Shixing, a Sino-Tibetan language of South-West China: A grammatical sketch with two appended texts

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SHǏXĪNG, A SINO-TIBETAN LANGUAGE OF SOUTH-WEST CHINA: A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH WITH TWO APPENDED TEXTS∗

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This article is a brief grammatical sketch of Shǐxīng, accompanied by two analyzed and annotated texts. Shǐxīng is a little studied Sino-Tibetan language of South-West China, currently classified as belonging to the Qiangic subgroup of the Sino-Tibetan language family. Based on newly collected data, this grammatical sketch is deemed as an enlarged and elaborated version of Huáng & Rénzēng's (1991) outline of Shǐxīng, with an aim to put forward a new description of Shǐxīng in a language that makes it accessible also to a non-Chinese speaking audience.
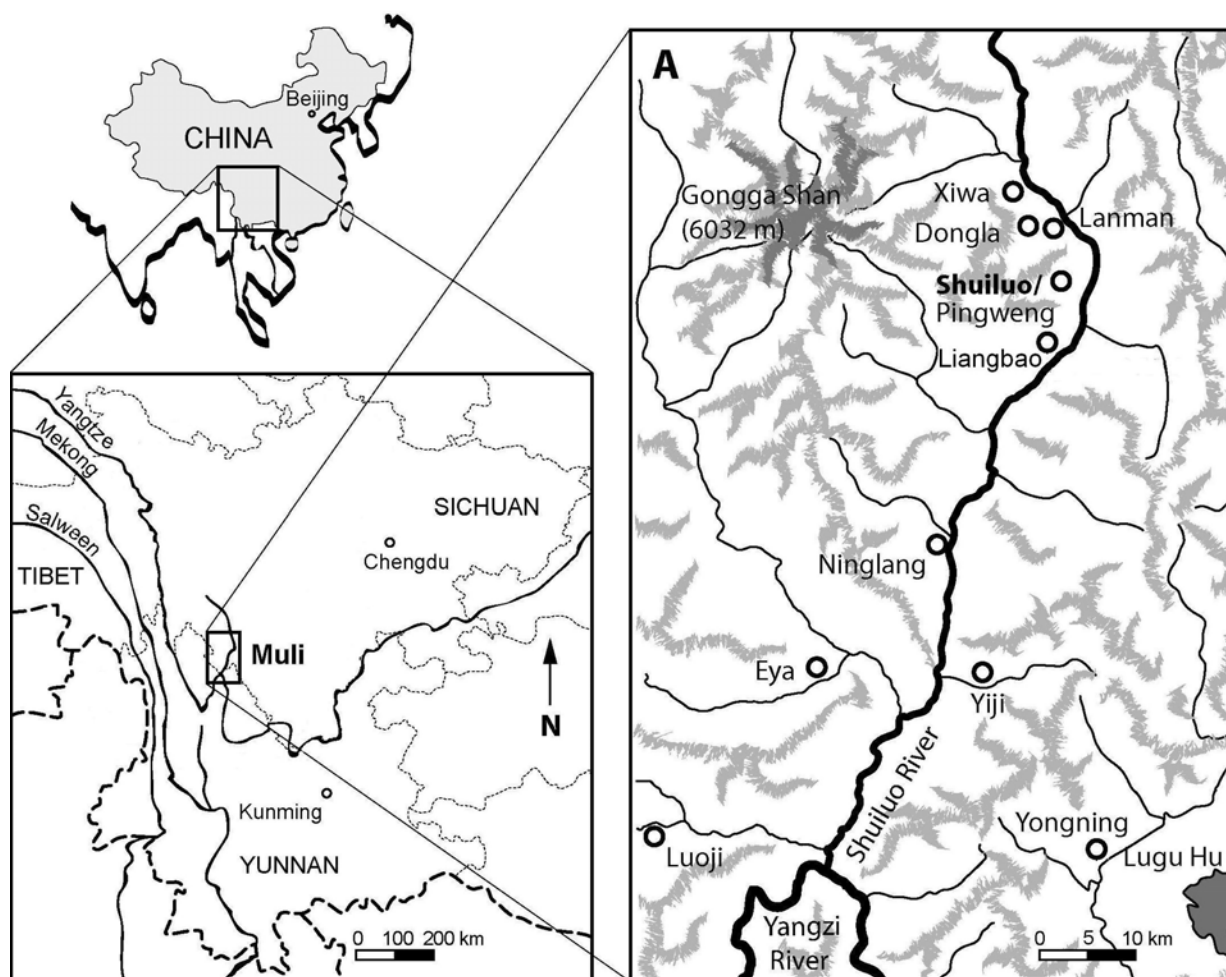Keywords: Shǐxīng; Qiangic; Mùlǐ

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Location, name, people

The Shǐxīng 史兴语 language is spoken by approximately 1,800 people who reside along the banks of the Shuǐluò 水洛 river in Shuǐluò Township of Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County (WT *smi li rang skyong rdzong*). This county is part of Liángshān Yí Autonomous Prefecture in Sìchuān Province in the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Map 1. Location of Shuǐluò Township, Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County[1]

Shuǐluò Township, where the Shǐxīng language is being spoken, is situated in the western part of Mùlǐ (WT, variously, *smi li*, *rmi li*, *mu li* or *mu le*). Mùlǐ is a mountainous and forested region of 13,246.38 m^2 at an average altitude of 3,000 meters above sea level. Before the establishment of the PRC in 1949, Mùlǐ was a semi-independent theocratic kingdom, ruled by hereditary lama kings. The Austrian-American botanist and explorer Joseph Rock was befriended with the 18th lama king of Mùlǐ, Chote Chaba (Tsultrim Dakpa), and visited Mùlǐ on his invitation in the 1920s. Based on his travels, Rock published a series of colorful reports on the region in *National Geographic* magazine in the 1930s. Despite these incidental visits, Mùlǐ's geographic isolation and poor infrastructure withheld researchers from accessing the region until recent decades (Wellens 2006: 23-27).

The Shǐxīng language first came to the attention of linguists in the 1980s, when Sūn Hóngkāi included a brief outline of its prominent linguistic characteristics in his seminal article "Minority languages of the six river valley and their genetic classification" (1983a). Sūn coined the language "Shǐxīng" after

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the autonym of the group, which he recorded as [^{H}ʂɿ-^{H}hĩ].[2] Huáng Bùfán and Rénzēng Wāngmǔ, who continued linguistic fieldwork on Shǐxīng in the late 1980s, adopted the same name for this language, even though they recorded the autonym of the group as [^{H}ʂu-^{H}hĩ] (Huáng & Rénzēng 1991: 174). The name Shǐxīng is now widely used in scholarly discourse, where it refers both to the language and to its speakers. It is, however, rarely heard in Mùlǐ, where the group resides. In Mùlǐ the group is known as Xùmǐ 旭米 (currently their official denomination in Chinese) or Sùmǔ 粟母, both of which are Chinese renderings of the group's name in Prinmi (Púmǐ), i.e. [^{L}ço-^{H}mʊ]; Prinmi being the language of Mùlǐ's ethnic majority.[3] In the following, I use 'Xùmǐ' to refer to the people, as this was the name preferred by my language consultants, and 'Shǐxīng' to refer to their language, as customary in the linguistic literature.

The Xùmǐ people reside in eleven villages in the Shuǐluò Valley, alongside the Shuǐluò River (Chōngtiānhé 冲天河 or Wúliànghé 无量河). The name of the river in Shǐxīng is [^{H}ʂu-^{H}dʑɹ], from [^{H}ʂu], river name (this element is possibly related to the word for 'iron', [^{LH}ʂõ]; see footnote 10) and [^{LH}dʑɹ] 'water, river'.[4] The autonym of the Xùmǐ is taken from the name of this river: [^{H}ʂu-^{H}hĩ], which literally means 'people of the river Shu' (< [^{H}hĩ] 'person').

The five largest Xùmǐ villages are (from north to south on the map):
- [^{H}çi-^{H}wa] Xīwǎ 西瓦[5]
- [^{H}dõ-^{H}la] Dōnglā 东拉
- [^{H}lã-^{H}mã] Lánmǎn 兰满
- [^{L}pʰi-^{H}wu] Píngwēng 平翁
- [^{L}ru-^{H}hĩ] Liángbǎo 两保

Based on lexical and phonological differences, Sūn and Huáng & Rénzēng divide the area inhabited by the Xùmǐ into two parts: (1) Upper Reaches of the Shuǐluò River, which includes the villages Xīwǎ, Dōnglā and Lánmǎn, and (2) Lower Reaches of the Shuǐluò River, which includes the villages of Píngwēng and Liángbǎo. The two sub-varieties of Shǐxīng are mutually intelligible.

The lifestyle of the Xùmǐ is essentially agricultural. They cultivate wheat, barley, buckwheat, corn, millet, and a variety of vegetables (e.g. potatoes, soybeans, kidney beans, peas and cabbage). They also cultivate rice, which practice distinguishes them from other ethnic groups of Shuǐluò, who concentrate on other staple foods (Weckerle et al. 2005b, 2006). The Xùmǐ practice animal husbandry (mostly goats, pigs, cows and mules), forestry and fruit farming

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[2] Shǐxīng data are provided in broad phonetic transcriptions in the International Phonetic Alphabet. A phonological outline of Shǐxīng and transcriptions conventions are detailed in §2. Tones are here marked by superscript letters instead of more current and visually preferable diacritics over the vowels, because currently available IPA fonts do not provide a satisfactory typographic solution to the problem of combining symbols for tone sequences, such as low-high and high-low, with the diacritic for nasality. The hyphen ('-') separates syllables in a word. The equals sign ('=') separates enclitics from their host phonological word. The pound sign ('#') separates tone pattern domains. A full list of symbols and abbreviations used in glossing is provided at the end of the article.

[3] Prinmi is a member of the Qiangic subgroup of the Sino-Tibetan language family. The Prinmi dialect of Shuǐluò is supposedly close to the Táobā 桃巴 Prinmi dialect of Mùlǐ, as described in Lù (2001).

[4] Word tone derivation from syllable tones is discussed in §2.3.

[5] This village is also known as [^{H}ʂu-^{H}wu] 'Shu family or Shu clan', which probably indicates that it used to be the center of the Shu community.

(mostly pears, pomegranades, peaches, and walnuts, which until recently was the main source of oil for the Xùmǐ; Weckerle et al. 2005a). Local crafts include spinning, weaving and tanning leather. The Xùmǐ also mine placer gold in the Shuǐluò river.

Shuǐluò is a multi-ethnic township, inhabited by five different ethnic groups:

- ethnic Tibetans: locally known as 'Kami' Tibetans, the autonym of the group is [ᴸka-ᴴmi], in Chinese 嘎米藏族 Gāmǐ Zàngzú
- Prinmi
- Xùmǐ
- Mùlǐ Mongolians
- Nàxī

The former three groups are officially classified as Tibetans. The latter two groups speak two different varieties of the Nàxī language: the Mongolians speak the Eastern dialect of Nàxī, also known as Nà (or Mósuō 摩梭 or Mōxiē 麽些), whereas the Nàxī speak the Western dialect of Nàxī.[6] (The former group came to be associated with Mongolians due to to their chieftains' legitimization of their rule by claiming descent from Mongol officers of Kublai Khan.)

The Xùmǐ of the Upper Reaches border on the Kami Tibetans, whereas the Xùmǐ of the Lower Reaches live in the immediate neighborhood of Prinmi-speaking and Nà- and Nàxī-speaking groups. Consequently, the Shǐxīng language of the Upper Reaches is in close contact with Kami Tibetan (a Khams dialect), whereas the Shǐxīng of the Lower Reaches is more influenced by Prinmi and Nà and Nàxī. Many Xùmǐ are multilingual and master, in addition to their native language, Kami Tibetan, Prinmi, Nà, Nàxī and South-West Mandarin Chinese.[7]

1.2. Research history and genetic affiliation

Shǐxīng is one of the lesser-known Sino-Tibetan languages spoken in the PRC and has been little researched to date. Only two brief outlines in Chinese exist, one by Sūn Hóngkāi (1983a) and one by Huáng Bùfán & Rénzēng Wāngmǔ (1991). Their analyses differ substantially at some points, possibly because Sūn worked with language consultants from the Lower Reaches area and Huáng & Rénzēng with language consultants from the Upper Reaches area. In addition to the two brief outlines, two works on Tibeto-Burman phonology and lexicon by Sūn et al. (1991: 240-244) and Huáng et al. (1992: 646-647) present the

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[6] The division between the Western and Eastern dialects of Nàxī was proposed by the Chinese linguists Hé Jírén and Jiāng Zhúyí (1985: 1-4, 104-116). For the history of the Nàxī, see Guō & Hé 1994.

Mùlǐ belongs to the areas historically populated by Nà groups (i.e. border areas between the provinces of Sìchuān and Yúnnán). The Nàxī of Mùlǐ represent a later migration into the area (see §1.3).

The Nàxī language is an unsubgrouped Sino-Tibetan language, held to be close to, although not a member of, the Ngwi-Burmese branch of Sino-Tibetan (Bradley 1975; 1997: 37; Matisoff 2003: 5, 8; Thurgood 2003: 19-20). (I have adopted the term 'Ngwi' as a replacement for 'Loloish' (or Yí, Yipho and Ni), as recommended by Bradley 2004, quoted from Pelkey 2005.) Nàxī is considered to be transitional between the Ngwi-Burmese and the Qiangic subgroups (Sūn 1984: 14; Bradley 1997: 37), sharing lexical material with both subgroups, but lacking the extensive morphology of the Qiangic.

[7] The Chinese dialect of Mùlǐ tentatively belongs to the Chéngyú 成渝 subgroup of the Southwestern Mandarin group (Wurm, Lǐ et al. 1987: Map B6). A systematic study of this dialect is in preparation in the context of the aforementioned ANR project PASQi.

phonological system of Shǐxīng as well as approximately 1,000 and 1,800 Shǐxīng words, respectively.[8]

Shǐxīng is currently classified as belonging to the Qiangic subgroup of the Sino-Tibetan language family (Bradley 1997: 36-37; Sūn 2001; Thurgood 2003: 17). Qiangic is a putative grouping of eleven Sino-Tibetan languages of Sìchuān and Yúnnán provinces in the PRC.[9] The Qiangic languages are subdivided, mainly on geographical grounds, into a Northern and a Southern group (Sūn 1983a, 1983b, 2001; Huáng 1991). Shǐxīngs belong to the Southern Qiangic group, as detailed in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Qiangic subgroup of the Sino-Tibetan language family (adapted from Sūn 2001: 160)

The validity of the Qiangic subgroup in its present understanding has long been challenged, as it has been formulated for the most part on the basis of shared typological features, such as the presence of uvulars, tones, directional prefixes, verbal agreement and measure words (cf. Sūn 1983b, 2001). No substantial supporting evidence for this grouping in the form of common innovations, the only reliable basis for a linguistic subgroup as argued by Leskien (1871), has

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[8] The phonological analysis of Shǐxīng in Sūn et al. (1991) is identical to that in Sūn (1983a); that in Huáng et al. (1992) differs slightly from the analysis in Huáng & Rénzēng, as discussed in §2.

[9] The original idea that some languages of the Chinese Southwest cohere to form a Sino-Tibetan subgroup can be traced to F. W. Thomas (1948: 88-109), who proposed a "Hsifan group" based on wordlists of Mùyǎ, Nàmùyī, Qiāng, Quèyù and Prinmi (Sun 1992: 76). The label "Qiangic", under which the group is currently known, was introduced by Chinese linguists in the 1960s as an umbrella term for the Qiāng, Prinmi and rGyalrong languages (Sūn 1962: 561; 2001). The Qiangic group expanded in the 1970s, when new languages discovered in Western Sichuan (e.g. Shǐxīng, Guìqióng, Nàmùyī and Ěrsū) were also seen as Qiangic (Sūn 1983a, 1983b, 2001; further elaborated in Huáng 1991).

been demonstrated so far. A factor that considerably hampers a better evaluation of the subgroup is that Southern Qiangic languages are virtually undescribed and therefore only rudimentarily known, which circumstance considerably restricts comparative work. Release of new data and new analyses on lesser known Qiangic languages, such as Shǐxīng, is therefore crucial to facilitate a better assessment of this subgroup, as well as to further our understanding of the ethnic and linguistic variety of South-West China.

1.3. Shǐxīng and its neighboring languages

Shǐxīng is spoken at the border areas with mixed Tibetan and Hàn Chinese influences and in the immediate proximity of many Ngwi-Burmese and Nà- and Nàxī-speaking groups. Throughout its history, the Xùmǐ have been in contact with various ethnic groups; the impact of Tibetans, Nà and Nàxī is most notable.

The indigenous inhabitants of present-day Mùlǐ are various Sino-Tibetan groups, of which the Prinmi form the largest single group. In the Chinese historiographic tradition, these indigenous groups are historically associated with Tibetans and are commonly referred to as *fān* or *xīfān* (in Western sources, traditionally Hsifan). After the establishment of the PRC, most *fān* groups (including the Xùmǐ) were incorporated into the Tibetan nationality. The Xùmǐ strongly identify with the Tibetans in religion (Tibetan Buddhism) and lifestyle (e.g. housing, diet, culture).

At the same time, according to popular belief among the Xùmǐ, their group is non-native to the region and originates instead from the area near present-day Luòyáng in Hénán Province of the PRC, where they claim to have resided until the end of the Táng dynasty (618-907). The turmoil and wars of that era allegedly forced them to move south-westwards from the former capital of Luòyáng to Jiāzhōu Prefecture (present-day Lèshān County) in Sìchuān. In the Qīng dynasty (1644-1911), they continued to migrate further south, reaching present-day Dàlǐ and Nínglàng Counties in Yúnnán, where the dominant languages for several centuries have been Nàxī, Bái (Dàlǐ) and Nà (Nínglàng). Then, from the shores of Lake Lúgū, following the flow of the Jīnshājiāng (Yangtse) to the north they arrived to the Shuǐluò River in Mùlǐ, where they finally settled down.

By the time when the Xùmǐ supposedly arrived in Mùlǐ, the area had been ruled by Tibetan Buddhist elites for several centuries. Even though the region was nominally part of the Chinese Empire, the penetration of ethnic Chinese in the area has been negligible until well into the 20th century (Mùlǐ Zàngzú Zìzhìxiàn Zhì Biānzuǎn Wěiyuánhuì 1995: 113-115). The influence of the Nàxī in Mùlǐ was also saliently present. In the beginning of the 15th century, several valleys which are now part of Mùlǐ were controlled by Nàxī Mù Kings from their capital at Lìjiāng. The *Mù shì huànpǔ* 《木氏宦谱》 [Official chronicles of the Mù clan] mention that the 11th Mù King, Mù Qīn 木嶔, conquered many villages in the Shuǐluò River valley, including those presently inhabited by the Xùmǐ. His grandson, Mù Dìng 木定, added a considerable number of villages, also in

Shuǐluò (Rock 1947: 110, 114).[10] The troops of the Mù Kings built watchtowers, fields, and waterways, and they searched for gold. The soldiers were forced to withdraw from Mùlǐ in the early years of the Qīng dynasty (Wellens 2006: 26-27). Yet, a substantial number of Nàxī watchtowers have been preserved in Shuǐluò to the present day.

While the Xùmǐ's claim concerning their origin in Luòyáng is probably historically inaccurate, their link with the Nà- and Nàxī-speaking groups is more reliable. In fact, some Nàxī historians even consider the Xùmǐ as part of the Nàxī group. For example, Guō Dàliè & Hé Zhìwǔ (1994: 8-9) in their *Nàxī zú shǐ* [History of the Nàxī] straightforwardly list the Xùmǐ group as a branch of the Nàxī, thereby also suggesting a genetic link between the Nàxī and Shǐxīng languages.

In view of the complex history of the Xùmǐ group, no language of the groups with which Shǐxīng has been in close contact (Tibetan, Nà and Nàxī) can be excluded *a priori* from a discussion on the genetic affiliation of Shǐxīng. However, salient structural differences between Tibetan and Shǐxīng in all linguistic sub-systems preclude a close genetic link between these two languages. Nonetheless, Tibetan has exercised a profound influence on Shǐxīng in the form of loanwords, due to a prolonged contact with the Tibetans and the pervasive influence of the Tibetan religion and lifestyle. Conversely, preliminary comparisons between Shǐxīng and Yǒngníng Nà (based on Lidz 2006 and lexical data provided by Alexis Michaud, p.c.) suggest considerable similarities between these two in lexicon and grammar (e.g. aspectual marking, existential verbs). Consequently, a careful investigation of a possible genetic link between Shǐxīng and Nà may be warranted in future research. In sum, the question of the genetic affiliation of Shǐxīng remains open and requires further investigation.

1.4. Data sources and goals

This article is based on a total of three months of linguistic fieldwork on Shǐxīng in 2005, 2006 and 2008. I worked in close cooperation with my principal language consultant, Mr. Lǔróng Duōdīng 鲁绒多丁 [ᴸdʑi-ᴴʂɛ̃ ᴴlu-ᴴzũ ᴴto-ᴴdĩ], where [ᴸdʑi-ᴴʂɛ̃] is a place name, and [ᴴlu-ᴴzũ ᴴto-ᴴdĩ] is a personal name (WT *blo bzang stobs ldan*).[11] We worked together on the Upper Reaches sub-variety of Shǐxīng, which Lǔróng Duōdīng speaks natively. Lǔróng Duōdīng provided most of the data and background information on the Shǐxīng language and its speakers. Together we verified Shǐxīng data (word lists and sentences) by previous authors (Sūn 1983a; Huáng & Rénzēng 1991), collected new vocabulary (our Chinese-

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[10] Rock draws a direct connection between the Xùmǐ people and the Nàxī (1947: 110, footnote 60): "Shu-khiṇ (Iron people), named after the river [alongside which they live] are said to be descendants of soldiers placed there as guards by the Na-khi chiefs." According to Rock, the group speaks "a mixture of Na-khi and Tibetan, but their language is understood neither by the Na-khi nor the Hsi-fan".

[11] Xùmǐ names generally consist of two parts: (i) a house name, the house being the basic unit of social organization of the Xùmǐ, and (ii) two Tibetan names given at birth. For example, the full name of my principal language consultant consists of the house name [ᴸdʑi-ᴴʂɛ̃] and the given names [ᴴlu-ᴴzũ] (WT *blo bzang*) and [ᴴto-ᴴdĩ] (WT *stobs ldan*). Official Chinese transliterations of Xùmǐ names normally do not reflect house names. For example, the official Chinese name of my principal language consultant is simply 鲁绒多丁 Lǔróng Duōdīng.

Shǐxīng vocabulary list currently contains ca. 3,500 items), collected, transcribed, translated (into Chinese) and analyzed seventeen traditional stories and discussed the semantic and syntactic phenomena observed in these stories with other language consultants, supported by additional sentence elicitation. Finally, I wrote the present linguistic analysis.

The goal of this article is to put forward a new description of Shǐxīng in a language that makes it accessible also to a non-Chinese speaking audience. This article is deemed as an enlarged and elaborated version of Huáng & Rénzēng's (1991) concise but insightful outline of the Shǐxīng Upper Reaches sub-variety. It adopts Huáng & Rénzēng's phonological analysis for transcriptions, in order to keep the newly presented data uniform with those in Huáng et al. (1992), which remains the principle source of lexical information on Shǐxīng to date.

Despite the preliminary nature of the present analysis, this new outline of Shǐxīng, accompanied by two analyzed and annotated texts, is presented here for two reasons.

First, recent years have witnessed an upsurge of interest in the Qiangic subgroup. Many previously little known Qiangic languages are currently being investigated, e.g. nDrapa (Shirai 2006) and Guìqióng (Wāng 2008). These new data and analyses are bound to throw light on the complex issue of the genetic affiliation of these languages, possibly even challenging existing classification.

The available Shǐxīng data (both lexical and grammatical) are often quoted in comparative studies (e.g. Matisoff 2004; Evans 2006). However, no matter how insightful, the existing outlines of Shǐxīng contain inaccuracies, due to the restricted periods of fieldwork on which they are based. These inaccuracies are unavoidably adopted by the new publications making use of the data. One example from the domain of the lexicon: the Shǐxīng word [biɛ^{33}-tsʰɛ^{55}] (Sūn et al. 1991: 769) is quoted in Matisoff (2004: 332) and Evans (2006: 119) as meaning 'meat'. This word means 'bacon', as verified in my fieldwork, for it consists of the elements [biɛ] 'pig' and [tsʰɛ] 'fat'.[12] The Shǐxīng word for 'meat' is [^{HL}ɕu]. The present outline of Shǐxīng intends to correct inaccuracies in previous analyses as well as to bring to light some new phenomena, such as irrealis (§4.5.2), unrecognized in previous work.

Second, the genetic classification of Shǐxīng (as well as probably of most Southern Qiangic languages) requires joint efforts from specialists working on various Sino-Tibetan languages of the Chinese South-West. It is my hope that the grammatical data presented in this article can be used, in addition to the lexical data released in Sūn et al. (1991) and Huáng et al. (1992), for identification of Shǐxīng individual-identifying features (Nichols 1996), so as to allow a well-informed and balanced discussion of its linguistic affiliation.

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[12] The word [biɛ^{33}-tshɛ^{55}] (in my transcription: [^{L}biɜ-^{H}tshɜ]) occurs in the appended texts and therefore deserves a short note. It refers to strips of specially preserved pig fat. [^{L}biɜ-^{H}tshɜ] is a local speciality of the region, including also the neighbouring Yǒngníng County (Rock 1947: 413). This speciality is prepared by removing almost all the meat of the pig, leaving only fat attached to the skin. The inside of the pig is then salted and the pig is sewn together. The so prepared pig can be kept for a number of years.

1.5. *Shǐxīng: A bird's eye view*

Shǐxīng is a phonologically monosyllabic language. The syllabic structure is (C)(G)V, where C is a consonant, G is a glide, V is a vowel nucleus, and brackets indicate optional constituents. The three Shǐxīng glides, *j, w* and *r*, have a severely restricted distribution with the effect that most syllables are simply CV. A small number of syllables (the imperative form of some high frequency verbs) have a consonant final -*n*, forming thus the third, minor, syllable type: CVn, e.g. [^{H}ɕĩ] 'look' > [^{H}ɕun] 'look!' (§4.1). Shǐxīng is a tone language with a three-way tone contrast, i.e. /H/ (high), /LH/ (rising) and /HL/ (falling). The domain for the contrastive tones in Shǐxīng is the phonological word. Hence, the tone system of Shǐxīng is word-based rather than syllable-based (§2.3).

Shǐxīng is by and large an agglutinative language with little inflexional morphology. Shǐxīng is phonologically monosyllabic with a strong tendency towards disyllabicity in the lexicon. Shǐxīng's polysyllabic words superbly lend themselves to a morpheme per morpheme analysis, each morpheme having a separate meaning and grammatical function. Monosyllables are of two types: (i) roots (free and bound) and (ii) affixes. Monomorphemic words are for the most part monosyllabic, e.g. [^{HL}tɕæ] 'earth', [^{LH}tɕʰĩ] 'drink'. Polysyllabic monomorphemic words also occur, but they are essentially borrowings into Shǐxīng from another language, e.g. [^{H}tʰa.^{H}pɑo] 'head' (WT *thod pa*). Overall, words in Shǐxīng are mostly mono- and disyllabic. Longest words normally do not exceed five syllables in length, e.g. [^{L}jæ-^{L}tsʰ-^{L}mu-^{L}dzɜ-^{H}ʁõ] 'afternoon', literally, 'before having lunch' (< [^{L}jæ-^{H}tsʰ] 'lunch', the negator [mu], [^{LH}dzɜ] 'eat', the locative marker [ʁõ] 'on').

Affixation, compounding and reduplication are the three major word-formation processes in Shǐxīng. Shǐxīng is mostly prefixing on verbs and suffixing on nouns. The majority of suffixes are derivational. Affixation processes in Shǐxīng are accompanied in some cases by the phonological processes of vowel harmony and lenition. Shǐxīng inflexional morphological changes, namely vocalic alternation (ablaut) and consonant alternation, are attested primarily in the derivation of irregular stems of some high frequency verbs and the formation of causatives. Reduplication is mostly attested on verbal roots. It is partially productive and partially lexically idiosyncratic. Reduplication involving dynamic verbs expresses frequentative or iterative meaning, e.g. [^{H}ɕyɜ-^{L}ɕyɜ] 'stir', [^{L}dzõ-^{H}dzõ] 'run'. An additional meaning of reduplication is reciprocity, e.g. [^{L}qɑo-^{H}qɑo] 'help (each other)'. The meaning of reduplication for stative verbs (adjectives) is intensification, e.g. [^{H}guɜ-^{H}guɜ] 'round'.

Shǐxīng major open word classes include nouns and verbs, with standard Sino-Tibetan criteria for noun- and verb-hood applicable to Shǐxīng. Nouns in Shǐxīng are those forms which can take case and discourse markers and numeral-classifier phrases, all of which follow the head, or be marked with derivational morphology for such categories as number and gender. Nouns in Shǐxīng can modify other nouns directly (appearing immediately before the modified noun) or in a genitive phrase (pre-head, with or without the genitive enclitic [ji]). Nouns can appear as the complement of a copular clause. Verbs in Shǐxīng are those forms that can

take directional prefixes, the negator [mV] 'not' (subject to vowel harmony) and the causative suffix [-xɪ]. Verbs can be preceded by adverbial expressions, followed by auxiliaries expressing aspect, mood, modality and mirativity and nominalized by one of the nominalizing markers. Adjectives are formally a subset of verbs (intransitive stative verbs).

Closed word classes in Shǐxīng include pronouns, noun and verb adjuncts. Noun adjuncts can be further subdivided into case and discourse markers, numerals and classifiers; whereas verb adjuncts include auxiliaries, adverbalizers, negators and interjections.

In terms of their positioning in relation to other sentence elements, noun and verb adjuncts in Shǐxīng are enclitics. Shǐxīng nominal case markers and verbal auxiliaries are for the most part recent grammaticalizations, mostly of locative origin. Overall, Shǐxīng nominal case markers and verbal auxiliaries display a high degree of isomorphism. The same restricted set of markers is used with both noun and verb phrases.

The basic word order in Shǐxīng is SOV. Syntax operates predominantly through word order and the use of nominal markers and verbal auxiliaries. Similar to many other Sino-Tibetan languages, a clause in Shǐxīng must have a verb phrase, whereas noun phrases are optional.

The present overview focuses on the Shǐxīng variety spoken in the Upper Reaches of the Shuǐluò River. It consists of two parts: (i) grammatical description (§2-4) and (ii) texts (Appendix). The descriptive part is further sub-divided into sections on phonetics and phonology (§2), the noun phrase (§3) and the verb complex (§4). Due to length restrictions, certain aspects of the linguistic organization of Shǐxīng, such as verb serialization, have not been included and will await future publications.

2. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

The present study essentially adopts Huáng & Rénzēng (1991) and Huáng et al. (1992) phonological analyses of the Upper Reaches variety of Shǐxīng. Both analyses are based on the same data, collected by Huáng & Rénzēng in the late 1980s. On the whole, Huáng & Rénzēng (1991) and Huáng et al. (1992) present their data in broad phonetic transcriptions, which allow a considerable amount of phonetic detail, including some common allophones.

2.1. Initials

According to Huáng & Rénzēng and Huáng et al. analyses, Shǐxīng has a total of forty-nine initials. The inventory of initials includes six prenasalized initials, viz. *nb nd ng ndz ndʐ ndʑ* (where "n" stands for a homorganic nasal: *m, n, ŋ, n, ŋ* and *ɲ*, respectively). Based on my fieldwork, I add to this inventory one additional phoneme, /nɢ/, [ɴɢ].

The overall initial inventory of Shǐxīng is presented in Table 1:

	bilabial	dental	retroflex	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stop	p pʰ b nb	t tʰ d nd			k kʰ nɢ g ng	q qʰ nɢ	ʔ
nasal	m m̥	n n̥		ɲ	ŋ		
affricate		ts tsʰ dz ndz	tʂ tʂʰ dʐ ndʐ	tɕ tɕʰ dʑ ndʑ			
fricative		s z	ʂ ʐ	ɕ ʑ	x	χ ʁ	h ɦ
lateral fricative		ɬ					
approximant	w	r		j			
lateral approximant		l					

Table 1. Shǐxīng initials

The following observations concerning Shǐxīng initials are in order:

(i) Voiceless nasals. The two voiceless nasals, viz. /m̥/ and /n̥/, are slightly aspirated and slightly voiced. Taken together, /m̥/ and /n̥/ occur only in five words in my current 3,500-word vocabulary list. Three of these words are loans from Tibetan, namely [ᴴm̥ɛ̃] 'medicine' (WT *sman*), [ᴴn̥a-ᴴtsʰɜ] 'ink' (WT *snag tsha*) and [ᴴn̥a] 'spell, curse' (WT *sngags*). Two words with voiceless nasals, [ᴸm̥iæ-ᴴtsũ] 'tail' and [ᴸᴴn̥o] 'hair, fur, feather', appear to belong to Shǐxīng native vocabulary.

(ii) Alveo-palatals. Similar to the three-way complementary distribution of the alveo-palatal series in Mandarin, the alveo-palatal series in Shǐxīng is in complementary distribution with dentals, retroflexes and velars.

Retroflexes and velars do not occur before the high front vowels /i/ and /y/. Instead, velars co-occur with /ɪ/, and retroflexes with /ɣ/. Dentals do not co-occur with /y/. Retroflexes do not co-occur with /æ/. Alveo-palatals co-occur with all these vowels.

In the position before /i/, the contrast between the dental and the alveo-palatal series has been neutralized for some phonemes.

All series contrast before /u/, e.g. [ᴴtu] 'spin (into yarn)', [ᴴtʂu-ᴸʐu] 'shiver, tremble', [ᴴᴸtɕu] 'stroke, touch', [ᴴᴸku] 'can, know (how to do something)'.

(iii) Uvulars. Shǐxīng has a total of five uvular initials, namely /q qʰ nɢ χ ʁ/. Of these, /q/, /qʰ/ and /ʁ/ occur with relatively high frequency. /χ/, on the other hand, occurs predominantly as a lenited allophone of /qʰ/, when /qʰ/ occurs intervocalically; but it also occurs as an independent phoneme, e.g. [ᴴχɜ-ᴸχa] 'itch'. /nɢ/ is infrequent and has so far been attested only in two words, i.e. [ᴸᴴnɢɑ] 'block, obstruct' and [ᴴgo-ᴸnɢɑ] 'baby, infant'.

