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 storytelling. 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.
2.1 BACKGROUND: ON KINNAURI NARRATIVES

Kinnauri is a West Himalayian 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 convorb 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 Gjerdmann 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 involves 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
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).^2

(1) \textit{ram-\textit{is} ru\textit{\text{-\textit{a}}} g\textit{\text{-\textit{a}}} k\textit{\text{-\textit{a}}} \textit{kam\textit{\text{-\textit{a}}} k\textit{\text{-\textit{a}}} to-k}}
\begin{align*}
\text{name-ERG say-PST I work finish/PERF be-1SG} \\
\text{Ram said “I have finished the work”}.
\end{align*}

(2) \textit{ram-\textit{is} ru\textit{\text{-\textit{a}}} ki do\textit{-\textit{\text{\text{-\textit{a}}} k\textit{\text{-\textit{a}}} k\textit{\text{-\textit{a}}} to}}}
\begin{align*}
\text{name-ERG say-PST COMP s/he-ERG work finish/PERF be/PRST} \\
\text{Ram said that he (Ram) has finished the work}.
\end{align*}

^2 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 = adverbia, 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-\(s\) ru\(j\)-a\(\,\) ki\(\,\) d\(\̯\)-s\(\,\) k\(\̯\)m\(\̯\)ñ\(\̯\)y\(\,\) š\(\̯\)n\(\̯\)ñ\(\̯\)y\(\,\) 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) g\(ə\)-\(s\) d\(\̯\)-p\(ə\)ñ\(\,\) jëñ-ts\(\,\) bo\(\,\) lo-k
I-ERG s/he-DAT here-ABS go/IMP say-1SG
I asked him to go from here.

(5) g\(ə\)-(s) d\(\̯\)-p\(ə\)ñ\(\,\) jëñ-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 may occur between the main clause and the complement, but it does not occur with direct quotes, e.g.:

(6) ama-s rmj-a-š ki čhaj tora toto du
mother-ERG say-PST-3(HON) COMP boy today sick be/PRST

Mother said that the boy is sick today.

(7) nṛma-s ḍas-e-č ki ram žitotya du
we-ERG hear-PST-IPL 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-ta-k gə byɔbyɔ kərt-ə-k rmj-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-ə-nu pə rani-le bal dokʰən-ə-təs
self-EMP-POSS four queen-EMP much sad-INST

hun to hode-s šare tsʰetsʰəmi kər-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.
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 structurally 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 *riy*. Both occur with direct speech. *Lo* occurs predominantly in presentential position, i.e. before the direct speech (10), while *riy* appears post-sententially (11):

(10)  
\[ \text{ťaldts-is} \quad \text{lo-kv\c{c}} \quad // \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{to-ke-\~n} \quad // \]
fox-ERG  say-N.PST  where  be-PST-2H

The fox said:  “Where were (you)?”

(11)  
\[ \text{d\c{c}} \quad \text{d\c{c}} \quad \text{dobi} \quad \text{bayar\~ny-s} \quad \text{n\~nsya-p\~ny-le} \]
then  (s)he  laundry.man  husband.wife-ERG  that-NOM-ACC-EMP

\[ \text{jiy} \quad \text{k\~r\~k\~n\~r/} \]
here  bring/PREF

Then the laundry man and his wife, having brought them,
**kišaŋ-s**  **palya-te**  //  **raŋ-ɔ**  //
we(2)-ERG  palte.hai/LET'S  say-PST

"We will raise you!"  //  SAID

dɔk  kɔr-gyɔ  nəŋ-c  jəŋ  //
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, raŋ never occurs with the narrative past tense. Instead it takes the other past tense marker ɔ, (see (11) above). raŋ shares this characteristic with direct speech. The narrative past tense does not occur inside a direct speech either.

When raŋ-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 raŋ-ɔ when it functions as a lexical verb from its quotative function. As mentioned above, raŋ-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**  **burma-čʰosten rakses-u**  **dor**  **bi-ri-ň**  **raŋ-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 (raŋ-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 *riy-ɔ* occurs in this context, a sign of grammaticalization.\(^6^7\)

(13.a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Then, &quot;A son is born&quot;</th>
<th>Become-PERF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAID,</td>
<td>SAY-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(she) is giving a letter to a dumb boy.</td>
<td>Give-PROG BE-AGR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(13.b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;A son is born&quot;</th>
<th>Become-PERF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAID</td>
<td>SAY-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) gave (a letter),</td>
<td>Give-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(and) the king,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Please send son in an iron cage! &quot;</td>
<td>send/PERF KEEP-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You, please, go with the demon Birma-Chostin!&quot;</td>
<td>Go-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAID</td>
<td>Say-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(he) wrote,</td>
<td>Write-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(he) gave</td>
<td>Give-PERF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^6^\) *riy-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).

