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A Grammar of Bantawa : grammar, paradigm tables, glossary and texts of a Rai language of Eastern Nepal

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Appendices

A Texts

This appendix contains a small selection of texts that form the foundation of the grammatical analysis and also add a feel of the Bantawa language in actual use. Not many texts have been published in written form. Rai (1985) published some texts, of which some were republished by Ebert (1994). The Bantawa language journal *Bungwakha* (Rāi 2004) is now building a corpus of text in monthly instalments, which is a major step forward in Bantawa language development.

Below I have listed two stories from Bantawa oral literature, viz. *Ganya* and *Sumnima and Paruhang*. These should give a feel for the vivid language that story-tellers use, and have all the characteristics of narratives. Then some explanatory accounts by my language informant on Kiranti customs and tradition follow, i.e. on *Death* and *Marriage*. These have the double function of adding some texts of this genre to the corpus, while at the same time informing the reader about these traditions. Finally, the appendix features the recipe for *hengmawa*, the local brew of liquor. Every part of the corpus has its own brief introduction.

A.1 Ganya

The first story was told by Thām Jīt Rāi, hailing from Homtān. His dialect has the feature that the second person agent prefix is <i-> rather than <ti->. Otherwise no difference with the central Sindrān dialect can be seen. The *Ganya* story was told in a more or less linear fashion, with little hesitation or repetitions. The joke about the nine-horned-buffalo is a classic in Nepal and not limited to the Bantawa language area. The word *Ganya* is presented here as a proper name. However, *Ganya* is also used as a class name for different goddesses.

- (1) o-ko ganya ni-ʔo əbdə kirawa yiŋ-da-ŋka lo-Ø-m.
this-ref Ganja NAR-NOM word (N) Kiranti language-LOC-ABL say-3P-12pA
'This word 'Ganya', we say in the Kiranti language.'
- (2) o-ko kʰa-da-ŋka suru lis-a ni bʰanne hanlok.
this-ref where-LOC-ABL begin (N) become-PT NAR say.PTC today
'Where did it start from? we shall say now.'

- (3) uhile uhile o han-da nepala-da badd^he badd^he-ka-tet
long.ago (N) long.ago (N) this now-LOC Nepal-LOC many many-CNT-qual
 yij-ci əthəwa haŋ-ci mi-yaŋ-a-ŋ-a.
language-PL or (N) king.root-PL 3pl-hold-PT-PROG-PT
'Before, previously, in this land, in Nepal, there were many languages or kings.'
- (4) mo-ko han-da cəubise rajye ni baise rajye
that-ref now-LOC twenty-four (N) kingdom (N) NAR twenty-two (N) kingdom (N)
 mi-yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.
3pl-sit-PT-PROG-PT
'In this country, it is said there were twenty-four and twenty-two kingdoms.'
- (5) k^ho-ko-da ik-tet haŋ yuw-a-ŋ-a t^het məgər raja.
he/she-ref-LOC one-qual king.root be-PT-PROG-PT actually Magar king (N)
'In that, there was one king, actually a Magar king.'
- (6) mo-ko məgər raja ik-tet i-č^ha mec^hac^ha əsade-ŋa
that-ref Magar king (N) one-qual his/her-child daughter extremely (N)-EMPH
 k^ha-nu-Ø-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a.
thing-be.good-NPT-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
'This king had one daughter, who was exceptionally beautiful.'
- (7) rə mo-ko j^harak haŋ-ci-ʔa mo-ko mec^hac^ha nu-lək
and (N) that-ref all king.root-PL-ERG that-ref daughter be.good-MAN
 k^ha-nu-lək i-k^haŋ-a-ŋ-a-hida,
thing-be.good-MAN 3AM-see-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp
'And that girl, while all the kings considered her a good, beautiful girl,'
- (8) ik-tet rajkumar-ʔa dor-u ə raja-ʔo i-č^ha-ʔa dor-u, tə.
one-qual prince (N)-ERG beg-3P yes king (N)-GEN his/her-child-ERG beg-3P though (N)
 mo-ko rajkumar-da k^hat-ma-ŋa č^hunt-a-ŋ-a-heda,
that-ref prince (N)-LOC go-INF-EMPH refuse-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp
'one prince asked her, yes, asked for the king's daughter. While she refused to come with that prince,'
- (9) i-pa-ʔa ekdəmi k^har-a-ki k^har-a-ni lo-Ø-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a
his/her-father-ERG very.much (N) go-PT-SEQ go-PT-NAR say-3P-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
 tərə č^hunt-a.
but (N) refuse-PT
'her father very much said go, go, but she refused.'
- (10) pəč^hi əməla-raŋ b^hen-da k^har-a-ki mo-ko ciŋs-a-n-ci-n
after (N) lemon (N)-plant root-LOC go-PT-SEQ that-ref hang-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
 i-pot-da ɖori pakt-a-n-ci-n-kina ciŋs-a-n
his/her-neck-LOC rope (N) put-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-CAUS hang-PT-NEGn
 ser-a-n-ci-n.
kill-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
'Later, having gone to the foot of a lemon tree she hung herself, putting a rope around her neck, she hung and killed herself.'

- (11) k^ho-so-ʔo i-niŋ-da ciŋs-a-n ser-a-n-ci-n-pəç^hi
 he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-name-LOC hang-PT-NEGn kill-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-*after* (N)
 mo-so-ʔo i-pa ekdəmi k^haw-a-ŋ-a yuw-a-ŋ-a.
 that-PRN-GEN his/her-father very.much (N) cry-PT-PROG-PT be-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘In her name, after she hung and killed herself, her father had wept, very much.’
- (12) k^haw-a-ŋ-a yuw-a-ŋ-a t^hiyo.
 cry-PT-PROG-PT be-PT-PROG-PT PPTaux
 ‘He kept crying.’
- (13) əni mi-k^har-a-kina mo-ko əməla-raŋ k^har-a-ki yuw-a-ŋ-a-kina
 then (N) 3pl-go-PT-CAUS that-ref lemon (N)-plant go-PT-SEQ be-PT-PROG-PT-CAUS
 i-pa-sudda mo-ko i-c^ha cew-a.
 his/her-father-with that-ref his/her-child talk-PT
 ‘And having gone, after he had gone to the lemon tree, the child talked to her father.’
- (14) cew-a-pəç^hi - a-pa k^hana detninalo motni ti-yiŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 talk-PT-*after* (N) - VOCp-father you^s why like.that 2AS-say-NPT-PROG-NPT
 motni man-yiŋ-da.
 like.that NEGPTp-say-NEGPTs
 ‘As she talked: father, why are you speaking this way. Do not speak in this way.’
- (15) abo-da-ŋka iŋka-sudda k^hana cep-ma i-tok-na-n iŋka
 now (N)-LOC-ABL I-with you^s talk-INF NEGNPp-receive-2P-NEGn I
 munŋa motni-ŋa lis-a-ŋ.
 that.much like.that-EMPH become-PT-1s
 ‘From now on, you will not get to talk with me. Only I have become like that.’
- (16) awet ərko junī-da ət^həwa pala-da jənma jənma
 later another (N) lifetime (N)-LOC or (N) turn (N)-LOC birth (N) birth (N)
 li-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo k^hana-sudda-ŋa yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-da
 become-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND you^s-with-EMPH sit-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-TEMP
 o-ko-da k^hotni-ŋa lis-a.
 this-ref-LOC that.way-EMPH become-PT
 ‘Later, in another lifetime, or if I shall be born another time, I will be with you, there it will be just like that.’
- (17) map^hi piw-a-ŋ a-pa ni yiŋ-a-ŋ-a tə.
 forgiveness (N) give-PT-1s VOCp-father NAR say-PT-PROG-PT though (N)
 ‘She said, forgive me, my father, please.’
- (18) o-ko i-pa ak^homaŋ-da-ŋka k^hana deki hwatni ti-muw-a-ŋ amko
 this-ref his/her-father yesterday-LOC-ABL you^s why this.way 2AS-do-PT-1s your^s
 bəisa-da. “amko iŋka nu-lok nu-lok mu-na-ne” ni-ki-na
 youth (N)-LOC your^s I be.good-MAN be.good-MAN do-2P-OPT NAR-SEQ-TOP
 mit-na-ŋ-na-ʔo t^hiyo, tərə k^hana ti-ciŋs-a-n
 remember-2P-PROG-2P-NOM PPTaux but (N) you^s 2AS-hang-PT-REFL
 ser-a-n-ci-n.
 kill-PT-REFL-DUP-REFLc

'Her father: from yesterday, why have you done to me like this, in your youth. I have done you so well, I had been thinking, but you hung and killed yourself.'

- (19) abo iŋka kʰana-sudda-ŋa ayimit cʰa yuŋ-ma ni
 now (N) I you^s-with-EMPH nowadays child put-INF NAR
 min-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ŋo kʰana detni ti-yiŋ-Ø bʰəne.
 think-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM you^s how 2AS-say-NPT if (N)
'Now, today or tomorrow to get another child just like you, I am thinking, what do you say? he said.'
- (20) kʰo-da-ŋka i-cʰa-ŋa lo-Ø:
 he/she-LOC-ABL his/her-child-ERG say-3P
'To that, his child said.'
- (21) iŋka a-pa kʰana-sudda-ŋa yuŋ-ma ni min-na-ŋ-na-ŋ-ŋo
 I VOCp-father you^s-with-EMPH sit-INF NAR think-2P-PROG-2P-1s-NOM
 hwatni-ŋa lis-a, abi həreka doŋ-da iŋka cʰə cʰə məhina-da
 this.way-EMPH become-PT now (N) every (N) year-LOC I six six month (N)-LOC
 ik-tet rāga bʰakala piw-a-ŋ-kina puja mett-a-ŋ.
 one-qual buffalo.bull (N) vow (N) give-PT-1s-CAUS worship (N) cause-PT-1s
'I, father, to be with you, I have been thinking just like this: now every year, every six months, give me a promise to give me a buffalo bull and worship me.'
- (22) mo-da puja ti-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-heda iŋka kʰana-sudda
 that-LOC worship (N) 2AS-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-SIMP I you^s-with
 am-satʰa-da yuŋ-ŋa
 your^s-together (N)-LOC sit-1sNP
'While you worship me in that, I shall be together with you.'
- (23) iŋka iŋko mit-ma ti-siw-a-heda kʰana ici-nicʰa
 I my remember-INF 2AS-die-PT-SIMP you^s their^p-younger.brother
'I, my memory, while you die; you and your siblings.'
- (24) iŋka mo-ko puja muw-a-ŋ-a-heda-ŋa kʰaŋ-na-ne ni
 I that-ref worship (N) do-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP-EMPH look-2P-OPT NAR
 luw-a-ŋ-cʰaŋ
 say-PT-1s-also
'"Right while I do that worship, I shall watch you," tell me also.'
- (25) lə lə ni i-pa-ŋa lo-Ø həi. kʰon-ŋo pəcʰi kaŋs-a.
 OK OK NAR his/her-father-ERG say-3P hey he/she-GEN after (N) obey-PT
'OK, OK, her father said, hey. After that, he obeyed.'
- (26) ǝ iŋka abo o-ko pala-da-ŋka-ŋa kʰana-lai puja met-na-ne
 yes I now (N) this-ref turn (N)-LOC-ABL-EMPH you^s-DAT worship (N) cause-2P-OPT
 ni lo-Ø-kina mo-ko əməla-raŋ bʰen-da kʰar-a-kina i-pa-ŋa
 NAR say-3P-CAUS that-ref lemon (N)-plant root-LOC go-PT-CAUS his/her-father-ERG
 caħi rāga-ci, bʰale-ci tʰakt-u-ci-kina puja mett-u.
 swTOP (N) buffalo.bull (N)-PL rooster (N)-PL bring.up-3P-DUP-CAUS worship (N) cause-3P

'Now, let me worship you right from this time, he said, and going to the foot of the lemon tree, her father brought up buffalo bulls and roosters, and worshipped.'

- (27) əni i-c^ha-sudda hant-a-ci. ǝ k^hananin ǝ k^hana iŋka-sudda
 then (N) his/her-child-with talk-PT-DU yes you^p yes you^s I-with
 yuŋ-a-yakt-a, j^harak-ka doŋ j^harak-da-ŋa amko nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ni
 sit-PT-CONT-PT all-CNT year all-LOC-EMPH your^s be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-NAR
 sakoŋwa mit-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo saŋ-ci-c^haŋ jəmma-ŋa
 heart remember-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM who-PL-ever all (N)-EMPH
 mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo o-ko-da, ten-da k^hana-sudda.
 be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM this-ref-LOC village-LOC you^s-with
'And he talked with his child. Now, you stay with me, every year, everywhere your well wishers, whoever they are, will come together here, in the village with you.'
- (28) ekdəm nu-lok lis-a-ci-ni ka-min-ci matrə
 very (N) be.good-MAN become-PT-DU-NAR APpref-think-APpl only (N)
 mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø. k^hana ankenka-sudda yuw-a-yakt-a-nin ni lo-Ø.
 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT you^s we^{pe}-with be-PT-CONT-PT-2p NAR say-3P
'They were very good, only the well wishers came. You, stay with us, they said.'
- (29) k^ho-tni-pəčⁱ mo-ko raja mægər raja-da-ŋka k^har-a-ki.
 that-ALL-after (N) that-ref king (N) Magar king (N)-LOC-ABL go-PT-SEQ
'After that, that king, when the Magar king had gone,'
- (30) k^har-a mægər raja k^har-a-ki, ik-tet pūrwa-ya-ŋo kirawa raja
 go-PT Magar king (N) go-PT-SEQ one-qual east (N)-LOC.level-GEN Kiranti king (N)
 mun c^heka baise cəubīse rajyə mi-yuw-a-ŋ-a-heda
 that.much ?time twenty-two (N) twenty-four (N) kingdom (N) 3pl-be-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP
 mo-ya-ŋka ban-a-kina, ik-tet kirawa.
 that-LOC.level-ABL come.level-PT-CAUS one-qual Kiranti
'when the Magar king had gone, at that time one Eastern Kiranti king (there were twenty-two and twenty-four kingdoms) from there he came, one Kiranti.'
- (31) kirawa-ci ico d^huwa id^huwa-taŋ ban-a-kina ninamhaŋ butt-u.
 Kiranti-PL their^p big.man leader-head come.level-PT-CAUS God call-3P
 k^hatt-u-ŋ-o-hida butt-u, "k^hana deki o-da ti-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø?"
 take.away-3P-PROG-3P-SIMP call-3P you^s why this-LOC 2AS-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
'One leader of the Kirantis, a headman came and called upon God, while he took, he called, why do you stay here?'
- (32) ik-tet munja rāga duī sīge ni-pi-heda-ŋa k^hana
 one-qual that.much buffalo.bull (N) two (N) horned (N) 3A-give-SIMP-EMPH you^s
 b^hula ti-li-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 error (N) 2AS-become-NPT-PROG-NPT
'They give you only one buffalo bull, with two horns - you are mistaken.'
- (33) ankenka-sudda ti-k^hat-Ø-ne-para nəu sīge yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo
 we^{pe}-with 2AS-go-NPT-OPT-COND nine horned (N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
 k^hana-lai rāga ni-pi ankenka-sudda ta-Ø-k^hat-Ø
 you^s-DAT buffalo.bull (N) 3A-give we^{pe}-with come.far-NPT-DIRaway-NPT

'If you go with us, they will give you a nine-horned one, come with us and go!'

- (34) ð iŋko-na iŋ-pa səd^həĩ ekdəm-ŋa ik-tet rāga matrə
 yes my-TOP my-father always very (N)-EMPH one-qual buffalo.bull (N) only (N)
 i-pi-ŋa-Ø-ŋa duī sīge rāga matrə
 3AM-give-1sNP-PROG-1sNP two (N) horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) only (N)
 i-pi-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 3AM-give-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
'What? Now, my father always gives me one buffalo bull only, a two-horned buffalo bull only he gives me.'
- (35) detni k^hana di molok? nəu sīge rāga yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø ləu
 how you^s what isn't.it nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) sit-NPT-PROG-NPT well
 k^hat-ŋa-ne
 go-1sNP-OPT
'How, you have a what?! There is a nine-horned buffalo bull? Well, let me go.'
- (36) ni-ʔo lo-Ø-kina mo-ko c^hetkuma ɖola-da i-pa-ʔa-ki
 NAR-NOM say-3P-CAUS that-ref girl palanquin (N)-LOC 3AM-put.in-PT-SEQ
 i-batt-a
 3AM-bring-PT
'Speaking in this way, they put that girl on a palanquin and took her away.'
- (37) k^hotni-ŋa pəçⁱ k^hon-pəçⁱ mo-ko
 that.way-EMPH after (N) he/she-after (N) that-ref
 k^han-nuw-a-ŋ-a-ʔo meç^hac^ha caħī kaŋs-a
 handsome-be.good-PT-PROG-PT-NOM daughter swTOP (N) obey-PT
'After such, after that, that beautiful girl obeyed.'
- (38) kaŋs-a-ki mo ɖola-da i-pa-ʔa-ki hwaŋ-sa-ʔa
 obey-PT-SEQ that palanquin (N)-LOC 3AM-put.in-PT-SEQ two-PRN-ERG
 i-k^huy-a-c-u-kina i-batt-a-c-u.
 3AM-carry-PT-DU-3P-CAUS 3AM-bring-PT-DU-3P
'Having obeyed, having put her in the palanquin, they carried her off.'
- (39) mo i-batt-a-c-u pəçⁱ ik-tet mo siŋraŋ-b^hen-da
 that 3AM-bring-PT-DU-3P after (N) one-qual that tree-root-LOC
 i-yuŋs-a-c-u-kina puja i-mett-a-c-u.
 3AM-put-PT-DU-3P-CAUS worship (N) 3AM-cause-PT-DU-3P
'After they brought her, they put her at the foot of a tree and worshipped her.'
- (40) lə iŋka k^hananin-ŋa nəu sīge rāga piw-a-nin-ne,
 OK I you^p-EMPH nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) give-PT-2p-OPT
 ti-low-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ-ʔo, lə abi piw-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ mo-ko-sa-ʔa dor-u.
 2AS-say-PT-1s-2p-1sc-NOM OK now (N) give-PT-1s-2p-1sc that-ref-PRN-ERG beg-3P
'Well, you will give me a nine-horned buffalo bull, you said so, well, now give it, she asked.'

