Hpu Lum Htu and Two Boys: A Folktale Text in Jinghpaw*

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This paper provides an interlinear glossed text in Jinghpaw, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by the Kachin people of northern Myanmar. The text is one of over 2,700 original texts obtained as part of community-based collaborative fieldwork in northern Myanmar, all of which are archived with PARADISEC, a digital archive for minority cultures and languages of the world. Our collection focuses on the oral literature of the Kachin people, which covers a wide variety of genres, from an origin tale about how the bile of the painted quail became medicine to a series of interrelated trickster tales featuring Nang Bya, a Kachin trickster (who sometimes appears as an anthropomorphized animal) who fools people and animals. The present text is a ghost story about Hpu Lum Htu, a hairy, long-titted evil spirit feared to live in the jungle. It is one example of the diversity and richness of Kachin oral tradition. A phonemic transcription, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and an English translation are provided for each line.

Keywords: Jinghpaw, Tibeto-Burman, Kachin, oral literature, ghost story

1. Introduction

This paper presents an interlinear glossed text in Jinghpaw (ISO 639-3: kac; Glottocode: jing1260), with a phonemic transcription, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and an English translation for each line (§3). Section 1 provides a brief overview of the language, and Section 2 addresses the background of the present text. Jinghpaw is a Tibeto-Burman language of the Sino-Tibetan language family, spoken in northern Myanmar and adjacent areas of China and India. Northern Myanmar is largely an upland area, and as with the case of other uplands of mainland Southeast Asia, it is home to various minority peoples and linguistic groups. Jinghpaw serves as a lingua franca of the Kachin people, who are linguistically diverse people speaking several mutually unintelligible Tibeto-Burman languages, including Jinghpaw, Zaiwa, Lhaovo, Lacid, Ngochang, Rawang, and many other varieties (see Kurabe 2021). Although linguistically diverse, the Kachin people share a number of socio-cultural traits that extend beyond the linguistic boundary such as the intra-Kachin marriage alliance system. Oral literature is one such example. For example,

many pan-Kachin folktales, which may be told in different Kachin languages, are shared across linguistic groups.

Jinghpaw is a syllable-tone language with four contrastive tones in smooth (open and sonorant-final) syllables and two in checked (stop-final) syllables. Monomorphemic words are largely monosyllables or disyllables with an iambic stress pattern, known as the "sesquisyllable" in Southeast Asian linguistics (Matisoff 1973). Jinghpaw morphology is mainly analytic and agglutinative. Jinghpaw is a verb-final language with a topical argument usually preceding a non-topical argument. Modern Jinghpaw is a dependent-marking language at both the clausal and NP levels. It exhibits a nominative–accusative alignment pattern, where the S and A arguments are left unmarked in contrast to the P argument, which can receive the accusative case, especially when its animacy is equal to or higher than the A argument. Noun phrases are often omitted when pragmatically recoverable in the discourse. Serial verbs are one of the prominent features of Jinghpaw grammar, where more than one independent verb successively occurs in a single clause with no mark of syntactic dependency. Another prominent feature of Jinghpaw is grammatical nominalization, where nominalized clauses cover a wide range of functional domains, including verb complements, noun complements, relative clauses, headless relative clauses, head-internal relative clauses, and adverbial clauses (see Kurabe 2012, 2016, 2017b, 2020b, 2020c).

2. Kachin orature project

The present text is one of over 2,700 original texts collected by the author and Kachin collaborators, obtained as part of our ongoing community-based collaborative project in northern Myanmar. In the project, the author and younger Kachin collaborators are working together to document, archive, and revitalize Kachin oral literature, which is facing the reality of decline without record in many places of the Kachin area in the face of growing globalization. Our team made audio and sometimes audio-visual recordings in various parts of the Kachin region, especially between 2016 and 2020. More than 500 storytellers shared their invaluable stories with us. As a result of our community-based fieldwork in northern Myanmar, we have collected a large body of narrative texts. Our team has also worked collaboratively to produce transcription, translation, and annotation of these materials using ELAN for multipurpose use by researchers, educators, students, parents, children, and other stakeholders. These materials are now archived with PARADISEC, a digital archive for minority cultures and languages of the world, to ensure long-term safeguarding and digital accessibility. As of March 2023, our collection houses audio recordings representing 2,754 stories, 2,743 transcriptions, and 1,202 English translations (Kurabe 2013, 2017a). Since December 2020, the author and younger people from the Kachin community with complementary skills have started animating popular stories based on our collected and archived stories to help facilitate the propagation of our materials in the community and beyond. We use Facebook and YouTube as our channels to distribute the animated stories (Kurabe 2019, 2020a). Proprietary social media do not serve as an archival facility, but we use them as a dissemination venue to make our materials

circulate in a more accessible manner, especially to the Kachin community. As of March 2023, 99 animated videos are available on each website with multilingual subtitles created using ELAN. Subtitles currently available include 99 subtitles in Jinghpaw, Burmese, English, and Japanese, 53 subtitles in Chinese, and 46 subtitles in Lhaovo (for more details on our "Kachin orature project," see Kurabe and Lu Awng 2022).

The text in Section 3 is one of our collected and archived materials. It was narrated by a female speaker (b. 1957) from Waingmaw (Wai Maw) of Kachin State, northern Myanmar, on April 11, 2017. It was originally recorded in Myitkyina with Zoom H5 Linear PCM recorder by Ja Seng Roi, one of our collaborators. The corresponding audio file is available at PARADISEC (Kurabe and Sumlut 2017), together with a transcription in Jinghpaw orthography (contributed by Lu Awng) and an English translation (contributed by Htoi San). The following text provides a phonemic transcription and morpheme-by-morpheme glosses by the author, which are currently not available in the collection. The English translation was modified by the author to be more literal. The Kachin oral literature is replete with stories about various kinds of unique spirits. The text below is a ghost story featuring Hpu Lum Htu, a hairy, long-titted evil spirit feared to live in the jungle.

