Ghost's bride:
A transcribed, 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

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[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.

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

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

   A long time ago...

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

   There was a family with a daughter.

3. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi   smi   dɛ   χsəmbətʰolo=ɣə jiteɲi=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-sɲi~sɲi   ȵɛ-gə   ɣə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi   smi=ji   æti=gi   sĩgi*
   then   DEM.DIST woman=GEN elder.brother=DAT Seng.ge
   ʁõpʰju   zmə-gə   ŋə-rə
   dbang.phyug name-NMLZ COP-SENS

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

5. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi=ji   æti   ɲi   tɕʰjæ tʰi=ji*
   then   3SG=GEN elder.brother EXIST.ANIM time 3SG=GEN

æti = ɣə　　　　　*æ-ʁe = 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
qʰəsji　　*kæɕæ*　*sə*　*zə-ŋu*　　*ʝi-vɛ*　　*tɕʰəgɛ tʰi*
tomorrow morning who SUPL-front come-SBJV then DEM.DIST
smi　　*ŋæji*　*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 ʁa*　*pʰɛrʝɛ*　*jə*　　*gə*　*tə-ʝi-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-ʝi-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*　*kæɕæ*　*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. *ɲiɲi   smi   dɛ   jite=gi   æ-f-kʰõ   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. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi=ɲi   æpæ   æmə=ɣə   ŋe-rə   kʰo-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-kʰo-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
    PFV-INV-give-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

    And they gave her away.

14. *tɕʰəgɛ 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. *rumænzʑævæ gə   tə-ŋu-də   tʰɛ jə   ŋu-gu   tʰɛ*
    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 this was a ghost and that the ghost would kill her.

16. *æpæ   æmə=gi   jite mi-ɕã-gu   tʰi=pʰæ*
    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 do not want to go to live with him."

17. *tɕʰəgɛ æpæ   æmə=ɣə   ɣə-ndzu tə-ɕə   ɲi æ-sɲi~sɲi*
    then   father mother=ERG IMP-sit   IMP-go 2 one-day~day
    kɛ-ɣri   kɛ-ɣri   ɣə-f-tʰə-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 *ɣə-ndzu tə-ɕə* 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. *tɕʰəgɛ ŋæɣne ævəsɲi tə-jã qʰəsji kæɕæ gɛ sə*
    then 1DU   yesterday PFV-say.1 tomorrow morning LNK who
    ŋə ʐi-vɛ tʰɛ=gi kʰõ 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. *pəsɲi tʰi æ-ʁe dɛ ŋə ʐi-sə-rə ɲi*
    today DEM.DIST one-CN.person DEM before come-IFR-SENS 2
    tʰɛ=gi kʰõ-gu tə-jə-sə ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ smi pəŋæ vlæmæ rkɛmə ɣdzəvə rgevʑə lutɕʰõ kedi*
    then woman man monk nun old.man old young child
    kɛ-ɣri kɛ-ɣri=ɣə tɕʰəgɛ tə-zbji-sə
    INTENS-much INTENS-much=ERG then PFV-send.off-IFR
    ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ smi=ɣə tʰi jiteɲi cʰəmtso=ji rji*
    then daughter=ERG 3.GEN LOG.PL family=GEN horse
    rə-f-cʰi-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
    PFV-INV-ride-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

    And so the woman rode her family's horse.

22. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi wo jə=gi rji gə*
    then DEM.DIST again ghost=DAT horse INDF
    rə-s-cʰi-sə ŋə-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 ŋu-gu χa-mæ-gu-sə*
    ghost COP.FACT-IRR understand(1)-NEG.PFV-understand(2)-IFR
    ŋə-rə jə-rə tʰiɲi cʰəmtso=ɣə
    COP-SENS say-SENS 3PL family=ERG

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

24. *tɕʰəgɛ ɣne dɛ=ɣə   rji   rə-f-cʰi   regɛ 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. *tɕʰəgɛ 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 off the two.

