

Ghost's bride: A glossed and translated Stau text

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1. Introduction and metadata

This is an attempt to document a narrative text, henceforth called ‘Ghost’s bride’, told in the Stau language.¹ I have transcribed Ghost’s bride using the International Phonetic Alphabet, glossed each morpheme primarily according to Leipzig Glossing Rules, and translated the narrative line by line in Section 2. Even though much recent progress has been made in the analysis of Stau grammar, and the grammar of related Horpa lects, surprisingly little data is available online to verify the claims that have been made. Thus, this small contribution to Stau language documentation is a step in the direction of rectifying that problem; so that Stau data would be freely available and analyses would be reproducible.

The narrative found here, ‘Ghost’s bride’, is part of herder Tibetan (Amdo) folklore, and was originally told in Amdo Tibetan to the storyteller of the version found here. So in a sense this is a translated story: from Amdo into Stau. A large number of ‘traditional’ Stau narratives actually come from Amdo stories. One point of interest of these stories is that certain lines are sung, giving us a rare chance to hear the Stau language in song.

The recording for this text can be found online at: <http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3694003>. (A higher quality retelling can be found at <http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3693994>; but the transcription found here will not be an exact match.) Unfortunately, Ghost’s bride is not yet time aligned, but this story as well as several others will be time aligned in the near future.

Sentences are divided essentially based on finite verbs plus any following suffixes.

Below are some salient metadata:

Narrator/source, gender: Tshering Mtshomo, female

Age of narrator at time of narration: 35

Informed consent obtained: Yes

Birthplace of narrator: Mazi Township, Daofu County, Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China (lived in birthplace until early twenties, primarily speaking Stau, secondarily speaking Amdo Tibetan)

Date of recording: Friday, December 12, 2014 at 11:17 AM

Place of recording: Chengdu, Sichuan, China

¹ The title ‘Ghost’s bride’ is not the native title; most likely there is no title to this text. Many thanks to Katylin Wonnell who coined the name of the title.

Length of recording: 13 minutes 15 seconds

File name of recordings: 141212_Stau_Ghost's_Bride_original.m4a (recording that is transcribed); 171220_Stau_Ghost's_Bride_retelling.wav (48 kHz, 16 bits; retelling of the same narrative; not transcribed; 12 minutes 01 seconds; recorded Wednesday, December 20, 2017 at 11:16 AM)

Recording equipment: iPhone (for 141212_Stau_Ghost's_Bride_original.m4a); Edirol UA-700 mixer with a Shure microphone, directly recording into a laptop through Adobe Audition (for 171220_Stau_Ghost's_Bride_retelling.wav)

First transcription date: April 15, 2015

Final transcription date: March 2, 2020

2. Ghost's bride (Seng.ge.dbang.phyug and his sister's story)

1. *ʋnæ gə tə-ŋu-sə ŋə-rə*
long.ago INDF PFV-COP.FACT-IFR COP-SENS

A long time ago...

2. *tɕʰəge cʰəmtso æ-ʋa = ji smi gə*
then family one-CN.group = GEN daughter INDF
tə-ji-sə ŋə-rə
PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS

There was a family with a daughter.

3. *tɕʰəge tʰi smi de χsəmbətʰolo = γə jiteŋi = gi*
then DEM.DIST daughter DEM all = ERG LOGPL = DAT
tə-f-kʰõ jite = gi tə-f-kʰõ jə-də
PFV-INV-give.2→1 LOG = DAT PFV-INV-give.2→1 say-NMLZ
æ-sŋi~sŋi ʔɛ-gə γə-ndzu-sə ŋə-rə
one-day~day come-NMLZ PFV-sit-IFR COP-SENS

And all would come for their daughter every day, continually asking for her hand in marriage.

4. *tɕʰəge tʰi smi = ji æti = gi s̄igi*
then DEM.DIST woman = GEN elder.brother = DAT Seng.ge
ʋõpʰju zmə-gə ŋə-rə
dbang.phyug name-NMLZ COP-SENS

And the girl's brother's name was Seng.ge.dbang.phyug.

5. *tɕʰəge tʰi = ji æti ji tɕʰjæ tʰi = ji*
then 3SG = GEN elder.brother EXIST.ANIM time 3SG = GEN
æti = γə æ-ʋe = gi
elder.brother = ERG one-CN.person = DAT

tə-mæ-f-kʰo-sə *ŋə-rə*
 PFV-NEG.PFV-INV-give-IFR COP-SENS

When her brother was there, her brother would not give her to anyone.

6. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi* *æti* *kɛlu* *gə* *ɕə-sə* *ŋə-rə*
 then DEM.DIST elder.brother someplace INDEF go-IFR COP-SENS
æ-sɲi
 one-day

One day that brother went on a trip.

7. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi=ji* *æpæ* *æmə=* *ɣne=* *ɣə* *tə-jə-də*
 then 3SG = GEN father mother = DU = ERG PFV-say-NMLZ
qʰəsɟi *kæçæ* *sə* *zə-ŋu* *ɟi-vɛ* *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi*
 tomorrow morning who SUPL-front come-SBJV then DEM.DIST
smi *ŋæɟi* *smi* *dɛ* *kʰo* *tə-stʰõ*
 daughter 1PL.GEN daughter DEM give PFV-do.regardless.1PL
tə-jə-sə *ŋə-rə*
 PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS

Then her father and mother said, “Tomorrow morning, we will give our daughter to whomever comes here first no matter what.” [Note: *tʰi smi* was misspoken.]

8. *tɕʰəgɛ* *ba* *pʰɛɽɛ* *jə* *gə* *tə-ɟi-sə* *ŋə-rə*
 then door behind ghost INDF PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS

And a ghost was behind the door.

9. *jə=* *ɣə* *ɣə-rŋe-sə* *tə-ɟi-sə* *ŋə-rə* *jə-rə*
 ghost = ERG PFV-listen-IFR PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
tə-ntɕʰi-sə *ŋə-rə* *jə-rə*
 PFV-hear-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

The ghost was listening and heard.

10. *tɕʰəgɛ* *jə=* *ɣə* *kæçæ* *vdzi* *ŋu* *gə* *pi*
 then ghost = ERG morning person COP.FACT INDF like
nə-və-də *rə-ɕə-sə* *ŋə-rə* *jə-rə*
 PFV-do-NMLZ PFV-go-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then the ghost turned into a human and in the morning went up to the house.

11. *nɪnɪ smi dɛ jite=gi æ-f-k^hõ tə-jə-sə*
 2PL.GEN daughter DEM LOG = DAT Q-INV-give.2→1 PFV-say-IFR
ŋə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS

He asked, “Can you give your daughter to me?”

12. *tɕ^həgɛ t^{hi}=ni æpæ æmə=ɣə ŋe-rə k^ho-n*
 then DEM = PL father mother = ERG good-SENS give-1→2
tə-jə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then her parents said, “OK, we give you her.”

13. *tə-f-k^ho-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə*
 PFV-INV-give-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

And they gave her away.

