1. A GHOST AND A MAN (I)

(1) ᴴi-ᴸne# ᴴi-ᴸne# ᴸpʰĩ-ᴴhĩ# ᴴhĩ# ᴸᴴdʑĩ# ᴸdʑi-ᴸʑi-ᴴwu ᴸᴴji=ᴸdʑɔ̃.

ᴴi-ᴸne	ᴴi-ᴸne	ᴸpʰi-ᴴwu	ᴴhĩ	ᴸᴴdʑĩ
previous-?	previous-?	*place.name*-family	person	one
in.the.past	in.the.past			
ᴸdʑi-ᴴʑu		ᴸjĩ=ᴸdʑɔ̃.		
one-household		exist.ANM=DUR		

'A long time ago there lived in Píngwēng a family.'

(2) ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu# ᴴɐ-ᴴme=ᴸɹɛ̃# ᴸdʑi-ᴴhɛ=ᴸsə=ᴸlɐ# ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ# ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ# ᴸdɐ=ᴸxe=ᴴsi# ᴴsũ# ᴸᴴtu=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu	ᴴɐ-ᴴme=ᴸɹɛ̃	ᴸdʑi-ᴴhɛ=ᴸsə=ᴸlɐ	ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ
that-family	VOC-mother=AGT	one-night=PRF=LOC	tok-tok
ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ	ᴸdɐ=ᴸxe=ᴴsə	ᴴsũ	ᴸᴴtu=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.
tok-tok	sound=CAUS=PRF	wool	weave=NMNL.PST=COP

'The mother of the family span wool every night, making 'tok-tok' sounds.'

(3) ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴlɛ# ᴴtʂʰu.ᴸbə.#ᴸza.ᴴhĩ# ᴸᴴtsʰu# ᴸdʑĩ=ᴴno# ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ# ᴴmɐ=ᴸji=ᴸdʑɔ̃.

ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴlɛ	ᴴtʂʰu.ᴸbə.ᴸza.ᴴhĩ	ᴸᴴtsʰu	ᴸdʑĩ=ᴴno	ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ
that=become	other.shore	ghost	one=inside	tok-tok
ᴴma=ᴸji=ᴸdʑɔ̃.				
name=exist.ANM=DUR				

'At the same time, on the opposite side of the river, there lived a ghost by the name of Tok.'

(4) ᴴɐ-ᴴme#=ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴴsũ ᴸtu=ᴸlɛ#, ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi# ᴴɕyɐ=ᴸli#, ᴸɦɛ̃ ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴴji# ᴴkʰo.ᴸrɛ# ᴴᴸɕyɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴴɐ-ᴴme=ᴴᴸtʰi	ᴴsũ	ᴸtu=ᴸlɛ,	ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi	
VOC-mother=that	wool	weave=become	ghost=that	
ᴴɕyɐ=ᴸli,	ᴸɦɛ̃	ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴴjĩ	ᴴkʰo.ᴸrɛ	
think=NMLZ.PST	oneself	call=PROG	possible	
ᴴᴸɕyɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃				
think=NMLZ.PST=COP				

'So, (whenever) the mother was spinning wool, the ghost thought she was calling his name.'

(5) ᴸᴴse # ᴴhĩ# ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu# ᴸqʰa.ᴴti# ᴴkʰu-ᴴpɔ=ᴸtɕʰũ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ˡse.ʰji ʰhĩ ˡtʰu-ʰwu ˡqʰa.ʰti
then person that-family porch
ʰkʰu-ʰpɔ=ˡtɕʰũ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃
inward-arrive=come=NMLZ.PST=COP
'Then, the ghost came (one night) to their doorstep.'

(6) ʰki-ʰʁu# ˡtʰu-ˡwu=ʰli# ˡtʰu-ʰwu=ˡkə# ʰpɔ=ˡlɛ#, ˡtʰõ.ʰrõ=ʰɹɛ̃#
ˡʔɑõ-ʰɦõ# ˡdɐ=ʰsi# ʰdʑi-ʰjɛ ʰdɐ# ʰkʰe=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ʰki-ʰʁu ˡtʰu-ˡwu=ʰli ˡtʰu-ʰwu=ˡkɐ ʰpɔ=ˡlɛ
?-head that-family=NMLZ.PST that-family=at arrive=become
ˡtʰõ.ʰrõ=ʰɹɛ̃ ˡʔɑõ-ʰɦõ ˡdɐ=ʰsə ʰdʑi-ʰjɛ ʰdɐ
donkey=AGT hee-haw perform=PRF one-sound perform
ʰkʰe=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
let.go=NMLZ.PST=COP
'The first night he came, the donkey brayed "hee-haw".'

(7) ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ# ᴸᴴtsʰu# ˡʑi.ˡwu=ʰsi# ᴸᴴpʰɛ̃ ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ ᴸᴴtsʰu ˡʑi.ˡwu=ʰsə ᴸᴴpʰɛ̃
that=become ghost be.afraid=PRF escape
ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃
do=NMLZ.PST=COP
'The ghost was scared and ran away.'

(8) ˡtʰi=ʰji# ʰsa-ʰwi-ˡma=ˡlɐ#, ˡtsʰu=ʰtʰi# ᴸᴴlu#
ʰpɔ=ˡtɕʰũ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰi=ʰji ʰsa-ʰwi-ˡma=ˡlɐ ˡtsʰu=ʰtʰi ᴸᴴlu
that=GEN second?-night-day=LOC ghost=that again
ʰpɔ=ˡtɕʰũ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
arrive=come=NMLZ.PST=COP
'The second night, the ghost came again.'

(9) ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ# ᴸᴴlu# ʰhĩ# ˡtʰu-ʰwu# ʰra-ˡpʰɐ=ˡɹɛ̃# ʰtɕũ ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ ᴸᴴlu ʰhĩ ˡtʰu-ʰwu ʰra-ˡpʰɐ=ˡɹɛ̃
that=become again person that-family chicken-M=AGT
ʰtɕũ=ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
crow=do=NMLZ.PST=COP
'But then, the rooster of the family crowed.'

(10) ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ# ᴸᴴtsʰu# ᴸᴴlu# ᴸᴴpʰɛ̃ ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ ᴸᴴtsʰu ᴸᴴlu ᴸᴴpʰɛ̃ ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
that=become ghost again escape do=NMLZ.PST=COP
'And the ghost ran away again.'

(11) ᴴkuɐ-ᴴsõ-ᴸwu=ᴸli# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi# ᴸᴴlu# ᴴpɔ=ᴸlɐ=ᴸsə#, ᴴhĩ ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu# ᴸdʑ̃.ᴸhõ=ᴴno# ᴴkʰu-ᴴpɔ=ᴸtɕʰũ=ᴸli=ᴸɲ̃.

ᴴkuɐ-ᴴsõ-ᴸwu=ᴸli ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi ᴸᴴlu ᴴpɔ=ᴸlɐ=ᴸsə
third?-day-come=NMLZ.PST ghost=that again arrive=come.PST=PRF
ᴴhĩ ᴸtʰu-ᴸwu ᴸdʑ̃.ᴸhõ=ᴴno ᴴkʰu-ᴴpɔ=
person that-family house=inside inward-arrive
ᴸtɕʰũ=ᴸli=ᴸɲ̃.
come=NMLZ.PST=COP

'The third night the ghost came again. This time he managed to enter the house.'

(12) ᴴhĩ# ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu# ᴴɐ-ᴴme# ᴴsũ-ᴸtu=ᴸhĩ# ᴴtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃: "ᴴɲi# ᴴa=ᴴlɐ# ᴴtɕʰi ᴸwɐ=ᴸdʑ̃ə#," ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲ̃.

ᴴhĩ ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu ᴴɐ-ᴴme ᴴsũ-ᴸtu-ᴸhĩ
person that-family VOC-mother wool-weave-person
ᴴtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃: ᴴɲi ᴴa=ᴴlɐ ᴴtɕʰi ᴴwɐ=ᴸdʑ̃ə,
that=AGT 2SG here=LOC what make=DUR
ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲ̃
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

'The mother, who was spinning wool, asked him: "What are you doing here?"'

(13) ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃#: "ᴴɲi# ᴸdʑi-ᴴhɛ=ᴸsə=ᴸlɐ#, ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ# ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ# ᴴsɛ̃-ᴸsɛ̃# ᴸxe=ᴴsi# ᴸŋɐ=ᴴji# ᴴmɐ# ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴴji."

ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃: "ᴴɲi ᴸdʑi-ᴴhɛ=ᴸsə=ᴸlɐ ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ
ghost=that=AGT 2SG one-night=PRF=LOC tok-tok
ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ ᴴsɛ̃-ᴸsɛ̃=ᴸxe=ᴴsə ᴸŋɐ=ᴴji ᴴma
tok-tok sound-sound=CAUS=PRF 1SG=GEN name
ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴴjĩ."
call=PROG

'The ghost said: "Every night you make 'tok-tok' sounds, and call my name."'

(14) "ᴴŋɐ# ᴸɲi-ᴴwu=ᴸkə# ᴴlɐ=ᴴlɛ, ᴴki-ᴴʁu# ᴸɲi-ᴴhɛ=ᴸtʰi# ᴸtʰõ.ᴸrõ ᴴɲi# ᴴra-ᴸpʰɐ=ᴸɹɛ̃# ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɐ=ᴴxe# ᴸmɐ=ᴴji."

ᴴŋɐ ᴸɲi-ᴴwu=ᴸkɐ ᴴlɐ=ᴴlɛ ᴴki-ᴴʁu
1SG 2SG-family=at come. PST=become ?-head front
ᴸɲi-ᴴhɛ=ᴸtʰi ᴸtʰõ.ᴸrõ ᴴɲi ᴴra-ᴸpʰɐ=ᴸɹɛ̃
two-night=that donkey and chicken-M=AGT
ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɐ=ᴴxe ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ."
inward-come.PST=CAUS NEG=PROG

'I was trying to come, but the first two nights, the donkey and the rooster scared me away (prevented me from coming).'

(15) “^{H}wi＝^{L}ʐə# ^{H}ŋɐ# ^{H}a＝^{H}lɐ# ^{H}k^{h}u-^{H}tsɑ＝^{L}dʑɔ̃＝^{L}sə.”

“^{H}wi＝^{L}ʐə	^{H}ŋɐ	^{H}a＝^{H}lɐ	^{H}k^{h}u-^{H}tsɑ＝^{L}dʑɔ̃＝^{L}sə.”
night=TOP	1SG	here=LOC	inward-go=DUR=PRF

‘Tonight, I have finally made it here.’

(16) ^{L}ts^{h}u＝^{H}t^{h}i# ^{HL}t^{h}i# ^{H}pɐ＝^{L}ts^{h}a＝^{L}lɛ#, ^{H}hĩ# ^{L}t^{h}u-^{H}wu# ^{H}ɐ-^{H}me＝^{H}ɹɛ̃#: “^{HL}t^{h}i# ^{H}liæ＝^{L}dʑɔ̃.”

^{L}ts^{h}u＝^{H}t^{h}i	^{HL}t^{h}i	^{H}pɐ＝^{L}ts^{h}a＝^{L}lɛ,	^{H}hĩ	^{L}t^{h}u-^{H}wu
ghost=that	that	speak=finish=become	person	that-family
^{H}ɐ-^{H}me＝^{H}ɹɛ̃:	“^{H}t^{h}i	^{H}lɛ＝^{L}dʑɔ̃.”		
VOC-mother=AGT	that	good=DUR		

‘After the ghost had said that, the mother told him: “This is good.”’

(17) “^{H}ɲi# ^{L}miɛ-^{L}zu＝^{H}ʁõ#,” ^{HL}pɐ＝^{L}li＝^{L}ɲɔ̃.

“^{H}ɲi	^{L}miɛ-^{L}zu＝^{H}ʁõ,”	^{HL}pɐ＝^{L}li＝^{L}ɲɔ̃.
2SG	downward-sit=IRR	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘“Would you be seated!”’

(18) ^{H}pɐ＝^{L}ts^{h}a＝^{L}lɛ#, ^{H}hĩ# ^{HL}t^{h}i# ^{L}dʑɐ-^{L}ɕi＝^{H}si#, ^{H}syi# ^{H}χu＝^{L}li＝^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{H}pɐ＝^{L}ts^{h}a＝^{L}lɛ	^{H}hĩ＝^{HL}t^{h}i	^{L}dʑɐ-^{H}ɕi＝^{L}ts^{h}a＝^{L}lɛ
speak=finish=become	person=that	upward-stand=finish=become
^{H}syi	^{H}χu＝^{L}li＝^{L}ɲɔ̃.	
pine.torches	chop=NMLZ.PST=COP	

‘Having said that, the man got up and chopped up some pine torches.’

(19) ^{H}syi# ^{L}dʑi-^{H}tʂõ# ^{H}pu＝^{L}lɐ＝^{L}si#, ^{L}ts^{h}u＝^{H}no#: “^{H}ɲi# ^{H}wi# ^{L}ŋɐ-^{H}wu＝^{L}kə# ^{H}lɐ＝^{H}li# ^{L}t^{h}i＝^{H}ʐə# ^{H}liæ＝^{H}ji＝^{L}dʑɔ̃. ”

^{H}syi	^{L}dʑi-^{H}tʂõ	^{H}pu＝^{L}lɐ＝^{L}sə	^{L}ts^{h}u＝^{H}no: “^{H}ɲi	
pine.torches	one-bundle	bring=come.PST=PRF	ghost=inside	2SG
^{H}wi	^{L}ŋɐ-^{H}wu＝^{L}kɐ	^{H}lɐ＝^{H}li	^{L}t^{h}i＝^{H}ʐə	
night	1SG-family=at	come.PST=NMLZ.PST	that =TOP	
^{H}lɛ＝^{H}ji＝^{L}dʑɔ̃. ”				
good=GEN=DUR				

‘He brought a bundle of pine torches and said to the ghost: “It’s very good that you came to our place tonight.”’

