

NOKDANGKO MAN·RIKANI

Gamrangko Sualani, Ma·gipa Ong·rikani
aro Bia Ka·anirang



Dr. Erik De Maaker

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Me·chikmarang sigipaona kil aro gipin on·anirangko
ole re·batokaha.

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Janapchengani

Ia ki·tap A·chik Songsarekrangni ma·dot ba padotni sio·bon·o maidake bebera·a aro ma·drang maharirang aro songsul·noksulrang baditana gamchata uarangko sandirikkite seaha. A·gilsakni re·angan baksa A·chikrangni janggi tangani gadang, bewalrang aro bebera·anirang dingtangangroroani gimin indakgipa ning·tubegipa aro gamchatbegipa dakbewal niam·ritirangko jaktuatroangengaha. Serika dongjani giminba gualroroangengaha.

Erik de Maaker indakgipa giticham niam·ritirangko sandie, mongsongbate mande siao maidakgipa bebera·anirang gnangchim, uarangni miksonganirangara maiachim aro uamang uarangko baditana kingking gamchate ra·achim, uarangko sandirikkite seaha.

Erik de Maaker Sadolpara songo 1999-2001 bilsiona dongkame iandakgipa A·chikrangni Niam·ritirangni gimin research dake University of Leiden, Netherland-o Ph.D.-ko man·aha aro ua da·o apsan Universityni, Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology-o Asst. Professor ong·enga. Mittelpilaniko mesokna gita Ua iako A·chikkuchi pe·ate chapa ka·ataha, Ia ki·tapko porae bang·anan u·idapani ong·gen ine chanchia.

Tura, June 26, 2019

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**Nokdangko Man·rikani:
Gamrangko Sualani, Ma·gipa Ong·rikani aro Bia
Ka·anirang¹**

Erik de Maaker

Angni dikdiksa somoirangna Indiani Sadolpara songo dongmiting salrango, pringsao saoba Gujakni siani koborko ra·baaha². Gujak adita bilsa re·anggimin me·chikma jean ua songo songdonggipa manderangni ma·drang-maharirangni gisepo niksenggipa ong·achim. Gujakni siara Sadolpara songo songdonggipa sak sotbongana komigija me·a aro me·chikrangni salantio ka·ronggipa kamrangko dontongataha. Uamang ua salo a·barangchi re·anggija kamrangko dontonge Gujakni siachi Chibonggre songona re·angtokaha.

Gujakni siani adita kontarangni ja·manon, baditaba ritcharangni manderang Chibonggre song aro uni wilwilao donggipa songrangoni (Sadolpara) Gujakni donggipa nokona sokbatokaha. Sokbagiparangoni adha-grikmanggitade me·chikrang ong·achim. Uamang sakantian Gujak aro uni sepangbatgipa bakdrangna on·anirangko ole ra·batokaha. Uamangni olbagipa kokrango chu dikka, merong, cha bijak, chini aro cha baksa cha·chapgipa cha·anirang (biscuits) gapachim. Manderangni dol ba toktokdake on·anirang gnanng sokbaanian uamangni Gujak baksa sepangbatgipa ma·drang ba jetjet kam·kam ong·aniko mesokachim. Sokbagiparangoni mitamde matchumangsa ba manggni dake sigipana aro uni nokdangni manderangna moe ra·bajolachim.

Jensalosokgiparangsokbatokaha, Gujakni sepangbatgipa bakdrangoni seokgimin manderangna bang·gija tangka aro uni chimonggimin gam jekai rang aro mil·am uandakgiparanko سوالنيو داکنا ا·bachengaha. Jemangan rang aro mil·amrangko man·achim uamang mamung jechakanigri ra·chakachim indiba jemangan tangkako tikatachim uamang ra·chakna jechakaha. Mitamrang tangkarangko bang·bate on·anirangko nisenga, indiba mitamrang on·dapgenchimoba ra·na jechakaniko dakanguachim. Bang·bata somoirangon bosturangko man·rikgiparang jechakgijan ra·chakronga maina uarangni gamchataniko tangkarangbaksa tojachim. Indiba tangkako man·giparang bang·bata somoirangon jechakronga maina uarangko ra·anichi maiba kamko dakna draatanignangkon. Ian angna aiao in mangipa sing·aniko ong·katataha! Maina manderangara uamangna on·anirangko ra·na jechaka? On·anirangko ra·chakjaoba Gujakni bakdrangara maina on·anirangko drae on·enga?

Skang salrangonin mande siao dingtangdingtang manianirangko aro kamrangko ka·ani bewalrangko nikna man·a. Mande sianio dakna nanganira skanggipa manggisiko galanian ong·a. Manggisiko galahaon kam bon·aiaha ong·ja, indiba duk man·enggipa nokdangrangna ka·dimeaniko on·aniba mingsa dakna nanggni ong·a (Huntington and Metcalf 1999). Manggisiko galahaon mandeni janggi bon·aniko miksonga, indiba uni siao pilak dakgipa kamrangan sianggipa Mandeni atchirama-sachina dakatgipa kamrang ong·bata (Bloch and Parry 1982). Ia kam bewalrangara janggi silchina uni songreanganio, atchirama-sachi janggi tanganio aro atchipilani somoio name janggi tangna gita aro nama biapo ong·na gita dakanirangko nikna man·gen. Hertz-

ni sandie nikani gita, sianiara janggini bon·ako miksongja indiba ian ge·sa gadango janggi tangaoni ge·gipin gadangona re·angskaanisa ong·skaa. Kalimantan-ni Ngaju Dayak aro Madagascar-ni Berawan jatrangni mande sigiminko gopani bewalko poraie nianigita, uamangni manggisiko changgni dake gopaniara sianggipa Mandeni janggini songreaniko mesokani chin ong·a. Skanggipa gopanio Mandeni be·enni gita sianiko miksonga aro gnigipa gopanio uni songsalo janggi tangani bon·aniko miksonga (Hertz 1960 [1907]). Mande janggi galahaon be·enni gita sianiko ong·ata. Indiba uni songsalo janggi tangani kamrang tangrikenggipa manderangoni uni watanggipa biapko ra·rikkujana kingking dongkua (Davis 2000, Walter 2008). Iandagipa kam bewalrangko Asia-ni salgipeng jolo songdonggiparangni ja·rikuenganikoba Randeria-ni (1999) seaoniko nikna man·engkua.

Mande siao ma·drangni dakna nangani kamrang dingtangdingtang obostarango pangchaka jekai, sianggipa Mandeni dakanggimin kamrang, uni donanggimin gam jinrang aro niamgita ma·drang-maharirangko uamangni dakna nangani kamrangko chu·sokatna ka·dongsoanirang. Uni gimin dal·gimin Mandeni sianiara at·chidaldal bi·sani siaona bate dakna nanganirangko bang·batata. Gujakni siani somoimitingo Sadolpara aro uni wilwilao donggipa songrango bang·a a·a, gam aro a·kinggorean ma·drang chatchini bilni ning·osa ong·ani gimin, saksa Mandeni an·tang chimonggipa gamde bang·a gamchata ong·jachim. A·ba o·e cha·anian uamangni janggitangna dake cha·gipa kam/chol ong·achim. Burunrangko a·ba o·e uano bilsisa bilsignina kam ka·e bilsigipinode gale donaiachim. Saoba an·tangna a·ba cha·na a·tot ra·pana skode uni man·e cha·ao pangchakja

indiba uni chatchi ba baknangaosa pangchakachim. Da·ororo ua songrango pangkamgipa ge·e game cha·ani cholrangko a·bachengengahaoba, ian gitalgipa janggi tangani chol ong·kuenga aro man·rikani aro a·kanganiko songgmikni niam-rition pangchakkuenga. Mahari ma·drang chananian manderangni songsalo janggi tanganio saksa-sakgipin baksa meli-nangrimaniko aro bakdrang ong·aniko mesoka. Ma·chong ba chatchi de·anichi A·chikrang A·chik ska baksa bak nanganiko u·iata ba agantalata. Iandakgipa ma·drang mahari chananirang donganichi sakobarang samingbarang baksa jetjet kam·kam ong·ata basakoba sanaba bate mongsonggipa mande ong·ata. Iandakgipa ma·drang mahari chananirangan mande siao bak ra·anikoba songsalo dakna nangchongmotgipa kam gita ong·ata, maina iandakgipa a·sel ong·ani somoirangon manderangna uamangni saksa sakgipin baksa jetjet kam·kam batgipa bakdrang ong·aniko me·sokna chol ong·a. Sigipao dongpae, sigipani nokdangni manderangni gamrangko sualanio bak man·paani, gamchatbata bosturangko man·rikpaani aro baditana na·a on·anirangko kusi ong·e ra·chaka uan nang·ni ua nokdang baksa sepangbatgipa bak ba jetjet kam·kam ong·aniko paraka. Ia on·anirang mikkangchi on·pilskaani aro sianggipa Mandeni nokdangrang baksa mikkangchi bak chane dongna ku·mikchetani miksongani ong·a. Gamrangko on·anirang bang·bata somoirangon altue matchotrongja, indiba aganmitugrikani aro ku·mikchetanignangsa ong·bata. Uni gimin Bloch aro Parry-ni nikanio gita A·chikrangni mande siao dakgipa kamrangara songsalo meli-nangrime donganikosan mesokja indiba songsalni niam-ritiba ong·a (Bloch and Parry 1982,218) maina mande siao dongpaaniara duk man·enggipa

nokdangna aro bakdrang baksa meli-nangrime donganiko aro mittelpilaniko mesokani ong·a. Iandakgipa A·chikrangni dakbewal, Mandeni saksa-sakgipin baksa ku·mong-nangrime dongna nanganikoba parakani ong·a.

Ia kan·dikgipa seanio, anga A·chikrangni mande siao maidake gamrangko suala aro sana suala uarangni bidingo sandie nianiko dakaha³. On·anirangara mamungsaloba indin ong·ja (Gregory 1982, laidlaw 2000). Mittelpile on·anirangko ra·chakani aro ma·drang mahariko sandiani, mikkangchi janggi tanganio dakna nanggni grorangkoba ong·katata. Mauss-ni jera ra·gipa ritingrango gita on·anirangara dingtangdingtang on·pilskaanirang baksa bakrimatako man·a (Mauss 1990). Ia on·pilskaanirangara nikna man·gipa bosturangchisan ong·aigija, ka·sae mande ra·e dangdike on·anichi on·pilskaanirangba gngang. Indide A·chikrangni mande siao on·anirangara maiko miksonga? Ia on·anirangara maia ka·sae dakaniko mesoka? Baditana kingking on·giparangara gisik nange miksongagnang on·aniko daka aro unbaksana badita nangrimgrikaniko ong·ata? (Rio 2007).

A·chikrangni mande siao ka·gipa kamrang jatni dakbewal-rikbewalrangoni mingsa bak ong·paa. Manderang ia kamkoba mingsa maniani bak ine chana. A·chikrang ia dakbewalrangkon chengo atchu-ambini chasongoni ja·rikbaenggipa bewalrang ine janapronga. Indaken ia bewalrangkkon kakketgipa niam-riti ine chu·sokataniko dakronga. Gitcam lekka segiparang, ia niamrangko raken mania ine janapgenchimoba, ia niamrangkora olgroke manironga indiba kakketo maniani ja·pangranggita jakkalskaa (Chattopadhyay aro Sangma 1989, Costa 1954, Marak

2000(1986), Marak 1964). Ia niamrangni miksonganirang bang·naba g·nang, jekai, saniba siao saniba bak ra·aniara saniba nikaniode dingtang miksonganiko aro u·ianiko ong·katatnaba donga. Ia niamrangni a·selsa manderangara siao dakna nanggipa kamrangko chu·sokatengama? Ma siao bak ra·anian uamangni melie·nangrime donganiko mesoka?

Mande Siao Dakgipa Kamrang

Sadolpara aro Chibonggre a·brini songrang ong·a. Uano songdonggiparang bang·batan A·chikrang ong·a. Britishrangni Indiako sason ka·ani somoirangonin A·chikrangko a·brini jatrang⁴ ine seokaha. Ia baseaniko uamangni ku·sik aganani, daka·rikani bewalrang aro janggi tangani bewalrango pangchake seokaha. A·chikrang Tibeto-Burman dolni ku·sikko agangipa jatrang ong·a. uamang ma·achiko chatchi de·giparang aro uamangni toromo bebera·anio gipin samtangtango donggipa jatrangoni dingtanggiparang ong·a. Uamangni a·brini jat ine seokaniko man·anichi Meghalaya a·songni saliram jolrangko nirokna gita Garo Hills District Council-ko ong·atna cholko man·aha. Da·odipet ia District Council-an A·chikrangni a·a, chi aro niamko rakkigipa ong·enga. India a·songo mitam jatrangna a·brini jat ine seokako man·anichi adita namgnirangko man·enga. Meghalaya state-ni A·chikrangba indakgipa namgipa cholrangko man·paa, jekai kam ka·anina kajinna gamna nangja, sorkario kamrangko ka·na seokanio apsan bakrangko suale man·ani aro poraina aro a·songko dilna seokanirango dingtangmancha biaprangko kange donaniko man·a.

British-rangni sason ka·na skangde A·chikrang pilakan Songsarek ong·tokpitichim. British-rangni sason ka·an baksa Australia aro North-America-ni Missionary-rang A·chik a·songona sokbaaha. Chi·skugipa century-ni bijangchirangon Kristian torom Garo Hills-ona sokbagenchimoba uko gipatna bang·bea somoirangko nangaha. 1970 aro 1980 bilsirangosa lekka-porarangko a·bachengate aro jillarango donggipa skia-pora man·giparangni didianichisa bang·a A·chikrangkon Kristian toromko ra·atna man·aha (Burling 1997 [1963]). Uandaken bang·a bilsirangnan A·chik mande gitcamrang an·tangtangni bebera·anion kim·kim janggi tangbaaha aro uan chasing gitalni A·chikrangnaba a·gilsakni gita toromo janggi tanganio pangchakani ja·pang ong·kuenga.

Angni Indiao dongkame kam ka·ani somoirango, songsarek A·chikrang Garo Hills-o namen komibeaha. Badiaba songadamrangosan (Sadolpara aro Chibonggreko chanchape) Kristian toromko ra·na jechakaniko nikna man·aiaha. Ua songrangoba Kristian toromko ja·rikgiparang gnang aro uamangba gro·a·sel ong·ani salrango bak ra·paaniko daka. Kristianrang mande siaona re·bae bakkode ra·a indiba Songsarekni niam gita manianirangkode ja·rikskajaha (de Maaker 2007).