(iv) Consonant lenition. Similar to Qiāng (the Máwō variety, Liú 1998: 58-63 and Sun 2003: 236-238; or the Yǎdū variety, LaPolla with Huáng 1996: 31-32), Shǐxīng has a set of productive lenition rules, which transform some initial stops and (mostly aspirated) affricates into spirants. This happens when these initials appear intervocalically—in compounds as well as when the verb root is preceded either by a prefix or by the negator. The output of the above rules are all independent full-fledged phonemes which can occur word-initially. The noted

changes are summarized in Table 2 (see §2.3 for word tone derivation from syllable tones):

Change	Examples
b > w	[^{LH}biæ] 'leaf' > [^{H}sĩ-^{L}wæ], /^{HL}sĩ-wæ/ 'tree leaves'
dz > z	[^{HL}dzũ] 'sit; live, reside' > [^{L}miæ-^{H}zũ], /^{LH}miæ-zũ/ 'sit down'
tɕʰ > ɕ	[^{LH}tɕʰĩ] 'drink' > [^{H}tɕyi-^{H}ɕĩ], /^{H}tɕyi-ɕĩ/ 'drink tea'
kʰ > x	[^{HL}kʰɪ] 'throw' > [^{L}miæ-^{H}xɪ], /^{LH}miæ-xɪ/ 'fill, pour'
qʰ > χ	[^{HL}qʰu] 'bowl' > [^{L}dʑi-^{H}χu], /^{LH}dʑi-χu/ 'one bowl'

Table 2. Consonant lenition in Shǐxīng

In view of the overall inventory of Shǐxīng stops and affricates, the observed lenition patterns have a number of gaps. For example, the expected lenition of the voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate [tsʰ] to [s] is not attested. The changes of [dʑ] to [ʑ], [tʂ(ʰ)] to [ʂ] and [dz] to [z] are sporadic and marginal. For example, when preceded by a prefix, the verb [^{LH}dʐua] 'hit' preserves its initial unchanged in most cases, e.g. [^{L}dʑi-^{H}dʐua] 'hit one time', but the lenition of [dz] to [z] is also occasionally attested in this evironment, e.g. [^{L}dʑi-^{H}ʐua] 'hit one time'.

Moreover, the noted changes are not without exceptions. For example, the initial [kʰ] of the words [^{HL}kʰu] 'year' and [^{HL}kʰuɜ] 'contain' does not undergo the otherwise pervasive change to [x], e.g. [^{L}dʑi-^{H}kʰu] 'one year' and [^{L}mu=^{H}kʰuɜ] 'not contain', respectively.

In sum, given, on the one hand, that the output of the above rules are all independent phonemes, and, on the other hand, that the noted changes are not without exceptions, I give Shǐxīng forms in phonetic representation. For example, the word [^{L}miæ-^{H}xɪ] 'pour' (< [miæ-] 'downward', [^{HL}kʰɪ] 'throw') is transcribed as [^{L}miæ-^{H}xɪ] 'fill, pour', i.e. with the derived allomorph [xɪ], rather than /^{LH}miæ-kʰɪ/ 'fill, pour'.[13]

(v) Onset-less syllables. A glide is inserted both word-initially and word-internally. Glide *j* is inserted with front vowels, e.g. the genitive marker /i/ > [ji]. Glide *w* is inserted with back vowels, e.g. the resultative marker /u/ > [wu]. A small number of syllables with the (plain or nasalized) nucleus vowel /u/ contrast a glide onset with a glottal stop onset, e.g. [^{H}jũ] 'bark, yap' vs. [^{H}ʔũ] 'fish'.

Following conventions in Huáng & Rénzēng and Huáng et al., I transcribe the initial phonetic glide, conforming to the overall use of phonetic rather than phonemic notation in this study.

2.2. Rhymes

In Huáng & Rénzēng (1991) analysis, Shǐxīng has thirteen plain and ten nasalized vowels, as recapitulated in Table 3:

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[13] Affixes, bound roots and enclitics are not marked for tone, if quoted in isolation.

i	ɣ (ʅ)	y	e	æ	a	ə	ɵ	ɜ	u	o	ɑ (ɑo)	əɹ
ĩ		ỹ		æ̃	ã	ə̃		ɜ̃	ũ	õ	ã		õ

Table 3. Shǐxīng plain and nasalized vowels in Huáng & Rénzēng (1991: 177)

Furthermore, Huáng & Rénzēng (1991: 178) make the following observations:
  i. [ɣ] is realized as [ɣ] after alveolars and as [ʅ] after blade-palatals.
  ii. [ə] is realized as [ʉ] after bilabial initials, and as [ɯ] after velars.
  iii. [u] is realized as [ʉ] after apical consonants. After the lateral [l], [u] has the allophone [iu], e.g. the syllable [lu] in the word /ᴴᴸtʰu.lu/ 'rabbit, hare' is realized as [liu].
  iv. [ɑ] and [ɑo] are in free variation, [ɑo] is attested the most.
  v. [ɣ] and [ə] are often weakened in unstressed syllables, so that the initial consonant of such syllables is fused with the preceding, stressed syllable and realized as its coda. For example, [ᴸli-ᴸsǐ-ᴴᴸpu] 'body' is realized as [ᴸlis-ᴴᴸpu]. The weakened [rə] is in free variation with [əɹ]. For example, the word 'bone', [ᴴɕæ-ᴸrə], may be variously realized as [ᴴɕær] and [ᴴɕæ-ᴸəɹ].

Aside from the monophthongs in Table 3, Shǐxīng has fifteen diphthongs, as presented in Table 4:

	iɜ	iɜ̃	iæ		
yĩ			iæ̃		
yi	yɜ		yæ		
ui	uɜ		uæ	ua	
		uɜ̃		uã	uã̃

Table 4. Shǐxīng diphthongs in Huáng & Rénzēng (1991: 177-178)

Huáng et al. (1992) analysis closely follows that of Huáng & Rénzēng, with the following minor differences. Compared to Huáng & Rénzēng, Huáng et al. (1992) has two more vowels, [ʊ] and [ẽ], but no longer the vowel [ɵ]. The analysis in Huáng et al. also posits the vowel [ɪ] to replace Huáng & Rénzēng's [e].

In my transcriptions, I essentially follow Huáng & Rénzēng's analysis, including their additional observations and transcription conventions as listed above. Based on the actual pronunciation of my language consultants, I have slightly modified their analysis in the following fashion:
  i. I use [ɪ] for Huáng & Rénzēng's [e] and [ĩ] for Huáng & Rénzēng's [ẽ].
  ii. I do not posit [ɵ] as a distinct phoneme (as unattested).
  iii. [iɜ̃] does not appear to be contrastive with [iæ̃] and is therefore not included in my analysis.
  iv. After back consonants, [õ] is an allophone of [õ] and [uã] is an allophone of [uã].

The resulting rhyme inventory of Shǐxīng is summed up in Tables 5-6:

		iɜ	iæ	
yĩ			iæ̃	
yi	yɜ	yæ		
ui	uɜ	uæ	ua	
		uɛ̃	uã	

Table 6. Shǐxīng diphthongs in my data

2.2.1. Vowel harmony

Similar to many Qiangic languages, Shǐxīng exhibits regressive vowel harmony, whereby the vowels of prefixes harmonize with the vowel of the root in terms of height and rounding. For example, the vowel of the directional prefix [bə-] 'outward' assimilates in the following examples to the vowel of the root: [^{L}bə-^{H}pʰə] 'undo, untie (e.g. shoelaces)', [^{L}bɜ-^{H}pʰɜ] 'pull out, (of noodles) make noodles by drawing out the dough by hand' and [^{L}bu-^{H}tʂʰu] 'spit out'. Compared to languages like Qiāng or Mùyǎ, vowel harmony in Shǐxīng has very restricted productivity.

In addition to prefixes, the effects of vowel harmony can be observed in combinations of the third person pronoun, [^{HL}tʰi], and, to a lesser extent, of the first person pronoun, [^{H}ŋɜ], when these are followed by nominal case markers and the plural suffix [-rɛ̃]. For example, the vowel /i/ of the third person pronoun [^{HL}tʰi] remains unchanged, if the pronoun is followed by a form with the root vowel /i/, e.g. [^{L}tʰi=^{H}ji] 'his' (< the genitive marker [ji]). The more centralized vowel [ɿ] triggers a change to [ɜ], e.g. [^{L}tʰɜ=^{H}sɿ] 'to him' (< the animate patient marker [sɿ]). Finally, /i/ assimilates to /u/ when followed by a syllable with the nucleus vowel /u/, e.g. [^{H}tʰu-^{H}wu] 'they, their family, they as a family'. The ablauted alternant of the first person pronoun [^{H}ŋɜ] is [ŋa] in all cases above, except when followed by the genitive marker. In the latter case, the vowel of [^{H}ŋɜ] remains unchanged, i.e. [^{H}ŋɜ=^{H}ji] 'mine'.

Vowel harmony is also to be seen, fossilized, in some polysyllabic words, which are no longer transparently analyzable into separate morphemes. Consider, for example, the locative nouns 'front', [^{H}ki-^{H}ʁu], and 'back', [^{H}kiæ-^{H}miæ]. The second syllables of these words, [ʁu] and [miæ], mean 'head, beginning' and 'below', respectively. It is plausible that the first element is identical in both cases, and that its vowel assimilates to the vowel of the second element, [ʁu] and [miæ], respectively, in terms of height. The meaning of this first syllable is currently unclear.

2.3. Tone system

Shǐxīng is a tonal language. It has three contrastive tones, namely (i) high, /H/, (ii) rising, /LH/, and (iii) falling, /HL/. The domain for tone in Shǐxīng is the phonological word. A phonological word in Shǐxīng is a unit, consisting of one to five syllables in length, which when larger than one syllable, is subject to the processes of consonant lenition and vowel harmony (§§2.1, 2.2.1). Phonological words in Shǐxīng may coincide with lexical words and syntactic phrases. An average phonological (as well as lexical) word in Shǐxīng is bisyllabic. For example, [^{H}guɜ-^{H}guɜ], /^{H}guɜ-guɜ/ 'round', [^{H}tɕyi-^{H}ɕĩ], /^{H}tɕyi-ɕĩ/ 'drink tea'.[14]

Contrastive tone in Shǐxīng is distributed over the word as a whole, irrespective of the number of syllables.

On monosyllabic phonological words, the contrast is realized as one level tone and two contour tones (syllable tone, hereafter quoted as H, LH and HL). For example: [^{H}tsʰu] 'milk, squeeze', [^{LH}tsʰu] 'ghost', [^{HL}tsʰu] 'lungs'.

On phonological words of two syllables or more, the three contrastive tones are phonetically realized as sequences of level tones (word tone, hereafter quoted as /H/, /LH/ and /HL/).

   i. /H/ is a sequence of H tones, e.g. [^{H}guɜ-^{H}guɜ], /^{H}guɜ-guɜ/ 'round'
  ii. /LH/ is a sequence of L tones on all syllables up to the penultimate and H on last syllable, e.g. [^{L}dzõ-^{H}dzõ], /^{LH}dzõ-dzõ/ 'run'
 iii. /HL/ is realized as H on the first syllable and L on all remaining syllables, e.g. [^{H}ɕyɜ-^{L}ɕyɜ], /^{HL}ɕyɜ-ɕyɜ/ 'stir'

Shǐxīng word tones derive from syllable tones. Phonological words of two syllables or more may be composed of the following three types of monosyllables: (i) roots, (ii) affixes and (iii) enclitics.

Shǐxīng (free and bound) roots are lexically specified for tone. For example, [^{H}hĩ] 'person', [^{LH}bũ] 'thick, rough', [^{HL}ɲi] 'you'. Shǐxīng affixes (bound morphs that are not roots and which are constituent of words rather than phrases), on the other hand, are toneless by virtue of being units smaller than a (phonological) word. For example, the nominal suffix [-mi] and the verbal directional prefix [kʰu-] 'inward'.

Enclitics, i.e. bound morphs that are constituent of phrases or sentences rather than words, can not stand alone as words and do not have citation tones. On the other hand, combinations of enclitics may form phonological words. For example, the agentive marker [rɛ̃] may form one phonological word with the topic marker [z̩], i.e. [^{L}rɛ̃=^{H}z̩], if the host word for these markers is two or more syllables in length, as in the following example:[15]

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[14] Forms in slashes show the contrastive tones of polysyllabic phonological words.

[15] Example sentences and sentences in the appended texts are presented each with four lines of analysis.

Line 1: Broad phonetic transcription
Line 2: Morpheme gloss
Line 3: Free translation

 The meaning of most grammatical words in Shǐxīng is transparently composed of the meanings of their constituent parts. Therefore, I do not include a separate line for word gloss in the analysis. In those infrequent cases, where the meaning of the word cannot be directly deduced from its morpheme glosses, the word gloss is provided below the morpheme gloss. If the example sentence in the analytic part is quoted from the two texts in

(1) ᴸdʑũ ᴸgi.ᴴɬa# = ᴸrɛ̃ = ᴴz̩# ᴸla = ᴴno: "ᴴɲi ᴴma# ᴴdʑũ = ᴴlʒ# ᴴtɕʰi ᴸdõ#, ᴸdɛ̃
ᴴpʒ = ᴸʁõ#", ᴴᴸpʒ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴸdʑũ	ᴸgi.ᴴɬa = ᴸrɛ̃ = ᴴz̩	ᴸla = ᴴno:	ᴴɲi	ᴴma
mountain	deity=AGT=TOP	tiger=inside	2SG	today
ᴴdʑũ = ᴴlʒ	ᴴtɕʰi	ᴸdõ,	ᴸdɛ̃	ᴴpʒ = ᴸʁõ
mountain=LOC	what	see	something	speak=IRR
ᴴᴸpʒ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ				
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP				

'The mountain god asked the tiger: "What did you see today in the mountains? Please tell me."'

Given that surface tones of phonological words of two syllables or more (word tones) are derived from the tones of their constituting elements (syllable tones), I take enclitics to be lexically specified for tone.

The remainder of this section outlines those syllable tone to word tone derivation processes that are reasonably well understood at this stage, with reference to noted exceptions and cases that are currently less clear (see Chirkova & Michaud 2009 for a detailed experimental study of word tone derivation in di-, tri- and tetrasyllabic phonological words). Given that tone patterns of phrases containing noun and verb adjuncts (enclitics) may be derived through processes other than those operating on phonological words, tone derivation processes in phonological words (derivation of word tones from syllable tones) and those in phrases containing enclitics are considered separately.

2.3.1. Tones and tone derivation in phonological words

The following observations regarding tones in phonological words can be made:

First, HL tone on monosyllabic words is often simplified to H in continuous speech. For example: [ᴴbõ# ᴸpʰu-ᴸtɕi-ᴴtɕi = ᴸtʰi] 'the white yak' (< [ᴴᴸbõ] 'yak'), [ᴴtsʰ# ᴸdʑi-ᴴlɑ] 'a flock of sheep' (< [ᴴᴸtsʰ] 'sheep').

Second, late realization of /LH/ tone on disyllabic words, e.g. [ᴸkʰu-ᴸᴴʁɛ̃] 'call in' in running speech (Text 2, sentence 26) vs. [ᴸkʰu-ᴴʁɛ̃] 'call in' in isolation (see also example 90).

Surface tones in phonological words of two syllables or more for the most part regularly derive from the input tones of their constituting syllables through a number of tone derivation processes. The choice of the appropriate tone derivation process in phonological words of two syllables or more depends on whether the first element in the phonological word in question is toned (root) or toneless (affix). When the first element is toned, the tone of the phonological word is an expansion of the tone of that first toned element, adjusted to the number of syllables in the resulting combination.

Consider some examples of this tone derivation process in disyllabic phonological words with the first constituent carrying H tone ('Ø' stands for a toneless element, affix):

(2) H + H > /H/: [ᴴqʰuʒ] 'steal' + [ᴴhĩ] 'person' > [ᴴqʰuʒ-ᴴhĩ], /ᴴqʰuʒ-hĩ/ 'thief'

(3) H + LH > /LH/: [ᴴtɕyi] 'tea' + [ᴸᴴbiæ] 'leaf' > [ᴴtɕyi-ᴴwæ], /ᴴtɕyi-wæ/ 'tea leaves'

(4) H + HL > /HL/: [ᴴʔɛ̃] 'sheep'+ [ᴴᴸqʰə] 'excrement' > [ᴴʔɛ̃ ᴴqʰə], /ᴴʔɛ̃ qʰə/ 'sheep excrement'

(5) H + Ø > /H/: [ᴴru] 'walk, go on foot' + the nominal suffix [-mi] > [ᴴru-ᴴmi], /ᴴru-mi/ 'road'

At the same time, a small number of monosyllabic HL words have been noted to rather act as LH words in combinations, i.e. different to the regularity above. For example, [ᴴᴸbõ] 'yak' vs. [ᴸbo-ᴴmi] 'female yak'.

If the first element of a phonological word of two syllables or more is toneless (verbs formed through prefixation), the tone derivation process of this phonological word further depends on the number of attached affixes. The following regularities apply to verbs formed with one prefix.

If the tone of the root is H, the resulting word tone is also /H/, e.g.:

(6) Ø + H > /H/: [miæ-] 'downward' + [ᴴʔũ] 'swallow' > [ᴴmiæ-ᴴʔũ], /ᴴmiæ-ʔũ/ 'swallow'

If the tone of the root is LH or HL, the resulting word tone is /LH/, e.g.:

(7) Ø + LH > /LH/: the perfective suffix [lʒ-] + [ᴸᴴdzʒ] 'eat' > [ᴸlʒ-ᴴdzʒ], /ᴸᴴlʒ-dzʒ/ 'have eaten'

(8) Ø + HL > /LH/: [miæ-] 'downward' + [ᴴᴸdzũ] 'sit' > [ᴸmiæ-ᴴzũ], /ᴸᴴmiæ-zũ/ 'sit down'

In verbs containing two prefixes, on the other hand, the resulting word tone is /LH/, regardless of the inherent tone of the verb root. For example:

(9) Ø + Ø + H > /LH/: [ᴸɕi-ᴸlʒ-ᴴsuɛ̃# ᴸkʰu-ᴸlʒ-ᴴsuɛ̃] 'have led to and fro' (< [ᴴsuɛ̃] 'lead')

(10) Ø + Ø + LH > /LH/: [ᴸɕi-ᴸlʒ-ᴴbɛ̃# ᴸkʰu-ᴸlʒ-ᴴbɛ̃] 'have rolled back and forth' (< [ᴸᴴbɛ̃] 'roll')

(11) Ø + Ø + HL > /LH/: [ᴸɕi-ᴸlʒ-ᴴtsa# ᴸkʰu-ᴸlʒ-ᴴtsa] 'have jumped to and fro' (< [ᴴᴸtsa] 'jump')

2.3.2. Tone derivation in phrases containing enclitics

Phrases containing enclitics may be treated as phonological words. The tone of the phrase in this case is an expansion of the tone of the first toned element of the phrase. For example:

(12) /H/ + enclitic > /H/, e.g. [ᴴlʒ-ᴴzĩ] 'have caught' + the perfect marker [sɻ] > [ᴴlʒ-ᴴzĩ=ᴴsɻ] 'have caught', see Text 2, sentence 7

(13) LH + enclitic > /LH/, e.g. [^{LH}bi] 'go' + the perfect marker [sɻ] > [^{L}bi=^{H}sɻ] 'have gone', see example (57) below or Text 1, sentence 23

(14) /LH/ + enclitic > /LH/, e.g. [^{L}lʒ-^{L}lo-^{H}lu] 'have wrapped' + the resultative marker [wu] + the perfect marker [sɻ] > [^{L}lʒ-^{L}lo-^{L}lu=^{L}wu=^{H}sɻ] 'have wrapped', see example (65)

Alternatively, phrases containing enclitics may be subject to tone and stress interaction, with the following regularities applying. The host word for the enclitics is stressed and surfaces its inherent tone. The following enclitic or enclitics are unstressed. They lose their inherent tones and do not acquire any tone from the initial stressed foot. Given that these syllables invariably surface as low, I analyze them as supplied with a phonological L tone before the phonetics (cf. Yip 2006: 242-243 for Shanghainese). For example:

(15) [H-H] + enclitic > [H-H-L], e.g. [^{H}ʂu-^{H}hĩ=^{L}sɻ] (< [^{H}ʂu-^{H}hĩ] 'a Xùmĭ person', the animate patient marker [sɻ])

(16) [L-H] + enclitic > [L-H-L], e.g. [^{L}zɻ-^{H}bʒ=^{L}sɻ] '[lead] the plow ox' (< [^{L}zɻ-^{H}bʒ] 'plow ox', the animate patient marker [sɻ]), see Text 2, sentence 9

(17) H + enclitic + enclitic > [H-L-L], e.g. [^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃] 'the man' (< [^{H}hĩ] 'person', [^{HL}tʰi] 'that', the agentive marker [rɛ̃]), see Text 1, sentence 23

(18) LH + enclitic + enclitic > [LH-L-L], e.g. [^{LH}tsʰu=^{L}rɛ̃=^{L}zɻ] (< [^{LH}tsʰu] 'ghost', the agentive marker [rɛ̃], the topic marker [zɻ]), see Text 2, sentence 10

(19) HL + enclitic + enclitic > [HL-L-L], e.g. [^{HL}pʒ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ] 'said' (< [^{HL}pʒ] 'speak', the past patient nominalizer [li], the copular verb [^{LH}ɲõ]), see Text 1, sentence 12

In addition, in phrases containing monosyllabic host words, followed by two or more enclitics, the first two syllables of the phrase (i.e. the host word and the first enclitic) may be stressed. The tone of this stressed domain is an expansion of the tone word of the host. The remaining syllables (enclitics) are unstressed and surface as low. For example:

(20) H + enclitic + enclitic > [H-H-L], e.g. [^{H}qua=^{H}ji=^{L}dʑõ] 'be crying' (< [^{H}qua] 'cry, weep', the progressive marker [jĩ], the durative auxiliary [dʑõ]), see example (42) below

(21) LH + enclitic + enclitic > [L-H-L], e.g. [^{L}tsʰu=^{H}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃] 'the ghost' (< [^{LH}tsʰu] 'ghost', [^{HL}tʰi] 'that, the', the agentive marker [rɛ̃]), see Text 1, sentence 13

(22) HL + enclitic + enclitic > [H-L-L], e.g. [^{H}pʒ=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ] 'have finished saying' (< [^{HL}pʒ] 'speak', the terminative auxiliary [tsʰa], [læ] 'become'), see Text 1, sentence 16

Finally, tone derivation processes in a small number of cases appear to be different from those described above and require further investigation. For example, tones in some lexical words are idiosyncratic. For instance, based on the tone derivation process applying to phonological words in which the first element

is toned, the root of the word [^{H}rõ-^{L}mi] 'mare' is expected to have HL tone. However, the inherent tone of this free root is LH, i.e. [^{LH}rõ] 'horse'.

In addition, tone derivation patterns in pronouns (§3.7), numerals (§3.8) and numeral-classifier combinations (§3.9) are not yet entirely understood. Such not yet understood cases are hereafter referred to as "irregular" (from the point of view of the synchronically common tone derivation processes described in this section).

3. THE NOUN PHRASE

3.1. Nominal morphology

Affixing and compounding represent the major derivational processes for polymorphemic nouns in Shǐxīng. Important nominal prefixes and suffixes include:

(i) Vocative prefix [a-] in kinship terms. For example, [^{H}a-^{H}wu] '(paternal) uncle, regardless of age; husband of father's sister', [^{L}a-^{H}guʒ] '(maternal) uncle, regardless of age; husband of mother's sister', [^{L}a-^{H}ju] 'elder brother', [^{L}a-^{H}ʑi] 'elder sister'. This suffix has a bleached meaning and is rather fossilized in kinship terms.

(ii) Feminine gender and agentive suffix [-mi]. This suffix has two distinct meanings and functions. On the one hand, it denotes the natural feminine gender in some nouns referring to people or animals. On the other hand, it appears to be a derivational suffix with restricted productivity, which at its more productive stage probably served to derive agentive nouns from both nouns and verbs. Given these two unrelated meanings and functions, it is conceivable that [-mi] is a conflation of two suffixes with distinct origins.

It is first meaning, as a feminine gender suffix, [-mi] appears to be semantically and functionally close to the nominal feminine gender suffix [me^{33}] in Nàxī (Hé & Jiāng 1985: 27-28). Some examples of this suffix in Shǐxīng are: [^{H}ʔɛ̃-^{H}mi] 'she-sheep' (< [^{H}ʔɛ̃] 'sheep'), [^{L}bu-^{L}gõ-^{H}mi] 'sisters' (< [bu] (bound) 'older brother', [^{H}gõ] 'younger sister/brother', cf. Yǒngníng Nà /gu˧mi˥/).[16] Similar to Nàxī (as well as many East and Southeast Asian languages, Matisoff 1991: 299-330), the suffix [-mi] in Shǐxīng can be used as an augmentative, as in the names of celestial bodies, e.g. [^{H}ɲʒ-^{H}mi] 'sun', [^{L}ɬi-^{H}mi] 'moon'.

In its second meaning, the suffix [-mi] is likely to be related to the root *mi* 'man, person', shared by many Sino-Tibetan languages. Consider the following examples of the use of this suffix to derive nouns from nouns and nouns from verbs: [^{H}kʰʒ-^{L}li-^{L}mi] 'four limbs' (< [^{HL}kʰʒ] 'foot', [^{LH}li] 'hand') and [^{L}dʑʒ-^{L}tʒ-^{H}mi] 'wave'. The latter word can be analyzed as a subject-predicate verbal expression, consisting of the noun [^{LH}dʑʒ] 'water' and the bound verbal root [tʒ] 'raise, rise', nominalized by the suffix [-mi].

(iii) Male gender suffix [-pʰʒ]. [-pʰʒ] is the male gender suffix, corresponding to the female gender suffix [-mi]. [-pʰʒ] is used to indicate the natural male gender. Compare the following examples: [^{HL}kʰuʒ] 'dog', [^{H}kʰuʒ-^{L}pʰʒ] '(male) dog' vs.

[ᴴkʰuɜ-ᴸmi] 'bitch'; [ᴸma.ᴴz̩] 'cat', [ᴸma.ᴸz̩-ᴴpʰɜ] 'male cat', [ᴸma.ᴸz̩-ᴴmi] 'female cat'.

(iv) Diminutive suffix [-zõ]. This suffix derived from the word [ᴸᴴzõ] '(male) child, man, male'. For example, [ᴴkʰuɜ-ᴸzõ] 'puppy' (< [ᴴᴸkʰuɜ] 'dog'), [ᴸma.ᴸz̩-ᴴzõ] 'kitten' (< [ᴸma.ᴴz̩] 'cat').

Both [mi] and [zõ] can be used in Shǐxīng as nominal roots with the meaning 'woman, female' and 'man, male', respectively, as in the following nominal noun-adjective compounds for 'mute': [ᴴmi-ᴸtɕɜ] 'female mute' and [ᴸzõ-ᴴtɕɜ] 'male mute'.

3.2. Structure of the noun phrase

The maximum structure of a simple noun phrase in Shǐxīng is represented in Table 7 (non-compatible or non-co-occurring elements are listed on separate lines:

Dem		Dem
Gen phrase+Relative clause	**Noun**+ Adj	Num+Cl
		Pl

Table 7. The structure of a simple noun phrase in Shǐxīng

Following are some examples of possible combinations:

(23) Dem+Noun+Dem: [ᴴha ᴴtõ-ᴴpi ᴴha] 'this story' (the tone of [ᴸᴴha] 'this' appears to assimilate to that of the modified noun [ᴴtõ-ᴴpi] 'story')

(24) Relative clause+Noun: [ᴸŋɜ=ᴴrɛ̃# ᴸdzɜ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴴji# ᴴᴸtʰu] 'a way (for me) to finish eating' (note the irregular tone of the first phonological word, [ᴸŋɜ=ᴴrɛ], < [ᴴŋɜ])

(25) Noun+Adj+Def: [ᴴbõ# ᴸpʰu-ᴸtɕi-ᴴtɕi=ᴸtʰi] 'the white yak'

(26) Noun+Adj+Indef: [ᴴɦu# ᴸmo-ᴴduɜ ᴸdʑĩ] 'a big lake'

If functioning as a topic, the noun phrase can be followed by the topic marker [z̩]. Topic in Shǐxīng is the first noun phrase in a clause, denoting the actor or the undergoer or establishing a spatial, temporal, or personal frame or domain for the following assertion.

3.3. Definite and indefinite marking

The definiteness and indefiniteness of the noun in Shǐxīng is mostly signaled by contextual clues. In addition, the demonstrative pronoun [ᴴᴸtʰi] 'that' and the numeral [ᴸᴴdʑĩ] 'one' can serve as an optional definite marker and an optional indefinite marker, respectively. In other words, [ᴴᴸtʰi] can be translated as 'that' or 'the' and [ᴸᴴdʑĩ] as 'one' or 'a', depending on the context. These markers can fulfill some of the functions, which are commonly attributed to definite and indefinite markers cross-linguistically (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 39).

[^{HL}tʰi] serves as reference indicator, signaling that the referent of the preceding noun that it modifies is assumed to have already been established and refers to something mentioned in the context. For example:

(27) ^Hhĩ=^Ltʰi# ^{HL}tʰi# ^{HL}çyʑ=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

^Hhĩ=^Ltʰi	^{HL}tʰi	^{HL}çyʑ=^Lli=^Lɲõ.
person=that	that	think=NMLZ.PST=COP

  'The man thought the following.'

[^{LH}dʑĩ] 'one', on the other hand, serves to denote the meaning 'a certain' and is used in this meaning, for instance, when a new referent is introduced in the discourse. For example:

(28) ^Hji-^Lɲɪ# ^Hji-^Lɲɪ# ^Lphi-^Hwu# ^Hhĩ# ^{LH}dʑĩ# ^Ldʑi-^Hʑu ^Lji=^Ldʑõ.

^Hji-^Lɲɪ	^Hji-^Lɲɪ	^Lphi-^Hwu	^Hhĩ	^{LH}dʑĩ
previous-?	previous-?	*place.name*-family	person	one
in.the.past	in.the.past			

^Ldʑi-^Hʑu	^Lji=^Ldʑõ.
one-household	exist.ANM=DUR

  'A long time ago there lived in Píngwēng a family.' (Text 1, sentence 1)

3.4. Number specification

Shǐxīng has an optional plural marker [^Lmə.^Hʑi]. Similar to comparable plural particles or suffixes in many Sino-Tibetan languages, the meanings and functions of [^Lmə.^Hʑi] are markedly distinct from those of plural suffixes in Indo-European languages. Zero marking on a noun in Shǐxīng does not imply singularity. Instead, Shǐxīng nouns are rather unspecified for number. In this situation, the function of [^Lmə.^Hʑi] is not to denote, but rather to emphasize plurality.

  [^Lmə.^Hʑi] can be added to any countable noun regardless of its animacy, or even to a mass noun, although less frequently. For example: [^Hhĩ] 'person' vs. [^Hhĩ=^Lmə.^Lʑi] 'people', [^Htsõ] 'thing' vs. [^Htsõ=^Hmə.^Lʑi] 'things', [^{HL}çu] 'meat' vs. [^Hçu=^Lmə.^Lʑi] 'meat (all different parts of a slaughtered animal)'.

  Furthermore, [^Lmə.^Hʑi] appears to add the meaning 'and the like' to the noun it modifies. This meaning is likely to be directly related to the original meaning of the expression [^Lmə.^Hʑi]. The meaning of the first element of [^Lmə.^Hʑi] is possibly related to the Sino-Tibetan root *mi* 'person, man'. The meaning of the second element, on the other hand, may be related to the (bound) element [ʑi], the marker of equative comparison, tentatively 'be similar, resemble' (§3.5.6). This possibility is suggested by the occasional use of [^Lmə.^Hʑi] with nouns denoting non-human referents, which combinations in turn refer to groups of people associated with these non-human referents. For instance, the noun 'house servants', [^Ldʑõ.^Hhõ=^Lmə.^Lʑi], is formed from the noun [^Ldʑõ.^Hhõ] 'house' followed by the plural marker [^Lmə.^Hʑi]. The literal meaning of this expression is 'people associated with the house'.

Similar to optional plural markers in many Sino-Tibetan languages, the use of [ᴸmə.ᴴʑi] precludes the definiteness of the noun it modifies. Consequently, [ᴸmə.ᴴʑi] is not compatible with a numeral and a classifier phrase and it does not co-occur with [ᴴᴸtʰi] 'the, that'.

3.5. Case markers

Shǐxīng has a fairly elaborate inventory of case markers, consisting of:
 i. the agentive and ablative marker [rɛ̃]
 ii. the animate patient marker [sɿ]
 iii. the instrumental and comitative marker [wu]
 iv. the genitive marker [ji]
 v. four locative markers: [ʁõ] 'on', [no] 'inside', [kɜ] 'at' and the general locative marker [lɜ~la]
 vi. the standards of comparison [sɿ-ʁɑ] and [ʑi]

These markers are outlined and exemplified presently, in that order. (Note that when co-occurring with personal pronouns, case markers may trigger ablauted alternants of the first and the third person pronouns, as discussed in §2.2.1).

Encoding of the semantic roles of agent and patient is governed in Shǐxīng by their respective ranking on the empathy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976):

speaker > hearer > non-participant > non-human animate > inanimate

The agent marker [rɛ̃] and the animate patient [sɿ] can be viewed as working in tandem to signal a highly transitive construction, that involves two maximally distinguished, independent participants (cf. Næss 2007). [rɛ̃] marks the volitional and instigating agent, whereas [sɿ] signals a highly individuated (definite and animate) patient, defined as affected and undergoing a change of state as a result of the event denoted by the verb. An additional patient marker in Shǐxīng is [wu], which, in contrast to [sɿ], indicates effected patients, i.e. those that unlike affected patients, are indefinite and do not undergo a change of state.

3.5.1. Agentive and ablative marker [rɛ̃]

The agentive marker [rɛ̃] is typically used to highlight the agentive character of an animate entity which is the controlling instigator of the action denoted by a transitive verb. It is required in the following scenarios:

[rɛ̃] is obligatory when the (animate) patient outranks the agent argument on the empathy hierarchy, or if both are equally ranked, as in the following example:

(29) ᴸdʑi-ᴴma＝ᴸlæ＝ᴸlɜ#, ᴴhĩ＝ᴸtʰi＝ᴸrɛ̃# ᴸtsʰu＝ᴴsɿ# ᴴbɑ̃# ᴸᴴʁɛ̃＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.

ᴸdʑi-ᴴma＝ᴸlæ＝ᴸlɜ,	ᴴhĩ＝ᴸtʰi＝ᴸrɛ̃	ᴸtsʰu＝ᴴsɿ	ᴴbɑ̃
one-day=become=LOC	person=that=AGT	ghost=PNT.ANM	guest

ᴸᴴʁɛ̃＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.
call=NMLZ.PST=COP
  'One day, the man invited the ghost to his place.' (Text 1, sentence 18)

The agentive marker [rɛ̃] is obligatory, when the patient is topicalized and precedes the agent. This happens when the action denoted by the verb is

presented from the perspective of its undergoer. Consider the following examples, sentence (30) with an inanimate and sentence (31) with an animate subject:

(30) ᴸɲi-ᴴwu# ᴴmi-ᴸʐæ=ᴸji# ᴸʁu-ᴴtsõ# ᴸʁɛ̃-ᴴtsõ# ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴʐʅ# ᴴkɪ-ᴸmi=ᴸrɛ̃#
    ᴴqʰuʒ=ᴸsʅ#, ᴸha-ᴸwu=ᴴsʅ# ᴸᴴkɛ̃=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸɲi-ᴴwu	ᴴmi-ᴸʐæ=ᴸji	ᴸʁu-ᴴtsõ	ᴸʁɛ̃-ᴴtsõ	ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴʐʅ
2SG-family	female-ʔ=GEN daughter	head-thing	neck-thing	that=TOP

ᴴkɪ-ᴸmi=ᴸrɛ̃	ᴴqʰuʒ=ᴸsʅ,	ᴸha-ᴸwu=ᴴsʅ	ᴸᴴkɛ̃=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
eagle-NM=AGT	steal=PRF	this-family=PNT.ANM	give=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘Your daughter's head and neck ornaments have been stolen by the eagle, and given by it to this family.’

