

APPENDIX:

The additional texts with glosses and translation

A. KOREAN

A.1. The Hat Seller (HS)

(from Hwang 1987: 186-190)

1. *Yes-nal etten kos-ey moca cangsa han salami iss-ess-upnita.*
old-day certain place-at hat seller one person-NOM exist-PAST-DEF
- 2a. *Etten yelum nal i moca cangsa-nun*
certain summer day-NOM this hat seller-TOP
moca-lul khu-n kwak-eyta manhi nehe -kaci-ko
hat-ACC big-MD box-in much put.in- take-and
- b. *phall-e naka-ss-ta.*
sell-to go.out-PAST-DEC
- 3a. *Kil-ey tani-myense*
street-at wander-while
- b. *"Moca sa-si-yo. Moca yo.*
hat buy-HON-IMP hat be-POL
- c. *Namca moca-to iss-ko*
man hat-also exist-and
- d. *pwuin-tul moca-to ai-tul moca-to iss-upnita.*
woman-PLUR hat-also child-PLUR hat-also exist-DEF
- e. *Kaps-to ssa-pnita."*
price-also cheap-DEF
- f. *ha-ko*
say-and
- g. *weyn.congil tola-tani-ess-una*
all.day.long turn-wander-PAST-but

- h. *han salam-to moca sa-nun salam-i esp-ess-upnita.*
 one person-even hat buy-MD person-NOM not.exist-PAST-DEF
- 4a. *Moca cangsa-nun nemwu konhay-se*
 hat seller-TOP too tired-so
- b. *hancham ka-taka*
 for.a.while go-after
- c. *etten khu-n namwu mith-ey moca kwak-ul naylye-noh-ko*
 certain big-MD tree under-at hat box-ACC descend-put-and
- d. *moca-lul ssu-n.taylo kunyang anc-ase*
 hat-ACC wear-as as.such sit-and
- e. *swi-taka*
 rest-while
- f. *cam-l tul-ess-upnita.*
 sleep-NOM enter-PAST-DEF
- 5a. *Ku namwu wi-ey-nun wenswungi yel mali-ka iss-ess-upnita.*
 that tree top-in-TOP monkey ten CL-NOM exist-PAST-DEF
- 6a. *I wensungi-tul-un moca cangsa-ka namwu-mith-ey o-ase*
 this monkey-PLUR-TOP hat seller-NOM tree-under-at come-and
swi-nun kes-ul po-ko
 rest-MD fact-ACC see-and
- b. *caki-tul-to moca cangsa-wa.kathi moca-lul ssu-ko.siph-ess-upnita.*
 self-PLUR-also hat seller-with.like hat-ACC wear-want-PAST-DEF
- 7a. *Kylayse kaman.kamanhi namwu-mith-ulo nayley-wa-se*
 therefore quietly tree-under-to descend-come-and
- b. *moca kwak-ul yel-ko*
 hat box-ACC open-and
- c. *hana-ssik ssu-ko*
 one-each put.on-and
- d. *tasi kaman.kamanhi wi-lo olla-ka*
 again quietly up-to rise-go
- e. *ca-nun moca cangsa-lul naylye-po-ko.iss-ess-upnita.*
 sleep-MD hat seller-ACC descend-see-PROG-PAST-DEF
- 8a. *Moca cangsa-nun hancham ca-ko*
 hat seller-TOP for.a.while sleep-and
- b. *ilena-se*
 get.up-and

- c. *moca kwak-ul kaci-ko ka-lyeko.hanuntey*
hat box-ACC take-and go-INTENT-while
- d. *ku kwak-ey moca-ka manh-ci anh-un kes-ul po-ko*
that box-in hat-NOM much-NML not-MD fact-ACC see-and
- e. *kkamccak nolla-ss-upnita.*
Very suprised-PAST-DEF
- 9a. *Wenil-i-nci molla-se*
what.matter-be-NML not.know-and
- b. *sapang-ul tola-po-myense*
four.directions-ACC turn-see-while
- c. *chaca-po-ass-upnita.*
look.for-see-PAST-DEF
10. *Kulena moca-nun hana-to po-i ci anh-ass-upnita.*
However hat-TOP one-even see-PASS-NML not-PAST-DEF
- 11a. *Moca cangsa-nun ettehkey ha-l cwul-ul molla-se*
hat seller-TOP how do-MD way-ACC not.know-and
- b. *caki mwuluph-ul thak chi-myense*
self knee-ACC (sound) slap-while
- c. “*Ani, nwu-ka nay moca-tul ta kaci-ko ka-ss-nunya*”
no who-NOM my hat-PLUR all ake-and go-PAST-Q
- d. *ha-myense*
say-while
- e. *namwu-lul cheyta-po-ass-upnita.*
tree-ACC up-look-PAST-DEF
- 12a. *Ku ttay moca cangsa-nun amwu mal-to mos-ha-ko*
that time hat seller-TOP any word-even unable.to-do-and
- b. *ip-man khu-key pellye-ss-upnita.*
mouth-only big-ADV open-PAST-DEF
13. *Wenswungi-tul-i moca-lul ta ssu-ko.iss-nun kkatak i-ess-upnita*
monkey-PLUR-NOM hat-ACC all wear-PROG-MD reason be-PAST-DEF
- 14a. *Hancham isstaka moca cangsa-nun malha-ki-lul*
after.a.while exist-after hat seller-TOP say-NML-ACC
- b. “*Wenswungi-tul-un moca-lul ssu-ci anh-uni*”
monkey-PLUR-TOP hat-ACC wear-NML not-so