Sianiara mandeko namen ning·tue chanchina nanganio ga·akata. Mandeni janggi tangani obosta aro uni siani ba uni rasongo sesoagitasa ong·a ine chanchichipna man·a. A·chik Songsarekrangni bebera·a gita, mande siahaon uni janggi balwa gita be·enoni ong·katanga. Jensalo janggi galaha unon me·mang ong·skaa. Watanggipa janggiko atchirama-sachina dilatanian tangrikenggipa manderangni kam

ong·a. Ian sianggipa mandeko mande ra·anikoba mesoka. Sianggipa Mandeni janggiko atchirama-sachiba me·mang a·songchi watatanian tangrikenggipa manderangni dakna nang·chongmotgipa kam ong·a, maina janggirang uamangni dongramona sokangjaode a·gilsako brange donga aro manderangna bang·a namgijanirangko ong·ata.

Mangisiara maranggnanggiparang ong·a jean rongtalgijaniko ra·baa. Ia marangrangko rongtalatna gita manggisiko ta·raken galaniko dakna nanga. Man·a ong·ode siani salon galaniko daka. Skang salrangode A·chikrang manggisiko so·e galachim indiba da·rorode gope galaniko dakskaengjok. Uamangni agana gita mangisiko so·ana bate gope galan altubata aro galna gita somoirangkoba bang·e nangja. Haida ia gope galanira Kristian toromko daksninganiba ong·naba donga. Eschatology·ba Mandeni siani ja·mano mai ong·a uarangko poraigipaba sandie nigiparang che·em·che·em sandianirangko dakgenchimoba, anga A·chikrangni mande sianio dakgipa kamrang aro manianirang maikai songsalo janggi tangani obostako dingtangata uanigiminsan on·tisa sandianiko dakna ska. Skanggipa anga A·chik a·songrango maikai saksa-sakgipinbaksa meli-nangrime donga aro maikai ma·drang-mahari chane donga uarangnigimin chanchirimna nangnikchenga. Uni ja·manosa ia mangru-mangonaniba mande siao manianirang maikai dingtanganiko ra·baa uani gimin chanchirimaniko dakna ska.

Ma·drang Ong·rikani

A·chikrangni mande siao dingtangdingtang manianirango manderang nokprakonin saksasrude sokbatoka. A·chikrang nokdangprakan mingsasru gam ba a·ani nokgiparang ong·a (Levi-Stauss 1991, Carsten and Hugh Jones 1995). Nokdang ge·prakon me·chik aro uni segipa aro bia ka·kugijagipa bi·sarang aro me·chikni/jikgipani bia ka·kugijagipa nogipa ba jonggiparang donga. Nok baksa man·chapgipa gamrangara nokmong, mi jam, jakkalani bosturang, chimonggimin cha·ani, mi bitchil aro a·bao ge·e game man·giparang, jila-kaanirang, atchu-ambioniko man·rikgipa ripok, rang, silchidare/mil·am aro damarang, unbaksana a·ani aro baganbarini nokgipa ong·aniko ba nokni gamrang baksa chanchapa. Nokdangni plak gnangrang aro gam·jinni kosako bil man·ani jikgipani ba·saa ba chatchirangni ong·a. Segipa jean gipin ba·saa⁵ ba chatchioni ong·achim ukode nokni skotong⁶ dake chanskaa. Bia ka·ahaon segiparang jikgipani ma·drang baksa chanako man·a. Uni gimin uaba jikni noa namchikrang aro ba·rimarang gita chacha ong·pana nanga aro uamang baksa bak ra·paanikon nangnika, unbaksana me·asarang badia chatchioba ma·ao atchiachim ua chatchiniba bak ong·a aro nokdangni aro maharini chra gita nirokgipa aro rakkigipaba ong·a. Me·asa aro me·chikni maharirangni nangrime bia ka·e on·anirango mahari ge·gnian ku·mikchetanirangko daka. Iandakgipa a·kim ga·anirangba sakoba jikgipa ba segipani siao uni ma·drang maharirang sianggipani randi ba randana on·songrikani groko gamna nanga. Me·chikma saksa jean bang·gi ja salrang skang segipako gimaatahachim, ua ia on·songani miksonganiko angna talate on·angaha. Uamang do·si do·doke jikse ong·ahachim. Me·chikna skang me·asa

sichenganigimin uano me·asani maharirang gro nanggiparang ong·aha aro niam gita uamang gipin me·asako sandie on·na nangaha. Me·chik sichenggenchim ong·ode a·kim chotna gita me·chikni maharirang nangenchim. Sigipani palo on·songrikna man·anian a·kim chotani ong·achim. Indake sigipani biapko ra·na sandie on·anikon datanga ba on·songa ine agana. A·kim gro nanganiara dingtangman·cha sigipani nokdangni ba uni atchichakgipa nokdangni aro sepangbatgipa bakdilrangni dai ong·a. Uni gimin gro chotanirang uamangni dakna nangchongmotgipa kam ong·a. Je mandekon sigipani pal on·songrikengachim uamande apsan nokoni ba apsan chatchi ba·rimaoni ong·na nanga maina apsan ma·drang ba chatchioni ong·gijanikode on·rikna man·jachim. A·kim gamanirangara jikgipa ba segipani siao pangchake dingtanggrikanirang gnan. A·kim on·aniko sianggipani demechikna nokkrom ra·anichiba ma·gipani biapko ra·na man·a. Ua demechikan nokna dongipa ong·a, jean chonbatgipa ong·aigija sakgipinba ong·na man·a. Badiaba nokdango demechik dongjaode ba nokni demechikrang darangba nokko man·rikna sikjagenchimode jikgipani nogiparang jean nokni ma·gipa ong·na namnikachim uko deragatna man·a. Je me·chikkon nokko man·rikna ba on·songrikna baseachim ua pagipani gritangko (grisokchiko) do·sie dongna nanga. Gri sokchina pagipani nogipa ba abitangni depanteranigoniko basea, jedakode uan chawarini mamatang je·et ong·gen aro uan mamatangni ba obiteni gamko man·rikgipaba ong·gnok. Uandake nokdangrang ma·gipaoniko demechikni man·rikani aro mamatangoniko gritangni man·rikaniba ong·a. landakgipa on·rikaniko nokni skotong ba bribatgipa me·asa siosa dakbata. Jensalo nokni padot sia unon uni biapko gritangna

on·rika aro uan uni jikgipani ma·gipaniba (niotangni) segipa ong·skaaha. Indiba, nokni dal·batgipa me·chik segipana skang siode nokkromrang noko ra·rikna man·ja maina pagipa an·tangni demechikko ra·na dongna man·ja. Indakgipa obostarango a·kim chotna gita randana sianggipa jikgipani ma·drangoniko demechik nanggijako sandie on·na nanga. Ama nokadamko sigipani pal on·songrikosa tange rakkina man·a. Uni gimin on·songrikanira dakna nangchongmotgipa kam ong·a. Niamni gita sigipani pal on·songrikaniko kalimani ba sigipana kam dakmiting somoion matchotatna nangachim, indiba bang·bata somoion on·rikna gita mandeko gitik-gitak man·rongjanigimin ma·drang dolgnini gita ku·monggrike salko manchie antisa ba jasani gisepo a·kim chotna gita ku·chakronga. Jensalo sigipani pal on·rikaniko dakaha aro ama nokadamko cha·songrikaha unon ua nokni pagipa, ma·gipa aro ambitang atchutang minge okamanirang dingtang ong·baaha. Demechikgipa ma·gipani biapko ra·rikode uan nokni demechikrangni ma·gipa ba ama ma·de ong·skaaha aro su·giparangni ambitang ong·skaaha. Gritang nokni padotni biapko ra·rikskaode ua nokni bi·sarangni apa awing aro su·giparangni atchutang ong·rikskaaha.

Nokdangantini jiksea jora prakan chasing ba wapakko mesoka. Je nokdangrangan ru·uta chasongrangoni dongaha ua nokkon nokbibol ba nokpangma ine minga aro uanoni ong·katgipa nokrangkon nokbipek ine minga. Nokrangni dal·bata ba chonbatako me·sokani gadangrang ma·gipaoni demechikrangona chatchi mahari chanao pangchaka. Nokdang dakchenggiparang apsan chasongni ong·genchimode uamangni at·chiani bilsio pangchake dal·bata ba chonbatako basea. Nokrangko sulsul skanggipa gadangoni bon·kamgipa

gadangona changenchimode namen bakrogipa ong·a. Indiba basakoba basakoba bijangchirango badiaba nokrangni ama ma·nokko ong·katatakoba nikna man·a.

Ma·drang chatchi chananirangara namen apalgipa ong·ani gimin iako saksa mandechide ong·atna man·ja indiba bang·a gadangrangni manderangko donchimongesa dakna man·a. Jekai ma·drangni ma·jongtang ba ma·detangrangko saniba ma·gipa chananirang. Ian saksa mandeo ma·gipa, pagipa jong-adarang aro no-abirangni bang·aniko mesoka. Ma·drang bakdrang chane dongna uamangni an·chi apsan ba·rimarantonisan ong·na nanga indake ong·ja indiba jemangan salantini janggitanganio saksa sakgipinko dakchakgrike janggi tanga uamangkoba man·chapa. Ma·drang chananirang uamangni sepangbate bak nanganio mongsonggipa ong·aniko mesoka. Ia sepangbate bak nanggiparangan mande siao dakna nanggipa kamrangkoba ku·monggrike dakdilna aro matchotatna nanga. Sia bon·ani salrangon manderang jinmana uamangni ma·drangna aro nio-cheksarirangni gisepo badita dal·gipa ba niksenggipa ong·paa uko paraka aro ian dakgipa somoirangon sianggipa mandena aro uni nokdangna niamni gita bang·a on·anirangko on·e rasongko man·na gitaba cholba ong·a.

Sigimin Mandeni Janggi tanganiko Gisik ra·ani

A·chikrang mande siao sakantian dingtangdingtang dakgipa bakrangko ra·a. Uamangni bak ra·aniko minggitam rokomrangni nikna man·a aro uan uamangni sigipa aro uni nokdangni manderang baksa baditana kingking sepangbate bak nangachim uano pangchaka. Skanggipa rokomo bak

ra·giparang uamang sigipani atchichakgipa nokni manderang (ma·a, no-abirang), me·chikchiko chatchi chane sigipani jikgipabarandini nokdangni manderang aro uni sepangbatgipa ma·drang ba bakdrang. Gnigipa rokomni manderang uan me·chikni ma·drang-mahari (bia ka·gimin me·chik siode uan skanggipa rokomming apsan ong·aia). Gittamgipa rokomoba kra·giparang uan sigipani nio-cheksarirang ong·a. Bang·bata salrangon saksa Mandeni siaon badiaba manderangni ia minggitam janapgimin rokomranggitaba kra·anikoba nikna man·a, mongsongbate iako bia ka·gimin me·asarang dakbata. Basakoba me·asarang mande siao dakna nanggipa kamrangko ma·ni-noni ma·drangna chragita dakdila aro basakobara jikgipani ma·drangni bak gita kamrangko ka·dila.

Manderang badiako sako janapgimin rokomo ga·aka, uani kri uamang sigipana dakatgipa kamko chu·sokatnaba nanga. Je nokdangon mande sia, ua nokdangni ba·rimarang aro sepangbatgipa bakdrangan sigipana dakna nanga kamrangko jako ra·e ka·dilna nanga. Jekai sigipako pujuao manggisiko badita gamchatgipa ba·rachi pindapgen? Uni chimonggipa gamrang jekai ripok, seng·ki, rang aro mil·amrangko sana sualgen aro baditako sana tikatgen? Manggisiko so·gen ma gopgen? Gopgenchim ong·ode una mangsundukko wa·achi tarigenma bolchi tarigen? Iarang pilakkon mama adarangan chanchie dakdilna nangao ga·aka.

Sigipana kam a·sel dakaniko badita dal·e dakgen aro sana sana koborrangko on·gen uan skanggipa chanchichengani ong·achim. Sigipani niksenga niksenggijao pangchake kamrangko songtangan matchotatnaba man·aba uni ma·drang mahari aro nio-cheksarirang jemangan songsulo dongachim

uamangnaba koborko watatna man·a. Ian name chanchie ka·na nanggipa kam ong·a. Bang·gija manderangkosan okamataigenchimode koborko man·pagijagiparang gisik sagenchim; una bang·a manderangko aganatgenchim ong·ode, sigipani sepangbatgipa bakdrang ong·pajaoba re·ange bakko ra·na nangachim.

Siani koborko man·sogipa manderangba siaona re·na gita chanchisona nangachim. Ianoba sigipa baksa bak nangpaanira altua ong·jachim: badita sigipa mandeming sepangbate bak nanga inditan siaona re·anggija dongna namja aro badita sigipani chelgipa bakdrang ong·a inditan sigipaona re·ange bak ra·ena jajaanirang g·nangchim. Sigipaona re·na mangsongengon sokgiparang maiko sigipani nokdangona ra·e re·gen uko chanchina nangachim. Mitam on·anirang dam rakgiparang aro gamchatgiparang ong·jaoba uarang on·na nangchongmotgiparang ong·achim. Iandakgipa on·anirangara mi birong jakkomsa aro jetkugijagipa kil ong·achim jekon sigipa Mandeni janggina atchirama-sachina bitchilna ra·angna on·atachim. Gipin on·anirang jekai wak, matchu matte aro tangkarangan gamchatgipa on·anirang ong·achim.

Tangka, wak, matchu matte indakgiparangko sigipana aro uni ma·drangrangnaba on·aniko daka. Ian tangrikgiparangko dakchakna miksonge on·ani ong·a, ia on·aniko nabisi on·a ine agana. Sigipana minge on·gipa pilak matchu matterangkon kam a·sel dakani somoion den·na nanga. Uarangko sigipani janggi baksa me·mang a·songona watchapatna miksonge so·otachim. Ia den·gimin matchu materangni be·enkon sokbagipa manderangna song·e chane on·skaachim. Sigipani

jetjet kam·kam bakdrangan sokbagiparangko soka chakna nangachim. Sigipana matchu mangprakni bikit ba ka·kitko soprake uni nokni sa·rao sigipani bosturangko donchakna dongipao chimonge donachim. Sigipana minge on·gipa tangkarangko uni ma·drang aro bakdrangrangnan on·anirang gita suale on·skaachim.

