

# Texts and Grammar of Malto

Masato Kobayashi

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## Introduction

### i. Malto and the Pahariyas

Malto is a Dravidian language spoken by people called the Pahariyas. Among the Dravidian languages, it is genetically closest to Kurux, which is mainly spoken in Western Jharkhand and Northern Chhattisgarh. Most Malto speakers live in the three northeastern districts of Jharkhand, i.e. Sahebganj, Godda and Pakur, according to the district division as of 1994. Of the Pahariyas in this area, three subtribes, the Sawriya Pahariyas, the Mal Pahariyas and the Kumarbhag Pahariyas,<sup>1</sup> primarily speak Malto. A group called the Dehri Pahariyas, and Mal Pahariyas in some areas such as the south of Maheshpur in Pakur District, speak Indo-Aryan vernaculars. The subtribes are traditionally endogamous, but there are close ties (including matrimonial ones) between the Mal Pahariyas and the Kumarbhag Pahariyas in Pakur district. Pahariya villages are usually situated on a hilly tract, sometimes at an elevation as high as 300 metres above sea level, on a mountain mass called the Rajmahal Hills. However, Mal Pahariya and Kumarbhag villages in the area south of Hirapur in Pakur District are in relatively flat land. There are also a few Kumarbhag Pahariya villages in Murshidabad District, West Bengal, which I have not visited yet.

The population of Malto speakers is around 100,000 according to the 1981 and 1991 Census data (Krishnamurti 2003:27, Puttaswamy 2008:18). According to the 2001 Census of India, Malto is spoken by 224,926 people, including 139,233 speakers in Orissa unknown heretofore. If we exclude these 139,233 speakers in Orissa, who are likely to be speakers of a different language, we get 85,693 as the number of Malto speakers in India. There seems to be a small Pahariya population in Bangladesh, as well.

### ii. Fieldwork

In February 2005, the Tribal and Regional Languages Department of Ranchi University organized an educational tour to Pakur and the nearby area, in which I had the opportunity to participate, and we visited Simal Kundi, a Pahariya village near Hirapur. Since that time, Bablu Tirkey, then a postgraduate student of Ranchi University, and I, traveled together to collect Malto speech sounds, words, and sentences, which I used as the basis for this work and Tirkey used for his doctoral dissertation on Kurux and Malto, entitled *Kurukh evam Mālto kā Tulnātmak Bhāṣāvaijñānik Adhyayan*. Tirkey and I visited the Pahariya villages of Pakur, Sahebganj, and Godda Districts together, in September 2005, February-March 2006, September 2006, February 2007, March 2008, February-March 2009, and

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<sup>1</sup>There is another group called the Sardar Pahariyas which might form a fourth subtribe.

February 2010, each time for up to two weeks. At first, we visited the residential high schools of the Jharkhand government in Hiranpur (Pakur Dist.), Dhamni (Godda Dist.), Gopikandar (Dumka Dist.) and Bandarkola (Sahebganj Dist.). Then we started visiting Malto-speaking villages on the introduction of the Pahariya students there. Since Pakur was the nearest town in the area with both daily power supply and skilled drivers, we set our base camp at Prince Lodge near Pakur Railway Station, hired a vehicle in Pakur, and visited the villages of our consultants every day.

### iii. Consultants

In our visits to the villages, we could stay there only during the daytime as we went back to Pakur every day. In order to make full use of the limited time, we first asked the village people to tell us about themselves, their lives, rituals and folklore, in their own language, before having elicitation interviews. Then we played the recording sentence by sentence and asked the speakers to explain it in Hindi. The main body of this book consists of transcripts obtained by such spontaneous narration, with interlinear glosses and English translation. I tried to follow the original Malto as closely as possible, and I hope that the readers will forgive my awkward translation and turns of phrase. The following are the names of the Malto consultants who cooperated in recording and elicitation, arranged by village:

Simal Kundi (P. O. Hiranpur, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Sawriya. Mentioned in Das 1973:9): Mr. Mangal Malto, Mrs. Bebi Malto.

Ursa Pahar (P. O. Vindudham, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahebganj. Sawriya): Mr. Rama Pahariya (village chief), Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya (staff of the Hiranpur school), Mr. (Barnya Ganga) Mesa Pahariya, Mr. Lokhon Pahariya, Mr. (Sundru) Surja Pahariya, Ms. Asharut Malto (teacher at the Bandarkola school).

Mokri (P. O. Bara Gagri, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Sawriya): Mr. Paulus Malto, Ms. Shanti Malto.

Pandanbita (P. O. Lakhipur, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahebganj. Sawriya): Mr. Shiva Malto.

Anibhitta (P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Sawriya): Mr. Jawra Pahariya (village chief), Mr. Devnarayan Pahariya (village *naib*).

Malipara (P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Sawriya): Mr. Guhiya Paharia (school teacher), Mrs. Robni Paharin.

Boro Pahar (P. O. Dumarchir, P. S. Amrapara, Dist. Pakur. Mal): Mr. Kalidas Pahariya (village chief), Mr. Ganesh Pahariya, Mr. Sushil Pahariya (student), Mr. Singya Pahariya (student).

Doliyo (near Dumarchir. Mal): Mr. Jama Pahariya.

Garsingla (P. O. Chandna, P. S. Sundar Pahari, Dist. Godda. Sawriya): Mr.

Dilip Pahariya (student).

Amlagachhi (P. O. Shahagram, P. S. Maheshpur, Dist. Pakur. Mal): Mrs. Surji Paharni (school teacher).

Paderkola B, also known as Dumbri (P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur, Dist. Pakur. Kumarbhag): Mr. Sushil Pahariya, Mr. Jama Pahariya, Mrs. Kamli Paharni, and Mr. Kandna Pahariya (student).

Telopara (P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur, Dist. Pakur. Kumarbhag): Mr. Shibu Pahariya.

Tugutola (P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur, Dist. Pakur. Mal): Mr. Kalu Pahariya.

Bandarkola, also known as Binderi (near Boriyo. Sawriya): Mrs. Kani Paharni.

Kusumghati (P. O. Kero Bazar, P. S. Boarijor, Dist. Godda. Sawriya. Mentioned in Das 1973:9): Mr. Alexander Malto (village chief), Mr. Simon Malto (residing in Khedibari).

Kortika (P. O. Boarijor, P. S. Boarijor, Dist. Godda. Sawriya): Mr. Maheshwar Malto (retired school teacher).

In our visits to Ursā Pahar, many people volunteered to tell stories, and we recorded many more folk tales than we could possibly present in a single volume. A few of them are given as Malto-English parallel texts in the last chapter.

The glossary (pp. 428–460) contains all words that occur in the text parts, except foreign words and ad hoc onomatopoeias. The grammatical index (pp. 461ff.) includes linguistic terms discussed mainly in the first chapter.

In the first phase of our work, Tirkey and I jointly published three glossed transcripts (Kobayashi and Tirkey 2007), of which “Pahariya Wedding” by Mr. Surja Pahariya is revised and included in this volume with Tirkey’s permission (p. 173ff.). Tirkey also did the primary typing of “Story of seven brothers and a sister” (p. 289ff.).

#### iv. Previous Work

When we transcribed and analyzed Northern and Eastern Malto data, we mainly consulted Droeze (1884), a grammar and vocabulary by a Prussian minister of the Church Missionary Society in Bhagalpur, Ernest Droeze (1817–1891). Although it is not always easy to understand his condensed style, his description is based on more than thirty years of meticulous observation, and we found it insurmountable. For Central Malto, B. P. Mahapatra’s grammar (Mahapatra 1979), which is also highly reliable, was of great help. His dictionary contains many words not listed in Droeze (1884) and is indispensable, although paucity of grammatical information such as the Base 2 form of a verb limits its usability. There is no detailed description of

the Southern dialect yet (cf. Das 1973:87f., Mahapatra 1979:202ff.), and we have to admit there is still a lot we do not understand about the grammar and the vocabulary of this dialect. Western Malto has been studied by Chaithra Puttaswamy and is covered by her dissertation (Puttaswamy 2008).

The main purpose of this work is to present the current status and dialectal variation of the language through building a small-scale corpus of spontaneous narratives. The transcripts and the 16-bit 44kHz audio files of the corpus are available through the Linguistic Data Consortium, University of Pennsylvania (<http://www.ldc.upenn.edu>), under the title *Malto Speech and Transcripts* (LDC2012S04). MP3-compressed audio files corresponding to the transcripts included in this book are also available at <http://www.gengo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~masatok>. Malto is a very diverse language, such that there are noticeable differences even among neighboring villages. I tried to give fair samples from all geographical areas, but in places such as Bandarkola, I had to defer preparing glossed transcripts because of my poor understanding of the local idiom. There should be dialect geographic work such as a linguistic map and a comparative dictionary of dialects, but we need to know much more about the language and the people before we can start such projects.

#### v. Script

Although it is not a common practice to write down Malto, the Devanagari script is most widely used for that purpose. However, Malto has phono-tactic restrictions and epenthesis processes different from those of Hindi, and it is not always self-evident how to read words spelt in Devanagari, e.g. *caryneh* is written in Devanagari *carayaneh*, which would be read \**carayneh* if it were Hindi, and short and long /e/ and /o/ are not consistently distinguished even in the Malto New Testament (Bible Society of India 2000). To avoid such ambiguity, we use the Roman script with adapted IPA symbols in this book. However, it must be noted that the transcription in this book is not phonetic even though the IPA symbols are used. For example, clusters ending in /y/ such as /awdya/ 'she/it said' may well be transcribed with /iy/ (/awdjiya/). If there are two equally possible ways of transcription, I followed Droese's spelling. I followed the current pronunciation if it is clearly different from his spelling, as in *qend-e* 'to take along' which Droese writes *qe:nd-e* but is pronounced with a short *e*, at least in Ursa Pahar.

## Abbreviations

IPL.E:	first person plural exclusive	ITJ:	interjection
IPL.I:	first person plural inclusive	ITR:	intransitive
1SG:	first person singular	LO:	locative
2PL:	second person plural	M:	masculine
2SG:	second person singular	N:	noun
3PL:	third person plural	NG:	negative
3SG:	third person singular	NM:	non-masculine
AB:	ablative	OBL:	oblique case
AC:	accusative	ONOM:	onomatopoeia
ADJ:	adjective	OP:	optative
ADV:	adverb	PA:	passive
AP:	adverbial participle	PAP:	passive participle
B2:	Base 2	PL:	plural
CLF:	classifier	PP:	present participle
COMP:	complementizer	PR:	present
CP:	conjunctive participle	PRF:	perfect
CR:	corelative	PRO:	pronominal
CS:	causative	PROP:	proper noun
DA:	dative	PT:	past
DISTR:	distributive	PTP:	past participle
E:	exclusive	REC:	reciprocal
ECHO:	echo-word	RED:	reduplicant
EPH:	emphatic	REL:	relative
F:	feminine	REP:	repetition
FT:	future	RF:	reflexive
GE:	genitive	SFX:	suffix
HP:	habitual participle	SG:	singular
I:	inclusive	SJ:	subjunctive
IF:	infinitive	TOP:	topicalizer
IMP:	imperative	TR:	transitive
IN:	instrumental	VN:	verbal noun
IPP:	imperfect participle		
*	:	not attested	
..	:	equivalent to	
-:	:	zero morpheme	
=:	:	uske.ba:d etc.:	roman type inside

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italics (or vice versa) indicates a recent loan	Ne: North-Eastern Nw: North-Western
C: Central; consonant	P. O.: post office
Dist.: District	P. S.: police station
elic.: data acquired by elicitation	S.: South
Krx.: Kurux	V: vowel
lit.: literally	vl.: voiceless
N: North	W.: Western
Nc: North-central	X: vowel or consonant
Amla, Am: Amlagachhi	Pandan: Pandanbita
Ani: Anibhitta	Simal: Simal Kundi
Boro: Boro Pahar	Telo: Telopara
Kusum, Ku: Kusumghati	Tugu: Tugutola
Mali: Malipara	Ursa, Ur: Ursa Pahar
PadB, Pa: Paderkola B	

#### Transcription of Texts:

The numbers that precede each sentence in the texts refer to the time points in the recording (as minutes and seconds).

### Transcription Systems

The following are lists of sounds differently transcribed in previous grammars and their equivalents in our transcription.

#### Droese (1884)

á = a: ; aŋ = ă ; ch = c ; d = ɖ ; é = e: ; eŋ = ẽ ; g = ɠ ; í = i: ; iŋ = ĩ ; ɳg = ɳg ; ɳg = ɳg ; ɳy = ɳ, ny ; ó = o: ; oŋ = ጀ ; ɻ = ɻ ; t = t ; th = ڏ ; ú = u: ; uŋ = ڻ

#### Das (1973)

ă = a: ; ɖ = ɖ ; ẽ = e: ; ɠ = ɠ ; ĩ = i: ; ɳ = ɳ ; aɳ etc. = ɳ etc. ; ጀ = o: ; ɻ = ɻ ; t = t ; ɻ = ɻ ; ڏ = ڏ

#### Mahapatra (1979)

ɖ = ɖ ; ɖ = ɖ ; ɠ = ɠ ; ɳ = ɳ ; ɳ = ɳ ; ɻ = ɻ ; t = t

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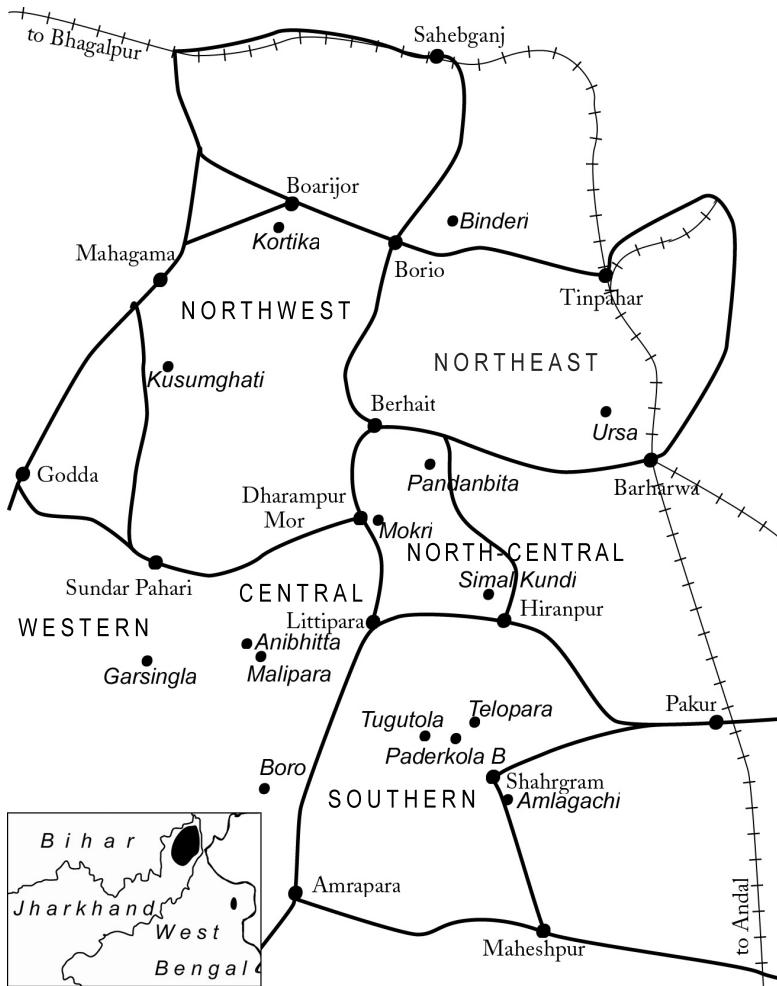
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**Figure 1.** Rajmahal Hills and Malto-speaking villages visited



## Chapter I. Outline Grammar of Malto

### §1 Typological Overview

Malto is a member of the Kurux-Malto subgroup (which might form the North Dravidian subgroup with Brahui) of the Dravidian language family.

Malto has a fairly straightforward inventory of five vowels, with long and/or nasalized counterparts. Vowels rarely contrast in length in noninitial syllables, and initial syllables tend to have high prominence. Characteristic of the consonant inventory are the uvular obstruents *q* and *χ*, to which *?* and *h* correspond in some dialects, the interdental voiced fricative [ð] which is probably an allophone of *d*, and the lack of *z* and aspirated consonants. Malto allows complex consonant clusters of different places and manners of articulation. Unlike in Kurux, onomatopoeia and echo-word formation are not highly developed.

Nouns, adjectives and verbs are derived by suffixation and compounding. In inflectional morphology, the tense, mood, and negation, and the person, gender, number, and the case, are all marked by suffixation. Malto is a dependent-marking language. There are three tenses, the past, the present and the future, and moods such as the subjunctive and the optative. There is no morphological marking of aspect, except that some dialects show perfective suffixes. Malto has two numbers, the singular and the plural, and there is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive reference in the first person pronouns and pronominal suffixes. Malto makes a gender distinction between human masculine and other referents, and only human nouns can take the plural suffix. One of the salient features of the inflectional morphology is that not only finite verb forms, but also conversbs, nouns, and adjectives take pronominal suffixes corresponding to the subject. Another characteristic of Malto morphology is the presence of full negative forms corresponding to the affirmative ones. Compound verbs are not grammaticalized as highly as in other South Asian languages such as Hindi.

The basic word order in Malto is AOV in transitive clauses and SV in intransitive clauses, with postpositions, premodifying adjectives and genitives, but focused or heavy noun phrases are often displaced to the right of the verb. In terms of alignment, Malto has a nominative-accusative system. Passivization does not involve change in the cases of arguments. All dialects have two-way deixis of proximate and remote reference, and some have forms for medial and far-remote reference as well. The plural is not used for honorific reference, while masculine referents take non-masculine suffixes in endearing reference.

## §2 Dialects

Malto is a very diverse language. Since the Pahariya villages or hamlets are on hilly tracts and are often separated by lowland Santhal villages, the language differs from village to village, and it would be more accurate to consider Malto a continuum of dialects than a unitary language. The Pahariyas themselves are well aware of the differences, and for convenience they refer to the dialects by the name of the *Bangla*, an area reachable from a market which is its economical center; for example, the people of thirty Pahariya villages near Pathna go to the weekly market there, and the speech of those villages is hence referred to as ‘like in the Pathna Bangla’. There are at least twenty *Banglas*, such as Amrapara, Maheshpur, Hiranpur, Littipara, Lakhipur, Berhait, Vrindavan, Boriyo, Boarijor, Sahebganj, Dhamni and Singarsi, and each *Bangla* seems to cover ten to sixty Pahariya villages. They also make a three-way distinction of the Pahariyas areawise, i.e. *pub-yer* ‘Easterners’, *ba:rer* ‘Westerners’ and *ceter* ‘Southerners’.

It has been considered that Malto is divided into three major dialects, Sawriya Pahariya, Mal Pahariya, and Kumarbhag, according to the three sub-tribal communities (Mahapatra 1979:202ff).<sup>1</sup> In the Southern Pakur area, where Mal Pahariya and Kumarbhag villages are interspersed among each other, there is no noticeable difference observed between the languages of the two communities. In the Central area where there are both Sawriya and Mal Pahariya villages, only the speech of the Mal Pahariyas has the present and past perfect forms. Although we have not yet studied the variety of the Sundar Pahari block, which we call the Western area, Puttaswamy (2008:171ff.) reports that the speech of the Sawriya Pahariyas in that area does have perfect forms, and it is possible that there is no significant difference between the speeches of the Mal Pahariya and Sawriya Pahariya communities there. The question of whether the dialectal difference is purely areal or community-based remains open, but we adopt the hypothesis that the main difference depends on the area. Based on the difference in verbal inflection, we tentatively call—

- 1) the area north of the Barharwa–Berhait road<sup>2</sup> and east of the Sahebganj–Berhait road ‘Northeastern’ (only Sawriya Pahariya),
- 2) north of the Dharampur Mor–Dhamni road and west of the Sahebganj–Berhait–Dharampur Mor road ‘Northwestern’,
- 3) the area south of the Barharwa–Berhait road and east of the Berhait–Littipara–Hiranpur road ‘North-central’ (only Sawriya Pahariya),
- 4) the area of Littipara Block south of the Dharampur Mor–Dhamni road,

<sup>1</sup>There seems to be one more group of Malto-speaking Pahariyas called the Sardars.

<sup>2</sup>As roads and roadside villages separate Pahariya villages from each other, they often seem to serve as dialect boundaries.

west of the Dharampur Mor–Littipara–Amrapara road ‘Central’ (Sawriya Pahariya and Mal Pahariya),

5) Amrapara Block (which includes Boro Pahar) and the area south of the Amrapara–Littipara–Hiranpur–Pakur road ‘Southern’.

6) We call the dialect spoken in Sundar Pahari Block ‘Western’ (Sawriya Pahariya and Mal Pahariya), which is covered by Puttaswamy (2008) and is referred to only occasionally in this work. See Figure 1 on p. 11.

We use the word ‘North’ as a cover term for Northwestern, Northeastern and North-central areas. As dialect geographic work has not been done in Malto-speaking villages yet, and as it is not easy to decide which area a dialect belongs to, e.g. in our case, whether the dialect of Boro Pahar belongs to the Western or the Southern area, we are still far from being able to decide exact dialect borders.

Of the works published heretofore, the description of Droese (1884) is closest to what we find in the Northwestern villages such as Kusumghati, as is natural in the light of the fact that he worked with Pahariya people near Bhagalpur, Bihar (70 kilometers west of Sahebganj). Das (1973) mainly concerns North-central and Northeastern Malto. Mahapatra (1979) treats Mal Pahariya Malto in the Central area, which is fairly close to the language of Central Sawriya Pahariya villages like Malipara and Anibhitta.

The known cases of dialectal variation include verbal inflection, correspondence of the phonemes /q/ /g/ vs. /ʔ/ /h/, distribution of /e/ and /a/ as in South *mayj-a* vs. *meŋj-a* elsewhere, {be.B2-PT.3SG} ‘was’, or Northwestern *enj-e* vs. *enŋ-a* elsewhere, {I-DA} ‘for me’ (§34), vowel length as in *men-e* vs. *me:n-e* ‘to hear, ask’, or in *qoli* vs. *qo:li* ‘tail’, vocabulary items such as *pa:ry-e* vs. *lo:r-e* ‘to be able’, *bi:k-e* vs. *ja:ŋg-e* ‘to call’, *eqw-e* vs. *qaŋy-e* ‘to worship’, *irw*, *iwr* vs. *jo:rondər* ‘two people’, *a:pahr-no* vs. *a:-kara* ‘at that time’, *ante* vs. *andi* ‘then, and’, and *a:t-* vs. *a:q-* ‘there’.

Unless specified otherwise, the description in this outline grammar is of Sawriya Pahariya Malto of Ursa Pahar (Northeastern, Pathna Bangla).

### §3 Consonants

Malto has the following twenty-three consonant phonemes:

	bilabial	dental	postalv.	palatal	velar	uvular
vl. stop	p	t	t̪	c	k	q
voiced stop	b	d	d̪	ɟ	g	g̪
nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
flap			r	t̪		
lateral			l			
fricative			s			h
glide	w			y		

Note: See page 8 for the differences in transcription from Droese (1884) and Mahapatra (1979).

/p/ and /b/ are voiceless and voiced bilabial stops, respectively. Medial /b/ is often weakened to /w/ ([u]~[β]), e.g. *ik-bah* ~ *ik-wah* ‘where’.

/t/ and /d/ are voiceless and voiced dental-alveolar stops, respectively. Word-final /d/ is always pronounced [ð] (see 17 below).

/t̪/ and /d̪/ are voiceless and voiced retroflex stops, respectively. Unlike in Hindi, /d̪/ contrasts with /t̪/ in intervocalic position as well, e.g. *gadhi* ‘car’ vs. *gari* ‘a lot’, *bad-e* ‘to know’ vs. *bare* ‘strength’.<sup>3</sup>

/c/ and /ɟ/ are voiceless and voiced palato-alveolar affricates, respectively. /c/ is pronounced without release when followed by /t̪/, e.g. *mecten* ‘upward’.

/k/ and /g/ are voiceless and voiced velar stops, respectively.

/q/ is a voiceless uvular stop (see §34 for Southern /ʔ/). Although /g/ is usually pronounced as a voiced uvular fricative, except after /ŋ/ where it is a stop, its phonemic status is given as a voiced uvular stop. The reason for this is that it alternates with /q/ at the morphophonemic level, e.g. *a:g-e* ‘to know’ and *aq-ah* {know.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘he knew’. It is often preceded or followed by anaptyctic [o] or [a], e.g. *orgdu* [oroðdu] ‘nail’, *nijgr-e* [niŋgr-e] ‘to take refreshments’.

/n/ is pronounced [n] when followed by /t̪/ or /d̪/. Since [n] is an allophone of /n/, the clusters [n̪t̪] and [n̪d̪] are transcribed *nt̪* and *nd̪*. /ŋ/ is listed as a phoneme, for its occurrence is not always predictable, as pairs of /ŋc/ and /ŋg/ such as *teng-e* ‘to tell’ vs. *tung-e* ‘to gather’ show. /y/ is pronounced [n̪] when followed by /q/ or /c/ in close conjunction. /n/ is pronounced [n̪] when followed by /j/ in close conjunction (transcribed *n̪j*). Phonemic /ŋ/ is found in a few morphemes, *sinaqe* ‘rich’, *kij-e* ‘to put down’, *-nahā* ‘even’, *kaqikon* ‘a little’. Both /n/ and /ŋ/ occur before /c/, as in *cinc-a* {recognize.B2-PT.3SG.NM} ‘she recognized’ vs. *ceŋc-a* {smell.B2-PT.3SG.NM} ‘it

<sup>3</sup>Puttaswamy (2008:58) does not treat /t̪/ as an independent phoneme.

smelled'. Since /p/ alternates with /n/ in *a:p* ~ *a:nle* 'saying/thinking/doing thus' < /a:ny-le/, it might be derived from the combination /ny/. We will write /p/ /ny when it alternates with /n/, but *p* when it is lexical.

/r/ is an alveolar flap. /t̪/ is a post-alveolar, retroflex flap. /l/ is a dental-alveolar lateral approximant.

/s/ is a voiceless dental fricative. In Ursā Pahār alone, it is pronounced as voiceless interdental fricative [θ]. There is no voiced counterpart of /s/.

/ð/ (Droese *th*) has been treated as an independent phoneme, but its status as such is questionable. It occurs most often in word-final position, pronounced without release, but it is probably an allophone of /d/ there, for it becomes *d* when followed by a vowel, e.g. *na:ð* ~ *na:de* 'that, she', *pu:pu-ð* ~ *pu:pu-de* {flower-NM} 'a flower/ flowers'. Medial ð in coda position can also be considered an allophone of /d/, e.g. *qeðwu* 'ear' (with metathesis) vs. Krx. *xebda:*, *a:ðwa* 'raw, not boiled' vs. Krx. *a:bda:* 'unbleached'. In intervocalic position, Droese gives *e:ðo* (étho) 'cockroach' and *bi:ði* (bithi) 'small black ant', for which no Kurux cognates are known. Although interdental pronunciation was observed in Kusumghati, Mokri and Malipara, [r] was also found in Amlagachhi, Paderkola B and Ursā Pahār, and [w] in Boro Pahār. See the table below for the occurrence of medial [ð] in different dialects. Furthermore, intervocalic /d/ is pronounced [ð] after front vowels /i, e/ in Malipara, e.g. *ki:ð-in* PR.1SG of *ki:d-e* 'to lay down', *pel-beða* 'marriage'.

	'ant'	'cockroach'	'to forget'	'ear'
Amlagachhi	<i>bi:ri</i>	( <i>masla</i> )	<i>mo:yr-e</i>	<i>qe.wi</i>
Paderkola B	<i>bi:ri</i>	( <i>masla</i> )	<i>mo:yr-e</i>	<i>qe.wi</i>
Boro Pahār	<i>bi:wi</i>	( <i>masla</i> )	<i>mo:dr-a</i>	<i>qeðwdw</i>
Malipara	<i>bi:ði</i>	<i>e:ðo</i>	<i>mo:dr-a</i>	<i>qeðwdw</i>
Mokri	<i>bi:ði</i>	<i>e:ðo</i>	<i>mo:ðr-e</i>	<i>qeðwu</i>
Ursā Pahār	<i>bi:ri</i>	<i>e:ro</i>	<i>mo:hr-e</i>	<i>qeðwu</i>
Kusumghati	<i>bi:ði</i>	<i>i:ðu</i>	<i>mo:ðr-e</i>	<i>qeðwu</i>

The pronunciation of /w/ varies from [u] to [β], but it is more often a fricative than a glide, especially in the South (§34): *awq-i* {say-PR.3SG} [aβq̪i] ~ [auq̪i]. /y/ is a glide corresponding to /i/. It is usually pronounced [j] or [i] (non-syllabic [i]), and is often [ii] after a consonant e.g. *eky-a* {go.B2-PT.3SG} [ekiija].

/h/ is a voiceless or breathy-voiced glottal fricative. Since an initial vowel is pronounced with open glottis and often sounds like accompanying /h/ (cf. §34, p. 59), one cannot distinguish word-initial /h/. Indo-Aryan words with initial /h/ are borrowed without it, e.g. *ati* 'elephant', Hindi *ha:t̪i*, Bengali *ha:t̪i*. Final /h/ is often pronounced very weak, almost in-

audibly.<sup>4</sup>

#### §4 Vowels

Malto has five vowels /a, i, u, e, o/ with long counterparts /a:, i:, u:, e:, o:/. All short vowels, and at least /a:/ and /o:/ among the long vowels, have phonemic nasalized counterparts, e.g. *ceya* ‘shade’ vs. *cēy-e* ‘to smell bad’, *sīyare~sīnare* ‘rich person’ vs. *siyare* ‘jackal’, *hō*: hunting cry vs. *hō:* ‘yes’.

Nasalized vowels occur in inherited words as well as loanwords, e.g. *ãrs-e* ‘to arrive’, *qōh-e* ‘to cut’, *sīyare* ‘rich’, *hō* ‘too’, *-tā:re* ‘every’; *gosāyi* ‘god’, *mā:ji* ‘village chief’.

There is practically no diphthong in inherited vocabulary. Examples of diphthongs are *baiya* ‘brother’ (Droese *baya*) and *saudar-e* ‘to shop’, which are loanwords, and *auro* ‘further’, which can also be represented as *awro* with /w/ (see Droese 1884:1).

In inherited simplex words, long and short vowels contrast only in the initial syllable. There are not many cases of a long vowel in the second (nonfinal) syllable, e.g. optative forms such as *beh-a:nded* {be-OP.3SG.NM} ‘let it be’, and the vowel in the second syllable of a loanword is sometimes syncopated, e.g. *aygti* ‘ring’ from Hindi *āgu:t̪i*: id., *kagte* ‘paper’ from early Hindi *ka:gat/ka:gad* id. (Modern Hindi *ka:gaz*). Some forms have free length variation in the second syllable, e.g. *men-enid* {be-FT.3SG.NM} ‘it will be’ is often pronounced *men-e:nid*. In the final syllable, there is at least one case of vowels contrasting in length, e.g. *peh-le* {carry-CP} vs. *peh-le:* {carry-SJ.2SG.M}. In this book, final vowels are all written short except in monosyllabic words such as *je:* ‘but’, loanwords such as *suru:* ‘beginning’, the subjunctive suffix *-le:*, and interjections such as *aju:* ‘oh my’ of which the final vowel is invariably pronounced long.

Some words and forms show dialectal variation with respect to vowels, e.g. North *men-e* ~ South-Central *me:n-e* ‘to hear, ask’ (§2, §34).

#### §5 Word Stress

Not much is known about the word stress and intonation of Malto, except that some forms have unique pitch peaks, e.g. the negative imperative such as *lap-óma* {eat-NG.IMP} ‘don’t eat’, or the optative such as *do:k-a:ndér* {stay-OP.3PL} ‘let them stay’, but they might as well be attributed to intonational pitch contour. The phonemic contrast of vowel length in the initial syllable, lack of it in the second syllable, and occasional syncopation in the second syllable (§4), suggest that the initial syllables were originally stressed and hence resistant to weakening.

A long vowel in the initial syllable is often shortened when the second syllable has prominence such as length and high pitch; for example, *e:k-a*

<sup>4</sup>Puttaswamy (2008:68) posits an optional deletion of final /-d/ and /-h/.

{go-IMP} ‘let’s go!’ is actually pronounced [e’ka:]. Avoidance of contiguous prominent syllables suggests the existence of a rhythm rule.

## §6 Phonotactics

In inherited words, vowels are separated by consonants including /y/ and /w/, and sequences of non-high vowels such as [eo] are strictly avoided.

Clusters of two or more consonants that differ in voicing feature are possible, e.g. /gk/ vs. /kk/ as in *ba:g-ki* ‘having pared’ and *ba:k-ki* ‘having taken up’; the same is true for clusters of different stricture, e.g. /wj/ or /sg/ as in *ewj-e* ‘to be lost’ and *musg-e* ‘to pack up’; of different places of articulation, e.g. /t/, /t̪/ and /ct/ as in *ettr-e* ‘to bring down’, *uttr-e* ‘to cause to fall’ and *mecten* ‘upward’; and long clusters such as *porgr-pe* ‘to be soaked’ or *mecg manu-d* ‘a high tree’ (cf. Das 1973:17ff.).

While a wide variety of consonant clusters are found, there are restrictions on the cooccurrence of dorsal stops, i.e. velar /k, g/ and uvular /q, g/ — this process could be called consonant harmony. Firstly, a velar stop and a uvular do not cooccur across a vowel, and we have only words such as *kuku* ‘head’, *qaq-e* ‘to get’. Secondly, a high vowel does not occur after a uvular within a morpheme, and sometimes even across a morpheme boundary, e.g. *qerc-e* ‘to scrape’ vs. *Parji kirc-* id. (DEDR 1564, McAlpin 2003:528), *qal-uwr-e* ‘to be stolen’ vs. *qaq-owr-e* ‘to be available’, but *maq-i* ‘girl’. Thirdly, two contiguous dorsal stops must have the same place of articulation. This constraint is synchronically active, and uvulars assimilate velar stops to their right, e.g. /moq-ken/ → *moqqen* {eat.B2-PT.1SG} ‘I ate’, /qe:g-ker/ → *qe:qger* {buy-CP.3PL} ‘having bought’.

The flaps /r/ and /t̪/ neither form clusters nor may they be geminated. So for example, the -r reflexive form of *no:r-e* ‘to wash’ is *no:qr-e* ‘to wash oneself’ and not <sup>×</sup>*no:tr-e*.

There is a tendency to simplify originally geminate consonants (cf. Gordon 1976:61ff.), e.g. the short *a* in the Base 2 form *aq-* of *a:g-e* ‘to know’, such as *aq-ah* {know.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘he knew’, is probably a result of shortening before \*qq, but the current Base 2 form has a single /q/. Synchronically, geminate consonants exist, and there are minimal pairs of single and geminate consonants such as *men-er* {become-FT.3PL} ‘they will become’ vs. *men-ner* {become-PR.3PL} ‘they become’, *eke* ‘small tortoise’ vs. *ek-ke* {go.B2-PT.2SG.M} ‘you went’, *ac-a* AC of *acu* ‘thorn’ vs. *acca* ‘okay’ (cf. Mahapatra 1979:41).

Place assimilation of a nasal and a stop is automatic in the case of /nt/ [n̪t̪], /nd/ [n̪d̪], /nj/, but /nq/ vs. /ŋq/ [Nq], /ng/ vs. /ŋg/ [Ng], /nk/ vs. /ŋk/, /ng/ vs. /ŋg/, /nc/ vs. /ŋc/, and /mp/ vs. /np/, are contrastive, *inq-e* ‘to cough’ vs. *teŋq-qen* [Nq] PT.1SG of *teŋg-e* ‘to tell’, *mangu* ‘buffalo’ vs. *teŋg-e* [Ng] ‘to

tell', *kanku* 'wood' vs. *tay-ki* 'one's own', *cing-e* 'to pinch' vs. *oŋg-e* 'to finish', *cinc-* B2 of *ciny-e* 'to recognize' vs. *ceŋc-* B2 of *cēy-e* 'to smell', *jinp-e* 'to be white' vs. *ja:m-peli* 'daughter-in-law'.

While there is little restriction on the combination of consonants as mentioned above, vowel epenthesis is found in some clusters of three consonants, e.g. /barc-ken/ {come.B2-PT.1SG} 'I came', /lagcki/ 'for' are often pronounced [baricken] and [lagacki]. The cluster /-CyC-/ is pronounced [CijC] or [CjiC] with epenthetic [i], e.g. *pafy-ner* [pafijner] {read-PR.3PL} 'they read', *bady-tr-a* [badjitra] {grow-CS-PT.3SG} 'she raised [us]'.<sup>5</sup>

The sequence /Vn/ freely alternates with /nV/, as in *ikni~ikin* 'how', *paharni~paharin* PROP, *qe:ql-no~qe:ql-on* {earth-LO}. Metathesis is also observed in consonant clusters, e.g. *irw* (Northeast) ~ *iwr* (Northwest) 'two people', *pat-su~pat-us* {CLF-two} (cf. Mahapatra 1979:31f).

A word-final consonant is resyllabified with the following word-initial vowel, e.g. /dade-k eky-a/ '[She] went to the jungle' → *da.de.ke.k(i).ya*. This process is fed by the apocope rule (§7), e.g. /qe:l-a ah-a/ 'Beat the kettle drum!' → *qe:.la.ha*.

## §7 Morphophonemics

/y/ at the end of Base 2 is deleted when followed by a suffix beginning with *t* and *k*, and word-finally, e.g. *ek-ken* {go.B2-PT.1SG} 'I went' from /eky-ken/, and *ek* {go.B2.AP} 'going' from /eky/. A Base 2-final /y/ is also deleted before *l*, but this is optional in Northern Malto, e.g. *a:n-le~a:ny-le* 'having said/done that'.<sup>5</sup> The /y/ at the end of a numeral classifier is deleted when followed by a consonant or /i/, e.g. *kuj-is* {shadow.CLF-two} from /kujy-is/. When a Base 1 form ending in /y/ takes the future imperative suffix *-ku*, the /y/ becomes /c/ in Northern Malto, as in *parc-ku* from *pafy-e* 'to read' (§27).

When followed by a suffix beginning with /l/, a base-final /n/ may be assimilated to /l/, e.g. *mel-la~men-la* from /men-la/ {be-NG.PT.3SG}.

When the genitive and locative suffixes *-ki* and *-no* are attached to a trisyllabic stem ending in *i* (or *-iki* and *-ino* to a consonant-final disyllabic stem), the *i* often drops (§11), e.g. *duwar-no* from *duwari* 'door', *pokar-no* from *pokari* 'pond', *a:ber-ki* from *a:ber-iki* 'their'. It does not happen in the case of disyllabic stems, e.g. *du|i-no* 'in the dust'.

In suffixation, compounds and word sandhi, a word- or morpheme-initial vowel often causes apocope of the final vowel of the preceding word or morpheme, e.g. *ga:re e:ru* 'very good, thank you' → *ga:re:ru*, *essa embe* 'very tasty' → *essembe*, /du:de-a:weh/ 'milkman' → *du:d-a:weh*, /pokari-a:ti/ 'hedge of a pond' → *pokar-a:ti*.

<sup>5</sup>Deletion of /y/ in word-final /ny/ is also optional, so *a:n~a:ny* 'saying/doing that'

## §8 Reduplication and Echo Words

To lay emphasis or to add distributive or reciprocal meaning, the first part of a word is reduplicated. If the word begins with a consonant, the reduplicant takes the shape CV(X)C, and V(X)C (X: C or V) if a vowel-initial word, e.g. *ind-indru-pade* ‘what kind of’ *ond-ondqal* ‘siblings’ *mo:t-mo:ta* ‘very fat’ *dig-digro* ‘very long’.

While Malto does not have a productive system of echo word formation with meaningless balance words as is found in many other South Asian languages, except a few forms such as *bitar-utar* ‘cooked and so on’, *ja:gu:gu* ‘cooked rice and so on’, *peṛa-oṛa-r* ‘guests and so on’, *ga:y-ca:y* ‘wound and so on’ and *indrupade-sindrupade* ‘whatever’, a semantically similar word is added to the base word and broadens the denotation of the latter (Mahapatra 1979:90ff. ‘balance nouns’), e.g. *qe:glu-mergu* ‘land and property’ (lit. land and heaven), *ma:qu-qalu* ‘night’ (lit. night and the fields), *gaty-ih-gaty-ih* ‘doing this and that’ (lit. doing and churning). The echo verb *tat-e*, which might originally mean ‘to finish’ (Mahapatra 1987, s.v.), is often added to inflected verb forms, as in *moq-qeh-tatkeh* {eat.B2-CP.3SG.M-ECHO} ‘having eaten and so on’, *no:r-ih-tatih* {wash-PR.3SG.M-ECHO} ‘he washes and so on’.

## Morphology

### §9 The Noun, Gender and Number

Nouns fall under two gender categories, masculine and non-masculine. Masculine nouns consist solely of human males, while non-masculine includes everything else, such as human females, gods and spirits,<sup>6</sup> male and female animals, inanimate objects and abstractions. Human males may also be referred to by non-masculine forms in endearing reference (see §51).

Another criterion of noun categorization is whether the referent is human or not. Human nouns, both masculine and non-masculine, take the common-gender plural suffix *-r* (-*er* after a consonant) in the plural, and the predicate shows plural concord. For one and two persons, the numerals *ort* and *irw/iwr* are used respectively, and the numeral classifier *jo:l-ond* {pair-one} ‘a pair of’ or *jo:l-is* {pair-two} id. may also be used for two persons except in the Northwest (§18). For three or more people, a numeral followed by *-jin/-jen* serves as a numeral classifier, e.g. *so:-jin pel-er* {six-CLF woman-PL} ‘six wives’.

There are no plural forms for nonhuman nouns, and an unmarked form is used for both singular and plural referents. For one and two nonhuman entities, a wide variety of numeral classifiers are used (§18, §36). In concord, verbs take the singular non-masculine form for both singular and plural nonhuman subjects, e.g. *pac-gota kanku-neru-d urq-a* {five-CLF firewood-snake-NM come.out-PT.3SG} ‘Five firewood snakes came out’.

### §10 The Nominal Stem

The nominal stem is a base form of a noun after which case, plural and pronominal suffixes are attached. In Malto, there are both consonant-final and vowel-final nominal stems. Since consonant-final stems take the enunciative vowel *u* in the surface form, all nominative singular forms appear to end in a vowel (enunciative *u* is not attached to the plural suffix *-r* and *r* at the end of a loanword). Although final *u* of a noun ending in *-u* other than the present participle is an enunciative vowel attached to a consonant-final stem in most cases, there are also nominal stems of which the final *u* is a part of the stem, like *tetu* ‘hand’, *ja:gu* ‘cooked rice’ and *taqu* ‘wooden ladle’: *tetu*, inst. *tetu-t* vs. *pinu* ‘cane’ (stem *pin-*), inst. *pin-et*; *ja:gu*, acc. *ja:gu-n* vs. *o:yu* ‘cattle’ (stem *o:y-*), acc. *o:y-a*.

Another class of nouns with a fluctuating final vowel consist of words ending in *e*. Since *e* is added after loanwords ending in a consonant, e.g. *ba:de* (also *ba:du*) ‘after’ from Hindi *ba:d* id., it functions as an epenthetic

<sup>6</sup>Compare this with Kurux, where *d̥armes*, the supreme god, is often referred to as a masculine noun.

vowel like *u*. However, many native words also end in *e*, and the *e* in native words and loanwords does not drop before a case suffix, so we consider that it is not an enunciative but a stem-formative vowel.

One noun that shows fluctuating final *i* is *peli* ‘woman’ (stem *pel-*), acc. *pel-a* along with *peli-n*, gen. *pel-ki* along with *peli-ki*, plural *pel-er*.

We call the part of a native Malto noun to which the stem-formative *e* is added (and *pel* of *peli*) a *nominal base*; for example, *maq* is the nominal base of *maqe* ‘boy’.

	base	stem	<i>u</i> -form	NOM.SG
<i>maqe</i>	‘boy’	<i>maq</i>	<i>maqe</i>	—
<i>o:yu</i>	‘cattle’	<i>o:y</i>	<i>o:y</i>	<i>o:yu-d</i>
<i>ja:gu</i>	‘cooked rice’	<i>ja:gu</i>	<i>ja:gu</i>	—
<i>peli</i>	‘woman’	<i>pel</i>	<i>peli, pel</i>	—
<i>puli</i>	‘whirlwind’	<i>puli</i>	<i>puli</i>	—

When the word is in apposition to the subject or the object, or when the noun becomes the first member of a compound noun, the base form (form without enunciative *-u* or formative *-e*) is used, e.g. *ma:qu* ‘night’, *ma:q men-e* ‘to get dark’; *maqe* ‘boy’, *ahe-n tam-ki maq nany-ar* {he-AC self-GE boy make.B2-PT.3PL} ‘They made him their own son’; *pi:j-dine* ‘day of the ritual’ from *pi:je* ‘ritual’ + *dine* ‘day’ (§12).

In the Central and partly in the North-central areas, a group of non-masculine nouns that end in *-u* in the North take the collective suffix *-du* in the nominative to refer to a class or unspecific group (§35). *peli* ‘woman’ also takes this suffix in the singular, i.e. *pel-du*.

To sum up, the following is the maximal shape of an inflected simplex Malto noun, e.g. *mal-e-r-ik* {base-formative-PL-DA} ‘for the people’:

$$\left[ \left[ [base] + (\text{formative } -e) \right]_{\text{stem}} + (\text{plural } -(e)r) \right]_{\text{pl. stem}} + \begin{pmatrix} \text{enunc. } -u^7 \\ \text{class suffix } -du \\ \text{pronom. suffix } \\ \text{case suffix } \end{pmatrix}$$

## §11 Nominal Case Suffixes

Malto has seven cases, nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, ablative, genitive, and locative. Except for the nominative, they are marked by attaching case suffixes to the stem in the singular, or to the stem + *-r-er* (plural stem) in the plural. A noun does not take multiple case suffixes, except that a genitive form, which is often used as a noun or an adjective, may take another case suffix, e.g. *ey-ki oṛgu-male-r-ki-n teŋg-tan* {I-GE

<sup>7</sup>Enunciative *u*, the *-du* suffix and the pronominal suffix do not occur simultaneously with the plural suffix *-r*.

house-person-PL-GE-AC tell-PT.1SG} ‘I told about my family’ (see §41 for the nominalized genitive).

In the nominative case, the pronominal suffix of the third person singular masculine *-h* or that of the third person non-masculine *-d* [ð] is optionally added after a vowel-final stem (or *-d* after the enunciative *-u* if it is a consonant-final non-masculine stem). Bare stem forms and *-u* forms are used as vocatives, e.g. *o.yu* ‘O, cow!’. After a vowel-final stem, accusative *-n*, dative *-k*, instrumental *-t* (also *-ti* in some dialects, §35), ablative *-nte*, genitive *-ki*, locative *-no*, are added. After a consonant-final nonhuman non-masculine stem, accusative *-a*, dative *-ek*, instrumental *-et* (also *-eti* in some dialects), ablative *-ente*, genitive *-ki*, locative *-no*, are added.

In the plural, human forms take the plural suffix *-r/-er* and form what we call the *plural stem*. The plural stem serves as the plural nominative for itself. Case suffixes, accusative *-in*, dative *-ik*, instrumental *-it*, ablative *-inte*, genitive *-ki*, locative *-no* are added after the plural stem. An epenthetic vowel *i* is optionally inserted between the plural stem and *-ki* or *-no* (§7). The plural stem of *peli*- nm. ‘woman’ is *pel-er*.

In addition to *-r/-er*, a fossilized plural suffix *-qal* (C, S)/ *-gal* (N) is found in a few kinship nouns doubly marked with *-er*, such as *ma:nqaler* ‘parent and child’ (C. *ma:nqal-er* id., S. *mā:ŋal-ni* ‘mother and daughter’), *ja:mgal-er* ‘parent-in-law and child-in-law’, *mamq(a)l-er* ‘uncle and nephew’ (Mahapatra), *undGal-er* ‘siblings’. Other suffixes are also used for the plural, *-ber* as in *baiya-ber* ‘brothers’, *-ga:mer* as in *qep-ga:mer* ‘all the villagers’, *-bagar* and *-bagter* as in *teho-bagar* ‘mother and so on’, *tanya-qa:ni-bagter* {own-wife-PL} ‘their own wives’, *-trer* as in *babu-trer* ‘O, boys!’, and *-gahndyer* as in *pel-maq-gahndyer* {woman-child-PL} ‘women and children’.

	M.SG	human PL	C-fin. NM	V-fin. NM
NOM	<i>male-h</i>	<i>male-r</i>	<i>o.y-u-d</i>	<i>tetu-d</i>
AC	<i>male-n</i>	<i>male-r-in</i>	<i>o.y-a</i>	<i>tetu-n</i>
DA	<i>male-k</i>	<i>male-r-ik</i>	<i>o.y-ek</i>	<i>tetu-k</i>
IN	<i>male-t</i>	<i>male-r-it</i>	<i>o.y-et</i>	<i>tetu-t</i>
AB	<i>male-nte</i>	<i>male-r-inte</i>	<i>o.y-ente</i>	<i>tetu-nte</i>
GE	<i>male-ki</i>	<i>male-r-(i)ki</i>	<i>o.y-ki</i>	<i>tetu-ki</i>
LO	<i>male-no</i>	<i>male-r-(i)no</i>	<i>o.y-no</i>	<i>tetu-no</i>
	‘man’	‘men’	‘cow, ox’	‘hand’

See §15 for other morphemes expressing case relationship, added to oblique stems or genitive forms.

In addition to these suffixes, *-ni* and *-nih* are attached to pronominal stems and used as emphatic forms of the accusative, locative and sometimes

dative cases, e.g. *dine-nihi* {day-LO.EPH} ‘every day’ (cf. Droese 1884:10).

## §12 Formation of the Nominal Stem

Nominal stems can be derived in two ways; one is to add a nominal suffix to the source morpheme, and the other is to combine two stems (bases), of which at least the latter should be a nominal stem.

Nominal Suffixes:

Not much is known about the nominal suffixes of Malto, but sets such as *qal-e* ‘to steal’, *qal-we-h* ‘thief’, *qal-w-ni* ‘female thief’, *qal-wi* ‘theft’, *qal-wo* ‘stealthily’ show existence of a system to derive words from a root (*qal* in this case) with suffixation.

*e* : Malto has many nouns that end in *e*, e.g. *male* ‘person’, *melqe* ‘throat’, *to:ke* ‘hill’ etc. Since they have semantically nothing in common, and since the *e* drops in compounds etc., it does not seem to have any active function, and we call this *e* a stem-formative vowel (§10).

*a* : Some nouns end in *a*, e.g. *ada* ‘house’, *konqa* ‘heart’, *ja:ra* ‘rain’, *loya* ‘jackal’. Unlike final *e*, final *a* does not drop in compounds etc. This *a* is considered to be a part of the nominal base and not a suffix.

*-o* : In deverbal nouns like *be:r-argo* ‘east’ (from *arg-e* ‘to rise’) and *be:r-utro* ‘west’ (from *utr-e* ‘to go down’), *-o* is clearly a derivational suffix. Many nouns also end in *o*, and *o* might be a suffix at least in some of them. For example, some plant names end in *o*, e.g. *ko:mo* ‘Kachnar (*Bauhinia variegata*) leaves’, *gurso* tree name, *o:po* id., *murko* id., *te:lo* id. Names of some birds, animals and insects also end in *o*, e.g. *giryo* ‘mynah’, *dundo* ‘a kind of owl’, *cigalo* ‘jackal’, *jo:lo* ‘leech’, *e:ðo* ‘cockroach’. Some human nouns that are often used in endearing reference like *paco* ‘old woman’, *maqo* ‘girl’, *pi:po* ‘uncle’ and *ca:co* ‘aunt’ also end in *o*.

*-i* is a feminine suffix: *maqi* ‘girl’ vs. *mäge-h* {boy-M} ‘boy’, *qalapi* ‘sister’s daughter’ vs. *qalapo* ‘sister’s son’, *tanjadi* ‘daughter’ vs. *tangade-h* ‘son’. In words such as *digari* ‘length’ from *digaro* ‘long’, *-i* seems to be a suffix deriving an abstract noun.

*-ni* is a feminine suffix (Mahapatra 1979:85): *malni* ‘woman’ vs. *male* ‘person’, *teho-ga:rni* ‘mother-in-law’ vs. *abo-ga:re-h* ‘father-in-law’, *ceragni* ‘witch’ vs. *ce:rage* ‘wizard’ (Droese).

*-a:we* is a suffix deriving nouns denoting the practitioner of a profession: *du:d-a:we-h* ‘milkman’ from *du:de* ‘milk’, *jahj-a:we-h* ‘boatman’ from *jahje* ‘boat’, *o:y-a:we-h* ‘cowherd’ from *o:yu* ‘cow’.

*-ta:we* M and *-ta:ni* NM mean ‘possessing’ (§17, §40): *maqo-ta:ni* ‘one that accompanies one’s young’ from *maqo* ‘child’, *taka-ta:we-h* ‘a rich man’ (Droese) from *taka* ‘money’.

The habitual participle suffix *-po* (§29) seems to derive a noun from a verbal root, e.g. *erpo* ‘broom’ from *er-e* ‘to sweep’.

*-ye*, *-yo* and *-wa* seem to be suffixes referring to persons (Mahapatra 1979:88): *majye-h* ‘village chief’, *gondye-h* ‘fisherman’; *tadyo* ‘drunkard’ from *tadi* ‘palm toddy’, *no:kryo* ‘servant’ from *no:kri* ‘service’.

### Compounds:

Endocentric compound nouns are formed by combining nouns in head-final order. If the first member is a noun ending in *-e*, *-a* or *-u*, or if the first member is the noun *peli* ‘woman’, only the base is used, e.g. *pi:j-dine* ‘day of the ritual’ from *pi:je* ‘ritual’ + *dine* ‘day’, *ta:tg-qarye* ‘mango worship’ from *ta:tge* ‘mango’ + *qarye* ‘worship’, *al-qe:su* ‘dog’s blood’ from *ale* ‘dog’ + *qe:su* ‘blood’, *gol-saba* ‘Hindi’ from *gole* ‘Hindu’ + *saba* ‘speech’, *kud-patli* ‘pot for keeping an umbilical cord’ from *kude* ‘navel’ + *patli* ‘earthen pot’, *pod-amu* ‘gruel made of leftover rice’ from *poda* ‘leftover rice’ + *amu* ‘water’, *mu:?:ma?o* ‘little frog’ from *mu:?:e* ‘frog’ + *ma?o* ‘young’, *mak-a:tge* ‘Sal leaf’ from *maku* ‘Sal tree’ + *a:tge* ‘leaf’, *qep-male* ‘villager’ from *qepu* ‘village’ + *male* ‘person’, *am-kuwa* ‘water well’ from *amu* ‘water’ + *kuwa* ‘well’, *man-erwe* ‘tree worship’ from *manu* ‘tree’ + *erwe* ‘worship’, *o:y-gadji* ‘ox cart’ from *o:yu* ‘ox’ + *gadji* ‘cart’, *qan-amu* ‘tear’ from *qanu* ‘eye’ + *amu* ‘water’, and *pel-bede* ‘marriage’ from *peli* ‘woman’ + *bede* ‘seeking’. If the first member is from other classes of nouns, final vowels do not drop, e.g. *ki:ro-a:tge* ‘wild cashew leaf’ from *ki:ro* ‘wild cashew’ + *a:tge* ‘leaf’, or *jagra-saba* ‘dispute’ from *jagra* ‘quarrel’ + *saba* ‘speech’.

The first member is extended with *n* in the following cases: *amn-ki:re* (also *am-ki:re*) ‘thirst’ from *amu* ‘water’ + *ki:re* ‘hunger’, and *bijn-bi:ndke* ‘morning star’ from *bije* ‘dawning’ + *bi:ndke* ‘star’. The first member has the accusative suffix *-n* in the following case: *taqin-o:nu* ‘drinker’ from *tadi-n* {palm.toddy-AC} + *o:n-u* {drink-PP} ‘drinker’.

Adjectives and appositive nouns can become the first member, as in *pundana* ‘new crop’ from *pune* ‘new’ + *dana* ‘crop’, and *pel-maqe* ‘girl’ from *peli* ‘woman’ + *maqe* ‘child’. The stem part of a verbal noun, which is isomorphic with the Base 1 form, can also become the first member, e.g. *urq-pahr* ‘when going out’ from *urq-e* ‘to go out’ + *pahr* ‘time’ (p. 188), and *cambr-budya* ‘wicked old woman’ from *cambr-e* ‘to be crooked’ + *budya* ‘woman’ (p. 231).

Coordinative compounds are formed of two full noun forms (stem or *u*-form), e.g. *a:te-bajare* ‘market’ from *a:te* ‘market’ + *bajare* ‘market’, *erwe-tu:se* ‘worship and offering’ from *erwe* ‘worshipping’ + probably *tu:se* ‘throwing’, *aya-abo* ‘parents’ (also pronounced *ayabo*) from *aya* ‘mother’ + *abo* ‘father’ (also *dudu-abo*, *toho-tambako* etc.), *konda-cedro*

‘heart and intestines’ from *konda* ‘heart’ + *cedro* ‘intestines’.

Exocentric compounds are rare if any exist at all. A possible example is *sinjare aqa* ‘[of] a rich family’ in the following passage, *abo-h sinjare aqa menj-ah* {father-M rich.man house be.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘[My] father was [of] a rich family’.

### §13 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns

Malto has personal pronouns of the first and second persons. In the first person plural, a distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive depending on whether or not the addressee is included in the reference. Remote demonstratives *a:h*, *a:d* etc. are used for third-person reference (§19). All forms have a *pronominal stem*, a form to which case suffixes and postpositions are attached, as follows:

	1SG	2SG	3SG.M	3SG.NM	1PL.E	1PL.I	2PL	3PL
NOM	<i>e:n</i>	<i>ni:n</i>	<i>a:h</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>a:d</i>	<i>e:m</i>	<i>na:m</i>	<i>ni:m</i>	<i>a:ber</i> <sup>9</sup>
stem	<i>eng-</i>	<i>ning-</i>	<i>ahe-</i>	<i>adi/e-</i>	<i>em-</i>	<i>nam-</i>	<i>nim-</i>	<i>a:ber-</i>

Malto has reflexive pronouns for third-person human referents of both genders, singular *ta:ni*, stem *taŋ-*, plural *ta:mi*, pronominal stem *tam-*. They are coreferential with the topic in the context, which is not necessarily the grammatical subject of the sentence (§42). There are no distinct reflexive pronouns for the oblique forms of the first and second persons, but the nominative form plus *-i*, which might possibly come from emphatic *-hi*, serves as the nominative reflexive form of each pronoun, i.e. *e:ni* ‘myself’, *ni:ni* ‘yourself’, *e:mi* 1PL.E ‘ourselves’, *na:mi* 1PL.I ‘ourselves’, *ni:mi* ‘yourselves’ (Droese 1884:32f.).

Case forms of the pronouns are made by attaching case suffixes (§14) and postpositions (§15) to the pronominal stem. Like the stem forms of nouns, the pronominal stems are also used as the first member of endocentric compounds such as *tam-ada* ‘their own house’. In addition, Malto has a group of kinship terms which are bound morphemes and only occur when combined with them: *engada:ni* ‘my wife’, *engada:we* ‘my husband’ (probably both from *ada* ‘house’ and *-a:we*, for which see §12), *en-gade* ‘my son’, *en-gadi* ‘my daughter’ (with final *g* of *eng-* assimilated to the following *g* and then degeminated), *eng-baiya* ‘my elder brother’, *eng-do-h* ‘my younger brother’ (*-do* ‘younger sibling’), *eng-ba:i* ‘my elder sister’, *eng-do-d* ‘my younger sister’, *eng-pi:po* ‘my father’s elder brother’, *eng-peni*

<sup>8</sup>In Mokri, the third person singular masculine nominative form is also pronounced *ã:h* with nasalization. For the third person, medial demonstratives *na:h/ nahe-* (masculine singular), *na:d/nadi-* (non-masculine singular), *na:ber* (plural) are also used in Ursa Pahar (see §19).

<sup>9</sup>Third person plural forms *a:palkar* and *a:r* are also used in Ursa Pahar and Mokri, respectively.

‘my father’s elder sister’, *eyg-dada* ‘my father’s younger brother’, *eyg-qali* ‘my father’s younger sister’, *eyg-mama* ‘my maternal uncle’, *eyg-ayamaqo* ‘my maternal aunt’.<sup>10</sup>

### §14 Pronominal Case Suffixes

As with nouns (§11), Malto pronouns are marked for case by suffixes and postpositions (§15) added to the pronominal stem; there is no special suffix for the nominative case. There are six case suffixes, common to singular and plural (cf. §11). After the plural forms ending in *r*, the same case suffixes as after the plural suffix *-r/-er* are used (§11, p. 24), and epenthetic *i* is optionally inserted before *-ki* or *-no*, e.g. *a:ber-iki* and *a:ber-ino* along with *a:ber-ki* and *a:ber-no*.

Accusative: *-en* is added to consonant-final pronominal stems, *eyg-*, *niy়g-*, *em-*, *nam-* and *nim-*, and *-n* to vowel-final ones, *ahe-*, *adi-*, i.e. *eyg-en*, *niy়g-en*, *ahe-n*, *adi-n* or *ade-n*, *em-en*, *nam-en*, *nim-en*.

Dative: *-a* or *-e* is added to consonant-final pronominal stems, and *-k* to vowel-final ones, i.e. *eyg-a/-e*, *niy়g-a/-e*, *a:ber-ik*, *a:r-ik*, *ahe-k*, *adi-k*, *em-a/-e*, *nam-a/-e*, *nim-a/-e*.

Instrumental: Consonant-final pronominal stems take *-et/-eti*, and vowel-final stems take *-t* or *-ti*, e.g. *ade-ti* etc.

Ablative: *-ente* is added to consonant-final pronominal stems, and *-nte* to vowel-final ones, e.g. *eyg-ente*, *adi-nte* or *ade-nte* etc.

Genitive: *-ki* is added to pronominal stems, e.g. *ahi-ki* or *ahe-ki*, *adi-ki* or *ade-ki*, *em-ki*, *nam-ki*, *nim-ki*. For *eyg-* and *niy়g-*, genitive forms are *ey-ki* and *niy-ki* with assimilation of /g/ to /k/ and subsequent degemination. When the genitive forms are used as possessive pronouns, they may take another case suffix (§13, §41, Droeze 1884:32).

Locative: *-no* or emphatic *-ni(hi)* is added to pronominal stems, e.g. *ade-no* ‘in it’.

### §15 Postpositions

Postpositions are morphemes or words that express various semantic roles like case suffixes do, but are longer and often form phonological words. They are attached to nominal and pronominal stems, case forms, and adverbs of time and place.

*-guni*, *-gunu* ‘together with’, *eyg-gunu* ‘with me’, *ahe-gunu* ‘with him’, *baiya-guni* ‘with the brother’ etc.

<sup>10</sup> Kinship terms like the following are used as free morphemes: *ey-ki bedabo* ‘my grandfather’, *ey-ki beda* ‘my grandmother’, *ey-ki aboga:re* ‘my father-in-law’, *ey-ki ayaga:rni* ‘my mother-in-law’, *ey-ki bahu* ‘my sister-in-law’, *ey-ki ja:mer* ‘my son-in-law/ daughter-in-law’.

- calte ‘due to’, e.g. *enq-calte* ‘because of me’.
- lagacki, -le:cki ‘for the sake of’, e.g. *enq-lagacki* ‘for me’, *maqe-r-le:cki* {boy-PL-for} ‘for the boys’. See §35 for Southern *-lagcak-*.
- bahante ‘from’, e.g. *ning-bahante* ‘from your place’.
- bahno, (S. *-pedeno*) ‘at the place of’, *enq-bahno* ‘at my place’, *bo:j-bahno* ‘at the feast’ from *bo:je* ‘feast’.
- bahak ‘to the place of’, e.g. *enq-bahak* ‘to my place’
- bajo, -baje ‘toward’, e.g. *sa:du-bajo* ‘to the ascetic’s place’.
- meca, -mec ‘on top of’, e.g. *enq-meca* ‘on me’
- qolgr-no ‘beneath’, e.g. *ka:ti-qolgr-no* {bed-beneath-LO} ‘under the bed’.
- (-ki) *adula* (Ursa) or (-ki) *ula* ‘inside’, e.g. *enj-ki (ad)ula* {I-GE inside} ‘inside me’.
- (-ki) *qo:q(u)* ‘after’, e.g. *adi-ki qo:qu* {that-GE after} ‘after that’, *aq:s-e-ki qo:q* {arrive-VN-GE after} ‘after arriving’, *aq:s-qo:q* {arrive-after} ‘after arriving’ from the base form of the verbal noun *aq:s-e* ‘to arrive’.
- (-ki) *pa:wu* ‘by, through’, e.g. *enj-ki pa:wu* {I-GE way} ‘by me’, *arsi-pa:wu* ‘by a mirror’.
- nte *agwa*, *agdu* ‘before’, e.g. *got-ente agwa* {all-AB before} ‘before all, in the beginning’
- nte *bahre-no* ‘outside’, e.g. *ada-nte bahre-no* {house-AB outside-LO} ‘outside the house’.
- joka/-juka, -leko, -cow, -pad ‘like’, e.g. *ning-joka*, *ning-pad* (Ursa), *ning-cow* (Northwest), *ning-leko* (South) ‘like you’, *ma:ngyu-joka* ‘like a beggar’ *ort budya-leko* {one.CLF old.woman-like} ‘an elderly lady’.
- amat* ‘until’ (Mahapatra 1979:198 *ambat*), e.g. *aneke amat* ‘until now’, *na:qep amat* {that village until} ‘up to that village’, *ra:jmahale-k oy-oti amat* {palace-DA take-IF until} ‘until [you] take [me] to the palace’ with an infinitive. See §45 for the use of *amat* as a subordinate conjunction.

## §16 Pronominal Suffixes

In Malto, a single set of pronominal suffixes is used for marking both the noun and the verb for person and number; and also gender in the second and third person singular. Each suffix has two alternants depending on the ending of the stem (a consonant or a vowel).

Finite verbs, conjunctive participles with *-k*, and imperfect participles with *-n*, take a pronominal suffix after all other suffixes; only in the future negative do the negative suffixes *-ala* etc. come after the pronominal suffix. When a noun is coreferential with the subject, typically when it is a predicate, it optionally takes a pronominal suffix in concord with the latter (§40). A pronominal suffix is attached to a nominal stem, or to an enunciative *u* if the word ends in one.

	1SG	2SG.M	2SG.NM	3SG.M	3SG.NM	1PL.E	1PL.I	2PL	3PL
V <sub>—</sub>	-n	-y <sup>11</sup>	-θ	-h	-d	-m	-t	-r	-r
C <sub>—</sub>	-en	-e	-i	-eh	-id	-em	-et	-er	-er

A nominal stem + a pronominal suffix make a predicate phrase with or without a copula verb (§40, §44), e.g. *i:d essa mecg manu-d* {this very high tree-NM} ‘This is a very tall tree’, *nin: to ra:ja-ki mage-y* (*mage-h* is also possible) {you TOP king-GE boy-2SG} ‘You are a prince’, *e:n ahi-ki sangale-r-ino ort-en* {I he-GE friend-PL-LO one-1SG} ‘I am one of his friends’ (elic.), *e:m ma:nqal-em hiranpur-ik ek-tam* {we.E father.and.son-1PL.E PROP-DA go.B2-1PL.E} ‘We, father and son, went to Hiranpur’.

## §17 Adjectives

An adjective modifies a noun or stands on its own as a predicate. When used as a predicate, an adjective takes the full form, and optionally takes a pronominal suffix (§16, §40), e.g. *qepu-d gece-d* {village-NM far-NM} ‘The village is remote’; *e:n e:yu-n* {I well-1SG} ‘I am fine’. When used attributively, its base form (a form without final *-e*, §10) adjoins a noun to its left, e.g. *gec qepu* ‘a remote village’ from *gece* ‘far’ + *qepu* ‘village’; *pun ada* ‘new house’ from *pune* ‘new’ + *ada* ‘house’; *nan dine* ‘another day, next day’ from *nane* ‘other’ + *dine* ‘day’; *ga:r dine* ‘many days’ from *ga:re* ‘many’ + *dine* ‘day’.

The following are a few commonly used adjectives, grouped by suffixes or final vowels:

- a : *joka* ‘little’, *tikra* ‘shallow’, *tina* ‘right (hand)’, *popra* ‘light’, *barja* ~ *ba:jy* ‘strong’.
- aha : *buklaha* ‘greedy’, *dagraha* ‘wicked’, *gidnaha* ‘dirty’, *gidraha* ‘stingy’, *papyaha* ‘sinful’, *mawgraha* ‘lazy’ (all from Droese 1884).
- aro : *du:jyaro* ‘dusty’ from *du:ri* ‘dust’ (Droese).
- i : *ku:ni* ‘hot’; *maja-qani* ‘pretty’, *mergani* ‘heavenly’ from *mergu* ‘heaven’, *me:d-bani* ‘feverish’ from *me:d* ‘fever’.
- e : *afge* ‘near’, *ade* ‘half’, *aqpe* ‘little’ (Droese *a:p:re*), *embe* ‘sweet’, *ote* ‘heavy’, *onke* ‘sharp’, *qarqe* ‘bitter, spicy’, *qe:ne* ‘raw’, *ki:we* ‘cold’, *ga:re* ‘much’, *gece*, *geci* ‘far’, *pace* ‘old’, *pane* ‘cold (as weather)’, *pan-jek*, *panjeke* ‘ripe’, *sarwe* ‘small’, *sude* ‘only’.
- o : *igjo* ‘true’, *qe:so* ‘red’ and *qe:slo* ‘reddish’ from *qe:su* ‘blood’, *kaso* ‘dirty’ from *kase* ‘dirt on a body’, *ca:po* ‘low’, *cipjo* ‘flattened’, *tawo* ‘toothless, hollow’ (Droese), *tu:so* ‘naked’, *pato* ‘sharp’, *ba:liko* ‘yellow’, *be:do* ‘large’, *maqo* ‘little, young’, *mo:to* ‘big’, *sokto* ‘hard’. Cf. *qalwo* ADV ‘stealthily’ from *qalwe* ‘thief’ or *qal-e* ‘to steal’.

<sup>11</sup> Attached only after *e* in the North, but after other vowels as well in Central and Southern Malto, e.g. *eng-dudu-y* {my-mother-2SG} (Telopara). Cf. §35, Mahapatra (1979:74).

-ta:we, -ta:ni NM ‘possessed of’ (§12, §40): *budi-ta:ni* ‘intelligent’.

-te/-ti<sup>12</sup> and -ote/-oti are added after temporal and spatial expressions to form adjectives as well as nouns, e.g. *in-te*, *in-ti* ‘of today, today’ from *ine* ‘today’, *a: pahr-te* ‘of that time, that time’, *agdu-te*, *pahil-te* ‘former, former times’ (Droese *agdti*) from *agdu* ‘before’, *anek-te* ‘present, now’ from *aneke/anake* ‘now’, *le:l-ti* ‘of yesterday, yesterday’ from *le:le* ‘yesterday’, *mund-oti* ‘ancient’ from *mundi* ‘formerly’, *ma:q-ote* ‘of the morning, morning’ from *ma:qu* ‘morning’.

-to ‘-ish’: *pel-to* ‘womanish’ (Droese).

-pan ‘as big as’: *ino:-pan* ‘this big’ (Droese *inopa:n*), *bali-pan* ‘as big as a door’.

-balo ‘without’: *pel-balo* ‘bachelor’ from *peli* ‘woman’, *budi-balo* ‘unintelligent’ from *budi* ‘intelligence’.

-wa : *ki:twa* ‘hungry, poor’ from *ki:tqe* N ‘hunger’, *co:twa* ‘sick’ from *co:te* ‘illness’.

-ro : *coqro* ‘narrow’, *dam(a)bro* ‘broad’, *dig(a)ro* ‘long’.

-ro : *aqrsro* ‘hard’, *amsro* ‘waterish’, *alkro* ‘open’, *qalgro* ‘muddy’, *qawro* ‘wild’ from *qawru* ‘jungle’, *kawgro* ‘bent’, *jinpro* ‘white’, *tuqgro* ‘broken’, *teqro* ‘damaged (eye)’, *pu:gro* ‘swollen’ from *pu:ge* ‘to swell’, *be:k-be:kro* ‘salty’ from *be:ku* ‘salt’, *maqgro* ‘black’, *sitro* ‘sour’.

-le ‘-less’: *emb-le* ‘tasteless’ (Droese) from *embe* ‘(sweet) taste’.

Consonant-final: *got* ‘all’, *batg* ‘maidenlike’ (Droese), *barj*, *barje* ‘strong’, *nekut*, *nekute* ‘good-natured’, *saryond* ‘level’.

Malto adjectives do not take tense or modal suffixes while some of them are formed with noun-like suffixes, so they are closer to nouns than to verbs. On the other hand, the categorial boundaries between adjectives and nouns, and between adjectives and adverbs, are not always clear. Some nouns and adjectives both consist of a base and a stem-formative vowel -e. Nouns and adjectives both take a pronominal suffix in concord with the subject. Some nouns are used like adjectives, e.g. *ort male-h sijare-h mej-ah* {one man-M rich.person-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘There was a rich man’. Some adjectives including verbal adjectives (§29) are also used as nouns, e.g. *u:qe* ‘dark’ and ‘darkness’, *panne* ‘cold’ and ‘coldness’ as in *panne-no* ‘in the cold’, *maq-balo* ‘childless’ and ‘childless person’, *cu:qi* ‘far’ and *cu:qi-nte* ‘from afar’. Adjectives are sometimes used adverbially, e.g. *pace* ‘old’ and ‘in olden times’, *gece* ‘far’ and ‘far away’.

An adjective can be negated with the negative copula *mala*, e.g. *digaro* ‘tall’, *e:n digaro-n mala-ken* {I tall-1SG be.not-1SG} ‘I am not tall’ (see §16

<sup>12</sup>Droese (1884:42, s.v. *ikote*) seems to treat -ti as a feminine suffix, which we could not confirm. In Ursa Pahar, *ikote* is used for both genders.

for pronominal suffixes *-n* etc.), *ni:n digaṛo mala-ke* 2SG.M, *ni:n digaṛo mala-ki* 2SG.NM, *a:h digaṛo-h mala-h* 3SG.M, *a:d digaṛo-d mala-d* 3SG.NM, *e:m digaṛo-m mala-kem* 1PL.E, *na:m digaṛo-t mala-ket* 1PL.I, *ni:m digaṛo-r mala-ker* 2PL, *a:ber digaṛo-r mala-r* 3PL. One adjective, *e:ṛu* ‘good’, for which there is no lexical antonym, has morphological negative forms: *e:ṛ-olaken* PR.1SG, *e:ṛ-olake* 2SG.M, *e:ṛ-olaki* 2SG.NM, *e:ṛ-olah* 3SG.M, *e:ṛ-olad* 3SG.NM, *e:ṛ-olakem* 1PL.E, *e:ṛ-olaket* 1PL.I, *e:ṛ-olaker* 2PL, *e:ṛ-olar* 3PL; *e:ṛ-la:nid* FT.3SG.NM etc. There are also a few verbs that have adjective meaning with inchoative or temporary connotation, e.g. *jinp-e* ‘to be white, to look white’, *maṛg-e* ‘to be black, to faint’, *pac-e* ‘to be or become old’.

The comparative of an adjective is expressed by putting the object of comparison in the ablative case (§41), and the superlative by adding *got-enti*, *-enti* ‘than all’, e.g. *got-enti be:do porobe* {all-AB big festival} ‘the biggest festival’.

## §18 Numerals and Classifiers

Malto cardinals and ordinals are all loanwords from Hindi or some other Indo-Aryan vernacular of the area (Droese 1884:21ff., Mahapatra 1979:119f.). For multiples of twenty, *ko:ṛi*, a word of Eastern Indo-Aryan origin, is also used, e.g. *pac-ko:ṛi* {5-score} ‘100’, *ba:ra-ko:ṛi* {12-score} ‘240’.

When the numerals are used as adjectives, inherited numerals *ort* ‘one’ and *irw* ‘two’ (also *iwr*, and *iwres* according to Droese) are used for human beings. For other referents and for the numbers ‘one’ and ‘two’, Malto has a fairly complex set of numeral classifiers and measure words. The numeral bases for ‘one’ and ‘two’ are *-ond* and *-is* (also *-su* and *-e:nd* in some dialects, see §36), put after the classifier, e.g. *jo:ṛ-ond e:ṛe* ‘a pair of goats’, *daṛ-is gadi* ‘two cars’. On the other hand, the full form of a classifier follows an Indo-Aryan numeral for entities more than two, e.g. *ti:n-jo:ṛa e:ṛe* ‘three pairs of goats’, and *ca:r-dara gadi* ‘four cars’, except for *maq-* (CLF of animals) and *pa:r-/pā:ṛ-* (CLF of round objects), instead of which the generic classifier *-gota* is used (Droese 1884:25), e.g. *ti:n-gota kisu* ‘three pigs’. For persons, *-jin-/jen* as in *das-jen* ‘ten people, several people’, and *-qad* as in *orta-qad mage-h* ‘one boy’, *irwa-qad mage-r* ‘two boys’, are also used.

The numeral classifiers are used to count animate or inanimate entities, e.g. *maq-is ale* {CLF-two dog} ‘two dogs’, to denote a container and materials measured by it, e.g. *lot-ond amu* {brass.cup.CLF-one water} ‘a cupful of water’ from *lota* ‘brass cup’, and to express wholeness, e.g. *pep-ond pepu* {village.CLF-one village} ‘the whole village’ or *ra:ty-ond, ma:q-ond* ‘whole night’. *-onond*, a reduplicated form of the numeral morpheme *-ond*, has distributive meaning, e.g. *daṛ-onond* ‘one by one’ (cf. Mahapatra 1979:121).

As classifiers differ from dialect to dialect, we give here a table of major ones (see §36 for Central and Southern forms). In the table, we list only the classifiers after which the numeral morphemes *-ond* and *-is* are attached. The forms in Ursa Pahar are given with a final vowel in parentheses, which is deleted when followed by *-ond* and *-is*.<sup>13</sup>

	Kusum (Nw)	Ursa (Ne)	Mokri (Nc)
person	<i>ort, iwr</i>	<i>ort, irw</i>	<i>ort, iwr</i>
human couple	<i>iwr</i>	<i>irwer,</i> <i>jo:ronder</i>	<i>irwer, iwrer,</i> <i>jo:rond</i>
nonhuman pair	<i>jo:r-</i>	<i>jo:r(a)-</i>	<i>maqsu</i>
animal, insect	<i>maq-</i>	<i>maq-</i>	<i>maq-</i>
stick, arm	<i>dar-</i>	<i>dar(a)-<sup>14</sup></i>	<i>e:nd-</i>
leg	<i>dar-, qed-</i>	<i>dar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-</i>
hand	<i>tety-</i>	<i>tet(u)y-</i>	
tree	<i>dar-</i>	<i>man(u)-</i>	<i>man-, e:nd-</i>
branch	<i>dar-</i>	<i>dar(a)-</i>	<i>ba:r-</i>
river	<i>dar-</i>	<i>dar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-</i>
pen	<i>dar-</i>	<i>dar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-, katy-</i>
grass	<i>dar-</i>	<i>ki:r(a)-</i>	<i>katy-, ki:r-</i>
shoes	<i>dar-</i>	<i>dar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-</i>
<i>dar-</i>	<i>dar(a)-</i>	<i>dar-, katy-</i>	
rope	<i>dar-</i>	<i>dar(a)-</i>	<i>pand-</i>
road	<i>dar-</i>	<i>po:r(a)-</i>	<i>pand-</i>
story, dream	<i>dar-</i>	<i>dar(a)-,</i> <i>po:r(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-, dar-</i>
song	<i>dar-</i>	<i>po:r(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-, dar-</i>
head, eye	<i>e:nd-</i>	<i>pa:r-<sup>15</sup></i>	<i>pa:n-</i>
eye	<i>qan-</i>	<i>baj(a)-</i>	<i>pa:n-</i>
fruit, egg, stone	<i>pa:r- (pa:r-su)</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>dar-, pa:n-</i>
banana	<i>dar-, pa:r-</i>	<i>dar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-</i>
grape	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>jekal(i)-</i>	<i>e:nd-</i>
pod (bean)	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>pond(a)-,</i> <i>gep(u)-</i>	<i>joply-</i>
mountain	<i>e:nd-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>
house	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>
car	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>dar(a)-,</i> <i>maq-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>
radio	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>
bicycle	<i>sakil-</i>	<i>dar(a)-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>

<sup>13</sup>The *y* at the end of the classifiers drops when followed by *-is* (§7).

shirt,trousers,blanket	<i>e:nd-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-</i>
bag	<i>qar-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>qar-, e:nd-</i>
bread	<i>pa:r-, qar-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-, pit-</i>
thali	<i>e:nd-, ta:ly-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-</i>
bed, chair	<i>qar-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-, qar-</i>
paper	<i>e:nd-, qar-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-, pat-</i>
leaf	<i>e:nd-, qar-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-, pat-</i>
		<i>top(a)-</i>	
bank note	<i>e:nd-, qar-</i>	<i>top(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-, pat-</i>
paddy field	<i>qar-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>qar-</i>
mushroom	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>pul-, e:nd-</i>
flower	<i>qar-</i>	<i>top(a)-</i>	<i>pul-, e:nd-</i>
cloud	<i>qar-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>qar-</i>
hole	<i>qar-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>ka:y-, e:nd-</i>
well	<i>kuw-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>pa:n-</i>
village	<i>qep-</i>	<i>qep(u)-</i>	<i>qep-, e:nd-</i>
shadow	<i>e:nd-</i>	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>e:nd-</i>
shadow figure	<i>qar-</i>	<i>kuj(i)y-</i>	<i>kujy-, e:nd-</i>
rice grain	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>pa:r-</i>	<i>e:nd-, pa:n-</i>
boiled rice	<i>pul-</i>	<i>pul(a)-</i>	<i>pul-, e:nd-</i>
shrub	<i>ki:r-</i>	<i>ki:r(u)-</i>	<i>e:nd-</i>
bottle	<i>botl-</i>	<i>botl(e)-</i>	<i>botl-</i>
glass	<i>gilas-</i>	<i>gilas(e)y-</i>	<i>gilas- (gilass)</i>
day	<i>din-</i>	<i>din(e)-</i>	<i>din-</i>
week	<i>apt-</i>	<i>apt(a)-</i>	<i>apt-</i>
month	<i>mehn-</i>	<i>mehn(a)-</i>	<i>mehn-</i>
year	<i>bacer-</i>	<i>bacar(i)-</i>	<i>bacar-</i>

As Mahapatra (1979:128ff.) observes, some classifiers denote the characteristics of the objects, e.g. *qar(a)* for ‘long, large objects’, *par(a)* ‘long pods/fruits’, *pat(a)* ‘flat, broad objects’, *pat(a)* ‘flat, broad, thin objects’. There are also what he calls ‘unique classifiers’ (Mahapatra 1979:132f.), i.e. nouns that are used as a classifier for a single object such as *qep(u)* ‘village’, *qep-ond qepu* ‘a village’ or *qed(u)* ‘leg’, *qed-is qedu* ‘two legs’ etc. There are also generic classifiers such as *got(a)-*, *e:nd(a)-* or *bah(a)-/bāh(a)-*.

## §19 Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Northern and North-central Malto have demonstratives based on a three-way deixis system: *i:-*, *na:-*<sup>14</sup> and *a:-* are used for proximate, medial and remote

<sup>14</sup> *qār(a)* according to Droese (1884:17).

<sup>15</sup> *pā:r(u)* according to Droese (1884:17).

<sup>16</sup> Emeneau (1980:26) considers this a borrowing from Santali.

referents respectively. The Central dialect of Malipara has a two-way system without the *na*:- series (cf. Mahapatra 1979:76). As to the difference between *na*:- and *a*:-, Droese (1884:31) comments “[t]his ná [*na*:-, MK], is generally employed when the party referred to is present.” This difference holds true in Ursa Pahar, too. In anaphoric use, they are used indiscriminately, but only *a*:- is used in relative constructions (§46). There is no single morpheme occurring in interrogatives, but *ik* ‘which’, *indru* ‘what’, and the interrogative morpheme *e*:-, are combined with various words and morphemes. The following are demonstratives and temporal adverbs (see also §21). Demonstratives with *na*:- may not be exhaustive.

Adjectives: *i*: ‘this’; *na*: ‘that’; *a*: ‘that’; *i:w-i:we* ‘these’, *a:w-a:we* ‘those’.<sup>17</sup>

Thing: *i:d*, *idi*- NM ‘this’; *na:d*, *nadi*- NM ‘that’; *a:d*, *adi*- NM ‘that’; *indru* ‘what, what a’, *indra* AC; *ik* ‘which’.

Person: *i:h*, *ihe*- M ‘he’, *i:d*, *idi*- NM ‘she’; *na:h*, *nahe*- M ‘he’, *na:d*, *nadi*- NM ‘she’; *a:h*, *ahe*- M ‘he’, *a:d*, *adi*- NM ‘she’. Human interrogative pronouns are *ne:reh* M ‘who’ when a masculine singular answer is presupposed, *ne:d* ‘who’ when number and gender are not clear.<sup>18</sup> A common pronominal stem of these forms is *ne:k*- (*nek*- according to Mahapatra 1979:78f.), genitive *ne:k* or *ne:KKi* ‘whose’. *ikeh* M ‘which person’ and *iker* PL ‘which people’ also serve as human interrogative pronouns.

Place: *i:tno* ‘here’ (Mokri *i:ti*); *na:tno* ‘there’; *a:tno* ‘there’ (Mokri *a:ti*); *ikto* ‘where’ (Kusumghati *ikeno*, Mokri *ikano*).

Direction: *i:wajo*, *inno* ‘hither’; *a:wajo*, *anno* ‘thither’; *ikwajo* ‘whither’.

Origin: *i:tinte*, *inotente* ‘from here’; *na:tinte* ‘from there’; *a:tinte* ‘from there’; *ikpet* ‘from where’ (Kusumghati *ikente*, Mokri *iktinte*).

Manner: *indaki*, *i:juka*, *i:n-ken* {this.way-1SG} etc., *i:n-le* ‘this way’; *andaki*, *a:juka*, *a:n-ken* {this.way-1SG} etc., *a:n-le* ‘that way’; *ikna:n*, *ikja:ti*, *ikleko* ‘how’. *inde-ki* 3SG.NM, *ande-ki* 3SG.NM, *i:n-ken* 1SG, *a:n-ker* 3PL etc. are conjunctive participle forms of the deictic verbs *ind-e*, *i:n-e* ‘to do this way’ and *and-e*, *a:n-e* ‘to do that way’, and show concord with the subject.

Reason: *ani* (*se/hi*) ‘therefore’; *indrik* ‘why’.

Quantity: *inond* ‘this much, this many’; *nanond* ‘that much, that many’; *anond* ‘that much, that many’; *e:nond* ‘how much, how many’.

Time: *anaku* ‘now’ (also *inor* in Kusumghati and Mokri); *a:pahr-no* {that time-LO} ‘at that time’; *ikpahra* ‘when’ (Kusumghati *ikopahra*, Mokri

<sup>17</sup> Droese (1884) and the New Testament (Bible Society of India 2000) show these plural demonstrative adjectives, but they are not used in Ursa Pahar.

<sup>18</sup> According to Droese (1884:35ff.), *ne:ri(d)* NM and *ne:rer* PL are used when feminine singular and feminine/masculine plural answers are expected.

*ikdine).*

Day and year: *ina* ‘today’ (Kusumghati *ine*); *ikdine* ‘which day’; *e:so* ‘this year’. See also §21.

Indefinite Pronouns and Adverbs:

Indefinite pronouns and adverbs are formed by adding clitics *-gote* ‘even’, *-nahā/-jahā* ‘even’ or *-hō/-ho* ‘too’ to the interrogatives. They also serve as negative polarity items (cf. §37).

*indr-gote* ‘some, any’; *ne:-gote* ‘someone, anyone’; *ikto-gote* ‘somewhere, anywhere’; *ikni-gote(-hi)* ‘somehow, by any means’; *ikpahra-gote* ‘some time, any time’.

There are a few more ways to mark indefinite reference. According to Droeze (1884:36) and Das (1973:45f.), interrogatives with *-bedi* mean ‘some’, e.g. *indr-bedī* ‘something’. *je:-gote* from *je*: ‘whatever’ and *-gote* ‘even’ means ‘anything’. *indro* ‘that, what’ is used when trying to recollect something. *palna* ‘so-and-so’ refers to an indefinite name.

Interrogatives per se also serve as indefinite pronouns/adverbs, e.g. *ne:ka-hi qerwi-k barc-a ne:ka-hi bar-la* {who.DA-EPH ear-DA come.B2-PT.3SG who.DA-EPH come-NG.PT.3SG} ‘For some people, [the story] came into [their ears], for others, it didn’t’.

## §20 Definiteness

Although there is no obligatory marker of definiteness, the demonstrative adjective for remote deixis *a*: (§19) is often attached to specific and identifiable noun phrases.

The *-du* suffix found in Malipara (Central) and Boro Pahar (Southern) areas has the function to refer to something as a class (§10).

Mahapatra (1979:121) calls the short form of a numeral classifier, the one with *-o*, an ‘indefinite classifier’, and observes the function of indefinite reference, e.g. *maq-o goro* {CLF-one horse} ‘a certain horse’. Whether there is a distinction between the full form with *-ond* and the short form with *-o* or not, numeral classifiers serve as a marker of indefiniteness, as is typical in the beginning of a narrative, e.g. *ort teho ar taygade-h qo:ky-ar bah-ond qep-no* {one.CLF mother and son-M stay.B2-PT.3PL place.CLF-one village-LO} ‘There lived a mother and her son in a village’.

## §21 Adverbs, Clitics and Adverbial Suffixes

There are no morphological characteristics to mark adverbs and conjunctions as independent categories. Adjectives and nominal stems may also be used adverbially (Mahapatra 1979:83 ‘adverbial nouns’), e.g. *gece be:gy-a* {far jump.B2-PT.3SG} ‘[The knife] jumped far away’, *sangal* ‘together’ from *sangale* ‘friend’ as in *ada-no-hō sangal sangal-hi do:k-ner ok-ner* {house-LO-too together REP-EPH stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL} ‘They lived together at home,

too'. Nominal forms with case suffixes like *juge-k* 'for ever' (Droese), *dine-k* 'at any time', *ma:q-a* 'at night' and *be:pi-t* 'in the evening', or with particles like *sida-hi* 'truly', *ujati-hi* 'falsely' and *dape-hi* 'forcibly', and forms ending in participial suffixes such as *indeki* 'this way' are used adverbially. Loanwords from Indo-Aryan adverbs are also common, e.g. *ekdam* 'at once' (Hindi *ekdam* id.), *pir* 'again' (Hindi *p̥ir* id.), *ba:de(-no)* 'after' (Hindi *ba:d* id.), *sa:mne* 'in front' (Hindi *sa:mne* id.).

There are adverbs expressing time, e.g. *nandu* 'again', *arigari* 'always', *ke:ponti* 'at once'; day, e.g. *cewru* 'yesterday', *ulond* 'day before yesterday', *le:la* 'tomorrow' (Kusumghati *le:le*), *le:lmenja* 'day after tomorrow' (Kusumghati *le:lbenje*), *ine* 'today'; year, e.g. *pihne* 'next year', *mucne* 'year after next', *paru* 'last year', *paryari* 'year before last', *e:so* 'this year'; place and directions, e.g. *pisi* 'down', *maji* 'in the middle'; degree, e.g. *kajak* 'much', *ga:re* 'much', *essa* 'very', *ri:kond* 'a little'; and manner, e.g. *ujati-hi* 'falsely, injudiciously', *andare* 'empty-handed', *aslu*, *aserabe* 'slowly'. See §19 for deictic adverbs.

Some words serve as conjunctions and connect sentences, e.g. ... *ta:nu* 'if/when... then', ... *ta:ni-gote* 'even though ...', *ar* 'and', *ante* 'and, then', *ani* 'then, thus', *de* 'but', *male* 'or', *indrik ki* ... 'because ...', *amat* 'as long as', *ani se* 'therefore', *ate* 'otherwise', *mal ta:n* 'otherwise, on the contrary'.

#### Adverbial and Modal Suffixes, Clitics and Particles:

*ako, ko* 'it seems' (South *akon*): *i: indra peli menj-ad ako* {this what woman be.B2-PT.3SG.NM it.seems} 'What woman does she seem to have been?', *ni:n fund-te akon* {you look-PT.2SG.M it.seems} 'Apparently you saw [it]' (Boro).

*aga, ga, to* are topic markers (cf. Mahapatra 1979:200). *ni:n aga murs-ta:ni ko* {you TOP husband-possessed.of.NM it.seems} 'You seem to be married'.

=*indru* 'and so on': *mand-im=indru* {bury-PR.1PL.E=and.so.on} 'we bury [the body and say prayers and so on]'.

=*ohri* 'kind of, or something': *idi-n=ohri moq-qe ante am o:n-ene* {this-AC=or.something eat.B2-CP.2SG.M then water drink-FT.2SG.M} 'Eat this or something and drink water'.

-*qadi*/=*qadi* 'just': *orta-qadi* 'only one', *ino-qadi* 'just this much', *e:n qe:g-o=qadi qe:g-qen* {I ask-IF=just ask-PT.1SG} 'I just asked and asked'.

*ka* 'okay?', *no* 'right?', e.g. *ada-no tupla-t muc-keh ok-try-ah ka* {house-LO small.basket-IN shut.up-CP.3SG.M sit-CS.B2-PT.3SG.M right?} 'He put it at home keeping it in a small basket, okay?', *ca:me pa:l-po-d no* {song sing-HP-NM right?} '[I] have to sing a song, right?'

-*gote*/=*gote*, -*gute*/=*gute* 'even', e.g. *ne:-gote* {who-even} 'anyone',

*ta:nu-gote* {then-even} ‘still’, *ta:ke-gote kor-la:nid* {wind-even enter-NG.FT.3SG.NM} ‘Even wind does not enter [the car]’.

=*ja:nu* ‘just’ also marks certain emphasis, e.g. *anake=ja:nu andr:naq-en* {now-EPH meet-FT.1SG} ‘[Finally] now I am going to meet [him]’.

-*nahā/=nahā* (-*naha/=naha*), -*jahā/=jahā* ‘even, too, just’: *maqe-jahā* ‘even a child’, *e:n ki:re-nte qond-ken=naha* {I hunger-AB be.tired-PT.1SG=just} ‘I am just tired of hunger’.

*ta* ‘probably’: *ina to tetuli-nti bar-anar ta* {today TOP PROP-AB come-FT.3PL maybe} ‘Today they will probably come from Tetuli’.

-*du:re/=du:re* ‘only, just’, e.g. *qoclu-du:re* ‘just bones’, *e:k-a=du:re* {go-IMP=only} ‘Just go!’

=*dene* ‘as if’, e.g. *and-abalo-h=dene* {find-NG.AP-M=as.if} ‘as if he does not notice’.

*nde* is a question marker, e.g. *ni:n indra lap-a:ni nde* {you what eat-FT.2SG.NM do.you?} ‘What do you eat?’

=*ba* ‘even, too’, e.g. *ik-be:ri=ba* {which-time=too} ‘some day’.

=*baru, baru* ‘perhaps’, e.g. *eyg-a=baru pund-lid* {I-DA-perhaps put.on.garland-SJ.3SG.NM} ‘Maybe [the elephant] will put [the garland] on me’.

-*ma:ne/=ma:ne* ‘alone’, e.g. *tayg-ma:ne* ‘by oneself’, *ning-ma:ne* ‘by yourself’.

*mba* ‘isn’t it’, e.g. *ugle:c-ah mba* {think.B2-PT.3SG.M isn’t.it} ‘He thought, didn’t he?’, *men-a mba* {hear-IMP isn’t.it} ‘Listen, okay?’

-*la:go* ‘a little’, e.g. *bałagni-la:go* ‘maidenlike’, *be:do-la:go male-h* {big-somewhat person-M} ‘a kind of big person’, *odohr-la:go jaga* {hide-somewhat place} ‘a somewhat hidden place’. In *bałc-la:g-ko* ‘after I grew up a little’ (p. 126), it is attached between the Base 2 form *bałc* and the conjunctive participle suffix *-ko*.

*se* also has a concessive meaning like English ‘even’, e.g. *dika men-no se kurni lap-la* {stiff become-IPP even hot eat-NG.PT.3SG} ‘Even if it becomes stiff, [father] did not eat food hot’.

*hi/-hi* and *se* (§43) mark focus, e.g. *na:h pel-a hi kor-oti amby-ah* {he woman-AC EPH enter-IF give.up.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He gave up taking a wife’, *adi-k se carc kud-in* {that-DA EPH go.around.B2.AP do-PR.1SG} ‘That is why I am going around’.<sup>19</sup>

*ho/=ho, hō/=hō* ‘too’: *e:n hō e:k-en* {I too go-FT.1SG} ‘I am coming, too’.

<sup>19</sup> -*m* might also be a morpheme emphasizing the word it is attached to. *ina ikni-m du:de mala* {today how-EPH milk be.not} ‘Why on earth isn’t there any milk today?’

## §22 The Verb

A verb may be finite or non-finite. A finite verb is inflected for the tense/mood, person-number-gender and negation. It consists of a verbal base, followed by a tense/mood suffix and a pronominal suffix, which make an inflectional unit. In the negative, a negative suffix occurs in addition to these before the inflectional unit, or after it in some future forms. A verbal base contains a verbal root. The verbal root is simple or compound (see §23), and optionally takes the intransitive/reflexive suffix *-r* or *-gr*, the passive/reflexive suffix *-wr*, the transitive suffix *-tr* and the causative suffix *-tit*, to form what we call Base 1. From Base 1, present and future affirmative and negative, past negative, subjunctive, optative and imperative, and several non-finite forms are made. Base 2, from which past affirmative and a few non-finite forms are made, is either built by attaching a Base 2 suffix such as *-y* and *-c* to Base 1, e.g. *amb-* ‘leave’ ~ *amby-*, *bar-* ‘come’ ~ *barc*, the same as Base 1, e.g. *arg-* ‘dig’ ~ *arg-*, or idiosyncratic, e.g. *peh-* ‘take up’ ~ *pet*. Bases 1 and 2 are the principal parts of a Malto verb. The following scheme represents the maximal shape of a Malto verbal base (cf. Das 1973:56):

$$\left[ \left[ \left[ \text{root} \right] + \begin{pmatrix} \text{ITR.SFX } -r \\ \text{TR.SFX } -tr \\ \text{PA.SFX } -wr \end{pmatrix} + (\text{CS.SFX } -tit) \right]_{\text{Base 1}} + (\text{B2.SFX}) \right]_{\text{Base 2}}$$

Suffixes are attached to the verbal base to make a finite form as in the following chart (See p. 8 for abbreviations):

[Base 1] + PR.SFX *-i*, *-ne* + PRO.SFX → **Present**  
ex. *mo:q-i-n* ‘I eat’

[Base 1] + NG.SFX *-ol(a)* + PT.SFX *-ke/-θ* + PRO.SFX → **Pres.Neg.**  
ex. *mo:q-ola-ke-n* ‘I don’t eat’

[Base 2] + *(-a)* + PT.SFX *-ke/-θ* + PRO.SFX → **Past**  
ex. */moq-ke-n/ → moq-qe-n* ‘I ate’

[Base 1] + NG.SFX *-la* + PT.SFX *-ke/-θ* + PRO.SFX → **Past Neg.**  
ex. *mo:q-la-ke-n* ‘I didn’t eat’

[Base 1] + FT.SFX *-e*, *-en* + PRO.SFX → **Future**  
ex. *mo:q-e-n* ‘I will eat’

[Base 1] (+ NG.SFX *-l*) + FT.SFX *-e*, *-en* + PRO.SFX (+ neg. *-ala*)  
(Either *-l* or *-ala* is chosen) → **Future Neg.**  
ex. *mo:q-e-n-ala* ‘I won’t eat’

Modal forms, which lack tense suffixes, are all made from Base 1, with modal and pronominal suffixes and a negative suffix if in the negative.

Base 1	+ SJ.SFX <i>-l</i>	+ PRO.SFX → <b>Subjunctive</b>
Base 1	+ NG.SFX <i>-la</i>	+ PRO.SFX → <b>Subj. Neg.</b>
Base 1	+ OP.SFX <i>-a:nde</i>	+ PRO.SFX → <b>Optative</b>
Base 1	+ NG.SFX <i>-om</i>	+ OP.SFX <i>-ande</i> + PRO.SFX → <b>Opt. Neg.</b>
Base 1	+ IMP.SFX <i>-a, -ku</i>	→ <b>Imperative</b>
Base 1	+ NG.SFX <i>-om</i>	+ IMP.SFX <i>-a, -ku</i> → <b>Imper. Neg.</b>

As a bare verbal root rarely occurs by itself, a verbal noun, which is formed by adding *-e* to the root, is given as the citation form hereafter.

## §23 The Verbal Root

A verbal root is simple or compound, original or derived.

While inherited verbal roots and formative suffixes (which together make what Krishnamurti 2003:279 calls ‘complex bases’) are still separable in many other Dravidian languages, Dravidian roots and formative suffixes are indivisibly fused in Malto, e.g. *amb-* ‘to leave off’ ~ Ta. *anuppu*, Te. *anupu*, *ampu* ‘to send’ (*DEDR* 329), and what we call ‘simple roots’ include those extended roots as well as original roots such as *qa:y-* ‘to become dry, wither’ ~ Ta. *ka:y-* ‘to grow hot, be dried up’, Pe. *ka:y-* ‘to warm oneself’ (*DEDR* 1458). ‘Compound verbal roots’ refer to univerbated verb compounds, such as *oket-* ‘to sit down’ < *ok*, adverbial participle of *ok-* ‘to sit’ + *et-* ‘to go down’ (Droese 1884:86f., Mahapatra 1979:188, cf. Das 1973:72).

By ‘original verbal roots’ we mean inherited Dravidian roots and extended roots, and Indo-Aryan verbs presumably borrowed without adding suffixes, *dary-* ‘to catch’ from Indo-Aryan *d<sup>h</sup>ar-* as in Hindi *d<sup>h</sup>ar-na*: ‘to hold’. An inherited verbal root is usually monosyllabic, having the shape (C)V(C),<sup>20</sup> e.g. *at-* ‘to wear’ (*DEDR* 145 (Ta. *attu* ‘to unite’, Te. *attu* ‘to be attached or joined’ etc.), *nung-* ‘to swallow’ ~ Ta. *nuŋku* ‘to swallow’, Ka. *nungu* ‘to swallow’ etc. (*DEDR* 3697), *umbl-* ‘to urinate’ ~ Nk. *umbul* ‘to urinate’ etc. (*DEDR* 644), but there are also disyllabic roots which do not seem to be derived, e.g. *lehar-* ‘to become’. No root ends in a vowel. In one instance, we find final *y* while cognate roots end in a vowel in other languages: *coy-* ‘to get up, rise, start’ vs. Konda *so:-* ‘to start or set out’ (*DEDR* 2867).

‘Derived verbal roots’ refer to verbs derived from nouns, adjectives, adverbs and loanwords with suffixes. They will be treated in §24.

## §24 Base 1 and Base-Formative Suffixes

A verbal root can be extended with respect to voice and causativity with the following suffixes, and forms what we call a Base 1 form (called ‘complex

<sup>20</sup> Mahapatra (1979:141f.) gives longer roots, but here we treat final *r* and *gr* in them as suffixes.

bases' in Mahapatra 1979:146 and 'stems' in Krishnamurti 2003:279).

Intransitive/ Reflexive:

*-r* is an intransitive/reflexive suffix (Mahapatra 1979:146). It derives an intransitive base from a transitive root as in *toq-r-e* 'to end' from *toq-e* 'to nip off', *onyg-r-e* 'to be finished' from *onyg-e* 'to finish', or a reflexive base from a transitive root as in *ci:c-r-e* 'to wipe oneself' from *ci:c-e* 'to wipe', *caq-r-e* 'to tattoo' (lit. 'to pierce oneself') from *caq-e* 'to pierce', *nusg-r-e* 'to rub oneself' from *nusg-e* 'to rub', *ma:nd-r-e* 'to apply on oneself' from *ma:nd-e* 'to apply'.

*-gr* (preceded by a connective vowel *o* or *a*) has the same intransitive/reflexive function as *-r* according to Mahapatra (1979:147), although it is not clear in which context *-r* and *-gr* are chosen. E.g. *qa:r-(a)gr-e* 'to be separated' from *qa:r-e* 'to separate', *ut-(o)gr-y-ah* 'he covered his face' (reflexive) from *ut-e* 'to cover'.

*-wr* (preceded by a connective vowel *u*) is a passive/reflexive suffix (Droese 1884:47 *-uwr*, Das 1973:65 *-ur*, Mahapatra 1979:152 *-wur*, cf. §49), e.g. *qal-uwr-e* 'to be stolen' from *qal-e* 'to steal', *baj-uwr-e* 'to beat oneself' from *baj-e* 'to beat'. *qaq-owr-e* (with /u/ being lowered after a uvular, see §6) from *qaq-e* 'to receive, obtain' has intransitive meaning 'to be available', e.g. *iko ayo-n qaq-te* {where mother-AC obtain-PT.2SG.M} 'Where did you get a mother?', vs. *taka qaq-owr-i* {money obtain-PA-PR.3SG} '[I] get money', lit. 'Money is available [for me]'.

Transitive/ Causative:

*-tr* derives a transitive or causative base from an intransitive or transitive root (Droese 1884:72ff., Mahapatra 1979:151 *-tar*, Puttaswamy 2008:140ff., cf. §49), e.g. *men-tr-e* 'to make heard' from *men-e* 'to hear', *mo:q-tr-e* 'to feed' from *mo:q-e* 'to eat', *ok-tr-e* 'to place' from *ok-e* 'to sit', *kir-tr-e* 'to bring back' from *kir-e* 'to come back'.

*-d* and *-t* are also transitive/causative suffixes (Mahapatra 1979:150). They are functionally similar to *-tr*, but are less productive and limited in occurrence. E.g. *ild-e* 'to erect, make stand' < *il-e* 'to stand', *ond-e* 'to make drink' < *o:n-e* 'to drink', *amt-e* 'to give a bath' < *amy-e* 'to take a bath' (see §7 for the deletion of *y*).

*-tit* derives a causative/permisive base from a root or a verbal base (Puttaswamy 2008:144ff. *-tet*). *-tit* can occur after *-tr*, but never before it, e.g. *et-tr-tit-e* 'to cause to take down' (Droese 1884:74) from *et-e* 'to go down'.

Derived verbal roots of non-verbal origin have similar suffixes that have specific valency, and it would be appropriate to treat them in this section.

*-ey* derives a verb from a noun (Mahapatra 1979:149), e.g. *ugley-e* 'to think' from *ugli* 'mind', *badley-e* 'to change' from Hindi *badli*: 'change'.

*-ar* and *-rar* derive an intransitive verb from a noun or an adjective, e.g. *siŋap-ar-e* ‘to grow up’ from *siŋap-e* ‘rich person’, *ka:kl-ar-e* ‘to be troubled’ from *ka:kli* ‘trouble’ (DEDR 1424), *duk-rar-e* ‘to be distressed’ from *duke* ‘sorrow’ (Mahapatra 1979:148).

*-nq*, probably from /-n qaq-/ {-AC get}, also derives an intransitive verb from a noun, e.g. *da:wa-nq-* ‘to have opportunity’ from *da:wa* ‘opportunity’, *disa-nq-* ‘to recognize’ from *disa* ‘judgment’.

*-ar* is attached to borrowed Indo-Aryan intransitive verbs, e.g. *ban-ar-e* ‘to be made’ from Hindi *ban-na*: ‘to be made’, *par-ar-e* ‘to lie’ from Hindi *par-na*: ‘to fall, lie’, *baj-ar-e* ‘to strike (clock)’ from Hindi *baj-na*: ‘to strike (clock)’, *kul-ar-e* ‘to open’ from Hindi *k'ul-na*: ‘to be open’.

*-tr* is attached to borrowed Indo-Aryan transitive verbs, e.g. *bana:-tr-e* ‘to make’ from Hindi *bana:-na*: ‘to make’, *jama:-tr-e* ‘to collect’ from Hindi *jama:-na*: ‘to collect’. It also derives a verb from a noun or an adjective, with *e/e*: inserted before *-tr*, e.g. *ka:kl-etr-e* ‘to cause trouble’ from *ka:kli* ‘trouble’, *payd-etr-e* ‘to be born’ from Hindi *paida: ho-na*: ‘to be born’.

The suffix *-tr* is fairly productive and derives a transitive/causative base even when the verb it is attached to has a lexical transitive counterpart, e.g. *e:r-tr-e* ‘to make someone look’ vs. *e:d-e* ‘to show’, for *e:r-e* ‘to look’. There are also cases where the transitive/causative meaning of *-tr* is not transparent; for example, *boŋg-tr-e* from *boŋg-e* ‘to run’ means ‘to carry away, to abduct’, and in Ursa Pahar *nuŋj-tr-e* has the same meaning as *nuŋj-e* ‘to ache’ (§49).

In function, *-tr* overlaps with *-tit*, which derives a causative stem from a root or a suffixed base, i.e. *-tit* can be attached to *-tr*, as in *mila:-tr-tit-e* ‘to make someone put together’ from *mila:-tr-e* ‘to put together’, but not vice versa. A verbal root may take both suffixes: *mo:q-tr-e* ‘to make someone eat, feed’ as in *maqe-r-in mo:q-try-ad* {boy-PL-AC eat-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM} ‘[The jackal] fed the cubs’, vs. *mo:q-tit-e* ‘to let someone eat’ as in *ahi-n otry-a ante mo:q-tit-la* {he-AC take.out.B2-PT.3SG and eat-CS-NG.3SG} ‘[The demon’s daughter] took him out and did not let [her father] eat him.’ In this pair, *mo:q-tr-e* takes the recipients as its object, while that of *mo:q-tit-e* is the causee.

The passive is formed by attaching the passive/reflexive suffix *-wr* to a Base 1 form, but it might not necessarily be the most productive formation. In elicitation, Malto speakers used the active voice if at all possible, and when it was necessary to put the verb in the passive voice, they used the passive participle, which is formed from a verbal root with the suffix *-pe* and a pronominal suffix and/or a copula verb, e.g. *maq-ond ale-n kuti-no conj-pe-d* {CLF-one dog-AC post-LO tie-PAP-NM} ‘A dog is tied to the post’ (cf. p. 74).

## §25 Base 2

While Base 1 serves as the basis for the present and future forms and the past negative, the past affirmative is made from Base 2 (Mahapatra 1979:163 ‘past stem’), which is lexically peculiar to each verbal root, with the past suffix *-ke/-θ*, the base extension *-a* (or *-o* when followed by the conjunctive participle suffix *-ko*), and a pronominal suffix. It was originally a past base made of the root and an old past suffix such as *-c* and *-y* (Subrahmanyam 1971:182), but the tense function was doubly marked by the past suffix and was hence taken over by it. A bare Base 2 form (minus final *-y* if any) serves as an adverbial participle. Conjunctive participles are also made from it.

Malto verbs can be divided into classes I to V depending on the way Base 2 forms are made. Cognate forms of Kurux, if any, are given in parentheses.<sup>21</sup> There is significant dialectal variation in the formation of Base 2 forms, with respect to whether *-y* is attached to the root or not, e.g. *awd-e* ‘to speak’, *awdy-a* PT-3SG.NM (Northern) vs. *awd-a* id. (Central, Southern), *putr-e* ‘to vomit’, *putry-a* (Northern) vs. *putr-a* (Central, Southern); whether the root vowel is shortened or not, e.g. *do:k-e* ‘to stay’, *doky-a* (Northern) vs. *do:ky-a* (Central, Southern), or whether Base 2 always has the *-a* extension or not, e.g. *bar-e* ‘come’, Base 2 *barc-* (Northern) vs. *barc-a-* (Central, Southern), and there might be better grouping. There are also a few defective roots that have no Base 2 form of their own, i.e. *ka:l-e* ‘to go’, *bad-e* ‘to know’, and *mar-e* ‘to like’. We group them under Class V. Roots ending in the suffix *-r* or *-tr* fall either under Class Ia or IIIa, while those ending in *-tit* all belong to the latter.

**Class Ia** (cf. Mahapatra 1979:154 ‘Class 1’): Base 2 is formed by adding *-y* to Base 1. This class contains the largest number of verbal roots. *āṛs-e* ‘to arrive’, *āṛsy-a* PT-3SG.NM (also *āṛsc-a*) (Krx. *āṛs-a:*; *āṛsy-a*); *at-e* ‘to wear’, *aty-a* (Krx. *att-a:*; *atty-a*); *at-e* ‘to spread’, *atj-a* (Krx. *att-a:*; *atty-a*); *arg-e* ‘to climb’, *argy-a* (Krx. *arg-a:*; *argy-a*); *arg-e* ‘to lay snare’, *argy-a*; *as-e* ‘to foment’, *asy-a*; *a:n-e* ‘to think, say or do thus’, *a:ny-a* (Krx. *a:n-a:*; *a:ny-a*); *it-e* ‘to divide (as a share)’, *ity-a* (Krx. *itt-a:*; *itty-a*); *inq-e* ‘to cough’, *inqy-a*; *er-e* ‘to sweep’, *ery-a*; *e:ry-e* ‘to see’, *e:ry-a* (Krx. *e:ry-a:*; *i:ry-a*); *ok-e* ‘to sit’, *oky-a* (Krx. *okk-a:*; *ukky-a*); *kaj-e* ‘to wash (clothes)’, *kajy-a* (Krx. *kajj-a:* ‘to press down’, *kajjy-a*); *kurk-e* ‘to write’, *kurky-a*; *qandr-e* ‘to sleep’, *qandry-a*; *tes-e* ‘to sift’, *tesy-a*; *nusgr-e* ‘to rub oneself’, *nusgry-a*; *pit-e* ‘to kill’, *pity-a* (Krx. *pit-a:*; *pity-a*); *bac-e* ‘to rob’, *bacy-a* (Krx. *bacc-a:*; *baccy-a*); *baj-e* ‘to beat’, *bajy-a*; *minq-e* ‘to shut the eyes’, *mingy-a* (Krx. *mi:ṇx-a:*; *mi:ṇxy-a*);

<sup>21</sup>The verbal noun and Base 2 forms are given. The Kurux verb forms and the glosses are from Grignard’s dictionary (Grignard 1924), or from my own research.

*mog-e* ‘to emit smoke’, *mogy-a* (Krx. *mojoxə-a*; *mojx-a*); *mu:nq-e* ‘to gore’, *mu:nqy-a* (Krx. *mu:d-a*: ‘to strike or dash against some obstacle’, *muddy-a*); *lap-e* ‘to eat’, *lapy-a*.

**Class Ib** Base 2 is formed by adding *-y* to Base 1 and shortening the root vowel. *a:d-e* ‘to select’, *ady-a*; *e:k-e* ‘to go’, *eky-a* (Krx. *e:k-a*: ‘to walk’, *i:ky-a*); *ko:q-e* ‘to lie down’, *kody-a*; *do:k-e* ‘to stay’, *doky-a*; *pa:k-e* ‘to take in the lap’, *paky-a* (Krx. *pa:k-a*; *pakky-a*).

**Class IIa** (cf. Mahapatra 1979:155 ‘Class 2’): Base 2 is formed by adding *-c* to Base 1, deleting root-final *-y* if any. *asy-e* ‘to chisel’, *asc-a*; *a:ry-e* ‘to lose (a game)’, *a:rc-a* (Krx. *ha:r?*-*a*; *ha:rc-a*; *oy-e* ‘to take’, *oc-a* (Krx. *ho?*-*a*; *(h)occ-a*); *ciy-e* ‘to give’, *cic-a* (Krx. *ci?*-*a*; *cicc-a*); *ji:ty-e* ‘to win’, *ji:tc-a* (Krx. *ji:t?*-*a*; *ji:tc-a*); *tal-e* ‘to cut’, *talc-a*; *ta:y-e* ‘to be lucky’, *ta:c-a*; *dary-e* ‘to catch’, *darc-a* (Krx. *d<sup>h</sup>ar?*-*a*; *d<sup>h</sup>arc-a*); *daly-e* ‘to grind’, *dalc-a*; *badley-e* ‘to change’, *badlec-a* (Krx. *badl?*-*a*; *badla:c-a*); *bar-e* ‘to come’, *barc-a* (Krx. *bar?*-*a*; *barc-a*); *buuy-e* ‘to understand’, *bujc-a*; *beh-e* ‘to be’, *behc-a*, South *bey-e*, *becc-a* (Krx. *be?*-*a*; *biccy-a*).

**Class IIb** Base 2 is formed by replacing the root-final *-y* with *-c* and lengthening the root vowel. *ey-e* ‘to tie’, *e:c-a* (Krx. *he?*-*a*; *he:c-a*); *cuy-e* ‘to put on’, *cu:c-a* (Krx. *co?*-*a*; *co:c-a*); *coy-e* ‘to rise’, *co:c-a* (Krx. *co?*-*a*: ‘to rise’, *co:c-a*).

**Class IIIa** Verbs of this class have a Base 2 form identical with Base 1 (cf. Mahapatra 1979:156 ‘Class 3’). This class includes many, but not all, bases ending in uvulars and coronal stops. *aktr-e* ‘to suspend’, *aktr-a*; *ãystr-e* ‘to cause to arrive’, *ãystr-a*; *and-e* ‘to find’, *and-a*; *arg-e* ‘to dig’, *arg-a* (Krx. *arx-a*; *arxy-a*); *asg-e* ‘to paste on’, *asg-a* (Krx. *assg-a*; *assgy-a*); *a:nd-e* ‘to bewitch’, *a:nd-a*; *id-e* ‘to plant’, *id-a* (Krx. *id?*-*a*: ‘to plant’, *idd-a*); *ut-e* ‘to cover’, *ut-a* (Krx. *ut?*-*a*; *ut-a*); *urq-e* ‘to come out’, *urq-a/urqy-a* (Krx. *urk<sup>h</sup>-a*; *urk<sup>h</sup>-a*); *eq-e* ‘to pour out’, *eq-a*; *et-e* ‘to deface’, *et-a*; *es-e* ‘to plait’, *es-a* (Krx. *ess-a*; *issy-a*); *e:l-e* ‘to go astray’, *e:l-a* (?Krx. *ell-a*: ‘to be affected with night-blindness’, *illy-a*); *onq-e* ‘to get drunk’, *onq-a*; *ondr-e* ‘to bring’, *ondr-a/ ondry-a* (Krx. *ondr?*-*a*; *ondr-a*); *kas-e* ‘to strike on the back’, *kas-a* (?Krx. *kas?*-*a*: ‘to fasten tightly’, *kasc-a*); *qaq-e* ‘to receive’, *qaq-a* (Krx. *xak<sup>h</sup>-a*; *xakk<sup>h</sup>-a*); *qa:y-e* ‘to become dry’, *qa:y-a* (Krx. *xa:y-a*; *xayy-a*); *qe:g-e* ‘to buy, ask’, *qe:g-a*; *caq-e* ‘to stab’, *caq-a* (Krx. *cakk<sup>h</sup>-a*; *cakk<sup>h</sup>y-a*); *cat-e* ‘to leak’, *cat-a*; *cil-e* ‘to forbid’, *cil-a*; *ced-e* ‘to carry’, *ced-a*; *cog-e* ‘to pluck’, *coq-a*; *jaq-e* ‘to throng’, *jaq-a*; *jarq-e* ‘to fall’, *jarq-a/ jarqy-a*; *tã:ragr-e* ‘to be spread out’, *tã:ragr-a* (Krx. *tark<sup>h</sup>?*-*a*; *tark<sup>h</sup>a:c-a*); *tuk-e* ‘to push’, *tuk-a/ tuky-a* (Krx. *tukk-a*; *tukky-a*); *nud-e* ‘to hide’, *nud-*

*a* (Krx. *nuṛʔ-a:*, *nudd-a*); *pund-e* ‘to put on one’s neck’, *pund-a*; *pol-e* ‘to be unable’, *pol-a* (Krx. *poll-a:*, *poll-a*); *bat-e* ‘to expose to heat’, *bat-a* (Krx. *batt-a*: ‘(of liquids) to decrease (by evaporation, etc.)’, *batty-a*); *band-e* ‘to draw’, *band-a*; *bit-e* ‘to cook’, *bit-a*; *beq-e* ‘to wrestle’, *beq-a* (?Krx. *bekkʰ-a:*, *bikkʰy-a* ‘to be choked’); *mund-e* ‘to tie up in a cloth’, *mund-a* (Krx. *mundʰ-a:* ‘to shut in’, *mundʰc-a*); *meq-e* ‘to roast’, *meq-a* (Krx. *mekkʰ-a:*, *mikkʰy-a*); *mendr-e* ‘to be heard’, *mendr-a* (Krx. *mendrʔ-a:*, *mendr-a*).

**Class IIIb** Base 2 is formed by shortening the root vowel of Base 1. *a:g-e* ‘to know’, *aq-a* (Droese *aqq-a*) (Krx. *axʔ-a:*, *akkʰ-a*); *mo:q-e* ‘to eat’, *moq-a* (Krx. *mo:x-a:*, *mokkʰ-a*).

**Class IV** The verbs of this class have idiosyncratic Base 2 forms (cf. Mahapatra 1979:156 ‘Class 3’). *ih-e* ‘to pelt’, *ijj-a* (Krx. *ijjʔ-a:* ‘to throw’, *ijj-a*); *il-e* ‘to stand’, *ij-a* (Krx. *ijʔ-a:*, *ijj-a*); *o:n-e* ‘to drink’, *ond-a* (Krx. *on-a:*, *ond-a*); *qal-e* ‘to steal’, *qad-a* (Krx. *xarʔ-a:*, *xadq-a*); *qðh-e* ‘to cut down’, *qot-a* (Krx. *xot-a:/xos-a:*, *xott-a*); *qoy-e* ‘to reap’, *qos-a/ qoj-a* (Krx. *xoy-a:* ‘to measure’, *xojj-a*); *cog-e* ‘to pluck’, *coq-a* (Krx. *coxʔ-a:*, *cokkʰ-a*); *teh-e* ‘to knit’, *tet-a* (Krx. *tess-a:* ‘to plait’, *tissy-a*); *pa:n-e* ‘to get ripe’, *pa:ŋj-a* (Krx. *pa:n-a:*, *panj-a*); *pu:n-e* ‘to put on one’s own neck’, *pund-a*; *peh-e* ‘to take up’, *pet-a* (Krx. *pes-a:*, *pett-a*); *poy-e* ‘to rain’, *pos-a* (Krx. *pōyy-a:*, *poss-a*); *men-e* ‘to become, do’, *menj-a* (Krx. *man-a:* ‘to become’, *manj-a*); *men-e* ‘to hear’, *menj-a* (Krx. *men-a:*, *menj-a*); *lal-e* ‘to dance’, *lad-a* (Krx. *nal-a:*, *naly-a*).

**Class V** The verbs of this class have no Base 2 forms of their own. *ka:l-e* ‘to go’, *eky-a* (Krx. *ka:l-a:*, *ker-a*); *mar-e* ‘to like’ (*mar-en* PR.1SG, *mar-e* PR.2SG.M, *mar-e* PR.2SG.NM, *mar-eh* PR.3SG.M, *mar-ed* PR.3SG.NM, *mar-em* PR.1PL.E, *mar-et* PR.1PL.I, *mar-er* PR.2PL, *mar-er* PR.3PL, cf. p. 73, footnote; *mar-malaken* NG.PR.1SG etc.), *mar menj-a*; *bad-e* ‘to know’, *bad menj-a*.

#### Base extension -a

Droese (1884:43f.) points out that certain verbs take the epenthetic vowel *-e* (to which *-a* corresponds in Ursā Pahar) between the Base 2 form and the conjunctive participle suffix *-k-* etc., e.g. *menj-a-keh* CP.3SG.M of *men-e* ‘to become, to hear’, *e:c-a-keh* CP.3SG.M of *ey-e* ‘to tie’ vs. *barc-keh* CP.3SG.M of *bar-e* ‘to come’, *asc-keh* CP.3SG.M of *asy-e* ‘to chisel’. There is some dialectal variation with respect to the use of *-a*, e.g. *ilda-kah* (Anibhitta) {erect-CP.3SG.M} vs. *ild-keh* (Ursā). In our data from Ursā Pahar, Base 2 forms that end in  $\check{V}C$  are often extended with *-a*, such as *oy-e* ‘to take’, *oca-keh*; *cij-e* ‘to give’, *cica-keh*; *cuy-e* ‘to put on’, *cu:ca-keh*; *coy-e* ‘to get up’, *co:ca-keh*, whereas those ending in  $\check{V}C_1^2C$  such as *amy-e* ‘to

take bath', *amc-keh*; *ma:ŋgy-e* 'to beg', *ma:ŋgc-keh* do not take *-a*, indicating that the *-a* extension is not necessarily epenthesis. Verbs other than those belonging to Class II also take the *-a* extension, e.g. *qaws-e* 'to sound', *qawsya-ki*; *pol-e* 'to be unable', *pola-keh*; *peh-e* 'to take up', *peta-keh*. See also §38.

## §26 Tense and Aspect

Malto has three tenses, present, past and future (see §47 for their functions). The present affirmative and the future affirmative are formed by attaching the suffixes *-i-ne* and *-e-en* respectively to Base 1, and a pronominal suffix after that. The past affirmative is made from Base 2, and is marked by the past suffix *-ke* in the first and second persons, while in the third person Base 2 takes the extension *-a* and a zero suffix,<sup>22</sup> before the pronominal suffix. In all tenses, negative forms are made from Base 1. The present negative is formed with the negative suffix *-ol* which may be extended with *-a*, and with the past suffix *-ke* in the first and the second persons. The future negative is made by attaching either *-l* after Base 1, or *-ala* after the pronominal suffix. The past negative is formed with the negative suffix *-la*.

All forms have pronominal suffixes indicating person, number and gender (§16). The second person singular non-masculine *i* is fused with the suffix-final *e* and becomes *i* (PR.2SG.NM, PT.2SG.NM).

The following is the conjugation of the verb *mo:q-e* 'eat' in Northern and North-central Malto.

### i) Present

1SG	<i>mo:q-i-n</i>	1PL.E	<i>mo:q-i-m</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-ne</i>	1PL.I	<i>mo:q-i-t</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-ni</i>	2PL	<i>mo:q-ne-r</i> (Nc. <i>mo:q-i-r</i> )
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-i-h</i>	3PL	<i>mo:q-ne-r</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-i-(d)</i>		

### ii) Present Negative

1SG	<i>mo:q-ol-(a)-ke-n</i> <sup>23</sup>	1PL.E	<i>mo:q-ol-(a)-ke-m</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-ol-(a)-ke</i>	1PL.I	<i>mo:q-ol-(a)-ke-t</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-ol-(a)-ki</i>	2PL	<i>mo:q-ol-(a)-ke-r</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-ol-a-h</i>	3PL	<i>mo:q-ol-a-r</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-ol-a-(d)</i>		

### iii) Future

<sup>22</sup>Due to the gap of the *-ke* suffix, it is necessary to posit a zero past suffix, unless we consider the *-a* extension as a past suffix.

<sup>23</sup>Droese (1884:49fn.) calls these 'abbreviated forms' of 1SG *-omaleken*, 3SG.M *-omalah* etc. (see also §38). *-ol* is often pronounced *o:* when followed by a consonant.

1SG	<i>mo:q-e-n</i>	1PL.E	<i>mo:q-e-m</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-en-e</i> (Nc. <i>-ane</i> )	1PL.I	<i>mo:q-e-t</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-en-i</i> (Nc. <i>-ani</i> )	2PL	<i>mo:q-e-r</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-e-h</i>	3PL	<i>mo:q-e-r</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-en-i(d)</i> (Nc. <i>-an-i(d)</i> )		

## iv) Future Negative

1SG	<i>mo:q-e-n-ala</i>	1PL.E	<i>mo:q-e-m-ala</i> <sup>24</sup>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-l-en-e</i> <sup>25</sup> (Nc. <i>-l-ane</i> )	1PL.I	<i>mo:q-e-t-ala</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-l-en-i</i> (Nc. <i>-l-ani</i> )	2PL	<i>mo:q-e-r-ala</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-e-h-ala</i> (Nc. <i>-e-la-h</i> )	3PL	<i>mo:q-e-r-ala</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-l-en-i(d)</i> (Nc. <i>-l-ani(d)</i> )		

## v) Past

1SG	<i>moq-qe-n</i> <sup>26</sup>	1PL.E	<i>moq-qe-m</i>
2SG.M	<i>moq-qe</i>	1PL.I	<i>moq-qe-t</i>
2SG.NM	<i>moq-qi</i>	2PL	<i>moq-qe-r</i>
3SG.M	<i>moq-a-θ-h</i>	3PL	<i>moq-a-θ-r</i>
3SG.NM	<i>moq-a-θ-(d)</i>		

## vi) Past Negative

1SG	<i>mo:q-la-ke-n</i> <sup>27</sup>	1PL.E	<i>mo:q-la-ke-m</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-la-ke</i>	1PL.I	<i>mo:q-la-ke-t</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-la-ki</i>	2PL	<i>mo:q-la-ke-r</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-la-h</i>	3PL	<i>mo:q-la-r</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-la-(d)</i>		

**§27 Modal Forms: Subjunctive, Optative and Imperative**

To express modality, Malto has three inflectional categories, the subjunctive, the optative and the imperative (See §48 for their usage).

## Subjunctive:

The subjunctive affirmative is formed from Base 1, the subjunctive suffix *-l*, and a pronominal suffix. In the Northeast (Ursa Pahar), the subjunctive negative is formed from Base 1, the negative suffix *-la*, the subjunctive suffix *-le* and the pronominal suffix, while negative *-o* and a pronominal suffix come after the subjunctive suffix *-l* in the Northwest (Kusumghati). There are no tense distinctions in the subjunctive.

<sup>24</sup>In Simalkundi (Nc), 1PL.E *mo:q-l-em-oho*, 1PL.I *mo:q-l-et-oho*, 2PL *mo:q-l-er-oho*, 3PL *mo:q-l-er-oho* are also used.

<sup>25</sup>*-en* (Nc. *-an*) is often pronounced *-e:n* (*-a:n*).

<sup>26</sup>The *k* in the suffix *-ke* is assimilated to the root-final uvular *q* (see §6).

<sup>27</sup>In the Northwest, *-le* is used instead of *-la* in the first and second persons.

1SG	<i>mo:q-l-en</i>	1PL.E	<i>mo:q-l-em</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-l-e</i>	1PL.I	<i>mo:q-l-et</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-l-i</i>	2PL	<i>mo:q-l-er</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-l-eh</i>	3PL	<i>mo:q-l-er</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-l-id</i>		

## Subjunctive Negative:

1SG	<i>mo:q-la-le-n</i>	1PL.E	<i>mo:q-la-le-m</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-la-le</i>	1PL.I	<i>mo:q-la-le-t</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-la-li</i>	2PL	<i>mo:q-la-le-r</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-la-le-h</i>	3PL	<i>mo:q-la-le-r</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-la-le-d</i>		

## Subjunctive Negative (Northwest, Droese):

1SG	<i>mo:q-l-o-n</i>	1PL.E	<i>mo:q-l-o-m</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-l-o</i>	1PL.I	<i>mo:q-l-o-t</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-l-o</i>	2PL	<i>mo:q-l-o-r</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-l-o-h</i>	3PL	<i>mo:q-l-o-r</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-l-o-d</i>		

## Optative:

The optative affirmative is formed by adding the optative suffix *-a:nd* and a third-person pronominal suffix to Base 1.<sup>28</sup>

3SG.M	<i>mo:q-a:nd-eh</i>	3PL	<i>mo:q-a:nd-er</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-a:nd-ed</i>		

In Ursa Pahar, the suffix *-o:nd* is also used as an optative suffix for both genders and numbers, e.g. *bar-o:nd* ‘may he/she/it/they come’.

## Optative Negative:

The optative negative is formed by adding the negative suffix *-om*, the optative suffix *-and* (with short *a* in Ursa Pahar and *a:* elsewhere) and a pronominal suffix, to Base 1.

3SG.M	<i>mo:q-om-and-eh<sup>29</sup></i>	3PL	<i>mo:q-om-and-er</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-om-and-ed</i>		

<sup>28</sup>While Droese gives a suppletive paradigm of *-o* and *-a:nd*, our consultants gave only the *-and/-a:nd* forms as optative. Only a Kumarbhag consultant from Paderkola B gave forms corresponding to Droese’s *-o* optative, for which see §38.

<sup>29</sup>In the Northwest, *-a:nd* is used instead of *-and*. Droese (1884:49fn.) considers *-om-a:ndand-eh* etc. as the full forms.

## Imperative and Negative Imperative:

The imperative is formed by attaching the imperative suffix *-a* to Base 1. A single form is used for both numbers and genders of the second person. The negative imperative is formed by adding negative *-om* between Base 1 and the imperative suffix. The future imperative and the future imperative negative are formed of Base 1 and the suffixes *-ku* (Northwest *-ke*) and *-om(-a)-ku* respectively. Base 1 forms ending in *-Cy* change the *-y* to *-c* when *-ku* is added, e.g. *pajc-ku* from *pajy-e* ‘to read’ (cf. §38). A bare Base 1 form followed by *ta:nu* ‘then’ also serves as an imperative form, e.g. *bar ta:nu* ‘Come!’ from *bar-e* ‘to come’. Forms with Base 1 and *-oka* and *-owa*, suffixes possibly related to the verbs *ka:l-e* ‘to go’ and *bar-e* ‘to come’, mean ‘Go and ...’ and ‘Come and ...’ in addition to normal imperative meaning, respectively.

IMP	<i>mo:q-a</i>
NG.IMP	<i>mo:q-om-a</i>
FT.IMP	<i>mo:q-qu</i> (Nw. <i>-qe</i> ) <sup>30</sup>
NG.FT.IMP	<i>mo:q-om-(a)-ku</i>
“go and ...”	<i>mo:q-oka</i>
“come and ...”	<i>mo:q-owa</i>

See §48 for the function of the modal forms. See §21 for particles that convey modal meaning.

**§28 Infinitive and Verbal Noun**

The infinitive is formed from Base 1 and the suffix *-oti*, e.g. *pajy-oti* from *pajy-e* ‘to read’. It does not take pronominal or case suffixes, and has no corresponding negative form.

The infinitive expresses intent or purpose (‘in order to’), e.g. *e:re-n bed-oti eky-ad* {goat-AC seek-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.NM} ‘[The jackal] went to look for goats’, *key-oti ko:q-in* {die-IF lie.down-PR.1SG} ‘I am on my deathbed’, *adi-ki indr-gote lap-oti mo:q-oti men-la* {she-GE what-ever eat-IF eat-IF be-NG.PT.3SG} ‘She had nothing to eat’. As there is no negative form of an infinitive, ‘in order not to’ is expressed syntactically, e.g. *utr-etala adi-k bali-n muc-a* {fall-NG.FT.1PL.I that-DA door-AC shut-IMP} ‘Close the door so that we do not fall [from the car]’.

When used with an auxiliary verb or as the object of a verb like *pa:ry-e* ‘to be able’, *pol-e* ‘to be unable’, *bi:r-e* ‘to be about to’, *amb-e* ‘to give up, to quit’, *awq-e* ‘to tell’, *ugley-e* ‘to think of’, *bed-e* or *ca:hy-e* ‘to want’, *jej-e*, *lagar-e* or *suru: nan-e* ‘to start’, *a:g-e* ‘to know’, *garar-e* ‘to prepare for’, it functions as a verbal noun, e.g. *kata-n teyq-oti bi:r-en* {story-AC tell-IF be.about.to-FT.1SG} ‘I am going to tell a story’, *pel-a hi kor-oti amby-ah*

<sup>30</sup>The initial *k* of the suffixes *-ku* and *-ke* is assimilated to the base-final uvular *q*.

{woman-AC EPH enter-IF give.up.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He gave up taking a wife’, *eyg-en biha nan-oti awq-ner* {I-AC wedding do-IF tell-PR.3PL} ‘They tell me to get married’, *pary-oti kurk-oti a:g-olaken* {read-IF write-IF know-NG.PR.1SG} ‘I don’t know [how] to read or write’, *e:k-oti garar-im* {go-IF prepare-PR.1PL.E} ‘We prepare to go’.

It is used as objects of postpositions, e.g. *ra:jmahale-k oy-oti amat* {palace-DA take-IF until} ‘until [you] take [me] to the palace’, *qane:g-oti le:cki oky-ah* {take.rest-IF for sit.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He sat down in order to take rest’.

It can also be used to express ‘so much ... as to’, e.g. *key-oti am-a o:n-i* {die-IF water-AC drink-PR.3SG} ‘[The drowning jackal] drank [so much] water as it would die’.

When the verbs *men-e* ‘to be, become’ and *beh-e* ‘to be’ are used with the infinitive, it has deontic meaning, ‘to have to’, e.g. *i: mage-n iskule-no barti nan-oti men-ani* {this boy-AC school-LO enrollment do-IF be-FT.3SG.NM} ‘[I] will have to enrol this boy in a school’.

The infinitive and *ok-e* ‘to sit’ sometimes means ‘to be ready to’, e.g. *tambako-r eyg-en qōh-oti pit-oti oky-ar* {father-PL I-AC cut-IF kill-IF sit.B2-PT.3PL} ‘Father [and his men] are ready to cut and kill me’. The infinitive (or an accusative form of a verbal noun) and *jej-e*, *lagar-e*, *lag-e* or *bi:nd-e* (C) means ‘to start ...ing’.

The infinitive and *ciy-e* ‘to give’ has permissive meaning, e.g. *mastreh mage-r-ik am-a o:n-oti cic-ah* {teacher-M boy-PL-DA water-AC drink-IF give.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘The teacher let the boys drink water’ (elic.).

*-ot* and *-o* infinitive:

The infinitives ending in *-ot* and *-o* are short forms of *-oti*,<sup>31</sup> e.g. *ka:je kud-o lo:r-omalar* {work do-IF be.able-NG.PR.3PL} ‘They cannot work’ ~ *kat-ot lo:r-latam* {cross-IF be.able-NG.PT.1PL.E} ‘We could not cross’ ~ *pary-tr-oti lo:r-lar* {read-CS-IF be.able-NG.PT.3PL} ‘They could not give [us] education’. In the following expressions, only *-o* forms are used: the verb *bed-e* ‘to want’ (Droese 1884:87f.) *eyg-a umbl-o bed-id* {I-DA urinate-IF seek-PR.3SG.NM} ‘I want to relieve myself’, and *be:r et-o orgi* {sun go.down-IF not.yet} ‘before the sun sets’ (Mahapatra 1979:185 ‘adverbial participle’).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup>The present negative inflection might come from the *-o* form + *malaken* 1SG etc. (Steever 1993:213).

<sup>32</sup>Although we could not confirm it in Malipara, *-h* is added after the *-o* infinitive before *orgi* according to Mahapatra (1979:185).

Verbal noun with *-e* :

The verbal noun denoting an action is formed from Base 1 and the suffix *-e* (Droese 1884:60 ‘infinitive’, Mahapatra 1979:185 ‘gerund’), e.g. *teŋg-e* ‘telling’. The stem form of a verbal noun (a form without *-e*), used with postpositions or when forming compounds, is isomorphic with Base 1, e.g. *aq̃-qo:q* {arrive-after} ‘after arriving’. As a noun, it takes case suffixes, e.g. *qōh-e-ki ba:de-no* {cut-VN-GE after-LO} ‘after cutting’, *a: muŋse-h ta:i:s ta:ri:ke bar-e-ki menj-ah* {that man-M 23 date come-VN-GE be.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘That man was planning to come on the 23rd’, *dak̃are bar-e-n̄te agdu* {doctor come-VN-AB before} ‘before the doctor comes’, *elc-e-t* {fear-VN-IN} ‘out of fear’. Droese (1884:49) gives *-omale* as a negative verbal noun suffix.

**§29 Verbal Adjectives**Habitual Participle with *-po* :

The suffix *-po* is attached to Base 1 and forms a verbal adjective, which Mahapatra (1979:180) refers to as a habitual participle (cf. Das 1973:66 ‘gerund’), e.g. *mo:q-po* ‘to be eaten’ from *mo:q-e* ‘to eat’. Droese (1884:60ff.) calls this form an infinitive and reports that it inflects for case as a verbal noun; we could confirm only one case with an accusative suffix, *o:n-po-n mo:q-po-n* (see below).

The habitual participle has incomplete and often passive meaning, and sometimes conveys deontic modality, e.g. *di:jal.injine band-po gad̃i* {diesel.engine pull-HP car} ‘a diesel-hauled train’, *cot-po ci:je* {eat-HP thing} ‘an edible thing’, *male-h arg-po gad̃i* {person-M climb-HP car} ‘a coach car, a passenger train’. It is also used as a noun, e.g. *o:n-po-n mo:q-po-n orye:tr-ker dok̃y-ar* {drink-HP-AC eat-HP-AC prepare-CP.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL} ‘They had prepared [things] to eat and drink’ (p. 430). The noun it is coreferential with is not necessarily an internal argument of the verb such as the subject or the object: For example, in *bayare-r do:k-po ada* {guest-PL stay-HP house} ‘guest house’ or *dana ok-po ada* {grain sit-HP house} ‘granary’, *ada* ‘house’ denotes location.

When used as a predicate, the habitual participle has an exhortative connotation (cf. Mahapatra 1979:180), e.g. *ja:gu-n kurni-n lap-po* {cooked.rice-AC hot-AC eat-HP} ‘Let’s eat the meal hot’ (cf. §38, p. 71).

The negative form is *-omalpo* according to Droese (1884:49).

Present Participle with *-u* :

The suffix *-u* is attached to Base 1 and makes a present active verbal adjective. We call it a present participle after Droese (1884:63) and Mahapatra (1979:179). It takes a pronominal/plural suffix, and a case suffix when used substantively.

The present participle refers only to agents, and denotes an imperfective aspect, and also planned future action when used as a predicate, e.g. *janware po:sy-u gosani* {animal nurture-PP god} ‘god nurturing the animals’ from *po:sy-e* ‘to nurture’, *bar-u-r menj-ar* {come-PP-PL be.B2-PT.3PL} ‘They were going to come’, *mo:c-an a:n-le awd-u do:ky-ah* {cut-FT.1SG say-CP say-PP stay.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He used to say ‘I will cut [you]’. It also makes an agent noun, e.g. *cuti-n o:n-u* {cigarette-AC drink-PP} ‘smoker’, *tund tund kurk-u* {look.B2.AP REP write-PP} ‘one who writes looking, i.e. an exam cheater’, *eyng-do:k-u* {I-marry-PP} ‘my wife’.

A negative present participle is formed with *-alo* (-*omalu* according to Droese 1884:49), e.g. *pa:ṛ-alo-r* {sing-NG.PP-PL} ‘those who do not sing’ vs. *pa:ṛ-u-r* {sing-PP-PL} ‘singers’ from *pa:ṛ-e* ‘to sing’.

Past Participle with *-pe* :

The suffix *-pe* is attached to Base 1 and forms a perfective verbal adjective, which we call a past participle after Droese (1884:63) and Mahapatra (1979:180), e.g. *qos-pe* ‘burnt’ from *qos-e* ‘burn’, *sikar-pe* ‘educated’ from *sikar-e* ‘learn’. Like the present participle, it takes a pronominal suffix, and a case suffix when used as a substantive. As with other adjectives ending in *-e*, the final *-e* of this participle may be dropped when it is used attributively, e.g. *key-p male-r* {die-PAP person-PL} ‘dead people’ (Mahapatra 1979:180).

The negative form of the suffix is *-omalpe* according to Droese (1884:49).

The past participle has passive perfective meaning when formed from a transitive verb, and an active perfective meaning when formed from an intransitive verb, e.g. *pac tukṛa qoh-pe ko:d-i* {five piece cut.down-PAP lie-PR.3SG} ‘She lay cut in five pieces’, *tay-ki ada-ki qos-pe orme* {self-GE house-GE burn-PAP ash} ‘the ash of [his] own burnt house’.

### §30 Conjunctive Participles

Conjunctive Participles with *-k* :

The conjunctive participle with *-k* (Droese 1884:64ff., Mahapatra 1979:181ff. ‘perfect participle’) is formed from Base 2 (see §7 for the deletion of the base-final *y*), which is often extended with *-a* (§25), and the *-k* suffix followed by a pronominal suffix (*oy-e* ‘to take’, *oc-*).

1SG	<i>oca-k-en</i>	1PLE	<i>oca-k-em</i>
2SG.M	<i>oca-k-e</i>	1PL.I	<i>oca-k-et</i>
2SG.NM	<i>oca-k-i</i>	2PL	<i>oca-k-er</i>
3SG.M	<i>oca-k-eh</i>	3PL	<i>oca-k-er</i>
3SG.NM	<i>oca-k-id</i>		

The conjunctive participle expresses that the action is temporally anterior to the finite verb. Although it takes a pronominal suffix, it does not

make an independent clause and is nonfinite. Its subject is often the same as that of the main verb. *ante* ‘then, and’ often occurs after it, especially in Northern Malto where many past forms are marked with *-k*. *ale-n qota-keh ante al-qe:s-a oc-ah* {dog-AC cut.B2-CP.3SG.M then dog-blood-AC take.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He cut a dog and took canine blood’. *doba-k ek-ki ante olg-i* {well-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.NM then cry-PR.3SG} ‘She went to the well and cried’. Moreover, it can be used with a subject different from that of the main clause, e.g. *ja:ŋga-kam pahra ok-nar* {call-CP.1PL.E watch sit-PR.3PL} ‘After we call [someone], they sit and keep watch [on the baby]’.

#### Conjunctive Participle with *-ko* :

The suffix *-ko* also forms a conjunctive participle (Mahapatra 1979:184 ‘conditional participle’). It is attached to Base 2 (see §7 for the deletion of the base-final *y*), e.g. *korc-ko* from *kor-e* ‘enter’, and is not inflected as the *-k* forms mentioned above. This form is often construed with a subject different from that of the main verb.

The *-ko* form introduces a subordinate clause, with meaning ‘when’ or ‘after’, e.g. *mandr-a ga*  *ahe-k mage-h menj-ah* {medicine-AC grind.B2-CP he-DA boy-M become.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘After [the ascetic] prepared medicine, he (i.e. the king) had a child’, *qa:l-a kud-ko gangi kajak menj-a* {field-AC work-CP maize much become.B2-PT.3SG} ‘I worked the fields and there was a lot of maize’.

#### Conjunctive Participle with *-le* :

By attaching *-le* to Base 2, another uninflecting conjunctive participle is formed (see §7 for the deletion of the base-final *y*), e.g. *qaṛc-le* ‘abusing’ from *qaṛy-e* ‘to abuse’.

The *-le* conjunctive participle denotes repeated or habitual action (Droese 1884:69) contingent to the main verb. It is preferred when the action is performed repeatedly or habitually, e.g. *a:h arigari ondr-le qafy-ah* {he always bring-CP give.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He (i.e. my former husband) always brought food and gave [it to us]’, or *dine-game da:n cic-le tey-ah* {day-throughout gift give.B2-CP send-PT.3SG.M} ‘[The king] gave [the ascetic] alms and sent him off every day’, but it is also used for one-time actions, e.g. *osga banar-le urqy-a* {mouse be.made-CP come.out.B2-PT.3SG} ‘[The ghost] turned itself into a mouse and came out’.

#### Conjunctive Participle with *-ate/-ati* :

The suffix *-ate/-ati* is added to Base 2 and makes yet another conjunctive participle, e.g. *ãṛs-ati* from *ãṛs-e* ‘arrive’.

It means ‘as soon as’, e.g. *japane-k ãṛs-ate hi niŋg-a cifi-n kurk-en* {PROP-DA arrive-CP EPH you-DA letter-AC write-FT.1SG} ‘I will write you as soon as I arrive at Japan’ (elic.).

### Negative Conjunctive Participles:

Compared to the affirmative conjunctive participles which are very common in a narrative, their negative counterparts are disproportionately rare. Droese (1884:49) gives *-le-k* as the negative of the suffix *-k*, but we found only uninflecting forms corresponding to *-ko* in the North. In the North-central speech (Mokri), there are inflecting forms with the suffix *-ol-k*. The following are the Northeastern (Ursa Pahar), Northwestern (Kortika) and North-central (Mokri) negative conjunctive participles for *cij-e* ‘to give’:

Northeast	Base 1 + <i>-abalo</i>	<i>cij-abalo</i> NG.CP
Northwest	Base 1 + <i>-leko</i>	<i>cij-leko</i> NG.CP
North-central	Base 1 + <i>-o(ma)l-k</i>	<i>cij-ol-k-id</i> NG.CP.3SG.NM etc.

Droese (1884:49) gives Base 1 + *-lati* as the negative of *-ate/-ati*.

### §31 Imperfect Participles

#### Imperfect Participle with *-n* :

The imperfect participle with *-n* (Mahapatra 1979:183, Droese 1884:68 ‘adverbial participle’) denotes that the action referred to is simultaneous with that of the finite verb, with the meaning ‘while’ or ‘when’. It must have the same subject as the main verb. Unlike the conjunctive participle with *-k*, it combines with the finite verb without *ante* ‘then, and’.<sup>33</sup> It is made of Base 1, the suffix *-n* and a pronominal suffix (§16). For example, the verb *kor-e* ‘to enter’ is inflected as follows:

1SG	<i>kor-n-en</i>	1PLE	<i>kor-n-em</i>
2SG.M	<i>kor-n-e</i>	1PL.I	<i>kor-n-et</i>
2SG.NM	<i>kor-n-i</i>	2PL	<i>kor-n-er</i>
3SG.M	<i>kor-n-eh</i>	3PL	<i>kor-n-er</i>
3SG.NM	<i>kor-n-i(d)</i> , <i>kor-ne</i>		

#### Imperfect Participle with *-no* :

There is another uninflecting nonfinite form (Mahapatra 1979:183 ‘imperfect participle’) made of Base 1 and the suffix *-no*.<sup>34</sup> *-ni(hi)* is an emphatic form of *-no*, e.g. *ma:qond men-nihi* {morning become-IPP.EPH} ‘as soon as the day breaks’. As in the case of *-k* and *-ko*, this form is construed with a subject different from that of the main verb, unlike the subject of the imperfect participle with *-n* (Droese 1884:66).

The imperfect participle with *-no* introduces a subordinate clause denoting condition or concurrent event which has not taken place yet, e.g. *dusra*

<sup>33</sup>Since this form is used in close conjunction with the finite verb, it might be functionally more accurate to classify it under the adverbial participles as Droese did. Here we treat it as an imperfective counterpart of the conjunctive participle with *-k* in view of its structural parallelism with the latter.

<sup>34</sup>Droese (1884:65) identifies this suffix with the locative case suffix.

*peli-n ondr-no tay-ki teho-leko men-le:nid* {another woman-AC bring-IPP self-GE mother-like be-NG.FT.3SG.NM} ‘If I take another woman, she will not be like their own mother’, *jagra-saba-d=indru men-no eyg-en bi:k-ner* {quarrel-matter-NM=and.so.on be-IPP I-AC call-PR.3PL} ‘When there is dispute and so on, people call me’.

The following example shows a contrast of the conjunctive participle and the imperfect participle: *gote-m tung-r-kem ahi-ki ba:y-gotya bar-no mand-im* {all-1PL.E collect-ITR-CP.1PL.E he-GE brother-family come-IPP bury-PR.1PL.E} ‘After all of us [villagers] get together, we bury [the deceased] upon the arrival of his relatives’.

### §32 The Adverbial Participles

There are a few other uninflecting nonfinite verb forms which express simultaneity of the action with that of the finite verb. We call them adverbial participles (cf. Mahapatra 1979:181 ‘perfect participle’).

Bare Base 2 form:

A bare Base 2 form, minus final *-y* if any, serves as an adverbial participle, e.g. *oc* ‘taking’ from *oy-e* ‘to take’, *alq* ‘laughing’ from *alq-e* ‘to laugh’, *ek* ‘going’ from *e:k-e* ‘to go’ (Base 2: *eky*). E.g. *dukani-ki ti:qalu oc oc lap-tan* {shop-GE rice take.AP REP eat-PT.1SG} ‘Taking the rice at a shop, I was eating’, *a: mae-h a: sa:du-bahak ek ek do:k-ih* {that boy-M that ascetic-to go.B2.AP REP stay-PR.3SG.M} ‘That boy keeps going only to that ascetic[’s place]’, *kor-ni-nahā de alq urq-ad* {enter-IPP.EPH-even ITJ laugh.AP come.out-PT.3SG.NM} ‘Right when he entered, she came out smiling’.

Base 1 + *-a* :

The suffix *-a* (Droese 1884:70 *-e*) is attached to Base 1 to form another adverbial participle, e.g. *ust-a* ‘kicking’ from *ust-e* ‘to kick’. E.g. *a:h kir-a kir-a awq-ih* {he return-AP REP speak-PR.3SG.M} ‘Every time he comes back, he says’, *kis-a to conj-a conj-a po:sic-tan* {pig-AC TOP tie-AP REP keep.B2-1SG} ‘I kept pigs tying them’. In the following example, both a bare Base 2 form and an *-a* adverbial participle are used in juxtaposition, showing that they are equivalent in function: *am ond ond burq-a burq-a epra:ry-a* {water drink.B2.AP REP shout-AP REP struggle.B2-PT.3SG} ‘He struggled drinking water and shouting’.

Base 2 + *-i* :

*-i* attached to Base 2 also serves as an adverbial participle, e.g. *lad-i* from *lal-e* ‘to dance’ in *dole baja-tr-i e:k-ner lad-i pa:ṛ-i* {drum beat-TR-AP go-PR.3PL dance.B2-AP sing-AP} ‘They go beating drums, dancing and singing’, *ced-i* from *ced-e* ‘to carry’ in *dudu ga ced-i ced-i ikqe-k oc-ar*

{mother TOP carry-AP REP where-DA take.B2-PT.3PL} ‘Where did they carry mom away to?’.

Base 1 + *-ponti* :

Adverbial participles are also made of Base 1 and *-ponti* (cf. Droeze 1884:16), e.g. *ok-ponti* ‘sitting’ from *ok-e* ‘to sit’ as in *ok-ponti awq-ih* {sit-AP speak-PR.3SG.M} ‘He talked sitting’.

Base 1 + *-te* :

Base 1 and the suffix *-te*, probably a loan formation from Indo-Aryan, is commonly used as an adverbial participle in present-day Malto, e.g. *kate-no ko:d-te ko:d-te ada:-ra:t menj-a* {bedstead-LO lie-AP REP mid-night become.B2-PT.3SG} ‘Lying and lying in bed, it became midnight’, *boh-te boh-te eky-ah* {run-AP REP go.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He went running’.

### §33 Compound Verbs

A compound verb consists of a primary verb, which takes the form of an adverbial participle or a conjunctive participle, and a vector verb which is in the finite form. The primary verb conveys the basic meaning, while the vector verb adds shades of meaning by denoting the manner in which the action of the primary verb is conducted, thus making complex predication.

i) Compound verbs made of adverbial participles:

Bare Base 2 adverbial participle + *oŋg-e* ‘to finish ...ing’ (Das 1973:70, Mahapatra 1979:188) *ond oŋg-a* {drink.B2.AP finish-IMP} ‘Finish drinking!', *e:n kagte-n paŋc oŋg-en* {I paper-AC read.B2.AP finish-FT.1SG} ‘I will finish reading the book’.

In this connection, *toq-e* ‘to finish’ is also used to emphasize the action denoted by the main verb, e.g. *ra:ja-ki ada-du:ri-d sa:jar toq-li* {king-GE house-door-NM be.adorned finish-SJ.3SG.NM} ‘The king’s house and gate would surely be adorned’.

Adverbial participle + *do:k-e* ‘to stay’. When an adverbial participle is combined with the verb *do:k-e* ‘stay’, it denotes progressive aspect or habitual action, e.g. *maqe-r olg-a do:k-ner* {boy-PL cry-AP stay-PR.3PL} ‘The boys are crying’, *enŋ-ma:ne kud-a do:k-en* {I-alone work-AP stay-FT.1SG} ‘I will be working by myself’, *ok-a do:k-ay* {sit-AP stay-FT.1PL.I} ‘Let’s be sitting here’, *orte mohara o:y-a cala:-te doky-ah* {one herdsman cattle-AC drive-AP stay.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘There was one herdsman driving cattle’.

Adverbial participle + *cɪy-e* ‘to give’. When the verb *cɪy-e* is used with an adverbial participle, it adds beneficial connotation like ‘do ... for someone’, e.g. *ne: gare cic-ad* {who make.B2.AP give.B2-PT.3SG.NM} ‘Who made [the house for her]?’.

Adverbial participle + *kam-e* ‘to pick up’ The verb *kam-e* occurs with an adverbial participle and denotes progressive aspect, e.g. *ja:gu-n bit kamy-ar* {boiled.rice-AC cook.AP earn.B2-PT.3PL} ‘They were cooking rice’.

Adverbial participle + *seyg-e* ‘to be wont to’. *seyg-e* is combined with an adverbial participle and denotes a habitual action (Droese 1884:86 and Das 1973:71 ‘frequentative’), e.g. *i:h dine-ni gaŋiya o:y-a essa baj-a seygyah* {he day-LO.EPH lazy ox-AC much beat-AP be.wont.to.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He used to beat the lazy ox every day’, *qa:wr-naq seyg-olken* {converse-REC.AP be.wont.to-NG.PR.1SG} ‘I used not to talk [to her]’, *e:n rā:ci-k e:k-a seyg-in* {I PROP-DA go-AP be.wont.to-PR.1SG} ‘I often go to Ranchi’ (elic.).

Adverbial participle + *e:k-e* ‘to go’ refers to an action that is starting now (inceptive) and will continue for some time (Mahapatra 1979:188), e.g. *tey় e:k-in* {tell.AP go-PR.1SG} ‘I [will now] be telling [a story]’.

Adverbial participle + *bar-e* ‘to come’ refers to an action that started in the past and has continued up until now (Mahapatra 1979:188), e.g. *e:n to kiriscan.darme-n mayc bar-in* {I TOP Christian.religion-AC obey.B2 come-PR.1SG} ‘I have followed Christianity’.

Adverbial participle + *kud-e* ‘to walk around’. This combination has an ambulative meaning ‘go around ...ing’ or ‘keep ...ing’ (Droese 1884:86, Mahapatra 1979:188 ‘exaggeration of an action’), e.g. *ra:ty-ond qo:w-a qend-i kud-tam* {night.CLF-one carry.on.the.shoulder-AP take.along-AP do-PT.1PLE} ‘I took it along all night carrying it on the shoulder’, *a:d dade-no carc kudy-a* {that forest-LO walk.around.B2.AP do.B2-PT.3SG} ‘It walked around in the jungle’.

Adverbial participle + *naq-e* ‘to do to each other’. *naq-e* attached to a Base 2 form or an -a adverbial participle adds reciprocal meaning, e.g. *kali.me:la-no tund-a naq-nar* {Kali.festival-LO look-AP REC-PR.3PL} ‘They see each other in the Kali festival’, *inor to pac-tar naq-tam* {now TOP become.old-TR.B2.AP REC-PT.1PLE} ‘Now we have grown old’, lit. ‘we made each other old’, *korc naq-ar* {enter.B2.AP REC-PT.3PL} ‘They got married’, *qaŋc naq-qr kiry-ar* {abuse.B2.AP REC-CP.3PL return.B2-PT.3PL} ‘They went back blaming each other’. The intransitive/reflexive suffix -r sometimes occurs before *naq-e* (Das 1973:71), e.g. *ko:s-r-naq-e* ‘to count together’ from *ko:s-e* ‘to divide’, *qa:w-r-naq-e* ‘to converse’ from *qa:w-e* ‘to speak’, *ca:g-r-naq-e* ‘to divide among each other’ from *ca:g-e* ‘to divide’.

Base 2 + *e:r-e* ‘see’ or *tund-e* ‘look’. By adding *e:r-e* ‘see’ to a Base 2 form, the meaning ‘try to’ is added, e.g. *ced-e:r-e* ‘to try to carry’, *pi:q-e:r-e* ‘to try to milk’, *ta:kc-e:r-e* ‘to test’, lit. ‘to examine and see’, *ek-e:r-e* ‘to try to walk’, *meŋj.e:r-e* ‘to ask’, lit. ‘to hear and see’.

Base 2 + *na:nd-e* ‘as it were’ *na:nd* is a suffix that is attached to the stem form of a verbal noun (i.e. Base 1) and adds the meaning ‘as it were’, e.g. *maqe-r iklo olg na:nd-ner* {boy-PL where cry.B2.AP as.it.were-PR.3PL}

‘Where do boys seem to be crying?’.

There are a few other vector verbs referred to by Droese (1884) and/or Mahapatra (1979) but which have not yet been confirmed by us: Base 2 + *et-e* ‘go down’, ‘abrupt termination of an action’ (Mahapatra 1979:188). Adverbial participle + *ko:q-e* ‘to lie’, *mady-e* ‘to trample’ and *qap-e* ‘to be stained with’, ‘intensive’ (Droese 1884:86, Das 1973:71). Adverbial participle + *kat-e* ‘to cross’, ‘surpassing an action’ (Mahapatra 1979:188). Adverbial participle + *urq-e* ‘to come out’, ‘forcing an action’ (Mahapatra 1979:188). Adverbial participle + *ondr-e* ‘to bring’, ‘to initiate an action away from the speaker’ (Mahapatra 1979:188). Adverbial participle + *oy-e* ‘to take’, ‘to initiate an action towards the speaker’ (Mahapatra 1979:188).

ii) Compound verbs made of conjunctive participles:

Conjunctive participle + *bicr-e* ‘let go’. When *bicr-e* ‘to let go’ comes after a conjunctive participle, it adds the connotation that the action is done with, e.g. *qond-tr-ki bicr-id* {be.tired-CS-CP.3SG.NM let.go-PR.3SG.NM} ‘It made [him] utterly tired’, *qe:ki-dari-no tukar-ki bicry-a* {pounding.machine-mortar-LO move.on-CP.3SG.NM shove.B2-PT.3SG} ‘She shoved me into the mortar of the pounding machine’.

Conjunctive participle + *ciy-e* ‘to give’ or *qat-e* ‘to give (to the speaker)’. *ciy-e* or *qat-e* ‘to give’ (see §50 for the difference) comes after a conjunctive participle and implies that the action is beneficial or injurious for its patient or goal, or denotes a completive aspect. *ne: ide-ki cic-ad aqan* {who build-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG.NM house-AC} ‘Who built [this] house [for you]?’; *toro-nihi cerar-kah cic-ah* {mouth-LO.EPH defecate-CP.3SG.M give.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He dropped his feces right into [the tiger’s] mouth’, *po:s-ki cic-a* {dash.down-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG} ‘She threw [the jar] down [angrily]’, *i: bora-n em-a tund-ke qat-ku* {this bag-AC we.E-DA look-CP.2SG.M give-FT.IMP} ‘Please watch this bag for us’. Serial verb construction with *ciy-e* is also found, as in *adi-n paktr-ar cic-ar* {that-AC kindle-PT.3PL give.B2-PT.3PL} ‘They set it on fire’ (C).

## Southern and Central Phonology and Morphology

### §34 Phonology (S, C)

#### Consonants (§3):

The Central dialect has the same set of twenty-three consonants as the Northern dialect. The Southern dialect has twenty-two consonants, /ʔ, k, c, tʃ, t, p, g, j, d, b, ɳ, n, m, y, w, r, t, l, s, h/.

In the Southern dialect (and in the Western dialect as well), the glottal stop /ʔ/ is a phoneme corresponding to /q/ in Northern Malto. In the Central dialect, /q/ is sometimes pronounced as the fricative /χ/. /h/ in the Southern dialect corresponds to Northern /c/ and /ɳc/ as well as Northern /h/, except intervocalic /h/ in Northern *beh-e* ‘to be’ for which Southern and Central shows /y/, i.e. *bey-e*. In the Southern dialect, vowel-initial words are pronounced without the glottal stop and optionally have [h] before them.<sup>35</sup> We omitted writing initial /h/ in such words.

In the Southern villages of Amlagachhi and Paderkola B, /d/ does not have the allophone [ð] (cf. §3). /y/ occurs in the place of coda /d/, which is pronounced [ð] elsewhere, e.g. *a:y* ‘that’. In Boro Pahar, which is closer to the Central area, [ð] occurs in the coda and in word-final position. /nd/ is a possible final cluster everywhere in the South too, e.g. *pa:n-ond* {CLF-one}.

In the Southern dialect, /w/ tends to be pronounced with stronger frication, e.g. *awq-i* [aβqjɪ] {say-PR.3SG} ‘she says’. /t/ is often pronounced as a retroflex *trill*, e.g. the pronunciation of the consultant from Amlagachhi (p. 157ff., p. 207ff., p. 212ff.).