14. *tɕ^həgɛ smi=ɣə χa-tə-gu-sə*
 then daughter = ERG understand(1)-PFV-understand(2)-IFR
ŋə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS

Then the girl understood.

15. *rumændzævæ gə tə-ŋu-də t^hɛ jə ŋu-gu t^hɛ*
 superhuman INDF PFV-COP.FACT-NMLZ 3 ghost COP-IRR 3
jite dɛ f-sɛ-gu χa-tə-gu-sə
 LOG DEM INV-die-IRR understand(1)-PFV-understand(2)-IFR
ŋə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS

She was a superhuman; she knew that is was a ghost and that the ghost would kill her.

16. *æpæ æmə=gi jite mi-çã-gu t^{hi}=p^hæ*
 father mother = DAT LOG NEG.IRR-go.1-IRR 3.GEN = COM
mi-ndzõ-gu tə-jə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
 NEG.IRR-sit.1-IRR PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

She told her father and mother, “I not want to go to live with him.”

17. *tɕ^həgɛ æpæ æmə=ɣə ɣə-ndzu tə-çə ni æ-sni~sni*
 then father mother = ERG IMP-sit IMP-go 2 one-day~day
kɛ-ɣri kɛ-ɣri ɣə-f-t^hə-rə gɛ
 INTENS-much INTENS-much PFV-INV-want-SENS LNK

Her father and mother said, “Go and live with him, every day

men strongly desire to marry you.” [Note that *γə-ndzu tə-ϕə* would normally index second person with the suffix *-n* in this imperative construction. *-n* is elided is probably an error due to rapid speech.]

18. *tϕ^həge ηæγne ævəsni tə-jã q^həsji kæϕæ ge sə*
 then 1DU yesterday PFV-say.1 tomorrow morning LNK who
ηə ʒi-vε t^hε=gi k^hõ mo tə-jã
 before come-SBJV 3 = DAT give.1PL→3 HYP PFV-say.1

“Then yesterday we said, ‘Whoever comes first tomorrow morning, we will give you to him’.”

19. *pəsni t^hi æ-ve de ηə ʒi-sə-rə ni*
 today DEM.DIST one-CN.person DEM before come-IFR-SENS 2
t^hε=gi k^hõ-gu tə-jə-sə ηə-rə jə-rə
 3 = DAT give.1PL-IRR PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

“So today this one came first and we give you to him,” they said.

20. *tϕ^həge smi pəηæ vlæmæ rkemə γdzəvə rgevzə lutϕ^hõ kedi*
 then woman man monk nun old.man old young child
kε-γri kε-γri=γə tϕ^həge tə-zbji-sə
 INTENS-much INTENS-much = ERG then PFV-send.off-IFR
ηə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS

And so a great many women, men, monks, nuns, old men, young men, and children sent her off.

21. *tϕ^həge smi=γə t^hi jitepi c^həmtso=ji rji*
 then daughter = ERG 3.GEN LOG.PL family = GEN horse
rə-f-c^hi-sə ηə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-INV-ride-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

And so the woman rode her family’s horse.

22. *tϕ^həge t^hi wo jə=gi rji gə*
 then DEM.DIST again ghost = DAT horse INDF
rə-s-c^hi-sə ηə-rə jə-rə
 DIR.UP-CAUS-ride-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

And so another horse was given for the ghost to ride upon,

23. *jə ηu-gu χa-mæ-gu-sə*
 ghost COP.FACT-IRR understand(1)-NEG.PFV-understand(2)-IFR
ηə-rə jə-rə t^hiɲi c^həmtso=γə
 COP-SENS say-SENS 3PL family = ERG

...as her family did not know that it was a ghost.

24. *tɕʰəɣe ɣne dɛ = ɣə rji rə-f-cʰi reɣe rə-ɕə-sə*
 then two DEM = ERG horse PFV-INV-ride LNK UP-go-IFR
ŋə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS

Then the two rode the horses and went up.

25. *tɕʰəɣe kʰækʰæ = ɲi = ɣə tʰiɣne dɛ rə-zbji-sə ŋə-rə*
 then different = PL = ERG 3DU DEM UP-send.off-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS

Then the others sent the two off.

26. *tɕʰəɣe rə-zbji reɣe tɕʰəɣe smi = ɣə tə-jə-də*
 then UP-send.off LNK then woman = ERG PFV-say-NMLZ
vlæmæ rjə-ɬe = gi vlæmæ rjə dɛ
 monk hundred-CN.person = DAT monk hundred DEM
ɲunɟu nə-nkʰərvæ ŋə rə-dzɛn-re meni
 towards.behind DOWN-turn 1 PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani
nə-zɕe tə-jə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-chant.2 PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

As they were sent off, the girl sang to the one hundred monks, “Oh one hundred monks turn back! When you have remembered me chant the mani.”

27. *vlæmæ rjə = gi ɲiɲi ɲunɟu nə-nkʰərvæ ŋə*
 monk hundred = DAT 2PL towards.behind PFV-turn 1
rə-dzɛn-re meni nə-zɕæ tə-jə-də
 PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani PFV-chant PFV-say-NMLZ
mpʰrivæ rjə tə-f-kʰo-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
 prayer.beads hundred PFV-INV-give-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 Saying to the one hundred monks, “You turn around! Chant the mani when you remember me.” And she gave them one hundred strings of prayer beads.

28. *tɕʰəɣe vlæmæ rjə dɛ ɲunɟu nə-ɕə-sə*
 then monk hundred DEM towards.behind DOWN-go-IFR
ŋə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS

Then the one hundred monks turned around and went away.

29. *wo rkemə rjə = gi tʰɛ tə-jə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə*
 again nun hundred = DAT DEM PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Again to the one hundred nuns she said that.

30. *rkemə rjə de junju nə-nk^hərvæ ηæ*
nun hundred DEM towards.behind DOWN-turn 1
rə-dzɛn-re meni nə-zʒe tə-jə-sə ηə-rə
PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani PFV-chant.2 PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
say-SENS

“One hundred nuns turn around, chant the mani when you remember me,” she sang.

31. *rkemə rjə =gi mp^hrivæ rjə tə-f-k^ho-sə*
nun hundred = DAT prayer.beads hundred PFV-INV-give-IFR
ηə-rə jə-rə
COP-SENS say-SENS

And she gave a hundred strings of prayer beads to the nuns.

32. *tɕ^həge rkemə rjə de junju nə-rje-sə*
then nun hundred DEM towards.behind PFV-pass.by-IFR
ηə-rə jə-rə
COP-SENS say-SENS

Then the one hundred nuns turned around and went away.

33. *tɕ^həge rgevzə rjə-βe tə-ji-sə ηə-rə*
then old hundred-CN PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
say-SENS

And the one hundred elderly were there.

34. *γdzəvə rgevzə vədæ rgevzə rjə-βe*
old.man old wife old hundred-CN.person
tə-ji-sə ηə-rə jə-rə
PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

One hundred elderly men and one hundred elderly women were there.

