1989) and provides an opportunity to its listeners for an eyewitness experience – to get engrossed in the act from the perspective of the direct speech. Chafe (1982) suggests that direct speech expresses the narrator's involvement in the event (s)he is narrating. In traditional narratives such as the ones considered here, the narrator's decision to use direct speech encourages the listeners to get engrossed in the role or event being narrated (Clark and Gerrit 1990). If it is in the participant's world, direct speech fulfils the task better than non-direct speech. In other words, non-direct speech is a description, whereas direct speech is a 'depiction' or 'demonstration' (Clark and Gerrit 1990). The choice of the verb form as well as the pronoun in a direct speech is also an implicit way of revealing the power relationship between the various participants in the narrative and the perspective taken by the narrator (i.e., the light in which a particular participant is presented).

What function or effect a particular linguistic strategy will have in a narrative or in a situation depends, in part, on other strategies available. In Kinnauri narratives, while the longer exchange of sequences occurs in climax situations, the occurrence of the ritualized narrative units does not have similar discourse functions. The latter is more of a stylistic feature. The guiding principle of letting the listeners feel an event by experiencing it directly, seems also to be the motivation for using direct speech to enhance the magnitude of emotions and to convey commands. This, in sum, suggests that the speech reporting strategies have various functions, where some are motivated by discourse-related factors, others as a component of live performance, still others displaying stylistic characteristics of a long oral tradition.

APPENDIX

13.a)

dɔk	Dɛkrats	hač-ɪs /	rɪŋ-ɔ /
then	son	become-PERF	say-PST

Then, "A son is born" SAID

i	laɟa-ts		rəŋ	čiʈʰi	ran-o	du-š //
a	dumb.boy-DIMINU		with	letter	give-PROG	BE-3H

(she) is giving a letter to a dumb boy.

13.b)

beɟats	hač-ɪs /	rɪŋ-ɔ /
son-DIMINU	become-PERF	say-PST

"A son is born" SAID

čiʈʰi	rara /
letter	give/NF

(I)gave a letter,

raža-s	tə	beɟa-ts-u	rɔn-u	pɪŋjɔr-u	kom-o
king-ERG	EMP	son-DIMINU-ACC	iron-POSS	cage-POSS	inside-LOC

šeše	ta-rɪ-ñ /
/send/NF	KEEP-IMP-2H

(and.) the king (wrote), "(Please) send the son inside an iron cage."

13.c)

raža-s	lo-kɪ-š //
king-ERG	say-PST-3H

The king said:

gə	tə	indər-o	ni-ts /
I	EMP	name-LOC	stay-IMPF

"I live at Indar (the god's kingdom),

əŋ	rani	le	to //
my	queen	EMP	be

I also have a queen.

rani-s	beɟa-ts	hač-ɪs/	rɪŋ-ɔ/
queen-ERG	son-DIMINU	become-NF	say-PST

The queen, "A son is born", SAID

čiʈʰi	šeše /
letter	send/NF

(she) sent a letter,

bal-le	matsʰ //
head-EMP	NEG/be

"(Our son) doesn't even have a head.

baŋ-ɔ	gud-ɔ	le	matsʰ //
foot-PL	hand-PL	EMP	NEG/be

(He) doesn't even have feet or hands.

eko	muDəl-e	to //	rɪŋ-ɔ /
only	limbless-?	be	say-PST

(He) is limbless." SAID,

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gə-s	*tə*	*čiṭ'i*	*ran-o-k //*
I-ERG	EMP	letter	give-PST-1SG

I sent a letter.

hales	*ni-ma*	*le/*
how-INST	stay-NOM	EMP

"However (he) is,

tata	*ta-rɪ-ñ //*		*rɪŋ-ɔ/*
keep/NF	KEEP-IMP-2H		say-PST
(please) keep (him)."			SAID

(14)

kau-kau	*lɔ-kyɔ //*
ONOMO	say-N.PST

(The crow) said: "kau-kau".

dɔk-suŋ-ʊs	*lɔ-kyɔ //*
those.two-ERG	say-N.PST

Those two said:

čʰə	*kao-kao*	*kaure*	*niš-u*	*bai-ts-u*	*taŋ-ɔ-n-a //*
what	ONOMO	crow.sound-Hey!	two-POSS	sister-DIMINU-ACC	see-PST-AGR-Q

"Hi kao-kao crow, have you seen our two sisters?"