- c. *nay-key tolo kacye-o-nela*
I-DAT back take-come-IMP
- d. *ha-ko malhay-ss-upnita.*
say-and speak-PAST-DEF
- 15a. *Kulena wenswungi-tul-un moca-to cwu-ci anh-ko*
however monkey-PLUR-TOP hat-also give-NML not-and
- b. *amwu mal-to eps-ess-upnita.*
any word-even not.exist-PAST-DEF
16. *I moca cangsa-nun talu-n sayngkak-I na-ss-upnita.*
This hat seller-TOP other-MD thought-NOM occur-PAST-DEF
- 17a. *“Wenswungi-nun kkok salam-tul ha-nun-taylo ttala-ha-nun tongmwul i-ni*
monkey-TOP exactly person-PLUR do-MD-as follow-do-MD animal be-so
- b. *nay-ka moca-lul pes-ese*
I-NOM hat-ACC take.off-and
- c. *ttang-ey tenji-myen*
ground-to throw-if
- d. *wenswungi-tul-to ttala-se ha-keyss-ci,*
monkey-PLUR-also follow-and do-PRESUM-SUSPECT
- e. *sayngkakha-ko*
think-and
- f. *caki moca-lul pes-ese*
self hat-ACC take.off-and
- g. *ttang-ey tenci-ess-upnita.*
ground-to throw-PAST-DEF
- 18a. *Wi-eyse po-ko.iss-ten wenswungi-tul-un kitali-ci anh-ko*
top-from see-PROG-MD monkey-PLUR-TOP wait-NML not-and
- b. *kkok kathi moca-lul pes-ese*
exactly likewise hat-ACC take.off-and
- c. *ttang-ey tenci-ess-upnita.*
ground-to throw-PAST-DEF

Translation:

1. Once upon a time at a certain place there was a hat seller.
2. One summer day this hat seller put many hats in a big box and went out to sell them.
3. Wandering around the streets, he said: "Buy hats. Hats! There are men's hats, women's hats, and children's hats. The price is also cheap," and so saying he wandered around all day long, but there was not even one person who would buy a hat.
4. The hat seller was too tired, so after going for a while, he put down the hat box under a big tree; having the hat on and sitting that way, he fell asleep.
5. On the tree there were ten monkeys.
6. These monkeys, seeing that the hat seller came under the tree and rested, also wanted to put the hats on themselves like the hat seller.
7. Therefore, they came down the tree quietly, opened the hat box, put on a hat each, went quietly up the tree again, and were looking down at the sleeping hat seller.
8. After sleeping for a while, the hat seller got up and was about to go with the hat box; then he was very surprised, seeing that not many hats were in the box.
9. He did not know what happened, so he looked for them, looking all around.
10. However, not a single hat was visible.
11. The hat seller did not know what to do, so slapping his knee, "Why, who took all my hats?" he said and looked up the tree.
12. At that time the hat seller was not able to say even a word, and only opened his mouth wide.
13. It was because all the monkeys were wearing the hats.
14. After a while, the hat seller said: "Monkeys do not wear hats, so bring them back to me."
15. However, the monkeys neither gave him the hats nor said any word.
16. This hat seller had a different thought.
17. "Monkeys are the animals that do exactly as people do; so, if I take off my hat and throw it on the ground, the monkeys will probably do so, following me," so he thought and took off his own hat and threw it on the ground.
18. The monkeys, which were watching from the tree top, did not wait and took off the hats as he did and threw them on the ground.

A.2. The Grateful Magpies (GM)

(from Hwang 1987: 161-169)

- 1a. *Kiph-ko kiph-un san-cwun-ey hwal-ul mey-ko*
 deep-and deep-MD mountain-middle-in arrow-ACC carry-and
- b. *celmwuni han salam-i kele-ka-ko.iss-ess-upnita.*
 young.man one person-NOM walk-go-PROG-PAST-DEF
2. *Celmwuni-nun olay-tongan kongpwu-lul yelsimhi hay-se*
 young.man-TOP for.a.long.time study-ACC hard do-so
cikum Sewul-lo kwake-lul po-le ka-nun ke ye-yo.
 now Seoul-to higher.public.service.exam-ACC take-in.order-to go-MD fact be-POL
3. *Mel-ko me-n Sewul kil-ul yele nal cichi-n kelum-ulo ka-ten*
 far-and far-MD Seoul way-ACC several day tired-MD pace-INSTR go-MD
enu nal i-ess-upnita.
 one day be-PAST-DEF
4. *Kapcaki nuthi-namwu-wi-eyse kwi-lul ccic-nun tus.ha-n*
 suddenly zelkova-tree-top-from ear-ACC tear-MD as.if-MD
kkachi soli-ka na-ss-eyo.
 magpie sound-NOM occur-PAST-POL
5. "Kkak.kkak.kkak"
 (sound of magpie)
6. *Khu-n il na-ss-upnita.*
 big-MD event occur-PAST-DEF
- 7a. *Namwu-wi-ey kkachi cip-ey*
 tree-top-at magpie house-at
khetala-n kwulengi-ka saykki kkachi-tul-ul capa-mek-ulyeko
 huge-MD snake-NOM baby magpie-PLUR-ACC catch-eat-in.order.to
- b. *hye-lul nallumkeli-ko*
 tongue-ACC roll.in.and.out-and
- c. *emma appa kkachi-nun saykki-tul-ul sal-lye-tal-lako*
 mommy daddy magpie-TOP baby-PLUR-ACC live-CAUS-give-QUOT
- d. *alay wi-lo nalu-mye*
 down top-to fly-while

