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## TWO TRADITIONAL STAU STORIES

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### ABSTRACT

The rich oral culture of the Stau of Rta'u (Daofu) County, Dkar mdzes (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China has not been studied, nor have any of their folklore been published. The two stories presented here originating from Mazi Township are supplemented with background information on Stau storytelling culture. Stau stories that were once a popular form of entertainment and a means of transmitting knowledge now face rival forms of entertainment from television and mobile phones. Consequently, collecting traditional oral culture is important for the speakers and their local community, and research communities.

### KEYWORDS

China minorities, oral tradition, Rta'u County, Sichuan, Stau

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 INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

I present two translated stories with a brief discussion concerning their cultural context. The stories were narrated by Gnas sgron lha mo, a native speaker of Stau. The Stau are classified by the PRC government as Tibetan and inhabit Rta'u (Daofu) County and parts of Brag 'go (Luhuo) County in Dkar mdzes (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in western Sichuan. Though the Stau and other ethnicities speaking the Horpa lects have received some recent interest from researchers, their traditional stories have remained hitherto unpublished. This is unfortunate, since intergenerational transmission of the stories is under threat. Perhaps this modest contribution will generate interest in traditional Horpa stories, leading to more preservation efforts.

## THE STAU PEOPLE

The Stau are an ethnic minority, many of whom, in addition to identifying themselves as Tibetans and Stau, also identify themselves under the wide umbrella term "Horpa." In general, the Horpa speak several lects that are closely related to each other, although not always mutually intelligible. According to Jacques et al. (2015:1), mutually unintelligible Horpa lects include at least Stau, Geshiz(h)a,<sup>2</sup> and Shangzhai.<sup>3</sup> Of these, the Stau lect and its speakers have received the

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<sup>1</sup> The Langnet Doctoral Programme in Finland funded my linguistic fieldtrip in 2015 that allowed me to collect the stories. I thank my Stau teacher, Gnas sgron lha mo, for her insights into Stau language and culture, AHP editors, Jesse Gates whose familiarity with Mazi Stau resulted in transcription corrections, and Herbert/Lhundrop who helped me better understand the history of the concept "Horpa."

<sup>2</sup> Both Geshizha and Geshiza are technically correct Pinyin renditions. The latter more faithfully reflects the local pronunciation of the term and is used hereafter.

<sup>3</sup> In fact, the diversity of the Horpa lects somewhat exceeds this estimation. It is likely that four or five major Horpa lects exist, some of which can be further divided into separate sublects with only limited mutual intelligibility.

most attention from outsiders. The languages have no written form. Consequently, Literary Tibetan has traditionally functioned as the written language in the region. This role is now partially shifting to written Chinese.

In the linguistic context, I use Horpa synonymously to the term Western rGyalrongic. In other words, Horpa as used here does not refer to any individual lect or language, but to the whole agglomeration of related lects that might constitute a Western subgroup of the rGyalrongic languages. The use of the term Horpa in the linguistic context serves the purpose of maintaining a direct connection to previous research. Western research on the Horpa languages was commenced by the pioneering work of Hodgson (1853) and thereafter, Horpa has become a recognized term, both among Western and Chinese scholars.

Tibetans generally refer to the people around the contemporary Dkar mdzes, Brag 'go, and Rta'u counties as *hor pa*.<sup>1</sup> The term originally referred to the Uyghur, but it was later applied to the Mongols of Genghis Khan (Stein 1972:34). According to tradition, the Hor dpon khag Inga 'Five Hor States' were established after the thirteenth century Mongol conquest in the region, which is the approximate homeland of the Stau and other modern Horpa lect speakers. The Epic of King Gesar also mentions a war between gLing, the homeland of Gesar, and the Kingdom of Hor. The memory of Mongol immigrations still lives among locals. Furthermore, various local regional groups have accounts of a Mongol ancestry (Zeng 2007).

Zeng (2006) proposes that Horpa originally referred to Huangtou Huihu 'Yellowhead Uygur' who moved to the region north of Dar mdo (Kangding) where they were to some extent assimilated into culturally Tibetan groups. The Stau people can thus be understood as an amalgam of different cultural elements that exhibit Tibetan

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<sup>1</sup> The Tibetan term *hor pa* combines the noun *hor* with the agent suffix *-pa*. The Tibetan root *hor* has no native etymology. Ren (1984) argues that etymologically, *hor* is likely to be a loan of the Chinese Hú 胡 used to refer to non-Chinese peoples of Central Asia.

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influence, e.g., Tibetan Buddhism and various Tibetan loanwords, and who adopted a Tibetan identity.

Stau's heavy exposure to Tibetan culture is in stark contrast to the neighboring, linguistically closely related yet ethnically non-Horpa Geshiza people, whose culture in recent years has been greatly influenced by Han Chinese. Nevertheless, Stau and Geshiza traditional oral cultures have many similarities, for example, the appearance of shared characters, such as A khu Ston pa the trickster, narrative themes, and the social function the stories used to play in the past.

#### STORYTELLING AND THE CHALLENGES OF MODERNITY

The Stau possess a rich oral culture of traditional stories, which the Stau themselves recognize. For instance, a traditional storyteller I interviewed in Rta'u (Xianshui) County Town, sees the oral stories as the pivotal element of Stau culture and refers to the Stau homeland as the "Land of Stories."

The stories do not exist in isolation. Long coexistence with other ethnicities in the Sichuan Ethnic Corridor, explains why certain Stau stories are shared with other ethnicities in the region. For instance, A khu Ston pa - a notorious trickster, who ingeniously fools the privileged holding political and religious power, young women, and anyone else he can benefit from - are shared with surrounding Tibetans. Huan et al. (2015) estimate that more than 200 different A khu Ston pa stories exist in Tibetan.<sup>1</sup> The number of A khu Ston pa stories circulating in the Stau language is unknown.

In addition to the A khu Ston pa stories, the Stau also tell stories that have both entertainment value and often convey moral lessons to the listeners. These latter stories may be of Stau origin, but I cannot corroborate this. Historically, the Stau told stories in the evening before going to bed. At present, however, transgenerational transmission of traditional folklore has weakened and the stories are

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<sup>1</sup> For a selection of A khu Ston pa stories in English, see Dorje (1997).

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quickly being forgotten, although they seem to be better remembered among the Stau than their Geshiza neighbors.

Among the ethnic minorities of China, modernity is often negotiated by balancing cultural continuity and change in everyday life. Television portrays a global/Chinese modernity and thus functions as a tool of assimilation in a world that has little space for the Stau oral tradition. Now that many locals have access to new channels of entertainment with a continuous stream of audio-visual stimuli, many young people have little interest in traditional stories. Instead, they prefer television programs and mobile phone instant message services, such as Weixin/WeChat.

The Stau are not alone in facing changes caused by the introduction of modern technology. Libu et al. (2013) describes the irrevocable change that the arrival of electricity has brought the Namunyi (Namuzi) Tibetans in Sichuan. Change among the Namunyi resembles that of the Stau. Evening has changed from a communal time shared with friends and relatives into a silent period for watching television. Libu reports that before electrification, elders were the authority figures as well as providers of entertainment. After new forms of electronic entertainment were introduced, elders' roles have been much diminished, leading to a break in transmission of the oral tradition. The Stau face a similar situation.