(20) “^{L}ʔõ＝^{H}dzə# ^{L}dʑi-^{H}mɐ＝^{L}sə＝^{L}lɐ# ^{L}ʁu-^{H}pu# ^{L}mɐ＝^{H}ji#, ^{H}wi＝^{L}ʐə# ^{L}ɲi＝^{H}sə# ^{H}ts^{h}ə ^{H}dʑĩ# ^{H}qhɔ＝^{L}si#, ^{L}dzɐ＝^{L}xe＝^{H}gə#,” ^{HL}pɐ＝^{L}li＝^{L}ɲɔ̃.

“ᴸʔõ = ᴴdzə	ᴸdʑi-ᴴma = ᴸsə = ᴸlɐ	ᴸʁu-ᴴpu	ᴸmi = ᴴjĩ,	ᴴwi =
1PL.INCL=DU	one-day=PRF=LOC	head-bring meet	NEG=PROG	night

ᴸʐə	ᴸɲi = ᴴsə	ᴴtsʰə	ᴴdʑĩ	ᴴqɔ = ᴸsə,
TOP	2SG=PNT.ANM	goat	one	butcher=PRF

ᴸdzɐ = ᴸxe = ᴴgɐ,”	ᴴᴸpɐ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.
eat=CAUS=VOL	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘“We do not meet often, tonight I will slaughter and offer you a goat.”’

(21) ᴴpɐ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlɛ#, ᴸtsʰu = ᴸtʰɐ = ᴴno#: “ᴴɲi# ᴸŋɐ-ᴴwu# ᴸkʰu-ᴸqɔ = ᴴsi#, ᴴʔu = ᴴno# ᴴtsʰə# ᴸzĩ = ᴸwu = ᴴliu#,” ᴴᴸpɐ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴴpɐ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlɛ,	ᴸtsʰu	ᴸtʰɐ = ᴴno:	“ᴴɲi	ᴸŋɐ-ᴴwu
speak=finish=become	ghost	that=inside	2SG	1SG-family

ᴸkʰu-ᴸqɔ = ᴴsə,	ᴴʔu = ᴴno	ᴴtsʰə
inward-help=PRF	downstairs=inside	goat

ᴸzĩ = ᴸwu = ᴴliu, ”	ᴴᴸpɐ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.
seize=RES=come.IMP	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘Having said that, he told the ghost: “Help me pick up a goat in the goat pen.”’

(22) ᴸtʰɐ = ᴴlɛ# ᴸᴴtsʰu = ᴸɹɛ̃:# “ᴸᴴja#-ᴸᴴja#” ᴴᴸpɐ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʰɐ = ᴴlɛ	ᴸᴴtsʰu = ᴸɹɛ̃	“ᴸᴴja-ᴸᴴja”	ᴴᴸpɐ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ
that-become	ghost=AGT	agree-agree	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘The ghost agreed.’

(23) ᴸᴴse # ᴴhĩ = ᴸtʰi = ᴸɹɛ̃# ᴴsyi# ᴸdʑĩ-ᴴtʂõ# ᴴpu = ᴸlɐ = ᴸsə#, ᴸtsʰu = ᴴji# ᴸli = ᴴʁõ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸtsə-ᴴtsɐ ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlɛ#, ᴴɲɐ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸtsi = ᴸji = ᴴsi#, ᴸtsʰu = ᴴno# ᴸɦɛ̃ = ᴴkə# ᴴsyi# ᴴtʂuɛ̃ = ᴴsi#, “ᴴʔu = ᴸno# ᴴtsʰə-ᴸkʰuɐ = ᴸno# ᴸbi = ᴴsi# ᴴtsʰə# ᴸsə = ᴸwu = ᴴliu#,” ᴴᴸpɐ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴸse.ᴴji	ᴴhĩ = ᴸtʰi = ᴸɹɛ̃	ᴴsyi	ᴸdʑĩ-ᴴtʂõ	ᴴpu = ᴸlɐ = ᴸsə,
then	person=that=AGT	pine.torches	one-bundle	bring=come.PST=PRF

ᴸtsʰu = ᴴji	ᴸli = ᴴʁõ	ᴸkʰu-ᴸtsə-ᴴtsɐ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlɛ,
ghost=GEN	hand=on	inward-bind-bind=finish=become

ᴴɲɐ	ᴸkʰu-ᴸtsi = ᴸjĩ = ᴴsə,	ᴸtsʰu = ᴴno	ᴸɦɛ̃ = ᴴkɐ
fire	inward-light=PROG=PRF	ghost=inside	oneself=at

ᴴsyi	ᴴtʂuɛ̃ = ᴴsə,	“ᴴʔu = ᴸno	ᴴtsʰə-ᴸkʰuɐ = ᴸno
pine.torches	light.up=PRF	downstairs=inside	goat-den=inside

ᴸbi = ᴴsə	ᴴtsʰə	ᴸsə = ᴸwu = ᴴliu, ”	ᴴᴸpɐ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ
go=PRF	goat	choose=RES=come.IMP	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘So, the man took a bundle of pine torches and tied it to the ghost’s hands. Then he lit them up and said to the ghost: “Light me the way, let’s go downstairs to the goat pen to pick up a goat.”’

(24) ᴸᴴse # ᴸtsʰu ᴸɲi ᴴhĩ# ᴸtʰɐ = ᴴdzə ᴸɲa-ᴸku# ᴴʔu = ᴸno# ᴴmiɛ-ᴴpɔ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlɛ#, ᴴtsʰə# ᴸᴴsə = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴸse.ᴴji	ᴸtsʰu	ᴸɲi	ᴴhĩ	ᴴtʰɐ=ᴴdzə	ᴸɲa-ᴸku
then	ghost	and	person	that=DU	two-item

ᴴʔu=ᴸno ᴴmiɛ-ᴴpɔ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlɛ, ᴴtsʰə
downstairs-inside downward-arrive=finish=become goat
ᴸᴴsə=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃
choose=NMLZ.PST=COP

'So, the ghost and the man went down to the goat shed to pick up a goat.'

(25) ᴴtsʰə=ᴸsə=ᴸlɛ#, ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃#: "ᴴtsʰə# ᴸha=ᴴʁõ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕu#, ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴʁõ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕu#, ᴸhɑ=ᴴlɐ# ᴸtsʰuɐ=ᴸmɐ=ᴴji#, ᴸtʰi=ᴴlɐ# ᴸtsʰuɐ=ᴸmɐ=ᴴji#," ᴴpɐ=ᴸsi#, ᴴka.ᴴpɔ# ᴸtʂə=ᴴxe# ᴸᴴtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴴtsʰə=ᴸsə=ᴸlɛ	ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃:	"ᴴtsʰə	ᴸha=ᴴʁõ	
goat=choose=become	person=that=AGT	goat	this=up	
ᴸɕi-ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕu,	ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴʁõ	ᴸkʰu-ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕu,	ᴸha=ᴴlə	
to-one-feel	that=up	fro-one-feel	here=also	
ᴸtsʰuɐ=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ,	ᴸtʰi=ᴴlɐ	ᴸtsʰuɐ=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ, "		
fat=NEG=PROG	that-also	fat=NEG=PROG		
ᴴpɐ=ᴸsə,	ᴴka.ᴴpɔ	ᴸtʂə=ᴴxe	ᴸᴴtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.	
speak=PRF	very	delay=CAUS	do=NMLZ.PST=COP	

'In the shed, the man stroked left and right (in the darkness), saying that the goats he could feel were not fat enough. He procrastinated time by pretending that he was looking for a goat.'

(26) ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴlɛ# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi# ᴴhĩ ᴸkiɛ-ᴸmiɛ# ᴴsyi ᴴtʂuɛ̃=ᴴlɛ#, ᴴsyi# ᴴɲɐ-ᴸnɢɑ=ᴸno ᴸbɐ=ᴸsi#, ᴸli=ᴴtshi=ᴸkə# ᴴpɔ ᴸtɕi-ᴸtɕi# ᴸbɐ=ᴴli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴlɛ	ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi	ᴴhĩ	ᴸkiɛ-ᴸmiɛ	ᴴsyi
that=become	ghost=that	person	?-below back	pine.torches

ᴴtʂuɛ̃=ᴴlɛ, ᴴsyi ᴴɲɐ-ᴸnɢɑ=ᴸno ᴸbɐ=ᴸsə,
light.up=become pine.torches fire-set.fire=inside make=PRF
ᴸli=ᴴkɐ ᴴpɔ ᴸtɕi-ᴸtɕi ᴸbɐ=ᴴli=ᴸɲɔ̃.
hand=at arrive do-do make=NMLZ.PST=COP

'Then, the fire on the pine torches which the man bundled to the ghost's hands started approaching the hands.'

(27) ᴸᴴse =ᴴʐə# ᴴhĩ# ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴno#: "ᴴʔõ-ᴴhĩ#, ᴴɲi# ᴸᴴtʂʰõ# ᴸbɐ=ᴴʁõ#, ᴴsyi=ᴸɹɛ̃# ᴸŋɐ=ᴴji# ᴸᴴli# ᴴɲɐ-ᴸqɛ̃# ᴸtɕi-ᴸtɕi ᴸbɐ=ᴴji#,"
ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ˡse.ˡji＝ᴴʐə ᴴhĩ ˡtʰɐ＝ᴴno: “ᴴʔõ-ᴴhĩ, ᴴɲi ᴸᴴtʂʰõ
then=TOP person that=inside own-person 2SG quick
ˡbɐ＝ᴴʁõ, ᴴsyi＝ˡɹɛ̃ ˡŋɐ＝ᴴji ᴸᴴli ᴴɲɐ-ˡqɛ̃
make=IRR pine.torches=AGT 1SG=GEN hand fire-burn
ˡtɕi-ˡtɕi ˡbɐ＝ᴴjĩ, ᴴᴸpɐ＝ˡli＝ˡɲɔ̃.
do-do make=PROG speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘Then the ghost said to the man: “Pal, can’t you be any quicker? The fire is about to burn my hands!”’

(28) ᴴhĩ＝ˡtʰi＝ˡɹɛ̃#: “ᴴwi# ˡɲi＝ˡsə＝ᴴʐə# ᴴtsʰə# ᴸᴴtsʰuɐ ˡdʑĩ#
ᴴqhɔ＝ˡɹɛ̃#, ᴴɲi# ᴴdʑɐ-ᴴχɑ# ᴴsɛ̃＝ˡɹɛ̃# ˡbɐ＝ᴴʁõ#, ᴴŋɐ# ᴴtsʰə#
ᴸᴴlu# ᴸᴴtsʰuɐ#, ᴸᴴlu# ˡmo-ᴴᴸduɐ# ᴸᴴdʑĩ# ˡbv-ᴴsə＝ˡtsʰa＝ˡlɛ#,
ᴸᴴse# ˡʔõ＝ᴴdzə# ᴴqhɔ＝ˡsi# ˡdzɐ＝ᴴliu#,” ᴴᴸpɐ＝ˡli＝ˡɲɔ̃.

ᴴhĩ＝ˡtʰi＝ˡɹɛ̃: “ᴴwi ˡɲi＝ˡsə＝ᴴʐə ᴴtsʰə
person=that=AGT night 2SG=PNT.ANM=TOP goat
ᴸᴴtsʰuɐ ˡdʑĩ ᴴqɔ＝ˡɹɛ̃, ᴴɲi ᴴdʑɐ-ᴴχɑ
fat one butcher=INST 2SG one-instant
ᴴsɛ̃＝ˡɹɛ̃ ˡbɐ＝ᴴʁõ, ᴴŋɐ ᴴtsʰə ᴸᴴlu ᴸᴴtsʰuɐ, ᴸᴴlu ˡmo-ᴴᴸduɐ
patient=INST make=IRR 1SG goat again fat again INTSF-big
ᴸᴴdʑĩ ˡbə-ᴴsə＝ˡtsʰa＝ˡlɛ, ˡse.ᴴji
one outward=choose=finish=become then
ˡʔõ＝ᴴdzə ᴴqɔ＝ˡsə ˡdzɐ＝ᴴliu, ”
1PL.INCL=DU slaughter=PRF eat=come.IMP
ᴴᴸpɐ＝ˡli＝ˡɲɔ̃.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘To what the man said: “Tonight, I will surely slaughter a fat goat for you, hold on just a little, I will get us a fat and big goat and we will slaughter and eat it.”’

(29) ᴴpɐ＝ˡtsʰa＝ˡlɛ# ᴸᴴlu# ᴴᴸtsʰə# ᴸᴴsə＝ˡli＝ˡɲɔ̃.

ᴴpɐ＝ˡtsʰa＝ˡlɛ ᴸᴴlu ᴴᴸtsʰə ᴸᴴsə＝ˡli＝ˡɲɔ̃.
speak=finish=become again goat choose=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘Having said that, he continued to look for a goat.’

(30) ˡtʰɐ＝ᴴlɛ# ᴴsyi# ˡkʰu-ᴴnɢɑ# ᴴpɔ＝ˡlɐ＝ˡsi#, ˡtsʰu＝ᴴji# ˡli＝ᴴʁõ#
ˡkʰu-ᴴʐuɛ̃# ˡpu＝ᴸᴴtɕʰũ#＝ˡli＝ˡɲɔ̃.