- e. *wulpwucic-ko.iss-ess-eyo.*
cry-PROG-PAST-POL
- 8a. *Celmuni-nun chama kunyang cina-ka-l swu-ka eps-ese*
young.man-TOP surely as.such pass-go-MD way-NOM not.exist-se
- b. *kwulengi-lul hwal-lo ssoa-se*
snake-ACC arrow-with shoot-so
- c. *ttelettuli-ko*
let.fall-and
- d. *saykki kkachi-tul-ul sal-lye-cwu-ko-nun*
baby magpie-PLUR-ACC live-CAUSE-give-and-TOP
- e. *tasi kil-ul ttena-ss-eyo.*
again way-ACC leave-PAST-POL
- 9a. *Elma.ccwum-ul ka-nikka*
for.a.while-ACC go-after
- b. *nal-un cemwul-ko*
day-TOP late-and well
- c. *khemkhemhay-se*
dark-so
- d. *cal po-i-ci-lul anh-nuntey*
well see-PASS-NML-ACC not-while
- e. *melli pwulpich-i panccak.panccak.ha-te-lay-yo.*
far light-NOM flash-RETRO-QUOT-POL
- 10a. *Celmun-i-nun pankawa-se*
young.man-TOP glad-se
- b. *pwucilenhi ku cip aph-kkaci o-ase-nun*
diligently that house front-to come-so-TOP
- c. "Yeposeyyo.
hello
- d. *Cina-ka-nun nakuney i-ntey*
pass-go-MD traveller be-while
- e. *halwu pam swie*
one night rest
- f. *ka-psita."*
go-PROPOS
- 11a. *Kitaly-ess-ta-nun tus.i*
wait PAST-DEC-TOP as.if

- b. *taymwun-i ssuk yel-li-te-ni*
 gate-NOM rapidly open-PASS-RETRO-so
celm-un yeca-ka naw-ase
 young-MD woman-NOM come.out-so
- c. "Taycepha- *umsik-un eps-upnita-man*
 serve-MD food-TOP not.exist-DEF-but
- d. *cwumwu-si-ko-man*
 sleep-HON- and-only
- e. *ka-si-keyss-ta.myen*
 go-HON-VOLIT-if
- f. *tule-o-sey-yo.*
 enter-come-HON-IMP
- 12a. *Celmuni-nun nemwu kotanhay-se*
 young.man-TOP too tired-so
- b. *ku yeca-ka annayhay-cwu-nun pang-ey tule.ka-se*
 that woman-NOM guide-give-MD room-into go.in-so
- c. *kot cam-i tul-ess-eyo.*
 immediately sleep-NOM slip.in-PAST-POL
- 13a. *Kulentey cam-kyel-ey hatoswum-i mak-hi-nun.kes.kathi taptaphay-se*
 such.being.the.case asleep-while-at so breath-NOM block-PASS-MD-seem feel.heavy-so
- b. *nwun-ul tte-po-ni*
 eye-ACC open-see-then
- c. *a kitwung-kathi kwulk-un kwulengi-ka mom-ul ching.ching. kam-ko*
 (exclamation) pillar-like thick-MD snake-NOM body-ACC tightly coil-and
- d. *ku say.ppalka-n heys-patak-ul nallumkeli-ko.iss-ci anh-keyss-eyo?*
 that bright.red-MD tongue-tip-ACC roll.in.and.out-PROG-NML not-PRESUM-POL
- 14a. *Celmuni-nun kuman sayphalahkey cilly-ese*
 young.man-TOP at.that deep.blue turn.pale-so
- b. *mal-to mos ha-ko.i-ntey*
 word-even unable do-PROG-while
- c. "I *nom. Nay nampheyn-ul cwuk-i-n wenswu nom-a.*"
 this fellow my husband-ACC die-CAUS-MD enemy-VOC
- d. *ha-te-ni*
 QUOT-RETRO-and
- e. *mok-ul colu-ki.sicakhay-ss-eyo.*
 neck-ACC strangle-start-PAST-POL

