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* (Rāī 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 Rāī, hailing from Homtāṅ. His dialect has the feature that the second person agent prefix is <i-> rather than <ti->. Otherwise no difference with the central Sindrāṅ 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 a proper name. However, *Ganya* is also used as a class name for different goddesses.

(1) o-ko   gǝnya ni-ʔo   ɕǝbdǝ kirawa yɨŋ-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 bʰǝnne 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 baddʰe baddʰe-ka-tet
long.ago (N) long.ago (N) this now-LOC Nepal-LOC many   many-CNT-qual
yɨŋ-ci   ətʰəwa haŋ-ci   mɨ-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)*
mɨ-yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.
3pl-sit-PT-PROG-PT
'In this country, it is said there were twenty-four and twenty-two kingdoms.'

(5) kʰo-ko-da   ɨk-tet haŋ   yuw-a-ŋ-a   t̪ʰet̪   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   ɨk-tet   i-cʰa   mecʰacʰa əsade-ŋa
that-ref Magar *king (N)* one-qual his/her-child daughter *extremely (N)*-EMPH
kʰa-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 jʰarak haŋ-ci-ʔa   mo-ko mecʰacʰa nu-lok
and (N) that-ref all   king.root-PL-ERG that-ref daughter   be.good-MAN
kʰa-nu-lok   i-kʰaŋ-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) ɨk-tet   rajkumar-ʔa dor-u ə̃ raja-ʔo   i-cʰa-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 kʰat-ma-ŋa cʰunt-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   kʰar-a-ki kʰar-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   cʰunt-a.
but (N) refuse-PT
'her father very much said go, go, but she refused.'

(10) pəcʰi əməla-raŋ   bʰen-da kʰar-a-ki mo-ko cɨŋs-a-n-ci-n
after (N) lemon (N)-plant root-LOC go-PT-SEQ that-ref hang-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
i-pot-da   dori pakt-a-n-ci-n-kina   cɨŋs-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) kʰo-so-ʔo   ɨ-nɨŋ-da   cɨŋs-a-n   ser-a-n-ci-n-pəcʰi
he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-name-LOC hang-PT-NEGn kill-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-*after (N)*
mo-so-ʔo   ɨ-pa   ekdəmi   kʰaw-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) kʰaw-a-ŋ-a   yuw-a-ŋ-a   tʰiyo.
cry-PT-PROG-PT be-PT-PROG-PT PPTaux
'He kept crying.'

(13) əni   mɨ-kʰar-a-kina mo-ko əməla-raŋ   kʰar-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
ɨ-pa-sudda   mo-ko ɨ-cʰa   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-pəcʰi - a-pa   kʰana detninalo motni   tɨ-yɨŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
talk-PT-*after (N)* - VOCp-father youˢ   why   like.that 2AS-say-NPT-PROG-NPT
motni   man-yɨŋ-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   ɨŋka-sudda kʰana cep-ma ɨ-tok-na-n   ɨŋka
now (N)-LOC-ABL I-with   youˢ   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   ətʰəwa pala-da   jənma jənma
later *another (N)* *lifetime (N)*-LOC *or (N)*   *turn (N)*-LOC *birth (N)* *birth (N)*
li-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo   kʰana-sudda-ŋa yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-da
become-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND youˢ-with-EMPH   sit-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-TEMP
o-ko-da   kʰotni-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) mapʰi   pɨw-a-ŋ a-pa   ni yɨŋ-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 ɨ-pa   akʰomaŋ-da-ŋka kʰana deki hwatni tɨ-muw-a-ŋ amko
this-ref his/her-father yesterday-LOC-ABL youˢ   why this.way 2AS-do-PT-1s yourˢ
bəisa-da.   "amko ɨŋka nu-lok   nu-lok   mu-na-ne" ni-ki-na
youth (N)-LOC yourˢ   I   be.good-MAN be.good-MAN do-2P-OPT   NAR-SEQ-TOP
mit-na-ŋ-na-ʔo   tʰiyo, tərə   kʰana tɨ-cɨŋs-a-n
remember-2P-PROG-2P-NOM PPTaux *but (N)* youˢ   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 ayɨmit   cʰa   yuŋ-ma ni
now (N) I   youˢ-with-EMPH   nowadays child put-INF   NAR
min-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ʔo   kʰana detni tɨ-yɨŋ-Ø   bʰəne.
think-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM youˢ   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   ɨ-cʰa-ʔa   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-ʔo
I   VOCp-father youˢ-with-EMPH   sit-INF   NAR think-2P-PROG-2P-1s-NOM
hwatni-ŋa   lis-a,   abɨ   həreka doŋ-da iŋka cʰa cʰa məhina-da
this.way-EMPH become-PT *now (N) every (N)* year-LOC I   six   six *month (N)*-LOC
ɨk-tet   rãga   bʰakala pɨw-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   tɨ-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-heda   iŋka kʰana-sudda
that-LOC *worship (N)* 2AS-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-SIMp I   youˢ-with
am-satʰa-da   yuŋ-ŋa
yourˢ-*together (N)*-LOC sit-1sNP
'While you worship me in that, I shall be together with you.'

(23) iŋka iŋko mit-ma   tɨ-sɨw-a-heda   kʰana ici-nicʰa
I   my   remember-INF 2AS-die-PT-SIMp youˢ   theirᵖ-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 ɨ-pa-ʔa   lo-Ø həi. kʰon-ʔo   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) ə̃ 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 youˢ-DAT *worship (N)* cause-2P-OPT
ni lo-Ø-kina   mo-ko əməla-raŋ   bʰen-da kʰar-a-kina i-pa-ʔa
NAR say-3P-CAUS that-ref *lemon (N)*-plant root-LOC go-PT-CAUS his/her-father-ERG
cahĩ   rãga-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   ɨ-cʰa-sudda   hant-a-ci. ə̃ kʰananin ə̃ kʰana ɨŋka-sudda
then (N) his/her-child-with talk-PT-DU yes you^p   yes you^s I-with
yuŋ-a-yakt-a, jʰarak-ka doŋ jʰarak-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-ʔo   saŋ-ci-cʰaŋ jəmma-ŋa
heart   remember-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM who-PL-ever *all (N)*-EMPH
mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo   o-ko-da, ten-da   kʰana-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)*
mɨ-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.   kʰana 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) kʰo-tni-pəcʰi   mo-ko raja   məgər raja-da-ŋka   kʰar-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) kʰar-a məgər raja   kʰar-a-ki, ɨk-tet   pūrwa-ya-ʔo   kirawa raja
go-PT Magar *king (N)* go-PT-SEQ one-qual *east (N)*-LOC.level-GEN Kiranti *king (N)*
mun   cʰeka baise   cəubīse   rajyə   mɨ-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,   ɨk-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   dʰuwa ɨdʰuwa-taŋ ban-a-kina   ninamhaŋ butt-u.
Kiranti-PL their^p big.man leader-head come.level-PT-CAUS God   call-3P
kʰatt-u-ŋ-o-hida   butt-u, “kʰana deki o-da   tɨ-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) ɨk-tet munŋa rãga   duī sĩge   nɨ-pɨ-heda-ŋa   kʰana
one-qual that.much *buffalo.bull (N)* *two (N)* *horned (N)* 3A-give-SIMp-EMPH you^s
bʰula tɨ-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 tɨ-kʰat-Ø-ne-para   nəu sĩge   yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo
we^pe-with   2AS-go-NPT-OPT-COND nine *horned (N)* be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
kʰana-lai rãga   nɨ-pɨ ankenka-sudda ta-Ø-kʰat-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) ɔ̃ iŋko-na iŋ-pa   sədʰəĩ ekdəm-ŋa ɨk-tet rãga   matrə
yes my-TOP my-father always *very (N)*-EMPH one-qual *buffalo.bull (N) only (N)*
ɨ-pɨ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa   duī s̃ige rãga   matrə
3AM-give-1sNP-PROG-1sNP *two (N) horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) only (N)*
ɨ-pɨ-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 kʰana di   molokʔ nəu s̃ige   rãga   yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   ləu
how youˢ what isn't.it nine *horned (N) buffalo.bull (N)* sit-NPT-PROG-NPT well
kʰat-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 cʰetkuma ḍola-da   ɨ-pa-ʔa-ki
NAR-NOM say-3P-CAUS that-ref girl   *palanquin (N)*-LOC 3AM-put.in-PT-SEQ
ɨ-batt-a
3AM-bring-PT
'Speaking in this way, they put that girl on a palanquin and took her away.'

