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## **A grammar of the Thangmi language with an ethnolinguistic introduction to the speakers and their culture**

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**PART 2**

**TEXTS**



## INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTS

Part Two of this monograph is devoted to the presentation of forty-five Thangmi texts. None of these oral documents originated in a written form, nor, to my knowledge, have any been committed to paper before now.

A wide range of speaking styles and registers are represented in these oral narratives. Some are simply conversations between two villagers, while others are monologues or fables narrated by Thangmi friends. Those readers familiar with Nepali folklore will notice certain well known motifs, particularly from Newar folk tales which remain popular throughout the kingdom. Magical or superstitious events occur frequently, and kinship relationships and marriages are particularly salient elements in many of these narratives.

The oral texts which follow were recorded in the field and thereafter transcribed and translated in Kathmandu or Amsterdam. For the first stint of fieldwork, a SONY Professional recorder was used to record narratives and tales on analogue audio cassette. During later research trips, the author had access to a SONY handheld video camcorder with an external stereo microphone, providing high quality audio and video tracks. Some of the most culturally interesting texts will be hosted on a website in the future, together with glosses and an English translation.

When they form part of an example, loan words from Nepali are transcribed according to the local pronunciation provided by the speaker. Borrowed forms with an identical meaning in the source language are indicated by italicising the English gloss. Naturalised loan words or borrowed forms with a variant indigenous meaning, such as Thangmi *guru* 'shaman' (from Indo-Aryan *guru* 'spiritual guide, mentor, teacher'), Thangmi *name* 'name' (from Indo-Aryan *nām* 'name') and Thangmi *dese* 'village' (from Indo-Aryan *deś* 'place, quarter, region, province, country, nation'), are not italicised in the English gloss.

## GETTING MARRIED TO A YOUNG GIRL

1 *di uni, ulam-te cawa-ηa-du beryaη, di-ka apraca camãica*  
 one day road-LOC walk-1s-NPT that.time one-HNC good woman  
*khalam-u-n-uη.* 2 *apraca ni-tuη-le, to nama kutaleη*  
 meet-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT good see-1s/TPP-PCL that with when  
*cijyaη-sa uniη tha-ηa-n.* 3 *tyaη to libi libi cawa-ηa-n, cijyaη-sa*  
 speak-INF like be-1s-PT then that after after walk-1s-PT speak-INF  
*ma-thaη-u-n-uη.* 4 *to nama cijyaη-sa-kãi, di uni to-ko*  
 NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that with speak-INF-PM one day that-GEN  
*kherte ya-ηa-n.* 5 *to-ye lak-te cabuh-Ø-u-du menca ulam-te*  
 near go-1s-PT that-ERG hand-LOC carry-SAS-3P-NPT bag road-LOC  
*ros-Ø-an,* *gã-ye 'sewa' ηa-tuη-le, to-ko menca*  
 fall.from.level-SAS-3S/PT I-ERG salute say-1s/TPP-PCL that-GEN bag  
*kum-sa-kãi kokorok-si-ηa-n.* 6 *to woi to beryaη*  
 pick.up-INF-PM bend.over-REF-1s-PT that also that that.time  
*korok-si-Ø-ta-le,* *to-ko kapu nama gãi-go kapu*  
 bend.over-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL that-GEN head with I-GEN head  
*thyok-Ø-an.* 7 *libi to-ηaη ni yo-siy-i-n,*  
 bump.against-SAS-3S/PT after that-inside we look.at-REF-1pPS-PT  
*nuy-i-n.* 8 *tyaη nama nama caway-i-n 'naη-ko name hara?'*  
 laugh-1pPS-PT then with with walk-1pPS-PT you-GEN name what  
*ηa-to-le,* *gã-ye ηah-u-n-uη.* 9 *tyaη to-ye oste-ko name*  
 say-TPP-PCL I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then that-ERG self-GEN name

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1 One day, while walking along the road, I met a beautiful woman. 2 Seeing that beauty, I wondered when I might speak with her. 3 Then I followed her, but was unable to speak. 4 In order to speak with her, one day I went up really close. 5 The bag that she was carrying in her hand fell onto the road, and I, saying 'good morning', bent down to pick it up. 6 At that time she also bent over, and her head bumped against mine. 7 Then, right there, we looked at each other and laughed. 8 And then we walked together and I asked her 'what's your name?' 9 Then she told me her name and I told her mine.

*ηah-Ø-ηa-n, gǎ-ye woi ηah-u-n-uη.* 10 *'nan baṭhe nama*  
 say-SAS-1s-PT I-ERG also say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT now tomorrow with  
*tha-ko' ηa-to-le ηah-u-n-uη, wakhe loη-sa-kǎi di ṭhǎi-te*  
 be-ADH say-TPP-PCL say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT word do-INF-PM one place-LOC  
*hok-ta-i-le, loη-wa-n.* 11 *libi torta-to-le oste-ko ami-sa*  
 be-IPP-1pPS-PCL do-1p→23-PT after leave-TPP-PCL self-GEN sleep-INF  
*nem-te yey-i-n.* 12 *gǎi ṭaye ami-sa ma-thaη-u-n-uη,*  
 house-LOC go-1pPS-PT I night sleep-INF NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT  
*to-ko khen gǎi-go mesek-te usyah-Ø-an.* 13 *nan kutaleη*  
 that-GEN face I-GEN eye-LOC dance-SAS-3S/PT now when  
*athaη-Ø-du, tyaη khalam-sa ηah-u-n-uη.* 14 *bǎsinṭe gare*  
 be.light-SAS-NPT then meet-INF say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT morning rooster  
*ikhey-Ø-an, serek-ta-ηa-le khalam-sa ṭhǎi-te ya-ηa-n.* 15 *libi to*  
 crow-SAS-3S/PT arise-IPP-1s-PCL meet-INF place-LOC go-1s-PT after that  
*rah-Ø-an di ṭhǎi hok-sa ṭhǎi-te ya-ta-i-le*  
 come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT one place be-INF place-LOC go-IPP-1pPS-PCL  
*wakhe loη-wa-n.* 16 *to-ηaη ni-ye kutaleη woi kuta woi*  
 word do-1p→23-PT that-inside we-ERG when also where also  
*torta-to-le ma-hen-ko ηa-wa-n.* 17 *tyaη gǎi-gǎi to camǎica-ye*  
 leave-TPP-PCL NEG-go-ADH say-1p→23-PT then I-PM that woman-ERG  
*to-ko nem-te hen-Ø-ηa-n, gǎi woi ya-ηa-n.* 18 *libi to-ko*  
 that-GEN house-LOC take-SAS-1s-PT I also go-1s-PT after that-GEN  
*ama kyel-Ø-an, camǎi-guri-ye ηah-Ø-u-no 'to gǎi-go*  
 mother come-SAS-3S/PT daughter-IND-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that I-GEN

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10 'Now let's meet again tomorrow', I said to her, and finding a place to talk, we sat there and chatted. 11 Taking leave of each other, we went back to sleep in our respective houses. 12 I couldn't sleep that night, her face was dancing before my eyes. 13 I had said that we should meet as soon as it was light. 14 In the morning, the cock crowed and I got up and went to the meeting place. 15 Then she came and we went to a place where we could sit and talk. 16 And there we promised never ever to break up [with one another] and leave. 17 Then that woman took me to her house, and of course I went. 18 Then her mother came home and the daughter said 'this is my friend.'

*ban.*' 19 *ama-ye* *ηah-Ø-u-no* 'camăi, *adum paηku loη-to-le*  
 friend mother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter hot water do-TPP-PCL  
*rah-o!*', *camăi duη-ηaη biy-Ø-an.* 20 *ama-ye wakhe*  
 bring-s→3/IMP daughter within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT mother-ERG word  
*loη-Ø-u-no* 'naη-ko *nem kuta? apa ama hok-eη-du ra*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN house where father mother be-PAS-NPT or  
*ma-hok-eη?'* 21 *găi-go name, apa ama sakalei-ko name*  
 NEG-be-PAS I-GEN name father mother all-GEN name  
*sat-u-n-uη.* 22 *tyaη ama-ye ηa-Ø-ηa-n* 'naη *hanimyaη-ko*  
 kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then mother-ERG say-SAS-1s-PT you how.big-GEN  
*tha-ta-na-le, naη ka-te hara jet loη-u-na-du?'* 23 'naη *ka-te*  
 be-IPP-2s-PCL you this-LOC what work do-3P-2s-NPT you this-LOC  
*hok-na-du, ni-kăi thaha ma-hok.'* 24 *gă-ye ηah-u-n-uη* 'ka  
 be-2s-NPT we-PM knowledge NEG-be I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT this  
*găi-go ama-ko ban thaηun?'* 25 'naη-kăi *gă-ye ucyaca tha-na-du*  
 I-GEN mother-GEN friend maybe you-PM I-ERG small be-2s-NPT  
*beryaη ni-na-ηa-du.'* 26 *camăi-ye adum paηku ra-to-le*  
 that.time see-2s-1s-NPT daughter-ERG hot water bring-TPP-PCL  
*rah-Ø-an,* *pi-Ø-ηa-n,* *tyaη ama-ye ηah-Ø-u-no:*  
 come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT give-SAS-1s-PT then mother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 27 'camăi, *ka-kăi nany-e ηosăiy-u-na-du? ka-be găi-go*  
 daughter this-PM you-ERG recognise-3P-2s-NPT this-TOP I-GEN  
*tete-ko ca.'* 28 'gă-ye *nij nama kutaleη kutaleη wakhe*  
 elder.sister-GEN son I-ERG you(p) with when when word

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19 Mother said 'daughter, go put some hot water on and bring it here!', and daughter disappeared inside. 20 Mother chatted for a while 'where is your house? Are your mother and father still alive?' 21 I told [her] my name, and the names of my father, mother and all my family. 22 Then [recognising me] mother said, 'my, how you have grown, now what work do you plan to do?' 23 'We didn't know that you were living here [in this area]' [she said]. 24 I thought 'maybe this woman is a friend of my mother's?' 25 'I saw you when you were very small' [she said]. 26 Daughter came bringing hot water, gave it to me, and then mother said: 27 'Daughter, do you recognise him at all? He is the son of my elder sister.' 28 'Very occasionally I would tell you about them' [mother said].



*loŋ-ni-ŋa-thyo.*' 29 *'tete ma-khalam-u-n-du woi ahe uni*  
do-2p-1s-3SCOND elder.sister NEG-meet-3P-1s→3-NPT also many day  
*thah-∅-an.*' 30 *'ca-be ka uniŋ tha-∅-ta-le', ka wakhe*  
be-SAS-3S/PT son-TOP this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL this word  
*nasăi-to-le ni thombe thay-i-n.* 31 *'to camăica-be găi-go*  
hear-TPP-PCL we surprise be-1pPS-PT that woman-TOP I-GEN  
*humi.*' 32 *găi to-ko nem-te ma-ya-ŋa-n-be, to*  
younger.sister I that-GEN house-LOC NEG-go-1s-PT-TOP that  
*humi nama găi-go bore tha-∅-thyo thayun.*  
younger.sister with I-GEN marriage be-SAS-3SCOND maybe

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29 'It's been ages since I saw my elder sister.' 30 'And her son has grown up so much' [the mother said], when we heard her words, we were totally shocked. 31 'That woman is my younger sister' [I thought]. 32 Had I not gone back to her house, I might have got married to my younger sister.

## THE FATHER WHO SOLD HIS DAUGHTER

1 *di-gore dese ka uniñ hok-Ø-du: di uni ka*  
 one-CLF village this like be-SAS-NPT one day throughout  
*rañ to-le woi, nyoñi bäsinte cya-sa ma-khalam, cya-sa*  
 unirrigated.field dig-PCL also evening morning eat-INF NEG-receive eat-INF  
*ma-gap. 2 to-ñañ-ko mi cya-sa ma-khalam-to-le, nan*  
 NEG-be.enough that-inside-GEN person eat-INF NEG-receive-TPP-PCL now  
*dha-basa nem-ko mi cici cyah-Ø-an, boro*  
 that.distant-side house-GEN person meat eat-SAS-3S/PT cooked.rice  
*cyah-Ø-an. 3 ka ni-to-le nem-te cya-sa ma-hok-Ø-du*  
 eat-SAS-3S/PT this see-TPP-PCL house-LOC eat-INF NEG-be-SAS-NPT  
*mi-pali ugo-te ustok ci-let-eñ-du. 4 ka uniñ ña-to-le,*  
 person-p mouth-LOC spit CAUS-appear-pAS-NPT this like say-TPP-PCL  
*di-ka apa nem-te hok-Ø-ta-le ñah-Ø-u-du. 5 ‘camäi-ye*  
 one-HNC father house-LOC be-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT daughter-ERG  
*nembo-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le, jet loñ-ko mäi-Ø-du.’*  
 other.person-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL work do-ADH must-SAS-NPT  
 6 *‘jekha tha-Ø-du, oste-ko nem-te hok-sa ma-nik.’ 7 ‘camäi*  
 big be-SAS-NPT self-GEN house-LOC be-INF NEG-receive daughter  
*di uni nembo-ko nem-te ya-Ø-du.’ 8 ‘ni nama hok-sa*  
 one day other.person-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-NPT we with be-INF  
*ma-nik, ni-ye torta-ko mäi-Ø-du.’ 9 ‘nan ka uniñ ma-tha,*  
 NEG-receive we-ERG leave-ADH must-SAS-NPT now this like NEG-be

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1 There is a village which is like this: Even if the fields are worked all day, there is not enough food to eat in both the morning and evening. 2 The people from that place, not getting any food, [saw] the person in the house on the other side eating meat and rice. 3 Seeing this caused saliva to appear in the mouths of the people from the house where there was nothing to eat. 4 This being the way it is, one old man sitting at home has an idea. 5 ‘Daughter must go and work [as a domestic help] in the house of another.’ 6 ‘She is now grown up, she shouldn’t live in her own [maternal] house any more.’ 7 ‘Daughter will one day go to [work in] someone else’s house.’ 8 ‘She shouldn’t be allowed to stay with us, we must break with her.’ 9 ‘Not just like that, though, first I should get a little money for my daughter and only then give her away.’

*habi camăi pepelek pha-to-le,* *camăi pi-ko*  
 before daughter money hold.out.hand.to.receive-TPP-PCL daughter give-ADH  
*măiy-Ø-an.'* 10 *di-ka apa-ye ka uniŋ dikaca hok-Ø-ta-le*  
 must-SAS-3S/PT one-HNC father-ERG this like alone be-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*ŋah-Ø-u-du.* 11 *to-ko woi nem-te cya-sa ma-nik, di-ka*  
 say-SAS-3P-NPT that-GEN also house-LOC eat-INF NEG-receive one-HNC  
*dese-ko cahuca jekha dese-yiŋ ra-Ø-du*  
 village-GEN man big village-ABL come.from.level-SAS-NPT  
*nih-Ø-u-du.* 12 *to-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-du 'hu, naŋ kuta*  
 see-SAS-3P-NPT that-PM say-SAS-3P-NPT younger.brother you where  
*hok-na-du? găi-go camăi woi hen-to-le, găi-găi pepelek*  
 be-2s-NPT I-GEN daughter also take-TPP-PCL I-PM money  
*rah-o!'* 13 *to cahuca taŋ-Ø-du 'ja-Ø-du,*  
 bring-s→3/IMP that man be.happy-SAS-NPT okay-SAS-NPT  
*hani-te piy-u-na-du? găi-găi pi-ŋa, naŋ-kăi libi pepelek*  
 how.much-LOC give-3P-2s-NPT I-PM give-s→1s/IMP you-PM after money  
*pi-na-ŋa-du.'* 14 *camăi-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-du 'camăi, naŋ libi woi*  
 give-2s-1s-NPT daughter-PM say-SAS-3P-NPT daughter you after also  
*nembo-ko nem-te hen-ko măi-Ø-du, naleŋ woi hen-ko*  
 other.person-GEN house-LOC go-ADH must-SAS-NPT present also go-ADH  
*măi-Ø-du.'* 15 *'naŋ-kăi gă-ye bore loŋ-sa-kăi di-ka cahuca*  
 must-SAS-NPT you-PM I-ERG marriage do-INF-PM one-HNC man  
*daŋ-le nah-u-n-du.'* 16 *camăi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du 'apa, găi*  
 search-PCL put-3P-1s→3-NPT daughter-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT father I

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10 Sitting alone like this, this old man was thinking. 11 There wasn't enough to eat in his house either, but then he saw a villager returning from the city. 12 Then he says to him 'younger brother, where do you live? Take my daughter and bring me some money [in exchange for her]!' 13 That man is happy [and says] 'okay, how much are you selling her for? Give her to me now and I will give you the money later.' 14 And he says to his daughter 'daughter, later you will also have to go and live in someone else's house, and now you also must go to someone else's house.' 15 'I have even found a man for you to marry.' 16 Then the daughter says 'father, once I am married, perhaps I won't be able to live with you any more', and then she cries.

*bore tha-ŋa libi, apa nama hok-sa ma-khalam thaŋun'*  
 marriage do-CNS after father with be-INF NEG-receive maybe  
*kerep-Ø-du. 17 'hara tha-Ø-du? bore loŋ-o, ɖamari*  
 cry-SAS-NPT what be-SAS-NPT marriage do-s→3/IMP son.in.law  
*tha-Ø-du, oste-ko nem-te hok-a!'* 18 *ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le,*  
 be-SAS-NPT self-GEN house-LOC be-s/IMP this like say-TPP-PCL  
*oste-ko camăi pepelek pha-to-le piy-Ø-u-du.*  
 self-GEN daughter money hold.out.hand.to.receive-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-NPT  
 19 *libi 'ɖamari' ŋah-Ø-u-du-ye, camăi begale ɖăi-te ahe*  
 after son.in.law say-SAS-3P-ERG daughter other place-LOC much  
*pepelek-te piy-Ø-u-du.*  
 money-LOC give-SAS-3P-NPT

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17 'What can happen? Just get married, there is always son-in-law, and you should go and live in his house!' 18 And saying all this, he gives his daughter away in exchange for a handful of money. 19 Later, the one known as 'son-in-law' sells the daughter for much more money in another place.

## CHAT BETWEEN FRIENDS

1 *e bubu, apraca hok-Ø-du?* 2 *hok-Ø-du, hok-Ø-du,*  
 oh elder.brother fine be-SAS-NPT be-SAS-NPT be-SAS-NPT  
*naŋ-kǎi-guri?* 3 *gǎi-gǎi woi apraca hok-Ø-du, naŋ naleŋ kuta-yiŋ*  
 you-PM-IND I-PM also fine be-SAS-NPT you present where-ABL  
*ra-na-du?* 4 *gǎi naleŋ dakhkha dese-yiŋ*  
 come.from.level-2s-NPT I present far village-ABL  
*ra-le hok-ŋa-du.* 5 *dakhkha dese-ko name hara?*  
 come.from.level-PCL be-1s-NPT distant village-GEN name what  
 6 *dakhkha dese-ko name arkapole.* 7 *naŋ-ko nem to*  
 distant village-GEN name walnut.tree you-GEN house that  
*dese-ŋaŋ hok-Ø-du ra?* 8 *hok-Ø-du, gǎi-go ama-ye gǎi-gǎi*  
 village-inside be-SAS-NPT or be-SAS-NPT I-GEN mother-ERG I-PM  
*arkapole-ŋaŋ nik-Ø-ŋa-n.* 9 *naŋ-ko apa arkapole-ko*  
 walnut.tree-inside give.birth-SAS-1s-PT you-GEN father walnut.tree-GEN  
*guru hok-Ø-thyo, ma-tha?* 10 *ma-tha-Ø-thyo, arkapole-ko*  
 shaman be-SAS-3SCOND NEG-be NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND walnut.tree-GEN  
*guru gǎi-go jarphu hok-Ø-thyo.* 11 *gǎ-ye*  
 shaman I-GEN elder.sister's.husband be-SAS-3SCOND I-ERG  
*sǎiy-u-n-uŋ, naŋ naleŋ kuta ya-na-du?* 12 *gǎi dolkha*  
 know-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT you present where go-2s-NPT I Dolakhā  
*dǎi ya-ŋa-du.* 13 *e dolkha dǎi, hara-kǎi ya-na-du?* 14 *chya*  
 towards go-1s-NPT oh Dolakhā towards what-PM go-2s-NPT salt

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1 Oh elder brother, how are things? 2 Fine, fine, and how about you? 3 I'm also fine, where are you coming from now? 4 I'm now coming from that distant village. 5 What's the name of that distant village? 6 That distant village is called Walnut Tree. 7 Do you live in that village? 8 Yes, Walnut Tree is [the village] where my mother gave birth to me. 9 Your father was the shaman of Walnut Tree [village], wasn't he? 10 No he wasn't, the shaman of Walnut Tree was my brother-in-law [i.e. elder's sister's husband]. 11 I've got it, so where are you off to now? 12 I'm going to Dolakhā. 13 Oh, to Dolakhā, what are you going for? 14 I'm going to get some salt.

*ra-sa-kāi ya-ŋa-du.* 15 *begale hara hara rah-u-na-du?*  
 bring-INF-PM go-1s-NPT other what what bring-3P-2s-NPT  
 16 *begale-be hara woi ma-ra, gāi-go ulica jet hok-Ø-du*  
*other-TOP what also NEG-bring I-GEN small work be-SAS-NPT*  
*bajar-ŋaŋ.* 17 *naŋ-ko-guri hara jet hok-Ø-du to dese-ŋaŋ?*  
*market-inside you-GEN-IND what work be-SAS-NPT that village-inside*  
 18 *aji-ko sya wa-sa-kāi ya-ŋa-du.* 19 *naŋ-ko*  
*mother.in.law-GEN bovine plough-INF-PM go-1s-NPT you-GEN*  
*chuku-guri kuta yah-Ø-an?* 20 *gāi-go chuku kuta woi*  
*father.in.law-IND where go-SAS-3S/PT I-GEN father.in.law where also*  
*ma-ya-Ø-ta-ki, amakaleŋ siy-Ø-an.* 21 *bophura, gāi-gāi thaha*  
*NEG-go-SAS-IPP-NPS last.year die-SAS-3S/PT pity I-PM knowledge*  
*ma-thah-Ø-an.* 22 *ja-Ø-du, pharak ma-parāi, tara gāi hen-ko*  
*NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT okay-SAS-NPT difference NEG-make but I go-ADH*  
*māi-Ø-du.* 23 *ja-Ø-du, susto ya-Ø, naŋ-ko libi libi gāi*  
*must-SAS-NPT okay-SAS-NPT slow go-s/IMP you-GEN after after I*  
*woi ra-ŋu ra? 24 libi ma-ray-e,*  
*also come.from.level-PERM or after NEG-come.from.level-s/NEG/IMP*  
*naleŋ nama nama hen-ko.* 25 *ma-tha, gāi isa ma-cya-ta-ŋa-ki.*  
*present with with go-ADH NEG-be I food NEG-eat-IPP-1s-NPS*  
 26 *isa ma-cya woi ra-Ø! ni nis-ka dolkha-te*  
*food NEG-eat also come.from.level-s/IMP we two-HNC Dolakhā-LOC*  
*nama sola cya-ko.* 27 *gāi ra-sa-be*  
*with snack eat-ADH I come.from.level-INF-TOP*

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15 What else will you bring back? 16 I'm not bringing back anything else, I just have a little something to do at the market. 17 What is it that you have to do in that village? 18 I'm off to plough [the fields] for my mother-in-law. 19 So where has your father-in-law gone? 20 My father-in-law, not having gone anywhere, died last year. 21 I'm sorry, I didn't know. 22 It's okay, no problem, it really doesn't matter, but I must go. 23 Fine, travel safely, shall I come along some way after you? 24 Don't come later, let's go together now. 25 No, that's not possible, my not having eaten yet. 26 Come without having eaten! Let's have a snack together in Dolakhā. 27 I would love to come, but I don't have any money with me now, what to do, should I go or not?

*ra-ŋa-thyo, tara gǎi nama naleŋ pepelek ma-hok, hara*  
 come.from.level-1s-3SCOND but I with present money NEG-be what  
*loŋ-sa, ya-ŋu ra ma-ya-ŋu? 28 hen-ko, hara-kǎi ma-hen-sa?*  
 do-INF go-PERM or NEG-go-PERM go-ADH what-PM NEG-go-INF  
*naŋ-ko pepelek ma-hok-Ø-ta-le hara tha-Ø-du? naŋ cya-na-du*  
 you-GEN money NEG-be-SAS-IPP-PCL what be-SAS-NPT you eat-2s-NPT  
*sola-ko pepelek gǎ-ye piy-u-n-du. 29 hen-ko, tinyaŋ hen-ko.*  
 snack-GEN money I-ERG give-3P-1s→3-NPT go-ADH then go-ADH

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28 Come on, let's go, why would you not go? What does it matter that you have no money? Whatever snack you eat, I'll pay for. 29 All right then, let's go.

## LILE'S LIFE STORY

1 *gǎi nis tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi-go apa siy-Ø-an.* 2 *gǎi sum*  
 I two be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN father die-sAS-3S/PT I three  
*ŋaŋ oli tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi-go sum-ka tete woi*  
 and four be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN three-HNC elder.sister also  
*siy-eŋ-an.* 3 *gǎi-go walŋa-ka tete, libi-ko gǎi.* 4 *gǎi*  
 die-pAS-3S/PT I-GEN five-HNC elder.sister after-GEN I I  
*walŋa tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi-go jekha tete-ko bore*  
 five be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN large elder.sister-GEN marriage  
*thah-Ø-an.* 5 *nan nem-te tete, ama ŋaŋ gǎi hok-i-n,*  
 be-sAS-3S/PT now house-LOC elder.sister mother and I be-1pPS-PT  
*nan sum-ka.* 6 *gǎi ucya tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, apa, sum-ka*  
 now three-HNC I small be-1s-NPT that.time father three-HNC  
*tete siy-eŋ-du nih-u-n-du beryaŋ, gǎi-go mesek-yiŋ raphil*  
 elder.sister die-pAS-NPT see-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time I-GEN eye-ABL tear  
*let-Ø-an.* 7 *jekha tete-ko bore-te gǎi kerep-ŋa-n.*  
 appear-sAS-3S/PT big elder.sister-GEN marriage-LOC I cry-1s-PT  
 8 *nem-te tete, ama, gǎi hok-ta-i-le, nem-ko jet*  
 house-LOC elder.sister mother I stay-1PP-1pPS-PCL house-GEN work  
*loŋ-wa-n.* 9 *nan gǎi ŋo barsa tha-ŋa-n.* 10 *gǎi-gǎi*  
 do-1p→23-PT now I seven year be-1s-PT I-PM  
*tete-ye cabu-to-le hen-Ø-ŋa-thyo.* 11 *nyoŋi ama-ye*  
 elder.sister-ERG carry-TPP-PCL take-sAS-1s-3SCOND evening mother-ERG

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1 When I was two, my father died. 2 When I was between the ages of three and four, three of my elder sisters passed away. 3 There were five elder sisters, and last of all, me. 4 My eldest sister got married when I was five. 5 From then on, only the three of us lived in the house: elder sister, mother and I. 6 When I was small, on seeing my father and three elder sisters dying, tears flowed from my eyes. 7 I cried at the wedding of my eldest sister. 8 Elder sister, mother and I lived at home and we did all the housework. 9 I was then seven years old. 10 My elder sister used to carry me around. 11 In the evening, mum would go and pick me up.



- ya-kǎi-Ø-ŋa-thyo.* 12 *nem-te ama-ye sya mesa tɔni*  
 go-take-sAS-1s-3SCOND house-LOC mother-ERG cow buffalo goat  
*wa na-to-le pepelek ni-sa-kǎi ka jet loŋ-Ø-u-thyo.*  
 chicken put-TPP-PCL money see-INF-PM this work do-sAS-3P-3SCOND  
 13 *kundu kundu uni gǎ-ye woi seŋ pi-to-le pepelek*  
 which which day I-ERG also firewood give-TPP-PCL money  
*rah-u-n-thyo.* 14 *pebu raŋ-ko jet woi*  
 bring-3P-1s→3-3SCOND irrigated.field dry.field work also  
*loŋ-u-n-uŋ.* 15 *gǎi kit tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ ucya tete-ko*  
 do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I nine be-1s-NPT that.time small elder.sister-GEN  
*bore woi thah-Ø-an.* 16 *nan nem-te nis-ka, ama ŋaŋ gǎi.*  
 marriage also be-sAS-3S/PT now house-LOC two-HNC mother and I  
 17 *gǎi dicip-walŋa tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, ŋiŋ cabu-sa ya-ŋa-n.* 18 *di*  
 I ten-five be-1s-NPT that.time stone carry-INF go-1s-PT one  
*uni-ko dicip-walŋa pepelek pi-Ø-ŋa-thyo.* 19 *ka uniy jet gǎ-ye*  
 day-GEN ten-five money give-sAS-1s-3SCOND this like work I-ERG  
*aŋthe loŋ-u-n-uŋ.* 20 *di uni-ye gǎi ŋaŋ gǎi-go*  
 much do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT one day-ERG I and I-GEN  
*ucyapa-ko ca, gǎi-go bubu, seŋ pi-sa-kǎi*  
 father's.younger.brother-GEN son I-GEN elder.brother firewood give-INF-PM  
*yey-i-thyo.* 21 *to isyaŋ ubo mi-pali demca ra-to-le*  
 go-1pps-3SCOND that period white person-p load bring-TPP-PCL  
*ray-eŋ-an.* 22 *to-baŋ-ko demca cabu-to-le, ni woi*  
 come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT that-Pp-GEN load carry-TPP-PCL we also

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12 Mother raised cows, buffaloes, goats and chickens in order to make [lit. see] a little money from her work. 13 Some days I would even go and sell firewood and bring back the money. 14 I also worked in the fields. 15 When I was nine, my second eldest sister also got married. 16 Now there were only two of us at home, mother and I. 17 When I was fifteen, I went off to work carrying stones and rocks. 18 For one day's work, I was given fifteen rupees. 19 I did a lot of work like this. 20 One day I went with my father's younger brother's son, my elder brother, to sell firewood. 21 That same day some foreigners [lit. white people] came carrying their own packs. 22 Carrying their loads, the two of us walked with them.

*caway-i-n.* 23 *demca cabu-to-le nobi yey-i-n.* 24 *di uni,*  
 walk-1pPS-PT load carry-TPP-PCL downhill go-1pPS-PT one day  
*demca cabu-to-le, di-gore dese-te hok-i-n.* 25 *to pepelek*  
 load carry-TPP-PCL one-CLF village-LOC stay-1pPS-PT that money  
*khalam-tuŋ-le, nem-te jake chya asa rah-u-n-uŋ.*  
 receive-1s/TPP-PCL house-LOC rice salt oil bring-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT  
 26 *libi gǎi jekha tha-ŋa-n.* 27 *nem-te tete*  
 after I big be-1s-PT house-LOC elder.sister  
*jarphu-ye bore loŋ-sa wakhe lony-eŋ-no.* 28 *to*  
 elder.sister's.husband-ERG marriage do-INF word do-pAS-3→3/PT that  
*beryaŋ gǎ-ye bore loŋ-sa ma-ja ŋah-u-n-uŋ.* 29 *gǎi*  
 that.time I-ERG marriage do-INF NEG-okay say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I  
*nama di-gore woi pepelek ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 30 *nem-te ama-kǎi*  
 with one-CLF also money NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND house-LOC mother-PM  
*dikaca torta-to-le cawa-ŋa-n.* 31 *nembo-ko dese-ŋaŋ*  
 alone leave-TPP-PCL walk-1s-PT other.person-GEN village-inside  
*ya-ta-ŋa-le, niŋ cabu-sa jet loŋ-u-n-uŋ.* 32 *pepelek uchinca*  
 go-IPP-1s-PCL stone carry-INF work do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT money a.little  
*pi-Ø-ŋa-thyo, cya-sa-kǎi woi ma-gap-Ø-du.* 33 *gǎ-ye*  
 give-SAS-1s-3SCOND eat-INF-PM also NEG-be.enough-SAS-NPT I-ERG  
*pepelek na-sa ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ, gǎi oste-ko nem-te*  
 money put-INF NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I self-GEN house-LOC  
*ya-ŋa-n.* 34 *gǎi nis-dicip-di tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi-go bore*  
 go-1s-PT I two-ten-one be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN marriage

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23 Carrying their loads, we went steep downhill. 24 One of those days, carrying their loads, we stopped in a village. 25 Having received the money [from the foreigners], I brought rice, salt and oil back home. 26 Soon thereafter, I grew up. 27 At home, my elder sister and her husband were telling me to get married. 28 At that time I said that I didn't want to get married. 29 I had not a penny to my name. 30 I left mum at home by herself and left [lit. walked away]. 31 Going to distant villages, I worked carrying stones. 32 They gave me a little bit of money, but not even enough to eat. 33 I wasn't able to put [away] any money, so I went back home. 34 When I was twenty-one years old, I got married.

*thah-Ø-an.* 35 *nan nem-te sum-ka thay-i-n.* 36 *bore*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT now house-LOC three-HNC be-1pPS-PT marriage  
*loŋ-u-n-du beryaŋ, ahe pepelek thah-Ø-an.* 37 *bore*  
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time much money be-SAS-3S/PT marriage  
*tha-Ø-du walŋa mǎine libi, uma torta-tuŋ-le, pepelek daŋ-sa*  
 be-SAS-NPT five month after wife leave-1s/TPP-PCL money search-INF  
*begale dese ya-ŋa-n.* 38 *begale dese-ŋaŋ ya-ta-ŋa-le, niŋ*  
 other village go-1s-PT other village-inside go-IPP-1s-PCL stone  
*cabu-sa jet loŋ-u-n-uŋ.* 39 *kutaleŋ kutaleŋ pǎtrika*  
 carry-INF work do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT when when newspaper  
*cabu-to-le arŋik-sa jet woi loŋ-u-n-uŋ.* 40 *ka uniŋ jet*  
 carry-TPP-PCL shout-INF work also do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT this like work  
*loŋ-tuŋ-le, bore-ko pepelek uchincǎi piy-u-n-uŋ.*  
 do-1s/TPP-PCL marriage-GEN money very.little give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT  
 41 *bore loŋ-u-n-du nis barsa libi, gǎi-go uma di-ka*  
 marriage do-3P-1s→3-NPT two year after one-GEN wife one-HNC  
*camǎi nik-Ø-an.* 42 *nan nem-te oli-ka thay-i-n*  
 daughter give.birth-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now house-LOC four-HNC be-1pPS-PT  
*ŋaŋ sakalei oste-ko mi-pali tany-eŋ-an.* 43 *di uni-ko wakhe,*  
 and all self-GEN person-p be.happy-pAS-3S/PT one day-GEN word  
*gǎi begale mi-ko bore-te ya-ŋa-thyo, to-te di-ka ubo*  
 I other person-GEN marriage-LOC go-1s-3SCOND that-LOC one-HNC white  
*mi hok-Ø-thyo.* 44 *to mi ‘thaŋmi wakhe fiŋen-si-sa*  
 person be-SAS-3SCOND that person Thangmi word teach-REF-INF

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35 Now there were three of us at home. 36 When I got married, it cost a lot of money. 37 Five months after my wedding, leaving my wife, I went to look for paid work in other villages. 38 Going to other villages, I worked carrying stones. 39 From time to time I would even work selling newspapers. 40 Working in this manner, I managed to pay back a little of the money I borrowed for my wedding. 41 Two years after getting married, my wife gave birth to a daughter. 42 Now that there were four of us in the house, all my relatives were happy. 43 Once upon a time, I went to someone else's wedding and there, at the wedding, was a white man. 44 I had heard that this man had said 'I have come to learn the Thangmi language.'

*ra-ŋa-du'*                    *ŋa-to-le*    *ŋah-Ø-u-du,*    *gǎ-ye*  
 come.from.level-1s-NPT    say-TPP-PCL    say-sAS-3P-NPT    I-ERG  
*nasǎiy-u-n-uŋ.*            45 *tyaŋ gǎi woi to nama kherte ya-ta-ŋa-le*  
 hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT    then I    also that with near    go-IPP-1s-PCL  
*cijyaŋ-ŋa-n.* 46 *gǎ-ye to-kǎi ŋah-u-n-uŋ*            '*naŋ kuta-yiŋ*  
 speak-1s-PT            I-ERG    that-PM    say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT    you    where-ABL  
*kyel-na-n?'* 47 *to mi-ye gǎi-gǎi ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n*            '*gǎi ubo*  
 come-2s-PT            that person-ERG    I-PM    say-sAS-1s-PT    I    white  
*mi-ko dese-yiŋ ra-ŋa-n.'*                                    48 *to thaŋmi wakhe*  
 person-GEN    village-ABL    come.from.level-1s-PT            that Thangmi word  
*cijyaŋ-Ø-du beryaŋ, gǎi-be nui-ŋa-n.* 49 '*gǎ-ye nasǎiy-u-n-uŋ,*  
 speak-sAS-NPT    that.time I-TOP    laugh-1s-PT            I-ERG    hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT  
*naŋ ka-te hara-kǎi kyel-na-n?'* 50 '*bore yo-sa-kǎi*  
 you this-LOC    what-PM    come-2s-PT            marriage    look.at-INF-PM  
*ra-ŋa-n'*                    *to ubo mi-ye ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.* 51 *gǎi-gǎi*  
 come.from.level-1s-PT    that white person-ERG    say-sAS-1s-PT            I-PM  
*ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n*            '*hu-ko nem-guri kuta?'* 52 *gǎ-ye*  
 say-sAS-1s-PT    younger.brother-GEN    house-IND    where            I-ERG  
*ŋah-u-n-uŋ*                    '*gǎi-go nem rikhi-pole na-basa.'* 53 '*baŋhe*  
 say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT    I-GEN    house *Ficus.lacor*-tree    under-side            tomorrow  
*bǎsinte gǎi hok-ŋa-du nem-te ra-Ø!'*                                    *ŋa-to-le*  
 morning I    stay-1s-NPT    house-LOC    come.from.level-s/IMP    say-TPP-PCL  
*ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.* 54 *baŋhe ya-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi ari-ŋa-n.*  
 say-sAS-1s-PT            tomorrow    go-1s-NPT    that.time I    be.afraid-1s-PT

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45 Then I walked over to him and spoke to him. 46 And I asked him 'where have you come from?' 47 That man said to me 'I have come from the white man's village.' 48 That he spoke in the Thangmi tongue made me laugh. 49 'I heard [that you had come], but what have you come to do here?' 50 'I have come to see the wedding', the white man said to me. 51 He asked me, 'where do you live, younger brother?' 52 'My house is just under the *Ficus lacor* tree', I said. 53 'Please come by tomorrow morning to the house where I am staying', he said to me. 54 When I went the next day [to his house], I was afraid.

55 ‘gǎi-gǎi hara hara *ηa-∅-ηa-du?*’ *ηa-to-le* *ya-ηa-n.* 56 gǎi  
 I-PM what what say-SAS-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL go-1s-PT I  
*ari-sa ma-mǎi-thyo, to nama jet loη-sa mi*  
 be.afraid-INF NEG-must-3SCOND that with work do-INF person  
*ma-hok-∅-thyo.* 57 *tyaη to-ye gǎi-gǎi ηa-∅-ηa-n ‘naη gǎi*  
 NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND then that-ERG I-PM say-SAS-1s-PT you I  
*nama jet loη-u-na-du?’* 58 gǎi *di chin sumaka hok-ηa-n.* 59 gǎi  
 with work do-3P-2s-NPT I one moment silent be-1s-PT I  
*to beryaη begale dese-te jet loη-u-n-thyo.* 60 gǎ-ye  
 that that.time other village-LOC work do-3P-1s→3-3SCOND I-ERG  
‘*ja-∅-du*’ *ηah-u-n-uη, gǎ-ye hara jet loη-sa, kuta hen-sa?*  
 okay-SAS-NPT say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-ERG what work do-INF where go-INF  
 61 ‘*naη gǎi nama hok-ta-na-le, thaηmi kham loη-ko, ja-∅-du*  
 you I with be-IPP-2s-PCL Thangmi language do-ADH okay-SAS-NPT  
*ra ma-ja?’* 62 gǎ-ye *ηah-u-n-uη ‘gǎi-gǎi thaηmi kham*  
 or NEG-okay I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-PM Thangmi language  
*uchincǎi ra-∅-du, hara jet loη-sa?’* 63 ‘*nany-e*  
 very.little come.from.level-SAS-NPT what work do-INF you-ERG  
*sǎi-na-du wakhe loη-o! ma-sǎi-na-du, nembo nama*  
 know-2s-NPT word do-s→3/IMP NEG-know-2s-NPT other.person with  
*ṭisen-se! ja-∅-du?’* 64 gǎi ‘*ja-∅-du ηa-to-le*  
 teach-s/REF/IMP okay-SAS-NPT I okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*taη-ηa-n.* 65 *to isyaη gǎi oste-ko nem dǎi cawa-ηa-n.*  
 be.happy-1s-NPT that period I self-GEN house towards walk-1s-PT

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55 ‘What kinds of things will he say to me?’, I thought as I went. 56 I needn’t have been afraid, since he simply didn’t have anyone to work with. 57 Then he asked me, ‘will you work with me?’ 58 I fell silent for a moment. 59 At that time I had found work in another village. 60 I said ‘okay’, [and I thought] what kind of work will I do, where will I have to go? 61 ‘When you and I are sitting [working] together, let us speak the Thangmi language, is that okay or not?’ [he asked]. 62 So I said ‘I only speak a very little bit of Thangmi, what help can I be?’ 63 ‘The stuff you know, tell me that, and what you don’t know, learn from someone who does! Okay?’ [he said] 64 I said ‘okay’ and was happy. 65 Then, on that day, I walked back to my own house.

66 *baṭhe ra-ŋa-n, nama hok-i-n, thaṅmi kham*  
 tomorrow come.from.level-1s-PT with be-1pPS-PT Thangmi language  
*loṅ-wa-n.* 67 *ka uniṅ loṅ-ŋa libi, gǎi-gǎi nembo dese*  
 do-1p→23-PT this like do-CNS after I-PM other.person village  
*dǎi yo-sa-kǎi hen-Ø-ŋa-n.* 68 *ni nis-ka tha-ta-i-le*  
 towards look.at-INF-PM take-SAS-1s-PT we two-HNC be-IPP-1pPS-PCL  
*caway-i-n.* 69 *caway-i-du beryaṅ, di-ka mi-ko nem-te*  
 walk-1pPS-PT walk-1pPS-NPT that.time one-HNC person-GEN house-LOC  
*hok-i-n.* 70 *ni nis-ka-kǎi to-te isa piy-i-n.* 71 *isa-guri,*  
 stay-1pPS-NT we two-HNC-PM that-LOC food give-1pPS-PT food-IND  
*saṅa-ko denderek phase-ko isa nyakaṅeṅ-ko ken*  
 millet-GEN coarse.and.rough flour-GEN food nettle-GEN vegetable.curry  
*cya-ta-i-le, nis uni to-te hok-i-n.* 72 *to-yiṅ, ni nis-ka*  
 eat-IPP-1pPS-PCL two day that-LOC stay-1pPS-PT that-ABL we two-HNC  
*caway-i-n.* 73 *to isyaṅ ulam-te paṅku yuw-Ø-an,*  
 walk-1pPS-PT that period path-LOC water come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT  
*libi lipem woi yuw-Ø-an.* 74 *lipem yu-ŋa*  
 after snow also come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT snow come.from.above-CNS  
*libi, ni nis-ka ariy-i-n.* 75 *'nan lipem-e tel-to-le*  
 after we two-HNC be.afraid-1pPS-PT now snow-ERG squeeze-TPP-PCL  
*sat-i-du' ŋa-to-le.* 76 *warak-te ya-let-i-thyo, ahe*  
 kill-1pPS-NPT say-TPP-PCL precipice-LOC go-appear-1pPS-3SCOND much  
*lipem yuw-Ø-an, to-yiṅ ni dorok-i-n.* 77 *nobi*  
 snow come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT that-ABL we run-1pPS-PT downhill

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66 The next day I came [to him] and we sat together and spoke Thangmi. 67 After having worked like this for a while, he took me to see other people's villages. 68 The two of us travelled together. 69 When walking, we ended up staying in this person's house. 70 In that place, we were given food. 71 As for the food, well we ate this rough, coarse millet flour paste with nettle soup, and we stayed for two days. 72 From there, the two of us set off walking [again]. 73 That same day it started to rain and after that it even started snowing. 74 Once it started snowing, we both got really scared. 75 'Now the snow will squish us to death', we thought. 76 When we arrived at the top of the steep slope, we found that a whole load of snow had fallen, and we [quickly] ran [down]. 77 As were going downhill we got really cold.

*yey-i-du beryaŋ, aṭṭhe ṭilay-i-n.* 78 *dorok-ŋa libi, di-gore*  
 go-1pps-NPT that.time very be.cold-1pps-PT run-CNS after one-CLF  
*phesu gal-te ya-let-i-n, to woi ṭi-si-Ø-du.* 79 *piriŋ*  
 sheep cage-LOC go-appear-1pps-PT that also close-REF-SAS-NPT outside  
*hok-i-n, libi to bubu-ye di-gore jet loŋ-Ø-u-no.*  
 be-1pps-PT after that elder.brother-ERG one-CLF work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 80 *phesu gal bheterék-e kho-le hok-Ø-thyo.*  
 sheep cage bamboo.mat-INS surround-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND  
 81 *duŋ-ŋaŋ bi-sa ṭhăi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 82 *bubu-ye*  
 within-inside enter-INF place NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND elder.brother-ERG  
*to di-gore phesu gal-ko bheterék ṭek-to-le mi bi-sa*  
 that one-CLF sheep cage-GEN bamboo.mat tear-TPP-PCL person enter-INF  
*doroŋ loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 83 *ni nis-ka lipem-e phoy-i-le*  
 hole do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we two-HNC snow-INS soak-1pps-PCL  
*hok-i-thyo.* 84 *ni to doroŋ-yiŋ duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-i-n.*  
 be-1pps-3SCOND we that hole-ABL within-inside enter-1pps-PT  
 85 *bi-ta-i-le, me mut-wa-n, găi miŋ toi-si-ŋa-n, me*  
 enter-1PP-1pps-PCL fire blow-1p→23-PT I cloth take.off-REF-1s-PT fire  
*mut-to-le ni miŋ areŋ-wa-n, sola cey-i-n.* 86 *sola cya-ŋa*  
 blow-TPP-PCL we cloth dry-1p→23-PT snack eat-1pps-PT snack eat-CNS  
*libi, lipem yu-sa dum-Ø-an, piriŋ*  
 after snow come.from.above-INF finish-SAS-3S/PT outside  
*yo-wa-du-be ulam ma-ni-wa-n!* 87 *ulam sakalei lipem-e*  
 look.at-1p→23-NPT-TOP path NEG-see-1p→23-PT path all snow-INS

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78 After running [downhill], we finally arrived at a sheep hut, but even that was closed. 79 We had been sitting outside for a while, and then elder brother did something. 80 The sheep hut had been enclosed by a bamboo mat. 81 There was no place to enter. 82 Then elder brother tore one of the bamboo mats surrounding the sheep hut enough to make a hole for a person to enter. 83 The two of us were totally drenched by the snow. 84 We entered inside through that hole. 85 Once inside, we started a fire and I took off my [wet] clothes and, blowing the fire, we dried our clothes and ate a snack. 86 Once we had finished our snack, the snow had stopped falling, and when we looked outside we couldn't see the path any more! 87 The path was totally covered by snow.

*bu-le nah-u-thyo.* 88 *'nan yaŋ ka-te hok-ko, baŋthe*  
 cover-PCL put-3P-3SCOND now today this-LOC stay-ADH tomorrow  
*băsinŋe serek-ta-i-le hen-ko' ŋa-siy-i-n.* 89 *ni hok-i-n*  
 morning arise-IPP-1pPS-PCL go-ADH say-REF-1pPS-PT we stay-1pPS-PT  
*woi libi di-ka mi demca cabu-to-le waŋ-Ø-du*  
 also after one-HNC person load carry-TPP-PCL come.from.below-sas-NPT  
*ni-wa-n.* 90 *to mi-kăi gă-ye 'mi nem ya-let-sa, nan*  
 see-1p→23-PT that person-PM I-ERG person house go-appear-INF now  
*hani ulam hok-Ø-du?' ŋa-to-le ŋah-u-n-uŋ.* 91 *to*  
 how.much path be-sas-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that  
*mi-ye ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n, 'nan, ka-yiŋ di chin-te ya-let-ni-du.'*  
 person-ERG say-sas-1s-PT now this-ABL one moment-LOC go-appear-2p-NPT  
 92 *'niŋ ya-ne, ka-te ma-hok-ne!' ŋah-u-no, ŋaŋ ni to-te*  
 you(p) go-p/IMP this-LOC NEG-be-p/IMP say-3P-3→3/PT and we that-LOC  
*ma-hok-tiniŋ caway-i-n.* 93 *di chin libi dese*  
 NEG-be-PFG walk-1pPS-PT one moment after village  
*waŋ-Ø-an, to-te-ko mi-kăi ŋa-wa-n 'ni-kăi*  
 come.from.below-sas-3S/PT that-LOC-GEN person-PM say-1p→23-PT we-PM  
*ka-te hok-sa ŋăi pi-se!' 94 to-ye woi 'ja-Ø-du'*  
 this-LOC be-INF place give-s→1p/IMP that-ERG also okay-sas-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no, hok-sa ŋăi piy-i-n.* 95 *isa cya-ta-i-le,*  
 say-sas-3P-3→3/PT be-INF place give-1pPS-PT food eat-IPP-1pPS-PCL  
*thapu kherte găi ami-ŋa-n.* 96 *băsinŋe serek-ta-i-le, nobi*  
 fireplace near I sleep-1s-PT morning arise-IPP-1pPS-PCL downhill

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88 'Now, today let's stay here and then tomorrow morning get up and leave', we said to each other. 89 After sitting there for a while we saw someone coming up carrying a load. 90 And then I asked that man 'how far is it to the nearest inhabited house?' 91 And that person said to me, 'from here you'll(p) be there in no time.' 92 'You(p) must go, do not stay here!' he said, and so without having stayed, we left. 93 And after a short while we came to a village and we said to the people of that place 'please give us a place to stay!' 94 And that person said 'okay' and gave us a place to stay. 95 Once we had eaten, I fell asleep close to the fireplace. 96 In the morning we got up and set off down the hill.



*caway-i-n.* 97 *tyaŋ di-ka thaŋmi bubu-ko nem-te*  
 walk-1pPS-PT then one-HNC Thangmi elder.brother-GEN house-LOC  
*ya-let-i-n.* 98 *to-te woi saŋa-ko isa moŋe-ko*  
 go-appear-1pPS-PT that-LOC also millet-GEN food soybean-GEN  
*ken cey-i-n.* 99 *to-ŋaŋ bubu-guri hok-Ø-an,*  
 vegetable.curry eat-1pPS-PT that-inside elder.brother-IND be-SAS-3S/PT  
*gǎi-guri oste-ko nem dǎi cawa-ŋa-n.* 100 *tyaŋ libi ka uniŋ*  
 I-IND self-GEN house towards walk-1s-PT then after this like  
*thah-Ø-an ŋaŋ di uni to bubu-ye gǎi-gǎi naka nem*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT and one day that elder.brother-ERG I-PM new house  
*khem-sa-kǎi pepelek pi-Ø-ŋa-n.* 101 *'libi pi-ŋa! habi naŋ-ko*  
 build-INF-PM money give-SAS-1s-PT after give-s→1s/IMP first you-GEN  
*jet loŋ-o!'* *ŋa-to-le ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.* 102 *gǎ-ye woi naka nem*  
 work do-s→3/IMP say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-1s-PT I-ERG also new house  
*khem-u-n-uŋ.* 103 *libi to bubu-ye pi-Ø-ŋa-du*  
 build-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT after that elder.brother-ERG give-SAS-1s-NPT  
*pepelek-e naka nem khem-tuŋ-le, naleŋ hok-i-du.* 104 *nama*  
 money-INS new house build-1s/TPP-PCL present be-1pPS-PT with  
*nama caway-i-du beryaŋ, gǎi apa ma-ya-let-Ø-du*  
 with walk-1pPS-NPT that.time I father NEG-go-appear-SAS-NPT  
*thǎi-ŋaŋ gǎi-be ya-let-ŋa-n.* 105 *per-Ø-du-te woi lun-ŋa-n,*  
 place-inside I-TOP go-appear-1s-PT fly-SAS-NPT-LOC also ride-1s-PT  
*nan hara tha-Ø-du? masǎi.* 106 *naleŋ gǎi-go nem-te oli-ka*  
 now what be-SAS-NPT who.knows present I-GEN house-LOC four-HNC

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97 Then we arrived at the house of a Thangmi man. 98 And there we also ate millet paste and soybean curry. 99 Elder brother stayed in that place, and I set off back to my own house. 100 And in this way it happened that one day the same elder brother gave me money to build a new house. 101 'Give the money back later, first do your work!', he said to me. 102 And then I built a new house. 103 Having built the house with elder brother's loan, we now live there. 104 When we walked and travelled together, I got to go places which even my father never went to. 105 I even got to ride one of those flying things, now what else will happen? Who knows? 106 At present there are four of us in my house.

- hok-i-du.* 107 *to bubu woi di-ka tete nama hok-le*  
 be-1pPS-NPT that elder.brother also one-HNC elder.sister with be-PCL
- hok-Ø-du.* 108 *to tete woi gǎi-go tete unij hok-Ø-du.*  
 be-SAS-NPT that elder.sister also I-GEN elder.sister like be-SAS-NPT
- 109 *bubu woi gǎi-go oste-ko bubu unij hok-Ø-du.*  
 elder.brother also I-GEN self-GEN elder.brother like be-SAS-NPT
- 110 *nan libi hara tha-Ø-du, masǎi, yo-ko!*  
 now after what be-SAS-NPT who.knows look.at-ADH

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107 That man [elder brother] is living with a woman [elder sister]. 108 That woman is like my own elder sister. 109 And that man is just like my own elder brother. 110 Now, what will come to be? Let's see!

## SMOKING

- 1 *găi ucyaca tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi-go apa-ko apa aŋthe bajareŋ*  
 I small be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN father-GEN father many tobacco  
*cya-Ø-thyo.* 2 *di uni-ye, to apa-ko apa-ye*  
 eat-SAS-3SCOND one day-ERG that father-GEN father-ERG  
*nis-dicip-walŋa-gore bajareŋ cya-Ø-thyo.* 3 *to dikaca*  
 two-ten-five-CLF tobacco eat-SAS-3SCOND that alone  
*ma-cya-Ø-thyo, bakoŋek-guri to-ko uma-kăi, ŋa-to-le găi-go*  
 NEG-eat-SAS-3SCOND half-IND that-GEN wife-PM say-TPP-PCL I-GEN  
*apa-ko ama-kăi, piy-Ø-u-thyo.* 4 *tyaŋ pi-to-le, to*  
 father-GEN mother-PM give-SAS-3P-3SCOND then give-TPP-PCL that  
*ŋoŋi-ye jekha ca-kăi, ŋa-to-le găi-go apa-kăi,*  
 old.woman-ERG big son-PM say-TPP-PCL I-GEN father-PM  
*piy-Ø-u-thyo.* 5 *to beryaŋ găi-găi cya-sa ma-ali-Ø-thyo.*  
 give-SAS-3P-3SCOND that that.time I-PM eat-INF NEG-like-SAS-3SCOND  
 6 *to beryaŋ yamiryay-ko uniŋ se-Ø-du bajareŋ*  
 that that.time nowadays-GEN like taste-SAS-NPT tobacco  
*ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 7 *to beryaŋ laca-ko aja-te*  
 NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND that that.time Indian.rhododendron-GEN leaf-LOC  
*kanŋi aja na-to-le ŋoŋe ŋoŋi wakhe loŋ-loŋ-to-le*  
 fresh leaf put-TPP-PCL old.man old.woman word do-do-TPP-PCL  
*cey-eŋ-thyo.* 8 *to tha-Ø-ta-le, găi-găi-guri cya-sa*  
 eat-PAS-3SCOND that be-SAS-IPP-PCL I-PM-IND eat-INF

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1 When I was small, my father's father used to smoke a lot of tobacco. 2 In one day, my grandfather would smoke twenty-five fags. 3 He wouldn't smoke alone either, he would give half to his wife, meaning to say, my father's mother. 4 Then, once it had been given, the old lady would give [the cigarette] to her eldest son, meaning to say my father. 5 At that time I didn't like smoking. 6 In those days, tasty cigarettes like the ones you get these days weren't to be had. 7 In those days old men and women would put fresh leaves in the leaf of an Indian rhododendron and smoke. 8 Because of that [leaf], I didn't like to smoke.

*ma-ali-Ø-thyo.* 9 *gǎi-gǎi-guri me ra-sa*  
 NEG-like-sAS-3SCOND I-PM-IND fire bring-INF  
*ci-thoy-eŋ-ŋa-thyo.* 10 *tyaŋ di uni-ko wakhe: gǎi nem-te*  
 CAUS-send-pAS-1s-3SCOND then one day-GEN word I house-LOC  
*apa-ko apa nama hok-ŋa-thyo, di-ka naka mi ni-ko*  
 father-GEN father with be-1s-3SCOND one-HNC new person we-GEN  
*nem-te rah-Ø-an.* 11 *to mi-ye di-gore ucyaca*  
 house-LOC come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT that person-ERG one-CLF small  
*menca-yiŋ ubo bajareŋ kǎiy-Ø-u-no, gǎ-ye yo-le*  
 bag-ABL white tobacco take.out-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG look.at-PCL  
*nah-u-n-uŋ.* 12 *to bajareŋ ugo-te na-to-le, me*  
 put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that tobacco mouth-LOC put-TPP-PCL fire  
*amat-Ø-u-no, gǎ-ye me piy-u-n-uŋ.* 13 *tyaŋ to mi-ye*  
 beg-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG fire give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then that person-ERG  
*tun-Ø-u-no to bajareŋ.* 14 *gǎi thombe tha-ŋa-n, to uni*  
 drink-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that tobacco I surprise be-1s-PT that day  
*to-ye bakoŋek ciy-Ø-u-no, to gǎi kum-to-le*  
 that-ERG half throw.away-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that I pick.up-TPP-PCL  
*cya-ŋa-n.* 15 *to aŋthe se-Ø-du hok-Ø-thyo, tyaŋ gǎi-be*  
 eat-1s-PT that very taste-sAS-NPT be-sAS-3SCOND then I-TOP  
*di-di-gore loŋ-to-le kutaleŋ kutaleŋ cya-ŋa-n.* 16 *libi libi,*  
 one-one-CLF do-TPP-PCL when when eat-1s-PT after after  
*tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, gǎ-ye ma-cya-tiniŋ hok-sa ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ.*  
 be-sAS-NPT that.time I-ERG NEG-eat-PFG be-INF NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

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9 They used to send me to bring fire. 10 Then one day, this is what happened: I was sitting at home with my grandfather and this stranger came into our house. 11 That person took some white tobacco out of a small bag, and I was watching. 12 He put that white tobacco in his mouth and asked for a light which I then gave him. 13 Then that man, he smoked that tobacco. 14 I was so surprised, but that same day he threw away half of one of those cigarettes, so I picked it up and smoked it. 15 That was so tasty, that from then on, I started to smoke cigarettes sometimes, one at a time. 16 After a while I was no longer able to sit still without smoking.

- 17 *tyaŋ gǎi woi, gǎi-go apa-ko apa nama, hok-ta-ŋa-le cya-ŋa-n.*  
 then I also I-GEN father-GEN father with be-IPP-1s-PCL eat-1s-PT
- 18 *to uni-yiŋ, gǎ-ye woi di uni-ye nis-dicip-gore*  
 that day-ABL I-ERG also one day-ERG two-ten-CLF
- tun-u-n-thyo.* 19 *bajareŋ gǎi-gǎi isa ken uniŋ*  
 drink-3P-1s-→3-3SCOND tobacco I-PM food vegetable.curry like
- thah-Ø-an, gǎi sarma tha-sa ya-ŋa-n.* 20 *gǎi dicip-walŋa tha-ŋa-du*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT I strong be-INF go-1s-PT I ten-five be-1s-NPT
- beryaŋ, gǎi-go apa-ko apa runrun thah-Ø-an.* 21 *tyaŋ to*  
 that.time I-GEN father-GEN father weak.and.ill be-SAS-3S/PT then that
- thoŋe mi tha-Ø-ta-le woi, di uni-ye aŋthe bajareŋ*  
 old.man person be-SAS-IPP-PCL also one day-ERG much tobacco
- cya-Ø-thyo.* 22 *ŋaye ka thoŋhoi-Ø-thyo.* 23 *tyaŋ to*  
 eat-SAS-3SCOND night throughout cough-SAS-3SCOND then that
- thoŋe lā-dicip thah-Ø-an, aŋthe ma-thaŋ-Ø-an, guru*  
 old.man eight-ten be-SAS-3S/PT very NEG-be.well-SAS-3S/PT shaman
- urou-wa-n ma-jah-Ø-an.* 24 *di uni siy-Ø-an, si-Ø-du*  
 call-1p-→23-PT NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT one day die-SAS-3S/PT die-SAS-NPT
- isyay gǎi apa ama sakalei kerep-i-n.* 25 *kerep-ta-i-le hara*  
 period I father mother all cry-1pPS-PT cry-IPP-1pPS-PCL what
- loŋ-sa, guŋhi mi-pali kyel-eŋ-ta-le moro hen-eŋ-no.*  
 do-INF mourner person-p come-pAS-IPP-PCL corpse take-pAS-3-→3/PT
- 26 *libi apa-ko apa-ko mumpra thah-Ø-an, to isyay-yiŋ*  
 after father-GEN father-GEN death.ritual be-SAS-3S/PT that period-ABL

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17 And then I would even sit together with my grandfather and smoke. 18 From that day on, I smoked twenty [cigarettes] a day. 19 Tobacco became like rice and curry to me, and I was getting stronger all the time. 20 When I was fifteen, my grandfather became weak and ill. 21 Then, despite being an old man, he would smoke a great deal every day. 22 He would cough all night. 23 Then when that old man was eighty years old, he became very unwell and we called a shaman, but it didn't help. 24 Then one day he died, and on that day, all of us, father, mother and I, cried. 25 Crying, well, what to do, all the mourners came and carried the corpse away. 26 After that came the death rites for grandfather, and from that day on my own throat started to hurt.

*gǎi-go woi kaṇtu kalǎi-ŋa-n.* 27 *kaṇtu kalǎi-ŋa libi ‘nan hara*  
 I-GEN also throat hurt-1s-PT throat hurt-CNS after now what  
*loṅ-sa?’ ṅah-u-n-uṅ.* 28 *‘nan gǎ-ye bajareṅ cya-ta-ŋa-le*  
 do-INF say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT now I-ERG tobacco eat-IPP-1s-PCL  
*ma-jah-Ø-an, nan torta-ko mǎi-Ø-du’ ṅa-to-le*  
 NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT now leave-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*ṅah-u-n-uṅ.* 29 *di uni bubu-ye ṅa-Ø-ŋa-n ‘nan ni*  
 say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT one day elder.brother-ERG say-SAS-1s-PT now we  
*bajareṅ cya-ko ma-ja.’* 30 *‘bajareṅ cey-i-n ra ni-ko cǎrṅa*  
 tobacco eat-ADH NEG-okay tobacco eat-1pPS-PT or we-GEN liver  
*loṅsek min-Ø-du, ṅaṅ ni siy-i-du.’* 31 *tyaṅ to isyaṅ-yiṅ*  
 heart cook-SAS-NPT and we die-1pPS-NPT then that period-ABL  
*bajareṅ torta-wa-n.* 32 *sum oli uni ka cya-sa ali-ŋa-n,*  
 tobacco leave-1p→23-PT three four day throughout eat-INF like-1s-PT  
*isa cya-ŋa libi to cya-ko mǎi-Ø-du uniṅ tha-ŋa-n.*  
 food eat-CNS after that eat-ADH must-SAS-NPT like be-1s-PT  
 33 *‘ma-cya-ŋa-n’ ṅah-u-n-du, cya-sa ali-ŋa-du.* 34 *gǎi-go*  
 NEG-eat-1s-PT say-3P-1s→3-NPT eat-INF like-1s-NPT I-GEN  
*nem-te gǎi-go uma woi cya-Ø-du.* 35 *uma cya-Ø-du ni-to-le,*  
 house-LOC I-GEN wife also eat-SAS-NPT wife eat-SAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL  
*gǎi-gǎi woi cya-ŋa cya-ŋa ali-ŋa-du.* 36 *toṅ cya-ŋa-du beryaṅ,*  
 I-PM also eat-CNS eat-CNS like-1s-NPT beer eat-1s-NPT that.time  
*bajareṅ naleṅ woi cya-ŋa-du.* 37 *naleṅ gǎi-gǎi nembo*  
 tobacco present also eat-1s-NPT present I-PM other.person

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27 After my throat started to hurt, I thought ‘what to do now?’ 28 ‘Now I really shouldn’t smoke, I should give up’, is what I thought. 29 One day, my elder brother said to me ‘from now on we really shouldn’t smoke.’ 30 ‘If we continue to smoke, our livers and hearts will be cooked and we will surely die.’ 31 Then, from that day on, we gave up tobacco. 32 For three or for days after [giving up], I really yearned to smoke and particularly after eating food, I really felt like I needed to smoke. 33 ‘I didn’t smoke’ I was saying, but I so wanted to. 34 At home, my wife also smokes. 35 When I see my wife smoke, I really feel like smoking myself. 36 When I drink beer, only then do I still smoke tobacco. 37 Now, when I see others smoke, I don’t feel like smoking.

*cya-Ø-du nih-u-n-du beryaŋ, cya-sa ma-ali.* 38 *gǎi aŋthe*  
 eat-SAS-NPT see-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time eat-INF NEG-like I much  
*cya-ŋa-be, gǎi woi gǎi-go apa-ko apa uniŋ si-ŋa-thyo.*  
 eat-CNS-TOP I also I-GEN father-GEN father like die-1s-3SCOND  
 39 *bubu ŋaŋ gǎ-ye di uni-ye torta-wa-n.* 40 *naleŋ*  
 elder.brother and I-ERG one day-ERG leave-1p→23-PT present  
*toŋ-guri cey-i-du, bajareŋ-guri ma-cya, nan hara tha-Ø-du?*  
 beer-IND eat-1pPS-NPT tobacco-IND NEG-eat now what be-SAS-NPT

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38 If I continued to smoke a lot, I would also die, just like my grandfather. 39 One day, elder brother and I gave up [smoking]. 40 Now, we drink beer but we don't smoke, now how about that?

## YOUNGEST SON

- 1 *ama-kǎi di ʃhǎi hok-sa ma-piy-eŋ-to-le, nembo-ko*  
 mother-PM one place be-INF NEG-give-pAS-TPP-PCL other.person-GEN  
*raŋ-te nem khem-to-le di-ka ca nama hok-Ø-du.*  
 unirrigated.field-LOC house build-TPP-PCL one-HNC son with be-SAS-NPT
- 2 *dese mi-ye ama-kǎi ma-sadey-eŋ, kaʃay-eŋ-du.* 3 *di uni*  
 village person-ERG mother-PM NEG-like-pAS scold-pAS-NPT one day  
*ca-kǎi dese mi-ye ɳey-eŋ-du ‘apa ma-hok-Ø-du ca’*  
 son-PM village person-ERG beat-pAS-NPT father NEG-be-SAS-NPT son  
*ɳay-eŋ-du, rage let-Ø-du.* 4 *dese mi nama*  
 say-pAS-NPT anger appear-SAS-NPT village person with  
*kiŋe-si-Ø-du, nem-te kyel-Ø-ta-le ama-kǎi ‘ni-ko apa*  
 fight-REF-SAS-NPT house-LOC come-SAS-IPP-PCL mother-PM we-GEN father  
*kuta hok-Ø-du?’ ɳa-to-le ɳah-Ø-u-du.* 5 *ama*  
 where be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT mother  
*kerep-kerep-Ø-ta-le ‘ca, naŋ-ko apa jekha dese-te ya-Ø-ta-le*  
 cry-cry-SAS-IPP-PCL son you-GEN father big village-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*hok-le hok-Ø-du, yaŋ ka ma-ra-Ø-ta-ki.’*  
 be-PCL be-SAS-NPT today throughout NEG-come.from.level-SAS-IPP-NPS
- 6 *‘naŋ-kǎi baŋkal-te torta-to-le yah-Ø-an.’* 7 *ama-ko*  
 you-PM stomach-LOC leave-TPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT mother-GEN  
*wakhe nasǎi-to-le, to ʃaye ma-ami.* 8 *bǎsiŋte serek-Ø-ta-le,*  
 word hear-TPP-PCL that night NEG-sleep morning arise-SAS-IPP-PCL

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1 Since they didn't give mother a place to live in this one place, she builds a house on someone else's land and lives there with her son. 2 The villagers don't like mother and they scold her. 3 One day the villagers beat the son, calling him 'a father-less son' and he gets angry. 4 He gets into a fight with the villagers and coming home asks his mother 'where is our father?'. 5 Crying and crying, mother says 'son, your father went to live in the city, not having returned to this day.' 6 'He left you when you were still in my womb.' 7 Having heard mother's words, he can't sleep that night. 8 In the morning, getting up, he sets off to search for his father in the city.



*apa daŋ-sa jekha dese cawa-Ø-du.* 9 *di ʔhǎi kiji ban*  
 father search-INF big village walk-SAS-NPT one place black friend  
*nama hok-Ø-du, libi ulam-te cawa-Ø-du.* 10 *cawa-Ø-du beryaŋ,*  
 with be-SAS-NPT after road-LOC walk-SAS-NPT walk-SAS-NPT that.time  
*ulam-te hok-eŋ-du huca-pali-ko pepelek gwi-pali-ye kat-eŋ-du*  
 road-LOC be-pAS-NPT child-p-GEN money thief-p-ERG snatch-pAS-NPT  
*nih-Ø-u-du.* 11 *to-ye to-baŋ-kǎi ʔe-to-le, pepelek*  
 see-SAS-3P-NPT that-ERG that-Pp-PM beat-TPP-PCL money  
*kat-to-le, piy-Ø-u-du.* 12 *libi di-ka camǎica-kǎi nis-ka*  
 snatch-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-NPT after one-HNC woman-PM two-HNC  
*cahuca-ye po-ca ray-eŋ-du, ka ni-to-le to-ye to*  
 man-ERG chase-PSG bring-pAS-NPT this see-TPP-PCL that-ERG that  
*cahuca-pali-kǎi ʔe-to-le poh-Ø-u-du.* 13 *camǎica*  
 man-p-PM beat-TPP-PCL chase-SAS-3P-NPT woman  
*taŋ-Ø-du, sewah-Ø-u-du, libi naŋ nama bore*  
 be.happy-SAS-NPT salute-SAS-3P-NPT after you with marriage  
*loŋ-u-n-du ʔa-to-le ʔah-Ø-u-du.* 14 *to camǎica-ko apa*  
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT that woman-GEN father  
*ama-ye-guri begale cahuca nama bore lony-eŋ-du.* 15 *camǎica*  
 mother-ERG-IND other man with marriage do-pAS-NPT woman  
*‘begale nama hen-sa ma-khalam-ʔa-n’ ʔa-to-le kerep-Ø-du.*  
 other with go-INF NEG-receive-1s-PT say-TPP-PCL cry-SAS-NPT  
 16 *bore loŋ-Ø-u-du lawa-kǎi, habi poy-eŋ-du mi-pali-ye*  
 marriage do-SAS-3P-NPT husband-PM before chase-pAS-NPT person-p-ERG

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9 In one place, he stays with his black-faced friend, and thereafter walks along the road. 10 As he walks, he sees thieves stealing money from the homeless street kids. 11 He beats them [the thieves], and snatching the money back, gives it back to them [the kids]. 12 After this, two men come running pursuing a woman, and seeing this, he chases them away. 13 The woman is happy, and greeting him, says that she will marry him. 14 But that woman's father and mother marry her off to another man. 15 The woman cries, saying 'I didn't get to go with the other one.' 16 Those guys who first chased the woman, now blind the groom.

*meseḱ ʔit-eŋ-du.* 17 *ka wakhe begale habi-ko cahuca-ye*  
 eye blind-pAS-NPT this word other before-GEN man-ERG  
*nasäiy-Ø-u-du.* 18 *to ya-Ø-ta-le oste-ko nis-gore meseḱ*  
 hear-sAS-3P-NPT that go-sAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN two-CLF eye  
*piy-Ø-u-du.* 19 *libi meseḱ tha-Ø-ta-le, lawa-ye nih-Ø-u-du.*  
 give-sAS-3P-NPT after eye be-sAS-IPP-PCL husband-ERG see-sAS-3P-NPT  
 20 *libi to-ko ama dese-yiŋ ca daŋ-sa kyel-Ø-du.*  
 after that-GEN mother village-ABL son search-INF come-sAS-NPT  
 21 *di-gore dewa hok-Ø-du ʔhäi-te khalam-Ø-u-du, ama ca*  
 one-CLF god be-sAS-NPT place-LOC meet-sAS-3P-NPT mother son  
*nama nama oste-ko nem däi yey-eŋ-ta-le hok-eŋ-du.*  
 with with self-GEN house towards go-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-NPT

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17 The other man from before [the villager] hears about this. 18 Going over there, he donates his two eyes [to the husband]. 19 After getting these eyes, the husband can see again. 20 Later his mother comes from the village searching for her son. 21 They meet in a temple, and then mother and son go back together towards their house in the village and live there [forever after].

## YOUR FATE

1 *di-gore dese-te di-ka ðhoŋi hok-Ø-thyo, to-ko*  
 one-CLF village-LOC one-HNC old.woman be-SAS-3SCOND that-GEN

*di-ka kiji camăi hok-Ø-thyo. 2 kiji-kăi ama-ye*  
 one-HNC black daughter be-SAS-3SCOND black-PM mother-ERG

*nem-te-ko sakalei jet ðisen-Ø-u-thyo, camăi-guri jet*  
 house-LOC-GEN all work teach-SAS-3P-3SCOND daughter-IND work

*ma-loŋ-tiniŋ hok-Ø-thyo. 3 to-kăi hara woi jet ðisen-si-sa*  
 NEG-do-PFG be-SAS-3SCOND that-PM what also work teach-REF-INF

*ma-ali-Ø-thyo. 4 di uni kiji amat-sa-kăi nis-ka mi*  
 NEG-like-SAS-3SCOND one day black beg-INF-PM two-HNC person

*kyel-eŋ-an. 5 ‘di-ka cahuca-kăi naŋ-ko camăi amat-sa*  
 come-pAS-3S/PT one-HNC man-PM you-GEN daughter beg-INF

*kyel-i-n’ ŋay-eŋ-no. 6 ama-guri-ye ‘ja-Ø-du, nan*  
 come-1pPS-PT say-pAS-3→3/PT mother-IND-ERG okay-SAS-NPT now

*bore loŋ-ko măi-Ø-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 7 libi di-ka cahuca*  
 marriage do-INF must-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after one-HNC man

*nama kiji-ko bore thah-Ø-an. 8 lawa woi to uniŋ jet*  
 with black-GEN marriage be-SAS-3S/PT husband also that like work

*ma-loŋ-Ø-u-thyo. 9 nem-te-ko sakalei jet uma-ye*  
 NEG-SAS-3P-3SCOND house-LOC-GEN all work wife-ERG

*loŋ-Ø-u-no, to-guri hok-Ø-ta-le cyah-Ø-an. 10 di uni,*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-IND be-SAS-IPP-PCL eat-SAS-3S/PT one day

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1 There was an old woman who lived in a village, and she had a daughter known as ‘Blackie.’ 2 Mother would teach Blackie all the jobs to do around the house, but the daughter would just sit around doing nothing. 3 She wasn’t interested in learning anything at all. 4 One day, two people came to ask for Blackie. 5 ‘We have come on behalf of a man to ask for your daughter [to marry]’, they said. 6 Mother said ‘okay, now they must get married.’ 7 Later, Blackie got married to the man. 8 Her husband also didn’t work, just like her. 9 The wife did all the work around the house, and he, well, he just sat around and ate. 10 One day, Blackie wanted to see her mum.

*kiji-kǎi ama nama hok-sa aliy-Ø-an.* 11 *ama-ko nem*  
 black-PM mother with be-INF like-sAS-3S/PT mother-GEN house  
*dǎi cawah-Ø-an, ama khalam-to-le, ama nama wakhe*  
 towards walk-sAS-3S/PT mother meet-TPP-PCL mother with word  
*loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 12 ‘*ama, naŋ-ko ɖamari-ye-be hara woi jet*  
 do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT mother you-GEN son.in.law-ERG-TOP what also word  
*ma-loŋ, nem-ko sakalei jet gǎ-ye loŋ-ko mǎi-Ø-du.*’ 13 *ama*  
 NEG-do house-GEN all work I-ERG do-ADH must-sAS-NPT mother  
*nui-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘camǎi, nem-te-ko sakalei jet*  
 laugh-sAS-IPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter house-LOC-GEN all work  
*camǎi-ye loŋ-ko mǎi-Ø-du, ɖamari-ye priŋ-ko jet*  
 daughter-ERG do-ADH must-sAS-NPT son.in.law-ERG outside-GEN work  
*loŋ-Ø-u-du, rage ma-thay-e!’* 14 *nan uma ahe uni ka*  
 do-sAS-3P-NPT anger NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP now wife many day throughout  
*ma-ra-Ø-ta-le, uma ya-kǎi-sa aji-ko*  
 NEG-come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL wife go-remove-INF mother.in.law-GEN  
*nem dǎi lawa ari-ari-Ø-ta-le cawah-Ø-an.*  
 house towards husband be.afraid-be.afraid-sAS-IPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT  
 15 *ama camǎi-ye-guri maŋǎi jyouy-eŋ-to-le cya-sa*  
 mother daughter-ERG-IND bread burn-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-INF  
*dany-eŋ-no.* 16 *nyoŋi ɖamari aji-ko nem-te*  
 search-pAS-3→3/PT evening son.in.law mother.in.law-GEN house-LOC  
*ya-let-Ø-an, nan duŋ-ŋaŋ bi-ŋa-be ‘aji-ye*  
 go-appear-sAS-3S/PT now within-inside enter-CNS-TOP mother.in.law-ERG

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11 She walked towards her mother’s house, and having met her mum, chatted with her. 12 ‘Mother, your son-in-law does nothing at all, I have to do all the housework’, [she said]. 13 Mother smiled and said, ‘daughter, the housework is what the daughter does, son-in-law’s work is outside of the house, now don’t get angry!’ 14 Now that his wife had been away for many days and hadn’t yet come back, the husband set off in considerable fear to his mother-in-law’s house to go and get his wife back. 15 Mother and daughter wanted to eat baked breads. 16 In the evening, the son-in-law reached the mother-in-law’s house, and then as he went inside he thought ‘if mother-in-law has heard what daughter had to say, perhaps she will be angry with me, better that I should sit outside now and spy in’, and thinking this, he spied on them.