26. *tɕʰəgɛ rə-zbji   regɛ tɕʰəgɛ smi=ɣə   tə-jə-də*
    then   UP-send.off LNK then   woman=ERG PFV-say-NMLZ
    vlæmæ rjə-ʁe=gi   vlæmæ rjə   dɛ
    monk   hundred-CN.person=DAT monk   hundred DEM
    ɲunʝu   nə-nkʰərvæ ŋæ rə-dʑɛn-re   mɛni
    towards.behind DOWN-turn 1 PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani
    nə-zʐe   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 ɲunʝu   nə-nkʰərvæ ŋæ*
    monk   hundred=DAT 2PL towards.behind PFV-turn   1
    rə-dʑɛn-re   mɛni nə-zʐæ   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. *tɕʰəgɛ vlæmæ rjə   dɛ ɲunʝu   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 rkɛmə 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. *rkɛmə rjə   dɛ ɲuɲu   nə-nkʰərvæ ŋæ*
    nun   hundred DEM towards.behind DOWN-turn 1

    rə-dʑɛn-re   mɛni nə-zɟe   tə-jə-sə   ŋə-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. *rkɛmə rjə=gi   mpʰrivæ   rjə   tə-f-kʰo-sə*
    nun   hundred=DAT prayer.beads hundred PFV-INV-give-IFR

    ŋə-rə   jə-rə
    COP-SENS say-SENS

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

32. *tɕʰəgɛ rkɛmə rjə   dɛ ɲuɲu   nə-rje-sə*
    then   nun   hundred DEM towards.behind PFV-pass.by-IFR

    ŋə-rə   jə-rə
    COP-SENS say-SENS

    Then the one hundred nuns turned around and went away.

33. *tɕʰəgɛ rgevʑə rjə-ʁe   tə-ɟi-sə   ŋə-rə*
    then   old   hundred-CN PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS

    jə-rə
    say-SENS

    And one hundred elderly were there.

34. *ɣdzəvə rgevʑə vədæ rgevʑə rjə-ʁe*
    old.man old   wife old   hundred-CN.person

    tə-ɟi-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə
    PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

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

35. *tɕʰəgɛ rgevʑə rjə   dɛ ɲuɲu   nə-nkʰərvæ ŋæ*
    then   old   hundred DEM towards.behind DOWN-turn 1

    rə-dʑɛn-re   mɛni nə-zɟe   tə-jə-sə
    PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani PFV-chant.2SG PFV-say-IFR

    ŋə-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 rgevʑə rjə=gi   ɲiɲi ɲunɟu   nə-nkʰərvæ*
    then old   hundred=DAT 2PL towards.behind DOWN-turn
    jite rə-dʑɛn-re   mɛni nə-zʐe   tə-jə-sə
    LOG PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani PFV-chant.2SG PFV-say-IFR
    ŋə-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   ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
    prayer.beads hundred PFV-INV-give-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
    She gave them a hundred prayer beads.

38. *tɕʰəgɛ rgevʑə rjə   dɛ   ɲunɟu   nə-ɕə-sə*
    then old   hundred DEM towards.behind DOWN-go-IFR
    ŋə-rə   jə-rə
    COP-SENS say-SENS
    Then the one hundred old people turned around and went back.

39. *tɕʰəgɛ wo   lutɕʰõ rjə-ʁe   tə-ɟi-sə*
    then again young hundred-CN.person PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR
    ŋə-rə   jə-rə
    COP-SENS say-SENS
    Then there were also one hundred youths.

40. *wo   tə-jə-də   lutɕʰõ rjə   dɛ   ɲunɟu*
    again PFV-say-NMLZ young hundred DEM towards.behind
    nə-nkʰərvæ ŋæ rə-dʑɛn-re   mɛni nə-zʐe
    DOWN-turn 1 PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani PFV-chant.2SG
    tə-jə-sə   ŋə-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   ŋə-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   zbji   mə-ɕi   ɲiɲi*
    LOG more UP-direction send.off NEG.PFV-want 2PL

ɲunʤu   *nə-nkʰərvæ tə-jə-sə*   *ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ wo*   *lutɕʰõ rjə*   *de*   *ɲunʤu*   *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. *tɕʰəgɛ kedi rjə-ʁe*   *tə-ɟi-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=ɣə*   *tə-jə-də*   *kedi rjə*   *de*
    again DEM.DIST woman=ERG PFV-say-NMLZ child hundred DEM
ɲunʤu   *nə-nkʰərvæ ŋæ rə-dʑɛn-re*   *mɛni*
towards.behind DOWN-turn 1   PFV-remember-NMLZ.LOC mani
nə-zʐe   *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. *tɕʰəgɛ kedi rjə*   *de*   *ɲunʤu*   *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. *tɕʰəgɛ 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. *tɕʰəgɛ æ-rə-tʰə*   *rə-ɕə rə-ɕə rə-ɕə rege rəngu*   *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. *tɕʰəgɛ tə-jə-də*   *æ-rə-tʰə*   *rəngu*   *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. tʰi rəngu ndjindji=qʰe jiteɣne æ-ʑe=kʰæ
DEM.DIST mountain red=LOC LOG.DU one-CN.while=time
ʐã-gə ŋə-rə bjərə ŋə-rə
come.1-IPFV COP-SENS coral COP-SENS
That red mountain we are coming to has coral.