35. *tɕ^həge rgevzə rjə de junju nə-nk^hərvæ ηæ*
then old hundred DEM towards.behind DOWN-turn 1
rə-dzɛn-re meni nə-zʒe tə-jə-sə
PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani PFV-chant.2SG PFV-say-IFR
ηə-rə jə-rə
COP-SENS say-SENS

Then she sang, “One hundred elderly turn around and go back, chant the mani when you remember me!”

36. *tɕʰəgɛ rgeɪvzə rjə = gi ɲiɲi ɲunɟu nə-nkʰərvæ*
 then old hundred = DAT 2PL towards.behind DOWN-turn
jite rə-dzɛn-re meni nə-zɕe tə-jə-sə
 LOG PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani PFV-chant.2SG PFV-say-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS
 Then she told the old hundred to turn around and chant the mani
 when they remember her.
37. *mpʰrivæ rjə tə-f-kʰo-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
 prayer.beads hundred PFV-INV-give-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 She gave them a hundred prayer beads.
38. *tɕʰəgɛ rgeɪvzə rjə de ɲunɟu nə-çə-sə*
 then old hundred DEM towards.behind DOWN-go-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS
 Then the one hundred old people turned around and went back.
39. *tɕʰəgɛ wo lutɕʰõ rjə-ɸe tə-ji-sə*
 then again young hundred-CN.person PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS
 Then there were also one hundred youths.
40. *wo tə-jə-də lutɕʰõ rjə de ɲunɟu*
 again PFV-say-NMLZ young hundred DEM towards.behind
nə-nkʰərvæ ɲə rə-dzɛn-re meni nə-zɕe
 DOWN-turn 1 PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani PFV-chant.2SG
tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 Then also to the one hundred youths she said, “One hundred youths
 turn back around, chant the mani when you remember me.”
41. *wo lutɕʰõ rjə = gi mpʰrivæ rjə-qʰa*
 again young hundred = DAT prayer.beads hundred-CN.long.thing
tə-f-kʰo-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-INV-give-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 Again she gave the one hundred youths one hundred strings of
 prayer beads.
42. *jite su rə-ro zɸji mə-çi ɲiɲi*
 LOG more UP-direction send.off NEG.PFV-want 2PL
ɲunɟu nə-nkʰərvæ tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 towards.behind DOWN-turn PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

She said, “You do not need to send me off any more, turn around.”

43. *tɕʰəŋe wo lutɕʰõ rjə de junɟu nə-ɕə-sə*
 then again young hundred DEM towards.behind PFV-go-IFR
ŋə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS

Then again the youths turned around and went away.

44. *tɕʰəŋe kedi rjə-βe tə-ji-sə ŋə-rə*
 then child hundred-CN.person PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS

Then there were one hundred children.

45. *wo tʰi smi = γə tə-jə-də kedi rjə de*
 again DEM.DIST woman = ERG PFV-say-NMLZ child hundred DEM
junɟu nə-nkʰərvæ ŋə rə-dzɛn-re meni
 towards.behind DOWN-turn 1 PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani
nə-zɕe tə-jə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-chant.2SG PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then the woman sang, “Oh, one hundred children turn back around, chant the mani when you remember me.”

46. *tɕʰəŋe kedi rjə de junɟu nə-ɕə-sə ŋə-rə*
 then child hundred DEM towards.behind PFV-go-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS

Then the one hundred children turned around and went back.

47. *tɕʰəŋe jite tʰi jə = pʰæ rə-ɕə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə*
 then LOG DEM.DIST ghost = COM PFV-go-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 But she herself went along with the ghost.

48. *tɕʰəŋe æ-rə-tʰə rə-ɕə rə-ɕə rə-ɕə reŋe rəŋu de*
 then one-UP-DEM.DIST UP-go UP-go UP-go LNK mountain DEM
ndjindji kə-vdu-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
 red PFV-see-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then far away, going up, going up, going up they saw a red mountain.

49. *tɕʰəŋe tə-jə-də æ-rə-tʰə rəŋu ndjindji de*
 then PFV-say-NMLZ one-UP-DEM.DIST mountain red DEM
æ-tɕʰə gə ŋə-rə tə-jə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
 Q-DEM INDF COP-SENS PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then she said, “What is that red mountain over there?”

50. *t^{hi} rəngu ndjindji = q^he jiteyne æ-ze = k^hæ*
 DEM.DIST mountain red = LOC LOG.DU one-CN.while = time
ʒã-gə ŋə-rə bjərə ŋə-rə
 come.1-IPFV COP-SENS coral COP-SENS
 That red mountain we are coming to has coral.
51. *ni χezi gə tə-f-çi-vɛ rə-zi gɛ*
 2 how.much INDF PFV-INV-want-SBJV PFV-take.2SG LNK
ŋe-gə ŋə-rə tə-jə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
 good-NMLZ COP-SENS PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 You can take as much as you want.
52. *tɕ^həgɛ wɔjæ tə-jə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə*
 then yes PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 “OK,” she said.
53. *tɕ^həgɛ rəngu ndjindji = q^he ʒi-re bjərə ɕɕɕɛ*
 then mountain red = LOC come-NMLZ.LOC coral everywhere
tə-ŋu-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-COP.FACT-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 Then they came to the red mountain where there was coral every-
 where.
54. *tɕ^həgɛ t^{hi} smi = γə bjərə p^hu æ-sɛ*
 then DEM woman = ERG coral pocket one-CN.full
nə-rk^hə-də rə-v-zu-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-put.in-NMLZ PFV-INV-take-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 Then the woman filled her pocket full of the coral stones and took
 them with her.
55. *rɛvgə rə-ɕə regɛ tɕ^həgɛ tə-ntsə-də jite læ wo xsu*
 duration PFV-go LNK then PFV-think-IPFV LOG TOP again three
rjæ = k^hæ ədi jə = γə f-sɛ-gə ŋə-rə
 CN.night = time DEM.PROX ghost = ERG INV-die-IPFV COP-SENS
 After a while they went on, and the woman thought that after three
 nights she will be killed by the ghost.
56. *jite = ji si dɛ f-t^hi-gə ŋə-rə*
 LOG = GEN blood DEM INV-drink-NMLZ COP-SENS
 He will drink her blood.
57. *jite ədi bjərə = k^hæ æ-tɕ^hə do tə-ntsə regɛ bjərə*
 LOG DEM.PROX coral = INS Q-DEM do.1 PFV-think LNK coral

χsəmbə χt^ho nə-f-qe-sə ηə-rə jə-rə
all ground DOWN-INV-throw-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then at that time she thought that the corals were useless and threw all of the corals onto the ground.

58. *rə-mæ-v-zu-sə ηə-rə jə-rə*
PFV-NEG.PFV-INV-take-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

She did not take them.

59. *tç^həge wo rə-çə rə-çə rə-çə rə-çə rege wo rəngu*
then again UP-go UP-go UP-go UP-go LNK again mountain
ηəηə gə vdu-sə ηə-rə jə-rə
green/blue INDF see-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then onwards and upwards they went until they saw a green/blue mountain.