3. The text

This section presents the interlinear glossed text. A phonemic transcription, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and an English translation are provided for each line. Jinghpaw narratives are often characterized by long clause chains, and a single sentence can be very long. This paper breaks sentences into an arbitrary clause or clauses (sometimes phrases) to facilitate readability. Repetition and related phenomena are another characteristic of Jinghpaw narratives, inter alia oral texts. Especially important is the bridging construction, where successive clauses are linked by recapitulating (part of) the last clause of a chain at the beginning of the next chain (Guérin and Aiton 2019). Bridging constructions and clause repetitions are presented as they are without correction in the text. Corrections due to a slip of the tongue are kept to a minimum.

(1)   *yáʔ ŋay tsun=na   màwmùy=gò phúlùmthù=thèʔ mà   ləkhôŋ=ʔàʔ lam ré=ʔay.*
      now 1sg tell=NMLZ story=TOP   PSN=COM   child 2=GEN   way COP=DECL
      Now I am telling a story about the spirit Hpu Lum Htu and two boys.

(2)   *mòy ɕoŋ=dèʔ=dàʔ nday...*
      ago   before=ALL=HS FIL
      A long time ago, well...

(3)   *mòy=gò nàm   jəɕìm-jəɕàm   nóʔ rê məjò...*
      ago=TOP jungle be.silent-COUP still COP because
      Because people lived in the quiet and hidden jungle...

(4)   *ń-phrâŋ-məçà   nóʔ ré=ʔay   ʔətèn=thàʔ...*
       NEG-be.intelligent-person still COP=NMLZ time=LOC
       It was a time when people were not yet intelligent...

(5)   *ji-nát=thèʔ=má   gà   khrúm=ʔay ʔətèn ré=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       grandfather-spirit=COM=also word meet=NMLZ time   COP=DECL=HS
       It was a time when people could talk with ancestral spirits.

(6)   *day çəlóy ʔətèn=ʔè, nday*
       that when time=LOC FIL
       At that time, well

(7)   *gàydá-jan   ləŋây-mi=gò=dàʔ mà   ləkhôŋ lù=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       widow-female 1-1=TOP=HS   child 2   have=DECL=HS
       a widow had two sons.[1]

(8)   *çán ʔnû=ni=gò   yíʔ   sa gəlo çá,*
       3du mother=pl=TOP swidden go do   eat
       The mother and her sons made their living by plowing the fields and

(9)   *bùm-gá=kóʔ   ré=ŋà=yàŋ=gò*
       mountain-land=LOC COP=CONT=when=TOP
       it was a mountainous area and

(10)   *yíʔ   sa gəlo çá=ná   ŋà=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       swidden go do   eat=SEQ live=DECL=HS
       they made their living by plowing the fields.

(11)   *gəçà ʔyén=phéʔ=gò çi=gò   gràyˈtsaŋ=ʔay.*
       son both=ACC=TOP 3sg=TOP very worry=DECL
       She (the mother) was very worried about her two sons (who remained at home
       when she went to the fields).

(12)   *day məjò   gəçà ʔyén=phéʔ...*
       that because son   both=ACC
       So to her two sons...

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[1] The numeral *ləŋây-mi* 'one' consists of a novel numeral *ləŋây* 'one' followed by an obsolete numeral *mi* 'one'. For more details, see Matisoff (1994).

(13) *nday phúlùmthù ŋú=ʔay   çán ʔnaw=phéʔ sa rìm   çá=káw=ya=na   khrìt=ʔay*
      FIL PSN   say=NMLZ 3du brother=ACC go catch eat=away=BEN=NMLZ fear=NMLZ
      məjò
      because
      Because she was worried that one named Hpu Lum Htu (a hairy, long-titted evil spirit) would come to her sons and catch and eat them

(14) *çi=gò   mà ʔyén=phéʔ lùʔ-çá=ni   máʔ=khrà   ńkhúʔ   kətà=kóʔ*
      3sg=TOP child both=ACC   drink-eat=pl be.exhausted=till inside.house inside=LOC
      baŋ=dá=ya=ná
      put=RES=BEN=SEQ
      she put all the food for her two sons in the house and (she said)

(15) *"mà   ʔyén=ʔè, ʔənû   ń-wâ=yàŋ=gò"*
        child both=SFP mother NEG-return=when=TOP
      "Sons, until I return"

(16) *"nday ciŋkha gəday sa çəgá=tîm khùm phòʔ=mùʔ=ʔyô."*
        this door who go call=but PROH open=IMP=SFP
      "don't open this door, no matter who comes and calls you."

(17) *"ʔənû   wà=jaŋ=çèʔ   "mà   ʔyén=ʔè!" ŋú=jaŋ=çèʔ,*
        mother return=when=only   child both=SFP   say=when=only
      "Only when I come back and say, 'Sons!'"

(18) *"ciŋkha phòʔ=ya=mùʔ=ʔyô!" ŋú   tsun=dá=ʔay=dàʔ.*
        door   open=BEN=IMP=SFP   QUOT say=RES=DECL=HS
      "Open the door for me!" she said.