kag-ɪs	*lo-kyɔ //*
crow-ERG	say-N.PST

The crow said:

kan-əŋ	*kʰɔti-ts*	*bəŋ*	*bʊdɪŋ*	*kɛ-ma /*
ear-at	hole.in.ground-DIMINU	?fill.a.bucket	bribe	give-NOM

"If (you) give (me) an ear-full of bribe,

rɪŋ-ta-k //		*ran-gyɔ //*
narrate-FUT-1SG		give-N.PST
(then I) will tell."		(They) gave (him).

kag	*kao-kao*	*lo-d-o /*		*bɔ-gyɔ //*
crow	ONOMO	say-?-PROG		go-N.PST
The crow saying "kao kao",				went (away).

ɪd	*šalɪts*	*kʰwa*	*lɔ-d-o /*		*bə-kyɔ //*
a	fox	ONOMO	say-?-PROG		come-N.PST
A fox saying "khwa",					(and) came.

čʰə	*kʰwa*	*šʰalɪts*	*niš-u*	*bai-ts-ɔ*	*taŋ-ɔ-n-a //*
what	ONOMO	fox-DIMINU	two-POSS	sister-DIMINU-PL	see-PST-AGR-Q

(The girls said:) "Have you seen our sisters?"

šalɪ-ts-ɪs	*lo-kyɔ //*
fox-DIMINU-ERG	say-N.PST

The fox said:

kan-əŋ	*kʰɔti-ts*	*bəŋ*	*bʊdɪŋ*	*kɛ-ma /*
ear-at	hole.in.ground-DIMINU	?fill.a.bucket	bribe	give-NOM

"If (you) give (me) an ear-full of bribe,

rɪŋ-ta-k //		*ran-gyɔ //*
narrate-FUT-1SG		give-N.PST
(then) I will tell."		(They) gave (him).

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kʰwa   lɔl /   bɔ-gyɔ //
ONOMO   say/NF   go-N.PST
(He) said: "khwa",   (and) went (away).

ɪd   pyuts   ču-ču   lɔ-d-o /   bɔ-kyɔ //
a   mouse-DIMINU   ONOMO   say-?-PROG   come-N.PST
A mouse, saying "cu cu",   came.

čʰə   ču-ču   pyu-ts   nišu   bai-ts-ɔ   taŋ-ɔ-n-a //
what   ONOMO   mouse-DIMINU   two-POSS   sister-PL   see-PST-AGR-Q
(The girls said:) "cu-cu mouse, have you seen our sisters?"

kan-əŋ   kʰɔti-ts   bəŋ   budɪŋ   kɛ-ma-ta /
ear-at   hole.in.ground-DIMINU   ?fill.a.bucket   bribe   give-NOM-EMP
(The mouse said:) "If (you) give (me) an ear-full of bribe,

rɪŋ-ta-k //
say-FUT-1SG
(I) will tell."

(15)
šepa-raŋ   šəmpa-ts-ɪs   lɔ-d-o/
name-with   name-DIMINU-ERG   say-?-PROG
Shepa and Shampa are/were saying:

raža-pəŋ   rani   tə   ma-šɛsš-o /
king-ACC   queen   EMP   NEG-recognize(RECIPRO)-PROG
"The queen is not recognizing the king"

dɔk   raža-s   lɔ-d-o   dʊ-š //
then   king-ERG   say-?-   PROG BE-3H
Then the king is saying:

nɔk-sʊŋ   čʰa   lo-š-o   du //
those.two   what   say-SEND-PROG   BE/PRST
"What are those two saying?"

rani-s   lo-kɪ-š //
queen-ERG   say-PST-3H
The queen said:

ki   hala   hala   ni-ts /
you(H)   how   how   stay-IMPF
"How do you live?"

raža-s   lɔ-kɪ-š //
king-ERG   say-PST-3H
The king said:

gə tə   indər-o   ni-ts /
I   EMP   name-LOC   stay-IMPF
"I live at Indar (the god's kingdom),

əŋ rani   le   to //
my queen EMP   be/PRST
I also have a queen.

rani-s   beʈa-ts   hač-ɪs /   rɪŋ-ɔ /
queen-ERG   son-DIMINU   become-NF   say-PST
The queen, "A son is born",   SAID

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čiṭṭʰi   šeše /
letter   send/NF
(she) sent a letter,

bal-le   matsʰ //
head-EMP   NEG/be
"(Our son) doesn't even have a head.