(31) “ᴸŋʒ=ᴴsʅ# ᴸşõ-ᴴşõ=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴸdzʒ ᴸtɕi-ᴴtɕi# ᴸbʒ=ᴴji#,” ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.[17]

“ᴸŋʒ=ᴴsʅ	ᴸşõ-ᴴşõ=ᴸrɛ̃	ᴸdzʒ	ᴸtɕi-ᴴtɕi	ᴸbʒ=ᴴji,”
1SG=PNT.ANM	*personal.name*=AGT	eat	do-do	make=GEN

ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

‘The monk said: “I am about to be eaten by Shonshon!”’

Alternatively, [rɛ̃] can be used whenever the agentive character of an animate entity-instigator of the action denoted by the verb is to be stressed, for either semantic, pragmatic or structural reasons. For example, the agentive marker [rɛ̃] is required with non-human and inanimate agents (i.e. those ranked lower than the speaker, hearer and non-participant on the empathy hierarchy). For example:

(32) ᴴɦu# ᴸguʒ-ᴴɦu=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴸŋʒ=ᴴji# ᴴru-ᴴmi# ᴸlʒ-ᴴnɢɑ=ᴸdʑõ=ᴸjĩ.

ᴴɦu	ᴸguʒ-ᴴɦu=ᴸrɛ̃	ᴸŋʒ=ᴴji	ᴴru-ᴴmi
lake	nine-lake=AGT	1SG=GEN	walk-NM road

ᴴlʒ-ᴴnɢɑ=ᴸdʑõ=ᴸjĩ.
PFV-block=DUR=PROG

‘Nine lakes are blocking my way.’

The agentive marker [rɛ̃] is obligatory in relative clauses, given that relative clauses in Shǐxīng normally require all semantic roles of the participants to be overtly marked. For example:

(33) ᴸŋʒ=ᴴrɛ̃# ᴸdzʒ=ᴴtsʰa=ᴸji# ᴴᴸtʰu

---

[17] Note that this clause is nominalized and made complement of the copular verb [ᴸᴴɲõ]. This is a frequent sentence type in story narrations, further discussed in §4.6.

ᴸŋʒ = ᴴrɛ̃   ᴸdzʒ = ᴴtsʰa = ᴸji   ᴴᴸtʰu
1SG=AGT   eat=finish=GEN   way
   'a way (for me) to finish eating'

One more typical context for the use of [rɛ̃] is in direct speech sentences, where direct speech is positioned between the original speaker (marker by [rɛ̃]) and the verb of speaking, as in the following example:

(34) ᴸɬa.ᴸmu.ᴴtsʰu = ᴸrɛ̃#: "ᴴɲi# ᴸŋa = ᴴwu# ᴴdʒ ᴸʐu#, ᴴŋʒ# ᴸɲi = ᴴʂɻ# ᴴmiæ-
      ᴴʔũ# ᴸtɕi = ᴴgʒ#," ᴴᴸpʒ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴸɬa.ᴸmu.ᴴtsʰu = ᴸrɛ̃:   "ᴴɲi ᴸŋa = ᴴwu   ᴴdʒ   ᴸʐu,   ᴴŋʒ
moon=AGT   2SG 1SG=COM   fight COND 1SG
ᴸɲi = ᴴʂɻ   ᴴmiæ-ᴴʔũ   ᴸtɕi = ᴴgʒ,"   ᴴᴸpʒ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.
2SG=PNT.ANM downward-swallow   do=VOL   speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
   'The moon said: "If you fight with me, I will swallow you."'

Shǐxīng does not exhibit the widespread Sino-Tibetan isomorphysm of the agentive and the instrumental (cf. DeLancey 1984; LaPolla 1995). Instead, it displays an isomorphism between the agentive and the ablative, both cases being marked by the enclitic [rɛ̃]. The ablative use of this marker is illustrated in the following example:

(35) ᴴhĩ# ᴴɲʒ-ᴸmi ᴸa-ᴸba-ᴸtʂɻ# (...) ᴸɲʒ-ᴴjĩ = ᴸlʒ# ᴸlʒ-ᴸmʒ-ᴸmʒ = ᴴʂɻ#
      ᴸra.ᴸʁa = ᴴno = ᴸrɛ̃# ᴸdʑʒ = ᴴno# ᴸmiæ-ᴴtsa ᴸtɕi = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴴhĩ   ᴴɲʒ-ᴸmi   ᴸa-ᴸba-ᴸtʂɻ   ᴸɲʒ-ᴴjĩ = ᴸlʒ ᴸlʒ-ᴸmʒ-ᴸmʒ = ᴴʂɻ
person   heart-NM   ITSF-bad-?   eye=also   PFV-shut-shut=PRF
ᴸra.ᴸʁa = ᴴno = ᴸrɛ̃   ᴸdʑʒ = ᴴno   ᴸmiæ-ᴴtsa
cliff=inside=ABL   water=inside   downward-jump
ᴸtɕi = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.
do=NMLZ.PST=COP
   'The evil man shut his eyes and jumped from the cliff into the river.'

In both cases (the agentive and the ablative), the marker [rɛ̃] can be analyzed as signaling the source of the action denoted by the verb. In the case of the agentive case, it marks the agent, the instigator of the action; whereas in the case of the ablative, it indexes the location-source of the event. Of these two meanings, the ablative meaning is likely to have arisen first and to have subsequently spread through metaphorical extension to that of the agentive case marker, following the markedness/prototypicality clines (LaPolla 1992, 1995: 1170-1177; see also §4.5.1 for the isomorphism of the agentive/ablative marker [rɛ̃] with the instigation auxiliary [rɛ̃]).

3.5.2. Animate patient marker [sɻ]

[sɻ] is a marker of a high degree of affectedness and individuation in objects (cf. Næss 2007). It indexes both the (definite and animate) patient in monotransitive

clauses (e.g. example 29 above) and the goal or beneficiary in ditransitive clause (e.g. example 30 above). [sɹ] denotes total affectedness of the object that typically undergoes a change of state as a result of the event denoted by the verb. Consider an additional example:

(36) ᴴɲi# ᴸŋɜ = ᴴsɹ# ᴸdʑɜ = ᴴno# ᴸmiæ-ᴸʑyæ = ᴸxɪ = ᴴtɕæ!

ᴴɲi	ᴸŋɜ = ᴴsɹ	ᴸdʑɜ = ᴴno	ᴸmiæ-ᴸʑyæ = ᴸxɪ = ᴴtɕæ!
2SG	1SG=PNT.ANM	water=inside	downward-fall=CAUS=MIR

     'You have made me fall into the river!'

The animate patient marker [sɹ] is homophonous with the perfect auxiliary [sɹ], as further discussed in §4.4.1.

3.5.3. Instrumental and comitative marker [wu]

The instrumental case, "the case of the inanimate force or object causally involved in the state or action identified by the verb" (Fillmore 1968: 24) is signaled in Shǐxīng by the marker [wu], as in the following example:

(37) ᴴpɜ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlæ#, ᴴbi-ᴸmi = ᴸwu# ᴸtʰɜ = ᴴsɹ# ᴴti ᴴtɕi-ᴴtɕi# ᴸᴴbɜ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴴpɜ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlæ,	ᴴbi-ᴸmi = ᴸwu	ᴸtʰɜ = ᴴsɹ	ᴴti
speak=finish=become	axe-NM=INSTR	that=PNT.ANM	chop

ᴴtɕi-ᴴtɕi	ᴸᴴbɜ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.
do-do	make=NMLZ.PST=COP

     'Having said that he was about to chop him into pieces with an axe.'

The same marker serves to index the comitative case. The distinction between comitative and instrumental is based on animacy. An inanimate object involved in the action identified by the verb is read as expressing instrument (as in the examples above), whereas an animate object involved in the action identified by the verb is understood as human accompaniment.

     Similar to the animate patient marker [sɹ], the comitative marker [wu] marks animate patients of transitive verbs. In contrast to the definite and affected type of patients marked by [sɹ], however, those signalled by [wu] are either indefinite, as in example (38), or due to their accompanying involvement in the event denoted by the verb, not conceived as totally affected by this event, as in example (39).

  The type of patients signaled by [wu] is thus reminiscent of "effected [patient] objects", as defined by Hopper (1985: 69, quoted from Næss 2007; Næss 2007: 104).

(38) ᴴrõ-ᴸqɛ̃# ᴸba.ᴴru# ᴸdʑi-ᴸrɛ̃ = ᴴwu# ᴸʁu-ᴴpu = ᴸxa = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴴrõ-ᴸqɛ̃   ᴸba.ᴴru   ᴸdʑi-ᴸrɛ̃=ᴴwu
road-half   snake   one-strip=COM
ᴸʁu-ᴴpu=ᴸxa=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
head-bring?=go.PST=NMLZ.PST=COP
meet
      'Halfway the mouse ran into a snake.'

(39) ᴸDa.ᴴlə.ᴸku.ᴸku=ᴸrɛ̃#: "ᴸɬa.ᴸmu.ᴴtsʰu=ᴸwu# ᴴdʒ=ᴴgʒ#,"
      ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸDa.ᴴlə.ᴸku.ᴸku=ᴸrɛ̃:   "ᴸɬa.ᴸmu.ᴴtsʰu=ᴸwu   ᴴdʒ=ᴴgʒ,"
personal.name=AGT   moon=COM   fight=VOL
ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
      '(Once) Dalykuku said: "I will flight with the moon."'

The comitative marker [wu] is homophonous with the resultative auxiliary [wu] (§4.4.2).

3.5.4. *Genitive marker [ji]*

Genitive is a case whose basic role is to express possession, part-whole relationships and related semantic functions and thus to mark nouns or noun phrases which are dependent on another noun. A genitive noun phrase in Shǐxīng precedes the noun it modifies.

     Genitival relation in Shǐxīng can be expressed by a simple juxtaposition of two nouns or noun phrases, e.g. [ᴸdʑi.ᴸbu-ᴴwu# ᴸᴴzõ] 'king's son', [ᴸdʑi.ᴸbu-ᴴwu# ᴸdʑõ.ᴴhõ] 'king's house'. Otherwise, genitival relation is expressed by the genitive marker [ji], as in the following example:

(40) ᴸɲi-ᴴwu# ᴸᴴzõ# ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴸʁõ=ᴴji# ᴸba.ᴴru

ᴸɲi-ᴴwu   ᴸᴴzõ   ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴸʁõ=ᴴji   ᴸba.ᴴru
2SG-family   son   neck=on=GEN   snake
      'the snake on the neck of your son'

The genitive particle [ji] can also produce noun phrases without an overt head noun, as in sentence (41):

(41) ᴴha ᴴgu ᴴha# ᴸtʰi=ᴴji ᴸɲõ.

ᴴha ᴴgu   ᴴha   ᴸtʰi=ᴴji   ᴸɲõ.
this clothing   this   that=GEN   COP
      'This piece of clothing is his.'

[ji] is also used in Shǐxīng as a means of nominalization, converting verbal clauses into noun phrases. For example:

(42) ᴸzʒ-ᴴmi# ᴴtɕʰi=ᴴlæ=ᴴsɹ̩# ᴴqua=ᴴji=ᴸdʑõ?

^Lzɜ-^Hmi   ^Htɕʰi = ^Hlæ = ^Hsɻ   ^Hqua = ^Hji = ^Ldʑõ?

child-NM   what=become=PRF   cry=GEN=DUR

      'Why is the child crying ?'

3.5.5. *Locative markers*

Shǐxīng has a total of four locative enclitics: [ʁõ], [no], [kɜ] and [lɜ~la]. The former two, [ʁõ] and [no], transparently derive from the locative nouns [^{LH}ʁõ] 'on, up' and [^{LH}nõ] 'inside' (WT *nang*), respectively. [ʁõ] and [no] signal both stative and dynamic location, i.e. the stative positioning of the entity in question, respectively, on or inside a location and, alternatively, the movement in the direction onto or inside a location. In addition to spatial location, [ʁõ] and [no] also denote location in time. Consider some examples of the use of these markers:

    [ʁõ] 'on'

(i) Spatial location 'on' or 'in the direction onto':

(43)…^Hjĩ-^Hʑyæ = ^Lʁõ# ^Ldʑɜ-^Lçi = ^Hsɻ …

^Hjĩ-^Hʑyæ = ^Lʁõ   ^Ldʑɜ-^Lçi = ^Hsɻ

field-side=on   upward-stand=PRF

    '(The ghost) stood at the side of the field.' (Text 2, sentence 66)

(44) ... ^Hhĩ = ^Ltʰi = ^Lrɛ̃# ^Hsyi# ^Ldʑĩ-^Htʂõ# ^Hpu = ^Llɜ = ^Lsɻ#, ^Ltsʰu = ^Hji# ^Lli = ^Hʁõ# ^Lkʰu-^Ltsɻ-^Htsɜ = ^Ltsʰa = ^Llæ...

^Hhĩ = ^Ltʰi = ^Lrɛ̃   ^Hsyi   ^Ldʑĩ-^Htʂõ   ^Hpu = ^Llɜ = ^Lsɻ,

person=that=AGT   pine.torches one-bundle   bring=come.PST=PRF

^Ltsʰu = ^Hji   ^Lli = ^Hʁõ   ^Lkʰu-^Ltsɻ-^Htsɜ = ^Ltsʰa = ^Llæ...

ghost=GEN   hand=on   inward-bind-bind=finish=become

    '... the man took a bundle of pine torches and tied it to the ghost's hands...' (Text 1, sentence 23)

(ii) [ʁõ] also marks the possessor in existential sentences with the verb [^{LH}dʑõ] 'exist'; this, in line with a cross-linguistically common tendency to case-mark the possessor as a location. For example:

(45) ^Lʔõ-^Hrɛ̃ = ^Lʁõ# ^Hbõ = ^Hlɜ# ^Lba.^Hʁa#, ^Htyi-^Hrõ = ^Hlɜ# ^Lba.^Hʁa.

^Lʔõ-^Hrɛ̃ = ^Lʁõ   ^Hbõ = ^Hlɜ   ^Lba.^Hʁa,   ^Htyi-^Hrõ = ^Hlɜ   ^Lba.^Hʁa

self-PL=on   yak=also   many   mule-horse=also   many

    'We have a lot of yaks and mules.'

    The locative marker [ʁõ] is homophonous with the irrealis auxiliary [ʁõ] (§4.5.2).

    [no] 'inside'

(i) Spatial location 'inside' or movement 'in the direction inside' (with noun phrases). For example:

(46) ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ# ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃#: "ᴴdʑi.ᴴtɛ̃.ᴴkʰõ=ᴸno# ᴴndz̩-ᴴhĩ=ᴴz̩#
ᴸʔõ=ᴴdz̩ ᴸɲa=ᴸku# ᴸʑi=ᴸmʒ=ᴴjĩ=ᴸdʑõ."

ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ   ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃:   "ᴴdʑi.ᴴtɛ̃.ᴴkʰõ=ᴸno
that=become person=that=AGT world=inside
ᴴndz̩-ᴴhĩ=ᴴz̩   ᴸʔõ=ᴴdz̩ ᴸɲa-ᴸku
intimate-person=TOP   self=DU two-item
ᴸʑi=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ=ᴸdʑõ".
resemble=NEG=GEN=DUR
  'Then the man told him: "No one in the whole world is closer than the
  two of us."' (Text 2, sentence 24)

(47)ᴴɲi# ᴴʂu-ᴴdʑʒ=ᴸno# ᴸmiæ=ᴸtʰa=ᴴxu!

ᴴɲi ᴴʂu-ᴴdʑʒ=ᴸno   ᴸmiæ=ᴸtʰa=ᴴxu!
2SG Shu-water=inside downward=PROH=go.IMP
  'Do not fly into the Shu river!' (Text 1, sentence 33)

(ii) Temporal location (with verb phrases). [no] can be used in Shǐxīng to signal
an event as temporally located at the time of some other event, indicating the
simultaneity of two events. In this function, it is attached to the main verb of the
clause describing the first of the two events. For example:

(48) ... ᴴqua=ᴴno ᴸbʒ=ᴸs̩# ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃# ᴸᴴkyi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴqua=ᴴno   ᴸbʒ=ᴸs̩ ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃ ᴸᴴkyi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ...
cry=inside   make=PRF lung-liver stuff=NMLZ.PST=COP
  '... crying, the ghost prepared sausages of his wife's lungs and liver.'
  (Text 1, sentence 26)

In the absence of other clause connectors, [no] in this function is normally
followed by the conjunction [ᴸᴴɲi] 'and', e.g.:

(49) ᴴtʰʒ-ᴴrɛ̃# ᴸdzʒ=ᴸno ᴴɲi# ᴴtõ-ᴴtõ=ᴴjĩ.

ᴴtʰʒ-ᴴrɛ̃   ᴸdzʒ=ᴸno ᴴɲi ᴴtõ-ᴴtõ=ᴴjĩ.
that-PL   eat=inside and chat-chat=PROG
  'They are eating and chatting at the same time.'

*(iii) More idiosyncratically, [no] is used to introduce the animate (direct or
indirect) object of the verbs [ᴴtsʰi] 'like', [ᴴma] 'be named', [ᴴsu] 'understand'
and of verbs of speaking.* For example:

(50) ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi# ᴸdzʒ=ᴸno ᴴɲi#, ᴴhĩ# ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴno# ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi   ᴸdzɜ=ᴸno ᴴɲi ᴴhĩ   ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴno
ghost=that   eat=inside and person   that=inside
ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
      'While eating, the ghost asked the man.' (Text 2, sentence 52)

The enclitic [kɜ], on the other hand, indicates the allative meaning, attainment of a location. Its etymology is currently unclear. For example:

(51) ... ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu=ᴸkɜ# ᴴpɑo=ᴸlæ...

ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu=ᴸkɜ ᴴpɑo=ᴸlæ
that-family=at arrive=become
      '... when he came to their place...'

Finally, the enclitic [lɜ~la] signals a general locative meaning. It is likely to be a loan from Tibetan, the locative marker *la*. For example, [ᴴa=ᴴlɜ] 'here', [ᴴdʑũ=ᴴlɜ] 'in the mountains', [ᴸdʑi-ᴴhæ=ᴸsɿ=ᴸlɜ] 'every night', [ᴴsa-ᴴwi-ᴸma=ᴸlɜ] 'on the second evening'. In addition, [lɜ~la] is also frequently used in place names, as in the names of Xùmǐ villages, e.g. [ᴴdõ-ᴴla] 'Dōnglā' and [ᴴzɛ̃-ᴴla] 'Xīnzàng'. The name [ᴴzɛ̃-ᴴla] is derived from the noun [ᴴzɛ̃] 'bridge'. The village is situated at the place where an iron chain bridge once spanned the Shuǐluò River (cf. Rock 1947: 110).[18]

3.5.6. Standards of comparison: [sɿ.ʁa] and [ʑi]

Standard in comparative construction is marked by [sɿ.ʁa]. Based on standards of comparison in other Sino-Tibetan languages, the second element is likely to be related to the locative marker 'on', [ʁõ]. In addition, the first element, [sɿ], is possibly cognate with the comparative marker /-s/ in Qiāng (LaPolla with Huang 1996: 88-89). For example:

(52) ᴸlɜ-ᴴzɿ=ᴸsɿ.ᴸʁa# ᴸmiæ-ᴸzũ ᴴχɑ# ᴸᴴtʂa#, ᴸmiæ-ᴴzũ ᴸsɿ.ᴸʁa# ᴸdʑɜ-ᴸçi ᴴχɑ#
      ᴸᴴtʂa, ᴸdʑɜ-ᴴçi ᴸsɿ.ᴸʁa# ᴸbu-ᴸru ᴴχɑ# ᴸᴴtʂa.

ᴸlɜ-ᴴzɿ=ᴸsɿ.ᴸʁa   ᴸmiæ-ᴸzũ   ᴴχɑ   ᴸᴴtʂa,
PFV-sleep=CMPR   downward-sit   only   superior
ᴸmiæ-ᴴzũ=ᴸsɿ.ᴸʁa   ᴸdʑɜ-ᴸçi   ᴴχɑ   ᴸᴴtʂa,
downward-sit=CMPR   stand   only   superior
ᴸdʑɜ-ᴴçi=ᴸsɿ.ᴸʁa   ᴸbu-ᴸru   ᴴχɑ   ᴸᴴtʂa.
stand=CMPR   outside-walk   only   superior
      'Sitting is better than sleeping, standing is better than sitting, walking is better than standing.'

---

[18] Rock gives the name of the village as "Shen-dzong", meaning 'Iron Bridge', cf. the current Chinese name of the village: 新藏 Xīnzàng. Judging by the original meaning, as indicated by Rock, the Shǐxīng name of this village used to be [ᴴʂu-ᴴzɛ̃] 'Iron Bridge'.

Standard of equative comparison is signaled by the marker [ʑi], tentatively 'resemble', e.g.:

(53) ᴴdʑi.ᴴtɛ̃.ᴴkʰõ=ᴸno# ᴴndʐ̩-ᴴhĩ=ᴴz̩# ᴸʔõ=ᴴdz̩ ᴸɲa-ᴸku#
    ᴸʑi=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ=ᴸdʑõ.

ᴴdʑi.ᴴtɛ̃.ᴴkʰõ=ᴸno	ᴴndʐ̩-ᴴhĩ=ᴴz̩	ᴸʔõ=ᴴdz̩	ᴸɲa-ᴸku
world=inside	intimate-person=TOP	self=DU	two-item

ᴸʑi=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ=ᴸdʑõ.
resemble=NEG=GEN=DUR

'No one in the whole world is closer than the two of us.' (Text 2, sentence 24)

3.6. Topic marker [z̩]

A topic in Shǐxīng (i.e. the first noun phrase in a clause: the actor, the undergoer or a scene-setting topic) may be followed by the topic marker [z̩]. For example:

(54) ᴸʔõ=ᴴdz̩# ᴸɲa-ᴸku=ᴴz̩# ᴴka.ᴴpɑo# ᴴndʐ̩-ᴴhĩ#, ᴸzõ-ᴴzõ ᴸdʑɣʒ ᴸɲõ.

ᴸʔõ=ᴴdz̩	ᴸɲa-ᴸku=ᴴz̩	ᴴka.ᴴpɑo	ᴴndʐ̩-ᴴhĩ	ᴸzõ-ᴴzõ
self=DU	two-item=TOP	very	intimate-person	man-man

ᴸdʑɣʒ | ᴸɲõ.
friend | COP

'The two of us are so close, we are such great pals.' (Text 2, sentence 20)

If a sentence has two topics, one scene-setting (time or location) or one the agent or the undergoer, the order of the two topics is normally as follows: the scene-setting topic first, followed by the agent or undergoer topic. The marker [z̩] indexes the second topic, as in sentence (55). In addition, if the topic is followed by a case marker, [z̩] occurs after the case marker.

(55) ...ᴴwi# ᴸɲi=ᴸs̩=ᴴz̩# ᴴtsʰ̩# ᴸᴴtsʰuʒ ᴸdʑĩ# ᴴqɑo=ᴸrɛ̃...

ᴴwi	ᴸɲi=ᴸs̩=ᴴz̩	ᴴtsʰ̩	ᴸᴴtsʰuʒ	ᴸdʑĩ
night	2SG=PNT.ANM=TOP	goat	fat	one

ᴴqɑo=ᴸrɛ̃
butcher=INST

'Tonight, I will surely slaughter a fat goat for you.' (Text 1, sentence 28)

3.7. Pronouns

Personal pronouns in Shǐxīng distinguish singular, dual, and plural number in all persons. Shǐxīng singular pronouns include: [ᴴŋʒ] 'I', [ᴴᴸɲi] 'thou' and [ᴴᴸtʰi] 'he, she, that'. In addition, Huáng & Rénzēng (1991: 183) note separate variants of the first person pronoun, [ɲɑo], and of the second person pronoun, [nia]. These forms, however, have not been attested in my fieldwork. The form [ᴴᴸtʰi] is first and foremost the demonstrative pronoun 'that', which serves by semantic extension as the third person pronoun and as the definite marker, a common

feature of many Qiangic languages (Huáng 1991: 284-285) as well as cross-linguistically.

Plural forms are formed with the plural suffix [-rɛ̃], i.e. [^{H}ŋa-^{H}rɛ̃] 'we', [^{H}ɲi-^{H}rɛ̃] 'you' and [^{H}tʰɜ-^{H}rɛ̃] 'they' (note the irregular tones of these words, possibly due to analogical levelling). In addition, Shǐxīng has the inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person plural pronoun, viz. the exclusive [^{H}ŋa-^{H}rɛ̃] vs. the inclusive [^{L}ʔõ-^{H}rɛ̃] (< [^{HL}ʔõ] 'self', note the irregular tone of this word).

Collective plural for personal pronouns can be formed with the root [^{H}wu] 'family, clan'. For example, [^{H}ŋa-^{H}wu] 'we (as a group/family)', [^{H}ɲi-^{H}wu] 'you (as a group/family)' and [^{H}tʰu-^{H}wu] 'they (as a group/family)' (note the irregular tone of the latter two forms, possibly again, due to analogical leveling; in the form [^{H}tʰu-^{H}wu], the vowel of the root [tʰi] assimilates to the vowel of the second element, as discussed in §2.2.1.).

All personal pronouns can form dual by adding the dual marker [^{HL}dzɻ] to the singular personal pronoun form. The resulting form is often followed by the expression [^{L}ɲa-^{H}ku] 'two items' (< [ɲa] 'two' (bound) and the general classifier [ku]). For example: [^{L}ʔõ = ^{H}dzɻ (^{L}ɲa-^{L}ku)] 'the two of us (inclusive)', [^{H}ɲi = ^{H}dzɻ (^{L}ɲa-^{L}ku)] 'the two of you' and [^{H}tʰɜ = ^{H}dzɻ (^{L}ɲa-^{L}ku)] 'the three of them'.

Demonstrative pronouns in Shǐxīng are [^{LH}ha] 'this' and [^{HL}tʰi] 'that'. In addition, the bound form [tʂʰu] occurs in some words and set expressions in the meaning 'this', e.g. [^{H}tʂʰu-^{H}bə] 'this year'.

As noted by Huáng (1994: 187-188), the demonstrative pronouns in Shǐxīng can be placed (i) before, (ii) after and (iii) before *and* after the noun they modify. Based on the distribution of [^{LH}ha] and [^{HL}tʰi] in the recorded texts, I note that the former is mostly restricted to the position before and after the noun it modifies, whereas the latter can variously appear after as well as before and after the modified noun. For example, [^{H}ha ^{H}hĩ ^{H}ha] 'this man', [^{H}ha ^{H}gu ^{H}ha] 'this piece of clothing'; [^{H}tʰi ^{H}hĩ# ^{HL}tʰi] 'that man', [^{H}hĩ# ^{HL}tʰi] 'that man, the man'.

Contra Huáng (1994: 187-188), who attributes the same meanings and functions to these pronouns in all their positions in the noun phrase, I propose that there is a semantic and a functional difference associated with the positioning of the demonstrative pronoun [^{HL}tʰi] 'that' in Shǐxīng. When framing the noun, [^{HL}tʰi] is used in its function of the demonstrative pronoun 'that', whereas when placed after the modified noun, it rather serves the function of the definite marker as discussed in §3.3.

The plural forms of the demonstrative pronouns are formed with the plural suffix [-rɛ̃], i.e. [^{H}ha-^{H}rɛ̃] 'these', [^{H}tʰɜ-^{H}rɛ̃] 'those' (note the irregular tones of these forms).

The demonstrative pronouns [^{LH}ha] 'this' and [^{HL}tʰi] 'that' may be in an inflexional relationship with the locative nouns [^{H}a] 'here' and [^{H}tɜ] 'there' respectively.

Shǐxīng main interrogative pronouns are [^{HL}ɲi] 'who', [^{H}tɕʰi] 'what' (WT *chi*), [^{H}tɕʰi = ^{H}læ] 'why', [^{LH}zi] 'which', [^{LH}zɑ] 'where' and [^{L}nõ-^{H}zɻ] 'when' (for some examples, see sentences (1), (20) and (42) in §§3-4 and sentences (12) and (9) in the Appendix, texts 1 and 2, respectively).

3.8. Numerals

Shǐxīng cardinal numerals (numbers from 1 through 10) are native, while ordinal (numbers 1 through 9) are loans from Tibetan (see Table 8). Shǐxīng cardinal numerals distinguish between the free form [^{LH}dʑĩ] 'one' and bound forms for the numerals 2 through 10. The latter forms always co-occur with the general (bound) numeral classifier [ku] 'item'. Overall, tones in some numerals and numeral-classifier combinations are not entirely regular, and it is conceivable that some other factors than merely the synchronically regular tone derivation processes in phonological words (§2.3) have played a role in their derivation.

English	Shǐxīng	English	Shǐxīng	WT
one	^{LH}dʑĩ	first	^{L}tõ-^{H}pu	*dang po*
two	^{L}ɲa-^{H}ku	second	^{H}ɲi-^{H}pao	*gnyis pa*
three	^{H}sa-^{L}ku	third	^{H}sõ-^{H}pao	*gsum pa*
four	^{L}ʐуɜ-^{H}ku	fourth	^{H}zɭ-^{H}pao	*bzhi pa*
five	^{H}ɦõ-^{H}ku	fifth	^{H}ɦõ-^{H}pao	*lnga pa*
six	^{H}tɕʰu-^{H}ku	sixth	^{L}dzɭ-^{H}pao	*drug pa*
seven	^{H}ʂa-^{H}ku	seventh	^{L}dæ̃-^{H}pao	*bdun pa*
eight	^{H}ɕi-^{H}ku	eighth	^{L}dʑæ-^{H}pao	*brgyad pa*
nine	^{L}guɜ-^{H}ku	ninth	^{L}go-^{H}pao	*dgu pa*
ten	^{H}qɑ-^{L}ku	tenth	[not attested]	*bcu pa*

Table 8. Shǐxīng cardinal and ordinal numerals 1 to 10

Shǐxīng numerals 1 through 10 are unique forms, whereas all numerals starting from 'eleven' are composite.

Numerals between 12 to 19 are formed by juxtaposing the number 10 with the numbers 2 to 9 (without the classifier [ku]), in that order (i.e. 10+2, 10+3 etc.). For example, [^{H}qɑ-^{H}ɲi] 'twelve', [^{H}qɑ-^{H}ɦõ] 'fifteen', [^{L}qɑ-^{H}ʂa] 'seventeen' (all with irregular tone patterns, in view of the expected tone of [qɑ] 'ten' being /HL/). The form 'eleven' is formed by adding the (bound) stem [tɜ] 'one' to the stem [^{HL}qɑ] 'ten', i.e. [^{H}qɑ-^{H}tɜ] 'eleven' (again, with an irregular word tone). [tɜ] is a common Sino-Tibetan form for 'one', whereas the Shǐxīng form for 'one' [^{LH}dʑĩ] is more unusual.

The decades are formed by juxtaposing roots for the numbers 3 through 9 and the root for 'ten', in that order (i.e. 3x10 etc.). For example, [^{H}sa-^{H}qɑ] 'thirty', [^{H}ʐуɜ-^{L}qɑ] 'forty', [^{H}ɦõ-^{L}qɑ] 'fifty', [^{H}tɕʰu-^{L}qɑ] 'sixty', [^{H}ʂa-^{L}qɑ] 'seventy', [^{H}ɕi-^{L}qɑ] 'eighty', [^{H}gua-^{L}qɑ] 'ninety'. The form [^{L}na-^{H}ʁa] 'twenty' is an exception to this rule. It is tentatively a loan from Shuǐluò Prinmi [^{L}na-^{H}ʁa], cf. Táobā Prinmi [nə^{35}-ɣʌ^{53}] (Lù 2001: 453).

Numerals between two decades (e.g. 24, 35, 44 etc.) are formed by juxtaposing the decimal and the adjoined number, e.g. [^{L}na-^{H}ʁa# ^{LH}dʑĩ] 'twenty-one', [^{L}na-^{H}ʁa# ^{L}ɲa-^{H}ku] 'twenty-two', [^{H}ɦõ-^{L}qɑ# ^{H}sa-^{L}ku] 'fifty-three'.

The word for 'hundred' is [^{HL}ɕa] 'hundred' (WT *brgya*). Hundreds are formed by juxtaposing the numbers 1 to 9 to the root [^{HL}ɕa] (i.e. 1x100, 2x100 etc.), e.g. [^{L}dʑi-^{H}ɕa] 'one hundred', [^{L}ɲi-^{H}ɕa] 'two hundred', [^{H}sũ-^{L}ɕa] 'three hundred', [^{H}ʑуɜ-^{L}ɕa] 'four hundred', [^{H}ɦõ-^{L}ɕa] 'five hundred', [^{H}tɕʰu-^{L}ɕa] 'six hundred',

[ᴴʂa-ᴸɕa] 'seven hundred', [ᴴɕi-ᴸɕa] 'eight hundred' and [ᴴguʒ-ᴸɕa] 'nine hundred'.

Numbers above one hundred are formed with the intrusive conjunction [ᴸᴴɲi] 'and' between the hundred and the adjoined number, e.g. [ᴸdʑi-ᴸɕa ᴴɲi# ᴸᴴdʑĩ] 'one hundred and one', [ᴸdʑi-ᴴɕa ᴸɲi# ᴴqɑ-ᴸku] 'one hundred and ten'.

The word for 'thousand' is [ᴴtõ.ᴴtʂa] (WT *stong phrag*?). Numbers above thousand are formed similarly to those above hundred, by adding numerals 1 through 9. The form for 'ten thousand' is [ᴴtʂʰɻ̩.ᴴtsʰu# ᴸᴴdʑĩ] 'ten thousand', literally 'one time ten thousand' (WT *khri tsho*), the form for 'million' is [ᴴtʂʰɻ̩.ᴴtsʰu# ᴸdʑi-ᴴɕʒ] 'million', literally, 'one hundred times ten thousand'. Finally, 'one hundred million' in Shǐxīng is [ᴴtʂʰɻ̩.ᴴtsʰu# ᴸbõ.ᴴtʒ] (WT *khri tsho 'bum ther*).

3.9. Classifiers and measure words

Shǐxīng has a relatively well-developed numeral classifier system. Under the term 'classifier', I understand a form which has to accompany a numeral and which marks a noun as member of a specific class, based on the noun's semantics. Shǐxīng demonstrative pronouns do not require to be accompanied by a classifier.

Shǐxīng classifiers combine with numerals to form numeral phrases, which follow the noun they modify, e.g. [ᴴhɑo# ᴸdʑi-ᴴχu] 'one bowl of rice' (< [ᴴᴸqʰu] 'bowl'), [ᴴhĩ# ᴸɲa-ᴴku] 'two people', [ᴴdʑũ# ᴸguʒ-ᴴku] 'nine mountains'.