(19) *çəlóy=gò mà ʔyén=mùŋ "may=ʔay,"   ŋú=ná ŋà=káw=dá,*
      then=TOP child both=also   be.good=DECL say=SEQ stay=away=RES
      Then, her two sons said, "Okay," and stayed home and

(20) *gənù=gò   yíʔ   sa=màt=wà   rê=çèʔ*
      mother=TOP swidden go=COMPL=VEN LV=then
      the mother went to the fields and

(21) *gənù=gò   çəní=tìŋ   yíʔ   sa,*
      mother=TOP day=whole swidden go
      (the sons thought) their mother would go to the fields all day and

(22) *bùŋlì sa gəlo=ŋà=na   rê ŋú*
work go do=CONT=NMLZ COP QUOT
would be working in the fields,

(23) *çán ʔnaw=gò   day=khu myìt=ŋà=çèʔ*
3du brother=TOP that=like think=CONT=then
the boys thought like that and

(24) *çənáʔ jan dù=wà=yàŋ=mùŋ   gənù   n-pru=wà=ʔay=dàʔ.*
night sun arrive=VEN=when=also mother NEG-come.out=VEN=DECL=HS
the sun went down at night, but the mother did not return.

(25) *n-pru=wà   ráy, çán ʔnaw=gò   là=khray là=to-ŋà=çèʔ*
NEG-come.out=VEN LV 3du brother=TOP wait=only wait=CONT-CONT=then
She did not return and the two boys waited and waited and

(26) *ńsín   rim-rim=ŋà   məçà n-ce   yu=màt=s-ay   ʔətèn=ʔè=çèʔ*
darkness be.dusk-RED=CONT person NEG-know see=COMPL=CSM-NMLZ time=LOC=then
at the time when it got dark and people could not be seen

(27) *"mà   ʔyén=ʔè!" ŋú=ná wà   çəgá=ʔay=dàʔ.*
  child both=SFP   say=SEQ come call=DECL=HS
someone came and called out, "Sons!"

(28) *çəlóy=çèʔ mà   ʔyén=gò ń-kâm=ʔay.*
when=then child both=TOP NEG-believe=DECL
Then, the boys did not believe (that was their mother).

(29) *nday gəphù-wa=gò kəcí-mi gəbà=s-ay   məjò,   kəcí-mi ce=ʔay=dàʔ.*
this eBr-man=TOP few-1   be.big=CSM-NMLZ because few-1   know=DECL=HS
Since the older boy was a little older, he understood (the situation) a little better.

(30) *day məjò   çi=phéʔ "naŋ nyéʔ ʔnû   ń-ré=ʔay," ŋú tsun=ʔay=dàʔ.*
that because 3sg=ACC 2sg 1sg.GEN mother NEG-COP=DECL QUOT say=DECL=HS
So he said to her, "You're not my mother."

(31) *çəlóy=çèʔ "çèʔ   ráy=lè, mà   ʔyén=ʔàʔ gənù   rê=lè."*
when=then   indeed COP=SFP child both=GEN mother COP=SFP
Then, (she said) "Indeed, I am. I am the mother of you both."

(32)   *"ʔənù=phéʔ ciŋkha phòʔ lá=rìt!"   ŋú=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       mother=ACC door   open take=IMP say=DECL=HS
       "Open the door for me!" she said.

(33)   *çəlóy "ń-phóʔ   lá=ʔay."*
       then   NEG-open take=DECL
       Then, (the boy said) "I won't open it."

(34)   *"naŋ nyéʔ   ʔnû   ń-rê,"   ŋú=ná   tsun=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       2sg 1sg.GEN mother NEG-COP QUOT=SEQ say=DECL=HS
       "You're not my mother," he said.

(35)   *ré=tîm=má   phúlùmthù=gò "rê=lè."*
       COP=but=also PSN=TOP   COP=SFP
       But, Hpu Lum Htu (said) "I am."

(36)   *"nán ʔnaw=ʔàʔ   gənù   nan-nan ré=s-ay."*
       2du brother=GEN mother self-RED COP=CSM-DECL
       "I am the mother of you boys."

(37)   *"ciŋkha ləwàn phòʔ lá=rìt!"*
       door   be.fast open take=IMP
       "Open the door quickly!"

(38)   *"ʔənû gràay bá=ʔay,"   ŋú   tsun=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       mother very be.tired=DECL QUOT say=DECL=HS
       "I am so tired," she said.

(39)   *çəlóy=çèʔ "gày, ré=yàŋ=gò"*
       when=then INTJ COP=when=TOP
       Then, (the boy said) "Now, if that's the case"

(40)   *"ná   lətáʔ-ləyuŋ ʔəkhu=kóʔ=ná shón=dàt=yu=rìt,"   ŋú   tsun=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       2sg.GEN hand-finger hole=LOC=ABL insert=away=CON=IMP QUOT say=DECL=HS
       "put your finger through the hole (in the door)," he said.

(41)   *çəlóy phúlùmthù=gò khu=kóʔ=ná çi=ʔàʔ táʔ çón=dàt=yu=yàŋ=çèʔ*
       then PSN=TOP   hole=ABL=SEQ 3sg=GEN hand insert=away=CON=when=then
       Then, Hpu Lum Htu put her finger in the hole and

(42) *ʔəmun tù=ʔay=dàʔ.*
hair   grow=DECL=HS
the finger was hairy.

(43) *mun tù=jaŋ=ɕèʔ,*   *gəphù-wa=gò "ʔè, naŋ nyéʔ   ʔnû   ń-rê."*
hair grow=when=then eBr-man=TOP INTJ 2sg 1sg.GEN mother NEG-COP
She had hair on her fingers, so the older boy (said) "No, you're not my mother."