baŋ-ɔ   gud-ɔ   le   matsʰ //
foot-PL   hand-PL EMP   NEG/be
(He) doesn't even have feet or hands.

eko   muDɔle   to /   *rɪŋ-ɔ /*
only   limbless-?   be/PRST   say-PST
(He) is limbless."   SAID

gɔ-s   tɔ   čiṭṭʰi   ran-o-k //
I-ERG   EMP   letter   give-PST-1SG
I sent a letter.

hales   ni-ma   le /
how-INST   stay-NOM   EMP
"However (he) is,

tata   ta-ri-ñ //   *rɪŋ-ɔ /*
keep/NF   KEEP-IMP-2H   say-PST
(please) keep (him)."   SAID

rani-s   lo-d-o   du-š //
queen-ERG   say-?-   PROG BE-3H
The queen is saying:

ki-s   tɔ   beṭa-ts-u   rɔn-u   pɪ̃jɔr-u   kom-o   šeše   tata /
you(H)-ERG EMP son-DIMINU-ACC iron-POSS cage-POSS inside-LOC sendNF KEEP/NF
"(But) you (had written a letter saying) "(Please) put (our) son in an iron cage!

ki-sya   Birma-čʰɔsten   rakses-u   dor   bi-rɪ-ñ //   *rɪŋ-ɔ /*
you(H)-NOM   name   demon-POSS   with   go-IMP-2H   say-PST
(Please) you yourself go with the demon!"   SAID

čeče   du-ge-ñ //
write/PERF   BE-PST-2H
(You) had written.

rakses-u   dor   tɔ   ma-byo-k //
demon-POSS   with   EMP   NEG-go-1SG
(However,) I did not go with the demon.

beṭa-ts-u   rɔn-u   pɪ̃jɔr-u   kom-o   šeše   to //
son-DIMINU-ACC iron-POSS cage-POSS inside-LOC send/PERF BE/PRST
(But,) (I) did send (=put) (our) son in an iron cage.

gɔ tɔ   yune   raŋ   gɔlsaŋ čʰuk-š-ɪs /
I   EMP   sun   with   moon   meet-?-NF
I met Sun and Moon,

dɔk-suŋ-ɪs   aŋ-u   ɪd   bagar   taži-raŋ   kɛkɛ /
they.two-ERG   my-ACC   a   horse.type   a.horse.name   give/NF
those two gave me a Bagar horse taži-raŋ.

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raŋ-ɩs   rŋ-ɔ //
horse-ERG say-PST
The horse said:

gui   rat-ŋ   aŋ-u   ruŋž-ɩm /   han-na tə /   ma-ši-k //
whole   night-at   my-ACC   guard-NOM   can-NOM EMP   NEG-die-1SG
1-2: "If you can watch over me all night, I won't die.

ma-ni-ma   ši-ta-k //
NEG-STAY-NOM   die-FUT-1SG
Otherwise (I) will die.

ši-ma /   wad-o /   kʰo-ǰ-ɩs /
die-NOM   laugh-PROG   skin(V)-1/2-NF
If I die,   while laughing, skin (me),

tsei   alag   alag   kʰargon-o   še-č-i-ra //
all-EMP   separate(N)   separate(N)   stable-PL-?-PL   send-IMP-IMP
put all my separate body-parts in the stable!"

Dork-ɔ   tə   bɛr   hač-ɩs /
rib-PL   EMP   palace   become-NF
Ribs became a palace,

pɔnaŋ   tə   ropaŋ   hač-ɩs /
animal.skin   EMP   field   become-NF
animal skin became a field,

šin-ɔ   patraŋ-ɔ-nu   nɩš   kui   čʰaŋ-ɔ   šepa-ts
lung-PL   ?-PL-ACC   two   dog   child-PL   name-DIMINU

rəŋ   šempa-ts   hač-ɩs /
with   name-DIMINU   become-NF
lungs and livers became two puppies, (named) Shepa and Shampa.

raža-s   lɔ-kɩ-š //
king-ERG   say-PST-3H
The king said:

oho   beta-ts   ham   še-ñ //
ONOMO   son-DIMINU   where   send-2H
"Oh! Where did you send (=put) (our) son?"

beta-ts   tə   rɔn-u   pɩnǰɔr-u   kom-o   tata /
son-DIMINU   EMP   iron-POSS   cage-POSS   inside-LOC   keep/NF
"(I have) put (our) son in an iron cage"

šepa-ts-raŋ   šəmpa-ts-u   šeše /
name-DIMINU-   with name-DIMINU-ACC   send/NF
(King) sent Shepa and Shampa,

beta-ts-u   kər-gɩ-š //
son-DIMINU-ACC give-PST-3H
(they) freed (their = the king & queen's) son.