60. *tç^həge wo tə-jə-də æ-r-t^hi rəngu*
then again PFV-say-NMLZ one-UP-DEM.DIST mountain
ηəηə de æ-tç^hə gə ηə-rə tə-jə-sə ηə-rə
green/blue DEM Q-DEM INDF COP-SENS PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
say-SENS

And so she said, “What is this green/blue mountain?”

61. *æ-r-t^hi rəngu ηəηə de ɛjə ηə-rə*
one-UP-DEM.DIST mountain green/blue DEM turquoise COP-SENS

“That green/blue mountain over there has turquoise.”

62. *ɲi=q^ho χezi gə tə-f-çi-vɛ rə-zi gɛ*
2 = EXCL how.much INDF PFV-INV-want-SBJV UP-take.2 LNK
ηe-gə ηə-rə tə-jə-sə ηə-rə jə-rə
good-NMLZ COP-SENS PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

“You can take as much as you want.”

63. *tç^həge wojæ tə-jə-sə ηə-rə jə-rə*
then yes PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

“Yes,” she said.

64. *wo p^hu æ-sɛ nə-rk^hə-sə ηə-rə jə-rə*
again pocket one-CLF PFV-put.in-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Again she filled up her pocket.

65. *wo revgə rə-çə rege wo tə-nts^hə-də ηæ læ xsu*
again duration UP-go LNK again PFV-think-NMLZ 1 TOP three

ɾjæ = k^hæ læ f-sɛ-gə ɲə-rə ɲæ ədi
 CN.night = time TOP INV-die-IPFV COP-SENS 1 DEM.PROX
bjərə = k^hæ tɕ^ho mə-s-t^hɛ-rə tə-nts^hə-də
 coral = INS something NEG.PFV-CAUS-do-SENS PFV-think-NMLZ

Again after a while upwards they went and again the girl started to think that after three nights he would kill her, so the girl said, “These turquoise stones are useless to me.”

66. *wo χt^ho nə-f-qe-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
 again ground DOWN-INV-throw-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 Again she threw them to the ground.

67. *rə-mæ-v-zu-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
 UP-NEG.PFV-INV-take-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 She did not take them.

68. *wo rə-çə rə-çə rə-çə rə-çə regɛ le wo rəngu*
 again UP-go UP-go UP-go UP-go LNK INTERJ again mountain
ɲəɲə kə-vdu-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 yellow.orange PFV-see-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 And onward and upward they went, and they came across another mountain that was yellow.

69. *æ-rə-t^hə rəngu de æ-tɕ^hə gə ɲə-rə*
 one-UP-DEM.LOC.DIST mountain DEM Q-DEM INDF COP-SENS
tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 “What is that mountain over there?” she said.

70. *æ-rə-t^hə rəngu de sp^huçɛ ɲə-rə*
 one-UP-DEM.LOC.DIST mountain DEM amber COP-SENS
 “That mountain over there is amber.”

71. *ɲi = q^ho χezi gə tə-f-çi-vɛ rə-zi gɛ*
 2 = EXCL how.much INDF PFV-INV-want-SUBJ PFV-take.2 LNK
ɲe-gə ɲə-rə tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 good-NMLZ COP-SENS PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 “However much you want you may take.”

72. *wojæ tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
 yes PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 “OK,” she said.

73. *tɕ^həgɛ t^hi rəngu ɲəɲə = q^he kɿ-re*
 then DEM.DIST mountain yellow.orange = LOC come-NMLZ.LOC

χsambə sp^huɕe tə-ŋu-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
all amber PFV-COP-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then they came to that yellow mountain and it was completely made out of amber.

74. *tɕ^həge smi = yə wo p^hu æ-sɛ nə-rk^hə-sə*
then woman = ERG again pocket one-CN.full PFV-put.in-IFR
ŋə-rə jə-rə
COP-SENS say-SENS

Then the woman again stuffed her pockets full.

75. *wo revgə rə-ɕə rege wo tə-nts^hə-də ŋə*
again duration UP-go LNK again PFV-think-NMLZ 1
æ-də = k^hæ tɕ^ho mi-st^ho-rə æ-tɕ^hə de ŋə wo
one-DEM = INS something NEG.IRR-able-SENS Q-DEM do 1 again
xsu ŋjæ = k^hæ læ f-sɛ-gə ŋə-rə tə-nts^hə-də
three CLF = time TOP INV-die-IPFV COP-SENS PFV-think-NMLZ

Again after a while of going up she was thinking, “I can do nothing with this, what do I do, after three nights I will die.”

76. *wo nə-ro nə-f-qe-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə*
again DOWN-direction PFV-INV-throw-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Again she threw them down.

77. *tɕ^həge rə-ɕə rə-ɕə rege tɕ^həge t^{hi} jə*
then UP-go UP-go LNK then DEM.DIST ghost
ji-re = q^he ɕi-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
EXIST.ANIM-NMLZ.LOC = LOC come-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then up, up they went and then came to the ghost’s place.

78. *jə = ji vdzə kɛ-yri kɛ-yri*
ghost = GEN friend INTENS-much INTENS-much
tə-ji-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Many, many of the ghost’s friends were there.

79. *jə = ni = yə vdzi f-sɛ-gu yə-ndzu-də rpi*
ghost = PL = ERG person INV-die-IRR PFV-sit-NMLZ corpse
kɛ-yri tə-sti-sə-rə jə-rə
INTENS-much PFV-EXIST.MOV-IFR-SENS say-SENS

The ghosts were staying there killing people; there were many corpses.

80. *jə = ni = yə vdzi zŋo rege t^{hi} = və ymə pa*
ghost = PL = ERG person hang LNK 3.GEN = under fire ART

f-t^hu tɕ^həgɛ t^hi si pa f-t^hi-gə
 INV-burn then 3.GEN blood ART INV-drink-NMLZ
tə-ʃi-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

They hung the people and lit fires under them and drank their blood.

81. *tɕ^həgɛ t^hə=q^he ʒi rege tɕ^həgɛ ni xsu*
 then DEM.LOC.DIST=LOC come LNK then 2 three
rjæ=k^hæ f-sɛ-lə ɲə-rə tə-mæ-jə-sə
 CN.night=time INV-die-NMLZ.ACT COP-SENS PFV-NEG.PFV-say-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS

Then they came to that place and he did not tell her, “You will be killed in three nights.”

82. *ni t^hə=q^he ɣə-ndzu-n ni=q^ho t^hi zyədzi*
 2 DEM.DIST=LOC SE-sit-2 2=EXCL DEM towards.SE
ɣə-ndzu-n tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə jə=ni=ɣə
 SE-sit-2 PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS say=PL=ERG

The ghosts said to her, “You sit over there, sit over there in the southeast.”

83. *tɕ^həgɛ t^hə=q^he smi ɣə-ndzu-sə-rə jə-rə*
 then DEM.DIST=LOC woman PFV-sit-IFR-SENS say-SENS

Then the woman sat over there.

84. *smi ʋasji ɣə-ɕə rege kə-sciki ɣə-ndzu-sə ɲə-rə*
 woman opposite SE-go LNK PFV-look PFV-sit-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS

The woman walked over to the opposite side and looked, sitting down there.