(44) *"ń-phóʔ=ya=ʔay,   ń-phóʔ=ya=ʔay,"   ŋú=ná=ɕèʔ,   day=khu ŋà=yàŋ=ɕèʔ,*
 NEG-open=BEN=DECL NEG-open=BEN=DECL say=SEQ=then that=like stay=when=then
"I can't open the door for you," he said and as he did so,

(45) *ɕíʔ   gənaw-wa=gò gənù=phéʔ grày mərìt=wà=ná=ɕèʔ*
3sg.GEN yBr-man=TOP mother=ACC very long.for=VEN=SEQ=then
his younger brother missed his mother so much and

(46) *gənaw=gò pha n-ce=ʔay   ré=ŋà.*
yBr=TOP   what NEG-know=NMLZ COP=CONT
it is that he did not understand anything.

(47) *ciŋkha ləwàn-lədàn   khìndìt=dá=ʔay.*
door   be.quick-COUP kick=RES=DECL
He kicked the door open hurriedly.

(48) *day=phéʔ sa phòʔ=káw-dàt=ʔay=dàʔ.*
that=ACC   go open=away-away=DECL=HS
He went and opened the door.

(49) *ɕəlóy=ɕèʔ phúlùmthù day=gò kəlàŋtáʔ gənóŋ   baŋ=wà=ná*
when=then PSN   that=TOP at.once   push.against put=VEN=SEQ
Then, Hpu Lum Htu pushed into the house at once and

(50) *nkhu=kóʔ ɕán ʔnaw=phéʔ wà   ɕəga=ná wà   ŋà=ŋà   ré=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
inside=LOC 3du brother=ACC come talk=SEQ come stay=CONT LV=when=then
she went in and talked to the boys and stayed in the house and

(51) *ɕán ʔnaw=mùŋ gənìŋ n-ce   di=ʔay.*
3du brother=also how   NEG-know do=DECL
the boys did not know what to do.

(52) *gənaw-wa=gò pha n-ce=ʔay.*
yBr-man=TOP what NEG-know=DECL
The younger one did not understand anything.

(53) *nóʔ gəjì=ʔay, day.*
still be.small=DECL that
He was too young.

(54) *gəphù-wa=gò khrìt=s-ay=dàʔ.*
eBr-man=TOP fear=CSM-DECL=HS
The older boy was scared.

(55) *"nday=gò gənìŋ rê wa rê=ʔi," ŋú=ná=ɕèʔ myìt=yu,*
 this=TOP how COP man COP=Q QUOT=SEQ=then think=CON
"What kind of person is she?" he thought and

(56) *phúlùmthù rê=gò ɕi ce=màt=s-ay.*
PSN COP=TOP 3sg know=COMPL=CSM-DECL
he found out it was Hpu Lum Htu.

(57) *ɕəlóy=ɕèʔ day=khu ŋà=ŋà, ɕənáʔ ńsín ʔyúp-tùŋ ré=wà=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
when=then that=like stay=CONT night darkness sleep-midnight COP=VEN=when=then
Then, they stayed that way, and late at night

(58) *gənù day, phúlùmthù day=gò nday jəbù-sì=phéʔ gəŋaw=ʔay=dàʔ.*
mother that PSN that=TOP FIL walnut-fruit=ACC fry=DECL=HS
the mother, Hpu Lum Htu, fried walnuts.

(59) *day phúlùmthù day=gò dìʔ=kóʔ gəŋaw=khray gəŋaw=ná=ɕèʔ*
that PSN that=TOP pot=LOC fry=only fry=SEQ=then
Hpu Lum Htu fried and fried those walnuts in a pot and

(60) *ʔəsì-ʔətum day=phéʔ gəŋaw=ná=ɕèʔ*
fruit-seed that=ACC fry=SEQ=then
she fried the nuts and seeds and

(61) *day dìʔ=kóʔ dàp məkaw=kóʔ tòn=dá=ná*
that pot=LOC fireplace beside=LOC put=RES=SEQ
she put the pot near the fireplace and

(62) *ɕán ʔnaw=phéʔ woy ʔyúp=ná*
     3du brother=ACC lead sleep=SEQ
     she put the boys to sleep and

(63) *gəphù-wa=phéʔ=gò ɕìŋdùʔ=dèʔ ɕə-ʔyúp=dá,*
     eBr-man=ACC=TOP   behind=ALL CAUS-sleep=RES
     she let the older boy sleep in the back of the house and

(64) *gənaw-wa=phéʔ=gò ʔəphúm ʔyúp ré=ná ŋà=ŋà=ɕèʔ*
     yBr-man=ACC=TOP   embrace sleep LV=SEQ stay=CONT=then
     she slept with the younger boy in her arms and

(65) *yáʔ khrìŋ=gò mà ʔyén=gò pha n-ce=ʔay   ré=ŋà.*
     now while=TOP child both=TOP what NEG-know=NMLZ COP=CONT
     for a while, the two boys had no idea what was going on.

(66) *ʔyúp məlàp=màt=wà=ɕèʔ...*
     sleep forget=COMPL=VEN=then
     They fell asleep and...

(67) *tîm gəphù-wa=gò kəcí-mi myìt phràŋ ŋút=ná báy dúm=wà=ʔay ɕəlóy=ɕèʔ*
     but eBr-man=TOP few-1   mind awake finish=SEQ again recall=VEN=NMLZ when=then
     But the older boy awoke and came in a sense a bit and

(68) *"khrùp, khrùp, khrùp" ŋú=ná   ɕá=to-ŋà=ʔay   ɕi nà=ʔay=dàʔ.*
     ONOM ONOM ONOM   QUOT=SEQ eat=CONT-CONT=NMLZ 3sg hear=DECL=HS
     he heard the crunching sound "Hkrup, Hkrup, Hkrup."