- 15a. *Celmuni-nun cengsin-ul paccak chayli-ko*
 young.man-TOP mind-ACC entirely strain-and
- b. *kwulengi-eykey saceng-ul hay-ss-upnita.*
 snake-DAT supplication-ACC do-PAST-DEF
16. “*Elisek-un thas-ulo kule-n coy-lul ci-ess-upnita.*
 foolish-MD reason-INSTR such sin-ACC commit-PAST-DEF
- 17a. *Cepal mokswum-man sal-lye-cwu-si-myen*
 please life-only live-CAUS-give-HON-if
- b. *unhyey-nun ic-ci anh-keyss-upnita.*
 debt-TOP forget-NML not-VOLIT-DEF
18. *Elim.eps-nun sound!*
 impossible-MD sound
- 19a. *Nay namphyen-ul ssoa cwuk-i-n ne-lul cap-ulyeko*
 my husband-ACC shoot die-CAUS-MD you-ACC catch-in.order.to
- b. *nay-ka ilehkey salam-kkaci toy-ess-nuntey.”*
 I-NOM like.this person-even become-PAST-while
- 20a. “*Namphyeun-uy wenswu-lul kaph-ulye-nun maum-un al-keyss-upnita-man*
 husband-GEN enemy-ACC repay-INTENT-MD mind-TOP know-PRESUM-DEF-but
- b. *asil-un [tangsın nampyen-i eli-n kkachi saykki-lul capa-mek-ulye]-nun*
 truth-TOP Your husband-NOM young magpie baby-ACC catch-eat-INTENT-MD
- ke-l chama po-l swu-ka eps-ese ha-n cis i-pnita.*
 fact-ACC surely see-MD way-NOM not.exist-so do-MD act be-DEF
- 21a. *Saykki-lul sal-li-lyeko wule.tay-nun emi kkachi-ka hato*
 baby-ACC live-CAUS-in.order.to cry-repeat-MD mommy magpie-NOM too
- b. *pwulssanghay-se miche twis il-ul sayngkak-mos-hay-ss-upnita.*
 pitiful-so yet later event-ACC think-unable-PAST-DEF
22. *Kulentey celmuni-uy mal-ey kwulengi-ka mwusun sayngkak-ul*
 such.being.the.case young.man-GEN word-at snake-NOM what thought-ACC
- hay-ss-ten.ci*
 do-PAST-NML
- 23a. “*Ne-uy yayki-lul tul-uni*
 you-GEN story-ACC hear-since
- b. *ne-to cimsung-ul salangha-nun maum-i iss-nun.kes.katha*
 you-also beast-ACC love-MD mind-NOM exist-seem

- c. *thukpyelhi yongseha-keyss-ta.*
specially forgive-VOLIT-DEC
24. "*Komap-supnita.*
thank-DEF
- 25a. *Ku unhyey-nun phyengsayng ic-ci anh-keyss-upnita.*
that debt-TOP lifetime forget-NML not-VOLIT-DEF
- b. *celmwuni-nun salana.key-twoy-na.po-ta*
young.man-TOP saved-become-look.like-DEC
- c. *hako*
QUOT
- d. *cel-ul kkupek.kkupek hay-ss-eyo.*
bow-ACC (manner) do-PAST-POL.
26. "*Hung! Ne-lul acwu sal-lye-cwu-nta-nun kes-un ani-ya.*
(sound) you-ACC completely live-CAUS-give-DEC-MD fact-TOP be.not-DEC
- 27a. *Onul pam yel.twu si-kkaci-man sal-lye-twu-lthey-nikka*
today night twelve o'clock-until-only live-CAUS-leave-INTENT-so
- b. *ku ttay-kkaci i cel.kan-ey cong-i sey pen wu-ntamyen*
that time-until this temple-at bell-NOM three time cry-if
- c. *ne-lul acwu sal-lye-cwu-keyss-ta.*
you-ACC completely live-CAUS-give-VOLIT-DEC
- 28a. *Ilehkey malha-ko*
like.this say-and
- b. *kwulengi-nun etilenci ka-pely-ess-eyo.*
snake-TOP somewhere go-COMPL-PAST-POL
- 29a. *Celmuni-nun hwuu hanswum-ul swi-ko*
young.man-TOP (sound) sigh-ACC draw-and
- b. *celkan-ul tola-po-ni*
temple-ACC turn-see-as
- c. *cengkak-ey cong-i iss-nun.tus.ha-na*
belfry-at bell-NOM exist-seem-but
- d. *capa-tangki-l cwul-to eps-ko*
pull-draw-MD rope-even not.exist-and
- e. *noph-ase*
high-so