85. *tɕ^həgɛ ʃwɛ gə ɣə-xæ-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
 then fox INDF PFV-come.out-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then came along a fox.

86. *tɕ^həgɛ t^hi smi=ɣə ʃwɛ=gi nə-sk^həri-də ʋasji*
 then DEM woman=ERG fox=DAT DOWN-shout-NMLZ opposite
ʃwɛ dɛ lo-rə ɕə-n-gu
 fox DEM where-SENS go-2-IRR

The woman called to the fox and sang, “Fox across the way, where are you going?”

87. *ji kæçæ lo-rə ɲe ʒi-n*
 2 morning where-LOC direction come-2
 “Where did you come from this morning?”
88. *ji pəgə lɛɲu lo-rə ɲe çə-n-gu tə-jə-sə*
 2 tonight afternoon where-LOC direction go-2-IRR PFV-say-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS
 “Where will you go early in the evening?”
89. *ʃwɛ gə tə-jə-də ɲæ kæçæ ɣə-tçɛ tçʰjæ çɛr ɲe*
 fox INDF PFV-say-NMLZ 1 morning PFV-go time east direction
ɣə-ʒã
 PFV-come.1
 The fox replied, “I came from the east this morning.”
90. *ɲæ pəgə çə tçʰjæ nəv ɲe çã-gu*
 1 tonight go time west direction go.1-IRR
 “I am going to the west this evening.”
91. *nəv sɪgi ɸõpʰju ʒi-re = qʰe çã-gu*
 west Seng.ge dbang.phyug EXIST.ANIM-NMLZ.LOC = LOC go.1-IRR
tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 “In the west is Seng.ge dbang.phyug’s place.”
92. *ʒite nəv sɪgi ɸõpʰju ʒi-re = qʰe*
 LOG west Seng.ge dbang.phyug EXIST.ANIM-NMLZ.LOC = LOC
çã-gu tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 go.1-IRR PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 He said, “I am going to Seng.ge dbang.phyug’s place in the west.”
93. *tʰi smi = ʒi æti = gi sɪgi*
 DEM.DIST woman = GEN elder.brother = DAT Seng.ge
ɸõpʰju zmə-gə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 dbang.phyug name-NMLZ COP-SENS say-SENS
 The woman’s older brother was named Seng.ge dbang.phyug.
94. *nəv ɲe tə-ʒi-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
 west direction PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 He lived in the west.
95. *tçʰəgɛ tʰi smi = ɣə tʰi ʃwɛ = gi tə-jə-də*
 then DEM.DIST woman = ERG DEM.DIST fox = DAT PFV-say-NMLZ

k^hædzɔ luvjæ jite læ wo xsu rjæ = k^hæ
 please long.life LOG TOP again three CN.night = time
f-sɛ-gə ɲə-rə dɛ dzədə gə kə-v-ræ-də jite
 INV-die-NMLZ COP-SENS DEM letter INDF PFV-INV-write-NMLZ LOG
æti = gi t^hɛ dɛ tə-χte
 elder.brother = DAT 3 DEM PFV-hand.over.2→3

Then the girl said to the fox, “Please, may you live long; write a letter; I am going to be killed in three days, give it to my brother.”

96. *jite f-sɛ-gə ɲə-rə ɲi jite dɛ ci rə-ʒɛ-n*
 LOG INV-die-NMLZ COP-SENS 2 LOG DEM lead UP-come-2
tə-jə-n mo tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-say-2 Q PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 “I will be killed, could you tell him to come fetch me?” she said.

97. *tɕ^həgɛ woʒæ tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
 then yes PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 Then he said, “Yes.”

98. *fwɛ = γə dzədə dɛ tə-v-zu nə-çə-sə ɲə-rə*
 fox = ERG letter DEM PFV-INV-take PFV-go-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS
 The fox took the letter and went away.

99. *tɕ^həgɛ t^hɲi ndjomə = γə ɣrə ɣæ ɣrə*
 then 3PL.GEN servant.female = ERG river bank water
k^hɛv-gə tə-ji-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 draw.water-NMLZ PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 Then their (the woman’s family) servant was at the river bank fetching water.

100. *tɕ^həgɛ ndjomə = gi dzədə dɛ tə-χtɛ-sə*
 then servant.female = DAT letter DEM PFV-hand.over-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə t^hi fwɛ = γə
 COP-SENS say-SENS DEM.DIST fox = ERG
 Then the fox handed the letter over to the servant.

101. *tɕ^həgɛ ndjomə = γə tə-jə regɛ kæçæ vɛ çə*
 then servant.female = ERG PFV-say LNK morning just go
lɛnu dzədə ʒɛ-lə-gə æ-tɕ^hə gə ɲu-gu
 afternoon letter come-NMLZ.ACT-IPFV Q-DEM INDF COP.FACT-IRR
stɛ t^hɛn ɲu-re də-rə tə-jə-də
 also bad.omen COP.FACT-NMLZ.LOC have-SENS PFV-say-NMLZ
 Then the servant said, “She just left this morning; why is a letter

coming in the evening? Maybe this is a bad omen.”

102. *dzədə ɣrə = nə nə-f-qe-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
letter water = in PFV-INV-throw-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
She threw the letter into the water.

103. *t^hɲi əpə əmə regɛ æti = ɲi = gi*
DEM.DIST.PL father mother LNK elder.brother = PL = DAT
ɣə-mæ-sjə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
PFV-NEG.PFV-show-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
She did not show it to those—the father, mother, and brother.

104. *tɕ^həgɛ wo ɲusɲi wo smi ʋasji nə-çə kə-sciki*
then again next.day again woman opposite PFV-go PFV-look
ɣə-ndzu-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
PFV-sit-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
Then again the next day, again the woman went to the other side sitting and looking.

105. *tɕ^həgɛ wo scəχætɕ^həmo jə-də vjo gə*
then again magpie say-NMLZ bird INDF
ɲi-gə-rə t^hɛ tə-pjo ɣə-xə-sə-rə
EXIST.ANIM-NMLZ-SENS 3 PFV-fly PFV-come.out-IFR-SENS
jə-rə
say-SENS
Then again, a bird called a magpie was there, it came out flying.

106. *tɕ^həgɛ smi = ɣə wo scəχætɕ^həmo = gi tə-jə-də*
then woman = ERG again magpie = DAT PFV-say-NMLZ
χari scəχætɕ^həmo lo-rə ɲe ʒi-n
opposite magpie where-LOC direction come-2
Then the woman again said to the magpie, “Magpie on the opposite side, where are you coming from?” [Note: in the recording for ‘opposite’ Mtshomo actually uses a Tibetan word on accident.]

107. *ɲi kəçæ lo-rə ɲe ɣə-ʒi-n*
2 morning where-LOC direction SE-come-2
“This morning where have you come from?”

108. *ɲi pəgə lɛɲu lo-rə ɲe çə-n-gu tə-jə-sə*
2 tonight afternoon where-LOC direction go-2-IRR PFV-say-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə
COP-SENS say-SENS
“Where are you going this evening?”