(69) *day=khu nà=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
     that=like hear=when=then
     He heard this and

(70) *"ʔənû, pha ɕá=ʔay?" ŋú=yàŋ=ɕèʔ*
     mother what eat=DECL   say=when=then
     "Mom, what are you eating?" he asked and

(71) *"cé, myì   ʔnû gəŋaw=ʔay jəbù-sì=gòy," ŋú=ná tsun=ʔay=dàʔ.*
     INTJ awhile.ago mother fry=NMLZ   walnut-fruit=SFP QUOT=SEQ say=DECL=HS
     she replied, "Oh, those are the walnuts I fried earlier."

(72) *ɕəlóy=ɕèʔ ɕi=mùŋ "ráy=sám=ʔay," ŋú   báy gəlèŋ=to-ŋà.*
      when=then 3sg=also   COP=INFER=DECL QUOT again lie.down=CONT-CONT
      Then, he lay down again, thinking "It could be."

(73) *day=khu=ɕà   ʔəkhrùp ɕá=to-ŋà=ʔay=dàʔ.*
      that=like=only crunch   eat=CONT-CONT=DECL=HS
      Only that way she was crunching something.

(74) *day=khu ʔəkhrùp=khray ʔəkhrùp ɕá=to-ŋà=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
      that=like crunch=only   crunch   eat=CONT-CONT=when=then
      Like that she continued crunching and crunching something and

(75) *"ʔnû,   pha ɕá=ʔay?"*
        mother what eat=DECL
      "Mom, what are you eating?" (the older boy asked again.)

(76) *"ŋay=má ɕá=yu=na," ŋú=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
        1sg=also eat=CON=IRR say=when=then
      "I'll try it too," he said and

(77) *"naŋ n-may   ɕá=ʔay."*
        2sg NEG-be.good eat=DECL
      "You shouldn't eat it." (Hpu Lum Htu replied.)

(78) *"mà   n-may   ɕá=ʔay."*
        child NEG-be.good eat=DECL
      "Child shouldn't eat it."

(79) *"mà   ɕá=yàŋ   wa   tòn=ʔay," ŋú=ná*
        child eat=when tooth put=DECL   say=SEQ
      "If child eats it, that is not good for the teeth," she said and

(80) *"n-may   ɕá=ʔay," ŋú=ʔay=dàʔ.*
        NEG-be.good eat=DECL say=DECL=HS
      "You shouldn't eat it," she said.

(81) *ɕəlóy=ɕèʔ ɕi=mùŋ báy   mədàt=to-ŋà=yàŋ=ɕèʔ*
      then=then 3sg=also again listen=CONT-CONT=when=then
      Then, he was listening to (the sound) again and

(82) *phaŋ=ʔè=gò báy yu=yàŋ=ɕèʔ   gənaw=phéʔ məsòp=dàt=yu=yàŋ*
      after=LOC=TOP again see=when=then yBr=ACC   pat=away=CON=when
      later when he looked again and patted his brother

(83) *gənaw ń-ŋâ=to-ŋà=ʔay=dàʔ.*
      eBr   NEG-stay=CONT-CONT=DECL=HS
      his brother was not there.

(84) *ń-ŋâ=to-ŋà=jaŋ=ɕèʔ   "è, nday=gò ń-ré=s-ay,   ń-ré=s-ay."*
      NEG-stay=CONT-CONT=when=then   INTJ this=TOP NEG-COP=CSM-DECL NEG-COP=CSM-DECL
      His brother was not there and "That is not alright, that is not alright."

(85) *"nyéʔ   gənaw=phéʔ ɕá=káw=ʔay=ɕèʔ   ré=s-ay,   phúlùmthù nday=gò"*
      1sg.GEN yBr=ACC   eat=away=NMLZ=only COP=CSM-DECL PSN   this=TOP
      "Hpu Lum Htu ate my brother,"

(86) *ŋú   myìt=ná ɕi=gò   khrìt=má grày khrìt=wà=ʔay məjò=ɕèʔ*
      QUOT think=SEQ 3sg=TOP fear=also very fear=VEN=NMLZ because=then
      he thought and because he was so scared, (he said)

(87) *"ʔənû, ŋay khyí ʔnyí=məyu=ʔay."*
      mother 1sg shit defecate=DESID=DECL
      "Mom, I want to poop."

(88) *"ɕìŋgàn sa=məyu=ʔay."*
      outside go=DESID=DECL
      "I want to go outside (to go to the outdoor toilet)."

(89) *"ŋay ɕìŋgàn sa=na=ʔyô," ŋú=ná=ɕèʔ*
      1sg outside go=IRR=SFP   say=SEQ=then
      "I'll go out," he said and

(90) *"n-may   sa=ʔay," ŋú=ʔay=dàʔ.*
      NEG-be.good go=DECL say=DECL=HS
      "You can't go out," Hpu Lum Htu said.

(91) *"naŋ ɕìŋgàn sa=məyu=yàŋ*
      2sg outside go=DESID=when
      "If you want to go out (to take a dump)"

(92) *"day ciŋkha-lam məkaw=kóʔ duŋ=káw=ʔùʔ!" ŋú=ʔay=dàʔ.*
      that door-way   beside=LOC sit=away=IMP   say=DECL=HS
      "sit near the doorway!" she said.