51. ɲi χeʑi gə tə-f-ɕi-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. tɕʰəgɛ wojæ tə-jə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə
then yes PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
"OK," she said.

53. tɕʰəgɛ rəngu ndjindji=qʰe ʐi-re bjərə ɕeɕe
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. tɕʰəgɛ tʰi smi=ɣə bjərə pʰu æ-sɛ
then DEM woman=ERG coral pocket one-CN.full
nə-rkʰə-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 tɕʰəgɛ tə-ntsə-də jite læ wo xsu
duration PFV-go LNK then PFV-think-IPFV LOG TOP again three
rjæ=kʰæ ədi jə=ɣə 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-tʰi-gə ŋə-rə
LOG=GEN blood DEM INV-drink-NMLZ COP-SENS
He will drink her blood.

57. *jite ədi   bjərə=kʰæ æ-tɕʰə do   tə-ntsə   regɛ bjərə*
    LOG DEM.PROX coral=INS Q-DEM do.1 PFV-think LNK coral

    χsəmbə χtʰo   nə-f-qe-sə   ŋə-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   ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
    PFV-NEG.PFV-INV-take-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

    She did not take them.

59. *tɕʰagɛ wo   rə-ɕə rə-ɕə rə-ɕə rə-ɕə regɛ wo   rəngu*
    then   again UP-go UP-go UP-go UP-go LNK again mountain

    rŋərŋə   gə vdu-sə ŋə-rə   jə-rə
    green/blue INDF see-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

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

60. *tɕʰagɛ wo   tə-jə-də   æ-r-tʰi   rəngu*
    then   again PFV-say-NMLZ one-UP-DEM.DIST mountain

    rŋərŋə   dɛ æ-tɕʰə gə   ŋə-rə   tə-jə-sə   ŋə-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-tʰi   rəngu   rŋərŋə   dɛ ʁjə   ŋə-rə*
    one-UP-DEM.DIST mountain green/blue DEM turquoise COP-SENS

    "That green/blue mountain over there has turquoise."

62. *ɲi=qʰo χeʑi   gə   tə-f-ɕi-vɛ   rə-zi   gɛ*
    2=EXCL how.much INDF PFV-INV-want-SBJV UP-take.2 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."

63. *tɕʰagɛ wojæ tə-jə-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
    then   yes   PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

    "Yes," she said.

64. *wo   pʰu   æ-sɛ   nə-rkʰə-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
    again pocket one-CLF PFV-put.in-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

    Again she filled up her pocket.

65. *wo   rɛvgə   rə-ɕə regɛ wo   tə-ntsʰə-də   ŋæ læ xsu*
    again duration UP-go LNK again PFV-think-NMLZ 1   TOP three
    rjæ=kʰæ   læ f-sɛ-gə   ŋə-rə   ŋæ ədi
    CN.night=time TOP INV-die-IPFV COP-SENS 1   DEM.PROX
    bjərə=kʰæ tɕʰo   mə-s-tʰɛ-rə   tə-ntsʰə-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   χtʰo   nə-f-qe-sə   ŋə-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   ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
    UP-NEG.PFV-INV-take-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

    She did not take them.

68. *wo   rə-ɕə rə-ɕə rə-ɕə rə-ɕə regɛ le   wo   rəngu*
    again UP-go UP-go UP-go UP-go LNK INTERJ again mountain
    ŋŋərŋə   kə-vdu-sə ŋə-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-tʰə   rəngu   dɛ æ-tɕʰə gə ŋə-rə*
    one-UP-DEM.LOC.DIST mountain DEM Q-DEM INDF COP-SENS
    tə-jə-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə
    PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

    "What is that mountain over there?" she said.

70. *æ-rə-tʰə   rəngu   dɛ spʰuɕɛ ŋə-rə*
    one-UP-DEM.LOC.DIST mountain DEM amber COP-SENS

    "That mountain over there is amber."

71. *ɲi=qʰo χeʑi   gə tə-f-ɕi-vɛ   rə-zi   gɛ*
    2=EXCL how.much INDF PFV-INV-want-SUBJ PFV-take.2 LNK
    ŋe-gə   ŋə-rə   tə-jə-sə   ŋə-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   ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
    yes PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

    "OK," she said.

73. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi   rəngu   ɽɲəɽɲə=qʰe   ʥi-re*
    then   DEM.DIST mountain yellow.orange=LOC come-NMLZ.LOC
    χsəmbə spʰuɕɛ 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. *tɕʰəgɛ smi=ɣə   wo   pʰu   æ-sɛ   nə-rkʰə-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   rɛvgə   rə-ɕə regɛ wo   tə-ntsʰə-də   ŋæ*
    again duration UP-go LNK again PFV-think-NMLZ 1
    æ-də=kʰæ   tɕʰo   mi-stʰo-rə   æ-tɕʰə dɛ ŋæ wo
    one-DEM=INS something NEG.IRR-able-SENS Q-DEM do 1   again
    xsu   rjæ=kʰæ   læ f-sɛ-gə   ŋə-rə   tə-ntsʰə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ rə-ɕə rə-ɕə regɛ tɕʰəgɛ tʰi   jə*
    then   UP-go UP-go LNK then   DEM.DIST ghost
    ɟi-re=qʰe   ʥi-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   vdʑə kɛ-ɣri   kɛ-ɣri*
    ghost=GEN friend INTENS-much INTENS-much
    tə-ɟi-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə
    PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

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

79. *jə=ɲi=ɣə   vdzi f-sɛ-gu   ɣə-ndzu-də rɲi*
    ghost=PL=ERG person INV-die-IRR PFV-sit-NMLZ corpse
    kɛ-ɣri   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.

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80. *jə=ɲi=ɣə*   *vdzi* *zŋo* *regɛ tʰi=və*   *ɣmə pa*
    ghost=PL=ERG person hang LNK 3.GEN=under fire ART
f-tʰu   *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi* *si*   *pa f-tʰi-gə*
INV-burn then   3.GEN blood ART INV-drink-NMLZ
tə-ɟi-sə   *ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰə=qʰe*   *ɮi* *regɛ tɕʰəgɛ ɲi xsu*
    then   DEM.LOC.DIST=LOC come LNK then   2 three
rjæ=kʰæ   *f-sɛ-lə*   *ŋə-rə*   *tə-mæ-jə-sə*
CN.night=time INV-die-NMLZ.ACT COP-SENS PFV-NEG.PFV-say-IFR
ŋə-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. *ɲi tʰə=qʰe*   *ɣə-ndzu-n ɲi=qʰo tʰi zɣədzi*
    2 DEM.DIST=LOC SE-sit-2   2=EXCL DEM towards.SE
ɣə-ndzu-n tə-jə-sə   *ŋə-rə*   *jə-rə*   *jə=ɲi=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. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰə=qʰe*   *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*   *ʁasji*   *ɣə-ɕə regɛ kə-sciki* *ɣə-ndzu-sə ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ ɟwɛ gə*   *ɣə-xæ-sə*   *ŋə-rə*   *jə-rə*
    then   fox INDF PFV-come.out-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

    Then came along a fox.

86. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi* *smi=ɣə*   *ɟwɛ=gi* *nə-skʰəri-də*   *ʁasji*
    then   DEM woman=ERG fox=DAT DOWN-shout-NMLZ opposite
ɟwɛ 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. ɲi kæɕæ   lo-rə   ŋe   ʐi-n
    2 morning where-LOC direction come-2

"Where did you come from this morning?"

88. ɲi pəgə   lɛɲu   lo-rə   ŋe   ɕə-n-gu tə-jə-sə
    2 tonight afternoon where-LOC direction go-2-IRR PFV-say-IFR

ŋə-rə   jə-rə
COP-SENS say-SENS

"Where will you go early in the evening?"

89. ɟwɛ gə   tə-jə-də   ŋæ kæɕæ   ɣə-tɕe tɕʰjæ ɕɛr ŋe
    fox INDF PFV-say-NMLZ 1   morning PFV-go time east direction

ɣə-ʐã
PFV-come.1

The fox replied, "I came from the east this morning."

90. ŋæ pəgə   ɕə tɕʰjæ nəv ŋe   ɕã-gu
    1   tonight go time west direction go.1-IRR

"I am going to the west this evening."

91. nəv sĩgi   ʁõpʰju   ɟi-re=qʰe   ɕã-gu
    west Seng.ge dbang.phyug EXIST.ANIM-NMLZ.LOC=LOC go.1-IRR

tə-jə-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə
PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

"In the west is Seng.ge dbang.phyug's place."

92. jite nəv sĩgi   ʁõpʰju   ɟi-re=qʰe
    LOG west Seng.ge dbang.phyug EXIST.ANIM-NMLZ.LOC=LOC

ɕã-gu   tə-jə-sə   ŋə-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=ji   æti=gi   sĩgi
    DEM.DIST woman=GEN elder.brother=DAT Seng.ge

ʁõpʰju   zmə-gə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə
dbang.phyug name-NMLZ COP-SENS say-SENS

The woman's older brother was named Seng.ge dbang.phyug.