109. *tʰəgɛ scəχætsʰæmo = ɣə tə-jə-də ɲæ kæçæ*
 then magpie = ERG PFV-say-NMLZ 1 morning
ɣə-tʰe-re çer ɲe ɲu
 PFV-go-NMLZ.LOC east direction COP.FACT
 Then the magpie said, “I came from the east this morning.”
110. *ɲæ pəgə çə-re nəv ɲe ɲu*
 1 tonight go-NMLZ.LOC west direction COP.FACT
 “Tonight I go to the west.”
111. *nəv s̃gi bõpʰju ji-re = qʰe*
 west Seng.ge dbang.phyug EXIST.ANIM-NMLZ.LOC = LOC
çã-gu tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 go.1-IRR PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 “In the west I go to the place of Seng.ge dbang.phyug.”
112. *tʰəgɛ kʰædzu luvjæ jite ɣzi = pʰæ = ʋa dzədə gə*
 then please long.life LOG shoe = COM = ALL letter INDF
ræ-də ɲi = gi xçu-gu de ɲi tʰɛ de jiteɲi jo
 write-NMLZ 2 = DAT send-IRR DEM 2 DEM DEM LOG.PL house
tə-χte tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-hand.over.2→3 PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 Then, “Please, long life, I’m writing a letter on my shoe; I am sending it with you take it to my house and hand it over,” she said.
113. *wojæ tə-jə-sə-rə*
 yes PFV-say-IFR-SENS
 “Yes,” she said.
114. *tʰɛ = ɣə ɣzi = ʋa dzədə kə-v-ræ-də jite de çi*
 3 = ERG shoe = ALL letter PFV-INV-write-NMLZ LOG DEM lead
rə-βɛ-n mde jite læ wo ɣnə-rjæ = kʰæ f-sɛ-gə
 UP-come-2 otherwise LOG TOP again two-CLF = time INV-die-NMLZ
ɲə-rə tə-jə-də
 COP-SENS PFV-say-NMLZ
 She wrote on a shoe, “Come and get me, otherwise I will be killed in two nights time.”
115. *dzədə gə kə-v-ræ nə-xçu-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
 letter INDF PFV-INV-write PFV-send-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 She wrote the letter and sent it.
116. *tʰi scəχætsʰæmo = ɣə nə-çə regɛ qe qe qe*
 DEM.DIST magpie = ERG PFV-go LNK tweet tweet tweet

qe qe tə-jə nə-γzæ-sə ηə-rə jə-rə
 tweet tweet PFV-say PFV-sound-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 That magpie went and said with the sound, “Tweet, tweet, tweet,
 tweet, tweet!”

117. *t^{hi}=ji leje=γə ndəɹjæ-gə tə-ji*
 DEM = PL daughter.in.law = ERG clean-NMLZ PFV-EXIST.ANIM
rege
 LNK

Their (parents’) daughter-in-law was there cleaning.

118. *æ-tə^{hə} gə γzæ-gə ndzu-rə mo tə-nts^{hə}*
 Q-DEM INDF sound-NMLZ sit-SENS HYP PFV-think
 She thought, “What is that sound?”

119. *æ-sciki kə-v-ræ-re scəχæts^{hə}æmo = γə γzi de*
 one-look PFV-INV-write-NMLZ.LOC magpie = ERG shoe DEM
leje ηusti nə-f-qe-sə-rə jə-rə
 daughter.in.law front PFV-INV-throw-IFR-SENS say-SENS
 She took a look and the magpie threw the shoe in front of her.

120. *γzi=ka æ-sciki kə-v-ræ rege dzədə kə-v-ræ-sə*
 shoe = ALL one-look PFV-INV-write LNK letter PFV-INV-write-IFR
tə-xi-sə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-EXIST.IMMOV-IFR-SENS say-SENS
 She looked at the shoe and a letter was written on the shoe.

121. *tə^{hə}ge t^{hi} smi=ji γzi ηu-gu*
 then DEM.DIST woman = GEN shoe COP-IRR
χα-tə-gu-sə ηə-rə jə-rə
 understand(1)-PFV-understand(2)-IFR-SENS say-SENS
 Then that she knew that that shoe was the daughter’s.

122. *tə^{hə}ge t^{hi}=ji=ji sīgi ɸōp^hju rege æpæ*
 then 3 = GEN = PL Seng.ge dbang.phyug LNK father
æmə=gi γə-mæ-sjə-də t^hen t^hen
 mother = DAT PFV-NEG.PFV-show-NMLZ bad.omen bad.omen
ævəsni ve çə pəsni-ve dzədə xçu-lə-gə tə-jə
 yesterday just go today-SBJV letter send-NMLZ.ACT-NMLZ PFV-say
rege
 LNK

Then not showing (the letter) to their Seng.ge dbang.phyug and his father and mother, said, “Bad omen, bad omen! Yesterday she just left, today she’s sending a letter.” [Note: the syntax of *t^{hi}=ji=ji* is wrong and was a mistake and should be *t^{hi}ji=ji*, but it is

possible that this is merely a conjunction realized as *t^hiɲi* with =*ji* blending into *ɲi*, which is not uncommon. Also, Mtshomo argues that the *-vɛ* -SBJV should be a *-rə* LOC, which would fit the normal syntax that does not permit the subjunctive to be a suffix for nouns].

123. *ɣzi ʋa p^hɛɾɣɛ nə-f-qe tə-st^ho-sə ɲə-rə*
 shoe door behind PFV-INV-throw PFV-get.rid.of-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS

She threw the shoe behind the door getting rid of it.

124. *tɕ^həgɛ wo t^hi ɲusɲi gɛ tɕ^həgɛ lɛɲu*
 then again DEM.DIST next.day LNK then afternoon
f-sɛ-lə tə-ɲu-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 INV-die-NMLZ.ACT PFV-COP.FACT-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then the next day in the afternoon she was going to be killed.
 [Note: Mtshomo says the *wo* is unnecessary.]

125. *tɕ^həgɛ kæçæ nə-çə-də wo kə-sciki ɣə-ndzu-sə-rə*
 then morning PFV-go-NMLZ again PFV-look PFV-sit-IFR-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS

Then in the morning she was going, again looking while she sat.

126. *tɕ^həgɛ qaɕi gə tə-pjo ɣə-xə-sə-rə jə-rə*
 then crow INDF PFV-fly PFV-come.out-IFR-SENS say-SENS

Then a crow came flying out.

127. *tɕ^həgɛ ʋasji qaɕi lo-rə çə-n-gu*
 then opposite crow where-LOC go-2-IRR

Then to the crow on the opposite side, “Where are you going?”

128. *ɲi kæçæ lo-rə ɲe ɣə-ɕi-n*
 2 morning where-LOC direction SE-come-2
 “Where are you coming from this morning?”

129. *ɲi pəgə lɛɲu lo-rə ɲe çə-n-gu tə-jə-sə*
 2 tonight afternoon where-LOC direction go-2-IRR PFV-say-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS

“Where are you going this evening?” She said.