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{dɔk} & \text{an} & \text{ai} & \text{ɛ'ay-u} & \text{p'yo-} & \text{mu} / \\
\text{then} & \text{self} & \text{another} & \text{child-ACC} & \text{take.away-NOM} & \text{SAID} \\
\text{Say-PST} & \text{SAID} & \text{SAID} & \text{SAID} & \text{SAID} & \text{SAID} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^7^\) 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.
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

| 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 NARRATIVES

Direct speech (both sequences of exchange and isolated instances of direct speech) differ from the quotative construction in two ways. First, direct speech does not take the quotative marker or for that matter, any 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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 |
| 3    | Crow  
The crow said:  
“If (you) give (me) an ear-full of bribe,  
(then) (I) will tell.”  
say-N.PST |
| 4    | Girls  
(They) gave.  
give-N.PST |
| 5    | Fox  
The crow saying “kao kao”,  
went.  
say-PROG |
| 6    | Fox  
A fox, saying “khwa”,  
came.  
say-PROG |
| 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 |
| 9    | Girls  
(They) gave (him).  
give-N.PST |
| 10   | Fox  
Having said: “khwa”,  
(he) went.  
say-PERF |
| 11   | Mouse  
A mouse, saying “cu cu”,  
came.  
say-PROG |
| 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 |


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 now formalized some of its phrasing.\(^8\) The ritualized narrative unit, it is suggested here, is a stylistic linguistic device 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 Saxena (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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Verb Formulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shepa-shampa are saying:</td>
<td>Say-PROG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The queen is not recognizing the king.”</td>
<td>NEG-know-PROG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Then the king is saying:</td>
<td>Say-PROG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What are those two saying?”</td>
<td>BE/PRST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The queen said:</td>
<td>Say-PST-AGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“How do you live?”</td>
<td>Stay-IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The king said:</td>
<td>Say-PST-AGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I live at Indar, I also have a queen.</td>
<td>Stay-IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The queen, “A son is born.”</td>
<td>Become-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent a letter,</td>
<td>Send-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“(our son) doesn’t even have a head.</td>
<td>NEG/be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAID, (he) doesn’t even have feet or hands.</td>
<td>SAY-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(He) is limbless.</td>
<td>NEG/be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAID, I sent a letter.</td>
<td>Be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“However, (he) is, please keep (him)!</td>
<td>SAY-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAID</td>
<td>Give-PST-AGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The queen is saying:</td>
<td>Stay-NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You (had said:) “Send (our) son in an iron cage,</td>
<td>Keep-PERF KEEP-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You yourself, please, go with the demon!”</td>
<td>SAY-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Said</td>
<td>Write-PERF BE-PST-AGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(you) had written.</td>
<td>NEG-go-AGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(But I) didn’t go with the demon.</td>
<td>Send-PERF BE/PRST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(But I) have sent (our) son in an iron cage.</td>
<td>Meet-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I met sun and moon,</td>
<td>Give-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those two gave me a bagar horse tazi-ray,</td>
<td>SAY-PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The horse said:</td>
<td>Watch-over-NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“If (you) can watch over me all night,</td>
<td>Capable-NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I) don’t die</td>
<td>NEG-die-AGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otherwise (I) will die.</td>
<td>Die-FUT-AGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If (I) die,</td>
<td>Die-NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While laughing,</td>
<td>Laugh-PROG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin (me),</td>
<td>Skin-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate all my body parts,</td>
<td>Send-IMP-IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Send (them) in a stable!”</td>
<td>Become-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The animal skin became a field,</td>
<td>Become-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lungs-livers became two puppies, Shepa-Shampa”</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The king said:</td>
<td>Say-PST-AGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Oh! Where did (you) send (our) son?”</td>
<td>Send-AGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“(I have) put (our) son in an iron cage”</td>
<td>Keep-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(King) sent Shepa and Shampa,</td>
<td>keep-PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(and) brought (his) son.</td>
<td>Bring-PST-AGR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 narrative closer to the real situation. An example of enhancing the live performance is by actually singing 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 narratives 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(He) fell down on the lentils.</td>
<td>fell-N.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Oh! I am dead.” (He) said.</td>
<td>die-AGR</td>
<td>say-N.PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(He) poked in the fire.</td>
<td>pocked-N.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(he said:) “Oh!”</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(He) got burnt with the salt.</td>
<td>got.burnt-N.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(He) said: “Oh!”</td>
<td>say-N.PST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Direct speech also occurs in contexts where it encodes commands. The use of the speaker’s choice of the imperative marker⁹ and other linguistic expressions

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: | Say-PST-AGR PROH-catch-IMP-IMP Throw-IMP-IMP |
| "(Please) don't catch the birds with (your) hands! (Please) throw (them) away with a stick!" | | |
| She was coming near the bird. | Comc-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." | 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 |