94. nəv ŋe   tə-ɟi-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə
    west direction PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

He lived in the west.

95. tɕʰəgɛ tʰi   smi=ɣə   tʰi   ɟwɛ=gi tə-jə-də
    then   DEM.DIST woman=ERG DEM.DIST fox=DAT PFV-say-NMLZ

kʰædʐo luvɟæ jite læ wo xsu rjæ=kʰæ
please long.life LOG TOP again three CN.night=time
f-sɛ-gə ŋə-rə dɛ dʑədə gə kə-v-ræ-də jite
INV-die-NMLZ COP-SENS DEM letter INDF PFV-INV-write-NMLZ LOG
æti=gi tʰɛ 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 ŋə-rə ɲi jite dɛ ɕi rə-ʐɛ-n*
 LOG INV-die-NMLZ COP-SENS 2 LOG DEM lead UP-come-2
tə-jə-n mo tə-jə-sə ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ wojæ tə-jə-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə*
 then yes PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then he said, "Yes."

98. *ɟwɛ=ɣə dʑədə dɛ tə-v-zu nə-ɕə-sə ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰiɲi ndjomə=ɣə ɣrə ɣæ ɣrə*
 then 3PL.GEN servant.female=ERG river bank water
kʰɛv-gə tə-ji-sə ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ ndjomə=gi dʑədə dɛ tə-χtɛ-sə*
 then servant.female=DAT letter DEM PFV-hand.over-IFR
ŋə-rə jə-rə tʰi ɟwɛ=ɣə
COP-SENS say-SENS DEM.DIST fox=ERG

Then the fox handed the letter over to the servant.

101. *tɕʰəgɛ ndjomə=ɣə tə-jə regɛ kæɕæ vɛ ɕə*
 then servant.female=ERG PFV-say LNK morning just go
lɛɲu dʑədə ʐɛ-lə-gə æ-tɕʰə gə ŋu-gu
afternoon letter come-NMLZ.ACT-IPFV Q-DEM INDF COP.FACT-IRR
stɛ tʰɛn ŋu-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. *dʑədə ɣrə=nə nə-f-qe-sə ŋə-rə jə-rə*
      letter water=in PFV-INV-throw-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

      She threw the letter into the water.

103. *tʰiɲi æpæ æmə regɛ æti=ɲi=gi*
      DEM.DIST.PL father mother LNK elder.brother=PL=DAT
      ɣə-mæ-sjə-sə ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ wo ɲusɲi wo smi ʁasji nə-ɕə kə-sciki*
      then again next.day again woman opposite PFV-go PFV-look
      ɣə-ndzu-sə ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ wo scəχætʂʰæmo jə-də vɟo gə*
      then again magpie say-NMLZ bird INDF
      ji-gə-rə tʰɛ tə-pjo ɣə-xæ-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. *tɕʰəgɛ smi=ɣə wo scəχætʂʰæmo=gi tə-jə-də*
      then woman=ERG again magpie=DAT PFV-say-NMLZ
      χari scəχætʂʰæmo lo-rə ŋe ɟi-n
      opposite magpie where-LOC direction come-2

      Then the woman again said to the magie, “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 kæɕæ lo-rə ŋe ɣə-ɟi-n*
      2 morning where-LOC direction SE-come-2

      “This morning where have you come from?”

108. *ɲi pəgə lɛɲu lo-rə ŋe ɕə-n-gu tə-jə-sə*
      2 tonight afternoon where-LOC direction go-2-IRR PFV-say-IFR
      ŋə-rə jə-rə
      COP-SENS say-SENS

      “Where are you going this evening?”

109. *tɕʰəgɛ scəχætʂʰæmo = ɣə tə-jə-də   ŋæ kæɕæ*
    then   magpie = ERG   PFV-say-NMLZ 1 morning
    ɣə-tɕe-re   ɕɛr ŋe   ŋu
    PFV-go-NMLZ.LOC east direction COP.FACT
    Then the magpie said, "I came from the east this morning."

110. *ŋæ pəgə   ɕə-re   nəv ŋe   ŋu*
    1   tonight go-NMLZ.LOC west direction COP.FACT
    "Tonight I go to the west."