(37) kʰotni-ŋa   pəcʰi kʰon-pəcʰi   mo-ko
that.way-EMPH *after (N)* he/she-*after (N)* that-ref
kʰan-nuw-a-ŋ-a-ʔo   mecʰacʰa caĥĩ   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 ḍola-da   ɨ-paʔ-a-ki   hwaŋ-sa-ʔa
obey-PT-SEQ that *palanquin (N)*-LOC 3AM-put.in-PT-SEQ two-PRN-ERG
ɨ-kʰuy-a-c-u-kina   ɨ-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 ɨ-batt-a-c-u   pəcʰi ɨk-tet mo siŋraŋ-bʰen-da
that 3AM-bring-PT-DU-3P *after (N)* one-qual that tree-root-LOC
ɨ-yuŋs-a-c-u-kina   puja   ɨ-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 kʰananin-ŋa nəu s̃ige   rãga   piw-a-nin-ne,
OK I   youᵖ-EMPH nine *horned (N) buffalo.bull (N)* give-PT-2p-OPT
ti-low-a-ŋ-nɨ-ŋ-ʔo,   lə abɨ piw-a-ŋ-nɨ-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-pəcʰi   ɨ-pa-ŋa   ta   kʰəi   iŋka-na ɨŋ-pa-ʔa
     beg-3P-*after (N)* his/her-father-EMPH *then (N) where (N)* I-TOP   my-father-ERG
     baddʰe ɨdʰiwaŋko rãga   ɨ-pɨw-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ-ʔo   tʰiyo.
     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 sĩge   rãga   kʰəi   - kʰaŋ ett-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ. ləu kʰəi
     yourᵖ nine *horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) where (N)* - show tell-PT-1s-2p-1sc well *where (N)*
     mo nəu sĩge   rãga   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   cʰoŋs-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!   kʰana detni yɨŋ-ma ɨ-nu-nin   kʰana
     NEGPTp-be.PTNEG youˢ   how say-INF NEGNPp-be.good-NEGn youˢ
     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 kʰana yuŋ-ma dot-Ø   jʰarak-ka doŋ
     this-LOC-EMPH weᵖᵉ-with   youˢ sit-INF   must-NPT all-CNT   year
     jʰarak-sa-ʔa kʰana nəu nəu sĩg   yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo   kʰana
     all-PRN-ERG   youˢ   nine nine *horn (N)* be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM youˢ
     rãga   nɨ-pɨ
     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 jʰarak kʰim-da-ŋka   kʰana nɨ-kʰut   ni-ʔo
     weᵖᵉ   all   house-LOC-ABL youˢ 3A-bring.for.someone NAR-NOM
     lo-Ø-kina   pʰeri ɨ-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) ɨ-yuŋs-a-kina   pʰeri kʰəi   molok nəu sĩge   rãga   ni
     3AM-put-PT-CAUS *again (N) where (N)* isn't.it nine *horned (N) buffalo.bull (N)* NAR
     ɨ-low-a   tə   mo bʰale-ʔo   ɨ-sira-ŋa   kʰaŋ
     3AM-say-PT *though (N)* that *rooster (N)*-GEN his/her-cock.comb-EMPH show
     ɨ-ett-a-ki   ɨ-kʰipt-a-pɨw-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) ɨk-tet   hwa-tet sumka-tet ŋak-ka-tet   pʰek-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 ɨ-low-a-kina   mo-ci-ʔa
seven-CNT-qual eight-CNT-qual NAR 3AM-say-PT-CAUS that-PL-ERG
ɨ-kʰɨpt-a-pɨw-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 wəʈa sĩga? ə̃, o   o-ko-ŋa   ni-ki-na
hey this-ref-EMPH nine *qual (N) horn (N)* yes interr this-ref-EMPH NAR-SEQ-TOP
kʰo-da-ŋka   motni rajkumarī məgər raja-ʔo   ɨ-cʰa-da-ʔo
he/she-LOC-ABL like.that *princess (N)* Magar *king (N)*-GEN his/her-child-LOC-GEN
ɨ-nɨŋ-da-ŋka   kirawa yɨŋ-da-ŋka   giỹya ni ɨ-low-a-kina
his/her-name-LOC-ABL Kiranti language-LOC-ABL Ganja NAR 3AM-say-PT-CAUS
mo puja   mu-ma ɨ-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 Viśvahāṅ Rāī, is added here as a diversion. This song contains countryside romance and beautiful participles.

(1) kʰokli-ʔo bʰen-da liŋwa-kʰa   cʰoŋ-da pit goŋdok
forest-GEN root-LOC lowland.grass-place top-LOC cow bull
mɨ-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) yaŋsɨŋ-raŋ   cok-du   dommak pʰop-ca-sa   cʰoŋwa-ci
Schima.wallichii-plant top-LOC.high grasshopper catch-eat.2-SIM bird-PL
mɨ-han-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   cʰoŋwa-ci mɨ-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 talɨk-cʰaŋ cʰak-ma cʰoŋwa-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-yɨŋ   cʰoŋwa man-cat-maŋ-tari   ɨ-rɨ-im-in
shoot-INF-PP bird   NEGPTp-hit.the.mark-NPC-up.to NEGNPp-can-12pn-NEGn
lap-ma-ci   ɨ-rɨ-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   hensɨŋ-buŋ   bar-a   saŋhokwa
    water.jug-flower bloom-PT phaledo-flower.root bloom-PT singing.bird
    pat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo.
    cry.out-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
    'the water jug flower *flowers, the* Erythrina stricta *flowers, the* haleso *bird is*
    singing out'

(6) pat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo   cʰoŋwa bar-a-ʔo   buŋwa
    cry.out-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM bird   bloom-PT-NOM flower
    kʰa-nu-Ø-lo   dat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo   kʰa-nu-Ø-lo
    thing-be.good-NPT-MAN be.seen-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM thing-be.good-NPT-MAN
    dat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo.
    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-ʔo tərika   yɨŋ-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) mɨna-ci heŋmawa detni bənya   mɨ-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-ʔa 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   ɨdʰiwaŋko 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) kʰonki mo-da car-u-ʔo   wacʰɨn kʰaca 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) kʰaca sip   pak-ma   dot-Ø,   bʰãɖa-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) kʰonki   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) kʰonki-na   mo-ko bʰãɖo-da-ʔo   wacʰɨn kʰaca 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-bʰənda bu-ya   mo-so-ʔo   ɨ-duŋ-du   ɨk-tet
     boil-INF-*COMP (N)* front-LOC.level that-PRN-GEN his/her-top-LOC.high one-qual
     gagɨtyaŋ   ni-ʔo   bʰãɖo 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 bakʰa-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 gagɨtyaŋ-ʔo   ɨ-tʰen-da   ɨ-hut-ci   mɨ-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 ɨ-hut-da-ŋka   hyuna wacʰɨn-ʔo ɨ-sam   dʰana
     that his/her-hole-LOC-ABL down   beer-GEN his/her-vapour above
     gagɨtyaŋ   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) pʰeri   kʰonki-na gagɨtyaŋ-hut-da   ɨk-tet bʰɨ   ətʰəwa
     again (N) and.then-TOP distillation.vessel-hole-LOC one-qual earthen.vessel *or (N)*
     bʰãɖo 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) ɨ-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 bʰã̃ɖo-da ɨ-cilok   cakwa-cʰaŋ 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 ɨ-pa-im-in-nalo   mo bʰɨ   tatayi
      that water   NEGNPp-put.in-12pn-NEGn-COND that earthen.vessel *hot (N)*
      li-Ø-kina   ku-Ø-kina   dʰana-ŋka wacʰin-o ɨ-sam
      become-NPT-CAUS heat-NPT-CAUS above-ABL beer-GEN his/her-vapour
      cʰok-Ø-dʰa-Ø-nucʰaŋa.
      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-kʰat-Ø-ni-kina   ɨ-cilok   cakwa
      get.hot-NPT-DIRaway-NPT-NAR-CAUS his/her-little.bit water
      pa-u-m-nalo   mo-da   dʰana-ŋka wacʰin-ʔo ɨ-sam   dʰa-ʔo
      put.in-3P-12pA-COND that-LOC above-ABL beer-GEN   his/her-vapour up-GEN
      haŋ-ma   kʰat-ma ɨ-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 gagɨtyaŋ-ʔo   ɨ-cʰoŋ-du   ərko   ɨk-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   ɨ-tʰen   ɨ-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) kʰonki mo bata-da   bata   rə   gagɨtyaŋ-ʔo
      and.then that pointed.vessel-LOC pointed.vessel *and (N)* distillation.vessel-GEN
      ɨ-majʰa-da   ɨk-tet bɨhomma   ni-ʔo   kəpəɖa 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   maddɨŋ ɨ-sam   bahira kʰat-Ø-lon-Ø
like.that not.there his/her-vapour *outside (N)* go-NPT-DIRup-NPT
buŋkʰa-ya-tni   lon-Ø-kʰat-Ø.
outside-LOC.level-ALL go.outside-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
'If not, the steam will go out, it will go out.'

(24) wacʰɨn ɨ-sam   buŋkʰa-yatni ɨ-kʰat-nin-ne   ni-ki-na-na
beer   his/her-vapour outside-towards NEGNPp-go-3NEG-OPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP
gagɨtyaŋ   rə   bata-o   ɨ-majʰa-da
distillation.vessel *and (N)* pointed.vessel-GEN his/her-*middle (N)*-LOC
bɨhomma   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 pʰeri   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 yɨŋ-in-nalo   yɨŋ-ma dat-Ø-nalo   o cakwa
because   NAR say-12plSP-COND say-INF be.seen-NPT-COND this water
jətika   kʰepi tatəi liy-a,   mo lat-ma   kʰat-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 ɨk-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-kʰat-Ø.
liquor   *thin (N)* become-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
'If once the water starts to cook, the hengmawa below will go thin.'

(28) mo heŋmawa patalo ɨ-li-nin-ne   ni-ki-na-na   dʰana
that liquor   *thin (N)* NEGNPp-become-3NEG-OPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP above
cakwa pʰeri   mu-ma   yak-ma dot-Ø.
water *again (N)* be.pred-INF be.in-INF must-NPT
'In order let that hengmawa not go thin, up there one must put water in.'

(29) ku-Ø-lon-Ø   cakwa ku-Ø-lon-Ø   cʰaŋ mo
heat-NPT-DIRup-NPT water   heat-NPT-DIRup-NPT also   that
lat-ma-kʰan-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) kʰonki-na-na   mo ni-ʔo   krəm, mo ni-ʔo   kaci, pãc kʰepi-da-ŋka
and.then-TOP-TOP that NAR-NOM krəm that NAR-NOM work *five (N)* time-LOC-ABL
sat   kʰepi-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 abɨ   watatma   ni-ʔo   bʰɨ-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) kʰonki-na   abɨ   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) kʰonki-na   bu-ya   bata   lat-ma   kʰan-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) kʰonki gagɨtyaŋ-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   dʰa-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 tərika   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 Viśvahāṅ 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, Viśvahāṅ 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) bakʰa-ʔo-yu   bakʰa hut-yu   kʰum-ma dot-Ø
     soil-GEN-LOC.low soil   hole-LOC.low bury-INF   must-NPT
     'He must be buried in the ground.'