^{L}tʰɐ = ^{H}lɛ	^{H}syi	^{L}kʰu-^{H}nɢɑ	^{H}pɔ = ^{L}lɐ = ^{L}sə
that=become	pine.torches	inward-set.fire	arrive=come.PST=PRF
^{L}tsʰu = ^{H}ji	^{L}li = ^{H}ʁõ	^{L}kʰu-^{H}ʐuɛ̃	
ghost=GEN	hand=on	inward-burn	

^{L}pu = ^{LH}tɕʰũ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.
IPFV=come=NMLZ.PST=COP

'At that time, the pine torches burned out and the fire spread over on the ghost's hands.'

(31) ^{L}tʰɐ = ^{H}lɛ# ^{L}tsʰu = ^{H}tʰi# ^{H}ʔɑ-^{H}tsa ^{L}pɐ = ^{L}si#, ^{H}ʔu = ^{L}no# ^{L}bu-^{H}dʑɛ̃ = ^{L}pu = ^{L}wu = ^{L}sə#, ^{H}tʂʰu.^{L}bə.^{L}za.^{L}hĩ# ^{L}tsʰu-^{L}kʰuɐ = ^{H}no# ^{L}lɐ-^{L}wu = ^{H}ɹɛ̃# ^{HL}ɕyɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{L}tʰɐ = ^{H}lɛ	^{L}tsʰu = ^{H}tʰi	^{H}ʔɑ-^{H}tsa	^{L}pɐ = ^{L}sə,	^{H}ʔu = ^{L}no
that=become	ghost=that	ouch	speak=PRF	downstairs=inside
^{L}bu-^{H}dʑɛ̃ = ^{L}pu = ^{L}wu = ^{L}sə,			^{H}tʂʰu.^{L}bə.^{L}za.^{H}hĩ	
outward-fly=IPFV=RES=PRF			opposite.side	
^{L}tsʰu-^{L}kʰuɐ = ^{H}no		^{L}lɐ-^{L}wu = ^{H}ɹɛ̃	^{HL}ɕyɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.	
ghost-den=inside		PFV-come=INST	think=NMLZ.PST=COP	

'The ghost moaned painfully "ouch!", flew out of the goat pen and rushed to the ghosts' village on the opposite side of the river.'

(32) ^{H}dʑɛ̃ = ^{H}si = ^{L}lɐ = ^{L}lɛ#, ^{H}tʂʰu.^{L}bə.^{L}za.^{H}hĩ# ^{L}tsʰu = ^{L}mə.^{H}ʑi = ^{L}ɹɛ̃#: "^{H}ɲi# ^{L}a ^{L}kʰu = ^{L}tʰa = ^{H}liu#, ^{H}ʂu-^{H}dʑɐ = ^{L}no# ^{L}miɛ-^{H}xu#," ^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}si# ^{LH}ʁɛ̃ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{H}dʑɛ̃ = ^{H}sə = ^{L}lɐ = ^{L}lɛ,		^{H}tʂʰu.^{L}bə.^{L}za.^{H}hĩ	^{L}tsʰu = ^{L}mə.^{H}ʑi = ^{L}ɹɛ̃:	
fly=PRF=come.PST=become		other.shore	ghost=PL=AGT	
"^{H}ɲi	^{L}a	^{L}kʰu = ^{L}tʰa = ^{H}liu,	^{H}ʂu-^{H}dʑɐ = ^{L}no	
2SG	here	inward=PROH=come	Shu-river=inside	
^{L}miɛ-^{H}xu, "		^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}sə	^{LH}ʁɛ̃ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.	
downward-go.IMP		speak=PRF	call=NMLZ.PST=COP	

'Seeing him approaching, the ghosts on the other side cried: "Do not come here, fly into the river instead!"'

(33) ^{H}tʰi = ^{H}ji# ^{H}hĩ = ^{L}tʰi = ^{L}ɹɛ̃# ^{H}lɐ#: "^{H}ɲi# ^{H}ʂu-^{H}dʑɐ = ^{L}no# ^{L}miɛ = ^{L}tʰa = ^{H}xu#, ^{H}tʂʰu.^{L}bə.^{L}za.^{L}hĩ# ^{L}ɲi = ^{H}ji ^{L}kʰuɐ = ^{H}no# ^{H}lɐ-^{H}xu#" ^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}si# ^{LH}ʁɛ̃ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{H}tʰi = ^{H}ji	^{H}hĩ = ^{L}tʰi = ^{L}ɹɛ̃		^{H}lɐ:	"^{H}ɲi	^{H}ʂu-^{H}dʑɐ = ^{L}no
that=GEN	person=that=AGT		also	2SG	Shu-river=inside
^{L}miɛ = ^{L}tʰa = ^{H}xu,	^{H}tʂʰu.^{L}bə.^{L}za.^{L}hĩ			^{L}ɲi = ^{H}ji	
downward=PROH=go.IMP	opposite.side			2SG=GEN	
^{L}kʰuɐ = ^{L}no	^{H}lɐ-^{H}xu, "	^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}sə	^{LH}ʁɛ̃ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃		
den=inside	PFV-go.IMP	speak=PRF	call=NMLZ.PST=COP		

'At the same time, the man shouted to the ghost: "Do not fly into the river, fly to the other side of the river!"'

(34) ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ# ˡtsʰu=ʰtʰi# ʰtʂʰu.ˡbə.ˡza.ˡhĩ# ˡtsʰu=ˡmə.ʰʑi#
ˡʁɛ̃=ʰli# ʰᴸtʰi# ʰmu=ʰmɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ	ˡtsʰu=ʰtʰi	ʰtʂʰu.ˡbə.ˡza.ˡhĩ	ˡtsʰu=ˡmə.ʰʑi
that-become	ghost=that	opposite.side	ghost=PL
ˡʁɛ̃=ʰli	ʰᴸtʰi	ʰmu=ʰma=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.	
cry=NMLZ.PST	that	NEG=hear=NMLZ.PST=COP	

'The ghost did not hear what the ghosts at the opposite side of the river had told him.'

(35) ʰhĩ ʰtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃# ˡʁɛ̃=ˡli=ʰʐə# ᴸᴴmɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ʰhĩ	ʰtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃	ˡʁɛ̃=ˡli=ʰʐə	ᴸᴴma=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃
person	that=AGT	call=NMLZ.PST=TOP	hear =NMLZ.PST=cop

'But instead, he heard what the man had told him to do.'

(36) ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ# ʰsyi ˡpu=ˡwu=ˡsi#, ʰtʂʰu.ˡbə.ˡza.ˡhĩ# ˡtsʰu-
ˡkʰuɐ=ʰno# ˡkʰu-ʰdʑɛ̃# ʰpu=ˡwu=ˡsi#, ˡtsʰu-
ʰkʰuɐ=ˡmə.ˡʑi=ˡʁõ# ᴸᴴɲɐ# ʰtɐ# ˡkʰu-ʰtsi# ᴸᴴtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ	ʰsyi	ˡpu=ˡwu=ˡsə,	ʰtʂʰu.ˡbə.ˡza.ˡhĩ	
that-become	pine.torches	bring=RES=PRF	opposite.side	
ˡtsʰu-ˡkʰuɐ=ʰno	ˡkʰu-ʰdʑɛ̃	ʰpu=ˡwu=ˡsə,		
ghost-den=inside	inward-fly	IPFV=RES=PRF		
ˡtsʰu-ʰkʰuɐ=ˡmə.ˡʑi=ˡʁõ	ᴸᴴɲɐ	ʰtɐ	ˡkʰu-ʰtsi	ᴸᴴtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
ghost-house=PL=up	fire	there	inward-light	do=NMLZ.PST=COP

'And carrying the burning pine torches, he flew into the ghost village at the other side of the river and set fire to the ghost houses.'

(37) ʰtʂʰu.ˡbə.ˡza.ˡhĩ# ˡtsʰu-ˡkʰuɐ ʰɲi# ᴸᴴtsʰu# ᴸᴴno# ˡlɐ-ˡɲɐ-ˡqɛ̃=ʰsi#,
ˡmu=ʰʐõ# ˡbɐ=ʰxe ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ʰtʂʰu.ˡbə.ˡza.ˡhĩ	ˡtsʰu-ˡkʰuɐ	ʰɲi	ᴸᴴtsʰu	ᴸᴴno
opposite.side	ghost-den	and	ghost	altogether
ˡlɐ-ˡɲɐ-ˡqɛ̃=ʰsə	ˡmu=ʰʐõ	ˡbɐ=ʰxe	ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃	
PFV-fire-burn=PRF	NEG=exist	make=CAUS	do=NMLZ.PST=COP	

'And the houses of the ghosts and all ghosts burned down.'

2. A GHOST AND A MAN (II)

(1) ʰi-ˡne# ʰi-ˡne# ʰhĩ ˡdʑĩ=ˡɹɛ̃# ʰdʑũ=ʰlɐ# ˡgu-ʰliu=ʰxɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ʰi-ˡne	ʰi-ˡne	ʰhĩ	ˡdʑĩ=ˡɹɛ̃	ʰdʑũ=ʰlɐ
previous-?	previous-?	person	one=AGT	mountain=LOC
in.the.past	in.the.past			
ˡgu-ʰliu=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.				
cattle-herd=NMLZ.PST=COP				

'A long time ago there was a man herding his animals in the mountains.'

(2) ˡmɐ=ˡlə=ʰʁua# ʰgu# ʰla-ʰhõ=ˡlɐ=ˡlɛ#, ˡkʰu-ˡtɛ̃=ʰlɛ#, ˡʐə-ʰbɐ ˡdʑĩ# ˡlɐ=ˡmu=ᴸᴴtsʰõ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡmɐ=ˡlə=ʰʁua	ʰgu	ʰla-ʰhõ=ˡlɐ=ˡsə,
day=LOC=back	cattle	PFV-drive=come.PST=PRF
ˡkʰu-ˡtɛ̃=ʰlɐ,	ˡʐə-ʰbɐ	ˡdʑĩ
inward-close=come.PST	?-ox plow.ox	one

ˡlɐ=ˡmu=ᴸᴴtsʰõ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
PFV=NEG=enough=NMLZ.PST=COP

'In the afternoon, when he drove the animals back into the shed, one plow ox was missing.'

(3) ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ# ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi# ˡgu-ˡliu-ˡtʂə=ʰno# ʰlɐ-ʰɕɛ# ˡxɐ=ʰli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ	ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi	ˡgu-ˡliu-ˡtʂə=ʰno
that-become	person=that	cattle-herd-place=inside
ʰlɐ-ʰɕɛ	ˡxɐ=ʰli=ˡɲɔ̃.	
PFV-search	go.PST=NMLZ.PST=COP	

'So the man went back to the place where he had been herding the animals to look for the ox.'

(4) ʰsõ# ˡdʑɐ-ʰχɑ=ʰlɛ=ˡlɛ#, ˡtʰu-ʰwu# ˡʐə-ˡbɐ=ʰji# ʰkʰɐ-ʰtɕʰu# ʰtsʰa-ˡki ˡmu# ˡdʑĩ=ʰno# ˡkʰu-ʰzi# ˡdʑɔ̃=ʰli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ʰsõ	ʰdʑɐ-ʰχɑ=ˡlɛ=ˡlɐ		ˡtʰu-ʰwu	ˡʐə-ˡbɐ=ʰji
wait?	one-instant=become=come.PST		that-family	?-ox=GEN plow.ox
ʰkʰɐ-ʰtɕʰu	ʰtsʰa-ˡki	ˡmu	ˡdʑĩ=ʰno	
foot-trace	thorn.bush	grove	one=inside	
ˡkʰu-ʰzi	ˡdʑɔ̃=ʰli=ˡɲɔ̃.			
inward-be.attached	DUR=NMLZ.PST=COP			

'Soon he discovered the hoofprints of his plow ox leading into a grove of thorny bushes.'

(5) ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi# ˡtɕʰu=ʰʁõ# ʰɕĩ=ʰsi#, ʰtsʰa.ˡki# ˡmu=ʰkə# ʰpɔ=ˡxɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi	ˡtɕʰu=ʰʁõ	ʰɕĩ=ʰsə,	ʰtsʰa.ˡki	ˡmu=ᴴᴸkɐ	
person=that	trace=on	look=PRF	thorn.bush	grove=at	
ʰpɔ=ˡxɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.					
arrive=go.PST=NMLZ.PST=COP					

'Following the ox's hoofprints, the man arrived to a grove of thorny bushes.'

(6) ˡʐə-ʰbɐ# ᴸ?a=ʰji ˡɕĩ=ˡlɛ#, ᴴᴸtʰi# ˡdõ=ʰli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡzɻə-ʰbɐ	ˡa=ʰjĩ	ˡɕĩ=ˡlɛ,	ʰᴸtʰi
?-ox	Q=exist.ANM	watch=become	that
plow.ox			

ˡdõ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃
see=NMLZ.PST=COP

'As he tried to see whether his plow ox was there, he saw this.'