- (41) dor-u-pəc^{hi} i-pa-ŋa ta k^həi iŋka-na iŋ-pa-ʔa
 beg-3P-after (N) his/her-father-EMPH then (N) where (N) I-TOP my-father-ERG
 badd^{he} id^{hi}waŋko rāga i-piw-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ-ʔo t^{hi}yo.
 many big buffalo.bull (N) 3AM-give-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s-NOM PPTaux
 ‘After she asked, her father, well, “as for me, my father used to give me a bigger buffalo bull.”’
- (42) amno nəu sīge rāga k^həi - k^haŋ ett-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ. ləu k^həi
 your^p nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) where (N) - show tell-PT-1s-2p-1sc well where (N)
 mo nəu sīge rāga matdiŋ-Ø hola-Ø!
 that nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) NEG.be-NPT maybe (N)-NPT
 ‘What about your nine-horned buffalo bull - show me! Well, what about that nine-horned bull? It’s not there!’
- (43) iŋka las-a-ŋ c^hoŋs-a-ŋ-da-ŋ-ni-ŋ! ni lo-Ø-ci.
 I return-PT-1s deliver-PT-PROG-NEGPTs-1s-2p-1sc NAR say-3P-DUP
 ‘Bring me back! she told them.’
- (44) ma-ʔaŋ! k^hana detni yiŋ-ma i-nu-nin k^hana
 NEGPTp-be.PTNEG you^s how say-INF NEGNPp-be.good-NEGn you^s
 o-da-ŋa yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
 this-LOC-EMPH sit-INF must-NPT
 ‘No! For you, to speak like that is not good! You must stay right here.’
- (45) o-da-ŋa ankenka-sudda k^hana yuŋ-ma dot-Ø j^harak-ka doŋ
 this-LOC-EMPH we^{pe}-with you^s sit-INF must-NPT all-CNT year
 j^harak-sa-ʔa k^hana nəu nəu sīg yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo k^hana
 all-PRN-ERG you^s nine nine horn (N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM you^s
 rāga ni-pi
 buffalo.bull (N) 3A-give
 ‘Right here, with us, you must stay. Every year, every one will give you a nine-horned buffalo bull.’
- (46) ankenka j^harak k^him-da-ŋka k^hana ni-k^hut ni-ʔo
 we^{pe} all house-LOC-ABL you^s 3A-bring.for.someone NAR-NOM
 lo-Ø-kina p^heri i-yuŋs-a.
 say-3P-CAUS again (N) 3AM-put-PT
 ‘We shall bring you one from every house, they said, and put her down again.’
- (47) i-yuŋs-a-kina p^heri k^həi molok nəu sīge rāga ni
 3AM-put-PT-CAUS again (N) where (N) isn’t.it nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) NAR
 i-low-a tə mo b^hale-ʔo i-sira-ŋa k^haŋ
 3AM-say-PT though (N) that rooster (N)-GEN his/her-cock.comb-EMPH show
 i-ett-a-ki i-k^hiŋt-a-piw-a:
 3AM-tell-PT-SEQ 3AM-read-PT-BEN-PT
 ‘And after they put her down, well, this way, they said a nine-horned buffalo bull, they showed her the crown of a rooster and counted for her.’

- (48) ik-tet hwa-tet sumka-tet ŋak-ka-tet p^hek-ka-tet sek-ka-tet
 one-qual two-qual three-qual four-CNT-qual four-CNT-qual six-CNT-qual
 rek-ka-tet lek-ka-tet ni i-low-a-kina mo-ci-ʔa
 seven-CNT-qual eight-CNT-qual NAR 3AM-say-PT-CAUS that-PL-ERG
 i-k^hipt-a-piw-a ni
 3AM-read-PT-BEN-PT NAR
'One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, they said and counted for her.'
- (49) e! o-ko-ŋa nəu wəʔa sīga? ǽ, o o-ko-ŋa ni-ki-na
 hey this-ref-EMPH nine qual (N) horn (N) yes interr this-ref-EMPH NAR-SEQ-TOP
 k^ho-da-ŋka motni rajkumarī mægər raja-ʔo i-c^ha-da-ʔo
 he/she-LOC-ABL like.that princess (N) Magar king (N)-GEN his/her-child-LOC-GEN
 i-niŋ-da-ŋka kirawa yiŋ-da-ŋka giŋya ni i-low-a-kina
 his/her-name-LOC-ABL Kiranti language-LOC-ABL Ganja NAR 3AM-say-PT-CAUS
 mo puja mu-ma i-puŋs-a.
 that worship (N) do-INF 3AM-begin-PT
'Hey! are these nine horns? Well, this is it. From then on, in that way they say "Ganya" in the Kiranti language for the princess, and in the name of the Magar king's daughter they started to perform this worship.'

A.2 Bird song

This song, sung in Pokharā by Viśvahān Rāī, is added here as a diversion. This song contains countryside romance and beautiful participles.

- (1) k^hokli-ʔo b^hen-da liŋwa-k^ha c^hoŋ-da pit goŋdok
 forest-GEN root-LOC lowland.grass-place top-LOC cow bull
 mi-can-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 3pl-feed-NPT-PROG-NPT
'at the foot of the forest, at the top of the meadow, the cows and bulls are grazing'
- (2) yaŋsiŋ-raŋ cok-du dommak p^hop-ca-sa c^hoŋwa-ci
 Schima.wallichii-plant top-LOC.high grasshopper catch-eat.2-SIM bird-PL
 mi-han-Ø-yaŋ-Ø c^hoŋwa-ci mi-han-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 3pl-talk-NPT-PROG-NPT bird-PL 3pl-talk-NPT-PROG-NPT
'in the top of the Schima wallichii tree, the grasshoppers catch and eat, the birds are chatting, the birds are chatting'
- (3) bakuloŋ bop-ma talik-c^haŋ c^hak-ma c^hoŋwa-ci ap-ma-ci.
 clay.pellet cover-INF bow-also chisel-INF bird-PL shoot-INF-DU
'to make clay pellets, to cut a pellet bow, to shoot at the birds'
- (4) ap-ma-yiŋ c^hoŋwa man-cat-maŋ-tari i-ri-im-in
 shoot-INF-PP bird NEGPTp-hit.the.mark-NPC-up.to NEGNPp-can-12pn-NEGn
 lap-ma-ci i-ri-im-in lap-ma-ci.
 catch-INF-DU NEGNPp-can-12pn-NEGn catch-INF-DU
'a bird that is shot at, we cannot catch it until it's hit, we cannot catch it'

- (5) dawa-buŋ bar-a hensin-buŋ bar-a saŋhokwa
 water.jug-flower bloom-PT phaledo-flower.root bloom-PT singing.bird
 pat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo.
 cry.out-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
'the water jug flower flowers, the Erythrina stricta flowers, the haless bird is singing out'
- (6) pat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo cʰoŋwa bar-a-ŋo buŋwa
 cry.out-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM bird bloom-PT-NOM flower
 kʰa-nu-Ø-lo dat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo kʰa-nu-Ø-lo
 thing-be.good-NPT-MAN be.seen-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM thing-be.good-NPT-MAN
 dat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo.
 be.seen-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
'the singing bird, the flowering flowers are beautiful, they are beautiful'

A.3 Hengmawa

This is a recipe for *hengmawa*, the local brew of liquor. *Hengmawa* simply means 'distillation water'. Some recipe of either beer or liquor has become a bit of tradition in Kiranti grammars, e.g. Wāmbule (Opgenort 2002: 432), Kulung (Tolsma 1999: 148), Limbu (van Driem 1987: 277-279), and Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 328-329).

The text is self-explanatory. Linguistically, the text is also very instructive for several reasons. The use of nominalised clauses for backgrounding is very clear. One finds background information, i.e. things that should have been done or that one ought to know about the preparation of *hengmawa* in nominalised sentences. Foreground information, in this case the sequence of instructions, is put in simple indicative sentences. This text is an example of an instructive text and contains a fine collection of infinitives.

- (1) han o-da iŋka heŋmawa bənya mu-ma-ŋo tərɪka yɪŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 now this-LOC I liquor make (N) do-INF-NOM method (N) say-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
'Now here I am telling the way how to make hengmawa.'
- (2) mina-ci heŋmawa detni bənya mi-mu-Ø ni-ki-na-na.
 man-PL liquor how make (N) 3pl-do-NPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP
'That is, how people make hengmawa.'
- (3) o-da jʰarak-sa-ŋa en-u-m-ne!
 this-LOC all-PRN-ERG hear-3P-12pA-OPT
'Now, all listen.'
- (4) jʰarak-da-ŋka bu-ya mi mu-ma dot-Ø.
 all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level fire do-INF must-NPT
'Before all, one must make fire.'
- (5) kʰonki hutluŋ-da ik-tet idʰiwaŋko kʰamma kʰam-ma dot-Ø.
 and.then fireplace-LOC one-qual big vessel make.sit-INF must-NPT
'Then, in the fireplace, one big vessel must be placed.'

- (6) k^honki mo-da car-u-ʔo wach^hin k^haca pak-ma dot-Ø.
and.then that-LOC ferment-3P-NOM beer beer put.in-INF must-NPT
'Then, in that, fermented kodo beer must be put.'
- (7) k^haca sip pak-ma dot-Ø, b^hāḍa-hut-da.
beer pulp put.in-INF must-NPT pot (N)-hole-LOC
'The solid matter of the beer must be put into the vessel.'
- (8) k^honki hyuna-ŋka mi met-ma dot-Ø hutluŋ-yu-ŋka.
and.then down-ABL fire cause-INF must-NPT fireplace-LOC.low-ABL
'Then below that, the fire must be put, from the bottom of the fireplace.'
- (9) k^honki-na mo-ko b^hāḍo-da-ʔo wach^hin k^haca ku-Ø-kina lok-ma
and.then-TOP that-ref pot (N)-LOC-GEN beer beer heat-NPT-CAUS boil-INF
puŋs-u.
begin-3P
'Then the beer in the vessel, getting hot, will start to boil.'
- (10) lok-ma-b^hānda bu-ya mo-so-ʔo i-duŋ-du ik-tet
boil-INF-COMP (N) front-LOC.level that-PRN-GEN his/her-top-LOC.high one-qual
gagityaŋ ni-ʔo b^hāḍo yuŋ-ma dot-Ø
distillation.vessel NAR-NOM pot (N) put-INF must-NPT
'Before it cooks, on top of that a vessel called gagityang must be placed.'
- (11) mo bak^ha-da-ŋka bənya mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo.
that soil-LOC-ABL make (N) be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
'That one is made of clay.'
- (12) mo gagityaŋ-ʔo i-t^hen-da i-hut-ci mi-yak-Ø.
that distillation.vessel-GEN his/her-bottom-LOC his/her-hole-PL 3pl-be.in-NPT
'There are holes in the bottom of the gagityang.'
- (13) mo i-hut-da-ŋka hyuna wach^hin-ʔo i-sam d^hana
that his/her-hole-LOC-ABL down beer-GEN his/her-vapour above
gagityaŋ hut-du lon-Ø.
distillation.vessel hole-LOC.high go.outside-NPT
'The steam of the beer below will come out upwards through that hole into the gagityang.'
- (14) p^heri k^honki-na gagityaŋ-hut-da ik-tet b^hi ət^həwa
again (N) and.then-TOP distillation.vessel-hole-LOC one-qual earthen.vessel or (N)
b^hāḍo yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
pot (N) put-INF must-NPT
'Again, after that, inside the gagityang one must put an earthen or other vessel.'
- (15) i-do nikəi hamko mu-Ø-ʔo.
his/her-mouth very (N) different be.pred-NPT-NOM
'The mouth of that one is very different.'

- (16) mo b^hãḍo-da i-cilok cakwa-c^haŋ pak-ma dot-Ø
 that pot (N)-LOC his/her-little.bit water-also put.in-INF must-NPT.
'You must put also a little water into that vessel.'
- (17) mo cakwa i-pa-im-in-nalo mo b^hi tatayi
 that water NEGNPp-put.in-12pn-NEGn-COND that earthen.vessel hot (N)
 li-Ø-kina ku-Ø-kina d^hana-ŋka wac^hin-o i-sam
 become-NPT-CAUS heat-NPT-CAUS above-ABL beer-GEN his/her-vapour
 c^hok-Ø-d^ha-Ø-nuc^haŋa.
 evaporate-NPT-DIRdown-NPT-even.though
'If we do not put that water in, the steam of the beer will leak out and down as well, when the vessel gets hot.'
- (18) haŋ-Ø-k^hat-Ø-ni-kina i-cilok cakwa
 get.hot-NPT-DIRaway-NPT-NAR-CAUS his/her-little.bit water
 pa-u-m-nalo mo-da d^hana-ŋka wac^hin-ʔo i-sam d^ha-ʔo
 put.in-3P-12pA-COND that-LOC above-ABL beer-GEN his/her-vapour up-GEN
 haŋ-ma k^hat-ma i-tokt-u-n.
 evaporate-INF go-INF NEGNPp-receive-3P-NEGn
'After it has evaporated, if we put in a little water in there, the beer's steam will not get to evaporate from up there.'
- (19) tərə gagityaŋ-ʔo i-c^hoŋ-du ərko ik-tet
 but (N) distillation.vessel-GEN his/her-top-LOC.high another (N) one-qual
 bata ni-ʔo pak-ma dot-Ø.
 pointed.vessel NAR-NOM put.in-INF must-NPT
'But on top of the gagityang, another vessel called bata must be put.'
- (20) mo bata-ʔo i-t^hen i-cit com-ʔo li-ma
 that pointed.vessel-GEN his/her-bottom his/her-little.bit point-GEN become-INF
 dot-Ø.
 must-NPT
'The bottom of that vessel must be made a bit pointed.'
- (21) com-ʔo yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
 point-GEN sit-INF must-NPT
'It must be pointed.'
- (22) k^honki mo bata-da bata rə gagityaŋ-ʔo
 and.then that pointed.vessel-LOC pointed.vessel and (N) distillation.vessel-GEN
 i-maj^ha-da ik-tet bihomma ni-ʔo kəpəḍa tit-ʔa
 his/her-middle (N)-LOC one-qual distillation.cloth NAR-NOM cloth (N) cloth-ERG
 hom-ma dot-Ø.
 wrap-INF must-NPT
'Then, in that bata, in between the bata and the gagityang, cotton cloth called bihomma must be stuck.'

- (23) un maddiŋ i-sam bahira k^hat-Ø-lon-Ø
 like.that not.there his/her-vapour outside (N) go-NPT-DIRup-NPT
 buŋk^ha-ya-tni lon-Ø-k^hat-Ø.
 outside-LOC.level-ALL go.outside-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
'If not, the steam will go out, it will go out.'
- (24) wac^hiŋ i-sam buŋk^ha-yatni i-k^hat-nin-ne ni-ki-na-na
 beer his/her-vapour outside-towards NEGNPp-go-3NEG-OPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP
 gagityaŋ rə bata-o i-maj^ha-da
 distillation.vessel and (N) pointed.vessel-GEN his/her-middle (N)-LOC
 bihomma hom-ma yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
 distillation.cloth wrap-INF put-INF must-NPT
'In order to not let the steam of the beer go out, the bihomma cloth must be put in between the bata and the gagityang.'
- (25) on-ki bata-du cakwa p^heri mu-ma yak-ma dot-Ø.
 this-SEQ pointed.vessel-LOC.high water again (N) be.pred-INF be.in-INF must-NPT
'After this, one must continuously put water in the bata.'
- (26) dekinalo ni yiŋ-in-nalo yiŋ-ma dat-Ø-nalo o cakwa
 because NAR say-12plSP-COND say-INF be.seen-NPT-COND this water
 jətika k^hepi tatəi liy-a, mo lat-ma k^hat-ma yak-ma
 how.much (N) time hot (N) become-NPT that take.out-INF take.away-INF be.in-INF
 dot-Ø.
 must-NPT
'Because, we say, one should say, every time that water gets hot, you must continuously throw it out.'
- (27) mo ik-tet-ŋa cakwa ku-Ø-kina lok-ma puŋs-u-nalo hyuna
 that one-qual-EMPH water heat-NPT-CAUS boil-INF begin-3P-COND down
 heŋmawa patalo li-Ø-k^hat-Ø.
 liquor thin (N) become-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
'If once the water starts to cook, the heŋmawa below will go thin.'
- (28) mo heŋmawa patalo i-li-nin-ne ni-ki-na-na d^hana
 that liquor thin (N) NEGNPp-become-3NEG-OPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP above
 cakwa p^heri mu-ma yak-ma dot-Ø.
 water again (N) be.pred-INF be.in-INF must-NPT
'In order let that heŋmawa not go thin, up there one must put water in.'
- (29) ku-Ø-lon-Ø cakwa ku-Ø-lon-Ø c^haŋ mo
 heat-NPT-DIRup-NPT water heat-NPT-DIRup-NPT also that
 lat-ma-k^han-ma-ki ərko cakwa pak-ma dot-Ø mo
 take.out-INF-COMPL-INF-SEQ another (N) water put.in-INF must-NPT that
 bata-da.
 pointed.vessel-LOC
'If ever the water gets hot and goes out, one must put in other water in after taking it out, in that bata.'

- (30) k^honki-na-na mo ni-ʔo krəm, mo ni-ʔo kaci, pāc k^hepi-da-ŋka
 and.then-TOP-TOP that NAR-NOM krəm that NAR-NOM work five (N) time-LOC-ABL
 sat k^hepi-tari mu-Ø-m-ʔo deŋ-da,
 seven (N) time-till do-3P-12pA-NOM back-LOC
'After this, after we have done this procedure, these works, from five till seven times,'
- (31) hyuna abi watatma ni-ʔo b^hi-hut-da heŋmawa
 down now (N) collection.jug NAR-NOM earthen.vessel-hole-LOC liquor
 tam-Ø-yuŋ-Ø-ʔo yuŋ-Ø.
 fill.up-NPT-CONT-NPT-NOM sit-NPT
'below, now, in the vessel called collecting vessel the hengmawa has been collected.'
- (32) k^honki-na abi hyuna mi set-ma dot-Ø.
 and.then-TOP now (N) down fire kill-INF must-NPT
'And then, now, the fire below can be extinguished.'
- (33) k^honki-na bu-ya bata lat-ma k^han-ma dot-Ø.
 and.then-TOP front-LOC.level pointed.vessel take.out-INF send-INF must-NPT
'And then, first, the bata must be taken off.'
- (34) k^honki gagityaŋ-hut-da-ʔo watatma lat-ma dot-Ø.
 and.then distillation.vessel-hole-LOC-GEN collection.jug take.out-INF must-NPT
'And then, the collection jug inside the gagityang must be taken out.'
- (35) mo watatma-da heŋmawa dem d^ha-Ø mo lar-u-m
 that collection.jug-LOC liquor how.much go.down-PT that take.out-3P-12pA
 deŋ-da heŋmawa təyari lis-a.
 back-LOC liquor ready (N) become-PT
'As much hengmawa as came down into that collection jug, after we take that out, the hengmawa is ready.'
- (36) mwatni heŋmawa mu-ma dot-Ø.
 that.way liquor do-INF must-NPT
'That way one must make hengmawa.'
- (37) o heŋmawa o para owatni mu-ma dot-Ø.
 this liquor this method (N) like.this do-INF must-NPT
'This hengmawa must be made this way.'
- (38) heŋmawa mu-ma tərīka onŋa.
 liquor do-INF method (N) only
'This much only is the way to make hengmawa.'
- (39) alaŋne!
 thanks
'Thank you'

A.4 Death

This piece of text is Viśvahān Rai's explanation of what needs to be done when someone dies in the Bantawa community. It is one part of a conversation from which the questions have been left out. At some points in the conversation, Viśvahān switched code to Nepali. Nepali text has been left out, but the translation was kept to keep the narrative complete. The conversation is interesting from a cultural and anthropological point of view, but also to demonstrate a natural mode of speech.

Kiranti people clearly distinguish themselves from the surrounding Hindu culture by their funeral rites. Bantawa people bury rather than cremate their dead. The three-tiered stone graves are located either on private property or at a burial site in the forest or along the road.

Close kin of the deceased observe three days of impurity after the funeral rites. These relatives travel to the temple complex of Barāhakṣetra to perform final rites 45 days after the death occurred.

