Appendices

A Texts

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

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

A.1 Ganya

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

(1) o-ko ganya ni-ʔo cabda kirawa yin-da-ŋka lo-Ø-m.
   this-ref Ganja NAR-NOM word (N) Kiranti language-LOC-ABL say-3P-12pA
   ‘This word ’Ganya’, we say in the Kiranti language.’

(2) o-ko kʰa-da-ŋka suru lis-a ni bʰan-ne hanlok.
   this-ref where-LOC-ABL begin (N) become-PT NAR say.PTC today
   ‘Where did it start from? we shall say now.’
While long ago, in this land, in Nepal, there were many languages or kings.

In this country, it is said there were twenty-four and twenty-two kingdoms.

In that, there was one king, actually a Magar king.

This king had one daughter, who was exceptionally beautiful.

And that girl, while all the kings considered her a good, beautiful girl, one prince asked her, yes, asked for the king’s daughter. While she refused to come with that prince,

her father very much said go, go, but she refused.

Later, having gone to the foot of a lemon tree she hung herself, putting a rope around her neck, she hung and killed herself.
In her name, after she hung and killed herself, her father had wept, very much.

He kept crying.

And having gone, after he had gone to the lemon tree, the child talked to her father.

As she talked: father, why are you speaking this way. Do not speak in this way.

From now on, you will not get to talk with me. Only I have become like that.

Later, in another lifetime, or if I shall be born another time, I will be with you, there it will be just like that.

She said, forgive me, my father, please.

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

19. abo iŋka k’ana-sudda-ŋa ayimt c’a yuŋ-ma ni now (N) I yuŋ-you’ with-EMPH nowadays child put-INF NAR min-ŋa-ø-ŋa-ʔo k’ana detni ti-yiŋ-ø b’ene. think-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM you’ how 2AS-say-NPT if (N) ‘Now, today or tomorrow to get another child just like you, I am thinking, what do you say? he said.’

20. k’o-da-ŋka i-c’ʔa lo-ø: he/she-LOC-ABL his/her-child-ERG say-3P ‘To that, his child said:’

21. iŋka a-pa k’ana-sudda-ŋa yuŋ-ma ni min-na-ŋa-ŋa-ʔo I VOCp-father you’ with-EMPH sit-INF NAR think-2P-PROG-2P-1s-NOM hwatni-ŋa lis-a, abí hareka doŋ-da iŋka c’o c’o mahina-da this.way-EMPH become-PT now (N) every (N) year-LOC I six six month (N)-LOC ik-tet rāga b’akala piw-˛-kina puja mett-ø. one-qual buffalo.bull (N) vow (N) give-PT-1s-CAUS worship (N) cause-PT-1s ‘I, father, to be with you, I have been thinking just like this: now every year, every six months, give me a promise to give me a buffalo bull and worship me.’

22. mo-da puja ti-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-heda iŋka k’ana-sudda that-LOC worship (N) 2AS-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-SIMP I you’ with am-sat’a-da yuŋ-ŋa your’-together (N)-LOC sit-1sNP ‘While you worship me in that, I shall be together with you.’

23. iŋka iŋko mit-ma ti-siw-a-heda k’ana ici-nic’a I my remember-INF 2AS-die-PT-SIMP 2P their3-younger.brother ‘I, my memory, while you die; you and your siblings.’

24. iŋka mo-ko puja muw-a-ŋa-ŋa-heda k’anq-na-ne ni I that-ref worship (N) do-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP-EMPH look-2P-OPT NAR luw-a-ŋa-c’anq say-PT-1s-also ‘Right while I do that worship, I shall watch you,” tell me also.’

25. lo la ni i-pa-ʔa lo-ø hai. k’ohn-ʔo pac’hí kaŋs-a. OK OK NAR his/her-father-ERG say-3P hey he/she-GEN after (N) obey-PT ‘OK, OK, her father said, hey. After that, he obeyed.’

26. ā iŋka abo o-ko pala-da-ŋka-ŋa k’ana-lai puja met-na-ne yes I now (N) this-ref turn (N)-LOC-ABL-EMPH you’-DAT worship (N) cause-2P-OPT ni lo-ø-kina mo-ko omala-raŋ b’en-da k’ar-a-kina i-pa-ʔa NAR say-3P-CAUS that-ref lemon (N)-plant root-LOC go-PT-CAUS his/her-father-ERG cahi rāga-ci, b’ale-ci t’akt-ú-ci-kina puja mett-u. swTOP (N) buffalo.bull (N)-PL rooster (N)-PL bring.up-3P-DUP-CAUS worship (N) cause-3P
'Now, let me worship you right from this time, he said, and going to the foot of the lemon tree, her father brought up buffalo bulls and roosters, and worshipped.'


`And he talked with his child. Now, you stay with me, every year, everywhere your well wishers, whoever they are, will come together here, in the village with you.'

(28) ekdam nu-lok lis-a-ci-ní ka-min-ci matɾa very (N) be.good-MAN become-PT-DU-NAR APpref-think-APpl only (N) mi-yuŋ-Ø-yanj-Ø. kʰa-ana ankenka-sudda yuŋ-a-yakt-a-nin ni lo-Ø. 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT you⁸ be²-with be-PT-CONT-PT-2p NAR say-3p 'They were very good, only the well wishers came. You, stay with us, they said.'