(7) ˡtsʰu ᴸᴴdʑĩ=ˡɹɛ̃# ˡtʰu-ʰwu# ˡzɻə-ʰbɐ# ʰlɐ-ʰzĩ=ʰsi#, ʰtsʰa.ˡki
ˡmu=ˡno# ˡɕi-ˡlɐ-ʰsuɛ̃# ˡkʰu-ˡlɐ-ʰsuɛ̃# ˡbɐ=ʰji# ˡdɔ̃=ʰli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtsʰu	ᴸᴴdʑĩ=ˡɹɛ̃	ˡtʰu-ʰwu	ˡzɻə-ʰbɐ	ʰlɐ-ʰzĩ=ʰsə,
ghost	one=AGT	that-family	?-ox	PFV-seize=PRF
			plow.ox	
ʰtsʰa.ˡki	ˡmu=ˡno	ˡɕi-ˡlɐ-ʰsuɛ̃	ˡkʰu-ˡlɐ-ʰsuɛ̃	
thorn.bush	grove=inside	to-PFV-lead	fro-PFV-lead	

ˡbɐ=ʰli=ˡɲɔ̃.
make=NMLZ.PST=COP

'His plow ox was caught by a ghost, who was leading it to and fro in the thorny bushes.'

(8) ˡtʰɐ-ʰlɛ# ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃# ˡtsʰu=ʰno#: ʰŋɐ# ʰmɐ# ˡdʑi-ʰmɐ# ˡzɻə-ˡbɐ
ˡlɐ-ˡɕɛ=ʰsi#, ˡŋɐ=ʰji# ˡzɻə-ˡbɐ=ʰzɻə# ʰɲi=ˡɹɛ̃# ʰsuɛ̃#
ˡa=ˡma=ᴸᴴxɐ=ˡdʑɔ̃?

ˡtʰɐ-ʰlɛ	ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃	ˡtsʰu=ʰno:		ʰŋɐ	ʰma
that-become	person=that=AGT	ghost=inside	1SG	day	
ˡdʑi-ʰma	ˡzɻə-ˡbɐ	ˡlɐ-ˡɕɛ=ʰsə,	ˡŋɐ=ʰji		
one-day	?-ox	PFV-search=PRF	1SG=GEN		
	plow.ox				
ˡzɻə-ˡbɐ=ʰzɻə		ʰɲi=ˡɹɛ̃	ʰsuɛ̃		
?-ox=TOP		2SG=AGT	lead		
plow.ox					

ˡa=ˡma=ᴸᴴxɐ=ˡdʑɔ̃?
Q=NEG=go.PST=DUR

'So the man said to the ghost: "I have been looking for my plow ox all day, is it you who led it away?"'

(9) ʰɲi# ˡŋɐ=ʰji# ˡzɻə-ʰbɐ=ˡsə# ˡɕi-ˡlɐ-ʰsuɛ̃# ˡkʰu-ˡlɐ-ʰsuɛ̃# , ʰtɕʰi
ˡwɐ=ˡɹɛ̃# ʰᴸɕyɐ=ˡjĩ, ʰᴸtʰi# ʰᴸpɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ʰɲi	ˡŋɐ=ʰji	ˡzɻə-ʰbɐ=ˡsə		ˡɕi-ˡlɐ-ʰsuɛ̃	ˡkʰu-ˡlɐ-ʰsuɛ̃,
2SG	1SG=GEN	?-ox=PNT.ANM		to-PFV-lead	fro-PFV-lead
		plow.ox			
ʰtɕʰi	ˡwɐ=ˡɹɛ̃	ʰᴸɕyɐ=ˡjĩ,	ʰᴸtʰi	ʰᴸpɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.	
what	make=INST	think=PROG	that	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP	

'"What do you have in mind, leading my plow ox to and fro like that?"'

(10) ˡᴴtsʰu =ᴸɹɛ̃ =ᴸʐə#: ᴴŋɐ# ᴸɲi =ᴴji# ᴸʐə-ᴴbɐ# ᴴqhɔ =ᴸsi# ᴸdzɐ =ᴴɹɛ̃ ᴸɕyɐ =ᴸjĩ#, ᴴᴸpɐ =ᴸli =ᴸɲɔ̃.

ˡᴴtsʰu =ᴸɹɛ̃ =ᴸʐə:	ᴴŋɐ	ᴸɲi =ᴴji	ᴸʐə-ᴴbɐ
ghost=AGT=TOP	1SG	2SG=GEN	?-ox
			plow.ox
ᴴqɔ =ᴸsə	ᴸdzɐ =ᴴɹɛ̃	ᴸɕyɐ =ᴸjĩ,	ᴴᴸpɐ =ᴸli =ᴸɲɔ̃
slaughter=PRF	eat=INST	think=PROG	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

'The ghost replied: "I want to kill your plow ox and eat it."'

(11) ᴸtʰɐ =ᴴlɛ# ᴴhĩ =ᴸtʰi =ᴸɹɛ̃#: "ᴴɲi# ᴴqhɔ =ᴸsi# ˡᴴdzɐ ᴸʑu#, ᴸlɐ =ᴸtʰa =ᴴχɔ ᴸbɐ =ᴸsi#, ᴸɕi-ᴸlɐ-ᴴsuɛ̃# ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɐ-ᴴsuɛ̃# ᴴtɕʰi ᴴwɐ =ᴴjĩ?"

ᴸtʰɐ =ᴴlɛ	ᴴhĩ =ᴸtʰi =ᴸɹɛ̃:	"ᴴɲi	ᴴqɔ =ᴸsə
that=become	person=that=AGT	2SG	slaughter=PRF
ˡᴴdzɐ	ᴸʑu,	ᴸlɐ =ᴸtʰa =ᴴχɔ	ᴸbɐ =ᴸsə,
eat	COND	PFV=PROH=slaughter	make=PRF
ᴸɕi-ᴸlɐ-ᴴsuɛ̃		ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɐ-ᴴsuɛ̃	ᴴtɕʰi ᴴwɐ =ᴴjĩ? "
to-PFV-lead		fro-PFV-lead	what make=PROG

'The man asked: "If you want to kill and eat it, why are you leading it to and fro?"'

(12) ˡᴴtsʰu =ᴸtʰi =ᴸɹɛ̃# ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴴᴸpɐ =ᴸli =ᴸɲɔ̃.

ˡᴴtsʰu =ᴸtʰi =ᴸɹɛ̃	ᴴᴸtʰi	ᴴᴸpɐ =ᴸli =ᴸɲɔ̃.
ghost=that=AGT	that	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

'The ghost replied thus.'

(13) "ᴴɲi-ᴴɹɛ̃# ᴴhĩ =ᴸʐə# ᴴsɛ̃.ᴴtɕɛ̃# ᴴqhɔ =ᴴlɛ#, ᴸtʰɐ =ᴴʁõ# ᴴmiɛ# ᴸdʑi-ᴸtshə =ᴴlɐ# ᴴtʰa =ᴸʈʂʰu ᴸbɐ =ᴸsi#, ᴸʁɛ̃ ᴸhæ̃ =ᴴsi# ᴸlɐ-ᴴsi =ᴸtsʰa =ᴸlɛ#, ᴸlɐ-ᴸχɔ =ᴴsi# ᴸdzɐ =ᴴji =ᴸdʑɔ̃."

"ᴴɲi-ᴴɹɛ̃	ᴴhĩ =ᴸʐə	ᴴsɛ̃.ᴴtɕɛ̃	ᴴqɔ =ᴴlɛ,	ᴸtʰɐ =ᴴʁõ
2-PL	person=TOP	draft.animal	slaughter=become	that=on
ᴴmiɛ	ᴸdʑi-ᴸtsə =ᴴlɐ	ᴴtʰa =ᴸʈʂʰu	ᴸbɐ =ᴸsə,	
wound	one-little=LOC	PROH=appear	make=PRF	
ᴸʁɛ̃ =ᴸhɛ =ᴴsə	ᴸlɐ-ᴴsi =ᴸtsʰa =ᴸlɛ,		ᴸlɐ-ᴸχɔ =ᴴsə	
neck=cut=PRF	PFV-kill=finish=become		PFV-slaughter=PRF	
ᴸdzɐ =ᴴji =ᴸdʑɔ̃."				
eat=GEN=DUR				

'"When you, people, kill animals, you do not injure them [let them bleed] first, but cut their necks, kill, slaughter them and then eat them."'

(14) "ᴴŋɐ-ᴴɹɛ̃# ᴸtsʰu =ᴴʐə# ᴴsɛ̃.ᴴtɕɛ̃ ᴸqhɔ =ᴸlɛ#, ᴴɕa.ᴴʁɑ# ᴴmiɛ ᴴdʑi-ᴴtshə# ᴴʈʂʰu =ᴸtsʰa =ᴸlɛ#, ᴸse =ᴴʐə# ᴴqhɔ =ᴸwu =ᴸsi# ᴸdzɐ =ᴴjĩ =ᴸdʑɔ̃."

“ᴸŋɐ-ᴴɻɛ̃	ᴸtsʰu＝ᴴʐə	ᴴsɛ̃.ᴴtɕɛ̃	ᴸqɔ＝ᴸlɛ,	ᴴɕa.ᴴʁɑ
1-PL	ghost=TOP	draft.animal	slaughter=become	first
ᴴmiɛ	ᴸdʑi-ᴸtsə	ᴴtʂʰu＝ᴸtsʰa＝ᴸlɛ,		ᴸse.ᴸji＝ᴴʐə
wound	one-little	appear=finish=become		then=TOP
ᴴqɔ＝ᴸwu＝ᴸsə		ᴸdzɐ＝ᴴjĩ＝ᴸdʑɔ̃.”		
slaughter=RES=PRF		eat=GEN=DUR		

‘“When we, ghosts, slaughter animals, we first let them bleed a little, and only then slaughter and eat them.”’

(15) “ᴴŋɐ# ᴸha＝ᴴno# ᴸɲi-ᴴwu# ᴸʐə-ᴴbɐ＝ᴸsə# ᴸɕi-ᴸlɐ-ᴴsuɛ̃# ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɐ-ᴴsuɛ̃# ᴸtʰɐ＝ᴴʐə# ᴴɕa.ᴴʁɑ# ᴸʐə-ᴴbɐ＝ᴸsə# ᴴtsʰa.ᴸki# ᴸdzu＝ᴸxe＝ᴴsi#, ᴴmiɛ# ᴴtʂʰu＝ᴴsi#, ᴸse＝ᴴʐə# ᴴqhɔ＝ᴸsi# ᴸdzɐ ᴸtɕi-ᴴtɕi# ᴸbɐ＝ᴴɻɛ̃# ᴴᴸɕyɐ＝jĩ#,” ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴴᴸpɐ＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲɔ̃.

“ᴴŋɐ	ᴸha＝ᴴno	ᴸɲi-ᴴwu	ᴸʐə-ᴴbɐ＝ᴸsə
1SG	this=inside	2SG-family	?-OX=PNT.ANM
			plow.ox

ᴸɕi-ᴸlɐ-ᴴsuɛ̃	ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɐ-ᴴsuɛ̃	ᴸtʰɐ＝ᴴʐə
to-PFV-lead	fro-PFV-lead	that=TOP

ᴴɕa.ᴴʁɑ	ᴸʐə-ᴴbɐ＝ᴸsə	ᴴtsʰa.ᴸki	ᴸdzu＝ᴸxe＝ᴴsə,
first	?-OX=PNT.ANM	thorn.bush	prick=CAUS=PRF
	plow.ox		

ᴴmiɛ	ᴴtʂʰu＝ᴴsə,	ᴸse.ᴸji＝ᴴʐə	ᴴqɔ＝ᴸsə
wound	appear=PRF	then=TOP	slaughter=PRF

ᴸdzɐ	ᴸtɕi-ᴴtɕi	ᴸbɐ＝ᴴɻɛ̃	ᴴᴸɕyɐ＝ᴸjĩ, ”	ᴴᴸtʰi
eat	do-do	make=INST	think=PROG	that

ᴴᴸpɐ＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲɔ̃.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘“The reason I am leading your family’s plow ox here and forth here is that I want to injure it on the thorns first, so that it bleeds, and then I will slaughter and eat it.”’

(16) ᴸᴴse# ᴴhĩ＝ᴸtʰi＝ᴸɻɛ̃#: ᴸᴴdɐ＝ᴴma＝ᴴᴸnɑ#, ᴸʔõ＝ᴴdzə# ᴸzõ-ᴴzõ ᴴᴸdʑyɐ# ᴸbɐ＝ᴴliu#, ᴸŋɐ-ᴴwu# ᴸʐə-ᴴbɐ# ᴴwi＝ᴸʐə# ᴸɲi-ᴴwu＝ᴸkə# ᴴmiɛ-ᴴsuɛ̃＝ᴴsi#, ᴸdʑi-ᴴdzɐ# ᴸbɐ＝ᴸwu＝ᴴliu#, ᴴᴸpɐ＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴸse.ᴴji	ᴴhĩ＝ᴸtʰi＝ᴸɻɛ̃ :	ᴴda＝ᴴma＝ᴴna,	ᴸʔõ＝ᴴdzə
then	person=that=AGT	perform?=NEG=?	self=DU

ᴸzõ-ᴴzõ	ᴴᴸdʑyɐ	ᴸbɐ＝ᴴliu,	ᴸŋɐ-ᴴwu	ᴸʐə-ᴴbɐ
man-man	friend	make= come.IMP	1SG-family	?-ox
				plow.ox

ᴴwi＝ᴸʐə	ᴸɲi-ᴴwu＝ᴸkɐ	ᴸmiɛ-ᴸsuɛ̃＝ᴴsə
night=TOP	2SG-family=at	downward-lead=PRF

ᴸdʑi-ᴴdzɐ	ᴸbɐ＝ᴸwu＝ᴴliu,	ᴴᴸpɐ＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲɔ̃.
one-eat	make=RES=come.IMP	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘Then, the man said: “No problem, let’s be friends, and tonight, let’s drive the plow ox to your place and eat it together.”’