The lack of a written language also means that traditional stories cannot be written in the Stau language, which contrasts starkly with Tibetan-speaking Tibetans. According to Kun Mchog et al. (1999:6), access to radio and television together with the publication of stories has led to increased awareness of trickster characters among the Tibetan-speaking Tibetans. Unlike the Stau, written Tibetan can be harnessed to disseminate traditional stories through a new medium. Seen against this backdrop, creating a writing system for the Stau language would serve as an important measure for cultural preservation. In practice, however, creating a writing system for Stau presents grave challenges. First, a culturally appropriate script must be selected. Tibetan script is likely to best serve this function, since many speakers are already familiar with it and owing to religious

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reasons, mentally connect it with prestige that is necessary for its dissemination. Second, Stau has internal variation, which makes developing a unified orthography for the language a contentious task likely to raise controversies.

#### STORY METADATA

I recorded the stories "The Three Princesses and a Servant" and "The Boy and the Crow" from Gnas sgron lha mo, a native Stau speaker born in p<sup>h</sup>ozəwo Hamlet in Mazi/Ma zu(r)<sup>1</sup> Township. In 2015, she was in her late twenties and spoke Stau, Central Tibetan, and basic English. She acquired the latter two languages after leaving her home area. Central Tibetan was our lingua franca for the linguistic analysis of the recorded stories.

Conveying oral narrations from a non-literate culture in a translated written form to a new target audience is challenging. To make the stories more readable in English, repetition, rephrasing, and hesitation frequently present in spoken language have been omitted from the retold version. When deemed necessary, some words with mostly functional value have been added to the narrative to make the translation more idiomatic and natural. Elements omitted by the narrator due to abbreviation or lapse of memory have also been added to make the textual rendition of the stories easier for the reader to understand. The Stau language is represented through IPA in the stories.

I also named the stories based on their content. They have no fixed names in Stau.

Even though the speaker originates from the Mazi Township, the Stau language present in the stories differs somewhat from earlier known Mazi varieties. Hence, two factors must be considered. First, the Mazi Township is geographically wide, thus providing space for linguistic variation. It is unlikely that linguistic and political boundaries overlap completely, with the result that all Stau spoken

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<sup>1</sup> In Tibetan, *ma zu* is also spelled *ma zur*.

within the confines of Mazi Township is not necessarily exclusively that of the Mazi Stau dialect. Second, the speaker has spent a considerable amount of her life in a community where speakers from many parts of Rta'u meet and live together in a multilingual environment. The interaction with speakers of various dialects has influenced the speaker's language. Noticeably, the stories exhibit some Tibetan influence that likely results from daily interaction with Tibetan speakers.

Vanderveen (2015) provides a phonological description of Mazi Stau, but no descriptive Stau grammars currently exist. My grammatical analysis of the language in the glossing below is based on my knowledge of the related Geshiza language in the Horpa subgroup and Jacques et al. (2015) that provides a sketch of the Khang gsar Stau dialect. Parts of the glossing and translation are tentative and will likely change as our understanding of Stau and the Horpa lects in general evolve.

#### THE THREE PRINCESSES AND A SERVANT<sup>1</sup>

1	<i>næ<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>ŋəma<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>jeɾpə</i>	<i>ɬe</i>	<i>də-ji-regə,<sup>4</sup></i>
	past	past	king	CLF	DIR-EXV.3-LNK
	A long time ago there was a king.				

<sup>1</sup> I am solely responsible for all errors that have remained in the English translation and Stau transcriptions presented here.

<sup>2</sup> Here, the word appears in with the consonant cluster *ɬnæ* reduced.

<sup>3</sup> *næ ŋəma* is a set expression used at the beginning stories. The former element is a native Mazi Stau word while the latter is a Tibetan loanword *sngon ma*.

<sup>4</sup> The actual vowel quality in the directional prefixes depends on their phonetic context. For instance, *də-ŋo-regə* DIR-COP.3-LNK is realized as *du-ŋo-regə* in rapid everyday speech. In addition to directional meanings, the prefixes are also used to express aspect and the imperative mood. In the stories, for the sake of simplicity, they are universally glossed as DIR regardless of their actual function.

- 2 *di:* *smi* *xsu* *ɣe* *də-ji-sə-rə.*<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM.GEN daughter three CLF DIR-EXV.3-IFR-SENS  
 He had three daughters.
- 3 *zə-c<sup>h</sup>ɛ* *də-gi* *xse-lə-zgri,*<sup>2</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>i*<sup>3</sup> *vədə-gi*  
 SUPL-big DEF-DAT gold-NMLZ-star 3SG.GEN below-DAT  
*rɲe-lə-zgri,* *t<sup>h</sup>i* *vədə-gi* *do-lə-zgri*  
 silver-NMLZ-star 3SG.GEN below-DAT bronze-NMLZ-star  
*də-rmə-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-name.3-IFR-SENS  
 The oldest was named Gold Star, the one below her was Silver Star, and the one below her was Bronze Star.
- 4 *tɛəgə*<sup>4</sup> *xse-lə-zgri:*<sup>5</sup> *xse-ndzu* *lu* *də-ji,*  
 PART gold-NMLZ-star.GEN gold-mdzo.mo CLF DIR-EXV.3  
 Then Gold Star had a gold *mdzo mo.*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *-sə-rə*, consisting of two co-occurring evidential suffixes, is a genre marker that identifies the utterance as the genre of traditional stories. It is similar to Geshiza *-s<sup>h</sup>ə-mə-ræ* and *-sə ɲə-rə* in Khang gsar Stau documented by Jacques et al. (2015), both of which frequently occur in traditional stories as genre indicators.

<sup>2</sup> The morphological structure of the three princesses' names, *xse-lə-zgri*, *rɲe-lə-zgri* and *do-lə-zgri*, is somewhat opaque and the names are interpreted here to be constructed with the nominalizer *-lə* similar to *ɲgə* 'to eat', *ɲgə-lə* 'things that are eaten, food'. Thus, *xse-lə* can be seen as 'thing that is of gold, golden one'. This interpretation would require that the noun *xse* has a stative verb counterpart formed by zero derivation.

<sup>3</sup> The form *t<sup>h</sup>ə* (GEN *t<sup>h</sup>i*) is a distal demonstrative pronoun 'that' pairing with the proximal demonstrative pronoun *di* (GEN *di:*). However, *t<sup>h</sup>ə* (PL *t<sup>h</sup>i-ɲi*) also carries the functions of a third person pronoun. Consequently, its most appropriate glossing has been determined by the context in the stories.

<sup>4</sup> *tɛəgə* is a particle that introduces a new topic or divides the narration into different segments. It can often be translated as "then."

<sup>5</sup> Vowel length in Stau is not contrastive in general. However, when the genitive case marker *-j* is added to a word ending with the vowel *-i*, the fusion results in a vowel with prolonged quality: *-i-j* > *-i:* in the speaker's idiolect.