*camăi-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le, rage loŋ-Ø-u-du thaŋun, nan*  
 daughter-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL anger do-SAS-3P-NPT maybe now

*priŋ hok-ta-ŋa-le ɖapuh-u-n-du' ŋa-to-le ɖapuh-Ø-u-no.*  
 outside be-IPP-1S-PCL spy-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL spy-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

17 *duŋ-ŋaŋ ama camăi-ye maŋăi jyouy-eŋ-no,*  
 within-inside mother daughter-ERG bread burn-pAS-3→3/PT

*ɖamari-ye priŋ-yiŋ yo-le nah-Ø-u-no. 18 ɖaye*  
 son.in.law-ERG outside-ABL look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night

*ɖamari-ye kharou ɖaŋ-Ø-u-no, ka ni-to-le kiji*  
 son.in.law-ERG door open-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this see-TPP-PCL black

*taŋ-Ø-ta-le 'ama, naŋ-ko ɖamari kyel-Ø-an.'*  
 be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL mother you-GEN son.in.law come-SAS-3S/PT

19 *ɖamari ra-Ø-du ni-to-le, aji-ye*  
 son.in.law come.from.level-SAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL mother.in.law-ERG

*maŋăi duŋkuŋi dăi sul-to-le nah-Ø-u-no.*  
 bread storehouse towards hide-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

20 *ɖamari-kăi-guri phaliŋge piy-Ø-u-no, ɖamari thombe*  
 son.in.law-PM-IND beaten.rice give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son.in.law surprise

*tha-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no: 21 'aji, maŋăi jyoh-u-na-du,*  
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother.in.law bread burn-3P-2s-NPT

*ma-tha?' 22 aji-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'nis sum-gore maŋăi*  
 NEG-be mother.in.law-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT two three-CLF bread

*jyoh-u-n-thyo, tap-Ø-an.' 23 ɖamari-ye*  
 burn-3P-1s→3-3SCOND be.finished-SAS-3S/PT son.in.law-ERG

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17 Inside mother and daughter were baking bread, and from outside son-in-law looked at them. 18 At night, the son-in-law opened the door, and seeing this, Blackie was happy [and said] 'mother, your son-in-law has come.' 19 Seeing her son-in-law coming in, mother-in-law quickly hid the breads by the storehouse. 20 She gave her son-in-law beaten rice and he, somewhat surprised, said: 21 'Mother-in-law, weren't you just baking bread?' 22 The mother-in-law replied 'yes, I had baked two or three breads, but they are now finished.' 23 Son-in-law said 'mother-in-law, you baked ten breads.'

*ŋah-Ø-u-no* 'aji-ye *dicip-gore maŋäi jyou-le*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother.in.law-ERG ten-CLF bread burn-PCL  
*nah-u-na-du.*' 24 *ka nasäi-to-le* 'gäi-go *ɖamari säi-Ø-du*  
 put-3P-2S-NPT this hear-TPP-PCL I-GEN son.in.law know-SAS-NPT  
*guru hok-Ø-du*' *ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 25 *to isyaŋ cey-eŋ-ta-le*  
 shaman be-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that period eat-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*amiy-eŋ-an.* 26 *baŋhe syaŋ-yiŋ wakhe dese-te ka*  
 sleep-pAS-3S/PT tomorrow period-ABL word village-LOC throughout  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no* 'gäi-go *ɖamari aŋthe säi-Ø-du guru*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN son.in.law very know-SAS-NPT shaman  
*hok-Ø-du*' *ŋa-to-le.* 27 *ɖamari-ye oste-ko nem-te hen-sa*  
 be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL son.in.law-ERG self-GEN house-LOC go-INF  
*wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no,* *aji-ye* 'nan di nis uni *hok-a!*'  
 word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother.in.law-ERG now one two day be-s/IMP  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 28 *ɖamari aji-ko nem-te hok-Ø-an.*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son.in.law mother.in.law-GEN house-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT  
 29 *ŋhoŋi-ko wakhe nasäi-to-le, dha-basa-ko mi-ko*  
 old.woman-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL that.distant-side-GEN person-GEN  
*tuŋi tam-Ø-an,* *meke ra-to-le ci-yoh-Ø-u-du.*  
 goat get.lost-SAS-3S/PT ritual.offering bring-TPP-PCL CAUS-look.at-SAS-3P-NPT  
 30 'gäi-go *tuŋi tam-le hok-Ø-du, su-ye woi hen-eŋ-no*  
 I-GEN goat get.lost-PCL be-SAS-NPT who-ERG also take-pAS-3→3/PT  
*ra? yoh-o!*' 31 *bäsinte soŋ-te kiŋi ya-tah-Ø-u-du*  
 or look.at-s→3/IMP morning river-LOC shit go-release-SAS-3P-NPT

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24 Hearing this, she said 'my son-in-law is a wise shaman.' 25 That day they ate and went to sleep. 26 The next morning she told the whole village 'my son-in-law is a very powerful [knowledgeable] shaman.' 27 Son-in-law talked about going back to his own house, but mother-in-law said 'stay another day or two!' 28 Son-in-law stayed in mother-in-law's house. 29 One of the neighbour's goats had disappeared, and hearing the old woman's words, he brought a ritual offering for him [the son-in-law] to look in [and divine]. 30 'My goat is lost, has someone taken him or what? please have a look!' [the neighbour said]. 31 When he had gone to take a shit down near the river in the morning, he [the son-in-law] had seen a single goat grazing up by the ridge.

*beryaŋ, di-gore tuŋi warak-te ja-si-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-thyo.*  
 that.time one-CLF goat ridge-LOC graze-REF-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3SCOND  
 32 *to-ye woi lak-te meke na-to-le nah-Ø-u-no,*  
 that-ERG also hand-LOC ritual.offering put-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*ma-nih-Ø-u-du uniy ‘naŋ-ko tuŋi di-gore warak-te*  
 NEG-see-SAS-3P-NPT like you-GEN goat one-CLF ridge-LOC  
*ja-si-Ø-le hok-Ø-du, ya-yoh-o!’ 33 to mi woi*  
 graze-REF-SAS-PCL be-SAS-NPT go-look.at-s→3/IMP that person also  
*warak dăi dorok-Ø-an, tuŋi warak-te nih-Ø-u-no.*  
 ridge towards run-SAS-3S/PT goat ridge-LOC see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 34 *damari aŋthe săi-Ø-du mi hok-Ø-du ŋa-to-le sakalei*  
 son.in.law very know-SAS-NPT person be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL all  
*mi-ye nasăiy-eŋ-no. 35 di uni di-ka-ko camăi-ko*  
 person-ERG hear-PAS-3→3/PT one day one-HNC-GEN daughter-GEN  
*laŋi hok-Ø-du thăi-yiŋ tam-Ø-ta-le, nan*  
 necklace be-SAS-NPT place-ABL get.lost-SAS-IPP-PCL now  
*ci-yo-sa-kăi damari-ko-te ray-eŋ-no. 36 ‘nan su-ye*  
 CAUS-look.at-INF-PM son.in.law-GEN-LOC bring-PAS-3→3/PT now who-ERG  
*laŋi hen-Ø-u-no, yoh-o! ma-nih-u-na-n-be, naŋ-kăi*  
 necklace take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT look.at-s→3/IMP NEG-see-3P-2s-PT-TOP you-PM  
*ni-ye sat-wa-du’ ŋay-eŋ-no. 37 nan to țaye*  
 we-ERG kill-1p→23-NPT say-PAS-3→3/PT now that night  
*ma-amiy-Ø-an, ‘nan kuta daŋ-to-le pi-sa? kunyaŋ*  
 NEG-sleep-SAS-3S/PT now where search-TPP-PCL give-INF how

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32 Then he put the ritual rice offering in his hand and, doing as if he hadn't seen [the goat in the morning], said 'your goat is out grazing near a ridge, go take a look!' 33 That person also ran towards the ridge and saw his goat up there. 34 Everyone came to know that the son-in-law was a very wise man. 35 One day, the necklace of someone's daughter had disappeared from the place that it should have been, so they brought [a rice offering] to the house of son-in-law to ask him to look for it. 36 'Now look and find out who took the necklace! If you can't see who did it, we will kill you', they said. 37 Now that night he didn't sleep, 'now where will I find one to give? How will I explain it?' [he thought].

*ci-nasăi-sa?’* 38 *laŋi-guri to-ko jet loŋ-sa mi-ye hen-le*  
 CAUS-hear-INF necklace-IND that-GEN work do-INF person-ERG take-PCL  
*nah-Ø-u-thyo.* 39 ‘*nan săi-Ø-du mi-kăi ci-yo-le*  
 put-sAS-3P-3SCOND now know-sAS-NPT person-PM CAUS-look.at-PCL  
*nah-Ø-u-du, nan ni-kăi sat-i-du’ ŋa-to-le laŋi*  
 put-sAS-3P-NPT now we-PM kill-1pPS-NPT say-TPP-PCL necklace  
*gwi-y-eŋ-du mi-pali đamari nama țaye yey-eŋ-ta-le*  
 steal-pAS-NPT person-PM son.in.law with night go-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*ŋay-eŋ-no.* 40 ‘*đamari, nan laŋi ni-ye ra-le*  
 say-pAS-3→3/PT son.in.law now necklace we-ERG bring-PCL  
*na-wa-du, ni-ye gwi-wa-du ma-ŋay-e, naŋ-kăi ni-ye*  
 put-1p→23-NPT we-ERG steal-1p→23-NPT NEG-say-s/NEG/IMP you-PM we-ERG  
*hara hara pi-wa-du.’* 41 *ka wakhe nasăi-to-le đamari*  
 what what give-1p→23-NPT this word hear-TPP-PCL son.in.law  
*taŋ-Ø-an, bațhe syaŋ meke yo-sa yah-Ø-an.*  
 be.happy-sAS-3S/PT tomorrow period ritual.offering look.at-INF go-sAS-3S/PT  
 42 *laŋi tam-Ø-du-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le*  
 necklace get.lost-sAS-NPT-GEN house-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL  
*yoh-Ø-u-no.* 43 ‘*niŋ-ko laŋi pebu-te țhum-le*  
 look.at-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p)-GEN necklace irrigated.field-LOC bury-PCL  
*nah-Ø-u-du, ya-kăi-no!’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, to nama*  
 put-sAS-3P-NPT go-remove-p→3/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that with  
*ya-Ø-ta-le laŋi kăi-to-le wany-eŋ-no.*  
 go-sAS-IPP-PCL necklace remove-TPP-PCL bring.from.below-pAS-3→3/PT

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38 The necklace had actually been taken by his servant. 39 ‘Now that the wise man will come to see what has happened, they will kill us’, thought the thieves, and so they went to the son-in-law’s house at night and spoke to him. 40 ‘Son-in-law, we have brought the necklace to you, please don’t tell [them] that we are the ones who stole it, and we will give you all kinds of things’, [they said]. 41 Hearing this the son-in-law was most pleased and the next day he went to divine from the ritual offering. 42 Going to the house of the missing necklace, he made his divination. 43 ‘Your necklace is buried in a rice field, go fetch it!’, he said, and he went with them to unearth the necklace and bring it back up.



44 *ka ni-to-le laŋi ci-tam-Ø-du-ko apa-ye to-kǎi*  
 this see-TPP-PCL necklace CAUS-lose-sas-NPT-GEN father-ERG that-PM  
*ahe pepelek piy-Ø-u-no.* 45 *hara woi jet ma-loŋ-Ø-u-du*  
 much money give-sas-3P-3→3/PT what also work NEG-do-sas-3P-NPT  
*mi, naka nem khem-to-le, jet loŋ-sa mi na-to-le,*  
 person new house build-TPP-PCL work do-INF person put-TPP-PCL  
*hok-Ø-an.*  
 be-sas-3S/PT

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44 Upon seeing this, the father of the one who had lost the necklace gave him [the son-in-law] a lot of money. 45 Having built himself a new house [with the money], that guy who couldn't work employed a domestic help and lived there [happily].

## SHAMAN

1 'guru' *ṅay-eṅ-du* *thaṅmi-pali-ko* *bore* *mumpra*  
 shaman say-PAS-NPT Thangmi-p-GEN marriage death.ritual

*loṅ-Ø-u-du* *mi-kǎi* 'guru' *ṅay-eṅ-du*. 2 *guru* *nis-ka*  
 do-SAS-3P-NPT person-PM shaman say-PAS-NPT shaman two-HNC

*thay-eṅ-du: di-ka* *oste tha-Ø-du,* *dī-ka* *nembo* *guru-ye*  
 be-PAS-NPT one-HNC self be-SAS-NPT one-HNC other.person shaman-ERG

*ṭisen-Ø-u-du* *mi* *tha-Ø-du*. 3 *oste tha-Ø-du* *mi-kǎi*  
 teach-SAS-3P-NPT person be-SAS-NPT self be-SAS-NPT person-PM

*apan-e* *woi* *hen-Ø-u-du*. 4 *apan-e* *hen-ṅa* *libi,*  
 forest.spirit-ERG also take-SAS-3P-NPT forest.spirit-ERG take-CNS after

*guru-kǎi* *begale* *wakhe* *ṭisen-Ø-u-du*. 5 *tyaṅ* *to* *guru* *aṭṭhe*  
 shaman-PM other word teach-SAS-3P-NPT then that shaman much

*sǎi-Ø-du*. 6 *ni-ko* *guru-kǎi,* *hara* *woi* *jet* *loṅ-sa-kǎi,* *toṅ*  
 know-SAS-NPT we-GEN shaman-PM what also work do-INF-PM beer

*thum-ko* *mǎi-Ø-du*. 7 *toṅ* *thum-to-le,* *guru-kǎi* *jet*  
 insert-ADH must-SAS-NPT beer insert-TPP-PCL shaman-PM work

*loṅ-Ø-u-du* *beryaṅ* *pi-ko* *mǎi-Ø-du*. 8 *tyaṅ* *guru*  
 do-SAS-3P-NPT that.time give-ADH must-SAS-NPT then shaman

*taṅ-Ø-du,* *apraca* *jet* *loṅ-Ø-u-du*. 9 *ni-ko* *nem-te,* *hara*  
 be.happy-SAS-NPT good work do-SAS-3P-NPT we-GEN house-LOC what

*woi* *jet* *thah-Ø-an-be,* *guru* *kyel-Ø-du*. 10 *guru*  
 also work be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP shaman come-SAS-NPT shaman

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1 The person called 'shaman' is the one who conducts weddings and death rituals for the Thangmi people. 2 There are two types of shaman: one comes to be a shaman of his own will, and the other type is taught by another shaman. 3 The one who has come to shamanism by himself is kidnapped by the forest spirit. 4 Having taken the shaman away, the forest spirit teaches him secret things. 5 And then that shaman becomes very knowledgeable. 6 Whatever ritual he does, we must pour beer for the shaman. 7 Having poured out the beer, we must give it to the shaman when he conducts the ritual. 8 Then the shaman is happy and does his work well. 9 If there is any kind of ritual work which needs to be done in our house, then the shaman comes. 10 Whenever the shaman comes, he brings the ritual drum that he has with him.

*kyel-Ø-du beryaŋ, guru nama hok-Ø-du ʔake*  
 come-SAS-NPT that.time shaman with be-SAS-NPT ritual.drum  
*kyel-Ø-u-du. 11 guru nama rul-ko kosa-ko laŋi*  
 bring-SAS-3P-NPT shaman with snake-GEN bone-GEN necklace  
*tha-Ø-du, ʔake tap-sa ɖokliŋ tha-Ø-du.*  
 be-SAS-NPT ritual.drum strike-INF curved.drum.stick be-SAS-NPT  
 12 *guru-ye bu-si-sa nis-gore ɖiŋɖiŋ ŋaŋ ubo kapu-te*  
 shaman-ERG cover-REF-INF two-CLF red and white head-LOC  
*chyu-si-sa älāmga miŋ tha-Ø-du. 13 kapu-ko ʔupuri-te kusi-ko*  
 tie-REF-INF long cloth be-SAS-NPT head-GEN cap-LOC porcupine-GEN  
*puʔu tha-Ø-du. 14 to bu-si-Ø-ta-le, guru laŋi*  
 feather be-SAS-NPT that cover-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL shaman necklace  
*khyak-si-Ø-ta-le, ʔake ɖokliny-e tap-to-le*  
 strap.on-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL ritual.drum curved.drum.stick-INS play-TPP-PCL  
*oste-ko kham loŋ-to-le waräi-Ø-du. 15 di uni, gäi-go ucya*  
 self-GEN language do-TPP-PCL shiver-SAS-NPT one day I-GEN small  
*humi ma-thaŋ-Ø-an, gäi guru urou-sa cawa-ŋa-n.*  
 younger.sister NEG-be.well-SAS-3S/PT I shaman call-INF walk-1s-PT  
 16 *guru ra-to-le ra-ŋa-n, guru-ye*  
 shaman bring-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-PT shaman-ERG  
*humi-käi yoh-Ø-u-no. 17 lak-te cum-to-le*  
 younger.sister-PM look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT hand-LOC hold-TPP-PCL  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ka-käi kapu kaläi-Ø-du, baŋkal woi kaläi-Ø-du.’*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-PM head hurt-SAS-NPT stomach also hurt-SAS-NPT

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11 The shaman has a necklace of snake bones and has a curved stick to beat his ritual drum.  
 12 Tied around his head, the shaman wears two long red and white pieces of cloth. 13 On his  
 head, he wears a hat of porcupine feathers. 14 Wearing all this stuff, the shaman straps on his  
 necklace, beats his ritual drum with the curved drum stick and shakes and shivers while he  
 speaks in his own secret language. 15 One day my little younger sister became ill and I went  
 off to call the shaman. 16 I came back with the shaman and he looked at younger sister. 17  
 Holding onto her hand, he said, ‘her head hurts and her stomach also hurts.’

- 18 *'ka kalăi-Ø-du-kăi hara loŋ-sa?'* *ŋa-to-le, găi-go jekha*  
 this hurt-SAS-NPT-PM what do-INF say-TPP-PCL I-GEN big  
*tete-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 19 *tyaŋ guru-ye woi*  
 elder.sister-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then shaman-ERG also  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no:* 20 *'ka jet loŋ-sa-kăi, di-gore ðiŋðiŋ*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this work do-INF-PM one-CLF red  
*jire ni-Ø-du gare ŋaŋ di*  
 comb.of.cockerel appear-SAS-NPT rooster and one  
*kulin toŋ rah-o!'* *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.* 21 *gă-ye*  
 small.earthenware.water.vessel beer bring-s→3/IMP say-SAS-1s-PT I-ERG  
*woi di kulin toŋ hyawasa nem-yiŋ*  
 also one small.earthenware.water.vessel beer upper house-ABL  
*it-u-n-uŋ.* 22 *guru-ye nan mut-sa jet*  
 bring.from.above-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT shaman-ERG now blow-INF work  
*loŋ-ko sow-Ø-u-no, ni-ye yo-le na-wa-n.*  
 do-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-ERG look.at-PCL put-1p→23-PT  
 23 *ðiŋðiŋ gare-ye humi-kăi kapu-yiŋ koŋte-te ka*  
 red rooster-INS younger.sister-PM head-ABL foot-LOC throughout  
*ci-thi-to-le mut-Ø-u-no.* 24 *khora-te paŋku woi*  
 CAUS-touch-TPP-PCL blow-SAS-3P-3→3/PT small.cup-LOC water also  
*nah-Ø-u-no, wa-ko ahum woi nah-Ø-u-no.* 25 *aja-te*  
 put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken-GEN egg also put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT leaf-LOC  
*ahum na-to-le ahum them-Ø-u-no.* 26 *tyaŋ thapu-ŋaŋ*  
 egg put-TPP-PCL egg break-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then fireplace-inside

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18 'What can we do about this pain?', my elder sister asked. 19 And then the shaman said: 20 'To cure her, you must bring a cockerel with a red comb and an earthenware vessel filled with beer!' he said to me. 21 So I brought down a jug of beer from the upper house. 22 Now the shaman was about to start the part of the ritual in which he blows, and we were looking on. 23 The shaman brushed the red cockerel against our younger sister, from her head to her toes, blowing all the while. 24 In a small bowl he put both water and a chicken egg. 25 Having put the egg on a leaf, he then broke it. 26 Then he put the egg in the fire and roasted it, when it was cooked he ate it.

*na-to-le jyoh-Ø-u-no, min-ŋa libi cyah-Ø-an.* 27 *gare*  
 put-TPP-PCL burn-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cook-CNS after eat-SAS-3S/PT rooster  
*woi payku uman-to-le bolok-Ø-u-no.* 28 *libi cici koŋe-to-le*  
 also water boil-TPP-PCL pluck-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after meat cut-TPP-PCL  
*toŋ nama cyah-Ø-an.* 29 *cya-ŋa libi, ŋake cum-to-le*  
 beer with eat-SAS-3S/PT eat-CNS after ritual.drum hold-TPP-PCL  
*tap-Ø-u-no ŋaŋ waräiy-Ø-an, baŋi-ŋaŋ meke pepelek*  
 beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT and shake-SAS-3S/PT pot-inside ritual.offering money  
*na-to-le yoh-Ø-u-no.* 30 *'nan ka huca-käi ja-Ø-du'*  
 put-TPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now this child-PM okay-SAS-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 31 *di-gore wa-ko lakpa, di-ŋoke*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-CLF chicken-GEN limb one-half.kilo  
*jake menca-ŋaŋ tham-to-le oste-ko nem däi*  
 unhusked.rice bag-inside insert-TPP-PCL self-GEN house towards  
*hen-Ø-u-no.* 32 *gã-ye yo-le nah-u-n-uŋ.* 33 *libi*  
 take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG look.at-PCL put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT after  
*hen-to-le uma-käi piy-Ø-u-no, uma-ye woi*  
 bring-TPP-PCL wife-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-ERG also  
*phah-Ø-u-no.* 34 *nem duŋ-ŋaŋ hen-to-le*  
 hold.out.hand.to.receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house within-inside take-TPP-PCL  
*me-te na-to-le uman-Ø-u-no.* 35 *to-ko sakalei*  
 fire-LOC put-TPP-PCL cook-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-GEN all  
*hok-eŋ-ta-le, phaliŋge nama cey-eŋ-an.* 36 *to guru baŋhe*  
 be-PAS-IPP-PCL beaten.rice with eat-PAS-3S/PT that shaman tomorrow

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27 Then he boiled the cockerel in water and plucked it. 28 Thereafter he cut the meat and ate it along with the beer. 29 Having finished eating, [the shaman] taking hold of his ritual drum, beat it and his body shook, then into a pot he put ritually-offered rice and money and watched it. 30 'Now this child will be okay', he said. 31 He put one chicken thigh and a half kilo of unhusked rice into his bag and took them home. 32 I was watching all this. 33 Thereafter he brought all those things home to his wife, gave them to her and she held out her hands to accept them. 34 [She] took the foodstuffs inside and put them on the fire to cook. 35 And all his [family], sitting there, ate that food with flattened and beaten rice. 36 That same shaman came to our house the next evening to have a look at our younger sister.

*nyoŋi ni-ko nem-te kyel-Ø-an, kyel-ŋa libi*  
 evening we-GEN house-LOC come-SAS-3S/PT come-CNS after  
*humi-kǎi yoh-Ø-u-no. 37 'yaŋ jah-Ø-an ra*  
 younger.sister-PM look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT today okay-SAS-3S/PT or  
*ma-jah-Ø-an' isi-Ø-ta-le isiy-i-n. 38 humi-ye*  
 NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT say-SAS-IPP-PCL say-1pPS-PT younger.sister-ERG  
*ma-thaŋ ma-thaŋ woi serek-Ø-ta-le, guru-kǎi*  
 NEG-be.well NEG-be.well also arise-SAS-IPP-PCL shaman-PM  
*yoh-Ø-u-no. 39 'guru, kyel-ta-na-le, gǎi-gǎi hara thah-Ø-an?*  
 look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT shaman come-IPP-2s-PCL I-PM what be-SAS-PT  
*mut-aŋ!' 40 guru-ye kapu-ko tɔpuri kǎi-si-Ø-ta-le,*  
 blow-s→1s/IMP shaman-ERG head-GEN cap remove-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*mut-sa jet loŋ-Ø-u-no. 41 libi humi roloŋ-Ø-an,*  
 blow-INF work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after younger.sister recover-SAS-3S/PT  
*guru-ye ci-jah-Ø-u-no. 42 ci-ja-to-le, to-kǎi*  
 shaman-ERG CAUS-survive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT CAUS-survive-TPP-PCL that-PM  
*gǎ-ye di-gore mama-wa pal-to-le piy-u-n-uŋ. 43 tyaŋ*  
 I-ERG one-CLF FEM-chicken chop-TPP-PCL give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then  
*guru-ko cacha-pali hok-eŋ-ta-le, boro, wa-ko cici*  
 shaman-GEN grandson-p be-pAS-IPP-PCL cooked.rice chicken-GEN meat  
*cey-eŋ-an. 44 ni-kǎi unise sewa-ta-i-le caway-eŋ-an.*  
 eat-pAS-3S/PT we-PM daytime salute-IPP-1pPS-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT  
 45 *ka uniy tha-Ø-du guru-ko jet: pepelek-be ma-khalam,*  
 this like be-SAS-NPT shaman-GEN work money-TOP NEG-receive

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37 'Is she feeling any better today?', he asked us. 38 With the greatest of difficulty, younger sister managed to get up and look at the shaman. 39 'Oh shaman, you have come again' [she said] 'what has happened to me? Blow on me again!' 40 The shaman took off his hat and did the blowing thing. 41 After that younger sister recovered, the shaman had saved her. 42 Having healed her, I slaughtered a chicken and gave it to the shaman. 43 And then the shaman's grandsons, sitting [in our house], ate rice and chicken meat. 44 In the afternoon, thanking us, they walked home. 45 This is what the work of a shaman

*cya-sa-guri khalam-Ø-u-du!*

eat-INF-IND receive-SAS-3P-NPT

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is like: he gets no money but he does get plenty to eat!

## KATHMANDU

- 1 *găi ucyaca tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi ŋaŋ găi-go macyu,*  
 I small be-1s-NPT that.time I and I-GEN mother's.younger.sister  
*ucyapa-ko ca nama, jekha dese dăi caway-i-n.*  
 father's.younger.brother-GEN son with big village towards walk-1pps-pt
- 2 *ni sum-ka tha-ta-i-le, dewa yo-sa-kăi caway-i-n.*  
 we three-HNC be-IPP-1pps-pcl god look.at-INF-PM walk-1pps-pt
- 3 *cawa-ŋa libi, ɽaye dewa-te ya-let-i-n.* 4 *ni-kăi dewa*  
 walk-CNS after night god-LOC go-appear-1pps-pt we-PM god  
*yo-sa-kăi ucyapa-ko ca-ye urouy-i-thyo.*  
 look.at-INF-PM father's.younger.brother-GEN son-ERG call-1pps-3scond
- 5 *ya-let-sa-be ya-let-i-n, bubu-kăi ma-khalam-wa-n.*  
 go-appear-INF-TOP go-appear-1pps-pt elder.brother-PM NEG-meet-1p→23-pt
- 6 *gă-ye macyu-kăi di-gore naka ulam-te na-tuŋ-le,*  
 I-ERG mother's.younger.sister-PM one-CLF new road-LOC put-1s/3s-pcl  
*bubu-kăi daŋ-u-n-uŋ, ma-khalam-u-n-uŋ.* 7 *tyaŋ*  
 elder.brother-PM search-3p-1s→3-1s→3/pt NEG-meet-3p-1s→3-1s→3/pt then  
*ɽaye tha-Ø-ta-le ukhiŋ-Ø-an, ni ariy-i-n.* 8 *ni*  
 night be-sas-ipp-pcl become.dark-sas-3s/pt we be.afraid-1pps-pt we  
*ɽaye ulam-ko nem-te hok-i-thyo, di-ka naka mi*  
 night road-GEN house-LOC be-1pps-3scond one-HNC new person  
*kyel-Ø-ta-le ni-kăi poy-i-n.* 9 *po-ŋa libi, ni di-gore*  
 come-sas-ipp-pcl we-PM chase-1pps-pt chase-CNS after we one-CLF

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1 When I was young, I went to the big village [city], together with my maternal aunt and my paternal uncle's son. 2 The three of us went to look at the temples [lit. gods]. 3 Having travelled all day, we only arrived at the temple at night. 4 Our father's younger brother's son had called us [to the city] to see the temples. 5 We arrived fine and all that, but we didn't meet elder brother. 6 I left my auntie sitting by New Road and went off to search for my elder brother, but I didn't find him. 7 Night fell and then it became really dark, and we were frightened. 8 We spent the night sitting on the road until a stranger came along and chased us away. 9 After we had been chased away, we snuck into a temple, turned off the light inside and stayed there.



*dewa nem duŋ-ŋaŋ bi-ta-i-le hok-i-n, to-ŋaŋ-ko*  
*god house within-inside enter-IPP-1pPS-PCL be-1pPS-PT that-within-GEN*  
*athaŋ sat-wa-n. 10 athaŋ sat-wa-du-be, dewa yo-sa mi*  
*light kill-1p→23-PT light kill-1p→23-NPT-TOP god look.at-INF person*  
*kyel-Ø-ta-le ni-kǎi ci-let-i-n. 11 to-te gǎ-ye su-kǎi*  
*come-SAS-IPP-PCL we-PM CAUS-appear-1pPS-PT that-LOC I-ERG who-PM*  
*woi ma-ŋosǎiy-u-n-thyo. 12 libi di-ka mi-ye*  
*also NEG-recognise-3P-1s→3-3SCOND after one-HNC person-ERG*  
*kyel-Ø-ta-le, gǎi-gǎi ŋah-Ø-ŋa-n ‘hu, hara-kǎi*  
*come-SAS-IPP-PCL I-PM say-SAS-1s-PT younger.brother what-PM*  
*kyel-na-n, naŋ-ko su hok-Ø-du ka-te?’ 13 gǎ-ye*  
*come-2s-PT you-GEN who be-SAS-NPT this-LOC I-ERG*  
*ŋah-u-n-uŋ ‘gǎi bubu hok-Ø-du thǎi-te kyel-ŋa-du.’*  
*say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I elder.brother be-SAS-NPT place-LOC come-1s-NPT*  
 14 *‘ka ahe nem hok-Ø-du thǎi, kuta kuta?’ ni thombe*  
*this very house be-SAS-NPT place where where we surprise*  
*thay-i-n. 15 tyaj di-ka mi-ye ‘hu, naŋ*  
*be-1pPS-PT then one-HNC person-ERG younger.brother you*  
*ra-Ø! gǎ-ye nih-u-n-du, tha-Ø-du ra ma-tha,*  
*come.from.level-s/IMP I-ERG see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT be-SAS-NPT or NEG-be*  
*nany-e yoh-o!’ gǎ-ye ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋah-u-n-uŋ, ŋaŋ*  
*you-ERG look.at-s→3/IMP I-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT and*  
*ya-ŋa-n. 16 ya-ta-ŋa-le yoh-u-n-du-be, bubu-ko*  
*go-1s-PT go-IPP-1s-PCL look.at-3P-1s→3-1s→3/NPT-TOP elder.brother-GEN*

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10 But even though we killed the light, a worshipper coming to the temple saw us and dragged us out. 11 In that place I didn't know a single person. 12 After a while a person came up to me and asked, 'younger brother, what have you come to do here, who do you know here?' 13 'I have come to stay at my elder brother's place', I said. 14 'Where on earth is this place, in and amongst all these many houses?', we thought and were surprised. 15 Then a stranger came up [and said to me] 'younger brother, come with me! I think I have seen the place [he lives], [come] and see if it's right or not!', so I said 'okay' and went. 16 I went and looked, and I saw the place where elder brother works.

*jet loŋ-sa nem nih-u-n-uŋ.* 17 *piriŋ-yiŋ bubu-kǎi*  
 work do-INF house see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT outside-ABL elder.brother-PM  
*urouh-u-n-uŋ, to-ŋaŋ woi ma-hok-Ø-ta-le, jet loŋ-sa di*  
 call-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-inside also NEG-be-SAS-IPP-PCL work do-INF one  
*thǎi, taye hok-sa di thǎi.* 18 *bophura di-ka bubu-ko*  
 place night be-INF one place pity one-HNC elder.brother-GEN  
*ban-e ni-kǎi hen-i-n, tyaŋ bubu nama*  
 friend-ERG we-PM take-1pPS-PT then elder.brother with  
*ya-ci-let-i-n.* 19 *ya-let-ŋa libi, bubu*  
 go-CAUS-appear-1pPS-PT go-appear-CNS after elder.brother  
*uli-si-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-thyo, ni-kǎi ni-to-le bubu*  
 wash-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND we-PM see-TPP-PCL elder.brother  
*nuiy-Ø-an.* 20 *to isyaŋ to-te hok-i-n.* 21 *bubu*  
 laugh-SAS-3S/PT that period that-LOC be-1pPS-PT elder.brother  
*khalam-ŋa libi, kwǎi cey-i-n, toŋ cey-i-n nan-be cya-sa-kǎi*  
 meet-CNS after potato eat-1pPS-PT beer eat-1pPS-PT now-TOP eat-INF-PM  
*hok-i-n.* 22 *baŋhe isyaŋ bubu-ye ni-kǎi cum-to-le*  
 be-1pPS-PT tomorrow period elder.brother-ERG we-PM hold-TPP-PCL  
*ci-yoy-i-n, naka nem, dewa, sakalei yo-wa-n.* 23 *sum*  
 CAUS-look.at-1pPS-PT new house god all look.at-1p→23-PT three  
*oli uni ka hok-ta-i-le, nem dǎi caway-i-n.*  
 four day throughout be-IPP-1pPS-PCL house towards walk-1pPS-PT  
 24 *nem-te ya-let-ta-i-le, ni-ye nembo-kǎi sakalei*  
 house-LOC go-appear-IPP-1pPS-PCL we-ERG other.person-PM all

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17 From outside I called elder brother, but he wasn't even there, he works in once place and sleeps in another. 18 What a shame, but one of elder brother's friends took us and delivered us to elder brother. 19 When we arrived, elder brother was having a shower, and when he saw us he smiled. 20 And that day we stayed there. 21 Once we had met with elder brother, we ate potatoes and drank beer, and then we also stayed to eat [dinner]. 22 The very next day, elder brother took us and showed us new houses and temples, we looked at them all. 23 We stayed for three or four days and then set off home again. 24 Once we got home,

*wakhe* *ŋa-wa-n.*

word say-1p→23-PT

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we told everyone all our stories.

## NEW NAME

- 1 *gǎi-gǎi ama-ye nik-ŋa libi, gǎi ucyaca kere uniŋ*  
 I-PM mother-ERG give.birth-CNS after I small insect like  
*hok-ŋa-thyo thaŋun.* 2 *gǎi-gǎi nik-ŋa libi, ama-ye gǎi-gǎi*  
 be-1s-3SCOND maybe I-PM give.birth-CNS after mother-ERG I-PM  
*jekha loŋ-Ø-ŋa-n.* 3 *cya-sa pi-Ø-ŋa-n, isa-ye kola-ŋa-du*  
 big do-SAS-1s-PT eat-INF give-SAS-1s-PT food-INS be.hungry-1s-NPT  
*beryəŋ, sola pi-Ø-ŋa-n.* 4 *gǎi jekha tha-ta-ŋa-le, gǎi-go*  
 that.time snack give-SAS-1s-PT I big be-IPP-1s-PCL I-GEN  
*sum-gore name thaha sǎiy-u-n-uŋ.* 5 *habi-ko name*  
 three-CLF name knowledge know-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT before-GEN name  
*sukaman nay-eŋ-du, libi nay-eŋ-du name-guri begale hok-Ø-thyo.*  
 Sukaman put-pAS-NPT after put-pAS-NPT name-IND other be-SAS-3SCOND  
 6 *gǎi-gǎi cijyaŋ-sa ŋisen-Ø-ŋa-du bubu-ye na-Ø-ŋa-du*  
 I-PM speak-INF teach-SAS-1s-NPT elder.brother-ERG put-SAS-1s-NPT  
*name lile.* 7 *libi gǎi-go name nasǎi-to-le, di-ka camǎica*  
 name Lile. after I-GEN name hear-TPP-PCL one-HNC woman  
*kyel-Ø-an.* 8 *kyel-Ø-ta-le ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n 'naŋ-ko name apraca*  
 come-SAS-3S/PT come-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-1s-PT you-GEN name good  
*hok-Ø-du, nany-e gǎi-gǎi bore loŋ-aŋ!'* 9 *gǎ-ye*  
 be-SAS-NPT you-ERG I-PM marriage do-s→1s/IMP I-ERG  
*ŋah-u-n-uŋ 'naŋ-ko apa-ye gǎi-gǎi kaŋa-Ø-ŋa-du.'*  
 say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT you-GEN father-ERG I-PM scold-SAS-1s-NPT

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1 After my mother gave birth to me, I think that I was like a small insect. 2 Once I was born, mother brought me up [lit. made me big]. 3 She gave me food, and when I was hungry, [mother] fed me snacks. 4 When I became older, I came to know that I had three names. 5 The first name they gave me was Sukaman, but the later one was different. 6 The name given to me by the elder brother who taught me to speak was Lile. 7 Hearing my name, a woman came. 8 Having come, she said to me 'you have a nice name, marry me!' 9 I said 'your father will scold me.'

- 10 *'ma-kaṭa, gǎi-gǎi amat-sa-kǎi sum-gore jake-ko maṅǎi, di-gore*  
 NEG-scold I-PM beg-INF-PM three-CLF rice-GEN bread one-CLF  
*wa, di kulin toṅ ra-to-le*  
 chicken one small.earthenware.water.vessel beer bring-TPP-PCL  
*ra-Ø' ṅa-Ø-ṅa-n. 11 gǎ-ye woi sum-gore maṅǎi*  
 come.from.level-s/IMP say-SAS-1s-PT I-ERG also three-CLF bread  
*menca-ṅaṅ tham-to-le jarphu-kǎi hen-to-le ya-ṅa-n.*  
 bag-inside insert-TPP-PCL elder.sister's.husband-PM take-TPP-PCL go-1s-PT  
 12 *ya-ta-i-le, thapu kherte hok-i-n, to camǎica-ko apa*  
 go-IPP-1pPS-PT fireplace near be-1pPS-PT that woman-GEN father  
*ama-ye ni-kǎi kaṭay-i-n. 13 tyay ni to isyay to-te*  
 mother-ERG we-PM scold-1pPS-PT then we that period that-LOC  
*ma-ami caway-i-n, nem-te ya-ta-i-le ṭaye ama-kǎi*  
 NEG-sleep walk-1pPS-PT house-LOC go-IPP-1pPS-PCL night mother-PM  
*ci-serek-wa-n, toṅ tha-to-le cey-i-n. 14 libi*  
 CAUS-arise-1p→23-PT beer filter.and.strain-TPP-PCL eat-1pPS-PT after  
*wakhe camǎica-ko apa nama thah-Ø-an, apraca loṅ-Ø-u-no.*  
 word woman-GEN father with be-SAS-3S/PT good do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 15 *libi bore tha-Ø-du isyay, gǎi-go tete nini-pali-ye*  
 after marriage be-SAS-NPT period I-GEN elder.sister father's.sister-p-ERG  
*lampay-eṅ-ṅa-n maṅǎi paliṅge ni-kǎi piy-eṅ-ṅa-n.*  
 block.the.road-pAS-1s-PT bread beaten.rice we-PM give-pAS-1s-PT  
 16 *nem-te hen-sa habi, gǎi-gǎi chuku-ye cabu-Ø-ṅa-n,*  
 house-LOC go-INF before I-PM father.in.law-ERG carry-SAS-1s-PT

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10 'He won't scold you. In order to request [my hand in marriage], just come bringing three rice breads, one chicken and one jug of beer', she said. 11 And then I put three breads in a bag and set off with them and my elder sister's husband. 12 Having gone there, we sat down close to the fire and the woman's father and mother scolded us. 13 That day we didn't sleep there but walked home, and arriving at night, we woke mum up, prepared some beer [filtered and strained it] and drank it. 14 Hereafter there was some discussion with that woman's father and it turned out fine. 15 Later, on the day of the wedding, my elder sisters and paternal aunts blocked the road and then gave us bread and beaten rice. 16 Before going home, I was carried by my father-in-law and my wife was carried by my mother-in-law [her mother], and in this way we were taken.

*uma-kǎi aji-ye cabu-to-le hen-i-n. 17 nem-te*  
 wife-PM mother.in.law-ERG carry-TPP-PCL take-1pPS-PT house-LOC  
*ʃho-sa habi, aji-ko nem-te lak koŋte jek-i-n,*  
 send-INF before mother.in.law-GEN house-LOC hand leg wash-1pPS-PT  
*ni-kǎi sewa loŋ-i-n. 18 ni-ko bore loŋ-sa, ahe toŋ pepelek*  
 we-PM salute do-1pPS-PT we-GEN marriage do-INF much beer money  
*daŋ-ko mǎi-Ø-du, ahe mi urou-ko mǎi-Ø-du, tyaŋ*  
 search-ADH must-SAS-NPT many person call-ADH must-SAS-NPT then  
*bore tha-Ø-du.*  
 marriage be-SAS-NPT

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17 Before sending us home, they washed our hands and feet in my mother-in-law's house and paid their respects to us. 18 For a [Thangmi] wedding one has to find a lot of beer and money, and also to invite many people, only then does one get married.

## MUSHROOMS

1 *di uni-ko wakhe: gǎi-go nem-yiŋ hya-basa*  
 one day-GEN word I-GEN house-ABL higher-side  
*ucyapa-ko ca-ko nem hok-Ø-du.* 2 *di uni to*  
 father's.younger.brother-GEN son-GEN house be-SAS-NPT one day that  
*bubu-ye begale thǎi-yiŋ nis-toke amum ra-to-le.*  
 elder.brother-ERG other place-ABL two-half.kilo mushroom bring-TPP-PCL  
 3 *amum ra-to-le, libi di uni ka uni-te*  
 mushroom bring-TPP-PCL after one day throughout sun-LOC  
*areŋ-to-le.* 4 *uni-ye gaŋ-ŋa libi kiji tha-Ø-ta-le, 'nan-guri*  
 dry-TPP-PCL son-ERG dry-CNS after black be-SAS-IPP-PCL now-IND  
*cya-sa ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 5 *nyoŋi, uma*  
 eat-INF okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT evening wife  
*huca-pali oste oste-ko jet-yiŋ nem-te kyel-eŋ-an.* 6 *libi to*  
 child-p self self-GEN work-ABL house-LOC come-pAS-3S/PT after that  
*amum ci-min-sa-kǎi me mut-eŋ-no, tyaj*  
 mushroom CAUS-ripen-INF-PM fire blow-pAS-3→3/PT then  
*ci-min-eŋ-no.* 7 *tyaj lawa-ye-guri bǎsinŋe-ko*  
 CAUS-ripen-pAS-3→3/PT then husband-ERG-IND morning-GEN  
*pecerek isa nama amum-ko ken cya-Ø-ta-le,*  
 stale.and.left-over food with mushroom-GEN vegetable.curry eat-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*ca camǎi-kǎi woi pi-to-le.* 8 *sakalei mi cey-eŋ-ta-le,*  
 son daughter-PM also give-TPP-PCL all person eat-pAS-IPP-PCL

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1 This is what happened one day: a little above my house is my father's younger brother's son's house. 2 One day, that elder brother brought about one kilo of mushrooms from some other place. 3 Having brought the mushrooms, he left them to dry in the sun for a whole day. 4 Once the sun had dried them and they had turned black, he said that they were now good to eat. 5 In the evening, [his] wife and children, returning from their own jobs, all came home. 6 And then, in order to prepare those mushrooms they started a fire [lit. blew the fire] and cooked them. 7 And then the husband ate the left-over food from the morning with some mushroom curry, and he also gave some to his sons and daughters. 8 Everyone ate, and one old lady ate only later.

*di-ka uma-guri libi cya-Ø-ta-le.* 9 *habi cey-eη-du*  
 one-HNC wife-IND after eat-SAS-IPP-PCL before eat-pAS-NPT  
*huca-pali-kāi nan kapu kalāi-sa thah-Ø-an, baykal woi kalāi-sa*  
 child-p-PM now head hurt-INF be-SAS-3S/PT stomach also hurt-INF  
*thah-Ø-an.* 10 *to-bany-e amum cey-eη-ta-le ka uniη*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT that-Pp-ERG mushroom eat-pAS-IPP-PCL this like  
*thah-Ø-an ηa-to-le ma-thaha sāiy-eη-no.* 11 *libi*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL NEG-knowledge know-pAS-3→3/PT after  
*apa-guri huca-pali amiy-eη-du uniη ūtiy-eη-an, uma-guri*  
 father-IND child-p sleep-pAS-NPT like fall.from.level-pAS-3S/PT wife-IND  
*thombe thah-Ø-an.* 12 *uma-guri-kāi woi uchin uchin kapu kalāi-le*  
 surprise be-SAS-3S/PT wife-IND-PM also a.little a.little head hurt-PCL  
*hok-Ø-du, nan aṭṭhe kalāi-Ø-du beryaη hara woi ηa-sa*  
 be-SAS-NPT now very hurt-SAS-NPT that.time what also say-INF  
*ma-thaη-Ø-u-no, hya-basa-te aji chuku-ko*  
 NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT higher-side-LOC mother.in.law father.in.law-GEN  
*nem-te ma-thaη ma-thaη woi yah-Ø-an.* 13 *ya-ηa libi*  
 house-LOC NEG-be.well NEG-be.well also go-SAS-3S/PT go-CNS after  
*to-te ūtiy-Ø-ta-le ami-Ø-du uniη thah-Ø-an.*  
 that-LOC fall.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL sleep-SAS-NPT like be-SAS-3S/PT  
 14 *aji chuku sakalei kerep-eη-an.* 15 *‘wari-kāi*  
 mother.in.law father.in.law all cry-pAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law-PM  
*hara thah-Ø-an?’ ηa-to-le, ca-kāi ηa-sa wari-ko*  
 what be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL son-PM say-INF daughter.in.law-GEN

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9 The children who had eaten earlier started to get headaches and stomach cramps. 10 They didn't know that this would happen if they ate the mushrooms. 11 Thereafter the father and all the kids fell over as if they were asleep, and the wife was totally shocked. 12 Then the wife also started to get a bit of a headache, and when it became so bad she couldn't even speak, although terribly ill, she went up to the upper house where her parents-in-law live. 13 Having gone there, she also toppled over as if she were asleep. 14 The parents-in-law and everyone else burst into tears. 15 Thinking 'what has happened to our daughter-in-law?', they set off to ask their son, but in their daughter-in-law's house their son and all their grandchildren looked dead.



*nem-te yey-eŋ-du-be, ca cacha-pali sakalei siy-eŋ-du uniŋ*  
 house-LOC go-pAS-NPT-TOP son grandchild-p all die-pAS-NPT like  
*niy-eŋ-no. 16 ‘hara thah-Ø-an?’ ŋa-to-le, dese-te ka*  
 see-pAS-3→3/PT what be-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL village-LOC throughout  
*artik-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-an. 17 libi dese-ko mi-pali*  
 cry-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT after village-GEN person-p  
*kyel-eŋ-an, yoy-eŋ-no si-Ø-du mi uniŋ niy-eŋ-no,*  
 come-sAS-3S/PT look.at-pAS-3→3/PT die-sAS-NPT person like see-pAS-3→3/PT  
*suwa chyuy-eŋ-du. 18 suwa tany-eŋ-to-le paŋku*  
 tooth be.locked.together-pAS-NPT tooth open-pAS-TPP-PCL water  
*piy-eŋ-no, ma-lek-eŋ-no. 19 di-ka mi-ye ‘nan*  
 give-pAS-3→3/PT NEG-swallow-pAS-3→3/PT one-HNC person-ERG now  
*ka-baŋ-käi paŋ pi-ko mäi-Ø-du, tyaŋ ja-Ø-du’*  
 this-Pp-PM sour.fruit give-ADH must-sAS-NPT then okay-sAS-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no. 20 paŋ ray-eŋ-to-le, äikuca-ye suwa*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT sour.fruit bring-pAS-TPP-PCL large.knife-INS tooth  
*tany-eŋ-to-le ugo duŋ-ŋaŋ piy-eŋ-no. 21 di-ka mi*  
 open-pAS-TPP-PCL mouth within-inside give-pAS-3→3/PT one-HNC person  
*paŋ lek-to-le libi cijyaŋ-Ø-an, nan sakalei-käi paŋ*  
 sour.fruit swallow-TPP-PCL after speak-sAS-3S/PT now all-PM sour.fruit  
*yey-eŋ-no. 22 libi sakalei serek-eŋ-an. 23 serek-eŋ-ta-le libi,*  
 feed-sAS-3→3/PT after all arise-pAS-3S/PT arise-pAS-IPP-PCL after  
*di-ka mi-käi, ‘hara tha-na-n?’ ŋa-to-le ŋay-eŋ-du beryaŋ,*  
 one-HNC person-PM what be-sAS-PT say-TPP-PCL say-pAS-NPT that.time

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16 ‘What happened?’ they cried, as they wandered all through the whole village. 17 Later the villagers came and looked at those who were lying down as if dead, and they saw that their teeth were locked together. 18 They pushed open their teeth and gave them water, but they didn’t swallow it. 19 One person said ‘we should feed them some sour fruit, and then they will be fine.’ 20 Having brought the sour fruit, they pried open their mouths with a knife and put it inside. 21 Having swallowing the sour fruit one person spoke, so they fed it to all the others also. 22 And then all of them woke up. 23 After they had woken up, they asked one man, ‘what happened to you?’, and he said:

*to-ye*    *ηah-∅-u-no:*    24    *‘gǎi hyate ya-let-ηa-n, to-te thone*  
 that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT    I    up.there go-appear-1s-PT that-LOC old  
*mi-ye*    *hok-sa ma-pi-∅-ηa-n!’*    *ηa-to-le ηah-∅-u-no.*  
 person-ERG be-INF NEG-give-SAS-1s-PT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 25    *‘di-ka khaṇou-te hok-∅-du mi-ye gǎi-gǎi jun-∅-ηa-n!’*  
       one-HNC door-LOC be-SAS-NPT person-ERG I-PM push-SAS-1s-PT

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24 ‘When I arrived all the way up there [i.e. heaven], the old man [who lives there] didn’t let me stay!’, he said. 25 ‘And this person sitting by the door pushed me out!’

## ELDER BROTHER

- 1 *macyu-ko* *ca, gǎi-go bubu, ahe habi-ko*  
 mother's.younger.sister-GEN son I-GEN elder.brother very before-GEN  
*wakhe loŋ-u-n-du, to-ko.* 2 *to sarma tha-Ø-du beryaŋ,*  
 word do-3P-1s→3-NPT that-GEN that strong be-SAS-NPT that.time  
*to-ko bore ǎlǎmtha-ko camǎica nama thah-Ø-an.* 3 *libi uma*  
 that-GEN marriage distant-GEN woman with be-SAS-3S/PT after wife  
*nama aji chuku-ko nem-te yey-eŋ-an.*  
 with mother.in.law father.in.law-GEN house-LOC go-pAS-3S/PT  
 4 *chuku-ko nem-te hok-ŋa libi, di uni aji-ye*  
 father.in.law-GEN house-LOC be-CNS after one day mother.in.law-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no:* 5 *‘damari, dikaca ya-Ø, camǎi libi*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son.in.law alone go-s/IMP daughter after  
*thoh-u-n-du’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 6 *tyaŋ bubu uma*  
 send-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then elder.brother wife  
*to-te torta-to-le, oste-ko nem-te cawah-Ø-an.* 7 *cawa-sa*  
 that-GEN leave-TPP-PCL self-GEN house-LOC walk-SAS-3S/PT walk-INF  
*habi, aji-ye maŋǎi kwǎi damari-kǎi piy-Ø-u-no.*  
 before mother.in.law-ERG bread potato son.in.law-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 8 *damari-kǎi ‘ulam-te cya-sa sola hen-o’ ŋa-to-le*  
 son.in.law-PM road-LOC eat-INF snack take-s→3/IMP say-TPP-PCL  
*thoh-Ø-u-no.* 9 *to aji-ko wakhe nasǎi-to-le*  
 send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that mother.in.law-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL

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1 Let me tell a story about what happened a long time ago to my mother's younger sister's son, my elder brother. 2 When he was a young lad, he married a woman from far-away. 3 Later, he and his wife went to visit his parents-in-law. 4 While they were living at his parents-in-law, one day his mother-in-law said to him: 5 'You go alone now, son-in-law, I will send our daughter later', she said. 6 Then elder brother left his wife there and set off home. 7 Before he left, his mother-in-law gave him bread and potatoes. 8 'Take these snacks to eat along the road', she said to her son-in-law, sending him off. 9 Listening to the words of his mother-in-law, elder brother set off.

*bubu cawah-Ø-an.* 10 *aji-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le,*  
 elder.brother walk-SAS-3S/PT mother.in.law-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL  
*bubu-kăi rage let-Ø-thyo, to sumaka hok-Ø-an.*  
 elder.brother-PM anger appear-SAS-3SCOND that silent be-SAS-3S/PT  
 11 *libi bakotek ulam ya-let-Ø-thyo, to-ko kapu-ye begale*  
 after half road go-appear-SAS-3SCOND that-GEN head-ERG other  
*jet loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 12 *'nan găi dikaca nem-te hara-kăi hen-sa?*  
 work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I alone house-LOC what-PM go-INF  
*nan ma-ya' ŋa-to-le, to begale jekha dese dăi cawah-Ø-an.*  
 now NEG-go say-TPP-PCL that other big village towards walk-SAS-3S/PT  
 13 *to aji-ye thoh-Ø-u-du sola warak dăi*  
 that mother.in.law-ERG send-SAS-3P-NPT snack precipice towards  
*cih-Ø-u-no.* 14 *jekha dese ya-let-Ø-ta-le, kote*  
 throw.away-SAS-3P-3→3/PT big village go-appear-SAS-IPP-PCL wall  
*ceŋ-sa jet loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 15 *libi jekha mi-ko nem-te*  
 build-INF work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after big person-GEN house-LOC  
*hok-Ø-ta-le baŋi jek-sa jet loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 16 *jekha dese*  
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL pot wash-INF work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT big village  
*dăi tam-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-an.* 17 *ni-ye-guri 'to*  
 towards disappear-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3S/PT we-ERG-IND that  
*siy-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le ŋa-wa-n.* 18 *libi di-ka mi-ye*  
 die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL say-1p→23-PT after one-HNC person-ERG  
*'naŋ-ko bubu hok-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 19 *tyaŋ*  
 you-GEN elder.brother be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then

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10 Listening to the words of his mother-in-law, elder brother became angry and fell completely silent. 11 When he had completed about half of his journey, his mind started racing [lit. his head did another job]. 12 'Now why should I go back home all alone? I won't go', [is what he thought], and he set off towards that other big village [Kathmandu]. 13 And the snacks that his mother-in-law had given him he threw over a steep precipice. 14 Having arrived in the big village, he worked building walls. 15 After that, he lived in an important person's house and washed dishes. 16 He had disappeared in the city. 17 We thought 'he's dead', that's what we said. 18 Some time later, this guy asked me whether my elder brother was still around. 19 And then that lost person appeared, and it became clear that until this day he wasn't dead at all [as we had thought].

*tam-Ø-du mi nan let-Ø-ta-le, yaŋ ka*  
 disappear-SAS-NPT person now appear-SAS-IPP-PCL today throughout  
*ma-si woi hok-Ø-ta-le. 20 libi libi, gǎi to-kǎi yo-sa-kǎi*  
 NEG-die also be-SAS-IPP-PCL after after I that-PM look.at-INF-PM  
*ya-ŋa-n. 21 libi bubu-kǎi hen-to-le, begale camǎica*  
 go-1s-PT after elder.brother-PM take-TPP-PCL other woman  
*amat-to-le, bore loŋ-Ø-u-no. 22 naleŋ, sum-ka ca camǎi*  
 beg-TPP-PCL marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT present three-HNC son daughter  
*hok-eŋ-du. 23 uma-ye nem-te jet loŋ-Ø-u-du, lawa-ye*  
 be-pAS-NPT wife-ERG house-LOC work do-SAS-3P-NPT husband-ERG  
*jekha dese-te jet loŋ-Ø-u-du. 24 kutaleŋ kutaleŋ nem dǎi*  
 big village-LOC work do-SAS-3P-NPT when when house towards  
*ya-Ø-du. 25 libi to-ko uma ma-thaŋ-Ø-an, ma-thaŋ-ŋa*  
 go-SAS-NPT after that-GEN wife NEG-be.well-SAS-3S/PT NEG-be.well-CNS  
*libi, guru-ko-te hen-wa-n, guru-kǎi ci-yo-wa-n.*  
 after shaman-GEN-LOC take-1p→23-PT shaman-PM CAUS-look.at-1p→23-PT  
 26 *'nan ka-kǎi ka-te ma-ja' ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 now this-PM this-LOC NEG-okay say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 27 *libi jekha dese-te hen-to-le roloŋ-Ø-an.*  
 after big village-LOC take-TPP-PCL recover-SAS-3S/PT

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20 Much later I went to visit him. 21 Later I brought elder brother [back to the village] and, having requested another woman, he got married [again]. 22 At present, he has three sons and daughters. 23 The wife works in the house and the husband works in the big village [Kathmandu]. 24 On occasion he goes home. 25 Some time later, his wife got ill, and being ill, we took her to the shaman's house where we showed her to him. 26 'Now, she shouldn't be here [I can't help her]', is what he [the shaman] said. 27 Then he took her to the big city and she recovered.

## THE GOD OF THE THANGMI

1 *bhumya thanmi-ko dewa tha-Ø-du.* 2 *ka dewa loŋ-sa*  
 earth.god Thangmi-GEN god be-SAS-NPT this god do-INF  
*beryaŋ, thanmi-pali-ko guru-pali naka miŋ bu-siy-eŋ-ta-le*  
 that.time Thangmi-p-GEN shaman-p new cloth cover-REF-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*take tap-eŋ-to-le usyay-eŋ-du.* 3 *ni-ko tete-ko*  
 shaman's.drum beat-pAS-TPP-PCL dance-pAS-NPT we-GEN elder.sister-GEN  
*nem-te di taye ka dewa lony-eŋ-du.* 4 *to-te wa*  
 house-LOC one night throughout god do-pAS-NPT that-LOC chicken  
*walŋa-gore, pucyuk mat-gore, na-ko mǎi-Ø-du.* 5 *guru-pali*  
 five-CLF flour.offering six-CLF put-ADH must-SAS-NPT shaman-p  
*dewa loŋ-ŋa libi, nay-eŋ-du pucyuk tor-eŋ-to-le, ahum*  
 god do-CNS after put-pAS-NPT flour.offering break-pAS-TPP-PCL egg  
*them-eŋ-to-le, cey-eŋ-du.* 6 *di-gore pucyuk-guri takare*  
 crack-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-pAS-NPT one-CLF flour.offering-IND branched  
*tha-Ø-du.* 7 *cya-ŋa libi, unise guru-pali amiy-eŋ-du.*  
 be-SAS-NPT eat-CNS after daytime shaman-p sleep-pAS-NPT  
 8 *ami-sa habi, dese-te nis-ka mi-kǎi pucyuk*  
 sleep-INF before village-LOC two-HNC person-PM flour.offering  
*thoy-eŋ-to-le, di di kucik boŋhay-eŋ-to-le, nem nem-te*  
 send-pAS-TPP-PCL one one morsel distribute-pAS-TPP-PCL house house-LOC  
*jakcho ya-kǎi-ko mǎi-Ø-du.* 9 *jakcho ray-eŋ-to-le,*  
 wheat go-remove-ADH must-SAS-NPT wheat bring-pAS-TPP-PCL

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1 The earth god is the god of the Thangmi people. 2 When worshipping their god, Thangmi shamans wear new clothes and dance beating their shaman's drums. 3 One time they were doing their ritual all night long in our elder sister's house. 4 Five chickens and six ritual flour effigies are required to be put ready in that place. 5 Once the shamans have finished their worship, they break the ritual flour effigies into pieces that have been put there, crack some eggs, and then eat it all up. 6 One of these ritual flower effigies is branched. 7 Having eaten, the shamans sleep all day. 8 Before sleeping, they [the shamans] send ritual flour effigies to two people in the village who break these offerings into little pieces and, giving a piece to each house, go to collect wheat [as payment]. 9 Bringing the wheat, roasting it, and having ground it [the flour] in a quern [handmill], five ritual flour effigies are then prepared.

*aṅek-eṅ-to-le, yante-te ney-eṅ-to-le, walḡa-gore pucyuk*  
 roast-pAS-TPP-PCL quern-LOC grind-pAS-TPP-PCL five-CLF flour.offering  
*khem-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 10 nyoṅi guru-pali ray-eṅ-ta-le,*  
 build-ADH must-sAS-NPT evening shaman-p come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*dewa lony-eṅ-to-le, dewa hok-Ø-du ṡhǎi-te yey-eṅ-du. 11 habi*  
 god do-pAS-TPP-PCL god be-sAS-NPT place-LOC go-pAS-NPT before  
*habi dewa loṅ-Ø-u-du nem-ko mi, lembe-te*  
 before god do-sAS-NPT house-GEN person winnowing.tray-LOC  
*pucyuk cabu-to-le, cawa-Ø-du. 12 libi libi, alam ṅaṅ*  
 flour.offering carry-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-NPT after after ritual.flag and  
*guru ṡake tap-to-le usya-sa caway-eṅ-du. 13 nan*  
 shaman-ERG shaman's.drums beat-TPP-PCL dance-INF walk-pAS-NPT now  
*begale nem-te woi di chin hok-eṅ-ta-le dewa lony-eṅ-du.*  
 other house-LOC also one moment be-pAS-IPP-PCL god do-pAS-NPT  
 14 *to-te dum-eṅ-to-le, to-yiṅ dicip-lǎ-gore pucyuk*  
 that-LOC finish-pAS-TPP-PCL that-ABL ten-eight-CLF flour.offering  
*hen-eṅ-du, gare woi hen-eṅ-du. 15 pucyuk hen-eṅ-to-le*  
 take-pAS-NPT rooster also take-pAS-NPT flour.offering take-pAS-TPP-PCL  
*dewa nem-te nay-eṅ-du. 16 ṡaye ka guru-pali-ye jet*  
 god house-LOC put-pAS-NPT night throughout shaman-p-ERG work  
*lony-eṅ-du. 17 bǎsinte ṡaṅmi-pali-ko naka nem, naka bore*  
 do-pAS-NPT morning Thangmi-p-GEN new house new marriage  
*lony-eṅ-du-pali-ye, gare toṅ alam hen-ko mǎi-Ø-du.*  
 do-pAS-NPT-p-ERG rooster beer ritual.flag take-ADH must-sAS-NPT

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10 In the evening, having come, and having done their worship, the shamans then go the place where the gods reside. 11 In front of the shamans walks one person of the house in which the ritual is being conducted, carrying a winnowing tray with the flour effigies. 12 Behind comes the shaman's ritual flag, and the shamans come beating their drums and dancing. 13 And [along the way], they stop here and there for a moment in other houses to worship. 14 Having finished there, they take eighteen flour effigies and also take [eighteen] cockerel [one each from the houses they have stopped at]. 15 Having taken the flour offerings, they put them in the house of the gods [temple]. 16 They worship all night long. 17 In the morning, all the Thangmi people who have recently built a new house or are newly married must take a cockerel and some beer and carry the shaman's flag [to the temple].

18 *hen-eŋ-to-le, guru-kǎi pi-ŋa libi, gare koŋeh-Ø-u-du,*  
 take-pAS-TPP-PCL shaman-PM give-CNS after rooster cut-sAS-3P-NPT  
*kapu-guri koŋeh-Ø-u-du mi-ye hen-Ø-u-du, maŋ-guri*  
 head-IND cut-sAS-3P-NPT person-ERG take-sAS-3P-NPT body-IND  
*piy-Ø-u-du.* 19 *unise tha-Ø-du, guru-pali habi syaŋ-ko*  
 give-sAS-3P-NPT daytime be-sAS-NPT shaman-p before period-GEN  
*nem-te yuy-eŋ-du.* 20 *yuy-eŋ-ta-le*  
 house-LOC come.from.above-pAS-NPT come.from.above-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*gare-ko kapu maŋǎi pucyuk cey-eŋ-ta-le, oste oste-ko nem*  
 rooster-GEN head bread flour.offering eat-pAS-IPP-PCL self self-GEN house  
*nem-te yey-eŋ-du.*  
 house-LOC go-pAS-NPT

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18 Bringing all this, and having given it to the shamans, the cockerels are sacrificed and the person who cuts the cockerel keeps the head, and gives the body back [to the person whose cockerel it was]. 19 Then it's daytime, and the shamans come back down to the first house at which they started the day before. 20 Having come down, and having eaten the heads of the sacrificed cockerels, some bread and the flour effigies, they go back to their own homes.



## KABITA

1 *kābita gāi-go camāi.* 2 *to huca aṭṭhe reṅreṅ isi-Ø-du, nalen*  
 Kabitā I-GEN daughter that child very fidgety do-SAS-NPT present  
*sum tha-ko sow-Ø-an.* 3 *to-ye oste-ko ama-kāi ‘ama’*  
 three be-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG self-GEN mother-PM mother  
*ma-ṅa, gāi-go ama-kāi ṅah-Ø-u-du.* 4 *di uni to*  
 NEG-say I-GEN mother-PM say-SAS-3P-NPT one day that  
*ṭiṭiṅ-Ø-ta-le,* *kapu-te gare woi thah-Ø-an.* 5 *gare*  
 fall.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL head-LOC wound also be-SAS-3S/PT wound  
*tha-Ø-ta-le kerep-Ø-an, phophonḍa thah-Ø-an.* 6 *di uni to-kāi,*  
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL cry-SAS-3S/PT swelling be-SAS-3S/PT one day that-PM  
*gāi-go uma-kāi, begale dese-yiṅ bubu-ye ni-kāi urouy-i-n.*  
 I-GEN wife-PM other village-ABL elder.brother-ERG we-PM call-1pPS-PT  
 7 *ni nem-yiṅ yey-i-n, tyay bubu-ko nem-te hok-i-n.*  
 we house-ABL go-1pPS-PT then elder.brother-GEN house-LOC be-1pPS-PT  
 8 *to huca woi hok-Ø-an, hok-Ø-du beryay bubu nama*  
 that child also be-SAS-3S/PT be-SAS-NPT that.time elder.brother with  
*ma-cijyaṅ-Ø-an, tete nama-guri cijyaṅ-Ø-an.* 9 *hara-kāi*  
 NEG-speak-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister with-IND speak-SAS-3S/PT what-PM  
*masāi, jekhapa ni-to-le kerep-sa daṅ-Ø-u-du.*  
 who.knows father’s.elder.brother see-TPP-PCL cry-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT  
 10 *tete ni-to-le nui-Ø-du, sade-Ø-du.* 11 *di uni du*  
 elder.sister see-TPP-PCL laugh-SAS-NPT like-SAS-NPT one day tiger

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1 Kabitā is my daughter. 2 That child is such a fidget now that she is almost three. 3 She doesn’t even call her own mother ‘mother’, but calls my mother that. 4 One day she fell and cut her head. 5 Having been wounded, she cried, and it became swollen. 6 One day, my elder brother from another village invited her and my wife over. 7 We came from our house and went to stay in elder brother’s house. 8 That child also went to stay, and during the time of her stay, she never once spoke with elder brother, although she did speak with elder sister. 9 Who knows why she does this, but whenever she sees her paternal uncle she makes as if to cry. 10 When she sees elder sister, whom she likes, she smiles. 11 One day we took her to the place where tigers and jackals live [i.e. the zoo].

*loŋe hok-Ø-du thǎi-te hen-wa-n.* 12 *to ni-to-le aŋthe*  
 jackal be-SAS-NPT place-LOC take-1p→23-PT that see-TPP-PCL much  
*taŋ-Ø-an,* *libi to-ŋaŋ arki sya-pali nih-Ø-u-no.*  
 be.happy-SAS-3S/PT after that-inside deer cow-p see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 13 *libi hok-sa nem-te ray-i-du beryaŋ ‘lak*  
 after be-INF house-LOC come.from.level-1pPS-NPT that.time hand  
*kalǎiy-Ø-an’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 14 *‘lak-te hara thah-Ø-an?’*  
 hurt-SAS-3S/PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT hand-LOC what be-SAS-3S/PT  
*ŋa-to-le yo-wa-du-be lak maraŋ-Ø-ta-le camǎi*  
 say-TPP-PCL look.at-1p→23-NPT-TOP hand swell-SAS-IPP-PCL daughter  
*kerep-Ø-an.* 15 *nem-te woi kerep-Ø-an, ‘oste-ko nem-te hen-ko’*  
 cry-SAS-3S/PT house-LOC also cry-SAS-3S/PT self-GEN house-LOC go-ADH  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 16 *tyaŋ ɲo uni hok-ta-i-le oste-ko nem-te*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then seven day be-IPP-1pPS-PCL self-GEN house-LOC  
*yey-i-n.* 17 *hen-sa habi, camǎi naka naka isa cyah-Ø-an,*  
 go-1pPS-PT go-INF before daughter new new food eat-SAS-3S/PT  
*uma-guri habi woi rah-Ø-an.* 18 *habi-ko uniy*  
 wife-IND before also come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT before-GEN like  
*naleŋ ma-thah-Ø-an, naka naka wakhe säiy-Ø-u-no, naka nem,*  
 present NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT new new word know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT new house  
*naka hok-sa thǎi ni-to-le thombe thah-Ø-an.* 19 *camǎi*  
 new be-INF place see-TPP-PCL surprise be-SAS-3S/PT daughter  
*jekhapa nama ma-hok-tiniŋ nem dǎi yah-Ø-an.*  
 father’s.elder.brother with NEG-be-PFG house towards go-SAS-3S/PT

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12 She was really happy to see all that, and in that place she later saw deer and cows also. 13 Afterwards, as we were coming back to the house where we were staying, she said ‘my hand hurts.’ 14 ‘What has happened to her hand?’, we thought, and when we looked at it, it was swollen and daughter cried. 15 She cried all the time at that house and said ‘let’s go home to our own house.’ 16 Then, having stayed seven days, we went home. 17 Before leaving, daughter ate all kinds of new foods, but my wife had come [to Kathmandu] before. 18 But this time was not like the last trip, she came to know many many new things, stayed in a new place and was completely bowled over. 19 Daughter returned home without ever having been with uncle.

20 *jekhama* *nama nui-Ø-du,* *wakhe woi*  
 father's.elder.brother's.wife with laugh-sAS-NPT word also  
*loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 21 *libi nem-te ya-ta-i-le,* *camăi*  
 do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after house-LOC go-IPP-1pPS-PCL daughter  
*nuiy-Ø-an.* 22 *tyaŋ to-ko hu humi nama*  
 laugh-sAS-3S/PT then that-GEN younger.brother younger.sister with  
*hok-Ø-ta-le,* *to-te nih-Ø-u-du sakalei ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 23 *'găi*  
 be-sAS-IPP-PCL that-LOC see-sAS-3P-NPT all say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I  
*naka nem-ŋaŋ hok-ŋa-n, naka isa cya-ŋa-n' ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 new house-inside be-1s-PT new food eat-1s-PT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 24 *libi naka miŋ niy-eŋ-to-le 'su-ye pi-Ø-na-n?' ŋa-to-le*  
 after new cloth see-pAS-TPP-PCL who-ERG give-sAS-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL  
*ŋay-eŋ-du beryaŋ, 'ka ni-ko tete-ye găi-găi pi-Ø-ŋa-n'*  
 say-pAS-NPT that.time this we-GEN elder.sister-ERG I-PM give-sAS-1s-PT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 25 *yamiryay to-te nih-Ø-u-du sakalei*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT nowadays that-LOC see-sAS-3P-NPT all  
*nembo huca-pali-kăi sat-Ø-u-du.*  
 other.person child-p-PM explain-sAS-3P-NPT

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20 But with auntie, she laughed and even chatted. 21 Once we went home, well then daughter was all happy again. 22 Then, sitting with her younger brothers and sisters, she told about all the things she had seen there [in Kathmandu]. 23 'I stayed in a new house and ate new food', she told them. 24 When other people saw her new clothes they asked her, 'who gave you that?' and she replied 'our elder sister gave them to me.' 25 These days she tells all the other children about the things she saw there [in Kathmandu].

## THANGMI HISTORY

1 *amamakaleŋ, thaŋmi-pali di ʃhǎi-te hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *ni-ko*  
 long.time.ago Thangmi-p one place-LOC be-pAS-3SCOND we-GEN  
*jyu-jyu cyapjyu-pali sunari aji yapǎti chuku*  
 great-great ancestor-p Sunari mother.in.law Yapati father.in.law  
*thay-eŋ-du.* 3 *ka nis-ka ʃhoŋe ʃhoŋi-ko ca camǎi*  
 be-pAS-NPT this two-HNC old.man old.woman-GEN son daughter  
*naleŋ sakalei oste oste-ko ʃhǎi-te hok-eŋ-du.* 4 *habi, to*  
 present all self self-GEN place-LOC be-pAS-NPT before that  
*nis-ka mi uireŋ-ko cyoporok nem khem-eŋ-to-le*  
 two-HNC person *Artemisia.vulgaris*-GEN hut house build-pAS-TPP-PCL  
*hok-eŋ-thyo ŋa.* 5 *libi to-baŋ-ko ŋo-ka ca ŋo-ka*  
 be-pAS-3SCOND REP after that-Pp-GEN seven-GEN son seven-GEN  
*camǎi thay-eŋ-an.* 6 *to-baŋ jekha jekha thay-eŋ-ta-le, bore*  
 daughter be-pAS-3S/PT that-Pp big big be-pAS-IPP-PCL marriage  
*loŋ-sa thay-eŋ-an.* 7 *‘nan camǎi-pali-kǎi ɖamari, ca-pali-kǎi*  
 do-INF be-pAS-3S/PT now daughter-p-PM son.in.law son-p-PM  
*wari, kyel-ko mǎi-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le, nis-ka ʃhoŋe*  
 daughter.in.law bring-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL two-HNC old.man  
*ʃhoŋi-ye wakhe lony-eŋ-no.* 8 *‘nan ka ɖǎi su mi*  
 old.woman-ERG word do-pAS-3→3/PT now this towards who person  
*woi ma-hok-eŋ, nan su daŋ-sa, su nama bore loŋ-sa?’*  
 also NEG-be-pAS now who search-INF who with marriage do-INF

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1 A long long time ago, the Thangmi people all lived in one place. 2 Our ancestors are the mother-in-law Sunari and the father-in-law Yapati. 3 The sons and daughters of this old couple now all inhabit their own areas. 4 Before all this, they say that those two people lived in a hut made of the leaves of the *Artemisia vulgaris* plant. 5 They went on to have seven sons and seven daughters. 6 Having all grown up, they would have to get married. 7 ‘Now we must bring sons-in-law for our daughters and daughters-in-law for our sons’, said the old man and old woman, discussing it. 8 ‘There is simply no one around here, whom should we look for, with whom can they marry?’, the two of them thought.

*ŋa-to-le nis-ka-ye wakhe lony-eŋ-no.* 9 *'nan ka uniŋ*  
 say-TPP-PCL two-HNC-ERG word do-pAS-3→3/PT now this like  
*loŋ-ko mǎi-Ø-du, ka-baŋ-kǎi oste oste-ko thar pi-ko*  
 do-ADH must-SAS-NPT this-Pp-PM self self-GEN clan give-ADH  
*mǎi-Ø-du, ŋaŋ libi bore loŋ-ko mǎi-Ø-du.'* 10 *kuta-yiŋ*  
 must-SAS-NPT and after marriage do-ADH must-SAS-NPT where-ABL  
*ka-baŋ-ko thar pi-sa ŋay-eŋ-du beryaŋ, lawa-ye*  
 this-Pp-GEN clan give-INF say-pAS-NPT that.time husband-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no 'nan jekha ca-kǎi, nembo ca-pali-kǎi, sakalei-kǎi*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now big son-PM other.person son-p-PM all-PM  
*thar daŋ-sa tho-ko.'* 11 *libi thar dany-eŋ-to-le*  
 clan search-INF send-ADH after clan search-pAS-TPP-PCL  
*kyel-eŋ-an, oste oste-ko, camǎi-pali woi ka uniŋ thar*  
 come-pAS-3S/PT self self-GEN daughter-p also this like clan  
*dany-eŋ-no.* 12 *daŋ-ŋa libi, jekha ca-kǎi jekha camǎi,*  
 search-pAS-3→3/PT search-CNS after big son-PM big daughter  
*ucyaca ca-kǎi ucyaca camǎi, bore lony-eŋ-no.* 13 *to*  
 small son-PM small daughter marriage do-pAS-3→3/PT that  
*aji chuku-guri apok, uireŋ-ko cyoporok*  
 mother.in.law father.in.law-IND cave *Artemisia.vulgaris*-GEN hut  
*nem-te woi, hok-eŋ-thyo.* 14 *libi begale thǎi-te yey-eŋ-ta-le,*  
 house-LOC also be-pAS-3SCOND after other place-LOC go-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*seŋ pal-eŋ-to-le.* 15 *to-ko ucyaca seŋ sony-e hen-to-le,*  
 wood chop-pAS-TPP-PCL that-GEN small wood river-ERG take-TPP-PCL

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9 'Now, this is what we should do, we must give them each their own clan names and thereafter get them married.' 10 When thinking about how to give them their clan names, the old husband said 'From the eldest son to the youngest, let's send all of them off to find their clan names.' 11 Having searched for their very own clan names, they returned, and then the daughters went off to search for their clan names in the same way. 12 Having looked around [for their clan names], [the parents] married the eldest son to the eldest daughter and [so on, until] the youngest son to the youngest daughter. 13 That mother-in-law and father-in-law lived alternately in a cave and in a hut made of fibres of the *Artemisia vulgaris* plant. 14 Later they moved to another place where they chopped down some wood. 15 A small piece of that wood was washed away by the river, and was seen by a chief [lit. big person].