#### Vowels (§4):

Southern Malto, and to some extent Central Malto as well, is an /a/-dialect, and often shows *a* where Northwestern Malto has *e* (§2), e.g. Southern, Central, North-central and Northeastern *eyg-a* {I-DA} vs. Northwestern *eyg-e*, Southern *majg-a* {become.B2-PT.3SG} vs. *menj-a* elsewhere, Southern-Central *oca-kan* {take.B2-CP.1SG} vs. Northern *oca-ken* or *oce-ken*. Where Northern Malto has a short vowel, Southern and Central Malto sometimes have its long counterpart, e.g. South-Central *me:n-e* ‘to become’, *pu:ne* ‘new’ vs North *men-e*, *pune* (cf. Krx. *man-a*: ‘to become’, *puna*: ‘new’).

Vowels are sometimes nasalized when preceded by a /ʔ/, e.g. *ʔɛ:ɻel* ‘earth’, *ʔɔ:ɻɔ* ‘backward’. Some words show nasalization only in the Cen-

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Puttaswamy (2008), where [ʔ] is not treated as a phoneme. She regards initial /h/ as a free variant with respect to pronouns, while vowel-initial nouns and verbs are not written with /h/. As [ʔ] is always audible in our consultants’ recordings and as it serves for phonemic contrast, we treat it as a phoneme here.

tral and Southern dialects, e.g. *ãls-e* ‘to arrive’ (cf. Krx. *ãls-a*: id.), *hõ* ‘too’ (cf. Krx. *hũ*: id.).

As in Northern Malto, diphthongs are very rare in inherited words, but the sequence /ay/, i.e. [ai], is more common than in the North because it occurs in the past perfect suffix or the first person plural inclusive pronominal suffix.

#### Phonotactics (§6):

As /?/ and /h/ are used in the place of Northern /q/ and /g/ or /ŋg/, the restriction on velars and uvulars is slightly different in the Southern dialect. When a velar stop follows /?/ or /h/, place assimilation (§6) does not take place, e.g. *moʔ-kah* {eat.B2-CP.3SG.M} ‘having eaten’ vs. Northern *moq-qeh* from /moq-keh/.

#### Morphophonemics (§7):

The *a*-extension, which is added after a Base 2 form, is rounded when followed by a suffix containing /o/, and fronted when followed by a suffix containing a front vowel, e.g. *cico-ko* {give.B2-CP} and *oce-ke* {take.B2-CP.2SG.M}, *oce-kid* {take.B2-CP.3SG.NM}.

### §35 The Noun (S, C)

#### The Nominal Stem (§10):

A group of non-masculine nouns ending in *-u*, and the noun *peli* ‘woman’, take the collective suffix *-du* in the nominative (and singular in the case of *peli*) when the intended referent is not an individual entity but a class or group (cf. Mahapatra 1979:93ff.). This suffix is found in Malipara, Boro Pahar, and partly in Mokri and Simal Kundi, so it is mainly distributed in the Central area, extending up to the North-central and Southwestern areas; it is not used in the North or in the Southern villages Amlagachhi and Paderkola B. For example, when someone asks ‘What is this?’, reference as a class like *ti:ʔal-du* ‘It is rice’ is the right answer, while reference as an individual entity like *ti:ʔalu* ‘It is rice’ is expected when asked ‘What are you eating?’. A particular chicken or chickens are referred to as *qe:ru*, but *qe:rdu* is used when referring to multiple unspecific chickens. The following table shows the distribution of *-du* forms in different areas.

	Ku, Ur	Mokri	Mali	Boro	Am, Pa
‘bear’	<i>eju</i>	<i>eju</i>	<i>ejdu</i>	<i>ejdu</i>	<i>eju</i>
‘cow’	<i>o:yu</i>	<i>o:yu</i>	<i>o:ydu</i>	<i>ga:ydu</i>	<i>ga:y</i>
‘tree’	<i>manu</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>mandu</i>	<i>mandu</i>	<i>manu</i>
‘head’	<i>kuku</i>	<i>kuku</i>	<i>kukdu</i>	<i>kukdu</i>	<i>kuku</i>
‘oil’	<i>isgnu</i>	<i>isgnu</i>	<i>isgndu</i>	<i>isndu</i>	<i>isnu</i>
‘foot’	<i>qedu</i>	<i>qedu</i>	<i>qeddu</i>	<i>ʔeddu</i>	<i>ʔedu</i>
‘water’	<i>amu</i>	<i>amu</i>	<i>amdu</i>	<i>am(du)</i>	<i>amu</i>
‘salt’	<i>be:ku</i>	<i>be:ku</i>	<i>be:kdu</i>	<i>be:k(du)</i>	<i>be:ku</i>

‘nail’	<i>orgu</i>	<i>orgdu</i>	<i>orgdu</i>	<i>orhdu</i>	<i>orhu</i>
‘mushroom’	<i>o:su</i>	<i>o:su</i>	<i>o:sdu</i>	<i>o:sdu</i>	<i>o:su</i>
‘pig’	<i>kisu</i>	<i>kisu</i>	<i>kisdu</i>	<i>kisdu</i>	<i>kisu</i>
‘fire’	<i>cicu</i>	<i>cicu</i>	<i>cicdu</i>	<i>cicdu</i>	<i>cicu</i>
‘arrow’	<i>ca:ru</i>	<i>ca:ru</i>	<i>ca:rdu</i>	<i>ca:rdu</i>	<i>ca:ru</i>
‘worm’	<i>pocru</i>	<i>pocru</i>	<i>pocrdu</i>	<i>pocrdu</i>	<i>pocru</i>
‘rice’	<i>ti:qalu</i>	<i>ti:qalu</i>	<i>ti:qaldu</i>	<i>ti:qald(du)</i>	<i>ti:qal</i>
‘fruit’	<i>qanjpe</i>	<i>qanjpe</i>	<i>pa:ndu</i>	<i>pa:ndu</i>	<i>pa:nu</i>
‘bird’	<i>puju</i>	<i>puju</i>	<i>pujdu</i>	<i>pujdu</i>	<i>puju</i>
‘tooth’	<i>palu</i>	<i>palu</i>	<i>paldu</i>	<i>pa:ldu</i>	<i>pa:lu</i>
‘woman’	<i>peli</i>	<i>peli</i>	<i>peldu</i>	<i>peldu</i>	<i>pel-ma?o</i>
‘medicine’	<i>mandru</i>	<i>mandru</i>	<i>mandrdu</i>	<i>mandrdu</i>	<i>mandru</i>
‘tiger’	<i>tu:du</i>	<i>tu:du</i>	<i>tu:qdu</i>	<i>tu:qdu</i>	<i>tu:qu</i>
‘buffalo’	<i>mangu</i>	<i>mangu</i>	<i>mangdu</i>	<i>manuhdu</i>	<i>manhu</i>
‘meat’	<i>ma:ku</i>	<i>ma:k(du)</i>	<i>ma:kdu</i>	<i>ma:kdu</i>	<i>ma:ku</i>
‘night’	<i>ma:qu</i>	<i>ma:q(du)</i>	<i>ma:qdu</i>	<i>ma:qdu</i>	<i>ma:qū</i>
‘bamboo’	<i>ma:su</i>	<i>mā:su</i>	<i>ma:sdu</i>	<i>ma:sdu</i>	<i>ma:su</i>
‘fish’	<i>mi:nu</i>	<i>mi:nu</i>	<i>mi:ndu</i>	<i>mi:ndu</i>	<i>mi:nu</i>
‘sky’	<i>mergu</i>	<i>mergdu</i>	<i>mergdu</i>	<i>merhdu</i>	<i>merhu</i>
‘earth’	<i>qe:glu</i>	<i>qe:glu</i>	<i>qe:qldu</i>	<i>qe:qldu</i>	<i>qe:qlu</i>
‘eye’	<i>qanu</i>	<i>qanu</i>	<i>qa:ndu</i>	<i>qa:ndu</i>	<i>qa:nu</i>
‘ear’	<i>qeðwu</i>	<i>qeðwu</i>	<i>qeðwdu</i>	<i>qeðwdu</i>	<i>qeðwu</i> (Pa: -yi)
‘village’	<i>qepu</i>	<i>qepdu</i>	<i>qepdu</i>	<i>qeþdu</i>	<i>qeþu</i>
‘ant’	<i>po:ku</i>	<i>po:ku</i>	<i>po:kdu</i>	<i>po:kdu</i>	<i>po:ku</i>

(Ku: Kusumghati, Ur: Ursa Pahar, Am: Amlagachhi, Pa: Paderkola B)

### Nominal Case Suffixes (§11):

In the Southern villages Amlagachhi, Paderkola B and Telopara, the non-masculine suffix *-d* is not used.

The inanimate accusative suffix *-an* is often used in the South instead of *-a*, e.g. *am-an* and *mi:n-an* instead of *am-a*, *mi:n-a*, accusative of *amu* ‘water’ and *mi:nu* ‘fish’ (which is treated as inanimate), respectively.

In Malipara (Central), the unmarked instrumental and ablative suffixes are *-ti/-eti* and *-nti/-enti/-inti* instead of *-t/-et* and *-nte/-ente* elsewhere, respectively.

### Personal and Reflexive Pronouns (§13):

The following personal pronouns and pronominal stems (§13) are used in the Central and Southern areas. In the Central Sawriya village Malipara, the third-person plural pronoun is *a:ber* as in the North. In Amlagachhi and Paderkola B the third person non-masculine form is *a:y*, *ayi-/aye-*, and *a:lo:ker* is used besides *a:trer* for the third person plural. The genitive forms of *a:trer* and *a:lo:ker* are *a:trer-ki* and *a:lo:ker-ki*, respectively.

	1SG	2SG	3SG.M	3SG.NM	1PL.E	1PL.I	2PL	3PL
nom.	<i>e:nu</i>	<i>ni:n</i>	<i>a:hu</i>	<i>a:d</i>	<i>e:mu</i>	<i>na:mu</i>	<i>ni:mu</i>	<i>a:trer</i>
stem	<i>eng-</i>	<i>ning-</i>	<i>ahi/e-</i>	<i>adi/e-</i>	<i>em-</i>	<i>nam-</i>	<i>nim-</i>	<i>a:trer-</i>

Unlike in the North, the second person pronominal suffix *-y* is attached to all vowels (§16, Mahapatra 1979:74). In the South, the following kinship morphemes are different from those of the North (§13).

	Ursa (North)	Paderkola B (South)
my wife	<i>eng-a:qa:ni</i>	<i>ej-ki malni</i>
my husband	<i>eng-a:qa:we-h</i>	<i>ej-ki muq̃s-ma?e-h</i>
my son	<i>ej-gade-h</i>	<i>ej-ki ma?eh</i>
my daughter	<i>ej-gadi</i>	<i>ej-ki ma?ð</i>
my elder brother	<i>eng-baiya-h</i>	<i>eng-owa-h</i>
my younger brother	<i>eng-do-h</i>	<i>eng-do-h, ej-ki sarwe-h</i>
my grandfather	<i>ej-ki bedabo-h</i>	<i>eng-be:do-h</i>
my grandmother	<i>ej-ki beda</i>	<i>eng-be:qdu</i>
my father-in-law	<i>ej-ki aboga:re-h</i>	<i>eng-mendrko-h</i>
my mother-in-law	<i>ej-ki ayaga:rni</i>	<i>eng-permo</i>
my daughter-in-law	<i>ej-ki ja:mer</i>	<i>eng-mese?do</i>
my maternal aunt	<i>eng-ayamaqo</i>	<i>eng-?ali</i>

#### Pronominal Case Suffixes (§14):

In Malipara (Central), the instrumental and ablative suffixes are *-ti* and *-nti*, respectively, e.g. *ade-ti* {that-IN}, *adi-nti* {that-AB}.

#### Postpositions (§15):

*-nte agdi* ‘before’ instead of Northern *agwa, agdu*, e.g. *got-inte agdi* ‘before all’.

*-pedeno* ‘at the place of’ instead of Northern *-bahno*, e.g. *eng-pedeno* ‘at my place’

*-bini, -leko* ‘like’ instead of Northern *-juka* etc., e.g. *berg-bini* ‘like a cat’, *bilp-leko* ‘like the moon’.

*-lagcak-* ‘for’ instead of Northern *lagacki* (§15). It takes a pronominal suffix agreeing with the subject, e.g. *lagcak-ar* 3PL. An uninflecting form *lagcaka* is also used.

### §36 Numerals and Classifiers (S, C)

Among the places we have visited, the dialect of Boro Pahar makes the finest distinctions in the use of numeral classifiers. In Central Malto, the numeral morpheme for ‘one’ is *-ond* and for ‘two’ *-su* or *-is*. In Southern Malto, the numeral morpheme for ‘one’ is *-ond*. ‘Two’ is *-su* with classifiers, and *-e:nd* (cf. Krx. *ẽ:l̥*) mainly with measure words such as *balty-e:nd* ‘two bucketfuls’ from *balti* ‘bucket’. The classifier *pa:n-* has a unique fused form *pa:nd* for ‘two’. In the following table, numeral morphemes are omitted if they are *-ond* for ‘one’ and *-su* for ‘two’. A final *y* is deleted when followed by *-su*,

and *-su* undergoes metathesis and becomes *-us* after a consonant cluster, e.g. */pand-su/* → *pand-us* (§6).

	C (Malipara)	S (Boro)
person	<i>ort, jo:l-ond</i>	<i>ort, jo:l-ond</i>
human couple	<i>jo:l-s-ar</i>	<i>jo:l-</i>
nonhuman pair	<i>jo:l(a)-</i>	<i>ma?</i>
animal, insect	<i>maq-</i>	<i>ma?</i>
stick, arm, leg	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>qar-</i>
hand	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>pa:n-ond, pa:nd</i>
tree	<i>man-</i>	<i>man-</i>
branch	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>da:ly-</i>
river	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>nady-</i>
pen, rice grain	<i>kat(i)y-</i>	<i>katy-</i>
grass	<i>ki:l(u)-</i>	<i>ki:ly-</i>
shoes	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>pa?</i>
<i>pand(a)-, qar-</i>	<i>pand-</i>	
rope	<i>qar(a)-</i>	<i>pand-</i>
road	<i>pand(a)-</i>	<i>pand-</i>
story, dream, song, head, eye, fruit, egg, stone, well	<i>pa:n-ond, pa:nd</i>	<i>pa:n-ond, pa:nd</i>
banana	<i>par(a)-</i>	<i>par-</i>
pod (bean)	<i>joply-</i>	<i>joply-ond, jopl-is</i>
mountain, house, car, radio, bicycle	<i>pa:l-ond, pa:l-is</i>	<i>pa:n-ond, pa:nd</i>
shirt, trousers, blanket, bag	<i>kand(a)-</i>	<i>kand-</i>
bread	<i>pit-</i>	<i>pa?</i>
thali	<i>pat-, tary-</i>	<i>pa?</i>
bed, chair	<i>pat-, qar-</i>	<i>pa?</i>
paper, leaf, bank note	<i>pat-</i>	<i>pat-</i>
paddy field	<i>pat-</i>	<i>pat-</i>
mushroom, flower	<i>pul-</i>	<i>pul-</i>
cloud	<i>pat-</i>	<i>gu?r-</i>
hole	<i>kar(i)y-, pa:nond, pa:nd</i>	<i>k?ly-</i>
village	<i>qep-</i>	<i>?ep-</i>
shadow	<i>bah-</i>	<i>jud(a)-</i>
shadow of a figure	<i>kuj(i)y-</i>	<i>kujy-</i>
boiled rice	<i>kudy-</i>	<i>kat(i)y-</i>
shrub	<i>dop-</i>	<i>ki:ly-</i>
bottle	<i>botl(u)-</i>	<i>botl-ond, botl-e:nd</i>
glass	<i>gilasy-ond, gilass</i>	<i>gilasy-ond, gilasy-e:nd</i>
day	<i>din(i)-</i>	<i>din-</i>
week	<i>apt(a)-</i>	<i>apt-ond, apt-e:nd</i>
month	<i>mehn(a)-</i>	<i>ma:s-ond, ma:s-e:nd</i>

year	<i>bacr(i)-</i>	<i>bacr-ond, bacr-e:nd</i>
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### §37 Demonstratives and Interrogatives (S, C)

Central Malto uses *i-* and *a-* respectively for proximate and medial-remote deixis. In Boro Pahar and Amlagachhi-Paderkola B in the Southern area, *ona-* ‘that’ (cf. Santali *ona* ‘that’) and *oha-* are used for medial deixis, respectively, in addition to proximate *i-* and remote *a-*.

In the South, pronominal classifiers are more often used than in the North, e.g. *-ma?* for animate referents.<sup>36</sup> *a:-ma? mu:?* *e* {that-CLF frog} ‘that frog’ (Amlagachhi, §19), *i:-dara tunga-d* {this-long.object flute-NM} ‘this flute’ (Boro Pahar, §24).

The following demonstratives and interrogatives are used.

Adjectives: *i:* ‘this’; *i:tr* ‘these’ (S); *a:* ‘that’; *a:tr* ‘those’ (S); *oha:* ‘yonder’; *oha:tr* ‘those yonder’ (Pad)

Thing: *i:d, idi-* (Boro), *i:yu, iye-* (Amla, Pad) NM ‘this’ *ona:d, onadi-* (Boro) NM ‘that’; *a:d, adi-* (Boro), *a:y, ayi-, aye-* (Amla, Pad) NM ‘that’; *indrdu* (Boro), *indrdu* (Amla, Pad) ‘what’; *indrupade* ADJ ‘what’; *ik* ‘which’.

Person: *i:hu, ihe-* M ‘he’; *i:d, idi-* (Boro), *i:yu, iye-* (Amla, Pad) NM ‘she, this’; *i:trer* PL ‘these’ (proximate); *o:nah, o:nahe-* M ‘he’; *o:nad, o:nade* NM ‘she, that’; *ona:trer* PL ‘they’ (medial); *a:hu, ahe-* M ‘he’; *a:d, adi-* (Boro), *a:yu, ayi-* (Amla, Pad) NM ‘she, that’; *a:trer* PL ‘they’ (remote); *oha:h, ohahe-* M ‘he’; *oha:y, ohayi-* NM ‘she, that’; *oha:trer* PL ‘they’ (very remote, S); *ne:d, ne:k-* (Boro), *ne:yu, ne:k-* (Amla, Pad) ‘who’ (both singular and plural; shows concord in non-masculine).

Place: *i:d, i?dan* ‘here’; *a:d, a?dan* ‘there’; *oho* ‘yonder’ (Pad); *ik?a:n, ik?a:no* ‘where’.

Direction: *inno* (Boro), *i:-piji* (Paderkola B) ‘hither’; *anno* (Boro), *a:-piji* (Paderkola B) ‘thither’; *ik?ano* (Boro), *ikano, ik-piji* (Paderkola B) ‘where’.

Origin: *idante* (Boro), *i?dante* (Paderkola B) ‘from here’; *adante* (Boro), *a?dante* (Paderkola B) ‘from there’; *ik?ante, ik?a:rinte* ‘from where’.

Manner: *ilko-hi, i?iya* (Boro), *i:lko* (Paderkola B) ‘this way’; *alko-hi, a?iya* (Boro), *a:lko* (Paderkola B) ‘that way’; *iknahe* (Boro), *ika:y* (Paderkola B), *ik-leko, indr-leko* ‘how’; *indrupade* ADJ ‘what’.

Time: *inor* ‘now’; *e:nor* (Boro), *ik-be:ri* (Paderkola B) ‘when’.

Day: *ina* ‘today’; *cewru* ‘yesterday’; *ulond* (Boro), *cewr-ulond* (Paderkola B) ‘day before yesterday’; *ne:la* ‘tomorrow’; *ne:lbenju* ‘day after tomorrow’; *ik-dine* ‘which day’.

<sup>36</sup> Although somewhat less frequent, pronominal classifiers such as *-maq* and *-dara* are also found in Ursa Pahar.

## Indefinite Pronouns and Negative Polarity Items:

Indefinite pronouns and adverbs are formed by adding the clitic *-jahā* ‘even’ or *-hō/-ho* ‘too’ to the interrogatives.

*indru hō* ‘something, anything’; *indro-ho-pad* ‘some, any’; *ne:d hō* (Boro), *ne:yu ho* (Amla, Pad) ‘someone, anyone’; *ik?a:n hō* (Boro), *ik-ho-?a:no* (Amla, Pad) ‘somewhere, anywhere’; *ik-hō-leko*, *ik-ho-leko* ‘somehow, anyhow’; *ik-hō-pahre-n* (Boro), *ik-ho-be:ri* (Amla, Pad) ‘some time, any time’.

Southern Malto has forms with the suffix *-ne*, which are often used with a negative verb and show negative polarity. *iker-ne* ‘(not) anyone’, *indr-ne* / *indra-ne* ‘(not) anything’, *indr-ne-pade* ‘(not) any’.

The pronominal classifier *ma?* also serves as an indefinite pronoun, e.g. *a:jombro ma?* {that ill one} ‘the sick one (i.e. frog)’.

## §38 The Verb (S, C)

### Base 1 and Base-Formative Suffixes (§24):

The transitive-causative suffix is *-tar* in Central Malto (*-tr* elsewhere, §24). In addition to the denominative suffixes treated in §24, Central and Southern dialects have the suffix *-es* which makes a verbal root from a noun (Mahapatra 1979:149 ‘transitive’): *ka:kl-es-e* ‘to give trouble’ < *ka:kli* ‘trouble’, *niyar-es-e* ‘to invite’ (North *niyarey-e*) < *niyari* ‘invitation’, *juŋr-es-e* ‘to make a hut’ < *juŋi* ‘hut’ (Mahapatra 1979:149f.).

### Base 2 (§25):

As in the North, a certain class of verbs take the base extension *-a* between Base 2 and the past suffix *-t* or the conjunctive participle suffix *-k/-ko*. According to Mahapatra (1979:155f.), whether a verb takes *-a* or not is lexically determined.

### Tense and Aspect (§26):

The present affirmative is made of Base 1, the present suffix *-i*, *-d* or *-n*, and the pronominal suffix. The past forms are made of Base 2, the suffix *-t* in the first and the second persons and *-θ* in the third person, and the pronominal suffix. The future is made of Base 1, the suffix *-e/-a* or *-en/-an*, and a pronominal suffix. The negative forms are all made of Base 1 with a negative suffix (present *-omal*, past *-la/-le*, future *-l*), a tense suffix (present and past *-t*, future *-e/-a* or *-en/-an*), and a pronominal suffix. In Malipara, syntactic negative forms with postposed *malki* such as *mo:q-in malki* {eat-PR.1SG not} ‘I don’t eat’ etc. are also used in the present. The following are the inflectional tables of *mo:q-e* ‘to eat’ (Base 2: *moqy-*) in the three tenses. Forms used in the villages Malipara, Garsingla<sup>37</sup> and Boro Pahar are given as

<sup>37</sup>Different from the village of the same name mentioned in Puttaswamy (2008).

representing Central, Western and Southern areas, respectively. The forms in the Southern villages Amlagachhi and Paderkola B are the same as in Boro Pahar, unless otherwise noted.

i) Present (*mo:q-e/mo:?-e* ‘to eat’)

	Malipara (C)	Garsingla (W)	Boro (S)
1SG	<i>mo:q-i-n</i>	<i>mo:?-i-n</i>	<i>mo:?-i-n</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-d-e</i>	<i>mo:?-d-e</i>	<i>mo:?-n-e</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-d-i</i>	<i>mo:?-d-i</i>	<i>mo:?-n-i</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-d-ah</i>	<i>mo:?-d-ah</i>	<i>mo:?-n-ah</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-i-d</i>	<i>mo:?-i</i>	<i>mo:?-i</i>
1PLE	<i>mo:q-d-am</i>	<i>mo:?-d-am</i>	<i>mo:?-n-am</i>
1PL.I	<i>mo:q-d-ey</i>	<i>mo:?-d-ey</i>	<i>mo:?-n-ay</i> <sup>38</sup>
2PL	<i>mo:q-d-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-d-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-n-er</i>
3PL	<i>mo:q-n-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-n-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-n-ar</i>

ii) Present Negative

	Malipara	Garsingla	Boro
1SG	<i>mo:q-omal-t-an</i>	<i>mo:?-omal-t-an</i>	<i>mo:?-om-t-an</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-omal-t-e</i>	<i>mo:?-omal-t-e</i>	<i>mo:?-om-t-e</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-omal-t-i</i>	<i>mo:?-omal-t-i</i>	<i>mo:?-om-t-i</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-omal-ah</i>	<i>mo:?-oml-ah</i>	<i>mo:?-oml-ah</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-omal-ad</i>	<i>mo:?-oml-a</i>	<i>mo:?-ol-a</i>
1PLE	<i>mo:q-omal-t-am</i>	<i>mo:?-omal-t-am</i>	<i>mo:?-om-t-am</i>
1PL.I	<i>mo:q-omal-t-ey</i>	<i>mo:?-omal-t-ey</i>	<i>mo:?-om-t-ay</i>
2PL	<i>mo:q-omal-t-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-omal-t-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-om-t-er</i>
3PL	<i>mo:q-omal-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-omal-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-oml-ar</i>

iii) Future

	Malipara	Garsingla	Boro
1SG	<i>mo:q-a-n</i>	<i>mo:?-a-n</i>	<i>mo:?-a-n</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-en-e</i>	<i>mo:?-en-e</i>	<i>mo:?-en-e</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-en-i</i>	<i>mo:?-en-i</i>	<i>mo:?-en-i</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-an-ah</i>	<i>mo:?-an-o:</i>	<i>mo:?-an-ah</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-en-id</i>	<i>mo:?-en-i</i>	<i>mo:?-en-i</i>
1PLE	<i>mo:q-a-m</i>	<i>mo:?-an-am</i>	<i>mo:?-an-am</i>
1PL.I	<i>mo:q-e-y</i>	<i>mo:?-e-y</i>	<i>mo:?-an-ay</i> <sup>39</sup>
2PL	<i>mo:q-an-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-an-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-en-er</i>
3PL	<i>mo:q-an-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-an-ar</i>	<i>mo:?-an-ar</i>

iv) Future Negative

<sup>38</sup>-*n-at* in Paderkola B.

<sup>39</sup>Also *mo:?-oti* in Paderkola B.

	Malipara	Garsingla	Boro
1SG	<i>mo:q-l-a-n</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-a-n</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-a-n</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-l-en-e</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-en-e</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-en-ey</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-l-en-i</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-en-i</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-en-i</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-l-an-ah</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-an-ah</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-an-ah</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-l-en-id</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-en-i</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-en-i(d)</i>
1PL.E	<i>mo:q-l-a-m</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-an-am</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-an-am</i>
1PL.I	<i>mo:q-l-e-y</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-e-y</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-an-ay</i> <sup>40</sup>
2PL	<i>mo:q-l-an-ar</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-an-ar</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-en-er</i>
3PL	<i>mo:q-l-an-ar</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-an-ar</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-l-an-ar</i>

v) Past: In narratives, *-ay* or *-an*, an element without any grammatical function, is sometimes added after the past forms.

	Malipara	Garsingla	Boro
1SG	<i>moq-t-an</i>	<i>moʔ-t-an</i>	<i>moʔ-t-an</i>
2SG.M	<i>moq-t-e</i>	<i>moʔ-t-e</i>	<i>moʔ-t-e</i>
2SG.NM	<i>moq-t-i</i>	<i>moʔ-t-i</i>	<i>moʔ-t-i</i>
3SG.M	<i>moqy-ah</i>	<i>moʔy-ah</i>	<i>moʔy-ah</i>
3SG.NM	<i>moqy-ad</i>	<i>moʔy-a</i>	<i>moʔy-a</i>
1PL.E	<i>moq-t-am</i>	<i>moʔ-t-am</i>	<i>moʔ-t-am</i>
1PL.I	<i>moq-t-ey</i>	<i>moʔ-t-ay</i>	<i>moʔ-t-ay</i>
2PL	<i>moq-t-ar</i>	<i>moʔ-t-er</i>	<i>moʔ-t-er</i>
3PL	<i>moqy-ar</i>	<i>moʔy-ar</i>	<i>moʔy-ar</i>

vi) Past Negative

	Malipara	Garsingla	Boro
1SG	<i>mo:q-la-t-an</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la-t-an</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la-t-an</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:q-le-t-e</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-le-t-e</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-le-t-e</i>
2SG.NM	<i>mo:q-le-t-i</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-le-t-i</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-le-t-i</i>
3SG.M	<i>mo:q-la-h</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la-h</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la-h</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:q-la-d</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la</i>
1PL.E	<i>mo:q-la-t-am</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la-t-am</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la-t-am</i>
1PL.I	<i>mo:q-le-t-ey</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la-t-ay</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la-t-ay</i>
2PL	<i>mo:q-la-t-ar</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-le-t-er</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-le-t-er</i>
3PL	<i>mo:q-la-r</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la-r</i>	<i>mo:ʔ-la-r</i>

<sup>40</sup> *mo:ʔ-lo:ti* in Paderkola B.

## Perfect:

In Mal Pahariya and Kumarbhag villages in Southern and Central areas, there are present and past perfect forms to express the perfective aspect. In Sawriya Pahariya villages, they are found only in the dialect of Garsingla in the Sundar Pahari block (which we call Western).

The present perfect is formed from Base 2, with *-a* if the verb root belongs to a class other than Class I, the perfect suffix *-y* (-*iy* after a consonant), the present suffix *-i-/d-/n-*, and a pronominal suffix. The present perfect negative is formed from Base 1, negative suffix *-la*, perfect suffix *-y*, present suffix *-i-/d-/n-*, and a pronominal suffix.

The past perfect is formed from Base 2, without final *-y* if followed by *-iy*, with *-a* extension if the verb belongs to a class other than Class I, perfect suffix *-y* (-*iy* after a consonant) which is replaced by *-c* (-*ic* after a consonant) in the third person, past suffix *-t* (- $\emptyset$  in the third person), and a pronominal suffix, e.g. *mo?iy-tan* 1SG and *mo?y-ic-a* 3SG.NM for *mo:?*-*e* ‘to eat’, *oca-y-tan* 1SG and *oca-c-a* 3SG.NM for *oy-e* ‘to take’. The past perfect negative is formed from Base 1, with negative suffix *-la*, perfect suffix *-y* which becomes *-c* in the third person, past suffix *-t* (- $\emptyset$  in the third person), and a pronominal suffix (A: Amlagachhi, G: Garsingla).

Present Perfect (*kurk-e* ‘to write’):

1SG	<i>kurk-iy-i-n</i>	1PL.E	<i>kurk-iy-n-am</i>
2SG.M	<i>kurk-iy-n-e</i>	1PL.I	<i>kurk-iy-n-ay</i>
2SG.NM	<i>kurk-iy-n-i</i>	2PL	<i>kurk-iy-n-er</i>
3SG.M	<i>kurk-iy-n-ah</i>	3PL	<i>kurk-iy-n-ar</i>
3SG.NM	<i>kurk-iy-i-(d)</i>		

Present Perfect Negative (*mo:?*-*e* ‘to eat’):

1SG	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-i-n</i>	1PL.E	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-n-am</i> (G. <i>-d-</i> )
2SG.M	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-n-e</i> (G. <i>-d-</i> )	1PL.I	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-n-ay</i> (G. <i>-d-</i> )
2SG.NM	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-n-i</i> (G. <i>-d-</i> )	2PL	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-n-ar</i> (G. <i>-d-</i> )
3SG.M	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-n-ah</i> (G. <i>-d-</i> )	3PL	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-n-ar</i>
3SG.NM	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-i</i> , <i>-d-i</i> (G. <i>-la-y-i</i> only)		

Past Perfect (*?andr-e* ‘to sleep’):

1SG	<i>?andr-a-y-t-an</i>	1PL.E	<i>?andr-a-y-t-am</i>
2SG.M	<i>?andr-a-y-t-e</i>	1PL.I	<i>?andr-a-y-t-ay</i>
2SG.NM	<i>?andr-a-y-t-i</i>	2PL	<i>?andr-a-y-t-er</i>
3SG.M	<i>?andr-a-c-ah</i> (A. <i>-yc-</i> )	3PL	<i>?andr-a-c-ar</i> (A. <i>-yc-</i> )
3SG.NM	<i>?andr-a-c-a</i> (A. <i>-yc-</i> )		

## Past Perfect Negative:

1SG	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-t-an</i>	1PL.E	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-t-am</i>
2SG.M	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-t-e</i>	1PL.I	<i>mo:?</i> - <i>la-y-t-ay</i>

2SG.NM	<i>mo.?</i> -la-y-t-i	2PL	<i>mo.?</i> -la-y-t-er
3SG.M	<i>mo.?</i> -la-c-ah	3PL	<i>mo.?</i> -la-c-ar
3SG.NM	<i>mo.?</i> -la-c-ad		

Modal Forms (§27, §48):

Subjunctive:

There is considerable diversity in the subjunctive inflection. In Malipara (Central) and Amlagachhi/Paderkola B (South), the subjunctive is formed with the suffix *-l* as in the North, but Boro Pahar (South) and Amlagachhi/Paderkola B also have the suffix *-nu*, which is found nowhere else. The *-l* might have merged with *n* after *u* in Boro Pahar. The *-l* suffix is fused with the pronominal suffix in the first person singular *-el* and third person singular *-al*. The pronominal suffix is attached to the *-nu* suffix in Boro Pahar and precedes *-nu* in Amlagachhi.

*-l* Subjunctive (*bar-e* ‘to come’):

	Malipara	Boro	Amlagachhi
1SG	<i>bar-el</i>	<i>bar-el-nu</i>	<i>bar-el-nu</i>
2SG.M	<i>bar-l-e</i>	<i>bar-unu-y</i>	<i>bar-l-ey-nu</i>
2SG.NM	<i>bar-l-i</i>	<i>bar-unu-y</i>	<i>bar-l-i:-nu</i>
3SG.M	<i>bar-al</i>	<i>bar-unu-h</i>	<i>bar-l-eh-nu</i>
3SG.NM	<i>bar-l-i(d)</i>	<i>bar-al-nu</i>	<i>bar-al-nu</i> <sup>41</sup>
1PL.E	<i>bar-l-am</i>	<i>bar-unu-m</i>	<i>bar-l-em-nu</i>
1PL.I	<i>bar-l-ey</i>	<i>bar-unu</i>	<i>bar-l-ey-nu</i>
2PL	<i>bar-l-er</i>	<i>bar-unu-r</i>	<i>bar-l-er-nu</i>
3PL	<i>bar-l-ar</i>	<i>bar-unu-r</i>	<i>bar-l-er-nu</i>

*-o* Subjunctive (Droese 1884:58 ‘optative’):

There is another subjunctive paradigm with the suffix *-o*, found only in the Southern Kumarbhag village Paderkola B. Droese (1884:46, 58f.) reports that Northern Sawriya Pahariya Malto used to have forms with *-o* (but without *-nu*), and calls them ‘optative’ along with those with *-a:nd*. It is formed from Base 1, the modal suffix *-o*, a pronominal suffix and the suffix *-nu* after it. According to my consultant, there is no difference in function between the *-o* and *-l* subjunctives.

1SG	<i>bar-o-n-nu</i>	1PL.E	<i>bar-o-m-nu</i>
2SG.M	<i>bar-o-y-nu</i>	1PL.I	<i>bar-o-y-nu</i>
2SG.NM	<i>bar-o-y-nu</i>	2PL	<i>bar-o-r-nu</i>
3SG.M	<i>bar-o-h-nu</i>	3PL	<i>bar-o-r-nu</i>
3SG.NM	<i>bar-o:-nu</i>		

<sup>41</sup>Paderkola B: *bar-li:-nu*.

## Subjunctive Negative:

In Boro Pahar, the subjunctive negative is the same as the affirmative except that the negative suffix *-l* is attached to the verbal base. In Amlagachhi and Malipara, the negative subjunctive suffix *-lo* is used.

	Malipara	Boro	Amla, Pad
1SG	<i>bar-lo-n</i>	<i>bar-l-el-nu</i>	<i>bar-lo-n-nu</i>
2SG.M	<i>bar-lo-y</i>	<i>bar-l-unu-y</i>	<i>bar-lo-y-nu</i>
2SG.NM	<i>bar-lo-y</i>	<i>bar-l-unu-y</i>	<i>bar-lo-y-nu</i>
3SG.M	<i>bar-lo-h</i>	<i>bar-l-un-u</i>	<i>bar-lo-h-nu</i>
3SG.NM	<i>bar-lo-d</i>	<i>bar-l-al-nu</i>	<i>bar-lo:-nu</i>
1PL.E	<i>bar-lo-m</i>	<i>bar-l-unu-m</i>	<i>bar-lo-m-nu</i>
1PL.I	<i>bar-loy</i>	<i>bar-l-unu</i>	<i>bar-lo-y-nu</i>
2PL	<i>bar-lo-r</i>	<i>bar-l-unu-r</i>	<i>bar-lo-r-nu</i>
3PL	<i>bar-lo-r</i>	<i>bar-l-unu-r</i>	<i>bar-lo-r-nu</i>

## Optative:

In addition to the optatives with *-and/-a:nd*, optatives formed from Base 1 + *-a:k/-o:k* also occur, e.g. *gosāyi bar-a:k* {god come-OP} ‘Come, god!’ (Boro). The following are optative forms of the verb *bey-e* ‘to be’, used in Southern villages. In Malipara (Central), the same forms as in the North (§27) are used.

3SG.M	<i>bey-a:nd-ah</i>	3PL	<i>bey-a:nd-ar</i>
3SG.NM	<i>bey-a:nd-a</i>		

## Optative Negative:

3SG.M	<i>bey-om-(an)d-eh</i>	3PL	<i>bey-om-(an)d-er</i>
3SG.NM	<i>bey-om-(an)d-e</i>		

## Imperative:

Along with the common *-a* imperative, forms with the suffixes *-ore* (for human male addressee) and *-ehe* are also used as imperatives, e.g. *ni:n dō:k-ore* {you stay-IMP.M} ‘You stay here (to the speaker’s husband)’, *i: maðe-n amb-ehe* {this boy-AC leave-IMP} ‘Forget this boy’.

In the South, the future imperative and the future imperative negative are formed from Base 1 and the suffix *-ke*, in contrast with *-ku* in the North and the Central areas. Verbal roots ending in *-y* do not change the *-y* to *-c* before *-ke* as in the North, i.e. *par-y-ke* vs. N. *parc-ku*, from *par-y-e* ‘to read’. The following are the imperative forms of the verb *lap-e* ‘to eat’.

	Malipara	Boro
IMP	<i>lap-a</i>	<i>lap-a</i>
NG.IMP	<i>lap-oma</i>	<i>lap-oma</i>
FT.IMP	<i>lap-ku</i>	<i>lap-ke</i>

NG.FT.IMP	<i>lap-omku</i>	<i>lap-omke</i>
“go and ...”	<i>lap-oka</i>	<i>lap-oka</i>
“come and ...”	<i>lap-owa</i>	—

## Verbal Adjectives (§29):

In the South and partly in the Central area as well, the *-po* habitual participle is often used as a predicate with exhortative or imperative meaning, e.g. *gosāyi-ki-n orh-an agdi pu:n nal-po* {god-GE-AC house-AC first new make-HP} ‘[We] should first make God’s house anew’ (Boro).

## Conjunctive Participles (§30):

In addition to the conjunctive participles in §30, verbal roots with distinct Base 2 forms (*y*-less forms if those ending in *y*) have shorter conjunctive participles in Central and Southern Malto. The following are short conjunctive participle forms of *oy-e* ‘to take’ from Paderkola B (cf. Mahapatra 1979:182f.).<sup>42</sup> In Malipara and Boro Pahar, only *oc-e* and *oc-ed* 3SG.NM are attested:

1SG	<i>oc-a</i>	1PL.E	<i>oc-a</i>
2SG.M	<i>oc-e</i>	1PL.I	<i>oc-a</i>
2SG.NM	<i>oc-i</i>	2PL	<i>oc-e</i>
3SG.M	<i>oc-ah</i>	3PL	<i>oc-a</i>
3SG.NM	<i>oc-i</i>		

E.g. *co:c-ed eky-a* {rise.B2-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-PT.3SG} ‘[The buffaloes] got up and went’ (Boro), *qe:r-an=indru talc-e qepo-r-ik cu:ya-n ba:qc-a* {chicken-AC=what cut.B2-CP.3SG.NM villager-PL-DA roasted.rice-AC distribute.B2-PT.3SG} ‘[Dad]<sup>43</sup> sacrificed chicken and so on, and gave all the villagers roasted rice’ (Malipara). Besides Base 2 + *-ko*, Base 2 + *-ka* is also used as an uninfecting conjunctive participle in Central and Southern Malto, e.g. *ortu gole-h do:ti cu:ca-ka barc-ah* {one outsider-M dhoti put.on.B2-CP come.B2-PT.3SG} ‘An outsider came wearing a *dhobi*’ (Boro).

The negative conjunctive participle is Base 1 + *-omalk-* + pronominal suffix, e.g. *ciy-omalk-i* ‘she did not give and’ (Malipara; Mahapatra 1979:183).

## Imperfect Participles (§31):

The imperfect participles, especially those formed with *-n* and the pronominal suffix, are used more often in the South than in the North. *a: ga:y boh-nid kiry-a* {that cow run-IPP.3SG.NM return.PT-3SG} ‘That cow came back running’, *gol-ja:ti-r-in tund-ne:-r-i org-ik bojg korc-ar*

<sup>42</sup>The actual forms do not necessarily agree with this table, e.g. *e:n go:rwa majj-e lap-an* {I baby.sitter become.B2-CP eat-1SG} ‘I will become a babysitter and eat’ (Telopara, p. 226). Das (1973:68) refers to the *-e* form in his description of Northern Malto.

<sup>43</sup>Referred to as non-masculine in endearing reference (§51).

{outsider-caste-PL-AC look-IPP-3PL-EPH house-DA run.AP enter.B2-PT.3PL}  
‘When [people] saw outsiders, they ran into their houses’.

The negative form of the imperfect participle with *-no* is *-lalno*, e.g. *ko:q-lalno* ‘when not sleeping’ (Paderkola B).

#### Adverbial Participles (§32):

In the South, a Base 2 form extended with *-a* is used as an adverbial participle, e.g. *korc-a* from *kor-e* ‘enter’, *pet-a* from *peh-e* ‘take up’.

## Syntax

### §39 Word Order

Malto has a configurational, predominantly head-final word order. In a noun phrase, qualifiers come before a qualificand; in a postpositional phrase, the postposition comes after a noun phrase; in a verbal phrase, the verb typically occurs after its arguments and adjuncts. While a subordinate clause occurs before the main clause, a complement clause with *ki* comes after a verb, e.g. *qa:ni-d awq-id ki ni:n to e:n key-no dosra peli-n kor-anē* {wife-NM speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP you TOP I die-IPP other woman-AC enter-FT.2SG.M} ‘The wife said, ‘If I die, will you marry another woman?’’

Typologically speaking, the unmarked word order of Malto seems to be Agent–Object–Verb in transitive clauses and Subject–Verb in intransitive clauses. However, as Malto has a rich inflectional system and semantic roles are usually marked morphologically, there is little restriction on scrambling, and verb-medial orders are also found quite frequently, e.g. *a:n-le pa:ty-ar na: mäge-r* {say-AP sing.B2-PT.3PL that boy-PL} ‘Those boys sang so’, *adi-ne qend-keh ij-ah bali-ko:ra-no* {that-AC carry-CP.3SG.M stand.B2-PT.3SG.M door-near-LO} ‘He carried it and stood near the door’, *oṛh-ik kirtam be:rit* {home-DA return-PT.1PLE in.the.evening} ‘We returned home in the evening’, *pe:sa qaq-owr-ad eyg-e* {money receive-PA-PT.3SG.NM I-DA} ‘I got money’. In particular, it is almost regular that a relatively heavy noun phrase is postposed after the finite verb, e.g. *am-a o:n-oti e:k-i am-kuwa-k* {water-AC drink-IF go-PR.3SG water-well-DA} ‘She goes to the well to drink water’.

All unfocused arguments can be omitted regardless of the valency of the verb, e.g. *cic-ar* {give.B2-PT.3PL} ‘[They] gave [it to him etc.]’.

### §40 Concord

The verb always agrees with the subject in person, number and gender.<sup>44</sup> Note that singular non-masculine verbs are used for plural nonhuman subjects (§9).

A predicate noun usually agrees with the subject in person, number and gender (§16, §44). An adjective also shows concord in case, person, number and gender with the noun with which it is coreferential, but less often than a noun does (§17), e.g. *ik-pad pu:pu-de mi:ŋjo-d il-id* {what-sort flower-NM pretty-NM stand-PR.3SG.NM} ‘What sort of flower is standing so beautiful[ly]?’’, *ma:k-an hō ʔe:ne/ʔe:ne-ni mo:ŋy-a:ray* {meat-AC too raw/raw-AC.EPH eat.B2-PT.3PL} ‘They also ate meat raw’, *maqo-ta:we-n de be:k-ken*

<sup>44</sup>In Malipara, the verb *maṛ-e* ‘to like’ takes *-h* both in the third person singular masculine and non-masculine (*maṛ-ed* 3SG.NM elsewhere, see p. 45, under ‘Class V’), e.g. p. 135.

*tund-en* {child-possessed.of-1SG ITJ jump-CP.1SG look-FT.1SG} ‘I (a female tiger) have children with me, but I will try to jump’.

### §41 Use of Cases

In Malto, arguments and semantic roles are usually denoted by the case suffixes and postpositions explained in §14 and §15, attached to nouns and pronouns.

Nominative Case:

The nominative is the unmarked case, and there is no single morpheme to mark the nominative case overtly. Pronouns have lexical nominative forms. Nouns and pronouns that serve as the subject of a clause, nouns or adjectives that are predicates or otherwise coreferential with the subject, and words in the citation form, occur in the nominative case.

Accusative Case:

The accusative case is used for words referring to a direct object, e.g. *ka:je-n kud-im* {work-AC do-PR.1PL.E} ‘We do the work’ (direct object, theme), the goal and the addressee, e.g. *e:nu nadi-n ciji kurk-ken* {I she-AC letter write-PT.1SG} ‘I wrote her a letter’, *e:n-ð a:ber-in awq-in* {I-too they-AC speak-PR.1SG} ‘I say to them, too’, and the causee, e.g. *nane-r-in menj.e:r-tit-ken* {other-PL-AC inquire-CS-PT.1SG} ‘I made others ask’. Accusative can be doubly used to denote two arguments, e.g. *e:n ning-en ciji-n e:d-en* {I you-AC letter-AC show-FT.1SG} ‘I will show you the/a letter’ (dative *ning-a* is also used. elic.).

When a sentence is in the passive voice, the object is not always put in the nominative case, but may remain in the accusative, e.g. *maq-ond ale-n kuti-no conj-pe-d* {CLF-one dog-AC post-LO tie-PAP-NM} ‘A dog is tied to the post’ (elic.).<sup>45</sup>

Some accusative forms serve as adverbs, e.g. *ma:q-a* ‘at night’.

Instrumental Case:

The instrumental case is used to denote a means or cause by which the action of the verb is accomplished, e.g. *qaje-t bara-tr-ner* {soil-IN fill-TR-PR.3PL} ‘They fill [the grave] with soil’, *ade do:le-t la:l-nar* {other long.drum-IN dance-PR.3PL} ‘Some dance to a long drum’, *ni:m ki:qe-t key-ner* {you.PL hunger-IN die-PR.2PL} ‘You are dying of hunger’, *gadi-t e:k-et* {car-IN go-FT.1PL.I} ‘Let’s go by car’. Not the instrumental but the sociative postposition *-gunu/ -guni* is used to denote the person in whose company

<sup>45</sup> Droeze (1884:9) reports a similar case in which one of the two objects of a verb remains in the accusative case after passivization: *a:h sundra-n fu:q-uwr-ah* {he vermillion-AC smear-PA-PT.3SG.M} ‘he is bedaubed (with) virmilion [sic]’. In regard to the retention of the original case, cf. also that the agent of a habitual participle remains in the nominative case as in *male-h arg-po gadi* {person-M climb-HP car} ‘a coach car’ (§29).

the action takes place, e.g. *baiya-guni ikkin do:k-en* {big.brother-with how stay-FT.1SG} ‘How shall I live with my brother?’. *be:rit*, apparently an instrumental of *be:ri* ‘evening’, serves as an adverb meaning ‘in the evening’.

#### Dative Case:

The dative case marks an indirect object, which is often the goal or recipient of an action. The dative case is also used for destination of a motion, e.g. *oph-ik kir-tam* {home-DA return-PT.1PL.E} ‘We returned to the house’, *qan-ik korc-a* {eye-DA enter.B2-PT.3SG} ‘[Water] entered in [her] eyes’, and experiencer or direct/indirect patient, e.g. *dudu-k me:d korc-a* {mother-DA fever enter.B2-PT.3SG} ‘Mom got sick’, *em-e to orgu-no dudu kec-ad* {we.E-DA TOP house-LO mother die.B2-PT.3SG.NM} ‘As for us, mother was no more in our family’. The beneficiary is denoted by the dative case or by the postposition *lagacki* or *lagcak-*. Some nouns with the dative suffix serve as adverbs, e.g. *dinek* ‘some day’ from *dine* ‘day’, *jugek* ‘forever’ from *juge* ‘era’.

When used with an existential verb, the dative expresses alienable possession that includes abstract notions and kinship, e.g. *e:k-oti em-e upa:y beyo* {go-IF we.E-DA means be.not} ‘We had no means to go’, *eng-a mager mal-ar* {I-DA boy-PL be.not-3PL} ‘I have no child’.

The dative case can also be used by itself to denote kinship relationship, e.g. *niŋg-a se maqo-n ni:n pa:k-a* {you-DA EPH child-AC you take.in.the.lap-IMP} ‘You carry your cubs’, *eng-a qa:we* {I-DA husband} ‘my husband’ (originally *eng-ada-a:we*, p. 27), *eng-a qa:ni* {I-DA wife} ‘my wife’ (originally *eng-ada-a:ni*).

The dative case denotes the experiencer in impersonal construction, e.g. *eng-a baiya-n aro bahu-n e:r-o bed-i* {I-DA big.brother-AC and sister.in.law-AC see-IF seek-PR.3SG} ‘I want to see my brother and sister-in-law’, *eng-a kakali nujjtr-i* {I-DA waist hurt-PR.3SG} ‘My waist hurts’, *eng-e qasru ta:γgr-a a:d qacy-a* {I-DA neck be.broken-PT.3SG that look.like.B2-PT.3SG} ‘For me, it felt as if the neck were broken’, *em-a maq-ond qe:ru lag-i* {we.E-DA CLF-one chicken attach-PR.3SG} ‘It costs us one chicken’.

The subject of the infinitive with *-oti* also occurs in the dative case, e.g. *tang-a lap-oti=gote du:de curg-ola* {self-DA eat-IF=even milk ooze.out-NG.PR.3SG} ‘Milk does not come out even for his own consumption’.

#### Ablative Case:

The ablative case denotes a point or time of departure, e.g. *em-ki bedyo utar-ente barc-ah* {we.E-GE ancestor north-AB come.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘Our ancestor came from the north’, *litipara-nti e:mu hiranpur-ik ek-tam* {PROP-AB we.E PROP-DA go.B2-PT.1PL.E} ‘We went from Littipara to Hirapur’, source or origin, e.g. *camra-nte jarmar-ar ti:n baiya-r* {PROP-AB be.born-PT.3PL

three brother-PL} ‘Three brothers were born from Chamra’, and the object of comparison, e.g. *eyg-ente sarwe eyg-do* {I-AB younger I-sister} ‘my younger sister’, *got-ente agwa* {all-AB before} ‘before all’. The ablative is also used simply to denote location, time or extent, e.g. *a:ti-n-te* ‘there, then’, *inonde-n-te* ‘at this much’.

#### Genitive Case:

The genitive case marks a possessor, e.g. *ey-ki eyg-do* {I-GE my.younger.sister} ‘my younger sister’, *bahu-ki qanu* {sister.in.law-GE eye} ‘sister-in-law’s eye’, *ey-ki jaga* {I-GE place} ‘my land’. When used with an existential verb, the genitive expresses possession, e.g. *ahe-ki end-is o:yu doky-a* {he-GE CLF-two ox stay.B2-PT.3SG} ‘He had two oxen’, *ahe-ki de ort murs.mage-h menj-ah* {he-GE ITJ one son-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He had a son’. While the dative case and postpositions such as *bahno* and *pede-no* also express possession, only the genitive case is used for both alienable and inalienable possession. See above, s.v. Dative Case, for kinship.<sup>46</sup>

A genitive form may be used as a possessive noun (§11, §14).

#### Locative Case:

The locative case is used to express location, time and occasion. The case suffix *-no* or emphatic *-nih* (p. 24) is added after adverbs and adjectives as well, e.g. *i:t-no* {here-LO} ‘here’, *lelha-no name bec-tay* {stupid-LO we.I be.B2-PT.1PL.I} ‘We used to be in ignorance’. To denote location more explicitly, postpositions such as *-bahno* (§15) are also used, e.g. *daktare-bahno mandru jimir-a* {doctor-LO medicine be.available-PT.3SG} ‘Medicine was available at the doctor’s place’.

## §42 Reflexives

The reflexives *ta:ni* and *ta:mi* are coreferential with the topic in the context, which is not necessarily the grammatical subject of the sentence, e.g. *anake to a:h to tam-ki mage-h lehary-ah* {now TOP he TOP themselves-GE boy-M become.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘Now he has become their (i.e. the old couple’s) own son’, *ay ey.gadi a:n-ko ke:ponti a:d mal lehar-ki ante tay-ki dora-no be:gy-a* {ITJ my.daughter say-CP at.once she person become-CP.3SG.NM then self-GE lap-LO jump.B2-PT.3SG} ‘When he said “Oh my girl!”, [the flower] took a human shape at once and jumped onto his lap’. *dusra peli-n ondr-no tay-ki teho-leko mel-le:nid* {other woman-AC bring-IPP self-GE mother-like become-NG.FT.3SG.NM} ‘If [I] marry another woman, she will not be like his (i.e. the child’s) own mother’.

<sup>46</sup> Intimate possession like kinship is treated as inalienable in some languages (Bhaskararao 1972:164f.), which is not the case in Malto.

### §43 Topic and Focus

Although systematic research has not yet been done, a focused noun phrase seems to be placed at the end of a sentence (§39), e.g. *ka:nya menj-ah paglah* {PROP be.B2-PT.3SG.M mad.man-M} ‘Kanya was a mad man’ where *ka:nya* is the topic and *paglah* the focus, and *qep-ki male-r-ki majye-n e:ni* {village-GE person-PL-GE village.chief-1SG I.myself} ‘I am the chief of the village people’ where *e:ni* ‘I myself’ is an emphatic form and is hence focused. And when a typical agent-object order is disrupted, a noun phrase which is the topic often seems to be the factor, e.g. *o:y-a e:ni caric-tan* {cattle-AC I.myself walk.B2-PT.1SG} ‘As for cattle, I grazed them’.

The emphatic particles *se* and *hi* (§21) put the preceding word in focus and make exclusive reference of something.

*se* ‘nothing but, only’: *e:n ning-en do:k-oti se ning-a daw-a pit-ken* {I you-AC marry-IF EPH you-DA husband-AC kill-CP.1SG} ‘I killed your husband only to marry you’, *eky-ar se eky-ar* {go.B2-PT.3PL EPH go.B2-PT.3PL} ‘They just went and went’, *a: pahr-te-ki kata se i:du* {that time-SFX-GE story EPH this} ‘This is a story of that time’, *qary-no se got-eri mo:q-nar* {worship-IPP EPH all-PL eat-PR.3PL} ‘Only at the puja, everyone eat [them]’.

*hi* ‘just, the very’: *e:nond beh-id anond hi ti:qal-a ciy-ner* {how.much be-PR.3SG.NM that.much EPH rice-AC give-PR.3PL} ‘One gives just as much rice as he has’, *bit-a bit-a qat-anid adi-n hi lap-a lap-a do:k-en* {cook-AP REP give-FT.3SG.NM that-AC EPH eat-AP REP stay-FT.1SG} ‘I will live eating just what she cooks’, *eng-en hi pit-oti awd-i* {I-AC EPH kill-IF speak-PR.3SG} ‘She is telling the very me to kill [my sister]’.

Topic marker *to* and *(a)ga* (§21): *ka:je-n to ku:b kudy-ar* {work-AC TOP a.lot do.B2-PT.3PL} ‘When it came to work, they did a lot’, *inor to badlar eky-a* {now TOP be.changed go.B2-PT.3SG} ‘Now, it has changed’, *male-r to qade-k e:k-ner kank-ik* {person-PL TOP jungle-DA go-PR.3PL firewood-DA} ‘People go to the jungle for firewood’.

### §44 Copula and Verbs of Existence

The copula/existential verb is *do:k-e* for an animate subject and *beh-e* for an inanimate subject. In the South and Central, *bey-e* is used for both (cf. Krx. auxiliary verb *be:2-a:*; *biccy-*, Grignard 1924:70f.).

In the present tense of an equational clause, the copula/existential verb *do:k-e* or *beh-e/bey-e* is not required (§16, §40). In the past and future affirmative and in the future negative, the verb *men-e* ‘to become, to do’ (cf. Krx. *man-a:*, *manj-* ‘to become’) serves as the copula verb. The negative forms of the existential verb are present *mala-* (*mala-ken* 1SG etc.),<sup>47</sup> past *men-la-*

<sup>47</sup> A negative stem of \**man-* ‘to be’ according to Steever (1993:213).

(*men-la-ken* 1SG etc.; cf. Droese 1884:77 *malla-*) and future *men-l-* (*men-la:nid* 3SG.NM etc.) in the North, and present *beyo-* (*beyo-maltan* 1SG etc.), past *bey-la-* (*bey-la-tan* 1SG etc.) and *mal-la-*, and future *mal-l-/mel-l-* in Southern and Central areas.

For inanimate subjects, verbs such as *ok-e* ‘to sit’ and *il-e* ‘to stand’ are also used as existential verbs, e.g. *ahi-k dana oky-a* {he-DA grains sit.B2-PT.3SG} ‘He had grains’, *mecg manu-d il-i* {tall tree-NM stand-PR.3SG} ‘There is a tall tree’.

#### §45 Compound and Complex Sentences

Sentences can be combined asyndetically, by coordinating conjunctions such as *ar* ‘and’, *ante* ‘then’, *de* ‘but’, *pare/pa:re* ‘but’ etc., or by verb chaining with the conjunctive participles that are inflected in person and number (§30), e.g. *a:hu man-ik arg-keh ij-ah ad-no* {he tree-DA climb-CP.3SG.M stand.B2-PT.3SG.M that-LO} ‘He climbed up a tree and stood there’, *qa:l-a kud-ko ganyi kajak menj-a* {field-AC work-CP maize much become.B2-PT.3SG} ‘[I] worked the fields and there was a lot of maize’. Malto has several other nonfinite verb forms found in adverbial clauses, such as *qrs-ati* ‘as soon as [you] arrive’, *a:n-le* ‘saying/thinking/doing so’, *olg-no* ‘when [she] was crying’, *boh-nid* 3SG.NM ‘running’ (§30, §31, §32).

The complementizer *ki* opens a complement clause, e.g. *qa:ni-d awq-id ki ni:n to e:n key-no dosra peli-n kor-ane* {wife-NM speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP you TOP I die-IPP other woman-AC enter-FT.2SG.M} ‘The wife said, “If I die, will you marry another woman?”’, *e:n teyg-tan ki ayo-dudu kecad inor* {I tell-PT.1SG COMP mother-mother die.B2-PT.3SG.NM now} ‘I told [her], “Mom is dead now”’. The complement clause is usually in direct speech, but it is also found in indirect speech, e.g. *eng-en a:de awq-a adi-k murse-n tund-oti barc-ar* {I-AC she speak.B2-PT.3SG she-DA man-AC look-IF come.B2-PT.3PL} ‘She told me that people came to arrange a match for her’. The above-mentioned conjunctive participle *a:n-le* ‘saying that, thinking so’ serves as a quotative and occurs after a quoted phrase, clause or sentence, e.g. *ni:n keca-ke a:n-le olg-id* {you die.B2-PT.2SG.M say-CP cry-PR.3SG.NM} ‘She cried saying “You are dead”’.

A conditional clause is formed by imperfect participles with *-no* (§30), or by placing *ta:nu* ‘then’ at the beginning of the main clause, e.g. *pa:r-dah ta:nu sa:di men-dah* {be.able-PR.3SG.M then wedding do-PR.3SG.M} ‘[The man] marries her if he can afford [the expense]’.

A temporal clause is formed by imperfect participles with *-no*, adverbial participles, conjunctive participles and by conjunctions such as *ta:nu* ‘then’ and *amat* ‘until, as long as’: *ika gole-h barc-ah ta:n orgu-no muc ugr-ar* {which Hindu-M come.B2-PT.3SG.M then house-LO close be.filled.up-PT.3PL}

‘When some Hindu comes, [the Pahariyas] used to shut themselves away in their house’, *na:m hi uj-it amat po:s-a do:k-et* {we.I EPH live-PR.1PL.I as.long.as support-AP stay-FT.1PL.I} ‘As long as we are alive, let us live supporting [each other]’.

Another way to form a subordinate clause is to connect independent sentences with demonstratives such as *a:d* or *na:d*. For example, instead of opening a complement clause with *ki*, *adi-n*, the accusative form of *a:d* ‘that’, can be added after an independent clause, e.g. *qe:g-u-h-ō a:g-olah taka-d ok-id adi-n* {buy-PP-M-too know-NG.PR.3SG.M money-NM sit-PR.3SG.NM that-AC} ‘The buyer did not know either that there was money’, *e:nond pe:sa oy-eh adi-n menj-a-ke bar-ku* {how.much money take-FT.3SG.M that-AC ask.B2-CP.2SG.M come-FT.IMP} ‘Ask him how much money he will take’, *e:n aga uj-in nanond se maj-a embe-n embe-n lap-in* {I TOP live-PR.1SG that.far EPH well sweet-AC REP eat-PR.1SG} ‘As long as I am alive, I will eat delicious food’.

A final clause can be formed with the dative form *adi-k*, e.g. *e:n mo:dr-lon adi-k kurk-in* {I forget-NG.SJ.1SG that-DA write-PR.1SG} ‘I will write down so that I should not forget’ (elic.).

It is also possible to form a complement clause without a complementizer, e.g. *e:k-an a:n-tan* {go-FT.1SG say-PT.1SG} ‘I said “I will go.”’. If the complement clause is interrogative, a complementizer is not used, e.g. *pel-a hō e:na-jin do:k-in ni:n a:g-ne* {woman-AC too how.many-CLF marry-PR.1SG you know-PR.2SG.M} ‘You know how many wives I have’.

The verb *qac-e* ‘to seem’ also takes a complement clause without a complementizer, e.g. *olg-ner qac-i* {cry-PR.3PL seem-PR.3SG} ‘It seems they are crying’ = *olg-na:nd-ner* {cry-seem-3PL} ‘They seem to be crying’, *eng-a ja:gu-n=gote lap-o bed-ola qac-i* {I-DA food-AC=even eat-IF seek-NG.PR.3SG seem-PR.3SG} ‘It seems I don’t feel like even eating meals’.

## §46 Relative Clause

Relative clauses usually occur before the main clauses. The *a-/na-* deictics and interrogatives serve as relativizers (Droese 1884:40f.).

In the gapped type of relative construction, the relative clause is preposed as an independent clause without the antecedent, which is then taken up by the *a-* deictic in the main clause, e.g. *idi-n o:n-er a:ber key-er* {this-AC drink-FT.3PL they die-FT.3PL} ‘Those who drink this will die’, *ok-i a:yi awq-i* {sit-PR.3SG she speak-PR.3SG} ‘[The woman] who is sitting speaks’.

The second type is a corelative construction with two deictics. In this type, the main clause and the relative clause are two independent clauses, connected by *a-* or *na-* deictics occurring in both, e.g. *a: maqu jarmary-ah a:h ko:d-ih* {that child be.born.B2-PT.3SG.M he lie-PR.3SG.M} ‘The boy who

was born was lying', *a: mafe-n tund-a a:h ca:me-n pa:ṛ-ih* {that boy-AC look-IMP he song-AC sing-PR.3SG.M} 'Look at the boy who is singing' (elic.), *nano e:k-ehala sa:du-bahak eky-ah a:ṛ-ik* {there go-NG.FT.3SG.M ascetic-to go.B2-PT.3SG.M there-DA} 'He shall not go to the ascetic's place where he used to go'.

The third and the most explicit way to form a relative clause is the corelative construction with an interrogative and a deictic. In this type, the antecedent occurs with an interrogative in the relative clause and is taken up by an *a-* deictic in the main clause, e.g. *ik ik a:ṛ-dine masala-n ba:lka-n qe:g-lah a: dine be:k-a=du:r qe:g-kah kirya-ah* {which REP market-day spice-AC turmeric-AC buy-NG.PT.3SG.M that day salt-AC=only buy-CP.3SG.M return.B2-PT.3SG.M} 'On a market day when he did not buy spice or turmeric, he bought just salt and came back', *ne:reh a:g-ih a:h teṛg-ih* {who.M know-PR.3SG.M he tell-PR.3SG.M} 'He who knows tells it', *iknan e:nu uglec-ken a:-joka-hi meṛj-a* {how I think.B2-PT.1SG that-like-EPH become.B2-PT.3SG} 'It has become just as I expected' (elic.), *e:nond olg-ar anond ond-a* {how.much cry-PT.3PL that.much make.drink-PT.3SG} '[The cow] gave [the boys] as much milk as they were crying for', *i:h ada-d e:no:pane meṛj-ad ano:pane jaga-ni ge:rc-ah* {he house-NM how.big be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that.big place-AC.EPH hedge.in.B2-PT.3SG.M} 'He hedged in as much land as the house originally had', *ni:n e:nond may-e anond qe:g-a* {you how.much like-FT.2SG.M that.much buy-IMP} 'Buy as much as you like', *ikbah-goṭe e:k-in a:ṛ-nihi indi-n awd-in* {REL man-M come.out-CP.3SG.M stay-CS-SJ.3SG.M stay-SJ.1SG that-DA} 'I speak Hindi wherever I go' (elic.); cf. also *a:d ne: maqo-d a:d le:le ca:me-n pa:ṛ-enid* {she who child-NM she tomorrow song-AC sing-FT.3SG.NM} 'She is the girl who will sing a song tomorrow' (elic.).

When the head of the relative clause is indefinite, *je:* 'any' is added, e.g. *je: muṛse-h urq-qeh do:k-tr-leh do:k-len ahi-k* {REL man-M come.out-CP.3SG.M stay-CS-SJ.3SG.M stay-SJ.1SG that-DA} 'If any man comes out and would put me up, I would marry him'.

## Semantics of Verbal Constructions

### §47 Function of the Three Tenses

The present forms denote what takes place habitually, or what is currently taking place, e.g. *a:h qe:rpa:n-a mo:q-ih* {he egg-AC eat-PR.3SG.M} ‘He eats an egg./ He is eating an egg’ (elic.). The past tense is used when the action referred to has already taken place, or was taking place in the past. In addition to the preterite, it covers the perfective aspect of the present, e.g. *qade-k eky-ah* {jungle-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He has gone to the jungle [and is not back yet]’. The future tense expresses what is expected to take place or to be taking place, and what the subject intends to do, including performative sentences such as *surja-d na:me pijj-en* {PROP-NM name name-FT.1SG} ‘I give [you] the name Surja’.

When it is necessary to express progressive and perfective aspects explicitly, periphrastic forms are made by combining an adverbial participle of the verb in question and *do:k-e* ‘to stay’ (for animate subjects only), and the bare Base 2 adverbial participle of the verb and *oŋg-e* ‘to finish’, respectively (§33). In Southern and Central Malto of the Mal and Kumarbhag Pahariyas, there are inflectional categories to denote the perfective aspect, present perfect and past perfect (§38).

The future tense also occurs when the context has habitual connotation; i.e. when something is or was customarily expected to occur, it is referred to by the future tense, e.g. *aya-abo ok-er a:pahr-no* {mother-father sit-FT.3PL that time-LO} ‘Father and mother sit at the time [of the festival]’, or *dine-ni piṭa mi:n-eh* {day-LO.EPH bread chew-FT.3SG.M} ‘[The boy] would eat bread every day’. In some cases, the future also conveys what the speaker wants the subject to do or not to do, e.g. *sa:du-bahno ek ek do:k-ehala* {ascetic-LO go.B2.AP REP stay-NG.FT.3SG.M} ‘He shall not go and stay at the ascetic’s place’. The future tense may be used in conditional or temporal clauses if a potential situation in the future is referred to, e.g. *be:ru u:q-eni ante-se pe:sa-n ciy-er* ‘sun get.dark-FT.3SG.NM then-EPH money-AC give-FT.3PL} ‘When the sun sets, they will give you money’.

In the narrative, not only present but also future forms are used to refer to an indeterminate action in the past, e.g. *a:d indra kud-enid* {she what do-FT.3SG.NM} ‘What did she do?’, lit. ‘What would she do?’. As tenses also denote aspect, it is not necessary to keep using the same tense in a narrative, and even in the same context different tenses may occur to refer to the same time, e.g. *ort langri-d eky-ad a:d hō olg-id* {one lame.woman-NM go.B2-PT.3SG.NM she too cry-PR.3SG.NM} ‘There was a lame woman going. She was crying, too’.

## §48 Function of the Modal Forms

As shown in §27 and §38, Malto has three inflectional categories to express modality: the subjunctive, the optative and the imperative.

The subjunctive is used for volition, polite or hypothetical imperatives, counterfactual supposition and apodosis to it. As the last two examples show, it is neutral to the tense and can also be used for the past. *ni:n keca-ke e:n aro key-len* {you die.B2-2SG.M I too die-SJ.1SG} ‘You are dead. I would die, too!’, *e:n mo:dr-lon adi-k kurk-in* {I forget-NG.SJ.1SG that-DA write-PR.1SG} ‘I am writing down so that I should not forget’ (elic.), *aya eng-a pe:sa-n qat-li* {mom I-DA money-AC give-SJ.2SG.NM} ‘Mom, would you give me money?’, *dusra pel-a ondr-a ondr-ke do:k-le* {another woman-AC bring-IMP bring-CP.2SG.M marry-SJ.2SG.M} ‘Bring another woman and marry her’, *toho men-li ano e:ru ci:je-n lap-tr-lid ako* {mother be-SJ.3SG.NM then good thing-AC eat-CS-SJ.3SG.NM it.seems} ‘Had there been a mother, she would have fed good things [to her young]’, *a:hu salai-n-ohri qe:nd-keh bar-leh* {he match-AC-or.something carry-CP.3SG.M come-SJ.3SG.M} ‘He would have come carrying matches or something (but in fact he did not)’.

The optative forms are used to express the speaker’s wish, desire, or request. Unlike the subjunctive which expresses wish regardless of whether it is realizable or not, the optative conveys a request that the speaker considers must be fulfilled. So for example, only the optative is used in prayer or benediction, e.g. *e:ru.qani kir-a:nder* {well return-OP.3PL} ‘May they return safely [from hunting]’, and it functions as the third person equivalent of the imperative, e.g. *beh-a:nded* {be-OP.3SG.NM} ‘Let it be/ Forget it’.

The imperative is used when giving an instruction or command to the addressee. The negative imperative denotes prohibition. If the action is to be performed in the future, and if preventive prohibition is to be expressed, the future imperative and the future imperative negative are used respectively.

## §49 Transfer of Voice and Valency

Although Malto morphology has means to mark the voice, transitivity and valency of verbs explicitly, the actual use of verbs shows some fluctuation and there are verbs which have labile pairs. For example, two verbs with intrinsically intransitive meaning, *men-e* ‘to become’ and *do:k-e* ‘to stay’, are used as transitive verbs in the sense of ‘to do’ and ‘to marry’, respectively: *nasta men-et* {snack do-FT.1PL.I} ‘Let’s take a snack’, *e:n niyg-en do:k-en* {I you-AC marry-FT.1SG} ‘I will marry you’. Interestingly, an explicitly transitivized form of *do:k-e*, *do:k-tr-e* (§24), also occurs in the sense of ‘to marry’ as in *e:n pel-a do:k-tr-an* {I woman-AC stay-CS-FT.1SG} ‘I am taking a wife’, and this form seems to be obligatory when there is no overt object, e.g. *murse-h urq-qeh do:k-tr-no do:k-len* {man-M come.out-

CP.3SG.M stay-CS-IPP stay-SJ.1SG} ‘If a man comes out and marries [me], I would marry [him]’. Reciprocal verbs formed with *naq-e* often take the intransitive/reflexive suffix *-r*, as in *qa:w-r-naq-e* ‘to converse’ from *qa:w-e* ‘to speak’ (§33).

There is also a dialectal factor behind this kind of fluctuation. While the intransitive verb *nuyj-e* means ‘to ache’, e.g. *eng-e qasru nuyj-id* {I-DA neck hurt-PR.3SG.NM} ‘My neck hurts’ (Malipara), its transitive counterpart *nuyj-tr-e* is also used in Ursu Pahar in the same intransitive meaning, *eng-a kakali nuyjtr-i* {I-DA waist hurt-PR.3SG} ‘My waist hurts’.

*-tr* (§24) has a broad range of meaning, i.e. it forms causatives such as *jiyar-tr-e* ‘to make [someone] recover life, to revive’, transitives such as *ok-tr-e* ‘to put, to make something sit’, *kir-tr-e* ‘to bring back’, or *kor-tr-e* ‘to put in, to make something enter’, and verbs of perception such as *nuyj-tr-e* ‘to hurt’ and *a:g-tr-e* ‘to make known’ which are also used as intransitives as in *ange.mange-t a:g-tr-id* {of.themselves-IN know-TR-PR.3SG.NM} ‘It is self-evident’, along with the usage as a redundant transitive marker as in *mila:-tr-e* ‘to put together’ from Hindi *mila:-na*: id. The passive/reflexive suffix *-wr* (§24) also looks redundant in *nek-uwr-e* ‘to get well’ from *nek-e* ‘to get well’.

## §50 Deictic Verbs

*e:k-e* ‘to go’ and *bar-e* ‘to come’:

Of the two verbs of movement, *bar-e* ‘to come’ is used when the speaker is at the destination of the movement, e.g. *bar-u-r meny-ar* {come-PP-PL be.B2-PT.3PL} ‘They were going to come (to this village)’, and *e:k-e* elsewhere. Even when the destination of the movement is the speaker himself, *e:k-e* is chosen if he is not present there. In the following examples, the speaker is recollecting his childhood, and he is not in ‘my place’ at the time of the utterance: *aba-h kam.se.kam mehna-no ke:pond eng-bahak eky-ah* {father-M at.least month-LO once I-LO go.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘Father came (lit. went) to my place at least once a month’, *a: sisfar:ni bed-i bed-i eng-bahak eky-a* {that sister.F search-PR.3SG REP I-place-DA go.B2-PT.3SG} ‘Searching and searching, that sister came (lit. went) to my place’.

In this connection, Malto has two verbs meaning ‘to go’, *e:k-e* and *ka:l-e*. *ka:l-e*, which has no past form and is supplanted by *e:k-e* in the past, is used when the speaker does not join in the act of going.

*oy-e* ‘to take’ and *ondr-e* ‘to bring’:

*oy-e* and *ondr-e* are used when taking something or someone from and to where the speaker or the speaker’s empathy is. For example, in *kamar buqya oc-aca em-en* {blacksmith old.woman take.B2-PRF.3SG.NM we.E-AC} ‘A blacksmith lady took us [to Nepal]’ where *oy-e* occurs, the speaker

was in India and was taken to Nepal, while in *bejje majj-oko ja:rkande-k ondr-aynah* {marriage be.B2-CP PROP-DA take-PR.PRF.3SG.M} ‘After [I] got married, [my husband] took me to Jharkhand’, she is taken from Nepal to India where she is now, and hence *ondr-e* is used. In *aba-k ondra-ka cicakan a: dine kir-ka ek-tan dumka-k* {father-DA bring-CP give-CP.1SG that day return-CP go.B2-1SG PROP-DA} ‘I brought the money for my father, gave it to him, and went back to Dumka on that day’, *ondr-e* is used although the speaker is actually not at his father’s place, probably because it is where he feels strongest empathy.

*qat-e* ‘to give’ and *ciy-e* ‘to give’:

To denote the act of giving, different verbs are used depending on whether the giving is done to or by the speaker. *qat-e* is used when the speaker is given something, and *ciy-e* when the speaker gives something to others. When the act of giving takes place between second-person and third-person referents, *ciy-e* is used in both directions, e.g. *na:h niyg-a: in-dra cic-ah* {he you-DA what give.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘What did he give you?’ and *ni:n nahe-k indra cica-ke* {you he-DA what give.B2-PT.2SG.M} ‘What did you give him?’ (elic.)

Aside from such verbs involving motion and movement, Malto also has verbs with incorporated deictic meaning, such as *a:n-e* ‘to say, think or do so’, *i:n-e* ‘to say, think or do this way’, *and-e* ‘to be that way’, *ind-e* ‘to be this way’ (§19).

If the Northern verb *do:k-e* ‘stay’ comes from *ada ok-e* ‘to sit at home’, the verb has the spatial word *ada* ‘house, home’ incorporated in it.<sup>48</sup>

## §51 Politeness

In Malto, plural forms are not used for singular referents to convey politeness. When a singular entity is referred to with a plural form, it rather implies psychological remoteness such as a taboo relationship. For example, when a man is talking to his younger brother, the latter’s wife is referred to as *nij-ki ada-male-r* {you-GE house-person-PL} lit. ‘your house-people’. To take another example, in *i: bisnu malto tambako aba-h a:hi em-en peta-kar po:scarnu* {this PROP PROP own.father father-M he we.E-AC take.up.B2-CP.3PL bring.up.B2-PT.3PL} ‘This Bishnu Malto, my father, took us and brought us up’, the speaker’s stepfather is referred to in the third person plural.

On the other hand, when a human male is referred to with affection, the non-masculine ending *-d* is used instead of *-h*, e.g. *em-en aba-d amb-ki de:si-k eky-a* {we.E-AC father-NM leave-CP.3SG.NM remote.country-DA go.B2-PT.3SG} ‘Father left us and went to a remote place’.

<sup>48</sup>This finds support from two other similar words, i.e. *eng-a qa:we-h* ‘my husband’ from /aqa-a:we-h/ {house-SFX-M} (see p. 27) and *adula* ‘inside’ from /ada-ula/ {house-inside}.

When referring to a body such as a corporation or a government, both singular non-masculine and plural may be used, e.g. *pahariya-r-in sarka:rid bedy-a* {Pahariya-PL-AC government-NM search.B2-PT.3SG} ‘The government looked for the Pahariyas’, and *adi-nte tey-ar eng-en sahebgonje-k* {there-AB send.B2-PT.3PL I-AC PROP-DA} ‘[The company] transferred me from there to Sahebganj’.

## §52 Negation

With respect to negation, Malto conjugation shows a rather atypical symmetry; full-fledged negative forms exist in all the three tenses, although negative forms are morphologically more complex and hence can be regarded as marked.

Two verbs have incorporated negative meaning: *pol-e* ‘to be unable’, used in the North, is a negative counterpart of *pa:ry-e* ‘be able’. *amb-e* ‘to leave’, denotes prohibition and negative volition, e.g. *amb-a mo:q-oma* {leave-IMP eat-NG.IMP} ‘No, don’t eat!’, *amb-in e:k-olaken* {leave-PR.1SG go-NG.PR.1SG} ‘No, I will not go’, or simple negation if in the past, e.g. *qan-ik korc-a male amby-a aka* {eye-DA enter.B2-PT.3SG or leave.B2-PT.3SG it.seems} ‘[Water] entered her eyes, or maybe it didn’t’.

Expletive negation is found in a temporal clause denoting incomplete action, e.g. *jab.tak e:ni jo:r-s maje-r-in bady-tr-omaltan ano pel-a do:k-tar-lan* {until myself pair.CLF-two child-PL-AC grow-TR-NG.PR.1SG there woman-AC stay-CS-NG.FT.1SG} ‘Until I myself raise (lit. I don’t raise) the two children, I will not get married’.

## §53 Emphasis and Euphemism

As mentioned in §21 and §43, various particles and clitics are used to lay emphasis, e.g. *se* as in *eky-ar se eky-ar* ‘They just went and went’, *=qadi* as in *e:n qe:g-o=qadi qe:g-qen* ‘I just asked and asked’, *hi* as in *a:pahra hi ra:ja-h awdy-ah* {that time EPH king-M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘Just then the king spoke’, and *=du:re* as in *e:k-a=du:re {go-IMP=just}* ‘Just come!’

Combined with repetition, *se* and *=qadi* also emphasize negation, e.g. *tes-ot=indru badmen-no se tes-ot=indru badmel-lah* {sift-IF=swhat know-IPP EPH sift-IF=what know-NG.PT.3SG} ‘He did not know anything like sifting’, *aba-trer to ik?ano ?aqy-ar se ?aqy-lar* {father-PL TOP where worship.B2-PT.3PL EPH worship-NG.PT.3PL} ‘Father did not perform puja anywhere’, *pol-o=qadi pol-ih* {be.unable-IF=just be.unable-PR.3SG.M} ‘He simply couldn’t’. Repeating the verb with *-e-ni(hi)*, which I interpret to be the emphatic locative of a verbal noun, also emphasizes negation, e.g. *nek-e-nihi nek-ola* {get.well-VN-LO.EPH get.well-NG.PR.3SG} ‘She did not get well at all’, *men-e-ni men-olar maje-r* {be-VN-LO.EPH be-NG.PR.3PL boy-PL} ‘[They] did not have children at all’, *ciy-e-ni ciy-omlar* {give-VN-LO.EPH

give-NG.PR.3PL} ‘They would not give [it back]’. Another way of repeating the verb is with an infinitive in *-oti*, e.g. *aneke qa:wr-oti qa:w-lar* {now speak-IF speak-NG.PT.3PL} ‘So they could not even speak now’. Negation is emphasized by rhetorical questions as well, e.g. *ayu: ra:ja-taygadi-ki bihad ani ra:ja-taygadi-ki biha kamti embe-tise mejj-a* {ITJ king-daughter-GE wedding-NM then king-daughter-GE wedding few sweet-sour be.B2-PT.3SG} ‘Come on! It’s king’s daughter’s wedding, okay? Were there few delicacies? [No, the feast was sumptuous]’.

## Chapter II. Life of the Pahariyas

### §1 Escape from East Pakistan (S).

Told by Mrs. Kamli Paharni of Paderkola B (Dumbri), P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Paderkola B on November 4, 2006.

0'05 *e:m agdi em-dudu-abo-r agdi pakista:ne-no*  
we.E formerly we.E.OBL-mother-father-PL formerly PROP-LO  
*becy-ar*  
be.B2-PT.3PL  
Formerly, we, namely our parents, were in [East] Pakistan.”<sup>1</sup>

0'11 *bey-no bey-no a?a-ni-hi jarmar-tam*  
be-IPP REP there-LO.EPH-EPH be.born-PT.1PL.E  
While they were there, we were born there.

0'13 *sat und?al-em manja-tam*  
seven sibling-1PL.E be.B2-PT.1PL.E  
We were seven siblings.

0'16 *andi bey-no bey-no s?na?ar-tam*  
and be-IPP REP grow.up-PT.1PL.E  
And we grew up staying there.

0'27 *a?a-ni s?na?ar-tam s?na?ar-ko inor la?a:i co:c-a*  
there-LO.EPH grow.up-PT.1PL.E grow.up-CP now war rise.B2-PT.3SG  
We grew up there. When we grew up, the war took place.

0'30 *indrupade-ki sindrupade-ki ma?ka?ra la?a:i co:co-ko la?a:i*  
what.like-GE ECHO child-time war rise.B2-CP war  
*co:co-ko adi-n?e bec-tam*  
rise.B2-CP there-AB be.B2-PT.1PL.E  
The war took place when [I was] just a child. After the war took place, we were [still] there.

0'43 *bey-no bey-no ma:?a k?bu:b ekdam bo:me-ume*  
be-IPP REP night a.lot at.once bomb-ECHO  
*te?tr-a-taty-ar*  
burst-CS-PT-finish.B2-PT.3PL  
Then at night, they set off bombs and so on a lot.

0'48 *andi e:m elc-kam a:wk-bit?a-k boh-tam*  
and we.E fear-CP.1PL.E cucumber-field-DA run-PT.1PL.E  
So we were scared and fled to the cucumber field.

0'51 *ma:?a dudu-abo-r amb-a amb-a dudu-abo-r*  
night mother-father-PL leave-AP leave-AP mother-father-PL  
*jude eky-ar e:m jude ek-tam*  
separately go.B2-PT.3PL we.E separately go.B2-PT.1PL.E

<sup>1</sup>The name of the village was Phulbāri.

At night, our parents left us and went separately. We [children] went separately.

0'55 *a:wk-biṭa-no nud-ur-tam*  
cucumber-field-LO hide-RF-PT.1PL.E  
We hid ourselves in the cucumber field.

0'57 *e:m cap-ar-nar kir-tam oṛh-ik*  
we.E hide-RF-PR.3PL return-1PL.E house-DA  
We hid ourselves [and] we returned to the house.

1'01 *kir-kam arhu ja:gu-u:gu lap-tam*  
return-CP.1PL.E again boiled.rice-ECHO eat-PT.1PL.E  
We came back and ate rice and so on again.

1'05 *be:ṛit-no arhu kir-tam*  
in.the.evening-LO again return-PT.1PL.E  
We came back again at night.

1'07 *kir-kam dībya od-latam u:ṛe-ni*  
return-CP.1PL.E lamp burn-NG.PT.1PL.E darkness-LO.EPH  
*kod-tam*  
lie.down.B2-PT.1PL.E  
We came back [but] did not light the lamp. We slept in darkness.

1'11 *e:n arhu lap-ka-tkam arhu lap-ka-tkam arhu e:m*  
I again eat-CP-ECHO.1PL.E again eat-CP-ECHO.1PL.E again we.E  
*kod-tam kod-tam kod-lalno ek-tam*  
sleep.B2-PT.1PL.E sleep.B2-PT.1PL.E sleep-NG.CP go.B2-PT.1PL.E  
*a:wk-biṭa-k*  
cucumber-field-DA  
After we ate, we lay down. When we were not sleeping, we went to the cucumber field [to hide].

1'21 *ek-kam adi-nṭe alko-hi majja-tam*  
go.B2-CP.1PL.E there-AB that.way-EPH be.B2-PT.1PL.E  
We went there and were there just that way.

1'26 *man-no man-no man-no pa:n-ond pu:le becy-a ekdam birat*  
be-IPP REP REP CLF-one bridge be.B2-PT.3SG totally big  
*be:do pu:le becy-a*  
big bridge be.B2-PT.3SG  
When we were there that way, there was one bridge, a very big bridge.

1'31 *pu:le-n laṭa:i lo:ke-r ek-kar ṛot-ka tay-ar*  
bridge-AC war people-PL go.B2-CP.3PL break-CP send-PT.3PL  
Militants went to the bridge and and destroyed it.

1'37 *ṛot-ka tayo-ko i: pa:se a: pa:se majja-tam ik.ṛa:ño*  
break-CP send-CP this side that side be.B2-PT.1PL.E where  
*e:k-a:nam e:m*  
go-FT.1PL.E we.E  
Since they had destroyed [the bridge], it had become this side and that side. Where shall we go?

1'41 *e:k-oti em-e upa:y beyo*  
 go-IF we.E-DA means be.not.3SG.NM  
 We had no means to go.

1'43 *andi (pu:l i:) ?aj-a puya-kar dip lal-kar pa:w-a*  
 then bridge this dirt-AC throw.in-CP.3PL heap make-CP.3PL road-AC  
*lal-ka ?aty-ar*  
 make-CP give.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then they threw in dirt, piled it up, and made a way [for us].

1'50 *a: pa:w-an e:m ma:?a boh-tam i: pa:se-k hindusta:ne-k*  
 that road-AC we.E night run-PT.1PL.E this side-DA PROP-DA  
*pakista:ne-nte*  
 PROP-AB  
 At night, we fled on that road to this side, from Pakistan for India.

1'56 *boh-tam andi ilko-hi bec-tam*  
 run-PT.1PL.E and this.way-EPH be.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 We ran away and we just stayed.

1'58 *bey-no bey-no adj-nte alko-hi ekdam akr-ar*  
 be-IPP REP there-AB that.way-EPH at.once drive.away-PT.3PL  
*taty-ar*  
 ECHO.B2-PT.3PL  
 When we were [staying there], they suddenly drove us away.

2'16 *akr-no-tatno [pahariya-r-in pahariya-r] hindu-r-in*  
 make.flee-IPP-ECHO Pahariya-PL-AC Pahariya-PL Hindu-PL-AC  
*turke tund-oti ca:hy-la*  
 Muslim see-IF want-NG.3SG  
 When they drove us away, [I] did not feel like seeing Hindus or Muslims.

2'22 *ekdam akar kud-a darc darcu ekdam pit-ka*  
 at.once make.flee.AP go.around-AP catch.B2.AP REP at.once kill-CP  
*kun-ar ekdam akr-ar*  
 throw-PT.3PL at.once make.flee-PT.3PL  
 Suddenly driving us around, catching us, killing and throwing us away, they suddenly drove us away.

2'28 *andi [e:]m ra:ti-ule ?andr-latam*  
 then we.E night-day sleep-NG.PT.1PL.E  
 Then we did not sleep at night or by day.

2'30 *ik.?a:r moje-bagane-k ek-tam ik.?a:r kocu-ba:ri-k*  
 where banana-garden-DA go.B2-PT.1PL.E where taro-field-DA  
*ek-tam*  
 go.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 We went to some banana garden. We went to some taro field.

2'32 *ik.?a:r a:wk-ba:ri-k ek-tam dudu-abo-n amb-a*  
 where cucumber-field-DA go.B2-PT.1PL.E mother-father-AC leave-AP

*amb-a*  
leave-AP  
We went to some cucumber field, leaving our parents.

2'36 *pa:n-ond buringe becy-a digro-nihī ɻa:wr-no*  
CLF-one handpump be.B2-PT.3SG far-EPH jungle-LO  
There was a handpump in a remote place, in a jungle.

2'43 *a: buringe-k boh-tam maɻe-maɻe-m*  
that handpump-DA run-PT.1PL.E child-child-1PL.E  
We children ran to that handpump.

2'46 *ɻa:wr ula rahca-tam*  
jungle day stay.B2-PT.1PL.E  
We stayed in the jungle in the daytime.

2'48 *adj-nte ki:ɻe man-no barca-tam*  
there-AB hunger be-IPP come.B2-PT.1PL.E  
When [we] got hungry, we came [home] from there.

2'51 *oɻh-ik kir-tam be:ɻit*  
house-DA return-PT.1PL.E in.the.evening  
We returned home in the evening.

2'53 *kir-kam arhu lap-tam arhu boh-tam oɻhu-no*  
return-CP.1PL.E again eat-PT.1PL.E again run-PT.1PL.E house-LO  
*ok-latam-ɻi*  
sit-NG.PT.1PL.E-EPH  
Having returned home, we ate again, we ran away again. We did not sit in the house.

2'59 *adj-nte ilko-t mal-le:ni kagl-a:nam ka:ɻy.a:n-kam*  
there-AB this.way-IN be-NG.FT.3SG.NM die-FT.1PL.E talk-CP.1PL.E  
Then we talked, “[We] cannot keep staying like this. We are going to die.”

3'04 *oɻh-a duwari-n maɻpan-an amb-kam boh-tam*  
house-AC door-AC livestock-AC leave-CP.1PL.E run-PT.1PL.E  
Leaving house, door and livestock, we ran away.

3'07 *ta:ri-ku:ri amb-kam ta:ri-ku:ri kā:sa*  
metal.plate-metal.cup leave-CP.1PL.E metal.plate-metal.cup brass  
*ta:ri-uri becy-a amb-ka boh-tam*  
metal.plate-ECHO be.B2-PT.3SG leave-CP run-PT.1PL.E  
Leaving plates and cups, – we had brass plates and so on – we ran away leaving them.

3'12 *boh-no bodare-no pakista:n boda:re-no dary-no indr kud-a:nam*  
run-IPP border-LO PROP border-LO catch-IPP what do-FT.1PL.E  
*sapa bac-a bac-a oc-ar*  
totally rob-AP rob-AP take.B2-PT.3PL  
What shall we do if they catch [us] on Pakistan border while we run away? They robbed [people] of everything.

3'20 *indrna.pade kat-ot lo:ṛ-latam male-m kat-tam*  
 what.like cross-IF be.able-NG.PT.1PLE person-1PLE cross-PT.1PLE  
*i: pa:se ma:ṛa*  
 this side night  
 There was no way for us to cross. [So] we people crossed to this side at night.

3'25 *kat-ko adi-nte bey-no bey-no i: pa:se-no industa:n*  
 cross-CP there-AB be-IPP REP this side-LO PROP  
*kat-kam bey-no bey-no*  
 cross-CP.1PLE be-IPP REP  
 When we crossed [the border] and then stayed on this side, when we crossed [the border] to Hindustan and stayed,

3'32 *lape beyo indru kud-a:nam sat undṛal-em*  
 food be.not.3SG what do-FT.1PLE seven sibling-1PLE  
*dudu-abo-r bey-nar*  
 mother-father-PL be-PR.3PL  
 there was no food. What shall we do? There are seven of us siblings and parents.

3'35 *indra lap-anam ka:je ḡat-omalar ka:je kud-o*  
 what eat-FT.1PLE work give-NG.PR.3PL work do-IF  
*lo:ṛ-omalar indra lap-anam*  
 be.able-NG.PR.3PL what eat-FT.1PLE  
 What shall we eat? They don't give us a job. We cannot work. What shall we eat?

3'38 *alko-hi bey-no bey-no bey-no ort budija awd-a*  
 that.way-EPH be-IPP REP REP one old.woman speak-PT.3SG  
 When we were [at a loss] that way, one old woman said,

3'41 *e:k-a nepa:le-no maṛ-er-pond gote-r ka:je kud-nar*  
 go-IMP PROP-LO child-PL-child all-PL work do-PR.3PL  
 “[Let's] go! In Nepal, children and everyone work.

3'44 *e:k-a kud-a kud-a lap-ener a:n-ki kamar*  
 go-IMP work-AP work-AP eat-FT.2PL say-CP.3SG.NM blacksmith  
*budija oc-aca em-en*  
 old.woman take.B2-PT.PRF.3SG.NM we.E-AC  
 [Let's] go! You will get food working [there].” Saying this, a blacksmith lady had taken us [to Nepal].

3'47 *oco-ko nepa:le-no bec-tam nepa:le-no ek-kam*  
 take-CP PROP-LO be.B2-PT.1PLE PROP-LO go.B2-CP.1PLE  
*kud-tam lap-tam*  
 work-PT.1PLE eat-PT.1PLE  
 [She] took us to Nepal and we stayed there. We went to Nepal, worked and got food.

3'54 *kud-no lap-no kud-no lap-no aṛa-nihi nepa:l-ni*  
 work-IPP eat-IPP work-IPP eat-IPP there-LO.EPH PROP-LO.EPH

*sinaq-ar-tam*

grow-ITR-PT.1PL.E

Working and eating, we grew up there in Nepal.

3'58 *sinaq-ar-ko ad-enhi eng-e benje manj-a*  
 grow-ITR-CP there-LO.EPH I-DA marriage be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Having grown up, I got married there.

4'01 *benje manjo-ko ja:rkande-k ondr-aynah benje lal-ka*  
 marriage be.B2-CP PROP-DA take-PR.PRF.3SG.M marriage do-CP  
 After [I] got married, after [we] did a wedding, [my husband] took me  
 to Jharkhand.

4'04 *inor ja:rkande-no bey-in*  
 now PROP-LO be-PR.1SG  
 Now I am in Jharkhand.

## §2 My childhood (S).

Told by Mr. Ganesh Pahariya of Boro Pahar, P. O. Dumarchir, P. S. Amrapara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Boro Pahar on February 23, 2007.

0'07 *i:d-no e:nu bacpane-no emu-gu-trer emu-gu indru kudy-ah*  
 this-LO I childhood-LO our.E-father-PL our.E-father what  
 do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 What did our father do when I was a child?

0'16 *ki emu-gu (taqi bitot) tqi bit-ah*  
 COMP our.E-father wine cook-PT.3SG.M  
 Our father brew [millet] wine.

0'19 *tadi bita-ka setal ɻep-a ɻend-i kudy-ah ba:re-no ɻow-kah*  
 wine cook-CP.3SG.M Santhal village-AC carry-AP  
 go.around.B2-PT.3SG.M shoulder.pole-LO carry-CP.3SG.M  
 Having brewed wine, he went around Santhal villages carrying it, car-  
 rying it on a shoulder.pole.

0'25 *ar eng-e em-e to lap-ot bey-la*  
 and I-DA we.E-DA TOP eat-IF be-NG.PT.3SG  
 And there was no[thing] for us to eat.

0'27 *indrne.pade lap-ot bey-la*  
 what.like eat-IF be-NG.PT.3SG  
 There was nothing at all to eat.

0'30 *to indra kud-anam gurar kudy-ah setal ɻep-a ɻend-i kudy-ah ɻend-i kud-kah kirtr-ah*  
 TOP what do-FT.1PL.E walk.around do.B2-PT.3SG.M Santhal village-AC  
 carry-AP go.around.B2-PT.3SG.M carry-AP go.around-CP.3SG.M  
 bring.back-PT.3SG.M  
 What shall we do? He walked around, sold [wine] to Santhal villages  
 and brought [it] back.

0'36 *kirtr-kah pa:y-ond pa:y-e:nd jimn-ah ta:n*  
 bring.back-CP.3SG.M pai-one pai-two get.B2-PT.3SG.M then  
*ade-n bit-ah lap-no bit-ah a:t-no lap-kam*  
 that-AC cook-PT.3SG.M eat-IPP cook-PT.3SG.M there-LO eat-CP.1PL.E  
*e:mu ra:ti bita-tr-tam*  
 we.E night cook-CS-PT.1PL.E  
 When he brought [it] back, he earned one *pai* or two *pai* [rice]. Then  
 he boiled it. He boiled it when we had eaten. Eating and eating, we  
 made [him] cook [every] night.

0'44 *ra:ti bita-tr-tam ar a:kara indrne-pade kud-ot=hō*  
 night cook-CS-PT.1PL.E and then what-thing do-IF=too  
*ciny-lar*  
 recognize-NG.PT.3PL  
 We made [him] cook [every] night. Back then, they did not even know  
 what [cultivation work] to do.

0'52 *kud-no=hō malla*  
 do-IPP=too be.not.PT.3SG  
 Even if they work, there was no [crop].

0'54 *na:je kud-ot lehyi-lar*  
 if.not do-IF know-NG.PT.3PL  
 Or they did not know how to work.

0'55 *o:nad-no bahut se indro majj-a jayse inor*  
 that-LO much EPH what become.B2-PT.3SG as now  
*tetli-ceya a:lkō ok-kan awq-in*  
 tamarind-shade that.way sit-CP.1SG speak-PR.1SG  
 Then there was a lot of that (i.e. Tamarind). I said sitting in the shade  
 of a Tamarind tree just as [we do] now.

1'03 *tetli bi:ci-n batca-ka bita-ka mo:ʔ-po*  
 tamarind seed-AC pound.B2-CP.3SG cook-CP.3SG eat-IF  
*ma[n]j-a*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG  
 If you grind and boil the Tamarind seed, it becomes edible.

1'08 *aru-hi (te:lo) te:lo kalak-ka aru-hi pa:y-ond ti:ʔal-no*  
 and-EPH tree.name bite.off-CP.3SG and-EPH pai-one rice-LO  
*su:r:nal-ka lap-po majj-a*  
 cook.porridge-CP.3SG eat-IF become.B2-PT.3SG  
 And if you bite off Telo seed and cook it with one *pai* of rice, it be-  
 comes edible.

1'17 *ar ko:mo sa:ge-n ke:tn-o*  
 and plant.name vegetable-AC winnowing.basket.CLF-one  
*toʔ-ka ondra-ka a:d-no a:d-no pʰir pa:y-ond pa:y-e:nd*  
 cut.off-CP.3SG bring-CP that-LO REP again pai-one pai-two  
*ti:ʔalu-ja:gu-n[o] su:r:nal-ka lap-po majj-a*  
 rice-cooked.rice-LO cook.porridge-CP.3SG eat-IF become.B2-PT.3SG

And if you pick and bring a basketful of Komo leaves, cook it with one *pai* or two *pai* of rice, it becomes edible.

1'29 *par anka toŋa.toŋi sikar-pe o:na-lagceki ri:kond*  
but nowadays a.little study-PAP that-for a.little  
*lab?ani-la:go*  
good-somewhat  
But nowadays [people are] a little educated, so [they eat] a little well.

1'37 *ar e:nu emu-gu-sat ek-tan (ii) ɻa:l-a kud-u-m*  
and I our.E-father-with go.B2-PT.1SG field-AC do-PP-1PL.E  
*adi-k ɻa:l-a tund-a kud-ot ek-tam*  
that-DA field-AC see-AP go.around-IF go.B2-PT.1PL.E  
And I went with my father. We are cultivators, so we went to make the round of the fields.

1'46 *ek-ko a:lkohi emu-gu-ko:ni ma?ond boda.gu*  
go.B2-CP that.way-EPH our.E-father-where CLF-one snake.father  
*ij-a*  
stand.B2-PT.3SG  
When we were thus going, a large snake stood up where my father was.

1'56 *ti masbeti-n gaŋy-oti lagcaka mas-eti ta:ry-ah*  
and fence-AC make-IF for hatchet-IN cut.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ko:r-man-an*  
khadira-tree-AC  
And he was cutting a Khadira tree with an axe in order to make a fence.

2'04 *a:-kara ma?ond boda-d ur?y-a*  
that-time CLF-one snake-NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
Then a snake came out.

2'07 *uru?ko baro-le ɻo:ro anna di e:n ek-tan*  
come.out-CP come-SJ.2SG.M child ITJ and I go.B2-PT.1SG  
When it came out, he said, "Come, son, come," and I went.

2'14 *ek-ko igjo a:-ma? boda-n e:m pit-tam*  
go.B2-CP straight that-CLF snake-AC we.E kill-PT.1PL.E  
As soon as I went, we killed that snake on the spot.

2'17 *anka pit-lom a:-kara ciny-latam*  
nowadays kill-NG.SJ.1PL.E that-time recognize-NG.PT.1PL.E  
*pit-tam*  
kill-PT.1PL.E  
Nowadays, we would not kill it. We did not know at that time and we killed [it].

2'22 *pit-kam igjo kir-tam kir-ot ke.ba:d alko-hi*  
kill-CP.1PL.E straight return-PT.1PL.E return-IF after that.way-EPH  
*gurar-tam gurar-no (innoe) ino bardi cala:tr-po*  
walk.around-PT.1PL.E walk.around-IPP here cattle graze-IF

*ano bardi cala:tr kud-po dehi*

there cattle graze.AP do-IF then

After killing [the snake], we went straight home. After going home, we walked around, and while walking around we had to graze the cattle here and there.

2'37 *indr kud-an e:n jambu-man-ik arig-tan bardi*  
what do-FT.1SG I tree.name-tree-DA climb-PT.1SG cattle

*kirtr-kan ek-kan jambu-man-ik arg-tan*

bring.back-CP.1SG go.B2-CP.1SG tree.name-tree-DA climb-PT.1SG

What shall I do? I climbed up a Jambu tree. After taking the cattle home, I went and climbed up a Jambu tree.

2'43 *arg-ot ke.ba:d ortu ma?o-d okk-i mecca a:d hō*  
climb-IF after one girl-NM sit-PR.3SG above she too  
*em-ba:yi-di*  
we.E-elder.sister-NM

Then a girl sits on the tree. She is our elder sister.

2'50 *a:d okk-i mecca ar e:n ett-i to inopa:n gandi te*  
she sit-PR.3SG above and I go.down-AP(?) TOP so.big trunk and  
*pakra-kan iknahi lo:r-lan*

hold-CP.1SG how be.able-NG.FT.1SG

She sits above and I am below. It was such a big trunk that [my sister and] I tried to hold it but could not do so by any means.

2'57 *lo:r-latan p:bir e:n jar?a-tan jar?ko igjo ej-ki kuku*  
be.able-NG.PT.1SG again I fall-PT.1SG fall-CP straight I-GE head  
*pedehr-a*  
break-PT.3SG

Unable to hold the tree, I fell from it. I fell and [I] broke my head right away.

3'03 *ar tet-us mane karapar-laca kuku pedehr-a*  
and hand-two that.is be.hurt-NG.PT.PRF.3SG head break-PT.3SG  
And the hands were not hurt, [but I] broke my head.

3'09 *a:di-nte eyg-en ced-ar kirtr-ar*  
there-AB I-AC carry-PT.3PL bring.back-PT.3PL  
After that [they] carried and brought me home.

3'11 *ced-ar kirtr-ot ke.ba:d indr kud-tan anek.ti leko*  
carry-CP.3PL(?) bring.back-IF after what do-PT.1SG nowadays like  
*man-no qaktr-er ca?-ler*  
become-IPP doctor-PL inject-SJ.3PL

What did I do after they brought me home? If it were now, doctors would do injection and so on in such a case.

3'20 *a:-kara indr-indr-pade-n eyg-en dabc-ar-tatyar*  
that-time what-what-like-AC I-AC apply.medicine.B2-PT.3PL-ECHO  
*aty-a*  
spread.B2-PT.3SG

[They] applied some [medicine] to me [and] spread it.

3'25 *ti:k manja-kan bec-tan*  
well become.B2-CP.1SG be.B2-PT.1SG  
I got well and carried on living.

3'26 *bec-te bec-te eng-en awd-ah ortu ma2e-r iskule-k*  
be-AP REP I-AC speak.B2-PT.3SG.M one boy-PL school-DA  
*e:k-ener a:ny-ah*  
go-FT.3PL say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
While I lived [that way], one person said to me, “Boys, will you go to school?”

3'36 *di e:k-an a:n-tan*  
then go-FT.1SG say-PT.1SG  
Then I said, “I will go.”

3'38 *eng-en iskule-k occ-ar*  
I-AC school-DA take.B2-PT.3PL  
They took me to school.

3'41 *oco-ko e:n hō lelhani ma[n]ja-tan par to:la-to:la payca-tan*  
take-CP I too stupid be.B2-PT.1SG but a.little-REP read.B2-PT.1SG  
After they took me to school, I was also stupid, but I studied little by little. (continued)

### §3 Our history (S).

Told by Mr. Ganesh Pahariya of Boro Pahar, P. O. Dumarchir, P. S. Amrapara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Boro Pahar on February 23, 2007.

0'04 *e:m ik.2a:n bec-tam mane pahila e:m bec-tam*  
we.E where be.B2-PT.1PL.E that.is first we.E be.B2-PT.1PL.E  
*piprujoriya-d a:n-nar*  
PROP-NM say-PR.3PL  
Where did we use to live? They say that we used to live on [a hill in] Piprujoriya formerly.

0'17 *ar e:m awd-nam ki jamatola-d a:n-no e:m ad.2ano*  
and we.E speak-PR.1PL.E COMP PROP-NM say-IPP we.E there  
*do:k-tam*  
stay-PT.1PL.E  
And we call it Jamatola. We lived there.

0'23 *ad.2an do:k-tam do:k-ko teh-tan ke:pond a:ba:na-hī mane*  
there stay-PT.1PL.E live-CP tell-PT.1SG once that.way-EPH that.is  
*angre:ji sa:sane angre:ji de:si cala-r-a i: de:si*  
British rule British country manage-ITR-PT.3SG this country  
We lived there. As I once said, the British rule, this country was run by the British.

0'38 *o:na-kara indru kud-tam indru kudy-ar elic-kar mane*  
that-time what do-PT.1PL.E what do.B2-PT.3PL fear-CP.3PL that.is  
*angre:ji-lo:ker setale-n ondr-acar e:k-a 2awr-a*  
British-people Santhal-AC bring-PT.PRF.3PL go-IMP jungle-AC

*co:ly-oti a:n-kar*  
cut-IF say-CP.3PL

At that time, what did we do? What did they do? We were scared. I mean, the British people had brought the Santhals, saying “Let’s go! Cut the jungle.”

0'51 *?awr-a co:ly-oti a:n-kar ondr-acar*  
jungle-AC cut-IF say-CP.3PL bring-PT.PRF.3PL  
They brought them saying “Cut the jungle.”

0'53 *ondr-ot ke.ba:d igio-hi setale-r i: de:si-n nindy-ar*  
bring-IF after straight-EPH Santhal-PL this country-AC fill.B2-PT.3PL  
*nind-kar ?awr-a co:rc-ar kete gac-ar ik-ik.2a:r*  
fill-CP.3PL jungle-AC cut.B2-PT.3PL field make.B2-PT.3PL RED-where  
*sarke gac-ar*  
road make.B2-PT.3PL

After being brought [here], the Santhals soon filled this land. After filling this land, they cut the jungle, opened fields and built roads here and there.

1'05 *o:na somoye-no elic-tr-kar elic-tr-ar o:nad o:nad-no se*  
that time-LO fear-CS-CP.3PL fear-CS-PT.3PL that that-LO EPH  
*i: pahari mecca arg-ka do:k-nay pahariya male-y*  
this hill above climb-CP stay-PR.1PL.I Pahariya person-1PL.I  
*a:te pahariya male-y*  
therefore Pahariya person-1PL.I

At that time, they scared [us]. So we climbed up these hills and live here. So [we are called] ‘Pahariya’ people.

1'22 *name pahila nam-ki de:si-d i:d nam-ki-d hi manj-a*  
we.I formerly we.I-GE country-NM this we.I-GE-NM EPH be.B2-PT.3SG  
Formerly, this was our land. It was ours.

1'28 *setale-r hō bey-lar no:je gole-r becy-ar no:*  
Santhal-PL too be-NG.PT.3PL not Hindu-PL be.B2-PT.3PL not  
*aygre:ji-r becy-ar to i: de:si nam-ki-d hi*  
Britisher-PL be.B2-PT.3PL TOP this country we.I-GE-NM EPH  
*manj-a*  
be.B2-PT.3SG

There were no Santhals either then. There were no Hindus. There were no Britishers. This land was ours.

1'39 *janam juge-no name i: de:si-no bec-kay basando*  
birth era-LO we.I this country-LO be.B2-CP.1PL.I dwelling.place  
*manj-aynay*  
be.B2-PR.PRF.1PL.I

At the time of [our] birth, we were in this land. We have been in [our] dwelling place.

1'48 *a: male-y indrik jaga beyo*  
that person-1PL.I why land be.not

Why do these people, namely us, have no land?

1'51 *ade-n male-r awq-nar ki mala iknahe se name*  
 that-AC person-PL speak-PR.3PL COMP no how EPH we.I  
*pahari-no bey-nay*  
 hill-LO be-PR.1PL.I  
 They deny that. [But] how come we live in the hills?

1'57 *a:-kara nam-male-r pahari-no bec-kar indrane*  
 that-time we.I-person-PL hill-LO be.B2-CP.3PL whatever  
*cinyi-lar ar elicy-ar*  
 recognize-NG.PT.3PL and fear.B2-PT.3PL  
 At that time, our people were in the hills. They did not know anything and were just scared.

2'07 *ortu gole-h do:ti cu:ca-ka pat-o cate pehr-a*  
 one Hindu-M dhoti put.on-CP CLF-one umbrella take.along-AP  
*barc-ah ta:n laboh elicy-ar*  
 come.B2-PT.3SG then much fear.B2-PT.3PL  
 If a Hindu came wearing a *dhoti* and carrying an umbrella, they were scared a lot.

2'16 *o:na elicy-ar a:-calte nam-de:si-d name mane pahari-k*  
 that fear.B2-PT.3PL that-for we.I-country-NM we.I that.is hill-DA  
*arg-iyay nam-de:si mala name pahari-k arg-kay*  
 climb-PR.PRF.1PL.I we.I-country no we.I hill-DA climb-CP.1PL.I  
 They feared them. Therefore we climbed up our country, no, we climbed up the hills.

2'28 *inor se so:c-iyay ki mala name acca*  
 now EPH think-PR.PRF.1PL.I COMP no we.I okay  
*pahil-male-y ar ikna:y name inoguṛ pahari-mec*  
 original-person-1PL.I and how we.I this.much hill-above  
*ok-nay*  
 sit-PR.1PL.I  
 Now we think, "Okay, we are aboriginal people, but how come we are settled on top of such hills?"

2'42 *mala a:-kara elicy-ar o:na-calte pahari-k arg-ka inor*  
 no that-time fear.B2-PT.3PL that-for hill-DA climb-CP now  
*pahari-no name bey-nay*  
 hill-LO we.I be-PR.1PL.I  
 No, they were scared at that time. Therefore they climbed up the hills and now we live in the hills.

2'50 *ar bec-kay inor hō kud-nay pa:re sab.se nam-e*  
 and be.B2-PT.1PL.I now too work-PR.1PL.I but than.anything we.I-DA  
*takli:pe-d amd-i bahut takli:pe*  
 hardship-NM water-EPH much hardship  
 We got settled and we still cultivate [here]. But the biggest difficulty is water. It is a big difficulty.

3'13 *iknahe inor nam-e a: setal ɿep-no maɻi-jahar ko:d-i*  
 how now we.I-DA that Santhal village-LO grave-even lie-PR.3SG  
 How come even our graveyards lie in those Santhal villages?

3'20 *maɻi ko:d-i lekin a:trer nam-nar par nam-en nam-kar*  
 grave lie-PR.3SG but they revile-PR.3PL but we.I-AC revile-CP.3PL  
*lo:ɻ-omlar ki nam-ki a: ped-jaga o:na-lagcak-ar se*  
 be.able-NG.PR.3PL COMP we.I-GE that root-place that-for-3PL EPH  
*bacc-ot lo:ɻ-omlar*  
 snatch-IF be.able-NG.PR.3PL  
 [Our] graveyards lie [there]. But they revile us. They cannot revile us, for that is our original place. Therefore they cannot rob [us of the land].

3'32 *to ad.ɻa:no pahila bec-tay bec-kay inor name*  
 TOP there formerly be.B2-PT.1PL.I be.B2-CP.1PL.I now we.I  
*bec-kay-tatkay arg-kay inor pahaɻi meca to:ke-no*  
 be.B2-CP.1PL.I-ECHO climb-CP.1PL.I now hill above mountain-LO  
*bey-nay*  
 be-PR.1PL.I  
 Formerly we were there. After living there, we were here and there, climbed up [the hill], and now we are on top of the hills. We live in the hills.

3'45 *inor name to inor ad.ɻa:r-ik e:k-an a:n-ka=hõ*  
 now we.I TOP now there-DA go-FT.1SG say-CP=too  
*lo:ɻ-lanay*  
 be.able-NG.FT.1PL.I  
 If we say now "I will go there," we will not be able to do so.

3'53 *ka:hek a:trer jorib naly-ar basando tam-ki*  
 because they settlement make.B2-PT.3PL dwelling.place self-GE  
*jaga naly-ar*  
 place make.B2-PT.3PL  
 Because they made their settlement, they made [someone else's] dwelling place their own land.

3'58 *ayse inor e: pahaɻiya bokka.kaŋya a:n-nar*  
 this.way now ITJ Pahariya stupid say-PR.3PL  
 Now they say, the Pahariyas are stupid.

4'04 *di bokka-y mal-tay a:kara elic-tay o:na-lagcak-ar*  
 and stupid-1PL.I not-PR.1PL.I that-time fear-PT.1PL.I that-for-3PL  
*awq-nar*  
 speak-PR.3PL  
 We are not stupid. We were scared at that time. Therefore they speak so.

4'09 *inor e:n name gurar-garar kud-te kud-te ilko-hi*  
 now I we.I walk.around-ECHO do-AP REP this.way-EPH

argy-ar mecca arg-kar tund-y-ar ta:n ri:kond  
 climb.B2-PT.3PL above climb-CP.3PL look.B2-PT.3PL then a.little  
 to:ta.sa oqohr-la:go jaga becy-a  
 a.little hide-somewhat place be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Now, while we (our ancestors) were walking around, they climbed up  
 this way, and they looked [around] after climbing. Then there was a  
 somewhat hidden place.

4'24 o:nad-no oqhor-kar bec-kar inor bec-ko p<sup>h</sup>ir se  
 that-LO hide-CP.3PL be.B2-CP.3PL now be.B2-CP again EPH  
 pahariya-r-in sarka:ri-d bedy-a  
 Pahariya-PL-AC government-NM search.B2-PT.3SG  
 After we hid ourselves and lived there, the government looked for the  
 Pahariyas again.

4'35 mala pahariya-r ik?an bey-nar a:n-ki bedy-a  
 no Pahariya-PL where be-PR.3PL say-CP.3SG.NM search.B2-PT.3SG  
 They looked for [us], saying “Where are the Pahariyas?”

4'40 bed-te bed-te igjo-hi iskule-n bana:tr-a  
 search-AP REP straight-EPH school-AC make-PT.3SG  
 Having searched and searched, they built schools right away.

4'46 pahariya-lagcaki p<sup>h</sup>ir ino iskule bana:tr-ko inor to:ta  
 Pahariya-for.3SG.NM again here school make-CP now a.little  
 parca-kay name cinca-kay  
 read.B2-CP.1PL.I we.I recognize.B2-CP.1PL.I  
 After [the government] built schools here for the Pahariyas, now we  
 are a little educated, we are more knowledgeable.

4'55 ri:kond lab.?ani bey-nay ar bahut lelha-no name bec-tay  
 a.little well be-PR.3PL and much stupid-LO we.I be.B2-PT.1PL.I  
 ar inond takli:pe-no inor hō bey-nay  
 and this.much hardship-LO now too be-PR.1PL.I  
 We are a little better off, but we used to be very ignorant. And we are  
 still having such difficulties.

5'06 ehi tund-a inogur pahari meca bey-nay am nam-e  
 ITJ look-IMP this.much hill above be-PR.1PL.I water we.I-DA  
 takli:pe-d amp-oti arhu name indru kud-nay  
 hardship-NM take.bath-IF again we.I what do-PR.1PL.I  
 Look, we are on top of such a hill. Water for taking bath is a problem  
 for us. Here again, what shall we do?

5'17 a:-kara indrane cinyi-lar am bey-lad ade  
 that-time what recognize-NG.PT.3PL water be-NG.PT.3SG.NM that  
 na:je indr-leko erek-kar=jahar goga-t ci:c-r-ar  
 if.not what-like excrete-CP.3PL=even stone-IN wipe-RF-PT.3PL  
 They did not know anything at that time, that there is no water. Oth-  
 erwise why? Even when they went to stool, they wiped their bottoms  
 with stones.

5'29 *ci:c-r-nay par inor toga parca-likca-kar indro toga*  
 wipe-RF-PR.1PL.I but now a.little read.B2-write.B2-CP.3PL what a.little  
*ereh-ka no:dr-ot=jahar lehyi-[nar]*  
 excrete-CP wash.hands-IF=even know-PR.3PL  
 We wipe our bottoms [with stones]. But now, they are a bit educated,  
 so when they go to stool, they have even learned to wash their hands.

5'40 *ante agdi goga-t ci:c-r-kari o:jr-ar*  
 and formerly stone-IN wipe-RF-CP.3PL go.away-PT.3PL  
 Formerly, they went away after wiping their bottoms with stones.

5'44 *ar ade-n awd-nar ki name lelha-ti goga-t*  
 and that-AC speak-PR.3PL COMP we.I stupid-AB stone-IN  
*ci:c-r-nay*  
 wipe-RF-PR.1PL.I  
 And they say that we wipe our bottoms with stones out of ignorance.

5'50 *a:te ade awd-nar ki name indru kud-nay ma?a-n*  
 therefore that speak-PR.3PL COMP we.I what do-PR.1PL.I statue-AC  
*a:n-nay indro-pade ?aqyi-nay a:n-omtay*  
 find-PR.1PL.I what-like sacrifice-PR.1PL.I find-NG.PR.1PL.I  
 So they say, "What are we doing?" We may find a statue and worship  
 it somehow or other, [but] we don't get it.

5'58 *name pa:n-o goga-ni ci:c-r-nay ar a:-pa:n goga*  
 we.I CLF-one stone-LO.EPH wipe-RF-PR.1PL.I and that-CLF stone  
*ik-be:ri arhu oca-kay sindra si:γ-nay*  
 what-time again take.B2-CP.1PL.I vermillion make.a.mark-PR.1PL.I  
 We wipe our bottoms with a stone, and some day we take up the same  
 stone and adorn it with vermillion.

6'03 *di bagmane nam-e indr-pade-d goga-d hi nam-ki bagmane*  
 and god we.I-DA what-like-NM stone-NM EPH we.I-GE god  
*to name to ma?a-n a:n-omtay*  
 then we.I TOP statue-AC get-NG.PR.1PL.I  
 What is god like for us? Our god is nothing but a stone. We don't get  
 a statue.

6'12 *o:na-lagcaki inor nam-ki itiha:se-d bana:-r-eni*  
 that-for.3SG.NM now we.I-GE history-NM make-ITR-FT.3SG.NM  
*o:nade-n parca-kay somjar-ot lag-e:ni*  
 that-AC read.B2-CP.1PL.I understand-IF be.attached-FT.3SG.NM  
*inonde-hi*  
 this.much-EPH  
 Therefore we have to read and understand our history that is being  
 compiled now. This much [is my story].

#### §4 My grandparents and uncles (C).

Told by Mr. Guhiya Paharia of Malipara, P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at Prince Lodge, Pakur, on February 24, 2006.

0'00 *aba.bedj-tarer onq-ondqal menj-ar*  
 grandfather-PL RED-siblings be.B2-PT.3PL  
 My grandfather [and granduncle] were two brothers.

0'05 *ondqal menj-a-ko aba.bedj ki:lwa menj-ah*  
 sibling be.B2-CP grandfather poor be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Of the two brothers, my grandfather was poor.

0'11 *ahi-ki na:mi guhiya pahariya uske.ba:d aba.bedj-ki*  
 he-GE name PROP PROP after.that grandfather-GE  
*tayg.do-ki na:mi jariya pahariya*  
 younger.brother-GE name PROP PROP  
 His name [was] Guhiya Paharia. And my grandfather's younger  
 brother's name [was] Jariya Paharia.

0'19 *a:hu sija-sijaṛa menj-ah kajak sijaṛa menj-ah*  
 he RED-rich be.B2-PT.3SG.M very rich be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He was rich. He was very rich.

0'22 *ahi-k o:y do:ky-a e:re do:ky-a dana oky-a*  
 he-DA cattle stay.B2-PT.3SG goat stay.B2-PT.3SG grain sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 He had cattle, goats, and grain.

0'26 *jaga-bahno ga:re kudy-ah orgu-no kucṛi=indr*  
 land-LO much do.B2-PT.3SG.M house-LO bale=and.so.on  
*ninde-ki do:ky-a*  
 fill-CP.3SG.NM stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 He cultivated his fields a lot. His house was filled with bales [of grain]  
 and so on.

0'33 *ahi-ki ulta aba.bedj ki:lwa menj-ah*  
 he-GE opposite grandfather poor be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Contrary to him, my grandfather was poor.

0'39 *ki:lwa menj-ah qa:le=indrud kud-lah*  
 poor be.B2-PT.3SG.M cultivation=and.so.on do-NG.PT.3SG.M  
*tadī-n=indrud kʰu:b ond-ar*  
 toddy-AC=and.so.on much drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 He was poor. He did not do cultivation and so on. They [i.e. grandparents]  
 drank palm toddy and so on a lot.

0'43 *ondu ondu irw-e:ri beq-a naq-a naq-a*  
 drink.B2.AP REP two.people-PL wrestle-AP REC-AP REP  
*pa:ṛy-ar beq-a naq-a naq-a pa:ṛy-ar lapy-ar*  
 sing.B2-PT.3PL wrestle-AP REC-AP REP sing.B2-PT.3PL eat.B2-PT.3PL  
*a:te-k eky-ar*  
 market-DA go.B2-PT.3PL  
 Having drunk [wine], the two sang holding each other. They sang  
 holding each other, ate, and went to the market.

0'52 *ta:nu jo:l-s-e:ri onqy-ar onqy-ar par*  
 then couple-two-PL get.drunk.B2-PT.3PL get.drunk.B2-PT.3PL but

*ka:je-n to kʰu:b kudy-ar*  
 work-AC TOP a.lot do.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then the two got drunk. They got drunk, but when it comes to work, they did a lot.

0'59 *a: aba.bedi cuti-n o:n-u menj-ah a:h*  
 that grandfather cigarette-AC drink-PP be.B2-PT.3SG.M he  
*cuti-n o:n-u menj-ah*  
 cigarette-AC drink-PP be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 That grandfather was a cigarette smoker. He was a cigarette smoker.

1'08 *a:du (ti) mak-a:tge-ki dig-digro cuti-n bana:tar-ah*  
 that sal-leaf-GE RED-long cigarette-AC make-PT.3SG.M  
 So he made a long long cigarette of Sal leaf.

1'14 *bana:tar-le ond-ah ond-ond ond-ond ekdam*  
 make-CP drink.B2-PT.3SG.M drink.B2.AP-REP at.once  
*inqy-ah ond-ar*  
 cough.B2-PT.3SG.M drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 He made and smoked it. He coughed a lot while smoking. They smoked.

1'22 *a: cuti-ni bey-tar-le pit-a pit-a pit-a qedwu-no*  
 that cigarette-AC be-CS-CP put.out-AP REP REP REP ear-LO  
*bey-tar-ar*  
 be-CS-PT.3PL  
 They laid down that cigarette, put it out, and put it behind their ears.

1'28 *ba:ca-tar-le ond-ar auri pit-a pit-a qedwu-no*  
 save-TR-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL again put.out-AP REP ear-LO  
*bey-tr-ar*  
 be-CS-3PL  
 They saved it and smoked it. Then again they put it out and put it behind their ears.

1'31 *uske.ba:d ba:ca-tar-le ond-ar*  
 after.that save-TR-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then they saved and smoked it.

1'33 *qa:r-o-qadi cuti-n e:k sapta:h tak cala:tr-ar*  
 CLF-one-only cigarette-AC one week till make.last-PT.3PL  
 They made just one cigarette last for up to a week.

1'36 *ka:je-k eky-ar qa:l-a kudy-ar*  
 work-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M field-AC do.B2-PT.3PL  
 They went to work and did farm work.

1'39 *qa:l-bahno qa:l-no jaṛ-dine-no tetu-no gadya qap-r-a*  
 field-LO field-LO rain-day-LO hand-LO mud smear-ITR-PT.3SG  
 In the field, [their] hands were smeared with mud on a rainy day.

1'43 *anda ikin nan-kar cuti-n bana:tar-anar*  
 then how do-CP.3PL cigarette-AC make-FT.3PL  
 Then somehow they would make a cigarette.

1'45 *qedwu-no cuti behc-a anda ande otr-a:ra*  
 ear-LO cigarette be.B2-PT.3SG then then take.out-PT.3PL  
*ade-ni paktar-le ond-ar*  
 that.AC.EPH light-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 The cigarette was behind their ears. Then they took it, lit it, and smoked it.

1'53 *a: pahr-no solei bey-la cic-ki hō̤ muskile menj-a*  
 that time-LO match be-NG.PT.3SG fire-GE too difficulty be.B2-PT.3SG  
 There was no match back then. There was a difficulty about fire, too.

1'57 *adno a: lo:ka-r jare-no ikin nan-ki solei*  
 then that people-PL rain-LO how do-CP.3SG.NM match  
*pakr-e:ni solei-d od-lara*  
 lighten-FT.3SG.NM match-NM burn-NG.PT.3PL  
 How will a match catch fire in rain? They [could] not light a match then [i.e. when it rains].

2'02 *a:n-kar gesu-jabe-ki bo:ra-n bana:tar-pa-n oc-ar*  
 say-CP.3PL paddy-straw-GE rope-AC make-PP-AC take.B2-PT.3PL  
 So they carried a rope that was made of paddy straw.

2'10 *a:d qos-a qos-a qos-a qos-a du:pahr tak kody-a*  
 that burn-AP REP REP REP noon till lie.B2-PT.3SG  
 [They tried and tried to] burn it, and it stayed [unkindled] till noon.

2'13 *du:pahr tak kody-a anda o:n-o behc-ad*  
 noon till lie.B2-PT.3SG then drink-IF be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 It stayed [unkindled] till noon. Then it was ready to smoke.

2'16 *a: bo:ra-no cuti-n paktar-le ond-ar*  
 that rope-LO cigarette-AC light-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 They lit the cigarette on that rope and smoked it.

2'20 *cuti-n paktar-le ond-ar kir-ka-tatkar be:ri-t*  
 cigarette-AC light-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL return-CP-ECHO evening-IN  
*bit-pa-n pod-amu nan-le ma:rc ma:rc*  
 cook-PAP-AC leftover.rice-water make-CP stir.B2.AP REP  
*ond-ar*  
 drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 They lit the cigarette and smoked it. After they came back, in the evening, they made salt gruel from what was cooked [and left over], stirred and ate it.

2'27 *a:d-no boryga pa:l-ond ar be:k menj-a*  
 that-LO onion CLF-one and salt be.B2-PT.3SG  
 There was an onion and salt in it.

2'30 *tarka:ri arga indri.jahā bey-lad ad-no*  
 vegetable vegetable.dish anything be-NG.PT.3SG.NM that-LO  
 There was no vegetable dish at all in it.

2'33 *mundoti mala-r andeki do:ky-ar*  
 ancient person-PL that.way stay.B2-PT.3PL

People in olden times were like that.

2'35 *do:ky-ar ar ta:li-n o:qertar-lar ta:li jepla*  
 stay.B2-PT.3PL and hair-AC care.with.oil-NG.PT.3PL hair long.hair  
*mejj-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG  
 And they did not treat their hair with oil. [Their] hair was long.

2'40 *pel-ar a:na ta:li-n kuk-no qo:qwji mulr-ar*  
 woman-PL like hair-AC head-LO behind gather.up-PT.3PL  
 They bundled their hair on the back of their head like women do.

2'45 *qo:qwji mulr-ar o:yd=indru to do:ky-a ar*  
 behind gather.up-PT.3PL cattle=and.so.on TOP stay.B2-PT.3SG and  
*e:ra do:ky-a kajak*  
 goat stay.B2-PT.3SG much  
 They bundled [their hair] behind. There were cattle and so on. There  
 were also a lot of goats.

2'50 *e:ra po:sc-ah e:ra mo:t-mo:ta kasi mejj-a*  
 goat keep.B2-PT.3SG.M goat RED-fat castrated be.B2-PT.3SG  
 He [i.e. grandfather] kept goats. Goats were very fat castrated ones.

2'56 *a:t-dine a:te-k eky-ah*  
 market-day market-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He went to the market on market days.

2'58 *a:te-k eky-ah a: pahr-no a:te-no hō masala*  
 market-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M that time-LO market-LO EPH spice  
*ba:lka be:k-a=indru qe:gy-ah*  
 turmeric salt-AC=and.so.on buy.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He went to the market. Then he used to buy spice, turmeric, salt, and  
 so on at the market.

3'06 *ik ik a:t-dine masala-n ba:lka-n qe:g-lah*  
 which.REL REP market-day spice-AC turmeric-AC buy-NG.PT.3SG.M  
*a: dine be:k-a=du:r qe:g-kah kiry-ah*  
 that.CR day salt-AC=only buy-CP.3SG.M return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 On a market day when he did not buy spice or turmeric, he bought  
 just salt and came back.

3'12 *a:lu qe:q-qar ondr-ar ta:n a:lu-n hō ci:k*  
 potato buy-CP.3PL bring-PT.3PL then potato-AC too only  
*pa:ne-hi pu:g-a pu:g-a moqy-ar*  
 whole.piece-EPH boil-AP REP eat.B2-PT.3PL  
 They bought potatoes and brought them home. Then they just boiled  
 them as they are and ate them.

3'18 *tarka:ri bana:tr-oti bad.mel-lar*  
 vegetable make-IF know-NG.PT.3PL  
 They did not know to cook vegetable dishes.

3'27 *bad.mel-lar kete-no bahc-bahc ca:g-a ti:qalu bajra a:*  
 know-NG.PT.3PL field-LO plough.B2.AP-REP sow-AP rice millet that



4'25 *bi:ky-ar e:ṛ-a perwa-n=indru talc-ar a: pahr-no*  
 call.B2-PT.3PL goat-AC pigeon-AC=and.so.on cut.B2-PT.3PL that  
 time-LO  
 They cut goats and pigeons [as sacrifice] back then.

4'30 *ande a: pahr-no aspitala bey-la andi.ako a: pahr-no*  
 then that time-LO hospital be-NG.PT.3SG therefore that time-LO  
*mandr-eti hi e:ṛu menj-a*  
 herbal.medicine-IN EPH well become.B2-PT.3SG  
 At that time, there was no hospital. So they got well by herbal  
 medicine.

4'37 *perwa talc-ar e:ṛ-a talc-ar kis-a talc-ar*  
 pigeon cut.B2-PT.3PL goat-AC cut.B2-PT.3PL pig-AC cut.B2-PT.3PL  
*ade-ti hi e:ṛu menj-a*  
 that-IN EPH well become.B2-PT.3SG  
 They cut pigeons, goats, and pigs. They got well by that [sacrifice].

4'42 *indeki do:ky-a tine ondqal menj-ar aba-trer*  
 this.way stay.B2-PT.3SG three sibling be.B2-PT.3PL father-PL  
 They lived this way, and they had three siblings, [my] dad and uncles.

4'46 *tine ondqal menj-ar tine ondqale-no pi:po*  
 three sibling be.B2-PT.3PL three sibling-LO father's.elder.brother  
*me:gro menj-ah*  
 eldest.son be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 There were three siblings. My big uncle was the eldest of them.

4'51 *ahi-ki na:mi ra:ju pahariya adi-nti cuda menj-ah aba-h*  
 he-GE name PROP PROP that-AB younger be.B2-PT.3SG.M father-M  
*ahi-ki na:mi jome pahariya*  
 he-GE name PROP PROP  
 His name is Raju Pahariya. Dad was younger than he. His name is  
 Jama Pahariya.

4'59 *adi-nti awri hō cuda menj-ah ahi-ki menj-a*  
 that-AB further EPH younger be.B2-PT.3SG.M he-GE be.B2-PT.3SG  
*ka:nya pahariya*  
 PROP PROP  
 There was a younger one than he. His [name] was Kanya Pahariya.

5'05 *ahi-n dada a:n-tan e:nu*  
 he-AC father's.younger.brother say-PT.1SG I  
 I called him little uncle.

5'07 *ahi-nti awri ort cuda menj-a ahi-n jetu pahariya na:mi*  
 he-AB further one younger be.B2-PT.3SG he-AC PROP PROP name  
*mejj-a ahi-n hō dada a:n-tan*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG he-AC too father's.younger.brother say-PT.1SG  
 There was yet another [uncle] even younger. Him, —his name was  
 Jetu Pahariya—I called him uncle, too.

5'14 lekin *ka:nya pahariya dada* *menj-ah* *a:hu*  
 but PROP PROP father's.younger.brother be.B2-PT.3SG.M he  
*essa-hi ka:ja-kud-u menj-ah*  
 very-EPH work-do-PP be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 But Kanya Pahariya, who was my uncle, he was a really hard worker.

5'20 *ahi-ki mi:n-a ady-oti* *essa-hi gosani cic-ad*  
 he-GE fish-AC catch.by.snare-IF very-EPH god give.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*ahi-k*  
 he-DA  
 God gave him a great [talent] for catching fish.

5'25 *igdek-gote eky-ah jare-k dade-k eky-ah*  
 where.REL-ever go.B2-PT.3SG.M jungle-DA forest-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ta:nu juri-n talca-ka=jahā ade-no sutu conj-ka mi:n-a*  
 then wooden.stick-AC cut.B2-CP=even that-LO string tie-CP fish-AC  
*adc-ah*  
 catch.by.snare.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Wherever he went, jungle or forest, he cut wood, tied string on it, and  
 caught fish [with it].

5'33 *ke:tnu-no mi:n-a arctar-le kir-tar-ah*  
 basket-LO fish-AC trap-CP return-CS-PT.3SG.M  
 He caught fish in basket and brought them back.

5'37 *ahi-k ekle-hi o:y do:ky-a a:hu pel.balo menj-a* *a:hu*  
 he-DA alone-EPH cow stay.B2-PT.3SG he bachelor be.B2-PT.3SG he  
 He had only cattle. He was a bachelor.

5'42 *ahi-ki pel-a biha nan-ka ondr-abalo menj-ah*  
 he-GE girl-AC wedding do-CP bring-NG.AP be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 [Although] he had a wedding, he had not brought his bride.

5'47 *orte-hi do:ky-ah tang-ma:ne-hi*  
 one.person-EPH stay.B2-PT.3SG.M self-alone-EPH  
 He lived all by himself.

5'49 *oṛgu id-ah oṛg-a indr-eti id-a* *a:hu*  
 house build.B2-PT.3SG.M house-AC what-IN build.B2-PT.3SG he  
*cata teh-ot bad.menj-ah*  
 ceiling weave-IF know.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He built a house. He built a house with something. He knew how to  
 weave the ceiling.

5'53 *ma:s-a tet-ah ke:tn-a teh-nar*  
 bamboo-AC weave.B2-PT.3SG.M basket-AC weave-PR.3PL  
*mohlid a:-leko cata teta-ka dār-o-qadi cata-no*  
 basket.maker that-like ceiling weave.B2-CP CLF-one-only ceiling-LO  
*satra-gotu o:y-a ild-ah*  
 seventeen-CLF cattle-AC make.stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He weaved bamboo. He weaved the ceiling like basket-makers weave  
 baskets, and kept seventeen heads of cattle under just one ceiling.

6'12 *o:y-a ild-ah pel.balo menj-a a:h*  
 cattle-AC make.stand.B2-PT.3SG.M bachelor be.B2-PT.3SG he  
*aro awq-ah eng-e jaga-n ko:s-kar qat-ke*  
 and speak-PT.3SG.M I-DA place-AC divide-CP.3PL give-FT.IMP  
*ko:s-kar qat-ke jaga-n eng-an*  
 divide-CP.3PL give-FT.IMP place-AC I-AC  
 He kept cattle. He was single. And he said, "Divide and give land to  
 me. Divide and give me land.

6'19 *e:n ekle do:k-an a:ny-ah ani ko:s-ka cic-ar*  
 I alone stay-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M so divide-CP give.B2-PT.3PL  
*ahi-k*  
 he-DA  
 I will live by myself." So they divided land and gave it to him.

6'23 *ko:s-ka cico-ko tay-ki jaga bite-no man paqar-a ade-n*  
 divide-CP give.B2-CP self-GE place side-LO tree lie-PT.3SG that-AC  
*gote-ni tayg nany-ah*  
 all-AC.EPH own.OBL do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After they divided and gave [land to him], when there is a tree on the  
 border of his land, he made it all his.

6'30 *ar tay-ki jaga-no juda-d arsy-ad a:*  
 and self-GE place-LO shadow-NM reach.B2-PT.3SG.NM that.CR  
*nane-r-ki man-a goṭe ta:r-a ta:r-a kuy-ah*  
 other-PL-GE tree-AC all cut.down-AP REP throw.away-PT.3SG.M  
 And if shadow of other people's tree should reach his land, he would  
 cut it all down and throw it away.

6'35 *a:hu essa puṭani=hō kaje-no kud-u menj-ah*  
 he very wicked=too work-LO do-PP be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He was very mean, [but] he is diligent when it comes to work.

6'41 *ar pi:po me:gro menj-ah pi:po*  
 and f's.elder.brother eldest.son be.B2-PT.3SG.M f's.elder.brother  
*got-inti ā:hō ṭaqin.o:nu hi menj-ah*  
 all-AB he drinker EPH be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And elder uncle was the eldest brother. He was the [heaviest] drinker  
 of all.

6'49 *a:hu sīnāq mel-lah indeki do:ky-ah*  
 he rich be-NG.PT.3SG.M this.way stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He was not rich. He lived that way.

6'51 *aba to ga:yre=ho o:y-a e:ṛa-n qaqy-ah*  
 father TOP much=too cattle-AC goat-AC get.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*qe:r=indru qaqy-ah po:sc-ah*  
 chicken=and.so.on get.B2-PT.3SG.M support.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Father got a lot of cattle and goats. He got chickens and so on. He  
 raised them.

6'58 *em-ki o:y-eti se a:-lo:kar bahc-ar*  
 we.E-GE cattle-IN EPH those-people plough.B2-PT.3PL  
 Those [village] people ploughed with our cattle.

7'03 *do:ky-a indeki do:k-ne do:k-ne do:k-ne do:k-nihī juga*  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG this.way stay-IPP REP REP stay-IPP.EPH age  
*badla:r eky-a gote-ri sikar-ar*  
 be.changed go.B2-PT.3SG all-PL learn-PT.3PL  
 While people lived that way, the time has changed and all got education.

7'19 *ta:li ca:r-tr-oti suru: nany-ar*  
 hair cut-CS-IF beginning do.B2-PT.3PL  
 They started having their hair cut.

7'22 *pace mulr-ar a: ta:li-n ca:r-tar-le*  
 in.olden.times make.hair.in.knot-PT.3PL that hair-AC cut-CS-CP  
 In olden times, they used to tie their hair in a knot. They had that hair cut, and

7'24 *agdi to langotī cu:c-ar ar kuku-no pa:ga-n ey-r-ar*  
 formerly TOP loincloth bind.B2-PT.3PL and head-LO turban-AC  
 tie-ITR-PT.3PL  
 formerly, they used to wear loincloth, and turbans were tied on their head.

7'28 *pel-ar ar janga qo:wy-ar ar*  
 woman-PL and women's.clothes carry.on.shoulder.B2-PT.3PL and  
*lungi: cu:c-ar*  
 lungee bind.B2-PT.3PL  
 Women used to wear janga and lungee.

7'33 *ar kađu-n dař-is tetu-ni kā:sa-ki kađu-n*  
 and bracelet-AC CLF-two hand-LO.EPH brass-GE bracelet-AC  
*aty-ar bāpi tak aty-ar*  
 wear.B2-PT.3PL arm till wear.B2-PT.3PL  
 And they wore  bracelets of brass on both wrists. They wore them up to their arms.

7'40 *aur toro toja-no=indru godna caq-r-ar*  
 and mouth chin-LO=and.so.on tattoo pierce-RF-PT.3PL  
 And they had tattoos made on [their] lips, chin and so on.<sup>2</sup>

7'44 *ar muso-no hō godna caq-r-ar*  
 and nose-LO too tattoo pierce-RF-PT.3PL  
 And they had tattoos even on [their] nose.

7'47 *a:-lo:kri[-kil] mundoti male-r-ki awq-po menj-a*  
 that-people-GE ancient person-PL-GE speak-IF be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Those people, people in olden times, used to say.

<sup>2</sup>For tattooing among the Pahariyas, see Vidyarthi (1963:227).

7'49 *ika caq-r-omala ahi-n qep-no birg-ley*  
 which.REL pierce-RF-NG.PR.3SG he-AC village-LO mix-NG.FT.1PL.I  
 "We will not mingle with him who is not tattooed."

7'53 *ar ika caq-r-abalo godna caq-r-abalo ahi-n*  
 and which.REL pierce-RF-NG.PP tattoo pierce-ITR-NG.PP he-AC  
*mari-no me:nd-tar-ley*  
 cemetery-LO burn-CS-NG.FT.1PL.I  
 "And we will not let him be cremated in the cemetery who is not  
 tattooed."

7'59 *ani ani(?) mage-pondi mundi godna caq-r-ar*  
 so REP boy-girl formerly tattoo pierce-RF-PT.3PL  
 So everyone used to be tattooed in olden times.

8'03 *inor to badla:r eky-a inor to lungi: pauci: gote-di*  
 now TOP be.changed go.B2-PT.3SG now TOP lungee upper.wear all-NM  
*beyo*  
 be.not.3SG  
 Now it has changed. Now the lungee and the upper wear are gone.

8'08 *inor to ri:ko-qadi maqo-jahā sa:ti: cuy-i*  
 now TOP little-only girl-even saree put.on-PR.3SG salwar  
*jampare-n at-i*  
 jumper-AC wear-PR.3SG  
 Now even a little girl puts on saree, and wears salwar and jumper.

8'15 *a:r ri:ko-qadi maqa-jahā na:mi kurk-oti bad-omalah a:hu*  
 and little-only boy-even name write-IF know-NG.PR.3SG.M he  
*pulpen-te-n at-dah juta-mo:ja-n at-dah*  
 full.pant-AC wear-PR.3SG.M shoe-sock-AC wear-PR.3SG.M  
 And even a little boy who cannot write his name wears *full pants*,  
 shoes, and socks.

8'23 *mundote-nti ar inorte-nti juga badla:r-a*  
 ancient-AB and now-AB era change-PT.3SG  
 The times have changed between olden times and today.

8'27 *inor ri:ko-qadi maqa-jahā usyari-h*  
 now little-only boy-even smart-M  
 Now even a little boy is smart.

8'30 *mundoti male-r male-no to ika gole-h barc-ah*  
 ancient person-PL person-LO TOP which Hindu-M come.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ta:n oṛgu-no muc uṭogr-ar*  
 then house-LO close be.filled.up-PT.3PL  
 When some Hindus came to the Pahariyas, the ancient Pahariya peo-  
 ple used to shut themselves away in their house.

8'34 *gole-h bar-no boyg-ey a:n-le duwar-is duwari*  
 Hindu-M come-IPP run-FT.1PL.I say-CP CLF-two door  
*nany-ar*  
 make.B2-PT.3SG.M

They used to make two doors, thinking “We will run away when a Hindu comes.”

8'37 *ar i: pa:w korc-ah ta:nu a: pa:w urq-qa*  
 and this way enter.B2-PT.3SG.M then that way go.out-CP  
*boŋgy-ar*  
 run.away.B2-PT.3PL

And if [a Hindu] enters [the house] from this way, they used to go out from that way and run away.

8'40 *inor andeki mal-a inor to maqa-jahā gol-saba-n*  
 now that.way be.not-PR.3SG now TOP boy-even Hindu-speech-AC  
*bad-eh*  
 know-PR.3SG.M

It is not like that now. Even a child knows Hindi now.

8'44 *maqa-jahā pary-ot kurk-ot bad-eh*  
 boy-even read-IF write-IF know-PR.3SG.M  
 Even a child can read and write.

8'46 *inor gote-ri usyari-la:go lehar e:k-nar*  
 now all-PL smart-somewhat become go-PR.3PL  
 Now all are becoming somewhat smart.

8'50 *e:nu guhiya pahariya qepdu malipara*  
 I PROP PROP village PROP  
 I [am] Guhiya Paharia. [My] village [is] Malipara.

8'54 *ey-ki orgu-male-r-ki-n agdi mundoti indrdu indrdu*  
 I-GE house-person-PL-GE-AC former ancient what what  
*mejj-a ka:kli a: sob-an tey়g-tan*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG difficulty that all-AC tell-PT.1SG  
 I told about my family, what it was like in olden times, and [about the] difficulties [at that time].

## §5 The story of my life: from childhood to marriage (C).

Told by Mr. Guhiya Paharia of Malipara, P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at Prince Lodge, Pakur, on February 25, 2006.

0'03 *e:m maqa menj-a-tam maqa menj-a-tam adno*  
 we.E child be.B2-PT.1PL.E child be.B2-PT.1PL.E then  
*sarw-sarwli-nihī em-en aba-d amb-ki*  
 RED-young-LO.EPH we.E-AC father-NM leave-CP.3SG.NM  
*de:si-k eky-a*  
 remote.place-DA go.B2-PT.3SG

We were children. When we were children, our father left us and went to a remote place [as a migrant laborer], when we were little.

0'14 *de:si-k eky-ah dudu-du:re do:ky-a*  
 remote.place-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M mother-only stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 He went to a remote place. Mother stayed alone.

0'18 *dudu do:ky-a je: nane-r-in bahy-tar-le qes-a*  
 mother stay.B2-PT.3SG but other-PL-AC plough-CS-CP paddy-AC  
*mand-a bahy-tar-le ganji ca:g-a ar menj-ad*  
 plant-AP plough-CS-CP maize sow-PT.3SG and be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Mother stayed [home], but she had other people plough and planted  
 paddy. She had [other people] plough, she sowed maize and it got  
 ripe.

0'33 *anda samtes-le em-en po:sc-a lap-tar-le do:k-tr-a*  
 then get.in.B2-CP we.E-AC keep.B2-PT.3SG eat-CS-CP stay-CS-PT.3SG  
 Then she reaped the crop and supported us. She fed us and supported  
 us.

0'37 *e:n menj-a-tan eng-ente sarwe eng.do menj-a*  
 I be.B2-PT.3SG I-AB younger my.sister become.B2-PT.3SG  
 I was, and I had a sister younger than I.

0'42 *eng.do menj-a adno do:k-ni do:k-ni do:k-ni-hi inor*  
 my.sister be.B2-PT.3SG then stay-IPP REP stay-IPP-EPH now  
*dudu-k me:d korc-a*  
 mother-DA illness enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 I had a sister. Then, while we lived that way, mother got ill.

0'50 *aba-h to de:si-no do:ky-ah*  
 father-M TOP remote.place-LO stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Father was in a remote place.

0'52 *bardma:ne-k eky-ah ke:pond ar moron de:si-k*  
 PROP-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M once and PROP remote.place-DA  
*eky-ah ke:pond*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG once  
 He went to Barddhaman once and to Moron once [as a migrant la-  
 borer].

0'57 *bardma:ne-no do:ky-ah adno e:m orgu-no do:k-tam*  
 PROP-LO stay.B2-PT.3SG.M then we.E house-LO stay.B2-PT.1PL.E  
*adno dudu-k me:d korc-a*  
 then mother-DA illness enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 He was in Barddhaman and we were home then. Then mother got ill.

1'02 *me:d korc-a ani inond jo:r.se me:d korc-a*  
 illness enter.B2-PT.3SG then this.much severely illness enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 She got ill and it got very severe.

1'06 *je: mandra qe:g-oti pe:sa=indru bey-la*  
 but medicine buy-IF money=and.so.on be-NG.PT.3SG  
 But there was no money or so on to buy medicine.

1'09 *pe:sa=indru bey-la ar tunq-u-r me:n-u-r*  
 money=and.so.on be-NG.PT.3SG and look-PP-PL listen-PP-PL  
*male-r hō bey-lar*  
 person-PL also be-NG.PT.3PL  
 There was no money, and there were no people who gave treatment.

1'14 *male-r hō bey-lar ani me:d korc-a ani ne:d*  
 person-PL also be-NG.PT.3PL then illness enter.B2-PT.3SG then who  
*e:m to ri:kbeni maqa menj-a-tam*  
 we.E TOP little boy be.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 There was no one, [she] got ill, and who was there? We were just  
 children.

1'19 *eng.do du: sa:le-ki menj-a e:nu co: sa:le-ki maqa*  
 my.sister two year-GE be.B2-PT.3SG I six year-GE boy  
*menj-a-tan*  
 be.B2-PT.1SG  
 My sister was two years old. I was a six-year-old boy.

1'23 *a: pahr-te-ki kata se i:du ej-ki*  
 that time-GE story EPH this I-GE  
 This is my story of that time.

1'27 *me:d korc-a ani tund-u-r me:n-u-r bey-lar*  
 illness enter.B2-PT.3SG then look-PP-PL listen-PP-PL be-NG.PT.3PL  
 [She] got ill, then there was no one who gave treatment.

1'29 *ne: tund-e:ni am-a ond-u-r tak bey-lar*  
 who look-FT.3SG.NM water-AC make.drink-PP-PL even be-NG.PT.3PL  
 Who would take care of her? There were not even people who gave  
 her water.

1'32 *e:m to sarwli menj-a-tam me:d ikni kor-id ade-n*  
 we.E TOP young be.B2-PT.1PL.E illness how enter-PR.3SG.NM that-AC  
*jahā e:mu a:g-latam*  
 even we.E know-NG.PT.1PL.E  
 We were young. We did not even know how one gets ill.

1'36 *kod-kid ok-ki kod-kid ok-ki*  
 lie.down-CP.3SG.NM sit-CP.3SG.NM lie.down-CP.3SG.NM sit-CP.3SG.NM  
*a:d kec-a toqr-a*  
 she die.B2-PT.3SG pass.away-PT.3SG  
 She took to her bed, got up, took to her bed, got up, and she died. She  
 passed away.

1'41 *toqr-ne ke.ba:d qepo-r toqr-ad a:d*  
 pass.away-VN after villager-PL pass.away-PT.3SG.NM she  
*toqor-lo=genu key-lo=genu par*  
 pass.away-SJ.NG.3SG.NM=even.if die-SJ.NG.3SG.NM=even.if but  
*a: pahr-no mandru-ki hō ikno jahā qaq-owr-oti jaga*  
 that time-LO medicine-GE also where even receive-PA-IF place  
*bey-la*  
 be-NG.PT.3SG  
 After she passed away, the villagers.... Well, even if she had not  
 passed away, even if she were not dead, there was no place what-  
 soever to get medication at that time.

1'53 *aspatala bey-la jare-ki jaṭi.buti mandra bana:tar-le*  
 hospital be-NG.PT.3SG bush-GE medicinal.herb medicine make-CP  
*pi:sc pi:sc ond-ar*  
 crush.B2.AP REP drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 There was no hospital. They made herbal medicine, crushed it, and took it.

2'00 *mandra qe:g-oti barc-ar ta:n litipara a:d-enti*  
 medicine buy-IF come.B2-PT.3PL then PROP there-AB  
*malipara-nti litipara aṭa:ra* kilometer *bar-no se*  
 PROP-AB PROP 18 kilometer come-IPP EPH  
 If they came to buy medicine, Littipara is eighteen kilometers from there, Malipara, just for coming.

2'08 *dakṭare-bahno mandru jimir-a*  
 doctor-LO medicine be.available-PT.3SG  
 Medicine was available at the doctor's place.

2'12 *anond geca bar-ni bar-ni ikin a:n-ki ne:ga*  
 that.much far come-IPP REP how say-CP.3SG.NM breath  
*ba:car-e:ni je: o:ja men-no qe:ndru-tr-ar*  
 be.saved-FT.3SG.NM but Ojha become-IPP tremble-CS-PT.3PL  
 How will one save his life coming that far? But if there was an Ojha, they made him exorcise.

2'19 *dola nat nat k<sup>b</sup>u:b qe:ndr-ar*  
 drum beat.B2.AP REP very tremble-PT.3PL  
 Beating drums, they tremble a lot.

2'20 *[an]da nek-u neky-a neky-a qe:r-a*  
 then get.well-PP get.well.B2-PT.3SG get.well.B2-PT.3SG chicken-AC  
*talc-ar e:ra talc-ar kis-a talc-ar mundi*  
 cut.B2-PT.3PL goat cut.B2-PT.3PL pig-AC cut.B2-PT.3PL formerly  
 One who was to get well [anyway] got well. They used to cut chickens, goats, pigs formerly.

2'26 *ade-ti ne:ke nek-u neky-a ne:ke (nek-u)*  
 that-IN who.DA get.well-PP get.well.B2-PT.3SG who.DA (get.well-PP)  
*nek-lad a:d kec-a*  
 get.well-NG.PT.3SG.NM that die.B2-PT.3SG  
 With that, one for whom [the disease] was to be cured got well. One for whom [it was] not to be cured died.

2'38 *kec-a key-ne ke.ba:d em-ja:ti-m key-no essa geci*  
 die.B2-PT.3SG die-VN after we.OBL-caste-1PL.E die-IPP very far  
*qep-inti geci juri-n tunga-kam me:nd-dam*  
 village-AB far firewood-AC collect-CP.1PL.E set.fire-PR.1PL.E  
 [My mother] died. When [someone in] our tribe dies, we collect firewood in a very far place from the village and cremate him.

2'48 *andek ca:r jina-r kate-no ced-i ced-i oc-ar*  
 that.way four CLF-PL bedstead-LO carry-AP REP take.B2-PT.3PL

That way, four people took [her body] carrying on a bedstead.

2'52 *ced-i ced-i oc-ar adno e:n to cinic-tan*  
 carry-AP REP take.B2-PT.3PL then I TOP recognize.B2-PT.1SG  
 They took [her body] carrying. Then I recognized

2'55 *dudu kec-ad ani me:nd-ot oy-nar a:n-tan*  
 mother die.B2-PT.3SG.NM so burn-IF take-PR.3PL say-PT.1SG  
 I said, "Mother is dead, so they are taking [her] in order to cremate [her]."

2'57 *lekin eyg-inti sarwe menj-ad a:du ciny-la*  
 but I-AB young be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that recognize-NG.PT.3SG  
 But [my sister] who was younger than I did not understand.

3'00 *dudu-n ari ikde-k oy-nar a:n-le olgy-a*  
 mother-AC TOP where-DA take-PR.3PL say-CP cry.B2-PT.3SG  
 She cried saying "Where are they taking mom?"

3'03 *jab me:nda-kar kiry-ar ani kir-ne ke.ba:d dudu*  
 when set.fire-CP.3PL return.B2-PT.3PL so return-VN after mother  
*ga ced-i ced-i ikde-k oc-ar anda bar-omala*  
 TOP carry-AP REP where-DA take.B2-PT.3PL then come-NG.PR.3SG  
 When they cremated [her] and came back, after coming back, [sister says] "[Where is] mom? Where did they carry mom away to? She does not come back."

3'08 *a:n-ko e:n teŋg-tan ki ayo-dudu kec-ad inor*  
 say-CP I tell-PT.1SG COMP mother-mother die.B2-PT.3SG.NM now  
 So I told her, "Mom is dead now."

3'12 *dudu bar-le:ni a:d kec-a me:nda-kar*  
 mother come-NG.FT.3SG.NM she die.B2-PT.3SG set.fire-CP.3PL  
*barc-ar a:n-ko*  
 come.B2-PT.3PL say-CP  
 "Mom will not come back. She is dead. They cremated [her] and came back."

3'17 *dudi-n o:n-oti and olgy-a*  
 milk-AC drink-IF all.the.time cry.B2-PT.3SG  
 She was crying all the time wanting to suck milk.

3'18 *and olgy-a anda indra kud-an je:*  
 all.the.time cry.B2-PT.3SG then what do-FT.1SG but  
*am-an=indru ond ond do:k-tra-tan*  
 water-AC=and.so.on make.drink.AP REP stay-CS-PT.1SG  
 She cried. What shall I do then? I gave her water and stayed her hunger.

3'22 *pa:k-a qemq-i kud-tan*  
 take.in.the.lap-AP hold.on.the.side-AP go.around-PT.1SG  
 I went along taking her in my lap and holding her.

3'24 *mo:t-ki menj-a adi-n hō pa:k-oti*  
 grow.big-CP.3SG.NM be.B2-PT.3SG that-AC also take.in.the.lap-IF

*pa:r-latan*

be.able-NG.PT.1SG

She had grown big. I could not take her in my lap.

3'27 *i:-pa:w pa:k-a pa:k-a oca-tan a:-pa:w*  
 this-way take.in.the.lap-AP REP take.B2-PT.1SG that-way  
*pa:k-a pa:k-a oca-tan*  
 take.in.the.lap-AP REP take.B2-PT.1SG  
 I took her holding her this way or that way.

3'30 *ne aba-trer eng-e ca:r ondqal menj-ar*  
 ITJ father-PL I-DA four sibling be.B2-PT.3PL  
 My father was of four brothers.

3'34 (*eng-inti*) *aba-nti me:gro menj-ah ra:ju pahariya*  
 I-AB father-AB elder.son be.B2-PT.3SG.M PROP PROP  
 There was a brother older than my father, Raju Paharia.

3'40 *a: ahi-nti(cu) ahe-n pi:po a:n-tan*  
 that he-AB he-AC father's.elder.brother say-PT.1SG  
 I called him big uncle.

3'43 *ahi-nti majtra-h menj-ah aba-h jome pahariya-h*  
 he-AB middle.one-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M father-M PROP PROP-M  
 There was a middle brother [younger] than him. [That is] my father, Jama Paharia.

3'48 *ahi-nti cuda-h menj-ah jetu pahariya-h ahi-n*  
 he-AB younger-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M PROP PROP-M he-AC  
*dada a:n-tan*  
 father's.younger.brother say-PT.1SG  
 There was [another brother] younger than he, Jetu Pahariya. I called him little uncle.

3'57 *ahi-nti cuda-h menj-ah ka:nya pahariya-h ahi-n hō*  
 he-AB younger-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M PROP PROP-M he-AC also  
*dada a:n-tan*  
 father's.younger.brother say-PT.1SG  
 There was [yet another brother] younger than he, Kanya Pahariya. I called him little uncle, too.

4'02 *gote-r hi e:ru menj-ar par ka:nya pahariya-h menj-ah*  
 all-PL EPH good be.B2-PT.3PL but PROP PROP-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*pagla-h*  
 mad.man-M  
 All were nice. But Kanya Pahariya was a mad man.

4'09 *ro:kar-e-berge a:hu mas-e(n)i parse-ni*  
 get.angry-VN-as.soon.as he hatchet-AC.EPH axe-AC.EPH  
*bala-ni barca-ni otr-ah*  
 lance-AC.EPH spear-AC.EPH take.out-PT.3SG.M  
 As soon as he got angry, he brought out a hatchet, axe, lance or spear.

4'15 *male-r-in caq-an a:n-le pit-an a:n-le qōh-an*  
 person-PL-AC stab-FT.1SG say-CP kill-FT.1SG say-CP chop-FT.1SG  
*a:n-le*  
 say-CP  
 Saying “I will stab, kill and chop people”

4'18 *ne: ika-gote ro:katr-a ahi-k goge-no ta:tru cak-ot*  
 who who-ever make.angry-PT.3SG he-DA stone-LO sickle whet-IF  
*suru: nany-ah*  
 beginning do.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 [If] anyone made him angry, he used to start whetting his sickle on a  
 stone for him.

4'23 *mo:c-an a:n-le awq-u do:ky-ah gote-ri qepo-r ahi-n*  
 cut-FT.1SG say-CP speak-PP stay.B2-PT.3SG.M all-PL villager-PL he-AC  
*elcy-ar*  
 fear.B2-PT.3PL  
 He used to say “I will cut [you].” All the villagers were afraid of him.

4'27 *ar ne:k-en a:h ro:kar-a a: male-n ekdam*  
 and who-AC he get.angry-PT.3SG that person-AC at.once  
*mo:cy-ah*  
 cut.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And one with whom he got angry, he cut that person right away.

4'32 *ro:kar-a a: male-n ande mo:cy-a aro*  
 get.angry-PT.3SG that person-AC all.the.time cut.B2-PT.3SG and  
*do:ky-ar eng-e dudu.bedi do:ky-ad aba.bedi*  
 stay.B2-PT.3PL I-DA grandmother stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM grandfather  
*do:ky-ah*  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He always cut that person with whom he got angry. And I had grand-  
 mother and grandfather.

4'38 *dudu keco-ko aba.bedi-tar-bahni do:k-tam e:mu ondqal-am*  
 mother die-CP grandfather-PL-LO stay-PT.1PL.E we.E sibling-1PL.E  
 After mother died, we siblings stayed at our grandfather’s place.

4'43 *do:k-tam do:k-ne do:k-ne do:k-nihi bardma:ne-nti aba-kirya-a*  
 stay-PT.1PL.E stay-VN stay-VN stay-IPP.EPH PROP-AB father-NM  
 return.B2-PT.3SG  
 We stayed [there]. While we stayed, father came back from Bard-  
 dhaman.

4'49 *kajari-n bor-ond gura-n bor-ond cu:ra-n*  
 parched.rice-AC bag.CLF-one jaggery-AC bag.CLF-one roasted.rice-AC  
*bor-ond ondr-a*  
 bag.CLF-one bring-PT.3SG  
 He brought a bag of parched rice, a bag of jaggery, and a bag of roasted  
 rice.

4'56 *ondr-ne ke.ba:d eng.do-d ij-a*  
 bring-VN after I.younger.sibling-NM stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then my sister stood up.

5'00 *(il-ne ke) ij-ad e:nu se tund-tan aba-d*  
 (stand-VN of) stand.B2-PT.3SG.NM I EPH see-PT.1SG father-NM  
*bar-i aba-d bar-i a:n-tan*  
 come-PR.3SG father-NM come-PR.3SG say-PT.1SG  
 She stood up. I saw [him] and said, "Dad comes! Dad comes!"

5'04 *eng-sarwe eng.do to ciny-la*  
 my-younger my.sister TOP recognize-NG.PT.3SG  
 My younger sister did not recognize [him].

5'06 *aba-d de:si-no do:k-ne se jarmar-a*  
 father-NM remote.place-LO stay-IPP EPH be.born-PT.3SG  
 She was born while father was away [for migrant labor].