(29) kʰo-tni-paqʰí mo-ko raja magar raja-da-ŋka kʰar-a-ki. that-ALL-after (N) that-ref king (N) Magar king (N)-LOC-ABL go-PT-SEQ ‘After that, that king, when the Magar king had gone,’

(30) kʰar-a magar raja kʰar-a-ki, ik-tet půrwa-ya-ʔo kirawa raja go-PT Magar king (N) go-PT-SEQ one-qual east (N)-LOC.level-GEN Kiranti king (N) mun cʰeka baise cʰauše rajya mi-yuŋ-a-ŋ-a-heda that.much ?time twenty-two (N) twenty-four (N) kingdom (N) 3pl-be-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP mo-yā-ŋka ban-a-kina, ik-tet kirawa. that-LOC.level-ABL come.level-PT-CAUS one-qual Kiranti ‘when the Magar king had gone, at that time one Eastern Kiranti king (there were twenty-two and twenty-four kingdoms) from there he came, one Kiranti.’

(31) kirawa-ci ico dʰuwa iḍʰuwa-taŋ ban-a-kina ninamhaŋ butt-u. Kiranti-PL their⁴ big.man leader-head come.level-PT-CAUS God call-3P kʰatt-u-ŋa-hida butt-u, ‘kʰa-ana deki o-da ti-yuŋ-Ø-yanj-Ø?’ take.away-3P-PROG-PT-SIMP call-3P you⁶ why this-LOC 2AS-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT 'One leader of the Kirantis, a headman came and called upon God, while he took, he called, why do you stay here?

(32) ik-tet munña rāga duĩ šíg e ni-pi-heda-ŋa kʰa-ana one-qual that.much buffalo.bull (N) two (N) horned (N) 3A-give-SIMP-EMPH you⁸ bʰuła ti-li-Ø-yanj-Ø. error (N) 2AS-become-NPT-PROG-NPT ‘They give you only one buffalo bull, with two horns - you are mistaken.’

(33) ankenka-sudda ti-kʰat-Ø-ne-para nau šíg e yak-Ø-yanj-Ø-ʔo we²⁵-with 2AS-go-NPT-OPR cond nine horned (N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM kʰa-ana-lai rāga ni-pi ankenka-sudda ta-Ø-kʰat-Ø you⁴-DAT buffalo.bull (N) 3A-give we²⁵-with come.far-NPT-DIR away-NPT
If you go with us, they will give you a nine-horned one, come with us and go!'

34. । अ इंको-ना इं-पा सलो है एकोम-ना इं-टेट रागा। ये मे-टोप मे-फातर अवाल्य मे-एम्फ ए-क्वाल बुफालो। बुल (न) ओल्य (न) इं-पी-ना। ओल्य (न) दुई रागा। ये मे-टोप मे-एम्फ ए-क्वाल बुफालो। बुल (न) ओल्य (न) इं-पी-ना।
3AM give-1sNP PROG-1sNP two (N) horned (N) buffalo bull (N) only (N)
3AM give-1sNP PROG-1sNP
          'What? Now, my father always gives me one buffalo bull only, a two-horned buffalo
          bull only he gives me.'

35. । डेतनी क्हाना दी मोल्क नाउ ही ग्ला युन्-थाय-स लाउ होगी वू। वू, नवे नतनी।
          तीन होनम्ड (न) बुफालो। बुल (न) सिट-नफ-प्रोग-नफ-वू वू, गो-1sNP-प्रोग
          'How, you have a what?!! There is a nine-horned buffalo bull? Well, let me go.'

36. । निरा-थो लो-ाकिन मो-को चेतकुमा ढोला-दा इ-पा-की-कि
          नर-नोम सय-3P-कॉयस रे-एफ गिल पालांक (ए) सिट 3AM पुट.इन-पट-सिक
          इ-बाट-ए
3AM ब्रिंग-पट
          'Speaking in this way, they put that girl on a palanquin and took her away.'

37. । कॉटनी-ना पाचि क्होन-पाचि मो-को
          थै.एम्फ वर (न) आ/सी-एफ (न) रे-एफ
          क्हान-नुवा-ए-ज़ा-थो मेच्हाक्षी गिनी काष्ट-ए
          हंडस्मर-बिएड-पट-प्रोग-पट-नोम दाटर फ्लिट-एफ-टोप (न) ओबेय-पट
          'After such, after that, that beautiful girl obeyed.'

38. । काष्ट-ए-कि मो ढोला-दा इ-पा-की-कि व्हान्स-सा-ए
          ओबेय-पट-सिक थे पालांक (ए) लोक 3AM पुट.इन-पट-सिक टू-प्रन-एर्ग
          इ-क्हुए-ए-सी-ए-किना इ-बाट-ए-सी-ए।
3AM चर्री-पट-डू-3P-कॉयस 3AM ब्रिंग-पट-डू-3P
          'Having obeyed, having put her in the palanquin, they carried her off.'

39. । मो इ-बाट-ए-सी-ए पाचि इं-टेट मो सियरा-बीएन-डा
          थे 3AM ब्रिंग-पट-डू-3P-एफ (न) ओल्य-क्वाल थे टीर्न रोड-लोक
          इ-युड्स-ए-सी-ए-किना पुजा इ-मेट-ए-सी-ए।
3AM पुट-पट-डू-3P-कॉयस ओरशप (न) 3AM कॉयस-पट-डू-3P
          'After they brought her, they put her at the foot of a tree and worshipped her.'

40. । ला इंग्का क्हानननि-ना नाउ हिगे रागा पिय-ए-निन-नेए,
          ओक इ यूए-एम्फ नीन होनम्ड (न) बुफालो। बुल (न) गिव-पट-2-प्रोग-पट
          टी-लो-ए-नी-नी-थो, ला एबी पिय-ए-नी-नी मो-को-सा-ए दोर-ए।
2एस-सय-पट-1स-2P-1एस-नोम ओक नोए (न) गिव-पट-1स-2P-1एस रे-एफ-प्रन-एर्ग बेग-3P
          'Well, you will give me a nine-horned buffalo bull, you said so, well, now give it, she
          asked.'
‘After she asked, her father, well, “as for me, my father used to give me a bigger buffalo bull.”’