*tyaŋ di-ka jekha mi-ye ni-to-le.* 16 *ni-ŋa libi ‘nan ka*  
 then one-HNC big person-ERG see-TPP-PCL see-CNS after now this  
*ni-ko ʔhǎi-te su mi bi-Ø-ta-le? to-kǎi daŋ-ko*  
 we-ADH place-LOC who person enter-SAS-IPP-PCL that-PM search-ADH  
*mǎi-Ø-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 17 *‘ma-daŋ-ŋa-be, ka-ye ni-ko*  
 must-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-search-CNS-TOP this-ERG we-GEN  
*sakalei seŋ pal-Ø-u-du, tyaŋ ci-tap-Ø-u-du, ka-kǎi nan*  
 all wood chop-SAS-3P-NPT then CAUS-finish-SAS-3P-NPT this-PM now  
*daŋ-ko mǎi-Ø-du.’* 18 *ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le, nis-ka mi*  
 search-ADH must-SAS-NPT this like say-TPP-PCL two-HNC person  
*ʔhoh-Ø-u-no.* 19 *nis-ka mi yey-eŋ-ta-le yoy-eŋ-du-be,*  
 send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT two-HNC person go-pAS-IPP-PCL look.at-pAS-NPT-TOP  
*nis-ka apan uniŋ mi niy-eŋ-no.* 20 *to mi-pali-kǎi*  
 two-HNC wild.man like person see-pAS-3→3/PT that person-p-PM  
*cum-eŋ-to-le, jekha mi-kǎi cikhet-sa-kǎi kyel-eŋ-no, to woi*  
 hold-pAS-TPP-PCL big person-PM show-INF-PM bring-pAS-3→3/PT that also  
*thombe thah-Ø-an.* 21 *jekha mi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘niŋ su*  
 surprise be-SAS-3S/PT big person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p) who  
*mi?’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, to-bany-e ŋay-eŋ-no*  
 person say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that.time that-pp-ERG say-pAS-3→3/PT  
*‘ni thaŋmi.’* 22 *‘niŋ hara-kǎi ka-te kyel-ta-ni-le, ni-ko seŋ*  
 we Thangmi you(p) what-PM this-LOC come-IPP-2p-PCL we-GEN wood  
*pal-n-u-n? nan niŋ-kǎi gǎ-ye nem duŋ-ŋaŋ na-ni-ŋa-du’*  
 cut-2p-3P-PT now you(p)-PM I-ERG house within-inside put-2p-1s-NPT

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16 Having seen this, he said ‘now, who has entered into our territory? We must search him out.’ 17 ‘If we don’t look for him, this person will cut down all our trees and finish off our wood supply, we must look for him.’ 18 Saying this, he sent two people [to search]. 19 Going off, these two people went to look around, and they saw two wild-looking people. 20 Grabbing those wild-looking people, they brought them back to show them to the chief, and even he was astonished. 21 When the chief then asked ‘who are you people?’, they replied ‘we are the Thangmi.’ 22 ‘Why did you come to this place and cut down our trees for wood? I am going to jail you both [lit. put you inside a house]’, he said.

- ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 23 *tyaŋ ʰoŋe-kǎi nah-Ø-u-no, ʰoŋi-kǎi*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then old.man-PM put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM
- ʰoh-Ø-u-no.* 24 *baʰe syaŋ ʰoŋi-ye jekha mi-kǎi*  
 send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tomorrow period old.woman-ERG big person-PM
- ci-taŋ-sa-kǎi arki, nem-te hok-Ø-du sakalei,*  
 CAUS-be.happy-INF-PM deer house-LOC be-SAS-NPT all
- piy-Ø-u-no, kutaleŋ woi ma-taŋ-Ø-an.* 25 *ʰoŋe-kǎi woi*  
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT when also NEG-be.happy-SAS-3S/PT old.man-PM also
- ma-ci-let-Ø-u-no, ʰoŋi-kǎi rage let-Ø-an.*  
 NEG-CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM anger appear-SAS-3S/PT
- 26 *di uni ʰoŋi-ye to jekha mi nama hok-Ø-ta-le,*  
 one day old.woman-ERG that big person with be-SAS-IPP-PCL
- kapu-ko mus-yiŋ arki ci-let-to-le to-kǎi piy-Ø-u-no.*  
 head-GEN hair-ABL deer CAUS-appear-TPP-PCL that-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 27 *pi-ŋa libi, to taŋ-Ø-an, ʰore-kǎi*  
 give-CNS after that be.happy-SAS-3S/PT old.man-PM
- ci-let-Ø-u-no.* 28 *to-yiŋ sunari aji ŋa-to-le*  
 CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ABL Sunari mother.in.law say-TPP-PCL
- woi ŋay-eŋ-no.* 29 *jekha mi taŋ-Ø-ta-le ‘nan*  
 also say-pAS-3→3/PT big person be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL now
- niny-e hara amat-n-u-du, gǎ-ye pi-ni-ŋa-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 you(p)-ERG what beg-2p-3P-NPT I-ERG give-2p-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 30 *aji-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘nan ni-kǎi hok-sa ʰǎi, saŋa*  
 mother.in.law-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now we-PM be-INF place millet

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23 Then he locked the old man up and sent the old woman away. 24 The very next day the old woman brought the chief a deer, and gave him all the things which she had in her house to make him happy, but nothing would please him. 25 But he didn't release the old man and the old woman got angry. 26 One day, when sitting with that chief, the old woman pulled a deer from her hair and gave it to him. 27 After giving that, the chief was happy and he released the old man. 28 From that point on, she [the old woman] came to be known as Sunari Aji [lit. golden mother-in-law]. 29 The chief was happy and then said 'now, whatever you(p) ask for, I will give you.' 30 And the mother-in-law said 'well then, give us a place to live and land on which to plant our millet and rice!'

*racya peṇe-sa ṭhāi pi-se!* 31 *to-ye ṇah-Ø-u-no 'niṇ*  
 rice plant-INF place give-s→1p/IMP that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p)  
*di uni-ye hani cawa-sa thaṇ-n-u-du, to sakalei niṇ-ko.'*  
 one day-ERG how.much walk-INF be.able-2p-3P-NPT that all you(p)-GEN  
 32 *nis-ka thay-eṇ-ta-le di uni ka jekha ṭhāi*  
 two-HNC be-PAS-IPP-PCL one day throughout big place  
*caway-eṇ-ta-le.* 33 *alampu-ṇaṇ alam ṭhum-eṇ-to-le, tyaṇ*  
 walk-PAS-IPP-PCL Ālampu-inside ritual.flag bury-PAS-TPP-PCL then  
*ray-eṇ-an.* 34 *nan habi-ko cyoporok-te yey-eṇ-ta-le*  
 come.from.level-PAS-3S/PT then before-GEN hut-LOC go-PAS-IPP-PCL  
*hok-eṇ-an.* 35 *ca camāi begale begale ṭhāi-te yey-eṇ-ta-le*  
 be-PAS-3S/PT son daughter other other place-LOC go-PAS-IPP-PCL  
*hok-eṇ-an, naleṇ to-baṇ-ko ca camāi thaṇmi-pali thay-eṇ-du.*  
 be-PAS-3S/PT present that-Pp-GEN son daughter Thangmi-p be-PAS-NPT  
 36 *libi di-ka camāi woi hok-Ø-thyo, to camāi-kāi-guri*  
 after one-HNC daughter also be-SAS-3SCOND that daughter-PM-IND  
*bore ma-loṇ-Ø-u-no.* 37 *to-guri apok-te hok-Ø-an. di uni*  
 marriage NEG-do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-IND cave-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT one day  
*nis-ka mi arki daṇ-sa yey-eṇ-thyo, to camāica-kāi*  
 two-HNC person deer search-INF go-PAS-3SCOND that woman-PM  
*khalam-eṇ-no.* 38 *to-kāi cum-eṇ-to-le roimi-ko nem-te*  
 meet-PAS-3→3/PT that-PM hold-PAS-TPP-PCL Newar-GEN house-LOC  
*ray-eṇ-no.* 39 *ray-eṇ-to-le, libi to-kāi roimi-ye*  
 bring-PAS-3→3/PT bring-PAS-TPP-PCL after that-PM Newar-ERG

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31 He said 'whatever distance you can cover by foot in one day, well, that much is yours.' 32 Walking together, that couple covered a huge area in one day. 33 They planted a flag in the village of Ālampu and then returned. 34 Then they returned to the hut they lived in before and settled down there. 35 Their sons and daughters went off to live separately in different places, and at present their sons and daughters are the Thangmi people. 36 There was still one daughter left, but this one they didn't marry off. 37 Well that one, she lived in a cave by herself. One day two people met her while hunting for deer. 38 They grabbed her and brought her to the house of a Newar. 39 Having brought her, the Newar man hid her away in his house and soon she became pregnant.



*sul-to-le nah-Ø-u-no, libi baŋkal cabuh-Ø-u-no.*  
 hide-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after stomach carry-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 40 *to-ko bubu-pali-ye-guri dany-eŋ-no ‘humi kuta*  
 that-GEN elder.brother-p-ERG-IND search-pAS-3→3/PT younger.sister where  
*yah-Ø-an?’ ŋa-to-le. 41 di-ka hu-ye*  
 go-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL one-HNC younger.brother-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ni-ko humi roimi-ye hen-Ø-u-no*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-GEN younger.sister Newar-ERG take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*thanun, nan ya-yo-ko māi-Ø-du.’ 42 ‘ya-yo-sa-be*  
 maybe now go-look.at-ADH must-SAS-NPT go-look.at-INF-TOP  
*ya-yo-wa-du, priŋ ma-let, kunyaŋ ni-sa?’ begale*  
 go-look.at-1p→23-NPT outside NEG-appear how see-INF other  
*hu-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no. 43 di-ka-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no*  
 younger.brother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-HNC-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*‘nan to-ŋaŋ ya-ta-i-le, ni-ye kuta woi ma-hok-Ø-du usya*  
 now that-inside go-IPP-1pps-PCL we-ERG where also NEG-be-SAS-NPT dance  
*usya-ko māi-Ø-du, tyaŋ yo-sa-kāi ra-Ø-du.’*  
 dance-ADH must-SAS-NPT then look.at-INF-PM come.from.level-SAS-NPT  
 44 *sakalei bubu hu-ye ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋay-eŋ-no,*  
 all elder.brother younger.brother-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT  
*ŋaŋ usya hen-eŋ-no. 45 di-ka-ye citaliŋ tap-sa, to woi*  
 and dance take-pAS-3→3/PT one-HNC-ERG drum beat-INF that also  
*koŋte-ye. 46 libi kuta woi ma-hok-Ø-du usya hen-ŋa libi,*  
 leg-INS after where also NEG-be-SAS-NPT dance take-CNS after

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40 Her elder brothers looked for her, saying ‘where has our younger sister gone?’ 41 Then one younger brother said ‘maybe our younger sister has been taken by the Newar, we must go and have a look.’ 42 ‘Well of course we can go and look, but even if we do, how will we see her, because she is sure not to come outside?’ , another younger brother said. 43 Then one of them said ‘now, having gone there, we must perform a dance which has never been done elsewhere, and she [our younger sister] is sure to come and watch.’ 44 All the brothers agreed, saying ‘okay’, and set off with their dance. 45 One of them played the drums, but then with his feet. 46 And while performing their previously unseen dance, [the younger sister] looked on from the door of the upper floor of a house.

*khaṭe-ηaη-ko*            *khaηou-yiη yo-to-le.*            47 *di-ka*  
 upper.floor-inside-GEN door-ABL look.at-TPP-PCL            one-HNC  
*hu-ye*                      *ni-to-le*            *'humi,*            *ka-te*  
 younger.brother-ERG see-TPP-PCL younger.sister this-LOC  
*ra-∅-ta-le,*                      *yo-no!*            *nan ka-kāi urou-ko!'*  
 come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL look.at-p→3/IMP now this-PM call-ADH  
*ηah-∅-u-no.*            48 *libi bubu*            *hu*                      *yey-eη-ta-le*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after elder.brother younger.brother go-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*'humi,*            *yaη ka*            *kuta ya-na-n? naη-kāi ni-ye hani*  
 younger.sister today throughout where go-2s-PT you-PM we-ERG how.much  
*daη-wa-n,*            *kuta woi ma-khalam-wa-n.'* 49 *humi-ye*  
 search-1p→23-PT where also NEG-meet-1p→23-PT younger.sister-ERG  
*ηah-∅-u-no*            *'bubu-pali,*            *gāi-gāi ka-te-ko*            *jekha mi-ye*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother-p I-PM this-LOC-GEN big person-ERG  
*ra-∅-ηa-n,*            *ka-te na-∅-ηa-n.'* 50 *'nan gāi-gāi ma-thi-ne!*  
 bring-SAS-1s-PT this-LOC put-SAS-1s-PT now I-PM NEG-touch-p→1s/IMP  
*gāi baηkal cabu-le hok-ηa-du, gāi nembo-ko*            *mi tha-ηa-n,*  
 I stomach carry-PCL be-1s-NPT I other.person-GEN person be-1s-PT  
*nan niη ya-ne!'* 51 *bubu*            *hu-ye*                      *'nan oste-ko*  
 now you(p) go-p/IMP elder.brother younger.brother-ERG now self-GEN  
*nem-te hen-ko, hara-kāi hok-na-du?'* *ηay-eη-du beryaη,*  
 house-LOC go-ADH what-PM be-2s-NPT say-pAS-NPT that.time  
*hen-eη-no.*            52 *humi-ye*            *ηah-∅-u-no*            *'nan gāi huca*  
 take-pAS-3→3/PT younger.sister-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I child

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47 One of the younger brothers, seeing her said 'look, all of you, our younger sister has come here, now we must call her to come!' 48 And then all the brothers went and said 'younger sister, where have you been up to this day? We searched so much for you, but [until now] didn't find you.' 49 And the younger sister said 'elder brothers, the chief of this place brought me and installed me here.' 50 'Now you(p) please don't touch me! I am pregnant and I have become the woman of another man, please go now!' 51 The brothers said 'now let's go back home, why would you stay here?' and while saying this, they took her with them. 52 The younger sister said 'but when I have given birth to the child, whose shall I say that it is? What clan should it be given?'

*nik-ŋa libi, su-ko ŋa-sa? hara thar pi-sa?*  
 give.birth-CNS after who-GEN say-INF what clan give-INF  
 53 *bubu-ye 'nan naŋ huca nik-ŋa libi, naŋ-ko huca*  
 elder.brother-ERG now you child give.birth-CNS after you-GEN child  
*thaŋmi tha-Ø-du, thar-guri roimirati tha-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le*  
 Thangmi be-SAS-NPT clan-IND Roimirati be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no. 54 libi to nis-ka huca nik-Ø-an,*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that two-HNC child give.birth-SAS-3S/PT  
*huca-pali jekha thay-eŋ-an. 55 libi rapeŋ soŋ-te*  
 child-p big be-pAS-3S/PT after large.edible.frog river-LOC  
*rapeŋ dany-eŋ-no, di-ka-ye catok*  
 large.edible.frog search-pAS-3→3/PT one-HNC-ERG flaming.torch  
*cum-Ø-u-no, di-ka-ye nam-to-le daŋ-Ø-u-no. 56 tyaj*  
 hold-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-HNC-ERG smell-TPP-PCL search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then  
*libi bubu-pali-ye nam-Ø-u-du-kăi namkha, catok*  
 after elder.brother-p-ERG smell-SAS-3P-NPT-PM Namkha flaming.torch  
*cum-Ø-u-du-kăi cathok, ŋay-eŋ-to-le thar piy-eŋ-no.*  
 hold-SAS-3P-NPT-PM Cathok say-pAS-TPP-PCL clan give-pAS-3→3/PT  
 57 *naleŋ woi thaŋmi-ŋaŋ ka thar-pali hok-eŋ-du. 58 nis-ka*  
 present also Thangmi-inside this clan-p be-pAS-NPT two-HNC  
*apa ama-ko huca-pali naleŋ sakalei thăi-te hok-eŋ-du.*  
 father mother-GEN child-p present all place-LOC be-pAS-NPT  
 59 *naleŋ woi thaŋmi ŋa-to-le, su-ye woi ma-ŋosăiy-eŋ.*  
 present also Thangmi say-TPP-PCL who-ERG also NEG-recognise-pAS

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53 And one of the elder brothers said 'now when your child is born, he will be a Thangmi, but his clan shall be known as Roimirati.' 54 She then gave birth to twins, and they grew up. 55 Later, in a river where frogs lived, they went searching for large edible frogs. One held a flaming torch while the other searched for them by sniffing. 56 Then the elder brothers gave the one who sniffed [frogs] the clan name Namkha, and the one who carried the flaming torch the clan name Cathok. 57 And up until this day, these clans are present among the Thangmi. 58 At present, the children of that [original] father and mother can be found inhabiting all kinds of different places. 59 But even now, nobody knows who the Thangmi are.

60 *nan thaŋmi-pali di-ka tha-ko, oste-ko thar pi-to-le*  
 now Thangmi-p one-HNC be-ADH self-GEN *clan* give-TPP-PCL  
*ŋosăi-si-ko!*  
 recognise-REF-ADH

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60 Now we Thangmi people should be united, let us recognise one another and the clan names that we have been given!

## DOG RESTING PLACE

- 1 *thaŋmi di-ka apa ama-ko huca-pali thay-eŋ-le woi,*  
Thangmi one-HNC father mother-GEN child-p be-pAS-PCL also  
*yamiryay di-ka-ye di-ka-kăi ma-ŋosăiy-eŋ. 2 naleŋ*  
nowadays one-HNC-ERG one-HNC-PM NEG-recognise-pAS present  
*thaŋmi-pali oste-ko thar day-sa, kuta kuta let-le hok-eŋ-du.*  
Thangmi-p self-GEN clan search-INF where where appear-PCL be-pAS-NPT
- 3 *yay-yiŋ habi, oste-ko thar ŋa-sa-kăi aŋal-eŋ-thyo.*  
today-ABL before self-GEN clan say-INF-PM be.ashamed-pAS-3SCOND
- 4 *'thaŋmi ŋay-eŋ-no-be, thaŋmi ŋay-eŋ-du, hara kuta*  
Thangmi say-pAS-3→3/PT-TOP Thangmi say-pAS-NPT what where  
*hok-Ø-du, ka mi su?' ŋa-to-le sakalei dany-eŋ-thyo.*  
be-SAS-NPT this person who say-TPP-PCL all search-pAS-3SCOND
- 5 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le, begale name thar piy-eŋ-no.*  
this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL other name clan give-pAS-3→3/PT
- 6 *naleŋ-guri nan ni thaŋmi thay-i-du, nan thaŋmi-kăi hyate*  
present-IND now we Thangmi be-1pPS-NPT now Thangmi-PM up  
*hen-ko măi-Ø-du. 7 ŋosăi-si-ko măi-Ø-du. 8 ni-ko*  
take-ADH must-SAS-NPT recognise-REF-ADH must-SAS-NPT we-GEN  
*cyapju-ye dewa loŋ-Ø-u-du thăi naleŋ woi hok-Ø-du.*  
forefather-ERG god do-SAS-3P-NPT place present also be-SAS-NPT
- 9 *naleŋ to dewa sakalei jom-eŋ-ta-le naka*  
present that god all gather.together-pAS-IPP-PCL new

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1 Even though all Thangmi people are the descendants of the first Thangmi father and mother, these days we don't even recognise one another. 2 At present a few Thangmi people are attempting to search for their own clan names. 3 Some time ago, [Thangmi] people were ashamed to talk of their own clan names. 4 'Thangmi, what's a Thangmi? Where do they live and what kind of people are they?', people said as they searched for them. 5 In this way, [Thangmi] people give other names and clans [when asked]. 6 But now we say that we are Thangmi, and it's time for the Thangmi people to rise up. 7 We should know and recognise each other. 8 The place in which our forefather worshipped still exists to this day. 9 At present, all the village people have come together and are in the process of building a new temple.

*khem-eŋ-le* *nay-eŋ-du.* 10 *to* *bhumya* *dī-ka-ko* *ma-tha,* *sakalei*  
 build-PAS-PCL put-PAS-NPT that earth.god one-HNC-GEN NEG-be all  
*mi-ko* *tha-Ø-du.* 11 *ya-yo-ko,* *apraca* *hok-Ø-du.* 12 *ṭhoŋe*  
 person-GEN be-SAS-NPT go-look.at-ADH good be-SAS-NPT old.man  
*mi-pali-ye* *ŋay-eŋ-du* ‘*to* *bhumya* *amamakaleŋ* *to* *ṭhāi-te*  
 person-p-ERG say-PAS-NPT that earth.god long.time.ago that place-LOC  
*ma-hok-Ø-ta-le* *cawa-Ø-thyo.*’ 13 ‘*mi-pali-ye* *hen-eŋ-to-le*  
 NEG-be-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3SCOND person-p-ERG take-PAS-TPP-PCL  
*nay-eŋ-du,* *woi* *ra-Ø-thyo,* *libi* *to*  
 put-PAS-NPT also come.from.level-SAS-3SCOND after that  
*ra-Ø-du* *ulam-te* *kucu* *pal-eŋ-to-le* *nay-eŋ-no.*’  
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT road-LOC dog chop-PAS-TPP-PCL put-PAS-3→3/PT  
 14 *na-ŋa* *libi,* *to* *bhumya* *to-te* *hok-Ø-an,* *tyaŋ-guri* *dewa*  
 put-CNS after that earth.god that-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT then-IND god  
*to-te* *lony-eŋ-no.* 15 *naleŋ* *to-te* *jekha* *brusiŋ-ko* *pole*  
 that-LOC do-PAS-3→3/PT present that-LOC big *Prunus.puddum*-GEN tree  
*hok-Ø-du.*  
 be-SAS-NPT

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10 This earth god does not belong to just one person, it is everyone’s. 11 Let’s go and look, it’s beautiful. 12 The old people say ‘a long long time ago, that earth god wouldn’t stay put in that place, but would wander around.’ 13 ‘People would fetch the god and put it back, but it would just come down again, so after some time, they slaughtered a dog on the path that the god walked along and left it there.’ 14 Having put it [the dead dog] there, the earth god stayed in that place, and from then on the rituals have been conducted there. 15 Now there is a big wild cherry tree in that very place.

## THE STORY OF THE JACKAL

- 1 *di-gore dese-te di-gore säi-Ø-du loṇe hok-Ø-thyo.*  
 one-CLF village-LOC one-CLF know-SAS-NPT jackal be-SAS-3SCOND
- 2 *loṇe dese-ko sakalei wa-pali gwi-to-le cya-Ø-thyo.*  
 jackal village-GEN all chicken-p steal-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3SCOND
- 3 *habi-guri oste 'gwi kyel-Ø-an!' ṇa-to-le arṭik-Ø-an.*  
 before-IND self thief come-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL shout-SAS-3S/PT
- 4 *mi-pali gwi yo-sa-kăi priṇ let-eṇ-ta-le*  
 person-p thief look.at-INF-PM outside appear-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*yoy-eṇ-thyo, di-basa-yiṇ hen-Ø-u-thyo. 5 di uni, di-ka*  
 look.at-pAS-3SCOND one-side-ABL take-SAS-3P-3SCOND one day one-HNC
- mi-ye to-kăi sat-sa daṇ-Ø-u-no. 6 di uni, loṇe-ye*  
 person-ERG that-PM kill-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day jackal-ERG
- wa-kăi haṭyap-Ø-u-thyo, mi-ye nih-Ø-u-no.*  
 chicken-PM assault-SAS-3P-3SCOND person-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 7 *ni-to-le, to loṇe-kăi aspăiy-Ø-u-no. 8 libi to*  
 see-TPP-PCL that jackal-PM beat.severely-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that
- loṇe woi säi-Ø-thyo, taṇ-Ø-an. 9 ka niy-eṇ-to-le,*  
 jackal also know-SAS-3SCOND be.happy-SAS-3S/PT this see-pAS-TPP-PCL
- sakalei mi-pali kyel-eṇ-an yoy-eṇ-no. 10 to loṇe-be*  
 all person-p come-pAS-3S/PT look.at-pAS-3→3/PT that jackal-TOP
- nui-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-du. 11 libi to-kăi ulam-ko bosiq*  
 laugh-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-NPT after that-PM road-LOC *Alnus.nepalensis*

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1 In a certain village, there lived a very clever jackal. 2 Stealing all the chickens in the village, that jackal would eat them up. 3 Before [a raid], he [the jackal] would himself shout out 'the thief has come!' 4 People would come outside to look for the thief, and while they were looking, he [the jackal] would take [a chicken] from the other side. 5 One day, a person tried to kill him [the jackal]. 6 And then one day, when the jackal sprung upon a chicken, the person saw it. 7 Seeing this, he [the man] beat him [the jackal] severely. 8 Then that jackal, being so clever, made out as if he enjoyed it. 9 Seeing this, all the people came and looked on. 10 That crazy jackal was just sitting there smiling. 11 After that, they tied him [the jackal] up with string and hung him up from a black cedar tree along the road.

*pole-te sakpa-ye chyuy-eŋ-to-le, ci-kutiriny-eŋ-no.* 12 *ulam-te*  
 tree-LOC string-INS tie-pAS-TPP-PCL CAUS-hang.up-pAS-3→3/PT road-LOC  
*caway-eŋ-du-pali-ye ŋey-eŋ-no, to nuiy-Ø-an.* 13 *di-ka*  
 walk-pAS-NPT-p-ERG beat-pAS-3→3/PT that laugh-sAS-3S/PT one-HNC  
*ma-săi-Ø-du mi to ulam-yiŋ ra-Ø-thyo,*  
 NEG-know-sAS-NPT person that road-ABL come.from.level-sAS-3SCOND  
*loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘găi-găi jun-aŋ, bubu!’* 14 *to*  
 jackal-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM push-s→1s/IMP elder.brother that  
*mi-ye jun-Ø-u-no, ahe taŋ-Ø-an, tyaŋ*  
 person-ERG push-sAS-3P-3→3/PT very be.happy-sAS-3S/PT then  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘loŋe, nan let-a! găi hok-ŋa-du.’* 15 *loŋe-ye*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT jackal now appear-s/IMP I be-1s-NPT jackal-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘găi ma-let, ka uniŋ thăi-te hok-sa-be jekha*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I NEG-appear this like place-LOC be-INF-TOP big  
*mi tha-ko măi-Ø-du.’* 16 *‘ma-tha, naŋ let-a! găi*  
 person be-ADH must-sAS-NPT NEG-be you appear-s/IMP I  
*kutiriŋ-si-ŋa-du.’* 17 *‘ja-Ø-du, găi-găi ka sakpa phet-aŋ!*  
 hang.up-REF-1s-NPT okay-sAS-NPT I-PM this rope undo-s→1s/IMP  
*tyaŋ libi naŋ-kăi chyua-na-ŋa-du.’* 18 *‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le,*  
 then after you-PM tie-2s-1s-NPT okay-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*mi-ye phet-Ø-u-no, libi to-kăi to pole-te chyuh-Ø-u-no.*  
 person-ERG undo-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after that-PM that tree-LOC tie-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 19 *oste-guri dese-te wa cya-sa-kăi dorok-Ø-an.* 20 *nan ulam*  
 self-IND village-LOC chicken eat-INF-PM run-sAS-3S/PT now road

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12 People walking along the road beat him, but he [the jackal] only laughed. 13 A rather stupid man [lit. unknowing] came walking along that road one day, and the jackal said to him, ‘elder brother, give me a little push!’ 14 That [stupid] person pushed him and the jackal was most pleased, then the man said to him ‘all right then jackal, now come out! I’ll take your place.’ 15 And the jackal replied ‘I’m not coming out, you have to be a really important person to live in a place like this.’ 16 ‘No way, you come out! I am going to hang myself up’ [the stupid man said]. 17 ‘Okay, then, undo this rope [tied around me]! Then I will tie you up’ [said the jackal]. 18 ‘Okay’ said the man, and he untied the jackal who then afterwards tied him to that very tree. 19 And then what he [the jackal] did was to run off to the village to eat some chickens. 20 Now people walking along the road beat that person thinking that he was the jackal.



*caway-ey-du mi-pali-ye to mi-kăi, loŋe ŋa-to-le,*  
 walk-PAS-NPT person-p-ERG that person-PM jackal say-TPP-PCL  
*ŋey-ey-no. 21 libi to mi runrun thah-Ø-an, bophura.*  
 beat-PAS-3→3/PT after that person weak be-SAS-3S/PT pity  
 22 *di-ka mi-ye di uni to-kăi phet-Ø-u-no ŋaŋ to*  
 one-HNC person-ERG one day that-PM undo-SAS-3P-3→3/PT and that  
*let-Ø-an. 23 nan to mi rage tha-Ø-ta-le, loŋe nama*  
 appear-SAS-3S/PT now that person anger be-SAS-IPP-PCL jackal with  
*lakpa nampa-sa-kăi daŋ-Ø-u-no. 24 daŋ-daŋ-ăi, di uni*  
 limb fight-INF-PM search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT search-search-CON one day  
*wa-ca gwi-sa beryaŋ khalam-Ø-u-no. 25 libi cum-to-le*  
 chicken-DIM steal-INF that.time meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after hold-TPP-PCL  
*to loŋe-kăi jyoh-Ø-u-no.*  
 that jackal-PM burn-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

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21 And then that [stupid] man became weak and ill, poor thing. 22 One day, some guy untied him and he came down. 23 Then he became really angry and went out searching for the jackal to fight with him. 24 Searching and searching, one day he found it [the jackal] stealing a little chicken. 25 Once he'd got hold of that jackal, he burnt him alive.

## SIXTEEN SACRED STONES

- 1 *thaŋmi-ko nem-te mosani ci-po-sa-kǎi 'dicip-mat ɲiŋ*  
 Thangmi-GEN house-LOC spirit CAUS-chase-INF-PM ten-six stone  
*hap-sa' ɲay-eŋ-du.* 2 *ka loŋ-sa-kǎi naka nem, 'ma-thaŋ-Ø-du*  
 throw-INF say-PAS-NPT this do-INF-PM new house NEG-be.well-SAS-NPT  
*nem', cic-ariy-Ø-u-du nem-te lony-eŋ-du.* 3 *ka loŋ-sa-kǎi*  
 house CAUS-be.afraid-SAS-3P-NPT house-LOC do-PAS-NPT this do-INF-PM  
*thaŋmi-ko guru-pali-ye lony-eŋ-du.* 4 *syaŋu ɲiŋ*  
 Thangmi-GEN shaman-p-ERG do-PAS-NPT white.flint stone  
*them-to-le, sum ʒoke ci-gap-ko mǎi-Ø-du.*  
 break.into.pieces-TPP-PCL three half.kilo CAUS-be.enough-ADH must-SAS-NPT  
 5 *sum ʒoke aŋek-si-Ø-du saŋa-ko phase, di karpak*  
 three half.kilo roast-REF-SAS-NPT millet-GEN flour one armful  
*catok na-ko mǎi-Ø-du.* 6 *libi guru*  
 flaming.torch put-ADH must-SAS-NPT after shaman  
*ra-Ø-ta-le, oste-ko wakhe-yiŋ mut-Ø-u-du.*  
 come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN word-ABL blow-SAS-3P-NPT  
 7 *di-ka-ye catok cum-ko mǎi-Ø-du, guru-ye to*  
 one-HNC-ERG flaming.torch hold-ADH must-SAS-NPT shaman-ERG that  
*sum ʒoke syaŋu ɲiŋ cum-to-le nem-kǎi tup-Ø-u-du,*  
 three half.kilo white.flint stone hold-TPP-PCL house-PM strike-SAS-3P-NPT  
*nem duŋ-ŋaŋ, khaŋe-te.* 8 *di-ka-ye nama nama*  
 house within-inside upper.floor-LOC one-HNC-ERG with with

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1 Driving spirits from a Thangmi house is known as 'throwing the sixteen stones.' 2 This is done for new houses, 'sick' houses and in haunted houses. 3 Thangmi shamans are the ones who do this. 4 White flint stones are broken into pieces, about one and a half kilos are sure to be enough. 5 About a kilo and a half of roasted millet flour and one armful [bundle] of sticks used for making torches must also be collected. 6 Then the shaman comes and, speaking his own secret words, blows. 7 One person must hold the flaming torch while the shaman grabs white flint stones, and throws them wildly against the walls of the house, both inside and on the upper floors. 8 One person, having set the torch alight and while holding it, must throw millet flour into the flames.

*catok ci-ti-to-le lyamlyam-te saŋa-ko phase*  
 flaming.torch CAUS-burn-TPP-PCL flame-LOC millet-GEN flour  
*li-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 9 libi to ti-Ø-du, tyaŋ nem*  
 broadcast-ADH must-SAS-NPT after that burn-SAS-NPT then house  
*duŋ-ŋaŋ jyou-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 10 nan to-te-ko mosani priŋ*  
 within-inside burn-ADH must-SAS-NPT now that-LOC-GEN spirit outside  
*ci-let-Ø-u-du tyaŋ libi libi poh-Ø-u-du. 11 libi guru*  
 CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-NPT then after after chase-SAS-3P-NPT after shaman  
*nem-te hok-Ø-du, mosani ya-Ø-du. 12 dese-mi-pali ka uniŋ*  
 house-LOC be-SAS-NPT spirit go-SAS-NPT village-person-p this like  
*ŋay-eŋ-to-le dewa lony-eŋ-du. 13 mosani po-ca po-ca*  
 say-pAS-TPP-PCL god do-pAS-NPT spirit chase-PSG chase-PSG  
*hen-Ø-u-du soŋ-te ka. 14 soŋ-te ya-let-Ø-ta-le,*  
 take-SAS-3P-NPT river-LOC throughout river-LOC go-appear-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*guru-ye syusyuk-si-Ø-du mosani urouh-Ø-u-du. 15 mosani*  
 shaman-ERG whistle-REF-SAS-NPT spirit call-SAS-3P-NPT spirit  
*ra-ŋa libi, guru-ye sat-Ø-u-du, tyaŋ*  
 come.from.level-CNS after shaman-ERG kill-SAS-3P-NPT then  
*ma-thaŋ-Ø-du nem-ko mi roloŋ-Ø-du. 16 ni-ko*  
 NEG-be.well-SAS-NPT house-GEN person recover-SAS-NPT we-GEN  
*dese-ko guru-pali-ye woi ka uniŋ lony-eŋ-du.*  
 village-GEN shaman-p-ERG also this like do-pAS-NPT

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9 That then burns and then the inside of the house is set alight. 10 Now the spirit that is there is made to come out and is then chased away. 11 Then the shaman sits down in the house and the spirit leaves [forever]. 12 This is the way that village people propitiate the gods. 13 The spirit is chased and chased, all the way to the river. 14 Arriving at the river, the shaman whistles and calls. 15 Once the spirit has come the shaman kills it, and then the person of the ‘sick’ house recovers. 16 The shamans of our village do it just like this.

## RUNNING AWAY TO KATHMANDU

- 1 *di-ka camăica di uni ama nama kiḍi-Ø-ta-le, jekha*  
 one-HNC woman one day mother with fight-SAS-IPP-PCL big  
*dese cawa-Ø-du. 2 to nembo camăica-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le.*  
 village walk-SAS-NPT that other.person woman-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL
- 3 *di uni-ko wakhe: to dilaj-te hok-Ø-du, to-ko*  
 one day-GEN word that stone.resting.place-LOC be-SAS-NPT that-GEN  
*dese-ko begale camăica jekha dese-te hok-Ø-du. 4 di uni*  
 village-GEN other woman big village-LOC be-SAS-NPT one day  
*nem dăi ra-Ø-du beryaj, dilaj-te*  
 house towards come.from.level-SAS-NPT that.time stone.resting.place-LOC  
*hok-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-du. 5 to camăica nama wakhe loḅ-Ø-u-du*  
 be-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-NPT that woman with word do-SAS-3P-NPT  
*'humi, naḅ găi nama jet loḅ-sa jekha dese ya-na-du?'*  
 younger.sister you I with work do-INF big village go-2s-NPT  
*ḅah-Ø-u-no. 6 to-ye woi 'ya-ḅa-du' ḅah-Ø-u-no, 'hara*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG also go-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT what  
*jet hok-Ø-du?'* 7 *'miḅ toḅ-sa jet hok-Ø-du' ḅah-Ø-u-no.*  
 work be-SAS-NPT cloth wash-INF work be-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 8 *'kutaleḅ hen-sa? nama hen-aḅ! găi woi ya-ḅa-du.'*  
 when go-INF with take-s→1s/IMP I also go-1s-NPT
- 9 *'baḅhe băsinḅe hen-ko, nama nama ya-ta-i-le jekha dese*  
 tomorrow morning go-ADH with with go-IPP-1pps-PCL big village

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1 One day, a woman argues with her mother and goes off to the big village. 2 She had listened to the words of another woman. 3 And this is what had happened: one day, she was sitting at a stone resting place, [and heard about] another woman from her village who lived in the big village. 4 One day, one her way back home, she saw her [the other woman] sitting at the resting place. 5 She spoke with that woman, who said 'younger sister, will you go with me and work in the big village?' 6 And she said 'I'll go, what is the work?' 7 'The work is washing clothes', she said. 8 'When do we leave? Take me with you! I'll definitely go.' 9 'Let's go tomorrow morning, going together we should have a look around the city.'

*yo-ko mǎi-Ø-du.*' 10 *tyaŋ ʔaye oste-ko nem-te ya-Ø-du*  
 look.at-ADH must-SAS-NPT then night self-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-NPT  
*beryaŋ, ama-ye ɲeh-Ø-u-no, kaʔah-Ø-an.* 11 *bǎsiŋʔe*  
 that.time mother-ERG beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT scold-SAS-3S/PT morning  
*thah-Ø-an, habi syaŋ-ko camǎica khalam-Ø-u-no, naka dese*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT before period-GEN woman meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT new village  
*yo-sa caway-eŋ-an.* 12 *jekha dese*  
 look.at-INF walk-pAS-3S/PT big village  
*ra-let-eŋ-an, nama ra-Ø-du camǎica*  
 come.from.level-appear-pAS-3S/PT with come.from.level-SAS-NPT woman  
*tam-Ø-an.* 13 *'nan kuta hen-sa?'* *ɲa-to-le*  
 get.lost-SAS-3S/PT now where go-INF say-TPP-PCL  
*yoh-Ø-u-no, to-te kerep-Ø-an.* 14 *libi di-gore jekha*  
 look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC cry-SAS-3S/PT after one-CLF big  
*nem-te ya-let-Ø-an, to-te-ko mi-ye to-kǎi 'kuta-yiŋ*  
 house-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT that-LOC-GEN person-ERG that-PM where-ABL  
*ra-na-n?'* *ɲah-Ø-u-no.* 15 *to-ye ɲah-Ø-u-no 'gǎi*  
 come.from.level-2s-PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I  
*ucya dese-yiŋ ra-ɲa-n, kuta ra-let-ɲa-n,*  
 small village-ABL come.from.level-1s-PT where come.from.level-appear-1s-PT  
*gǎi-be ma-sǎi.*' 16 *'gǎi nan jarphu hok-Ø-du ʔǎi-te*  
 I-TOP NEG-know I now elder.sister's.husband be-SAS-NPT place-LOC  
*ya-ɲa-du.'* 17 *'gǎi-gǎi gǎi-go jarphu hok-Ø-du ʔǎi-te*  
 go-1s-NPT I-PM I-GEN elder.sister's.husband be-SAS-NPT place-LOC

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10 Then, when she went to her own home at night, her mother beat and scolded her. 11 Then it was morning, and she met with the woman from the day before, and they set off to look around the new city. 12 They arrived in the city, and then the woman with whom she came got lost. 13 'Where to go now?' she thought, looking around, and started to cry right there. 14 Later she arrived at a big house, and a person there asked her 'where have you come from?' 15 She said 'I have come from a small village, but where I now am, I have no idea.' 16 'Now I will go to where my brother-in-law lives' [she said]. 17 'Take me to where my brother-in-law lives!', she said.

*ya-ci-let-aŋ!*’ *ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 18 *libi jarphu*  
 go-CAUS-appear-s→1s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after elder.sister’s.husband  
*hok-Ø-du ʔhǎi-te ya-ci-let-Ø-u-no,* *to-te hok-Ø-an.*  
 be-SAS-NPT place-LOC go-CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT  
 19 *libi jarphu thombe thah-Ø-an,* *‘kuta-yiŋ, hara-kǎi*  
 after elder.sister’s.husband surprise be-SAS-3S/PT where-ABL what-PM  
*ama torta-to-le ra-na-n?’* *ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 20 *‘nan*  
 mother leave-TPP-PCL come.from.level-2s-PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now  
*naŋ-kǎi gǎ-ye baʔhe nem dǎi hen-na-ŋa-du, naŋ nem-te*  
 you-PM I-ERG tomorrow house towards take-2s-1s-NPT you house-LOC  
*hen-ko mǎi-Ø-du.’* 21 *‘gǎi si-ŋa-le woi, nem dǎi ma-ya,*  
 go-ADH must-SAS-NPT I die-CNS-PCL also house towards NEG-go  
*ka dǎi jet loŋ-tuŋ-le hok-ŋa-du.’* 22 *jarphu-kǎi*  
 this towards work do-1s/TPP-PCL be-1s-NPT elder.sister’s.husband-PM  
*nan hara loŋ-sa, kuta hen-to-le jet ci-loŋ-sa thah-Ø-an.*  
 now what do-INF where take-TPP-PCL work CAUS-do-INF be-SAS-3S/PT  
 23 *libi ka wakhe tete-ye nasǎiy-Ø-u-no,* *‘gǎi-go*  
 after this word elder.sister-ERG hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN  
*ʔhone-ye humi bore loŋ-Ø-u-no’* *ŋa-to-le.*  
 old.man-ERG younger.sister marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL  
 24 *bore loŋ-Ø-u-du-be ma-tha, oste ra-Ø-ta-le*  
 marriage do-SAS-3P-NPT-TOP NEG-be self come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*hok-Ø-du, libi tete jekha dese rah-Ø-an.*  
 be-SAS-NPT after elder.sister big village come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT

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18 Then someone took her to where her brother-in-law lived, and she stayed there. 19 Then brother-in-law was surprised and said ‘whence and why have you come, leaving your mother?’ 20 ‘Now I am taking you homewards tomorrow, you must go home’ [he said]. 21 ‘Even if I die I won’t go home, I’m gonna stay around here and work.’ 22 Now what could brother-in-law do, he took her somewhere and found her some work to do. 23 Later elder sister came to hear of this, and thought ‘my husband has run off with my younger sister.’ 24 It wasn’t that she had run off with him, she had come of her own accord, and later elder sister came to the city [to find her].

25 *humi lawa-kǎi ni-to-le rage thah-Ø-an.* 26 *'naŋ*  
 younger.sister husband-PM see-TPP-PCL anger be-SAS-3S/PT you  
*ka-te hara-kǎi ra-na-n? nan naŋ-kǎi ɲe-na-ŋa-du,*  
 this-LOC what-PM come.from.level-2s-PT now you-PM beat-2s-1s-NPT  
*oste-ko nem dǎi ya-Ø, gǎi-go lawa nama hok-sa ma-mǎi'*  
 self-GEN house towards go-s/IMP I-GEN husband with be-INF NEG-must  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 27 *humi kerep-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-an, libi*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister cry-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3S/PT after  
*tete-ye miŋ toŋ-sa jet daŋ-to-le nah-Ø-u-no.*  
 elder.sister-ERG cloth wash-INF work search-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

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25 Seeing her younger sister and husband, she became angry. 26 'Why have you come here? Now I am going to beat you, go back to your own home, you shouldn't be living here with my husband', she said. 27 Younger sister sat there crying, and later her elder sister found a place for her to work washing clothes and left her there.

## POOR MAN'S BURDEN

1 *di-ka mi ulam-te nis-gore lak kapu-te na-to-le*  
 one-HNC person road-LOC two-CLF hand head-LOC put-TPP-PCL  
*hok-Ø-thyo.* 2 *sum uni jhari yu-Ø-ta-le,* *aṭṭhe ṭila*  
 be-SAS-3SCOND three day rain come.from.above-SAS-IPP-PCL very cold  
*tha-le hok-Ø-thyo.* 3 *to-ko maṇ thaṇṇa miny-e piriṇ-ko*  
 be-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND that-GEN body old cloth-ERG outside-GEN  
*ṭila kho-sa jet loṇ-Ø-u-du.* 4 *to-ye, to mi*  
 cold protect-INF work do-SAS-3P-NPT that-ERG that person  
*kakaṭakkokoṭok tha-le hok-Ø-thyo.* 5 *ka dāi ṭila aṭṭhe*  
 frozen.solid be-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND this towards cold very  
*tha-Ø-du, dha dāi pepelek-guri uchinca tha-Ø-du.* 6 *jhari*  
 be-SAS-NPT that.distant towards money-IND little be-SAS-NPT rain  
*yu-sa habi, oli uni ka jet*  
 come.from.above-INF before four day throughout work  
*ma-khalam-Ø-u-no.* 7 *isa ma-cya-Ø-du woi nis uni*  
 NEG-receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT food NEG-eat-SAS-NPT also two day  
*thah-Ø-an.* 8 *habi syaṇ jekha mi-ko naka miṇ-pali na-sa*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT before period big person-GEN new cloth-p put-INF  
*jet loṇ-Ø-u-no, begale hara woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 9 *to*  
 work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT other what also NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND that  
*tha-Ø-ta-le, to-ye jet daṇ-Ø-u-no.* 10 *'hara woi jet*  
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL that-ERG work search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT what also work

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1 There was man who was sitting on a path with both hands on his head. 2 It having rained for three days, it had become very cold. 3 The old clothes on his body protect him from the cold outside. 4 Because of this [the weather], that man was frozen solid. 5 On the one hand he's freezing, and on the other, he has only a little money [i.e. both sides of the coin are bleak]. 6 Before the rains had started, he hadn't had work for three days. 7 He also hadn't eaten for two days. 8 The day before [the rains had started], he had worked stacking new clothes for a wealthy man [in his shop], but after that there was no more work. 9 On account of this he had searched for work. 10 Thinking to himself 'will I get any work or not?', he looked at the faces of the people who passed close by him.



*khalam-u-n-du ra?*’ *ŋa-to-le,* *oste kherte ya-Ø-du mi-ko*  
 receive-3P-1s→3-NPT or say-TPP-PCL self near go-SAS-NPT person-GEN  
*khen-te yoh-Ø-u-no.* 11 *di-ka mi-ye woi to-ko*  
 face-LOC look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-HNC person-ERG also that-GEN  
*kapu-te lak-e thi-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no:* 12 *‘naŋ-ko name*  
 head-LOC hand-INS touch-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN name  
*hara? nem kuta?’* 13 *‘gǎi-go name sukaman, gǎi-go nem arkapole.’*  
 what house where I-GEN name Sukaman I-GEN house walnut.tree  
 14 *‘hara jet loŋ-u-na-du?’* *‘jet loŋ-sa mi tha-ŋa-du, demca*  
 what work do-3P-2s-NPT work do-INF person be-1s-NPT load  
*cabuh-u-n-du.’* 15 *‘naŋ-ko demca cabu-sa hok-Ø-du ra?’*  
 carry-3P-1s→3-NPT you-GEN load carry-INF be-SAS-NPT or  
*‘hok-Ø-du.’* 16 *‘gǎ-ye ŋah-u-n-du jet loŋ-u-na-du?’* *‘loŋ-u-n-du.’*  
 be-SAS-NPT I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT work do-3P-2s-NPT do-3P-1s→3-NPT  
 17 *‘jet loŋ-sa begale dese bi-ŋa-n naleŋ demca cabu-sa*  
 work do-INF other village enter-1s-PT present load carry-INF  
*ma-khalam-u-n-uŋ.’* 18 *‘seŋ ji-sa, miŋ toŋ-sa thaŋun,*  
 NEG-receive-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT wood chop-INF cloth wash-INF maybe  
*loŋ-u-n-du.’* *‘to ma-tha.’* 19 *‘tyaŋ hara jet loŋ-sa? raŋ*  
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT that NEG-be then what work do-INF unirrigated.field  
*to-sa gǎi ma-thaŋ.’* 20 *‘habi ŋa-ŋa, gǎ-ye ŋah-u-n-du*  
 dig-INF I NEG-be.able before say-s→1s/IMP I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT  
*jet loŋ-u-na-du ra ma-loŋ?’* 21 *‘jet loŋ-u-n-du, hara jet*  
 work do-3P-2s-NPT or NEG-do work do-3P-1s→3-NPT what work

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11 One person, touching that man’s head with his hand, said: 12 ‘What is your name? Where do you live?’ 13 ‘My name is Sukaman, and I live in [the village of] Walnut Tree.’ 14 ‘What work do you do?’ ‘I am a working man, I carry loads.’ 15 ‘Do you have a load to carry or not?’ ‘I do.’ 16 ‘Will you do the work I say?’ ‘I will.’ 17 ‘I went to another village to find work, but I didn’t find any loads to carry.’ 18 ‘If it’s chopping wood or washing clothes, I’ll do it.’ ‘No, it’s not that.’ 19 ‘Then what work is it? I am not able to dig fields.’ 20 ‘First tell me, will you do the work that I say or not?’ 21 ‘Of course I’ll work, but what is the work? First tell me! I’m no thief.’

*loŋ-sa? habi ŋa-ŋa! gǎi gwi-be ma-tha.* 22 *bophura, uchinca*  
do-INF before say-s→1s/IMP I thief-TOP NEG-be pity a.little  
*rage thah-Ø-an, aprou cyuri-te hok-Ø-du mi serek-Ø-an.*  
anger be-SAS-3S/PT carrying.strap top-LOC be-SAS-NPT person arise-SAS-3S/PT  
23 *'bubu, gǎ-ye ŋiŋ them-sa mi daŋ-u-n-du, ka uniŋ*  
elder.brother I-ERG rock break-INF person search-3P-1s→3-NPT this like  
*gǎi-go jet tha-Ø-du.'* 24 *ŋiŋ them-sa jet ŋa-to-le, thombe*  
I-GEN work be-SAS-NPT rock break-INF work say-TPP-PCL surprise  
*thah-Ø-an, nan hara loŋ-sa?* 25 *nan hok-ta-ŋa-le cya-sa ma-khalam,*  
be-SAS-3S/PT now what do-INF now be-IPP-1s-PCL eat-INF NEG-receive  
*'jet loŋ-u-n-du' ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an.* 26 *nis-ka nama nama*  
work do-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT two-HNC with with  
*caway-eŋ-du beryaŋ, nem-te ya-let-eŋ-an.* 27 *nem-te, to*  
walk-pAS-NPT that.time house-LOC go-appear-pAS-3S/PT house-LOC that  
*jekha mi-ko uma kaŋah-Ø-an 'ka su mi kyel-u-na-n,*  
big person-GEN wife scold-SAS-3S/PT this who person bring-3P-2s-PT  
*hara-kǎi kyel-u-na-n, ka-ye jet loŋ-sa ma-thaŋ.'*  
what-PM bring-3P-2s-PT this-ERG work do-INF NEG-be.able  
28 *'ma-thaŋ-u-n-du jet-guri hara woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo,*  
NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-NPT work-IND what also NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND  
*naleŋ thone tha-ŋa-n.'* 29 *'niny-e gǎi-gǎi jet ŋisen-ne,*  
present old be-1s-PT you(p)-ERG I-PM work teach-p→1s/IMP  
*ja-Ø-du?'* 30 *tyaŋ to mi-ye to-te hok-Ø-ta-le, jet*  
okay-SAS-NPT then that person-ERG that-LOC be-SAS-IPP-PCL work

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22 Poor man, he had become a little angry now, and stood up from where he was sitting on his carrying strap. 23 'Elder brother, I am searching for someone to break rocks, it's like this the work that I have to offer.' 24 He was shocked that the work was breaking rocks, now what to do? 25 Now if I just sit here I won't get anything to eat [he thought], so he said 'yes, I'll do the work', and off he walked. 26 The two of them, walking together, arrived at his house. 27 Once at home, that wealthy person's wife scolded him 'who is this person you have brought [with you]? Why have you brought him? He won't be able to do the work.' 28 'There was no work that I wasn't able to do, but now I am old' [he said]. 29 'You(p) teach me the work [I have to do], is that okay?' 30 And staying in that place, that man worked

*loŋ-Ø-u-no, cya-sa woi khalam-Ø-u-no.*  
do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT eat-INF also receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

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and he also got enough to eat.

## HEN-PECKED HUSBAND

1 *di-gore dese-te apa ca hok-eṅ-thyo.* 2 *camāica*  
 one-CLF village-LOC father son be-PAS-3SCOND woman  
*ma-hok-Ø-du-be, to nem hara woi ma-tha-Ø-du uniṅ*  
 NEG-be-SAS-NPT-TOP that house what also NEG-be-SAS-NPT like  
*tha-Ø-thyo.* 3 *to-te su mi woi ma-hok-Ø-du uniṅ*  
 be-SAS-3SCOND that-LOC who person also NEG-be-SAS-NPT like  
*hok-Ø-du.* 4 *nem-ko koṭe porok-le hok-Ø-du.* 5 *'ca kutaleṅ*  
 be-SAS-NPT house-GEN wall break.up-PCL be-SAS-NPT son when  
*jekha thaṅun ṅaṅ wari bore loṅ-to-le sumaka hok-sa.'*  
 big maybe and daughter.in.law marriage do-TPP-PCL silence be-INF  
 6 *libi ca calāuni uniṅ jekha thah-Ø-an ṅaṅ sarma thah-Ø-an.*  
 after son moon like big be-SAS-3S/PT and strong be-SAS-3S/PT  
 7 *di uni, ami-Ø-du beryaṅ, to-ye 'nan wari*  
 one day sleep-SAS-NPT that.time that-ERG now daughter.in.law  
*kyel-ṅa libi, gāi hok-sa nik-ṅa-du' ṅah-Ø-u-no.* 8 *'nan*  
 bring-CNS after I be-INF receive-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now  
*wari kyel-ṅa libi, gāi taṅ-ṅa-du.'* 9 *'bakoṭek jet*  
 daughter.in.law bring-CNS after I be.happy-1s-NPT half work  
*wari-ye loṅ-Ø-u-du, ne-sa ṅe-sa jet sakalei*  
 daughter.in.law-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT grind-INF thresh-INF work all  
*loṅ-Ø-u-du.'* 10 *'di uni ka raṅ-te jet*  
 do-SAS-3P-NPT one day throughout unirrigated.field-LOC work

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1 There once were a father and son who lived in a village. 2 Since there were no women living there, the house felt as if it were empty. 3 It's like nobody lived there. 4 The walls of the house were breaking up. 5 'When son is grown up, then maybe I can get a daughter-in-law and I will be able to live in peace' [the old man thought]. 6 Later the son became as big and strong as the moon. 7 One day, while sleeping, he thought 'now once I've brought a daughter-in-law, then I can finally live in peace.' 8 'Now, once I've brought a daughter-in-law I will be happy.' 9 'The daughter-in-law will do half of the work, and she'll do all the grinding and threshing.' 10 'Having worked in the fields all day she'll even cook dinner in the evening so I won't have to.'

*loŋ-to-le, nyoŋi woi isa ken uman-sa, gǎ-ye ma-mǎi.*  
 do-TPP-PCL evening also food vegetable.curry cook-INF I-ERG NEG-must  
 11 *'nan isa ken loŋ-sa beryaŋ, pebu-te jet*  
 now food vegetable.curry do-INF that.time irrigated.field-LOC work  
*loŋ-u-n-du.'* 12 *'tyaŋ sum-ka-kǎi apraca nama cya-sa*  
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT then three-HNC-PM good with eat-INF  
*nik-i-du.'* 13 *libi to serek-Ø-du beryaŋ, athaŋ tha-Ø-ta-le.*  
 receive-1pps-NPT after that arise-SAS-NPT that.time light be-SAS-IPP-PCL  
 14 *ṭila-ko uni, cereŋcereŋ uni woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 15 *ca jekha*  
 cold-GEN day scorching sun also NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND son big  
*tha-le woi, dikaca jet loŋ-sa ma-thaŋ.* 16 *to tha-Ø-ta-le,*  
 be-PCL also alone work do-INF NEG-be.able that be-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*apa-ye camǎica wari daŋ-sa cawah-Ø-an.* 17 *ya-ya*  
 father-ERG woman daughter.in.law search-INF walk-SAS-3S/PT go-go  
*woi, dha-te ya-let-ŋa libi, di-ka camǎica nama wakhe*  
 also that.distant-LOC go-appear-CNS after one-HNC woman with word  
*loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 18 *oste-ko jat tha-Ø-ta-le, to-bany-e woi*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT self-GEN caste be-SAS-IPP-PCL that-Pp-ERG also  
*'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le camǎi pi-sa thay-eŋ-an.* 19 *nis-ka*  
 okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL daughter give-INF be-PAS-3S/PT two-HNC  
*woi ucyaca mi thay-eŋ-ta-le 'ahe mi woi ra-ko ma-ja,*  
 also small person be-PAS-IPP-PCL many person also bring-ADH NEG-okay  
*ni-ye cya-sa tun-sa pi-sa ma-thaŋ' ŋay-eŋ-no.* 20 *apa*  
 we-ERG eat-INF drink-INF give-INF NEG-be.able say-PAS-3→3/PT father

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11 'When she's cooking, I can be working in the paddy fields.' 12 'Then the three of us will be able to eat well.' 13 When he got up, [he noticed that] it had already become light. 14 It was a cold day, the sun wasn't scorching. 15 Although the son had grown up, he was still unable to work alone. 16 On account of this, the father set off to look for a woman [to be a] daughter-in-law. 17 Travelling in this way, having reached that point over there, he spoke with a woman [he met]. 18 Being of the same caste, they [her parents] said 'okay' and agreed to give their daughter. 19 On account of both of them being poor [lit. small] people, they said 'don't invite too many people [to the wedding], we won't be able to give them food or drink.' 20 Both the father and son went to the woman's house.

*ca nis-ka, camăica-ko nem-te yey-eŋ-an.* 21 *tyaŋ wari*  
 son two-HNC woman-GEN house-LOC go-pAS-3S/PT then daughter.in.law  
*kyel-eŋ-to-le, nem-te kyel-eŋ-an.* 22 *wari aŋthe*  
 bring-pAS-TPP-PCL house-LOC come-pAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law very  
*săi-le hok-Ø-thyo, sya tuŋi agyoy-eŋ-du săi-Ø-thyo.*  
 know-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND cow goat cry-pAS-NPT know-SAS-3SCOND  
 23 *wari kyel-eŋ-du-yiŋ isa ken sakalei*  
 daughter.in.law bring-pAS-NPT-ABL food vegetable.curry all  
*loŋ-Ø-u-du, cya-sa beryaŋ apa tuŋuri kăi-si-Ø-ta-le*  
 do-SAS-3P-NPT eat-INF that.time father cap remove-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*hok-ŋa jah-Ø-an.* 24 *di uni sakalei isa cya-sa dum-eŋ-thyo.*  
 be-CNS okay-SAS-3S/PT one day all food eat-INF finish-pAS-3SCOND  
 25 *nem na-basa di-gore loŋe aghyouw-Ø-an, wari-ye*  
 house under-side one-CLF jackal cry-SAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law-ERG  
*to aghyouh-Ø-u-du nasăiy-Ø-u-no, to-ko kham woi*  
 that cry-SAS-3P-NPT hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-GEN language also  
*săiy-Ø-u-no.* 26 *'soŋ-te di-gore pepelek-ko moro*  
 understand-SAS-3P-3→3/PT river-LOC one-CLF money-GEN corpse  
*itu-le nah-Ø-u-du.'* 27 *'moro kăi-to-le, to-ko*  
 bring.from.above-PCL put-SAS-3P-NPT corpse remove-TPP-PCL that-GEN  
*pepelek-pali rah-o, găi-găi-guri cici cya-sa pi-ŋa'*  
 money-p bring-s→3/IMP I-PM-IND meat eat-INF give-s→1S/IMP  
*loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 28 *wari-ye ka wakhe*  
 jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law-ERG this word

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21 Then, bringing the daughter-in-law, they came home. 22 The daughter-in-law was very wise, she understood the cries of cows and goats. 23 After having brought the daughter-in-law, she cooked rice and vegetable curry and did everything, at dinner time it was okay for father to just take off his cap and sit down. 24 One day they had just finished their meal. 25 Just down from the house a jackal cried out, and the daughter-in-law heard the cry, and even understood what it said. 26 'At the river, a corpse with a money on it has been washed down from above' [the jackal said]. 27 'Having removed the body [from the river], bring its coins, and give me its flesh to eat', the jackal said. 28 The daughter-in-law related the story to her father-in-law.

*chuku-kăi*      *ci-săiy-Ø-u-no.*                      29 *chuku-ye*  
 father.in.law-PM CAUS-know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT      father.in.law-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no*      ‘*ka-be ma-ja-Ø-du mi, hara ŋah-u-na-du?*’  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-TOP NEG-okay-SAS-NPT person what say-3P-2s-NPT  
*ŋa-to-le*      *kaṭah-Ø-an.*      30 *wari*                      *sumaka hok-Ø-an, ka*  
 say-TPP-PCL scold-SAS-3S/PT      daughter.in.law silence be-SAS-3S/PT this  
*dăi*      *yoh-Ø-u-du, hara woi ma-hok-Ø-du nem-te.*      31 *libi*  
 towards look.at-SAS-3P-NPT what also NEG-be-SAS-NPT house-LOC      after  
*to-ye*      *ŋah-Ø-u-no*      ‘*nan ka-baŋ amiy-eŋ-du, tyaŋ ya-ŋa-du*’,  
 that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now this-Pp sleep-pAS-NPT then go-1s-NPT  
*tyaŋ lawa amiy-Ø-an.*      32 *chuku-guri*      *ami-Ø-du uniŋ*  
 then husband sleep-SAS-3S/PT      father.in.law-IND sleep-SAS-NPT like  
*loŋ-Ø-u-no, ŋaŋ amiy-Ø-an.*      33 *wari*                      *sakalei*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT and sleep-SAS-3S/PT      daughter.in.law all  
*amiy-eŋ-an*      *ŋa-to-le, karati khyak-si-Ø-ta-le, nem-yiŋ*  
 sleep-pAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL sickle strap.on-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL house-ABL  
*prīŋ let-Ø-an.*      34 *libi chuku*      *woi serek-Ø-ta-le,*  
 outside appear-SAS-3S/PT      after father.in.law also arise-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*wari*                      *libi libi cawa-le hok-Ø-thyo, wari*  
 daughter.in.law after after walk-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND daughter.in.law  
*loŋe-ko*      *libi libi cawa-Ø-du, libi soŋ kyel-let-Ø-an.*  
 jackal-GEN after after walk-SAS-NPT after river come-appear-SAS-3S/PT  
 35 *wari-ye*                      *moro nih-Ø-u-no, di-gore seŋ*  
     daughter.in.law-ERG corpse see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-CLF wood

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29 And the father-in-law scolded her saying ‘you useless person, what on earth are you suggesting?’ 30 The daughter-in-law sat in silence, and looking this way, saw that there was nothing [to eat] at home. 31 Later she thought [to herself] ‘now, when they’re all asleep, then I’ll go’, then her husband fell asleep. 32 Father-in-law had made as if to sleep but had [actually] fallen asleep. 33 Thinking that they were all asleep, the daughter-in-law strapped a sickle on [her belt] and crept outside. 34 Thereafter the father-in-law, having woken up, was following the daughter-in-law, who in turn was on the heels of the jackal, and after a while they came to the river. 35 The daughter-in-law saw the corpse and, chopping a piece of wood, she pulled it [the corpse] out of the river.

*pal-to-le* *soŋ-yiŋ* *priŋ* *kǎiy-Ø-u-no.* 36 *to-te*  
 chop-TPP-PCL river-ABL outside remove-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC  
*hok-Ø-du* *sakalei* *pepelek* *chyu-to-le* *na-to-le,* *libi* *ka*  
 be-SAS-NPT all money tie-TPP-PCL put-TPP-PCL after this  
*koteh-u-n-uŋ-be,* *pepelek* *koteh-Ø-u-du,* *ka-kǎi* *nan* *cek-to-le*  
 cut-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP money cut-SAS-3P-NPT this-PM now bite-TPP-PCL  
*phet-ko* *mǎiy-Ø-an.* 37 *ka* *uniŋ* *ŋa-to-le,* *suwa-ye*  
 take.off-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT this like say-TPP-PCL tooth-INS  
*cek-Ø-u-thyo,* *ka* *chuku-ye* *nih-Ø-u-no.* 38 *'ka-be*  
 bite-SAS-3P-3SCOND this father.in.law-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-TOP  
*moro* *cya-Ø-du* *mi'* *ŋa-to-le,* *chuku* *nem-te*  
 corpse eat-SAS-NPT person say-TPP-PCL father.in.law house-LOC  
*ya-Ø-ta-le* *amiy-Ø-an.* 39 *libi* *wari* *woi* *nem-te*  
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL sleep-SAS-3S/PT after daughter.in.law also house-LOC  
*waŋ-Ø-ta-le* *amiy-Ø-an,* *ɬaye* *chuku*  
 come.from.below-SAS-IPP-PCL sleep-SAS-3S/PT night father.in.law  
*serek-Ø-ta-le* *yoh-Ø-u-du-be,* *nem* *duŋ-ŋaŋ* *sakalei* *athaŋ*  
 arise-SAS-IPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-NPT-TOP house within-inside all light  
*nih-Ø-u-no.* 40 *athaŋ-Ø-an* *ŋa-to-le* *priŋ*  
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT become.light-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL outside  
*let-Ø-an,* *ukhiŋ* *nih-Ø-u-no* *'hara* *thah-Ø-an?'* *ŋa-to-le*  
 appear-SAS-3S/PT dark see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT what be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL  
*duŋ-ŋaŋ* *biy-Ø-an.* 41 *nan* *woi* *duŋ-ŋaŋ* *athaŋ,* *nem*  
 within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT now also within-inside light house

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36 All the money had been tied on to that [corpse], if she were to cut it off then she would also risk cutting into the money, so she had to remove the coins by biting them off [with her teeth]. 37 That's to say, she bit it [the money] off with her teeth and father-in-law saw it. 38 'So she is a person who eats corpses', father-in-law said to himself, going home to sleep. 39 Later the daughter-in-law also came back home and fell asleep, then in the night the father-in-law, having arisen, looked around and saw that it was all bright inside the house. 40 Thinking that it was light, he went outside only to see that it was still dark, 'what happened?' he thought to himself, as he went back inside. 41 And again inside it was light, and inside the house he saw piles of money.



*duŋ-ŋaŋ pepelek nih-Ø-u-no. 42 ka ma-ja-Ø-du*  
 within-inside money see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this NEG-okay-SAS-NPT  
*camăica-ko jet ŋa-to-le, ca-kăi ci-serek-Ø-u-no.*  
 woman-GEN work say-TPP-PCL son-PM CAUS-arise-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 43 *wari woi serek-Ø-an, țaye apa ca-ye*  
 daughter.in.law also arise-SAS-3S/PT night father son-ERG  
*wari-kăi nem-yiŋ ci-let-eŋ-no. 44 băsiŋte*  
 daughter.in.law-PM house-ABL CAUS-appear-pAS-3→3/PT morning  
*serek-Ø-ta-le, wari-ye isa thih-Ø-u-du ŋa-to-le,*  
 arise-SAS-IPP-PCL daughter.in.law-ERG food touch-SAS-3P-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*oste loŋ-Ø-u-no. 45 wari lanğa-te uni*  
 self do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law courtyard-LOC sun  
*cyatŋ-si-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-an. 46 to beryaŋ di-gore agak*  
 soak.up-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3S/PT that that.time one-CLF crow  
*kyel-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘rikhipole dilan-te sum*  
 come-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT Phăseluŋ resting.place-LOC three  
*kulin pepelek hok-Ø-du.’ 47 ‘to-ko ugo-te*  
 small.earthenware.water.vessel money be-SAS-NPT that-GEN mouth-LOC  
*nunu hok-Ø-du, pepelek nany-e rah-o, nunu găi-găi*  
 milk be-SAS-NPT money you-ERG bring-s→3/IMP milk I-PM  
*pi-ŋa!’ 48 wari-ye ka nasăi-to-le, chuku-kăi*  
 give-s→1s/IMP daughter.in.law-ERG this hear-TPP-PCL father.in.law-PM  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no, chuku rage thah-Ø-an. 49 ‘naleŋ găi-găi*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father.in.law anger be-SAS-3S/PT present I-PM

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42 Seeing what this useless woman had done, he woke his son up. 43 The daughter-in-law also got up, and father and son threw her out of the house in the middle of the night. 44 In the morning, having gotten up, fearing that daughter-in-law might touch his food [and thus pollute him also], he cooked it himself. 45 The daughter-in-law sat in the courtyard warming herself in the sun. 46 At that moment a crow came and said ‘at the resting place in the village of Phăseluŋ are three small earthenware vessels filled with money.’ 47 ‘In the opening [lit. mouth] [of the jugs] there is also milk, bring the money and give me the milk!’ 48 Hearing this, the daughter-in-law told the father-in-law, but he got angry. 49 ‘Now you’re trying to kill me, don’t talk to me!’ [he said]

*sat-Ø-ŋa-du, gǎi nama ma-cijyany-e!* 50 *'nan ka-kǎi ka-te*  
 kill-SAS-1s-NPT I with NEG-speak-s/NEG/IMP now this-PM this-LOC  
*na-sa ma-jah-Ø-an, ka-kǎi apa-ko nem-te ʔho-ko*  
 put-INF NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT this-PM father-GEN house-LOC send-ADH  
*mǎiy-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le.* 51 *di katara isa laŋga-te*  
 must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL one trough food courtyard-LOC  
*piy-Ø-u-no.* 52 *wari woi cyah-Ø-an, 'ca, nem*  
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law also eat-SAS-3S/PT son house  
*yo-sa, gǎi wari-kǎi hen-to-le apa-kǎi piy-u-n-du'*  
 look.at-INF I daughter.in.law-PM take-TPP-PCL father-PM give-3P-1s→3-NPT  
*ŋa-to-le wari-kǎi hen-Ø-u-no.* 53 *ca-ye woi*  
 say-TPP-PCL daughter.in.law-PM take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son-ERG also  
*uma-kǎi hara woi ma-ŋa-tiniŋ ʔhoh-Ø-u-no.* 54 *ya-ya woi, di-gore*  
 wife-PM what also NEG-say-PFG send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT go-go also one-CLF  
*soŋ-te alak-yiŋ hen-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo.* 55 *chuku-ye*  
 river-LOC foot.bridge-ABL go-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND father.in.law-ERG  
*'nan ka wari-kǎi ka-yiŋ cih-u-n-du, tyaj gǎi-guri*  
 now this daughter.in.law-PM this-ABL throw.away-3P-1s→3-NPT then I-IND  
*nem dǎi ya-ŋa-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 56 *tyaj alak-yiŋ*  
 house towards go-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then foot.bridge-ABL  
*jun-to-le, oste-ko nem dǎi kyel-Ø-an.* 57 *di uni*  
 push-TPP-PCL self-GEN house towards come-SAS-3S/PT one day  
*to-ko nem-te di-ka jekha mi kyel-Ø-ta-le, nem-te*  
 that-GEN house-LOC one-HNC big person come-SAS-IPP-PCL house-LOC

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50 'Now this one [daughter-in-law] really can't stay here, she needs to be sent back to her father's home', he said. 51 He gave [her] a trough of food [to eat] in the courtyard. 52 The daughter-in-law ate the food, [and the father said] 'son, keep an eye on the house, I am taking this daughter-in-law back and will return her to her father', and with that he took the daughter-in-law. 53 And the son sent his wife off without even saying good-bye to her. 54 Along the way, they came to a river with a foot bridge they had to cross. 55 'Now, I will throw this daughter-in-law off [the bridge] here and then go homewards again', the father-in-law thought. 56 Then pushing her off the foot bridge, he made his way homewards. 57 One day, an important man came to that house and saw all the money in the place.

*hok-Ø-du pepelek ni-to-le.* 58 *jekha mi-ye t̥hoŋe nama*  
 be-SAS-NPT money see-TPP-PCL big person-ERG old.man with  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ka gǎi-gǎi pi-ŋa, gǎ-ye naŋ-kǎi libi ahe*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this I-PM give-s→1s/IMP I-ERG you-PM after much  
*pepelek pi-na-ŋa-du.'* 59 *to-ye woi 'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le,*  
 money give-2s-1s-NPT that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*piy-Ø-u-no.* 60 *libi pepelek-e begale naka naka miŋ*  
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after money-INS other new new cloth  
*rah-Ø-u-no, asare ni-Ø-du isa cyah-Ø-an.* 61 *jet*  
 bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tasty appear-SAS-NPT food eat-SAS-3S/PT work  
*loŋ-sa mi-pali nah-Ø-u-no, apraca nama hok-Ø-an.* 62 *libi*  
 do-INF person-p put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT good with be-SAS-3S/PT after  
*ca-kǎi begale wari kyel-Ø-u-no, wari-kǎi*  
 son-PM other daughter.in.law bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law-PM  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no 'wari, nan ka pepelek tap-ko*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law now this money be.finished-ADH  
*sow-Ø-an, jet loŋ-sa mi ci-let-ko mǎi-Ø-du.'*  
 be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT work do-INF person CAUS-appear-ADH must-SAS-NPT  
 63 *nan t̥hoŋe-ko sakalei pepelek tap-Ø-an.* 64 *habi-ko*  
 now old.man-GEN all money be.finished-SAS-3S/PT before-GEN  
*wari-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du rikhipole dilaŋ-te*  
 daughter.in.law-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT Phāseluñ resting.place-LOC  
*ya-Ø-ta-le toh-Ø-u-no, to-ŋaŋ sum kulīn*  
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL dig-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-inside three small.earthenware.vessel

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58 And the important man spoke with the old man, saying 'give all this to me, and later I will give you much more money in return.' 59 And saying 'okay', he gave it all to him. 60 Later, with that money, he brought new clothes to wear and tasty food to eat. 61 He appointed people to do the domestic work, and sat back and relaxed. 62 Later, he brought another daughter-in-law for his son and he said to her 'daughter-in-law, now the money is almost finished, we have to get rid of those workers [because we can't pay them].' 63 Now all the old man's money was finished. 64 Going to the stone resting place in the village of Phāseluñ which the previous daughter-in-law had spoken of, he dug down and right there found three small earthenware vessels of money.

*pepelek khalam-Ø-u-no.* 65 *tyaŋ naka wari-ye*  
 money meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then new daughter.in.law-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no* ‘*gǎi-be apa-ko nem-te jet ma-loŋ-tiniŋ*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-TOP father-GEN house-LOC work NEG-do-PFG  
*hok-ŋa-thyo, nan hara-kǎi ci-let-sa jet loŋ-sa mi?’* 66 *nan*  
 be-1s-3SCOND now what-PM CAUS-appear-INF work do-INF person now  
*nyoŋi bǎsiŋte cya-sa ma-gap-Ø-an,* *tyaŋ habi-ko*  
 evening morning eat-INF NEG-be.enough-SAS-3S/PT then before-GEN  
*wari ŋa-to-le thaha sǎiy-Ø-u-no.* 67 ‘*yaŋ*  
 daughter.in.law say-TPP-PCL knowledge know-SAS-3→3/PT today  
*habi-ko wari hok-sa-be, isa-ye karǎi-tiniŋ, hok-sa*  
 before-GEN daughter.in.law be-INF-TOP food-INS shout-PFG be-INF  
*ma-mǎi-Ø-thyo.’* 68 ‘*to uniŋ wari-kǎi gǎ-ye*  
 NEG-must-SAS-3SCOND that like daughter.in.law-PM I-ERG  
*sat-u-n-uŋ,* *to-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, gǎi yaŋ isa-ye*  
 kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT that.time I today food-INS  
*karǎi-tiniŋ hok-ko mǎiy-Ø-an.’* 69 *ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le bampre*  
 shout-PFG be-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT this like say-TPP-PCL rib  
*ŋe-ŋe-to-le kerep-Ø-an.* 70 *nan kerep-eŋ-ta-le, hara phase*  
 beat-beat-TPP-PCL cry-SAS-3S/PT now cry-pAS-IPP-PCL what flour  
*ma-cuk-eŋ-du, ŋyakanəŋ cey-eŋ-ta-le hok-eŋ-an.* 71 *dese-ko*  
 NEG-insert-pAS-NPT nettle eat-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-3S/PT village-GEN  
*bubu hu, sakalei thombe thay-eŋ-an.*  
 elder.brother younger.brother all surprise be-pAS-3S/PT

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65 Then the new daughter-in-law said ‘as long as I lived in my father’s house I never worked, why do we now have to get rid of the domestic servants?’ 66 Now there wasn’t enough to eat for dinner or breakfast, and he [the father-in-law] thought of his previous daughter-in-law. 67 ‘If our previous daughter-in-law were with us today, then we wouldn’t be going hungry.’ 68 ‘A good daughter-in-law like that I killed, and on account of happened, I must today sit here hungry.’ 69 And in this manner, beating his ribs, he cried. 70 And without even putting any flour in their nettle soup, they ate it sitting there crying. 71 And all the men in the village were totally shocked.

## ROUND FACE

- 1 *di-ka* *ʃhoŋi-ko* *di-ka* *ca* *hok-Ø-du*, *to-ko* *name*  
 one-HNC old.woman-GEN one-HNC son be-SAS-NPT that-GEN name  
*gonʃhe.* 2 *to* *ucyaca* *tha-Ø-du* *beryaŋ*, *to-ko* *apa*  
 round.face that small be-SAS-NPT that.time that-GEN father  
*siy-Ø-an.* 3 *ama-ye* *jet* *loŋ-to-le*, *huca-kǎi* *cya-sa*  
 die-SAS-3S/PT mother-ERG work do-TPP-PCL child-PM eat-INF  
*pi-to-le*, *jekha* *loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 4 *di* *uni* *huca* *nampa-nampa* *woi*  
 give-TPP-PCL big do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day child play-play also  
*soŋ-te* *ya-let-Ø-ta-le*, *to-te* *to-ye* *di-gore* *ti-Ø-du*  
 river-LOC go-appear-SAS-IPP-PCL that-LOC that-ERG one-CLF burn-SAS-NPT  
*niŋ* *nih-Ø-u-no.* 5 *to-kǎi* *apraca* *thah-Ø-an*, *to-ye*  
 stone see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-PM good be-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG  
*nem-te* *kyel-Ø-u-no.* 6 *ama-kǎi* *to* *niŋ* *cikhet-Ø-u-no*,  
 house-LOC bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother-PM that stone show-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*libi* *to-ye* *thaha* *sǎiy-Ø-u-no* *‘ka* *hira* *tha-Ø-du*  
 after that-ERG knowledge know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this diamond be-SAS-NPT  
*niŋ’* *ŋa-to-le*, *ca-kǎi* *kaʃah-Ø-an.* 7 *‘nan* *ka* *hara-kǎi*  
 stone say-TPP-PCL son-PM scold-SAS-3S/PT now this what-PM  
*kyel-u-na-n?* *ni-ko* *nem-te* *gwi* *kyel-Ø-du*, *gwiy-Ø-u-du.*  
 bring-3P-2s-PT we-GEN house-LOC thief come-SAS-NPT steal-SAS-3P-NPT  
 8 *‘nan* *ka* *kuta* *hok-Ø-thyo*, *to-te* *hen-to-le* *nah-o!*  
 now this where be-SAS-3SCOND that-LOC take-TPP-PCL put-s→3/IMP

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1 An old woman had a son by the name of Round Face. 2 When he was young, his father had died. 3 By working, and giving the child food, mother brought him up. 4 One day, while playing and playing, the child came to a river where he saw a burning stone. 5 He liked it and brought it home. 6 He showed that stone to his mother, and then she realised what it was, and she scolded him saying ‘this stone is a diamond.’ 7 ‘Now why did you bring this here? Now a thief may come to our house and steal it.’ 8 ‘Now, take this back to wherever it was and leave it there!’