In counting, a numeral in Shǐxīng is required to be followed by a classifier (with the only exception of the numeral 'one'). In numeral-classifier phrases modifying a nominal head, the numeral [ᴸᴴdʑĩ] 'one' may be variously used either with or without a classifier. This variability possibly has to do with the dual function of [ᴸᴴdʑĩ] in Shǐxīng: on the one hand, as the numeral 'one', and, on the other hand, as the indefinite marker. Consequently, a classifier is required when [ᴸᴴdʑĩ] is used as the numeral 'one', and optional when [ᴸᴴdʑĩ] serves in the function of the indefinite marker. Compare: [ᴸba.ᴴru ᴸdʑĩ-ᴸrɛ̃] 'one snake' vs. [ᴸba.ᴴru# ᴸᴴdʑĩ] 'a snake'. This rule reasonably applies only when the modified noun refers to discrete and individualized entities, which allow both readings. When, on the other hand, the modified noun refers to non-discrete, liquid or massy entities (i.e. those which correspond to mass nouns in Indo-European languages, e.g. 'water', 'rice', 'meat'), [ᴸᴴdʑĩ] requires to be followed by the appropriate measure- or receptacle classifier, e.g. [ᴴhɑo# ᴸdʑi-ᴴχu] 'one bowl of rice'.

Shǐxīng numeral classifiers fall into two classes: (i) free forms which denote a measure and which can lend themselves to classifier use (these forms denote for the most part a measure and are frequently referred to as mensural or quantitative classifiers in the linguistic literature), and (ii) bound forms which are used uniquely as a classifier—sortal or quantitative classifiers, which categorize by some inherent characteristic of the referent, such as its shape or texture.

The latter group, i.e. sortal classifiers, is fairly restricted and consists in Shǐxīng of only two members: (i) the general classifier [ku] 'item', e.g. [ᴸᴴli ᴸɲa-ᴸku] 'two hands', [ᴴmu ᴸguʒ-ᴸku] 'nine forests', [ᴸɕi-ᴴbʒ# ᴸguʒ-ᴴku] 'nine pans';

and (ii) the classifier for elongated objects [ʳɛ̃] 'strip', e.g. [ᴴlɜ-ᴸsi# ᴸdʑi-ᴴrɛ̃] 'one arrow', [ᴸqʰɑo-ᴴwu# ᴸɲi-ᴴrɛ̃] 'two sticks'. Both classifiers appear to bear no morphophonemic relation to any free noun.

The former group (mensural classifiers), on the other hand, is large and can further be subdivided into the following groups on semantic and formal grounds:

(i) Group classifiers, i.e. classifiers which refer to aggregates or collectivities. For example, [ᴴlɑ] 'flock', e.g. [ᴴhĩ# ᴸdʑi-ᴴlɑ] 'a group of people', [ᴴtsʰŋ̍# ᴸdʑi-ᴴlɑ] 'a flock of sheep'; [ᴴᴸpɜ] 'pair', e.g. [ᴴɬi.ᴸkui# ᴸdʑi-ᴴpɜ] 'one pair of earrings', [ᴸpʰa.ᴴza# ᴸdʑi-ᴴpɜ] 'a pair of shoes'; [ᴴwu] 'family; couple', e.g. [ᴸz̩-ᴴbɜ ᴸdʑi-ᴸwu] 'a pair of plow oxen'.

(ii) Measure- or container- classifiers for nouns which refer to non-discrete, liquid or massy entities. For example, [ᴴdʑɜ# ᴸdʑi ᴸzõ-ᴴbi] 'one bucket of water' (< [ᴸzõ-ᴴbi] 'bucket'), [ᴴhõ ᴴdʑi# ᴸmiæ-ᴴzõ] 'one basket of vegetables' (< [ᴸmiæ-ᴴzõ] 'basket').

Many units of measure in the domain of merchandise and commerce in Shǐxīng are borrowings from Chinese. For example: [ᴸdʑi-ᴴpʰæ] 'fingertip to fingertip of out-stretched arms' (local Chinese dialect *pʰai⁵¹*), [ᴸtsʰŋ̍.ᴴtsŋ̍# ᴸᴴdʑĩ] 'foot, one-third of a meter' (Chinese *chǐzi*), [ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕi] 'one ounce' (Chinese *jīn*).

An interesting classifier among these borrowing, as pointed out by Huáng & Rénzēng (1991: 185), is [ᴸji.ᴴmu] 'one *mǔ* (a Chinese unit of measure for land, approximately equal to 0,067 hectare)'. [ᴸji.ᴴmu] is a loan of the Chinese expression consisting in Chinese of the numeral one, *yī*, and the classifier *mǔ*, viz. *yì mǔ* 'one *mǔ*', borrowed into Shǐxīng as one unsegmentable item. Having been borrowed into Shǐxīng, this expression has turned into a noun, as it now requires to be followed by the general classifier [ku] 'item' when counted (with numerals above 'one'), e.g. [ᴸji.ᴴmu# ᴸᴴdʑĩ] (Huáng & Rénzēng 1991: 185) 'one *mǔ*', [ᴸji.ᴴmu# ᴴsa-ᴸku] 'three *mǔ*'.

(iii) Autoclassifiers ("quasi-measures" or "autonomous measures", Chao 1968: 608-609). These classifiers refer to forms that are both nouns and classifiers at the same time. Most Shǐxīng autoclassifiers refer to units of time. For example, [ᴸdʑi-ᴴɬɜ] 'one month' (< [ᴴɬɜ] 'month'), [ᴸdʑi-ᴴkʰu] 'one year' (< [ᴴᴸkʰu] 'year', note that the initial [kʰ] is not lenited), [ᴴsõ-ᴸma] 'three days' (< [ᴴma] 'day'), [ᴴsõ-ᴸma# ᴴsõ-ᴸhæ] 'three days and three nights' (< [ᴴhæ] 'night') (note the irregular word tones).

(iv) Repeaters (Aikhenvald 2003 [2000]: 361-362). These classifiers have the same form as the noun they modify. For example [ᴸᴴbiæ# ᴸdʑi-ᴴwæ] 'one leaf', [ᴴhã# ᴸdʑi-ᴴhã] 'one meal', [ᴴɦu# ᴸguɜ-ᴴɦu] 'nine lakes'. Disyllabic nouns take their second syllable as their classifier, e.g. [ᴴsi-ᴸpõ# ᴴdʑi-ᴴpõ] 'one tree'.

(v) Classifiers for entities of a similar shape. For example, the noun [ᴸᴴbiæ] 'leaf' lends itself to the use of classifier for flat objects. For example, [ᴸʂo.ᴴʂũ# ᴸdʑi-ᴴwæ] 'one sheet of paper' (WT *shog shog* 'paper').

Shǐxīng classifiers are mostly of nominal origin, but some classifiers of verbal origin have also been attested. For example, [zɛ̃] 'pile' from the verb [ᴸlɜ-ᴴzɛ̃] 'pile up, stock' or [lu], classifier for pieces of clothing, from the verb [ᴴlu-ᴸlu] 'roll up, fold', e.g. [ᴴgu# ᴸdʑu-ᴴlu] 'one piece of clothing'.

That Shǐxīng has classifiers of both nominal and verbal origin means that an entity in Shǐxīng may be conceptualized as being a member of a certain class (with nominal classifiers) as well as being produced or placed in a certain fashion (verbal classifiers). One and the same noun can be combined with different (nominal and deverbal) classifiers to denote different shades of meaning. For example, the noun [ᴴtɕʰi.ᴸrə] 'book' can combine both with the deverbal classifier [zɛ̃] 'pile' and with the nominal classifier [ᴸᴴbiæ] 'leaf'. In the former case, the expression, [ᴴtɕʰi.ᴸrə# ᴸdʑi-ᴴzɛ̃] 'one book', refers to a traditional handwritten Tibetan book, which is literally a pile of bound sheets, i.e. a book is conceptualized as something which is piled up. In the latter case, on the other hand, the expression [ᴴtɕʰi.ᴸrə# ᴸdʑi-ᴴwæ] presents a book as rather belonging to the class of objects with flat surfaces (pages).

Verbal action classifiers precede the verb they modify. The most frequent general verbal action classifier is [ᴸᴴdza] 'once', as in the following example:

(56) ᴴbõ# ᴸnu-ᴸbæ-ᴸbæ＝ᴴtʰi# ᴸdʑi-ᴴdza# ᴸʁõ＝ᴴlæ#, ᴴɦiu-ᴸdʑɜ# ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴴsæ-
    ᴸɦiu# ᴴlæ＝ᴴxa＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ#, ᴸɬa＝ᴸmə.ᴴʑi# ᴸdʑi-ᴴdza# ᴴqua
    ᴸtɕi＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.

ᴴbõ	ᴸnu-ᴸbæ-ᴸbæ＝ᴴtʰi	ᴸdʑi-ᴴdza	ᴸʁõ＝ᴴlæ,	ᴴɦiu-ᴸdʑɜ
yak	black-?-?=that	one-time	win=become	lake-water

ᴴᴸtʰi	ᴴsæ-ᴸɦiu	ᴴlæ＝ᴴxa＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ,	
that	blood-lake	become=go.PST=NMLZ.PST=COP	

ᴸɬa＝ᴸmə.ᴴʑi	ᴸdʑi-ᴴdza	ᴴqua	ᴸtɕi＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.
deity=PL	one-time	cry	do=NMLZ.PST=COP

'When the black yak was winning, the water of the lake was turning into blood, and the deities were weeping.'

4. THE VERB COMPLEX

Verbal marking in Shǐxīng encodes the features of tense, aspect, mood, modality and mirativity by means of auxiliaries as well as, to a minor extent, by verb inflection.

Shǐxīng has grammaticalized absolute tense, with a clear past and non-past contrast reflected in past/non-past stems of some high frequency verbs (§4.1) and in past/non-past distinction in patient nominalizers (§4.12). The unmarked present signals situations ongoing at the time of the utterance (present-habitual) as well as generic or gnomic situations. The past, signalled by past stems of some high frequency verbs, refers to situations prior to the time of the utterance. ('Situation' is used here as a cover-term for states, processes, and events, Comrie 1976: 13.) Overall, most Shǐxīng verbs have only one stem; a small number of high frequency verbs have two stems; the verbs 'come' and 'go' have three stems (in suppletive distribution).

The perfect aspect, which expresses a relation between two time-points: the time of the state resulting from a prior situation and the time of that prior situation, is signaled by the perfect auxiliary [sɻ] (§4.4.1). The following aspectual meanings are expressed in Shǐxīng: (i) imperfective aspect (denoting

on-going situations existing prior to the time of utterance), signaled by [pu] (§4.4.4), (ii) perfective aspect (which indicates the view of a situation as a single whole), expressed by the perfective prefix [lɟ-] (§4.2), (iii) resultative aspect (denoting the result of a situation holding at the utterance time), marked by [wu] (§4.4.2), (iv) terminative/telic aspect, marked by [tsʰa] 'finish' (§4.4.3), (v) experiential aspect (signaling situations as experienced prior to the time of utterance), marked by [dʑɟ] (§4.4.5), (vi) two continuous aspects: (a) progressive (indicating the situation in progress at the reference time; with dynamic verbs), marked by [jĩ] and (b) durative (with stative verbs), signaled by [dʑõ] (§4.4.6) and (vii) the delimitative aspect (marking the situation as performed for a short period of time) signaled by the prefix [dʑi-] 'one' (§4.2).

The expression of modality and mood in Shǐxīng is here described in terms of agent-oriented modalities and speaker-oriented modalities (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994).

Agent-oriented modalities, which "report the existence of internal and external conditions on the agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate" (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 177), including obligation, desire, ability, permission and root possibility, are signaled in Shǐxīng by means of the auxiliaries [gɟ] (volition and certainly) and [rɛ̃] (instigation and possibility) (§4.5.1).

The expression of speaker-oriented modalities, which in contrast to agent-oriented modalities "do not report the existence of conditions on the agent, but rather allow the speaker to impose such conditions on the addressee" (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 179), including imperatives, optatives and permissives, includes in Shǐxīng the markers [liu] (strong command, realis) and [ʁõ] (polite request, irrealis) (§4.5.2).

Shǐxīng grammaticalizes the irrealis/realis distinction. (The realis mode applies to events or states portrayed as actualized, having occurred or currently occurring; whereas the irrealis mode signals events and states as unactualized, or as remaining within the realm of thought and imagination.) The realis mood in Shǐxīng is unmarked, whereas the irrealis mood is signaled by the auxiliary [ʁõ]. This marker represents the irrealis mood in a variety of contexts, including (i) subjunctive or counterfactual conditionals, the irrealis construction type *par excellence* (Mithun 1995: 384, 1999: 179), given that this construction signals contrary-to-fact situations, i.e. those that contradict what is known to be real, and which are classified as irrealis in most languages with distinct irrealis marking, (ii) commands, and (iii) the optative mood (that indicates a wish or hope) (§4.5.2).

The grammaticalization of the irrealis mood in Shǐxīng is interesting from the point of view of the presence of a full-fledged and uniformed marked inflectional irrealis morphology in another Qiangic language, rGyalrong, where the irrealis category is moreover posited as a pandialectal grammatical feature (Sun 2007). Notably, the formal marking (inflexional morphology in rGyalrong vs. auxiliary in Shǐxīng) and the respective origins of this marking in the two languages are distinct. Moreover, the range of irrealis contexts attested in rGyalrong is

considerably larger than that in Shǐxīng, including imaginative conditionals, optative, object complements to deontic matrix verbs, dubitative future, irrealis imperative and jussives. In sum, while the semantic nature of the realis/irrealis distinction is stable in both languages, its precise application is distinct, reflecting the distinct diachronic development of this grammatical category in these two languages.

Shǐxīng has a mirative marker [tɕæ] (§4.6).

Shǐxīng has four existential or locative verbs used for purposes of nominal sub-classification, namely (i) [LHjĩ], expressing the existence, location or possession of animate beings; (ii) [LHdʑõ], expressing the existence or possession of inanimate beings; (iii) [HLkʰuɜ], expressing containment; and (iv) [LHdzi], signaling the position of an entity attached to some location (§4.7).

Unlike some other Qiangic languages (e.g. rGyalrong or Qiāng), Shǐxīng verbs do not show agreement for person and number. Neither are they inflected for voice. Dissimilar to the Tibetic languages in its neighbourhood, Shǐxīng does not demonstrate a conjunct-disjunct distinction, and its verbs do not have honorific counterparts.

Overall, the core of a verb phrase in Shǐxīng is a verbal nucleus, which consists of one or more verbs. The possible order and the overall inventory of elements which may precede and/or follow this verbal nucleus are specified in Table 9.

	Adverbial
Directional prefixes	[dʑi-] 'upward'
	[miæ-] 'downward'
	[kʰu-] 'inward; fro'
	[bə-] 'outward'
	[ɕi-] 'to'
Perfective prefix	[lɜ-] 'have V-ed'
Delimitative prefix	[dʑi-] 'V a little bit'

Verbal nucleus (one or more verbs)

Causative	[-xɪ] 'cause to V'
Aspect	perfect: [sʅ] imperfective: [pu] experiential: [dʑɜ] resultative: [wu] terminative: [tsʰa] progressive: [jĩ] durative: [dʑõ]
Mood and modality	volition and certainty: [gɜ] instigation and possibility: [rɛ̃] imperative: [tɕu] hortative (strong command): [liu] irrealis: [ʁõ]
Mirativity	[tɕæ]

Table 9. Verb complex in Shǐxīng

Some of the aforementioned categories may be redundantly signaled syntactically (by auxiliaries) and by means of inflection. For example, causatives in Shǐxīng may be formed by inflection (consonant alternation) and by the addition of the causative suffix [-xɪ] (§4.3). The imperative can in turn be formed by ablaut (in some irregular verbs) and by means of the imperative marker [tɕu] (§4.1).

Among auxiliaries, a distinction can be made between those that can be used sentence finally and can be preceded by the negator [mV] and the question particle [a] and those which cannot be used sentence-finally and be preceded by the negator [mV] and the question particle [a]. The latter group includes the imperfective marker [pu], the resultative marker [wu], the terminative marker [tsʰa] and the imperative marker [tɕu]. The former group includes the remaining auxiliaries in Table 9.

4.1. Verbs of motion and irregular verbs

Shǐxīng has a large inventory of verbs of motion, including three verbs meaning 'go' or 'walk': [$^{\text{H}}$ru] 'walk, go on foot', [$^{\text{LH}}$bi] 'go, walk' and [$^{\text{HL}}$tsɑ] 'go, walk'; and three verbs meaning 'come': [$^{\text{LH}}$liu]~[$^{\text{H}}$lɜ] 'come, enter', [$^{\text{H}}$wu] 'come, return' and [$^{\text{LH}}$tɕʰũ] 'come' (the use of this form is restricted to past situations). The verbs [$^{\text{LH}}$bi] 'go, walk', [$^{\text{LH}}$liu] 'come, enter' and [$^{\text{H}}$wu] 'come, return' have cognates in Nà, Ngwi and Burmic languages. For example, [$^{\text{LH}}$bi] is likely to be related to the verb 'go' in Yǒngníng Nàxī [biꜜ] or Nuosu /bo/. The verbs [$^{\text{LH}}$liu] 'come, enter' and [$^{\text{H}}$wu] 'come, return', on the other hand, are likely to be cognate with *la* 'come' and *waŋ* 'enter', respectively, in Written Burmese.

The Shǐxīng verbs 'go' and 'come' have each three stems, combining suppletive verb forms with verb stem derivation through vocalic alternation (ablaut).

The verb 'go' has [$^{\text{LH}}$bi] as its non-past stem, [$^{\text{LH}}$xa] as the past stem and [$^{\text{LH}}$xu] as the imperative stem, the latter two stems are connected through ablaut.

The verb 'come' has the form [^{LH}liu] as its non-past and imperative stem and [^{LH}lɜ] as its past stem (compare also the Proto-Loloish pair *la^1/*li^2, Bradley 1979: 356, #649A-649B). One more (bound) form, [læ], which my language consultants translate as 'have become, have evolved into' (but also as 'good', as in Text 1, sentence 19) and which serves mostly as a clause connector in the recorded texts, is also likely to be derived from [^{LH}liu] or [^{LH}lɜ] through ablaut (i.e. [iu] or [ɜ] < [æ]). Based on the semantics of the forms involved, I tentatively analyze [læ] as derived through the process of perfectivization.

A limited number of Shǐxīng high frequency verbs use ablaut to form the imperative stem, whereby the original vowel of the verbal root changes to *u* in the imperative, as summarized in Table 10. This change is possibly related to the formation of the imperative stem in Written Tibetan through stem ablaut, whereby *a* or *e* in the present stem change to *o* in the imperative stem.

Meaning	*Citation form*	*Imperative*
do	^{LH}tɕi	^{HL}tɕu
look, watch	^{H}ɕĩ	^{H}ɕun
eat	^{LH}dzɜ	^{LH}dzu
drink	^{LH}tɕ^{h}ĩ	^{LH}tɕ^{h}un
speak	^{HL}pɜ	^{HL}pu[19]
make	^{LH}bɜ	^{HL}bu
perform	^{LH}dɜ	^{LH}du
sit down	^{L}miæ-^{H}zũ	^{L}miæ-^{H}zõ
come out[20]	^{L}bu-^{L}ʁu-^{H}ɕu	^{L}bu-^{L}ʁu-^{H}ɕun

Table 10. Imperative forms of some high frequency verbs

(Note that in two instances, the verbs [^{LH}tɕi] 'do' (WT *byed*) and [^{LH}bɜ] 'make', the formation of the imperative involves a change in tone.)

The presence of the coda *-n* in some verbs, viz. 'look, watch', 'drink', 'speak' and 'come out', may reflect the presence of the original nasal coda, cf. the corresponding Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms: respectively, **hyen* 'look' (Matisoff 2003: 65), **m-daŋ ⪥ *m-doŋ* (ibid., p. 123 123; note that these forms are only reconstructed to Proto-Lolo-Burmese) 'drink', **br(w)aŋ* 'speak' (ibid., p. 523) and **hwaŋ* for 'come' (ibid., p. 269).

The imperative form of the verb [^{LH}tɕi] 'do', [^{HL}tɕu] (in free variation with [^{HL}tʂu]), serves as the general imperative marker for Shǐxīng verbs with one stem. For example:

(57) ^{H}hĩ# ^{L}t^{h}ɜ = ^{H}no#: "^{L}bi = ^{H}sɻ#, ^{H}lɜ.^{L}si = ^{L}wu# ^{H}bõ# ^{L}nu-^{L}bæ-^{H}bæ# ^{HL}t^{h}i# ^{L}lɜ-^{H}si = ^{L}tɕu#," ^{HL}pɜ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.

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[19] In addition to [^{HL}pu], Huáng & Rénzēng (1991: 189) also quote the form [pɜ-n^{53}] as the imperative stem of the verb [^{HL}pɜ] 'speak'. This form has so far not been attested in my fieldwork.

[20] This form consists of the directional prefix [bu-] 'outward', the form [^{LH}ʁu] 'head, beginning', and the verbal root [ɕu], which is likely to be the lenited form of the verb [^{LH}tɕ^{h}ũ] 'come'.

^Hhĩ   ^Ltʰʒ = ^Hno: "^Lbi = ^Hsʅ,   ^Hlʒ.^Lsi = ^Lwu   ^Hbõ
person   that=inside go=PRF   arrow=INSTR   yak
^Lnu-^Lbæ-^Hbæ   ^{HL}tʰi   ^Llʒ-^Hsi = ^Ltɕu,"   ^{HL}pʒ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.
black-?-?   that   PFV-kill=do.IMP   speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

    '(They said) to the man: "Go [literally, having gone] and kill the black yak with an arrow."'

4.2. Verbal prefixes

Shǐxīng has a total of seven verbal prefixes, of which five are directional, namely [dʑi-] 'upward', [miæ-] 'downward', [kʰu-] 'inward; fro', [bə-] 'outward' and [ɕi-] 'to'; one signals the perfective aspect, [lʒ-]; and one signals the delimitative aspect, [dʑi-].

Of the five directional prefixes, the first four are used with high frequency, whereas the fifth has been noted only in set expressions (in combination with [kʰu-] 'fro'), e.g. [^Lɕi-^Llʒ-^Hbɛ̃# ^Lkʰu-^Llʒ-^Hbɛ̃] 'have rolled back and forth' or [^Lɕi-^Llʒ-^Hsuɛ̃# ^Lkʰu-^Llʒ-^Hsuɛ̃] 'have led to and fro'.

In contrast to the five directional prefixes, the prefix [lʒ-] does not imply any directional meaning. Its function is that of denoting the perfective aspect. In other words, the addition of this prefix typically adds nothing to the meaning of the verb other than perfective meaning, e.g. [^{LH}dzʒ] 'eat' vs. [^Llʒ-^Hdzʒ] 'have eaten'.

The co-existence of various directional prefixes with one specifically aspectual, perfective, prefix in Shǐxīng is reminiscent of earlier stages of the development of the expression of the perfective aspect in the Slavonic languages––a stage where prefixing a simple verb does not in itself lead to perfectivisation, whereas certain prefixal usages have already come to be interpreted as specifically perfective (cf. Comrie 1976: 89-90).

Based on the cross-linguistic tendency for directional terms to develop the perfectivizing meaning by making a process telic or bounded (Comrie 1976: 89-90; Bybee & Dahl 1989: 85-86), the prefix [lʒ-] in Shǐxīng is likely to have been connected to some directional meaning at an earlier period. Synchronically, the addition of [lʒ-] changes the aspect of the verb, as well as, in some isolated cases, the meaning of the verb, as in the pair [^Hgu] 'wear' vs. [^Hlʒ-^Hgu] 'put on'.

The prefix [dʑi-] marks the action denoted by the verb as performed 'a little bit', for a short period of time (i.e. the delimitative aspect, Li & Thompson 1981: 232). For example:

(58) ^Hɲi# ^Hkʰu-^Hwu = ^Hsʅ# ^Ldʑi-^Hɕĩ = ^Ldu!

^Hɲi   ^Hkʰu-^Hwu = ^Hsʅ   ^Ldʑi-^Hɕĩ = ^Ldu!
2SG inward-come=PRF   one-look=perform.IMP
    'Come in take a look!'

The prefix [dʑi-] is in all likelihood related to the numeral [^{LH}dʑĩ] 'one', used with the verb as a measure. [dʑi-] may attach to a single verb stem or, if one of the directional or the perfective prefix is present, follow them, as in the following example:

(59) … ᴴtsʰɿ# ᴸha=ᴴʁõ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕu#, ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴʁõ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕu#,
  ᴸha=ᴴlə# ᴸtsʰuɜ=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ#, ᴸtʰi=ᴴlɜ# ᴸtsʰuɜ=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ…

ᴴtsʰɿ	ᴸha=ᴴʁõ	ᴸɕi-ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕu,	ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴʁõ
goat	this=up	to-one-feel	that=up

ᴸkʰu-ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕu,	ᴸha=ᴴlə	ᴸtsʰuɜ=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ,
fro-one-feel	here=also	fat=NEG=PROG

ᴸtʰi=ᴴlɜ	ᴸtsʰuɜ=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ
that-also	fat=NEG=PROG

‘[In the shed, the man stroked left and right in the darkness, saying that] the goats he could feel were not fat enough.’ (Text 1, sentence 25)

4.3. Causatives

Shǐxīng has two morphological processes marking causativization. One, marking causativization by consonant alternation, has restricted productivity. It is mostly attested in a limited number of verbal roots. Another process, causative formation with the causative suffix [-xɿ], is, on the other hand, fully productive.

4.3.1. Lexical causativization

Similar to most Sino-Tibetan languages, Shǐxīng has a number of lexical causative verbs, formed by consonant alternation. These causative verbs contain plain voiceless initials, whereas the corresponding non-causatives contain voiced ones.

A complete list of Shǐxīng lexical non-causative-causative pairs attested so far is provided below:

[ᴸlɜ-ᴴʁɛ̃] ‘snap, be snapped’	vs.	[ᴸlɜ-ᴴχɛ̃] ‘cause to snap’
[ᴸlɜ-ᴴʁu] ‘break, be broken’	vs.	[ᴸlɜ-ᴴχu] ‘cause to break’
[ᴸlɜ-ᴴʁɑo] ‘die out (e.g. fire)’	vs.	[ᴸlɜ-ᴴχɑo] ‘slaughter’
[ᴴᴸdzũ] ‘stand, dwell’	vs.	[ᴴᴸtsũ] ‘cause to stand’
[ᴴgyi] ‘be given, allowed’	vs.	[ᴴkyi] ‘give, dispatch, send’

4.3.2. Productive causativization with the causative suffix [-xɿ]

The causative suffix [-xɿ], e.g. [ᴸᴴdzɜ] ‘eat’ vs. [ᴸdzɜ-ᴴxɿ] ‘cause to eat’, is likely to be derived from the verb [ᴴᴸkʰɿ] ‘throw, let go, release’ through the process of initial lenition. A combination of the verb and the causative suffix [-xɿ] may be further followed by aspectual or modal auxiliaries, as in the following sentence:

(60) … ᴴwi=ᴸzɿ# ᴸɲi=ᴴsɿ# ᴴtsʰɿ ᴴdʑĩ# ᴴqɑo=ᴸsɿ#, ᴸdzɜ=ᴸxɿ=ᴴgɜ.

ᴴwi=ᴸzɿ	ᴸɲi=ᴴsɿ	ᴴtsʰɿ	ᴴdʑĩ	ᴴqɑo=ᴸsɿ,
night=TOP	2SG=PNT.ANM	goat	one	slaughter=PRF

ᴸdzɜ=ᴸxɿ=ᴴgɜ.
eat=CAUS=VOL

‘… tonight I will slaughter and offer you [cause you to eat] a goat.’ (Text 1, sentence 20)

4.4. Aspectual auxiliaries

4.4.1. The perfect auxiliary [sɿ]

The perfect auxiliary [sɿ] indicates the continuous present relevance of a past situation, relating some state to a preceding situation. For example:

(61) ^Hŋɜ# ^Hma# ^Ldʑi-^Hma# ^Lzɿ-^Lbɜ ^Llɜ-^Lɕæ = ^Hsɿ.

^Hŋɜ	^Hma	^Ldʑi-^Hma	^Lzɿ-^Lbɜ	^Llɜ-^Lɕæ = ^Hsɿ.
1SG	day	one-day	?-ox	PFV-search=PRF
			plow.ox	

　　'I have been looking for the plow ox all day.' (Text 2, sentence 8)

[sɿ] is also used for the purpose of determining the sequence of tenses (temporal succession of two events). For example:

(62) ^{LH}tsʰu ^Ldʑĩ = ^Lrɛ̃# ^Ltʰu-^Hwu# ^Lzɿ-^Hbɜ# ^Hlɜ-^Hzĩ = ^Hsɿ#, ^Htsʰa-^Lki ^Lmu = ^Lno# ^Lɕi-^Lla-^Hsuɛ̃# ^Lkʰu-^Lla-^Hsuɛ̃# ^{LH}bɜ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^{LH}tsʰu	^Ldʑĩ = ^Lrɛ̃	^Ltʰu-^Hwu	^Lzɿ-^Hbɜ	^Hlɜ-^Hzĩ = ^Hsɿ,
ghost	one=AGT	that-family	?-ox	PFV-seize=PRF
			plow.ox	
^Htsʰa-^Lki	^Lmu = ^Lno		^Lɕi-^Llɜ-^Hsuɛ̃	^Lkʰu-^Llɜ-^Hsuɛ̃
thorn.bush	grove=inside		to-PFV-lead	fro-PFV-lead
^{LH}bɜ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.				
make=NMLZ.PST=COP				

　　'A ghost had caught his plow ox and was now leading it to and fro in the
　　thorny bushes.' (Text 2, sentence 7)

In addition, if the first verb phrase contains a stative verb, the concatenation of the two verb phrases connected by [sɿ] may be interpreted as a resultative expression, where the first verb phrase modifies the second, describing the circumstances or the manner in which the second event has been performed, as in the following examples:

(63) ^Lʑi-^Lwu = ^Lwu = ^Hsɿ# ^{LH}pʰɛ̃

^Lʑi-^Lwu = ^Lwu = ^Hsɿ	^{LH}pʰæ̃
be.afraid=RES=PRF	escape

　　'escape in fear', literally 'escape after having been scared' (Text 1,
　　sentence 7)

(64) ^{LH}tʂʰõ ^Lbɜ = ^Lsɿ# ^{LH}pʰæ̃

^{LH}tʂʰõ	^Lbɜ = ^Lsɿ	^{LH}pʰæ̃
quick	make=PRF	escape

　　'precipitously escape'

Overall, in form and meaning, the perfect auxiliary [sɿ] in Shǐxīng is strongly reminiscent of the Yǒngníng Nà perfective, change of state marker and clause linker [ze³³~zɔ³³] (Lidz 2006: 21-25) and the Lisu marker [sɿ⁵⁵] (David Bradley, p.c.).

The perfect auxiliary [sɿ] can freely combine in Shǐxīng with other aspectual auxiliaries, more precisely (i) the durative (imperfective) auxiliary [dʑõ] (the perfect of persistent situation), e.g. [ᴸqɑo-ᴴqɑo ᴸdʑõ=ᴸsɿ] 'have been helping'; (ii) the resultative auxiliary [wu] (the perfect of result), e.g. [ᴴsyi ᴸpu=ᴸwu=ᴸsɿ] 'have brought pine torches'; and (iii) the expression of the perfective aspect by means of the perfective prefix [lɜ-], e.g. [ᴴlɜ-ᴴzĩ=ᴴsɿ] 'have caught'. The combinability and the resultant meaning of these aspectual distinctions are consistent with the meaning and functions of the perfect cross-linguistically. The perfect links a present state to a past situation, whether this past situation was an individual event, or a state, or a process not yet completed (Comrie 1976: 62).

The perfect auxiliary [sɿ] is homophonous with the animate patient marker [sɿ] (§3.5.2). The two can be said to be related through the meaning of 'change of state'. While the former, propositional, marker indicates a temporal change of state, describing a situation as relevant at the moment of speech or another point of reference; the latter, nominal marker, signals that the patient that it modifies undergoes a change of state as a result of the action of the verb.

4.4.2. Resultative [wu]

The resultative auxiliary [wu] signals that a state or an event exists as a result of a transition in the past. In contrast to the perfect aspect, it implies the presence of a direct result of the reported event, where the nature of the result is directly defined by the meaning of the verb (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 68). [wu] is possibly related to the verb [ᴴwu] 'come, return'. For example (in the following sentence, the form [wu] is the resultative auxiliary on its first occurrence and the verb 'return' on the second occurrence):

(65) ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴴʂɿ# ᴸlɜ-ᴸlo-ᴸlu=ᴸwu=ᴴsɿ# ᴴtõ.ᴴbɑo ᴸbɜ=ᴸsɿ#, ᴸdʑõ.ᴴhõ# ᴴlɜ-ᴴwu# ᴸtɕi-ᴴtɕi# ᴸᴴbɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸsɪ.ᴴji	ᴴʂɿ	ᴸlɜ-ᴸlo-ᴸlu=ᴸwu=ᴴsɿ	ᴴtõ.ᴴbɑo
then	fishing.net	PFV-fold-fold=RES=PRF	empty.handed
ᴸbɜ=ᴸsɿ,	ᴸdʑõ.ᴴhõ	ᴴlɜ-ᴴwu	ᴸtɕi-ᴴtɕi	ᴸᴴbɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
make=PRF	house	PFV-return	do-do	make=NMLZ.PST=COP

'Then, having wrapped the fishing net, he was about to return home empty-handed.'

The resultative auxiliary [wu] is formally identical to the comitative marker [wu] (§3.5.4).

4.4.3. Terminative [tsʰa] 'finish'

The terminative/telic marker [tsʰa] 'finish' indicates that an activity or action has come to an end, and focuses on its termination. This form is in all likelihood a

borrowing from Tibetan, *tshar,* where it also serves as a terminative auxiliary. For example:

(66) ᴸʂõ ᴸpʰa.ᴴza# ᴴru = ᴸsɻ#, ᴸbu-ᴴʐũ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸxɪ#, ᴸtʰʒ = ᴸlæ = ᴴzɻ# ᴴɲi# ᴴdʑʒ-ᴴmiæ# ᴴbu-ᴴwu ᴸgyi.