Manderang baditana kingking tangka aro matchu matterangko sigipana aro uni nokdangna on·a inditan uamangni jetjet kam·kam bak nanganiko mesokachim. Badita sepangbate bak nanga inditan dakchakanirangba bang·batachim. Iandake on·anirangara on·enggipa mandeko sigipa aro uni nokni manderang baksa bak nangpaaniko mesoka. Sepangbatgipa bakdrangoni jekon matchu matte on·na ka·dongachim indiba an·tangni on·na nanganiko chu·sokatjaha ua mandeko bakdrangko changala gita ba gisik nangja gita ra·skaachim.

Ma·gipa Ong·aniko Seokani

Jensalo bang·a ma·drang maharirang mande siaona sokbatokaha unon sigipani nokni manderang sokbagiparangna on·pilskaaniko dakna nanga. Iandakgipa on·pilskaanirangoni ma·gual on·aniba mingsa ong·a jekon sigipani ama ma·nokrangna on·pilskaa. Ma·gual on·na atchu·ambiniko man·rikrikgipa gam jekai rang, rikgitok, seng·ki aro mil·amrangko jakkala. Ia gamrangara gamchata aro man·na altugiparang ong·ja, uni gimin da·ororode uamang gamrangni paltangkarangko ma·gual on·enga⁷. Uamangniaganritingbaani gita ia gamrangko uamang skang chasongrangonin atchu·ambioniko man·rikrikbaenga uandaken Sadolparao

songdonggipa manderangba ia gamrangko uamangni songdongbagipa songgitchamonikon man·baaha ine agana. Mitam manderang ia gamrang A·chikrangni Tibet a·songoni katbachengani somoionin dongkuenga ine agana⁸.

Je ong·oba ia gitichamgipa gamrangkora ma·gual on·anichi chasongsaoni chasonggipinona man·rikrikangenga. Nok ge·sao mande siode ua nokni manderangni gamrang ma·gual on·anichi nokgipinona sokanga⁹. Je giticham gamrangkon ma·gualna minge on·achim ua gamrangkon sigipa Mandeni grengrangbaksa toa. “Ian angni angjongni greng” ine me·chikma saksa uni jonggipani siao man·bagiparanko mesokaha aro uan uni jonggipako gisik ra·na on·gipa ong·a ine janapaha. Mande siao on·giparangan sigipa mande baksa bak dongpaako paraka. Indiba iandagipa on·rikrikanirangara skang salrango sigipa manderangni bak nanganiko guale on·daprikrikaniba ong·skaa. Gital mande sigipako gisik ra·ana agre, ia man·rikrikigipa gamrang banoni aro sanoniko man·chengaha uarangni gimin serikani aro aganani dongjahaoba ian bang·a sigiminrang baksa bak nangpaa aro uamangko gisik ra·na on·giminrang ine u·ina man·a¹⁰.

Sigipa Mandeni nokdangni chrarang sianggipa Mandeni ama ma·nokni nokni manderang jemangan siaona re·baa uamangna ma·gualko on·na nanga. Sigipani ma·a no·abirangna gamchatgipa ma·gualko on·chengna nanga aro uni chelkalgipa ma·drang maharinade gamchatani komigipa ma·gualkoba on·na man·a¹¹.

Je nokdangan ma·gualko ra·chaka uan sianggipa mandeko an·tangni detang ine chana ba mesokani ong·a. Uandake jemangan ma·gualko ra·chakja iandagipa bak

nanganiko jegalani ong·skaa. Basakoba me·chikni siao ma·gual on·aniko ra·chakjaode, “Na·a indake jechakode sigipana ama apa dongjanoa” ine ma·gualko on·gipa aganachim. Unbaksana ma·gualko ra·chakna nanggipa nokdang ma·gualko jechakode uamangni ma·drang mahari gimikkon jejala gita ong·a. Bang·a manderangan ma·gualko ra·na jechakode sigipani nokdangni chrarang indake sing·rongachim, “na·simang maina chingko mande ra·jaenga? Na·simang chingko angsu channa sikjaengama? Je mandean indakgipa sing·aniko sing·achim uan sigipani nokdangni aro ma·drang mahari gimikni chra ong·achim aro jemangko ua sing·achim uamangan sigipani ama ma·nokni chrarang ong·achim.

Sigipani nokni chrarang ma·gualko man·na kragipa nokdangrangna on·naba tikatna nanga. On·anirango jemangan sigipani sepangbatgipa ba jetjet kam·kam ong·achim uamangna sulsul sepangbatgipaoni سوالانیکو ا·bachengronga. Skanggipao sigipani ambitang dal·gipaoni ambitang chongiparangona سوالانگا. Ambitangni nokoni ma·jongtangona, ma·gipaona, ma·detangona, abitangona, nogipaona aro uandake namchiktangrangona سوالانیکو داکا. Sigipa Mandeni dal·batgipa bakdrangoni chonbatgipa bakdrangona sulsul سوالانیکو دکانیرا dal·giparangko mande ra·aniko mesoka. Dal·batgiparangna gamchatbatgipa gamrangko on·chenganio bak man·paanian an·tangni sigipa baksa baditana sepangbate bak nanga aro dal·gipa raggipa ong·achim uako mesokna chol man·achim.

Angni sandie kam ka·ani somoirango, ma·gualko سوالانی bidingo name talbate u·ina anga jotton ka·beaha. Sisini siani salo uni nokni chrarang Rengteng minggipa Mandeni

sokbakujana kingking ma·gualko سوالنا مان·جاءا. Ua mande Sisini atchu dal·gipa ong·achim ارو Sisini nokchongmotni skotongba ong·achim¹². Rengtengni sokbaan tap una rang narikki silko on·aha. Iandakgiparang inditana gamchatgipa ong·jachim unigimin ua “angna mamungkoba on·na nangjawa” ine ka·sine agane ma·gualko jechakaha. Ma·gualko uni ra·chakjadipet gipinrangna سوالنا مان·جاءا ine Rengteng u·iachim. Rengtengni ra·chakna kusi ong·gijako Nikon Sisini nokni chrarang una maiba gamchatbata on·aniko nangenga ine rang·sanan u·ina مان·اهاءا. Uni gimin uamang on·tisa gamchatkalgipa rang kasamatiko on·skaaha jekon Rengteng kusi ong·e ra·chakaha. Sigipani ama ma·nokni me·chikba me·asa siaona re·angon ma·gualko ra·chakna nanga. Iandake Rengteng gita ama ma·nokni chrarang ma·gualko ra·na jechakon ua sigipani nokdangoniko maiba gamchatbata on·aniko nangnikenga ine mesoka.

Basakoba mitam manderang nambata ma·gualna dabia, mitamrangde ra·chakna jegala ba on·aniko nangniksrangja. Ia ra·chakna nangnikgijagiparang bang·bata somoion jetjet kam·kam ong·gijagiparang ba ma·de ma·jong dakgipa nokdangrangoni ong·bata. Iandakgipa nokdangrangna sigipani nokni manderang gamrangko on·gija tangkarangkosa on·bata. Tangka on·anirangna bang·bata somoion chonbatgipa tangka gongrangkosan jakkalbatachim. Iandakgipa on·anirangko tiktak ong·atna bang·gijako on·dape ba changale meliatrongachim. Sigipani nokni chrarang, sigipani chelkalgipa ma·drang maharirangko iandakgipa on·anirangko ra·chakatna jotton ka·rongachim. Uamang tangkarangko dol·romrome ra·chakgijagipa Mandeni jepo ba cholani gitokrango sike on·bekrongachim. Indake

on·draanirangchi basakobade ma·sichakgrikgijanirang aro jegrik-ding·grikanirangko ong·atpilachim. landakgiparangko chagrongon maidakgipa obostangko ong·atgen darangba agansona man·ja. Adita somoirangna badi ka·ani ja·manosa ma·gualko ra·chakna nanggipa jechakangkugenma ma uko ra·chakatna man·gen uko u·ina man·a.

Rengji saksa brikalgipa me·chikma ong·achim. Uni su·gipa Nagalni siani somoio ua sigipani sepangbatgipa bakdrangko dakchakna tangka gong kolgrikko on·paaha. Uni on·aniara, gipin nokbrini matchu on·ani aro adita tangkarangko on·ako nisusae kraa on·anian ong·jachim. Uni sokbaani adita kontarangni ja·mano Rengji Nagalni sarao donggipa kachariona re·bae asongeha. Unon Nagalni adatang saksa re·bae una dol·romromgipa tangkako on·e “Ambi iako ra·bo, iako ra·bo... maidake iako na·a jechakna man·gen? Iako ra·jaode niam gita ong·jawa” ine aganaha. Rengji mamungkoba daggija jripjrip dongaiaha. Unon ua tangkarangko Rengjini chola ning·chi sikataha. “Na·a iarangko ra·oba chinga gro jokjawa aro iarangko ra·jaoba gro jokjawa” ine Nagalni obitegipaba re·bae aganepaaha. Rengji tangkarangko badale channa a·bachengaha. “Chingo rang gnangode nang·nade rangkosa on·anichim, dongode rang narikki silko nang·na on·genchim iade bang·gija on·anisan ong·aia” ine Nagalni adatang Rengjini ki·sangchipak tangkako on·pilna man·jana gita jitekataha. “Nagal·ara nang·ni su·gipaan nang·ni nokni detanggitan, chingaba jawanikode ra·na aganjaengaba” ine Wilsengba agandapaaha.

Iandake siana kam dakani salo, ma·gualko on·enggipa me·asarang ma·gualko ra·chakenggipa Rengjiko sianggipa

Nagalni noktangni ambitang gita chachan chanachim. Ian Rengjini uamangni nokdango mongsonggipa ong·aniko paraka. Nagalni adatangni agana gita man·a ong·ode Rengjina rangkosa ma·gual on·na nangachim, nokni mongsonggipa mandena rangni pal tangkako ma·gual on·aniara uamangni groko matchotatjachim. Changsatai ma·gualko chu·onggija on·anigimin jechaktaioaba uamanggro nangtaiachim, uni gimin Nagalni nokni manderang Rengjiko ma·gualko ra·chakatna draatako man·achim. Ma·gualko uni nangnika gita on·a man·jaoba jekon una tikatahachim ukode ra·chakpachina uamang mol·molaha aro bon·kamao Rengjiba ma·gualko ra·chakna namnikaha.

Sigipa mande baksa bak nangpaako aro uni mongsonggipa ong·aniko mesokna, Rengjiko jedake ma·gualko ra·na didiahachim uandake sigipani nokni mama adarang bang·a manderangkon ma·gualko ra·na didina nangachim. Je nokdangrangni manderangko name tale u·ija, aro uamang ma·gualko ra·chakama ra·chakjawa u·isoja indakgipa nokdangrangna agan·talatna aro didina rakgipa kam ong·achim. Ma·gualko on·gipa mande an·tangko onatbee ma·gualko ra·chakenggipa Mandeni uamangni nokdangna aro bakdrangna mongsonggipa ong·paaniko aro uamangni gadangni kri kraa on·anirangko chu·onge on·na man·gijaniko janaprongachim. Manderangna agan·talataniko dakna aro ma·gualko on·e matchotatna mama adaragon ka·dongachim. Ilandakgipa chrarang didianiko dako chu·sokjaode, uamang ma·gualko on·na sikja ine bebera·achim. Ma·gualko ma·drang bakdrangna sualna sigijaniara namen kraatchaani kam ong·achim, ian sigipani nokdangnasan ong·aigija uni pilak ma·drang maharina namgija bimungkoba ra·baachim.

Rengji gita dakgipa mande ma·gual on·ako ra·chakna jechakode uamang uni sigipani nokdangna dakchakna baditako on·paa uko janape tosusaaniko dakachim. Chu·onga gita ba bang·a tangka paisarangko on·e dakchakna man·pajaode ma·gualko ra·na kraatchaani ong·achim. “Angade mamungkoba on·e dakchakna man·paja, niamko ja·rikomaiba maidake ra·chakgen?” ine me·chikma saksma ma·gual on·aniko jechakaha. “Angode mamung on·ani dongpaja, angade ra·chakjawa, ian kraatchaani ong·gen,” ine me·asa saksaba ma·gual ra·na jechakaha. Indioba ma·gualko ra·na jechakanian sianggipa mande baksa an·tangni bak nangpaaniko jegalani ong·achim. Iandakgipa jegalanirangko ong·katatjana gita manderang sigipani nokdangni on·enggipa tangkarangna bate komibatera·e niamko chu·sokratrongachim. Iandake dakanichi uamang chu·onga gita dakchakpana man·jaoba sianggipa mande baksa bak nanganiko mesokna chol ong·paachim.

Sigipani ma·drang maharioni chel·kalgipa bakdrangrangoniba ma·gualko ra·na man·a. Iandakgipa madrangrangko ma·gualko ra·chakna ka·dongani komia aro sigipani nokni manderangba uamangko ra·na draatja. Iandakgipa ma·drangna ma·gual on·aniko dako uamangni jechakanian sigipani ama manokoni sepangbatgipa bakdrang ong·ja ine mesokani ong·a.

Sianggipa Mandeni chrarang ma·gual on·aniko dakengon, ma·gualko ra·chakna sigipa mande sianggipa mandeming baditana sepang bate bak nanga uko sandichengronga. Iandake sandiani ja·manosa uamang ua mandena ma·gualko on·na kraama kraja, ua Mandeni ma·gualko ra·na jechakanira

ong·ama ong·ja uko chanchichenga. Bakdrang chananirang aro nanganirang dingtang dingtang obostarango pangchaka, uni gimin ma·gual on·enggipa manderangna ua badia nokoni mai dake bak nangachim uko tale ma·sina neng·achim. Indake damsanda mande sigipao, ma·gual on·gipa me·asa “Chingko jechakgipaa chingchi re·baama re·bapiljawa aro chingni groko gisik ra·etpiljawama?” ine me·chikma saksao sing·aha. Apsandaken ma·gualko man·na kragiparangba an·tangtangni sigipa mande baksa bak nangpaaniko mesokna nanga. Umangni sigipani nokdangko dakchakna on·anirangosan pangchakaigija, gamchatbata ma·gualko dabiani aro umangni on·ana bate komibate ra·na chanchianiba ma·gualko ra·na jechaksranganihiba parakna man·a.