9 *to-ye ci-sa-kǎi hen-Ø-u-no, ya-ya woi di-ka*  
 that-ERG throw.away-INF-PM take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT go-go also one-HNC  
*mi-ye nih-Ø-u-no, to-ye ǎlǎmtha-yiŋ ɲosǎiy-Ø-u-no*  
 person-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG distant-ABL recognise-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*ka ti-Ø-du ɲiŋ. 10 mi-ye ɲah-Ø-u-no 'hu,*  
 this burn-SAS-NPT stone person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother  
*naŋ-ko lak-te hara?'* 11 *'ka di-gore ɲiŋ tha-Ø-du, gǎ-ye*  
 you-GEN hand-LOC what this one-HNC stone be-SAS-NPT I-ERG  
*soŋ-te khalam-u-n-uŋ, gǎi-gǎi ama-ye 'ya-na-tah-o!'*  
 river-LOC meet-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-PM mother-ERG go-put-release-s→3/IMP  
*ɲah-Ø-ɲa-n, tyay ci-sa-kǎi hen-u-n-du.'* 12 *'to ɲiŋ*  
 say-SAS-1s-PT then throw.away-INF-PM take-3P-1s→3-NPT that stone  
*gǎi-gǎi pi-ɲa! naŋ-kǎi gǎi-go sakalei raŋ pi-na-ɲa-du'*  
 I-PM give-s→1s/IMP you-PM I-GEN all unirrigated.field give-2s-1s-NPT  
*ɲah-Ø-u-no. 13 to-ye woi 'ja-Ø-du' ɲah-Ø-u-no ɲaŋ*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT and  
*piy-Ø-u-no, libi to-ko ama katah-Ø-an. 14 libi jet*  
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that-GEN mother scold-SAS-3S/PT after work  
*loŋ-sa ma-sǎi-ɲa 'hara hara tha-Ø-du?' ɲoŋi warǎiy-Ø-an.*  
 do-INF NEG-know-CNS what what be-SAS-NPT old.woman shiver-SAS-3S/PT  
 15 *di uni di-gore ɲǎi-te bore hok-Ø-thyo, to bore-te*  
 one day one-CLF place-LOC marriage be-SAS-3SCOND that marriage-LOC  
*habi-ko mi-ko camǎi hira-ko laŋi*  
 before-GEN person-GEN daughter diamond-GEN necklace

9 He took it to throw away, but as he was walking, someone saw him and from some distance recognised that this was a precious [lit. burning] stone. 10 And the person said 'younger brother, what have you got in your hand?' 11 'This is a stone which I found by the river, but my mother said to me 'get rid of it!' so I am taking it to throw it away.' 12 'Give me that stone! I will give you all my land', he said. 13 So he said 'okay' and gave it to him, but later his mother scolded him. 14 Later, not knowing how to work [such fields], 'what on earth will happen?' the old lady thought, and shivered [in fear]. 15 One day there was a wedding in a certain place, and the daughter of the person mentioned before [the one who bought the diamond], went wearing the diamond as a necklace.

*khyak-si-Ø-ta-le*      *yah-Ø-an.*    16 *to jekha mi-ko*      *camăi-ye*  
 tie.on-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL    go-SAS-3S/PT      that big      person-GEN      daughter-ERG  
*nih-Ø-u-no.*      17 *to ni-to-le,*      *to-kăi woi to uniŋ*  
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT      that see-TPP-PCL    that-PM    also that like  
*khyak-si-Ø-sa*      *aliy-Ø-an,*      *ŋaŋ apa-kăi*      *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*      18 ‘*apa,*  
 tie.on-REF-SAS-INF    like-SAS-3S/PT    and father-PM    say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT      father  
*găi woi to uniŋ laŋi*      *khyak-si-ŋa-du’*      *ŋa-to-le*      *nan apa-ye*  
 I    also that like    necklace tie.on-REF-1s-NPT    say-TPP-PCL    now father-ERG  
*daŋ-Ø-u-no,*      ‘*to su-ye piy-Ø-u-no?*      *to-kăi ka-te*  
 search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT    that who-ERG    give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT    that-PM    this-LOC  
*urou-ko*      *măiy-Ø-an.’*      19 *libi to laŋi*  
 take.out-ADH    must-SAS-3S/PT      after that necklace  
*khyak-si-Ø-du-ko*      *apa-ye*      *ŋah-Ø-u-no:*      20 ‘*ka di-ka*  
 strap.on-REF-SAS-NPT-GEN    father-ERG    say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT      this one-HNC  
*huca-ye*      *găi-găi pi-Ø-ŋa-n,*      *to huca-ye soŋ-yiŋ*      *kyel-Ø-u-du*  
 child-ERG    I-PM      give-SAS-1s-PT    that child-ERG    river-ABL    bring-SAS-3P-NPT  
*ŋa.’*    21 ‘*to huca kuta hok-Ø-du?*      *to-kăi urou-to-le,*      ‘*begale*  
 REP      that child where    be-SAS-NPT    that-PM    call-TPP-PCL    other  
*laŋi*      *rah-o!’*      *ŋa-ko măiy-Ø-an’*      *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 necklace bring-s→3/IMP    say-ADH    must-SAS-3S/PT    say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 22 *huca-kăi urouy-eŋ-no*      ‘*huca, nany-e ka uniŋ laŋi*  
     child-PM    call-pAS-3→3/PT    child    you-ERG    this like necklace  
*kyel-to-le*      *kyel-a,*      *ma-kyel-u-na-n-be,*      *naŋ-kăi sat-wa-du.’*  
 bring-TPP-PCL    come-s/IMP    NEG-bring-2s-3P-PT-TOP    you-PM    kill-1p→23-NPT

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16 That important person’s daughter saw it. 17 Having seen it, she also wanted to wear one [diamond necklace] and she mentioned this to her father. 18 ‘Father, I also want to wear a necklace like that’, she said, and then father looked for one, saying ‘who gave it to her? Whoever it is, we should call him over right now.’ 19 Later, the father of the one wearing the necklace said: 20 ‘This was given to me by a child who said that he had found it by the river.’ 21 ‘Where is that child now? We must call him and say ‘bring another necklace!’’, he [the other father] said. 22 They called the child, [and said] ‘kid, bring another necklace like this, and if you don’t bring one, then we’ll kill you.’

23 *huca*, ‘*nan laŋi kuta daŋ-sa?*’ *ŋa-to-le*, *nem-te*  
 child now necklace where search-INF say-TPP-PCL house-LOC  
*ya-Ø-ta-le amiy-Ø-an.* 24 *băsinŋe serek-Ø-ta-le cawah-Ø-an*,  
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL sleep-SAS-3S/PT morning arise-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT  
*to-ye di ʔhăi-te di-ka camăica dicip-nis-gore laŋi*  
 that-ERG one place-LOC one-HNC woman ten-two-CLF necklace  
*khyak-si-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no.* 25 ‘*nan ka nama hok-ta-ŋa-le*,  
 strap.on-REF-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now this with be-IPP-1s-PCL  
*ka-ko laŋi kat-u-n-du.*’ 26 *libi to camăica-ye*  
 this-GEN necklace steal-3P-1s→3-NPT after that woman-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘bubu, naŋ kuta-yiŋ ra-na-n,*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother you where-ABL come.from.level-2s-PT  
*hara-kăi kyel-na-n?’* 27 ‘*găi di-gore ti-Ø-du laŋi daŋ-sa*  
 what-PM come-2s-PT I one-CLF burn-SAS-NPT necklace search-INF  
*kyel-ŋa-du, laŋi ma-hen-be, găi-găi jekha mi-ye*  
 come-1s-NPT necklace NEG-take-TOP I-PM big person-ERG  
*sat-Ø-ŋa-du.*’ 28 ‘*naŋ sumaka hok-a! găi-go bore naŋ nama*  
 kill-SAS-1s-NPT you silent be-s/IMP I-GEN marriage you with  
*loŋ-u-n-du, găi-găi hen-aŋ, laŋi woi hen-o!’*  
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT I-PM take-s→1s/IMP necklace also take-s→3/IMP  
 29 ‘*ja-Ø-du*’ *ŋah-Ø-u-no, to camăica woi rah-Ø-u-no,*  
 okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that woman also bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*laŋi woi ra-to-le nem-te nah-Ø-u-no.* 30 *baŋhe*  
 necklace also bring-TPP-PCL house-LOC put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tomorrow

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23 And the child, thinking ‘now where on earth can I find another necklace’, just went home and fell asleep. 24 In the morning he got up and set off, and in one place he saw a woman wearing twelve necklaces. 25 ‘Now, I’ll sit with her and then steal her necklaces’ [he thought]. 26 After a while that woman said ‘elder brother, where have you come from and what have you come to do?’ 27 ‘I have come looking for a precious [lit. burning] necklace, and if I don’t bring one back, then the chief will kill me.’ 28 ‘Be quiet! I will marry you, take me and the necklaces also!’ [the woman said]. 29 ‘Okay’ he said, and he took the woman and also bringing the necklaces, put them in his house. 30 The following day he went to the chief’s house and gave him the necklaces.



*syəŋ jekha mi-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le laŋi*  
 period big person-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL necklace  
*piy-Ø-u-no. 31 libi to-ko uma ni-to-le, ama*  
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that-GEN wife see-TPP-PCL mother  
*katah-Ø-an 'ka camăica hara-kăi kyel-u-na-n? nan sakalei-ye ni-kăi*  
 scold-SAS-3S/PT this woman what-PM bring-3P-2s-PT now all-ERG we-PM  
*chichidurdur lony-eŋ-du.' 32 'ka-kăi nem-yiŋ ci-let-o!'*,  
 hate do-PAS-NPT this-PM house-ABL CAUS-appear-s→3/IMP  
*to-ye ma-ci-let-tiniŋ nah-Ø-u-no. 33 libi ka wakhe jekha*  
 that-ERG NEG-CAUS-appear-PFG put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after this word big  
*mi-ye săiy-Ø-u-no, camăica apraca hok-Ø-du ŋa-to-le.*  
 person-ERG know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman good be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
 34 *nan jekha mi-ye nis-ka mi yo-sa-kăi*  
 now big person-ERG two-HNC person look.at-INF-PM  
*thoh-Ø-u-no, camăica apraca niy-eŋ-no. 35 ka wakhe jekha*  
 send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman good see-PAS-3→3/PT this word big  
*mi-kăi ŋay-eŋ-no, 'nan ka camăica kunyaŋ găi-go uma loŋ-sa?'*  
 person-PM say-PAS-3→3/PT now this woman how I-GEN wife do-INF  
 36 *'gonthe-kăi nan du-ko nunu nat-sa tho-ko măiy-Ø-an,*  
 round.face-PM now tiger-GEN milk milk-INF send-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT  
*tyaŋ du-ye cyah-Ø-u-du, ŋaŋ si-Ø-du, to-ko uma găi-go*  
 then tiger-ERG eat-SAS-3P-NPT and die-SAS-NPT that-GEN wife I-GEN  
*tha-Ø-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 37 to-kăi urou-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no*  
 be-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-PM call-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

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31 Later, when his mother saw his wife, she scolded him 'why have you brought this woman here? Now everyone will hate us.' 32 'Take this thing out of the house!' [she said], but he didn't get rid of her, and just left her at home. 33 Later the chief came to know of this and also heard that that woman was beautiful. 34 Now the chief sent two people to go and have a look, and they saw that the woman was beautiful. 35 They told the chief what they had seen, [and he thought] 'now how can I make this woman my wife?' 36 'I must send Round Face off to milk a tiger, then the tiger will eat him up and he will die, and then his wife will be mine', he thought. 37 So he called him over and said 'go milk a tiger and bring back the milk!'

*'nan nany-e du-ko nunu nat-to-le rah-o!'* 38 *cahuca*  
 now you-ERG tiger-GEN milk milk-TPP-PCL bring-s→3/IMP man  
*ariy-Ø-an, thombe thah-Ø-an.* 39 *'nan kunyay du-ko nunu*  
 be.afraid-SAS-3S/PT surprise be-SAS-3S/PT now how tiger-GEN milk  
*ra-sa?'* *ηa-to-le uma-kăi ηah-Ø-u-no, uma-ye ηah-Ø-u-no*  
 bring-INF say-TPP-PCL wife-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*'naη sumaka hok-a, gă-ye loη-u-n-du.'* 40 *uma-ye*  
 you silent be-s/IMP I-ERG do-3P-1s→3-NPT wife-ERG  
*ηah-Ø-u-no 'găi-go di-ka humi hok-Ø-du, to ka-yiη*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN one-HNC younger.sister be-SAS-NPT that this-ABL  
*ălămtha hok-Ø-du, to du-ko jet loη-Ø-u-du.'* 41 *'to-kăi*  
 distant be-SAS-NPT that tiger-GEN work do-SAS-3P-NPT that-PM  
*khalam-to-le ka miη piy-o, to-ye 'ka miη găi-go*  
 meet-TPP-PCL this cloth give-s→3/IMP that-ERG this cloth I-GEN  
*tete-ko' ηa-to-le ηosăiy-Ø-u-du.'* 42 *'naη*  
 elder.sister-GEN say-TPP-PCL recognise-SAS-3P-NPT you  
*laca pole-te lun-ta-na-le hok-a, to-ko*  
 Indian.rhododendron trunk-LOC climb-IPP-2s-PCL be-s/IMP that-GEN  
*pole-te humi du nama ra-Ø-du, to-kăi*  
 trunk-LOC younger.sister tiger with come.from.level-SAS-NPT that-PM  
*amat-to-le rah-o.'* 43 *to cawah-Ø-an, ya-ya woi di-gore*  
 beg-TPP-PCL bring-s→3/IMP that walk-SAS-3S/PT go-go also one-CLF  
*laca pole ya-let-Ø-an, uma-ye ηah-Ø-u-du*  
 Indian.rhododendron trunk go-appear-SAS-3S/PT wife-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT

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38 The man was afraid and very surprised. 39 'Now how will I bring tiger milk?' he said to his wife, and his wife replied 'you stay here and be quiet, I'll tell you how.' 40 The wife said 'I have a younger sister who lives a long way from here, but she raises tigers.' 41 'When you meet her give her this cloth and she will recognise the cloth as belonging to her elder sister.' 42 'Climb up the trunk of the Indian rhododendron tree and stay there, younger sister will come with a tiger to the base of the tree, and then ask for it [some milk], and bring it back.' 43 So he set off, and after walking and walking he came to an Indian rhododendron tree and did exactly as his wife had told him to.

*uniŋ loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 44 *pole cyuri lun-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-an, di*  
 like do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT trunk top climb-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3S/PT one  
*chin libi du cyuri lun-Ø-ta-le apraca camăica*  
 moment after tiger top climb-SAS-IPP-PCL good woman  
*rah-Ø-an, ra-Ø-ta-le pole-te*  
 come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL trunk-LOC  
*hok-Ø-an.* 45 *to-ye woi uma-ye piy-Ø-u-du miŋ camăica-ko*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG also wife-ERG give-SAS-3P-NPT cloth woman-GEN  
*aŋkhe-te ci-ros-Ø-u-no.* 46 *camăica thombe tha-Ø-ta-le*  
 lap-LOC CAUS-fall-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman surprise be-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*artik-Ø-an ‘ka miŋ su-ye kyel-Ø-u-no, găi-go*  
 cry.out-SAS-3S/PT this cloth who-ERG bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN  
*tete-ko miŋ, let-a! naŋ-kăi gă-ye hara pi-sa? ŋa-ŋa!’*  
 elder.sister-GEN cloth appear-s/IMP you-PM I-ERG what give say-s→1s/IMP  
 47 *libi to mi yu-Ø-ta-le ‘gă-ye rah-u-n-du*  
 after that person come.from.above-SAS-IPP-PCL I-ERG bring-3P-1s→3-NPT  
*ka miŋ, naŋ-ko tete-ye thoh-Ø-u-du.’* 48 *‘tyaŋ naŋ-kăi hara*  
 this cloth you-GEN elder.sister-ERG send-SAS-3P-NPT then you-PM what  
*pi-sa?’ to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘găi-găi du-ko nunu pi-ŋa!’*  
 give-INF that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM tiger-GEN milk give-s→1s/IMP  
 49 *‘găi-go du ŋaŋ găi-găi hen-aŋ, ja-Ø-du?’* 50 *to-ye*  
 I-GEN tiger and I-PM take-s→1s/IMP okay-SAS-NPT that-ERG  
*woi ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le, du camăica nem-te*  
 also okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL tiger woman house-LOC

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44 He climbed to the top of the tree and sat there, a moment later a pretty woman riding on a tiger came and, having come, sat at the base of the tree. 45 Then on purpose he dropped the cloth that his wife had given him into her lap. 46 The woman was shocked and cried out ‘who brought this cloth belonging to my sister? [Whoever you are] come out! What must I give you? Tell me!’ 47 Then the man came down [and said] ‘I have brought this cloth that your elder sister sent.’ 48 ‘Now what shall I give you?’ [she said], he said ‘give me some tiger’s milk!’ 49 ‘How about taking me and my tiger?’ 50 Then he said ‘okay’, and he took the woman and the tiger home.

*kyel-Ø-u-no.* 51 *nan to-ko nis-ka apraca uma thay-eŋ-an.*  
 bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now that-GEN two-HNC good wife be-PAS-3S/PT  
 52 *baŋhe syaŋ aŋaŋ tha-Ø-du beryaŋ nis-ka mi to-ko*  
 tomorrow period light be-SAS-NPT that.time two-HNC person that-GEN  
*nem-te jekha mi-ye ʃoh-Ø-u-no, to-bany-e*  
 house-LOC big person-ERG send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-Pp-ERG  
*yoy-eŋ-no, nis-ka apraca uma, di-gore du niy-eŋ-no.*  
 look.at-PAS-3→3/PT two-HNC good wife one-CLF tiger see-PAS-3→3/PT  
 53 *libi libi, to-ye nunu ma-tha, du hen-to-le yah-Ø-an,*  
 after after that-ERG milk NEG-be tiger take-TPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT  
*jekha mi thombe thah-Ø-an 'naleŋ woi ka-kăi sat-sa*  
 big person surprise be-SAS-3S/PT present also this-PM kill-INF  
*ma-thaŋ-wa-n.'* 54 *jekha mi-ye gonthe-ko uma hen-sa*  
 NEG-be.able-1p→23-PT big person-ERG round.face-GEN wife take-INF  
*ma-thaŋ-Ø-u-no, nan begale wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 55 *'nan*  
 NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now other word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now  
*ka nem-te jekha me mut-ko măiy-Ø-an, to-kăi woi urou-ko*  
 this house-LOC big fire blow-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT that-PM also call-ADH  
*măiy-Ø-an, tyay ra-Ø-du, me-ko bhutbhute-ŋay*  
 must-SAS-3S/PT then come.from.level-SAS-NPT fire-GEN white.hot.fire-inside  
*jun-ko măiy-Ø-an, tyay libi si-Ø-du.'* 56 *'to-ko uma-pali,*  
 chase-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT then after die-SAS-NPT that-GEN wife-p  
*găi-go uma thay-eŋ-du' ŋa-to-le, jet loŋ-sa mi nama*  
 I-GEN wife be-PAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL work do-INF person with

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51 Now he had two beautiful wives. 52 The following day, when it was light, the chief sent out two men to his house to have a look [around], and they saw two beautiful wives and a tiger. 53 Some time later he took the tiger, not the milk, to the important person who was shocked, 'even now we haven't been able to kill him' [he thought]. 54 The chief hadn't been able to take Round Face's wife, so now he hatched another plan. 55 'Now we must make a big fire and then call him, and he will come, then we must chase him into the centre of the white hot fire and then he will die' [he said]. 56 'His wives will be mine' he said to his assistants.

*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 57 *me mut-eŋ-to-le gonthe-kăi*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT fire blow-PAS-TPP-PCL round.face-PM  
*ciy-aghyow-Ø-u-no, uma-pali-ye thaha säiy-eŋ-no* ‘*nan*  
 CAUS-call-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-p-ERG knowledge know-PAS-3→3/PT now  
*ka-kăi sat-Ø-u-du, tyaŋ ni-kăi hen-to-le uma loŋ-Ø-u-du.*’  
 this-PM kill-SAS-3P-NPT then we-PM take-TPP-PCL wife do-SAS-3P-NPT  
 58 *di-ka uma-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no* ‘*ka di-gore laŋi*  
 one-HNC wife-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this one-CLF necklace  
*hen-o, hara woi thah-Ø-an-be, ka laŋi khyak-se*’  
 take-s→3/IMP what also be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP this necklace tie.on-s/REF/IMP  
*tyaŋ gonthe cawah-Ø-an.* 59 *jekha mi-ko nem-te ya-ŋa*  
 then round.face walk-SAS-3S/PT big person-GEN house-LOC go-CNS  
*libi, to-kăi bhutbhute-ŋaŋ jun-Ø-u-no.* 60 *to woi*  
 after that-PM white.hot.fire-inside chase-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that also  
*uma-ye piy-Ø-u-du laŋi khyak-siy-Ø-an, tyaŋ*  
 wife-ERG give-SAS-3P-NPT necklace tie.on-REF-SAS-3S/PT then  
*amu tha-Ø-ta-le per-Ø-an.* 61 *oste-ko nem-te*  
 crested.serpent.eagle be-SAS-IPP-PCL fly-SAS-3S/PT self-GEN house-LOC  
*ya-let-Ø-an, uma-pali-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 62 *di-ka uma-ye*  
 go-appear-SAS-3S/PT wife-p-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-HNC wife-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no* ‘*nan ni woi to-ko nem-te hen-ko, ŋaŋ* ‘*lawa*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now we also that-GEN house-LOC go-ADH and husband  
*siy-Ø-an*’ *ŋa-to-le kerep-ko*, *to-baŋ kerep-sa caway-eŋ-an.*  
 die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL cry-ADH that-Pp cry-INF walk-PAS-3S/PT

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57 They stoked the fire and sent someone to call Round Face, but his wives understood what was going on [and thought] ‘now they’ll kill him, and then he’ll take us and make us be his wives.’ 58 One of the wives said ‘take this one necklace, and should anything happen [to you], then wear it’, and with that Round Face walked away. 59 Having gone to the chief’s house, he was chased into the centre of the white hot fire. 60 Putting on the necklace his wife had given him, he turned into a crested serpent eagle and flew [away]. 61 He got back to his own house and told his wives [what had happened]. 62 One wife said ‘now the two of us should go to his house saying ‘our husband is dead’ and then cry’, and they went off crying.

- 63 *'ni-ko lawa siy-Ø-an, nan hara loŋ-sa, kuta hen-sa?'*  
 we-GEN husband die-SAS-3S/PT now what do-INF where go-INF
- ŋa-to-le kerep-eŋ-an, jekha mi-guri taŋ-Ø-an.* 64 *'nan*  
 say-TPP-PCL cry-PAS-3S/PT big person-IND be.happy-SAS-3S/PT now
- găi-go uma tha-ni-du' ŋa-to-le.* 65 *libi gonthe*  
 I-GEN wife be-2p-NPT say-TPP-PCL after round.face
- amu tha-Ø-ta-le yah-Ø-an, jekha mi hok-Ø-du*  
 crested.serpent.eagle be-SAS-IPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT big person be-SAS-NPT
- thăi-te hok-Ø-an ŋaŋ artik-Ø-an.* 66 *habi to jekha mi*  
 place-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT and cry.out-SAS-3S/PT before that big person
- nama ban woi chy-si-le hok-Ø-thyo.* 67 *phasa uniŋ*  
 with blood.brother also tie-REF-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND wind like
- tha-Ø-ta-le cijyaŋ-Ø-an 'ban, găi-găi bhutbhute-ŋaŋ*  
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL speak-SAS-3S/PT blood.brother I-PM white.hot.fire-inside
- jun-u-na-thyo, găi-be naŋ-ko apa nama ya-let-ŋa-n.'*  
 chase-3P-2s-3SCOND I-TOP you-GEN father with go-appear-1s-PT
- 68 *'apraca thăi hok-Ø-du, naŋ woi apa khalam-sa ya-Ø, găi-găi*  
 good place be-SAS-NPT you also father meet-INF go-s/IMP I-PM
- naŋ-kăi ra-sa-kăi tho-Ø-ŋa-n, kutaleŋ ya-na-du?'* 69 *jekha mi*  
 you-PM bring-INF-PM send-SAS-1s-PT when go-2s-NPT big person
- woi gonthe uniŋ me-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an, tyaŋ to siy-Ø-an.*  
 also round.face like fire-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT then that die-SAS-3S/PT
- 70 *libi gonthe, to-ko uma-pali, to hok-Ø-du thăi-te*  
 after round.face that-GEN wife-p that be-SAS-NPT place-LOC

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63 'Our husband has died, now what will we do and where will we go?' they cried, and the chief was happy. 64 'Now you will be my wives', he said. 65 Then Round Face, having become a crested serpent eagle, flew back, and came to where the chief was, sat down and cried out. 66 Some time before he had even become a ritual blood brother with that chief. 67 And he spoke as if he had become the wind, 'blood brother, you chased me into the white hot fire and now I have gone to join your father [i.e. in heaven].' 68 'It's a nice place [up there], you must go and meet your father, he sent me to bring you [back], when will you go?' 69 The chief also entered the fire the way that Round Face had, and then he died. 70 And from

*hok-ey-an.*

be-pAS-3S/PT

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then on, Round Face and his wives lived in that place.

**BLACKIE**

- 1 *di-ka kiji name tha-Ø-du camăica hok-Ø-thyo.*  
one-HNC blackie name be-SAS-NPT woman be-SAS-3SCOND
- 2 *to-ko ama si-ŋa libi, apa-ye begale uma*  
that-GEN mother die-CNS after father-ERG other wife
- rah-Ø-u-no.* 3 *libi kiji-kăi begale ama-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du*  
bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after blackie-PM other mother-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT
- beryaŋ, ahe jet thah-Ø-an.* 4 *jet-guri mesek nih-Ø-u-du*  
that.time much work be-SAS-3S/PT work-IND eye see-SAS-3P-NPT
- sakalei loŋ-ko măiy-Ø-an.* 5 *apa-ye woi uma-ko wakhe*  
all do-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT father-ERG also wife-GEN word
- nasăi-to-le ja-Ø-du ma-ja-Ø-du kiji-kăi kaŋah-Ø-an.*  
hear-TPP-PCL okay-SAS-NPT NEG-okay-SAS-NPT blackie-PM scold-SAS-3S/PT
- 6 *uma rah-Ø-u-du-yiŋ, apa woi begale uma uniŋ thah-Ø-an.*  
wife bring-SAS-3P-NPT-ABL father also other wife like be-SAS-3S/PT
- 7 *kiji-kăi nan oste-ko su woi ma-hok-Ø-du uniŋ thah-Ø-an.*  
blackie-PM now self-GEN who also NEG-be-SAS-NPT like be-SAS-3S/PT
- 8 *kiji nasa-ye tel-to-le nah-Ø-u-du uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le*  
black mud-INS squeeze-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-NPT like be-SAS-1PP-PCL
- hok-Ø-an.* 9 *libi begale ama di-ka camăi nik-Ø-an.*  
be-SAS-3S/PT after other mother one-HNC daughter give.birth-SAS-3S/PT
- 10 *libi humi woi jekha thah-Ø-an, kiji-kăi-guri isa-ko*  
after younger.sister also big be-SAS-3S/PT blackie-PM-IND food-GEN

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1 There once lived a woman by the name of Blackie. 2 After her mother had died, her father brought another wife. 3 On account of this other mother Blackie had a great deal of work to do. 4 She had to do every job which the eye sees. 5 Father listened to his wife, and for better or for worse, scolded Blackie. 6 Since father had brought this wife, he too had become just like her [i.e. mean]. 7 Now Blackie felt like she had no family left at all. 8 She lived feeling as if she was squished by black mud. 9 Later her step-mother gave birth to a daughter. 10 As her younger sister grew up, Blackie was given only the crusts of the food to eat.



*gogok piy-Ø-u-thyo.* 11 *oste-ko camăi-kăi-guri, nunu, asare*  
 crust give-SAS-3P-3SCOND self-GEN daughter-PM-IND milk tasty  
*ni-Ø-du yah-Ø-u-thyo.* 12 *ka tha-Ø-du-guri, kiji-ko*  
 appear-SAS-NPT feed-SAS-3P-3SCOND this be-SAS-NPT-IND blackie-GEN  
*di-gore tuŋi hok-Ø-thyo, to-ye-guri yo-le nah-Ø-u-thyo.*  
 one-CLF goat be-SAS-3SCOND that-ERG-IND look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3SCOND  
 13 *to tuŋi tha-le woi, kiji-ye hara loŋ-Ø-u-du, sakalei*  
 that goat be-PCL also blackie-ERG what do-SAS-3P-NPT all  
*săiy-Ø-u-thyo.* 14 *tuŋi oste ja-si-Ø-du thăi-te*  
 know-SAS-3P-3SCOND goat self graze-REF-SAS-NPT place-LOC  
*ya-let-Ø-ta-le, kiji-kăi isa okyok-yiŋ kăi-to-le*  
 go-appear-SAS-IPP-PCL blackie-PM food throat-ABL remove-TPP-PCL  
*piy-Ø-u-thyo.* 15 *di uni humi woi tuŋi ja-sa*  
 give-SAS-3P-3SCOND one day younger.sister also goat graze-INF  
*tete nama yah-Ø-an.* 16 *pebu-te ya-let-Ø-du*  
 elder.sister with go-SAS-3S/PT irrigated.field-LOC go-appear-SAS-NPT  
*beryaŋ, tuŋi-ye okyok-yiŋ isa kăi-to-le piy-Ø-u-no, ka*  
 that.time goat-ERG throat-ABL food remove-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this  
*humi-ye ni-to-le ‘tete, găi-găi woi pi-ŋa!’*  
 younger.sister-ERG see-TPP-PCL elder.sister I-PM also give-s→1s/IMP  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 17 *‘găi hara woi ma-cya-ta-ŋa-ki, pebu-te*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I what also NEG-eat-IPP-1s-NPS irrigated.field-LOC  
*khalam-u-n-du di-gore racya cya-ŋa-du’ kiji-ye*  
 meet-3P-1s→3-NPT one-CLF unhusked.rice eat-1s-NPT blackie-ERG

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11 She [the mother] fed her own daughter milk and other tasty things. 12 At this time, Blackie had a goat who was watching what was happening. 13 Even though it was a goat, it understood everything that Blackie did. 14 Having arrived at the place where it grazed, the goat would remove food from its throat, and would give it to Blackie. 15 One day, younger sister went along with her elder sister to graze the goat. 16 When they arrived at the irrigated field, the goat removed some food from its throat and gave it [to Blackie], and seeing this, the younger sister said ‘elder sister, give me some too!’ 17 ‘My not having eaten anything at all, I came across one grain of rice in the field which I will eat’, Blackie said.

*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 18 'nany-e oste-ko ama-kăi ma-ŋah-o, gǎ-ye  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-ERG self-GEN mother-PM NEG-say-s→3/IMP I-ERG  
*pi-na-ŋa-du'* *ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 19 'gǎ-ye su-kăi woi ma-ŋa, nan  
 give-2s-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG who-PM also NEG-say now  
*găi-găi pi-ŋa!'*, *to-ye piy-Ø-u-no.* 20 *oste-ko*  
 I-PM give-s→1s/IMP that-ERG give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT self-GEN  
*camăi-kăi-guri asare ni-Ø-du cya-sa piy-Ø-u-thyo,*  
 daughter-PM-IND tasty appear-SAS-NPT eat-INF give-SAS-3P-3SCOND  
*kiji-kăi-guri ma-yah-Ø-u-thyo.* 21 *libi tete-ye*  
 blackie-PM-IND NEG-feed-SAS-3P-3SCOND after elder.sister-ERG  
*piy-Ø-u-du isa pin-ŋaŋ na-to-le ama-kăi cikhet-sa*  
 give-SAS-3P-NPT food fingernail-inside put-TPP-PCL mother-PM show-INF  
*nem-te hen-Ø-u-no.* 22 *nem-te hen-to-le, sakalei wakhe*  
 house-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house-LOC take-TPP-PCL all word  
*to-ko ama-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 23 *ka nasăi-to-le, ama-kăi*  
 that-GEN mother-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this hear-TPP-PCL mother-PM  
*tuŋi nama aŋthe rage let-Ø-an.* 24 *nyoŋi apa-kăi woi*  
 goat with very anger appear-SAS-3S/PT evening father-PM also  
*ci-săiy-Ø-u-no,* *to woi rage thah-Ø-an.* 25 *tyaŋ apa-ye*  
 CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that also anger be-SAS-3S/PT then father-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no 'nan baŋthe ka tuŋi sat-ko măiy-Ø-an.'*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now tomorrow this goat kill-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT  
 26 *ka wakhe tuŋi-ye nasăiy-Ø-u-no, tyaŋ to-ye kiji-kăi*  
 this word goat-ERG hear-SAS-3→3/PT then that-ERG blackie-PM

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18 'I'll give you some, but don't tell your mother', she [Blackie] said. 19 'I won't tell anyone, now give it to me!' and [so] she gave it to her. 20 She [mother] would give her own daughter tasty things to eat, but would not feed Blackie. 21 Then she placed the food that her elder sister had given her on her fingernail and took it back home to show her mother. 22 Having taken it home, she told her mother everything that had happened. 23 When she heard this, the mother became very angry with the goat. 24 In the evening, she also told her father, and he too was angry. 25 Then father said 'now tomorrow this goat must be killed.' 26 The goat [over]heard this discussion and then called Blackie over and told her.

*urou-to-le ηah-∅-u-no.* 27 *'nan baṭhe apa-ye gǎi-gǎi*  
 call-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now tomorrow father-ERG I-PM  
*sat-∅-ηa-du, gǎi-gǎi sat-ηa libi, naṭ ma-kerep-e,*  
 kill-SAS-1s-NPT I-PM kill-CNS after you NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP  
*ma-cijyany-e', tuṇi-ye ηah-∅-u-no.* 28 *'gǎ-ye naṭ-kǎi*  
 NEG-speak-s/NEG/IMP goat-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG you-PM  
*di-gore wakhe ηa-na-ηa-du, nasǎiy-o!'* 29 *'baṭhe naṭ-kǎi*  
 one-CLF word say-2s-1s-NPT hear-s→3/IMP tomorrow you-PM  
*apa-ye isa cya-sa-kǎi urouh-∅-u-du, naṭ-guri 'kapu kalǎi-le*  
 father-ERG food eat-INF-PM call-SAS-3P-NPT you-IND head hurt-PCL  
*hok-ηa-du, ma-cya' ηah-o!'* 30 *'libi kosa ci-sa*  
 be-1s-NPT NEG-eat say-s→3/IMP after bone throw.away-INF  
*urouy-eṅ-du, tyañ hen-sa, to kosa ṭhum-sa, ṭhum-si-∅-du ṭhǎi-yiṅ*  
 call-pAS-NPT then go-INF that bone bury-INF bury-REF-SAS-NPT place-ABL  
*maṇǎi-ko pole bo-∅-du.'* 31 *to tuṇi sat-sa wakhe nasǎi-to-le,*  
 bread-GEN tree sprout-SAS-NPT that goat kill-INF word hear-TPP-PCL  
*kiji kerep-∅-an.* 32 *baṭhe syañ tuṇi pal-eṅ-no, cici*  
 blackie cry-SAS-3S/PT tomorrow period goat chop-pAS-3→3/PT meat  
*uman-to-le cey-eṅ-an.* 33 *libi kiji-kǎi woi cya-sa-kǎi*  
 cook-TPP-PCL eat-pAS-3S/PT after blackie-PM also eat-INF-PM  
*urouy-eṅ-no, to-guri 'kapu kalǎi-∅-du' ηa-to-le ma-yah-∅-an.*  
 call-pAS-3→3/PT that-IND head hurt-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL NEG-go-SAS-3S/PT  
 34 *'kosa-guri ci-sa-kǎi ra-∅' 'ja-∅-du'*  
 bone-IND throw.away-INF-PM come.from.level-s/IMP okay-SAS-NPT

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27 'Now tomorrow father will kill me, once he has killed me, don't you cry, and don't say a thing', the goat said. 28 'Now I'm going to tell you something, so listen carefully!' 29 'Tomorrow your father will call you to come and eat and you must say 'I have a headache, I won't eat.' 30 'Then they will call you to come and throw away the bones, then go and bury the bones, and from the place that they are buried, a bread-tree will sprout.' 31 When she heard all this talk about the goat being killed, Blackie cried. 32 The following day they slaughtered the goat, cooked up the meat and ate it. 33 Later they also called Blackie to come and eat, but she said 'I have a headache' and she didn't go. 34 'Come and throw the bones away!' [they called], 'okay' [she replied], and went off to remove the bones.

*ŋa-to-le, kosa ya-käiy-Ø-u-no.* 35 *kosa ra-to-le*  
 say-TPP-PCL bone go-remove-SAS-3P-3→3/PT bone bring-TPP-PCL  
*tuŋi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du uniŋ ʃhum-Ø-u-no.* 36 *baʃhe syaŋ*  
 goat-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT like bury-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tomorrow period  
*yoh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, to-te maŋäi-ko pole cyuri-te maŋäi*  
 look.at-SAS-3P-NPT that.time that-LOC bread-GEN tree top-LOC bread  
*sek-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no, libi to maŋäi cya-le kiji*  
 bloom-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that bread eat-PCL blackie  
*hok-Ø-an.* 37 *to beryaŋ di-ka mosani kyel-Ø-ta-le*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT that that.time one-HNC spirit come-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*‘humi, di-gore maŋäi gäi-gäi pi-ŋa’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 younger.sister one-CLF bread I-PM give-s→1s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 38 *kiji-ye di-gore maŋäi ci-ros-Ø-u-no.* 39 *mosani-ye*  
 blackie-ERG one-CLF bread CAUS-fall-SAS-3P-3→3/PT spirit-ERG  
*ahe amat-Ø-u-no, kiji-ye woi ci-ros-Ø-u-no, libi*  
 much beg-SAS-3P-3→3/PT blackie-ERG also CAUS-fall-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after  
*mosani-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no:* 40 *‘humi, naŋ-ko maŋäi sakalei usi*  
 spirit-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister you-GEN bread all piss  
*kiŋi-te ros-Ø-an.’* 41 *‘naŋ nhate yu-ta-na-le, maŋäi*  
 shit-LOC fall-SAS-3S/PT you down come.from.above-IPP-2s-PCL bread  
*pi-ŋa!’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 42 *to woi nhate*  
 give-s→1s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that also down  
*yu-Ø-ta-le maŋäi piy-Ø-u-no.* 43 *libi to*  
 come.from.above-SAS-IPP-PCL bread give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that

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35 Having brought the bones, she buried them as the goat had said. 36 The following day, when she went to look, she saw that at the top of the bread tree a bread had blossomed, and then Blackie sat there eating the bread. 37 At that time, a spirit came by and said ‘younger sister, give me a bread!’ 38 So Blackie made one bread fall [from the tree]. 39 The spirit asked for a lot [of bread], and Blackie made them fall, then the spirit said: 40 ‘Younger sister, all your bread has fallen into piss and shit.’ 41 ‘You come down [from up there on the tree], and give me some bread!’, he said. 42 So she came down and gave him some bread. 43 Later, carrying that Blackie, the spirit took her to his house.

*kiji-kăi cabu-to-le, mosani-ko nem-te hen-Ø-u-no.*  
 blackie-PM carry-TPP-PCL spirit-GEN house-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 44 *mosani-ye ηah-Ø-u-no ‘humi, nany-e mañăi jyoh-o,*  
 spirit-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister you-ERG bread burn-s→3/IMP  
*ni uli-si-ta-i-le kyel-i-du’, jet ci-loη-to-le oste-guri*  
 we wash-REF-IPP-1pPS-PCL come-1pPS-NPT work CAUS-do-TPP-PCL self-IND  
*ăikuca hul-sa ya-kăiy-eη-no. 45 nem-te kiji-ye*  
 large.knife sharpen-INF go-remove-pAS-3→3/PT house-LOC blackie-ERG  
*mañăi jyoh-Ø-u-no. 46 to beryaη doroη-yiη di-gore uyu*  
 bread burn-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that that.time hole-ABL one-CLF mouse  
*let-Ø-ta-le aghyow-Ø-an ‘tete, naη ka-te*  
 appear-SAS-IPP-PCL cry.out-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister you this-LOC  
*ma-hok-e, naη-kăi sat-eη-na-du.’ 47 uyu-kăi di-gore mañăi*  
 NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP you-PM kill-pAS-2s-NPT mouse-PM one-CLF bread  
*piy-Ø-u-no, uyu doroη-ηaη mañăi hen-to-le biy-Ø-an.*  
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mouse hole-inside bread take-TPP-PCL enter-SAS-3S/PT  
 48 *mosani ăikuca kyel-to-le khaηou-yiη urouh-Ø-u-no,*  
 spirit large.knife bring-TPP-PCL door-ABL call-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*ma-cijyaη-Ø-an. 49 kiji-ye ustok-Ø-u-du, ustok cijyaη-Ø-an.*  
 NEG-speak-SAS-3S/PT blackie-ERG spit-SAS-3P-NPT spit speak-SAS-3S/PT  
 50 *su woi khaηou ɤaη-sa ma-kyel-Ø-an, mosani rage-ye*  
 who also door open-INF NEG-come-SAS-3S/PT spirit anger-INS  
*khaηou ɤhem-to-le biy-Ø-an. 51 yoh-Ø-u-no, su woi*  
 door break-TPP-PCL enter-SAS-3S/PT look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT who also

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44 The spirit said ‘younger sister, you bake the bread and we’ll come once we have had a wash’, and setting her to work in this way, they themselves went off to go and sharpen their large knives. 45 Blackie baked the breads in the house. 46 At that time, a mouse came out of a hole and squeaked ‘elder sister, don’t stay in this place, they are going to kill you.’ 47 She gave the mouse one piece of bread and the mouse, taking the bread, went back into his hole. 48 The spirit, bringing the large knife, called to her from the door [of the house] but she didn’t reply. 49 Blackie spat, and her spit spoke. 50 No one came to open the door, and the spirit, breaking down the door in fury, entered. 51 He looked around but saw no one, he searched everywhere, but Blackie wasn’t there.

*ma-nih-Ø-u-no, sakalei thăi daŋ-Ø-u-no, kiji ma-hok.*  
 NEG-see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT all place search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT blackie NEG-be  
 52 *kiji demca cabu-to-le oste-ko nem-te ya-let-Ø-an,*  
 blackie load carry-TPP-PCL self-GEN house-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT  
*ya-let-Ø-ta-le ama apa-kăi urouh-Ø-u-no, to-baŋ*  
 go-appear-SAS-IPP-PCL mother father-PM call-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-Pp  
*ma-cijyany-eŋ-an. 53 libi to-ye ‘găi-găi ahe thah-Ø-an’*  
 NEG-speak-pAS-3S/PT after that-ERG I-PM much be-SAS-3S/PT  
*ŋa-to-le artik-Ø-du beryaŋ serek-eŋ-an. 54 ‘camăi-ye hara*  
 say-TPP-PCL shout-SAS-NPT that.time arise-pAS-3S/PT daughter-ERG what  
*ra-to-le ra?’ ŋa-to-le khaŋou ŋany-eŋ-no. 55 apa-ye*  
 bring-TPP-PCL or say-TPP-PCL door open-pAS-3→3/PT father-ERG  
*to-kăi khate-te hen-Ø-u-no, libi kiji-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no*  
 that-PM roof-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after blackie-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*‘apa, menca phah-o!’ 56 apa-ye menca*  
 father cloth.bag hold.out.hand.to.receive-s→3/IMP father-ERG cloth.bag  
*phah-Ø-u-no, libi camăi-ye di menca*  
 hold.out.hand.to.receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after daughter-ERG one cloth.bag  
*pepelek pi-to-le nih-Ø-u-no. 57 ka niy-eŋ-to-le apa*  
 money give-TPP-PCL see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this see-pAS-TPP-PCL father  
*ama nui-ca nui-ca ŋay-eŋ-no ‘camăi, ka kuta-yiŋ*  
 mother laugh-PSG laugh-PSG say-pAS-3→3/PT daughter this where-ABL  
*kyel-u-na-n?’ 58 ‘kuta khalam-u-na-n? kuta-yiŋ kyel-u-na-n?’*  
 bring-3P-2s-PT where meet-3P-2s-PT where-ABL bring-3P-2s-PT

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52 Blackie arrived at her own house carrying a load, and having arrived she called her mother and father, but they didn't reply. 53 When she cried out 'this is too heavy for me' they [the parents] finally got up. 54 'What is it that our daughter has brought?' they said, as they opened the door. 55 The father took her up to the roof, and then Blackie said 'father, please take the cloth bag from me!' 56 Father held out his hand to receive the bag, and then saw that she had given him a bag full of money. 57 When the father and mother saw this, they said, laughing and smiling 'daughter, whence did you bring this?' 58 'Where did you find it? Whence did you bring it?'

- 59 *to-ye woi tuṇi-ko kosa thum-Ø-u-du-yiṇ, sakalei wakhe*  
 that-ERG also goat-GEN bone bury-SAS-3P-NPT-ABL all word  
*ci-nasāiy-Ø-u-no.* 60 *libi uyu-ko-guri wakhe ṇa-sa*  
 CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after mouse-GEN-IND word say-INF  
*ma-sāi-to-le.* 61 *ka wakhe nasāi-to-le, ama taṇ-Ø-an.*  
 NEG-know-TPP-PCL this word hear-TPP-PCL mother be.happy-SAS-3S/PT
- 62 *libi oste-ko camāi-kāi woi to-te thō-sa daṇ-Ø-u-no.*  
 after self-GEN daughter-PM also that-LOC send-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 63 *'nan gāi-go camāi-kāi woi to-te thō-ko māiy-Ø-an'*  
 now I-GEN daughter-PM also that-LOC send-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT  
*ṇah-Ø-u-no.* 64 *baṭhe syaṇ oste-ko camāi-kāi pole-te*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tomorrow period self-GEN daughter-PM tree-LOC  
*ci-lun-to-le nah-Ø-u-no.* 65 *mosani kyel-Ø-ta-le pole*  
 CAUS-climb-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT spirit come-SAS-IPP-PCL tree  
*nama hen-Ø-u-no.* 66 *libi to-kāi woi maṇāi jyou-sa jet*  
 with take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that-PM also bread burn-INF work  
*ci-loṇ-Ø-u-no.* 67 *libi oste-guri āikuca hul-sa*  
 CAUS-do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after self-IND large.knife sharpen-INF  
*yah-Ø-an.* 68 *maṇāi jyou-to-le nah-Ø-u-no, di-gore uyu*  
 go-SAS-3S/PT bread burn-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-CLF mouse  
*let-Ø-ta-le aghyow-Ø-an 'tete, naṇ-ko di-gore maṇāi*  
 appear-SAS-IPP-PCL cry.out-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister you-GEN one-CLF bread  
*woi cya-ṇa-du, di-gore wakhe woi ṇa-na-ṇa-du' ṇah-Ø-u-no.*  
 also eat-1s-NPT one-CLF word also say-3P-1s→3-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

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59 So she told them everything that had happened since she buried the bones of the goat. 60 But she forgot to tell them about the mouse. 61 Hearing this story, mother was happy. 62 Then she even tried to send her own daughter to that place. 63 'Now I really should send my daughter to that place', she said. 64 The following day she made her own daughter climb the tree. 65 Then the spirit came and took her away along with the [whole] tree. 66 Then he [the spirit] made her [the daughter] bake the bread. 67 Later, he himself went off to sharpen his big knife. 68 They left her to bake the bread, then a mouse appeared and squeaked 'elder sister, let me eat one of your breads, and then I'll tell you something', he said.

- 69 *to-ye uyu-kǎi mañǎi ma-piy-Ø-u-no, uyu-kǎi*  
 that-ERG mouse-PM bread NEG-give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mouse-PM  
*kaṭah-Ø-an.* 70 *uyu ari-Ø-ta-le doronj duj-ṅaṅ*  
 scold-SAS-3S/PT mouse be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL hole within-inside  
*biy-Ø-an, to wakhe ci-nasǎi-sa ma-thaṅ-Ø-u-no.*  
 enter-SAS-3S/PT that word CAUS-hear-INF NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 71 *nyoṅi thah-Ø-an, di-ka mosani rah-Ø-an,*  
 evening be-SAS-3S/PT one-HNC spirit come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT  
*nyoṅi-ko isa cya-Ø-ta-le, cic-amiy-Ø-u-no.* 72 *ṭaye*  
 evening-GEN food eat-SAS-IPP-PCL CAUS-sleep-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night  
*to-ko cici mosani-ye cyah-Ø-u-no.* 73 *huca arṭik-Ø-an*  
 that-GEN meat spirit-ERG eat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT child shout-SAS-3S/PT  
*'ra-Ø, apa ra-Ø!' ṅa-to-le, libi*  
 come.from.level-s/IMP father come.from.level-s/IMP say-TPP-PCL after  
*to-ko sakalei cici cyah-Ø-u-no.* 74 *mosani-ye kosa-guri apa-ko*  
 that-GEN all meat eat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT spirit-ERG bone-IND father-GEN  
*nem-te ra-to-le lanḡa-te nah-Ø-u-no.* 75 *ama-guri*  
 house-LOC bring-TPP-PCL courtyard-LOC put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother-IND  
*'nan camǎi-ye ahe pepelek rah-Ø-u-du' ṅa-to-le*  
 now daughter-ERG much money bring-SAS-3P-NPT say-TPP-PCL
- taṅ-taṅ woi kapu ḡi-si-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-thyo.* 76 *to*  
 be.happy-be.happy also head comb-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND that  
*beryaṅ di-gore agak yuw-Ø-an.* 77 *'nan naṅ-ko*  
 that.time one-CLF crow come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT now you-GEN

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69 Not giving the mouse a bread, she scolded it. 70 The mouse was afraid and so it went back into its hole, without having been able to tell its story. 71 It was evening, and the spirit came home, ate his evening meal, and then put her [daughter] to bed. 72 At night, the spirit feasted on her meat [lit. meat] had been eaten up. 73 The child shouted 'come, father, come!', but by then her whole body [lit. meat] had been eaten up. 74 The spirit brought the bones back to her father's house and left them in the courtyard. 75 Mother was thinking 'now daughter will bring back a lot of money' and she sat there smiling and laughing, combing her hair. 76 At that time, a crow came down [and landed]. 77 'Now your daughter is but [a pile of] bones', the crow cried.



*camăi kosa thah-Ø-an' agak-e ŋah-Ø-u-no. 78 libi*  
 daughter bone be-SAS-3S/PT crow-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after  
*lanġa-te yoh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ camăi-ko kosa*  
 courtyard-LOC look.at-SAS-3P-NPT that.time daughter-GEN bone  
*nih-Ø-u-no. 79 nan apa ama kerep-eŋ-an. 80 kiji-guri*  
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now father mother cry-pAS-3S/PT blackie-IND  
*sumaka hok-Ø-an.*  
 silent be-SAS-3S/PT

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78 Then, when she [mother] looked around in the courtyard she saw her daughter's bones. 79 Now father and mother cried. 80 And Blackie sat in silence.

## THE MISSING BREAD

1 *di-ka cahuca-ko apa ama siy-eŋ-an.* 2 *to-ko*  
 one-HNC man-GEN father mother die-pAS-3S/PT that-GEN

*nem-te cya-sa hara woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 3 *to cahuca*  
 house-LOC eat-INF what also NEG-be-sAS-3SCOND that man

*dese-te amat-to-le maŋăi cya-Ø-thyo.* 4 *maŋăi-guri nem-te*  
 village-LOC beg-TPP-PCL bread eat-sAS-3SCOND bread-IND house-LOC

*ra-to-le nah-Ø-u-thyo, loŋe gwi-to-le cya-Ø-thyo.*  
 bring-TPP-PCL put-sAS-3P-3SCOND jackal steal-TPP-PCL eat-sAS-3SCOND

5 *‘hara-ye cyah-Ø-u-du?’ ŋa-to-le, di uni nem priŋ*  
 what-ERG eat-sAS-3P-NPT say-TPP-PCL one day house outside

*hok-Ø-ta-le ɖapuh-Ø-u-no.* 6 *‘maŋăi loŋe gwi-to-le*  
 be-sAS-IPP-PCL spy-sAS-3P-3→3/PT bread jackal steal-TPP-PCL

*cyah-Ø-an, nan ka-kăi cum-to-le ŋe-ko măiy-Ø-an’*  
 eat-sAS-3S/PT now this-PM hold-TPP-PCL beat-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT

*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 7 *di uni ɖapu-to-le hok-Ø-thyo, loŋe*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT one day spy-TPP-PCL be-sAS-3SCOND jackal

*ra-Ø-ta-le, nem duŋ-ŋaŋ loŋe biy-Ø-an, to*  
 come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL house within-inside jackal enter-sAS-3S/PT that

*woi bi-Ø-ta-le cum-Ø-u-no.* 8 *‘nan naŋ-kăi gă-ye*  
 also enter-sAS-IPP-PCL hold-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now you-PM I-ERG

*sat-na-ŋa-du, găi-go maŋăi nany-e cyah-u-na-n.’* 9 *loŋe-ye*  
 kill-2s-1s-NPT I-GEN bread you-ERG eat-3P-2s-PT jackal-ERG

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1 A man's father and mother had died. 2 There was nothing to eat in his house. 3 That man ate bread that he begged in the village. 4 Bringing the bread back, he stored it at home, but a jackal stole it and ate it up. 5 'What is eating [my bread]?' he thought, so one day, sitting outside his house, he spied. 6 'It's the jackal who stole my bread and ate it, now I must catch it and beat it', he said. 7 One day he was sitting there spying when he saw the jackal come over and enter the house, so he also went in and caught the jackal. 8 'Now I'm going to kill you, [as] you ate my bread.' 9 The jackal said 'please don't kill me, I'll bring food from another place and give it to you.'

*ŋah-Ø-u-no* 'gǎi-gǎi *ma-sat-aŋ,* gǎ-ye *naŋ-kǎi begale*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM NEG-kill-s→1s/IMP I-ERG you-PM other  
*ʃhǎi-yiŋ isa kyel-to-le pi-na-ŋa-du.'* 10 *cahuca-ye 'ja-Ø-du'*  
 place-ABL food bring-TPP-PCL give-2s-1s-NPT man-ERG okay-SAS-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no,* *to-kǎi to-te nah-Ø-u-no,* *nan nis-ka*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-PM that-LOC put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now two-HNC  
*bubu hu uniŋ hok-eŋ-an.* 11 *di uni loŋe-ye*  
 elder.brother younger.brother like be-PAS-3S/PT one day jackal-ERG  
*cahuca-kǎi bore loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no.* 12 *di uni loŋe*  
 man-PM marriage do-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day jackal  
*bamŋi-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le,* *ya-ŋa libi to-ye ŋa-to-le*  
 Brahmin-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL go-CNS after that-ERG say-TPP-PCL  
*'gǎi bamŋi-ko ca-kǎi wari amat-sa kyel-ŋa-du.'* 13 *libi*  
 I Brahmin-GEN son-PM daughter.in.law beg-INF come-1s-NPT after  
*bamŋi-ye 'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le camǎi piy-Ø-u-no,* 'nan  
 Brahmin-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL daughter give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now  
*ahe mi kyel-o,* *tyaŋ gǎi-go camǎi hen-o'*  
 many person bring-s→3/IMP then I-GEN daughter take-s→3/IMP  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 14 *loŋe cahuca-ko nem-te kyel-Ø-an*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT jackal man-GEN house-LOC come-SAS-3S/PT  
*'bubu,* *gǎ-ye naŋ-kǎi uma amat-to-le ra-ŋa-n,*  
 elder.brother I-ERG you-PM wife beg-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-PT  
*baŋthe ahe mi hen-to-le hen-ko mǎi-Ø-du.'* 15 'nan ahe  
 tomorrow many person take-TPP-PCL go-ADH must-SAS-NPT now many

10 The man said 'okay' and set him down right there, and from then on they lived together as if they were brothers. 11 One day the jackal sought to get the man married. 12 One day the jackal went to a Brahmin's house, and having got there, said 'I have come to ask for a daughter-in-law for the son of a Brahmin.' 13 Then the Brahmin said 'okay' and he offered his daughter, 'now come back with many people and then take my daughter' he said. 14 The jackal came back home [and said] 'elder brother, I have returned from arranging a wife for you, tomorrow we must take many people and go [there].' 15 'But we don't have enough food to bring to that many people, what can we do younger brother?'

- mi kyel-sa-kăi cya-sa ma-hok, hara loŋ-sa hu?*  
 person bring-INF-PM eat-INF NEG-be what do-INF younger.brother
- 16 *loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘gă-ye săi-le hok-ŋa-du, nan ni-ye*  
 jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG know-PCL be-1s-NPT now we-ERG  
*ahe ɬupuri curuk-ko măi-Ø-du, tyañ ɬupuri hen-ko măi-Ø-du.’*  
 many cap sew-ADH must-SAS-NPT then cap take-ADH must-SAS-NPT
- 17 *baŋthe syañ ahe ɬupuri curuk-eŋ-no, tyañ nis-ka*  
 tomorrow period many cap sew-pAS-3→3/PT then two-HNC  
*thay-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-an, loŋe-ye ɬupuri cabuh-Ø-u-no.*  
 be-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT jackal-ERG cap carry-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 18 *hen-sa beryañ, di-gore soŋ-yiŋ hen-ko măi-Ø-thyo. 19 libi*  
 go-INF that.time one-CLF river-ABL go-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND after  
*bamŋi-ko nem-te ya-let-eŋ-an, tyañ loŋe-ye*  
 Brahmin-GEN house-LOC go-appear-pAS-3S/PT then jackal-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ni-ko sakalei tap-Ø-an, tap-Ø-an,*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-GEN all be.finished-SAS-3S/PT be.finished-SAS-3S/PT  
*nan hara woi ma-hok’ ŋa-to-le kerep-eŋ-an. 20 bamŋi-ye*  
 now what also NEG-be say-TPP-PCL cry-pAS-3S/PT Brahmin-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ma-kerep-ne, hara thah-Ø-an? ŋa-ne!’*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-cry-p/IMP what be-SAS-3S/PT say-p→1s/IMP
- 21 *loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ni-ko ahe mi kyel-eŋ-thyo,*  
 jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-GEN many person come-pAS-3SCOND  
*sony-e hen-Ø-u-no, ɬupuri-guri cum-to-le rah-u-n-uŋ,*  
 river-INS take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cap-IND hold-TPP-PCL bring-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

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16 The jackal said ‘I know [what to do], we must now sew up many caps and then take those caps [along tomorrow].’ 17 By the following day, they had sewn many caps and then the two of them set off, with the jackal carrying the caps. 18 Along the way they had to cross a river. 19 Later they arrived at the Brahmin’s house and the jackal said ‘everything we had is gone, finished, now we have nothing left’, and saying this they cried. 20 The Brahmin said ‘don’t cry, what happened? Tell me!’ 21 The jackal said ‘many of our people were coming but then the river washed them away, I brought their caps which I fished out, here, take a look!’

*ka yoh-o!* 22 *bam̃i-ye ηah-∅-u-no ‘ja-∅-du,*  
 this look.at-s→3/IMP Brahmin-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT okay-sAS-NPT  
*niny-e gǎi-go camǎi hen-no, cya-sa pi-no!*  
 you(p)-ERG I-GEN daughter take-p→3/IMP eat-INF give-p→3/IMP  
 23 *bam̃i-ko camǎi hen-eη-no oste-ko nem-te, sum-ka*  
 Brahmin-GEN daughter take-pAS-3→3/PT self-GEN house-LOC three-HNC  
*thay-eη-ta-le kyel-eη-an.* 24 *libi loηe dese-te cawah-∅-an,*  
 be-pAS-IPP-PCL come-pAS-3S/PT after jackal village-LOC walk-sAS-3S/PT  
*di-ka mesek ma-niy-∅-u-du mi-ko-te ya-let-∅-an.*  
 one-HNC eye NEG-see-sAS-3P-NPT person-GEN-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT  
 25 *to-ko cya-sa ahe hok-∅-thyo.* 26 *lone ya-∅-ta-le*  
 that-GEN eat-INF much be-sAS-3SCOND jackal go-sAS-IPP-PCL  
*ηah-∅-u-no ‘tete, gǎi-gǎi sul-si-sa thǎi cikhet-aη,*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister I-PM hide-REF-INF place show-s→1s/IMP  
*gǎi-gǎi sat-sa mi-pali kyel-eη-le hok-eη-du, naη-kǎi woi*  
 I-PM kill-INF person-p come-pAS-PCL be-pAS-NPT you-PM also  
*sat-eη-du.’* 27 *‘habi gǎi-gǎi duηkuṭi-ko oηgaηe-ηaη gǎi-gǎi*  
 kill-pAS-NPT before I-PM storehouse-GEN hole-inside I-PM  
*ci-bi-ηa, libi ka racya-ko bheterek-te naη*  
 CAUS-enter-s→1s/IMP after this unhusked.rice-GEN bamboo.mat-LOC you  
*bi-ta-na-le sul-se!’ loηe taη-∅-an.* 28 *libi mesek*  
 enter-IPP-2s-PCL hide-s/REF/IMP jackal be.happy-sAS-3S/PT after eye  
*ma-niy-∅-u-du-kǎi oηgaηe-ηaη tham-∅-u-no, tyaη nasa-ye*  
 NEG-see-sAS-3P-NPT-PM hole-inside insert-sAS-3P-3→3/PT then earth-INS

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22 And the Brahmin said ‘okay, take my daughter and feed her!’ 23 They took the Brahmin’s daughter, returning home as a threesome. 24 Later the jackal walked to the village and arrived at the home of a blind person. 25 She had lots of things to eat. 26 The jackal went and said ‘elder sister, show me a place to hide, there are people coming to kill me and they may kill you too.’ 27 ‘First push me into the hole in the storehouse, then get into a bamboo mat for holding rice and hide yourself there!’ [the blind woman said], and the jackal smiled to himself. 28 Then he [the jackal] inserted the blind person in the hole and then filled it up with earth.

*lup-Ø-u-no.*            29 *to-ye-guri*    *to-ko*    *nem-te*    *hok-Ø-du*  
 fill.up-SAS-3P-3→3/PT    that-ERG-IND    that-GEN    house-LOC    be-SAS-NPT  
*racya*            *saṅa*            *jakcho*    *sakalei*    *ra-to-le*            *bamṇi-ko*  
 unhusked.rice    finger.millet    wheat    all            bring-TPP-PCL    Brahmin-GEN  
*camăi*    *ḍamari-kăi*    *piy-Ø-u-no.*            30 *libi*    *jekha*    *mi*  
 daughter    son.in.law-PM    give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT            after    big    person  
*thay-eṅ-ta-le*    *hok-eṅ-an.*  
 be-pAS-IPP-PCL    be-pAS-3S/PT

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29 Then he [the jackal] brought back all unhusked rice, finger millet and wheat that was in that house, and gave it all to the Brahmin's daughter and son-in-law. 30 And from then on they lived as important people.

## GREEDY SISTER

- 1 *dī ʃhāi-te nis-ka uma lawa hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *to-baŋ-ko*  
 one place-LOC two-HNC wife husband be-pAS-3SCOND that-Pp-GEN
- ahe raŋ pebu woi hok-Ø-thyo.*  
 much unirrigated.field irrigated.field also be-sAS-3SCOND
- 3 *raŋ pebu cya-sa-guri di-ka woi*  
 unirrigated.field irrigated.field eat-INF-IND one-HNC also
- ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 4 *to-baŋ ca amat-sa-kāi dewa-te woi yey-eŋ-an,*  
 NEG-be-sAS-3SCOND that-Pp son beg-INF-PM god-LOC also go-pAS-3S/PT
- ca camāi ma-thah-Ø-an.* 5 *libi to-baŋ guru-ko-te*  
 son daughter NEG-be-sAS-3S/PT after that-Pp shaman-GEN-LOC
- yey-eŋ-an, guru-kāi meke hen-to-le ‘ca camāi*  
 go-pAS-3S/PT shaman-PM ritual.offering take-TPP-PCL son daughter
- tha-Ø-du ra ma-tha?’ ŋa-to-le ci-yoy-eŋ-no.* 6 *libi*  
 be-sAS-NPT or NEG-be say-TPP-PCL CAUS-look.at-pAS-3→3/PT after
- di-ka camāi nik-Ø-an ‘nan ca-guri tha-sa-be*  
 one-HNC daughter be.born-sAS-3S/PT now son-IND be-INF-TOP
- ja-Ø-thyo’ ŋay-eŋ-no.* 7 *nan guru-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no*  
 okay-sAS-3SCOND say-pAS-3→3/PT now shaman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
- ‘niŋ-ko camāi-ko bore ma-loŋ-tiniŋ, ca ma-nik.’*  
 you(p)-GEN daughter-GEN marriage NEG-do-PFG son NEG-be.born
- 8 *‘habi camāi-ko bore loŋ-no, tyay ca tha-Ø-du’*  
 before daughter-GEN marriage do-p→3/IMP then son be-sAS-NPT

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1 There once lived a husband and a wife in a certain place. 2 They had many fields, both wet and dry. 3 There was no one to eat the food that grew in their fields. 4 They went to a temple to beg for a son, but received neither son nor daughter. 5 Then they went to see the shaman, taking a ritual offering, and saying ‘will there ever be a son or a daughter?’ they asked him to look [offer a prophetic reading]. 6 Later a daughter was born to them, and they said ‘had this one been a son, then that would have been enough.’ 7 Now the shaman said ‘as long as your daughter remains unmarried, no son will be born.’ 8 ‘First get your daughter married and then you shall have a son’, the shaman told them.

*guru-ye* *ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 9 *nan camăi-ko bore loŋ-sa*  
 shaman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now daughter-GEN marriage do-INF  
*dany-eŋ-no.* 10 *libi di-ka apraca cahuca daŋ-to-le,*  
 search-pAS-3→3/PT after one-HNC good man search-TPP-PCL  
*bore lony-eŋ-no.* 11 *libi guru-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du uniŋ,*  
 marriage do-pAS-3→3/PT after shaman-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT like  
*di-ka ca nik-Ø-an.* 12 *ca nik-Ø-ta-le, nis-ka uma*  
 one-HNC son be.born-SAS-3S/PT son be.born-SAS-IPP-PCL two-HNC wife  
*lawa tany-eŋ-ta-le dese mi-kăi ahe cya-sa*  
 husband be.happy-pAS-IPP-PCL village person-PM much eat-INF  
*piy-eŋ-no.* 13 *libi ucyaca tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, to-ko apa*  
 give-pAS-3→3/PT after small be-SAS-NPT that.time that-GEN father  
*ama siy-eŋ-an.* 14 *apa ama siy-eŋ-du beryaŋ to aŋthe*  
 mother die-pAS-3S/PT father mother die-pAS-NPT that.time that much  
*kerep-Ø-an, to ucyaca hok-Ø-thyo.* 15 *libi tete-ye*  
 cry-SAS-3S/PT that small be-SAS-3SCOND after elder.sister-ERG  
*hu-kăi oste-ko nem-te na-sa hen-Ø-u-no.*  
 younger.brother-PM self-GEN house-LOC put-INF take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 16 *dese mi-pali-ye woi oste-ko hu na-sa-kăi*  
 village person-p-ERG also self-GEN younger.brother put-INF-PM  
*hen-Ø-u-no ŋa-to-le sumaka hok-eŋ-an.* 17 *tete*  
 take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL silent be-pAS-3S/PT elder.sister  
*jarphu-ko nem-te ulica uni apraca nama hok-Ø-an.*  
 elder.sister's.husband-GEN house-LOC few day good with be-SAS-3S/PT

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9 Now they started to arrange their daughter's marriage. 10 Later, having found a nice man, they got her married. 11 Then, as the shaman predicted, a son was born. 12 After the son was born, being very happy, the wife and husband offered the villagers a feast. 13 Later, when he [the son] was still small, his father and mother died. 14 When his father and mother died, at that time he cried a lot, still being so young. 15 Afterwards, elder sister took her younger brother and raised him in her own house. 16 The villagers, on discovering that she had taken her own younger brother into her house, stayed silent. 17 He only stayed at his sister's and brother-in-law's house for a few days.



- 18 *di uni tete jarphu-ko wakhe thah-Ø-an 'nan*  
 one day elder.sister elder.sister's.husband-GEN word be-SAS-3S/PT now  
*ka-kăi sat-to-le, ka-ko raŋ pebu ni-ye*  
 this-PM kill-TPP-PCL this-GEN unirrigated.field irrigated.field we-ERG  
*cya-ko măi-Ø-du' ŋay-eŋ-no. 19 di uni hu apa*  
 eat-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-PAS-3→3/PT one day younger.brother father  
*ama nama hok-sa aliy-Ø-an, to-ye tete-kăi*  
 mother with be-INF like-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG elder.sister-PM  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no. 20 'tete, ni-ko apa ama kuta hok-eŋ-du?*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister we-GEN father mother where be-PAS-NPT  
*găi-găi cikhet-sa hen-aŋ!' tete-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 I-PM show-INF take-s→1s/IMP elder.sister-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 21 *tete-ye hu-kăi sat-sa-kăi daŋ-Ø-u-thyo*  
 elder.sister-ERG younger.brother-PM kill-INF-PM search-SAS-3P-3SCOND  
*'hu, ni-ko apa ama to oŋgane duŋ-ŋaŋ hok-le*  
 younger.brother we-GEN father mother that hole within-inside be-PCL  
*hok-eŋ-du, to duŋ-ŋaŋ sakalei hok-Ø-du.' 22 'to-ŋaŋ sya tuŋi*  
 be-PAS-NPT that within-inside all be-SAS-NPT that-inside cow goat  
*raŋ pebu sakalei hok-Ø-du, naŋ ya-na-du?'*  
 unirrigated.field irrigated.field all be-SAS-NPT you go-2s-NPT
- 23 *hu-ye ahe uni ka apa ama ma-ni-tiniŋ*  
 younger.brother-ERG many day throughout father mother NEG-see-PFG  
*hok-Ø-thyo, tete nama ŋah-Ø-u-no 'nan găi apa ama*  
 be-SAS-3SCOND elder.sister with say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I father mother

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18 One day, elder sister and her husband had a chat 'now we should kill him and take [lit. eat] his fields' they said. 19 One day, the younger brother really wanted to be with his mother and father, and he told his elder sister. 20 'Elder sister, where are our father and mother? Please take me there and show me!', he said to his sister. 21 The elder sister was still trying to kill her younger brother, [so she said] 'brother, our father and mother are living inside that hole, inside there is every kind of thing.' 22 'Inside that [hole] are cows, goats, and wet and dry fields, are you going?' [she said]. 23 Younger brother had lived many days without seeing his parents, and he said to his elder sister 'I want to go to father and mother, take me!'

*nama ya-ŋa-du, gǎi-gǎi hen-aŋ!* 24 *'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le,*  
 with go-1s-NPT I-PM take-s→1s/IMP okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*tete-ye hu-kǎi to oŋgaŋe kherte hen-Ø-u-no.*  
 elder.sister-ERG younger.brother-PM that hole near take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 25 *tete-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'hu, gǎi-gǎi baŋkal*  
 elder.sister-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother I-PM stomach  
*kalǎi-ŋa-le hok-Ø-du, naŋ ya-Ø, gǎi libi ra-ŋa-du.'*  
 hurt-1s-PCL be-SAS-NPT you go-s/IMP I after come.from.level-1s-NPT  
 26 *tete-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du wakhe nasǎi-to-le ya-Ø-thyo, to*  
 elder.sister-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT word hear-TPP-PCL go-SAS-3SCOND that  
*duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an ŋaŋ siy-Ø-an. 27 libi tete-ye*  
 within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT and die-SAS-3S/PT after elder.sister-ERG  
*'hu siy-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le, dese-te ka*  
 younger.brother die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL village-LOC throughout  
*kerep-Ø-ta-le cawah-Ø-an. 28 'nan hu-ko*  
 cry-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT now younger.brother-GEN  
*raŋ pebu sakalei gǎi-go thah-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le.*  
 unirrigated.field irrigated.field all I-GEN be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL  
 29 *uma lawa sumaka hok-eŋ-an, libi athaŋ-Ø-an, uma*  
 wife husband silent be-pAS-3S/PT after become.light-SAS-3S/PT wife  
*lawa laŋga-te hok-eŋ-ta-le kerep-eŋ-an. 30 'nan gǎi-go*  
 husband courtyard-LOC be-pAS-IPP-PCL cry-pAS-3S/PT now I-GEN  
*ŋa-sa ka thǎi-te su woi ma-hok' ŋa-to-le, tete*  
 say-INF this place-LOC who also NEG-be say-TPP-PCL elder.sister

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24 'Okay' said elder sister, and she took him to near the hole. 25 Elder sister said 'younger brother, my stomach hurts, you go [ahead] and I will come later.' 26 Having heard what his elder sister said, he set off, went inside and died. 27 Then, shouting 'younger brother is dead', elder sister walked all around the village crying. 28 'Now younger brother's fields are all mine', she thought. 29 The wife and husband stayed silent, and then when it became light, they sat in the courtyard crying. 30 'Now I have no family left in this place', the elder sister cried.

*kerep-Ø-an.* 31 *hu* *si-ŋa* *libi*, *oŋgaŋe-yiŋ* *di-gore*  
 cry-SAS-3S/PT younger.brother die-CNS after hole-ABL one-CLF  
*kapa* *bow-Ø-an.* 32 *libi* *to* *kapa* *ălămga*  
 feathery.bamboo sprout-SAS-3S/PT after that feathery.bamboo tall  
*thah-Ø-an.* 33 *tete-guri* *hu* *sat-ŋa* *libi*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister-IND younger.brother kill-CNS after  
*raŋ* *pebu* *oste-ko* *tha-Ø-du*, *‘hok-hok-tiniŋ* *cya-ko*  
 unirrigated.field irrigated.field self-GEN be-SAS-NPT be-be-PFG eat-ADH  
*nik-i-du’* *ŋah-Ø-u-no*, *ka* *uniŋ* *ma-thah-Ø-an.* 34 *libi*  
 receive-1PPS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this like NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT after  
*lawa-ye* *begale* *uma* *rah-Ø-u-no.* 35 *tyaŋ* *meseŋ-yiŋ* *raphil*  
 husband-ERG other wife bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then eye-ABL tear  
*ci-let-to-le* *kerep-Ø-an*, *‘nan* *naŋ* *ma-kerep-e’*  
 CAUS-appear-TPP-PCL cry-SAS-3S/PT now you NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP  
*ŋa-to-le*, *su-ye* *woi* *ma-ŋay-eŋ-no.* 36 *to-kăi* *lawa-ko*  
 say-TPP-PCL who-ERG also NEG-say-pAS-3→3/PT that-PM husband-GEN  
*begale* *uma-ye* *nem-yiŋ* *ci-let-Ø-u-no.* 37 *libi*  
 other wife-ERG house-ABL CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after  
*hu-ko* *nem-te* *ya-Ø-ta-le*, *kerep-kerep-Ø-ta-le*  
 younger.brother-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL cry-cry-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*hok-Ø-an.* 38 *di* *uni* *to-ye* *hu* *cijyaŋ-Ø-du* *uniŋ*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT one day that-ERG younger.brother speak-SAS-NPT like  
*nasăiy-Ø-u-no.* 39 *theŋ-Ø-ta-le* *yoh-Ø-u-no*,  
 hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT stand.up-SAS-IPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

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31 After younger brother died, a stalk of feathery bamboo sprouted from the hole. 32 Then that feathery bamboo became very tall. 33 The elder sister, after killing her younger brother, with all the fields being her own, thought ‘we will just sit around and receive food’, but it wasn’t to be like that. 34 Then the husband brought another wife. 35 Then she made tears appear from her eyes and cried, but no one told her not to cry. 36 The husband’s other wife kicked her out of the house. 37 Afterwards she went to her younger brother’s house and sat there crying and crying. 38 One day she heard [what she thought was] her younger brother speaking. 39 She got up and looked around, and in the courtyard saw a person carrying a two-sided drum.

*lan̄ga-te di-ka citaliŋ cabuh-Ø-u-du mi*  
 courtyard-LOC one-HNC two.sided.drum carry-SAS-3P-NPT person  
*nih-Ø-u-no. 40 citaliŋ-yiŋ hu cijyaŋ-Ø-du*  
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT two.sided.drum-ABL younger.brother speak-SAS-NPT  
*wakhe let-le hok-Ø-thyo, to-ye di-gore citaliŋ*  
 word appear-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND that-ERG one-CLF two.sided.drum  
*kăiy-Ø-u-no, nem-te nah-Ø-u-no. 41 ɬaye to*  
 remove-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house-LOC put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night that  
*citaliŋ cijyaŋ-Ø-an 'tete, nany-e găi-go raŋ*  
 two.sided.drum speak-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister you-ERG I-GEN unirrigated.field  
*cya-sa-kăi găi-găi sat-Ø-ŋa-n, naleŋ naŋ kerep-ko măiy-Ø-an.'*  
 eat-INF-PM I-PM kill-SAS-1s-PT present you cry-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT  
 42 *hu-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le, tete thombe*  
 younger.brother-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL elder.sister surprise  
*thah-Ø-an, yoh-Ø-u-no, kuta woi ma-hok. 43 libi to*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT where also NEG-be after that  
*citaliŋ nem duŋ-ŋaŋ nah-Ø-u-no, to*  
 two.sided.drum house within-inside put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that  
*syak-si-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no: 44 'tete, nan*  
 strike-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister now  
*ma-kerep-e, nan naŋ-yiŋ găi ălămtha tha-ŋa-n, naŋ nama găi*  
 NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP now you-ABL I distant be-1s-PT you with I  
*kutaleŋ woi ma-ra.'* 45 *tete-ye kerep-Ø-ta-le*  
 when also NEG-come.from.level elder.sister-ERG cry-IPP-PCL

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40 Younger brother's voice was coming from the two-sided drum, so she [elder sister] bought the drum and put it in her house. 41 At night that two-sided drum spoke 'elder sister, in order to steal [lit. eat] my land, you killed me, now you must cry.' 42 Hearing younger brother's voice, elder sister was surprised, and she looked around, but he was nowhere to be seen. 43 Later, she put that two-sided drum inside the house, but beating by itself, it said: 44 'Elder sister, now stop crying, I am now a long way from you and I will never come back to be with you again.' 45 Elder sister, crying, said 'younger brother, before I did something that I shouldn't have done, I wasn't thinking, but now I won't do it, younger brother, please come back!'