- f. *olla-ka-llay.ya*
rise-go-even.if
- g. *olla-ka-l swu-to esp-ess-eyo.*
rise-go-MD way-even not.exist-PAST-POL
- 30a. *Sikan-un cakkwu ka-nuntey*
time-TOP continuously go-while
- b. *ettehkey cong-ul chi-l pangpep-i iss-eya.ci-yo.*
somehow bell-ACC ring-MD means-NOM exist-OBLIG-POL
- 31a. *Celmuni-nun noph-un congkak-ul chyeta-po-mye*
young.man-TOP high-MD belfry-ACC look.up-see-while
- b. *"Incey kkomccak-epsi cwuk-keyss-kwuna"*
now stir-without die-PRESUM-EXCL
- c. *ha-mye*
QUOT-while
- d. *hanswum-man swi-ko.iss-nuntey*
sigh-only draw-PROG-while
- e. *eti.se.inci tto kwulengi-ka nathana-ss-eyo.*
from.somewhere again snake-NOM appear-PAST-POL
32. *"Ca caceng-i ta toy-ess-ta.*
well midnight-NOM all become-PAST-DEC
33. *Cwuk-ul kako-lul hay-la."*
die-MD readiness-ACC do-IMP
- 34a. *Kwulengi-nun hye-lul nallumkeli-mye*
snake-TOP tongue-ACC roll.in.and.out-while
- b. *celmuni-lul hyanghay tallye.tul-ess-eyo.*
young.man-ACC toward pounce.upon-PAST-POL
35. *Palo i ttay ttengkuleng ttengkuleng ttengkuleng*
right this time clang clang clang
ttuspakkeyto cong-i sey pen wul-lye-ss-upnita.
unexpectedly bell-NOM three time cry-PASS-PAST-DEF
- 36a. *Cong soli-lul tut-ko*
bell sound-ACC hear-and
- b. *celmuni-wa kwulengi-nun ttok.kathi nolla-ss-eyo.*
young.man-and snake-TOP equally surprise-PAST-POL

- 37a. "Hum. *Ne-lul* *kkok* *cwuk-i-lye.hay-ss-nuntey*
 hmmm you-ACC by.all.means die-CAUS-INTENT-PAST-but
- b. *cong soli-ka na-ss-uni*
 bell sound-NOM occur-PAST-so
- c. *ha-l swu epsi yaksok-taylo sal-ly-e.cwu-keyss-ta.*
 so.do-MD way not.exist promise-as live-CAUS-give-VOLIT-DEC
38. *Kwulengi-nun sulphu-n elkwul-lo etilenci salacye-pely.ess-upnita.*
 snake-TOP sad-MD face-with somewhere disappear-COMPL-PAST-DEF
39. *Nal-i say-ki-ka pappukey celmuni-nun congkak-mith-ulo*
 day-NOM break-NML-NOM at.once young.man-TOP belfry-under-to
ka-po-ass-upnita.
 go-see-PAST-DEF
40. *Nophtala-n congkak-ey-nun cong-man tengkuleni maytal-ly-e.iss-ess-eyo.*
 high-MD belfry-at-TOP bell-only lonesomely hang-PASS-exist-PAST-POL
41. *Pwuchye-nim-i sal-lye-cwu-si-ess-ulkka.*
 Buddha-HT-NOM live-CAUS-give-HON-PAST-Q
42. *Ilehkey sayngkakha-mye ttang patak-ul po-ten*
 like.this think-while ground floor-ACC see-MD
celmuni-nun kkamccak nolla-ss-eyo.
 young.man-TOP very surprised-PAST-POL
- 43a. *Keki-ey-n cong-ul chi-nulako meli-ka kkay-ci-n*
 there-in-TOP bell-ACC strike-by.doing.that head-NOM break-INCHOA-MD
kkachi twu mali-ka phi-lul hulli-n-chay
 magpie two CL-NOM blood-ACC shed-MD-as
- b. *isul-ey cec-e.iss-ess-eyo.*
 dew-in get.wet-exist-PAST-POL
- 44a. *Celmuni-nun unhyey-lul kaph-ki-wihayse kwicungha-n*
 young.man-TOP debt-ACC repay-NML-in.order.to precious-MD
mokswum-kkaci peli-n emma appa kkachi-lul elumanci-mye
 life-even cast.away-MD mommy daddy magpie-ACC stroke-while
- b. *yangci.palu-n entek-ey yeypu-n mwutem-ul mantul-e.cwu-ess-tapnita.*
 sunny-MD hill-at pretty-MD grave-ACC make-give-PAST-DEF

Translation:

1. In a very deep mountain a young man was walking, carrying an arrow.
2. The young man had studied hard for a long time, and was now going to Seoul to take the higher public service examination.
3. It was one day after he had been walking tiredly for several days on the way to Seoul.
4. Suddenly, an ear-piercing sound was heard from the top of a zelkova-tree.
5. "Kkak kkak kkak."
6. There was a big trouble.
7. On the tree in a magpie nest, a huge snake was rolling its tongue in and out in order to catch and eat the baby magpies, and the mommy and daddy magpies were flying up and down, crying for help to save their babies.
8. The young man surely couldn't pass by them, so he shot the snake with his arrow, let it fall, thus saving the baby magpies, and went on his way again.
9. After going for a while, when it was getting late and dark, and he couldn't see very well, a light was flashing far away (so it is said).
10. The young man was glad (to see it), so he came quickly to the front of that, "Hello. I'm a passing traveller; may I rest a night?"
11. As if she had been waiting, the gate opened right away, and a young woman came out, "I don't have food to serve but if you only intend to spend the night, please come in."
12. The young man was so tired that he just went into the room where the woman led him, and fell immediately asleep.
13. While sleeping he felt heavy as if he was suffocating, so he opened his eyes and saw a snake, thick like a pillar, tightly coiled around his body and rolling its bright red tongue in and out.
14. The young man turned pale into a deep blue color and couldn't speak a word. Meanwhile, the snake said, "You villain! My enemy who killed my husband", and so the snake started to strangle him.
15. The young man, every nerve strained, supplicated to the snake.
16. "It was foolish of me to commit such a sin.
17. Please, spare my life, I will never forget your kindness."
18. "Impossible!
19. I have even become a person like this in order to catch you who killed my husband."
20. "I understand your mind trying to avenge your husband, but the truth is that, what I did, I did because I couldn't just watch your husband trying to catch and eat the young baby magpies.
21. The mommy magpie crying to save her babies was so pitiful that couldn't think about consequences."
22. Hearing the young man's story, the snake must have thought something, "As I have heard your story, it seems to me that you have a loving heart for animals, so I will forgive you as a special favor."
23. "Thank you.
24. In my lifetime, I will never forget your kindness."
25. Thinking that he would be saved, the young man bowed several times.
26. "Hung! It is not that I will let you live for sure.
27. I will save you until twelve o'clock tonight; and if the bell at this temple rings three times by that time, then I will let you live for sure."