ᴸʂõ	ᴸpʰa.ᴴza	ᴴru = ᴸsɻ,	ᴸbu-ᴴʐũ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸxɪ,
iron	shoe	walk=PRF	outward-go.through=finish=CAUS

ᴸtʰʒ = ᴸlæ = ᴴzɻ		ᴴɲi	ᴴdʑʒ-ᴴmiæ	ᴴbu-ᴴwu
that=become=TOP		2SG	outside-below	outward-return

ᴸgyi.
be.allowed

'Only when you wear down the iron shoes, will you be allowed to return to the earth.' ([ᴸbu-ᴴʐũ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸxɪ], literally 'cause to finish wearing down')

4.4.4. *Imperfective [pu]*

The imperfective meaning is expressed by the marker [pu] followed by the past stem of the verb 'go', [ᴸᴴxa], or the past form of the verb 'come', [ᴸᴴtɕʰũ]. [pu] is possibly related to the verb [ᴴᴸpu] 'bring'. Consider the following examples:

(67) ᴸtʂa.ᴴwʒ# ᴴa-ᴴka# ᴸᴴdʑĩ-ᴸdʑĩ# (...) ᴸbu-ᴸdzu-ᴴdzõ# ᴸbu-ᴸdzu-ᴴdzõ# = ᴴpu = ᴸxa = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʂa.ᴴwʒ	ᴴa-ᴴka	ᴸᴴdʑĩ-ᴸdʑĩ	ᴸbu-ᴸdzu-ᴴdzo
monk	INTSF-small?	one-one	outward-run-run

ᴸbu-ᴸdzu-ᴴdzõ = ᴴpu = ᴸxa = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.
outward-run-run=IPFV=go.PRF=NMLZ.PST=COP

'The small monks were running out one after the other.'

(68) ᴸdʑi-ᴴma# ᴸdʑyʒ-ᴴza# ᴴpu = ᴸtɕʰũ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴸdʑi-ᴴma	ᴸdʑyʒ-ᴴza	ᴴpu = ᴸtɕʰũ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.
one-day	snow-fall	IPFV-come.PST=NMLZ.PST=COP

'One day, the snow started to fall.'

4.4.5. *Experiential [dʑʒ]*

The experiential auxiliary verb [dʑʒ] marks an event as having been experienced in the past. For example:

(69) ᴸŋʒ = ᴸsɻ = ᴴlʒ# ᴴʔu-ᴴri-ᴴhĩ# ᴸᴴdʑĩ = ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴqõ# ᴸlʒ-ᴸɕu ᴴdʑʒ#, ᴴtʰi ᴴhĩ ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴸᴴa = ᴸɲõ?

^Lŋʒ=^Lsɹ̩=^Hlʒ   ^Hʔu-^Hri-^Hhĩ   ^{LH}dʑĩ=^Lrɛ̃   ^Hqõ
1SG=PNT.ANM=also   fish-fish-person   one=AGT   fate
^Llʒ-^Lɕu=^Hdʑʒ, ^Htʰi   ^Hhĩ   ^{HL}tʰi   ^{LH}a=^Lɲõ?
PFV-save=EXP   that   person   that   Q=COP
      'My life has once been saved by a fisherman too, is that man him?'

4.4.6. Progressive [jĩ] and durative [dʑõ]

Shǐxīng has two auxiliaries that signal present situations as being in effect or in progress, i.e. [jĩ] and [dʑõ]. Both markers have grammaticalized from existential verbs, the former from the verb [^{LH}jĩ] for animate nouns (§4.7.1), and the latter from the verb [^{LH}dʑõ] for inanimate nouns (§4.7.2), in line with the widespread cross-linguistic pattern of progressive aspect developing out of expressions referring to the place where something is located (see for example Bybee & Dahl 1989: 77, 83-86; Heine & Kuteva 2001: 202-203, LOCATIVE > CONTINUOUS).

     Overall, [jĩ] tends to be mostly used with dynamic verbs, whereas [dʑõ] is more often used with stative verbs. Therefore, I analyze the former as 'progressive' and the latter as 'durative'.[21] For example:

(70) ^Hŋʒ# ^Hri# ^Hhɑo ^Ldzʒ=^Ljĩ.

^Hŋʒ   ^Hri   ^Hhɑo   ^Ldzʒ=^Ljĩ.
1SG   now   rice   eat=PROG
     'I am eating right now.'

(71) ^Hsĩ# ^Ldʑi-^Hzɛ̃# ^Htɕʰĩ-^Lhũ# ^Hdʑʒ-^Hmiæ# ^{LH}zɛ̃=^Ldʑõ.

^Hsĩ   ^Ldʑi-^Hzɛ̃   ^Htɕʰĩ-^Lhũ   ^Hdʑʒ-^Hmiæ   ^{LH}zɛ̃=^Ldʑõ.
wood   one-pile   door   outside-below   pile=DUR
     'Outside of the door there was a pile of firewood.', literally 'One pile of wood was piling up outside of the door.'

4.5. Mood and modality

4.5.1. Agent-oriented modalities: [gʒ] and [rɛ̃]

To signal volition and certainty, and instigation and possibility, Shǐxīng makes use of the auxiliaries [gʒ] and [rɛ̃], respectively. [gʒ] is used to signal events that are certain to take place. [rɛ̃], on the other hand, presents an event as instigated by the speaker. In contrast to [gʒ], the event signaled by [rɛ̃] is unspecified as to its realization.

     The marker [gʒ] is likely to be derived from a verb of volition. This presumably original meaning of [gʒ] is still clearly observed in some contexts, as in the following example:

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[21] Alternatively, the distinction between the two markers may be in distinguishing a high-transitivity and a low-transitivity continuous aspect, as is the case with two progressive markers in rGyalrong (Sun 2007: 811). The applicability of this analysis to Shǐxīng is to be confirmed in future fieldwork.

(72) ᴴɲɜ-ᴸmi# ᴴɕĩ=ᴴgɜ# ᴴpɜ=ᴸsɳ# ᴴqua=ᴸji=ᴸdʑõ.

ᴴɲɜ-ᴸmi   ᴴɕĩ=ᴴgɜ   ᴴpɜ=ᴸsɳ   ᴴqua=ᴸji=ᴸdʑõ.
heart-NM   watch=VOL   speak=PRF   cry=GEN=DUR
    'The baby is crying, because it wants to see your heart.'

In most contexts, however, [gɜ] represents, in a more neutral fashion, an event, which is certain to take place in the future, as in the following sentence:

(73) ᴸᴴdʑyɜ# ᴸguɜ-ᴴma# ᴸguɜ-ᴴhæ# ᴸza=ᴴgɜ#, ᴴɲɜ-ᴸmi# ᴸguɜ-ᴴku#
     ᴴtɕʰũ=ᴴgɜ.

ᴸᴴdʑyɜ   ᴸguɜ-ᴴma   ᴸguɜ-ᴴhæ   ᴸza=ᴴgɜ,   ᴴɲɜ-ᴸmi   ᴸguɜ-ᴴku
snow   nine-day   nine-night   fall=VOL   sun   nine-item
ᴴtɕʰũ=ᴴgɜ.
come=VOL
    'It will snow nine days and nine nights and nine suns will come out.'

In the recorded texts, [gɜ] is predominantly used with agentive (volitional) subjects, referring to immediate future events. For example:

(74) ᴴŋɜ# ᴸtsʰɳ-ᴴdʑyɜ# ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴸwu=ᴴgɜ.

ᴴŋɜ   ᴸtsʰɳ-ᴴdʑyɜ   ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴸwu=ᴴgɜ.
1SG   wife   call=RES=VOL
             life-friend
    'I will call my wife.' (Text 2, sentence 22)

The development from a volitional verb to a modal auxiliary and a future marker is well documented cross-linguistically (e.g. Bybee et al. 1991). For example, [gɜ] has a close analogy in Mandarin Chinese, the volitional verb and the immediate future marker *yào* 'want, request', which has followed a similar grammaticalization path. The latter marker presented itself as a convenient point of departure for discussions on the meanings and functions of [gɜ] during elicitation sessions.

Unlike all other aspectual and modal markers, questions with the marker [gɜ] are not formed by preposing the question marker [a] (§4.11), i.e. *[a=gɜ]. Instead, a sentence with [gɜ] can be made into a question by changing [gɜ] into the form [ᴴᴸgæ] (attested only with the first and the second person subjects). Here are some examples:

(75) ᴴŋɜ# ᴴsĩ# ᴸkuɜ=ᴸwu=ᴴᴸgæ?

ᴴŋɜ   ᴴsĩ   ᴸkuɜ=ᴸwu=ᴴᴸgæ?
1SG   wood   chop=RES=VOL.Q
    'Should I chop some firewood?'

(76) ᴸɲi ᴴhɑo# ᴸdzɜ=ᴴᴸgæ?

^Lɲi　^Hhɑo　　　^Ldzɜ = ^{HL}gæ?
2SG　rice　　　eat=VOL.Q
　　　'Would you like to eat?'

In contrast to [gɜ], which presents events as certain to happen, the auxiliary [rɛ̃] signals prospective situations, instigated by the agent, but the realization of which is further unspecified. In the recorded texts, [rɛ̃] is typically used with the so-called non-factive verbs (such as 'think', 'believe' or 'suspect'). For example:

(77) ^Ltsʰu = ^Htʰi# (...) ^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Lhĩ# ^Ltsʰu-^Lkʰuɜ = ^Hno# ^Hlɜ-^Hwu = ^Hrɛ̃#
　　　^{HL}ɕyɜ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Ltsʰu = ^Htʰi　　　^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Lhĩ　　　　^Ltsʰu-^Lkʰuɜ = ^Hno
ghost=that　　　other.side　　　　　　ghost-den=inside
^Hlɜ-^Hwu = ^Hrɛ̃　　　　　^{HL}ɕyɜ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.
PFV-return=INST　　　　think=NMLZ.PST=COP
　　　'The ghost thought he would return to his ghost village on the other side
　　　of the river.' (Text 1, sentence 31)

I analyze this marker as being polysemous with the agentive and ablative marker [rɛ̃] (§3.5.1). The auxiliary [rɛ̃] is related to the agentive/ablative marker [rɛ̃] through the semantic feature 'source' or 'instigation'.

4.5.2. *Speaker-oriented modalities: [liu] and [ʁõ]*

In the expression of speaker-oriented modalities, strong commands are formed by the use of the imperative or of the auxiliary [liu] 'let me/you (come and) V'. The use of [liu] is restricted to the first and second person subjects. This auxiliary is likely to be related to the imperative form of the verb 'come', [^{LH}liu]. Consider some examples of its use with the first and the second person subjects:

(78) ... ^Lʔõ = ^Hdzɻ# ^Lzõ-^Hzõ ^{HL}dʑyɜ# ^Lbɜ = ^Hliu...

^Lʔõ = ^Hdzɻ　　　^Lzõ-^Hzõ　　　^{HL}dʑyɜ　　　^Lbɜ = ^Hliu
self=DU　　　man-man　　　friend　　　make=come.IMP
　　　'Let's be friends.' (Text 2, sentence 16)

(79) ... ^Hɲi# ^Ltɕyi ^Ltsu = ^Hliu...

^Hɲi　^Ltɕyi　　　^Ltsu = ^Hliu
2SG　tea　　　boil=come.IMP
　　　'Make tea! (Come and make tea!)' (Text 2, sentence 29)

Polite requests are signaled by the irrealis auxiliary [ʁõ], which in addition to polite commands, is also used to form subjunctive or counterfactual conditionals as well as to mark the optative mood.
(i) Counterfactual conditionals. Indicative and counterfactual conditional sentences in Shǐxīng are homogeneously formed with the marker [ʑu] at the end of the condition clause (protasis). Shǐxīng further draws a distinction between

indicative (real) conditionals with the condition clause marked as realis, as in example (80), and counterfactual (irrealis) conditionals with the condition clause marked as irrealis, as in sentence (81). The consequent (apodosis) clause in both types of conditionals occurs in the realis.

(80) ᴴɲi# ᴴqɑo = ᴸsɻ# ᴸᴴdzɜ ᴸʐu#, ᴸlɜ = ᴸtʰa = ᴴχɑo ᴸbɜ = ᴸsɻ#, ᴸɕi-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃#
    ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃# ᴴtɕʰi ᴴwɜ = ᴴjĩ?

ᴴɲi	ᴴqɑo = ᴸsɻ	ᴸᴴdzɜ ᴸʐu,	ᴸlɜ = ᴸtʰa = ᴴχɑo
2SG	slaughter=PRF	eat COND	PFV=PROH=slaughter

ᴸbɜ = ᴸsɻ	ᴸɕi-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃	ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃	ᴴtɕʰi	ᴴwɜ = ᴴjĩ?
make=PRF	to-PFV-lead	fro-PFV-lead	what	make=PROG

    'If you want to kill and eat the plow ox, why are you leading it to and fro [in the thorny bushes]?' (Text 2, sentence 11)

(81) ᴸsɿ.ᴴji# ᴴtsɻ = ᴸrɛ̃ = ᴸzɻ#: "ᴴŋɜ# ᴴhĩ# ᴸɦuɛ̃ = ᴴʁõ# ᴸʐu = ᴴzɻ#, ᴴŋɜ = ᴴlɜ#
    ᴴlæ = ᴴji ᴴtʰu# ᴸbɜ = ᴴgɜ = ᴸdʑõ."

ᴸsɿ.ᴴji	ᴴtsɻ = ᴸrɛ̃ = ᴸzɻ:	"ᴴŋɜ	ᴴhĩ	ᴸɦuɛ̃ = ᴴʁõ
then	leopard=AGT=TOP	1SG	person	COP.EMPH=IRR

ᴸʐu = ᴴzɻ,	ᴴŋɜ = ᴴlɜ	ᴴlæ = ᴴji	ᴴtʰu	ᴸbɜ = ᴴgɜ = ᴸdʑõ."
COND=TOP	1SG=also	good=GEN	way	make=VOL=DUR

    'Then the leopard said: "If I were a human being, I would have also found a way to cure the old father."'

(ii) Commands. Similar to the realis-irrealis distinction in conditional clauses, Shǐxīng distinguishes between strong commands (imperatives and hortative, classified as realis) and polite requests (classified as irrealis). A similar distinction is attested in many languages with the grammaticalized irrealis mood, e.g. North American languages (Mithun 1995: 376-378, 1999: 173-180) or rGyalrong (postponed imperative, Sun 2007: 809-810). Compare, for example, the following Shǐxīng examples: strong command in the imperative: [ᴸmiæ-ᴴzõ] 'Sit down!' (Text 1, sentence 22) vs. polite request in the irrealis: [ᴸmiæ-ᴸzu = ᴴʁõ] 'Would you be seated?'

    Overall, commands can easily be conceived of as expressing thoughts of actions rather than the realization or actualization of them and as expressing expectation. The realis-irrealis distinction conveniently offers an option of overtly marking this distinction: with strong certainty of their immediate actualization classified as realis and expectation of compliance classified as irrealis.

(iii) The optative mood. The optative mood is expressed in Shǐxīng by a combination of the irrealis auxiliary [ʁõ] with the instigation auxiliary [rɛ̃]. The irrealis auxiliary [ʁõ] signals the reported situation as not actualized, in the realm of thought, whereas the instigation auxiliary [rɛ̃] expresses the speaker's desire for the reported situation to be actualized. For example:

(82) ^{H}tʰi# ^{L}lʒ-^{L}lʒ = ^{L}ʁõ = ^{H}rɛ̃.

^{H}tʰi ^{L}lʒ-^{L}lʒ = ^{L}ʁõ = ^{H}rɛ̃.
3SG   PFV-come.PST=IRR=INST
     'I wish he had come.'

(83) ^{L}ma-^{H}sɻ# ^{H}xu# ^{H}tʰa = ^{H}za = ^{H}ʁõ = ^{H}rɛ̃.

^{L}ma-^{H}sɻ ^{H}xu ^{H}tʰa = ^{H}za = ^{H}ʁõ = ^{H}rɛ̃.
tomorrow   rain   PROH=fall=IRR=INST
     'I wish it would not rain tomorrow.'

The expression of the irrealis mood is likely to be a recent grammaticalization in Shǐxīng. Given the formal similarity between the locative marker [ʁõ] 'on' and the irrealis auxiliary [ʁõ], I propose that the latter is a grammaticalization of the former. This type of grammaticalization follows the markedness/prototypicality clines from a more concrete (less marked, common and diversified, and hence more prototypical) locative meaning, to a more abstract and less prototypical propositional meaning (cf. LaPolla 1995).

4.6. Mirativity: [tɕæ]

Huáng & Rénzēng (1991: 188) analyze the grammatical category of evidentiality in Shǐxīng as expressed by three evidential auxiliaries: (i) [tɕæ], which signals that the speaker has witnessed the event or process denoted by the verb, and (ii) [wu] and [dʑõ], which together signal that the speaker has witnessed the outcome of the event or process denoted by the verb. These auxiliaries are thus deemed to be sensory (visual) evidentials, denoting information obtained through seeing (cf. Aikhenvald 2004: 191).

The principal reason not to treat these markers as such, in my analysis, is that all of them may be employed in sentences with the first-person subject, i.e. a conscious, volitional instigator of the event in question, who is therefore expected to have the first-hand knowledge of this event (see the examples below). As argued by Anderson (1986: 277) (see also discussion in Sun 1993: 955-959), one of the salient features of evidential systems is to omit (or zero-mark) evidentials when the knowledge of the event is direct and the resulting proposition therefore has the highest degree of certainty of evidence. It is therefore unlikely that Shǐxīng would use special evidential markers in such contexts, especially given an otherwise little developed evidential system.

Based on the meanings and functions of these three markers in the recorded texts, [wu] and [dʑõ] rather denote aspectual meanings, signaling the resultative and the durative aspect respectively, as discussed above.

The auxiliary [tɕæ], on the other hand, is used to emphasize a predicate (and can be analyzed as an emphasis marker, Schachter & Shopen 2007: 55). Its function appears to be to signal contexts, in which the speaker's discovery of the reported situation is recent, consequently expressing surprise, unexpectedness, unprepared mind and new knowledge. All of these meanings are traditionally

attributed to the category mirativity in the linguistic literature. Consider the following examples:

(84) ᴸŋ₃＝ᴴji# ᴸʁɛ̃＝ᴴʁõ# ᴸba.ᴴru ᴸdʑĩ＝ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴa＝ᴴlɜ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸtsɻ-ᴴtsɜ＝ᴸtɕæ.

ᴸŋ₃＝ᴴji   ᴸʁɛ̃＝ᴴʁõ   ᴸba.ᴴru   ᴸdʑĩ＝ᴸrɛ̃   ᴴa＝ᴴlɜ
1SG=GEN   neck=on   snake   one=AGT   here=LOC
ᴸkʰu-ᴸtsɻ-ᴴtsɜ＝ᴸtɕæ.
inward-bind-bind=MIR
     'A snake wrapped around my neck!'

(85) ᴴŋ₃# ᴸdʑõ.ᴸhõ＝ᴴno# ᴴkʰu-ᴴpɑo ᴸtɕi ᴸɲi# ᴴxu# ᴴza＝ᴸtɕæ.

ᴴŋ₃   ᴸdʑõ.ᴸhõ＝ᴴno   ᴴkʰu-ᴴpɑo   ᴸtɕi   ᴸɲi   ᴴxu   ᴴza＝ᴸtɕæ.
1SG   house=inside   inward-arrive   do   and   rain   fall=MIR
     'I came in, and it began to rain.'

The auxiliary [tɕæ] in Shǐxīng is possibly related to the verb [ᴸᴴtɕi] 'do' through ablaut in a fashion analogous to that by which the root [læ] 'have come, become' is derived from the verb [ᴸᴴliu]~[ᴸᴴlɜ] 'come'. In other words, [tɕæ] is possibly a perfective form of the verb [ᴸᴴtɕi].

The development of the mirative marker [tɕæ] in Shǐxīng is likely to have proceeded from a perfective auxiliary to an inferential marker (given widespread grammaticalization paths of mirative markers from perfect or perfective constructions to markers with inferential status, Comrie 1976: 108-110; Guentchéva 1996: 12), and finally to a mirative marker.

In addition to the mirative marker [tɕæ], the nominalization of the clause with the past patient nominalizer [li] and its use as complement of the copular verb [ᴸᴴɲõ] may be viewed as another way to denote inferential meaning in Shǐxīng. This type of sentences is illustrated in examples (27), (29-31), (34-35), (37-39), (50), (56-57), (62), (65), (67-68), (77), (87) and (96-97) as well as throughout the texts in the appendix.

4.7. Existential verbs

Similar to many Qiangic as well as Ngwi-Burmese languages, Shǐxīng differentiates its existential verbs for the purpose of nominal sub-classification. Cross-linguistically, existential (or suppletive classificatory verbs) are understood as verbs that can categorize the S/O argument in terms of its inherent properties (e.g. animacy, shape, form and consistency) as well as its orientation or stance in space (Aikhenvald 2003 [2000]: 153). Shǐxīng has four existential verbs conforming to this definition, as exemplified below.

4.7.1. Existence/location of animate beings: [^{LH}jĩ]

The existence, location or possession of animate beings is expressed by the verb [^{LH}jĩ] 'be there, have (an animate being)'. The negative form of this verb is [^{L}mi=^{H}jĩ]. For example:

(84) ^{H}ji-^{L}ɲɪ# ^{H}ji-^{L}ɲɪ# ^{H}tʰu.^{L}liu# ^{LH}dʑĩ# ^{LH}jĩ=^{L}dʑõ.

^{H}ji-^{L}ɲɪ	^{H}ji-^{L}ɲɪ	^{H}tʰu.^{L}liu	^{LH}dʑĩ	^{LH}jĩ=^{L}dʑõ.
previous-?	previous-?	rabbit	one	exist.ANM=DUR
in.the.past	in.the.past			

    'A long time ago there was a rabbit.'

4.7.2. Existence/location of inanimate entities: [^{LH}dʑõ]

The existence or possession of inanimate entities is expressed by the verb [^{LH}dʑõ] 'be there, exist; possess'. The negative form of this verb is [^{L}mu=^{H}zõ]. Consider the following examples of the use of this verb in its different meanings:
(i) Existence:

(85) ^{H}ŋʒ# ^{H}tʰu# ^{LH}dʑõ.

^{H}ŋʒ	^{H}tʰu	^{LH}dʑõ.
1SG	way	exist

    'I know how to do it.' (Literally, 'I have a way to do it./There is a way to do it.')

(ii) Possession. In sentences expressing possession with the verb [^{LH}dʑõ], the possessor is usually marked by the locative marker [ʁõ] 'on', as in the following example:

(86) ^{H}pu-^{L}mi# ^{L}ha=^{H}ʁõ# ^{LH}hæ# ^{L}ba.^{H}ʁa# ^{LH}dʑõ=^{L}dʑõ.

^{H}pu-^{L}mi	^{L}ha=^{H}ʁõ	^{LH}hæ	^{L}ba.^{H}ʁa	^{LH}dʑõ=^{L}dʑõ.
frog-NM	this=LOC	gold	many	exist=DUR

    'This frog has a lot of money.'

4.7.3. Containment [^{HL}kʰuʒ]

The existence of an entity inside a location (container) is expressed by the verb [^{HL}kʰuʒ] 'be inside, contain', as in the following sentences. The negative form of this verb is [^{L}mu=^{H}kʰuʒ] (note that the initial [kʰ] is not lenited).

(87) ^{H}hĩ# ^{L}dõ-^{L}ʐyæ-^{H}hĩ# ^{L}lʒ=^{L}mu=^{L}ɕʒ-^{H}hĩ# ^{LH}dʑĩ# ^{H}ʂɿ=^{L}no#
    ^{HL}kʰuʒ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^Hhĩ   ^Ldõ-^Lʑyæ-^Hhĩ   ^Llʒ=^Lmu=^Lɕʒ-^Hhĩ   ^{LH}dʑĩ
person   fall-side-person   PFV=NEG=die-person   one
^Hʂɻ=^Lno   ^{HL}kʰuʒ=^Lli=^Lɲõ.
fishing.net=inside   contain=NMLZ.PST=COP
      'Inside the fishing net, there was a man who had fallen in the water, but had not drowned.'

4.7.4. Position attached to a location [^{LH}dzi]

The verb [^{LH}dzi] expresses the position of an entity attached to a location. The negative form of this verb is [^Lmu=^Hzi] (note that this expression does not exhibit vowel harmony). For example:

(88) ^Htɕũ-^Hkʰuʒ# ^Lmo-^Hduʒ ^Ldʑĩ# ^Htʰæ# ^{LH}dzi=^Ljĩ=^Ldʑõ.

^Htɕũ-^Hkʰuʒ   ^Lmo-^Hduʒ   ^Ldʑĩ   ^Htʰæ   ^{LH}dzi=^Ljĩ=^Ldʑõ.
wasp-nest   INTSF-big   one   below   be.attached=GEN=DUR
      'Below there was a giant wasp nest.'

4.8. Copular verbs

In sentence elicitation, simple nominal expressions have been recorded as occasionally used predicatively without a copular verb, as in example (89), elicited from Chinese:

(89) ^Lha=^Hzɻ# ^Lsa.^Hra#, ^Ltʰʒ=^Hzɻ# ^Hta.^Htʂũ.

^Lha=^Hzɻ   ^Lsa.^Hra,   ^Ltʰʒ=^Hzɻ   ^Hta.^Htʂũ.
this=TOP   table   that=TOP   cupboard
      'This is a table, that is a cupboard.'

In connected speech and story narrations, however, in order to function as predicates, nouns and noun phrases require to be accompanied by one of the three Shǐxīng equational copulars, namely the positive [^{LH}ɲõ], the negative [^{HL}mõ] (a fusion of the negator and the copular [^{LH}ɲõ]), and the emphatic or contrastive copular [^{LH}ɦuɛ̃]. For example:

(90) ^Hha ^Hgu ^Hha# ^Ltʰi=^{LH}ji ^Lɲõ.

^Hha   ^Hgu   ^Hha   ^Ltʰi=^{LH}ji   ^Lɲõ.
this   clothing   this   that=GEN   COP
      'This piece of clothing is his.'

(91) ^Hŋʒ# ^{HL}mõ.

^Hŋʒ   ^{HL}mõ.
1SG   NEG.COP
      'I am not (the rabbit who made you fall into the water).'

The use of the emphatic copular [^{LH}ɦuɛ̃] 'be certainly/definitely the case that' is exemplified in the following sentence, drawn from a story about a cunning rabbit, who plays tricks on a gullible bear. In this story, the rabbit tricks the bear to hit a wasp nest with a stick, so that the bear gets severely stung by wasps. Thereafter, the rabbit returns to the bear, but claims that it is not the rabbit which the bear spoke to first.

(92) ^{L}ŋɜ=^{H}z̩# ^{L}hi-^{L}lɪ-^{H}lɪ# ^{H}tʰu.^{L}liu# ^{LH}ɦuɛ̃.

^{L}ŋɜ=^{H}z̩	^{L}hi-^{L}lɪ-^{H}lɪ	^{H}tʰu.^{L}liu	^{LH}ɦuɛ̃.
1SG=TOP	red-?-?	rabbit	COP.EMPH

　　'(There are many kinds of rabbits, the one who swindled you was a white rabbit.) As for me, I am a brown rabbit.'

The positive and the emphatic copulars can co-occur in one sentence, only in this order. For example:

(93) ^{H}ɲi# ^{H}tʰu.^{L}liu# ^{L}ɲi=^{H}z̩# ^{L}hi-^{L}lɪ-^{H}lɪ# ^{LH}ɦuɛ̃=^{L}ɲõ#, ^{H}jɪ=^{L}no=^{L}ji#
　　^{H}tʰu.^{L}liu# ^{L}tʰɜ=^{H}z̩# ^{L}pʰu-^{L}tɕi-^{H}tɕi# ^{LH}ɦuɛ̃ ^{L}ɲõ.

^{H}ɲi	^{HL}tʰu.^{L}liu	^{L}ɲi=^{H}z̩	^{L}hi-^{L}lɪ-^{H}lɪ	^{LH}ɦuɛ̃=^{L}ɲõ,
2SG	rabbit	2SG=TOP	red-?-?	COP.EMPH=COP
^{H}jɪ=^{L}no=^{L}ji		^{H}tʰu.^{L}liu	^{L}tʰɜ=^{H}z̩	^{L}pʰu-^{L}tɕi-^{H}tɕi
previous=inside=GEN		rabbit	that=TOP	white-?-?
^{LH}ɦuɛ̃=^{L}ɲõ.				
COP.EMPH=COP				

　　'So you are a brown rabbit, and the rabbit just now was a white one.'

[^{LH}ɲõ] and [^{LH}ɦuɛ̃] are likely to have developed from the same root, with cognates in many Sino-Tibetan languages, e.g. Tangut *ŋwu*, Qiāng *ŋuə*, rGyalrong (Japhug) *ŋu*, Nàxī *ŋi^{22}*. Synchronically, [^{LH}ɲõ] is semantically neutral, whereas [^{LH}ɦuɛ̃] expresses the emphatic and/or contrastive meaning.

4.9. Adjectives

Adjectives in Shǐxīng are a subtype of verbs, and can be distinguished from the latter predominantly on semantic grounds, as well as, to a minor extent, syntactically and morphologically.

　　Semantically, adjectives refer to the properties or attributes of a noun, whereas verbs denote actions, processes or states of being.

　　Syntactically, Shǐxīng adjectives do not co-occur with all verbal auxiliaries as outlined above. In the recorded texts, adjectives are mainly nominalized with the genitive marker [ji] and co-occur with the durative auxiliaries to denote a state, or co-occur with the resultative and the perfect auxiliaries to denote a transition to a state. For example:

(94) ᴴgĩ=ᴴz̩# ᴸᴴrua=ᴸji=ᴸdʑõ.

ᴴgĩ=ᴴz̩   ᴸᴴrua=ᴸji=ᴸdʑõ.
bear=TOP   heavy=GEN=DUR
    '(The rabbit was light.) As for the bear, it was heavy.'

(95) ᴴpʰã# ᴸhi-ᴸlɪ-ᴴlɪ# ᴴlæ=ᴸwu=ᴸdʑõ.

ᴴpʰã   ᴸhi-ᴸlɪ-ᴴlɪ   ᴴlæ=ᴸwu=ᴸdʑõ.
face   red-?-?   become=RES=DUR
    'Her face got red.'

In addition, adjectives used adnominally generally follow the noun they modify, e.g. [ᴴbõ# ᴸnu-ᴸbæ-ᴴbæ] 'a black yak', [ᴸtɕũ-ᴴkʰuʒ# ᴸmo-ᴴduʒ ᴸdʑĩ] 'a big wasp nest'; whereas verbs modifying nouns normally precede them, e.g. [ᴴqʰuʒ-ᴴhĩ] 'thief', literally 'a man who steals'.

Morphologically, adjectives are more restricted than verbs with regard to their co-occurrence with verbal prefixes and tend to be used for the most part with the perfective prefix [lʒ-], e.g. [ᴸlʒ-ᴸtʂ̩=ᴴs̩] 'having become small', or with the directional prefix [bə-] 'outward', e.g. [ᴸbu-ᴴduʒ] 'grow big'. Furthermore, adjectives in Shǐxīng employ a special set of intensifying prefixes, which are not attested on verbs.

(i) Intensifying prefix [mV-] (subject to vowel harmony), e.g. [ᴸmo-ᴴduʒ] '(very) big' (< [ᴴᴸduʒ] 'big'), [ᴸma-ᴴrõ] '(very) tall' (< [ᴸᴴrõ] 'tall'), [ᴸmə-ᴴbũ] '(very) thick' (< [ᴸᴴbũ] 'thick'). The Shǐxīng prefix [mV-] is close in meaning and function to the suffix [mɯ³³] in Nàxī. However, dissimilar to Shǐxīng, Nàxī [mɯ³³] attaches only to reduplicated adjectival stems. Compare the Shǐxīng examples above with the corresponding examples from Nàxī: [mɯ³³dɯ³³dɯ³³] 'very big' (< [dɯ³¹] 'big'), [mɯ³³by³³by³³] 'very thick' (< [by³³] 'thick').

(ii) Intensifying prefix [a-]. This prefix is added to a reduplicated adjective stem, e.g. [ᴸa-ᴸtɕu-ᴴtɕu] 'low' (< [ᴸᴴtɕu] 'low'), [ᴸa-ᴸbə-ᴴbə] 'shallow, thin' (< [ᴸᴴbə] 'thin'), [ᴸa-ᴸdʒ-ᴴdɛ̃] 'short' (< [ᴸᴴdɛ̃] 'short'). This suffix has again a close parallel in Nàxī, namely the intensifying suffix [ə³³]. Compare the Shǐxīng examples above with the corresponding examples from Nàxī: [ə³³tɕi⁵⁵tɕi¹³] 'very small, tiny' (< [tɕi⁵⁵] 'small'), [ə³³mbe⁵⁵mbe¹³] 'very thin' (< [mbe³³] 'thin').

The two types of reduplication appear to be restricted in both Shǐxīng and Nàxī to positive and negative extensives, respectively (i.e. positive-negative polar opposites of stative verbs of dimensional extent, e.g. 'far/near', 'long/short', 'thick/thin', cf. Bradley 1995), and is thus a morphological feature shared between these two languages.

Adjectives in Shǐxīng are mostly bound stems. A small number of forms are free. They may be quoted in isolation and have citation tones, e.g. [ᴴᴸduʒ] 'big', [ᴴtʂ̩] 'small'. Free forms may be directly preceded by one of the directional prefixes or by the aspectual perfective prefix, e.g. [ᴴᴸduʒ] 'big' < [ᴸbu-ᴴduʒ] 'grow big', [ᴴtʂ̩] 'small' < [ᴴlʒ-ᴴtʂ̩] 'become small'. In addition, free adjectival

forms may be followed by the perfect and progressive auxiliaries, e.g. [^{H}duʒ=^{H}sɻ] '(have become) big', [^{H}tʂɻ=^{H}jĩ] '(be) small'.

In order for bound forms to be used as free forms, Shǐxīng adjectives require:
  i. to be preceded by one of the two intensifying adjectival prefixes above
  ii. to be reduplicated (via complete, AA, or partial, AB, stem reduplication), e.g. [^{L}dyi-^{H}dyi] 'oval', [^{L}lyʒ-^{H}lyʒ] 'old', [^{H}ba-^{L}ra-^{L}ra] 'fuzzy', [^{H}ɬæ-^{L}ru-^{L}ru] 'smooth'.

Shǐxīng color terms are ideophonic. They belong to the second type of reduplication (partial stem reduplication) and occur only in the ABB form. For example, [^{L}nu-^{L}bæ-^{H}bæ] 'black', [^{L}pʰu-^{L}tɕi-^{H}tɕi] 'white', [^{L}pʰu-^{L}tu-^{H}tu] 'grey', [^{L}hi-^{L}lɪ-^{H}lɪ] 'red', [^{L}hĩ-^{L}tʂu-^{H}tʂu] 'blue, green', [^{H}ça-^{L}qu-^{L}qũ] 'yellow'. Overall, it appears that the first syllable in each case denotes the shade, whereas the following reduplicated syllable indicates its intensity, compare: [^{L}pʰu-^{L}tɕi-^{H}tɕi] 'white' vs. [^{L}pʰu-^{L}tu-^{H}tu] 'grey'. This entails that Shǐxīng has five non-ideophonic underived colour terms, namely /^{LH}nu/ 'black', /^{LH}pʰu/ 'white', /^{LH}hi/ 'red', /^{LH}hĩ/ 'green, blue' and /^{HL}ça/ 'yellow'.

Finally, adjectives Shǐxīng share many cognates with Nàxī and Nà, e.g. 'big': Shǐxīng [^{HL}duʒ], Yǒngníng Nà [ɖɯ˦]; 'small': Shǐxīng [^{H}tʂɻ], Yǒngníng Nà [tɕi˦]; 'long': Shǐxīng [^{H}ʂɛ̃], Yǒngníng Nà [ʂæ˦]; 'short': Shǐxīng [^{LH}dɛ̃], Yǒngníng Nà [ɖæ˦]. Overall, Shǐxīng adjectives do not show evidence of Ngwi innovations in the grammaticalization of extensives, as presented in Bradley (1995).