5'08 *ciny-la ãls-nihi pa:ky-a*  
 recognize-NG.PT.3SG reach-IPP.EPH take.in.the.lap.B2-PT.3SG  
*pa:k-ki-tatki cumqy-a*  
 take.in.the.lap-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO kiss.B2-PT.3SG  
 She did not recognize him. As soon as he arrived [home], he took her in the lap and kissed her.

5'13 *cumq-qi qepu-pa:w-no qe:r-a talc-a*  
 kiss-CP.3SG.NM village-road-LO chicken-AC cut.B2-PT.3SG  
 After he kissed her, he cut a chicken on the village road.

5'18 *de:si-nte kiry-a ad-ki-n qe:r-an=indru*  
 remote.place-AB return-PT.3SG that-GE-AC chicken-AC=and.so.on  
*talc-e kir-ki amc-e no:dr-ki*  
 cut.B2-CP return-CP.3SG.NM take.bath.B2-CP wash-CP.3SG.NM  
*got-ki qepo-r-ik hõ cu:ra-n kajari gu:a-n*  
 all-DA villager-PL-DA too roasted.rice-AC parched.rice jaggery-AC  
*ba:tc-a*  
 distribute.B2-PT.3SG  
 He returned from working in a remote place. He sacrificed his chicken and so on, came back, took a bath and washed himself, and gave all the villagers roasted rice, parched rice, and jaggery.

5'26 *ba:tc-a ani do:k-tam em-e to orgu-no hõ*  
 distribute.B2-PT.3SG so stay-PT.1PL.E we.E-DA TOP house-LO also  
*dudu kec-ad ani orgu-no bu:ta do:k-i dola*  
 mother die.B2-PT.3SG.NM so house-LO ghost stay-PR.3SG drum  
*nah-i bu:ta do:k-i dola nah-i a:n-ki*  
 beat-PR.3SG ghost stay-PR.3SG drum beat-PR.3SG say-CP  
 He gave those things and we lived. Still, mother died in our house, so [village people] said, "[Her] ghost lives [in that house] and is beating a drum."

5'33 *pahariya-ki patyare beyo* biswa:se *beyo*  
 Pahariya-GE belief be.not.3SG faith be.not.3SG  
 There is no [sound] belief or faith among the Pahariyas.

5'35 *ani org-a qoty-ar* *ani je: ka:go-nihi ida-kam*  
 so house-AC break.B2-PT.3PL so but porch-LO.EPH build-CP.1PL.E  
*do:k-tam*  
 stay-PT.1PL.E  
 So they broke down our house. So we lived in the porch building [a room there].

5'39 *do:k-te do:k-te do:k-te em-e jo:r-s-er-ki* *hi*  
 stay-AP REP REP we.E-DA pair.CLF-two-PL-DA EPH  
*goti co:ta suru: menj-a goti ro:ga*  
 smallpox illness beginning be.B2-PT.3SG smallpox disease  
 While we went on living, smallpox came on to us.

5'46 *ade-ni hindi-ti ce:cak.ro:g a:n-nar=jahā a: suru:*  
 that-AC Hindi-IN smallpox say-PR.3PL=also that beginning  
*menj-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG  
 They also call it *ceacak rog* in Hindi. That started.

5'50 *jo:r-s-er-ki* *hī mo:ta mo:ta pa:n menj-a*  
 pair.CLF-two-PL-DA? EPH big big boil become.B2-PT.3SG  
 Big boils developed over us two.

5'54 *ikin nan-am e:m bah-ond-ni ondgale-r-ki*  
 how do-FT.1PL.E we.E place-one-LO.EPH sibling-PL-DA  
*menj-a ani bah-ond-ni kod-tam*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG then place-one-LO.EPH lie.ill.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 What shall we do? It came onto us siblings together, so we lay ill together.

5'58 *kod-tam inond jo:r.se asgr-a asgr-a pa:ndu*  
 lie.ill-PT.1PL.E this.much violently be.put.together-AP REP boil  
*teqr-a cejc-a teqy-ad*  
 burst-PT.3SG smell.B2-PT.3SG open.B2-PT.3SG  
 We lay ill. As we were put in bed together, the boil burst so violently.  
 It smelled [when it] opened.

6'03 *goti ro:ga ālsy-ad ani goti ro:ga-d*  
 smallpox disease reach.B2-PT.3SG.NM then smallpox disease-NM  
*āls-no agdi pahari-no indri-jahā mandrdu bey-la*  
 arrive-IPP formerly hill-LO what-even medicine be-NG.PT.3SG  
 Smallpox came on. When smallpox came on, there was no medicine whatsoever in the hills in olden times.

6'10 *mimi a:tga-n se tar-a tar-a aty-ar*  
 neem leaf-AC EPH break-AP REP spread.B2-PT.3PL  
 They just ripped neem leaves off and spread them.

6'13 *ki:w nan-enid adi-k garmi-no kurni-no ki:w*  
 cool make-FT.3SG.NM that-DA heat-LO warmth-LO cool  
*nan-enid a:n-le mimi a:tga-n tar-a tar-a*  
 make-FT.3SG.NM say-CP neem leaf-AC break-AP REP  
*atya-ar*  
 spread.B2-PT.3PL  
 They cool you down. So they cut neem leaves and spread them, saying they cool down heat and fever.

6'19 *at-kar gofi co:ta-no ki:d-ar*  
 spread-CP.3PL smallpox illness-LO lay.down-PT.3PL  
 They spread neem leaves and laid [us] down in smallpox.

6'21 *andeki me:d korc-tam do:k-tam ok-tam*  
 that.way disease enter.B2-PT.1PLE stay-PT.1PLE sit-PT.1PLE  
*do:k-tam uske.ba:d gosani-ki daya:-ti gofi pa:ndu*  
 stay-PT.1PLE after.that god-GE compassion-IN smallpox boil  
*cēgje-ti gofi pa:ndu ti:k menj-a*  
 mercy-IN smallpox boil well become.B2-PT.3SG  
 We fell sick that way. We stayed, got up and stayed, and then the smallpox was cured by the compassion of god, by the mercy of god.

6'35 *ti:k menj-a ani ti:k men-ne ke.ba:d andeki e:m*  
 well become.B2-PT.3SG then well become-VN after that.way we.E  
*do:k-tam*  
 stay-PT.1PLE  
 We got well. After we got well, we went on living.

6'41 *do:k-te do:k-te em-e e:ra qe:gy-ah aba-h qe:r-a*  
 stay-AP REP we.E-DA goat buy.B2-PT.3SG.M father-M chicken-AC  
*qe:gy-ah*  
 buy.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 While we lived, father bought us goats and chickens.

6'46 *qe:r-a qe:gy-ah kis-a qe:gy-ah uske:.ba:d*  
 chicken-AC buy.B2-PT.3SG.M pig-AC buy.B2-PT.3SG.M after.that  
*perwa qe:gy-ah*  
 pigeon buy.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He bought chickens and pigs, and then pigeons.

6'53 *ga:re hi do:k-te do:k-te e:ra-d hō ca:ri-ko:ri pac-ko:ri-got menj-a*  
 a.lot EPH stay-AP REP goat-NM too four-score five-score-CLF  
 become.B2-PT.3SG  
 While many animals were kept, just the goats had become eighty or one hundred head.

6'59 *o:ydu pac jo:ra co:jo:ra menj-a*  
 cattle five pair six pair become.B2-PT.3SG  
 Cattle had become five or six pairs.

7'04 *e:m agdi o:y bey-la anda ca:ro-n*  
 we.E formerly cattle be-NG.PT.3SG then borrowing.oxen-AC  
*oc oc bahc-tam ani di:re di:re pe:sa*  
 take.B2.AP REP plough.B2-PT.1PL.E then slowly REP money  
*qaq-qi*  
 obtain-PT.3SG.NM  
 Formerly, we did not have cattle. So we borrowed oxen from other people and ploughed. [Father] got money little by little.

7'10 *gaŋgi qosre bajra indru bi:s-bi:s-ki qe:gy-a*  
 maize pulse millet what RED-sell-CP.3SG buy.B2-PT.3SG  
 Having sold maize, pulse, millet and so on, he bought [them].

7'15 *qe:g-ne ba:d gahndy-ond lehr-a*  
 buy-VN after flock.CLF-one become-PT.3SG  
 After he bought them, they have become quite a flock.

7'18 *gahndy-ond men-ne ke.ba:d ade-ti hi bi:s-a bi:s-a ti:qal-a*  
 flock.CLF-one become-VN after that-AB EPH sell-AP REP rice-AC  
*qe:g-tam*  
 buy-PT.1PL.E  
 Then selling from it, we bought rice.

7'24 *bi:s-a bi:s-a ma:k-a qe:g-tam bi:s-a bi:s-a isagn-a daba*  
 sell-AP REP meat-AC buy-PT.1PL.E sell-AP REP oil-AC clothes  
*da:ri janga*  
 cloth shawl  
 Selling from it, we bought meat, oil, clothes, cloth, and shawls.

7'31 *a:te-ki sauda marci boryga cafka capola juta gote-nihi*  
 market-GE goods hot.pepper onion slipper sandal shoe all-AC.EPH  
*sauda:r-a (t)aty-a*  
 shop-AP finish.B2-PT.3SG  
 He bought market goods, hot pepper, onion, slippers, sandals, shoes, he finished buying them all.

7'41 *ar dudu bey-la ta:n-jahā orte-hi ja:gu bit-ah*  
 and mother be-NG.PT.3SG then-even one-EPH food cook-PT.3SG.M  
 And although mother was no more, he cooked food all by himself.

7'45 *gaŋgi ja:gu menj-a ta:n jahā ma:qa bij.merga*  
 maize cooked.food be.B2-PT.3SG then even night before.dawn  
*qe:rdu olgy-a adno co:c-ah*  
 chicken cry.B2-PT.3SG then get.up.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Even if there was [already] cooked maize, he got up at night, before dawn, when roosters cried.

7'50 *qe:rdu olgy-a adno co:c-ki ade-n jata-no*  
 chicken cry.B2-PT.3SG then get.up.B2-CP that-AC millstone-LO  
*dalc-a*  
 grind.B2-PT.3SG

He got up when roosters cried and ground it (i.e. maize) on the millstone.

7'53 *jata-no dalco-ko inor tes-ot=indru bad.men-no se*  
 millstone-LO grind.B2-CP now sift-IF=and.so.on know-IPP EPH  
*tes-ot=indru bad.mel-la*  
 sift-IF=and.so.on know-NG.PT.3SG

After grinding [it] on the millstone, he did not know anything like sifting.

7'58 *gote-ni ke:pond am qeyra-ki copa-sude bicr bicr*  
 all-AC.EPH once water be.heated-CP husk-with put.in.AP REP  
*la:ṛc la:ṛc bicr bicr ta:li-no taṛgro ja:gu-n*  
 stir.B2.AP REP put.in.AP REP plate-LO hot cooked.food-AC  
*otr otr e:gy-a anda lap-tam*  
 take.out.AP REP cool.B2-PT.3SG then eat-PT.1PLE

When the water is boiled, he put everything at once, unsifted husk together, stirred it, and served the hot food on a plate. We ate it when it cooled down.

8'07 *dika men-no se kurni lap-la e:q-qo-tatko se andeki*  
 stiff become-IPP EPH hot eat-NG.PT.3SG cool-CP-ECHO EPH that.way  
*lap-tam*  
 eat-PT.1PLE

Even if it becomes [cold and] stiff, he did not eat food hot. Only when it had cooled down, we ate it that way.

8'11 *andeki andekid em-en po:sc-a badyi:-tar-a*  
 that.way that.way we.E-AC support.B2-PT.3SG grow-TR-PT.3SG  
 Doing that way, he fed us and brought us up.

8'18 *po:sca-ki-tatkid andeki-hi badyi:-tar-ad*  
 support.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO that.way-EPH grow-TR-PT.3SG.NM  
*em-en*  
 we.E-AC

He fed us and brought us up that way.

8'21 *badyi:-tar-ne ke.ba:d qepo-r awq-ar qepo-r i: pa:w*  
 grow-TR-VN after villager-PL speak-PT.3PL villager-PL this way  
*a: pel-a dikatr-a dusra pel-a ondr-a*  
 that woman-AC look.for-IMP another woman-AC bring-IMP  
 Then the village people said, “Look for a woman and get remarried.”

8'27 *dusra pel-a ondr-a ondre-ke qo:k-le ne:*  
 another woman-AC bring-IMP bring-CP.2SG.M marry-SJ.2SG.M who  
*ja:gu bit-e:ni*  
 food cook-FT.3SG.NM

“Bring another woman. Bring another woman and marry [her]. Who will cook food [otherwise]?”

8'31 *ne:d am-a kum-eni ne:d juri*  
 who water-AC take.on.the.head-FT.3SG.NM who firewood

*kum-eni* *a:ny-ar*  
 take.on.the.head-FT.3SG.NM say.B2-PT.3PL  
 They said, "Who will carry water? Who will carry firewood?"

8'35 *par aba-d awq-a amb-in e:nu dusra pel-a*  
 but father-NM speak-PT.3SG leave-PR.1SG I another woman-AC  
*do:k-tar-lan nane pel-e do:k-no taj-ki teho-leko*  
 stay-CS-SJ.NG.1SG other woman-AC marry-IPP self-GE mother-like  
*po:sy-le:ni*  
 support-FT.3SG.NM  
 But father said, "No, I won't. I will not take another woman. If I marry another woman, she will not take care [of the children] like their own mother."

8'44 *ja:gu-n ciy-omalki=jahā ja:gu cica-tan a:n-eni*  
 food-AC give-NG.CP.3SG.NM=even food give.B2-PT.1SG say-FT.3SG  
 "Even when she has not given food, she will say 'I gave food.'"

8'48 *lap-omalko=jahā ja:gu lapy-ar a:n-enid*  
 eat-CP.NG=even food eat.B2-PT.3PL say-FT.3SG.NM  
 "Even if [the children] have not eaten yet, she will say 'They have eaten.'"

8'50 *dusra peli-n ondr-no taj-ki teho-leko mel-le:nid*  
 another woman-AC bring-IPP self-GE mother-like be-NG.FT.3SG.NM  
*ka:kles-enid a:n-kid pel.balo do:ky-a*  
 cause.trouble-FT.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.NM single stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 Saying "If I take another woman, she will not be like their own mother; she will cause trouble to them," he stayed single.

9'00 *jab.tak e:ni jo:r-s maje-r-in badyi-tr-omaltan ano*  
 until myself pair.CLF-two child-PL-AC grow-TR-NG.PR.1SG there  
*pel-a do:k-tar-lan a:ny-ah*  
 woman-AC stay-CS-SJ.1SG say.B2-PT.1SG  
 He said, "Until I raise the two children, I will not take a woman."

9'05 *e:n a: pahr-no iskule-no barti mel-latan qep-no pacma*  
 I that time-LO school-LO enrolment be-NG.PT.1SG village-LO fifth  
*kilas tak oky-a iskule*  
 class till sit.B2-PT.3SG school  
 I was not enrolled in school at that time. There was a school in the village up to the fifth class.

9'12 *qep-ni na:mi kurk-tr-e qatj-a*  
 village-LO.EPH name write-CS-VN give.B2-PT.3SG  
 It enabled [us] to write [our] names [staying] in the village.

9'14 *na:mi kurk-tar-ne ke.ba:d ani to:ra to:ra paric-tan*  
 name write-CS-VN after then a.little REP read.B2-PT.1SG  
 After I learned to write my name, I read little by little.

9'18 *paric-tan ani paqyi-ne ke parqyi-ne ke.ba:d qep-no eŋg-e*  
 read.B2-PT.1SG then read-VN of read-VN after village-LO I-DA

kala:ja:r *bima:ri darc-a*  
 Kala.Azar disease catch.B2-PT.3SG  
 I read. After that, the Kala Azar disease came on to me in the village.

9'23 *ro:ga darc-a* kala:ja:re-*ki ani* kala:ja:re-*ki ro:ga*  
 disease catch.B2-PT.3SG Kala.Azar-GE then Kala.Azar-GE disease  
*darc-a* *ani ano aspatala geca menj-a*  
 catch.B2-PT.3SG then there hospital far be.B2-PT.3SG  
 The disease came on to me. The Kala Azar disease came on to me.  
 The hospital was far [from] there.

9'31 *ani ikin nan-an a:n-ko ortu qa:kjare do:ky-ah* *kupijbana*  
 then how do-FT.1SG say-CP one doctor stay.B2-PT.3SG.M PROP  
*sarka:ri aspatale-no*  
 governmental hospital-LO  
 What shall I do? A doctor was in the governmental hospital of Kunjbona.

9'37 *sarka:ri aspatale-no su:y-a caq-ah sirape*  
 governmental hospital-LO injection-AC pierce-PT.3SG.M syrup  
*qaty-ah*  
 give.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He gave me injection and syrup at the governmenal hospital.

9'43 *ani onda-ko kala:ja:r ro:ga tj:k menj-a*  
 then drink-CP Kala.Azar disease well become.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then after taking it, the Kala Azar disease was cured.

9'47 *tj:k men-ne ke.ba:d do:k-tan do:k-tan do:k-tan o:y-a*  
 well become-VN after stay-PT.1SG REP REP cattle-AC  
*e:ni caric-tan*  
 myself walk.B2-PT.1SG  
 After I got well, I kept on living. I grazed the cattle.

9'52 *e:y-a caric-tan o:y-a caric-tan kis-a to conj-a*  
 goat-AC walk.B2-PT.1SG cattle-AC walk.B2-PT.1SG pig-AC TOP tie-AP  
*conj-a po:sic-tan*  
 REP keep.B2-PT.1SG  
 I grazed goats and cattle. I kept the pigs tying them.

9'57 *e:m kis-a cary-omaltam pa:re o:y-pa:we-hi juri bed-a*  
 we.E pig-AC walk-NG.PR.1PL.E but cattle-way-EPH firewood seek-AP  
*bed-a qo:w-a* *qo:w-a kir-tara-tan*  
 REP carry.on.shoulder-AP REP return-CS-PT.1SG  
 We don't graze pigs. But by way of [grazing] cattle, I looked for  
 firewood, carried it on my shoulder, and brought them back.

10'04 *be:r et-o orgi kir-tara-tan juri*  
 sun set-IF not.yet return-CS-PT.1SG firewood  
*qo:w-kan ar a: juri o:y-a dukatara-kan*  
 carry.on.shoulder-CP.1SG and that firewood cattle-AC bind-CP.1SG

10'11 *juri kidr-tan*  
 firewood split-PT.1SG  
 I brought them back before the sun set. After carrying the firewood and binding the cattle, I split the firewood.

10'11 *juri kidra-kan am-ik ek-tan*  
 firewood split-CP.1SG water-DA go.B2-PT.1SG  
 After splitting the firewood, I went out for [bringing] water.

10'14 *am-a qo:w-oti bad.mel-lat-an*  
 water-AC carry.on.shoulder-IF know-NG.PT.1SG  
 I did not know how to carry water on my shoulder.

10'16 *je: barya-maqo-ti qo:wa-kan ondra-tan*  
 but earthen.pot-child-IN carry.on.shoulder-CP.1SG bring-PT.1SG  
 But I carried [the water] with a small pot and brought it home.

10'18 *aba-d ma:qa qa:l-a kud-ki kir-y-a anda*  
 father-NM night field-AC work-CP.3SG.NM return.B2-PT.3SG then  
*ja:gu dalic-tam gangi ja:gu-n*  
 food grind-PT.1PL.E maize food-AC  
 Father came back from the field at night and then we ground [and prepared the staple] food, the boiled maize.

10'25 *ja:gu daly-ne ke.ba:d bic-a andeke e:me lap-a lap-a*  
 food grind-VN after be.cooked-PT.3SG that.way we.E eat-AP REP  
*lap-a do:k-tam*  
 REP stay-PT.1PL.E  
 Maize was cooked after grinding. We lived that way eating.

10'29 *em-ki bahut duke-ni bit-ar ani ne:-jahā tund-u*  
 we.E-GE much difficulty-LO.EPH cook-PT.3PL then who-ever look-PP  
*me:n-u bey-la*  
 ask-PP be-NG.PT.3SG  
 They cooked food in a lot of trouble. Then there was nobody who looks [after us] or asks [about us].

10'35 *do:k-ni do:k-ni aba.bedi-trar gote-ri kec-ar*  
 stay-IPP REP grandfather-PL all-PL die.B2-PT.3PL  
 While we lived, [our] grandparents all died.

10'39 *ani baqc-la:g-ko hō i: mage-n iskule-no barti nan-oti*  
 then grow-a.little-CP too this boy-AC school-LO enrolment do-IF  
*men-ani*  
 be-FT.3SG.NM  
 After I grew up a little, [father said] “[I] will have to enrol this boy in the school.”

10'44 *a:n-ki aba-d eng-en hiranpur iskule-no barti*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM father-NM I-AC PROP school-LO enrolment  
*nany-a*  
 do.B2-PT.3SG  
 Saying this, father enrolled me at Hirapur School.

10'49 *hiranpur iskul barti nany-a barti nan-ne ke.ba:d*  
 PROP school enrolment do.B2-PT.3SG enrolment do-VN after  
*hiranpur iskule-no qo:k-tan*  
 PROP school-LO stay-PT.1SG  
 He enrolled me at Hiranpur School. Then I stayed at Hiranpur School.

10'53 *qo:k-tan qo:k-tan uni:s.so:.afa:si sa:le-no iskule-no*  
 stay-PT.1SG REP 1988 year-LO school-LO  
*amb-kan qo:k-tan orgu-nihi adno qa:l-a kud-tam*  
 leave-CP.1SG stay-PT.1SG house-LO.EPH then field-AC work-PT.1SG  
 I stayed at the school. I left the school in 1988 and stayed home. I  
 worked the fields.

11'05 *qa:l-a kud-ko gangi kajak menj-a*  
 field-AC work-CP maize much become.B2-PT.3SG  
 I worked the fields and there was a lot of maize.

11'08 *ani gangi tar-ot a: dine jaksa menj-a jara*  
 then maize break-IF that day heavy.rain be.B2-PT.3SG rain  
*pos-a bani nindy-a got-wiji bani*  
 rain.B2-PT.3SG current be.filled.B2-PT.3SG all-directions current  
*nindy-a*  
 be.filled.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then there was heavy rain on that day [on which I was supposed] to  
 pick maize. It rained and the rivulets got full everywhere.

11'14 *bani nindy-ad ani e:mu pahariya ja:ti nadi-no mi:n-a*  
 current be.filled.B2-PT.3SG then we.E Pahariya tribe river-LO fish-AC  
*pit-oti ca:to ki:d-dam*  
 kill-IF coop lay-PR.1PL.E  
 The rivulets got full. We Pahariyas place coops in rivers to catch fish  
 then.

11'20 *mane ca:to ki:d-dam a:d-ek boyg-tan e:nu jara*  
 that.is coop lay-PR.1PL.E there-DA run-PT.1SG I rain  
*barc-a ani ca:to ki:d-tan a:d-ek boyg-tan*  
 come.B2-PT.3SG then coop lay-PT.1SG there-DA run-PT.1SG  
 That is, we place coops. I ran there, [for] I lay a coop after it rained.  
 I ran there.

11'24 *boyg-ne ke.ba:d bah-ond ca:to-no pac-muka-ba:gi*  
 run-VN after place.CLF-one coop-LO five-forearm-about  
*boda-d nind-ki kody-a*  
 snake-NM fill-CP lie.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then in one coop, there was a snake of about five cubits long filling  
 the coop lying in there.

11'30 *ma:qa boyg-qan ek-ko ani e:n to mi:n-d ako*  
 night run-CP.1SG go.B2-CP then I TOP fish-3SG.NM perhaps  
*a:n-tan u:qe-no boda-n ca:dre-no qet-kan ekdam*  
 say-PT.1SG darkness-LO snake-AC sheet-LO shake-CP.1SG at.once

*ide-n kark-kan guratar-le munda-tan*  
 this-AC tighten-CP.1SG turn.round-CP tie.up-PT.1SG  
 I went there running at night, and saying “It seems to be a fish,” I  
 shook the snake off on a sheet, tightened, rolled and tied it up right  
 away.

11'39 *munda-ka.tatkan ra:t.bar ra:ty-ond qo:w-a*  
 tie.up-CP all.night night.CLF-one carry.on.shoulder-AP  
*qend-i kud-tam*  
 take.along-AP do-PT.1PL.E  
 Having tied it up, I took it along all night carrying it on the shoulder.

11'44 *qo:w-a qend-i kud-kan ma:qondi*  
 carry.on.shoulder-AP take.along-AP do-CP.1SG morning  
*lehr-ad ani ade-n kol-ka tund-tan*  
 become-PT.3SG.NM then that-AC open-CP look-PT.1SG  
 Then when morning came, I opened and took a look at it.

11'50 *ū kol-ka tund-tan ū ū ma:qondi ca:dre-ni ca:dre-ni*  
 ITJ open-CP look-PT.1SG ITJ REP morning sheet-AC.EPH REP  
*kol-tan qet-tan a: pahr-nihi tefu-n tesy-a*  
 open-PT.1SG shake-PT.1SG that time-LO.EPH hand-AC roll.B2-PT.3SG  
 I opened and looked. I opened it and shaked it down on the sheet in  
 the morning. At that moment, it rolled around my hand.

11'58 *tefu-n tesy-ad ani lo:ke boda boda boda a:n-tan*  
 hand-AC roll.B2-PT.3SG.NM then people snake REP REP say-PT.1SG  
 It rolled around my hand. Then I said, “[Look,] everyone! Snake!  
 Snake!”

12'02 *lekin ano ortu ey-ki eng,do-h-i menj-ah*  
 but there one I-GE my.brother-M-EPH be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*awq-ah*  
 speak-PT.3SG.M  
 But there was only one person there, my cousin. He said,

12'04 *are boda mal-a jare-no to ma:qa mitra*  
 ITJ snake be.not-PR.3SG rainy.season-LO TOP night kind.of.fish  
*ko:r-i mi:n-du*  
 enter-PR.3SG fish-3SG.NM  
 “Say, it is not a snake. In rainy season, Mitra fish enters [a coop] at  
 night. It’s a fish.”

12'10 *mitra mi:n se kor-id ade-n kark-ka kark-ka*  
 kind.of.fish fish EPH enter-PR.3SG.NM that-AC tighten-CP REP  
*mund-a ani ani tefu tesy-a ade-n qac-a qac-a*  
 tie.up-PT.3SG then REP hand wrap.B2-PT.3SG that-AC break-AP REP  
*ca:dre-no munda-tan*  
 sheet-LO tie.up-PT.1SG  
 He tightly tied up the Mitra fish which had entered [the coop]. Tearing  
 off that fish which rolled around my hand, I tied it up in a sheet.

12'17 *ca:dre-no munda-kan ma:qondi ade-n kol-ka tund-in ta:n*  
 sheet-LO tie.up-CP.1SG morning that-AC open-CP look-PR.1SG then  
 to *boda menj-ad*  
 TOP snake be.B2-PT.3SG  
 After I tied it up in a sheet, I opened and looked at it in the morning.  
 Then it had become a snake.

12'21 *eng-en kat-ki co:c-ed ij-a*  
 I-AC cross-CP rise.B2-CP.3SG.NM stand.B2-PT.3SG  
 It jumped out to me, rose and stood up.

12'23 *eng-en kat-ki co:c-ed ij-a ani elc-ka*  
 I-AC cross-CP rise.B2-CP.3SG.NM stand.B2-PT.3SG.NM then fear-CP  
*bong-tan ba:pre*  
 run.away-PT.1SG ITJ  
 When it jumped out to me, rose and stood up, I was scared and ran  
 away, oh my god!

12'26 *inte-nti e:nu mi:n-a pit-oti nadi-k e:k-lan a:n-tan*  
 of.today-AB I fish-AC kill-IF river-DA go-NG.FT.1SG say-PT.1SG  
 I thought “From today on, I will never go to a river to catch fish.”

12'30 *a:n-tan pa:re avri din-ond jara pos-a ani e:t*  
 say-PT.1SG but again day.CLF-one rain rain.B2-PT.3SG.NM then ITJ  
*e:k-a are ki:d-ey e:k-a are paty-ey mi:n-a*  
 go-IMP ITJ lay-FT.1PL.I go-IMP ITJ pour.out.water-FT.1PL.I fish-AC  
 I said this, but one day when it rained again, [friends said] “Now let's  
 go! Let's lay a coop, pour out water and catch fish!”

12'35 *la:se menj-a sangale-r patc-a ade-n*  
 happy be.B2-PT.3SG friend-PL pour.out.water.B2-PT.3SG that-AC  
*tund-ko la:se menj-a*  
 look-CP happy be.B2-PT.3SG  
 [I] was excited. Having seen that friends [had laid the coop and]  
 poured out water, [I] was excited.

12'40 *ani adi-nti do: tin dini ba:de-nih̄i gangi tar-ey ina*  
 then that-AB two three day after-LO.EPH maize break-1PL.I today  
*a:n-naq-ker aba-h ade be:rni-lo:ke-r menj-ar ade*  
 say-REC-CP.3PL father-M and wage-people-PL be.B2-PT.3PL and  
*eng.do menj-a gangi-tar-ot eky-a*  
 my.sister be.B2-PT.3SG maize-cut-IF go.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then after two or three days, father and farm laborers were saying  
 “We will pick maize today.” My sister was there. She went to pick  
 maize.

12'48 *a: dine h̄o jara pos-a*  
 that day also rain rain.B2-PT.3SG  
 It rained on that day, too.

12'50 *ani mi:n-a patic-tam din-ond din-ond pos-a*  
 then fish-AC lay.coop-PT.1PL.E day.CLF-one REP rain.B2-PT.3SG

*jara goṭa dine jara pos-a*  
 rain all day rain rain.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then we caught fish. It rained for the whole day. It rained all day.

12'55 *poso-ko mi:n-a ku:ma patc-a kir-tan ula*  
 rain.B2-CP fish-AC coop lay.coop.B2-CP return-PT.1SG by.day  
 After it rained, I laid the coop and came back in the daytime.

12'58 *ani ke:tn-ond uba-mi:n korc-a*  
 then basket-one fish.name-fish enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then a basketful of Uba fish entered [the coop].

13'01 *ke:tn-ond uba-mi:n korc-a ani mi:n baha-nti*  
 basket-one fish.name-fish enter.B2-PT.3SG then fish place-AB  
*ek-kan e:n qa:l-ik ek-tan*  
 go.B2-CP.1SG I field-DA go-PT.1SG  
 Then I left the place of the fish and went to the field.

13'06 *qa:l-inti ek-tan ganyi tar-oti*  
 field-AB go-PT.1SG maize break-IF  
 I went from the field to pick maize.

13'09 *mi:n-a ki:da-kan ganyi tar-oti ek-tan*  
 fish-AC lay-CP.1SG maize break-IF go.B2-PT.1SG  
 I put down the fish and went to get the maize in.

13'12 *ganyi tar-oti e:k-ne ke.ba:d kud-pahr-no=hō a: ik-leko*  
 maize break-IF go-VN after work-time-LO=too that which-like  
*jaga ako bu:t-jaga bu:ta qo:k-id a: jaga*  
 place perhaps ghost-place ghost stay-PR.3SG.NM that place  
*mejj-a ako*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG perhaps  
 After I went [to the field] to get the maize in, even while I was working, [I was thinking] “What a place is that? It’s a ghost place. That seemed to be a place where a ghost lives.”

13'22 *berg-bini se osga banar-le urqy-a*  
 cat-like EPH mouse be.made-CP come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 It turned itself into a mouse just like a cat and came out.

13'25 *a: jaga-no se e:m kud-tam*  
 that place-LO EPH we.E work-PT.1PL.E  
 We were working in that very place.

13'26 *gote-r awd-ar i: jaga:-no bu:ta qo:k-id*  
 all-PL speak-PT.3PL this place-LO ghost stay-PR.3SG.NM  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 All said, “A ghost lives in this place.”

13'29 *osga banar-le urqy-a*  
 mouse be.made-CP come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 It turned itself into a mouse and came out.

13'30 *kud-u-r*      *tat-u-r*      *elcy-ar*      *ganygi*      *tar-u-r*      *hō*  
 work-PP-PL      ECHO      fear.B2-PT.3PL      maize      break-PP-PL      too  
*elcy-ar*  
 fear.B2-PT.3PL  
 Those who were working were scared. Those who were getting the maize in were scared, too.

13'33 *a: bacri em-e*      *bahut jo:r.se*      *ganygi menj-a*  
 that year we.E-DA very violently maize be.B2-PT.3SG  
 That year we had an awful lot of maize.

13'37 *bajra-d*      *hō bariya*      *se menj-a*      *ganygi-d*      *hō bariya*      *se*  
 millet-NM too excellent EPH be.B2-PT.3SG maize-NM too excellent EPH  
*qosre-d*      *hō e:ru menj-a*  
 pulse-NM too good be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Millet was excellent too. Maize was excellent. Pulse was good.

13'42 *a: dine ganygi tar-te*      *tar-te e:n bor-ond*      *ganygi*  
 that day maize break-AP REP I bag.CLF-one maize  
*kum-tan*  
 take.on.the.head-PT.1SG  
 Picking maize, I carried a bag of maize on my head on that day.

13'45 *pahāri mecte-nte malipara-k argtara-tan*  
 hill above-AB PROP-DA lift.up-PT.1SG  
 I carried it from above the hill to Malipara.

13'49 *argtara-tan*      *ani*      *eng-e*      *qasru*      *ta:rgr-a*      *a:d*  
 lift.up-PT.1SG then I-DA neck be.broken-PT.3SG that  
*qacy-a*  
 look.like.B2-PT.3SG  
 I carried it on my head. Then I felt as if my neck were broken.

13'52 *simint bora-no bor-ond*      *kum-kan*      *ganygi-n*      *e:n*  
 cement bag-LO bag.CLF-one carry.on.head-CP.1SG maize-AC I  
*argtara-tan*  
 lift.up-PT.1SG  
 I carried it in a bag of cement on the head. I carried the maize.

13'56 *argtara-ko qasru nunjc-a*      *e:n pa:r-lan*      *qasru*  
 lift.up-CP neck ache.B2-PT.3SG I be.able-NG.SJ.1SG neck  
*nunj-i*      *e:n kum-oti*      *pa:r-lan*  
 ache-AP I carry.on.head-IF be.able-NG.SJ.1SG  
 After I carried them, my neck hurt. "My neck hurts. I will not be able to carry [another bag]."

14'02 *qasru*      *nunj-id*      *a:n-tan*      *a:n-kan*      *en-ki*  
 neck ache-PR.3SG.M say-PT.1SG say-CP.1SG I-GE  
*sarwe-n*      *eng.do-n*      *teya-tan*      *are*      *ni:n*      *e:k-a*      *ganygi*  
 sister-AC my.sister-AC send-PT.1SG ITJ you go-IMP maize  
*kum-ki*      *ondr-eni*  
 carry.on.head-CP.2SG.NM bring-FT.2SG.NM

I said, "My neck hurts." Having said this, I sent my sister, saying "You please go, and you can bring the maize carrying on your head."

14'09 *eng-e qasru nujj-id a:n-tan*  
I-DA neck hurt-PR.3SG.NM say-PT.1SG  
I said "My neck hurts."

14'11 *ani eng-do gangi-n tar-oti eky-a*  
then my.sister maize-AC break-IF go.B2-PT.3SG  
Then my sister went to pick maize.

14'14 *gangi tar-oti eky-ad ani gangi-ki para-no kody-a a:d kakro.te:la*  
maize break-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.NM then maize-GE fruit-LO  
lie.B2-PT.3SG that scorpion  
She went to pick maize. Then lying in the ear of maize was a poisonous scorpion.

14'20 *kakro.te:la kody-a (e:) ays-kid gangi-n tar-ot jokc-ad*  
scorpion lie.B2-PT.3SG reach-CP.3SG.NM maize-AC break-IF  
jokc-ad  
bring.together.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
A poisonous scorpion lay [there]. She reached there and put her hand [on the maize] to pick it.

14'24 *ani kakro.te:la adi-n caq-a tetu-ni caq-a*  
then scorpion that-AC sting-PT.3SG hand-AC.EPH sting-PT.3SG  
Then the scorpion stung her, stung her hand.

14'29 *tetu-ni caqa-ko adi jarqy-a*  
hand-AC.EPH sting-CP then fall.B2-PT.3SG  
It stung her hand and then it fell.

14'31 *adi jarq-ko kakro.te:l-maqha ho and-ar pity-ar*  
that fall-CP scorpion-bug too find-PT.3PL kill.B2-PT.3PL  
The scorpion fell. They found it too, and killed it.

14'34 *adi jarqy-a ani a:di-nti oqg-ik ondr-ni ondr-ni ondr-ni i: ne:ga qondy-a*  
that fall.B2-PT.3SG then there-AB house-DA bring-IPP REP REP  
ondr-ni i: ne:ga qondy-a  
REP this breath be.tired.B2-PT.3SG  
It fell. While they brought her home, her life was debilitated.

14'41 *ne:ga qondy-a ani [oy]oja:-guru ja:ri-u:ri-n*  
breath be.tired.B2-PT.3SG then Ojha-guru witch.doctor-ECHO-AC  
*guru-lo:ker=indru ci:pu-r-in qa:lu-r-in got-ni*  
guru-people=and.so.on sucker-PL-AC cutter-PL-AC all-AC.EPH  
*bed-tara-tam*  
seek-CS-PT.1PL.E  
Her life was debilitated. Then an Ojha Guru, a witch doctor, Guru people and so on, people who suck [the poison] or cut [the skin with leaves] – we sent for them all.

14'52 *mandra tipi-taro-ko=jahā nek-la ma:qa adi-ki*  
 medicine attach-CS-CP=even get.well-NG.PT.3SG night that-GE  
*ne:ga-d urqy-a*  
 breath-NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 Even after applying medicine, she did not get well. At night, she expired.

14'58 *ne:ga-d urqy-ad adi-ki ne:ga-d urq-ne*  
 breath-NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-GE breath-NM come.out-VN  
*ke.ba:d ande-kem inor to ja:gu lapy-ad aba-d*  
 ke.ba:d after that.way-CP.1PLE now TOP food eat.B2-PT.3SG.NM father-NM  
*adno am ond-a*  
 then water drink.B2-PT.3SG  
 She expired. Even though she had expired, father was now eating food and drinking water.

15'06 *indra-jahā mal-a*  
 what-ever be.not-PR.3SG  
 [He said] "This is nothing."

15'07 *inor adi-ki-n olg-dam pa:r-dam olg-dam*  
 now that-GE-AC weep-PR.1PLE sing-PR.1PLE weep-PR.1PLE  
*pa:r-dam olg-dam olg-ni pa:r-ni olg-ni pa:r-ni ekdam*  
 sing-PR.1PLE weep-PR.1PLE weep-IPP sing-IPP cry-IPP sing-IPP at.once  
*e:k bacri ba:de-no se ne:ga kuc tanda menj-a*  
 one year after-LO EPH breath somewhat cool become.B2-PT.3SG  
 We cried and lamented over her. Crying and lamenting, our souls had become somewhat cool after one year.

15'17 *tanda men-ne ke.ba:d se (tanda men-ne ke.ba:d ...) ort maqo*  
 cool become-VN after EPH one girl  
*do:ky-ad a:d-ō beyo ongr-a*  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-too be.not.3SG pass.away-PT.3SG  
 After [our soul] became cool, there was one girl. She was also no more, she passed away.

15'25 *pel-a tikatr-ey deka ning-e a:ny-ah*  
 woman-AC put.up-FT.1PL.I come.on.ITJ you-DA say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 [Father] said, "Come on, we will take a bride for you."

15'28 *ani ci:potā.pelpota awdy-ah*  
 then woman.shmooman speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He then said, "Woman-shmooman (Stop crying over her.)"

15'30 *e:n pel-a=indru do:k-tar-lan e:n a:n-tan*  
 I woman-AC=and.so.on stay-CS-SJ.NG.1SG I say-PT.1SG  
 I said, "I will not take such a thing like a wife."

15'32 *teb ne: se org-an fund-eni alwi men-eni teb*  
 then who EPH house-AC look-FT.3SG.NM light be-FT.3SG.NM then  
*pel.balo do:k-ene*  
 bachelor stay-FT.2SG.M

[Father said] “Who will look after the house then? There will be light. Will you stay single?”

15'36 *metrike pa:s mejja-te inor inor pel-a*  
 matriculation pass be.B2-PT.2SG.M now now woman-AC  
*ondr-ey a:ny-ah*  
 bring-FT.1PL.I say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, “You have passed matriculation. Now let us take a bride.”

15'41 *do:k-ni do:k-ni do:k-ni ortu em-qep-ki-ni apna malni*  
 stay-IPP REP REP one we.E-village-GE-EPH own woman  
*mej-j-a ade-n tetuli-k oc-ar*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM she-AC PROP-DA take.B2-PT.3PL  
 As we carried on, there was one woman of our village. They took her to Tetuli.

15'48 *tetuli-k oc-ar ani pahariya ja:ti-no lap-oti kis-a mo:ta*  
 PROP-DA take.B2-PT.3PL then Pahariya tribe-LO eat-IF pig-AC fat  
*mo:ta kasi-n kis-a pit-nar e:re pit-nar*  
 fat castrated.animal-AC pig-AC kill-PR.3PL goat kill-PR.3PL  
 They took [her] to Tetuli. Then among the Pahariya tribe, they kill pigs, very fat castrated pigs, they kill goats, for eating.

15'57 *tadi bit-nar kejri tadi-n o:n-nar ta:lmi tadi-n*  
 toddy cook-PR.3PL date toddy-AC drink-PR.3PL palm toddy-AC  
*o:n-nar a: qepo-male-r-in pandra-jinu*  
 drink-PR.3PL that villager-person-PL-AC fifteen-people.CLF  
*solla-jinu bi:k-tar-nar lap-nar*  
 sixteen-people.CLF call-TR-PR.3PL eat-3PL  
 They brew wine, they drink date toddy and palm toddy. They invite fifteen or sixteen village people and eat.

16'07 *kis-a hō maq-on-ō kisdi pac a seru sa:t seru beh-id*  
 pig-AC too CLF-one-too pig five seer seven seer be-PR.3SG.NM  
 And a pig too. There is one pig of five or seven seer.

16'13 *ade-n pit-a pit-a ciy-nar ca:ma pa:r-u-n bi:k-tar-nar*  
 that-AC kill-AP REP give-PR.3PL song sing-PP-AC call-TR-PR.3PL  
*ade-n*  
 that-AC  
 They butcher [it] and treat [people to it]. They call a singer.

16'17 *pahariya-ki lap-e a:n-nar lap-tar-oti bi:k-tar-nar*  
 Pahariya-GE eat-VN say-PR.3PL eat-CS-IF call-TR-PR.3PL  
 They call it ‘*lape*’ (feast) of the Pahariyas. They invite [people] to give them food.

16'21 *lap-tr-oti bi:k-tr-ar ade-n lap-oti eky-ad aba-d*  
 eat-CS-IF call-TR-PT.3PL that-AC eat-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.NM father-NM  
*tetuli tetuli qep-ik*  
 PROP PROP village-DA

They called [father] to give [him] food. Father went to Tetuli village to attend the feast.

16'26 *tetuli qep-ik eky-a ek-kid eyg-dō:k-u-n*  
 PROP village-DA go.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-CP.3SG.NM me-marry-PP-AC  
*tund-y-a*  
 look.B2-PT.3SG  
 He went to Tetuli village. He went and saw my future wife.

16'31 *tund-ne ke.ba:d mhū (ideni) idi-ne ey.gade-k oy(n)-oti e:ru*  
 look-VN after ITJ this-AC my.son-DA take-IF good  
*men-al a:n-ki-tatki teŋgr.naqy-ah*  
 be-SJ.3SG say-CP-ECHO converse.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After he saw her, he thought “Well, to take this girl for my son would be good for him,” and discussed.

16'39 *adi-nti deka inor samdi men-ey*  
 that-AB ITJ now married.couple's.fathers become-FT.1PL.I  
 “Look, then we will soon be parents of a married couple.”

16'43 *samdi men-ey ey-ki ey.gada-h*  
 married.couple's.fathers become-FT.1PL.I I-GE my.son-M  
*metrik pa:se-h*  
 matriculation pass-M  
 “We will be parents of a married couple. My son is a *matric pass*.”

16'46 *a:hi pel aro=hō qe:so essa e:ru maja.qani*  
 he woman further=too beautiful.woman very good pretty  
*a:ny-ah*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, “And also, the girl is beautiful. She is very good and pretty.”

16'52 *tađi-n o:n-u malni menj-a*  
 toddy-AC drink-PP woman be.B2-PT.3SG  
 She was a woman who drinks liquor.

16'54 *aba-h to kejri tađi ta:no ta:lmi tađi ta:no ari mahwa tađi*  
 father-M TOP date toddy and palm toddy then TOP mahua toddy  
*ta:no gote-di tađin.o:nu menj-a*  
 and all-NM drinker be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Father was a drinker, whether it is date palm toddy, palm toddy, or Mahua liquor.

17'04 *ar ey-ki dudu-ga:rni hō tađin.o:nu menj-a*  
 and I-GE mother-in.law.F too drinker be.B2-PT.3SG  
 And my mother-in-law was also a drinker.

17'09 *ma:qa ra:ty-ond tađi-n ond-ar teŋgr.naqy-ar*  
 night night.CLF-one toddy-AC drink.B2-PT.3PL converse.B2-PT.3PL  
*taty-ar ande-keri do:ky-ar*  
 ECHO that.way-CP.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL  
 They drank liquor the whole night and talked. They were like that.

17'14 uske:.ba:d *hō deko e:ru men-eni*      *hō: deko e:ru men-eni*  
 after.that ITJ ITJ well be-FT.3SG.NM ITJ ITJ well be-FT.3SG.NM  
*a:n-naqy-ar*      *ani (e)andeki e:ru menj-a*  
 say-REC.B2-PT.3PL then that.way well be.B2-PT.3SG  
 After that, they said to each other "Okay, look, it will be a good  
 match." And it turned out to be so.

17'23 *inor ada em-ja:ti pahariya ja:ti-ki niyame-d*  
 now house we.E-tribe Pahariya tribe-GE custom-NM  
*sa:di=indru biha-sa:di biha-no a:t-enti*  
 wedding=and.so.on wedding-wedding marriage-LO market-AB  
*bajare-nti me:la-nti band-i band-i oy-nar*  
 bazaar-AB festival-AB pull-AP REP take-PR.3PL  
 Now the family, our tribe, the Pahariya tribe has a custom. In mar-  
 riage, they take [girls] from a market, a bazaar or a festival pulling  
 [their hands].

17'37 *a:n-ki a:fe-no tund-a naq-nar kali me:la-no tund-a*  
 say-CP market-LO look-AP REC-PR.3PL Kali festival-LO look-AP  
*naq-nar durga me:la-no tund-a naq-nar*  
 REC-PR.3PL Durga festival-LO look-AP REC-PR.3PL  
 And they see each other at the market. They see each other in the Kali  
 festival. They see each other in the Durga festival.

17'43 *bo:ja men-i pahariya me:la bo:je-no tund-a naq-nar*  
 feast be-PR.3SG Pahariya festival feast-LO look-AP REC-PR.3PL  
 There is a feast. In a festival or a feast, Pahariyas see each other.

17'47 *tund-a naq pahr-no rumale-no piṭa ciy-nar kajri*  
 look-AP REC time-LO handkerchief-LO bread give-PR.3PL date  
*ciy-nar laqu ciy-nar a: pahr-no*  
 give-PR.3PL laddu give-PR.3PL that time-LO  
 When they see each other, they give bread [rolled] in a handkerchief,  
 they give dates, they give laddu at that time.

17'55 *pel-du cawdo mo:q-i muṛsa cawdo mo:q-dah*  
 woman-NM half.piece eat-PR.3SG man piece eat-PR.3SG.M  
 The girl eats half [of it]. The boy eats the other half [of it].

17'59 *maṛ-eh ta:nu a: rumale-no mund-e-ki peli*  
 like-FT.3SG.NM then that handkerchief-LO tie-CP.3SG.NM woman  
*muṛse-k ciy-i muṛsa munda-kah peli-k ciy-dah*  
 man-DA give-PR.3SG man tie-CP.3SG.M woman-DA give-PR.3SG.M  
 If the girl likes [him, she] ties [the sweets] in that handkerchief and  
 gives it [back] to the boy. The boy ties it and gives it to the girl.

18'06 *ṭhi:k ṭhi:k ṭhi:k gote-ri kusa.kusi menj-ah*  
 good good good all-PL happy become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Okay, okay, all have become happy.

18'10 *peli ar muṛsa kusa.kusi menj-ah a:n-kar*  
 woman and man happy become.B2-PT.3SG.M say-CP.3PL

*adi-nti pa:ry-u bed-tar-dah niyares-dah situ*  
 that-AB be.able-PP seek-TR-PR.3SG.M invite-PR.3SG.M match.maker  
*tey-dah*  
 send-PR.3SG.M

[If] they say the woman and man have become content, then one who can afford [to have a wedding] offers a marriage proposal, sends invitation, and sends a match-maker.

18'20 *muṣsa peli-k pe:sa cica-kah oy-dah*  
 man woman-DA money give.B2-CP.3SG.M take-PR.3SG.M  
 The boy gives money to the girl['s family] and takes her.

18'22 *pa:ry-abalo ta:n indeki band-i band-i oy-dah*  
 be.able-NG.AP then this.way pull-AP REP take-PR.3SG.M  
 If he cannot, then he takes [her] pulling this way.

18'25 *band-i band-i oca-kah do:k-tar-dah*  
 pull-AP REP take-CP.3SG.M stay-CS-3SG.M  
 He takes her pulling and lives with her.

18'27 *do:k-tar-ne ke.ba:d maqo men-ne ke.ba:d pa:r-dah ta:n*  
 stay-CS-VN after child be-VN after be.able-PR.3SG.M then  
*sa:di men-dah mal-a ta:n indeki do:k-nar*  
 wedding do-PR.3SG.M be.not-PR.3SG then this.way stay-PR.3PL  
 After he starts living with her, after a child is born, the man marries  
 her if he is able. If not, they stay this way.

18'32 *ne bey-u pel-a bed-dam a:n-tan bed-abalo=jahā*  
 who be-PP woman-AC seek-PR.1PL.E say-PT.1SG seek-NG.AP=even  
*do:k-nar*  
 stay-3PL

I said, “If we have [money], we will marry a woman. People live [together] even without getting married.”

18'36 *adi-nti a:t-dine adi-nti malipara qep-no bo:ja menj-a*  
 that-AB market-day that-AB PROP village-LO feast be.B2-PT.3SG  
 On a market day after that, there was a feast in Malipara village.

18'42 *bo:ja menj-ad ani uhū ina to tetuli-nti bar-anar*  
 feast be.B2-PT.3SG.NM then ITJ today TOP PROP-AB come-FT.3PL  
*ta*  
 probably

There was a feast. Then [I thought] “Well, today they will come from Tetuli.”

18'47 *pel.maqa-r batga-r hō bar-anar muṣs.maqa-r hō*  
 girl-PL maiden-PL too come-FT.3PL boy-PL too  
*bar-anar ina do:k-tr-ey*  
 come-FT.3PL today stay-CS-FT.1PL.I

“Girls and maidens will come, boys will come. We will get married today.”

18'53 *tadi kejri-tadi=indru ok-i ina do:k-tr-ey*  
 toddy date-toddy=and.so.on sit-PR.3SG today stay-CS-FT.1PL.I  
 “There is liquor, date palm toddy and so on. We will get married today.”

18'56 *ina biha men-eni biha nan-ey ina*  
 today wedding be-FT.3SG.NM wedding do-FT.1PL.I today  
 “There will be a wedding today. We will have a wedding today.”

19'00 *a:n-ko acc<sup>ha</sup>: ti:k tebe ina ma:qa men-i*  
 say-CP okay good then today night be-PR.3SG  
 “Okay, well, then, it is getting night today.”

19'03 *le:la bij-eni bijy-a adno ma:qondi pahr-no*  
 tomorrow dawn-FT.3SG.NM dawn.B2-PT.3SG then morning time-LO  
*bar-a:nar adno oṛg-a cap-tr-ey*  
 come-FT.3PL then house-AC tread-CS-FT.1PL.I  
 “It will dawn tomorrow. When it dawns, they will come in the morning. Then we will lead [them] into the house.”

19'11 *oṛg-ik bande-key kor-tr-ey*  
 house-DA pull-CP.1PL.I enter-CS-FT.1PL.I  
 “We will pull [them] and make them enter the house.”

19'15 *ani a: dina tetuli qepu a:mbaṛ qepu malipara*  
 then that day PROP village PROP village PROP  
*bo:j-ba:si-no bo:la-ke:le menj-a p<sup>h</sup>uṭbo:le kelar-ar*  
 feast-day.after-LO ball-play be.B2-PT.3SG football play-PT.3PL  
 Then on that day, the villages Tetuli, Ambar, and Malipara had a ball game. After the feast, they played football.

19'26 *p<sup>h</sup>uṭbo:le kelar-ko eng-en awd-ah bo:j-bahno aṛe (e:)*  
 football play-CP I-AC speak-PT.3SG.M feast-LO ITJ  
*ning-e to peli-n do:k-tra-nar ta ning-e pel-a*  
 you-DA TOP woman-AC stay-CS-PR.3PL certainly you-DA woman-AC  
*do:k-tra-nar ning-a a:ny-ah*  
 stay-CS-PR.3PL you-DA say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Having played football, [someone] said to me at the site of the feast, “Hey, they are going to marry a girl to you, aren’t they? They are going to marry a girl to you.” He said this.

19'36 *e:t e:n pel-a amb-in amb-in e:n pel-a*  
 ITJ I woman-AC leave-PR.1SG REP I woman-AC  
*do:k-tr-lan amb-in e:n*  
 stay-CS-NG.FT.1SG leave-PR.1SG I  
 “Oh, no! I won’t. I won’t get married. I won’t.”

19'40 *laja:-tar-a laja:-tar-a e:n pel-a do:k-lan*  
 blush-CS-PT.3SG REP I woman-AC stay-NG.FT.1SG  
 It made me blush [and I said] “I am not getting married.”

19'42 *a:n-kan a: p<sup>h</sup>uṭbo:le kelar-oti ek-tan e:n*  
 say-CP.1SG that football play-IF go-PT.1SG I

Having said this, I went to play football.

19'47 *p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>t</sup>bo:le kelar-kan a: pa:w baric-tan*  
 football play-CP.1SG that way come.B2-PT.1SG  
 Having played football, I came by that way.

19'50 *(bar-ne ke) a: pa:w baric-tan em-e qep-nihi jarna*  
 that way come.B2-PT.1SG we.E-DA village-LO.EPH spring  
*kūwa ok-i*  
 well sit-PR.3SG  
 I came by that way. There is a spring in our village.

19'55 *kūwa-bahno a: am-a=indru onda-tatkan e:n*  
 well-LO that water-AC=and.so.on drink.B2-ECHO.CP.1SG I  
*to pel-a do:k-tr-an a:n-ka elc-u-n besi jaldi*  
 TOP woman-AC stay-CS-FT.1SG say-CP fear-PP-1SG much fast  
*bar-latan*  
 come-NG.PT.1SG

After drinking water at the spring, thinking “I am taking a wife,” I did not go [home] so fast out of fear.

20'01 *pa:re pel.maqe-r-in batge-r-in tekca-kar eng-bahni*  
 but girl-PL-AC maiden-PL-AC stop.B2-CP.3PL I-LO.EPH  
*do:k-tr-ar*  
 stay-CS-PT.3PL  
 But they stopped the girls and maidens and made them stay in my house.

20'06 *a: pa:w te:lo panyke=indru lap-kan am onda-kan*  
 that way tree.name ripe=and.so.on eat-CP.1SG water drink.B2-CP.1SG  
*a: pa:w baric-tan*  
 that way come.B2-PT.1SG  
 Having eaten ripe Telo fruit and so on by that way, having drunk water by that way, I came [home].

20'11 *pel.maqe-r do:ky-ar ani kejri-taqdi=indru*  
 girl-PL stay.B2-PT.3PL then date-toddy=and.so.on  
 The girls [of the bride’s party] were there. And there were toddy of date palm and so on.

20'14 *eng-sarwe-h eky-ah ahi-n darc-ar ok-tr-ar*  
 my-younger-M go.B2-PT.3SG.M he-AC catch.B2-PT.3PL sit-CS-PT.3PL  
*darc-ar ok-tra-kar bary-ond kejri-taqdi-n*  
 catch.B2-PT.3PL sit-CS-CP.3PL pitcher.CLF-one date-toddy-AC  
*tund-tr-ar*  
 pour-CS-PT.3PL

My brother went. They caught him and made him sit. Then they made him pour a pitcherful of date palm toddy.

20'21 *tund-tra-ka cic-ah inor ning-ba:i-n do:k-tar-dam*  
 pour-CS-CP give.B2-PT.3SG.M now you-sister-AC stay-CS-PR.1PL.E

inte-nti a:n-kar do:k-tar-ar  
 today-AB say-CP.3PL stay-CS-PT.3PL  
 They made him pour [the palm toddy] and he served it. “Now, from today on, we are marrying [this girl off as] your sister.” They married her off saying this.

20'27 a:q-ente do:k-tar-ne ke.ba:d sa:te do:k-dam inor tak e:ru hī  
 there-AB stay-CS-VN after together stay-PR.1PL.E now till well EPH  
 maja maja do:k-dam  
 contented REP stay-PR.1PL.E  
 From then on, after getting married, we live together. We have lived well contented until now.

20'35 inor tin-jin maqo-ta:ni jahā inor to  
 now three-CLF child-possessed.of even now TOP  
 pac-tar-naq-tam gosani-ki cēgje-ti ugli-ti ade-gute  
 become.old-TR-REC-PT.1PL.E god-GE mercy-IN mind-IN that-until  
 auri e:ru hī ne:ga bey-id anond-gute do:k-am  
 further well EPH life be-PR.3SG.NM that.much-until stay-FT.1PL.E  
 Now we have three children, too. Now we have grown old. By god’s mercy and mind, we will continue to live well until our lives last.

20'47 i:de hi e:nu gosani-n dine-nihī salama:r-in iqi-nti ongr-a  
 this EPH I god-AC day-LO.EPH salute-PR.1SG this-AB end-PT.3SG  
 I pray to god for this everyday. This is the end of the story.

## §6 How our village was founded (C).

Told by Mr. Jawra Pahariya of Anibhitta, P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at his residence in Anibhitta on February 21, 2007.

0'07 ej-ki na:mi jawra pahariya qep-ki male-r-ki  
 I-GE name PROP PROP village-GE person-PL-GE  
 majye-n e:ni  
 village.chief-1SG I.myself  
 My name is Jawra Pahariya. I am the chief of the village people.

0'16 a:-lagcki e:nd-ond kahani-n teyg-oti ugley-in  
 that-for CLF-one story-AC tell-IF think-PR.1SG  
 So I would like to tell one story.

0'20 em-ki bedyo utar-ente barc-a  
 we.E-GE forefather north-AB come.B2-PT.3SG  
 Our ancestor came from the north.<sup>3</sup>

0'25 utare (pusra) pusra:t qepu-no-se em-ki bedyo  
 north PROP village-LO-EPEH we.E-GE forefather  
 do:ky-a  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 Our ancestor was in the north, in Pusrat village.

<sup>3</sup>This speaker’s final /-h/ is inaudibly weak and sometimes it is not written where it is expected.

0'34 *a:fi-n-te*      *barc-ah*      *e:nd-on-d*      *ma:ku-maqua-d*  
 there-AB      come.B2-PT.3SG.M      CLF-one      deer-young-NM  
*a:ny-ah*      *ade-n*      *akr-akr-i*      *ondr-ar*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.M that-AC RED-drive-AP come-PT.3PL  
 He came from there. Chasing and chasing what they call a fawn, they  
 went after it.

0'47 *ondra-kar*      *hu a:mbar to:ke-n[ə]*      *e:l-ar*  
 bring-CP.3PL ITJ PROP      mountain-LO go.astray-PT.3PL  
 After they went after it, they lost sight of it in Ambar Mountain.

0'54 *e:la-kar*      *bedy-ar*      *bed-kar*      *anda-kar*      *curidari*  
 go.astray-CP.3PL seek.B2-PT.3PL seek-CP.3PL find-CP.3PL PROP  
*to:ke-no*      *pity-ar*  
 mountain-LO kill.B2-PT.3PL  
 After they lost sight of it, they searched and searched, and found and  
 killed it in Churidari Mountain.

1'00 *pit-kar*      *e:na*      *ondgala*      *ba:ye-r*      *a:to*      *ma:k-a*  
 kill-CP.3PL how.many sibling brother-PL there meat-AC  
*kindy-ar*  
 cut.B2-PT.3PL  
 After killing the fawn, as many brothers as [there were] divided the  
 meat there.

1'08 *kind-kar*      *bit-ar-utar*      *moqy-ar*      *curidari-no*  
 cut-CP.3PL cook-PT.3PL-ECHO eat.B2-PT.3PL PROP-LO  
 After cutting the meat, they cooked and ate it in Churidari Mountain.

1'13 *ani godri-n*      *meqy-ar*      *godri-n*      *musgy-ar*      *a:du*  
 then intestine-AC bake.B2-PT.3PL intestine-AC pack.B2-PT.3PL that  
*sona mejj-a*  
 gold become.B2-PT.3SG  
 They roasted the intestines and packed them. They became gold.

1'20 *ma:k-a*      *musgy-ar*      *capra-no*      *a:du*      *rupa*  
 meat-AC pack.B2-PT.3PL grass.package-LO that silver  
*mejj-a*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG  
 They packed the meat in grass package. That became silver.

1'28 *ani a: qep-no be:r-d ety-a*      *ani a:t*  
 then that village-LO sun-NM go.down.B2-PT.3SG then there  
*kody-ar*      *a: samay ma:q mejj-a*      *ani ikfe-k*  
 lie.down.B2-PT.3PL that time night become.B2-PT.3SG so where-DA  
*e:k-ey i:t ko:q-ey*      *a:n-ka kody-ar*  
 go-FT.1PL.I here lie.down-FT.1PL.I say-CP lie.down.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then the sun had set [when they were still] in that village. They lay  
 down there. It got dark at that time, so they lay down, saying “Where  
 shall we go?” “Let us lie down here.”

01'37 *am men-lad ani curidari qep-no am.ki:ra*  
 water be-NG.PT.3SG.NM so PROP village-LO thirst  
*mejj-a ani o:n-ot lagacki eft-godri-ti lilg-ar*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG so drink-IF for bow-heel-IN cleanse-PT.3PL  
 There was no water, so they got thirsty in Churidari village. They  
 scratched [the ground] with the end of the bow in order to drink [wa-  
 ter].

01'47 *lilg-ar ani amu-d urqy-a*  
 cleanse-PT.3PL then water-NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 They scratched [the ground], then water came out.

01'50 *amu-d urqy-a ani ade-n onda-kar em-ki*  
 water-NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG then that-AC drink.B2-CP.3PL we.E-GE  
*bedyo a:to kody-a*  
 forefather there lie.down.B2-PT.3SG  
 Water came out. So our ancestor drank the water and lay down there.

01'55 *ani kir-oti tay-ki qep-ik kir-oti lagacki ma:k-a kol-ka*  
 then return-IF self-GE village-DA return-IF for meat-AC open-CP  
*tund-y-ah ta:nu sona mejj-a*  
 look.B2-PT.3SG.M then gold become.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then when [they] opened the [packet of] meat in order to return to  
 [their] own village, it had become gold.

02'04 *a: godri-n kol-ka tund-y-a ta:nu rupa*  
 that intestine-AC open-CP look.B2-PT.3SG then silver  
*mejj-a*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG  
 When they opened and saw [the packet of] intestines, they had become  
 silver.

02'08 *ani ej-ki bedyo so:cc-ah ki i:di jaga-d essa*  
 so I-GE forefather think.B2-PT.3SG.M COMP here place-NM very  
*e:ru-d a:n-kah awq-a*  
 good-NM say-CP.3SG.M speak-PT.3SG  
 So my ancestor thought, "This place is very good," and spoke so.

02'14 *a:n-kah awq-ah indrik nam-ki pel.mage-r-in na:m*  
 say-CP.3SG.M speak-PT.3SG.M why we.I-GE woman-PL-AC we.I  
*i:t-ik pehr-i ondr-ey essa jaga-d e:ru-d*  
 here-DA take.along-AP bring-FT.1PL.I very place-NM good-NM  
 He said this. We will bring our ladies here [because] the place is very  
 good.

02'25 *a:n-kah ej-ki bedyo-h awq-ah*  
 say-CP.3SG.M I-GE ancestor-M speak-PT.3SG.M  
 My ancestor thought and said that.

02'29 *ani ade male-r do:ky-ar ade eky-ar ek-kar*  
 so half person-PL stay.B2-PT.3PL half go.B2-PT.3PL go.B2-CP.3PL

*pel.maqe-r-in bi:k-kar ondro-ko*  
 woman-PL-AC call-CP.3PL bring-CP  
 So half of the people stayed and half went [back to their village]. They went, invited the women, brought them, then,

02'38 *o: curidari-no do:ky-ar a: samay-no am-kuwa*  
 ITJ PROP-LO stay.B2-PT.3PL that time-LO water-well  
*kuw-onde-di menj-ad*  
 well.CLF-one-NM.EPH be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 when they were in Churidari, there was only one well.

02'45 *ani qoly-ar a:tu go:gi men-naqy-ar pel-ar*  
 so take.up.B2-PT.3PL there argument do-REC.B2-PT.3PL woman-PL  
*pel-ar ani em-ki bedyo awd-ah*  
 woman-PL so we.E-GE ancestor speak-PT.3SG.M  
 [They] brought water [from there]. A dispute arose among the women, so our ancestor spoke.

02'53 *ðhð i:t do:k-no ande go:gi men-enid a:n-kah*  
 ITJ here stay-IPP then dispute become-FT.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M  
*jaga-n bed-i bed-i barc-ah*  
 place-AC seek-AP REP come.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said “If we stay here, there will be a dispute,” and came looking and looking for a [good] place.

02'59 *barca-kah agwa oky-a pac qepdu a:n-tam a:tu*  
 come.B2-CP.3SG.M first sit.B2-PT.3SG five village say-PT.1PL.E there  
 He came. We used to say that there were formerly five villages there.

03'06 *adj-nte jaga bed-i bed-i barca-kah i:to*  
 there-AB place seek-AP seek-AP come.B2-CP.3SG.M here  
*basc-ah*  
 settle.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He came from there looking for a [good] place. He settled down here.

03'11 *basca-kah man-ond qumbri-d ij-ad*  
 settle.B2-CP.3SG.M tree.CLF-one fig.tree-NM stand.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*be:do mandu*  
 big tree  
 When he settled down, there stood one fig tree, a big tree.

03'15 *ani a: qumbri-no ert-a ca:r ilda-kah i: qep indra*  
 so that fig.tree-LO bow-AC arrow erect-CP.3SG.M this village what  
*a:n-ne a:ny-ah*  
 say-PR.2SG.M say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 So he stood his bow and arrow against the fig tree and asked [someone] “How do you call this village?”

03'23 *ð: qumbri-d a:n-ner a:ny-ah malto-no qumbri*  
 ITJ PROP-NM say-PR.3PL say.B2-PT.3SG.M Malto-LO PROP  
*gol-saba-no a:nibita calar-i inda a:ny-ah*  
 Hindu-speech-LO PROP pass-PR.3SG ITJ say.B2-PT.3SG.M

He said, "They call it Dumbri. It is known as Dumbri in Malto and Anibhitta in Hindi."

**§7 How we got married (Nc).**

Told by Mr. Paulus Malto of Mokri, P. O. Bara Gagri, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at Dharampur Mor on March 3, 2008.

0'50 *e:nu nadi-n iskule-no dqky-ad a: pahr.te-n-te hi ci̥ti*  
 I she-AC school-LO stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM that time-AB EPH letter  
*kurk-a seŋk-ken*  
 write-AP use.to-PT.1SG  
 Since she was still in school, I used to write letters to her.

0'59 *citi kurk-ken ante a:d indru-gote jawa:be-n eŋg-en*  
 letter write-PT.1SG and she what-ever reply-AC I-AC  
*tey-la ta:ni-gote a:d eŋg-en ugle:c-a*  
 send-NG.PT.3SG then-even she I-AC think.B2-PT.3SG  
 I wrote letters, and she did not send me any reply whatsoever. Still, she liked me.

1'07 *e:nu hõ adi-n kajak ugle:c seŋk-ken*  
 I too she-AC much think.B2.AP use.to-PT.1SG  
 I liked her very much, too.

1'11 *ante bi:ce-no adi-ke m̥urse-n awd̥y-ar*  
 and middle-LO she-DA man-AC speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 Meanwhile, they were arranging for a husband for her.

1'18 *ante e:nu hõ qa:wr-naq-olken*  
 and I too converse-REC-NG.PR.1SG  
 And I did not talk [to her].

1'21 *qa:wr-naq-olken ante a:d qa:wr-naq seŋg-olken*  
 converse-REC-NG.PR.1SG and she converse-REC.AP use.to-NG.PT.1SG  
*e:m alag.alag dqk-kem*  
 we.E separately stay.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 I did not talk [to her]. I used not to talk to her, and we were separate.

1'27 *te padrar-naq-olken hõ e:n hõ padrar-olken*  
 and chat-REC-NG.PR.1PL.E too I too chat-NG.PR.1SG  
 We did not talk to each other and I did not talk [to her].

1'31 *ante a:d eŋg-en padrar-la*  
 and she I-AC chat-NG.PT.3SG  
 And she did not talk to me.

1'35 *te so:c-ken inor em-e em-e (nagj) idi-sa:t jo:r-gr-oti*  
 and think-PT.1SG now we.E-DA REP REP she-with unite-PA-IF  
*pol-in ante so:c-ken*  
 be.unable-PR.1SG and think-PT.1SG  
 And I thought now I cannot be put together with her.

1'43 *ta:ni-gote ph̥ir aysa samay barc-ad e:k sa:l ayse*  
 then-even again such time come.B2-PT.3SG.NM one year this.way  
*bitary-a e:m qa:wr-naq-alo-hi*  
 pass.B2-PT.3SG we.E converse-REC-NG.AP-EPH

But such an opportunity came again. One year passed that way, without our talking to each other.

1'50 *ante do:.haja:r.sa:te-no em-ki kelarnaqe-d essa nazdi:k and 2007-LO we.E-GE affection-NM very close leary-a*  
become.B2-PT.3SG  
And in 2007, our relationship became very close.

1'59 *nazdi:k lear-e-ki ba:deme adi-sa:tu a: bi:ce-no do: citi close become-VN-GE after we.E she-with that between-LO two letter kurk-ken kurk-ken ante adi-k e:ne citi-n teya-ken*  
write-PT.1SG write-CP.1SG and she-DA I letter-AC send-PT.1SG  
Then we wrote, I wrote two letters to her, during that period. I wrote and sent [those] letters to her.

2'09 *a: citi-n hō a:-pa:w kirtre-ki tey-la*  
that letter-AC too that-way return-PT.3SG.NM send-NG.PT.3SG  
She did not write back to that letter either.

2'13 *tey-la ta:ni-gote e:n adi-n ugley-ponti dok-ken*  
send-NG.PT.3SG then-even I she-AC think-AP stay-PT.1PL.E  
She did not write back, but I kept thinking of her.

2'18 *ante nane-r-in hō menj.e:r-tit-ken*  
and other-PL-AC too inquire-CS-PT.1SG  
And I made others ask [what she thought].

2'21 *adno awdy-ad e:n to ugley-in*  
then speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM I TOP think-PR.1SG  
Then she said, "I think of you."

2'25 *pa:re eng-e baiya-ber ante mama-ber do:k-ner a:r se*  
but I-DA brother-PL and maternal.uncle-PL stay-PR.3PL they EPH  
*ugley-olar a:ny-ar*  
think-NG.PR.3PL say.B2-PT.3PL  
"But I have elder brothers and maternal uncles. They say they don't like [you]."

2'34 *ante a:ti-nte e:ne indra kud-en sa:y-en a:n-ken*  
and there-AB I what do-FT.1SG break.up-FT.1SG say-PT.1SG  
Then what would I do? I thought I would forget about her.

2'41 *ta:ni-gote na:d eng-en ante baq:a:din ho bi:c.bi:ce-no*  
then-even she I-AC and Christmas too middle-LO  
*bi:ce-no eng-en a:de awdy-a adi-k murse-n tund-oti*  
middle-LO I-AC she speak.B2-PT.3SG she-DA man-AC look-IF  
*barc-ar*  
come.B2-PT.3PL  
Still she told me on Christmas day and on days in between that people came to arrange a match for her.

2'55 *bar-u-r menj-ar ante murse tund-oti bar-u-r*  
come-PP-PL be.B2-PT.3PL and man look-IF come-PP-PL

*meŋj-ar*

be.B2-PT.3PL

They were going to come. They were going to come in order to make match.

3'01 *ani a: muŋse-h ta:i:s ta:ri:ke bar-e-ki menj-ah*  
then that man-M 23 date come-VN-GE be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Then that man was supposed to come on the 23rd.

3'05 *ta:i:s disembar bar-e-ki menj-ah bar-lah*  
23 December come-VN-GE be.B2-PT.3SG.M come-NG.PT.3SG.M  
He was supposed to come on December 23. He didn't come.

3'08 *ante e:mu andeki saŋgal beṭar-naq-a seŋk-kem*  
and we.E that.way together meet-REC-AP use.to-PT.1PL.E  
Then we saw each other as before.

3'12 *a: pahr-no awdy-ad eyg-en ni:nu ko:te-no biha*  
that time-LO speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM I-AC you court-LO marriage  
*nan-le a:n-le awdy-a*  
do-SJ.2SG.M say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG  
At that time she said, "Will you marry me at the court?"

3'21 *ani eyg-e agdo-hi eyg-e a:srar-e barc-ad*  
then I-DA first-EPH I-DA trust-VN come.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
Then I got hope for the first time.

3'26 *ante (a:s) kajak a:srar-ken*  
and much trust-PT.1SG  
And my hopes rose.

3'29 *ante e:m ada-nte adi-sa:tu garhī mal-ar em-en*  
and we.E that-AB she-with many person-PL we.E-AC  
*ca:hy-lar garhī mal-ar em-en cahc-ar*  
want-NG.PT.3PL many person-PL we.E-AC want.B2-PT.3PL  
And after that many people didn't approve of us, [me] and her, and many people approved of us.

3'37 *ade mala-r do:k-nihi e:ru men-a:nda ani do:k-eramla*  
half person-PL stay-IPP.EPH well be-OP.3SG then stay-NG.FT.3PL  
*a:n-ker*  
say-CP.3PL  
Half of the people said, "It will be good if they are married," then [others] said, "They should not get married."

3'40 *qepo-r hō saba-no oky-ar ante bica:re*  
villager-PL too matter-LO sit.B2-PT.3PL and consideration  
*meŋj-ad adno qepo-r awdy-ar*  
be.B2-PT.3SG.NM then villager-PL speak.B2-PT.3PL  
Villagers also sat on the matter, and there was discussion. Then they said,

3'48 *mala do:k-tr-a:nder maeq-r a:-wj-i:-wjo men-er*  
no stay-CS-OP.3PL child-PL this-way-that-way become-FT.3PL

awro a:n-ker ante bica:r nany-ar  
 furthermore say-CP and consideration do.B2-PT.3PL  
 "No, let them get married. The boy and the girl will somehow get on." They discussed and said this.

3'54 bica:r nan-e-ki ba:du ta:ni-gote teho-tambako-ber tey-oti  
 consideration do-VN-GE after then-even mother-father-PL send-IF  
 bed-lar  
 seek-NG.PT.3PL  
 After they discussed, [her] parents still did not want to let her go.

3'59 ante to:ra: dine ada-k oca-ken do:k-tr-ken ado  
 and a.little day house-DA take.B2-CP.1SG stay-CS-PT.1SG again  
 bi:k-ker argtry-ar  
 call-CP.3PL take.up.B2-PT.3PL  
 I took her to my house and put her up for a few days. They called her again and took her up [to their house].

4'04 bi:k-ker argtry-ar ante a:ti-nte ondr-ken  
 call-CP.3PL take.up.B2-PT.3PL and there-AB bring-PT.1SG  
 They called and took her back. Then I brought her from there.

4'07 ante e:nu hi ek ek dok-ken a:ber-ada-k  
 and I EPH go.B2.AP REP stay.B2-PT.1SG they-house-DA  
 And I visited [her] at their house and stayed [with her].

4'09 ek ek dok-ken to ti:n dine ante a:ti-nte eyg-en  
 go.B2.AP REP stay.B2-PT.1SG then three day and there-AB I-AC  
 awdy-ar  
 speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 I visited and stayed [with her]. Then [when] three days [have passed], they said to me.

4'12 bar-oti cahy-ola a:n-le tambako-r awdy-ar ani e:n  
 come-IF want-NG.PR.3SG say-CP father-PL speak.B2-PT.3PL so I  
 e:k-olken  
 go-NG.PR.1SG  
 Her father said, "[I] don't want [you] to come." So I did not go.

4'17 e:k-olken ante a: bi:ce-n indra kudy-a  
 go-NG.PR.1SG and that between-LO what do.B2-PT.3SG  
 I did not go. Then what did [she] do at that time?

4'19 e:m a:ti-nte litipara-no me:la-k ek-kem  
 we.E there-AB PROP-LO festival-DA go.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 We went to a festival in Littipara then.

4'25 me:la ek-kem litipara me:la-k me:la-ke ante na:d  
 festival go.B2-PT.1PL.E PROP festival-DA festival-DA and she  
 eky-a ante e:n ro:kar-ken agwa ety-ad  
 go.B2-PT.3SG and I get.angry-PT.1SG before go.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 eyg-en amb-kid ani ro:kar-ken  
 I-AC leave-CP.1SG.NM so get.angry-PT.1SG

We went to a festival in Littipara. And she went off and I got angry, for she left me behind and went down [the hill] first. So I got angry.

4'33 *ante e:n ma:qa taqि-*n* onda-ken ada-k ark-ken*  
and I night toddy-AC drink.B2-PT.1SG house-DA climb-PT.1SG  
I drank liquor at night and went up home.

4'37 *ada-k arg-ken ante a:fi-n-te e:n ga:ra baje ma:qa p<sup>h</sup>ir*  
house-DA climb-PT.1SG and there-AB I eleven o'clock night again  
*i:t-ik mo:re-k et-ken*  
here-DA corner-DA go.down-PT.1SG  
I went up home, and I came down here again, to the [Dharampur] Mor, at eleven o'clock at night.

4'43 *mo:re-n-te caukida:re gadि-*n* darc-keh qat<sup>y</sup>-ah*  
corner-AB policeman vehicle-AC catch.B2-CP.3SG.M give.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*a:ti-n-te e:n ek-ken li<sup>t</sup>ipara me:la-k*  
there-AB I go.B2-PT.1SG PROP festival-DA  
A policeman stopped a car [for me] at the corner. I went to the Littipara festival from there.

4'50 *li<sup>t</sup>ipara-no e:m betar-naq-qem ante ma:qa e:m s<sup>t</sup>adiem-no*  
PROP-LO we.E meet-REC-PT.1PL.E and night we.E stadium-LO  
*dok-kem*  
stay-PT.1PL.E  
We met in Littipara, and we spent the night at the stadium.

4'55 *a:ti-n-te e:m kir-kem ante e:m em-ada-k*  
there-AB we.E return-PT.1PL.E and we.E we.E.OBL-house-DA  
*barc-kem a:ti-n-te aneke amat e:mu sangale do:k-im*  
come.B2-CP.1PL.E there-AB now until we.E together stay-PR.1PL.E  
We came back from there, and we came to our house. Since then till now, we live together.

5'02 *em-en gep-ki gep-male-r gari-hi male-r*  
we.E-AC village-GE village-person-PL many-EPH person-PL  
*ugle:c-ar ike-r ugle:lar*  
think.B2-PT.3PL someone-PL think-NG.PT.3PL  
Many village people approved of us. Some did not.

5'07 *ta:ni-gote gos<sup>h</sup>ayi em-jo:r-on<sup>h</sup>-en ugle:c-ad*  
then-even god we.E.OBL-couple.CLF-one-AC think.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*a:le:cki anake e:m sangale e:ru do:k-im*  
that-for now we.E together well stay-PR.1PL.E  
Still God approved of us two. So we live together happily now.

5'14 *inonde awd-in em-ki kelar:naq-e-ki kaha:ni-d*  
this.much speak-PR.1SG we.E-GE love-VN-GE story-NM  
*inonde-hi oygry-a*  
this.much-EPH end.B2-PT.3SG  
I tell you this much. The story of our love ends here.

**§8 Life before conversion (Nc).**

Told by Mr. Shiva Malto of Pandanbita, P. O. Lakhipur, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahebganj. Recorded at the community storehouse of Pandanbita on February 27, 2006.

0'18 *e:mu agwa: ki:lwa menj-a-kem ante e:m biha-sa:di*  
 we.E formerly poor be.B2-PT.1PLE and we.E marriage-marriage  
*men-oti pola-kem*  
 do-IF be.unable-PT.1PLE  
 Formerly, we were poor, and we could not arrange marriages.

0'25 *esse hi de:si.baga:n-ente pel-a anda-kem*  
 very EPH migrant.labor.plantation-AB woman-AC find-PT.1PLE  
*dok-kem pahle juge se*  
 marry.B2-PT.1PLE former period EPH  
 We used to find and marry a lot of women from the plantations of migrant labor in former times.

0'33 *ante ade-n-te gaři-hi em-a takli:pe-no dok-kem*  
 and that-AB much-EPE we.E-DA difficulty-LO stay.B2-PT.1PLE  
 We were in difficulties bigger than that.

0'40 *ad-onond ada-no ange.mange e:mu apna jo ada-no*  
 house-each house-LO individually we.E own REL house-LO  
*qe:r-a qota-kem perwa-n qota-kem ante e:re*  
 chicken-AC cut.B2-PT.1PLE pigeon-AC cut.B2-PT.1PLE and goat  
*qota-kem kis-a qota-kem em-ki apna ada-no ante*  
 cut.B2-PT.1PLE pig-AC cut.B2-PT.1PLE we.E-GE own house-LO and  
*be:wa be:wa qota-kem*  
 community community cut.B2-PT.1PLE  
 In each house, we used to kill chickens, pigeons, goats, pigs — we used to kill them in our own house and in each community.

1'04 *maq-ond qe:ru jo:r-ond perwa pa:n-ond pa:nu ante maq-ond*  
 CLF-one chicken pair.CLF-one pigeon CLF-one egg and CLF-one  
*e:re kisu menj-a ante mangu menj-a ani e:m essa*  
 goat pig be.B2-PT.3SG and buffalo be.B2-PT.3SG so we.E very  
*takli:pe-no dok-kem*  
 difficulty-LO stay.B2-PT.1PLE  
 [It used to take] one chicken, two pigeons, one egg, one goat and pig.  
 There was a buffalo [too]. So we lived in great difficulty.

1'25 *ante e:m pahle juge-no andake-m dok-kem*  
 and we.E former period-LO that.way-EPH stay.B2-PT.1PLE  
 In past times, we used to live that way.

1'34 *ante anake ante awri-hi em-ki payda menj-a to em-ki*  
 and now and again-EPH we.E-GE birth be.B2-PT.3SG then we.E-GE  
*janme-kude-ne kařma-no ok-tr-kem*  
 birth-navel-AC tree.name-LO sit-CS-PT.1PLE  
 And then, when there was a birth, we used to put the umbilical cord

on a Karma tree.

1'46 *i: pa:n-ond talya menj-a ada-no orme-no ok-tr-kem*  
 this CLF-one pan be.B2-PT.3SG that-LO ash-LO sit-CS-PT.1PL.E  
 This was a pan. We used to put ash it on the ash in it.

1'50 *te ert-a menj-kem ante ca:r-a bana:tr-kem ante*  
 and bow-AC make.B2-PT.1PL.E and arrow-AC make-PT.1PL.E and  
*e:m karamb kuta-no a: kud-patli-n ok-tr-kem*  
 we.E tree.name stump-LO that navel-pot-AC sit-CS-PT.1PL.E  
 We make a bow and arrow, and we put the pot with the umbilical cord  
 at the root of the Karam (teak) tree.

2'01 *em-ki pahla-ki niyame andaki ante anake hō andaki*  
 we.E-GE before-GE custom that.way and now too that.way  
*beh-i*  
 be-PR.3SG  
 Our custom in the past was that way, and it is still the same.

2'06 *pahariya-ki niyame-no kud-patli-n karma-no ok-tr-im*  
 Pahariya-GE custom-LO navel-pot-AC tree.name-LO sit-CS-PR.1PL.E  
*ca:r-a menj-im ante ert-a menj-kem ante*  
 arrow-AC make-PR.1PL.E and bow-AC make-PT.1PL.E and  
 In the custom of the Pahariyas, we put the pot with the umbilical cord  
 at a Karam tree. We make a bow and arrow.

2'13 *ante ada-no e:mu ada-no hō andaki becc-ad*  
 and that-LO we.E that-LO too that.way be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then it was like that.

2'26 *adi-n hō sotale-r i:ti jaga-no ertu-d ca:ru-d i:d em-ki*  
 that-AC too Santhal-PL here place-LO bow-NM arrow-NM this we.E-GE  
*se ade-n hō sotale-r a: ca:r-a ertu em-ki-d a:n-ner*  
 EPH that-AC too Santhal-PL that arrow-AC bow we.E-GE-NM say-PR.3PL  
 In this place, the bow and arrow are ours. The Santhals say those bow  
 and arrow are theirs too.

2'40 *mala ta:no a:r-ki goye se teyg-a mba a:r-ki maq-ond*  
 no then they-GE all EPH tell-IMP isn't.it they-GE CLF-one  
*qe:r-ki maq-ond* sim.sandi *menj-a jo:r-o* sakam  
 chicken-GE CLF-one rooster be.B2-PT.3SG pair.CLF-one leaf  
*menj-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG  
 No, tell all that are theirs, right? One rooster and two leaves were  
 theirs.

2'54 *adi-n hō anake em-ki-d em-ki a:n-ner*  
 that-AC too now we.E-GE-NM we.E-GE say-PR.3PL  
 They now say that [bow and arrow] were theirs too.

2'57 *mal ta:n niyame em-ki pahle juge-no kud-patli ok-tr-kem*  
 not then custom we.E-GE former period-LO navel-pot sit-CS-CP.1PL.E

*oṛme-n ante kud-patli-no ok-tr-kem*

ash-AC and navel-pot-LO sit-CS-CP.1PL.E

No, in former times, in our custom, we put an umbilical cord pot. We put ashes in the umbilical cord pot.

3'06 *anond ḍar-ond kuṛ-ond ca:r menj-a ante eṛtu menj-a i:q menj-a*  
 that.much CLF-one CLF-one arrow be.B2-PT.3SG and bow  
 be.B2-PT.3SG here be.B2-PT.3SG  
 That much — a bow and arrow — that was here.

3'09 *ante agwa e:mu pahariya-ja:ti-no mang-a qota-kem*  
 and formerly we.E Pahariya-tribe-LO buffalo-AC cut.B2-PT.1PL.E  
*ba:de awri-hi aŋge.manye bo:je-n kudy-ar*  
 after again-EPH individually feast-AC du.B2-PT.3PL  
 And formerly, in the Pahariya community, we used to kill buffaloes,  
 and furthermore, we held feast in each house.

3'20 *ada-no hō indra payde men-la a:d ba:catr-la*  
 that-LO too what benefit be-NG.PT.3SG that preserve-NG.PT.3SG  
*em-en*  
 we.E-AC  
 It was no use either. It did not save us.

3'24 *ante aŋge.manye qota-kem darc-kem a:d hō*  
 and individually cut.B2-CP.1PL.E catch.B2-PT.1PL.E that too  
*ba:catr-la em-en*  
 preserve-NG.PT.3SG we.E-AC  
 And we cut and caught [animals] in each house. That did not save us  
 either.

3'28 *anaku i: pa:we barc-kem ante anake indru-gote maq-ond*  
 now this way come.B2-PT.1PL.E and now what-ever CLF-one  
*qe:rdu lag-ola*  
 chicken cost-NG.PR.3SG  
 Now we have followed this way (i.e. Christianity). And now it does  
 not cost us at all. [It does not cost us] a chicken.

3'34 *jo:r-ond perwa lag-ola pa:n-ond pa:nu lag-ola*  
 pair.CLF-one pigeon cost-NG.PR.3SG CLF-one egg cost-NG.PR.3SG  
*maq-ond e:re lag-ola eṛw-emala*  
 CLF-one goat cost-NG.PR.3SG worship-NG.FT.1PL.E  
 It does not cost two pigeons, one egg, or one goat. We do not do the  
 rituals any more.

3'40 *maq-ond kisu eṛw-emala maq-ond o:ydu*  
 CLF-one pig worship-NG.FT.1PL.E CLF-one cow  
*eṛw-emala maq-ond mangu eṛw-emala*  
 worship-NG.FT.1PL.E CLF-one buffalo worship-NG.FT.1PL.E  
*indru-gote mal-a ida-no*  
 what-even be.not-PR.3SG this-LO

We do not sacrifice one pig, one cow, or one buffalo. There is no [sacrifice] whatsoever in this.

3'47 *e:m ida-no essa ga:re-hi apoki-no do:k-im ...*  
 we.E this-LO very much-EPH happiness-LO stay-PR.1PL.E  
 We live very happily in this [religion].

4'24 *ante indru-gote-hi anaku lap-oti mo:q-ot=du:re-se jokar men-im eywe-tu:se mal-a*  
 and what-ever-EPH now eat-IF eat-IF=only-EPH meeting  
 do-PR.1PL.E ritual-throwing be.not-PR.3SG  
 And now we meet just for eating on any occasion. There is no worship and sacrifice.

4'30 *ante ne:reh-gote anake anond ki:lwa mala-kem*  
 and who.M-ever now that.much poor be.not-PT.1PL.E  
 And none of us is as poor [as before] now.

4'34 *(a:ysinaqresinapalekinta:nu) joka nek-kem hi ki kank-a ga:re-got kum-olkem*  
 a.little get.well-PT.1PL.E EPH COMP  
 firewood-AC much-even carry.on.head-NG.PR.1PL.E  
 We became a little better off. We do not do as much as carrying a lot of firewood [and sell it in the market].

4'40 *mal ta:n pahle juge-no acca kum-kem*  
 not then former period-LO well carry.on.head-PT.1PL.E  
 On the contrary, we used to carry [firewood] in former times.

4'43 *ante qe:n denga-ni oca-kem ante a: indr-indru-hi ja:t-ja:ti pe:s-pe:sa bajare oca-kem ante*  
 and raw timber-AC take.B2-PT.1PL.E and that RED-what-EPH  
 RED-kind RED-money market take.B2-PT.1PL.E and  
 And we used to take raw timber. And we used to take various kinds of things and money [to] the market.

4'50 *ante qalwi-n qad doky-ar anaku qalwi mal-a*  
 and theft-AC steal.B2.AP stay.B2-PT.3PL now theft be.not-PR.3SG  
 And they were committing theft. Now there is no theft.

4'56 *ante dakati-r mal-ar anaku*  
 and dacoit-PL be.not-PR.3PL now  
 And there are no dacoits now.

4'47 *dakati-n amby-ar qalwi-n amby-ar*  
 dacoit-AC leave.B2-PT.3PL theft-AC leave.B2-PT.3PL  
 They quit dacoity. They quit theft.

5'00 *anaku i: isai pa:w-ik barc-ker ante essa maja e:ru do:k-im mal ta:n agwa essa qalwe-r menj-ar*  
 now this Jesus way-DA come.B2-CP.3PL and very well good  
 stay-PR.1PL.E not then formerly very thief-PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 Now they have become Christians, and we live very well. On the contrary, there were many thieves before.

5'07 *ante bo:je-no baja-naq-qem lara:i menj-a*  
 and feast-LO beat.AP-REC-PT.1PL.E quarrel be.B2-PT.3SG  
*je:-gote-hi anake e:ru se biha men-ner*  
 what-ever-EPH now well EPH wedding be-PR.3PL  
 And we used to beat each other in a feast. There were all kinds of  
 quarrels. Now they do marriage in a nice way.

5'14 *e:ru-hi biha-sa:di menj-a-ker ante e:ru-hi*  
 well-EPH wedding-wedding do-CP.3PL and well-EPH  
*sopar-ker do:k-ner masi-pa:w-no danyaba:d nan-im*  
 be.fulfilled-CP.3PL stay-PR.3PL Mesiah-way-LO thanks do-PR.1PL.E  
 They do marriage well, and they live well content. We say thanks to  
 Christianity.

### §9 Famine and emigration (Nw).

Told by Mr. Alexander Malto of Kusumghati, P. O. Kero Bazar, P. S. Boar-ijor, Dist. Godda. Recorded at his residence in Kusumghati on March 5, 2008.

0'00 *agwa i:ti-bahno male-re dokke sengy-ar a:no*  
 formerly here-LO person-PL stay.B2.AP use.to.B2-PT.3PL there  
*ki:re bahut menj-a*  
 hunger much be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Formerly, when people used to live here, they [suffered] a lot from  
 hunger.

0'05 *aka:le bar-a sengy-a jara kam pos*  
 drought extend-AP use.to.B2-PT.3SG rain little rain.B2.AP  
*sengy-a*  
 use.to.B2-PT.3SG  
 Drought used to spread. It used to rain little.

0'08 *aur i:t-ki male-r tora a:lsi-taip-ki menj-ar anpare*  
 and here-GE person-PL a.little lazy-type-GE be.B2-PT.3SG uneducated  
*ja:de doky-ar pa:pa:.lika: kame-hi menj-ar*  
 too.many stay.B2-PT.3PL educated little-EPH be.B2-PT.3PL  
 And the people here were kind of lazy. Too many people were unedu-  
 cated. There were few educated people.

0'14 *ani (bahre-r-iki ato) isai banary-ar a:wer bahre-k*  
 then outsider-PL-GE TOP Jesus be.made.B2-PT.3PL they outside-DA  
*eky-ar pa:dar-lo:ker-guni*  
 go.B2-PT.3PL father-people-with  
 Then those converted to Christianity went outside with the fathers.

0'19 *ante a:waj a:sa:m-bajo eky-ar darjiling-bajo eky-ar*  
 and that.way Assam-side go.B2-PT.3PL Darjeeling-side go.B2-PT.3PL  
 They went there, to Assam and to Darjeeling.

0'22 *ante a:wer ano ka:je-n kud-e sengy-ar*  
 and they there work-AC do-AP use.to.B2-PT.3PL  
 And they were working there.

0'25 *ante sa:l qe:r sa:le-no kabi: ada qep-no bar-no*  
 and year one.and.a.half year-LO any.time house village-LO come-IPP  
*meŋj seŋgy-ar*  
 ask.B2.AP use.to.B2-PT.3PL  
 And whenever they came back to the home village in a year or a year  
 and a half, they would ask.

0'28 *a:ti.bah-ki ha:l-sama:ca:re ikin are*  
 there-GE state-condition how ITJ  
 “Tell me, how is the condition there?”

0'30 *e:m a:t-no to bariya bariya lap-im mo:q-im are a:t-no*  
 we.E there-LO TOP fine REP eat-PR.1PL.E eat-PR.1PL.E ITJ there-LO  
*du:de dahi b̥a:ri-d are i:t-no to ni:m ki:re-t key-ner*  
 milk curds massive-NM ITJ here-LO TOP you.PL hunger-IN die-PR.2PL  
 “We eat very well there. There are a lot of milk and curds there. Here  
 you are dying of hunger.”

0'37 *ante i:t-ki male-r hō so:cc-ar ki sa:la i:t-no*  
 and here-GE person-PL too think.B2-PT.3PL COMP damn here-LO  
*ki:re-t i:t-no ki:re-t key-it are e:k-a are a:*  
 hunger-IN here-LO hunger-IN die-PR.1PL.I ITJ go-IMP ITJ that  
*de:si-k e:k-et a:n-le*  
 country-DA go-FT.1PL.I say-CP  
 And people here thought too, “We are going to die of hunger here. Let  
 us go! Let us go to that country!”

0'43 *i:ti-nte eky-ar eky-ar ani a:t-no misan-pa:we hi i:wer-in*  
 here-AB go.B2-PT.3PL REP then there-LO mission-by EPH these-AC  
*ka:je-n e:d-ar*  
 work-AC show-PT.3PL  
 They went from here. Then [people] introduced jobs to them by the  
 help of the mission there.

0'49 *it-in arq-ger ante qaj-e e:g-a*  
 here-LO.EPH dig-CP.3PL and dirt-AC throw-IMP  
 “Dig here and throw dirt.”

0'52 *ante i:t-no(de) du:de-d urq-enid dahi*  
 and here-LO milk-NM come.out-FT.3SG.NM curds  
*urq-enid a:n-ko*  
 come.out-FT.3SG.NM say-CP  
 “Milk and curds will be available (lit. come out) here.”

0'55 *a:wer a:ti-bahno ek-keh ek-keh arg-oti lagary-ah*  
 they there-LO go.B2-CP.3SG.M REP dig-IF start.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 They went there [one by one] and started digging.

0'58 *arg-ar ante a:wer qaj-e e:gy-ar to a:wer-ki na:pe*  
 dig-PT.3PL and they dirt-AC throw.B2-PT.3PL then they-GE measure  
 They dug and threw dirt away. Then they had a measure.

1'01 *anpar male-r arg-e-ne arg-e[r] e:k ba:ra pi:t arg-ot*  
 uneducated person-PL dig-VN-AC dig-FT.3PL one twelve feet dig-IF  
*ca:hy-i*  
 need-PR.3SG  
 They were uneducated people. They dug a lot. They had to dig twelve feet.

1'05 *to arg-ner (adektu) karm-onond mal-onond-ki jaldi*  
 then dig-PR.3PL waist-each man-each-GE quick  
*urq-no jaldi mo:q-en a:n-le*  
 come.out-IPP quick eat-FT.1SG say-CP  
 They dug up to each's waist and up to each's height, saying "If milk and curds come out soon, I will [drink and] eat them soon."

1'10 *lekin a:t-no andeki men-la te arg-e pole-ker*  
 but there-LO that.way be-NG.PT.3SG and dig-VN be.unable-CP.3PL  
*i:wer oky-ar*  
 these sit.B2-PT.3PL  
 But it was not that way there. [Getting tired and] unable to dig, they were sitting.

1'13 *ne: ne: oc-ar a:-gahndy-er qo:q be:r u:q-a a:*  
 who who take.B2-PT.3PL that-flock-PL later sun get.dark-PT.3SG that  
*pahr-no ek-ker tund-ner*  
 time-LO go.B2-CP.3PL look-PR.3PL  
 Those who took them there went and saw them later at sunset.

1'17 *ta:ni a:wer arg-e pole-ker ok-ner te indru-jahã*  
 then they dig-VN be.unable-CP.3PL sit-PR.3PL and what-even  
*urq-ola*  
 come.out-NG.PR.3SG  
 Then they were sitting unable to dig. And nothing had come out [of the ground].

1'20 *ani a:wer-in awdy-ar are ni:m aneke e:g-o*  
 then they-AC speak.B2-PT.3PL ITJ you.PL now throw-IF  
*onyg-olker qaj-e arg-ker ok-ner=du:re=re are*  
 finish-NG.PR.2PL dirt-AC dig-CP.2PL sit-PR.2PL=only=ITJ ITJ  
 They said to them, "Hey, you have not finished throwing the dirt away yet. You have dug dirt and are just sitting."

1'26 *de ta:ni-gote indru-gote urq-ola*  
 ITJ then-even what-ever come.out-NG.PR.3SG  
 [Then the laborers said] "But nothing comes out."

1'28 *ar be:ru u:q-eni ante-se niŋ-ki*  
 and sun get.dark-FT.3SG.NM then-EPH you-GE  
*cauka-n=indru qoy-em ante pe:sa-n*  
 square.area-AC=and.so.on measure-FT.1PLE and money-AC  
*ciy-er*  
 give-FT.3PL

“When the sun sets, we will measure your area and so on, and they will give you money.”

1'33 *ante ni:m ek-ker ante bajare-no a:ja:d lap-er mo:q-er*  
 and you.PL go.B2-CP.2PL and market-LO free eat-FT.2PL eat-FT.2PL  
*du:de-n dahi-n ani-se awq-kem ondr-kem ko=re*  
 milk-AC curds-AC so-EPH speak-CP.1PL.E bring-CP.1PL.E it.seems=ITJ  
*nim-en*  
 you-AC

“Then you [can] go and drink milk and eat curds freely at the market. That is why we talked [to you] and brought you [here], isn’t it?”

1'37 *ante qo:q samjary-ar ante nan-dinte-nte a:wer ka:je-n*  
 and after understand.B2-PT.3PL and other-day-AB they work-AC  
*kudy-ar*  
 do.B2-PT.3PL

They understood later, and from the next day they did the work.

1'41 *cūki i:waje to ki:re menj-a te a:wer anub<sup>h</sup>av*  
 because this.way TOP hunger be.B2-PT.3SG and they experience  
*nany-ar ki i:t-no pe:sa qaq-owr-id*  
 do.B2-PT.3PL COMP here-LO money receive-PA-PR.3SG.NM  
 There was famine in this side. And they got experience that money is available [t]here.

1'44 *ante a:ja:d lap-e mo:q-e menj-a ar kuc male-r aneke*  
 and freely eat-VN eat-VN be.B2-PT.3SG and some person-PL now  
*hō a:-waje basc-ker do:k-ner aneke i: de:s-inte*  
 too that-way settle.down.B2-CP.3PL stay-PR.3PL now this land-AB  
*amb-ker eky-ar*  
 leave-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL  
 And they were to eat freely [with that money]. And some people have settled down and still live there. They have now left this land and gone there.



## Chapter III. Pahariya Rituals

### §10 Birth of a baby and the first feeding (S).

Told by Mrs. Surji Paharni of Amlagachhi, P. O. Shahrgram, P. S. Maheshpur, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Amlagachhi on September 6, 2006.<sup>1</sup>

0'24 *e:mu ma:de-r jarmar-no ort budhya-leko ja:ŋg-nam*  
we.E boy-PL be.born-IPP one old.woman-like call-PR.1PL.E  
When babies are born, we call one elderly lady.

0'32 *ja:ŋga-kam pahra ok-nar a:treri kude mo:c-nar*  
call-CP.1PL.E watch sit-PR.3PL they navel cut-PR.3PL  
After we call [someone], they sit and keep watch [on the baby]. They cut the umbilical cord.

0'37 *kude mo:c-kar amt-nar*  
navel cut-CP.3PL bathe-PR.3PL  
They cut the umbilical cord and bathe [the baby].

0'39 *amt-a-kar (dari-n) sapa dari-no pet-a pa:k-nar*  
give.bath-CP.3PL clean cloth-LO take.up.B2-AP  
take.in.the.lap-PR.3PL  
After they bathe [the baby], they take it up in clean cloth and hold it in the lap.

0'45 *pa:k-ne ke.ba:d ad<sup>ha</sup> gan<sup>ja</sup> ba:de e:k ad<sup>ha</sup> gan<sup>ja</sup> ba:de-no a:r teho-bagar-ki dudi-n ond-nar*  
take.in.the.lap-VN after half hour after one half hour after-LO and mother-PL-GE milk-AC make.drink-PR.3PL  
After holding [the baby] in the lap, after half an hour, they give it the milk of the mother and so on.

0'52 *uske.ba:d a:t dini orh-inte ur?omalar*  
after.that eight day house-AB come.out-NG.PR.3PL  
They do not go out of their house for eight days after that.

0'57 *dari-n naw dini-no bita-kar kaj-nar*  
cloth-AC nine day-LO cook-CP.3PL wash-PR.3PL  
They boil and clean the cloth on the nin[th] day.

1'01 *kaj-ne ke.ba:d male-ri sa:pe duwar-no ok-nar ca:he il-nar*  
wash-VN after person-PL clean entrance-LO sit-PR.3PL or stand-PR.3PL  
After they wash cloths, people sit or stand at the clean front yard.

1'07 *a:r e:mu cutike ma:ny-nam*  
and we.E restrictions.on.touching accept-PR.1PL.E  
And we observe the restrictions on touching.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Vidyarthi (1963:122), Vidyarthi (1991a:26).

1'09 *je: jab.tak randa bit-omaltam a:-du:re*  
 then until.REL food.for.the.first.feeding cook-NG.PR.1PL.E that-far.CR  
*muṛs-maṛe-r-in e: tep-kar lap-tr-omaltam a:r ja:gu*  
 man-boy-PL-AC ITJ touch-CP.3PL eat-CS-NG.PR.1PL.E and boiled.rice  
*hō bit-omaltam*  
 too cook-NG.PR.1PL.E  
 Until we cook the food for the first feeding, we do not touch and feed  
 men, nor do we cook food.<sup>2</sup>

1'19 *a: maṛe-r-in-ki-n randa bita-ka lap-tr-ne*  
 that boy-PL-AC-GE-AC food.for.the.first.feeding cook-CP eat-CS-VN  
*ke.ba:d hi e:m (male-r-ki male) muṛs-maṛe-r-in bita-ka*  
 after EPH we.E person-PL-GE or man-boy-PL-AC cook-CP  
*lap-tr-nam a:r pera-oṛa-r-in hō*  
 eat-CS-PR.1PL.E and guest-ECHO-PL-AC too  
 After cooking the food for the first feeding and feeding the baby with  
 it, we cook and feed men and the guests.

1'32 *a:r e:m nane-r-ki kate-no ok-omaltam macli-no*  
 they we.E other-PL-GE bedstead-LO sit-NG.PR.1PL.E small.stool-LO  
*ok-omaltam kando-no ok-omaltam*  
 sit-NG.PR.1PL.E stool-LO sit-NG.PR.1PL.E  
 We do not sit on the bed of other people. We do not sit on a small or  
 large stools.

1'42 *a:r randa bit-ne ke.ba:d goṛe-r-ini*  
 and food.for.the.first.feeding cook-VN after all-PL-AC  
*?ep-ond male-r-in ja:ng-nam*  
 village.CLF-one person-PL-AC call-PR.1PL.E  
 And after cooking the food for the first feeding, we call all the people  
 of the entire village.

1'48 *ja:ṛga-kam joma-tr-ne ke.ba:d ortu apna gusṭi-n hi*  
 call-CP.1PL.E collect-TR-VN after one own main.guest-AC EPH  
*be:do-la:go hi male-h bey-nah ahe-n ja:ṛg-nam*  
 big-somewhat EPH person-M be-PR.3SG.M he-AC call-PR.1PL.E  
 After calling and gathering everyone, we call our main guest, a man  
 who is kind of a big person.

1'57 *ja:ṛga-kam lot-am-a ciy-nam a:hu das-jen-ko*  
 call-CP.1PL.E cup-water-AC give-PR.1PL.E he ten-CLF-to  
*ja:ṛu-n cic-ah pu:ra-tar-nah*  
 cooked.rice-AC give.B2-CP.3SG.M fulfil-TR-PR.3SG.M  
 After we call him, we give him a cup of water. He gives and provides  
 food to ten [i.e. many] people present.

2'03 *pu:ra-tar-ne ke.ba:d maji maṛe-r-in ok-tr-nar*  
 fulfil-TR-VN after middle boy-PL-AC sit-CS-PR.3PL

<sup>2</sup>Men cook food in that period.

After he provides food, they make children sit in the middle.

2'08 *ok-tr-ka a:q-no pat-ond pa:tri ciy-nah*  
sit-CS-CP there-LO CLF-one leaf.plate give-PR.3SG.M  
After they make [children] sit, they give [the main guest] a leaf plate.

2'12 *ayi-no ja:gu-n arhe-n sa:jc-a ciy-no tetu*  
that-LO boiled.rice-AC vegetable-AC arrange.B2-AP give-IPP hand  
*no:qr-ka a:hu toro-no maðe-n tind-a ciy-nah*  
wash.hands-CP he mouth-LO boy-AC feed-AP give-PR.3SG.M  
When they arrange rice and vegetable on it and give it to him, he washes his hands and feeds the baby in its mouth.

2'21 *tind-a ciy-ne ke.ba:d e:noguṛ jahā jomar-na lap-oti*  
feed-AP give-VN after how.many.REL even gather-PR.3SG eat-IF  
*a:trer a: maðe-n lap-tr-ne ke.ba:d hi ja:gu lap-nar*  
they.CR that child-AC eat-CS-VN after EPH boiled.rice eat-PR.3PL  
After he has fed [the baby], all that gathered to eat eat food after [he has] fed the baby.

2'30 *lap-ne ke.ba:d apna apna orh-ik e:k-nar*  
eat-VN after own own house-DA go-PR.3PL  
After they eat, they go to their own homes.

2'34 *a: be:rti-nte e:m orhu-ki-n ja:gu-n bit-nam randa*  
that day-AB we.E house-GE-AC food-AC cook-PR.1PL.E first.food  
*bit-ne ke.ba:d*  
cook-VN after  
From that day on, after we cook the food for the first feeding, we cook food for our own family.

2'39 *jab.tak randa bit-omtam tab.tak e:m*  
until.REL first.food cook-NG.PR.1PL.E till.then.CR we.E  
*apna orhu-ki-n hō ja:gu bit-omtam e:me*  
own house-GE-AC too boiled.rice cook-NG.PR.1PL.E we.E  
*cu:like ma:ny-nam randa bit-omtam*  
taboo.on.touching accept-PR.1PL.E first.food cook-NG.PR.1PL.E  
*a:-du:r*  
that-for.CR  
Until we cook the food for the first feeding, while we observe the restrictions on touching and have not cooked the food for the first feeding yet, we do not cook food for our own family either.

2'49 *randa bit-ne ke.ba:d gofe-r-ini lap-tr-nam*  
food.for.the.first.feeding cook-VN after all-PL-AC eat-CS-PR.1PL.E  
After we cook the food for the first feeding, we feed everyone.

### §11 The Bean Puja (S).

Told by Mr. Ganesh Pahariya of Boro Pahar, P. O. Dumarchir, P. S. Amrapara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at the schoolhouse of Boro Pahar on March 1, 2009.

0'05 *ar inor e:nu indrupade-ki-n teh-oti e:n ok.et-yin*  
 and now I what.like-GE-AC tell-IF I sit.down-PR.PRF.1SG  
*ade-n me:n-ke*  
 that-AC hear-FT.IMP  
 Now, listen to that [story], to tell which I have sat down.

0'17 *jab bacri-no name indru kud-nay jab.ki kud-kay*  
 when year-LO we.I what do-PR.1PL.I whenever work-CP.1PL.I  
*ma:ntr-kay-tatkay*  
 harvest-CP.1PL.I-ECHO  
 When, in a year, we cultivate something, whenever we cultivate, harvest and so on,

0'24 *adi-nte got-jinise-ni pu:n-jinise-n to:ra: ɿary-a-kay se*  
 there-AB all-thing-AC.EPH new-thing-AC a.little worship-CP.1PL.I EPH  
*name lap-nay*  
 we.I eat-PR.1PL.I  
 then, only after performing puja with every crop, a little of the new crop, we eat them.

0'32 *dih adno se inor teh-in a:du e:n ɿosru-ɿarye-ki ba:re-no*  
 ITJ then EPH now tell-PR.1SG that I bean-worship-GE respect-LO  
*ɿosru-ɿarye-ki-n e:n teh-in*  
 bean-worship-GE-AC I tell-PR.1SG  
 Then, I will now tell it, I will tell about the Bean Puja.

0'46 *to inor indru kud-nam e:mu din-ond jamar-kam*  
 then now what do-PR.1PL.E we.E day-one get.together-CP.1PL.E  
*tehr.na?tam*  
 converse-PT.1PL.E  
 What do we do then? One day we get together and discuss [it].

0'52 *tehr.na?tam inond dine-no ɿosre ɿary-a-nay=re ta:n*  
 converse-PT.1PL.E this.much day-LO bean worship-PR.1PL.I=ITJ then  
*inond dine-no puntadi ɿary-a-nay*  
 this.much day-LO puntadi.festival worship-PR.1PL.I  
 We discuss, “On this day we will perform the Bean Puja.” Then (we decide) “We will perform the Puntadi (equivalent of Hindu Holi) on this day.”

0'59 *tehr.na?kam tehr.na?ni ta:n igjo inor e:m ɿosre*  
 converse-CP.1PL.E converse-IPP then right now we.E bean  
*ɿaryi-po-ki ina ugsa ar ine-hi orh-an id-nam*  
 worship-HP-GE today fast and today-EPH house-AC build-PR.1PL.E  
 After we discuss, when we discuss, right away we [do] the fast for performing the Bean Puja that day. And we build the ritual house on

that day.

1'09 *nam-ki pede-ki niyome-no darmo-no ok-po ki paila gosāyi-ki-n*  
we.I-GE side-GE custom-LO rule-LO sit-HP COMP first god-GE-AC  
*orh-an agdi pu:n nal-po*  
house-AC first new make-HP

We should observe the rule and custom of our place. It is that we should first make God's house anew.

1'22 *pu:n nal-ot ke.ba:d a:qi-n-te a: mandap galy-po*  
new make-IF after there-AB that pavilion make-HP  
After making the house anew, then we are to make the pavilion.

1'28 *mandap garca-ka-tatka aruhi be:rit ort gōtaite-hi*  
pavilion make.B2-CP-ECHO again in.the.evening one messenger-EPH  
*ja:yg-nah ɻep-ond ɻep-an*  
call-PR.3SG.M village-one village-AC  
After making the pavilion, at night, a messenger calls [the people of] the whole village.

1'41 *ina gorya ugsa=re teh-i puntadi ugsa=re a:n-kari*  
today bean.festival fast=ITJ tell-PR.3SG puntadi fast=ITJ say-CP.3PL  
*ja:yg-nah ja:yg-no jamar-po*  
call-PR.3SG.M call-IPP get.together-HP  
[The word] tells "Today is the fast for the Bean Festival, the fast for Puntadi." He calls saying this. When he calls, they are going to get together.

1'48 *jammar-ot ke.ba:d majye-pede-n to:ta ok-kah*  
get.together-IF after village.chief-side-LO a.little sit-CP.3SG.M  
*indrupade-n tehr:na?po*  
what.like-AC converse-HP  
After they get together, (they) sit a while at the village chief's place, and discuss things.

1'57 *tehr:na?-kam-tatkam a:qi-n-te lot-ond am-a*  
converse-CP.1PL.E-ECHO there-AB metal.cup-one water-AC  
*pehra-kah majye-h agdu majja-kah a:*  
take.along-CP.3SG village.chief-M front become.B2-CP.3SG.M that  
*gosāyi-ta:ne-k e:k-nah*  
god-place-DA go-PR.3SG.M

After they discuss, the village chief, taking along a cup of water, standing at the top of the procession, goes to that ritual ground.

2'11 *gosāy-ta:ne-k ek-kah nam-ki pede-ki niyome-di ade*  
god-place-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.M we.I-GE side-GE custom-NM that  
*kud-nah*  
do-PR.3SG.M

After going to the ritual ground, we perform what is the custom with us.

2'18 *dihī bawrya-r e:k-po-r majye-h korca-kar*  
 ITJ Bawrya-PL go-HP-PL village.chief-M enter.B2-CP.3PL  
*lot-ond am-an adi-ki tobendu inor*  
 metal.cup-one water-AC that-GE for now  
*oryar-kam-tatkam*  
 get.ready-CP.1PL.E-ECHO  
 The Bawryas and the village chief are going to go, entering [the ritual house, bringing] a cup of water. Then we get ready for that purpose.

2'36 *inti dine-no niy-ki pu:n-dana-n ?ary-oti lagca-kam nime*  
 of.today day-LO you-GE new-crop-AC worship-IF for-1PL.E you.PL  
*ning-en lehor ma:n-nam a:n-kar*  
 you-AC prayer observe-PR.1PL.E say-CP.3PL  
 Having said, “Today, we say prayers in order to offer new crop for you,”

2'46 *aruhi indr-indr-an awq-nar par awq-nar awqa-kar a:q-n-te*  
 further what-what-AC say-PR.3PL but say-PR.3PL say-CP.3PL there-AB  
*am-an qa:ly-nar am-a tund-nar mane pudgi-nar*  
 water-AC pour-PR.3PL water-AC spill-PR.3PL namely pour-PR.3PL  
*mandap-no*  
 pavilion-LO  
 they further say this and that, but having said them, they pour water, they spill water, they pour water in the pavilion.

2'56 *am-a pudga-kar a:q-n-te do:k-nar cic-a=indra*  
 water-AC pour-CP.3PL there-AB stay-PR.3PL fire-AC=and.so.on  
*oda-kar do:k-nar-tatnar*  
 burn-CP.3PL stay-PR.3PL-ECHO  
 After pouring water, they stay there [at night]. They stay burning fire and so on.

3'06 *a:q-n-te ugsa-ki-d a:n-kar dole-n gosāyi bar-a:k*  
 there-AB fast-GE-NM do.so-CP.3PL drum-AC god come-OP  
*a:n-kar dole-n ah-nar*  
 say-CP.3PL drum-AC beat-PR.3PL  
 Then, after performing what is related to the fast, they beat drums saying ‘Come, God!’

3'15 *pa:r-nar pa:r-no-tatno gosāyi bar-i*  
 sing-PR.3PL sing-IPP-ECHO god come-PR.3SG.NM  
 They sing. When they sing and so on, God comes.

3'21 *barce-ki teh-i indr-indr-an se teh-i*  
 come.B2-CP.3SG.NM tell-PR.3SG.NM what-what-AC EPH tell-PR.3SG  
*teh-ki-tatkid i:tre-n i:lkō kud-ke i:tre-n i:lkō*  
 tell-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO these-AC this.way do-FT.IMP these-AC this.way  
 [God] comes and tells [us to do] this and that. Having told [us] to do these this way, these this way,

3'31 *a:n-kid gosāydu a:di-nte cohr-i*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM god there-AB drop.off-PR.3SG.NM  
 having said this, God leaves there.

3'36 *cohr-ot ke.ba:d e:m ra:ty-ond do:k-nam*  
 drop.off-IF after we.E night.CLF-one stay-PR.1PL.E  
 After [God] has left, we stay there all night.

3'41 *do:k-a bij-kam a:di-nte ɻosr-ɻaŋye-n majye-h*  
 stay-AP dawn-CP.1PL.E there-AB bean-worship-AC village.chief-M  
*ta:n ɻaŋyi-nah ɻaŋya-n nawani ma:n-nah*  
 then worship-PR.3SG.M worship-AC new.crop.rite observe-PR.3SG.M  
 After passing the night staying [there], the head priest worships the  
 bean puja. He performs the eating ceremony of the new crop.

3'52 *a:di-nte nawani man-no a:di-nte aroh gorya ugsa*  
 there-AB new.crop.rite become-IPP there-AB again bean.festival fast  
*ko:r-nam*  
 enter-PR.1PL.E  
 Then when we perform the eating ceremony of the new crop, we enter  
 a fast for the Bean Festival again.

4'01 *gorya ugsa korc-atkam aroh alko-hi dole-t*  
 bean.festival fast enter.B2-CP.1PL.E again that.way-EPH drum-IN  
*indr-et nata-kam gosāyi ind-indr bar-no-tatno arohi*  
 what-IN beat.B2-CP.1PL.E god what-what come-IPP-ECHO again  
*ta:l-nam*  
 cut-PR.1PL.E  
 After we enter fast for the Bean Festival, we beat drums and so on  
 that way again, and when God and other [spirits] come, we sacrifice  
 [a goat] again.

4'16 *ikdano e:re ta:l-po ikdano perwa ta:l-po ade-n gosāyid-i teh-no*  
 where goat cut-HP where pigeon cut-HP that-AC god-EPH tell-IPP  
*talca-kam*  
 cut.B2-CP.1PL.E  
 If God tells to sacrifice a goat somewhere, or a pigeon somewhere,  
 we do so, and

4'24 *a:di-nte talca-tatkam buŋk-ond buŋk-e:nd tqadi go:ly-po*  
 there-AB cut.B2-CP.1PL.E jar.CLF-one jar.CLF-two liquor prepare-HP  
 then, after sacrificing, we are going to boil and brew one or two jarful  
 of liquor.

4'32 *ade-n majye-orh-ik korca-kam onda-kam*  
 that-AC priest-house-DA enter.B2-CP.1PL.E drink.B2-CP.1PL.E  
*kir-nam*  
 return-PR.1PL.E  
 We go into the head priest's house, drink it, and come back.

4'40 *ar arohi bagane-k=hō bagane-d a:n-nar*  
 and again sacred.grove-DA=too sacred.grove-NM say-PR.3PL

*bagane-k=hō ek-ka talca-ka-tatka kir-po*  
 sacred.grove-DA=too go.B2-CP cut.B2-CP-ECHO return-HP  
 And again we are going to go to Bagan — they call it Bagan — sacrifice there, and come back.

4'52 *pa:re e:n ja:de teh-ot lehy-omtan*  
 but I much tell-IF know-NG.PR.1SG  
 But I cannot tell much.

4'57 *pa:re ide-n pu:n-dana ?aŋyi-po-d a:n-nay*  
 but this-AC new-crop worship-HP-NM say-PR.1PL.I  
 But we call this worshipping of the new crop.

5'03 *di pu:n-dana-n=ba ?aŋyi-po-d-i mane gote-d-i pu:ne*  
 ITJ new-crop-AC=too worship-HP-NM-EPH namely all-NM-EPH new  
*o:nade-n pu:ne pu:ne sap aŋyi-po*  
 that-AC new new clean worship-HP  
 We are supposed to worship the new crop. We are supposed to worship everything that is new and clean.

5'10 *inor ta:the ?aŋyi-po arohi top-ond aroh aroh tobon pu:ne*  
 now mango worship-HP again CLF-one again again then new  
*bar-e:n[i] a:-kra aroh ?aŋyi-po*  
 come-FT.3SG.NM that-time again worship-HP  
 Now we are supposed to observe the Mango [Puja], and when any other new fruit comes out, we are supposed to worship.

5'17 *pu:n-dana-n name hō ?aŋyi-nay pa:re gole-r hō*  
 new-crop-AC we.I too worship-PR.1PL.I but outsider-PL too  
*?aŋyi-nar name hō ?aŋyi-nay*  
 worship-PR.3PL we.I too worship-PR.1PL.I  
 We also perform a ritual of the new crop. But the outsiders also perform a ritual of the new crop, and so do we.

5'24 *par nam-ki-d arohi somoy somoy pahare-no a:tr̥er (ar) ke:ponti*  
 but we.I-GE-NM again season season time-LO they at.once  
*?aŋy-ar ojij-nar*  
 worship-PT.3PL finish-PR.3PL  
 But our [ritual] is [performed] season by season, at due time. They worship at one time and they are done.

5'33 *ade-n awd-ah ki agdi a:migda-no se ?aŋy-ar*  
 that-AC say-PT.3SG.M COMP formerly PROP-LO EPH worship-PT.3PL  
*a:n-nar*  
 say-PR.3PL  
 [Someone] said that they say that they used to perform the ritual in Amigda.

5'39 *a:migda-no ?aŋy-ar kon pa:re ade-n ped-lo:ke-r*  
 PROP-LO worship-PT.3PL it.seems but that-AC age-people-PL  
*to:ta: teh-ot lo:l-ler iknahay ?aŋy-ar iknahay mala*  
 a.little tell-IF be.able-SJ.3PL how worship-PT.3PL how not

It seems that they [used to] perform the ritual in Amigda. Old people would be able to tell a little about how they performed the ritual and how they didn't.

5'48 *par mendr-i ki ra:ja-h a:migda-no becy-ahay*  
 but be.heard-PR.3SG COMP king-M PROP-LO be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*a: ra:ja-h ta:the-n adj:a:r-ik joma:-tr-no ?ary-ah*  
 that king-M mango-AC there-DA collect-TR-IPP worship-PT.3SG.M  
*cic-ah*  
 give.B2-PT.3SG.M

But — I hear that there was a king in Amigda. When that king collected mangoes there, he performed a ritual and offered [them].

5'57 *?ary-ah ciy-no arohi ik badma:se-h arohi*  
 worship-PT.3SG.M give-IPP again which rascal-M again  
*i:siky-ah mane a: ta:the-n beku mo:cy-ah*  
 tear.B2-PT.3SG.M namely that mango-AC stalk cut.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*mo:c-kah a: ta:the-n oco-ko*  
 cut-CP.3SG.M that mango-AC take.B2-CP

When he performed the ritual and offered them, some rascal tore them. Namely, he cut the mango at the stalk and took it away after cutting.

6'09 *arohi o:nade-n se mane a:migda-ki ra:ja-h arohi mahe:spur-no*  
 again that-AC EPH namely PROP-GE king-M again PROP-LO  
*behc-ah*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.M

Thereupon, the king of Amigda — he was in Maheshpur [then],

6'20 *a:hu mane awd-ah ki inor e:n e:k-lan*  
 he namely say-PT.3SG.NM COMP now I go-NG.FT.1SG  
 he said, "Now I will not go [there]."

6'25 *inond i:lko nal-kar ondr-ar ik-be:ri=ba eng-en*  
 this.much this.way do-CP.3PL bring-PT.3PL which-time=too I-AC  
*mo:c-anar a:n-kah*  
 cut-FT.3PL say-CP.3SG.M

Saying "They did like this and took [the mangoes]. Some day, they will maybe cut me."

6'30 *a:n-kah a:hu bar-lah bar-loko gosāydu ahe-n*  
 say-CP.3SG.M he come-NG.PT.3SG.M come-NG.CP god he-AC  
*ide-n ade-n mane a:rsisy-a kon*  
 this-AC that-AC namely stiffen-PT.3SG it.seems

Saying this, he did not come. When he did not come, God seems to have made him stiff.

6'39 *dih i a:h indran budi lagar-a*  
 ITJ he why mind attach-PT.3SG  
 Why did [God] gave him that idea?

6'41 *budi lagar-ka erk-a e:n e:k-lan erk-a e:re-no bard-i-no*  
 mind attach-CP.3SG go-IMP I go-NG.FT.1SG go-IMP goat-LO cattle-LO

*male-r-no ro:ge bicr-o:k*  
 person-PL-LO disease put.in-OP  
 After [God] gave him that idea, [the king said] “Go! I will not come.  
 Go! May [he] pour disease in goats, cattle and people!”

6'52 *ta:n ta:mi apan.apin ɻep-no indro da:ne ciy-a:nar a:-kṛa mo:ɻ-eni*  
 then themselves each village-LO what offering give-FT.3PL  
*that-time eat-FT.3SG.NM*  
 “Then when they give some offering in each of their own villages,  
 [God] will eat it.”

7'02 *a:di niy-ki-d mane e:n ɻaqy-in ar a:di man-eni*  
 that you-GE-NM namely I worship-PR.1SG and that be-FT.3SG.NM  
*niy়-e a:n-kah awdo-ko*  
 you-DA say-CP.3SG.M say-CP  
 “That is yours, I mean, [now] I worship, but that will be for you [to  
 do] (from now on).” He spoke so.

7'10 *o:nade-t se inor apan.apin ɻep-no puntaqì ɻaqy-po*  
 that-IN EPH now each village-LO puntadi worship-HP  
 That is why now we have to perform Puntadi in each village.

7'16 *ar gorya ɻaqy-po ta:the ɻaqy-po gote-ni*  
 and bean.festival worship-HP mango worship-HP all-AC.EPH  
*ɻaqya-ka mo:ɻ-ka*  
 worship-CP eat.B2-CP  
 And we have to perform the Bean festival, the Mango festival, we  
 perform them all, eat,

7'26 *mo:ɻ-nay name (ci:kto ɻaqy-o) /ɻaqy-abalo mo:ɻ-ot/*  
 eat-PR.1PL.I we.I worship-NG.AP eat-IF  
*lo:r-omtay ci:kto mo:ɻ-o lo:r-omtay*  
 be.able-NG.PR.1PL.I that.way eat-IF be.able-NG.PR.1PL.I  
 and we have feasts. We cannot eat without performing rituals. We  
 cannot have feasts that way.

7'32 *pa:re inor i: juge-no name-hi e:k-to lelha ar e:k-to usyar*  
 but now this era-LO we.I-EPH one-CLF fool and one-CLF smart  
*man-nay kon*  
 become-PR.1PL.I it.seems  
 But now in these times, we are fools on the one hand, [but] we are  
 maybe becoming smart on the other.

7'41 *nam-ki darm-e-n name amb-ot e:k-nay*  
 we.I-GE religion-AC we.I leave-IF go-PR.1PL.I  
 We are [gradually] leaving our religion.

7'45 *ike-h man-nah isaye ike-h man-nahū satsange*  
 who-M become-PR.3SG Christian who-M become-PR.3SG Sat.sang  
*ike-h man-nahū sa:du.darme ko:r-nah*  
 who-M become-PR.3SG Sadhu.dharm enter-PR.3SG.M

Someone becomes a Christian. Someone becomes [a follower of] Sat-sang, and someone becomes [a follower of] Sadhudharm and enters [those religions].

7'55 *mane o:nadet se mane nam-ki gosāy-d inor boh-yi*  
namely therefore EPH namely we.I-GE god-NM now run-PR.PRF.3SG  
That is why our God has now run away.

7'59 *lab.?ani gosāy-d inor sakti-juge beyo*  
good god-NM now tough-era be.not.3SG  
Now, in [this] tough time, there is no deity that is well.

8'02 *e:n inonde-hi teh-kan me:n-tr-in*  
I this.much-EPH tell-CP.1SG hear-CS-PR.1SG  
I tell and relate this much.

## §12 Pahariya festivals (C).

Told by Mr. Guhiya Paharia of Malipara, P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Malipara on September 11, 2006.

0'00 *mundoti juge-ki kata i:du agdi mundoti mala-r inor to*  
ancient era-GE story this formerly ancient person-PL now TOP  
*badla:r eky-ar ga:re-hi*  
change.AP go.B2-PT.3PL much-EPH  
This is a story of olden times. People of olden times have changed a lot now.

0'12 *ade isai korc-ar ade kor-omalar i:.sob ka:je*  
half Christianity enter.B2-PT.3PL half enter-NG.PR.3PL these work  
*kud-omalar par agdi mundi isai kor-lad*  
do-NG.PR.3PL but formerly formerly Christianity enter-NG.PT.3SG.NM  
*adno i:-sob ka:je-n kudy-ar*  
then this-all work-AC do.B2-PT.3PL  
Some have become Christians, some have not [but] do not practice these rituals. But they did these rituals when Christianity had not entered yet in olden times.

0'20 *ad-ki-d inor katy-ad ongr-a adi-ki inor kata*  
that-GE-NM now pass.B2-PT.3SG.NM end-PT.3SG that-GE now story  
*lehar-ad i:du ade-n e:nu teyg-in*  
become-PT.3SG.NM this that-AC I tell-PR.1SG  
[The practices] of those days have now passed away. It is gone. Now it has become a story. I will tell you about it now.

0'29 *mundoti mala-r agdi jare-no qade-no do:ky-ar*  
ancient person-PL formerly bush-LO jungle-LO stay.B2-PT.3PL  
Formerly, ancient people used to live in the bush and jungle.

0'34 *a: pahra-no mala-r gol-ja:ti-r-in tund-ne:-ri juta*  
that time-LO person-PL outsider-caste-PL-AC look-IPP-3PL shoe  
*qawsya-ki elc-kar org-ik boyg korc-ar ar*  
sound.B2-CP.3SG.NM fear-CP.3PL house-DA run.AP enter.B2-PT.3PL and

*ade pahari-k boygy-ar*  
 other hill-DA run.B2-PT.3PL  
 In those days, when [Pahariya] people saw outsiders, or as soon as shoes made a sound, [some] were scared and ran into their houses, and others ran away to the hills.

0'48 *ani se pahariya ja:ti-r-ki na:mi-d pahariya kurk-oti jejy-ar*  
 then EPH Pahariya caste-PL-GE name-NM Pahariya write-IF begin.B2-PT.3PL  
 That is why they started writing the name of the Pahariya people *Pahariya* ('hillman').

0'56 a: *pahra-no male-r ca:si kud-ot hō bad.mel-lar*  
 that time-LO person-PL ploughing do-IF even know-NG.PT.3PL  
 At that time, people even did not know how to cultivate.

1'00 *di:re di:re ka:je kud-oti bi:ndy-ar gote-nti agdi*  
 slowly slowly work do-IF begin.B2-PT.3PL all-AB formerly  
*kusa-n gangi-n auro ti:qalo-n ca:s nany-ar*  
 grass.name-AC maize-AC and millet-AC ploughing do.B2-PT.3PL  
 They started doing [cultivation] work slowly. In the very beginning, they cultivated *kuśa* grass, maize and millet.

1'15 *mundoti mala-r gosani-n goge-no auro mak-man-a*  
 ancient person-PL god-AC rock-LO and sal-tree-AC  
*me:nj-kar gohal-kuti-d a:n-le qary-ar*  
 make.B2-CP.3PL cowshed-post-NM say-CP worship.B2-PT.3PL  
 The ancient people made god of rocks and Sal wood and worshipped them as the post of the cowshed.

1'26 *pahariya male-r-ki gote-nti be:do porobe gangi-qarye*  
 Pahariya person-PL-GE all-AB big festival maize-worship  
 The biggest festival of the Pahariya people is the Maize Puja.

1'31 i: *qarye-no dumra sindra isagndu qe:r.pandu*  
 this worship-LO incense vermillion oil egg  
*lag-i*  
 be.attached-PR.3SG  
 Incense, vermillion, oil and eggs are used in this ritual.

1'45 *gangi-qarye men-omala adno mage-r=jahā palganje-n*  
 maize-worship become-NG.PR.3SG then child-PL=even cucumber-AC  
*gangi-n mo:q-lanar qary-no se gote-ri mo:q-nar*  
 maize-AC eat-NG.FT.3PL worship-IPP EPH all-PL eat-PR.3PL  
 Until the maize puja has taken place, even children do not eat cucumbers or maize. Only at the puja, everyone eats [them].

1'53 *jo:r-is male-r ortu na:do ar ortu kotware men-dah*  
 pair.CLF-two person-PL one priest and one official be-PR.3SG.M  
 [There are] two people, one is the Nado priest and one is the town crier [to announce the puja and collect donation].

1'59 *na:do nan-qep-male-r-in niyari nan-dah*  
 priest other-village-person-PL-AC invitation do-PR.3SG.M  
 The Nado priest invites people of other villages.

2'03 *auro bakriya-tadi-n (bita) bit-nar ade-n ki:ro-a:tge-ti ut-nar*  
 and grain-liquor-AC brew-PR.3PL that-AC wild.cashew-leaf-IN  
 cover-PR.3PL  
 And they brew wine from grain. They cover it with wild cashew leaves.

2'12 *de:mano ărs-no na:do tapi-n otr-dah auro*  
 diviner reach-IPP priest soaked.grain-AC take.out-PR.3SG.M and  
*qary-oti bi:nq-dah*  
 worship-IF begin-PR.3SG.M  
 When the Demano priest arrives, the Nado priest takes the soaked grain [out of the wine] and starts worshipping.

2'21 *ganyi qayye-ki ca:me inor pa:r-an eng-sa:tu sagar-dah*  
 maize worship-GE song now song-FT.1SG me-with help-PR.3SG.M  
*en-ki eng.do-h de:wā pahariya malipara indeke*  
 I-GE brother-M PROP PROP PROP this.way  
 I will now sing the song of the Maize Puja. My cousin Dewa Pahariya of Malipara joins me.

2'35 *na:do majye igde-k eky-ah*  
 kind.of.priest priest where-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 (Singing) "Where is the Nado priest gone?"

2'42 *uswa-n e:ra.(e:n)oy-a are maqo uswa-n e:r-a*  
 footprint-AC follow-IMP ITJ child footprint-AC follow-IMP  
 "Follow [his] footprint, o villagers!" (repeated)

3'13 *a:n-le pa:r-nar pa:r-no paila na:do oṛgu-nihi na:do*  
 say-CP sing-PR.3PL sing-IPP first priest house-LO.EPH priest  
*tadi-n o:n-nar adi-ki se i: ca:ma*  
 toddy-AC drink-PR.3PL that-GE EPH this song  
 They sing so. When they sing, the Nado priest[s] first drink the wine in the house. This song is for that.

3'25 *ganyi-qayye-d oygr-no qosru-qayye dehta-d ărs-i*  
 maize-worship-NM end-IPP pulse-worship festival-NM reach-PR.3SG  
 When the Maize Puja is over, Bean Puja festival comes.

3'32 *qosru-qayye-no gari-tă:re qosra bit-nar auro e:r-a-n*  
 pulse-worship-LO household-every pulse cook-PR.3PL and goat-AC  
*ku:ṛi-no ta:l-nar*  
 stable-LO cut-PR.3PL  
 In the Bean Puja, they cook the string pulse in every house, and they kill a goat in their stable.

3'41 *qosru bic-ka(n) gari-tă:re hi mari-pa:w-no key-p*  
 pulse be.cooked-CP household-every EPH grave-way-LO die-PAP

*male-r-ki na:mi-no ki:d-nar*  
 person-PL-GE name-LO place-PR.3PL  
 When the pulse is cooked, they put it on the road to the graveyard in  
 the name of dead people in every house.

3'49 *qosru-qalye-ki ca:me-n qosru-qalye-ki ca:me-n*  
 pulse-worship-GE song-AC pulse-worship-GE song-AC  
*ade-n-o jo:r-s-em pa:r-dam inor ondqala-m*  
 that-AC-too pair.CLF-two-1PL.E sing-PR.1PL.E now sibling-1PL.E  
*milar-kam*  
 be.together-CP.1PL.E  
 We two cousins now sing the song of the Bean Puja together.

3'59 *ri:ko-qadi ku:si qosre*  
 little-only black pulse  
 (Singing) “Tiny black pulse.”

4'04 *qana margo a:te-bajare-ki sindu:re-n olg-i*  
 eye black market-market-GE vermillion-AC cry-PR.3SG  
 “Its eye is black. It cries over the vermillion of the market.” (repeated)

4'43 *a:te-bajare baniya-dokani olg-a(r) olg-a kud-i*  
 market-market merchant-shop cry-AP REP walk.around-PR.3SG  
*are-are maqo olg-a(r) olg-a kud-i*  
 ITJ-REP girl cry-AP REP walk.around-PR.3SG  
 (Singing) “It goes around in merchants’ shops in the market, crying  
 and crying.”

5'21 *andeki cudim(?) i:d ongr-no ta:rg-qalye men-i*  
 that.way afterwards this end-IPP mango-worship be-PR.3SG  
 It is that way. Then when this is over, the Mango Puja is held.

5'26 *a: pahra-ki ca:me-n ta:rg-qalye-ki ca:me-n ide-n-o*  
 that time-GE song-AC mango-worship-GE song-AC this-AC-too  
*jo:r-s-emi milar-ka pa:r-dam eng.do-h*  
 pair.CLF-two-1PL.E be.together-CP sing-PR.1PL.E my.brother-M  
*sa:tu orta-pa:we-no maja malla-d ani*  
 together one.person-way-LO well be.not-NM so  
 We two, my cousin [and I], are singing this one together, too, the song  
 of that time, the song of the Mango Puja, for it does not sound good  
 if one person [sings].

5'38 *qe:romaqo pu:p-an ate-ki qah(e)ri ta:r-oma*  
 song.opener flower-AC wear-CP.2SG.NM branch cut-NG.IMP  
*car(i)ka bidy-i(n) andi are maqo car(i)ka bidy-i(n) andi*  
 lightning shine-PR.3SG thus ITJ girl lightning shine-PR.3SG thus  
 (Singing) “Put on the flowers and don’t cut the branch, for the thunder  
 will flash [otherwise], o villagers!” (repeated)

6'26 *be:ra(r) et-ki bag(i)qa mar(i)go car(i)ke*  
 sun go.down-CP.3SG.NM slight darkness lightning

*bidy-i(n) andid are maqo car(i)ke bidy-i(nid) an...*  
 shine-PR.3SG thus ITJ girl lightning flash-PR.3SG thus  
 (Singing) “For the thunder will flash in the light darkness after sun-set.” (repeated)

7'07 *be:ra(r) ete-ki bag(i)de mar(i)go bani-d are*  
 sun go.down-CP.3SG.NM slight darkness flow-NM ITJ  
*nindy-a bani-d are nindy-a*  
 fill.B2-PT.3SG flow-NM ITJ fill.B2-PT.3SG  
 (Singing) “The river is full in the light darkness after sunset.”

7'21 *kir-oma are ka:si(r) ikano kir-eni bani-d*  
 return-NG.IMP ITJ PROP where return-FT.2SG.NM flow-NM  
*nindy-a bani-d nindy-a*  
 fill.B2-PT.3SG flow-NM fill.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Don’t come back, o Kasi! Where will you come back? The river is full.”

7'40 *inor em-ki porobe-ki menj-a i: porobe-no ca:r dini ku:b*  
 now we.E-GE festival-GE be.B2-PT.3SG this festival-LO four day much  
*la:l-dam ond ond la:l-la:l-nar em-male-r*  
 dance-PR.1PL.E drink.B2.AP REP dance-REP-PR.3PL we.E-person-PL  
*be:g-a be:g-a arg-nar*  
 jump-AP REP climb-PR.3PL  
 Now [the accounts] of our festivals are over. In this festival, we dance a lot for four days. We [Pahariya] people dance drinking, and climb jumping.

7'48 *ade dole-t la:l-nar ade lagre-ti la:l-nar ade*  
 other long.drum-IN dance-PR.3PL other drum-IN dance-PR.3PL other  
*qe:le-ti lal-nar*  
 kettledrum-IN dance-PR.3PL  
 Some dance to a long drum, some to a Nagara drum, and others to a kettle drum.

7'52 *indeki ca:r dini ekdam ra:ti ta:no ra:ti ul ta:no uldu gote-ri*  
 this.way four day completely night then night day then day all-PL  
*ekdam la:se-ti be:g-a be:g-a arg-nar*  
 completely happiness-IN jump-AP jump-AP climb-PR.3PL  
 This way, all climb in dancing jumping and jumping, completely for four days, at night if at night, and by day if by day.

8'00 *maqe-pondi taqi-n o:n-nar ade taqi-n o:n-abalo*  
 child-woman toddy-AC drink-PR.3PL other toddy-AC drink-NG.AP  
*me:ca lap-nar ba:car-id ade-n*  
 lees eat-PR.3PL be.left-PR.3SG.NM that-AC  
 [Everyone, even] a child, drinks wine. Some don’t drink wine, but eat wine lees, which is left over.

8'05 *adi-nti a: ba:car-id ade-n kis-ik ciy-nar*  
 there-AB that be.left-PR.3SG.NM that-AC pig-DA give-PR.3PL

They give to pigs the lees which are left over from it.

8'08 *indeki se em-ja:ti-ki pahariya ja:ti-ki maj-a-n[o] do:k-po*  
 this.way EPH we.E-caste-GE Pahariya caste-GE well-LO(?) stay-IF  
 This is the way the Pahariya tribe live pleasantly.

8'14 *do:k-no ok-no male-r key-no em-e nane-di ade*  
 stay-IPP sit-IPP person-PL die-IPP we.E-DA different-EPH other  
*male-r key-no pahariya ja:ti-r kamani-n*  
 person-PL die-IPP Pahariya caste-PL memorial.ceremony-AC  
*kud-nar*  
 do-PR.3PL  
 When people die while living, we have different [ways] (i.e. burial and cremation). When some people die, the Pahariya tribe hold a memorial ceremony.

8'22 *kamani-no kis-a e:ra-n pit-nar auro e:nond*  
 memorial.ceremony-LO pig-AC goat-AC kill-PR.3PL and how.much  
*maq-i-k e:k-u-r-ki got-qepo-r-ik ma:k-a ca:g-nar*  
 grave-DA go-PP-PL-GE all-villager-PL-DA meat-AC divide-PR.3PL  
 They kill pigs and goats in a memorial ceremony. And they distribute meat to those who went to the graveyard [for burial] and to all villagers.

8'35 *em-ja:ti-r male-r key-no bo:j nan-nar*  
 we.E-caste-PL person-PL die-IPP feast do-PR.3PL  
 Our tribe hold a feast when people die.

8'40 *bo:je-k bo:je-k pa:n-ond kucri-n qepo-r-ik ba:ty-nar*  
 feast-DA REP CLF-one bale-AC villager-PL-DA distribute-PR.3PL  
 For a feast, they distribute one bale of grain for the villagers.

8'49 *na:do majye bi:cy-ond mali-tar-u*  
 kind.of.priest priest grain.CLF-one kind.of.reed-cut-PP  
*men-dah*  
 become-PR.3SG.M  
 The Nado priest becomes the cutter of Mali grass.

8'56 *peli-ki ba:ye-r qo:liyo-r qo:li-mo:q-u-r men-nar*  
 woman-GE relative-PL tail.person-PL tail-eat-PP-PL become-PR.3PL  
 Relatives of a woman become tail people, those who eat the tails.

9'03 *auro tungr-u-r ti:qalo kucri-n key-p male-r-ki*  
 and be.collected-PP-PL millet bale-AC die-PAP person-PL-GE  
*na:mi-no qayya-kar qepo-r-ik taq-i bit-oti*  
 name-LO worship.B2-CP.3PL villager-PL-DA wine brew-IF  
*ba:ty-nar*  
 divide-PR.3PL  
 And those who get together worship in the name of the deceased people and distribute a bail of millet to the villagers for brewing wine.

9'16 *a: pahra key-pe-ki na:mi pet pet ca:me-n pa:t-nar*  
 that time die-PAP-GE name take.up.B2.AP REP song-AC sing-PR.3PL

*i:-leko*

this-like

At that time, they sing a song putting the name of the deceased, like this.

9'32 *ca:ndu surja saryge-k arg-a:nah*

PROP PROP heaven-DA climb-FT.3SG.M

(Singing) "Chandu Surja will rise to heaven." (repeated)

10'15 *a:n-le ti:qal ti:qal ti:qale jity-no jity-no pa:ṛ-nar*

say-CP rice REP sprinkle-IPP REP sing-PR.3PL

They sing so while sprinkling rice.

10'27 *a:di-nti turg pahra turg-u dole-n nah-nar*

there-AB bury.ashes time bury.ashes-PP long.drum-AC beat-PR.3PL

*auro turga-kar oṛg-ik kir-nar*

and bury.ashes.B2-CP.3PL house-DA return-PR.3PL

Then when they bury the ashes, those who bury the ashes beat long drums, and after they bury the ashes, they go home.

10'36 *dol.bo:r-ik kis-kuk-a ciy-nar auro qepo-r*

drum.beater-DA pig-head-AC give-PR.3PL and villager-PL

*pa:tri-ja:gu-n lap-nar*

leaf.plate-boiled.rice-AC eat-PR.3PL

They give a pig's head to the drum beater, and villagers eat food on leaf plates.

10'44 *indeki se em-ja:ti-ki-d bo:je men-i*

this.way EPH we.E-caste-GE-NM feast become-PR.3SG

The memorial feast of our tribe goes like this.

10'47 *par inor ada.adि male-r isai lehar-ar*

but now majority person-PL Christianity become-PT.3PL

But now a majority of people have become Christians.

10'50 *ani bo:je-d hō di:re-di:re band men-i*

so feast-NM too slowly-REP closed become-PR.3SG

So the memorial feast is also disappearing little by little.

10'53 *bara:.dini bara-porobe-no se la:l-nar ja:de besi*

Christmas Christmas-festival-LO EPH dance-PR.3PL much great

*bo:ja-d inor men-omala*

feast-NM now become-NG.PR.3SG

They dance on Christmas, on the Christmas festival, and now there are no more big memorial feasts.

### §13 Pahariya wedding (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar, P. O. Vindudham, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahebganj. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hirapur, on March 3, 2006.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Verma (1959:75ff.), Vidyarthi (1963:105ff.).

0'00 *em-ki situ-r a:n-im jo:r-on-d-er*  
 we.E-GE match.maker-PL say-PR.1PLE pair.CLF-one-PL  
 We call the pair of people our match-makers.

0'05 *a:bere muṣe-ki batte-r ik-gote peli-ada-k e:k-er*  
 they man-GE sider-PL who-ever woman-house-DA go-FT.3PL  
 Those people of the boy's side go to the house of some girl.

0'13 *ante a:t-no mata lagatr-er ki e:me palna mage-k*  
 and there-LO information attach-FT.3PL COMP we.E so.and.so boy-DA  
*men-oti barc-kem*  
 ask-IF come.B2-PT.1PLE  
 And there, we find out, saying “We are here to ask [about your daughter] for the boy so-and-so.”

0'23 *anno a:t-no ba:t jo:r-ar-i ta:nu a:ber suru: nan-er*  
 then there-LO words join-ITR-PR.3SG then they start do-FT.3PL  
*ki palna dine e:m bar-em ante a: dine e:k-er*  
 COMP so.and.so day we.E come-FT.1PLE and that day go-FT.3PL  
 If an agreement is reached thereon, they start [preparing], saying “We will come on such and such date.” And they come on that day.

0'36 *e:k-e-ki ba:de-no ba:tc:i:te men-anid peli-ki to*  
 go-VN-GE after-LO discussion be-FT.3SG.NM girl-GE TOP  
*tambako-ber ar muṣe-ki to tambako-ber ok-er a:t-no*  
 father-PL and man-GE TOP father-PL sit-FT.3PL there-LO  
 After coming [there], there will be a discussion [about the consequences of the marriage].

0'46 *ok-e-ki ba:de-no men-er ki e:k-en a:n-id ta:nu*  
 sit-VN-GE after-LO ask-FT.3PL COMP go-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG.NM then  
*biha-ki tay men-id*  
 wedding-GE decision be-PR.3SG.NM  
 Then they will ask [the girl] if [she wants to marry the boy]. If she says “I will go [and marry him]” then the marriage is decided on.

0'54 *adano qa:w.naq-er ki e:nond-gote pe:sa-d ca:r:so:*  
 then converse-FT.3PL COMP how.much-EPH money-NM 400  
*pā:c:so: hajar taka ar e:k man du: man ti:qal-a*  
 500 thousand rupee and one maund two maund rice-AC  
*jo:-gote awd.naq-er*  
 which-EPH discuss-FT.3PL  
 At that point, they will talk how much money [should be given], four hundred, five hundred or one thousand rupees, and one *maund*, two *maund* of rice. That is what they will discuss.

1'06 *ante a: ik dine ta:ri:k nan-er a: dine-no biha*  
 and CR which day date do-FT.3PL that day-LO wedding  
*men-anid*  
 be-FT.3SG.NM  
 And the wedding will take place on that day on which they fix the

date.

1'10 *ade-k(i) situ-r do:k-ner adi-n caryoti ino*  
 that-DA match.maker-PL stay-PR.3PL that-AC mediating here  
*muṣse-[a]da-k e:k-er pel-ada-k e:k-er jo:r-ond-er*  
 man-house-DA go-FT.3PL girl-house-DA go-FT.3PL pair.CLF-one-PL  
*a:ber situ a:n-im*  
 they match.maker say-PR.1PL.E

Match makers are for that procedure. They go to the boy's house here and the girl's house [there] to mediate it [i.e. the match]. We call those two people match-makers.

1'16 *a:bere men-ne-ki ba:de-no do:nō taraf se ba:te mi:l*  
 they ask-VN-GE after-LO both side from words agreement  
*mepj-ad ta:nu biha-ki tay men-anid*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM then wedding-GE decision be-FT.3SG.NM  
 After they ask, if words from both parties agree, then the decision regarding the wedding is all set.

1'25 *po:ne jo.b̥i: qa:wr.naq-ar e:m to pel-er-ik*  
 dowry whatever converse.B2-PT.3PL we.E TOP girl-PL-DA  
*ciy-im pe:sa-n*  
 give-PR.1PL.E money-AC  
 Whatever bride price they have discussed, we give that money to the girl's side.

1'30 *muṣse-h bed-keh ondr-ih ada-no biha men-id*  
 man-M seek-CP.3SG bring-PR.3SG.M that-LO wedding be-PR.3SG.NM  
 The boy calls her out and takes her [to his house]. Then the wedding is held.

1'33 *adano e:k-ner lal-oti baryati-r qe:lu.dugu*  
 there go-PR.3PL dance-IF groomsmen-PL kettledrum  
 Then the bridegroom's party and drums go in order to dance.

1'38 *apna i: qep-ente pel-ada-k e:k-er pel-ada-no*  
 own this village-AB girl-house-DA go-FT.3PL girl-house-LO  
*lal-er(a)*  
 dance-FT.3PL  
 They go from this village of theirs to the bride's house. They dance at the bride's house.

1'44 *a: situ lo:ke-r gurar-er ki ikna:ne upa:y*  
 that match.maker people-PL walk.about-FT.3PL COMP how devise  
*lagatr-er ada-ki-no*  
 attach-FT.3PL that-GE-LO  
 Meanwhile, the match makers run around, trying to mediate.

1'49 *ante e:k-e-ki ba:d-no i:fi-n-te kis-a oy-er*  
 and go-VN-GE after-LO here-AB pig-AC take-FT.3PL  
 And after they go, they bring a pig from here.

1'52 *kisu oy-e-ki ba:de-no ne:re-ki ik peli-ki ar murse-ki*  
 pig take-VN-GE after-LO who-GE which girl-GE and man-GE  
*biha men-ani ahe-ki na:mi-ti a: kis-a caq-er*  
 wedding be-FT.3SG.NM he-GE name-IN that pig-AC stab-FT.3PL  
 After they bring the pig, they stab [and butcher] that pig by the names  
 of the boy and the girl whose wedding will take place.

2'01 *caq-e-ki ba:de-no a:ber-iki na:mi palna-d ar palna-h*  
 stab-VN-GE after-LO they-GE name so.and.so-NM and so.and.so-M  
*inte-nite orge-r*  
 today-AB married.couple-PL  
 After they stab [the pig, saying] their name [, they proclaim] “So-and-  
 so and so-and-so become man and wife from today.”

2'05 *a: i:ber-ki-de uj-e-de ekdam e:ru men-anded*  
 that these-GE-NM live-VN-NM completely well be-OP.3SG.NM  
 “May their lives be completely well.”

2'43 *a:ber-ki na:me-ti pu:ja men-id*  
 they-GE name-IN ritual be-PR.3SG.NM  
 The puja is [performed] in their names [by their relatives].

2'45 *caq-ner ante palna inte-nite i: mage ahi-ki tambako-ki*  
 stab-PR.3PL and so.and.so today-AB this boy he-GE father-GE  
*na:mi-n ante a: mage-ki na:mi-n ara peli-ki tambako-ki-n ara*  
 name-AC and that boy-GE name-AC and girl-GE father-GE-AC and  
*peli-ki-d na:mi-n awd-ker ante pu:ja: nan-er*  
 girl-GE-NM name-AC speak-CP.3PL and ritual do-PR.3PL  
 After stabbing the pig, they say this boy’s father’s name and that boy’s  
 name [together], and [then say] the girl’s father’s and the girl’s name  
 [together], and perform the puja.

2'58 *inte-nite i:ber orge-r i:ber-ki e:ru suk<sup>h</sup>dan se*  
 of.today-AB these married.couple-PL these-GE well happiness EPH  
*do:k-ander e:ru uj-ander a:n-ker adi-n caq-er ante*  
 stay-OP.3PL well live-OP.3PL say-CP.3PL that-AC stab-CP.3PL and  
*a:t-no adi-n kind-er*  
 there-LO that-AC divide-FT.3PL  
 Having said “From today on, they are man and wife. May they stay  
 well in happiness, may they live well from today on,” they stab and  
 then divide it.

3'08 *adi-ne toka-r ca:gr-naq-er ma:k-a to:ta-to:ta gote-ki*  
 that-AC relative-PL divide-REC-FT.3PL meat-AC a.little-REP all-GE  
*toka-r a:ber-ik tey-er tota-tota gote-hi ahe-ki kandane-r*  
 relative-PL they-DA send-FT.3PL a.little-REP all-EPH he-GE relative-PL  
*a:ber-ik*  
 they-DA  
 They divide that meat little by little among all the relatives. They send  
 it to them, to all his [and her] relatives.

3'16 *a: ino jo: bic-ad adi-n adulte-n ceyro-d*  
 CR here CR be.boiled-PT.3SG.NM that-AC inner-AC heart.and.liver-NM  
*a:n-im adi-n bit-er*  
 say-PR.IPL.E that-AC cook-FT.3PL  
 We call the inner part of that which is cooked *ceyro* ['heart and liver'].  
 They cook it [for the couple].

3'20 *a: ine biha men-id a: pahr-no em-ki batte*  
 CR today wedding take.place-PR.3SG.NM CR time-LO we.E-GE side  
*biha men-i a: pahr-no*  
 wedding take.place-PR.3SG that time-LO  
 When the wedding takes place today, when the wedding takes place  
 on our side,

3'28 *peli-ki ar muṣse-ki e:k si:t-no ok-er indake*  
 girl-GE and man-GE one seat-LO sit-FT.3PL this.way  
 the bride's [people, i.e. the bride and the performer of the rite like her  
 uncle, and the match-maker] and the bridegroom's [people] sit on one  
 [mat] seat this way.

3'33 *adano a:ber-ike indake tetu-n ok-er*  
 then they-DA this.way hand-AC sit-FT.3PL  
 Then they [i.e. the couple] sit with their hands [covering their face]  
 towards them this way.

3'35 *adano tora-tora-ti inte-n-te i:ber orge-r ar jama*  
 then a.little-REP-IN today-AB these married.couple-PL they together  
*lap-era indru-gote-hi do:se mel-la:ni-d*  
 eat-FT.3PL what-ever-EPH guilt be-NG.FT.3SG-NM  
 Then, [since they do everything together as a married couple] little by  
 little from today, these [newly] married couple, they eat together, and  
 still there will be no guilt whatsoever.

3'42 *a:n-ker ante a:ber-ik ciy-ner ante menj-a*  
 say-CP.3PL and they-DA give-PR.3PL and be.B2-PT.3SG  
 They say this and [the match-makers] give [the bride] to them [i.e. the  
 bridegroom's family] and [the wedding] is done.

3'45 *ada-ki ba:de i: no:dr-e-ki ba:de-no p̚hir se ok-ner*  
 that-GE after this wash.hand-VN-GE after-LO again EPH sit-PR.3PL  
 After that, after they have washed their hands, they sit again.

3'47 *adano sundra-ne porg-tr-pe-d adi-ne peli-k indake*  
 then vermillion-AC be.soaked-TR-PAP-NM that-AC girl-DA this.way  
*ante a:he tu:d-eh a: peli-d ho nahe-k indek*  
 and he paint-FT.3SG.M that girl-NM too he-DA this.way  
*tu:d-en[idi]*  
 paint-FT.3SG.NM  
 Then he puts moistened vermillion on the bride['s forehead] like this.  
 That bride also puts [vermillion] on him this way.

4'00 *a:d inte-n-te a:ber orge-r a:ti-n-te biha-sa:di*  
 that of.today-AB they married.couple-PL there-AB wedding-wedding  
*meŋj-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG  
 From then on they are a married couple. The wedding is complete at that point.

4'02 *ante aqa-male-r awq-er ki niyg-a idi-n inte-n-te*  
 and house-people-PL speak-FT.3PL COMP you-DA this-AC of.today-AB  
*ceragni mel-la qalw-ni mel-la gaŋiya mel-la a:*  
 witch be-NG.3SG thief-F be-NG.3SG lazy.person be-NG.3SG that  
*taragru mel-la e:ru malni-n ning-a sopy-im*  
 crippled be-NG.3SG good woman-AC you-DA give-PR.1PL.E  
 And the family [of the bride] say, "We give you this girl today. She is not a witch, a thief, a lazy woman, or a crippled woman. She is a good woman."

4'16 *a:n-keh ante situ-k ciy-er aqa-male-r*  
 say-CP.3SG.M and match.maker-DA give-FT.3PL house-people-PL  
*taŋg-dada-h*  
 self-uncle-M  
 Having said this, the family, namely her uncle, gives [her] to the match-maker.

4'19 *a:h ok-eh a:h ante ahe-/k/ ike-h biha.murse men-eh*  
 CR.M sit-FT.3SG.M he and he-DA who-M bridegroom become-FT.M  
*ahe-k indake dary-tr-eh tetu-n ante a:h darc-ah*  
 CR-DA this.way hold-TR-FT.3SG.M hand-AC and he hold.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He [the match-maker] makes him who is sitting, him who becomes the bridegroom, hold [her] hand like this, and he holds [it].

4'25 *dary-e-ki ba:de-no meŋj-ad ante adi-ki*  
 hold-VN-GE after-LO become.B2-PT.3SG.NM and that-GE  
*toqry-ad indru-gote awq-eh ade-ki ba:de-no*  
 be.finished.B2-PT.3SG.NM what-ever speak-FT.3SG that-GE after-LO  
*adi-n aqa-n-te banda-keh otr-eh*  
 she-AC house-AB pull-CP.3SG take.out-FT.3SG  
 After he holds [her hand], it is done and things related to that [i.e. the wedding] is finished. He says something and after that leads and takes her out from [her] house.

4'34 *ade-ki ba:de-no sa:di toqry-ad a:ti-n-te*  
 that-GE after-LO marriage be.finished.B2-PT.3SG.NM there-AB  
*bariati-r apna aqa-ke oy-er adi-n*  
 groomsmen-PL own house-DA take-FT.3PL she-AC  
 After that the wedding is finished. Then the groomsmen take her to [the bridegroom's] house.

4'41 *a: dosra dine-no ina adi-n oc-ar idi-n e:r-oti*  
 that next day-LO today she-AC take.B2-PT.3PL this.F-AC see-IF

*adi-n lunti-d a:n-im*  
 that-AC reception-NM say-PR.1PL.E  
 On another day, in order to see this [girl] whom they took away — we  
 call this *lunti* ‘reception’ —

4'49 *a:ti-n-te peli-ki aqa-male-r toka-r a:ber bar-er ino*  
 there-AB girl-GE house-people-PL relative-PL they come-FT.3PL here  
*lap-oti mo:q-oti*  
 eat-IF eat-IF  
 Then the bride’s family and relatives come, today for eating [and not  
 for formality].

4'55 *a:ber-in jetna jut-ar-i tadi ko ca:he ma:ku*  
 they-AC how.much be.collected-ITR-3SG toddy maybe though meat  
*ja:gu a:ber-in lap-tr-er*  
 boiled.rice they-AC eat-TR-FT.3PL  
 They [i.e. the bridegroom’s family] make them [i.e. the bride’s family]  
 eat as much [food] as they can collect, maybe liquor, meat, and rice.

5'01 *ina do:k-er le:la a:ber-ik bida men-ani*  
 today stay-FT.3PL tomorrow they-DA leave be-FT.3SG.NM  
 They will stay on that day. On the next day they take leave [of the  
 host].

5'05 *p:bir a:ber-in gote-r-nihi isagn-a ma:nd-er*  
 again they-AC all-PL-AC.EPH oil-AC anoint-FT.3PL  
*inder-kuder=gote bida nan-er otr-er bahre:-k*  
 what-ECHO=even leave do-FT.3PL take.out-FT.3PL outside-DA  
 Again they anoint all [the guests], they say goodbye and [the bride-  
 groom’s family] go out [of the house] with them [to see them off].

5'10 *ada-ki ba:de-no samby-er ante a:ber kir-er a:ber*  
 that-GE after-LO shake.hands-FT.3PL and they return-FT.3PL they  
*ada-k bar-er*  
 house-DA come-FT.3PL  
 After that they shake hands, they (i.e. the guests) go home, and they  
 (i.e. the hosts) come back.

5'18 *biha-no jo:.bhi jut-ar-i-d da:li ti:qalu a:lu*  
 wedding-LO whatever be.collected-ITR-3SG-NM lentil rice potato  
*ma:ku je:se pa:ry-ner oryetr-oti*  
 meat as be.able-PR.3PL collect-IF  
 (What food do they serve?) — At the wedding, whatever is available,  
 dal, rice, potato, meat, depending on what they can get.

5'29 *ki:rwā-r ta:nu to je:se.te:se men-anid*  
 poor-PL then then plain be-FT.3SG.NM  
 If they are poor, then [the food] will be something plain.

5'32 *ar pa:ry-ih ta:nu to ma:ku-d ho men-ani*  
 and be.able-PR.3SG.M then then meat-NM also be-FT.3SG.NM

*ja:gu-d ho men-an-i ar taq-i-n ho o:n-er  
 boiled.rice-NM also be-FT.3SG.NM and toddy-AC also drink-FT.3PL  
 e:k-u-r  
 go-PP-PL*

And if he can afford it, then there will be meat too, and there will be rice too, and those who went [with the bridegroom] will drink liquor, too.

#### §14 Birth ritual and name giving (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursu Pahar. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hirapur, on September 5, 2006.<sup>4</sup>

0'00 *em-ki sawriya.pahariya-no janam men-id*  
 we.E-GE Sawriya.Pahariya-LO birth be-PR.3SG.NM  
*sawriya.pahariya-no janam men-id jarmar-im ada-no*  
 Sawriya.Pahariya-LO birth be-PR.3SG.NM be.born-PR.1PL.E that-LO  
 In our Sawriya Pahariya [community], when birth takes place, when we are born, then,

0'09 *ada-no pel.mage jarmary-ad ta:nu cuk̄i-d*  
 that-LO girl be.born.B2-PT.3SG.NM then earthen.cup-NM  
*a:n-im ada-no orme-n bara:tr-ner*  
 say-PR.1PL.E that-LO ash-AC fill-PR.3PL  
 when a girl is born, we fill ash in an earthen cup that we call *cuk̄i*.