(93) *ɕəlóy "ʔnû,   ŋay day=kóʔ n-kam=ʔay,"   ŋú=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
      then   mother 1sg that=LOC NEG-be.willing=DECL say=when=then
      Then, "Mom, I don't want to do it there," he said and

(94) *"ré=jaŋ=gò   day ləkaŋ-pòt=kóʔ sa=ʔùʔ!" ŋú=ʔay=dàʔ.*
      COP=when=TOP that ladder-root=LOC go=IMP   say=DECL=HS
      "If so, do it at the end of steps!" Hpu Lum Htu said.

(95) *"ləkaŋ-pòt=kóʔ=mùŋ n-kam=ʔay=lô,"   ŋú=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
      ladder-root=LOC=also NEG-be.willing=DECL=SFP say=when=then
      "I don't want to pass it at the end of steps too," he said and

(96) *"gày, ré=jaŋ=gò   nday rì-ləkhón   tam=yu=ʔùʔ!"*
      INTJ COP=when=TOP FIL   thread-yarn look.for=CON=IMP
      "Alright, then find a yarn!" (Hpu Lum Htu said.)

(97) *"rì-ləkhón   gərà=kóʔ rê=kún?"*
      thread-yarn where=LOC COP=Q
      "Where is a yarn?"

(98) *"day tam=ʔùʔ!" ŋú=ná=ɕèʔ səmyít=thèʔ rì-ləkhón   tam=ɕəŋún=ná=ɕèʔ*
      that look.for=IMP say=SEQ=then needle=COM thread-yarn look.for=CAUS=SEQ=then
      "Find it!" she said and let him look for a needle and yarn and

(99) *mà day=gò səmyít=thèʔ rì-ləkhón   tam   lá=ná=ɕèʔ*
      child that=TOP needle=COM thread-yarn look.for take=SEQ=then
      the boy looked for the needle and yarn and took them and

(100) *day phúlùmthù=phéʔ jòʔ=ʔay=dàʔ.*
      that PSN=ACC   give=DECL=HS
      he gave them to Hpu Lum Htu.

(101) *jòʔ=jaŋ=ɕèʔ day phúlùmthù=gò rì   ɕón=ná=ɕèʔ*
      give=when=then that PSN=TOP   thread insert=SEQ=then
      He gave them to her and Hpu Lum Htu put the thread (into the needle) and

(102) *səmyít=kóʔ çón=ná=çèʔ*
       needle=LOC insert=SEQ=then
       she put it into the needle and, (holding one end of the thread herself, she said)

(103) *"səmyít nday gaŋ=màt=wà=ʔùʔ!"*
        needle this pull=COMPL=VEN=IMP
       "Take this needle with you!"

(104) *"naŋ gaŋ=màt=wà=ná"*
        2sg pull=COMPL=VEN=SEQ
       "Pull it with you and"

(105) *"naŋ duŋ=ʔay çərà=kóʔ nday səmyít sa jún=ʔùʔ=ʔyô!" ŋú=ʔay=dàʔ.*
        2sg sit=NMLZ place=LOC this needle go stick=IMP=SFP   say=DECL=HS
       "stick the needle where you sit!" she said.

(106) *"day səmyít naŋ duŋ=ʔay çərà=kóʔ sa jún=ʔùʔ!" ŋú=ná=çèʔ*
        that needle 2sg sit=NMLZ place=LOC go stick=IMP   say=SEQ=then
       "Stick the needle where you sit!" she said and

(107) *mà   day=gò sa=màt=wà=s-ay=dàʔ.*
       child that=TOP go=COMPL=VEN=CSM-DECL=HS
       the boy went (outside with the needle and thread).

(108) *khom=màt=wà=ná=çèʔ...*
       walk=COMPL=VEN=SEQ=then
       He walked out and...

(109) *lé   çánthe=ʔàʔ mam-thù-sùm   ŋà=ʔay ńtâ-ǹdo=kóʔ=çèʔ*
       down.there 3pl=GEN   paddy-pound-booth be=NMLZ house-front.yard=LOC=then
       táʔ-thùm   ŋà=ʔay=dàʔ.
       hand-mortar be=DECL=HS
       there was a mortar in their front yard with a booth where they pounded paddy.

(110) *day táʔ-thùm   ŋà=ʔay=kóʔ=çèʔ sa jún=dá=ná=çèʔ*
       that hand-mortar be=NMLZ=LOC=then go stick=RES=SEQ=then
       He stuck the needle at where the mortar was and

(111) *thó   çánthe=ʔàʔ sùmwum-phún ŋà=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       up.there 3pl=GEN   bush-tree   be=DECL=HS

there was their bush tree up there (in the front yard).

(112)   *day sùmwum-sì-phún ŋà=ʔay.*
        that bush-fruit-tree   be=DECL
        There was that bush tree.

(113)   *day=kóʔ nàmsì-phún=kóʔ lùŋ=ná=ɕèʔ   khrìt=s-ay=dàʔ.*
        that=LOC fruit-tree=LOC   climb=SEQ=then fear=CSM-DECL=HS
        He climbed up that, the fruit tree, and he was scared.

(114)   *ɕi=gò   khrìt=ná day=kóʔ sa lùŋ=to-ŋà=yàŋ=ɕèʔ*
        3sg=TOP fear=SEQ that=LOC go climb=CONT-CONT=when=then
        He was scared and climbed up there and

(115)   *gənù=gò   ɕəgá=ʔay=dàʔ.*
        mother=TOP call=DECL=HS
        the mother (Hpu Lum Htu) called him.

(116)   *ɕəgá=tîm ɕi=gò   ń-thán=ʔay.*
        call=but   3sg=TOP NEG-answer=DECL
        She called him but he did not answer.