(16)
čɛšt ɛn-u   den   brəlts-i-gyɔ //
lentil-POSS   on   fell-?-N.PST
(He) fell down on the lentils.

ao   *ši-k //*   *lo-kyɔ //*
ONOMO   die-1SG   say-N.PST
"Oh! I am dead."   (He) said.

pʰalə-yo   *me*   *ško-gyɔ //*
stove-?-LOC   fire   move-N.PST
(He) poked in the fire (to see when the girls ran away).

tsoṭo-tsoṭo-tsoṭo ///
ONOMÓ
(he said:) "Oh!"

tsʰas   *pɔg-gyɔ //*
salt-INST   got.burnt-N.PST
(He) got burnt with the salt.

atsʰəlee   *lo-kyɔ //*
ONOMO   say-N.PST
(He) said: "Oh!"

(17)

laye   *laye*   *se-rɪm-o*   *rapya*   *ru-mu /*   *bi-ts*   *du-gyɔ //*
day   day   ?-field-LOC   a.bird   take.care-NOM   go-IMPF   BE-N.PST
(1-2) During the day time (she) used to go to the field to chase away the birds.

lo-kɪ-š //
say-N.PST
(The saintly man) said:

rapya-nu   *gud-ɪs*   *tʰa-tsum-rɪ-ñ //*
a.bird-ACC   hand-INST   PROHIB-catch-IMP-2H
"(Please) don't catch the bird with (your) hands!

Dɛŋ-əs   *hakar-ɪ-ñ //*
stick-INST throw-IMP-2H
(Please) throw (at them) with a stick!"

dɔ   *rapya*   *neroŋ-o-i*   *bə-d-o*   *du-gyɔ //*
(s)he   a.bird   near-LOC-EMP   come-   ?-PROG BE-N.PST
She was going near a bird.

(18)

žaža   *hɔdɔ /*   *tsei*   *tsʰekya-gyɔ //*
eat/PERF   that   all   finish-?-N.PST
1-2: by eating(consuming) everything got finished.

dɔ-mya   *tsal-o*   *du //*
(s)he-day   feel-   PROG BE
That day (he) is thinking

hun   *čʰəd-a-mɪg ///*
now   what-?-NOM
"What should (I) do now?

čʰə-ts-i-tə   *matsʰ //*   *ža-mu /*
what-DIMINU-EMP-EMP   NEG/be   eat-NOM
"(2-3) We don't have anything to eat.

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čʰə   ta-še //   lo-š-o   du //
what   keep-LET'S   say-SEND-   PROG BE
What is to keep?"   (like that he) is saying.

hun-ña   pərdes   bi-te //
now-NOM   foreign   go-LET'S
"Let's go abroad!

barŋ   bite   barŋ   muluk-o //
outside   go-LET'S   outside   country-LOC
Let's go abroad!

čʰəd-tə   čʰəd-tə   kəmaya-mɪg /
what-EMP   what-EMP   earn-NOM
(We) must earn something.

jəŋ-tə   čʰəč-i   ma-du //
here-EMP   what-EMP   NEG-be
Here there is nothing."

dɔk   byɔ-gyɔ //
then   go-N.PST
Then (they) went away.

(19)

det-rəŋ   tə   yɔčrŋ   yune   rəŋ   gɔlsaŋ ba-kɪ-š //
that.time   EMP   below   sun   with   moon come-PST ₃H
At that time Sun and Moon came under (the tree).

boɬʰaŋ-u   kom-o-č   bat-yo   du-š //
tree-POSS   inside-LOC-ABL   talk-PROG   BE-3H
From inside the tree (she) is talking (=saying):

aŋ-u   a   əma-bɔba-s   bɪrma-čʰɔstɛn   rakses-u   dor   še-č-ɪs /
me-DATme parents-ERG   name   demon-POSS with   send-1/2-NF
"My parents sent me with the demon Birma-Chostin,

gə   hɔyɔ-r   to-k //
I   this-?   be-1SG
I'm inside this (the tree)."

det-rəŋ   tə   raža-u   el-kare   bə-d-o   du //
that.time   EMP   king-POSS servant   come-?-PROG BE/PRST
At that time (some of the) king's servants are coming.

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