*ŋah-Ø-u-no* 'hu, *habi* *gǎ-ye ma-loŋ-sa jet*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother before I-ERG NEG-do-INF work  
*loŋ-u-n-uŋ,* *gǎi ma-sǎi-ŋa-n,* *nan-guri ma-loŋ, hu*  
 do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I NEG-know-1s-PT now-IND NEG-do younger.brother  
*ra-Ø!'* 46 '*nan naŋ-kǎi kunyaŋ mi loŋ-sa? kunyaŋ*  
 come.from.level-s/IMP now you-PM how person do-INF how  
*mi tha-na-du? gǎi-gǎi ŋa-ŋa!'* 47 *libi hu-ye*  
 person be-2s-NPT I-PM say-s→1s/IMP after younger.brother-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no* 'tete, *gǎi-gǎi khalam-sa-kǎi di-gore jet loŋ-ko*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister I-PM meet-INF-PM one-CLF work do-ADH  
*mǎi-Ø-du,* *tyaŋ gǎi mi tha-ŋa-du.'* 48 '*ja-Ø-du, gǎ-ye jet*  
 must-SAS-NPT then I person be-1s-NPT okay-SAS-NPT I-ERG work  
*loŋ-u-n-du.'* 49 '*nasǎiy-o! dha-te di-gore oŋgaŋe*  
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT hear-s→3/IMP that.distant-LOC one-CLF hole  
*hok-Ø-du, to-te kapa-pali bo-le hok-eŋ-du, di-gore*  
 be-SAS-NPT that-LOC feathery.bamboo-p sprout-PCL be-pAS-NPT one-CLF  
*ǎlǎmga kapa-ko pole-te toh-o!'* 50 '*to-ŋa libi,*  
 tall feathery.bamboo-GEN trunk-LOC dig-s→3/IMP dig-CNS after  
*di-gore ahum let-Ø-du, to ahum ma-ŋhem-tiniŋ rah-o!'*  
 one-CLF egg appear-SAS-NPT that egg NEG-break-PFG bring-s→3/IMP  
 51 '*nem-te ra-to-le, to-kǎi sya-ko syakli-ye porew-o,*  
 house-LOC bring-TPP-PCL that-PM cow-GEN cow.shit-INS cover-s→3/IMP  
*nem thil-to-le, nah-o!'* 52 '*tyaŋ naŋ-guri khaŋou ŋi-to-le,*  
 house paint-TPP-PCL put-s→3/IMP then you-IND door close-TPP-PCL

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46 'Now how can I make you into a person again? How can I make you alive? Tell me!' [she said]. 47 Then the younger brother said 'elder sister, to meet me again you have to do something, and only then will I be human again.' 48 'Fine, I will do it.' [she said] 49 'Now listen! Over there is a hole from which a lot of feathery bamboo is sprouting, dig at the root of one of the tall bamboo stalks!' 50 'Having dug, an egg will appear, and without breaking it, bring that egg [here]!' 51 'Bring it home, cover it all over with cow dung, and having painted the house, put it there!' 52 'Then close the door, go outside and I will come alive.'

*priŋ let-a, gǎi mi tha-ŋa-du.* 53 *'libi gǎ-ye duŋ-yiŋ*  
 outside appear-s/IMP I person be-1s-NPT after I-ERG within-ABL  
*naŋ-kǎi urou-na-ŋa-du, tyaj naŋ ra-∅, to-yiŋ ni*  
 you-PM call-2s-1s-NPT then you come.from.level-s/IMP that-ABL we  
*nis-ka nama nama hok-i-du.* 54 *'ka wakhe su-kǎi woi*  
 two-HNC with with be-1pps-NPT this word who-PM also  
*ma-ci-nasǎiy-e, su-ye woi e-ma-niy-eŋ-no',*  
 NEG-CAUS-hear-s/NEG/IMP who-ERG also OPT-NEG-see-pas-3→3/PT  
*tete-ye 'ja-∅-du' ŋah-∅-u-no.* 55 *ɬaye, tete*  
 elder.sister-ERG okay-sas-NPT say-sas-3p-3→3/PT night elder.sister  
*tokolok cabu-to-le, kapa phat-sa cawah-∅-an,*  
 hoe carry-TPP-PCL feathery.bamboo dig.deep-INF walk-sas-3s/PT  
*hu-ye ŋah-∅-u-du uniŋ loŋ-∅-u-no.* 56 *libi*  
 younger.brother-ERG say-sas-3p-NPT like do-sas-3p-3→3/PT after  
*hu let-∅-an, tete-ye jarphu-ko*  
 younger.brother appear-sas-3s/PT elder.sister-ERG elder.sister's.husband-GEN  
*wakhe sakalei ci-sǎiy-∅-u-no.* 57 *jarphu nama*  
 word all CAUS-know-sas-3p-3→3/PT elder.sister's.husband with  
*rage tha-∅-ta-le, dese mi aghyou-to-le, jarphu-ko*  
 anger be-sas-ipp-PCL village person call-TPP-PCL elder.sister's.husband-GEN  
*nem-te hen-∅-u-no.* 58 *habi hen-∅-u-du sakalei*  
 house-LOC take-sas-3p-3→3/PT before take-sas-3p-NPT all  
*raŋ pepelek oste-ko nem-te ray-eŋ-no.* 59 *libi*  
 unirrigated.field money self-GEN house-LOC bring-pas-3→3/PT after

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53 'Then I will call to you from inside the house, and you must come in, and from that point you and I will live together.' 54 'Don't let anyone know about this plan, and make sure that no one sees you', [he said] and elder sister said 'fine.' 55 At night, carrying a hoe, elder sister set off to dig deep down by the feathery bamboo, and she did just as younger brother told her. 56 Then younger brother appeared and elder sister told him everything that her husband had said. 57 He became angry with elder sister's husband and, calling the village people, took them down to his house. 58 They took back all the fields and money that he had taken before. 59 Thereafter, elder sister and younger brother lived together in

*tete hu habi-ko nem-te hok-eŋ-an.* 60 *naleŋ*  
 elder.sister younger.brother before-GEN house-LOC be-pAS-3S/PT present  
*sumaka nama hok-le hok-eŋ-du.*  
 silent with be-PCL be-pAS-NPT

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their ancestral home. 60 At present they are living together in peace.

## FEEDING THE ANIMALS

1 *di-ka mi-ko nis-ka uma hok-eη-thyo.* 2 *to nis-ka*  
 one-HNC person-GEN two-HNC wife be-PAS-3SCOND that two-HNC  
*uma-ko di-di-ka camăi-pali hok-eη-du.* 3 *habi-ko uma, huca*  
 wife-GEN one-one-HNC daughter-p be-SAS-NPT before-GEN wife child  
*nik-ηa libi siy-Ø-an, to-ko camăi-guri hok-Ø-an.*  
 give.birth-CNS after die-SAS-3S/PT that-GEN daughter-IND be-SAS-3S/PT  
 4 *di uni begale ama-ye sat-sa daη-Ø-u-no.* 5 *di uni*  
 one day other mother-ERG kill-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day  
*ama-ye oste-ko camăi-kăi urou-to-le ηah-Ø-u-no 'camăi,*  
 mother-ERG self-GEN daughter-PM call-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter  
*nany-e tete-kăi woi uli-sa-kăi soη-te hen-o.'* 6 *'soη*  
 you-ERG elder.sister-PM also wash-INF-PM river-LOC take-s→3/IMP river  
*kherte ya-let-ηa libi, to-kăi-guri jun-no, tyaη si-Ø-du.'*  
 near go-appear-CNS after that-PM-IND push-p→3/IMP then die-SAS-NPT  
 7 *tyaη hen-to-le jun-Ø-u-no, soη duη-ηaη biy-Ø-an.*  
 then take-TPP-PCL push-SAS-3P-3→3/PT river within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT  
 8 *to beryaη dewa-ye to-kăi lak phah-Ø-u-no,*  
 that that.time god-ERG that-PM hand hold.out.to.receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*tyaη dewa-ye oste-ko nem-te hen-Ø-u-no.* 9 *hen-sa-be*  
 then god-ERG self-GEN house-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT take-INF-TOP  
*hen-Ø-u-no, to-te ηosăi-Ø-du su woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.*  
 take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC recognise-SAS-NPT who also NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND

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1 There was once a man who had two wives. 2 Those two wives also each had one daughter. 3 After giving birth to the child, the first wife died, but the daughter lived. 4 One day, her step-mother tried to kill her. 5 One day the mother called her own daughter and said 'daughter, take your elder sister to the river to wash!' 6 'Once you have got close to the river, push her [in] and she will die.' 7 She took her to the river, pushed her and she fell into the river. 8 At that very moment, god held out his hand and took her [the daughter] to his own house. 9 Although he took her, once there she recognised absolutely no one.



10 *to isa-ye karăi-tiniŋ hok-Ø-an, su-ye woi hara woi*  
 that food-INS shout-PFG be-SAS-3S/PT who-ERG also what also  
*ma-piy-eŋ-no.* 11 *cawa-cawa woi di-ka ʃhoŋi*  
 NEG-give-PAS-3→3/PT walk-walk also one-HNC old.woman  
*mi-ko-te ya-let-Ø-an.* 12 *to ʃhoŋi-kăi*  
 person-GEN-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT that old.woman-PM  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ʔăi-ăi cya-sa pi-ŋa, jet woi*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM eat-INF give-s→1s/IMP work also  
*ci-loŋ-aŋ, ăi aʃthe isa-ye karăi-ŋa-n.* 13 *ʃhoŋi-ye*  
 CAUS-do-s→1s/IMP I very food-INS shout-1s-PT old.woman-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ʔnaŋ-kăi cya-sa, bu-si-sa, sakalei pi-na-ŋa-du,*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-PM eat-INF cover-REF-INF all give-2s-1s-NPT  
*nany-e ka-te jet loŋ-ko măi-Ø-du.* 14 *ʔlibi naŋ-kăi pepelek*  
 you-ERG this-LOC work do-ADH must-SAS-NPT after you-PM money  
*woi pi-na-ŋa-du.* 15 *to-ye woi ʔja-Ø-du ʔa-to-le, sya ʃuŋi*  
 also give-2s-1s-NPT that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL cow goat  
*ja-sa, sya-ko nunu nat-sa jet loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 16 *di uni*  
 graze-INF cow-GEN milk milk-INF work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day  
*sya-ko nunu nat-Ø-u-thyo, to nama ahe baʃi-pali*  
 cow-GEN milk milk-SAS-3P-3SCOND that with many cat-p  
*kyel-eŋ-an.* 17 *to-ye woi nunu kăi-to-le piy-Ø-u-no.*  
 come-PAS-3S/PT that-ERG also milk remove-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 18 *tyaŋ baʃi-pali nunu cya-sa kyel-eŋ-an.* 19 *di uni*  
 then cat-p milk eat-INF come-PAS-3S/PT one day

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10 She sat there getting hungry, but nobody gave her anything [to eat]. 11 She walked and walked, and arrived at the house of an old woman. 12 And she said to that old woman ‘please give me something to eat, and also give me work to do, I am so hungry.’ 13 The old woman said ‘I will give you [food] to eat and [clothes] to wear, but you must stay here and work.’ 14 ‘Later I will also give you money’ [she said]. 15 She said ‘okay’, and grazed the cows and goats and milked the cows. 16 One day, when she was milking the cows, many cats came up to her. 17 So she took some milk out and gave it to them [the cats]. 18 Then the cats came to eat the milk [every day]. 19 One day the old woman set her to work painting the house, sweeping the courtyard and threshing unhusked rice.

*thoŋi-ye to-kăi nem thil-sa, laŋga pup-sa, racya*  
 old.woman-ERG that-PM house paint-INF courtyard sweep-INF unhusked.rice  
*sui-sa jet ci-loŋ-Ø-u-no. 20 racya sui-Ø-du*  
 thresh-INF work CAUS-do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT unhusked.rice thresh-SAS-NPT  
*beryay, daŋaŋeŋ-pali-kăi luma cya-sa piy-Ø-u-no.*  
 that.time bird-p-PM partially.husked.rice eat-INF give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 21 *di uni thoŋi-ye kiji chokchok-te luma*  
 one day old.woman-ERG black darkness-LOC partially.husked.rice  
*kăi-sa ci-loŋ-Ø-u-no. 22 ka jet loŋ-sa ma-thaŋ-sa*  
 remove-INF CAUS-do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this work do-INF NEG-be.able-INF  
*uniŋ hok-Ø-thyo. 23 kerep-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-an, libi baŋi-pali*  
 like be-SAS-3SCOND cry-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3S/PT after cat-p  
*kyel-eŋ-ta-le ŋay-eŋ-no ‘naŋ hara-kăi kerep-na-du? hara*  
 come-pAS-IPP-PCL say-pAS-3→3/PT you what-PM cry-2s-NPT what  
*thah-Ø-an?’ 24 ‘naŋ-ko jet ni-ye loŋ-wa-du, ma-kerep-e!’*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT you-GEN work we-ERG do-1p→23-NPT NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP  
 25 *libi sakalei baŋi-pali-ye mesek catok-to-le luma*  
 after all cat-p-ERG eye burn-TPP-PCL partially.husked.rice  
*ciy-eŋ-no. 26 baŋthe syay thoŋi-ye*  
 throw.away-pAS-3→3/PT tomorrow period old.woman-ERG  
*lembe-te paŋku ra-sa thoh-Ø-u-no, kerep-kerep*  
 winnowing.tray-LOC water bring-INF send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cry-cry  
*soŋ-te yah-Ø-an. 27 to ni-to-le daŋaŋeŋ-pali kyel-eŋ-an,*  
 river-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT that see-TPP-PCL bird-p come-pAS-3S/PT

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20 While she was threshing the rice, she gave the partially husked bits to the birds to eat. 21 One day the old woman made her remove all the partially husked rice in complete darkness. 22 This was an almost impossible task. 23 While she sat there crying, the cats came and said ‘why are you crying? What happened?’ 24 ‘We’ll do it for you, don’t cry!’ [they said]. 25 Then all the cats lit up their eyes and threw away all the partially husked rice. 26 The following day the old woman sent her to the river to bring water in a winnowing tray, and she went off crying and crying. 27 Seeing that, the birds came and said ‘what happened?’

*'hara thah-Ø-an?'* *ηa-to-le* *ηay-eη-no.* 28 *libi sakalei wakhe*  
 what be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL say-pAS-3→3/PT after all word  
*sat-Ø-u-no,* *'ma-kerep-e!* *ni-ye loη-wa-du'* *ηay-eη-no.*  
 kill-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP we-ERG we-1p→23-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT  
 29 *ḍaηaηeη-pali-ye tothok-e lembe nasa-ye thil-eη-no,*  
 bird-p-ERG beak-INS winnowing.tray earth-INS paint-pAS-3→3/PT  
*tyaη paηku hen-Ø-u-no.* 30 *ka ni-to-le thoni*  
 then water bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this see-TPP-PCL old.woman  
*taη-Ø-an.* 31 *'nan naη soη-te ya-ta-na-le, nany-e*  
 be.happy-SAS-3S/PT now you river-LOC go-IPP-2s-PCL you-ERG  
*yo-to-le di-gore chaη uniη kyel-o!'* 32 *to*  
 look.at-TPP-PCL one-CLF bamboo.cradle like bring-s→3/IMP that  
*ya-Ø-ta-le di-gore chaη kyel-Ø-u-no, to duη-ηaη*  
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL one-CLF bamboo.cradle bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that within-inside  
*naka naka laηi, naka miη-pali hok-Ø-thyo.* 33 *to beryaη*  
 new new necklace new cloth-p be-SAS-3SCOND that that.time  
*di-ka cahuca kyel-Ø-an ηaη ηah-Ø-u-no 'naη gǎi nama*  
 one-HNC man come-SAS-3S/PT and say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you I with  
*bore loη-u-na-du?'*, *to-ye woi 'loη-u-n-du' ηah-Ø-u-no.*  
 marriage do-3P-2s-NPT that-ERG also do-3P-1s→3-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 34 *libi to oste-ko nem-te yah-Ø-an, ka ni-to-le, ama*  
 after that self-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT this see-TPP-PCL mother  
*kin-Ø-an.* 35 *to-ye ηah-Ø-u-no 'gǎi-gǎi*  
 be.startled-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM

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28 Once she had explained everything they said 'don't cry! We'll take care of it.' 29 With their beaks, the birds filled the holes in the winnowing tray by smearing them with earth, and then she brought the water. 30 When she saw this, the old woman was happy. 31 'Now go to the river, have a look around, and bring back something like a bamboo cradle!' [said the old woman] 32 She went and brought back a bamboo cradle, inside of which were new necklaces and new clothes. 33 At that moment a man came by and said 'will you marry me?', and she said 'yes, I will.' 34 Then she went back to her own house [on earth] and her mother, seeing her, was startled. 35 Then she said 'my younger sister pushed me into the river to kill me, but I didn't die.'

*humi-ye sat-sa soŋ-ŋaŋ jun-Ø-ŋa-n, gǎi ma-si-ŋa-n.*  
 younger.sister-ERG kill-INF river-inside push-sAS-1s-PT I NEG-die-1s-PT  
 36 *apa-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘yaŋ ka kuta ya-na-n? hara*  
 father-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT today throughout where go-2s-PT what  
*cya-na-n?’* 37 *to-ye woi sakalei wakhe ci-nasǎiy-Ø-u-no, nan*  
 eat-2s-PT that-ERG also all word CAUS-hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now  
*bore loŋ-sa wakhe woi ci-nasǎiy-Ø-u-no.* 38 *humi-ye*  
 marriage do-INF word also CAUS-hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister-ERG  
*woi nan soŋ-te ya-Ø-ta-le tete-ye unij laŋi miŋ*  
 also now river-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL elder.sister-ERG like necklace cloth  
*bu-si-sa hen-sa thah-Ø-an.* 39 *baŋthe syaŋ bǎsiŋte*  
 cover-REF-INF go-INF be-sAS-3S/PT tomorrow period morning  
*serek-Ø-ta-le, soŋ-te ya-Ø-ta-le, cuk-siy-Ø-an, kutaleŋ woi*  
 arise-sAS-IPP-PCL river-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL insert-REF-sAS-3S/PT when also  
*ma-rah-Ø-an.* 40 *to-te siy-Ø-an, apa ama*  
 NEG-come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT that-LOC die-sAS-3S/PT father mother  
*kerep-eŋ-ta-le hok-eŋ-an.*  
 cry-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-3S/PT

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36 And father said ‘up until this day, where have you travelled and what have you eaten?’ 37 She told them everything that had happened and then she also spoke of getting married. 38 Younger sister also decided to go down to the river to find necklaces and clothes to wear in the same way that her elder sister had done. 39 The following morning she got up, went to the river and jumped in, never to return. 40 And in that place she died, and father and mother lived on crying.

## MOTHER-DAUGHTER

1 *di-gore nem-te ama camăi hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *ama-guri*  
 one-CLF house-LOC mother daughter be-pAS-3SCOND mother-IND  
*ṭaye ṭaye camăi dikaca torta-to-le cawa-Ø-thyo.* 3 *di uni*  
 night night daughter alone leave-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3SCOND one day  
*camăi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ama, naŋ ṭaye ṭaye kuta ya-na-du,*  
 daughter-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT mother you night night where go-2s-NPT  
*găi-găi torta-to-le?' 4 ŋah-Ø-u-no 'camăi, găi dese-te*  
 I-PM leave-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter I village-LOC  
*wakhe ṭisen-sa-kăi ya-ŋa-du.' 5 tyañ libi ama-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no*  
 word teach-INF-PM go-1s-NPT then after mother-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*'naŋ sakalei-ko huca-pali-kăi ṭisen-sa ya-na-du, găi-găi hani*  
 you all-GEN child-p-PM teach-INF go-2s-NPT I-PM how.much  
*ṭisen-Ø-ŋa-n?' 6 'naŋ kapu-ko wakhe woi săi-na-du, găi-go*  
 teach-sAS-1s-PT you head-GEN word also know-2s-NPT I-GEN  
*kapu-te hara hara hok-Ø-du?' 7 'nan hara ŋa-sa?*  
 head-LOC what what be-sAS-NPT now what say-INF  
*ma-ŋah-u-n-uŋ-be, camăi si-ko sow-Ø-an.'*  
 NEG-say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP daughter die-ADH be.about.to-sAS-3S/PT  
 8 *ama-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'naŋ-ko kapu-te naŋ-ko bore*  
 mother-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN head-LOC you-GEN marriage  
*apraca nama tha-Ø-du ŋa-to-le hok-Ø-du.' 9 ama-ko wakhe*  
 good with be-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL be-sAS-NPT mother-GEN word

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1 There once lived a mother and daughter in a house. 2 Night after night, the mother left the daughter [at home] by herself while she went out. 3 One day the daughter said 'mother, after leaving me, where do you go every night?' 4 She said 'daughter, I go to the village in order to teach.' 5 And then she [the daughter] said to her mother 'you go and teach all these children, but how much have you taught me?' 6 'You also understand this brainy stuff [lit. word of the head], what's [written] on my head?' 7 'What to say now? If I say nothing, then my daughter looks as if she may die.' 8 Mother said 'on your head it's [written] said that you will have a good marriage.' 9 Hearing mother's words, the daughter went off to sit in a cave.

*nasăi-to-le camăi apok-te hok-sa yah-Ø-an.* 10 *ya-Ø-du*  
 hear-TPP-PCL daughter cave-LOC be-INF go-SAS-3S/PT go-SAS-NPT  
*beryaŋ di-ka mi nih-Ø-u-no, to-ye to mi-kăi*  
 that.time one-HNC person see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG that person-PM  
*đapu-to-le yoh-Ø-u-no.* 11 *to nama*  
 peep-TPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that with  
*sul-si-sul-si-Ø-ta-le, to-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du jet*  
 hide-REF-hide-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL that-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT work  
*đap-Ø-u-no.* 12 *tyaŋ to mi uli-si-sa-kăi soŋ-te*  
 peep-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then that person wash-REF-INF-PM river-LOC  
*yah-Ø-an.* 13 *to beryaŋ camăica ya-Ø-ta-le, to-ye*  
 go-SAS-3S/PT that that.time woman go-IPP-PCL that-ERG  
*loŋ-Ø-u-du jet nem-te hok-Ø-ta-le loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 14 *to*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT work house-LOC be-SAS-IPP-PCL do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that  
*mi uli-si-Ø-ta-le waŋ-Ø-du beryaŋ, nem-te*  
 person wash-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL come.from.below-SAS-NPT that.time house-LOC  
*sakalei jet loŋ-Ø-u-du nih-Ø-u-no.* 15 *tyaŋ to-ye jekha*  
 all work do-SAS-3P-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then that-ERG big  
*wakhe-te ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ka-te su hok-Ø-du? ka jet su-ye*  
 voice-LOC say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-LOC who be-SAS-NPT this work who-ERG  
*loŋ-Ø-u-no? priŋ let-a!’* 16 *‘ma-let-na-n-be, găi*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT outside appear-s/IMP NEG-appear-2S-PT-TOP I  
*kaŋa-ŋa-du, su tha-na-du?’* 17 *libi wakhe nasăi-to-le let-ko*  
 scold-1s-NPT who be-2s-NPT after word hear-TPP-PCL appear-ADH

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10 As she was going, she saw a person and she looked at that person with scrutiny. 11 She hid near him, and spied on what he was doing. 12 Then that person went to the river to wash himself. 13 At that time the woman left and, sitting in the house, did exactly the same jobs as he had done. 14 Having washed, when that person came home he saw that all the work was done. 15 Then he said in a loud voice ‘who is here? Who has done this work? Come and show yourself!’ 16 ‘If you don’t come out I will scold you, who are you?’ 17 Having heard these words she had to come out, and full of fear for this man, she stood up.

*măiy-Ø-an*    *ŋa-to-le,*    *to mi*    *nama camăi*  
 must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL that person with daughter  
*ari-ari-Ø-ta-le*                                    *theŋ-Ø-an.*                    18 *ari-Ø-ta-le*  
 be.afraid-be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL stand.up-SAS-3S/PT    be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no,*            ‘*bubu,*            *ka dese-te*            *găi-go su*            *woi ma-hok,*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother this village-LOC I-GEN who also NEG-be  
*găi sumaka*    *thăi*    *daŋ-ca*            *daŋ-ca*            *ra-ŋa-du,*                                    *tyaŋ*  
 I    silent    place search-PSG search-PSG come.from.level-1s-NPT then  
*ka-te*    *ka*                    *ra-let-ŋa-n.’*                                    19 ‘*tyaŋ naŋ-ko*    *nem*  
 this-LOC throughout come.from.level-appear-1s-PT            then you-GEN house  
*nih-u-n-uŋ,*                    *ka-te*            *ra-ŋa-n.’*                                    20 ‘*găi-găi*    *woi*  
 see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT this-LOC come.from.level-1s-PT            I-PM            also  
*ka-te*    *camăi*    *uniŋ loŋ-to-le*            *na-ŋa,*                    *bubu.’*  
 this-LOC daughter like do-TPP-PCL put-s→1s/IMP elder.brother  
 21 *bubu-ye*                    *to camăica-kăi camăi*    *uniŋ loŋ-to-le*  
                   elder.brother-ERG that woman-PM daughter like do-TPP-PCL  
*nah-Ø-u-no.*            22 *di*    *uni*    *bubu-kăi*                    *jakcho cya-sa*  
 put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT    one day elder.brother-PM wheat eat-INF  
*aliy-Ø-an,*            *camăi-kăi*    *urou-to-le*            *ŋah-Ø-u-no*                    ‘*camăi,*    *găi-găi*  
 like-SAS-3S/PT daughter-PM call-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter I-PM  
*jakcho cya-sa*    *ali-ŋa-n,*    *ya-kăi-to-le*                                    *ra-to-le*  
 wheat eat-INF like-1s-PT go-remove-TPP-PCL bring-TPP-PCL  
*ra-Ø!’*                                    23 *camăi*    *jakcho*    *ya-kăi-sa*                    *yah-Ø-an,*  
 come.from.level-s/IMP            daughter wheat go-remove-INF go-SAS-3S/PT

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18 All afraid, she said, ‘elder brother, I know no one in this village, and I have been searching and searching for a quiet place to go to, and ended up here.’ 19 ‘Then I saw your house and came here.’ 20 ‘Put me to work here and let me be like a daughter for you, elder brother’ [she said]. 21 And elder brother let that woman stay as if she were his daughter. 22 One day elder brother wanted to eat wheat so he called over the daughter and said ‘daughter, I feel like eating wheat, go find some, get it, and bring it back!’ 23 The daughter went off to find wheat, and she saw some wheat [growing] in a field.

*to-ye di-gore pebu-te jakcho nih-Ø-u-no. 24 to-ye*  
 that-ERG one-CLF irrigated.field-LOC wheat see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG  
*kokorok-Ø-ta-le jakcho kum-Ø-u-thyo, ulam caway-eŋ-du*  
 bend.over-SAS-IPP-PCL wheat pick-SAS-3P-3SCOND road walk-pAS-NPT  
*mi-pali nih-Ø-u-no. 25 nama ya-Ø-ta-le, di-ka cahuca nama*  
 person-p see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT with go-SAS-IPP-PCL one-HNC man with  
*cijyaŋ-Ø-an. 26 to di ʒa to-te cahuca nama hok-Ø-an.*  
 speak-SAS-3S/PT that one night that-LOC man with be-SAS-3S/PT  
 27 *libi baŋkal cabuh-Ø-u-no, nan huca nik-sa thah-Ø-an.*  
 after stomach carry-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now child give.birth-INF be-SAS-3S/PT  
 28 *nan huca yaŋ yaŋ baʒhe baʒhe loŋ-to-le, di uni*  
 now child today today tomorrow tomorrow do-TPP-PCL one day  
*huca nik-Ø-an. 29 nan bubu-ye nih-Ø-u-du*  
 child be.born-SAS-3S/PT now elder.brother-ERG see-SAS-3P-NPT  
*ŋa-to-le huca puʒu pole-te sul-to-le cih-Ø-u-no.*  
 say-TPP-PCL child thorn tree-LOC hide-TPP-PCL throw.away-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 30 *libi di-ka mi arki sat-sa ra-Ø-thyo.*  
 after one-HNC person deer kill-INF come.from.level-SAS-3SCOND  
 31 *puʒu pole-te huca kerep-Ø-du nasäiy-Ø-u-no. 32 to-ko woi*  
 thorn tree-LOC child cry-SAS-NPT hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-GEN also  
*huca-pali ma-hok-Ø-thyo. 33 puʒu pole-te yoh-Ø-u-du*  
 child-p NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND thorn tree-LOC look.at-SAS-3P-NPT  
*beryaŋ, paʒasi-te huca nih-Ø-u-no. 34 to-ye to*  
 that.time traditional.skirt-LOC child see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG that

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24 As she was bending over and picking the wheat, she saw people walking along the road.  
 25 Having gone off with them, she spoke to one of the men. 26 She spend one night with that  
 man in that very place. 27 Then she became pregnant, and was going to give birth to a child.  
 28 Now carrying that child day after day [lit. today today tomorrow tomorrow], one day she  
 gave birth to a baby. 29 Now the elder brother sees this, he got rid of the child by hiding it at  
 the foot of a thorny bush. 30 Thereafter a man came to kill deer. 31 He heard a child crying  
 by the foot of a thorny bush. 32 Also he didn't have any children. 33 When he looked at the  
 foot of the thorny bush, he saw a child [wrapped] in a traditional woman's skirt. 34 Carrying  
 that child, he took it back to his own house.



*huca oste-ko nem-te cabu-to-le hen-Ø-u-no.* 35 *nem-te*  
 child self-GEN house-LOC carry-TPP-PCL take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT house-LOC  
*hen-ŋa libi to woi jekha thah-Ø-an.* 36 *nan to-kăi apa-ye*  
 take-CNS after that also big be-sAS-3S/PT now that-PM father-ERG  
*bore loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no.* 37 *dha-te habi-ko*  
 marriage do-INF search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that.distant-LOC before-GEN  
*camăi-kăi woi bubu-ye bore loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no.*  
 daughter-PM also elder.brother-ERG marriage do-INF search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 38 *habi-ko camăica-ko bubu woi damari*  
 before-GEN woman-GEN elder.brother also son.in.law  
*daŋ-daŋ-ăi, cahuca-ko nem-te ya-let-Ø-an.* 39 *cahuca-ko*  
 search-search-CON man-GEN house-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT man-GEN  
*nem-te ya-let-Ø-ta-le ‘găi-go humi nama bore*  
 house-LOC go-appear-sAS-IPP-PCL I-GEN younger.sister with marriage  
*loŋ-o! si-sa, mo-sa, hara tha-Ø-du, hara.’* 40 *cahuca-ye woi*  
 do-s→3/IMP die-INF survive-INF what be-sAS-NPT what man-ERG also  
*‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, tyaj oste-ko nem-te yah-Ø-an*  
 okay-sAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT then self-GEN house-LOC go-sAS-3S/PT  
*humi-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 41 *‘nan humi jekha tha-na-n,*  
 younger.sister-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now younger.sister big be-2s-PT  
*naŋ-ko bore loŋ-ko măiy-Ø-an, hara tha-Ø-du?’*  
 you-GEN marriage do-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT what be-sAS-NPT  
 42 *bubu-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le, humi-ye*  
 elder.brother-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL younger.sister-ERG

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35 Having taken him home, he grew up [there]. 36 Now father was looking to get him married. 37 The elder brother mentioned before, living over there, was also trying to get his daughter married. 38 The elder brother of the woman mentioned previously was searching and searching for a son-in-law, and in this manner arrived at the man's house. 39 Having arrived at the man's house, [he said] 'marry my little sister! Dying, living, who knows what will happen in the future.' 40 And the man said 'fine', so he [the elder brother] went back to his own house and told his little sister [previously referred to as daughter]. 41 'Now you've become mature, younger sister, and it's time for you to get married, what will it be?' 42 Having heard what her elder brother said, younger sister replied 'I am not going to get married now, it's on account of not wanting to get married that I left my mother and came in this direction.'

*ŋah-Ø-u-no* 'gǎi *naleŋ bore ma-loŋ, bore ma-loŋ*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I present marriage NEG-do marriage NEG-do  
*ŋa-to-le* gǎi *ama-kǎi torta-to-le ka dǎi*  
 say-TPP-PCL I mother-PM leave-TPP-PCL this towards  
*ra-ŋa-n.*' 43 'humi, *naŋ-ko su woi ma-hok, gǎi*  
 come.from.level-1s-PT younger.sister you-GEN who also NEG-be I  
*woi si-ŋa libi naŋ kunyaŋ dikaca hok-na-du? nan bore*  
 also die-CNS after you how alone be-2s-NPT now marriage  
*loŋ-o!'* 44 'ja-Ø-du, *nany-e hara ŋah-u-na-du, loŋ-u-n-du.*'  
 do-s→3/IMP okay-SAS-NPT you-ERG what say-3P-2s-NPT do-3P-1s→3-NPT  
 45 *nan bubu cahuca-ko nem-te yah-Ø-an, bore loŋ-sa*  
 now elder.brother man-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT marriage do-INF  
*thay-eŋ-an libi bore lony-eŋ-no.* 46 *libi ami-Ø-du beryaŋ,*  
 be-pAS-3S/PT after marriage do-pAS-3→3/PT after sleep-SAS-NPT that.time  
*habi huca pore-to-le ciy-Ø-u-du paŋasi kherte*  
 before child cover.up-TPP-PCL throw.away-SAS-3P-NPT traditional.skirt near  
*nih-Ø-u-no, ŋaŋ kin-Ø-an.* 47 'ka gǎi-go *huca thanjun*'  
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT and be.startled-SAS-3S/PT this I-GEN child maybe  
*ŋa-to-le, to-yiŋ ɬaye dorok-Ø-an.* 48 *ya-ya woi, di-ka ucyaca*  
 say-TPP-PCL that-ABL night run-SAS-3S/PT go-go also one-HNC small  
*huca nama ya-let-Ø-an.* 49 *huca ni-to-le yoh-Ø-u-no*  
 child with go-appear-SAS-3S/PT child see-TPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 'ka *huca gǎi-go nem-te tha-sa-be, ka nama hok-ŋa-thyo*'  
 this child I-GEN house-LOC be-INF-TOP this with be-1s-3SCOND

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43 'Younger sister, you have no one, and once I'm dead, how will you live by yourself? Now get married!' [he said] 44 'All right, then, I will do as you say.' [she said] 45 Then elder brother went to the man's house, and they started the wedding process, and later they got married. 46 Later, when it was time to sleep, she saw nearby the traditional woman's skirt in which she had wrapped the child all that time ago and she was very startled. 47 Thinking 'he [my groom] could be my child', she ran away from that place in the night. 48 As she was going, she came across a small child. 49 Seeing the child, she looked at it and said 'if this child had been in my house, I would have lived with him.'

*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 50 *libi to huca nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no.*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that child with word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 51 *'hu, naŋ kuta-yiŋ kyel-na-n? kuta ya-na-du?'*  
 younger.brother you where-ABL come-2s-PT where go-2s-NPT  
 52 *huca-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'gǎi begale dese pepelek daŋ-sa*  
 child-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I other village money search-INF  
*jet loŋ-sa cawa-ŋa-du.'* 53 *'naŋ-kǎi su-ye jet pi-Ø-na-du?*  
 work do-INF walk-1s-NPT you-PM who-ERG work give-SAS-2s-NPT  
*su nama hok-na-du? cya-sa su-ye pi-Ø-na-du?'* 54 *to huca*  
 who with be-2s-NPT eat-INF who-ERG give-SAS-2s-NPT that child  
*nama nama cawah-Ø-an.* 55 *to huca begale dese yah-Ø-an,*  
 with with walk-SAS-3S/PT that child other village go-SAS-3S/PT  
*camǎica apok-te hok-sa yah-Ø-an.* 56 *libi to huca jekha dese*  
 woman cave-LOC be-INF go-SAS-3S/PT after that child big village  
*ya-let-Ø-an, naka thǎi, nem, ulam ni-to-le, thombe*  
 go-appear-SAS-3S/PT new place house road see-TPP-PCL surprise  
*thah-Ø-an.* 57 *nan ukhiŋ thah-Ø-an 'kuta hok-sa?'* *ŋa-to-le*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT now dark be-SAS-3S/PT where be-INF say-TPP-PCL  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 58 *ŋaye thah-Ø-an to huca ulam-te*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night be-SAS-3S/PT that child road-LOC  
*amiy-Ø-an, nis uni ka jet ma-khalam-Ø-u-no.*  
 sleep-SAS-3S/PT two day throughout work NEG-receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 59 *nan amat-to-le cyah-Ø-an, ulam-te hok-Ø-an, ulam-te*  
 now beg-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3S/PT road-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT road-LOC

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50 Then she spoke with the child. 51 'Younger brother, where have you come from? Where are you going?' 52 The child said 'I'm off to find money and work in a different village.' 53 'Who will give you work? With whom will you live? Who will feed you?' [she said]. 54 She walked together with that child. 55 That child went to a different village, and the woman went to live in a cave. 56 Thereafter the child reached a big city and, seeing new places, houses and roads, was shocked. 57 Then it became dark, 'where to stay?' he thought. 58 It became night and that child slept on the road, and for two whole days he didn't find work. 59 Now, he managed to eat by begging, he lived and slept on the road.

*amiy-Ø-an.* 60 *nembo-ye* *ciy-eŋ-du* *isa*  
 sleep-SAS-3S/PT other.person-ERG throw.away-PAS-NPT food  
*daŋ-to-le* *cyah-Ø-an.* 61 *oste unij begale ban*  
 search-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3S/PT self like other friend  
*khalam-Ø-u-no,* *ban unij amat-to-le cyah-Ø-an,* *jekha*  
 meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT friend like beg-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3S/PT big  
*thah-Ø-an,* *miŋ woi ma-toŋ-si-Ø-du,* *khen woi*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT cloth also NEG-wash-REF-SAS-NPT face also  
*ma-jek-si-Ø-du,* *kiji hok-Ø-thyo.* 62 *di uni ahe jhari*  
 NEG-wash-REF-SAS-NPT black be-SAS-3SCOND one day much rain  
*yuw-Ø-an,* *to phow-Ø-an,* *pho-Ø-ta-le* *to-ko*  
 come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT that be.wet-SAS-3S/PT be.wet-SAS-IPP-PCL that-GEN  
*kiji maŋ ubo thah-Ø-an.* 63 *to beryaŋ di-ka sarma camăica*  
 black body white be-SAS-3S/PT that that.time one-HNC strong woman  
*ra-Ø-ta-le* *ŋah-Ø-u-no* *‘hu,* *naŋ găi-go*  
 come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother you I-GEN  
*nem-te hok-sa ya-na-du?’* 64 *to-ye woi ‘ya-ŋa-du’*  
 house-LOC be-INF go-2s-NPT that-ERG also go-1s-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no,* *hen-to-le,* *libi to-kăi ami-sa thăi*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT take-TPP-PCL after that-PM sleep-INF place  
*cikhet-Ø-u-no,* *camăica-ye isa ken* *uman-to-le*  
 show-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman-PM food vegetable.curry cook-TPP-PCL  
*piy-Ø-u-no.* 65 *libi kherte-ko camăica bore loŋ-Ø-u-no,*  
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after near-GEN woman marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

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60 He found and ate the food that others threw away. 61 He made friends with someone just like himself, and like that friend, he also ate by begging, and grew up in this manner, not washing his clothes, not washing his face, and being all dirty. 62 One day it rained really hard and he was totally drenched, and being so drenched, his dirty body became clean. 63 At that time, a young woman who was passing said ‘younger brother, why don’t you go and stay at my house?’ 64 He said ‘I’ll go’, so and she took him home, after which she showed him his sleeping place and, having cooked up food and vegetable curry, gave it to him. 65 Later

*sumaka hok-eŋ-an.*  
silent be-pAS-3S/PT

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he married a local woman and they lived peacefully together.

**BROTHER - SISTER**

- 1 *di-gore dese-te nis-ka bubu humi thay-eŋ-du.*  
one-CLF village-LOC two-HNC elder.brother younger.sister be-pAS-NPT
- 2 *to-baŋ ucyaca thay-eŋ-du beryaŋ, to-baŋ-ko apa ama*  
that-Pp small be-pAS-NPT that.time that-Pp-GEN father mother
- siy-eŋ-an.* 3 *libi bubu-ye niŋ them-to-le, pepelek*  
die-pAS-3S/PT after elder.brother-ERG stone break-TPP-PCL money
- ra-to-le, cya-sa piy-Ø-u-thyo.* 4 *libi humi-kăi*  
bring-TPP-PCL eat-INF give-SAS-3P-3/3COND after younger.sister-PM
- bore loŋ-sa wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 5 *di uni humi-kăi,*  
marriage do-INF word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day younger.sister-PM
- sola cya-Ø-du beryaŋ, 'bore loŋ-o' ŋah-Ø-u-du,*  
snack eat-SAS-NPT that.time marriage do-s→3/IMP say-SAS-3P-NPT
- humi rage tha-Ø-du.* 6 *bubu-kăi aŋek-si-Ø-du*  
younger.sister anger be-SAS-NPT elder.brother-PM roast-REF-SAS-NPT
- makăi moŋe sola yanatah-Ø-u-du.* 7 *libi nem-te hen-sa*  
*maize soybean snack deliver-SAS-3P-NPT after house-LOC go-INF*
- beryaŋ 'humi, honce asare ni-Ø-du isa*  
that.time younger.sister early.evening taste appear-SAS-NPT food
- ken ci-min-o' ŋah-Ø-u-du.* 8 *humi-kăi*  
vegetable.curry CAUS-ripen-s→3/IMP say-SAS-3P-NPT younger.sister-PM
- nyoŋi thi-sa ma-ja tha-Ø-du, bubu niŋ them-to-le*  
evening touch-INF NEG-okay be-SAS-NPT elder.brother stone break-TPP-PCL

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1 In a certain village there live two people, an elder brother and his younger sister. 2 When they were young, their father and mother had died. 3 Later, elder brother worked breaking rocks, and bringing money, would give them both something to eat. 4 Later, he talked to his younger sister about getting married. 5 One day, while he was eating a snack, he says to his younger sister 'get married!', and she becomes angry. 6 [Every day] she delivers a snack of roasted maize and soybeans to her elder brother. 7 And later, when it's time to come home, he always says 'younger sister, prepare a tasty meal this evening!' 8 One day, younger sister got her monthly period [lit. not okay to touch], so when elder brother came back from breaking rocks, she had not cooked the evening meal.

*ra-Ø-du*                      *beryaŋ, isa ken*                      *hara woi*  
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT    that.time    food    vegetable.curry    what    also  
*ma-ci-min-Ø-u-no.*                      9    *bubu*                      *isa-ye*    *karăi-Ø-ta-le*  
 NEG-CAUS-ripen-SAS-3P-3→3/PT    elder.brother    food-INS    shout-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*ra-Ø-du,*                      *yoh-Ø-u-du,*                      *ma-ni.*    10    *humi-kăi*  
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT    look.at-SAS-3P-NPT    NEG-see                      younger.sister-PM  
*kaŋa-Ø-du*    ‘*humi,*                      *nany-e*    *hara woi isa ken*  
 scold-SAS-NPT    younger.sister    you-ERG    what    also    food    vegetable.curry  
*ma-loy-u-na-n’*    *ŋah-Ø-u-du,*                      ‘*găi-găi thi-sa*    *ma-ja,*    *tyaŋ*  
 NEG-do-3P-2s-PT    say-SAS-3P-NPT    I-PM                      touch-INF    NEG-okay    then  
*ma-loy-u-n-du.’*    11    *libi*    *bubu*                      *oste-ye*    *isa ken*  
 NEG-do-3P-1s→3-NPT                      after    elder.brother    self-ERG    food    vegetable.curry  
*loy-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du,*                      *soyony-e*    *me mut-Ø-u-du,*                      *me ma-ti.*  
 do-INF    search-SAS-3P-NPT    tube-INS    fire    blow-SAS-3P-NPT    fire    NEG-light  
 12    *baŋi thapu-te*                      *nah-Ø-u-du,*                      *lak-te*                      *kiji thum-Ø-du,*                      *me*  
                     *pot*    fireplace-LOC    put-SAS-3P-NPT    hand-LOC    black    stain-SAS-NPT    fire  
*ma-ti-Ø-ta-le*                      *kerep-Ø-du,*                      *raphil thor-si-Ø-du*                      *beryaŋ,*  
 NEG-light-SAS-IPP-PCL    cry-SAS-NPT    tear                      wipe.away-REF-SAS-NPT    that.time  
*kiji naŋe-te*                      *thum-Ø-du.*    13    *humi-ye*                      *yo-le*  
 black    cheek-LOC    stain-SAS-NPT                      younger.sister-ERG    look.at-PCL  
*nah-Ø-u-du*    ‘*bubu,*                      *găi-găi bore*                      *loy-sa daŋ-u-na-du,*                      *găi*  
 put-SAS-3P-NPT    elder.brother    I-PM                      marriage    do-INF    search-3P-2s-NPT    I  
*ma-tha-ŋa-be,*    *naŋ kunyaŋ*    *isa ken*                      *uman-to-le*                      *cya-na-du?’*  
 NEG-be-1s-TOP    you    how                      food    vegetable.curry    cook-TPP-PCL    eat-2s-NPT

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9 Elder brother comes back hungry, looks around, but doesn't see anything. 10 He scolds his sister, saying 'younger sister, you have prepared neither food nor curry', [she replies] 'I have my period, so I can't cook anything.' 11 Then elder brother tries to prepare the food and vegetable curry by himself, and he blows on the fire with the tube, but the fire won't light. 12 As he puts the pot on the fireplace, he gets black [soot] on his hands, and what with the fire still not being alight, he cries, and as he wipes the tears away, the black smears all over his cheeks. 13 Looking at her brother, younger sister says 'elder brother, you are trying to get me married, but if I weren't here, how would you manage to cook your food and eat?'

14 *'humi, naŋ-ko nem apraca e-tha-Ø, lawa apraca*  
 younger.sister you-GEN house good OPT-be-SAS husband good  
*e-tha-Ø gǎi uman-to-le cya-ŋa-du.'* 15 *di uni ŋiŋ them-Ø-u-du*  
 OPT-be-SAS I cook-TPP-PCL eat-1s-NPT one day stone break-SAS-3P-NPT  
*thǎi-te dese-ko mi tuŋi kyel-to-le humi amat-sa*  
 place-LOC village-GEN person goat bring-TPP-PCL younger.sister beg-INF  
*kyel-Ø-du.* 16 *bubu-ye humi piy-Ø-u-du, libi*  
 come-SAS-NPT elder.brother-ERG younger.sister give-SAS-3P-NPT after  
*bore thah-Ø-an.* 17 *bore tha-Ø-ta-le, lawa begale dese*  
 marriage be-SAS-3S/PT marriage be-SAS-IPP-PCL husband other village  
*pepelek daŋ-sa cawa-Ø-du, cawa-Ø-du beryaŋ, lawa ulam-te*  
 money search-INF walk-SAS-NPT walk-SAS-NPT that.time husband road-LOC  
*tiŋiŋ-Ø-ta-le si-Ø-du.* 18 *libi ka wakhe humi-ye*  
 fall.over-SAS-IPP-PCL die-SAS-NPT after this word younger.sister-ERG  
*'lawa siy-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le thaha sāi-Ø-du, bampre*  
 husband die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL knowledge know-SAS-NPT rib  
*ŋe-si-ŋe-si-Ø-ta-le kerep-Ø-du, aji chuku sakalei*  
 beat-REF-beat-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL cry-SAS-NPT mother.in.law father.in.law all  
*kerep-eŋ-du.* 19 *aji-ye wari-kǎi sampuh-Ø-u-du,*  
 cry-PAS-NPT mother.in.law-ERG daughter.in.law-PM pull.hair-SAS-3P-NPT  
*nate-te kapu-te ŋeh-Ø-u-du.* 20 *lak-te-ko thoka-pali*  
 cheek-LOC head-LOC beat-SAS-3P-NPT hand-LOC-GEN bracelet-p  
*them-eŋ-du, to kerep-Ø-du beryaŋ sakalei-ye yoy-eŋ-du.*  
 break-PAS-NPT that cry-SAS-NPT that.time all-ERG look.at-PAS-NPT

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14 'Younger sister, let your house be good, let your husband be good, I will manage with the cooking and eating.' 15 One day a villager comes bringing a goat to the stone quarry to ask for the younger sister's hand in marriage. 16 Elder brother gives away his younger sister, and later the marriage takes place. 17 Having gotten married, the husband sets off to another village to find work [lit. search for money], but walking along the road, he falls and dies. 18 After coming to know of her husband's death, younger sister cries while beating and beating her breast, her mother-in-law and father-in-law also both cry. 19 Mother-in-law grabs her daughter-in-law by her hair, striking her cheeks and beating her head. 20 They break up the bracelets on her wrists, and everyone looks at her when she cries.



21 *aji-ye* 'lawa *cya-na-n'* *ŋa-to-le* *kaṭa-Ø-du*,  
 mother.in.law-ERG husband eat-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL scold-SAS-NPT  
*oste-guri boro* *cici cey-eŋ-du*, *wari-kǎi-guri*  
 self-IND cooked.rice meat eat-pAS-NPT daughter.in.law-PM-IND  
*laŋga-te* *kucu-kǎi uniŋ maŋǎi piy-eŋ-du*. 22 *wari*  
 courtyard-LOC dog-PM like bread give-pAS-NPT daughter-in-law  
*kerep-kerep-Ø-ta-le cya-Ø-du*. 23 *aji-ye* *kwǎi koṭeh-Ø-u-du*,  
 cry-cry-SAS-IPP-PCL eat-SAS-NPT mother.in.law-ERG potato cut-SAS-3P-NPT  
*wari-ye* *sya-ko syakli cabuh-Ø-u-du*. 24 *karati-ye*  
 daughter.in.law-ERG cow-GEN cow.dung carry-SAS-3P-NPT sickle-INS  
*aji* *oste-ko lak koṭeh-Ø-u-du*, *rage-ye wari-kǎi*  
 mother.in.law self-GEN hand cut-SAS-3P-NPT anger-INS daughter.in.law-PM  
*sampu-sa ya-Ø-du*. 25 *to aṭṭhe kerep-Ø-du*, *tyaŋ di uni*  
 pull.hair-INF go-SAS-NPT that much cry-SAS-NPT then one day  
*si-sa-kǎi sakpa cabu-to-le kutiriŋ-si-sa cawa-Ø-du*. 26 *sakpa*  
 die-INF-PM rope carry-TPP-PCL hang-REF-INF walk-SAS-NPT rope  
*chyu-to-le*, *kutiriŋ-si-Ø-du beryaŋ*, *to-ko bubu*  
 tie-TPP-PCL hang-REF-SAS-NP that.time that-GEN elder.brother  
*ra-let-Ø-du*. 27 *bubu-ye kaŋṭu-ko sakpa*  
 come.from.level-appear-SAS-NPT elder.brother-ERG neck-GEN rope  
*phet-Ø-u-du*, *humi-kǎi kaṭa-Ø-du*. 28 *jekha sare-ye*,  
 untie-SAS-3P-NPT younger.sister-PM scold-SAS-NPT big voice-INS  
*bubu-ye* 'hara *ka ṭhǎi-te?* *lawa ma-hok-Ø-du-ye*,  
 elder.brother-ERG what this place-LOC husband NEG-be-SAS-NPT-ERG

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21 Mother-in-law scolded her, saying 'you ate your husband', and while they all ate rice and meat, they treated their daughter-in-law like a dog, feeding her only bread outside in the courtyard. 22 Daughter-in-law eats crying and crying the whole time. 23 Mother-in-law cuts the potatoes, daughter-in-law carries the cow manure. 24 Mother-in-law cut her own hand with a sickle, and in anger goes off to pull daughter-in-law's hair. 25 She cries lots, and then one day she goes off, carrying a rope, to hang herself and die. 26 Having tied the rope, as she is hanging herself, her elder brother arrives. 27 Elder brother unties the rope from around her neck and scolds his younger sister. 28 And elder brother says in a loud voice 'what is it with this place? Is one not allowed to live without a husband?'

*mo-sa ma-khalam?’ ηa-to-le ηah-∅-u-du. 29 humi*  
 survive-INF NEG-receive say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT younger.sister  
*bubu-kăi cum-to-le kerep-∅-du, bubu-ye*  
 elder.brother-PM hold-TPP-PCL cry-SAS-NPT elder.brother-ERG  
*humi-ko bore loη-sa-kăi kyel-∅-u-du pepelek pi-sa*  
 younger.sister-GEN marriage do-INF-PM bring-SAS-3P-NPT money give-INF  
*ma-thaη. 30 pepelek-ko mi-ye nem cya-sa daη-∅-u-du.*  
 NEG-be.able money-GEN person-ERG house eat-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT  
 31 *libi pepelek-ko mi-kăi nem torta-to-le, bubu*  
 after money-GEN person-PM house leave-TPP-PCL elder.brother  
*humi begale dese yey-eη-du. 32 ya-let-eη-ta-le,*  
 younger.sister other village go-PAS-NPT go-appear-PAS-IPP-PCL  
*bubu-ye nem khem-sa jet loη-∅-u-du, humi-ye*  
 elder.brother-ERG house build-INF work do-SAS-3P-NPT younger.sister-ERG  
*miη toη-sa jet loη-∅-u-du. 33 hok-sa-guri, nembo-ko*  
 cloth wash-INF work do-SAS-3P-NPT be-INF-IND other.person-GEN  
*di-gore nem-te hok-eη-du. 34 di uni, di-ka toη cya-∅-du*  
 one-CLF house-LOC be-PAS-NPT one day one-HNC beer eat-SAS-NPT  
*mi-ye, miη toη-toη-ăi, humi-ko lak-te*  
 person-ERG cloth wash-wash-CON younger.sister-GEN hand-LOC  
*tirik-∅-u-no. 35 toη cya-∅-du mi nama to rage*  
 tread.on-SAS-3P-3→3/PT beer eat-SAS-NPT person with that anger  
*thah-∅-an, libi to mi to-te jagap-∅-an. 36 habi-be*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT after that person that-LOC faint-SAS-3S/PT before-TOP

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29 Holding onto her brother, younger sister cries, but elder brother is not able to return the money which he loaned for his little sister's wedding. 30 A money lender tries to take [lit. eat] their house. 31 Then, leaving the house to the money lender, brother and sister go off to live in a different village. 32 Having arrived, elder brother works building houses and younger sister works washing clothes. 33 As for living, well they live together in someone else's house. 34 One day, a drunk [lit. beer-eating] man trod on younger sister's hand while she was washing clothes. 35 She got angry with that drunk man, and then he fainted right there. 36 Whereas before she had scolded him, now she revived him by splashing him with water.

*kaṭah-Ø-an, libi to-kǎi paṅku lat-to-le*  
 scold-SAS-3S/PT after that-PM water splash-TPP-PCL  
*ci-moh-Ø-u-no. 37 serek-Ø-ta-le yoh-Ø-u-no,*  
 CAUS-survive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT arise-SAS-IPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*apraca camăica ni-to-le aṅal-Ø-an. 38 serek-Ø-ta-le*  
 good woman see-TPP-PCL be.ashamed-SAS-3S/PT arise-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*sewa-to-le cawah-Ø-an. 39 di uni to camăica-kǎi gwi-pali-ye*  
 salute-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT one day that woman-PM thief-p-ERG  
*cum-eṅ-no 'nan naṅ ni-ko uma tha-ko mǎi-Ø-du'*  
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT now you we-GEN wife be-ADH must-SAS-NPT  
*ṅay-eṅ-no. 40 to beryaṅ toṅ cya-Ø-du mi*  
 say-pAS-3→3/PT that that.time beer eat-SAS-NPT person  
*kyel-Ø-ta-le, gwi-pali-kǎi di-ka di-ka loṅ-to-le*  
 come-SAS-IPP-PCL thief-p-PM one-HNC one-HNC do-TPP-PCL  
*ciy-Ø-u-no. 41 camăica taṅ-Ø-an 'bubu, naṅ*  
 throw.away-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman be.happy-SAS-3S/PT elder.brother you  
*nan kutaleṅ woi toṅ ma-cyay-e!' 42 'tony-e ni-ko maṅ*  
 now when also beer NEG-eat-s/NEG/IMP beer-ERG we-GEN body  
*sakalei cyah-Ø-u-du, sewa bubu', ṅa-to-le ṅah-Ø-u-no.*  
 all eat-SAS-3P-NPT salute elder.brother say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 43 'sewa humi, nan naṅ-kǎi hara woi tha-na-n-be, gǎi  
 salute younger.sister now you-PM what also be-2s-PT-TOP I  
*hok-ṅa-du.'* 44 to cahuca jekha mi-ko ca tha-Ø-thyo,  
 be-1s-NPT that man big person-GEN son be-SAS-3SCOND

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37 Arising he looked around, and seeing a beautiful woman he felt ashamed. 38 Getting up, and greeting everyone, he walked off. 39 One day thieves grabbed that woman and said 'now you must be our wife.' 40 At that time the drunk man came and kicked the thieves away one by one. 41 The woman was happy and said 'elder brother, now you must never drink beer again!' 42 'Beer totally eats up our bodies, I salute you, elder brother', she said. 43 'Greetings to you [too] younger sister, if ever anything happens to you, I am [always] here.' 44 That man was the son of an important person, and he lived in a household of three with his father and his own younger sister.

*to-ko humi apa oste sum-ka hok-eŋ-thyo.*  
 that-GEN younger.sister father self three-HNC be-pAS-3SCOND  
 45 *dha dǎi humi-ye miŋ toŋ-sa jet*  
 that.distant towards younger.sister-ERG cloth wash-INF work  
*loŋ-Ø-u-no, habi-ko cahuca woi khalam-Ø-u-no.*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT before-GEN man also meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 46 *bubu-ye woi toŋ cya-Ø-du cahuca-ko humi, nem*  
 elder.brother-ERG also beer eat-SAS-NPT man-GEN younger.sister house  
*khem-Ø-u-du thǎi-te, khalam-Ø-u-no. 47 di uni to jekha*  
 build-SAS-3P-NPT place-LOC meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day that big  
*mi-ko camǎi-kǎi apa-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘camǎi, nan naŋ*  
 person-GEN daughter-PM father-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter now you  
*jekha tha-na-n, naŋ-ko bore loŋ-to-le, naŋ-ko ca*  
 big be-2s-PT you-GEN marriage do-TPP-PCL you-GEN son  
*nih-u-n-uŋ-be, gǎi taŋ-ŋa-thyo.’ 48 ‘apa, gǎi-go bore*  
 see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP I be.happy-1s-3SCOND father I-GEN marriage  
*gǎ-ye khalam-u-n-du cahuca nama loŋ-u-n-du.’ 49 ‘ja-Ø-du,*  
 I-ERG meet-3P-1s→3-NPT man with do-3P-1s→3-NPT okay-SAS-NPT  
*yaŋ naŋ-ko lawa kyel-to-le kyel-a!’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 today you-GEN husband bring-TPP-PCL come-s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 50 *camǎi thombe tha-Ø-ta-le ‘nan su-kǎi ra-sa?’ ŋa-to-le*  
 daughter surprise be-SAS-IPP-PCL now who-PM bring-INF say-TPP-PCL  
*hok-Ø-an. 51 libi nan to bubu-kǎi pepelek pi-to-le*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT after now that elder.brother-PM money give-TPP-PCL

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45 Younger sister worked washing clothes all the way over, and she met that man from before again. 46 Elder brother met the younger sister of the beer-drinker at the place he was building a house. 47 One day that important person's father said to his daughter 'daughter, you have now grown up and should get married, if I were to see your son, it would make me happy.' 48 'Father, I will marry the man I met.' 49 'Fine, so bring your husband here today!' he said. 50 Totally shocked, the daughter sat down and thought 'now whom shall I bring?' 51 Then, she walked off to give money to that elder brother [the man she liked], to whom she was planning to say 'you must come.'

*'ra-ko*                      *măiy-Ø-an'*    *ŋa-to-le*        *cawah-Ø-an.*  
 come.from.level-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT  
 52 *bubu-kăi*              *khalam-Ø-u-no*    'bubu,        *nany-e*    *găi-go*  
           elder.brother-PM meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother you-ERG I-GEN  
*di-gore* *jet*    *loŋ-o,*        *naŋ-kăi* *pepelek* *pi-na-ŋa-du'*    *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 one-CLF work do-s→3/IMP you-PM money give-2s-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 53 *to*    *nem*    *khem-le*    *nah-Ø-u-thyo,*        *khen-te*    *busikasi*    *thum-le*  
           that house build-PCL put-SAS-3P-3SCOND face-LOC dust        stain-PCL  
*hok-Ø-thyo.*    54 *libi*    *to-kăi*    *naka*    *miŋ*    *ci-bu-si-to-le,*  
 be-SAS-3SCOND        after that-PM new cloth CAUS-cover-REF-TPP-PCL  
*apa-kăi*    'ka    *găi-go*    *lawa'*    *ŋah-Ø-u-no,*        *apa-ye*    'ja-Ø-du'  
 father-PM this I-GEN husband say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father-ERG okay-SAS-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.*    55 *oste*    *hok-sa*    *nem-te*        *rah-Ø-an,*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT        self be-INF house-LOC come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT  
*humi-ye*                      *ci-min-Ø-u-du*                      *isa*    *ken*                      *cyah-Ø-an.*  
 younger.sister-ERG CAUS-ripen-SAS-3P-NPT food vegetable.curry eat-SAS-3S/PT  
 56 *di*    *uni*    *to-ko*        *humi*                      *ŋaŋ*    *toŋ*    *cya-Ø-du*    *mi*        *nama*  
           one day that-GEN younger.sister and beer eat-SAS-NPT person with  
*isa*    *cya-sa-kăi*    *ălămtha*    *yey-eŋ-an.*    57 *ŋaye*    *thah-Ø-an,*        *ulam-te*  
 food eat-INF-PM distant go-pAS-3S/PT        night be-SAS-3S/PT road-LOC  
*hok-eŋ-an,*    *ulam-te*    *toŋ*    *cey-eŋ-an,*        *usyay-eŋ-an.*    58 *baŋhe*  
 be-pAS-3S/PT road-LOC beer eat-pAS-3S/PT dance-pAS-3S/PT        tomorrow  
*băsiŋte*    *hok-sa*    *nem-te*        *kyel-Ø-an,*                      *bubu-ye*                      *kaŋah-Ø-an,*  
 morning be-INF house-LOC come-SAS-3S/PT elder.brother-ERG scold-SAS-3S/PT

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52 She met elder brother and said 'elder brother, please do this one thing for me, I'll even give you money [for it].' 53 He had been building a house and his face was stained with dust and dirt. 54 Then, having dressed him up in new clothes, she said to her father 'this is my husband', and father said 'fine.' 55 He came back to the house in which he lived, and ate the meal that younger sister had cooked. 56 One day, his younger sister and the beer-drinking man went off together to have a meal together in a far-away place. 57 Night had fallen, so they stayed on the road, drinking beer and dancing. 58 The following morning she came back home and elder brother scolded her, but she didn't tell him 'we went somewhere else to eat.'

*'ni isa cya-sa begale thăi yey-i-n' ŋa-to-le bubu-kăi*  
 we food eat-INF other place go-1pPS-PT say-TPP-PCL elder.brother-PM  
*ma-ŋah-Ø-u-no. 59 libi humi-ye baŋkal cabuh-Ø-u-du,*  
 NEG-say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after younger.sister-ERG stomach carry-SAS-3P-NPT  
*bubu-ye thaha săiy-Ø-u-no, katah-Ø-an.*  
 elder.brother-ERG knowledge know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT scold-SAS-3S/PT  
 60 *bubu nama aŋal-Ø-an 'nan huca nik-ŋa-n-be,*  
 elder.brother with be.ashamed-SAS-3S/PT now child give.birth-1S-PT-TOP  
*su-ko ŋa-sa?' ŋa-to-le. 61 libi bubu-ye cici*  
 who-GEN say-INF say-TPP-PCL after elder.brother-ERG meat  
*ya-kăiy-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, humi-ye huca nik-sa*  
 go-receive-SAS-3P-NPT that.time younger.sister-ERG child give.birth-INF  
*daŋ-Ø-u-du, artik-Ø-du ami-Ø-du thăi-te. 62 bubu*  
 search-SAS-3P-NPT cry-SAS-NPT sleep-SAS-NPT place-LOC elder.brother  
*priŋ hok-Ø-du, libi huca kerep-Ø-du nasăiy-Ø-u-no.*  
 outside be-SAS-NPT after child cry-SAS-NPT hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 63 *bubu duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an, huca ni-to-le rage-ye*  
 elder.brother within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT child see-TPP-PCL anger-INS  
*huca ci-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no, humi-ye 'găi-go huca*  
 child throw.away-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister-ERG I-GEN child  
*ma-ciy-e!' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 64 huca jekha tha-Ø-du,*  
 NEG-throw.away-s/NEG/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT child big be-SAS-NPT  
*di uni huca-pali kiŋe-siy-eŋ-du, to huca-kăi 'apa ma-hok-du*  
 one day child-p fight-REF-PAS-NPT that child-PM father NEG-be-NPT

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59 Later elder brother came to know that younger sister was pregnant, and he scolded her. 60 In front of her brother she was ashamed, 'now whose child shall I say it is when I give birth?', she thought. 61 Later, when elder brother went off to get some meat, younger sister tried to give birth to the child and screamed in the bedroom. 62 Elder brother was sitting outside and then heard a baby crying. 63 Elder brother went inside and, seeing the baby, in his anger tried to throw the baby away, but younger sister said 'don't [you dare] throw my baby away!' 64 The child grows up, and one day some kids are fighting together and say about him, 'that boy hasn't got a father.'

*huca' ηay-eη-du.* 65 *ya-∅-ta-le,* *ama-kăi* 'ni-ko apa kuta  
 child say-PAS-NPT go-SAS-IPP-PCL mother-PM we-GEN father where  
*hok-∅-du.'* *ηa-to-le ηah-∅-u-no.* 66 'naη-ko apa begale  
 be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN father other  
*dese jet loη-sa ya-le hok-∅-du.'* 67 *libi ca jekha tha-∅-du,*  
 village work do-INF go-PCL be-SAS-NPT after son big be-SAS-NPT  
*apa ma-ni-∅-du ca nah-∅-u-no.* 68 *di uni huca-ko apa*  
 father NEG-see-SAS-NPT son put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day child-GEN father  
*ra-∅-du,* *bubu-kăi ca-ko apa cikhet-∅-u-du.*  
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT elder.brother-PM son-GEN father show-SAS-3P-NPT  
 69 *sakalei tany-eη-du,* *bubu-ye woi to-ko lawa-ko*  
 all be.happy-PAS-NPT elder.brother-ERG also that-GEN husband-GEN  
*humi bore loη-∅-u-du.* 70 *libi pepelek hen-to-le,*  
 younger.sister marriage do-SAS-3P-NPT after money take-TPP-PCL  
*nem-te hok-∅-du mi-kăi piy-eη-du,* *tyaη oste-ko nem-te*  
 house-LOC be-SAS-NPT person-PM give-PAS-NPT then self-GEN house-LOC  
*nama nama hok-eη-du.*  
 with with be-PAS-NPT

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65 Going off, he asks his mother 'where is our father?' 66 'Your father has gone off to another village to work' [she replies]. 67 Then the son grows up, and he is raised never having seen his father. 68 One day the child's father comes, and she shows her elder brother who the father of her son is. 69 They are all happy, and elder brother even marries her husband's younger sister. 70 Then, bringing money, they go and give it to the person [money lender] living in their house, and then they settle down and live together in their own home.

## OWN PEOPLE

1 *di-ka cahuca oste-ko nem-yiŋ ălămtha ya-Ø-du.* 2 *ya-ŋa*  
 one-HNC man self-GEN house-ABL distant go-SAS-NPT go-CNS  
*libi, di-ka pepelek hok-Ø-du mi-ko-te ya-let-Ø-du.*  
 after one-HNC money be-SAS-NPT person-GEN-LOC go-appear-SAS-NPT  
 3 *to jekha mi nembo-kăi jet ci-loŋ-to-le oste jekha*  
 that big person other.person-PM work CAUS-do-TPP-PCL self big  
*tha-Ø-du.* 4 *di-ka mi nama rage let-Ø-du, tyaj to*  
 be-SAS-NPT one-HNC person with anger appear-SAS-NPT then that  
*mi-kăi nembo-kăi ci-ŋeh-Ø-u-thyo.* 5 *di uni, to*  
 person-PM other.person-PM CAUS-beat-SAS-3P-3SCOND one day that  
*cahuca-ye to jekha mi khalam-Ø-u-no.* 6 *to cahuca woi*  
 man-ERG that big person meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that man also  
*pepelek tha-ŋa ma-thaj-sa jet woi loŋ-Ø-u-thyo.* 7 *di uni,*  
 money be-CNS NEG-be.able-INF work also do-SAS-3P-3SCOND one day  
*to jekha mi-kăi rage let-Ø-du mi-ko uma-kăi di ʔa*  
 that big person-PM anger appear-SAS-NPT person-GEN wife-PM one night  
*na-to-le, to-kăi rage ci-let-ko măi-Ø-thyo.* 8 *di uni,*  
 put-TPP-PCL that-PM anger CAUS-appear-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND one day  
*dese-ko cahuca khalam-Ø-u-no, to-ye to-kăi ahe toŋ*  
 village-GEN man meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG that-PM much beer  
*pi-to-le nembo-ko uma nama cic-amiy-Ø-u-no.*  
 give-TPP-PCL other.person-GEN wife with CAUS-sleep-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

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1 A man leaves his own house to travel far away. 2 Having gone, he arrives at the house of a person who has a lot of money. 3 That wealthy man had become influential by getting other people to do his work for him. 4 He would get angry with someone and then get someone else to beat him up on his behalf. 5 One day the man met the important man. 6 That man would do anything to earn money. 7 One day, that important person became angry with someone so he took his wife for one night, just to make him really angry. 8 One day he met the man from the village, and having given him a lot of beer, caused him to sleep with the wife of another man.



9 *libi camăica-ko lawa ra-Ø-du beryaŋ, begale*  
 after woman-GEN husband come.from.level-SAS-NPT that.time other  
*lawa nama ami-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no. 10 libi to camăica-ko*  
 husband with sleep-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that woman-GEN  
*lawa-ye tortah-Ø-u-no 'nan kuta hen-sa?' ŋa-to-le*  
 husband-ERG leave-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now where go-INF say-TPP-PCL  
*cawah-Ø-an. 11 cawa-Ø-du beryaŋ, to ami-Ø-du cahuca woi*  
 walk-SAS-3S/PT walk-SAS-NPT that.time that sleep-SAS-NPT man also  
*nama nama cawah-Ø-an. 12 cahuca-ko di-ka ban woi*  
 with with walk-SAS-3S/PT man-GEN one-HNC friend also  
*hok-Ø-thyo, libi to camăica-kăi di-gore thăi-te huca-pali*  
 be-SAS-3SCOND after that woman-PM one-CLF place-LOC child-p  
*ŋisen-sa nah-Ø-u-no. 13 oste-guri sya wa-sa jet*  
 teach-INF put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT self-IND cow plough-INF work  
*loŋ-Ø-u-no. 14 camăica-ye to cahuca-kăi nih-Ø-u-no-be,*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman-ERG that man-PM see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT-TOP  
*aŋthe rage let-Ø-thyo. 15 camăica hok-Ø-du nem-te*  
 very anger appear-SAS-3SCOND woman be-SAS-NPT house-LOC  
*oste-guri nem duŋ-ŋaŋ ami-Ø-du, cahuca priŋ ami-Ø-du.*  
 self-IND house within-inside sleep-SAS-NPT man outside sleep-SAS-NPT  
 16 *libi, camăica di uni huca nik-Ø-an, cya-sa tun-sa*  
 after woman one day child give.birth-SAS-3S/PT eat-INF drink-INF  
*hara woi ma-hok. 17 cahuca-ye dese-te ya-Ø-ta-le, wa*  
 what also NEG-be man-ERG village-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL chicken

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9 Later, when that woman's husband came [back], he saw her sleeping with another man. 10 Then, the woman's husband left her and walked off thinking 'where shall I go now?' 11 As he walked, that man who slept [with his wife] walked together with him. 12 The man had a friend who arranged for the woman to teach children in a certain place [a school]. 13 He himself worked ploughing [with] oxen. 14 When the woman saw that man, she would become very angry. 15 At the woman's house, she slept inside and the man slept outside. 16 After this, one day the woman gave birth to a child, but she had nothing to eat or drink. 17 The man went to the village, stole a chicken and brought it back.

*gwi-to-le, rah-Ø-u-no. 18 wa-ko mi kyel-Ø-ta-le*  
 steal-TPP-PCL bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken-GEN person come-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*cum-Ø-u-no 'naŋ-ko wa-ko pepelek baŋhe*  
 hold-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN chicken-GEN money tomorrow  
*citabas pi-na-ŋa-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 19 wa*  
 day.after.tomorrow give-3P-1s→3-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken  
*pal-to-le, cici uman-to-le, nem duŋ-ŋaŋ hen-Ø-u-no,*  
 chop-TPP-PCL meat cook-TPP-PCL house within-inside take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*uma-ye cici cum-to-le to-ko khen-te tup-Ø-u-no.*  
 wife-ERG meat hold-TPP-PCL that-GEN face-LOC strike-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 20 *cahuca kerep-Ø-an 'nan huca nik-Ø-du mi kutaleŋ woi*  
 man cry-SAS-3S/PT now child give.birth-SAS-NPT person when also  
*isa ma-cya' ŋa-to-le. 21 cahuca-ye di-ka uma-ko ban nama*  
 food NEG-eat say-TPP-PCL man-ERG one-HNC wife-GEN friend with  
*wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no 'tete, gǎi-go uma gǎ-ye piy-u-n-du,*  
 word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister I-GEN wife I-ERG give-3P-1s→3-NPT  
*hara woi ma-cya.' 22 'nany-e hen-to-le piy-o! cya-Ø-du*  
 what also NEG-eat you-ERG take-TPP-PCL give-s→3/IMP eat-SAS-NPT  
*ra? gǎ-ye naŋ-kǎi pi-na-ŋa-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 23 camǎica-ye woi*  
 or I-ERG you-PM give-2s-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman-ERG also  
*'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le hen-Ø-u-no, lawa-ye piy-Ø-u-du*  
 okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT husband-ERG give-SAS-3P-NPT  
*ma-ŋah-Ø-u-no. 24 nan lawa-ye sya wa-to-le pepelek*  
 NEG-say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now husband-ERG cow plough-TPP-PCL money

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18 The owner of the chicken came and grabbed him, 'I'll give you the money for the chicken tomorrow or the day after', he [the man] said. 19 Having slaughtered the chicken and cooked the meat, he took it inside the house but his wife, grabbing the meat, slapped it in his face. 20 The man cried saying 'this woman who has just given birth doesn't eat her food.' 21 The man had a chat with one of his wife's friends [saying] 'elder sister, my wife doesn't eat anything that I give her.' 22 'You take it and give it to her! Maybe she'll eat it then? I'll give it to you' he said. 23 The woman said 'okay' and took it, not saying that her husband had given it to her. 24 Now the money the husband earned from ploughing he gave to his wife's friend, and she gave it to his wife.

*uma-ko ban-kăi piy-Ø-u-no, ban-e uma-kăi*  
 wife-GEN friend-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT friend-ERG wife-PM  
*piy-Ø-u-no. 25 libi ca woi jekha thah-Ø-an. 26 ca nama*  
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after son also big be-SAS-3S/PT son with  
*apa cijyaŋ-Ø-du, uma nama ma-cijyaŋ, lawa-kăi nem duŋ-ŋaŋ*  
 father speak-SAS-NPT wife with NEG-speak father-PM house within-inside  
*woi bi-sa ma-pi. 27 lawa dese mi-ko sya wa-sa*  
 also enter-INF NEG-give husband village person-GEN cow plough-INF  
*ya-Ø-du, sola woi ma-cya, ca-ye ama-yiŋ sul-to-le*  
 go-SAS-NPT snack also NEG-eat son-ERG mother-ABL hide-TPP-PCL  
*hen-to-le apa-kăi piy-Ø-u-thyo. 28 di uni, hen-hen-ăi*  
 take-TPP-PCL father-PM give-SAS-3P-3SCOND one day take-take-CON  
*ama-ye nih-Ø-u-no, ca-kăi kaŋa-Ø-ta-le ‘gă-ye naŋ-kăi*  
 mother-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son-PM scold-SAS-IPP-PCL I-ERG you-PM  
*cya-sa pi-na-ŋa-du, sola hara-kăi to-kăi piy-u-na-du?’ 29 ca-ye*  
 eat-INF give-2s-1s-NPT snack what-PM that-PM give-3P-2s-NPT son-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ni-ko apa sola ma-cya woi sya*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-GEN father snack NEG-eat also cow  
*wah-Ø-u-du, sola su-ye piy-Ø-u-du?’ 30 ama sumaka*  
 plough-SAS-3P-NPT snack who-ERG give-SAS-3P-NPT mother silent  
*hok-Ø-an ‘ama, to ni-ko apa ma-tha?’ 31 ama-ye*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT mother that we-GEN father NEG-be mother-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘to naŋ-ko apa ma-tha, to gwi tha-Ø-du,*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that you-GEN father NEG-be that thief be-SAS-NPT

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25 Then the son grew up. 26 The father may speak with his son but not with his wife, she doesn't even let him come inside the house. 27 [Every day] the husband goes off to plough for the villagers without having a snack, but his son, hiding it from his mother, always gave one [snack] to him. 28 One day, as he was taking [the food], mother saw him and scolded him 'I give you food to eat, why do you give it to him?' 29 And the son said 'our father, without eating a snack, is ploughing, now who is going to give him something to eat?' 30 Mother fell silent, 'mother, isn't he our father?' [the son asked] 31 And mother said 'he's not your father, he's a thief, and you shouldn't look into his face.'

*to-ko khen yo-ko ma-ja.* 32 *di uni, lawa to-te*  
 that-GEN face look.at-ADH NEG-okay one day husband that-LOC  
*hok-Ø-an ηa-to-le, uma-ye ca cabu-to-le cawah-Ø-an.*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL wife-ERG son carry-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT  
 33 *ca-ye ηah-Ø-u-no ‘ama ni-ko apa-kǎi woi hen-ko!’*  
 son-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother we-GEN father-PM also take-ADH  
 34 *‘to-kǎi hen-ko ma-ja, to-ye ni-kǎi rage loη-Ø-u-du’*  
 that-PM take-ADH NEG-okay that-ERG we-PM anger do-SAS-3P-NPT  
*ama-ye ηah-Ø-u-no.* 35 *‘to thah-Ø-an-be, gǎi woi ma-ya,*  
 mother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP I also NEG-go  
*apa-kǎi woi hen-ko!’ ηah-Ø-u-no.* 36 *ya-ya woi sum-ka*  
 father-PM also take-ADH say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT go-go also three-HNC  
*gwi-ye ulam-te to camǎica-kǎi cum-to-le ‘naη yaη ni-ko*  
 thief-ERG road-LOC that woman-PM hold-TPP-PCL you today we-GEN  
*uma tha-ko mǎi-Ø-du’ ηay-eη-no.* 37 *camǎica nan si-ko*  
 wife be-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-PAS-3→3/PT woman now die-ADH  
*sow-Ø-an, ca apa-kǎi urou-sa dorok-Ø-an.* 38 *apa*  
 be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT son father-PM call-INF run-SAS-3S/PT father  
*khalam-to-le, sakalei wakhe ηah-Ø-u-no.* 39 *apa woi ‘uma*  
 meet-TPP-PCL all word say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father also wife  
*sat-eη-no thanjun’ ηa-to-le dorok-ca rah-Ø-an.*  
 kill-PAS-3→3/PT maybe say-TPP-PCL run-PSG come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT  
 40 *ra-Ø-du beryaη, sum-ka gwi-ye sampuy-eη-le*  
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT that.time three-HNC thief-ERG pull.hair-PAS-PCL

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32 One day, the husband stayed there and the wife set off carrying her son. 33 And the son said ‘mum, let’s also take our father!’ 34 ‘We can’t take him, he will just get angry with us’ mother said. 35 ‘Well, in that case, I also won’t go, take dad along as well!’ he said. 36 As they were going along the road three thieves grabbed the woman and said ‘today you must be our wife.’ 37 The woman was about to die and the son ran off to call his father. 38 Having reached his father, he told him everything [that had happened]. 39 Thinking ‘maybe they’ll kill her’, father also came running. 40 When he came he saw that the three robbers were pulling her by her hair.