Iarangna agreba, je nokon sigipani ma·gipani nok ine chanachim ua nokni manderangan sigipani pal on·songrikanikoba dakna nanga. Ia on·songrikaniko a·kim kaanio pangchake dakna nangachim, indiba ia on·songrikaniko sigipani nokdangni ma·gual on·kujadipetde dakrongja. “Umang (me·chikni maharirang) rang·rangko on·osa me·chikko bia ka·na wat·na ku·chakenga” ine sigipani pal on·rikna nanggipa nokdangoni saniba agananirangkoba knaronga. Badiaba nokrang ma·gualko ra·chakeba sigipani pal on·rikna man·jaode ukon ma·gual guala ine manderang aganronga. Ma·gual ian sigipani atchichakgipa biapona ba songtang noktangona on·atgipa on·anirang ong·a. jekon mande sigipani grengrang baksa toa, ian sigipani tangkamgipa be·enni bakrangko uni atchichakgipa nokona watatpilani chin ong·a. Apsandake ma·gualara sigipani biapo on·songrikgipa mande baksa sregrikaniba ong·a.

Uandake sigipani nokdangna on·anirangko on·e dakchakani aro sigipani nokdangni chrarangni ma·gualko on·e sigipani ma·gipakobaseanirangogelnaman·gijagipabakdonga ine nikna man·na. On·anirangni gamchatani aro uarango سوالani rokomrang nokdang ge·antini bak chananirang, chanchianirang aro agan·ku·mikchetgrikanirango pangchaka. Unbaksana sigipani palo kragipa on·songrikgipako sandianiba uamangni sigipa baksa baditana sepangbate bak nangao pangchaka.

Bon·atani

A·chikrangni mande siao ka·gipa kamrangko sandie niano saksa sakgipin baksa, nokdang ge·sa ge·gipin baksa aro sigipa mande baksa bak nangpaaniko aro meli·nangrimaniko an·ching maikoba skia man·ahama? Janapbagimin gita Gujakni siao bang·bea manderangni re·bae bak ra·aniara uni nokna mande ra·aniko mesoka. Ua nokdangara ru·uta chasongrangoni rikgimin nokdang aro ma·drang mahari jelgipa ong·achim. Uamangni siaona sokbapaani aro uamangni ra·bagipa on·anirang aro bosturangan uamangni Gujak baksa chatchi bak nangpaaniko mesoka. Unbaksana ia kamrangan uamangni Gujakni nokdangna dakchakaniko aro uamang baksa bakrime janggi tangangkuna miksonganikoba paraka. Gujakni sepangbatgipa ma·drangrangni on·aniko uamangni ra·chakani aro jegalanian uamang baditana kingking Gujak baksa jetjet kam·kam ong·aniko mesoka. Gujakni nokni manderang jemangkon on·anirangko on·na basechenga aro jemangan on·anirangko ra·chakchenga uamangan Gujakni ama manokni niksenggipa aro dal·batgipa chrarang ong·a.

Indakgipa bewalrango Gujakni bak nanganiko gadang gadang dake sandianirang uamangni nokdang ge·sa ge·gipin baksa bak nanganikoba mesoka.

A·chikrangni siao dakgipa kamrang basakobade manderangko uamangni ma·drang-mahariko, nio-cheksariko aro sigipani nokdangni manderangko aro bakdrangrangko sandina draatako aro nangrimatako man·a. Iandakgipa nangrimanirang a·bachenge uamangni on·anirangko ra·na jechakachiba uarangko ra·chakani bewalrangchi ma·sina man·a. Ia on·anirangan pangnan sigipa baksa bak man·chapgipa ong·a. Siaona ra·bagipa on·anirangan sigipani janggina atchirama-salchina nambate janggi tangna on·atgipa bosturang ong·a. Sigipani nokdangni on·pilatgipa on·anirangan sigipani be·en bimangkoba bang·a sigiminrangko manggisiko miksonga.

A·chikrango, ma·drang-mahari chane donganian uamangni songsalo janggi tanganio saksa sakgipin baksa aro noksa-nokgipinrang baksa meli-nangrime donganiko mesoka. A·chikrang ma·achiko chatchi de·e chatchi apsangrikgipa A·chikska baksa mahari chane donga. Indake ma·drang-mahari channe donganichi uamang uamangni nangan salo dakchakgrikaniko man·a. Minggipinara sian bon·an salo dakna nanggipa kamrangkoba damsang melie chu·sokatna man·a. Indake kosako mesokbagimin gita, mande siao on·anirangko on·anichi aro ra·chakanichi an·tangtangko sigipa mande aro uni nokdangni bak ong·paa ine mesoka. On·anirangko ra·chakgiparang pangnan basakoba nangan salo maiba cholchi on·pilskaniko dakna nanga. Uana agreba, jensalo on·anirangko on·a ua on·enggipa mandeba mikkangchi

ra·chakenggipa mandeoniko on·anirangko ra·chakskana nanggen. Indake A·chikrangni mande siao on·anirangko سوالاني ارو ra·chakanirangko dakanichi manderangko gro gamna aro chotna gita nangata. On·anirangko on·e je manderangkon bakdrang chanahachim uamangko on·enggipa nokni manderang mikkangchi indakgipa sian bon·an salrang donggenchimode dingtangman·cha mande ra·e gisik ra·na nangao ga·aka. Indakgipa bakdrang chananirangara nokko cha·songrikna aro uni gunko rakkina nangchongmotgipa kam ong·a. Mande siao on·anirangko on·aniara aro ra·chakaniara nokni manderangko aro galna ekna man·gijagipa bakdrangko u·igrikna sandigrikna dakchakani ong·chongmota. Uandake ma·drang-mahariko sandiano mitam manderangko mongsonggipa dake chanani aro mitamrangko inditana sepange changjanirangkoba nikna man·a. Iarangko uamangni on·anirangko on·ani aro ra·chakna jechakanirango nikna man·a.

Manianirango dakna nanganirangna agreba gipin chanchina nanganirangba gnanng. Niamrangan sakantini ja·rikna nangipa ong·a ine manderang chanchia. Indiba ia niamrangko basakobade obostani krisa ja·rikna man·a, mande siao dakgipa kamrang aro manianirangba obostao pangchake aro nigrike dakna nanggipa kam ong·a. Maina sia bon·ao dakgipa niamrang aro kamrangkoba manderang raken maniachim. Uamangni niamko bebera·agita uamang siaona sokangjaoba uamangni bakdrangni gisepo mamung gisik saaniko aro dingtangataniko ra·bajawa ine mitamrang siaona re·angna gong·gijagiparangba (manderang uamangko re·batelna nanga ine chanchigenchimoba) dongnaba gnanng. Indakesia bon·ao dakgipa kamrangko aro uarango bakra·aniko

jegalgiparanko nirkongbreja. Maina bang·bata mandean indake jeganirangko kraa ong·ja aro mande ra·gijani kam ine chanchiachim. Iandakgipa jatni niam-ritirang aro meli-nangrime donganira sian bon·an salosan dakchakaniko on·aigija songsalo janggi tanganioba gamchatgipa aro ja·rikna nanggipa ong·a ine nikna man·a.

¹Ia ki-tapko skanggipa changna 'Negotiating Rites' (2012), Husken, Ute & Neubert, Frank, (Eds), New York: Oxford University Press, "Negotiation At Death: Assessing Gifts, Mothers and Marriages" ine kattabichong done chapa ka-chengaha. Uni ja·mano Oxford University Press, USA-ni namnikanirangbaksa ia segiminrangko chapa ka-taianiko dakaha. Da-o chapa ka-taigipabako mitam sea jotanirango aro katta jakkalanirango on-tisa taridapanirang aro namdapatanimrangko dakaha. Iarangko English ku·sikoniko A·chik ku·ona pe·gipa Norinchi G Mominko anga mitelna kusi ong-bea. Unbaksaba seaniko ku·patianiko on-ahachim chi Dr. Queenbala Marak.

²Anga angni PhD field work-ko India Asongni Meghalaya a-doko 1999 bilsini July jaoni 2001 bilsini June jaona ka-angaha. Bang-bata somoirangon anga angni jikgipa aro angko dakchakgipa baksa sak 1,600 mang manderangni songdonggipa song Sadolparao dongkamaha. Indake dongkamanichi anga uamang baksa nambate bakrimna aro agangrikna gita cholrangko man·aha. Iandakgipa fieldworkrangko ka-na gita angna tangka paisarangko on-e dakchakgipa Netherland Organization for Scientific Research (NWO/WOTRO) aro Indian Council For Social Science (ICSSR)-ko angamittelpilna ska. Ia kamrangko ka-na gita anga North-Eastern Hill University (Shillong aro Tura) aro unbaksana Research School CNWS (Leiden)-ni ning-ao donge dilaniko man·aha. Ia kan-dike seanirangko chapa ka-ataianiara NWO-ICSSR ni dakchakenggipa Research Project "Markets, Ethics and agency: changing Land Utilization and Social transformation in the Uplands of Northeast

india” aro Leiden University–ni “Post Colonial Displacements: Migration, Narratives and Place Making in South Asia” ingipa projectrangna namgipa dakchakanirangko on-aha.

³A-chikrang mande siani somoio ‘salnimani’- ko daka. Unsalo uamang uamangni ka-ronggipa kamrangko ka-gija sigipako mande ra-aniko mesokna dintangmancha somoirangko ra-e manianiko daka. A-chikrangni sigiminrangna dakatgipa kamrangko ba manianiko mangona ine agana. Skang salrango mangonaniko dakna bang-a sal somoirangko ra-achim indiba da-ororode mangonaniko salgnini gisepo ka-e matchotata. Mangonaniko sigipani nok aro uni songdonggipa songni gisepon manie matchotata aro uana sima-ari badeede manianiko dakrongja.

⁴Asia-ni salgipeng jolrango “Tribe” ingipa kattachi bang-a jatrangko dintanggrikataniko nikna man-a (Beteille 1998). Tribal (A-brini jat/janggi tangani gadango ja-manchakgipa jatrang) ine seokako man-giparang India a-songni sason ka-gipani niamo pangchake ja-manchakenggipa jatrangko ra-dona jotton ka-anio bang-a namgnirangko man-a. Asiani salgipeng jolo “Tribe” kattako jatrangko dintanggrikatna jakkala gita gipin lekka segiparang aro skia-porako on-gipa gadangrango jakkaljanigimin uarangko anga inverted commani ning-o sena nangaha.

⁵A-chikrang ma-achiko chatcchi changiparang ong-a. Ma-gipaoni demechikona aro ma-gipaoni depanteona chatcchi de-anian pagipaoni demechikona aro pagipaoni depanteona chatcchi de-ana bate gamchatbata. Manderang jemangan ambi apsanoni ong-achim uamangkon ok rongsanoni atchigiparang ine aganachim. Uamang ba-saa (ma-drang/ba-rima) apsanoni ong-achim. Basakoba uamangni ba-rimarang chona ba basakobade bang-gija ritcharang gape dal-achim. Bang-bata somoion apsan chatchini me-chikrang song ge-sanni manderang ong-rongachim. Ia bang-a apsan ma-chongni manderang nangrime ma-drang-mahariko ong-ata. Ia maharini manderang pilakan me-chikchiko chatcchi de-e apsan ma-chongni chatcchi ong-na nanga.

⁶Segipagri nokdang dakna man-ja indake ong-ja. Je nokon segipa dongja ua nokrango me-chikrangoni dal-batgipa ba bribatgipa me-chik nokni skotongni biapko ra-skaa.

⁷Tangkarangko on-anirangba basakobade nambata maina uarangni gamchataniko batatna aro komiatnaba altua- uamangni ra-chakna kusi ong-a ong-gijako nigrike dingtangatna man-a.

⁸Angna agana gita, bang-gija bilsirangna skangde rang, mil-am, aro seng-ki aro rikgitokrangko a-kaweo donggipa bengalirang tarie palkuengachim. Da-ororode iako tarigiparang dongjajok maina bang-an Christian ong-tokaha aro jakkalgiparang komiaha. Songsarekrangna agre Christianrang ia ma-gitcham pagitchamni bosturangko gamchate ra-rongjachim.

⁹Je nokonikon gamchatgipa bosturangko ma-gual man-ahachim ua apsan bosturangko apsan nokona ma-gual on-pilna man-ja. Indake dakode uan ma-gual on-ani miksonganiko dingtangatgnokchim. Ma-gualni miksonganira 'gualgimin gamchatgipa bostu' ong-achim.

¹⁰Mande sigitalrangna agre, baditasak sigitcham manderang ma-gualo on-gipa bosturang baksa bak nangachim uarangko gisik ra-pilani dongjahachim. Je bosturangan gitchambataha uarangkon mande siao bang-bate jakkalaha aro ruuta bilsirangna on-rikrikaniko dakbaenga ine u-ina man-a. Gitcham sigimim manderangni bimungrangko gualahani gimin ia gamchatgipa bosturang sanoni sanona sokbaa aro sani bak nangachim uarangko gisik ra-ani aro sandiani dongjaha.

¹¹Baditana sepange aro chel-e bakdrang chananirang uamangni an-chi apsan ong-ao (ba-rima apsangiparangba ru-uta somoirangna dongrim cha-rimgiparang) aro ma-drang mahari chane dongao pangchaka. Ma-drang mahariara pilak me-chikni bi-sarang, ba-rima apsan ong-jaoba an-tangtango abisa chane donggiparang ong-a. Indioba sepange aro chel-e bak chananirang uamangni saksa sakgipin baksa re-grik-dogrikao pangchaka. Uni gimin sepange aro chel-e bak chananirang uamangni baditana kingking meli-nangrimgrike janggi tangaosa pangchaka.

¹²Nokdang ge-antian je nokoni ong-kata ua nokni bipekrang ong-a. Ia nokrangkora ua nok bipeko atchigipa aro dal-atgipa me-chikrangchi a-bachengata. Ia bipekrangan nokrangni gitchambataniko aro dal-batgipa ong-aniko mesoka. Nokrangni a-bachengaona ja-ku sane niode bipek bang-batgipa nokrangn gitchambatgipa aro bilakbatgipa nokrang ong-a.