As ancestor worship is a defining feature of Kiranti religion and culture, death has special significance. An unnatural death, e.g. by violence or by drowning, is considered inauspicious, and rituals are different. After death, the priests divine the status of the deceased to establish whether he or she can enter the family pantheon. As spirits are local, there are special rites to bring home Bantawa Rai dying far from home.

- (1) bak^ha-ʔo-yu bak^ha hut-yu k^hum-ma dot-Ø
soil-GEN-LOC.low soil hole-LOC.low bury-INF must-NPT
'He must be buried in the ground.'
- (2) j^harak-da-ŋka bu-ya siw-a-da-Ø-c^haŋ saŋ k^hokpa siw-a-da he
all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level die-PT-eff-PT-also who old.man die-PT-TEMP or
k^hokma. k^hokpa k^hokma ico c^ha-ci, mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo,
old.woman old.man old.woman their^{ns} child-PL 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND
'First of all, immediately after death (who died- an old man or an old woman), the old
people's children —if they are there —.'
- (3) duwac^ha-ci-nalo duwac^ha-ʔa mo-da mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo kaci
son-PL-COND son-ERG that-LOC do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM work
j^harak mu-ma dot-Ø
all do-INF must-NPT
'If there are sons, the son must do all the jobs that need to be done in that case.'
- (4) k^hon-ki-na j^harak-da-ŋka bu-ya mo-ko mina si-Ø-da-Ø-c^haŋ
he/she-SEQ-TOP all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level that-ref man die-NPT-eff-NPT-also
k^himkoŋ-hut-da yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo buŋk^ha-da lon-ma dot-Ø.
interior-hole-LOC sit-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND outside-LOC take.outside-INF must-NPT
'Then, before all, immediately after that person died, if he is in the house he must be
taken outside.'
- (5) k^hon-ki mina-ʔo i-taŋ hyatni laptik^hoŋ pətti hu-ma dot-Ø
he/she-SEQ man-GEN his/her-head that.way doorway side (N) turn-INF must-NPT
'Then the man's head must be turned, over there, in the direction of the door.'

- (6) k^hon-ki-na abi j^harak dik^ha biwa-ci but-ma-ci dot-Ø
 he/she-SEQ-TOP now (N) all brothers elder.brother-PL call-INF-DU must-NPT
'after that, now, all the relatives must be called.'
- (7) i-sin-c^haŋ mi-ta-Ø api mi-ta-Ø but-ma-ŋa dot-Ø
 3AM-know-also 3pl-come.far-NPT self 3pl-come.far-NPT call-INF-EMPH must-NPT
'As soon as they know, they come, they come themselves. They must be called.'
- (8) j^harak mina b^hela li-ma-kina mo mina-lai om-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
 all man gathered (N) become-INF-CAUS that man-DAT be.white-NPT-PROG-NPT
 inuŋwa kəpəda tit-ʔa b^hom-ma-ki
 new cloth (N) clothes-ERG make.bundle-INF-SEQ
'After all people have gathered, having wrapped that person in a white, new cloth,'
- (9) b^hom-ma-kina samba-da yut-ma-ki
 make.bundle-INF-CAUS bamboo-LOC tie-INF-SEQ
'having wrapped him, and tied him onto bamboo poles,'
- (10) k^hon-ki-na i-c^ha-ci-ʔa k^hun-ma dot-Ø duwac^ha-ci-ʔa
 he/she-SEQ-TOP his/her-child-PL-ERG carry-INF must-NPT son-PL-ERG
 duwac^ha-ci maddiŋ-ci-nalo c^hetkuma-ci-da-ʔo mak^ha
 son-PL not.there-DU-COND girl-PL-LOC-GEN son.in.law
'then his children must bury him, the sons. If there are no sons, then the daughter's husbands (sons-in-law).'
- (11) b^hərsək k^ho-ci-c^haŋ ni-ta-nin-nalo dik^ha-da-ʔo dik^ha
 possibly (N) he/she-PL-ever N3pl-come.far-NEGn-COND brothers-LOC-GEN brothers
 buwa-ci-ʔa k^hun-ma dot-Ø
 elder.brother-PL-ERG carry-INF must-NPT
'Possibly, if they have not come either, then from amongst the relatives the older brothers must bury him.'
- (12) k^hon-ki-na mo k^hatt-u-m-y-u-m k^hun-ma-b^hənda
 he/she-SEQ-TOP that take.away-3P-12pA-PROG-3P-12pA carry-INF-COMP (N)
 bu-ya mo ka-si-da-pa mina-ʔo i-do-da suna-wa
 front-LOC.level that APpref-die-eff-APm man-GEN his/her-mouth-LOC gold-water
 rupa-wa pak-ma dot-Ø
 silver-water put.in-INF must-NPT
'Then, we take him. Before burial, some gold water or silver water must be put in the dead man's mouth.'
- (13) yaŋ pak-ma dot-Ø i-cici i-do-da i-ŋaliŋ
 money put.in-INF must-NPT his/her-little.bit his/her-mouth-LOC his/her-face
 d^hatni. (demka?) ik p^hek, ik yaŋ i-bidi - t^hapsiŋ-ʔo lagi
 there.dir.up how.many one piece one money his/her-bidi - ritual-GEN for (N)
'Money must be put in, in his mouth, on top of his head. (how much?) One coin, one piece, his biḍi, for the tradition.'

- (14) (ərt^{hə} di?) o yaŋ? mo ni o abi mina siw-a-da-Ø-ʔo
meaning (N) what? this money? that other this now (N) man die-PT-eff-PT-NOM
 deŋ-da j^harak-da-ŋka inuwak cija nuwak jo-nuc^haŋa pi-ma
after-LOC all-LOC-ABL good thing (N) good whoever (N)-even.though give-INF
 han-ma i-niŋ-da
send-INF his/her-name-LOC
 ‘(what does it mean?) The money? That, it is said, now, after a man has died, the best thing, whatever is good must be given, in his name.’
- (15) j^harak-da-ŋka c^hi-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo cakwa cok^ho cakwa
all-LOC-ABL be.expensive-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM water pure (N) water
 ni-ki-na suna-wa rupa-wa pak-ma dot-Ø i-do-da
NAR-SEQ-TOP gold-rain silver-rain put.in-INF must-NPT his/her-mouth-LOC
 ‘The most expensive water, —pure water, that is —and gold and silver must be put in his mouth.’
- (16) k^hon-ki i-c^huk-da yaŋ pak-ma dot-Ø k^hon-ki-na k^hokli
he/she-SEQ his/her-hand-LOC money put.in-INF must-NPT he/she-SEQ-TOP forest
 hyatni he wik-da k^hum-si k^hat-ma dot-Ø
that.way or dry.ground-LOC bury-SUP go-INF must-NPT
 ‘We must put money in his hands. Then, in the forest, or in the field, we must go to bury him.’
- (17) k^hum-si k^hat-ma-da mo para-ʔa samba-da k^hun-ma dot-Ø
bury-SUP go-INF-TEMP that method-ERG bamboo-LOC carry-INF must-NPT
 ‘Going for burying, we must carry (him) that way, on the bamboo.’
- (18) k^hon-ki layaca-ni lo-ma dot-Ø
he/she-SEQ food.stuff-NAR say-INF must-NPT
 ‘Then, we must say layaca - the rice that is thrown ahead of the burial procession.’
- (19) j^harak-da-ŋka bu-ya ka-kon-pa mina-ʔa kaya
all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level APpref-walk-APm man-ERG rice.plant
 ri-yaŋ-sa k^hatt-u dya? otni.
scatter-PROG-SIM take.away-3P or.what like.this
 ‘The people who are going in front are taking him throwing rice all around, or what? Like that.’
- (20) k^hada k^hum-ma ni min-in k^hada k^hum-ma k^hada yuŋ-ma anken
where bury-INF NAR think-12plSP where bury-INF where put-INF we^{pi}
 min-in. ma-ʔaŋ-nalo k^ho mi-na-ci si-ma-da-ma
think-12plSP NEGPTp-be.PTNEG-COND someone man-PL die-INF-eff-INF
 bu-ya k^ho-ci-ʔa niŋa i-no-Ø-ʔo yuŋ-k^ha yuŋ-Ø
front-LOC.level he/she-PL-ERG mood 3AM-be.happy-NPT-NOM sit-PNOM sit-NPT
 dya
or.what
 ‘Where to bury, we think. Where to bury, where to put (the body), we think. Unless some man, before he dies, appoints a place that pleases him —or what.’

- (21) mo-da iŋka si-ŋa-da-ŋa-hida k^ho-da k^hatt-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ ni
 that-LOC I die-1sNP-eff-1sNP-SIMP he/she-LOC take.away-PT-1s-2p-1sc NAR
 mi-yiŋ-Ø.
 3pl-say-NPT
 ‘“That is where I want to be when I have died, take me there,” they say.’
- (22) k^hon-ki-na mo-da k^hat-ma-ci k^hum-ma-ci mi-dot-Ø badde
 he/she-SEQ-TOP that-LOC take.away-INF-DU bury-INF-DU 3pl-must-NPT many
 badde men hotlum tu-ma-ki mo-da mina-ʔo i-taŋ
 many DOUBT hole dig.in-INF-SEQ that-LOC man-GEN his/her-head
 pūrwa-hyatni mu-ma-ki k^hum-ma dot-Ø
 east (N)-across do-INF-SEQ bury-INF must-NPT
 ‘After that, taking him there, we must bury him. Many, many, err, what, making a
 hole, we put the man in with his head pointing east.’
- (23) tərə k^hum-ma-b^hənda bu-ya i-nuwa i-nuwak badde
 but (N) bury-INF-COMP (N) front-LOC.level his/her-good his/her-good many
 i-nuwak luŋ-ci tat-ma-ci-kina d^hak d^hak yuŋ-ma,
 his/her-good stone-PL bring.far-INF-DU-CAUS dhak.onom dhak.onom put-INF
 luŋ t^hiŋ-ma dot-Ø
 stone spread.out-INF must-NPT
 ‘but before burial, bringing many good stones, we but them dhak dhak together and
 spread them out.’
- (24) k^hon-ki-na mo d^huŋ-da tit-ci t^hiŋ-ma-ci gundrī
 he/she-SEQ-TOP that above-LOC clothes-PL spread.out-INF-DU straw.mat (N)
 t^hiŋ-ma mi-dot-Ø k^hon-ki tit-ci pak-ma k^hon-ki mo
 spread.out-INF 3pl-must-NPT he/she-SEQ clothes-PL put.in-INF he/she-SEQ that
 d^huŋ-da ip-ma dot-Ø
 above-LOC lay.down-INF must-NPT
 ‘Then, on top of that, spreading clothes, we must spread a straw mat. Then, put on
 clothes again, and then on top of that we lay the man down.’
- (25) p^heri i-d^huŋ-du-ŋka watni-ʔo məjja-ʔo luŋtak
 again (N) his/her-above-LOC.high-ABL like.this-NOM pleasure (N)-GEN stone
 badd^he id^hiwaŋ məjjale id^hiwaŋ luŋtak-ʔa i-tim-u-n
 many big pleasant (N) big stone-ERG NEGNPp-press.down-3P-NEGN
 watni si-Ø-da-Ø-ʔo mina o-da yuŋ-Ø
 here die-NPT-eff-NPT-NOM man this-LOC sit-NPT
 ‘Then again, from above, like this pleasant stones, very big, pleasantly that we do not
 press him with the big stones, like that the deceased man will lie here.’
- (26) bakəs watni bənya mu-ma-ki məjjale dip-ma dot-Ø. o deŋ-da
 box (E) here make (N) do-INF-SEQ pleasant (N) cover-INF must-NPT this after-LOC
 matrə bak^ha.
 only (N) soil
 ‘Making it like a box, he must be covered pleasantly. Only after that (comes) the soil.’

- (27) sum-ka tala t^hok-ma dot-Ø. sum-ka cok bənya mu-ma
three-CNT floor (N) make.wall-INF must-NPT three-CNT floor make (N) do-INF
dot-Ø.
must-NPT
'Three tiers must be made. Three floors must be made.'
- (28) k^hon-ki mina-ʔo i-taŋ pətti-da-ŋka bicikilik-da kok
he/she-SEQ man-GEN his/her-head side (N)-LOC-ABL earthen.vessel-LOC rice
b^haŋ-ma-ki yuk-ma-da-ma dot-Ø.
boil-INF-SEQ mount-INF-eff-INF must-NPT
'Then, at the side of the man's head, cooked rice must be put in a small pot.'
- (29) k^hon-ki wa set-ma-ki, uncitko waic^het set-ma-ki-na-na
he/she-SEQ chicken kill-INF-SEQ this.small chick kill-INF-SEQ-TOP-TOP
yuk-ma-da-ma dot-Ø.
mount-INF-eff-INF must-NPT
'Then, killing a chicken, or a small chick for that matter, it must be put there.'
- (30) k^hon-ki i-laŋ pətti-da i-cik-da-tni wabuk-da wac^hin
he/she-SEQ his/her-leg side (N)-LOC his/her-close-LOC-ALL bottle.gourd-LOC beer
heŋmawa coŋge-da yuk-ma-da-ma-ki i-laŋ-pətti-ya
liquor bamboo.cup-LOC mount-INF-eff-INF-SEQ his/her-leg-side (N)-LOC.level
abi di-di-ci i-ləuro-ci.
now (N) what-what-PL his/her-stick (N)-PL
'Then, at the side of his feet, towards his side, putting beer or liquor in a bottle gourd,
in a bamboo cup, now at the side of this feet we leave what things? His stick, thongs,
shoes or whatever, on top of his grave.'
- (31) wa-sa rə kok ca-yaŋ-sa yuŋ-a-ni-ki-na.
chicken-meat and (N) rice eat-PROG-SIM sit-PT-NAR-SEQ-TOP
'In order that you may be there, eating chicken and rice.'
- (32) (epma-ʔo i-d^huŋ-du)
grave-GEN his/her-above-LOC.high
'(on top of the grave).'
- (33) k^hon-ki duwac^ha-c^ha yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo k^him-da
he/she-SEQ son-child sit-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND house-LOC
la-ma-ta-ma-ki ju^th^o mina-ci maŋyiŋ mi-lu-Ø
return-INF-DIRback-INF-SEQ impure (N) man-PL prayer 3pl-feel-NPT
i-d^huwa-ci.
his/her-big.man-PL
'Then, if there are sons, having gone home, the impure people say prayers, and the
leaders.'
- (34) ayi-da-ŋka p^həlana mina ayi-da-ŋka o henk^hamma-da
today-LOC-ABL such.and.such (N) man today-LOC-ABL this earth-LOC
maddiŋ-Ø o anko t^hapsiŋ-hili-da-ŋka lont-a-k^har-a.
not.there-NPT this our^{bi} ritual-culture-LOC-ABL go.outside-PT-go-PT

'From today, that man, from this day, he is not in this world. He left our tradition.'

- (35) bak^ha-yu waŋ-a-k^har-a ət^həwa paru-du k^hat-Ø. abi, han j^harak
soil-LOC.low enter-PT-go-PT or (N) heaven-LOC.high go-NPT now (N) now all
toŋ-ma-ki-na k^ho-so-ʔo i-niŋ-da i-c^ha-ci
match-INF-SEQ-TOP he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-name-LOC his/her-child-PL
mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo duwac^ha-ci-ʔa
3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND son-PL-ERG
*'He entered the earth, or will be going to heaven. Now, today, after all has been
arranged, in his name, his children - if there are any, the sons.'*
- (36) seto kəpəɖa rik-ma dot-Ø.
white (N) cloth (N) twist-INF must-NPT
'must be wrapped in white clothes.'
- (37) k^hon-ki-na-na di-sa-c^haŋ nop-ma i-nu-nin
he/she-SEQ-TOP-TOP what-PRN-ever touch-INF NEGNPp-be.good-NEGn
pəsu-ci ni-mina mina nop-ma i-nu-nin.
animal (N)-PL other-man man touch-INF NEGNPp-be.good-NEGn
*'Then, it is forbidden to touch anything. To touch animals, another man, a man, is no
good.'*
- (38) sum-ka len, kirawa-da sum-ka len. paniwaŋ bamna-ci tehrə-ka
three-CNT day Kiranti-LOC three-CNT day Chetrī Bāhun-PL thirteen (N)-CNT
len. anko kirawa t^hapsiŋ-da sum-ka len.
day our^{pi} Kiranti ritual-LOC three-CNT day
*'Three days. In Kiranti, three days. Chetrīs and Bāhuns thirteen days. In our Kiranti
tradition three days.'*
- (39) pərsi bihan cəi j^harak mina b^hela li-ma
day.after.tomorrow (N) morning (N) swTOP (N) all man gathered (N) become-INF
dot-Ø nata gota c^hetkuma dik^ha biwa b^hela
must-NPT relation (N) family (N) girl brothers elder.brother gathered (N)
li-ma-kina maŋ mu-ma dot-Ø.
become-INF-CAUS godhead do-INF must-NPT
*'Then after two days, in the morning, all people must gather. All kinsfolk, woman and
male relatives must come together and do a ritual.'*
- (40) o siw-a-da-Ø-ʔo mina-ʔo i-niŋ-da.
this die-PT-eff-PT-NOM man-GEN his/her-name-LOC
'in the name of that deceased person.'
- (41) nak^hoŋ ma-ʔaŋ əru-c^haŋ dowa-ci mi-yuŋ-Ø k^ho-ci maŋ
shaman NEGPTp-be.PTNEG other (N)-also sorcery-PL 3pl-sit-NPT he/she-PL godhead
mi-mu-Ø k^hon-ki-na mo maŋ yiŋ-Ø-lat-Ø-ʔo deŋ-da
3pl-do-NPT he/she-SEQ-TOP that godhead say-NPT-DIROff-NPT-NOM after-LOC
la həi ya-da-ŋka j^harak dik^ha biwa seŋ-in-ka pyur
well (N) hey now-LOC-ABL all brothers elder.brother be.clean-12plSP-excl pure
lis-in-y-in-ka.
become-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-e

'Not the shaman. There are other officiants as well. They do the ritual. Then after that prayer, well, from now on all the relatives are purified, we are pure again.'