‘What about your nine-horned buffalo bull - show me! Well, what about that nine-horned bull? It’s not there!’

‘Bring me back! she told them.’

‘No! For you, to speak like that is not good! You must stay right here.’

‘We shall bring you one from every house, they said, and put her down again.’

‘And after they put her down, well, this way, they said a nine-horned buffalo bull, they showed her the crown of a rooster and counted for her:’
Appendices


‘One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, they said and counted for her.’


that worship (N) do-INF 3AM-begin-PT

‘Hey! are these nine horns? Well, this is it. From then on, in that way they say “Ganya” in the Kiranti language for the princess, and in the name of the Magar king’s daughter they started to perform this worship.’

A.2 Bird song

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

(1) kʰokliʔo bʰen-da liŋwa-kʰa cʰoŋ-da pit goŋdok forest-GEN root-LOC lowland,grass-place top-LOC cow bull mi-canØ-yaŋ-Ø.

3pl-feed-NPT-PROG-NPT

‘at the foot of the forest, at the top of the meadow, the cows and bulls are grazing’

(2) yaŋsiŋ-raq cok-du dommak pʰop-ca-sa cʰoŋwa-ci Schima.wallichii-plant top-LOC high grasshopper catch-eat.2-SIM bird-PL mi-hanØ-yaŋ-Ø cʰoŋwa-ci mi-hanØ-yaŋ-Ø.

3pl-talk-NPT-PROG-NPT bird-PL 3pl-talk-NPT-PROG-NPT

‘in the top of the Schima wallichii tree, the grasshoppers catch and eat, the birds are chatting, the birds are chatting’

(3) bakuloŋ bop-ma talik-cʰaŋ cʰak-ma cʰoŋwa-ci ap-ma-ci. clay.pellet cover-INF bow-also chisel-INF bird-PL shoot-INF-DU

‘to make clay pellets, to cut a pellet bow, to shoot at the birds’


catch-INF-DU NEGNPp-can-12pn-NEGn catch-INF-DU

‘a bird that is shot at, we cannot catch it until it’s hit, we cannot catch it’
A.3 Hengmawa

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

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

(1) han o-da iji ka hejma wa banya mu-ma-?-o tarika yin-ja-?-ja.
    now this-LOC I liquor make (N) do-INF-NOM method (N) say-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
    'Now here I am telling the way how to make hengmawa.'

(2) mina-ci hejma wa detni banya mi-mu-Ø ni-ki-na-na.
    man-PL liquor how make (N) 3pl-do-NPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP
    'That is, how people make hengmawa.'

(3) o-da j'ar ak-sa-?-a en-u-m-ne!
    this-LOC all-FRN-ERG hear-3P-12pA-OPT
    'Now, all listen.'

(4) j'ar ak-da-?-ka bu-ya mi mu-ma dot-Ø.
    all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level fire do-INF must-NPT
    'Before all, one must make fire.'

(5) k'ok ni hutlu-?-da ik-tet id'iwak'ko k'ama ma k'ama ma dot-Ø.
    and.then fireplace-LOC one-qual big vessel make.sit-INF must-NPT
    'Then, in the fireplace, one big vessel must be placed.'
(6) kʰonki mo-da car-u-ʔo wacʰin kʰaca pak-ma dot-Ø. and.then that-LOC ferment-3P-NOM beer beer put.in-INF must-NPT 'Then, in that, fermented kodo beer must be put.'

(7) kʰaca sip pak-ma dot-Ø, bʰāda-hut-da. beer pulp put.in-INF must-NPT pot (N)-hole-LOC 'The solid matter of the beer must be put into the vessel.'

(8) kʰonki hyuna-ŋka mi met-ma dot-Ø hutchuŋ-ŋka. and.then down-ABL fire cause-INF must-NPT fireplace-LOC.low-ABL 'Then below that, the fire must be put, from the bottom of the fireplace.'

(9) kʰonki-na mo-ko bʰādp-da-ʔo wacʰin kʰaca ku-Ø-kina lok-ma and.then-TOP that-ref pot (N)-LOC-GEN beer beer heat-NPT-CAUS boil-INF puŋs-u. begin-3P 'Then the beer in the vessel, getting hot, will start to boil.'

(10) lok-ma-bʰanda bu-ya mo-so-ʔo i-duŋ-du ik-tet boil-INF-COMP (N) front-LOC.level that-PRN GEN his/her-top-LOC.high one-qual gagityaŋ ni-ʔo bʰād puŋ-ma dot-Ø distillation.vessel NAR-NOM pot (N) put-INF must-NPT 'Before it cooks, on top of that a vessel called gagityang must be placed.'

(11) mo bakʰa-da-ŋka banyu mu-Ø-yanj-Ø-ʔo. that soil-LOC-ABL make (N) be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM 'That one is made of clay.'

(12) mo gagityaŋ-ʔo i-tʰen-da i-hut-ci mi-yak-Ø. that distillation.vessel GEN his/her-bottom-LOC his/her-hole-PL 3pl-be.in-NPT 'There are holes in the bottom of the gagityang.'

(13) mo i-hut-da-ŋka hyuna wacʰin-ʔo i-sam dʰana that his/her-hole-LOC-ABL down beer-GEN his/her-vapour above gagityaŋ hut-du lon-Ø. distillation.vessel hole-LOC.high go.outside-NPT 'The steam of the beer below will come out upwards through that hole into the gagityang.'