0'20 *ante ada-no adi-ki kude cogr-id a: pahr-no*  
 and that-LO she-GE navel drop-PR.3SG.NM that time-LO  
*ko:mo-ki a:tge-n kale-n pata-ker ada-no ok-tr-ker*  
 plant.name-GE leaf-AC cup-AC sew-CP.3PL that-LO sit-CS-CP.3PL  
 And then her umbilical cord drops. Then they sew a leaf-cup of Komo leaves and put [the umbilical cord] there.

0'32 *ante isagn-a pury-ner ada-no kude-n ok-tr-ner*  
 and oil-AC pour-PR.3PL that-LO umbilical.cord-AC sit-CS-PR.3PL  
 And they pour oil [in the cup]. They put the umbilical cord in it.

0'36 *ante ada-nihi a:d mane a:d cala:tr-u malni-d*  
 and that-LO.EPH she namely she drive-PP woman-NM  
*ar̄ge-n=indru bana:tr-anid ik.dine*  
 vegetable.dish-AC=and.so.on make-FT.3SG.NM someday  
 She will cook *sabzi* and so on as a homemaker (lit. woman driving a wooden ladle) someday.

0'42 *a:le:kki a:de peli-d ade-ki cihna-d taqu-d*  
 that-for she woman-NM she-GE mark-NM wooden.ladle-NM  
 So, if it is a girl, the symbol is a wooden ladle.

0'48 *taqu ke.sa:t na:mkaran men-id adi-n*  
 wooden.ladle with naming.ceremony be-PR.3SG.NM that-AC

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Vidyarthi (1963:118ff.).

*bahre:-k oca-ker ante qep-ente bahre-no ok-tr-ner*  
 outside-DA take.B2-CP.3PL and village-AB outside-LO sit-CS-PR.3PL  
 The naming ceremony (on the fifth day) will take place with the  
 wooden ladle. They bring it (i.e. the earthen cup) outside and put  
 it outside the village.

0'56 *ar muq's.maqe jarmar-ih ada-no ahe-ki-n-ō*  
 and boy be.born-PR.3SG.M that-LO he-GE-AC-too  
*ko:mo-ki a:tge-n pat-ker ante cuk̄i-no or̄me-no*  
 plant.name-GE leaf-AC sew-CP.3PL and earthen.cup-LO ash-LO  
*ok-tr-ker ante ahe-ki e:rtu ca:ru me:jj-ker*  
 sit-CS-CP.3PL and he-GE bow arrow make-CP.3PL  
 And when a boy is born, they sew [a leaf-cup of] Komo leaves for  
 him too, and put [it with the umbilical cord] on an earthen cup, on the  
 ash, and after making his bow and arrow,

1'11 *ante ahe-ki na:me indru-goṭe me:sa ganga ca:he ajra ca:he jawra*  
 and he-GE name what-even PROP PROP or PROP or PROP  
*ca:he tomose male indri-goṭe*  
 or PROP or what-even  
 [having decided on] his name, Mesa, Ganga, Hajra, Jawra, or Thomas,  
 or any name,

1'18 *ahe-ki na:me-n tambako-he ina bali-n tisg-in ani*  
 he-GE name-AC father-EPH today door-AC open-PR.1SG so  
*ahe-ki ti:na-batte-n tin-dapa u:r-eh a:h letra-batte-n*  
 he-GE right-side-AC three-time.CLF blow-FT.3SG.M he left-side-AC  
*dap-is u:r-eh pac-dapa qerwu ahe-ki-d*  
 time.CLF-two blow-FT.3SG.M five-time.CLF ear he-GE-NM  
 the father opens the door of the baby's name today, so he blows his  
 right side three times [calling the baby's name], then blows his left  
 side twice, so [he blows the name into the baby's] ears five times.

1'30 *mane ahe-ki na:me surja-d na:me pinj-en a:n-keh*  
 namely he-GE name PROP-NM name name-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M  
*ante f a:n-keh u:r-eh i:-batte-n tin-dapa*  
 and ONOM say-CP.3SG.M blow-FT.3SG.M this-side-AC three-time.CLF  
 So for example, calling his name saying "I give the name Surja," he  
 blows "ph" on this side three times.

1'36 *ar i:-batte-ne dap-is pel.maqe ta:nu a:-juka-hi*  
 and this-side-AC time.CLF-two girl then that-way-EPH  
*u:r-eh ar muq's.maqe ta:nu a:-juka-hi u:r-eh*  
 blow-FT.3SG.M and boy then that-way-EPH blow-FT.3SG.M  
 And twice on this side. If it is a baby girl, he blows like this, and if it  
 is a baby boy, he blows like this.

1'42 *ante a: pel.maqe ta:nu to a: cuk̄i-no taq̄u-n*  
 and that girl then then that earthen.cup-LO wooden.ladle-AC

## §15 Funeral and the Boje feast (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hirapur, on March 3, 2006.<sup>5</sup>

0'00 *ada-no na: male-h ike-gote key-ih key-e-ki ba:de-no*  
 that-LO that person-M which-ever die-PR.3SG.M die-VN-GE after-LO  
*ahe-n key-pe male-n amt-ner no:l-ner*  
 he-AC die-PAP person-AC bathe-PR.3PL wash-PR.3PL  
 When any man dies, then they bathe and wash him, the dead man.

0'12 *ada-ki ba:de-no ka:ti-no ki:d-ner (ad) bica-tr-ker*  
 that-GE after-LO bedstead-LO lay-PR.3PL spread-TR-CP.3PL  
*jo:.bi indr-gote beh-i gadle cahe indr-got ade-ti*  
 whatever what-ever be-PR.3SG quilt or what-ever that-IN  
*bica-tr-ker ki:d-ner*  
 spread-TR-CP.3PL lay-PR.3PL  
 After that, they lay the dead person on a bedstead. Having spread  
 whatever quilt is available, whatever you can cover [the body] with,

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Vidyarthi (1963:134ff.).

they lay the body.

0'19 *isagn-a ma:nd-ker ante jo: jutar-i ta:nu ho*  
oil-AC anoint-CP.3PL and which be.collected-PR.3SG then too  
*beh-i ta:no beh-i mala ta:no mala*  
be-PR.3SG then be-PR.3SG be.not.PR.3SG then be.not.PR.3SG  
They apply oil to the body and dress him with what is available — if  
there is something, they do so, but if there isn't, then they don't.

0'24 *beh-i ta:n to pune sa:jatr-ner ar mala ta:n to*  
be-PR.3SG then then new dress-PR.3PL and be.not.PR.3SG then then  
*pace-ni no:r-ker ante ahe-n mane sa:jatr-er*  
old-AC wash-CP.3PL and he-AC namely dress-FT.3PL  
If they can afford, then they dress [the body] with new clothes. If not,  
they wash old clothes and dress him.

0'29 *sa:jatr-ker ante ceda-ker oy-er oy-im ante*  
dress-CP.3PL and carry-CP.3PL take-FT.3PL take-PR.1PL.E and  
*a:t-no em-a jaga beh-id masani-d a:n-im*  
there-LO we.E-DA place be-PR.3SG.NM graveyard-NM say-PR.1PL.E  
They dress the body, carry it, and take it. We carry the body and we  
have a place there. We call it *masani*.

0'36 *masan-no arg-ner dari-n pu:rw-paccim*  
cemetery-LO dig-PR.3PL hole-AC east-west  
They dig a hole east-west in the graveyard.

0'42 *pu:rw-paccim arg-ner ante paccime-no kuk-a garc-ker*  
east-west dig-PR.3PL and west-LO head-AC place-CP.3PL  
*ante igjo kuk-a garc-ker ante ki:d-ner inda-ker*  
and straight head-AC place-CP.3PL and lay-PR.3PL do.like.this-CP.3PL  
*ante*  
and  
They dig [a hole] east-west, place the head in the west, place the head  
straight, and lay down [the body], doing it like this, and

0'49 *ada-ki ba:de-no kanqware bana:tr-im man-ki-n*  
that-GE after-LO box make-PR.1PL.E wood-GE-AC  
*simbapi man-ki-n*  
silk.cotton.tree wood-GE-AC  
after that we make a wooden box (coffin) of the silk cotton tree.

0'54 *ada-no ki:da-ker ante uṭa-ker ante ki:da-ker meca p'hir se*  
that-LO lay-CP.3PL and cover-CP.3PL and lay-CP.3PL above again EPH  
*man-a tuk'a-n car-pe-n inda-ker uṭa-ker*  
tree-AC wooden.block-AC cut-PAP-AC do.like.this-CP.3PL cover-CP.3PL  
*ki:da-ker ante qaje-t bara:tr-ner*  
lay-CP.3PL and soil-IN fill-PR.3PL  
They lay [the body] in it, cover it, lay it, and again cover and put in  
this way a wooden plate that is made [on site]. They fill [the grave]  
with soil.

1'06 *bara:tr-e-ki ba:de-no a:ti-nte got male-ri hi kir-ner apna*  
 fill-VN-GE after-LO there-AB all person-PL EPH return-PR.3PL self  
*no:qr-ner amy-ner kir-ner*  
 wash.oneself-PR.3PL take.a.bath-PR.3PL return-PR.3PL  
 After filling [the grave with soil], all people return from there. They  
 wash themselves, take baths and come back.

1'14 *ada-ki ba:de-no be:fit ahi-ki ba:re-no a:*  
 that-GE after-LO in.the.evening he-GE matter-LO that  
*kiry-ar a: male-r-ki isa:be-t em-a qe:ru*  
 return.B2-PT.3PL that person-PL-GE account-IN we.E-DA chicken  
*lag-i maq-ond*  
 cost-PR.3SG CLF-one  
 After that, in the evening, we need to offer a chicken, in the name of  
 those who returned [from the funeral].

1'24 *qe:r-et mane a:ber kiry-ar a:ber jitna a:ti-nte*  
 chicken-IN namely they return.B2-PT.3PL they how.many there-AB  
*bare-ar a: male-r cumbare-tr-ner*  
 come.B2-PT.3PL that person-PL do.purificatory.rite-CS-PR.3PL  
 All those people who returned from there have a purificatory rite per-  
 formed with the chicken.

1'28 *cumbare-tr-e-ki ba:de-no i: to kiry-ar*  
 do.purificatory.rite-CS-VN-GE after-LO this TOP return.B2-PT.3PL  
*pa:teca-r toqry-a*  
 attendant.of.burial-PL end.B2-PT.3SG  
 These people, attendants of the burial, return after having a purifica-  
 tory rite performed, and it is done.

1'33 *ante ahe-ki ba:re-no ka:je bandane men-id*  
 and he-GE matter-LO work ritual be-PR.3SG.NM  
 And there is what is called *ka:je* or *bandane* in his name.

1'39 *ada-no ne:k-a e:nond beh-id anond hi e:k mon*  
 that-LO who-DA how.much be-PR.3SG.NM that.much EPH one maund  
*du: mon ti:qal-a ciy-ner a: mala ta:no ho e:k so:*  
 two maund rice-AC give-PR.3PL that be.not.PR.3SG then too 100  
*du:.so: pe:sa-n ciy-ner*  
 200 money-AC give-PR.3PL  
 In it, one gives as much as he has, one *maund* or two *maund* of rice. If  
 one does not have it, still he gives one hundred or two hundred rupees.

1'52 *ar ne:reh juta-tr-oti pa:ry-ih ta:nu ti:n mon ca:r mon*  
 and who.M gather-CS-IF be.able-PR.3SG then three maund four maund  
*ciy-ih aro kis-a ada-no oryatr-ker ciy-ner ada-ki*  
 give-PR.3SG.M and pig-AC that-LO prepare-CP.3PL give-PR.3PL that-GE  
*ka:je-d men-id adi hi bandane men-id*  
 work-NM be-PR.3SG.NM that EPH ritual be-PR.3SG  
 And [if] anyone can collect [much], then he gives three *maund* or four

*maund*. And they prepare a pig and give it in that. Ka:je is for such person. Such is Bandane.

2'05 *a: phir a: pa:teca-r menj-a ahi-ki*  
 that again that attendant.of.burial-PL be.B2-PT.3SG he-GE  
*kec-a ani pac din jumary-a*  
 die.B2-PT.3SG then five day come.together.B2-PT.3SG  
 Five days after he dies, those who attended the burial get together again.

2'11 *pac dine jumary-a ta:nu ahi-ki ade-no ada-n-te*  
 five day come.together.B2-PT.3SG then he-GE that-LO house-AB  
*apna lape-n mo:qe indr-gote oryary-a a: dine*  
 own food-AC food what-ever be.prepared.B2-PT.3SG that day  
*buja-n kaldi-n piṭa-n ja:gu-n*  
 puffed.rice-AC banana-AC laddu-AC boiled.rice-AC  
 When they get together, each person's food, anything like puffed rice, bananas, laddu and boiled rice, is prepared from their houses on that day, in that [ritual] for him.

2'38 *a: peli-d ta:nu qe:ru men-anid buḍi aro murse-h*  
 that woman-NM then chicken be-FT.3SG.NM old.woman and man-M  
*ta:nu layga-qe:ru men-anid*  
 then cock-chicken be-FT.3SG.NM  
 If the [deceased] is a woman, then it will be a hen, and if a man, then it will be a rooster.

2'36 *adi-n oy-er ante pac dine nahe-ki ja:gu-d piṭa-d*  
 that-AC take-FT.3PL and five day he-GE boiled.rice-NM laddu-NM  
*jilebi-d kaldi-d a:t-no ki:da-ker ante ahe-ki na:mi-t pu:ja*  
 sweet-NM banana-NM there-LO lay-CP.3PL and he-GE name-IN puja  
*nan-er ada-ki ba:de-no kir-er ante bas*  
 do-FT.3PL that-GE after-LO return-FT.3PL and enough  
 They bring it, and after five days, they lay boiled rice, laddu, sweets, bananas for him and they perform a puja in his name there. After that they go home, and it is done.

2'51 *ahe-ki na:mi je: ne:reh ko kec-ah ahe-ki na:mi-t*  
 he-GE name REL who.M it.seems die.B2-PT.3SG.M he-GE name-IN  
*niy়-a ina ka:je-n bo:je-n ciy-im lape-n ciy-im*  
 you-DA today duty-AC feast-AC give-PR.1PL.E food-AC give-PR.1PL.E  
*lap-ku moq-qu e:ru aru e:ru carc-ku*  
 eat-FT.IMP eat-FT.IMP well and well walk-FT.IMP  
 [—What do they say in the puja? They pray] in his name who died, “Today we hold a *ka:je*, a *bo:je* feast for you. We give you food. You please eat well, and please walk around well.”

3'01 *indru gosani-d oc-ad a:d niy়-en*  
 what god-NM take.B2-PT.3SG.NM that you-AC

*jogy-anded*  
take.care.of-OP.3SG.NM  
“May that god which took [you] take care of you.”

3'03 lekin *inte-n-te ni:n to em-ki male mala-ke* alag  
but of.today-AB you TOP we.E-GE person be.not-PR.2SG.M separate  
*menja-ke*  
become.B2-PT.2SG.M  
“But from today on, you are not our person. You have become sepa-  
rate.”

3'08 *ati-n-te ahe-ki-d katam men-id*  
there-AB he-GE-NM end become-PR.3SG.NM  
Then things related to him is over.

3'12 *ahe-ki ne:re-gote tambako buqwa-h mal-a ta:nu ahe-ki*  
he-GE who-ever own.father old.man-M be.not-PR.3SG then he-GE  
*apna taj.gade-h nan-eh aro je:se tambako-h hi do:k-i*  
own own.son-M do-FT.3SG and like own.father-M EPH stay-PR.3SG.M  
*taj.gade-h mal-ah ta:nu to tambako-h nan-eh*  
own.son-M be.not-PR.3SG.M then TOP own.father-M do-FT.3SG.M  
[—Who performs the puja?] In the case of one [whose] father is no  
more, his son will do it. And if his father is alive and he has no son,  
then the father will do it.

3'25 *ara hi ko:i ne:-gote toka-r mal-ar gosti-r ta:nu*  
further EPH anyone who-ever party-PL be.not-PR.3PL relative-PL then  
*ahe-ki gosti-no ne:re-gote apna male-r beh-er a:ber hi*  
he-GE relative-LO who-ever own person-PL be-FT.3PL they EPH  
*nan-er*  
do-FT.3PL  
If [he has] no family member, then some among his relatives who are  
close to him (lit. his own people) will do it.

### §16 Pahariya rituals (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hirapur, on March 3, 2006.

a. Mangu-pi:je or the buffalo sacrifice.<sup>6</sup>

0'00 *ey-ki aqa-d udsapahare ey-ki na:me surja pahariya*  
I-GE home-NM PROP I-GE name PROP PROP  
My home is Ursa Pahar. My name is Surja Pahariya.

0'12 *auro mangu pi:je-ki ba:re-no ida-no e:m ga:re-hi*  
and buffalo ritual-GE matter-LO this-LO we.E much-EPH  
*gec-gec-ente apna ba:ye-r je ba:ye-r gosti-r beh-ner*  
far-far-AB self relative-PL REL relative-PL meeting-PL be-PR.3PL  
*a:ber-in nimantran nan-im mane mangatr-im*  
they-AC invitation do-PR.1PL.E namely invite-PR.1PL.E

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Vidyarthi (1963:158ff.).

About Buffalo Puja. In this [ritual], we invite whomever relatives there are, from very remote places.

0'39 *adi-ki ba:de-no me:ca-n ok-tr-ner ne:k-a jitna*  
 that-GE after-LO wine-AC sit-CS-PR.3PL who-DA how.many  
*jufar-id das-goṭa ba:ra-goṭa bi:s-goṭa*  
 get.together-PR.3SG.NM ten-CLF twelve-CLF twenty-CLF  
*paco:hi i: sara:pe-ki ru:pe-no*  
 fermentation.starter this liquor-GE form-LO

After that, they prepare wine, put as many fermentation starter balls as are available, be it ten, twelve or twenty. These [take] the form of alcohol.

0'50 *ada-ki ba:de-no a:ber-ik i: kabare men-i bar-ner*  
 that-GE after-LO they-DA this news become-PR.3SG come-PR.3PL  
*ik-dine men-an-i a: dine ta:ri:k nan-ner a: dine-no*  
 which-day be-FT.3SG.NM that day date do-PR.3PL that day-LO  
 After that, those who have received the notice come on the day on which they have fixed the date.

0'56 *bar-e-ki ba:de-no jisse pi:je men-id a:de pi:je-no*  
 come-VN-GE after-LO from.which ritual be-PR.3SG.NM that ritual-LO  
*e:nd-on-d mo:to kuṭa-n gaṛy-im bi:ce-no qep-ki*  
 CLF-one big post-AC make-PR.3SG.1PLE middle-LO village-GE  
*bi:ce-no*  
 middle-LO

After they come, we make a big post during the ritual, with which the ritual takes place, in the village.

1'07 *qep-ki bi:ce-no mo:to kuṭa mane ida-kem*  
 village-GE middle-LO big post namely erect-CP.1PLE  
*ild-im ante ada-no bara:hi conj-im*  
 make.stand-PR.3SG and that-LO rope tie-PR.1PLE  
 We put up a big post in the middle of the village, set it up, and tie a rope on that.

1'14 *conj-e-ki ba:de-no adi-n ke:la:-tr-ner*  
 tie-VN-GE after-LO that-AC play-TR-PR.3PL  
 After they tie rope, they make it (i.e. the buffalo) dance.

1'17 *male-r jamar-ker ada-no bahre-nṭe ho male-r*  
 person-PL gather-CP.3PL that-LO outside-AB too person-PL  
*bar-ner a:ber-in bi:ndwa-r a:n-im*  
 come-PR.3PL they-AC invited.guest-PL say-PR.1PLE  
 People get together there. People come from outside too. We call them *bi:ndwar* ‘invited guests’.

1'23 *bi:ndwa-r a:n-im a:ber barc-ker ante ke:la:-tr-er*  
 invited.guest-PL say-PR.1PLE they come.B2-CP and play-TR-FT.3PL  
 We call them *bi:ndwar*. They come and make [it] dance.

1'27 *ina suru: menj-ad le:la ma:qond adi-n ike-h*  
 today beginning be.B2-PT.3SG.NM tomorrow morning that-AC REL-M  
*ca:l.majye a:n-im ike-h singpat.majye a:n-im a:ber*  
 kind.of.priest say-PR.1PL.E REL-M kind.of.priest say-PR.1PL.E they  
*e:k-ner*  
 go-PR.3PL  
 [If] it has started today, [then] next morning those priests whom we  
 call *ca:l-majye* and *singpat-majye* go.

1'37 *ada-ki ba:de-no a: dine ke:la:-tr-e-ki ba:de-no qōh-ner*  
 that-GE after-LO that day play-TR-VN-DA after-LO cut-PR.3PL  
 After that, after making [the buffalo] dance on that day, they cut [it].

1'40 *qōh-e-ki ba:de-no kuk-a toq-ner*  
 cut-VN-GE after-LO head-AC cut.off-PR.3PL  
 After cutting [the buffalo] they cut the head off.

1'43 *toq-ner ade-ki ba:de-no a: kuku oca-ker ante*  
 cut.off-PR.3PL that-GE after-LO that head take.B2-CP.3PL and  
*singpate-no erw-ner* mane pu:ja: *nan-ner*  
 ritual.ground-LO sacrifice-PR.3PL namely worship do-PR.3PL  
 After cutting [the head] off, they take that head and performs the sac-  
 rifice at the *Singpat* ground, in other words, they do the puja.

1'49 *erw-ner ada-no dumani sundra ci:ni: baseta guwa*  
 sacrifice-PR.3PL that-LO incense vermillion sugar sugar.cake betel.leaf  
*sopari nan-ker ante a: (pu:j indro) ca:l-majye a:n-im*  
 betel.nuts do-CP.3PL and that *grove-priest* say-PR.1PL.E  
*a: singpat-majye a:n-im a:ber irw-er*  
 that ritual.ground-priest say-PR.1PL.E they two.person-PL  
*erw-ner*  
 sacrifice-PR.3PL  
 When they perform the sacrifice, they offer incense, vermillion, sugar,  
 sugar-cake, betel leaf, betel nuts there, and those two [priests] whom  
 we call *ca:l-majye* and *singpat-majye* perform the sacrifice.

2'06 *bas ada-ki ba:de-no a:d pu:ja erw-e-d* katam  
 enough that-GE after-LO that puja sacrifice-VN-NM end  
*menj-ad*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Well, then that puja, the sacrifice, ends.

2'11 *ante apna pi:je mana:-tar-ner ki kusi-no apna*  
 and own ritual worship-TR-PR.3PL COMP happiness-LO own  
*bahre-nte apna apna gosti-r barc-ar toka-r*  
 outside-AB own own guest-PL come.B2-PT.3PL party-PL  
*male-r a:ber-sa:t lap-ner mo:q-ner (atjan) aqa-no*  
 person-PL they-together.with eat-PR.3PL eat-PR.3PL there-LO  
*jufar-id adi-n*  
 be.collected-PR.3SG.NM that-AC

Then they perform sacrifice for themselves. Their own guests, the people of their party, have come from outside. They eat what they have at home with them in happiness.

2'24 *ida-ki ba:de-no to dosra dine bida men-i*  
 this-GE after-LO TOP second day leave be-PR.3SG  
 After this, they will ask for leave on the second day.

2'31 *bida pahra-no indra ayse-hi a:ber-ik jo:.bi:*  
 leave time-LO what this.way-EPH they-DA whichever  
*jufar-i beh-id ta:nu indru-got da:li ca:he*  
 be.collected-PR.3SG be-PR.3SG.NM then what-ever dal or  
*ti:galu ca:he gangi indra-got cica-ker ante bahre-k*  
 rice or maize what-ever give.B2-CP.3PL and outside-DA  
*urq-pahra-no e:me isagn-a lagatr-im a:ber-ik*  
 come.out-time-LO we.E oil-AC attach-PR.1PL.E they-DA  
 On the third day... (—What do they do when they leave?) If there is any relation to them, then they give them whatever [food] is available, [whatever food] they have, dal, rice, maize or whatever else when they leave, and we anoint them when they go out.

2'45 *je:se ba:ye-r barc-ar i:ber bida nan-ner a: pahra*  
 as relative-PL come.B2-PT.3PL these leave do-PR.3PL that time  
*to:ra-to:ra-ti isagn-an ciy-im ma:nd-em ada-ki*  
 a.little-REP-IN oil-AC give-PR.1PL.E apply-FT.1PL.E that-GE  
*ba:de-no bida nan-em*  
 after-LO leave do-FT.1PL.E  
 These relatives ask for leave in the same way as [they did when] they came. At that time, we give oil [to each] little by little, we apply it to them. After that we give them leave.

2'52 *bida nan-e-ki ba:de-no sala:m men-id indaki-d i:*  
 leave do-VN-GE after-LO salutation be-PR.3SG.NM this.way-NM this  
*gote-r-nihi ante a:ber e:k-ner e:m ada-k kir-im*  
 all-PL-DA.EPH and they go-PR.3PL we.E house-DA return-PR.1PL.E  
*qep-ki to:ra de:r bahre-n-te*  
 village-GE a.little delay outside-AB  
 After giving leave, [we do] a salutation, in this way to everyone, and they go. We come back from a little outside the village.

3'04 *garme tab to aqa-no bas a:ber kiry-ar e:m ino*  
 hot then TOP house-LO enough they return.B2-PT.3PL we.E here  
*toqry-a pi:je-d inond-hi pi:je menj-ad*  
 end.B2-PT.3SG ritual-NM this.much-EPH ritual be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 If it is hot, it is enough [to say goodbye] in the house. They have gone, and we are done here. This much is the ritual. The ritual is done.

b. Ca:l-pi:je or the Sarhul Festival.

0'00 *ca:l-pi:je-no je:se ki adi-ki an[d<sup>b</sup>].biswa:se ca:he biswa:se-d*  
 grove-ritual-LO how COMP that-GE superstition be.it belief-NM

*pahil.te-n-te*      *bar-id*      *ki*      *parte:k*      *bacari-no*  
 olden.times-AB    come-PR.3SG.NM    COMP    each    year-LO  
*men-id*  
 be-PR.3SG.NM  
 How [it is like] in the grove ritual — whether it is superstition or [sound] belief, comes from olden times. It is held each year.

0'15 *parte:k bacari-no men-id*      *ano a:hu e:k* *sapta:h pahle e:k*  
 each year-LO be-PR.3SG.NM then he one week before one  
*hampa pahle-n-te hi ada-ki ninya:ri men-id*  
 week before-AB EPH that-GE date.fixing be-PR.3SG.NM  
 It is held each year. Its date is fixed just a week before.

0'24 *ninya:ri men-e-ki ba:de-no bahre-n-te na:juka-hi bar-ner*  
 date.fixing be-VN-GE after-LO outside-AB that-like-EPH come-PR.3PL  
*male-r ada-k*  
 person-PL home-DA  
 After fixing the date, people come to the house from outside that way.

0'31 *apna apna-ki toka-r a:ber pi:j-dine mana:-tr-otti a: dine-m*  
 own own-GE party-PL they ritual-day worship-TR-IF that day-EPH  
*e:k-im bahre-k qade-no*  
 go-PR.1PLE outside-DA forest-LO  
 The people of their own parties, go out to the forest on that day, in order to worship.

0'38 *e:k ta:ne beh-i jaga-d a:fi-no i:fi-n-te qe:lu dole*  
 one site be-PR.3SG place-NM there-LO here-AB kettledrum drum  
*baja-tr-i e:k-ner lad-i pa:r-i*  
 beat-CS-AP go-PR.3PL dance.B2-AP sing-AP  
 There is one site, one place. They go from here to there dancing and singing, making [someone] beat kettledrums and drums.

0'48 *a:t-no ho dumani sundra ci:ni: baseta guwa sopari*  
 there-LO too incense vermillion sugar sugar.cake betel.leaf betel.nuts  
*auro bicari.gunde-d a:n-ner dana-ki-d pi:sy-pe-n*  
 and rice.dumpling-NM say-PR.3PL grain-GE-NM crush-PAP-AC  
*sa:ny-pe-d a:d city-oti men-id ano city-ner*  
 make.ball-PAP-NM that sprinkle-IF be-PR.3SG.NM then sprinkle-PR.3PL  
*jinpro jinpro je:se-d ayi-n*  
 white REP like-NM that-AC  
 There they need to sprinkle incense, vermillion, sugar, sugar-cake, betel leaves, betel nuts, and what they call rice dumplings — ones made of crushed grain — and those that were rolled into balls. They sprinkle them there, very white ones.

1'06 *a:t-no jinpro e:re-n tal-ner*  
 there-LO white goat-AC cut-PR.3PL  
 There they cut a white goat.

1'11 *ade-ki ba:de-no pu:ja menj-ad man-erwe-d*  
 that-GE after-LO ritual be.B2-PT.3SG.NM tree-sacrifice-NM  
 After that the ritual is complete, the tree worship.

1'14 *ade-ki ba:de-no p<sup>h</sup>ir se lad-i lad-i ada-k kir-ner*  
 that-GE after-LO again EPH dance.B2-AP REP home-DA return-PR.3PL  
 After that they go home dancing again.

1'18 *p<sup>h</sup>ir apna ba:ye-r sa:t milar-ker lap-ner mo:q-ner*  
 again own relative-PL together meet-CP.3PL eat-PR.3PL eat-PR.3PL  
 bas *inonde-d hi menj-a*  
 enough this.much-NM EPH be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then they get together with their relatives and have feast. Well, this  
 much is the ritual.

c. Gund Pi:je or the Harvest Festival.

0'00 *nada-no i: pi:je-no ca:s nan-im bajra-n*  
 that-LO this ritual-LO ploughing do-PR.1PL.E millet-AC  
 In that, in this ritual, we do millet cultivation.

0'08 *ada-ki ba:de-no sa:l-ba:re-ki ada-ki je:se anake ca:se*  
 that-GE after-LO year-occasion-GE that-GE like now ploughing  
*menj-ad*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 After that, [after] the annual [cultivation] period, the cultivation is  
 done now.

0'14 *men-ne-ki ba:de-no adi-ki nisgre-d a:n-im*  
 be-VN-GE after-LO that-GE first.fruit.festival-NM say-PR.1PL.E  
*ne:wane-n nisgre men-id a: dana-n pune*  
 first.fruit-AC first.fruit.festival be-PR.3SG.NM that grain-AC new  
*dana-n lap-oti le:kki*  
 grain-AC eat-IF for  
 Then we call the first fruit of that [cultivation] *nisgre*. The first fruit  
 festival is for eating that grain, the new grain.

0'22 *ada-no adi-n nisgre-ki ino adi-n erw-oti*  
 that-LO that-AC new.fruit.festival-GE here that-AC sacrifice-IF  
*men-anid ano apna ba:p-dada je:se kec-ar*  
 be-FT.3SG.NM there own father-grandfather REL(?) die.B2-PT.3PL  
*agdu a:ber-iki na:mi-t pu:ja men-id erw-im*  
 before they-GE name-IN ritual be-PR.3SG.NM sacrifice-PR.1PL.E  
 We have to worship that of the new fruit festival, [namely,] there is a  
 puja, we perform sacrifice, by the name of those father and grandfa-  
 ther of ours who died before.

0'35 *ada-no gunde-d mane tegalo-ki-n hi gunde-n*  
 that-LO powder-NM namely millet-GE-AC EPH powder-AC  
*bana:tr-im ada-ki sattu adi-n apna apna ada-no*  
 make-PR.1PL.E that-GE coarse.flour that-AC own own home-LO

ho apna pariwa:re *kandane* (*kir*) *kec-ar* a:ber-iki na:me-t  
 too own family relative die.B2-PT.3PL they-GE name-IN  
 pu:ja *men-id*  
 ritual be-PR.3SG.NM

We make powder in that [ritual], powder of millet. In each family, there is a puja [to offer] the coarse flour of that [millet] in the name of those family members and relatives who died.

0'52 *a: qep-no ho singpate-d a:n-im ada-no pu:ja men-id*  
 that village-LO too ritual.ground-NM say-PR.1PL.E that-LO puja  
 be-PR.3SG.NM

The puja is [performed] in that [place] in the village that we call *Singpat*.

0'54 *ada-ki ba:de-no a: singpat.majye-h pu:ja-n katam nany-ah*  
 that-GE after-LO that singpat.priest-M puja-AC end do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After that the *Singpat* priest finishes the puja.

0'57 *ada-ki ba:de-no ada-k kir-e-ki ba:de-no apna apna*  
 that-GE after-LO home-DA return-VN-GE after-LO own own  
*gunde-n sattu-n nan-ner*  
 powder-AC coarse.flour-AC make-PR.3PL

After that, after returning home, they make their own powder, coarse flour.

1'02 *ante gote-r-iki maqe-r jitna ada-no pariwa:re-r je:se ca:r-jin*  
 and all-PL-GE boy-PL as.many home-LO family-PL like four-CLF  
*du:jine-r ca:he pā:c-jine-r ca:he das-jine-r a:ber-ik ba:ty-er*  
 two-CLF-PL be.it five-CLF-PL be.it ten-CLF-PL they-DA divide-FT.3PL  
 And for all the people, how many family there may be at home, whether it is four people, two people, five people or ten people, they divide [the powder] for them.

1'09 *ada-ki ma:like-r je:se aya-abo ok-er a: pahr-no*  
 home-GE master-PL like mother-father sit-FT.3PL that time-LO  
 Father and mother sit at that time like the masters of the house.

1'13 *ada-ki ba:de-no i: ba:tc-ker ante gote-r-ik ciy-er*  
 that-GE after-LO this divide.B2-CP.3PL and all-PL-DA give-FT.3PL  
*mane ina gunde nisgr-ke-d toro-k kor-tr-a*  
 namely today powder eat.first.fruit-PTP-NM mouth-DA enter-CS-3SG  
 After that they divide this and give everyone [their share], namely, they put the powder, the first fruit, into their mouth.

1'19 *ida-ki inonde-hi niyame itne menj-a*  
 this-GE this.much-EPH custom this.much be.B2-PT.3SG

This much is the practice of this ritual. It is over at this point.

d. Hunting. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hiranpur, on March 3, 2008.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Vidyarthi (1963:21ff.), Vidyarthi (1991b:61f.).

0'00 *e:me qade-n qet-oti e:k-oti garar-im*  
 we.E jungle-AC beat.jungle-IF go-IF prepare-PR.1PL.E  
 [When] we prepare to go hunting to the jungle,

0'05 *ada-no a:di-nten awd-naq-im ki na: dine e:k-et*  
 that-LO there-AB speak-REC-PR.1PL.E COMP that day go-FT.1PL.I  
*qade qet-ot a:n-naq-im ante*  
 jungle beat.jungle-IF say-REC-PR.1PL.E and  
 then we talk to each other “Let us go to beat the jungle on that day.”

0'15 *jama:tr-ner a:tgo-ada-no ert-a ca:r-a pin-a balme-n mas-a ta:tr-a*  
 collect-PR.3PL priest-house-LO bow-AC arrow-AC stick-AC spear-AC  
 hatchet-AC sickle-AC  
 They collect a bow, an arrow, a stick, a spear, a hatchet, and a knife,  
 in the priest’s house.

0'22 *ante jamare-ki jamar-im aqa-k ante*  
 and be.collected-CP.3SG get.together-PR.1PL.E house-DA and  
*a:tgo-he am-a bicr-ih*  
 priest-M water-AC sprinkle-PR.3SG.M  
 And after [the weapons] are collected, we get together in that house,  
 and the priest sprinkles water.

0'31 *e:ru e:k-em dase-r male-r e:ru kir-ander*  
 well go-FT.1PL.E ten-PL person-PL well return-OP.3PL  
 “May we go safely, the [team of] ten people. May they return safely.”

0'39 *a:n-keh ante cuwe-n qe:r-a kis-a tu:d-a (pijka)*  
 say-CP.3SG.M and peacock-AC chicken-AC pig-AC tiger-AC  
*pij-kem bar-ond ar e:ru.qani male-r kir-ker*  
 kill-CP.1PL.E come-OP and safely person-PL return-CP.3PL  
*bar-ander a:n-keh ante am-a bicr-ih*  
 come-OP.3PL say-CP.3SG.M and water-AC sprinkle-PR.3SG.M  
 “May we kill a peacock, hen, pig, or tiger, and come back. And may  
 the men come back safely.” Saying this, he sprinkles water.

0'50 *ante qe:rpa:n-a qot-ih adi-ke a: man-ki qade-ki*  
 and egg-AC knock-PR.3SG.M that-DA that tree-GE jungle-GE  
*do:k-u gosani jamware ej-ki male-r qade-n qet-ot*  
 stay-PP god animal I-GE person-PL jungle-AC beat.jungle-IF  
*e:k-ner go-PR.3PL*  
 And he breaks an egg, [saying] “O, gods living in the trees and the  
 jungle, o animals, my men are going to hunt the jungle.”

1'01 *e:ru.qani kir-ander e:ru bar-ander a:n-keh ante*  
 safely return-OP.3PL well come-OP.3PL say-CP.3SG.M and  
*qot-ih ante am-a bicr-ih ante e:k-im*  
 knock-PR.3SG.M and water-AC sprinkle-PR.3SG.M and go-PR.1PL.E  
 He breaks an egg, saying “May they return safely. May they come

back safely.” Then he sprinkles water and we go.

1'10 *e:k-im ante qade-no panti ild-ner e:nond*  
 go-PR.1PL.E and jungle-LO line make.stand-PR.3PL how.many  
*male-r e:k-ner a:ber saw-ond-er ko*  
 person-PL go-PR.3PL they hundred.CLF-one-PL maybe  
*de:q-saw-er ko male pacas-jin-er ko*  
 one.and.a.half-hundred-PL maybe person fifty-CLF-PL maybe  
 We go, and however many people may go — whether it is one hundred, one hundred and fifty, or fifty people — they make them stand in line in the jungle.

1'23 *ante a:ber panti i:t-no ort i:t-no ort i:t-no ort i:n-ker*  
 and they line here-LO one here-LO one here-LO one do.thus-CP.3PL  
*panti il-ner*  
 line stand-PR.3PL  
 And they stand in line, doing like this — one person here, one person here, one person here.

1'29 *panti ilde-ki ild-ner ante qet-ot*  
 line make.stand-CP.3SG make.stand-PR.3PL and beat.jungle-IF  
*lagar-ner ano ho: ha: ho: a:n-naq-le e:k-ner*  
 begin-PR.3PL there ITJ ITJ ITJ say-REC-CP go-PR.3PL  
 They make them stand in line, and start hunting. Then they go, saying “Haw, hah, haw” to each other.

1'38 *e:k-no cuwe-d and-uwr-id ta:nu ho agdu ka:nqwar-no*  
 go-IPP peacock-NM find-PA-PR.3SG.NM then too first front.line-LO  
*ild-ner a:ber-bajo agdu-bajo awd-ner*  
 make.stand-PR.3PL they-toward first-toward speak-PR.3PL  
 When they go and when a peacock is found, they tell the people who stand in front.

1'48 *e:k-i=re na:-pet e:k-i=re a:n-le awd-ner*  
 go-PR.3SG=ITJ that-way go-PR.3SG=ITJ say-CP speak-PR.3PL  
 They say, “Hey, it is going from that way.”

1'52 *ante a:ber adi-n ge:ry-ner te qade-n*  
 and they that-AC surround-PR.3PL and jungle-AC  
*qet-im ante a:ti-nte indra-gote-hi pit-im*  
 beat.jungle-PR.1PL.E and there-AB what-ever-EPH kill-PR.1PL.E  
*cuwe men-no ho kis-a men-no ho qe:r-a men-no ho*  
 peacock be-IPP too pig-AC be-IPP too chicken-AC be-IPP too  
 And they surround it. And we hunt in the jungle. Then whatever we may hunt, whether it is a peacock, a pig, or a chicken,

2'05 *ante kir-im ano aype-ne gado-n cigalo-n qe:r-a*  
 and return-PR.1PL.E there little-AC wild.cat-AC jackal-AC chicken-AC  
*pit-no to erw-olar*  
 kill-IPP then worship-NG.PR.3PL  
 we go back. If we catch small animals, whether it is a wild cat, a

jackal or a chicken, we do not perform a ritual.

2'16 *a: cuwe-d kisu-d tu:du-d indru-gote mo:to ci:je*  
 that peacock-NM pig-NM tiger-NM what-ever big thing  
*pit-uw-r-i ta:nu erw-ner ano kir-tr-no*  
 kill-PA-PR.3SG then worship-PR.3PL there return-CS-IPP  
 If that is anything big, like a peacock, pig or a tiger, then the hunters  
 perform a ritual there when they bring [the game] back.

2'27 *lawa-gunde-d ante qe:r.pa:nu-d garc-ker ante*  
 parched.grain-flour-NM and egg-NM melt.B2-CP.3PL and  
*ada-no erw-ner ano*  
 that-LO worship-PR.3PL there  
 When they mix the powder of parched grain and egg and perform a  
 ritual there,

2'35 *adi-ke man-ki dade-ki gosapi janware po:sy-u gosapi niyg-a*  
 that-DA tree-GE jungle-GE god animal nurture-PP god you-DA  
*ciy-im*  
 give-PR.1PL.E  
 [we say] “O, god of tree and jungle, god nurturing the animals, we  
 give [this to] you.”

2'41 *indake-mi pit-a pit-a bar-ond dade-k e:k-em ano*  
 this.way-EPH kill-AP REP come-OP jungle-DA go-FT.1PL.E there  
*aca murge-n kuji-n indra lagatr-omku caq-tr-omku*  
 well sharp.end-AC peg-AC what attach-NG.FT.IMP stab-CS-NG.FT.IMP  
*a:n-le awq-im inonde-hi*  
 say-CP speak-PR.1PL.E this.much-EPH  
 We say, “When we come to kill [animals] this way, when we go to the  
 jungle, let things like blades and pegs not hit us, let them not stab us.”

### §17 Village chief's duty (Nw).

Told by Mr. Alexander Malto of Kusumghati, P. O. Kero Bazar, P. S. Boarijor, Dist. Godda. Recorded in Kusumghati on February 22, 2007.

0'13 *e:m to jarmar-kem ante budi barc-ko ta:n avasya*  
 we.E TOP be.born-CP.1PL.E and intellect come.B2-CP then necessary  
*isai menj-ar ani inor roman.katlik isai-nihi*  
 Christian become.B2-PT.3PL then now PROP Christian-LO.EPH  
 When we were born and attained the age of discretion, we all became  
 Christians and now [we are] in Roman Catholic church.

0'22 *ante e:n to kiriscan d'arme-n manc bar-in*  
 and I TOP Christian religion-AC obey.B2.AP come-PR.1SG  
 And I have followed Christianity.

0'26 *lekin aneke amate-no aba-h kec-ah adi-ba:de*  
 but now till-LO father-M die.B2-PT.3SG.M that-after  
*mā:ji-ki poste men-i*  
 village.chief-GE post be-PR.3SG

But there is a post of village chief until now after father died.

0'31 *aba-ki ba:de tambako-ki ba:de mā:ji-lo:ker-ki taj.gade-bager-ik qaq-owr-i*  
 father-GE after father-GE after village.chief-PL-GE  
 their.son-PL-DA receive-PA-PR.3SG  
 After the father, the village chiefs' sons take over it.

0'35 *a:di-isa:be-ti e:n kusumga:ti-ki mā:ji-n e:n*  
 that-share-IN I PROP-GE village.chief-1SG I  
 By that inheritance I am the village chief of Kusumghati.

0'40 *ani mā:ji-n e:n ani em-qep-no pel.bede=indru*  
 so village.chief-1SG I so we.E-village-LO wedding=and.so.on  
*men-no*  
 be-IPP  
 So I am the village chief. So when there is a wedding and so on in our  
 village,

0'46 *ca:he jagra-saba-d=indru men-no to eng-en bi:k-ner*  
 or quarrel-matter-NM=and.so.on be-IPP then I-AC call-PR.3PL  
*male-r botl-ond tadi-n qat-ner*  
 person-PL bottle.CLF-one toddy-AC give-PR.3PL  
 or when there is a dispute and so on, people call me. They give me a  
 bottle of wine.

0'52 *ante e:n gujite-n gend-ken bar-in*  
 and I local.policeman-AC take.along.B2-CP.1SG come-PR.1SG  
 And I come along with a local policeman.

0'54 *ante qepu male-r-in tung-in ante saba men-id*  
 and village person-PL-AC gather-PR.1SG and word be-PR.3SG.NM  
*galti men-id ta:n ahe-n jaribana nan-im*  
 guilt be-PR.3SG.NM then he-AC penalty do-PR.1PL.E  
 And I summon the village people. And when proceedings take place  
 and when guilt is [established], then we impose a penalty on him.

1'00 *ani em-ki mal-sama:je-no ja:de jaribana hō mala*  
 then we.E-GE Pahariya-society-LO much penalty too be.not.3SG  
 And there are not many [cases of] penalties in our Pahariya society.

1'04 *halka-pulka a:h-ō galti ma:sus men-no e:m*  
 light-ECHO he-too guilt acknowledgement become-IPP we.E  
*halka-pulka (gar ene) saja cice-kem sama:je-n-te*  
 light-ECHO punishment give.B2-CP.1PL.E meeting-AB  
*kame-no amb-im*  
 little-LO release-PR.1PL.E  
 When he also acknowledges the guilt, we give him a light punishment  
 and let him go from the assembly with light [penalty].

1'14 *ki agle.ba:r galti nan-eneala a:n-le mo:kam*  
 COMP first.time guilt do-NG.FT.2SG.M say-CP opportunity

*ciy-im*

give-PR.1PL.E

In the first time, we give him a chance, saying “Don't commit [any more] fault.”

1'19 *ante key-im boŋg-im indru ade-no to hō eŋg-en*  
 and die-PR.1PL.E run-PR.1PL.E what that-LO TOP too I-AC  
*teŋg-ner ante bar-im goṭe qepu-male-r-in*  
 tell-PR.3PL and come-PR.1PL.E all village-person-PL-AC  
*bi:k-im*  
 call-PR.1PL.E

And when [any of us] has died or anything, then they also tell me.  
 And we come and call all the villagers.

1'26 *ante tung-ur-kem e:k-im ante pel-ga:mer e:k-ner*  
 and collect-RF-CP.1PL.E go-PR.1PL.E and woman-PL go-PR.3PL  
*e:toja-n ante*  
 ritual.place-AC and  
 And after gathering [villagers], we go, and the women go, up to the  
 ritual place (outside the village), and

1'30 *e:toja-nte pel-er-in kir-tr-im mufse mande-kem*  
 ritual.place-AB woman-PL-AC return-CS-PR.1PL.E man bury-CP.1PL.E  
*a:t-no mande-kem ante kir-im*  
 there-LO bury-CP.1PL.E and return-PR.1PL.E  
 We let women go home from the ritual place. After we, the men, bury  
 [the dead person] there, we go home.

1'36 *ante ade-no je da:n nan-ner adi-n pe:sa-n indru*  
 and that-LO REL gift do-PR.3PL that-AC money-AC what  
*milar-kem goṭe qepo-mi-hī tadi=indru*  
 be.obtained-CP.1PL.E all villager-1PL.E-EPH toddy=and.so.on  
*o:n-im*  
 drink-PR.1PL.E  
 And when we get the donation they make there, money and so on, we  
 villagers all drink liquor and so on.

1'45 *ante dine-no em-ki pa:ŋy-ar i:waje-no beh-id*  
 and day-LO we.E-GE sing.B2-PT.3PL this.way-LO be-PR.3SG.NM  
*pac-dine-nihi bo:j nan-im e:m*  
 five-day-LO.EPH feast do-PR.1PL.E we.E  
 And we lament for the day. [The funeral] is like this. After five days,  
 we hold a funeral feast.

1'50 *je:-goṭe pa:ŋy-ih a:hu maq-ond e:re ciy-eh*  
 REL-all be.able-PR.3SG.M he CLF-one goat give-FT.3SG.M  
*cahe kis-e ciy-eh ade-ti e:m bo:je=indru*  
 or pig-AC give-FT.3SG.M that-IN we.E feast=and.so.on  
*ma:nar-naq-im*  
 observe-REC-PR.1PL.E

Whoever can afford to give a goat or a pig does so. We observe the feast and so on with it.

1'58 *ante p̄bir ade-no ba:y-gotya-r(ie) je bar-u-r key-pe*  
 and again that-LO brother-relative-PL REL come-PP-PL die-PAP  
*dine-no bar-ner a:ber hō ade-nihi kir-ker e:k-ner*  
 day-LO come-PR.3PL they too that-LO.EPH return-CP.3PL go-PR.3PL  
*pa:c-dine-no*  
 five-day-LO  
 And those relatives who come on the day of the death return and come again on the fifth day.

2'05 *ahi-k ja:de qo:k-tr-ot pa:ry-o:kem ano karca hō*  
 he-DA many stay-CS-IF be.able-NG.PR.1PL.E there expense too  
*mala ani-lagacki pac-dine hi so:te-no oyg-im*  
 be.not.3SG that-for five-day EPH short-LO finish-PR.1PL.E  
 We cannot put up many of them and we do not have money for that.  
 So we finish [the feast] in a short period, in five days.

2'10 *ar... aneke... ganji lehary-a qep-no to ganji*  
 and now maize become.B2-PT.3SG village-LO then maize  
*lehary-a ta:ni gote-ri awd-ner*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG then all-PL speak-PR.3PL  
 And if maize becomes ripe in [our] village, when maize becomes ripe, all tell [that].

2'21 *gote-ri qal-no ganji pa:n-no tung-r-ner ante*  
 all-PL field-LO maize get.ripe-IPP collect-ITR-PR.3PL and  
 When maize becomes ripe in everyone's field, they get together.

2'24 *o: ine pi:je nan-et ante tung-r-ner ante gote-r din*  
 ITJ today worship do-FT.1PL.I and collect-ITR-PR.3PL and all-PL day  
*nan-ner nenda nan-ner*  
 do-PR.3PL date do-PR.3PL  
 They get together [saying] "Let us perform the worship today." And they all fix the date.

2'30 *ante pera-r-in kuju[mbe]-r-in bi:k-ner ade-no*  
 and relative-PL-AC family-PL-AC call-PR.3PL that-LO  
 And they invite family and relatives to it.

2'34 *apna ri:ti-d i:waje-t ante ma:ku ko tadi ko a:*  
 own manner-NM this.way-IN and meat maybe toddy maybe that  
*ganji-n ko pu:g-ner kuq-ner ma:r-ner*  
 maize-AC maybe boil-PR.3PL roast-PR.3PL boil.after.parching-PR.3PL  
 According to their own manner, meat, wine, and that maize – they boil it, roast it, or boil it after parching it a little.

2'41 *ante ayi-n-o o:n-ner mo:q-ner*  
 and that-AC-too drink-3PL eat-3PL  
 And they drink and eat them.

2'43 *ar ikeno je: key-ner male-r oca-ker ok-tr-ner*  
 and where REL die-PR.3PL person-PL take.B2-CP.3PL sit-CS-PR.3PL  
*e:to:ja a:n-ner*  
 ritual.place say-PR.3PL  
 And at the place where they bring those who have died and place them,  
 which they call *Etoja*,

2'49 *a:ti-bahno e:m oc-kem ki:d-im ayi-n ya:dga:ri*  
 there-LO we.E take.B2-CP.1PLE place-PR.1PLE that-AC memory  
*lagacki pace male-r lagacki a:t-no ki:d-im te a:t-i-nte*  
 for old person-PL for there-LO lay-PR.1PLE and there-AB  
*kir-im*  
 return-PR.1PLE  
 we take that (i.e. food and wine) and lay them there for the memory,  
 for the old people. We lay them there and come back from there.

2'55 *ante aqa-n barc-kem tadi me:ca o:n-im*  
 and home-AC come.B2-CP.1PLE toddy rice.liquor drink-PR.1PLE  
*mo:q-im*  
 eat-PR.1PLE  
 And after coming home, we drink liquor and wine.

2'58 *aye-nte agwa e:m o:n-o:kem mo:q-o:kem jab.tak*  
 that-AB before we.E drink-NG.PR.1PLE eat-NG.PR.1PLE until  
*a:t-no ki:d-o:kem e:toja-no*  
 there-LO lay-NG.PR.1PLE ritual.place-LO  
 We neither drink or eat before that, until we lay them there, at the  
 ritual place.

3'03 *i:d em-ki mu:l-pura:na i:d riti-d i:waje em-ki*  
 this we.E-GE root-old this manner-NM this.way we.E-GE  
 This is our original manner. Our manner was like this.

3'07 *jab.tak ki:d-o:kem tab.tak ko:i maeq-r palqanje hō*  
 until place-NG.PR.1PLE till.then anyone boy-PL cucumber too  
*mo:q-erala gangi-n hō mo:q-erala*  
 eat-NG.FT.3PL maize-AC too eat-NG.FT.3PL  
 Until we place [the new crop at the *Etoja*], no child will eat even a  
 cucumber or maize.

3'17 *ante ado samay bar-id ma:dgi=indru ade-n-ō*  
 and more time come-PR.3SG.NM mahua=and.so.on that-AC-too  
*p̄i:ir se andeki nan-im*  
 again EPH that.way do-PR.1PLE  
 And after some time, we now celebrate the Mahua Festival that way.

3'24 *idi paramparay calar bar-id adi-ki jetna*  
 this tradition be.current.AP come-PR.3SG.NM that-GE how.much  
 naya pasle *bar-id*  
 new harvest.time come-PR.3SG.NM  
 This tradition has been observed, whatever new harvest may come.

3'28 *ne:-gote agwa ayi-n kap-olar mo:q-olar qep-no*  
 who-even before that-AC touch-NG.PR.3PL eat-NG.PR.3PL village-LO  
*qa:we.naq-keri mo:q-ner lap-ner ayi-n*  
 converse-CP.3PL eat-PR.3PL eat-PR.3PL that-AC  
 No one touches or eats it (i.e. the first harvest) beforehand. They eat it after talking in the village.

3'33 *e:g-ner cu:t-ner ante em-ki pu:rwaje-nte bar-id*  
 throw-PR.3PL cast-PR.3PL and we.E-GE ancestor-AB come-PR.3SG.NM  
*ki a: pace male-k aguwa ciy-a ante lap-ene mo:q-ene*  
 COMP that old person-DA first give-IMP and eat-FT.3PL eat-FT.3PL  
*ya:dgari lagacki e:to:ja-no*  
 memory for ritual.place-LO  
 They throw and offer [it]. [This custom] of ours, to give [the new harvest] first to the dead and then eat in the ritual place — for the memory [of the dead —], comes from [our] ancestors.

3'42 *e:m oce-kem ki:d-im ante a:t-ente kir-im*  
 we.E take.B2-CP.1PLE place-PR.1PLE and there-AB return-PR.1PLE  
*ante o:n-im mo:q-im je:-gote gangi-ki hõ men-no*  
 and drink-PR.1PLE eat-PR.1PLE what-even maize-GE too be-IPP  
*gesu-ki hõ men-no ti:qal-ki je:-gote-hi*  
 paddy-GE too be-IPP rice-GE what-even-EPH  
 We take [the new harvest], place [it], return from there, and drink and eat, whatever it may be, either [the first harvest] of the maize, paddy or rice.

3'51 *to:tal em-ki a:d hi parampara-nti barce-ki*  
 total we.E-GE that EPH tradition-AB come.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
 It comes totally from our tradition.

4'01 *pura:na ya:dgare:re lagacki a:-gahndi-n... pace male-r lagacki*  
 old memory for that-PL-AC old person-PL for  
*e:m a:-gahndi ka:je-n kud-im*  
 we.E that-PL work-AC do-PR.1PLE  
 For remembering the past, for the dead people, we do that much work.

4'05 *pahile a:-lagacki ki:d-im pa:w-no adi-ba:di e:m*  
 first that-for place-PR.1PLE road-LO that-after we.E  
*o:n-im mo:q-im cahe lap-im*  
 drink-PR.1PLE eat-PR.1PLE or eat-1PLE  
 For that reason, we first place [the new harvest] on the road and then drink or eat.

4'11 *pundana-n hõ cahe adi-ki ya:dgare-ni e:m j[e:]-gote-hi*  
 new.harvest-AC too or that-GE memory-LO.EPH we.E REL-even-EPH  
*e:toja-k aguwa indri bahri ka:je kud-o:kem a:-du:r*  
 ritual.place-DA first what outside work do-NG.PR.1PLE that-far  
 As to the new harvest as well, we [bring] everything to the ritual place for their memory, and we do not do any outside work in that period.

**§18 Pahariya funeral (Nw).**

Told by Mr. Alexander Malto of Kusumghati, P. O. Kero Bazar, P. S. Boar-ijor, Dist. Godda. Recorded in Kusumghati on February 22, 2007.<sup>8</sup>

0'00 *qep-no male-r key-no ada-no ne:-gote ada-no inopa:n*  
 village-LO person-PL die-IPP house-LO who-even house-LO this.big  
*qep-no key-ni eng-en kabar nan-no e:n-ð awd-in*  
 village-LO die-IPP.EPH I-AC news do-IPP I-too speak-PR.1SG  
*a:ber-in ki qep-ga:mer-in kabar nan-a*  
 they-AC COMP village-PL-AC news do-IMP  
 When people die in the village, — whoever may die in a house in a  
 village of this size —, they let me know, and I tell them in turn to  
 inform the whole village of it.

0'09 *ey-ki guqite-n tey-in ante qep-ga:me-ni kabar*  
 I-GE local.policeman-AC send-PR.1SG and village-PL-LO.EPH news  
*men-i ante ahe-ki ba:y-gotya-r-in kabar nan-im*  
 be-PR.3SG and he-GE brother-relative-PL-AC news do-PR.1PLE  
 I send my staff and the news is spread over the village, and we notify  
 the relatives of the deceased.

0'16 *to ani eme pahariya-sama:je jya:de gec-gec to*  
 then then we.E.OBL Pahariya-society much far-REP TOP  
*mal-ar a:gal-bagale sambande beh-i*  
 be.not-PR.3PL near-ECHO relationship be-PR.3SG  
 [For] our Pahariya society is not [spread] far away. The blood rela-  
 tionship is in nearby area.

0'21 *ani a:ber-in bi:k-ker ondr-ner*  
 then they-AC call-CP.3PL bring-PR.3PL  
 Then they call and bring them.

0'23 *ante e:mu ma:q men-no=gote mand-im gote-m*  
 and we.E night become-IPP=even bury-PR.1PLE all-1PLE  
*tung-r-kem ahi-[ki] ba:y-gotya bar-no mand-im*  
 collect-ITR-CP.1PLE he-GE brother-family come-IPP bury-PR.1PLE  
 And we bury him even if it has gotten dark. After all of us [villagers]  
 get together, we bury [the deceased] upon the arrival of his relatives.

0'28 *ante mand-ot jab e:k-im a: pahra-no gote pel-gahndi-n*  
 and bury-IF when go-PR.1PLE that time-LO all woman-PL-AC  
*e:mu e:to:ja a:n-ner a:fi-bahante kirt-im*  
 we.E ritual.place say-PR.3PL there-AB bring.back-PR.1PLE  
 And when we go in order to bury, then we make all the women go  
 home from a place we call *Etoja*.

0'35 *murse-m du:re e:to:ja-nte agwa ek-kem mari-[no]*  
 man-1PLE only ritual.place-AB forward go.B2-CP.1PLE grave-LO  
*mand-im masani*  
 bury-PR.1PLE burial.ground

<sup>8</sup>About the funeral of the Pahariyas, cf. Vidyarthi (1963:134ff.).

Only us men go further forward from the ritual place and bury [the deceased] in a grave, [in] a burial ground.

0'39 *ade-no masani ek-kem mand-im gaita:.kodal*  
 that-LO burial.ground go.B2-CP.1PL.E bury-PR.1PL.E pickaxe  
*gote-m qend-kem e:m e:k-im*  
 all-1PL.E carry-CP.1PL.E we.E go-PR.1PL.E  
 Then we go to the burial ground and bury [him]. All of us carry the pickaxe and go.

0'42 *a:t-no arg-im ante i:ti-n-te la:se qend-kem*  
 there-LO dig-PR.1PL.E and here-AB corpse carry-CP.1PL.E  
*oy-im tab.tak intija:r nan-im*  
 take-PR.1PL.E until.then waiting do-PR.1PL.E  
 We dig there and bring the body carrying it from here. We wait [for people coming from afar] until then.

0'46 *ki ne:-gote ba:ki: pera-r kuṭumbe-r bar-er=gote (a:le)*  
 COMP who-ever remaining relative-PL family-PL come-FT.3PL=even  
*la:se aqa-ni beh-i*  
 corpse house-LO.EPH be-PR.3SG  
 The body is in the house [until] any bereaved family member or relative comes.

0'51 *kari-n arg-im ante tab.take-no pa:wnar hō bārc*  
 pit-AC dig-PR.1PL.E and till.then-LO guest too come.B2.AP  
*onygr-ner tund onygr-ner*  
 finish-PR.3PL look finish-PR.3PL  
 We dig a pit, and guests will have arrived and have seen [the deceased] by then.

0'56 *ante e:m awri qend-kem oy-im*  
 and we.E again carry-CP.1PL.E take-PR.1PL.E  
 And we carry and bring [the body of the deceased] again.

0'58 *ado ke:pond e:to:ja-no awri la:sṭ e:t-im e:m*  
 more once ritual.place-LO again last show-PR.1PL.E we.E  
 We show [the body of the deceased] once again and for all in the ritual place.

1'01 *a:t pel-maq-gahndyer-in ca:(he) pera-kuṭumbe-r-in a:ti-bahno*  
 there woman-child-PL-AC or relative-family-PL-AC there-LO  
*e:t-im ante e:m qow-ponti māji-k oy-im*  
 show-PR and we.E carry.on.shoulder-AP grave-DA take-PR.1PL.E  
 We show [the body of the deceased] to women and children, family and relatives there and we take him to the grave once and for all.

1'06 *maji:-no em-ki-d parampara key-p dada.bura-ki cow e:k*  
 grave-LO we.E-GE-NM family.line die-PAP grandfather-GE way one  
*si:t-hi beh-i alag-alag*  
 seat-EPH be-PR.3SG separately-REP

In the graveyard, there is [a row for] our family line, and a separate seat on the same row as the grandfather.

1'13 e:k.hi jagah *dada.buṛa-ka ey-ki gotya-d i:-wajo ayi gotya-ki a:-wajo*  
 same place grandfather-GE I-GE lineage-NM this-way that lineage-GE  
*a:-wajo*  
 that-way

In the same place as one's grandfather, [like] my lineage is this way, [the place] of that lineage is that way.

1'18 *andeki em-ki parampara hi beh-i dada.buṛa-nte agwa: ba:p.dada-nte hi*  
 that.way we.E-GE family.line EPH be-PR.3SG grandfather-AB forward  
*forefather-AB EPH*

That way, we have family lines, [like] from the grandfather onwards, or from forefathers.

1'21 *e:m a: la:ine-no ahi-ki tambako budo-ki kit-no beh-i*  
 we.E that line-LO he-GE father old.lady-GE nigh-LO be-PR.3SG  
 On that line, we [find a place] near his father and mother's [place].

1'24 *tambako kec-ah ta:ni tay.gade-ki tambako-ki bagal-nihī e:m mand-im*  
 father die.B2-PT.3SG.M then son-GE father-GE side-LO  
*we.E bury-PR.1PL.E*

If the father is dead, we bury the son's [body] on the side of his father.

1'28 *murse kec-ah ta:ni peli-n hō murse-ki bagale-ni mand-im*  
 husband die.B2-PT.3SG.M then wife-AC too husband-GE side-LO.EPH  
*bury-PR.1PL.E*

If the husband is dead, we bury the woman on the side of her husband too.

1'31 *ante indeki mand-im=indru ante a:ti-nte e:m je ada-no qep-no je pera kuṭu-r barc-ar da:n nan-ner pā:c das bi:s pacas:taka*  
 and this.way bury-PR.1PL.E=and.so.on and there-AB we.E REL  
 house-LO village-LO REL relative family-PL come.B2-PT.3PL gift  
 do-PR.3PL five ten twenty fifty rupee

We bury [them] this way. And those who are in the homes in the village, those family and relatives who have come, make donations of five, ten, twenty or fifty rupees.

1'40 *ayi-n e:m a:pase-no das male-m tung-r-kem leky-im pe:sa-n*  
 that-AC we.E group-LO ten person-1PL.E collect-ITR-CP.1PL.E  
*count-PR.1PL.E money-AC*

After ten of us get together, we count that money.

1'45 *amy-im no:dr-im a:t-no*  
 take.bath-PR.1PL.E wash.hands.and.feet-PR.1PL.E there-LO

*tung-r-kem                    ga:te-no ante pe:sa-n            leky-im*  
 collect-ITR-CP.1PLE ghat-LO and money-AC count-PR.1PLE  
 We take baths and wash our hands and feet. We get together there at  
 the ghat and count the money.

1'49 *pe:sa-n            leky-im            ante adi-n            ca:r kura-ki kate-ki*  
 money-AC count-PR.1PLE and that-AC four leg-GE bedstead-GE  
*kura men-en[i]            ca:r kuṭa-no            ca:r-jan a:dm̥i            ca:r-jen*  
 leg be-FT.3SG.NM four peg-LO four-CLF man four-CLF  
*qow-ner*  
 carry.on.shoulder-PR.3PL  
 We count the money, and — there are legs of a four-legged bedstead  
 — four men carry it on [a bier with] four pegs.

1'57 *ani            a:ber-ik            ca:r kura-ti            e:m            pe:sa-n            ag[wa]*  
 so they-DA four leg-AB we.E money-AC in.advance  
*bakrec-kem            ciy-im            agwa            la:se-n            ne:*  
 divide.B2-CP.1PLE give-PR.1PLE in.advance corpse-AC REL  
*qow-ner            a:ber-ik*  
 carry.on.shoulder-PR.3PL they-DA  
 So we divide and give money to them in advance, those who carry the  
 body [on the bier] by the four legs.

2'04 *botl-ond            taq-i-n            ciy-im            ante qe:r.gota-n gura:tr-kem*  
 bottle.CLF-one toddy-AC give-PR.1PLE and egg-AC turn-CP.1PLE  
*cu:t-im            ante e:m            ada-k            bar-im*  
 throw-PR.1PLE and we.E house-DA come-PR.1PLE  
 We give a bottle of wine. And [those four men] turn around and throw  
 the eggs [they brought from home to the graveyard], and we go home.

2'11 *ada-k            bar-im            ante a:t-ni            teygr.naq-im            ki*  
 house-DA come-PR.1PLE and there-LO.EPH converse-PR.1PLE COMP  
*ikonno bo:j nan-e:ne            ne:            barye ta:ni pac din nan-ih*  
 when feast do-FT.2SG.M who.REL strong then five day do-PR.3SG.M  
 We come home and there we talk, “When will you hold the feast?” If  
 one is rich, he does it in five days.

2'16 *mal ta:ni ado-r            nandu awq-er            ki            mala aneki mala*  
 not then other-PL again speak-FT.3PL COMP no now no  
 If some others are not [rich], they will say “No, not now.”

2'20 *eyg-e e:n to:ta            juṭar-en            kular-en            ante e:n ciy-en*  
 I-DA I a.little collect-FT.1SG look.for-FT.1SG and I give-FT.1SG  
*ani*  
 so  
 I will collect and look for [food and wine], and I will give [the feast].

2'24 *ante māji-n            kabar nan-eh            ante māji            kabar*  
 and village.chief-AC news do-FT.3SG.M and village.chief news  
*nan-eh*  
 do-FT.3SG.M

And he tells it to the village chief, and the village chief tells it [to the whole village].

2'26 *inond qa:we.naq-im ante agar ne:ke beh-id a:h pac dine*  
 this.much converse-PR.1PLE and if who.DA be-PR he five day  
*nan-ih*  
 do-PR.3SG.M

We talk this much. And if he has [money], he holds [the feast] in five days.

2'30 *ar mala ta:ni-gote-hi pac-dini dine a: ne:*  
 and no then-even-EPH five-day day that REL  
*qow-ker eky-ar ca:r-jen male-r-in a:r-in*  
 carry.on.shoulder-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL four-CLF person-PL-AC they-AC  
*bi:k-kem ante e:m qe:r-e tadi-n cice-ke:m ante*  
 call-CP.1PLE and we.E chicken-AC toddy-AC give.B2-CP.1PLE and  
*ada-ki-n e:m sapha:i nan-im*  
 house-GE-AC we.E cleaning do-PR.1PLE

And even if he cannot [hold a feast], we call those four men who went [to the graveyard] carrying [the body of the deceased] on the fifth day, give them chicken and wine, and we clean things in the house.

2'40 *cahe ki a:-dini pera kutumba-ri male-r-in e:m bida*  
 or COMP that-day relative family-PL person-PL-AC we.E leave  
*nan-im je bar-ner a: murda: male-n tund-oti*  
 do-PR.1PLE REL come-PR.3PL that dead person-AC look-IF  
*a:-gahndi-n pac dine-no bida nan-im*  
 that-PL-AC five day-LO farewell do-PR.1PLE

Or we bid farewell to family and relatives on that day. We bid farewell to those who come to see the deceased person on the fifth day.

2'47 *ani a: dine a:ber-ki adi-ki ki:ywa male-r-ki a: dini*  
 so that day they-GE that-GE poor person-PL-GE that day  
*oygr-i*  
 end-PR.3SG

So for those poor people, that (i.e. the funeral) is finished on that day.

2'51 *ante jab juṭar-enid ante agane bar-no ante e:m*  
 and when collect-FT.3SG.NM and month.name come-IPP and we.E  
*tung-r-kem qepo-m bo:j nan-im bāṭiya: se*  
 collect-ITR-CP.1PLE villager-1PLE feast do-PR.1PLE fine EPH  
*ṣṭendar-se*  
 standard-from

When [food and drink] are obtained and Aghan month comes, we villagers get together and have a feast of fine standard.

2'57 *pu:ra gotiya ba:i-gotiya qep-ga:meri male-r-in bi:k-kem*  
 all relative cousin-relative village-PL person-PL-AC call-CP.1PLE  
*lap-tr-im sama:je-ki male-r-in agal.bagal male-r-in*  
 eat-CS-PR.1PLE society-GE person-PL-AC nearby person-PL-AC

hō

too

We call all siblings and relatives, village people, [distinguished] people of the area too, and give them food.

3'06 *bo:je-no andeki ja:gu bic-i em-ki* bahut  
 feast-LO that.way cooked.rice be.cooked-PR.3SG we.E-GE much  
*bā̄tiya: se bice-nihī*  
 fine EPH be.cooked-IPP.EPH  
 Rice is cooked in the feast. When it is cooked very well,

3'09 *ante e:m gote-nte agwa-agdu e:to:ja-k taqī-n*  
 and we.E all-AB forward-before ritual.place-DA wine-AC  
*ja:gu-n ma:ke*  
 cooked.rice-AC meat  
 before all, we [bring] wine, rice and meat to the ritual place at first.

3'14 *ada-no jetna sampati juṭa:-tr-kem ahi-lagacki key-u*  
 house-LO how.much property collect-CS-CP.1PLE he-for die-PP  
*male-lagacki*  
 person-for  
 [We bring] as much property as we collected in the house for him, for the deceased person.

3'17 *biskute pawro:ti meta:i-d laddu jetna:-hi a: gote-n*  
 biscuit biscuit sweets-NM laddu how.much-EPH that all-AC  
*oce-kem e:toja-no ki:d-im*  
 take-CP.1PLE ritual.place-LO place-PR.1PLE  
 We bring it all, biscuit, sweets, *laddu* and so on, and place it in the ritual place.

3'23 *ante a:t-no sumbrar-im gote-mi taqī-n pudg-im a:t-no*  
 and there-LO pray-PR.1PLE all-1PLE toddy-AC pour-PR.1PLE there-LO  
*e:mu pahariya ri:ti.rīwa:je-k anusa:r a:t pudg-im ante*  
 we.E Pahariya manner-DA according there pour-PR.1PLE and  
*a:ti-nte e:m kir-kem bar-im*  
 there-AB we.E return-CP.1PLE come-PR.1PLE  
 And we all pray there. We pour wine [on the ground] there according to the manner of the Pahariyas. We pour [wine] and we go home from there.

3'31 *ante bar-im ante ada-no gote-m hi bo:je-no ok-kem*  
 and come-PR.1PLE and house-LO all-1PLE EPH feast-LO sit-CP.1PLE  
*pre:m.se lap-im*  
 with.love eat-PR.1PLE  
 We come [home] and we all sit at the feast at the house [of the deceased], and eat with love.

3'35 *ante a: dine a:qī-ntente ada-male-r-ki-d oygr-id*  
 and that day there-AB house-person-PL-GE-NM end-PR.3SG.NM

*a:d kriya.karme-d*

that funeral.ceremony-NM

And on that day, [the duty] of the family ends there. That is the funeral ceremony.

3'40 *ante cu:te ongr-i ani ante das male-r sa:mne*  
and impurity end-PR.3SG then and ten person-PL in.front

*ok-kim coy-im*

sit-CP.PR.1PLE get.up-PR.1PLE

And the period of impurity ends. Then the ten (main) people (of the village) sit together and stand up.



## Chapter IV. Folk Tales

### §19 Story of two old women and a little frog (S).

Told by Mrs. Surji Paharni (Malpahariya) of Amlagachhi, P. O. Shahrgam, P. S. Maheshpur, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Amlagachhi on September 6, 2006.

0'00 *jo:r-ond*    *budjya-r*    *manj-ar ayi-ki*    *?amre kata teh-in*  
 pair.CLF-one old.woman-PL be.B2-PL that-GE ITJ    story tell-PR.1SG  
 There were two old women. I will tell a story about that, okay?

0'05 *jo:r-o*    *budjya-r*    *manj-ar*  
 pair.CLF-one old.woman-PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 There were two old women.

0'08 *a:di-n-te a:trer jo:r-ond-er*    *e:k-nar*    *pa:w-an*  
 there-AB they pair.CLF-one-PL go-PR.3PL road-AC  
 Then those two [women] were going on the road.

0'13 *e:k-ne e:k-ne-r*    *?ond-iy-nar*    *?ond-ne*    *ke.ba:d ceya*  
 go-IPP go-IPP-3PL be.tired-PRF-PR.3PL be.tired-VN after shade  
*ceya-k*    *ãrs-iy-nar*    *a:kara*    *ok-nar*  
 shade-DA reach-PRF-PR.3PL that-time sit-PR.3PL  
 Walking and walking, they got tired. After they got tired, they arrived at a shade. Then they sat down.

0'20 *i:d*    *ano (kot)*    *okk-a*    *do:k-ay*    *deko.ma?o*    *?ondtr-a:y*    *a:y*  
 here there sit-AP stay-FT.1PL.I ITJ    tire-PT.3SG.NM that  
*na?kar*    *ok-nar*  
 say-CP.3PL sit-PR.3PL  
 “Let’s be sitting here. Boy, we got tired.” Saying that to each other, they sat down.

0'25 *ok-nar*    *a:kara*    *ortu*    *kod-ki*    *do:k-in*    *a:n-ki*  
 sit-PR.3PL that-time one.person lie.down-CP stay-PR.1SG say-CP.3SG  
*?andr-a:y*    *a:r*    *ort*    *okk-i*  
 sleep-PR.PRF.3SG.NM and one.person sit-PR.3SG  
 When they sat down, one woman said lying down, “I will stay [here for a while],” and fell asleep. And the other woman was sitting.

0'32 *andi kod-ki*    *?andr-i*    *ayi-ki*    *muso-n-te ma?ond*  
 then lie.down-CP.3SG.NM sleep-PR.3SG she.CR-GE nose-AB CLF-one  
*mu:?ma?o tot-ni*    *ur?i:y-i*:  
 frog-child jump-IPP.3SG.NM come.out-PR.3SG.NM  
 Then, from the nostril of the one who lay down and fell asleep, a little frog came jumping out.

0'37 *andi okk-i*    *a:yi awd-i*    *je*    *ayi-ki*    *muso-n-te*  
 then sit-PR.3SG.NM she speak-PR.3SG.NM then she-GE nose-AB  
*ma?ond*    *mu:?ma?o tot-ni*    *ur?i:y-a*  
 CLF-one frog-child jump-IPP.EPH come.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM

Then the sitting woman said, “A little frog came jumping out from her nostril.”

0'43 *ta:ni e:nocud e:k-i acc<sup>ha</sup>: e:n e:r.oy-an ik.?a:r-ik*  
 then until.how.far go-PR.3SG.NM ITJ I see-FT.1SG where-DA  
*e:k-i i:-ma<sup>2</sup> mu:<sup>2</sup>e*  
 go-PR.3SG.NM this-CLF frog  
 “Well, then, I will see how far it goes, where the little frog is going.”

0'48 *a:n-ki kod-ki ?andr-u ?andr-i a:r*  
 say-CP.3SG lie.down-CP.3SG.NM sleep-PP sleep-PR.3SG.NM and  
*okk-i a.yi*  
 sit-PR.3SG.NM she  
 When she said this, the woman who lay down and fell asleep was sleeping. And she was sitting.

0'50 *a:-ma<sup>2</sup> mu:<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup>o tot-ni tot-ni e:k-i a.yi*  
 that-CLF frog-child jump-IPP.3SG.NM REP go-PR.3SG that  
 That little frog went jumping.

0'54 *e:k-i andi a:y e:k-i a:y mu:<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup>o sa:te hi*  
 go-PR.3SG then she go-PR.3SG she frog-child together EPH  
 It went, and she went together with the little frog.

0'56 *e:k-ni e:k-ni ekdam a: mu:<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup>o man-ond man-ik*  
 go-IPP.3SG.NM REP suddenly that frog-child tree.CLF-one tree-DA  
*tot-ni argy-ay*  
 jump-IPP.3SG.NM climb.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 As they went, the little frog suddenly climbed up a tree jumping.

1'01 *andi a: malni hō tot-ni argiy-ay*  
 then that woman too jump-IPP.3SG.NM climb.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the woman climbed up jumping, too.

1'03 *andi man-ond man koygro-no inopa:ne i: pa:n-ond taka-ki*  
 then tree.CLF-one tree hollow-LO this.big this CLF-one money-GE  
*kaṛṣa ok-ki per?iy-ay*  
 jar sit-CP.3SG.NM hiss.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then, in a hollow of a tree, there was this jar of money, this big, sitting and making hissing sound.

1'09 *andi aye-n fundy-a a.yi a:-ma<sup>2</sup> mu:<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup>o fund-ki*  
 then that-AC look.B2-PT.3SG that that-CLF frog-child look-CP.3SG.NM  
*kir-ki etty-ay*  
 return-CP.3SG.NM go.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the little frog saw it [i.e. the jar of money]. Having seen it, it turned back and went down [the tree].

1'14 *andi a: malni hō kir-ki etty-ay*  
 then that woman too return-CP.3SG.NM go.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then that woman also turned back and went down.

1'16 *et-ki (awdy-a) et-ki*  
 go.down-CP.3SG.NM (speak.B2-PT.3SG) go.down-CP.3SG.NM

e:k-i a:yi a:-ma? mu:?-ma? sa:te hi  
go-PR.3SG that that-CLF frog-child together EPH  
She came down and went with that little frog.

1'20 andi a:-ma? mu:?-ma?o tot-ni hi ek-ki  
then that-CLF frog-child jump-IPP.3SG.NM EPH go.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
aṛṣ-ki ayi-muso-k ar kod-ki  
reach-CP.3SG.NM she-nose-DA and lie.down-CP.3SG.NM  
pandr-i ayi-muso-k kir-ki korc-a  
sleep.B2-PT.3SG she-nose-DA return-CP.3SG.NM enter.B2-PT.3SG  
Then that little frog went jumping, arrived, and it went back into her nostril, the nostril of [the woman] who lay down and slept.

1'27 kor-ne ke.ba:d a:h ?andr-ay-tan jande?ko?mo  
enter-VN after ITJ sleep-PRF-PT.1SG ITJ  
After it entered [the sleeping woman's nostril, she said,] "Good heavens! I had fallen asleep."

1'31 indru tumgl-a=jahā tund-tan e:n ri:kond ?andra-kan e:n  
what dream-AC=even look-PT.1SG I a.little sleep-CP.1SG I  
a:ny-ay  
say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
"I slept a little and even had a dream." She said this.

1'35 indr-leko tumgl-a se tund-ti-?mu a:n-no  
what-like dream-AC EPH look-PT.2SG.NM-ITJ say-IPP  
When [the other woman] asked, "What kind of dream did you see?"

1'39 arey man-ond man-no taka kāṛṣa oky-a aye-n se  
ITJ tree.CLF-one tree-LO money jar sit.B2-PT.3SG that-AC EPH  
tund-tan a:n-no  
look-PT.1SG say-IPP  
"Listen! I saw a jar of money sitting on a tree."

1'43 ik.biji okk-i ik.?a:no okk-i disa niyং-e  
which.way sit-PR.3SG where sit-PR.3SG.NM direction you-DA  
a:ny-ay  
say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
[The other woman] said, "Do you have any idea which way it is, where it is?"

1'47 iye-n ta disa lal-omtan par man meca kāṛṣa-no  
this-AC TOP direction do-NG.PR.1SG but tree on.top.of jar-LO  
taka oky-a a:n-i andi a:yi teh-omalay  
money sit.B2-PT.3SG say-PR.3SG then that tell-NG.PR.3SG.NM  
She said, "I don't remember that. But the money is in a jar on top of a tree." And she did not tell.

1'53 tobē e:k-a orh-ik eky-a:ray  
then go-IMP house-DA go.B2-PT.3PL  
[Saying] "Let's go now," they went home.

1'56 e:k-ne ke.ba:d ayi-k taka kāṛṣa tund-ki ekk-iyi  
go-VN after that-DA money jar look-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-PT.3SG.NM

*andi lo:be bey-i andi a.yi kirya*  
 then greed be-PR.3SG.NM then that return.B2-PT.3SG  
 After they went home, greed arose in that [woman] who had seen the  
 jar of money and come back. Then she went back.

2'02 *kir-ki ino sa:li budjya taka kārṣa*  
 return-CP.3SG.NM here wicked old.woman money jar  
*tund-ki disa lal-omala*  
 look-CP.3SG.NM direction do-NG.PR.3SG  
 After she went back there, [she thought] “That darned woman saw the  
 jar of money [but] does not remember [where it is].”

2'05 *i: kepe e:n otr-an taka-n*  
 this time I take.out-FT.1SG money-AC  
 “This time I will take the money out.”

2'07 *ek-ki a:yu a: man-ik argy-a arg-ki*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM that that tree-DA climb.B2-PT.3SG climb-CP.3SG  
*taka-n otr-a*  
 money-AC take.out-PT.3SG  
 She went [back there], climbed up the tree, and took the money.

2'11 *otre-ki kum-i a:-kara po:k-pocor*  
 take.out-CP.3SG.NM take.on.the.head-PR.3SG.NM that-time ant-insect  
*man-i hu: taka ar po:k-pocor man-i*  
 become-PR.3SG ITJ money and ant-insect become-PR.3SG  
 When she took and put [the jar of money] on her head, oh my, the  
 money became ants.

2'16 *?o:s-an=jahā a:n-ki ?e:?el-no ?o:s-i*  
 dash.down-FT.1SG=EPH say-CP.3SG.NM earth-LO dash.down-PR.3SG  
 Saying “I will just dash them down,” she dashed them down on the  
 ground.

2'19 *?o:s-ne ke.ba:d ar taka garar-i*  
 dash.down-VN after and money become-PR.3SG  
 After she dashed them down, [the ants] turned into money.

2'21 *aro ke:pe kum-ki e:k-i*  
 further once take.on.the.head-CP.3SG go-PR.3SG  
 She put [the jar] on her head and went once again.

2'23 *e:k-ni e:k-ni aye-n po:k-pocor man-i ar*  
 go-IPP.3SG.NM REP she-AC ant-insect become-PR.3SG and  
*koh-i*  
 bite-PR.3SG  
 As she went, [the money] became ants and bit her.

2'26 *kōh-ne ke.ba:d arhu ?o:s-i a:-kara arhu taka*  
 bite-VN after again dash.down-PR.3SG.NM that-time again money  
*garar-i*  
 become-PR.3SG

After they bit [her], she dashed [the ants] down again. Then [they] became money again.

2'30 *a:liko a:liko-ti a:yi kum-ki oy-i*  
 that.way that.way-IN she take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM take-PR.3SG  
 Doing that way, she carried the money putting it on her head.

2'32 *oy-ne ke.ba:d jokon a: budjya tumgl-a*  
 take-VN after when.REL that.REL old.woman dream-AC  
*tund-iyca a: budjya-ko:ni ãq's-iyi*  
 look-PT.PRF.3SG that.CR old.woman-near reach-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
 Then, when she arrived at the old woman who had seen the dream,

2'39 *a:-kara ci:k kajak po:k-pocor man-i ar koh-i*  
 that-time.CR very many ant-insect become-PR.3SG and bite-PR.3SG  
*aye-n she-AC*  
 at that time, [the money] became very many ants and bit her.

2'43 *sa:l.ni budjya tund-ki barc-oke e:n ondr-in*  
 wicked.F old.woman look-CP.3SG.NM come.B2-CP I bring-PR.1SG  
*enj-en po:k-pocor koh-i*  
 I-AC ant-insect bite-PR.3SG  
 Seeing [the woman], the wicked woman [said] "I am taking [the jar of money] and the ants are biting me."

2'47 *budjya-ni kot pit-ak ayi-n (ca)*  
 old.woman-AC.EPH bite.B2.AP kill-OP she-AC  
*po:s-ki cic-a ayi-pede-no taka (gata)*  
 dash.down-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG she-side-LO money  
*[garary-a]*  
 [become.B2-PT.3SG]  
 [Thinking] "Let it bite and kill that old woman," she threw [the jar] down. [Then] it became money near her [i.e. the lady who was asleep].

2'51 *a:-kara tund-ay sapna-no jim-iyca a:r a:yi ci:k*  
 that-time look-PT.3SG.NM dream-LO get-PT.PRF.3SG and she very  
*tund-iyca ari sapna-no jim-iyca aye-ki taka*  
 look-PT.PRF.3SG and dream-LO get-PT.PRF.3SG she-GE money  
 At that time, the woman who saw [the money] in the dream got it. She had seen a lot [of money] in the dream and got [it as] her money.

2'58 *adi-nte a:yi girosto manj-a*  
 there-AB that rich.person become.B2-PT.3SG  
 She became prosperous from then.

2'59 *a:yi oy-i a:-kara aye-n po:k garar-ki*  
 she take-PR.3SG that-time she-AC ant become-CP.3SG.NM  
*koh-i ar ayi-ko:ni cico-ko ar taka i: garar-a*  
 bite-PR.3SG and she-near give-CP and money this become-PT.3SG  
 When she (i.e. the woman who was sitting) took [the money], it became ants and bit [her]. And when she gave it [throwing it] to her (i.e.

the woman who was sleeping), it became money.

3'05 *to?r-a oygr-a*  
end-PT.3SG end-PT.3SG  
This is the end of the story.

**§20 How civilization started (S).**

Told by Mrs. Surji Paharni (Malpahariya) of Amlagachhi, P. O. Shahrgram, P. S. Maheshpur, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Amlagachhi on September 6, 2006.

0'00 *mundoti male-r patra-no becy-a:ray*  
ancient person-PL forest-LO be.B2-PT.3PL  
Ancient people lived in the forest.

0'04 *a:r patra-no becy-a:ray da:ra-patra-n miny-a:ra:yu*  
and forest-LO be.B2-PT.3PL branch-leaf-AC eat.B2-PT.3PL  
And they lived in the forest and ate branches and leaves.

0'09 *a:r ma:k-an hō ɻe:ne mo?y-a:ray*  
and meat-AC too raw eat.B2-PT.3PL  
And they also ate meat raw.

0'13 *pa:n-a pu:p-an hō ɻe:ne-ni mo?y-a:ray*  
fruit-AC flower-AC too raw-AC.EPH eat.B2-PT.3PL  
They ate fruits and flowers raw, too.

0'15 *a:di-n-te dq:k-no dq:k-no ilko-hi da:ra-patra-ni*  
there-AB stay-IPP REP this.way-EPH branch-leaf-AC.EPH  
*min-kar dq:ky-ar pa:n-a pu:p-an e:re-n indra kis-an*  
eat-CP.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL fruit-AC flower-AC goat-AC what pig-AC  
*indra gote-ni a:trer ɻe:ne-ni mo?y-a:ray*  
what all-AC.EPH they raw-AC.EPH eat.B2-PT.3PL  
Staying and staying there [i.e. in the forest], they were eating branches and leaves this way. They ate everything raw, fruits, flowers, goats, pigs and so on.

0'31 *mo:ɻ-ne ke.ba:d patra-no man-on-d man-no ta:n-ta:ni cic*  
eat-VN after forest-LO tree.CLF-one tree-LO itself-itself fire  
*lagar-ay*  
be.attached-PT.3SG  
Then, in the forest, fire started spontaneously on a tree.

0'37 *cic lagar-ne ke.ba:d aur ɻosy-a*  
fire be.attached-VN after further be.burnt.B2-PT.3SG  
Then it spread further.

0'40 *ɻos-ko inor e:re-n indru kagl-ki ɻos-yi*  
be.burnt-CP now goat-AC what die-CP.3SG be.burnt-PR.PRF.3SG  
When [trees] were burnt, goats and so on had now died and were burnt.

0'43 *a:tre-n peta-kar mo?ka fund-a:ray*  
they-AC take.up.B2-CP.3PL eat-CP look-PT.3PL  
They took up and tasted them.

0'45 *moʔ-ka tund-ne ke.ba:d kajak sawa:di a:y bic-ke*  
 eat-CP look-VN after much tasty that be.cooked-CP.3SG  
*a:di-n-te arhu a:tr̥er hō matlab kuṭa-kar moʔ-ot*  
 there-AB further they too namely burn.B2-CP.3PL eat-IF  
*sikar-a:ray kurmuṭṭu manj-a:ray*  
 learn-PT.3PL inquiring be.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then they were cooked very deliciously. They learned to cook and  
 eat from then. They became keen inquirers.

0'57 *a:di-n-te ja:gu bit-ot hō bic-ke lap-oti bita-ka lap-no*  
 there-AB rice cook-IF too be.cooked-CP eat-IF cook-CP eat-IPP  
*sawa:di manj-a:y*  
 tasty be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then [they learned] to cook rice and eat rice after cooking, too; it was  
 tasty when they ate it after cooking.

1'05 *ma:ku ja:gu gote-yi andi bita-ka lap-oti te:st̥e*  
 meat rice all-NM that.way cook-CP eat-IF test  
*cinc-akar a:di-n-te bita-kar lap-ot lagy-a:ray*  
 recognize.B2-CP.3PL there-AB cook-CP.3PL eat-IF start.B2-PT.3PL  
*sikar-ot lagy-a:ray*  
 learn-IF start.B2-PT.3PL  
 Having run tests on cooking meat, rice and everything that way and  
 eating, they then started doing so. They started learning.

1'15 *aru dari-n indr-an hō cuy-ot lagy-ar*  
 and clothes-AC what-AC too wear-IF start.B2-PT.3PL  
 And they started wearing clothes and so on, too.

1'18 *a:di-n-te gote-ni kate garc-a tund-na:r tebule kursi*  
 there-AB all-AC.EPH bedstead make.B2-AP look-PR.3PL table chair  
*garc-a tund-nar gote-ni ko:sis man-na:ray*  
 make.B2-AP look-PR.3PL all-AC.EPH attempt be-PR.3PL  
 Then they tried to make everything: beds, tables and chairs. They  
 tried everything.

1'27 *alko-ti di:re di:re man-ne kud-ne kud-ne-ri barhar-ar*  
 that.way-IN slowly REP be-AP do-IPP do-IPP-3PL grow-PT.3PL  
 They slowly developed being and doing that way.

1'33 *barhar-kar se inor dari cuy-ot sikar-ar*  
 grow-CP EPH now clothes wear-IF learn-PT.3PL  
 They have developed and now they have learned to wear clothes.

1'38 *tarpo-re bit-a lap-o sikar-ar ka:je kud-kar gote-ni got*  
 then cook-AP eat-IF learn-PT.3PL work do-CP.3PL all-AC.EPH all  
*jinise-ni ma:k-a bit-o sikar-ar ja:gu bit-o sikar-ar*  
 thing-AC.EPH meat-AC cook-IF learn-PT.3PL rice cook-IF learn-PT.3PL  
 Then they learned eating after cooking. Having done their work, they  
 learned cooking everything. They learned cooking meat and rice.

1'49 *a:di-n-te inor(rehe) me:la juge kat-ke e:k-ne ke.ba:d di:re di:re*  
 there-AB now festival time pass-CP go-VN after slowly REP  
*di:re di:re gofe-ni sama:je-k ãl̥sy-ar pary-ot leky-ot hō*  
 REP REP all-AC.EPH society-DA reach.B2-PT.3PL read-IF write-IF too  
*sikar-ar*  
 learn-PT.3PL  
 After that, as time passed, after they went to the festivals, they reached  
 the whole society slowly and slowly. They learned to read and write,  
 too.

1'59 *a:r ike-h mistri sikar-nah ike-h da:ri tuny-o*  
 and which-M carpenter learn-PR.3SG.M which-M clothes weave-IF  
*sikar-nah ike-h ga:ti cala:tr-o sikar-nah ike-h*  
 learn-PR.3SG.M which-M vehicle drive-IF learn-PR.3SG.M which-M  
*reksa cala:tr-o sikar-nah*  
 rickshaw drive-IF learn-PR.3SG.M  
 And someone learns carpentry. Someone learns to weave cloth.  
 Someone learns to drive a car. Someone learns to drive a rickshaw.

2'08 *a:r ma?e-ri ponde-ri paly-tr-ot hō d̥hya:ne lagatr-nar*  
 and boy-PL child-PL study-CS-IF too thought attach-PR.3PL  
 And they pay attention to giving education to the children.

2'13 *ate mundi-kara ka:li patra-no becy-a:ray ɿe:ne miny-a:ray*  
 or.else formerly-time only forest-LO be.B2-PT.3PL raw eat.B2-PT.3PL  
*oŋgr-a*  
 end-PT.3SG  
 But in olden times, they lived only in forests and ate things raw. This  
 is the end of the story.

## §21 Tale about unity (S).

Told by Mr. Sushil Pahariya (Kumarbhag Pahariya) of Paderkola B, P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at the schoolhouse of Paderkola B on February 25, 2007.

0'22 *e:n pa:n-ond kahani teh-ot e:k-in ilko ekta-ki ba:re-no*  
 I CLF-one story tell-IF go-PR.1SG this.way unity-GE respect-LO  
 I am going to tell a story about unity.

0'33 *ortu gari:b kisa:ne-h manj-ah*  
 one.person poor farmer-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 There was a poor farmer.

0'45 *a:r ahi-ki tin-jen ma?e-r manj-ar*  
 and he-GE three-CLF boy-PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 And he had three sons.

0'51 *be:do ma?e-ki na:mi sundra manj-a majtra ma?e-ki na:mi*  
 big boy-GE name PROP be.B2-PT.3SG middle boy-GE name  
*manj-a surja a:r sarwe ma?e-ki na:mi manj-a ra:ja*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG PROP and younger boy-GE name be.B2-PT.3SG PROP

The eldest son's name was Sundra, the middle one's Surja, and the youngest one's Raja.

1'02 *tin-jen tin-jen ba:ye-r-pede-no me:la bey-la*  
 three-CLF three-CLF brother-PL-way-LO harmony be-NG.PT.3SG  
 There was no harmony among the three brothers.

1'13 *tin-jene-no tin-jen-er-ki-no got-ka:re hi*  
 three-people.CLF-LO three-people.CLF-PL-GE-LO all-affair EPH  
*jagta hi majji becy-a jagta majja-kari becy-ar*  
 quarrel EPH do.B2.AP be.B2-PT.3SG quarrel do.B2-CP.3PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 Among the three, quarrel kept arising, they kept fighting, about everything.

1'26 *pahla ma?e-ki mo:ne majj-a pa?y-po-ki ar dusra ma?e-ki*  
 first boy-GE mind be.B2-PT.3SG read-HP-GE and second boy-GE  
*majj-a ruce majj-a kelar-po-ki ar tisra ma?e-ki mo:ne*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG taste be.B2-PT.3SG play-HP-GE and third boy-GE mind  
*majj-a gurar-po-ki*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG walk.around-HP-GE  
 The eldest son's mind was on reading. The second son's interest was on playing. And the third son's mind was on strolling.

1'46 *ahi-ki tambako-h din-ond ugla:r-ah ki tin-jen (ma?e)*  
 he-GE own.father-M day-one think-PT.3SG.M COMP three-CLF boy  
*tang.do-bager-no i:tre(r)-ki ej-ki jaga bey-i*  
 own.younger.brother-PL-LO these-GE I-GE land be-PR.3SG.NM  
*aye-n i:tre(r) din-ond bi:s-kar lap-a:nar*  
 that-AC these day-one sell-CP.3PL eat-FT.3PL  
 His father thought one day, "My land will [go] to these three brothers. [If they go on like this,] they will sell and eat it one day."

2'06 *ije-n so:ca-ka ugla:r-ka ugla:r-ka a:hu bu?ha kisa:ne a:hu din-ond*  
 this-AC think-CP think-CP think-CP he old farmer he day-one  
*me:y korc-a*  
 disease enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 Thinking and thinking about this, the old farmer got sick one day.

2'27 *a:di-nite a:h kod-ka tin-jen-er-in awq-ah*  
 there-AB he lie.down-CP three-people.CLF-PL-AC speak-PT.3SG.M  
*ja:nyga-ka awd-ah*  
 call-CP speak-PT.3SG.M  
 Then, lying [in bed], he said to the three [sons], he called them and said [to them].

2'34 *erk-a qade-k ni:mu ad-ente ni:m usri-n ta:r-a*  
 go-IMP forest-DA you.PL there-AB you.PL firewood-AC cut-IMP  
*tunhe-ke ondr-e:ner a:ny-ah*  
 collect-CP bring-FT.2PL say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, "Go to the woods, cut firewood, collect it and bring it from there."

2'47 *a:di-n-te ondr-ne ke.ba:d a: tin-jen-er-in dar-onond*  
 there-AB bring-VN after that three-people.CLF-PL-AC CLF-each.one  
*dar-ond indra-ka ta:r-tr-tit-ah*  
 CLF-one divide-CP cut-TR-CS-PT.3SG.M  
 Then, after they brought [the firewood], he split it in bundles, one for  
 each of the three, and made [them] cut [it].

2'58 *ta:r-tr-ne ke.ba:d aye-n gote-r-in tin-jen-er-in*  
 cut-TR-VN after that-AC all-PL-AC three-people.CLF-PL-AC  
*mila:-tr-tit-ah*  
 collect-TR-CS-PT.3SG.M  
 After he made [each of them] cut it, he made all the three [sons] put  
 it together [in one big bundle].

3'05 *mila:-tr-tatka adi-n-te aye-n ta:r-ot end-ah ta:r-ot*  
 collect-TR-ECHO.CP there-AB that-AC cut-IF tell-PT.3SG.M cut-IF  
*lo:r-lar*  
 be.able-NG.PT.3PL  
 Having made them gather [it], he told [them] to cut it then. They could  
 not cut [it].

3'17 *andi awd-ah ni:m ilko ta:r-ot lo:r-omla(r)*  
 then speak-PT.3SG.M you.PL this.way cut-IF be.able-NG.PR.3PL  
 Then [the farmer] said, “See, you cannot cut [it].”

3'21 *ilko ni:m agar orto-no man-e:ner ta:n to*  
 this.way you.PL if one.person-LO become-FT.2PL then then  
*nim-en berba:d nal-la:nar pit-ot hõ lo:r-[la]nar*  
 you.PL-AC destruction do-NG.FT.3PL kill-IF too be.able-PR.3PL  
 “If you will be together like this, then they will not destroy you, nor  
 will they be able to kill you.”

3'27 *pare ni:m e:k.sa:t man-ner tunhur-ke bey-ner ta:n*  
 but you.PL together be-PR.3PL get.together-CP be-PR.3PL then  
*nim-en iker-ne indr-ne kud-ot lo:r-la:nah*  
 you.PL-AC who-ever what-ever du-IF be.able-NG.FT.3SG.M  
 “(But) if you are together, if you stay together, then nobody will be  
 able to do any [harm] to you.”

3'37 *a:n-ka a:h kagl-kah eky-ah*  
 say-CP he die-CP.3SG.M go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Having said this, he passed away.

## §22 Story of a blind king and his princes (S).

Told by Mr. Sibu Pahariya of Telopara. Recorded at his house in Telopara  
 on March 7, 2009.

0'00 *paco pacge-r manj-a:ray*  
 old.woman old.man-PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 There were an old man and an old woman.

0'03 *andi bey-no do:k-no bey-no do:k-no ɻotro-h ra:ja-h*  
 then be-IPP stay-IPP be-IPP stay-IPP blind-M king-M  
*maŋŋ-ahay ahi-ki na:mi ɻotro*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG he-GE name blind  
 While they were living, a blind man became a king. His name is 'Otro.

0'11 *andi jaŋe-bohe garar-ayay garar-ko beŋna ar beŋni*  
 then rain-storm become-PT.3SG become-CP PROP and PROP  
*maŋŋ-as puju edru*  
 CLF-two bird parrakeet  
 Then, when there was a rainstorm, two parrakeet birds, Bengna and Bengni,

0'20 *e:k-i a: arhu i:t-no oket-ki kat-i*  
 go-PR.3SG that again here-LO sit.down-CP.3SG.NM cross-PR.3SG  
 they went, sat down (on a tree) and crossed it.

0'24 *andi jaŋe-bohe garar-a garar-ko to i:d-no*  
 then rain-storm become-PT.3SG become-CP then here-LO  
*?an.e:h-kay e:k-ay dekoke*  
 take.rest-CP.1PL.I go-FT.1PL.I ITJ  
 Then when there was a rainstorm, [they said] "Let us take rest and go."

0'32 *jaŋe-ore kat-noye ɻa:y-naŋy-ay ta:m*  
 rain-ECHO pass-IPP dry-REC.B2-PT.3SG themselves  
*mã:ŋalni beŋna beŋni*  
 mother.and.daughter PROP PROP  
 When the rain passed, they dried themselves, the mother and daughter, Bengna and Bengni.

0'36 *a:q-i-n-te jaŋe poy-ot lagy-ay ande oŋhu-ɻa:r pisi*  
 there-AB rain rain-IF start.B2-PT.3SG then house-side under  
*et-ki oky-ay*  
 go.down-CP.3SG.NM sit.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then it started raining. Then they went under the eaves of a house and sat there.

0'41 *andi se teho awd-i beŋni awd-i ra:ja-h taŋmo*  
 then EPH mother speak-PR.3SG PROP speak-PR.3SG king-M look.he.is  
*a:ny-a e: ɻotro-h i:hu ra:ja-h mal-ah tahadi*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG ITJ blind-M.EPH he king-M be.not-PR.3SG.M daughter  
 Then Bengni, the mother, said, "Look, he is the king." The daughter said, "He is a blind man, not a king."

0'52 *andi mala i:h ra:ja-hi anno mala ra:ja-h mala-h*  
 then no he king-M.EPH then no king-M be.not-M  
 Then [they said] "No, he is the king." "No, he isn't."

0'57 *ante tehr-naŋ-no tehr-naŋ-no aye-n a: ɻotro ra:ja-h*  
 and tell-REC-IPP tell-REC-IPP that-AC that blind king-M

*menj-ahay*  
hear.B2-PT.3SG  
When they were saying [this] to each other, the blind king heard it.

1'03 *jare-bohe kat-ko eky-ay puju ek-ki ande*  
rain-storm pass-CP go.B2-PT.3SG.NM bird go.B2-CP.3SG.NM then  
*nan-dina*  
other-day  
When the rainstorm had passed, the birds went and on another day,

1'08 *tang-cohdi-mala-r-in tunh-aynah tunha-kah*  
self-domain-man-PL-AC gather-PR.PRF.3SG.M gather-CP.3SG.M  
*me:n-nah*  
ask-PR.3SG.M  
he summoned the people [living] within his boundary and asked.

1'13 *i:tr i:tr saba-n menj-ayner a:n-nahay*  
these these word-AC hear.B2-PR.PRF.2PL say-PR.3SG.M  
He said, "Did you hear these words?"

1'15 *andi e:n ho me:n-layin e:n ho me:n-layin*  
then I too hear-NG.PR.PRF.1SG I too hear-NG.PR.PRF.1SG  
*i:n-na?fy-a]ray*  
say.thus-REC.B2-PT.3PL  
Then they all said, "I haven't heard" "I haven't heard, either."

1'19 *andi me:n-na-se teh-ot lo:y-anar andi a: ma?as bengna ar*  
then hear-IPP-EPH tell-IF be.able-FT.3PL then that CLF-two PROP and  
*bengni eky-ay ok.ety-ay andi*  
PROP go.B2-PT.3SG sit.down.B2-PT.3SG then  
They can tell only if they have heard [it]. Then Bengna and Bengni  
went and sat down.

1'26 *pa:n-o saba menj-ayni a:n-no indru saba-n*  
CLF-one word hear.B2-PR.PRF.2SG.NM say-IPP what word-AC  
*teh-an menj-ayin a:n-na?i*  
tell-FT.1SG hear.B2-PR.PRF.1SG say-REC-PR.3SG  
When they said [to them] "Did you hear [such] a word?" "What  
word?" "I'll tell you." They said, "Yes, I heard it."

1'30 *i:h ?otro-h a:ny-a ortu ar ortu aruhi ra:ja-h a:ny-a*  
he blind-M say.B2-PT.3SG one and one again king-M say.B2-PT.3SG  
One said "He is blind," and another said "Still, he is a king."

1'36 *andi o: menj-ayin eng-ma?o awd-i ?otro-h*  
then ITJ hear.B2-PR.PRF.1SG my-girl say-PR.3SG blind-M  
*a:ny-a e:n ho ra:ja-h a:n-tan*  
say.B2-PT.3SG I too king-M say-PT.1SG  
"Yes, I heard it. My daughter said [he is] blind, and I also said [he is]  
a king."

1'42 *ni:n ihe-n ta:rkurci a:the-n ondra-ka as-a ciy-no*  
you he-AC plant.name leaf-AC bring-FT.IMP foment-AP give-IPP

*nek-man-eni*                    *a: edru teh-i*  
 get.well-become-FT.3SG.NM that parrot tell-PR.3SG  
 The parrakeet said, “You bring him the leaf of the Tarpurchi plant. If you give it to him applying it as a hot compress, he will get well.”

1'49 *andi sa:t und?al ma?e-ray sa:t und?al ma?e-r sude muys-ma?e-r*  
 then seven sibling boy-PL seven sibling boy-PL only male-boy-PL  
*a: Potro ra:ja-ki*  
 that blind king-GE  
 King 'Otro had seven children, only sons.

1'59 *andi e:k-naray toben e:k-a ta:rkurci a:the bed-ot a:n-na?kar*  
 then go-PR.3PL then go-IMP plant.name leaf seek-IF say-REC-CP.3PL  
 Then they went, saying to each other “Let’s go to find the Tarkurchi leaf.”

2'05 *e:k-naray e:k-no e:k-no ort bagwa:n malni ur?y-ay*  
 go-PR.3PL go-IPP go-IPP one god woman come.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 They went. When they were going, a goddess came out.

2'12 *ik.?a:r-ik e:k-ner a:lko a:n-no*  
 where-DA go-PR.2PL that.way say-IPP  
 When she said, “Where are you going?”

2'15 *ar got sarwe-n se me:n[-i] a:y a:h ?o: ?o e:k-nahay*  
 and all young-AC EPH ask-PR.3SG she he back go-PR.3SG.M  
 She asked the youngest one. He was going at the end.

2'21 *ihi-n andi eng-abo-h Potro-h andi ta:rkurci a:the-k e:k-nam*  
 he-AC then my-father-M blind-M then plant.name leaf-DA go-PR.1PL.E  
*a:n-nah ar andi e:nond e:k-ner*  
 say-PR.3SG and then how.much go-PR.2PL  
 [She asked] him [and he said], “My father is blind. And we are going for Tarpurchi leaves.” “How far are you going?”

2'31 *i:-man ga:rsingla-n muty.ond-ti ust-a tar-ker me:nd*  
 this-CLF tree.name-AC one.pull-AB kick-AP break-CP.3PL burn.AP  
*tey-a*  
 send-IMP  
 “Break down this Garsingla tree by one kick and burn it.” (Then the earth will break.)

2'35 *?e: ?el bi:grnet-ker mo:c-ker otr-a:nar a:ny-ay*  
 earth break.up-CP.2PL cut-CP.2PL take.out-FT.2PL say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “After the earth breaks, you will cut [the leaves] and take [them] out.”  
 She told so.

2'40 *ande a?ne:y owa-trer a?ne:y owa-trer ani indru=re sa:la-ma?e*  
 then ITJ brother-PL ITJ brother-PL then what=ITJ darned-boy  
*a:ny-ar*  
 say.B2-PT.3PL  
 “Come on, brothers!” “What’s the matter, darned boy?”

2'44 *andi ort malni awd-a i: man-a ust-a tar-ker ʔe:ʔel*  
 then one woman say-PT.3SG this tree-AC kick-AP break-CP.2PL earth  
*bigrnet-ker mo:c-ker oy-ener oy-ener a:ny-a a:n-ko*  
 break.up-CP.2PL cut-CP.2PL take-FT.2PL REP say.B2-PT.3SG say-CP  
 Then [the boy] said, “A woman said, ‘Kick and break down this tree.  
 You will pull it down on the ground, take it out, cut and take it.’”

2'50 *be:q.owa ust-a:ndah a:n-naray*  
 elder.brother kick.down-OP.3SG say-PR.3PL  
 They said, “Let the eldest brother kick it down.”

2'52 *be:q.owa boh-ek-ka ust-y-ah to*  
 elder.brother run.AP-go.B2-CP kick.B2-PT.3SG.M then  
*lo:q-lah jarʔy-ah*  
 be.able-NG.PT.3SG.M fall.down.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The eldest brother went running and kicked. Then he was unable to  
 do it and fell down.

2'56 *a:ko goṭe-r soy undʔal-er pu:rar-aray ust-a*  
 that.way all-PL six sibling-PL be.completed-PT.3PL kick-AP  
*pu:rar-aray*  
 be.completed-PT.3PL  
 That way, all the six brothers kicked and were all unable [to break it].

3'01 *lo:q-lar nuyjr-ar jarʔ-a jarʔ-a andi*  
 be.able-NG.PT.3PL get.hurt-PT.3PL fall-AP fall-AP then  
 They could not [kick it down] and got hurt, falling down and falling  
 down.

3'04 *sa:la-maʔe-h nunj-tr-ah ni:n ust-a tar-a mufy.ond-ti*  
 darned-boy-M hurt-CS-PT.3SG.M you kick-AP break-IMP one.pull-AB  
 “The darned boy hurt us. You break it down by one kick.”

3'07 *ate lo:q-omte ta:n nijg-en ca:r-pobi*  
 otherwise be.able-NG.PR.2SG.M then you-AC four-cross.section  
*murk-anam a:n-naray*  
 cut.across-FT.1PL.E say-PR.3PL  
 “Otherwise, if you cannot, then we will cut you in four slices.” They  
 said this.

3'11 *andi indru kud-a:nah a:q-i-nte elcy-ah*  
 then what do-FT.3SG.M there-AB be.afraid.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 What did he do? He got scared then.

3'14 *ikleko malni se awd-a a:n-ka aca a:n-ka boh-ek-ka*  
 how woman EPH speak-PT.3SG say-CP okay say-CP run-go.B2-CP  
*usty-ah ust-a tary-ahay*  
 kick.B2-PT.3SG.M kick-AP break.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Saying, “[I’ll do] just as the woman told,” he went running and kicked.  
 He kicked and broke it down.

3'20 *tar-ka teyo-ko me:nd-ayay me:ndo-ko sa:t tarqla ʔe:ʔel*  
 break-CP send-CP burn-PT.3PL burn-CP seven parts ground

*bi:gr-a.yi*

break.up-PR.PRF.3SG.NM?

After he broke it down, they burned it. After they burned it, the earth opened up in seven parts.

3'28 *bi:gr-ko inor be:q.owa-h et-a:ndah be:q.owa-h a:n-nah*  
 break-CP now elder.brother-M go.down-OP.3SG.M elder.brother-M  
 say-PR.3SG.M

When [the earth opened], they said “Let [the eldest brother] go down.”

3'32 *be:do tang-owa-h-ð o:tres-kah a:n-kah*  
 big own-big.brother-M-too lean.forward.B2-CP.3SG.M say-CP.3SG.M  
*e:n lo:q-lan a:n-kah a:h piric-kah*  
 I be.able-NG.PT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M he jump.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*kir-nah*  
 return-PR.3SG.M

The [eldest] brother leaned forward, peeped into [the crack], said “I can’t,” and jumped and went back.

3'36 *a: soy-jen-er alko-hi manj-a:ray andi*  
 that six-person-PL that.way-EPH become.B2-PT.3PL then  
*et-ne tan et-a ate ca:r-pobi*  
 go.down-PR.2SG.M then go.down-IMP otherwise four-cross.section  
*murk-a:nam a:n-na:ray ahe-n sarwe maʔe-r-in*  
 cut.across-FT.1PL.E say-PR.3PL he-AC younger.brother boy-PL-AC  
 Those six people did like that, then they said to the younger boy, “If you go down, go down. Otherwise, we will cut you in four slices.”

3'43 *andi se pit-oti pit-oti hi ok-ner a:n-kah pand-ond*  
 then EPH kill-IF kill-IF EPH sit-PR.3PL say-CP.3SG.M CLF-one  
*suta-n otr-ahay*  
 thread-AC take.out-PT.3SG.M

Then they sat down to kill him. He took out a thread.

3'50 *i: pand-ond suta-n band-in a:-kra argtr-ener bande-ker*  
 this CLF-one thread-AC pull-PR.1SG that-time lift-FT.2PL pull-CP.2PL  
*la:r-in a:-kra band-e: argtr-a a:ny-ahay*  
 shake-PR.1SG that-time pull-CP lift-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, “When I pull this one thread, will you pull it and lift me up?  
 When I shake it, pull it and lift me up.”

3'59 *co:r-ka ety-ahay et-ko awq-a malni*  
 hang-CP go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M go.down-CP say-PT.3SG woman  
 He went down hanging [on the thread]. When he went down, the  
 woman spoke.

4'02 *simbi jaṭa ula ok-ki arsi-t kuk-a*  
 plant.name aerial.roots inside sit-CP.3SG.NM mirror-IN head-AC  
*ɻa:sr-ay*  
 comb.oneself-PT.3SG.NM

She was sitting inside the roots of a Simbi tree and was combing her head using a mirror.

4'07 *ande a:he gurar-nahī gurar-nahī ek-kah*  
 then he walk.around-IPP.3SG.M REP go.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*a: malni-n and-ahay anda-kah ?ō:piji il-nahay*  
 that woman-AC find-PT.3SG.M find-CP.3SG.M back stand-PR.3SG  
*ek-kah*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.M  
 He went walking around, and he went, found that woman and stood back.

4'15 *il-no il-no a: malni and-a:y arsi-pa:w*  
 stand-IPP REP that woman find-PT.3SG.NM mirror-by  
 When he was standing, that woman found [him] with the mirror.

4'18 *andi ultar-ki tund-y-ay tund-ki indr-leko*  
 then turn.back-CP.3SG.NM look.B2-PT.3SG look-CP.3SG.NM what-like  
*male-y indr-leko male-y a:n-no*  
 man-2SG what-like man-2SG say-IPP  
 Then she turned back and saw [him]. When she saw him and said “What kind of man are you? What kind of man are you?”

4'23 *e:n hī:hī:lko-k bārc-ayin eng-abo-h ?otro-h ande*  
 I like.this-DA come.B2-PR.PRF.1SG my-father-M blind-M then  
*ta:rkurci a:the-k a:n-no*  
 plant.name leaf-DA say-IPP  
 he said “I have come here for such and such. My father is blind and [I have come here] for a Tarkurchi leaf.”

4'26 *ni:n lo:y-le:ne a:ny-ay*  
 you be.able-NG.FT.2SG say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 She said, “You will not be able [to get one by yourself].”

4'29 *okk-a a:ny-ay ok-tr-ki mo:n-on*  
 sit-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG.NM sit-CS-CP.3SG.NM maund.CLF-one  
*lahri-n ery-ay ar mo:n-o*  
 parched.rice-AC roast.B2-PT.3SG.NM and maund.CLF-one  
*ko:ye-n*  
 parched.rice-AC  
 She told [him] to sit. Having made him sit down, she roasted a *maund* of *lahri* rice and a *maund* of *koye* rice.

4'35 *a: nadi-n se e:k-nara jity-neri jity-neri ma?pan*  
 that river-AC EPH go-PR.3PL sprinkle-IPP.3PL sprinkle-IPP.3PL animal  
*mo:2-i a:y a:tr-en ar ta:m majt-no e:k-nar*  
 eat-PR.3SG that they-AC and themselves middle-LO go-PR.3PL  
 They went to that river sprinkling it. Animals ate it. And they went in the middle [of them].

4'42 *e:k-ner e:k-ner ālsy-aray āls-kar aye-n*  
 go-IPP.3PL REP arrive.B2-PT.3PL arrive-CP.3PL that-AC

*mo:cy-aray*

cut.B2-PT.3PL

They went and arrived. Having arrived there, they cut it (i.e. the Tarkurchi leaf).

4'49 *mo:c-kar sut-a-pede-k eky-a:ray ar caku mo:yr-ahay*  
 cut-CP.3PL thread-way-DA go.B2-PT.3PL and knife forget-PT.3SG.M  
 After they cut it, they went to the place of the thread. Then they forgot [to take] the knife.

4'52 *mo:c-kah a:t-nihi ki:y-aynahay*  
 cut-CP.3SG.M there-LO.EPH place-PR.PRF.3SG.M  
 After he cut it, he left [the knife] there.

4'55 *andi iye-n pehre-ki ni:n il-oke e:n caku-k*  
 then this-AC take.along-CP.2SG.NM you stand-FT.IMP I knife-DA  
*e:k-in a:n-kah kir-y-ahay kir-ko*  
 go-PR.1SG say-CP.3SG.M return.B2-PT.3SG.M return-CP  
 Then, saying “You take this (leaf) and stand. I will go [and get] a knife,” he went back.

5'02 *teh-abalo a:hu kirc-ahay andi a: malni sut-a*  
 tell-NG.AP he return.B2-PT.3SG.M then that woman thread  
*la:ry-ay*  
 shake-PT.3SG.NM  
 He went back, and that woman shook the thread without telling [him].

5'06 *la:r-ko to band-e argtar-ar ɿe:ɿel uʃuhr-aha*  
 shake-CP TOP pull-CP raise-PT.3PL earth get.closed-PT.3SG.M  
*ɿekar-aha ikna:y arg-a:nah*  
 be.hindered-PT.3SG.M how climb-FT.3SG.M  
 When she shook [the thread], they pulled [it] and lift [her] up. He got stuck [in the earth] and ended up there. How will he go up?

5'13 *oca-ka (okka) aye-n asaco-ko tambako neku*  
 take.B2-CP.3SG it-AC foment.B2-CP father well  
*majj-ahay*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After [the elder brothers] took it and applied it as a hot compress, his father got well.

5'17 *a:q-i-n-te a:h to jayjaʃar-ah arg-ot*  
 there-AB he TOP be.in.trouble-PT.3SG.M climb-IF  
 There he (i.e. the youngest brother) had a hard time climbing up.

5'21 *anda cu:ri pehra-kah ɿe:ɿl-ulte-n gurar-nahay*  
 then knife take.along-CP.3SG.M earth-inside-AC walk.about-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he walked around under the ground carrying the knife.

5'25 *gurar-no gurar-no ma?as mu:ɿe ok-i*  
 walk.around-IPP REP CLF-two frog sit-PR.3SG  
 When he walked around, there were two frogs sitting.

5'29 *tahadi*      *nekute-ay*      *ar*      *teho-budjya-k*      *me:y*  
 daughter      well-NM      and      mother-old.woman-DA      illness  
*ko:r-ay*      *mu:?*e  
 enter-PR.3SG.NM frog  
 The daughter was well, but the mother was ill.

5'36 *andi eng-en argtr-a ni:n ate ning-en ca?‑a pit-an*  
 then I-AC raise-IMP you otherwise you-AC stab-AP kill-FT.1SG  
*a:n-nahay*  
 say-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he said, "Lift me up. Otherwise, I will stab and kill you."

5'41 *[en]g-en argtr-a mecca ate ning-en pit-an*  
 I-AC raise-IMP above otherwise you-AC kill-FT.1SG  
 "Lift me up above. Otherwise, I will kill you."

5'47 *andi ek-ki i:h pit-a:nahi dekoke-ya po:ro argtr-e*  
 then go.B2-CP.3SG.NM he kill-FT.3SG.M ITJ-mother child raise-IMP  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then [the daughter frog] went and said, "Look, he will kill [me]. Let's go, lift the boy up."

5'51 *cala:tr-ki*      *pircy-ay*  
 drive-CP.3SG.NM      be.smashed.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*popros-erh-ki*      *jar?y-ay*      *lo:?*-la  
 ONOM-emit.sound-CP.3SG.NM fall.B2-PT.3SG.NM be.able-NG.PT.3SG  
*argtr-ot*  
 raise-IF  
 She tried to lift him up and was squashed. She fell with a thud. She could not lift him up.

5'57 *andi mu:?*e *argtr-a ate pit-an a:ny-ah*  
 then frog raise-IMP otherwise kill-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then he said, "Hey frog! Lift [me] up. Otherwise I will kill [you]."

6'01 *dekoke dudu ate pit-a:nah-i ka:ry-a:nah*  
 ITJ mother otherwise kill-FT.3SG.M-EPH throw.away-FT.3SG.M  
 [The daughter said,] "Let's go, mom. Otherwise he will kill me and throw me away."

6'05 *ni:n anond juwan malni-jahā lo:?*-omti      *e:n jombro*  
 you that.much young woman-even be.able-NG.PR.2SG.NM I ill  
*budjya-malni-n*      *ikna:y lo:?*-an      *a:ny-ay*  
 old.woman-woman-1SG how be.able-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 She said [to her daughter], "Even such a young woman like you cannot [lift him up]. How can a sick old woman like me do so?"

6'11 *dekoke dudu dekoke a:ny-ay elc-ki*  
 ITJ mother ITJ say.B2-PT.3SG.NM fear-CP.3SG.NM  
 She said fearfully "Let's go, mom. Let's go."

6'16 *andi a: jombro ma? cala:tr-ki piri-tr-ay*  
 then that ill one drive-CP.3SG.NM jump.up-CS-PT.3SG.NM  
*ke:ponti e:k-a kat-ki argrtr-ay*  
 at.once go-AP cross-CP.3SG.NM raise-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the sick one lifted [him] up and made [him] jump, and made  
 [him] cross and go up.

6'21 *pe:2el ufuhr-a a:-ma? ett-ot tekar-ay*  
 earth get.closed-PT.3SG that-CLF go.down-IF be.hindered-PT.3SG.NM  
 The earth closed and it got difficult for her to go down.

6'25 *andi inor ning-en to argtr-tan (r)e:n ikna:y ett-an*  
 then now you-AC TOP raise-PT.1SG I how go.down-FT.1SG  
*ma?o-ko:ni a:ny-ay*  
 girl-place say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 "Now I lifted you up. How shall I go down to my daughter's place?"

6'31 *aye-n bawnar-ni ni:n e:k-oke niyg-en so:na-me:ce ciy-a:n*  
 that-AC worry-IPP you go-IMP.F you-AC gold-jewel give-FT.1SG  
*a:h a:n-kah oc-ahay*  
 he say-CP.3SG.M take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 When she was worrying about it, he said, "Let's go. I will give you  
 gold and jewels," and took [her].

6'35 *ta:ke u:r-i a: am-no ok-tr-aynahay*  
 wind blow-PR.3SG that water-LO sit-CS-PR.PRF.3SG.M  
 He made [her] sit in the water [where] wind blew.

6'38 *ekdom cocre:tr-ni oy-iyay am-an*  
 at.once go.here.and.there-IPP.3SG.NM take-PR.3SG.NM water-AC  
 [The wind blew] here and there, and took [her] to the water.

6'40 *indr-leko lab.?ani a:n-no ɔ:=l̥e ikdan-hi qo:k-an e:n*  
 what-like fine say-IPP yes=ITJ where-EPH stay-FT.2SG.M I  
*ekdom lab.?ani a:ny-ay*  
 at.once fine say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 When he said, "How are you? Are you fine?" the frog said, "Yes. I  
 will stay somewhere. I am fine."

6'45 *ani andi se mu:2e i: de:si-no bey-iyay*  
 then thus EPH frog this land-LO be-PR.3SG.NM  
 That is why frogs are on this land.

6'48 *adi-nte ek-kah tambako-n awq-nahay*  
 there-AB go.B2-CP.3SG.M father-AC speak-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he went to his father['s place] and said [to him],

6'53 *indr-leko bagman malni se ur?-iyca=re*  
 what-like god woman EPH come.out-PR.PRF.3SG.NM=ITJ  
 "Dad, some divine woman came out."

6'55 *ur?-ko i:-man ga:rsigla-n ust-a tar-ker me:nd*  
 come.out-CP this-CLF tree.name-AC kick-AP break-CP.3PL burn.AP

*tey-a a:n-no*  
send-IMP say-IPP  
After [she] came out, she said, "Kick and break down this Garsingla tree and burn it."

7'00 *ust-a tar-ot ho lo:y-lar pit-ot oky-ar eyg-en*  
kick-AP break-IF too be.able-NG.PT.3PL kill-IF sit.B2-PT.3PL I-AC  
"They could not kick it and break it down. They sat down to kill me."

7'04 *adi-n-te me:nda-tat-ko ?e:?lu bi:gr-ko*  
there-AB burn-ECHO-CP earth break.up-CP  
"Then after burning it and so on, the earth opened up."

7'10 *ett-ot elcy-ar andi et-kar mo:c-kar utr-ko*  
go.down-IF fear.B2-PT.3PL then go.down-CP.3PL cut-CP.3PL drop-CP  
*se ni:n nek manj-ay a:ny-ah*  
EPH you well become.B2-PT.3SG.NM say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
"They were scared of going down. Then after I went down and cut [the leaf], you got well." He said this.

7'15 *andi toben i: malni ta niy-ki mese?do*  
then then this woman surely you-GE son's.wife  
*parar-en-i i: bai ma?e-ki se a:ny-ay*  
come.across-FT.3SG.NM this TOP boy-GE EPH say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
Then [the king] said, "Then this woman shall surely be your wife."

7'23 *tambako awd-ah ?otro a:hu lajar-ar*  
father speak-PT.3SG.M blind he be.ashamed-PT.3PL  
*tang-owa-bager lajar-kar a: malni-n ar a:*  
own-brother-PL feel.ashamed-CP.3PL that woman-AC and that  
*ma?e-n akr-aray*  
boy-AC chase.away-PT.3PL  
The father, the blind [king] said this. The brothers got ashamed and chased away that woman and the boy.

7'34 *ante akro-ko boh-kar a?iy?ã jungres-kar*  
and chase.away-CP run.away-CP.3PL that.way make.hut-CP.3PL  
*bey-naray*  
be-PR.3PL  
After being chased away, they ran away, made a hut and lived.

7'38 *bey-no bey-no a: malni-ki ma?e-h manj-ahay*  
be-IPP be-IPP that woman-GE boy-M become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*so:naputro ra:ja*  
PROP king  
While they lived, that woman had a baby boy, King Sonaputro.

7'49 *a: ma?e erh-nah umbl-nahay go?e-hi sona taka*  
that boy defecate-PR.3SG.M urinate-PR.3SG.M all-EPH gold money  
What that boy defecated and urinated were all gold and money.

7'55 *andi ort bikka budhya-ki a.yi ek-ki din-on*  
then one alms old.woman-GE she go.B2-CP.3SG.NM day.CLF-one

ta *tund-ki* kir-y-ay  
 maybe look-CP.3SG.NM return.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then a beggar woman went one day; maybe she saw [him] and went back.

8'01 *a:ti-n-te arhu din-ond eky-ay* *ek-ki*  
 there-AB again day-one go.B2-PT.3SG.NM go.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
 Then she went on another day.

8'05 *are ɻo:ro e:nond a:-wji ja:gu-n gurar* *kud-an e:n*  
 ITJ child how.much that-way food-AC walk.around.AP do-FT.1SG I  
*ning-maɻe-ki go:lwa manj-e* *lap-an dekoke*  
 you-boy-GE baby.sitter become.B2-CP eat-1SG ITJ  
 “Say, how much shall I walk around for food that way [any more]? I will become your son’s babysitter and eat.”

8'11 *mala eyg-eti man-i* *dekorke:hen eyg-eti man-i*  
 no I-IN become-PR.3SG.NM ITJ I-IN become-PR.3SG  
*je a:n-no mala dekoken mala dekoken*  
 but say-IPP no ITJ no ITJ  
 “No, [he gets enough care] from me. [He gets enough care] from me.”  
 When she said this, “No, come on, no, come on.”

8'17 *ki:ɻe-ti* *barce-ki* *awd-i* *kon*  
 hunger-IN come.B2-CP.3SG.NM speak-PR.3SG.NM it.seems  
*a:n-ki* *ojing-ayay*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM finish-PT.3SG.NM  
 Thinking “She seems to have come and be saying [this] out of hunger,” she turned her down.

8'21 *a: toɻo-k hi ka:je-k eky-a* *malni a:-kaɻa*  
 she near-DA EPH job-DA go.B2-PT.3SG woman that-time  
 The woman went to a nearby place for work at that time.

8'25 *erhy-ah* *umbly-ah* *a:tre taka-pesa-n*  
 defecate.B2-PT.3SG.M urinate.B2-PT.3SG.M those money-money-AC  
*sona-gahna-n barce-ki(...)* *a: maɻe-ki a:n-ki*  
 gold-jewel-AC come.B2-CP.3SG.NM that boy-GE say-CP.3SG.NM  
*cicc-ay*  
 give.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 When he defecated and urinated, she gave away the money, gold, and jewels that came out, saying it is from the boy.

8'32 *adi-n-te diga-hi eky-ay* *andi a:-be:ri*  
 there-AB far-EPH go.B2-PT.3SG.NM then that-time  
 She went afar from there at that time.

8'35 *a: maɻe-n pehre-ki* *satra jila kat-ki*  
 that boy-AC take.along-CP.3SG.NM seventeen district cross-CP.3SG.NM  
*pehr-a boh-tr-ay*  
 take.along-AP run-CS-PT.3SG.NM

Taking [him] and having crossed seven districts, [the beggar woman] took the boy away.

8'42 *boh-tr-ko kir-ki tund-i ta:n beyo-h ma?e-h*  
 run-CS-CP return-CP.3SG.NM look-PR.3SG.NM then be.not-M boy-M  
 After [she] took [the boy] away, [the mother] came back and saw that the boy wasn't there then.

8'46 *andi ni:n do:k-o:re e:n ma?e bedd-ot ur?an*  
 then you stay-IMP.M I boy look.for-IF go.out-FT.1SG  
*a:n-ki teho ur?y-ay*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM mother go.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then, saying, "You stay here. I will go out to look for the boy," the mother went off.

8'54 *teho ur?y-ay ur?ki kand-ond dari*  
 mother go.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM go.out-CP.3SG.NM CLF-one cloth  
*pehr ur?y-ay*  
 take.along.AP go.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 The mother went off. When she went off, she took a cloth and went off.

9'01 *jil-ond-ek ek-ki ãlsy-ay*  
 district.CLF-one-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.NM reach.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*ek-ki ãrs-ki ra:ja-ki pokri-bite-no*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM reach-CP.3SG.NM king-GE pond-side-LO  
*ok-ki olh-ay*  
 sit-CP.3SG.NM weep-PT.3SG.NM  
 She went to one district and arrived there. She went and arrived there, sat on the bank of a pond, and cried.

9'09 *andeki ra:ja-ki pulis-bager amy-ot eky-aray*  
 that.way king-GE police-PL bathe-IF go.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then the king's police officers went [there] to take baths.

9'13 *malni ok-ki olh-ay ra:ja-ki pokri-bite-no andi*  
 woman sit-CP.3SG.NM cry-PT.3SG.NM king-GE pond-side-LO then  
*ra:ja-ki pulis-bager amy-ot eky-a:ray*  
 king-GE police-PL bathe-IF go.B2-PT.3PL  
 The woman sat down and cried at the bank of the pond. The king's police officers went [there] to take baths.

9'21 *ek-kar amc-a kir-kar teh-naray ra:ja-n*  
 go.B2-CP.3PL take.bath.B2-CP return-CP.3PL tell-PR.3PL king-AC  
 They went, took baths, returned and told [it to] the king.

9'24 *indr-leko malni-n oc-aynay ni:n*  
 what-like woman-AC take.B2-PR.PRF.2SG.M you  
 "[Your Majesty,] what a [beautiful] woman did you receive [as a wife]!"

9'28 *pokri-bite-no ok-ki olh-ay ci:g be:r*  
 pond-side-LO sit-CP.3SG.NM weep-PT.3SG.NM much sun

*narh-na:nd-i* *a:yi se ra:ja-n teh-naray*  
 rise.up.in.a.flame-seem-PR.3SG.NM she EPH king-AC tell-PR.3PL  
 They told the king, “She was crying sitting at the bank of the pond.  
 She was just like the sun shining.”

9'33 *andi ek-kar erk-a tobe ja:yg-e ondr-oka a:n-kah*  
 then go.B2-CP.3PL go-IMP then call-CP bring-IMP say-CP.3SG.M  
*ja:yg-tr-aray*  
 call-CS-PT.3PL  
 Then [the king] said, “Go, call her and bring her,” and made [them]  
 call her.

9'37 *andi e:n ra:ja-ko:ni indrik e:k-an e:n dari-n bi:s-a*  
 then I king-place why go-FT.1SG I cloth-AC sell-AP  
*kud-in a:ny-ay*  
 walk.around-PR.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 “Why shall I go to the king’s place? I am going around selling cloth.”

9'41 *andi ra:ja-ko:ni e:k-lan e:n dari-n bi:s-a*  
 then king-place go-NG.FT.1SG I cloth-AC sell-AP  
*kud-in a:n-i ta?me a:n-no*  
 walk.around-PR.1SG say-3SG ITJ say-IPP  
 “She says, ‘I will not go to the king’s place. I am going around selling  
 cloth.’” When they said this,

9'45 *indr-leko dari-n ?e:h-an erk-a ja:yg ondr-oka*  
 what-like cloth-AC buy-FT.1SG go-IMP call.AP bring-IMP  
*a:ny-ah*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 he said, “I will buy whatever cloth [it may be]. Go, call and bring  
 her.”

9'48 *andi ja:yg-a oca-kar ra:ja-h dari ?e:h-a:nah a:n-no*  
 then call-AP take.B2-CP.3PL king-M cloth buy-FT.3SG.M say-IPP  
 Then when [they] said, “The king will buy [your] cloth,” and called  
 her.

9'52 *ek-ki mutyond-hi co:c eky-ay*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM at.once-EPH rise.B2.AP go.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*ek-ki ikleko dari otr-ehe a:ny-ah*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM what.like cloth take.out-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 She went. She stood up at once and went. When she went [to his  
 place, the king] said, “What cloth [do you have]? Take it out.”

9'57 *kand-ond dari-n otre-ki tay-ay*  
 CLF-one cloth-AC take.out-CP.3SG.NM send-PT.3SG.NM  
*jil-ond ut-ay ke:ponti kand-onde-hi*  
 district.CLF-one cover-PT.3SG.NM at.once CLF-one-EPH  
 She took out a piece of cloth and sent it forward. Just one cloth cov-  
 ered one district at once.

10'05 *adj-n-te jil-ond ufo-ko are e:n i: daři-n ɻe:h-ot*  
 there-AB district.CLF-one cover-CP ITJ I this cloth-AC buy-IF  
*lo:r-lan a: soy ra:ja-jila kat-ki erk-a*  
 be.able-NG.FT.1SG that six king-district cross-CP.2SG.NM go-IMP  
*sonaputro ra:ja ɻe:h-anah*  
 PROP king buy-FT.3SG.M  
 Then, after [the cloth] covered one district, [the king said,] “I will not  
 be able to buy this cloth. Go across six districts. King Sonaputro will  
 buy it.”

10'15 *andi tang-ma?e-na:mi-n to mepj-a eky-ay*  
 then own-son-name-AC TOP hear.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*ek-ki ɻ̃s̃y-ay*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM arrive.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then she heard her son’s name. She went and arrived.

10'22 *ɻ̃s̃-ki aro pokri-bite-no ok-ki olh-iyay*  
 arrive-CP.3SG.NM again pond-side-LO sit-CP.3SG.NM cry-PR.3SG.NM  
 Having arrived [at King Sonaputro’s place], she sat on the bank of a  
 pond and cried again.

10'27 *olh-no olh-no aro amy-ot eky-aray ahe-ki pulis-bager*  
 cry-IPP cry-IPP again bathe-IF go.B2-PT.3PL he-GE police-PL  
*eky-ar*  
 go.B2-PT.3PL  
 When she was crying, his (i.e. the son’s) police officers went [there]  
 to take baths.

10'33 *amc-a kir-kar teh-naray ni:n oc-ayne*  
 bathe.B2-AP return-CP.3PL tell-PR.3PL you take.B2-PR.PRF.2SG.M  
 Having taken baths, they went back and told [the king and asked]  
 “[Your Majesty,] did you take [her as your wife]?”

10'35 *indr-pade ne: ikni pokri-bite-no ok-ki olh-a (ji:k)*  
 what-like who how pond-side-LO sit-CP.3SG.NM weep-PT.3SG  
*be:r narh-nah andi se teh-no*  
 sun rise.up.in.a.flame-PR.3SG.M thus EPH tell-IPP  
 “What [woman], who, how?” When they told [him] “She sat down on  
 the bank of a pond and was crying. [She was] shining like the sun.”

10'44 *andi sonaputro awd-nah toben erk-a ja:yg-e ondr-oka*  
 then PROP say-PR.3SG.M then go-IMP call-CP bring-IMP  
 Then Sonaputro says, “Then go, call and bring her.”

10'48 *a:n-keh e:k-a ning-en sonaputro ja:yg-tr-nah*  
 say-CP.3SG.M go-IMP you-AC PROP call-CS-PR.3SG.M  
 He said this, [and the policemen said] “Let’s go, Sonaputro made [us]  
 call you.”

10'52 *a:n-ko muty-ond co:c eky-a ek-ki a:he*  
 say-CP fist-one rise.B2.AP go.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-CP.3SG.NM he

*ok-nah      mejc-no ok.ety-ay*  
 sit-PR.3SG.M seat-LO sit.downB2-PT.3SG.NM  
 When [they] said this, she stood up at once and went. She went and sat down on the throne [where] he sits.

10'57 *andi awdy-a      ur?-ki      ma?e-mejc-no indrik*  
 then speak.B2-PT.3SG come.out-CP.3SG.NM boy-seat-LO why  
*okket-i      eng-ma?e-mejc-no indrik a:ny-a*  
 sit.down-PR.3SG my-boy-seat-LO why say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then [the beggar woman] said, “Why does she come out and sit down on my boy’s throne? Why do you [sit down] on my boy’s throne?”

11'03 *i: ayo-d      eng-ma?e-h a:ny-a      a: ayo-d*  
 this mother-NM my-boy-M say.B2-PT.3SG that mother-NM  
*eng-ma?e-h ji:k-be:r jagl-aray*  
 I-boy-M all-day fight-PT.3PL  
 This mother said “It’s my boy,” and that mother said “It’s my boy.”  
 They fought all day.

11'08 *a:h to adyar-aynah      ikay se eng-dudu ta:n muskil*  
 he TOP be.confused-PT.3SG.M which EPH my-mother then difficult  
*mayj-a*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG  
 He got confused, [thinking] “Which is my mother?” Then it became difficult.

11'14 *muskil mayja-ka      ilko-t      mal-le:ni      a:n-kah*  
 difficult become.B2-CP this.way-IN be-NG.FT.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M  
 When it became difficult, he said, “It cannot stay like this.”

11'19 *pa:ndu pokri ?oh-tr-ahay*  
 CLF.two pond cut-CS-PT.3SG.M  
 He made [his men] dig two ponds.

11'23 *pokri      ?oh-tr-ahay      ?oh-tr-kah      pa:n-onond-no*  
 pond cut-CS-PT.3SG.M cut-CS-CP.3SG.M CLF-each.one-LO  
*ort-onon      ild-ahay*  
 one.person-each make.stand-PT.3SG.M  
 He made [them] enter the pond and made each stand in each [pond].

11'29 *ni:n eng-dudu-y      ta:n katyo dudi-n pi:?-ki*  
 you my-mother-2SG then a.little milk-AC squeeze-CP.2SG.NM  
*tey-eni      a:y pokry-ond      man-e:ni*  
 send-FT.2SG.NM that pond.CLF-one become-FT.3SG.NM  
 “If you are my mother, squeeze and drop a little milk. It [will become] a pond.”

11'34 *ar ni:n eng-dudu-y      ta:n katyo dudi-n pi:?-ki*  
 and you I-mother-2SG then a.little milk-AC squeeze-CP.2SG.NM  
*tey-eni      a:y pokry-ond      man-eni*  
 send-FT.3SG.NM that pond.CLF-one become-FT.3SG.NM

And [to the other woman he said,] “If you are my mother, squeeze and drop a little milk. It will become a pond.”

11'38 *a: teho-t a:y pi:ʔy-ay pokry-ond*  
 that mother-IN that squeeze.B2-PT.3SG.NM pond.CLF-one  
*manj-a(r)*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG  
 That [milk] which was squeezed by the mother became a pond.

11'40 *a: boh-tr-aca cambr-budqiya dudi*  
 that run.away-CS-PT.PRF.3SG be.crooked-old.woman milk  
*bey-no se urʔ-eni pi:ʔy-ay lawra*  
 be-IPP EPH come.out-FT.3SG.NM squeeze.B2-PT.3SG.NM penis  
*urʔ-eni*  
 come.out-FT.3SG.NM  
 The wicked old woman [who] had abducted [him] — Had there been milk, it would have come out. She squeezed, and a penis came out.

11'48 *a: ra:mra:ʃ manj-ayay toʔr-a*  
 that Ram's.reign become.B2-PT.3SG.NM be.finished-PT.3SG  
 [Then] it became a perfect reign. [The story] ends [here].

### §23 Story of a lazy orphan (S).

Told by Mr. Kalu Pahariya (Malpahariya) of Tugutola, P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur. Recorded in Paderkola B (Dumbri) on March 9, 2008.

0'05 *e:n pa:n-ond kahani teh-ot e:k-in*  
 I CLF-one story tell-IF go-PR.1SG  
 I am going to tell a story.

0'08 *ortu maʔe-h manj-ah*  
 one boy-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 There was a boy.

0'11 *ahe-ki tambako teho-tambako-r bey-lar*  
 he-GE father mother-father-PL be-NG.PT.3PL  
 He had no parents.

0'14 *ahe-ki tang-be:qo=du:re becy-a*  
 he-GE own-grandmother=only be.B2-PT.3SG  
 He had only a grandmother.

0'16 *ande tang-be:qo=du:re becy-a ande*  
 then own-grandmother=only be.B2-PT.3SG then  
*tang-be:qo-ki saba-n me:n-lah*  
 own-grandmother-GE story-AC listen-NG.PT.3SG.M  
 [He] had only a grandmother. He did not listen to what she said.

0'21 *dine-nihi a:h ino ano gurar-ot urʔy-ah*  
 day-LO.EPH he here there walk.around-IF go.out.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He went out here and there for a walk every day.

0'23 *tang-be:qo-ki saba-n me:n-lah ar*  
 own-grandmother-GE story-AC listen-NG.PT.3SG.M and

*tang-be:do kajak ki:re-t hi do:ky-a*  
 own-grandmother much hunger-IN EPH stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 He did not listen to his grandmother. And she was living in great hunger.

0'28 *kajak ki:re-no becy-a andi a: ma?e-h dine-ni*  
 much hunger-LO be.B2-PT.3SG then that boy-M day-LO.EPH  
*eky-ah*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 She was living in great hunger, and that boy went out every day.

0'32 *man-ond ek-kah pi?a-man-ik ek-kah-tatkah*  
 tree.CLF-one go.B2-CP.3SG.M bread-tree-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.M-ECHO  
*dine-ni pi?a mi:n-eh*  
 day-LO.EPH bread eat-FT.3SG.M  
 He went to a tree of bread and was eating bread every day.

0'37 *pi?a mi:n-en ?ajj-e ?at-a mi:n-a mi:n-a do:k-eno*  
 bread eat-FT.1SG bear.fruit-CP give-IMP eat-AP eat-AP stay-FT.1SG  
 “(Singing) I will eat bread. Bear fruits and give [them to me]. I will live eating and eating.”

0'46 *andi dine-ni pa:r-a pa:r-a a: ma?e-h pi?a-man-no nukr*  
 then day-LO.EPH sing-AP sing-AP that boy-M bread-tree-LO swing.AP  
*nukr do:ky-ahay*  
 swing.AP stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Singing and singing, that boy lived swinging under the tree every day.

0'49 *ar tang-be:do-ki saba-ni me:n-omalahay ekdam*  
 and own-grandmother-GE story-AC.EPH listen-NG.PR.3SG.M at.once  
*dine-ni min-a min-a*  
 day-LO.EPH eat-AP eat-AP  
 And he did not listen to his grandmother, just eating and eating every day.

0'53 *a:lk? e:k-nahay arhu nan-dini bijya-kinih? ar*  
 that.way go-PR.3SG.M further other-day dawn.B2-CP.EPH and  
*e:k-nahay ar pi?a mi:n-eh*  
 go-PR.3SG.M and bread eat-FT.3SG.M  
 He went out that way. Then on another day, as soon as it became morning, he went and ate bread.

0'58 *pi?a min-en ?ajj-e ?at-a min-a min-a do:k-ano*  
 bread eat-FT.1SG bear.fruit-CP give-IMP eat-AP eat-AP stay-FT.1SG  
 “(Singing) I will eat bread. Bear fruits and give [them to me]. I will live eating and eating.”

1'02 *andi dine-ni pa:r-a pa:r-a do:k-nahay a: ma?e-h*  
 then day-LO.EPH sing-AP sing-AP stay-PR.3SG.M that boy-M  
 That boy lived singing.

1'05 *ani tang-be:do ki:re-ti do:k-i*  
 then own-grandmother hunger-IN stay-PR.3SG

Then his grandmother was living in hunger.

1'06 *andi din-on<sup>d</sup> tang-be:do kajak ragar-a*  
 then day-one own-grandmother much get.angry-PT.3SG  
*ragar-ki-tatki i: ma?e-n amb-ehe oca-ka*  
 get.angry-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO this boy-AC leave-IMP take.B2-CP  
*e:n pu:ha-ka mo:?-an a:ny-ay*  
 I boil-CP eat-FT.3SG say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then one day, the grandmother got very angry. She got angry and said, "Forget this boy. I will take him, boil him, and eat him."

1'13 *i: ma?e-n oca-kan pu:h-a mo:?-an e:nu a:n-i*  
 this boy-AC take.B2-CP.1SG boil-AP eat-FT.1SG I say-PR.3SG.NM  
 "I will take this boy, boil him, and eat him."

1'16 *a:di-n<sup>t</sup>e arhu (mehn-on<sup>d</sup>)[din-on<sup>d</sup>] arhu a: ma?e-h a:liko*  
 there-AB further (month-one)[day-one] further that boy-M that.way  
*nan-dini bijya-ki e:k-nahay*  
 other-day dawn.B2-CP.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG.M  
 Still, he wouldn't listen. On another day, that boy went out that way when it became morning.

1'21 *ar pi?a min-en ?apnj-e ?at-a min-a min-a do:k-a:ne*  
 and bread eat-FT.1SG bear.fruit-CP give-IMP eat-AP eat-AP stay-FT.1SG  
*a:n-nahay*  
 say-PR.3SG.M  
 And he said, "(Same as 0'58)."

1'26 *a:di-n<sup>t</sup>e tang-be:do din-on<sup>d</sup> eky-a*  
 there-AB own-grandmother day-one go.B2-PT.3SG  
*ek-kid-tatki dekore babu*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO ITJ boy  
 Then the grandmother went out one day. She went and said, "Come on, son."

1'30 *pi?a-n to:ra eyg-e ?at-ore teye-ke a:n-nay*  
 bread-AC a.little I-DA give-IMP.M send-CP.2SG.M say-PR.3SG.NM  
 She said "Send and give me a little bread."

1'33 *a:n-i budija tang-be:do andi a:h tey-a*  
 say-PR.3SG old.lady own-grandmother then he send-AP  
*ciy-omlah*  
 give-NG.PR.3SG.M  
 The woman, the grandmother, said this. Then he did not send and give it to her.

1'37 *a:di-n<sup>t</sup>e arhu tanggo ik.?a:no oc-a ciy-an*  
 there-AB further grandmother where take.B2-CP give-FT.1SG  
*ettra-ka*  
 take.down-CP  
 Then [he said,] "Grandma, where shall I take [bread], take it down and give it to you?"

1'40 *a:di-n-te ar tang-be:do awd-i ettra-ke ɻat-ore a:ny-ay*  
 there-AB and own-grandmother say-PR.3SG take.down-CP give-IMP  
*a:ny-ay*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then the grandmother said, “Bring [some] down and give [it to me].”

1'43 *adj-n-te arhu ettr-lah ciy-omalahay ande a:d ettra-ke ɻat-ore a:ny-ay*  
 there-AB further take.down-NG.PT.3SG.M give-NG.PR.3SG.M then she  
*ettra-ke ɻat-ore a:ny-ay*  
 take.down-CP.2SG.M give-IMP.M say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then again, he did not take [bread] down and give [it to her.] Then  
 she said, “Bring [some] down and give [it to me].”

1'46 *ettr-lah ciy-omalah a:di-n-te arhu*  
 take.down-NG.PT.3SG.M give-NG.PR.3SG.M there-AB further  
*tang-be:do awd-i ettra-ke ɻat-ore a:n-ko*  
 own-grandmother say-PR.3SG take.down-CP.2SG.M give-IMP.M  
*say-CP*  
 He did not give [bread] to her. His grandmother said again, “Bring  
 [some] down and give [it to me].”

1'49 *arhu ettra-ka cic-ah ante arhu a: maɻe-ni arhu tang-nati maɻe-n ke:ponti ettre-ki-tatki*  
 further take.down-CP give.B2-PT.3SG.M then further that  
*maɻe-ni arhu tang-nati maɻe-n ke:ponti* band  
 boy-AC.EPH further own-grandson boy-AC at.once pull.AP  
*ette-ki-tatki*  
 take.down-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO  
 He took [bread] down and gave [it to her]. Then she pulled and took  
 down that boy, her grandson, at once.

1'54 *bora-no bara:tr-ki e:k-i a:y pu:h-a mo:ɻ-oti oy-i*  
 sack-LO fill-CP.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG she boil-AP eat-IF take-PR.3SG  
 She put him in a bag and she went. She took him in order to boil and  
 eat him.

1'59 *pu:h-a mo:ɻ-ot oy-i kum-ki oy-i*  
 boil-AP eat-IF take-PR.3SG take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM take-PR.3SG  
*oy-no oy-no oy-no oy-no kajak kum-ki*  
 take-IPP REP REP REP much take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM  
*oy-i*  
 take-PR.3SG  
 She took him in order to boil and eat him. She carried him on her head  
 and took him. Carrying and carrying, she carried him on her head and  
 took him for a long distance.

2'04 *oy-ne oy-ne ekdam ɻondy-a*  
 take-IPP REP at.once get.tired.B2-PT.3SG  
 Carrying and carrying him, she got very tired.

2'06	<i>pond-ki-tatki</i> get.tired-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO	<i>amn.ki:qe-t</i> thirst-IN	<i>oy-ne</i> take-IPP	<i>oy-ne</i> REP
	<i>pond-ki</i> get.tired-CP.3SG.NM	<i>ettr-a</i> take.down-PT.3SG		
	She got tired; she got tired out of thirst while taking him away, and took him down.			
2'09	<i>ettre-ki-tatki</i> take.down-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO	<i>a:t-no</i> there-LO	<i>se</i> EPH	<i>tund-i</i> look-PR.3SG
	<i>ina-noten</i> this.way-that.way	<i>tund-i</i> look-PR.3SG	<i>andi</i> then	<i>a?a-no</i> there-LO
				<i>tang-samne</i> own-near
	<i>gowar-ma?e-r</i> cowherd-boy-PL	<i>do:k-nar</i> stay-PR.3PL		
	She took him down and looked here and there. Then near her, there were cowherds living there.			
2'14	<i>andi gowar ma?e-r-in</i> then cowherd boy-PL-AC	<i>se me:n-i</i> EPH	<i>babu-trer ik?an</i> ask-PR.3SG boy-PL	<i>am-kuwa</i> where water-well
	<i>ko:q-i</i> lie-PR.3SG	<i>ano gowar ma?e-r awd-naray</i> there cowherd boy-PL say-PR.3PL		
	Then she asked the cowherds. "Boys, is there a well?" Then the cowherds said,			
2'20	<i>ekdom anno oho</i> at.once there	<i>boge e:tr-i</i> thither heron	<i>a?a-no</i> be.visible-PR.3SG	<i>boge</i> heron
	<i>jinp-i</i> be.white-PR.3SG	<i>a?a-no am-kuwa</i> there-LO water-well	<i>ko:d-i</i> lie-PR.3SG	<i>a:n-nah</i> say-PR.3SG
	"There yonder, you can see a heron. There the heron is white. There is a well." He said this.			
2'27	<i>ma?e-r andi awd-i</i> boy-PL then	<i>ekdom bora-n</i> say-PR.3SG at.once	<i>kjne-ki</i> sack-AC	
	<i>ma?e-ki</i> boy-GE			
	The boys said. Then she immediately put down the bag [in which] the boy [is].			
2'30	<i>ahe-n</i> he-AC	<i>tayg-nati-n</i> own-grandson-AC	<i>bara:tr-aca</i> fill-PT.PRF.3SG	<i>bo:ra-n</i> sack-AC
	<i>kjne-ki-tatki</i> put.down-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO	<i>ekdom</i> at.once	<i>am o:n-oti</i> water drink-IF	<i>e:k-i</i> go-PR.3SG
	<i>am-kuwa-k</i> water-well-DA			
	She put down the bag in which she put her grandson, and immediately went to the well to drink water.			
2'35	<i>a:di-n-te eky-a</i> there-AB go.B2-PT.3SG	<i>e:k-ne e:k-ne e:k-ne</i> go-IPP REP REP	<i>ekdam ik.?=a:r-no</i> at.once where-LO heron	
	<i>jinp-i</i> be.white-PR.3SG	<i>boge</i> there-LO EPH	<i>a:d-no se am-kuwa</i> water-well	<i>ko:q-i</i> lie-PR.3SG

Then she went. She went and went, and right where the heron looked white, the well was.

2'41 *andi eky-a ek-ki-tatki inor am-an*  
 then go.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO now water-AC  
*ond-a*  
 drink.B2-PT.3SG  
 She went, and now she drank water.

2'44 *onde-ki-tatki inor pir arhu kir-ki*  
 drink.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO now again further return-CP.3SG.NM  
*bora-k bar-i*  
 sack-AC come-PR.3SG  
 Having drunk [water], she went back again, and went to the bag.

2'47 *a:-kṛa se bo:ṛa-k bar-i (a:pah) a:-kṛa*  
 that-time EPH sack-DA come-PR.3SG that-time  
 At that time, when she was going to the bag,

2'50 *bo:ṛa-k barc āṛs-abalo-hi agdi-hi maṛe-r gowar*  
 sack-DA come.B2.AP arrive-NG.CP-EPH first-EPH boy-PL cowherd  
*maṛe-r arhu maṛe-n kol-kar-tatkar*  
 boy-PL again boy-AC open-CP.3PL-ECHO  
 before she arrived at the bag, the cowherds opened [and let] the boy [out].

2'55 *bo:ṛa-no goga-n ac-an capri-n ind-indru-pade-n*  
 sack-LO rock-AC thorn-AC stone-AC RED-what-like-AC  
*dala-patra-n bara:tr-ka ninda-ka kijn-a*  
 basket-leaf.plate-AC fill-CP fill-CP put.down-AP  
*cic-aynar andi*  
 give.B2-PR.PRF.3PL then  
 They filled the bag with rocks, thorns, stones, and whatever else, basket or leaf plates, and put it down [for him].

3'03 *maṛe-n kol-ka teya-kar a:di-nte arhu malni ekdam*  
 boy-AC open-CP send-CP.3PL there-AB further woman at.once  
*tang-be:do kum-ki oy-i a:y*  
 own-grandmother take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM take-PR.3SG she  
 They opened and let the boy out, then the woman, his grandmother, carried it on her head and took it away at once again.

3'09 *kum-ki oy-no oy-no goga ca?no ac*  
 take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM take-IPP take-IPP rock pierce-IPP thorn  
*ca?no awd-i*  
 pierce-IPP say-PR.3SG  
 While she was carrying it and taking it away, the rocks pricked her, the thorns pricked her, then she said,

3'12 *cing-ore maṛe cing-e cing-e kajak cing-e*  
 pinch-IMP.M boy pinch-IMP pinch-IMP much pinch-IMP  
 “Pinch me, son. Pinch me [with your nails].”

3'14 *ning-en oc-a pu:h-a mo:Ɂ-an e:n*  
 you-AC take.B2-CP boil-AP eat-FT.1SG I  
 “I will take you, boil you, and eat you.”

3'16 *aye-k goga oty-no=ho kas-ɔr maɁe kas-e kajak*  
 she-DA rock press-IPP=too punch-IMP.M boy punch-IMP much  
*kas-e ning-en oy-an ar pu:h-a mo:Ɂ-an e:n*  
 punch-IMP you-AC take-FT.1SG and boil-AP eat-FT.1SG I  
 When the rock pressed her, [she said] “Beat me, boy, beat me a lot. I  
 will take you, boil you and eat you.”

3'21 *a:n-le ekdam kajak kum-ki e:k-i a:d*  
 say-CP at.once much take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG she  
*ekdam tang-be:do kum-ki e:k-i*  
 at.once own-grandmother take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG.NM  
*e:k-ne e:k-ne kajak e:k-i a:y*  
 go-IPP REP much go-PR.3SG she  
 Saying this, the grandmother carried [the bag] and went a lot. Carrying  
 [the bag] on her head, she went and went a lot.

3'27 *adi-nte arhu caɁ-i acu andi arhu awd-i*  
 there-AB further pierce-PR.3SG thorn then further say-PR.3SG  
 Then the thorn pricked her again. Then she said,

3'30 *aye ni:n kajak ni:n cing-a ina*  
 ITJ you much you pinch-IMP today  
 “Oh, you pinch me a lot today.”

3'31 *cing-a ning-eno oy-an ar pu:h-a mo:Ɂ-an e:n ani*  
 pinch-IMP you-AC take-FT.1SG and boil-AP eat-FT.1SG I then  
 “Pinch me. I will take you, boil you and eat you.”

3'34 *adi-nte oy-i oy-no oy-no kajak oy-i*  
 there-AB take-PR.3SG take-IPP take-IPP much take-PR.3SG  
 Then she carried [the bag], and carried a lot.

3'37 *oce-ki oce-ki inor oce-ki-tatki*  
 take.B2-CP.3SG.NM REP now take.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO  
*kol-ki tund-i pu:h-a mo:Ɂ-an ani a: pahr-no*  
 open-CP.3SG.NM look-PR.3SG boil-AP eat-1SG then that time-LO  
*se tund-i*  
 EPH look-PR.3SG  
 She took [the bag], and now she opened and looked in it. [Saying] “I  
 will boil and eat you,” she finally looked [into the bag] at that time.

3'42 *ta:n a:hu goga ar ik.Ɂa:r-no sude goga ar acu se indro*  
 then he rock and where-LO only rock and thorn EPH what  
*bora-no bey-iyay*  
 sack-LO be-PR.3SG.NM  
 Then where is he? Only rocks and thorns were in the bag.

3'51 *ar a: maɁe-h awd-nah a:di-nte oc-e Ɂ̃s-tar-a*  
 and that boy-M say-PR.3SG.M there-AB take.B2-CP arrive-CS-PT.3SG

oc-e      pu:h-a mo:?-an ani  
 take.B2-CP boil-AP eat-FT.1SG then  
 Then the boy said, "She took and brought it, saying 'I will boil and eat [him].'"

3'56 a: pahra-no arhu ekdom indro-ondro-n gormes-i ampatna  
 that time-LO further at.once what-ECHO-AC heat-PR.3SG cauldron  
 andi gormes-ki-tatki      bora-n ettr-ay  
 then heat-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO      sack-AC take.down-PT.3SG.NM  
 kijn-a  
 put.down-PT.3SG  
 At that time, she heated this and that in a cauldron, and having heated [the cauldron], she put down the bag.

4'03 ettre-ki      kipe-ki-tatki      inor  
 take.down-CP.3SG.NM      put.down-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO      now  
 ettr-a  
 take.down-PT.3SG  
 After she took [the bag] down, now she had taken [it] down.

4'06 a:-kara-hū ac caŷ-a      and      cing-ore maðe  
 that-time-too thorn pierce.B2-PT.3SG at.that.time pinch-IMP.M boy  
 cing-e ning-en pu:h-a mo:?-an e:n a:n-i      a:y kajak inor  
 pinch-IMP you-AC boil-AP eat-FT.1SG I say-PR.3SG she much now  
 pu:h-a mo:?-an a:n-i  
 boil-AP eat-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG  
 Even at that time, the thorns were pricking her. Then [she said], "Pinch me, son, pinch me. I will boil you and eat you." She said, "Now I will boil [him] a lot and eat [him]."

4'11 a:-kṛa gormar-ay      a: am-ni  
 that-time become.hot-PT.3SG.NM that water-LO  
 Then into the water which had become hot,

4'13 arhu tang-nati a:hu (?)[k]e:ponti gorme am-nihi a:  
 further own-grandson he at.once hot water-LO.EPH that  
 budjiya-n      tuk-ka tey-ah  
 old.woman-AC push-CP send-PT.3SG.M  
 into the hot water, the grandson pushed that old woman at once.

4'19 ar key-o:k paco      key-o:k paco      ar ur?-ka-tatka  
 and die-OP old.woman die-OP old.woman and go.out-CP-ECHO  
 bohy-ah  
 run.away.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And [saying] "Die, nanny! Die, nanny!" he went off and ran away.

## §24 Story of an orphan and buffaloes (S).

Told by Mr. Ganesh Pahariya of Boro Pahar, P. O. Dumarchir, P. S. Amrapara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Boro Pahar on March 7, 2008.

0'00 *ey-ki na:mi-d gane:s pahariya ar ɻep be:do.pahari ɻep*  
 I-GE name-NM PROP PROP and village PROP village  
*be:do.pahari*  
 PROP  
 My name is Ganesh Pahariya, and [my] village is Boro Pahar.

0'08 *maɻe-r me:n-ke ko:q-u maɻe e:n pa:n-o kata teh-an*  
 child-PL listen-FT.IMP lie.down-PP child I CLF-one story tell-FT.1SG  
 Listen, children, children who are in bed, I will tell [you] a story.

0'18 *paco-pacg manj-a:ray*  
 old.woman-old.man be.B2-PT.3PL  
 There was an old woman and an old man.

0'20 *paco-pacg manja-kar ort maɻe-h jarmar-ahe*  
 old.woman-old.man be.B2-CP.3PL one boy-M be.born-PT.3SG.M  
 There was an old woman and an old man, and a boy was born.

0'26 *ort maɻe-h jarmar-ahe jarmar-ko a: teho-tambako-r*  
 one boy-M be.born-PT.3SG.M be.born-CP that mother-father-PL  
*toɻr-ar*  
 pass.away-PT.3PL  
 After the boy was born, the mother and father passed away.

0'33 *toɻro-ko indru kud-a:nah a: maɻe-h*  
 pass.away-CP what do-FT.3SG.M that boy-M  
 After they passed away, what did the boy do?

0'37 *a:hu ta:the-n pusre-n jambu-n qumbri-n lap-a*  
 he mango-AC kind.of.berry-AC jamun-AC fig-AC eat-AP  
*kud-nah*  
 go.around-PR.3SG.M  
 He was eating mangoes, Pusre berry, Jamun and figs.