- (42) o-da-ŋka yum akwa ca-ma tokt-u-m-ka abi k^hana sitmaŋ
 this-LOC-ABL salt oil eat-INF receive-3P-12pA-e now (N) you^s dead.person
 ti-lis-a.
 2AS-become-PT
'From now on we can eat salt and oil again. Now you have become a dead person.'
- (43) ankenka-lai duk^ha man-pi-da ni.
 we^{pe}-DAT trouble NEGPTp-give-NEGPTs NAR
'Do not give us trouble.'
- (44) abi am-niŋ-da o wak wako pi-nin-Ø-nin
 now (N) your^s-name-LOC this such- such give-1ns2-PROG-1ns2
'In your name we are giving you such and such.'
- (45) yiŋ mi-lat-Ø dowa-ci puja mi-mu-Ø maŋ
 prayer 3pl-take.out-NPT sorcery-PL worship (N) 3pl-be.pred-NPT godhead
 mi-mu-Ø.
 3pl-do-NPT.
'They pray, the priests do the ritual, they do the ritual.'
- (46) k^hon-ki mo ka-si-da-pa-ŋo mina-ŋo i-niŋ-da mi-yiŋ
 he/she-SEQ that APpref-die-eff-APm-GEN man-GEN his/her-name-LOC 3pl-speak
 mo-ko len-ŋo b^haŋ-ma-yiŋ-ŋo camat^hoka an-debre c^huk owatni
 that-ref day-GEN boil-INF-PP-GEN food our^{pi}-left hand like.this
 k^hik-ma-ki owatni pi-ma dot-Ø wet-ma k^hat-ma dot-Ø
 hold-INF-SEQ like.this give-INF must-NPT throw-INF take.away-INF must-NPT
'Then they speak in the name of that dead person, we take the rice, cooked on that day in our left hand like this, we must give it like this, and throw it away.'
- (47) an-c^huk-da mi-pak-Ø k^hon-ki dowa-ci mi-lat-Ø mogəri
 our^{pi}-hand-LOC 3pl-put.in-NPT he/she-SEQ sorcery-PL 3pl-take.out-NPT then
 yiŋ-lat-sa mi-k^hat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
 prayer-say-SIM 3pl-go-NPT-PROG-NPT
'We put it in our hands, then the shamans pray, at that time they are going while praying.'
- (48) mo ka-sida-pa-ŋo i-c^ha-ci duwac^ha-ci jo
 that APpref-die.eff-APm-GEN his/her-child-PL son-PL whoever (N)
 g^humtoma bəseko hunc^ha mo-ci-ŋo ico taŋ-miwa k^ho-ma
 impurity-LOC (N) seated (N) is (N) that-PL-GEN their^{ms} head-hair scrape-INF
 dot-Ø
 must-NPT
'That person's children, sons, whoever was observing impurity, their hair must be shaved.'

- (49) k^hon-ki mo-so-ʔo deŋ-da ab pəitalis-ka len da-ŋka hwa
 he/she-SEQ that-PRN-GEN after-LOC now (N) forty-five-CNT day LOC-ABL two
 məhina sum-ka məhina-hut-da p^heri mo ka-sida-pa-lai
 month (N) three-CNT month (N)-hole-LOC again (N) that APpref-die.eff-APm-DAT
 maŋ-da pak-ma ni-ʔo dum t^hapsiŋ yuŋ-Ø
 godhead-LOC put.in-INF NAR-NOM thing ritual sit-NPT
*'Then, after that, now from forty-five days, within two or three months, again for this
 dead man, there is another thing, tradition called "adding him to the spirits".'*
- (50) ankaʔo kirawa-ʔo maŋ-da
 our^{pe} Kiranti-GEN godhead-LOC
'In our Kiranti pantheon, ...'
- (51) (Nepali text)
*'... we worship him. Can we use him or not, that man. What kind of man was he, that
 man? That is also decided by the priest, hey? He divines it, him...'*
- (52) yari mi-pek, həi.
 ginger.cutting 3pl-peel, hey
'They cut ginger, hey.'
- (53) (Nepali text)
*'The priests know it completely, what, that dead spirit, and that man, while he lived,
 as long as he lived...'*
- (54) hiŋ-a-ŋ-a-hida mo mina ni-jata-sudda ims-a-ʔo həi,
 live-PT-PROG-PT-SIMc that man other-caste (N)-with sleep-PT-NOM hey
 ni-jata ma-tar-a-ʔo, ni-jata-da k^har-a-ʔo, mo
 other-caste (N) mother-bring.far-PT-NOM other-caste (N)-LOC go-PT-NOM that
 maŋ-da i-k^hat-nin ni-ʔo.
 godhead-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn NAR-NOM
*'While he was living, was that man one, who sleeps with someone from another caste,
 hey, who took one as a wife, who went in with someone of another caste, he will not
 enter the realm of the forefathers.'*
- (55) k^hon-ki mo mina han ka-sida-pa mina-ʔo.
 he/she-SEQ that man now APpref-die.eff-APm man-GEN
'Then that man will speak, the dead man.'
- (56) (Nepali Text)
'his spirit, what, his soul, we say, hey, that will talk, hey'
- (57) ləu iŋka araŋ iŋ-t^haŋna-c^ha-da watni paniwaŋma-sudda həi
 well I once my-young.man-child-LOC here Chetrinī-with hey
 kami-ma-sudda yuŋs-a-ŋ-ʔo, həi k^hwatni-c^haŋ-ʔo iŋka
 blacksmith-mother-with sit-PT-1s-NOM hey. that.way-ever-NOM I
 k^him-maŋ-da i-k^hat-ni-ŋ maŋ i-li-nin iŋka.
 house-godhead-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn-1s godhead NEGNPp-become-NEGn I

‘Well, before, in my youth, I have been like that with a Chetrī woman, hey, I have stayed with a Kāmī woman, hey. Like that too, I cannot go into the realm of the house gods, cannot be a forefather. I go into the wandering spirits, I shall not be a god to be worshipped, I cannot because I have been like that. I did things outside of the tradition.’

- (58) k^honunale k^hwatni lis-a-ki ab iŋka cāi k^hokli-hyatni
 k^honunale that.way become-PT-SEQ now (N) I swTOP (N) forest-across
 k^haīs-a-ŋ-n-ŋ ni-ʔo ni yiŋ-Ø ka-sida-pa dowa-ci-ʔa
 send-PT-1s-2p-1sc NAR-NOM NAR say-NPT APpref-die.eff-APm sorcery-PL-ERG
 k^hon-Ø-pəc^hi ankan-lai mi-lo-Ø.
 resurrect-NPT-after (N) we^{pi}-DAT 3pl-say-NPT
‘This being like that, now send me, for one, to the jungle, he will say, the dead man. After that, the priests will tell that to us.’
- (59) k^ho-so-ʔo deŋ-da ab ankan k^hokli-hyatni pak-ma-lai dowa-ci
 he/she-PRN-GEN after-LOC now (N) we^{pi} forest-across put.in-INF-DAT sorcery-PL
 t^hom-yaŋ-sa ken mani saŋ-yaŋ-sa mi-t^hom-Ø.
 dance-PROG-SIM large.drum cymbal play-PROG-SIM 3pl-dance-NPT
‘After that, now, for us to put him in the direction of the jungle, the priests with dance, playing the drum and cymbals they will dance.’
- (60) k^hokli-hyatni tiŋ-han-ma
 forest-across chase-send-INF
‘To chase him to the jungle.’
- (61) abə-da-ŋka o-da han-da-ŋka k^hana ayi-da-ŋka o-da k^hana
 now (N)-LOC-ABL this-LOC now-LOC-ABL you^s today-LOC-ABL this-LOC you^s
 ta-ma ti-tok-na-n yuŋ-ma k^hana ti-tok-na-n
 come.far-INF 2AS-receive-2P-NEGn sit-INF you^s 2AS-receive-2P-NEGn
‘From now on, from here and today, you, from today, you will not get to go here, you will not get to stay here.’
- (62) k^hana səd^həi-ko lagi k^hokli-hyatni k^hat-ma dot-Ø. səd^həi-ʔo lagi
 you^s always-GEN (N) for (N) forest-across go-INF must-NPT always (N)-GEN for (N)
 k^hokli-ya-ŋa k^hana ti-yuŋ-Ø, k^hokli-ya-ŋa ti-can-Ø,
 forest-LOC.level-EMPH you^s 2AS-sit-NPT forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-feed-NPT
 k^hokli-ya-ŋa ti-yuŋ-Ø, k^hokli-ya-ŋa ti-hiŋ-Ø
 forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-sit-NPT forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-live-NPT
‘You must forever roam in the jungle. Forever you will stay in the jungle, you will eat in the jungle, you will stay in the jungle, you will live in the jungle.’
- (63) k^hana o-da man-ta-da, ankenka-lai man-pi-da
 you^s this-LOC NEGPTp-come.far-NEGPTs we^{pe}-DAT NEGPTp-give-NEGPTs
 ni-ki-na-na dowa-ci-ʔa i-lo-Ø.
 NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP sorcery-PL-ERG 3AM-say-NPT
‘Do not come here, do not give it to use, saying the priests will say.’

- (64) k^hon-kina-na tyəslai c^hun-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo (Nepali Text)
 he/she-CAUS-TOP *that*-DAT (N) refuse-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND (Nepali Text)
'After that, if it does not obey, to say, if it does not hear, then this is what do they do. Now it is the arrow, 'bhe-talek', they say, isn't it, and shooting with that they scare him off, or with the gun.'
- (65) b^həŋ-k^ha-wa-ʔa cəi kin-ma k^hat-ma dot-Ø, həi,
 blast-PNOM-LIKE-ERG *sw*TOP (N) frighten-INF take.away-INF must-NPT hey
'With the gun they must scare it away, hey.'
- (66) uncitko hotlum mi-tu-Ø he hotlum hut-da camaci-ci mi-pak de
 small hole 3pl-dig.in-NPT or hole hole-LOC food-PL 3pl-put.in what
 wako yuk-na-ŋ-na mo-ko yuk-na-ŋ-na ca-si ta-Ø ni
 such mount-2P-PROG-2P *that*-ref mount-2P-PROG-2P eat-SUP come.far-PT NAR
 yiŋ-Ø
 say-NPT
'They dig a small hole, hey, they stick edibles in, what, like that we are putting it for you, come to eat it, he says.'
- (67) mo ni man-c^hun-yuŋ-nalo mo cəi p^heri kul-da
 that other NEGTP-refuse-IMPF-COND that *sw*TOP (N) again (N) lineage (N)-LOC
 k^hat-Ø anko kul-da waŋ-Ø k^hon-ki mo kul-da
 go-NPT our^{pi} lineage (N)-LOC enter-NPT he/she-SEQ that lineage (N)-LOC
 waŋ-ŋa-lai waic^het wadin na-ki-na-na pura seŋ-ma
 enter-1sNP-DAT chick chicken.egg then-SEQ-TOP-TOP *completely* (N) clean-INF
'If he does not refuse, that one, he will go into the pantheon again. He will enter our pantheon. Then, to enter our pantheon, by a chicken and an egg he must be completely purified.'
- (68) seŋ-ma-ki-na, lu, ayi-da-ŋka k^hana anko maŋ-ci-nin
 clean-INF-SEQ-TOP *well* (N) today-LOC-ABL you^s our^{pi} godhead-PL-COM
 diwa dima-ci, həi, sakudiwa sakudima-ci yuŋ-k^ha
 great.grandfather great.grandmother-PL hey forefather foremother-PL sit-PNOM
 k^ho-ci-sudda k^hana ti-tom-ki ti-yuŋ-Ø.
 he/she-PL-with you^s 2AS-support-SEQ 2AS-sit-NPT
'After the purification, well, from today you are together with our house gods, with the grandfathers and grandmothers, hey, forefathers and foremothers, you have received a place with them, and now you live there.'
- (69) k^hana k^ho-ci-ʔo i-niŋa ni-no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 you^s he/she-PL-GEN his/her-mood 3A-be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT
'They are happy with you.'
- (70) k^ho-ci-ʔa ni-but-Ø-yaŋ-Ø k^ho-da k^ho-ci-sudda k^hat-ma
 he/she-PL-ERG 3A-call-NPT-PROG-NPT he/she-LOC he/she-PL-with go-INF
 dot-Ø. lu, k^ho-da k^hat-ma-lai ankenka lam bənya
 must-NPT *well* (N), he/she-LOC go-INF-DAT we^{pe} way make (N)

mu-n-y-in-ka ni-ki-na-na tyəhā tʰapsiŋ hili
 be.pred-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-e NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP there (N) ritual culture
 ənusaɾ di-di ci-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 according (N) what-what do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘They have called you. You have to go there, with them. Well, after we have made a way to go there, what things must you do there according to the tradition.’

- (71) mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo kaci mu-Ø-m-ʔo deŋ-da mo api
 do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM work do-3P-12pA-NOM after-LOC that self
 maŋ-da kʰat-Ø.
 godhead-LOC go-NPT
‘After we have done the things that need to be done, he will go to the gods by himself.’
- (72) di-cʰaŋ ci-ma dot-Ø ni mo maŋ mo-da kʰat-Ø o-ŋa
 what-ever do-INF must-NPT NAR that godhead that-LOC go-NPT this-EMPH
 mo-so-ʔo i-niŋa-da-ŋa mo-ci-ŋa ankenka maŋ ni
 that-PRN-GEN his/her-mood-LOC-EMPH that-PL-EMPH we^{pe} godhead NAR
 lo-Ø-m-cu-m. i-doŋ kon-Ø puja mu-ma-ci dot-Ø
 say-3P-12pA-DUP-12pAc his/her-year walk-NPT worship (N) do-INF-DU must-NPT
 maŋ mu-ma dot-Ø.
 godhead do-INF must-NPT
‘Whatever you must do, it is said. He goes to the gods, only of his own accord, we call them our gods. Each turn of the year we must worship them.’
- (73) ankenka maŋ mu-n-ka. diwa, maŋcʰama mu-n-ka.
 we^{pe} godhead do-12plSP-e great.grandfather godhead do-12plSP-e
‘We worship the forefather, do the house worship.’

A.5 About Hatuvā and about Kiranti religion

This brief conversation tells us a folk etymology for the name Hatuvā. Viśvahān Rāi relates how it could derive from the expression ‘the blood met’.

- (1) hi tuʔ-a
 blood meet-PT
‘the blood met’

Even if this folk etymology is false, at least the conversation provides us a glimpse of the painful memories of Nepal’s unification that are entrenched in the Kiranti mind.

The second part of the conversation talks of present day religious practice in Hatuvā. In brief, we hear where shamans and priests are still practising and what happens during a religious celebration.

Throughout the year, Bantawa Rai perform different rites on different occasions. The most significant are the *ubhaulīpujā* ‘upward worship’ and *udhaulīpujā* ‘downward worship’. These are performed during the full moons in the Nepali months Maṅsir, i.e. November-December, and Vaiśākh, i.e. April-May, and mark the start of the

winter and spring seasons. The *ubhaulī pujā* marks the time that the shepherds bring their livestock up to the higher altitude meadows, the *udhaulī pujā* celebrates their return.

These occasions are subsumed under the name of *Sakenwa*, known as *Sakela* amongst other Kiranti people. At these occasions, the future is divined by the shamans (*nakchōŋ*). This specifically religious element plays a minor role in most *Sakenwa* occasions. Most of the time, two or three days, is spent on dancing and social activities. *Sakenwa pujās* are prime occasions for young boys and girls to meet.

- (1) araŋ araŋ-ni prithwi narəyəŋ ɕaha-ʔa pūrwa-ya kirāti haŋhon-ci
once once-NAR Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha-ERG east (N)-LOC.level Kiranti (N) country-PL
cʰin-yaŋ-sa tu-Ø-ʔo.
nudge-PROG-SIM meet-3P-NOM
'Before, long ago, it is said, Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha met the Kiranti kingdoms in conquest.'
- (2) kʰo gəri prithwi narəyəŋ ɕaha-ci-ʔa o i-sena-ci-ʔa
he/she moment Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha-PL-ERG this his/her-soldier (N)-PL-ERG
mo-ya kirāti-ci badde mi-ser-u-ci-ni
that-LOC.level Kiranti (N)-PL many 3pl-kill-3P-DUP-NAR
'At that time, those of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha, his soldiers, killed many Kirantis there.'
- (3) kʰon-ki mo-da hwa-tet undacitko hoŋku-ci yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci
he/she-SEQ that-LOC two-qual that.small river-PL be-DU-PROG-DU
kʰokli-hut-da.
forest-hole-LOC
'Then there were two small rivers, inside the forest.'
- (4) mo kʰokli-da mi-kum-a-ŋ-a-ʔo kirāti-ci dʰet-yaŋ-sa
that forest-LOC 3pl-hide-PT-PROG-PT-NOM Kiranti (N)-PL cut-PROG-SIM
mi-ser-u-ci-ni bessəri, prithwi narəyəŋ ɕaha-ci-ʔo
3pl-kill-3P-DUP-NAR very.much (N) Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha-PL-GEN
i-sena-ci-ʔa.
his/her-soldier (N)-PL-ERG
'Finding the Kirantis who were hiding in that forest, they slaughtered them, the soldiers of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha.'
- (5) kʰon-ki ico hi hoŋku-watni-ŋa sont-a-ni hoŋku-watni
he/she-SEQ their^{ns} blood river-SIMIL-EMPH flow-PT-NAR river-SIMIL
cakwa-watni sont-a ni.
water-SIMIL flow-PT NAR
'Then, their blood flowed like a river, it is said. It flowed like a river, like water, it is said.'
- (6) ki-na-na hyakko kʰolso o-hya-kko kʰolso-ci otni
SEQ-TOP-TOP that.lev stream this-level-ATTR stream-PL like.this
mi-tuʔ-a-ki-na-na hətuwa lis-a-ʔo.
3pl-meet-PT-SEQ-TOP-TOP Hatuvā become-PT-NOM
'Therefore, as this stream and that stream met that way, it became "Hatuvā".'

- (7) ankaʔo nak^hoŋ sindraŋ-da-ʔo sakenwa nak^hoŋ-ni-ʔo anemnuŋ
 our^{pe} shaman Sindrāñ-LOC-GEN Sakenwa shaman-NAR-NOM last.year
 siw-a-da ni-ni
 die-PT-TEMP other-NAR
 ‘Our shaman, Sindrāñ’s ritual shaman died last year, they said, so,’
- (8) iŋka-na k^haŋ-ma man-tok-ŋa, iŋko baŋa.
 I-TOP look-INF NEGPTp-receive-1sNP my uncle
 ‘I did not get to see him, he was my uncle.’
- (9) tərə sindraŋ b^heplo-da sum-paŋ nak^hoŋ-ci mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 but (N) Sindrāñ complete-LOC three-qspir shaman-PL 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘but in all of Sindrāñ there are three shamans.’
- (10) sakenwa ayimit sindraŋ-da hwa-tet matte yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci.
 Sakenwa nowadays Sindrāñ-LOC two-qual only (N) be-DU-PROG-DU
 ‘Nowadays there are only two Sakenwa pujas in Sindrāñ, only two.’
- (11) d^hana lakturaŋ-du d^hana k^hyali b^hen-du k^hon-ki
 above Lakturang-LOC.high above K^hyali root-LOC.high he/she-SEQ
 hyana cyemk^ha sat nābər waɖ-ya.
 over.there.ATTR Chyemkha seven (N) number Ward-LOC.level
 ‘Up, in Lakturang, up, at the foot of Khyali, and then level, in Cyemkha, in ward number seven.’
- (12) sakenwa mu-k^ha-da j^harak mina-ci dik^ha j^harak dik^ha biwa-ci
 Sakenwa do-PNOM-LOC all man-PL brothers all brothers elder.brother-PL
 nata-ci j^harak anko nu-Ø-lok ka-mit mina-ci mo-da
 relative-PL all our^{pi} be.good-NPT-MAN APpref-remember man-PL that-LOC
 b^hela mi-li-Ø.
 gathered (N) 3pl-become-NPT
 ‘At a Sakenwa, all men, clans, all clans, brothers, relatives, all our well wishing men gather there.’
- (13) k^hon-ki nak^hoŋ maŋ mu-Ø əru j^harak b^hela
 he/she-SEQ shaman godhead do-3P other (N) all gathered (N)
 mi-li-Ø-o mina-ci-ʔa k^ho-lai saya taya i-pi-Ø.
 3pl-become-NPT-NOM man-PL-ERG he/she-DAT head respect 3AM-give-NP.
 ‘Then the shaman does the ritual. All the other gathered people pay him respect.’
- (14) k^hon-ki yayok i-pi-Ø k^ho-so-ʔo i-deŋ-da k^ho badde
 he/she-SEQ advise 3AM-give-NPT he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-after-LOC he/she many
 maŋ yiŋ-Ø-lat-Ø.
 godhead say-NPT-DIRoff-NPT
 ‘Then they give him advise. After that he prays a lot.’
- (15) bec^huk pek-Ø k^hon-ki bec^huk pek-ki-na mo-da meʔen jok^hana
 ginger peel-NPT he/she-SEQ ginger cut-SEQ-TOP that-LOC DOUBT oracle (N)
 k^haŋ-ma ni yiŋ-ma dot-Ø
 see-INF NAR say-INF must-NPT

'He cuts the ginger. Then after he cut the ginger, in that, errr, he must see the omens.'