(17) LHse# Lthɐ=Hdzə Lɲɐ-Lku# Lʐə-Lbɐ=Hthi# Hmiɛ-Hsuɛ̃=Lwu=Lsi#,
Ltshu-Hwu=Lkə# Llɐ-Lχɔ=Hsi# Llɐ-Hdzɐ# Ltɕi=Hli=Lɲɔ̃.

Lse.Hji	Lthɐ=Hdzə	Lɲa-Lku	Lʐə-Lbɐ=Hthi
then	that=DU	two-item	?-ox=that
			plow.ox

Hmiɛ-Hsuɛ̃=Lwu=Lsə,	Ltshu-Hwu=Lkɐ	Llɐ-Lχɔ=Hsə
downward-lead=RES=PRF	ghost-family=at	PFV-slaughter=PRF
Hlɐ-Hdzɐ	Ltɕi=Hli=Lɲɔ̃.	
PFV-eat	do=NMLZ.PST=COP	

'So, the two of them drove the plow ox down (to the ghost's house), slaughtered it at the ghost's place and ate it.'

(18) Ldʑi-Hmɐ=Llɛ=Llɐ#, Hhĩ=Lthi=Lɹɛ̃# Ltshu=Hsə# Hbɑ̃#
LHʁɛ̃=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

Ldʑi-Hma=Llɛ=Llɐ,	Hhĩ=Lthi=Lɹɛ̃	Ltshu=Hsə
one-day=become=come.PST	person=that=AGT	ghost=PNT.ANM
Hbɑ̃	LHʁɛ̃=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.	
guest	call=NMLZ.PST=COP	

'One day, the man invited the ghost to his place.'

(19) LHtshu# Lthu-Hwu=Lkə# Hpɔ=Ltɕhũ=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

LHtshu	Lthu-Hwu=Lkɐ	Hpɔ=Ltɕhũ=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.
ghost	that-family=at	arrive=come=NMLZ.PST=COP

'The ghost came to the man's house.'

(20) Hhĩ=Lthi=Lɹɛ̃#: "L?õ=Hdzə# Lɲɐ-Lku=Hʐə# Hka.Hpɔ# Hndʑi=Hhĩ#,
Lzõ-Hzõ Ldʑyɐ Lɲɔ̃."

Hhĩ=Lthi=Lɹɛ̃:		"L?õ=Hdzə	Lɲa-Lku=Hʐə	
person=that=AGT		self=DU	two-item=TOP	
Hka.Hpɔ	Hndʑə-Hhĩ	Lzõ-Hzõ	Ldʑyɐ	Lɲɔ̃."
very	intimate-person	man-man	friend	COP

'The man said: "The two of us are so close, we are such great pals."'

(21) HLpɐ=Lsi# Ltshu=Hno#: "Hwi=Lʐə# Lŋɐ=Hji# Ltshə-Hdʑyɐ# Llɐ-
Lχɔ=Hsi#, L?õ=Hdzə# Ldʑi-Hdzɐ Lbɐ=Lliu#," HLpɐ=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

HLpɐ=Lsə	Ltshu=Hno:	"Hwi=Lʐə	Lŋɐ=Hji	
speak=PRF	ghost=inside	night=TOP	1SG=GEN	
Ltshə-Hdʑyɐ	Llɐ-Lχɔ=Hsə,	L?õ=Hdzə	Ldʑi-Hdzɐ	
life-friend	PFV-butcher=PRF	self=DU	one-eat	
wife				
Lbɐ=Lliu, "	HLpɐ=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.			
make=come.IMP	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP			

'"Tonight, I will kill my wife and the two of us will eat her together."'

(22) ˡtsʰu＝ʰno#: “ʰɲi# ˡa＝ˡlɐ ˡmiɛ-ʰzõ#, ʰŋɐ# ˡtsʰə-ʰdʑyɐ# ˡʁɛ̃＝ˡwu＝ʰgə#,” ʰᴸpɐ＝ˡli＝ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtsʰu＝ʰno:	“ʰɲi	ˡa＝ˡlɐ	ˡmiɛ-ʰzõ,	ʰŋɐ
ghost=inside	2SG	here=LOC	downward-sit	1SG
ˡtsʰə-ʰdʑyɐ	ˡʁɛ̃＝ˡwu＝ʰgɐ, ”		ʰᴸpɐ＝ˡli＝ˡɲɔ̃.	
life-friend wife	call=RES=VOL		speak=NMLZ.PST=COP	

‘The man said to the ghost: “Please take a seat here and I will call my wife.”’

(23) ˡtʰɐ＝ʰlɛ# ʰhĩ＝ˡtʰi# ˡbə-ʰtsɑ＝ˡwu＝ˡsi#, ˡtsʰə-ʰdʑyɐ＝ˡsə# ʰdʑɐ-ʰmiɛ# ʰla.ʰnga＝ʰᴸxe＝ˡtsʰa＝ˡlɛ#, ˡbi-ˡkʰuɐ＝ʰno# ʰbiɐ# ˡmo-ʰᴸduɐ ˡdʑĩ# ˡlɐ-ˡχɔ＝ʰsi#, ˡbi-ʰmi＝ˡsə# ʰri-ʰχũ# ˡlɐ-ˡgu＝ʰxe#, ʰpʰã# ˡlɐ-ˡlo-ʰlu＝ˡtsʰa＝ˡlɛ#, ʰbɐ.ˡzə.ˡki＝ˡʁõ# ˡbɐ-ˡtsə-ʰtsa#, ˡtʰɐ＝ʰlɛ# ᴸᴴtsʰu＝ˡtʰi＝ˡɹɛ̃#: “ˡʔõ＝ʰdzə# ʰtɕʰi ˡdzɐ ˡʑu#, ˡlɐ-ᴸᴴdzɐ＝ˡgyi, ˡɲi＝ʰji# ˡtsʰə-ʰdʑyɐ＝ʰʐə# ʰqhɔ＝ˡmu＝ˡɹɛ̃#,” ʰᴸtʰi# ʰᴸpɐ＝ˡli＝ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰɐ＝ʰlɛ	ʰhĩ＝ˡtʰi	ˡbə-ʰtsɑ＝ˡwu＝ˡsə,				
that=become	person=that	outward-go=RES=PRF				
ˡtsʰə-ʰdʑyɐ＝ˡsə	ʰdʑɐ-ʰmiɛ	ʰla.ʰnga＝ʰᴸxe＝ˡtsʰa＝ˡlɛ,				
life-friend=PNT.ANM	outside	hide=CAUS=finish=become				
wife						
ˡbi-ˡkʰuɐ＝ʰno	ʰbiɐ	ˡmo-ʰᴸduɐ	ˡdʑĩ			
pig-den=inside	pig	INTSF-big	one			
ˡlɐ-ˡχɔ＝ʰsə,	ˡbi-ʰmi＝ˡsə	ʰri-ʰχũ				
PFV-butcher=PRF	pig-F=PNT.ANM	cotton-long.gown				
ˡlɐ-ˡgu＝ʰᴸxe,	ʰpʰã	ˡlɐ-ˡlo-ʰlu＝ˡtsʰa＝ˡlɛ,				
PFV-put.on=CAUS	face	PFV-wrap-wrap=finish=become				
ʰbɐ.ˡzə.ˡki＝ˡʁõ	ᴸᴴtsʰu	ˡbɐ-ˡtsə-ʰtsa,	ˡtʰɐ＝ʰlɛ			
pillar=on		outward-bind-bind	that=become	ghost		
ˡtʰi＝ˡɹɛ̃:	“ˡʔõ＝ʰdzə	ʰtɕʰi	ˡdzɐ	ˡʑu,	ˡlɐ-ᴸᴴdzɐ＝ˡgyi	
that =AGT	self=DU	what	eat	COND	PFV-eat=be.given	
ˡɲi＝ʰji	ˡtsʰə-ʰdʑyɐ＝ʰʐə		ʰqɔ＝ˡmu＝ˡɹɛ̃, ”		ʰᴸtʰi	
2SG=GEN	life-friend=TOP wife		slaughter=NEG=INST		that	
ʰᴸpɐ＝ˡli＝ˡɲɔ̃.						
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP						

‘The man went out, hid his wife outside, killed a big sow in the pig shed, clothed it in a cotton gown, wrapped cloth over its head and fastened it to a pillar. At that time, the ghost said: “We can eat anything you want, you needn’t kill your wife.”’

(24) ˡtʰɐ＝ʰlɛ# ʰhĩ＝ˡtʰi＝ˡɹɛ̃#: “ʰdʑi.ʰtɛ̃.ʰkʰõ＝ˡno# ʰndʐi-ʰhĩ＝ʰʐə# ˡʔõ＝ʰdzə ˡɲɐ-ˡku mə si# ˡmɐ＝ʰji＝ˡdʑɔ̃. ”

ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃: “ʰdʑi.ʰtɛ̃.ʰkʰõ=ˡno
that=become person=that=AGT world=inside
ʰndʐə-ʰhĩ=ʰʐə ˡʔõ=ʰdzə ˡɲa-ˡku
intimate-person=TOP self=DU two-item
ˡʑi=ˡʐə ˡmi=ʰjĩ=ˡdʑɔ̃.”
resemble=TOP NEG=exist.ANM=DUR
‘Then the man told him: “No one in the whole world is closer than the two of us.”’

(25) “ʰwi=ˡʐə# ˡʰnɢɑ ˡbɐ=ˡsi# ˡŋɐ=ʰji ˡtsʰə-ʰdʑyɐ=ʰji# ʰtsʰu-ˡsuɛ̃
ˡkyi=ˡsi#, ˡɲi=ʰsə ˡdzɐ=ˡxe=ˡɹɛ̃#,” ʰᴸpɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

“ʰwi=ˡʐə ˡʰnɢɑ ˡbɐ=ˡsə ˡŋɐ=ʰji ˡtsʰə-ʰdʑyɐ=ʰji
night=TOP certain make=PRF 1SG=GEN life-friend=GEN wife
ʰtsʰu-ˡsuɛ̃ ˡkyi=ˡsə, ˡɲi=ʰsə ˡdzɐ=ˡxe=ˡɹɛ̃, ”
lung-liver stuff=PRF 2SG=PNT.ANM eat=CAUS=INST
ʰᴸpɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
‘“Tonight, I absolutely want to treat you on sausages made of my wife’s lungs and liver.”’

(26) ʰpɐ=ˡtsʰa=ˡlɛ#, ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃# ˡbi-ʰmi# ˡlɐ-ˡtsə-ˡtsɐ=ʰhĩ#
ˡtʰɐ=ʰno# ˡkʰu-ˡʰʁɛ̃=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ʰpɐ=ˡtsʰa=ˡlɛ, ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃ ˡbi-ʰmi
speak=finish=become person=that=AGT pig-F
ˡlɐ-ˡtsə-ˡtsɐ-ʰhĩ ˡtʰɐ=ʰno ˡkʰu-ˡʰʁɛ̃=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
PFV-bind-bind-person that=inside inward-call=NMLZ.PST=COP
‘Having said that, the man shouted to the fastened sow.’

(27) “ˡtsʰə-ʰᴸdʑyɐ#, ʰɲi# ˡbu-ˡʁu-ˡɕũ=ʰsi#, ʰhɔ ˡwɐ=ˡliu#,”
ʰᴸpɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

“ˡtsʰə-ʰᴸdʑyɐ, ʰɲi ˡbu-ˡʁu-ˡɕũ=ʰsə, ʰhɔ
life-friend 2SG outward-head-come=PRF rice
wife
ˡwɐ=ˡliu, ” ʰᴸpɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
make=come.IMP speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
‘“Woman, come here and cook.”’

(28) ˡbi-ʰmi# ˡguɐ.ʰjɛ̃# ʰmu=ˡkɛ̃=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡbi-ʰmi ˡguɐ.ʰjɛ̃ ʰmu=ˡkɛ̃=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
pig-F answer NEG=give=NMLZ.PST=COP
‘The sow did not answer.’

(29) LHlu# Lʁɛ̃=Hsi#: “Lts^{h}ə-HLdʑyɐ#, Hɲi# Ltɕyi Ltsu=Hliu#,”
HLpɐ=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

LHlu	Lʁɛ̃=Hsə:	“Lts^{h}ə-HLdʑyɐ,	Hɲi	Ltɕyi	Ltsu=Hliu,”	
again	call=PRF	life-friend wife	2SG	tea	boil=come.IMP	
HLpɐ=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.						
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP						

‘The man shouted again: “Woman, make tea!”’

(30) Lbi-Hmi# LHlu# Lguɐ.Hjɛ̃# Hmu=Lkɛ̃=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

Lbi-Hmi	LHlu	Lguɐ.Hjɛ̃	Hmu=Lkɛ̃=Lli=Lɲɔ̃
pig-F	again	answer	NEG=give=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘Again, the sow did not answer.’