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**Nokdangko Man·rikani:
Gamrangko Sualani, Ma·gipa Ong·rikani
aro Bia Ka·anirang.**

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Me·chikmarang sigipaona kil aro gipin on·anirangko
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Janapchengani

Ia ki·tap A·chik Songsarekrangni ma·dot ba padotni sio·bon·o maidake bebera·a aro ma·drang maharirang aro songsul·noksulrang baditana gamchata uarangko sandirikkite seaha. A·gilsakni re·angan baksa A·chikrangni janggi tangani gadang, bewalrang aro bebera·anirang dingtangangroroani gimin indakgipa ning·tubegipa aro gamchatbegipa dakbewal niam·ritirangko jaktuatroangengaha. Serika dongjani giminba gualroroangengaha.

Erik de Maaker indakgipa giticham niam·ritirangko sandie, mongsongbate mande siao maidakgipa bebera·anirang gnangchim, uarangni miksonganirangara maiachim aro uamang uarangko baditana kingking gamchate ra·achim, uarangko sandirikkite seaha.

Erik de Maaker Sadolpara songo 1999-2001 bilsiona dongkame iandakgipa A·chikrangni Niam·ritirangni gimin research dake University of Leiden, Netherland-o Ph.D.-ko man·aha aro ua da·o apsan Universityni, Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology-o Asst. Professor ong·enga. Mittelpilaniko mesokna gita Ua iako A·chikkuchi pe·ate chapa ka·ataha, Ia ki·tapko porae bang·anan u·idapani ong·gen ine chanchia.

Tura, June 26, 2019

Milton S. Sangma
(Rtd). Pro-Vice Chancellor,
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**Nokdangko Man·rikani:
Gamrangko Sualani, Ma·gipa Ong·rikani aro Bia
Ka·anirang¹**

Erik de Maaker

Angni dikdiksa somoirangna Indiani Sadolpara songo dongmiting salrango, pringsao saoba Gujakni siani koborko ra·baaha². Gujak adita bilsa re·anggimin me·chikma jean ua songo songdonggipa manderangni ma·drang-maharirangni gisepo niksenggipa ong·achim. Gujakni siara Sadolpara songo songdonggipa sak sotbongana komigija me·a aro me·chikrangni salantio ka·ronggipa kamrangko dontongataha. Uamang ua salo a·barangchi re·anggija kamrangko dontonge Gujakni siachi Chibonggre songona re·angtokaha.

Gujakni siani adita kontarangni ja·manon, baditaba ritcharangni manderang Chibonggre song aro uni wilwilao donggipa songrangoni (Sadolpara) Gujakni donggipa nokona sokbatokaha. Sokbagiparangoni adha-grikmanggitade me·chikrang ong·achim. Uamang sakantian Gujak aro uni sepangbatgipa bakdrangna on·anirangko ole ra·batokaha. Uamangni olbagipa kokrango chu dikka, merong, cha bijak, chini aro cha baksa cha·chapgipa cha·anirang (biscuits) gapachim. Manderangni dol ba toktokdake on·anirang gnanng sokbaanian uamangni Gujak baksa sepangbatgipa ma·drang ba jetjet kam·kam ong·aniko mesokachim. Sokbagiparangoni mitamde matchumangsa ba manggni dake sigipana aro uni nokdangni manderangna moe ra·bajolachim.

Jensalosokgiparangsokbatokaha, Gujakni sepangbatgipa bakdrangoni seokgimin manderangna bang·gija tangka aro uni chimonggimin gam jekai rang aro mil·am uandakgiparanko سوالنيو داکنا ا·bachengaha. Jemangan rang aro mil·amrangko man·achim uamang mamung jechakanigri ra·chakachim indiba jemangan tangkako tikatachim uamang ra·chakna jechakaha. Mitamrang tangkarangko bang·bate on·anirangko nisenga, indiba mitamrang on·dapgenchimoba ra·na jechakaniko dakanguachim. Bang·bata somoirangon bosturangko man·rikgiparang jechakgijan ra·chakronga maina uarangni gamchataniko tangkarangbaksa tojachim. Indiba tangkako man·giparang bang·bata somoirangon jechakronga maina uarangko ra·anichi maiba kamko dakna draatanignangkon. Ian angna aiao in mangipa sing·aniko ong·katataha! Maina manderangara uamangna on·anirangko ra·na jechaka? On·anirangko ra·chakjaoba Gujakni bakdrangara maina on·anirangko drae on·enga?

Skang salrangonin mande siao dingtangdingtang manianirangko aro kamrangko ka·ani bewalrangko nikna man·a. Mande sianio dakna nanganira skanggipa manggisiko galanian ong·a. Manggisiko galahaon kam bon·aiaha ong·ja, indiba duk man·enggipa nokdangrangna ka·dimeaniko on·aniba mingsa dakna nanggni ong·a (Huntington and Metcalf 1999). Manggisiko galahaon mandeni janggi bon·aniko miksonga, indiba uni siao pilak dakgipa kamrangan sianggipa Mandeni atchirama-sachina dakatgipa kamrang ong·bata (Bloch and Parry 1982). Ia kam bewalrangara janggi silchina uni songreanganio, atchirama-sachi janggi tanganio aro atchipilani somoio name janggi tangna gita aro nama biapo ong·na gita dakanirangko nikna man·gen. Hertz-

ni sandie nikani gita, sianiara janggini bon·ako miksongja indiba ian ge·sa gadango janggi tangaoni ge·gipin gadangona re·angskaanisa ong·skaa. Kalimantan-ni Ngaju Dayak aro Madagascar-ni Berawan jatrangni mande sigiminko gopani bewalko poraie nianigita, uamangni manggisiko changgni dake gopaniara sianggipa Mandeni janggini songreaniko mesokani chin ong·a. Skanggipa gopanio Mandeni be·enni gita sianiko miksonga aro gnigipa gopanio uni songsalo janggi tangani bon·aniko miksonga (Hertz 1960 [1907]). Mande janggi galahaon be·enni gita sianiko ong·ata. Indiba uni songsalo janggi tangani kamrang tangrikenggipa manderangoni uni watanggipa biapko ra·rikkujana kingking dongkua (Davis 2000, Walter 2008). Iandagipa kam bewalrangko Asia-ni salgipeng jolo songdonggiparangni ja·rikuenganikoba Randeria-ni (1999) seaoniko nikna man·engkua.

Mande siao ma·drangni dakna nangani kamrang dingtangdingtang obostarango pangchaka jekai, sianggipa Mandeni dakanggimin kamrang, uni donanggimin gam jinrang aro niamgita ma·drang-maharirangko uamangni dakna nangani kamrangko chu·sokatna ka·dongsoanirang. Uni gimin dal·gimin Mandeni sianiara at·chidaldal bi·sani siaona bate dakna nanganirangko bang·batata. Gujakni siani somoimitingo Sadolpara aro uni wilwilao donggipa songrango bang·a a·a, gam aro a·kinggorean ma·drang chatchini bilni ning·osa ong·ani gimin, saksa Mandeni an·tang chimonggipa gamde bang·a gamchata ong·jachim. A·ba o·e cha·anian uamangni janggitangna dake cha·gipa kam/chol ong·achim. Burunrangko a·ba o·e uano bilsisa bilsignina kam ka·e bilsigipinode gale donaiachim. Saoba an·tangna a·ba cha·na a·tot ra·pana skode uni man·e cha·ao pangchakja

indiba uni chatchi ba baknangaosa pangchakachim. Da·ororo ua songrango pangkamgipa ge·e game cha·ani cholrangko a·bachengengahaoba, ian gitalgipa janggi tangani chol ong·kuenga aro man·rikani aro a·kanganiko songgmikni niam-rition pangchakkuenga. Mahari ma·drang chananian manderangni songsalo janggi tanganio saksa-sakgipin baksa meli-nangrimaniko aro bakdrang ong·aniko mesoka. Ma·chong ba chatchi de·anichi A·chikrang A·chik ska baksa bak nanganiko u·iata ba agantalata. Iandakgipa ma·drang mahari chananirang donganichi sakobarang samingbarang baksa jetjet kam·kam ong·ata basakoba sanaba bate mongsonggipa mande ong·ata. Iandakgipa ma·drang mahari chananirangan mande siao bak ra·anikoba songsalo dakna nangchongmotgipa kam gita ong·ata, maina iandakgipa a·sel ong·ani somoirangon manderangna uamangni saksa sakgipin baksa jetjet kam·kam batgipa bakdrang ong·aniko me·sokna chol ong·a. Sigipao dongpae, sigipani nokdangni manderangni gamrangko sualanio bak man·paani, gamchatbata bosturangko man·rikpaani aro baditana na·a on·anirangko kusi ong·e ra·chaka uan nang·ni ua nokdang baksa sepangbatgipa bak ba jetjet kam·kam ong·aniko paraka. Ia on·anirang mikkangchi on·pilskaani aro sianggipa Mandeni nokdangrang baksa mikkangchi bak chane dongna ku·mikchetani miksongani ong·a. Gamrangko on·anirang bang·bata somoirangon altue matchotrongja, indiba aganmitugrikani aro ku·mikchetanignangsa ong·bata. Uni gimin Bloch aro Parry-ni nikanio gita A·chikrangni mande siao dakgipa kamrangara songsalo meli-nangrime donganikosan mesokja indiba songsalni niam-ritiba ong·a (Bloch and Parry 1982,218) maina mande siao dongpaaniara duk man·enggipa

nokdangna aro bakdrang baksa meli-nangrime donganiko aro mittelpilaniko mesokani ong·a. Iandakgipa A·chikrangni dakbewal, Mandeni saksa-sakgipin baksa ku·mong-nangrime dongna nanganikoba parakani ong·a.

Ia kan·dikgipa seanio, anga A·chikrangni mande siao maidake gamrangko suala aro sana suala uarangni bidingo sandie nianiko dakaha³. On·anirangara mamungsaloba indin ong·ja (Gregory 1982, laidlaw 2000). Mittelpile on·anirangko ra·chakani aro ma·drang mahariko sandiani, mikkangchi janggi tanganio dakna nanggni grorangkoba ong·katata. Mauss-ni jera ra·gipa ritingrango gita on·anirangara dingtangdingtang on·pilskaanirang baksa bakrimatako man·a (Mauss 1990). Ia on·pilskaanirangara nikna man·gipa bosturangchisan ong·aigija, ka·sae mande ra·e dangdike on·anichi on·pilskaanirangba gnanng. Indide A·chikrangni mande siao on·anirangara maiko miksonga? Ia on·anirangara maia ka·sae dakaniko mesoka? Baditana kingking on·giparangara gisik nange miksongagnang on·aniko daka aro unbaksana badita nangrimgrikaniko ong·ata? (Rio 2007).

A·chikrangni mande siao ka·gipa kamrang jatni dakbewal-rikbewalrangoni mingsa bak ong·paa. Manderang ia kamkoba mingsa maniani bak ine chana. A·chikrang ia dakbewalrangkon chengo atchu-ambini chasongoni ja·rikbaenggipa bewalrang ine janapronga. Indaken ia bewalrangkkon kakketgipa niam-riti ine chu·sokataniko dakronga. Gitcam lekka segiparang, ia niamrangko raken mania ine janapgenchimoba, ia niamrangkora olgroke manironga indiba kakketo maniani ja·pangranggita jakkalskaa (Chattopadhyay aro Sangma 1989, Costa 1954, Marak

2000(1986), Marak 1964). Ia niamrangni miksonganirang bang·naba g·nang, jekai, saniba siao saniba bak ra·aniara saniba nikaniode dingtang miksonganiko aro u·ianiko ong·katatnaba donga. Ia niamrangni a·selsa manderangara siao dakna nanggipa kamrangko chu·sokatengama? Ma siao bak ra·anian uamangni melie·nangrime donganiko mesoka?

Mande Siao Dakgipa Kamrang

Sadolpara aro Chibonggre a·brini songrang ong·a. Uano songdonggiparang bang·batan A·chikrang ong·a. Britishrangni Indiako sason ka·ani somoirangonin A·chikrangko a·brini jatrang⁴ ine seokaha. Ia baseaniko uamangni ku·sik aganani, daka·rikani bewalrang aro janggi tangani bewalrango pangchake seokaha. A·chikrang Tibeto-Burman dolni ku·sikko agangipa jatrang ong·a. uamang ma·achiko chatchi de·giparang aro uamangni toromo bebera·anio gipin samtangtango donggipa jatrangoni dingtanggiparang ong·a. Uamangni a·brini jat ine seokaniko man·anichi Meghalaya a·songni saliram jolrangko nirokna gita Garo Hills District Council-ko ong·atna cholko man·aha. Da·odipet ia District Council-an A·chikrangni a·a, chi aro niamko rakkigipa ong·enga. India a·songo mitam jatrangna a·brini jat ine seokako man·anichi adita namgnirangko man·enga. Meghalaya state-ni A·chikrangba indakgipa namgipa cholrangko man·paa, jekai kam ka·anina kajinna gamna nangja, sorkario kamrangko ka·na seokanio apsan bakrangko suale man·ani aro poraina aro a·songko dilna seokanirango dingtangmancha biaprangko kange donaniko man·a.

British-rangni sason ka·na skangde A·chikrang pilakan Songsarek ong·tokpitichim. British-rangni sason ka·an baksa Australia aro North-America-ni Missionary-rang A·chik a·songona sokbaaha. Chi·skugipa century-ni bijangchirangon Kristian torom Garo Hills-ona sokbagenchimoba uko gipatna bang·bea somoirangko nangaha. 1970 aro 1980 bilsirangosa lekka-porarangko a·bachengate aro jillarango donggipa skia-pora man·giparangni didianichisa bang·a A·chikrangkon Kristian toromko ra·atna man·aha (Burling 1997 [1963]). Uandaken bang·a bilsirangnan A·chik mande gitcamrang an·tangtangni bebera·anion kim·kim janggi tangbaaha aro uan chasing gitalni A·chikrangnaba a·gilsakni gita toromo janggi tanganio pangchakani ja·pang ong·kuenga.

Angni Indiao dongkame kam ka·ani somoirango, songsarek A·chikrang Garo Hills-o namen komibeaha. Badiaba songadamrangosan (Sadolpara aro Chibonggreko chanchape) Kristian toromko ra·na jechakaniko nikna man·aiaha. Ua songrangoba Kristian toromko ja·rikgiparang gnang aro uamangba gro·a·sel ong·ani salrango bak ra·paaniko daka. Kristianrang mande siaona re·bae bakkode ra·a indiba Songsarekni niam gita manianirangkode ja·rikskajaha (de Maaker 2007).