- (16) be^huk pe-ʔu-ʔo-watni be^huk pek-ma dot-Ø o yiŋ-las-sa
ginger peel-3P-NOM-SIMIL ginger peel-INF must-NPT this prayer-pray-SIM
'Like this the ginger is cut, he must cut the ginger, praying this,'
- (17) sakenwa i-niŋa no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo mo be^huk meksiməm
Sakenwa his/her-mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND that ginger maximum
sum-ka k^hepi peʔ-u-m-hida sin-ma li-Ø.
three-CNT time peel-3P-12pA-SIMp know-INF become-NPT
'If the Sakenwa deity is pleased, we shall know it, cutting the ginger maximally three times.'
- (18) mo nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø he it-Ø-yaŋ-Ø ni-ki.
that be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT or be.bad-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR-SEQ
bu-ya-ʔo coŋi pe-ʔu-m-o laŋka lis-a-nalo
front-LOC.level-GEN time (N) peel-3P-12pA-NOM upright become-PT-COND
ərko coŋi bomko lis-a-nalo mo maŋ i-niŋa
another (N) time (N) round become-PT-COND that godhead his/her-mood
no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT
'To say if it is good or bad: if the first time the cutting turns up with the flat side up, and the second is turned over, then the spirit is pleased.'
- (19) hwa k^hepi-da bu-ya laŋka lis-a ərko coŋi bomka
two time-LOC front-LOC.level upright become-PT another (N) time (N) round
lis-a-nalo mo maŋ i-niŋa no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
become-PT-COND that godhead his/her-mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT
'If, in two times, the first is flat and the other time it is turned over, then the spirit is pleased.'
- (20) sakenwa sumnima paruhan-ci i-c-o-ni-ŋa
Sakenwa Sumnima Paruhang-PL NEGNPp-eat-3P-NEGn-EMPH
no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø b^həwiŋyə nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø ni tup-ma
be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT future (N) be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR understand-INF
dot-Ø.
must-NPT
'Sakenwa, Sumnima and Paruhang are pleased. We must understand that the future is good.'
- (21) hwa k^hepi-da laŋka lis-a bu-ya coŋi k^hon-ki
two time-LOC upright become-PT front-LOC.level time (N) he/she-SEQ
ərko-c^haŋ laŋka-ŋa lis-a-nalo Sakenwa-ʔa i-cirpa
another (N)-also upright-EMPH become-PT-COND Sakenwa-ERG his/her-anger
kat-Ø-yaŋ-Øni-ki tup-ma dot-Ø.
feel-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR-SEQ understand-INF must-NPT
'In two times, it got flat, the first time, then if the other also is flat, then we must understand that the anger of Sakenwa has been aroused.'

- (22) k^hon-ki ərko coŋi ... pek-ma dot-Ø. k^hon-ki mo bom-sa,
 he/she-SEQ another (N) time (N) ... peel-INF must-NPT he/she-SEQ that bend-PT
 mo-ko caŋi boms-a-nalo, nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 that-ref sw^{TOP} (N) bend-PT-COND be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT
'Then another time, it must be peeled. Then, if that is round, if that one is round, it is good.'
- (23) sumnima paruhaŋ-ci bu-ya ici niŋa nuw-a-ŋ-a e
 Sumnima Paruhang-PL front-LOC.level their^p mood be.good-PT-PROG-PT hey
 c^hir-a-ŋ-a tərə han k^ho-ci ici niŋa no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø həi
 leave-PT-PROG-PT but (N) now he/she-PL their^p mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT hey
 puja mu-n-y-in-ki maŋ mu-n-y-in-ki
 worship (N) be.pred-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-SEQ godhead do-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-SEQ
 ni-ki-na tup-ma dot-Ø.
 NAR-SEQ-TOP understand-INF must-NPT
'Sumnima and Paruhang first were not pleased, but now they are pleased, hey, because we worshipped, we must understand.'
- (24) k^hon-ki-na mo-da-ŋka-c^haŋ cirpa kat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø səməy nu-ma
 he/she-SEQ-TOP that-LOC-ABL-ever anger feel-NPT-PROG-NPT time (N) be.good-INF
 i-mu-nin-Ø-in.
 NEG^{NP}-do-NEG-PROG-NEG
'Then, if because of that too, their anger comes, the time will not start to be good.'
- (25) k^hon-ki sakenwa mu-k^ha-da motni nak^hoŋ yari pek-ma.
 he/she-SEQ Sakenwa do-PNOM-LOC like.that shaman ginger.cutting peel-INF
'Then, in doing Sakenwa, that way the shaman cuts the ginger, to divine the future.'
- (26) yari pek-Ø-cin-Ø-ŋo deŋ-da j^harak-ci-lai lo-Ø-ci.
 ginger.cutting peel-NPT-finish-NPT-NOM after-LOC all-PL-DAT say-3P-DUP
'After the ginger has been cut, he tells everyone.'
- (27) duwac^ha si-ma mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø, he mec^hac^ha, həi.
 son die-INF be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT or daughter hey
'If a man or a woman is about to die, or a small child, they can also tell.'
- (28) k^ho-s-o-deŋ-da bəllə nak^hoŋ ken saŋ-Ø-ki-na-na
 he/she-PRN-GEN-back-LOC at.last (N) shaman large.drum play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP
 ken mani saŋ-Ø-ki-na-na maŋ p^hoŋ-Ø.
 large.drum cymbal play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP godhead open-NPT
'Finally, after that, the priest, playing the drum, playing the big drum and cimbals, starts the worship.'
- (29) halok i-nampik nak^hoŋ maŋ p^hoŋ-Ø.
 today his/her-evening shaman godhead open-NPT.
'Tonight the priest starts to pray.'

- (30) maŋkolen lak lu-si k^hat-ma dot-Ø d^hana puja
 tomorrow religious.dance feel-SUP go-INF must-NPT above worship (N)
 k^ham-du maŋ mu-k^ha-da t^hoŋ-du.
 place-LOC.high godhead do-PNOM-LOC place-LOC.up
'Tomorrow we must go to dance, up at the place for worship, at the place for the ritual.'
- (31) k^hon-ki-na-na lama-tama ərko-na y-Ø p^heri
 he/she-SEQ-TOP-TOP lama-copper (N) another (N)-TOP descend-NPT again (N)
 mu-du-ŋa la-ma k^hat-ma dot-Ø maŋ mu-si
 that-LOC.high-EMPH return-INF go-INF must-NPT godhead do-SUP
'After that, to return, the other day we must go there again, to worship.'
- (32) k^hon-ki ərko yi ken mani-ci la-ma yuŋ-ma-ci
 he/she-SEQ another (N) day large.drum cymbal-PL return-INF put-INF-DU
 mi-dot-Ø.
 3pl-must-NPT
'Then on the other day, we must return the drum and cymbals and put them away.'
- (33) ik-rati ik nampik hwa nampik sum-ka nampik
 one-night (N) one evening two evening three-CNT evening
'One night, one night, two nights, three nights.'
- (34) mu-n, mu-n-da j^harak dik^ha biwa nata gota
 do-12plSP do-12plSP-TEMP all brothers elder.brother relative (N) kin (N)
 kuṭumbə c^hetkuma kipmak^ha,
 family (N) girl brother's-in-laws
'It is done, in doing it all male relatives and in-laws (whoever, gathering, we dance, hey)'
- (35) Lak lu-k^ha-da bihe mi-mu-Ø. Niŋa
 religious.dance perform-PNOM-LOC marriage (N) 3pl-be.pred-NPT mood
 no-ka-no mi-mu-Ø warisa t^haŋna-ci.
 be.happy-RECIP-be.happy 3pl-be.pred-NPT girl young.man-PL
'On the dance floor they get engaged. They like one another, the young girls and boys.'

A.6 Sumnima

This narrative was told by Kājīmān Rāī, an elderly man of more than 60 years in Choṭīḍāḍā, Sindrāñ. While he was reportedly the best storyteller on the hill and easily talked for 20 minutes without interruption, he also freely mixed Nepali words into his story. However, the Bantawa grammar he uses is unscathed and the way he mixes in Nepali, phonologically and morphologically, points to a deep integration of Nepali loans into his language. His command of Nepali was so limited that there is every reason to believe that his style of speaking Bantawa very much reflects actual usage.

Kiranti religion

The religious codex of Kiranti people is contained in the *Kirāt Mundhum*, or, in the Bantawa version of it, *Kirawa Muddum*. These scriptures are essentially an oral tradition, although recently some publications have seen the light that codify it in printed form. The Kirāt Yākthuñ Cumluñ¹ is particularly active in publishing material, but is dominated by Limbus. Recently, Imānsiṃha Cemjoñ's² very complete and well organised bilingual³ book has been republished, called *Kirāt Mundhum*⁴ as a 'Kiranti scripture'.

More relevant to the Bantawa is the less fancily printed *Kirāt-Rāi-Vāntavā ridum-mundhum* 'Kiranti Rai Bantawa oral tradition', by Jayaprasād Mukāruñ (Vāntavā) Rāi. This book, published in Dharān by the author, contains a wealth of material, chants and songs performed at different religious occasions in the Bantawa language.

For some Kiranti languages,⁵ the religious register of the language have been studied. Two of the striking and shared features of these language registers are that first, the religious language utilises the normal verbal system of the language but stands apart in the use of different or typically repetitive, ideophonic noun patterns, and, second, that Nepali words and terminology are widely used in religious language, sometimes even more so than in the ordinary daily language.

Generally, the word *muddum* is used to mean everything that one needs to know about Kiranti oral tradition, folk tales, about ancestor worship, the deities that populate the pantheon, the festivals, purity and other customs. The 'Sumnima and Paruhang' narrative contains some of the material that makes up the Bantawa *muddum*. In this way, this narrative provides some of the rationale behind the belief system.

Belief system There is no codified doctrine that a true Kiranti believer would have to accept. However, there are several beliefs that are specific to the Kiranti religion, particularly in contrast with the surrounding Hindu system. The most prominent feature of Bantawa religious practice is ancestor worship. Ancestors can be invoked and are believed to be present in some immaterial form. While these spirits are immaterial, they have a location.

Paruhang and Sumnima Paruhang and Sumnima are the divine couple acting in the creation story. There are many more characters in this story, but these two are most prominent. If there is such a thing as a wider divine typology, they must be associated with the father god and mother goddess, with heaven and earth. Bantawa people themselves, who are confronting Hindu religious dominance, equate Paruhang with Paśupati, i.e. Śiva, and Sumnima with Parvatī, the spouse of Śiva.

¹Kirant Yakthung Cumlung, (किरात याक्थुङ चुम्लुङ.)

²इमानसिंह चेम्जोङ

³Here, 'bilingual' means Limbu and Nepali. In this context Limbu is named Kirāt bhāṣā 'Kiranti language'.

⁴*Kirāt Mundhum (Kirātko Ved)*, 2003, republished by Kirat Yakthung Chumlung

⁵For Thulung, Allen published a study (1975). For Mewahang, Gaenszle gave a detailed study (2000). To a lesser extent, Chintang has been described, also by Gaenszle *et al.* (2005).

The Sumnima narrative is a story of origins. I was told that this narrative explains why the traditions are the way they are. The story relates how Sumnima, the mother goddess, and Paruhang, the sky god, met, created the earth, had children, and how the lives of their children, Bear, Tiger and Human, unfolded. The story is the creation mythology of the Bantawa Rai.

The creation story here shows remarkable similarities with the story told by a Dumi speaker as in Van Driem (1993b: 285). The method of conception of the mother goddess Sumnima, named *Na:ye:m* in Dumi, her bird-friends and her three children are identical. No doubt these stories come from the same source.

Stylistically, the story is full of repetitions, after-thoughts, and interjections. Some repetitions have been translated. They clutter the translation a bit, but I felt that polishing them out would do injustice to the original text.

- (1) puŋ-ma mollok i-le-ni-ŋ-Ø-ni-ŋ
begin-INF isn't.it NEGnPp-know.how-NEGn-1s-PROG-NEGn-1s
i-sin-ni-ŋ-Ø-ni-ŋ. sumnima-ŋa puŋ-ma. abo han
NEGnPp-know-NEGn-1s-PROG-NEGn-1s Sumnima-EMPH begin-INF. now (N) now
sumnima paruhaŋ cakwa duŋ-da yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci ni.
Sumnima Paruhang water top-LOC be-PT-PROG-PT-DU NAR
'To start, I do not know, I do not know how. Start with Sumnima. Now, now Sumnima
and Paruhang were over the water (sea), it is said.'
- (2) cakwa duŋ-da əni yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida sumnima paruhaŋ-eda tərə
water top-LOC then (N) be-PT-PROG-PT-DU-SIMP Sumnima Paruhang-COMI but (N)
cakwa duŋ-da-ŋa yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci ni.
water top-LOC-EMPH be-PT-PROG-PT-DU NAR
'Over the water, and, while they were there, Sumnima together with Paruhang, but
they were over the water, it is said.'
- (3) tərə p^hito p^hito yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci p^hito p^hito
but (N) different different be-PT-PROG-PT-DU different different
yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida i-k^heri-da-na meʔen c^hok-muw-a-ci
be-PT-PROG-PT-DU-SIMP his/her-time (N)-LOC-TOP DOUBT move-RECIP-PT-DU
cino.
gift (N)
'But they were apart, while they were apart, at that time, err, they sent each other
presents.'
- (4) cino c^hok-muw-a-ci, di b^həne, jəigəla-buŋwa, əni doŋ-k^hola,
gift (N) move-RECIP-PT-DU what if (N) flower-flower then (N) mouth.harp-cover
doŋ.
mouth.harp
'Sending presents, what to say, a jaigala flower and a mouth harp with a cover.'
- (5) k^hon-ki-na pi-muw-a-ci k^ho-da-ŋka cino pəhile
he/she-SEQ-TOP give-RECIP-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL gift (N) before (N)
pi-muw-a-ci-ki-na niŋa no-ka-no muw-a-ci.
give-RECIP-PT-DU-SEQ-TOP mood be.happy-RECIP-be.happy do-PT-DU

'Then, they gave it to one another. After they had given it to one another, they liked one another.'

- (6) niŋa no-mu-ci-pəç^{hi}: "o-ko-na mollok amno-na yawa keŋa-na
mood please-RECIP-DU-after (N) this-ref-TOP isn't.it your^p-TOP friend boy (N)-TOP
mok."
isn't.it
'After they liked one another, "this has become your friend."
- (7) paruhang o-na i-sipa on
Paruhang this-TOP his/her-skill (N) this.much
k^han-nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo i-pok detni kat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
handsome-be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM his/her-body how feel-NPT-PROG-NPT
ni.
NAR
'Paruhang, however, that good was his skill, how good was his body, it is said.'
- (8) əni sumnima yiŋ-a k^hon-ki-na: "ləu ankaŋo paruhang-na molok
then (N) Sumnima say-PT he/she-SEQ-TOP well our^{pe} Paruhang-TOP isn't.it
k^han-nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋe."
handsome-be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-EMPH
'And Sumnima said: Well, our Paruhang is looking very good.'
- (9) "o-ŋe k^haŋ-ma-ŋa ti-si-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo abo
this-EMPH see-INF-EMPH 2AS-want-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND now (N)
k^hut-ni-ŋe." ni kekuwa yiŋ-Ø. ka-ç^hok
bring.for.someone-1ns2-EMPH NAR egret say-NPT APpref-move
kekuwa-da-ŋka k^hwatni yiŋ a meŋen oha hyatni rə
egret-LOC-ABL that.way language that.1 DOUBT like.this that.way and (N)
o-hyatni meŋen yiŋ ç^hoŋs-u.
this-across DOUBT language deliver-3P
"If you want to see him, now we shall bring him to you," said the plover, the messengers, yes, the plovers send the messages like that from here and there, right?"
- (10) yiŋ ç^hoŋs-u-ki-na ǽ k^hon-ki-na mo i-tar-a paruhang.
language deliver-3P-SEQ-TOP yes he/she-SEQ-TOP that 3AM-bring.far-PT Paruhang
'After delivering the message, they brought him, Paruhang.'
- (11) paruhang i-tar-a-kina sumnima-ŋo i-cik-da
Paruhang 3AM-bring.far-PT-CAUS Sumnima-GEN his/her-vicinity-LOC
i-yukt-a. tənə əni i-do ç^haŋ baŋgo rikt-u-k^hais-u.
3AM-place-PT TOP (N) then (N) his/her-mouth also twisted (N) twist-3P-COMPL-3P
'After bringing Paruhang, they put him at the side of Sumnima. Then, however, Paruhang also twisted his mouth.'
- (12) k^hon-ki-na moswa-ŋa d^hwāso-ŋa somt-a-n-ci-n. "abo
he/she-SEQ-TOP soot (N)-ERG soot (N)-ERG rub.in-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL now (N)

sumnima-ʔa iŋka detni i-mit-ŋa-Ø-ŋa mollok rəçhə. detni
 Sumnima-ERG I how 3AM-remember-1sNP-PROG-1sNP isn't.it MIR how
 i-lo-ŋa-Ø-ŋa rəçhə," ni-ki-na kʰaŋ mus-a-n-ci-n
 3AM-say-1sNP-PROG-1sNP MIR NAR-SEQ-TOP see CAUS2-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
*'Then he rubbed himself with soot and smoke. "Now what does she think of me, how
 will she turn out to speak to me?" Saying that, he appeared to her.'*

- (13) kʰon-ki a mo-na "lə kʰatt-a-n-u-m, kʰatt-a-n-u-m,"
 he/she-SEQ EXCL that-TOP OK take.away-PT-2P-3P-12pA take.away-PT-2P-3P-12pA
 ni yiŋ-a.
 NAR say-PT
'Then, ah! Him! Well, take him away, away, she said.'

- (14) amno paruhaŋ-na las-a-kʰatt-a-n-u-m. amno
 your^p Paruhang-TOP return-PT-DIRaway-PT-2P-3P-12pA your^p
 cik-ya-tni-ŋa ni i-yuŋ-kʰa-ya-ŋa yiŋ-a.
 close-LOC.level-ALL-EMPH NAR 3AM-put-PNOM-LOC.level-EMPH say-PT
'Take your Paruhang back again. To your side, saying, in her place she said.'

- (15) sumnima kʰwatni yiŋ-a-ki-na, ləu, paruhaŋ-ʔo-na saro-ŋa
 Sumnima that.way say-PT-SEQ-TOP well Paruhang-GEN-TOP much (N)-EMPH
 i-niŋa cʰir-a.
 his/her-mood leave-PT
'After Sumnima talked like that, well, Paruhang got very sad.'