(14) pʰeri kʰonki-na gagityaŋ-hut-da ik-tet bʱi aṭhəwa again (N) and.then-TOP distillation.vessel-hole-LOC one-qual earthen.vessel or (N) bʰād puŋ-ma dot-Ø. pot (N) put-INF must-NPT 'Again, after that, inside the gagityang one must put an earthen or other vessel.'

(15) i-do nikoi hamko mu-Ø-ʔo. his/her-mouth very (N) different be.pred-NPT-NOM 'The mouth of that one is very different.'
(16) mo bʰʔo-da i-cilok cakwa-chaj pak-ma dot-Ø
that pot (N)-LOC his/her-little.bit water also put-in-INF must-NPT.
‘You must put also a little water into that vessel.’

(17) mo cakwa i-pa-im-in-nalo mo bʰi tatayi
that water NEGNP put.in-12pn-NEGn-COND that earthen.vessel hot (N)
li-Ø-kina ku-Ø-kina dʰaana-ŋka wacʰin-o i-sam
become-NPT-CAUS heat-NPT-CAUS above-ABL beer-GEN his/her-vapour
cʰok-Ø-dʰa-Ø-nucʰaŋa.
evaporate-NPT-DIRdown-NPT even.though
‘If we do not put that water in, the steam of the beer will leak out and down as well, when the vessel gets hot.’

(18) hᵃŋ-Ø-kʰat-Ø-ni-kina i-cilok cakwa
get.hot-NPT-DIRaway-NPT-NAR-CAUS his/her-little.bit water
pa-u-m-nalo mo-da dʰana-ŋka wacʰin-ʔo i-sam dʰa-ʔo
put.in-3P-12PA-COND that-LOC above-ABL beer-GEN his/her-vapour up-GEN
hᵃŋ-ma kʰat-ma i-tokt-ū-n.
evaporate-INF go-INF NEGNP receive-3P-NEGn
‘After it has evaporated, if we put in a little water in there, the beer’s steam will not get to evaporate from up there.’

(19) tʰa gᵃgityaŋ-ʔo i-cʰonj-du arko ik-tet
but (N) distillation.vessel-GEN his/her-top-LOC.high another (N) one-qual
bata ni-ʔo pak-ma dot-Ø.
pointed.vessel NAR-NOM put.in-INF must-NPT
‘But on top of the gagityang, another vessel called bata must be put.’

(20) mo bᵃta-ʔo i-tʰen i-cit com-ʔo li-ma
that pointed.vessel-GEN his/her-bottom his/her-little.bit point-GEN become-INF
dot-Ø.
must-NPT
‘The bottom of that vessel must be made a bit pointed.’

(21) com-ʔo yun-ja dot-Ø.
point-GEN sit-INF must-NPT
‘It must be pointed.’

(22) kʰunke mo bᵃta-da bata ra gᵃgityaŋ-ʔo
and.then that pointed.vessel-LOC pointed.vessel and (N) distillation.vessel-GEN
i-majʰa-da ik-tet bihomma ni-ʔo kapaḍa tit-ʔa
his/her-middle (N)-LOC one-qual distillation.cloth NAR-NOM cloth (N) cloth-ERG
hom-ma dot-Ø.
wrap-INF must-NPT
‘Then, in that bata, in between the bata and the gagityang, cotton cloth called bihomma must be stuck.’
(23) un maddiŋ i-sam bahira kʰat-Ø-lon-Ø like.that not.there his/her-vapour outside (N) go-NPT-DIRup-NPT
buŋkʰa-ya-tni lon-Ø-kʰat-Ø.
outside-LOC.level-ALL go.outside-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
'If not, the steam will go out, it will go out.'

(24) wacʰin i-sam buŋkʰa-yatni i-kʰat-nin-ne ni-ki-na-na beer his/her-vapour outside-towards NEGNPp-go-3NEG-OPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP
gagityaŋ ra bata-o i-majʰa-da
distillation.vessel and (N) pointed.vessel-GEN his/her-middle (N)-LOC
bihomma hom-ma yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
distillation.cloth wrap-INF put-INF must-NPT
'in order not let the steam of the beer go out, the bihomma cloth must be put in
between the bata and the gagityang.'

(25) on-ki bata-du cakwa pʰeri mu-ma yak-ma dot-Ø.
this-SEQ pointed.vessel-LOC.high water again (N) be.pred-INF be.in-INF must-NPT
'After this, one must continuously put water in the bata.'

(26) dekinalo ni yin-jin-nalo yin-ma dat-Ø-nalo o cakwa because NAR say-12pISP-COND say-INF be.seen-NPT-COND this water
jatika kʰepi tatai liy-a, mo lat-ma kʰat-ma yak-ma
how.much (N) time hot (N) become-NPT that take.out-INF take.away-INF be.in-INF
dot-Ø.
must-NPT
'Because, we say, one should say, every time that water gets hot, you must continuously
throw it out.'

(27) mo ik-tet-ŋa cakwa ku-Ø-kina lok-ma puŋs-u-nalo hyuna that one-qual-EMPH water heat-NPT-CAUS boil-INF begin-3P-COND down
heŋmawa patalo li-Ø-kʰat-Ø.
liquor thin (N) become-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
'If once the water starts to cook, the heŋmawa below will go thin.'