(117)   *day səmyít=ɕèʔ "ʔô," ŋú   thán=wà=ʔay=dàʔ.*
        that needle=only INTJ QUOT answer=VEN=DECL=HS
        (But) the needle replied, "Ooh!"

(118)   *səmyít=ɕèʔ "ʔô," ŋú   thán=wà=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
        needle=only INTJ QUOT answer=VEN=when=then
        The needle replied, "Ooh!" and

(119)   *"mà!"*
         child
        "Son!" (Hpu Lum Htu called.)

(120)   *jəkhrìŋ ré=jaŋ   "mà!" báy ŋú=jaŋ=ɕèʔ   "ʔô" báy ŋú=wà=ʔay=dàʔ.*
        a.while COP=when child again say=when=then   INTJ again say=VEN=DECL=HS
        After a while, "Son!" she called him again and the needle replied again, "Ooh!"

(121)   *ré=jaŋ=ɕèʔ   məsum-làŋ ɕəgá=yu=yàŋ=ɕèʔ   ń-wâ=ʔay.*
        COP=when=then 3-time   call=CON=when=then NEG-return=DECL

Then, she called him three times but he did not come back.

(122) *"ləwàn   wà=rìt!"   ŋú=yàŋ   ń-wâ=jaŋ*
       be.quick return=IMP say=when NEG-return=when
       "Come back fast!" she said and the boy did not come back and

(123) *day phúlùmthù=gò khán   sa=wà=ná   sa=yu=yàŋ=ɕèʔ*
       that PSN=TOP   follow go=VEN=SEQ go=CON=when=then
       Hpu Lum Htu followed him out and when she saw

(124) *səmyít=gò day thùm=kóʔ jún=to=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       needle=TOP that mortar=LOC stick=CONT=DECL=HS
       she saw the needle stuck in the paddy mortar.

(125) *thùm=kóʔ jún=to=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
       mortar=LOC stick=CONT=when=then
       The needle was stuck in the mortar and

(126) *nday=gò mà   nday=kóʔ ń-ŋâ=ʔay   lam ce=màt=ná*
       this=TOP child this=LOC NEG-be=NMLZ way know=COMPL=SEQ
       she knew that the boy was not there and

(127) *ɕi=gò   məkaw-grùpyin   yòŋ khán tam=yàŋ=ɕèʔ*
       3sg=TOP beside-surrounding all follow look.for=when=then
       she looked for him everywhere around that place and

(128) *nday ɕəta-jan   gràly may=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       FIL   moon-light very shine=DECL=HS
       the moon was shining brightly.

(129) *shəta-jan   gràly mai=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
       moon-light very bright=when=then
       The moonlight was extremely bright and

(130) *nîŋ ŋú=ná khán yu, khán yu, gá=dèʔ   khán yu=yàŋ=ɕèʔ*
       thus QUOT=SEQ follow see follow see ground=ALL follow see=when=then
       she looked for the boy this way and she looked for him on the ground and

(131) *ʔórà ǹbuŋ buŋ=jaŋ=gò   nàmsì-phún=gò nîŋ nîŋ ŋa=ná   ɕəmu,*
       there wind blow=when=TOP fruit-tree=TOP thus thus QUOT=SEQ move

when the wind blew, the fruit tree swayed left and right and

(132) *ʔəɕùn-ʔəwam=to-ŋà=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
       swing-move=CONT-CONT=when=then
       it was swaying and

(133) *ɕi=ʔàʔ ɕìŋnà=wa   lê   gá=kóʔ   ʔəwam=to-ŋà=ʔay*
       3sg=GEN shadow=TOP down.there ground=LOC move=CONT-CONT=NMLZ
       mù=to-ŋà=ʔay=dàʔ.
       see=CONT-CONT=DECL=HS
       she saw his shadow swaying on the ground.

(134) *ɕəlóy=ɕèʔ day=kóʔ=ɕèʔ nîŋ nîŋ ŋú   sa khán dìp rìm,*
       when=then that=LOC=then thus thus QUOT go follow press catch
       Then, she tried to catch the shadow forcibly here and there and

(135) *sa khán dìp rìm ré=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
       go follow press catch LV=when=then
       she tried to catch the shadow forcibly and

(136) *mà   day=gò məni=mùŋ yu məni=məyu, khrìt=mùŋ yu khrìt rê=ɕèʔ*
       child that=TOP laugh=also see laugh=DESID fear=also see fear LV=then
       the boy almost laughed at it and was also scared to see it and

(137) *ɕi=gò   kəɕí-mi "ʔî" ŋú=dàt=ʔay=dàʔ.*
       3sg=TOP few-1   INTJ say=away=DECL=HS
       he chuckled a bit, "Yee."

(138) *ɕəlóy=ɕèʔ ɕi=gò   nîŋ ŋú báy yu-mədà=yu=yàŋ*
       when=then 3sg=TOP thus QUOT again see-behold=CON=when
       Then, she (heard that and) looked up that way and

(139) *gəɕà ŋú=na   mà, mà-gəɕà day=gò day=kóʔ ŋà=to-ŋà=jaŋ=ɕèʔ*
       son say=NMLZ child child-son that=TOP that=LOC be=CONT-CONT=when=then
       there was the boy, whom she could call her son, on the tree and

(140) *mà   day=phéʔ=ɕèʔ "ʔê, naŋ day=kóʔ=ɕèʔ ré=ŋà=ʔay."*
       child that=ACC=only INTJ 2sg that=LOC=only COP=CONT=DECL
       she said to him, "Hey, you are up there."