28. After saying that, the snake went away somewhere.
29. The young man sighed deeply and looked around the temple; it seemed that there was a bell in the belfry, but there was no rope to pull, and because it was so high up, there was no way to go there even if one wanted to.
30. Time kept going by, somehow it should be possible to ring the bell.
31. While the young man was looking at the high belfry, sighing and saying, "It seems that I will die for sure", the snake appeared again from somewhere.
32. "Well, it's midnight.
33. Get ready to die."
34. The snake pounced upon the young man, rolling its tongue.
35. Right at this time, the bell unexpectedly rang (was rung) three times "Clang! Clang! Clang!"
36. The young man and the snake were both equally surprised to hear the sound of the bell.
37. "Hmmm, I was going to kill you by all means, but because the bell rang, I will let you live as I promised."
38. And the snake disappeared somewhere with a sad face.
39. As soon as it was light, the young man went to the foot of the belfry.
40. There, on the high belfry, the bell was hanging alone.
41. "I wonder if it was Buddha who saved me?"
42. While thinking this the young man looked at the ground and was very surprised.
43. Two magpies had broken their heads in ringing the bell and were lying there bloody and wet with the dew.
44. Stroking the mommy and daddy magpies, who had cast away their precious lives to repay the kindness, the young man made a pretty grave for them on a sunny hill.

B. CHINESE

B.1. The Little Gecko

(from *Yǔwén* 1995: 96-98).

- 1a. *Xiǎo bihǔ zài qiáng jiǎo li zhuō wénzi,*
 little gecko at wall corner in catch mosquito
- b. *yī tiáo shé yǎo zhù le tā de wěiba.*
 one CL snake bite block PFV he GEN tail
- 2a. *Xiǎo bihǔ yī zhèng,*
 little gecko FLE struggle
- b. *zhèng duàn wěiba*
 struggle break tail
- c. *táo zōu le.*
 escape go PRT
- 3a. *Méi yǒu wěiba*
 not have tail
- b. *duō nán kàn na!*
 how ugly look PRT
- 4a. *Xiǎo bihǔ xiǎng,*
 little gecko think
- b. *xiàng shuí qù jiè yī tiáo wěiba ne?*
 toward who go borrow one CL tail PRT
- 5a. *Xiǎo bihǔ pá ya pá,*
 little gecko crawl PRT crawl
- b. *pá dào xiǎo hé biān.*
 crawl arrive little river side
- 6a. *Tā kàn jiàn*
 3sg look see
- b. *xiǎo yú yǎo zhe wěiba, zài hé li yóu lái yóu qù.*
 little fish wave DUR tail at river in swim come swim go
- 7a. *Xiǎo bihǔ shuō:*
 little gecko say

- b. "Xiǎo yú jiějie, nín bǎ wěiba jiè gěi wǒ, xíng ma?"
 little fish sister you BA tail lend give I alright Q
- 8a. Xiǎo yú shuō:
 little fish say
- b. "Bù xíng a, wǒ yào yòng wěiba bō shuǐ ne."
 not alright PRT I must use tail move water PRT
- 9a. Xiǎo bihū pá ya pá,
 little gecko crawl PRT crawl
- b. pá dào dà shù shàng.
 crawl arrive big tree top
- 10a. Tā kàn jiàn
 3sg look see
- b. lǎo huáng-niú shuāi zhe wěiba, zài shù xià chī cǎo.
 old ox swing DUR tail at tree bottom eat grass
- 11a. Xiǎo bihū shuō:
 little gecko say
- b. "Huáng-niú bóbó, nín bǎ wěiba jiè gěi wǒ xíng ma?"
 ox uncle you BA tail lend give I alright Q
- 12a. Lǎo huáng-niú shuō:
 old ox say
- b. "Bù xíng a, wǒ yào yòng wěiba gǎn yíngzi ne."
 not alright PRT I must use tail swat fly PRT
- 13a. Xiǎo bihū pá ya pá,
 little gecko crawl PRT crawl
- b. pá dào fángyán xià.
 crawl arrive eaves bottom
- 14a. Tā kàn jiàn
 3sg look see
- b. yànzi bǎi zhe wěiba zài kōngzhōng fēi lái fēi qù.
 swallow move DUR tail at air-middle fly come fly go
- 15a. Xiǎo bihū shuō:
 little gecko say
- b. "Yànzi āyí, nín bǎ wěiba jiè gěi wǒ xíng ma?"
 swallow aunt you BA tail lend give I alright Q