(31) Lse=Hʐə# Hhĩ=Lt^{h}i=Lɹɛ̃#: “Hɲi# Hhɔ Lwɐ Llɐ# Hmu=Hta.Hhĩ#, Ltɕyi Ltsu Hlɐ# Hmu=Hta.Hhĩ#,” HLpɐ=Lsə#, Hrə.Ltʂ^{h}ə# Lbə-Hɕu#=Lpu=Llɐ=Hsi#, Lt^{h}a.Hpɔ# Lbə-Hti Ltɕi=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

Lse.Lji=Hʐə	Hhĩ=Lt^{h}i=Lɹɛ̃:	“Hɲi	Hhɔ	Lwɐ	Llɐ	
then=TOP	person=that=AGT	2SG	rice	make	also	
Hmu=Hta.Hhĩ,	Ltɕyi	Ltsu	Hlɐ			
	Hmu=Hta.Hhĩ, ”					
NEG=obey	tea	boil	also	NEG=obey		
HLpɐ=Lsə,	Hrə.Ltʂ^{h}ə Lt^{h}a.Hpɔ	Lbə-Hɕu=Lpu=Llɐ=Hsə,				
speak=PRF	knife	outward-take=IPFV=come.PST=PRF		head		
Lbə-Hti	Ltɕi=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.					
outward-chop	do=NMLZ.PST=COP					

‘Then, saying: “You don’t listen to me, you don’t cook and you don’t make tea,” the man grabbed a knife and cut off the head of the sow.’

(32) HLt^{h}ɐ# Lkiɛ-Hmiɛ# Lbiɐ=Hji# Lbu.Lʁu.Hjõ# Lbu-Lqu.Llɐ=Hsi#, Hts^{h}u-Lsuɛ̃# Lkyi=Hsi#, Lmiɛ-Ltɕyi=Hsi#, Lts^{h}u Hɲi# Hhĩ# Ldʑi-Hdzɐ# LHbɐ Ltɕi=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

^{HL}tʰə	^{L}kiɛ-^{H}miɛ	^{L}biɐ=^{H}ji	^{L}bu.^{L}ʁu.^{H}jõ
that	?-below back	pig=GEN	inner.organs

^{L}bu-^{L}quɐ.^{L}lɐ=^{H}sə,		^{H}tsʰu-^{L}suɛ̃	^{L}kyi=^{H}sə
outward-dig.out-come.PST=PRF		lung-liver	stuff=PRF
^{L}miɛ-^{L}tɕyi=^{H}sə,	^{LH}tsʰu	^{L}ɲi	^{H}hĩ
downward-boil=PRF	ghost	and	person
^{L}dʑi-^{LH}dzɐ	^{LH}bɐ	^{L}tɕi=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.	
one-eat	make	do=NMLZ.PST=COP	

‘After that, he extracted the sow’s inner organs, made lung and liver sausages, boiled them and the ghost and the man ate them together.’

(33) ^{H}tsʰu-^{L}suɛ̃# ^{L}dzɐ=^{H}lɛ#, ^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi=^{L}ɹɛ̃# ^{L}tsʰu=^{H}no#: “^{L}ŋɐ=^{H}ji# ^{L}tsʰə-^{L}dʑyɐ=^{H}ji# ^{H}tsʰu-^{L}suɛ̃# ^{H}ʑi=^{L}a=^{L}ji#,” ^{HL}pɐ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{H}tsʰu-^{L}suɛ̃	^{L}dzɐ=^{H}lɛ,	^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi=^{L}ɹɛ̃	^{L}tsʰu=^{H}no:
lung-liver	eat=become	person=that=AGT	ghost=inside
“^{L}ŋɐ= ^{H}ji	^{L}tsʰə-^{L}dʑyɐ=^{H}ji	^{H}tsʰu-^{L}suɛ̃	
1SG=GEN	life-friend=GEN wife	lung-liver	
^{H}ʑi=^{L}a=^{L}jĩ,”	^{HL}pɐ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.		
tasty=Q=PROG	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP		

‘Having eaten them, the man asked the ghost: “Are my wife’s lungs and liver tasty?”’

(34) ^{L}tʰɐ=^{H}lɛ# ^{L}tsʰu=^{L}ɹɛ̃#: “^{H}ka.^{H}pɔ# ^{H}ʑĩ=^{H}jĩ#,” ^{HL}pɐ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{L}tʰɐ=^{H}lɛ	^{L}tsʰu=^{L}ɹɛ̃:	“^{H}ka.^{H}pɔ	^{H}ʑĩ=^{H}jĩ, ”
that-become	ghost=AGT	very	tasty=GEN
^{HL}pɐ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃			
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP			

‘The ghost replied: “Very tasty.”’

(35) ^{L}tʰi=^{H}ji# ^{L}mɐ=^{H}sə=^{L}ma=^{L}li# ^{LH}tsʰu=^{L}ɹɛ̃# ^{H}hĩ# ^{L}tʰɐ=^{H}sə# ^{H}bɑ̃# ^{L}lɐ-^{LH}ʁɛ̃=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{L}tʰi=^{H}ji	^{L}ma=^{H}sə=^{L}ma=^{L}li		^{LH}tsʰu=^{L}ɹɛ̃	^{H}hĩ
that=GEN	day=PRF=day=NMLZ.PST		ghost=AGT	person
^{L}tʰɐ=^{H}sə	^{H}bɑ̃	^{L}lɐ-^{LH}ʁɛ̃=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.		
that=PNT.ANM	guest	PFV-call=NMLZ.PST=COP		

‘On the second day, the ghost invited the man to his place.’

(36) ^{L}tʰɐ=^{H}lɛ# ^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi# ^{L}tʰu-^{H}wu=^{L}kə# ^{H}pɔ=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}lɛ#, ^{H}tsʰu=^{31}ɹɛ̃#: “^{L}miɛ-^{L}zũ=^{H}ʁõ#,” ^{HL}pɐ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.

ˡᵗʰɐ=ʰlɛ ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi ˡtʰu-ʰwu=ˡkɐ ʰpɔ=ˡtsʰa=ˡlɛ,
that=become person=that that-family=at arrive=finish=become
ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡɹɛ̃: “ˡmiɛ-ˡzũ=ʰʁõ,” ᴴᴸpɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
ghost=AGT downward-sit=IRR speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
‘The man came to his place, and the ghost offered him to sit down.’

(37) ᴸᴴse# ʰhĩ# ˡtʰɐ=ʰno#: “ˡzõ-ʰzõ ˡdʑyɐ#, ˡɲi=ʰʐə# ʰka.ʰpɔ#
ʰʑɐ.ʰra ˡdʑĩ# ᴸᴴɦuɛ̃=ˡdʑɔ̃. ”

ˡse.ʰji ʰhĩ ˡtʰɐ=ʰno: “ˡzõ-ʰzõ ˡdʑyɐ,
then person that=inside man-man friend
ˡɲi=ʰʐə ʰka.ʰpɔ ʰʑɐ.ʰra ˡdʑĩ ᴸᴴɦuɛ̃=ˡdʑɔ̃. ”
2SG=TOP very hospitable one COP.EMPH=DUR
‘Then, the ghost said: “Dear friend, you are so hospitable.”’

(38) “ˡɲi=ʰji# ˡtsʰə-ˡdʑyɐ=ʰlɐ# ˡlɐ-ˡχɔ=ʰsi#, ˡŋɐ=ʰsə# ʰtsʰu-ˡsuɛ̃#
ˡdzɐ=ˡxe=ʰji. ”

ˡɲi=ʰji ˡtsʰə-ˡdʑyɐ=ʰlɐ ˡlɐ-ˡχɔ=ʰsə, ˡŋɐ=ʰsə
2SG=GEN life-friend=also wife PRV-slaughter=PRF 1SG=PNT.ANM
ʰtsʰu-ˡsuɛ̃ ˡdzɐ=ˡxe=ʰjĩ. ”
lung-liver eat=CAUS=PROG
‘“You killed your own wife to offer me her liver and lungs.”’

(39) “ʰwi# ˡŋɐ ʰlɐ# ˡtsʰə-ʰdʑyɐ# ˡlɐ-ˡχɔ=ʰsə#, ˡɲi=ʰsə# ʰtsʰu-ˡsuɛ̃#
ˡdzɐ=ˡxe=ʰgə#,” ᴴᴸpɐ =ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

“ʰwi ˡŋɐ ʰlɐ ˡtsʰə-ʰdʑyɐ ˡlɐ-ˡχɔ=ʰsə,
night 1SG also life-friend wife PFV-slaughter=PRF
ˡɲi=ʰsə ʰtsʰu-ˡsuɛ̃ ˡdzɐ=ˡxe=ʰgɐ, ”
2SG=PNT.ANM lung-liver eat=CAUS=VOL
ᴴᴸpɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
‘“Tonight, I will kill my wife too, and will offer you her lungs and liver.”’

(40) ʰpɐ=ˡtsʰa=ˡlɛ#, ˡdʑɐ-ʰɕi=tsha=lɛ# bə-ʰtsɔ wu33 si31# ˡtsʰə-
ʰdʑyɐ# ˡdʑɔ̃.ˡhõ=ʰno# ˡkʰu-ʰɕyɐ ˡlɐ ˡtsʰa=ˡlɛ#, ˡse=ʰʐə# ˡtsʰə-
ʰdʑyɐ=ˡsə# ʰbɐ.ˡzə.ˡki=ˡʁõ# ˡbɐ-ˡtsɐ-ʰtsɐ ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

^{H}pɐ = ts^{h}a = ^{L}lɛ, ^{L}dʑɐ-^{L}ɕi = ^{H}sə ^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{H}dʑyɐ
speak=finish=become upward-stand=PRF life-friend
wife
^{L}dʑɔ̃.^{L}hõ = ^{H}no ^{L}k^{h}u-^{H}ɕyɐ = ^{L}lɐ = ^{L}ts^{h}a = ^{L}lɛ, ^{L}se.^{L}ji = ^{H}ʐə̧
house=inside inward-lead=come.PST=finish=become then=TOP
^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{H}dʑyɐ = ^{L}sə ^{H}bɐ.^{L}zə.^{L}ki = ^{L}ʁõ ^{L}bɐ-^{L}tsə-^{H}tsɐ
life-friend=PNT.ANM pillar=on outward-bind-bind
wife
^{L}tɕi = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.
do=NMLZ.PST=COP

'Having said that, he got up, called his wife into the house and tied her to a pillar.'

(41) ^{L}t^{h}ɐ = ^{H}lɛ# ^{LH}ts^{h}u = ^{L}t^{h}i = ^{L}ɹɛ̃# ^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{L}dʑyɐ = ^{H}no#: "^{H}ɲi# ^{L}bɐ-^{L}lɐ = ^{H}si#, ^{H}hɔ ^{L}wɐ = ^{L}liu#," ^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{L}t^{h}ɐ = ^{H}lɛ ^{LH}ts^{h}u = ^{L}t^{h}i = ^{L}ɹɛ̃ ^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{L}dʑyɐ = ^{H}no: "^{H}ɲi
that=become ghost=that=AGT life-friend=inside 2SG
wife
^{L}bə-^{L}lə = ^{H}sə, ^{H}hɔ ^{L}wɐ = ^{L}liu,"
outward-come=PRF rice make=come.IMP
^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

'After that the ghost said: "Woman, come out and cook."'

(42) ^{L}ts^{h}u = ^{H}ji# ^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{H}dʑyɐ = ^{L}ɹɛ̃#: "^{H}ŋɐ# ^{H}hɔ# ^{H}tɕ^{h}i# ^{L}wɐ = ^{HL}gə? "

^{L}ts^{h}u = ^{H}ji ^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{H}dʑyɐ = ^{L}ɹɛ̃: ^{H}ŋɐ ^{H}hɔ ^{H}tɕ^{h}i
ghost=GEN life-friend=AGT 1SG rice what
wife
^{L}wɐ = ^{HL}gɛ? "
make=VOL.Q

'The wife of the ghost said: "How can I cook?"'

(43) "^{H}ɲi# ^{L}ŋɐ = ^{H}sə# ^{H}a = ^{H}lɐ# ^{L}bə-^{L}tsə-^{L}tsɐ = ^{H}si#, ^{L}bɐ-^{L}lɐ ^{L}ku = ^{L}pu = ^{H}lɐ# ^{L}mu = ^{H}ʐə̧̃. "

"^{H}ɲi ^{L}ŋɐ = ^{H}sə ^{H}a = ^{H}lɐ ^{L}bə-^{L}tsə-^{L}tsɐ = ^{H}sə,
2SG 1SG=PNT.ANM here=LOC outward-bind-bind=PRF
^{L}bə-^{H}lə ^{L}ku = ^{L}pu = ^{H}lɐ ^{H}mu = ^{L}ʐə̧̃ = ^{L}jĩ. "
outward-move can=IPFV=also NEG=exist=PROG

'"You fastened me, I can't even move."'

(44) ^{H}pɐ = ^{L}ts^{h}a = ^{L}lɛ#, ^{LH}ts^{h}u = ^{L}t^{h}i = ^{L}ɹɛ̃# ^{LH}lu# ^{L}ɦɛ̃ = ^{H}ji# ^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{L}dʑyɐ = ^{H}no#: "^{H}ɲi# ^{L}tɕyi ^{L}tsu = ^{H}liu#," ^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.

ᴴpɐ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlɛ ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃ ᴸᴴlu ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴji
speak=finish=become ghost=that=AGT again oneself=GEN
ᴸtsʰə-ᴸdʑyɐ=ᴴno: “ᴴɲi ᴸtɕyi ᴸtsu=ᴴliu, ”
life-friend=inside 2SG tea boil=come.IMP
wife
ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘After she had said that, the ghost told his wife again: “Make tea!”’