(2) jʰarak-da-ŋka bu-ya   sɨw-a-da-Ø-cʰaŋ saŋ kʰokpa sɨw-a-da   he
     all-LOC-ABL   front-LOC.level die-PT-eff-PT-also who old.man die-PT-TEMP or
     kʰokma. kʰokpa kʰokma ɨco   cʰa-ci, mɨ-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) duwacʰa-ci-nalo duwacʰa-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
     jʰarak 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) kʰon-ki-na   jʰarak-da-ŋka bu-ya   mo-ko mɨna si-Ø-da-Ø-cʰaŋ
     he/she-SEQ-TOP all-LOC-ABL   front-LOC.level that-ref man die-NPT-eff-NPT-also
     kʰimkoŋ-hut-da yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo   buŋkʰa-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) kʰon-ki   mɨna-ʔo ɨ-taŋ   hyatni laptikʰoŋ pəʈʈi 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) kʰon-ki-na   abɨ   jʰarak dɨkcʰa bɨwa-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) ɨ-sin-cʰaŋ   mɨ-ta-Ø   api mɨ-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) jʰarak mɨna bʰela   li-ma-kina   mo mɨna-lai om-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
all   man *gathered (N)* become-INF-CAUS that man-DAT be.white-NPT-PROG-NPT
ɨnuŋwa kəpəɖa tit-ʔa   bʰom-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) bʰom-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) kʰon-ki-na   ɨ-cʰa-ci-ʔa   kʰun-ma dot-Ø   duwacʰa-ci-ʔa
he/she-SEQ-TOP his/her-child-PL-ERG carry-INF must-NPT son-PL-ERG
duwacʰa-ci maddɨŋ-ci-nalo   cʰetkuma-ci-da-ʔo makcʰa
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) bʰərsək kʰo-ci-cʰaŋ   nɨ-ta-nin-nalo   dɨkcʰa-da-ʔo   dɨkcʰa
possibly (N) he/she-PL-ever N3pl-come.far-NEGn-COND brothers-LOC-GEN brothers
buwa-ci-ʔa   kʰun-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) kʰon-ki-na   mo kʰatt-u-m-y-u-m   kʰun-ma-bʰənda
he/she-SEQ-TOP that take.away-3P-12pA-PROG-3P-12pA carry-INF-*COMP (N)*
bu-ya   mo ka-sɨ-da-pa   mɨna-ʔo ɨ-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   ɨ-cici   ɨ-do-da   ɨ-ŋaliŋ
money put.in-INF must-NPT his/her-little.bit his/her-mouth-LOC his/her-face
dʰatni.   (demkaʔ) ɨk   pʰek, ɨk yaŋ   ɨ-bidi   - tʰapsɨŋ-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) (ərtʰə   di?) o yaŋ? mo ni o abɨ   mɨna sɨw-a-da-Ø-ʔo
      meaning (N) what? this money? that other this *now (N)* man die-PT-eff-PT-NOM
      deŋ-da   jʰarak-da-ŋka ɨnuwak cija   nuwak jo-nucʰaŋa   pɨ-ma
      after-LOC all-LOC-ABL   good *thing (N)* good *whoever (N)*-even.though give-INF
      han-ma ɨ-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) jʰarak-da-ŋka cʰɨ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo   cakwa cokʰo 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   ɨ-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) kʰon-ki ɨ-cʰuk-da   yaŋ pak-ma dot-Ø   kʰon-ki-na   kʰokli
      he/she-SEQ his/her-hand-LOC money put.in-INF must-NPT he/she-SEQ-TOP forest
      hyatni   he wɨk-da   kʰum-si kʰat-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) kʰum-si kʰat-ma-da mo para-ʔa   samba-da kʰun-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) kʰon-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) jʰarak-da-ŋka bu-ya   ka-kon-pa   mɨna-ʔa kaya
      all-LOC-ABL   front-LOC.level APpref-walk-APm man-ERG rice.plant
      ri-yaŋ-sa   kʰatt-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) kʰada kʰum-ma ni   min-in   kʰada kʰum-ma kʰada yuŋ-ma anken
      where bury-INF NAR think-12plSP where bury-INF where put-INF weᵖⁱ
      min-in.   ma-ʔaŋ-nalo   kohi   mɨna-ci sɨ-ma-da-ma
      think-12plSP NEGPTp-be.PTNEG-COND someone man-PL die-INF-eff-INF
      bu-ya   kʰo-ci-ʔa   nɨŋa ɨ-no-Ø-ʔo   yuŋ-kʰa 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 sɨ-ŋa-da-ŋa-hida   kʰo-da   kʰatt-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ   ni
     that-LOC I   die-1sNP-eff-1sNP-SIMp he/she-LOC take.away-PT-1s-2p-1sc NAR
     mɨ-yɨŋ-Ø.
     3pl-say-NPT
     ' "That is where I want to be when I have died, take me there," they say.'

(22) kʰon-ki-na   mo-da kʰat-ma-ci   kʰum-ma-ci mɨ-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   mɨna-ʔo i-taŋ
     many DOUBT hole   dig.in-INF-SEQ that-LOC man-GEN his/her-head
     pūrwa-hyatni mu-ma-ki kʰum-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   kʰum-ma-bʰənda 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   dʰak   dʰak   yuŋ-ma,
     his/her-good stone-PL bring.far-INF-DU-CAUS dhak.onom dhak.onom put-INF
     luŋ   tʰɨŋ-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) kʰon-ki-na   mo dʰuŋ-da tit-ci   tʰɨŋ-ma-ci   gundrī
     he/she-SEQ-TOP that above-LOC clothes-PL spread.out-INF-DU straw.mat (N)
     tʰɨŋ-ma   mɨ-dot-Ø   kʰon-ki   tit-ci   pak-ma kʰon-ki   mo
     spread.out-INF 3pl-must-NPT he/she-SEQ clothes-PL put.in-INF he/she-SEQ that
     dʰuŋ-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) pʰeri   ɨ-dʰuŋ-du-ŋka   watni-ʔo   məjja-ʔo   luŋtak
     again (N) his/her-above-LOC.high-ABL like.this-NOM pleasure (N)-GEN stone
     baddʰe ɨdʰiwaŋ məjjale   ɨdʰiwaŋ luŋtak-ʔa ɨ-tim-u-n
     many   big   pleasant (N) big   stone-ERG NEGNPp-press.down-3P-NEGn
     watni sɨ-Ø-da-Ø-ʔo   mɨna 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 bakʰa.
     only (N) soil
     'Making it like a box, he must be covered pleasantly. Only after that (comes) the soil.'

(27) sum-ka tala tʰok-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) kʰon-ki mina-ʔo i-taŋ pəʈʈi-da-ŋka bicikilik-da kok
he/she-SEQ man-GEN his/her-head *side (N)*-LOC-ABL earthen.vessel-LOC rice
bʰaŋ-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) kʰon-ki wa set-ma-ki, uncitko waicʰet 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) kʰon-ki i-laŋ pəʈʈi-da i-cik-da-tni wabuk-da wacʰin
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-pəʈʈi-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-dʰuŋ-du)
grave-GEN his/her-above-LOC.high
'*(on top of the grave).*'

(33) kʰon-ki duwacʰa-cʰa yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo kʰim-da
he/she-SEQ son-child sit-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND house-LOC
la-ma-ta-ma-ki juʈʰo mina-ci maŋyiŋ mi-lu-Ø
return-INF-DIRback-INF-SEQ *impure (N)* man-PL prayer 3pl-feel-NPT
i-dʰuwa-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 pʰəlana mina ayi-da-ŋka o henkʰamma-da
today-LOC-ABL *such.and.such (N)* man today-LOC-ABL this earth-LOC
maddiŋ-Ø o anko tʰapsiŋ-hili-da-ŋka lont-a-kʰar-a.
not.there-NPT this our[pi] 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) bakʰa-yu   waŋ-a-kʰar-a ətʰəwa paru-du   kʰat-Ø. abɨ,   han jʰarak
soil-LOC.low enter-PT-go-PT *or (N)*   heaven-LOC.high go-NPT *now (N)* now all
toŋ-ma-ki-na   kʰo-so-ʔo   ɨ-niŋ-da   ɨ-cʰa-ci
match-INF-SEQ-TOP he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-name-LOC his/her-child-PL
mɨ-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo   duwacʰa-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 rɨk-ma   dot-Ø.
white (N) cloth (N) twist-INF must-NPT
'must be wrapped in white clothes.'

(37) kʰon-ki-na-na   di-sa-cʰaŋ   nop-ma ɨ-nu-nin
he/she-SEQ-TOP-TOP what-PRN-ever touch-INF NEGNPp-be.good-NEGn
pəsu-ci   ni-mɨna   mɨna nop-ma ɨ-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 tʰapsɨŋ-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   cə̃ɨ   jʰarak mɨna bʰela   li-ma
day.after.tomorrow (N) morning (N) swTOP (N) all   man *gathered (N)* become-INF
dot-Ø   nata   gota   cʰetkuma dɨkcʰa bɨwa   bʰela
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   sɨw-a-da-Ø-ʔo   mɨna-ʔo ɨ-niŋ-da.
this die-PT-eff-PT-NOM man-GEN his/her-name-LOC
'in the name of that deceased person.'

(41) nakcʰoŋ ma-ʔaŋ   əru-cʰaŋ   dowa-ci mɨ-yuŋ-Ø kʰo-ci   maŋ
shaman NEGPTp-be.PTNEG *other (N)*-also sorcery-PL 3pl-sit-NPT he/she-PL godhead
mɨ-mu-Ø   kʰon-ki-na   mo maŋ   yɨŋ-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   jʰarak dɨkcʰa bɨwa   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   abɨ   kʰana sitmaŋ
this-LOC-ABL salt   oil   eat-INF receive-3P-12pA-e *now (N)* youˢ   dead.person
tɨ-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 dukʰa man-pɨ-da   ni.
weᵖᵉ-DAT   trouble NEGPTp-give-NEGPTs NAR
'Do not give us trouble.'