4.10. Negation

4.10.1. Negator [mV]

Negation in Shǐxīng is expressed by the negator [mV], which is in many cases subject to vowel harmony. The vowel of the negator assimilates to the vowel of the verb it is attached to, e.g. [^{LH}jĩ] 'be there, have (an animate being)' < [^{L}mi=^{H}jĩ] 'not be there, do not have'. In addition, the negator [mV] fuses in one form with the copular [^{LH}ɲõ], [^{HL}mõ]. The negator [mV] prefixes to the last verb in the sentence (the main verb or the sentence-final auxiliary). For example:

(96) ^{L}bi-^{H}mi# ^{L}guʒ.^{H}jɛ̃# ^{H}mu=^{H}kɛ̃=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}bi-^{H}mi	^{L}guʒ.^{H}jɛ̃	^{H}mu=^{H}kɛ̃=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
pig-F	answer	NEG=give=NMLZ.PST=COP

   'The sow did not answer.' (Text 2, sentence 28)

(97) ^{L}dʑõ.^{H}hõ# ^{L}lʒ=^{L}mu=^{H}pɑo=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}dʑõ.^{H}hõ	^{L}lʒ=^{L}mu=^{H}pɑo=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
house	PFV=NEG=arrive=NMLZ.PST=COP

   'He has not made it home.'

(98) ^{L}zɜ-^{H}mi# ^{L}lɜ-^{H}zɭ=^{L}tɕæ#, ^{L}lɜ-^{H}tɕu=^{L}mo=^{L}rɛ̃.

^{L}zɜ-^{H}mi $\quad$ ^{L}lɜ-^{H}zɭ=^{L}tɕæ, $\quad$ ^{L}lɜ-^{H}tɕu=^{L}mo=^{L}rɛ̃.
child-NM $\quad$ PFV-sleep=MIR $\quad$ PFV-wake.up=NEG=INST
$\qquad$ 'The child has fallen asleep, you should not wake him up.'

4.10.2. Prohibitive [tʰa]

The prohibitive (negative imperative) marker in Shǐxīng is [tʰa]. [tʰa] prefixes to the verb stem, or affixes between the directional, aspectual or tentative prefix and the verb stem. For example:

(99) ^{H}ɲi# ^{H}pu-^{L}mi# ^{H}tʰa=^{H}ɦuɛ̃=^{H}ʁõ#, ^{H}hĩ ^{L}ɦuɛ̃=^{L}ʁõ!

^{H}ɲi $\quad$ ^{H}pu-^{L}mi $\quad$ ^{H}tʰa=^{H}ɦuɛ̃=^{H}ʁõ, $\qquad$ ^{H}hĩ $\qquad$ ^{L}ɦuɛ̃=^{L}ʁõ!
2SG $\quad$ frog-NM $\quad$ PROH=COP.EMPH=IRR $\quad$ person $\quad$ COP.EMPH=IRR
$\qquad$ 'Please, don't be a frog, be a man!' (A princess addressing her husband, a magic frog.)

4.11. Question particle [a]

Questions are formed in in Shǐxīng with the question particle [a], prefixed to the sentence-final auxiliary or verb. Compare the following pair of sentences: a declarative simple sentence and a corresponding interrogative sentence:

(100) ^{H}tʰi# ^{LH}dzɜ=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}sɭ.

^{H}tʰi $\quad$ ^{LH}dzɜ=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}sɭ.
that $\quad$ eat=finish=PRF
$\qquad$ 'He has finished eating.'

(101) ^{H}tʰi# ^{LH}dzɜ#=^{HL}tsʰa#=^{L}a=^{HL}sɭ?

^{H}tʰi $\qquad$ ^{LH}dzɜ=^{HL}tsʰa=^{L}a=^{HL}sɭ?
that $\qquad$ eat=finish=Q=PRF
$\qquad$ 'Has he finished eating?'

4.12. Relative clauses and nominalization

Shǐxīng has two types of relative clauses: (i) headless relative clauses, which may be followed by the demonstrative pronouns [^{LH}ha] 'this' and [^{HL}tʰi] 'that' or followed by the topic marker [zɭ], as in sentences (102) and (103), and (ii) headed relative clauses that take the nouns [^{H}hĩ] 'person' or [tʂɭ] 'place' (bound) as the nominal head, as in examples (104) and (105).

(102) ^{H}tʂʰõ.^{L}hũ# ^{L}tɕʰĩ=^{H}ha=^{L}sɭ.^{L}ʁɑ# ^{H}rə.

^{H}tʂʰõ.^{L}hũ $\quad$ ^{L}tɕʰĩ=^{H}ha=^{L}sɭ.^{L}ʁɑ $\qquad$ ^{H}rə.
rice.gruel $\quad$ drink=this=CMPR $\qquad$ good
$\qquad$ 'Drinking rice porridge is better (than eating rice).'

(103) ᴴɲi# ᴸŋʒ = ᴴji# ᴴrə# ᴸlʒ-ᴸɲʒ-ᴴqɛ̃ = ᴸz̩# ᴸa-ᴸtsʅ-ᴴrɛ̃# ᴸᴴtʂʰõ = ᴸwu = ᴸdʑõ.

ᴴɲi	ᴸŋʒ = ᴴji	ᴴrə	ᴸlʒ-ᴸɲʒ-ᴴqɛ̃ = ᴸz̩	ᴸa-ᴸtsʅ-ᴴrɛ̃
2SG	1SG=GEN	skin	PFV-fire-burn=TOP	a-little-?

ᴸᴴtʂʰõ = ᴸwu = ᴸdʑõ.
quick=RES=DUR

'You burned my skin a little bit too early.'

(104) ᴸɲi = ᴴsʅ# ᴸmiæ-ᴸʑyæ = ᴸxɪ-ᴴhĩ# ᴴŋʒ# ᴴᴸmõ.

ᴸɲi = ᴴsʅ	ᴸmiæ-ᴸʑyæ = ᴸxɪ-ᴴhĩ	ᴴŋʒ	ᴴᴸmõ.
2SG=PNT.ANM	downward-fall=CAUS-person	1SG	NEG.COP

'I am not the one who made you fall into the river.'

(105) ᴴqʰu.ᴸla# ᴸbæ-ᴴtʂʅ

ᴴqʰu.ᴸla	ᴸbæ-ᴴtʂʅ
crow	caw=place

'the place where the crow cawed'

In addition, clauses may be nominalized with patient nominalizers to function as subjects or complements to complement-taking verbs. Shǐxīng patient nominalizers differentiate between the past patient nominalizer [li], which signals events that took place before the time of utterance, and the future or purpose patient nominalizer [gʒ], which signals situations that are to take place after the time of utterance. The latter marker is transparently related to the volitional modal auxiliary [gʒ]. The etymology of the former marker is currently unclear. The two nominalizers are illustrated in the following examples: (in sentence (106), the modifying clause modifies both conjoined nouns, i.e. 'rice and bacon'):

(106) ... ᴸɦɛ̃-ᴴwu# ᴸdʑo.ᴴhõ# ᴴdʑõ = ᴴli# ᴸzõ ᴴɲi# ᴸbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ# ᴸᴴno# ᴴdzʅ-ᴴjĩ = ᴸno# ᴸkʰu-ᴸtɕʒ.ᴴwu...

ᴸɦɛ̃-ᴴwu	ᴸdʑo.ᴴhõ	ᴴdʑõ = ᴴli	ᴸzõ	ᴴɲi
oneself-family	house	exist=NMLZ.PST	cooked.rice	and

ᴸbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ	ᴸᴴno	ᴴdzʅ-ᴴjĩ = ᴸno	ᴸkʰu-ᴸtɕʒ.ᴴwu
pig-fat	altogether	wheat-field=inside	inward-place

'... threw all of the rice and bacon he used to have at his house (in the field)...' (Text 2, sentence 69)

(107) ... ᴸdzʒ = ᴸgʒ = ᴴɲi# ᴸgu = ᴴgʒ# ᴴpu...

ᴸdzʒ = ᴸgʒ	ᴴɲi	ᴸgu = ᴴgʒ	ᴴpu
eat=NMLZ.VOL	and	wear=NMLZ.VOL	bring

'... bring along things to eat and things to wear...'

This section concludes the grammatical sketch of Shǐxīng. The following Appendix contains two annotated and translated Shǐxīng texts. These texts were recorded in Mùlǐ in November 2005 with my principal language consultant Lǔróng Duōdīng as narrator. The texts were transcribed, translated and analyzed in November 2006.

ABBREVIATIONS (NOT INCLUDED IN THE LEIPZIG GLOSSING RULES)

<	derived from
>	shows the direction of development
-	separates syllables within a word
.	separates syllables within a monomorphemic polysyllabic word
=	separates an enclitic from its host word
#	indicates a juncture between two tone domains
?	indicates a morpheme whose meaning is unclear or, if attached to a word, signals that the meaning or the etymon that this word represents is tentative
AGT	agentive
ANM	animate
EMPH	emphatic
EXP	experiential
INST	instigation
INTSF	intensifying
MIR	mirative
NM	nominal
PNT	patient
RES	resultative
VOL	volition
WT	Written Tibetan

APPENDIX: TWO SHǏXĪNG TEXTS

1. A GHOST AND A MAN (I)

(1) ^{H}ji-^{L}ɲɪ# ^{H}ji-^{L}ɲɪ# ^{L}pʰi-^{L}wu ^{H}hĩ# ^{LH}dʑĩ# ^{L}dʑi-^{H}ʐu ^{L}jĩ=^{L}dʑõ.

^{H}ji-^{L}ɲɪ	^{H}ji-^{L}ɲɪ	^{L}pʰi-^{H}wu	^{H}hĩ	^{LH}dʑĩ
previous-?	previous-?	*place.name*-family	person	one
in.the.past	in.the.past			

^{L}dʑi-^{H}ʐu	^{L}jĩ=^{L}dʑõ.
one-household	exist.ANM=DUR

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

(2) ^{L}tʰu-^{H}wu# ^{H}a-^{H}mɪ=^{L}rɛ̃# ^{L}dʑi-^{H}hæ=^{L}sɻ=^{L}lʒ# ^{H}qə-^{H}tə.ɪ# ^{H}qə-^{H}tə.ɪ#
    ^{L}dʒ=^{L}xɪ=^{H}sɻ# ^{H}sũ# ^{LH}tu=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu   ᴴa-ᴴmɪ=ᴸrɛ̃   ᴸdʑi-ᴴhæ=ᴸsʅ=ᴸlɜ   ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ
that-family   VOC-mother=AGT   one-night=PRF=LOC   tok-tok
ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ   ᴸdʒ=ᴸxɪ=ᴴsʅ   ᴴsũ   ᴸᴴtu=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
tok-tok   sound=CAUS=PRF   wool   weave=NMNL.PST=COP

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

(3) ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴlæ# ᴴtʂʰu.ᴸbə.#ᴸza.ᴴhĩ# ᴸᴴtsʰu# ᴸdʑĩ=ᴴno# ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ#
     ᴴma=ᴸji=ᴸdʑõ.

ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴlæ   ᴴtʂʰu.ᴸbə.ᴸza.ᴴhĩ   ᴸᴴtsʰu   ᴸdʑĩ=ᴴno   ᴴqə-ᴴtəɹ
that=become   other.shore   ghost   one=inside   tok-tok
ᴴma=ᴸji=ᴸdʑõ.
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) ᴴa-ᴴmɪ#=ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴴsũ ᴸtu=ᴸlæ#, ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi# ᴴçyɜ=ᴸli#, ᴸɦɛ̃ ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴴjĩ#
     ᴴkʰo.ᴸrɛ# ᴴᴸçyɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴa-ᴴmɪ=ᴴᴸtʰi   ᴴsũ   ᴸtu=ᴸlæ,   ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi
VOC-mother=that   wool   weave=become   ghost=that
ᴴçyɜ=ᴸli,   ᴸɦɛ̃   ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴴjĩ   ᴴkʰo.ᴸrɛ
think=NMLZ.PST   oneself   call=PROG   possible
ᴴᴸçyɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ
think=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(5) ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴴhĩ# ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu# ᴸqʰa.ᴴti# ᴴkʰu-ᴴpɑo=ᴸtɕʰũ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸsɪ.ᴴji   ᴴhĩ   ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu   ᴸqʰa.ᴴti
then   person   that-family   porch
ᴴkʰu-ᴴpɑo=ᴸtɕʰũ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ
inward-arrive=come=NMLZ.PST=COP

     'Then, the ghost came (one night) to their doorstep.'

(6) ᴴki-ᴴʁu# ᴸtʰu-ᴸwu=ᴴli# ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu=ᴸkɜ# ᴴpɑo=ᴸlæ#, ᴸtʰõ.ᴴrõ=ᴴrɛ̃# ᴸʔɑõ-
     ᴴɦõ# ᴸdʒ=ᴴsʅ# ᴴdʑi-ᴴjæ ᴴdʒ# ᴴkʰɪ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴki-ᴴʁu   ᴸtʰu-ᴸwu=ᴴli   ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu=ᴸkɜ   ᴴpɑo=ᴸlæ
?-head   that-family=NMLZ.PST   that-family=at   arrive=become
ᴸtʰõ.ᴴrõ=ᴴrɛ̃   ᴸʔɑõ-ᴴɦõ   ᴸdʒ=ᴴsʅ   ᴴdʑi-ᴴjæ   ᴴdʒ
donkey=AGT   hee-haw   perform=PRF   one-sound   perform
ᴴkʰɪ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
let.go=NMLZ.PST=COP

     'The first night he came, the donkey brayed "hee-haw".'

(7) ^{L}tʰʒ = ^{H}læ# ^{LH}tsʰu# ^{L}ʐi.^{L}wu = ^{H}sʅ# ^{LH}pʰɛ̃ ^{L}tɕi = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}tʰʒ = ^{H}læ	^{LH}tsʰu	^{L}ʐi.^{L}wu = ^{H}sʅ	^{LH}pʰɛ̃
that=become	ghost	be.afraid=PRF	escape

^{L}tɕi = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ
do=NMLZ.PST=COP

 'The ghost was scared and ran away.'

(8) ^{L}tʰi = ^{H}ji# ^{H}sa-^{H}wi-^{L}ma = ^{L}lʒ#, ^{L}tsʰu = ^{H}tʰi# ^{LH}lu# ^{H}pɑo = ^{L}tɕʰũ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}tʰi = ^{H}ji	^{H}sa-^{H}wi-^{L}ma = ^{L}lʒ	^{L}tsʰu = ^{H}tʰi	^{LH}lu
that=GEN	second?-night-day=LOC	ghost=that	again

^{H}pɑo = ^{L}tɕʰũ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.
arrive=come=NMLZ.PST=COP

 'The second night, the ghost came again.'

(9) ^{L}tʰʒ = ^{H}læ# ^{LH}lu# ^{H}hĩ# ^{L}tʰu-^{H}wu# ^{H}ra-^{L}pʰʒ = ^{L}rɛ̃# ^{H}tɕũ ^{L}tɕi = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}tʰʒ = ^{H}læ	^{LH}lu	^{H}hĩ	^{L}tʰu-^{H}wu	^{H}ra-^{L}pʰʒ = ^{L}rɛ̃
that=become	again	person	that-family	chicken-M=AGT

^{H}tɕũ = ^{L}tɕi = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.
crow=do=NMLZ.PST=COP

 'But then, the rooster of the family crowed.'

(10) ^{L}tʰʒ = ^{H}læ# ^{LH}tsʰu# ^{LH}lu# ^{LH}pʰɛ̃ ^{L}tɕi = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}tʰʒ = ^{H}læ	^{LH}tsʰu	^{LH}lu	^{LH}pʰɛ̃	^{L}tɕi = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.
that=become	ghost	again	escape	do=NMLZ.PST=COP

 'And the ghost ran away again.'

(11) ^{H}kuʒ-^{H}sõ-^{L}wu = ^{L}li# ^{L}tsʰu = ^{H}tʰi# ^{LH}lu# ^{H}pɑo = ^{L}lʒ = ^{L}sʅ#, ^{H}hĩ ^{L}tʰu-^{L}wu# ^{L}dʑõ.^{L}hõ = ^{H}no# ^{H}kʰu-^{H}pɑo = ^{L}tɕʰũ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.

^{H}kuʒ-^{H}sõ-^{L}wu = ^{L}li	^{L}tsʰu = ^{H}tʰi	^{LH}lu	^{H}pɑo = ^{L}lʒ = ^{L}sʅ
third?-day-come=NMLZ.PST	ghost=that	again	arrive=come.PST=PRF

^{H}hĩ	^{L}tʰu-^{L}wu	^{L}dʑõ.^{L}hõ = ^{H}no	^{H}kʰu-^{H}pɑo =
person	that-family	house=inside	inward-arrive

^{L}tɕʰũ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.
come=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(12) ^{H}hĩ# ^{L}tʰu-^{H}wu# ^{H}a-^{H}mɪ# ^{H}sũ-^{L}tu = ^{L}hĩ# ^{H}tʰi = ^{L}rɛ̃: "^{H}ɲi# ^{H}a = ^{H}lʒ# ^{H}tɕʰi ^{H}wʒ = ^{L}dʑõ#," ^{HL}pʒ = ^{L}li = ^{L}ɲõ.

^Hhĩ   ^Ltʰu-^Hwu   ^Ha-^Hmɪ   ^Hsũ-^Ltu-^Lhĩ
person   that-family   VOC-mother   wool-weave-person
^Htʰi=^Lrɛ̃:   ^Hɲi   ^Ha=^Hlʒ   ^Htɕʰi   ^Hwʒ=^Ldʑõ,
that=AGT   2SG   here=LOC   what   make=DUR
^{HL}pʒ=^Lli=^Lɲõ
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(13) ^Ltsʰu=^Htʰi=^Lrɛ̃#: "^Hɲi# ^Ldʑi-^Hhæ=^Lsɻ=^Llʒ#, ^Hqə-^Htəɹ# ^Hqə-^Htəɹ# ^Hsɛ̃-
     ^Lsɛ̃# ^Lxɪ=^Hsɻ# ^Lŋʒ=^Hji# ^Hma# ^Lʁɛ̃=^Hjĩ."

^Ltsʰu=^Htʰi=^Lrɛ̃:   "^Hɲi   ^Ldʑi-^Hhæ=^Lsɻ=^Llʒ   ^Hqə-^Htəɹ
ghost=that=AGT   2SG   one-night=PRF=LOC   tok-tok
^Hqə-^Htəɹ   ^Hsɛ̃-^Lsɛ̃=^Lxɪ=^Hsɻ   ^Lŋʒ=^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) "^Hŋʒ# ^Lɲi-^Hwu=^Lkʒ# ^Hlʒ=^Hlæ, ^Hki-^Hʁu# ^Lɲi-^Hhæ=^Ltʰi# ^Ltʰõ.^Lrõ ^Hɲi#
     ^Hra-^Lpʰʒ=^Lrɛ̃# ^Lkʰu-^Llʒ=^Hxɪ# ^Lmi=^Hjĩ."

^Hŋʒ   ^Lɲi-^Hwu=^Lkʒ   ^Hlʒ=^Hlæ   ^Hki-^Hʁu
1SG   2SG-family=at   come. PST=become   ?-head
                                                                   front
^Lɲi-^Hhæ=^Ltʰi   ^Ltʰõ.^Lrõ   ^Hɲi   ^Hra-^Lpʰʒ=^Lrɛ̃
two-night=that   donkey   and   chicken-M=AGT
^Lkʰu-^Llʒ=^Hxɪ   ^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) "^Hwi=^Lzɹ̩# ^Hŋʒ# ^Ha=^Hlʒ# ^Hkʰu-^Htsɑ=^Ldʑõ=^Lsɻ."

"^Hwi=^Lzɹ̩   ^Hŋʒ   ^Ha=^Hlʒ   ^Hkʰu-^Htsɑ=^Ldʑõ=^Lsɻ."
night=TOP   1SG   here=LOC   inward-go=DUR=<mark>PRF</mark>
     'Tonight, I have finally made it here.'

(16) ^Ltsʰu=^Htʰi# ^{HL}tʰi# ^Hpʒ=^Ltsʰa=^Llæ#, ^Hhĩ# ^Ltʰu-^Hwu# ^Ha-^Hmɪ=^Hrɛ̃#:
     "^{HL}tʰi# ^Hlæ=^Ldʑõ."

^Ltsʰu=^Htʰi   ^{HL}tʰi   ^Hpʒ=^Ltsʰa=^Llæ,   ^Hhĩ   ^Ltʰu-^Hwu
ghost=that   that   speak=finish=become   person   that-family
^Ha-^Hmɪ=^Hrɛ̃:   "^Htʰi   ^Hlæ=^Ldʑõ."
VOC-mother=AGT   that   good=DUR

     'After the ghost had said that, the mother told him: "This is good."'

(17) "ᴴɲi# ᴸmiæ-ᴸʐu＝ᴴʁõ#," ᴴᴸpʒ＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.

"ᴴɲi   ᴸmiæ-ᴸʐu＝ᴴʁõ,"   ᴴᴸpʒ＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.
2SG   downward-sit=IRR   speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
     "'Would you be seated!'"

(18) ᴴpʒ＝ᴸtsʰa＝ᴸlæ#, ᴴhĩ# ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴸdʑʒ-ᴴɕi＝ᴸtsʰa＝ᴸlæ#, ᴴsyi#
     ᴴχu＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.

ᴴpʒ＝ᴸtsʰa＝ᴸlæ   ᴴhĩ＝ᴴᴸtʰi   ᴸdʑʒ-ᴴɕi＝ᴸtsʰa＝ᴸlæ
speak=finish=become   person=that   upward-stand=finish=become
ᴴsyi   ᴴχu＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.
pine.torches   chop=NMLZ.PST=COP
     'Having said that, the man got up and chopped up some pine torches.'

(19) ᴴsyi# ᴸdʑi-ᴴtʂõ# ᴴpu＝ᴸlʒ＝ᴸsɹ#, ᴸtsʰu＝ᴴno#: "ᴴɲi# ᴴwi# ᴸŋʒ-ᴴwu＝ᴸkʒ#
     ᴴlʒ＝ᴴli# ᴸtʰi＝ᴴzɹ# ᴴlæ＝ᴴji＝ᴸdʑõ. "

ᴴsyi   ᴸdʑi-ᴴtʂõ   ᴴpu＝ᴸlʒ＝ᴸsɹ   ᴸtsʰu＝ᴴno: "ᴴɲi
pine.torches   one-bundle   bring=come.PST=PRF   ghost=inside   2SG
ᴴwi   ᴸŋʒ-ᴴwu＝ᴸkʒ   ᴴlʒ＝ᴴli   ᴸtʰi＝ᴴzɹ
night   1SG-family=at   come.PST=NMLZ.PST   that =TOP
ᴴlæ＝ᴴji＝ᴸdʑõ. "
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) "ᴸʔõ＝ᴴdzɹ# ᴸdʑi-ᴴma＝ᴸsɹ＝ᴸlʒ# ᴸʁu-ᴴpu# ᴸmi＝ᴴjĩ#, ᴴwi＝ᴸzɹ#
     ᴸɲi＝ᴴsɹ# ᴴtsʰɹ ᴴdʑĩ# ᴴqɑo＝ᴸsɹ#, ᴸdzʒ＝ᴸxɪ＝ᴴgʒ#," ᴴᴸpʒ＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.

"ᴸʔõ＝ᴴdzɹ   ᴸdʑi-ᴴma＝ᴸsɹ＝ᴸlʒ   ᴸʁu-ᴴpu   ᴸmi＝ᴴjĩ,   ᴴwi＝
1PL.INCL=DU   one-day=PRF=LOC   head-bring   NEG=PROG   night
                                                        meet
ᴸzɹ   ᴸɲi＝ᴴsɹ   ᴴtsʰɹ   ᴴdʑĩ   ᴴqɑo＝ᴸsɹ,
TOP   2SG=PNT.ANM   goat   one   butcher=PRF
ᴸdzʒ＝ᴸxɪ＝ᴴgʒ,"   ᴴᴸpʒ＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.
eat=CAUS=VOL   speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
     "'We do not meet often, tonight I will slaughter and offer you a goat.'"

(21) ᴴpʒ＝ᴸtsʰa＝ᴸlæ#, ᴸtsʰu＝ᴸtʰʒ＝ᴴno#: "ᴴɲi# ᴸŋʒ-ᴴwu# ᴸkʰu-ᴸqɑo＝ᴴsɹ#,
     ᴴʔu＝ᴴno# ᴴtsʰɹ# ᴸzĩ＝ᴸwu＝ᴴliu#," ᴴᴸpʒ＝ᴸli＝ᴸɲõ.

ᴴpʒ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ,   ᴸtsʰu   ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴno: "ᴴɲi ᴸŋʒ-ᴴwu
speak=finish=become   ghost   that=inside 2SG 1SG-family
ᴸkʰu-ᴸqɑo=ᴴsʅ,   ᴴʔu=ᴴno   ᴴtsʰʅ
inward-help=PRF   downstairs=inside   goat
ᴸzĩ=ᴸwu=ᴴliu, "   ᴴᴸpʒ=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) ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ# ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃:# "ᴸᴴja#-ᴸᴴja#" ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ   ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃ "ᴸᴴja-ᴸᴴja"   ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ
that-become   ghost=AGT agree-agree   speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
    'The ghost agreed.'

(23) ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴsyi# ᴸdʑĩ-ᴴtʂõ# ᴴpu=ᴸlʒ=ᴸsʅ#, ᴸtsʰu=ᴴji#
     ᴸli=ᴴʁõ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸtsʅ-ᴴtsʒ ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ#, ᴴɲʒ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸtsi=ᴸjĩ=ᴴsʅ#,
     ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno# ᴸɦiɛ̃=ᴴkʒ# ᴴsyi# ᴴtʂuɛ̃=ᴴsʅ#, "ᴴʔu=ᴸno# ᴴtsʰʅ-ᴸkʰuʒ=ᴸno#
     ᴸbi=ᴴsʅ# ᴴtsʰʅ# ᴸsʅ=ᴸwu=ᴴliu#," ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸsɪ.ᴴji   ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃   ᴴsyi   ᴸdʑĩ-ᴴtʂõ   ᴴpu=ᴸlʒ=ᴸsʅ,
then   person=that=AGT   pine.torches one-bundle bring=come.PST=PRF
ᴸtsʰu=ᴴji   ᴸli=ᴴʁõ   ᴸkʰu-ᴸtsʅ-ᴴtsʒ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ,
ghost=GEN   hand=on   inward-bind-bind=finish=become
ᴴɲʒ   ᴸkʰu-ᴸtsi=ᴸjĩ=ᴴsʅ,   ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno   ᴸɦiɛ̃=ᴴkʒ
fire   inward-light=PROG=PRF   ghost=inside   oneself=at
ᴴsyi   ᴴtʂuɛ̃=ᴴsʅ,   "ᴴʔu=ᴸno   ᴴtsʰʅ-ᴸkʰuʒ=ᴸno
pine.torches   light.up=PRF   downstairs=inside   goat-den=inside
ᴸbi=ᴴsʅ   ᴴtsʰʅ   ᴸsʅ=ᴸwu=ᴴliu, "   ᴴᴸpʒ=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) ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴸtsʰu ᴸɲi ᴴhĩ# ᴴtʰʒ=ᴴdzʅ ᴸɲa-ᴸku# ᴴʔu=ᴸno# ᴴmiæ-
     ᴴpɑo=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ#, ᴴtsʰʅ# ᴸᴴsʅ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸsɪ.ᴴji   ᴸtsʰu   ᴸɲi   ᴴhĩ   ᴴtʰʒ=ᴴdzʅ   ᴸɲa-ᴸku
then   ghost   and   person   that=DU   two-item
ᴴʔu=ᴸno   ᴴmiæ-ᴴpɑo=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ,   ᴴtsʰʅ
downstairs-inside   downward-arrive=finish=become   goat
ᴸᴴsʅ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ
choose=NMLZ.PST=COP
    'So, the ghost and the man went down to the goat shed to pick up a goat.'

(25) ᴴtsʰʅ=ᴸsʅ=ᴸlæ#, ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃#: "ᴴtsʰʅ# ᴸha=ᴴʁõ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕu#,
     ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴʁõ# ᴸkʰu-ᴸdʑi-ᴴtɕu#, ᴸha=ᴴlə# ᴸtsʰuʒ=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ#, ᴸtʰi=ᴴlʒ#
     ᴸtsʰuʒ=ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ#," ᴴpʒ=ᴸsʅ#, ᴴka.ᴴpɑo# ᴸtʂʅ=ᴴxɪ# ᴸᴴtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

^{H}tsʰɿ=^{L}sɿ=^{L}læ ^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃: "^{H}tsʰɿ ^{L}ha=^{H}ʁõ
goat=choose=become person=that=AGT goat this=up

^{L}çi-^{L}dʑi-^{H}tɕu, ^{L}tʰɜ=^{H}ʁõ ^{L}kʰu-^{L}dʑi-^{H}tɕu, ^{L}ha=^{H}lə
to-one-feel that=up fro-one-feel here=also

^{L}tsʰuɜ=^{L}mi=^{H}jĩ, ^{L}tʰi=^{H}lɜ ^{L}tsʰuɜ=^{L}mi=^{H}jĩ, "
fat=NEG=PROG that-also fat=NEG=PROG

^{H}pɜ=^{L}sɿ, ^{H}ka.^{H}pɑo ^{L}tʂɿ=^{H}xɿ ^{LH}tɕi=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
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) ^{L}tʰɜ=^{H}læ# ^{L}tsʰu=^{H}tʰi# ^{H}hĩ ^{L}kiæ-^{L}miæ# ^{H}syi ^{H}tʂuɛ̃=^{H}læ#, ^{H}syi# ^{H}ɲɜ-^{L}nɢɑ=^{L}no ^{L}bɜ=^{L}sɿ#, ^{L}li=^{H}kɜ# ^{H}pɑo ^{L}tɕi-^{L}tɕi# ^{L}bɜ=^{H}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}tʰɜ=^{H}læ ^{L}tsʰu=^{H}tʰi ^{H}hĩ ^{L}kiæ-^{L}miæ ^{H}syi
that=become ghost=that person ?-below back pine.torches

^{H}tʂuɛ̃=^{H}læ, ^{H}syi ^{H}ɲɜ-^{L}nɢɑ=^{L}no ^{L}bɜ=^{L}sɿ,
light.up=become pine.torches fire-set.fire=inside make=PRF

^{L}li=^{H}kɜ ^{H}pɑo ^{L}tɕi-^{L}tɕi ^{L}bɜ=^{H}li=^{L}ɲõ.
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) ^{L}sɿ.^{L}ji=^{H}zɿ# ^{H}hĩ# ^{L}tʰɜ=^{H}no#: "^{H}ʔõ-^{H}hĩ#, ^{H}ɲi# ^{LH}tsʰõ# ^{L}bɜ=^{H}ʁõ#, ^{H}syi=^{L}rɛ̃# ^{L}ŋɜ=^{H}ji# ^{LH}li# ^{H}ɲɜ-^{L}qɛ̃# ^{L}tɕi-^{L}tɕi ^{L}bɜ=^{H}jĩ#," ^{HL}pɜ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}sɿ.^{L}ji=^{H}zɿ ^{H}hĩ ^{L}tʰɜ=^{H}no: "^{H}ʔõ-^{H}hĩ, ^{H}ɲi ^{LH}tsʰõ
then=TOP person that=inside own-person 2SG quick

^{L}bɜ=^{H}ʁõ, ^{H}syi=^{L}rɛ̃ ^{L}ŋɜ=^{H}ji ^{LH}li ^{H}ɲɜ-^{L}qɛ̃
make=IRR pine.torches=AGT 1SG=GEN hand fire-burn

^{L}tɕi-^{L}tɕi ^{L}bɜ=^{H}jĩ, ^{HL}pɜ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
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) ^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃#: "^{H}wi# ^{L}ɲi=^{L}sɿ=^{H}zɿ# ^{H}tsʰɿ# ^{LH}tsʰuɜ ^{L}dʑĩ# ^{H}qɑo=^{L}rɛ̃#, ^{H}ɲi# ^{H}dʑɜ-^{H}χɑ# ^{H}sɛ̃=^{L}rɛ̃# ^{L}bɜ=^{H}ʁõ#, ^{L}ŋɜ# ^{H}tsʰɿ# ^{LH}lu# ^{LH}tsʰuɜ#, ^{LH}lu# ^{L}mo-^{HL}duɜ# ^{LH}dʑĩ# ^{L}bə-^{H}sɿ=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ#, ^{L}sɿ.^{L}ji# ^{L}ʔõ=^{H}dzɿ# ^{H}qɑo=^{L}sɿ# ^{L}dzɜ=^{H}liu#," ^{HL}pɜ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^Hhĩ=^Ltʰi=^Lrɛ̃:   "^Hwi   ^Lɲi=^Lsɻ=^Hzɻ̩

              ^Htsʰɻ̩

person=that=AGT   night   2SG=PNT.ANM=TOP   goat

^{LH}tsʰuʒ   ^Ldʑĩ   ^Hqɑo=^Lrɛ̃,   ^Hɲi   ^Hdʑʒ-^Hχɑ

fat   one   butcher=INST   2SG   one-instant

^Hsɛ̃=^Lrɛ̃   ^Lbʒ=^Hʁõ,   ^Hŋʒ   ^Htsʰɻ̩   ^{LH}lu   ^{LH}tsʰuʒ,   ^{LH}lu ^Lmo-^{HL}duʒ

patient=INST   make=IRR   1SG   goat   again   fat   again INTSF-big

^{LH}dʑĩ   ^Lbə-^Hsɻ=^Ltsʰa=^Llæ,   ^Lsɪ.^Hji

one   outward=choose=finish=become   then

^Lʔõ=^Hdzɻ̩   ^Hqɑo=^Lsɻ   ^Ldzʒ=^Hliu, "

1PL.INCL=DU   slaughter=PRF   eat=come.IMP

^{HL}pʒ=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

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) ^Hpʒ=^Ltsʰa=^Llæ# ^{LH}lu# ^{HL}tsʰɻ̩# ^{LH}sɻ=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

^Hpʒ=^Ltsʰa=^Llæ   ^{LH}lu   ^{HL}tsʰɻ̩   ^{LH}sɻ=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

speak=finish=become   again   goat   choose=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(30) ^Ltʰʒ=^Hlæ# ^Hsyi# ^Lkʰu-^Hnɢɑ# ^Hpɑo=^Llʒ=^Lsɻ#, ^Ltsʰu=^Hji# ^Lli=^Hʁõ#
     ^Lkʰu-^Hzuɛ̃# ^Lpu=^{LH}tɕʰũ#=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

^Ltʰʒ=^Hlæ   ^Hsyi   ^Lkʰu-^Hnɢɑ   ^Hpɑo=^Llʒ=^Lsɻ

that=become   pine.torches   inward-set.fire   arrive=come.PST=PRF

^Ltsʰu=^Hji   ^Lli=^Hʁõ   ^Lkʰu-^Hzuɛ̃

ghost=GEN   hand=on   inward-burn

^Lpu=^{LH}tɕʰũ=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

IPFV=come=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(31) ^Ltʰʒ=^Hlæ# ^Ltsʰu=^Htʰi# ^Hʔɑ-^Htsa ^Lpʒ=^Lsɻ#, ^Hʔu=^Lno# ^Lbu-
     ^Hdʑɛ̃=^Lpu=^Lwu=^Lsɻ#, ^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Lhĩ# ^Ltsʰu-^Lkʰuʒ=^Hno# ^Llʒ-
     ^Lwu=^Hrɛ̃# ^{HL}ɕyʒ=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

^Ltʰʒ=^Hlæ   ^Ltsʰu=^Htʰi   ^Hʔɑ-^Htsa   ^Lpʒ=^Lsɻ,   ^Hʔu=^Lno

that=become   ghost=that   ouch   speak=PRF   downstairs=inside

^Lbu-^Hdʑɛ̃=^Lpu=^Lwu=^Lsɻ,   ^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Hhĩ

outward-fly=IPFV=RES=PRF   opposite.side

^Ltsʰu-^Lkʰuʒ=^Hno   ^Llʒ-^Lwu=^Hrɛ̃   ^{HL}ɕyʒ=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

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) ^Hdʑɛ̃=^Hs̩=^Llɜ=^Llæ#, ^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Hhĩ# ^Ltsʰu=^Lmə.^Hʑi=^Lrɛ̃#: "^Hɲi# ^La
^Lkʰu=^Ltʰa=^Hliu#, ^Hʂu-^Hdʑɜ=^Lno# ^Lmiæ-^Hxu#," ^{HL}pɜ=^Ls̩#
^{LH}ʁɛ̃=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

^Hdʑɛ̃=^Hs̩=^Llɜ=^Llæ,		^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Hhĩ	^Ltsʰu=^Lmə.^Hʑi=^Lrɛ̃:
fly=PRF=come.PST=become		other.shore	ghost=PL=AGT
"^Hɲi	^La	^Lkʰu=^Ltʰa=^Hliu,	^Hʂu-^Hdʑɜ=^Lno
2SG	here	inward=PROH=come	Shu-river=inside
^Lmiæ-^Hxu,"		^{HL}pɜ=^Ls̩	^{LH}ʁɛ̃=^Lli=^Lɲõ.
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) ^Htʰi=^Hji# ^Hhĩ=^Ltʰi=^Lrɛ̃# ^Hlɜ# : "^Hɲi# ^Hʂu-^Hdʑɜ=^Lno#
^Lmiæ=^Ltʰa=^Hxu#, ^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Lhĩ# ^Lɲi=^Hji ^Lkʰuɜ=^Lno# ^Hlɜ-^Hxu#"
^{HL}pɜ=^Ls̩# ^{LH}ʁɛ̃=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

^Htʰi=^Hji	^Hhĩ=^Ltʰi=^Lrɛ̃		^Hlɜ:	"^Hɲi	^Hʂu-^Hdʑɜ=^Lno
that=GEN	person=that=AGT		also	2SG	Shu-river=inside
^Lmiæ=^Ltʰa=^Hxu,		^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Lhĩ		^Lɲi=^Hji	
downward=PROH=go.IMP		opposite.side		2SG=GEN	
^Lkʰuɜ=^Lno	^Hlɜ-^Hxu,"		^{HL}pɜ=^Ls̩	^{LH}ʁɛ̃=^Lli=^Lɲõ	
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) ^Ltʰɜ=^Hlæ# ^Ltsʰu=^Htʰi# ^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Lhĩ# ^Ltsʰu=^Lmə.^Hʑi# ^Lʁɛ̃=^Hli#
^{HL}tʰi# ^Hmu=^Hma=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

^Ltʰɜ=^Hlæ	^Ltsʰu=^Htʰi	^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Lhĩ	^Ltsʰu=^Lmə.^Hʑi
that-become	ghost=that	opposite.side	ghost=PL
^Lʁɛ̃=^Hli	^{HL}tʰi		^Hmu=^Hma=^Lli=^Lɲõ.
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=^Lrɛ̃# ^Lʁɛ̃=^Lli=^Hz̩# ^{LH}ma=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

^Hhĩ	^Htʰi=^Lrɛ̃	^Lʁɛ̃=^Lli=^Hz̩	^{LH}ma=^Lli=^Lɲõ
person	that=AGT	call=NMLZ.PST=TOP	hear =NMLZ.PST=cop

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

(36) ^Ltʰɜ=^Hlæ# ^Hsyi ^Lpu=^Lwu=^Ls̩#, ^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Lhĩ# ^Ltsʰu-^Lkʰuɜ=^Hno#
^Lkʰu-^Hdʑɛ̃ɜ ^Hpu=^Lwu=^Ls̩#, ^Ltsʰu-^Hkʰuɜ=^Lmə.^Lʑi=^Lʁõ# ^{LH}ɲɜ# ^Htɜ#
^Lkʰu-^Htsi# ^{LH}tɕi=^Lli=^Lɲõ.