*nay-eŋ-du nih-Ø-u-no.* 41 *to-ye di-ka-kăi lak-te*  
 put-pAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG one-HNC-PM hand-LOC  
*cum-to-le na-basa ciy-Ø-u-no.* 42 *begale-kăi kaŋtu*  
 hold-TPP-PCL under-side throw.away-SAS-3P-3→3/PT other-PM neck  
*tor-to-le aspăiy-Ø-u-no,* *di-ka-kăi lakpa*  
 break-TPP-PCL throw.violently-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-HNC-PM limb  
*tor-Ø-u-no.* 43 *libi uma kerep-Ø-ta-le lawa-kăi*  
 break-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after wife cry-SAS-IPP-PCL husband-PM  
*karpak-Ø-u-no,* *kerep-Ø-an.* 44 *'naŋ ma-tha-na-n-be, găi-găi*  
 embrace-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cry-SAS-3S/PT you NEG-be-2s-PT-TOP I-PM  
*sat-eŋ-ŋa-thyo, naŋ tha-Ø-ta-na-le găi mo-ŋa-n'*  
 kill-pAS-1s-3SCOND you be-SAS-IPP-2s-PCL I survive-1s-PT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 45 *libi uma lawa ca thay-eŋ-ta-le, oste-ko*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after wife husband son be-pAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN  
*nem-te yey-eŋ-ta-le hok-eŋ-an.*  
 house-LOC go-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-3S/PT

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41 He grabbed one of them by the arm and threw him down the side. 42 Breaking the neck of another, he threw him violently, and then he broke the limbs of another one. 43 Then, crying, the wife embraced the husband, and then cried [more]. 44 'If you hadn't been here, they would have killed me, it's because you came that I survived', she said. 45 Then the wife, husband and son, all reunited, went and lived together in their own house.

## APPEARANCE

- 1 *ahe habi, di-gore dese-te nis-ka uma lawa*  
 many before one-CLF village-LOC two-HNC wife husband
- hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *to-baŋ nama cya-sa tun-sa-ko name-te*  
 be-PAS-3SCOND that-Pp with eat-INF drink-INF-GEN name-LOC
- sum-ka camăi hok-eŋ-thyo.* 3 *camăi-pali sarma thay-eŋ-ta-le*  
 three-HNC daughter be-PAS-3SCOND daughter-p strong be-PAS-IPP-PCL
- bore loŋ-ko soy-eŋ-no.* 4 *di uni jekha camăi-kăi*  
 marriage do-ADH be.about.to-PAS-3→3/PT one day big daughter-PM
- du nama bore ci-lony-eŋ-to-le.* 5 *begale-kăi makar nama,*  
 tiger with marriage CAUS-do-PAS-TPP-PCL other-PM monkey with
- ŋaŋ ucyaca camăi-kăi amu nama bore ci-lony-eŋ-to-le.*  
 and small daughter-PM eagle with marriage CAUS-do-PAS-TPP-PCL
- 6 *camăi-pali-ko bore loŋ-to-le, camăi-pali-kăi di-di uni*  
 daughter-p-GEN marriage do-TPP-PCL daughter-p-PM one-one day
- khalam-sa-kăi ŋhoŋe yah-Ø-an.* 7 *nan to oste-ko camăi-pali-ko*  
 meet-INF-PM old.man go-SAS-3S/PT now that self-GEN daughter-p-GEN
- nem-te yah-Ø-an.* 8 *ŋhoŋi nama ŋa-to-le, jekha*  
 house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT old.woman with say-TPP-PCL big
- camăi-ko-te yah-Ø-an.* 9 *jekha camăi-ko nem apok*  
 daughter-GEN-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT big daughter-GEN house cave
- hok-Ø-thyo.* 10 *ălămtha-yiniŋ apa ra-Ø-du*  
 be-SAS-3SCOND distant-ABL father come.from.level-SAS-NPT

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1 A long time ago, a wife and a husband lived in a village. 2 On account of having three daughters, they had enough to eat and to drink. 3 Being young, the daughters were soon to be married. 4 One day they [the parents] made the eldest daughter marry a tiger. 5 Another one [daughter] they married off to a monkey, and the youngest daughter to an eagle. 6 The daughters having gotten married, the old man went off to visit his daughters for a day at a time. 7 So he went off to the houses of his own daughters. 8 Having discussed it with his old lady, he went off to the house of the eldest daughter. 9 The eldest daughter's house was a cave. 10 They saw from a distance that father was coming.

*niy-eŋ-no.* 11 *du-ye oste-ko limek phet-to-le chuku-kăi*  
 see-pAS-3→3/PT tiger-ERG self-GEN tail unfurl-TPP-PCL father.in.law-PM  
*hok-sa piy-Ø-u-no, chuku đamari-ko limek-te hok-Ø-an.*  
 be-INF give-sAS-3P-3→3/PT father.in.law son.in.law-GEN tail-LOC be-sAS-3S/PT  
 12 *du-ye uma-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘nan găi ŋaŋ chuku cici*  
 tiger-ERG wife-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now I and father.in.law meat  
*kyel-to-le kyel-i-du, nany-e adum paŋku uman-to-le*  
 bring-TPP-PCL come-1pPS-NPT you-ERG hot water cook-TPP-PCL  
*nah-o!’* 13 *ka ŋa-to-le đamari chuku caway-eŋ-an.*  
 put-s→3/IMP this say-TPP-PCL son.in.law father.in.law walk-pAS-3S/PT  
 14 *du-ye chuku-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘apa, naŋ priŋ hok-a,*  
 tiger-ERG father.in.law-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT father you outside be-s/IMP  
*găi tuŋi gal-te ya-ta-ŋa-le tuŋi priŋ ciy-u-n-du, nany-e*  
 I goat cage-LOC go-IPP-1s-PCL goat outside throw-3P-1s→3-NPT you-ERG  
*nyakaŋeŋ pole-te ciy-o!’* 15 *chuku-ye ‘ja-Ø-du’*  
 nettle shrub-LOC throw.away-s→3/IMP father.in.law-ERG okay-sAS-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no, ka ŋa-to-le du duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an,*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT this say-TPP-PCL tiger within-inside enter-sAS-3S/PT  
*di-gore tuŋi priŋ ciy-Ø-u-no, chuku-ye woi to-kăi*  
 one-CLF goat outside throw-sAS-3P-3→3/PT father.in.law-ERG also that-PM  
*nyakaŋeŋ pole-te ciy-Ø-u-no.* 16 *tyaŋ du let-Ø-ta-le*  
 nettle shrub-LOC throw-sAS-3P-3→3/PT then tiger appear-sAS-IPP-PCL  
*chuku nama cawah-Ø-an.* 17 *nem-te ya-let-eŋ-ta-le*  
 father.in.law with walk-sAS-3S/PT house-LOC go-appear-pAS-IPP-PCL

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11 Unfurling his tail, the tiger gave it to his father-in-law to sit on, and thus father-in-law sat on his son-in-law's tail. 12 Then the tiger said to his wife 'now father-in-law and I will bring some meat, you boil up some hot water!' 13 Having said this the son-in-law and father-in-law set off. 14 The tiger said to the father-in-law 'father, you stay outside, I'll go inside the goat cage and throw the goat out, you [grab it and] throw it into the nettle shrub!' 15 Father-in-law said 'okay', and having said this, the tiger went inside and threw out a goat which the father-in-law then threw into the nettle shrub. 16 Then the tiger appeared and walked off with the father-in-law. 17 Having arrived back home, they gave the meat to the wife, and she cooked it so that it was tasty.

*uma-kǎi piy-eŋ-no, uma-ye woi asare ni-Ø-du cici*  
 wife-PM give-pAS-3→3/PT wife-ERG also tasty appear-sAS-NPT meat  
*ci-min-Ø-u-no. 18 apa-kǎi piy-eŋ-no, apa*  
 CAUS-ripen-sAS-3P-3→3/PT father-PM give-pAS-3→3/PT father  
*taŋ-Ø-ta-le, baŋthe syaŋ oste-ko nem-te cawah-Ø-an.*  
 be.happy-sAS-IPP-PCL tomorrow period self-GEN house-LOC walk-sAS-3S/PT  
 19 *nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le uma-kǎi sakalei wakhe*  
 house-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM all word  
*ci-nasǎiy-Ø-u-no, ʰoŋi kerep-kerep-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no*  
 CAUS-hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman cry-cry-sAS-IPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*‘naŋ-ko-be camǎi hok-Ø-du, pi-Ø-na-du, gǎi-go su hok-Ø-du*  
 you-GEN-TOP daughter be-sAS-NPT give-sAS-2s-NPT I-GEN who be-sAS-NPT  
*ra?’ 20 ʰoŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘naŋ-ko gǎi hok-ŋa-du.’ 21 ‘nan*  
 or old.man-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN I be-1s-NPT now  
*naŋ-kǎi gǎ-ye di-gore wakhe ci-nasǎi-na-ŋa-du, tyaŋ naŋ woi*  
 you-PM I-ERG one-CLF word CAUS-hear-2s-1s-NPT then you also  
*loŋ-o! tyaŋ cici cya-sa khalam-u-na-du’, ʰoŋe-ye*  
 do-s→3/IMP then meat eat-INF receive-3P-2s-NPT old.man-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no. 22 to-ye woi ɖamari-ye uniŋ ʰuŋi ra-sa*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG also son.in.law-ERG like goat bring-INF  
*daŋ-Ø-u-no. 23 uma-kǎi ʰuŋi gal-te hen-Ø-u-no,*  
 search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-PM goat cage-LOC take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*ɖamari-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du uniŋ, ʰoŋi-kǎi priŋ nah-Ø-u-no.*  
 son.in.law-ERG do-sAS-3P-NPT like old.woman-PM outside put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

18 They gave it [the meat] to father and he was happy, and the next day he set off home. 19 Having gone home he told his wife everything that had happened, and the old woman said, crying and crying, ‘you have a daughter who gives you things, now who do I have?’ 20 The old man said ‘you have me.’ 21 ‘Now I’ll tell you something which you must do, and then you will also get meat to eat’, the old man said. 22 He tried to get a goat in the way that son-in-law had. 23 He took his wife off to the goat cage, and doing like his son-in-law, left the old woman outside.



- 24 *‘gǎ-ye tūni priŋ cih-u-n-du, nany-e tūni nyakanen*  
 I-ERG goat outside throw.away-3P-1s→3-NPT you-ERG goat nettle  
*pole-te ciy-o’ ηah-Ø-u-no.* 25 *oste duŋ-ηaŋ*  
 shrub-LOC throw.away-s→3/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT self within-inside  
*biy-Ø-an, t̄hoŋi tūni yo-le nah-Ø-u-no.* 26 *to*  
 enter-sAS-3S/PT old.woman goat look.at-PCL put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that  
*isyaj di-gore suk-sa t̄uri khaŋou-te chyule nah-Ø-u-thyo.*  
 period one-CLF strike-INF goat door-LOC tie-PCL put-sAS-3P-3SCOND  
 27 *t̄hone khaŋou kherte ya-let-Ø-thyo, t̄uni-ye suk-to-le*  
 old.man door near go-appear-sAS-3SCOND goat-ERG strike-TPP-PCL  
*priŋ ciy-Ø-u-no.* 28 *t̄hoŋi-ye, ukhiŋ-ηaŋ t̄uni*  
 outside throw-sAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-ERG dark-inside goat  
*rah-Ø-an ηa-to-le, nyakanen pole-te*  
 come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL nettle shrub-LOC  
*ciy-Ø-u-no.* 29 *libi t̄hone kerep-Ø-du nasǎiy-Ø-u-no,*  
 throw.away-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after old.man cry-sAS-NPT hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*uma thombe thah-Ø-an.* 30 *t̄hone-ye ‘gǎi t̄hone, ka-te*  
 wife surprise be-sAS-3S/PT old.man-ERG I old.man this-LOC  
*ra-Ø, gǎi-gǎi ci-let-aŋ!’ ηah-Ø-u-no.*  
 come.from.level-s/IMP I-PM CAUS-appear-s→1s/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 31 *nis-ka woi kerep-eŋ-ta-le oste-ko nem-te*  
 two-HNC also cry-pAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN house-LOC  
*ray-eŋ-an, cici cya-sa ma-khalam-eŋ-no.* 32 *nan*  
 come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT meat eat-INF NEG-receive-pAS-3→3/PT now

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24 ‘I’ll throw the goat outside and you throw it into the nettle shrub’, he said. 25 He went inside while the old woman remained [outside] looking for the goat. 26 That same day a butting goat had been tied to the door [by someone else]. 27 The old man got to the door, and then the goat butted him outside. 28 In the darkness, thinking that the goat had come, the old woman threw him into the nettle bush. 29 Then when the wife heard the old man crying, she was shocked. 30 The old man said, ‘it’s me, your old man, come here and help me out!’ 31 The two of them went back to their house crying, without having gotten any meat to eat. 32 Then he went to the house of his monkey son-in-law, and seeing his father-in-law, the monkey said to his wife ‘wife, you put the pot on the fire and I will bring some oil.’

*begale makar ḍamari-ko-te yah-Ø-an, chuku ni-to-le*  
*other monkey son.in.law-GEN-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT father.in.law see-TPP-PCL*  
*makar-e woi uma-kǎi ḡah-Ø-u-no 'uma, nany-e baṇi me-te*  
*monkey-ERG also wife-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife you-ERG pot fire-LOC*  
*nah-o, ḡǎ-ye asa ra-to-le ra-ḡa-du.'* 33 *'tyaṅ*  
*put-s→3/IMP I-ERG oil bring-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT then*  
*maṅǎi jyou-to-le chuku-kǎi pi-ko mǎi-Ø-du',*  
*bread burn-TPP-PCL father.in.law-PM give-ADH must-SAS-NPT*  
*ḡah-Ø-u-no.* 34 *ḍamari cawah-Ø-an, asa ci-let-Ø-u-du*  
*say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son.in.law walk-SAS-3S/PT oil CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-NPT*  
*ṡhǎi-te yah-Ø-an, makar ni-to-le mi-pali ariy-eṅ-ta-le*  
*place-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT monkey see-TPP-PCL person-p be.afraid-pAS-IPP-PCL*  
*dorok-eṅ-an.* 35 *libi asa ni-Ø-du baṇi-te biy-Ø-an, asa*  
*run-pAS-3S/PT after oil appear-SAS-NPT pot-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT oil*  
*maṅ-ko mus-te thum-Ø-an, dorok-ca ra-Ø-ta-le*  
*body-GEN hair-LOC stain-SAS-3S/PT run-PSG come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL*  
*adum baṇi-te biy-Ø-an.* 36 *libi di baṇi asa thah-Ø-an, libi*  
*hot pot-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT after one pot oil be-SAS-3S/PT after*  
*camǎi-ye maṅǎi jyou-to-le apa-kǎi piy-Ø-u-no.* 37 *nan*  
*daughter-ERG bread burn-TPP-PCL father-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now*  
*chuku oste-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le ṡhoṇi-kǎi*  
*father.in.law self-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL old.woman-PM*  
*ci-nasǎiy-Ø-u-no.* 38 *ṡhoṇi-kǎi woi 'baṇi me-te na-to-le*  
*CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM also pot fire-LOC put-TPP-PCL*

33 'Then bake some bread and give it to father-in-law', he said. 34 Son-in-law set off and went to the place where oil is pressed, and when the people there saw the monkey, they were afraid and ran away. 35 Then he dived into a pot of oil, the oil stuck to his body hair, and he came running back [home] and dived into the hot pot. 36 In this way, they had a pot of oil, and later the daughter made breads and gave them to her father. 37 Then father-in-law went home and told his old woman all about it. 38 And he said to the old woman 'put a pot on the fire to warm it up, I will bring some oil.'

*adum-o, gǎ-ye asa ra-to-le ra-ŋa-du'*  
 heat-s→3/IMP I-ERG oil bring-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no. 39 to woi asa ci-let-Ø-u-du ʃhǎi-te*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that also oil CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-NPT place-LOC  
*ya-hok-Ø-an, tyanʃyanʃ tha-Ø-ta-le asa baŋi-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an.*  
 go-be-SAS-3S/PT naked be-SAS-IPP-PCL oil pot-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT  
 40 *dorok-ca ra-Ø-ta-le uma-ye nah-Ø-u-du ɖiŋɖiŋ*  
 run-PSG come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL wife-ERG put-SAS-3P-NPT red  
*baŋi-te biy-Ø-an. 41 asa ma-let-Ø-ta-le, muji sakalei*  
 pot-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT oil NEG-appear-SAS-IPP-PCL buttocks all  
*ɟyok-Ø-an 'ka woi ma-jah-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le ʃhoŋi*  
 burn-SAS-3S/PT this also NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL old.woman  
*ʃhoŋe kerep-eŋ-an. 42 ʃhoŋe aɾtik-Ø-ta-le 'paŋku*  
 old.man cry-PAS-3S/PT old.man scream-SAS-IPP-PCL water  
*cuk-aŋ! gǎi si-ŋa-n' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 43 libi ucya*  
 insert-s→1s/IMP I die-1s-PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after small  
*camǎi-ko-te yah-Ø-an, ucya camǎi-ko-te ya-Ø-ta-le*  
 daughter-GEN-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT small daughter-GEN-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*amu-ye lukusa-te na-to-le per-Ø-ta-le sakalei*  
 eagle-ERG backbone-LOC put-TPP-PCL fly-SAS-IPP-PCL all  
*ci-yoh-Ø-u-no, apraca apraca ʃhǎi nih-Ø-u-no. 44 libi*  
 CAUS-look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT good good place see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after  
*oste-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le uma-kǎi ŋah-Ø-u-no 'uma naŋ*  
 self-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife you

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39 He went to sit in the place where oil is pressed and he entered the oil pot totally naked. 40 He came back [home] running and dived into the red-hot pot his wife had put ready. 41 The oil didn't come off [lit. appear] so he burnt his arse, and the old woman and old man cried saying 'also this has failed.' 42 The old man said screaming 'throw water on me! I'm dying.' 43 After that he went to his youngest daughter's house, and having got there, the eagle [son-in-law] put him on his back and flying around, showed him everything, and he saw some very nice places. 44 Then he went back to his own house and said to his wife 'wife, do you want to see some beautiful villages?'

*apraca dese yoh-u-na-du?* 45 *'gǎ-ye naŋ-kǎi ci-yo-na-ŋa-du,*  
 good village look.at-3P-2s-NPT I-ERG you-PM CAUS-look.at-2s-1s-NPT  
*ja-Ø-du?*, *uma-ye woi 'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 okay-sAS-NPT wife-ERG also okay-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 46 *ʃhone-ye nis ʃhǎi lembe na-to-le warak*  
 old.man-ERG two place winnowing.tray put-TPP-PCL precipice  
*cyuri-te yey-eŋ-an, ʃhoŋi-kǎi lukusa-te cabuh-Ø-u-no,*  
 summit-LOC go-pAS-3S/PT old.woman-PM backbone-LOC carry-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*cyuri-yiŋ nobi per-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du-be warak-te*  
 summit-ABL downhill fly-INF search-sAS-3P-NPT-TOP precipice-LOC  
*ros-eŋ-an, nis-ka woi siy-eŋ-an.*  
 fall.from.height-pAS-3S/PT two-HNC also die-pAS-3S/PT

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45 'I'll show it to you, alright?' [he said] and his wife said 'fine.' 46 The old man strapped winnowing trays on in two places and they went up to the summit of the hill, then he carried the old woman on his back and when he tried to fly down from the summit, they fell from the precipice and both died.

## THIEF

- 1 'sewa, gǎi-go naŋ-kǎi jekha sewa.' 2 'yaŋ naŋ jekha mi  
salute I-GEN you-PM big salute today you big person  
tha-na-n ŋa-to-le, gǎi taŋ-ŋa-n.' 3 'ni-kǎi habi naŋ jekha  
be-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL I be.happy-1s-PT we-PM before you big  
mi tha-na-du ŋa-to-le, naŋ-kǎi reŋ-ko laŋi sil-to-le  
person be-2s-NPT say-TPP-PCL you-PM flower-GEN necklace thread-TPP-PCL  
na-to-le na-wa-n.' 4 'naŋ habi jekha mi tha-ko  
put-TPP-PCL put-1p→23-PT you before big person be-ADH  
mǎi-Ø-thyo, yaŋ ka ma-tha-na-n.' 5 'naleŋ hara  
must-SAS-3SCOND today throughout NEG-be-2s-PT present what  
tha-Ø-ta-le, masǎi, naleŋ-guri naŋ-kǎi pepelek pi-ta-na-le.'  
be-SAS-IPP-PCL who.knows present-IND you-PM money give-IPP-2s-PCL  
6 'to mi jekha tha-Ø-ta-le, ni nan sakalei dum-i-n'  
that person big be-SAS-IPP-PCL we now all finish-1pps-PT  
ŋay-eŋ-thyo 'naleŋ let-Ø-ta-le, apraca thah-Ø-an.' 8 'to  
say-pAS-3SCOND present appear-SAS-IPP-PCL good be-SAS-3S/PT that  
hok-Ø-du uni-yiniŋ, sakalei pepelek oste cyah-Ø-an, oste-ko  
be-SAS-NPT day-ABL all money self eat-SAS-3S/PT self-GEN  
mi-kǎi uchinca piy-Ø-u-no.' 9 'su woi ma-cijyany-eŋ-an,  
person-PM a.little give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT who also NEG-speak-pAS-3S/PT  
gǎi di-ka cijyaŋ-ŋa-du, gǎi di-ka-ko wakhe ma-nasǎiy-eŋ-no.'  
I one-HNC speak-1s-NPT I one-HNC-GEN word NEG-hear-pAS-3→3/PT

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1 'Greetings, hearty greetings from me to you.' 2 'That you have become an important person today makes me happy.' 3 'Thinking that you would become an important person, we have already threaded a flower garland for you.' 4 'You should have been an important person by now, but until today it hadn't happened.' 5 'Now what has happened, who knows, because now you have received money.' 6 'Now that that person has become important, we are finished', they said, 'now that he's gone, it's good.' 8 'Since that day he used up [lit. ate] all the money himself, and gave only a little to his family' [lit. own people]. 9 'Nobody said anything at all, I was the only one to speak but they didn't hear what I had to say.'

10 *ka unij nah-Ø-u-thyo, di-ka mi-ye, 'gǎ-ye yo-le*  
 this like say-SAS-3P-3SCOND one-HNC person-ERG I-ERG look.at-PCL  
*nah-u-n-uŋ, to-kǎi-guri ma-piy-eŋ-no.'* 11 *nyoŋi nem-te*  
 put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-PM-IND NEG-give-pAS-3→3/PT evening house-LOC  
*ya-Ø-ta-le, uma nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no 'uma, nan ka*  
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL wife with word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife now this  
*cey-eŋ-du-pali-kǎi, gǎ-ye sakalei wakhe nah-u-n-du.'* 12 *uma sumaka*  
 eat-pAS-NPT-p-PM I-ERG all word say-3P-1s→3-NPT wife silent  
*hok-Ø-an 'hara nah-Ø-u-du?' ŋa-to-le, 'to mi-be jekha*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT what say-SAS-3P-NPT say-TPP-PCL that person-TOP big  
*mi-ko ban hok-Ø-thyo.'* 13 *di uni pepelek boŋhay-eŋ-du*  
 person-GEN friend be-SAS-3SCOND one day money distribute-pAS-NPT  
*beryaŋ, to-kǎi ma-thop-Ø-ta-le, tyaŋ kǎcyalaŋ-si-Ø-du*  
 that.time that-PM NEG-be.enough-SAS-IPP-PCL then disturbance-REF-SAS-NPT  
*mi-be hok-Ø-du.* 14 *to-kǎi ma-piy-Ø-u-du mi-ko*  
 person-TOP be-SAS-NPT that-PM NEG-give-SAS-3P-NPT person-GEN  
*laŋga-te ya-Ø-ta-le, jekha sare-te kiŋiy-Ø-an.* 15 *'e*  
 courtyard-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL big voice-LOC quarrel-SAS-3S/PT hey  
*moro, naŋ let-a! naŋ-kǎi gǎ-ye ǎikuca-ye pal-na-ŋa-du!'*  
 corpse you appear-s/IMP you-PM I-ERG large.knife-INS chop-2s-1s-NPT  
 16 *'naŋ-kǎi mosani ɖaŋɖi-te hen-sa-kǎi, oste-guri ahe cya-na-n,*  
 you-PM spirit hill-LOC take-INF-PM self-IND much eat-2s-PT  
*gǎi-gǎi-guri ma-pi-Ø-ŋa-n.'* 17 *'nan naŋ dikaca loŋ-o! naŋ-ko*  
 I-PM-IND NEG-give-SAS-1s-PT now you alone do-s→3/IMP you-GEN

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10 This is what one person said 'I was watching, and they didn't give him anything.' 11 When he went home in the evening, he spoke with this wife and said 'wife, now I am going to tell everything to those people who used up the money [lit. the eaters].' 12 And the wife fell silent, thinking 'what will he say? That person was the friend of influential people.' 13 One day, when they were distributing the money, he didn't get [his fair] share and he made a song and dance about it. 14 He went to the courtyard of that person who wouldn't give the money and, in a very loud voice, started a quarrel. 15 'Hey, dead man, come out here! I'm gonna chop you up with my knife.' 16 'You should be taken to the graveyard [lit. hill of the spirits], having eaten so much yourself and given nothing to me.' 17 'From now on, you'll

*jet loŋ-sa gǎi kutaleŋ woi ma-ra, hara hara loŋ-u-na-du,*  
 work do-INF I when also NEG-come.from.level what what do-3P-2s-NPT  
*loŋ-o! gǎ-ye sakalei mi-pali-kǎi ŋah-u-n-du nan.’ 18 jekha*  
 do-s→3/IMP I-ERG all person-p-PM say-3P-1s→3-NPT now big  
*mi khaŋou-yiŋ yo-le nah-Ø-u-thyo ‘nan ka-ye dese*  
 person door-ABL look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3SCOND now this-ERG village  
*mi-kǎi ŋah-Ø-u-no-be, gǎi-gǎi kaŋay-eŋ-du, ka-kǎi ‘sumaka*  
 person-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT-TOP I-PM scold-pAS-NPT this-PM silent  
*hok-a!’ ŋa-ko mǎiy-Ø-an.’ 19 ya-Ø-ta-le, to mi-kǎi*  
 be-s/IMP say-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT go-SAS-IPP-PCL that person-PM  
*lak-te cum-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘hu, naŋ sumaka*  
 hand-LOC hold-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother you silent  
*hok-a! naŋ-kǎi gǎ-ye pepelek pi-na-ŋa-du.’ 20 to woi sumaka*  
 be-s/IMP you-PM I-ERG money give-2s-1s-NPT that also silent  
*hok-Ø-an, libi piy-Ø-u-no, nem-te hen-to-le uma-kǎi*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT after give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house-LOC take-TPP-PCL wife-PM  
*piy-Ø-u-no.*  
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

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have to do it alone! I will never come and work for you again, do whatever you have to do! I am now going to tell everyone [about you].’ 18 That important person was peeking out from the door [of his house], thinking ‘now if this guy tells the villagers then they will come and scold me, I must tell him to shut up.’ 19 Going while holding that man’s hand, he said ‘younger brother, please be silent! I will give you money.’ 20 So he fell silent and was then given some money which he took home and gave to his wife.

## TAMANG

- 1 *di-ka semni hok-Ø-thyo, to guru jet loŋ-Ø-u-thyo.*  
one-HNC Tamang be-SAS-3SCOND that shaman work do-SAS-3P-3SCOND
- 2 *to dewa nama woi wakhe loŋ-sa thaŋ-Ø-u-du mi.*  
that god with also word do-INF be.able-SAS-3P-NPT person
- 3 *'naŋ kit-dicip-dicip ka mo-na-du' ŋa-to-le, dewa-ye*  
you nine-ten-ten throughout live-2S-NPT say-TPP-PCL god-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 4 *to-ye di-ka camăica nama bore*  
say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG one-HNC woman with marriage  
*loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 5 *bore ma-loŋ-ŋa, to aye samay ka*  
do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT marriage NEG-do-CNS that many time throughout  
*ma-mo.* 6 *bore loŋ-Ø-u-du uni-yiŋ, apraca hok-Ø-an.*  
NEG-live marriage do-SAS-3P-NPT day-ABL good be-SAS-3S/PT
- 7 *uma lawa isa cey-eŋ-ta-le, me sat-eŋ-to-le, jet*  
wife husband food eat-pAS-IPP-PCL fire kill-pAS-TPP-PCL work  
*jet-te yey-eŋ-thyo.* 8 *tyaŋ, thapu-yiŋ asku, me ti-Ø-du*  
work-LOC go-pAS-3SCOND then fireplace-ABL smoke fire light-SAS-NPT  
*uniŋ, let-Ø-thyo.* 9 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le, uma-ye 'ka hara*  
like appear-SAS-3SCOND this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL wife-ERG this what  
*tha-Ø-du? lawa-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du jet-be ma-tha' ŋa-to-le*  
be-SAS-NPT husband-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT work-TOP NEG-be say-TPP-PCL  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 10 *'găi-go lawa dikaca hok-Ø-an-be, ka asku*  
say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN husband alone be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP this smoke

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1 There was a Tamang man who worked as a shaman. 2 He was someone who was able to communicate with the gods. 3 'You will live to be a hundred', the god told him. 4 He married a woman. 5 If he didn't get married, then he wouldn't live for so many years. 6 Ever since he got married, things were good. 7 Having eaten their meal and put out the fire, the wife and husband went off to their respective jobs. 8 Then, from the fireplace, smoke and flames appeared as if it were alight. 9 This being so, the wife thought 'what's all this? This is not of my husband's doing.' 10 'If my husband were alone then this smoke wouldn't appear, maybe he has another wife.'



*ma-let, ka-ko begale uma hok-Ø-du thaṅun.* 11 *di uni uma*  
 NEG-appear this-GEN other wife be-SAS-NPT maybe one day wife  
*nem-yiṅ let-Ø-an, lawa-kăi ḍapu-sa.* 12 *thapu-yiṅ asku*  
 house-ABL appear-SAS-3S/PT husband-PM spy-INF fireplace-ABL smoke  
*let-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no.* 13 *tyaṅ lawa-kăi ḍapuh-Ø-u-no,*  
 appear-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then husband-PM spy-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*to beryaṅ lawa begale camăica nama wakhe loṅ-Ø-u-du*  
 that that.time husband other woman with word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*nasăiy-Ø-u-no.* 14 *to beryaṅ to dese-te, thapu su-ko*  
 hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that that.time that village-LOC fireplace who-GEN  
*woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 15 *to dese-te di-ka dewa woi*  
 also NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND that village-LOC one-HNC god also  
*cawa-Ø-thyo.* 16 *dewa nama semni-ye wakhe loṅ-Ø-u-du,*  
 walk-SAS-3SCOND god with Tamang-ERG word do-SAS-3P-NPT  
*uma-ye ḍapu-le nah-Ø-u-no.* 17 *to beryaṅ dese-te chya*  
 wife-ERG spy-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that that.time village-LOC salt  
*ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 18 *dewa-kăi ‘nan chya hok-Ø-du thăi ḍaṅ-ko*  
 NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND god-PM now salt be-SAS-NPT place find-ADH  
*măiy-Ø-an, ka-te-ko mi-ye cya-sa ma-khalam-eṅ-no’*  
 must-SAS-3S/PT this-LOC-GEN person-ERG eat-INF NEG-receive-PAS-3→3/PT  
*ṅa-to-le dewa nama wakhe loṅ-Ø-u-no.* 19 *‘nan ni uma*  
 say-TPP-PCL god with word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now we wife  
*lawa tha-ta-i-le chya kăi-sa wakhe loṅ-ko măiy-Ø-an.*  
 husband be-IPP-1pPS-PCL salt remove-INF word do-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT

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11 One day the wife came out of the house to spy on her husband. 12 She saw smoke rising from the fireplace. 13 Then she spied on her husband and at that time, heard him speaking with another woman. 14 At that time, in that village, there was no one [else] with a fireplace. 15 [At that time] there was a god walking around in that village. 16 The Tamang was speaking with the god and his wife was spying on him. 17 At that time, there was no salt in the village. 18 Speaking with the god, he [the Tamang] said to him ‘now I must find a place where there is salt because the people here have none to eat.’ 19 ‘Now, the two of us, husband and wife, must talk about where to find some salt’ [he said].

20 *ka unij ηa-to-le dewa-kǎi thoh-Ø-u-no.* 21 *uma-ye*  
 this like say-TPP-PCL god-PM send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-ERG  
 ‘*gǎi-go lawa begale uma nama wakhe loη-Ø-u-no*’ *ηa-to-le*  
 I-GEN husband other wife with word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL  
*ηah-Ø-u-no.* 22 *ṭaye uma lawa-ko wakhe thah-Ø-an ‘uma,*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night wife husband-GEN word be-SAS-3S/PT wife  
*gǎi sumaka hok-ηa-du, nany-e ka nunu ka dǎi dha*  
 I silent be-1s-NPT you-ERG this milk this towards that.distant  
*dǎi ma-loη-tiniη nah-o!’* 23 *uma-ye ηah-Ø-u-no ‘di-gore*  
 towards NEG-do-PFG put-s→3/IMP wife-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-CLF  
*wakhe ma-ηa-tiniη, ka nunu gǎ-ye ma-cum.’* 24 ‘*gǎi priη*  
 word NEG-say-PFG this milk I-ERG NEG-hold I outside  
*let-ηa-du beryaη, kunyaη asku let-Ø-du? gǎi-gǎi ηa-ηa!’*  
 appear-1s-NPT that.time how smoke appear-SAS-NPT I-PM say-s→1s/IMP  
 25 ‘*yaη naη-kǎi ma-ηa, baṭhe citabas ηa-na-ηa-du,*  
 today you-PM NEG-say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow say-2s-1s-NPT  
*yaη sumaka hok-a!’* 26 ‘*to wakhe yaη ηa-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo,*  
 today silent be-s/IMP that word today say-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND  
*lawa-ye ‘baṭhe ηah-u-n-du’ ηa-to-le ηah-Ø-u-no.*  
 husband-ERG tomorrow say-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 27 *uma ma-ηa-tiniη nunu ma-cum-Ø-u-no, lawa-kǎi rage*  
 wife NEG-say-PFG milk NEG-hold-SAS-3P-3→3/PT husband-PM anger  
*let-Ø-an.* 28 *rage tha-Ø-ta-le, kiηe-siy-eη-an, nunu*  
 appear-SAS-3S/PT anger be-SAS-IPP-PCL fight-REF-pAS-3S/PT milk

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20 In this way, he sent the god off. 21 The wife thought to herself ‘my husband is talking with his other wife.’ 22 At night, the couple talked [and he said] ‘wife, I will sit quietly and you put the milk down without spilling it here and there!’ 23 The wife said ‘without saying what I want to say, I won’t hold the milk.’ 24 ‘When I went outside, how did the smoke appear? Tell me that!’ [she said]. 25 ‘I won’t tell you today, I will tell you tomorrow or the day after, but for now, be silent!’ [the husband said]. 26 ‘This discussion should have been held today’ [she thought], but the husband said ‘I will tell you tomorrow.’ 27 Not being allowed to speak, the wife wouldn’t hold the milk, and the husband got angry. 28 Having got angry, they fought, and the milk spilled.

*kheiy-Ø-an.* 29 *semni uma-kăi kaṭah-Ø-an, libi wakhe*  
 spill-SAS-3S/PT Tamang wife-PM scold-SAS-3S/PT after word  
*lony-eṅ-no, baṭhe syaṅ uma isa cya-Ø-ta-le priṅ*  
 do-PAS-3→3/PT tomorrow period wife food eat-SAS-IPP-PCL outside  
*let-Ø-an.* 30 *dewa to beryaṅ nem-te kyel-Ø-an,*  
 appear-SAS-3S/PT god that that.time house-LOC come-SAS-3S/PT  
*uma-ye to beryaṅ woi sul-si-Ø-ta-le ḍapuh-Ø-u-no.*  
 wife-ERG that that.time also hide-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL spy-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 31 *uma-ye ṅah-Ø-u-no 'ka mi-ko habi syaṅ-ko*  
 wife-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this person-GEN before period-GEN  
*camăica-ko sare uniṅ hok-Ø-du.'* 32 *tyaṅ uma duṅ-ṅaṅ*  
 woman-GEN voice like be-SAS-NPT then wife within-inside  
*biy-Ø-an, libi dewa ubo gonṭhe uniṅ thah-Ø-an.* 33 *libi*  
 enter-SAS-3S/PT after god white round.clump like be-SAS-3S/PT after  
*to woi to-te tam-Ø-an.* 34 *ka uniṅ tha-Ø-ta-le, uma-kăi*  
 that also that-LOC get.lost-SAS-3S/PT this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM  
*aṭṭhe kaṭah-Ø-an.* 35 *naleṅ woi to ṭhăi-te chya ma-khalam.*  
 very scold-SAS-3S/PT present also that place-LOC salt NEG-meet

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29 The Tamang [man] scolded his wife, then they talked about things and the next day the wife ate her food and went out. 30 At that point the god came to the house and then the wife, hiding herself, spied on the scene. 31 The wife said 'this person's voice is like the woman's voice of the other day.' 32 Then the wife went inside and then the god turned into a white round clump. 33 After that he [the god] got lost in that place. 34 On account of this, he [the man] really scolded his wife. 35 To this day, salt cannot be found in that place.

## FRIEND

- 1 *uma lawa thay-eŋ-du, to-baŋ nis-ka jekha nem-te*  
 wife husband be-PAS-NPT that-Pp two-HNC big house-LOC  
*hok-eŋ-du.* 2 *to-baŋ-ko huca ma-tha, di uni uma-ye lawa-kăi*  
 be-PAS-NPT that-Pp-GEN child NEG-be one day wife-ERG husband-PM  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘nany-e begale nama bore loŋ-o!’*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-ERG other with marriage do-s→3/IMP
- 3 *lawa-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du ‘găi bore ma-loŋ, naŋ tha-na-n-be*  
 husband-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT I marriage NEG-do you be-2s-PT-TOP  
*găi-găi hara-kăi bore loŋ-sa?’* 4 *libi jet tha-Ø-ta-le pokhăra*  
 I-PM what-PM marriage do-INF after work be-SAS-IPP-PCL Pokharā  
*ya-Ø-du lawa.* 5 *to-te di-ka camăica khalam-to-le bore*  
 go-SAS-NPT husband that-LOC one-HNC woman meet-TPP-PCL marriage  
*loŋ-Ø-u-du.* 6 *ka dăi nem-te uma-ye baŋkal*  
 do-SAS-3P-NPT this towards house-LOC wife-ERG stomach  
*cabuh-Ø-u-du, uma taŋ-Ø-du.* 7 *dha dăi*  
 carry-SAS-3P-NPT wife be.happy-SAS-NPT that.distant towards  
*lawa-ye begale bore loŋ-Ø-u-du.* 8 *bore loŋ-to-le*  
 husband-ERG other marriage do-SAS-3P-NPT marriage do-TPP-PCL  
*pokhăra-te nah-Ø-u-du di-ka uma, begale uma ka dăi huca*  
 Pokharā-LOC put-SAS-3P-NPT one-HNC wife other wife this towards child  
*nik-Ø-du.* 9 *huca nik-Ø-du, ucya uma-ye sat-sa*  
 give.birth-SAS-NPT child give.birth-SAS-NPT small wife-ERG kill-INF

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1 There’s this wife and husband, and the two of them live in a big house. 2 They don’t have any children, and one day the wife says to her husband ‘you should get remarried!’ 3 And the husband replies ‘I won’t get remarried, as long as I have you, why do I need to get married [again]?’ 4 Later, the husband goes to work in Pokharā. 5 There, having met a woman, he gets married. 6 In the house in this direction, the wife is pregnant and she is most pleased. 7 On the other side, the husband is getting married to another. 8 Having gotten married, he has one wife in Pokharā while the other gives birth to a child over on this side. 9 The child is born and the second wife [lit. small wife] tries to kill it saying ‘later that child will eat all our land.’

*daŋ-Ø-u-du* 'nan raŋ-pali libi to huca-ye cya-Ø-du'  
 search-SAS-3P-NPT now unirrigated.field-p after that child-ERG eat-SAS-NPT  
*ŋa-to-le.* 10 *ucya uma-ye oste-ko hu-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-du,*  
 say-TPP-PCL small wife-ERG self-GEN younger.brother-PM say-SAS-3P-NPT  
*hu gwi uniŋ tha-Ø-du, tete-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-du*  
 younger.brother thief like be-SAS-NPT elder.sister-PM say-SAS-3P-NPT  
 'tete, naŋ sumaka hok-a! to huca-kăi gă-ye sat-u-n-du.'  
 elder.sister you silent be-s/IMP that child-PM I-ERG kill-3P-1s→3-NPT  
 11 *di uni lak yo-sa mi kyel-Ø-u-du, huca-ko apa*  
 one day hand look.at-INF person bring-SAS-3P-NPT child-GEN father  
*ama-ko lak ci-yoh-Ø-u-du.* 12 *guru-kăi*  
 mother-GEN hand CAUS-look.at-SAS-3P-NPT shaman-PM  
*hu-ye pepelek pi-to-le wakhe ŋisen-Ø-u-du 'nany-e*  
 younger.brother-ERG money give-TPP-PCL word teach-SAS-3P-NPT you-ERG  
*ka ka ŋah-o!'* *ŋa-to-le.* 13 *tete jarphu-ko*  
 this this say-s→3/IMP say-TPP-PCL elder.sister elder.sister's.husband-GEN  
*lak cum-to-le ci-yoh-Ø-u-du.* 14 *guru-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du*  
 hand hold-TPP-PCL CAUS-look.at-SAS-3P-NPT shaman-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT  
 'naleŋ nik-Ø-du huca-ko khen, apa-ye yo-sa ma-ja.'  
 present give.birth-SAS-NPT child-GEN face father-ERG look.at-INF NEG-okay  
 15 'apa-ye nih-Ø-u-no-be, apa si-Ø-du' *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 father-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT-TOP father die-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 16 *huca-be thah-Ø-an, nan yo-sa ma-ja ŋa-to-le, begale*  
 child-TOP be-SAS-3S/PT now look.at-INF NEG-okay say-TPP-PCL other

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10 The second wife tells her younger brother, who is a kind of thief, and he says to her 'elder sister, sit still in silence! I will kill that child.' 11 One day, he [the younger brother] brings a palm reader [to them] and makes him read the palms of the child's father and mother. 12 The younger brother, having paid him off, teaches the palm reader what to say, saying 'say this and that!' 13 Holding his elder sister's and her husband's hands, he makes him [the palm reader] look at them. 14 The palm reader then says 'the father must not look into the face of the recently born child.' 15 'If the father sees [his face], then the father will die', he said. 16 Well, the child had been born, and now, on account of not being able to look at him, father went to live in a different place.

*thăi ya-hok-Ø-an.* 17 *ka dăi, huca-ko ama-kăi begale*  
 place go-be-SAS-3S/PT this towards child-GEN mother-PM other  
*uma-ko hu-ye cijyaŋ-sa ma-thaŋ-sa usare*  
 wife-GEN younger.brother-ERG speak-INF NEG-be.able-INF medicine  
*piy-Ø-u-du.* 18 *libi cijyaŋ-sa, cawa-sa ma-thaŋ, sakalei uni*  
 give-SAS-3P-NPT after speak-INF walk-INF NEG-be.able all day  
*ami-Ø-du, to nama di-ka jet loŋ-sa camăica tha-Ø-du.*  
 sleep-SAS-NPT that with one-HNC work do-INF woman be-SAS-NPT  
 19 *di uni begale uma-ko hu ra-Ø-ta-le,*  
 one day other wife-GEN younger.brother come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*huca ci-sa-kăi hen-Ø-u-du.* 20 *to nem-te jet loŋ-sa*  
 child throw.away-INF-PM take-SAS-3P-NPT that house-LOC work do-INF  
*camăica nama di-gore kucu woi hok-Ø-du.* 21 *pokhăra-te*  
 woman with one-CLF dog also be-SAS-NPT Pokhară-LOC  
*jarphu nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-du ‘nan naŋ-ko ca*  
 elder.sister’s.husband with word do-SAS-3P-NPT now you-GEN son  
*siy-Ø-an, ni-ye soŋ-te hen-to-le ci-wa-n’*  
 die-SAS-3S/PT we-ERG river-LOC take-TPP-PCL throw.away-1p→23-PT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 22 *ka wakhe nasăi-to-le, kucu nama jet loŋ-sa*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this word hear-TPP-PCL dog with work do-INF  
*camăica dorok-Ø-ta-le yah-Ø-an.* 23 *libi ya-ya woi,*  
 woman run-SAS-IPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT after go-go also  
*chaŋ-te huca sony-e hen-Ø-u-du niy-eŋ-no.*  
 bamboo.cradle-LOC child river-ERG take-SAS-3P-NPT see-PAS-3→3/PT

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17 And on this side, the younger brother of the other wife gives the child’s mother a poison to make her unable to speak. 18 Afterwards, she can’t speak and can’t walk, and spends each and every day sleeping, so a woman joins her to do the housework. 19 One day, the younger brother of the other wife comes to take the child and throw it away. 20 The woman who works in that house also happens to have a dog with her. 21 He [the younger brother] tells elder sister’s husband in Pokhară ‘your son is now dead, we took him to the river and threw him in’ he said. 22 Hearing these words, the woman helper went running off with her dog. 23 After running and running, they saw a child in a bamboo cradle being washed down the river.

- 24 *kucu ya-Ø-ta-le sorot-to-le huca rah-Ø-u-no, jet*  
 dog-ERG go-SAS-IPP-PCL pull-TPP-PCL child bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT work  
*loŋ-sa camäica-ye ʔep-to-le sul-sa hen-Ø-u-no.*  
 do-INF woman-ERG carry.on.one's.flank-TPP-PCL hide-INF take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 25 *ma-sul-ŋa-be, begale uma-ko hu-ye sat-Ø-u-du.*  
 NEG-hide-CNS-TOP other wife-GEN younger.brother-ERG kill-SAS-3P-NPT
- 26 *huca hen-hen-äi, di-ka amat-cya-Ø-du mi-ko nem-te*  
 child take-take-CON one-HNC beg-eat-SAS-NPT person-GEN house-LOC  
*hen-Ø-u-no, to-te hok-eŋ-an. 27 libi jekha thah-Ø-an, jet*  
 take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC be-pAS-3S/PT after big be-SAS-3S/PT work  
*loŋ-sa camäica-käi 'ama' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 28 di uni to ca ʔaye*  
 do-INF woman-PM mother say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day that son night  
*ka nem-te ma-ra-Ø-ta-le, ama*  
 throughout house-LOC NEG-come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL mother  
*kaʔah-Ø-an, naʔe-te ŋeh-Ø-u-no. 29 di uni to-ye*  
 scold-SAS-3S/PT cheek-LOC hit-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day that-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ni-ko apa kuta hok-Ø-du, gäi-gäi cikhet-aŋ!'*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-GEN father where be-SAS-NPT I-PM show-s→1s/IMP
- 30 *tyaŋ ama-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'naŋ-ko gäi ama ma-tha.'*  
 then mother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN I mother NEG-be
- 31 *'naŋ-käi nik-na-du ama-be begale hok-Ø-du'*  
 you-PM give.birth-2s-NPT mother-TOP other be-SAS-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no, sakalei wakhe ci-nasäiy-Ø-u-no. 32 dha*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT all word CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that.distant

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24 The dog went and pulling the child out, brought it ashore, then the woman worker, carrying him under her arm, took him away to hide him. 25 If she didn't hide him, then the younger brother of the other wife would kill him. 26 Carrying and carrying that child, she took him to the house of a beggar, and they stayed there. 27 Then he grew up and called that working woman 'mother.' 28 One day, when that son didn't come home all night, mother scolded him and smacked his cheek. 29 One day he said 'where does our father live? show me!' 30 Then mother said [to him] 'I am not your mother.' 31 'The mother that gave birth to you is another' she said, and then she told him everything. 32 On the other side, the father and mother thought that their son was dead.

*dăi, apa ama-ye ca siy-Ø-an ηay-eη-no. 33 di uni*  
 towards father mother-ERG son die-SAS-3S/PT say-pAS-3→3/PT one day  
*sul-si-sul-si-Ø-ta-le apa ηosăi-sa-kăi yah-Ø-an.*  
 hide-REF-hide-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL father recognise-INF-PM go-SAS-3S/PT  
 34 *apa ηosăiy-Ø-u-no ma-cijyaη-Ø-an. 35 di uni*  
 father recognise-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-speak-SAS-3S/PT one day  
*apa-ko nem-te bore uniη hok-Ø-thyo, to yah-Ø-an.*  
 father-GEN house-LOC marriage like be-SAS-3SCOND that go-SAS-3S/PT  
 36 *nan to-te hok-Ø-du, to-kăi cih-Ø-u-du mi-kăi*  
 now that-LOC be-SAS-NPT that-PM throw.away-SAS-3P-NPT person-PM  
*ηe-sa-kăi. 37 libi kari kariy-Ø-u-du ‘găi ka nem-te-ko ca*  
 beat-INF-PM after song sing-SAS-3P-NPT I this house-LOC-GEN son  
*tha-ηa-du, găi-găi sat-ta-ηa-le, raη cya-sa daη-Ø-u-du*  
 be-1s-NPT I-PM kill-IPP-1s-PCL unirrigated.field eat-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT  
*mi ka-te hok-Ø-du.’ 38 ‘găi-go ama-kăi cijyaη-sa*  
 person this-LOC be-SAS-NPT I-GEN mother-PM speak-INF  
*ma-thaη-sa usare ya-to-le, găi-găi soη-te hen-to-le*  
 NEG-be.able-INF medicine feed-IPP-PCL I-PM river-LOC take-TPP-PCL  
*ci-Ø-ηa-n.’ 39 ‘libi jet loη-sa tete ηaη găi-go ban*  
 throw.away-SAS-1s-PT after work do-INF elder.sister and I-GEN friend  
*kucu ray-eη-ta-le ci-moy-eη-ηa-n, naleη ka uniη*  
 dog come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL CAUS-survive-pAS-1s-PT present this like  
*tha-ηa-n.’ 40 ka uniη ηa-to-le kariy-Ø-u-no, libi sakalei*  
 be-1s-PT this like say-TPP-PCL sing-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after all

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33 One day, he [the son] secretly crept off to get to know his own father. 34 He recognised his father, but didn't speak. 35 One day, there was a wedding-like event in his father's house, so he went along. 36 Now, being in that place, he [recognises] the person who threw him [in the river] and makes as if to strike him. 37 Thereafter he sings a song 'I am the son of this household, the person who tried to kill me and steal [lit. eat] my land is here.' 38 'Having fed my mother poison to make her mute, he took me to the river and threw me in' [he sang]. 39 'And then the elder sister who works as a helper and my friend the dog came and saved me, and now here I am.' 40 In this way he sang, and everyone there was shocked.



*mi thombe thay-eη-an.* 41 *yoy-eη-no,* *apa-ye*  
 person surprise be-pAS-3S/PT look.at-pAS-3→3/PT father-ERG  
*karpak-∅-u-no* ‘*gǎi-go ca*’ *ηa-to-le* *ηosǎiy-∅-u-no.* 42 *libi*  
 hug-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN son say-TPP-PCL recognise-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after  
*cih-∅-u-du* *mi-kǎi* *ηe-to-le* *sat-∅-u-no,* *kucu*  
 throw.away-sAS-3P-NPT person-PM beat-TPP-PCL kill-sAS-3P-3→3/PT dog  
*ban-e* *woi cek-∅-u-no.* 43 *kucu ban* *ma-hok-∅-an-be*  
 friend-ERG also bite-sAS-3P-3→3/PT dog friend NEG-be-sAS-3S/PT-TOP  
*to ca si-∅-thyo.* 44 *libi apa* *nama hok-∅-an,* *jet loη-sa*  
 that son die-sAS-3SCOND after father with be-sAS-3S/PT work do-INF  
*camǎica woi rah-∅-u-no.* 45 ‘*gǎi-go ban* *kucu hok-∅-du*’  
 woman also bring-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN friend dog be-sAS-NPT  
*ηa-to-le* *sewah-∅-u-no,* *sumaka hok-eη-an.*  
 say-TPP-PCL salute-sAS-3P-3→3/PT silent be-pAS-3S/PT

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41 As everyone looked on, the father recognised him and hugged [him], saying ‘my son.’ 42 Then, beating the man who had thrown him [in the river], the son killed him, and his friend the dog bit him also. 43 Had his friend the dog not been there [at the river], then that boy would have died. 44 Then he went to live with his father and he brought along the worker woman. 45 ‘My [best] friend is this dog’ he said, saluting him, and they lived in peace.

## UNCLE

- 1 *găi-go ucyapa naleŋ ni-ko dese-te hok-Ø-du.*  
I-GEN father's.younger.brother present we-GEN village-LOC be-SAS-NPT
- 2 *to ucyaca tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, to-ko apa ama siy-eŋ-an.*  
that small be-SAS-NPT that.time that-GEN father mother die-PAS-3S/PT
- 3 *to-ko di-ka bubu woi hok-Ø-du, di uni jekha*  
that-GEN one-HNC elder.brother also be-SAS-NPT one day big  
*tha-Ø-ta-le, begale dese yah-Ø-an, bubu nama.*  
be-SAS-IPP-PCL other village go-SAS-3S/PT elder.brother with
- 4 *to-te jet lony-eŋ-du beryaŋ, ma-thaŋ-Ø-an,*  
that-LOC work do-PAS-NPT that.time NEG-be.well-SAS-3S/PT  
*bubu-ye usare piy-Ø-u-no, libi jah-Ø-an. 5 jet*  
elder.brother-ERG medicine give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after okay-SAS-3S/PT work  
*ma-khalam-eŋ-no, cya-sa ma-khalam-eŋ-no, jet daŋ-daŋ*  
NEG-receive-PAS-3→3/PT eat-INF NEG-receive-PAS-3→3/PT work search-search  
*woi, di uni di-ka mi-ye jet loŋ-sa hen-Ø-u-no.*  
also one day one-HNC person-ERG work do-INF take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 6 *jet uni ma-to-Ø-du thăi-te lony-eŋ-no. 7 pepelek*  
work sun NEG-shine-SAS-NPT place-LOC do-PAS-3→3/PT money  
*ra-to-le nem-te rah-Ø-an, di-ka camăica nama*  
bring-TPP-PCL house-LOC come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT one-HNC woman with  
*bore loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no, camăica jekha mi-ko camăi*  
marriage do-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman big person-GEN daughter

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1 My father's younger brother at present lives in our village. 2 His parents died when he was young. 3 He had one elder brother, and one day, when he was grown up, he went with his brother to another village. 4 While working in that place, he became ill and his brother gave him some medicine, then he became better. 5 They couldn't find work and they had nothing to eat, until one day, when searching for work, a person took them and put them to work. 6 They worked in a place where the sun didn't shine. 7 He came home carrying his money and found a woman to marry, she was the daughter of an important person.

*hok-Ø-thyo.* 8 *bore loŋ-sa-kǎi, di uni camǎica nama wakhe*  
 be-SAS-3SCOND marriage do-INF-PM one day woman with word  
*loŋ-Ø-u-no, to-ko apa-ye thaha sǎi-to-le*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-GEN father-ERG knowledge know-TPP-PCL  
*ucyapa-kǎi ñeh-Ø-u-no.* 9 ‘*gǎi-go camǎi nany-e*  
 father’s.younger.brother-PM beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN daughter you-ERG  
*hen-sa daŋ-u-na-du?’ ña-to-le.* 10 *camǎica-ye-guri habi*  
 take-INF search-3P-2S-NPT say-TPP-PCL woman-ERG-IND before  
*ñah-Ø-u-thyo ‘bubu, naŋ ma-ray-e!’ gǎi-go*  
 say-SAS-3P-3SCOND elder.brother you NEG-come.from.level-s/NEG/IMP I-GEN  
*apa-ye ñe-Ø-na-du.’* 11 *ucyapa yah-Ø-an,*  
 father-ERG beat-SAS-2S-NPT father’s.younger.brother go-SAS-3S/PT  
*nembo-ko bore-te kapu-te ñeh-Ø-u-no, tyaŋ rage-ye*  
 other.person-GEN marriage-LOC head-LOC beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then anger-INS  
‘*nan naŋ-ko camǎi di uni gǎ-ye hen-u-n-du’ ñah-Ø-u-no.*  
 now you-GEN daughter one day I-ERG take-3P-1S→3-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 12 *libi sya chyuh-Ø-u-du goŋha-te hok-Ø-thyo, camǎica*  
 after cow tie-SAS-3P-NPT animal.shelter-LOC be-SAS-3SCOND woman  
*khalam-sa ŋaye ŋaye ucyapa yah-Ø-an.* 13 *di uni*  
 meet-INF night night father’s.younger.brother go-SAS-3S/PT one day  
*ŋaye camǎica hen-to-le cawah-Ø-an, libi camǎica-ko apa-ye*  
 night woman take-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT after woman-GEN father-ERG  
*thaha sǎiy-Ø-u-no.* 14 *ucyapa-ko nem-te*  
 knowledge know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father’s.younger.brother-GEN house-LOC

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8 In order to get married, one day he was talking with the woman [he wanted to marry], but her father found out and beat him. 9 ‘You are trying to take my daughter?’, he said. 10 The woman had already said before ‘elder brother, please don’t come! Father will beat you.’ 11 So uncle left, but at someone else’s wedding, he [the woman’s father] beat him, and then uncle got really angry, saying ‘now, one of these days I am going to take your daughter.’ 12 Thereafter, the woman was living in an animal shelter where the cows are tied up, and uncle would go and visit her night after night. 13 One night, he made off with the woman, but the woman’s father came to know of it. 14 He [the father] went to uncle’s house and scolded his daughter.

*ya-Ø-ta-le, camăi-kăi kătah-Ø-an. 15 libi ca nik-Ø-an,*  
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL daughter-PM scold-SAS-3S/PT after son be.born-SAS-3S/PT  
*ca jekha tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, uma siy-Ø-an, ca na-to-le*  
 son big be-SAS-3S/PT that.time wife die-SAS-3S/PT son put-TPP-PCL  
*hok-Ø-an. 16 ‘nan begale uma ra-ko măiy-Ø-an’ ŋa-to-le,*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT now other wife bring-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL  
*uma daŋ-Ø-u-no. 17 oste-ko bore loŋ-to-le, ca-ko woi*  
 wife search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT self-GEN marriage do-TPP-PCL son-GEN also  
*bore loŋ-Ø-u-no, nama nama. 18 begale uma-ko sum-ka ca*  
 marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT with with other wife-GEN three-HNC son  
*thay-eŋ-an, ucyaca ca nik-Ø-ta-le, to woi siy-Ø-an.*  
 be-pAS-3S/PT small son give.birth-SAS-IPP-PCL that also die-SAS-3S/PT  
 19 *nis-ka uma siy-eŋ-du beryaŋ, ucyapa aŋthe*  
 two-HNC wife die-pAS-NPT that.time father’s.younger.brother much  
*kerep-Ø-an, ca-pali hok-eŋ-le woi, uma si-Ø-du beryaŋ, kunyaŋ*  
 cry-SAS-3S/PT son-p be-pAS-PCL also wife die-SAS-NPT that.time what.like  
*thah-Ø-an. 20 ca-pali jekha thay-eŋ-an, ‘nan begale uma ra-ko*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT son-p big be-pAS-3S/PT now other wife bring-ADH  
*măiy-Ø-an’ ŋa-to-le, di-ka camăica nembo-ko*  
 must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL one-HNC woman other.person-GEN  
*bore-yiŋ rah-Ø-u-no. 21 libi to camăica begale uma-ko*  
 marriage-ABL bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that woman other wife-GEN  
*ca-pali aye hok-eŋ-du ŋa-to-le, begale lawa daŋ-to-le,*  
 son-p many be-pAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL other husband search-TPP-PCL

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15 Soon after a son was born, and when that son came of age, his wife [the son’s mother] died, but the son lived on. 16 ‘Now, I must get hold of another wife’, he said, and went off to look for one. 17 Father and son got married at the same time. 18 His new wife went on to have three sons, but as she was giving birth to the last one, she too died. 19 Having lost two wives, uncle cried a great deal, despite having sons, when his wife died, well, think what that was like. 20 The sons grew up, and saying ‘now I must go and get myself another wife’ he [uncle] brought back a woman from someone else’s wedding. 21 Later, when that woman saw how many sons there were from the previous wives, she found herself another husband and, leaving uncle, ran away.

*to-kăi torta-to-le cawah-Ø-an.* 22 *nan begale uma*  
 that-PM leave-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT now other wife  
*daŋ-Ø-u-no,* *di uni uma daŋ-sa cawa-Ø-du beryaŋ,*  
 search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT one day wife search-INF walk-sAS-NPT that.time  
*ălămtha thăi-te nis-ka ca, di-ka camăi ŋaŋ di-ka ama*  
 distant place-LOC two-HNC son one-HNC daughter and one-HNC mother  
*hok-eŋ-du thăi-te ya-let-Ø-an.* 23 *to-te țaye hok-Ø-an,*  
 be-PAS-NPT place-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT that-LOC night be-sAS-3S/PT  
 ‘*găi uma daŋ-sa waŋ-ŋa-du*’ *ŋah-Ø-u-no, to*  
 I wife search-INF come.from.below-1s-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that  
*nem-te țaye isa cya-Ø-ta-le amiŋ-Ø-an.* 24 *țaye ka*  
 house-LOC night food eat-sAS-IPP-PCL sleep-sAS-3S/PT night throughout  
*wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 25 *libi to nem-ko camăica-ye ‘găi-găi*  
 word do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after that house-GEN woman-ERG I-PM  
*hen-aŋ’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, to-ye woi ‘ja-Ø-du’*  
 take-s→1s/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG also okay-sAS-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 26 ‘*naŋ-kăi hen-sa-be hen-u-n-du, naŋ-ko*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you-PM take-INF-TOP take-3P-1s→3-NPT you-GEN  
*huca-pali hara loŋ-sa?’* 27 ‘*huca-pali woi hen-to-le hen-ko*  
 child-p what do-INF child-p also take-TPP-PCL go-ADH  
*măi-Ø-du’ camăica-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 28 ‘*ja-Ø-du, naŋ-kăi*  
 must-sAS-NPT woman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT okay-sAS-NPT you-PM  
*ra-kăi-sa-kăi,* *sum uni libi ra-ŋa-du’*  
 come.from.level-remove-INF-PM three day after come.from.level-1s-NPT

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22 He now went off to find himself another wife, and one day, while walking and looking, he arrived at a far-away place where there lived a mother, her two sons and one daughter. 23 And that night he spent there, ‘I am searching for a wife’, he said, and having eaten, he slept in that very house. 24 All night he talked. 25 Then the woman of that house said ‘take me’, and he said ‘okay.’ 26 ‘Of course I’ll take you, but what shall we do with your kids?’ [he said]. 27 ‘We have to take the children with us’, the woman said. 28 Saying ‘fine, I’ll come to get you in three days’, he walked off.

*ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an.* 29 *nem-te ra-Ø-ta-le,*  
 say-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT house-LOC come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL  
*oste-ko mi-kǎi ŋah-Ø-u-no* ‘*gǎ-ye di-ka uma*  
 self-GEN person-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG one-HNC wife  
*khalam-u-n-uŋ,* *ra-sa mi ma-hok-eŋ-an.*’ 30 *gǎ-ye*  
 meet-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT bring-INF person NEG-be-pAS-3S/PT I-ERG  
*ŋah-u-n-uŋ* ‘*uma ra-sa-kǎi, hani mi daŋ-u-na-du?*’  
 say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT wife bring-INF-PM how.many person search-3P-2s-NPT  
*ŋah-u-n-du beryaŋ, to-ye ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n* ‘*huca-pali cabu-sa*  
 say-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time that-ERG say-sAS-1s-PT child-p carry-INF  
*mi-pali.*’ 31 ‘*huca-pali-ko ama rah-u-n-du*’ *ŋa-to-le*  
 person-p child-p-GEN mother bring-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no, ŋaŋ di uni nis-ka mi hen-to-le ɬaye*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT and one day two-HNC person take-TPP-PCL night  
*caway-eŋ-an.* 32 *ɬaye to camǎica-ko nem-te ya-let-eŋ-an,*  
 walk-pAS-3S/PT night that woman-GEN house-LOC go-appear-pAS-3S/PT  
*to-te ya-let-eŋ-ta-le* ‘*nan ni-ye naŋ-kǎi*  
 that-LOC go-appear-pAS-IPP-PCL now we-ERG you-PM  
*ra-kǎi-wa-n,* *ya-na-du ra ma-ya?*’ *ŋay-eŋ-no.*  
 come.from.level-remove-1p→23-PT go-2s-NPT or NEG-go say-pAS-3→3/PT  
 33 ‘*ya-ŋa-du*’ *ŋah-Ø-u-no,* ‘*nan, huca-pali su-bany-e*  
 go-1s-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now child-p who-Pp-ERG  
*cabuy-eŋ-du?*’ *ŋah-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, ‘ni-ye cabu-wa-du*  
 carry-pAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-NPT that.time we-ERG carry-1p→23-NPT

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29 When he got home, he told his family ‘I have found myself a wife, but there was no one to bring her back.’ 30 When I said ‘how many people are you looking for to bring back your wife?’, he replied ‘people to carry the kids.’ 31 ‘I’ll bring the children’s mother’, he said, and then one day he set off walking in the night with two other guys. 32 They reached that woman’s house in the night, and, having reached there, said to her ‘we have come to get you, are you coming [with us] or not?’ 33 ‘I’ll come’, she said, and when she said ‘but who will carry my children?’, they replied ‘we will carry them.’

*ηa-to-le ηay-eη-no.* 34 *ṭaye sum-ka huca-pali ucya ucya*  
 say-TPP-PCL say-pAS-3→3/PT night three-HNC child-p small small  
*thay-eη-ta-le, cabu-ko māi-Ø-thyo.* 35 *nis-ka-ye huca-pali*  
 be-pAS-IPP-PCL carry-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND two-HNC-ERG child-p  
*cabuy-eη-to-le, ukhiη-te caway-eη-an.* 36 *athaη-te caway-eη-ta-le,*  
 carry-pAS-TPP-PCL dark-LOC walk-pAS-3S/PT light-LOC walk-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*begale dese mi-ye niy-eη-du ηa-to-le, ṭaye*  
*other village person-ERG see-pAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL night*  
*sul-siy-eη-ta-le caway-eη-du.* 37 *caway-eη-du beryaη, ṭaye*  
 hide-REF-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-NPT walk-pAS-NPT that.time night  
*ulam-te isa-ye karāy-eη-an, ‘nan isa kuta cya-sa?’ ηa-to-le*  
 road-LOC food-INS shout-pAS-3S/PT now food where eat-INF say-TPP-PCL  
*‘di-gore nem-te cya-ko’ ηay-eη-no.* 38 *‘bubu, naη-ko*  
 one-CLF house-LOC eat-ADH say-pAS-3→3/PT elder.brother you-GEN  
*nem-te ni toη tun-sa khalam-i-du?’*, *to-ye woi*  
 house-LOC we beer drink-INF receive-1pPS-NPT that-ERG also  
*‘khalam-n-u-du’ ηah-Ø-u-no, toη tha-to-le piy-Ø-u-no.*  
 receive-2p-3P-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT beer strain-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 39 *toη-ko mi-ye ηah-Ø-u-no ‘niη kuta cawa-ni-du?’*,  
 beer-GEN person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p) where walk-2s-NPT  
*to-bany-e ηay-eη-no ‘ni bore yo-sa caway-i-du, ukhiη*  
 that-Pp-ERG say-pAS-3→3/PT we marriage look.at-INF walk-1pPS-NPT dark  
*thah-Ø-an.’* 40 *di ṭa di uni ka cawa-ηa libi, nem-te*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT one night one day throughout walk-CNS after house-LOC

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34 That night, since those three children were very small, they had to be carried. 35 Those two people, carrying the children, walked in the dark. 36 Had they walked in the daytime, then they might have been seen by people from other villages, so they walked secretly at night. 37 Walking on the road at night, they got hungry and thinking ‘where shall we eat?’, ‘let’s eat at the next house we come across’, they said. 38 ‘Elder brother, is beer available in your house?’ [they asked], and he replied ‘sure it is’ and, straining the beer, gave it to them. 39 The man serving the beer said ‘where are you lot off to then?’, to which they replied ‘we are going to see a wedding, but it got dark.’ 40 After walking for one whole night and all day, they arrived at their house.

*ra-let-eŋ-an.* 41 *dese mi-ye libi 'uma*  
 come.from.level-appear-pAS-3S/PT village person-ERG after wife  
*kyel-Ø-u-no' ŋa-to-le ŋay-eŋ-no.* 42 *naleŋ ka*  
 bring-sAS-3P-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL say-pAS-3→3/PT present throughout  
*to-ko oli-ka uma thay-eŋ-an, nis-ka uma siy-eŋ-an, di-ka*  
 that-GEN four-HNC wife be-pAS-3S/PT two-HNC wife die-pAS-3S/PT one-HNC  
*uma begale nama yah-Ø-an.* 43 *di-ka naleŋ woi hok-Ø-du,*  
 wife other with go-sAS-3S/PT one-HNC present also be-sAS-NPT  
*to-ko habi-ko nis-ka uma-ko oli-ka ca hok-eŋ-du.*  
 that-GEN before-GEN two-HNC wife-GEN four-HNC son be-pAS-NPT  
 44 *naleŋ-ko uma-ko nis-ka ca, di-ka camăi hok-eŋ-du.*  
 present-GEN wife-GEN two-HNC son one-HNC daughter be-pAS-NPT  
 45 *camăi-ko bore loŋ-to-le, di-ka ca woi hok-Ø-du, jekha*  
 daughter-GEN marriage do-TPP-PCL one-HNC son also be-sAS-NPT big  
*ca-ko nis-ka ca, sum-ka camăi hok-eŋ-du.*  
 son-GEN two-HNC son three-HNC daughter be-pAS-NPT

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41 The villagers then said 'he has brought a wife.' 42 Up to this point, he had had four wives, two of whom had died, and one of whom had gone off with another man. 43 At present, the last wife is still around, as are the four sons from the previous two wives. 44 The present wife has two sons and one daughter [of her own]. 45 The daughter, having gotten married, also has one son, and the eldest son has two sons and three daughters of his own.



## OLD WOMAN AND CHICKEN

1 *di ʔhǎi-te, di-ka cya-sa ma-khalam-Ø-u-du ʔhoŋi*  
 one place-LOC one-HNC eat-INF NEG-recv-SAS-3P-NPT old.woman  
*hok-Ø-thyo.* 2 *seŋ daŋ-to-le, nembo-kǎi pi-to-le,*  
 be-SAS-3SCOND wood search-TPP-PCL other.person-PM give-TPP-PCL  
*nyoŋi bǎsinʔe isa cya-Ø-thyo.* 3 *di uni seŋ daŋ-sa*  
 evening morning food eat-SAS-3SCOND one day wood search-INF  
*yah-Ø-an, to-te to-ye di-gore wa-ko ahum*  
 go-SAS-3S/PT that-LOC that-ERG one-CLF chicken-GEN egg  
*khalam-Ø-u-no.* 4 *to ahum nem-te hen-to-le nah-Ø-u-no.*  
 meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that egg house-LOC take-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 5 *libi to ahum-te wa-ko ca aghyoh-Ø-u-du nasǎiy-Ø-u-no,*  
 after that egg-LOC chicken-GEN son cry-SAS-3P-NPT hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*ya-yoh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, di-gore apraca wa-ca*  
 go-look.at-SAS-3P-NPT that.time one-CLF good chicken-DIM  
*nih-Ø-u-no.* 6 *to ʔhoŋi-ye oste ma-cya-tiniŋ, to*  
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that old.woman-ERG self NEG-eat-PFG that  
*wa-ca-kǎi cya-sa piy-Ø-u-no.* 7 *di uni wa-ca jekha*  
 chicken-DIM-PM eat-INF give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day chicken-DIM big  
*tha-Ø-ta-le, ʔhoŋi-kǎi ŋah-Ø-u-no 'naŋ nama pepelek*  
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL old.woman-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you with money  
*hok-Ø-du-yiŋ, gǎi-gǎi pi-ŋa!'* 8 *wa mi uniŋ*  
 be-SAS-NPT-ABL I-PM give-s→1s/IMP chicken person like

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1 In this place, there lived an old woman who had nothing to eat. 2 Searching for wood and giving it to others, in this way she would eat in the evening and in the morning. 3 One day she went off to search for firewood, and there she came across a single chicken egg. 4 Taking that egg, she brought it home. 5 Later she heard a chick crying from inside that egg, and when she went to take a look, she saw a beautiful little chicken. 6 Without having eaten anything herself, that old lady fed the little chicken. 7 One day, having grown up, that little chicken said to the old woman 'if you have any money, then please give it to me.' 8 When she heard the chicken speaking like a person, she [the old lady] was most surprised.

*cijyaŋ-Ø-du nasăi-to-le, thombe thah-Ø-an.* 9 *oste nama*  
 speak-SAS-NPT hear-TPP-PCL surprise be-SAS-3S/PT self with  
*tha-Ø-du di pepelek kăi-to-le piy-Ø-u-no.* 10 *wa*  
 be-SAS-NPT one money remove-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken  
*di-gore ahe jake tha-Ø-du thăi-te yah-Ø-an, jake-ko mi-kăi*  
 one-CLF much rice be-SAS-NPT place-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT rice-GEN person-PM  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘bubu, găi-găi ka pepelek-ko jake pi-ŋa!’*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother I-PM this money-GEN rice give-s→1s/IMP  
 11 *‘di pepelek-ko jake hani pi-sa? phah-o!*  
 one money-GEN rice how.much give-INF hold.out.and.receive-s→3/IMP  
*hara-te hen-u-na-du?’* 12 *wa-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘găi-go kulla-ko*  
 what-LOC take-3P-2s-NPT chicken-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN ear-GEN  
*doroŋ-te tham-o!’* 13 *jake-ko mi-ye wa-ko kulla-te jake*  
 hole-LOC insert-s→3/IMP rice-GEN person-ERG chicken-GEN ear-LOC rice  
*nah-Ø-u-no, to-ko jake sakalei kulla-te biy-Ø-an, ‘hara*  
 put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-GEN rice all ear-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT what  
*thah-Ø-an?’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 14 *‘naŋ-ko pepelek*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN money  
*hen-o! găi-go jake rah-o!’* 15 *wa-ye woi ‘ja-Ø-du’*  
 take-s→3/IMP I-GEN rice bring-s→3/IMP chicken-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT  
*ŋa-to-le, pepelek phah-Ø-u-no, uchincăi jake*  
 say-TPP-PCL money hold.out.and.receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT very.little rice  
*na-to-le per-Ø-ta-le cawah-Ø-an.* 16 *nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le*  
 put-TPP-PCL fly-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL

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9 Pulling out the one coin she had with her, she gave it [to the chicken]. 10 The chicken went to a rice store and said to the storekeeper ‘elder brother, please give me rice to the value of this coin!’ 11 ‘How much rice should I give you for one coin? Hold out your hand! But what will you carry it in?’ [the storekeeper asked]. 12 The chicken replied ‘put it in my earhole!’ 13 The rice storekeeper put the rice in the chicken’s ear, and all his rice entered [and fitted] inside the chicken’s ear. ‘How can this be?’, he thought to himself. 14 ‘Take your money back! Give me my rice back’, [he said]. 15 The chicken said ‘okay’, held out his hand to receive the money, and then, putting a little of the rice [down], he set off flying. 16 When he got home he said ‘mother, paint the house!’, and the old woman did as he said.

*'ama, nem thil-o!'*      *ηah-∅-u-no,*      *θhoŋi-ye*      *woi*  
 mother house paint-s→3/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-ERG also  
*ηah-∅-u-du*      *uniŋ loŋ-∅-u-no.*      17 *θhoŋi-ko*      *cyoporok nem*  
 say-SAS-3P-NPT like do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-GEN hut house  
*jake jake thah-∅-an.*      18 *nan wa*      *per-∅-ta-le*      *di-gore rence*  
 rice rice be-SAS-3S/PT now chicken fly-SAS-IPP-PCL one-CLF bean  
*nem-te yah-∅-an,*      *to-te rence-ko mi-kăi ηah-∅-u-no,*  
 house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT that-LOC bean-GEN person-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*habi-ko uniŋ loŋ-to-le,*      *rence woi rah-∅-u-no.*      19 *begale*  
 before-GEN like do-TPP-PCL bean also bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT other  
*cya-sa woi rah-∅-u-no,*      *aye tha-∅-ta-le,*      *nis-ka-ye jekha*  
 eat-INF also bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT much be-SAS-IPP-PCL two-HNC-ERG big  
*nem khem-eŋ-no.*      20 *tyaŋ libi wa jekha mi-ko camăi*  
 house build-PAS-3→3/PT then after chicken big person-GEN daughter  
*bore loŋ-sa cawah-∅-an.*      21 *ya-ya woi, ulam-te di-gore was*  
 marriage do-INF walk-SAS-3S/PT go-go also road-LOC one-CLF bee  
*hok-∅-du θhăi nih-∅-u-no.*      22 *was-e ηah-∅-u-no*      *'wa*  
 be-SAS-NPT place see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT bee-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken  
*bubu,*      *naŋ kuta ya-na-du?'*,      *to-ye ηah-∅-u-no*      *'găi*  
 elder.brother you where go-2s-NPT that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I  
*bore loŋ-sa cawa-ηa-du.'*      23 *'ni-kăi woi hen-se!*      *ni-ye*  
 marriage do-INF walk-1s-NPT we-PM also take-s→1p/IMP we-ERG  
*naŋ-kăi ma-cek,*      *naŋ-ko jet loŋ-wa-du'*      *was-pali-ye ηay-eŋ-no.*  
 you-PM NEG-bite you-GEN work do-1p→23-NPT bee-p-ERG say-PAS-3→3/PT

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17 That old woman's hut-like house was full to the brim of rice. 18 Now the chicken flew off and went to a bean store where he spoke to the storekeeper, and then doing just like before, he brought back a load of beans. 19 He also brought more things to eat, and because it had become so much, the two of them built a bigger house. 20 After all that, the chicken went off to marry the daughter of an important person. 21 As he walked, he came across a place where bees lived. 22 A bee said to him 'Oh elder brother chicken, where are you going?', and he replied 'I am off to get married.' 23 'Take us along with you! We won't sting you, we will even do your work for you', the bees said.