<sup>6</sup> A *mdzo mo/dzomo* refers to female hybrid between a yak and a cow. In the story, each princess has a *dzo mo* corresponding to the metal in their names.



- 5 *rɲe-lə-zgri:* *rɲe-ndzu* *(lu)<sup>1</sup>* *də-ji,*  
 silver-NMLZ-star.GEN silver-mdzo.mo CLF DIR-EXV.3  
 Silver Star had a silver *mdzo mo*.
- 6 *do-lə-zgri:* *do-ndzu* *(lu)<sup>2</sup>* *də-ji-regə,*  
 bronze-NMLZ-star.GEN bronze-mdzo.mo CLF DIR.EXV.3-LNK  
 Bronze Star had a bronze *mdzo mo*.
- 7 *tɛəgə* *di:* *ɟerpə* *di:* *joɣpo* *ɤe*  
 PART DEM.GEN king DEM.GEN servant CLF  
*də-ji-sə-rə.*  
 DIR.EXV.3-IFR-SENS  
 Then the king had a servant.
- 8 *tɛəgə* *xse-lə-zgri-w* *xse-ndzu* *ts<sup>h</sup>u*  
 PART gold-NMLZ-star-ERG gold-mdzo.mo milk  
*nə-ɛə-regə,*  
 DIR-go.3-LNK  
 Then Gold Star went to milk (her) gold *mdzo mo*.
- 9 *məq<sup>h</sup>e* *q<sup>h</sup>e* *də-ji-regə,* *tɛəgə* *t<sup>h</sup>i* *nə*  
 rain rain DIR-EXV.3-LNK PART DEM.GEN in  
*ɲamba ɲo-rə.*  
 mud COP.3-SENS  
 It was raining and then, there was mud.
- 10 *(ɲɛ,<sup>3</sup>)* *di* *joɣpo-gi* *"penti* *q<sup>h</sup>a* *ɟɛ* *də-ɛə"*  
 1SG.GEN DEM servant-DAT stool CLF bring DIR-go.2  
*di-ji-regə,*  
 DIR-say.3-LNK

This likely refers to the animals' color.

<sup>1</sup> Element added by the speaker after the recording.

<sup>2</sup> Element added by the speaker after the recording.

<sup>3</sup> The pronoun *ɲɛ* likely starts an utterance that was left unfinished by the speaker and may be ignored in the translation.

She (Gold Star) said to her servant, "Go fetch me a stool."

- 11 "ŋa t<sup>hi</sup> nə məq<sup>h</sup>e q<sup>h</sup>e nə penti ʒe  
 1SG DEM.GEN in rain rain in stool bring  
 ɛə-lə mu-ru~ru."<sup>1</sup>  
 go-NMLZ NEG-RED~can.1

"In the rain, I cannot go fetch a stool," he (the servant) said.

- 12 "ŋa rŋətso-ŋk<sup>h</sup>ə, ɲi ŋe tɛ<sup>h</sup>æ ju-ndzu"  
 1SG kneel-NMLZ.A 2SG 1SG.GEN on DIR-sit.2  
 di-ji-regə,  
 DIR-say.3-LNK

"I am a kneeler (I kneel down), so sit on me," he (the servant) said.

- 13 tɛəgə t<sup>hi</sup> tɛ<sup>h</sup>æ ju-ndzu-tə nə xse-lə-zgri-w  
 PART 3SG.GEN on DIR-sit.3-NF in gold-NMLZ-star-ERG  
 xse-ndzu nu-f-ts<sup>h</sup>u-sə-rə.  
 gold-mdzo.mo DIR-INV-milk-3>3-IFR-SENS

Then, sitting on him, Gold Star milked (her) gold *dzo mo*.

- 14 t<sup>hi</sup>-ɛu rŋe-lə-zgri-w rŋe-ndzu  
 DEM.GEN-after silver-NMLZ-star-ERG silver-mdzo.mo  
 ts<sup>h</sup>u nə-ɛə-regə,  
 milk DIR-go.3-LNK

Then, Silver Star went to milk (her) silver *mdzo mo*.

- 15 tɛəgə t<sup>hi</sup> ædæ-w di-ji-sə də  
 PART 3SG.GEN older.sister-ERG DIR-say.3-NMLZ DEF  
 randza di-ji-tə di-ji-regə,  
 same.manner DIR-say.3-NF DIR-say.3-LNK

Then, she spoke in the same manner that her older sister had spoken.

<sup>1</sup> Reduplication appearing here with the modal *ru* has not been attested in previous research on Stau. Typically, verb stem reduplication indicates plurality and mutual action in the Horpa lects.

- 16 *tɛəgə* "ŋa *tʰə-bi* *ætɛʰim* *penti* *ɛæ*,  
 PART 1SG DEM-like what.to.say stool look.for  
*ɛæ* *ɛə-lə* *mu-ru~ru-rə.*"  
 look.for go-NMLZ NEG-RED~can.3-SENS  
 Then, "I cannot do like that, I cannot go looking for a stool."
- 17 "ŋi *ŋɛ* *tɛʰæ* *ju-ndzu.* *ni:* *ædæ-w*  
 2SG 1SG.GEN on DIR-sit.2 2SG.GEN older.sister-ERG  
*ŋɛ* *tɛʰæ* *ju-ndzu*" *di-ji-sə-rə.*  
 1SG.GEN on DIR-sit.3 DIR-say.3-IFR-SENS  
 "You sit on me! Your elder sister sat on me," he (the servant)  
 said.
- 18 "*tʰə-bi* *də* *ju-ndzu* *nu-f-tsʰu*" *di-ji-regə*  
 DEM.like DEF DIR-sit.3 DIR-INV-milk.3>3 DIR-say.3-LNK  
 "Like this, sit and milk," he (the servant) said.
- 19 *tɛəgə* *di:* *tɛʰæ* (*atɛa-j*)<sup>1</sup> *ædæ-j*  
 PART DEM.GEN on older.sister-GEN older.sister-GEN  
*tʰə-bi* *randza* *ju-ndzu-tə*  
 DEM-like same.manner DIR-sit.3-NF  
*nu-f-tsʰu-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-INV-milk.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 Then, she sat like her older sister had done and milked.
- 20 *tɛəgə* *do-lə-zgri-w* *do-ndzu* *tsʰu*  
 PART bronze-NMLZ-star-ERG bronze-mdzo.mo milk  
*nə-ɛə-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-go.3-IFR-SENS  
 Then, Bronze Star went to milk (her) bronze *mdzo mo*.

<sup>1</sup> The word is Tibetan, and likely results from the speaker's long daily interactions with Tibetan speakers. Immediately after, the speaker rephrases with a native Stau word.