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

(29) ku-Ø-lon-Ø cakwa ku-Ø-lon-Ø cʰaŋ mo
heat-NPT-DIRup-NPT water heat-NPT-DIRup-NPT also that
lat-ma-kʰan-ma-ki ərko cakwa pak-ma dot-Ø mo
take.out-INF-COMPL-INF-SEQ another (N) water put.in-INF must-NPT that
bata-da.
pointed.vessel-LOC
'If ever the water gets hot and goes out, one must put in other water in after taking it
out, in that bata.'
(30) kʰonki-na-na mo niʔo kram, mo niʔo kaci, pác kʰepi-daŋka
and.then-TOP-TOP that NAR-NOM kram that NAR-NOM work five (N) time-LOC-ABL
sat kʰepi-tari mu-Ø-mʔo denj-da,
seven (N) time-till do-3P-12pA-NOM back-LOC
‘After this, after we have done this procedure, these works, from five till seven times,’

(31) hyuna abi watatma niʔo bʰi-hut-da heŋmawa
down now (N) collection.jug NAR-NOM earthen.vessel-hole-LOC liquor
tam-Ø-yuŋ-Øʔo yuŋ-Ø.
fill.up-NPT-CONT-NPT-NOM sit-NPT
‘below, now, in the vessel called collecting vessel the heŋmawa has been collected.’

(32) kʰonki-na abi hyuna mi set-ma dot-Ø.
and.then-TOP now (N) down fire kill-INF must-NPT
‘And then, now, the fire below can be extinguished.’

(33) kʰonki-na bu-ya bata lat-ma kʰan-ma dot-Ø.
and.then-TOP front-LOC.level pointed.vessel take.out-INF send-INF must-NPT
‘And then, first, the bata must be taken off.’

(34) kʰonki gagityaŋ-hut-daʔo watatma lat-ma dot-Ø.
and.then distillation.vessel-hole-LOC-GEN collection.jug take.out-INF must-NPT
‘And then, the collection jug inside the gagityaŋ must be taken out.’

(35) mo watatma-da heŋmawa dem dʰa-Ø mo lar-u-m
that collection.jug-LOC liquor how.much go.down-PT that take.out-3P-12pA
denj-da heŋmawa tayarí lis-a.
back-LOC liquor ready (N) become-PT
‘As much heŋmawa as came down into that collection jug, after we take that out, the
heŋmawa is ready.’

(36) mwatni heŋmawa mu-ma dot-Ø.
that.way liquor do-INF must-NPT
‘That way one must make heŋmawa.’

(37) o heŋmawa o para owatni mu-ma dot-Ø.
this liquor this method (N) like.this do-INF must-NPT
‘This heŋmawa must be made this way.’

(38) heŋmawa mu-ma tarika onja.
liquor do-INF method (N) only
‘This much only is the way to make heŋmawa.’

(39) alaŋne!
thanks
‘Thank you’
A.4 Death

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

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

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

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

(1) bakʰa-yu bakʰa hut-yu kʰum-ma dot-Ø
soil-GEN-LOC low soil hole-LOC low bury-INF must-NPT
“He must be buried in the ground.”

(2) jʰarak-da-ṇka bu-ya siw-a-da-Ø-cʰaŋ saŋ kʰokpa siw-a-da he all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level die-PT-eff-PT-also who old.man die-PT-TEMP or kʰokma. kʰokpa kʰokma ico cʰa-ci, mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo, old.woman old.man old.woman theirʰ child-PL 3pl-sit-PROG-PROG-NPT-COND
‘First of all, immediately after death (who died- an old man or an old woman), the old people’s children —if they are there —.’

(3) duwacʰa-ci-nalo duwacʰa-ʔa mo-da mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo kaci son-PL-COND son-ERG that-LOC do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM work jʰarak mu-ma dot-Ø all do-INF must-NPT
‘If there are sons, the son must do all the jobs that need to be done in that case.’

(4) kʰon-ki-na jʰarak-da-ṇka bu-ya mo-ko mina si-Ø-da-Ø-cʰaŋ he/she-SEQ-TOP all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level that-ref man die-NPT-eff-NPT-also kʰimkoŋ-hut-da yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo buŋkʰa-da lon-ma dot-Ø.
interior-hole-LOC sit-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND outside-LOC take.outside-INF must-NPT
‘Then, before all, immediately after that person died, if he is in the house he must be taken outside.’

(5) kʰon-ki mina-ʔo i-taŋ hyatnikʰoŋ paṭṭi hu-ma dot-Ø he/she-SEQ man-GEN his/her.head that.way doorway side (N) turn-INF must-NPT
‘Then the man’s head must be turned, over there, in the direction of the door.’
(6) kʰon-ki-na abî jʰarûk diṅčʰa biwa-ci but-ma-ci dot-Ø
he/she-SEQ-TOP now (N) all brothers elder.brother-PL call-INF-DU must-NPT
‘after that, now, all the relatives must be called.’

(7) i-sin-cʰaŋ mi-ta-Ø api mi-ta-Ø but-ma-ʃa dot-Ø
3AM know-also 3pl-come.far-NPT self 3pl-come.far-NPT call-INF-EMPH must-NPT
‘As soon as they know, they come, they come themselves. They must be called.’

(8) jʰarûk mina bʰela li-ma-kina mo mina-lai om-ʃa-yaŋ-Ø
all man gathered (N) become-INF-CAUS that man-DAT be.white-NPT-PROG-NPT
inunywa kapaḍa tit-ʔa bʰom-ма-kí
new cloth (N) clothes-ERG make.bundle-INF-SEQ
‘After all people have gathered, having wrapped that person in a white, new cloth,’

(9) bʰom-ma-kína samba-da yut-ma-kí
make.bundle-INF-CAUS bamboo-LOC tie-INF-SEQ
‘having wrapped him, and tied him onto bamboo poles,’

(10) kʰon-ki-na i-cʰa-ci-ʔa kʰun-ma dot-Ø duwacʰa-ci-ʔa
he/she-SEQ-TOP his/her-child-PL-ERG carry-INF must-NPT son-PL-ERG
duwacʰa-ci Maddinj-ci-nalo cʰëttuma-ci-da-ʔo makcʰa
son-PL not.there-DU-COND girl-PL-LOC-GEN son.in.law
‘then his children must bury him, the sons. If there are no sons, then the daughter’s
husbands (sons-in-law).’