- (16) abo iŋka mi-lok sumnima-ʔa watni-ŋa mollok kʰan its-a-ŋ-lo
 now (N) I that-MAN Sumnima-ERG here-EMPH isn't.it SEE be.bad-PT-1s-MAN
 i-kʰa-Ø-ŋ rəçhə. abo de-ki mok iŋka watni mollok lis-a-ŋ
 3AM-see-PT-1s MIR now (N) what-SEQ isn't.it I here isn't.it become-PT-1s
 ʔuhura-ŋa he detni-ki ni-ki-na.
 orphan (N)-EMPH or how-SEQ NAR-SEQ-TOP
*'Now Sumnina has seen me in such a bad way, it appears. Now why did I get this way,
 being like an orphan, or why then?'*

- (17) kʰon-ki-na akʰira-da-na las-a-tuʔ-a-ci.
 he/she-SEQ-TOP last (N)-LOC-TOP return-PT-meet-PT-DU
'After that, at last, they met again.'

- (18) las-a-tuʔ-a-ci-ki-na ma-ʔaŋ watni lis-a-ci e
 return-PT-meet-PT-DU-SEQ-TOP NEGPTp-be.PTNEG here become-PT-DU hey
 watni yakbak-da. o-ko detni i-mit-ŋa-Ø-ŋa ni-ki-na
 here arum.leaf-LOC this-ref how 3AM-remember-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR-SEQ-TOP
 ʔ ik-tet cʰəl mu-Ø ni.
 yes one-qual joke (N) do-3P NAR
*'Meeting again, isn't it, they were like this, er, like this in an Arum leaf. Now, how will
 she think of me, saying, he teased her, it is said.'*

- (19) yakbak-da c^həl mu-Ø-pəc^hi əb^həra c^hukt-a, sumnima.
 arum.leaf-LOC joke (N) do-3P-after (N) hard (N) jump-PT Sumnima
'Teasing her in the Arum leaf, Sumnima took it hard.'
- (20) ki-na k^ho-da-ŋka-na: "iŋka-na mollok walu ʔe sipt-u
 SEQ-TOP he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP I-TOP isn't.it water.source EMPHe blink-3P
 mulu ʔe sipt-u əni cakwa duŋ-ma si-ŋa-Ø-ŋa,"
 water.source (N) EMPHe blink-3P then (N) water drink-INF want-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
 ni yiŋ-a.
 NAR say-PT
'And then, after that, I, my water dries up, the source dries up, and now I want to drink water, she said.'
- (21) cencikwa kol-a-lukt-a-hida cencikwa-ʔa walu ʔe d^hir-u-ŋ,
 buffalo.bird walk-PT-CON-PT-SIMP buffalo.bird-ERG water.source EMPHe find-3P-1s
 mulu ʔe d^hir-u-ŋ.
 water.source (N) EMPHe find-3P-1s
'The pade bird, while it was walking around, and found a water source, found water.'
- (22) "k^hana sumnima ti-si-na-n, ti-let. iŋka k^hut-na." ni.
 you^s Sumnima 2AS-die-2P-NEGn 2AS-survive I bring.for.someone-2P NAR
'"You, Sumnima, will not die, you will live. I shall bring it to you."'
- (23) k^hwatni yiŋ-a. k^ho-da-ŋka-na k^hutt-u.
 that.way say-PT he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP bring.for.someone-3P
'He spoke like that. After that, he brought it.'
- (24) abo iŋka detni k^hut-na. iŋko iŋ-c^huk-c^haŋ matdiŋ-Ø. iŋ-lan
 now (N) I how bring.for.someone-2P my my-hand-also NEG.be-NPT my-leg
 matte yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø. ni cencikwa yiŋ-a.
 only (N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR buffalo.bird say-PT
'Now how do I bring it to you, I have no hands. I only have feet, said the pade bird.'
- (25) cencikwa k^ho-da-ŋka-sa yiŋ-a pəc^hi sumnima-ʔa iremu abo
 buffalo.bird he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN say-PT after (N) Sumnima-ERG ?? now (N)
 am-do-da-ŋka ti-k^hut-ŋa-ne ni.
 your^s-mouth-LOC-ABL 2AS-bring.for.someone-1sNP-OPT NAR
'After the pade bird had said that, Sumnima ordered, now bring it to me in your mouth.'
- (26) əni iŋko iŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma i-si-nin əni am-jīu
 then (N) my my-water drink-INF NEGnPP-die-NEGn then (N) your^s-body (N)
 yakbak-da əni wa pokt-a-n-ci-n jəmma
 arum.leaf-LOC then (N) rain get.wet-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL all (N)
 wa-leŋs-a-n-ci-n.
 water-smear-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
'And I am still thirsty. Then dip your body into the water and rub yourself in.'

- (27) k^hon-ki-na watni iŋ-do-da pakt-a-ŋ.
 he/she-SEQ-TOP here my-mouth-LOC sow-PT-1s
 rems-a-n-ci-n-ki-na k^hon-ki-na iŋko iŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma
 sprinkle-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-SEQ-TOP he/she-SEQ-TOP my my-water drink-INF
 si-Ø iŋ-sakma yuŋ-Ø ni-ni yŋ-a, dya.
 die-NPT my-breath sit-NPT NAR-NAR say-PT or.what
'Then (like this) put it in my mouth, shake it all around, and then, my thirst will be quenched, and my breath will be there (still), saying, she said, right!'
- (28) k^hwatni yŋ-a k^hon-da-ŋka o-sa-na pakt-u, pakt-u-ta-na. mo
 that.way say-PT he/she-LOC-ABL this-PRN-TOP put.in-3P put.in-3P-TOP (N)-TOP that
 k^hont-a-ta-Ø ler-a-hiŋ-a.
 resurrect-PT-DIRback-PT survive-PT-live-PT
'Like that she spoke, and after that, like that, now, (the bird) put it in, and she recovered consciousness and lived again.'
- (29) ler-a-hiŋ-a pəçhi p^heri gərb^həwati lis-a.
 survive-PT-live-PT after (N) again (N) pregnant (N) become-PT
'After she lived again, she was pregnant as well.'
- (30) gərb^həwati lis-a-pəçhi saŋ-ko sumnima k^hana watni gərb^həwati
 pregnant (N) become-PT-after (N) who-GEN Sumnima you^s here pregnant (N)
 t-lis-a watni gərb^hə ti-k^huy-u ni. iŋka i-sin-ni-ŋ
 2AS-become-PT here pregnant (N) 2AS-carry-3P NAR I NEGNPp-know-NEGn-1s
 ni yŋ-a.
 NAR say-PT
'After she was pregnant, whose, Sumnima, did you get to be pregnant like that, and you carry a child, it is said. She said I do not know.'
- (31) paruhaŋ-ŋa bicara mu-Ø-ŋ-u - k^ho-da-ŋka-sa-na
 Paruhang-ERG thought (N) do-3P-PROG-3P - he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN-TOP
 ak^herī-da-na i-yawa i-kuwa-ci-sudda b^hela
 time (N)-LOC-TOP his/her-friend his/her-friend-PL-with gathered (N)
 mi-lis-a-ki i-sen-a əni jəmma-s-a han-ma i-lapt-a
 3pl-become-PT-SEQ 3AM-ask-PT then (N) together (N)-PRN-ERG talk-INF 3AM-try-PT
 cep-ma i-lapt-a-ki i-sen-a:
 talk-INF 3AM-try-PT-SEQ 3AM-ask-PT
'Paruhang was thinking, after that, at that time, having gathering with his friends, they asked him, and all together they tried to talk with him, tried to chat, they asked,'
- (32) k^hon-ki-na i-sen-a-pəçhi paruhaŋ p^heri i-sen-a pic^he
 he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-ask-PT-after (N) Paruhang again (N) 3AM-ask-PT after (N)
 o-ko amko-ŋa i-watni sumnima-ŋa əni əg^hi-na helaŋ
 this-REF your^s-EMPH his/her-like.this Sumnima-ERG then (N) before (N)-TOP hate (N)
 ni-muw-a-ŋ-wa-ŋo t^hiyo watni ki-na watni əni amko ŋe
 3A-do-PT-EMPH-LIKE-NOM PPTaux here SEQ-TOP here then (N) your EMPHe
 hola.
 maybe (N)

'After that, after asking, they asked Paruhang thereafter: this very Sumnima then, she hated you before. Like this, and then, like this, and now she is yours, may be.'

- (33) iŋka de-ki mollok k^haŋ mus-a-ŋ-ci-ŋ iŋ-duk^ha k^har-a-lo iŋ-som
I what-SEQ isn't.it show CAUS2-PT-1s-DUP-1s my-trouble go-PT-MAN my-love
tu?-a-lo i-low-a-ŋ iŋko-ŋe ni yŋ-a.
be.ill-PT-MAN 3AM-say-PT-1s my-EMPH NAR say-PT
'Why then did I show myself: she made me unhappy. However, she is mine, he said.'
- (34) k^hon-pəç^hi k^hwatni yŋ-a-pəç^hi ǎ mi-tums-u-ci pəç^hi
he/she-after (N) that.way say-PT-after (N) yes 3pl-join.together-3P-DUP after (N)
tu?-a-ci.
meet-PT-DU
'After that, after he said this, they made them meet one another. After that they met.'
- (35) pəç^hi me?en u - sriŋti o-ko rita t^hapsiŋ abo detni ǎ
after (N) DOUBT he/she (N) - creation (N) this-ref ritual (N) ritual now (N) how yes
abo ankaci sumnima rə paruhang lis-a-ci tu-?a-ci
now (N) we^{di} Sumnima and (N) Paruhang become-PT-DU be.ill-PT-DU
b^hela-li-sa-ci t^hapsiŋ hili detni o-ko ǎni puŋ-c-u detni
gathered (N)-ATTR-PRN-PL ritual culture how this-ref then (N) begin-DU-3P how
bəne-mu-c-u o-ko mollok.
make (N)-do-DU-3P this-ref isn't.it
'After, errr, creation, this tradition now how was it? Now we have become Sumnima and Paruhang. We met, we gathered, and now how do we start the tradition, how do we make it, hey.'
- (36) henk^hamma sumnima b^həne sumnima ǎ k^hun-ki-na k^hwatni
earth Sumnima saying (N) Sumnima yes he/she-SEQ-TOP that.way
yŋ-a-ci, k^hon-da-ŋka.
say-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL
'The earth, Sumnima said, then she spoke like this, after that.'
- (37) o-sa ǎ pəhilet k^hon-pəç^hi o-ko cakwa matte cakwa-mat^hi ǎni
this-PRN yes first (N) he/she-after (N) this-ref water only (N) water-on.top (N) then (N)
ǎ loha-?o k^həmba sumnima-?a adeç pi-Ø-ki-na e læ loha-?o
yes iron-GEN pole (N) Sumnima-ERG order (N) give-3P-SEQ-TOP EMPHe OK iron-GEN
k^hābo t^huŋ-ma-dot p^həlam-o k^hābo i-t^huŋs-a-c-u-ki-na ǎ
pillar (N) dig-INF-OBLIG iron (N)-GEN pillar (N) 3AM-dig-PT-DU-3P-SEQ-TOP yes
cakwa-hut-yu-ŋka-ŋ.
water-inside-LOC.low-ABL-EMPH
'Like this first then she had to bury a strong pole in the water, Sumnima, he gave her the order. After they had buried the pole, it was from out of inside the water.'
- (38) ǎ coke k^hābo-ki-na k^hon-ki coke k^hābo
yes flat (N) pillar (N)-SEQ-TOP he/she-SEQ flat (N) pillar (N)
i-t^huŋs-a-c-u-ki-na cakwa-hut-yu b^hen-yu o luŋ.
3AM-dig-PT-DU-3P-SEQ-TOP water-hole-LOC.low root-LOC.low this stone

'The flattened (top) of the pole, then having buried the flat pole, down in the water (at the foot) the stone,'

- (39) i-lons-a-c-u-ki-na mu-du i-hamt-a-c-u
 3s-take.outside-PT-DU-3P-SEQ-TOP that-LOC.high 3AM-hang-PT-DU-3P
 mu-du hamt-a-c-u-pəçhi ǽ baca i-pakt-a-c-u.
 that-LOC.high hang-PT-DU-3P-after (N) yes charm 3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P
'Having taking out (the stone) they put it up there, on top they put it and then they put on a charm.'
- (40) baca i-pakt-a-c-u-pəçhi phəile li-yaŋsa khar-a-kina
 charm 3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P-after (N) spread (N) become-PROG.SIM go-PT-CAUS
 dʰake mu-Ø-khatt-u.
 cover (N) do-3P-DIRaway-3P
'Having put on the charm, having spread, it covered (the water).'
- (41) khon-ki mo-ci-ʔa ʔni bəndəna-ʔa i-chums-a-c-u bəndəna-chaŋ
 he/she-SEQ that-PL-ERG then (N) tie (N)-ERG 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P tie (N)-also
 caha dot-Ø-ʔo-ŋa rəçhə.
 need must-NPT-NOM-EMPH MIR
'Then they bound it with a rope, the rope also appeared to be required.'
- (42) ǽ chum-ma-chaŋ chum-ma-da khun-ki-na i-chums-a-c-u ǽ
 yes tie.up-INF-also tie.up-INF-TEMP he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P yes
 pimaŋ-ʔa i-chums-a-c-u khayamaŋ-ʔa rəse i-muw-a-c-u.
 snake.god-ERG 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P Khayamang-ERG strangle (N) 3AM-do-PT-DU-3P
'Yes, they bound it with the snake god (Pimang), by Khayamang they strangled him.'
- (43) bakha khon-ki-na i-lōis-a-c-u ǽ anko muddum-lama
 soil he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-take.outside-PT-DU-3P yes our^{pi} chant-VIA
 bobbəyongma bəhənhə dhamira.
 termite they say (N) termite (N)
'Then they took the mud out. Yes, according to our tradition, they say the "bobbəyongma", the termite.'
- (44) dhamira-ʔa bakha lōis-u luŋ-ʔo i-duŋ dhu-tni pa-ʔu ǽ
 termite (N)-ERG soil take.outside-3P stone-GEN his/her-top up-ALL put.in-3P yes
 khun-pəçhi ǽ mo rəse i-muw-a-c-u bəndana
 he/she-after (N) yes that strangle (N) 3AM-do-PT-DU-3P tie (N)
 i-pakt-a-c-u.
 3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P
'The termite took the mud on top of the stone, above, then they bound him and put him in bondage.'
- (45) khun-pəçhi calī jəmma dʰake mu-Ø-khatt-u.
 he/she-after (N) swTOP (N) all (N) cover (N) do-3P-DIRaway-3P
'After that, altogether they covered and took him,'

- (46) o cakwa dipt-u cakwa dipt-u-pəçhi abo əni di-c^{he} e
 this water cover-3P water cover-3P-after (N) now (N) then (N) what-ever hey
 “siŋraŋ-da-ŋka di ubje mu-c-u” ni yij-a-ci.
 tree-LOC-ABL what grow (N) do-DU-3P NAR say-PT-DU
 ‘They covered it with water, after covering it, now, then, whatever, hey, what will we
 make grow from the tree take, they said.’
- (47) səllaha muw-a-ci siŋraŋ-da-ŋka ubje mu-c-u-ne həi. ankaci ə abo
 advice (N) do-PT-DU tree-LOC-ABL grow (N) do-DU-3P-OPT hey we^{di} yes now (N)
 u sirk^həŋdə rə rəcəna ə mo-ko lit-c-u-ne ni yij-a-ci.
 he/she (N) sirk^həŋdə and (N) creation (N) yes that-ref plant-DU-3P-OPT NAR say-PT-DU
 ‘They discussed, from the tree what will we take out, hey. We, er, now, let us plant the
 sirk^həŋda tree and creation, they said.’
- (48) k^hon-ki-na i-litt-a-c-u k^hon-ki-na o-ko ten b^heplok
 he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-plant-PT-DU-3P he/she-SEQ-TOP this-ref village completely
 o-ko jəmma-s-a i-yaŋ ni-ʔa ni-ki-na
 this-ref altogether (N)-PRN-ERG 3AM-hold NAR-EMPHa NAR-SEQ-TOP
 ‘And then they planted it. And then, that complete town, it held all.’
- (49) k^hon-ki mo i-litt-a-c-u-pəçhi k^hon-ki-pic^he-da dana
 he/she-SEQ that 3AM-plant-PT-DU-3P-after (N) he/she-SEQ-after (N)-LOC seed (N)
 ri^ʔha i-pa-ʔa-c-u.
 soap.nut (N) 3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P
 ‘Then, after they planted that, after that they put in a rudraksha seed.’
- (50) mo-da-ŋka-sa bər pipola bər rə pipoli i-litt-a-c-u.
 that-LOC-ABL-PRN bar (N) pipal (N) bar (N) and (N) poplar 3AM-plant-PT-DU-3P
 ‘From there, they planted a bar-pipal tree, a bar tree and a pipal tree.’
- (51) mo-da-ŋka-sa ico jayjənmə c^ha-ci mo-da hurke mi-lis-a.
 that-LOC-ABL-PRN their^p glorious (N) child-PL that-LOC raise (N) 3pl-become-PT
 ‘By that, their new-born children grew up.’
- (52) mi-poy-a.
 3pl-grow-PT
 ‘There they grew up.’
- (53) ə mwatni jayə-c^ha-ci-c^haŋ i-tokt-a-c-u-ci-kina mo-ci-c^haŋ
 yes that.way glory (N)-child-PL-also 3AM-receive-PT-DU-3P-DUP-CAUS that-PL-ever
 mi-pon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø mi-poy-a-yakt-a
 3pl-grow-NPT-PROG-NPT 3pl-grow-PT-CONT-PT
 ‘Er, like that, after they got their children they also grew up there, continued to grow
 up.’
- (54) əni sumnima-ʔa səpəna-yu e senmaŋə-yu k^haŋ-u nimaŋ
 then (N) Sumnima-ERG dream (N)-LOC.low hey dream-LOC.low see-3P quotative
 a cikiwa ə je^ʔha i-c^hora cikiwa ni.
 that.1 small.leopard yes eldest (N) his/her-son (N) small.leopard other

'And Sumnima saw in a dream, it is said, Ah, Cikiwa, well, their eldest son is called Cikiwa (small leopard).'