(44) abɨ   am-niŋ-da   o   wak wako pi-nin-Ø-nin
now (N) yourˢ-name-LOC this such- such   give-1ns2-PROG-1ns2
'In your name we are giving you such and such.'

(45) yiŋ   mɨ-lat-Ø   dowa-ci puja   mɨ-mu-Ø   maŋ
prayer 3pl-take.out-NPT sorcery-PL *worship (N)* 3pl-be.pred-NPT godhead
mɨ-mu-Ø.
3pl-do-NPT.
'They pray, the priests do the ritual, they do the ritual.'

(46) kʰon-ki   mo ka-sɨ-da-pa-ʔo   mina-ʔo i-niŋ-da   mɨ-yiŋ
he/she-SEQ that APpref-die-eff-APm-GEN man-GEN his/her-name-LOC 3pl-speak
mo-ko len-ʔo   bʰaŋ-ma-yiŋ-ʔo camatʰoka an-debre cʰuk owatni
that-ref day-GEN boil-INF-PP-GEN food   ourᵖⁱ-left hand like.this
kʰɨk-ma-ki owatni pi-ma dot-Ø   wet-ma   kʰat-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-cʰuk-da   mɨ-pak-Ø   kʰon-ki   dowa-ci mɨ-lat-Ø   mogəri
ourᵖⁱ-hand-LOC 3pl-put.in-NPT he/she-SEQ sorcery-PL 3pl-take.out-NPT then
yiŋ-lat-sa   mɨ-kʰat-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-sɨda-pa-ʔo   i-cʰa-ci   duwacʰa-ci jo
that APpref-die.eff-APm-GEN his/her-child-PL son-PL   *whoever (N)*
gʰumʈoma   bəseko huncʰə mo-ci-ʔo   ɨco   taŋ-mɨwa kʰo-ma
impurity-LOC (N) seated (N) is (N)   that-PL-GEN theirⁿˢ head-hair scrape-INF
dot-Ø
must-NPT
'That person's children, sons, whoever was observing impurity, their hair must be shaved.'

(49) kʰon-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   pʰeri   mo ka-sɨda-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 tʰapsɨŋ 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
ourᵖᵉ   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   mɨ-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 mɨna 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   kʰar-a-ʔo, mo
other-*caste (N)* mother-bring.far-PT-NOM other-*caste (N)*-LOC go-PT-NOM that
maŋ-da   ɨ-kʰat-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) kʰon-ki   mo mɨna han ka-sɨda-pa   mɨna-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-tʰaŋna-cʰa-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 kʰwatni-cʰaŋ-ʔo iŋka
blacksmith-mother-with sit-PT-1s-NOM hey. that.way-ever-NOM I
kʰim-maŋ-da   ɨ-kʰat-nɨ-ŋ   maŋ ɨ-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) kʰonunale kʰwatni lis-a-ki   ab   iŋka cə̃ĭ   kʰokli-hyatni
      kʰonunale   that.way become-PT-SEQ *now (N)* I   *swTOP (N)* forest-across
      kʰə̃ĭs-a-ŋ-n-ŋ   ni-ʔo   ni yiŋ-Ø   ka-sɨda-pa   dowa-ci-ʔa
      send-PT-1s-2p-1sc NAR-NOM NAR say-NPT APpref-die.eff-APm sorcery-PL-ERG
      kʰon-Ø-pəcʰi   ankan-lai mɨ-lo-Ø.
      resurrect-NPT-*after (N)* weᵖⁱ-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) kʰo-so-ʔo   deŋ-da ab   ankan kʰokli-hyatni pak-ma-lai   dowa-ci
      he/she-PRN-GEN after-LOC *now (N)* weᵖⁱ   forest-across   put.in-INF-DAT sorcery-PL
      tʰom-yaŋ-sa   ken   mani saŋ-yaŋ-sa   mɨ-tʰom-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) kʰokli-hyatni tiŋ-han-ma
      forest-across   chase-send-INF
      'To chase him to the jungle.'

(61) abə-da-ŋka   o-da   han-da-ŋka kʰana ayi-da-ŋka   o-da   kʰana
      now (N)-LOC-ABL this-LOC now-LOC-ABL youˢ   today-LOC-ABL this-LOC youˢ
      ta-ma   tɨ-tok-na-n   yuŋ-ma kʰana tɨ-tok-na-n
      come.far-INF 2AS-receive-2P-NEGn sit-INF   youˢ   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) kʰana sədʰə̃ĭ-ko   lagi kʰokli-hyatni kʰat-ma dot-Ø.   sədʰə̃ĭ-ʔo   lagi
      youˢ   *always (N)-GEN (N) for (N)* forest-across   go-INF   must-NPT *always (N)-GEN for (N)*
      kʰokli-ya-ŋa   kʰana tɨ-yuŋ-Ø, kʰokli-ya-ŋa   tɨ-can-Ø,
      forest-LOC.level-EMPH youˢ   2AS-sit-NPT forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-feed-NPT
      kʰokli-ya-ŋa   tɨ-yuŋ-Ø,   kʰokli-ya-ŋa   tɨ-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) kʰana o-da   man-ta-da,   ankenka-lai man-pɨ-da
      youˢ   this-LOC NEGPTp-come.far-NEGPTs weᵖᵉ-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) kʰon-kina-na   tyəslai   cʰun-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) bʰəŋ-kʰa-wa-ʔa   cə̃i   kin-ma   kʰat-ma   dot-Ø,   həi,
      blast-PNOM-LIKE-ERG *swTOP (N)* frighten-INF take.away-INF must-NPT hey
      'With the gun they must scare it away, hey.'

(66) uncitko hotlum mɨ-tu-Ø   he hotlum hut-da   camaci-ci mɨ-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
      yɨŋ-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-cʰun-yuŋ-nalo   mo cə̃i   pʰeri kul-da
      that other NEGPTp-refuse-IMPF-COND that *swTOP (N) again (N) lineage (N)*-LOC
      kʰat-Ø anko kul-da   waŋ-Ø   kʰon-ki   mo kul-da
      go-NPT our^pi *lineage (N)*-LOC enter-NPT he/she-SEQ that *lineage (N)*-LOC
      waŋ-ŋa-lai   waicʰet 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,   ayɨ-da-ŋka   kʰana 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-kʰa
      great.grandfather great.grandmother-PL hey forefather foremother-PL sit-PNOM
      kʰo-ci-sudda   kʰana tɨ-tom-ki   tɨ-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) kʰana kʰo-ci-ʔo   ɨ-nɨŋa   nɨ-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) kʰo-ci-ʔa   nɨ-but-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   kʰo-da   kʰo-ci-sudda kʰat-ma
      he/she-PL-ERG 3A-call-NPT-PROG-NPT he/she-LOC he/she-PL-with go-INF
      dot-Ø.   lu,   kʰo-da   kʰat-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   tyəhã tʰapsɨŋ hili
be.pred-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-e NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP *there (N)* ritual   culture
ənusar   di-di   cɨ-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 cɨ-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   ɨ-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.   ɨ-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. Viśvahāṅ Rāī relates how it could derive from the expression 'the blood met'.

(1) hɨ   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 *ubhaulī pujā* 'upward worship' and *udhaulī pujā* '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 (*nakcʰoŋ*). 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 pujā*s are prime occasions for young boys and girls to meet.

(1) araŋ araŋ-ni pritʰwi narəyəŋ ɕaha-ʔa pūrwa-ya kirãti haŋhon-ci
once once-NAR Pr̥thvī 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, Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha met the Kiranti kingdoms in conquest.'

(2) kʰo gəri pritʰwi narəyəŋ ɕaha-ci-ʔa o i-sena-ci-ʔa
he/she moment Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha-PL-ERG this his/her-*soldier (N)*-PL-ERG
mo-ya kirãti-ci badde mi-ser-u-ci-ni
that-LOC.level *Kiranti (N)*-PL many 3pl-kill-3P-DUP-NAR
'At that time, those of Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha, his soldiers, killed many Kirantis there.'

(3) kʰon-ki mo-da hwa-tet undacitko honku-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 kirãti-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)* Pr̥thvī 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 Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha.'

(5) kʰon-ki ico hi honku-watni-ŋa sont-a-ni honku-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 nakcʰoŋ sindraŋ-da-ʔo sakenwa nakcʰoŋ-ni-ʔo anemnuŋ
ourᵖᵉ shaman Sindrāṅ-LOC-GEN Sakenwa shaman-NAR-NOM last.year
sɨw-a-da ni-ni
die-PT-TEMP other-NAR
'Our shaman, Sindrāṅ's ritual shaman died last year, they said, so,'

(8) ɨŋka-na kʰaŋ-ma man-tok-ŋa, ɨŋko baŋa.
I-TOP look-INF NEGPTp-receive-1sNP my uncle
'I did not get to see him, he was my uncle.'

(9) tərə sindraŋ bʰeplo-da sum-paŋ nakcʰoŋ-ci mɨ-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
but (N) Sindrāṅ complete-LOC three-qspir shaman-PL 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
'but in all of Sindrāṅ there are three shamans.'

(10) sakenwa ayɨmit sindraŋ-da hwa-tet matte yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci.
Sakenwa nowadays Sindrāṅ-LOC two-qual only (N) be-DU-PROG-DU
'Nowadays there are only two Sakenwa pujas in Sindrāṅ, only two.'