(11) bʰarsak kʰo-ci-cʰaŋ ni-ta-nin-nalo diṅcʰa-da-ʔo diṅcʰa
possibly (N) he/she-PL-ever N3pl-come.far-NEGn-COND brothers-LOC-GEN brothers
buwa-ci-ʔa kʰun-ma dot-Ø
elder.brother-PL-ERG carry-INF must-NPT
‘Possibly, if they have not come either, then from amongst the relatives the older
brothers must bury him.’

(12) kʰon-ki-na mo kʰatt-u-m-y-u-m kʰun-ma-bʰanda
he/she-SEQ-TOP that take.away-3P-12pA-PROG-3P-12pA carry-INF-COMP (N)
bu-ya mo ka-si-da-pa mina-ʔo i-do-da suna-wa
front-LOC.level that APpref-die-eff-APm man-GEN his/her-mouth-LOC gold-water
rupa-wa pak-ma dot-Ø
silver-water put.in-INF must-NPT
‘Then, we take him. Before burial, some gold water or silver water must be put in the
dead man’s mouth.’

(13) yᵃŋ pak-ma dot-Ø i-cici i-do-da i-ŋalîŋ
money put.in-INF must-NPT his/her-little.bit his/her-mouth-LOC his/her-face
dʰatni. (demka?) ik pʰek, ik yᵃŋ i-bidi - tʰapsîŋ-ʔo lagi
there.dir.up how.many one piece one money his/her-bidi - ritual-GEN for (N)
‘Money must be put in, in his mouth, on top of his head. (how much?) One coin, one
piece, his bidi, for the tradition.’
(14) (art\textsuperscript{h}o di?) o y\textsuperscript{a}ŋ? mo ni o abi mina siw\text{-}a\text{-}da\text{-}Ø\text{-}\text{o} meaning (N)? what? this money? that other this now (N) man die\text{-}PT\text{-}eff\text{-}PT\text{-}NOM
dep\text{-}da j\text{h}arak\text{-}da\text{-}ŋka inuwak cija nuwak jo\text{-}nuc\text{h}a\text{g}a pi\text{-}ma after\text{-}LOC all\text{-}LOC\text{-}ABL good thing (N) good whoever (N)\text{\text{-}even\text{-}though give\text{-}INF
han\text{-}ma i\text{-}niŋ\text{-}da
send\text{-}INF his/her\text{-}name\text{-}LOC
'(what does it mean?) The money? That, it is said, now, after a man has died, the best thing, whatever is good must be given, in his name.'

(15) j\text{h}arak\text{-}da\text{-}ŋka c\text{h}i\text{-}Ø\text{-}y\text{a}ŋ\text{-}Ø\text{-}\text{o}
cakwa cok\text{h}o cakwa
all-LOC-ABL be\text{-}expensive\text{-}NPT\text{-}PROG\text{-}NPT water pure (N) water
ni\text{-}ki\text{-}na suna\text{-}wa rupa\text{-}wa pak\text{-}ma dot\text{-}Ø i\text{-}do\text{-}da
NAR\text{-}SEQ\text{-}TOP gold\text{-}rain silver\text{-}rain put\text{-}in\text{-}INF
that\text{-}way or dry\text{-}ground\text{-}LOC bury\text{-}SUP go\text{-}INF must\text{-}NPT
'The most expensive water, that\text{-}pure water, that is —and gold and silver must be put in his mouth.'

(16) k\text{h}on\text{-}ki i\text{-}c\text{h}uk\text{-}da yaŋ pak\text{-}ma dot\text{-}Ø k\text{h}on\text{-}ki\text{-}na k\text{h}okli
he/she\text{-SEQ his/her\text{-}hand\text{-}LOC money put\text{-}in\text{-}INF he/she\text{-SEQ\text{-}TOP forest
hyatni he wik\text{-}da k\text{h}um\text{-}si k\text{h}at\text{-}ma dot\text{-}Ø
that\text{-}way or dry\text{-}ground\text{-}LOC bury\text{-}SUP go\text{-}INF must\text{-}NPT
'We must put money in his hands. Then, in the forest, or in the field, we must go to bury him.'

(17) k\text{h}um\text{-}si k\text{h}at\text{-}ma\text{-}da mo para\text{-}?a samba\text{-}da k\text{h}un\text{-}ma dot\text{-}Ø
bury\text{-}SUP go\text{-}INF\text{-}TEMP that\text{-}method\text{-}ERG bamboo\text{-}LOC carry\text{-}INF must\text{-}NPT
'Going for burying, we must carry (him) that way, on the bamboo.'

(18) k\text{h}on\text{-}ki layaca\text{-}ni lo\text{-}ma dot\text{-}Ø
he/she\text{-SEQ food\text{-}stuff\text{-}NAR say\text{-}INF must\text{-}NPT
'Then, we must say layaca - the rice that is thrown ahead of the burial procession.'

(19) j\text{h}arak\text{-}da\text{-}ŋka bu\text{-}ya ka\text{-}kon\text{-}pa mina\text{-}?a kaya
all-LOC\text{-}ABL front\text{-}LOC\text{-}LEVEL APP\text{\text{-}pref\text{-}walk\text{-}APm man\text{-}ERG rice\text{-}plant
ri\text{-}yaŋ\text{-}sa k\text{h}att\text{-}u dya? otni.
scatter\text{-}PROG\text{-}SIM take\text{-}away\text{-}3P or what\text{\text{-}like\text{-}this
'The people who are going in front are taking him throwing rice all around, or what? Like that.'