0'44 *lap-a kud-nah lap-a kud-nah alko-hi to*  
 eat-AP go.around-PR.3SG.M eat-AP do-PR.3SG.M that.way-EPH then  
*din-ond lap-a kud-nah a:-kra-hi maɻ-ond tu:qdu*  
 day-one eat-AP go.around-PR.3SG.M that-time-EPH CLF-one tiger  
*ar maɻ-ond kisu laga-naɻ-i*  
 and CLF-one pig beat-REC-PR.3SG  
 [The boy] was eating [fruits]. Then one day, when he was eating, a tiger and a pig were fighting.

1'01 *maɻ-ond tu:qdu ar maɻ-ond kisu laga-naɻ-i dihi*  
 CLF-one tiger and CLF-one pig beat-REC-PR.3SG ITJ  
 A tiger and a pig were fighting.

1'05 *laga-naɻ-ko okk-a lap-nah*  
 beat-REC-CP sit-AP eat-PR.3SG.M  
 When they were fighting, he was eating sitting.

1'11 *a:-kra-hi laga-naɻ-ko tu:ɻ lo:ɻ-la kisu*  
 that-time-EPH beat-REC-CP tiger be.able-NG.PT.3SG pig

*lo:ṛc-a*

be.able.B2-PT.3SG

Then they fought and the tiger could not [win]. The pig could.

1'16 *lo:ṛ-loko ar a:rar-kid ar awd-id ki*  
 be.able-NG.CP and be.defeated-CP.3SG.NM and speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP  
*tu:ddu awd-i*  
 tiger speak-PR.3SG  
 Unable to win, defeated, the tiger said,

1'21 *nusgr nusgr amṛ-a:nay sat-dine-dine*  
 rub.oneself.AP REP take.bath-FT.1PL.I seven-day-day  
 "Let us take a bath for seven days rubbing ourselves."

1'24 *ar a:-be:ri laga-na?anay a:n-i*  
 then that-time beat-REC-FT.1PL.I say-PR.3SG  
 "And let us fight at that time." It said this.

1'27 *to a:-be:ri a:h paile e:k-i na:h ek-kahki qumbri-man*  
 then that-time he first go-PR.3SG he go.B2-CP.3SG.M fig-tree  
*ark-kah okk-a qumbri lap-nah*  
 climb-CP.3SG.M sit-AP fig eat-PR.3SG.M  
 At that time, he (i.e. the boy) went first, climbed up a fig tree, and ate figs sitting.

1'33 *a:-kṛa a: qumbri lap-nah a:-kṛa ek-ki*  
 that-time that fig eat-PR.3SG.M that-time go.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
*laga-na?i*  
 beat-REC-PR.3SG  
 When he was eating figs, they went and fought.

1'38 *to kisu sa:t dini ga:de-no loṭar-ayid ar*  
 then pig seven day puddle-LO roll.around-PR.PRF.3SG.NM and  
*tu:dd arohi sa:t dini goga-no kūṭa-no nusgr-ki*  
 tiger further seven day stone-LO stump-LO rub.oneself-CP.3SG.NM  
*tuṛhr-ay*  
 be.broken-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the pig rolled around in the puddle for seven days, and the tiger rubbed itself on stones and stumps for further seven days, and [their hides] were broken.

1'48 *adno tuṛhr-ki-tatki ek-ki laga-na?i*  
 then be.broken-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO go.B2-CP.3SG.NM beat-REC-PR.3SG  
 Then [their hides] were broken, and they went and fought.

1'52 *to kisd ek-ki pa:s-ond (laindru) kisd*  
 then pig go.B2-CP.3SG.NM chunk.CLF-one pig  
*ek-kid pa:s-ond ma:k-a ḡac-kid*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM chunk.CLF-one meat-AC break-CP.3SG.NM  
*otr-i*  
 take.out-PR.3SG

Then the pig went, tore [the tiger's body] and took out a chunk of meat.

1'58 *tu:qd ek-ki kis-ki-n indro pa:s-o ?aj-a*  
 tiger go.B2-CP.3SG.NM pig-GE-AC what chunk.CLF-one dirt-AC  
*?ac-kid ondr-i*  
 break-CP.3SG.NM bring.out-PR.3SG  
 The tiger went, tore the side of the pig's [body] and took out dirt.

2'03 *a:lk a:lk-to ti tu:qd lo:r-la*  
 that.way that.way-IN tiger be.able-NG.PT.3SG  
 The tiger could not win that way.

2'07 *lo:r-loko adi-nite bohy-a*  
 be.able-NG.CP there-AB run.away.B2-PT.3SG  
 Unable [to win], it ran away.

2'10 *boh-ot ke.ba:d a:d ul?ar-ki kir-y-a tu:qdu*  
 run.away-IF after that turn.back-CP return.B2-PT.3SG tiger  
 After the tiger ran away, it turned back and came back.

2'15 *dih top-ond qumbri se mo:c-ka tey-a*  
 ITJ CLF-one fig EPH cut-CP send-PT.3SG  
 It cut a fig and threw it down.

2'19 *a: badja.qo:kla di awq-id are badja.dokla ok-ne*  
 that PROP then speak-PR.3SG.NM ITJ PROP sit-PR.2SG.M  
 It said, "Hey, Bada Dokla, are you sitting?"

2'25 *okk-in e:m kelar-tam e: tund-te ano*  
 sit-PR.1SG we.E play-PT.1PLE ITJ look-PT.2SG.M there  
 "Yes, I am sitting." "Did you see we were playing?"

2'29 *mala tund-layin inor barc-ayin*  
 no look-NG.PR.PRF.1SG now come.B2-PR.PRF.1SG  
 "No, I didn't. I came here just now."

2'32 *mala ni:n tund-te akon teh-ne ta:n tund-ke*  
 no you look-PT.2SG.M it.seems tell-PR.2SG.M then look-FT.IMP  
*ning-en mo:?-an ka a:n-i*  
 you-AC eat-FT.1SG okay? say-PR.3SG  
 It said, "No, apparently you did. If you tell [about it] later, look, then I will eat you, okay?"

2'38 *mala e:n teh-lan a: tund-layin a:n-nah*  
 no I tell-NG.FT.1SG that look-NG.PR.PRF.1SG say-PR.3SG.M  
 He said, "No, I will not tell. I did not see it [in the first place]."

2'43 *di arohi kir-yah kir-ka be:rit sa:rye-t*  
 then further return.B2-PT.3SG.M return-CP in.the.evening friend-IN  
*kody-ah ar kod.ba:sa-no ijnjad-ma?e-h*  
 lie.down.B2-PT.3SG.M and dormitory-LO orphan-boy-M  
 The orphan boy went back, and slept at the youth dormitory with his friends in the evening.

2'51 mane *awq-nah* *eng-enu* *kolro* *pat-ker* *maji*  
 namely speak-PR.3SG.M I-AC leaf.mat sew-CP.2PL middle  
*ki:d-ler* *ta:n e:n kata teh-el* *a:n-nah* *dih*  
 place-SJ.2PL then I story tell-SJ.1SG say-PR.3SG.M ITJ  
 I mean, he said, "If you would sew a leaf mat and roll me up in it, I  
 would tell a story."

3'01 *teh-nahi* mane *kolro* *pat-ker* *maji* *ki:d-ler* *ta:n*  
 tell-PR.3SG.M namely leaf.mat sew-CP.2PL middle place-SJ.2PL then  
*kata teh-el* *a:n-keh* *dih* *teh-nah*  
 story tell-SJ.1SG say-CP.3SG.M ITJ tell-PR.3SG.M  
 He told it. He said, "If you sew a leaf mat and roll me up in it, I will  
 tell a story," and he told it.

3'08 (*la*) *kolro* *pat-kar* *ki:d-a:ar* *ki:do-ko a:hu teh-nah*  
 leaf.mat sew-CP.3PL place-PT.3PL place-CP he tell-PR.3SG.M  
 They sew a leaf mat and rolled him up in it. Then he told [the story].

3'14 *a:-k̥a teh-ka-tatka ?andr-ah*  
 that-time tell-CP-ECHO sleep-PT.3SG.M  
 Then he told [the story] and fell asleep.

3'17 *?andro-ko ekdom a: tu:du korc-a*  
 sleep-CP at.once that tiger enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 After he fell asleep, the tiger came in at once.

3'20 *korc-ed* *a: ma:de-n* *kolro-ta:we-n* *ekdom*  
 enter.B2-CP.3SG.NM that boy-AC leaf.mat-possessed.of-AC at.once  
*band-i* *band-i* *band-i* *band-i oy-i*  
 pull-PR.3SG REP REP REP take-PR.3SG  
 It came in, pulled and pulled the boy who [lay rolled up] in the middle  
 of the leaf mat and took him away.

3'26 *oy-no* *oy-no* *oy-no* *oy-no* *kufa-no* *i:sr-ah*  
 take-IPP REP REP REP stump-LO be.torn-PT.3SG.M  
 It took him away and he was beaten up in a stump.

3'30 *i:sr-ko* *a: ma:de a: kolro-n* *se* *band-ih* *a: ma:de*  
 be.torn-CP that boy that leaf.mat-AC EPH pull-PR.3SG.M that boy  
 After the boy was beaten up, he pulled the leaf mat.

3'34 *ul̥tar-ka* *orh-ik* *boh* *kir-y-ah*  
 turn.back-CP home-DA run.away.AP return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He turned back and ran back to his home.

3'36 *boh* *kir-ot* *ke.ba:d aq'e i: ma:de* *budi-n* *naly-ah*  
 run.AP return-IF after ITJ this boy lie-AC make.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*a:n-i* *budi-n* *naly-ah* *a:n-i* *dih*  
 say-PR.3SG lie-AC make.B2-PT.3SG.M say-PR.3SG ITJ  
 After he ran back home, [they] said, "Hey, this boy fooled [us]. This  
 boy fooled us."

3'44 *a:n-kid* *aro* *be:rit* *kir-ka* *aro* *a:h*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM again in.the.evening return-CP again he

*awq-nah*

speak-PR.3SG.M

They said this. Then in the evening, he came back and said,

3'48 *eyg-en kolro pat-ker kolro-no ki:d-ler ta:n e:n kata*  
I-AC leaf.mat sew-CP.2PL leaf.mat-LO place-SJ.2PL then I story  
*teh-el a:n-nah di*

tell-SJ.1SG say-PR.3SG.M then

“If you sew a leaf mat and roll me up in it, then I will tell a story.” He said this.

3'55 *kolro pat-kar male-n bara:tr-la inad mane goga*  
leaf.mat sew-CP.3PL person-AC fill-NG.PT.3SG that namely stone  
*bara:tr-ok-kar kolro-n ki:d-aynar*  
fill-sit-CP.3PL leaf.mat-AC place-PR.PRF.3PL

They sew a leaf mat, and instead of putting a man in it, they filled it with stones and put it [there].

4'03 *inbani gifti (baindro) bicra-bara:tr-kar (dihai) bara:tr-kar*  
this.small rubble put.in-fill-CP.3PL fill-CP.3PL  
*ki:do-ko aro teh-nah*  
place-CP again tell-PR.3SG.M

Then they filled it with this tiny rubble, put it, and he told [the story].

4'10 *ma?e-r arde-hi a:n-keh mane tu:qdu arohi kisdu ekpar*  
boy-PL thus-EPH say-CP.3SG.M namely tiger further pig play.off  
*may-na?y-a laga-na?ki lo:y-leki*  
place-REC.B2-PT.3SG beat-REC-CP.3SG.NM be.able-NG.CP.3SG.NM  
He said, “Boys, it is like this,” [and told the story.] “The tiger and the pig set a play-off match, fighting but unable [to win].”

4'19 *to e:n qumbri lap-ot se ek-kan okk-in*  
then I fig eat-IF EPH go.B2-CP.1SG sit-PR.1SG  
“I went to eat figs and was sitting.”

4'23 *a:-kra ekpar may-na?kid inalko e:n ek-kan*  
that-time duel place-REC-CP.3SG.NM that.way I go.B2-CP.1SG  
*okk-in a:-kra*  
sit-PR.1SG that-time  
“Then they were having a duel, and I went and was sitting then that way.”

4'28 *igo-hi tu:qd ek-kid pa:s-o ?aj-a*  
true-EPH tiger go.B2-CP.3SG.NM chunk.CLF-one earth-AC  
*?a:r-kid otr-i*  
bite.off-CP.3SG.NM take.out-PR.3SG  
“The tiger went straight, bit off the pig[’s body] and took out a chunk of dirt.”

4'33 *kisd ek-kid pa:s-o ma:k-a ?ac-kid*  
pig go.B2-CP.3SG.NM chunk.CLF-one meat-AC break-CP.3SG.NM

*otr-i*  
take.out-PR.3SG  
“The pig went, broke the tiger[’s body] and took out a chunk of meat.”

4'36 *alko alko-ti tu:q lo:r-la lo:r-loko*  
that.way that.way-IN tiger be.able-NG.PT.3SG be.able-NG.CP  
*bohy-a tu:dd a:rar-a a:n-ko*  
run.away.B2-PT.3SG tiger be.defeated-PT.3SG say-CP  
“[Fighting] that way, the tiger could not [win] and ran away. The tiger  
was defeated.”

4'43 *ante tu:dde lo:r-la a:di-nte indru kudy-ah*  
and tiger be.able-NG.PT.3SG there-AB what do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
“The tiger could not win.” What did he do then?

4'51 *pusr-man-ik ark-ka a: pusre-n se nunh-a*  
kind.of.berry-tree-DA climb-CP that kind.of.berry-AC EPH swallow-AP  
*fanh-kah ok-nah*  
fill.up-CP.3SG sit-PR.3SG.M  
He climbed up a Pusre tree, ate Pusre berry, filled up on it and was  
sitting.

4'57 *a:-kra a:-ma? tu:d-d ekk-iyi*  
that-time that-CLF tiger-NM go-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
At that time, that tiger has arrived.

4'59 *amb-a-ta (bodar) bадa.dokla i:ko budi nal-nah*  
leave-IMP-will.you PROP this.way lie do-PR.3SG.M  
“Stop it, Bada Dokla. He is fooling me this way.”

5'02 *ar amb-a iko-be:ri jokar nan-ki dagar-a adi-k*  
and leave-IMP what-time meeting do-CP.3SG.NM talk-IMP that-DA  
*igo-hi ek-ki jokar-ayi*  
true-EPH go.B2-CP.3SG.NM meet-PR.PRF.3SG  
[He said,] “No, no. Sometime [we will] meet and talk.” And actually  
it went and met him.

5'07 *jokar-ki awd-i ki o: bадa.dokla ej-ge anond*  
meet-CP.3SG.NM speak-PR.3SG COMP ITJ PROP I-DA that.much  
*budi nal-u ahi-n mo:?-an a:n-i*  
lie do-PP he-AC eat-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG  
They met and it said, “O Bada Dokla, who fooled me that much. I  
will eat him.”

5'13 *ti:ke-di mo:?-eni dekoke*  
well-NM.EPH eat-FT.2SG.NM ITJ  
“Well, you are going to eat me, right?”

5'16 *pa:re eng-en kalk-a tar-a tar-a mo:?-no nunj-eni ta:nu*  
but I-AC gnaw-AP break-AP REP eat-IPP sore-FT.2SG.NM then  
“But when you gnaw me, break me, and eat me, it will hurt.”

5'24 *e:nu o:na da:ri etro-dar:i sa:mne pat-o ta.ya-k*  
I that branch lower-branch in.front CLF-one cooking.pot-DA

*ahal-ki* mane *mineʔ-ki* *ok-a*  
 gape-CP.2SG.NM namely shut.eye-CP.2SG.NM sit-IMP  
 “Under that branch, the lower branch, sit that way opening [your  
 mouth like] a cooking pot, with your eyes shut.”  
 5'35 *da:ne-n co:r-et-kan* *toro-nihi* *korc-a* *ciy-an*  
 gift-AC hang-go.down-CP.1SG mouth-LO.EPH enter.B2-AP give-FT.1SG  
*nunh-eni* *a:-kra* *nunj-le:ni*  
 swallow-FT.2SG.NM that-time hurt-NG.FT.2SG.NM  
 “I will hang and drop a gift and make it fall right into your mouth.  
 You will swallow it and there will be no pain.”  
 5'40 *a:n-ko igjo-hi* *ano* *ahal-ki* *miniʔ-kid* *okk-i*  
 say-CP true-EPH there gape-CP.3SG.NM shut.eyes-CP.3SG.NM sit-PR.3SG  
 When he said this, it gaped [its mouth], shut its eyes and was sitting.  
 5'46 *a:-kra* *pusre* *nunah-tar-ki* *ade-n* *ekdam*  
 that-time kind.of.berry swallow-CS-CP.3SG that-AC at.once  
*toro-nihi* *cerar-kah* *cic-ah*  
 mouth-LO.EPH defecate-CP.3SG.M give.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then after he let it swallow Pusre berry, he dropped his feces right  
 into its mouth.  
 5'51 *ti* *pit-te=re* *bada.dokla* *pit-te=re* *bada.doklo* *ayi*  
 and kill-PT.2SG.M=ITJ PROP kill-PT.2SG.M=ITJ PROP it  
*boh-id* *e:k-id* *ar* *a:hu* *boh-nah*  
 run.away-PR.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG.NM and he run.away-PR.3SG.M  
*ekdom*  
 at.once  
 It went running, saying “You have killed [me], Bada Dokla!” And he  
 ran away at once.  
 5'57 *boh-nah* *a:h-ð* *boh-te* *boh-te* *eky-ah*  
 run.away-PR.3SG.M he-too run-AP REP go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ek-kah* *ek-kah* *digro* *bohy-ah*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.M REP long run.away.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He ran away, too. He went running. He went and ran for a long  
 distance.  
 6'03 *boh-kah* *name* *name* *bais* *manuhdu* *baridi-d*  
 run.away-CP.3SG.M we.I we.I buffalo buffalo cattle-NM  
*a:n-nay*  
 say-PR.1PL.I  
 He ran away. Now [in our speech], we call the buffalo *manuhdu*  
*baridi*.  
 6'13 *o:na* *ma?pan* *kody-a* *manuhdu* *o:nah* *adi-k*  
 that animal lie.down.B2-PT.3SG buffalo he that-DA  
*ek-kah* *ãrsy-ah*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.M reach.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Those animals, buffaloes, were lying. He went and reached them.

6'18 *to gobri-d dippe ma?pan ko:q-id ad-ki*  
 then cow.dung-NM pile animal lie.down-PR.3SG.NM that-GE  
 Then the animals were lying [on] the pile of their cowdungs.

6'22 *a: pi:k-mece ko:q-i pi:k-mece ko:q-i potte*  
 that dung-above lie.down-PR.3SG dung-above lie.down-PR.3SG ITJ  
*inogur ma?pandu aruhi indr-leko da:nar*  
 this.much animal further what-like on.earth.ITJ  
 They lay on top of the cowdung. Boy, [they are] such big animals!  
 What on earth [would that have been] like?

6'28 *inond pi:k-meca ko:q-ide a:n-kah*  
 this.much dung-above lie-PR.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M  
*ery-ah*  
 sweep.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 As they were lying on such cowdung, he cleaned it.

6'32 *er-ka-ba:k-kah balahne ?ã?ram-man koygro*  
 sweep-CP-scrape-CP.3SG.M large Karam-tree hollow  
*becy-ad aye-k se korc-ah ok-ka*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-DA EPH enter.B2-PT.3SG.M sit.B2-CP  
*?andar-nah*  
 sleep-PR.3SG.M  
 After he swept and scraped, there was a hollow of a big Karam tree.  
 He entered it, sat and slept.

6'40 *kir-i manhu kir-ki tund-i ne: acca*  
 return-PR.3SG buffalo return-CP.3SG.NM look-PR.3SG ITJ okay  
*inogur dine name pi:k-meca pi:k-no kod-tay*  
 this.much day we.I dung-above dung-LO lie.down.B2-PT.1PL.I  
*pi:k-meca pi:k-no kod-tay*  
 dung-above dung-LO lie.down.B2-PT.1PL.I  
 The buffaloes came back and saw it. “Oh my goodness, we were lying  
 on top of the cowdung, in the cowdung, for so many days? We were  
 lying on top of the cowdung, in the cowdung.”

6'48 *ar inor indr-ma? barc-ed ilko sapa*  
 and now what-CLF come.B2-CP.3SG.NM this.way cleaning  
*nal-yi indru ma?du*  
 do-PR.PRF.3SG what creature  
 “And now what came and cleaned?”

6'52 *hayre.ba:pre may-na?i mane ci:g ekki:ba:re hi*  
 ITJ do-REC-PR.3SG namely very making.a.fuss EPH  
*may-na?i*  
 do-REC-PR.3SG  
 They were saying “Oh my goodness” to each other, and they were  
 making quite a fuss.

6'57 *may-na?ki-tatkid a:di-nite kiry-a ar*  
 do-REC-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO there-AB return.B2-PT.3SG and

tahrar-a                    tahrar-kid                    ni:n            kod-a  
 fall.asleep-PT.3SG    fall.asleep-CP.3SG.NM    you            lie.down.B2-AP  
 ɻa:p-oke                    a:n-ki                    mu:la-maɻa-n ɻa:p-tr-a  
 keep.guard-IMP.NM    say-CP.3SG.NM    chief-one-AC    wait-CS-PT.3SG  
 After that, they went back then. And they fell asleep. Then [the buffaloes] said, “Keep guard of us lying,” and made the chief buffalo stand watch.

7'08 mu:la-maɻa-n ɻa:p-tr-ko be:r et-e                    lagy-a                    a:-kra  
 chief-one-AC    wait-CS-CP sun go.down-VN start.B2-PT.3SG that-time  
 a: awd-i  
 that speak-PR.3SG  
 When they made the chief buffalo stand watch, the sun started to set. Then it said,

7'14 pote a:trer hõ min-ki                    moɻ-ki                    kir-id  
 ITJ    they    too eat-CP.3SG.NM eat-CP.3SG.NM return-PR.3SG.NM  
 a:-kra    eng-e hõ ki:re men-id                    e:n hõ ek-kan  
 that-time I-DA    too hunger become-PR.3SG.NM I    too go.B2-CP.1SG  
 adno carc-a                    bar-an                    a:n-ki  
 then walk.around.B2-CP come-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.NM  
 “When they also graze and come back, I will feel hungry, too. I will go, walk around and come, too.”

7'22 co:c-ed                    eky-a                    e:k-nihi                    adɻan                    a: maɻe  
 rise.B2-CP.3SG.NM    go.B2-PT.3SG    go-IPP                    there            that boy  
 ɻaɻam-kongro-nte                    urɻ-kah                    ada-no                    a:h ada-no  
 Karam.tree-hollow-AB    come.out-CP.3SG.M    that-LO            he            that-LO  
 ada-no                    er-ka                    ba:k-ka                    korc-ah  
 that-LO                    sweep-CP.3SG    scrape-CP.3SG                    enter.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 tahrar-ah  
 fall.asleep-PT.3SG.M  
 They got up and went. When they are gone, then he came out of the hollow of the Karam tree, swept and scraped clean there, went into [the hollow] and slept.

7'30 ba:pre lo:rce-ii                    lo:r-layin                    ba:pre ikin-leko  
 ITJ    be.able.B2-PT.2SG.NM be.able-NG.PR.PRF.1SG ITJ    how-like  
 de lo:r-layni                    a:n-ka  
 ITJ be.able-NG.PR.PRF.2SG.NM say-CP.3SG  
 “Could you [see who it was]?” “No, I couldn’t.” “Good heavens! How come you couldn’t [see it]?”

7'36 maɻ-ondu biyatr-ot nal-u o:na ga:y-a ki:d-ar                    nan dina  
 CLF-one    deliver-IF do-PP that cow-AC place-PT.3PL other day  
 One buffalo cow that worked as a midwife delivered a buffalo cow on another day.

7'43 o:na ga:y-a ki:do-ko a:-maɻ ga:ydu hõ kod-a                    ɻa:p-a  
 that cow-AC place-CP that-CLF cow    too lie.down.B2-CP watch-AP

kod-a              ?a:p-a        hi        ko:d-ni-tatni-d        igjoho  
 lie.down.B2-CP    watch-AP      EPH      lie.down-IPP-ECHO-NM    true  
 biyatr-a  
 deliver-PT.3SG  
 That buffalo cow made another buffalo cow lie, and lying and watching, it delivered it safely.

7'53 biyatr-ko-tatko adi-k hō ki:re menj-a  
 deliver-CP-ECHO that-DA too hunger become.B2-PT.3SG  
 After [the midwife buffalo] delivered [a buffalo], it also felt hungry.

7'58 a:di-nte a:d hō be:rit              jogar-ayi  
 there-AB that too in.the.evening go.away-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
 Then it also went away [to the market] in the evening.

8'01 to arhu ur?kah              a:h konygro-nte ur?kah  
 then again come.out-CP.3SG.M he hollow-AB come.out-CP.3SG.M  
 aruhi aruhi er-ka              ba:k-ka        bacru-n se cum?-a  
 further further sweep-CP.3SG scrape-CP.3SG calf-AC EPH kiss-AP  
 cum?-a ok-nah  
 REP        sit-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he (i.e. the boy) came out of the hollow again, swept and scraped again, and was sitting kissing the calf.

8'11 a:di-nte ekdam a: ga:y boh-nid        kirya-a  
 there-AB at.once that cow run-IPP.3SG.NM return.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then that buffalo came back running at once.

8'15 ande-ki              ekdam (ma?e) ma?e-n ekdam pete-kid  
 find-CP.3SG.NM at.once        boy-AC at.once take.up.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
 ekdam i:-qara marg-ik katr-i        a:-qara marg-ik katr-i  
 at.once this-CLF horn-DA carry-PR.3SG that-CLF horn-DA carry-PR.3SG  
 After it found him, it took him up at once and carried him on one horn and on the other.

8'22 ekdam nald-id              ahe-n di        a:hu olh-ot ok-nah  
 at.once make.dance-PR.3SG.NM he-AC then he        cry-IF sit-PR.3SG.M  
 It made him dance, and he was about to cry (lit. he sat down to cry).

8'25 di olh-omka olh-omka a:n-ih  
 then cry-NG.IMP cry-NG.IMP say-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he said, "Don't cry, don't cry!"

8'27 a:di-nte ahe-n ettr-a              ettre-kid              capro  
 there-AB he-AC bring.down-PT.3SG bring.down-CP.3SG.NM lac  
 sindra cic-a  
 vermillion give.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then it brought him down, and then gave him lac and vermillion.

8'33 capro sindra cic-ed        awd-i        ki        are ni:nu agdu  
 lac        vermillion give.B2-CP speak-PR.3SG COMP ITJ you        first  
 manj-ed              bar-id              a: ma?e-ki boh-ney  
 become.B2-CP.3SG.NM come-PR.3SG.NM that boy-GE run-IPP.2SG.M

*ek-key sindra-n si:r-ke-anu*  
 go.B2-CP.2SG.M vermilion-AC attach-FT.IMP-ITJ  
 After it gave him lac and vermilion, it said, “Hey, would you go running, and put vermilion on the one who comes first?”

8'43 *dih i go-hi dandlar-ki kir-i*  
 ITJ true-EPH form.line-CP.3SG.NM return-PR.3SG  
 Then actually they came in a line.

8'48 *a:-kqa-hi a:h-δ and-aynah a:hu and-ay*  
 that-time-EPH he-too find-PR.PRF.3SG.M he find-PR.PRF.3SG(?)  
 Did he see [the buffalos coming] at that time? Yes, he did.

8'51 *indru sindra si:r-tr-anay si:r-tr-enid*  
 what vermilion attach-CS-FT.1PL.I attach-CS-FT.3SG.NM  
 Did we make him put vermilion? Yes, [the buffalo] seems to have done so.

8'54 *ti:k boh-ni-d eky-ad aqe ekdam ke:ponti sindra*  
 well run-IPP-NM go.B2-PT.3SG.NM ITJ at.once at.once vermilion  
*si:r-tr-la ekdam*  
 attach-CS-NG.PT.3SG at.once  
 Well, it went running. It did not make him attach vermilion.

8'59 *ke:ponti i: ma?a-d a: ma?a-d(e:don) daq-ond-no daq-ond-no*  
 at.once this boy-NM that boy-NM CLF-one-LO CLF-one-LO  
*margu-no (kela) kelatr-i kelatr-id a:h olh-nah*  
 horn-LO play-PR.3SG play-PR.3SG.NM he cry-PR.3SG.M  
 [Saying] “The boy is here, the boy is there,” the buffaloes played on each horn. He was crying.

9'05 *par kelatr-ki-tatki-d ettr-ed ild-a*  
 but play-CP.3SG-ECHO-NM bring.down-CP.3SG.NM make.stand-PT.3SG  
 But after they played with the boy, they brought him down [on the ground].

9'08 *ettr-ed ilde-kid inogu` dine e:m*  
 bring.down-CP.3SG.NM make.stand-CP.3SG.NM this.many day we.E  
*pi:k-no kod-tam*  
 dung-LO lie.down-PT.1PL.E  
 After they brought him down, [they said] “We were lying on our dung for such a long time.”

9'13 *ar ci:g umbla-tam ad-nihi erh-tam ad-nihi*  
 and just urinate-PT.1PL.E that-LO.EPH defecate-PT.1PL.E that-LO.EPH  
*kod-tam*  
 lie.down-PT.1PL.E  
 “We lay right where we were  urinating and defecating.”

9'17 *ar ni:n ma?e barce-kek em-en inond suke-no*  
 and you boy come.B2-CP.3SG.M we.E-AC this.much comfort-LO  
*ki:de-tey*  
 place-PT.2SG.M

“And you, boy, came and put us in such comfort.”

9'23 *unda-o:re* *tobon* *de i:-dara* *tunga-d* *nij-ki-de*  
 hold.it-you then ITJ this-CLF bamboo.flute-NM you-GE-NM  
*a:n-kid* *cic-a*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG

Saying “Then take this bamboo flute. [This is] yours,” they gave it to him.

9'28 *cico-ko* *pa:re* *ni:n* *ca:ŋg-meca* *ca:ŋge-n* *at-key* *meca*  
 give.B2-CP but you stage-above stage-AC spread-CP.2SG.M above  
*do:k-o:k* *a:n-kid*  
 stay-IMP.2SG say-CP.3SG.NM

They gave it to him and said, “But you make a stage and stay on it.”

9'36 *awdo-ko* *ca:ŋge-n* *at-kah* *meca* *do:ky-ah*  
 speak-CP stage-AC spread-CP.3SG.M above stay.B2-PT.3SG.M

After they said this, he made a stage and stayed on it.

9'39 *do:ky-ah* *do:k-no* *aruhi* *pa:re* *ike-r* *hō* *bar-nar*  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG.M stay-IPP further but who-PL too come-PR.3PL

After that, who else would come?

9'45 *indru-hō-ma?* *bar-i* *ta:n* *em-en* *ja:ŋg-ke* *a:n-ko*  
 what-ever-one come-PR.3SG then we.E-AC call-FT.IMP say-CP

They said, “If any [animal] may come, call us.”

9'49 *potte* *maðe* *a:h* *ca:ŋge-n* *at-kah* *potte* *maðe* *iknahe*  
 ITJ boy he stage-AC spread-CP.3SG.M ITJ boy how  
*ja:ŋg-an* *a:n-kah* *se* *mane* *ja:ŋg-a* *tund-an* *potte*  
 call-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M EPH namely call-AP look-FT.1SG ITJ  
*a:n-kah*  
 say-CP.3SG.M

The boy made a stage and thought “How shall I call [them]?” then thought “I will try and call [them].”

10'00 *a:* *tunga* *ciy-u* *ade-t* *u:ry-ah*  
 that bamboo.flute give-PP that-IN blow.B2-PT.3SG.M

He blew the bamboo flute that [the buffaloes] gave.

10'03 *ade-n* *acca* *e:n* *inor* *pa:t-ka* *men-tr-an* *a:n-kah*  
 that-AC well I now sing-CP hear-TR-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M  
*u:ry-ah* *a:lkō* *mane*  
 blow.B2-PT.3SG.M that.way namely

Saying “Okay, now I will play it and make it heard,” he blew it that way.

10'09 *harahara* *ga:s* *ko:wailom* *harahara* *pa:ni* *pi:yailom* *koto*  
 plant.name grass I.made.eat place.name water I.made.drink how  
*du:r* *gelire* *jingajurli* *ornamohi* *tulu* *tulu*  
 far you.went PROP PROP ONOM ONOM

(Singing) “I fed [it] the Harahara grass and I let [it] drink the Harahara water. How far did you go, o Jingajurli, o Ornamohi? Toot toot.”

10'23 *a:n-ko ɻeðw-a etr-iday ne: indru a:n-o*  
 say-CP ear-AC shake-PR.PRF.3SG.NM who what say-IF  
*?ac-i harahara...*  
 look.like-PR.3SG  
 When [the flute] said this, [the buffaloes] shook their ears. Who or what seems to be speaking? (Repeat 10'09).

10'43 *a:n-ko se boh-ni-d kiry-a kir-ki*  
 say-CP EPH run-IPP-NM return.B2-PT.3SG return-CP.3SG.NM  
*tund-i iko iko indru manj-ad a:n-i*  
 look-PR.3SG where where what become.B2-PT.3SG.NM say-PR.3SG  
 When he said this [with the flute], the buffaloes came back running. They came and looked [for him], saying “Where is [he]? What happened?”

10'48 *mala e:n iknahe se awd-no barc-ed ãrs-ler a:n-kan*  
 no I how EPH speak-IPP come.B2-CP reach-SJ.3PL say-CP.1SG  
*mane awd-ah tund-tan a:n-ko*  
 namely speak-PT.3SG.M look-PT.1SG say-CP  
 [The boy] said, “No, I said and tried, thinking ‘How would they come and arrive [here] if I play [this]?’”

10'55 *a?iya ja:ŋg-omke ike-r hõ bar-no ja:ŋg-ke a:n-ko*  
 that.way call-NG.FT.IMP who-PL too come-IPP call-FT.IMP say-CP  
*igjo-hi alko-hi cary-ot eky-a*  
 true-EPH that.way-EPH walk.around-IF go.B2-PT.3SG  
 They said, “Don’t call us that way. Call us if anyone comes,” and went to graze.

11'02 *alko-hi er-ka ba:k-ka oky-ah*  
 that.way-EPH sweep-CP.3SG scrape-CP.3SG sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 He swept and scraped as usual and was sitting.

11'04 *to din-ond eky-a a:du siyare ek-kid*  
 then day-one go.B2-PT.3SG that jackal go.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
*awd-i*  
 speak-PR.3SG  
 Then one day, they (i.e. the buffaloes) went. A jackal came and spoke.

11'06 *aqe inna niyg-en mo:ʔ-an a:n-i*  
 ITJ today you-AC eat-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG  
 It said, “Hey, today I am going to eat you.”

11'13 *di niyg-en mo:ʔ-an a:n-i di a:di-n-te eyg-en*  
 then you-AC eat-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG then there-AB I-AC  
*mo:ʔ-ene pa:re em-dudu-trer gu-trer tund-no mo:ʔ-ene*  
 eat-FT.2SG.M but we.E-mother-PL father-PL look-IPP eat-FT.2SG.M  
*a:n-i*  
 say-PR.3SG  
 It said, “I will eat you.” Then he said, “Are you going to eat me? But will you eat me after you see my mothers and fathers?”

11'24 *nimu-gu-h*      *masto:nge*      *ʔow-kah*      *bar-anah*  
 you.OBL-father-M      axe      carry-CP.3SG.M      come-FT.3SG.M  
*nim-dudu*      *ta:tr-et*      *urʔ-i*      *peh-le*      *bar-enid*  
 you-mother sickle-IN come.out-PR.3SG carry-CP come-FT.3SG.NM  
*elc-an*      *a:n-i*      *indra se*      *elc-eni*  
 fear-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG what EPH fear-FT.2SG.NM  
 “Your father will come carrying an axe. Your mother will come out carrying a sickle. I will be scared.” “What would you be scared of?”

11'32 *elc-le:ni*      *mo:ʔ-eni*      *par em-dudu-trer*      *tund-no*  
 fear-NG.FT.2SG.NM eat-FT.2SG.NM but we.E-mother-PL look-IPP  
*mo:ʔ-eni*      *a:n-nah*      *ada-no tuylga-n*      *u:r-nah*  
 eat-FT.2SG.NM say-PR.3SG.M that-LO bamboo.flute-AC blow-PR.3SG.M  
*harahara...*

He said, “You won’t be scared. You will eat me. But eat me after you see my parents.” Then he blew the bamboo flute, [which sang] (Repeat 10'09)

11'52 *a:n-kah*      *ekdam*      *igo-hi*      *boh-ni-d*      *eky-a*  
 say-CP.3SG.M at.once true-EPH run-IPP-NM go.B2-PT.3SG  
*ek-kid*      *a: siyare-n*      *pity-a*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM that jackal-AC kill.B2-PT.3SG  
 When he played so, [the buffaloes] went straight [to his place] running without fail. They went and killed the jackal.

11'56 *pit-ko awd-id*      *ki*      *kun-ot*      *awd-id*      *ki*  
 kill-CP speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP throw.away-IF speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP  
*cit-o*      *la mit-o a:n-i*      *dih*  
 throw.away-IF or eat-IF say-PR.3SG ITJ  
 Then they told him to throw it away, to eat it or throw it away.

12'02 *cit-o*      *a:ny-a*      *a:di-nte*      *a:n-ko*      *kun-ah*  
 throw.away-IF say.B2-PT.3SG there-AB say-CP throw.away-PT.3SG.M  
 They told him to throw it away. Then he threw it away.

12'06 *kuno-ko*      *arohi*      *eky-a*      *ek-ko*      *a:di-nte*      *ek-ka*  
 throw.away-CP further go.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-CP there-AB go.B2-CP  
*arohi*      *maʔ-ond*      *kulaye-d*      *eky-a*      *ek-ko*      *ada-no*      *harahara...*  
 further CLF-one hare-NM go.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-CP that-LO  
 After he threw it away, they went again. After they are gone, one hare came. When it came, [he blew the bamboo flute and said] (same as 10'09)

12'32 *a:n-ko*      *ada-no*      *boh-ni-d*      *kir-y-a*      *kir-ki*  
 say-CP that-LO run-IPP-NM return.B2-PT.3SG return-CP.3SG.NM  
*pity-a*      *pit-ko*      *igo-hi*      *a: kulaye-n*      *moʔ-yah*  
 kill.B2-PT.3SG kill-CP true-EPH that hare-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 When he said this, [the buffaloes] came back running. They came back and killed [the hare]. After they killed it, [the boy] ate that hare

right away.

12'40 *mo?ka-tatka aroho ark-ka ?andr-nah*  
 eat.B2-CP.3SG-ECHO further climb-CP.3SG sleep-PR.3SG.M  
 After he ate it, he climbed up [the stage] again and slept.

12'43 *a:-kra to?a somoye-n nal-an i:de alko-hi e:k-i*  
 that-time a.little time-AC do-FT.1SG this that.way-EPH go-PR.3SG  
*tu:ddu ejdu kisdu sapa gote-d e:k-i pa:re anond*  
 tiger bear pig clean all-NM go-PR.3SG but that.much  
*mal-a*  
 be.not-PR.3SG  
 Then I will advance [the story] a little forward. This goes like this. A tiger, a bear, a pig, they all go. But [I am] not [telling] that much.

12'56 *(ac)inor asol mu:l-ma?a-n awd-an a:qi-n-te ar la:ste-ki-n*  
 now in.fact root-one-AC speak-FT.1SG there-AB and last-GE-AC  
*awd-an*  
 speak-FT.1SG  
 Now in fact I will tell about the main character. Then I will tell about the last one.

13'01 *to eky-a tu:dd ek-ki ada-no o: b?ada.qokla*  
 then go.B2-PT.3SG tiger go.B2-CP.3SG.NM that-LO ITJ PROP  
*a?an barc-e okk-ne a:n-id*  
 there come.B2-CP sit-PR.2SG.M say-PR.3SG.NM  
 Then the tiger went, sat down there and said, "Come and sit down there, Bada Dokla."

13'07 *ku:b elc-tr-kid di a:h awd-no ð: i?ano okk-in*  
 much fear-CS-CP.3SG.NM then he speak-IPP ITJ here sit-PR.1SG  
 It scared him a lot. When it said this, he [said] "I will sit here."

13'12 *to ina ning-en mo:?-an mo:?-abalo amb-lan*  
 then today you-AC eat-FT.1SG eat-NG.AP leave-NG.FT.1SG  
*a:n-id*  
 say-PR.3SG.NM  
 Then it said, "Today I will eat you. I will not leave without eating you."

13'15 *ti:ke-di ina mo:?-eni ti:ke-di em-dudu-trer gu-trer*  
 well-NM today eat-FT.2SG.NM well-NM we.E-mother-PL father-PL  
*tund-no mo:?-eni*  
 look-IPP eat-FT.2SG.NM  
 "Okay, you eat me today. Eat me after you see my mothers and fathers.

13'20 *ano a: tu:dd awd-i nim-gu mastonge ?ow-kah*  
 there that tiger speak-PR.3SG you.PL-father axe carry-CP.3SG.M  
*bar-a:nah nim-dudu (ta:tetur?e)[ta:turtur?i] ?ow-ka*  
 come-FT.3SG.M you.PL-mother sickle carry-CP  
*bar-enid elc-an a:n-i*  
 come-FT.3SG.NM fear-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG

Then the tiger said, “Your father will come carrying an axe. Your mother will come carrying a sickle. I will be scared.”

13'26 *indra se elc-enid par tund-no mo:ʔ-enid a:n-ko*  
 what EPH fear-FT.2SG.NM but look-IPP eat-FT.2SG.NM say-CP  
 He said, “What will you be scared of? Just see [my parents] and eat me.”

13'29 *igjo-hi ada-n harahara... a:n-ko igjo-hi a: tu:d-an a:*  
 true-EPH that-LO say-CP true-EPH that tiger-AC that  
*kun-ene la mo:ʔ-ene a:n-ko (kun-o a:nnah a:nko)*  
 throw.away-FT.2SG.M or eat-FT.2SG.M say-CP  
*kun-oka a:n-ko*  
 throw.away-IMP say-CP  
 Then [he blew the bamboo flute and said] (Repeat 10'09) When he said this, [the buffaloes killed] the tiger right away, and said, “Throw it away or eat it.” They said, “Go and throw it away.”

13'52 *igjo-hi eky-ad ek-ko a:di-n-te a:di-n-te inor maʔ-onid*  
 true-EPH go.B2-PT.3SG.NM go.B2-CP there-AB there-AB now CLF-one  
*giryō-d ekk-iyi*  
 mynah-NM go.B2-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
 He went right away. He went and then a mynah bird came.

14'00 *di iknahe akr-an a:n-nah ino kat-ki hō*  
 then how chase-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG.M here cross-CP.3SG.NM too  
*giryōj giryōj a:n-i ano kat-ki hō giryōj giryōj*  
 ONOM REP say-PR.3SG there cross-CP.3SG.NM too ONOM REP  
*a:n-i*  
 say-PR.3SG  
 He said, “How shall I chase [it]?” He came over here and said, “*Giryong giryong*,” and came over there and said, “*Giryong giryong*.”

14'06 *di aysar-kah babr-ah*  
 then reach.out-CP.3SG.M swing.around.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He tried to catch it and swung around [a stick of the platform].

14'09 *babr-ko a:di-n-te babr-akr-ah*  
 swing.around-CP there-AB swing.around-chase-PT.3SG.M  
 He swung around [a stick] and chased it away from there.

14'11 *a:di-n-te maʔ-onid edr-d ekk-iyi*  
 there-AB CLF-one parrot-NM go.B2-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
 Then a parrot went [there].

14'16 *ek-kid inor kat-ki ti a:n-i*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM now cross-CP.3SG.NM ONOM say-PR.3SG  
*ano kat-ki ti a:n-i babr-no=hō*  
 there cross-CP.3SG.NM ONOM say-PR.3SG swing.around-IPP=too  
*boh-ola*  
 run.away-NG.PR.3SG

It went, jumped here now and said “Tee.” It jumped there and said “Tee.” It did not run away even when he swung around [a stick].

14'22 *ar babr-oyg-iynah mo:tehi dar-su indro*  
 and swing.around-finish-PR.PRF.3SG.M at.once CLF-two what  
*ok-nah ad-ki ca:ŋge-ki dar-s eng-iyi dihi*  
 sit-PR.3SG.M that-GE stage-GE CLF-two be.left-PR.PRF ITJ  
 He finished swinging around [sticks]. Then only two [sticks] of that stage were left.

14'30 *ide-n otr-a babr-an ta:n e:n jarʔ-an*  
 this-AC take.out-AP swing.around-FT.1SG then I fall-FT.1SG  
*a:n-kah tunga-t babr-ah*  
 say-CP.3SG.M bamboo.flute-IN swing.around.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Thinking that “If I take [one of these two sticks] out and swing it around, I will fall down,” he swung around with the bamboo flute.

14'34 *tunga-t babr-ko a: tunga-n*  
 bamboo.flute-IN swing.around-CP that bamboo.flute-AC  
*atlong-ked oc-a*  
 take.hold.of-CP.3SG.NM take.B2-PT.3SG  
 When he swung around the bamboo flute, [the parrot] took hold of that bamboo flute and took it away.

14'38 *oc-a oc-ed ra:ja-dalane-n tey-a*  
 take.B2-PT.3SG take.B2-CP.3SG.NM king-balcony-AC send-PT.3SG  
 It took [the flute] away. After taking it away, it brought it to the king's verandah.

14'41 *a: e:nogur becy-ad a: manhu ɿettre kagly-a*  
 that how.many be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that buffalo all die.B2-PT.3SG  
 As many buffaloes as there were all died when the parrot brought down [the bamboo flute].

14'44 *kagl-ko indru kud-an a:n-ka eky-ah olh-i olh-i*  
 die-CP what do-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG go.B2-PT.3SG.M cry-AP REP  
 After [the buffaloes] died, he said, “What shall I do?” and went crying.

14'49 *ek-kah ra:ja-dalane-n ra:ja-orhu-no iɿa:r-ik maʔ-ond*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.M king-balcony-AC king-house-LO here-DA CLF-one  
*edrdu tunga-n ondr-ayid eng-e ɿat-a*  
 parrot bamboo.flute-AC bring-PR.PRF.3SG.NM I-DA give-IMP  
*a:n-nah olh-olh ahe-n a:h*  
 say-PR.3SG.M cry.AP-REP he-AC he  
 [The boy] went to the king's balcony, the king's house, and said to him (i.e. the king) crying, “A parrot had brought a bamboo flute [here]. Give [it back].”

15'00 *c iy-lanam ik.ɿa:r edrdu ondr-ayi ciy-lanam*  
 give-NG.FT.1PL.E where parrot bring-PR.PRF.3SG give-NG.FT.1PL.E

*a:n-nah*

say-PR.3SG.M

[The king] said, “We are not giving it to you. From where did the parrot bring [it]? We are not giving it to you.”

15'04 *mala ondr-ayi*      *?at-a*      *a:n-nah*  
 no bring-PR.PRF.3SG give-IMP say-PR.3SG.M  
 [The boy] said, “No, it did. Give it back.”

15'07 *a:di-n-te ciy-e-ni*      *ciy-omlar*  
 there-AB give-VN-LO.EPH give-NG.PR.3PL  
 Then they would not give it back.

15'12 *to i: ra:ja-tahadi-n bejj man-ne ta:n se ning-e*  
 then this king-daughter-AC marriage be-PR.2SG.M then EPH you-DA  
*ciy-anam a:n-nah dihi*  
 give-FT.1PL.E say-PR.3SG.M ITJ  
 Then [the king] said, “If you marry this princess, then we will give [the flute back] to you.”

15'18 *e:n inj?ad-ma?e-n e:n ra:ja-tahadi-n e:n bejj man-lan*  
 I orphan-boy-1SG I king-daughter-AC I marriage be-NG.FT.1SG  
*amb-in e:n a:n-no*  
 leave-PR.1SG I say-IPP  
 [The boy] said, “I am an orphan. I am no match for the princess. I will not [marry her].”

15'24 *mala i: ra:ja-tahadi-n bejj man-ne ta:n se*  
 no this king-daughter-AC marriage be-PR.2SG.M then EPH  
*ciy-anam*  
 give-FT.1PL.E  
 “No, we will give [it back to you] only if you marry this princess.”

15'28 *indru kud-anah jo:rmo:t nal-kar bejj naly-ah*  
 what do-FT.3SG.M coercion do-CP.3PL marriage do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 What will he do? They put pressure [on him], so he married her.

15'32 *bejj nal-ko bejj mayj-ah par t:ke-di e:n bejj*  
 marriage do-CP marriage be.B2-PT.3SG but well-NM I marriage  
*mayja-tan pa:re e:m jo:ra-m dalan-meca bey-anam*  
 be.B2-PT.1SG but we.E couple-1PL.E balcony-above be-FT.1PL.E  
*ni:m pisi bey-ener a:n-ko*  
 you.PL below be-FT.2PL say-CP

After he got married, he said, “Okay, I got married [as you told me to]. But we two will be on top of the balcony. You stay below.”

15'44 *igjo-hi pisi becy-ar a:-kra a: manh kagl-yid*  
 true-EPH below be.B2-PT.3PL that-time that buffalo die-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
*a:du inor erar-eni ade-n pa:r-an mane meca*  
 that now revive-FT.3SG.NM that-AC sing-FT.1SG namely above  
*jo:ra-r ok-nar a:-kra u:r-nah harahara...*  
 couple-PL sit-PR.3PL that-time blow-PR.3SG.M

*harahara...*

They stayed below. At that time, when the couple was sitting above, [thinking that] “I will sing so that those buffaloes which have died would revive,” [the boy] blew the bamboo flute, which said (Repeat 10’09).

16'25 *a:n-ko a: kagl-yid a: manhu-ki a: sap*  
 say-CP that die-PR.PRF.3SG.NM that buffalo-GE that clean  
*pacca:r-ayid a:-du:r ɻocldu a:q-ula*  
 be.rotten-PR.PRF.3SG.NM that-far bone there-inside  
*tunga:-nihu bey-i para:ni dihi a:d di:re-di:re*  
 bamboo.flute-LO.EPH be-PR.3SG soul ITJ that slowly-REP  
*a:d ekdam tunhr-i karekareti tunhr-i*  
 that at.once get.together-PR.3SG little.by.little get.together-PR.3SG  
 mane *harahara... harahara...*  
 namely

When [the flute] sang so, all the rotten bones of those buffaloes that have died suddenly started to get together little by little — [for their soul is inside the bamboo flute — [when it sang] (Repeat 10’09).

16'52 *pahi-pahi-ti larar-ki-tatki tunhr-ki*  
 row-row-IN move-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO get.together-CP.3SG.NM  
*tunhr-a tunhr-kid harahara... a:n-ko*  
 get.together-PT.3SG get.together-CP.3SG.NM say-CP  
 [The bones] got together moving slowly and slowly. When they got together, [the flute sang again] (Repeat 10’09).

17'11 mane *a: tunhr-kid inor ɻe:ndr ɻe:ndr*  
 namely that get.together-CP.3SG.NM now tremble.AP tremble.AP  
*coy-i-tati jar?-i-tati doralora a:di-nte arhu*  
 rise-PR.3SG-ECHO fall-PR.3SG-ECHO shakily there-AB further  
*u:r-nah harahara...*  
 blow-PR.3SG.M

They got together, and now they got up and fell down trembling. Then he blew [the bamboo flute] again, (Repeat 10’09).

17'36 *igo-hi a: manhu jiyar-a jiyar-kid*  
 true-EPH that buffalo recover.life-PT.3SG recover.life-CP.3SG.NM  
*ekdam eky-a ekdam meca okk-a u:ry-ah*  
 at.once go.B2-PT.3SG at.once above sit-AP blow.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*eky-a bohy-a boh-kid ek-kid*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG run.B2-PT.3SG run-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
*boh-kid ek-kid ɻ̃sya*  
 run-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-CP.3SG.NM arrive.B2-PT.3SG

Those buffaloes recovered life right away. Having recovered life, they went at once. He was blowing [the flute] sitting above. They went, ran, went, ran and arrived there.

17'46 *a: beŋ-on male-r-in sapa pify-a beŋ-on*  
 that wedding-LO person-PL-AC clean kill.B2-PT.3SG wedding-LO  
*male-r-in sapa pify-a*  
 person-PL-AC clean kill.B2-PT.3SG  
 They killed all the people present at the wedding.

17'51 *pit-ot ke.bad a: jo:ŋa-r=du:re engy-ar*  
 kill-IF after that couple-PL=only be.left.B2-PT.3PL  
 After they killed [all present], only that couple were left.

17'57 *enŋ-kar a: ijŋ?ad maŋe hi ek-ka innond ijŋ?ad maŋe-h*  
 be.left-CP.3PL that orphan boy EPH go.B2-CP this.far orphan boy-M  
*maŋj-ah ara ek-kah ra:jra:m maŋj-ah*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.M and go.B2-CP.3SG.M king become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*o:re-peŋe-ti:tram e mo:cy-a*  
 tree.top-tree.root-bird.name ITJ cut.B2-PT.3SG  
 [Being left], the orphan went. [He was] such an orphan, and he went  
 and became a king. [This is] the end. [It is] finished.

18'08 *inonde-hi ey-ki saba e kata*  
 this.much-EPH I-GE story ITJ story  
 My story is this much.

### §25 Story of a mother and a wicked daughter-in-law (C).

Told by Mr. Guhiya Paharia of Malipara, P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at his residence in Littipara on September 10, 2005.

0'00 *kata teŋg-in*  
 story tell-PR.1SG  
 I will tell a story.

0'03 *kata-ki sirsake teho-ga:rni aro tang-mesqado i:*  
 story-GE title mother-in.law.F and own-daughter.in.law this  
*kata-ki sirsake*  
 story-GE title  
 The title of the story is ‘mother-in-law and daughter-in-law’. That is  
 the title of this story.

0'23 *ort teho ar tay.gade-h do:ky-ar bah-ond qep-no*  
 one mother and son-M stay.B2-PT.3PL place.CLF-one village-LO  
 There lived a mother and her son in a village.

0'25 *kajak ki:rwa meŋj-ar*  
 much poor be.B2-PT.3PL  
 They were very poor.

0'29 *tambako to maqa-nihi toqr-ah*  
 father TOP child-LO.EPH pass.away-PT.3SG.M  
 Father died when [he was] a child.

0'32 *toqr-ne ke.ba:d a: mage-n bahut muskil se*  
 pass.away-VN after that boy-AC much difficulty EPH  
*be:rneč-le a: mage-n teho badyi:-tar-a*  
 work.for.wages.B2-CP that boy-AC mother grow-CS-PT.3SG

After [father] died, mother brought the boy up with a lot of difficulty, doing wage labor.

0'39 *din(en)-ond be:r-a ka:je kudy-a kete-no*  
 day.CLF-one day-AC work do.B2-PT.3SG field-LO  
 She worked in the field all day.

0'42 *uske.ba:d e:k pa:y du: pa:y ondre-ki*  
 after that one pai two pai bring-CP.3SG.NM  
*darce-ki-tatki lap-tare-ki ahi-n badyi-tar-a*  
 hold.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO eat-CS-CP.3SG.NM he-AC grow-CS-3SG  
 After that she brought one *pai* or two *pai* [grain], and fed him and raised him.

0'48 *badyi-ne ke.ba:d ahi-n jabu celke lehr-ah ani*  
 grow-VN after he-AC when young.man become-PT.3SG then  
*awq-a ki*  
 speak-PT.3SG COMP  
 After he grew up, she said to him when he had become a young man,

0'53 *are ning-e bahu-n ondr-ey*  
 ITJ you-DA bride-AC bring-FT.1PL.I  
 “Listen, we will bring a wife for you.”

0'56 *ning-e pel-a bed-key ondr-ey inor ni:nu*  
 you-DA woman-AC seek-CP.1PL.I bring-FT.1PL.I now you  
*badic-te a:ny-a*  
 grow.B2-PT.2SG.M say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “We will look for a girl for you and bring [her]. Now you have grown up.” She said this.

1'01 *ð deka tebe dudu orte hi paco malni*  
 ITJ ITJ then mother one EPH old.woman woman  
*ka:klar-di*  
 be.in.trouble-PR.2SG.NM  
 “Yeah, right, mom, you are by yourself, and have trouble as an old woman.”

1'05 *am-an ek-ke kum-ot*      bahut dikate *a:n-ka*  
 water-AC go.B2-CP.2SG.NM carry.on.the.head-IF much difficult say-CP  
*ku:kr-a*  
 nod-PT.3SG  
 “It is very tough to go and carry water.” Saying this, the son nodded.

1'09 *ku:kr-ne ke.ba:d ahi-k pel-a bed-kid ondre-ki*  
 nod-VN after he-DA woman-AC seek-CP.3SG.NM bring-CP.2SG.NM  
*cic-a*  
 give.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then she looked for a woman for him and gave [her to him].

1'16 *(e:nu) uske.ba:d a: peli e:nond teho bu:ri si:da*  
 I after.that that woman how.much mother old.woman right

*mēnj-a anond peli-d ulṭa mēnj-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG that.much woman-NM opposite be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then that woman was wicked just as much as the mother was right.

1'23 *(tehon) teho majā majā qo:roses-le bi:ky-a*  
 mother nicely nicely cherish-CP call.B2-PT.3SG  
 Mother called her nicely with love.

1'27 *uske.ba:d a: taŋg-mesqado aro kuco buŋiya*  
 after.that that own-daughter.in.law ITJ dog old.woman  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then the daughter-in-law says “Hey, you old bitch.”

1'32 *kuco-buŋi bar-a a:n-le bi:ky-a*  
 dog-old.woman come-IMP say-CP call.B2-PT.3SG  
 She called her “Come, you old bitch.”

1'33 *majā majā bi:ky-a anda jahā kuco-buŋi bar-a*  
 nicely nicely call.B2-PT.3SG then even dog-old.woman come-IMP  
*kuco-buŋi bar-a a:n-le bi:ky-a*  
 dog-old.woman come-IMP say-CP call.B2-PT.3SG  
 Even though mother called nicely, the daughter-in-law called her  
 “Come, old bitch.”

1'38 *bi:k-ne ke.bad jahā a: paco ro:kar-la*  
 call-VN after even that old.woman get.angry-NG.PT  
 Even after she did so, the old woman did not get angry.

1'41 *acc<sup>h</sup>a: tam-bahno bey-i tam-ki saba tam-e bey-id e:n*  
 ITJ self-LO be-PR.3SG self-GE word self-DA be-PR.3SG.NM I  
*ulṭes-kan awd-in malki*  
 turn.over-CP.1SG speak-PR.1SG not  
 “Okay, one’s word remains in one’s place, as of oneself. I will not  
 turn back and speak back to her.”

1'47 *kuco-n ar kuco-n e:n indra-jahā a:n-lan ani e:qu a:n-le*  
 dog-1SG and dog-1SG I what-even say-NG.FT.1SG then well say-CP  
*ado kusi se do:ky-a*  
 further happiness EPH stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 “I am a bitch. I won’t say anything. Fine.” Saying this, she kept on  
 living happily.

1'51 *nam-lad indra-jahā kud-la*  
 reproach-NG.PT.3SG.NM what-even do-NG.PT.3SG  
 She did not reproach her. She did not do anything.

1'53 *uske.ba:d do:k-te do:k-te inor taŋg-do:ku-n awq-a*  
 after that stay-AP REP now self-spouse-AC speak-PT.3SG  
 After some time, she said to her husband this time.

1'58 *aŋe ayo buŋi-n e:k-a oce-ke dade-no*  
 ITJ mother old.woman-AC go-IMP take.B2-CP.2SG.M forest-LO

*pit-ey anda me:nd-e:y*  
kill-FT.1PL.I then burn-FT.1PL.I  
“Hey, you go, take the old mother, and we will kill her in the forest and burn her body.”

2'03 *ani a:h hō burbak-ja:ti male-h menj-ah*  
then he too stupid-kind person-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Then he was also a stupid kind of person.

2'07 *a:h hō deka tebe e:k-a ikin ikin nan-ey a:n-ko*  
he too ITJ then go-IMP how how do-FT.1PL.I say-CP  
He also said, “Okay then, let's go. How shall we do it?”

2'09 *mala ina mas-an da:wa-n otr-a*  
no today hatchet-AC chopping.knife-AC take.out-IMP  
“No, you take a hatchet and a chopping knife with you today.”

2'13 *ar ek-ke kank-a tung-e tung-qey-tatkey*  
and go.B2-CP.1PL.I wood-AC collect-CP.2SG.M collect-CP.1PL.I-ECHO  
*ano sahi-n at-e sahi-n at-ke*  
and funeral.pyre-AC spread-CP.2SG.M funeral.pyre-AC spread-CP.1PL.I  
*ayo-n me:nde-ke bar-ey*  
mother-AC burn-1PL.I come-FT.1PL.I  
“And let's go, collect firewood, spread a funeral pyre, burn mother, and come back.”

2'20 *a:ny-a a:n-ne ke.ba:d t̪i:k a:hu ra:ji*  
say.B2-PT.3SG say-VN after well he approving  
*menj-ah*  
become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
She said this. Then he approved [her plan] saying “Okay”.

2'24 *turante teyar menj-ah orya:r-ah uske.ba:d*  
at.once ready become.B2-PT.3SG.M get.ready-PT.3SG.M after.that  
*mas-a da:wa-ne pehra-kar eky-ar*  
hatchet-AC chopping.knife-AC take.along-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL  
He got ready immediately. Then they took a hatchet and a chopping knife along and went.

2'29 *e:k-ne ke.ba:d qa:yek man-ki-n ta:r-ah*  
go-VN after dry tree-GE-AC cut.down-PT.3SG.M  
After going, he cut down dry wood.

2'31 *tunga-kar tey-ar aur di:ng-ond nany-ar*  
collect-CP.3PL send-PT.3PL and pile-one make.B2-PT.3PL  
*sahi nan-yar teho-ga:rni-n me:nd-tar-oti*  
funeral.pyre make.B2-PT.3PL mother-in.law-AC burn-CS-IF  
They rapidly collected [wood], and made a pile, made a funeral pyre, in order to burn the mother-in-law.

2'38 *a:d maji maji menj-a tung-a*  
that middle REP be.B2-PT.3SG collect-PT.3SG  
She played a central role and collected [wood].

2'40 *tung-ne ke.ba:d inor e:k-a bi:k-ke ondr-ey anda i:*  
 collect-VN after now go-IMP call-CP.1PL.I bring-FT.1PL.I then this  
*meca ki:de-key me:nd-ey*  
 above lay-CP.1PL.I burn-FT.1PL.I  
 After collecting wood, [she said] “Go, call and bring her. Then we  
 will put her on this and burn her.”

2'46 *a:ny-a a:n-ne ke.ba:d oryes-ka-tatkar p'ir*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG say-VN after prepare-CP-ECHO.3PL again  
*barc-ar qep-ik tam-ki ořg-ik barc-ar*  
 come.B2-PT.3PL village-DA self-GE house-DA come.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then, having prepared, they went back to the village again. They  
 went home.

2'51 *ořg-ik bar-ne ke.ba:d are dudu e:k-a*  
 house-DA come-VN after ITJ mother go-IMP  
 After coming home, [they said] “Say, mother, let’s go.”

2'55 *e:k-ey anno qade-k e:k-ey a:ny-a*  
 go-FT.1PL.I there forest-DA go-FT.1PL.I say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Let’s go there, to the forest.”

2'57 *(n)indrik oy-de a:n-ke e:k-a ka:je-d e:k-a*  
 why take-PR.2SG.M say-CP go-IMP work-NM go-IMP  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Why do you take me [there]?” When she said this, they said, “Let’s  
 go! There is work there.”

2'59 *jabarjasti e:k-ot ok-la tetu-no darca-ka band-i band-i*  
 forcibly go-IF sit-NG.PT.3SG hand-LO hold.B2-CP.3SG pull-AP REP  
*oc-a*  
 take.B2-PT.3SG  
 She was not willing to be taken by force. She (i.e. the daughter-in-  
 law) seized her on the hand and took her pulling.

3'04 *band-i band-i oy-ne ke.ba:d awd-a dudu ning-e ina*  
 pull-AP REP take-VN after say-PT.3SG mother you-DA today  
*pit-ot ondr-dam inno me:nd-dam adi-k se sahi-no*  
 kill-IF bring-PR.1PL.E here burn-PR.1PL.E that-DA EPH funeral.pyre-LO  
*ki:da-kam ning-en me:nd-dam*  
 lay-CP.1PL.E you-AC burn-PR.1PL.E  
 After taking her pulling, they said, “Mother, today we have brought  
 you here to kill you. We will burn you here. Therefore, we will put  
 you on the funeral pyre and burn you.”

3'11 *a:n-ka ano sahi-no meca adi-n buři malni*  
 say-CP there funeral.pyre-LO above that-AC old.woman woman  
*beca:r-ni tuk-i tuk-i arg-tar-a*  
 poor-F push-AP REP climb-CS-PT.3SG  
 Saying this, they made that old poor woman climb on top of the fu-

neral pyre there pushing her.

3'16 *arg-tara-ka-tatkar mo:ta mo:ta tukra-ti deyga:-ti*  
 climb-CS-CP-ECHO.3PL big REP wooden.block-IN log-IN  
*arg.ut-tar-a adi-n ujni malni-n*  
 load.over.one.another-CS-PT.3SG that-AC alive woman-AC  
 Having made her climb, they covered that woman alive with big  
 wooden blocks and logs.

3'22 *arg.ut-ne ke.ba:d inor are solei paktr-ey*  
 load.over.one.another-VN after now ITJ match kindle-FT.1PL.I  
*iko solei*  
 where match  
 Then [the son said,] “Hey, now let’s light a fire with a match. Where  
 is a match?”

3'26 *are solei ali:.ba:ba tan-ki kagma=indru bedy-ar*  
 ITJ match ITJ self-GE waist=and.so.on seek.B2-PT.3PL  
 “Hey, [where is] a match! Good heavens!” They looked for their  
 waist [pocket] and so on.

3'30 *solei-n org-inte e:la-ka arky-ar*  
 match-AC house-AB forget-CP thrust.in-PT.3PL  
 They forgot [to bring] the matches from home and had pushed [their  
 mother] in [the funeral pyre].

3'32 *ikin nan-ey solei-n e:le-tey*  
 how do-FT.1PL.I match-AC forget-PT.1PL.I  
 “What shall we do? We forgot [to bring] matches.”

3'34 *e:k-a i: buqi-n argra-ke ki:d-ey deyga-ti*  
 go-IMP this old.woman-AC press.down-CP.1PL.I lay-FT.1PL.I log-IN  
 “Let’s go! We will lay this old woman pressed down with logs.”

3'37 *e:k-ey na:m inor solei-n ondr-ey anda se me:nd-ey*  
 go-FT.1PL.I we.I now match-AC bring-FT.1PL.I then EPH burn-FT.1PL.I  
 “Let’s go! We will bring matches now. And then we will burn her.”

3'41 *a:n-ki irweri solei-k kiry-ar*  
 say-CP two.person match-DA return.B2-PT.3PL  
 Saying this, the two people went back for matches.

3'44 *solei-k kir-ne ke.ba:d a: buqi kono:rokom*  
 match-DA return-VN after that old.woman somehow  
*nan-ki kuke-ti tetu-ti jo:r laga-tar-ekid*  
 do-CP.3SG.NM head-IN hand-IN power attach-TR-CP.3SG.NM  
*tukra-n daq-ond geci tey-a*  
 wooden.block-AC CLF-one far send-PT.3SG  
 After they went to get matches, that old woman somehow put strength  
 into her head and hands and pushed one log away.

3'52 *geci tey-ne ke.ba:d a:du kuk-a di:re di:re di:re di:re di:re*  
 far send-VN after she head-AC slowly REP REP REP REP REP

*kuk-eti alaktare-kid urqy-a*  
 head-IN open-CP.3SG.NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then she opened [the pile of wood] very slowly with her head and  
 came out.

3'58 *urq-ne ke.ba:d maji ma:q menj-a maji ma:q*  
 come.out-VN after middle night become.B2-PT.3SG middle night  
*ikqdi-k e:k-enid a:du (mla:ū) urqy-a*  
 where-DA go-FT.3SG.NM that come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then it had become midnight. Where will she go at midnight? She  
 came out.

4'04 *urq-ne ke.ba:d essa mecca man-ik arg-kid*  
 come.out-VN after very tall tree-DA climb-CP.3SG.NM  
*oky-a hō pakyi man-ik mecca arg-kid*  
 sit.B2-PT.3SG ITJ Ficus religiosa tree-DA above climb-CP.3SG.NM  
*oky-a qo:r-no*  
 sit.B2-PT.3SG top-LO  
 Then she climbed a very high tree and sat there. She climbed up a  
 pipal tree and sat on top of it.

4'12 *tab.taka tay.gade sa:tu irw-ar solei-n ondr-ar*  
 till.then own.son together two.persons-PL match-AC bring-PT.3SG  
 By then the two people, [the daughter-in-law] together with the son,  
 had brought matches.

4'16 *solei ondr-ne ke.ba:d a: maji-no solei-n paktr-ar*  
 match bring-VN after that grave-LO match-AC kindle-PT.3PL  
 Then they lit the match at the funeral place.

4'20 *paktar-ne ke.ba:d turant cicdu qa:yekdu juri menj-a*  
 light-VN after at.once fire dry firewood be.B2-PT.3SG  
*kanku menj-a darc-a ar [e]kdam dag.dag*  
 wood be.B2-PT.3SG hold.B2-PT.3SG and at.once shiningly  
*qosy-a*  
 be.burnt.B2-PT.3SG  
 After they lit the match, the fire immediately took hold of the firewood  
 and it was burnt fiercely — the firewood, the sticks were dry.

4'27 *qos-ne ke.ba:d inor tawy-a kec-a e:k-a*  
 be.burnt-VN after now put.out.B2-PT.3SG die.B2-PT.3SG go-IMP  
*kir-ey na:m a:n-kar irwe:ri alq-a alq-a kelar-i*  
 return-FT.1PL.I we.I say-CP.3PL two.persons laugh-AP REP play-AP  
*kelar-i org-ik kiry-ar*  
 REP house-DA return.B2-PT.3PL  
 After it was burnt, they went home laughing and playing, saying  
 "Now the fire has burnt out. She is dead. [Let's] go! We will go  
 home."

4'34 *kir-ne ke/.ba:d/ are ayo-n me:nd-etye ad-ki-n*  
 return-VN after ITJ mother-AC burn-PT.1PL.I that-GE-AC

qe:r-a      kur-ey      deka ina  
 chicken-AC burn-FT.1PL.I ITJ      today  
 After they went home, she said, "We killed mother. We will [kill and]  
 roast a chicken for her. Come on!"

4'38 bāriya      se      qe:r-a      kuta-kar-tatkar      tā:t.se  
 fine      EPH      chicken-AC      burn.B2-CP.3PL-ECHO.3PL      in.ease  
 ta:ry-ond      nan-kar      lap-kar      barg-a      barg-a  
 metal.plate.CLF-one      make-CP.3PL      eat-CP.3PL      snore-AP      REP  
 kudy-ar      ano      barg-a      barg-a      kudy-ar  
 do.B2-PT.3PL      there      snore-AP      REP      do.B2-PT.3PL  
 After roasting the chicken well, they made a plate nicely, ate it, and  
 slept there, snoring heavily.

4'47 a:      buri      (dargai)      solei-k      kirya-a      ani      man-ik  
 that old.woman      match-DA      return.B2-PT.3SG      then      tree-DA  
 arg-kid      oky-a  
 climb-CP.3SG.NM      sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 After they returned for matches, that old woman climbed on top of the  
 tree and was sitting.

4'51 ba:ra      baje      ma:qa adno (andru) pakqi      man bagce-no  
 twelve o'clock night      there      Ficus.religiosa tree orchard-LO  
 galwa-r      jama-r-ar      dine-nihī      dine-ni      ano      qalwa-r  
 thief-PL      gather-ITR-PT.3PL      day-LO.EPH      day-LO.EPH      there      thief-PL  
 jama-r-ar  
 gather-ITR-PT.3PL  
 At twelve o'clock at night, thieves gathered in the pipal garden every  
 day. Every day thieves gathered there.

4'58 ar      ta:m      indra-gote qad-ar-tatka[r]      pe:sa-n      ade-n  
 and themselves what-even steal.B2-PT.3PL-ECHO      money-AC      that-AC  
 ko:s-r-naqy-ar      ba:t-naqy-ar  
 divide-ITR-REC.B2-PT.3PL      divide-PT-3PL  
 And they counted and divided whatever money they stole.

5'04 din-ond      a:      buri      ma:q      nany-ad      a:  
 day.CLF-one      that old.woman      night      make.B2-PT.3SG.NM      that  
 dine      mec      oky-ad      ad-nihi      tin-jin      qalwa-r  
 day      above      sit.B2-PT.3SG.NM      that-LO.EPH      three-CLF      thief-PL  
 aqsy-ar      ma:qa  
 reach.B2-PT.3PL      night  
 On the day when that old woman spent night, on the day when she  
 was sitting above, three thieves arrived at night.

5'08 galwa-r      aqsy-ar-tatkar      ade-n      ba:t-naq-ot      suru:  
 thief-PL      reach-CP.PL-ECHO.3PL      that-AC      divide-REC-IF      beginning  
 nany-ar  
 do.B2-PT.3PL  
 After the thieves arrived, they started dividing it (i.e. what they had

stolen).

5'11 *niŋ-e e:k hisa eŋg-e e:k hisa eŋg-e e:k hisa*  
 you-DA one portion I-DA one portion I-DA one portion  
*a:n-le ba:t-naq-e-ni-tatni mec ok-u buŋi-d*  
 say-CP divide-REC-VN-LO.EPH-ECHO above sit-PP old.woman-NM  
*awq-a*  
 speak-PT.3SG

Just when they were dividing, saying “This is your portion. This is my portion,” the old woman who was sitting above said this.

5'18 *eŋg-e hō e:k hisa qat-anar man-mec oky-ad a:d*  
 I-DA too one portion give-FT.3PL tree-above sit.B2-PT.3SG.NM that  
*awq-a eŋg-e hisa men-eni*  
 speak-PT.3SG I-DA portion be-FT.3SG

“They will give a portion to me, too.” The old woman who was sitting on top of the tree said, “There will be a portion for me.”

5'23 *a:n-ko goṭe-ri qalwe-r mecten tundý-ar*  
 say-CP all-PL thief-PL upward look.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then all the thieves looked up.

5'25 *mecten tundý-ar uske.ba:d ba:pre bu:ta*  
 upward look.B2-PT.3PL after.that ITJ ghost  
*urqy-ad bu:te bu:te-d a:n-kar jitna*  
 come.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM ghost ghost-NM say-CP.3PL how.much.REL  
*taka pe:sa menj-ad ade-n amb-ka-tatkar qalwe-r*  
 money money be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-AC leave-CP-ECHO.3PL thief-PL  
*bonyg-ay*  
 run.B2-PT.3PL

They looked up. Then saying “My god! A ghost has come out. Ghost! Ghost!” the thieves left as much money as there was and ran away.

5'33 *bonyg-ne ke.ba:d a: buŋi d̥i:re d̥i:re d̥i:re d̥i:re mec*  
 run-VN after that old.woman slowly REP REP REP tall  
*man-inti pisi ety-a*  
 tree-AB below go.down.B2-PT.3SG

After they ran away, the old woman went down from the tall tree.

5'39 *pisi et-ne ke.ba:d ma:qa aŋsy-a ma:qa aŋs-ko*  
 below go.down-VN after night reach.B2-PT.3SG night reach-CP  
*inor du: kaŋsa-no taka nind-pa menj-a*  
 now two jar-LO money fill-PAP be.B2-PT.3SG

After she came down, night fell. When night fell, [she found out that] two jars were filled with money.

5'44 *taka nind-pe menj-a ade-n tet-s-eti*  
 money fill-PAP be.B2-PT.3SG that-AC hand-two-IN  
*et-ki-tatki oc-a oŋg-ik*  
 carry.with.hand-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO take.B2-PT.3SG house-DA  
 [The jars] were filled with money. She carried them with her hand

and took them home.

5'48 *oṛg-ik oce-kid maji ma:qa aṛs-kid  
house-DA take.B2-CP.3SG.NM middle night reach-CP.3SG.NM  
ey.gade qandr-de coy-a ey.gade qandr-de coy-a  
my.son sleep-PR.2SG.M rise-IMP my.son sleep-PR.2SG.M rise-IMP  
a:ny-a  
say.B2-PT.3SG*

When she took them home, it was already midnight. She said, "My son, are you asleep? Get up!"

5'58 *are ayo-ki saba qacy-a he ayo me:nd-ete  
ITJ mother-GE speaking look.like.B2-PT.3SG ITJ mother burn-PT.1PL.I  
a:d cic-no qosy-a katam menj-a  
that fire-LO be.burnt.B2-PT.3SG end become.B2-PT.3SG  
kec-a  
die.B2-PT.3SG*

"Say, it sounded like mother's voice. We burned mother, she was burnt in fire, she expired and died[, didn't she?]."

6'03 *p̥ir t̥o:ṛa de:r ke.ba:d awd-a ey t̥ay.gade coy-a  
again a.little delay after speak-PT.3SG ITJ own.son rise-IMP  
ayo-n baric-tan ejr-a coy-a ayo-n  
mother-1SG come.B2-PT.1SG be.awake-IMP rise-IMP mother-1SG  
baric-tan a:n-ko tisg-a ni:nu tisg-a  
come.B2-PT.1SG say-CP open-IMP you open-IMP*

After a while, she said again, "O my son, get up! I, mother, have come. Be awake, get up! I, mother, have come! Open, open!"

6'14 *t̥i:k ekdam ḍar-s ṭetu-nihī du: kṛṣa taka menj-a  
well at.once CLF-two hand-LO.EPH two jar money be.B2-PT.3SG  
taka-n aṛs-tar-a  
money-AC reach-CS-PT.3SG*

Well, then suddenly, there was two jarfuls of money in her two hands. She brought the money.

6'20 *aṛs-tar-ne ke.ba:d ba:pre dudu niyg-en me:nda-tam ani  
reach-CS-VN after ITJ mother you-AC burn-PT.1PLE then  
taka-n ondr-di a:n-ko tebe me:nd-r-no to taka  
money-AC bring-PR.2SG.NM say-CP then burn-ITR-IPP then money  
qaq-owr-i=jahā a:ny-a  
get-PA-PR.3SG.NM=even say.B2-PT.3SG*

Then [they said], "Good heavens, mother! We burned you and then you have brought money!" Then she said, "Well, after I got burnt, the money was obtained."

6'26 *me:nd-ne ke.ba:d taka qaq-owr-i ma:q-a taka-n  
burn-VN after money get-PA-PR.3SG.NM night-AC money-AC  
ṭund-ki t̥ayg-ḍo:ku be:g-a be:g-a argy-a  
look-CP.3SG.NM own-spouse jump-AP REP climb.B2-PT.3SG*

*kate-no*

bedstead-LO

The money was obtained after burning! Seeing the money at night, his wife started jumping on the bed.

6'33 *be:g-a be:g-a argy-a ra:ty-ond qandr-la*  
 jump-AP REP climb.B2-PT.3SG night.CLF-one sleep-NG.PT.3SG  
*be:g-a tund-ki kabi:*  
 jump-AP look-CP.3SG.NM at.any.time  
 She started jumping. After seeing [the money], she did not sleep all night at all looking [at the money] jumping.

6'36 *a: taka indra karsa kabi: i: ko:rakci-n nud-i kabi:*  
 that money what jar some.time this corner-LO hide-AP some.time  
*a: ko:rakci-n nud-i kabi: kat-qolgr-ik kuk*  
 that corner-LO hide-AP some.time bedstead-beneath-DA head  
*kor-tar-id la:lci menj-a tang-do:ku*  
 enter-CS-PR.3SG.NM greedy become.B2-PT.3SG own-spouse  
 She, the son's wife, became greedy. Hiding [the money] in this corner for some time and in that corner for some time, she put her head underneath the bed.

6'45 *uske.ba:d awq-a tang-do:ku-d awq-a ahi-n*  
 after.that speak-PT.3SG own-spouse-NM speak-PT.3SG he-AC  
*tang-do:ku-n awq-a aqe jabu i: buqi malni*  
 own-spouse-AC speak-PT.3SG ITJ when this old.woman woman  
*me:nd-etye ta:n du: karsa taka menj-a*  
 burn-PT.1PL.I then two jar money be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then she, the wife, said to him, her husband, "Look, when we burned this old woman, it was two jarfuls of money [that we got]."

6'56 *eng-en baqagni-la:go-n me:nd-le anda to ca:r karsa taka*  
 I-AC maiden-a.little-AC burn-SJ.2SG.M then TOP four jar money  
*men-al*  
 be-SJ.3SG.NM  
 "If you would burn me, a maiden-like woman, it will be four jarfuls of money."

6'59 *eng-en ade me:nd-ey deka me:nda-lar deka ayo sa:tu*  
 I-AC too burn-FT.1PL.I ITJ burn-SJ.2PL ITJ mother together  
*e:k-a a:ny-a*  
 go-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG  
 "Let's burn me, too. Come on, you two will burn me. Let's come with mother."

7'03 *hō: deko tebe me:nd-ey a:ny-a accʰa: tʰi:k taka-ki*  
 ITJ ITJ then burn-FT.1PL.I say.B2-PT.3SG okay good money-GE  
*la:lci-ti ka:lka:s-u-r oc-ar*  
 greed-IN covet-PP-PL take.B2-PT.3PL  
 He said, "Well, okay, then we will burn [you]." Well, the greedy peo-

ple took her out of desire for money.

7'09 *oca-kar andeki mari-n nany-ar*  
 take.B2-CP.3PL that.way graveyard-AC make.B2-PT.3PL  
*sahi-n aty-ar*  
 funeral.pyre-AC spread.B2-PT.3PL

They took her and made a funeral site that way. They spread the funeral pyre.

7'12 *sahi-n at-kar-tatkar adi-n argr-ar*  
 funeral.pyre-AC spread-CP.3PL-ECHO.3PL that-AC be.ensnared-PT.3PL  
*argr-ar-tatkar solei-ti paktr-ar cic-ar*  
 be.ensnared-PT.3PL-ECHO.3PL match-IN kindle-PT.3PL give.B2-PT.3PL

Having spread the funeral pyre, they bound her [atop it]. Having bound her, they set it on fire.

7'17 *a:d cic-no qos-ki qosy-ad a:du*  
 that fire-LO be.burnt-CP.3SG.NM be.burnt.B2-PT.3SG.NM that  
 Being burnt in fire, she was burnt.

7'21 *qos-ne ke.ba:d inor barc-ah barc-ad-ni*  
 be.burnt-VN after now come.B2-PT.3SG.M come.B2-CP-LO.EPH  
*dudu dudu e:k-a e:no e:no samay-no bar-eni*  
 mother mother go-IMP how.much REP time-LO come-FT.3SG.NM  
*ni:n e:no samay-no baric-ti a:ny-a*  
 you how.much time-LO come.B2-PT.2SG.NM say.B2-PT.3SG  
 After she was burnt, [he] came back. [The son asked her] "Mother, let's go! How long until she comes back? How long did it take you to come back?"

7'28 *bar-i ta a:d inor taka-n ondr-id*  
 come-PR.3SG certainly she now money-AC bring-PR.3SG.NM  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 "She is going to bring money now."

7'31 *pʰir kody-ar kate-no ko:q-te ko:q-te ada:-ra:t*  
 again lie.B2-PT.3PL bedstead-LO lie-AP REP REP mid-night  
*menj-a dudu dudu e:no pahr-no bar-eni*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG mother REP how.much time-LO come-FT.3SG.NM  
*a:du a:n-ko*  
 that say-CP  
 They lay in bed again. Lying and lying in bed, it became midnight.  
 "Mother, how long until she comes back?"

7'38 *a:d ey.gade ok-a me:n-a teyg-an ning-en a:d igjo*  
 that my.son sit-IMP listen-IMP tell-FT.1SG you-AC that true  
*qosy-a*  
 be.burnt.B2-PT.3SG  
 "Sit and listen, my son. I will tell you. She was really burnt."

7'44 *e:n ni:m solei-n ondr-ot kir-tar ani se e:nu*  
 I you.PL match-AC bring-IF return-PT.2PL then EPH I

ba:car-kan pakqi(baccak)-mecca arg-kan ok-tan  
 be.saved-CP.1SG Ficus.religiosa-up climb-CP.1SG sit-PT.1SG  
 “I escaped because you two returned home to bring matches. I  
 climbed a pipal tree and sat there.”

7'51 arg-ka[n] ok-ne ke.ba:d tin-jin galwa-r menj-ar a:  
 climb-CP.1SG sit-VN after three-CLF thief-PL be.B2-PT.3PL that  
 galwe-r taka-n ba:t-naqy-ar  
 thief-PL money-AC divide-REC.B2-PT.3PL  
 “After I climbed and sat [up there], there were three thieves. Those  
 thieves were dividing money.”

7'56 apna apna bakra-n=indra a:n-naqy-ar eyng-e hō e:k  
 self self share-AC=and.so.on say-REC.B2-PT.3PL I-DA too one  
 bakra qat-anar a:n-tan  
 share give-FT.3PL say-PT.1SG  
 “They were talking about each one’s share. I said ‘They shall give me  
 a share, too.’”

7'59 ani elc-kar boŋgy-ar pet-a/ka]n ondra-tan  
 then fear-CP.3PL run.B2-PT.3PL take.up.B2-CP.1SG bring-PT.1SG  
 “Then then were scared and ran away. I took [the jars] up and brought  
 them.”

8'01 inor to jindgi-b̄ar ke.li e:ke ad  
 now TOP life-all for.the.sake.of die.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 eky-ad a:du inor auri kir-ki  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.NM that now again return-CP.3SG.NM  
 bar-le:ni  
 come-NG.FT.3SG.NM  
 “Now she is dead for good. She is gone. She will not return and come  
 back again now.”

8'06 ni:n inda i: taka pehr-ke e:k-a ni:nu  
 you take.this.ITJ this money take.along-CP.2SG.M go-IMP you  
 “You take this. Take this money and go!”

8'10 qep-ta:re awd kud-oka ne:-gota qep-no teho-n  
 village-PL speak.AP go.around-IMP who-ever village-LO mother-AC  
 bi:s-eni ne:-gota qep-no teho-n bi:s-eni  
 sell-FT.3SG.NM who-ever village-LO mother-AC sell-FT.3SG.NM  
 “Go, walk around asking in the villages if anyone in the village would  
 sell his mother.”

8'18 a:n-ko qo:k-a agar ika-r-gote taj-ki teho-bager-in bi:s-nar  
 say-CP stay-IMP if who-PL-ever self-GE mother-PL-AC sell-PR.3PL  
 ta:nu ni:n teho-n qe:q-qe ondr-ka a:ny-a  
 then you mother-AC buy-CP.2SG.M bring-FT.IMP say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Keep saying that. If anyone sells his mother and so on, then you buy  
 his mother and bring her.” She said this.

8'25 *a:n-ki a: pe:sa-ne cic-a ciy-ne ke.ba:d*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM that money-AC give.B2-PT.3SG give-VN after  
*eky-ah a: qep-ik i: qep-ik eky-a*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M that village-DA this village-DA go.B2-PT.3SG  
 Having said this, she gave that money to him. Then he went to this  
 and that village.

8'30 *ne:-gote teho-n bi:s-eni bi:s-nar ta:n e:n qe:g-an*  
 who-ever mother-AC sell-FT.3SG.NM sell-PR.3PL then I buy-FT.1SG  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 He said, “If anyone sells or is selling his mother, I will buy her.”

8'33 *p<sup>h</sup>ir dusra qep-ik eky-ah ne:-gote teho*  
 again other village-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M who-ever mother  
*bi:s-eni bi:s-nar ta:n qe:g-an a:ny-ah*  
 sell-FT.3SG.NM sell-PR.3PL then buy-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He went to yet another village and said, “If anyone sells his mother,  
 then I will buy her.”

8'37 *a:n-ne ke.ba:d menj-ar sa:la i: pagla-ja:ti*  
 say-VN after listen.B2-PT.3PL ITJ this mad.man-kind  
 They heard this [and said] “Bastard! This is a mad kind of man.”

8'40 *pagla ar burbak male-h inor teho-n ika-r-gote*  
 mad.man and stupid person-M now mother-AC who-PL-ever  
*bi:s-a:nar*  
 sell-FT.3PL  
 “He is a mad and stupid man. Now who on earth will sell his mother?”

8'42 *keyamro jarmes-kar bady-tar-nar teho-n bi:s-ot*  
 with.difficulty give.birth-CP.3PL grow-CS-PR.3PL mother-AC sell-IF  
*awd-dah a:n-kar lati-ti baj-a baj-a akr-ar*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M say-CP.3PL stick-IN beat-AP REP drive.away-PT.3PL  
*akr-ar got-qep-ni akr-a[r] ani kiry-ah*  
 REP all-village-LO.EPH drive.away-PT.3PL then return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Saying “Mothers give birth to and raise [children] with difficulty. He  
 speaks of selling his mother,” they chased him away beating him with  
 sticks. They chased him away in the whole village and he came back.

8'51 *ani iko ayo-n qaq-te a:n-ko mala qaq-omtan*  
 then where mother-AC obtain-PT.2SG.M say-CP no obtain-NG.PR.1SG  
*gote-r eng-en bajy-ar jahā nijj-a nijj-a*  
 all-PL I-AC beat.B2-PT.3PL EPH hit.with.stone-AP REP  
*akr-ar a:n-ko*  
 drive-PT.3PL say-CP  
 Then [mother asked,] “Did you get a mother anywhere?” [The son  
 answered] “No, I could not. They all started beating me, threw stones  
 at me, and drove me away.”

8'58 *ṭ̥i:k ba:te niŋ[ŋ-en] niŋj-a akr-ar ta:n e:ru*  
 good thing you-AC hit.with.stone-AP drive-PT.3PL then good  
 “Good thing. If they drove you away, hitting you with stones, that is good.”

9'00 *inor ni:n p̥ir pe:sa-n oy-oka e:k-a*  
 now you again money-AC take-FT.IMP go-AC  
 “Now you take the money again and go!”

9'03 *ne:k-bahno=gote bahu bikar-i bahu bikar-i ta:n*  
 who-LO=ever bride be.sold-PR.3SG bride be.sold-PR.3SG then  
*eng-e qat-a e:n do:k-tar-an a:n-ke tund-oka*  
 I-DA give-IMP I stay-CS-FT.1SG say-CP.2SG.M look-FT.IMP  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “You say ‘Is a bride for sale anywhere? Is a bride for sale anywhere? Then give me one. I will marry her,’ and see [what happens].”

9'10 *p̥ir inor eky-ah pe:sa pehra-kah dusra*  
 again now go.B2-PT.3SG.M money take.along-CP.3SG.M another  
*qep-ik*  
 village-DA  
 Taking the money along, he now went to another village again.

9'12 *e:k-ne ke.ba:d awq-ah ne:k-bahno=gote bahu bikar-u*  
 go-VN after speak-PT.3SG.M who-LO=ever bride be.sold-PP  
*bey-i a:ny-ah*  
 be-PR.3SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After going, he said, “Is there any bride for sale at anyone’s place?”

9'16 *i: p̥a:c-jin c̥o:-jin urqy-ar eng-bahno ba:jagni*  
 this five-CLF six-CLF come.out.B2-PT.3PL I-LO maiden  
*do:k-i eng-bahno ba:jagni do:k-id e:n ciy-an a:n-le*  
 stay-3SG I-LO maiden stay-3SG.NM I give-FT.1SG say-CP  
*jama:-r-ar uske.ba:d kiry-ah*  
 gather-ITR-PT.3PL after.that return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 [Then] five or six people came out, and gathered [saying] “There is a girl in my place. There is a girl in my place. I will offer her.” Then he went home.

9'23 *indra a:ny-ar [a:n]-ko dudu inor*  
 what say.B2-PT.3PL say-CP mother now  
 Mother now asks “What did they say?”

9'26 *ke:ponde awqa-tan ne:-gote pel-a bi:s-eni*  
 once speak-PT.1SG who-ever woman-AC sell-FT.3SG.NM  
*a:n-tan ani qepo-ndr jamar-ar*  
 say-PT.1SG then villager-and.so.on get.together-PT.3PL  
 “I said ‘Will anyone sell a girl?’ once and then villagers gathered.”

9'31 *ba:pre ṭ̥i:k ort qe:q-qe ondr-oka maj-e adi-n*  
 ITJ good one buy-CP.2SG.M bring-IMP like-FT.2SG.M that-AC

*a:n-ka pe:sa-ti qe:q-qa oc-ah peli-n*  
 say-CP money-IN buy-CP take.B2-PT.3SG.M woman-AC  
 [Mother] said, "Good heavens! Well, buy and bring the one you like,"  
 and he bought and brought a girl.

9'36 *tund-de ina peli-n to adi-n pit-te ani-jahā*  
 look-PR.2SG.M today woman-AC TOP that-AC kill-PT.2SG then-even  
*nane-n qe:q-qa and-ete lekin ayo-n qe:q-qa*  
 other-AC buy-CP find-PT.2SG.M but mother-AC buy-CP  
*and-ete anda*  
 find-PT.2SG.M then  
 "Look, even though you have killed a woman, you bought and found  
 another today. But did you buy and find a mother?"

9'41 *is.lie: teho-tambako-r-in kabi: pit-ot cahy-omala*  
 therefore mother-father-PL-AC anytime kill-IF should-NG.PR.3SG  
*keyamro po:sy-nar baj-ot cahy-omala*  
 with.difficulty support-PR.3PL beat-IF should-NG.PR.3SG  
 Therefore, you should never kill your parents. They nurture you with  
 difficulty. You should not beat them.

9'47 *a:n-ki sika:tar-a a: dine hī naya bahu pun*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM teach-PT.3SG that day EPH new bride new  
*bahu sa:tu a:ra:m.se suk<sup>h</sup>.se jindgi-b<sup>h</sup>ar bita-tar-le*  
 bride together in.peace happily life-all spend.time-TR-CP  
*do:ky-ar*  
 stay.B2-PT.3PL  
 [The story] teaches thus. [From] that day on, she lived with the new  
 wife together, spending time in peace and happiness for life.

9'57 *i: kata-d i:d-ni oygr-a*  
 this story-NM this-LO.EPH end-PT.3SG  
 This story ends here.

### §26 Story of a smart nephew (Nc).

Told by Mr. Mangal Malto of Simal Kundi, P. O. Hiranpur, P. S. Littipara,  
 Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Simal Kundi on September 7, 2006.

0'21 *e:n e:nd-ond qe:ri-n tey<sup>g</sup>-oti ugley-in*  
 I CLF-one story-AC tell-IF feel.like-PR.1SG  
 I would like to tell a story.

0'26 *orte-h kank-qadē-k eky-ah*  
 one.CLF-M wood-jungle-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 A man went to the woods for firewood.

0'32 *kank-qadē-k ek-keh kank-a ta:r-ot eky-ah*  
 wood-jungle-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.M wood-AC cut-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ani*  
 then  
 He went to the woods in order to cut firewood.

0'38 *kank-a ta:r-ot e:k-ne ke.ba:du maq-onde ejdu urqy-a*  
 wood-AC cut-IF go-VN after CLF-one bear come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 After going to cut firewood, a bear came out.

0'52 *maq-ond ejdu urqy-a ante a:hu man-ik*  
 CLF-one bear come.out.B2-PT.3SG and he tree-DA  
*arg-keh ij-ah adno ejdu te.lo lap-ot*  
 climb-CP.3SG.M stand.B2-PT.3SG.M then bear tree.name eat-IF  
*urqy-ad ani*  
 come.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM then  
 A bear came out. And he climbed up a tree and stood on it. The bear  
 came out to eat Telo fruit.

1'00 *a:he ikna:na et-ken boyg-en a:ny-ah*  
 he how go.down-CP.1SG run.away-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, "How shall I go down and run away?"

1'04 *ante et-keh boyg-oti pa:w-a jimir-keh*  
 and go.down-CP.3SG.M run.away-IF road-AC be.obtained-CP.3SG.M  
*upa:y-a lagatry-ah*  
 devise-AC attach.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He went down, and having found a way to escape, he used a trick.

1'10 *ki ej-nihi be:k-keh ety-ah*  
 COMP bear-LO.EPH jump-CP.3SG.M go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He jumped onto the bear and went down.

1'13 *ante ej-no be:k-ke et-keh ok-keh*  
 and bear-LO jump-CP.3SG.M go.down-CP.3SG.M sit-CP.3SG.M  
*ada-k andake oc-ah*  
 house-DA that.way take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He jumped down and sat on the bear and took it home that way.

1'19 *oca-keh ante conj-keh ildy-ah*  
 take.B2-CP.3SG.M and tie-CP.3SG.M make.stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He took it home, tied it, and made it stand.

1'22 *conj-keh ild-keh a:h ej-ki erg-id*  
 tie-CP.3SG.M make.stand-CP.3SG he bear-GE excrete-PR.3SG.NM  
*a:ti-no e:k-taka pe:sa-n asq-qeh ojy-ah*  
 there-LO one-rupee money-AC paste-CP.3SG.M keep.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After he tied it and made it stand, he pasted a one-rupee coin on where  
 it has excreted and kept it.

1'32 *asq-qeh ojy-ah ante ahi-k tayg-mama-da:ru*  
 paste-CP.3SG.M keep.B2-PT.3SG.M and he-DA own-maternal.uncle-PL  
*sat-jin-er dqky-ar*  
 seven-CLF-PL stay.B2-PT.3PL  
 He pasted [a one-rupee coin] and left it. He had seven maternal uncles.

1'37 *ani (u:te) bagna(d)-ada-k bagna-bahak e:k-a a:n-ker*  
 then nephew-house-DA nephew-LO go-IMP say-CP.3PL

*eky-ar*  
go.B2-PT.3PL  
Then they said “Let us go,” and went to [their] nephew’s place.

1'47 *ante a:h awdy-ah ki aju: mama-da:ru ik-pa:w*  
and he speak.B2-PT.3SG.M COMP ITJ maternal.uncle-PL which-way  
*barc-ker ok-a a:n-keh awdy-ah*  
come.B2-PT.2PL sit-IMP say-CP.3SG.M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Then he said, “Oh uncles, from where did you come? Please take a seat.”

1'54 *ante a:ber oky-ar a:-pahra tang-mama-da:ru ej-a*  
and they sit.B2-PT.3PL that-time own-maternal.uncle-PL bear-AC  
*tund-ker awdy-ar*  
look-CP.3PL speak.B2-PT.3PL  
When they took their seats, the maternal uncles saw the bear and said,

2'00 *aju:=re ide-n ik.wa-nte ondr-ke a:n-le mala ide-n*  
ITJ=ITJ this-AC where-AB bring-PT.2SG.M say-CP no this-AC  
*dade-no anda-ken*  
jungle-LO find-PT.ISG  
“My, from where did you bring this?” “No, I found it in the jungle.”

2'07 *and-ko i:de pe:sa-n erg-id a:n-ko*  
find-CP this money-AC excrete-PR.3SG.NM say-CP  
After I found it, [I learned that] it excretes money.

2'10 *indra kud-er mama-da:ru p<sup>h</sup>ir pe:sa-n*  
what do-FT.2PL maternal.uncle-PL again money-AC  
*ke:tn-onond erg-id a:n-keh a:n-le*  
winnow.basket-each.one excrete-PR.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M say-CP  
*awdy-ah*  
speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He said, “What will you do, uncles? It excretes a basketful of money each time again.”

2'17 *ani em-bagna ið-en bi:s-ne ta:n e:m qe:g-lem*  
then we.E-nephew this-AC sell-PR.2SG.M then we.E buy-SJ.1PL.E  
*a:n-ko*  
say-CP  
Then they said, “Dear nephew, if you sell it, we will buy it.”

2'22 *lap-a qond-ken mama-da:ru bi:s-len a:ny-ah*  
eat-AP be.tired-PT.1SG maternal.uncle-PL sell-SJ.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He said, “I got tired of [its] eating. Uncles, I will sell it.”

2'25 *ante e:nond dam nan-ne a:n-ko a:y besi* dame  
and how.much price make-PR.2SG.M say-CP ITJ much price  
*mala-d arpe beh-i*  
be.not-NM a.little be-PR.3SG  
When they said, “How much do you want?” [he said] “Not much; just a little.”

2'34 *a:n-ko e:k.so: taka-no qe:q-ger oc-ar*  
 say-CP one.hundred rupee-LO buy-CP.3PL take.B2-PT.3PL  
 Saying this, they bought it for one hundred rupees and took it.

2'41 *ante tang-bagna-h awdy-ah mama-da:ru i:d*  
 and own-nephew-M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M maternal.uncle-PL this  
*qoli-n alktr-id a:-pahra ke:tn-a tuk-ku*  
 tail-AC open-PR.3SG.NM that-time winnow.basket-AC push-FT.IMP  
*a:ny-ah*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And the nephew says, “Uncles, when it raises the tail, put a winnow basket.”

2'49 *ante pe:sa-n erg-anid a:n-ko*  
 and money-AC excrete-FT.3SG.NM say-CP  
 “And it will excrete money”

2'53 *a:du qoli-n alktr-nihi ke:tn-a tuk-ko*  
 that tail-AC open-IPP.EPH winnow.basket-AC push-CP  
*te:lo-bi:ci-n te:lo-bi:ci-n ergy-a*  
 plant.name-seed-AC REP excrete.B2-PT.3SG  
 When they put a winnow basket when it raised the tail, it excreted one Telo seed after another.

2'58 *ani tang-mama-da:ru ahi-n ro:kary-ar*  
 so own-maternal.uncle-PL he-AC get.angry.B2-PT.3PL  
 So the maternal uncles got angry at him.

3'04 *ro.kar-ker ante sa:la-bagna-h nam-en essa*  
 get.angry-CP.3PL and term.of.abuse-nephew-M we.I-AC much  
*tagc-keh bi:sy-ah*  
 cheat.B2-PT.3SG.M sell.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The darned nephew cheated us and sold [the bear to us].

3'10 (a) *pe:sa-n erg-anid a:ny-ah ta:n*  
 money-AC excrete-FT.3SG.NM say.B2-PT.3SG.M then  
*te:lo-bi:ci-n ergy-a*  
 plant.name-seed-AC excrete.B2-PT.3SG  
 [Though] he said it will excrete money, it [actually] excreted Telo seeds.

3'14 *e:k-a nahi-n baj-et a:n-ker eky-ar*  
 go-IMP he-AC beat-FT.1PL.I say-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL  
 They went, saying “Let’s go and beat him up.”

3'16 *ante e:k-ne ke.ba:du awri-hi tang-bagna awdy-ah*  
 and go-VN after again-EPH own-nephew speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And after they went, the nephew said again.

3'20 *aju: mama-da:r ik-pa:w barc-ker ok-a do:k-a*  
 ITJ maternal.uncle-PL which-way come.B2-CP.2PL sit-IMP stay-IMP  
*a:ny-ah ante oky-ar*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.M and sit.B2-PT.3PL

He said, "Oh uncles, by which way did you come? Please take a seat and stay." And they sat down.

3'25 *ok-ne ke.ba:du teho-paco-n awdy-ah ki*  
 sit-VN after mother-old.woman-AC speak.B2-PT.3SG.M COMP  
*mama-da:ru barc-a[r] dudu-paco qe:r-a*  
 maternal.uncle-PL come.B2-PT.3PL mother-old.woman chicken-AC  
*pit-a*  
 kill-IMP  
 After they sat down, he said to his wife, "Maternal uncles have come, momma. Kill a chicken."

3'34 *a:n-ko a:du be:ri lagatry-a pit-e-no ani*  
 say-CP she time attach.B2-PT.3SG kill-VN-LO so  
 Saying "It has taken her a lot of time to kill [a chicken],"

3'37 *curi-n peta-keh teho-paco-n caq-a*  
 knife-AC take.up-CP.3SG.M mother-old.woman-AC stab-AP  
*pity-ah*  
 kill.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 he took up a knife, stabbed and killed his wife.

3'42 *caq-a pity-ah ante sunstry-a ani*  
 stab-AP kill.B2-PT.3SG.M and sniff.B2-PT.3SG then  
*jiyary-ad*  
 revive.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 He stabbed and killed her. Then she [started] breath[ing again] and got back to life.

3'50 *ade-n=hō tundy-ar tang-mama sob-er*  
 that-AC=too look.B2-PT.3PL own-maternal.uncle all-PL  
 All the maternal uncles saw it.

3'53 *ante awdy-ar aju:=re bagna em-sa:mne-hi ni:ne caq-a*  
 and speak.B2-PT.3PL ITJ=ITJ nephew we.E-front-EPH you stab-AP  
*pit-ke ante sunstr-ki ani jiyary-ad*  
 kill-PT.2SG.M and sniff-CP.3SG.NM then revive.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 And they said, "Oh my, nephew, you stabbed and killed [her] right in front of us, and she [started] breath[ing again] and got back to life."

4'02 *i: curi-n bi:s-ne bi:s-le ade-n e:m qe:g-lem a:n-ko*  
 this knife-AC sell-PR.2SG.M sell-CP that-AC we.E buy-SJ.1PL.E say-CP  
 They said, "Will you sell this knife? If you do, we will buy it."

4'06 *indra kud-en mama-da:ru bi:s-en e:n ado-jaha*  
 what do-FT.1SG maternal.uncle-PL sell-FT.1SG I more-even  
*me:nj-tr-en a:ny-ah*  
 make-CS-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, "What shall I do, uncles? I will sell it. I will have another one made."

4'11 *to ade-n qe:gy-a[r] qe:q-quer oc-ar*  
 then that-AC buy.B2-PT.3PL buy-CP.3PL take.B2-PT.3PL

*tang-mama-da:ru*  
own-maternal.uncle-PL  
And they bought it. The maternal uncles bought and took it along.

4'15 *oy-ne ke.ba:du a:r apne apne tang-a:da:ni-bagter-in a:n-le*  
take-VN after they own REP own-wife-PL-AC do.so-CP  
*caq-a pify-ar*  
stab-AP kill.B2-PT.3PL  
After that, they stabbed their own wives that way and killed them.

4'21 *ante sujstr-ko jiyar-lar*  
and sniff-CP revive-NG.PT.3PL  
And [the wives] did not [start] breathing again and get back to life.

4'23 *ani sat-jine to apna apni tang-a:da:ni-bagter-in pit*  
so seven-CLF then own own own-wife-PL-AC kill.AP  
*onyg-y-ar*  
finish.B2-PT.3PL  
Then the seven uncles had killed their own wives.

4'30 *pit ong-ker ado ro:kar-ker eky-ar*  
kill finish-CP.3PL more get.angry-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL  
*tang-bagna-baha[-k]*  
own-nephew-place-DA  
After they had killed them, they got even more angry and went to their nephew's place.

4'35 *ante ek-ker ahi-n eky-ar awro darc-ar*  
and go.B2-CP.3PL he-AC go.B2-PT.3PL again catch.B2-PT.3PL  
They went to him and caught him again.

4'39 *darc-ker ihi-n samdre-no tu:s-et a:n-ker*  
catch.B2-CP.3PL this-AC sea-LO throw.away-FT.1PL.I say-CP.3PL  
*bora-no bara:tr-ker e:ca-ker oc-ar*  
bag-LO fill-CP.3PL bind-CP.3PL take.B2-PT.3PL  
Saying they would throw him into the ocean, they put him in a bag, tied it and took him along.

4'47 *e:ca-ker oca-ker ante amn.ki:ra qondy-ar majte*  
bind-CP.3PL take-CP.3PL and thirst be.tired.B2-PT.3PL middle  
*bila-no sa:yi-no*  
plain-LO field-LO  
They bound and took him along, and got tired [from] thirst in the middle of a plain.

4'58 *amnki:ya qond-ker a:ti-no orte mohara o:y-a ere-n*  
thirsty be.tired-CP.3PL there-LO one herdsman cattle-AC goat-AC  
*bedi-ne:k-en cala:-te doky-ah*  
sheep-who-AC drive-AP stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
They got thirsty and tired. There was one herdsman driving cattle, goats, sheep and so on.

5'10 *ahi-n menj.e:ry-ar ik.wahno am ko:d-id a:n-ko*  
 he-AC inquire.B2-PT.3PL where water lie-PR.3SG.NM say-CP  
 They asked him, "Where is water?"

5'13 *ekdam a: be:r qe:sqe:sr-id a:-bahno se ko:d-id*  
 at.once that sun glare-PR.3SG.NM that-LO EPH lie-PR.3SG.NM  
*a:n-keh awdy-ah*  
 say-CP.3SG.M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, "[Water] is where sun glares at dawn."

5'19 *ano i: bora-n em-a tund-ke qat-ku e:mu*  
 there this bag-AC we.E-DA look-CP.2SG.M give-FT.IMP we.E  
*onda-kem bar-em (a:nke) a:n-ker eky-ar*  
 drink.B2-CP.1PL.E come-FT.1PL.E say-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL  
 "Please watch this bag for us. We will be back after drinking [water]."  
 Having said this, they went.

5'26 *ani a:hu a: bora-n mang-a cala:tr-uh kol-ke*  
 then he that bag-AC buffalo-AC drive-PP.M open-CP.3SG.M  
*e:r-ih ta:nu adno ortu male-h oky-ah*  
 see-PR.3SG.M then then one man-M sit.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then when the buffalo herdsman opened the bag and saw, there was a man sitting in it.

5'36 *ante a: male-n menj.e:ry-ah are indra kud-oti ning-en*  
 and that man-AC inquire.B2-PT.3SG.M ITJ what do-IF you-AC  
*e:ca-ker oy-ner a:n-ko*  
 bind-CP.3PL take-PR.3PL say-CP  
 Then he asked that man, "Say, why did they bind you and are taking you?"

5'42 *a: bora-no ok-u-h awdy-ah*  
 that bag-LO sit-PP-M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 That man sitting in the bag said,

5'45 *ra:ja-tay.gadi-gun biha nan-ot awd-ner*  
 king-daughter-with wedding do-IF speak-PR.3PL  
 "They tell me to marry the king's daughter."

5'46 *amb-in ani bora-no bara:tr-ker oy-ner a:ny-ah*  
 leave-PR.1SG then bag-LO fill-CP.3PL take-PR.3PL say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ani*  
 then  
 He said, "I said I would not, and they put me in a bag and are taking me along."

5'51 *a:hu awdy-ah iko=re e:n e:k-ene*  
 he speak.B2-PT.3SG.M where=ITJ I go-FT.1SG  
 He said, "Where [is it]? I will go."

5'54 *a:n-keh badla:r-keh go:te darse-ne a: cala:tr-u-k*  
 say-CP.3SG.M change-CP.3SG.M all dress-AC that drive-PP-DA

cica-keh ante ta:ne lati-ne:k-en pehr-keh o:y-a  
 give.B2-CP.3SG.M and self staff-who-AC take.up-CP.3SG.M cattle-AC  
 cala:tr-le ij-ah  
 drive-CP stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He changed [clothes], gave them to the herdsman, and he took up a  
 staff and stood driving the cattle.

6'06 ante a:r am onda-ker barc-ker ade-n  
 and they water drink.B2-CP.3PL come.B2-CP.3PL that-AC  
 kum-ker oca-ker samdre-no tu:sy-ar  
 take.on.the.head-CP.3PL take.B2-CP.3PL water-LO throw.B2-PT.3PL  
 They (the uncles) drank water, came back, carried it (i.e. the bag),  
 took it along and threw it in the ocean.

6'14 tu:s-ne ke.ba:du i:hu badlary-a a:hu kirtr-keh  
 throw-VN after he change.B2-PT.3SG he bring.back-CP.3SG.M  
 o:y-a ne:k-en kirtr-keh tay-ki ada-no ninda-keh  
 cattle-AC who-AC bring.back-CP.3SG.M self-GE house-LO fill-CP.3SG.M  
 ildy-ah  
 make.stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then this [nephew] who changed [clothes with the herdsman] drove  
 the cattle and so on home, put them in his own house and kept them  
 there.

6'23 ante ahi-n tu:s-ker barc-ar ante a:  
 and he-AC throw-CP.3PL come.B2-PT.3PL and that  
 tang-bagna-sober ada-k ek-ke[r] fund-ner ta:nu  
 own-nephew-all.PL house-AC go.B2-CP.3PL look-PR.3PL then  
 o:ydu e:re bedi ninda-keh ildy-ah  
 cattle goat sheep fill-CP.3SG.M make.stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 They threw him [in the ocean] and came back. And when they went  
 to the house of the nephew and looked, he filled it with cattle, goats,  
 and sheep, and kept them.

6'33 aqe ning-en i hi e:m samdre-no tu:s-kem ta:n awri-hi  
 ITJ you-AC EPH we.E sea-LO throw-CP.1PL.E then again-EPH  
 o:y-a e:re-n=jahā ondr-ke  
 cattle-AC goat-AC=even bring-PT.2SG.M  
 “Say, we threw you in the ocean, then you even brought back cattle  
 and goats.”

6'39 a:n-ko mala mama-dar eng-en cojnond qond-la:go-no  
 say-CP no maternal.uncle-PL I-AC a.little deep-somewhat-LO  
 tu:s-ler adno besi mo:t-mo:to mang-a ne:k-en ondr-len  
 throw-SJ.2PL then much RED-fat buffalo-AC who-AC bring-SJ.1SG  
 “No, uncles, if you had thrown me in an even deeper [sea], I would  
 have brought back really big buffaloes.”

6'46 cojnond otto(?) -no tu:s-ker ani sarwli a:n-keh qe:ri-n  
 a.little shallow-LO throw-CP.2PL then small say-CP.3SG.M story-AC

*qacy-ah*

end.B2-PT.3SG.M

“You threw me in a little shallow [sea], so [they are] small.” Saying this, he gave an end to the story.

### §27 Story of a jackal and a tiger wife (Nc).

Told by Mr. Paulus Malto of Mokri, P. O. Bara Gagri, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at Dharampur Mor on September 7, 2006.

0'00 *ey-ki na:mi-d paulus malto-d e:n mo:kri qepo-n*  
I-GE name-NM PROP PROP-NM I PROP villager-1SG  
My name is Paulus Malto. I am a villager of Mokri.

0'06 *anake e:nu juka qe:ri-n teyg-en*  
now I a.little story-AC tell-FT.1SG  
Now I will tell a small story.

0'14 *maq-ond cigalo ante tu:qu-d ante cigalo doky-ad*  
CLF-one jackal and tiger-NM and jackal stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
There lived a tiger and a jackal.

0'23 *tu:du-d org.ni menj-ad a:d e:nd-ond mo:to qade-no*  
tiger-NM wife be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that CLF-one big forest-LO  
*doky-ad*  
stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
There was [another] tiger which was the wife. They lived in a big forest.

0'30 *ante din-ond cigalo-de tu:du-da:ni-n ka:lka:s ki:d-i*  
and day.CLF-one jackal-NM tiger-wife-AC desire lay-PR.3SG  
And one day, the jackal coveted the tiger’s wife.

0'37 *ante awdy-ad lega are na:m din-ond*  
and speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM come.along.ITJ ITJ we.I day.CLF-one  
*ne:reh agwa a:rs-eh din-ond na:mu boŋg-et*  
who.M first arrive-FT.3SG.M day.CLF-one we.I run-FT.1PL.I  
*a:ny-a*  
say.B2-PT.3SG  
And he said, “Come along. Let us race sometime [and see] who will arrive first.”

0'46 *ante a:ber din-onde boŋg-ad*  
and they day.CLF-one run-PT.3SG.NM  
And they raced one day.

0'50 *a: pahr-no cigalo-d boŋg-e-no kajak te:ji boŋg-ad*  
that time-LO jackal-NM run-VN-LO much fast run-PT.3SG.NM  
At that time, the jackal ran very fast in running.

0'55 *essa boŋg-e-ki ba:du a: tu:d-a ikni-go:te pi:j-oti becc-ad*  
much run-VN-GE after that tiger-AC how-ever kill-IF be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
He was going to kill the male tiger somehow after running a lot.

1'00 *ante a: tu:d-a pit-oti lagcki a:du man-ond mimi-manu-d*  
 and that tiger-AC kill-IF for that tree.CLF-one neem-tree-NM  
*ij-ad*  
 stand.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 And there stood that neem tree fit for killing the tiger.

1'06 *a: bande-n a:de bande=indru qolgr-a tu:dur-ki*  
 that root-LO that root=and.so.on beneath-AC walk.under-CP.3SG.NM  
*katy-a*  
 cross.B2-PT.3SG  
 It went under the root and passed it.

1'11 *ade-no tu:du-d hō adi-k boyg-ad*  
 that-LO tiger-NM too that-DA run-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the tiger also ran to that [tree].

1'15 *adi-n tu:du-d(ke) kat-in a:n-kid ante a:t-no*  
 that-AC tiger-NM cross-PR.1SG say-CP.3SG.NM and there-LO  
*kat-kid kec-ad*  
 run.into-CP.3SG.NM die.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Thinking “I will pass it,” [the tiger] ran into [the root] and died there.

1'20 *key-e-ki ba:du a: cigalo-d ek-ki ante tu:du-da:ni-n*  
 die-VN-GE after that jackal-NM go.B2-CP.3SG.NM and tiger-wife-AC  
*awdy-ad*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the jackal went and told the wife of the tiger.

1'26 *e:n ning-a da:we-n pit-ken bar-in a:ny-a*  
 I you-DA husband-AC kill-CP.1SG come-PR.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG  
 He said, “I killed your husband and have come [to your place].”

1'29 *ani a: cigalo awdy-ad*  
 thus that jackal speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 The jackal said this.

1'31 *ni:n eng-a qa:we pit-ke e:n ning-en do:k-en*  
 you I-DA husband kill-PT.2SG.M I you-AC marry-FT.1SG  
 “You killed my husband? [Oh well, then] I will marry you.”

1'34 *ino maqo-ta:ni-d mage-r do:k-ner a:-le:cki ne:reh*  
 here child-possessed.of-NM child-PL stay-PR.3PL that-for who.M  
*po:sy-eh*  
 support-FT.3SG.M  
 [For] here is a mother with cubs. Cubs are [also] there. So who will  
 support [them]?

1'39 *a:n-ko cigalo awdy-a e:n ning-en do:k-oti se ning-a*  
 say-CP jackal speak.B2-PT.3SG I you-AC cohabit-IF EPH you-DA  
*da:w-e[n] pit-ken a:ny-a*  
 husband-AC kill-CP.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then the jackal said, “I killed your husband only to marry you.”

1'45 *ante a:d indra kud-enid adi-n jogy-oti po:sy-oti*  
 and that what do-FT.3SG.NM that-AC take.care.of-IF support-IF  
*awdy-ad*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then what did she do? She told him to take care of the cubs and to  
 feed them.

1'52 *ante awdy-ad ki ni:nu ka:l-a maege-r-ik lape-n*  
 and speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM COMP you go-IMP boy-PL-DA food-AC  
*ondr-oka a:ny-a*  
 bring-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG  
 And she said, "You go and bring food for the cubs."

1'57 *ante a:d eky-ad maege-r-ik lape-n ondr-oti*  
 then that go.B2-PT.3SG.NM boy-PL-DA food-AC bring-IF  
 He went in order to bring food for the cubs.

2'01 *ante din-ond a:du anno inno qade-no carc*  
 and day.CLF-one that there here forest-LO walk.around.B2.AP  
*kudy-a*  
 go.around.B2-PT.3SG  
 And he walked around in the forest all day.

2'07 *carc kudy-a ante ikeno-gote lape-n*  
 walk.around.B2.AP do.B2-PT.3SG and where-ever food-AC  
*and-olkid ante a:d ante dukrar-ki*  
 find-CP.NG.3SG.NM and that and be.distressed-CP.3SG  
*kiry-ad*  
 return.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Unable to find food anywhere, he came back distressed.

2'13 *ante awdy-ad e:n ine lap-oti maege-r le:cki*  
 and speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM I today eat-IF boy-PL for  
*pola-ken*  
 be.unable-PT.1SG  
 And he said, "I could not [let] the cubs eat today."

2'17 *a:n-kid ante a:h arigari ondr-le qaty-ah ani ni:n*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM and he always bring-CP give.B2-PT.3SG.M then you  
*ikni pol-ne*  
 how be.unable-PR.2SG.M  
 "He (i.e. my former husband) always brought food and gave [it to us].  
 Why can't you?"

2'21 *a:n-ko a:d awdy-ad aneke ahe-n pit-ken e:n*  
 say-CP that speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM now he-AC kill-PT.1SG I  
*dukre:tr-o:ken a:n-kid ado-hi kir-kid*  
 distress-NG.PR.1SG say-CP.3SG.NM further-EPH return-CP.3SG.NM  
*eky-a*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG

She spoke so. Saying “I killed him and now I won’t distress [you any more],” he went back [to the forest] once more.

2'27 *kir-ki daqe-k eky-ad ante ano cigalo-de*  
 return-CP.3SG forest-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.NM and there jackal-NM  
*o:y-a e:re-n bang-e kudy-ad*  
 cow-AC goat-AC lie.in.wait-VN do.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 The jackal went back to the forest and lay waiting for cattle and goats.

2'35 *ante ikni-gote gowale-r-inte bac-kid ante e:re-n*  
 and how-ever cowherd-PL-AB rob-CP.3SG.NM and goat-AC  
*boygtry-a*  
 carry.away.B2-PT.3SG  
 And somehow he robbed of herdsmen and carried goats away.

2'40 *boygtr-kid ante mage-r-in mo:q-try-ad*  
 carry.away-CP.3SG.NM and boy-PL-AC eat-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 He carried [goats] away and fed the tiger cubs.

2'43 *mo:q-try-a a: pahr-no qa:ni-n awdy-ad*  
 eat-CS.B2-PT.3SG that time-LO wife-AC speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 He fed them. Then he said to the wife.

2'45 *are erw-en adi-k eng-e konda-cedro-n*  
 ITJ sacrifice-FT.1SG that-DA I-DA heart-intestine-AC  
*eng-tr-ku a:ny-a*  
 remain-CS-FT.IMP say.B2-PT.3SG  
 He said, “My dear, I will perform a puja. So save the heart and intestines for me.”

2'50 *ante a: konda-cedro-n eng-tr-ki cic-ad ani*  
 and that heart-intestine-AC remain-CS-CP.3SG give.B2-PT.3SG.NM then  
 So she saved the heart and intestines and gave them to him.

2'53 *cigalo-de te konda-cedro-ni mo:q-u adi-n a:du ta:nu*  
 jackal-NM TOP heart-intestine-AC.EPH eat-PP that-AC that then  
*moq-ad*  
 eat.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Jackals eat heart and intestines, so he ate them then.

2'58 *moq-qid ante a: u:qy-ad ante bijy-ad*  
 eat-CP.3SG and that get.dark.B2-PT.3SG.NM and dawn.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then it got dark and morning came.

3'01 *ado hi nan dine a:du a: dine tey-ad ka:l-a ni:n*  
 further EPH other day that that day send-PT.3SG.NM go-IMP you  
*mage-r-ik ondr-oka ni:n*  
 boy-PL-DA bring-IMP you  
 On another day, she sent him out again, saying “You go and bring [food] for the cubs.”

3'07 *ado hi eky-ad gurar-oti*  
 further EPH go.B2-PT.3SG.NM walk.about-IF  
 He went to walk about again.

3'09 *bed-oti eky-ad e:re-n ante ano qade-no i:-baje*  
 seek-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.NM goat-AC and there forest-LO this-side  
*a:-baje akry-ad go:ta-hi*  
 that-side chase.B2-PT.3PL all-EPH  
 He went to look for a goat. He chased [goats] this way and that way  
 all around there in the forest.

3'15 *gote-ri cigalo-n ikno-gote and-ar a:t-nihi*  
 all-PL jackal-AC where-ever find-PT.3PL there-LO.EPH  
*akry-a*  
 chase.B2-PT.3SG  
 In every place, everyone found the jackal, and they chased him there.

3'18 *ani ado-hi nira:s menja-kid ante kiry-ad*  
 then further-EPH disappointed become.B2-CP.3SG.NM and  
*return.B2-PT.3SG.NM*  
 And again, he got disappointed and came back.

3'22 *kir-e-ki ba:du a:d awdy-ad i:t-no caukida:r*  
 return-VN-GE after that speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM here-LO watchman  
*ga:re-r are*  
 many-PL ITJ  
 Then he said, "There are too many watchmen here, dear."

3'28 *e:n qaq-oti jim-oti pol-in*  
 I get-IF meet-IF be.unable-PR.1SG  
 I cannot find or get [food because of them].

3'30 *a:-le:cki na:m e:k-a em-de:s-ik a:ny-a*  
 that-for we.I go-IMP we.E.OBL-country-DA say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Therefore let's go to our (i.e. of the jackals) land.

3'33 *a:fi-nte tam-de:s-ik a:d oy-oti lagcki*  
 there-AB themselves-land-DA that take-IF for  
*sapre:c-ad*  
 prepare.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 They prepared in order to move from there to their (i.e. of the jackals)  
 land.

3'38 *sapre:c-ad a: pahr-no a: tu:d-ik maq-is maqo*  
 prepare.B2-PT.3SG.NM that time-LO that tiger-DA CLF-two child  
*menj-ad qadi-tu:d-ik*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM female-tiger-DA  
 So they prepared. Then that female tiger had two cubs.

3'44 *(a:l ane) a: qadi-tu:qu-n awdy-a ning-a se maqo-n*  
 that female-tiger-AC speak.B2-PT.3SG you-DA EPH child-AC  
*ni:n pa:k-a a:ny-a*  
 you take.in.the.lap-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then he said to the female tiger, "You carry your children."

3'49 *ani a: tu:qu-d awdy-ad orto-d-i*  
 then that tiger-NM speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM one-NM-EPH  
*pa:k-a a:n-ko*  
 take.in.the.lap-IMP say-CP  
 Then the tiger said, "You carry one."

3'52 *amb-in e:n pa:k-o:ken e:n i:-sob-en*  
 leave-PR.1SG I take.in.the.lap-NG.PR.1SG I this-all-AC  
*motra.jutra-n qow-en*  
 packs.of.luggage-AC carry-FT.1SG  
 "No, I won't. I will carry all these [belongings]."

3'56 *ni:n niy-ki maq-a pa:k-a a:n-ko*  
 you you-GE child-AC take.in.the.lap-IMP say-CP  
 "You carry your own cubs."

3'58 *a: tu:qu tanj-ki maq-a pa:k-kid ante eky-ad*  
 that tiger self-GE child-AC take.in.the.lap-CP.3SG.NM and  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 That tiger took her own cubs and went.

4'02 *eky-ar se eky-ar eky-ar ante i: parte-n*  
 go.B2-PT.3PL EPH go.B2-PT.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL and this mountain-AC  
*kat-ker [an]te a: parte to:ke-n kat-ker ante samdre-k*  
 cross-CP.3PL then that mountain hill-AC cross-CP.3PL and sea-DA  
*arjsy-ar*  
 reach.B2-PT.3PL  
 They went and went, and having crossed this mountain and that mountain, they reached the sea.

4'10 *samdre-k arjsy-ar a: pahr-no cigalo-d*  
 sea-DA reach.B2-PT.3PL that time-LO jackal-NM  
*awdy-ad*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 When they reached the sea, the jackal said,

4'14 *e:n ato anaki a:ndre-n*  
 I [TOP] now single-1SG  
 "I am still by myself (i.e. have no offspring)."

4'16 *e:n i:ti-nti ikni-gote be:k-ken kat-en i: samudre-n*  
 I here-AB how-ever jump-CP.1SG cross-FT.1SG this sea-AC  
 "How on earth shall I jump and cross this sea from here [and risk my life]?"

4'19 *par ni:n maq-a pa:k-ki ikna:n be:g-ani*  
 but you child-AC take.in.the.lap-CP.2SG.NM how jump-FT.2SG.NM  
*a:n-i*  
 say-PR.3SG  
 "But how are you going to jump carrying the children [in the first place]?"

4'22 *a:n-ko a: tu:du-d awdy-ad*  
 say-CP that tiger-NM speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the female tiger said,

4'26 *acca e:n indra kud-en anaku*  
 okay I what do-FT.1SG now  
 "Well, what shall I do now?"

4'28 *maqo-ta:we-n de je: hi be:k-ken tund-en*  
 child-possessed.of-1SG but but EPH jump-CP.1SG look-FT.1SG  
*a:n-kid ante qo:q.baje kiry-ad*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM and backward return.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Having said, "I have children with me, but I will try to jump," she  
 stepped back.

4'32 *kir-kid ante a: tu:du qo:q.pa:w kir-kid*  
 return-CP.3SG.NM and that tiger backward return-CP.3SG.NM  
*ante essa jo:r boyg-qid ante i: ku:qe-n te a: ku:re-n*  
 and much fast run-CP.3SG.NM and this edge-AB that edge-AC  
*be:k-kid ety-ad*  
 jump-CP.3SG.NM go.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Having stepped back, the tiger ran very fast, jumped from this bank  
 to that bank, and landed.

4'39 *be:k-kid et-e-ki ba:du a: ku:qe-n te be:g-e-ki*  
 jump-CP.3SG.NM go.down-VN-GE after that edge-AB jump-VN-GE  
*ba:du ada-no maeq-r-in ok-tr-kid ante awdy-ad*  
 after that-LO boy-PL-AC sit-CS-CP.3SG.NM and speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 After jumping and landing, after jumping from that bank, she made  
 the children sit there and said,

4'45 *aqey jaldi e:k-et adi-k kat-a*  
 ITJ quick go-FT.1PL.I that-DA cross-IMP  
 "Hey, cross it, so that we can go fast!"

4'48 *a:n-ko i: cigalo-d elc-u-de eŋg-en ro:katr-oku ate*  
 say-CP this jackal-NM fear-PP-NM I-AC make.angry-NG.IMP or.else  
*niŋg-en kat-ken be:g-en a:n-i*  
 you-AC cross-CP.1SG jump-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG  
 This jackal, being scared, said, "Don't make me angry. Otherwise I  
 was going to cross and jump to you"

4'53 *a:ny-a ani na: awd-i mala andaki ba:te mala*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG then that speak-PR.3SG no that.way thing no  
*kat-ne(l) kat-o:ku de be:k-ki kat-a*  
 cross-IPP.2SG.M cross-NG.FT.IMP then jump-CP.2SG.NM cross-IMP  
 He said this. Then she says, "No, it is not so (i.e. I am not challenging  
 you or anything). Do not [just] cross [it]. Jump and cross [it]."

4'59 *e:t eŋg-en ro:ka-tr-oku ate be:k-ken kat-en*  
 ITJ I-AC get.angry-CS-NG.IMP or.else jump-CP.1SG cross-FT.1SG

*a:n-ko lega be:k-ki kat-ki tund-a*  
 say-CP come.along.1JT jump-CP.2SG.NM cross-CP.2SG.NM look-IMP  
*eyng-en a:ny-ah*  
 I-AC say.B2-PT.3SG.M

He says, “Hey! Don’t make me angry! Otherwise I was going to jump and cross [it].” She said, “Come on! Try to jump and cross [it] toward me.”

5'04 *ante cigalo-de qo:q.baje kir-kid ante essa*  
 and jackal-NM backward return-CP.3SG.NM and much  
*ma:ri be:k-kid a:n-kid ante majte*  
 at.full.power(?) jump-CP.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.NM and middle  
*samdre-no jarq-qi dungy-ad*  
 sea-LO fall-CP.3SG.NM be.drowning.B2-PT.3SG.NM

Then the jackal stepped back, jumped at full power, fell in the sea in the middle, and was drowning.

5'12 *dung-e-ki ba:du anake key-oti am-a o:n-i*  
 be.drowning-VN-GE after now die-IF water-AC drink-PR.3SG  
*mecca arg-id pisi et-i mecca*  
 above climb-PR.3SG.NM below go.down-PR.3SG above  
*arg-id pisi et-i a:n-kid am*  
 climb-PR.3SG.NM below go.down-PR.3SG say-CP.3SG.NM water  
*ond ond burq-a burq-a epra:ry-a*  
 drink.B2.AP REP shout-AP REP struggle.B2-PT.3SG

Then he drank [so much] water that he would die. He came up and went down, came up and went down. He struggled drinking water and shouting.

5'20 *ante anake dadi-tu:du anake a:d eng-a qa:we-n pity-a*  
 and now female-tiger now that I-DA husband-AC kill.B2-PT.3SG  
*anaku i:d key-i eng-en ne:reh po:sy-eh a:n-kid*  
 now this die-PR.3SG I-AC who.M support-FT.3SG say-CP.3SG.NM  
*ante a:d be:k-kid ety-ad ba:ca-tr-oti*  
 and that jump-CP.3SG.NM go.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM save-TR-IF  
 And now, thinking “He killed my husband. [If] he dies now, who will feed me?” the female tiger jumped down in order to save [him].

5'29 *ba:ca-tr-o be:k-kid et-kid ante a:d indra*  
 save-TR-IF jump-CP.3SG.NM go.down-CP.3SG.NM and that what  
*kudy-ad*  
 do.B2-PT.3SG

What did she do after she jumped and went into [the sea] to save [him]?

5'32 *adi-n pa:k-ki ceda-ki*  
 that-AC take.in.the.lap-CP.3SG.NM carry-CP.3SG.NM  
*coy-try-ad*  
 rise-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM

She took him in her lap, carried [him to the shore,] and woke him up.

5'34 *coy-tr-kid ante duwari-k otry-a*  
rise-CS-CP.3SG.NM and door-DA take.out.B2-PT.3SG  
After she woke him up, he took her outside.

5'36 *duwari-k otr-ko qadi-tu:q-a bajy-ad*  
door-DA take.out-CP female-tiger-AC beat.B2-PT.3SG  
After he took the female tiger outside, he beat her.

5'39 *e:n mafe-r le:cki icca:-mi:n-a bed-ken ni:n ar eyg-en*  
I boy-PL for shrimp-fish-AC seek-CP.1SG you and I-AC  
*duwari-k otr-ko ok-tr-ni a:n-le bajy-ad*  
door-DA take.out-CP sit-CS-PR.2SG.NM say-CP beat.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
Saying “I was looking for shrimp for the children. [But] you took me outside and made me sit [on the shore],” he beat [her].

5'44 *i: kahani i: qe:ri-d i:t-ni hi oygr-id*  
this story this story-NM here-LO.EPH EPH end-PR.3SG.NM  
This much is this story.

## §28 Story of seven brothers and a sister (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Baranya Ganga) Mesa Pahariya of Ursu Pahar, P. O. Vindudham, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahebganj. Recorded in Ursu Pahar on February 24, 2007.<sup>1</sup>

0'00 *ey-ki na:mi me:sa abo-ki na:mi bayna ganya*  
I-GE name PROP father-GE name PROP PROP  
My name is Mesa. My father’s name is Baranya Ganga.

0'07 *a:n-le a:g-it=baru mba*  
say-CP know-PR.1PL.I=maybe isn’t.it  
We know it, don’t we?

0'14 *e:n pahariya-n pahariya-n na:mi to pahariya beh-i*  
I Pahariya-1SG REP name TOP Pahariya be-PR.3SG  
I am a Pahariya. The name is Pahariya.

0'20 *ante e:n teyg-in*  
and I tell-PR.1SG  
Then I will tell.

0'22 *ante got male-ri men-a kide pel-er-in ayg-a*  
and all person-PL listen-IMP COMP woman-PL-AC choose-IMP  
*ortonti*  
together  
Listen, everyone. [Suppose] you talk about girls together,

0'26 *e:n kahani teyg-oti bi:r-en umba*  
I story tell-IF be.about.to-FT.1SG isn’t.it  
[saying] “I am going to tell a story,” right?

<sup>1</sup>For the first part of this story, similar passages are found in ‘The story of a princess’ in Bodding (1925–29: vol.2, 306–315). For similar motifs, see Thompson and Balsys (1958:398).

0'30 *ta:nu ne:d aŋg-ani ne:-nahā aŋg-oti*  
 then who choose-FT.3SG.NM who-even choose-IF  
*aŋg-olad*  
 choose-NG.PR.3SG.NM  
 Then who will chat [about girls]? Nobody chat [about girls]?

0'33 *lekin men-a agdu male-r teŋgr:naq-ar*  
 but listen-IMP first person-PL converse-PT.3PL  
 But listen, at first, people were talking.

0'38 *qandr pahra-no indra awdy-ar*  
 sleep time-LO what speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 What did they say when they went to bed?

0'40 *lega kata-n teŋg-a a:n-le maqe-r teŋg-naq-ner*  
 come.along story-AC tell-IMP say-CP boy-PL tell-REC-PR.3PL  
 Saying “Come on, tell a story,” boys talk.

0'42 *ante ne:reh a:g-ih a:he kata-n men-a men-a*  
 and who.M know-PR.3SG.M he story-AC listen-IMP REP  
*pel-er-in aŋg-a a:n-ih*  
 girl-PL-AC choose-IMP say-PR.3SG.M  
 One who knows says “Listen to [my] story. [First] tell which girl you like.”

0'46 *ante aŋg-a qop-or-ner aŋge.majge*  
 and choose-AP gather-ITR-PR.3PL among.themselves  
 And they get together chatting [about girls] among themselves.

0'49 *e:n adi-n maŋ-en e:n idi-n maŋ-en a:n-le peli-n*  
 I that-AC like-PR.1SG I this.NM-AC like-PR.1SG say-CP girl-AC  
*aŋg-ner*  
 choose-PR.3PL  
 They chat about girls saying “I like this [girl]” “I like that girl.”

0'53 *budi-n ca:he maqi-n aŋg-ner ante teŋg-ih*  
 old.woman-AC or young.girl-AC choose-PR.3PL and tell-PR.3SG.M  
*orte*  
 one  
 Whether it is an old woman or a young girl, they chat [about women] and then one tells [a story].

0'58 *ade-no men-ner kide men-a acca men-a e:n teŋg-in*  
 that-LO ask-PR.3PL COMP listen-IMP well listen-IMP I tell-PR.1SG  
*kata-n a:n-ih*  
 story-AC say-PR.3SG.M  
 Then they listen. “Listen, well, listen, I am telling a story.”

1'04 *ante teŋg-ih adi-n men-ner a:juka-hi teŋg-oti*  
 and tell-PR.3SG.M that-AC hear-PR.3PL that-like-EPH tell-IF  
*bi:r-en kata-n*  
 be.about.to-FT.1SG story-AC

And he tells [the story]. They listen to it. I am going to tell a story that way.

1'10 *i:d men-oti i:t-no ok-u-r ho men-er*  
this hear-IF here-LO sit-PP-PL too hear-FT.3PL  
Those sitting here for listening to this will listen, too.

1'13 *ida-no to ida-no male-r men-oti ho pa:ry-ne[r] sikar-oti ho*  
this-LO TOP this-LO person-PL hear-IF too be.able-PR.3PL learn-IF too  
*pa:ry-ner ante*  
be.able-PR.3PL and  
People can both listen to this story and learn from it.

1'20 *i:d indrik i:ber berc-ker ante band-ner i:ber ho a:*  
this why these come.B2-CP.3PL and pull-PR.3PL these too that  
*ik-pahra-no men-er [ad-Jike ugle:c-ker ante band-ner*  
which-time-LO hear-FT.3PL that-DA think.B2-CP.3PL and pull-PR.3PL  
Why have these people (i.e. Kobayashi and Tirkey) come and why are they recording this [story]? They are recording this so that [people] will listen to it some time.

1'27 *ani dohra mal-a dohra mal-a men-a mba*  
so double be.not-PR.3SG double be.not-PR.3SG listen-IMP isn't.it  
*dosra-d mal-a e:ru*  
second-NM be.not-PR.3SG good  
And [this] is not a repetition. Listen, okay? [This] is not a twice-told [story,] but a good [story].

1'31 *ante teŋg-in e:n anake kata-n*  
and tell-PR.1SG I now story-AC  
And now I will tell the story.

1'33 *kide sat-jin ondgal-er menj-ar*  
COMP seven-CLF sibling-PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
There were seven brothers.

1'37 *ta:no sat-jin ondgal-er-no ort pel.mage menj-a*  
then seven-CLF sibling-PL-LO one girl be.B2-PT.3SG  
Aside from the seven brothers, there was a girl.

1'41 *pel.mage menj-a a:d cude menj-a*  
girl be.B2-PT.3SG that youngest be.B2-PT.3SG  
There was a girl. She was the youngest.

1'43 *cude menj-a ante indra kudy-ar sat-jin-er gote-ri*  
youngest be.B2-PT.3SG and what do.B2-PT.3PL seven-CLF-PL all-PL  
*pel.ta:ry-ar*  
get.married.B2-PT.3PL  
She was the youngest. And what did they do? All the seven of them got married.

1'49 *gote-ri pel.ta:r-ker ante a:ber sat-jin-er-ki sat-jin-er*  
all-PL get.married-CP.3PL and they seven-CLF-PL-GE seven-CLF-PL

*a:ber sikare-k eky-ar (repeated)*  
 they hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3PL  
 All got married and the seven of them went hunting.

2'06 *tang-bahu-ber doky-ar a:ber dok-ker ante*  
 own-elder.brother's.wife-PL stay.B2-PT.3PL they stay-CP.3PL and  
*indra kudy-ar*  
 what do.B2-PT.3PL  
 Her sisters-in-law stayed [home]. They stayed [home] and what did they do?

2'11 *tang.do tang.erqo-n adi-n kank-ik*  
 own.sister own.husband's.younger.sister-AC that-AC firewood-DA  
*tey-ar*  
 send-PT.3PL  
 They sent the sister, the younger sister-in-law, for firewood.

2'15 *ka:l-a gady-ond kank-a ta:r-oka*  
 go-IMP cart.CLF-one firewood-AC cut-IMP  
 “Go and cut a cartful of firewood.”

2'17 *ante ey-abalo kum-ki bar-ani*  
 and tie-NG.AP carry.on.head-CP.2SG.NM come-FT.2SG.NM  
 “And come back carrying it on your head without tying.”

2'20 *ante se ni:n ja:gu-n qaq-ani a:n-le awdy-a*  
 then EPH you food-AC receive-FT.2SG.NM say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG  
*ante a:d indra kud-anid eky-a*  
 and she what do-FT.3SG.NM go.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Only then you will get food.” What did she do? She went.

2'24 *ek-kid qade-k ek-kid ante ta:ry-a*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM jungle-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.NM and cut.B2-PT.3SG  
 She went to the jungle and cut [firewood].

2'26 *ta:r-a jamatr-ne-ki ba:de a:de bā:grec-e:r-i*  
 cut-AP collect-VN-GE after she embrace-see-PR.3SG  
*ced-e:r-i ta:nu gady-ond kanku-d ikni*  
 carry-see-PR.3SG then cart.CLF-one firewood-NM how  
*samb̄ar-ani*  
 handle-FT.3SG.NM  
 After cutting and gathering [firewood], she tried to hold and carry it. Then how can she handle a cartful of firewood?

2'35 *samb̄ar-la adi-ki ba:de-no olg-ad a:d kajak*  
 handle-NG.PT.3SG that-GE after-LO cry-PT.3SG.NM she much  
 She [could] not handle it. Then she cried a lot.

2'37 *ayu: gosapi anake bahu-ber eng-eng-a baiya-ber sikare-k*  
 ITJ god now sister.in.law-PL I-RED-DA brother-PL hunting-DA  
*eky-ar ani bahu-ber eng-en tey-ar*  
 go.B2-PT.3PL so sister.in.law-PL I-AC send-PT.3PL

“Oh, god, my elder brothers have gone hunting now, and the elder sisters-in-law sent me, saying

2'44 *ki gady-ond kank-a ta:r-oka ante ey-abalo*  
 COMP cart.CLF-one firewood-AC cut-IMP and tie-NG.AP  
*kum-ki bar-aní ta:nu ja:gu-n*  
 carry.on.head-CP.2SG.NM come-FT.2SG.NM then food-AC  
*qaq-aní ate qaq-la:ni a:n-le*  
 receive-FT.2SG.NM otherwise receive-NG.FT.2SG.NM say-CP  
*awdy-ar*  
 speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 ‘Cut a cartful of firewood, and come back carrying it on your head without tying it. Then you will get food. Otherwise you will not.’

2'49 *ta:nu e:n anake barc-ken ante ta:r-ken jama:tr-ken ta:nu*  
 then I now come.B2-CP.1SG and cut-CP.1SG collect-CP.1SG then  
*anake ikna:n e:ca-ken kir-en e:n*  
 now how tie.B2-CP.1SG return-FT.1SG I  
 Then I came, cut and collected [firewood] now, but how shall I tie it and take it home?”

2'55 *a:n-le ugle:c-a olg-i adi-ki ba:de-no pac-go:ta*  
 say-CP think.B2-PT.3SG cry-PR.3SG that-GE after-LO five-CLF  
*kanku-neru-d urq-a urq-qid ante pac*  
 firewood-snake-NM come.out-PT.3SG come.out-CP.3SG.NM and five  
*bandani poj-ki cic-a*  
 fastening entwine-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG  
 She thought so. After that five firewood snakes came out and coiled themselves into five ties.

3'04 *ante neru-d awdy-a kide (eng-en) e:n e:ca-ken*  
 and snake-NM speak.B2-PT.3SG COMP I tie.B2-CP.1SG  
*cica-ken ciy-en*  
 give.B2-CP.1SG give-FT.1SG  
 Then the snake said, “I will tie [this for you].”

3'11 *ante ni:n ase:rabe ki:d-ku ante e:n kolr-le*  
 and you slowly lay.down-FT.IMP and I get.loose-CP  
*boyg-en*  
 run.away-FT.1SG  
 “And remember to put it down slowly, and I will untie myself and run away.”

3'14 *ante ni:n e:d-ani niyg-bahu-ber-in*  
 and you show-FT.2SG.NM you-sister.in.law-PL-AC  
 “And you will show [it] to your sisters-in-law.”

3'16 *a:n-ko a: neru-d e:ca-ki cic-ad ani i:de*  
 say-CP that snake-NM tie.B2-CP.2SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG.NM so this  
*kum-ki ante kir-y-a*  
 carry.on.head-CP.3SG.NM and return.B2-PT.3SG

Having said this, the snakes bound [the firewood for her,] so she went home from the woods.

3'23 *kir-kid ante ki:d-a ki:d-ne-ki ba:de neru boŋg oygry-a*  
 return-CP.3SG.NM and lay.down-PT.3SG lay.down-VN-GE after snake run.away.AP finish.B2-PT.3SG  
 After she went home and put [the firewood] down, the snakes ran away.

3'27 *ante bahu-ber e:r-owa kanku-d idi-n ondr-ken gady-ond kank-a*  
 and sister.in.law-PL see-IMP firewood-NM this-AC bring-CP.1SG cart.CLF-one firewood-AC  
 “Sisters, come and see. [Here is] the firewood. I brought this, a cartful of firewood.”

3'31 *a:n-ko e:ry-ar ante o: t̪i:ke gady-ond kanku ja:gu ko:q-i lap-a a:ny-a[r]*  
 say-CP see.B2-PT.3PL and ITJ well cart.CLF-one firewood food lie-PR.3SG eat-IMP say.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then they saw and said, “Okay, [this is] a cartful of firewood. Here is food. Eat it.”

3'35 *lap-a a:n-ker ante lap-try-ar*  
 eat-IMP say-CP.3PL and eat-CS.B2-PT.3PL  
 They gave her food saying “Eat it.”

3'38 *lap-ne-ki ba:de-no ante qo:k-ner ok-ner ok-ner ok-ner ante awri-hi awdy-ar kide pac toma kalsa nulky-ar*  
 eat-VN-GE after-LO and stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL REP REP and again-EPH speak.B2-PT.3PL COMP five hole jar bore.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then after living for a while, they told her again [to bring something, water this time,] and made five holes on the jar.

3'45 *a:ber to tang-baiya-ber sikare-k eky-ar bar-olar a:ber*  
 they TOP own-brother-PL hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3PL come-NG.PR.3PL  
 they  
 Those elder brothers had gone hunting and have not come back.

3'48 *pac toma nulk-ker kalsa nulk-ker ante tey-ar doba-k*  
 five hole bore-CP.3PL jar bore-CP.3PL and send-PT.3PL  
 pond/well-AC  
 They made five holes in one jar and sent her to the well.

3'52 *ka:l-a ani qol-ki bar-oka ante ja:gu-n qaq-ani ate qaq-la:ni a:n-ko*  
 go-IMP then scoop-CP.2SG.NM come-IMP and food-AC  
 receive-FT.2SG.NM otherwise receive-NG.FT.2SG.NM say-CP

Saying, “Go, and scoop water and come. Then you will get food. Otherwise you won’t.”

3'54 *ek-ki* *doba-k* *ek-ki* *ante olg-i*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM pond/well-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.NM and cry-PR.3SG  
*qol-e:r-id* *e:k-id* *qol-e:r-id*  
 take.up-see-PR.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG.NM take.up-see-PR.3SG.NM  
*e:k-id*  
 go-PR.3SG.NM

She went to the well and cried. She tried to scoop water, but it flowed out. She tried to scoop water, but it flowed out.

3'58 *ante indra kud-ani* *olg-i* *urkro kalsa ikna:n*  
 and what do-FT.3SG.NM cry-PR.3SG holey jar how  
*kir-anid* *amu*  
 return-FT.3SG.NM water

And what did she do? She cried. It was a jar with holes. How would water be brought back?

4'02 *ante olg-a adi-ki ba:de-no (o:) mu:qe-d urq-qed*  
 and cry-PT.3SG that-GE after-LO frog-NM come.out-CP.3SG.NM  
*awqy-a pac-gote mu:qe-d urq-qed*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG five-CLF frog-NM come.out-CP.3SG.NM  
*awqy-a ide indra olg-ni*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG ITJ what cry-PR.2SG.NM

She cried. Then frogs came out and spoke. Five frogs came out and spoke [to her]. “Say, what are you crying over?”

4'09 *mala baiya-ber sikare-k eky-ar sat-jin baiya-ber*  
 no brother-PL hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3PL seven-CLF brother-PL  
*sikare-k eky-ar*  
 hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3PL

“No, my elder brothers went hunting. Seven brothers went hunting.

4'13 *sat-jin bahu-ber eng-en awqy-ar e: ka:l-a*  
 seven-CLF sister.in.law-PL I-AC speak.B2-PT.3PL ITJ go-IMP  
*am-a qol-ki bar-oka a:n-ker ante pac toma*  
 water-AC take.up-CP.2SG.NM come-IMP say-CP.3PL and five hole  
*nulk-ker ikna:[n] qol-ken qaq-en*  
 bore-CP.3PL how take.up-CP.1SG receive-FT.1SG

Seven sisters-in-law said to me, ‘Go, scoop water and come.’ How can I scoop water when there are five holes [in the jar]?

4'20 *adi-n olg-in a:n-ko bawna:r-oma e:n qol-ken*  
 that-AC cry-PR.1SG say-CP worry-NG.IMP I take.up-CP.1SG  
*ciy-en*  
 give-FT.1SG

I am crying over it.” They (the frogs) [said], “Don’t worry. I will scoop.”

4'24 *uṭa-kem ciy-em a:n-ki ante pac-gota (nerud)*  
 cover-CP.1PL.E give-FT.1PL.E say-CP.3SG.NM and five-CLF  
*uṭa-ki cic-a kalsa-no*  
 cover-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG jar-LO  
 “We will cover [the holes for you].” The five [frogs] covered [the holes] of the jar.

4'28 *ani tu:tro-n tu:tro-n (tu)tuky-a*  
 then hole-AC REP seal.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then they covered each hole.

4'29 *ante a: mu:qe-d mu:qe-d ante uṭa-ki cic-a*  
 and that frog-NM REP and cover-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG  
*adi-ki ba:de-no qol-ki kirya-a*  
 that-GE after-LO take.up-CP.3SG.NM return.B2-PT.3SG  
 Those frogs covered [the holes for her]. Then she scooped [water] and went home.

4'35 *ante dusra kalsa-no pu:rc-a ante idi bahu am*  
 and other jar-LO fill.B2-PT.3SG and ITJ sister.in.law water  
*ondr-ken o: t̪i:ke ja:gu-n lap-a ja:gu-n lapy-a*  
 bring-PT.1SG ITJ well food-AC eat-IMP food-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG  
 And emptied the water into another jar. “Look, sisters, I brought water.” “Okay, good. Eat food.” She ate food.

4'40 *ante ja:gu-n lap-ne-ki ba:de nandu-hi anake ni:n ka:l-a*  
 and food-AC eat-VN-GE after again-EPH now you go-IMP  
 [They said to her] again, “Now you go.”

4'46 *i: dal-ond kalayi-n bargi-no ca:g-ki*  
 this basket.CLF-one pulse-AC kitchen.garden-LO sow-CP.2SG.NM  
*bar-oka*  
 come-IMP  
 Go and sow this basketful of pulse in the kitchen garden.

4'50 *a:n-ko bahu gundy-pe menj-a ba:lu-cow*  
 say-CP plough.B2.AP grind.to.to.powder-PAP be.B2-PT.3SG sand-like  
*qe:ql-no*  
 earth-LO  
 The field was cultivated into powder on the surface like sand.

4'51 *ca:gy-a ca:g-ne-ki ba:de-no anake bahu ca:g-kem*  
 sow.B2-PT.3SG sow-VN-GE after-LO now sister.in.law sow-CP.1SG  
*barc-kem*  
 come.B2-PT.1SG  
 She sowed. After sowing, she said, “Sister, I sowed and now I came back.”

4'57 *a:n-i to ort-id awd-id ki indrik*  
 say-PR.3SG TOP one-NM speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP why  
*ca:g-ki ka:l-a peta-ki bar-oka*  
 sow-PT.2SG.NM go-IMP take.up.B2-CP.2SG.NM come-IMP

Then one [sister-in-law] said, “Why did you sow? Go, and take [the seeds] up.”

5'01 *ante ja:gu-n ciy-en ate ciy-olaken*  
and food-AC give-FT.1SG otherwise give-FT.PR.1SG  
Then I will give you food. Otherwise, I won't.

5'03 *a:n-ki ca:g-ot awd-ko ca:gy-a ta:nu p<sup>h</sup>ir se*  
say-CP.3SG.NM sow-IF speak-CP sow.B2-PT.3SG then again EPH  
*peh-oti awd-i*  
take.up-IF speak-PR.3SG  
They told her to sow [the seeds], and when she sowed them, [the sister-in-law] told her to take them up again.

5'06 *ante ek-ki bed-e:r-i qe:ql-a ta:nu du*ŋ*i-n[o]*  
and go.B2-CP.3SG.NM look.for-see-PR.3SG earth-AC then dust-LO  
*ik.bahno and-ani kalayi-n*  
where find-FT.3SG.NM pulse-AC  
She went and tried to look for the pulse on the ground, but where would she find the pulse in the dust[-like soil]?

5'10 *and-ola te nandu a:*ʃ*-no olg-id ca:g-oka*  
find-NG.PR.3SG.NM then again there-LO cry-PR.3SG.NM sow-IMP  
*a:n-ko ca:g-ken*  
say-CP sow-PT.1SG  
She did not find pulses and cried there, saying “Since they told me to sow, I sowed.”

5'15 *gosani ta:n anake peh-ot awd-ner ikna:n peta-ken*  
god then now take.up-IF speak-PR.3PL how take.up.B2-CP.1SG  
*kir-ken ja:gu-n qaq-en*  
return-CP.1SG food-AC receive-FT.1SG  
“O god, they now tell me to take them up. How can I take them up, go home and get food?”

5'20 *ante olg-ad ani na:m awd-ite qa:qa<sup>h</sup>cu a:n-it*  
and cry-PT.3SG.NM so we.I speak-PR.1PL.I name.of.bird say-PR.1PL.I  
*a: ba:r-batte-r awd-er cekwa-d a:n-ner*  
that Western-sider-PL speak-FT.3PL crow-NM say-PR.3PL  
And she cried. Then a crow — we call it *qa:qa<sup>h</sup>cu* and the people of those Western Hills call it *cekwa*.

5'28 *na: puju-d et-kid ante awdy-a indra*  
that bird-NM come.down-CP.3SG.NM and speak.B2-PT.3SG what  
*olg-ni a:n-ko*  
cry-PR.2SG.NM say-CP  
That bird came down and said, “What are you crying over?”

5'30 *ca:g-oti awd-ko ca:g-ken a:n-ken peta-ki*  
sow-IF speak-CP sow-CP.1SG say-CP.1SG take.up.B2-CP.2SG.NM  
*bar-oka ande-hi ja:gu-n ciy-em ate ciy-olakem*  
come-IMP then-EPH food-AC give-FT.1PL.E otherwise give-NG.PR.1PL.E

*a:n-ner a:n-kid ante*  
 say-PR.3PL say-CP.3SG.NM and  
 “When they told me to sow and I said ‘I sowed,’ they said ‘Go, take them up and come back. Then we will give you food. Otherwise we won’t.’” She said this.

5'36 *barc-ken i:-pa:w duqi-ni ikna:n and-en*  
 come.B2-CP.1SG this-way dust-LO.EPH how find-FT.1SG  
*bed-in and-olaken*  
 look.for-PR.1SG find-NG.PR.1SG  
 “I came [here], and I am seeking how to find [the pulses] in the dust like this, but have not found how.”

5'37 *a:n-le awdy-ad adi-ki ba:de-no puju*  
 say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-GE after-LO bird  
*peta-ki cic-ad*  
 take.up.B2-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 She said this. Then the bird took them up [for her].

5'42 *na:d ku:kry-ad derkucu a:n-le pindc-ad*  
 that call.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM ONOM say-CP sound.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*derkucu derkucu a:n-le and-it=naha*  
 ONOM REP say-CP find-PR.1PL.I=even  
 It called out [birds] and sounded *derkucu*, saying “We will just find them saying *derkucu*.”

5'47 *a:n-le pindc-le ety-a argy-a*  
 say-CP sound.B2-CP go.down.B2-PT.3SG climb.B2-PT.3SG  
*jamary-a puju*  
 gather.B2-PT.3SG bird  
 Making that *derkucu* sound, it went up and down, and birds flocked.

5'52 *gote jamary-a puja:ti gote jamar-ki*  
 all gather.B2-PT.3SG bird-caste all gather-CP.3SG.NM  
*pet-ad*  
 take.up.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 All kinds of birds got together. They all got together and took [the pulses] up.

5'54 *ante inonde menj-a mala aur beh-id a:n-ko awro*  
 and this.much be.B2-PT.3SG or more be-PR.3SG.NM say-CP more  
*ba:ki re:kond a:n-ko*  
 left a.little say-CP  
 “Was it this much, or was there more?” “A little more is left.”

5'58 *ne: nud-a mala a:n-le nuter kudy-a*  
 who hide-PT.3SG no say-CP check walk.around.B2-PT.3SG  
 Saying “Who hid them, or not?” they went around checking.

6'00 *ta:nu garywa a:n-it nadi-ki-no oky-ad*  
 then name.of.bird say-PR.1PL.I that-GE-LO sit.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then it was with [the bird] that we call *garywa*.

6'02 *ani sa:la ni:n indrike ijnjqad-maqe-ki nuda-ki*  
 so stinker you why orphan-child-GE hide-CP.2SG.NM  
*a:n-ki ante usaty-a*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM and kick.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Stinker! Why did you hide an orphan’s [possession]?” [The *qa:qarcu* bird] said this and kicked [the *gaṛwa* bird].

6'06 *ani porwa qo:qwajo katy-a*  
 so dewlap backward cross.B2-PT.3SG  
 So the dewlap of [the *gaṛwa* bird] went behind [its neck].

6'09 *a: bogla nud-ad(a) ni:n bogla sa:la ni:n*  
 that paddy.bird hide-PT.3SG.NM you paddy.bird stinker you  
*badma:se ni:n a:n-ki ide-n qasr-a darc-ki*  
 rascal you say-CP.3SG.NM this-AC neck-AC hold.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
*bi:jy-a*  
 widen.B2-PT.3SG  
 The paddy bird hid them [too]. “Paddy bird! You stinker! You rascal!” Saying this, it held [the bird] by the neck and stretched it.

6'14 *anake bogla qasru digaro-d*  
 now paddy.bird neck long-NM  
 Now the neck of a paddy bird is long.

6'15 *awro qed-a darc-ki bi:jy-ad ano qedu-d*  
 and foot-AC hold.B2-CP.3SG.NM extend.B2-PT.3SG.NM there foot-NM  
*nu:tr-ki beh-i kolgr-ola*  
 stretch.out-CP.3SG.NM be-PR.3SG be.bent-NG.PR.3SG  
 And [the *qa:qarcu* bird] held [the paddy bird] by the legs and extended them. So [the latter’s] legs are stretched out and are not bent.

6'19 *ante kirya-a ninda-kid ante kirya-a ante*  
 and return.B2-PT.3SG fill-CP.3SG.NM and return.B2-PT.3SG and  
*ja:gu-n lap-a a:n-ko lapy-a*  
 food-AC eat-IMP say-CP eat.B2-PT.3SG  
 And she went home. She went home after filling [the basket with the pulse]. When they said “Eat your food,” she ate.

6'24 *e:da-ko ante nandi nandi-hi doky-ar oky-ar*  
 show-CP and again again-EPH stay.B2-PT.3PL sit.B2-PT.3PL  
*doky-ar oky-ar ante nandu-hi nadi-ne indra*  
 stay.B2-PT.3PL sit.B2-PT.3PL and again-EPH she-AC what  
*kudy-ar*  
 do.B2-PT.3PL  
 She showed [the pulses to them and got food]. They kept on living, and what did they do to her again?

6'32 *de:ki-no sat-jin-er cap-ner*  
 husking.machine-LO seven-CLF-PL tread-PR.3PL  
 The seven were treading the husking machine.

6'35 *orta-qadi*      *tang-erqo-d*      *qes-a*  
 one.person-only      own-husband's.younger.sister-NM      paddy-AC  
*tuk-id*  
 push-PR.3SG.NM  
 Their younger sister-in-law was feeding rice [to the machine] alone.

6'38 *mane*      *tuk-a*      *ciy-id*      *baru*      *and-it=pahā*  
 namely      push-AP      give-PR.3SG.NM      you.know      find-PR.1PL.I=even  
*tuk-ner*      *a:-juke*      *tuky-a[r]*  
 push-PR.3PL that-like push.B2-PT.3PL  
 She was feeding [rice to the machine]. See, they were pounding [rice]  
 just as we still see [people] doing.

6'43 (a)      *i:*      *andu*      *cap-ner*      *sat-jin-er*      *dar-on*  
 this      then      tread-PR.3PL      seven-CLF-PL      CLF-one  
*de:ki-n/oj*  
 husking.machine-LO  
 These seven [sisters-in-law] were treading one husking machine.

6'45 *to*      *are*      *ni:n ka:l-a*      *are*      *ni:n ka:l-a*      *teyr-naq-ner*      *ante*  
 TOP ITJ you go-IMP ITJ you go-IMP be.sent-REC-PR.3PL and  
*me:gri-d*      *ek-ki*      *tuk-ki*      *qafy-a*  
 eldest-NM go.B2-CP.3SG.NM push-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG  
 They sent each other saying “You go, you go,” and the eldest sister-  
 in-law went [first] and pushed [her into the husking machine].

6'51 *bahu*      *tuk-oma*      *de:ki*      *mady-anid*  
 sister.in.law      push-NG.IMP      husking.machine      trample-FT.3SG.NM  
*a:ny-a*      *ante a:d pol-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG and she be.unable-PT.3SG  
 She said, “Don’t push me, sister. The husking machine will trample  
 me.” Then she could not [kill her].

6'54 *are*      *ni:n ka:l-a*      *(adit)adibaha-d eky-ad*  
 ITJ you go-IMP younger-NM      go.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Saying “You go,” the second eldest sister-in-law went.

6'56 *ante a:*      *tuk-ki*      *qafy-a*      *nadi-n mba*      *de:ki*  
 and she push-CP give.B2-PT.3SG she-AC isn’t.it husking.machine  
*dari-k*      *umba ta:n a:*      *tuk-ki*      *qafy-a*      *a: ho*  
 hole.inside-DA isn’t.it then she push-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG she too  
*pol-a*  
 be.unable-PT.3SG  
 And she pushed her, you know, she pushed her into the husking ma-  
 chine, but she could not do so either.

7'01 *te*      *bahu*      *ni:n*      *tuk-oma*      *de:ki*  
 and      sister.in.law      you      push-NG.IMP      husking.machine  
*mady-anid*  
 trample-FT.3SG.NM  
 “Don’t push me, sister. The husking machine will trample me.”

7'04 *o: ke:tni kat-i[n] e:n qotr-in a:n-i*  
 ITJ winnow pass-PR.1SG I knock-PR.1SG say-PR.3SG  
 [Each of the sisters-in-law made excuses and] said, "I am bringing a winnow basket" or "I am [just] knocking."

7'06 *na:n na:n na:n na:n[l]e ga[r]ar doky-ar sat-jin-er ante*  
 that.way REP REP that.way do stay.B2-PT.3PL seven-CLF-PL and  
*gote-ri pol-ar*  
 all-PL be.unable-PT.3PL  
 They went on doing things like that, and none of the seven could [push her into the husking machine].

7'10 *adi-ki ba:de-no cu[de]-d eky-a ante tuky-a*  
 that-GE after-LO youngest-NM go.B2-PT.3SG and push.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then the youngest sister-in-law went and pushed her.