(141) *"ləwàn ʔyúʔ=wà=rìt! ləwàn ʔyúʔ=wà=rìt!" ŋú=ʔay=dàʔ.*
　　be.quick descend=VEN=IMP be.quick descend=VEN=IMP say=DECL=HS
　　"Come down quickly! Come down quickly!" she said.

(142) *çəlóy mà day=mùŋ gəníŋ n-ce di=ʔay məjò=çèʔ*
　　then child that=TOP how NEG-know do=NMLZ because=then
　　Then, since the boy had no way out

(143) *çi=má "nâŋ=khu," ŋú tsun=ʔay=dàʔ.*
　　3sg=also here=like QUOT say=DECL=HS
　　he said "I'm here."

(144) *"ʔê, ʔənû=ʔè, ʔənû, naŋ nàmsì ń-çá=məyu=ʔay=ʔi."*
　　INTJ mother=SFP mother 2sg fruit NEG-eat=DESID=DECL=Q
　　"Hey, Mom, Mom, don't you want to eat fruits?"

(145) *"ŋay nàmsì lùŋ dìʔ çá=ŋà=ʔay=çèʔ rê."*
　　1sg fruit climb pick eat=CONT=NMLZ=only COP
　　"I just climbed up to pick and eat the fruits."

(146) *"naŋ çá=məyu=yàŋ, ʔənû, naŋ=phéʔ=má dìʔ jòʔ=na."*
　　2sg eat=DESID=when mother 2sg=ACC=also pick give=IRR
　　"If you want to eat them, Mom, I'll pluck them for you."

(147) *"thó ńtâ=kóʔ gəràp=kóʔ ʔəwâ=ná ǹrì roŋ=ʔay."*
　　up.there house=LOC rack=LOC father=GEN spear be.in=DECL
　　"There is my father's spear on the rack above the fireplace."

(148) *"ʔnû, ŋay day=thèʔ ʔəcóʔ dìʔ jòʔ=na," ŋú=ʔay=dàʔ.*
　　mother 1sg that=COM poke pick give=IRR say=DECL=HS
　　"Mom, I'll poke the fruits with that and give them to you," he said.

(149) *çəlóy=çèʔ mà day=gò day=khu ŋú tsun=dàt=jaŋ*
　　when=then child that=TOP that=like QUOT say=away=when
　　Then, when the boy said like that

(150) *phúlùmthù=gò gəja=nan wà=ná*
　　PSN=TOP really=EMPH return=SEQ
　　Hpu Lum Htu really went back home and

(151)   gəràp=kóʔ=ná ǹrì   wà   lá=ya=ʔay=dàʔ.
        rack=LOC=GEN spear return take=BEN=DECL=HS
        took the spear from the rack above the fireplace.

(152)   day ǹrì   wà   lá=ya=jaŋ=ɕèʔ
        that spear return take=BEN=when=then
        She went back and took the spear and (gave it to him and)

(153)   nîŋ ŋú=ná   ǹrì   day=phéʔ=ɕèʔ nàmsì ʔəcóʔ dìʔ lá=ná=ɕèʔ
        thus QUOT=SEQ spear that=ACC=only fruit poke pick take=SEQ=then
        the boy prodded the fruit with the spear like that and

(154)   phúlùmthù=phéʔ=ɕèʔ “ʔənû, ŋay nàmsì baŋ=ya=na.”
        PSN=ACC=then   mother 1sg fruit   put=VEN=IRR
        he said to Hpu Lum Htu, “Mom, I’ll put the fruit into your mouth.”

(155)   “ǹgùp məkhà=ʔùʔ=ʔyô,” ŋú=ʔay=dàʔ.
         mouth open=IMP=SFP   say=DECL=HS
        “Open your mouth,” he said.

(156)   day ɕəlóy=ɕèʔ ǹgùp məkhà=dàt=jaŋ=ɕèʔ
        that when=then mouth open=away=when=then
        Then, Hpu Lum Htu opened her mouth and

(157)   mà   day=gò məkhà=ʔay ɕəlóy
        child that=TOP open=NMLZ when
        when she opened her mouth, the boy

(158)   ǹgùp day=kóʔ day ǹrì=thèʔ   gəlùn sàt=káw lù=ʔay=dàʔ.
        mouth that=LOC that spear=COM stab kill=away get=DECL=HS
        he stabbed her mouth with the spear and killed her.

(159)   day məjò   mà   day=gò day=kóʔ lòt=màt=wà   lù=ʔay rê=dàʔ.
        that because child that=TOP that=LOC escape=COMPL=VEN get=NMLZ COP=HS
        So the boy was able to escape from that, it’s said.

Symbols and abbreviations

-	affix/root boundary	EMPH	emphatic
=	clitic boundary	FIL	filler
1	first person	GEN	genitive
2	second person	HS	hearsay
3	third person	IMP	imperative
eBr	elder brother	INFER	inference
yBr	younger brother	INTJ	interjection
du	dual	IRR	irrealis
pl	plural	LOC	locative
sg	singular	LV	light verb
ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ACC	accusative	NMLZ	nominalizer
ALL	allative	ONOM	onomatopoeia
BEN	benefactive	PROH	prohibitive
CAUS	causative	PSN	personal name
COM	comitative	Q	question
COMPL	completive	QUOT	quotative
CON	conative	RED	reduplicant
CONT	continuous	RES	resultative
COP	copula verb	SEQ	sequential
COUP	couplet	SFP	sentence-final particle
CSM	change-of-state marker	TOP	topic
DECL	declarative	VEN	venitive
DESID	desiderative		

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