^Ltʰʒ = ^Hlæ   ^Hsyi   ^Lpu = ^Lwu = ^Lsʐ,   ^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Lhĩ
that-become   pine.torches   bring=RES=PRF   opposite.side
^Ltsʰu-^Lkʰuʒ = ^Hno   ^Lkʰu-^Hdʑɛ̃   ^Hpu = ^Lwu = ^Lsʐ,
ghost-den=inside   inward-fly   IPFV=RES=PRF
^Ltsʰu-^Hkʰuʒ = ^Lmə.^Lʑi = ^Lʁõ   ^{LH}ɲʒ   ^Htʒ   ^Lkʰu-^Htsi   ^{LH}tɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.
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-^Lkʰuʒ ^Hɲi# ^{LH}tsʰu# ^{LH}no# ^Llʒ-^Lɲʒ-^Lqɛ̃ = ^Hsʐ#,
     ^Lmu = ^Hzõ̟# ^Lbʒ = ^Hxɪ ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Htʂʰu.^Lbə.^Lza.^Lhĩ   ^Ltsʰu-^Lkʰuʒ   ^Hɲi   ^{LH}tsʰu   ^{LH}no
opposite.side   ghost-den   and   ghost   altogether
^Llʒ-^Lɲʒ-^Lqɛ̃ = ^Hsʐ   ^Lmu = ^Hzõ̟   ^Lbʒ = ^Hxɪ   ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ
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) ^Hji-^Lɲɪ# ^Hji-^Lɲɪ# ^Hhĩ ^Ldʑĩ = ^Lrɛ̃# ^Hdʑũ = ^Hlʒ# ^Lgu-^Hliu = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Hji-^Lɲɪ   ^Hji-^Lɲɪ   ^Hhĩ   ^Ldʑĩ = ^Lrɛ̃   ^Hdʑũ = ^Hlʒ
previous-?   previous-?   person   one=AGT   mountain=LOC
in.the.past   in.the.past
^Lgu-^Hliu = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.
cattle-herd=NMLZ.PST=COP
     'A long time ago there was a man herding his animals in the mountains.'

(2) ^Lmʒ = ^Llə = ^Hʁua# ^Hgu# ^Hla-^Hhõ = ^Llʒ = ^Lsʐ#, ^Lkʰu-^Ltɛ̃ = ^Hlʒ#, ^Lz̩-^Hbʒ ^Ldʑĩ#
     ^Llʒ = ^Lmu = ^{LH}tsʰõ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Lmʒ = ^Llə = ^Hʁua   ^Hgu   ^Hla-^Hhõ = ^Llʒ = ^Lsʐ,
day=LOC=back   cattle   PFV-drive=come.PST=PRF
^Lkʰu-^Ltɛ̃ = ^Hlʒ,   ^Lz̩-^Hbʒ   ^Ldʑĩ
inward-close=come.PST   ?-ox   one
                              plow.ox
^Llʒ = ^Lmu = ^{LH}tsʰõ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.
PFV=NEG=enough=NMLZ.PST=COP
     'In the afternoon, when he drove the animals back into the shed, one plow
     ox was missing.'

(3) ^Ltʰʒ = ^Hlæ# ^Hhĩ = ^Ltʰi# ^Lgu-^Lliu-^Ltʂʐ = ^Hno# ^Hlʒ-^Hçæ# ^Lxa = ^Hli = ^Lɲõ.

^{L}tʰʒ=^{H}læ ^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi ^{L}gu-^{L}liu-^{L}tʂɻ=^{H}no
that-become   person=that   cattle-herd-place=inside
^{H}lʒ-^{H}ɕæ ^{L}xa=^{H}li=^{L}ɲõ.
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) ^{H}sõ# ^{H}dʑʒ-^{H}χɑ=^{L}læ=^{L}lʒ#, ^{L}tʰu-^{H}wu# ^{L}zɻ-^{L}bʒ=^{H}ji# ^{H}kʰʒ-^{H}tɕʰu# ^{H}tsʰa-^{L}ki
    ^{L}mu# ^{L}dʑĩ=^{H}no# ^{L}kʰu-^{H}zi# ^{L}dʑõ=^{H}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{H}sõ ^{H}dʑʒ-^{H}χɑ=^{L}læ=^{L}lʒ ^{L}tʰu-^{H}wu ^{L}zɻ-^{L}bʒ=^{H}ji
wait?   one-instant=become=come.PST   that-family   ?-ox=GEN
                                                           plow.ox
^{H}kʰʒ-^{H}tɕʰu ^{H}tsʰa-^{L}ki ^{L}mu ^{L}dʑĩ=^{H}no
foot-trace   thorn.bush   grove   one=inside
^{L}kʰu-^{H}zi ^{L}dʑõ=^{H}li=^{L}ɲõ.
inward-be.attached   DUR=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(5) ^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi# ^{L}tɕʰu=^{H}ʁõ# ^{H}ɕĩ=^{H}sɻ#, ^{H}tsʰa.^{L}ki# ^{L}mu=^{H}kʒ#
    ^{H}pɑo=^{L}xa=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi ^{L}tɕʰu=^{H}ʁõ ^{H}ɕĩ=^{H}sɻ, ^{H}tsʰa.^{L}ki ^{L}mu=^{HL}kʒ
person=that   trace=on   look=PRF   thorn.bush   grove=at
^{H}pɑo=^{L}xa=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
arrive=go.PST=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(6) ^{L}zɻ-^{H}bʒ# ^{L}a=^{H}jĩ ^{L}ɕĩ=^{L}læ#, ^{HL}tʰi# ^{L}dõ=^{H}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}zɻ-^{H}bʒ ^{L}a=^{H}jĩ ^{L}ɕĩ=^{L}læ, ^{HL}tʰi
?-ox   Q=exist.ANM   watch=become   that
plow.ox
^{L}dõ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ
see=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(7) ^{L}tsʰu ^{LH}dʑĩ=^{L}rẽ# ^{L}tʰu-^{H}wu# ^{L}zɻ-^{H}bʒ# ^{H}lʒ-^{H}zĩ=^{H}sɻ#, ^{H}tsʰa.^{L}ki ^{L}mu=^{L}no#
    ^{L}ɕi-^{L}lʒ-^{H}suẽ# ^{L}kʰu-^{L}lʒ-^{H}suẽ# ^{L}bʒ=^{H}li=^{L}ɲõ.

ᴸtsʰu   ᴸᴴdʑĩ=ᴸrɛ̃   ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu   ᴸʐ̩-ᴴbɜ   ᴴlɜ-ᴴzĩ=ᴴs̩,
ghost   one=AGT   that-family   ?-ox   PFV-seize=PRF
                               plow.ox

ᴴtsʰa.ᴸki   ᴸmu=ᴸno   ᴸçi-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃   ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃
thorn.bush   grove=inside   to-PFV-lead   fro-PFV-lead

ᴸbɜ=ᴴli=ᴸɲõ.
make=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(8) ᴸtʰɜ-ᴴlæ# ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno#: ᴴŋɜ# ᴴma# ᴸdʑi-ᴴma# ᴸʐ̩-ᴴbɜ ᴸlɜ-ᴸçæ=ᴴs̩#, ᴸŋɜ=ᴴji# ᴸʐ̩-ᴸbɜ=ᴴʐ̩# ᴴɲi=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴsuɛ̃# ᴸa=ᴸma=ᴸᴴxa=ᴸdʑõ?

ᴸtʰɜ-ᴴlæ   ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃   ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno: ᴴŋɜ   ᴴma
that-become   person=that=AGT   ghost=inside   1SG   day

ᴸdʑi-ᴴma   ᴸʐ̩-ᴸbɜ   ᴸlɜ-ᴸçæ=ᴴs̩,   ᴸŋɜ=ᴴji
one-day   ?-ox   PFV-search=PRF   1SG=GEN
                 plow.ox

ᴸʐ̩-ᴸbɜ=ᴴʐ̩   ᴴɲi=ᴸrɛ̃   ᴴsuɛ̃
?-ox=TOP   2SG=AGT   lead
plow.ox

ᴸa=ᴸma=ᴸᴴxa=ᴸdʑõ?
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# ᴸŋɜ=ᴴji# ᴸʐ̩-ᴴbɜ=ᴸs̩# ᴸçi-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃# ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃# , ᴴtɕʰi ᴸwɜ=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴᴸçyɜ=ᴸjĩ, ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴɲi   ᴸŋɜ=ᴴji   ᴸʐ̩-ᴴbɜ=ᴸs̩   ᴸçi-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃   ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃,
2SG   1SG=GEN   ?-ox=PNT.ANM   to-PFV-lead   fro-PFV-lead
                 plow.ox

ᴴtɕʰi   ᴸwɜ=ᴸrɛ̃   ᴴᴸçyɜ=ᴸjĩ,   ᴴᴸtʰi   ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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 =ᴸrɛ̃ =ᴸʐ̩#: ᴴŋɜ# ᴸɲi =ᴴji# ᴸʐ̩-ᴴbɜ# ᴴqɑo=ᴸs̩# ᴸdzɜ=ᴴrɛ̃ ᴸçyɜ=ᴸjĩ#, ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃=ᴸʐ̩:   ᴴŋɜ   ᴸɲi =ᴴji   ᴸʐ̩-ᴴbɜ
ghost=AGT=TOP   1SG   2SG=GEN   ?-ox
                                plow.ox

ᴴqɑo=ᴸs̩   ᴸdzɜ=ᴴrɛ̃   ᴸçyɜ=ᴸjĩ,   ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ
slaughter=PRF   eat=INST   think=PROG   speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(11) ^{L}tʰʒ=^{H}læ# ^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃#: "^{H}ɲi# ^{H}qɑo=^{L}sɹ# ^{LH}dzʒ ^{L}ʐu#,
   ^{L}lʒ=^{L}tʰa=^{H}χɑo ^{L}bʒ=^{L}sɹ#, ^{L}çi-^{L}lʒ-^{H}suɛ̃# ^{L}kʰu-^{L}lʒ-^{H}suɛ̃# ^{H}tɕʰi ^{H}wʒ=^{H}jĩ?"

^{L}tʰʒ=^{H}læ	^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃:		"^{H}ɲi	^{H}qɑo=^{L}sɹ
that=become	person=that=AGT		2SG	slaughter=PRF
^{LH}dzʒ	^{L}ʐu,	^{L}lʒ=^{L}tʰa=^{H}χɑo		^{L}bʒ=^{L}sɹ,
eat	COND	PFV=PROH=slaughter		make=PRF
^{L}çi-^{L}lʒ-^{H}suɛ̃		^{L}kʰu-^{L}lʒ-^{H}suɛ̃		^{H}tɕʰi ^{H}wʒ=^{H}jĩ?"
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) ^{LH}tsʰu=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃# ^{HL}tʰi# ^{HL}pʒ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{LH}tsʰu=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃		^{HL}tʰi	^{HL}pʒ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
ghost=that=AGT		that	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

'The ghost replied thus.'

(13) "^{H}ɲi-^{H}rɛ̃# ^{H}hĩ=^{L}zɹ# ^{H}sɛ̃.^{H}tɕɛ̃# ^{H}qɑo=^{H}læ#, ^{L}tʰʒ=^{H}ʁõ# ^{H}miæ# ^{L}dʑi-
   ^{L}tsɹ=^{H}lʒ# ^{H}tʰa=^{L}tsʰu ^{L}bʒ=^{L}sɹ#, ^{L}ʁɛ̃ ^{L}hæ=^{H}sɹ# ^{L}lʒ-^{H}si=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ#, ^{L}lʒ-
   ^{L}χɑo=^{H}sɹ# ^{L}dzʒ=^{H}ji=^{L}dʑõ."

"^{H}ɲi-^{H}rɛ̃	^{H}hĩ=^{L}zɹ	^{H}sɛ̃.^{H}tɕɛ̃	^{H}qɑo=^{H}læ,	^{L}tʰʒ=^{H}ʁõ
2-PL	person=TOP	draft.animal	slaughter=become	that=on
^{H}miæ	^{L}dʑi-^{L}tsɹ=^{H}lʒ	^{H}tʰa=^{L}tsʰu		^{L}bʒ=^{L}sɹ,
wound	one-little=LOC	PROH=appear		make=PRF
^{L}ʁɛ̃=^{L}hæ=^{H}sɹ		^{L}lʒ-^{H}si=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ,		^{L}lʒ-^{L}χɑo=^{H}sɹ
neck=cut=PRF		PFV-kill=finish=become		PFV-slaughter=PRF
^{L}dzʒ=^{H}ji=^{L}dʑõ."				
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) "^{L}ŋʒ-^{H}rɛ̃# ^{L}tsʰu=^{H}zɹ# ^{H}sɛ̃.^{H}tɕɛ̃ ^{L}qɑo=^{L}læ#, ^{H}ça.^{H}ʁɑ# ^{H}miæ ^{L}dʑi-^{L}tsɹ#
   ^{H}tsʰu=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ#, ^{L}sɪ.^{L}ji=^{H}zɹ# ^{H}qɑo=^{L}wu=^{L}sɹ# ^{L}dzʒ=^{H}jĩ=^{L}dʑõ."

"^{L}ŋʒ-^{H}rɛ̃	^{L}tsʰu=^{H}zɹ	^{H}sɛ̃.^{H}tɕɛ̃	^{L}qɑo=^{L}læ,	^{H}ça.^{H}ʁɑ
1-PL	ghost=TOP	draft.animal	slaughter=become	first
^{H}miæ	^{L}dʑi-^{L}tsɹ	^{H}tsʰu=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ,		^{L}sɪ.^{L}ji=^{H}zɹ
wound	one-little	appear=finish=become		then=TOP
^{H}qɑo=^{L}wu=^{L}sɹ		^{L}dzʒ=^{H}jĩ=^{L}dʑõ."		
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) "^{H}ŋʒ# ^{L}ha=^{H}no# ^{L}ɲi-^{H}wu# ^{L}zɹ-^{H}bʒ=^{L}sɹ# ^{L}çi-^{L}lʒ-^{H}suɛ̃# ^{L}kʰu-^{L}lʒ-^{H}suɛ̃#
   ^{L}tʰʒ=^{H}zɹ# ^{H}ça.^{H}ʁɑ# ^{L}zɹ-^{H}bʒ=^{L}sɹ# ^{H}tsʰa.^{L}ki# ^{L}dzu=^{L}χɪ=^{H}sɹ#, ^{H}miæ#

ᴴtʂʰu=ᴴsɻ#, ᴸsɪ.ᴸji=ᴴzɻ# ᴴqɑo=ᴸsɻ# ᴸdzɜ ᴸtɕi-ᴴtɕi# ᴸbɜ=ᴴrɛ̃#
ᴴᴸɕyɜ=jĩ#," ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

"ᴴŋɜ	ᴸha=ᴴno	ᴸɲi-ᴴwu	ᴸzɻ-ᴴbɜ=ᴸsɻ
1SG	this=inside	2SG-family	?-ox=PNT.ANM
			plow.ox

ᴸɕi-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃	ᴸkʰu-ᴸlɜ-ᴴsuɛ̃	ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴzɻ
to-PFV-lead	fro-PFV-lead	that=TOP

ᴴɕa.ᴴʁɑ	ᴸzɻ-ᴴbɜ=ᴸsɻ	ᴴtsʰa.ᴸki	ᴸdzu=ᴸxɪ=ᴴsɻ,
first	?-ox=PNT.ANM	thorn.bush	prick=CAUS=PRF
	plow.ox		

ᴴmiæ	ᴴtʂʰu=ᴴsɻ,	ᴸsɪ.ᴸji=ᴴzɻ	ᴴqɑo=ᴸsɻ
wound	appear=PRF	then=TOP	slaughter=PRF

ᴸdzɜ	ᴸtɕi-ᴴtɕi	ᴸbɜ=ᴴrɛ̃	ᴴᴸɕyɜ=ᴸjĩ, "	ᴴᴸtʰi
eat	do-do	make=INST	think=PROG	that

ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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) ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃#: ᴴda=ᴴma=ᴴna#, ᴸʔõ=ᴴdzɻ# ᴸzõ-ᴴzõ ᴴᴸdʑyɜ# ᴸbɜ=ᴴliu#, ᴸŋɜ-ᴴwu# ᴸzɻ-ᴴbɜ# ᴴwi=ᴸzɻ# ᴸɲi-ᴴwu=ᴸkɜ# ᴸmiæ-ᴸsuɛ̃=ᴴsɻ#, ᴸdʑi-ᴴdzɜ# ᴸbɜ=ᴸwu=ᴴliu#, ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸsɪ.ᴴji	ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃ :	ᴴda=ᴴma=ᴴna,	ᴸʔõ=ᴴdzɻ
then	person=that=AGT	perform?=NEG=?	self=DU

ᴸzõ-ᴴzõ	ᴴᴸdʑyɜ	ᴸbɜ=ᴴliu,	ᴸŋɜ-ᴴwu	ᴸzɻ-ᴴbɜ
man-man	friend	make= come.IMP	1SG-family	?-ox
				plow.ox

ᴴwi=ᴸzɻ	ᴸɲi-ᴴwu=ᴸkɜ	ᴸmiæ-ᴸsuɛ̃=ᴴsɻ
night=TOP	2SG-family=at	downward-lead=PRF

ᴸdʑi-ᴴdzɜ	ᴸbɜ=ᴸwu=ᴴliu,	ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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) ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴdzɻ ᴸɲa-ᴸku# ᴸzɻ-ᴴbɜ=ᴴtʰi# ᴴmiæ-ᴴsuɛ̃=ᴸwu=ᴸsɻ#, ᴸtsʰu-ᴴwu=ᴸkɜ# ᴸlɜ-ᴸχɑo=ᴴsɻ# ᴴlɜ-ᴴdzɜ# ᴸtɕi=ᴴli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸsɪ.ᴴji   ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴdzɻ   ᴸɲa-ᴸku   ᴸzɻ-ᴸbʒ=ᴴtʰi
then   that=DU   two-item   ?-ox=that
                                           plow.ox

ᴴmiæ-ᴴsuɛ̃=ᴸwu=ᴸsɻ,   ᴸtsʰu-ᴴwu=ᴸkʒ   ᴸlʒ-ᴸχɑo=ᴴsɻ
downward-lead=RES=PRF   ghost-family=at   PFV-slaughter=PRF
ᴴlʒ-ᴴdzʒ   ᴸtɕi=ᴴli=ᴸɲõ.
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-ᴴma=ᴸlæ=ᴸlʒ#, ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴsɻ# ᴴbã# ᴸᴴʁɛ̃=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸdʑi-ᴴma=ᴸlæ=ᴸlʒ,   ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃   ᴸtsʰu=ᴴsɻ
one-day=become=come.PST   person=that=AGT   ghost=PNT.ANM
ᴴbã   ᴸᴴʁɛ̃=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
guest   call=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(19) ᴸᴴtsʰu# ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu=ᴸkʒ# ᴴpɑo=ᴸtɕʰũ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸᴴtsʰu   ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu=ᴸkʒ   ᴴpɑo=ᴸtɕʰũ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
ghost   that-family=at   arrive=come=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(20) ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃#: "ᴸʔõ=ᴴdzɻ# ᴸɲa-ᴸku=ᴴzɻ# ᴴka.ᴴpɑo# ᴴndzɻ=ᴴhĩ#, ᴸzõ-ᴴzõ ᴸdʑyʒ ᴸɲõ."

ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃:   "ᴸʔõ=ᴴdzɻ   ᴸɲa-ᴸku=ᴴzɻ
person=that=AGT   self=DU   two-item=TOP
ᴴka.ᴴpɑo   ᴴndzɻ-ᴴhĩ   ᴸzõ-ᴴzõ   ᴸdʑyʒ   ᴸɲõ."
very   intimate-person   man-man   friend   COP

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

(21) ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸsɻ# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno#: "ᴴwi=ᴸzɻ# ᴸŋʒ=ᴴji# ᴸtsʰɻ-ᴴdʑyʒ# ᴸlʒ-ᴸχɑo=ᴴsɻ#, ᴸʔõ=ᴴdzɻ# ᴸdʑi-ᴴdzʒ ᴸbʒ=ᴸliu#," ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸsɻ   ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno: "ᴴwi=ᴸzɻ   ᴸŋʒ=ᴴji
speak=PRF   ghost=inside   night=TOP   1SG=GEN
ᴸtsʰɻ-ᴴdʑyʒ   ᴸlʒ-ᴸχɑo=ᴴsɻ,   ᴸʔõ=ᴴdzɻ   ᴸdʑi-ᴴdzʒ
life-friend   PFV-butcher=PRF   self=DU   one-eat
wife
ᴸbʒ=ᴸliu, "   ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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=ᴸlʒ ᴸmiæ-ᴴzõ#, ᴴŋʒ# ᴸtsʰɻ-ᴴdʑyʒ# ᴸʁɛ̃=ᴸwu=ᴴgʒ#," ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtsʰu = ᴴno: "ᴴɲi   ᴸa = ᴸlɜ   ᴸmiæ-ᴴzõ,   ᴴŋɜ
ghost=inside   2SG   here=LOC   downward-sit   1SG
ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴴdʑyɜ   ᴸʁɛ̃ = ᴸwu = ᴴgɜ, " ᴴᴸpɜ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.
life-friend   call=RES=VOL   speak=NMLZ.PST=COP
wife

'The man said to the ghost: "Please take a seat here and I will call my
wife."'

(23) ᴸtʰɜ = ᴴlæ# ᴴhĩ = ᴸtʰi# ᴸbə-ᴴtsɑ = ᴸwu = ᴸʂ̩#, ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴴdʑyɜ = ᴸʂ̩# ᴴdʑɜ-
      ᴴmiæ# ᴴla.ᴴnga = ᴴᴸxɪ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlæ#, ᴸbi-ᴸkʰuɜ = ᴴno# ᴴbiɜ# ᴸmo-ᴴᴸduɜ
      ᴸdʑĩ# ᴸlɜ-ᴸχɑo = ᴴʂ̩#, ᴸbi-ᴴmi = ᴸʂ̩# ᴴri-ᴴχũ# ᴸlɜ-ᴸgu = ᴴxɪ#, ᴴpʰã# ᴸlɜ-
      ᴸlo-ᴴlu = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlæ#, ᴴbɜ.ᴸz̩.ᴸki = ᴸʁõ# ᴸbɜ-ᴸtsɿ-ᴴtsa#, ᴸtʰɜ = ᴴlæ#
      ᴸᴴtsʰu = ᴸtʰi = ᴸrɛ̃: "ᴸʔõ = ᴴdz̩# ᴴtɕʰi ᴸdzɜ ᴸʐu#, ᴸlɜ-ᴸᴴdzɜ = ᴸgyi,
      ᴸɲi = ᴴji# ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴴdʑyɜ = ᴴz̩# ᴴqɑo = ᴸmu = ᴸrɛ̃, " ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴴᴸpɜ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʰɜ = ᴴlæ   ᴴhĩ = ᴸtʰi   ᴸbə-ᴴtsɑ = ᴸwu = ᴸʂ̩,
that=become   person=that   outward-go=RES=PRF
ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴴdʑyɜ = ᴸʂ̩   ᴴdʑɜ-ᴴmiæ ᴴla.ᴴnga = ᴴᴸxɪ = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlæ,
life-friend=PNT.ANM   outside   hide=CAUS=finish=become
wife
ᴸbi-ᴸkʰuɜ = ᴴno   ᴴbiɜ   ᴸmo-ᴴᴸduɜ   ᴸdʑĩ
pig-den=inside   pig   INTSF-big   one
ᴸlɜ-ᴸχɑo = ᴴʂ̩,   ᴸbi-ᴴmi = ᴸʂ̩   ᴴri-ᴴχũ
PFV-butcher=PRF   pig-F=PNT.ANM   cotton-long.gown
ᴸlɜ-ᴸgu = ᴴᴸxɪ,   ᴴpʰã   ᴸlɜ-ᴸlo-ᴴlu = ᴸtsʰa = ᴸlæ,
PFV-put.on=CAUS   face   PFV-wrap-wrap=finish=become
ᴴbɜ.ᴸz̩.ᴸki = ᴸʁõ   ᴸbɜ-ᴸtsɿ-ᴴtsa,   ᴸtʰɜ = ᴴlæ   ᴸᴴtsʰu
pillar=on   outward-bind-bind   that=become   ghost
ᴸtʰi = ᴸrɛ̃:   "ᴸʔõ = ᴴdz̩ ᴴtɕʰi ᴸdzɜ ᴸʐu,   ᴸlɜ-ᴸᴴdzɜ = ᴸgyi
that =AGT   self=DU   what eat   COND   PFV-eat=be.given
ᴸɲi = ᴴji   ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴴdʑyɜ = ᴴz̩   ᴴqɑo = ᴸmu = ᴸrɛ̃, "   ᴴᴸtʰi
2SG=GEN   life-friend=TOP   slaughter=NEG=INST   that
wife
ᴴᴸpɜ = ᴸli = ᴸɲõ.
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) ᴸtʰɜ = ᴴlæ# ᴴhĩ = ᴸtʰi = ᴸrɛ̃#: "ᴴdʑi.ᴴtɛ.ᴴkʰõ = ᴸno# ᴴndz̩-ᴴhĩ = ᴴz̩#
      ᴸʔõ = ᴴdz̩ ᴸɲa-ᴸku ᴸʑi = ᴸz̩# ᴸmi = ᴴjĩ = ᴸdʑõ. "

^{L}tʰʒ=^{H}læ ^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃:   "^{H}dʑi.^{H}tɛ̃.^{H}kʰõ=^{L}no
that=become   person=that=AGT   world=inside
^{H}ndzɻ-^{H}hĩ=^{H}zɻ ^{L}ʔõ=^{H}dzɻ ^{L}ɲa-^{L}ku
intimate-person=TOP   self=DU   two-item
^{L}ʑi=^{L}zɻ ^{L}mi=^{H}jĩ=^{L}dʑõ."
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) "^{H}wi=^{L}zɻ# ^{LH}nɢɑ ^{L}bʒ=^{L}sɻ# ^{L}ŋʒ=^{H}ji ^{L}tsʰɻ-^{H}dʑyʒ=^{H}ji# ^{H}tsʰu-^{L}suɛ̃ ^{L}kyi=^{L}sɻ#, ^{L}ɲi=^{H}sɻ ^{L}dzʒ=^{L}xɪ=^{L}rɛ̃#," ^{HL}pʒ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

"^{H}wi=^{L}zɻ ^{LH}nɢɑ ^{L}bʒ=^{L}sɻ ^{L}ŋʒ=^{H}ji ^{L}tsʰɻ-^{H}dʑyʒ=^{H}ji
night=TOP   certain   make=PRF   1SG=GEN   life-friend=GEN wife

^{H}tsʰu-^{L}suɛ̃ ^{L}kyi=^{L}sɻ, ^{L}ɲi=^{H}sɻ ^{L}dzʒ=^{L}xɪ=^{L}rɛ̃, "
lung-liver   stuff=PRF   2SG=PNT.ANM   eat=CAUS=INST
^{HL}pʒ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

'"Tonight, I absolutely want to treat you on sausages made of my wife's lungs and liver."'

(26) ^{H}pʒ=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ#, ^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃# ^{L}bi-^{H}mi# ^{L}lʒ-^{L}tsɻ-^{L}tsʒ=^{H}hĩ# ^{L}tʰʒ=^{H}no# ^{L}kʰu-^{LH}ʁɛ̃=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{H}pʒ=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ, ^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃ ^{L}bi-^{H}mi
speak=finish=become   person=that=AGT   pig-F
^{L}lʒ-^{L}tsɻ-^{L}tsʒ-^{H}hĩ ^{L}tʰʒ=^{H}no ^{L}kʰu-^{LH}ʁɛ̃=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
PFV-bind-bind-person   that=inside inward-call=NMLZ.PST=COP
'Having said that, the man shouted to the fastened sow.'

(27) "^{L}tsʰɻ-^{HL}dʑyʒ#, ^{H}ɲi# ^{L}bu-^{L}ʁu-^{L}ɕũ=^{H}sɻ#, ^{H}hao ^{L}wʒ=^{L}liu#," ^{HL}pʒ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

"^{L}tsʰɻ-^{HL}dʑyʒ, ^{H}ɲi ^{L}bu-^{L}ʁu-^{L}ɕũ=^{H}sɻ, ^{H}hao
life-friend   2SG   outward-head-come=PRF   rice
wife
^{L}wʒ=^{L}liu, " ^{HL}pʒ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
make=come.IMP   speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

'"Woman, come here and cook."'

(28) ^{L}bi-^{H}mi# ^{L}guʒ.^{H}jɛ̃# ^{H}mu=^{L}kɛ̃=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}bi-^{H}mi ^{L}guʒ.^{H}jɛ̃ ^{H}mu=^{L}kɛ̃=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
pig-F   answer   NEG=give=NMLZ.PST=COP
'The sow did not answer.'

(29) ^{LH}lu# ^{L}ʁɛ̃=^{H}sɻ#: "^{L}tsʰɻ-^{HL}dʑyʒ#, ^{H}ɲi# ^{L}tɕyi ^{L}tsu=^{H}liu#," ^{HL}pʒ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{LH}lu   ^Lʁɛ̃ = ^Hsɻ: "^Ltsʰɻ-^{HL}dʑɣɜ,   ^Hɲi   ^Ltɕyi   ^Ltsu = ^Hliu,"
again   call=PRF   life-friend   2SG   tea   boil=come.IMP
                             wife

^{HL}pʒ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

     'The man shouted again: "Woman, make tea!"'

(30) ^Lbi-^Hmi# ^{LH}lu# ^Lguʒ.^Hjɛ̃# ^Hmu = ^Lkɛ̃ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Lbi-^Hmi   ^{LH}lu   ^Lguʒ.^Hjɛ̃   ^Hmu = ^Lkɛ̃ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ
pig-F   again   answer   NEG=give=NMLZ.PST=COP

     'Again, the sow did not answer.'