- 21 *tɛəgə*      *do-ndzu*      *ts<sup>h</sup>u*      *nə-ɛə-regə*,  
 PART      bronze-mzdo.mo      milk      DIR-go.3-LNK  
*məq<sup>h</sup>e*      *q<sup>h</sup>e-ji-rə*.  
 rain      rain-EXV.3-SENS  
 Then, when she went to milk her *mdzo mo*, it was raining.
- 22 "*penti*      *ʔɛ*      *də-ɛə*"      *di-ji-regə*,  
 stool      bring      DIR-go.2      DIR-say.3-LNK  
 She said, "Go bring a stool!"
- 23 "*ni:*      *ædæ*      *ɣni-w*      *læ*,      *ŋɛ*      *tɛ<sup>h</sup>æ*  
 2SG.GEN      older.sister      two-ERG      TOP      1SG.GEN      on  
*t<sup>h</sup>ə-bi*      *də*      *ŋa*      *gə-rŋətso*,      *ŋɛ*      *tɛ<sup>h</sup>æ*  
 DEM-like      DEF      1SG      DIR-kneel.1      1SG.GEN      on  
*ju-ndzu-tə*      *nu-f-ts<sup>h</sup>u*.      *ni*      *jo*      *ju-ndzu*"  
 DIR-sit-NF      DIR-INV-milk.3>3      2SG      also      DIR-sit.2  
*di-ji-regə*,  
 DIR-say.3-LNK  
 "Your two older sisters sat on my back like this to milk while I was kneeling down like this, so you also, sit on me," he (the servant) said.
- 24 "*ni*      *p<sup>h</sup>u*      *lu*      *rəmpuɛ<sup>h</sup>i*      *ŋə-rə*.      *ŋa*      *ni:*  
 2SG      man      CLF      honorable      COP.2-SENS      1SG      2SG.GEN  
*tɛ<sup>h</sup>æ*      *ndzu*      *mæ-ŋɛ*.      *ŋa*      *mə*      *lu*      *rəmpuɛ<sup>h</sup>i*  
 on      sit      NEG-good      1SG      woman      CLF      honorable  
*ŋoŋ*,      *ni:*      *tɛ<sup>h</sup>æ*      *(nə)<sup>1</sup>-mæ-ndzoŋ*."  
 COP.1      2SG.GEN      on      DIR-NEG-sit.1  
 "You are a honorable man; it is not right for me to sit on you. I am an honorable woman; I will not sit on you."
- 25 *t<sup>h</sup>i*      "*ŋa*      *ŋamba*      *nə*      *rŋətso-ŋk<sup>h</sup>ə*      *di-ji-tə*  
 DEM.GEN      1SG      mud      in      kneel-NMLZ.A      DIR-say-NF

<sup>1</sup> Element added by the speaker after the recording.

- gə-rŋətsu-tə*                      *nə-f-tʰu-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-kneel.3-NF                      DIR-INV-milk.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 "I will kneel down in the mud," she (Bronze Star) said and knelt to milk.
- 26    *tɛəgə*    *xse-lə-zgri*                      *putʰo*                      *gə-nqʰrə-sə-rə.*<sup>1</sup>  
 PART    gold-NLMZ-star    husband                      DIR-marry.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 Then, Gold Star married a husband.
- 27    *putʰo*                      *rjerpə*                      *ke-j*                      *zi*                      *ke*                      *də*  
 husband    king                      CLF-GEN                      son                      CLF                      DEF  
*gə-nqʰrə-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-marry.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 The husband whom she (Gold Star) married was the son of a king.
- 28    *(r)ŋe-lə-zgri*<sup>2</sup>                      *rjerpə*                      *ke-j*                      *zi*                      *də*  
 silver-NMLZ.star                      king                      CLF-GEN                      son                      DEF  
*gə-nqʰrə-regə,*  
 DIR-marry.3>3-LNK  
 Silver Star married the son of a king.
- 29    *tɛəgə*    *do-lə-zgri-w*                      *gə*                      *di*                      *joypo-pʰæ*  
 PART    bronze-NMLZ-star-ERG    INDF?                      DEM                      servant-COM  
*ju-ndzu-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-stay.3-IFR-SENS  
 Then Bronze Star stayed with the servant.
- 30    *tɛəgə*    *tʰi-ni:*,                      *xse-lə-zgri*                      *re*    *rŋe-lə-zgri-ni:*,  
 PART    3-PL.GEN                      gold-NMLZ-star and    silver-NMLZ-star-PL.GEN

<sup>1</sup> The inverse prefix *f/v-* appears in 3>3 interactions, unless blocked by phonological factors.

<sup>2</sup> The speaker drops the preinitial *r* in the consonant cluster.

(*rje..*)<sup>1</sup>      *put<sup>h</sup>o-ni*      *rjerpə*      *ŋo-rə*.  
 rich.person    husband-PL    rich.person    COP.3-SENS  
 Then, the husbands of Gold Star and Silver Star were rich.

31    *t<sup>h</sup>i-ni:*      *jə-taypə-ni-w*      *rjə*      *səts<sup>h</sup>æ*  
 3-PL.GEN      house?-owner-PL.GEN    property    lot  
*du-f-k<sup>h</sup>u-sə-rə*.  
 DIR-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 Their family heads gave them a lot of property.

32    *do-lə-zgri*      *də*      *t<sup>h</sup>ontɛ<sup>h</sup>o*      *nə-və-tə~tə<sup>2</sup>*  
 bronze-NMLZ-star    DEF      look.down      DIR-do.3-RED~NF  
*də-mæ-f-k<sup>h</sup>u-sə-rə*.  
 DIR-NEG-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 They looked down on Bronze Star and did not give her (any property).

33    *tɛəgə*    *t<sup>h</sup>i-ni*      *k<sup>h</sup>æ~k<sup>h</sup>æ*      *sætɛ<sup>h</sup>æ*      *gə*  
 PART    3-PL      RED~different    place      INDF  
*də-ɛə-sə-regə*,  
 DIR-go.3-LNK  
 Then, they (the three married couples) went to a different place.

34    *tɛəgə*    *gəzə*      *p<sup>h</sup>æ*      *ŋe*      *mə*      *go-ɪnæ-regə*,  
 PART    evening    other      place      sky      DIR-dark-LNK  
*sætɛ<sup>h</sup>æ*      *gə*      *nə*      *ji-ta~ta-regə*,  
 place      INDF      in      DIR-RED~stay.3-LNK  
 Then, when night fell in that different place, they stayed there.

<sup>1</sup> The element in parenthesis is the word *rjerpə* 'rich person, king, chieftain'. The speaker corrects herself immediately after.

<sup>2</sup> The reduplication of *tə* is likely accidental. The speaker reports the segment without the reduplication audible in the recording.