Sianiara mandeko namen ning·tue chanchina nanganio ga·akata. Mandeni janggi tangani obosta aro uni siani ba uni rasongo sesoagitasa ong·a ine chanchichipna man·a. A·chik Songsarekrangni bebera·a gita, mande siahaon uni janggi balwa gita be·enoni ong·katanga. Jensalo janggi galaha unon me·mang ong·skaa. Watanggipa janggiko atchirama-sachina dilatanian tangrikenggipa manderangni kam

ong·a. Ian sianggipa mandeko mande ra·anikoba mesoka. Sianggipa Mandeni janggiko atchirama-sachiba me·mang a·songchi watatanian tangrikenggipa manderangni dakna nang·chongmotgipa kam ong·a, maina janggirang uamangni dongramona sokangjaode a·gilsako brange donga aro manderangna bang·a namgijanirangko ong·ata.

Mangisiara maranggnanggiparang ong·a jean rongtalgijaniko ra·baa. Ia marangrangko rongtalatna gita manggisiko ta·raken galaniko dakna nanga. Man·a ong·ode siani salon galaniko daka. Skang salrangode A·chikrang manggisiko so·e galachim indiba da·rorode gope galaniko dakskaengjok. Uamangni agana gita mangisiko so·ana bate gope galan altubata aro galna gita somoirangkoba bang·e nangja. Haida ia gope galanira Kristian toromko daksninganiba ong·naba donga. Eschatology·ba Mandeni siani ja·mano mai ong·a uarangko poraigipaba sandie nigiparang che·em·che·em sandianirangko dakgenchimoba, anga A·chikrangni mande sianio dakgipa kamrang aro manianirang maikai songsalo janggi tangani obostako dingtangata uanigiminsan on·tisa sandianiko dakna ska. Skanggipa anga A·chik a·songrango maikai saksa-sakgipinbaksa meli-nangrime donga aro maikai ma·drang-mahari chane donga uarangnigimin chanchirimna nangnikchenga. Uni ja·manosa ia mangru-mangonaniba mande siao manianirang maikai dingtanganiko ra·baa uani gimin chanchirimaniko dakna ska.

Ma·drang Ong·rikani

A·chikrangni mande siao dingtangdingtang manianirango manderang nokprakonin saksasrude sokbatoka. A·chikrang nokdangprakan mingsasru gam ba a·ani nokgiparang ong·a (Levi-Stauss 1991, Carsten and Hugh Jones 1995). Nokdang ge·prakon me·chik aro uni segipa aro bia ka·kugijagipa bi·sarang aro me·chikni/jikgipani bia ka·kugijagipa nogipa ba jonggiparang donga. Nok baksa man·chapgipa gamrangara nokmong, mi jam, jakkalani bosturang, chimonggimin cha·ani, mi bitchil aro a·bao ge·e game man·giparang, jila-kaanirang, atchu-ambioniko man·rikgipa ripok, rang, silchidare/mil·am aro damarang, unbaksana a·ani aro baganbarini nokgipa ong·aniko ba nokni gamrang baksa chanchapa. Nokdangni plak gnangrang aro gam·jinni kosako bil man·ani jikgipani ba·saa ba chatchirangni ong·a. Segipa jean gipin ba·saa⁵ ba chatchioni ong·achim ukode nokni skotong⁶ dake chanskaa. Bia ka·ahaon segiparang jikgipani ma·drang baksa chanako man·a. Uni gimin uaba jikni noa namchikrang aro ba·rimarang gita chacha ong·pana nanga aro uamang baksa bak ra·paanikon nangnika, unbaksana me·asarang badia chatchioba ma·ao atchiachim ua chatchiniba bak ong·a aro nokdangni aro maharini chra gita nirokgipa aro rakkigipaba ong·a. Me·asa aro me·chikni maharirangni nangrime bia ka·e on·anirango mahari ge·gnian ku·mikchetanirangko daka. Iandakgipa a·kim ga·anirangba sakoba jikgipa ba segipani siao uni ma·drang maharirang sianggipani randi ba randana on·songrikani groko gamna nanga. Me·chikma saksa jean bang·gi ja salrang skang segipako gimaatahachim, ua ia on·songani miksonganiko angna talate on·angaha. Uamang do·si do·doke jikse ong·ahachim. Me·chikna skang me·asa

sichenganigimin uano me·asani maharirang gro nanggiparang ong·aha aro niam gita uamang gipin me·asako sandie on·na nangaha. Me·chik sichenggenchim ong·ode a·kim chotna gita me·chikni maharirang nangenchim. Sigipani palo on·songrikna man·anian a·kim chotani ong·achim. Indake sigipani biapko ra·na sandie on·anikon datanga ba on·songa ine agana. A·kim gro nanganiara dingtangman·cha sigipani nokdangni ba uni atchichakgipa nokdangni aro sepangbatgipa bakdilrangni dai ong·a. Uni gimin gro chotanirang uamangni dakna nangchongmotgipa kam ong·a. Je mandekon sigipani pal on·songrikengachim uamande apsan nokoni ba apsan chatchi ba·rimaoni ong·na nanga maina apsan ma·drang ba chatchioni ong·gijanikode on·rikna man·jachim. A·kim gamanirangara jikgipa ba segipani siao pangchake dingtanggrikanirang gnan. A·kim on·aniko sianggipani demechikna nokkrom ra·anichiba ma·gipani biapko ra·na man·a. Ua demechikan nokna dongipa ong·a, jean chonbatgipa ong·aigija sakgipinba ong·na man·a. Badiaba nokdango demechik dongjaode ba nokni demechikrang darangba nokko man·rikna sikjagenchimode jikgipani nogiparang jean nokni ma·gipa ong·na namnikachim uko deragatna man·a. Je me·chikkon nokko man·rikna ba on·songrikna baseachim ua pagipani gritangko (grisokchiko) do·sie dongna nanga. Gri sokchina pagipani nogipa ba abitangni depanteranigoniko basea, jedakode uan chawarini mamatang je·et ong·gen aro uan mamatangni ba obiteni gamko man·rikgipaba ong·gnok. Uandake nokdangrang ma·gipaoniko demechikni man·rikani aro mamatangoniko gritangni man·rikaniba ong·a. landakgipa on·rikaniko nokni skotong ba bribatgipa me·asa siosa dakbata. Jensalo nokni padot sia unon uni biapko gritangna

on·rika aro uan uni jikgipani ma·gipaniba (niotangni) segipa ong·skaaha. Indiba, nokni dal·batgipa me·chik segipana skang siode nokkromrang noko ra·rikna man·ja maina pagipa an·tangni demechikko ra·na dongna man·ja. Indakgipa obostarango a·kim chotna gita randana sianggipa jikgipani ma·drangoniko demechik nanggijako sandie on·na nanga. Ama nokadamko sigipani pal on·songrikosa tange rakkina man·a. Uni gimin on·songrikanira dakna nangchongmotgipa kam ong·a. Niamni gita sigipani pal on·songrikaniko kalimani ba sigipana kam dakmiting somoion matchotatna nangachim, indiba bang·bata somoion on·rikna gita mandeko gitik·gitak man·rongjanigimin ma·drang dolgnini gita ku·monggrike salko manchie antisa ba jasani gisepo a·kim chotna gita ku·chakronga. Jensalo sigipani pal on·rikaniko dakaha aro ama nokadamko cha·songrikaha unon ua nokni pagipa, ma·gipa aro ambitang atchutang minge okamanirang dingtang ong·baaha. Demechikgipa ma·gipani biapko ra·rikode uan nokni demechikrangni ma·gipa ba ama ma·de ong·skaaha aro su·giparangni ambitang ong·skaaha. Gritang nokni padotni biapko ra·rikskaode ua nokni bi·sarangni apa awing aro su·giparangni atchutang ong·rikskaaha.

Nokdangantini jiksea jora prakan chasing ba wapakko mesoka. Je nokdangrangan ru·uta chasongrangoni dongaha ua nokkon nokbibol ba nokpangma ine minga aro uanoni ong·katgipa nokrangkon nokbipek ine minga. Nokrangni dal·bata ba chonbatako me·sokani gadangrang ma·gipaoni demechikrangona chatchi mahari chanao pangchaka. Nokdang dakchenggiparang apsan chasongni ong·genchimode uamangni at·chiani bilsio pangchake dal·bata ba chonbatako basea. Nokrangko sulsul skanggipa gadangoni bon·kamgipa

gadangona changenchimode namen bakrogipa ong·a. Indiba basakoba basakoba bijangchirango badiaba nokrangni ama ma·nokko ong·katatakoba nikna man·a.

Ma·drang chatchi chananirangara namen apalgipa ong·ani gimin iako saksa mandechide ong·atna man·ja indiba bang·a gadangrangni manderangko donchimongesa dakna man·a. Jekai ma·drangni ma·jongtang ba ma·detangrangko saniba ma·gipa chananirang. Ian saksa mandeo ma·gipa, pagipa jong-adarang aro no-abirangni bang·aniko mesoka. Ma·drang bakdrang chane dongna uamangni an·chi apsan ba·rimarantonisan ong·na nanga indake ong·ja indiba jemangan salantini janggitanganio saksa sakgipinko dakchakgrike janggi tanga uamangkoba man·chapa. Ma·drang chananirang uamangni sepangbate bak nanganio mongsonggipa ong·aniko mesoka. Ia sepangbate bak nanggiparangan mande siao dakna nanggipa kamrangkoba ku·monggrike dakdilna aro matchotatna nanga. Sia bon·ani salrangan manderang jinmana uamangni ma·drangna aro nio-cheksarirangni gisepo badita dal·gipa ba niksenggipa ong·paa uko paraka aro ian dakgipa somoirangon sianggipa mandena aro uni nokdangna niamni gita bang·a on·anirangko on·e rasongko man·na gitaba cholba ong·a.

Sigimin Mandeni Janggi tanganiko Gisik ra·ani

A·chikrang mande siao sakantian dingtangdingtang dakgipa bakrangko ra·a. Uamangni bak ra·aniko minggitam rokomrango nikna man·a aro uan uamangni sigipa aro uni nokdangni manderang baksa baditana kingking sepangbate bak nangachim uano pangchaka. Skanggipa rokomo bak

ra·giparang uamang sigipani atchichakgipa nokni manderang (ma·a, no-abirang), me·chikchiko chatchi chane sigipani jikgipabarandini nokdangni manderang aro uni sepangbatgipa ma·drang ba bakdrang. Gnigipa rokomni manderang uan me·chikni ma·drang-mahari (bia ka·gimin me·chik siode uan skanggipa rokomming apsan ong·aia). Gittamgipa rokomoba kra·giparang uan sigipani nio-cheksarirang ong·a. Bang·bata salrangon saksa Mandeni siaon badiaba manderangni ia minggitam janapgimin rokomranggitaba kra·anikoba nikna man·a, mongsongbate iako bia ka·gimin me·asarang dakbata. Basakoba me·asarang mande siao dakna nanggipa kamrangko ma·ni-noni ma·drangna chragita dakdila aro basakobara jikgipani ma·drangni bak gita kamrangko ka·dila.

Manderang badiako sako janapgimin rokomo ga·aka, uani kri uamang sigipana dakatgipa kamko chu·sokatnaba nanga. Je nokdangon mande sia, ua nokdangni ba·rimarang aro sepangbatgipa bakdrangan sigipana dakna nanga kamrangko jako ra·e ka·dilna nanga. Jekai sigipako pujuao manggisiko badita gamchatgipa ba·rachi pindapgen? Uni chimonggipa gamrang jekai ripok, seng·ki, rang aro mil·amrangko sana sualgen aro baditako sana tikatgen? Manggisiko so·gen ma gopgen? Gopgenchim ong·ode una mangsundukko wa·achi tarigenma bolchi tarigen? Iarang pilakkon mama adarangan chanchie dakdilna nangao ga·aka.

Sigipana kam a·sel dakaniko badita dal·e dakgen aro sana sana koborrangko on·gen uan skanggipa chanchichengani ong·achim. Sigipani niksenga niksenggijao pangchake kamrangko songtangen matchotatnaba man·aba uni ma·drang mahari aro nio-cheksarirang jemangan songsulo dongachim

uamangnaba koborko watatna man·a. Ian name chanchie ka·na nanggipa kam ong·a. Bang·gija manderangkosan okamataigenchimode koborko man·pagijagiparang gisik sagenchim; una bang·a manderangko aganatgenchim ong·ode, sigipani sepangbatgipa bakdrang ong·pajaoba re·ange bakko ra·na nangachim.

Siani koborko man·sogipa manderangba siaona re·na gita chanchisona nangachim. Ianoba sigipa baksa bak nangpaanira altua ong·jachim: badita sigipa mandeming sepangbate bak nanga inditan siaona re·anggija dongna namja aro badita sigipani chelgipa bakdrang ong·a inditan sigipaona re·ange bak ra·ena jajaanirang g·nangchim. Sigipaona re·na mangsongengon sokgiparang maiko sigipani nokdangona ra·e re·gen uko chanchina nangachim. Mitam on·anirang dam rakgiparang aro gamchatgiparang ong·jaoba uarang on·na nangchongmotgiparang ong·achim. Iandakgipa on·anirangara mi birong jakkomsa aro jetkugijagipa kil ong·achim jekon sigipa Mandeni janggina atchirama-sachina bitchilna ra·angna on·atachim. Gipin on·anirang jekai wak, matchu matte aro tangkarangan gamchatgipa on·anirang ong·achim.

Tangka, wak, matchu matte indakgiparangko sigipana aro uni ma·drangrangnaba on·aniko daka. Ian tangrikgiparangko dakchakna miksonge on·ani ong·a, ia on·aniko nabisi on·a ine agana. Sigipana minge on·gipa pilak matchu matterangkon kam a·sel dakani somoion den·na nanga. Uarangko sigipani janggi baksa me·mang a·songona watchapatna miksonge so·otachim. Ia den·gimin matchu materangni be·enkon sokbagipa manderangna song·e chane on·skaachim. Sigipani

jetjet kam·kam bakdrangan sokbagiparangko soka chakna nangachim. Sigipana matchu mangprakni bikit ba ka·kitko soprake uni nokni sa·rao sigipani bosturangko donchakna dongipao chimonge donachim. Sigipana minge on·gipa tangkarangko uni ma·drang aro bakdrangrangnan on·anirang gita suale on·skaachim.