(45) ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴlɛ# ᴸtʰi=ᴴji# ᴸtsʰə-ᴸdʑyɐ=ᴴɹɛ̃# ᴸᴴlu#: “ᴴɲi# ᴸŋɐ=ᴴsə# ᴴa=ᴴlɐ# ᴸbɐ-ᴸtsə-ᴸtsɐ=ᴴsi#, ᴸbɐ-ᴸlɐ ᴸku=ᴴpu=ᴸdʑɔ̃ ᴸmɐ=ᴸji#, ᴴɲi# ᴸŋɐ=ᴴsə# ᴸbə=ᴸxe=ᴴliu#, ᴴŋɐ# ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴlɛ# ᴸtɕyi ᴸtsu ᴸlɐ-ᴴliu#,” ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴlɛ ᴸtʰi=ᴴji ᴸtsʰə-ᴸdʑyɐ=ᴴɹɛ̃ ᴸᴴlu: “ᴴɲi
that=become that=GEN life-friend=AGT again 2SG
wife
ᴸŋɐ=ᴴsə ᴴa=ᴴlɐ ᴸbɐ-ᴸtsə-ᴸtsɐ=ᴴsə, ᴸbə-ᴸlə
1SG=PNT.ANM here=LOC outward-bind-bind=PRF outward-move
ᴸku=ᴴpu=ᴸdʑɔ̃ ᴸmi=ᴸjĩ, ᴴɲi ᴸŋɐ=ᴴsə
can=IPFV=DUR NEG=PROG 2SG 1SG=PNT.ANM
ᴸbə=ᴸxe=ᴴliu, ᴴŋɐ ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴlɛ ᴸtɕyi ᴸtsu
outward-let.go=come.IMP 1SG that=become tea boil
ᴸlɐ-ᴴliu, ” ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃
PFV-come.IMP speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘Then, the ghost’s wife told him again: “You fastened me here, I can’t even move, let me go and I will make you tea.”’

(46) ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴlɛ# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi# ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴji# ᴸtsʰə-ᴴdʑyɐ# ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴʁõ# ᴴka.ᴴpɔ# ᴴmĩ-ᴸdɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴlɛ ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴji ᴸtsʰə-ᴴdʑyɐ
that-become ghost=that oneself=GEN life-friend
wife
ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴʁõ ᴴka.ᴴpɔ ᴴmĩ-ᴸdɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.
that=on very pity-perform=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘At that time, the ghost greatly pitied his wife.’

(47) ᴸbə-ᴴxe# ᴸa=ᴸmu=ᴸgyi# ᴴɕyɐ=ᴴlɛ# ᴸᴴlu# ᴴlɛ# ᴴtɕʰu#=ᴸma=ᴸᴴre# ᴴᴸɕyɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴸbə-ᴴxe ᴸa=ᴸmu=ᴸgyi ᴴɕyɐ=ᴴlɛ, ᴸᴴlu
outward-let.go Q=NEG=be.allowed think=become again
ᴴlɛ ᴴtɕʰũ=ᴸma=ᴸᴴɹɛ̃ ᴴᴸɕyɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.
good come=NEG=INST think=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘He wanted to let her go, but then again he thought that it would probably not be good.’

(48) LHse# Hɲɐ-Lmi# Hquɐ.Hta.Hra Lbɐ=Lsi#, Ldʑɐ-Hɕi=Lpu=Llɐ=Lsi#, Hrə.Ltʂʰə# Lbu-Lɕu=Lwu=Hsi#, Ltsʰə-Ldʑyɐ=Hji# Htʰa.Hpɔ# Lmiɛ-Hti Ltɕi=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

Lse.Hji	Hɲɐ-Lmi	Hquɐ.Hta.Hra	Lbɐ=Lsə,	Ldʑɐ-Hɕi
then	heart-NM	harden	make=PRF	upward-stand
Lpu=Llɐ=Lsə,		Hrə.Ltʂʰə	Lbu-Lɕu=Lwu=Hsə	
IPFV=come.PST =PRF		knife	outward-come=RES=PRF	
Ltsʰə-Ldʑyɐ=Hji		Htʰa.Hpɔ	Lmiɛ-Hti	
	Ltɕi=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.			
life-friend=GEN	head	downward-chop	do=NMLZ.PST=COP	
wife				

‘So, with a heavy heart, he got up, took out his knife and cut off his wife’s head.’

(49) Htsʰa=Hlɛ#, Ltsʰə-Ldʑyɐ=Hsə# Lbə-Lχɔ=Hsi#, Lbu.Lʁu.Hjõ# Hbɐ-Hʑɐ=Hsi#, Hqua=Hno# Lbɐ=Lsi# Htsʰu-Lsuɛ̃# LHkyi=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

Htsʰa=Hlɛ	Ltsʰə-Ldʑyɐ=Hsə	Lbə-Lχɔ=Hsə,	
finish=become	life-friend=PNT.ANM wife	outward-slaughter=PRF	
Lbu.Lʁu.Hjõ	Lbə-Lʑɐ=Hsə,	Hqua=Hno	Lbɐ=Lsə
inner.organs	outward-dig=PRF	cry=inside	make=PRF
Htsʰu-Lsuɛ̃	LHkyi=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.		
lung-liver	stuff=NMLZ.PST=COP		

‘Having done that, he butchered his wife’s corpse, took out her inner organs, and crying, made sausages of his wife’s lungs and liver.’

(50) Htsʰu-Lsuɛ̃# Hkyi=Ltsʰa=Llɛ#, LHse# Hhĩ Lɲi# LHtsʰu# Lɦɛ̃=Hdzə# Ldʑi-Hdzɐ# LHbɐ=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

Htsʰu-Lsuɛ̃	Hkyi=Ltsʰa=Llɛ,	Lse.Hji	Hhĩ	Lɲi
lung-liver	stuff=finish=become	then	person	and
LHtsʰu	Lɦɛ̃=Hdzə	Ldʑi-Hdzɐ	LHbɐ=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.	
ghost	oneself=DU	one-eat	make=NMLZ.PST=COP	

‘The ghost prepared sausages of his wife’s lungs and liver and the man and the ghost ate them together.’

(51) Htsʰu-Lsuɛ̃# Ldzɐ=Hlɛ#, Hhĩ=Ltʰi=Lʁɛ̃# Hdzɐ Lχu-Lχu# Lbɐ=Hsi#, LHno# Ltõ.Lpiɛ Htʰɛ# Lmɛ-Htu Ltɕi=Lli=Lɲɔ̃.

^{H}ts^{h}u-^{L}suɛ̃	^{L}dzɐ=^{H}lɛ,	^{H}hĩ=^{L}t^{h}i=^{L}ɹɛ̃		^{H}dzɐ
lung-liver	eat=become	person=that=AGT		eat
^{L}χu-^{L}χu	^{L}bɐ=^{H}sə,	^{LH}no	^{L}tõ.^{L}piɛ	^{H}t^{h}ɛ
way-way	make=PRF	altogether	board	under
^{L}mɛ-^{H}tu		^{L}tɕi=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.		
downward-push		do=NMLZ.PST=COP		

'While eating them, the man pretended to eat, but hid all the pieces he took under the floor boards.'

(52) ^{L}ts^{h}u=^{H}t^{h}i# ^{L}dzɐ=^{L}no=^{H}ɲi#, ^{H}hĩ# ^{L}t^{h}ɐ=^{H}no# ^{HL}pɐ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{L}ts^{h}u=^{H}t^{h}i	^{L}dzɐ=^{L}no	^{H}ɲi	^{H}hĩ	^{L}t^{h}ɐ=^{H}no
ghost=that	eat=inside	and	person	that=inside
^{HL}pɐ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.				
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP				

'While eating, the ghost asked the man.'

(53) "^{H}ʔõ-^{H}hĩ#, ^{L}ɲi=^{H}ji# ^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{L}dʑyɐ=^{H}ji# ^{H}ts^{h}u-^{L}suɛ̃#=^{H}t^{h}i# ^{H}ka.^{H}pɔ ^{H}ʑĩ=^{H}jĩ#, ^{L}ŋɐ=^{H}ji# ^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{L}dʑyɐ=^{H}ji# ^{H}ts^{h}u-^{L}suɛ̃# ^{L}ha=^{H}ʐə# ^{H}tɕ^{h}i#=^{L}lɛ=^{H}si# ^{H}q^{h}ɔ-^{L}sõ=^{L}ji#," ^{HL}pɐ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.

"^{L}ʔõ-^{H}hĩ,	^{L}ɲi=^{H}ji	^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{L}dʑyɐ=^{H}ji	^{H}ts^{h}u-^{L}suɛ̃=^{H}t^{h}i
self-man	2SG=GEN	life-friend=GEN wife	lung-liver=that
^{H}ka.^{H}pɔ	^{H}ʑĩ=^{H}jĩ,	^{L}ŋɐ=^{H}ji	^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{L}dʑyɐ=^{H}ji
very	tasty=GEN	1SG-GEN	life-friend=GEN wife
^{H}ts^{h}u-^{L}suɛ̃	^{L}ha=^{H}ʐə	^{H}tɕ^{h}i=^{L}lɛ=^{H}sə	^{H}q^{h}ɔ-^{L}sõ=^{L}jĩ, "
lung-liver	this=TOP	what=become=PRF	bitter-?=PROG
^{HL}pɐ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.			
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP			

'"Pal, your wife's lungs and liver were very tasty, so why are my wife's lungs and liver so bitter?"'

(54) ^{L}t^{h}ɐ=^{H}lɛ# ^{H}hĩ=^{L}t^{h}i=^{L}ɹɛ̃#: "^{H}q^{h}ɔ-^{L}sõ# ^{L}mɐ=^{H}ji#, ^{H}ka.^{H}pɔ# ^{H}ʑĩ=^{H}ji#, ^{L}ɲi=^{H}ji# ^{L}ts^{h}ə-^{H}dʑyɐ# ^{H}ɲi ^{H}ʔõ# ^{L}dzɐ=^{L}lɛ=^{H}ʐə# ^{H}q^{h}ɔ-^{L}sõ# ^{H}k^{h}o.^{L}rɛ#," ^{HL}t^{h}i# ^{HL}pɐ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{L}tʰɐ = ^{H}lɛ	^{H}hĩ = ^{L}tʰi = ^{L}ɹɛ̃:	“^{H}qʰɔ-^{L}sõ	^{L}mi = ^{H}jĩ,		
that=become	person=that=AGT	bitter-?	NEG=PROG		
^{H}ka.^{H}pɔ	^{H}ʑĩ = ^{H}jĩ,	^{L}ɲi = ^{H}ji	^{L}tsʰə-^{H}dʑyɐ	^{H}ɲi	^{H}ʔõ
very	tasty=PROG	2SG=GEN	life-friend wife	2SG	self
^{L}dzɐ = ^{L}lɛ = ^{H}ʐə	^{H}qʰɔ-^{L}sõ	^{H}kʰo.^{L}rɛ, ”	^{HL}tʰi		
eat=become=TOP	bitter	possible	that		
^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.					
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP					

‘Then the man answered the ghost in the following way: “Your wife’s lungs and liver are not bitter at all, they are very tasty, maybe you find them bitter, because they are your own wife’s.”’

(55) ^{LH}lu# ^{L}dʑi-^{H}ma# ^{L}tsʰu ^{H}ɲi# ^{H}hĩ = ^{L}tʰi# ^{H}la.^{H}nga ^{L}ɕa-^{L}ɕɛ# ^{LH}dɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{LH}lu	^{L}	dʑi-^{H}ma	^{L}tsʰu	^{L}ɲi	^{H}hĩ = ^{L}tʰi
again	one-day	ghost	and	person=that	
^{H}la.^{H}nga	^{L}ɕa-^{L}ɕɛ		^{LH}dɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.		
hide	search-search		perform=NMLZ.PST=COP		

‘On another day, the ghost and the man decided to play hide-and-seek.’

(56) ^{L}dɐ ^{L}tɕi-^{H}tɕi# ^{L}bɐ = ^{H}lɛ#, ^{H}hĩ = ^{L}tʰi = ^{L}ɹɛ̃# ^{L}tsʰu = ^{H}no#: “^{H}ɲi# ^{H}dʑi.^{H}tɛ̃.^{H}kʰõ = ^{L}no# ^{H}tɕʰi = ^{L}ʁõ ^{L}χɑ# ^{L}ʑu ^{H}ku#,” ^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{L}dɐ	^{L}tɕi-^{H}tɕi	^{L}bɐ = ^{H}lɛ,	^{H}hĩ = ^{L}tʰi = ^{L}ɹɛ̃	
make	do-do	make=become	person=that=AGT	
^{L}tsʰu = ^{H}no:	“^{H}ɲi	^{H}dʑi.^{H}tɛ̃.^{H}kʰõ = ^{L}no	^{H}tɕʰi = ^{L}ʁõ	
ghost=inside	2SG	world=inside	what=on	
^{L}χɑ	^{L}ʑu	^{H}ku,”	^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.	
only	be.afraid	can	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP	

‘When they were about to begin, the man asked the ghost: “What are you most afraid of in the world?”’

(57) ^{LH}tsʰu = ^{L}tʰi = ^{L}ɹɛ̃#: “^{L}ŋɐ = ^{H}ʐə# ^{H}dzə ^{H}tɛ̃-^{H}mi = ^{L}ʁõ ^{L}χɑ# ^{L}ʑu ^{H}ku#,” ^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.