- 16a. *Yànzi shuō:*
swallow say
- b. “*Bù xíng a, wǒ yào yòng wěiba zhǎngwò fāngxiàng ne.*”
not alright PRT I must use tail control direction PRT
- 17a. *Xiǎo bìhǔ jiè bù dào wěiba,*
little gecko borrow not reach tail
- b. *xīn li hěn nán-guò.*
heart in very sad
- 18a. *Tā pá ya pá,*
3sg crawl PRT crawl
- b. *pá huí jiā li zhǎo māma.*
crawl return home in search mother
19. *Xiǎo bìhǔ bā jiè wěiba de shì gào su le māma.*
little gecko BA borrow tail ACCOC affair tell PFV mother
- 20a. *Māma xiào zhe shuō:*
mother laugh DUR say
- b. “*Shā hái zi, nǐ zhuǎn guo shēn zi*
silly child, you turn around body
- c. *kàn kan.*
look look
- 21a. *Xiǎo bìhǔ zhuǎn shēn*
little gecko turn body
- b. *yī kàn,*
FLE look
- c. *gāoxìng de jiào qǐ lái:*
glad CSC shout start come
- d. “*Wǒ zhǎng chū yī tiáo xīn wěiba la!*”
I grow come.out one CL new tail PRT

Translation

1. A little gecko was catching mosquitoes at the corner of a wall when a snake caught its tail in its mouth.
2. The little gecko, struggling to get free, broke its tail and escaped.
3. "Oh, how ugly I am without a tail!"
4. The little gecko wondered to whom he could go to borrow a tail.
5. He crawled and crawled until he came to a river.
6. He saw how a little fish was swimming to and fro in the river waving his tail.
7. The little gecko said, "Sister Fish, could you lend me your tail?"
8. The fish answered, "No, I can't, I need my tail to swim in the water."
9. The little gecko crawled and crawled until he came to the top of a tree.
10. He saw how an ox was swinging its tail and eating grass under the tree.
11. The little gecko said, "Uncle Ox, could you lend me your tail?"
12. The ox said, "No, I can't, I need my tail to swat flies."
13. The little gecko crawled and crawled until he came under the eaves of a house.
14. He saw how a swallow was moving her tail while flying to and fro in the air.
15. The little gecko said, "Aunt Swallow, could you lend me your tail?"
16. The swallow said, "No, I can't, I need my tail to control the direction I'm flying."
17. The little gecko wasn't successful in borrowing a tail, and felt very sad.
18. He crawled and crawled, right back home to look for Mom.
19. And the little gecko told Mom how he had tried to borrow a tail.
20. His mother said laughingly, "You, silly child, turn around and have a look."
21. The little gecko turned around to have a look and started to shout for joy: "I have grown a new tail!"

2. Intelligence Bag

(from *Chūjí Hànyǔ kèběn* 1993: 76-77)

- 1a. *Ménggǔzú de yī ge nuòyàn yào hé pínqióng de Bālāgēncāng bǐ*
 Mongolian GEN one CL nobleman want with poor CSC Balagencang compete
- b. *shéi cōngmíng.*
 who intelligent
- 2a. *Tā dōng zhǎo*
 3sg east search
- b. *xī zhǎo*
 west search
- c. *zhè yī tiān zhōngyú zhǎo-dào le Bālāgēncāng.*
 this one day finally search-find PFV Balagencang.
- 3a. *Tā jiàn*
 3sg see
- b. *Bālāgēncāng zhèng kào zhe yī kē dà shù chōuyān*
 Balagencang just.now lean DUR one CL big tree smoke.
- c. *lián mǎ yě méi xià,*
 even horse also not dismount
- d. *jiù shuō:*
 already say
- e. *Bālāgēncāng, tīngshuō:*
 Balagencang, hear-say
- f. *nǐ zuì néng piàn rén, shì ma?*
 you most can cheat person, is Q
- 4a. *Bālāgēncāng shuō:*
 Balagencang say
- b. *Nín kě-bù néng zhème shuō,*
 you by.no.means can like.this say
- c. *búguò rén-mén dōu shuō:*
 but people all say
- d. *wǒ bǐjiào cōngmíng.*
 I rather smart

- 5a. Nuòyàn shuō:
nobleman say
- b. "Hǎo ba, jīntiān wǒ yào gēn nǐ bǐ-yì-bǐ
good PRT today I want with you contest
- c. shéi cōngmíng.
who smart
- d. Nǐ yàoshi néng piàn de liǎo wǒ,
you if can cheat CSC succeed me
- e. wǒ bǎ zhè pī mǎ sòng gei nǐ;
I BA this CL horse give give you
- f. yàoshi piàn bu liǎo wǒ,
if cheat not succeed me
- g. wǒ jiù yòng zhè bǎ dāo bǎ nǐ de tóu gē xià lái."
I then use this CL sword BA you GEN head cut descend come
- 6a. Shuō zhe
say DUR
- b. tā ná qǐ shēn shàng dài de dāo
3sg take remove body top carry CSC sword
- c. "Bālgēncāng, kàn jiàn wǒ de dāo le ma?"
Balagencang, look see I GEN sword PFV Q
- 7a. "Kàn jiàn le,
look see PFV
- b. kěshì wǒ jīntiān bù néng gēn nǐ bǐ!"
but I today not can with you contest
8. Bālgēncāng zháojí de shuō:
Balagencang worried CSC say
- 9a. Wǒ de cōngmíng dōu fàng zài yī ge dàizi li,
I GEN intelligence all put be-at one CL bag in
- b. nà ge dàizi jīntiān méi yǒu dài lái,
that CL bag today not have bring come
- c. yàoshi tā zài wǒ shēn biān
if 3sg at I body side
- d. wǒ jiù bù pà nǐ le."
I then not afraid you PRT