24 *wa-ye sakalei was kulla duŋ-ŋaŋ na-to-le*  
 chicken-ERG all bee ear within-inside put-TPP-PCL  
*hen-Ø-u-no.* 25 *ya-ya woi di-gore soŋ khalam-Ø-u-no,*  
 take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT go-go also one-CLF river meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*sony-e ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘naŋ kuta ya-na-du?’ ‘gǎi bore loŋ-sa.’*  
 river-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you where go-2s-NPT I marriage do-INF  
 26 *paŋku-ye woi ‘hen-aŋ!’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, begale kulla-te*  
 water-ERG also take-s→1s/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT other ear-LOC  
*tham-to-le hen-Ø-u-no.* 27 *libi ti-Ø-du me*  
 insert-TPP-PCL take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after burn-sAS-NPT fire  
*khalam-Ø-u-no, to-kǎi woi hen-Ø-u-no.* 28 *di chin libi,*  
 meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-PM also take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT one moment after  
*wa jekha mi-ko nem-te ya-let-Ø-an, kherte-ko arka*  
 chicken big person-GEN house-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT near-GEN walnut  
*pole-te hok-Ø-an, to isyaŋ to-ko camǎi-ko bore*  
 tree-LOC be-sAS-3S/PT that period that-GEN daughter-GEN marriage  
*tha-Ø-le hok-Ø-thyo.* 29 *libi wa arŋik-Ø-ta-le, khaŋou-te*  
 be-sAS-PCL be-sAS-3SCOND after chicken cry.out-sAS-IPP-PCL door-LOC  
*hok-Ø-du mi-kǎi ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘gǎ-ye ka nem-ko camǎi*  
 be-sAS-NPT person-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG this house-GEN daughter  
*bore loŋ-sa kyel-ŋa-du.’* 30 *to mi nuiy-Ø-an, libi*  
 marriage do-INF come-1s-NPT that person laugh-sAS-3S/PT after  
*nembo mi aghyo-to-le wa-kǎi ci-poh-Ø-u-no.*  
 other.person person call-TPP-PCL chicken-PM CAUS-chase-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

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24 The chicken put all the bees inside his ear and took them. 25 As he went along his way, he came across a river, and the river said to him ‘where are you going’, [to which he replied] ‘I am off to get married.’ 26 The water also said ‘take me along!’, so pouring some in his other ear, he [the chicken] took it. 27 Then he came across a burning fire, and he took that also. 28 A moment later, the chicken arrived at the house of the important person, and sat down near a walnut tree, [and it happened that] that day that man’s daughter was getting married. 29 Then the chicken cried out and said to the man sitting by the door ‘I have come to marry the daughter of this house.’ 30 That person laughed and then, calling over another person, chased the chicken away.

31	<i>wa-ye</i>	<i>woi</i>	<i>ŋah-Ø-u-no</i>		<i>'was-pali let-ta-ni-le</i>
	chicken-ERG	also	say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT	bee-p	appear-IPP-2p-PCL
	<i>ka-baŋ-ko</i>	<i>kapu-yiŋ</i>	<i>cek-no!</i>	32	<i>ka nasäiy-eŋ-to-le, was-pali</i>
	this-Pp-GEN	head-ABL	bite-p→3/IMP		this hear-pAS-TPP-PCL bee-p
	<i>let-eŋ-ta-le</i>	<i>cek-eŋ-no.</i>	33	<i>bophura-pali, ariy-eŋ-ta-le,</i>	
	appear-pAS-IPP-PCL	bite-pAS-3→3/PT		pity-p	be.afraid-pAS-IPP-PCL
	<i>jekha mi-kăi</i>	<i>ŋa-sa</i>	<i>dorok-eŋ-an.</i>	34	<i>jekha mi-ye woi</i>
	big person-PM	say-INF	run-pAS-3S/PT		big person-ERG also
	<i>wa-kăi</i>	<i>urou-sa</i>	<i>thoh-Ø-u-no.</i>	35	<i>libi wa-ye jekha</i>
	chicken-PM	call-INF	send-sAS-3P-3→3/PT		after chicken-ERG big
	<i>mi-kăi</i>	<i>ŋah-Ø-u-no</i>	<i>'naŋ-ko</i>	<i>gă-ye</i>	<i>camăi bore loŋ-sa</i>
	person-PM	say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT	you-GEN	I-ERG	daughter marriage do-INF
	<i>kyel-ŋa-du.'</i>	36	<i>'găi nama naŋ-ko</i>	<i>camăi bore</i>	<i>ci-loŋ-aŋ,</i>
	come-1s-NPT	I	with you-GEN	daughter marriage	CAUS-do-s→1s/IMP
	<i>ma-tha-be,</i>	<i>nany-e</i>	<i>kerep-ko măi-Ø-du.'</i>	37	<i>jekha mi jekha</i>
	NEG-be-TOP	you-ERG	cry-ADH must-sAS-NPT		big person big
	<i>sare-te</i>	<i>ŋah-Ø-u-no</i>	<i>'naŋ uniŋ wa</i>	<i>nama găi-go</i>	<i>camăi</i>
	voice-LOC	say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT	you like	chicken with	I-GEN daughter
	<i>bore</i>	<i>ci-loŋ-u-n-du?'</i>	38	<i>'naŋ mo-sa</i>	<i>ali-na-du-be, ka-yiŋ</i>
	marriage	CAUS-do-3P-1s→3-NPT	you live-INF	like-2s-NPT-TOP	this-ABL
	<i>cawa-Ø!'</i>	<i>jekha mi-ye</i>	<i>ŋah-Ø-u-no.</i>	39	<i>wa woi to-te</i>
	walk-s/IMP	big person-ERG	say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT		chicken also that-LOC
	<i>hok-Ø-ta-le</i>	<i>habi-ko</i>	<i>me-kăi</i>	<i>ŋah-Ø-u-no</i>	<i>'ka-ko nem</i>
	be-sAS-IPP-PCL	before-GEN	fire-PM	say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT	this-GEN house

31 And the chicken said 'bees, come out, and sting those people from their heads down!' 32 Hearing this, the bees came out and stung them. 33 Those poor people, being scared, ran off to tell the important man [what had happened]. 34 The important person then sent someone to call the chicken. 35 After this the chicken said to the important person 'I have come to marry your daughter.' 36 'Marry your daughter to me! If you don't, you will be forced to cry' [the chicken said]. 37 Then the important person said in a loud voice 'do you think that I would marry my daughter to a chicken like you?' 38 'If you want to go on living, then get out of here now!', the important person said. 39 The chicken, sitting right there, said to the fire that he had picked up earlier 'burn his house!'

*ɟyoh-o!* 40 *ka nasăi-to-le, me let-Ø-ta-le to-ko habi*  
 burn-s→3/IMP this hear-TPP-PCL fire appear-sAS-IPP-PCL that-GEN before  
*tiy-Ø-an, sakalei to-yiŋ dorok-eŋ-an.* 41 *me sat-sa, sakalei*  
 burn-sAS-3S/PT all that-ABL run-pAS-3S/PT fire kill-INF all  
*mi-pali kyel-eŋ-an, me aŋthe tiy-Ø-an.* 42 *libi wa-kăi*  
 person-p come-pAS-3S/PT fire very burn-sAS-3S/PT after chicken-PM  
*sewa-to-le, camăi piy-Ø-u-no.* 43 *tyaŋ libi paŋku-kăi*  
 salute-TPP-PCL daughter give-sAS-3P-3→3/PT then after water-PM  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ka me sat-o! paŋku' kulla-yiŋ let-Ø-ta-le*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT this fire kill-s→3/IMP water ear-ABL appear-sAS-IPP-PCL  
*me sat-Ø-u-no.* 44 *nan, wa nama, jekha mi-ko camăi*  
 fire kill-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now chicken with big person-GEN daughter  
*ŋhoŋi-ko nem-te yah-Ø-an.* 45 *wa-ko uma ni-to-le,*  
 old.woman-GEN house-LOC go-sAS-3S/PT chicken-GEN wife see-TPP-PCL  
*ŋhoŋi woi taŋ-Ø-an, libi jet loŋ-sa mi na-to-le*  
 old.woman also be.happy-sAS-3S/PT after work do-INF person put-TPP-PCL  
*hok-eŋ-an.*  
 be-pAS-3S/PT

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40 Hearing this, the fire lit in front of them, and all the people ran away from that place. 41 Everyone came to extinguish the fire, but it just burnt more strongly. 42 Having paid his respects to the chicken, he [the important man] gave his daughter. 43 Then, after that, [the chicken] said to the water 'now, water, kill this fire!', and the water, emerging from his ear, extinguished the fire. 44 Now, together with the chicken, the important person's daughter went back to the old woman's house. 45 Seeing the chicken's wife, the old woman became happy, and later, having gotten themselves someone to do all the work, they lived [happily].

## THE WAY IT USED TO BE

- 1 *habi jekha dese yo-sa-kăi, cawa-ta-i-le ya-yo-ko*  
 before big village look.at-INF-PM walk-IPP-1pPS-PCL go-look.at-ADH  
*măi-Ø-thyo.* 2 *ni-ko apa-pali caway-eŋ-ta-le, jekha nem*  
 must-SAS-3SCOND we-GEN father-p walk-pAS-IPP-PCL big house  
*yo-sa-kăi yey-eŋ-thyo.* 3 *naleŋ ni cawa-sa ma-thaŋ,*  
 look.at-INF-PM go-pAS-3SCOND present we walk-INF NEG-be.able  
*ni-ko apa-pali oli walŋa uni caway-eŋ-thyo.* 4 *yey-eŋ-du*  
 we-GEN father-p four five day walk-pAS-3SCOND go-pAS-NPT  
*beryay, nama nama saŋa-ko phase, makăi-ko phase, jake,*  
 that.time with with millet-GEN flour maize-GEN flower rice  
*moŋe-ko aŋek-si-Ø-du phase, hen-to-le yey-eŋ-an.*  
 soybean-GEN roast-REF-SAS-NPT flour take-TPP-PCL go-pAS-3S/PT
- 5 *cawa-cawa woi kuta ukhiŋ-Ø-du, to-te hok-eŋ-thyo.*  
 walk-walk also where become.dark-SAS-NPT that-LOC be-pAS-3SCOND
- 6 *hok-eŋ-du ŋăi-te isa uman-eŋ-to-le cey-eŋ-thyo, nama*  
 be-pAS-NPT place-LOC food cook-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-pAS-3SCOND with  
*nama seŋ woi cabuy-eŋ-thyo.* 7 *ŋaye to-te hok-eŋ-thyo,*  
 with wood also carry-pAS-3SCOND night that-LOC be-pAS-3SCOND
- jhari yu-Ø-le woi, phosi-phosiy-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-an,*  
 rain come.from.above-SAS-PCL also soak-soak-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT
- naleŋ-ko uniŋ naka jŋ ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 8 *paŋku*  
 present-GEN like new umbrella NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND water

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1 In the olden days, in order to see the city [lit. big village], we used to have to walk [to get there]. 2 Our fathers would go by foot to look at big buildings. 3 These days, we aren't able to walk anymore, but our fathers would walk for four or five days. 4 When they travelled, they would take millet flour, maize flour, rice and roasted soybean flour with them. 5 On their way, they would rest [and camp] at which ever place they had got to when it became dark. 6 In the place that they stopped they would cook and eat their food, having carried firewood with them. 7 At night, they would stay in that place, even if it rained, and totally soaked them, they would still walk, as there were no new umbrellas like the ones that we have now. 8 Having found water, they would have to eat, and having made a new fireplace each day, they would have to walk.

*dany-eη-to-le,*      *cya-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo,*      *naka thapu khem-to-le,*  
 search-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND new fireplace build-TPP-PCL  
*cawa-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo.*      9 *ka uniη tha-Ø-ta-le caway-eη-an.*  
 walk-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND      this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT  
 10 *nem-te chya cya-sa-kǎi sum oli uni caway-eη-ta-le*  
     house-LOC salt eat-INF-PM three four day walk-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*kyel-eη-thyo.*      11 *chya kyel-sa-kǎi, nem-yiη jake hen-ko*  
 come-pAS-3SCOND      salt bring-INF-PM house-ABL rice take-ADH  
*mǎi-Ø-thyo.*      12 *chya-ko mi-kǎi jake pi-to-le, chya*  
 must-SAS-3SCOND      salt-GEN person-PM rice give-TPP-PCL salt  
*kyel-eη-thyo.*      13 *dese-te chya ma-khalam-to-le, di uni*  
 bring-pAS-3SCOND      village-LOC salt NEG-receive-TPP-PCL one day  
*ka jet lony-eη-no-be, to-kǎi di ʔoke chya*  
 throughout work do-pAS-3→3/PT-TOP that-PM one half.kilo salt  
*piy-eη-thyo.*      14 *chya cya-sa-kǎi woi, jake phase hen-ko*  
 give-pAS-3SCOND      salt eat-INF-PM also rice flour take-ADH  
*mǎi-Ø-thyo.*      15 *di uni di-ka mi-ye isa loη-sa-kǎi*  
 must-SAS-3SCOND      one day one-HNC person-ERG food do-INF-PM  
*thapu khem-Ø-u-no, thakpa khem-sa-kǎi niη*  
 fire.place build-SAS-3P-3→3/PT fire.stone build-INF-PM stone  
*kyel-Ø-u-no.*      16 *niη ci-theη-Ø-u-no, ʔitiη-Ø-an*  
 bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT      stone CAUS-stand.up-SAS-3P-3→3/PT fall.over-SAS-3S/PT  
*hani ci-theη-Ø-u-no, ʔitiη-Ø-an, tyaj rage-ye*  
 how.much CAUS-stand.up-SAS-3P-3→3/PT fall.over-SAS-3S/PT then anger-INS

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9 This is the way that they travelled. 10 To get salt to use at home they would walk for three or four days. 11 In order to bring salt, they would have to take rice with them from home. 12 Having given the rice to the man with the salt, they would bring salt [back home]. 13 If there was no salt in the village, then those who worked for a whole day would be given half a kilo of salt [as payment]. 14 In order to get salt, they would also have to take rice flour with them [to eat along the way]. 15 One day, a man made himself a fireplace to cook his food, and to make his hearth he brought a stone. 16 He set the stone upright, but it fell down, and as many times as he set it straight, it fell over again, so in anger he beat the stone with a rice-cooking spoon.



*to niŋ-kǎi cyaʦane-ye ɲeh-Ø-u-no. 17 cyaʦane-ye*  
 that stone-PM rice.spoon-INS beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT rice.spoon-INS  
*ɲeh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, to-yiŋ coi let-Ø-an, coi*  
 beat-SAS-3P-NPT that.time that-ABL blood appear-SAS-3S/PT blood  
*let-Ø-ta-le, to mi-ye yo-le nah-Ø-u-no.*  
 appear-SAS-IPP-PCL that person-ERG look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 18 *'ka-be dewa thaŋun, gǎ-ye thakpa loŋ-u-n-uŋ, tyaŋ*  
 this-TOP god maybe I-ERG fire.stone do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then  
*ma-theŋ thaŋun' ɲa-to-le ɲah-Ø-u-no. 19 libi dewa*  
 NEG-stand.up maybe say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after god  
*hok-Ø-du ɲa-to-le, to-kǎi dewa lony-eŋ-no. 20 naleŋ woi*  
 be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL that-PM god do-pAS-3→3/PT present also  
*to-kǎi bhimsin ɲa-to-le dewa lony-eŋ-du.*  
 that-PM Bhimsen say-TPP-PCL god do-pAS-NPT

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17 When he beat it with the rice-cooking spoon, blood appeared, and as that blood came out that person just stared and stared. 18 'Maybe this is a god, and that is why it wouldn't stand up when I made it into a fire stone', he thought to himself. 19 Later, saying that it was a god, people worshipped it. 20 And to the present day, they worship that [stone] as the God Bhimsen.

## CO-WIFE

1 *di-ka mi-ko oli-ka uma hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *ca camăi*  
 one-HNC person-HEN four-HNC wife be-PAS-3SCOND son daughter  
*thay-eŋ-du ra ŋa-to-le, oli-ka uma bore loŋ-Ø-u-no,*  
 be-PAS-NPT or say-TPP-PCL four-HNC wife marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*di-ka-ye woi huca ma-nik-eŋ-no.* 3 *libi begale uma*  
 one-HNC-ERG also child NEG-give.birth-PAS-3→3/PT after other wife  
*bore loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no, bubu hu-kăi*  
 marriage do-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother younger.brother-PM  
*ŋa-to-le, di-ka camăica bore loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 4 *to uma-ye*  
 say-TPP-PCL one-HNC woman marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that wife-ERG  
*libi baŋkal cabuh-Ø-u-no, nan huca nik-ko*  
 after stomach carry-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now child give.birth-ADH  
*sow-Ø-an.* 5 *nan begale uma-pali-ye, huca nik-ko*  
 be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT now other wife-p-ERG child give.birth-ADH  
*sow-Ø-an ŋa-to-le, rage lony-eŋ-no.* 6 *uma-pali hok-sa*  
 be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL anger do-PAS-3→3/PT wife-p be-INF  
*thăi begale begale hok-Ø-thyo, ucya uma hok-Ø-du thăi-te,*  
 place other other be-SAS-3SCOND small wife be-SAS-NPT place-LOC  
*di-gore citaliŋ woi thone-ye nah-Ø-u-no.* 7 *uma-kăi*  
 one-CLF drum also old.man-ERG put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-PM  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no 'nany-e huca nik-sa daŋ-sa habi, ka*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-ERG child give.birth-INF search-INF before this

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1 There was a man who had four wives. 2 Just to make sure that he would have sons and daughters he took four wives, but not one of them gave birth to a single child. 3 Then he searched for another wife to marry, and, having discussed it with his brothers, married a woman. 4 Later that wife became pregnant, and then she was about to give birth to a child. 5 On account of being about to give birth to a child, those other wives got angry. 6 The wives all lived in different places, and in the place that the youngest wife lived, the husband had put a drum. 7 He [the husband] said to his wife 'when you are about to give birth to the child, beat this drum and then we shall know.'

*citaliŋ tap-sa, tyaŋ ni-ye thaha säi-wa-du.* 8 *'tyaŋ gäi*  
 drum beat-INF then we-ERG knowledge know-1p→23-NPT then I  
*ra-ŋa-du'* *ŋa-to-le, oste-ko jet-te yah-Ø-an.*  
 come.from.level-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL self-GEN work-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT  
 9 *di uni 'lawa ra-Ø-du ra ma-ra?'*  
 one day husband come.from.level-SAS-NPT or NEG-come.from.level  
*ŋa-to-le, citaliŋ tap-Ø-u-no, lawa dorok-Ø-ta-le*  
 say-TPP-PCL drum beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT husband run-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*rah-Ø-an, yoh-Ø-u-no, uma nui-Ø-ta-le*  
 come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife laugh-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*hok-Ø-du.* 10 *kaŋah-Ø-an 'hara-käi tap-u-na-n? gä-ye-be naŋ huca*  
 be-SAS-NPT scold-SAS-3S/PT what-PM beat-3P-2s-PT I-ERG-TOP you child  
*nik-na-n ŋa-to-le dorok-ta-ŋa-le ra-ŋa-n.'* 11 *'sewa,*  
 give.birth-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL run-IPP-1s-PCL come.from.level-1s-PT salute  
*gä-ye naŋ ra-na-du ra ma-ra ŋa-to-le,*  
 I-ERG you come.from.level-2s-NPT or NEG-come.from.level say-TPP-PCL  
*gä-ye tap-u-n-uŋ, naŋ ra-na-n, rage*  
 I-ERG beat-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT you come.from.level-2s-PT anger  
*ma-thay-e!'* 12 *baŋhe syaŋ jet loŋ-sa mi-ye miŋ*  
 NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP tomorrow period work do-INF person-ERG cloth  
*toŋ-sa-käi, miŋ käiy-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, citaliŋ syak-Ø-an.*  
 wash-INF-PM cloth remove-SAS-3P-NPT that.time drum strike-SAS-3S/PT  
 13 *'nan-guri uma huca nik-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le,*  
 now-IND wife child give.birth-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL

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8 'And then I will come', he said, and with that went off to get on with his own work. 9 One day, thinking 'will my husband come or not?', she beat the drum, and the husband came running and saw his wife sitting there laughing. 10 And he scolded her 'why did you beat it? I came running thinking that you were giving birth.' 11 'Forgive me, I beat the drum to see whether you would come or not, and you came, please don't be angry!' [she said]. 12 The next day, when the domestic help was washing clothes, as she pulled the clothes out the drum struck. 13 'Well now my wife has given birth', he [the husband] thought, and being all happy, he came back to take a look.

*taŋ-Ø-ta-le*                      *rah-Ø-an*                      *yoh-Ø-u-no.*  
 be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL    come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT    look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 14 *uma kapu ði-si-Ø-ta-le*                      *hok-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no,*  
       wife head comb-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL    be-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*rage-ye hara woi ma-nih-Ø-u-no!*                      15 *lawa yah-Ø-an*  
 anger-INS what also NEG-see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT                      husband go-SAS-3S/PT  
 ‘*nan-guri citaliŋ syak-Ø-du beryaŋ, gǎi ma-ra*’  
 now-IND drum strike-SAS-NPT that.time I NEG-come.from.level  
*ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an.*    16 *libi, huca nik-Ø-du syaŋ,*  
 say-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT                      after child be.born-SAS-NPT period  
*tap-Ø-u-no, citaliŋ syak-Ø-du, sakalei-ye nasäiy-eŋ-no.*  
 beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT drum strike-SAS-NPT all-ERG hear-PAS-3→3/PT  
 17 *begale oli-ka uma ray-eŋ-an,*                      *huca nik-ko*  
       *other* four-HNC wife come.from.level-PAS-3S/PT child give.birth-ADH  
*so-le nah-Ø-u-thyo.*                      18 *nan begale uma-pali-ye to-ko*  
 be.about.to-PCL put-SAS-3P-3SCOND                      now *other* wife-p-ERG that-GEN  
*huca sat-sa dany-eŋ-no.*                      19 *to-kǎi ŋay-eŋ-no ‘humi,*  
 child kill-INF search-PAS-3→3/PT                      that-PM say-PAS-3→3/PT younger.sister  
*nan naŋ huca nik-na-du beryaŋ, naŋ-ko kapu*  
 now you child give.birth-2s-NPT that.time you-GEN head  
*gaŋa duŋ-ŋaŋ ci-bi-ko mǎi-Ø-du, tyaŋ*  
 spherical.earthenware.jug within-inside CAUS-enter-ADH must-SAS-NPT then  
*huca nik-ko mǎi-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le ŋay-eŋ-no.*    20 *libi*  
 child give.birth-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-PAS-3→3/PT                      after

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14 He saw his wife sitting there combing her hair, well, you have never seen such anger! 15 And the husband went off, ‘now when I hear that drum strike, I won’t come’, he said as he walked off. 16 Later, on the day that she gave birth, she beat the drum, and everyone heard the drum sound. 17 The four other wives came, and the baby was just about to be born. 18 Now those other wives attempted to kill her baby. 19 And they said to her ‘younger sister, now when you are giving birth to the baby you must put your head inside an earthenware pot and only then should you give birth’, they said. 20 Then they forced her head into the earthenware jug and she gave birth to the baby.

*gaŋa-ŋaŋ* *kapu ci-bi-to-le* *huca*  
spherical.earthenware.jug-inside head CAUS-enter-TPP-PCL child  
*nik-Ø-an.* 21 *huca ama-kǎi ma-cikhet-eŋ-no,* *huca-kǎi*  
give.birth-SAS-3S/PT child mother-PM NEG-show-pAS-3→3/PT child-PM  
*paṭasi-te* *pore-to-le* *ci-sa* *hen-eŋ-no.*  
traditional.skirt-LOC make.a.bundle-TPP-PCL throw.away-INF take-pAS-3→3/PT  
22 *to-te-guri di-gore kiji ɳiŋ na-to-le cikhet-eŋ-no.*  
that-LOC-IND one-CLF black stone put-TPP-PCL show-pAS-3→3/PT  
23 *libi lawa rah-Ø-an,* *to ɳiŋ uma-pali-ye*  
after husband come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT that stone wife-p-ERG  
*cikhet-eŋ-no,* *ucya uma nama rage thah-Ø-an.* 24 *libi di-ka*  
show-pAS-3→3/PT small wife with anger be-SAS-3S/PT after one-HNC  
*semni ulam cawa-Ø-thyo,* *ulam na-basa huca kerep-Ø-du*  
Tamang road walk-SAS-3SCOND road under-side child cry-SAS-NPT  
*naśǎy-Ø-u-no,* *ya-yoh-Ø-u-no.* 25 *to-te ucya huca*  
hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT go-look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC small child  
*paṭasi-te nih-Ø-u-no,* *oste-ko nem-te*  
traditional.skirt-LOC see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT self-GEN house-LOC  
*kyel-Ø-u-no.* 26 *libi jekha thah-Ø-an,* *dikaca nampah-Ø-an,*  
bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after big be-SAS-3S/PT alone play-SAS-3S/PT  
*nampa-Ø-du beryaŋ lakpa nampa-Ø-thyo.* 27 *di uni, to*  
play-SAS-NPT that.time limb play-SAS-3SCOND one day that  
*habi-ko apa to ulam ra-Ø-thyo,* *ca-ye to*  
before-GEN father that road come.from.level-SAS-3SCOND son-ERG that

21 Without showing the baby to its mother, they bundled it up in a skirt and went to throw it away. 22 And in its place, they left a black stone to show her [i.e. the mother, what she had given birth to]. 23 Later when the husband came, the wives showed him the stone, and he got angry with his youngest wife [thinking that she had given birth to a stone]. 24 [One day] a Tamang man was walking along the road when he heard a child crying from the lower side of the path, so he went to take a look. 25 There he saw a small baby wrapped in a skirt, so he brought it home. 26 When he later grew up, he played alone, when he played, he would play fight. 27 One day, his real father came walking along that road, and the son tried to get into a play fight with him, and they got talking.

*nama lakpa nampa-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no, wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no.*  
 with limb fight-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 28 ‘*hu, naŋ gǎi nama lakpa nampa-sa ma-thaŋ, naŋ*  
 younger.brother you I with limb play-INF NEG-be.able you  
*nampa-na-du?’* 29 *to-te woi ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘naŋ-ko*  
 play-2s-NPT that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN  
*apa su?’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘gǎi-go apa semni.’* 30 ‘*to huca*  
 father who say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN father Tamang that child  
*semni-ko ma-tha, jekha mi-ko tha-ko mǎi-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le,*  
 Tamang-GEN NEG-be big person-GEN be-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*nem-te wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 31 *ka wakhe nasǎi-to-le, begale*  
 house-LOC word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this word hear-TPP-PCL other  
*uma-pali ray-eŋ-ta-le ca-kǎi sat-eŋ-no.*  
 wife-p come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL son-PM kill-pAS-3→3/PT  
 32 *sat-to-le, soŋ-ko kherte hen-to-le ŋum-eŋ-no.* 33 *libi*  
 kill-TPP-PCL river-GEN near take-TPP-PCL bury-pAS-3→3/PT after  
*to ŋum-eŋ-du ŋǎi-yiŋ di-gore altak-ko pole*  
 that bury-pAS-NPT place-ABL one-CLF rhododendron-GEN tree  
*bow-Ø-an, to-te di-gore apraca reŋ woi how-Ø-an.*  
 sprout-SAS-3S/PT that-LOC one-CLF good flower also bloom-SAS-3S/PT  
 34 *ulam caway-eŋ-du mi-pali-ye kum-sa dany-eŋ-du,*  
 road walk-pAS-NPT person-p-ERG pick-INF search-pAS-NPT  
*ma-thany-eŋ-no.* 35 *reŋ kum-sa-kǎi pole-te lun-eŋ-du,*  
 NEG-be.able-pAS-3→3/PT flower pick-INF-PM tree-LOC climb-pAS-NPT

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28 ‘Younger brother, you wouldn’t be able to wrestle with me, do you want to try?’ [the father said]. 29 And he said ‘okay, then’, ‘who is your father?’ he asked, ‘my father is Tamang’ [he replied]. 30 ‘There is no way that that kid is the son of a Tamang, he must be the son of an important person’, he said to himself when he got home. 31 When they heard these words, the other wives came and killed the son. 32 Having killed him, they took him to near the river and buried him there. 33 Later, from the place that they buried him, a rhododendron tree sprouted and a beautiful flower also bloomed. 34 People walking along the road tried to pluck it [the flower], but they couldn’t. 35 In order to pick the flower, people would climb the tree, but the flower would just shift way up there to the top, and all the people would stand there watching.

*reŋ hya-hya cyuri-te ya-Ø-du, sakalei mi-pali yo-le*  
 flower up-up summit-LOC go-SAS-NPT all person-p look.at-PCL  
*nay-eŋ-du. 36 ka wakhe habi-ko apa-ye woi nasăiy-Ø-u-no,*  
 put-pAS-NPT this word before-GEN father-ERG also hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*‘ulam-ko reŋ kum-sa ma-thaŋ ŋa’ ŋa-to-le. 37 di uni*  
 road-GEN flower pick-INF NEG-be.able REP say-TPP-PCL one day  
*oste-ko nem-te jet loŋ-sa mi-pali hen-to-le yah-Ø-an.*  
 self-GEN house-LOC work do-INF person-p take-TPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT  
 38 *habi, jet loŋ-sa mi-kăi ci-lun-Ø-u-no, reŋ*  
 before work do-INF person-PM CAUS-climb-SAS-3P-3→3/PT flower  
*cyuri-te yah-Ø-an. 39 libi oste lun-Ø-an, reŋ kherte*  
 summit-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT after self climb-SAS-3S/PT flower near  
*ra-Ø-ta-le lak-te hok-Ø-an. 40 to mi-ye*  
 come.from.level.-SAS-IPP-PCL hand-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT that person-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ka pole-te hara hok-Ø-du? nan ka pole-kăi*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this tree-LOC what be-SAS-NPT now this tree-PM  
*pal-ko măi-Ø-du.’ 41 libi to pole pal-eŋ-no, to-yiy*  
 chop-ADH must-SAS-NPT after that tree chop-pAS-3→3/PT that-ABL  
*di-ka sarma cahuca let-Ø-an, sakalei-ye yoy-eŋ-no.*  
 one-HNC strong man appear-SAS-3S/PT all-ERG look.at-pAS-3→3/PT  
 42 *libi ŋay-eŋ-no ‘hu, naŋ su tha-na-du? naŋ hara*  
 after say-pAS-3→3/PT younger.brother you who be-2s-NPT you what  
*tha-na-du? su-ko ca, ni-kăi ŋa-se!’ 43 ‘găi su-ko ca*  
 be-2s-NPT who-GEN son we-PM say-s→1p/IMP I who-GEN son

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36 The father came to hear these words as well: ‘the flower along the road is unpickable’, it was said. 37 One day he went off, taking with him workers from his own house. 38 First, he made one of his workers climb [the tree], but the flower just went up to the summit. 39 Then he climbed [the tree] himself, and the flower came close and sat in his hand. 40 Then that man said ‘what is it with this tree? It must now be chopped down.’ 41 Then they chopped the tree down, and from inside a young man appeared, and everyone stared [in wonder]. 42 Then they said ‘younger brother, who are you? What are you? Whose son are you? Tell us that!’ 43 ‘For me to tell you whose son I am, first you must do exactly as I say, and then I will tell you whose son I am’, he said.

*ŋa-sa-kăi, gǎ-ye ŋah-u-n-du uniŋ loŋ-ko mǎi-Ø-du, tyañ gǎ-ye*  
 say-INF-PM I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT like do-ADH must-SAS-NPT then I-ERG  
*su-ko ca ŋah-u-n-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 44 'ja-Ø-du, ni-ye*  
 who-GEN son say-3P-1s→3-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT okay-SAS-NPT we-ERG  
*hara loŋ-sa?' 45 'niny-e kit-gore koŋe ceŋ-no! to koŋe*  
 what do-INF you(p)-ERG nine-CLF wall build-p→3/IMP that wall  
*ka-basa gǎi hok-ŋa-du, koŋe dha-basa, camăica-pali hok-eŋ-du.'*  
 this-side I be-1s-NPT wall that.distant-side woman-p be-PAS-NPT  
 46 'tyañ su-ko nunu to koŋe doron loŋ-to-le, gǎi-go ugo-te  
 then who-GEN milk that wall hole do-TPP-PCL I-GEN mouth-LOC  
*bi-Ø-du, to gǎi-go ama, to-ko lawa, gǎi-go apa.'*  
 enter-SAS-NPT that I-GEN mother that-GEN husband I-GEN father  
 47 to-bany-e woi kit-gore koŋe ceny-eŋ-no, ka-basa to cahuca  
 that-Pp-ERG also nine-CLF wall build-PAS-3→3/PT this-side that man  
*nay-eŋ-no. 48 dha-basa sakalei dese-ko camăica-pali*  
 put-PAS-3→3/PT that.distant-side all village-GEN woman-p  
*kyel-eŋ-ta-le, nunu nat-eŋ-no, su-ko-ye woi koŋe doron*  
 come-PAS-IPP-PCL milk milk-PAS-3→3/PT who-GEN-ERG also wall hole  
*ma-loŋ-Ø-u-no. 49 nan to jekha mi-ko walŋa-ka uma-ye*  
 NEG-do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now that big person-GEN five-HNC wife-ERG  
*loŋ-ko mǎiy-Ø-an ŋa-to-le, lony-eŋ-no. 50 nan libi ucya*  
 do-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL do-PAS-3→3/PT now after small  
*uma-ye nunu nat-Ø-u-thyo, kit-gore koŋe doron loŋ-to-le, to*  
 wife-ERG milk milk-SAS-3P-3SCOND nine-CLF wall hole do-TPP-PCL that

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44 'Okay, what must we do?' [they said]. 45 'You lot build nine walls! On this side of the walls I will sit, and on the other side will sit the womenfolk' [he said]. 46 'Then whoever's milk makes a hole in the wall and enters my mouth, she is my mother and her husband is my father' [he said]. 47 They built those nine walls, and on the near side, they placed the man. 48 All the women from the village came to the other side and milked their breasts, but no one's milk made a hole in the wall. 49 Now, that important person's five wives had to do it also, and they did. 50 And then when the youngest wife milked her breast, her milk made a hole in each of the nine walls and entered the mouth of that man.



- cahuca-ko ugo-te biy-Ø-an.* 51 *'ka-guri gǎi-go ama*  
 man-GEN mouth-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT this-IND I-GEN mother  
*tha-Ø-du' ηa-to-le ηah-Ø-u-no.* 52 *camăica thombe*  
 be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman surprise  
*tha-Ø-ta-le 'ka-ye gǎi-go raη cya-sa-kǎi ka uniη*  
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL this-ERG I-GEN unirrigated.field eat-INF-PM this like  
*loη-Ø-u-no, ka gǎi-go ca ma-tha' ηa-to-le rage thah-Ø-an.*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this I-GEN son NEG-be say-TPP-PCL anger be-SAS-3S/PT  
 53 *libi to mi-ye ηah-Ø-u-no, 'apa, gǎi naη-ko ca*  
 after that person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father I you-GEN son  
*tha-ηa-du.'* 54 *'kunyaη-be gǎ-ye ηa-na-ηa-du, gǎi nik-ηa-du*  
 be-1s-NPT how-TOP I-ERG say-2s-1s-NPT I be.born-1s-NPT  
*beryaη, gǎi-gǎi jekhama-pali-ye paṭasi-te pore-to-le*  
 that.time I-PM big.mother-p-ERG traditional.skirt-LOC bundle.up-TPP-PCL  
*ciy-eη-ηa-n.'* 55 *'libi gǎi-gǎi semni-ye hen-to-le, jekha*  
 throw.away-PAS-1s-PT after I-PM Tamang-ERG take-TPP-PCL big  
*loη-Ø-ηa-n, to-te woi yey-eη-ta-le jekhama-pali-ye gǎi-gǎi*  
 do-SAS-1s-PT that-LOC also go-PAS-IPP-PCL big.mother-p-ERG I-PM  
*sat-eη-ηa-n.'* 56 *'tyaη gǎi altak-ko pole tha-ta-ηa-le*  
 kill-PAS-1s-PT then I rhododendron-GEN tree be-IPP-1s-PCL  
*bo-ηa-n, naleη gǎi mi tha-ηa-n, apa' ηah-Ø-u-no.* 57 *ka*  
 sprout-1s-PT present I person be-1s-PT father say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this  
*nasǎi-to-le, to-ye begale uma-pali-kǎi poh-Ø-u-no, nem-yiη*  
 hear-TPP-PCL that-ERG other wife-p-PM chase-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house-ABL

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51 'This woman is my mother', he said. 52 The woman was totally shocked and, thinking to herself 'this guy is just doing all this to steal my land, he's not my son', she became angry. 53 Then that person said, 'father, I am your son.' 54 'And now I'll tell you how, when I was born, well at that time my step-mothers bundled me up in a skirt and threw me away' [he said]. 55 'Then, a Tamang took me home and brought me up, but my step-mothers even came to that place and killed me', [he said]. 56 'Then I became a rhododendron tree and I sprouted, and now I am a person again, father', he said. 57 Having heard this, he [the father] chased the other wives away and ejected them from his house.

*ci-let-Ø-u-no.*                    58 *libi ucya uma nama wakhe*  
 CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT    after small wife with word  
*loŋ-Ø-u-no,        apa, ca, uma thay-eŋ-ta-le,    nem-te    hok-eŋ-an.*  
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father son wife be-pAS-IPP-PCL house-LOC be-pAS-3S/PT

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58 Afterwards he spoke to his youngest wife and then father, son and wife, being reunited, lived together in one house.

## MOUSE

1 *di-ka mi-ko sum-ka uma thay-eη-du.* 2 *nis-ka*  
 one-HNC person-GEN three-HNC wife be-pAS-NPT two-HNC  
*uma-ko-guri nis-ka ca sarma thay-eη-du, ucya uma-ko-guri di-ka*  
 wife-GEN-IND two-HNC son strong be-pAS-NPT small wife-GEN-IND one-HNC  
*ca uyu tha-∅-du.* 3 *uma uyu nik-∅-du ni-to-le,*  
 son mouse be-sAS-NPT wife mouse give.birth-sAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL  
*uma-kǎi lawa-ye begale thǎi-te cyoporok nem khem-to-le,*  
 wife-PM husband-ERG other place-LOC hut house build-TPP-PCL  
*uyu nama nah-∅-u-du.* 4 *ama-ye to uyu ca-kǎi isa*  
 mouse with put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT mother-ERG that mouse son-PM food  
*ken loη-to-le piy-∅-u-du.* 5 *uyu jekha thah-∅-an.*  
 vegetable.curry do-TPP-PCL give-sAS-3P-NPT mouse big be-sAS-3S/PT  
 6 *di uni, uyu-ko apa ma-thaη-∅-an, di*  
 one day mouse-GEN father NEG-be.well-sAS-3S/PT one  
*thǎi-yiη begale thǎi-te ka, cawa-sa*  
 place-ABL other place-LOC throughout walk-INF  
*ma-thaη-∅-u-no.* 7 *to beryaη, di-ka guru*  
 NEG-be.able-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that that.time one-HNC shaman  
*rah-∅-an, apa-ye ηah-∅-u-no 'gǎi*  
 come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT father-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I  
*ma-thaη-ηa-n, nany-e ci-ja-∅-ηa-du ra?' 8 guru-ye*  
 NEG-be.well-1s-PT you-ERG CAUS-recover-sAS-1s-NPT or shaman-ERG

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1 There was a man who had three wives. 2 Two of the wives each had a strong son, but the youngest wife had only a mouse for a son. 3 Seeing that his wife had given birth to a mouse, the husband made her a hut to live in and put the mouse there with her. 4 The mother prepared food for that mouse son and fed him. 5 And the mouse grew up. 6 One day, the mouse's father became ill and was unable to walk from one place to another. 7 At that time, a shaman came by, and father said 'I am ill, can you make me better or not?' 8 The shaman examined him and said to that father 'to recover, you need to eat the sour fruit that grows in a certain place, and only then will you get better', he said.

*yoh-Ø-u-no, to apa-kǎi ñah-Ø-u-no ‘nañ ja-sa-kǎi,*  
 look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that father-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you recover-INF-PM  
*di-gore thǎi-ko cijyañ-Ø-du pañ cya-ko mǎi-Ø-du, tyañ*  
 one-CLF place-GEN speak-SAS-NPT sour.fruit eat-ADH must-SAS-NPT then  
*ja-Ø-du’ ñah-Ø-u-no. 9 ‘nan, cijyañ-Ø-du pañ kuta*  
 recover-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now speak-SAS-NPT sour.fruit where  
*khalam-sa?’ ñah-Ø-u-du beryañ, guru-ye ñah-Ø-u-no.*  
 meet-INF say-SAS-3P-NPT that.time shaman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 10 *‘ka-yiñ ǎlámtha ulam hok-Ø-du, to-te su woi ya-let-sa*  
 this-ABL distant road be-SAS-NPT that-ERG who also go-appear-INF  
*ma-thany-eñ, yey-eñ-du-pali siy-eñ-du, kunyañ hen-sa?’*  
 NEG-be.able-pAS go-pAS-NPT-p die-pAS-NPT how go-INF  
 11 *ma-thañ-Ø-du mi-ye ñah-Ø-u-no ‘kuta hok-Ø-du?*  
 NEG-be.well-SAS-NPT person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT where be-SAS-NPT  
*gǎi-gǎi ña-ña! gǎi-go ca-pali sarma sarma hok-eñ-du, to-banye*  
 I-PM say-s→1s/IMP I-GEN son-p strong strong be-pAS-NPT that-pp-ERG  
*kyel-eñ-du thanjun.’ 12 to beryañ uyu woi kherte*  
 bring-pAS-NPT maybe that that.time mouse also near  
*ya-Ø-ta-le ðapu-to-le nasǎiy-Ø-u-no. 13 guru-ye*  
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL spy-TPP-PCL hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT shaman-ERG  
*ñah-Ø-u-no ‘ka-yiñ hen-sa, di-gore thǎi-te me-ko dese*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-ABL go-INF one-CLF place-LOC fire-GEN village  
*ra-Ø-du, to-te hen-ña libi, to-yiñ dha-basa*  
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT that-LOC go-CNS after that-ABL that.distant-side

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9 When he said ‘now, where am I to find this sour fruit?’, the shaman told him. 10 ‘The road is a long, long way from here, no one has managed to get there, and those who try die, how will you get there?’ [the shaman said]. 11 Then the ill person said ‘where is this place? Tell me! My sons are young and strong and perhaps they can bring it [the fruit].’ 12 At that time, the mouse, having gone close, listened secretly. 13 The shaman said ‘go from here, then you come to a village full of fire, having gone past that, on the far side, you come to place inhabited by spirits, and after that you come to the place where there are snakes.’

*di-gore mosani-ko thǎi ra-Ø-du, to-yiŋ libi rul*  
 one-CLF spirit-GEN place come.from.level-SAS-NPT that-ABL after snake  
*hok-Ø-du thǎi ra-Ø-du.’ 14 ‘tyaŋ libi di-gore*  
 be-SAS-NPT place come.from.level-SAS-NPT then after one-CLF  
*raŋ-te paŋ pole hok-Ø-du, to-te cijyaŋ-Ø-du*  
 unirrigated.field-LOC sour.fruit tree be-SAS-NPT that-LOC speak-SAS-NPT  
*paŋ icinis-Ø-du, to ra-to-le cya-na-n-be ja-na-du’*  
 sour.fruit be.seen-SAS-NPT that bring-TPP-PCL eat-2s-PT-TOP recover-2s-NPT  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no. 15 uyu nasǎi-to-le oste-ko cyoporok nem-te*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mouse hear-TPP-PCL self-GEN hut house-LOC  
*kyel-Ø-an. 16 libi oste-ko nis-ka ca urou-to-le ‘cijyaŋ-Ø-du*  
 come-SAS-3S/PT after self-GEN two-HNC son call-TPP-PCL speak-SAS-NPT  
*paŋ kyel-ne!’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, nis-ka hu-pali*  
 sour.fruit bring-p→1s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT two-HNC younger.brother-p  
*paŋ daŋ-sa caway-eŋ-an. 17 tyaŋ uyu woi ama-kǎi*  
 sour.fruit search-INF walk-pAS-3S/PT then mouse also mother-PM  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘nan gǎi woi ka-baŋ nama sul-si-ta-ŋa-le*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I also this-Pp with hide-REF-IPP-1s-PCL  
*cijyaŋ-Ø-du paŋ ya-kǎiy-u-n-du, apa-kǎi usare.’*  
 speak-SAS-NPT sour.fruit go-remove-3P-1s→3-NPT father-PM medicine  
 18 *ama-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ni nama apa-be ma-cijyaŋ, naŋ*  
 mother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we with father-TOP NEG-speak you  
*hara-kǎi ya-na-du? nany-e ma-thaŋ, naŋ uyu tha-na-du.’*  
 what-PM go-2s-NPT you-ERG NEG-be.able you mouse be-2s-NPT

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14 ‘And then after that, there is a sour fruit tree in a field, and on that tree a sour fruit can be seen, if you bring that and eat it, then you will recover’, he [the shaman] said. 15 The mouse, having heard [all this], came back to his little hut. 16 Then, calling his two sons, he [the father] said ‘bring me this sour fruit!’, and the two brothers set off to find the fruit. 17 Then the mouse also said to his mother ‘now, I am going to go along with them, hiding myself, and go and get this speaking sour fruit, father’s medicine.’ 18 Mother said to him ‘father doesn’t even speak to us, so why do you want to go? You won’t succeed anyway, you are a mouse.’

- 19 *'to-baŋ-ko ca-pali yey-eŋ-du, ma-tha? ama, gǎi woi ya-ŋa-du,*  
 that-Pp-GEN son-p go-pAS-NPT NEG-be mother I also go-1s-NPT  
*gǎi-gǎi ya-Ø! ŋa-ŋa! ama!'* 20 *'tyaŋ ya-na-du-be, ka racya*  
 I-PM go-s/IMP say-s→1s/IMP mother then go-2s-NPT-TOP this paddy  
*jakcho hen-o! kuta isa-ye karǎi-na-du, to-te cya-Ø!'*  
 wheat take-s→3/IMP where food-INS shout-2s-NPT that-LOC eat-s/IMP  
*ŋa-to-le, bu-si-sa miŋ woi pi-to-le, thoh-Ø-u-no.*  
 say-TPP-PCL cover-REF-INF cloth also give-TPP-PCL send-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 21 *bubu-pali ya-ya woi, di-ka me-ko dese-te*  
 elder.brother-p go-go also one-HNC fire-GEN village-LOC  
*ma-ya-let-tiniŋ nem-te rah-Ø-an, di-ka mosani*  
 NEG-go-appear-PFG house-LOC come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT one-HNC spirit  
*thǎi-te hok-sa ariy-Ø-an.* 22 *uyu-guri cawa-Ø-ta-le,*  
 place-LOC be-INF be.afraid-sAS-3S/PT mouse-IND walk-sAS-IPP-PCL  
*rul-ko dese ya-let-Ø-an.* 23 *libi di-ka bubu woi*  
 snake-GEN village go-appear-sAS-3S/PT after one-HNC elder.brother also  
*to-te nih-Ø-u-no, nis-ka woi cijyaŋ-Ø-du paŋ*  
 that-LOC see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT two-HNC also speak-sAS-NPT sour.fruit  
*ya-kǎiy-eŋ-du.* 24 *bubu-ye uyu-kǎi ni-to-le*  
 go-remove-pAS-NPT elder.brother-ERG mouse-PM see-TPP-PCL  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no 'hu, naŋ kuta-yiŋ kyel-na-n? hara-kǎi*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother you where-ABL come-2s-PT what-PM  
*kyel-na-n?'* 25 *uyu-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'gǎi-be uyu, ka dǎi*  
 come-2s-PT mouse-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG mouse this towards

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19 'Their sons are going, aren't they? Mum, I also want to go, just tell me that I can, mum!' [the mouse said]. 20 'Well then, if you insist on going, then take this paddy and wheat and eat it when you get hungry!', and with this she also gave him clothes to wear and sent him off. 21 As the elder brothers went along their way, one turned back before reaching the village of fire, while the other was afraid to stay in the spirit place. 22 But the mouse, walking, reached the place of the snakes. 23 Later he saw one of his elder brothers there, so it was that the two of them were off to get the speaking sour fruit. 24 The elder brother saw the mouse and said 'younger brother, where have you come from? Why have you come?' 25 The mouse replied 'I may be but a mouse, I have come out walking this way to see some new places.'

*naka naka thǎi yo-sa-kǎi cawa-ŋa-du.* 26 *bubu-ye*  
 new new place look.at-INF-PM walk-1s-NPT elder.brother-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no* ‘*gǎi-be apa-kǎi cijyaŋ-Ø-du paŋ usare*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-TOP father-PM speak-SAS-NPT sour.fruit medicine  
*daŋ-sa cawa-ŋa-du.* 27 ‘*bubu ra-Ø-thyo,*  
 search-INF walk-1s-NPT elder.brother come.from.level-SAS-3SCOND  
*ma-thaŋ-Ø-ta-le, nem dǎi yah-Ø-an.* 28 ‘*naleŋ gǎi dikaca*  
 NEG-be.able-SAS-IPP-PCL house towards go-SAS-3S/PT present I alone  
*hok-ŋa-du, naleŋ isa-ye karǎi-ŋa-n, naŋ nama hara woi hok-Ø-du,*  
 be-1s-NPT present food-INS shout-1s-PT you with what also be-SAS-NPT  
*ra? gǎi-gǎi pi-ŋa!’* 29 *uyu-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no* ‘*gǎi nama-be*  
 or I-PM give-s→1s/IMP mouse-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I with-TOP  
*kaŋti racya, jakcho hok-Ø-du, naŋ ma-cya thaŋun, naŋ ka-te*  
 fresh paddy wheat be-SAS-NPT you NEG-eat maybe you this-LOC  
*hok-a! daŋ-to-le kyel-u-n-du’ ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an.*  
 be-s/IMP search-TPP-PCL bring-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT  
 30 *uyu-ye doron phat-to-le rul-ko isa nah-Ø-u-du*  
 mouse-ERG hole dig.deep-TPP-PCL snake-GEN food put-SAS-3P-NPT  
*thǎi-te ya-Ø-ta-le, cya-sa kyel-Ø-u-no, piy-Ø-u-no,*  
 place-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL eat-INF bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*bubu cyah-Ø-an.* 31 *ṭaye nis-ka to-te ami-sa*  
 elder.brother eat-SAS-3S/PT night two-HNC that-LOC sleep-INF  
*dany-eŋ-no, ṭaye rul-pali rǎy-eŋ-ta-le, mi-kǎi*  
 search-pAS-3→3/PT night snake-p come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL person-PM

26 The elder brother said ‘Well, I am walking out here looking for this sour fruit medicine for father.’ 27 ‘Elder brother had [also] come out, but he wasn’t up to it, and he went home’ [he said]. 28 ‘At present I am all alone here, and now I am hungry, do you have any food with you? If so, give me some!’ [the elder brother said]. 29 The mouse said, ‘I only have raw paddy and wheat with me, and I fear that you can’t eat that, you stay here! I will go and find something and bring it back’, and saying this, he walked off. 30 The mouse, having dug a deep hole, went to the place that the snakes store their food, and brought that back and gave it [to his brother], who ate it up. 31 At night, the two of them tried to sleep right there, but that night snakes came and tried to sting the man.

*dok-sa dany-eŋ-no* 32 *uyu-ye yo-le nah-Ø-u-no,*  
 sting-INF search-PAS-3→3/PT mouse-ERG look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*bubu-kǎi dok-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, uyu-ye rul-ko*  
 elder.brother-PM sting-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT that.time mouse-ERG snake-GEN  
*limek-te cek-Ø-u-no, sakalei rul-pali gare cabu-to-le*  
 tail-LOC bite-SAS-3P-3→3/PT all snake-p wound carry-TPP-PCL  
*caway-eŋ-an.* 33 *libi to-baŋ caway-eŋ-du beryaŋ, cijyaŋ-Ø-du*  
 walk-PAS-3S/PT after that-Pp walk-PAS-NPT that.time speak-SAS-NPT  
*paŋ-te ya-let-eŋ-an, bubu-ye di-gore paŋ*  
 sour.fruit-LOC go-appear-PAS-3S/PT elder.brother-ERG one-CLF sour.fruit  
*kum-to-le yah-Ø-an.* 34 *uyu-ye libi paŋ-ko pole sakalei*  
 pick-TPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT mouse-ERG after sour.fruit-GEN tree all  
*porok-to-le rah-Ø-u-no, su-kǎi woi ma-cikhet-Ø-u-no,*  
 uproot-TPP-PCL bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT who-PM also NEG-show-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*nem-te ra-to-le peŋeh-Ø-u-no.* 35 *ca-ye di-gore paŋ*  
 house-LOC bring-TPP-PCL plant-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son-ERG one-CLF sour.fruit  
*rah-Ø-u-du ni-to-le, apa taŋ-Ø-an, guru-kǎi*  
 bring-SAS-3P-NPT see-TPP-PCL father be.happy-SAS-3S/PT shaman-PM  
*aghyoh-Ø-u-no.* 36 *guru-ye yoh-Ø-u-no 'ra-sa-be*  
 call-SAS-3P-3→3/PT shaman-ERG look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT bring-INF-TOP  
*ra-to-le, libi gaŋ-Ø-ta-le ka di-gore ma-jah-Ø-an, naŋ*  
 bring-TPP-PCL after dry-SAS-IPP-PCL this one-CLF NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT you  
*ja-na-thyo, nan ka ma-ja' ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 37 *libi*  
 recover-2s-3SCOND now this NEG-okay say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after

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32 The mouse was watching, and as one snake tried to sting his elder brother, at that moment he bit its tail and so all the snakes, covered in wounds [lit. carrying their wounds], slithered away. 33 Later, as they were walking, they arrived at the sour fruit [tree], and picking one, the elder turned back. 34 Later the mouse uprooted that whole sour fruit tree and brought it back home without showing it to anyone, and he planted it there. 35 Seeing that his son had brought a sour fruit, father became most happy and called for the shaman. 36 The shaman looked at it and said 'well he brought it well and fine, but now having dried out, this one is no good, you would have been cured, but this one won't do the job.' 37 Later the mouse's mother went and said 'husband, my son the mouse brought a sour fruit for you, and it has blossomed and ripened on the tree.'



*uyu-ko ama ya-Ø-ta-le 'naŋ-kǎi paŋ gǎi-go uyu*  
 mouse-GEN mother go-SAS-IPP-PCL you-PM sour.fruit I-GEN mouse  
*ca-ye ra-le nah-Ø-u-du, pole-te sek-le hok-Ø-du,*  
 son-ERG bring-PCL put-SAS-3P-NPT tree-LOC blossom-PCL be-SAS-NPT  
*lawa' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 38 ka nasǎi-to-le rage-ye ŋe-sa*  
 husband say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this hear-TPP-PCL anger-INS beat-INF  
*daŋ-Ø-u-no 'mi-ye-be di-gore paŋ rah-Ø-u-no,*  
 search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT person-ERG-TOP one-CLF sour.fruit bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*naŋ-ko uyu ca-ye kunyaŋ rah-Ø-u-no?' 39 tyaŋ guru-ye*  
 you-GEN mouse son-ERG how bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then shaman-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ka woi naŋ-ko uma, hok-Ø-du ra, ya-yo-ko'*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this also you-GEN wife be-SAS-NPT or go-look.at-ADH  
*ŋa-to-le yey-eŋ-an. 40 ya-yoy-eŋ-du beryaŋ, to-te*  
 say-TPP-PCL go-pAS-3S/PT go-look.at-pAS-NPT that.time that-LOC  
*cijaŋ-Ø-du paŋ niy-eŋ-no, paŋ hen-to-le lawa-kǎi*  
 speak-SAS-NPT sour.fruit see-pAS-3→3/PT sour.fruit take-TPP-PCL husband-PM  
*piy-eŋ-no. 41 libi lawa taŋ-Ø-an, uyu-kǎi woi*  
 give-pAS-3→3/PT after husband be.happy-SAS-3S/PT mouse-PM also  
*urou-to-le, oste hok-Ø-du nem-te nah-Ø-u-no, to woi*  
 call-TPP-PCL self be-SAS-NPT house-LOC put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that also  
*jah-Ø-an.*  
 recover-SAS-3S/PT

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38 Hearing this he became angry and tried to strike her 'a man brought only one sour fruit, how on earth could your mouse son have brought it [the whole tree]?' 39 Then the shaman said 'she is also your wife, maybe they have one, let's go and take a look', and off they went. 40 When they went to look, they saw a speaking sour fruit, and taking it, they gave it to the husband. 41 Then the husband was most happy, and summoning the mouse, installed him in his own house where he recovered.

## WOMEN NOWADAYS

1 *naleŋ camăi jekha thah-Ø-an-be, nembo-ko nem-te*  
 present daughter big be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP other.person-GEN house-LOC  
*ya-Ø-ta-le oste-ko nem khem-ko măi-Ø-du. 2 camăi, jekha*  
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN house build-ADH must-SAS-NPT daughter big  
*dese-ko, ucya dese-ko, sakalei di-gore thay-eŋ-du. 3 jekha*  
 village-GEN small village-GEN all one-CLF be-PAS-NPT big  
*dese-ko camăi-pali naka miŋ bu-siy-eŋ-du, naka jet*  
 village-GEN daughter-p new cloth cover-REF-PAS-NPT new work  
*lony-eŋ-du. 4 ucya dese-ko camăi-pali-ye uniŋ jet loŋ-sa*  
 do-PAS-NPT small village-GEN daughter-p-ERG like work do-INF  
*ma-thany-eŋ. 5 ălămtha cawa-sa ma-thany-eŋ, isa ken*  
 NEG-be.able-PAS distant walk-INF NEG-be.able-PAS food vegetable.curry  
*loŋ-sa ma-săiy-eŋ. 6 ucya dese-ko camăica-ye thaŋna miŋ*  
 do-INF NEG-know-PAS small village-GEN woman-ERG old cloth  
*bu-siy-eŋ-le woi, jet loŋ-sa thany-eŋ-du. 7 ŋhi-ko*  
 cover-REF-PAS-PCL also work do-INF be.able-PAS-NPT fodder-GEN  
*demca cabu-to-le, nem-te ray-eŋ-du, seŋ*  
 load carry-TPP-PCL house-LOC come.from.level-PAS-NPT wood  
*daŋ-to-le, jekha demca cabuy-eŋ-du. 8 naleŋ jekha dese-ko*  
 search-TPP-PCL big load carry-PAS-NPT present big village-GEN  
*camăi ka uniŋ loŋ-sa ma-thany-eŋ. 9 seŋ-ko demca*  
 daughter this like do-INF NEG-be.able-PAS wood-GEN load

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1 Now that daughter has grown up, it's time for her to go to another house and build a home. 2 Daughters, whether they come from big villages or small ones, are all the same. 3 Daughters from cities [lit. big villages] wear new clothes and do new jobs. 4 They are not able to work in the way that the daughters from smaller villages are. 5 They are not able to walk long distances and they don't know how to cook. 6 Women from small villages are able to work even when they [have to] wear old clothes. 7 Carrying a load of fodder they come home, searching for wood they carry huge loads. 8 These days, urban [lit. big village] women aren't able to do this. 9 Bringing a load of firewood, having sat for a moment, they eat roasted maize.

*ra-to-le, hok-ŋa libi, aŋek-si-Ø-du makäi cey-eŋ-du.*  
 bring-TPP-PCL be-CNS after roast-REF-SAS-NPT maize eat-pAS-NPT  
 10 *ma-hok-Ø-an-be, oste me mut-to-le, isa uman-to-le yante-te*  
 NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT self fire blow-TPP-PCL food cook-TPP-PCL quern-LOC  
*phase ney-eŋ-to-le, saŋa-ko makäi-ko isa cey-eŋ-du woi*  
 flour grind-pAS-TPP-PCL millet-GEN maize-GEN food eat-pAS-NPT also  
*sarma thay-eŋ-du. 11 jekha dese-ko camäi-pali jet-yiŋ*  
 strong be-pAS-NPT big village-GEN daughter-p work-ABL  
*kyel-eŋ-du, jet loŋ-sa mi-ye isa ken sola*  
 come-pAS-NPT work do-INF person-ERG food vegetable.curry snack  
*uman-to-le piy-Ø-u-du. 12 ray-eŋ-ta-le, cey-eŋ-du,*  
 cook-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-NPT come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL eat-pAS-NPT  
*ma-hok-Ø-an-be rage thay-eŋ-ta-le hok-eŋ-du. 13 libi 'nan*  
 NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP anger be-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-NPT after now  
*camäi hara cya-Ø-du?' ŋa-to-le, to-käi cya-sa ali-Ø-du sola*  
 daughter what eat-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL that-PM eat-INF like-SAS-NPT snack  
*pi-ko mäi-Ø-du. 14 ma-pi-ŋa, to apa ama-käi*  
 give-ADH must-SAS-NPT NEG-give-CNS that father mother-PM  
*kaŋa-Ø-ta-le priŋ let-Ø-du. 15 ka uniŋ ucya dese-te*  
 scold-SAS-IPP-PCL outside appear-SAS-NPT this like small village-LOC  
*thah-Ø-an-be, to cya-sa ma-khalam. 16 hok-Ø-du-ko nem-te,*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP that eat-INF NEG-receive be-SAS-NPT-GEN house-LOC  
*phase ney-eŋ-to-le cey-eŋ-du, ma-hok-Ø-du-ko nem-te,*  
 flour grind-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-pAS-NPT NEG-be-SAS-NPT-GEN house-LOC

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10 If there is no [food], then stoking their own fire, cooking their [own] food, grinding millet or maize flour in a quern, they eat and yet still remain young and strong. 11 When urban women come home from their work, then the domestic help cooks their meals and snacks and serves them. 12 Having come, they eat, and if it's not ready, then they get angry and sit around. 13 Later, when you ask 'now what will daughter eat?', you have to give her her favourite snack. 14 If you don't give her [what she wants], then she shouts at her father and mother and runs outside [in a huff]. 15 If she behaved like this in a small village, then she wouldn't get anything to eat. 16 In houses that have it, they grind flour to eat, in those that don't, they eat watery food, but even they are happy.

*thel thel isa cey-eŋ-du, to woi tany-eŋ-du. 17 ucya*  
 watery watery food eat-PAS-NPT that also be.happy-PAS-NPT small  
*dese-te camăi-pali di uni ka ray pebu*  
 village-LOC daughter-p one day throughout unirrigated.field irrigated.field  
*to-sa yey-eŋ-du, unise makăi moŋe maŋăi sola cey-eŋ-du,*  
 dig-INF go-PAS-NPT afternoon maize soybean bread snack eat-PAS-NPT  
*to woi asare ni-Ø-du uniŋ cey-eŋ-du. 18 nyoŋi tha-Ø-du,*  
 that also tasty appear-SAS-NPT like eat-PAS-NPT evening be-SAS-NPT  
*lak-te tokolok cabuy-eŋ-to-le nem-te ray-eŋ-du.*  
 hand-LOC hoe carry-PAS-TPP-PCL house-LOC come.from.level-PAS-NPT  
 19 *nem-te hok-Ø-du hara hara cey-eŋ-du, ɬaye amiy-eŋ-du.*  
 house-LOC be-SAS-NPT what what eat-PAS-NPT night sleep-PAS-NPT  
 20 *ami-sa beryaŋ ‘nan baŋe su-ko jet ya-ta-ŋa-le,*  
 sleep-INF that.time now tomorrow who-GEN work go-IPP-1s-PCL  
*cya-sa khalam-u-n-du thaŋun?’ ŋa-to-le kapu-te lak*  
 eat-INF receive-3P-1s→3-NPT maybe say-TPP-PCL head-LOC hand  
*na-to-le amiy-eŋ-du. 21 băsinte tha-Ø-du, gare ikhe-Ø-du*  
 put-TPP-PCL sleep-PAS-NPT morning be-SAS-NPT rooster crow-SAS-NPT  
*beryaŋ, serek-eŋ-ta-le sya ɬuni hok-Ø-du-yiŋ, to-te yey-eŋ-du.*  
 that.time arise-PAS-IPP-PCL cow goat be-SAS-NPT-ABL that-LOC go-PAS-NPT  
 22 *sya-kăi ɬhi piy-eŋ-to-le, nem-te*  
 cow-PM fodder give-PAS-TPP-PCL house-LOC  
*ray-eŋ-ta-le, isa ken uman-eŋ-to-le,*  
 come.from.level-PAS-IPP-PCL food vegetable.curry cook-PAS-TPP-PCL

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17 In small villages, daughters dig the fields all day long, in the afternoon, they eat snacks of maize, soybean and bread, and eat it all as if it were delicious. 18 In the evening, carrying their hoes, they come home. 19 They eat whatever there is at home, and then sleep all night. 20 When it's time to sleep, they put their hands to their heads thinking 'now, where will I work tomorrow and will I get anything to eat?', and in this way they fall asleep. 21 And then it's morning, and they get up as the cockerel crows, and if they have cows and goats, then they go to the animal shed. 22 Having given the cows fodder, come back home again and cooked the food, they then have to go out to work for someone else.

*nembo-ko jet-te hen-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 23 ka uniŋ*  
 other.person-GEN work-LOC go-ADH must-SAS-NPT this like  
*lony-eŋ-to-le ucya dese-ko camǎi-pali moy-eŋ-du. 24 jekha*  
 do-pAS-TPP-PCL small village-GEN daughter-p live-pAS-NPT big  
*dese-ko camǎi-pali jet lony-eŋ-to-le ray-eŋ-du*  
 village-GEN daughter-p work do-pAS-TPP-PCL come.from.level-pAS-NPT  
*ugo-te cya-sa piy-eŋ-du. 25 ucya dese-ko mi-ko 'nan*  
 mouth-LOC eat-INF give-pAS-NPT small village-GEN person-GEN now  
*huca-pali-kǎi naka wakhe řisen-ko mǎiy-Ø-an' řa-to-le, kutaleŋ*  
 child-p-PM new word teach-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL when  
*woi kapu-te ma-hok. 26 kunyaŋ huca-pali-kǎi naka wakhe řisen-sa,*  
 also head-LOC NEG-be how child-p-PM new word teach-INF  
*ka woi ma-sǎiy-eŋ. 27 ahe huca-pali thay-eŋ-du, jekha huca-ye*  
 this also NEG-know-PAS many child-p be-pAS-NPT big child-ERG  
*ucya huca-kǎi yo-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 28 apa ama jet-te*  
 small child-PM look.at-ADH must-SAS-NPT father mother work-LOC  
*yey-eŋ-du, jekha ca camǎi-ye ucya huca cabu-ko mǎi-Ø-du.*  
 go-pAS-NPT big son daughter-ERG small child carry-ADH must-SAS-NPT  
 29 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le, naka wakhe řisen-si-sa ma-thany-eŋ.*  
 this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL new word teach-REF-INF NEG-be.able-pAS  
 30 *libi dicip walřa thah-Ø-an-be bore lony-eŋ-du, tyaŋ apa*  
 after ten five be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP marriage do-pAS-NPT then father  
*ama uniŋ thay-eŋ-du. 31 naleŋ-guri ucya dese-ko camǎi-pali*  
 mother like be-pAS-NPT present-IND small village-GEN daughter-p

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23 Working in this manner is how daughters from small villages live. 24 When urban women come home from work, food is put in their mouths. 25 'Now, we should teach our children some new things', is something that never enters the head of people from small villages. 26 Even how to teach their children new things they don't know. 27 There are many children, and the older ones have to keep an eye on the younger ones. 28 The parents go to work, and the elder sons and daughters must carry the smaller children. 29 Things being like this, they are not ever able to learn new things [go to school]. 30 When they are fifteen, they get married, and become like their parents. 31 At present, some daughters from small villages go to cities, taking with them daughters from small villages who have nothing to eat.

*kundu kundu jekha dese yey-eη-ta-le, cya-sa ma-khalam-eη-du*  
 which which big village go-pAS-IPP-PCL eat-INF NEG-receive-pAS-NPT  
*ucya dese-ko camăi-pali hen-eη-to-le yey-eη-du. 32 ka uniη*  
 small village-GEN daughter-p take-pAS-TPP-PCL go-pAS-NPT this like  
*tha-∅-ta-le, hara woi ma-săiy-eη-du huca-pali-kăi gwi-le*  
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL what also NEG-know-pAS-NPT child-p-PM thief-ERG  
*khalam-∅-u-du. 33 ‘naη-kăi gă-ye bore loη-na-ηa-du’ ηay-eη-du,*  
 meet-SAS-3P-NPT you-PM I-ERG marriage do-2s-1s-NPT say-pAS-NPT  
*hen-eη-du, libi to camăi-kăi begale nama pepelek*  
 take-pAS-NPT after that daughter-PM other with money  
*phay-eη-to-le piy-eη-du. 34 to wakhe*  
 put.out.hand.to.receive-pAS-TPP-PCL give-pAS-NPT that word  
*camăi-pali-ye ma-thaha săiy-eη, tyaη maη piy-eη-to-le,*  
 daughter-p-ERG NEG-knowledge know-pAS then body give-pAS-TPP-PCL  
*begale-ye pepelek phah-∅-u-du. 35 kundu kundu jekha*  
 other-ERG money put.out.hand.to.receive-SAS-3P-NPT which which big  
*mi-ko nem-te jet loη-sa hok-eη-du, apraca tha-∅-du.*  
 person-GEN house-LOC work do-INF be-pAS-NPT good be-SAS-NPT  
 36 *ka uniη tha-∅-du, ucya dese-ko camăi-ko maη camăi-pali*  
 this like be-SAS-NPT small village-GEN daughter-GEN body daughter-p  
*hen-eη-to-le nem duη-ηaη nay-eη-du. 37 apa ama-ye*  
 take-pAS-TPP-PCL house within-inside put-pAS-NPT father mother-ERG  
*prīη dany-eη-du, camăi ma-khalam-eη. 38 ‘nan camăi*  
 outside search-pAS-NPT daughter NEG-meet-pAS now daughter

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32 In this way, children who know nothing are introduced to crooks. 33 ‘I will marry you’, they say, and they take them, but later they sell these daughters to others for money. 34 Not knowing about this, the daughters give their bodies, and strangers pay for it. 35 A few find work in the houses of important people, which is good. 36 In this way, taking the bodies of the daughters from small villages, they hide them inside houses [to be sex workers]. 37 The father and mother look for the daughter outside, but they don’t find her. 38 ‘Now our daughter is lost [forever]’, they cry, but the daughter is actually in someone else’s house giving her body to others for money.

*tam-Ø-an'*      *ηay-eη-to-le*      *kerep-eη-du, camăi*      *di-ka-ko*  
 be.lost-SAS-3S/PT    say-PAS-TPP-PCL    cry-PAS-NPT    daughter    one-HNC-GEN  
*nem-te*      *pepelek daη-to-le,*      *begale-kăi maη*      *piy-Ø-u-du.*  
 house-LOC    money    search-TPP-PCL    other-PM    body    give-SAS-3P-NPT  
 39 *libi to nem-yiη*      *ṭhoṇi*      *tha-Ø-ta-le,*      *tortah-Ø-u-du,*      *to*  
     after    that    house-ABL    old.woman    be-SAS-IPP-PCL    leave-SAS-3P-NPT    that  
*uniη jet*      *daη-Ø-u-du.*      40 *nan to-kăi*      *su-ye*      *woi ma-nay-eη,*  
 like    work    search-SAS-3P-NPT      now    that-PM    who-ERG    also    NEG-put-PAS  
*ṭaye ṭaye cawa-Ø-ta-le*      *cahuca daη-Ø-u-du,*      *tyaη libi*  
 night    night    walk-SAS-IPP-PCL    man      search-SAS-3P-NPT    then    after  
*ṭhoṇi*      *tha-Ø-ta-le,*      *kerep-Ø-ta-le*      *hok-ko măi-Ø-du,*      *ucya*  
 old.woman    be-SAS-IPP-PCL    cry-SAS-IPP-PCL    be-ADH    must-SAS-NPT    small  
*dese-ko*      *camăi-pali.*  
 village-GEN    daughter-p

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39 Later, when she is old, she is thrown out of that house [i.e. the brothel], and she sets off to find similar work elsewhere. 40 Now, no one takes her in, and all night she walks [the streets] looking for men, and then, having become old, she sits around crying, these are daughters from small villages.

## CUCUMBER

1 *di-ka-ko ama camăi hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *camăi jekha*  
 one-HNC-GEN mother daughter be-PAS-3SCOND daughter big  
*tha-Ø-ta-le, ðamari nama bore loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 3 *bore*  
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL son.in.law with marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT marriage  
*loŋ-Ø-u-du ahe tha-Ø-ta-le, di uni camăi nama*  
 do-SAS-3P-NPT much be-SAS-IPP-PCL one day daughter with  
*hok-Ø-ta-le wakhe loŋ-sa aliy-Ø-an.* 4 *di uni, camăi-ko*  
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL word do-INF like-SAS-3S/PT one day daughter-GEN  
*nem-te hen-sa-kăi daŋ-Ø-u-no.* 5 *di uni, oste-ko nem*  
 house-LOC go-INF-PM search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day self-GEN house  
*ti-to-le dese mi-kăi ŋa-to-le camăi-ko nem dăi*  
 close-TPP-PCL village person-PM say-TPP-PCL daughter-GEN house towards  
*cawah-Ø-an.* 6 *ulam ălămtha hok-Ø-thyo.* 7 *ălămtha hok-le woi,*  
 walk-SAS-3S/PT road distant be-SAS-3SCOND distant be-PCL also  
*thoŋi camăi khalam-sa-kăi cawah-Ø-an.* 8 *thoŋi di-gore*  
 old.woman daughter meet-INF-PM walk-SAS-3S/PT old.woman one-CLF  
*ukhiŋ thăi-te ya-let-Ø-an.* 9 *to-ŋaŋ di-gore loŋe*  
 dark place-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT that-inside one-CLF jackal  
*khalam-Ø-u-no, loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'thoŋi, nan naŋ-kăi*  
 meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman now you-PM  
*cya-na-ŋa-du, găi isa ma-cya-ŋa-du yaŋ sum uni thah-Ø-an.'*  
 eat-2s-1s-NPT I food NEG-eat-1s-NPT today three day be-SAS-3S/PT

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1 There once lived a mother and daughter. 2 When she grew up she married a man [who became son-in-law]. 3 Many years after getting married, one day she [the mother] wanted to sit with her daughter because she wanted to talk. 4 One day, she tried to find a way to her daughter's house. 5 One day, she locked up her house and telling the villagers, set off to her daughter's house. 6 The road was long. 7 Despite being a long way away, the old woman set off to meet with her daughter. 8 The old woman came to a dark place. 9 In that place, she came across a jackal, and the jackal said to her 'old lady, I am going to eat you as I haven't eaten anything for three whole days.'



10 ‘*yaŋ naŋ gǎi-go isa tha-ta-na-le ra-na-n, nan gǎ-ye*  
 today you I-GEN food be-IPP-2s-PCL come.from.level-2s-PT now I-ERG  
*cya-na-ŋa-du.*’ 11 ‘*hok-a! nan gǎi-go wakhe nasǎiy-o! tyañ gǎi-gǎi*  
 eat-2s-1s-NPT be-s/IMP now I-GEN word hear-s→3/IMP then I-PM  
*cya-sa ja-Ø-du’ thoni-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 12 ‘*yaŋ gǎi*  
 eat-INF okay-SAS-NPT old.woman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT today I  
*camǎi-ko nem-te cawa-ŋa-du, gǎ-ye camǎi ma-khalam-u-n-du*  
 daughter-GEN house-LOC walk-1s-NPT I-ERG daughter NEG-meet-3P-1s→3-NPT  
*aye thah-Ø-an, to-yiŋ ra-ŋa libi gǎi-gǎi cya-ŋa!’*  
 much be-SAS-3S/PT that-ABL come.from.level-CNS after I-PM eat-s→1s/IMP

13 ‘*naleŋ gǎi-go maŋ woi apraca ma-hok.*’ 14 ‘*gǎi sarma*  
 present I-GEN body also good NEG-be I strong  
*tha-ta-ŋa-le ra-ŋa-du’ thoni-ko wakhe nasǎi-to-le,*  
 be-IPP-1s-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT old.woman-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL  
*loŋe-ye woi tortah-Ø-u-no.* 15 *thoni camǎi-ko khen*  
 jackal-ERG also leave-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman daughter-GEN face  
*yo-sa-kǎi ya-Ø-du, bophura ari-Ø-ta-le.* 16 *cawah-Ø-an,*  
 look.at-INF-PM go-SAS-NPT pity be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT  
 ‘*nan-guri ka uniŋ ma-tha thajun’ ŋa-to-le.* 17 *ya-ya woi*  
 now-IND this like NEG-be maybe say-TPP-PCL go-go also  
*walŋa-gore makar khalam-Ø-u-no, ŋay-eŋ-no ‘thoni, nan*  
 five-CLF monkey meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT say-pAS-3→3/PT old.woman you  
*kyel-ta-na-le, nan naŋ-kǎi ni-ye cya-wa-du.’* 18 *sakalei*  
 come-IPP-2s-PCL now you-PM we-ERG eat-1p→23-NPT all

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10 ‘Today, you have come to be my meal, I am going to eat you’ [he said]. 11 ‘Sit down! Listen to what I have to say! Then you can eat me’, the old woman said. 12 ‘Today, I am off to my daughter’s house, and I haven’t seen my daughter for a very long time, when I have come back from there, eat me then!’ [she said]. 13 ‘And at present, my body is no good anyway.’ 14 ‘I will return stronger and younger’, [she said], and hearing the old woman’s words, the jackal let her go. 15 The old woman sets off to see her daughter’s face, poor thing, she was so scared. 16 She walked, thinking ‘well, I hope that there’s no more experiences like that.’ 17 As she went along her way, she met five monkeys who said to her ‘old lady, now that you have come, we are going to eat you.’ 18 Each of the monkeys, being all excited, showed his own dance.