(11) dʰana lakturaŋ-du dʰana kʰyali bʰen-du kʰon-ki
above Lakturang-LOC.high above Kʰyali root-LOC.high he/she-SEQ
hyana cyemkʰa sat nãbər 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-kʰa-da jʰarak mɨna-ci dɨkcʰa jʰarak dɨkcʰa bɨwa-ci
Sakenwa do-PNOM-LOC all man-PL brothers all brothers elder.brother-PL
nata-ci jʰarak anko nu-Ø-lok ka-mit mɨna-ci mo-da
relative-PL all ourᵖⁱ be.good-NPT-MAN APpref-remember man-PL that-LOC
bʰela mɨ-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) kʰon-ki nakcʰoŋ maŋ mu-Ø əru jʰarak bʰela
he/she-SEQ shaman godhead do-3P other (N) all gathered (N)
mɨ-li-Ø-o mɨna-ci-ʔa kʰo-lai saya taya ɨ-pɨ-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) kʰon-ki yayok ɨ-pɨ-Ø kʰo-so-ʔo ɨ-deŋ-da kʰo badde
he/she-SEQ advise 3AM-give-NPT he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-after-LOC he/she many
maŋ yɨŋ-Ø-lat-Ø.
godhead say-NPT-DIRoff-NPT
'Then they give him advise. After that he prays a lot.'

(15) becʰuk pek-Ø kʰon-ki becʰuk pek-ki-na mo-da meʔen jokʰana
ginger peel-NPT he/she-SEQ ginger cut-SEQ-TOP that-LOC DOUBT oracle (N)
kʰaŋ-ma ni yɨŋ-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) becʰuk pe-ʔu-ʔo-watni   becʰuk pek-ma dot-Ø   o   yɨŋ-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 ɨ-nɨŋa   no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo   mo becʰuk meksiməm
     Sakenwa   his/her-mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND that ginger   *maximum*
     sum-ka   kʰepi 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 ɨt-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   ni-ki.
     that be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT or be.bad-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR-SEQ
     bu-ya-ʔo   coʈi pe-ʔu-m-o   laŋka lis-a-nalo
     front-LOC.level-GEN *time (N)* peel-3P-12pA-NOM upright become-PT-COND
     ərko   coʈi bomko lis-a-nalo   mo maŋ   ɨ-nɨŋa
     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 kʰepi-da bu-ya   laŋka lis-a   ərko   coʈi bomka
     two   time-LOC front-LOC.level upright become-PT *another (N)* *time (N)* round
     lis-a-nalo   mo maŋ   ɨ-nɨŋa   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 paruhaŋ-ci ɨ-c-o-nɨ-ŋa
     Sakenwa   Sumnima   Paruhang-PL NEGNPp-eat-3P-NEGn-EMPH
     no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   bʰəwiṣyə 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 kʰepi-da laŋka lis-a   bu-ya   coʈi   kʰon-ki
     two   time-LOC upright become-PT front-LOC.level *time (N)* he/she-SEQ
     ərko-cʰaŋ   laŋka-ŋa   lis-a-nalo   Sakenwa-ʔa ɨ-cɨrpa
     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) kʰon-ki ərko coʈi ... pek-ma dot-Ø. kʰon-ki mo bom-sa,
he/she-SEQ *another (N) time (N)* ... peel-INF must-NPT he/she-SEQ that bend-PT
mo-ko cahĩ boms-a-nalo, nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
that-ref *swTOP (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 ɨcɨ niŋa nuw-a-ŋ-a e
Sumnima Paruhang-PL front-LOC.level theirᵖ mood be.good-PT-PROG-PT hey
cʰir-a-ŋ-a tərə han kʰo-ci ɨcɨ niŋa no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø həi
leave-PT-PROG-PT *but (N)* now he/she-PL theirᵖ 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) kʰon-ki-na mo-da-ŋka-cʰaŋ cɨrpa 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
ɨ-mu-nin-Ø-in.
NEGNPp-do-NEG-PROG-NEG
'Then, if because of that too, their anger comes, the time will not start to be good.'

(25) kʰon-ki sakenwa mu-kʰa-da motni nakcʰoŋ 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-ʔo deŋ-da jʰarak-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) duwacʰa sɨ-ma mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø, he mecʰacʰa, 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) kʰo-s-o-deŋ-da bəllə nakcʰoŋ 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 pʰoŋ-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 ɨ-nampɨk nakcʰoŋ maŋ pʰoŋ-Ø.
today his/her-evening shaman godhead open-NPT.
'Tonight the priest starts to pray.'

(30) maŋkolen lak lu-si kʰat-ma dot-Ø dʰana puja
tomorrow religious.dance feel-SUP go-INF must-NPT above *worship (N)*
kʰam-du maŋ mu-kʰa-da tʰoŋ-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) kʰon-ki-na-na lama-tama ərko-na y-Ø pʰeri
he/she-SEQ-TOP-TOP lama-*copper (N) another (N)*-TOP descend-NPT *again (N)*
mu-du-ŋa la-ma kʰat-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) kʰon-ki ərko yɨ ken mani-ci la-ma yuŋ-ma-ci
he/she-SEQ *another (N)* day large.drum cymbal-PL return-INF put-INF-DU
mɨ-dot-Ø.
3pl-must-NPT
'*Then on the other day, we must return the drum and cymbals and put them away.*'

(33) ɨk-rati ɨk nampɨk hwa nampɨk sum-ka nampɨk
one-*night (N)* one evening two evening three-CNT evening
'*One night, one night, two nights, three nights.*'

(34) mu-n, mu-n-da jʰarak dɨkcʰa bɨwa nata gota
do-12plSP do-12plSP-TEMP all brothers elder.brother *relative (N) kin (N)*
kuʈumbə cʰetkuma kipmakʰa,
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-kʰa-da bihe mɨ-mu-Ø. Nɨŋa
religious.dance perform-PNOM-LOC *marriage (N)* 3pl-be.pred-NPT mood
no-ka-no mɨ-mu-Ø warisa tʰaŋna-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 Choṭīdā̃ḍā, Sindrāṅ. 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 Yākthuṅ Cumluṅ[1] is particularly active in publishing material, but is dominated by Limbus. Recently, Imānsiṃha Cemjoṅ's[2] very complete and well organised bilingual[3] book has been republished, called *Kirāt Mundhum*[4] as a 'Kiranti scripture'.

More relevant to the Bantawa is the less fancily printed *Kirā̃t-Rāī-Vāntavā ridum-mundhum* 'Kiranti Rai Bantawa oral tradition', by Jayaprasād Mukāruṅ (Vāntavā) Rāī. 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.

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[1]Kirant Yakthung Cumlung, (किरात याक्थुङ चुम्लुङ.)

[2]इमानसिंह चेम्जोङ

[3]Here, '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

[5]For 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 ɨ-le-nɨ-ŋ-Ø-ni-ŋ
    begin-INF isn't.it   NEGNPp-know.how-NEGn-1s-PROG-NEGn-1s
    ɨ-sin-nɨ-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-COMl *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, Sumnina together with Paruhang, but they were over the water, it is said.'

(3) tərə pʰito   pʰito   yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci   pʰito   pʰito
    but (N) different different be-PT-PROG-PT-DU different different
    yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida   ɨ-kʰeri-da-na   meʔen cʰok-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 cʰok-muw-a-ci,   di bʰəne, jəigəla-buŋwa, əni   doŋ-kʰola,
    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) kʰon-ki-na   pɨ-muw-a-ci   kʰo-da-ŋka   cino pəhile
    he/she-SEQ-TOP give-RECIP-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL *gift (N) before (N)*
    pɨ-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-pəcʰi: "o-ko-na   mollok amno-na yawa keţa-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) paruhaŋ o-na   i-sipa   on
Paruhang this-TOP his/her-*skill (N)* this.much
kʰan-nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo   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 kʰon-ki-na: "ləu ankaʔo paruhaŋ-na   molok
then (N) Sumnima   say-PT he/she-SEQ-TOP well our^pe   Paruhang-TOP isn't.it
kʰan-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   kʰaŋ-ma-ŋa ti-si-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo   abo
this-EMPH see-INF-EMPH 2AS-want-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND *now (N)*
kʰut-ni-ŋe."   ni kekuwa yiŋ-Ø. ka-cʰok
bring.for.someone-1ns2-EMPH NAR egret   say-NPT APpref-move
kekuwa-da-ŋka kʰwatni yiŋ   a meʔen oha   hyatni rə
egret-LOC-ABL   that.way language that.1 DOUBT like.this that.way *and (N)*
o-hyatni meʔen yiŋ   cʰoŋs-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   cʰoŋs-u-ki-na   ə̃ kʰon-ki-na   mo i-tar-a   paruhaŋ.
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) paruhaŋ i-tar-a-kina   sumnima-ʔo i-cik-da
Paruhang 3AM-bring.far-PT-CAUS Sumnima-GEN his/her-vicinity-LOC
i-yukt-a.   tənə əni i-do   cʰaŋ baŋgo rikt-u-kʰais-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) kʰon-ki-na   moswa-ʔa dʰwãso-ʔa 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 ɨŋka detni i-mit-ŋa-Ø-ŋa   mollok rəcʰə. detni
Sumnima-ERG I   how 3AM-remember-1sNP-PROG-1sNP isn't.it MIR   how
ɨ-lo-ŋa-Ø-ŋa   rəcʰə," 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 yɨŋ-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
      cɨk-ya-tni-ŋa   ni ɨ-yuŋ-kʰa-ya-ŋa   yɨŋ-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 yɨŋ-a-ki-na,   ləu, paruhaŋ-ʔo-na   saro-ŋa
      Sumnima that.way say-PT-SEQ-TOP well Paruhang-GEN-TOP *much (N)*-EMPH
      ɨ-niŋa   cʰir-a.
      his/her-mood leave-PT
      'After Sumnima talked like that, well, Paruhang got very sad.'