130. *nə-sk^həri-sə-rə jə-rə*
 PFV-shout-IFR-SENS say-SENS
 She shouted.

131. *tɕʰəgɛ qaʒi = ɣə tə-jə-də ɲə kæçæ ɣə-tɕe-re*
 then crow = ERG PFV-say-NMLZ 1 morning SE-go-NMLZ.LOC
çer ɲe ɲu
 east direction COP

Then the crow saying, “In the morning I came from the east.”

132. *ɲə pəgə çə-re nəv s̃gi bõpʰju*
 1 tonight go-NMLZ.LOC west Seng.ge dbang.phyug
ji-re = qʰe ɲu tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə
 EXIST.ANIM-NMLZ.LOC = LOC COP.FACT PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS

“Tonight I go to the west where Seng.ge dbang.phyug’s place is,” it said.

133. *tɕʰəgɛ ʒɛgi = ba dzədə gə kə-v-ræ-sə ɲə-rə*
 then bracelet = ALL letter INDF PFV-INV-write-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS

Then on a bracelet she wrote a letter to her brother.

134. *ʒɛgi = ba jite = ji mə = gi kʰædzu luvjæ ɲi*
 bracelet = ALL LOG = GEN brother = DAT please long.life 2
tə-mjo rə-ʒɛ-n mde jite læ lɛɲu
 PFV-quickly UP-come-2 otherwise LOG TOP afternoon
f-sɛ-gə ɲə-rə tə-jə-sə-də dzədə gə
 INV-die-NMLZ COP-SENS PFV-say-IFR-NMLZ letter INDF
kə-v-ræ-də tɕʰəgɛ qaʒi = gi tə-χte-sə
 PFV-INV-write-NMLZ then crow = DAT PFV-hand.over-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS

To her brother (she wrote) on the bracelet, “Please, live long, come quickly this evening otherwise I will be killed,” saying, writing a letter, then handed it over to the crow. [Note: there is a mistake; *mə* should be *æti*.]

135. *tɕʰəgɛ qaʒi = gi tə-jə-də ɲi æ-də dɛ*
 then crow = DAT PFV-say-NMLZ 2 one-DEM.PROX DEM
lɛje = gi tə-ti-χte
 daughter.in.law = DAT PFV-PROH-hand.over.2→3

Then saying to the crow, “Don’t give this to my sister-in-law.”

136. *ndjomə = gi tə-ti-χte*
 servant.female = DAT PFV-PROH-hand.over.2→3

“Don’t give it to the maid.”

137. *æpæ æmæ=gi tə-ti-χte*
father mother = DAT PFV-PROH-hand.over.2→3

“Don’t give it to my father and mother.”

138. *jite=ji æti=gi tə-χte*
LOG = GEN elder.brother = DAT PFV-hand.over.2→3

“Give it to my older brother.”

139. *æti ni mk^hərjε = tç^hjæ kə-nə-n regε*
elder.brother 2 chimney = on NW-rest-2 LNK

“Rest on our chimney.” [Note: *æti* is not necessary].

140. *qa-də qa-də jə-n rə-qəjεvlə-n gε*
caw-NMLZ caw-NMLZ say-2 UP-shout-2 LNK

“Call out ‘Caw, caw.’”

141. *t^hen t^hen t^hen p^hu jə gε jite=ji*
bad.omen bad.omen bad.omen shoo! say LNK LOG.PL
c^həmts^ho = γə t^hε jə gε su rə-qəjεvlə-n-də tçæk^hæ = tç^hjæ
family = ERG 3 say LNK more UP-shout-2-NMLZ roof.wall = on
kə-nə-n gε
PFV-rest-2 LNK

“The family will say, ‘Bad omen, bad omen, bad omen, shoo!’ and when they say that cawing even more, resting on the top of the roof wall.”

142. *t^hiɲi = γə wo ɲi = gi p^hji tə-çə-n tə-jə-ve su*
3PL = ERG again 2 = DAT flee PFV-go-2 PFV-say-SBJV more
rə-qəjεvlə-n gε
UP-shout-2 LNK

“Again if they say, ‘Fee, go away,’ you caw even more.”

143. *tç^həgε jite=ji æti p^hjə xæ gε tç^həgε*
then LOG = GEN elder.brother outside come.out LNK then
jite=ji æti=gi tə-χte tə-jə-sə
LOG = GEN elder.brother = DAT PFV-hand.over.2→3 PFV-say-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə
COP-SENS say-SENS

“When my brother comes out, hand over the bracelet to him,” she said.

144. *qaɟi = γə wojæ tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
crow = ERG yes PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

The crow said, “OK!”

145. *tʰəgɛ qaʒi = ɣə ʒɛgi dɛ tə-v-zu nə-çə rege*
then crow = ERG bracelet DEM PFV-INV-take DOWN-go LNK

Then the crow took the bracelet and left.

146. *tʰijni mkʰərjɛ = tʰjæ kə-nə-də qa-də qa-də*
3PL.GEN chimney = on PFV-rest-NMLZ caw-NMLZ caw-NMLZ
jə rə-qəjɛvlə rege
say UP-shout LNK

(The crow) was resting on their chimney and called, “Caw, caw.”

147. *tʰijni lɛje ɣə-xæ rege*
3PL.GEN daughter.in.law SE-come.out LNK

Their daughter-in-law came out.

148. *pʰu jə fçæ tʰɛn tə-çə-n*
shoo say bird bad.omen PFV-go-2

“Shoo bird, bad luck, go away!”

149. *æ-tʰə mə-ŋe-rə tə-jə*
Q-DEM NEG.PFV-good-SENS PFV-say

“What is the problem?” she said.

150. *su rə-qəjɛvlə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə*
more UP-shout-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

(The crow) shouted more (loudly).

151. *tʰijni ndjomə ɣə-xæ-də fçæ tʰɛn*
3PL.GEN servant.female SE-come.out-NMLZ bird bad.omen
tə-çə-n tə-jə
PFV-go-2 PFV-say

Their female servant coming out said, “Bird, bad luck, go away!”

152. *su rə-qəjɛvlə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə*
more UP-shout-NMLZ COP-SENS say-SENS

(The crow) shouted more (loudly).

153. *tʰijni æpæ æmə = ɣə tə-jə su rə-qəjɛvlə-də*
3PL.GEN father mother = ERG PFV-say more UP-shout-NMLZ
tʰækʰæ = tʰæ kə-nə-re
roof.wall = on NW-rest-NMLZ.LOC

Their father and mother said, “It is cawing even more resting on the roof wall.”

154. *tʃʰəgɛ tʰijni æti = ɣə* *tʰi qaʒi = ɣə pəsni*
 then 3PL elder.brother = ERG DEM crow = ERG today
kɛ-qʰəmæ ɕɛɕɛ jə-rə
 INTENS-bad all.over say-SENS
 Then their elder brother said, “That bird is saying everything is bad today.”