Manderang baditana kingking tangka aro matchu matterangko sigipana aro uni nokdangna on·a inditan uamangni jetjet kam·kam bak nanganiko mesokachim. Badita sepangbate bak nanga inditan dakchakanirangba bang·batachim. Iandake on·anirangara on·enggipa mandeko sigipa aro uni nokni manderang baksa bak nangpaaniko mesoka. Sepangbatgipa bakdrangoni jekon matchu matte on·na ka·dongachim indiba an·tangni on·na nanganiko chu·sokatjaha ua mandeko bakdrangko changala gita ba gisik nangja gita ra·skaachim.

Ma·gipa Ong·aniko Seokani

Jensalo bang·a ma·drang maharirang mande siaona sokbatokaha unon sigipani nokni manderang sokbagiparangna on·pilskaaniko dakna nanga. Iandakgipa on·pilskaanirangoni ma·gual on·aniba mingsa ong·a jekon sigipani ama ma·nokrangna on·pilskaa. Ma·gual on·na atchu·ambiniko man·rikrikgipa gam jekai rang, rikgitok, seng·ki aro mil·amrangko jakkala. Ia gamrangara gamchata aro man·na altugiparang ong·ja, uni gimin da·ororode uamang gamrangni paltangkarangko ma·gual on·enga⁷. Uamangniaganritingbaani gita ia gamrangko uamang skang chasongrangonin atchu·ambioniko man·rikrikbaenga uandaken Sadolparao

songdonggipa manderangba ia gamrangko uamangni songdongbagipa songgitchamonikon man·baaha ine agana. Mitam manderang ia gamrang A·chikrangni Tibet a·songoni katbachengani somoionin dongkuenga ine agana⁸.

Je ong·oba ia gitichamgipa gamrangkora ma·gual on·anichi chasongsaoni chasonggipinona man·rikrikangenga. Nok ge·sao mande siode ua nokni manderangni gamrang ma·gual on·anichi nokgipinona sokanga⁹. Je giticham gamrangkon ma·gualna minge on·achim ua gamrangkon sigipa Mandeni grengrangbaksa toa. “Ian angni angjongni greng” ine me·chikma saksa uni jonggipani siao man·bagiparanko mesokaha aro uan uni jonggipako gisik ra·na on·gipa ong·a ine janapaha. Mande siao on·giparangan sigipa mande baksa bak dongpaako paraka. Indiba iandagkipa on·rikrikanirangara skang salrango sigipa manderangni bak nanganiko guale on·daprikrikaniba ong·skaa. Gital mande sigipako gisik ra·ana agre, ia man·rikrikigipa gamrang banoni aro sanoniko man·chengaha uarangni gimin serikani aro aganani dongjahaoba ian bang·a sigiminrang baksa bak nangpaa aro uamangko gisik ra·na on·giminrang ine u·ina man·a¹⁰.

Sigipa Mandeni nokdangni chrarang sianggipa Mandeni ama ma·nokni nokni manderang jemangan siaona re·baa uamangna ma·gualko on·na nanga. Sigipani ma·a no·abirangna gamchatgipa ma·gualko on·chengna nanga aro uni chelkalgipa ma·drang maharinade gamchatani komigipa ma·gualkoba on·na man·a¹¹.

Je nokdangan ma·gualko ra·chaka uan sianggipa mandeko an·tangni detang ine chana ba mesokani ong·a. Uandake jemangan ma·gualko ra·chakja iandagkipa bak

nanganiko jegalani ong·skaa. Basakoba me·chikni siao ma·gual on·aniko ra·chakjaode, “Na·a indake jechakode sigipana ama apa dongjanoa” ine ma·gualko on·gipa aganachim. Unbaksana ma·gualko ra·chakna nanggipa nokdang ma·gualko jechakode uamangni ma·drang mahari gimikkon jejala gita ong·a. Bang·a manderangan ma·gualko ra·na jechakode sigipani nokdangni chrarang indake sing·rongachim, “na·simang maina chingko mande ra·jaenga? Na·simang chingko angsu channa sikjaengama? Je mandean indakgipa sing·aniko sing·achim uan sigipani nokdangni aro ma·drang mahari gimikni chra ong·achim aro jemangko ua sing·achim uamangan sigipani ama ma·nokni chrarang ong·achim.

Sigipani nokni chrarang ma·gualko man·na kragipa nokdangrangna on·naba tikatna nanga. On·anirango jemangan sigipani sepangbatgipa ba jetjet kam·kam ong·achim uamangna sulsul sepangbatgipaoni سوالانیکو ا·bachengronga. Skanggipao sigipani ambitang dal·gipaoni ambitang chongiparangona سوالانگا. Ambitangni nokoni ma·jongtangona, ma·gipaona, ma·detangona, abitangona, nogipaona aro uandake namchiktangrangona سوالانیکو داکا. Sigipa Mandeni dal·batgipa bakdrangoni chonbatgipa bakdrangona sulsul سوالانیکو دکانیرا dal·giparangko mande ra·aniko mesoka. Dal·batgiparangna gamchatbatgipa gamrangko on·chenganio bak man·paanian an·tangni sigipa baksa baditana sepangbate bak nanga aro dal·gipa raggipa ong·achim uako mesokna chol man·achim.

Angni sandie kam ka·ani somoirango, ma·gualko سوالانی bidingo name talbate u·ina anga jotton ka·beaha. Sisini siani salo uni nokni chrarang Rengteng minggipa Mandeni

sokbakujana kingking ma·gualko سوالنا مان·جاءا. Ua mande Sisini atchu dal·gipa ong·achim ارو Sisini nokchongmotni skotongba ong·achim¹². Rengtengni sokbaan tap una rang narikki silko on·aha. Iandakgiparang inditana gamchatgipa ong·jachim unigimin ua “angna mamungkoba on·na nangjawa” ine ka·sine agane ma·gualko jechakaha. Ma·gualko uni ra·chakjadipet gipinrangna سوالنا مان·جاءا ine Rengteng u·iachim. Rengtengni ra·chakna kusi ong·gijako Nikon Sisini nokni chrarang una maiba gamchatbata on·aniko nangenga ine rang·sanan u·ina مان·اهاءا. Uni gimin uamang on·tisa gamchatkalgipa rang kasamatiko on·skaaha jekon Rengteng kusi ong·e ra·chakaha. Sigipani ama ma·nokni me·chikba me·asa siaona re·angon ma·gualko ra·chakna nanga. Iandake Rengteng gita ama ma·nokni chrarang ma·gualko ra·na jechakon ua sigipani nokdangoniko maiba gamchatbata on·aniko nangnikenga ine mesoka.

Basakoba mitam manderang nambata ma·gualna dabia, mitamrangde ra·chakna jegala ba on·aniko nangniksranjia. Ia ra·chakna nangnikgijagiparang bang·bata somoion jetjet kam·kam ong·gijagiparang ba ma·de ma·jong dakgipa nokdangrangoni ong·bata. Iandakgipa nokdangrangna sigipani nokni manderang gamrangko on·gija tangkarangkosa on·bata. Tangka on·anirangna bang·bata somoion chonbatgipa tangka gongrangkosan jakkalbatachim. Iandakgipa on·anirangko tiktak ong·atna bang·gijako on·dape ba changale meliatrongachim. Sigipani nokni chrarang, sigipani chelkalgipa ma·drang maharirangko iandakgipa on·anirangko ra·chakatna jotton ka·rongachim. Uamang tangkarangko dol·romrome ra·chakgijagipa Mandeni jepo ba cholani gitokrango sike on·bekrongachim. Indake

on·draanirangchi basakobade ma·sichakgrikgijanirang aro jegrik-ding·grikanirangko ong·atpilachim. landakgiparangko chagrongon maidakgipa obostangko ong·atgen darangba agansona man·ja. Adita somoirangna badi ka·ani ja·manosa ma·gualko ra·chakna nanggipa jechakangkugenma ma uko ra·chakatna man·gen uko u·ina man·a.

Rengji saksa brikalgipa me·chikma ong·achim. Uni su·gipa Nagalni siani somoio ua sigipani sepangbatgipa bakdrangko dakchakna tangka gong kolgrikko on·paaha. Uni on·aniara, gipin nokbrini matchu on·ani aro adita tangkarangko on·ako nisusae kraa on·anian ong·jachim. Uni sokbaani adita kontarangni ja·mano Rengji Nagalni sarao donggipa kachariona re·bae asongeha. Unon Nagalni adatang saksa re·bae una dol·romromgipa tangkako on·e “Ambi iako ra·bo, iako ra·bo... maidake iako na·a jechakna man·gen? Iako ra·jaode niam gita ong·jawa” ine aganaha. Rengji mamungkoba daggija jripjrip dongaiaha. Unon ua tangkarangko Rengjini chola ning·chi sikataha. “Na·a iarangko ra·oba chinga gro jokjawa aro iarangko ra·jaoba gro jokjawa” ine Nagalni obitegipaba re·bae aganepaaha. Rengji tangkarangko badale channa a·bachengaha. “Chingo rang gnangode nang·nade rangkosa on·anichim, dongode rang narikki silko nang·na on·genchim iade bang·gija on·anisan ong·aia” ine Nagalni adatang Rengjini ki·sangchipak tangkako on·pilna man·jana gita jitekataha. “Nagal·ara nang·ni su·gipaan nang·ni nokni detanggitan, chingaba jawanikode ra·na aganjaengaba” ine Wilsengba agandapaaha.

Iandake siana kam dakani salo, ma·gualko on·enggipa me·asarang ma·gualko ra·chakenggipa Rengjiko sianggipa

Nagalni noktangni ambitang gita chachan chanachim. Ian Rengjini uamangni nokdango mongsonggipa ong·aniko paraka. Nagalni adatangni agana gita man·a ong·ode Rengjina rangkosa ma·gual on·na nangachim, nokni mongsonggipa mandena rangni pal tangkako ma·gual on·aniara uamangni groko matchotatjachim. Changsatai ma·gualko chu·onggija on·anigimin jechaktaioaba uamanggro nangtaiachim, uni gimin Nagalni nokni manderang Rengjiko ma·gualko ra·chakatna draatako man·achim. Ma·gualko uni nangnika gita on·a man·jaoba jekon una tikatahachim ukode ra·chakpachina uamang mol·molaha aro bon·kamao Rengjiba ma·gualko ra·chakna namnikaha.

Sigipa mande baksa bak nangpaako aro uni mongsonggipa ong·aniko mesokna, Rengjiko jedake ma·gualko ra·na didiahachim uandake sigipani nokni mama adarang bang·a manderangkon ma·gualko ra·na didina nangachim. Je nokdangrangni manderangko name tale u·ija, aro uamang ma·gualko ra·chakama ra·chakjawa u·isoja indakgipa nokdangrangna agan·talatna aro didina rakgipa kam ong·achim. Ma·gualko on·gipa mande an·tangko onatbee ma·gualko ra·chakenggipa Mandeni uamangni nokdangna aro bakdrangna mongsonggipa ong·paaniko aro uamangni gadangni kri kraa on·anirangko chu·ongge on·na man·gijaniko janaprongachim. Manderangna agan·talataniko dakna aro ma·gualko on·e matchotatna mama adaragon ka·dongachim. Ilandakgipa chrarang didianiko dako chu·sokjaode, uamang ma·gualko on·na sikja ine bebera·achim. Ma·gualko ma·drang bakdrangna sualna sigijaniara namen kraatchaani kam ong·achim, ian sigipani nokdangnasan ong·aigija uni pilak ma·drang maharina namgija bimungkoba ra·baachim.

Rengji gita dakgipa mande ma·gual on·ako ra·chakna jechakode uamang uni sigipani nokdangna dakchakna baditako on·paa uko janape tosusaaniko dakachim. Chu·onga gita ba bang·a tangka paisarangko on·e dakchakna man·pajaode ma·gualko ra·na kraatchaani ong·achim. “Angade mamungkoba on·e dakchakna man·paja, niamko ja·rikomaiba maidake ra·chakgen?” ine me·chikma saksma ma·gual on·aniko jechakaha. “Angode mamung on·ani dongpaja, angade ra·chakjawa, ian kraatchaani ong·gen,” ine me·asa saksaba ma·gual ra·na jechakaha. Indioba ma·gualko ra·na jechakanian sianggipa mande baksa an·tangni bak nangpaaniko jegalani ong·achim. Iandakgipa jegalanirangko ong·katatjana gita manderang sigipani nokdangni on·enggipa tangkarangna bate komibatera·e niamko chu·sokratrongachim. Iandake dakanichi uamang chu·onga gita dakchakpana man·jaoba sianggipa mande baksa bak nanganiko mesokna chol ong·paachim.

Sigipani ma·drang maharioni chel·kalgipa bakdrangrangoniba ma·gualko ra·na man·a. Iandakgipa madrangrangko ma·gualko ra·chakna ka·dongani komia aro sigipani nokni manderangba uamangko ra·na draatja. Iandakgipa ma·drangna ma·gual on·aniko dako uamangni jechakanian sigipani ama manokoni sepangbatgipa bakdrang ong·ja ine mesokani ong·a.

Sianggipa Mandeni chrarangma·gual on·aniko dakengon, ma·gualko ra·chakna sigipa mande sianggipa mandeming baditana sepang bate bak nanga uko sandichengronga. Iandake sandiani ja·manosa uamang ua mandena ma·gualko on·na kraama kraja, ua Mandeni ma·gualko ra·na jechakanira

ong·ama ong·ja uko chanchichenga. Bakdrang chananirang aro nanganirang dingtang dingtang obostarango pangchaka, uni gimin ma·gual on·enggipa manderangna ua badia nokoni mai dake bak nangachim uko tale ma·sina neng·achim. Indake damsanda mande sigipao, ma·gual on·gipa me·asa “Chingko jechakgipaa chingchi re·baama re·bapiljawa aro chingni groko gisik ra·etpiljawama?” ine me·chikma saksao sing·aha. Apsandaken ma·gualko man·na kragiparangba an·tangtangni sigipa mande baksa bak nangpaaniko mesokna nanga. Umangni sigipani nokdangko dakchakna on·anirangosan pangchakaigija, gamchatbata ma·gualko dabiani aro umangni on·ana bate komibate ra·na chanchianiba ma·gualko ra·na jechaksranganihiba parakna man·a.