(16) abo   ɨŋka mɨ-lok sumnima-ʔa watni-ŋa   mollok kʰan ɨts-a-ŋ-lo
      now (N) I   that-MAN Sumnima-ERG here-EMPH isn't.it SEE be.bad-PT-1s-MAN
      ɨ-kʰa-Ø-ŋ   rəcʰə. abo   de-ki   mok ɨŋka 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
      ʈuhura-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 ɨ-mit-ŋa-Ø-ŋa   ni-ki-na
      here arum.leaf-LOC this-ref how 3AM-remember-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR-SEQ-TOP
      ə̃ ɨk-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   cʰəl   mu-Ø-pəcʰi əbʰəra cʰukt-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   kʰo-da-ŋka-na: "ɨŋka-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   yɨŋ-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) cencɨkwa kol-a-lukt-a-hida   cencɨkwa-ʔa   walu   ʔe   dʰir-u-ŋ,
      buffalo.bird walk-PT-CON-PT-SIMp buffalo.bird-ERG water.source EMPHe find-3P-1s
      mulu   ʔe   dʰir-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) "kʰana sumnima tɨ-sɨ-na-n,   tɨ-let.   ɨŋka kʰut-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) kʰwatni yɨŋ-a. kʰo-da-ŋka-na   kʰutt-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   ɨŋka detni kʰut-na.   ɨŋko ɨŋ-cʰuk-cʰaŋ matdɨŋ-Ø. ɨŋ-laŋ
      now (N) I   how bring.for.someone-2P my   my-hand-also NEG.be-NPT my-leg
      matte yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.   ni cencɨkwa yɨŋ-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) cencɨkwa kʰo-da-ŋka-sa   yɨŋ-a pəcʰi sumnima-ʔa ɨremu abo
      buffalo.bird he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN say-PT *after (N)* Sumnima-ERG ?? *now (N)*
      am-do-da-ŋka   tɨ-kʰut-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   ɨŋko ɨŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma ɨ-sɨ-nin   əni   am-jɨ̄u
      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) kʰon-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   kʰon-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   yiŋ-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) kʰwatni yiŋ-a kʰon-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
kʰont-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   pəcʰi pʰeri gərbʰəwati lis-a.
survive-PT-live-PT *after (N) again (N) pregnant (N)* become-PT
'After she lived again, she was pregnant as well.'

(30) gərbʰəwati lis-a-pəcʰi   saŋ-ko sumnima kʰana watni gərbʰəwati
pregnant (N) become-PT-*after (N)* who-GEN Sumnima you^s here *pregnant (N)*
t-lis-a   watni gərbʰə ti-kʰuy-u ni. iŋka i-sin-ni-ŋ
2AS-become-PT here *pregnant (N)* 2AS-carry-3P NAR I   NEGNPp-know-NEGn-1s
ni yiŋ-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-ʔa bicara   mu-Ø-ŋ-u - kʰo-da-ŋka-sa-na
Paruhang-ERG *thought (N)* do-3P-PROG-3P - he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN-TOP
akʰerī-da-na i-yawa   i-kuwa-ci-sudda   bʰela
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) kʰon-ki-na   i-sen-a-pəcʰi   paruhaŋ pʰeri i-sen-a   picʰe
he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-ask-PT-*after (N)* Paruhang *again (N)* 3AM-ask-PT *after (N)*
o-ko   amko-na i-watni   sumnima-ʔa əni əgʰi-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-ʔo   tʰiyo watni ki-na   watni əni   amko ʔe
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 kʰaŋ mus-a-ŋ-ci-ŋ   iŋ-dukʰa kʰar-a-lo iŋ-som
I   what-SEQ isn't.it show CAUS2-PT-1s-DUP-1s my-trouble go-PT-MAN my-love
tuʔ-a-lo   ɨ-low-a-ŋ   iŋko-ŋe ni yɨŋ-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) kʰon-pəcʰi   kʰwatni yɨŋ-a-pəcʰi   ə̃ mɨ-tums-u-ci   pəcʰi
he/she-*after (N)* that.way say-PT-*after (N)* yes 3pl-join.together-3P-DUP *after (N)*
tuʔ-a-ci.
meet-PT-DU
'After that, after he said this, they made them meet one another. After that they met.'

(35) pəcʰi meʔen u   - srɨʂʈi   o-ko   rita   tʰapsɨŋ abo   detni ə̃
after (N) DOUBT *he/she (N)* - *creation (N)* this-ref *ritual (N)* ritual *now (N)* how   yes
abo   ankaci sumnima rə   paruhaŋ lis-a-ci   tu-ʔa-ci
now (N) we^di   Sumnima *and (N)* Paruhang become-PT-DU be.ill-PT-DU
bʰela-li-sa-ci   tʰapsɨŋ hili   detni o-ko   əni   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) henkʰamma sumnima bʰəne   sumnima ə̃ kʰun-ki-na   kʰwatni
earth   Sumnima *saying (N)* Sumnima yes he/she-SEQ-TOP that.way
yɨŋ-a-ci, kʰon-da-ŋka.
say-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL
'The earth, Sumnima said, then she spoke like this, after that.'

(37) o-sa   ə̃ pəhilet kʰon-pəcʰi   o-ko   cakwa matte cakwa-matʰi əni
this-PRN yes *first (N)* he/she-*after (N)* this-ref water *only (N)* water-*on.top (N)* *then (N)*
ə̃ loha-ʔo kʰəmba sumnima-ʔa adeɕ   pɨ-Ø-ki-na   e   lə loha-ʔo
yes iron-GEN *pole (N)*   Sumnima-ERG *order (N)* give-3P-SEQ-TOP EMPHe OK iron-GEN
kʰã̃bo   tʰuŋ-ma-dot pʰəlam-o   kʰã̃bo   ɨ-tʰuŋs-a-c-u-ki-na   ə̃
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) ə̃ coke kʰã̃bo-ki-na   kʰon-ki coke kʰã̃bo
yes *flat (N) pillar (N)*-SEQ-TOP he/she-SEQ *flat (N) pillar (N)*
ɨ-tʰuŋs-a-c-u-ki-na   cakwa-hut-yu bʰen-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) ɨ-lons-a-c-u-ki-na　　　　　mu-du　　　ɨ-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-pəcʰi　　　ə̃ baca ɨ-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 ɨ-pakt-a-c-u-pəcʰi　　　　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 əni bəndəna-ʔa ɨ-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　　　　rəcʰə.
need must-NPT-NOM-EMPH MIR
'Then they bound it with a rope, the rope also appeared to be required.'

(42) ə̃ cʰum-ma-cʰaŋ cʰum-ma-da kʰun-ki-na ɨ-cʰums-a-c-u ə̃
yes tie.up-INF-also tie.up-INF-TEMP he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P yes
pɨmaŋ-ʔa ɨ-cʰums-a-c-u kʰayamaŋ-ʔa rəse ɨ-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 (Pɨmang), by Khayamang they strangled him.'

(43) bakʰa kʰon-ki-na ɨ-loĩs-a-c-u ə̃ anko muddum-lama
soil he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-take.outside-PT-DU-3P yes ourᵖⁱ chant-VIA
bobboyoŋma bʰəncʰə dʰəmira.
termite *they say (N)* *termite (N)*
'Then they took the mud out. Yes, according to our tradition, they say the "bobboyongma", the termite.'

(44) dʰəmira-ʔa bakʰa loĩs-u luŋ-ʔo ɨ-duŋ dʰu-tni pa-ʔu ə̃
termite (N)-ERG soil take.outside-3P stone-GEN his/her-top up-ALL put.in-3P yes
kʰun-pəcʰi ə̃ mo rəse ɨ-muw-a-c-u bəndana
he/she-*after (N)* yes that *strangle (N)* 3AM-do-PT-DU-3P *tie (N)*
ɨ-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-pəcʰi cahĩ 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-pəcʰi   abo   əni   di-cʰe   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 yɨŋ-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 ə̃   abo
advice (N) do-PT-DU tree-LOC-ABL   *grow (N)* do-DU-3P-OPT hey weᵈⁱ   yes *now (N)*
u   sirkʰəɳɖə rə   rəcəna   ə̃ mo-ko lit-c-u-ne   ni yɨŋ-a-ci.
he/she (N) sirkʰəɳɖə   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 sirkhaṇḍa tree and creation, they said.'

(48) kʰon-ki-na   ɨ-litt-a-c-u   kʰon-ki-na   o-ko ten bʰeplok
he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-plant-PT-DU-3P he/she-SEQ-TOP this-ref village completely
o-ko jəmma-s-a   ɨ-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) kʰon-ki   mo ɨ-litt-a-c-u-pəcʰi   kʰon-ki-picʰe-da   dana
he/she-SEQ that 3AM-plant-PT-DU-3P-*after (N)* he/she-SEQ-*after (N)*-LOC *seed (N)*
riʈʰa   ɨ-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 ɨ-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   ɨco   jayjənmə cʰa-ci mo-da   hurke mɨ-lis-a.
that-LOC-ABL-PRN theirᵖ *glorious (N)* child-PL that-LOC *raise (N)* 3pl-become-PT
'By that, their new-born children grew up.'

(52) mɨ-poy-a.
3pl-grow-PT
'There they grew up.'

(53) ə̃   mwatni jayə-cʰa-ci-cʰaŋ   ɨ-tokt-a-c-u-ci-kina   mo-ci-cʰaŋ
yes that.way *glory (N)*-child-PL-also 3AM-receive-PT-DU-3P-DUP-CAUS that-PL-ever
mɨ-pon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   mɨ-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 kʰaŋ-u nimaŋ
then (N) Sumnima-ERG *dream (N)*-LOC.low hey dream-LOC.low see-3P quotative
a   cikiwa   ə̃ jeʈʰa   ɨ-cʰora   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   ə̃ ɨco-nɨŋ   kʰwa-kko ni.
then (N) bear   *then (N)* Tumun NAR yes their^p-name that-ATTR NAR
'And "bear" (maksa), then, Tumun, is their name, like that.'

(56) tumun maksa rə   cikiwa   ni ə̃ maksa rə   kiwa əni
Tumun bear   *and (N)* small.leopard NAR yes bear   *and (N)* tiger *then (N)*
kʰo-da-ŋka-ʔo-sa   əni   haŋcʰanuma 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) haŋcʰanuma kancʰa   ankan ni
Hangchanuma *youngest (N)* we^pi   NAR
'Hangchanuma, the youngest are we, it is said.'