- 35 *do-lə-xgri:* *put<sup>h</sup>o-w* *di-ji-tə,*  
bronze-NMLZ-star.GEN husband-ERG DIR-say.3-NF  
Bronze Star's husband said,
- 36 *"t<sup>h</sup>i-ni læ, q<sup>h</sup>asi gə yvo kɛ-yri xi-regə,*  
3-PL TOP tomorrow INDF ice DIR-lot EXV-LNK  
*nə kə~kəŋ-gu. t<sup>h</sup>i yvo tɛ<sup>h</sup>æ ji-ve mə-sku."*  
in RED~come.1-NMLZ 3 ice on DIR-go NEG-can.3  
"We will reach a place with a lot of ice tomorrow. They (Gold Star and Silver Star and their husbands) cannot walk on the ice."
- 37 *"t<sup>h</sup>i-ni læ məde rjə də-gə-rə."*  
3-PL TOP DEM.honorific? property DIR-have-SENS  
"They have a lot of property."
- 38 *"ydzu rlə sæts<sup>h</sup>æ də-gə-rə."*  
rtsam.pa wheat.flour lot DIR-have-SENS  
"They have a lot of *rtsam pa*<sup>1</sup> and wheat flour."
- 39 *"ydzu rlə də nə-sp<sup>h</sup>rə læ, ŋɛ-yne<sup>2</sup>*  
rtsampa wheat.flour DEF DIR-spread.3>3 PART 1-DU  
*læ ydzu rlə-bi læ tɛ<sup>h</sup>u mə-gə-rə."*  
TOP rtsam.pa wheat.flour-like TOP PART NEG-have-SENS  
"They can spread the *rtsam pa* and flour on the ice (so that it is possible to walk on it)," he (the servant) said. "We two don't have provisions like that."
- 40 *"t<sup>h</sup>i tɛ<sup>h</sup>æ ji-rə t<sup>h</sup>ə~t<sup>h</sup>əŋ-rə mə"*  
DEM.GEN on DIR-direction RED~reach?.1-SENS NEG

<sup>1</sup> *Rtsam pa* refers to roasted barley flour.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of dual, *sensu stricto*, is dubious in Stau. Unlike in Geshiza where the number two and the dual marker are clearly distinct, Stau utilizes only one form in both contexts. Consequently, a conservative interpretation would gloss *yne* simply as a numeral in the stories.

*di-ji-sə-rə.*

DIR-say.3-IFR-SENS

"We cannot walk on the ice and get to the other side," he (the servant) said.

- 41 *təgə di xse-lə-zgri rŋe-lə-zgri-ni-w*  
 PART DEM gold-NMLZ-star silver-NMLZ-star-PL-ERG  
*tʰi-ŋne-ka gu-ntsotsə. tʰi-ŋne-w ætɛʰə*  
 3-DU-ALL DIR-eavesdrop.3 3-DU-ERG what  
*fɛe mə-fɛe gu-ntsotsə-regə,*  
 speak NEG-speak DIR-eavesdrop.3-LNK

Then, both Gold Star and Silver Star were listening secretly to what the two of them (Bronze Star and her husband) were saying.

- 42 *təgə tʰi-ŋi-w tɛʰu ŋo-rə də-ntsʰə-tə*  
 PART 3-PL-ERG PART COP.3-SENS DIR-think.3-NF  
*ydzu rʰə tʰi tɛʰə ɲə-sɲi ɣvo*  
 rtsam.pa wheat flour DEM.GEN on after-day ice  
*tɛʰə ʃi-ve-kʰə, tʰi tɛʰə nə-spʰrə-sə-rə.*  
 on DIR-go-time DEM.GEN on DIR-spread.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 Then, they thought that things were like they (Bronze Star and her husband) had said. The next day, when walking on the ice, they spread (their provisions on the ice in order to walk on it).

- 43 *təgə wu gəzə tʰə-bi ʃi-ɛə~ɛə-regə,*  
 PART again evening DEM-like DIR-RED~go.3-LNK  
 Then again, like that, they went on in the evening.

- 44 *wu sætɛʰə gə nə də-ta-regə,*  
 again place INDF in DIR-remain.3-LNK  
 The spent again the night in a (new) place.

- 45 *di joypo də-regə do-lə-zgri ɲne-w*  
 DEM servant DEF-LNK bronze-NMLZ-star two-ERG



- kʰævdæ* *nə-və-tə* *joypo* *du* *di-ji-tə*,  
discussion DIR-do.3-NF servant DEM.ERG DIR-say.3-NF  
The servant and Bronze Star spoke. The servant said,
- 46 *"qʰasi* *læ* *yrə* *mə-re* *yrə*  
tomorrow TOP water NEG-NMLZ.L water  
*mə-tɛə-regə* *nə* *ʒə~ʒaŋ-gu."*  
NEG-EXV-LNK in RED~come.1-NMLZ  
"Tomorrow we will reach a place without water. "
- 47 *tʰi-ni* *læ* *məde* *ypi* *kɛ-yri*, *ypi* *kɛ-yri*  
3-PL TOP DEM.honorific? urine DIR-lot urine DIR-lot  
*də-gə-rə.* *tʰə* *jæ-f-tʰi.* *ŋa-ɣne* *læ*  
DIR-have-SENS DEM DIR-INV-drink.3>3 1-DU TOP  
*ypi* *nə-qʰa* *də-mæ."*  
urine two-CLF DIR-NEG  
"Your sisters and their husbands will have a lot of urine to drink.  
We, however, (only) have two people's share of urine to drink."
- 48 *"tʰi-kʰæ* *tɛʰu* *mi-fkʰu~kʰoŋ-rə"* *di(-ji-regə)<sup>1</sup>,*  
DEM.GEN-time PART NEG-RED~be.full.1-SENS DIR-say.3-LNK  
At that time, we will not be able to quench our thirst," he (the  
servant) said.
- 49 *tʰi-ni-w* *tɛʰu* *ŋə-rə* *də-ntsʰə-regə,*  
3-PL-ERG PART be.3-SENS DIR-think.3-LNK  
They (Gold Star and Silver Star with their husbands) thought  
things were just like Bronze Star and her husband had said.
- 50 *qʰasi* *gə* *ajitu* *yrə* *mə-tɛə-re-qʰe*  
tomorrow INDF DIR.ADV water NEG-EXV-NMLZ.L-LOC  
*ʒɛ-regə,*  
come.3-LNK

<sup>1</sup> The end of the segment is not clearly audible since it is pronounced in a whispered voice.

The next day, they reached a place without water.

- 51 *ypi də nə-v-læ-regə, ypi də*  
 urine DEF DIR-INV-urinate.3>3-LNK urine DEF  
*ji-f-tʰi~tʰi-regə do-ydu~du-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-INV-RED~drink.3>3-LNK DIR-RED~poison.3-IFR-SENS  
 After having urinated and drunk their own urine, they were  
 poisoned.

- 52 *təgə zgru gə-nza-sə-rə.*  
 PART story DIR-end?-IFR-SENS  
 Then, this is the end of the story.

#### THE BOY AND THE CROW

- 1 *vədæ mə-zə ɛe də-ji-regə,*  
 old.woman mother-child CLF DIR-EXV.3-LNK  
 There was an old woman - a mother and a child.
- 2 *di: dāvda ɛe də-ji-sə-rə.*  
 DEM.GEN son CLF DIR-EXV.3-IFR-SENS  
 She had a son.
- 3 *təgə tʰi-ɣne o rjə mə-ŋkʰə du-ŋo-regə,*  
 PART 3-DU INTERJ property NEG-NMLZ.A DIR-COP.3-LNK  
 Then, they were persons with no property.
- 4 *dāv-d-i amə də joypot ɛə də-ɛə.*  
 son-GEN mother DEF servant go DIR-go.3  
 The mother of the son went to work as a servant.

<sup>1</sup> The term *joypot* refers to a male servant. A female servant is usually called *jomo*.