111. *nəv sĩgi   ʁõpʰju   ɟi-re = qʰe*
    west Seng.ge dbang.phyug EXIST.ANIM-NMLZ.LOC = LOC
    ɕã-gu   tə-jə-sə   ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ kʰædʑu luvɟæ   ɟite ɣzi = pʰæ = ʁa   dʑədə gə*
    then   please long.life LOG shoe = COM = ALL letter INDF
    ræ-də   ɲi = gi xɕu-gu dɛ ɲi tʰɛ dɛ ɟiteɲi jo
    write-NMLZ 2 = DAT send-IRR DEM 2 DEM DEM LOG.PL house
    tə-χte   tə-jə-sə   ŋə-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 = ʁa   dʑədə kə-v-ræ-də   ɟite dɛ ɕi*
    3 = ERG shoe = ALL letter PFV-INV-write-NMLZ LOG DEM lead
    rə-ȵ̥ɛ-n   mde   ɟite læ wo ɣnə-rjæ = kʰæ f-sɛ-gə
    UP-come-2 otherwise LOG TOP again two-CLF = time INV-die-NMLZ
    ŋə-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. *dʑədə gə   kə-v-ræ   nə-xɕu-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
    letter INDF PFV-INV-write PFV-send-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS
    She wrote the letter and sent it.

116. *tʰi   scəχætʂʰæmo = ɣə nə-ɕə regɛ qe   qe   qe*
    DEM.DIST magpie = ERG   PFV-go LNK tweet tweet tweet

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qe   qe   tə-jə   nə-ɣʑæ-sə   ŋə-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. *tʰi=ɲi*   *lɛjɛ=ɣə*   *ndərjæ-gə*   *tə-ɟi*
     DEM=PL daughter.in.law=ERG clean-NMLZ PFV-EXIST.ANIM
regɛ
LNK

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

118. *æ-tɕʰə gə*   *ɣʑæ-gə*   *ndzu-rə mo tə-ntsʰə*
     Q-DEM INDF sound-NMLZ sit-SENS HYP PFV-think

She thought, "What is that sound?"

119. *æ-sciki*   *kə-v-ræ-re*   *scəχætʂʰæmo=ɣə ɣzi dɛ*
     one-look PFV-INV-write-NMLZ.LOC magpie=ERG   shoe DEM
lɛjɛ   *ŋusti 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. *ɣzi=ʁa*   *æ-sciki*   *kə-v-ræ*   *regɛ dʑədə 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. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi*   *smi=ji*   *ɣzi ŋu-gu*
     then   DEM.DIST woman=GEN shoe COP-IRR
χa-tə-gu-sə   *ŋə-rə*   *jə-rə*
understand(1)-PFV-understand(2)-IFR-SENS say-SENS

Then that she knew that that shoe was the daughter's.

122. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi=ji=ɲi*   *sĩgi*   *ʁõpʰju*   *regɛ æpæ*
     then   3=GEN=PL Seng.ge dbang.phyug LNK father
æmə=gi   *ɣə-mæ-sjə-də*   *tʰɛn*   *tʰɛn*
mother=DAT PFV-NEG.PFV-show-NMLZ bad.omen bad.omen
ævəʂɲi *vɛ ɕə pəʂɲi-vɛ*   *dʑədə xɕu-lə-gə*   *tə-jə*
yesterday just go today-SBJV letter send-NMLZ.ACT-NMLZ PFV-say
regɛ
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 *tʰi=ji=ɲi* is wrong and was a mistake and should be *tʰiɲi=ji*, but it is

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possible that this is merely a conjunction realized as *tʰiɲi* with *=ji* blending into *ɲi*, which is not uncommon. Also, Mtshomo agrues 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 ʁa pʰɛɽɛ nə-f-qe tə-stʰo-sə ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ wo tʰi ɲuʂɲi gɛ tɕʰəgɛ lɛɲu*
  then again DEM.DIST next.day LNK then afternoon
  f-sɛ-lə tə-ŋu-sə ŋə-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 unnessary.]

125. *tɕʰəgɛ kæɕæ nə-ɕə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ qaʑi gə tə-pjo ɣə-xæ-sə-rə jə-rə*
  then crow INDF PFV-fly PFV-come.out-IFR-SENS say-SENS
  Then a crow came flying out.

127. *tɕʰəgɛ ʁasji qaʑi lo-rə ɕə-n-gu*
  then opposite crow where-LOC go-2-IRR
  Then to the crow on the opposite side, "Where are you going?"

128. *ɲi kæɕæ lo-rə ŋe ɣə-ʑi-n*
  2 morning where-LOC direction SE-come-2
  "Where are you coming from this morning?"