Then (they) went away.
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,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(19)</th>
<th>In the meantime sun and moon came under (the tree).</th>
<th>Come-PST-AGR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **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 |
| **That time king's servants are coming.** | Send-PERF |
| **| Be-AGR | |
| **| 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 convorb construction, where one or more convorb 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)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{do raža bəbə piŋa lanlan həo mač\textsuperscript{b}es lanlan} \\
\text{(she) king come/NF prayer make/NF that fish make/NF that king came, (he) prayed, (he) prepared the fish,}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{nəŋ-o-nu məj\textsuperscript{b}əŋ-o tən du-gynɔ } \\
\text{plate-PL-POSS middle-LOC keep/PERF BE-N.PST ？}
\end{array}
\]

(and he) put (it) on the plate.

An examination of the distribution of the convorb segments and the finite verbs in narratives in non-direct speech\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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)
\[dž̈ Dekrats hač-ts / rņj-č /\]
then son become-PERF say-PST
Then, "A son is born"
SAID

\[i laṭa-ts rņj čiṭṭ'ī ran-o do-š //\]
a dumb.boy-DIMINU with letter give-PROG BE-3H
(she) is giving a letter to a dumb boy.

13.b)
\[bēta-rs hač-ts / rņj-č /\]
son-DIMINU become-PERF say-PST
"A son is born"
SAID

\[čiṭṭ'ī rara /\]
letter give/NF
(I) gave a letter,

\[raža-s to bēta-ts-u ron-u pmjör-u kom-o\]
king-ERG EMP son-DIMINU-ACC iron-POSS cage-POSS inside-LOC

\[šeše ta-rī-ṃ /\]
/send/NF KEEP-IMP-2H
(and,) the king (wrote), "(Please) send the son inside an iron cage."

13.c)
\[raža-s lo-kī-š //\]
king-ERG say-PST-3H
The king said:

\[gō to indōr-o ni-ts /\]
I EMP name-LOC stay-IMPF
"I live at Indar (the god's kingdom),"

\[rni rani le to //\]
my queen EMP be
I also have a queen.

\[raṇi-s bēta-ts hač-ts / rņj-č /\]
queen-ERG son-DIMINU become-NF say-PST
The queen, "A son is born",
SAID

\[čiṭṭ'ī šeše /\]
letter send/NF
(she) sent a letter.

\[bal-le mats⁸ //\]
head-EMP NEG/BE
"(Our son) doesn't even have a head.

\[baj-č gud-č le mats⁸ //\]
foot-PL hand-PL EMP NEG/be
(He) doesn't even have feet or hands.

\[eko muDēl-e to // rņj-č /\]
only limbless? be say-PST
(He) is limbless."
I sent a letter.

"However (he) is,

(please) keep (him)."

(14)

ONOMO say-N.PST

The crow said: “kau-kau”.

Those two said:

what ONOMO crow-sound-Hey! two-POSS sister-DIMINU-ACC see-PST-AGR-Q

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

The crow said:

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

(then I) will tell."

(They) gave (him).

The crow saying “kao kao”,

The fox saying “khwa”,

(and) came.

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

The fox said:

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

(Then) I will tell.”

(They) gave (him).
kwa lọl //
ONOMO say/NF go-N.PST
(He) said: “khwa”, (and) went (away).

ul pyuts ču-ču lo-d-o // bọ-kyo //
a mouse-DIMINU ONOMO say-?-PROG come-N.PST
A mouse, saying “cu cu”, came.

čọ ču-ču pyu-ts nišu bai-ts-o tay-ọ-n-o //
what ONOMO mouse-DIMINU two-POSS sister-PL see-PST-AGR-Q
(The girls said:) “cu-cu mouse, have you seen our sisters?”

kan-ọj kọni-ts bọj budj ke-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,

rụ-ụta-k //
say-FUT-1SG (l) will tell.”

(15)

šepa-ray šepma-ts-ts lo-d-o/
name-with name-DIMINU-ERG say-?-PROG
Shepa and Shampa are/were saying:

raža-ọj rani tọ ma-šexš-o /
king-ACC queen EMP NEG-recognize(RECIPRO)-PROG
“The queen is not recognizing the king”

dọk raža-s lo-d-o du-ọ //
then king-ERG say-?- PROG BE-3H
Then the king is saying:

nọk-soy ča lo-ọ du //
those two what say-SEND-PROG BE/PRST
“What are those two saying?”

raža-s lo-ki-ọ //
king-ERG say-PST-3H
The queen said:

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

raža-s lo-ki-ọ //
king-ERG say-PST-3H
The king said:

gọ tọ indar-o ni-ts /
I EMP name-LOC stay-IMPF
“I live at Indar (the god’s kingdom),

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

raža-s beta-ts hač-ts / rụj-ọ /
queen-ERG son-DIMINU become-NF say-PST
The queen, “A son is born”, SAID
čišt is šeša /
letter send/NF
(she) sent a letter,

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

bay-č god-č le maš NEG //
foot-PL hand-PL EMP NEG/be
(He) doesn't even have feet or hands.

eko muDole to /
only limbless-? be/PREST say-PST
(He) is limbless.”