(20) k\text{h}ada k\text{h}um\text{-}ma ni min\text{-}in k\text{h}ada k\text{h}um\text{-}ma k\text{h}ada yuŋ\text{-}ma anken
where bury\text{-}INF NAR think\text{-}12pl\text{\text{-}SP where bury\text{-}INF where put\text{-}INF we\text{\text{-}PI
min\text{-}in. ma\text{-}ʔaŋ\text{-}nalo kohi mina\text{-}ci si\text{-}ma\text{-}da\text{-}ma
think\text{-}12pl\text{\text{-}SP NEG PT\text{\text{-}NEG\text{-}COND someone man\text{-}PL die\text{-}INF\text{-}eff\text{-}INF
bu\text{-}ya k\text{h}o\text{-}ci\text{-}?a niŋa i\text{-}no\text{-}Ø\text{-}\text{o}
yuŋ\text{h}a yuŋ\text{-}Ø
front-Loc\text{-}LEVEL he/she\text{-}PL\text{-}ERG mood 3AM\text{-}be\text{-}happy\text{-}NPT\text{-}NOM sit\text{-}PNOM sit\text{-}NPT
dya
or\text{-}like
'Where to bury, we think. Where to bury, where to put (the body), we think. Unless some man, before he dies, appoints a place that pleases him —or what.'
(21) mo-da iŋka siŋ-daŋa-hida kʰo-da kʰat-aŋa-piŋ mi yij Ø ni
that-LOC die-1sNP-eff-1sNP-SIMP he/she-LOC take.away-PT-1s-2p-1sc NAR
mi-yij Ø.
3pl-say-NPT
‘That is where I want to be when I have died, take me there,” they say.’

(22) kʰon-ki-na mo-da kʰat-ma-ci kʰum-ma-ci mi-dot Ø badde
he/she-SEQ-TOP that-LOC take.away-INF-DU bury-INF-DU 3pl-must-NPT many
badde men hotlum tu-ma-kí mo-da mina-Ø i-tan
many DOUBT hole dig.INF-SEQ that-LOC man-GEN his/her-head
purwa-hyatni mu-ma-ki kʰum-ma dot-Ø
east (N)-across do-INF-SEQ bury-INF must-NPT
‘After that, taking him there, we must bury him. Many, many, err, what, making a
hole, we put the man in with his head pointing east.’

(23) tora kʰum-ma-bʰanda bu-ya i-nuwa i-nuwak badde
but (N) bury-INF-COMP (N) front-LOC.level his/her-good his/her-good many
i-nuwak luŋ-ci tat-ma-ci-kína dʰak dʰak yun-ma,
his/her-good stone-PL bring.far-INF-DU-CAUS dhak.onom dhak.onom put-INF
luŋ tʰiŋ-ma dot Ø
stone spread.out-INF must-NPT
‘but before burial, bringing many good stones, we put them dhak dhak together and
spread them out.’

(24) kʰon-ki-na mo dʰuŋ-da tit-ci tʰiŋ-ma-ci gundrį
he/she-SEQ-TOP that above-LOC clothes-PL spread.out-INF-STRAW.mat (N)
tʰiŋ-ma mi-dot Ø kʰon-ki tit-ci pak-ma kʰon-ki mo
spread.out-INF 3pl-must-NPT he/she-SEQ clothes-PL put.in-INF he/she-SEQ that
dʰuŋ-da ip-ma dot Ø
above-LOC lay.down-INF must-NPT
‘Then, on top of that, spreading clothes, we must spread a straw mat. Then, put on
clothes again, and then on top of that we lay the man down.’

(25) pʰeri i-dʰuŋ-duŋka watni-Ø majja-Ø luŋ-tak
again (N) his/her-above-LOC-high-ABL like.this-NOM pleasure (N)-GEN stone
baddʰe i-dʰiwaŋ majjale i-dʰiwaŋ luŋ-tak-Ø a i-tim u-n
many big pleasant (N) big stone-ERG NEG-NPP-press.down-3P-NEGn
watni si Ø-da Ø-Ø mina o-da yun Ø
here die-NPT-eff-NPT-NOM man this-LOC sit-NPT
‘Then again, from above, like this pleasant stones, very big, pleasantly that we do not
press him with the big stones, like that the deceased man will lie here.’

(26) bakas watni banya mu-ma-ki majjale dip-ma dot Ø o deŋ-da
box (E) here make (N) do-INF-SEQ pleasant (N) cover-INF must-NPT this after-LOC
matrʰ bakʰa.
only (N) soil
‘Making it like a box, he must be covered pleasantly. Only after that (comes) the soil.’
(27) sum-ka tala tʰok-ma dot-Ø. sum-ka cəŋ bəŋa mu-ma three-CNT floor (N) make. wall-INF must-NPT three-CNT floor make (N) do-INF dot-Ø.
must-NPT

‘Three tiers must be made. Three floors must be made.’

(28) kʰon-ki mina-ʔo i-taŋ paṭṭi-daŋka bıcıkili:k-da kok he/she-SEQ man-GEN his/her head (N)-LOC-ABL earthen vessel-LOC eat-PROG-NPT...
From today, that man, from this day, he is not in this world. He left our tradition.

He entered the earth, or will be going to heaven. Now, today, after all has been arranged, in his name, his children - if there are any, the sons,'

must be wrapped in white clothes.'

Then, it is forbidden to touch anything. To touch animals, another man, a man, is no good.'

Three days. In Kiranti, three days. Chetrī and Bahrūns thirteen days. In our Kiranti tradition three days.'

Then after two days, in the morning, all people must gather. All kinsfolk, woman and male relatives must come together and do a ritual.'

in the name of that deceased person.'

become-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-e
‘Not the shaman. There are other officiants as well. They do the ritual. Then after that prayer, well, from now on all the relatives are purified, we are pure again.’