129. *ɲi pəgə lɛɲu lo-rə ŋe ɕə-n-gu tə-jə-sə*
  2 tonight afternoon where-LOC direction go-2-IRR PFV-say-IFR
  ŋə-rə jə-rə
  COP-SENS say-SENS
  "Where are you going this evening?" She said.

130. *nə-skʰəri-sə-rə jə-rə*
  PFV-shout-IFR-SENS say-SENS
  She shouted.

131. *tɕʰəgɛ qaʐi＝ɣə tə-jə-də ŋæ kæɕæ ɣə-tɕe-re*
     then crow＝ERG PFV-say-NMLZ 1 morning SE-go-NMLZ.LOC
     ɕɛr ŋe ŋu
     east direction COP
     Then the crow saying, "In the morning I came from the east."

132. *ŋæ pəgə ɕə-re nəv sĩgi ʁõpʰju*
     1 tonight go-NMLZ.LOC west Seng.ge dbang.phyug
     ɲi-re＝qʰe ŋu tə-jə-sə ŋə-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 ʐegi＝ʁa dʑədə gə kə-v-ræ-sə ŋə-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. *ʐegi＝ʁa jite＝ji mə＝gi kʰædʑu luvjæ ɲi*
     bracelet＝ALL LOG＝GEN brother＝DAT please long.life 2
     tə-mjo rə-ʐɛ-n mde jite læ lɛɲu
     PFV-quickly UP-come-2 otherwise LOG TOP afternoon
     f-sɛ-gə ŋə-rə tə-jə-sə-də dʑədə gə
     INV-die-NMLZ COP-SENS PFV-say-IFR-NMLZ letter INDF
     kə-v-ræ-də tɕʰəgɛ qaʐi＝gi tə-χtɛ-sə
     PFV-INV-write-NMLZ then crow＝DAT PFV-hand.over-IFR
     ŋə-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 qaʐi＝gi tə-jə-də ɲi æ-də dɛ*
     then crow＝DAT PFV-say-NMLZ 2 one-DEM.PROX DEM
     lɛjɛ＝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   æmə = 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   ɲi mkʰərjɛ = tɕʰjæ kə-nə-n   regɛ*
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-qəjɛvlə-n gɛ*
caw-NMLZ caw-NMLZ say-2 UP-shout-2 LNK

"Call out 'Caw, caw.'"

141. *tʰɛn   tʰɛn   tʰɛn   pʰu jə gɛ jite = ɲi*
bad.omen bad.omen bad.omen shoo! say LNK LOG.PL
cʰəmtsʰo = ɣə tʰɛ jə   gɛ   su   rə-qəjɛvlə-n-də   tʂækʰæ = tɕʰjæ
family = ERG   3   say LNK more UP-shout-2-NMLZ roof.wall = on
kə-nə-n   gɛ
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. *tʰiɲi = ɣə   wo   ɲi = gi pʰji tə-ɕə-n   tə-jə-vɛ   su*
3PL = ERG again 2 = DAT flee PFV-go-2 PFV-say-SBJV more
rə-qəjɛvlə-n gɛ
UP-shout-2 LNK

"Again if they say, 'Fee, go away,' you caw even more."

143. *tɕʰəgɛ jite = ji   æti   pʰjə   xæ   gɛ tɕʰəgɛ*
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
ŋə-rə   jə-rə
COP-SENS say-SENS

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

144. *qaʐi = ɣə   wojæ tə-jə-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
crow = ERG yes   PFV-say-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

The crow said, "OK!"

145. *tɕʰəgɛ qaʑi=ɣə ʐɛgi dɛ tə-v-zu nə-ɕə regɛ*
    then crow=ERG bracelet DEM PFV-INV-take DOWN-go LNK

Then the crow took the bracelet and left.

146. *tʰiɲi mkʰərjɛ=tɕʰjæ kə-nə-də qa-də qa-də*
    3PL.GEN chimney=on PFV-rest-NMLZ caw-NMLZ caw-NMLZ

jə rə-qəjɛvlə regɛ
say UP-shout LNK

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

147. *tʰiɲi lɛjɛ ɣə-xæ regɛ*
    3PL.GEN daughter.in.law SE-come.out LNK

Their daughter-in-law came out.

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

"Shoo bird, bad luck, go away!"