(58) kʰo-da-ŋka-na   ə̃ tumun o-tet   əgʰi-ŋa   jə̃gəla-ya-tni
he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP yes Tumun this-swTOP *before (N)*-EMPH jungle-LOC.level-ALL
waŋ-a-kʰar-a   ni.
enter-PT-DIRaway-PT NAR
'After that, yes, as for Tumun, he first went off into the forest.'

(59) ɨŋka kama-cʰaŋ ɨ-mu-nɨ-ŋ
I   *work (N)*-also NEGNPp-do-NEGn-1s
'"I shall not do work."'

(60) bənibasi-ŋa   waŋ-ŋa   kʰat-ŋa, jə̃gəl-ya-tni-ŋa
jungle-house (N)-EMPH enter-1sNP go-1sNP *jungle (N)*-LOC.level-ALL-EMPH
waŋ-ŋa   kʰat-ŋa ni yɨŋ-a-ki, waŋ-a-kʰar-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) jə̃gəl-ya   kʰon-ki waŋ-a-kʰar-a-pəcʰi   mo mamarem
jungle (N)-LOC.level he/she-SEQ enter-PT-DIRaway-PT-*after (N)* that Mamarem
ɨ-ma-ʔɨ-pa-ci-ʔa   mamarem maya   mare ɨ-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 ɨ-muw-a-ci-pəcʰi   ə̃ cikiwa   rə   haŋcʰanuma 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) jeʈʰa   rə   kanchʰa   matte əco-cʰa-ci   mo-ci
      *eldest (N) and (N) youngest (N) only (N) their*ᴾ*-child-PL that-PL*
      yuŋ-a-lar-a-ci-pəcʰi   ɕikara   mu-si   kʰar-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) ɕikara   mu-si   kʰar-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida   əni
      hunt (N) do-SUP go-PT-PROG-PT-DU-SIMp *then (N)*
      i-nicʰa-ʔo-tet   i-dajyu-ʔa   ɕikara-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-cɨk-da   ə̃   bʰe   talɨk 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) talɨk-a   bʰe-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
      kʰo-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
      rəcʰə.
      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-pəcʰi-na   əni   las-a-ta-Ø-ci   i-tit-cʰe
      think-3P-*after (N)*-TOP *then (N)* return-PT-DIRback-PT-DU his/her-clothes-ever
      matdɨŋ-Ø   i-naŋga-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) ə̃ i-tit   matdɨŋ-Ø   kʰo-da-ŋka-na   a   natʰe
      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
      kʰon-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-jīu   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-sakoŋwa cʰa-ŋa iŋ-bɨwa maila-na
now (N) mother (N) yourˢ-heart child-EMPH my-elder.brother second.brother-TOP
mollok abo əccʰə-ŋa kʰar-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 jeʈʰa-ʔenen yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci-ʔa.
then (N) my-brother (N) eldest (N)-COM sit-DU-PROG-DU-e
'And we were together with my eldest brother.'

(71) iŋ-daju jeʈʰa ʔa "o-ko ɕikara-ci əni cʰekt-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 ʔa!" 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) ə̃ iŋka e mollok iŋka ɕikara 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) kʰo-sa-ʔe mollok ə̃ 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)
ɨ-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 cɨ-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-bɨwa detni-ʔo ni lo-ŋ-ki-na nu-Ø" ni ajɲa
my-elder.brother how-NOM NAR say-1s-SEQ-TOP be.good-NPT NAR order (N)
dor-a, ɨ-ma-ʔeda kancʰa.
must-PT his/her-mother-COMl youngest (N)
' "What will I say to my brother, and be good," he asked for instructions with his mother, the youngest.'

(76) kʰo-da-ŋka-na kancʰa ɨ-cʰora ajɲa dor-a. əni "lə amco
he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP youngest (N) his/her-son (N) order (N) must-PT then (N) OK yourᵈ
mɨna rə amco buddʰi-ʔa dʰir-u-ʔo-wa-ŋa ciw-a-ci aha," ni.
man and (N) yourᵈ 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) ajɲa pɨ-Ø kancʰa ɨ-cʰora-laī ə̃ ajɲa pɨ-Ø-pəcʰi lə
order (N) give-3P youngest (N) his/her-son (N)-DAT (N) yes order (N) give-3P-after (N) OK
bʰəihalyo lə nu-Ø-ŋe ama ni yɨŋ-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)   ɨ-cʰa   kancʰa   kʰun-lo ə̃ ɨk-topra   kok met-Ø   ni   ɨk
       his/her-child *youngest (N)* that-MAN yes one-*leaf.plate (N)* rice cause-NPT NAR one
       ləʈʰa   becʰuk ə̃   solonwa-da-ŋka-ŋ   wacʰɨn 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 ə̃.
       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   kʰwatni ɨ-rem-u   ni   kʰon-ki-na   ə̃ ama-laī
       mother (N)-DAT that.way 3AM-order-3P NAR he/she-SEQ-TOP yes *mother (N)*-DAT
       ɨ-rem-u-pəcʰi   lə ni-ki-na   kok-cʰaŋ mett-u-ci-kina
       3AM-order-3P-*after (N)* OK NAR-SEQ-TOP rice-also cause-3P-DUP-CAUS
       topra-da-ŋka   ə̃ haŋcʰanuma-ʔa kʰuy-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)   ɨ-cʰa   kancʰa-ʔa   ni   solonwa cʰaŋ kʰuy-u ni
       his/her-child *youngest (N)*-ERG NAR gourd   also carry-3P NAR
       'Her youngest son also carried the bottle gourd.'

(81)   ɨk-pana   becʰuk-cʰaŋ kʰuy-u ni   kombi-cʰaŋ   kʰuy-u ni   talɨk-cʰaŋ
       one-*leaf (N)* ginger-also   carry-3P NAR grass.knife-also carry-3P NAR bow-also
       kʰuy-a   kʰun-ki-pəcʰi   kʰar-a-ci jə̃gəla-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-bɨwa   kʰana ɕikara-ci jo-ʔo   yaŋbʰak-ci kʰɨssa-ci
       VOCp-elder.brother youˢ *hunt (N)*-PL *whoever (N)*-GEN wild.boar-PL deer-PL
       bʰɨksa-ci mɨ-ta-Ø-ʔo   ti-dʰir-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)   ɨ-bɨwa-cʰe   lə ni yɨŋ-a ni ɨ-bɨwa   ni
       his/her-elder.brother-ever OK NAR say-PT NAR his/her-elder.brother NAR
       ɨ-bɨwa   kʰwatni yɨŋ-a-pəcʰi   ni   kʰar-a. abo   ayɨ-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.
       ourᵈᵉ-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) ɨŋ-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   cɨw-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   ɨŋko-tet ŋaksi tʰəmba dʰet-ŋa-kina ɨŋ-swarupa
now (N) my-swTOP banana stem   cut-1sNP-CAUS my-*form (N)*
mu-ma-n-ci-n-kina   mɨna 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) ɨŋ-bəstər ki-na   ŋaksi tʰəmba-da em-ma-da-ma
my-*dress (N)* SEQ-TOP banana stem-LOC   make.stand-INF-eff-INF
dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   talɨk bʰe   cʰaŋ kʰɨk-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 ɨŋ-bɨwa   detni mu-Ø-ŋ-u   rəcʰə.
this-ref my-elder.brother how   do-3P-PROG-3P MIR
'*What is my brother doing?*'

(88) ɨŋ-bəstər ŋaksi tʰəmba 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   sɨŋ-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) sɨŋraŋ-cok-du waŋ-a-kʰar-a   pəcʰi talɨk 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 tʰəmba-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   jəmma
put.in-3P-DUP *after (N) haha and (N)* huhu above-ABL come.level-PT-CAUS *all (N)*
cent-u-kʰaɨs-u-ci.
splice-3P-COMPL-3P-DUP

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

(92) ɨ-nicʰa-ʔo   ɨ-bəstər   ŋaksi tʰəmba.
      his/her-younger.brother-GEN his/her-*dress (N)* banana stem
      sɨŋraŋ-cok-da-ŋka "a-bɨ   mo-ko de tɨ-cɨ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø?   mwatni
      tree-top-LOC-ABL   VOCp-brother that-ref what 2AS-do-NPT-PROG-NPT that.way
      a-bɨwa   iŋka-na hasikʰeli mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-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) ə̃ e ni ɨ-bɨwa   yiŋ-a ni.
      yes hey NAR his/her-elder.brother say-PT NAR
      'Ah! Right! said his elder brother.'

(94) kʰana kʰa-da-ŋka   han-ma tɨ-lam-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo?   ni iŋka-na
      youˢ   where-LOC-ABL   talk-INF 2AS-seek-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM NAR I-TOP
      sɨŋ-raŋ cok-du   yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa   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)* ourᵈⁱ *mother (N)*-ERG *snack (N)* isn't.it
      ɨ-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   ɨ-dʰan-ni-ŋ-cɨ-nɨ-ŋ.   əni laŋka
      OK youˢ   I   *now (N)* NEGNPp-take.down-NEGn-1s-DUP-NEGn-1s *then (N)* flat
      dʰis-a-n-cɨ-n.   am-do-da   owatni hoʔ-u-ki tatt-u a! ni
      lay-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL yourˢ-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) ɨ-nicʰa-ʔa   lo-Ø ni, kʰun-ki ɨ-bɨwa
      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-ŋka   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-buddʰi-ʔa dʰir-u səmma-ŋe iŋ-biwa-cʰe 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-nicʰa-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. kʰon-pəcʰi ə̃ lə am-mik sipt-u abo-lai cahĩ iŋka
NAR he/she-*after (N)* yes OK yourˢ-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. kʰun-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 kʰo-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 bʰe 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) bʰe apt-u-dis-u pəcʰi sw-a-da.
arrow shoot-3P-reach-3P *after (N)* die-PT-TEMP
'*After he shot the arrow, he died.*'

(102) i-sakma kʰar-a i-sakma kʰar-a-pəcʰi ə̃ i-muʈu dʰumt-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-muʈu dʰumt-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-cʰa-ci ɕikara-da kʰar-a-ci-ʔo detni ciw-a-ci ayi tʰaŋ-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 theirᵖ-mother
'*"My children went to the hunt. How did they do, did they come up perhaps?" she was thinking, their mother.*'

(104) sumnima ni kʰon-da-ŋka-ʔo-sa-na kʰwatni min-a-pəcʰi
Sumnima NAR he/she-LOC-ABL-GEN-PRN-TOP that.way think-PT-*after (N)*
i-kancʰa-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-bɨwa   kʰa-ʔu kʰada tɨ-cʰir-u-d-o   ni   sen-u.
      youngest (N) yourˢ-elder.brother see-3P where 2AS-leave-3P-eff-3P NAR ask-3P
      'Youngest, what about your brother? Where did you leave him?'