7'12 *ke:ponti a:d de:ki-dari-no tukar-ki*  
 at.once she pounding.machine-mortar-LO move.on-CP.3SG.NM  
*bicry-a*  
 shove.B2-PT.3SG  
 She moved on and shoved [her] into the mortar of the pounding machine at one push.

7'16 *ante indra kud-er cunyj-ar qes-no*  
 and what do-FT.3PL pound.rice.B2-PT.3PL paddy-LO  
*milatr-ker*  
 put.together-CP.3PL  
 Then what did they do? They pounded [her], mixing [her body] with rice.

7'20 *cunyj-ar perq-ger ante ke:s-ker ante*  
 pound.rice.B2-PT.3PL boil-CP.3PL and sift-CP.3PL and  
*tu:sy-ar goda-no*  
 dash.down.B2-PT.3PL toilet.bush-LO  
 They pounded rice, parboiled, sifted and threw [the husk and her remains] away in a nearby bush.

7'23 *goda-no tu:sy-ar adi-ki ba:de-no ja:gu-n*  
 toilet.bush-LO dash.down.B2-PT.3PL that-GE after-LO boiled.rice-AC  
*ti:ql-a bit kamy-ar*  
 rice-AC cook.AP earn(?).B2-PT.3PL  
 After they threw [them] away in a nearby bush, they cooked rice.

7'27 *bit kam-ker doky-ar oky-ar ante a:*  
 cook earn.B2-PT.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL sit.B2-PT.3PL and that  
*be:rit jaya kajak pos-a*  
 in.the.evening rain much rain.B2-PT.3SG  
 After cooking rice, they stayed on, and it rained a lot at that night.

7'33 *kajak pos-a ante kuwa-d na: qep male-r na:*  
 much rain.B2-PT.3SG and well-NM that village person-PL that

male-r ond-ar a:ti a: kuwa-d jo:r ku:re-no kuwa  
 person-PL drink.B2-PT.3PL there that well-NM waterfall edge-LO well  
 meŋj-a  
 be.B2-PT.3SG  
 It rained a lot. And the well where the village people drink from was  
 near a waterfall.

7'40 ani jaŋa pos-a ante a: gesu-umk-a qocl-an  
 so rain rain.B2-PT.3SG and that rice-husk-AC bone-AC  
 no:ŋ-kid etry-a  
 wash-CP.3SG.NM bring.down.B2-PT.3SG  
 It rained and washed and brought down that rice husk and bones.

7'47 te etr-ne-ki ba:de kuwa bite-no a:d indra kud-[anid]  
 and bring.down-VN-GE after well shore-LO she what do-FT.3SG.NM  
 qoclū te:kar-kid pu:p lehary-a  
 bone be.stopped-CP.3SG.NM flower become.B2-PT.3SG  
 After the water brought them down, what did she do near the well?  
 Her bones stopped [at the well] and became a flower.

7'51 pu:p lehar-ki ante ij-a adi-ki ba:de-no  
 flower become-CP.3SG.NM and stand.B2-PT.3SG that-GE after-LO  
 sikare-nte kiry-ar tanyg-b[ajiya-ber  
 hunting-AB return.B2-PT.3PL own-brother-PL  
 After [the bones] became a flower, it stood up. After that her elder  
 brothers came back from hunting.

7'59 sikare-nte kiry-ar ante kir-ko e:r-ner tund-ner  
 hunting-AB return.B2-PT.3PL and return-CP see-PR.3PL look-PR.3PL  
 ta:nu iko eng:do iko eng:do  
 then where my.sister where my.sister  
 They came back from hunting. Then they saw and looked and [asked]  
 “Where is sister? Where is our sister?”

8'06 ta:nu a:ber teyg-olar indra a:g-en  
 then they tell-NG.PR.3PL what know-FT.1SG  
 Then [the wives] did not tell, saying “What do I know?”

8'09 olo-in[olŋ-ni] pa:r-in[pa:r-ni] a:n-ker ante ikto  
 cry-IPP sing-IPP say-CP.3PL and where  
 tiry-ad adi-n nim-en ugle:c-le a:n-ner  
 go.away.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-AC you.PL-AC think.B2-CP say-PR.3PL  
 Crying and wailing, they said, “Where has she gone away?” [Their  
 wives] said of her “[She went away] thinking about you.”

8'12 ante tanyg-baiya-h ety-ah anake ca:me men-oti  
 and own-brother-M go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M now song hear-IF  
 bi:r-eh  
 attend.to-PR.3SG.M  
 Then an elder brother went down [to the well]. Now he is going to  
 hear a song.

8'21 *tang-baiya-he sikare-k eky-ah ante amy-oti*  
 own-brother-M hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M and bathe-IF  
*eky-ah kuwa-k ani a: pu:pu-d awq-i kide*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M well-DA then that flower-NM speak-PR.3SG COMP  
 The elder brother [who] went hunting went to the well to take a bath  
 and that flower said,

8'30 *sat[i]-jani baiya sebere sikare-k ek[i]y-ar*  
 seven-CLF brother all hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3PL  
 “(Singing) The seven elder brothers all went hunting.”

8'35 *sat[i]-jani bahu sebere de:ki-no cunj[i]y-ar*  
 seven-CLF sister.in.law all husking.machine-LO pound.B2-PT.3PL  
 “(Singing) The seven sisters-in-law all pounded [me] in a husking  
 machine.”

8'41 *cunj[i]-keri goda-no tu:s[i]y-ar*  
 pound-CP.3PL toilet.bush-LO dash.down.B2-PT.3PL  
 “(Singing) They pounded [me] and threw [me] to the nearby bush.”

8'47 *a:n-le a: pu:pu-d olg-i pa:r-i mba*  
 say-CP that flower-NM cry-PR.3SG sing-PR.3SG isn't.it  
 See, that flower cries and sings so.

8'50 *a: olg-i pa:r-id taj-ki duke-d*  
 that cry-PR.3SG sing-PR.3SG self-GE distress-NM  
 It cries and sings its own distress.

8'52 *ante indra kudy-a a:he amc-a*  
 and what do.B2-PT.3SG he take.bath.B2-PT.3SG  
*no:dry-a akabaka kiry-ah*  
 wash.hands.and.feet.B2-PT.3SG in.a.hurry return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 What did he do then? He took a bath, washed his hands and feet, and  
 went back in a hurry.

8'56 *a:h to and-olah mba aro ahi-k diyane-d ho*  
 he TOP find-NG.PR.3SG.M isn't.it and he-DA thought-NM too  
*mal-a nahe-k bujar-olah-o*  
 be.not-PR.3SG he-DA be.understood-NG.PR.3SG.M-too  
 He did not find [her]. He had no idea either. He did not understand  
 either.

9'01 *ante a:he kiry-a amc-keh*  
 and he return.B2-PT.3SG.M take.bath.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*ante kiry-a ante nandi-hi me:gro bai*  
 and return.B2-PT.3SG.M and again-EPH elder brother  
*ety-ah eky-ah amy-oti*  
 go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M go.B2-PT.3SG.M take.bath-IF  
 And he came back, he came back after taking his bath, and again, the  
 second eldest brother went down [to the well]. He went to take a bath.

9'09 *ante a:h ek-keh il-ih ano ho awq-i*  
 and he go.B2-CP.3SG.M stand-PR.3SG.M there too speak-PR.3SG

He went and stood [by the well]. [The flower] said again.

9'23 *cunj(i)-keri goda-no tu:s(i)y-ar*  
 pound-CP.3PL toilet.bush-LO dash.down.B2-PT.3PL  
 “(Singing) They pounded [me] and threw [me] to the nearby bush.”

9'28 *a:n-le awdy-a pu:pu-d ada-no ho a:ber and-lar*  
 say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG flower-NM there-LO too they find-NG.PT.3PL  
*and-lar ante a:h-ō kiry-ah*  
 REP and he-too return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The flower said this. Still they did not find [her]. They did not find [her] and came back.

9'33 *kir-ne-ki ba:d i:n-le i:n-le teyg-ih*  
 return-VN-GE after do.this.way-CP REP tell-PR.3SG.M  
 After coming back, he told [it was] like this and this.

9'35 *ta:nu gar-i-hi ca:me-d e:k-ani ar gar-i-hi saba-d*  
 then much-EPH song-NM go-FT.3SG.NM and much-EPH talk-NM  
*e:k-ani*  
 go-FT.3SG.NM  
 — Then there are going to be a lot of songs and a lot of stories.

9'39 *de irw-ente la:sł nan-im sat-jin-er-ki ba:de-no irw-ente*  
 ITJ two-AB last do-PR.1PL.E seven-CLF-PL-GE after-LO two-AB  
*la:sł nan-im*  
 last do-PR.1PL.E  
 Well, we stop after the two [brothers]. [Actually it is] after the seven brothers [have gone to the well, but] we stop after the two. —

9'43 *ide cuđe-h ety-ah cuđe-h*  
 look youngest-M go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M youngest-M  
*ety-ah a: pađra-no a:he đar-onđ tarwa:ri-n*  
 go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M that time-LO he CLF-one sword-AC  
*kajak ur-ur caky-ah*  
 much ONOM-REP whet.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Look, the youngest brother went down [to the well to take a bath]. Then he whetted one sword making a hissing sound.

9'52 *ur-ur cak-keh ante ante ur-ur cak-in-tatin ante*  
 ONOM-REP whet-CP.3SG.M and and ONOM-REP whet-IPP-ECHO and  
*ante tilygr-a talce-le caky-ah adi-n tarwa:ri-n*  
 and fly-AC cut.off.B2-CP whet.B2-PT.3SG.M that-AC sword-AC  
 He whetted and whetted making a hissing sound. He whetted that sword [so sharp that he even] cut flies [with it] while whetting.

9'59 *cak-keh ante-hi gor-o-no gor-o-no ar pađ-onđ balti-n*  
 whet-CP.3SG.M and-EPH horse-LO REP and CLF-one bucket-AC  
*qend-keh ante eky-ah amy-oti*  
 take.along-CP.3SG.M and go.B2-PT.3SG.M bathe-IF  
 After he whetted [the sword], he took a bucket with him and went to take a bath on a horse.

10'05 *ta:nu goro-n ild-keh ante am-a balti-n*  
 then horse-AC make.stand-CP.3SG.M and water-AC bucket-AC  
*conj-keh ante tey-ih*  
 fasten-CP.3SG.M and send-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he made the horse stand, tied the bucket with water, and [was  
 about to] send it.

10'10 *a: pahra-no pu:pu-d awd-i kide*  
 that time-LO flower-NM speak-PR.3SG COMP  
 Then the flower says.

10'25 *cuyj[i]-keri goda-no tu:s/ily-ar*  
 pound-CP.3PL toilet.bush-LO dash.down.B2-PT.3PL  
 "(Singing) They pounded [me] and threw [me] in the nearby bush."

10'30 *a:n-le olq-ko ikte eng.qo-d olg-id a:n-le*  
 say-CP cry-CP where my.sister-NM cry-PR.3SG.NM say-CP  
*awdy-ah ikte eng.qo-d olg-id a:n-keh*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG.M where my.sister-NM cry-PR.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M  
*ante e:ry-ah*  
 and see.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 So [the flower] cried. [The brother] said "Where is my sister singing?"  
 He said "Where is my sister crying?" and looked.

10'35 *ta:nu nandu acca men-en e:pu a:n-keh te il-ih*  
 then again okay hear-FT.1SG well say-CP.3SG.M and stand-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he said, "Well, I will listen well once again," and stood [there].

10'38 *ada-nihi a: balti-ne kol-keh alktr-ih a:*  
 there-LO.EPH that bucket-AC untie-CP.3SG.M open-PR.3SG.M that  
*pahra-nihi nandu pa:y-i*  
 time-LO.EPH again sing-PR.3SG  
 When he untied the bucket and was opening it there, it sang again.

10'54 *cuyj[i]-keri goda-no tu:s/ily-ar*  
 pound-CP.3PL toilet.bush-LO dash.down.B2-PT.3PL  
 "(Singing) They pounded [me] and threw [me] in the nearby bush."

10'59 *a:n-le olq-ko aiya-η.gadi a:ny-ah*  
 say-CP cry-CP ITJ-my.daughter say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 When it cried like that, he said "Oh my girl!"

11'01 *ay ej.gadi a:n-ko ke:ponte a:d mal lehar-ki ante*  
 ITJ my.daughter say-CP at.once that person become-CP.3SG.NM and  
*tanj-ki doṛa-no be:gy-a*  
 self-GE lap-LO jump.B2-PT.3SG  
 When he said "Oh my girl!" it took a human form at once and jumped  
 onto his lap.

11'04 *be:g-ne-ki ba:de-no a:he amty-ah no:ty-ah*  
 jump-VN-GE after-LO he bathe.B2-PT.3SG.M wash.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*pu:ra*  
 wholly

After she jumped [onto his lap], he bathed her and washed her well.

11'08 *adi-n kajak sa:bune-t indr-et amt-keh no:y-keh ante ok-i*  
 she-AC much soap-IN what-IN bathe-CP.3SG.M wash-CP.3SG.M and sit-PR.3SG  
 He bathed her and washed her with a lot of soap and so on, and then she sat down.

11'13 *[a]yu:-y.gadi inond dini men-id and-olaken*  
 ITJ-my.daughter this.much day become-PR.3SG.NM find-NG.PR.1SG  
*a:n-le awd-ih*  
 say-CP speak-PR.3SG.M  
 “Oh well, sister, I did not find you for such [a long time].”

11'16 *ante baiya baiya inond baiya-ber barc-ar*  
 and brother brother this.much brother-PL come.B2-PT.3PL  
*sat-jin baiya-ber ni:m undgal-er eng-e a:t-jin-et*  
 seven-CLF brother-PL you.PL sibling-2PL I-DA eight-CLF-1PL.I  
*menja-ket na:m undgal-et*  
 become.B2-CP.1PL.I we.I sibling-1PL.I  
 “Brother, this many elder brothers came [but did not find me]. There are seven of you, and including me, we are eight siblings.”

11'25 *ta:nu e:n cuqe-n pel.mage-n menja-ken ni:m sikare-k*  
 then I youngest-1SG girl-1SG be.B2-PT.1SG you.PL hunting-DA  
*eky-ar doky-ar*  
 go.B2-PT.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL  
 “I am the youngest girl, [but] you [left me and] had gone hunting.”

11'29 *eng-en baiya-ber-ki nim-ki pel-er eng-en ga:re sason*  
 I-AC brother-PL-GE you.PL-GE woman-PL I-AC much torment  
*nany-ar dukaretry-ar a:n-le awd-i a: peli*  
 do.B2-PT.3PL distress.B2-PT.3PL say-CP speak-PR.3SG that woman  
 “My elder brothers’ wives, your wives, gave me a lot of suffering, gave me a lot of distress.” She spoke so.

11'37 *a: maqi mba sasone-ti a:n-kid ante awd-i kide*  
 that girl isn’t.it torment-IN say-CP.3SG.NM and speak-PR.3SG COMP  
*tey়g-id*  
 tell-PR.3SG.NM  
 That girl said this with suffering and told [the story].

11'41 *a: tey়g-a a:n-olah ante olg-ih a:h*  
 that tell-PT.3SG say-NG.PR.3SG.M and cry-PR.3SG.M he  
 She told. He did not say [a word] and cried.

11'43 *de tey়g-a a:n-olah kide a:d tey়g-i ta:n baiya*  
 ITJ tell-PT.3SG say-NG.PR.3SG.M COMP she tell-PR.3SG then brother  
*olg-oma men-a saba-n a:n-le awd-i*  
 cry-NG.IMP listen-IMP story-AC say-CP speak-PR.3SG

She told [it] and he did not say [a word]. When she told [it], she said “Brother, don’t cry. Listen to [my] story.”

11'47 *ante a: awd-i kide nanond so:-jin baiya-ber*  
 and that speak-PR.3SG COMP that.many six-CLF brother-PL  
*barc-le amc-le kiry-ar and-lar eyg-en*  
 come.B2-CP take.bath.B2-CP return.B2-PT.3PL find-NG.PT.3PL I-AC  
 And she said, “As many as six elder brothers came, took baths and  
 went back, [but] did not find me.”

11'56 *ni:n baiya anda-ke anake eyg-en mal nan-ke a:n-le*  
 you brother find-PT.2SG.M now I-AC human do-PT.2SG.M say-CP  
*awqy-a*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG  
 “You, brother, found me, and made me human now.”

12'03 *ante men-a e:n teyg-en nadi-n a:n-le awqy-a ante*  
 and listen-IMP I tell-FT.1SG that-AC say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG and  
 “And listen, I will tell you this.” (*She repeats the story of 2'15 to 6'24.*)

13'37 *ante nanond sat-jin-er bahu-ber de:ki-no*  
 and so.many seven-CLF-PL sister.in.law-PL mortar-LO  
*cujyjy-ar*  
 pound.B2-PT.3PL  
 “And so many sisters-in-law, seven of them, pounded me in a mortar.”

13'41 *capy-ar e:n andu qes-a tuk-ken*  
 tread.B2-PT.3PL I at.that.time paddy-AC push-PT.1SG  
 “They were treading [the pounding machine]. I was feeding rice [to it] at that time.”

13'43 *ani tuk-a tuk-a qaty-ar gote-ri-hi-d so:-jin*  
 so push-AP REP give.B2-PT.3PL all-PL-EPH-NM six-CLF  
*bahu-ber tuk-a tuk-a qaty-ar*  
 sister.in.law-PL push-AP REP give.B2-PT.3PL  
 “They pushed me [into the machine]. All of them. Six sisters-in-law pushed and pushed me [one after another].”

13'47 *ani eyg-en tuk-a kor-tr-oti pol-ar*  
 so I-AC push-AP enter-CS-IF be.unable-PT.3PL  
 “Then they could not push and put me [into the mortar].”

13'49 *lekin niy-ki bahu-d eyg-en ke:ponti*  
 but you-GE sister.in.law-NM I-AC at.once  
*de:ki-daqi-no tukar-ki bicry-a*  
 pounding.machine-mortar-LO move.on-CP.3SG.NM shove.B2-PT.3SG  
 “But your wife moved on and shoved me in the mortar of the pounding machine at one push.”

13'53 *ani cujjy-ar perq-ger ante ke:s-ker ante goda-no*  
 so pound.B2-PT.3PL boil-CP.3PL and sift-CP.3PL and toilet.bush-LO

*tu:sy-ar*

dash.down.B2-PT.3PL

“Then they pounded [me]. After they parboiled and sifted [me], they threw [my remains] in a nearby bush.”

13'56 *ani a: be:rit hi jara pos-ad ako ante*  
 so that in.the.evening EPH rain rain.B2-PT.3SG.NM it.seems and  
*ikna:n ikna:ne ettr-ko it-no doba biṭa-nihi pu:p*  
 how how bring.down-CP here-LO pond/well side-LO.EPH flower  
*lehar ija-ken ako*  
 become.AP stand.B2-PT.1SG it.seems

“And it seemed to have rained in that evening, and somehow [the rain] brought me down. I became a flower and stood here, near the well.”

14'06 *eng-en bahu-ber baiya-ber and-lar ni:n and-ke*  
 I-AC sister.in.law-PL brother-PL find-NG.PT.3PL you find-PT.2SG.M  
 “Sisters-in-law and elder brothers did not find me, but you did.”

14'08 *a:n-le teŋg-ad na:d ante*  
 say-CP tell-PT.3SG.NM she and  
 She told so.

14'11 *na:he o: acca ti:ke-d a:n-keh ante kir-y-ah*  
 he ITJ well good-NM say-CP.3SG.M and return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said “Well, okay,” and went back.

14'13 *amc-keh no:dr-keh kir-y-ah*  
 take.bath.B2-CP.3SG.M wash.oneself-CP.3SG.M return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ante na:ber-in goṭe-r-nihi tang-baiya-n tang-bahu-n*  
 and they-AC all-PL-AC.EPH own-brother-AC own-sister.in.law-AC  
*pac tukṛa-ti qot qot tu:s-ih indro*  
 five piece-IN chop.B2.AP REP dash.down-PR.3SG.M what  
*ki:d-ah*  
 lay.down-PT.3SG.M

He took a bath, washed his hands and feet, and went home. Then he cut all his elder brothers and sisters-in-law in five pieces each and laid them [on the ground].

14'21 *ki:da-keh ante pu:ra gad-a nan-keh ante*  
 lay.down-CP.3SG.M and whole pit make-CP.3SG.M and  
*kor-urq duwar-no manda-keh ante pac-dapa*  
 enter.come.out door-LO bury-CP.3SG.M and five-times  
*korc-ah urq-ah*  
 enter.B2-PT.3SG.M come.out-PT.3SG.M

After he laid them, he made a big hole, buried each of them at the door where he enters and comes out, and entered and came out five times.

14'26 *uske.ba:de-no na:h pel-a hi kor-oti amby-ah*  
 after.that-LO he woman-AC EPH enter-IF leave.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After that he gave up taking a wife.

14'29 *pel-a hi kor-oti amby-ah awqy-ah kide*  
 woman-AC EPH enter-IF leave.B2-PT.3SG.M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M COMP  
*e:n anake pel-a kor-olaken amb-in*  
 I now woman-AC enter-NG.PR.1SG leave-PR.1SG  
 He gave up taking a wife, and said, “I will not take a wife any more.”

14'34 *i:n-le se dukaretr-er ej-ki eng.do-n*  
 do.this.way-CP EPH distress-FT.3PL I-GE my.sister-AC  
 “[Wives] will give so much distress to my sister.”

14'37 *aya-d ante abo kec-ad a:-nahā ga:re*  
 mother-NM and father die.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-even much  
 “Mother and father died. That was already too much [for me].”

14'40 *ta:nu anake i: orta-qadi pel.maqe ta:nu idi-n ho*  
 then now this.NM one-only girl then this.NM-AC too  
*dukaretr-ner*  
 distress-PR.3PL  
 “Now she is the only girl. Then they even tormented her.”

14'44 *tembru eng.do je ma:ngc-le ondr-en adi-ne bit-a*  
 rather my.sister whatever beg.B2-CP bring-FT.1SG that-AC cook-AP  
*bit-a qat-anid adi-n hi lap-a lap-a qo:k-en*  
 REP give-FT.2SG.NM that-AC EPH eat-AP REP stay-FT.1SG  
 “My sister! I will rather beg and bring something. You cook it. I will  
 live eating it.”

14'50 *lekin pel-a kor-enala a:n-le ugle:c-ah*  
 but woman-AC enter-NG.FT.1SG say-CP think.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 “But I will not take a wife.” He thought so.

14'52 *ante dqy-ah do:k-ne-ki ba:de a:de dine-nihi a: to*  
 and stay.B2-PT.3SG.M stay-VN-GE after she day-LO.EPH she TOP  
*do:k-e do:k-e-ti juwa lehr e:k-i batg lehr*  
 stay-VN stay-VN-IN youth become.AP go-PR.3SG maiden become.AP  
*e:k-i*  
 go-PR.3SG  
 And he lived. While he lived, she was becoming a young woman, a  
 maiden.

14'58 *ante to tang-a so:ci-no bar-i kide indrik ikna:n*  
 and TOP self-DA mind-LO come-PR.3SG COMP why how  
*baiya-gun do:k-en*  
 brother-together stay-FT.1SG  
 And [an idea] came into her thoughts, “Why and how shall I [keep]  
 living with my elder brother?”

15'03 *baiya-guni ikin do:k-en ide maja mal-a*  
 brother-together how stay-FT.1SG ITJ fine be.not-PR.3SG  
 “How shall I live with my elder brother? This is not good.”

15'06 *baiya pel-a kor-le amb-in nuni*  
 brother woman-AC enter-SJ.2SG.M leave-PR.1SG sister

*kor-olaken*  
enter-NG.PR.1SG  
“Brother, would you take a wife?” “No, dear, I won’t.”

15'09 *ni:nje bit-a bit-a qat-a e:ne carc-le bar-en*  
you but cook-AP REP give-IMP I walk.around.B2-CP come-FT.1SG  
“You cook and give [me food]. I will walk around, [beg and] come.”

15'13 *qada-ken ondr-in ca:he ma:ŋgc-ken ondr-in ca:he*  
steal.B2-CP.1SG bring-PR.1SG or beg.B2-CP.1SG bring-PR.1SG or  
*kum-ken ondr-in*  
carry.on.head-CP.1SG bring-PR.1SG  
“I will steal and bring [something], I will beg and bring [something], or I will take on my head and bring [something].”

15'16 *ade-n ondr ciy-en ni:n bit-a qat-a a:n-le*  
that-AC bring.AP give-FT.1SG you cook-AP give-IMP say-CP  
*awq-ih*  
speak-PR.3SG.M  
“You shall cook and serve me that which I bring and give you.” He said this.

15'20 *ani o: a:n-id a: pahra ante do:k-id ok-id*  
so ITJ say-PR.3SG.NM that time and stay-PR.3SG.NM sit-PR.3SG.NM  
*a: pahra nandu baiya pel-a kor-le*  
that time again brother woman-AC enter-SJ.2SG.M  
She said “Yes” at that time, and [after] she lived for some time, she said again “Brother, would you take a wife?”

15'24 *a:n-le awq-ko awq-ne-ki ba:d indra kud-ani kud-eh*  
say-CP speak-CP speak-VN-GE after what do-FT.3SG.NM do-FT.3SG.M  
*na:h*  
he  
After she said this, what did she do, I mean, what did he do?

15'30 *kajak dine-game qondtry-a tang.do-d tang-baiya-n*  
many day-throughout vex.B2-PT.3SG own.sister-NM own-brother-AC  
*pel-a kor-oti ani*  
woman-AC enter-IF so  
The sister teased her elder brother to take a wife every day.

15'34 *acca pel-a kor-en a:n-keh ante korc-ah*  
well woman-AC enter-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M and enter.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He said “Okay, I will take a wife,” and did so.

15'37 *kor-ne-h korc-ah ta:nu i: indra peli*  
enter-IPP-3SG.M enter.B2-PT.3SG.M then this what woman  
*menj-ad ako*  
be.B2-PT.3SG.NM it.seems  
Yes, he took a wife. Then what kind of wife was she?

15'41 *tu:du menj-a mala se mu:qe-d menj-ad ako*  
tiger be.B2-PT.3SG or EPH frog-NM be.B2-PT.3SG.NM it.seems

*mala indru menj-a*  
 or what be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Was she a tiger? Was she a frog? Or what was she?

15'44 *a:h kuwa bija-no amy-oti eky-ah ani*  
 he well side-LO bathe-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.M then  
 He went to the side of a well to take a bath.

15'46 *kuwa bite-no [es]sa maja.qani bañagni [banar-kid] ade*  
 well side-LO very pretty maiden become-CP.3SG.NM she  
*oky-a*  
 sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 There was a very pretty girl sitting near the well.

15'48 *ante na:h anda-keh ante are ni:n ikote bañagni a:n-ko*  
 and he find-CP.3SG.M and ITJ you of.where maiden say-CP  
 He found her and said, "Say, where do you come from?"

15'53 *e:n ikote-n=gote hi iko.te e:n de e:n carc*  
 I of.where-1SG=even EPH of.where I ITJ I walk.B2.AP  
*kud-in ani indra car-eni*  
 walk.around-PR.1SG so what walk-FT.2SG.NM  
 "Wherever I am from, I am walking about." "Why are you walking  
 about?"

15'58 *je: murse-h urq-qeh do:k-tr do:k-tr-no*  
 REL man-M come.out-CP.3SG.M stay-CS stay-CS-IPP  
*dok-tr-leh do:k-len adi-k ani*  
 stay-CS-SJ.3SG.M stay-SJ.1SG that.CR-DA then  
 "So that if any man comes out and would put me up, I could marry  
 [him]."

16'02 *ani o: ti:ke eyg.oy-d ho jawale-tr-i de i: peli-n*  
 so ITJ okay my.sister-NM too trouble-TR-PR.3SG ITJ this woman-AC  
*oy-en a:n-keh ante oc-ah*  
 take-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M and take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 "Okay, my sister is also teasing me. I will take this woman." Saying  
 this, he received [her as his wife].

16'08 *oy-ne-ki ba:de-no doky-ah oky-ah ante*  
 take-VN-GE after-LO stay.B2-PT.3SG.M sit.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
*awq-ih kide*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M COMP  
 After he married her, he lived for a while and spoke.

16'14 *ka:l-a bahu-ergo am-ik ka:l-a*  
 go-IMP sister.in.law-husband's.younger.sister water-DA go-IMP  
*sangal a:n-ko ti:k eky-ar*  
 together say-CP okay go.B2-PT.3PL  
 [He said,] "You two go for water together." They said "Okay" and  
 went.

16'18 *pahal.te dine eky-ar sangale-hi*  
 first day go.B2-PT.3PL together-EPH  
 On the first day, they went together.

16'20 *ek-ker ante deyngtr-naq-ner deyngtr-naq-ner ta:nu am-it*  
 go.B2-CP.3PL and joke-REC-PR.3PL REP then water-IN  
*ec-er-naq-ner*  
 throw.out-RF-REC-PR.3PL  
 They went and joked to each other. Then they sprinkled water to each other.

16'24 *ta:nu adi-ke ta:ni agdi-hi ec-i tang-bahu*  
 then she-DA herself first-EPH throw.out-PR.3SG.NM own-sister.in.law  
*a:n-id-hi*  
 do.so-PR.3SG-EPH  
 Then she, the elder sister-in-law, she first threw water on her (the younger sister-in-law).

16'27 *am-eti ecy-ad ta:nu o: i:d ho*  
 water-IN throw.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM then ITJ she too  
*ec-i a:d ho ec-i*  
 throw.out-PR.3SG.NM she too throw.out-PR.3SG  
 She sprinkled water. Then one sprinkled water and the other did too.

16'31 *ec-r-naq-ne-ki ba:de tang-bahu-ki qan-ik*  
 throw.out-RF-REC-VN-GE after own-sister.in.law-GE eye-DA  
*korc-a male amby-a aka*  
 enter.B2-PT.3SG or leave.B2-PT.3SG it.seems  
 They sprinkled water on each other. Then [water] entered the sister-in-law's eyes, or maybe it did not.

16'34 *korc-a mala amby-a ki sa:la a:fi-nte*  
 enter.B2-PT.3SG or leave.B2-PT.3SG COMP wicked.person there-AB  
*hi kalsa-n amb-ki te mucagr-ki*  
 EPH jar-AC leave-CP.3SG.NM and cover.face.with.hands-CP.3SG.NM  
*kirya-a ada-k*  
 return.B2-PT.3SG house-DA  
 [Whether] water entered her eyes or not, the wicked woman left the jar there, covered her face with her hands, and went home.

16'38 *ante a:h kirya-a aro ka:fi-no kod.et-ki*  
 and he return.B2-PT.3SG and bedstead-LO lie.down-CP.3SG.NM  
*kody-a*  
 lie.B2-PT.3SG  
 She went home, went to bed, and lay there.

16'41 *ante a:de olg-id a:fi-no tang.do nandu-hi*  
 and she cry-PR.3SG.NM there-LO own.sister again-EPH  
 And the sister cried there again.

16'44 *baiya-h eng-en pit-eh anake=jano pit-eh eng-en*  
 brother-M I-AC kill-FT.3SG.M now=just kill-FT.3SG.M I-AC

*a:n-id*

say-PR.3SG.NM

She said, "Brother will kill me right now."

16'47 *a:n-le awd-i ante acca indra kud-en kir-en*  
 say-CP speak-PR.3SG and well what do-FT.1SG return-FT.1SG  
*ko a:n-kid ante a:d ta:nu qol-ki*  
 it.seems say-CP.3SG.NM and that then take.up-CP.3SG.NM  
*kiry-a*  
 return.B2-PT.3SG

She said this. Then [having thought] "Well, what [else] shall I do?  
 It seems I am going home [after all]," she scooped water and went  
 home.

16'53 *ante kir-ne-ki ba:de-no ande doky-a oky-a*  
 and return-VN-GE after-LO thus stay.B2-PT.3SG sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 After she returned, she kept on living.

16'54 *te i:he indra kud-eh*  
 and he what do-FT.3SG.M  
 What did he do then?

16'57 *guru-r-in ante da:k̥tar-er-in mayga:tr mayga:tr*  
 sorcerer-PL-AC and doctor-PL-AC send.for REP  
*caq-tr-ih ante ka:ty-tr-ih indra kud-i*  
 inject-CS-PR.3SG.M and bleed-CS-PR.3SG.M what do-PR.3SG  
 Calling sorcerers and doctors, he made them give her injections and  
 bleed her. What did she do?

17'03 *ano nek-e-nihi nek-ola*  
 there get.well-VN-LO.EPH get.well-NG.PR.3SG  
 She did not get well then.

17'04 *a: amu-d aga qan-ik kor-ni se a:*  
 that.CR water-NM you.know eye-DA enter-IPP.EPH EPH that.CR  
*dagre:-tr-li mba*  
 get.corrupted-CS-SJ.3SG isn't.it  
 The water that entered [her] eyes must have made [her] ill.

17'07 *a: to tang.do-n pit-ot ugley-id*  
 she TOP own.sister-AC kill-IF think-PR.3SG.NM  
 She thought of killing her sister.

17'09 *adi-n se gḁrar-i tang-erqo-n pit-oti*  
 that-AC EPH do-PR.3SG own-husband's.younger.sister-AC kill-IF  
*ugley-i adi-n se*  
 think-PR.3SG that-AC EPH  
 She did only that. She just thought of that, of killing her husband's  
 younger sister.

17'12 *ante na:nle na:nle gḁrar-ko ante awd-i-h kide*  
 and that.way REP do-CP and speak-PR.3SG.M COMP

*meŋj.e:ry-ah*  
ask.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Having [carried on] like that, he said, he asked.

17'16 *qond-keh ante karca-barca-d qond-keh ante*  
be.tired-CP.3SG.M and expense-ECHO-NM be.tired-CP.3SG.M and  
*awq-ih te*  
speak-PR.3SG.M and  
He got tired of the [medical] expenses and said,

17'18 *are niŋg-a indru co:te-de nek-ola a:n-ko*  
ITJ you-DA what illness-NM get.well-NG.PR.3SG say-CP  
“My dear, what is your illness. You don’t get well.”

17'21 *eng-a indru co:te men-ane aro kud-ane*  
I-DA what disease ask-FT.2SG.M and do-FT.2SG.M  
“Are you asking what my illness is? And are you going to take action?”

17'24 *teyg-en a:n-le awq-i o: teyg-a ciy-a a:n-ih*  
tell-FT.1SG say-CP speak-PR.3SG ITJ tell-AP give-IMP say-PR.3SG.M  
She said “I will tell you.” He said “Okay, tell me.”

17'26 *ante e:n ni:ŋg.dq:-ki qe:s-et mu:pjr-len se eng-a*  
and I you.sister-GE blood-IN wash.face-SJ.1SG EPH I-DA  
*nek-lid ganu-d a:n-le awq-i*  
get.well-SJ.3SG.NM eye-NM say-CP speak-PR.3SG  
She said, “Only if I wash my face with your sister’s blood, my eyes will get well.”

17'31 *ante a:h to kuk-a baj-r-keh ugley-ih kide aju:*  
and he TOP head-AC hit-RF-CP.3SG.M think-PR.3SG.M COMP ITJ  
*gosani*  
god  
Then he thought hitting his head, “Oh, god!”

17'34 *agdu to bahu-ber pity-ar aur ey-ki eng-a da:ni*  
first TOP sister.in.law-PL kill.B2-PT.3PL and I-GE I-DA wife  
*pity-ar*  
kill.B2-PT.3PL  
“[Those] sisters-in-law killed [my sister] before. And they [caused me to] kill my wife [together].”

17'39 *anake (enga hi) eng-en hi pit-oti awq-i*  
now I-AC EPH kill-IF speak-PR.3SG  
“Now she is telling me to kill [my sister].”

17'42 *indru ba:te a:n-le awq-ih*  
what matter say-CP speak-PR.3SG.M  
He said “What a matter!”

17'44 *indru ba:te acca ante acca kud-ken e:r-en a:n-le*  
what matter well and well do-CP.1SG see-FT.1SG say-CP

*ugle:c-ah*  
think.B2-PT.3SG.M  
“What a matter! Okay, I will try and see.” Saying this, he thought.

17'48 *ante i:he e:k-a nuni niyg-en acca pit-oti hi men-ani ik.bahni*  
and he go-IMP sister you-AC well kill-IF EPH be-FT.3SG.NM  
where.EPH  
Then he said, “Let’s go, sister. Well, I will have to kill you somewhere.”

17'54 *a:n-keh ante eky-ah oc-ah ante a:he*  
say-CP.3SG.M and go.B2-PT.3SG.M take.B2-PT.3SG.M and he  
mane *indru oc-ah*  
namely what take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He said this and went. He took, I mean, what did he take?

17'59 *oy-olah kide oy-in a:n[-le] oca-keh*  
take-NG.PR.3SG.M COMP take-PR.1SG say-CP take.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*dade-no do:k-try-ah*  
jungle-LO stay-CS.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He did not take her [life], i.e. he said “I will take [your life]” and took her, but put her in a jungle.

18'02 *do:k-tr-keh awq-ih kide indru murko-ki*  
stay-CS-CP.3SG.M speak-PR.3SG.M COMP what tree.name-GE  
*qe:s-a murko man-a qot-ah*  
blood-AC tree.name tree-AC cut.down.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He put her in a jungle. Saying “What about [giving my wife] the blood of Murko?” he cut down a Murko tree.

18'07 *ante murko curg-i bar-u a: and-it ko*  
and tree.name ooze-PR.3SG come-PP that find-PR.1PL.I it.seems  
*mba male-t and-it*  
isn’t.it person-1PL.I find-PR.1PL.I  
We have seen that [sap] which comes out oozing [from] a Murko tree, haven’t we? We have seen it.

18'10 *adi-ne qe:s-a patc-keh ante oc-ah*  
that-AC blood-AC catch.up.liquid.B2-CP.3SG.M and take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*i:d eyg do:qe:su a:ny-ah*  
this my.sister-blood say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He collected that blood, collected it [in a vessel], took it [home] and said, “This is my sister’s blood.”

18'14 *a:d indru menj-a indru ja:ti malni menj-a ako de*  
that what be.B2-PT.3SG what kind woman be.B2-PT.3SG it.seems ITJ  
*awqy-a*  
speak.B2-PT.3SG  
What was she? What kind of woman does she seem to have been? Now she said,

18'17 *i:d eng.do-ki qe:su a:n-ne*  
 this my.sister-GE blood say-PR.2SG.M  
 “Are you saying ‘This is my sister’s blood’?”

18'18 *niyg.do to niyg.do to qade-no do:k-id*  
 your.sister TOP your.sister TOP jungle-LO stay-PR.3SG.NM  
 “Your sister is in the jungle.”

18'21 *i: to murko-ki qe:su-d a:ny-a*  
 this TOP tree.name-GE blood-NM say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “This is blood of the Murko tree.” She said this.

18'22 *egestr-ki tundy-a*  
 empty.vessel-CP.3SG.NM throw.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 She emptied the vessel and threw [the blood] away.

18'24 *o: men-la ante a:d to kiry-a a:g-ne-ki*  
 ITJ become-NG.PT.3SG and that TOP return.B2-PT.3SG know-VN-GE  
*ba:de to kiry-ad tang.do*  
 after TOP return.B2-PT.3SG.NM own.sister  
 Oh, it did not work. Then she came back. The sister came back after  
 she learned [how it went].

18'28 *ante nandu-hi din-on-d dusra dine nandu-hi i:he e:k-a eng.do*  
 and again-EPH day-one other day again-EPH he go-IMP my.sister  
*niyg-a ina=jano ja:ne-d oygry-a ko=re eng.do*  
 you-DA today=just life-NM end.B2-PT.3SG it.seems=ITJ my.sister  
 Again, on another day, he said, “Let’s go, sister. Today it seems your  
 life is going to end.”

18'37 *ano olg qemd-keh otr-keh*  
 there cry.AP hold.on.the.side-CP.3SG.M take.out-CP.3SG.M  
*oy-ih dade-k*  
 take-PR.3SG.M jungle-DA  
 He held her on his side crying, took her out and took her to a jungle.

18'39 *qade-no pit-ken bar-en a:n-le*  
 jungle-LO kill-CP.1SG come-FT.1SG say-CP  
 Saying [to his wife] “I will kill her in the jungle and come back.”

18'41 *ante oc-ah ante a:t-no nandu qalwo qalwo*  
 and take.B2-PT.3SG.M and there-LO again stealthily REP  
*maq-on-d ale-n darc-keh oca-keh ale-n*  
 CLF-one dog-AC catch.B2-CP.3SG.M take.B2-CP.3SG.M dog-AC  
*qota-keh ante al-qe:s-a oc-ah*  
 cut.down.B2-CP.3SG.M and dog-blood-AC take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He took [her to the jungle]. There he caught and took a dog stealthily,  
 cut it and took canine blood.

18'47 *ante i:de ada-no kod-kid a:g-id ko*  
 and this.NM house-LO lie-CP.3SG.NM know-PR.3SG.NM it.seems  
*indru mejj-a ako*  
 what become.B2-PT.3SG it.seems

And this woman seems to have learned [that while] lying at home.  
What on earth does she seem to be?

18'51 *ante awqy-ad ale-ne ale-n qota-keh ante*  
and speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM dog-AC dog-AC cut.down.B2-CP.3SG.M and  
*oc-ah ani*  
take.B2-PT.3SG.M so  
And she said [to herself], “He cut a dog and took [the blood].”

18'57 *inda i:d eng.do-ki qe:su-d a:n-keh ante olg olg*  
take.this this my.sister-GE blood-NM say-CP.3SG.M and cry.AP REP  
*ciy-ih ani awq-i kide*  
give-PR.3SG.M so speak-PR.3SG COMP  
“Look, this is my sister’s blood.” Having said this, he gave it [to her]  
crying. Then she said,

19'00 *maren ning.do-ki qe:su-d a:n-ne maren to al-qe:su*  
at.will your.sister-GE blood-NM say-PR.2SG.M at.will TOP dog-blood  
*ning.do to qade-no do:k-i a:n-le awq-i*  
your.sister TOP jungle-LO stay-PR.3SG say-CP speak-PR.3SG  
“You are saying at will that [it is] your sister’s blood, [which is actually]  
[dog’s blood. Your sister is in the jungle.” She said this.

19'04 *te ik.ja:ti a:g-id aca a:n-le ugle:c-ah ante*  
and how know-PR.3SG.NM well say-CP think.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
How come she knows? He said “Well,” and thought.

19'08 *(nuni)[peli] bадa-d aka indra kud-en eng.do-ni*  
[wife] great-NM it.seems what do-FT.1SG my.sister-AC.EPH  
*pit-en a:n-keh ante oc-ah*  
kill-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M and take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
“[A man’s wife] is important, I think. It can’t be helped. I will kill  
my sister [after all].” He said this and took [her to a jungle].

19'11 *i:he oc-ah qade-k oca-keh ante e: ta:tr-a*  
he take.B2-PT.3SG.M jungle-DA take.B2-CP.3SG.M and ITJ sickle-AC  
*tarwa:ri-n ara curi-n ara mas-a ara da:wa-n*  
sword-AC and knife-AC and hatchet-AC and chopping.knife-AC  
He took sickle, sword, knife, hatchet and chopping knife to the jungle.

19'21 *te auro pa:y-onд lota-n qend-keh*  
and further CLF-one brass.pot-AC take.along-CP.3SG.M  
*eky-ah*  
go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He took a brass pot along and went.

19'25 *ante sa:mne caq-oti pol-ah*  
and face.to.face stab-IF be.unable-PT.3SG.M  
And he could not stab her face to face.

19'28 *ante kobd-a pit-oti pol-ah ante*  
and hit.back.of.head-AP kill-IF be.unable-PT.3SG.M and

got                    *pit-oti pol-ah*  
 cut.down.B2.AP kill-IF be.unable-PT.3SG.M  
 He could not kill her by hitting the back of her head, nor could he kill  
 her by hacking.

19'31 *adi-n birq-qeh a:he ta:n ta:y-man-ik argy-ah*  
 that-AC mix-CP.3SG.M he then palm-tree-DA climb.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He got confused about it and climbed a palm tree.

19'34 *a: maqi-n qolgr-no qe:ql-no ki:d-ah*  
 that girl-AC beneath-LO earth-LO lay.down-PT.3SG.M  
 He made the girl lie below on the ground.

19'38 *qe:ql-no ki:da-keh ante a: gec-ente inj*  
 earth-LO lay.down-CP.3SG.M and that afar-AB stone.B2.AP  
*pit-eh            qot            pit-eh            ani caq-a pit-eh*  
 kill-FT.3SG.M cut.down.B2.AP kill-FT.3SG.M and stab-AP kill-FT.3SG.M  
*ani adi-k man-ik argy-ah*  
 then that-DA tree-DA climb.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He made her lie on the ground, and [in order to] throw [the chopping  
 knife] and kill her, cut down and kill her, or stab and kill her, he  
 climbed up a tree for that.

19'44 *man-ik arg-keh ante awd-ih nandi-hi ca:me-d*  
 tree-DA climb-CP.3SG.M and speak-PR.3SG.M again-EPH song-NM  
*iti-nte ho ante awd-ih kide*  
 here-AB too and speak-PR.3SG.M COMP  
 He climbed up a tree and sang. Here again, he sang a song.

19'50 *idi=re eng(i).do da:wa            ka:l-i*  
 ITJ=ITJ my.sister chopping.knife go-PR.3SG  
 “(Singing) Look, sister, the chopping knife is going.”

19'56 *tey-a=re baiya pune bahu            pit-i*  
 send-IMP=ITJ brother new sister.in.law kill-PR.3SG  
 “(Singing) Throw down [the chopping knife], o brother, the new  
 sister-in-law is killing [me].”

20'03 *a:n-le olg-id a:d*  
 say-CP cry-PR.3SG.NM that  
 She cried so.

20'04 *a:h ho olg olg tey-ih i:d ho olg olg ko:d-i*  
 he too cry.AP REP send-PR.3SG.M this.NM too cry.AP REP lie-PR.3SG  
 He threw [the chopping knife] down crying. She also lies crying.

20'06 *ante tey-ah ta:n da:wa-d adi-n indra*  
 and send-PT.3SG.M then chopping.knife-NM that-AC what  
*lag-ani gece be:gy-a*  
 hit-FT.3SG.NM far jump.B2-PT.3SG  
 And he threw it down, the chopping knife. What did it hit? It jumped  
 far away.

20'10 *ante phir se nandu lag-lad a:n-keh ante nandu*  
 and again EPH again hit-NG.PT.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M and again  
*awq-ih*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M  
 He said “It did not hit her,” and said again.

20'13 *idi=re eygi.do masu ka:l-i*  
 ITJ=ITJ my.sister hatchet go-PR.3SG  
 “(Singing) Look, sister, the hatchet is going.”

20'20 *tey-a=re baiya pune bahu pit-i*  
 send-PT.3SG=ITJ brother new sister.in.law kill-PR.3SG  
 “(Singing) Throw down [the axe], o brother, the new sister-in-law is  
 killing [me].”

20'26 *a:n-ko tey-ah ta:nu a:d ho lag-lad masu-d ho*  
 say-CP send-PT.3SG.M then that too hit-NG.PT.3SG.NM hatchet-NM too  
*lag-la*  
 hit-NG.PT.3SG  
 He said this and threw [the hatchet] down. The hatchet did not hit her  
 either.

20'31 *te nandu hi awq-ih nandu awq-ih pa:r-ih*  
 and again EPH speak-PR.3SG.M again speak-PR.3SG.M sing-PR.3SG.M  
*olq-ih kide*  
 cry-PR.3SG.M COMP  
 And he said again, sang and cried,

20'35 *idi=re eygi.do curi ka:l-i*  
 ITJ=ITJ my.sister knife go-PR.3SG  
 “(Singing) Look, sister, the knife is going.”

20'41 *tey-a=re baiya pune bahu pit-i*  
 send-PT.3SG=ITJ brother new sister.in.law kill-PR.3SG  
 “(Singing) Throw down [the knife], o brother, the new sister-in-law  
 is killing [me].”

20'47 *a:n-le awdy-ad na:h tey-ah a: ho*  
 say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM he send-PT.3SG.M that too  
*lag-la gece e:k-i qe:ql-a pata-kid*  
 hit-NG.PT.3SG far go-PR.3SG earth-AC stick-CP.3SG.NM  
*ij-a*  
 stand.B2-PT.3SG  
 She said this. He threw down [the knife]. It did not hit her either. It  
 went far away, and stuck and stood on the ground.

20'51 *ante tarwa:ri-n tey-ah a: pahra awdy-ah*  
 and sword-AC send-PT.3SG.M that time speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And he threw down the sword. He said at that time.

20'53 *idi: re eygi.do tarwa:ri ka:l-i*  
 ITJ ITJ my.sister sword go-PR.3SG  
 “(Singing) Look, sister, the sword is going.”

20'59 *tey-a=re baiya pune bahu pit-i*  
 send-PT.3SG=ITJ brother new sister.in.law kill-PR.3SG  
 “(Singing) Throw down [the sword], o brother, the new sister-in-law  
 is killing [me].”

21'05 *a:n-le olg-ad a:n-id tey-ah ke:ponti pac*  
 say-CP cry-PT.3SG.NM say-PR.3SG.NM send-PT.3SG.M at.once five  
*tukra qot-a*  
 piece cut.down.B2-PT.3SG  
 She cried and said this. He threw it down. It chopped her in five  
 pieces at once.

21'08 *da:p-ond cu:ty-ah a: pac tukra qot-a*  
 time.CLF-one throw.B2-PT.3SG.M that five piece cut.down.B2-PT.3SG  
 He threw it down once. It cut her in five pieces.

21'10 *qot-ne-ki ba:de et-keh ante qe:s-a*  
 cut.down-VN-GE after go.down-CP.3SG.M and blood-AC  
*patc-keh lota-no patc-keh*  
 catch.up.liquid-CP.3SG.M brass.pot-LO catch.up.liquid-CP.3SG.M  
*ante kiry-ah*  
 and return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After that, he went down, emptied her blood in the brass pot, and went  
 home.

21'13 *kiry-ah a: qedy-ond qequ-de bahre-no beh-i*  
 return.B2-PT.3SG.M that CLF-one leg-NM outside-LO be-PR.3SG  
 He went home. Then that one leg [of his wife] was sticking out.

21'17 *qedy-ond qequ duvar-no beh-i ada-no beh-i*  
 CLF-one leg door-LO be-PR.3SG house-LO be-PR.3SG  
 One (i.e. the other) leg was at the doorway, in the house.

21'19 *anihi ga co:ca-kid oky-a*  
 for.nothing surely get.up.B2-CP.3SG.NM sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 She got up and was sitting without any [special treatment].

21'20 *i:d eng.do-ki qe:su-d a:n-oti-ga*  
 this my.sister-GE blood-NM say-IF-surely  
*da:wang-ola=pahā*  
 have.opportunity-NG.PR.3SG=even  
 There was not even a chance to say “This is my sister’s blood.”

21'23 *kor-ni=pahā de alq urq-ad anake*  
 enter-IPP.EPH=even ITJ laugh.AP come.out-PT.3SG.NM now  
*neky-a are a:n-le awqy-a*  
 get.well.B2-PT.3SG ITJ say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG  
 As soon as he entered, she came out smiling. She said, “I have gotten  
 well now.”

21'28 *anake neky-a are maja.qani de t̪i:ke de a:n-le*  
 now get.well.B2-PT.3SG ITJ fine ITJ well ITJ say-CP

*awdy-a*

speak.B2-PT.3SG

She said, "Now I have gotten well. I am fine. I am well."

21'31 *ante indra kud-eh qe:su-d ho bekar mejj-a*  
and what do-FT.3SG.M blood-NM too useless become.B2-PT.3SG  
*malni-d ho ano tukra tukra pac tukra*

woman-NM too there piece REP five piece

What did he do? The blood had become useless, and the woman [had] also [become] pieces, five pieces, there [in the jungle].

21'36 *ante doky-ar oky-ar sangale-hi*  
and stay.B2-PT.3PL sit.B2-PT.3PL together-EPH  
And they lived together.

21'38 *doky-ar oky-ar ante nawre-d awro bijli-d*  
stay.B2-PT.3PL sit.B2-PT.3PL and weasel-NM and mongoose-NM  
*carc kud-i carc kud-i eky-a*  
walk.B2.AP walk.around-AP walk.B2.AP walk.around-AP go.B2-PT.3SG  
They lived. Then a weasel and a mongoose were walking around together.

21'44 *carc kud-i carc kud-i eky-a*  
walk.B2.AP go.around-AP walk.B2.AP go.around-AP go.B2-PT.3SG  
*ta:nu a:de malni ko:q-id ani pac tukra qoh-pe ko:q-i*  
then that woman lie-PR.3SG.NM so five piece cut-PAP lie-PR.3SG  
They were walking around. Then that woman [i.e. his sister] lay [there]. She lay cut in five pieces.

21'50 *ani e:r-kid ante are are bar-a bar-a indru ko:q-i are*  
so see-CP.3SG.NM and ITJ REP come-IMP REP what lie-PR.3SG ITJ  
*elktr-i a:n-i*  
frighten-PR.3SG say-PR.3SG  
[One of them] saw her and said, "Hey, come [and look], what lies here? I'm scared."

21'53 *ta:nu malni aju: aju: malni ko:q-i bar-a e:r-et*  
then woman ITJ ITJ woman lie-PR.3SG come-IMP see-FT.1PL  
Then it's a woman. "Good heavens! [Here] lies a woman. Come, let's see."

21'54 *a:n-ki ante jamary-a nawre ar bijli*  
say-CP.3SG and get.together.B2-PT.3SG weasel and mongoose  
Saying this, the weasel and the mongoose stood close to each other.

21'58 *ante jamar-kid ante e:ry-a a: pahr malni*  
and get.together-CP.3SG.NM and see.B2-PT.3SG that time woman  
*pac tukra qoh-pe*  
five piece cut-PAP  
When they stood close to each other and looked, [it was] a woman cut in five pieces.

22'01 *ani nawre-d aur bijli jo:y-e-ti suru men-i*  
 so weasel-NM and mongoose pair-IN beginning become-PR.3SG  
 Then the weasel and mongoose started [singing] together.

22'04 *aur nandu-hi ca:me-d i:t-no kide*  
 and again-EPH song-NM here-LO COMP  
 And again [there is] a song here,

22'08 *nawr toto nawr bilo bilo kajiy-a*  
 weasel ONOM weasel ONOM REP board.B2-PT.3SG  
 "(Singing) Nawr Toto, Nawr Bilo, he got aboard."

22'12 *qerwu dolo dolo qolo pa:ni a:n-le*  
 ear big REP REP water say-CP  
 "(Singing) Qerwu Dolo, Dolo, Dolo, [bring] water."

22'14 *a:n-le a:n-le a:n-ki ante jo:y-c-a*  
 say-CP REP say-CP.3SG.NM and put.together.B2-PT.3SG  
*tukr-ond ante awd-i pa:y-i*  
 piece.CLF-one and speak-PR.3SG sing-PR.3SG  
 Saying this, they put together one piece. And they said singing.

22'22 *qerwu dolo dolo dolo pa:ni a:n-le*  
 ear big REP REP water say-CP  
 "(Singing) Qerwu Dolo, Dolo, Dolo, [bring] water."

22'24 *a:n-le a:n-ki ante tukr-is jo:y-c-a*  
 say-CP say-CP.3SG.NM and piece.CLF-two put.together.B2-PT.3SG  
 Saying this, they put together two pieces.

22'27 *na:n-le na:n-le pa:y-a pa:y-a a: malni-n*  
 do.that.way-CP REP sing-AP REP that woman-AC  
*jo:y-c ongy-a gandi*  
 put.together.B2.AP finish.B2-PT.3SG body  
 Singing and singing that way, they finished putting together the woman, her body.

22'31 *pac tukra gandi-n jo:y-c ojng-kid ante*  
 five piece body-AC put.together.B2.AP finish-CP.3SG.NM and  
*male-n ji:we-n bicry-a jivary-a*  
 person-AC life-AC put.in.B2-PT.3SG recover.life.B2-PT.3SG  
 They finished putting together the five-piece body, and they put back the person, the life, and she got back to life.

22'36 *ante indru nujj-tr-i a:n-le awdy-a ani*  
 and what pain-CS-PR.3SG say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG then  
 They said [to her] "Does anything hurt?"

22'38 *eng-a kakali nujj-tr-i a:n-le awd-ko*  
 I-DA waist pain-CS-PR.3SG say-CP speak-CP  
 She said, "My waist hurts."

22'40 *ek-e:r-a a:n-le awdy-a ani eky-a a:n-e-ki*  
 go.B2-see-IMP say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG so go.B2-PT.3SG say-VN-GE

ba:d *kakali nujj-id* a:n-i ante *nandi-hi awd-i*  
 after waist pain-PR.3SG.NM say-PR.3SG and again-EPH speak-PR.3SG  
 They said, “Try to walk.” So she walked, and then said, “The waist  
 hurts.” They said again.

22'49 *gerwu dolo dolo dolo pa:ni a:n-le*  
 ear big REP REP water say-CP  
 “(Singing) Qerwu Dolo, Dolo, Dolo, [bring] water.”

22'52 *a:n-kid ante a: jo:l-ot toq-a*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM and that put.together-IF finish-PT.3SG  
 Singing like this, they finished putting her together.

22'53 *nek-id ante anake indru-gote nujj-tr-ola a:n-ko*  
 get.well-PR.3SG.NM now what-ever pain-CS-NG.PR.3SG say-CP  
 ante  
 and  
 She said, “I got well. Now nothing hurts.”

22'56 *nujj-i nujj-ola a:n-ki indru-gote*  
 pain-PR.3SG pain-NG.PR.3SG say-CP.3SG what-ever  
*nujj-tr-ola a:n-ko ante*  
 pain-CS-NG.PR.3SG say-CP and  
 When they said “Does it hurt or not?” she said “Nothing hurts.”

22'58 *acca ti:k hc je ni:n anake ada-k kir-oma*  
 well good is but you now house-DA return-NG.IMP  
 “Okay, that’s good. But don’t go home now.”

23'01 *ni:n i:t-no hi ok-a i:t-nihi ko:q-a*  
 you here-LO EPH sit-IMP here-LO.EPH lie-IMP  
 “You sit right here, and you lie right here.”

23'05 *ning-a to anake keca-ki ante jiyar-ki*  
 you-DA TOP now die.B2-CP.3SG.NM and recover.life-CP.3SG.NM  
*jiyar-tr-kem e:m e:m mal gare-kem*  
 recover.life-CS-PT.1PL.E we.E we.E person make.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 “You died and came back to life now, and it is us that revived you.  
 We made you human.”

23'09 *to anake ning-a to anake indrik kir-ani*  
 TOP now you-DA TOP now why return-FT.2SG.NM  
 “Now how are you going to go back?”

23'11 *ni:n to anake jarmar-ki mba tafka-hi*  
 you TOP now be.born-PT.2SG.NM isn’t.it right.now-EPH  
*jarmar-ner a:ber to i: janar:paydar sa:te-hi du:de-n*  
 be.born-PR.3PL they TOP this birth together-EPH milk-AC  
*o:n-olar*  
 drink-NG.PR.3PL  
 “You are just born, aren’t you? When [babies] are just born, they do  
 not drink milk right after birth.”

23'16 tōa olg-ner ante ep̄i.bup̄i men-ner  
 a.little cry-PR.3PL and twisting become-PR.3PL  
 "They cry a little and twist [their body]."

23'19 iske.ba:de du:d-ki:re dary-no ond-ner toho-ber  
 after.this milk-hunger catch-IPP make.drink-PR.3PL mother-PL  
 "When they feel hungry for milk after this, their mothers feed them."

23'21 a:-joka ning-a anake to anake jarmar-ki  
 that-like you-DA now TOP now be.born-CP.2SG.NM  
 a:n-ki ning-a ki:re mal-a  
 do.so-CP.2SG.NM you-DA hunger be.not-PR.3SG  
 "The same [is true of] you. You were born just now, and aren't you hungry?"

23'24 a:-le:kki a:ra:m men-a ko:q-a ok-a it-no a:n-ko  
 that-for at.ease be-IMP lie.down-IMP sit-IMP here-LO say-CP  
 be:qit u:q-a kody-ad  
 in.the.evening become.dark-PT.3SG lie.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 "Therefore, be at ease, lie down and sit here." Then it got dark in the evening and she lay down.

23'27 ta:nu ko:q-ne-ki ba:d pa:r-ond aqa de pa:r-ond indru paka-ki  
 then lie-VN-GE after CLF-one house ITJ CLF-one what baked-GE  
 aqa banary-a a:t-no  
 house be.made.B2-PT.3SG there-LO  
 Then after she lay down, a house, a house of bricks and mortar, formed by itself there.

23'34 kody-a aqa a: ge:ra maji-no ada-maji  
 lie.down.B2-PT.3SG house that boundary middle-LO house-middle  
 lehary-a kody-a ani  
 become.B2-PT.3SG lie.down.B2-PT.3SG so  
 She lay down. Then that space became the middle of the walls, middle of the house, and she lay [there].

23'38 kod-a bij-ne-ki ba:d aqa-maji kod-ki  
 lie.down.B2-AP dawn-VN-GE after house-middle lie.down-CP.3SG.NM  
 ante e:r-i co:ca-ki bijy-a ani  
 and see-PR.3SG get.up.B2-CP.3SG.NM dawn.B2-PT.3SG so  
 After she spent the night lying there, she [found herself] lying in the middle of the house. She got up and looked, it had become morning.

23'40 ta:nu aqa e:n to qade-no kod-ken qacy-a ta:nu  
 then house I TOP jungle-LO lie.B2-PT.1SG look.like.B2-PT.3SG then  
 aqa a:n-kid ante e:ry-a  
 house say-CP.3SG.NM and see.B2-PT.3SG  
 "It seems that I lay down in the jungle. But [now there is] a house [here]." She said this and looked.

23'45 urq e:r-i ta:n qade-di hi bahre ante  
 come.out.AP see-PR.3SG then jungle-NM EPH outside and

doky-a      a:t-no      a:t-no do:k-ne-ki ba:d a:      ma:qond-nihi  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG there-LO REP      stay-VN-GE after that morning-LO.EPH  
 She went out and looked. Then it was a jungle outside. And she stayed  
 there. Then, that morning,

23'51 gesu      tegalo      tonda      lohri      ma:si      e:nond  
 paddy      millet      ear.of.corn      kind.of.pulse      kind.of.pulse      how.much  
 ko      pasile-d      pahari-no      beh-id      a:      ca:se      gofe-d  
 it.seems      crop-NM      hill-LO      be-PR.3SG.NM      that ploughing      all-NM  
 ada-no      beh-id  
 house-LO      be-PR.3SG.NM  
 as large a crop [of] rice, millet, maize, Lahri pulse, and Ulad pulse as  
 was on the hill — that harvesting was all in that house.

23'59 ante      urq-qid      e:r-id      i:      ne:d  
 and      come.out-CP.3SG.NM      see-PR.3SG.NM      this      who  
 ondry-ad      i:t-ik      a:n-le      e:r-id      so:c-id  
 bring.B2-PT.3SG.NM      here-DA      say-CP      see-PR.3SG.NM      think-PR.3SG.NM  
 ante  
 and  
 She went outside, looked, and wondered “Who brought this here?”

24'03 ante      do:k-i      ok-i      ta:nu      ne:-gofe      hi      kor-ola  
 and      stay-PR.3SG      sit-PR.3SG      then      who-ever EPH      enter-NG.PR.3SG  
 urq-ola      tang-ma:ne-d      do:k-id  
 come.out-NG.PR.3SG      self-alone-NM      stay-PR.3SG.NM  
 And she lived there. Then nobody came in or went out. She lived all  
 by herself.

24'06 ante      becc-ad      oky-ad      ani      i:de      doky-a  
 and      be.B2-PT.3SG.NM      sit.B2-PT.3SG.NM      so      this.NM      stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 oky-a      ante      male-r      to      qade-k      e:k-ner      kank-ik  
 sit.B2-PT.3SG      and      person-PL      TOP      jungle-DA      go-PR.3PL      firewood-DA  
 And she was [there]. This woman lived [there]. And people went to  
 the jungle for firewood.

24'12 ante      a:tae-k      indr-ik      hi      e:k-ner  
 and      leaf-DA      what-DA EPH      go-PR.3PL  
 And they go [to the jungle] for leaves and so on.

24'14 a:      pahra-no      na:      and-id      qepo-r-in  
 that time-LO      she find-PR.3SG.NM      villager-PL-AC  
 Then she found the villagers.

24'17 ide      aju: e:n i:t-no      do:k-in      aju: ar      inno      do:k-ni  
 ITJ      ITJ      I      here-LO      stay-PR.1SG ITJ      and here stay-PR.2SG.NM  
 “Say, look, I live here.” “Oh, you live here?”

24'20 ne:      ide-ki      cic-ad      ada-n  
 who build-CP.3SG.NM      give.B2-PT.3SG.NM      house-AC  
 “Who built [this] house [for you]?”

24'21 *ne: ide-ki cic-a e:n disanq-olaken e:n de*  
 who build-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG I recognize-NG.PR.1SG I ITJ  
*do:k-in mba a:n-le awd-i*  
 stay-PR.1SG isn't.it say-CP speak-PR.3SG  
 She said, "I have no idea who built it. But I live [here]."

24'27 *a: to keca-kid jiyar-pe ante qandr-ne-ki ba:de*  
 that TOP die.B2-CP.3SG.NM recover.life-PAP and sleep-VN-GE after  
*ada-d ho banar-pe*  
 house-NM too be.made-PAP  
 She died, was brought to life, and after she slept, [that] house was made.

24'30 *ante ne:k-en anda-ki teyq-a ani*  
 and who-AC find-PT.2SG.NM tell-IMP so  
 And [they asked] "Tell me, whom did you find?"

24'32 *and-ola ada-ki ba:de-no indra a:g-len*  
 find-NG.PR.3SG that-GE after-LO what know-SJ.1SG  
*disanq-olaken do:k-in e:n*  
 recognize-NG.PR.1SG stay-PR.1SG I  
 "I did not find [anybody]." And then [she said] "What would I know?  
 I have no idea. I [just] live [here]."

24'35 *a:n-le awd-id ante ada-n korc-le e:r-ner*  
 say-CP speak-PR.3SG.NM and house-AC enter.B2-CP see-PR.3PL  
*tonda ti:galu ma:si goqe-hi ok-i ante ok-i*  
 ear.of.corn rice kind.of.pulse all-EPH sit-PR.3SG and sit-PR.3SG  
*ca:se te awd-i kide*  
 ploughing and speak-PR.3SG COMP  
 She said this. Then they entered the house, and saw maize, rice and  
 pulse all sitting there. Harvests were sitting there. And she said,

24'43 *eng-a baiya-n aro bahu-n e:r-o bed-i*  
 I-DA brother-AC and sister.in.law-AC see-IF seek-PR.3SG  
*qond-try-ad eng-a*  
 be.tired-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM I-DA  
 "I want to see my elder brother and sister-in-law. I am anxious [to see  
 them]."

24'45 *teyq-quer qat-ku bar-a:nder a:n-le awd-i*  
 tell-CP.3PL give-FT.IMP come-OP.3PL say-CP speak-PR.3SG  
 "Please tell them. I hope they will come over." So she said.

24'48 *ante kir-ker ante teyq-ner*  
 and return-CP.3PL and tell-PR.3PL  
 And they went back and told them.

24'49 *aqe niyg.do-d aga awd-i kide baiya-n*  
 ITJ your.sister-NM surely speak-PR.3SG COMP brother-AC  
*aur bahu-n tey-ku e:r-o bed-in*  
 and sister.in.law-AC send-FT.IMP see-IF seek-PR.1SG

*qond-try-ad ani a:n-ko a:h to olg-ih se*  
 be.tired-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM so say-CP he TOP cry-PR.3SG.M EPH  
 “Say, your sister says, ‘Please send my elder brother and sister-in-law. I want to see them. I am anxious [to see them].’” Then he cried.

24'57 *ikpad eng.qo-d eng.qo-n to pit-ken barc-ken*  
 how my.sister-NM my.sister-AC TOP kill-PT.1SG come.B2-PT.1SG  
*ikpad eng.qo-d awq-i a:n-le awq-ih*  
 how my.sister-NM speak-PR.3SG say-CP speak-PR.3SG.M  
 He said, “How [can it be] my sister? I killed my sister and went back. How [can] my sister say [that]?”

25'02 *a:h patyar-olah awq-ni awq-ni olg-ih*  
 he believe-NG.PR.3SG.M speak-IPP.EPH REP cry-PR.3SG.M  
 He did not believe it. Saying and saying this, he cried.

25'05 *ante qo:k-ner ok-ner na:nle na:nle ga:re-hi male-r-in*  
 and stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL that.way REP many-EPH person-PL-AC  
*tey়-a tey়-a tey-id a:d dade-k e:k-u-r-ni*  
 tell-AP REP send-PR.3SG.NM that jungle-DA go-PP-PL-AC.EPH  
*e:k-u-r-nihi*  
 go-PP-PL-AC.EPH  
 While they kept on living, she sent a lot of people [to them], telling them that way. [She sent] those who came to the jungle.

25'12 *ante menj-r-naq-le i:t to qo:k-id are it to*  
 and hear-RF-REC-CP here TOP stay-PR.3SG.NM ITJ here TOP  
*do:k-id are a:n-naq-le dusra male-r-ik e:r-o*  
 stay-PR.3SG.NM ITJ say-REC-CP other person-PL-DA see-IF  
*bed-id*  
 seek-PR.3SG.NM  
 And while they heard from each other and they said to each other “Say, she lives here,” she felt like seeing other people.

25'16 *pit-pe saba-n menj-ar a: menj-a-ker doky-ar*  
 kill-PAP story-AC hear.B2-PT.3PL that hear.B2-CP.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL  
*a:n-ki*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM  
 They heard the story of killing her. They had heard it.

25'19 *ante ek ek e:r-ner-naq-ner ante ante nahe na:de indra*  
 and go.B2.AP REP see-PR.3PL-REC-PR.3PL and and he she what  
*kud-anid*  
 do-FT.3SG.NM  
 They went and met her. And what did he and she do?

25'28 *baiya-n auro bahu-n tey-ku a:n-no tey়-a tey়-a*  
 brother-AC and sister.in.law-AC send-FT.IMP say-IPP tell-AP REP  
*tey-no=gote-hi ek-e:r-olar*  
 send-IPP=even-EPH go-see-NG.PR.3PL  
 Even though she told [people] to send her elder brother and sister-

in-law to her, and sent them back telling so, they two did not try to go.

25'32 *ante i:he olg-ih olg-ni qo:k-ih*  
and he cry-PR.3SG.M cry-PR.2SG.NM stay-PR.3SG.M  
And he was crying. He lived crying.

25'36 *ante din-onde-no na:d me:ca-n indra bita-kid ante*  
and day-one-LO she millet.wine-AC what cook-CP.3SG.NM and  
And one day, she (the younger sister) brewed millet wine.

25'38 *le:la mane na: dine pu:ra-hi bar-e[r] baiya ar*  
tomorrow that.is that day all-EPH come-FT.3PL brother and  
*baru bar-er du:re-hi a:n-le teyg-ar ani*  
sister.in.law come-FT.3PL only-EPH say-CP tell-PT.3PL so  
They delivered [her message to them], “Tomorrow, I mean, on that day, please come by all means, brother and sister.”

25'43 *auro ni:n ho bar-ani patyar-ola ta:nu e:d-oti*  
and you too come-FT.2SG.NM believe-NG.PR.3SG then show-IF  
“And you (i.e. the villager whom she talked to) should come too, in order to show, in case [they] don’t believe it.”

25'46 *e:n tam-en=du:re-n tey-ku a:n-no ne:-gote-hi*  
I self.PL-AC=only-AC send-FT.IMP say-IPP who-even-EPH  
*bar-olad*  
come-NG.PR.3SG.NM  
“I told them to send you two [here], but neither came.”

25'50 *de ni:n saygal bar-ani a:n-ko ort malni menj-a*  
ITJ you together come-FT.2SG.NM say-CP one woman be.B2-PT.3SG  
When she said “You will come together, won’t you?” there was a lady.

25'52 *tam-saygalni-d ort tang-baiya-h ort*  
self.PL-companion.lady-NM one own-brother-M one  
*tang-bahu eky-a dade-k e:r-oti a:n-le*  
own-sister.in.law go.B2-PT.3SG jungle-DA see-IF say-CP  
Their companion lady, her elder brother, and her sister-in-law went to the jungle to see [her].

25'59 *a:d me:ca-ni indru bita-kid doky-ad*  
that millet.wine-AC.EPH what cook-CP.3SG.NM stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
She was brewing millet wine and so on.

26'02 *indro neru menj-a maq-ond neru menj-a aro*  
what snake be.B2-PT.3SG CLF-one snake be.B2-PT.3SG and  
*pandu.neru menj-a aro boda menj-ad*  
cobra be.B2-PT.3SG and viper be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
There were snakes. There were snakes, cobras, and vipers.

26'09 *aro cicinkujo menj-a awro te:le menj-a*  
and kind.of.centipede be.B2-PT.3SG and scorpion be.B2-PT.3SG  
There were centipedes and scorpions.

26'13 *i: ci:je-n na:d maq-is-ti maq-is-ti jama:tr-le darc*  
 this thing-AC she CLF-two-IN REP collect-CP catch.B2.AP  
*do:k-try-a*  
 stay-CS.B2-PT.3SG  
 She gathered these things two by two; she caught and kept them.

26'18 *darc-kid ok-try-a ok-try-a ante adi-ki ba:de-no*  
 catch.B2-CP.3SG.NM sit-CS.B2-PT.3SG REP and that-GE after-LO  
*na:ber barch-ar a: sangalni barch-a*  
 they come.B2-PT.3PL that companion.lady come.B2-PT.3SG  
*bar-ne-ki ba:de e:r-i*  
 come-VN-GE after see-PR.3SG  
 She caught and kept them. Then they came. That companion lady  
 came. Then she saw [them].

26'29 *e:r-i ante a: tang-bahu-n to indra kud-ani*  
 see-PR.3SG and that own-sister.in.law-AC TOP what do-FT.3SG.NM  
 She saw them, and her sister-in-law. What did she do?

26'31 *ada-d e:r-i ba:pre ne: i:-juka garc*  
 house-NM see-PR.3SG ITJ who this-like make.B2.AP  
*cic-ad ani*  
 give.B2-PT.3SG.NM so  
 She saw the house. "Oh my! Who made [a house] like this [for you]?"

26'35 *a:h tang-baiya ado cinta mejja-ki ok-ih*  
 he own-brother further thinking be.B2-CP.3SG.NM sit-PR.3SG.M  
 He, her elder brother, was sitting, thinking further.

26'38 *kide tadi-n bit-a bit-a ciy-id kajak*  
 COMP liquor-AC cook-AP REP give-PR.3SG.NM much  
*ond-id tang-bahu-n*  
 make.drink-PR.3SG.NM own-sister.in.law-AC  
 Having brewed liquor, she served it. She made her sister-in-law drink  
 a lot.

26'43 *kajak ond-i a: ca:m-qe:l men-id*  
 much make.drink-PR.3SG that song-drum be-PR.3SG.NM  
 She made her drink a lot and there were songs and drum beating.

26'45 *i:h andu olg-en pa:r-en a:n-keh ante ja:gu-n*  
 he thus cry-FT.1SG sing-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M and food-AC  
*lapy-a ar a:h ma:tra ma:tra-hi ond-ah*  
 eat.B2-PT.3SG and he a.little.bit a.little.bit-EPH drink.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He thought "I will cry and lament," ate food, and drank just a little  
 bit.

26'50 *onda-ker-tatker ante ok-ner adi-ki ba:de-no*  
 drink.B2-CP.3PL-ECHO and sit-PR.3PL that-GE after-LO  
 After they drank, they sat, and then,

26'52 *na:d awd-ide bahu sa:ri pu:n-a are ej-ki*  
 she speak-PR.3SG.NM sister.in.law saree wear-IMP ITJ I-GE

*sari-ne*

saree-AC

she said, “Sister, try a saree on, try my saree on.”

26'57 *inda a:n-ko a: to onq-qi menj-a mba*  
 take.this say-CP she TOP be.drunk-CP.3SG.NM be.B2-PT.3SG isn't.it  
*neru mala te:lo mala a:g-olad a:d*  
 snake or scorpion or know-NG.PR.3SG.NM she  
 When she said ‘Take this’, she [i.e. the sister-in-law] was drunk. She  
 did not know whether they were snakes or scorpions.

27'02 *boda-n peta-kid dapna-no ki:d-a*  
 viper-AC take.up.B2-CP.3SG.NM shoulder-LO lay.down-PT.3SG  
 She took up a viper and put it on her shoulder.

27'04 *dapna-no ki:d-a ante awq-i kide*  
 shoulder-LO lay.down-PT.3SG and speak-PR.3SG COMP  
 After she put the viper on her shoulder, [the sister] said,

27'07 *bahu do:ra are a:n-kid ante panđu.ner-a kuk-no*  
 sister.in.law string ITJ say-CP.3SG.NM and cobra-AC head-LO  
*ki:d-a*  
 lay.down-PT.3SG  
 she said, “Sister, [here is] a string [to tie your hair],” and put a cobra  
 on her head.

27'10 *ante bahu kake-d a:n-kid ante nandu*  
 and sister.in.law comb-NM say-CP.3SG.NM and again  
*cicinkujo-n kuk-no ki:d-a*  
 kind.of.centipede-AC head-LO lay.down-PT.3SG  
 And saying “Sister, [here is] a comb,” she put a centipede on her head.

27'14 *ante bahu mun-angti re inda a:n-kid ante*  
 and sister.in.law nose-ring ITJ take.this say-CP.3SG.NM and  
*te:le munu-no angtr-ki be:try-a*  
 scorpion nose-LO suspend-CP.3SG.NM attach.B2-PT.3SG  
 Saying “Sister, here is a nose ring. Take this,” she hung a scorpion on  
 her nose.

27'17 *ante neru indro qar-ond mun-angti aro kuđurpo maja.qani-hi*  
 and snake what CLF-one nose-ring and hairpin pretty-EPH  
*beh-id a:n-ko baks-a-n cic-a*  
 be-PR.3SG.NM say-CP box-AC give.B2-PT.3SG  
 And saying “There is a pretty nose-ring and a hairpin,” she gave her  
 a box.

27'22 *adula kody-a indro neru-d te:le-d*  
 inside.it lie.down.B2-PT.3SG what snake-NM scorpion-NM  
*cicinkujo-d boda*  
 centipede-NM viper  
 Inside it lay a snake, a scorpion, a centipede, and a viper.

27'26 *sa:la-k*                    *tuk-ki*                    *cic-a*                    *a:d*            *ho*  
 wicked.person-DA    push-CP.3SG.NM    give.B2-PT.3SG    that    too  
*qa:ry-a*                    *gandi-ki-d*    *ho qa:ry-a*  
 sting.B2-PT.3SG    body-GE-NM    too    sting.B2-PT.3SG  
 She thrust [the box] on the wicked woman. They stung [her] and those  
 which were on her body also stung [her].

27'29 *qa:r-a*                    *pify-a*                    *ante ner-ik*                    *pa:ṛ-ond*    *lota-ki*  
 sting-AP    kill.B2-PT.3SG    and    snake-DA    CLF-one    brass.pot-GE  
*am-a*                    *otr-kid*                    *ante*  
 water-AC take.out-CP.3SG.NM    and  
 They killed her by stinging. Then she took out a brass pot of water  
 and,

27'34 *got ner-ik*                    *cic-a*                    *ma:rc-ki*                    *ante*  
 all    snake-DA give.B2-PT.3SG    sprinkle.by.hand(?)B2-CP.3SG.NM    and  
*neru a: ceda-ki*                    *otr-ki*                    *tey-a*  
 snake that carry-CP.3SG.NM take.out-CP.3SG.NM send-PT.3SG  
 she gave it to all snakes, sprinkling it by hand (?). Then she carried  
 them, took them out and let them go.

27'38 *ante tang-bahu*                    *keca-ki*                    *toqry-a*  
 and    own-sister.in.law die.B2-CP.3SG.NM pass.away.B2-PT.3SG  
 And the sister-in-law died and passed away.

27'40 *ante phir a:t-nihi*                    *tang-baiya aur tang.do*    *doky-a*  
 and    again there-LO.EPH    own-brother and own.sister stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 And the brother and sister lived there again.

27'43 *ey-ki saba-d i: kahani-ki saba qandr-ner a: pahra-no kata*  
 I-GE story-NM this tale-GE story sleep-PR.3PL that time-LO story  
*tey়-a a:n-ner ante tey়-ner*  
 tell-IMP say-PR.3PL and tell-PR.3PL  
 This story of mine, the story of this tale, is told when [children] go to  
 bed and say "Tell me a story."

27'49 *ne:reh a:g-ih*                    *a:h tey়-ih*  
 who.M know-PR.3SG.M he.CR tell-PR.3SG.M  
 He who knows tells it.

27'50 *a:-juka-hi e:n kata-n eng-a arpi-hi oky-a*  
 that-like-EPH I tale-AC I-DA a.little-EPH sit.B2-PT.3SG  
*qacy-a ani tey়-qen*  
 look.like.B2-PT.3SG so tell-PT.1SG  
 I told the story that way, for I felt like I had something in mind.

27'55 *ey-ki ongry-a*  
 I-GE end.B2-PT.3SG  
 My [story] is over.

## §29 Story of a prince and an ascetic (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar, P. O. Vindudham, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahebganj. Recorded at the custodian's office of Adivasi Res-

identical Boys' High School, Hiranpur, on September 24, 2007.

0'28 *e:n kata-n teyg-oti bi:r-en*  
 I story-AC tell-IF be.about.to-FT.1SG  
 I am going to tell a story.

0'32 *orte ra:ja-h menj-ah*  
 one king-M be.B2-PT.3SG  
 There was a king.

0'37 *ra:ja-h orger menj-ar te a:ber-ike mage-r men-lar*  
 king-M married.couple be.B2-PT.3PL and they-DA child-PL  
 be-NG.PT.3PL  
 There was a royal couple. They had no children.

0'44 *te mandr-a=indru gary-tr-ner-tatner ga:re-hi*  
 and medicine-AC=and.so.on melt-CS-PR.3PL-ECHO much-EPH  
 So they had a lot of medicine and so on prepared.

0'49 *te men-e-ni men-olar mage-r*  
 and become-VN-LO.EPH become-NG.PR.3PL child-PL  
 But still [they got] no children.

0'52 *te orte sa:du barc-ah ante a:he awdq-ah*  
 and one ascetic come.B2-PT.3SG.M and he speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And one ascetic came and spoke.

1'00 *i:d raja-ada-d a:n-le awq-ko hō: ra:ja ante ma:ngy-ot eky-ah*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, "Is this the king's palace?" "Yes, the king['s palace]," and he went in to beg.

1'07 *te a:h ma:ngc-keh tirr-u menj-ah a: pahra*  
 and he beg.B2-CP.3SG.M go.away-PP become.B2-PT.3SG.M that time  
*hi ra:ja-h awdq-ah eng-a mage-r mal-ar*  
 EPH king-M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M I-DA child-PL be.not-PR.3PL  
 When he begged and was about to leave, the king said, "I have no child."

1'14 *awq-ko awd-ne ta:nu mandr-a ga: n a:n-le awdq-ah*  
 speak-CP speak-IPP then medicine-AC melt-FT.1SG say-CP  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 When [the king] said this, then [the ascetic] said, "I will prepare medicine."

1'19 *te mandr-a garc-ko ahe-k mage-h menj-ah*  
 and medicine-AC melt.B2-CP he-DA child-M become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*mu:s.mage-h*  
 boy-M

After [the ascetic] prepared medicine, he (i.e. the king) had a child, a boy.

1'28 *muṛs.mage-h menj-ah ante qo:k-ner ok-ner sa:du*  
 boy-M become.B2-PT.3SG.M and stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL ascetic  
*ho ad-ni doky-ah bah-ond jo:pr̥i-n bana:tr-ko*  
 too that-LO.EPH stay.B2-PT.3SG.M place-one grass.hut-AC make-CP  
 [The king] had a boy. And they lived. The ascetic made a hut in one place and stayed there, too.

1'37 *ante qo:k-te qo:k-ner qo:k-ner ante a: mage mo:tary-ah*  
 and stay-AP stay-PR.3PL REP and that boy grow.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And while they lived, that boy grew up.

1'43 *a: mage-h mo:tar-ko mo:tar-keh ante a: sa:du-bahak*  
 that boy-M grow.big-CP grow.big-CP.3SG.M and that ascetic-to  
*ek ek qo:k-ih*  
 go.B2.AP REP stay-PR.3SG.M  
 Having grown up, that boy kept going only to that ascetic['s place].

1'49 *te na:h awd-ih i: duniya-no ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho*  
 and he speak-PR.3SG.M this world-LO who-GE-NM too who too  
*mal-a*  
 be.not-3SG  
 And he (i.e. the ascetic) said, “There is nobody for anyone in this world.”

1'55 *i: duniya-no ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho mal-a a:n-le*  
 this world-LO who-GE-NM too who too be.not-3SG say-CP  
*awd-ih sa:du-h*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M ascetic-M  
 The ascetic said, “There is nobody for anyone in this world.”

2'00 *ante a:h kir-a kir-a ada-no raja-ra:ni-bahno i: duniya-no*  
 and he return-AP REP house-LO king-queen-LO this world-LO  
*ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho mal-a i: duniya-no ne:k-ki-d ho*  
 who-GE-NM too who too be.not-3SG this world-LO who-GE-NM too  
*ne:d ho mala-d a:n-le awd-ih ani*  
 who too be.not-3SG.NM say-CP speak-PR.3SG.M then  
 And when he (i.e. the prince) came back, he said at the place of the king and the queen, “There is nobody for anyone in this world. There is nobody for anyone in this world.”

2'13 *ra:ja-h ra:ni menj-ah ante ro:kary-ar*  
 king-M queen hear.B2-CP.3PL and get.angry.B2-PT.3PL  
 The king and the queen heard it and got angry.

2'17 *ante ni:n to raja-ki mage-y em-ki mage-y aro ikin*  
 and you TOP king-GE child-2SG we.E-GE child-2SG and how  
*awd-ne ne:d ho mal-ad ki i: duniya-no*  
 speak-PR.2SG.M who too be.not-3SG.NM COMP this world-LO

*ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho mala-d a:n-le*  
 who-GE-NM too who too be.not-NM say-CP  
 “You are a prince. You are our child. And how come you say ‘There is nobody for anyone in this world’?”

2'27 *de anake ihe-n tey-etala sa:du-bajo nano ek ek*  
 ITJ now he-AC send-NG.FT.1PL.I ascetic-toward there go.B2.AP REP  
*do:k-ehala*  
 stay-NG.FT.3SG.M  
 “Well, now we will not let him go to the ascetic’s place. He shall not go and stay there.”

2'33 *te e:k-ehala te phir se eky-ah te nande*  
 and go-NG.FT.3SG.M and again EPH go.B2-PT.3SG.M and again  
*kir-keh i: duniya-no ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho*  
 return-CP.3SG.M this world-LO who-GE-NM too who too  
 [Though they said] “He shall not go,” he went again, and when he came back [he said] again, “There is [no]body for anyone in this world.”

2'48 *te nahe-n nandu raja-h ra:ni-d ho mane toho-tambako-ber*  
 and he-AC again king-M queen-NM too namely mother-father-PL  
*a:ber qaqy-ner e:m do:k-im ino sampati da:ne daulat*  
 they scold-PR.3PL we.E stay-PR.1PL.E here riches gift wealth  
*beh-id aro ni:n ikin ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho mal-a*  
 be-PR.3SG.NM and you how who-GE-NM too who too be.not-PR.3SG  
*a:n-le awd-ne*  
 say-CP speak-PR.2SG.M  
 And the king and the queen, namely his father and mother, scolded him again, [saying,] “We are alive. There are riches, gift and wealth here, and how come you say ‘There is nobody for anyone in this world’?”

3'02 *a:n-le awd-ko mala ihe-k biha nan-et anake*  
 say-CP speak-CP no he-DA wedding do-FT.1PL.I now  
*mo:fary-ah ada-ki ba:de-nihi nano e:k-ehala*  
 grow.big.B2-PT.3SG.M that-GE after-LO there go-NG.FT.3SG.M  
*sa:du-bahak eky-ah a:t-ik*  
 ascetic-to go.B2-PT.3SG.M there-DA  
 After they said this, [they thought,] “No, let us marry him off. He has now grown old. After that he will not go there, to the ascetic’s place where he used to go.”

3'12 *ante ahe-k biha nany-ar biha nan-ko do:k-ner*  
 and he-DA wedding do.B2-PT.3PL wedding do-CP stay-PR.3PL  
 And they married him off. They kept on living after they married [him off].

3'18 *ano-gote-hi na:h awd-ih i: duniya-no ne:d ho*  
 there-even-EPH he speak-PR.3SG.M this world-LO who too

*ne:k-ki-d ho mal-a i: duniya-no ne:reh ho ne:KKI ho*  
 who-GE-NM too be.not-PR.3SG this world-LO who.M too whose too  
*mal-ah*

be.not-PR.3SG.M

He still said, “There is nobody for anyone in this world. In this world nobody has anyone.”

3'26 *ante nandu ro:kary-ar ante a:re a: dine ek-keh*  
 and again get.angry.B2-PT.3PL and ITJ that day go.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*men-ih eng-en i:n-le i:n-le awd-no abo-aya-ber*  
 hear-IMP I-AC do.this.way-CP REP speak-IPP father-mother-PL  
*qary-ner*  
 scold-PR.3PL

And they got angry again. And on that day, he went [to the ascetic's place and] asked, “Say, when [I say] so and so, my parents scold me.”

3'42 *qary-ner ante tey-lar ante na:he eng-en qary-ner*  
 scold-PR.3PL and send-NG.PT.3PL and he I-AC scold-PR.3PL  
*i:n-le i:n-le aya-abo-ber*  
 do.this.way-CP REP mother-father-PL  
 “They scold me and do not allow me to come [here]. And parents scold me saying this and this.”

3'52 *o: acca: ni:n e:r-ane na:nle qary-ner ta:nu te ni:ne*  
 ITJ well you see-FT.2SG.M that.way scold-PR.3PL then and you  
*ka:l-a ina awd-oka ki e:ne biha nany-ar*  
 go-IMP today speak-IMP COMP I wedding do.B2-PT.3PL  
 “Oh well, then you try [this]. If they scold that way, you go and say today ‘I am married [now].’”

4'05 *te nahe-ki biha menj-ad a: ra:ja-tay.gade-ki-d*  
 and he-GE wedding become.B2-PT.3SG.NM that king-son-GE-NM  
*ante e:n eng-a qa:ni-ki tetu-t ja:gu lap-en*  
 and I I-DA wife-GE hand-IN food eat-FT.1SG  
 And his wedding, the king's son's wedding, was done. And [he told him to say,] “I will eat food from my wife's hand.”

4'15 *ante ra:ni-d awdy-ad o: anake ey-ki mage-h*  
 and queen-NM speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM ITJ now I-GE boy-M  
*juwan leary-ah*  
 young.man become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And [when he said that], the queen said, “Oh, now my child has become a young man.”

4'20 *tay-ki ada-male-r-ki tetu-t lap-oti ca:hy-ih*  
 own-GE house-person-PL-GE hand-IN eat-IF want-PR.3SG.M  
 “He wants to eat from the hand of his family (i.e. his wife).”

4'24 *ante na: bana:try-a ante a:d kicri-n indru bit-ad*  
 and she make.B2-PT.3SG and she khicri-AC what cook-PT.3SG.NM

*ante qend-kid*                    *eky-ad*                    *ahe-ki ru:me-k ahe-ki*  
 and take.along-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-PT.3SG.NM he-GE room-DA he-GE  
*ada-k*  
 house-DA  
 And she (his wife) prepared [food]. She cooked *khicri* and so on,  
 carried it and went to his room, his living quarters.

4'34 *ante ciy-id*                    *ante na:he indra kud-eh*                    *keca-keh*  
 and give-PR.3SG.NM and he what do-FT.3SG.M die.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*ana ko:q-ih*  
 like lie.down-PR.3SG.M  
 She gives [it to him]. And what did he do? He lay down as if he were  
 dead.

4'40 *ani na:d e:r-kid-tatkid*                    *ante ayu: i:h to kec-ah*  
 so she see-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO and ITJ he TOP die.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then she saw him and so on, and [said] "Good heavens! He is dead."

4'45 *i:h to keca-keh*                    *ko.q-ih*                    *ante e:n indra kud-en*  
 he TOP die.B2-CP.3SG.M lie.down-PR.3SG.M and I what do-FT.1SG  
 "He is lying dead. What shall I do then?"

4'49 *idi-n lap-en*                    *ante ba:de-no e:n olg-a do:k-en*  
 this-AC eat-FT.1SG and after-LO I cry-AP stay-FT.1SG  
 "I will eat this, and after that I will be crying."

4'52 *a:ny-ad*                    *ante a:de raja-tay.gade-qa:ni-d a:de kicri-n*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.NM and she king-own.son-wife-NM she khicri-AC  
*lapy-a*  
 eat.B2-PT.3SG  
 She said this. Then she, the king's son's wife, ate the *khicri*.

4'58 *lap-e-ki ba:de-no a:n-le awdy-ah*                    *ante na:he ina*  
 eat-VN-GE after-LO say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG.M and he today  
*eng-a qa:ni-ki tetu-ti lap-en bana:tr-ander kicri-n a:n-le*  
 I-DA wife-GE hand-IN eat-FT.1SG make-OP.3PL khicri-AC say-CP  
*awdy-ah ante*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
 After she ate the *khicri*, [she said,] "He said he would eat from his  
 wife's hand today and wanted them cook *khicri*."

5'11 *bana:try-ad kicri-n ante oc-ad*                    *ani na:he*  
 make.B2-PT.3SG.NM khicri-AC and take.B2-PT.3SG.NM then he  
*keca-keh ana ko:q-ih*  
 die.B2-CP.3SG.M like lie.down-PR.3SG.M  
 She cooked *khicri* and brought it [to him]. Then he lay like he was  
 dead.

5'17 *te i:h to kec-ah a:n-kid ante na:d lap-en ante*  
 and he TOP die.B2-PT.3SG.M say-CP.3SG.NM and she eat-FT.1SG and  
*olg-a do:k-en a:n-le awdy-a*  
 cry-AP stay-FT.1SG say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG

She said, "He is dead," and then said, "I will eat and be crying."

5'24 *te lap-en ante olg-a do:k-en a:n-le awq-kid ante*  
 and eat-FT.1SG and cry-AP stay-FT.1SG say-CP speak-CP.3SG.NM and  
*lap-kid ante olg-i*  
 eat-CP.3SG.NM and cry-PR.3SG

She said, "I will eat and be crying." Having said this, she ate and cried.

5'27 *indrik ek-ke ra:jkumare e:n key-len adin ni:n*  
 why go.B2-PT.2SG.M prince I die-SJ.1SG then you  
*keca-ke e:n aro key-len adin ni:n keca-ke*  
 die.B2-PT.2SG.M I too die-SJ.1SG then you die.B2-PT.2SG.M  
*a:n-le olg-id ante indra kudy-a*  
 say-CP cry-PR.3SG.NM and what do.B2-PT.3SG

"Why are you gone, prince? I will die! You are dead. I will die, too! You are dead." Saying this, she cried. What did she do then?

5'38 *ra:ja-h aur ra:ni-d ho menj-ar ante awq-ner*  
 king-M and queen-NM too hear.B2-PT.3PL and speak-PR.3PL  
*indra kudy-ah mal-ah nuna-h nam-ki*  
 what do.B2-PT.3SG.M be.not-PR.3SG.M dear-PR.3SG.M we.I-GE  
*mal-ah*  
 be.not-PR.3SG.M

The king and the queen heard it and said, "What did he do? He is no more, our darling is no more."

5'45 *ante ek-ker ante olg-ner ante de:si-no duniya-no*  
 and go.B2-CP.3PL and cry-PR.3PL and country-LO world-LO  
*kabare menj-ad mal-ah ra:ja-tay.gade-h*  
 news become.B2-PT.3SG.NM be.not-PR.3SG.M king-own.son-M  
*mal-ah*  
 be.not-PR.3SG.M

And they went and cried. And the news that the king's son was no more spread in the country, in the world.

5'53 *ra:ja-tay.gade-h mal-ah a:n-le jamary-ar*  
 king-own.son-M be.not-PR.3SG.M say-CP get.together.B2-PT.3PL  
*jamay-ko awq-ner ki*  
 get.together-CP speak-PR.3PL COMP

They got together saying "The king's son is no more." They got together and spoke.

6'00 *olg-ner duniya jamary-ar a:ber e:n aro key-len*  
 cry-PR.3PL world get.together.B2-PT.3PL they I too die-SJ.1SG  
*indrik ahe-n oca-ki gosapi*  
 why he-AC take.B2-PT.2SG.NM god

The people cried and got together. They [cried] "I will die, too. Why did you take him, o lord!"

6'06 *e: no aro key-len indrik ahe-n oca-ki gosani a:n-le*  
 I too die-SJ.1SG why he-AC take.B2-PT.2SG.NM god say-CP  
*olg-ner ante na:h keca-keh ana a:he kody-ah*  
 cry-PR.3PL and he die.B2-CP.3SG.M like he lie.down.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 “I will die, too. Why did you take him, o lord!” they cried so. And he  
 lay as if he were dead.

6'14 *a:h key-olah ayi-no men-e adi-k se ko:q-ih*  
 he die-NG.PR.3SG.M that-AC listen-VN that-DA EPH lie.down-PR.3SG.M  
 He did not die. He lay in order to listen to that (i.e. what they say).

6'17 *ante jamar-ker olg-ner ante sa:du-n tejo-ar*  
 and get.together-CP.3PL cry-PR.3PL and ascetic-AC tell-PT.3PL  
 They got together, cried, and told the ascetic [about the death].

6'22 *mal-ah na: mage-h kec-ah raja-tay.gade-h*  
 be.not-PR.3SG.M that boy-M die.B2-PT.3SG.M king-own.son-M  
*ikna:n kec-ah indra kudy-ah*  
 how die.B2-PT.3SG.M what do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 That boy, the king’s son, is no more. How did he die? What did he  
 do?

6'27 *indra a:g-leh lekin na:h kec-ah te eky-ah*  
 what know-SJ.3SG.M but he die.B2-PT.3SG.M and go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*a:h e:r-oti*  
 he look-IF  
 What would he know? But he died. So he (i.e. the ascetic) went in  
 order to take a look.

6'33 *ante jamar-ker olg-ner a:bere e:n aro key-len e:n aro*  
 and get.together-CP.3PL cry-PR.3PL they I too die-SJ.1SG I too  
*key-len a:n-le olg-ner*  
 die-SJ.1SG say-CP cry-PR.3PL  
 They got together and cried. They were crying, “I will die, too. I will  
 die, too.”

6'38 *ante na:h eky-ah ante e:k upa:y ihe-ki ba:ca-tr-oti*  
 and he go.B2-PT.3SG.M and one means he-GE save-TR-IF  
 And he went and [said there is] one way to save him.

6'42 *ki ba:car-eh de idi-k le:kki ort male key-oti*  
 COMP be.saved-FT.3SG.M then this-DA for one person die-IF  
*men-ani*  
 be-FT.3SG.NM  
 “He will be saved. But one person has to die for this.”

6'50 *ante na:he gure-ne gilase-no bicry-ah gure-n*  
 and he raw.sugar-AC glass-LO put.in.B2-PT.3SG.M raw.sugar-AC  
*gilase-ki am-no bicr-keh*  
 glass-GE water-LO put.in-CP.3SG.M  
 And he put jaggery in a glass. He put jaggery in a glass of water.

6'59 *ante idi-n o:n-er a:ber key-er a: i: mage-h*  
 and this-AC drink-FT.3PL they die-FT.3PL that this boy-M  
*jiyar-eh ante i: mage-h jiyar-eh*  
 recover.life-FT.3SG.M and this boy-M recover.life-FT.3SG.M  
 And [he said] “Those who drink this will die. This boy will recover life.”

7'21 *ante na:he idi-n o:n-a ne:d ho o:n-er a:ber*  
 and he this-AC drink-IMP who too drink-FT.3PL they  
*key-er idi-n o:n-eh a:h key-eh a: i: mage-h*  
 die-FT.3PL this-AC drink-FT.3SG.M he die-FT.3SG.M that this boy-M  
*jiyar-eh*  
 recover.life-FT.3SG.M  
 And he [said,] “Drink this. Whoever may drink this will die. He who  
 drinks this will die, and this boy will recover life.”

7'38 *ante ne:d ho adi-n o:n-ote ca:hy-olar o:n-ote*  
 and who too that-AC drink-IF want-NG.PR.3PL drink-IF  
*ugley-olar*  
 feel.like-NG.PR.3PL  
 And nobody wants to drink that. Nobody feels like drinking it.

7'44 *ki e:n indrik key-en a:n-le ante ort langri-d*  
 COMP I why die-FT.1SG say-CP and one lame.woman-NM  
*pin-et u:dur-kid eky-ad a:d ho olg-id e:n aro*  
 stick-IN lean-CP.3SG go.B2-PT.3SG.NM she too cry-PR.3SG.NM I too  
*key-len*  
 die-SJ.1SG  
 [They declined saying] “Why should I die?” And there was one lame  
 woman walking leaning on her stick. She was crying “I will die, too,”  
 too.

7'49 *ahi-n raja-tay gade-n raja:kuma:re-n indrik pit-ki gosapi*  
 he-AC king-own.son-AC prince-AC why kill-PT.2SG.NM god  
*a:n-le olg-id*  
 say-CP cry-PR.3SG.NM  
 She cried, “Why did you kill him, the king’s son, the prince, o lord!”

7'54 *ante na:he menj menj ko:q-ih keca-keh*  
 and he hear.B2.AP hear.B2.AP lie.down-PR.3SG.M die.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*ana te na: langri-n awdy-ar*  
 like and that lame.woman-AC speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 And he lies listening as if he were dead. And they said to the lame  
 woman.

8'01 *ni:no o:n-a a:n-ko mala ahe-n jiyar-oti key-oti*  
 you drink-IMP say-CP no he-AC recover.life-IF die-IF  
*do:k-olaken anake indrik o:n-en a:n-kid ante*  
 stay-NG.PR.1SG now why drink-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.NM and  
 When they said, “You drink [it],” she said, “No, I don’t live to die and

bring him to life. Why am I going to drink it now?"

8'08 *eyg-en a:r ond-er a:n-kid agdi-hi a:d boŋg-oti*  
 I-AC they make.drink-FT.3PL say-CP.3SG.NM first-EPH she run-IF  
*lagary-a laygri*  
 start.B2-PT.3SG lame.woman  
 Thinking "They are going to make me drink it," the lame woman  
 started to run away first.

8'12 *ada-ki ba:de-no e:nond male-r jamary-ar*  
 that-GE after-LO how.many person-PL get.together.B2-PT.3PL  
*a:ber-ine ond-oti laga(cki) ne:d o:n-anid*  
 they-AC make.drink-IF for who drink-FT.3SG.NM  
 After that, none of those who got together was going to drink it.

8'18 *ort male-r o:n-er a:ber key-er ante se*  
 one person-PL drink-FT.3PL they die-FT.3PL and EPH  
*jiyar-eh a:n-ko ne:d ho o:n-oti ugley-olar*  
 recover.life-FT.3SG.M say-CP who too drink-IF feel.like-NG.PR.3PL  
 One who drinks would die, and only then [the prince] will recover  
 life. When he said this, nobody felt like drinking it.

8'25 *ante gote-ri-hi pa:se.pa:se.ti tirr oŋg-ner boŋg*  
 and all-PL-EPH gradually go.away.AP finish-PR.3PL run.AP  
*oŋg-ner*  
 finish-PR.3PL  
 And all had gradually gone away, run away.

8'32 *ani ra:ja-n awq-ih ani ra:ja-h awq-ih ki ni:n*  
 then king-AC speak-PR.3SG.M then king-M speak-PR.3SG.M COMP you  
*o:n-a ante ni:n key-ni mage-h coy-eh adi-k*  
 drink-IMP and you die-IPP.EPH boy-M rise-FT.3SG.M that-DA  
 He said to the king and the king said, "Drink it and die, so that the boy  
 will get up."

8'39 *ano aye-n o:n-enala jab do:k-in ta:nu p'ir se*  
 there that-AC drink-NG.FT.1SG when stay-PR.1SG then again EPH  
*mage-r men-er=nahā*  
 child-PL become-FT.3PL=even  
 "I will not drink it. If I am alive, then I will get [other] children."

8'44 *te ra:ni-n awq-no a: o:n-enala di nuna mage-h*  
 and queen-AC speak-IPP she drink-NG.FT.1SG and dear boy-M  
*eky-ah lekine dosra to men-ere hī do:k-no*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M but other TOP become-FT.3PL EPH stay-IPP  
 Then when he said [the same to] the queen, she [said,] "I will not drink  
 it. My dear boy is gone. But I will get another one if I am alive."

8'51 *a:d ho o:n-la*  
 she too drink-NG.PT.3SG  
 She did not drink either.

8'52 *te qa:ni-n awq-ko ahe-ki qa:ni-n awq-ko a:d awq-id*  
 and wife-AC speak-CP he-GE wife-AC speak-CP she speak-PR.3SG.NM  
*e:ne o:n-olaken tembru dosra biha men-anide*  
 I drink-NG.PR.1SG rather other wedding be-FT.3SG.NM  
*key-olaken e:n*  
 die-NG.PR.1SG I  
 Then when he said [the same] to the wife, to his wife, she said, "I won't drink it. I would rather get married again. I will not die."

9'02 *a:n-id ani gote-r-ini male-r-in men-ih*  
 say-PR.3SG.NM then all-PL-AC.EPH person-PL-AC ask-PR.3SG.M  
*jamary-ar a:ber-in te ne:d ho o:n-oti ca:hy-ola*  
 get.together.B2-PT.3PL they-AC and who too drink-IF want-NG.PR.3SG  
 She said this. Then he asked everyone, all who got together, and nobody wanted to drink it.

9'08 *ada-ki ba:de-no na:he sa:du-he nahe-ne tarcy-ah*  
 that-GE after-LO he ascetic-M he-AC slap.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*qerw.tati-no*  
 temple-LO  
 After that he, the ascetic, slapped him on his temple.

9'16 *e:r-a ni:n awq-ke eyg-a aya-abo-ber do:k-ner*  
 see-IMP you speak-PT.2SG.M I-DA mother-father-PL stay-PR.3PL  
*ra:ja-sampati-de a:n-le awq-ke*  
 king-wealth-NM say-CP speak-PT.2SG.M  
 "Look! You said, 'I have a father and mother, I have the king's wealth.'"

9'23 *ikko ni:n keca-ke ana kod-ke ne:reh ning-en*  
 where you die.B2-CP.2SG.M like lie.down-CP.2SG.M who.M you-AC  
*e:r-ot becc-ah*  
 see-IF be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 "Where [are they]? When you lay down as if you were dead, who was there to look after you?"

9'27 *a:-le:kki i: duniya-no ne:k-ki-d ho ne:reh ho mal-ah*  
 that-for this world-LO who-GE-NM too who.M too be.not-PR.3SG.M  
 "Therefore there is nobody for no one in this world."

9'32 *ekla hi barc-ket ekla hi e:k-et*  
 alone EPH come.B2-PT.1PL.I alone EPH go-FT.1PL.I  
 "We come alone and we go alone."

9'35 *i: duniya-no ne:reh ho ne:k-ki ho mal-a*  
 this world-LO who.M too who-GE too be.not-PR.3SG  
 "There is nobody for no one in this world."

9'37 *inonde-hi teyg-qen i:ti-nite ongry-a*  
 this.much-EPH tell-PT.1SG here-AB end.B2-PT.3SG  
 I have told this much. [The story] ends here.

**§30 Story of exiled princes (Ne).**

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hiranpur, on September 24, 2007.

0'15 *e:n kata-n teyg-oti bi:r-en*  
I story-AC tell-IF be.about.to-FT.1SG  
I am going to tell a story.

0'20 *orte ra:ja-oyger menj-ar*  
one king-couple be.B2-PT.3PL  
There was one royal couple.

0'25 *ante doky-ar esa e:ru-hi doky-ar*  
and stay.B2-PT.3PL very well-EPH stay.B2-PT.3PL  
They lived very happily.

0'31 *do:k-e-ki ba:de-no qa:ni-d awq-id ki ni:n to e:n*  
stay-VN-GE after-LO wife-NM speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP you TOP I  
*key-no dosra peli-n kor-ane*  
die-IPP other woman-AC enter-FT.2SG.M  
Then the wife said, "If I die, will you marry another woman?"

0'39 *a:n-le awq-id ani e:n kor-enala iknin a:n-le*  
say-CP speak-PR.3SG.NM so I enter-NG.FT.1SG how say-CP  
*awq-ni*  
speak-PR.2SG.NM  
She said this. Then [he said] "I won't. Why do you say that?"

0'42 *mala e:n a:g-in=jahā ni:n kor-ane*  
no I know-PR.1SG=just you enter-FT.2SG.M  
"No, I just know you will."

0'45 *mala kor-olaken a:n-le awdy-ah*  
no enter-NG.PR.1SG say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He said, "No, I won't."

0'47 *ante do:k-ner ok-ner do:k-ner ok-ner a:ber-ik irw*  
and stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL they-DA two  
*muṣ.maqe-r menj-ar*  
boy-PL become.B2-PT.3PL  
And they kept on living. They had two boys.

0'58 *irw muṣ.maqe-r menj-ar do:k-te do:k-te muṣ.maqe-r*  
two boy-PL become.B2-PT.3PL stay-AP REP boy-PL  
*men-ne-ki ba:de-no a:bere mo:tary-ar*  
become-VN-GE after-LO they grow.up.B2-PT.3PL  
They had two boys. They lived and grew up.

1'08 *ti:ke parj-ler anond parj-juka menj-ar*  
well read-SJ.3PL that.much study-like become.B2-PT.3PL  
*anonde-nihi to keca-kid eky-ad*  
that.much-LO.EPH TOP die.B2-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
Well, when they were about to go to school, when they reached the school age, she passed away.

1'15 *to kec-ad ante a: ra:ja-h olg-ih pa:r-ih*  
 TOP die.B2-PT.3SG.NM and that king-M cry-PR.3SG.M sing-PR.3SG.M  
*a:n-keh ante doky-ah ante*  
 say-CP.3SG.M and stay.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
 She passed away, and the king lived crying and lamenting.

1'28 *mehn-ond mehn-is bi:ce-nihi a:h dosra peli-n*  
 month-one month-two between-LO.EPH he other woman-AC  
*korc-ah nandu-hi*  
 enter.B2-PT.3SG.M again-EPH  
 In one or two months, he married another woman again.

1'32 *dosra peli-n korc-ah ante do:k-ner ante a:*  
 other woman-AC enter.B2-PT.3SG.M and stay-PR.3PL and that  
*ra:ja-ki ku:re-nihi a:te lagary-a*  
 king-GE side-LO.EPH market be.attached.B2-PT.3SG  
 He married another woman. They lived. Then a market was held near  
 the king's [palace].

1'42 *ante a:te-no je:wara sama:ne-d urq-ad indru-gote*  
 and market-LO whatever goods-NM come.out-PT.3SG.NM what-ever  
*ci:je-d adi-ne bi:sy-ar bikary-ad a:*  
 goods-NM that-AC sell.B2-PT.3PL be.sold.B2-PT.3SG.NM that  
*ongr-lad adi-ne ra:ja-h qe:g-ah*  
 be.finished-NG.PT.3SG.NM that-AC king-M buy-PT.3SG.M  
 And [for] all goods that were sold at the market, if anything on sale  
 was left unsold, the king [used to] buy them.

1'52 *nandu a:te men-id hapt-a-no te indr-indr sama:ne*  
 again market be-PR.3SG.NM week-LO and what-what goods  
*bikar-id a: bikar-lad adi-n ra:ja-h*  
 be.sold-PR.3SG.NM that be.sold-NG.PT.3SG.NM that-AC king-M  
*qe:g-ih*  
 buy-PR.3SG.M  
 A market was held again in a week. And the king bought whatever  
 goods that were for sale but did not sell.

2'01 *ante na:nle na:nle a:te lag-a doky-ad*  
 and that.way that.way market be.attached-AP stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*otr doky-ar ante din-onde-no orte pure-n*  
 take.out.AP stay.B2-PT.3PL and day-one-LO one dove-AC  
*otry-ah*  
 take.out.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The market kept on being held that way. They kept bringing [goods  
 there]. And one day, one man brought a dove.

2'09 *ante pure-n otr-ih otry-ah ante*  
 and dove-AC take.out-PR.3SG.M take.out.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
*awq-ih ki e:k-u-r e:k-u-r men-ner i:d e:nond*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M COMP go-PP-PL REP ask-PR.3PL this.NM how.much

*dame-d idi-ki dame-d e:k.la:ke*  
 price-NM this-GE price-NM one.lakh  
 He brought a dove, and when passersby asked “How much is this?”  
 he said, “Its price is one lakh.”

2'20 *nande dusra-h e:k-ih qe:g-uh idi-ki e:nond dame-d*  
 again other-NM go-PR.3SG.M buy-PP.M this-GE how.much price-NM  
*idi-ki dame-d e:k.la:ke*  
 this-GE price-NM one.lakh  
 Another shopper goes [and asks] “What is the price of this?” “The  
 price of this is one lakh.”

2'26 *e:t ino-qadi pure-ki-d e:k.la:ke-d ne:re qe:g-eh*  
 ITJ this.much-only dove-GE-NM one.lakh-NM who buy-FT.3SG.M  
 “Come on! [The price] of this big dove is one lakh. Who would buy  
 it?”

2'30 *ante a:n-le a:n-le ahe-ki-d sama:ne-d bikar-la*  
 and do.so-CP do.so-CP he-GE-NM goods-NM be.sold-NG.PT.3SG  
 And [doing] that way, his goods did not sell.

2'35 *bikar-lad ante nande ra:ja-h be:rit*  
 be.sold-NG.PT.3SG.NM and again king-M in.the.evening  
*eky-ah ante indru-indru bikar-lad adi-n*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M and what-REP be.sold-NG.PT.3SG.NM that-AC  
*gote-ni qe:g-ah ante nahi-n ek-keh men-ih*  
 all-AC.EPH buy-PT.3SG.M and he-AC go.B2-CP.3SG.M ask-PR.3SG.M  
 It did not sell. And again, the king came in the evening, and bought  
 all that did not sell. And he went to him and asked him.

2'43 *arpe-d-i pure-d adi-n men-ih ta:nu na:h e:k.la:ke*  
 little-NM-EPH dove-NM that-AC ask-PR.3SG.M then he one.lakh  
*awq-ih*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M  
 It was just a little dove. [The king] asked [its price]. Then he said [it  
 was] one lakh.

2'48 *ano ino-qadi pure-ki-d e:k.la:ke awq-ne*  
 then this.much-only dove-GE-NM one.lakh speak-PR.2SG.M  
*ida-ki-d indru indru-indru ka:je-n kud-enid*  
 this-GE-NM what what-REP work-AC do-FT.3SG.NM  
 “You ask one lakh for a dove just this big! What is it? What work  
 does it do?”

2'54 *mala idi-ki-d-i bahut ka:je-n kud-ani idi-ki-n*  
 no this-GE-NM-EPH much work-AC do-FT.3SG.NM this-GE-AC  
*kuk-a moq-qeh a:he hira-muti-n turw-eh*  
 head-AC eat-CP.3SG.M he diamond-pearl-AC spit-FT.3SG.M  
 “No sir, [the meat] of this will do a lot of work. One who eats the  
 head of this will spit out diamond jewels.”

3'03 *a: gandi-n mo:q-eh a:h ra:ji nan-eh*  
 that body-AC eat-FT.3SG.M he kingdom do-FT.3SG.M  
 “One who eats the body will be a ruler.”

3'09 *a:n-le awd-ko o: acca ti:ke qe:g-en a:n-keh ante e:ne*  
 say-CP speak-CP ITJ well okay buy-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M and I  
*gandi mo:q-en ra:ja nan-en ra:ji cala:tr-ne-k*  
 body eat-FT.1SG king do-FT.1SG kingdom run-VN-DA  
 When he said this, [the king said] “Okay, I will buy it. I will eat the  
 body and become a king, so that I can govern the kingdom.”

3'18 *ar eng-a da:ni kuk-a mo:q-anid idi-n a:de*  
 and I-DA wife head-AC eat-FT.3SG.NM this-AC she  
*hira-muti-n turw-anid*  
 diamond-pearl-AC spit-FT.3SG.NM  
 “And my wife will eat the head and she will spit out diamond jewels.”

3'24 *a:n-keh ante qe:g-qeh oc-ah e:nond*  
 say-CP.3SG.M and buy-CP.3SG.M take.B2-PT.3SG.M how.much  
*sama:ne bikar-la qe:g-ah a:juka-hi adi-n ho*  
 goods be.sold-NG.PT.3SG buy-PT.3SG.M that-like-EPH that-AC too  
*qe:g-ah*  
 buy-PT.3SG.M  
 He said this. And just as he [always] buys as much goods as are left  
 unsold, he bought and took it, too.

3'29 *qe:q-qeh oc-ah ante adi-ne kuk-a alag se*  
 buy-CP.3SG.M take.B2-PT.3SG.M and that-AC head-AC separate EPH  
*mo:cy-ar*  
 cut.B2-PT.3PL  
 He bought and took it [home]. And they cut the head off.

3'35 *kuku-de qar-ond qumba menj-a qar-ond tukra a:*  
 head-NM CLF-one lump become.B2-PT.3SG CLF-one piece that  
*gandi-de qar-ond tukra*  
 body-NM CLF-one piece  
 The head became one lump, one piece. That body [became] one piece.

3'44 *ante na:bere na:h dusra korc-a a: ra:ni-guni*  
 and they he second enter.B2-PT.3SG that queen-together  
*pokar-no kelar-ner amy-ner tu:so alqtr-naq-a*  
 pond-LO play-PR.3PL take.bath-PR.3PL naked make.laugh-REC-AP  
*do:k-ner*  
 stay-PR.3PL  
 And they, he and the queen that he married again, played and bathed  
 in the pond, and were flirting naked [there].

3'52 *ada-nihi a: mage-r barc-ker ante iskule-nte*  
 house-LO.EPH that boy-PL come.B2-CP.3PL and school-AB  
*barc-ker ante na:bere otr-ker ante ki:re-nte*  
 come.B2-CP.3PL and they take.out-CP.3PL and hunger-AB

*takar-ker ante lap-ner ja:gu-n otr-ker ante*  
 be.tired-CP.3PL and eat-PR.3PL food-AC take.out-CP.3PL and  
 At home, those boys came back from school. They were weary with  
 hunger, and they took out food and ate.

4'05 *lap-ner ano tang-baiya-he gandi-n moq-ah*  
 eat-PR.3PL there own-elder.brother-M body-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 They ate. Then the elder brother ate the body [of the dove].

4'11 *a: tang-do-he kuk-a moq-ah*  
 that own.younger.brother-M head-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The younger brother ate the head.

4'14 *te raja ra:ni pokar-no amc-ar tu:so=indru*  
 and king queen pond-LO take.bath.B2-PT.3PL naked=and.so.on  
*kelar-im-tatim a:n-ker ante a: dusra peli*  
 play-AP-ECHO say-CP.3PL and that second woman  
*mejj-ad adi-guni*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-together  
 After bathing and playing naked and so on in the pond, the king and  
 the queen, [the woman] who has become the second wife,

4'22 *ante a:ber kir-ker ante e:r-ner ta:nu ma:ku-d ok-ola*  
 and they return-CP.3PL and see-PR.3PL then meat-NM sit-NG.PR.3SG  
 when they came back and looked, the meat was not there.

4'28 *ma:ku-d ok-olad ani na:d indra kud-ani kajak*  
 meat-NM sit-NG.PR.3SG.NM so she what do-FT.3SG.NM much  
*olq-id ante a: raja-n awd-id*  
 cry-PR.3SG.NM and that king-AC speak-PR.3SG.NM  
 The meat was not there. Then what did she do? She cried a lot and  
 said to the king.

4'37 *eyg-e na:ber-ki ceyro-n ondr-oka*  
 I-DA they-GE liver-AC bring-IMP  
 “Bring me the liver of those [who ate it].”

4'40 *na: joqar-ki ceyro-n ondr-no nadi-n mo:q-en ante*  
 that two.people-GE liver-AC bring-IPP that-AC eat-FT.1SG then  
*se patgr-en ate patgr-olaken a:n-le*  
 EPH cool.down-FT.1SG otherwise cool.down-NG.PR.1SG say-CP  
*awq-i*  
 speak-PR.3SG  
 She said, “Only [if you] bring the livers of those two [boys] and I eat  
 them, I will cool down. Otherwise I will not.”

4'45 *ani na:he tay-ki sipa:hi-n tey-ah ka:l-a*  
 so he self-GE policeman-AC send-PT.3SG.M go-IMP  
*nahe-n pit-ke ondr-oka na:ber joqar-in a:n-le*  
 he-AC kill-CP.2SG.M bring-IMP they two.people-AC say-CP  
*awqy-ah na:ber-ine*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG they-AC

Then he sent his policeman, telling him, “Go! Kill those two and bring [their livers].”

4'57 *na:he e:k-a mafe nim-en pit-ot awd-ih te ni:m*  
 he go-IMP boy you.PL-AC kill-IF speak-PR.3SG.M and you.PL  
*e:k-a to qalwo qalwo a:n-keh ante bahre-k*  
 go-IMP TOP stealthily REP say-CP.3SG.M and outside-DA  
*otry-ah ante otr-keh ante*  
 take.out.B2-PT.3SG.M and take.out-CP.3SG.M and  
 He said, “Let’s go, boys. [The king] tells [me] to kill you. Let’s go secretly.” He took [them] out, and

5'03 *na:he a:ber-in pit-olah cēgjy-ah ante na:he*  
 he they-AC kill-NG.PR.3SG.M show.mercy.B2-PT.3SG.M and he  
*ale-n pit-keh ante ceyro-n kirtry-ah*  
 dog-AC kill-CP.3SG.M and liver-AC bring.back.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He did not kill them. He had mercy [on them]. He killed dogs and brought their livers back.

5'15 *maq-ise-ki ceyro-ni maq-is ale-n pit-keh ante ante*  
 CLF-two-GE liver-AC.EPH CLF-two dog-AC kill-CP.3SG.M and and  
*a:ber-ine tirr-a ni:m geci ikto-gote e:k-oka ante*  
 they-AC go.away-IMP you.PL far where-ever go-IMP and  
 Livers of two [dogs]. He killed two dogs. [He told them] “You two go far away. Go somewhere!”

5'24 *qalwo uj-er i:t-no do:k-erala*  
 stealthily live-FT.2PL here-LO stay-NG.FT.2PL  
 “You live secretly. Do not live here.”

5'27 *raja-h eng-en pit-ke ante ceyro-n ondr-oka a:n-keh*  
 king-M I-AC kill-CP.2SG.M and liver-AC bring-IMP say-CP.3SG.M  
*tey-ah*  
 send-PT.3SG.M  
 “The king told me to kill you and bring your livers and sent me out.”

5'30 *a:-lki nim-en pit-ken tey-in da*  
 that-way you.PL-AC kill-CP.1SG send-PR.1SG ITJ  
 “So I have killed you two and am sending you away.”

5'33 *i: aŋt̪i-ne qend-ker ka:l-a*  
 this ring-AC take.along-CP.3PL go-IMP  
 “Take this ring and go.”

5'35 *ante idi-n ikno-got ki:l-e-n takar-er a:t-no*  
 and this-AC where-ever hunger-AC be.tired-FT.2PL there-LO  
*bi:s-ker lap-er*  
 sell-CP.2PL eat-FT.2PL  
 “And wherever you feel hungry, sell this [ring] and get food.”

5'39 *a:n-keh ante aŋt̪i-ne cic-ah pulise-h*  
 say-CP.3SG.M and ring-AC give.B2-PT.3SG.M policeman-M  
 The policeman said this and gave the ring.

5'42 *te a: mage-r qend-ker eky-ar ante e:k-ner se*  
 then that boy-PL take.along-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL and go-PR.3PL EPH  
*e:k-ner e:k-ner se e:k-ner ante*  
 go-PR.3PL REP EPH go-PR.3PL and  
 And the boys took [the ring] along, and they went and went.

5'49 *a:-wajo-wajo qep-d=indru ho mal-a dade*  
 that-way-way village-NM=and.so.on too be.not-PR.3SG jungle  
*bitre-k eky-ar*  
 inside-DA go.B2-PT.3PL  
 There was no village at all on that way. They went into a jungle.

5'54 *ade-ki ba:de-no man-ik arg arg e:r-ner man-ik arg*  
 that-GE after-LO tree-DA climb.AP REP see-PR.3PL tree-DA climb.AP  
*arg e:r-ner ikto-nahā e:tr-ola*  
 REP see-PR.3PL where-ever be.seen-NG.PR.3SG  
 Then they climbed up trees and saw. They climbed and saw, [but]  
 [there was no village] found anywhere.

5'59 *ante bah-onde-no cicu mo:g-i ani*  
 and place-one-LO fire emit.smoke-PR.3SG then  
 Then a fire was smoking in one place.

6'01 *o: ka:l-a ade-no male-r do:k-ner idi-n bi:s-oka ante*  
 ITJ go-IMP that-LO person-PL stay-PR.3PL this-AC sell-IMP and  
 "Go. People live there. Go and sell this [ring]."

6'06 *ni:n idi-n qe:q-qe bar-a:ne a:n-keh ante*  
 you this-AC buy-CP.2SG.M come-FT.2SG.M say-CP.3SG.M and  
*tang-baiya-h tey-ah ani tang.do-h*  
 own.elder.brother-M send-PT.3SG.M so own.younger.brother-M  
*eky-ah*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The elder brother sent [the younger brother], saying "You buy [food  
 for] this and come back." So the younger brother went.

6'11 *ek-keh ante a:he bed-ih se bed-ih*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.M and he seek-PR.3SG.M EPH seek-PR.3SG.M  
*dokani=indru and-olah ante nandu man-ik*  
 shop=and.so.on find-NG.PR.3SG.M and again tree-DA  
*ark-keh e:r-ih te ek-keh eky-ah*  
 climb-CP.3SG.M see-PR.3SG.M and go.B2-CP.3SG.M go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ante*  
 and  
 He went and looked for [a shop]. He did not find any shop, and he  
 climbed up a tree again, looked, and went [there] again.

6'25 *bah-onde-no bagate-ki aqa mejj-ad*  
 place-one-LO ascetic-GE house be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 There was an ascetic's house in one place.

6'31 *a:he a:t-ik aqrs-keh ante a:he aŋgti-n qaqto-n*  
 he there-DA reach-CP.3SG.M and he ring-AC ring-AC  
*bi:s-keh ante a:h t̪i:qal-a qe:g-ah*  
 sell-CP.3SG.M and he rice-AC buy-PT.3SG.M  
 He arrived there, sold the ring and bought rice.

6'40 *qe:q-qeh ante a:he adi-n oy-leh anonde-nihi*  
 buy-CP.3SG.M and he that-AC take-SJ.3SG.M that.much-LO.EPH  
*bah-ond ku:qe-no jo:re menj-a*  
 place.CLF-one side-LO waterfall be.B2-PT.3SG  
 When he bought [rice] and was going to take it, there was a waterfall  
 on a brow [of a hill].

6'49 *ada-no a:h cuṭar-ih cuṭar-ih hira-muti-du:re-d*  
 that-LO he rinse.mouth-PR.3SG.M REP diamond-pearl-only-NM  
*urq-i cuṭar-ih a: pahra ani a:d*  
 come.out-PR.3SG rinse.mouth-PR.3SG.M that time so that  
 He rinsed his mouth there. Then just diamond jewels came out [of his  
 mouth]. He spat them out.

6'57 *i:d indru-goṭa-d a:n-keh ante a:he ta:nu a:g-olah*  
 this what-ever-NM say-CP.3SG.M and he then know-NG.PR.3SG.M  
*kuk-a moq-ah ahe-ki*  
 head-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG.M he-GE  
 Saying “What on earth are these?” he had no idea, the one who ate  
 the head.

7'04 *te a:he cuṭar-keh ante pa:r-onde dokan-no*  
 and he rinse.mouth-CP.3SG.M and CLF-one shop-LO  
*ok-tr-keh ante kiry-ah ante na: ada-no ante*  
 sit-CS-CP.3SG.M and return.B2-PT.3SG.M and that house-LO and  
 After he rinsed his mouth, he went back to that house and put one  
 [jewel] in the shop.

7'07 *na: dokan-ada-k eky-ah ante (e:rid) e:d-ih i:d*  
 that shop-house-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M and show-PR.3SG.M this  
*indru-d a:n-le awd-ko*  
 what-NM say-CP speak-CP  
 He went to that shop house, showed [the jewel to them] and said,  
 “What is this?”

7'13 *o: idi-n (t)anda-ke a:n-ko idi-n anda-ken i:h ide-n*  
 ITJ this-AC find-PT.2SG.M say-CP this-AC find-PT.1SG he this-AC  
*cuṭar-nihi urq-id a:n-le awd-ih*  
 rinse.mouth-IPP.EPH come.out-PR.3SG.NM say-CP speak-PR.3SG.M  
 When [the shopkeeper asked] “Did you find this?” he said, “I found  
 it. It came out when I rinsed my mouth.”

7'18 *te a:de a: dokani a: qa:ni-d tay-ki maq-sa:t ahe-n*  
 and she that shop that wife-NM self-GE child-with he-AC

*do:k-tr-id*                    *ante-hi*                    *tang.baiya-k*                    *indra*  
 stay-CS-PR.3SG.NM            and-EPH                    own.elder.brother-DA            what  
*qe:q-qeh*                    *ek-keh*                    *i:h e:k-olah*  
 buy-CP.3SG.M go.B2-CP.3SG.M he go-NG.PR.3SG.M  
 And she, the lady [of] the shop, makes him stay with her own child.  
 So [the younger brother] who bought things for his elder brother tried  
 to go, but did not.

7'29 *te a: cuʃar-ih*                    *adi-no*                    *a:ber*                    *jama:tr-ner*  
 and that rinse.mouth-PR.3SG.M that-AC they collect-PR.3PL  
*hira-muti-n*  
 diamond-pearl-AC  
 They (i.e. the shopkeeper's family) collected that which he spat out  
 after rinsing his mouth, the diamond jewels.

7'32 *dine-nihī a: tang.baiya-h*                    *ano doky-ah*                    *ante*  
 day-LO.EPH that own.elder.brother-M there stay.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
 The elder brother stayed there day after day.

7'36 *a:h ahe-n bed-in*                    *a:n[-le]*                    *urq-ah*  
 he he-AC seek-PR.1SG say-CP come.out-PT.3SG.M  
*urq-qeh*                    *ante*                    *a:he*                    *ahe-n*                    *bed-in*  
 come.out-CP.3SG.M and he he-AC seek-PR.1SG  
*tang.do-n*                    *bed-in*                    *a:n-le*                    *gurar-ih*  
 own.younger.brother-AC seek-PR.1SG say-CP walk.about-PR.3SG.M  
*se gurar-ih*                    *gurar-ih*                    *se*  
 EPH walk.about-PR.3SG.M walk.about-PR.3SG.M EPH  
*gurar-ih*                    *and-olah-i*  
 walk.about-PR.3SG.M find-NG.PR.3SG.M-EPH  
 He went out in order to find him. He walked around to find his  
 younger brother. He walked around, but did not find him.

7'45 *ante ante ante a:he rakase-ada-k*                    *urq-ah*                    *ante*  
 and and and he demon-house-DA come.out-PT.3SG.M and  
 And he ended up at a demon's house.

7'50 *rakase-h ikʃo bahre-k eky-ah*                    *tang.gadi-du:re*  
 demon-M where outside-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M own.daughter-only  
*doky-ad*  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 The demon went out somewhere. Only his daughter was there.

7'54 *a:d ganya maji qar-ond ka:ti-no ko:q-id*  
 she Ganga middle CLF-one bedstead-LO lie-PR.3SG.NM  
*amc-kid*                    *ante*  
 take.bath.B2-CP.3SG.NM and  
 She took a bath and was lying on a bed in the middle of the river  
 Ganga.

8'00 *a: satra ka:ti-no ta:li-n bata-kid*                    *ante*  
 she seventeen bedstead-LO hair-AC expose.to.heat-CP.3SG.NM and

*te a:h a:t-ik urq-ahe*  
 and he there-DA come.out-PT.3SG.M  
 She spread her hair on seventeen bedsteads for drying. He showed up at that scene.

8'06 *e:r-ih ta:nu ayu: ikni ikbah aq-s-ken a:n-ih ante*  
 see-PR.3SG.M then ITJ how where reach-PT.1SG say-PR.3SG.M and  
 When he saw [her], he said, "Good heavens! What a place I have come to?"

8'12 *(a:de ba:cet) tambako barc-keh ante mo:q-oti e:n ina*  
 father come.B2-CP.3SG.M and eat-IF I today  
*male-n mo:q-en mal-mal-gande-d a:n-le bed-ih*  
 person-AC eat-FT.1SG person-person-smell-NM say-CP seek-PR.3SG.M  
 The father [demon] came back and felt like eating, saying "I will eat a human being today. It smells like a human being."

8'21 *te na: tambako and-e-nihi and-olah ano*  
 and that father find-VN-LO.EPH find-NG.PR.3SG.M there  
*dari-no uta-kid ante ok-try-a bah-ond dari*  
 hole-LO cover-CP.3SG.NM and sit-CS.B2-PT.3SG CLF-one hole  
*becc-ad a:t-no*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM there-LO  
 The father looked for him but did not find him. There was a hole. She covered it and let him sit there.

8'27 *te bed-ih ante and-ah ani na:d awdy-a*  
 and seek-PR.3SG.M and find-PT.3SG.M then she speak.B2-PT.3SG  
 He looked for him, and found him. Then she said,

8'32 *ihe-n e:ne eng-a qa:we ban:a:tr-ne-k nuqa-ken ok-tr-ken*  
 he-AC I I-DA husband make-VN-DA hide-CP.1SG sit-CS-PT.1SG  
*abo mo:q-la:nat e:ru men-la:nid*  
 father eat-NG.FT.1PL.I good be-NG.FT.3SG.NM  
 "I hid him and let him sit in order to make him my husband. Father, let us not eat him. It will not be good."

8'37 *a:n-le awd-ko a:h nung-ot garary-ah ahi-n*  
 say-CP speak-CP he swallow-IF do.B2-PT.3SG.M he-AC  
*otry-a ante mo:q-tit-la*  
 take.out.B2-PT.3SG and eat-CS-NG.3SG  
 When she said this, he was about to swallow him. She took him out and did not let [her father] eat him.

8'41 *te (ahe)[adi]-guni a:h doky-ah ante a: jaga-ki raja*  
 and she-with he stay.B2-PT.3SG.M and that place-GE king  
*banar-keh doky-ah*  
 become-CP.3SG.M stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He stayed with her and became the king of that place.

8'48 *ra:ja banar-keh doky-ah gandi moq-ah a:hi*  
 king become-CP.3SG.M stay.B2-PT.3SG.M body eat.B2-PT.3SG.M he

The one that ate the body [of the dove] had become a king.

8'52 *tang.do-h*                            *p'hir se na:h dokan-no doky-ah*  
 own.younger.brother-M again EPH he shop-LO stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 The younger brother still stayed at the shop.

8'57 *bagat-maqi-guni*                    *adi-n*                    *a:*                    *budqi-de*  
 ascetic-daughter-together            she-AC                    that                    old.woman-NM  
*boŋgtry-a*  
 carry.away.B2-PT.3SG  
 The old lady took him away with the ascetic's daughter.

9'08 *boŋg-try-a*                            *ante a:ti-nte ho ahi-n boŋgtry-a*  
 run.away-CS.B2-PT.3SG and there-AB too he-AC carry.away.B2-PT.3SG  
*ani a:he boŋgtr-ih*  
 so he carry.away-PR.3SG.M  
 She took them away. She took them away from there again, and he took her away.

9'15 *ante e:k-te e:k-te na:h nandu-hi qa:ku-re ek-ker*  
 and go-AP REP he again-EPH robber-PL go.B2-CP.3PL  
*ante ikote-nte qaqa-ker kiry-ar a:ber-bahno*  
 and where-AB steal.B2-CP.3PL return.B2-PT.3PL they-LO  
*betary-ah*  
 meet.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then there were robbers who went, stole from somewhere and came back. On his way, he came across their place.

9'22 *ante a:bere uŋan.katola-n ondry-ar*  
 and they flying.bedstead-AC bring.B2-PT.3PL  
 They brought a flying bedstead.

9'25 *ondr-ker ante ca:g-naq-a do:k-ner ada-nihi*  
 bring-CP.3PL and divide-REC-AP stay-PR.3PL that-LO.EPH  
*arsy-ah*  
 reach.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He came across just when they were dividing their plunder.

9'30 *i:h aŋs-ko a:ber amb-ker boŋg-ar*  
 he reach-CP they leave-CP.3PL run.away-PT.3PL  
 When he came, they left [their plunder] and ran away.

9'35 *ante idi-n peta-keh ante na:h nandu e:k du: ti:n a:h*  
 and this-AC take.up-CP.3SG.M and he again one two three he  
*uŋan.katola co:ca-keh boŋg-ah ani-hi*  
 flying.bedstead get.up.B2-CP.3SG.M run.away-PT.3SG.M then-EPH  
 He took them up and [saying] "One, two, three!" he took off [on] the flying bedstead and ran away.

9'41 *co:ca-kide boŋg-a ante na:h nandu na:h*  
 get.up-CP.3SG.NM run.away-PT.3SG and he again he  
*budi-waje eky-ah*  
 old.woman-to go.B2-PT.3SG.M

It rose up and flew away. And he went to the old woman's place.

9'46 *budi-waje e:k-e-ki ba:de-no nandu na:d nadi-n ho bac-oti cahc-ah bagat-budi*  
 old.woman-toward go-VN-GE after-LO again she she-AC too  
 remember-IF want.B2-PT.3SG.M ascetic-old.woman  
 After going to the old woman's place — he wanted to remember the ascetic's wife, too.

9'52 *ante na:de doky-a ante ante ante na:h doky-ah a:*  
 and she stay.B2-PT.3SG and REP REP he stay.B2-PT.3SG.M that  
*bagate-tay.gadi-guni org menjja-ker ante*  
 ascetic-daughter-with couple become.B2-CP.3PL and  
 And she kept on living. And he married the ascetic's daughter and lived.

10'01 *te nahe-qa:ni-d esa e:ru-de esa e:ru na: doky-ad*  
 and he-wife-NM very good-NM very good she stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*a:n-naq-ar ani*  
 say-REC-PT.3PL then  
 And [people] said to each other "His wife is very pretty. She is very pretty."

10'07 *tayg.baiya-h menjja-keh ante e:k-i adi-n e:r-oti ante*  
 own.elder.brother-M hear.B2-CP.3SG.M and go-PR she-AC see-IF and  
*ne:reh pa:ry-eh ahi-n adi-n bac-keh boygr-oti*  
 who.M be.able-FT.3SG.M he-AC that-AC pull-CP.3SG.M carry.away-IF  
*pa:ry-eh a:n-le awqy-a[r]*  
 be.able-FT.3SG.M say-CP speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 His elder brother heard [of her] and went to see her. They said, "Who can pull and take her away?"

10'17 *te eky-ah ta:nu a:d indra kud-anid ahe-ki*  
 and go.B2-PT.3SG.M then she what do-FT.3SG.NM he-GE  
*tayg-ja:mni-di hi paqary-ah*  
 own-younger.brother's.wife-NM EPH come.across.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 When he went, what did she do? She turned out to be his younger brother's wife.

10'23 *te got male-ri pol-ar a:h*  
 and all person-PL be.unable-PT.3PL he  
*pa:rc-ah a:-ba:de-no men-ih ta:nu a:*  
 be.able.B2-PT.3SG.M that-after-LO hear-PR.3SG.M then she  
*tayg-ja:mni-di hi paqary-a*  
 own-younger.brother's.wife-NM EPH come.across.B2-PT.3SG  
 While no man could, he could. Then when he asked, she turned out to be his younger brother's wife.

10'29 *ada-ki ba:de-no a:ti-nte adi-n oy-oti eky-ah a:*  
 that-GE after-LO there-AB that-AC take-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.M that

*pahra-no beṭar-naq-ar*  
 time-LO meet.with-REC-PT.3PL  
 Then when he went to take her from there, they met.

10'34 *te tang.baiya-h ar tang.do-h milary-ar*  
 and own.elder.brother-M and own.younger.brother-M meet.B2-PT.3PL  
 And the elder and younger brothers met.

10'36 *ada-ki ba:de-no ni:n ne:re e:n e:i: tay.gade-n menj-a-ken*  
 that-GE after-LO you who I this own.son-1SG become.B2-CP.1SG  
*e:n boŋg-qen ante*  
 I run.away-CP.1SG and  
 Then [they said] "Who are you?" "I had become this [man's] son and  
 I ran away."

10'43 *eng.do-n teya-ken na:h qe:g-ot a:n-le*  
 my.younger.brother-AC send-CP.1SG he buy-IF say-CP  
*ek-keh ante a:n-keh kir-lah*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.M and say-CP.3SG.M return-NG.PT.3SG.M  
 "I sent my younger brother. He went to buy [things] but did not come  
 back."

10'48 *e:no i: male-ni hi e:nu baiya-k kirtr-ot a:n-le*  
 I this person-1SG EPH I elder.brother-DA bring.back-IF say-CP  
*ek-ken dokani qe:g-ot a:n-le*  
 go.B2-PT.1SG shop buy-IF say-CP  
 "I am that very man. I went to the shop in order to buy [things and]  
 bring [them] back for my elder brother."

10'53 *ante a:ti-n-te e:ne cuṭar-ken a: pahr-ni*  
 and there-AB I rinse.mouth-PT.1SG that time-LO.EPH  
*hira-muti-d urq-ad*  
 diamond-pearl-NM come.out-PT.3SG.NM  
 "And just when I was rinsing my mouth there, diamond jewels came  
 out."

10'57 *ani eng-e-ne bagat-ni do:k-try-ad ante tan.gadi-n*  
 so I-AC ascetic-F stay-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM and own.daughter-AC  
*qatv-ad ante dok-ken idi-guni*  
 give.B2-PT.3SG.NM and stay.B2-PT.1SG she-together  
 "So the ascetic's wife made me stay, gave me her daughter, and I mar-  
 ried her."

11'02 *ante a:n-ken-ih-i eng-en tey-lad ani e:k-oti*  
 and say-CP.1SG-EPH I-AC send-NG.PT.3SG.NM so go-IF  
*mo:dr-ken*  
 forget-PT.1SG  
 "After I did so, she (i.e. the ascetic's wife) did not let me go, so I forgot  
 about going [back]."

11'06 *a:n-ker ante a:ti-n-te milary-ar a:ti-n-te-n-te doky-ar*  
 say-CP.3PL and there-AB meet.B2-PT.3PL there-AB-AB stay.B2-PT.3PL

They said this, and then met there. They stayed [together] from then.

11'09 *ani tang.baiya-h ra:ji-n cala:tr-ih a:h aru*  
so own.elder.brother-M kingdom-AC govern-PR.3SG.M he and  
*tang.do-h hira-muti-ne turwy-ah*  
own.younger.brother-M diamond-pearl-AC spit.out.B2-PT.3SG.M  
The elder brother ruled the kingdom and the younger brother spat out  
diamond jewels.

11'16 *mane kuk-a moq-ah ahe-ki-d hira-muti-d*  
that.is head-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG.M he-GE-NM diamond-pearl-NM  
*urq-ad ar gandi moq-ah ahe-ki-d raji*  
come.out-PT.3SG.NM and body eat.B2-PT.3SG.M he-GE-NM kingdom  
*qaq-owry-a*  
receive-PA.B2-PT.3SG  
That is, diamond jewels came out of the one who ate the head, and  
kingdom was acquired for the one who ate the body.

11'22 *inonde-n-te ongry-ad i:ti katam*  
this.much-AB end.B2-PT.3SG.NM here end  
This story ends here.

### §31 Story of a nasty king and a jackal (Nw).

Told by Mr. Maheshwar Malto of Kortika, P. O. Boarior, P. S. Boarior, Dist. Godda. Recorded in the schoolhouse of Kortika on March 4, 2009.

0'00 *ort dukta-h menj-ah*  
one orphan-M be.B2-PT.3SG  
There was an orphan.

0'03 *ort ra:ja-h a: dukta-n awdy-ah*  
one king-M that orphan-AC speak.B2-PT.3SG  
A king told the orphan.

0'07 *ki na: pokeri-no ni:n sagr-ma:qe il-a*  
COMP that pond-LO you whole-night stand-IMP  
“Stand in that pond all night.”

0'11 *e:k-kato:ra: taka-n ciy-en a:ny-ah*  
one-cup money-AC give-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
“I will give you a cupful of money.”

0'15 *ante a: maqe-h la:lcar-keh ante a: pokeri-no ra:t.bar*  
and that boy-M covet-CP.3SG.M and that pond-LO all.night  
*pajne-no ij-ah*  
cold-LO stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Then that boy coveted [the money] and stood in the pond all night in  
the cold.

0'22 *ante adi-ki ba:d job ma:qondi lehary-a ade-no a:*  
and that-GE after when morning become.B2-PT.3SG that-LO that  
*ra:ja-h ek-keh ante a: dukta-n menj-ah*  
king-M go.B2-CP.3SG.M then that orphan-AC ask.B2-PT.3SG.M  
After that, when morning came, the king went and asked the orphan.

0'32 *ni:n ikeno=oh̥ri cic-e tund-ke*  
 you where=or.something fire-AC look-PT.2SG.M  
 “Did you see fire anywhere?”

0'35 *ō: tund-ken e:k.ko:s geci: qibya-ki aweli e:try-a*  
 yes look-PT.1SG one.kos far lamp-GE light be.visible.B2-PT.3SG  
*adi-n tund-ken*  
 that-AC look-PT.1SG  
 “Yes, I did. At a distance of one *kos*, the light of a lamp was seen. I saw it.”

0'42 *le:kin ante raja-h awdy-ah ki o: anno ni:n adi-ki*  
 but and king-M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M COMP ITJ there you that-GE  
*garme-t se i: pokeri-no ije-ke*  
 heat-IN EPH this pond-LO stand.B2-PT.2SG.M  
 But then the king said, “Oh, then you were standing [in] this pond with that heat.”

0'51 *a:n-le awdy-ah ante a:lkō antekte adi-ki ba:d*  
 say-CP say.B2-PT.3SG.M and that.way then that-GE after  
*awd-ih mala andeki mala e:n ije-ken taka-n*  
 say-PR.3SG.M no that.way no I stand.B2-PT.1SG money-AC  
*cīy-lah*  
 give-NG.PT.3SG.M  
 He said this. Then, after that, [the boy] said, “No, it was not so. I was standing.” He did not give the money.

1'02 *ahe-k taka-n cīy-leko adi-ki ba:d maq-ond a:pi*  
 he-DA money-AC give-NG.CP that-GE after CLF-one from.thither  
*gidre barc-a*  
 jackal come.B2-PT.3SG  
 After he [thus] did not give money [to the orphan], a jackal came out from there.

1'09 *loya barc-ad ante indre olg-ne dukta mage*  
 jackal come.B2-PT.3SG.NM and what cry-PR.2SG.M orphan boy  
*a:n-ko*  
 say-CP  
 A jackal came and said, “What are you crying over, orphan boy?”

1'14 *tund-a i: raja i: am-no sagr-ma:qe il-ku ante*  
 look-IMP this king this water-LO whole-night stand-FT.IMP and  
*ning-e taka-n e:k-kaṭo:ra cīy-en a:ny-ah*  
 you-DA money-AC one-cup give-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 “Look, this king said, ‘Stand in this water whole night and I will give you a cupful of money.’”

1'24 *ante aneke andu awd-ih ni:n ikeno=hō=oh̥ri*  
 and now then say-PR.3SG.M you where=even=or.something  
*cic-e tund-ke*  
 fire-AC look-PT.2SG.M

“And he now says, ‘Did you see fire anywhere?’ ”

1'28 *a:n-ko o: tund-ken a:n-ko o: adi-ki dawke-t se ni:n ij bij-ke*  
 say-CP yes look-PT.1SG say-CP ITJ that-GE splendor-IN EPH you  
 stand.B2.AP dawn-PT.2SG.M  
 “When he said this, I said ‘Yes, I saw it,’ then ‘Oh, you passed [the night] standing [warm] with its heat.’ ”

1'33 *lekin ning-e taka-n ciy-enala*  
 but you-DA money-AC give-NG.FT.1SG  
 ‘I will not give money to you.’

1'36 *ciy-enala a:n-le awd-ih ani se i:t-no olg-in*  
 give-NG.FT.1SG say-CP say-PR.3SG.M then EPH here-LO cry-PR.1SG  
*a:n-ko gidre-d awdy-a*  
 say-CP jackal-NM say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “He spoke so, ‘I will not give [money].’ So I am crying here.” When he said this, the jackal said,

1'42 *e:k-a acca ti:k raja e: calo: e:k-a sangal*  
 go-IMP good okay king ITJ let’s.go go-IMP together  
 “Let’s go! Fine. Let’s go to the king[’s place]. Let’s go together.”

1'47 *e:nd-ond ma:s-e arg-tit-a*  
 CLF-one bamboo-AC dig-CS-PT.3SG  
 It made [the king] plant a bamboo [pole in the ground].

1'50 *ante a: mecca am-e e:nd-ond qubi-no pure-kid*  
 and that above water-AC CLF-one earthen.cup-LO pour-CP.3SG.NM  
*ante a:t-no ok-tr-a ante cic-e pisi od-tit-a*  
 and there-LO sit-CS-PT.3SG and fire-AC below light.fire-CS-PT.3SG  
 And it poured water on an earthen cup on top [of the bamboo], and put [rice] in it and made [him] light a fire under it.

1'58 *cic-e ino od-tit-a a:nno nandu ti:qalu ar*  
 fire-AC here light.fire-CS-PT.3SG there again rice and  
*qubi-d oky-a*  
 earthen.cup-NM sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 It made [him] light a fire here. And then rice and the earthen cup was [above it].

2'04 *ade-no awd-i indru gidre gidre-d awd-i raja*  
 that-LO speak-PR.3SG what jackal jackal-NM speak-PR.3SG king  
*a:t-a:t-no amu ar ti:qalu-d okk-i*  
 that.place-there-LO water and rice-NM sit-PR.3SG  
 Then it said, the jackal said, “Your Majesty, there are water and rice there.”

2'14 *a: i:ti-no cice od-i indrany bic-ola adi-ki*  
 that here-LO fire burn-PR.3SG why be.cooked-NG.PR.3SG that-GE  
*ni:n utar nan-ke qaf-a*  
 you answer do-CP.2SG.M give-IMP

“A fire is burning here. Why isn’t [the rice] cooked? Please give an answer to that.”

2'20 *a:n-ko anond cu:di-n-te ino cicu pakr-i a:d ikin bic-en-i*  
 say-CP that.much far-AB here fire lighten-PR.3SG that how  
 be.cooked-FT.3SG.NM

When it said this, [the king said] “A fire burns here. How will that [rice] be cooked from that far?”

2'24 *tab a:-co:w-i a:t-ō poker-ni ij-ah payne-no qe:ndr-le*  
 then that-like-EPH there-too pond-LO.EPH stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 cold-LO tremble-CP

“Just in the same way, he was standing there in the pond, shaking in the cold.”

2'29 *iko cu:di-no se cicu e:try-a qan-et tundjy-ah*  
 how far-LO EPH fire be.seen.B2-PT.3SG eye-IN look.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 “How far away was the fire that he saw? He [just] saw with [his] eyes.”

2'33 *adi-[n] ni:n awd-ne ki o: adi-ki dawke-t ije-ke a:n-ke awd-ne*  
 that-AC you speak-PR.2SG.M COMP ITJ that-GE splendour-IN  
 stand.B2-PT.2SG.M say-2SG.M say-PR.2SG  
 “Do you [still] say ‘You were standing [warm] with the heat of that [fire]’?”

2'38 *to ikni bic-ola a:ti ikni bařkar-ola*  
 then how be.cooked-NG.PR.3SG there how be.boiled-NG.PR.3SG  
 “Why isn’t that [rice] cooked there? Why isn’t it boiled?”

2'41 *a:n-kid ante a:hu ji:tc-ko ante a: mage-k taka-n cic-ah ra:ja-h itne:hi*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM then he win.B2-CP then that boy-DA money-AC  
 give.B2-PT.3SG.M king-M this.much  
 When it said this, it won, and the king gave money to the boy.



## Chapter V. Tales from Ursa Pahar (Parallel Text)

§32 Story of a fisherman who gave his wife away (Ne). Told by Mr. Lokhon Pahariya of Ursa Pahar, P. O. Vindudham, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahibganj, Jharkhand. Recorded at the front yard of the village chief of Ursa Pahar on March 8, 2008. .... 366

§33 Story of abandoned children. Told by Mr. (Barnya Ganga) Mesa Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at the front yard of the village chief of Ursa Pahar on March 2, 2009.<sup>1</sup> .... 370

§34 Story of a family torn asunder. Told by Mr. Lokhon Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at the front yard of the village chief of Ursa Pahar on March 8, 2008. .... 380

§35 Story of a ruined prince and his lost love. Told by Mr. (Barnya Ganga) Mesa Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at the front yard of the village chief of Ursa Pahar on March 2, 2009. .... 400

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<sup>1</sup>A Santal version of this story is found in Bodding 1925–29: vol.2, 220ff., ‘A king and his seven wives’.

### §32 Story of a fisherman who gave his wife away.

[0'00] e:n i:t-bah-male-n uqsa-qepo-n ej-ki na:me lokone [0'06] e:n i: saba-n teng-oti e:k-in a: pahra-no men-ku [0'10] i:d gaři gece mala duke-ki ba:te mala alq-e-ki ba:te mala [0'14] di ta:ni-gute-hi ej-ki qeđw-no menjja-ken eng-e aya-d ino:pane maqe-n a: pahra-no teng-ad a:d [0'21] go:řwa maqe menjja-ken a: pahr-no teng-ad adi-n menjja-ken e:n [0'25] indeki aca ort gondye-h mi:n-a pič-oti eky-ah goč-ri mi:n-a pič-oti eky-ah [0'32] ada-no goč-r-ik arg-ad [0'35] ada-no nahe-k arg-la mi:nu [0'38] arg-lad anihî nandu e:k-ih [0'41] nandu sohja-hi jalc-keh kir-ih andaře [0'43] nandu e:k-ih nandu sohja-hi jalc-keh kir-ih andaře [0'46] a: dosra-r nandu mo:t-mo:to-n jalc-le kir-ner [0'50] kir-ner ani indra a:n-ih de [0'52] aju: pote e:ne inda-ken kir-ne-n to [0'57] ujaři-hi aqa-male-r-ine dukare:tr-in de [0'59] e:n ikkin-i men-en a:n-ko [1'01] dosra-h i:kasa:r-u-h awdy-ah i:kasa:r-u-h awdy-ah [1'05] aře ni:n ninga-dq:ni-n angoc men-a [1'08] mal tembru niř-ki maqa-n angoc men-a [1'11] ante se ning-a mi:nu arg-anid a:n-ko [1'13] e:n maqe-n indrik angoc men-en [1'16] maqe-n jarmetr-ken [1'18] enja-dq:ni-n angoc men-en a:n-keh ante [1'21] i:he i: kepe acca e:n bar-en [1'24] enj-a bali-pane mi:nu-d arg-lid ano enja-dq:ni-n ciy-len a:ny-ah

[1'29] ani ek-keh ante jale-n cu:ty-ah [1'31] jale-n cu:ty-ah ta:nu sidahro bali-pane minu-d arg-a [1'35] adi-ne peta-keh-tatkeh ante kirtry-ah [1'38] kirtr-keh-tatkeh ante adi-ne idi-ne kinđ-a a:n-keh ante cu:t-keh cic-ah ani kindy-ad [1'45] kinđ-ki moq-qi-tat-kid ante kody-ad [1'48] ante nandu ikna:n-kene arctr-en a:n-keh ante nandu eky-ah [1'54] nandu ina ni:n ka:l-ku=re [1'57] ni:ne e:ne kum-oti pol-in [1'59] ni:n ka:l-ku ante darc-ko barani a:ny-ah [2'01] angoc-paha menj-ah mba [2'02] ante ek-keh ante nandu cu:t-ih-tat-ih cu:t-ih-tatih [2'06] ta:nu a: mi:nu arg-e-ni arg-ola ani [2'08] e: bali-pane mi:nu arg-lid ano e:ne enja-dq:ni-n ciy-len a:ny-ah [2'12] ano nandu bali-pane mi:ndu arg-a [2'14] i:d eky-ad ani awdy-ah de ja:gu-n oy-ku a:n-ko ja:gu-n qe:nd-kid ek-kid ante oky-ad ani awdy-ah de [2'20] enja-dq:ni-n ciy-en e:n bali-pane mi:ndu arg-a:nded a:n-ko [2'24] nandu bali-pane mi:ndu arg-a ani ayi-n cu:ty-ah [2'28] adi-ne i: peli-de cu:t-keh ante are dary-a a:n-ko [2'32] idi-n dary-in ayi-n dary-in nayi-n dary-in a:ny-a anni-hi doba-ke cubqerg-a [2'36] adin mulgr-kid eky-a [2'39] mulgr-ki eky-ad ani i:he olg-olah pa:ř-olah de mi:n-a qow-keh kiry-ah [2'44] a:d to đungy-a đungy-a ani tang-ma:ne-hi mi:n-a qe:nd-keh kiry-ah

[2'51] tang-ma:ne mi:n-a qe:nd-keh kir-keh ante idi-n nuni nuna-ber

I am from here, I am a villager of Ursā. My name is Lokhon.' I am going to tell this story. Please listen.' This is not a very remote [story]. It is not a sad story, nor a funny story.' Still, I heard [it] with my ears. My mother told it [to me] when I was a boy this big.' I heard it as she told [it] when I was a baby-sitter boy.' [It was] like this. Well, a fisherman went to catch fish. He went to catch all the fish.' Then all [other fishermen] caught fish.' Then he did not catch any fish.' No [fish] was caught. He went again to no avail.' He cast his net straight away again, and went back empty-handed.' He went again, cast his net straight away again, and went back empty-handed.' Those other people cast net, [caught] very big [fish] and went back.' They went back. Then what does he say?' "Oh my! Good heavens! I am coming back this way, and' I am making my family unjustly sad.' What shall I do?"' Some evil-minded person said,' "Hey, promise [to give me] your wife.' No, rather you promise [to give me] your son.' Then fish will be caught for you.'" "How shall I promise [him to give] my son?' I begot my son.' I will promise [to give] my wife (as a sacrifice for black magic)." Saying this,' this time, he said, "Okay, I will come.' If I should catch a fish as big as a door, I would give my wife [to you].'''

Then he went and cast a net.' He cast a net. Then a fish as big as a door was really caught.' He took it up and brought it home.' He brought it home, and saying "Cut this," he threw and gave it [to his wife], and she cut it.' She cut it, ate it and lay down.' And he went again, saying "I will somehow lay a snare.'" [He said] again, "Would you go today, dear?' I will not be able to carry [the fish].'" Would you go, take [the fish] and carry it home?"' He said this.' He made a promise, didn't he?' Then he went and cast [a net] and so on again.' Then he did not catch such a fish.' He said, "Oh, if a fish as big as a door would be caught, then I would give my wife away.'" Once again, a fish as big as a door was caught.' She went and he said, "Bring food along.'" Then she took food along, went and sat down. Then he said (to himself),' "I will give my wife away. I want to catch fish as big as a door.'" Again a fish as big as a door was caught. He threw away that [fish] (on purpose).'  
When he threw it away, [he said to] her, this wife, "Catch it, dear.'" When she said 'I'll catch this! I'll catch that!', he plunged her into the water.' She dived [into the water] and went away.' She dived [into the water] and went away. Then he neither cried nor wept, carried the fish on his shoulder and went back.' She was drowned. She was drowned. Then he carried the fish for himself and went back.'

Having carried the fish for himself and returned, he said, "Boys and girls,

kind-a mi:n-a a:n-ko [2'57] iko nde aya o: ning-aya qaqe-k korc-a [3'00] idin kind-a a:n-ko kind-ner mo:c-ner kind-ner mo:c-ner ante kindy-ah [3'05] ante nandu awd-ih iko aya-d abo [3'09] mala qaqe-k korc-ad bar-id lega kind-a bit-a a:n-ko [3'12] nandu bit-ar-ut-ar bit-ar-ut-ar ante nandu men-ner [3'16] abo iko aya e:m ja:gu-n otr-lid [3'20] o: bar-anid ako mba lega otr-a ande lap-et a:ny-ah [3'23] ante a:n-ko ante a:bere duke-duke-ti-hi olc-olc-hi ja:gu-n otry-ar otr-ker ante lapy-ar [3'30] lap-ker-tat-ker ante ko:q-pahra nandu awd-ner [3'34] abo iko aya o: ma:qond bar-ani amb-a ta:n lega lap-et ande qandr-et a:n-ko [3'39] ante nandu lap-ker ante qandry-ar [3'41] lap-ker ante qandry-ar ante qo:k-ner ok-ner qo:k-ner ok-ner [3'44] toqry-ad a:d a:d to kec-a mba i:ber maqe-r nandu qo:k-ner [3'48] ante apt-ond amat menj-ad ani abo iko aya abo iko aya olc-ner [3'54] olc-a-hi qo:k-ner ante a:h to taŋg-ma:ne se kir-ih bar-ih [4'00] mi:n-ik ikahi sikare-k ikt-ikt[e:k-ih] ante kir-in bar-in a:n-keh ante

[4'06] qoky-ah ani i: dosra male-r awdy-ar de [4'10] i: dosra male-r awdy-ar de e: maqe-r ni:m ning-aya-n ca:me-n pa:t-a a:n-ker [4'18] ca:me pa:t-po-d po [4'21] ta:ke-puli menj-a-ki bar-a=re-r aya ta:ke-puli menj-a-ki bar-a=re-r aya [4'31] a:ny olc-ar ako a: maqe-r po [4'34] i:d udyar-kid ek-kid ante ta:nd qolcr-ni okety-a [4'37] ta:nd qolcr-ni oket-ki ante i:-pet a:ny qetuwr-ni i:-pet qalc-ni [4'42] qetuwr qetuwr ante akawaka-akawaka bit-a [4'44] bit-a-taty-a bit-a-taty-a ante loly-a [4'48] lol-kid-tatkid ante i:d niŋ-ki-d i: niŋ-ki niŋ-ki niŋ-abo qermbru-ki-d a:n-i [4'53] a:n-kid ante udyar-kid eky-a [4'55] ante nandu qo:k-ner ok-ner qo:k-ner ok-ner ante i:h (awd-ih) de kiry-ah [4'59] nandu kir-keh ante a: maqa ja:gu-n ne: bit-a [5'01] e:m bita-kem a:n-ih [5'03] na:ber to teŋg-olar mba e:m bita-kem a:n-ih [5'06] ante nandu nandu dosra dine nandu nandu awd-ner [5'11] take-puli menj-a-ki bar-a=re-r aya take-puli menj-a-ki bar-a=re-r aya a:n-ih [5'22] a:ny olc-ar ani nandu i:de udyar-kid ek-ki ta:nd qolcr-ni oket-kid nandu [5'27] i:-pet qetuwr-a da:li-n i:-pet qetuwr-a ti:qal-a [5'28] nandu bit-a od-a bita od-a nandu awdy-a de [5'32] i:d niŋ-ki i:d niŋ-ki niŋ-ki ning-abo qermbru-ki [5'36] a:n-ki urq-qid nandu urq-qi tirry-ad [5'39] urq-qi tirry-ad a:n-in-tat-in a:n-ko ante i:h kir-ih [5'43] dine-game ja:gu ko:q-i [5'45] ne: bit-id a: nuni a:n-ko [5'48] e:mi-hi bit-im a:n-ner a:ber ho teŋg-olar ani a:ber ho teŋg-olar

[5'54] ani dosra male-r awdy-ar de aŋe ni:n i: maqe-r-ik ne:de ja:gu-n ciy-ani ne:de ti:qal-a ciy-ani [6'02] ni:nu ga je:se cary-ne ujaŋi-hi cary-ne de i: maqe-r-ik toho-d bar-id

cut this fish." "Where is mom?" "Yeah, your mother went into the jungle (to the bathroom)." When he said, "Cut this," they cut and chopped, cut and chopped, and he divided it.' Then [the son] asked again, "Dad, where is mom?" "No, she went into the jungle. She will come. Come on, cut and cook." Again they cooked and so on, and they asked again, "Dad, where is mom? She would serve [us] food." He said, "Yeah, maybe she will come, okay? Come on, serve [the food] and then let us eat." Then, when he said this, they served food very sadly, crying and crying, and ate.' Having eaten and so on, they said again when they went to bed, ' "Dad, where is mom?" "Yeah, she will come home tomorrow morning. Leave it. Now let us eat up and sleep." Then they ate and went to sleep.' They ate and went to sleep. And they carried on living.' [He said] "She passed away. She died, okay?" These children carried on living again.' Then a week had passed. Then they wept saying, "Where is mom, dad? Where is mom, dad?" They wept [every day], and he came back all by himself.' He went here and there to [catch] fish or to hunt, saying "I will be back."