- (55) əni maksa əni tumun ni ǎ ico-niŋ k^hwa-kko ni.
 then (N) bear then (N) Tumun NAR yes their^p-name that-ATTR NAR
'And "bear" (maks), then, Tumun, is their name, like that. '
- (56) tumun maksa rə cikiwa ni ǎ maksa rə kiwa əni
 Tumun bear and (N) small.leopard NAR yes bear and (N) tiger then (N)
 k^ho-da-ŋka-ʔo-sa əni haŋc^hanuma mənusyə.
 he/she-LOC-ABL-GEN-PRN then (N) Hangchanuma human.being (N)
'Tumun bear, and Cikiwa, bear and tiger, then, following that, then there was Hangchanuma, a human.'
- (57) haŋc^hanuma kanc^ha ankan ni
 Hangchanuma youngest (N) we^{pi} NAR
'Hangchanuma, the youngest are we, it is said.'
- (58) k^ho-da-ŋka-na ǎ tumun o-tet əg^{hi}-ŋa jəgəla-ya-tni
 he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP yes Tumun this-swTOP before (N)-EMPH jungle-LOC.level-ALL
 waŋ-a-k^har-a ni.
 enter-PT-DIRaway-PT NAR
'After that, yes, as for Tumun, he first went off into the forest. '
- (59) iŋka kama-c^haŋ i-mu-ni-ŋ
 I work (N)-also NEGNPp-do-NEGn-1s
"I shall not do work."
- (60) bənibasi-ŋa waŋ-ŋa k^hat-ŋa, jəgəla-ya-tni-ŋa
 jungle-house (N)-EMPH enter-1sNP go-1sNP jungle (N)-LOC.level-ALL-EMPH
 waŋ-ŋa k^hat-ŋa ni yiŋ-a-ki, waŋ-a-k^har-a ni.
 enter-1sNP go-1sNP NAR say-PT-SEQ enter-PT-DIRaway-PT NAR
'Saying, "I shall go off into the jungle," he went off into the jungle.'
- (61) jəgəla-ya k^hon-ki waŋ-a-k^har-a-pəc^{hi} mo mamarem
 jungle (N)-LOC.level he/she-SEQ enter-PT-DIRaway-PT-after (N) that Mamarem
 i-ma-ʔi-pa-ci-ʔa mamarem maya mare i-muw-a-c-u
 his/her-mother-his/her-father-PL-ERG Mamarem love (N) kill (N) 3AM-do-PT-DU-3P
 ni
 NAR
'Into the jungle, and after he had gone off, that Mamarem, his mother and father stopped loving him (he was lost in Mamarem).'
- (62) mayarem i-muw-a-ci-pəc^{hi} ǎ cikiwa rə haŋc^hanuma matte
 mayarem 3AM-do-PT-DU-after (N) yes small.leopard and (N) Hangchanuma only (N)
 yuŋ-a-lar-a-ci ni
 sit-PT-DIROff-PT-DU NAR
'Having lost him in Mamarem, only Cikiwa and Hangchanuma were left.'

- (63) jeŋ^{ha} rə kanc^{ha} matte əco-c^{ha}-ci mo-ci
 eldest (N) and (N) youngest (N) only (N) their^p-child-PL that-PL
 yuŋ-a-lar-a-ci-pəc^{hi} ɛikara mu-si k^{ha}-a-ŋ-a-ci ni
 sit-PT-DIRoff-PT-DU-after (N) hunt (N) do-SUP go-PT-PROG-PT-DU NAR
 ‘The oldest and youngest children only were left, and they were going to hunt, it is said.’
- (64) ɛikara mu-si k^{ha}-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida əni
 hunt (N) do-SUP go-PT-PROG-PT-DU-SIMP then (N)
 i-nic^{ha}-ʔo-tet i-dajyu-ʔa ɛikara-ci
 his/her-younger.brother-GEN-swTOP his/her-older.brother-ERG hunt (N)-PL
 ont-u-ci-ki tar-u-ci hola.
 chase.in.hunt-3P-DUP-SEQ bring.far-3P-DUP maybe (N)
 ‘While they were hunting, then, the younger “The elder will chase and bring some game, maybe.”’
- (65) iŋ-cik-da ǎ b^{he} talik ap-ma-set-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø ni
 my-close-LOC yes arrow bow shoot-INF-kill-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR
 min-a-ŋa ni.
 think-PT-EMPH NAR
 ‘“In (my) side, yes, one must shoot an arrow and kill” he thought (the youngest).’
- (66) talik-a b^{he}-ʔa ta-Ø-na mo-na əni mollok set-ma-ʔe
 bow-ERG arrow-ERG come.far-NPT-TOP, that-TOP then (N) isn’t.it kill-INF-eEMPH
 k^{ho}-sa-na pam-ma-set-ma ʔe mollok mitt-u-kes-u ni-ʔo
 he/she-PRN-TOP scratch-INF-kill-INF EMPHe isn’t.it think-3P-throw-3P NAR-NOM
 rəc^{ha}.
 MIR
 ‘By a bow-and-arrow, he will come, he, then, whatever, will kill, tear me up and kill me, he was thinking.’
- (67) mitt-u-pəc^{hi}-na əni las-a-ta-Ø-ci i-tit-c^{he}
 think-3P-after (N)-TOP then (N) return-PT-DIRback-PT-DU his/her-clothes-ever
 matdiŋ-Ø i-nanŋa-ŋa ta-Ø ni
 not.there-NPT his/her-naked (N)-EMPH come.far-PT NAR
 ‘After thinking then when they had come back his clothes were not there, he came naked, it is said.’
- (68) ǎ i-tit matdiŋ-Ø k^{ho}-da-ŋka-na a nat^{he}
 yes his/her-clothes not.there-NPT he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP EMPHa nathe
 iŋ-buwa-ʔa watni i-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa ni min-a ni
 my-elder.brother-ERG like.this 3AM-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR think-PT NAR
 k^{ho}-on-ki-na i-buwa-ʔa watni i-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ʔo
 he/she-SEQ-TOP his/her-elder.brother-ERG here 3AM-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM
 de ci-Ø-ŋa? iŋka ki-na iŋ-jū let-ŋa hiŋ-ŋa.
 what do-3P-EMPH I SEQ-TOP my-body (N) let.go-1sNP live-1sNP
 ‘Yes, his clothes were not there, after that, Nathe my brother like that is doing to me, thinking, and then my elder brother, like this he will do to me, what will I do? I, then, will save my life.’

- (69) abo ama am-sakonwa c^ha-ŋa iŋ-biwa maila-na
 now (N) mother (N) your^s-heart child-EMPH my-elder.brother second.brother-TOP
 mollok abo acc^ha-ŋa k^har-a-lont-a jãgəl-ya-tni.
 isn't.it now (N) truly-EMPH go-PT-DIRup-PT jungle (N)-LOC.level-ALL
 'Now, mother, your precious child, my older brother, the second brother, now, he really
 went up towards the jungle.'
- (70) əni iŋ-daju jeŋ^ha-ŋenen yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci-ŋa.
 then (N) my-brother (N) eldest (N)-COM sit-DU-PROG-DU-e
 'And we were together with my eldest brother.'
- (71) iŋ-daju jeŋ^ha ŋa "o-ko ɛikara-ci əni c^hekt-u-ci, ant-u
 my-brother (N) eldest (N) EMPHa this-ref hunt (N)-PL then (N) block-3P-DUP turn-3P
 tar-u-ci ŋa!" ni lo-Ø-ŋ ta-na.
 bring-3P-DU EMPHa NAR say-3P-1s TOP (N)-TOP
 'Now, I said to my eldest brother: "Block the game, turn it and bring it, OK?"'
- (72) ǎ iŋka e mollok iŋka ɛikara huŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa ta-na.
 yes I hey isn't.it I hunt (N) wait-1sNP-PROG-1sNP TOP (N)-TOP
 'Yes, I was waiting for the game (to arrive).'
- (73) k^ho-sa-ŋe mollok ǎ cikiwa mu-nan-ci-n-ki-na jəmma
 he/she-PRN-eEMPH isn't.it yes small.leopard do-REFL-DUP-REFL-SEQ-TOP all (N)
 i-pamt-a-ŋ kes-a-ŋ!
 3AM-tear-PT-1s throw.away-PT-1s
 'Now, as he is a leopard, he will tear me all up!'
- (74) iŋka detni ci-ŋa-ki mollok iŋka nu-Ø
 I how do-1sNP-SEQ isn't.it I be.good-NPT
 'Now, what should I to come out right?'
- (75) "iŋ-biwa detni-ŋo ni lo-ŋ-ki-na nu-Ø" ni ajna
 my-elder.brother how-NOM NAR say-1s-SEQ-TOP be.good-NPT NAR order (N)
 dor-a, i-ma-ŋeda kanc^ha.
 must-PT his/her-mother-COMI youngest (N)
 ' "What will I say to my brother, and be good," he asked for instructions with his
 mother, the youngest.'
- (76) k^ho-da-ŋka-na kanc^ha i-c^hora ajna dor-a. əni "lə amco
 he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP youngest (N) his/her-son (N) order (N) must-PT then (N) OK your^d
 mina rə amco budd^hi-ŋa d^hir-u-ŋo-wa-ŋa ciw-a-ci aha," ni.
 man and (N) your^d wisdom (N)-ERG find-3P-NOM-LIKE-EMPH do-PT-DU EMPHa NAR
 'That way, the youngest son asked for instructions. And she said: "Just like what your
 heart and your wisdom finds, do these things, hey".'
- (77) ajna pi-Ø kanc^ha i-c^hora-laī ǎ ajna pi-Ø-pəc^hi lə
 order (N) give-3P youngest (N) his/her-son (N)-DAT (N) yes order (N) give-3P-after (N) OK
 b^həihalyo lə nu-Ø-ŋe ama ni yiŋ-a.
 already done (N) OK be.good-NPT-EMPH mother (N) NAR say-PT

'She gave instruction to her youngest son. Yes, after she gave an order, well, now, done. It is good now, the mother said to her youngest.'

- (78) i-c^ha kanc^ha k^hun-lo ã ik-topra kok met-Ø ni ik
his/her-child youngest (N) that-MAN yes one-leaf:plate (N) rice cause-NPT NAR one
lə^t^ha bec^huk ã solonwa-da-ŋka-ŋ wac^hin pak-Ø ni-ni lo-Ø
stick (N) ginger yes gourd-LOC-ABL-EMPH beer put.in-NPT NAR-NAR say-3P
muw-a-ci ã.
do-PT-DU yes
'She gave him one plate of rice and one stick of ginger. In a bottle gourd she put beer.'
- (79) ama-laī k^hwatni i-rem-u ni k^hon-ki-na ã ama-laī
mother (N)-DAT that.way 3AM-order-3P NAR he/she-SEQ-TOP yes mother (N)-DAT
i-rem-u-pəc^hi lə ni-ki-na kok-c^haŋ mett-u-ci-kina
3AM-order-3P-after (N) OK NAR-SEQ-TOP rice-also cause-3P-DUP-CAUS
topra-da-ŋka ã haŋc^hanuma-ʔa k^huy-u ni.
leaf:plate (N)-LOC-ABL yes Hangchanuma-ERG carry-3P NAR
'He ordered his mother like that, and then, yes, after he ordered his mother, OK, she said and gave him rice as well, and Hangchanuma carried it away in a leaf plate.'
- (80) i-c^ha kanc^ha-ʔa ni solonwa c^haŋ k^huy-u ni
his/her-child youngest (N)-ERG NAR gourd also carry-3P NAR
'Her youngest son also carried the bottle gourd.'
- (81) ik-pana bec^huk-c^haŋ k^huy-u ni kombi-c^haŋ k^huy-u ni talik-c^haŋ
one-leaf (N) ginger-also carry-3P NAR grass.knife-also carry-3P NAR bow-also
k^huy-a k^hun-ki-pəc^hi k^har-a-ci jəgəla-ya ɕikara mu-si.
carry-PT that-SEQ-after (N) go-PT-DU jungle (N)-LOC.level hunt (N) do-SUP
'One lump of ginger also he carried, a sickle he carried, a bow he carried. Then they went to the jungle, to hunt.'
- (82) “a-biwa k^hana ɕikara-ci jo-ʔo yaŋb^hak-ci k^hissa-ci
VOCp-elder.brother you^s hunt (N)-PL whoever (N)-GEN wild.boar-PL deer-PL
b^hiksa-ci mi-ta-Ø-ʔo ti-d^hir-u-ci-ʔo ont-u
elk-PL 3pl-come.far-NPT-NOM 2AS-find-3P-DUP-NOM chase.in.hunt-3P
batt-u-ci, iŋka o-da yuŋ-ŋa,” ni-ʔa ni lo-Ø
bring-3P-DUP I this-LOC sit-1sNP NAR-EMPHa NAR say-3P
“Older brother! Whichever game, any wild boars, deer, elks that come your way, that you find, you must chase them (towards me). I stay here,” he said.'
- (83) i-biwa-c^he lə ni yiŋ-a ni i-biwa ni
his/her-elder.brother-ever OK NAR say-PT NAR his/her-elder.brother NAR
i-biwa k^hwatni yiŋ-a-pəc^hi ni k^har-a. abo ayi-na
his/her-elder.brother that.way say-PT-after (N) NAR go-PT now (N) today-TOP
ancu-ʔa-ʔo set-mu-ma-ʔo din nəi ho.
our^{de}-e-GEN kill-RECIP-INF-GEN day (N) EMPH (N) is (N)
'His brother said: OK. After his brother said that, he went. Today is the day will we kill each other.'

- (84) iŋ-ma-ʔa abo-ya i-hant-a-ci-ʔa-ʔo amco buddʰi-ʔa
 my-mother-ERG now (N)-LOC.level 3AM-talk-PT-DU-e-NOM your^d wisdom (N)-ERG
 dʰir-u-ʔo səmmə ni i-low-a-ci-ʔa-ʔo ciw-a-ci ni.
 find-3P-NOM till (N) NAR 3AM-say-PT-DU-e-NOM do-PT-DU NAR
'Now my mother had said to us two, to the extent of your wisdom, she had said, do it.'
- (85) abo iŋko-tet ŋaksi tʰəm̩ba dʰet-ŋa-kina iŋ-swarupa
 now (N) my-swTOP banana stem cut-1sNP-CAUS my-form (N)
 mu-ma-n-ci-n-kina mina but-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 do-INF-REFL-DUP-REFL-CAUS man call-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
'Now after I find a banana pole, and made it into my own shape, I must call (it) a man.'
- (86) iŋ-bəstər ki-na ŋaksi tʰəm̩ba-da em-ma-da-ma
 my-dress (N) SEQ-TOP banana stem-LOC make.stand-INF-eff-INF
 dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø talik bʰe cʰaŋ kʰik-met-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 must-NPT-PROG-NPT bow arrow also hold-CAUS-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
'With my dress, I must make the banana pole stand. Also it must be made to hold the arrow-and-bow.'
- (87) o-ko iŋ-biwa detni mu-Ø-ŋ-u rəcʰə.
 this-ref my-elder.brother how do-3P-PROG-3P MIR
'What is my brother doing?'
- (88) iŋ-bəstər ŋaksi tʰəm̩ba kʰo-da-ŋka detni mu-Ø-ŋ-u rəcʰə ni
 my-dress (N) banana stem he/she-LOC-ABL how do-3P-PROG-3P MIR NAR
 min-a-kina siŋ-raŋ cok-du waŋ-a-kʰar-a
 think-PT-CAUS tree-plant top-LOC.high enter-PT-DIRaway-PT
'In my dress banana-thamba from there how he does it, it appears, thinking he climbed up to the top of the tree.'
- (89) siŋraŋ-cok-du waŋ-a-kʰar-a pəcʰi talik bʰe cʰaŋ
 tree-top-LOC.high enter-PT-DIRaway-PT after (N) bow arrow also
 mu-du-ŋa wakt-u mu-du-ŋa i-kok bʰom-ci-cʰaŋ
 that-LOC.high-EMPH put.in-3P that-LOC.high-EMPH his/her-rice bundle-PL-also
 wakt-u-ci.
 put.in-3P-DUP
'After he climbed up to the top of the tree, he had also brought his arrow-and-bow up there, he had also brought his rice and snack.'
- (90) mu-yu-na i-bəstər matte ŋaksi tʰəm̩ba-da
 that-LOC.low-TOP his/her-dress (N) only (N) banana stem-LOC
 hum-mett-u-do-Ø ni.
 dress-CAUSE-3P-eff-3P NAR
'Below, he only had dressed up a banana pole with his clothes.'
- (91) wakt-u-ci pəcʰi haha rə huhu dʰana-ŋka ban-a-kina jəm̩ma
 put.in-3P-DUP after (N) haha and (N) huhu above-ABL come.level-PT-CAUS all (N)
 cent-u-kʰǎis-u-ci.
 splice-3P-COMPL-3P-DUP

'After he had gone up, he was screaming "haha and huhu" from there.'

- (92) i-nich'a-ʔo i-bəstər ɲaksi tʰamba.
 his/her-younger.brother-GEN his/her-dress (N) banana stem
 siŋraŋ-cok-da-ɲka "a-bi mo-ko de ti-ci-Ø-yaŋ-Ø? mwatni
 tree-top-LOC-ABL VOCp-brother that-ref what 2AS-do-NPT-PROG-NPT that.way
 a-biwa iŋka-na hasikʰeli mu-ɲa-Ø-ɲa-ʔo."
 VOCp-brother I-TOP jest (N) be.pred-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM
*'His younger brother's dress was on the banana pole. From up the tree (he said):
 "brother, what are you doing? Like that, brother, I am just kidding."*
- (93) ǝ e ni i-biwa yiŋ-a ni.
 yes hey NAR his/her-elder.brother say-PT NAR
'Ah! Right! said his elder brother.'
- (94) kʰana kʰa-da-ɲka han-ma ti-lam-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo? ni iŋka-na
 you^s where-LOC-ABL talk-INF 2AS-look-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM NAR I-TOP
 siŋ-raŋ cok-du yuŋ-ɲa-Ø-ɲa ni yiŋ-ma ni.
 tree-plant top-LOC.high sit-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR say-INF NAR
'From where are you trying to talk? I am sitting in the top of a tree, as I said.'
- (95) kʰun-ki-na lə abo anco ama-ʔa kʰaja mollok
 he/she-SEQ-TOP OK now (N) our^{di} mother (N)-ERG snack (N) isn't.it
 i-pakt-a-ci-ʔo duŋ-c-u-ne həi. kok bʰom ca-c-u-ne kok
 3AM-put.in-PT-DU-NOM drink-DU-3P-OPT hey rice bundle eat-DU-3P-OPT rice
 cʰaŋ ca-c-u-ne wachin cʰaŋ duŋ-c-u-ne ni yiŋ-a-ci ni.
 also eat-DU-3P-OPT beer also drink-DU-3P-OPT NAR say-PT-DU NAR
*'And then: well, now let us eat the snack that our mother has wrapped, hey. Let us eat
 our snack, let use eat our rice and drink our beer, they said (it is said).'*
- (96) lə kʰana iŋka abo i-dʰan-ni-ɲ-ci-ni-ɲ. ǝni laŋka
 OK you^s I now (N) NEGnpp-take.down-NEGn-1s-DUP-NEGn-1s then (N) flat
 dʰis-a-n-ci-n. am-do-da owatni hoʔ-u-ki tatt-u a! ni
 lay-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL your^s-mouth-LOC like.this open-3P-SEQ add-3P that.1 NAR
 lo-ma ni lo-Ø.
 say-INF NAR say-3P
*'Well, I am not taking it down to you. Then, lie yourself down flat on the floor. Open
 your mouth and take it like this! he said.'*
- (97) i-nich'a-ʔa lo-Ø ni, kʰun-ki i-biwa
 his/her-younger.brother-ERG say-3P NAR he/she-SEQ his/her-elder.brother
 kaŋs-a ni. kʰon-pəcʰi kok cʰaniŋka pəhile lett-u-dis-u
 obey-PT NAR he/she-after (N) rice cʰaniŋka before (N) send-3P-reach-3P
 kʰon-da-ɲka wachin tʰokt-u-dis-u. c-o, kʰiŋs-u.
 he/she-LOC-ABL beer pour.to-3P-reach-3P eat-3P swallow-3P
*'The younger brother said that, and his elder brother obeyed, it is said. After he first
 fed him from the rice. After that, he poured him the beer. He at, and he swallowed.'*