^{LH}tsʰu = ^{L}tʰi = ^{L}ɹɛ̃:	“^{L}ŋɐ = ^{H}ʐə	^{H}dzə	^{H}tɛ̃-^{H}mi = ^{L}ʁõ	
ghost=that=AGT	1SG=TOP	barley	rise?-NM=on wave	
^{L}χɑ	^{L}ʑu	^{H}ku, ”	^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.	
only	be.afraid	can	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP	

‘The ghost said: “I am most afraid of the barley undulating with the wind.”’

(58) ^{LH}se# ^{LH}tsʰu = ^{L}ɹɛ̃# ^{H}hĩ = ^{L}no#: “^{H}ɲi# ^{H}dʑi.^{H}tɛ̃.^{H}kʰõ = ^{L}no# ^{H}tɕʰi = ^{L}ʁõ ^{L}χɑ# ^{L}ʑu ^{H}ku#,” ^{HL}pɐ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲɔ̃.

ᴸse.ᴴji	ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸɹɛ̃	ᴴhĩ=ᴸno:	“ᴴɲi	ᴴdʑi.ᴴtɛ̃.ᴴkʰõ=ᴸno
then	ghost=AGT	person=inside	2SG	world=inside
ᴴtɕʰi=ᴸʁõ	ᴸχɑ	ᴸʑu	ᴴku, ”	ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.
what=on	only	be.afraid	can	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘Then, the ghost asked the man: “And what are you most afraid of in the world?”’

(59) ᴴpɐ=ᴴlɛ#, ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃#: “ᴸŋɐ=ᴴʐə# ᴸʐõ ᴴɲi# ᴸbie-ᴴtsʰɛ=ᴸʁõ# ᴴχɑ# ᴸʑu ᴴku#,” ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴴpɐ=ᴴlɛ,	ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃:	“ᴸŋɐ=ᴴʐə	ᴸʐõ	ᴴɲi
speak=become	person=that=AGT	1SG=TOP	cooked.rice	and
ᴸbiɐ-ᴴtsʰɐ=ᴸʁõ	ᴴχɑ	ᴸʑu	ᴴku,”	
pig-fat=on	only	be.afraid	can	
ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.				
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP				

‘The man answered: “As for me, I am most afraid of cooked rice and bacon.”’

(60) ᴴpɐ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlɛ#, ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴdzə ᴸɲa-ᴸku# ᴴla.ᴴnga ᴸɕa-ᴸɕɛ# ᴸᴴdɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴴpɐ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlɛ,	ᴸtʰɐ=ᴴdzə	ᴸɲa-ᴸku	ᴴla.ᴴnga
speak=finish=become	that=DU	two-item	hide
ᴸɕa-ᴸɕɛ	ᴸᴴdɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.		
search-search	make=NMLZ.PST=COP		

‘Having said that, the two began playing hide-and-seek.’

(61) ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃# ᴴɕa.ᴴʁɑ# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno# ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴsə# ᴴlɐ-ᴴɕɛ=ᴴliu# ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃	ᴴɕa.ᴴʁɑ	ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno	ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴsə
person=that=AGT	first	ghost=inside	oneself=PNT.ANM
ᴴlɐ-ᴴɕɛ=ᴴliu,	ᴴᴸpɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.		
PFV-search=come.IMP	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP		

‘The man said to the ghost: “You look for me first.”’

(62) ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃# ᴴtsɑ=ᴸwu=ᴸsi#, ᴴdzə-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno# ᴴla.ᴴnga# ᴸᴴtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸɹɛ̃	ᴴtsɑ=ᴸwu=ᴸsə,	ᴴdzə-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno
person=that=AGT	go=RES=PRF	barley-field=inside
ᴴla.ᴴnga	ᴸᴴtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.	
hide	do=NMLZ.PST=COP	

‘The man walked away and hid himself in a barley field.’

(63) ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi# ᴴdzə-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno# ᴸkʰu-ᴸwu=ᴴsi# ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi# ᴴlɐ-ᴴɕɛ#, ᴴmu#=ᴸɦõ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ˡtsʰu=ʰtʰi	ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ʰno	ˡkʰu-ˡwu=ʰsə,	ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi
ghost=that	barley-field=inside	inward-come=PRF	person=that
ˡlɐ-ʰɕɛ	ʰmu=ˡᴴʔõ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.		
PFV-search	NEG=dare=NMLZ.PST=COP		

'The ghost entered the field, but did not dare to look for the man.'

(64) ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ# ˡᴴtsʰu=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃# ʰhĩ =ˡtʰi# ˡbɐ-ˡlɐ# ʰtʰu# ʰɕyɐ-ˡduɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ	ˡᴴtsʰu=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃	ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi	ˡbə-ˡlə=ʰji
that=become	ghost=that=AGT	person=that	outward-come=GEN
ʰtʰu	ʰɕyɐ-ˡduɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.		
way	think-?=NMLZ.PST=COP		

'Then the ghost thought of a way to make the man come out.'

(65) ʰɕyɐ-ˡduɐ=ˡlɛ#, ʰhĩ#=ˡtʰi=ʰʐə̰# ˡʐõ̰ ʰɲi# ˡbie-ʰtsʰɛ=ˡʁõ# ˡɕu=ʰji# ʰpɐ=ˡli# ˡᴴʔuɛ̃# ᴴᴸɕyɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ʰɕyɐ-ˡduɐ=ˡlɛ,		ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi=ʰʐə̰	ˡʐõ̰
think-?=become		person=that=TOP	cooked.rice
ʰɲi	ˡbiɐ-ʰtsʰɐ=ˡʁõ	ˡɕu=ʰjĩ	ʰpɐ=ˡli
and	pig-fat=on	be.afraid=PROG	speak=NMLZ.PST
ˡᴴʔuɛ̃	ᴴᴸɕyɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.		
COP.EMPH	think=NMLZ.PST=COP		

'He thought a while and then recalled that the man had told him that he was most afraid of cooked rice and bacon.'

(66) ˡᴴse# ˡᴴʔɛ̃ ˡbi=ˡsi#, ˡʔɛ̃-ʰwu# ˡdʑɔ̃.ʰhõ# ˡᴴʐõ̰# ˡmiɛ-ʰtɕyi#, ˡbiɐ-ʰtsʰɐ# ˡmiɛ-ˡtɕyi=ʰsi# ˡmiɛ-ʰpu#=ˡlɐ=ʰsə#, ʰjĩ-ʰɕyɛ=ˡʁõ# ˡdʑɐ-ˡɕi=ʰsi#, ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ʰno# ˡkʰu-ˡtɕɐ-ˡwu=ʰli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡse.ʰji	ˡᴴʔɛ̃	ˡbi=ˡsə,	ˡʔɛ̃-ʰwu	ˡdʑɔ̃.ʰhõ
then	oneself	go=PRF	oneself-family	house
ˡᴴʐõ̰	ˡmɛ-ʰtɕyi,	ˡbiɐ-ʰtsʰɐ	ˡmiɛ-ˡtɕyi=ʰsə	
cooked.rice	downward-boil	pig-fat	downward-boil=PRF	
ˡmiɛ-ʰpu=ˡlɐ=ʰsə,		ʰjĩ-ʰɕyɛ=ˡʁõ	ˡdʑɐ-ˡɕi=ʰsə,	
downward-bring=come.PST=PRF		field-side=on	upward-stand=PRF	
ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ʰno		ˡkʰu-ˡtɕɐ-ˡᴴwu=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.		
barley-field=inside		inward-throw=NMLZ.PST=COP		

'So, the ghost went to his own house, cooked some rice and bacon, took them down to the field and standing at its side, threw them into the field.'

(67) ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ# ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi# ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ˡno# ˡᴴtsʰu=ˡɹɛ̃# ˡʐõ̰ ʰɲi# ˡbie-ʰtsʰɛ# ˡkʰu-ˡtɕɐ.ˡwu=ʰli# ᴴᴸtʰi# ʰlɐ-ʰdzɐ=ʰsi#, ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ʰno# ˡlɐ-ʰʐə̰ ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ	ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi	ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ˡno	ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡɹɛ̃
that=become	person=that	barley-field=inside	ghost=AGT
ˡʐ̩õ	ʰɲi	ˡbiɐ-ʰtsʰɐ	ˡkʰu-ˡtɕɐ.ˡwu=ʰli
	ʰtʰi		
cooked.rice	and	pig-fat	inward-throw=NMLZ.PST that
ˡlɐ-ˡdzɐ=ʰsə,	ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ʰno	ˡlɐ-ʰʐ̩ə	ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.
PFV-eat=PRF	barley-field=inside	PFV-sleep	do=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘So, the man in the field ate the cooked rice and bacon thrown by the ghost and slept in the field afterwards.’

(68) ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ# ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃# ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi# ˡbv-ʰlɐ# ˡmɐ=ʰji# ʰɕyɐ=ˡsə#, ᴸᴴlu# ˡdʑɔ̃.ʰhõ# ˡdʑi-ˡliu=ˡwu=ʰsi#, ˡʐ̩õ ʰɲi# ˡbie-ˡtsʰɛ ˡtɕyi=ʰsi#, ᴸᴴlu# ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ˡno# ˡkʰu-ˡtɕɐ.ʰwu=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰɐ=ʰlɛ	ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃	ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi	ˡbə-ʰlə	
that=become	ghost=that=AGT	person=that	outward-come	
ˡmi=ʰjĩ	ʰɕyɐ=ˡsə,	ᴸᴴlu	ˡdʑɔ̃.ʰhõ	ˡdʑi-ˡliu=ˡwu=ʰsə,
NEG=PROG	think=PRF	again	house	upward-come=RES=PRF
ˡʐ̩õ	ʰɲi	ˡbiɐ-ˡtsʰɐ	ˡtɕyi=ʰsə,	ᴸᴴlu
cooked.rice	and	pig-fat	boil=PRF	again
ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ˡno		ˡkʰu-ˡtɕɐ.ʰwu=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.		
barley-field=inside		inward-throw=NMLZ.PST=COP		

‘Then, seeing that the man did not come out, the ghost returned to his own home, cooked more rice and bacon and threw them again in the field.’

(69) ˡtʰi=ʰji# ˡbɐ.ˡlu.ʰtʂõ# ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃# ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi# ˡbv-ˡlɐ=ˡʁõ=ʰɹɛ̃ ˡɕyɐ=ˡsə#, ˡɦɛ̃-ʰwu# ˡdʑo.ʰhõ# ʰdʑɔ̃=ʰli# ˡʐ̩õ ʰɲi# ˡbie-ʰtsʰɛ# ᴸᴴno# ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ˡno# ˡkʰu-ˡtɕɐ.ʰwu ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ˡtʰi=ʰji	ˡbɐ.ˡlu.ʰtʂõ	ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡtʰi=ˡɹɛ̃	ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi	
that=GEN	afterwards	ghost=that=AGT	person=that	
ˡbə-ˡlə=ʰʁõ=ˡɹɛ̃	ˡɕyɐ=ˡsə,	ˡɦɛ̃-ʰwu	ˡdʑo.ʰhõ	
outward-come=IRR=INST	think=PRF	oneself-family	house	
ʰdʑɔ̃=ʰli	ˡʐ̩õ	ʰɲi	ˡbiɐ-ʰtsʰɐ	ᴸᴴno
exist=NMLZ.PST	cooked.rice	and	pig-fat	altogether
ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ˡno	ˡkʰu-ˡtɕɐ.ʰwu		ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃	
barley-field=inside	inward-throw		do=NMLZ.PST=COP	

‘Thereafter, while still hoping to scare the man out of the field, the ghost threw all of the rice and bacon he used to have at his house into the field.’

(70) ʰhĩ=ˡtʰi# ˡdʑi-ʰmɐ=ˡsə=ˡlɐ# ʰdzə-ʰjĩ=ˡno# ˡdzũ=ʰsi# ᴸᴴdzɐ=ˡli=ˡɲɔ̃.

ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi ᴸdʑi-ᴴma=ᴸsə=ᴸlɐ ᴴdzə-ᴴjĩ=ᴸno
person=that one-day=PRF=LOC barley-field=inside
ᴸdzũ=ᴴsə ᴸᴴdzɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.
sit=PRF eat=NMLZ.PST=COP

'As for the man, day after day he sat in the field and ate what the ghost brought him.'

(71) ᴸtʰɐ ᴸkiɛ-ᴴmiɛ# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴji# ᴸdʑɔ̃.ᴸhõ=ᴴno# ᴸdzɐ=ᴴgə# ᴸdʑi-ᴸtshə=ᴴlɐ# ᴸmu=ᴴʐõ# ᴴlɛ=ᴸwu=ᴸsi#, ᴸᴴtsʰu# ᴸʑyɛ=ᴴsi# ᴴlɐ-ᴴɕɐ ᴸxɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.

ᴸtʰə ᴸkiɛ-ᴴmiɛ ᴸtsʰu=ᴴji ᴸdʑɔ̃.ᴸhõ=ᴴno
that ?-below ghost=GEN house=inside
ᴸdzɐ=ᴴgɐ ᴸdʑi-ᴸtsə=ᴴlɐ ᴸmu=ᴴʐõ ᴴlɛ=ᴸwu=ᴸsə, ᴸᴴtsʰu
eat=NMLZ.VOL one-little=also NEG=exist become=RES=PRF ghost
ᴸʑyɛ=ᴴsə ᴴlɐ-ᴴɕɐ ᴸxɐ=ᴸli=ᴸɲɔ̃.
hungry=PRF PFV-die go.PST=NMLZ.PST=COP

'In the end, the ghost thus dispensed all the food he had at home and died of hunger.'