155. *f-sɛ f-ɕi-rə* *tə-ntsʰə-də* *naftɕõ de*
 INV-die INV-want-SENS PFV-think-NMLZ gun DEM
tə-v-zu
 PFV-INV-take
 He took a gun thinking that he wanted to kill the bird.

156. *pʰjəsɯ ɣə-xə* *rege*
 outside SE-come.out LNK
 He went outside.

157. *tʃʰəgɛ qaʒi = ɣə* *mjo~mjo* *ʒɛgi* *de tʰi æti*
 then crow = ERG quick~quick bracelet DEM DEM elder.brother
ɲusti nə-f-qe-də *tʃʰəgɛ tə-pjo-sə* *ɲə-rə*
 front DOWN-INV-throw-NMLZ then PFV-fly-NMLZ COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS
 Then quickly throwing the bracelet down in front of the elder brother, the crow flew away.

158. *tʃʰəgɛ tʰi* *æti = ɣə* *ʒɛgi = ʋa*
 then DEM.DIST elder.brother = ERG bracelet = ALL
kə-sciki-re *tʃʰəgɛ sno = ɣə* *dʒədə*
 PFV-look-NMLZ.LOC then younger.sister = ERG letter
kə-v-rə-də *jite pəgə leɲu* *f-sɛ-gə*
 PFV-INV-write-NMLZ LOG tonight afternoon INV-die-NMLZ
ɲə-rə
 COP-SENS
 Then that brother looked at the bracelet on which his sister had written a letter to him, “Tonight this evening I will be killed.”

159. *jite de ɕi rə-ʒɛ-n* *tə-jə-də* *dʒədə*
 LOG DEM lead UP-come-2 PFV-say-NMLZ letter
kə-v-rə-sə *tə-də-sə* *ɲə-rə* *jə-rə*
 PFV-INV-write-IFR PFV-have-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 “You come lead me away,” she had written.

160. *tʃʰəgɛ tʰi* *æti = ɣə* *rji* *gə*
 then DEM.DIST elder.brother = ERG horse INDF

tə-ji-sə *ŋə-rə* *jə-rə*
 PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 That brother had a horse.

161. *t^{hi}* *æti=ji* *rji* *læ* *rtæ*
 DEM.DIST elder.brother = GEN horse spiritual.being horse
rconlə *jə-lə* *gə* *tə-ji-sə* *ŋə-rə*
 red.brown say-NMLZ.ACT INDF PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS
jə-rə
 say-SENS
 That brother's horse was called 'the red-brown god horse'.

162. *rcəktse gə* *tə-də-sə* *jə-rə*
 whip INDF PFV-have-IFR say-SENS
 He had a whip.

163. *rcəktse fsəambe tondzəv* *jə-lə-gə* *tə-də-sə*
 whip all achieve.aims say-NMLZ.ACT-NMLZ PFV-have-IFR
ŋə-rə *jə-rə*
 COP-SENS say-SENS
 The whip was called 'achieve all your aims'.

164. *t^{hi}* *rcəktse də* *rə-v-zu-və* *t^{hi}*
 DEM.DIST whip DEM UP-INV-take-SBJV DEM.DIST
æti=yə *χe* *tə-nts^{hə}-sə* *də* *mjo~mjo*
 elder.brother = ERG whatever PFV-think-IFR DEM quick~quick
ngrəv-gə *ŋə-rə* *jə-rə*
 success-NMLZ COP-SENS say-SENS
 If he took the whip, whatever that elder brother would think about
 would immediately become successful.

165. *tə^{hə}gə rji* *də* *rə-f-c^{hi}* *regə*
 then horse DEM UP-INV-ride LNK
 Then, he rode the horse.

166. *rcəktse fsəambe tondzəv=k^{hə}* *xsu* *χcət* *nə-nc^{hə}* *regə*
 whip all achieve.aims = INS three whip PFV-hit LNK
 He whipped (the horse) three times with the 'achieve all your aims'
 whip.

167. *rji=gi* *tə-jə-də* *ni* *zgō* *æ-rgə*
 horse = DAT PFV-say-NMLZ 2 mountain.range one-CN.generic
də *æ-pər* *nə-vi*
 DEM one-CN.step PFV-do.2
 He said to the horse, "Step once on that mountain range."

168. *kʰək æ-rgə dɛ æ-pɛr nə-vi*
 gorge one-CN.generic DEM one-CN.step PFV-do.2
 “Step once in that gorge.”
169. *tə-mjə mde jite=ji sno f-sɛ-gə*
 PFV-quickly otherwise LOG = GEN younger.sister INV-die-NMLZ
ji-gə ɲə-rə tə-jə-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 EXIST.ANIM-IPFV COP-SENS PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 “Quickly, otherwise my younger sister will die.”
170. *tɕʰəgɛ rji rə-ɲjəræ-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
 then horse UP-run-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 Then the horse galloped off.
171. *zɡõ æ-rgə dɛ æ-pɛr nə-və kʰək*
 mountain.range one-CN.generic DEM one-CN.step PFV-do gorge
æ-rgə dɛ æ-pɛr nə-və-də rə-ɲjəræ-sə
 one-CN.generic DEM one-CN.step PFV-do-NMLZ UP-run-IFR
ɲə-rə jə-rə
 COP-SENS say-SENS
 The horse ran stepping once on that mountain range and stepping
 once in that gorge.
172. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi æti ydo=qʰe ʒɛ tɕʰjæ keke*
 then DEM.DIST elder.brother close = LOC come time just.now
sno nə-rcʰəlæ regɛ ymə = tɕʰjæ zɲo-gə
 younger.sister PFV-tie LNK fire = on hang-NMLZ
tə-ji-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
 When the elder brother came near; just then the younger sister was
 tied up and hanging over a fire.
173. *f-sɛ tsʰa və-gə tə-ji-sə-rə jə-rə*
 INV-die start do-NMLZ PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR-SENS say-SENS
 They were about to kill her.
174. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi æti = yə jə = ɲi = ba*
 then DEM.DIST elder.brother = ERG ghost = PL = ALL
nə-ncʰə-sə-rə jə-rə
 PFV-hit-IFR-SENS say-SENS
 Then the elder brother beat the ghosts.
175. *rji = yə jə = ɲi = ba nə-rtʰu-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
 horse = ERG ghost = PL = ALL PFV-kick-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

The horse kicked the ghosts.

176. *tɕʰəgɛ jə=ɲi ɣsəmbə tə-f-sɛ-sə ɲə-rə jə-rə*
then ghost=PL all PFV-INV-die-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

They killed all of the ghosts.

177. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi sno rcʰəlæ dɛ γə-pʰrə rege tɕʰəgɛ*
then DEM younger.sister tie DEM PFV-untie LNK then

æti=γə tə-f-ɕi nə-ɕi-sə ɲə-rə
elder.brother=ERG PFV-INV-lead PFV-come-IFR COP-SENS

jə-rə

say-SENS

Then he untied the tied-up younger sister and lead her away.

178. *tʰi pi gə jə-lə də-rə su mæ-rə*
DEM like INDF say-NMLZ.ACT have-SENS more NEG.HAVE-SENS

It is told like that, there is no more.