*makar-pali-ye oste oste-ko usya cikhet-eη-no tany-eη-ta-le.*  
 monkey-p-ERG self self-GEN dance show-pAS-3→3/PT be.happy-pAS-IPP-PCL  
 19 *θhoηi-ye ηah-∅-u-no ‘gǎi camǎi-ko nem-te*  
 old.woman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I daughter-GEN house-LOC  
*cawa-ηa-du, ra-ηa libi cya-ne!’ ηa-to-le loηe-kǎi*  
 walk-1s-NPT come.from.level-CNS after eat-p→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL jackal-PM  
*uniη ηah-∅-u-no. 20 ‘ma-tha, ni-ye naη-kǎi yaη cya-ko*  
 like say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-be we-ERG you-PM today eat-ADH  
*mǎi-∅-du, mi hok-∅-du θǎi-te ni yey-i-n-be, ni-kǎi*  
 must-sAS-NPT person be-sAS-NPT place-LOC we go-1pPS-PT-TOP we-PM  
*kucu-kǎi ci-poy-eη-du’ ηay-eη-no. 21 θhoηi-ye*  
 dog-PM CAUS-chase-pAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT old.woman-ERG  
*ηah-∅-u-no ‘ma-tha, gǎi ka ulam ra-ta-ηa-le, libi*  
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-be I this road come.from.level-IPP-1s-PCL after  
*niny-e cya-ne!’ ηa-to-le cawah-∅-an. 22 θhoηi ya-ya*  
 you(p)-ERG eat-p→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT old.woman go-go  
*woi di θǎi du jom-eη-du θǎi-te ya-let-∅-an*  
 also one place tiger gather.together-pAS-NPT place-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT  
*‘nan-guri mo-sa ma-mǎi’ ηa-to-le jagap-∅-an.*  
 now-IND survive-INF NEG-must say-TPP-PCL faint-sAS-3S/PT  
 23 *θhoηi-kǎi du-ye ηah-∅-u-no ‘ama, gǎi ηaη gǎi-go*  
 old.woman-PM tiger-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT mother I and I-GEN  
*huca-pali kit uni ka isa ma-cya-ta-i-le, hok-le*  
 child-p nine day throughout food NEG-eat-IPP-1pPS-PCL be-PCL

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19 The old woman said ‘I am now going to my daughter’s house, eat me on the way back!’, and she told them like she had told the jackal. 20 ‘No way, we must eat you now, if we go to the place that humans live then they set their dogs on us to chase us away’, they said. 21 The old woman said ‘No, when I come back along this road, eat me then!’, and saying this, she walked off. 22 As the woman walked, she arrived at a gathering place of tigers, and thinking to herself ‘now this part I won’t survive’, she fainted. 23 One tiger said to the old woman ‘mother, my children and I sit here not having eaten for nine days.’

*hok-i-du.*' 24 'yaŋ naŋ ra-ta-na-le, ni-ko cici.'  
 be-1pPS-NPT today you come.from.level-IPP-2s-PCL we-GEN meat  
 25 *nan ʃoŋi-ye* 'camăi-ko khen ma-tha, cămăi-ko  
 now old.woman-ERG daughter-GEN face NEG-be daughter-GEN  
*apa-ko khen nih-u-n-uŋ* 'ŋa-to-le ma-cijyaŋ-tiniŋ  
 father-GEN face see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT say-TPP-PCL NEG-speak-PFG  
*hok-Ø-an.* 26 'tyaŋ si-le woi e-si-ŋa!' ŋa-to-le,  
 be-SAS-3S/PT then die-PCL also OPT-die-s→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL  
*ʃoŋi-ye* ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ma-tha, găi-găi tortah-o!, găi  
 old.woman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-be I-PM leave-s→3/IMP I  
*cămăi-ko khen yo-to-le ra-ŋa-du, niŋ ka-te*  
 daughter-GEN face look.at-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT you(p) this-LOC  
*hok-ne!, tyaŋ libi cya-ne!*' 27 *du-pali-ye tortay-eŋ-no,*  
 be-p/IMP then after eat-p→1s/IMP tiger-p-ERG leave-pAS-3→3/PT  
*ʃoŋi* *cămăi-ko nem-te ya-let-ko sow-Ø-an.*  
 old.woman daughter-GEN house-LOC go-appear-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT  
 28 *cămăi-kăi ulam-ko hara woi wakhe ma-ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 daughter-PM road-GEN what also word NEG-say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 29 *cămăi-ko nem-te hok-Ø-an, libi oste-ko nem-te hen-sa*  
 daughter-GEN house-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT after self-GEN house-LOC go-INF  
*uni ra-let-Ø-an.* 30 *sumaka hok-sa*  
 day come.from.level-appear-SAS-3S/PT silent be-INF  
*ma-thaŋ-Ø-u-no, cămăi-kăi habi-ko ulam-te-ko wakhe*  
 NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter-PM before-GEN road-LOC-GEN word

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24 'Today you have come [to be] our meat.' 25 Now the old lady thought 'now I am not seeing my daughter's face, but my daughter's father's face', as she sat there not saying a thing. 26 Thinking 'well, if I die, then let me die!', the old woman thought as she said 'no, let me go! I will come back once I have seen my daughter's face, you lot stay here! Eat me later!' 27 The tigers let her go and the old woman was about to reach her daughter's house. 28 She didn't tell her daughter anything about what had happened on the way. 29 She stayed at her daughter's house and then the day to go back to her own house came around. 30 Unable to sit silently, she told her daughter everything that had happened before on the road.

*sakalei ci-nasăiy-Ø-u-no.* 31 *camăi woi săi-Ø-du mi*  
 all CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter also know-SAS-NPT person  
*hok-Ø-thyo ‘ama, naŋ sumaka hok-a! gă-ye loŋ-u-n-du, naŋ-kăi*  
 be-SAS-3SCOND mother you silent be-s/IMP I-ERG do-3P-1s→3-NPT you-PM  
*hara-ye woi ma-cya’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 32 *nan nem-te hen-sa*  
 what-ERG also NEG-eat say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now house-LOC go-INF  
*thah-Ø-an, camăi-ye ama-kăi di-gore phaŋu duŋ-ŋaŋ*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT daughter-ERG mother-PM one-CLF pumpkin within-inside  
*tham-Ø-u-no.* 33 *adhăi-kăi ulam cikhet-to-le, phaŋu*  
 insert-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cucumber-PM road show-TPP-PCL pumpkin  
*cabu-to-le hen-Ø-u-no.* 34 *adhăi ulam-te ya-Ø-du*  
 carry-TPP-PCL take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cucumber road-LOC go-SAS-NPT  
*beryaŋ, ulam-te habi-ko du makar-pali hok-le hok-eŋ-thyo.*  
 that.time road-LOC before-GEN tiger monkey-p be-PCL be-pAS-3SCOND  
 35 *‘kutaleŋ thoŋi ra-Ø-du ra?’ cya-sa-kăi*  
 when old.woman come.from.level-SAS-NPT or eat-INF-PM  
*ŋa-to-le hok-eŋ-thyo.* 36 *adhăi-ye thoŋi-kăi*  
 say-TPP-PCL be-pAS-3SCOND cucumber-ERG old.woman-PM  
*cabuh-Ø-u-du, to-bany-e ma-niy-eŋ-no, ulam-te du-ye*  
 carry-SAS-3P-NPT that-Pp-ERG NEG-see-pAS-3→3/PT road-LOC tiger-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘adhăi, ni-ko thoŋi nih-u-na-n?’*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cucumber we-GEN old.woman see-3P-2s-PT  
 37 *thoŋi-ye phaŋu duŋ-yiŋ jekha sare-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no*  
 old.woman-ERG pumpkin within-ABL big voice-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

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31 The daughter was also a wise person and said ‘mother, sit still! I will do everything, nothing is going to eat you.’ 32 Now it was time to go home, so the daughter put her mother inside a pumpkin. 33 Showing a cucumber the way, it [the cucumber] carried the pumpkin away. 34 As the cucumber went along the road, the tiger and monkeys from before were sitting there on the road [waiting]. 35 ‘When will the old woman come?’, they thought as they sat there waiting to eat her. 36 They didn’t see the cucumber carrying the old woman, but then on the road the tiger said to the cucumber ‘hey cucumber, have you seen our old lady?’ 37 The old woman spoke in a loud voice from inside the pumpkin ‘what would we know about your old lady? I have no idea.’

*'naŋ-ko ʃhoŋi ni-kǎi hara jet? gǎi ma-sǎi.'* 38 *'cawa-Ø!*  
 you-GEN old.woman we-GEN what work I NEG-know walk-s/IMP  
*adhǎi! oste-ko ulam' ŋah-Ø-u-no, du kerep-Ø-an 'nan*  
 cucumber self-GEN road say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tiger cry-SAS-3S/PT you  
*ʃhoŋi kutaleŋ ra-Ø-du ra cya-sa' ŋa-to-le*  
 old.woman when come.from.level-SAS-NPT or eat-INF say-TPP-PCL  
*hok-Ø-an.* 39 *'ʃhoŋi rah-Ø-an-be, gǎ-ye kanʃi woi*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT old.woman come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT-TOP I-ERG raw also  
*cya-ŋa-thyo.'* 40 *rage-ye di-gore pole-te suwa sap-Ø-u-no.*  
 eat-1s-3SECOND anger-INS one-CLF tree-LOC tooth stab-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 41 *to libi siy-Ø-an, ugo-yiŋ coi let-Ø-an du-ko.*  
 that after die-SAS-3S/PT mouth-ABL blood appear-SAS-3S/PT tiger-GEN  
 42 *nan makar-pali hok-eŋ-du ʃhǎi-te ya-let-Ø-an, makar-pali*  
 now monkey-p be-pAS-NPT place-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT monkey-p  
*adhǎi yo-sa-kǎi ray-eŋ-an.* 43 *to-bany-e*  
 cucumber look.at-INF-PM come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT that-PP-ERG  
*ŋay-eŋ-no 'adhǎi bubu, nany-e ni-ko ʃhoŋi*  
 say-pAS-3→3/PT cucumber elder.brother you-ERG we-GEN old.woman  
*ama-kǎi nih-u-na-n?'* 44 *phaʃu duŋ-yiŋ ʃhoŋi-ye 'naŋ-ko*  
 mother-PM see-3P-2s-PT pumpkin within-ABL old.woman-ERG you-GEN  
*ama gǎ-ye ma-ni, kuta hok-Ø-du?' ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an.*  
 mother I-ERG NEG-see where be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT  
 45 *makar-pali-kǎi rage let-Ø-an, to-te hok-eŋ-an ʃhoŋi*  
 monkey-p-PM anger appear-SAS-3S/PT that-LOC be-pAS-3S/PT old.woman

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38 'Walk on cucumber! On your way', she [the old woman] said, and the tiger cried, 'now when will that old lady ever come and when will we eat?', he said as he sat [and waited]. 39 'If that old maid comes, I would even eat her raw' [the tiger said]. 40 In anger, he stabbed his teeth into a nearby tree. 41 After that the tiger died, and blood poured from his mouth. 42 Now they reached the place that the monkeys lived, and all the monkeys came to look at the cucumber. 43 They said 'elder brother cucumber, have you seen our old woman?' 44 From inside the pumpkin, the old woman walked off saying 'I haven't seen your old mother, now where could she be?' 45 The monkeys got angry and stayed sitting there, the old woman inside the pumpkin was sitting there all happy.

*phaṭu duŋ-ŋaŋ taŋ-Ø-ta-le hok-le hok-Ø-du.* 46 *nan*  
 pumpkin within-inside be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL be-PCL be-SAS-NPT now  
*loŋe-te ya-let-Ø-an, nan makar du*  
 jackal-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT now monkey tiger  
*ray-eŋ-ta-le, loŋe-kăi ŋay-eŋ-no ‘loŋe hu,*  
 come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL jackal-PM say-pAS-3→3/PT jackal younger.brother  
*nan ni-kăi ʃhoŋi-ye ‘ra-ŋa-du’ ŋa-to-le*  
 now we-PM old.woman-ERG come.from.level-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*yah-Ø-an, yaŋ ka ma-rah-Ø-an, hara loŋ-sa?’*  
 go-SAS-3S/PT today throughout NEG-come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT what do-INF  
 47 *to beryaŋ adhăi loŋe nama wakhe loŋ-to-le hok-le*  
 that that.time cucumber jackal with word do-TPP-PCL be-PCL  
*hok-Ø-thyo.* 48 *‘adhăi, ni-ko ʃhoŋi ama nih-u-na-n?’*  
 be-SAS-3SCOND cucumber we-GEN old.woman mother see-3P-2s-PT  
*‘gă-ye ma-ni’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 49 *tyaŋ loŋe kherte ya-Ø-ta-le*  
 I-ERG NEG-see say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then jackal near go-SAS-IPP-PCL  
*hok-Ø-an, habi ya-Ø-ta-le to hen-sa ʃhăi-te di-gore seŋ*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT before go-SAS-IPP-PCL that go-INF place-LOC one-CLF wood  
*sapuh-Ø-u-no.* 50 *ya-Ø-du beryaŋ, seŋ-te*  
 stab-SAS-3P-3→3/PT go-SAS-NPT that.time wood-LOC  
*trak-Ø-ta-le, phaṭu ʃthem-Ø-an.* 51 *loŋe woi*  
 make.itself.present-SAS-IPP-PCL pumpkin crack-SAS-3S/PT jackal also  
*kherte ɖapu-to-le hok-le hok-Ø-thyo.* 52 *loŋe-ye to*  
 near peek-TPP-PCL be-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND jackal-ERG that

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46 Now she arrived at the jackal's place, and the monkeys and tiger having also come, said to the jackal 'younger brother jackal, now the old woman said to us 'I will come', and we let her go, but to this day she hasn't returned, what shall we do?' 47 At that time, the cucumber was sitting speaking with the jackal. 48 'Cucumber, have you seen our old mum?' [the jackal said], 'I haven't seen a thing', the cucumber replied. 49 And then the jackal came and sat a bit closer, sometime before having already stabbed a piece of wood into the ground in that very place. 50 As it [the cucumber] walked, it bumped into the stick, and the pumpkin cracked open. 51 The jackal then had a really good nose around. 52 The jackal saw the old woman and was most pleased, saying 'now how on earth could there be a speaking cucumber?'

*thoṇi-kăi nih-Ø-u-no, taṇ-Ø-ta-le ṇah-Ø-u-no*  
 old.woman-PM see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*'kuta woi adhăi cijyaṇ-Ø-du?' ṇa-to-le. 53 loṇe-ye sakalei*  
 where also cucumber speak-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL jackal-ERG all  
*du makar-pali-kăi ṇah-Ø-u-no 'niṇ ra-ne!'*  
 tiger monkey-p-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p) come.from.level-p/IMP  
 54 *thoṇi-ye ṇah-Ø-u-no 'nan găi-găi cya-ne! cya-sa*  
 old.woman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I-PM eat-p→1s/IMP eat-INF  
*habi me-te uman-to-le cya-ṇa-be apraca tha-Ø-du.'*  
 before fire-LOC cook-TPP-PCL eat-CNS-TOP good be-SAS-NPT  
 55 *sakalei-ye 'ja-Ø-du' ṇay-eṇ-no, me mut-eṇ-no, me*  
 all-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT fire blow-pAS-3→3/PT fire  
*tiy-Ø-an. 56 'nan bhutbhute e-tha-Ø, tyaṇ găi-găi jyou-to-le*  
 burn-SAS-3S/PT now white.hot.fire OPT-be-SAS then I-PM burn-TPP-PCL  
*cya-ne!'* *ṇah-Ø-u-no. 57 libi bhutbhute thah-Ø-an,*  
 eat-p→1s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after white.hot.fire be-SAS-3S/PT  
*thoṇi-ye lak-te na-to-le sakalei-ko mesek-te*  
 old.woman-ERG hand-LOC put-TPP-PCL all-GEN eye-LOC  
*lat-Ø-u-no. 58 to-baṇ mesek ma-niy-eṇ-to-le, to-te*  
 sprinkle-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-pp eye NEG-see-pAS-TPP-PCL that-LOC  
*ṭṭiṇy-eṇ-an. 59 sakalei oste-baṇ-ko ṭṭăi-te yey-eṇ-an.*  
 fall.from.level-pAS-3S/PT all self-pp-GEN place-LOC go-pAS-3S/PT  
 60 *loṇe-kăi-guri rage let-Ø-ta-le, to-te hok-eṇ-du makar-pali*  
 jackal-PM-IND anger appear-SAS-IPP-PCL that-LOC be-pAS-NPT monkey-p

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53 The jackal said to the tiger and all of the monkeys 'you lot, come over here!' 54 The old woman said 'now eat me! But before you do, cook me on the fire and I will taste much better.' 55 All of them said 'okay' and then they made a fire and it burnt well. 56 'Now let this fire be white hot, and eat me roasted!', she said. 57 When it had become white hot, the old woman took some embers in her hand and sprinkled them in everyone's eyes. 58 Not being able to see out of their eyes, they all fell down right there. 59 Then they all ran back to where they came from. 60 Becoming angry, the jackal ate up all the monkeys that were there,

*cyah-Ø-u-no, thoṇi oste-ko nem-te yah-Ø-an.*  
eat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman self-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT

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and the old woman went back to her own house.



## GOING TO THE WEDDING

1 *gǎi-go ban-ko bore hok-Ø-thyo, gǎi bore-te hen-sa-kǎi*  
 I-GEN friend-GEN marriage be-SAS-3SCOND I marriage-LOC go-INF-PM  
*ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ.* 2 *gǎi-guri habi syaŋ ya-ta-ŋa-le,*  
 NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-IND before period go-IPP-1s-PCL  
*bore nem-te hok-ŋa-n.* 3 *baŋthe syaŋ bore bǎsinŋe*  
 marriage house-LOC be-1s-PT tomorrow period marriage morning  
*hen-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo, to tha-Ø-ta-le, gǎi habi syaŋ*  
 go-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND that be-SAS-IPP-PCL I before day  
*ya-ta-ŋa-le hok-ŋa-n.* 4 *to isyaŋ gǎi isa-ye karǎi-ta-ŋa-le,*  
 go-IPP-1s-PCL be-1s-PT that period I food-INS shout-IPP-1s-PCL  
*ken boro ahe cya-ŋa-n.* 5 *lakaŋe-ko ken*  
 vegetable.curry cooked.rice much eat-1s-PT radish-GEN vegetable.curry  
*bakalcakal hok-Ø-thyo, apraca nama cya-ŋa-n.* 6 *tyaŋ ami-sa-kǎi*  
 half.cooked be-SAS-3SCOND good with eat-1s-PT then sleep-INF-PM  
*ya-ŋa-n.* 7 *gǎi-go baŋkal ʔaye aghyow-Ø-an, ‘nan hara*  
 go-1s-PT I-GEN stomach night grumble-SAS-3S/PT now what  
*tha-Ø-du?’ ŋa-to-le, gǎi ari-ŋa-n.* 8 *ʔaye ami-ŋa-du*  
 be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL I be.afraid-1s-PT night sleep-1s-NPT  
*thǎi-yiŋ serek-ŋa-n, jhari yu-le hok-Ø-thyo,*  
 place-ABL arise-1s-PT rain come.from.above-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND  
*chokchok ukhiŋ woi hok-Ø-thyo.* 9 *gǎi-gǎi ari ma-tha-ŋa-n,*  
 complete.darkness dark also be-SAS-3SCOND I-PM fear NEG-be-1s-PT

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1 My friend was getting married, but I wasn't able to go to the wedding. 2 I had gone the day before to the house where the wedding would be. 3 The following day the wedding was to be in the morning, and on account of that I had gone the day before. 4 On that day, being hungry, I ate a lot of rice and vegetable curry. 5 The radish curry was only half cooked, but I ate well. 6 Then I went off to sleep. 7 At night my stomach started grumbling, 'now what could be the matter?', I thought and became afraid. 8 At night I got up from the place that I was sleeping, it was raining and it was also completely and totally dark. 9 I wasn't afraid, no, I wasn't scared at all.

*ma-ari-ηa-n*            *woi*. 10 *gǎi-go baŋkal kalǎi-le hok-∅-thyo, gǎ-ye*  
 NEG-be.afraid-1s-PT also        I-GEN stomach hurt-PCL be-sAS-3SCOND I-ERG  
*nan ka baŋkal-te hok-∅-du ma-ci-ηa, gǎi si-ηa-du uniŋ*  
 now this stomach-LOC be-sAS-NPT NEG-throw.away-CNS I die-1s-NPT like  
*tha-ηa-du*. 11 *gǎi kiŋi ta-sa ukhiŋ-ηaŋ ya-ηa-n,*  
 be-1s-NPT I shit release-INF dark-inside go-1s-PT  
*tah-u-n-uŋ.*            12 *ka uniŋ gǎi-gǎi sum phero țaye*  
 release-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT this like I-PM three time night  
*thah-∅-an, nan athaŋ-∅-an, bǎsiŋte woi thah-∅-an.*  
 be-sAS-3S/PT now become.light-sAS-3S/PT morning also be-sAS-3S/PT  
 13 *bore-ko mi-pali cawa-sa dany-eŋ-no.*        14 *ni woi*  
       marriage-GEN person-p walk-INF search-pAS-3→3/PT we also  
*caway-i-n, gǎi-go baŋkal-te rose ya-∅-du uniŋ thah-∅-an,*  
 walk-1pPS-PT I-GEN stomach-LOC landslide go-sAS-NPT like be-sAS-3S/PT  
*gǎi-go baŋkal ros-∅-du uniŋ thah-∅-an.* 15 *gǎi kiŋi gaŋe*  
 I-GEN stomach fall-sAS-NPT like be-sAS-3S/PT I shit earthenware.pot  
*daŋ-sa cawa-ηa-n, to-te woi kiŋi ta-tuŋ-le, nan mi-pali*  
 search-INF walk-1s-PT that-LOC also shit release-1s/TPP-PCL now person-p  
*nama cawa-ηa-n.* 16 *libi ni begale țhǎi-te*  
 with walk-1s-PT after we other place-LOC  
*ra-let-i-n,*                            *nan woi gǎi-go baŋkal habi-ko uniŋ*  
 come.from.level-appear-1pPS-PT now also I-GEN stomach before-GEN like  
*thah-∅-an.* 17 *nan-be ka nembo mi-pali hok-le woi*  
 be-sAS-3S/PT now-TOP this other.person person-p be-PCL also

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10 My stomach was really hurting, until I had gotten rid of whatever was in that stomach of mine, I would feel like I was dying. 11 I went to take a shit in the dark, and I shat. 12 This happened to me thrice that night, and then it got light and it was morning already. 13 The people in the wedding procession were getting ready to set off. 14 We also walked with them, but my stomach felt as if it were a landslide rolling, my stomach felt like it had completely crashed. 15 I walked off looking for a toilet [lit. shit pot], took a shit there, and then joined the group again. 16 Then we arrived in this other place, and then my stomach started feeling [bad again] like before. 17 Now I felt that I would be fine if only the other people would sit down.

*ja-Ø-thyo*            *uniŋ tha-ŋa-n.* 18 *nembo*            *ma-hok-tiniŋ*  
 okay-SAS-3SCOND like be-1s-PT            other.person NEG-be-PFG  
*caway-eŋ-du.* 19 *gǎi soŋ dǎi*            *dorok-ŋa-n, tyəŋ gǎ-ye*  
 walk-pAS-NPT I river towards run-1s-PT then I-ERG  
*bubu-kǎi*            *ŋah-u-n-uŋ*            ‘*bubu,*            *gǎi-go baŋkal aŋthe*  
 elder.brother-PM say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT elder.brother I-GEN stomach very  
*kalǎiy-Ø-an.*’ 20 *bubu-ye*            *gǎi-gǎi usare*            *pi-Ø-ŋa-n, libi*  
 hurt-SAS-3S/PT elder.brother-ERG I-PM medicine give-SAS-1s-PT after  
*uchincǎi kalǎi-sa jah-Ø-an.*            21 *libi bore nem-te*  
 much.less hurt-INF recover-SAS-3S/PT after marriage house-LOC  
*ya-let-i-n,*            *to-ŋəŋ isa ken*            *sakalei hok-Ø-thyo,*  
 go-appear-1pps-PT that-inside food vegetable.curry all be-SAS-3SCOND  
*to ni-to-le*            *cya-sa ma-ali-ŋa-n.* 22 *bubu-ye*            *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n,*  
 that see-TPP-PCL eat-INF NEG-like-1s-PT elder.brother-ERG say-SAS-1s-PT  
*nunu cikhet-to-le*            ‘*hu,*            *naŋ ka nunu cya-Ø!*            *baŋkal*  
 milk show-TPP-PCL younger.brother you this milk eat-s/IMP stomach  
*kalǎi-sa ja-Ø-du.*’ 23 *gǎi woi di toke*            *nunu*  
 hurt-INF recover-SAS-NPT I also one small.bowl milk  
*kǎi-tuŋ-le*            *cya-ŋa-n.* 24 *libi gǎi-gǎi uchin uchin baŋkal*  
 remove-1s/TPP-PCL eat-1s-PT after I-PM a.little a.little stomach  
*kalǎi-sa jah-Ø-an,*            *tyəŋ gǎi taŋ-ŋa-n.*            25 *libi bore-te*  
 hurt-INF recover-SAS-3S/PT then I be.happy-1s-PT after marriage-LOC  
*hok-ta-i-le*            *kari kari-wa-n,*            *gǎi usya-ŋa-n.* 26 *libi nem-te*  
 be-IPP-1pps-PCL song sing-1p→23-PT I dance-1s-PT after house-LOC

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18 The others walked on without stopping. 19 I ran towards the river, and then said to my elder brother ‘elder brother, my stomach really hurts.’ 20 Elder brother gave me some medicine, and after that it became much less painful. 21 Thereafter we came to the house of the wedding and there was all this food, but seeing that, I didn’t feel like eating at all. 22 Then, pointing to the milk, elder brother said to me ‘younger brother, drink this milk! It will help your stomach.’ 23 Then I scooped out a bowl of milk and drank it. 24 Then my stomach ache got a little bit better, and I was happy. 25 Later, sitting at the wedding, we sang songs and I danced. 26 After that I went home, but to the present day, when I hear anything about

*ya-ŋa-n, naleŋ woi bore-ko wakhe nasăiy-u-n-uŋ-be, găi-go*  
 go-1s-PT present also marriage-GEN word hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP I-GEN  
*baŋkal kalăi-Ø-du uniŋ tha-Ø-du.*  
 stomach hurt-SAS-NPT like be-SAS-NPT

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that wedding, my stomach feels like it's going to hurt.

## GIRLS THESE DAYS

1 *di uni, gǎi-go ban-e, di-ka camăica-kăi uchika miŋ*  
 one day I-GEN friend-ERG one-HNC woman-PM short cloth  
*bu-si-Ø-du ni-to-le, ŋah-Ø-u-no: 2 ‘humi, naŋ-kăi*  
 cover-REF-SAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister you-PM  
*lakpa-te ma-ŋila?’ gǎi ban nama hok-ŋa-thyo. 3 ‘hara-ko ŋila?*  
 limb-LOC NEG-be.cold I friend with be-1s-3SCOND what-GEN cold  
*adum hok-Ø-du’, to woi ‘jet loŋ-sa ŋăi-te naka thapu*  
 warm be-SAS-NPT that also work do-INF place-LOC new fireplace  
*hok-Ø-du, to-te me cyatŋ-si-ŋa-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 4 ‘băsinŋe*  
 be-SAS-NPT that-LOC fire soak.up-REF-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT morning  
*hara woi jet ma-khalam-u-na-n, ŋaŋ gǎi nama ka uniŋ wakhe*  
 what also work NEG-receive-3P-2s-PT and I with this like word  
*loŋ-u-na-du?’ ŋa-to-le kaŋah-Ø-an. 5 ka wakhe nasăi-tuŋ-le,*  
 do-3P-2s-NPT say-TPP-PCL scold-SAS-3S/PT this word hear-1s/TPP-PCL  
*găi-găi rage let-ŋa-n ŋaŋ ban-kăi ŋah-u-n-uŋ ‘hara? nan*  
 I-PM anger appear-1s-PT and friend-PM say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT what now  
*camăica nama cijyaŋ-sa woi ma-jah-Ø-an?’ 6 ban-e gǎi-găi*  
 woman with speak-INF also NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT friend-ERG I-PM  
*ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n ‘ka camăica jet loŋ-sa ŋăi-te, gǎi hani*  
 say-SAS-1s-PT this woman work do-INF place-LOC I how.much  
*ya-ŋa-n.’ 7 ‘ŋila-te-be me ma-mut, yamiryŋ adum tha-Ø-du*  
 go-1s-PT cold-LOC-TOP fire NEG-blow nowadays hot be-SAS-NPT

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1 One day, a friend of mine, seeing a woman wearing very short clothes, said: 2 ‘Younger sister, aren’t your arms and legs cold?’, I was with my friend. 3 ‘Why would I be cold? I am warm’, she said, adding, ‘in the place that I work there is a new heater and I warm myself by it.’ 4 ‘Having nothing to do this morning, do you think that you can just speak to me in this way?’, she said, scolding him [my friend]. 5 Hearing this, I became angry, and said to my friend ‘what’s all this? Is it now not okay to speak with women?’ 6 And my friend said to me ‘the place that this woman works, I’ve been there many times.’ 7 ‘They don’t light the heater when it’s cold, and these days, now that it’s warm, why would they light a fire anyway?’ [my friend said].

*beryaŋ hara-ko me mut-Ø-u-thyo?* 8 *'nan nany-e*  
 that.time what-GEN fire blow-SAS-3P-3SCOND now you-ERG  
*ŋa-ŋa! yamiryay-ko camăica-pali hara thay-eŋ-an?'*  
 say-s→1s/IMP nowadays-GEN woman-p what be-pAS-3S/PT  
 9 *'yamiryay-ko ŋila-te woi maŋ-te thum-sa miŋ*  
 nowadays-GEN cold-LOC also body-LOC stick-INF cloth  
*bu-siy-eŋ-du, ma-tilay-eŋ ra?'* 10 *'hara-kăi ka uniŋ*  
 cover-REF-pAS-NPT NEG-cold-pAS or what-PM this like  
*caway-eŋ-du yamiryay-ko camăica-pali?'* 11 *'oste-kăi apraca*  
 walk-pAS-NPT nowadays-GEN woman-p self-PM good  
*e-niy-eŋ-no ŋa-to-le, ŋaye ami-sa beryay bu-si-sa*  
 OPT-show-pAS-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL night sleep-INF that.time cover-REF-INF  
*miŋ unise ulam-te bu-siy-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-du.'* 12 *'habi*  
 cloth afternoon road-LOC cover-REF-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-NPT before  
*habi cahuca-pali-ye camăica-kăi yoy-eŋ-to-le kaŋay-eŋ-thyo,*  
 before man-p-ERG woman-PM look.at-pAS-TPP-PCL scold-pAS-3SCOND  
*naleŋ camăica-pali-ye cahuca-kăi ŋe-sa dany-eŋ-du.'* 13 *'yamiryay*  
 present woman-p-ERG man-PM beat-INF search-pAS-NPT nowadays  
*camăica-ko wakhe nasăi-ko măi-Ø-du, camăi-ye woi apa-ko*  
 woman-GEN word hear-ADH must-sAS-NPT daughter-ERG also father-GEN  
*raŋ bakoŋtek khalam-ko măi-Ø-du, ŋay-eŋ-du.'*  
 unirrigated.field half receive-ADH must-sAS-NPT say-pAS-NPT  
 14 *di-ka apa uniŋ ŋoŋe mi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'habi*  
 one-HNC father like old.man person-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT before

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8 'Now you tell me! What has happened to women these days?' 9 'These days, they even wear these body-sticking clothes in cold weather, [are you telling me that] they're not cold?' [he said]. 10 'Why do women walk around like this these days?' 11 'To make themselves appear beautiful, they wear their night clothes in the daytime to walk around in.' 12 'In the olden days, men would look at women and scold them, at present women try to beat up the men.' 13 'Nowadays, we have to listen to what women say, and they say that daughters must even receive half of their father's land.' 14 One old man said 'daughters used to come home after school.'

*camăi wakhe řisen-si-Ø-ta-le, unise nem-te*  
 daughter word teach-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL afternoon house-LOC  
*ra-Ø-thyo.* 15 *'naleŋ cămăi jekha thah-Ø-an, řaye*  
 come.from.level-SAS-3SCOND present daughter big be-SAS-3S/PT night  
*kyel-Ø-du.'* 16 *'naleŋ ka 'kuta ya-na-n?' řa-wa-du*  
 come-SAS-NPT present throughout where go-2s-PT say-1p→23-NPT  
*beryaŋ, 'găi ban-ko nem-te ya-ta-řa-le ra-řa-du'*  
 that.time I friend-GEN house-LOC go-IPP-1s-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT  
*řah-i-du.'* 17 *'kuta ya-Ø-du, ni-kăi hara woi ma-řa.'*  
 say-1pPS-NPT where go-SAS-NPT we-PM what also NEG-say  
 18 *'cămăi jet řisen-si-Ø-ta-le ra-Ø-du thaŋun*  
 daughter work teach-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL come.from.level-SAS-NPT maybe  
*řa-to-le ni-ye torta-wa-du.'* 19 *'nan libi cămăi-kăi ni-ye*  
 say-TPP-PCL we-ERG leave-1p→23-NPT now after daughter-PM we-ERG  
*bore loŋ-sa ma-măi' řah-Ø-u-no.* 20 *'nan ka uniŋ*  
 marriage do-INF NEG-must say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now this like  
*tha-řa-be, cămăi-kăi řamari daŋ-ko măi-Ø-du, su-ye woi*  
 be-CNS-TOP daughter-PM son.in.law search-ADH must-SAS-NPT who-ERG also  
*ma-hen' řa-to-le, di-ka mi-ye găi-găi řa-Ø-řa-n.*  
 NEG-take say-TPP-PCL one-HNC person-ERG I-PM say-SAS-1s-PT

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15 'Now daughters have become more confident, and they only come home at night.' 16  
 'These days when we ask 'where have you been?', they tell us 'I've just come back from a  
 friend's house where I went.'" 17 'Where they go, they don't tell us a thing.' 18 'Thinking  
 that maybe our daughters will come back having learnt some new things, we let them go.' 19  
 'And then we don't have to arrange the marriage of our daughters' he [the old man] said. 20  
 'Now, things being like this, you have to go and search for a son-in-law [husband] for your  
 daughter, but no one will take her', is what one man said to me.

## BOYS THESE DAYS

1 *yamiryaŋ-ko ca-pali apa ama-ye ŋay-eŋ-du hara woi*  
 nowadays-GEN son-p father mother-ERG say-pAS-NPT what also  
*ma-lony-eŋ ‘naka jet ŋisen-si-sa ya-ŋa-du’ ŋa-to-le gwi ban*  
 NEG-do-pAS new work teach-REF-INF go-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL thief friend  
*nama yey-eŋ-du.* 2 *ka unij, di-ka-ko ca jekha dese-te*  
 with go-pAS-NPT this like one-HNC-GEN son big village-LOC  
*hok-Ø-du.* 3 *to-ko apa ama nama, nembo-ko nem-te*  
 be-SAS-NPT that-GEN father mother with other.person-GEN house-LOC  
*hok-eŋ-thyo.* 4 *to ca-ye di-ka camăica nama bore loŋ-sa*  
 be-pAS-3SCOND that son-ERG one-HNC woman with marriage do-INF  
*daŋ-Ø-u-no.* 5 *‘naka jet ŋisen-si-sa ya-ŋa-du’ ŋa-to-le*  
 search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT new work teach-REF-INF go-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*camăica nama ya-Ø-thyo.* 6 *ca apa ama-ko wakhe*  
 woman with go-SAS-3SCOND son father mother-GEN word  
*ma-nasăi-tiniŋ, oste-ko ma-ja-Ø-du jet-guri aŋthe*  
 NEG-hear-PFG self-GEN NEG-okay-SAS-NPT work-IND much  
*loŋ-Ø-u-thyo.* 7 *to-ko ka jet ni-to-le, camăica woi to*  
 do-SAS-3P-3SCOND that-GEN this work see-TPP-PCL woman also that  
*nama ălămtha thah-Ø-an.* 8 *di uni nama hok-eŋ-ta-le, camăica-ye*  
 with distant be-SAS-3S/PT one day with be-pAS-IPP-PCL woman-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘naŋ nembo ban nama ma-cawa-tiniŋ, oste-ko*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you other.person friend with NEG-walk-PFG self-GEN

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1 Boys these days don't do anything that their parents tell them, 'I'm off to learn a new job' they say, and then go off with their thieving friends. 2 In this manner, the son of this one guy lives in a city [lit. big village]. 3 Together with his mother and father, they lived [took a room] in someone else's house. 4 That boy tried to get married to a woman. 5 Saying 'I'm off to learn a new job' he went off with that woman. 6 Without listening to his father and mother's words, that son would do many bad things. 7 Seeing what he was doing, that woman also left him. 8 One day, when sitting together, the woman said 'you shouldn't roam around with those friends of yours, rather do something meaningful for yourself!'



*apraca jet loŋ-o!* 9 *‘gǎi naŋ nama bore loŋ-si-ŋa-du.’*  
 good work do-s→3/IMP I you with marriage do-REF-1s-NPT  
 10 *‘ka uniŋ ma-thah-Ø-an-be, gǎi naŋ nama bore ma-loŋ-si’*  
 this like NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP I you with marriage NEG-do-REF  
*ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 11 *‘nan ka camăica ŋah-Ø-u-du gǎ-ye*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now this woman say-SAS-3P-NPT I-ERG  
*loŋ-u-n-uŋ-be, gǎi-go ban-pali rage thay-eŋ-du.’* 12 *‘ŋah-Ø-u-du*  
 do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-GEN friend-p anger be-pAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-NPT  
*uniŋ ma-loŋ-u-n-uŋ-be, camăica begale nama bore*  
 like NEG-do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP woman other with marriage  
*loŋ-si-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le thombe thah-Ø-an.* 13 *tyaŋ nem-te*  
 do-REF-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL surprise be-SAS-3S/PT then house-LOC  
*yah-Ø-an, rage let-Ø-ta-le, nem-ko baŋi sakalei*  
 go-SAS-3S/PT anger appear-SAS-IPP-PCL house-GEN pot all  
*ciy-Ø-u-no.* 14 *ka ni-to-le, ama-ye kaŋtu-te*  
 throw-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this see-TPP-PCL mother-ERG neck-LOC  
*cum-to-le, priŋ ci-let-Ø-u-no.* 15 *to woi di-gore*  
 hold-TPP-PCL outside CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that also one-CLF  
*ăikuca cabu-to-le ban-pali nama yah-Ø-an.* 16 *nem-yiŋ*  
 large.knife carry-TPP-PCL friend-p with go-SAS-3S/PT house-ABL  
*let-Ø-ta-le, ban-ko-te hok-Ø-an, nembo ban woi*  
 appear-SAS-IPP-PCL friend-GEN-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT other.person friend also  
*to uniŋ hok-eŋ-thyo.* 17 *apa ama-ye to-kăi*  
 that like be-pAS-3SCOND father mother-ERG that-PM

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9 ‘I will marry you [if you do as I say]’ [she said]. 10 ‘If you don’t mend your ways [lit. if it’s not like this], then I won’t marry you’, she said. 11 ‘Now if I do as this woman says, then my friends will get angry with me’ [he thought]. 12 ‘If I don’t do as she says, then my woman will marry someone else’, he thought and was totally shocked. 13 Then he went home, and becoming angry, threw all of the pots in the house around. 14 Seeing this, mother grabbed him by the neck and kicked him out. 15 And, carrying a big knife, he went off with his friends. 16 Leaving home, he lived in his friend’s house where there were also other friends just like him. 17 His parents didn’t look for him.

*ma-dany-eη-no.* 18 *'nan di uni isa cya-ko ma-nik,*  
 NEG-search-pAS-3→3/PT now one day food eat-ADH NEG-receive  
*oste-ko nem-te ra-Ø-du' ηa-to-le*  
 self-GEN house-LOC come.from.level-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*ma-dany-eη-no.* 19 *di uni, to uniη oli-ka ban cya-sa*  
 NEG-search-pAS-3→3/PT one day that like four-HNC friend eat-INF  
*ma-nik-eη-ta-le, caway-eη-an.* 20 *di-ka mi ulam-te*  
 NEG-receive-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT one-HNC person road-LOC  
*cawa-Ø-du beryaη, lak-te cum-eη-no ηey-eη-no, to*  
 walk-sAS-NPT that.time hand-LOC hold-pAS-3→3/PT beat-pAS-3→3/PT that  
*nama hok-Ø-du pepelek kat-eη-no.* 21 *to uni to-baη toη cici*  
 with be-sAS-NPT money steal-pAS-3→3/PT that day that-Pp beer meat  
*cey-eη-an.* 22 *nan baηe syaη-kāi cya-sa ma-hok.* 23 *jet woi*  
 eat-pAS-3S/PT now tomorrow period-PM eat-INF NEG-be work also  
*ma-lony-eη, nan ηiη cabu-sa-kāi aηal-eη-du.* 24 *to-baη-ko*  
 NEG-do-pAS now stone carry-INF-PM shame-pAS-NPT that-Pp-GEN  
*ālāmgā ālāmgā mus, nam-Ø-du maη, thay-eη-ta-le caway-eη-du.*  
 long long hair smell-sAS-NPT cloth be-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-NPT  
 25 *'nan hara jet loη-to-le cya-sa?'* 26 *di ʔa oli-ka ban*  
 now what work do-TPP-PCL eat-INF one night four-HNC friend  
*jom-eη-ta-le wakhe lony-eη-no.* 27 *di-ka nama*  
 be.together-pAS-IPP-PCL word do-pAS-3→3/PT one-HNC with  
*hok-Ø-du pepelek-e toη cey-eη-an, ʔaye tha-ηa libi ulam-te*  
 be-sAS-NPT money-INS beer eat-pAS-3S/PT night be-CNS after road-LOC

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18 Thinking 'now one day, when he has nothing to eat, he will come home', his parents didn't go looking for him. 19 One day, in this way, not having enough to eat, [he and] four friends set off walking. 20 When [they saw] a man walking along the road, they grabbed his hands and beat him, and stole all the money that he had with him. 21 That day they drank beer and ate meat. 22 Now there is nothing to eat for tomorrow. 23 They didn't work and they were too ashamed [proud] to carry rocks. 24 They walk around with their long long hair and their smelly clothes. 25 'Now what shall we do to eat?' [they said]. 26 One night, the four friends being together, talked about their plans. 27 They drank beer with the money that one of them had with him, and then, once night had fallen, they walked along the road, each of them carrying a large knife.

*di-di-gore* *ăikuca* *cabuy-eη-to-le* *caway-eη-an.* 28 *nan su*  
 one-one-CLF large.knife carry-pAS-TPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT now who  
*mi* *khalam-eη-du,* *to-kăi* *ăikuca-ye* *pal-eη-to-le,* *to* *nama*  
 person meet-pAS-NPT that-PM large.knife-ERG chop-pAS-TPP-PCL that with  
*hok-∅-du* *pepelek kat-sa-kăi.* 29 *caway-eη-du* *beryaη,* *nis-ka*  
 be-SAS-NPT money steal-INF-PM walk-pAS-NPT that.time two-HNC  
*mi* *ulam-te* *ṭaye* *caway-eη-du* *niy-eη-no.* 30 *di-ka-ye*  
 person road-LOC night walk-pAS-NPT see-pAS-3→3/PT one-HNC-ERG  
*ηah-∅-u-no* *'ban-pali,* *nan ka* *mi-pali-kăi* *ηe-to-le* *ka-baη-ko*  
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT friend-p now this person-p-PM beat-TPP-PCL this-Pp-GEN  
*pepelek kat-ko* *măi-∅-du,* *tyaη* *cya-ko* *măi-∅-du.'* 31 *sakalei-ye*  
 money steal-ADH must-SAS-NPT then eat-ADH must-SAS-NPT all-ERG  
*'ja-∅-du'* *ηay-eη-no,* *to* *mi-pali-kăi* *yey-eη-ta-le*  
 okay-SAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT that person-p-PM go-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*cum-eη-no,* *to-bany-e* *woi to-baη-ko* *lak* *cum-eη-no.*  
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT that-Pp-ERG also that-Pp-GEN hand hold-pAS-3→3/PT  
 32 *aye* *mi-te* *to* *nis-ka-ko* *hara* *tha-∅-thyo.*  
 many person-LOC that two-HNC-GEN what be-SAS-3SCOND  
 33 *nis-ka-kăi* *oli-ka-ye* *lak-te* *ăikuca-ye* *pal-eη-no.*  
 two-HNC-PM four-HNC-ERG hand-LOC large.knife-INS chop-pAS-3→3/PT  
 34 *nis-ka* *to-te* *ṭiṭiy-eη-an,* *to-baη* *nama* *hok-∅-du*  
 two-HNC that-LOC fall.from.level-pAS-3S/PT that-Pp with be-SAS-NPT  
*sakalei* *pepelek* *hen-eη-no.* 35 *hen-eη-to-le,* *to* *uni* *ahe*  
 all money take-pAS-3→3/PT take-pAS-TPP-PCL that day much

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28 Now whoever they should meet, they would chop him with their knives in order to steal whatever money he had with him. 29 As they walked, they saw two people walking along the road at night. 30 One of them said 'hey friends, we should beat these guys up, steal their money and then get something to eat.' 31 They all said 'okay', and going up to those people, grabbed them and also grabbed their arms. 32 Since there were so many of them, what could those poor two guys do. 33 The four of them chopped at the arms of those two guys. 34 Those two fell down right there, and they [the thieves] took all the money they had with them. 35 Having taken the money, that day they ate a huge amount.

*cey-eŋ-an.* 36 *băsiŋte thah-Ø-an, to nis-ka mi*  
 eat-pAS-3S/PT morning be-SAS-3S/PT that two-HNC person  
*fiŋiy-eŋ-du lak-yiŋ coi let-Ø-du niy-eŋ-to-le,*  
 fall.from.level-pAS-NPT hand-ABL blood appear-SAS-NPT see-pAS-TPP-PCL  
*ulam caway-eŋ-du mi-pali-ye usare loŋ-Ø-u-du thăi-te*  
 road walk-pAS-NPT person-p-ERG medicine do-SAS-3P-NPT place-LOC  
*hen-eŋ-no.* 37 *libi ‘niŋ-kăi hara tha-ni-n?’ ŋa-to-le*  
 take-pAS-3→3/PT after you(p)-PM what be-2p-PT say-TPP-PCL  
*ŋay-eŋ-du beryaŋ ‘ni ulam caway-i-du beryaŋ, oli-ka mi*  
 say-pAS-NPT that.time we road walk-1pPS-NPT that.time four-HNC person  
*kyel-eŋ-ta-le, ni-kăi ŋey-i-n, pal-i-n, ni nama hok-Ø-du*  
 come-pAS-IPP-PCL we-PM beat-1pPS-PT chop-1pPS-PT we with be-SAS-NPT  
*sakalei pepelek hen-eŋ-no’ ŋa-to-le kerep-eŋ-an.* 38 *nan*  
 all money take-pAS-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL cry-pAS-3S/PT now  
*to-baŋ-kăi daŋ-sa mi caway-eŋ-an.* 39 *to isyaŋ begale*  
 that-Pp-PM search-INF person walk-pAS-3S/PT that period other  
*thăi-te woi ăikuca-ye pal-eŋ-no ŋa-to-le nasăiy-eŋ-no.*  
 place-LOC also large.knife-INS chop-pAS-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL hear-pAS-3→3/PT  
 40 *daŋ-sa mi-pali to dăi dorok-eŋ-an, libi di-ka*  
 search-INF person-p that towards run-pAS-3S/PT after one-HNC  
*lak-te ăikuca cabu-to-le dorok-Ø-du niy-eŋ-no.*  
 hand-LOC large.knife carry-TPP-PCL run-SAS-NPT see-pAS-3→3/PT  
 41 *dany-eŋ-du mi-pali woi libi libi yey-eŋ-ta-le*  
 search-pAS-NPT person-p also after after go-pAS-IPP-PCL

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36 Then it was morning, and people walking along the road saw blood pouring from the arms of those two fallen guys, and they took them to the hospital [lit. medicine do place]. 37 Then when they asked ‘what happened to you(p)?’ they replied ‘we were walking along the road when four people came and beat us, chopped us, and then made off with all our money’, they cried. 38 Then people went off to find those guys [the thieves]. 39 On that day they heard that these guys had been chopping with their knives in other places also. 40 The search party ran towards that place, and then they saw one person carrying a large knife and running away. 41 The search party went after him and eventually caught him.

*cum-eŋ-no.* 42 *libi to-kǎi ray-eŋ-to-le ŋey-eŋ-no*  
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT after that-PM bring-pAS-TPP-PCL beat-pAS-3→3/PT  
 ‘*naŋ-ko ban su su hok-eŋ-du? ŋa-se!*’ *ŋay-eŋ-no.*  
 you-GEN friend who who be-pAS-NPT say-s→1p/IMP say-pAS-3→3/PT  
 43 *libi sakalei ban-pali cikhet-Ø-u-no, ban-pali hok-eŋ-du*  
 after all friend-p show-SAS-3P-3→3/PT friend-p be-pAS-NPT  
*thǎi-te hen-Ø-u-no.* 44 *ban-pali hok-eŋ-du thǎi-te, to woi*  
 place-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT friend-p be-pAS-NPT place-LOC that also  
*ami-Ø-thyo, to-te ahe äikuca, toŋ, cey-eŋ-du baŋi*  
 sleep-SAS-3SCOND that-LOC many large.knife beer eat-pAS-NPT pot  
*khalam-eŋ-no.* 45 *libi to begale sum-ka ban-pali-kǎi woi*  
 meet-pAS-3→3/PT after that other three-HNC friend-p-PM also  
*cum-eŋ-no, naleŋ oli-ka cahuca-pali begale nem duŋ-ŋaŋ*  
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT present four-HNC man-p other house within-inside  
*hok-eŋ-du.*  
 be-pAS-NPT

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42 Then they brought him back and beat him, asking him ‘your friends, who are they? Tell us!’ 43 Then he showed them who all his friends were and took them to the place that they lived. 44 He also slept in the place that his friends lived, and in that place they [the search party] found many knives, beer and cooking pots. 45 Then they caught the other three friends, and now, all four men are living inside another house [i.e. jail].

## DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

1 *ca sarma thah-Ø-an, jekha thah-Ø-an, nan apa ama-kăi*  
 son strong be-SAS-3S/PT big be-SAS-3S/PT now father mother-PM  
*wari daŋ-sa kuta hen-sa uniŋ thah-Ø-an.* 2 ‘*nan ca*  
 daughter.in.law search-INF where go-INF like be-SAS-3S/PT now son  
*bore ma-loŋ-ŋa libi, cacha-ko khen yo-sa ma-khalam’*  
 marriage NEG-do-CNS after grandchild-GEN face look.at-INF NEG-receive  
*ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le, nis-ka ʃhone ʃhoŋi wakhe lony-eŋ-no.*  
 this like say-TPP-PCL two-HNC old.man old.woman word do-pAS-3→3/PT  
 3 *to-baŋ-ko nem-te oli-ka hok-eŋ-thyo, uma, lawa, ca,*  
 that-Pp-GEN house-LOC four-HNC be-pAS-3SCOND wife husband son  
*di-ka camăi.* 4 *apa phase ne-sa yante-ko jet*  
 one-HNC daughter father flour grind-INF quern-GEN work  
*loŋ-Ø-u-thyo, uma raŋ-te, camăi nem-ko sakalei*  
 do-sAS-3P-3SCOND wife unirrigated.field-LOC daughter house-GEN all  
*jet loŋ-Ø-u-thyo, ca jet ʃisen-si-sa ya-Ø-thyo.* 5 *ka*  
 work do-sAS-3P-3SCOND son work teach-REF-INF go-sAS-3SCOND this  
*uniŋ jet lony-eŋ-thyo.* 6 *di uni ca-kăi bore loŋ-sa*  
 like work do-pAS-3SCOND one day son-PM marriage do-INF  
*ŋa-to-le, apa camăica daŋ-sa cawah-Ø-an.* 7 *ălămtha-te*  
 say-TPP-PCL father woman search-INF walk-sAS-3S/PT distant-LOC  
*di-ka camăica khalam-Ø-u-no, camăica-ko apa ama-kăi*  
 one-HNC woman meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT woman-GEN father mother-PM

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1 The son was strong and mature, and the parents were thinking about where to find a daughter-in-law. 2 ‘If our son doesn’t get married [soon], then we won’t get to see the faces of our grandchildren’, said the old man and old woman. 3 Four people lived in their house: wife, husband, son and one daughter. 4 Father would work grinding flour in the handmill, mother in the fields, daughter would do all the housework and son would go off to learn new things. 5 This is the way that they would work. 6 One day, saying that his son should get married, father went off searching for a woman. 7 He found a woman in a place far-away, and having discussed it with the woman’s father and mother, the son was married.

*ŋa-to-le, ca-ko bore loŋ-Ø-u-no. 8 yaŋ baŋhe nan*  
 say-TPP-PCL son-GEN marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT today tomorrow now  
*nem-ko jet wari-ye loŋ-Ø-u-no. 9 camăi-ye*  
 house-GEN work daughter.in.law-ERG do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter-ERG  
*loŋ-sa jet sakalei wari-ye loŋ-Ø-u-no.*  
 do-INF work all daughter.in.law-ERG do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 10 *wari woi săi-Ø-du mi hok-Ø-thyo, libi*  
 daughter.in.law also know-SAS-NPT person be-SAS-3SCOND after  
*wari woi begale thăi jet loŋ-sa yah-Ø-an. 11 ca*  
 daughter.in.law also other place work do-INF go-SAS-3S/PT son  
*bore loŋ-le woi, oste-ko jet loŋ-Ø-u-no. 12 nan*  
 marriage do-PCL also self-GEN work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now  
*wari-kăi ulam-te hara woi tha-Ø-du ŋa-to-le,*  
 daughter.in.law-PM road-LOC what also be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL  
*chuku-ye nama nama jet loŋ-sa thăi-te hen-Ø-u-no.*  
 father.in.law-ERG with with work do-INF place-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 13 *nyoŋi woi wari-kăi jet loŋ-sa thăi-te ya-kăi-sa*  
 evening also daughter.in.law-PM work do-INF place-LOC go-remove-INF  
*thah-Ø-an. 14 libi wari-ye nem-ko sakalei jet*  
 be-SAS-3S/PT after daughter.in.law-ERG house-GEN all work  
*loŋ-Ø-u-du ni-to-le, apa ama-ye woi wari-kăi*  
 do-SAS-3P-NPT see-TPP-PCL father mother-ERG also daughter.in.law-PM  
*apraca lony-eŋ-du ni-to-le, camăi-kăi rage let-Ø-an.*  
 good do-pAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL daughter-PM anger appear-SAS-3S/PT

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8 And those days, daughter-in-law did all the housework. 9 The daughter-in-law did all of the daughter's work. 10 The daughter-in-law was a bright woman, and later went off to work in a different place. 11 The son, despite being married, continued doing his own work. 12 Then, afraid of what might happen on the road, father-in-law took the daughter-in-law to the place of her work. 13 In the evening, he also went and picked her up from the place of work. 14 Later, seeing that daughter-in-law was doing all the housework, and seeing that father and mother were very loving to her, daughter became angry.

- 15 *nan poiri-ko ma-ja-Ø-du wakhe ama-kăi*  
 now elder.brother's.wife-GEN NEG-okay-sAS-NPT word mother-PM  
*ci-nasăi-to-le, to nama cijyaŋ-sa ma-ja-Ø-du*  
 CAUS-hear-TPP-PCL that with speak-INF NEG-okay-sAS-NPT  
*ci-loŋ-Ø-u-no. 16 ka wakhe nasăi-to-le ama-ye woi*  
 CAUS-do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT this word hear-TPP-PCL mother-ERG also  
*'camăi-be găi-go, wari nembo-ko, găi-go camăi-kăi*  
 daughter-TOP I-GEN daughter.in.law other.person-GEN I-GEN daughter-PM  
*ci-kerep-Ø-u-du.'* 17 *nan ma-jah-Ø-an, ca-kăi ŋa-to-le*  
 CAUS-cry-sAS-3P-NPT now NEG-okay-sAS-3S/PT son-PM say-TPP-PCL  
*'ci-let-ko măiy-Ø-an, wari-kăi' ŋah-Ø-u-no.*  
 CAUS-appear-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT  
 18 *di uni ca jet-yiŋ rah-Ø-an, ama-ye*  
 one day son work-ABL come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT mother-ERG  
*humi-ye tha-Ø-du ma-tha-Ø-du sakalei*  
 younger.sister-ERG be-sAS-NPT NEG-be-sAS-NPT all  
*poiri-ko wakhe lony-eŋ-no. 19 ca sumaka*  
 elder.brother's.wife-GEN word do-pAS-3→3/PT son silent  
*hok-Ø-ta-le nasăiy-Ø-u-no. 20 nyoŋi apa nama uma*  
 be-sAS-IPP-PCL hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT evening father with wife  
*ra-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no, to-ye woi rage mesek-e*  
 come.from.level-sAS-NPT see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG also anger eye-ERG  
*uma-kăi yoh-Ø-u-no. 21 to nama habi uma-ye baŋkal*  
 wife-PM look.at-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that with before wife-ERG stomach

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15 Now, having told mother about the bad things that her elder brother's wife had said, she made her [mother] stop speaking to her [daughter-in-law]. 16 Hearing this, mother also thought 'well, this daughter is mine but the daughter-in-law is someone else's, and she makes my daughter cry.' 17 This was no good, so she spoke to her son saying 'we have to get rid of daughter-in-law.' 18 One day when son returned home from work, his mother and younger sister told him all the things that his wife had and hadn't done. 19 Son sat in silence and listened. 20 In the evening he saw his wife coming home with his father and he looked at her with angry eyes. 21 She had told him earlier that her stomach hurt.



*kaläi-Ø-du ñah-Ø-u-thyo.* 22 *'nan ka uma gäi-gäi ma-ja*  
 hurt-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3SCOND now this wife I-PM NEG-okay  
*thañun' ñah-Ø-u-no.* 23 *ṭaye ami-Ø-du ṭhäi-te usare*  
 maybe say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night sleep-SAS-NPT place-LOC medicine  
*ña-to-le, si-sa usare, piy-Ø-u-no.* 24 *'ma-cya'*  
 say-TPP-PCL die-INF medicine give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-eat  
*ñah-Ø-u-du woi, lak-e ugo-te tham-Ø-u-no.* 25 *nan*  
 say-SAS-3P-NPT also hand-INS mouth-LOC insert-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now  
*ama humi-ko wakhe nasäi-to-le, oste-ko uma sat-sa*  
 mother younger.sister-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL self-GEN wife kill-INF  
*dañ-Ø-u-no.* 26 *si-sa usare uma-ko okyok duñ-ñañ*  
 search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT die-INF medicine wife-GEN throat within-inside  
*tham-Ø-u-no.* 27 *ṭaye uma-käi yoh-Ø-u-no, uma*  
 insert-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night wife-PM look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife  
*si-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no.* 28 *uma si-Ø-du ni-to-le, oste woi*  
 die-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife die-SAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL self also  
*si-Ø-du unij thah-Ø-an.* 29 *bäsinte aji-ye*  
 die-SAS-NPT like be-SAS-3S/PT morning mother.in.law-ERG  
*wari ca hara-käi ma-serek-eñ-an ña-to-le*  
 daughter.in.law son what-PM NEG-arise-pAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL  
*ya-yoh-Ø-u-no.* 30 *khañou ṭañ-Ø-u-no, nis-ka woi*  
 go-look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT door open-SAS-3P-3→3/PT two-HNC also  
*siy-eñ-du unij nih-Ø-u-no.* 31 *ci-serek-Ø-u-no, ca-guri*  
 die-pAS-NPT like see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT CAUS-arise-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son-IND

22 'Maybe this wife is no good for me', he thought. 23 At night, in the bedroom, he gave her medicine, that's to say, poison [lit. to die medicine]. 24 Although she said 'I won't eat it', he shoved it into her mouth with his hand. 25 So, having listened to the words of his mother and sister, he tried to kill his own wife. 26 He put the poison deep down his wife's throat. 27 At night, he looked in on his wife, and he saw that she was dying. 28 When he saw his wife dying, he felt like dying himself. 29 In the morning, wondering why her daughter-in-law and son hadn't gotten up, mother-in-law went to look. 30 She opened the door and saw the two of them looking as if they were dead. 31 She tried to wake them up, and the son got up but the daughter-in-law didn't.

*serek-Ø-an, wari ma-serek-Ø-an. 32 wari-ko*  
 arise-SAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law NEG-arise-SAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law-GEN  
*ugo-yiŋ phapphap let-le hok-Ø-thyo. 33 nan wari*  
 mouth-ABL foam appear-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND now daughter.in.law  
*si-Ø-ta-le ŋa-to-le, hen-eŋ-to-le jyouy-eŋ-no. 34 libi*  
 die-SAS-IPP-PCL say-TPP-PCL take-pAS-TPP-PCL burn-pAS-3→3/PT after  
*ka wakhe wari-ko apa-ye nasäiy-Ø-u-no 'gäi-go*  
 this work daughter.in.law-GEN father-ERG hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN  
*camäi kunyaŋ siy-Ø-an?' ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no. 35 'camäi*  
 daughter how die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL say-AS-3P-3→3/PT daughter  
*oste ma-siy-Ø-an, ðamari aji thay-eŋ-ta-le*  
 self NEG-die-SAS-3S/PT son.in.law mother.in.law be-pAS-IPP-PCL  
*sat-eŋ-no' ŋa-to-le sakalei-käi ŋah-Ø-u-no. 36 libi*  
 kill-pAS-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL all-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after  
*aji ðamari-käi 'uma sat-n-u-n' ŋay-eŋ-to-le*  
 mother.in.law son.in.law-PM wife kill-2p-3P-PT say-pAS-TPP-PCL  
*cum-eŋ-no. 37 libi kerep-Ø-ta-le 'uma gäi-go, gä-ye ama*  
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT after cry-SAS-IPP-PCL wife I-GEN I-ERG mother  
*humi-ko wakhe nasäiy-u-n-uŋ, tyay gä-ye uma*  
 younger.sister-GEN word hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then I-ERG wife  
*sat-u-n-uŋ' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 38 naleŋ to woi wagal uniŋ*  
 kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT present that also henhouse like  
*thäi-te hok-le hok-Ø-du.*  
 place-LOC be-PCL be-SAS-NPT

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32 Foam was dribbling from daughter-in-law's mouth. 33 Now, since daughter-in-law was dead, they took her off and burnt her. 34 Later, the daughter-in-law's father came to hear of this, and said 'how did my daughter die?' 35 'My daughter didn't die on her own, she was killed by that son-in-law and mother-in-law together', he told everyone. 36 Later, saying 'you killed your wife' they held the mother-in-law and son-in-law. 37 Then, crying he said 'yes, [I killed] my wife, I listened to my mother and sister's words and killed her.' 38 At present he is living in a place rather like a henhouse [jail].

## SON IS KILLED

1 *camăi nik-Ø-du sum uni-ye, wagal uniŋ nem-te*  
 daughter give.birth-SAS-NPT three day-ERG henhouse like house-LOC  
*di-ka camăica kerep-Ø-du.* 2 *kutaleŋ huca kerep-Ø-du beryaŋ*  
 one-HNC woman cry-SAS-NPT when child cry-SAS-NPT that.time  
*cyocyo yah-Ø-u-du, kutaleŋ mesek-yiŋ ros-Ø-du raphil*  
 breast feed-SAS-3P-NPT when eye-ABL fall-SAS-NPT tear  
*thor-si-Ø-du.* 3 *ka-basa dha-basa yo-to-le,*  
 wipe.away-REF-SAS-NPT this-side that.distant-side look.at-TPP-PCL  
*kokorok-si-Ø-du.* 4 *to-ko loŋsek them-Ø-du uniŋ, bampre*  
 be.bent-REF-SAS-NPT that-GEN heart break-SAS-NPT like rib  
*pheŋek-Ø-ta-le ra-Ø-du.* 5 *naleŋ to-kăi ca*  
 be.torn-SAS-IPP-PCL come.from.level-SAS-NPT present that-PM son  
*sat-to-le ahe kerep-ko măi-le hok-Ø-du.* 6 *to-ye*  
 kill-TPP-PCL much cry-ADH must-PCL be-SAS-NPT that-ERG  
*ŋah-Ø-u-du ‘găi-găi dese mi-ye hara ŋay-eŋ-an thaŋun?’*  
 say-SAS-3P-NPT I-PM village person-ERG what say-pAS-3S/PT maybe  
*oste-ko ca sat-Ø-u-du, ‘moro’ ŋay-eŋ-ŋa-du thaŋun.’*  
 self-GEN son kill-SAS-3P-NPT corpse say-pAS-1s-NPT maybe  
 7 *‘tha-sa-be, nan găi-go sat-sa jet thah-Ø-an.’* 8 *‘gă-ye*  
 be-INF-TOP now I-GEN kill-INF work be-SAS-3S/PT I-ERG  
*ma-loŋ-sa jet loŋ-u-n-uŋ.’* 9 *‘tha-sa-be, nem-te-ko hara*  
 NEG-do-INF work do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT be-INF-TOP house-LOC-GEN what

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1 Having given birth to a daughter three days earlier, the woman is crying in jail [lit. ‘henhouse-like house’]. 2 Sometimes she gives the child her breast to suckle on, other times she wipes away tears that fall from her own eyes. 3 Looking this way and that, she sits bent over and crumpled. 4 Her heart feels as if it will break, her ribs feel as if they have been torn apart. 5 Having killed her son, she now needs to cry a great deal. 6 She thinks to herself, ‘what do the villagers think of me? Maybe they’re calling me a ‘corpse’ for killing my own son.’ 7 ‘That may be, but now the killing that I had to do is done’ [she thought]. 8 ‘I did something which I shouldn’t have done.’ 9 ‘Well, it may well be that he didn’t steal much from the house, but he did steal flour, oil and clarified butter.’

*woi ma-gwiy-Ø-u-no, nem-ŋaŋ hok-Ø-du phase, asa,*  
 also NEG-steal-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house-inside be-SAS-NPT flour oil  
*mar-be gwiy-Ø-u-no.’ 10 ‘nembo-ko nem-te*  
 clarified.butter-TOP steal-SAS-3P-3→3/PT other.person-GEN house-LOC  
*gwi-to-le, gǎi-gǎi rage let-ŋa-n.’ 11 aŋkhe-te sum uni-ko huca*  
 steal-TPP-PCL I-PM anger appear-1S-PT lap-LOC three day-GEN child  
*kerep-Ø-du. 12 bu-si-Ø-du miŋ phet-to-le, huca-kǎi*  
 cry-SAS-NPT cover-REF-SAS-NPT cloth undo.clothes-TPP-PCL child-PM  
*cyocyo piy-Ø-u-du. 13 to ucyaca huca sumaka hok-Ø-du, cyocyo*  
 breast give-SAS-3P-NPT that small child silent be-SAS-NPT breast  
*cya-Ø-du. 14 tyaŋ libi cyocyo cya-Ø-du, huca-kǎi yoh-Ø-u-du,*  
 eat-SAS-NPT then after breast eat-SAS-NPT child-PM look.at-SAS-3P-NPT  
*oste-ko mesek-yiŋ raphil ci-let-to-le kerep-Ø-du. 15 to-ko*  
 self-GEN eye-ABL tear CAUS-appear-TPP-PCL cry-SAS-NPT that-GEN  
*raphil aŋkhe-ko huca-ko ugo-te bi-Ø-du, chya se-Ø-du*  
 tear lap-GEN child-GEN mouth-LOC enter-SAS-NPT salt taste-SAS-NPT  
*thaŋun, huca-ye cyocyo cya-sa tortah-Ø-u-du. 16 tha-sa-be, sum*  
 maybe child-ERG breast eat-INF leave-SAS-3P-NPT be-INF-TOP three  
*uni-ko huca-kǎi hara chya se-Ø-du, hara chya ma-se?*  
 day-GEN child-PM what salt taste-SAS-NPT what salt NEG-taste  
 17 ‘gǎi-go ama hara-kǎi kerep-Ø-du?’ ŋa-to-le, to-kǎi hara?  
 I-GEN mother what-PM cry-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL that-PM what  
 18 to-be isa-ye karǎi-Ø-du, ama-ko cyocyo cya-Ø-du, kiŋi  
 that-TOP food-INS shout-SAS-NPT mother-GEN breast eat-SAS-NPT shit

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10 ‘Stealing [as he did] from other people’s house, I became angry.’ 11 The three-day-old child in her lap cries. 12 Taking off the clothes she is wearing, she offers the child her breast. 13 Then that baby is silent, and suckles at the breast. 14 She then looks at the child suckling at her breast, thus causing tears to stream from her eyes, and she cries. 15 Her tears [fall and] enter the mouth of the baby in her lap, and perhaps because they taste salty, the child stops suckling at her breast. 16 It’s possible, but what would a three-day-old baby know about salty or not salty? 17 Thinking ‘why is my mother crying?’, what would that child know? 18 [What does the baby know], when she’s hungry she suckles at her mother’s breast, then she shits in her mother’s lap.

*let-Ø-du, ama-ko aṅkhe-te tah-Ø-u-du. 19 to-käi hara*  
 appear-SAS-NPT mother-GEN lap-LOC release-SAS-3P-NPT that-PM what  
*bubu siy-Ø-an ḡa-to-le, to woi jekha tha-ḡa libi,*  
 elder.brother die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL that also big be-CNS after  
*thaha säi-Ø-du ra? 20 nan habi-ko wakhe*  
 knowledge know-SAS-NPT or now before-GEN word  
*ra-Ø-du, 'gä-ye ḡe-sa woi tunyaṅ*  
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT I-ERG beat-INF also in.that.manner  
*ma-ja-Ø-thyo.' 21 naleṅ oste-käi ari tha-Ø-du, ḡeh-u-n-du*  
 NEG-okay-SAS-3SCOND present self-PM fear be-SAS-NPT beat-3P-1s→3-NPT  
*beryaṅ 'gäi-gäi ma-ḡe-ḡa, gäi si-ḡa-n, nan-yiṅ gä-ye*  
 that.time I-PM NEG-beat-s→1s/IMP I die-1s-PT now-ABL I-ERG  
*ma-gwi, su-ko woi, hara woi ma-loṅ, nem-te hok-ḡa-du.'*  
 NEG-steal who-GEN also what also NEG-do house-LOC be-1s-NPT  
 22 *'humi yoh-u-n-du, nany-e ḡah-u-na-du jet*  
 younger.sister look.at-3P-1s→3-NPT you-ERG say-3P-2s-NPT work  
*loṅ-u-n-du.' 23 ka uniṅ wakhe to-ko kulla-te nasäi-Ø-thyo.*  
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT this like word that-GEN ear-LOC hear-SAS-3SCOND  
 24 *'nan hara loṅ-sa? habi-ko rage let-ta-ḡa-le,*  
 now what do-INF before-GEN anger appear-IPP-1s-PCL  
*sat-u-n-uṅ, nan tap-Ø-an.' 25 libi wagal uniṅ*  
 kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT now be.finish-SAS-3S/PT after henhouse like  
*nem-ko khaṅou taṅ-Ø-du, to ari-Ø-ta-le kin-Ø-du.*  
 house-GEN door open-SAS-NPT that fear-SAS-IPP-PCL be.startled-SAS-NPT

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19 What does she [the child] know about her elder brother dying, but when she is older, will she know? 20 Then memories of what happened come flooding back 'I shouldn't have beat him like that.' 21 Then it was his time to be afraid, when she beat him [he said] 'don't beat me! I am dying, from now on I won't steal anymore, I won't take anything from anyone, I will stay at home.' 22 'I will look after my little sister, I will do what you say' [he had said]. 23 These were the words that she heard ringing in her ears. 24 'What is there left to do now? In my earlier rage, I killed him, now it's all over.' 25 Then the jailhouse door opened, and being frightened, she was startled.

26 *to unij nembo mi-pali woi nama hok-eŋ-du.* 27 *libi*  
 that like other.person person-p also with be-pAS-NPT after  
*to-kǎi ŋay-eŋ-du ‘kunyaŋ, hara-kǎi ca sat-u-na-n?’ ŋa-to-le.*  
 that-PM say-pAS-NPT how what-PM son kill-3P-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL  
 28 *to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du ‘habi habi woi gǎi-go ca-ye*  
 that-ERG say-sAS-3P-NPT before before also I-GEN son-ERG  
*gwi-Ø-u-thyo, gǎ-ye hani ŋah-u-n-uŋ, to*  
 steal-sAS-3P-3SCOND I-ERG how.much say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-ERG  
*ma-loŋ-Ø-u-no.’* 29 *‘libi jekha thah-Ø-an, ahe ahe*  
 NEG-do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after big be-sAS-3S/PT much much  
*gwi-to-le hen-Ø-u-no.’* 30 *‘libi dese mi-ko woi gwi-sa*  
 steal-TPP-PCL take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after village person-GEN also steal-INF  
*cawah-Ø-an.’* 31 *‘dese mi-ye ‘naŋ-ko ca gwi tha-Ø-du,*  
 walk-sAS-3S/PT village person-ERG you-GEN son thief be-sAS-NPT  
*oste-ko nem-te nah-o!’ ŋay-eŋ-ŋa-n.’* 32 *‘dese mi habi*  
 self-GEN house-LOC put-s→3/IMP say-pAS-1s-PT village person before  
*khen cikhet-sa aŋal-ŋa-n.’* 33 *‘tyaŋ libi kutaleŋ kutaleŋ-be, gǎ-ye*  
 face show-INF be.ashamed-1s-PT then after when when-TOP I-ERG  
*cya-sa woi ma-piy-u-n-uŋ.’* 34 *‘to-kǎi nem-te ami-sa woi*  
 eat-INF also NEG-give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-PM house-LOC sleep-INF also  
*ma-piy-u-n-uŋ.’* 35 *‘to loŋ-to-le woi kutaleŋ woi*  
 NEG-give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that do-TPP-PCL also when also  
*ma-jah-Ø-an, rage let-ŋa-n, maŋ-ŋaŋ me-ye*  
 NEG-okay-sAS-3S/PT anger appear-1s-PT body-inside fire-INS

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26 There are other people like her with whom she lives. 27 Later they ask her ‘how and why did you kill your son?’ 28 And she says ‘my son had been stealing for ages and ages already, how many times had I told him [to stop it], but he didn’t do as I said.’ 29 ‘Then he grew up and made off with tonnes of stolen stuff.’ 30 ‘Later he also started stealing from other villagers.’ 31 ‘The villagers said to me ‘your son is a thief, keep him in your own home!’’ 32 ‘I was ashamed of showing my face in the presence of villagers.’ 33 ‘And thereafter, I would sometimes not give him [my son] anything to eat.’ 34 ‘I didn’t even let him sleep at home anymore.’ 35 ‘Even doing this, things never improved, and in anger, I burnt his body with fire.’

- jyouth-u-n-uŋ.*' 36 'gǎ-ye huca nik-ŋa libi, cya-sa-kǎi phase  
burn-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-ERG child give.birth-CNS after eat-INF-PM flour  
*mar nah-u-n-thyo.*' 37 'gǎ-ye guru-kǎi apa-kǎi  
clarified.butter put-3P-1s→3-3SCOND I-ERG shaman-PM father-PM  
*urou-le nah-u-n-thyo, libi ca dese-yiŋ kyel-Ø-an.*'  
call-PCL put-3P-1s→3-3SCOND after son village-ABL come-SAS-3S/PT  
38 'gǎ-ye ca-kǎi 'mar kuta hen-u-na-n?' *ŋah-u-n-uŋ,*  
I-ERG son-PM clarified.butter where take-3P-2s-PT say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT  
*ma-cijyaŋ-Ø-an.*' 39 'tyaŋ libi serek-ta-ŋa-le, to-kǎi  
NEG-speak-SAS-3S/PT then after arise-IPP-1s-PCL that-PM  
*ŋeh-u-n-uŋ, mesek-e ma-nih-u-n-uŋ, hani*  
beat-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT eye-INS NEG-see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT how.much  
*ŋeh-u-n-uŋ.*' 40 'to-ko nis-gore lak sakpa-ye chyu-tuŋ-le  
beat-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-GEN two-CLF hand rope-INS tie-1s/TPP-PCL  
*nah-u-n-uŋ, kerep-Ø-an, 'gǎi-gǎi ma-ŋe-ŋa!' ŋa-to-le*  
put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT cry-SAS-3S/PT I-PM NEG-beat-s→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL  
*ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.*' 41 'nis-gore mesek-yiŋ raphil ci-let-Ø-u-no,  
say-SAS-1s-PT two-CLF eye-ABL tear CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT  
*khen-te coi hok-Ø-thyo.*' 42 'libi to-ko maŋ warǎiy-Ø-an,  
face-LOC blood be-SAS-3SCOND after that-GEN body shake-SAS-3S/PT  
*to-ko kapu-yiŋ coi let-le hok-Ø-thyo.*' 43 'konŋe-ko  
that-GEN head-ABL blood appear-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND leg-GEN  
*pokolek-te-ko sebi khüt-le hok-Ø-thyo.*' 44 'libi ugo  
knee-LOC-GEN skin peel.off-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND after mouth

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36 'After having given birth to the baby, I had stored up some flour and clarified butter to eat.' 37 'I had called the shaman and father, and later son came back from the village.' 38 'I said to son 'where have you taken the clarified butter?', but he didn't reply.' 39 'Then I got up and beat him, not seeing out of my eyes, who knows how much I beat him.' 40 'I tied his hands together with rope and he cried out to me, saying 'don't beat me!'' 41 'Tears streamed from both of his eyes and there was blood on his face.' 42 'Then his body shook and blood started coming from his head.' 43 'The skin was peeling off his knees.' 44 'Then he opened his mouth and at that time he may have asked for water.'

*taŋ-Ø-u-no, to beryaŋ to-ye paŋku amat-Ø-u-du thaŋun.'*  
 open-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that that.time that-ERG water beg-SAS-3P-NPT maybe  
 45 '*si-sa beryaŋ paŋku woi ma-piy-u-n-uŋ, tyaŋ to-ko*  
 die-INF that.time water also NEG-give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then that-GEN  
*maŋ sakalei coi sumaka hok-Ø-an.'* 46 '*ma-thaŋ ma-thaŋ libi,*  
 body all blood silent be-SAS-3S/PT NEG-be.able NEG-be.able after  
*duŋkuŋi-te hen-u-n-uŋ.'* 47 '*miŋ-te*  
 storehouse-LOC take-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT cloth-LOC  
*cic-amiy-u-n-uŋ.'* 48 '*ugo-te woi miŋ bu-tuŋ-le,*  
 CAUS-sleep-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT mouth-LOC also cloth cover-1s/TPP-PCL  
*ami-Ø-du uniŋ nah-u-n-uŋ.'* 49 '*to si-sa beryaŋ apa*  
 sleep-SAS-NPT like put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that die-INF that.time father  
*ma-daŋ-Ø-u-no, gǎi-gǎi urouh-Ø-u-no' ka ŋa-to-le ahe*  
 NEG-search-SAS-3→3/PT I-PM call-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this say-TPP-PCL much  
*kerep-Ø-an.* 50 *hara woi ŋa-sa ma-thaŋ-Ø-u-no, libi libi*  
 cry-SAS-3S/PT what also say-INF NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after after  
*wagal uniŋ thǎi-te siy-Ø-an.*  
 henhouse like place-LOC die-SAS-3S/PT

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45 'Even as he died I didn't give him water, and then his whole body was covered in blood and he fell silent.' 46 'When I was no longer able to do any more, I dragged him to the storehouse.' 47 'I lay him down in his clothes.' 48 'I covered his face to make it look as if he was sleeping.' 49 'When he died he didn't look for his father, but he called out to me', and saying this, she burst into tears. 50 She was unable to say anything else, and much later she passed away in that very same prison [lit. henhouse-like place].