∀-s tə čišt ran-a-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 tə-rı-ŋ //
keep/NF KEEP-IMP-2H say-PST
(please) keep (him).”

∀-s lo-d-o do-š //
queen-ERG say-? PROG BE-3H

The queen is saying:

ki-s tə βeta-tə-r o-n-u pniš-u kom-o šeša waa/
you(H)-ERG EMP son-DIMINU-ACC iron-POSS cage-POSS inside-LOC send/NF KEEP/NF
"(But) you (had written a letter saying) "(Please) put (our) son in an iron cage!

ki-sya Birnačešten rakes-u dor bi-rı-ŋ //
you(H)-NOM name demon-POSS with go-IMP-2H say-PST
(Please) you yourself go with the demon!”

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

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

βeta-tə-r o-n-u pniš-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.

gə to yune ray golsay čok-š-tə /
I EMP sun with moon meet-?-NF
I met Sun and Moon,

dok-say-təs aŋ-u id bagar taži-raŋ keke /
they two-ERG my-ACC a horse.type a.horse.name give/NF
those two gave me a Bagar horse taži-raŋ,
ray-ıs ray-ı //
horse-ERG say-PST
The horse said:

gui rat-ıy ay-u ronž-m // 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 / kʰ-o-ʃ-ıs /
die-NOM laugh-PROG skin(V)-1/2-NF
If I die, while laughing, skin (me),

tsei alag alag kʰ-argon-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-ı tə ber hač-ts /
rib-PL EMP palace become-NF
Ribs became a palace,

ponay tə ropay hač-ts /
aminal.skin EMP field become-NF
animal skin became a field,

šin-ı patray-ı-nu niš kui čʰay-ı šepa-ts
lung-PL ?:PL-ACC two dog child-PL name-DIMINU

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

raža-s lo-kə-ʃ //
king-ERG say-PST-3H
The king said:

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

beta-ts tə rən-u pınjər-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 šempa-ts-u šeše /
name-DIMINU- with name-DIMINU-ACC send/NF
(King) sent Shepa and Shampa.

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

(16)
češt en-u den brəls-i-gyə //
lentil-POSS on fell-?-N.PST
(He) fell down on the lentils.
ao ši-k // lo-kyo //
ONOMO die-1SG say-N.PST
“Oh! I am dead.” (He) said.

d'ala-go me ško-gyro //
stove-?-LOC fire move-N.PST
(He) poked in the fire (to see when the girls ran away).

tsoto-tsoto-tsoto ///
ONOMO
(he said:) “Oh!”

tsa'as pāg-gyro //
salt-INST got.burnt-N.PST
(He) got burnt with the salt.

tsa'alse lo-kyo //
ONOMO say-N.PST
(He) said: “Oh!”

(17)
laye laye se-rim-o rapya ru-mu / bi-ts du-gyro //
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-ki-th //
say-N.PST
(The saintly man) said:

rapya-nu god-is t'a-tsom-rī-n //
a.bird-ACC hand-INST PROHIB-catch-IMPF-2H
“(Please) don’t catch the bird with (your) hands!”

Deŋ-ōs hakar-ī-n //
stick-INST throw-IMPF-2H
(Please) throw (at them) with a stick!”

do rapya neroŋ-o-i bō-d-o du-gyro //
(she) a.bird near-LOC-EMP come-?-PROG BE-N.PST
She was going near a bird.

(18)
žaža hodɔ / tsei ts'ekya-gyro //
eat/PERF that all finish-? N.PST
1-2: by eating(consuming) everything got finished.

do-nya tsal-o du //
(she-day feel- PROG BE
That day (he) is thinking

hon ʧōd-a-mug ///
now what-?-NOM
“What should (I) do now?

ʧō-t'si-ta mats' // ža-mu /
what-DIMINU-EMP-EMP NEG/be eat-NOM
“(2-3) We don’t have anything to eat.
what keep-LET'S say-SEND- PROG BE
(like that he) is saying.

now-NOM foreign go-LET'S
"Let's go abroad!

outside go-LET'S outside country-LOC
Let's go abroad!

what-EMP what-EMP earn-NOM
(We) must earn something.

here-EMP what-EMP NEG-be
Here there is nothing."

then go-N.PST
Then (they) went away.

At that time Sun and Moon came under (the tree).

From inside the tree (she) is talking (=saying):

"My parents sent me with the demon Birma-Chostin,

I'm inside this (the tree)."

At that time (some of the) king's servants are coming.
REFERENCES