- (98) abo iŋ-budd^hi-ʔa d^hir-u səmma-ŋe iŋ-biwa-c^he mu-Ø-ŋ ni
 now (N) my-wisdom (N)-ERG find-3P till (N)-EMPH my-elder.brother-also do-3P-1s NAR
 min-a.
 think-PT
'Now I shall do as clever as I can to my brother, he thought.'
- (99) i-nich^a-tet min-Ø-yaŋ-Ø siŋ-raŋ-cok-du-ŋka
 his/her-younger.brother-swTOP think-NPT-PROG-NPT tree-plant-top-LOC.high-ABL
 ni. k^hon-pəc^hi ǽ lə am-mik sipt-u abo-lai caŋi iŋka
 NAR he/she-after (N) yes OK your^s-eye blink-3P now (N)-DAT swTOP (N) I
 i-rəhəlpəhəl yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 his/her-remainder (N) sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
'The younger brother was thinking up in that tree. Then, hmm, well, close your eyes, for now I have the remainder.'
- (100) jəmma tatt-u-wa ni lo-Ø ni. k^hun-ki-na i-do ni lə ni
 all (N) add-3P-LIKE NAR say-3P NAR he/she-SEQ-TOP his/her-mouth NAR OK NAR
 kaŋs-a ni k^ho-da-ŋka-ʔo-sa-na i-do ho-ʔu-kina
 hide-PT NAR he/she-LOC-ABL-GEN-PRN-TOP his/her-mouth open-3P-CAUS
 i-mik sipt-u-ki i-do hoʔ-u ni-tə-na b^he e
 his/her-eye blink-3P-SEQ his/her-mouth open-3P NAR-TOP (N)-TOP arrow hey
 apt-u-dis-u ni.
 shoot-3P-reach-3P NAR
'Bring it all, he said, it is said. Then, his mouth, (as he had obeyed, he had opened his mouth and closed his eyes), opening his mouth, he shot an arrow inside.'
- (101) b^he apt-u-dis-u pəc^hi sw-a-da.
 arrow shoot-3P-reach-3P after (N) die-PT-TEMP
'After he shot the arrow, he died.'
- (102) i-sakma k^har-a i-sakma k^har-a-pəc^hi ǽ i-muʔu d^humt-u
 his/her-breath go-PT his/her-breath go-PT-after (N) yes his/her-heart (N) trace-3P
 i-ma-ʔo-na i-muʔu d^humt-u.
 his/her-mother-GEN-TOP his/her-heart (N) trace-3P
'He breathed his last. After he breathed his last, her heart felt it (traced it): his mothers heart felt it.'
- (103) iŋ-c^ha-ci ɛikara-da k^har-a-ci-ʔo detni ciw-a-ci ayi t^haŋ-a-ci
 my-child-PL hunt (N)-LOC go-PT-DU-NOM how do-PT-DU today come.up-PT-DU
 hola ni min-a ico-ma.
 maybe (N) NAR think-PT their^p-mother
'“My children went to the hunt. How did they do, did they come up perhaps?” she was thinking, their mother.'
- (104) sumnima ni k^hon-da-ŋka-ʔo-sa-na k^hwatni min-a-pəc^hi
 Sumnima NAR he/she-LOC-ABL-GEN-PRN-TOP that.way think-PT-after (N)
 i-kanc^ha-ʔo-tet pəhilet ta-Ø.
 his/her-youngest (N)-GEN-swTOP first (N) come.far-PT

'That is Sumnima. As a consequence, after she thought that way, her youngest, for one, came first.'

- (105) kancha am-biwa kha-ʔu khada ti-chir-u-d-o ni sen-u.
 youngest (N) your^s-elder.brother see-3P where 2AS-leave-3P-eff-3P NAR ask-3P
'Youngest, what about your brother? Where did you leave him?'
- (106) ǎ iŋ-biwa-na ǎ di ama ti-sen-u-ŋ mollok. ǎ
 yes my-elder.brother-TOP yes what mother (N) 2AS-ask-3P-1s isn't.it yes
 cikara-ŋe mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø mo-ya jəgəla-ya-ŋe
 hunt (N)-EMPH be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT that-LOC.level jungle (N)-LOC.level-EMPH
 chir-u-ŋ-do-Ø-ŋ-ʔo ni yiŋ-a.
 leave-3P-1s-eff-3P-1s-NOM NAR say-PT
'Yes, as for my brother, what, mother, you asked me, well. Yes, he was hunting, over there in the jungle I have left him, he said.'
- (107) ǎ i-cha kancha sumnima-lai khwatni lo-Ø ni.
 yes his/her-child youngest (N) Sumnima-DAT that.way say-3P NAR
 khon-pəchi-na peri-ŋa las-u-sen-u hasik^helī mi-yaŋ ni
 he/she-after (N)-TOP again (N)-EMPH return-3P-ask-3P jest (N) NEGTP-be NAR
 lo-Ø ni
 say-3P NAR
'Yes, her youngest child said so to Sumnima. After that, she asked again: "do not fool me", she said.'
- (108) k^ho-da-ŋka-sa p^heri-ŋa tīn bakyə tīn k^hepi
 he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN again (N)-EMPH three (N) sentence three (N) time
 ta-Ø-la-Ø-pəchi, abo mollok iŋ-ma-ʔeda-ʔo watni
 come.far-PT-return-PT-after (N) now (N) isn't.it my-mother-COM1-GEN here
 i-biwa-ʔa i-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa ni tə amco
 his/her-elder.brother-ERG 3AM-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR though (N) your^d
 buddhi-ʔa d^hir-u-ʔo amco minma-ʔa d^hir-u-ʔosa cw-a-ci ni.
 your^s-wisdom (N) find-3P-NOM your^d mind-ERG find-3P-CONS do-PT-DU NAR
'That way, after this happened three times, he said: Just as my mother said, when my brother would behave to me like this: "do as your wisdom finds, as your mind finds..."'
- (109) əni ti-lo-Ø ni-ʔo khon-ki-na hasik^helī mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
 then (N) 2AS-say-3P NAR-NOM he/she-SEQ-TOP jest (N) be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT
 mo-ya mo-da-ŋa ǎ cikara huŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø ni
 that-LOC.level that-LOC-EMPH yes hunt (N) wait-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR
 ma-ʔaŋ
 NEGTP-be.PTNEG
'That was as you said. After that, in jest, over there, he waited for the game, right?'
- (110) khwatni man-yiŋ-da. d^hāṭa man-mu-da. kha ett-a-ŋ
 that.way NEGTP-say-NEGTPs lie (N) NEGTP-be.pred-NEGTPs AntP tell-PT-1s

am-buwa-ʔo ǝ i-tuŋgo i-yuŋ-kʰa i-ɕikara
 your^s-elder.brother-GEN yes his/her-last (N) 3AM-put-PNOM his/her-hunt (N)
 mu-kʰa ni kʰatni kʰotni ti-lo-Ø ni-ʔo mollok.
 do-PNOM other where.dir that.way 2AS-say-3P NAR-NOM isn't.it
 'Do not speak that way. Do not lie. Show me your brother's final place, while he was
 hunting, what direction, that way, you will say it.'

- (111) ser-u-ŋ-do-Ø-ŋ ni a-kʰeri-da caħĩ ǝni haŋchanuma-ʔa ǝ
 kill-3P-1s-eff-3P-1s NAR finally (N)-LOC swTOP (N) then (N) Hangchanuma-ERG yes
 i-cʰa-kancʰa sumnima-ʔo i-cʰa kancʰa-ʔa lo-Ø
 his/her-child-youngest (N) Sumnima-GEN his/her-child youngest (N)-ERG say-3P
 i-ma-lai kʰa ett-u.
 his/her-mother-DAT AntP tell-3P
 'I killed him,' finally, Hangchanuma, Sumnima's youngest child, said, and he told
 his mother.'

- (112) kʰon-da-ŋka-ŋ pʰeri-ŋa ik-pana beçʰuk rə solonwa
 he/she-LOC-ABL-EMPH again (N)-EMPH one-leaf (N) ginger and (N) gourd
 kʰatt-u kʰatt-u-kina muddum mett-u i-cʰa
 take.away-3P take.away-3P-CAUS chant cause-3P his/her-child
 i-maya-ʔa.
 his/her-love (N)-ERG
 'After that, again, she brought one leaf of ginger and a gourd. After taking it, she said
 prayers over him, her son, by her love.'

- (113) mo-ko-na iŋko-na sakoŋmi cʰa mollok cikoŋmi-cʰa kʰana watni ni-muw-a
 that-ref-TOP my-TOP heart child isn't.it cikoŋmi-cʰa you^s here 3A-do-PT
 iŋ-sakoŋwa-ya kʰana ǝni cikiwa-ŋa tʰiyo.
 my-heart-LOC.level you^s then (N) small.leopard-EMPH PPTaux
 'This mine heart-child, well, dear-heart-child, you did such to me, in my heart you
 were my leopard.'

- (114) ǝni tumun maksa-ʔo tʰiyo
 then (N) Tumun bear-VOC PPTaux
 'There was Tumun, the bear.'

- (115) haŋchanuma kancʰa ǝni amno bʰai nicʰa-ʔo
 Hangchanuma youngest (N) then (N) your^p younger.brother (N) younger.brother-GEN
 tʰiyo-ni ǝni lo-Ø. kʰatni lo-Ø pəçʰi i-cʰati-da luŋ
 PPTaux-EMPH (N) then (N) say-3P where.dir say-3P after (N) his/her-chest-LOC stone
 yukt-u, cikma luŋ.
 place-3P flint stone
 'Hangchanuma, was the youngest, and your younger brother, she said, then, well.
 After she said such, she put a stone in her son's chest, a flint stone.'

- (116) ǝni solonwa-ʔa kʰitt-u tʰokt-u-dis-u i-do-da-tni jəmma
 then (N) gourd-ERG worship-3P spill-3P-reach-3P his/her-mouth-LOC-ALL all (N)
 rept-u. kʰon-pəçʰi rept-u-pəçʰi ǝni tʰint-u-kʰais-u.
 sprinkle-3P that-after (N) sprinkle-3P-after (N) then (N) wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P.

'Then, with the gourd she worshipped, poured water into his mouth, she sprinkled it all. And she splashed water on him, and she revived him.'

- (117) waset komnəŋa dipt-u-ki-na k^hwatni mu-Ø. k^hon-ki-na
 chicklet ??komnəŋa cover-3P-SEQ-TOP that.way do-3P. he/she-SEQ-TOP
 t^hint-u-k^haĩs-u. t^hint-u-k^haĩs-u-pəç^hi k^har-a, ya hant-u
 wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P-after (N) go-PT prayer send-3P
 t^hin-loĩs-u-pəç^hi.
 wake-come.up-3P-after (N)
'Covering him with a chick and komnəŋa, she did it like that. Then, she made him sit up. After she made him sit up, she went, and prayed, and woke him up.'
- (118) deki mollok watni ti-ci-Ø-wa? am-budd^hi un-səmmə-ŋa
 why isn't.it here 2AS-do-3P-LIKE your^s-wisdom (N) this.much-up.to (N)-EMPH
 rəç^hə.
 MIR
'Why, then, did you act like this? Your wisdom turns out to be up to this.'
- (119) am-nic^ha haŋç^hanuma-ŋo t^hiyo k^hana cikiwa-ŋo
 your^s-younger.brother Hangchanuma-NOM PPTaux you^s small.leopard-NOM
 t^hiyo.
 PPTaux
'Your brother was Hangchanuma. You were Cikiwa.'
- (120) abo o-ko i-budd^hi badd^he-ŋa rəç^hə, amko am-budd^hi
 now (N) this-ref his/her-wisdom (N) many-EMPH MIR your^s your^s-wisdom (N)
 i-cit t^hore-ŋa rəç^hə.
 his/her-little.bit little (N)-EMPH MIR
'Now his wisdom appeared to be great, your wisdom appears to be a bit less.'
- (121) ç^hukt-a-ŋo rəç^hə am-budd^hi ni lo-Ø mo cikiwa
 jump-PT-NOM MIR your^s-wisdom (N) NAR say-3P that small.leopard
 t^hint-u-loĩs-u-pəç^hi.
 wake-3P-take.up-3P-after (N)
'Your wisdom now has gone down, she said, after she had woken up the tiger.'
- (122) lu əni am-nic^ha ç^hib^hiri-du kon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo,
 well then (N) your^s-younger.brother hill.close-LOC.high walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND
 e, d^hib^hiri-yu kon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo, k^hana ç^hib^hiri lont-a,
 hey hill.far-LOC.low walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND you^s hill.close go.outside-PT
 k^hana ç^hib^hiri-du ti-kon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo am-nic^ha
 you^s hill.close-LOC.high 2AS-walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND your^s-younger.brother
 d^hib^hiri-yu kon-Ø.
 hill.far-LOC.low walk-NPT
'Well, now, if your younger brother goes over to the nearby hill, goes down from that far hill, then you must come up from the nearby hill, and your younger brother down from the hill further out.'

- (123) abo amko am-kəmaĩ-cʰaŋ matdiŋ-Ø di-cʰaŋ kama
 now (N) your^s your^s-income (N)-also not.there-NPT what-ever work (N)
 ti-muw-a-ʔo-cʰaŋ matdiŋ-Ø.
 2AS-do-PT-NOM-also not.there-NPT
 ‘Now you also have no earning, income, you have done no work whatever.’
- (124) am-nicʰa-ʔa-ŋa kent-u-ŋ-u-ci-ʔo jəmma
 your^s-younger.brother-ERG-EMPH keep.animals-3P-PROG-3P-DUP-NOM all (N)
 əni kʰana kʰis-u-co-Ø-ʔa
 then (N) you^s steal-3P-eat-3P-EMPHa.
 ‘All that your younger brother is keeping, you steal and eat it, hey!’
- (125) kʰwatni lo-Ø-pəcʰi i-ma-ʔo i-som siw-a.
 that.way say-3P-after (N) his/her-mother-GEN his/her-love die-PT
 ‘After she had said this, his mother was satisfied.’
- (126) i-ma-ʔo i-som siw-a-pəcʰi kʰon-da-ŋka-sa abo
 his/her-mother-GEN his/her-love die-PT-after (N) he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN now (N)
 tʰapsiŋ riti-da di bʰəne ǽ
 ritual ritual (N)-LOC what if (N) yes
 ‘After his mother was satisfied, now, from that what do we say about the traditions.’
- (127) maŋ mu-ma ca-ma-ʔo maŋ mu-ma ca-ma-ʔo əni detni bʰəne,
 godhead do-INF eat-INF-NOM godhead do-INF eat-INF-NOM then (N) how if (N)
 ‘To continuously worship the gods, and then how.’
- (128) abo sakenwa əni yupuŋ-diwa əni epma-diwa ni
 now (N) Sakenwa then (N) Yupung-grandfather then (N) grave-grandfather NAR
 yiŋ-in-y-in. ǽ epma kʰit-ma ni əgʰi-ʔo
 say-12plSP-PROG-12plSP yes grave worship-INF NAR before (N)-GEN
 an-baje-ci an-diwa-ci an-pa-ci
 our^{pe}-grandfather (N)-PL our^{pi}-grandfather-PL our^{pi}-father-PL
 mi-yuw-a-ŋ-a-ʔo tʰiyo.
 3pl-be-PT-PROG-PT-NOM PPTaux
 ‘Now we say Sakenwa and Yupungdiwa and Epmadiwa (god of the grave?). Er, worship at the grave means: they were our previous grandfathers, grandfathers and fathers.’
- (129) tərə sumnima-ʔa-ŋa kʰwatni yuŋs-u-do-Ø-ʔo huna-le
 but (N) Sumnima-ERG-EMPH that.way put-3P-eff-3P-NOM being (N)-INSTR (N)
 epma-diwa kʰit-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 grave-grandfather worship-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘But as Sumnima has laid it down, the Epmadiwa must be paid honour.’
- (130) əni yupuŋ-diwa-cʰaŋ mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 then (N) Yupung-grandfather-also do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘And Yupungdiwa also must be done.’

- (131) sampukədiwa-c^haŋ mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø sum-ka-tet luŋ-ci-c^haŋ
 Sampukdiwa-also do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT three-CNT-qual stone-PL-also
 an-dabya-k^ham-da t^huŋ-ma-ci dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 our^{pl}-fireplace-place-LOC dig-INF-DU must-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘Sampukdiwa also must be done, also, three stones must be spread out in the hearth stone.’
- (132) i-lain mo-da-ŋa əni c^hute lis-a.
 his/her-line (E) that-LOC-EMPH then (N) divided (N) become-PT
 ‘From the line there now there was the division’
- (133) əni sakenwa ni yiŋ-in-y-in sakenwa-c^haŋ əni mo
 then (N) Sakenwa NAR say-12plSP-PROG-12plSP Sakenwa-also then (N) that
 lain-da-ŋka c^hute lis-a luŋ-maj^ha-da lims-a-d^ha-Ø.
 line (E)-LOC-ABL divide (N) become-PT stone-middle (N)-LOC turn.over-PT-DIRdown-PT
 ‘What we call Sakenwa: There is a separation by that line, it fell over in between the stones.’
- (134) ik-lain-da sakenwa lis-a, ik-lain-da calī yupuŋ-diwa
 one-line-LOC Sakenwa become-PT one-line-LOC swTOP (N) Yupung-grandfather
 lis-a, ik-lain-da, tīn-wəŋa mo-da t^huŋ-ma dot-da-ŋ.
 become-PT one-line-LOC three (N)-qual (N) that-LOC dig-INF must-eff-EMPH.
 ‘Sakenwa was in one line, in one line came Yupungdiwa. In one line, three pieces must be dug.’
- (135) an-k^him hut-ya luŋ-ci əni k^hon-ki-na mo-da bəl ɛak^ha
 our^{pl}-house inside-LOC.level stone-PL then (N) he/she-SEQ-TOP that-LOC strength (N)
 dot-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø, mo luŋ-ci-da.
 beg-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT that stone-PL-LOC
 ‘In our house’s stone hearth, there we must ask for strength, in those stones.’
- (136) ki-na k^hwatni lis-a-ŋo.
 SEQ-TOP that.way become-PT-NOM
 ‘Then, that is what it is like.’
- (137) əni ke gərne əni simnima-ŋo-na ləu iŋka-na
 then (N) what (N) to do (N) then (N) Sumnima-GEN-TOP well I-TOP
 mon-səmmə-ŋa, nati, jət^ha...
 that.much-up.to (N)-EMPH grandson (N) eldest (N)
 ‘Then what to do, Sumnima’s (story), as for me, is up to here only, child, eldest son...’
- (138) abi mun-ŋa he ərko-ci c^haŋ
 now (N) that.much-EMPH or another (N)-PL also
 ‘Now, that much only, or others also?’
- (139) ərko-ci ərko-so abo di o-ko əni
 another (N)-PL another (N)-PRN now (N) what this-ref then (N)
 ‘Others? Another, now what? This, and then...’

- (140) bʰəgəta-ʔo-na iŋka i-tat-ni-ŋ.
 Bhagata-GEN-TOP I NEGNPp-bring-NEGn-1s
 ‘The one from Bhagata I do not know.’

Figure 9.1: The temple complex of Barāhakṣetra on the Kośī river bank