(106) ə̃ ɨŋ-bɨwa-na   ə̃ di ama   tɨ-sen-u-ŋ   mollok. ə̃
      yes my-elder.brother-TOP yes what *mother (N)* 2AS-ask-3P-1s isn't.it yes
      ɕikara-ŋe   mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   mo-ya   jə̃gəla-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 yɨŋ-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) ə̃ 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   hasikʰelī mɨ-yaŋ ni
      he/she-*after (N)*-TOP *again (N)*-EMPH return-3P-ask-3P *jest (N)* NEGPTp-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) kʰo-da-ŋka-sa   pʰeri-ŋa   tīn   bakyə   tīn   kʰepi
      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-COMl-GEN here
      i-bɨwa-ʔa   i-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa   ni tə   amco
      his/her-elder.brother-ERG 3AM-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR *though (N)* yourᵈ
      buddʰi-ʔa   dʰir-u-ʔo   amco minma-ʔa dʰir-u-ʔosa cw-a-ci ni.
      yourˢ-*wisdom (N)* find-3P-NOM yourᵈ 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   tɨ-lo-Ø   ni-ʔo   kʰon-ki-na   hasikʰelī 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   ə̃ ɕikara huŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   ni
      that-LOC.level that-LOC-EMPH yes *hunt (N)* wait-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR
      ma-ʔaŋ
      NEGPTp-be.PTNEG
      'That was as you said. After that, in jest, over there, he waited for the game, right?'

(110) kʰwatni man-yɨŋ-da.   dʰə̃ʈa man-mu-da.   kʰa ett-a-ŋ
      that.way NEGPTp-say-NEGPTs *lie (N)* NEGPTp-be.pred-NEGPTs AntP tell-PT-1s

am-buwa-ʔo   ə̃ ɨ-tuŋgo   ɨ-yuŋ-kʰa   ɨ-ɕikara
yourˢ-elder.brother-GEN yes his/her-*last (N)* 3AM-put-PNOM his/her-*hunt (N)*
mu-kʰa ni   kʰatni kʰotni tɨ-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 cahĩ   əni   haŋcʰanuma-ʔa ə̃
      kill-3P-1s-eff-3P-1s NAR *finally (N)*-LOC *swTOP (N)* *then (N)* Hangchanuma-ERG yes
      ɨ-cʰa-kancʰa   sumnima-ʔo ɨ-cʰa   kancʰa-ʔa   lo-Ø
      his/her-child-*youngest (N)* Sumnima-GEN his/her-child *youngest (N)*-ERG say-3P
      ɨ-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 becʰuk 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   ɨ-cʰa
      take.away-3P take.away-3P-CAUS chant   cause-3P his/her-child
      ɨ-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 nɨ-muw-a
      that-ref-TOP my-TOP heart   child isn't.it cikoŋmi-cʰa youˢ here 3A-do-PT
      iŋ-sakoŋwa-ya   kʰana əni   cikiwa-ŋa   tʰiyo.
      my-heart-LOC.level youˢ *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) əni   tumun maksa-ʔo tʰiyo
      then (N) Tumun bear-VOC PPTaux
      'There was Tumun, the bear.'

(115) haŋcʰanuma kancʰa   əni   amno bʰai   nicʰa-ʔo
      Hangchanuma *youngest (N)* *then (N)* yourᵖ *younger.brother (N)* younger.brother-GEN
      tʰiyo-ni   əni   lo-Ø. kʰatni lo-Ø pəcʰi ɨ-cʰati-da   luŋ
      PPTaux-*EMPH (N)* *then (N)* say-3P where.dir say-3P *after (N)* his/her-chest-LOC stone
      yukt-u, cɨkma 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) əni   solonwa-ʔa kʰɨtt-u   tʰokt-u-dis-u ɨ-do-da-tni   jəmma
      then (N) gourd-ERG   worship-3P spill-3P-reach-3P his/her-mouth-LOC-ALL *all (N)*
      rept-u.   kʰon-pəcʰi rept-u-pəcʰi   əni   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   kʰwatni mu-Ø. kʰon-ki-na
       chicklet *??komnəŋa* cover-3P-SEQ-TOP that.way do-3P. he/she-SEQ-TOP
       tʰint-u-kʰãĩs-u.   tʰint-u-kʰãĩs-u-*pəcʰi*   kʰar-a, ya   hant-u
       wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P-*after (N)* go-PT   prayer send-3P
       tʰin-lõĩs-u-pəcʰi.
       wake-come.up-3P-*after (N)*
       'Covering him with a chick and komnenga, *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 tɨ-cɨ-Ø-wa?   am-buddʰi   un-səmmə-ŋa
       why isn't.it   here   2AS-do-3P-LIKE your^s-*wisdom (N)* this.much-*up.to (N)*-EMPH
       rəcʰə.
       MIR
       'Why, then, did you act like this? Your wisdom turns out to be up to this.'

(119) am-nicʰa   haŋcʰanuma-ʔo   tʰiyo   kʰana cikiwa-ʔo
       your^s-younger.brother Hangchanuma-NOM PPTaux you^s   small.leopard-NOM
       tʰiyo.
       PPTaux
       'Your brother was Hangchanuma. You were Cikiwa.'

(120) abo   o-ko   ɨ-buddʰi   baddʰe-ŋa rəcʰə, amko am-buddʰi
       now (N) this-ref his/her-*wisdom (N)* many-EMPH MIR   your^s   your^s-*wisdom (N)*
       ɨ-cit   tʰore-ŋa   rəcʰə.
       his/her-little.bit *little (N)*-EMPH MIR
       'Now his wisdom appeared to be great, your wisdom appears to be a bit less.'

(121) cʰukt-a-ʔo   rəcʰə am-buddʰi   ni   lo-Ø mo cikiwa
       jump-PT-NOM MIR   your^s-*wisdom (N)* NAR say-3P that small.leopard
       tʰint-u-lõĩs-u-pəcʰi.
       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-nicʰa   cʰɨbʰɨrɨ-du   kon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo,
       well then (N) your^s-younger.brother hill.close-LOC.high walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND
       e, dʰibʰɨrɨ-yu   kon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo,   kʰana cʰɨbʰɨrɨ lont-a,
       hey hill.far-LOC.low walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND you^s   hill.close go.outside-PT
       kʰana cʰɨbʰɨrɨ-du   tɨ-kon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo   am-nicʰa
       you^s   hill.close-LOC.high 2AS-walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND your^s-younger.brother
       dʰibʰɨrɨ-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   matdɨŋ-Ø   di-cʰaŋ   kama
       now (N) your˚   your˚-*income (N)*-also not.there-NPT what-ever *work (N)*
       tɨ-muw-a-ʔo-cʰaŋ   matdɨŋ-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˚-younger.brother-ERG-EMPH keep.animals-3P-PROG-3P-DUP-NOM *all (N)*
       əni   kʰana kʰɨs-u-co-Ø-ʔa
       then (N) you˚   steal-3P-eat-3P-EMPHa.
       'All that your younger brother is keeping, you steal and eat it, hey!'

(125) kʰwatni lo-Ø-pəcʰi   ɨ-ma-ʔo   ɨ-som   sɨw-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) ɨ-ma-ʔo   ɨ-som   sɨw-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)*
       tʰapsɨŋ riti-da   di bʰəne ə̃
       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
       yɨŋ-in-y-in.   ə̃ epma kʰɨt-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
       mɨ-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   kʰɨt-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-cʰaŋ mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   sum-ka-tet luŋ-ci-cʰaŋ
       Sampukdiwa-also   do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT three-CNT-qual stone-PL-also
       an-dabya-kʰam-da   tʰuŋ-ma-ci dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
       ourᵖⁱ-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   cʰute   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-cʰaŋ əni   mo
       then (N) Sakenwa NAR say-12plSP-PROG-12plSP Sakenwa-also *then (N)* that
       lain-da-ŋka   cʰute   lis-a   luŋ-majʰa-da   lims-a-dʰa-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 cahĩ   yupuŋ-diwa
       one-*line*-LOC Sakenwa become-PT one-*line*-LOC *swTOP (N)* Yupung-grandfather
       lis-a,   ik-lain-da, tīn-wəţa   mo-da tʰuŋ-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-kʰim hut-ya   luŋ-ci əni   kʰon-ki-na   mo-da bəl ɕakʰa
       ourᵖⁱ-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   kʰwatni lis-a-ʔo.
       SEQ-TOP that.way become-PT-NOM
       '*Then, that is what it is like.*'

(137) əni   ke   gərne əni   simnima-ʔo-na ləu iŋka-na
       then (N) what (N) to do (N) then (N) Sumnima-GEN-TOP well I-TOP
       mon-səmmə-ŋa,   nati,   jeţʰa...
       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) abɨ   mun-ŋa   he ərko-ci   cʰaŋ
       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