- 5 *joypo də-εə-regə, ama-gi læ də*  
 servant DIR-go.3-LNK mother-DAT payment DEF  
*εi du-f-kʰu-sə-rə.*  
 barley DIR-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 She went to work as a servant and she was given barley as a payment.
- 6 *εi du-f-kʰu-regə, tεəgə ji-f-kʰi-regə,*  
 barley DIR-INV-give.3>3-LNK PART DIR-INV-dry.3>3-LNK  
 She was given barley and then she dried it.
- 7 *davdə də tʰə-qʰe ɣro ju-ysu-regə,*  
 son DEF DEM-LOC dry DIR-guard?.3>3-LNK  
 The son guarded it drying there.
- 8 *davd-u qaʒi-gi εi də-mə-sə-rə.*  
 son-ERG crow-DAT barley DIR-feed.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 The son fed it to the crows.
- 9 *tεəgə amow davdə nə-f-təpa-sə-rə.*  
 PART mother.ERG son DIR-INV-drive.away.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 Then the mother drove the son away from home.
- 10 *davdə qarwæ-gu qarwæ-gu də-εə-regə,*  
 son cry-NMLZ cry-NMLZ DIR-go.3-LNK  
 The son left, crying and crying.
- 11 *qaʒi "atεʰə mə-ŋe" di-ji-regə,*  
 crow what NEG-good DIR-say.3-LNK  
 "What is wrong?" a crow asked.
- 12 *"ŋa amə-j εi-ntεi də*  
 1SG mother-GEN barley-small.amount DEF  
*ji-f-kʰi-sə də qaʒi-gi εi*  
 DIR-INV-dry.3>3-NMLZ DEF crow-DAT barley

- də-mə*                      *gə.*                      *amow*                      *ŋa*  
 DIR-feed.1>3              PART                      mother.ERG              1SG  
*nə-f-təpa ."*  
 DIR-INV-drive.away.3>3  
 "I gave crows a little barley that my mother had put to dry, so  
 my mother drove me away from home," (he said).
- 13    *qaʒi-w*                      *di-gi*                      *rata*                      *lu*  
 crow-ERG                      DEM-DAT                      millstone                      CLF  
*du-f-kʰu-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 The crow gave him a millstone.
- 14    *rata*                      *lu*                      *du-f-kʰu-regə,*                      *tʰə*                      *"rə-εə*  
 millstone                      CLF                      DIR-INV-give.3>3-LNK                      DEM                      DIR-go.2  
*nde*                      *gə.*                      *'ateʰə*                      *nə-ydzi"*                      *di-ji-tə*  
 PART                      PART                      what(ever)                      DIR-grind.2                      DIR-say.3-NF  
*"ydzu-nkʰə*                      *lu*                      *ŋu.*                      *rə-εə*                      *nde.*                      *rə-qʰe*  
 grind-NMLZ.A                      CLF                      COP.3.IRR                      DIR-go.2                      PART                      DIR-LOC  
*ji-di-ndzu"*                      *di-ji-regə.*  
 DIR-PROH-stay.2                      DIR-say.3-LNK  
 After giving the millstone, the crow said, "Go! It is a grinder (i.e.,  
 grinds) whatever you tell it to grind. Go and don't stay there (at  
 a stranger's home)!" the crow said.<sup>1</sup>
- 15    *davdə*                      *rə-εə-regə,*                      *gəzə*                      *mitsa*                      *ʁe-qʰe*  
 son                      DIR-go.3-LNK                      evening                      stranger<sup>2</sup>                      CLF-LOC  
*ju-ndzu-regə,*  
 DIR-stay.3-LNK

<sup>1</sup> This part refers to the millstone's magical properties to produce whatever it is told to grind.

<sup>2</sup> The consultant translates the Stau term *mitsa* as *nang mi* 'family member' into Tibetan. Since these family members clearly belong to a family distinct from that of the protagonist, the term is glossed as 'stranger' in the stories.

The son went away and stayed at the house of strangers in the evening.

- 16 *mitsa-ni-gi*                      *di-ji-regə*,  
stranger-PL-DAT              DIR-say.3-LNK  
The son said to the strangers.
- 17 *"gəzə*            *nə*            *mæ-rgə-kʰæ*,            *ni-ni*            *ŋɛ*  
evening            in            NEG-sleep-time            2-PL            1SG.GEN  
*di*            *rata-gi*            *tɛʰu*            *'nə-ɣdʒi'-bi*            *tɛʰu*  
DEM            millstone-DAT PART            DIR-grind.2-like            PART  
*də-di-ji*            *m(o)ʰ*"            *di-ji-regə*,  
DIR-PROH-say.2            PART            DIR-say.3-LNK  
"At night, at the time when not yet going to sleep, do not tell my millstone to grind or anything."
- 18 *tʰi-ni-w*            *tʰi*            *mitsa-ni-w*            *"atɛʰə*            *ŋu*            *gə"*  
3-PL.ERG            3            stranger-PL-ERG            what            COP.3.IRR            PART  
*də-ntsʰə-regə*,            *tɛʰu*            *"nə-ɣdʒi"*            *di-ji-regə*,  
DIR-think.3-LNK            PART            DIR-grind.2            DIR-say.3-LNK  
The strangers thought, "Why is this?" and told the millstone, "Grind!"
- 19 *rata-w*                      *"atɛʰə*                      *nə-ɣdʒi"*                      *di-ji-tə*  
millstone-ERG            what(ever)            DIR-grind.2            DIR-say.3-NF  
*ɣdʒu-ŋkʰə*                      *lu*            *du-ŋo-regə*,            *rata*            *də*  
grind-NMLZ.A            CLF            DIR-be.3-LNK            millstone            DEF  
*gə-zbji~zbji-sə-rə*.  
DIR-RED~change.3>3-IFR-SENS  
After the telling the millstone, "Grind something!" it ground, and they changed the millstone with theirs.

<sup>1</sup> The full form of the discourse particle is *mo*, but the speaker drops the vowel here.

- 20 *təgə* *rə-əə-regə,* *ɲə-sni* *rə-əə-regə,*  
 PART DIR-go.3-LNK after-day DIR-go.3-LNK  
*rata* *də* *arutu* *"nə-ɣdzi"* *ji-kʰæ* *gə,*  
 millstone DEF DIR.ADV DIR-grind.2 say-time PART  
*rata-j* *tɕʰu* *ætsʰi* *ɣdzu* *lu* *də-mæ-sə-rə.*  
 millstone-GEN PART little grind CLF DIR-NEG-IFR-SENS  
 Then the boy went away, he went away the next day and when  
 telling the millstone, "Grind!" it did not grind anything.
- 21 *wu* *wu* *nə-əə* *qarwæ-gu qarwæ-gu* *nə-əə-regə,*  
 again again DIR-go.3 cry-NMLZ cry-NMLZ DIR-go.3-LNK  
 Again, the son went away crying and crying.
- 22 *qali-w* *"atɕʰə* *mæ-ŋe"* *di-ji-regə,*  
 crow-ERG what NEG-good DIR-say.3-LNK  
 The crow asked, "What is wrong?"
- 23 *"ɲi:* *rata* *də* *tɕʰu* *ɣdzu-sci*  
 2SG.GEN millstone DEF PART grind-NMLZ.INSTR  
*lu* *mɲæ-rə"* *di-ji-sə-rə.*  
 CLF NEG.3-SENS DIR-say.3-IFR-SENS  
 "Your millstone is no good," said the boy.
- 24 *təgə* *"ɲi,* *"ætɕʰim,* *"rə-qʰe* *je-e-ndzu"*  
 PART 2SG what.to.say DIR-LOC DIR-Q-stay.2  
*di-ji-regə,*  
 DIR-say.2-LNK  
 Then the crow said, "Did you stay there?"
- 25 *"ju-ndzəŋ"* *di-ji-regə,* *təgə* *"tʰi-ɲi-w*  
 DIR-stay.1 DIR-say.3-LNK PART 3-PL-ERG  
*gə-zbji~zbji-sə-rə."*  
 DIR-RED~change.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 "I did," the son said. Then, "They changed the (millstone)," the  
 son said.