He lived. Then these other people said, ' these other people said, "Hey kids, you sing a song to your mother." — [I] have to sing a song, right? — ' [4'21] "(Singing) Be a wind or a whirlwind and come back, mom." Those children wept [singing] so, right?' She came flying and then sat down on the threshold under the doorway.' She sat down on the threshold under the doorway, winnowing [grains] away to this side like that and shaking off (?) to this side.' Winnowing and winnowing, she cooked [rice] busily.' She cooked and so on, and ladled it out.' Having ladled out [the cooked rice, she gave it saying] "This is yours. This is yours. This is for your father['s] dead body." Having said this, she flew and went away.' Then they carried on living, and he came back.' He came back again [and asked] "Son, who cooked the food?" He said, "We cooked [it]." They did not tell [the truth], right? He said, "We cooked [it]." And on another day, they said again and again.' "Be a wind ... (Repeat 4'21)" They cried so. Then again, she came flying, sat on the threshold under the doorway, and again,' she winnowed lentils. She winnowed rice.' Again she cooked and burned, cooked and burned, and said again.' "This is yours. This is yours. This is for your father['s] dead body.' Having said this, she went out and took off again.' She went out and took off. Saying "I'll do this and that," the father came back.' Cooked food was placed there every day.' "Who is cooking, my dear?" They say "We are cooking." They do not tell him either. They do not tell him either.'

Then other people said, "Come on, who would give food to these children? Who would give them rice?" See, while you are rambling, while you are rambling thoughtlessly, the mother comes for these children.'

[6'07] toho barc-le se i: ja:gu bit-a bit-a ciy-id [6'10] de ni:ne ba:lke-ne ka:jak ba:ç-ku gundç-ku cupj-ku ante [6'16] ino:pane cukçj-no ba:lke-ne am-a qorq-qe oktr-a:ne [6'21] ante ta:nd duwar-nihi il-ane [6'23] ta:nd duwar-nihi il-ane ante na:de indra (qed-ik) qed-a korr-kid qedy-onde qedy-onde ta:nd-ek argtr-ani qedy-onde pisi [6'34] anonde-nihi ni:ne balk-am-a purc-ke tey-ane [6'37] purc-ke tey-ane ante nayi-n dary-ane a:n-ko [6'41] i:h indra kudy-ah de balk-am-a

[6'44] i:h cupj-keh ante adi-ne qe:nd-keh ij-ah bali-kö:ra-no [6'47] bali-kö:ra-no oq-e-no ija-keh ante i:he indaki nandu maqe-r pa:ty-ar [6'53] ta:ke-puli menj-a-ki bar-a=re-r aya ta:ke-puli menj-a-ki bar-a=re-r aya [7'04] a:ny-hi nandu ta:ke-t udyar-ki barc-a [7'07] qedy-onde ta:nd-e-k kore-a qedy-onde i:t-no ija-a [7'09] anonde-nihi am-a balk-am-a purc-keh tey-ah [7'11] purc-keh tey-ah ani eng-en a:da-ke eng-en a:da-ke eng-en a:da-ke a:ny olg-a [7'15] i:he qemd-keh ij-ah [7'16] eng-en a:da-ke eng-en a:da-ke a:ny olg-a ante idi-n qemd-keh ij-ah ante [7'20] aye-ne inte-nte e:ne na:n-enala inte-nte na:n-enala [7'24] a:n-ko ante a:ber a:n-keri-hi dqky-ar oqce-r menj-ar [7'28] toqry-a i:n-ki agr-te ba:te-d [7'30] i:n-ki menj-ad ako male amby-ad ako de a:gr-te juge-ki saba

### §33 Story of abandoned children.

[0'00] ej-ki janam qepu-d i:ti uqsa ante uqsa-d ej-ki na:mi-d me:sa pahaçiya ba:ñna taç.gade-n e:n [0'11] ante e:n anake kata teñç-oti e:k-in men-ku male-r ho sikar-ku ho [0'17] i:de anake agdu mundoti je: teñçr-naq-qet ante qandru-r qandry-ar men-u-r menj-ar [0'22] ante ne:ka-hi qerw-ik barc-a ne:ka-hi bar-la [0'25] anake to e:r-a iko-cu:q-te male-r ikt-no ja:pane-d adi-n to a:go-laket and-olaket [0'30] i:ber male-r ja:pane-ki male-r barc-ker ante poto kç:cy-ner band-ner [0'33] a:de essa mo:to ka:je-di [0'36] ani sikar-oti ho men-i je:wara saba-n ho [0'39] ani e:n anake teñç e:k-in men-a

[0'42] ort ra:ja-h sat-jin pel-a dqky-ah [0'46] sat-jin pel-a dqky-ah ante na:h indra kudy-ah kajak bawnary-ah [0'52] kajak bawnary-ah na:h indru-ki-n bawnary-ah [0'54] i: lape-d aty-la na:h qe:qlu kame menj-a [0'58] na:h indru-ki kame menj-a sat-jin pel-a dqky-ah pir:se qe:qlu ho ga:qe menj-a ja:di menj-a [1'03] ante na:h ugle:c-ah kide maqu-h men-lah [1'07] nanond sat-jin pel-er-ki bi:ce-no maqe-r paydar-u men-lar [1'10] maqu maq-ond=goçe jarmar-lah [1'11] ani ugle:c-le bawnary-ah kide qe:qlu-ki kame mala-ken pel-ki kame mala-ken [1'16] de:si-ki kame (male)mala-ken ta:nu eng-a maqu mala-h [1'19] e:n aga anake uj-in nanond se maja embe-n embe-n lap-in [1'23] to key-en a: pahra-no key-oti ko:q-in a: pahra eng-a ne:d ondr-ki qat-anid eng-a am-a da [1'27] am-a qe:g-en ja:gu-n qe:g-en a: pahra-no

The mother comes and gives them this food, cooking and cooking.' You grind turmeric, powder and pound it very well, and' melt that turmeric in water and keep it in an earthen cup this big.' And then you stand at the threshold of the door.' You will stand at the threshold of the door, then she will put her leg in, and make one leg cross the threshold and have the other behind [the threshold].' At that moment, you throw the turmeric water over her.' You will throw [the turmeric water over her,] then you will catch her.'" What did he do with the turmeric water?' He pounded [turmeric], carried it and stood near the door.' He stood hiding near the door, and now the children sang again.' "Be a wind ... (Repeat 4'21)" Then again, [the mother] came flying with the wind.' One leg entered the threshold, and the other stood on this side.' At that point he threw the turmeric water over her.' He threw [the turmeric water], then she cried saying "You have erased me, you have erased me.'" He stood holding [her] (i.e. his wife, who was restored to life) under his arm.' She cried "You have erased me, you have erased me," and he stood holding [her] under his arm.' "From today on, I will not do such a thing. I will not do such a thing.'" Saying this, they lived together that way. They have become husband and wife [again].' [The story] is over this way. It is a story of olden times.' It seems to have been like this, or not. It is a story of olden times.'

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My native village is here, Ursu. My name is Mesa Pahariya, son of Barnya.' I am now going to tell a story. Listen, people, and learn.' Formerly, [when] we told anything, those who slept fell asleep, those who listened listened.' For some people, it came into the ears. It didn't for others.' Now see, how far away [these] people [are] from? We don't know or find out where Japan is.' These people, people from Japan, came and took pictures.' That is a very big job.' [He] also wants to learn some story.' So I am telling now. Listen.'

A king had seven wives.' He had seven wives, and what did he do? He worried a lot.' He worried a lot. What did he worry about?' Was he out of food? Or was he short of land?' What was he short of? He had seven wives. What is more, he had a lot of land. He had a lot.' And he was thinking that he had no offspring.' Of as many as seven wives, no children were born.' Not even one child was born.' Then he thought and got worried, "There is no shortage of land, no shortage of women.' There is no shortage of land, still I have no child.' As long as I am alive, I will eat delicious food.' When I am dying, when I am on my deathbed, who will bring me water?' When I

eng-en ne: tant-bant men-ani a:n-le awdy-ah [1'32] a:n-le ugle:c-le nah(en) bawnary-ah ante indra kudy-ah

[1'36] pakire dine-game eky-ah dine-game cic-le tey-ah da:n a:n-le cic-ah [1'40] pe:sa becc-a ta:nu pe:sa-n cic-ah mal ta:n *ana:je* cic-ah [1'43] qes-a ti:qal-a jawe-n gohme cic-ah [1'46] ayi-ki ba:de-no na:h indra kudy-ah pakire eky-ah na:n-le bawna:r dqky-ah ade-nihi pakire ek-ko awdy-ah kide [1'52] pakire naq-olah naq-olah ante awq-ih kide pakire-h co:ca-keh tirry-ah ani [2'00] aqe bar-ta:nu bar-ta:nu a:ny-ah bi:k-keh kir-try-ah ante a:h menj.e:r-ih [2'03] de e:n anake bar-olaken ultar-ken [2'05] e:n e:k-in ada-k a:n-ko mala bar-a [2'08] inond pahra ok-ken e:n ga:j-n e:r-ken e:n das pandra minat menj-a ga:j-de [2'12] ano ni:n eng-a indra-go:j da:n nan-lake [2'15] anake indrik e:k-en a:n-ko mala bar-a ta:n e:n to:ga bawna:r-ken [2'19] ra:ja-n=e e:n a:c-ne ni:n pakire ada-no e:nond beh-id ok-id go:j-e-n a:c-ne ni:n pakire [2'23] lekin e:n ante pel-a ho e:na-jin do:k-in ni:n a:c-ne [2'27] ni:n and-ne go:j-nihi sat-jin do:k-in [2'29] ta:nu eng-a maqe-r mala-r [2'31] i:d aga maqe-r mala-r ta:nu naprar-ken koq.naprar-ken eng-a ne:de am-a qat-anid ja:gu-n qat-anid [2'37] pel-er aga urq-quer boqg-u-r se naq [2'40] kec-ah to:rc-ah ujy-ah anond se nam-ki eng-a da:we-h menj-ah a:n-ner [2'44] a: maqe-h aga aya-abo-h takary-ah a:n-le ja:gu-n qaq-tr-eh am-a qaq-tr-eh [2'48] a:n-le e:n ayi-n se bawnar-le do:k-a ok-in niqg-e da:n nan-olaken a:n-le awdy-ah

[2'51] ani o: nadi-ki *cinta*:-no ok-ne ante e:n a:c-in=pahā [2'55] niq-ki bagane-no meca pa:ł-onde-hi ła:łce-d ok-i [2'59] adi-ne e:k-ku ante pał-ond peh-ku ca:ce-n ante awq-ane kide [3'04] sida:-hi e:ne (ort) irw mułs.maqe-r-in and-in ta:nu [3'12] na: ła:łce-n muł-ond-ti ettr-en a:n-ke ante iŋj-ane a:n-le awdy-ah pakire-h [3'15] ani ek-keh ante e:r-ih ta:nu bed-a kud-ih man-a [3'18] ta:nu pa:ł-onde ok-i meca ła:łce-man-no [3'20] ani awdy-ah kide sida eng-a irw mułs.maqe-r jarimar-ner ta:n i: ła:łce-n muł-ond-ti ettr-en a:n-keh ante iŋj-ah [3'26] muł-onde-ti-hi īh tey-ah ła:łce-n [3'28] peta-keh ante kir-try-ah [3'31] kirtry-ah adi-n go:j-e-r-ik ciy-ku a:ny-ah

[3'33] lekine a:ber to pel-er a:ratr-naq-ner mba [3'37] a:ratr-naq a:ratr-naqe-tihi ła:łce-n cud-peli-k qałc-le tey-ar am-ik [3'42] am-ik eky-ad ka:l-a ni:n am-ik e:k-a e:m ba:l-em basg-em ante niqg-a ki:d-em [3'47] *isa* nan-kem ca:g-kem ante ki:d-em a:n-le awdy-ar bakra-n [3'51] ante na:d eky-a anonde-nihi i:ber bacr-kodr-naq-im a:n-le a: ła:łce-n ba:l-ker ante moq-ar [3'57] moq-ar ante ada-no indru gepu mo:c-it a: gepu kody-ad ano [4'01] ani am-ente barc-ki tab tirry-ar a: moq-quer lap-ker ante

beg for water, when I beg for food, who will help me?" He said this. ' Thinking so, he worried, and what did he do?'

An ascetic went [there] every day. He gave [him] alms and sent [him] off every day. ' If there was money, he gave money. If not, he gave grains.' He gave [him] paddy, rice, barley and wheat. ' What did he do after that? The ascetic came, and he was worried like that. Then the ascetic came and addressed [him]. ' He did not answer the ascetic. The ascetic addressed [him], stood up, and left. ' He said, "Come back, come back!" He called him, made him come back, and asked. ' "I won't turn around and come back. I am going home." Then [the king] said, "No, come." "I was sitting for such a long time. I saw the clock and it [showed that] ten or fifteen minutes had passed. ' Then you did not give any alms to me. ' Now why should I come back?" When he said this, [the king said,] "No, come. I was a little worried. ' See, I am a king. You are an ascetic, and you know how much there is at home. You know everything. You are an ascetic. ' But you know how many wives I have. ' You know [them] all, don't you? I have seven. ' I have no child. ' If I have no child, then when I get sick, when I lie sick, who will give me water; who will give me food? ' Women will go out and run away. ' If one is dead, he is okay. As long as he is alive, they say 'We have a husband.' ' A son will give food, give water, saying 'Mom and dad are tired.' ' I was worrying about it that way, and was sitting. [So] I did not give you alms." He said this.'

Then [the ascetic said,] "Yes, I of course know you are sitting worrying about it. ' There is a mango [fruit] up in your garden. ' Go to that and take up one stone and you will say, ' If I really get two sons'. ' Saying 'I will knock down that mango at once', throw [the stone at the mango]." The ascetic said this. ' Then he went and looked. Then he walked around looking for a tree. ' Then there was a [mango] on a tall mango tree. ' Then he said, "If I really have two sons, I will knock down this mango at once." Having said this, he threw [the stone at it]. ' He hit the mango [and it fell] at once. ' He took it up and brought it home. ' He took it home and told [the wives] to give it to all [of them].'

But those wives became mean to each other, didn't they? ' Becoming mean to each other [about] the mango, they scolded the youngest wife and sent her for water. ' She went for water. "You go for water. We will cut, peel, and keep [the mango] for you. ' We will divide, distribute, and keep your share for you." They said this. ' While she was gone, they said, "We will steal [it] and deprive her of [this]," and they cut and ate the mango. ' They ate, and there was a stalk — the stalk that we cut — left at home. ' When she came back from [bringing] water, they had gone away, after eating [the

[4'05] am-ente barc-kid kaṣa-n oktr-kid ante bed-a kud-i aqa-n ta:n ṭa:ṭge mala [4'08] ko:ḍ-ola aqa-no ca:g-pe bakra [4'11] ani i:de aqa-no er-i er-i ta:nu er-i er-i oca-kid ante ṭa:nḍ-ku:ṭe-no gepu kody-a pet-a ante qa:ry-a [4'16] qa:ry-ad ante a: er-ki ba:k-ki tu:sy-a [4'22] te ḍoky-ad oky-ad ḍoky-a (ge)ta:nu goṭe-r-ki gandj-nihi mala-r [4'26] orte-ki na: gepu-n qa:ry-a adi-ki gandj-ni becc-a [4'30] ba:ri menj-ad ante ḍoky-a oky-a payda:ry-a

[4'34] payda:ry-a ani adi-n indra kud-eh na:h to sikare-k eky-ah ḍa:we-h ra:ja-h [4'39] sikare-k eky-ah ante na:he eky-ah ayi-ki ba:de-no a: payda:r-(n)e-ki ba:de [4'44] awdy-ah eky-ah a: pahr awdy-ah kide pa:ṭ-ond duke-ki-n baja:tr-ku pa:ṭ-ond suke-ki-n baja:tr-ku [4'48] a:n-keh me:ṇṇ-keh eky-ah dole-n [4'50] ani a: dole-ne na:he indro nadi-n akr-ker ante suke-ki dole-n baja:try-ar [4'54] suke-ki dole-n baja:try-ar dole-n baja:try-ar ante baja:try-ar a: pel-er so:-jin pel-er baja:try-ar [5'08] nadi-n qaqc akr-ker ante baja:try-ar [5'09] ani barc-ah barc-keh ante e:r-ih [5'11] ta:nu a: maq-a peta-ker ocker kumbare-r kuṭ-ner a: dari-no tu:sy-ar [5'16] tu:sy-ar ante i:bere iṭa-n ki:d-ar iṭa-n ki:d-ar [5'21] iṭa-n ki:d-ar ante (ut) iṭa-n ba:c.uṭa-kar ki:d-ar [5'26] a: to am-ente kir-kid ante na:pra-d ide payda:r-pe gandj mba takary-a [5'33] barc-a ar ko:ḍ-et-i ka:ṭi-no [5'34] to maqu male pa:nu ciny-ola=jahā menjcoj-ki ko:ḍ-id a:d e:r-ola

[5'38] ta barc-keh ante e:r-ih [5'39] e:r-a ninga-ḍa:ni-d ujarī awd-i kide maqo-ta:we-n a:n-le ka:je-n kud-ola [5'44] e:r-a i:ṭa menjcoj-ki ko:ḍ-id argr-ker e:d-ner [5'46] a: maq-a andu oca-ker kumbare-r kuṭ-ner a: dari-no tu:sy-ar [5'49] ante indra kudy-ah ayi-n baj-akry-ah ayi-n [5'51] i:-pade-r ka:je-ne aqa-ki tant-bant-en pa:ry-er i:n-le kud-u-r [5'55] a:n-keh ante sahi-d a:n-yah baj-akr-keh bicry-ah [5'58] ante ade-ki pu:p-bagane-k pu:p-bagane-k eky-a ante eky-a a: peli-d toho-d

[6'05] ante kumbare-ber orce-r a:ber maq-balo-r menj-ar [6'09] a:ber maq-balo-r a:ber ek-ker ante kumbare-(n)[r] karahi-n kuṭ-oti e:k-u-r awdy-ar kide [6'14] a: maqe-r olc-i epṭi-bupṭi men-ner [6'16] ani na:he na: buḍa-buḍi de maq-balo-r menj-ar na:ber ho anda-ker ante are [6'21] ikni mal-maqu=ṭe oy-et ek-a oc-ar [6'24] peta-ker oca-ker ante tiyar na:m maq-balo-t a:n.naq-quer ante oca-ker ante aqa-no e:ṭe-n qot-ar [6'28] e:ṭe-n qota-ker ante qe:s-a aqa-no paṭatry-ar [6'31] ante a:de paṭatr-keh ante maq-ta:we-m a:n-le a:ber ḍoky-ar [6'38] ḍoky-ar ante a: maqa payda:ry-a a:n-le ne: male-r aq-ar i:de paydary-a a:n-le [6'43] ante ḍoky-ar oky-ar a: maqe po:sc-ar-tatyar cartry-

mango].' She came back from [bringing] water, put down the jar, and walked around the house searching, then there was no mango.' It is not in the house, [her] share that was divided.' Then she swept the house. Then while she was sweeping, there was a stalk near the threshold. She took it up and bit it off.' She bit it off, and she swept, gathered the dust and threw it away.' She carried on living. Then nobody got pregnant.' The one that bit the stalk off got pregnant.' She got pregnant. She carried on living, and [the two babies] were born.'

[The babies] were born. Then what did he do? The husband, the king, went hunting.' He went hunting, and after that, after [the babies] were born,' he said when he was going, "Beat one [drum] of sadness. Beat one [drum] of happiness.'" He said this, and made drum [teams] and went.' And they drove her (i.e. the youngest wife) away and they beat only the drum of happiness.' They beat the drums of happiness. Those six wives beat [the drums].' They drove her away abusing, and beat [the drums].' Then he came back. He came back and saw.' Then they had taken up those boys, and had thrown them in the hole where potters fire [pottery].' After they threw [them] in, they put bricks [in the place of the boys].' They put bricks. They covered the brick with cloth and laid it.' She came back from water, and the sickness — I mean, it is a body that just gave birth, right? — she was tired.' She came back, and lay down on a bed.' You can't tell whether it is a baby or an egg. She lay holding it (i.e. the brick). She did not look [at it].'

He came back and saw.' "Look! This is your wife. She just says 'I have babies' and does not work.' Look! She is lying holding bricks." They made him climb and showed [her to him].' They took the babies, and threw them in the hole where potters burn [pottery].' Then what did he do? He beat her and kicked her out.' "Would such women be able to take care of the household work, [women] who do [things] like this?"' Having said this, he said, "That's true." He beat her, kicked her out and sent her away.' Then she, the wife, the mother, went to her flower garden.'

Then the potters' couple had no child.' They had no child. They went [to the kiln], and the potters who went [to the kiln] to burn pans said,' "Those children are crying. They are wriggling.'" Then that old man and woman, who had no child, they also found them and [said] "My! Why are human babies [here]? Let's take them and go." And they took [them].' They took them up and took them away. Saying "We actually have no child" to each other, they took them [home], and killed a goat at home.' They cut a goat and soaked the house with [its] blood.' And having soaked [the house with] blood, they said, "We had children," and lived.' They lived. Then all the people learned that these [babies] were born there.' Then they carried on

ar a:qtry-ar [6'48] ante ante na: maqe i:palka-i:palka lehary-ar [6'53] ante indra kudy-ar a:ber to abo-aya a:ny-ar [6'56] ante awdy-ar kide abo em-a kank-gojo-n me:pj-a qat-le a:n-le awdy-ar [7'01] ani kank-gojo-n me:pj-ker cic-ar kumbare buđa-budya ořge-r [7'04] me:pj-ker ante awdy-ar kide na:bere oc-a kelar-oti pokari-bajo [7'11] a: pahr-no ca:me-d i:t-bahante bey-a amb-a ta:no oc-ar ante awdy-ar indro mal-saba-t teŋg-en [7'22] awdy-a kide abo kank-gojo-n me:pj-a qat-a ani awdy-a kank-gojo me:pj-ah ante oc-ar kide [7'27] ra:ja-ki pokari ki kank-gojo o:n-a o:n-a a:n-le mulctr-ner a:ber [7'33] ra:ja-ki po[kari] (e:tu a: saba-d i: a: saba-d i: ca:me men-li indro-d indi-t men-lid ad-in mal[-saba-t] teŋg-in) ra:ja-ki pokari-ki am-a kank-gojo o:n-a o:n-a a:n-le awd-ner mulctr-ker a:n-ner

[7'48] ani i: so:jin pel-er e:r-ker ante awd-ner kide na:m i: na:m tu:s-kit a: maqe-r [7'53] anih i ra:ja-n awd-ner [7'55] a:ber bujary-ar bujar-ker ante awdy-ar kide i: maqe-r ikna:n pit-et lega [8'00] a:n.naq-ker ante din-onde-no a:da-no bisi-n bicr-i ante oc-ar [8'04] ante e: maqe-r e: bar-ta:nu bar-ta:nu indrik bar-ta:nu mba [8'09] ante eky-ar ek-ker ante qac-ker ante mo:q-oti amaq:a:r-ih ka me:gro-h [8'13] ani cuđe-h awd-ih de baiya mo:q-oma amb-a [8'16] ida-no indru indru beh-i na:de ok-id and-olake qa:qe [8'19] qa:qe-k ciy-ih ta:nu qac-keh cuđe-h cic-ah [8'21] qa:qe moq-ad ar kec-a ani e:r-ne baiya idi-n awd-ken [8'25] mo:q-omku a:n-ken na:m je:wara indra-gote ja:gu lap-it a: pahra qe:ql-no bicr-it bicr-it ani lap-oti men-i [8'32] a:-joka-hi cu:t-ket cica-ket e:r-a a:n-keh qa:qe moq-a na:m ani se a:g-it ate na:m mo:q-let ano nam key-let a:n-le awdy-ah taŋgđo [8'38] ante na:ber to cic-ar aro tirry-ar mba [8'41] a:t-ni il-no to ni:m pit-ker a:n-ler nde a:n-le [8'43] tirry-ar ante pir:se nandu ek-ker ante qo:k-ner hi [8'46] ra:ja-ki pokari-ki i: kank-gojo-n ino o:n-a o:n-a a:n-le am-no muloctr-ker a:n-ner duba:tr-le

[8'52] ani i: a:n-le qo:k-ner dine-ni a:n-le kelar-ner [8'55] ante din-onde-no mala i:ber-ik jilabi-no bisi me:pj-et a:n.naq-ker ante [8'59] bisi-n jilabi-no bara:try-ar [9'02] ante oca-ker cic-ar e: maqe-r bar-ta:nu bar-ta:nu oc-ar [9'04] eky-ar a: maqe-r ante nandu cic-ar [9'07] nandu cica-ker ante awd-ner kide na:ber cic-ar boŋg-ar ante nandu taŋg-baiya-h mo:q-leh ka amaq:a:r-le gařary-ah [9'14] jilabi to embe emb-ci:je mba mo:q-leh amaq:a:r-ih [9'17] ante awd-ih de baiya amb-a mo:q-oma [9'19] adi-n and-lake nandu indru=baru beh-id a:g-ne [9'22] na:m mo:q-et ta:nu key-et [9'23] de a: ale ko:d[-i] a: ale-k ciy-ih ta:nu ale-k cic-ah

living. They brought up those boys.' And those children had become this big.' Then what did they do? They said, "Dad, mom." They said, "Dad, would you make a wooden horse and give [it to us]?" Then the couple of the old potter and his wife made a wooden horse and gave it to them.' They made it and said, "They took [it] to the pond in order to play." At that time a song [was heard] from here (— Leave it, then). — They took it and said that. Shall I tell [about it] in Malto?' They said, "Dad, make a wooden horse and give [it to us]." Then he made one, and they took it, and' saying, "It's the king's pond. Drink, drink, wooden horse!" they sank it in [the water].' Saying "It's the king's pond. — Okay, this is that story. This song would be in Hindi. I will tell it in Malto — Drink, drink, wooden horse!" they sank it in [the water] and said [this].'

Then these six wives saw [them] and said, "They are the boys that we threw away." They told [nothing to] the king.' They found out. They found out and said, "How shall we kill these boys? Come along!" They were saying this. Then one day, one put poison (in a piece of bread) at home and they took it along.' Then [they said,] "Hey, kids! Come, come!" "Why?" "Come, okay?" Then they went. They tore [a piece] off and the elder brother was about to eat it.' Then the younger brother said, "Brother, don't eat it. Leave it.' There is something in it. There is a crow there, don't you see?" When [they decided to] give it to the crow, the younger brother tore [a piece] and gave [it to the crow].' The crow ate it and died. "You see, brother? This is what I said.' I said 'Don't eat [it]'. Whenever we eat something, we will put some on the ground; we have to eat [after] putting [some] on the ground.' Like that, let us see after throwing and giving [some food]. A crow ate it, so we found out. If we ate it instead, we would have died." The younger brother said this.' And they gave [the food] and went away, didn't they?' If they were standing there, [people] would say, "You killed them," right?' They went away, and again they went [home] and lived.' In the king's pond, they sank this wooden horse in the water saying "Drink here, drink," dipping [it in the water].'

Then they lived that way, and they played that way every day.' And one day, [the six wives] said to each other, "No, we will make *jalebi* with poison for them." They filled the *jalebi* with poison.' And they took it and gave it, [saying] "Hey kids, come, come!" Those boys went, and they gave it again.' They gave it and [the boys] said, "They gave [us this] and ran away." Then again, the elder brother was eager to eat [it].'*Jalebi* is a tasty thing, isn't it? He was about to eat [it].' Then he said, "Brother, leave it. Don't eat it.' Didn't you see? Do you know what on earth is in it?' If we eat [it], we will die." Then [they decided to] give it to the dog that was lying, and

[9'24] to ale moq-ad ar kec-a [9'26] ani e:r-ne baiya idi-n awd-ken [9'29] ante na:m indrik mo:q-it na:m to anake nam-en ti i:ber pi:t-oti se ko:sis laga:tr-ner [9'34] baiya lekin na:m anake aqa-k kir-etala [9'39] de lega am-ik kor-et a:ny-ar

[9'40] am-ik kor-et a:n-ker ante i:di pu:p-a qend-ker barc-ker sahi-no i: pu:p-joka pu:p lehar-ker ij-ar a:ber irw maqe-r [9'48] pu:p lehar-ker ante ij-ar am-no [9'51] ante am-no lehar-ker ij-ar pu:p lehar-ker ante [9'53] a:ber key-olar a:ber am-no lekin pu:p lehar-ker ij-ar [9'57] ante ra:ja-ki to no:kryo-r male-r sijnate-ki sijnate-r ho no:kryo-n qo:k-tr-ner [10'02] a:joka-hi nahe-k no:kryo-r male-r becc-ar [10'04] a:ber to pokari-no e:ry-ar aqa-bahno e:ry-ar [10'07] a: male-r ek-ker ante and-ar kide pu:pu-d il-i kide [10'10] ca:me-d anake ca:me-n se ik.ja:ti teng-en ako ante indra a:n-le awdy-a te [10'19] *ra:ja ca:ku:ri amar nije ma:y pu:ler bagan kahu ka:y te kawai* [10'30] *ra:ja ca:ku:ri amar nije ma:y pu:ler ba:gan kahu ka:y te kawai* [10'42] a:n-le pa:ty-ar na: maqe-r [10'43] ada-no a:ber indra male-n and-er lekin ca:me to qerw-ik kor-i [10'47] a: pu:pu se lajar-id i:n-le [10'49] ceng-cengcijo et-id arg-id adi-n e:r-ner [10'51] ante ba:de-no na:ber kir-yar majaqani pu:p=te essa mi:pj-ide [10'56] i: pu:p-a oca-ket ante (laqdur) ra:ja-ki aqa-du:re id-let ta:nu [10'59] mi:pjo men-lid sa:jar-le mba a:n.naq-ner a:ber [11'02] e:nond se cehra menj-ad ako [11'04] ante ante na:ber kir-ker ante no:kryo-r kir-ker ante teng-ner [11'08] to ra:ja ni:j-ki pokar-no pu:pu-d il-id [11'12] na: pu:pu nam-aqa-k ondr-ket idl-et mba ano nam-a aqa-baha essa mi:pj-li [11'16] essa sajy-li ra:ja-ki aqa-du:ri-d ano sa:jar toq-li a:n-le awd-ner [11'20] am-no ik-pad pu:pu-de mi:pj-o-d il-id a:re nanond a:n-le awd-ih [11'23] patyar-olah e:k-a mba e:r-a:ne ni:n a:n-le awdy-ah [11'27] ante nahe-n jabarjasti oca-ker ante e:d-ner ante il-i a: pahr-no awd-i kide a: pahr-no pu:pu-d awd-i kide [11'34] *ra:ja ba:bu:y amara nije ma:y pu:ler bagan kahu ka:y te ka:wai* [11'45] *ra:ja ba:bu:y amara nije ma:y pu:ler bagan kahu ka:y te ka:wai*

[11'56] a:n-le pa:ty-ar ani na: pa:ty-ar ani na:h awdy-ah ay ej.gade a:ny-ah [12'01] ay ej.gade-bagter a:ny-ah ke:ponti a:ber doq-a-k be:gy-ar a:ber pokari-nte ahe-ki doq-a-k be:gy-ar [12'07] doq-a-k be:g-ko ante kirtry-ah kirtr-keh ante aqa-no muc-keh oktry-ah [12'12] muc-keh oktry-ah ante ba:de-no a:di-nte ma:qu bijy-a dusra dine ma:qond awd-ih kide [12'19] a:ber teng-olar i: tambako-h men-olah de a: maqe-r-hi teng-ner kide [12'24] abo ni:n maqe-le:KKI ni:n ki:wa menj-a-ke [12'29] ta:nu (ni:m) anake e:m payda:r-kem ante ning-a apoki bar-oti menj-a [12'33] ta:nu ni:n aya-n baj-akr-ke pu:p-bagane-no qo:k-i aya-d [15'21] a:n-ko ante na:h a:n-le teng-ah ani se ante na:he indra kud-eh

gave it to it.' Then the dog ate it and died.' "You see, brother? This is what I said.' Why are we going to eat [that poison]? Now, they are trying to kill us.' Brother, let's not go home now.' Let's go. Let's go into water." They said this.'

Saying "Let's go into water," they came carrying flowers, and having really become like flowers, turning themselves into flowers, those two boys stood [there].' They turned themselves into flowers and stood on the [edge of the] water.' Then they turned themselves into water and were standing [there].' They did not die, on the [edge of the] water, but they turned themselves into flowers and were standing.' And the king had servants. Rich people have servants.' Like that, he had servants.' They kept guard of the pond, they kept guard of the palace.' Those men went and found that flowers are standing [there].' Now [there is] a song. I will somehow tell the song, too. What did it say?" "(Singing) King's servants, the crows drove our mother to the flower garden' (repeated)." Those boys sang so.' They did not see any person there. But the song went into their ears.' Just those flowers were moving like this.' They were compassionately seeing those [flowers] rocking up and down.' Afterwards, they came back, [saying] "There were beautiful flowers. They looked very nice.' If we would take these flowers and stand them at the door of the king's palace, then' being adorned, [it] would look very nice, wouldn't it?" They said this to each other.' How pretty they seem to have been!' Then they, the servants, went back and told [the king].' "Your Majesty, flowers are standing on your pond.' If we should bring those flowers to our house and stand them, our house would look very nice.' The king's house and gate would be adorned a lot." They said this.' He said, "What sort of flowers are standing on the water so beautifully?"' He did not believe [it]. He (i.e. the servant) said, "Let's go. You will see." And he took him (i.e. the king) forcibly and showed [the flowers] to him. They were there. At that time the flowers said,' (Singing) "O Raja Babu, the crows drove our mother to the flower garden' (repeated)"'

They sang so. When they sang, he said, "Oh my sons!"' He said, "Oh my sons!" They jumped onto his lap at once. They jumped from the pond to his lap.' When they jumped onto his lap, he took them home. After he took them home, he shut up the palace and put them.' He shut up the palace and put them. And after that, the day dawned, and in the morning of the next day he said.' They (i.e. the wives) did not tell. This father did not ask. These boys told [him],' "Dad, you were longing for a child.' Then we were born, and you were to become happy.' Then you beat and drove mom away and she lives in the flower garden." (*Here the younger brother tells the king what the six wives did.*)' He told [him] so. Then what did he do?'

[15'26] got-pel-er-in-hi so:-jin pel-er-in goṭe-r-in jama:tr-keh ante a:h qot-ah [15'32] qot-ah a:h mba qot-ah ante kor-duwar-no manda-keh ante [15'37] na:h ta:ke-goṭe kor-la:nid a: gađi-n gađi becc-a nahe-k [15'41] a: gađi-t eky-ah ante taŋ-ki maqe taŋ-ki i: maqe-r-ki toho-n ondry-ah [15'45] pu:p-bagane-k ek-keh ante ondry-ah [15'48] ondry-ah ante a: peli-guni na: maqe-r-ki toho-guni-hi doky-ah [15'53] ante eŋ-ki saba-d ongry-a inondi-hi

### §34 Story of a family torn asunder.

[0'00] ort male-h sijnare-h menj-ah [0'03] sijnare-h menj-ah ort male-h a: da:ni-d ho jimida:re menj-a [0'09] jimida:re da:ni menj-a a: da:ni menj-a [0'12] ani sijnare sijnare-r-hi anđr-naq-ar anđr-naq-quer ante doky-ar [0'17] irwa-qad-er-ih i: qo:k-im ok-im bedr-naq-ar mba [0'20] bedr-naq-qo qo:k-im ok-im qo:k-im ok-im a:n-ko ante ort maqe-h paydary-ah [0'25] a:ti-no tam-ada-no ort maqe-h paydary-ah ani i: da:ni-d awdy-a de [0'30] e:k-a abo-ber-ada-k a:ny-a [0'33] abo-ber-ada-k e:k-a a:n-ko aca e:k-a a:n-keh ante eky-ar [0'36] eky-ar ek-ker qo:k-im ok-im qo:k-im ok-im a:n-ner [0'40] ta:nu anno-hi nandu ort maqe-h gandj-no becc-ah [0'45] gandj-no becc-ah ani qo:k-im ok-im i:ber to gole-r to din-ond ul-is dök-ker to kir-lar mba [0'51] ti:n mehna ca:r mehna qo:k-ner [0'53] anonde-nihi ort maqe-h gandj-no becc-ah [0'55] ani gandj-no becc-ah ani awdy-ah de [0'58] are na:m to ti:n-jene-t barc-ket [1'02] anake nandu-hi ca:r-jen-er men-oti bi:r-et [1'05] ning-a gandj-no beh-i anake to ca:r-jen-et men-oti bi:r-et [1'07] de e:k-a eŋ-ki ađa-k [1'10] a:n-ko mala inond-nahā eŋg-a abober-ik qe:qlu ga:ře dana ga:ře taka ga:ře [1'16] dana-daulate goṭe-di beh-id [1'19] indrik e:k-et a:ny-a [1'20] ani mala e:k-a e:nond qo:k-et ino [1'23] a:n-ko na:h na:he na:d awdy-ad e:k-olaken a:n-no [1'29] nandu-hi awđ-ih e:k-a=du:re-hi e:ne i:ti-inte e:k-en nande se [1'33] idi anake a:ti-nte ti:n-jen-et barc-ket ort maqe-n ondr-ket [1'37] nandu-hi i:ti-no ort maqe-h kund-oti beh-i [1'40] e:k-a=du:re-hi niŋ-ki qe:ql-a e:d-en [1'44] eŋg-e anake ik.ja:ti e:k-en e:n a:n-ko [1'47] e:k-a a:ny-ah eřq-a-hi

[1'49] eřq-ah ani eky-ar kiry-ar [1'52] kir-ner e:k-ner boŋg-ner e:k-ner boŋg-ner ta:nu bah-ond gaŋga-k ařsy-ar [1'58] gaŋga-k ařsy-ar ani i: peli-d awđ-id [2'02] aře i: gaŋga-n ik.ja:ti kař-et nam-a a:ny-a [2'06] ik.ja:ti kař-et a:n-ko [2'07] mala e:n kař-tr-en a:n-ko [2'08] ik.ja:ti kař-et a:n-ko i:he acca kař-tr-en e:n a:n-keh ante eky-ah [2'13] i: gaŋga-biře acca ni:n i:ti-no ok-a [2'16] a:n-keh ante biře-no oktr-keh ante [2'18] gaŋga-biře-no gaŋga-biře-no eky-ah [2'20] ek-keh ante a:ber-in i:ber-in awđ-ih indra [2'23] cigalo-n awđ-ih e: cigalo e: mama mama il-a ami [2'27] indru aře ante a: elc-kid boŋg-i se boŋg-i [2'30] indru il-ani ante e:k-i boŋg-i qa:qe-n awđ-ih [2'33] e: ba:y i: qa:qe-n awđ-ih e: ba:y i: a:n-no [2'37] a:d ho qaqa qaqa a:n-id

He gathered all wives, six wives, and he killed them.' He killed [them], right? He killed them, buried them in the entrance door.' He had a car, such that even wind does not come in.' He went on that car, and brought the mother of these children of his.' He went to the flower garden and brought [her back].' He brought [her back], and lived with that wife, the mother of those boys.' My story ends here.'

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There was a rich man.' The man was rich. The wife was also of a landlord [family].' She was [from] a landlord [family]. She was [his] wife.' So rich people met each other. They met and got married.' Living together, the couple loved each other, right?' They were in marriage, lived together, and a boy was born.' There, in their house, a boy was born, and this wife said, ' "Let's go, to [my] father's house." ' When she said "Let's go to [my] father's house," he said "Let's go," and they went.' They went. They said, "We will go and live [there]." ' Then there again, she got pregnant with a boy.' She got pregnant. Then these Hindus did not [just] stay for a day or two and go back, did they?' They were there for three or four months.' At that point, [she] was pregnant with a boy.' When [she] was pregnant, he said, ' "Look, we were three people when we came here.' Now we are going to become four people.' There is [one] in your womb. Now we are going to become four people.' Let's go to my house." ' When he said this, [she said,] "No. My father's family has this much land, much grain, and much money.' [He] has all provisions and riches.' Why are we going to go?" ' Then [the husband said,] "No, let's go. How long are we going to stay here?" ' When [he] said this, she said "I will not go." Then' he said again, "Let's just go. I will still go.' Look, now three of us have come from there. We took one boy along.' Here again, one boy is about to be born.' Let's just go. [Son,] I will show you your land." ' She said, "How shall I go now?" ' He said, "Let's go. Get started."

They got started and went. They went back.' They went back. They went, ran and went. Then they arrived at a river.' They arrived at a river. Then this woman spoke.' She said, "Look, how shall we cross this river?" ' How shall we cross it?" When she said this, ' "No, I will take you over [the river]." ' When he said this, ' She said, "How shall we cross?" ' He said "Well, I will take you over," and went.' On the river bank, [he said] "You sit here." ' Having said this and having made her sit on the bank,' he went on the bank of the river.' He went, and what did he say to these and those people?' He says to a jackal, "Hey, uncle jackal, stop." ' [It said] "Why?" It got scared, ran and ran.' Why will it stop? Going and running, he spoke to a crow.' When he said to the crow "Hey, sister! Hey, sister!"' it also cried "Caw, caw,"

ar ujaṭi-hi sarṇg ṭolar-ki man-ik arg-i [2'41] ante e:k-i boŋg-i e:k-i boŋg-i ante i: toto geci beh-i baru [2'48] bogla qed-et i:n-id i:n-id qet-id i:n-id i:n-id [2'51] i:n-le mi:n-a i:n-le qet-id i:n-le agde kaṭ-tr-le kork-kid kork-a ḍo:k-i nadi-no [2'56] ganga-bitē-no i:h eky-ah ek-keh ante are indru enq-ene i: ganga-n kaṭ-tr-ki qaṭ-li a:n-ko [3'04] aju: e:n ki:ṭe[-nte] qond-ken=paha qet-a qet-a mo:q-a ḍo:k-in ta:nu ikni men-en [3'10] e:t-tole ni:n indra lap-ani nde a:n-ko [3'13] enq-a sawr-ond mi:n-kuk-a qaṭ-a a:n-ko [3'16] i:h ikote-n and-en a:n-le sotyar-keh ok-in ok-in a:n-keh ante gondye-r-waj eky-ah [3'20] ek-keh ante poti-mi:n-a sawar-ond poti-mina oca-ke cic-ah [3'25] oca-ke cicako adi-n moq-a baryary-a [3'27] moq-a baryar-ki ante e:k-a a:n-ko oy-en a:ny-a [3'30] e:k-a a:n-ko oy-en a:n-ki ante oc-a eky-a

[3'33] ek-ko-tatko ante a: oky-ad a:t-bahak a:sy-ar [3'37] aṭs-ker ante aṭs-kid ante awq-id de ni:ne i:t-no ok-a n:i:t-no ok-a a:ny-a [3'43] bogla-de ti:n-jen-er-in got-er-in qo:qe-k arg-try-a [3'47] qo:qe-k arg-tr-ki ante boŋg-tr-i se boŋg-tr-i se boŋg-tr-i [3'51] sarṇge-k udyar-ki boŋg-tr-i hi boŋg-tr-i ta:nu a: peli-d awq-i de [3'55] bah-ond guṭu menj-a ani a: peli-d awq-id de [3'57] are enq-a to enq-a kakali co:c-a ani (ahen) ikna:n e:k-en e:n [4'02] enq-en i:t-bahno ettr-a a:ny-a [4'04] mala ikna:n ettr-en i:t-no a:n-ko [4'07] mala ettr-a=du:re-hi a:n-i [4'08] a:n-ko i:he bah-ond guṭu menj-a [4'12] indro amu qa:t-cry-a i:-pet eky-a baj-ond i:-pet eky-a [4'15] bah-ond guṭu menj-ad a:t-no ettry-a [4'18] ettry-a ani a:t-no ḍoky-ar [4'20] ḍo:k-im ok-im a:n-ki ante a: peli-d a:t-no a: maqe-n payde:try-a ganga-maji [4'26] ganga-maji payde:tr-ko ante ḍo:k-ner ok-ner ok-ner ante a:d awq-i de [4'30] a:h awq-ih de bogla qa:p-id a:t-nihi a:t-nihi qa:p-id ante a:h awq-ih de [4'36] e:k-a anake a:n-ih ani a: peli-d awq-i de [4'39] aṭe enq-a anake kakali nujtr-i [4'42] kankṭar-ki=dene beh-i ik.ja:ti e:k-en e:n [4'44] enq-en oṭcond=ohṭi cic-a ondr-le ante enq-en as-le [4'48] kakali-n as-a bijoṭe:tr-le ante e:k-let a:ny-a [4'52] a:ny-a ani ikote cic-a and-en e:n [4'54] i:-pade na: ganga-maji ok-i ta:nu ikote cic-a and-en a:n-ko [4'58] mala ka:l-a=du:re-hi a:n-ko [5'00] bah-onde-no e:try-a ako ani [5'02] ka:l-a a:di cicu-d e:tr-i a:t-bahak ka:l-a a:n-ko i:h eky-ah [5'06] nandu-hi bogla-qo:qe-k arg-keh eky-ah [5'08] a:ber ko:d-ner a: maqu jarmary-ah a:h ko:q-ih [5'11] agrte maqu-d ho ok-i ba:rgi-no [5'14] a:d ho ok-i ok-i ko:q-i ante i:he bogla-qo:qe-k arg-keh eky-ah [5'19] arg-keh ek-keh ante cic-ik ek-keh ante cic-a pet-ah [5'23] a:hu salai-n=ohṭi indra=ohṭi qe:nd-keh bar-leh ano [5'26] cic-mundro peta-keh barc-ah [5'28] cicu mundro-n peta-keh ante bogla-qo:qe-k argy-ah

and heartlessly flew up in the sky and climbed on a tree.' And going and running, going and running, —[there is a bird] that has a long beak, right?' [It is] a paddy bird. It beats water with its legs like this, like this.—' It was looking for fish like this. It crossed forward and stayed in the river beating the water with its beak.' On the bank of the river, he went. He went and said, "Hey, would you please take me over this river?" "Oh my! I am just tired of hunger. Beating water and eating [fish], I live. What shall I do?" "Oh, come on! What do you eat?" "Give me a plateful of fish head." Thinking "Where shall I get it?" he was grieved, and sitting and sitting, he went to the fishermen's place.' He went, took a plateful of the Poti fish and gave it [to the bird].' When he took and gave [the fish to the bird], it got full eating it.' After it got full eating it, he said "Let's go," then it said "I will take [you]." When he said "Let's go," it said "I will take [you]," took [him] and went.'

Going [on its back], they arrived where she was sitting.' Having arrived, it said, "You sit here, you sit here." The paddy bird made all three of them climb on its back.' Having made [them] climb on its back, it took them away.' Having climbed up in the sky, it took them away. Then the woman spoke.' There was one island. Then the woman said, ' "Hey, I have contractions. How shall I go? Take me down here." ' It said, "No, how can I take [you] down here?" She said, "No, just take [me] down." ' When she said this, there was an island.' Water was split and went to this side one way, to this side [one way].' There was one island. It took [them] down there.' It took [them] down and they stayed there.' Saying "We will stay here," that woman gave birth to that baby there, in the middle of the river.' She had delivery in the middle of the river. They stayed, and she said that.' He said, "The paddy bird is watching over you there." And he said, ' "Let's go now." Then that woman said, ' "Hey, my waist hurts now.' It feels as if it has become tight. How shall I go?" Would you bring some small fire and warm me up?" Would you warm up my waist, fix me up, and then shall we go?" She said this.' Then [he said,] "Where shall I get fire?" This way, [this island] lies in the middle of that river. Then where shall I get fire?" "No, just go [and get fire]." ' It seemed that there was [a fire] visible in one place.' "Go! There is a fire visible there. Go there." When she said this, he went.' He rode on the back of the paddy bird again and went.' They (i.e. the children) were lying [in the island]. The baby boy who was born was lying [there].' The elder boy was also sitting on her side.' She was also sitting. She was sitting and lying. And he climbed on the back of the paddy bird and went away.' Having climbed [on its back] and gone away, he went to the fire and took it up.' Would he come carrying a match or something?' He took up an ember and came.' He took up an ember and climbed on the back of a paddy

[5'31] aneke brunj brunj brunj brunj a: boŋctry-a [5'34] cicu pakr-ki ante bogla pakqa paktry-a [5'37] paktr-ko ante majte gaŋga-nihu uʈry-a [5'40] bogla nandu eky-a peʈe-peʈe-peʈe-peʈe a:ny eky-a boŋc-a

[5'44] a:h nandu et-keh maji uʈry-ah ani mi:nu-de ahe-ne nung-a ahe-n [5'50] mi:nu nung-a ani aneke a:hu mi:nu nung-ad ani a: ma:qondi-hi eky-ah gondye-h [5'58] ek-keh ante jalc-ah ta:nu ik-maqu nung-ad a: maq-a-hi jalc-ah [6'03] jalc-keh ante banda-keh otry-ah [6'05] banda-keh otr-keh ante ada-no [tupla-t muc-keh oktry-ah-ka [6'10] [tupla-t muc-keh oktry-ah ani i:h awq-ih de buɖi-d awq-i de [6'16] aʈe ina mi:nu ondr-ke e:nond bit-en [6'20] pay-ond bit-en male pay-is [6'21] a: [tupla-no ok ok awq-ih de [6'23] pay-is bit-a=re beɖa ti:n pay bit-a=re beɖa a:n-ih [6'29] nandu aʈe ne: qa:w-id a:n-i [6'31] nandu ina mi:nu ondr-ke e:nond bit-en pa:y-is mala pa:y-ond [6'35] ti:n pay bit-a=re beɖa ne: qa:w-id a:ni [6'40] ante a:n-in-tatin a:n-keh ante ti:n pay bit-a [6'42] ti:n pay bita-kid-tatkid mi:n-a kind-a a:ny-a mi:n-a kind-a a:n-ko [6'48] i: buʈa-n awɖy-a ni:n kind-a a:n-i [6'51] i:h buɖi-n awɖ-ih buʈa-h awɖi-h ni:n kind-a a:ny-ah [6'54] a:n-ko ante i:he ni:n kind-a a:n-ko buɖi-d ek-kid ante [7'00] benti-n otr-keh ante kind-in a:n-i [7'02] beɖa sarpa-sarpe mo:c-ku puʈa-n a:ny-ah [7'05] ani i:de i:-peʈ puʈa-nihu se mo:c-ner mba mi:n-a [7'09] i:-peʈ puʈa-nihu sarpa-sarpe mo:cy-a ta:n i:h tu:s-keh urq-ah (tu:s-kar) tu:s-keh urq-ah ani aju: buʈa [7'16] nam-ki maq-e-h barc-ah aʈe buʈa nam-ki maq-e-h barc-ah a:ny apokar-i [7'19] ante ja:gu-n apokar-le mi:n-a nandu bit-a [7'22] mi:n-a nandu bit-ar ahe-n nandu apokar-le no:ʈ-ker-tatker mu:pj-ker-tatker ante isacn-a ma:nq-ker oktr-ner [7'28] qok-y-ah maq-e-h men-leh nde maq-e-h men-leh nde buʈa-male-r [7'32] ante a:h ok-ih ok-ih a:ber nandu bit-ner od-ner apokar-le [7'39] ante bita-ker oda-ker ante ahe-n niʈctry-ar [7'41] niʈctry-ar a: bogla nandu eky-ad-hi nandu a:t-no qo:k-i [7'45] anake to a:h to tam-ki maq-e-h lehary-ah qo:k-ih

[7'49] ani i: gaŋga-no ok-u maq-e-r maqu-d ho a: paydary-a maqu-d ho ce ce ce a:ny olg-id [7'57] a: mo:ʈo maq-e-h ho olg-ih ja:g[u]-ki:ʈe-t [8'02] ti:n dini male ca:r dini menj-ad ano ki:ʈe-t-hi oky-ar [8'06] olg-i pa:ʈ-i olg-i pa:ʈ-i ok-ner [8'08] a: ɖa:ni-d ho olg-id indra kud-anid a:d [8'11] indra andaki lap-ani ki:ʈe-t olg olg ok-i [8'15] ki:ʈe-t olg olg ok-i ti:n ma:q ca:r ma:q menj-ad ako ano [8'19] ok-im qo:k-im a:n-ko ante a:ber oky-ar qok-y-ar [8'22] indra kud-et a:n-naq-ar [8'24] ante i: gaŋga indro na:wi-a:we-h jahj-a:we-h biʈe-n biʈe-n biʈe-n qend kud-ner baru

bird.' Now it took off [saying] "Brunj, brunj." The fire blazed up and lit up the paddy bird's wing.' After [the fire] lit up [the wing], [the paddy bird] went down in the middle of the river.' The paddy bird went [up] again. Saying 'Tepe, Tepe,' it went, it flew away.'

He went down again and went down in the middle [of the river]. Then a fish swallowed him.' A fish swallowed [him]. Now, in the morning when the fish swallowed him, a fisherman went.' He went and cast a net. Then he caught that one which swallowed [the man].' Having caught and pulled [it from the net], he took it out.' After he pulled and took out [the fish], he put it at home keeping it in a small basket.' He put it keeping it in a small basket. Then he said, well, the old wife said, "Darling, you brought a fish today. How much [rice] shall I cook?" Shall I cook one *pai* or two *pai* of [rice]?" He said sitting in that basket.' He said, "Please cook two *pai*, grandma. Please cook three *pai*, grandma." She said, "Now who is talking?" [She said] again, "You brought fish today. How much shall I cook, two *pai* or one *pai*?" [He said,] "Please cook three *pai*, grandma." She said, "Who is talking?" Thinking this and that, [he said again] "Cook three *pai*." He said, "Cook three *pai* of rice and cut the fish. Cut the fish." She said to this old man, "You cut it." The old man said to the old woman, "You cut it." He said to her "You cut it." Then the old woman went, and' took out a knife and said, "I will cut [then]." He said, "Grandmother, cut the entrails slowly." Then she, no, they cut fish this way from the belly, don't they?' She cut it from the belly slowly. He came out throwing the fish. Then [the woman said] "Goodness, darling!" She became happy, saying "Our son has come. Say, darling, our son has come." Having become happy, she cooked rice and fish.' They cooked fish again. Having become happy with him, they washed him, bathed him, applied oil [on his body] and made him sit.' He lived [there]. They had no son, right? The old couple had no son.' He was sitting. They cooked and baked, feeling happy.' Having cooked and baked, they fed him.' They fed [him]. That paddy bird went again and was staying there again.' Now he has become their son. He was staying.'

Then those children sitting in the river, the child who was born, cried "Che, che, che." That elder boy was also crying out of hunger.' It has become three or four days. They were sitting feeling hungry.' They were sitting crying and weeping.' That wife was also crying. What could she do?' What will she eat [if he is away] that way? She was sitting crying and crying out of hunger.' She was sitting crying and crying out of hunger. It seems to have become three or four nights.' Sitting and staying, they were sitting, staying.' They said to each other "What shall we do?" Then [in] this river, boatmen and sailors walked around carrying [boats] from bank to bank, right?'

[8'33] a: jahj-a:we-h ino maqe-r olg-ner qa:gas-le hē: hē: a:ny olg-a qō:k-ner  
 [8'39] i:bere na:wi-t oy-ner ta:nu ikṭo maqe-r olg-na:nd-ner a:n-ih na:wi:  
 a:we-h [8'43] maqe-r ikṭo olg-na:nd-ner a:n-ih [8'47] ante a:n-in-tatin a:n-  
 keh ante hū oy-en a:n-keh ante [8'50] na:wi-a:we-h a:t-bahak bi:ṭa:try-ah  
 [8'53] oc bi:ṭa:try-ah oc bi:ṭa:tr-ko ante a: maqe-r olg olg ko:q-ner ort maqe-  
 h ko:q-ih [8'59] a: ok-u maqe-h-o toho-ki gandī-no i:n-keh qe:war-keh ko:q-  
 ih [9'03] ki:ṭe-t takary-ar to anake ko:q-ih [9'05] anake i: na:wi-a:weh oca-  
 keh ante e:k-a niŋg-en na:wi-k argtr-en a:n-ih [9'11] mala e:ne i:t-nihi key-  
 in ta:nu key-en e:ne arg-olaken a: peli-d awq-i [9'18] i:t-nihi key-in ta:nu  
 key-em goṭe-mi-hi de arg-olaken a:n-i [9'21] mala e:k-a argtr-en niŋg-en  
 argtr-en=du:re-hi a:ny a:n-ih [9'24] aca argtr-ne ta:nu i: maqe-r=indru goṭe-  
 n argtr-a [9'28] mala maqe-r-in argtr-olaken niŋg-en=du:re argtr-en [9'31]  
 e:t amb-in ande e:n e:k-olaken e:k-olaken a:ny-a [9'35] mala maqe-r=indru  
 argtr-ne ta:nu e:k-en a:n-ko [9'39] amb-in niŋg-en=dru argtr-en a:ny-ah  
 [9'41] amb-in e:k-olaken anno-goṭe-hi jo:rjabri-hi indake banda-keh jahje-k  
 argtry-ah [9'47] jahje-k argtry-ah ante muc-uṭ-keh ante boŋctry-ah jahje-n  
 jahje-n boŋctry-ah

[9'52] a: maqe-r kundy-a a: maqu aro ok-i a: maqu a:t-ni sara-sara ma:q-  
 a olg-ner se olg-ner olg-ner se olg-ner gaṇga-maji [10'01] gaṇga-maji olg-ner  
 qō:k-ner olg-ner qō:k-ner indru na:ber-in ho gosāyi saga becc-a [10'06] maq-  
 ond mi:nu male maq-ond janware male indru-goṭe peta-kid aṭkr-la [10'10]  
 a:ber a:n-ker olg-ner ko:q-ner ok-ner ani maq-ond o:yu ceṇcijy-ad a:d [10'17]  
 adi-ne mahra-he a:t-bahak dine-game gaṇga-biṭe-k oc-ah [10'20] dine-game  
 gaṇga-biṭe-k oc-ah ani maq-ond o:yu-de a: maqe-r olg-ar adi-n menjā-kid  
 ante eky-ad [10'26] ikṭo maqe-r olg-ner a:n-le e:ry-ad [10'29] e:r-kid ante  
 sidahro gaṇga majte gaṇga-no maqe-r olg-ar ani i:de [10'33] a: mahra-he in-  
 dru ga:si-n qot(ð) dōky-ah lohri-dāqē mali-dāqē mba [10'39] ga:si-n qot(ð)  
 dōky-ah anonde-nihi o:yu puc qerq-qi korc-a [10'43] puc qerq-qi korc-kid  
 ante a:ber-ki maji ija-ki indaki ija-ki ante du:de-n cirr-cirr-tr-le tey-a a: toro-  
 no [10'52] toro-no du:de-n cirr-cirr-tr-le cir-tit-le tey-a ani ond ond uṭc-ke[r]  
 ante [10'56] a:ber aslu kody-ar anond amby-ar anond ond-a [10'58] e:nond  
 olg-ar anond ond-a ante olg-lar [11'03] anonde-nihi anake uṭc-ar a:n-ker ante  
 puc qerq-qid urq-a [11'06] puc qerq-qid ante urq-qid ante biṭe-no carar qō:k-  
 i [11'08] biṭe-no carar qō:k-id ani i: mahra-he andā-keh ante [11'14] anake  
 ikṭe eky-a am ondā-ki bar-id ikṭe ek-kid ante bar-id a:n-keh ante [11'18]  
 mahra-h ga:si ante o:y-a indro qend-keh kirtr-ih [11'22] kirtr-keh-tatkeh  
 ante i:he indra kud-eh de kirtr-keh ante du:de-n no:t-ih [11'29] balṭi-no am-  
 a=indru otr-keh-tatkeh ante du:de=indru no:t-ih-tatih

That boatman [saw] that the boys were crying there choking. They were crying "Hee, hee." When they were going carrying their boat, [one] said, "Where do boys seem to be crying?" Where do boys seem to be crying?" Saying this and that, [the boatman said] "Well, I'll take you." The boatman brought [the boat] over there. He came there and brought [the boat over]. The boys were lying [there] weeping. One boy was lying [there]. The boy who was sitting also lay [there], being held on his mother's body. Now that they were weary with hunger, he was lying. Now this boatman came and said, "Let's go! I will put you on the boat." The woman said, "No, if I die here, I will die. I will not get on [your boat]." She said, "If I die here, we will all die. I will still not get on [your boat]." He said, "No, let's go. I will put you on [my boat]. I will put you on by all means." "Okay, if you put me on [your boat], put the children and everything on, too." "No, I will not put the children on. I will just put you on." She said, "Well, then I will not go. I will not go." She said, "No, if you put the children on, then I will go." He said, "No, I will just put you on." "No, I will not go." Still, he dragged her like this by force and put her on his boat. He put her on his boat, covered and shut her up, and started the boat. He started the boat.

The children, the one who was born and the one who was sitting, they cried and cried all night there, in the middle of the river. They were crying and staying there. The god was with them. Nothing, fish, animal or whatever, took and swallowed them. Doing so, they cried, lay, and sat. Then a cow had mercy [on them]. The cowherd took them (the cattle) there, to the bank of the river, every day. Every day he took them to the bank of the river. Then a cow heard them crying and went [there]. Thinking "Where are children crying?" it looked. It looked, and indeed, children were crying in the middle of the river. That cowherd was cutting some grass, [there was] a bush of Arhar or something. He was cutting grass. Meanwhile, a cow entered [the river] from its tail. After entering [the river] and standing in the middle of them this way, it spilled milk into the[ir] mouth. It spilled milk in [their] mouth. Drinking and drinking, they got full, and they lay still. At that point they stopped [drinking]. It gave them so much milk. It gave them as much milk as they were crying for, and they did not cry [any more]. Now they are so full. Then it [entered the river] from its tail and got out [of the island]. It [entered the river] from its tail, got out and was grazing at the bank. It was grazing at the bank. Then this cowherd found it, and saying "Now where has it gone? Was it drinking water and came back? Where did it go away to and come back from?" The cowherd carried the grass and the cattle and brought them back. After bringing them back and so on, what did he do? He brought them back and washed the udders. Having brought

[11'33] no:t-keh-tatkeh ante du:de-n pi:q-ih [11'36] ta:nu du:de curg-ola [11'38] du:de mala-d anond-naha tund ongy-a ta:n ikkin du:de beh-ani [11'42] du:de mala-d ani i:he awd-ih de i: o:yu-d indra kudy-a du:de-n [11'47] inond dini=naha das pai ba:rah pai men-i ta:n ina ikni-m du:de mala [11'53] pa:y-ond=gote urq-ola [11'54] a:n-keh ante bawnar-keh ok-ih i:n-keh [11'56] ayu i:de du:de-n indra kudy-ade [11'58] a:n-keh ante bawnar-keh ok-kin-tatin a:n-keh ante [12'01] tang-a lap-oti=gote du:de curg-ola [12'04] ani i:he nandu-hi bawnar-keh-i ko:d-ih ok-ih ko:d-ih ok-ih

[12'08] ante nandu ina kol-en e:n kajak niq-tr-en a:ny-ah [12'13] ga:sin oc-ahi nayi-k=du:re kila:-try-ah [12'15] nayi-k=du:re cic-ah uq-c-kid urq-a [12'17] nandu eky-ah nandu a: gaنجa-bite-k oca-keh ante nandu cala:tr-ih qo:k-ih [12'22] nandu ide a:ber olg-ar adi-n menj-a aro puc qerq-qi korc-a [12'27] puc qerq-qi korc-kid ante nandu cir-cir-tre tey-i du:de-n a:ber-ki toro-no [12'31] cir-cir-tr-le tey-in-tatin a:n-kid ante uqdy-a [12'34] uqd-kid ante nandu boŋg urq-a [12'35] urq-qid ante nandu bite-no qo:k-i [12'37] nandu i:he ina e:r-en mba cewru indra kudy-ade ina nandu e:r-en [12'42] a:n-keh ante nandu i:he nandu balti-no am-a indru otr-keh ante no:t-ih [12'47] no:t-keh-tatkeh ante nandu pi:q-e:r-ih [12'49] ta:nu nandu du:de mala [12'58] du:de nandu mala-d ani awd-ih de i: o:yu indr-indra kud-i du:de-n de eng-a qaŋ-tr-ola [12'57] eng-en ond-ola eng-en pit-ani i: o:yu [13'00] de i: o:yu-a e:n e:r-en [13'02] a:n-keh ante niq-tr-in-tatin bawnar-keh ok-in-tatin a:n-keh ante nandu oc-ah [13'07] e:k-en aca ina e:r(y)-en e:n a:n-keh ante i:he oca-keh ante gaنجa-bite-no qo:k-try-ah [13'14] i:h nandu man-ik arg-ki oky-ah e:r-en e:n adi-k a:n-le [13'17] man-ik arg-keh oky-ah i: o:yu-d eky-a [13'19] ano ada-no=pahā ikni du:de curg-ola ano uqd-keh ondry-ah mba [13'22] uqd-keh ondry-ah ani i:(m) o:yu nandu-hi eky-a [13'25] ek-kid ante nandu i:d carar-ola indru kud-olade nandu ke:ponti puc qerc-a [13'31] puc qerc-ni ante nandu cir-cir-le ond-a [13'34] cir-cir-tr-le ond-in-tatin a:n-ko ante onda-ki-tatki ante urq-ad [13'38] ano ond-ad ano i:h e:ry-ah man-ente ok ok [13'40] man-ente ok ok e:r-keh ante o: i:d i:t-bahak ek ek se eng-a du:de-n qaŋtr-ola [13'46] a:n-keh ante urq-qeh ante i: o:yu-d urq-a a:hu o:yu-bahak aŋs-keh ante [13'51] are ni:n ne:ka oc oc bar-ni nde dine-game eng-a du:de-n qaŋtr-olaki [13'56] jaldi oca-ki e:t a:n-keh ante mergr-keh bicry-ah dap-ond [13'59] durng-tr-keh bicry-ah ani durng-tr-keh bicry-ah aru qoli-n darc-ki eky-ah ani

water and so on in a bucket, he washed the udders and so on.' After washing [the udders] and so on, he milked the cow.' Then milk does not ooze out.' There is no milk. It stopped spilling just after that much. What is going on with the milk?' There is no milk, and he said, "What did this cow do with the milk?' For so many days it gives ten *pai* or twelve *pai* of [milk]. Then why is there no milk today?' Not even one *pai* of [milk] comes out.'" Saying this, he was sitting this way, getting worried.' "My goodness! What did it do with the milk?"' Saying this, he was worried and was sitting.' Milk does not come out even for his own consumption.' Then he got worried and lay and sat [thinking].'

Then he said, "I will open the cowshed today again, and I will let it graze a lot.'" He took grass and fed it just to that [cow].' He fed it just to that [cow]. It got full and went out.' He went again. He took it to that bank of the river again, grazed and stayed.' It again heard them cry. It again entered [the river] from the tail.' Having entered the river from the tail, it spilled milk into their mouths again.' While spilling milk [in the children's mouths], it made them full.' Having made them full, it ran away and went out.' Having gone out [of the island], it stayed on the bank again.' He again [said] "I will see today, what it did yesterday. Today I will see again.'" Saying this, he brought water in a bucket again and washed [the udders].' Having washed [the udders], he tried to milk [the cow].' Then there was no milk again.' There was no milk again, and he said, "What is this cow doing? It does not let me get milk.' It does not let me drink [it]. This cow is killing me.' I will see this cow.'" Thinking so, he fed it and so on, got worried and sat, and again took it out.' Saying "I will go. Today I will see," he took it and let it stay at the bank of the river.' He climbed up a tree and sat [there] in order to see.' He climbed up a tree and sat [there]. This cow has gone away.' Milk does not come out even at home. So he fed it full and brought it, didn't he?' After making it full, he brought it. Then this cow went away again.' It went and did not graze or do anything. It [goes into the river] from the tail again at once.' Having [entered the river] from the tail, it spilled [milk] and fed [the children].' Spilling [milk] and feeding [the children], it fed [the children] and went out.' He was seeing from the tree that it fed [the children] there, sitting [on top of it].' Seeing from the tree sitting [on top of it], he thought "Oh, it goes there and [so] does not give me milk.'" He thought so and came down [from the tree]. Then this cow came out. He arrived at the cow and' "Hey, whose place do you stop by and come back? You don't give me milk every day.' Come back quickly, hey you!" Saying this, he furiously gave it a blow once.' He gave it [a blow] making a big sound. He gave it [a blow] making a big sound, caught it by the tail and went.'

[14'03] ke:ponti naq-naq-tr-le oc-ad ahe-bajo maqe-r-bahak [14'07] oca-kid ante i:di a:n-kid e:d-a [14'09] ani a:hu a:ber-ine a: indro mo:to maqe-n nandu i:ł-no qasr-no argtry-ah [14'16] a: qo:ro maqa nandu i:ł-no i:ny-ah [14'19] a:h tety-ond-ete a: dap-ond bajy-ah aru tety-ond-et indake qoli-n darc-ah [14'23] qoli-n darc-ko ani urc-kid urc-kid otry-a [14'26] urc-kid urc-kid otry-ad ani a: otr-k(e)[i]-tatto ante i:he a:-maq o:y-eti-hi a: irw maqe-r-in po:sc-ah m [14'35] a:ber-in e:r-a to nanond gosäyî menjä-kide ba:catry-a [14'40] ani po:sc-ko to a:ber po:sc-ar a:ber qoky-ar

[14'43] ani anonde-nihi i: mi:n-puqa-no ok-uh-ð ante bijo:ra:ry-ah [14'49] ante anonde-nihi dosra jila-ki ra:ja ra:ja-h awdy-ah de [14'55] ej-ki ej:cadi-k biha men-tr-en [14'58] ne:reh pasina:r ne:ken pasina:r-anid ati-d ahe-ki pu:n-a pund-anid [15'02] ahe-n ej-ki ra:ji-n qa:ł-ken ciy-en dana-n qa:ł-ken ciy-en [15'06] dana-daulate rupa-candi sona rupa-n qa:ł-ken ciy-en ante ej-ki ra:ja-n ciy-en a:ny-ah [15'13] ej-ki ra:ja-n ciy-en a:n-keh ante dunya-n qä:katry-ah [15'16] dunya-n qä:katr-ko a:he qoky-ah oky-ah [15'20] ante a: i: dine jamar-er a:n-ko [15'24] na: maqe-ne na: mi:n-puqa-no oky-ah ahe-n amty-a[r] no:ty-a[r] [15'27] na:h to maqe-h men-leh nde ahe to guti-isab qo:k-try-ar aber tan-ki maq nany-ar [15'32] qoky-ah ante i: o:yu-d oc-ad a:ho a:ber ho qoky-ar [15'38] a:ber ho be:ra:ry-ar iskule-k tey-ar [15'40] iskule-k teya-ko pary-ner qo:k-ner [15'42] ante i: pelide awdy-ade eng-en argtr-ne=jahä [15'46] eng-en argtr-le=jahä de eng-en ba:ra baceri eng-en nu:t-omku a:ny-a m [15'54] gadj-k argtr pahra-no eng-en argtr-ne=jahä de eng-en ba:ra baceri eng-en nu:t-omaku [15'59] eng-en nu:t-omku-hi aro naq-omku a:ny-a ani [16'02] adi-n maq-e ta:nu e:k-en a:n-ko argtr-keh bojctry-ah [16'05] ante argtr-ko bojctr-ko ante nadi-n na:n-kid ante ahe-n a: peli-n pijjra-n gałc-ah [16'12] siripe ja:gu-n ciy-oti=du:re embe-n tise-n ciy-oti=du:re tu:tro-n ojy-ah ino:pane tu:tro-n [16'18] ade-t cic cic oktry-ah [16'19] a:d ba:ra bacari oky-ad oky-ad ano-hi jahje-nihi [16'24] ante ba:ra baceri jumary-ad anonde-no i: maqe-r ho jumar-e:k-id ani maqe-r ho paðr-e:k-ner paçc-ar [16'32] ante pahðr-e:k-ner anonde-nihi ra:ja-he ej-ki ej:cadi-n biha nan-en a:n-ko manga:try-ah [16'39] ani dunya-male-r jamary-ar dunya-male-r jamary-ar [16'43] adi-ne e:ne pasinar-olaken de ati-d ika pasinar-anid adi-n-ihî adi-n-ihin pasina:r-en a:n-keh ante [16'52] a: peli-d indakide du:de-n ar pu:n-a ci:ni baseta-n ta:ri-no indaki otry-a [16'59] indaki otr-kid ante o: ati-gosäyî ni:n eng-en pasinar-ki qał-ani a:n-ki sumbrar-kid

Writhing and crawling, the cow took him to their place, to the children's place at once.' Having arrived, it said "Here," and showed [the children to him].' Then he put them, the elder boy, on here, on his shoulder.' He [held] the baby boy here, like this.' He slapped [the cow] once with one hand, and caught its tail with the other hand this way.' When he held it by the tail, it dragged forward and took [them] out [of the island].' After it dragged and took [them] out, after it took [them] out and so on, he raised those two children with that cow.' Look at them. God hear [of us] and save [us] so much.' Then he raised [them] and they raised, I mean, they lived.'

Then he who was sitting in the belly of a fish for so long, he also had come back to his senses.' Then at that time, a king of another district said, 'I will arrange marriage for my daughter.' He who an elephant likes and on whose [neck] it puts a garland, ' to him I will divide my kingdom and give it. I will divide my provisions and give [them to him].' I will divide provisions and riches, silver, gold and silver and give [them to him], and I will give my kingdom.' He said this.' Saying "I will give my kingdom," he announced it to the world.' Having announced it to the world, he carried on living.' And when [they] said [candidates] would get together on this day,' they (i.e. the old couple) bathed and washed the boy who was sitting in the belly of a fish.' Is he a son? They made him live [with them] like a servant. They made him their own son.' He was living. And those [children] who the cow took were also living.' They also have grown up. They sent them to school.' After they sent them to school, they read and lived.' And this woman said, "You just put me on [your boat].' You may put me on [your boat, but] do not touch me for twelve years." She said this.' "When you put me on the boat, [I said] 'You put me on [your boat]. Do not touch me for twelve years.'" Do not touch me, and do not talk to me." She said this.' "If you are happy with it, then I will come [with you]." When she said this, he put [her] on [his boat] and took [her] away.' Then after putting [her] on [his boat] and taking [her] away, having done so, he made a cage for that woman.' Just for giving food, for giving sweet and sour things, he had a hole, a hole this big.' He kept her, giving [food] with that.' She was sitting there for twelve years. She was sitting right there, in the boat.' Then it got close to twelve years. During that time, [the time] was getting full [for] these boys too, and they also kept growing up. They went to school.' And while they were growing up, the king ordered to arrange a wedding for his daughter.' Men of the world got together. Men of the world got together.' He said, "[Even if] I don't like him, I will like the one who the elephant likes.'" Then that woman took out milk, garland, sugar, sugar-cake, this way on a metal plate.' Taking [them] out that way, she prayed, "O, elephant-god, please do me a favor and give

ante [17'04] indaki ij-ad ani ati-de sunđe-ti indaki peta-kid ante cary-i gurar-i cary-i gurar-i na:n-kid ante [17'10] i: mi:n-puđa-no ok-u-h-đ eky-ah mba ahe-ki qasr-nihi pund-a [17'16] dunya-male-r jamary-ar ano gođe-r-in amb-kid ante a: mi:n-puđa-no oky-ah ahe-ki qasr-no pund-a [17'22] ani tj:ke de ika pund-a indro ati-gosâyi pasina:ry-ad a:di-hi men-a:nded a:n-keh ante biha-sa:di nany-ah [17'32] biha-sa:di nan-ker ante i:h dq:k-ih ok-ih dq:k-ih dq:k-ih a:n-keh ante a: biha-sa:di-n nan-ko [17'38] i:he dana-n daulat-e-n qa:t-keh cic-ah [17'41] ante ra:ji-n qa:t-keh cic-ah ante taj-ki no:kri-n cic-ah

[17'47] ani i:h awđ-ih de i: mi:n-puđa-no ok-u-h awđ-ih de [17'53] eng-en anake agdu eng-abo-ga:re-h ra:ja-h menj-ah [17'57] ra:ja-h menj-ah anake e:ne eng-ene i: ra:ja-taj.cadi-n sopc-ar ani anake e:ne [18'04] e:ne eng-a qaty-a[r] a:ny-ah [18'08] dunya-male-r jamary-ar ani ahe-k sopc-ar ra:ja-h [18'11] dunya-male-r jamar-ko ahe-n ra:ja-h sop-sopc-ah [18'14] sopc-ko ante dq:k-im ok-im a:n-ker ante i:bere i: ra:ja-h awđy-ah i: mi:n-puđa-no ok-u-h awđy-ah de [18'21] aca tj:ke eng-a to ra:ja-he taj-ki no:kri-n eng-a sopc-ah de [18'27] e:nond-ako anake kurk-ner paty-ner a:ber gođe-ri jamar-a:nder [18'32] e:n no:kri-n ciy-en dosra se [18'35] agrte no:kri-n cic-ah cic-ah ade-n awri-hi dosra se maqe-r kurk-u-r paty-u-r gođe-ri jamar-a:nder [18'40] e:n no:kri-n ciy-en a:ny-ah no:kri-n ba:ty-en a:n-ko [18'44] *alka-alka* maqe-r qo:q-baje paty-u maqe-r gođe-ri jamary-ar [18'49] gođe-ri jamar-ko i:h awđ-ih de i: mi:n-puđa-no ok-u-h awđ-ih de [18'52] ning-a i: no:kri men-ani i: no:kri men-ani saabe men-ane ra:ja men-ane mala mastara men-ane [18'59] ante indra-indra-hi i: okile-n ikpade-n a: no:kri cica-keh ba:tc-ah [19'05] ba:tc-ko ba:tc-ah anonde-nihi i:bere i: o:y-du:de-n ond-qo:k-u maqe-r-in qo:q-baje oc-ar *la:sfe*-no [19'13] *la:sfe*-no oca-ker ante a:ra:ja na:t-no no:kri-n bily-ih pune-ra:ja-h a:n-ko se ondr-in [19'19] i:ber-ik indr-indru beh-i male mala a:n-ko [19'21] ayu: koni-la:go ondr-le [19'24] koni-la:go ondr-le anake (r)a: no:kri-n to bilc ong-ken [19'27] bilc ong-ken a:ny-ah ani [19'30] i:h awđ-ih de aca to:ta cođa-mo:ta-n=ohđi no:kri-n qađ-a a:n-ko [19'36] aca so:cy-in bujar-in a:n-keh ante aca tj:ke-d [19'39] e:ne anake ra:ja-n eng-a *jima*: nany-ah ani ej-ki abo-ga:re ra:ja-n *jima*: nany-ah ani [19'46] maqe-r-ik e:ne ej-ki pa:we-ti no:kri-n bilc qop-ken [19'49] de i:ber e:n anake lap-tr-en a: pahra-no e:n lap-tr-en niđctr-en a: pahra-no i: maqe-re jahj-a:we-n ondr-er [19'58] a: pahra-ni jahje-n qa:p-er a:ny-ah a: maqe-r

me [a husband]." The elephant stood this way, taking [the garland] up with its trunk this way, walked around and around. ' Then this man who was in the belly of a fish also went [there], didn't he? [The elephant] put [the garland] on his neck.' Men of the world got together. There, leaving everyone else behind, it put [the garland] on the neck of him who was sitting in the belly of a fish.' Then [the king] said, "Okay, whoever the elephant god liked and put [the garland] on, let that be," and held the wedding.' After they held the wedding, he carried on living, and after doing the wedding' he (i.e. the king) divided provisions and riches and gave [them to him]. ' And he divided the kingdom and gave it [to him]. He gave [him] his own post.'

Then he, the man who was in the belly of a fish, said, ' "Formerly, my father-in-law was the king.' [He] was a king. Now they have entrusted this princess to me and now' they gave [her] to me." He said this.' Men of the world got together, and the king entrusted [her] to him.' Men of the world got together and the king entrusted [her] to him.' After [the king] entrusted [the princess], they lived, and they, the new king, said, the man who was in the belly of a fish said, ' "Okay, the king entrusted his own post to me.' Everyone who reads and writes, however [little] it may be, should all come.' I will give jobs in addition [to the current ones].' The former jobs [the previous king] gave, they were given [and secure]. Again, [this is] different. All boys, those who read and write, should all get together.' I will give [you] jobs. I will distribute jobs [to you]." He said this.' Small boys and boys who are lagging behind, they all got together.' When everyone got together, this man who was in the belly of a fish said. ' "This job will be for you. This job will be [for you]. You shall be a *sahab*, you shall be a *raja*, or you shall be a teacher." Lawyer and whatever else, he distributed and gave those jobs.' Having distributed [the jobs], while he was distributing [jobs], they took them forward, the boys who lived drinking cow's milk, from the end, as the last [interviewees].' When they took [them] forward as the last [interviewees, they said,] "Your Majesty, they said 'The new king is distributing jobs' so I brought [myself] here.'" When he said, "What and what are there [still left] for them, or not?" Good heavens! You should have brought [yourself here] a little earlier.' You should have brought [yourself here] a little earlier. Now I have finished distributing jobs.' I have finished distributing [jobs]." He said this.' He said, "Okay, then give me some odd job, big job or anything." He said, "Well, I will think and figure it out," and then [said], "Okay, fine, ' I am now a king. He entrusted [it] to me. My father-in-law entrusted the kingship [to me].' I distributed and gave jobs in my way to the boys.' Now, when I feed them, when I feed them and give them food, these boys will bring boatmen along.' Those boys will watch [the boatmen's] boats

[20'01] i: maqe-r jahje-n qa:p-er a:ny-ah [20'03] a:n-ko ante adi-n no:kri-n to qaq-ar a:ber [20'06] ta:n ra:ja-h to tambako tambako a: i: maqe-r nandu no:kri-n qaq-uwr-i jahje-n qa:p-u-r

[20'15] ante awdy-ah de anake no:kri-n cica-ken de anake e:n dunya-male-r jamar-ar e:n lap-tr-en niç-tr-en [20'24] ej-ki indro no:kri-ki isa:be-n e: dunya-r-in e:n da:n nan-en dunya-male-r lap-oti mo:q-oti [20'32] ne:d kis-a mo:q-ani kis-a ciy-en e:te-n mo:q-ani e:te-n ciy-en o:y-a mo:q-ani o:y-a ciy-en [20'37] jila:bi-n-cot-u-r-ik jila:bi-n rasigula-cot-u-r-ik rasigula-n [20'40] ante iki-pade bundya ro:ti cot-u-r-in adi-ni-hi orye:tr-en a:ny-ah [20'45] dunya-male-r jamar-a:nder a:n-keh ante dole-n qiga-n baja-try-ar [20'49] anake se citi-d e:k-id a: pahra-no qiga-n baja:-try-ar dole-n [20'52] dole-n baja-try-ar adi-n se citi-d a:ny-ar [20'56] anake a:te-n kurk-kah kurk-kah tey-ih citi-d a:n-le [20'58] agdu qiga-n baja:-try-ar dole-n a:ti:ta:te baja:-try-ar a: pahr-te menj-a [21'03] ani dunya jamary-ad dunya jamary-ad ano i: dunya jamary-ad ano i: jahj-a:we-h e:k-olah [21'14] jahj-a:we-h e:k-olah aka lap-oti mo:q-oti mba [21'16] na: dine jamary-ar a:n-ko dunya jamary-ar ani jamar-ko-tatko ante i: jahj-a:we-h e:k-olah

[21'23] aqe jahj-a:we-h bar-a a:ny-a[r] [21'25] mala e:n indrik e:k-en [21'27] a: peli-n qaqa-keh oktr-ih mba [21'30] idi-ne e:k-en amb-ken e:k-en ante idi-n ne:reh boñc-tr-eh male urq-qi boñc-anid [21'34] a:ny so:c-le i:he jahj-a:we-h e:k-olah jahje-ni urq-olah [21'39] ani aqe ning-a qa:p-u-r qo:k-ner bar-a a:n-no [21'43] mala eng-a jahje-nihi embe-tise-d ok-i e:k-olaken a:n-ih jahj-a:we-h [21'47] jahj-a:we-h awq-ih ante nandu ek-ker awq-ner no:kryo-r [21'51] aqe e:k-a=du:re ning-a indra lap-a:ne mo:q-a:ne e:n ciy-en a:n-ih a:n-no [21'56] mala eng-a embe-tise-d a: jahje-nihi beh-id e:k-olaken a:n-ih [21'59] a: nandu ek-ker awq-ner aqe ra:ja na: jahj-a:we-h awq-ih de eng-a ada-nihi jahje-ni embe-tise-d ok-id ani e:k-olaken a:n-ih a:n-ko [22'07] na:h indre male-h jaldi nahe-n ondr-oka a:n-ih [22'10] jaldi nahe-n ondr-o:ka a:n-ko nandu eky-ar [22'13] aqe e:k-a=du:re ning-en awq-ih ra:ja-h ate e:ti-la:nid ani [22'17] a:n-ko i:he awdy-ah de aca e:k-en to e:k-en [22'19] de ej-ki sama:ne-d i:ti-no qal-uwr-i ta:nu dobri qat-ih ta:nu e:k-en [22'24] kal-a adi-n teñc-oka ra:ja-n a:n-ko [22'26] i: no:kryo-r ek-ker ante ra:ja na: jahj-a:we-h awq-ih de ej-ki sama:ne-d i:ti-no qal-uwr-i ta:nu e:n dobri oy-en a:n-ih [22'33] adi-ne mu:j-ne ta:nu e:k-en a:n-ih a:n-ko

at that time.' These boys will watch the boats." He said this.' He said this, and they got it, the job. ' The king is their father. As watch of boats, these boys got a job.'

Then he (i.e. the new king) said, "Now I gave jobs out, and I will feed and give food to the men of the world who got together.' To share [the wealth] of my [new] position, I will give the world's people a gift, so that people in the world can eat.' [To] him who eats a pig, I will give a pig. [If one] eats a goat, I will give a goat. [If one] eats a cow, I will give a cow.' [I will give] *jalebi* to those who eat *jalebi*, *rasgulla* to those who eat *rasgulla*.' And those who eat any [food], *bundya* or bread, I will provide [them] with it." He said this.' He made [his men] beat longdrums and Diga drums with the notice, "May the people of the world get together.'" Now letters go around. At that time, they beat longdrums and Diga drums.' They beat a drum. They announced it, the decree.' Now [the government] writes and sends out letters.' In olden times, they used to beat Diga drums. They beat longdrums in each market. It was of that time.' Then the whole world got together. The whole world got together. When this whole world got together, [only] this boatman did not go.' The boatman did not go, see? For the feast, okay?' On that day, they got together, the whole world got together. When they got together, [only] this boatman did not go.'

"Hey, boatman, come!" They said this.' "No! Why should I come?'" He had stolen that woman and kept her, didn't he?' "[If] I go and leave her, someone would take her away. Or she might get out and run away.'" Thinking so, he, the boatman, did not come, [staying] in the boat. He did not go out.' Then, "Come on, there are people who watch [the boat] for you. Come!" When they said this,' the boatman said, "No. I have sweet and sour food in the boat. I will not come.'" The boatman said [this]. Then again, the king's men went and said [to the king].'[The king] said, "Hey, just come! I will give you what you eat." When he said this,' he [still] said, "No, I have sweet and sour [food] in that boat. I will not come.'" They went and said again, "Your Majesty, that boatman says that 'I have sweet and sour [food] in [my] house, in [my] boat, and I am not going to come.'" When they said this,' he said, "What kind of man is he? Bring him quickly.'" When [the king] said, "Bring him quickly," they went again.' "Hey, just come! His Majesty said this to you. If you don't, it will not be good.'" When they said this, he said, "Okay, if I [have to] come, I will come.' If he gives me twice as much when my possession is stolen here, then I will come.' Go and tell it to the king.'" When he said this,' these servants went and said [to the king], "Your Majesty, that boatman says, 'If my possession is stolen here, I will take twice as much'.' He said, 'If you will liquidate it, I will come'.'" When

[22'36] mu:j-en ka:l-a awd-ke bar-oka [22'37] a:n-ko ihe-n e tq-ker otry-ar [22'40] e: indro a: jahj-a:we-h oc-ah ek-keh ante lap-ih mo:q-ih lap-ih mo:q-ih ma:qa mba [22'46] lap-ner mo:q-ner ta:nu i: maqe-r a: jahje-n qa:p-ner [22'50] jahje-n qa:p-ner a: pijnj-a nan-ker ok-try-ar a: toho i: pade-ni ok-i [22'55] i: pade-ni ok-id i:beri bite-no ok-ner [22'57] a: jahje-no=gote mala biṭe-no ok-ner qa:p-ner [23'00] ano i: tangdō-h awd-ih i: gaṅga-bite-no payda:r-u-h gaṅga-bite-no payda:r-u-h awd-ih de [23'08] aqe baiya aneke na:m ino:pane ma:q-a ikna:n i: ma:q-a bij-tr-et kata teñg-a a:n-ih [23'16] a: cu:q-maqe-h kata teñg-a a:n-ih ani aqe indra-pahā a:g-olaken [23'21] e:n ikna:n-keh teñg-en a:n-ih [23'23] mala teñg-a=du:re-hi baiya teñg-a=du:re-hi na:m ikna:n ma:q-a bij-et [23'27] ate qandr-it ta:ni jahje qal-uwr-anid ante nam-en piṭ-er ani [23'27] teñg-a=du:re-hi ano a:n-le sotye:tr-keh bicr-ih a: indro gaṅga-maji kund-u-h [23'37] ani i:h awd-ih tang-baiya-h awd-ih de aqe e:n indra a:g-olaken e:n e:n indra-gote a:g-olaken de [23'44] e:n agrete aya-bobe-r ḍoky-ar a: pahrte-ne a:g-in adi-n aro se teñg-len a:n-ko [23'49] o: nada-hi mba na:n-ket-i teñgr.naq-le na: ma:q-a bij-et a:n-i [23'54] a:n-ih ani ani i:h awd-ih de aqe nuna nam-ki aya-bobe-r aya-de jimida:re-taj.cadi menj-ad [24'03] a: abo-he sijñate-taj.cade-h menj-jah na:h kamjo:ri menj-ah ani biha nany-ar [24'08] biha nan-ko qo:k-im ok-im a:n-ko ante e:n abo-ki aḍa-nihi kund-ken [26'50] aya-n=ho jahj-a:we-h peta-keh boñctry-ah aya-n peta-keh boñctry-ah [26'55] aqe adi-n aro se a:g-in a:ny-ah

[26'57] ani a: to teñgr.naq-ar a: to so:ja:try-a toho-k toho menj menj oky-a [27'01] menj menj ok-kid ante maqe-r nandu teñgr.naq-a indra teñgr.naq-ner a:n-i m [27'06] maqe-r indra teñgr.naq-ner nandu teñgr.naq-a a:n-id ani [27'09] mala e:m indra-gote teñgr.naq-olakem de agrete abo-bere dukarary-ar ako male ikni gañtary-ar [27'15] aya aya-de majte gaṅga-no oky-ad abo-h bogla-qo:qe-k arg-keh ek-keh ewjy-ah [27'20] a:n.naq-im se a:n-ko o: ḥi:ke-de a:n-ko ante i: de ma:qu bijy-a [27'27] ba:ra bacari jumary-ad ani i: saba ma:qu indro ra:ja banary-ah [27'33] ante ma:qu bijy-ad ani i: peli-d indra nan-id urq-ani a:-le:KKI [27'33] din-ond becc-ad urq-oti ba:ra-bacari-no [27'40] din-ond urq-oti becc-ad a: dine-no i:d awdy-a de [27'44] male enq-en otr-a=du:re-hi [27'45] enq-en ne:ke-n qa:p-tr-keh a: maqe-r enq-en gañbañ menj-ar a:ny-ad aka [27'51] ne:ke-n qa:p-tr-keh a: maqe-r enq-en gañbañ menj-ar [27'54] enq-en jaldi otr-a a:n-ko [27'55] i:he tarwari-n ta:tr-a pet-keh mas-a ta:tr-a qend-keh guñguñtr-keh oy-ih e:k-a na:ber-in piṭ-et a:n-le m

they told it,' [the king said] "I will liquidate it. Go, tell it and come back!"' When [the king] said this, they got started and went out.' That boatman arrived. He went and ate, at night, right?' When he was eating, these boys kept guard of the boat.' They kept guard of the boat. He made that cage and kept her [in there]. That mother was sitting on this side.' She was sitting on this side. These [boys] were sitting on the bank.' They were not on the boat. They were sitting on the bank and were keeping guard [of it].' Then this younger brother said, this one who was born on the bank of the river said, "Hey, brother, how shall we pass such a long night? Tell me a story.'" That younger boy asked [him] to tell a story. [The elder brother] said, "See, I don't know anything.' How shall I tell [you a story]?"' "No, just tell me, brother. Just tell me. How shall we pass the night?' Otherwise, if we fall asleep, then the boat will be stolen and they will beat us.' Just tell me." Saying this, the [boy] who was born in the middle of the river got distressed.' Then he said, the elder brother said, "See, I don't know anything. I don't know anything.' I know things of the old days when our parents were still alive. I could tell you that.'" "Yes, that's it. We will pass the night talking that way.'" Then this [elder brother] said, "Look, dear, [of] our parents, mom was a daughter of a landlord.' Dad was a son of a rich man. He was weak. They got married.' After getting married, they lived, and I was born in father's house. (*He goes on telling the younger brother how they ended up in the middle of the river.*)' A boatman took mom and abducted her. He took mom and abducted her.' See, that is as much as I know." He (i.e. the elder brother) said this.'

Then what they were talking about brought the mother around. The mother was sitting listening.' When she was sitting listening, she said, "Boys, tell it again. What are you telling?"' When she said, "Boys, what are you telling? Tell it again.'" [They said] "No, we were not saying anything. Our former parents must be distressed, or [I wonder] how they are doing.' Mother was sitting in the middle of the river. Father climbed on the back of a paddy bird, went and got lost.' We were saying that." When he said this, she said, "Okay," and then it had become morning.' It had become twelve years. Then on this night, [the man] became a king.' Then, when it had become morning, what did this woman do, in order to get out?' It was the only day in twelve years to come out.' It was the only day to come out. She said on that day, "[Help,] someone, just take me out. ' Those boys whom [the king] made keep guard of me and so on, they are doing outrageous things to me." She said this, you see? "Those boys whom [the king] made keep guard [of me] and so on did outrageous things to me.' Take me out quickly.'" He (i.e. the boatman) took up a sword, a sickle and an axe,

[28'02] ek-a na:ber-in pi[t]-et a:n-ko gurgu[t]-keh oca-keh ante a:ber-ine toho-n otrya [28'07] mala i:[t]-no pi[t]-oma baj-oma enj-en e:k-a ra:ja-ada-k a:n-id aka jo [28'12] e:k-a eng-en ra:ja-ada-k oy-a [28'19] a:[t]-no pi[t]-er je:-go[t]e men-ner e: a:ny-a [28'16] a:n-ko ante ra:ja-ada-k oc-ar [28'18] ra:ja-ada-k oca-ko ante indru menj-a indru menj-a [28'22] mala i: maqe-r indru indru tengr.naq-ar i:ber-in maqe-r-in men-a a:ny-ad a:d [28'27] i: maqe-r indra tengr.naq-ar i: maqe-r-i-n men-a ante pit-er [28'30] eng-en ho pi[t]-er i: maqe-r-in ho pi[t]-er a:n-i [28'32] ani i:ber-ine sotye:tr-ner [28'35] sotye:tr-ner a:ber to pi[t]-oti qoh-oti oky-ar mba i:ber qe:ndr-ner [28'39] i:n-in qe:ndr-ner ante i:d awd-i de i: maqe-r-in men-a a:n-ko [28'43] i: maqe-r awd-ner de e:m indra tengr.naq-olakem [28'46] ej-ki ayabo-ber-in se tengr.naq-qem [28'50] abo-h sija[t]e ada menj-ah aya-de jimida:re ada menj-a [28'55] ayi-ne korc.naq-ar korc.naq-qer ante qoky-ar oky-ar [28'59] ta:nu e:ne abo-ki ada-nihi kund-ken [29'03] abo-ki ada-nihi kund-ken a: aya-de aya-de abo-ki ada-nihi kund-ken aya-de [30'41] i:h bogla-qo:qe-k arg-keh eky-ah a:n-keh ewjy-ah aya-de majte ganja-no oky-ad a:[t]-no ok-a qok-kem [30'46] ani emene em-ene indro o:yu se em-ene kitr-le ond-a [30'54] du:de-n circirtr-le tey-ad ond-a pahtry-ad [30'57] onda-ko-tatko se em-ene em-ene a: du:d-a:weh male o:y-a:weh se em-en ada-ke otr-keh ante qo:kt-y-ah [31'05] ada-ke otr-keh ante qo:k-tr-in oktr-in a:n-keh ante par[y]-try-ah [31'08] par[y]-tr-ko ante dosra pun-ra:ja-h banary-ah [31'10] pun-ra:ja-h banary-ah ahe a:h se no:kri-n maqe-r-ik e:nond qo:qte-par[y]-u maqe-r-ik e:n no:kri-n ciy-en [31'19] a:n-le jama:tr-ko a:n-le jama:tr-kem barc-kem [31'23] ta:nu em-en jahje-n qa:p-oti laga:try-ar em-en ga [31'26] ayabo-r ej-ki ayabo-bere ewjy-ah abo-h ewjy-ah aya-n jahj-a:we-h bonqtry-ah [31'31] a: em-en nandu mahra-h se po:sc-ah [31'35] a:n-le tengr.naq-qem a:n-le tenq-ih ka ra:ja-bahno ani

[31'40] i: peli-d ija-kid ante awd-id de i: e:r-a i:ber ej,gad-bagter a:n-i [31'44] a: i: ra:ja-n qaq-uh mi:n-pu[t]-no ok-u-h t[i]:ke na: ej,gad-bagter [31'49] e:ne bogla-qo:qe-k arg-ken ek-ken ta:nu cicu pakr-ki bogla-ni pakra-n paktr-ken ganja-no utr-ken [31'56] ani mi:nu pet-ad ani a: gondye-h darc-ah a:n-ih [32'00] a: i: peli nandu awd-id de t[i]:ke-de e:ne maq-a majte ganja-no anda-ken majte ganja-no anda-ken a: maq-a [32'08] majte ganja-no anda-ken a: maq-a orte-he mo:[o menj-ah orte-he qo:ro maqu menj-ah [32'12] ahe-n go[t]-r-in oy-a oy-a a:n-ken [32'15] ta:nu i: jahj-a:we-h oy-lah de eng-en=du:re argtr-keh bonqtry-ah ani [32'18] e:n ba:ra bacari eng-en nu:t-omaku ba:ra bacari nu:t-olake ta:nu se e:n e:k-en a:ny-ad [32'25] a:n-ken ani e:ng-en jahje-t argr-keh bonqtry-ah maqe-r a:[t]-ni kody-ar

carried it, gathered a big troop and took [them there], saying "Let's go and kill them." Saying "Let's go! Let's kill them!" he gathered a big troupe, caught [them] and took them and the mother out.' She said, "No, don't kill me here, don't beat me here. Let's go to the king's palace.' Let's go. Take me to the king's palace.' You will kill me, or do whatever [you like] there.'" When she said this, they took her to the king's palace.' When they took her to the king's palace, [they said] "What happened? What happened?'" She said, "No. Ask these boys what they were talking.' Ask these boys what they were talking, and then kill [me].' Kill me and kill these boys.'" Then they felt sorry for them.' They felt sorry. They were ready for killing and slaying, weren't they? They were shaking.' They were shaking like this. Then she said, "Ask these boys.'" These boys said, "We were not talking anything.' We were talking just about my parents.' My father was [of] a rich family. My mother was [of] a landlord's family.' They got married. Having gotten married, they lived.' Then I was born in my father's house.' "I was born in my father's house. I was born in my father's house. My mother [said] ... (*He now repeats the story of how they ended up in the middle of the river*)' He climbed on the back of a paddy bird and went. Then he was lost. Mother was sitting in the middle of the river. We were sitting there.' Then a cow came to us and gave us milk.' It spilled milk [for us], fed us and made us full.' After it fed us, the milkman or cowherd brought us home and let us stay [there].' After bringing us home and letting us stay, he sent [us] to school.' After he sent us to school, another king, a new king, was crowned.' The new king who was enthroned [said], 'I will give jobs to boys, however far behind they may be in schoolwork.' When [he] said this and gathered people, we got together and came.' Then they appointed us to keep guard of ships.' My parents were lost. Father got lost, and a boatman abducted mother.' The cowherd brought us up.' That is what we were talking.'" He told that at the king's place.'

This woman stood up and said, "Look, these are my sons.'" Then this [man], who got kingship, who was in the belly of a fish, [said] "Okay, these are my sons.' I climbed the back of a paddy bird and went. Then fire started on the paddy bird. I burnt [its] wing, and fell into the river.' Then fish took me up, and a fisherman caught it." He said this.' Then this woman said, "Okay. I had a child in the middle of the river. I had that child in the middle of the river.' I had that child in the middle of the river. There was a big one, and a little one.' I said 'Take [them] both' to him (i.e. the boatman).' Then this boatman did not take [them]. He made only me get on the boat and took me away.'" She said, "'Do not touch me for twelve years. If you don't touch me for twelve years, then I will marry you.'" When I said that, he put me on

[32'30] a:t-ni kody-ar ani a: ikna:n-ker ba:cary-ar ako male amby-ar ako [32'33] eng-en to bojctry-ah a: *cinta*:-bawna:-tihi e:n ja:gu lap-in a: eng-a mala [32'39] e:n e:d e:r-a qa:ya-ken a:ny-a [32'41] sidahro qa:y-onjry-a la:tsaꝝ menj-a qoclou=du:re [32'44] e:nond lap-en cot-en cic-ah anond-goꝝ a:de lapy-a moq-a de parc-lad [32'48] a:n-ko ante a:n-ki teŋg-ad ani t:ke [32'51] na:h awd-ih de e:ne bogla-qo:qe-k arg-ken ek-ken pakta-n qos-try-a ani mi:n-puꝝa-no oket-ken ani [32'58] a: i:d awd-id e:ne eng-en jahj-a:we-h peta-keh arg-tryah [33'01] a:n-ko t:ke-d ande-no i:d enga-qa:ni-d a:n-ih i: peli-d awd-i i:h eng-a qa:we-h ani [33'06] a:n-keh ante a:ber-ih i:qge-r menj-ar [33'09] oqge-r menj-ar idi-n-o qo:k-tr-en [33'11] ya: i: qo:q-baje biha menj-ad adi-n ho qo:k-tr-en [33'13] a:n-keh ante aca i:h ta:ni qalwe-h jahj-a:we-h a:n-ker ante [33'17] jahje-k oca-ker isagn-a purc-ker ante jahje-n me:nda-ker tey-ar toqry-a

### §35 Story of a ruined prince and his lost love.

[0'00] do:hajare do:hajare.no:we a:n-le male-r awd-ner e:n to a:c-olaken paꝝ-oti kurk-oti a:g-olaken [0'06] lekin anake kata-n teŋg-oti awdy-ar ja:pani-a:we-r baiya-ber barc-ker ante [0'10] ante kata teŋg-oti e:k-in [0'12] nam-male-r ho menj-a-ker sikar-ker beh-ku dine-k pa:wu men-anid [0'18] ante kata teŋg-en eq-ki na:mi baŋna me:sa qepu-d uqsa [0'23] menj-a-ker men-a sikar-a [0'25] indro ort ra:ja-ki ort ra:ja-h menj-ah [0'29] ahe-ki de ort muſs.maqe-h menj-ah [0'32] ante muſs.maqe-h men-ne *ke.ba:de*-no a: maqe-n pu:ra apokary-ar dulare:try-ar [0'37] ante a:he suk-sala-ti pahry-ah mo:tar-ah [0'41] mo:tar-ne *ke.ba:d* pel-joka lehary-ah [0'44] ante ahe-k pel-a bedy-ar [0'46] pel-a toho-tambako-ber bedy-ar ante qoky-ar oky-ar [0'51] ante qo:k-te qo:k-te toho-d ho *kamjo:r* lehary-a tambako hō *kamjo:r* lehary-a [0'56] ante tambako naprary-ah adi-ki ba:de-no tan.gade-h awdy-ah de [1'00] o: e:n guru-r-in ondr-en [1'04] mandr-a gaſy-tr-en abo-k ante nek-a:nded [1'06] a:n-le gur-aqa-k eky-ah qaktar-aqa-k eky-ah [1'10] ante kirya-ah gaſy-try-ah nek-lah [1'12] nandu urq-qeh eky-ah guru-r-bajo a:tce-n e:r-tr-oti car-in bedtr-oti [1'16] ada-no nahe-ki tambako-he ra:ja-he qondy-ah na:pra-t

[1'25] takary-a key-ot eky-ah a: pahr awd-ih de [1'27] are menj menj ok-a [1'30] e:n baſy-et menj-ket goꝝ-di a: pahr-no to indra-goꝝ laken [1'36] de nam-ki pu:p-bagane-no sat-kohna taka-d ok-id [1'42] aqa-ki kōta-no ca:r-kohna taka-d ok-id a:n-le awdy-ah a: ra:ja-buſa-h [1'48] ante a: to toho ra:ja-dq-a:ni toho aqa-no ja:gu-n aqce-n bit-a [1'53] tanj-ja:mni menj-ad a:di aqa-no nahe-ki gandj-bahno oky-a na:pra-gandj-bahno [1'59] ante adi-n ni:n goꝝ-nihi menj menj ok-ku e:n teŋg-in adi-n [2'05] ante dinonde-no ni:n nam-ki ja:mpel-a ante ni:n ho ante nuna ho e:ru po:sar-eh adi-k [2'13]

a boat and took me away on it. The boys were lying there.' They were lying there. Then how were they saved or not?' He took me away. From worry and distress, I did not even eat food.' Look, I got dried up.' I got dried up indeed. I am battered and am just bones.'" He gave her as much as she would eat and chew. That much she ate and still she was not satisfied.' When she said that, [he said] "Okay.'" He said, "[It is] I [that] climbed the back of a paddy bird and went. [The ember] burnt the wing and I ended up sitting in the belly of a fish.'" She said, "The boatman put me on a boat and took me away.'" When she said this, he said, "Okay, then this is my wife." This woman said, "This is my husband.'" They said that and they became husband and wife [again].' They became husband and wife. "I will have her [as my wife].' I will have that [woman] who married [me] later [as my wife], too.'" Then they said, "Well, this very man is the thief, the boatman.'" And they took [him] to the boat, poured oil [on it], and burned the boat away. [The story] is over.'

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They say '2009'. I don't know. I can't read or write.' But now the Japanese, the brothers, came and told me to tell a story.' And I am going to tell a story.' We Pahariyas should also listen and learn. Some day it will be of some use.' Then I will tell the story. My name is Barnya Mesa. [My] village is Ursu.' Listen and learn.' Well, there was a king.' He had a son.' And after the son was born, they got totally happy about him. They loved him.' And he grew up happily.' After he grew up, he became pubescent.' And they found a wife for him.' The parents found a wife and they lived together.' And as they lived, the mother became weak, and the father became weak.' Then the father got ill. Then the son said, ' "I will get Ojha Gurus.' I will make [them] prepare medicine for father. And he will get well.'" Saying this, he went to an Ojha's house and to a doctor's house.' He came back, made [them] prepare [medicine], and he did not get well.' He went out again and went to the Ojhas' places, to make [them] look at a leaf and to make [them] run divination.' Then his father, the king, got weary for the illness.'

When he got weary and was going to die, he said, "Dear, sit listening.' When I was strong, I did not tell anything.' In our flower garden, there are seven jarfuls of money.' In the corners of the house, there are four jarfuls of money.'" The old king said this.' And the mother, the mother who is the king's wife, was cooking rice and vegetable at home.' The one who was his daughter-in-law was sitting at home near his body, near his sick body.' "You sit listening to all. I will tell it.' So that you, our daughter-in-law, and the boy, can support [themselves] well,' take care of all the provisions and

ada-ki dana-daulate-n goṭe-nihi jogc-ki ante ok-ki ante po:sc-ku a:ny-ah [2'19] ante e:n key-en=goṭe ko anake [2'20] e:n inonde se aq-qen a:n-keh ante teŋc-ah [2'23] ani o: a:ny-ad [2'25] ante ada-no oky-a a: toho na: maqe-ki toho adano i: ra:ja-taŋ-ja:mni-de ujaṭi-hi olc-in a:n-le qanam-a ci:cry-a [2'38] aca men-a pa:ry-in ko male pol-in de teŋc e:k-in [2'42] ante awdqy-ad de ho: a:n-kid ante na:de goṭe-ni menj pu:ratr-ki-pa a:n-ko ho: a:ny-a [2'51] ante na:h to ahe-ki ji:we-d urq-a [2'55] urq-ad ante urq-ne-ki ba:de-no qarcr-id ujaṭi-hi la:li-n qan-no ma:ndry-a ante [3'01] qan-no ma:ndry-a qarcr urq-ad ani toho-ga:rni budya-d indru menj-a indru menj-a [3'06] mala i: abo-ga:re toqry-ad ante a:d qarcr-i olc-id [3'10] ante goṭe-ri olc-ner pa:ṭ-ner taj.cade-h to and-olah [3'14] guru-ada-k daktar-ada-k eky-ah and-olah [3'16] ante kiry-ar olc-a pa:ṭ-a qo:k-ni-hi kiry-ar [3'19] ante a:he jud-ondi-hi olc-ih kide abo [3'22] aya indra indra a:n-keh teŋc-ah ako male teŋc-olah ako [3'26] e:n ok-len a:n-no indra a:n-le teŋc-ah ako aya-n a:n-le buku-n baj-uwr-le olc-ah [3'29] sijapə-taŋ.cade-h menj-ah nahi-k nujtry-ad kajak olc-ah [3'32] olc-ah ante ahe-n pa:ṭec-ar

[3'37] bar-ne-ki *ba:d* qoky-ar oky-ar oky-ar ante [3'42] ca:r bacari ako male pac bacari anonde-ni-hi ada-ki dana to ongry-a [3'47] ante ada-ki ja:gu-lape-d ongr-ko ki:ṭwary-ah [3'52] ki:ṭwar-ne-ki ba:de-no awdq-ih lajary-ah [3'55] ino:pane ra:ja-taŋ.cade-n anake ki:ṭwar-ken [3'58] de ni:n niŋ-ki niŋ-ada-k ka:l-a ante qo:k-oka [4'02] eng-en ik-dine usra:r-en bijoṛa:r-en lape-d aty-anid a: pahra niŋ-en ondr-en a:ny-ah [4'10] a:n-keh ante tey-ah ani a:d apokar-le eky-a ek-kid ta:nu qoky-ad tam-ada-no [4'15] a:i:h ino qoky-ah ante i:he ada-bahno bi:s-ker lapy-ah [4'20] a:h to qe:ql-no ṭaka-d ok-id i:h to a:g-olah a:h bi:sy-ah [4'22] qe:g-u-h-đ ag-olah ṭaka-d ok-id adi-n [4'24] ante bi:s-ker lapy-ar ante qoky-ar [4'26] ta:lmi-angqā-t ada-n ilda-ker qoky-ar

[4'29] ante qo:k-ner ok-ner qo:k-ner ok-ner ante na:he awdq-ih ki saŋgale-h awdq-ih dosra-h awdq-ih de [4'36] aṛe e:k-a a:n-le awdqy-ah [4'39] ikṭo=ṭe a:n-le awdq-ih [4'40] a: peli-d a:n-le ek-kid ante dosra bacari ba:de-no awdq-ide [4'43] *kusi-t* na:de da:n nan-i lap-tr-i bo:j nan-i [4'47] ani eka=ṭe na:ṭ-no ort ra:ja-taŋ.cadi-de indr-kin lap-tr-id mo:q-tr-id e:k-a lap-et [4'55] a:n-le awdqy-ah ani na: saŋgale-h awdqy-ah ani na:he ada-no ek-keh ante awdq-ih de [5'01] aya patr-ond qaq-in ta:nu e:n ad-patr-ond lap-en ad-patr-ond niŋ-a ondr-en [5'07] de e:k-en aya ikit-no lap-oti mo:q-oti ra:ja-taŋ.cadi mangā:tr-id ano a:ṭ-ik jamar-ner ana a:n-ko eky-ah [5'15] aca nuna ka:l-a jaldi bar-ku a:n-kid tey-ad eky-ah [5'18] eky-ah adi-ki ba:de-no ano lap-ner mo:q-ner

riches of the house, sit and support [themselves]." He said this. "I am surely going to die now. This is as much as I know" he told so. Then she said "Yes." Then that mother who was at home, that boy's mother, ... this daughter-in-law of the king wiped tears, thinking, "I will pretend to cry." Okay, listen. I am going to tell [this story] whether or not I can do so. And she said yes. She has finished hearing everything, then she said yes. And as to him (i.e. the king), his life expired. He expired. After he expired, she cried aloud, and falsely attached spittle on her eyes. Attaching [spittle] on her eyes, she went out crying aloud. Then the old woman, the mother-in-law, [said] "What happened? What happened?" [She said] "No, this father-in-law passed away," and wept crying aloud. Then all cried and bewailed. His son did not know. He went to the Ojha Guru's house, the doctor's house, and did not know. Then [he and Ojhas] came back just when they were crying and bewailing. And he cried separately [saying] "Dad!" "Mom, what and what did [dad] tell, or didn't he?" Wondering "If I were sitting [by his side], what would he have told [me and] mother," he cried beating his chest. It was a big shock for him, who was a son of the rich man. He cried a lot. He cried and buried [the father's body]."

After he came back, they carried on living, and it was maybe four years, or five years. At that point, the provisions of the house ran out. And when the food of the house ran out, he became poor. After he became poor, he was ashamed, and said, "I, son of such a king, have now become poor. You go to your [parents'] house and live [there]. When I get back to normal, get ready, and when there is enough food, I will bring you back." He said this. Saying this, he sent her out. Then she went [home] happily. She went and lived in their (i.e. her parents') own house. He (i.e. the prince) stayed there, and got food selling his property. He did not know there was money under the ground. He sold [the land]. The buyer also did not know that there was money. They (i.e. he and his mother) got food selling [their property], and were living. They built a house with palm leaves and lived [there]."

They carried on living. Then he said, the friend said, another person said, "he said, "Hey, let's go." [The prince] said "Where?" After that woman left that way, she said in another year [that] she was giving gift out of happiness. She was feeding. She was holding a feast. "Let's go. A princess is holding a feast of something there. Let's go and eat." He said this. His friend said this. Then he went home and said, "Mom, if I get a leaf-plateful [of food], I will eat a half plate and bring the other half for you. I am going, mom. The princess invite [all] somewhere for eating. They seem to be gathering there." Having said that, he went. She sent him out saying "Okay, son, go and come back soon." He went. He went. After that, they

[5'21] paŋkti-no ok-ner ahe-guni sangale saŋgale-guni [5'25] oky-ar ade-no i:de patqa-n bilc-i bilc-i a: pahra-no [5'29] dosra lungi-papci cu:ca-ki urq-ad [5'32] ante a:t-ike aŋsy-ad aro patla-d aty-lad a:ny-a [5'35] a: to cinc-ad ako ante patla-d aty-lad a:n-kid ante patla ciy-lad [5'41] ante korc-ki ante nandu dosra luga cu:ca-keh bong-nid urq-id [5'44] nandu am-a bilc bilc oc-a [5'46] e:t amu-d qalcro a:ny-ah [5'48] ante adi-ne kor-try-ad [5'50] ante nandu-hi kore-kid nandu ja:gu-n bilc-i bilc-i e:kid [5'56] ada-no nan-dusra-luga-n punda-ki cu:ca-ki urq-a [6'00] badl-budl gařary-a ante a: pahra bilc-i bilc-i oc-ad aro e:t ja:gu aty-lad a:ny-a [6'05] ahe-bahak aŋstry-ad arhu na:n-le awdy-a [6'07] a:h ok-ih a:h ciny-olah a:d cinc-le gařar-id ako i:h ciny-olah [6'12] ante nandu aŋce-n bilc bilc-i oy-id a: pahr-no nandu-hi luga-n lungi-n papci-n dosra-n cu:ca-ki ante urq-a [6'19] a: pahr-no awd-ih a: pahr-no awd-ih de aŋe i:t-no batge-r ga:ře-r mba [6'23] anahi dosra urq-ner a:n-le awd-ih [6'27] ani a:n-le awd-a qo:k-ih sangale-n [6'30] i:pa:w aŋce bilc-i bilc-i e:k-id [6'31] te awd-i kide ahe-bahak aŋsy-a ar enne eŋg-en qed-a darc-ah a:ny-ad [6'35] ani indra kud-eni a:t-no utřy-ad [6'37] utř-ko ante indra kud-er lap-u mo:q-u male-r [6'39] sa:la i:h lap-oti mo:q-oti bar-lah [6'41] pel-ar-in batge-r-in band-oti bare-ah [6'43] a:n-ker ante muř-ond-ti muř-ond-ti baj-e-ti nahe-n baj-a pity-ar [6'46] baj-a pity-ar ante lap-ker moq-quer ante ada-ni-hi no:dry-ar patla tu:q-ar [6'50] ante qotry-ar kir-a seŋgry-ar ada-k

[6'54] kir-a seŋgry-ar ante se ma:q-a indro ej-acry-ah bijořary-ah ja:ne kiry-ad ani [7'00] co:ca-keh ante awd-ih de ayu: e:n ino:pane ma:q-a in-dra qandr-in ko a:ny-ah [7'03] a:h to piř-ko se kody-ah qandr-u-h men-leh nde [7'06] ante co:ca-keh ante awd-ih e:n indra qandr-in ko ino:pane ma:q-a a:ny-ah [7'10] a:-batte-n i:-batte-n e:r-ih ta:nu ahe-ki a:h eŋg-en band-ah a:n-le awdy-ad a: peli-d ek-kid ante [7'17] ano muřse-bahno kelar alq-a qo:k-id a:d [7'20] alqla:l menj aŋk-id a:t-no [7'21] ani ciraki-awali menj-a ayin e:r-keh ante [7'24] na:t-no aro ciraki-awali-d a:n-keh ante eky-ah [7'27] ek-keh ante duwari-no ij-ah [7'29] ani awd-i ne:reh il-ne ko=ře de [7'31] bar-a lořa-ki am-a qend-keh ok-owa ca:r-ana ciy-en a:n-ko [7'34] o: ťi:ke aya-ke ho kirtr-en ar e:n-đ *nasta* menj-a-ken kir-en a:n-le awd-ih [7'39] ante tenřr.naq-a tenřr.naq-a ante ka:ři tary-ad [7'42] ka:ři tar-ne-ki ba:de awd-i aŋe ka:ři qow-ke ok-owa nandu ca:r-ana ciy-en [7'46] o: ťi:ke ca:r-ana-ki niřr-en ca:r-ana-ki-n aya-k oy-en [7'50] ante a:h qow-keh ok-ih ano i:ber adi-n-ikin tenřr.naq-le alqtr.naq-ner a:n-le awd-i [7'57] aŋe ma:qu menj-a ano awd-ide aŋe [7'59] e:n qok-ken a: muřse-ki jaga-n qe:g-let a:n-le awd-i

ate.' They sat together in a line with him, with his friend.' They were sitting, and [the princess] was distributing leaf-plates.' She put on a different lunghee and upper garment and came out.' She arrived there and said the leaf-plates are gone.' She seems to have recognized [him] and said the leaf-plates are gone. And she did not give him a leaf-plate.' When she entered, she put on different clothes and came out running.' She arrived distributing water.' He said, "Hey, the water is dirty.'" Then he made her put water in.' Then again, she entered and went distributing food.' Then [his former wife] put on different clothes and came out.' She was changing clothes. And at that time, she came distributing [food], and said, "Hey, the food is gone.'" She said that when she arrived at his place.' He was sitting and did not recognize [her]. She seemed to have recognized [him], but he did not recognize [her].' And again, she came distributing curry. At that time, she again put on a different lunghee and upper garment and came out.' At that time he said, "Say, there are a lot of girls here, aren't there?' One comes out after another for nothing.'" He was saying this to his friend.' She went distributing curry like this.' She arrived at his place and [falsely] said, "Hey, you seized me by the foot.'" And what did she do? She fell down there.' What did the men who were eating do when she fell?' "Bastard! He did not come to eat.' He came to pull women and girls.'" Saying this, they beat him and put him out, each beating once.' After they beat and put him out, they ate, and they washed hands there and threw the leaf plates there (on him).' And they dispersed. They had gone home.'

They had gone home. Then at night, he woke up. He came back to his senses. He got back to life.' He got up and said, "Oh my! Why am I sleeping [in] such a big night?'" He was lying beaten up. He is not [in a situation] to fall asleep, right?' Then he woke up and said, "Why am I sleeping in such a big night?'" When he saw that way and this way, the woman who said "He pulled me" went and' she was playing and laughing at [her] man's place.' She was flirting there.' There was a lamp light. She saw it and' said, "There is a lamp light," and he went.' He went and stood at the door.' Then she said, "Who [are you] standing?' Come, bring a pot of water and sit. I will give [you] 25 rupees.'" When she said this, he said, ' "Yes, fine. I will bring [food] to my mother and I can also have snack.'" While [those two] were chatting, the bed broke.' After the bed broke, she said, "Hey, come, hold the bed and sit [here], I will give you 25 rupees again.'" "Oh, okay. I will eat 25 rupees' meal, and I will take 25 rupees' meal for my mother.'" Then he held [the bed] and sat. Then they were telling this and that, saying jokes, and said,' "Hey, it has become night." Then she said, "Say, ' let us buy the land of the man who I married.'" She said this.'

[8'02] ani e:t ikpade-jaga-n qe:g-ani [8'04] enq-a=jahā qe:qlu ade mala ṭaka-dana ade mala indra kud-ot qe:g-ani ani [8'09] alqla:l peli to muṣe-h kamti qawr.naq-olaket to [8'12] awd-ih ante na:h patyar-olah [8'14] e:n enq-a=jahā beh-i mba indra kud-ot qe:g-et ani [8'17] ante ano-gote-hi mala-qate qe:g-et e:n [8'19] e:n boly-ond saba-ne teŋg-en ning-a men-anne a:ny-a [8'22] a:h qow-keh oky-ah anahi qā:we-hi a: ciny-ola ma:qu to [8'26] ciny-le-ki ba:de awd-i ante a: pahr-no awd-i kide [8'31] aqe e:n ning-en qe:g-ot awd-in e:n [8'33] e:n dök-ken a: muṣe-h essa ra:ja menj-ah ra:ja-ki taŋ.cade-n dök-ken e:n [8'37] qe:qlu-mergu-d ho kame men-la ṭaka dana-d ho kame men-lad [8'41] so:na-ru:pa-candi-ba:rah goṭe-hi kame men-la siŋaṭe-h menj-ah [8'44] lekin qond eky-ah na:pra menj-ah tambako-buṭa-h aṭa-no aṭa-no na:he naprar-keh kody-ah ani [8'52] e:n dök-ken a: muṣe-h guru-aṭa-k eky-ah daktar-aṭa-k eky-ah ante cari-a:tce men-oti eky-ah [8'57] a: pahr-no e:n ba:rgi-no ok-ken am-a cic-le [9'01] a: aṭa-malni-de enq-aya-ga:rni menj-ad a:de aṭa-no aṭe-ja:gu-n peyalary-a [9'07] ani se na:he key-oti eky-ah a: pahr-no awd-ih de key-oti eky-ah a: pahr-no awd-ih de [9'15] are menj menj ok-a e:n teŋg-in adi-n [9'18] ante ik-dine nam-ki (ja:mpeli-n ante) nuna-n ante ni:n e:tu po:sar-ani [9'24] goṭe-ni-hi e:n baṛya menj-a-ken a: pahr-no goṭe-ti e:tu ok-ket a: pahr-no teŋg-olaken boly-ond=goṭe [9'30] de menj menj ok-a pu:p-bagane-no sat-kohna ṭaka-d ok-i [9'33] a: i: aṭa-ki kōṭa-no ca:r-kohna ṭaka-d ok-id [9'36] a:n-le awdy-ah anake e:n key-in e:n ba:car-enala a:ny-ah aro ahe-ki ji:we-d urq-ad [9'40] ante e:n olc-in ujaṭi a:n-le la:li-n ma:nd-a ma:nd-a alq-qen-qate gaṭar-ken ani se [9'45] toho-d urq-qid disanq-a-qate a:n-le awdy-ad [9'48] ani i:h po:te-n kud-eh de ko:q-a-qena a:ny-ah aro a:r a:ti-nṭe [9'51] muc-uṭa-keh ante boŋc-ah urq-qeh aṭa-k kir-y-ah [9'55] kir-y-ah ante kir-ne-ki ba:d kir-ne-ki ba:de-no a:he aṭa-ke aṭs-keh ante toho-d awd-id iko nuna [10'03] bo:je lap-oti e:k-in ante indra-goṭe ondr-lake [10'06] mala=re aya indro-goṭe-de a:ny-ah

[10'09] ante döky-ar oky-ar ante na:h awd-ih de e:k-a enq-ki ka:je-n kud-et a:n-le awd-ih [10'18] ne:reh e:k-eh ni:n ni:n=jahā andaṭe dö:k-ne [10'22] indra kud-tr-anne ante indra qat-anne a:n-le awdy-ah [10'24] ani eka=qe a:n-oma ano-goṭe-hi [10'27] amb-in=qe e:k-olakene [10'29] ani a:t-ik eky-ah a:t-no awd-ih [10'30] aqe e:k-a=qe enq-ki ka:je-n kud-anne a:n-ih ani [10'34] ni:n anake lap-ke ok-anne ad-ik=jahā mal-a ani ni:n indra ka:je-n kud-tr-anne indra qat-anne a:n-ih a:h awdy-ah [10'40] ante nandu jaldi akawaka qaṭ-qeh ante ṭaka-n ba:r-keh ondr-leh [10'44] ante aṭa-ne a: ṭaka-n ba:catr-leh ante aṭa-n id-leh adi-k ugley-ih [10'48] ante na:n-le na:n-le bed-a kudy-ah and-uwr-olah [10'52] ar e:r-ni=jahā ki:ṭwa-male-h indrik e:k-er [10'54] anqe.mange-t ho a:g-tr-id [10'56] de cengje-d beh-id a:joka-hi

Then [he said,] "Come on! What kind of land are you going to buy?" I am not short of land. I am not short of money or provisions. For what are you buying [it]?" "Wouldn't a flirting woman and [her] man speak a lot?" He said that and did not trust [what she said]. "I have some [riches] too, don't I? For what are we buying [it]?" [She] still [said], "No, let's buy it. I am telling you a story. Listen." He, the husband, was sitting carrying the bed for nothing. She did not notice, it was night. Then she said, she said at that time, "Look, I am telling you to buy it." The man I married was quite a king. I married a king's son. There was no shortage of land property. There was no shortage of money and provisions either. There was no shortage of gold, silver or whatever else. [The king] was a rich man. But he got weak. The father was sick. He was lying sick at home. The man I married had gone to an Ojha Guru's house and a doctor's house. He went to ask for pendulum and leaf divination. At that time I was sitting at [the king's] side, giving him water. The wife, my mother-in-law, was preparing for vegetable and rice at home. At that very time he was dying. At that time he said, when he was dying, "Say, sit listening. I am telling this to you. Some day, you will support our boy well." When I was strong, when I was sitting well with everything, I did not tell even a word. Sit listening. There are seven jarfuls of money in the flower garden. There are four jarfuls of money in the corners of this house." He said this. He said, "Now I am dying. I will not be saved", and his life expired. Then I cried falsely, and laughed attaching spittle [to my eyes]. Just then mother came out and noticed." She said this. What would he (i.e. her former husband) do? He said, "Keep lying there," and [went out]. Having slammed the door, he ran away. He got out and went home. He went home, and after he went home, he arrived at home and mother said, "Where [were you], son?" You said 'I am going to eat at the feast', but you did not bring anything back." He said, "No, mom, [I brought] quite something."

And they carried on living, and he said [to others], "Let's go. Let's do my work for me." He said this. Who would go? [The one who he talked to] said, "You are living empty-handed. What job are you going to give [me] and what are you going to give [me for that]?" "Let's go. Don't say such a thing." "No, I won't go." Then he went there and said [to someone] there. He said, "Hey let's go. Will you work for me?" "Now you don't have [money] even for eating and sitting. What job are you going to give [me] then? What will you give me?" He (i.e. the man he talked to) said this. Still he wanted to find [someone] quickly, take out and bring the money home. He was thinking that he would regain that money and build a house. He was looking for [laborers] that way, but did not find one. Just at sight, he was a poor man. Why would they go? It is self-evident. His friend went [with

taŋ-ki sangale-hi eky-ah [11'00] eky-ah ante eky-ah aca indru ka:je kud-tr-ne kud-en a:ny-ah [11'03] eky-ah e:ke-ki ba:de-no arg-ah [11'07] arg-ah ante jaga pu:p-bagane-ki taka-n arg-ah [11'09] arg arc oc-ah ante arg-try-ah ako disanq-ah ako na:h [11'12] ante nek-a:nded anake kir-oka a:ny-ah [11'14] kiry-ah aqa-k i:he a: taka-n muŋq-qeh kirtry-ah qalwo [11'18] ante cic-ah ante nandu ort bed-ku a:n-le awq-ih

[11'22] indra a:ber-ine i:ber-ine bed-en eng-ma:ne kud-a qo:k-en ga:ŋ-dine kud-a qo:k-en [11'27] ante ano-goŋe-hi a:h taŋ-ki ugli-t e:k-ih ka:je-k [11'32] ante orte-hi menj-ah e:r-keh e:r-keh eky-ah ahe-n [11'35] aŋe ikŋo e:k-ne il-a e:n de ka:l-in [11'37] a:h goda se e:k-in mba bar-oma a:n-ih [11'40] ar eng-a ho bed-id eng-a ho bed-id ani ujaŋi erg.boti-n nu:ter-le eky-ah [11'44] ante ek aŋsy-ah ante a:h awro-nahā awdy-ah [11'46] i:h to taŋg-ma:ne kud-leh adi-n ugle:c-ah [11'49] ek aŋs-ker ante kud-ner bed-ner nandu arg-ner [11'51] ante orte-hi menj-ah kohn-ond taka-n otry-ah [11'56] irw-er ek-ker nandu aur-hi na:ber ti:n-goŋa-ki jaga-n arg-ar [12'00] ti:n-goŋa-ki jaga-n arg-quer ante arg-nihi a: taka to gandŋ-no becc-a na:h qend-keh kiry-ah a: taka [12'07] ante nek-a:nded anake a:ny-ah ani [12'10] a:ŋ-nihi i:ber-in cic-ah ani kiry-ar [12'12] pe:sa cica-ko kiry-ar ante nandu ort bed-ku=ŋe a:n-ih [12'16] aŋe nam-ma:ne-t bar-et=ŋe [12'17] ga:ŋ-dini kud-tr-le ano ga:ŋ-dini men-anid pa:ŋ-o-qadi kud-ken ante inond qatŋ-ah [12'21] a:n-naq-le a:ber apoketr-naq-le kir-ner

[12'23] ante nandu orte-hi eky-ah [12'27] aŋe ikŋo e:k-ne e:n ho e:k-en [12'29] bar-oma ano-goŋe-hi i:ber to cil-ner e:n geci beh-en a:n-le kuk-a e:r-keh e:r-keh e:k-ih [12'35] ante kuk-a e:r-keh e:r-keh e:k-ih ante na:ne-na:ne-ti(?) bar-oma anno-goŋehi eky-ah ek-keh aŋsy-ah [12'40] ante nandu a:ber arg-ar arg-ner-tatner ante [12'44] a:ber agdu e:k kohn-ond otry-ar [12'47] qo:q-baje ti:n-kohna ca:r-kohna lehary-a [12'50] ante ti:n-jener aur ti:n kohna-ki jaga arg-ar [12'54] arg-ar ante awq-ih de anake oŋkr-ken=ŋe bar-omku ne a:ny-ah [12'58] e:r-a=ŋe idi-nahā e:ne awq-ken a:n-ko men-lake ni:n awq-ke ko

him], for [he] had some pity [on him].' He went and [the friend] said, "Okay, what work will you give me? I will do it." [The friend] went, and after that he dug.' He dug, and dug the money from the place, the flower garden.' Digging and digging, [the prince] reached [the location of the jar], and made [his friend] dig it. He seems to have located it.' He said, "Leave it at that. Now you go home." [The friend] went home. [The prince] dug the money out and took it home secretly.' And he gave [wages to his friend]. Then he asked [the friend] to look for a [laborer] again.'

[The friend thought,] "Why should I look for these and those? Only I will be working. I will be working for many days." Still, [his friend] went to work of his own accord.' And there was one person [coming along]. Looking and looking, he came after him (i.e. the prince's friend going to work).' [The man asked the prince's friend] "Hey, where are you going? Stop! I am coming." He (i.e. the prince's friend) said, "I am going to the toilet. Don't come." Saying "Me too! I want to go to the toilet, too," he (i.e. the man) came, falsely covering his buttocks [with his hand] (and pretending that his bowels were moving).' And he went and arrived. [The prince] told [the two to dig] again.' This [friend of the prince] wanted to do the work by himself.' They went, arrived and worked. They searched and dug again.' Then [when] there was one person, he took out one jar of money.' The two people went and again they dug where the three [jars] were.' After digging where the three [jars] were, he (i.e. the friend) went home carrying the money that he (i.e. the prince) had with him.' Then he (i.e. the prince) said, "Leave it at that for now." He gave [money] to them right there and they went back.' After he gave money and they went, [the prince] said [to them], "Hey, find yet another person." [The second man said] "Hey, let just two of us come.' Making us work for many days, many days[' wages] will be available. I worked just for one [day], and he gave me this much." Saying this to each other, they both felt happy (lit. they made each other happy) and went back.'

Again [on the next day,] one man went [after them].' "Hey, where are you going? I am coming, too." "Don't come." Still, [even though] they stopped him, he came looking at their heads, saying "I will be far back." And he came looking at their heads. And [even though the second man said] "Don't follow us that way," he came and arrived.' And again they (i.e. the three people) dug. They dug and so on, and' they first took out one jarful [of money].' Later it became three jarfuls, four jarfuls [in total].' Then the three people dug the places of the three more jars.' They dug, and he said, "Now I am satisfied. Don't come [any more], okay?" [The prince's friend said to the second man,] "Look, this is what I told [you]. You didn't listen, and told [the third man about the job]." They (the prince's friend and the second

[13'02] e:n mal-a-qafe ni:n awq-ke ko e:n mal-a-qafe a:n-naq-le qaqc-naq-  
qer kiry-ar [13'06] taka ongry-a anno ante indra kud-er de [13'08] ante kiry-  
ar a:ber-ik to taka cica-keh tey-ah pe:sa-n [13'13] e:nond-ti dini-*majdu:ri*  
menj-a cica-keh tey-ah ante tqry-a [13'17] ante i:he aqa-ki aqa-de e:no:pane  
menj-ad ano:pane jaga-ni ge:rc-ah [13'22] aqa-n ildy-ah taka aqa-k kotr-keh  
ante aqa-ki taka-de ok-a:nded [13'26] lekin i: taka-ti kud-tr-en a:n-le adi-n  
otr-olah aqa-ki taka-n [13'29] ante mistri-n bed-a kudy-ah [13'30] to ba:ra-  
jila-ki mistri-r-in manga:try-ah [13'34] a:ber ba:ra-jila-ki mistri-r ba:ra rong  
nany-ar [13'37] ild-ner aqa-n ild-ner-tatner ante mistri-r-inte aqa-nte ba:car-  
ki taka-de e:k.hajare kody-a pe:sa-d

[13'45] ani i: peli-d auri-hi muqse-n bed-oti *kabar* nan-id [13'52] ani i:he  
menj-ah ako te [13'54] aya eng-a eng-a pe:sa-n qat-li e:ne bajar-ik e:k-len  
a:n-ko [14'01] ba:ra-ko:ri pe:sa-ne cica-kide cic-a [14'04] cic-a toho nandu  
awq-i kide [14'06] beh-a:nde ka:l-a ni:n e:nond maq-e anond qe:g-a=te a:n-  
le awq-no [14'09] ante mala niq-ki tetu-ti qat-a=ya ante e:n e:k-en a:n-le  
awqy-ah [14'13] ante a: ba:ra-ko:ri pe:sa-n cica-ko a:te-k eky-ah

[14'16] ante na: peli-d ano tam-ada-no muqse-n bed-id [14'22] muqse-  
n bed-id kide dugu-n pind-try-ar ko male indru ko qiga-n baja:tr-i a:n-ner  
[14'27] a: qiga baja:tr-ko nada-no ra:ja-tan.gadi muqse-n bed-id [14'32] na:  
dine jamar-et a:n-naq-qo i:he bajare-k ek-keh ante so:na-saqi-n qe:g-qeh  
kiry-ah [14'38] so:na-saqi-n qe:g-qeh kir-keh ante aqa-no qoky-ah [14'40]  
ante dine jumary-a a:t-ik eky-ah [14'43] sarng-jahje-t ji:pe-t ka:re-t mo:ta-  
saikile-t ante ba:no-ba:ni gaqar eky-ar baq-a-baqa menj-menj-le [14'51] ra:ja-  
tan.gadi eng-en=ohqri maq.men-lid eng-en=ohqri maq.men-lid eng-en=ohqri  
biha men-lid a:n-le eky-ah [14'57] jamary-ar ante il-ner qo:k-ner a: pahra-no  
a:he qaso jula-no so:na-saqi-n qow-keh eky-ah [15'03] ante a:he geci oky-  
ah [15'06] geci oky-ah ante nada-no ati-ki juge menj-ad ako [15'11] ati-de  
pu:n-a qend-ki gurar kudy-ad [15'15] muqse-n bed-a kudy-ad pu:n-a qend-ki  
gurar kudy-ad a: pahr-no [15'19] eng-a=baru pund-lid eng-a=baru pund-lid  
e:n ra:ja-tan.gadi-dqa:we men-len a:n-le bed-a kud-ner [15'25] bed-a kud-i  
pu:n ati-d=jahā nanond male-r-in bed-a kud-i-tatine ante e:k-i ante [15'30]  
a: qaso jula-no sona-saqi-n qend-keh oky-ah ahe-n to and-olad ati [15'33]  
lekin oca-kid ante ahe-ki pund-ad [15'36] ani i:h ma:te-h male ma:te-h male

man) went back blaming each other, saying "It's not me. You must have said that. It's not me." The money is done. Then what will they do?' And they went back. He gave them money and let them go.' He gave whatever [money] the day labor was worth, and sent them off. And [the digging] was done.' And he hedged in as much land as the house originally had.' He built a house. He put the money in the house, and [said] "Let the money underneath the house sit there.' But I will make this money do [my work]." And he did not take out the money underneath the house.' And he went around looking for a carpenter.' Then he called carpenters of twelve districts.' Those carpenters from twelve districts made twelve plans.' They built the house. They built [the house], and after [paying] the carpenters and [paying] for the house, one thousand rupees of money was still left.'

Then this woman announces in order to find a husband again.' Then he seems to have heard it.' "Mom, would you give me money? I would like to go to the market." She gave [him] 240 rupees.' The mother gave [the money] and said again, ' "Don't worry and go [to the market]. Buy as much as you like." When she said this,' he said, "No, give [me the money] from your hand, mother, and then I will go." Then she gave him 240 rupees and he went to the market.'

That woman was looking for a husband there, at her home.' She was looking for a husband, so they seem to have beaten Nagara drums or whatever else. They spoke while beating Diga drums.' They beat those drums and [said], "The king's daughter is looking for a husband in that place.' Let us get together on that day." When they said this, he went to the market and bought a golden saree and came back.' He bought a golden saree, came back and stayed home.' And the day came. He went there.' By airplanes, Jeeps, cars, and motorcycles, they went in various ways, forming a big big [crowd].' Thinking "The king's daughter might maybe like me" "She might maybe like me" "She might maybe marry me," they went.' They got together, stood and stayed [there]. Then he went to a dirty hammock carrying the golden saree.' And he sat far back.' He sat far back. At that time, it seems to have been an era of elephants.' An elephant went walking around carrying a garland.' It went around looking for a husband. It went walking around carrying a garland. At that time,' they were looking for [the bridegroom elect] thinking "Maybe it will put [the garland] on me." "Maybe it will put [the garland] on me." "I would become the king's daughter's husband." "The elephant is walking around looking. It is looking for such great men." [While they were thinking so,] the elephant went but' did not find him, who carried the golden saree and was sitting in the dirty hammock.' But it arrived [at him] and put [the garland] on him.' "Is he a Mar, a barber, a blacksmith,

la:pite-h male kamare-h male qombe-h male ati ihe-k pund-ad ati [15'42] e:t-olad i: ati-d ati-d a:g-ola [15'45] de e:t ina men-la:ni a:n-naq-quer kiry-ar [15'47] ina men-la:ni palna dine men-anid dosra dine-no a:n-naq-quer qotry-ar

[15'51] te dqoky-ar oky-ar nandu-hi nandu dosra dine jamary-ar [15'56] a: pahr-no la:pite-r-joka eky-ah [15'59] a: sona-sari qend-keh eky-ah gobari-daq:ngi-no oky-ah [16'02] ek-keh gobari-daq:ngi-no oky-ah a: nandu dunya-male-r jamary-ar sarng-gadi-t ji:pe-t ka:re-t mo:fasaikile-t ik-ik,ja:ti gaqar-le e:ky-ar [16'10] eng-a pund-lid e:n ra:ja-taj.cadi-daq:we-h men-len adi-k a:n-le [16'13] awqr.naq-ner ante de a: pahr-no na bar-ner jamar-le a: pahr-no [16'18] na: ra:ja-taj.cadi-d (a:ni) ra:ja-taj.cade- tan.gade-daq:ni menj-ad a:d tam-aqa-no e:wy-a sorsoti-n [16'25] aqa-no sorsoti-d-bahak korc-ad cini-n baseta-n indru-ko erw-ci:je becc-ad adi-n [16'31] gosapii-k erw-ci:je-d becc-a adi-n qend-kid ante korc-ad a: pahr-no [16'35] a: pahr-no sorsoti awd-i kide [16'38] ina to ja:mayr bar-er a:n-le awdy-a [16'41] ina to ja:mayr bar-er a:n-ko are eng-en naq-oma [16'44] a: dine-nahä ikpade menj-a pund-a=re ani [16'47] ok-u-r i:n-le tupy-ar=re ani jo:r gaqar-le eky-a=re [16'49] lajatr-id mba naq-oma je a:n-ko [16'53] e:n maq.men-en adi-n male ni:n maq.men-en ad-in nde [16'55] ante ni:n maq.men-anid adi-n ni:n mba a:n-le awd-i ante e:r-a indrik na:n-ne nde [16'59] ej-ki saba-n dary-olaki ta:nu a:ny-a [17'01] ante a: a:n-kid ante erw-kid ante urq-a [17'04] urq-a ante cary-i gurary-a ati pu:n-a qend-ki [17'08] cary-no pu:n-a qend-ki carc-a gurary-a eng-a=baru pund-lid eng-a=baru pund-lid ani maji maji menj kudy-ar [17'12] a:d ek-kid la:pita-h qacy-ah gobari-daq:ngi oky-ah ahe-ki oca-ki pund-a [17'16] ani e:t atti-d e:t-olad qdoh-a pi:t-a baj-a [17'20] i: ati-de mu:se-n a:d-oti a:g-olad a:n-le [17'22] dunya-male-r do:k-ner o:qre:nj-le tupy-ar a:rary-ar [17'25] jo:r gaqar-le eky-a [17'26] ante nandu ina men-la:nid a:n-naq-ar ina nandu men-la:nid dosra dine men-anid [17'32] i: ati-d a:g-olad a:n-naq-quer nandu qotry-ar

[17'35] qotry-ar ante qotry-ar ante nandu dosra dine eky-ar [17'41] nan-dine men-anid a:n-naq-ko nandu na:he a:h qaso jula-ni sona-sari-n aq-keh ante nandu eky-ah [17'46] ante a:h nandu geci ok-ih ma:ngy-u-joka puj.cu:gu-r-joka [17'52] ante nandu sorsoti erw-oti korc-a ra:ja-taj.cadi-hi

or a Dom? The elephant put [the garland] on him.' This elephant is not good. The elephant does not know.'" Saying "Damn! It wouldn't have been today" to each other, they went home.' "It won't be today. It will be on such and such day, on a different day." Saying this to each other, [the men gathered] broke up.'

They carried on living, and they got together again on another day.' At that time, [the prince] went [dressed] like a barber.' He went carrying the golden saree and sat on a pile of cowdung.' He went and sat on the pile of cowdung. Those men of the world got together again, by airplanes, Jeeps, cars, motorcycles, in various ways.' "[The elephant] might put [a garland] on me. I would become a husband of the king's daughter.'" They said [this] to each other, and when they came and got together, the king's daughter, who was the wife of the prince, was performing a puja for Saraswati at home.' She went into the place (i.e. altar) of Saraswati. [Carrying] sugar, sugar-cake, whatever offering there was,' carrying the offering that was for gods, she entered [the altar] at that time.' At that time Saraswati said, ' "Today, the bridegroom will come.'" When [Sarasvati] said, "The bridegroom will come today," [the princess] said, "Hey, don't say [that] to me.' What happened on that day? It put [the garland on that dirty man].'" Those sitting spit like this and [the spittle] made a water race and flew.' Isn't it shameful? Don't say such a thing." When she said this, [Sarasvati said,] "[Which do you like,] the one that I like, or the one you like?'" She said, "[Give] the man whom you like, will you?'" "See? [Then] why did you say that? You didn't observe my words.'" After [Saraswati] said this, [the princess] performed a puja and came out.' She came out. Then the elephant went walking around carrying a garland.' When it walked around, it carried a garland and walked around. [Men] kept getting [further forward to] the middle, [thinking] "Maybe it will put [the garland] on me" "Maybe it will put [the garland] on me.'" It (i.e. the elephant) went, reached [the man] who sat on the pile of cowdung dressed like a barber and put [the garland on him].'" "Damn! The elephant is not good. Chop it, kill it, and beat it.' This elephant does not know [how] to choose a man." Saying that,' the men of the world [who] were present cleared their throats, spat, and were disgusted.' It formed a water race and flew.' And they said to each other again "Today will not be [the day]" "Again it will not be today" "It will be on another day.'" Saying to each other "This elephant does not know," [the crowd] broke up again.'

[The crowd] broke up and they went on another day again.' Saying to each other "It should be on a different day," he thrust the golden saree into a dirty hammock and went again.' Then he again sat afar, like a beggar, like a bird catcher.' Then again, the king's daughter went into [the altar] to

[17'58] nandu ra:ja-taŋ.cadi menj-ad a:d korc-a a:pahr-no nandu awq-id sor-soti awq-id ante [18'04] ina=janu ja:mayr bar-er [18'05] a:n-ko are a:ke:pe ho ik-pade ma:ŋgy-u-k=ma:ne ik-pade indru pund-a=re [18'10] i:ke:pe ho ik.ja:ti indrik pund-a ati-d a:g-ola [18'14] baj-a piṭ-a a:n-naq-ar o:qre:ŋj-le tupy-ad a:di jo:r gaŋar-le eky-ad [18'18] a:n-le awdy-a ani mala ni:n na:n-le na:n-le gaŋar-ni ta:nu ne:kki pasine men-ani ni:n [18'23] en-ki pasine-n dō:k-ani male niŋ-ki pasine-t dō:k-ani niŋ-ki pasine-t mba a:n-ko [18'29] e:ne awq-in adi-n men-ane ina j@amayr bar-er a:n-le awq-ko [18'32] aca ani e:n indra kud-en a:ny-a [18'34] ante urq-ad a:d male-r-bajo urq-ad [18'38] ante nandu ati-de ta:ri-no pu:n-a cini baseta ako indru indru becc-a ako adi-ne pund-a pund-oti urq-a a:pahr-no [18'46] eng-a=baru pund-lid eng-a=baru pund-lid a:n-le awq:naq-qo kud-ner [18'50] ante baŋa baŋa menj kud-ner maji maji menj kud-ner [18'53] ada-no na:gulgulya qacy-a puj.cu:gu-r qacy-a ahe-ki oca-ki pund-ad [18'58] ani e:t orta-qadi-peli-k e:nonde dine-game bar-et [19'02] e:nond dine-game jamar-et apta-taŋe [19'04] nek-a:nded biha gaŋy-a

[19'05] a:n-le awq-ko ante tambako menj-ah na:peli-ki tambako menj-ah a:he eng-a en.cadi-de muŋse-n bed-oti a:g-ola muŋse-n kor-oti a:g-ola [19'15] en.cadi-n kor-tr-laken a:n-le a:he a:he amb-keh kiry-ah [19'20] tembru piṭ-en aro se nde aq-a-k oy-olaken a:ny-ah ante [19'24] male-r to *jowab* nan-ker cic-ar kide e:nond orta-qadi-k peli-ke e:n hpta jamar-en [19'29] a:n-naq-qr amb-ker tey-ar nadi-ki pu:n-a pund-ad ati-ki nahe-ki ante [19'35] aṭe biha menj-a ko il-ner a:ber a:n-ker goṭe-r lajar-ker [19'39] goṭe-r lajar-ker ante a:t-no il-ner biha ik-bahno biha menj-ad aṭ-hi jaga-no i:n-le [19'42] ante ma:q lehary-a ma:q menj-a anno-goṭe-hi ante na:he awq-ih kide male-r qoṭ ongr-ne-ki ba:de awq-ih de [19'48] e:n to pasinar-laken ni:n pasinar-ki ante eng-ene eng-ene pu:n-a pund-tr-ki biha nan-ki [19'54] anake e:ŋg-en aq-a-k oy-a a:n-le awdy-ah ani [19'56] a:d indra kud-anide a:ŋgli-ko:re-t ahe-ki luga-n darc-ki ante oc-a [20'00] aq-a-k oc-ad aŋgli-ko:re-t oc-ad ante aq-a-no korc-ko (ra:ja) na:peli-ki tambako-ki no:kryo-r menj-ar a:ber-ine [20'11] awd-ih kide na:ma:ŋgyu-oṭge-r-ike e:t-kodli-n=ohŋi e:da-ke ciy-a a:n-ko [20'14] no:kryo-r dōky-ar a:ber-ike a:ber awd-ko a:ber e:t-kodli-no jaga-n cic-ar a:ber-ik oṭge-r-ik [20'20] ante a:t-no a:t-no a:ber ko:q-ner a:pahra-no awd-ih de [20'26] ti:ke eng-en biha nan-kid anda-ki aq-a-k awq-ko aq-a-k ondr-ki te eng-en anake lape-n qat-a [20'31] eng-a ki:ṭe kor-id lape-n qat-a a:n-le awq-ih eng-e ja:gu-n qat-a

perform puja for Saraswati.' The [girl] who was the king's daughter entered [the altar] again. At that time, Saraswati said again.' "Today the bridegroom will come.'" When she said this, [the daughter said] "Hey, [the elephant] put [the garland] on a mere beggar or something at that time, too.' This time too, why and what kind [of man] did the elephant put the garland on? It does not know.' Saying 'Beat! Kill!' people spat clearing their throats. It formed a water race and flew.'" She said that. Then [Saraswati said,] "Wait, you behaved that way, but whose choice will you accept?' Will you marry the one that I like? Or will you marry as you like? [You are going to marry] as you like, aren't you?' Listen to what I say. Today, your bridegroom will come.'" When she said this, [the daughter] said, "Okay, then I don't have to do anything.'" Then she went out. She went out to the men.' Then again, the elephant went out to put on what was on the metal plate, maybe garland, sugar, sugarcake and so on.' They kept saying "It would put [the garland] on me." "It would put [the garland] on me.'" They kept stretching themselves higher up. They kept getting [further forward] to the middle.' [The elephant] reached him who looked like a tramp, like a bird catcher.' Then [they said], "Darn it! For how many days are we going to come, for just one woman?'" How many days are we going to get together every week?' Forget it. Do the wedding.'"'

When they said this, he who was the girl's father heard [it]. He [said] "My daughter does not know [how] to choose a husband. She does not know how to marry a man.' I [could] not marry my daughter off." Saying this, he left and went back.' He said, "I would rather kill [her]. And I will not take [her and the man] home.'" The men had given their answer, "[For] how many [days] am I going to get together [every] week, for just one woman?'" Saying this, they forgot about her, the elephant that put the garland, and him (i.e. the prince). All those who were standing said, "Hey, the wedding seems to be done," and they all got ashamed.' All got ashamed and stood like this, right at the place where the wedding took place.' Then night came. It became dark. Then he said, he said after the men had dispersed.' "I did not like you. You liked me, put the garland on me and married me.' Now take me home." He said this.' What did she do? She held his garment by her fingertips and took [him home]. She took him home. She took [him home] with her fingertips. Then [they] entered the house. There were the woman's father's servants. [The father] said to them, "Show those beggars' couple the goat-pen or something.'" The servants [who] were [there] gave them, the couple, a place in the goat-pen.' Then when they lay down there, [the prince] said,' "Okay, you married me and got me. After I asked you to take me home, you took me home. Now give me food.' I feel hungry. Give

[20'36] ante lap-en te qandr-en a:n-le awd-ih [20'37] ani aslu ok-a aslu ok-a eng-en=pahā piṭ-oti baj-oti ok-ih [20'41] ej.gadi muṣe-n a:g-ola kor-oti a:n-le [20'43] e:n ikṭo ek-ken indru ja:gu-n ne:ke qaq-qen ondr-en niŋ-a [20'49] aslu qandr-a a:n-le awd-id [20'51] mala eng-a qat-a=du:re a:n-le sotye:try-ah [20'53] ani aq-a-no kody-ar a:t-no ik-bahno ti:qalu-pa:nu kody-a ako adi-n ar naryale adi-n meq-qid ante cic-ad [21'02] idi-n=ohṛi moq-qe ante am o:n-ene a:n-kid ante nadi-n a:tce kody-ad ade-ti meq-qid ante cic-ad [21'07] cic-ad ani a:h moq-qeh ante adi-n-hi moq-qeh ante am onq-a-keh ante kody-ah [21'12] kody-ah ante qandr-ner ma:q-a na:h to indra qandr-en adi-n se qandr-tit-ih [21'18] qandry-ad kajak ja:ng-no tuk-no coy-la ejer-la qandry-a ko:q-i [21'23] te disa a:g-la qandry-ad ani i:he a: sona-saṛi-n otr-keh ante ba:c-ut-ah [21'28] na: peli-n ba:c-ut-ah ante indra ko:q-en ante boŋg-ah a: maqe-h [21'31] aq-a-k tam-aq-a-k kir-y-ah

[21'34] kir-y-ah ante kir-ko i:he taŋ-ki no:kryo-n awd-ih [21'39] na:h ra:ja-taŋ.gadi ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-ki tambako-h mba a: ra:ja-h na:h awd-ih kide [21'50] aṭe ka:l-a no:kryo-r i: na: mangyu-gadah-otge-r indra coy-olar [21'56] inond a:t-baj be:ru menj-ad ano [21'58] indra na:ber-in urc-otr-le dwar-no cu:t-oka a:n-le awdy-ah tambako-h peli-tambako [22'02] ani ek-ker ante e:r-ner ta:nu aq-a to u:qe menj-a [22'06] ani a:ber muc-ogr-ker ante e:r-ner t̄etu-t e:r-ot pola-ker ante [22'10] ante ayu: ra:ja ayu: ra:ja a:n-ner a:ber [22'12] ayu: ra:ja sijaṭe ayu: niŋ.gadi se niŋ.gadi niŋ.gadi =ṛe a:n-le awd-ih [22'16] indra kudy-ad ma:ŋgyu-otge-r-in gadah-otge-r-in a:ny-ah [22'20] bar-a=ṛe bar-a bar-a e:r-owa ra:ja e:r-owa sijaṭe a:n-le awd-ner a:ber no:kryo-r [22'24] ante band-oca-ker ante e:d-ner ta:nu a:he indra kud-ih qandr-id i:he eky-ah [22'30] a:h-Ṅ ta:n ho e:r-oti pola-keh ante uṭ-ogry-ah t̄etu-t [22'33] uṭ-ogr-keh ante adi-ke u:ṭ-keh ante co:ca-keh ante adi-n urc coy-tr-keh ante gala-n cumqy-ah [22'38] iko ja:mayr iko ja:mayr i: toro-t sa:wc-ken i: toro-t qaṭ-ken piṭ-en baj-en a:n-le taŋ-ki toro-n baj-uwr-le a:he taŋ.gadi-n cumqy-ah [22'48] iko ja:mayr anake e:d-a ja:mayr a:n-le a: qandr-u-d indra anq-anid boŋg-ah maqe-h [22'53] ante a:h taŋ-ki toro-n baj-uwr-le a:he adi-n cumq-ih gaṭar-ih [22'56] qandr-u-mogro urc coy-tr-keh ante ḫoky-ah oky-ah ante [23'00] (awdide) a: maq-i-d ho a: peli-d ho saṛi indra palṭar-kid-tatkid ante [23'05] ojy-ar ante ḫoky-ar kide e:n-pahā ra:ja-n a: ja:mayr baḍa eno:pane ra:ja-h ako a:n-le

me food. Give me a meal." He said, "Give me a meal. I will eat and sleep." Then she said, "Sit quietly! [Father] is ready to beat and kill even me," saying 'My daughter does not know [how] to marry a man.' 'Where can I go? What meal can I get? And for whom can I bring it, for you?' Sleep quietly!" He complained, "No, just give me [food]." Then she roasted the rice grains and coconuts, which seem to have been somewhere in the house where they were lying, and gave [it to him]. Saying "Eat this and drink water," [she] roasted it with the leaf that was there, and gave [it to him]. She gave [it to him]. He ate [that], he ate that, drank water, and lay down. He lay down and they fell asleep. [Saying] "Why will I be sleeping?" he let her sleep. She was asleep. When [he] called her a lot and pushed her, she did not get up. She did not wake up. She was sleeping and was lying. She was unconscious and was sleeping. Then he took out the golden saree and covered her with it. The boy covered that woman [with the golden saree], and saying "Why will I be lying down?" he ran away. He went home, to his own house.'

He went back. After he went back, he (i.e. the king) said to his servant. 'He is the father of the king's daughter, right? That king said, 'Go, servants! Why don't that beggar-donkey couple get up?' It has become so [late], eight o'clock.' Go, drag them out, take them out and throw them out of the gate.' The father said this, the woman's father. When they went and saw, the house (i.e. the goat-pen) was dark. Then they covered their faces with their hands and looked. They could not see' and then they said, "Good gracious, Your Majesty! Good gracious, Your Majesty!" [The servant] said, "Good gracious, Your Majesty, lord! [It's] your daughter, [it's] your daughter!." [The king] said, "What does she have to do with the beggars' couple, the donkeys' couple?" Those servants said, "Come and see, Your Majesty! Come and see, lord!" After they pulled him and took him [there], they showed him, then what was he (i.e. the prince) doing? She was sleeping and he had gone. He (i.e. the king) could not see either. He made a shade with his hands, he made a shade with his hands [to see], then he [stumbled and] fell down on her. He got up, woke her up pulling [her with his hands] and kissed her cheek. "Where is the bridegroom? Where is the bridegroom? I cursed [him] with this mouth. I abused him with this mouth, saying 'I will kill and beat [him].'" Beating his mouth saying this, he kissed his daughter. He said, "Where is the bridegroom? Show [me] the bridegroom now!" She was sleeping and what would she find? The boy had run away. Then beating his own mouth, he (i.e. the king) was kissing her. After he pulled [her hands] and woke her up, who was dead asleep, he carried on living, and' the girl, the woman also changed her saree and so on, and' they kept [the golden saree] and lived. [The king was] thinking "I am a king, too. What a big king the

[23'12] ugle:c-ah mba adi-n awqy-ah na:n-le baj-uwry-ah [23'15] ante ḍoky-  
ar oky-ar ante na:he agdu-nahā piṭ-try-ad a:n-le ugle:c-keh ante mba

[23'21] apta male mehna bacari katy-ad ani eky-ah [23'25] kaṭikoj kacr-  
ond laŋgot aṭk-keh ante eky-ah jā:c nan-oti awri [23'28] kaṭikoj kacr-ond  
laŋgot aṭk-keh ante eky-ah e:ṭ-go:wal maq-joka-hi [23'32] eky-ah ani a:de  
a: peli-d pokari-no luga kaj-a ḍo:k-id [23'37] ani a:he pokar-a:ṛi-no e:k-neh  
andu a:sru-pi:sru a:sru-pi:sru eky-ah [23'41] ani na: luga kaj-id na: peli-  
di-hi awq-id kide [23'45] aṭe maqe ikt-ik ikt-ik e:k-ne il-a-ta:nu il-a-ta:nu  
[23'48] indrik ani cencj-cencj-le awq-ih indrik ani [23'50] il-a mba ikṭo e:k-  
ne [23'54] ikṭo e:k-en je: ḍo:k-tr-ḍo:k-tr-no ḍo:k-len adi-k se carc kud-in  
a:n-ih a:h [23'59] ani o: e:n abo-n menj-a-ken bar-en=re [24'03] a: boŋ kir-y-  
ad luga-n amb-kid ante [24'05] abo ik-pad maqe-h na:-pet eky-ah ine bi:k-  
ken [24'10] je: ḍo:k-tr-ḍo:k-tr-no ḍo:k-len a:n-ih e:ṭe-n cara:tr-le ḍo:k-tr-let  
ani [24'15] o: ka:l-a ondr-oka a:ny-ah [24'17] ante ba:te-n darc-ah=jahā  
taŋ,gadi-ki ba:te-n [24'21] ante ka:l-a ondr-oka a:n-ko i:de akawaka luga-ne  
kajy-ad sa:[c-ad ahe-no amty-ad no:ty-ad ante kirtry-ad [24'28] aḍa-k kirtr-  
ko idi-n ondr-ken-ih i and-ken awq-ki a:n-ko [24'31] o: te ḍo:k-ner ok-ner  
a:h e:ṭe-n kol-a kol-a e:k-ih [24'36] kirtr-ni cara:tr-le ante aḍa-no ho saŋ-  
gal saŋgal-hi ḍo:k-ner ok-ner [24'40] alqtr-kelatr-naq-ner ci:qlund-i kelatr-  
id ikni gaṭar-id [24'43] qade-k e:k-no ho akawaka ja:gu-n aqge-n bit-id aro  
qade-k oy-id e:ṭ-qade-k [24'47] ja:gu-n am-a loṭa-no qend qend ante e:k-i  
[24'50] a:t-no lap-eki ci:qlund-id ikni gaṭar-id kelatr-id ṭepoletr-id [24'55]  
dine-nihi na:n-ih na:h [24'57] kelatr-ki bicr-id qond-tr-ki bicr-id ani

[24'59] din-onde-no na:he ugle:c-ah ante awq-ih kide ni:ne are eŋg-  
en ni:ne kelatr-oma i:n-le ci:qlund-oma [25'08] ni:n aga muṭs-ta:ni ko  
[25'10] eŋg-en muṭse-h baj-eh piṭ-eh e:n aru-hi ijnjqad-maqe-n ki:ṭwa-maqe-  
n [25'16] uj-e eŋ-ki puṭa uj-e-k se ḍo:k-in a:n-le awq-ih [25'18] ani aṭe muṭs-  
balō-n (pel-balō-n) a:n-id a: ujaṭi pasye:tr-i (pel) muṭs-balō a:n-id [25'24]  
ante a: to ḍa:we=jahā ta:kc-e:r-ih mba muṭs-balō-n a:n-id [25'30] ante o: ani  
nandu na:n-le ḍo:k-ner ok-ner ḍo:k-ner ok-ner ante ante awq-ih de [25'38]  
e:ne ni:n muṭs-ta:ni-d e:n a:c-in niŋg-a ḍa:we-n anda-ken a:ny-ah ni:n muṭs-  
ta:ni anda-ken niŋg-a ḍa:we-n [25'44] anda-ke sidahe a:n-id [25'46] oho:  
anda-ken ikṭo ḍo:k-ih nde [25'48] a:h ano palna qep-no ḍo:k-ih na qep-no  
ḡo:k-ih ondr-len a:n-ih [25'51] ondr-ku aca jo [25'53] eky-ah ujaṭi-hi ek-  
keh ante ahe-n awq-ih [25'56] aṭe mba ni:n ra:ja-taŋ,gadi-ḍa:we [25'58] o:

son-in-law must be?"' He thought so, didn't he? [For] he said this and beat [his mouth] that way.' And they carried on living. [He was] thinking "Even previously, she killed [me] (with worries)."