- 10a. Nuòyàn yī tīng,
nobleman FLE hear
- b. shēngqì le,
angry PRT
- c. shuō:
say
- 11a. “Nà nǐ jiù kuài ná nǐ de dài zi qù,
in.that.case you then quickly get you GEN bag go
- b. wǒ zài zhè li děng zhe nǐ.”
I at here in wait DUR you
- 12a. “Zhèr lí wǒ jiā tài yuǎn,
here in my home too far
- b. zǒu zhe qù
walk DUR go
- c. shénme shíhòu cái néng huí lái?
what time only can return come
- 13a. Suàn le,
forget PRT
- b. hái shì lìng zhǎo yī ge rì zi ba.
still other seek one CL date PRT
- c. Zài shuō, wǒ jīntiān yě méi shíjiān.”
again say, I today also not.have time
- 14a. “Bù xíng,
not alright
- b. jīntiān zánmen yīdìng yào bǐ.
today we absolutely must contest
- 15a. Yàoshi zǒu lù tài màn,
if walk road too slow
- b. nǐ jiù bǎ wǒ de mǎ qí qù.”
you then BA I GEN horse ride go
- 16a. “Bù xíng, bù xíng,
not alright not alright
- b. jīntiān zhēn de méi shíjiān!”
today really CSC not.have time

- 17 "Zěnme méi shíjiān?"
how.come not.have time
- 18a. "Nín méi kàn jiàn
you not look see
- b. wǒ zhèng kào zài zhè kē shù shang ma?
I right.now lean be-at this CL tree top Q
- 19a. Zhè kē shù jiù yào dǎo le,
this CL tree soon will fall PRT
- b. wǒ bù néng líkāi ya!"
I not can leave PRT
- 20a. "Lái,
come
- b. wǒ xiān tì nǐ yī huì,
I first replace you one moment
- c. nǐ kuài qù
you quick go
- d. kuài huí!"
quick return
- 21a. Nuòyàn shuō wán
nobleman say finish
- b. jiù bǎ mǎ jiāo gěi Bālāgēncāng,
then BA horse hand.over give Balagencang
- c. zǒu guò qù
walk go.beyond go
- d. kào zài le shù shang.
lean be-at PFV tree top
- 22a. "Ei", Bālāgēncāng qí shàng mǎ,
hey, Balagencang ride rise horse
- b. xiào zhe
laugh DUR
- c. shuō:
say
- 23a. "Zhè kě shì
this indeed is

- b. *nín yào wǒ piàn nín de ya!*
 you want I cheat you NML PRT
- 24a. *Shuo wán*
 say finish
- b. *qí zhe mǎ*
 ride DUR horse
- c. *pǎo le.*
 run PRT

Translation

1. A Mongolian nobleman wanted to have a competition with Balagencang to see which of them was most intelligent.
2. He searched high and low until one day he finally found Balagencang.
3. He saw Balagencang leaning on a big tree and smoking. He didn't even dismount from his horse before he said, "Balagencang, I have heard that you are better than anybody at cheating people, is it true?"
4. Balagencang said, "It's not quite like that, but everybody says that I'm rather smart."
5. The nobleman said, "Alright, today I want to have a contest with you to see which one of us is smarter. If you succeed in cheating me, I'll give you this horse. If you can't cheat me, I'll cut off your head with this sword."
6. Saying this, he took out the sword he was carrying: "Balagencang, do you see this sword?"
7. "Yes, I see it, but I cannot have a contest with you today."
8. Balagencang spoke in a worried tone. "All my intelligence is in a bag and I haven't brought it with me today. If I had it with me, I wouldn't be afraid of you."
9. When the nobleman heard this, he got angry and said, "Go quickly and get your bag. I'll wait here for you."
10. "This place is too far from my home. If I go by foot, I don't know when I could come back. Forget it, let's find another day. Besides, I don't have time today."
11. "That won't do, we have to have the contest today. If it takes too long to walk, just ride my horse."
12. "No, no, I really don't have time today."
13. "What do you mean you don't have time?"
14. "Haven't you seen that I am leaning on this tree? This tree is about to fall, I can't leave!"
15. "Come on, I'll take your place for a while. Go quickly and come back."
16. When the nobleman had finished talking, he gave his horse to Balagencang and went to lean on the tree.
17. Balagencang got on horseback and said, laughing: "Hey, you yourself wanted me to cheat you."
18. Having said that, he rode away with the horse.