149. *æ-tɕʰə 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. *tʰiɲi ndjomə ɣə-xæ-də fɕæ tʰɛn*
    3PL.GEN servant.female SE-come.out-NMLZ bird bad.omen

tə-ɕə-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. *tʰiɲi æpæ æmə=ɣə tə-jə su rə-qəjɛvlə-də*
    3PL.GEN father mother=ERG PFV-say more UP-shout-NMLZ

tʂækʰæ=tɕʰæ 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. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰiɲi æti=ɣə   tʰi   qaʑi=ɣə   pəsɲi*
     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 dɛ*
     INV-die INV-want-SENS PFV-think-NMLZ gun   DEM

     tə-v-zɯ
     PFV-INV-take

     He took a gun thinking that he wanted to kill the bird.

156. *pʰjəsu   ɣə-xæ   regɛ*
     outside SE-come.out LNK

     He went outside.

157. *tɕʰəgɛ qaʑi=ɣə   mjo~mjo   ʑegi   dɛ   tʰi   æti*
     then   crow=ERG quick~quick bracelet DEM DEM elder.brother

     ŋusti nə-f-qe-də   tɕʰəgɛ tə-pjo-sə   ŋə-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. *tɕʰəgɛ tʰi   æti=ɣə   ʑegi=ʁa*
     then   DEM.DIST elder.brother=ERG bracelet=ALL

     kə-sciki-re   tɕʰəgɛ sno=ɣə   dʑədə
     PFV-look-NMLZ.LOC then   younger.sister=ERG letter

     kə-v-ræ-də   jite pəgə   lɛɲu   f-sɛ-gə
     PFV-INV-write-NMLZ LOG tonight afternoon INV-die-NMLZ

     ŋə-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 dɛ ɕi rə-ʑɛ-n   tə-jə-də   dʑədə*
     LOG DEM lead UP-come-2 PFV-say-NMLZ letter

     kə-v-ræ-sə   tə-də-sə   ŋə-rə   jə-rə
     PFV-INV-write-IFR PFV-have-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

     "You come lead me away," she had written.

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

tə-ɟi-sə   *ŋə-rə*   *jə-rə*
PFV-EXIST.ANIM-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

That brother had a horse.

161.   *tʰi*   *æti=ji*   *rji*   *ɬæ*   *rtæ*
     DEM.DIST elder.brother=GEN horse spiritual.being horse
     rconlə   *jə-lə*   *gə*   *tə-ɟi-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 fsæmbe tondʐəv*   *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.   *tʰi*   *rcəktse dɛ*   *rə-v-zu-vɛ*   *tʰi*
     DEM.DIST whip   DEM UP-INV-take-SBJV DEM.DIST
     æti=ɣə   *χe*   *tə-ntsʰə-sə*   *dɛ*   *mɟo~mɟo*
     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.   *tɕʰəgɛ rji*   *dɛ*   *rə-f-cʰi*   *regɛ*
     then   horse DEM UP-INV-ride LNK

     Then, he rode the horse.

166.   *rcəktse fsæmbe tondʐəv=kʰæ*   *xsu*   *χɕɛt*   *nə-ncʰə regɛ*
     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*   *ɲi zgõ*   *æ-rgə*
     horse=DAT PFV-say-NMLZ 2   mountain.range one-CN.generic
     dɛ   *æ-pɛr*   *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-mɟo   mde   jite=ji   sno   f-sɛ-gə*
     PFV-quickly otherwise LOG=GEN younger.sister INV-die-NMLZ

ɟi-gə   ŋə-rə   tə-ɟə-sə   ŋə-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-nɟəræ-sə ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
     then   horse UP-run-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

Then the horse galloped off.

171. *zgõ   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-nɟəræ-sə
one-CN.generic DEM one-CN.step PFV-do-NMLZ UP-run-IFR

ŋə-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   ɣdo=qʰe   ɮɛ   tɕʰjæ keke*
     then   DEM.DIST elder.brother close=LOC come time just.now

sno   nə-rcʰəlæ regɛ ɣmə=tɕʰjæ zŋo-gə
younger.sister PFV-tie   LNK fire=on   hang-NMLZ

tə-ɟi-sə   ŋə-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-ɟi-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=ɣə   jə=ɲi=ʁa*
     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=ɣə   jə=ɲi=ʁa   nə-rtsʰu-sə ŋə-rə   jə-rə*
     horse=ERG ghost=PL=ALL PFV-kick-IFR COP-SENS say-SENS

The horse kicked the ghosts.

176. *tɕʰəgɛ jə=ɲi   χsəmbə tə-f-sɛ-sə   ŋə-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   ɣə-pʰrə   regɛ tɕʰəgɛ*
     then   DEM younger.sister tie   DEM PFV-untie LNK then
     æti=ɣə   tə-f-ɕi   nə-ʥi-sə   ŋə-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.