(31) ^Lsɪ.^Lji = ^Hzɻ# ^Hhĩ = ^Ltʰi = ^Lrɛ̃#: "^Hɲi# ^Hhao ^Lwʒ ^Llʒ# ^Hmu = ^Hta.^Hhĩ#, ^Ltɕyi
     ^Ltsu ^Hlʒ# ^Hmu = ^Hta.^Hhĩ#," ^{HL}pʒ = ^Lsɻ#, ^Hrə.^Ltʂʰɻ# ^Lbə-
     ^Hɕu# = ^Lpu = ^Llʒ = ^Hsɻ#, ^Ltʰa.^Hpɑo# ^Lbə-^Hti ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Lsɪ.^Lji = ^Hzɻ   ^Hhĩ = ^Ltʰi = ^Lrɛ̃:   "^Hɲi   ^Hhao   ^Lwʒ   ^Llʒ
then=TOP   person=that=AGT   2SG   rice   make   also
^Hmu = ^Hta.^Hhĩ,   ^Ltɕyi   ^Ltsu   ^Hlʒ   ^Hmu = ^Hta.^Hhĩ, "
NEG=obey   tea   boil   also   NEG=obey
^{HL}pʒ = ^Lsɻ,   ^Hrə.^Ltʂʰɻ   ^Lbə-^Hɕu = ^Lpu = ^Llʒ = ^Hsɻ,   ^Ltʰa.^Hpɑo
speak=PRF   knife   outward-take=IPFV=come.PST=PRF   head
^Lbə-^Hti   ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.
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) ^{HL}tʰə# ^Lkiæ-^Hmiæ# ^Lbiʒ = ^Hji# ^Lbu.^Lʁu.^Hjõ# ^Lbu-^Lquʒ.^Llʒ = ^Hsɻ#, ^Htsʰu-
     ^Lsuɛ̃# ^Lkyi = ^Hsɻ#, ^Lmiæ-^Ltɕyi = ^Hsɻ#, ^{LH}tsʰu ^Lɲi# ^Hhĩ# ^Ldʑi-^{LH}dzʒ# ^{LH}bʒ
     ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^{HL}tʰə   ^Lkiæ-^Hmiæ   ^Lbiʒ = ^Hji   ^Lbu.^Lʁu.^Hjõ
that   ?-below   pig=GEN   inner.organs
             back
^Lbu-^Lquʒ.^Llʒ = ^Hsɻ,   ^Htsʰu-^Lsuɛ̃   ^Lkyi = ^Hsɻ
outward-dig.out-come.PST=PRF   lung-liver   stuff=PRF
^Lmiæ-^Ltɕyi = ^Hsɻ,   ^{LH}tsʰu   ^Lɲi   ^Hhĩ
downward-boil=PRF   ghost   and   person
^Ldʑi-^{LH}dzʒ   ^{LH}bʒ   ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.
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) ^Htsʰu-^Lsuɛ̃# ^Ldzʒ = ^Hlæ#, ^Hhĩ = ^Ltʰi = ^Lrɛ̃# ^Ltsʰu = ^Hno#: "^Lŋʒ = ^Hji# ^Ltsʰɻ-
     ^Ldʑɣʒ = ^Hji# ^Htsʰu-^Lsuɛ̃# ^Hʐi = ^La = ^Ljĩ#," ^{HL}pʒ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃   ᴸdʑɜ=ᴴlæ,   ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃   ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno:
lung-liver   eat=become   person=that=AGT   ghost=inside

"ᴸŋɜ=ᴴji   ᴸtsʰ-ᴸdʑyɜ=ᴴji   ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃
1SG=GEN   life-friend=GEN   lung-liver
                wife

ᴴʑi=ᴸa=ᴸjĩ,"   ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
tasty=Q=PROG   speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

    'Having eaten them, the man asked the ghost: "Are my wife's lungs and
    liver tasty?"'

(34) ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴlæ# ᴸtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃#: "ᴴka.ᴴpɑo# ᴴʑĩ=ᴴjĩ#," ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴlæ   ᴸtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃:   "ᴴka.ᴴpɑo   ᴴʑĩ=ᴴjĩ, "
that-become   ghost=AGT   very   tasty=GEN
ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

    'The ghost replied: "Very tasty."'

(35) ᴸtʰi=ᴴji# ᴸma=ᴴsɹ=ᴸma=ᴸli# ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴhĩ# ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴsɹ# ᴴbã# ᴸlɜ-
    ᴸᴴʁɛ̃=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʰi=ᴴji   ᴸma=ᴴsɹ=ᴸma=ᴸli   ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃   ᴴhĩ
that=GEN   day=PRF=day=NMLZ.PST   ghost=AGT   person
ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴsɹ   ᴴbã   ᴸlɜ-ᴸᴴʁɛ̃=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
that=PNT.ANM   guest   PFV-call=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(36) ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴlæ# ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi# ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu=ᴸkɜ# ᴴpɑo=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ#, ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃#:
    "ᴸmiæ-ᴸzũ=ᴴʁõ#," ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴlæ   ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi   ᴸtʰu-ᴴwu=ᴸkɜ   ᴴpɑo=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ,
that=become   person=that   that-family=at   arrive=finish=become
ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃:   "ᴸmiæ-ᴸzũ=ᴴʁõ,"   ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
ghost=AGT   downward-sit=IRR   speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

    'The man came to his place, and the ghost offered him to sit down.'

(37) ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴴhĩ# ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴno#: "ᴸzõ-ᴴzõ ᴸdʑyɜ#, ᴸɲi=ᴴzɹ# ᴴka.ᴴpɑo# ᴴʑɜ.ᴴra
    ᴸdʑĩ# ᴸᴴɦuɛ̃=ᴸdʑõ. "

ᴸsɪ.ᴴji   ᴴhĩ   ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴno: "ᴸzõ-ᴴzõ   ᴸdʑyɜ,
then   person   that=inside   man-man   friend
ᴸɲi=ᴴzɹ   ᴴka.ᴴpɑo   ᴴʑɜ.ᴴra   ᴸdʑĩ   ᴸᴴɦuɛ̃=ᴸdʑõ. "
2SG=TOP   very   hospitable   one   COP.EMPH=DUR

    'Then, the ghost said: "Dear friend, you are so hospitable."'

(38) "ᴸɲi=ᴴji# ᴸtsʰɹ-ᴸdʑyɜ=ᴴlɜ# ᴸlɜ-ᴸχɑo=ᴴsɹ#, ᴸŋɜ=ᴴsɹ# ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃#
    ᴸdʑɜ=ᴸχɪ=ᴴjĩ. "

^{L}ɲi=^{H}ji	^{L}tsʰɻ-^{L}dʑyɜ=^{H}lɜ	^{L}lɜ-^{L}χɑo=^{H}sɻ,		^{L}ŋɜ=^{H}sɻ
2SG=GEN	life-friend=also	PRV-slaughter=PRF		1SG=PNT.ANM
	wife			

^{H}tsʰu-^{L}suɛ̃	^{L}dzɜ=^{L}xɪ=^{H}jĩ. "
lung-liver	eat=CAUS=PROG

'"You killed your own wife to offer me her liver and lungs."'

(39) "^{H}wi# ^{L}ŋɜ ^{H}lɜ# ^{L}tsʰɻ-^{H}dʑyɜ# ^{L}lɜ-^{L}χɑo=^{H}sɻ#, ^{L}ɲi=^{H}sɻ# ^{H}tsʰu-^{L}suɛ̃#
^{L}dzɜ=^{L}xɪ=^{H}gɜ#," ^{HL}pɜ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

"^{H}wi	^{L}ŋɜ	^{H}lɜ	^{L}tsʰɻ-^{H}dʑyɜ	^{L}lɜ-^{L}χɑo=^{H}sɻ,
night	1SG	also	life-friend	PFV-slaughter=PRF
			wife	

^{L}ɲi=^{H}sɻ	^{H}tsʰu-^{L}suɛ̃	^{L}dzɜ=^{L}xɪ=^{H}gɜ, "
2SG=PNT.ANM	lung-liver	eat=CAUS=VOL

^{HL}pɜ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

'"Tonight, I will kill my wife too, and will offer you her lungs and liver."'

(40) ^{H}pɜ=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ#, ^{L}dʑɜ-^{L}çi=^{H}sɻ# ^{L}tsʰɻ-^{H}dʑyɜ# ^{L}dʑõ.^{L}hõ=^{H}no# ^{L}kʰu-^{H}çyɜ
^{L}lɜ ^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ#, ^{L}sɪ.^{L}ji=^{H}zɻ# ^{L}tsʰɻ-^{H}dʑyɜ=^{L}sɻ# ^{H}bɜ.^{L}zɻ.^{L}ki=^{L}ʁõ# ^{L}bɜ-
^{L}tsɜ-^{H}tsɜ ^{L}tɕi=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{H}pɜ=tsʰa=^{L}læ,	^{L}dʑɜ-^{L}çi=^{H}sɻ	^{L}tsʰɻ-^{H}dʑyɜ
speak=finish=become	upward-stand=PRF	life-friend
		wife

^{L}dʑõ.^{L}hõ=^{H}no	^{L}kʰu-^{H}çyɜ=^{L}lɜ=^{L}tsʰa=^{L}læ,	^{L}sɪ.^{L}ji=^{H}zɻ
house=inside	inward-lead=come.PST=finish=become	then=TOP

^{L}tsʰɻ-^{H}dʑyɜ=^{L}sɻ	^{H}bɜ.^{L}zɻ.^{L}ki=^{L}ʁõ	^{L}bɜ-tsɻ-^{H}tsɜ
life-friend=PNT.ANM	pillar=on	outward-bind-bind
wife		

^{L}tɕi=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
do=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(41) ^{L}tʰɜ=^{H}læ# ^{LH}tsʰu=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃# ^{L}tsʰɻ-^{H}dʑyɜ=^{H}no#: "^{H}ni# ^{L}bə-^{L}lə=^{H}sɻ#,
^{H}hɑo ^{L}wɜ=^{L}liu#," ^{HL}pɜ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}tʰɜ=^{H}læ	^{LH}tsʰu=^{L}tʰi=^{L}rɛ̃	^{L}tsʰɻ-^{H}dʑyɜ=^{H}no:	"^{H}ni
that=become	ghost=that=AGT	life-friend=inside	2SG
		wife	

^{L}bə-^{L}lə=^{H}sɻ,	^{H}hɑo	^{L}wɜ=^{L}liu,"
outward-come=PRF	rice	make=come.IMP

^{HL}pɜ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(42) ᴸtsʰu=ᴴji# ᴸtsɻ-ᴴdʑyʒ=ᴸrɛ̃#: "ᴴŋʒ# ᴴhɑo# ᴴtɕʰi# ᴸwʒ=ᴴᴸgæ? "

ᴸtsʰu=ᴴji	ᴸtsɻ-ᴴdʑyʒ=ᴸrɛ̃:	ᴴŋʒ	ᴴhɑo	ᴴtɕʰi
ghost=GEN	life-friend=AGT	1SG	rice	what
	wife			

ᴸwʒ=ᴴᴸgæ? "
make=VOL.Q

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

(43) "ᴴɲi# ᴸŋʒ=ᴴsɻ# ᴴa=ᴴlʒ# ᴸbə-ᴸtsɻ-ᴸtsʒ=ᴴsɻ#, ᴸbə-ᴴlə# ᴸku=ᴸpu=ᴴlʒ# ᴴmu=ᴸzõ=ᴸjĩ. "

"ᴴɲi	ᴸŋʒ=ᴴsɻ	ᴴa=ᴴlʒ	ᴸbə-ᴸtsɻ-ᴸtsʒ=ᴴsɻ,
2SG	1SG=PNT.ANM	here=LOC	outward-bind-bind=PRF

ᴸbə-ᴴlə	ᴸku=ᴸpu=ᴴlʒ	ᴴmu=ᴸzõ=ᴸjĩ. "
outward-move	can=IPFV=also	NEG=exist=PROG

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

(44) ᴴpʒ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ#, ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴸᴴlu# ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴji# ᴸtsɻ-ᴸdʑyʒ=ᴴno#: "ᴴɲi# ᴸtɕyi ᴸtsu=ᴴliu#," ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴpʒ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ	ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃	ᴸᴴlu	ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴji
speak=finish=become	ghost=that=AGT	again	oneself=GEN

ᴸtsɻ-ᴸdʑyʒ=ᴴno:	"ᴴɲi ᴸtɕyi ᴸtsu=ᴴliu, "
life-friend=inside	2SG tea boil=come.IMP
wife	

ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

    'After she had said that, the ghost told his wife again: "Make tea!"'

(45) ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ# ᴸtʰi=ᴴji# ᴸtsɻ-ᴸdʑyʒ=ᴴrɛ̃# ᴸᴴlu#: "ᴴɲi# ᴸŋʒ=ᴴsɻ# ᴴa=ᴴlʒ# ᴸbʒ-ᴸtsɻ-ᴸtsʒ=ᴴsɻ#, ᴸbə-ᴸlə ᴸku=ᴴpu=ᴸdʑõ ᴸmi=ᴸjĩ#, ᴴɲi# ᴸŋʒ=ᴴsɻ# ᴸbə=ᴸxɪ=ᴴliu#, ᴴŋʒ# ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ# ᴸtɕyi ᴸtsu ᴸlʒ-ᴴliu#," ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ	ᴸtʰi=ᴴji	ᴸtsɻ-ᴸdʑyʒ=ᴴrɛ̃	ᴸᴴlu: "ᴴɲi
that=become	that=GEN	life-friend=AGT	again 2SG
		wife	

ᴸŋʒ=ᴴsɻ	ᴴa=ᴴlʒ	ᴸbʒ-ᴸtsɻ-ᴸtsʒ=ᴴsɻ,	ᴸbə-ᴸlə
1SG=PNT.ANM	here=LOC	outward-bind-bind=PRF	outward-move

ᴸku=ᴴpu=ᴸdʑõ	ᴸmi=ᴸjĩ,	ᴴɲi	ᴸŋʒ=ᴴsɻ
can=IPFV=DUR	NEG=PROG	2SG	1SG=PNT.ANM

ᴸbə=ᴸxɪ=ᴴliu,	ᴴŋʒ	ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ	ᴸtɕyi ᴸtsu
outward-let.go=come.IMP	1SG	that=become	tea boil

ᴸlʒ-ᴴliu, "	ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ
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) ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi# ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴji# ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴴdʑyʒ# ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴʁõ# ᴴka.ᴴpɑo# ᴴmĩ-ᴸdʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ	ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi	ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴji	ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴴdʑyʒ
that-become	ghost=that	oneself=GEN	life-friend
			wife

ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴʁõ		ᴴka.ᴴpɑo	ᴴmĩ-ᴸdʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
that=on		very	pity-perform=NMLZ.PST=COP

    'At that time, the ghost greatly pitied his wife.'

(47) ᴸbə-ᴴχɪ# ᴸa=ᴸmu=ᴸgyi# ᴴçyʒ=ᴴlæ# ᴸᴴlu# ᴴlæ# ᴴtɕʰũ#=ᴸma=ᴸᴴrɛ̃# ᴴᴸçyʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸbə-ᴴχɪ	ᴸa=ᴸmu=ᴸgyi	ᴴçyʒ=ᴴlæ,	ᴸᴴlu
outward-let.go	Q=NEG=be.allowed	think=become	again

ᴴlæ	ᴴtɕʰũ=ᴸma=ᴸᴴrɛ̃	ᴴᴸçyʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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) ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴴɲʒ-ᴸmi# ᴴquʒ.ᴴta.ᴴra ᴸbʒ=ᴸs̩#, ᴸdʑʒ-ᴴçi=ᴸpu=ᴸlʒ=ᴸs̩#, ᴴrə.ᴸtʂʰ̩# ᴸbu-ᴸçu=ᴸwu=ᴴs̩#, ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴸdʑyʒ=ᴴji# ᴴtʰa.ᴴpɑo# ᴸmiæ-ᴴti ᴸtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸsɪ.ᴴji	ᴴɲʒ-ᴸmi	ᴴquʒ.ᴴta.ᴴra	ᴸbʒ=ᴸs̩,	ᴸdʑʒ-ᴴçi
then	heart-NM	harden	make=PRF	upward-stand

ᴸpu=ᴸlʒ=ᴸs̩,		ᴴrə.ᴸtʂʰ̩	ᴸbu-ᴸçu=ᴸwu=ᴴs̩
IPFV=come.PST =PRF		knife	outward-come=RES=PRF

ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴸdʑyʒ=ᴴji	ᴴtʰa.ᴴpɑo	ᴸmiæ-ᴴti	ᴸtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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=ᴴlæ#, ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴸdʑyʒ=ᴴs̩# ᴸbə-ᴸχɑo=ᴴs̩#, ᴸbu.ᴸʁu.ᴴjõ# ᴸbə-ᴸʐʒ=ᴴs̩#, ᴴqua=ᴴno# ᴸbʒ=ᴸs̩# ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃# ᴸᴴkyi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴtsʰa=ᴴlæ		ᴸtsʰ̩-ᴸdʑyʒ=ᴴs̩	ᴸbə-ᴸχɑo=ᴴs̩,
finish=become		life-friend=PNT.ANM	outward-slaughter=PRF
		wife	

ᴸbu.ᴸʁu.ᴴjõ	ᴸbə-ᴸʐʒ=ᴴs̩,		ᴴqua=ᴴno ᴸbʒ=ᴸs̩
inner.organs	outward-dig=PRF		cry=inside make=PRF

ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃	ᴸᴴkyi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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=ᴸlæ#, ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴴhĩ ᴸɲi# ᴸᴴtsʰu# ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴdzɻ# ᴸdʑi-
ᴴdzɜ# ᴸᴴbɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃	ᴴkyi=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ,	ᴸsɪ.ᴴji	ᴴhĩ	ᴸɲi
lung-liver	stuff=finish=become	then	person	and
ᴸᴴtsʰu	ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴdzɻ	ᴸdʑi-ᴴdzɜ	ᴸᴴbɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.	
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# ᴸdzɜ=ᴴlæ#, ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴdzɜ ᴸχu-ᴸχu# ᴸbɜ=ᴴsɻ#, ᴸᴴno#
ᴸtõ.ᴸpiæ ᴴtʰæ# ᴸmæ-ᴴtu ᴸtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃	ᴸdzɜ=ᴴlæ,	ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃	ᴴdzɜ
lung-liver	eat=become	person=that=AGT	eat
ᴸχu-ᴸχu	ᴸbɜ=ᴴsɻ,	ᴸᴴno	ᴸtõ.ᴸpiæ	ᴴtʰæ
way-way	make=PRF	altogether	board	under
ᴸmæ-ᴴtu	ᴸtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.			
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) ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi# ᴸdzɜ=ᴸno=ᴴɲi#, ᴴhĩ# ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴno# ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi	ᴸdzɜ=ᴸno	ᴴɲi	ᴴhĩ	ᴸtʰɜ=ᴴno
ghost=that	eat=inside	and	person	that=inside
ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.				
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP				

  'While eating, the ghost asked the man.'

(53) "ᴸʔõ-ᴴhĩ#, ᴸɲi=ᴴji# ᴸtsʰɻ-ᴸdʑyɜ=ᴴji# ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃#=ᴴtʰi# ᴴka.ᴴpɑo
ᴴʑĩ=ᴴjĩ#, ᴸŋɜ=ᴴji# ᴸtsʰɻ-ᴸdʑyɜ=ᴴji# ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃# ᴸha=ᴴzɻ#
ᴴtɕʰi#=ᴸlæ=ᴴsɻ# ᴴqʰɑo-ᴸsõ=ᴸjĩ#," ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

"ᴸʔõ-ᴴhĩ,	ᴸɲi=ᴴji	ᴸtsʰɻ-ᴸdʑyɜ=ᴴji	ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃=ᴴtʰi
self-man	2SG=GEN	life-friend=GEN wife	lung-liver=that
ᴴka.ᴴpɑo	ᴴʑĩ=ᴴjĩ,	ᴸŋɜ=ᴴji	ᴸtsʰɻ-ᴸdʑyɜ=ᴴji
very	tasty=GEN	1SG-GEN	life-friend=GEN wife
ᴴtsʰu-ᴸsuɛ̃	ᴸha=ᴴzɻ	ᴴtɕʰi=ᴸlæ=ᴴsɻ	ᴴqʰɑo-ᴸsõ=ᴸjĩ, "
lung-liver	this=TOP	what=become=PRF	bitter-?=PROG
ᴴᴸpɜ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.			
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) ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ# ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃: "ᴴqʰɑo-ᴸsõ# ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ, ᴴka.ᴴpɑo# ᴴʑĩ=ᴴji#, ᴸɲi=ᴴji# ᴸtsʰɻ̩-ᴴdʑyʒ# ᴴɲi ᴴʔõ# ᴸdzʒ=ᴸlæ=ᴴʐ̩# ᴴqʰɑo-ᴸsõ# ᴴkʰo.ᴸrɛ#," ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ	ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃:	"ᴴqʰɑo-ᴸsõ	ᴸmi=ᴴjĩ,
that=become	person=that=AGT	bitter-?	NEG=PROG
ᴴka.ᴴpɑo	ᴴʑĩ=ᴴjĩ,	ᴸɲi=ᴴji	ᴸtsʰɻ̩-ᴴdʑyʒ	ᴴɲi	ᴴʔõ
very	tasty=PROG	2SG=GEN	life-friend	2SG	self
					wife

ᴸdzʒ=ᴸlæ=ᴴʐ̩	ᴴqʰɑo-ᴸsõ	ᴴkʰo.ᴸrɛ, "	ᴴᴸtʰi
eat=become=TOP	bitter	possible	that

ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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) ᴸᴴlu# ᴸdʑi-ᴴma# ᴸtsʰu ᴸɲi ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi# ᴴla.ᴴnga ᴸça-ᴸçæ# ᴸᴴdʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸᴴlu ᴸ	dʑi-ᴴma	ᴸtsʰu	ᴸɲi	ᴴhĩ =ᴸtʰi
again	one-day	ghost	and	person=that
ᴴla.ᴴnga	ᴸça-ᴸçæ		ᴸᴴdʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.	
hide	search-search		perform=NMLZ.PST=COP	

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

(56) ᴸdʒ ᴸtçi-ᴴtçi# ᴸbʒ=ᴴlæ#, ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno#: "ᴴɲi# ᴴdʑi.ᴴtɛ̃.ᴴkʰõ=ᴸno# ᴴtçʰi=ᴸʁõ ᴸχɑ# ᴸʐu ᴴku#," ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸdʒ	ᴸtçi-ᴴtçi	ᴸbʒ=ᴴlæ,	ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃
make	do-do	make=become	person=that=AGT
ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno:	"ᴴɲi	ᴴdʑi.ᴴtɛ̃.ᴴkʰõ=ᴸno	ᴴtçʰi=ᴸʁõ
ghost=inside	2SG	world=inside	what=on
ᴸχɑ	ᴸʐu	ᴴku,"	ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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) ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃#: "ᴸŋʒ=ᴴʐ̩# ᴴdzɻ ᴴtɛ̃-ᴴmi=ᴸʁõ ᴸχɑ# ᴸʐu ᴴku#," ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃:	"ᴸŋʒ=ᴴʐ̩	ᴴdzɻ	ᴴtɛ̃-ᴴmi=ᴸʁõ
ghost=that=AGT	1SG=TOP	barley	rise?-NM=on
			wave
ᴸχɑ	ᴸʐu	ᴴku, "	ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
only	be.afraid	can	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

    'The ghost said: "I am most afraid of the barley undulating with the wind."'

(58) ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴhĩ=ᴸno#: "ᴴɲi# ᴴdʑi.ᴴtɛ̃.ᴴkʰõ=ᴸno# ᴴtɕʰi=ᴸʁõ
ᴸχɑ# ᴸʐu ᴴku#," ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸsɪ.ᴴji	ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃	ᴴhĩ=ᴸno:	"ᴴɲi	ᴴdʑi.ᴴtɛ̃.ᴴkʰõ=ᴸno
then	ghost=AGT	person=inside	2SG	world=inside

ᴴtɕʰi=ᴸʁõ	ᴸχɑ	ᴸʐu	ᴴku, "	ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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) ᴴpʒ=ᴴlæ#, ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃#: "ᴸŋʒ=ᴴzɻ̩# ᴸzõ ᴴɲi# ᴸbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ=ᴸʁõ# ᴴχɑ#
ᴸʐu ᴴku#," ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴpʒ=ᴴlæ,	ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃:	"ᴸŋʒ=ᴴzɻ̩	ᴸzõ	ᴴɲi
speak=become	person=that=AGT	1SG=TOP	cooked.rice	and

ᴸbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ=ᴸʁõ	ᴴχɑ	ᴸʐu	ᴴku,"
pig-fat=on	only	be.afraid	can

ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

'The man answered: "As for me, I am most afraid of cooked rice and bacon."'

(60) ᴴpʒ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ#, ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴdzɻ̩ ᴸɲa-ᴸku# ᴴla.ᴴnga ᴸɕa-ᴸɕæ# ᴸᴴdʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴpʒ=ᴸtsʰa=ᴸlæ,	ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴdzɻ̩	ᴸɲa-ᴸku	ᴴla.ᴴnga
speak=finish=become	that=DU	two-item	hide

ᴸɕa-ᴸɕæ	ᴸᴴdʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
search-search	make=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(61) ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴɕa.ᴴʁɑ# ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno# ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴsɻ̩# ᴴlʒ-ᴴɕæ=ᴴliu#
ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃	ᴴɕa.ᴴʁɑ	ᴸtsʰu=ᴴno	ᴸɦɛ̃=ᴴsɻ̩
person=that=AGT	first	ghost=inside	oneself=PNT.ANM

ᴴlʒ-ᴴɕæ=ᴴliu,	ᴴᴸpʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
PFV-search=come.IMP	speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

'The man said to the ghost: "You look for me first."'

(62) ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴtsɑ=ᴸwu=ᴸsɻ̩#, ᴴdzɻ̩-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno# ᴴla.ᴴnga#
ᴸᴴtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃	ᴴtsɑ=ᴸwu=ᴸsɻ̩,	ᴴdzɻ̩-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno
person=that=AGT	go=RES=PRF	barley-field=inside

ᴴla.ᴴnga	ᴸᴴtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
hide	do=NMLZ.PST=COP

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

(63) ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi# ᴴdʐ-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno# ᴸkʰu-ᴸwu=ᴴs# ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi# ᴸlʒ-ᴴɕæ#,
   ᴴmu#=ᴸᴴɦõ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtsʰu=ᴴtʰi   ᴴdʐ-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno   ᴸkʰu-ᴸwu=ᴴs,   ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi
ghost=that   barley-field=inside   inward-come=PRF   person=that
ᴸlʒ-ᴴɕæ   ᴴmu=ᴸᴴɦõ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
PFV-search   NEG=dare=NMLZ.PST=COP
    'The ghost entered the field, but did not dare to look for the man.'

(64) ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ# ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi# ᴸbə-ᴸlə=ᴴji# ᴴᴸtʰu# ᴴɕyʒ-
   ᴸduʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ   ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸtʰi=ᴸrɛ̃   ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi   ᴸbə-ᴸlə=ᴴji
that=become   ghost=that=AGT person=that   outward-come=GEN
ᴴtʰu   ᴴɕyʒ-ᴸduʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
way   think-?=NMLZ.PST=COP
    'Then the ghost thought of a way to make the man come out.'

(65) ᴴɕyʒ-ᴸduʒ=ᴸlæ#, ᴴhĩ#=ᴸtʰi=ᴴz# ᴸzõ ᴴɲi# ᴸbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ=ᴸʁõ# ᴸʐu=ᴴjĩ#
   ᴴpʒ=ᴸli# ᴸᴴɦuɛ̃# ᴴᴸɕyʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴴɕyʒ-ᴸduʒ=ᴸlæ,   ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi=ᴴz   ᴸzõ
think-?=become   person=that=TOP   cooked.rice
ᴴɲi   ᴸbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ=ᴸʁõ   ᴸʐu=ᴴjĩ   ᴴpʒ=ᴸli
and   pig-fat=on   be.afraid=PROG speak=NMLZ.PST
ᴸᴴɦuɛ̃   ᴴᴸɕyʒ=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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) ᴸsɪ.ᴴji# ᴸᴴɦɛ̃ ᴸbi=ᴸs#, ᴸɦɛ̃-ᴴwu# ᴸdʐõ.ᴴhõ# ᴸᴴzõ# ᴸmiæ-ᴴtɕyi#, ᴸbiʒ-
   ᴴtsʰʒ# ᴸmiæ-ᴸtɕyi=ᴴs# ᴸmiæ-ᴴpu#=ᴸlʒ=ᴴs#, ᴴjĩ-ᴴʐyæ=ᴸʁõ# ᴸdʐʒ-
   ᴸɕi=ᴴs#, ᴴdʐ-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno# ᴸkʰu-ᴸtɕʒ-ᴸᴴwu=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ᴸsɪ.ᴴji   ᴸᴴɦɛ̃   ᴸbi=ᴸs,   ᴸɦɛ̃-ᴴwu   ᴸdʐõ.ᴴhõ
then   oneself   go=PRF   oneself-family   house
ᴸᴴzõ   ᴸmæ-ᴴtɕyi,   ᴸbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ   ᴸmiæ-ᴸtɕyi=ᴴs
cooked.rice   downward-boil   pig-fat   downward-boil=PRF
ᴸmiæ-ᴴpu=ᴸlʒ=ᴴs,   ᴴjĩ-ᴴʐyæ=ᴸʁõ   ᴸdʐʒ-ᴸɕi=ᴴs,
downward-bring=come.PST=PRF field-side=on   upward-stand=PRF
ᴴdʐ-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno   ᴸkʰu-ᴸtɕʒ-ᴸᴴwu=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.
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) ᴸtʰʒ=ᴴlæ# ᴴhĩ=ᴸtʰi# ᴴdʐ-ᴴjĩ=ᴸno# ᴸᴴtsʰu=ᴸrɛ̃# ᴸzõ ᴴɲi# ᴸbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ#
   ᴸkʰu-ᴸtɕʒ.ᴸwu=ᴴli# ᴴᴸtʰi# ᴸlʒ-ᴴdzʒ=ᴴs#, ᴴdʐ-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno# ᴸlʒ-ᴴz
   ᴸtɕi=ᴸli=ᴸɲõ.

ˡtʰʒ=ᴴlæ   ᴴhĩ=ˡtʰi   ᴴdʐ̩-ᴴjĩ=ˡno   ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡrɛ̃
that=become   person=that   barley-field=inside   ghost=AGT

ˡzõ   ᴴɲi   ˡbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ   ˡkʰu-ˡtɕʒ.ˡwu=ᴴli   ᴴtʰi
cooked.rice   and   pig-fat   inward-throw=NMLZ.PST   that

ˡlʒ-ˡdzʒ=ᴴs̩,   ᴴdʐ̩-ᴴjĩ=ᴴno   ˡlʒ-ᴴz̩   ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲõ.
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) ˡtʰʒ=ᴴlæ# ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡtʰi=ˡrɛ̃# ᴴhĩ=ˡtʰi# ˡbə-ᴴlə# ˡmi=ᴴjĩ# ᴴɕyʒ=ˡs̩,
  ᴸᴴlu# ˡdʑõ.ᴴhõ# ˡdʑi-ˡliu=ˡwu=ᴴs̩#, ˡzõ ᴴɲi# ˡbiʒ-ˡtsʰʒ ˡtɕyi=ᴴs̩#,
  ᴸᴴlu# ᴴdʐ̩-ᴴjĩ=ˡno# ˡkʰu-ˡtɕʒ.ᴴwu=ˡli=ˡɲõ.

ˡtʰʒ=ᴴlæ   ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡtʰi=ˡrɛ̃   ᴴhĩ=ˡtʰi   ˡbə-ᴴlə
that=become   ghost=that=AGT   person=that   outward-come

ˡmi=ᴴjĩ   ᴴɕyʒ=ˡs̩,   ᴸᴴlu   ˡdʑõ.ᴴhõ   ˡdʑi-ˡliu=ˡwu=ᴴs̩,
NEG=PROG   think=PRF   again   house   upward-come=RES=PRF

ˡzõ   ᴴɲi   ˡbiʒ-ˡtsʰʒ   ˡtɕyi=ᴴs̩,   ᴸᴴlu
cooked.rice   and   pig-fat   boil=PRF   again

ᴴdʐ̩-ᴴjĩ=ˡno   ˡkʰu-ˡtɕʒ.ᴴwu=ˡli=ˡɲõ.
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# ˡbʒ.ˡlu.ᴴtʂõ# ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡtʰi=ˡrɛ̃# ᴴhĩ=ˡtʰi# ˡbə-ˡlə=ᴴʁõ=ˡrɛ̃
  ˡɕyʒ=ˡs̩#, ˡɦɛ̃-ᴴwu# ˡdʑo.ᴴhõ# ᴴdʑõ=ᴴli# ˡzõ ᴴɲi# ˡbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ# ᴸᴴno#
  ᴴdʐ̩-ᴴjĩ=ˡno# ˡkʰu-ˡtɕʒ.ᴴwu ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲõ.

ˡtʰi=ᴴji   ˡbʒ.ˡlu.ᴴtʂõ   ᴸᴴtsʰu=ˡtʰi=ˡrɛ̃   ᴴhĩ=ˡtʰi
that=GEN   afterwards   ghost=that=AGT   person=that

ˡbə-ˡlə=ᴴʁõ=ˡrɛ̃   ˡɕyʒ=ˡs̩,   ˡɦɛ̃-ᴴwu   ˡdʑo.ᴴhõ
outward-come=IRR=INST   think=PRF   oneself-family   house

ᴴdʑõ=ᴴli   ˡzõ   ᴴɲi   ˡbiʒ-ᴴtsʰʒ   ᴸᴴno
exist=NMLZ.PST   cooked.rice   and   pig-fat   altogether

ᴴdʐ̩-ᴴjĩ=ˡno   ˡkʰu-ˡtɕʒ.ᴴwu   ˡtɕi=ˡli=ˡɲõ
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-ᴴma=ˡs̩=ˡlʒ# ᴴdʐ̩-ᴴjĩ=ˡno# ˡdzũ=ᴴs̩#
  ᴸᴴdzʒ=ˡli=ˡɲõ.

^{H}hĩ=^{L}tʰi ^{L}dʑi-^{H}ma=^{L}sɿ=^{L}lʒ ^{H}dzɭ-^{H}jĩ=^{L}no
person=that   one-day=PRF=LOC   barley-field=inside
^{L}dzũ=^{H}sɿ ^{LH}dzʒ=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
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) ^{L}tʰə ^{L}kiæ-^{H}miæ# ^{L}tsʰu=^{H}ji# ^{L}dʑõ.^{L}hõ=^{H}no# ^{L}dzʒ=^{H}gʒ# ^{L}dʑi-^{L}tsɿ=^{H}lʒ#
     ^{L}mu=^{H}zõ# ^{H}læ=^{L}wu=^{L}sɿ#, ^{LH}tsʰu# ^{L}ʑyæ=^{H}sɿ# ^{H}lʒ-^{H}çʒ ^{L}xa=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.

^{L}tʰə ^{L}kiæ-^{H}miæ ^{L}tsʰu=^{H}ji ^{L}dʑõ.^{L}hõ=^{H}no
that ?-below   ghost=GEN   house=inside
^{L}dzʒ=^{H}gʒ ^{L}dʑi-^{L}tsɿ=^{H}lʒ ^{L}mu=^{H}zõ ^{H}læ=^{L}wu=^{L}sɿ, ^{LH}tsʰu
eat=NMLZ.VOL one-little=also   NEG=exist   become=RES=PRF ghost
^{L}ʑyæ=^{H}sɿ ^{H}lʒ-^{H}çʒ ^{L}xa=^{L}li=^{L}ɲõ.
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.'

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