Iarangna agreba, je nokon sigipani ma·gipani nok ine chanachim ua nokni manderangan sigipani pal on·songrikanikoba dakna nanga. Ia on·songrikaniko a·kim kaanio pangchake dakna nangachim, indiba ia on·songrikaniko sigipani nokdangni ma·gual on·kujadipetde dakrongja. “Umang (me·chikni maharirang) rang·rangko on·osa me·chikko bia ka·na wat·na ku·chakenga” ine sigipani pal on·rikna nanggipa nokdangoni saniba agananirangkoba knaronga. Badiaba nokrang ma·gualko ra·chakeba sigipani pal on·rikna man·jaode ukon ma·gual guala ine manderang aganronga. Ma·gual ian sigipani atchichakgipa biapona ba songtang noktangona on·atgipa on·anirang ong·a. jekon mande sigipani grengrang baksa toa, ian sigipani tangkamgipa be·enni bakrangko uni atchichakgipa nokona watatpilani chin ong·a. Apsandake ma·gualara sigipani biapo on·songrikgipa mande baksa sregrikaniba ong·a.

Uandake sigipani nokdangna on·anirangko on·e dakchakani aro sigipani nokdangni chrarangni ma·gualko on·e sigipani ma·gipakobaseanirangogelna man·gijagipabakdonga ine nikna man·na. On·anirangni gamchatani aro uarango سوالani rokomrang nokdang ge·antini bak chananirang, chanchianirang aro agan·ku·mikchetgrikanirango pangchaka. Unbaksana sigipani palo kragipa on·songrikgipako sandianiba uamangni sigipa baksa baditana sepangbate bak nangao pangchaka.

Bon·atani

A·chikrangni mande siao ka·gipa kamrangko sandie niano saksa sakgipin baksa, nokdang ge·sa ge·gipin baksa aro sigipa mande baksa bak nangpaaniko aro meli·nangrimaniko an·ching maikoba skia man·ahama? Janapbagimin gita Gujakni siao bang·bea manderangni re·bae bak ra·aniara uni nokna mande ra·aniko mesoka. Ua nokdangara ru·uta chasongrangoni rikgimin nokdang aro ma·drang mahari jelgipa ong·achim. Uamangni siaona sokbapaani aro uamangni ra·bagipa on·anirang aro bosturangan uamangni Gujak baksa chatchi bak nangpaaniko mesoka. Unbaksana ia kamrangan uamangni Gujakni nokdangna dakchakaniko aro uamang baksa bakrime janggi tangangkuna miksonganikoba paraka. Gujakni sepangbatgipa ma·drangrangni on·aniko uamangni ra·chakani aro jeganian uamang baditana kingking Gujak baksa jetjet kam·kam ong·aniko mesoka. Gujakni nokni manderang jemangkon on·anirangko on·na basechenga aro jemangan on·anirangko ra·chakchenga uamangan Gujakni ama manokni niksenggipa aro dal·batgipa chrarang ong·a.

Indakgipa bewalrango Gujakni bak nanganiko gadang gadang dake sandianirang uamangni nokdang ge·sa ge·gipin baksa bak nanganikoba mesoka.

A·chikrangni siao dakgipa kamrang basakobade manderangko uamangni ma·drang-mahariko, nio-cheksariko aro sigipani nokdangni manderangko aro bakdrangrangko sandina draatako aro nangrimatako man·a. Iandakgipa nangrimanirang a·bachenge uamangni on·anirangko ra·na jechakachiba uarangko ra·chakani bewalrangchi ma·sina man·a. Ia on·anirangan pangnan sigipa baksa bak man·chapgipa ong·a. Siaona ra·bagipa on·anirangan sigipani janggina atchirama-salchina nambate janggi tangna on·atgipa bosturang ong·a. Sigipani nokdangni on·pilatgipa on·anirangan sigipani be·en bimangkoba bang·a sigiminrangko manggisiko miksonga.

A·chikrango, ma·drang-mahari chane donganian uamangni songsalo janggi tanganio saksa sakgipin baksa aro noksa-nokgipinrang baksa meli-nangrime donganiko mesoka. A·chikrang ma·achiko chatchi de·e chatchi apsangrikgipa A·chikska baksa mahari chane donga. Indake ma·drang-mahari channe donganichi uamang uamangni nangan salo dakchakgrikaniko man·a. Minggipinara sian bon·an salo dakna nanggipa kamrangkoba damsang melie chu·sokatna man·a. Indake kosako mesokbagimin gita, mande siao on·anirangko on·anichi aro ra·chakanichi an·tangtangko sigipa mande aro uni nokdangni bak ong·paa ine mesoka. On·anirangko ra·chakgiparang pangnan basakoba nangan salo maiba cholchi on·pilskaniko dakna nanga. Uana agreba, jensalo on·anirangko on·a ua on·enggipa mandeba mikkangchi

ra·chakenggipa mandeoniko on·anirangko ra·chakskana nanggen. Indake A·chikrangni mande siao on·anirangko سوالاني ارو ra·chakanirangko dakanichi manderangko gro gamna aro chotna gita nangata. On·anirangko on·e je manderangkon bakdrang chanahachim uamangko on·enggipa nokni manderang mikkangchi indakgipa sian bon·an salrang donggenchimode dingtangman·cha mande ra·e gisik ra·na nangao ga·aka. Indakgipa bakdrang chananirangara nokko cha·songrikna aro uni gunko rakkina nangchongmotgipa kam ong·a. Mande siao on·anirangko on·aniara aro ra·chakaniara nokni manderangko aro galna ekna man·gijagipa bakdrangko u·igrikna sandigrikna dakchakani ong·chongmota. Uandake ma·drang-mahariko sandiano mitam manderangko mongsonggipa dake chanani aro mitamrangko inditana sepange changijanirangkoba nikna man·a. Iarangko uamangni on·anirangko on·ani aro ra·chakna jechakanirango nikna man·a.

Manianirango dakna nanganirangna agreba gipin chanchina nanganirangba gnan. Niamrangan sakantini ja·rikna nangipa ong·a ine manderang chanchia. Indiba ia niamrangko basakobade obostani krisa ja·rikna man·a, mande siao dakgipa kamrang aro manianirangba obostao pangchake aro nigrike dakna nanggipa kam ong·a. Maina sia bon·ao dakgipa niamrang aro kamrangkoba manderang raken maniachim. Uamangni niamko bebera·agita uamang siaona sokangjaoba uamangni bakdrangni gisepo mamung gisik saaniko aro dingtangataniko ra·bajawa ine mitamrang siaona re·angna gong·gijagiparangba (manderang uamangko re·batelna nanga ine chanchigenchimoba) dongnaba gnan. Indakesia bon·ao dakgipa kamrangko aro uarango bakra·aniko

jegalgiparanko nirkongbreja. Maina bang·bata mandean indake jegananiranko kraa ong·ja aro mande ra·gijani kam ine chanchiachim. Iandakgipa jatni niam-ritirang aro meli-nangrime donganira sian bon·an salosan dakchakaniko on·aigija songsalo janggi tanganioba gamchatgipa aro ja·rikna nanggipa ong·a ine nikna man·a.

¹Ia ki·tapko skanggipa changna 'Negotiating Rites' (2012), Husken, Ute & Neubert, Frank, (Eds), New York: Oxford University Press, "Negotiation At Death: Assessing Gifts, Mothers and Marriages" ine kattabichong done chapa ka·chengaha. Uni ja·mano Oxford University Press, USA-ni namnikanirangbaksa ia segiminrangko chapa ka·taianiko dakaha. Da·o chapa ka·taigipabako mitam sea jotanirango aro katta jakkalanirango on·tisa taridapanirang aro namdapatanimrangko dakaha. Iarangko English ku·sikoniko A·chik ku·ona pe·gipa Norinchi G Mominko anga mitelna kusi ong·bea. Unbaksaba seaniko ku·patianiko on·ahachim chi Dr. Queenbala Marak.

²Anga angni PhD field work-ko India Asongni Meghalaya a·doko 1999 bilsini July jaoni 2001 bilsini June jaona ka·angaha. Bang·bata somoirangon anga angni jikgipa aro angko dakchakgipa baksa sak 1,600 mang manderangni songdonggipa song Sadolparao dongkamaha. Indake dongkamanichi anga uamang baksa nambate bakrimna aro agangrikna gita cholrangko man·aha. Iandakgipa fieldworkrangko ka·na gita angna tangka paisarangko on·e dakchakgipa Netherland Organization for Scientific Research (NWO/WOTRO) aro Indian Council For Social Science (ICSSR)-ko angamittelpilna ska. Ia kamrangko ka·na gita anga North-Eastern Hill University (Shillong aro Tura) aro unbaksana Research School CNWS (Leiden)-ni ning·ao donge dilaniko man·aha. Ia kan·dike seanirangko chapa ka·ataianiara NWO-ICSSR ni dakchakenggipa Research Project "Markets, Ethics and agency: changing Land Utilization and Social transformation in the Uplands of Northeast

india” aro Leiden University–ni “Post Colonial Displacements: Migration, Narratives and Place Making in South Asia” ingipa projectrangna namgipa dakchakanirangko on-aha.

³A-chikrang mande siani somoio ‘salnimani’- ko daka. Unsalo uamang uamangni ka-ronggipa kamrangko ka-gija sigipako mande ra-aniko mesokna dintangmancha somoirangko ra-e manianiko daka. A-chikrangni sigiminrangna dakatgipa kamrangko ba manianiko mangona ine agana. Skang salrango mangonaniko dakna bang-a sal somoirangko ra-achim indiba da-ororode mangonaniko salgnini gisepo ka-e matchotata. Mangonaniko sigipani nok aro uni songdonggipa songni gisepon manie matchotata aro uana sima-ari badeede manianiko dakrongja.

⁴Asia-ni salgipeng jolrango “Tribe” ingipa kattachi bang-a jatrangko dintanggrikataniko nikna man-a (Beteille 1998). Tribal (A-brini jat/janggi tangani gadango ja-manchakgipa jatrang) ine seokako man-giparang India a-songni sason ka-gipani niamo pangchake ja-manchakenggipa jatrangko ra-dona jotton ka-anio bang-a namgnirangko man-a. Asiani salgipeng jolo “Tribe” kattako jatrangko dintanggrikatna jakkala gita gipin lekka segiparang aro skia-porako on-gipa gadangrango jakkaljanigimin uarangko anga inverted commani ning-o sena nangaha.

⁵A-chikrang ma-achiko chatcchi changiparang ong-a. Ma-gipaoni demechikona aro ma-gipaoni depanteona chatcchi de-anian pagipaoni demechikona aro pagipaoni depanteona chatcchi de-ana bate gamchatbata. Manderang jemangan ambi apsanoni ong-achim uamangkon ok rongsanoni atchigiparang ine aganachim. Uamang ba-saa (ma-drang/ba-rima) apsanoni ong-achim. Basakoba uamangni ba-rimarang chona ba basakobade bang-gija ritcharang gape dal-achim. Bang-bata somoion apsan chatchini me-chikrang song ge-sanni manderang ong-rongachim. Ia bang-a apsan ma-chongni manderang nangrime ma-drang-mahariko ong-ata. Ia maharini manderang pilakan me-chikchiko chatcchi de-e apsan ma-chongni chatcchi ong-na nanga.

⁶Segipagri nokdang dakna man-ja indake ong-ja. Je nokon segipa dongja ua nokrango me-chikrangoni dal-batgipa ba bribatgipa me-chik nokni skotongni biapko ra-skaa.

⁷Tangkarangko on-anirangba basakobade nambata maina uarangni gamchataniko batatna aro komiatnaba altua- uamangni ra-chakna kusi ong-a ong-gijako nigrike dingtangatna man-a.

⁸Angna agana gita, bang-gija bilsirangna skangde rang, mil-am, aro seng-ki aro rikgitokrangko a-kaweo donggipa bengalirang tarie palkuengachim. Da-ororode iako tarigiparang dongjajok maina bang-an Christian ong-tokaha aro jakkalgiparang komiaha. Songsarekrangna agre Christianrang ia ma-gitcham pagitchamni bosturangko gamchate ra-rongjachim.

⁹Je nokonikon gamchatgipa bosturangko ma-gual man-ahachim ua apsan bosturangko apsan nokona ma-gual on-pilna man-ja. Indake dakode uan ma-gual on-ani miksonganiko dingtangatgnokchim. Ma-gualni miksonganira 'gualgimin gamchatgipa bostu' ong-achim.

¹⁰Mande sigitalrangna agre, baditasak sigitcham manderang ma-gualo on-gipa bosturang baksa bak nangachim uarangko gisik ra-pilani dongjahachim. Je bosturangan gitchambataha uarangkon mande siao bang-bate jakkalaha aro ruuta bilsirangna on-rikrikaniko dakbaenga ine u-ina man-a. Gitcham sigimim manderangni bimungrangko gualahani gimin ia gamchatgipa bosturang sanoni sanona sokbaa aro sani bak nangachim uarangko gisik ra-ani aro sandiani dongjaha.

¹¹Baditana sepange aro chel-e bakdrang chananirang uamangni an-chi apsan ong-ao (ba-rima apsangiparangba ru-uta somoirangna dongrim cha-rimgiparang) aro ma-drang mahari chane dongao pangchaka. Ma-drang mahariara pilak me-chikni bi-sarang, ba-rima apsan ong-jaoba an-tangtangko abisa chane donggiparang ong-a. Indioba sepange aro chel-e bak chananirang uamangni saksa sakgipin baksa re-grik-dogrikao pangchaka. Uni gimin sepange aro chel-e bak chananirang uamangni baditana kingking meli-nangrimgrike janggi tangaosa pangchaka.

¹²Nokdang ge-antian je nokoni ong-kata ua nokni bipekrang ong-a. Ia nokrangkora ua nok bipeko atchigipa aro dal-atgipa me-chikrangchi a-bachengata. Ia bipekrangan nokrangni gitchambataniko aro dal-batgipa ong-aniko mesoka. Nokrangni a-bachengaona ja-ku sane niode bipek bang-batgipa nokrangn gitchambatgipa aro bilakbatgipa nokrang ong-a.

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