- 26 *jan* *rji* *lu* *du-f-k<sup>h</sup>u-sə-rə.*  
again horse CLF DIR-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS  
Again, the crow gave the son a horse.
- 27 *"rji-gi 'xse rŋə jo xsu nə-le'"*  
horse-DAT gold silver jade three DIR-defecate.2  
*di-ji-regə,* *"xse rŋə jo xsu*  
DIR-say.3-LNK gold silver jade three  
*lə-ŋk<sup>h</sup>ə* *du-ŋo-regə,"*  
defecate-NMLZ.A DIR-COP.3-LNK  
"Tell the horse to defecate the three - gold, silver, and jade," the  
crow said. "It defecates the three - gold, silver, and jade."
- 28 *o (rji)<sup>1</sup> o "t<sup>h</sup>i-ni-q<sup>h</sup>e ji-di-ndzu."*  
INTERJ horse INTER 3-PL-LOC DIR-PROH-stay.2  
"Do not stay with them (strangers)!"
- 29 *rə-εə-regə, t<sup>h</sup>i-ni-q<sup>h</sup>e ju-ndzu-regə,*  
DIR-go.3-LNK they-PL-LOC DIR-stay.3-LNK  
*t<sup>h</sup>i-ni-w wu də gə-zbji-zbji-sə-rə.*  
they-PL-ERG again DEM DIR-RED-change.3>3-IFR-SENS  
The son went away and stayed with them (strangers). Again,  
they changed it (the horse).
- 30 *"gəzə ŋε rji-gi tε<sup>h</sup>u 'nə-le'*  
evening 1SG.GEN horse-DAT PART DIR-defecate.2  
*də-di-ji mo" di-ji-regə,*  
DIR-PROH-say.2 PART DIR-say.3-LNK  
"In the evening, don't tell the horse to defecate," the boy said.
- 31 *t<sup>h</sup>i-ni-w rji-gi "nə-le" di-ji-regə,*  
3-PL.ERG horse-DAT DIR-defecate.2 DIR-say.3-LNK

<sup>1</sup> The speaker is looking for the right words and the word "horse" should not occur here.

*gə-zbji~zbji-sə-rə.*

DIR-RED~change.3>3-IFR-SENS

They (the strangers) told the horse to defecate and changed it.

- 32 *teəgə* "ni: rji-w tɛ<sup>h</sup>u læ-ŋk<sup>h</sup>ə  
 PART 2SG.GEN horse-ERG PART defecate-NMLZ-A  
*lu* də-mɲə-sə, də-mɲə-sə" di-ji-regə,  
 CLF DIR-NEG.3-IFR DIR-NEG.3-IFR DIR-say.3-LNK  
 Then, "Your horse is not a defecator (i.e., did not defecate)," the son said.

- 33 *o* *teəgə* bəcæ q<sup>h</sup>a du-f-k<sup>h</sup>u-sə-rə.  
 INTERJ PART stick CLF DIR-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 Then the crow gave the son a stick.

- 34 *o* bəcæ q<sup>h</sup>a du-f-k<sup>h</sup>u-regə, "bəcæ-gi  
 INTERJ stick CLF DIR-INV-give.3>3-LNK stick-DAT  
 'nə-zbæci' də-di-ji mo" di-ji-regə,  
 DIR-hit.2 DIR-PROH-say.2 PART DIR-say.3-LNK  
 After giving the stick, the crow told the son, "Do not tell the stick to hit."

- 35 *gəzə* t<sup>h</sup>i-ni-q<sup>h</sup>e rə-ɛə-regə, mitsa-ni-q<sup>h</sup>e  
 evening 3.PL-LOC DIR-go.3-LNK stranger-PL-LOC  
*ju-ndzu-regə,*  
 DIR-stay.3-LNK  
 In the evening, the son went to their place and stayed with the strangers.

- 36 *gəzə* rgə-k<sup>h</sup>æ gə, "ŋɛ bəcæ-gi  
 evening sleep-time INDF 1SG.GEN stick-DAT  
 'də-rjɛ'-bi tɛ<sup>h</sup>u də-di-ji mo"  
 DIR-get.up.2-like PART DIR-PROH-say.2 PART  
*di-ji-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-say.3-IFR-SENS



When going to sleep in the evening, the son said, "Do not tell my stick to get up or anything like that."

- 37 *bəcæ-gi* "də-rjɛ" *di-ji-tə* *tʰi-ni-w*  
 stick-DAT DIR-get.up.2 DIR-say.3-NF 3-PL-ERG  
*mitsa-ni-w* *tʰi* *tɛʰu* *a-rgə* *də*  
 stranger-PL-ERG 3 PART one-CLF DEF  
*rə-zbəcæ-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-hit.3>3-IFR-SENS  
 They told the stick to get up and the stick hit them.

- 38 *tɛəgə* *dəvdə-ze-gi* *gə-skiri-tə,*  
 PART son-DIM-DAT DIR-shout.3-NF  
 Then they screamed at the boy.

- 39 *"ni:* *bəcæ-gi* *ju-ndzu* *di-jinʰ* *gə.*  
 2SG.GEN stick-DAT DIR-sit.2 DIR-say.2 PART  
*ni:* *ni:* *tɛala* *mbji-ŋkʰə* *jidi-ni*  
 2SG.GEN 2SG.GEN thing change-NMLZ.A we.ourselves?-PL  
*ŋu~ŋoŋ.* *xɪmə* *xte"* *di-ji-regə,*  
 RED~COP.1 everything return DIR-say-LNK  
 "Tell your stick to stop! We are the changers of your things! We will give everything back!"

- 40 *tɛəgə* *to-xte-regə,* *tɛəgə* *dəvdə-zi-regə,*  
 PART DIR-return.3>3-LNK PART son-DIM-LNK  
*tʰi* *amo-w* *ɣne* *rjɛrpə* .  
 3SG.GEN mother-ERG two rich.person  
*də-tɛe~tɛe-sə-rə.*  
 DIR-RED~become.3-IFR-SENS

<sup>1</sup> The final nasal is problematic. In this Stau dialect, the second and third person intransitive verbs appear in the identical stem form with no person indexation suffixes. The form *jɪn* (say.2) is thus not expected, even though it is attested in the related Geshiza. As an alternative interpretation, the nasal can be seen to belong to a previously undocumented particle *ŋgə*.