A week, a month or a year has passed. Then he (i.e. the prince) went.' He put on a small [piece of] cloth, a loincloth, and went, in order to test her again.' He put on a small [piece of] cloth, a loincloth, and went, like a goatherd boy.' He went. Then she, the woman, was washing clothes at a pond.' Going on the bank of the pond, he was going hesitantly.' Then the woman, who was washing clothes, said, ' "Hey boy! Where are you going? Stop, stop."' "Why?"' he said graciously, "Why?"' "Stop, okay? Where are you going?"' He said, "Where am I going? Wherever [someone] hires me, I would stay [there]. That's why I am going around."' "I see. I will ask my dad and come back, okay?"' She left the clothes [she was washing] and went back running.' "Dad, I invited some boy who was going there today.' He says 'I would stay wherever [someone] hires me.' Let us hire him, making him graze goats."' He said, "Okay, go and bring him."' And he just accepted the words, his daughter's words.' And when he said, "Go and bring [him]," she washed and hung (lit. pasted) the clothes in a hurry, gave him a bath, washed him and brought him back.' After she brought him home, she said, "I found him and brought him [home]." When she said this, [the king said,] "Okay" and they carried on living. He (i.e. the prince in disguise) opened the goat[pen] and went [to graze goats].' She took him home, made him graze [goats], and they lived together at home, too.' They said jokes and amused each other. She played giggling and so on.' When he went to the woods, she cooked rice and vegetables excitedly, and brought it to the woods, to the goat woods.' She went carrying meal and water in a brass pot.' Eating there, she giggled, played and joked.' He was doing so all day.' It made [him] play and made [him] tired.'

Then one day, he thought and said, "Say, don't play with me. Don't giggle this way.' You seem to be married.' The husband will beat and kill me. Again, I am an orphan and a poor boy.' I am living just to fill my stomach." He said this. ' Then she said, "Oh, I am single." She lied and falsely said she was single.' That husband is testing [her], isn't he? She said she was single.' Then [he said] "Oh," and they carried on living that way again. Then he said again,' "I know that you are married. I have seen your husband. You are married. I have seen your husband." She said, "Did you see him? Really?"' "Yes, I saw him." "Where does he live?"' He said, "He lives in such-and-such village. He lives in that village. I will bring him."' "Would you bring him then, huh?"' He falsely went. He went and said to someone.' "Hey, are you the king's daughter's husband?"' [That man] said, "Oh, yes."

a:n-ih ante e:k-a ning-en awd-ide ra:ja-taj.gadi-d [26'03] oc-ah oca-keh ante a:he ok-ih geci-hi ani awd-id [26'09] aca na: biha-no indru indru lapy-ah moq-ah men-a aca a:n-id [26'13] a:h to biha-pahr-no moq-ah lapy-ah ti:qalu-pa:n-a ar naryale-n adi-n to moq-qeh-tatkeh ante tu:s-ot awd-ko tu:s-lah [26'21] ita-t manda-keh ki:d-ah [26'23] a:tge-n moq-ah a:tge-n a: to ko:q-id=jahā [26'26] ante na:h awd-ih kide i: biha-no indra indra moq-ah adi-n men-a awd-id ani [26'32] menj-e:r-ih aqeman biha-no indra indra moq-qe [26'35] ayu: ra:ja-taj.gadi-ki biha-d ani ra:ja-taj.gadi-ki biha kamti embe-tise menj-a [26'39] moq-qen lap-ken adi-n melqe-n qa:qmec-ad a:n-le awdy-ah [26'42] ani indra indra awd-ih [26'44] ayu: biha-no kamti (duk)suke menj-a ra:ja-taj.gadi-ki biha ani biha embe-tise cini-rasigula moq-qen melqe qa:qmey-i a:n-ih a:n-ko [26'54] e:t na:h mal-ah eng-a qa:we-h nahe-n tey-a a:n-le awd-id [26'57] aqeman ni:n mala-ke baru=qe [26'59] ka:l-a ani tuk-keh tey-ah [27'01] e:k-e:k-nehi awd-ih de aqe bar-ta:nu bar-ta:nu [27'03] ning-a tali pahry-ad ani muṣe e:tu men-lake [27'06] a:n-keh ante darc-oktr-keh ante tali-n car-in car-in a:ny oca-keh ante qerw-a ba:le-keh tey-ah [27'12] sa:la i: ra:ja-taj.gadi-dq:we-h ahe-n akry-ah

[27'15] akr-ne-ki ba:de do:k-ner ok-ner nandu kelatr-naq-ner alq-naq-ner sañgale-hi [27'20] e:t-daqe-k oy-no ho ja:gu-n bit-a bit-a oy-id [27'23] ada-no ho kirta-no ada-no ho a:n-ker tēpole:tr-naq-ner indra kud-ner [27'27] ante nandu awd-ih e:ne anda-ken sidahro ning-a qa:we-n [27'34] a: dini ikpade-no awd-ke ondr-ke ujaṭi-hi eng-a qa:we-h a:ny-ah [27'39] enga-dq:ni-de a:n-le a:ny-ah nandu dosra awd-ne a:n-i [27'41] mala-qae sidahi e:r-ken anda-ken a:n-ih [27'44] ka:l-a aca ondr-oka [27'45] nandu dosra dine ek-keh ante nandu awd-ih [27'48] aqeman ni:n ra:ja-taj.gadi-dq:we-h [27'50] o: e:k-a ning-a ra:ja-taj.gadi-d awd-ih eṛq-qeh oc-ah [27'54] eṛq-qeh oc-ah ante nandu oc-ah ante a: geci oktr-ih [27'58] e:d-olah=jahā geci oktr-ih ante [28'00] na:he biha-no nandu indru indru moq-ad awdy-ah men-a [28'04] ante de eng-a qa:we-h men-eh a:n-i [28'06] te aqeman biha-no indru indru lap-ke moq-qe [28'08] adi-n men-id ra:ja-taj.gadi-d a:n-ko [28'11] ayu:=e ra:ja-taj.gadi-ki ani ra:ja-taj.gadi-ki biha [28'14] kamti embe-tise men-la moq-qen lap-ken pola-ken e:ga-ja:ty menj-ad a:n-le awdy-ah [28'19] melqe=gote qa:qmec-ad a:n-ih a:h

“The king’s daughter tells you to come.”’ [The prince] took [the man]. He took him and [the man] sits far back. Then she said, ‘“Okay, ask him what he ate at that wedding.”’ [Actually,] he ate rice grains and coconut at the time of the wedding. After he ate it, she told [him] to throw [the leaf] away, but he didn’t.’ He buried [the leaf with] bricks and kept [it].’ The leaf [on which] he ate was still there.’ Then he said, “[The daughter] tells [me] to ask [you] what [you] ate at the wedding.”’ He asked, “Say, what did you eat at the wedding?”’ [The man] said, “Come on! It’s the king’s daughter’s wedding, the king’s daughter’s wedding. Were there few delicacies? I ate [so much that] it made my throat feel itchy.”’ [She asked] “What did he say?”’ He said, “He said, ‘Come on! Were there few delicacies? It’s the king’s daughter’s wedding. [At] the wedding, I ate delicacies, sugar and rasgulla. It made [my] throat feel itchy.’”’ When he said this, she said, “Here now! He is not my husband. Send him away!”’ [The prince said,] “Hey, surely you are not [her husband].’ Off with you!” He pushed him and sent him away.’ While [the man] was going, [the prince] said, “Hey, come, come! Your hair has grown too long. So you are not handsome.”’ Saying this, he caught [the man], made him sit, and cutting and cutting his hair, he caught [the man on his] ear, cut it off and sent him away.’ “Bastard, this husband of the king’s daughter!”’ He drove him away.’

After he drove [the man] away, they carried on living, and they were playing and joking together again.’ Even when he was taking [goats] to goat woods [for grazing], she cooked food and brought [it].’ When he brought [the goats] home, they were joking and so on.’ Then he said again, “I have really seen him, your husband.”’ She said, “On that day, you said something, brought [the man], and [he] falsely said he was my husband.’ He said [I am] his wife. Are you telling again about another [such man]?”’ He said, “No, I really saw and found [your husband].”’ “Okay, go and bring [him].”’ He went on another day again and said [to someone] again, ‘“Hey, you are the king’s daughter’s husband, [aren’t you]?”’ Let’s go [to] your king’s daughter.”’ He said [this], set off and took him [to the palace].’ He set off and took [him along]. He took [him] along again, and made him sit far back.’ He did not even make him visible [to the woman]. He made him sit far back.’ [She said] “Ask what he says he ate at the wedding.’ Then he would be my husband.”’ “Hey, what did you eat at the wedding?”’ The king’s daughter is asking that.”’ When he said this, ‘“Come on, [it’s] king’s daughter, king’s daughter’s wedding.’ There were not a few delicacies. I could not eat [them] and they were being thrown away.”’ He said this.’ He said, “They even made my throat itchy.”’ “What did he say?”’ “He said ‘Oh my! Eating and eating,

[28'21] ani indra a:n-ih ayu: e:n mo:q-e-lap-e-ti pola-ken embe-tise-n melqe=gote qa:tmec-ad a:n-le awdy-ah [28'29] e:t na:h-ð mal-ah tey-a nahe-n a:n-ko [28'31] nandu aqeman ni:n mala-ke baru=aqe [28'33] a:n-ko a:h-ð eky-ah ante e:k-ne-e:k-nehi hay bar-ta:nu bar-ta:nu a:n-keh ante bi:k-keh kirtry-ah [28'39] o: ning-e ba:coq pahry-a=qe [28'41] toro-ki cingo pahry-a e:n qe:r-ene a:ny-ah [28'43] qe:r-a qe:r-a oc-ah ante nandu muj-a ba:lc-keh tey-ah [28'46] a:h-ð bojq-ah

[28'48] ante qoky-ah oky-ah qengtr-naq-ner na:n-lehi qoky-ar oky-ar ante [28'55] ante din-onde-no din-onode-no na:he indra kud-eh qaqe-nihi kurky-ah [29'01] kurky-ah e:t-daqe-nihi ja:gu-n oy-o-gni-hi ja:gu oye-ki agdu-hi na:he kurky-ah [29'06] kide ina nuna-h bar-a:ndeh a:n-le kurky-ah [29'10] ina nuna-h bar-a:ndeh nuna-n e:r-o bed-e-t qondtry-a a:n-le [29'13] toho-ki na:mi-n bicry-ah tan-ki na:mi bicry-ah ante qend-keh qoky-ah kurk-keh ante [29'17] kurk-keh qoky-ah ante i:d akawaka ja:gu-ne aqce-n bita-ki loja-no amu kum-kid ante e:k-id apokar-le [29'23] a:h andu maqg-ongr-keh ok-ih kaki-hi [29'26] maqg-ongr-keh ok-ih ante a:d eky-a ar nandu ci:qlund-i ikni maqg-ongr-ke [29'29] male ja:gu-n de:ratr-ken a:ny gaqar-id a:d [29'32] ani mala a:n-ih i:he amba-ta:nu mba a:ny-ah [29'35] ja:gu-n e:n lapy-a-taty-a enq-a ja:gu-n=goqe lap-o bed-ola qac-i a:n-ih a:h [29'38] lapy-ah ante e:r-a i:h di i:pet ikpad male-h menj-ah ako eky-ahe [29'44] a:h enq-a i: aqce-n qaty-ah kide [29'46] ikqj-no and-ane a:t-nihi ciy-ane nuna-h bar-eh adi-ke ciy-ane jo a:n-ki qaty-ah a:h di [29'52] e:r-o bed-u qondtry-ad a:n-le awdy-ad aya-d [29'54] e:n kir-en ko a:ny-ah [29'56] ani ante a:d ante a:t-ni maqg-ongr-ya ta:n bawnary-ah ante ante kiry-ah [30'03] e:te-n=indru kirtry-a-tatyah ante ma:qu-qalu menj-ad dosra dine na:he aqda-k eky-ah tam-aqda-k [30'09] kiry-ah ante a:t-no a:t-ni tey-ah [30'15] ina ra:ja-tan,gade ra:ja-tan,cade-h ina ra:ja-tan,cadi-baje e:k-ih biha menj-a eky-ah a:n-keh ante nandu cij-n tey-ah [30'23] ani ante a:de aqda-no qoky-ad

[30'25] ante eky-ahi cij-n teya-keh dosra dine eky-ah [30'29] eky-ah ante cij-ne korc-ko e:ry-ar na:h bar-eh a:n-le [30'34] a:bere embe-n tise-n orye:tr-ker qoky-ar [30'36] ikuko o:n-po-n mo:q-po-n adi-n orye:tr-ker qoky-ar i:ber eky-ar eky-ar ante awd-ih [30'41] a:he to no:kryo-r qoky-ar ra:ja-ki no:kryo-r qoky-ar a:ber-in kor-tr-lar bahre-no oky-ar [30'45] ante men-ner ante na: peli-d awd-i kide aca i:h biha-no indra moq-ah men-a a:n-ko [30'52] e:n indra indra moq-qen biha-no e:n tenq-en a:ny-ah [30'55] o: tenq-a [30'57] enq-ene ti:n-dini menj-ad

I could not [finish] the delicacies. It even made my throat itchy.' "Darn it! He is not [my husband] either. Send him away." When she said this, ' [the prince said to the man] again, "Hey, you are certainly not [her husband]." ' [The prince] said this, and he (i.e. the man) also went off. Then while he was going, [the prince] called him [back], "Hey, come, come!" and made him come back. ' Oh, your beard has grown too long.' The moustache of the mouth has grown too long. I will shave [it]." [The prince] said this. ' He held [him] shaving, and he again cut off [his] nose and sent [him] away.' He ran away, too.'

And he carried on living. They were joking to each other. Doing so, they carried on living.' And one day, what did he do? He wrote in the woods. ' He wrote in the goat woods. Before [she] brought food, before bringing food, he wrote. ' He wrote "May the son come today." May the son come today. [I am] tired of wanting to see the son." ' He put [his] mother's name [on the letter]. He put his own name [there]. Having written [the letter], he was there carrying [it]. ' He wrote [the fake letter] and was there. Then she cooked rice and vegetables excitedly, scooped water in a pot and went joyfully.' Then he was sitting [there], fainted falsely.' He was sitting [there] fainted. Then she went [there] and shook him up, [saying] "Why have you fainted?" Or did I get late?" She reacted that way. ' Then he said, "No. Let's stop it." ' He ate the meal. He said, "It seems I don't feel like even eating meals." ' He ate. Then [he said] "Look, what a man was he? He went away from this way. ' He gave me this letter." "Where did you get it?" "Right there." "Will you give it to me?" [The letter said] "The boy will come." When she said, "Give it, will you?" he gave it [to her]. ' He said, "Mother says she is tired of wanting to see me. I guess I'd be going home." ' Then, she fainted away there. Then he worried [about her] and went home. ' He brought back goats and so on, and night came. On another day, he went home, to his own house. ' He went home, and he sent a letter from there again. ' Today, the king's son goes to the king's daughter's place. The wedding is done. He has set off." Having written this, he sent [her] a letter again. ' Then she stayed at [her] house.'

Then he went. Having sent the letter, he went on another day. ' He went. Then they read the letter when it came in, [and the letter said] "He will come." ' They prepared delicacies and were [waiting]. ' Having prepared whatever [food there is] to eat and were [waiting]. Then these people (i.e. the prince's marriage procession) went and [the prince] spoke. ' Those servants of the king who were there did not let them in. They sat outside. ' And they asked him, and the woman said, "Okay, ask [him] what he ate at the wedding." When she said that, ' [the prince] said, "I will tell [you] what I ate at the wedding." "Okay, tell [me]." ' "It took me three days.'

[31'00] ati-d pu:n-a pund-ad ti:n-dine-no ul-ise-no eng-en pasinar-lar  
 [31'04] ante dosra dine-no orta-qadi peli-k e:nonde dine-game jamar-et apta-tā:le jamar-et [31'09] a:n-naq-quer ante eng-en ti:n-dine-no eng-en pund-ad [31'14] ul-is din ba:de-no pund-ad eng-en ani punda-ko-tatko tambakor eng-en qōh-oti piṭ-oti oky-ar taŋ.cadi-n qōh-oti piṭ-oti oky-ar [31'22] ej.cadi-d e:tu muŋse kor-lad a:n-le ante aqa-k kor-tr-lar [31'25] ante e:m ikt-no biha menj-ad a:t-no ija-kem na:ti-no [31'28] ante eng-en pasinar-ki biha nan-kid eng-en aqa-k oy-a a:n-ko [31'33] eng-en kaṭikop angli-ko:re-t eng-en luga-n darc-kid ante bande-ki oc-ad [31'37] ante tambako-ki no:kryo-r eng-en e:t-kotli-n e:da-ko a:t-no kod-ken [31'42] ante eng-en maŋ.menjaki=pahā ondr-ki [31'44] de eng-en lape-n qaṭ-a ja:gu-n aṭce-n qaṭ-a a:n-le awq-ken ani [31'49] e:n urq-oti=gote muskilar-ken ok-in anake ikoti niŋg-e ja:gu-n male aṭce-n ondr-ken ciy-en [31'54] aslu ko:q-a a:n-le awdy-ad [31'56] a:no-gote e:n qe:g-o=qadi qe:g-qen ani [31'58] naryale-n ar ti:qalupa:n-a meq-qi qaṭy-ad ani moq-qen ante [32'02] i: a:tce-n cu:t-oka a:n-ko cu:t-la[ken] ani [32'04] iko e:ne cu:t-en ante peta-ken uṭa-ken ante ki:da-ken ih di a:n-keh ante argr-keh e:d-ah a:tce-n [32'07] ani o: na:h t̄i:k eng-a qa:we-h a:ny-ad na:h se eng-a qa:we-h a:ny-ad [32'11] ante nahe-ki-n lap-ker moq-ar ante kiry-ar aqa-k oc-ah tam-aqa-k [32'18] tam-aqa-k oca-ko a:h to ba:ra-jila-ki mistri-r ba:ra rong nany-ar ba:ra mahal nany-ar aqa-no a: aqa menj-a ahe-ki [32'25] ante adi-k sa:ri-n ba:c-keh ante ek-keh ante awdy-ah [32'31] sa:ti-n ba:c-keh ante sa:ti-n ba:c-keh ante boŋg-keh e:n ko:q-olaken a:n-le awdy-ah ante barc-ah [32'37] ante e:t-gowal-joka gaṭar-keh qōky-ah adi-n to teŋc-olah mba [32'41] lekin a:n-le awdy-ah aqa-k oc-ah biha na:n-keh ante oc-ah

[32'45] ante oca-keh ante a:t-no qo:k-try-ah ani de qo:k-id ok-id a: pahr-no ekdam kajak qa:y-ongray-ad a:d [32'52] kajak qa:y-ongray-ad a:d nano:-pane aqa-k tam-ada-n-te=gote besi menj-ad aqa-k ek-kid ante i:de bawna-ti qa:y-ongray-ad [32'59] ja:gu-n aṭce lap-no=gote-hi nadi-ke embe mal-a ante nahe-n bawnar-le e:t-gowale-n bawnar-le [33'05] bawnar-le a:de qa:y-ongray-id kajak ani i:he indra kud-eh [33'09] awro-hi budi-n pet-ah [33'10] i: to e:t-gowale a:n-le tēpole:try-ad alq-a kelary-ad eng-en-hi de i:de nadi-n ugley-id [33'16] a:n-keh tan-ki ugli-ti so:car-keh ante [33'18] i:h ano meca ok-id aqa-no ba:ra mahal-meca ok-id aqa-no ani et-keh ante [33'24] dosra-pa:w gurar-keh eky-ah a:n-le ani a:joka dosra-pa:w gurar-keh eky-ah boŋg-ah tirry-ah

The elephant put the garland on me on [all] the three days. On two days, they did not like me.' Then on the other day, they said to each other, 'For how many days are we going to get together? We get together every week.' [The elephant] put [the garland] on me on [all] the three days.' After the [first] two days, [the elephant] put [the garland] on me [again]. Then after it put [the garland] and so on, the father's people sat down to chop and kill me. They sat down to chop and kill his daughter.' Saying 'My daughter did not marry a good man', they did not let her in the house.' Then we were standing where the wedding took place.' Then [I] said 'You liked me and married [me]. Take me to your house.' She held me, [my] clothes, with her fingertips just a little, pulled me and took me [home].' Then when the father's servants showed me the goat-pen, I lay there,' and [said] 'You brought [me] just [because] you liked me.' Give me food, give me rice and vegetables'. I said that.' She said, 'I have tough time even getting out [of here] and I am sitting. Now from where shall I bring rice or vegetables for you and give [them to you]?' Lie down quietly'. Still I just asked and asked.' Then she roasted coconut and rice grains and gave [them to me]. I ate, and' when [she] said 'Throw away this leaf', [I] did not do so, and' [saying] 'Where shall I throw [it away]', I took it up, covered and lay [it there].' Saying this, he made [them] dig the leaf out and showed it.' Then she said, "Yes, okay, that is my husband." She said, "That is my husband." Then after having a feast for him, they went to [his] house. He took [her] to his own house.' [He] took her to their own house. The carpenters of twelve districts made twelve plans, and made twelve palaces. [He took her] to the house that he had.' — (On that night,) he covered her with the saree, went and said, ' he covered [her with] the saree, ran away and said, "I will not lie down," and went back.' Then he became like a goatherd and stayed. He did not tell her [who he was], right?' But he said this and took [her] home. He took [her home] after having the wedding. —'

He took her [home] and made her live there. While she lived there, she had soon languished very much.' She had languished very much. She went to such a big house, even bigger than her own home, and [still languished] out of worries.' Even when eating rice and vegetables, she did not feel them tasty, thinking of him, the goatherd.' She languished very much thinking [of him]. Then what did he do?' He took up a trick again.' "She was telling jokes [with] the goatherd. [She] was playing only with me. And she is thinking of that.'" He thought so in his own mind, and' while she sat upstairs in the house, on the twelve[fold] palace, he went down in the house.' Going around by a different way, he went away. That way, he went around by a different way and went away. He ran away and was off.' He was off.

[33'28] tirry-ah juta-n kamba-n anga-n goṭe-n ic-keh ante i:-pade-no duwar-bahno oca-keh ante eky-ah [33'34] eky-ah ante a:-peṭe gece-nṭe and-anid a:-joka-hi na:h a:-peṭ bar-ih a:-peṭ [33'39] awri-hi e:ṛ-gowale-joka lehar-keh ante bar-ih

[33'42] a:-peṭ bar-ih ani i:de a: gece-nṭe and-ad aro a:d-i bar-i na:he na:he qac-ih [33'46] e:ṛ-gowale akr-ih na:h [33'48] a:n-le a:de upaṛ-ond-ti upaṛ-ond-ti et-ki-tatki e:k-i [33'50] a:h bar-ponti bar-ih ante e:r-i e:r-i ondr-ih et-i et-i e:k-id [33'54] ante aṭs eky-ah et-kid et-kid eky-ad ante na:he a:de apokar-le ji:we-n ekdom amade:tr-le gaṛar-id [34'01] na:hi bar-ih anake-ja:nu andr-naq-en [34'03] a:n-le bar-id a:n-le (ok)il-id a: i:h andu duwari-bahak aṭs-keh ante [34'09] kat-keh eky-ah and-abalo-h=dene [34'11] kat e:k-ni aṭe ni:n ino se dō:k-in bar-a [34'14] eo: ino dō:k-in e:n to kat-ken e:k-in and-olaken [34'17] ayu: ino dō:k-ni a:n-ih [34'19] ino dō:k-in e:r-a [34'20] bar-a i:-hi-de e:r-a i:-hi ning-en ugle:c-le qa:y-ongr-in e:n [34'22] baṛi-n e:d-id a:d e:r-a ning-en ugle:c-le qa:y-ongr-in [34'26] to ayu: ino:pane aḍa-no dō:k-ni qa:y-tr-i ni:n eng-en bawnar-le a:n-ih [34'30] ante a:he awd-ih ante ok-ok-ponti awd-ih [34'36] i:d be:ṛe-ki anga [34'38] o: at-ane [34'40] amb-in at-olaken a:n-ih [34'43] e: at-a qaqy-ehala [34'45] ambin-re:-ya bai qaqy-eh a:n-ih [34'48] a:de anga-n at-try-ad [34'50] anga=indru maja milar-i mba ning-a a:n-id [34'52] maja sajy-i ning-be:ṛe-ki gandī=indru ba:rabari mba a:n-id [34'56] ante i: kamba-d ho nandu-hi be:ṛe-kamba-di a: kamba-n at-try-ad [35'00] a:d ho maja nek-i mba sajy-i mba [35'02] ani apokar-le gaṛar-id ahe-n ante juta-n at-try-a [35'06] juta-n at-try-a ante o: i: be:ṛe-juta [35'09] o: ning-be:ṛe-juta-d at-ane [35'11] amb-in e:n at-olaken [35'12] at-a qaqy-ehala [35'14] e:ṛ-gowale se aty-ah mba a:n-en [35'16] ante at-try-ad ante awd-id kide [35'19] i:ti ar na:ti ek-e:r-a aca a:n-id a:d [35'21] ek-e:r-a aca awd-id ani e:k-ih a:h usbi [35'24] a:di e:r-i apokar-le osuwtr-id ano e:k-ponti e:k-ponti e:k-e:k-ponti taŋ-a qa:we-ki ru:p banary-ah [35'33] ani a:d indra kud-anid de [35'34] ahi-ki gandī-no koq-et-kid ante olg-a se olg-a se olg-a [35'38] de ni:n eng-en qa:y-tr-ke ni:n eng-en bawne:tr-ke [35'42] ante eng-en ej-ki ji:we-n mund-oti nan-ke ni:n a:n-le olg-ad pa:ṛy-ad ante [35'47] indra olg-ane anake po:sc-naq-et adi-k se ondr-ken [35'49] bawnar-oma adi-n-ikin cinta: men-oma [35'52] na:m-hi uj-it amat po:s-a dō:k-et a:n-le a:he awd-ah [35'56] ante i:ṛ-bahante saba-d ongry-ad ej-ki saba teng-e

Having taken off shoes, pants, shirt and everything, he brought them to this side, at the door, and went away.' He went away, and came back from that side, so that she will find him from afar.' He became like a goatherd again and came back.'

He came from that side. She found [him] from that far. "That one comes. [He] looks like him,' the goatherd [who] was grazing [goats]."' [She] thought so. She went coming down one [step?] by one.' Coming and coming, he came. [While she was] looking and looking, he arrived. She went going down [the stairs].' Then he arrived. She went going down. She rejoiced and her soul suddenly got excited.' He was coming. "Now I am going to meet him." [As she] thought so, he came. She was standing. He arrived at the door and' he walked past her as if he did not notice.' When he went past [her], [she said] "Hey, [it's] you. I live here. Come!" See, I live here" "I was going past [you]. I did not notice.' Wow! You live here?" He said this.' "I live here. Have a look.' Come, look at this. Thinking of you, I have languished."' [Saying this,] she showed [her] arm [to him]. "Look! Thinking of you, I have languished."' Then he said, "My goodness! You live in such a house, and you have languished thinking of me?"' And he talked sitting.' "Is this brother-in-law's (i.e. your husband's) shirt?"' "Yes. Will you put [it] on?"' He said, "No, I won't." "Put [it] on. He won't blame you." He said, "I won't, sister. He will blame me." She put the shirt on [him].' She said, "The shirt and so on fit you well, don't they?" It fits you well. You are of the same size as your brother-in-law's (i.e. my husband's), aren't you?"' Then [he asked], "Are these pants his, too?" She put the pants on [him].' "They also go well. They fit well, don't they?"' She behaved happily and put [shoes] on him.' She [tried to] put the shoes on [him], and [he said] "Oh, are these brother-in-law's shoes?"' "Yes, they are your brother-in-law's shoes. Will you put [them] on?"' "No, I won't." "Put [them] on. He won't blame [you]."' The goatherd put them on, didn't he? I will tell you.' She put [them] on [him] and said, ' "Try and walk here and there, okay?"' She said, "Try and walk, okay?" Then he walked slowly.' Seeing [him], she got happy and put a step forward. While he was walking, he had taken on the shape of her husband.' What did she do?' She threw herself onto his body, cried and cried. She cried and cried.' "You made me languish! You made me worry!"' Saying "You did hurt me, my life," she cried and wept. Then he said, ' "What are you crying [about]? I have now brought [you back here] so that we will support each other.' Don't worry. Don't be anxious about this and that.' As long as we are alive, let us live supporting [each other]."' So he said.' And here the story ends, my story-telling [ends now].'

## Glossary

-a adverbial participle suffix, 55  
 -a dative case suffix, 28  
 ā̄ls-e, ā̄ls-ā̄lsy- ‘to arrive, reach’  
 āh-e, at- ‘to beat (drum)’ (Boro)  
 a?a/a?a-no ‘there’  
 a?iya ‘that way’  
 a?ne:y [ITJ]  
 -aka [ITJ] ‘you see?’  
 akabaka/akawaka ‘in a hurry’  
 aka:le ‘drought’  
 ako ‘it seems’, 37  
 akon ‘it seems’, 37 (S)  
 akr-e, akr-/akry- ‘to drive away, to chase’  
 -aga see -ga  
 agane name of a month  
 agar ‘if’  
 agal-bagal ‘nearby’  
 agdi/agdu ‘first, formerly, before’ (with VN), 51, 62  
 agwa ‘first, formerly, before’, 29  
 agrte ‘former’  
 anja ‘shirt’  
 anj-e ‘to choose (as when boys talk about girls)’ (Ursa)  
 ange-mange ‘among themselves, individually’  
 anyoc men-e ‘to promise (to give)’ (Ursa)  
 anygr-e ‘to suspend’  
 angji ‘ring’  
 angda ‘(palm) leaf’  
 angre:ji ‘British, Britisher’  
 a:ngli ‘finger’  
 a:ngli-ko:re ‘fingertip’  
 aca, acc?a: ‘okay, well’  
 acu, -a ‘thorn’  
 aju: [ITJ] ‘good heavens!’  
 at-e, aty- ‘to spread’  
 aty-e, a?c- ‘to be enough’

aqa ‘house’  
 aqa-male-r ‘family, wife (in taboo relationship as younger brother’s wife)’, 84  
 adula [ADV] ‘inside’  
 adul-te ‘inner’  
 ad-onond ‘each house’ from aqa  
 ad-?a:n, ad-?a:no ‘there’  
 ad?a:r-ik ‘thither’  
 ady-e, adc- ‘to catch by snare’  
 and-uwr-e ‘to be found’  
 and-e, and- ‘to find’  
 andr-naq-e ‘to meet’ (Ursa)  
 ati ‘elephant’  
 ate ‘or else’  
 -ate/-ati conjunctive participle suffix, 53  
 at-e, aty- ‘to wear’  
 ato [TOP]  
 atlong-e, -gy- ‘to take hold of’ (Boro)  
 ada ‘half’  
 ada-no ‘then’  
 ada:-ra:t ‘midnight’  
 adin ‘then’ (Ursa)  
 ade ‘half, little’  
 ade ‘lack, want’  
 ado/ade ‘again, further’  
 ado-r ‘others’ (Kusum)  
 adno ‘then’  
 adyar-e, adyary- ‘to be confused’  
 ana/=ana ‘like’ (Ursa)  
 anake, anaku ‘now’  
 ana:je ‘grain’  
 ani ‘so, then’  
 ani-jahā ‘still, yet’  
 ani-lagacki ‘therefore’  
 ani se ‘therefore, then only’  
 anihu ‘in vain, for nothing’ (Ursa)  
 anubhav ‘experience’

anusa:r ‘according’  
*aneke, aneki* ‘now’  
*anek-ti* ‘nowadays’  
*ano* ‘then, there’  
*anond* ‘that much, that many’  
*anka* ‘nowadays’ (Boro)  
*ante* ‘and, then’, 53  
*antekte* ‘then’  
*and/andu/ande* ‘all the time’ (Mali)  
*and/andu/ande* ‘at that time’  
*andare* ‘empty-handed, without eating’  
*andi/ande* ‘then, and, thus’ (S, C)  
*andular-e, -ry-* ‘to be surprised’  
*andeki, andeke, andake* ‘that way’  
*andek-* [CP] doing that way’ (Mali)  
*and<sup>h</sup> biswa:se* ‘superstition’  
*ano, anno* ‘then, there’  
*anpaṭ* ‘uneducated’  
*apan.apin* ‘each’  
*apokar-e, apokary-* ‘to be happy’  
*apoki* ‘happiness’  
*apoketr-e* ‘to make happy’  
*apta* ‘week’  
*apna* ‘own, oneself’  
*aba* ‘father’, 84  
*aba-bedi* ‘grandfather’ (Mali)  
*abo* ‘father’  
*abo-aya-ber* ‘parents’  
*abo-ga:re* ‘father-in-law’  
*amat* ‘until’, ‘as long as’ 29, 50, 78  
*amaqa:r-e* ‘to be anxious to, to be about to’ (Ursa)  
*amade:tr-e* ‘to excite’  
*amu, -a* ‘water’  
*am-ki:re* ‘thirst’  
*am-kuwa* ‘a well’  
*amn-e, amc-* see *amy-e*  
*amt-e, amty-* ‘to bathe’  
*amn-ki:re* ‘thirst’  
*ampatna* ‘cauldron’  
*amb-e, amby-* ‘to leave, not to do’ (with IF), 85  
*amy-e, amc-* ‘to take bath’  
*-ay, -an* a meaningless element attached after finite forms, 67  
*aya* ‘mother’  
*aya-abo* ‘parents’  
*ayu:* see *aju*:  
*aye-/ayi-* [OBL] of *a:yi*  
*ayu:, ay* [ITJ] ‘good heavens!’  
*ayo* ‘mother’  
*ayse* ‘this way’  
*avasya* ‘necessarily’  
*aweli* ‘light’  
*awd-e, awdy-/awd-* (S,C) ‘to speak, to say’ (with acc.), ‘to tell’ (with IF)  
*awri/awro* ‘again, further’  
*awlagac<sup>h</sup>i* [PROP] of a village  
*ar, ara* ‘and’  
*-ar* intransitive suffix, 42  
*arigari* ‘always’  
*ari/aru/aruhi* ‘and’  
*are* [ITJ] used to address a woman  
*aro/aroḥ/aroḥi* ‘and, again, further’  
*arg-e, arg-* ‘to dig, to be trapped’  
*arg-tr-e, arg-try-* ‘to trap’  
*argr-e, argr-* ‘be ensnared’  
*arg-ut-tar-e* ‘to load over one another’ (Mali)  
*arg-e, argy-* ‘to climb’  
*arg-tr-e, arg-tr-* ‘to make someone climb, lift up’  
*arsi* ‘mirror’  
*arhu* ‘again, further’  
*are/areman* [ITJ] used to address a male  
*arge* ‘vegetable dish’  
*ark-e, arky-* ‘to thrust in’  
*arkr-e* ‘to swallow’ (Ursa)  
*argr-e, -ry-* ‘to be pressed down’ (Mali)  
*appe* ‘a little’  
*arbadar-e, arbadary-* ‘to die’  
*ars-e, arsy-* see *ars-e*  
*arsro* ‘difficult, tough’

<i>arhe</i>	‘vegetable’ (S)	<i>a:d</i>	‘that, she’, 34
<i>alag</i>	‘separate’	<i>a:da:</i>	‘half’
<i>ale</i>	‘dog’	<i>a:du</i>	‘that, she’ (C,Nc)
<i>alq-e, alq-</i>	‘to laugh’	<i>a:-du:r</i>	‘until then, that much’
<i>alqe:su</i>	‘canine blood’	<i>a:d-e, a:dy-</i>	‘to select’
<i>alqtr-naq-e</i>	‘to joke to each other’	<i>a:d-no</i>	LO of <i>a:d</i> ‘that’
<i>alqla:le</i>	‘flirting’	<i>a:dmi</i>	‘man’
<i>alka-alka</i>	‘insignificant’ (Ursa)	<i>a:na</i>	‘like’ (Mali)
<i>alko</i>	‘that way’	<i>a:n-e, a:ny-</i>	‘to say so, think so, do so’, 84
<i>alktr-e, -try-</i>	‘to open’	<i>a:n-e, and-</i>	‘to get, find’ (Boro)
<i>alwi</i>	‘light’	<i>a:ny/a:n</i>	‘that way’
<i>as-e, asc-</i>	‘to foment’	<i>a:n-le/a:ny-le</i>	quotative ‘having said that’, ‘having thought or done so’, ‘that way’
<i>ase:rabe</i>	‘slowly’	<i>a:npaṭ</i>	‘uneducated’
<i>asol</i>	‘in fact’	<i>a:pa:n</i>	‘that’, see <i>pa:n-</i> (Boro)
<i>asg-e, asg-</i>	‘to paste on, put together’	<i>a:pa:wu</i>	‘that way’
<i>asgr-e</i>	‘to be put together’	<i>a:-pahra</i>	‘that time’
<i>aspatala, aspitala</i>	‘hospital’	<i>a:pi</i>	‘from the thither’
<i>aslū</i>	‘quietly’	<i>a:-baje</i>	‘that side’
<i>ahal-e</i>	‘to gape’ (S)	<i>a:-bahno</i>	‘there’
<i>ah-e</i>	see <i>āh-e</i>	<i>a:-ba:de-no</i>	‘after that’
<i>a:qtr-e, -try-</i>	‘to make mature’	<i>a:ber, a:wer</i>	‘they’, 27, 61
<i>a:g-e, aq-/a:gy-</i>	‘to know’	<i>a:-be:ri</i>	‘that time’
<i>a:g-tr-e</i>	‘to let know’	<i>a:y, a:yi, a:yu</i>	‘she, that’ (S)
<i>a:-kaya</i>	‘at that time’	<i>a:-ma?</i>	‘that’, see <i>-ma?</i>
<i>-a:ga</i>	[ITJ] ‘you know’	<i>a:-waje/-wajo</i>	‘that way’
<i>a:gal-bagale</i>	‘near’	<i>a:wke</i>	‘cucumber’ (Mahapatra ‘sugarcane’)
<i>a:gahndi-</i>	‘they’	<i>a:wk-ba:ri, -bita</i>	‘cucumber field’
<i>a:ge</i>	‘front’	<i>a:-wji</i>	‘that way’
<i>a:-calte</i>	‘therefore’	<i>a:r</i>	see <i>ar</i>
<i>a:-co:w</i>	‘like that’	<i>a:r</i>	‘they’
<i>a:j</i>	‘today’	<i>a:rar-e, -r-</i>	‘to be defeated, to dislike’
<i>a:ja:d</i>	‘free’	<i>a:ratr-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be displeasing’ (Ursa)
<i>a:joka-/juka</i>	‘like that’	<i>a:ra:m.se</i>	‘at ease’
<i>a:joka-hi</i>	‘therefore’	<i>a:ri</i>	‘hedge’
<i>a:t</i>	‘eight’	<i>a:-lagcki, -le:cki, -le:kki</i>	‘for that, therefore’
<i>a:t-, a:ti-/a:ti-</i>	‘there’	<i>a:lu</i>	‘potato’
<i>a:te</i>	‘market’	<i>a:-leko, a:-lekno</i>	‘like that’
<i>a:q-, a:qi-/a:qdi-</i>	‘there’		
<i>a:d-e, a:d-</i>	‘to erase’ (Ursa)		
<i>a:tge</i>	‘leaf’		
<i>a:tgo</i>	‘priest’		
<i>a:tr/a:ter, a:tre-/a:treri-</i>	‘they’, 61		
<i>a:the</i>	‘leaf’ (S)		

*a:-lo:kar* ‘those people’, 61  
*a:-lko/a:-lki* ‘that way’  
*a:lsi* ‘lazy’  
*a:sra:r-e, a:sra:ry-* ‘to trust’  
*a:sru-pi:sru* ‘hesitantly’  
*a:h/ā:h/a:hu, ahe-* ‘he’  
*ih-e, ijy-* ‘to pelt’  
*-i* adverbial participle suffix, 55  
*ik/ika/ike* ‘which’  
*ik ik* [PL] ‘which’  
*-ik* dative case suffix, 24  
*ikahi* ‘or’ (Ursa)  
*-iki* genitive case suffix, 24  
*ikin* see *ikni*  
*-ikin* ‘and so on’ (Ursa)  
*ikuko* ‘whatever’ (Ursa)  
*ikeno/ikano* ‘where’  
*ikeno-gote* ‘anywhere’  
*ike-r* [PL][REL.PL] ‘who’  
*ike-r-ne* ‘anyone’ (S)  
*ike-h* [M][REL.M] ‘who’  
*iko* ‘where’  
*ikote* ‘of where’  
*ikote-nte* ‘from where’  
*iko-cu:di* ‘how far’  
*ikonno* ‘when’ (Kusum)  
*iko-be:ri* ‘what time’  
*iko-te/-ti* ‘of which place’, 31  
*ik-?-a:no* ‘where’  
*ik-?-a:r* ‘where’  
*ik-?-a:r-ik* ‘to where’  
*ik-gote* ‘anyone’  
*ik-ja:ti* ‘how’  
*ikt-ik* ‘whither’  
*ikte/ikto* ‘where’  
*ikdano* ‘where’ (S)  
*ikde-k* ‘whither (Mali)’  
*ik-dine* ‘which day, some day’  
*ikna:y, iknahi, iknahe* ‘how’  
*ikna:n* ‘how’  
*ikni/ikin* ‘how’  
*ik-no* ‘where’  
*ik-pade* ‘how, what a’  
*ik-pahra-no* ‘at which time’

*ik-pa:wu* ‘how’  
*ik-bahno/ik-wahno* ‘where’  
*ik-biji* ‘which way’  
*ik-be:ri* ‘when’  
*ik-wa-nte* ‘from where’  
*ik-leko* ‘how, what kind of’  
*igjo/igjoho* ‘true, right, right away’  
*igde-k* ‘to where’ (voice assimilation according to Mahapatra 1979:36)  
*icca-mi:nu* ‘shrimp’  
*ic-e, icy-* ‘to take off (clothes)’  
*ijnqad* ‘orphan’  
*it/it/it-no* ‘here’  
*ita* ‘brick’  
*iti-nte* ‘from here’  
*-it* instrumental case suffix, 24  
*itiha:se* ‘history’  
*itne:(hi)* ‘this much’  
*id-e, id-* ‘to build’  
*ide* [ITJ] ‘look’  
*-in* accusative case suffix, 24, 28  
*ina/ine/inna* ‘today’  
*inad* ‘that’ (Boro)  
*ina-noten* ‘this way and that way’ (Tugu)  
*inalko* ‘that way’ (Boro)  
*ino/inno* ‘here’  
*-ino* locative case suffix, 24  
*ino-qadi* ‘only this much’  
*inogur* ‘this much’  
*inond* ‘this much’  
*inopa:n/ino:pan* ‘this big’, 31  
*inor* ‘now’  
*inq-e, inqy-* ‘to cough’  
*intija:r* ‘waiting’  
*in-te, in-ti* ‘of today’, 31  
*-inte* ablative case suffix, 24, 28  
*inte-nte* ‘from today’  
*inda* [ITJ] ‘take this’ (Mahapatra 1979:201 *unda*)  
*ind-e* ‘to do or be like this’, 84  
*indeki/indaki* ‘this way’

<i>indra/-an</i>	‘what’ (AC), ‘why’ (Droese <i>indrany</i> )	<i>i:-batte</i>	‘this side’
<i>indrany</i>	‘why’	<i>i:ber/i:wer, i:beri-</i>	‘these’
<i>indrik</i>	‘why’	<i>i:yi, iye-</i>	‘this’ (S)
<i>indru/-du</i>	‘what’	<i>i:-wajo</i>	‘this way’
<i>=indru</i>	‘and so on’, 37	<i>i:-leko</i>	‘like this’
<i>indru-ko</i>	‘whatever’ (Ursa)	<i>i:lko</i>	‘this way’
<i>indru-gote</i>	‘anything’	<i>i:-sob</i>	‘this all’
<i>indru-jahā</i>	‘anything’	<i>i:sr-e, i:sr-</i>	‘to be torn’
<i>indru-pade</i>	‘what kind of’	<i>i:h, ihi-/ihe-</i>	‘he’
<i>indru-leko</i>	‘what kind of’	<i>-u</i>	present participle suffix, 51
<i>indr-e, indr-</i>	‘to divide’ (PadB)	<i>uglar-e, uglar-</i>	‘to think’
<i>indro</i>	‘what’ (when recollecting something)	<i>ugli</i>	‘mind’
<i>indro-ondro</i>	[ECHO] ‘what’	<i>ugley-e, ugle:c-</i>	‘to think’ (Droese <i>uglec</i> ), ‘to think of ...ing’ (with IF)
<i>indrne</i>	‘anything’, 65	<i>ugsa</i>	‘fast’ (Boro)
<i>indrne-pade/indrna-pade</i>	‘(not) ... any’, 65	<i>ujaqi</i>	‘unjustly, falsely’ (Ursa)
<i>iwr, iwr-er</i>	‘two people’, 32	<i>uj-e, ujy-</i>	‘to live’
<i>irw, irw-er</i>	‘two people’, 32	<i>ujni</i>	‘alive’
<i>irwa-qad-er</i>	‘couple’ (Ursa)	<i>ut-e, ut-</i>	‘to cover’
<i>il-e, ij(a)-</i>	[ITR] ‘to stand, stop’	<i>utuhr-e, -r-</i>	‘to be filled up’ (S)
<i>ilko</i>	‘this way’	<i>utogr-e, -r-</i>	‘to be filled up’
<i>ild-e, ild(a)-, ildy-</i>	‘to erect’	<i>utr-e, -ry-</i>	‘to drop, fall down’
<i>-is/su</i>	‘two’	<i>udsa</i>	[PROP] of a village
<i>isa</i>	‘portion’	<i>undgal</i>	‘sibling’
<i>isacnu/-du, -a</i>	‘oil’	<i>undgal</i>	‘sibling’ (Ursa)
<i>isai, isaye</i>	‘Jesus, Christian, Christianity’	<i>utare</i>	‘north’
<i>isa:be</i>	‘share, inheritance’	<i>utar</i>	‘answer’
<i>iskule</i>	‘school’	<i>uda:ri</i>	‘credit’
<i>is.lie:</i>	‘therefore’	<i>unda</i>	[ITJ] ‘hold it’
<i>ihe-</i>	see <i>i:h</i>	<i>upa:r-ond</i>	‘one step’ (?) (Ursa)
<i>i:</i>	[ADJ] ‘this’	<i>upa:y</i>	‘means’
<i>i:kasar:r-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be envious’	<i>uba</i>	name of a fish (?) (Mali)
<i>i:t, i:ti-</i>	‘here’	<i>umku, -a</i>	‘rice husk’
<i>i:q, i:qi-</i>	‘here’	<i>umba, mba</i>	[ITJ] ‘isn’t it?’, 38
<i>i:tr/i:trer</i>	‘these’	<i>umbl-e, umbly-</i>	‘to urinate’
<i>i:d, ide-/idi-</i>	‘this, she’, 34	<i>ur-ur</i>	[ONOM] ‘very sharp’
<i>i:n-e, i:ny-</i>	‘to do this way’	<i>urq-e, urq-/urqy-</i>	‘to come out’, 58
<i>i:n-le</i>	‘this way’	<i>urkro</i>	‘holey’
<i>i:-pade-r</i>	‘such people’	<i>ury-e, ure-</i>	‘to drag forward’
<i>i:-pa:w</i>	‘this way’	<i>ułan.kałola</i>	‘flying bedstead’
<i>i:-baje</i>	‘this side’	<i>uł-e, ułc-</i>	‘to get full’
		<i>ułd-e, ułdy-</i>	‘to make someone full’
		<i>ul-</i>	[CLF] of days

<i>ula</i>	‘inside’, 29	<i>et-e, ety-</i>	‘to go down, to set (of sun)’, 58
<i>ule/-du</i>	‘day’	<i>ettr-e, ettr-</i>	‘to bring down’
<i>ulta</i>	‘opposite’	<i>etro</i>	lower (Boro)
<i>ultar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to turn back’	<i>-en</i>	accusative case suffix, 28
<i>ultes-e</i>	‘to turn over’ (Mali)	<i>-ente</i>	ablative case suffix, 24, 28
<i>ulte</i>	‘inside’	<i>enne</i>	[ITJ] ‘hey’ (Ursa)
<i>u:sat-e, u:saty-</i>	‘to kick’ (Droese utes-e)	<i>end-e, end-</i>	‘to tell to, to charge to’ (with IF)
<i>uske: ba:d</i>	‘after that’	<i>epra:r-e, -ry-</i>	‘to struggle’
<i>ust-e, usty-</i>	see <i>usat-e</i> (Telo)	<i>epri.bupr'i</i>	‘twisting, wriggling’
<i>usbi</i>	‘slowly’	<i>em-</i>	[OBL] of <i>e:m</i>
<i>usyare/usyari</i>	‘smart’	<i>emu-gu</i>	‘our father’
<i>uswe</i>	‘footprint’ (Mali)	<i>embe</i>	‘sweet, sweet taste’
<i>usra</i>	‘spare time’	<i>embe-tise</i>	‘sweet and sour things, delicacies’
<i>usra:r-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be ready’	<i>-ey/-es</i>	denominative suffix, 41, 65
<i>usri</i>	‘firewood’ (PadB)	<i>ey-e, e:c-</i>	‘to tie’
<i>u:qe</i>	‘darkness’	<i>ey-r-e, -r-</i>	‘to be tied’
<i>u:q-e, u:q- (Ursa)/ u:qy- (Mokri)</i>	‘to become dark’	<i>erar-e</i>	‘to revive’ (?) (Boro)
<i>u:dur-e, u:dury-</i>	‘to lean’	<i>er-e, ery-</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>u:r-e, u:ry-</i>	‘to blow’	<i>erqo</i>	‘husband’s younger sister’
<i>equestr-e</i>	‘to empty a vessel’ (Ursa)	<i>erg-e, ergy-</i>	‘to defecate’
<i>ek-/eky-</i>	see <i>e:k-e</i>	<i>erg-boṭi</i>	‘anus’ (Ursa)
<i>-ek</i>	dative case suffix, 24	<i>erk-a</i>	[IMP] ‘go!’ (S)
<i>ekta</i>	‘unity’	<i>erh-e, eryh-</i>	‘to defecate’ (S)
<i>ekdam</i>	‘at once, completely’	<i>erq-e</i>	‘to get started’ (Ursa)
<i>ekrar-e</i>	‘to play off, fight a duel’ (Boro)	<i>erq'u</i>	‘bow’
<i>ekle, ekla</i>	‘alone’	<i>erw-e, erw-y-</i>	‘to worship’
<i>ey.gade</i>	‘my son’	<i>erwe-tu:se</i>	‘ritual and offering’
<i>eng-e, engy-</i>	‘to be left’	<i>elktr-e</i>	‘to frighten’
<i>eng-a-da:ni</i>	‘my wife’	<i>elc-e/elic-, elcy-</i>	‘to fear’
<i>eng.dq</i>	‘my younger sibling’	<i>ewj-e, ewyj-</i>	‘to be lost’
<i>eng-dq:ku</i>	‘my spouse’	<i>essa</i>	‘very, much’
<i>eng-tr-e</i>	‘to save, leave’	<i>e:g-e, e:gy-</i>	‘to cool’
<i>ec-e, ec-/ecy-</i>	‘to throw out’ (Ursa)	<i>e:k</i>	‘one’
<i>ec-r-naq-e</i>	‘to throw (water) to each other’	<i>e:k-e, eky-</i>	‘to go’, 57, 83
<i>ej-agr-e, -agry-</i>	‘to wake up’ (Ursa)	<i>e:k-pahra</i>	‘when going’
<i>ejr-e</i>	‘to get up’	<i>e:k ba:r</i>	‘once’
<i>eju/-du, -a</i>	‘bear’	<i>e:k sa:t</i>	‘together’
<i>edru/-du</i>	‘parrakeet, parrot’	<i>e:k-hi</i>	‘same’
<i>-et</i>	instrumental case suffix, 24, 28	<i>e:g-e, e:gy-</i>	‘to throw’
		<i>e:l</i>	[ITJ] ‘come on! oh no!’
		<i>e:to:ja</i>	‘ritual place’

*-e:nd* ‘two’, 32  
*e:nd(a)-* [CLF] for generic use, 34  
*e:tr-e, e:try-* ‘to be visible’  
*e:d-e, e:d-* ‘to show’  
*e:n/e:nu, eng-* ‘I’  
*e:nogur* ‘how many/much’ (S)  
*e:nocud* ‘until how far’  
*e:nond/e:no/e:na* ‘how many/much’  
*e:no:pan* ‘how big’  
*e:m/e:mu, em-* ‘we’ (E)  
*e:r-e, e:ry-* ‘to see’, 57  
*e:re* ‘goat’  
*e:r-e, e:ry-* ‘to follow’ (Mali, Mapatra *e:roy-e*)  
*e:ru* ‘good, well’, *e:r-ol-* ‘be bad’, 32  
*e:rc-e* ‘to carry with hand’  
*e:ru-qani* ‘safely’  
*e:re,-a/-en* ‘goat’  
*e:r-kodli* ‘goat-pen’  
*e:rtu, -a* ‘bow’  
*e:l-e, e:l-* ‘to go astray, to lose sight of’  
*e:so* ‘this year’  
*-o* subjunctive suffix, 69 (PadB)  
*okile* ‘lawyer’  
*ok-e, oky-* ‘to sit’  
*ok-et-e, -ety-* ‘to sit down’  
*ok-tr-e, -tr-/try-* ‘to place’  
*onyg-e, ongy-* [TR] ‘to finish’, perfective marker, 56  
*onygr-e, ongry-/onyr-* [ITR] ‘to end, pass away’, perfective marker  
*oc-* see *oy-e*  
*ojing-e, ojingga-* ‘to be done’ (?)  
*oj-e, ojy-* ‘to make, plant, keep’  
*otto* ‘shallow’ (?) (Simal)  
*otv-e, otc-* ‘to press’  
*od-e, ody-* ‘to hide’  
*od-ohr-e* ‘to hide oneself’ (Boro)  
*ond-* see *o:n-e*  
*ondgal/ondgal* ‘sibling’

*otr-e, otry-* ‘to take out, to serve’  
 [food]  
*od-e, od-* ‘to burn’  
*ona-* ‘that’, 64 (Boro)  
*ona:d* ‘that’, 64 (Boro)  
*-onond* ‘each, one by one’, 32  
*onq-e, onq-/onqy-* ‘to be drunk’  
*-ond* ‘one’  
*ond-e, ond-* ‘to make drink’  
*ondr-e, ondr-/ondry-* ‘to bring, to come’, 58, 83  
*oy-e, oc-* ‘to take, take along’, 58, 83  
*-owa* ‘brother’  
*orgi* ‘not yet’ (with IF)  
*ort/orte/ortu* ‘one person’, 32  
*orta-qadi* ‘only one person’  
*ort-id* [F] ‘one person’  
*ortonti* ‘together’  
*oryatr-e/oryetr-e, -try-* ‘to prepare, arrange for’  
*oryary-a* ‘to be prepared’  
*oryes-e* ‘to prepare’ (Mali)  
*orgu, -a* ‘house’  
*orgu-male* ‘family member’  
*orge-r* ‘married couple’  
*orgond* ‘a little’  
*orgni* ‘mistress’  
*orkr-e, orkry-* ‘to be satisfied’  
*orme* ‘ash’  
*orhu, -a* ‘house’ (S)  
*olg-e, olg-/olg-* ‘to cry, weep’  
*osuwtr-e* ‘to put a step forward’  
 (Ursa)  
*osge* ‘mouse’  
*oha-* ‘that’, 64 (S)  
*oho* ‘thither’  
*=ohri* ‘or something’, 37  
*o:, ð:* ‘yes’  
*o:qer-tr-e, -try-* ‘to have one’s hair treated with oil’  
*o:qre;jj-e, -jj-* ‘to clear one’s throat’ (Ursa)  
*o:ja* ‘Ojha’

<i>o:jr-e, o:jr-</i>	‘to go away’ (Boro)	<i>qaŋye/qaŋya</i>	‘worship’
<i>o:tres-e</i>	‘to lean forward to peep’ (Telo)	<i>qal-e, qad(a)-</i>	‘to steal, cheat’
<i>o:na</i>	‘that’	<i>qalg-e</i>	‘to shake off’ (?) (Ursa)
<i>o:na-kara</i>	‘that time’	<i>qalgro</i>	‘muddy, dirty’
<i>o:nade-t</i>	‘therefore’	<i>qalu, -a</i>	‘field’
<i>o:nah</i>	‘he’ (Boro)	<i>qalwe</i>	‘thief’
<i>o:n-e, ond-</i>	‘to drink’	<i>qalwi</i>	‘theft’
<i>o:yu/o:ydu, -a</i>	‘cattle’	<i>qalwo</i>	‘stealthily’
<i>o:y-gadi</i>	‘ox cart’	<i>qaso</i>	‘dirty’
<i>o:re-peđe-ti:tram</i>	‘end’ (Boro)	<i>qasru, -a</i>	‘neck’
<i>aiya</i> [ITJ]	‘oh my!’	<i>qa:qaŋcu</i>	name of a bird
<i>auri/auro</i>	‘again, further’	<i>qa:qe</i>	‘crow’
<i>ŋaŋam-man</i>	‘Karam tree’	<i>qa:gas-e</i>	‘to sob chokingly’
<i>qaq-e, qaq-/qaqy-</i>	‘to obtain’	<i>qa:p-e, qa:py-</i>	‘to watch, keep guard’
<i>qaq-owr-e, qaq-owry-</i>	‘to be available’	<i>qa:y-e, qa:y-</i>	‘to dry, to languish’
<i>qaqto</i>	‘ring’	<i>qa:yeq/qa:yeqdu</i>	‘dry’
<i>qaq-tr-e</i>	‘to make available’	<i>qa:w-e, qa:wy-</i>	‘to talk’
<i>qac-e, qacy-</i>	‘to look like, seem’	<i>qa:we-naq-e, -naq-</i>	‘to talk, converse’
<i>qac-e, qacy-</i>	‘to break’	<i>qa:wr<u>u</u>, -a</i>	‘jungle’
<i>qa<u>ju</u>/qa<u>je</u></i>	‘dirt, mud’	<i>qa:wr-e</i>	‘to talk’
<i>-qad</i> [CLF] of children, 32 (Ursa)		<i>qa:wr-naq-e, -naq-</i>	‘to talk, converse’
<i>-qadi/=qadi</i>	‘only’, 37, 85	<i>-ŋa:r</i>	‘side’ (S)
<i>qanj-e, qanj-</i>	‘to bear fruit’	<i>qa:r-e, qa:ry-</i>	‘to bite off, sting’
<i>qa<u>t</u>-e, qa<u>t</u>-/qa<u>t</u>y-</i>	‘to give’ (to the speaker), 84	<i>qa:l<u>u</u>, -a</i>	‘field’ (C,S)
<i>qan-amu/amdu</i>	‘tear’	<i>qa:sr-e, qa:sr-</i>	‘to comb’
<i>qanu, -a</i>	‘eye’	<i>qedu, -a</i>	‘leg’
<i>ŋan-e:h-e, -e:h-</i>	‘to take rest’	<i>qedy-</i>	[CLF] of legs
<i>qandr-e, qandr-</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>qet-e, qety-</i>	‘to beat jungle, beat water (for fish)’
<i>qandr-u-mogro</i>	‘dead asleep’	<i>qetuwr-e, -r-</i>	‘to dust oneself, to shake off’
<i>qandr-tit-e, -tit-</i>	‘to let someone sleep’	<i>ŋettre</i>	‘all’ (Boro)
<i>qap-e</i>	‘to be soiled with’ (Droese), 58	<i>qedwu</i>	‘ear’
<i>qap-r-e</i>	‘to be smeared’	<i>-qena</i>	emphatic particle (Ursa)
<i>ŋamre</i> [ITJ] (Amla)		<i>qend-e, qendy-</i>	‘to take along’ (Droese <i>qe:nd-e</i> )
<i>qaws-e, qawsy-</i>	‘to sound’	<i>qepu/qepdu, -a</i>	‘village’
<i>qargr-e, -ry-</i>	‘to cry out’		
<i>-qare</i> [ITJ]	‘you see?’ (Ursa)		
<i>qaŋy-e, qaŋy-</i>	‘to worship’ (Mali)		
<i>qaŋy-e, qaŋy-</i>	‘to reproach, abuse’ (Ursa)		

<i>qepo</i> ‘villager’	<i>qow-e, qowy-</i> ‘to carry on the shoulder’
<i>qep-ga:me</i> ‘whole village’	<i>qorq-e</i> ‘to melt’ (?) (Ursa)
<i>qemd-e, qemd-y-</i> ‘to hold on one’s side’	<i>qol-e, qoly-</i> ‘to take up, scoop’
<i>qeyr-e, qeyry-</i> ‘to be heated’	<i>qoli</i> ‘tail’
<i>qero-e, qero-</i> probably ‘to make something front’, <i>qerqqi</i> ‘from’ (Ursa)	<i>qol-e:r-e, qol-e:ry-</i> ‘to take up and see’
<i>qermbru</i> ‘corpse’ (Ursa)	<i>qolgru, -a</i> ‘underneath’
<i>qerwu</i> ‘ear’ (Ursa)	<i>qos-e, qosy-</i> ‘to burn, be burnt’
<i>qerw:tati</i> ‘temple (of a head)’	<i>qosre, qosru</i> ‘pulse’
<i>gesu</i> ‘paddy’	<i>qosru-qalye</i> ‘Bean Puja’
<i>gesu-jabe</i> ‘paddy straw’	<i>ðð:ðð</i> ‘back’ (Telo)
<i>qes-umku</i> ‘rice husk’	<i>ðð:piji</i> ‘backward’
<i>qe:glu/Pe:ðlu/Pe:ðel</i> ‘earth’	<i>qo:q, qo:qu, qo:qe</i> ‘after, behind, afterwards’, 29
<i>qe:g-e, qe:g-/qe:gy-</i> (C) ‘to buy’	<i>qo:q-pa:wu</i> ‘backward’
<i>qe:ne</i> ‘raw’	<i>qo:q-bajo/qo:q-baje/qo:q-baji</i> ‘backward, behind, later’
<i>qe:ndr-e, qe:ndr-/qe:ndry-</i> ‘to tremble’	<i>qo:w-e, qo:wy-</i> ‘to carry on the shoulder’ (Mali)
<i>qe:ru/qe:rdu, -a</i> ‘chicken’	<i>qo:ro</i> ‘child, infant’
<i>qe:ri</i> ‘story’	<i>qo:roses-le</i> ‘affectionately’
<i>qe:r-e, qe:ry-</i> ‘to shave’	<i>qo:li</i> ‘tail’ (Mali)
<i>qe:rgota</i> ‘egg’	<i>qo:liyo</i> ‘tail person’, 172 (Mali)
<i>qe:rpa:nu/-du</i> ‘egg’	<i>ðo:s-e, ðo:sy-</i> ‘to dash down’
<i>qe:lu</i> ‘kettledrum’	<i>-gadi</i> ‘daughter’
<i>qe:su</i> ‘blood’	<i>-gade</i> ‘son’
<i>qe:so</i> ‘beautiful woman’	<i>-gr</i> intransitive/reflexive suffix, 41
<i>qe:sqe:sr-e</i> ‘to glare’	<i>-k</i> dative case suffix, 28
<i>qðh-e, qot(a)-</i> ‘to cut, to kill’	<i>kãs-a</i> ‘jar’
<i>qochu</i> ‘bone’	<i>-ka</i> conjunctive participle suffix, 71
<i>qot-e, qoty-</i> ‘to knock’	<i>-ka</i> modal particle, 37
<i>qotr-e, -ry-</i> ‘to be broken, to be scattered’, ‘to knock against’	<i>kakali</i> ‘waist’
<i>ðotro</i> ‘blind’	<i>kaki-hi</i> ‘falsely, deliberately’
<i>qonde</i> ‘deep’	<i>kake</i> ‘comb’
<i>qot-</i> see <i>qðh-e</i>	<i>kakro-te:la</i> ‘scorpion’
<i>qond-e, qond-y-</i> ‘to be tired, to get weak’	<i>kagl-e, kagly-</i> ‘to die, expire’
<i>qond-tr-e, qond-try-</i> ‘to tire, to vex, to make anxious’	<i>kacr-</i> [CLF] of cloth (Ursa)
<i>qop-e, qopy-/qop-</i> ‘to pile up’	<i>kajak</i> ‘much’
<i>qop-r-e</i> ‘to get together’	<i>kajari</i> ‘parched rice’
<i>qoy-e, qos-</i> ‘to measure’	<i>kaj-e, kajy-</i> ‘to wash’ (Ursa)
	<i>kajri</i> see <i>kejri</i>
	<i>kañikone</i> ‘little, tiny’
	<i>kat-e, katy-</i> ‘to cross, pass’, 58

<i>kafe</i>	‘bedstead’	<i>kas-e, kas-</i>	‘to punch on the back’
<i>kafo:ra:</i>	‘metal cup’	<i>kahani</i>	‘story’
<i>kat-tr-e, -tr-</i>	‘to take over’	<i>ka</i>	‘certainly, sure’ (Boro)
<i>katy-o</i>	‘a little’ (Telo)	<i>ka:klar-e</i>	‘to be in trouble’
<i>kadu</i>	‘bracelet’	<i>ka:kli</i>	‘difficulty, hardship’
<i>kando</i>	‘stool’	<i>ka:kles-e</i>	‘to cause trouble’ (Mali)
<i>kand(a)-</i>	[CLF] of cloth	<i>ka:go</i>	‘porch’
<i>kandware</i>	‘coffin’ (Droese: manger)	<i>ka:je</i>	‘work, feast’
<i>kata</i>	‘story’	<i>ka:dy-tr-e</i>	‘to make bleed’
<i>katam</i>	‘end’	<i>ka:ti</i>	‘bedstead’
<i>kanku, -a</i>	‘firewood’	<i>ka:dy-e</i>	‘to cut’
<i>kanku-neru</i>	‘kind of snake’	<i>ka:ndwar</i>	‘front line’ (Ursa)
<i>kankrar-e</i>	‘to become tight’	<i>ka:re</i>	‘automobile’
<i>kandane</i>	‘relative’	<i>ka:li:</i>	‘only’
<i>kā:sa</i>	‘brass’	<i>ka:l-e, eky-</i>	‘to go’ (no B2 of its own), 45
<i>kap-e, kapy-</i>	‘to touch’	<i>ka:lka:s</i>	‘desire’
<i>kabar</i>	‘news’	<i>ka:lka:s-e, -sy-</i>	‘to covet’
<i>kabi:</i>	‘some time’	<i>ka:hek</i>	‘because’
<i>kame</i>	‘little’	<i>ki</i>	[COMP]
<i>kamani</i>	‘memorial ceremony’	<i>-ki</i>	genitive case suffix, 24, 28
<i>kamare</i>	‘blacksmith’	<i>kicri</i>	‘khicri’
<i>kam-e, kamy-</i>	‘to earn’ (?), 56	<i>kin-e, kin-</i>	‘to put down’ (Tugutola)
<i>kamkre</i>	‘servant’	<i>kind-e, kindy-</i>	‘to cut and divide’
<i>kamba</i>	‘pants’	<i>kitr-e, kitr-/kitry-</i>	‘to approach’
<i>karapar-e</i>	‘to get hurt’ (Boro)	<i>kide</i>	[COMP] (Ursa)
<i>karahi</i>	‘pan’	<i>kidr-e, kidr(a)-</i>	‘to split (firewood)’
<i>karca</i>	‘expense’		(Mali)
<i>karə</i>	‘time’	<i>kir-e, kiry-/kirc-</i>	‘to return’
<i>karəmb</i>	‘Karam (teak) tree’	<i>kiriscan</i>	‘Christian’
<i>kar̥i</i>	‘pit’	<i>kir-tr-e, -tr-/try-</i>	‘to bring back, to make return’
<i>karəkare-ti</i>	‘little by little’	<i>ki:ki</i>	‘window’
<i>kar̥k-e, kar̥ky-</i>	‘to tighten’	<i>kila-tre, -try-</i>	‘to feed’
<i>kar̥ma</i>	‘waist’	<i>kilase</i>	‘class’
<i>kar̥sa</i>	‘jar’	<i>kilo</i>	‘kilogram’
<i>kalayi</i>	‘peas’	<i>kilometr</i>	‘kilometer’
<i>kala:ja:r</i>	‘Kala Azar’	<i>kisa:ne</i>	‘farmer’
<i>kali</i>	‘Kali’	<i>kisu/-du, -a</i>	‘pig’
<i>kale</i>	‘leaf cup’	<i>ki:d-e, ki:d-</i>	‘to lay down’
<i>kalk-e</i>	‘to bite off, gnaw’	<i>ki:y-e, ki:y-</i>	‘to lay down’ (Telo)
<i>kaldi</i>	‘banana’	<i>ki:we</i>	‘cool’
<i>kalya:n</i>	‘welfare’	<i>ki:ro</i>	‘wild cashew’
<i>kalsa</i>	‘jar’	<i>ki:re</i>	‘hunger’
<i>kasi</i>	‘castrated’		

<i>ki:lwa</i>	‘poor, longing for’	<i>ku:li</i>	‘stable’
<i>ki:lwar-e</i>	‘to become hungry or poor’	<i>ku:re</i>	‘edge, side, brow of a hill’
<i>kuku</i> , <i>-a</i>	‘head’	<i>ku:si</i>	‘black’ (Mali)
<i>kuku-nuyu</i>	‘headache’	<i>kec-</i>	see <i>key-e</i>
<i>kuc</i>	‘somewhat’	<i>kejri</i>	‘date palm’
<i>kuco</i>	‘dog’ (Mali)	<i>kejri-taqi</i>	‘date toddy’
<i>kuczi</i>	‘bale of grain’	<i>kete</i>	‘field’
<i>kun-e</i> , <i>kun-</i>	‘to throw away’	<i>kepe</i>	‘time’
<i>kunjhana</i> , <i>kunjbo:na</i>	[PROP] of a town	<i>ke.ba:d</i>	‘after’
<i>ku:t-</i>	see <i>ku:t-e</i>	<i>keyamro</i>	‘with difficulty’ (Mahapatra: <i>keyo mari</i> )
<i>ku:ta</i>	‘post’	<i>key-e</i> , <i>kec-</i>	‘to die’
<i>ku:ti</i>	‘peg’	<i>kelatr-e/ke:la:tr-e</i>	‘to play’
<i>ku:tumbe</i>	‘family’	<i>kelar-e</i> , <i>-ry-</i>	‘to play’
<i>ku:tu</i>	‘family’ (Kusum)	<i>kelar-naq-e</i> , <i>-naq-</i>	‘to love’
<i>kudurpo</i>	‘hairpin’	<i>ke lie</i>	‘for the sake of’
<i>kude</i>	‘navel’	<i>ke sa:t</i>	‘with’
<i>kud-patli</i>	‘pot to put a navel’	<i>ke:gr-e</i>	‘to drive away spirits’
<i>kud-e</i> , <i>kudy-</i>	‘to do, to go around, 57	<i>ke:tnu</i> , <i>-a</i>	‘winnow basket’
<i>kund-e</i> , <i>kundy-</i>	‘to be born’	<i>ke:tn-ond</i>	‘a basketful’
<i>kum-e</i> , <i>kumy-</i>	‘to take on the head’	<i>ke:pe</i>	‘once’
<i>kumbare</i>	‘potter’	<i>ke:ponti</i>	‘at once’
<i>kuwa/kūwa</i>	‘well’	<i>ke:p-ond</i>	‘once’
<i>kuw(a)-</i>	[CLF] of wells	<i>ke:s-e</i> , <i>ke:sy-</i>	‘to sift’
<i>kura</i>	‘leg (of a bed)’	<i>kōra</i>	‘corner’
<i>kurk-e</i> , <i>kurky-</i>	‘to write’	<i>kōh-e</i> , <i>kot-</i>	‘to bite’
<i>kurk-tr-e</i>	‘to let write’	<i>ko</i>	see <i>ako</i>
<i>kurmuttu</i>	‘inquisitive’ (Amla)	<i>-ko</i>	conjunctive participle suffix, 53
<i>kursi</i>	‘chair’	<i>kongro</i>	‘hollow’
<i>ku:t-e</i> , <i>ku:t-</i>	‘to burn’	<i>kocu</i>	‘taro’ (?) (PadB)
<i>ku:t-</i>	[CLF] of arrows	<i>kotware</i>	‘village official’
<i>ku:tni</i>	‘hot’	<i>kod.et-e</i>	‘to lie down’
<i>kulaye</i>	‘hare’	<i>kod.ba:sa</i>	‘youth dormitory’ (Boro)
<i>kula-r-e</i> , <i>-r-</i>	[ITR] ‘to open’	<i>konda</i>	‘heart’
<i>kular-e</i>	‘to look for’ (Kusum)	<i>kot-pit-e</i>	‘to bite and kill’
<i>kusa.kusi</i>	‘happy’	<i>kon</i>	see <i>ako</i> (S)
<i>kusa</i>	name of a grass	<i>koni</i>	‘at the right time’ (Ursa)
<i>kusi</i>	‘happiness’	<i>kono:rokom</i>	‘somehow’ (Mali)
<i>ku:kr-e</i> , <i>-ry-</i>	‘to nod’	<i>kopa</i>	‘nest’
<i>ku:kr-e</i> , <i>-ry-</i>	‘to call out’	<i>kobd-e</i>	‘to hit the back of the head’
<i>kʰu:b</i>	‘a lot’	<i>kor-e</i> , <i>korc-</i>	‘to enter, marry’
<i>ku:me/a</i>	‘fishing coop’	<i>kork-e</i>	‘to beat with a beak’ (Ursa)
		<i>korc-naq-e</i> , <i>-naq-</i>	‘to get married’
		<i>kol-e</i> , <i>koly-</i>	‘to open’

<i>kolro</i>	‘leaf mat’	<i>garyl-e, garc-</i>	‘to make, manufacture’
<i>kolr-e, -ry-</i>	‘to get loose’	<i>garwa</i>	name of a bird
<i>kohna</i>	‘jar’	<i>gala</i>	‘cheek’
<i>kō:ṛa</i>	‘corner’	<i>galti</i>	‘guilt’
<i>ko:i:</i>	‘anyone’	<i>gahndi</i>	‘flock’
<i>ko:ṭe</i>	‘court’	<i>-gahndi</i>	plural suffix, 24
<i>ko:q-e, kody-</i>	‘to lie down’, 58	<i>gahna</i>	‘jewel’
<i>-ko:ni</i>	‘at the place of’ (Boro)	<i>ga:ṭe</i>	‘ghat’
<i>ko:mo</i>	name of a plant with edi- ble leaves, Kachnar ( <i>Bauhinia</i> var- iegata)	<i>ga:de</i>	‘puddle’
<i>ko:ye</i>	‘parched rice’	<i>-ga:mer</i>	plural suffix, 24
<i>ko:r-e, korc-</i>	‘to enter’ (C, S)	<i>ga:y/-du</i>	‘cow’ (S)
<i>ko:yakei</i>	‘corner’ (Mali)	<i>ga:y</i>	‘wound’
<i>ko:yi</i>	‘score, twenty’, 32	<i>ga:ra</i>	‘eleven’
<i>ko:sis</i>	‘effort’	<i>ga:rsingla</i>	name of a tree
<i>ko:s-e, ko:sy-</i>	‘to divide’	<i>ga:ṭi</i>	‘vehicle’
<i>ko:s-r-naq-e, -naqy-</i>	‘to divide’	<i>ga:re</i>	‘many, much’
<i>kriya.karme</i>	‘funeral ceremony’	<i>gitti</i>	‘bubble’ (Boro)
<i>-ga</i>	[TOP], 37, 77	<i>gidre</i>	‘jackal’
<i>ganji</i>	‘maize’	<i>girosto</i>	‘rich person’
<i>ganji-qay-e</i>	‘Maize Puja’	<i>giryo</i>	‘mynah’
<i>gadā</i>	‘pit’	<i>gilase</i>	‘glass’
<i>gadī</i>	‘car, cart’	<i>-gu</i>	‘father’ (S)
<i>gadō</i>	‘wild cat’	<i>-gute</i>	‘until’ (Mali)
<i>gadya</i>	‘mud’	<i>guṭu</i>	‘island’
<i>gady-ond</i>	‘a cartful’	<i>gudite</i>	‘local policeman’
<i>ganta</i>	‘hour’	<i>gunde</i>	‘powder’
<i>gandi</i>	‘body, trunk’	<i>gundv-e, gundc-</i>	‘to grind to pow- der’
<i>gadah</i>	‘donkey’	<i>guti-isab</i>	‘like a servant’ (?) (Ursa)
<i>gadle</i>	‘quilt’	<i>-guni/-gunu</i>	‘together with’, 28, 74
<i>ganda</i>	‘dust’	<i>guwa</i>	‘betel leaf’
<i>gamca</i>	‘towel’	<i>gurar-e, gurary-</i>	‘to walk around’
<i>gari</i>	‘household’	<i>gura:tr-e</i>	‘to turn’
<i>gari:b</i>	‘poor’	<i>guru</i>	‘sorcerer’
<i>garmi/garme</i>	‘heat’	<i>guṭe</i>	‘jaggery’
<i>gary-e, garc-</i>	‘to melt’	<i>gurguṭtr-e</i>	‘to form a big crowd’
<i>garar-e</i>	‘to do, behave, to prepare for (with IF)’, 49 (N)	<i>(Ursa)</i>	
<i>garar-e</i>	‘to become’ (S)	<i>gusṭi</i>	‘main guest’ (Amla)
<i>garbaṛ</i>	‘offense’ (Ursa)	<i>gece, geci</i>	‘far, far away’
<i>garhi/garhi</i>	‘many, much’	<i>=genu</i>	‘even if’
<i>garī.bara</i>	‘fare’	<i>gepu</i>	‘stalk of a fruit’, cf. <i>beku</i>
<i>gariya</i>	‘lazy, lazy person’	<i>ge:ra</i>	‘boundary’
		<i>ge:ry-e, ge:rc-</i>	‘to surround’

<i>goga</i>	‘rock, stone’	<i>caqr-e, caqr-</i>	‘to get tattooed’
- <i>go[t]-go[t]</i>	[CLF] for generic use, 32, 34	<i>caku</i>	‘knife’ (Telo)
<i>gote</i>	‘all’	<i>cak-e, caky-</i>	‘to whet’
<i>gote-nṭe</i>	superlative marker, 32	<i>caṭo</i>	‘coop’
- <i>gote/=gote, -gute/=gute</i>	suffix or clitic meaning ‘even’ or ‘-ever’, 36, 37	<i>caṭki</i>	‘slippers’
<i>goti</i>	‘smallpox’	<i>cate</i>	‘umbrella’
<i>gotiya</i>	‘relative’	<i>capola</i>	‘sandal’
<i>godri</i>	‘heel’	<i>cap-e</i>	‘to tread’
<i>gondye</i>	‘fisherman’	<i>cap-tr-e</i>	‘to lead someone’
<i>gotya</i>	‘lineage’	<i>cap-r-e</i>	‘to hide oneself’ (PadB)
<i>goda</i>	‘nearby bush (which serves as the toilet)’	<i>capra</i>	‘kind of grass’ (Ani)
<i>godna</i>	‘tattoo’	<i>capri</i>	‘stone’ (Tugu)
<i>godri</i>	‘intestine’	<i>capro</i>	‘lac’
<i>gobari-daqi</i>	‘cowdung pile’	<i>cambe</i>	‘hide’
<i>gobri/gobari</i>	‘cow dung’	<i>cambr-budya</i>	‘wicked old woman’
<i>gowale/goware</i>	‘cowherd’	<i>cawdo</i>	‘half piece’
<i>gormar-e, -r-</i>	‘to become hot’	<i>carar-e, carary-</i>	‘to graze’
<i>gorme</i>	‘hot’	<i>cari</i>	‘pendulum divination’ (Ursa)
<i>gormes-e</i>	‘to heat’ (Tugu)	<i>car-e, cary-</i>	‘to cut’
<i>gorya</i>	‘Bean Festival’	<i>carctr-e, -try-</i>	‘to bring up’
<i>goro</i>	‘horse’	<i>cary-e, carc-</i>	‘to walk around’
<i>goṭaite</i>	‘messenger’	<i>caryoti</i>	‘mediating’
<i>goli</i>	‘tablet’	<i>calatr-e, -try-</i>	‘to graze (cattle), to drive (a car), to govern’
<i>gole</i>	‘outsider, Hindu’	<i>calar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be current, to be managed’
<i>golto, gol-saba</i>	‘outsiders’ language, Hindi’	<i>-calte</i>	‘because of, due to’, 29
<i>gosāyi/gosani</i>	[NM] ‘god’	<i>cahe</i>	‘or’
<i>gosti</i>	‘relative, guest’	<i>cahy-e, cahc-</i>	‘to want’
<i>gohale</i>	‘cowshed’ (Mali)	<i>ca:g-e, ca:gy-</i>	‘to sow, to divide’
<i>gohme</i>	‘wheat’	<i>ca:gr-naq-e</i>	‘to divide’
<i>go:gi</i>	‘argument, talking’	<i>ca:ng-e</i>	‘stage’
— <i>men-naqy-ar</i>	‘to argue with each other’	<i>ca:dre</i>	‘sheet’
<i>go:rwa</i>	‘baby sitter’	<i>ca:me</i>	‘song’
<i>go:ly-e</i>	‘to prepare for brewing (grain liquor)’	<i>ca:r</i>	‘four’
<i>gaita:.kodal</i>	‘pickaxe’	<i>ca:ri-ko:li</i>	‘eighty’
- <i>gni</i>	‘before’ (with IF in -o) (Ursa)	<i>ca:ru</i>	‘arrow’
<i>caq-e, caq-/caqy-</i>	‘to pierce, stab, sting, inject’	<i>ca:ro</i>	‘borrowing oxen from someone else’ (Mali)
		<i>ca:re</i>	‘diligent’
		<i>ca:l-pi:je</i>	‘Grove Puja (Sarhul)’
		<i>ca:l-majye</i>	‘grove priest’
		<i>ca:s</i>	‘ploughing’
		<i>ca:he</i>	‘or’

<i>ca:hy-e, ca:hc-</i>	‘to want, want to’ (with IF)	<i>cuy-e, cu:c-</i>	‘to put on, bind’
<i>cigalo</i>	‘jackal’	<i>cuwe</i>	‘peacock’
<i>cingo</i>	‘moustache’	<i>curi</i>	‘knife’
<i>cic-</i>	see <i>ciy-e</i>	<i>curidari</i>	a place name
<i>cicinkujo</i>	‘kind of centipede’	<i>curg-e, curg-</i>	‘to ooze out’ (Ursa)
<i>cicu/cicdu, -a</i>	‘fire’	<i>cu:c-</i>	see <i>cuy-e</i>
<i>cic-e, cicc-</i>	‘to sprinkle (water)’ (Ursa)	<i>cu:t-e, cu:ty-</i>	‘to throw, cast’
<i>ciji</i>	‘letter’	<i>cu:di</i>	‘far’
<i>cit-e, city-</i>	‘to throw away, sprinkle’	<i>cu:te</i>	‘impurity’
<i>cing-e, cingy-</i>	‘to pinch’	<i>cu:ri</i>	see <i>curi</i> (Telo)
<i>cinta:</i>	‘thinking’	<i>cu:ta</i>	‘roasted rice’
<i>ciny-e, cinc-/cinc-</i>	‘to recognize’	<i>cēcje/ceyce</i>	‘mercy’
<i>ciy-e, cic-</i>	‘to give’, permissive, 50, vector verb, 56, 58, 84	<i>cēcj-e/ceyaj-e, cēcjy-/ceyajy-</i>	‘to show mercy’
<i>ciraki</i>	‘lamp’	<i>ceyajro</i>	‘compassionate’
<i>cirq-e, cirqy-</i>	‘to shout’	<i>cekwa</i>	‘crow’
<i>cirtr-e</i>	‘to spill’ (Ursa)	<i>cēy-e, cēpc-</i>	‘to smell bad’
<i>cil-e, cil-</i>	‘to forbid’	<i>ced-e, ced-</i>	‘to carry’
<i>cilla:-tr-e</i>	‘to yell’	<i>ceya</i>	‘shade’
<i>cihna</i>	‘mark’	<i>ceyro/cedro</i>	‘liver, intestine’
<i>ci:qlund-e</i>	‘to giggle, to shake up’ (Ursa)	<i>cerar-e</i>	‘to empty bowels’
<i>ci:k, ci:g</i>	‘only, very’	<i>ceragni</i>	‘witch’
<i>ci:c-r-e, -r-</i>	‘to wipe, to wipe one’s bottom’	<i>celke</i>	‘young man’ (Mali)
<i>ci:je</i>	‘thing’	<i>cehra</i>	‘pretty’ (?) (Ursa)
<i>ci:ni:</i>	‘sugar’	<i>ce:rage</i>	‘wizard’ (Droese)
<i>ci:pota-pelpota</i>	‘woman- shmooman’ (Mali)	<i>cogr-e, cogr-</i>	‘to drop off’
<i>cuki</i>	‘because’	<i>cocre:tr-e</i>	‘to go here and there’
<i>cukri</i>	‘earthen cup’	<i>conj-e, conjy-</i>	‘to tie’
<i>cunj-e, cunjy-</i>	‘to pound’	<i>cojn-ond</i>	‘a little’ (Simal)
<i>cufar-e, cufary-</i>	‘to rinse mouth’	<i>cot-e, coty-</i>	‘to eat’
<i>cuji</i>	‘cigarette’	<i>copa</i>	‘husk’
<i>cu:like</i>	‘restrictions on touching’	<i>coy-e, co:c-</i>	‘to rise, get up’
<i>cude/cuda</i>	‘younger (of siblings)’	<i>cow</i>	‘way’
<i>cudim</i>	‘afterwards’ (?) (Mali)	<i>-cow</i>	‘like’, 29
<i>cubqerg-e, cubqerg-</i>	‘to push down’	<i>cohdi</i>	‘territory, boundary’ (Telo)
<i>cumq-e, cumq-/cumqy-</i>	‘to kiss’	<i>cohr-e</i>	‘to drop off’ (S)
<i>cumbare-tr-e</i>	‘to do a purificatory rite’	<i>co:</i>	‘six’
		<i>co:te</i>	‘illness’
		<i>co:r-et-e, -ety-</i>	‘to go down hang- ing’
		<i>co:r-e, co:ry-</i>	‘to hang’
		<i>co:ly-e, co:lyc-</i>	‘to cut down’
		<i>cauka</i>	‘square area’
		<i>caukida:r</i>	‘policeman’

<i>jaksa</i>	'heavy rain'	<i>-jahā/-jahā</i>	'even, just', 36, 38, 65
<i>jaga</i>	'land, place'	<i>-jahar</i>	'even, just', 36 (Boro)
<i>jagta, jagta.janjat</i>	'dispute, quarrel'	<i>jahje</i>	'boat'
<i>jagr-ar-e, -ar-</i>	'to fight'	<i>jahj-a.we</i>	'boatman'
<i>janga</i>	'women's clothes'	<i>jahru</i>	'poison'
<i>janjara-r-e, -r-</i>	'to be in trouble'	<i>jā:c</i>	'test'
<i>janjari</i>	'trouble'	<i>ja:gu, -n</i>	'boiled rice, cooked food'
<i>jata</i>	'aerial roots'	<i>ja:gu-u:gu</i>	[ECHO] 'boiled rice'
<i>jat-e</i>	'to run into, to get stumbled'	<i>ja:ŋg-e, ja:ŋg-y-</i>	'to call'
(?) (Mokri)		<i>ja:ti</i>	'tribe, caste, kind'
<i>jata</i>	'millstone'	<i>ja:de</i>	'much'
<i>-jan</i>	[CLF] see <i>-jin</i>	<i>-ja:nu</i>	emphatic particle meaning 'just', 38
<i>janam</i>	'birth'	<i>ja:ne</i>	'life'
<i>=jano/-janu</i>	'just', 38 (Ursa)	<i>ja:me/ja:mayr</i>	'bridegroom'
<i>jande?ko?mo</i>	[ITJ] 'good heavens'	<i>ja:mni</i>	'younger brother's wife, daughter-in-law'
(Amla)		<i>ja:m-peli</i>	'daughter-in-law'
<i>janme-kude</i>	'umbilical cord'	<i>ja:ri-u:ri</i>	[ECHO] 'witch doctor'
<i>janvari</i>	'January'	<i>ja:ly-e, ja:lc-</i>	'to shake down'
<i>janware</i>	'animal'	<i>jity-e, jitc-</i>	'to sprinkle'
<i>jab</i>	[REL] 'when'	<i>jitna</i>	'how many'
<i>jabarjasti</i>	'forcibly'	<i>-jin</i>	[CLF] of persons, 32
<i>jab.tak</i>	'until'	<i>jinise</i>	'things'
<i>jama</i>	'together'	<i>jinp-e, jinpc-</i>	'to be white', 32
<i>jamatr-e</i>	'to collect'	<i>jinpro</i>	'white'
<i>jam-a-r-e, -ry-/r-</i>	'to get together'	<i>jima: nan-e, nany-</i>	'to entrust'
<i>jampaqe</i>	'jumper'	<i>jimida:re</i>	'landlord'
<i>jambu</i>	'jamun'	<i>Jim-e, jimy-</i>	'to get, meet'
<i>jayse</i>	'as'	<i>jinr-e, -r-</i>	'to be available, to be obtained'
<i>jawale-tr-e</i>	'to bother, tease'	<i>jiyar-e, -ry-/r-</i>	'to recover life'
<i>jawa:be</i>	'reply'	<i>jila</i>	'district'
<i>jawe</i>	'barley'	<i>jilebi</i>	'sweet'
<i>jaribana</i>	'penalty'	<i>jil(a)-</i>	[CLF] of districts
<i>jare</i>	'jungle, bush'	<i>jis se</i>	[REL] 'from which'
<i>jarq-e, jarqy-</i>	'to fall'	<i>ji:ty-e, ji:tc-</i>	'to win'
<i>jarna</i>	'spring, fountain'	<i>ji:pe</i>	'Jeep'
<i>jarmar-e, -ry-/r-</i>	'to be born'	<i>ji:we</i>	'life'
<i>jarmes-e</i>	'to give birth' (Mali)	<i>-juka</i>	see <i>-joka</i>
<i>jaṭi.buti</i>	'medicinal herb of the jungle'	<i>juge</i>	'era'
<i>jare/-a</i>	'rain'	<i>juge-k</i>	'forever'
<i>jare-ore</i>	[ECHO] 'rain'	<i>jungres-e</i>	'to make a hut' (Telo)
<i>jare-bohe</i>	'rainstorm' (Telo)	<i>juta-tr-e</i>	'to collect'
<i>jale</i>	'net'		
<i>jaldi</i>	'fast'		

<i>jutar-e</i>	'to be collected'	<i>jo:r'a-r-e</i>	'to join'
<i>judə</i>	'shade'	<i>jo:r'-gr-e</i>	'to unite'
<i>juta</i>	'shoe'	<i>jo:r'y-e, jo:r'c-</i>	'to put together'
<i>jude</i>	'separate'	<i>jya:de</i>	'too much'
<i>jud-ond</i>	'separately'	<i>-nahā/=nahā</i>	'even, just', 38
<i>jumar-e, -ry-</i>	'to come (together)'	<i>=ne</i>	[ITJ] 'okay?' (Ursa)
<i>juwan, juwa</i>	'young'	<i>no</i>	[ITJ] 'right?', 37
<i>juri</i>	'firewood'	<i>taka</i>	'money'
<i>jula</i>	'hammock'	<i>tagy-e, tage-</i>	'to cheat'
<i>jej-e, jejy-</i>	'to begin', 50	<i>tatka-hi</i>	'right now'
<i>jetna</i>	[REL] 'how much'	<i>taqī</i>	'palm toddy, liquor'
<i>-jen</i>	[CLF] see <i>-jin</i>	<i>taqī-n o:n-u</i>	'drinker'
<i>jepla</i>	'long hair'	<i>taqu, -un</i>	'wooden ladle'
<i>je:</i>	'but, then' (Mahapatra 1979:197 'that')	<i>tandqā</i>	'cool'
<i>je:</i>	[REL] 'what, anything that'	<i>tapar</i>	'slap'
<i>je:-gote</i>	[REL] 'whatever'	<i>talya</i>	'pan'
<i>je:wara</i>	'some, any' (Ursa)	<i>ta:ky-e, ta:kc-</i>	'to test, examine'
<i>je:se</i>	'as'	<i>ta:tge</i>	'mango'
<i>je:se te:se</i>	'ordinary'	<i>ta:tg-tare</i>	'Mango Festival' (Mali)
<i>joka</i>	'a little'	<i>ta:tg-qarye</i>	'Mango Puja'
<i>-joka</i>	'like', 'of ... age', 29	<i>ta:t se</i>	'in ease'
<i>jokar</i>	'meeting'	<i>ta:the</i>	'mango' (S)
<i>jokar-e, -r-</i>	'to meet' (Boro)	<i>tikatr-e</i>	'to put up, take someone as a wife'
<i>jokon</i>	[REL] 'when'	<i>t̪i:k/t̪i:ke</i>	'okay, good'
<i>joky-e, jokc-</i>	'to bring together' (Mali)	<i>tukra/tukrā</i>	'piece, wooden block'
<i>jogar-e, -r-</i>	'to go away, escape' (Boro)	<i>tukr(a)-</i>	[CLF] of pieces
<i>jogy-e, jogc-</i>	'to take care of'	<i>tund-e, tundy-</i>	'to look', 57
<i>job</i>	[REL] 'when'	<i>tupla</i>	'small basket'
<i>jomatr-e</i>	'to collect'	<i>tu:d-e, tu:d-</i>	'to throw away, to smear' (?) (Ursa)
<i>jombro</i>	'ill'	<i>tu:du, -a/-un</i>	'tiger'
<i>jorib</i>	'settlement'	<i>tekar-e, -r-</i>	'to be stopped' (Telo)
<i>jowab</i>	'answer'	<i>tefu, -un</i>	'hand'
<i>jo:</i>	[REL] 'which'	<i>tep-e, tepy-</i>	'to touch'
<i>jo:pr̪i</i>	'grass hut'	<i>tepoletr-e</i>	'to joke' (Ursa)
<i>jo: bi:</i>	[REL] 'whatever'	<i>tebule</i>	'table'
<i>jo:r</i>	'power'	<i>te:ky-e, te:kc-</i>	'to stop' (Ursa)
<i>jo:re</i>	'waterfall, water race'	<i>te:kar-e, -ry-</i>	'to be stopped' (Ursa)
<i>jo:rjabri</i>	'by force'	<i>te:ste</i>	'test'
<i>jo:r se</i>	'by force'	<i>-to</i>	[CLF] of pieces
<i>jo:r'a</i>	'pair'	<i>toktoktr-e, -try-</i>	'to knock'
<i>jo:r(a)</i>	[CLF] of pairs	<i>tokri</i>	'basket'
		<i>tona</i>	'chin'

<i>tonqa</i>	‘ear of corn’	<i>doba</i>	‘pond, well’
<i>topy-e, topc-</i>	‘to drop’	<i>dombe</i>	‘Dom’, name of a caste
<i>toma</i>	‘hole’	<i>doralora</i>	‘shakingly’ (Boro)
<i>to:ke</i>	‘hill’	<i>dole</i>	‘long drum’
<i>taime</i>	‘time’	<i>do:k-e, doky-(N)/do:ky-(C,S)</i>	‘to stay, marry’, 84, progressive, 56
<i>dakati</i>	‘dacoit’	<i>do:k-tr-e, -try-/tr-</i>	‘to make stay, keep, hire, marry’
<i>dagre:-tr-e</i>	‘to corrupt, make ill’	<i>do:ra</i>	‘string’
<i>dade</i>	‘jungle’	<i>-t</i>	instrumental case suffix, 24, 28
<i>qadi-tu:du, -a/-un</i>	‘female tiger’	<i>ta</i>	particle meaning ‘probably’, 38
<i>dari</i>	‘cloth’	<i>ta</i>	see <i>to</i>
<i>qar(a)/dāt(a)-</i>	[CLF] of long objects	<i>ta?mo, ta?me</i>	[ITJ] ‘look!’ (Telo)
<i>qar-onde-di-hi</i>	‘the same’	<i>tak</i>	‘till, even’
<i>dala</i>	‘basket’	<i>takar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be tired’
<i>dal-ond</i>	‘a basketful’	<i>takli:pe</i>	‘hardship’
<i>qāhri</i>	‘branch’	<i>taj-qali</i>	‘stepmother’
<i>qa:katr-e, -try-</i>	‘to announce’	<i>taj-gade/a</i>	‘own son’
<i>qa:ku</i>	‘robber’	<i>taj-gadi</i>	‘own daughter’
<i>qa:kṭare</i>	‘doctor’	<i>tajg-do</i>	‘own younger sibling’
<i>qa:ni</i>	‘wife’	<i>tango</i>	‘grandmother’ (Tugu)
<i>qa:we</i>	‘husband’, 27	<i>tang-dqo:ku</i>	‘own spouse’
<i>qa:ra/qa:ri</i>	‘branch’	<i>tang-ma:qe</i>	‘own son’
<i>qa:ly-e</i>	‘to pour’ (Boro)	<i>tang-ma:ne</i>	‘all by oneself’
<i>qika</i>	‘stiff, sticky’	<i>tat-e, taty-</i>	[ECHO] an echo verb
<i>diga</i>	‘Diga drum’	<i>tan</i>	see <i>ta:nu</i>
<i>qibya</i>	‘lamp’	<i>tant-bant</i>	‘help, work’
<i>qipe</i>	‘heap’	<i>tapi</i>	‘soaked grain’
<i>qugu</i>	‘a Nagara drum’	<i>tab</i>	‘then’
<i>dung-e, dungy-</i>	‘to be drowning’	<i>tab-tak</i>	‘till then’
<i>qubatr-e</i>	[TR] ‘to sink, to dip’	<i>tam</i>	[OBL] of <i>ta:m</i>
<i>qubi</i>	‘earthen cup’	<i>tambako</i>	‘own father’
<i>qumba</i>	‘lump’	<i>tay</i>	‘decision’
<i>qumbri</i>	‘fig tree’	<i>tay-e, tay-</i>	‘to send’ (Telo)
<i>duryngtr-e, -try-</i>	‘to make a thunder-ing sound’	<i>taw-e, tawy-</i>	‘to go out (as of fire)’
<i>dekore</i>	[ITJ] ‘come on! look!’	<i>-tar-</i>	see <i>-tr-</i> (C)
<i>qenja</i>	‘log’	<i>tar-e, tary-</i>	[ITR] ‘to break, pick’
<i>qenjtr-naq-e</i>	‘to joke to each other’	<i>taragru</i>	‘crippled’ (Ursa)
<i>derse</i>	‘dress’	<i>taraf</i>	‘side’
<i>derkuku</i>	[ONOM] of a bird’s song	<i>tarka:ri</i>	‘vegetable’
<i>dehta</i>	‘festival’ (Mali)	<i>tarpore</i>	‘then’
<i>de:ki</i>	‘husking machine’	<i>tar̥gro</i>	‘hot’ (Mali)
<i>de:war-e</i>	‘to be held’ (Ursa)	<i>tarkla</i>	‘part’ (Telo)
<i>-do</i>	‘younger sibling’	<i>tar̥c-e, tar̥cy-</i>	‘to slap’

<i>tarwa:ri/tarbari</i>	‘sword’ (Mahapatra <i>tarbali</i> )	<i>tirr-e, tirry-</i>	‘to go away’
<i>tali</i>	‘hair’	<i>tilygru</i>	‘a fly’
<i>tal-e/ta:l-e, talc-</i>	‘to cut off’	<i>tise</i>	‘sour’
<i>tahadi</i>	‘daughter’ (S)	<i>tisg-e, tisgy-</i>	‘to open’
<i>tahrar-e, -r-</i>	‘to fall asleep’ (Boro)	<i>tisra</i>	‘third’
<i>-tā:re</i>	‘every, each’	<i>ti:galu, -a</i>	‘rice’, 60
<i>ta:is</i>	‘23’	<i>ti:qalo</i>	‘millet’ (S,C)
<i>ta:ke</i>	‘wind’	<i>ti:n/ti:ni</i>	‘three’
<i>ta:nd(e?)</i>	‘threshold’ (Ursa)	<i>ti:na</i>	‘right’
<i>ta:tetur?e/ta:turtur?i</i>	‘sickle’ (Boro)	<i>ti:s</i>	‘thirty’
<i>ta:tru, -a</i>	‘sickle’	<i>tuk-e, tuky-</i>	‘to push’
<i>ta:n</i>	‘himself, herself, itself’	<i>tukr-e, tukry-</i>	‘to approach’
<i>ta:n</i>	see <i>ta:nu</i>	<i>tunga</i>	‘bamboo flute’
<i>tha:na</i>	‘police station’	<i>tung-e, tung-</i>	‘to collect’
<i>ta:ni, tang-</i>	‘himself, herself, itself’	<i>tungr-e, tungry-</i>	‘to be collected, to get together’
<i>-ta:ni</i>	[F] see <i>-ta:we</i>	<i>tund-e, tundy-</i>	‘to spill, throw out (liquid)’
<i>ta:nu/ta:no/ta:ni</i>	‘then’	<i>tuny-e, tunc-</i>	‘to weave’
<i>ta:nu-gote</i>	‘still’	<i>tunh-e, tunh-</i>	‘to collect’ (S)
<i>ta:ne</i>	‘site’	<i>tunhr-e, -r-</i>	‘to get together’ (S)
<i>ta:n-ta:ni</i>	‘of itself’	<i>tumgle</i>	‘dream’
<i>ta:mi, tam-</i>	‘themselves’	<i>turant</i>	‘immediately’
<i>ta:ya</i>	‘cooking pot’	<i>turke</i>	‘Muslim’
<i>ta:r-e, ta:ry-/ta:r-</i>	‘to cut’	<i>turg-e, turgy-</i>	‘to bury ashes’
<i>ta:ri</i>	‘metal plate’	<i>turw-e, turwy-</i>	‘to spit out’
<i>ta:ri-ku:ri</i>	‘metal plate and cup’	<i>tuphr-e, -a</i>	‘to be broken’ (Boro)
<i>ta:ri:k</i>	‘date’	<i>tu:tro</i>	‘hole’
<i>tarkurci</i>	‘name of a plant’	<i>tu:s-e, tu:sy-</i>	‘to throw way’
<i>ta:r-tr-e</i>	‘to make cut’	<i>tu:so</i>	‘naked’
<i>ta:ry-</i>	[CLF] of metal plates	<i>te</i>	[TOP] (Mokri)
<i>-ta:re/-tā:re</i>	‘every, each’	<i>te</i>	see <i>ante</i>
<i>ta:r-manu</i>	‘palm tree’	<i>-te</i>	adverbial participle suffix, 56
<i>ta:r-or-e, -r-</i>	‘to be broken (as neck)’ (Mahapatra: ‘to be spread’) (Mali)	<i>-te/-ti</i>	adjective suffix, 31
<i>ta:li</i>	‘hair’ (Mali)	<i>teqalo</i>	‘millet’ (Ursa)
<i>ta:l-e, talc-</i>	‘to cut off’	<i>teq-e, teq-/teqy-</i>	‘to break forth’
<i>ta:lmi</i>	‘palm’	<i>te?r-tr-e, -tr-</i>	‘to set off (a bomb)’ (PadB)
<i>-ta:we, -ta:ni</i>	‘possessed of’, 31	<i>teqr-e, -r-</i>	‘to burst open’
<i>-tit</i>	causative suffix, 41	<i>teyg-e, teyg-</i>	‘to tell’
<i>tin/tine/tini</i>	‘three’	<i>tengr:naq-e, naq-/naqy-</i>	‘to talk, chat’
<i>tind-e, tind-</i>	‘to feed’	<i>tetuli</i>	[PROP] of a village
<i>tipi-tar-e</i>	‘to cause to attach’	<i>tetuli</i>	‘tamarind’
<i>tiyar</i>	‘actually’		

<i>tebe</i>	'then'	<i>dandlar-e</i>	'to form a line' (Boro)
<i>tembru</i>	'rather' (Ursa)	<i>danyaba:d</i>	'thanks'
<i>tey-e, tey-/tay-</i>	'to send'	<i>dap(a)-</i>	[CLF] of times
<i>teyar</i>	'ready'	<i>dapna</i>	'shoulder'
<i>teyr-naq-e</i>	'to send each other'	<i>daba</i>	'clothes' (Mali)
<i>tes-e, tesy-</i>	'to sift'	<i>daby-e, dabc-</i>	'to apply medicine'
<i>tes-e, tesy-</i>	'to roll, wrap' (Mali)	<i>dame</i>	'price'
<i>teh-e, teh-</i>	see <i>teyg-e</i> (S)	<i>daya:</i>	'compassion'
<i>teh-e, tet-</i>	'to weave'	<i>dawke</i>	'splendor' (Kortika)
<i>teho</i>	'mother' (C, S)	<i>dari</i>	'hole'
<i>teho-ga:rni</i>	'mother-in-law'	<i>darme</i>	'religion'
<i>teho-tambako</i>	'parents'	<i>dary-e, darc-</i>	'to hold, catch'
<i>tehr-na?e, -na?y-</i>	'to talk'	<i>da?i</i>	'cloth'
<i>te:ji</i>	'fast'	<i>dalane</i>	'balcony'
<i>te:le:-o</i>	'scorpion'	<i>daly-e, dalc-</i>	'to grind'
<i>te:lo</i>	name of a tree (Vidyarthi 1963:226 'Diospyros melanoxy- lon')	<i>das</i>	'ten'
<i>to</i>	[TOP] 'then', 37, 77	<i>dase-r/das-jen</i>	'ten people, several people'
<i>-to</i>	adjective suffix, 31	<i>dahi</i>	'curds'
<i>toq-e, toq-</i>	'to finish, cut off', 56	<i>da:ne</i>	'gift'
<i>toqr-e, toqry-/toqr-</i>	'to be finished, to pass away'	<i>da:nar</i>	[ITJ] 'on earth' (Boro)
<i>to?yo</i>	'near' (Telo)	<i>da:p-ond</i>	'once'
<i>toka-r</i>	[PL] 'party, relatives'	<i>da:wa</i>	'chopping knife'
<i>tot-e</i>	'to jump' (S)	<i>da:wang-e</i>	'to have opportunity' (Ursa)
<i>toto</i>	'beak'	<i>-da:ru</i>	[PL]
<i>top(a)-</i>	[CLF] of fruits	<i>da:ti</i>	'cloth'
<i>tobe/toben/tobon</i>	'then'	<i>da:li</i>	'lentil'
<i>tobendu</i>	'for' (Boro)	<i>di</i>	'and, then'
<i>toro</i>	'mouth'	<i>dikate</i>	'difficult'
<i>to?a/to:ra</i>	'a little'	<i>dikatr-e</i>	'to look for'
<i>to?a sa</i>	'a little'	<i>digaro/digro</i>	'long, far'
<i>toho</i>	'mother' (Ursa)	<i>dine/dina/dini</i>	'day'
<i>to:ry-e, to:rc-</i>	'to become fine'	<i>dine-k</i>	'some day'
	(Ursa)	<i>dine-game</i>	'every day' (Ursa)
<i>-tr/-tar</i>	transitive/causative suffix, 41, 42, 65	<i>dine-nihi</i>	'every day'
<i>-trer</i>	plural suffix, 24	<i>din-on?ta</i>	'one day' (?) (Telo)
<i>dagar-e, dagar-</i>	'to talk' (Boro)	<i>din-ond</i>	'one day, a whole day'
<i>dag-dag</i>	'shiningly'	<i>diyane</i>	'thought'
<i>dada</i>	'father's younger brother'	<i>disa</i>	'direction'
<i>dada.bu?ra</i>	'grandfather'	<i>disang-e, disanq-</i>	'to recognize'
<i>dana</i>	'grain'	<i>disembar</i>	'December'

<i>dihī</i>	[ITJ] occurring at sentence-initial or final	<i>de:mano</i>	‘priest’ (see Vidyarthi 1963:170ff.)
<i>di:ng-onđ</i>	‘a woodpile’ (Mali)	<i>de:r</i>	‘delay’
<i>di:re</i>	‘slowly’	<i>de:ratr-e</i>	‘to get late’
<i>-du</i>	nominal suffix, 60	<i>de:si</i>	‘country, going to a remote place for migrant labor’
<i>dukatr-e</i>	‘to bind (cattle)’ (Mali)	<i>dokani</i>	‘shop’
<i>dukani</i>	‘shop’	<i>dora</i>	‘lap’
<i>dukare:tr-e, -try-</i>	‘to distress’	<i>dosra</i>	‘other, second’
<i>duke</i>	‘hardship’	<i>dohra</i>	‘double’
<i>dukta</i>	‘orphan’ (Kortika)	<i>do:</i>	‘two’
<i>dukwar-e</i>	‘to be distressed’	<i>do:ti</i>	‘dhobi’
<i>dukrar-e/dukarar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be distressed’	<i>do:nō</i>	‘both’
<i>dudi/dude</i>	‘milk’	<i>do:se</i>	‘guilt’
<i>dudu</i>	‘mother’ (S, C)	<i>daulate</i>	‘wealth’
<i>dudu-abo-r</i>	‘parents’	<i>d<sup>h</sup>ya:ne</i>	‘thought’
<i>dudu-ga:rni</i>	‘mother-in-law’	<i>-n</i>	accusative case suffix, 24
<i>dudu-bedi</i>	‘grandmother’	<i>naq-e, naq-</i>	‘to talk’
<i>dud-ki:re</i>	‘hunger for milk’	<i>-naq-e, -naq-/naqy-</i>	[REC] ‘to do to each other’ (with AP, often extended with <i>-r</i> ), 57, 83
<i>duniya</i>	‘world’	<i>nati</i>	‘grandson’
<i>dumani</i>	‘incense’	<i>nadi</i>	‘river’
<i>dumburcar</i>	[PROP] of a town	<i>nan-e, nany-</i>	‘to do’
<i>dumṛa</i>	‘incense’	<i>nane</i>	‘other’
<i>duwari</i>	‘door’	<i>nano</i>	‘there’
<i>duwar-</i>	[CLF] of doors	<i>nandu/nandi</i>	‘again, still’
<i>durga</i>	‘Durga’	<i>naprar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to get ill’
<i>durī</i>	‘dust’	<i>nam</i>	[OBL] of <i>na:m</i>
<i>dulare:tr-e, -try-</i>	‘to love’	<i>name</i>	‘we (I)’ (S)
<i>dusra</i>	‘other, second’	<i>nam-e, namy-</i>	‘to revile, abuse’ (Boro)
<i>du:</i>	‘two’	<i>naya:</i>	‘new’
<i>du:de</i>	‘milk, udder’	<i>naw</i>	‘nine’
<i>du:pahr</i>	‘noon’	<i>nawani</i>	‘new crop rite’
<i>du:r</i>	‘far’	<i>nawre</i>	‘weasel’
<i>du:ri</i>	see <i>duwari</i> (Ursa)	<i>naryale</i>	‘coconut’
<i>-du:re/=du:re, -du:r/=du:r</i>	‘only’, ‘as far as’ 38, 85	<i>narh-e</i>	‘to rise up in a flame’ (Telo)
<i>de</i>	[ITJ] (Boro, Ursā)	<i>naṛ</i>	‘they’ (?) (Ursa)
<i>de</i>	‘then, but’	<i>naṛnaṛtr-e</i>	‘to crawl’ (Ursa)
<i>deka/dekoke/dekorke:hen</i>	[ITJ] ‘come on! wait!’	<i>nal-e, naly-</i>	‘to do’
<i>deko.maṛo</i>	[ITJ] ‘oh boy!’ (Amla)	<i>nald-e</i>	‘to make someone dance’
<i>=dene</i>	‘as if’, 38	<i>nasta</i>	‘snack’
<i>dehi</i>	‘so’	<i>nahe-</i>	[OBL] of <i>na:h</i>

<i>nah-e, nat-</i>	‘to beat’ (see <i>āh-e</i> )	<i>nukr-e, nukry-</i>	‘to swing’
<i>nazdi:k</i>	‘close’	<i>nunj-e, nunjc-</i>	‘to ache, hurt’
<i>na:</i>	‘that’ (medial), 34	<i>nunjtr-e</i>	‘to ache, hurt’
<i>na:d</i>	‘that, she’	<i>nunjr-e, -r-</i>	‘to get hurt’
<i>na:juka-hi</i>	‘like that’	<i>nud-e, nud-</i>	‘to hide’
<i>na:je</i>	‘if not, otherwise’	<i>nuter</i>	‘check’
<i>na:t, na:ti-</i>	‘there’ (Ursa)	<i>nuna</i>	‘dear’
<i>na:d</i>	‘deity’	<i>nuni</i>	‘sister’
<i>na:do</i>	‘priest’	<i>nung-e, nung-</i>	‘to swallow’
<i>na:n</i>	‘that way’	<i>nunh-e, nunh-</i>	‘to swallow’ (S)
<i>nanond</i>	‘that many’	<i>nulk-e, nulky-</i>	‘to bore’
<i>-na:nd-e, -na:ndy-</i>	‘to seem’, 57	<i>nusgr-e, -ry-</i>	‘to rub oneself’
<i>na:n-le</i>	‘that way’	<i>nu:t-e, nu:ty-</i>	‘to touch’
<i>na:pe</i>	‘measure’	<i>nu:tr-e</i>	‘to stretch out, to touch oneself’
<i>na:pet</i>	‘from that way’	<i>-ne</i>	‘(not) even’, 65 (S)
<i>na:pra</i>	‘disease’	<i>nek-e, neky-</i>	‘to get well, to let it be’
<i>na:ber</i>	‘they’	<i>neku</i>	‘well’
<i>na:m</i>	‘we (I)’	<i>nekute</i>	‘well’
<i>na:mi/na:me</i>	‘name’	<i>nenda</i>	‘date’ (Kusum)
<i>na:mkaran</i>	‘naming ceremony’	<i>neru</i>	‘snake’
<i>na:wi-a:we</i>	‘boatman’	<i>ne:</i>	[ITJ]
<i>na:h</i>	‘he’	<i>ne:, ne:k-</i>	‘who’, [REL] ‘who’, 35
<i>-ni</i>	feminine suffix	<i>ne:ga</i>	‘breath, life’
<i>-ni(hi)</i>	emphatic locative or imperfect participle suffix, 24, 24, 54	<i>ne:-gote, ne:-jahā</i>	‘anyone’
<i>ning-</i>	[OBL] of <i>ni:n</i>	<i>ne:d</i>	‘who’ (NM), 35, 64
<i>nind-e, nindy-</i>	‘to fill’	<i>ne:wane</i>	‘first fruit’
<i>ninya:ri</i>	‘date fixing’	<i>ne:re-h</i>	‘who (M)’, 35
<i>nimantran</i>	‘invitation’	<i>-no, -ni(hi)</i>	imperfect participle suffix, 54
<i>nimu-gu</i>	‘your father’	<i>-no, -ni(hi)</i>	locative case suffix, 24, 28
<i>nim-</i>	[OBL] of <i>ni:m</i>	<i>no:</i>	‘not’
<i>nime</i>	‘you (PL)’	<i>no:kri</i>	‘employment’
<i>niyame</i>	‘custom’	<i>no:kryo</i>	‘servant’
<i>niyari</i>	‘invitation’	<i>no:je</i>	‘not’ (Boro)
<i>niyares-e</i>	‘to invite’	<i>no:dr-e, -r-/ry-</i>	‘to wash one’s hands and feet’
<i>niyome</i>	‘custom’	<i>no:ṛ-e, no:ṛy-</i>	‘to wash’
<i>nira:s</i>	‘disappointed’	<i>-nq</i>	denominative suffix, 42
<i>nirgtr-e, -try-</i>	‘to give food’	<i>-nti</i>	ablative case suffix, 62, 28 (C)
<i>nisgre</i>	‘first fruit festival’	<i>-nte</i>	ablative case suffix, 24, 28
<i>nisgr-e</i>	‘to eat the first fruit’		
<i>nih-e, nij-</i>	‘to hit with stone’		
<i>ni:n/ni:nu</i>	‘you’		
<i>ni:m/ni:mu</i>	‘you (PL)’		
<i>-nu</i>	subjunctive suffix, 69		

<i>nde</i>	question marker, also used for confirming, 38	<i>pandra</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>paka</i>	‘bricks and cement’	<i>payne</i>	‘cold’
<i>pakire</i>	‘ascetic’	<i>payda</i>	‘birth, advantage’ (Pandan)
<i>pakur, pakore</i>	name of a city	<i>paydar-e</i>	‘to be born’
<i>pak-r-e, -ry-</i>	‘to blaze, light up’	<i>payde:tr-e</i>	‘to give birth’
<i>pak-tr-e</i>	‘to light, kindle’	<i>payse</i>	‘money’
<i>pakra</i>	‘wing’	<i>pawro:fi</i>	‘biscuit’
<i>pakri</i>	‘ <i>Ficus religiosa</i> ’	<i>par/pare</i>	‘but’
<i>pagla</i>	‘mad man’	<i>parampara</i>	‘tradition, family line’
<i>paykti</i>	‘line’	<i>para:ni</i>	‘soul’ (Boro)
<i>pac</i>	‘five’	<i>parikṣa</i>	‘exam’
<i>pacas</i>	‘fifty’	<i>pariwa:re</i>	‘family’
<i>pace</i>	‘old, in olden times’	<i>parc-e, parcy-</i>	‘to be satisfied’
<i>pac-e, pacy-</i>	‘to become old’		(Ursa)
<i>pacō</i>	‘old woman’	<i>parte</i>	‘mountain’
<i>pacō-pacge-r</i>	‘old couple’	<i>parte:k</i>	‘each’
<i>pacō.hi</i>	‘fermentation starter’	<i>parna:m</i>	‘hello’
<i>pacar-e, pacar-</i>	‘to be rotten’	<i>farwari</i>	‘February’
	(Boro)	<i>parse</i>	‘axe’ (Mali)
<i>paccime</i>	‘west’	<i>para</i>	‘fruit, pod’ (Mali)
<i>pac-tr-naq-e</i>	‘to grow old together’	<i>parar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to lie, to come across’
<i>pacma</i>	‘fifth’	<i>para: lika:</i>	‘educated’
<i>papca:yate</i>	‘panchayat’	<i>par(a)-</i>	[CLF] of long pods or fruits
<i>papci:</i>	‘upper wear’	<i>par-e, parc-</i>	‘to read’
<i>panjke</i>	‘ripe’	<i>par-e:tr-e</i>	‘to give education, to teach’
<i>pat(a)-</i>	[CLF] 32, 62	<i>palqanje</i>	‘cucumber’ (Kusum)
<i>patatr-e, -try-</i>	‘to irrigate, soak’	<i>palqanje</i>	‘cucumber’ (Mali)
<i>pandu-neru</i>	‘cobra’	<i>palfar-e</i>	‘to change clothes’
<i>pata</i>	‘information’	<i>palna</i>	‘so-and-so’
<i>pat-e, pat-/paty-</i>	‘to sew leaves’	<i>pasina:r-e</i>	‘to like’
<i>patgr-e</i>	‘to be at ease, to calm down’ (Ursa)	<i>pasine</i>	‘liking, choice’
<i>patye, patc-</i>	‘to lay a fishing coop, to catch up liquid’	<i>pasile/pasle</i>	‘crop, harvesttime’
<i>patyare</i>	‘belief’	<i>pasye:tr-e</i>	‘to tell a lie’
<i>patyar-e</i>	‘to believe’	<i>pahāri</i>	‘hill’
<i>patra</i>	‘forest’ (Amla)	<i>pahārni/pahārin</i>	[PROP.F] ‘Pa-hariya’
<i>patra/patla</i>	‘leaf plate’	<i>pahāriya</i>	[PROP] ‘Pahariya’
<i>-pad</i>	‘like’, 29	<i>pahal-te</i>	‘first’
<i>pade</i>	‘side, way’ (Ursa)	<i>pahi</i>	‘row’ (Boro)
<i>padrar-e</i>	‘to converse’	<i>pahila, pahla</i>	‘first, former’
<i>panti</i>	‘line’	<i>pahil-te</i>	‘of olden times’
<i>pand(a)-</i>	[CLF] 32, 62	<i>pahtr-e, -try-</i>	‘to make full’

<i>pahra, pahr</i>	‘time, watch’	<i>pinu, -a</i>	‘stick’
<i>pahr-e, pahry-</i>	‘to grow, to grow up’	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ir</i>	‘again’
<i>pah<sup>h</sup>or-e:k-e</i>	see <i>pahr-e</i> (Ursa)	<i>pire-e, piracy-</i>	‘to jump’
<i>pā:c</i>	‘five’	<i>pisi</i>	‘below’
<i>pa:k-e, pa:ky-</i>	‘to take in the lap’	<i>pi:q-e, pi:qy-</i>	‘to squeeze, to milk’
<i>pa:kur, pa:kuqe</i>	[PROP] of a city	<i>pi:ku</i>	‘dung’
<i>pa:ga</i>	‘turban’	<i>pi:je</i>	‘ritual’
<i>pa:tey-e, pa:tec-</i>	‘to (change dress and) bury’	<i>pi:t</i>	‘feet’
<i>pa:fea</i>	‘attendant of a burial’	<i>pi:po</i>	‘father’s elder brother’
<i>pa:nd</i>	fused [CLF] of two round objects, 62	<i>p<sup>h</sup>i:r</i>	‘again’
<i>pa:tri</i>	‘leaf plate’	<i>pi:sy-e, pi:sc-</i>	‘to crush’
<i>pa:dar</i>	‘(Catholic) Father’	<i>puju, -a</i>	‘bird’
<i>pa:nu, -a</i>	‘egg’	<i>puj-cu:gu</i>	‘bird catcher’
<i>pa:nu</i>	‘fruit, grain (of rice)’	<i>putani</i>	‘wicked’ (Mali)
<i>pa:nu-du</i>	‘boil’ (Mali)	<i>fu<sup>h</sup>bo:le</i>	‘football’
<i>pa:ne-hi</i>	‘whole piece’ (Mali)	<i>puntaqdi</i>	‘Puntadi festival’
<i>pa:n-</i>	[CLF] of round objects	<i>pudg-e, pudg-</i>	‘to pour’ (Boro)
<i>pa:n-e, pa:nj-</i>	‘to get ripe’	<i>puy-e, puy-</i>	‘to throw in’ (PadB)
<i>pa:y</i>	‘pai (unit of weight)’	<i>pune</i>	‘new’
<i>pa:y-e:nd</i>	‘two pais’	<i>pun-dana</i>	‘new harvest’
<i>pa:wu, -a</i>	‘road’	<i>pund-e, pund-</i>	‘to put on the neck’
<i>pa:wnar</i>	‘guest’	<i>pura:na</i>	‘old’
<i>pa:re</i>	‘but’	<i>pure</i>	‘dove’
<i>pa:ry-e, pa:rc-</i>	‘to be able’ (with IF)	<i>purja</i>	‘slip’
<i>pa:t-e, pa:t<sup>h</sup>-</i>	‘to sing’	<i>pury-e, purc-</i>	‘to pour’
<i>pa:t-/pā:t-</i>	[CLF] of round objects, 32	<i>pura</i>	‘entrails’
<i>pa:li</i>	‘row’	<i>pulise</i>	‘policeman’
<i>pa:s</i>	‘pass’	<i>pusre</i>	‘a kind of berry (kusum)’
<i>pa:se</i>	‘side’	<i>pusle:tr-e, -try-</i>	‘to lie’
<i>pa:s-ond</i>	‘a chunk of’ (Boro)	<i>pu:g-e, pu:G-</i>	‘to boil’
<i>pa:se-pa:se-ti</i>	‘gradually’ (Ursa)	<i>pu:ja</i>	‘worship’
<i>pijy-e, pijy-</i>	‘to name’	<i>pu:nu, -a</i>	‘garland’
<i>pijy<sup>h</sup>ra</i>	‘cage’	<i>pu:n-e, pund-</i>	‘to wear’
<i>pit-e, pity-</i>	‘to kill, catch (fish), put out’	<i>pu:ne</i>	‘new’ (Boro)
<i>piṭa</i>	‘bread’	<i>pu:n-dana</i>	‘new crop’
<i>piṭa-manu</i>	‘bread tree’	<i>pu:pu, -a</i>	‘flower’
<i>pit-uvr-e</i>	‘to be killed’	<i>pu:p-bagane</i>	‘flower garden’
<i>pind-e, pindc-</i>	‘to sound’	<i>pu:ra</i>	‘all, wholly’
<i>pind-tr-e, -try-</i>	‘to beat (a drum)’	<i>pu:ra-tr-e, -try-</i>	‘to fulfil, finish’
		<i>pu:rar-e, -r-</i>	‘to be fulfilled’
		<i>pu:ry-e, pu:rc-</i>	‘to fill’
		<i>pu:rw</i>	‘east’
		<i>pu:rwaje</i>	‘ancestor’
		<i>pu:le</i>	‘bridge’

<i>pu:h-e, pu:h-</i>	‘to boil’ (S)	<i>porg-tr-e</i>	‘to soak’
<i>-pe</i>	past participle suffix, 52	<i>porwa</i>	‘dewlap’
<i>-pet</i>	‘side’	<i>pol-e, pol-</i>	‘to be unable’ (with IF), 85
<i>pede</i>	‘way’, ‘root’	<i>pos-</i>	see <i>poy-e</i>
<i>-pede-no</i>	‘at the place of’, 29, 62	<i>poste</i>	‘post office, post’
<i>ped-jaga</i>	‘homeland’	<i>po:ku</i>	‘ant’
<i>ped-lo:ke-r</i>	‘old people’	<i>po:te</i>	‘what’ (?) (Ursa)
<i>pet-</i>	see <i>peh-e</i>	<i>po:ne</i>	‘dowry’
<i>petor-e</i>	‘to be settled’	<i>po:sy-e, po:sc-</i>	‘to keep, support’
<i>pedehr-e, -r-</i>	‘to hit hard and break’ (Boro)	<i>bāriya</i>	‘fine’
<i>peyalar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be busy with, to be occupied with’	<i>=ba</i>	clitic meaning ‘even, too’, 38
<i>perwa</i>	‘pigeon’	<i>bakra</i>	‘share’
<i>pera</i>	‘relative, guest’	<i>bakrey-e, bakrec-</i>	‘to divide’
<i>pera-ora-r</i>	[ECHO] ‘relatives and so on’	<i>bakra</i>	‘leaven, fermentation starter’
<i>perp-e, perp-</i>	‘to hiss’ (Amla)	<i>bakriya-taqi</i>	‘grain wine’
<i>perq-e, perqy-</i>	‘to parboil’ (Ursa)	<i>baksa</i>	‘box’
<i>peli, -n/pela</i>	‘girl, woman’	<i>bagate</i>	‘ascetic’
<i>pel-joka</i>	‘pubescent’	<i>bagat-ni</i>	[F] ‘ascetic woman’
<i>pel-ta:r-e/-tawr-e, -ta:ry/-tawry-</i>	‘to get married’	<i>bagane</i>	‘grove, sacred grove’
<i>pel-balo</i>	‘bachelor’	<i>bagale</i>	‘side’
<i>pel-bede</i>	‘marriage’	<i>-bager/-bagter</i>	plural suffix, 24
<i>pel-mage</i>	‘girl’	<i>bagce</i>	‘orchard’
<i>peh-e, pet-</i>	‘to take up’	<i>bagna</i>	‘nephew’
<i>pehr-e, pehry-</i>	‘to take along’	<i>bagmane</i>	‘god’
<i>pe:sa</i>	‘money’	<i>bagwa:n</i>	‘god’
<i>paila</i>	‘first’	<i>bac-e, bacy-</i>	‘to rob’
<i>-po</i>	habitual participle suffix, 51, 71	<i>bac-e, bacy-</i>	‘to remember’ (Ursa)
<i>pokari/pokri</i>	‘pond’	<i>bacari/bacri</i>	‘year’
<i>pokry-</i>	[CLF] of pond	<i>bacpane</i>	‘childhood’
<i>pocor/pocru</i>	‘insect’	<i>bacru</i>	‘calf’
<i>poj-e, pojy-</i>	‘to entwine’	<i>baja-naq-e</i>	‘to beat each other’
<i>poda</i>	‘leftover rice’	<i>bajare</i>	‘market’
<i>pod-amu</i>	‘gruel made of leftover rice’	<i>baj-uwr-e, -ry-</i>	‘to beat oneself’
<i>ponde</i>	‘child’	<i>baj-e, bajy-</i>	‘to beat’
<i>poti-mi:nu</i>	‘Poti fish’	<i>baje</i>	‘o’clock’
<i>pote</i>	[ITJ]	<i>-bajo, -baje</i>	‘toward’, 29
<i>pobi</i>	‘cross section’	<i>baj-</i>	[CLF] of ways or sides
<i>poy-e, pos-</i>	‘to fall (as rain)’	<i>bajra</i>	‘millet’
<i>probe</i>	‘festival’	<i>batagni</i>	‘maiden’
		<i>baty-e, batc-</i>	‘to grind’
		<i>bafge</i>	‘maiden’
		<i>baty-e, batc-</i>	‘to grind’
		<i>badə</i>	‘great, tall’

<i>bada-gary-e</i>	'to make more of'	<i>bargi</i>	'kitchen garden'
<i>bady-e, badc-</i>	'to grow'	<i>bary-e, bayc-</i>	'to grow' (Mali)
<i>bad-e, bad.menj-</i>	'to know', 45	<i>barye</i>	'strong'
<i>badyi-tr-e</i>	'to raise'	<i>barhar-e, -r-</i>	'to grow' (Amla)
<i>bandane</i>	'memorial feast'	<i>bala</i>	'lance'
<i>bat-e, bat-</i>	'to expose to heat'	<i>balahne</i>	'very big' (Boro)
<i>batte</i>	'side'	<i>bali</i>	'door'
<i>badma:se</i>	'rascal'	<i>-balo</i>	suffix meaning '-less', 31
<i>badla</i>	'exchange'	<i>balti</i>	'bucket'
<i>badl-budl</i>	[ECHO] 'changing'	<i>balme</i>	'spear'
<i>badla:r-e, -ry-/r-</i>	[ITR] 'to change'	<i>bas</i>	'enough'
<i>badley-e, badle:c-</i>	[TR] 'to change'	<i>basando</i>	'dwelling place'
<i>badli</i>	'transfer'	<i>baseta</i>	'sugar cake'
<i>bana:-tr-e, -try-/tr-</i>	'to make'	<i>basg-e, basgy-</i>	'to peel'
<i>bana:-r-e</i>	'to be made'	<i>basy-e, basc-</i>	'to settle down'
<i>bani</i>	'current'	<i>baha</i>	'place'
<i>baniya</i>	'merchant'	<i>-bahak</i>	'to the place of', 29
<i>bang-e</i>	'to lie in wait' (Mokri)	<i>-bahante</i>	'from', 29
<i>band</i>	'closed'	<i>bahu</i>	'bride, sister-in-law'
<i>bandani</i>	'fastening'	<i>bahut</i>	'very'
<i>band-e, band-</i>	'to pull'	<i>bah(a)/-bāh(a)-</i>	[CLF] for generic use (cf. Droese 1884:17), 34
<i>bande</i>	'root'	<i>-bahno</i>	'at', 29
<i>babu</i>	'boy'	<i>bahy-e, bahc-</i>	'to plough'
<i>babṛ-e, babṛy-</i>	'to swing around'	<i>bahri/e</i>	'outside'
<i>baya</i>	see <i>baiya</i>	<i>bahre-k</i>	[ADV] 'outside'
<i>bawna</i>	'worry'	<i>bahli</i>	'selection'
<i>bawnar-e, -ry-</i>	'to worry'	<i>bā:grey-e, bā:grec-</i>	'to embrace'
<i>bar-e, barc-</i>	'to come', 57, 83	<i>ba:ki:</i>	'remaining'
<i>bara:tr-e</i>	'to fill'	<i>ba:k-e, ba:ky-</i>	'to collect, gather'
<i>bar-e, barc-</i>	'to come'	<i>ba:g-e, ba:gy-</i>	'to scrape, pare' (Boro)
<i>bara:hi</i>	'rope' (Ursa)	<i>ba:ca-tr-e, -try-</i>	'to save'
<i>=baru</i>	'you know', 38	<i>ba:car-e, -ry-</i>	'to be saved, to be left'
<i>barg-e, barg-</i>	'to snore'	<i>ba:c-ut-e, -ut-</i>	'to cover with cloth'
<i>barca</i>	'spear'	<i>ba:cori</i>	'beard'
<i>barti</i>	'enrolment'	<i>ba:jra</i>	'millet'
<i>barya</i>	'earthen pot'	<i>ba:t-naq-e</i>	'to divide among themselves'
<i>baryati</i>	'groomsmen'	<i>ba:ty-e, ba:tc-</i>	'to divide'
<i>baryar-e, baryary-</i>	'to get full'	<i>ba:te</i>	'words, matter'
<i>bary(a)-</i>	[CLF] of pitchers	<i>ba:tc:te</i>	'discussion'
<i>baṛ-e</i>	'to extend' (Kusum)	<i>badqa</i>	'big'
<i>baṛa:.din</i>	'Christmas'		
<i>baṛi</i>	'arm'		
<i>bariya</i>	'excellent'		
<i>baṛkar-e, -ry-</i>	'to be boiled'		

ba:d/ba:du/ba:de	‘after’ (with VN), 51	bidy-e, bidc-	‘to shine’
ba:no-ba:ni ( <i>bahno-bahni?</i> )	‘in various ways’ (Ursa)	bit-e, bit-	‘to cook, brew’
ba:p.dada	‘father-frandfather’	bitatr-e	‘to spend time’
ba:pre	[ITJ] ‘oh my!’	bitar-e, bitary-	‘to pass’
ba:ye	‘brother, cousin, relative’	bitre-k	[ADV] ‘inside’
ba:yi	‘elder sister’	bida:	‘farewell’
ba:y-gofya	‘cousins and family’	bina	‘without’
ba:ra	‘twelve’	-bini	‘like’ (Mali)
ba:ra:ana	‘12 anna’	bima:ri	‘disease’
-ba:rah	‘and so on’ (Ursa)	biyatr-e, -tr-	‘to deliver (a calf)’ (Boro)
b <sup>h</sup> a:ri	‘massive’	birat	‘big’ (PadB)
ba:ri	‘pregnant’ (Ursa)	birg-e, birg-	‘to mix’
ba:r-e, ba:ry-	‘to take out’	bila	‘plain’ (Simal)
ba:re	‘occasion’	bily-e, bilc-	‘to distribute’
ba:re-no	‘with respect to’	bisay	‘subject’
ba:rgi	‘side (of a body)’ (Ursa)	biskute	‘biscuit’
ba:t-batte-r	[PL] ‘Western Sawriya Pahariyas’ (Ursa)	biswa:se	‘faith’
ba:l-e, ba:ly-	‘to cut the pulp of a fruit’	biha	‘marriage, wedding’
ba:lu	‘sand’	biha-mu:se	‘bridegroom’
ba:lk-e	‘turmeric’	biha-sa:di	‘wedding’
ba:ly-e, ba:lc-	‘to cut up flesh’	bi:k-e, bi:ky-	‘to call’ (N, C)
bikar-e, bikary-	‘to be sold’	bi:gr-e/bi:grnet-e	‘to break up’ (Telo)
bikka	‘alms’ (Telo)	bi:ci	‘seed’
bigrnet-e	‘to break up’	bi:ce	‘between’
bic-e, bic-	‘to be cooked’	bi:cy-	[CLF] of grain
bica-tr-e	‘to spread’ (Ursa)	bi:j-e, bi:jiy-	‘to widen’
bicaq <i>i</i> -gunde	‘rice dumpling’	bi:nd-e, bi:ndy-	‘to begin’, 50
bica:re	‘consideration’	bi:ndwa	‘invited guest’ (Ursa)
bicr-e, bicry/bicr-	‘to put in, shove, to sprinkle, to send away’, 58	bi:r-e	‘to be about to’ (with IF; present only)
bij-merga	‘before dawn’	bi:ra:tr-e, -try-	‘to bring together’
bij-e, bijy-	‘to dawn’	bi:s	‘twenty’
bijora:r-e, -ry-	‘to come to one’s senses’	bi:s-e, bi:sy-	‘to sell’
bijore:tr-e, -try-	‘to bring to one’s senses’	buku	‘chest’
bij-tr-e	‘to pass a night’	buja	‘puffed rice’
bijli	‘mongoose’	bujar-e	‘to be understood’ (Ursa)
bite	‘side, shore’	budi/budya	‘old woman’
		budo	‘old woman’
		budi	‘mind, intelligence, lie, trick’
		budi-ta:ni	‘intelligent’
		budi-balo	‘unintelligent’
		buri:ge	‘handpump’

būtiya	'old woman'	77
burq-e	'to shout'	<i>be:ku, -a</i> 'salt'
burbak	'stupid'	<i>be:g-e, be:gy-</i> 'to jump'
būta	'old, old man'	<i>be:qo</i> 'big' (C, S)
būti	'old woman'	<i>be:qo</i> 'grandmother' (Tugu)
būqk-e:nd	'two jarfuls'	<i>be:q.owa</i> 'big brother'
būqk-ond	'a jarful'	<i>be:tr-e, be:try-</i> 'to attach'
būqwa	'old man'	<i>be:wa</i> 'community'
bu:ta	'ghost'	<i>be:ri</i> 'time'
bu:t-jaga	'haunted place'	<i>be:ru</i> 'sun'
beq-e, beq-	'to wrestle'	<i>be:r-u:q-e, -u:q-</i> 'to get dark'
bekar	'useless'	<i>be:r-ti</i> 'day' (Amla)
beku	'stalk', cf. <i>gepu</i>	<i>be:rnī</i> 'wage'
beca:re	'poor man'	<i>be:rney-e, be:rnec-</i> 'to work for wages'
beca:rnī	[F] 'poor woman'	<i>be:ra</i> 'sun' (?) (Mali)
benje	'marriage' (S)	<i>be:ri-t</i> 'in the evening'
bejar-naq-e, -naq-	'to meet'	<i>be:re</i> 'elder sister's husband'
bejar-e, -ry-	'to meet'	<i>baiya, baya</i> 'elder brother'
bejor:ra:r-e, -ry-	'to grow up'	<i>boka/bokka/bokka.kangya</i> 'stupid'
(Ursa)		<i>boge</i> 'heron'
beda	'paternal grandmother' (Ursa)	<i>bogla</i> 'paddy bird'
bedaya	'grandmother' (Mokri)	<i>boŋg-e, boŋg-/boŋgy-</i> 'to run, run away'
bedi	'sheep'	<i>boŋg-tr-e, -try-</i> 'to abduct, to make run away, to take away'
-bedi	'some', 36	<i>boda</i> 'snake, viper'
bediyo	'grandfather' (Mokri)	<i>boda-gu</i> 'large snake'
bedyo	'ancestor' (Ani)	<i>bođare</i> 'border'
benji	'knife'	<i>botl-ond</i> 'a bottle of'
betane	'salary'	<i>bora</i> 'bag'
bed-e, bedy-	'to search, seek, to want to' (with IF)	<i>boriyo</i> [PROP] of a town'
bed-uwr-e	'to be married off'	<i>bor-ond</i> 'a bagful of'
bed-e:r-e	'to look for'	<i>borŋga</i> 'onion'
bedr-naq-e	'to love each other'	<i>boly-</i> [CLF] of words
bey-e, becy-	'to be', 59 (S, C)	<i>boh-e, bohy-</i> 'to run, run away' (S)
beyo	'be not' (S, C)	<i>boh-kir-e, -kir-y-</i> 'to run away and return' (S)
bey-tr-e, -tr-	'to cause to be'	<i>boh-tr-e, boh-tr-</i> 'to make run away'
-ber	plural suffix, 24	<i>bo:je/a</i> 'feast'
berge	'cat'	<i>bo:j-ba:si</i> 'day after a feast'
-berge	[with VN] 'as soon as' (Mali)	<i>bo:me-ume</i> [ECHO] 'bomb and so on'
berba:d	'destruction'	
besi	'much, more'	
beh-e, behc-/becc-	'to be' (N, supplied by <i>men-e</i> in the future), 77,	

bo:la-ke:le	‘ball game’	mane	‘namely’
<i>baiya/baya</i>	‘brother’	<i>man-erwe</i>	‘tree puja’
bloke	‘block’	<i>man(u)-</i>	[CLF] of trees
- <i>m</i>	emphatic particle (?), 38	<i>mangu, -a</i>	‘buffalo’
- <i>maʔ/-maq</i>	pronominal classifier, ‘one’, 64, 65	<i>mand-e, mand-</i>	‘to bury’
<i>maq-</i>	[CLF] of animals, 32	<i>mand-e, mand-</i>	‘to plant (paddy)’
<i>maða</i>	‘statue’ (Boro)	(Mali)	
<i>maqi</i>	‘girl’	<i>mandru/mandrdu, -a</i>	‘medicine’
<i>maqu, -a</i>	‘child’ (Ursa)	<i>many-e, manc-</i>	‘to obey, accept’
<i>maqu, -a</i>	‘bug’ (Mali)	<i>manhu/manuhdu, -a</i>	‘buffalo’
<i>mage</i>	‘boy, child’	<i>may-naʔ-e, -naʔy-</i>	‘to do to each other’
<i>mage-pondi</i>	‘everyone, children and women’	<i>margu</i>	‘horn’
<i>meŋc[u]</i>	‘seat’ (Telo)	<i>marc</i>	‘March’
<i>maqo</i>	‘child, girl’ (Mali, Mokri)	<i>marci</i>	‘hot pepper’
- <i>maqo</i>	diminutive suffix	<i>maṛi</i>	‘grave’
<i>maqo-ta:ni</i>	[NM] ‘[woman] having children’	<i>maṛ-e, maṛ.mejj-</i>	‘to like’, 45, 73
<i>maqo-ta:we</i>	‘having children’, used for a female, 286	<i>maṛen</i>	‘at will’
<i>maʔ-kaya</i>	‘childhood’ (S)	<i>maṛg-e, maṛ-</i>	‘to be black, to faint’
<i>maʔdu</i>	‘creature, bug’	<i>maṛgo</i>	‘black’
<i>maʔpan</i>	‘animal’	<i>mala</i>	[PR] ‘be not’, [ITJ] ‘no’
<i>maq-pahr</i>	‘childhood’	<i>male/mala</i>	‘or’
<i>maq-balo</i>	‘childless’	<i>mal-e, menl-</i>	‘to be not’
<i>maku, -a</i>	‘sal tree’	<i>mala se</i>	‘or else’
<i>mayga:tr-e, -try-</i>	‘to invite’	<i>mali</i>	‘Arhar, kind of reed’
<i>macli</i>	‘small stool’	<i>malipara</i>	[PROP] of a village
<i>maja</i>	‘fine’	<i>male/mala</i>	‘man, person’
<i>maja-qani</i>	‘pretty’	<i>male/mala</i>	‘or’
<i>maji</i>	‘middle’	<i>mal ta:n</i>	‘if not, otherwise’, ‘on the contrary’
<i>majila</i>	‘middle’	<i>malto</i>	[PROP] ‘Pahariya, Malto language’
<i>majte</i>	‘middle’	<i>mal-ni</i>	‘woman’
<i>majtra</i>	‘middle (of siblings)’	<i>malla</i>	[PT] ‘was/were not’ (Boro)
<i>majdu:ri</i>	‘wage’	<i>mal-sama:je</i>	‘Pahariya society’
<i>majye/mājye</i>	‘village chief, priest’	<i>masani</i>	‘burial ground’
<i>mad-e, madc-</i>	‘to trample’, 58	<i>masala</i>	‘spice’
<i>mandap</i>	‘pavilion’	<i>masi</i>	‘Mesiah’
<i>matlab</i>	‘namely’	<i>masu, -a</i>	‘hatchet’
<i>man</i>	‘maund’	<i>masṭare</i>	‘teacher’
<i>manu/mandu, -a</i>	‘tree’	<i>mas-tojge</i>	‘axe’
<i>mana:-tr-e</i>	‘to worship’	<i>masbefi</i>	‘handle of an axe’
<i>man-e, manj-</i>	‘to be, become’	<i>mahe:spur</i>	[PROP] of a town

<i>mahra</i>	‘cowherd’	<i>milar-e</i>	‘to be together, to fit, to be obtained’
<i>mahwa</i>	‘mahua flower’	<i>misan</i>	‘mission’
<i>mā:ʔalni</i>	‘mother and daughter’ (Telo)	<i>mistri</i>	‘carpenter’
<i>mā:ji</i>	‘headman’	<i>mi:ŋj-e, mi:ŋjy-</i>	‘to make someone feel pleasant’
<i>ma:q-a</i>	‘at night’	<i>mi:ŋjo</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>ma:qu</i>	‘night’	<i>mi:nu/du, -a</i>	‘fish’
<i>ma:qu-qalu</i>	‘night’ (Ursa)	<i>mi:l</i>	‘agreement’
<i>ma:qond</i>	‘morning’	<i>muka</i>	‘forearm, cubit’
<i>ma:q-ond</i>	‘one night’, 32	<i>muc-agr-e/muc-ogr-e</i>	‘to cover one’s face with hands’
<i>ma:ku, -a</i>	‘meat, stag’	<i>muc-ut-e, -ut-</i>	‘to shut, slam (a door)’
<i>ma:ŋy-e, ma:ŋgc-</i>	‘to beg’	<i>muc-e, mucy-</i>	‘to close’
<i>ma:ŋy-u</i>	‘beggar’	<i>muŋu, -a</i>	‘nose’
<i>ma:nd-e, ma:ndy-</i>	‘to apply’	<i>muŋi</i>	‘fist’
<i>ma:ndr-e, -ry-</i>	‘to apply on one’s body’	<i>muŋy-ond-ti/muŋ-ond-ti</i>	‘at one stroke’
<i>ma:tr</i>	‘only’	<i>mundro</i>	‘ember of firewood’
<i>ma:tra</i>	‘a little bit’	<i>mund-e, mundy-</i>	‘to cause damage to’
<i>ma:dgi</i>	‘mahua’ (Kusum)	<i>munde, mund-</i>	‘to tie up’
<i>ma:n-ar-e</i>	‘to accept, observe’	<i>mundi</i>	‘formerly, in olden times’
<i>-ma:ne=ma:ne</i>	‘alone’, 38	<i>mundoti, -te</i>	‘ancient’
<i>ma:nqal</i>	‘father and son’	<i>murk-e, murky-</i>	‘to cut across’
<i>ma:ntr-e</i>	‘to harvest’ (?) (Boro)	<i>murko</i>	name of a tree
<i>ma:ny-e, ma:nc-</i>	‘to accept, observe’ (Amla)	<i>murge</i>	‘sharp end’
<i>ma:ri</i>	‘at full power’ (?) (Mokri)	<i>murda:</i>	‘dead’
<i>ma:ry-e, ma:rc-</i>	‘to stir (with a stick)’, ‘to sprinkle(?)’	<i>muŋG-e, muŋG-</i>	‘to dig out’
<i>ma:ry-e, ma:rc-</i>	vector verb denoting completive aspect (Ursa)	<i>muŋse</i>	‘man, husband’
<i>ma:ŋ-e</i>	‘to boil after parching’ (Kusum)	<i>muŋs-mage</i>	‘boy’
<i>ma:ŋ-e</i>	‘Mar’, name of a caste	<i>mulgr-e, -tr-</i>	‘to make dive’
<i>ma:like</i>	‘master’	<i>mulgr-e, mulgr-</i>	‘to dive’
<i>ma:si</i>	‘Ulad bean’	<i>mulr-e, -ry-</i>	‘to make hair in a knot’
<i>ma:su, -a</i>	‘bamboo’	<i>muso</i>	‘nose’
<i>ma:sus</i>	‘acknowledgement’	<i>muskil</i>	‘difficulty’
<i>mit-e</i>	‘to eat’ (Boro)	<i>musg-e</i>	‘to pack’
<i>mitra</i>	‘kind of fish’	<i>mu:qe</i>	‘frog’
<i>minq-e, minqy-</i>	‘to shut one’s eyes’	<i>mu:ŋjr-e, mu:ŋjry-</i>	‘to wash one’s face’
<i>min-e, miny-</i>	‘to eat’ (bread)	<i>mu:la</i>	‘largest, chief’ (Boro)
<i>mimi</i>	‘neem’	<i>meq-e, meq-/meqy-</i>	‘to bake’
<i>mila:tr-e</i>	‘to put together’	<i>meŋj-e, meŋjy-</i>	‘to incubate’

<i>meca, mec</i>	‘above’, 29	<i>mo:to</i>	‘fat’
<i>mece</i>	‘tall’	<i>mo:t-mo:to</i>	‘very big’
<i>mecten</i>	‘upward’	<i>mo:dr-e, mo:dry-</i>	‘to forget’
<i>mec.te-nte</i>	‘from above’	<i>mo:ne</i>	‘mind’
<i>mejj.e:r-e, mejj.e:ry-</i>	‘to ask’	<i>mo:n-</i>	[CLF] maunds
<i>mejj-r-naq-e</i>	‘to hear from each other’ (Ursa)	<i>mo:yr-e, mo:yr-</i>	‘to forget’
<i>meta:i</i>	‘sweets’	<i>mo:re</i>	‘corner’
<i>men-e, mejj-/majj- (S)</i>	‘to be come, to be, to take place, to do, to have to (with IF)’, 50, 77, 77	<i>mo:q-e, moq-</i>	‘to eat’
<i>men-e, mejj-</i>	‘to listen’	<i>mba</i>	[ITJ] see <i>umba</i>
<i>men-tr-e</i>	‘to tell’	<i>-ya</i>	[ITJ] ‘mother!, sister!’
<i>mendr-e</i>	‘to be heard’	<i>ya:</i>	[ITJ] (Ursa)
<i>mergtr-e, -tr-</i>	‘to act furiously’	<i>ya:dga:ri</i>	‘memory’
<i>mel-</i>	see <i>men-e</i>	<i>-waje/-waji/-wajo</i>	‘to’
<i>mesqado</i>	‘daughter-in-law’	<i>-wajo/-waj/-wiji</i>	‘in the direction of’
<i>meseqdo</i>	‘son’s wife’ (S)	<i>-wr</i>	passive/reflexive suffix, 41
<i>mehna</i>	‘month’	<i>-r</i>	intransitive suffix, 41
<i>mehn(a)-</i>	[CLF] of months	<i>rakase</i>	‘demon’
<i>me:grī</i>	‘eldest daughter’	<i>ragar-e, -r-</i>	see <i>ro:kar-e</i> (Tugu)
<i>me:gro</i>	‘eldest son’	<i>randa</i>	‘food for the first feeding’
<i>me:ca</i>	‘lees, wine made of grains’	<i>-rar</i>	intransitive suffix, 42
<i>me:jj-e, me:jjy-</i>	‘to make’	<i>rahy-e, rahc-</i>	‘to stay’
<i>metrik</i>	‘matriculation’	<i>ra:ja</i>	‘king’
<i>me:d/me:y</i>	‘fever, disease’	<i>ra:ji</i>	‘kingdom’
<i>me:n-e, mejj-</i>	‘to hear, ask’ (S, C)	<i>ra:ji</i>	‘approving’
<i>me:nd-e, me:nd-</i>	‘to burn, to set on fire’	<i>rajkumare</i>	‘prince’
<i>me:la</i>	‘harmony’	<i>ra:jmahale</i>	‘palace’
<i>me:la</i>	‘festival’	<i>ra:ti</i>	‘night’
<i>mo:ne</i>	‘banana’	<i>ra:ti-ule</i>	‘day and night’
<i>mo:ta</i>	‘big, fat’	<i>ra:t:bar</i>	‘all night’
<i>motra-jutra</i>	‘packs of luggage’	<i>ra:ty-ond</i>	‘whole night’
<i>mon</i>	‘maund’	<i>ra:ni</i>	‘queen’
<i>mohara</i>	‘herdsman’ (Simal)	<i>ra:m-ra:j</i>	‘Ram’s reign’
<i>mohlid</i>	‘basket maker’ (Mali)	<i>ri:ko-qadi</i>	‘tiny little’
<i>mo:q-e, moq-/moqy-</i>	‘to eat’	<i>ri:kond/re:kond</i>	‘a little’
<i>mo:qe</i>	‘food’	<i>ri:kbeni/ri:kbani</i>	‘little, young’
<i>mo:g-e</i>	‘to emit smoke’	<i>ru:ce</i>	‘taste’
<i>mo:kam</i>	‘opportunity’	<i>rupa</i>	‘silver’
<i>mo:kri</i>	[PROP] of a village	<i>rumale</i>	‘handkerchief’
<i>mo:c-e, mo:cy-</i>	‘to cut’	<i>ru:pe</i>	‘form’
<i>mo:tar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to grow big’	<i>ru:me</i>	‘room’
		<i>=re</i>	[ITJ] used to address a woman
		<i>reksa</i>	‘rickshaw’
		<i>rong</i>	‘style’

<i>ro:katr-e, -try-</i>	‘to make angry’	<i>la:ry-e, la:rc-</i>	‘to stir, shake’
<i>ro:kar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to get angry’	<i>la:rsaq</i>	‘battered’
<i>ro:ga</i>	‘disease’	<i>la:li</i>	‘spittle’
<i>ro:j</i>	‘day’	<i>la:l-e, lad-</i>	‘to dance’ (Mali)
<i>=re</i> [ITJ]	used to address a man	<i>la:lcar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to covet’
<i>la</i>	see <i>male</i>	<i>la:lci</i>	‘greedy’
<i>-lagacki</i>	‘for’, 29, 50	<i>la:se</i>	‘corpse’
<i>lagatr-e, -try-</i>	‘to attach’	<i>la:se</i>	‘happy, happiness’
<i>laga-na?e</i>	‘to beat each other’	<i>liky-e, like-</i>	‘to write’
(Boro)		<i>litipara</i>	[PROP] of a town
<i>lagar-e, -ry-/r-(S)</i>	‘to be attached, to start ...ing’ (with IF), 50 (S)	<i>lilg-e, lilg-</i>	‘to clean, to scratch’
<i>lag-e, lagy-</i>	‘to be attached, to hit, to cost, to have to, to start’ (with IF), 50	<i>luga</i>	‘clothes’
<i>-lagcak-</i>	‘for’ (with a pronominal suffix) (Boro)	<i>lungi:</i>	‘lungee’
<i>lagre</i>	‘drum’ (Mali)	<i>lunti</i>	‘reception’ (Ursa)
<i>langa-qe:ru</i>	‘cock’	<i>-le</i>	conjunctive participle suffix, 53
<i>langot̪i</i>	‘loincloth’	<i>lear-e, leary-</i>	see <i>lehar-e</i>
<i>langti</i>	‘lame woman’	<i>lekin</i>	‘but’
<i>lajar-e, -ry-/r-</i>	‘to feel ashamed’	<i>-leko</i>	‘like’, 29
<i>laja:-tr-e</i>	‘to make feel ashamed’	<i>leyk-e, lekc-</i>	‘to count, to write’
<i>lat̪i</i>	‘staff, stick’	<i>lega</i>	[ITJ] ‘come along’
<i>lad-</i>	see <i>lal-e</i>	<i>lefra</i>	‘left’
<i>lađu</i>	‘laddu’	<i>lelha</i>	‘fool’ (Mahapatra <i>lela</i> )
<i>lap-e, lapy-</i>	‘to eat’	<i>lehar-e/lehr-e, lehary-</i>	‘to become’
<i>lape</i>	‘food’	<i>lehor</i>	‘prayer’ (Boro)
<i>lap-tr-e, -try-</i>	‘to feed’	<i>lehy-e</i>	‘to know’ (Boro)
<i>laboh</i>	‘much’	<i>le:cki/le:kki</i>	‘for’
<i>lab-?ani</i>	‘fine’	<i>le:la/le:le</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>lawa:gunde</i>	‘flour of parched grain’	<i>lot̪a</i>	‘brass pot’
<i>lawra</i>	‘penis’	<i>lotar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to roll around’
<i>lađar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to move’	<i>lot-ond</i>	‘a cupful’
<i>lađa:i</i>	‘war, quarrel’	<i>loya</i>	‘jackal’ (Kortika)
<i>lal-e, lad-</i>	‘to dance’	<i>lol-e, loly-</i>	‘to ladle out’
<i>lal-e, laly-</i>	‘to do’ (S)	<i>lo:hi</i>	‘Lahri bean’
<i>la:ste</i>	‘last’	<i>lo:ke</i>	‘people’
<i>lahri</i>	‘parched rice’	<i>lo:be</i>	‘greed’
<i>la:ine</i>	‘line’	<i>lo:r-e, lo:rc-</i>	‘to be able’ (with IF) (S)
<i>-la:go</i>	‘somewhat’, 38	<i>sakti-juge</i>	‘tough era’ (Boro)
<i>la:pite</i>	‘barber’	<i>saga</i>	‘company’
<i>la:r-e, la:ry-</i>	‘to stir, shake’ (Telo)	<i>sagar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to help’
		<i>sagr-ma:qe</i>	‘whole night’
		<i>saygale/-l</i>	[ADV] ‘together’
		<i>saygale</i>	‘friend’
		<i>sangalni</i>	[F] ‘female friend’

saja	‘punishment’	salwar	‘cotton trouser’
<i>sajy-e, sajc-</i>	‘to fit, suit’	<i>salha</i>	‘stupid’
<i>sat</i>	‘seven’	<i>sasone</i>	‘torment’
sattu	‘coarse flour’	<i>sahabe/saabe</i>	‘master, officer’
<i>satra</i>	‘seventeen’	<i>sahi</i>	‘funeral pyre’
satsange	‘Satsang’	<i>sahi-no</i>	‘really, indeed’
<i>sapa</i>	‘cleaning, totally’	<i>sahebganje</i>	[PROP] of a city
<i>sap<sup>h</sup>a:i</i>	‘cleaning’	<i>sa:ge</i>	‘vegetables’
<i>sapta:h</i>	‘week’	<i>sa:jar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be adorned’
<i>sapna</i>	‘dream’	<i>sajatr-e, -try-</i>	‘to dress’
<i>saprey-e, sapre:c-</i>	‘to prepare’ (Mokri)	<i>sajy-e, sa:jc-</i>	‘to arrange (food)’
<i>saba</i>	‘story, speaking, matter’	<i>sa:ty-e, sa:tc-</i>	‘to paste’
<i>sabji</i>	‘vegetable’	<i>sa:t</i>	‘seven’
<i>sab se</i>	‘than anything’	<i>sa:te, sa:tu</i>	‘together’
<i>samay</i>	‘time’	<i>sa:di</i>	‘marriage, wedding’
<i>sama:je</i>	‘society’	<i>sa:du</i>	‘ascetic’
<i>sama:ne</i>	‘goods’	<i>sa:ny-e</i>	‘to make a ball’
<i>samjar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to understand’	<i>sa:pe</i>	‘clean’
<i>samtes-e</i>	‘to get in’ (Mali)	<i>sa:bune</i>	‘soap’
<i>samdi</i>	‘married couple’s fathers’	<i>sa:mne</i>	‘near’
<i>samdre</i>	‘sea’	<i>say-e, sa:c-</i>	‘to break up (as of friends)’ (Mokri)
<i>sampati</i>	‘riches’	<i>sa:r</i>	‘Sir’
<i>sambande</i>	‘relationship’	<i>sa:rye</i>	‘friend’ (Boro)
<i>samby-e</i>	‘to shake hands’	<i>sa:ṛi</i>	‘field’ (Simal)
<i>sambṛar-e</i>	‘to handle’	<i>sa:ṛi:</i>	‘saree’
<i>sawari, sawar-</i>	‘earthen lid, plate, [CLF]’	<i>sa:le</i>	‘year’
<i>sawa:di</i>	‘tasty’	<i>sa:la</i>	[ITJ] ‘darn it!’
<i>saw-ond</i>	‘one hundred’	<i>sa:la</i>	‘wicked person’
<i>sara-sara</i>	‘whole’	<i>sa:lni</i>	‘wicked woman’
<i>sara:pe</i>	‘liquor’	<i>sa:wy-e, sa:wc-</i>	‘to curse’
<i>sarka:ri</i>	‘government, govermental’	<i>sa:sane</i>	‘rule’
<i>sarnge</i>	‘heaven’	<i>sīṣaṛe</i>	see <i>sīṣaṛe</i>
<i>saryg-gadi</i>	‘airplane’	<i>sikatr-e, -tr-</i>	‘to teach’
<i>saryg-jahje</i>	‘airplane’	<i>sikar-e, -r-</i>	‘to learn’
<i>sarpa-sarpe</i>	‘slowly’ (Ursa)	<i>sikare</i>	‘hunting’
<i>sarwe</i>	‘small, younger’	<i>sikka</i>	‘coin’
<i>sarwli</i>	‘small, young’	<i>singpate</i>	‘ritual ground’
<i>sati</i>	‘saree’	<i>singpat-majye</i>	‘kind of priest’
<i>sarke</i>	‘road’	<i>sing-e, siŋy-</i>	see <i>seŋg-e</i>
<i>sal</i>	‘year’	<i>sīṣaṛe</i>	‘rich person’
<i>salama:r-e</i>	‘to salute’	<i>sīṣaṛar-e</i>	‘to grow up’
<i>sala:m</i>	‘salutation’	<i>sīṣu</i>	‘match-maker’

<i>sidahe/sidahi/sidahro</i>	‘indeed, really’	<i>sotye:tr-e, -ry-</i>	‘to feel sorry for, to complain’
<i>sindra, sindu:re</i>	‘vermilion’	<i>sona</i>	‘gold’
<i>sipa:hi</i>	‘policeman’	<i>sonare</i>	‘goldsmith’
<i>simint</i>	‘cement’	<i>sopari</i>	‘betel nuts’
<i>simbapi</i>	‘silk cotton tree’	<i>sopar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be fulfilled’ (Pandan)
<i>simbal.kundi</i>	[PROP] of a village	<i>sopy-e, sopc-</i>	‘to give in charge, entrust’
<i>simbi</i>	name of a plant	<i>sob</i>	‘all’
<i>sim-sandji</i>	‘rooster’	<i>somoye</i>	‘time’
<i>siyare</i>	‘jackal’ (Boro)	<i>somjar-e</i>	‘to understand’
<i>sirape</i>	‘syrup’	<i>soy</i>	‘six’
<i>surf</i>	‘only’	<i>sorsoti</i>	‘goddess Saraswati’
<i>sirsake</i>	‘title’	<i>solei</i>	‘match’
<i>sistar.ni</i>	‘nun’	<i>solla</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>si:t</i>	‘seat’	<i>sohja</i>	‘straight’
<i>si:da</i>	‘right’	<i>so:</i>	‘six, hundred’
<i>si:tr-tr-e</i>	‘to make make a mark on the forehead’	<i>so:c-e, so:c-/socc-</i>	‘to think’
<i>si:tr-e</i>	‘to make a mark on the forehead’	<i>so:ja:tr-e, -try-</i>	‘to bring around’
<i>-su</i>	‘two’ (S)	<i>so:te</i>	‘short’
<i>suke, suk<sup>b</sup></i>	‘happiness, comfort’	<i>so:na</i>	‘gold’
<i>suk-sala</i>	‘happiness’	<i>so:la</i>	‘16’
<i>sunjstr-e, sunstry-</i>	‘to sniff’	<i>sauda</i>	‘goods’
<i>sunde</i>	‘trunk (of an elephant)’	<i>sauda:r-e</i>	‘to shop’
<i>suta</i>	‘thread’	<i>-h</i>	[M]
<i>sude</i>	‘only, together with’	<i>hajar</i>	‘thousand’
<i>sundra</i>	‘vermilion’ (Ursa)	<i>hapta</i>	‘week’
<i>sumbrar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to pray’ (Kusum)	<i>hayre-ba:pre</i>	[ITJ] ‘oh my goodness!'
<i>suru:</i>	‘beginning’	<i>halka-pulka</i>	[ECHO] ‘light’
<i>su:ye</i>	‘injection’	<i>ha:l-sama:ca:re</i>	‘condition’
<i>su:r-nal-e</i>	‘cook porridge’	<i>hi/hī, -hi/-hī</i>	[EPH], 38, 77, 85
<i>se</i>	‘from’	<i>hindu</i>	‘Hindu’
<i>se</i>	[EPH] ‘just, only, even’, 38, 77, 85	<i>hiranpur</i>	[PROP] of a town
<i>seŋg-e, seŋgy-</i>	‘to be wont to, to use to’ 57	<i>hira-muti</i>	‘diamond jewel’
<i>seŋgr-e, -ry-</i>	a vector verb denoting perfective aspect (?) (Ursa)	<i>hisa</i>	‘portion’
<i>setale/sotale</i>	‘Santhal’	<i>hedmastare</i>	‘principal’
<i>sebere</i>	‘all’	<i>hō/ho, =hō/=ho</i>	‘too, either, even’, 38, 65
<i>seru</i>	‘a seer’	<i>hō:</i>	see <i>o:</i>
<i>sotyar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be grieved’		

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