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Then, after they gave everything back, the two - the boy and (his) mother - became rich.

## RETOLD ENGLISH VERSIONS

### THE THREE PRINCESSES AND A SERVANT

Long ago, a king had three daughters. The oldest one was Gold Star, the next was Silver Star, and the youngest was Bronze Star. Gold Star had a gold *mdzo mo*, Silver Star a silver *mdzo mo*, and Bronze Star had a bronze *mdzo mo*. The king also had a servant.

One rainy, muddy day, Gold Star went to milk her *mdzo mo*. Gold Star said to the servant, "Go fetch me a stool."

"Since it's raining heavily, I cannot fetch a stool for you so I'll kneel and you can sit on me instead," the servant replied.

Gold Star then sat on the servant and milked her gold *mdzo mo*.

After Gold Star, Silver Star went to milk her silver *mdzo mo* and told the servant to bring her a stool.

The servant replied, "When it's raining like this, I cannot go look for a stool. Please sit on me as your older sister did."

Like her older sister, Silver Star sat on the servant's back to milk.

Bronze Star then went to milk her bronze *mdzo mo*. It was still raining and she said to the servant, "Please go bring me a stool."

The servant replied, "Your two sisters sat on my back to milk while I knelt like this so you also sit on me."

"You're an honorable man so it's not right for me to sit on you. I'm an honorable woman so I can't sit on you. Instead, I'll kneel in the mud to milk," Bronze Star declared, and knelt to milk her bronze *mdzo mo*.

Later, Gold Star married the son of a king. Silver Star also married the son of a king. On the other hand, Bronze Star stayed with the family servant. Since the husbands of both Gold Star and Silver Star were princes, their family members gave the newlyweds many

valuable things. They also looked down on Bronze Star, and did not give her anything valuable as a dowry.

Later, the three married couples left home. When night fell, they had to spend the night where they were. Bronze Star's husband said to her, "Gold Star and Silver Star and their husbands will reach a place with a lot of ice tomorrow, but they cannot walk on the ice. But they have a lot of *rtsam pa* and flour that they can scatter on the ice, and then they can walk on it. However, we don't have any such provisions, so it will be hard for us to reach the other side."

Gold Star and Silver Star were secretly listening to Bronze Star and her husband, and believed what they said. The next day, they spread their provisions on the ice to walk across the frozen river.

That night, they stayed in a new place. The servant said to Bronze Star, "Tomorrow, we will reach a place without water. Your sisters and their husbands will have a lot of urine to drink, but we will only have two people's share of urine to drink. We won't be able to quench our thirst as they will."

Again, the others believed this. The next day, they reached a place without water. After having urinated, they drank their own urine and then became very ill.

The story ends here.

#### THE BOY AND A CROW

An old woman and her son were very poor. The mother often worked as a servant and was paid in barley, which she washed and told her son to guard as it dried. The son, however, gave the crows a bit of the barley. This made the boy's mother so angry that she drove him out of their home.

While the boy was crying on the road, he met a crow that asked, "What's wrong?"

"I often gave crows a little of the barley that my mother put out to dry, so my mother drove me away from home," the boy said.

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The crow gave him a millstone and said, "Take this millstone with you. It grinds whatever you tell it to grind. Remember, however, never stay with strangers at night."

The son then left, but ignored what the crow said and stayed with some strangers that evening. The son said to the family he was staying with, "At night, when I go to sleep, do not tell my millstone to grind or anything."

The family members thought, "Why did the boy say that?" and then ordered the millstone, "Grind some grain!" After the millstone ground, they were amazed and exchanged the boy's millstone for their millstone.

The next day, the boy took the family's millstone and left. When he got back to his own home, he told the millstone to grind, but it did nothing.

Again, the son left home crying and crying. On the road, he met the crow again. The crow asked, "What is wrong?"

"Your millstone is no good," replied the boy.

"Did you stay in a house of strangers?" the crow asked.

"I did. And then, they changed the millstone," the son replied.

This time the crow gave the son a horse and warned, "This horse defecates gold, silver, and jade. Don't stay with those strangers again."

However, the son left and again stayed with the strangers. "In the evening, don't tell the horse to defecate," the boy said to the family members, who then told the horse to defecate. After they saw the treasures that appeared, they replaced the boy's horse with their own horse.

The next day, the boy left and took the horse back to his own home. When he told it to defecate, the horse defecated nothing.

Again, the boy left home, crying and crying. On the road, he again met the crow, who asked, "What's wrong?"

"Your horse did not defecate even one of the promised treasures when I got back home," the boy said.

Then the crow gave him a stick and said, "Don't tell the stick to get up."

The boy stayed with the family of strangers again. When going to bed in the evening, the boy said, "Don't tell my stick to get up or anything like that."

The family members, however, told the stick to get up and the stick started beating them. They then screamed, "Tell your stick to stop! We are the ones who exchanged your things! We will give you everything back!"

After getting everything back, both the boy and his mother became very rich.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ALL	allative
CLF	classifier
COM	comitative
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional prefix
DIR.ADV	directional adverb
DU	dual
ERG	ergative
EXV	existential verb
NF	non-finite
GEN	genitive
IFR	inferential evidential
INDF	indefinite
INTERJ	interjection
LNK	linker
LOC	locative
NEG	negative

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NMLZ	nominalizer
NMLZ.A	agentive nominalizer
NMLZ.INSTR	instrumental nominalizer
NMLZ.L	locative nominalizer
PART	particle
PL	plural
Q	question
RED	reduplication
TOP	topic
SENS	sensory evidential
SG	singular
SUPL	superlative
>	direction of action in persons

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## NON-ENGLISH TERMS

- a khu ston pa ཨ་ཁུ་སྟོན་པ།  
 brag 'go བླ་ག་འགོ།  
 Daofu 道孚  
 dar mdo དར་མདོ།  
 dge bshes དགེ་བཤེས།  
 dkar mdzes དཀར་མཛེས།  
 Ganzi 甘孜  
 Gesar, ge sar གེ་སར།  
 Geshiz(h)a 革什扎, 格什扎  
 gling གླིང།  
 gnas sgron lha mo གནས་སྒྲོན་ལྷ་མོ།  
 hor dpon khag lnga ཧོར་དཔོན་ཁག་ལྷ།  
 hor ཧོར།  
 hor pa ཧོར་པ།  
 hu 胡  
 Huangtou Huihu 黄頭回鶻  
 Kangding 康定  
 khang gsar ཁང་གསར།  
 Luhuo 炉霍  
 ma zu མ་བུ།

ma zur མ་རུར།

Mazi 麻孜

mdzo mo མཛོ་མོ།

Namuyi 纳木依

Namuzi, na mu zhi ན་མུ་ཞི།

nang mi ནང་མི།

p<sup>h</sup>ozəwo (consultant's native hamlet)

rta'u རཏཱ།

rtsam pa རཏཱ་པ།

sngon ma སྒོན་མ།

Shangzhai 上寨

Sichuan 四川

Stau, rta'u རཏཱ།

Weixin 微信

Xianshui 鲜水