(42) o-daŋka yum akwa ca-ma tokt-u-m-ka abi kʰana sitmanj this-LOCABL salt oil eat-INF receive-3P-12pA-e now (N) you dead.person ti-lis-a.
2AS-become-PT
‘From now on we can eat salt and oil again. Now you have become a dead person.’

(43) ankenka-lai dukʰa man-pi-da ni.
weDAT trouble NEGPTp-give NEGPTs NAR
‘Do not give us trouble.’

(44) abi am-niŋ-da o wak wako pi-nin-Ø-nin
now (N) your²-name-LOC this such- such give-1ns2-PROG-1ns2
‘In your name we are giving you such and such.’

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

(46) kʰon-ki mo ka-si-da-paʔo minaʔo i-niŋ-da mi-yiŋ
he/she-SEQ that APpref-die.eff-APm-GEN man-GEN his/her-name-LOC 3pl-speak
mo-ko lenʔo bʰaŋ-ma-yiŋʔo camatʰoka an-debre cʰuk owatni
that-ref day-GEN boil-INF-PP GEN food our³-left hand like this
kʰik-ma-ki owatni pi-ma dot-Ø wet-ma kʰat-ma dot-Ø
hold-INF-SEQ like this give-INF must-NPT throw-INF take.away-INF must-NPT
‘Then they speak in the name of that dead person, we take the rice, cooked on that day
in our left hand like this, we must give it like this, and throw it away.’

(47) an-chuk-da mi-pak-Ø kʰon-ki dowa-ci mi-lat-Ø mogari
our³-hand-LOC 3pl-put.in-NPT he/she-SEQ sorcery-PL 3pl-take.out-NPT then
yiŋ-lat-sa mi-kʰat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
prayer-say-SIM 3pl-go-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘We put it in our hands, then the shamans pray, at that time they are going while
praying.’

(48) mo ka-sida-paʔo i-chʰa-ci duwacʰa-ci jo
that APpref-die.eff-APm-GEN his/her-child-PL son-PL whoever (N)
gʰumʃoma baseko huncʰa mo-ciʔo ico taŋ-miwa kʰo-ma
impurity-LOC (N) seated (N) that-PL-GEN their³ head-hair scrape-INF
dot-Ø
must-NPT
‘That person’s children, sons, whoever was observing impurity, their hair must be
shaved.’
A. Texts

(49) kʰon-ki mo-so-ʔo deŋ-da ab pətalɪs-ka len da-ŋka hwa he/she-SEQ that-PRN-GEN after-LOC now (N) forty-five-CNT day LOC-ABL two məhina sum-ka məhina-hut-da pʰeri mo ka-sida-pa-lai month (N) three-CNT month (N)-hole-LOC again (N) that APpref-die.eff-APm-DAT man-ja pak-ma ni-ʔo dum tʰapsiŋ yuŋ-ʔ godhead-LOC put.in-INF NAR-NOM thing ritual sit-NPT
'Then, after that, now from forty-five days, within two or three months, again for this dead man, there is another thing, tradition called "adding him to the spirits".'

(50) ankaʔo kirawa-ʔo man-ja
our⁶ Kiranti-GEN godhead-LOC
'in our Kiranti pantheon, ...'

(51) (Nepali text)
'... we worship him. Can we use him or not, that man. What kind of man was he, that man? That is also decided by the priest, hey? He divines it, him...'

(52) yari mi-pek, hai.
ginger-cutting 3pl-peel, hey
'They cut ginger, hey.'

(53) (Nepali text)
'The priests know it completely, what, that dead spirit, and that man, while he lived, as long as he lived...'

(54) hinj-a-ŋ-a-hida mo mina ni-jata-sudda ims-a-ʔo hai,
live-PT-PROG-PT-SIMc that man other-caste (N)-with sleep-PT-NOM hey ni-jata ma-tar-a-ʔo, ni-jata-da kʰar-a-ʔo, mo other-caste (N) mother-bring, far-PT-NOM other-caste (N)-LOC go-PT-NOM that man-da i-kʰat-nin ni-ʔo.
godhead-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn NAR-NOM
'While he was living, was that man one, who sleeps with someone from another caste, hey, who took one as a wife, who went in with someone of another caste, he will not enter the realm of the forefathers.'

(55) kʰon-ki mo mina han ka-sida-pa mina-ʔo.
he/she-SEQ that man now APpref-die.eff-APm man-GEN
'Then that man will speak, the dead man.'

(56) (Nepali Text)
'his spirit, what, his soul, we say, hey, that will talk, hey'

house-godhead-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn-1s godhead NEGNPp-become-NEGn I
‘Well, before, in my youth, I have been like that with a Chetř woman, hey, I have stayed with a Kāmī woman, hey. Like that too, I cannot go into the realm of the house gods, cannot be a forefather. I go into the wandering spirits, I shall not be a god to be worshipped, I cannot because I have been like that. I did things outside of the tradition.’

(58) k\'onunale k\'awatni lis-a-ki ab iŋka caį k\'okli-hyatni k\'onunale that.way become-PT-SEQ now (N) 1 swTOP (N) forest-across k\'aĩs-a-ŋ-nŋ ni-ʔo ni yiŋ-Ø ka-sida-pa dowa-ci-ʔa send-PT-1s-2P-1sc NAR-NOM NAR say-NPT APPref-die.eff-APm sorcery-PL-ERG k\'on-Ø-poc'i ankan-lai mi-lo-Ø. resurrect-NPT-after (N) we\'i-DAT 3pl-say-NPT ‘This being like that, now send me, for one, to the jungle, he will say, the dead man. After that, the priests will tell that to us.’

(59) k\'o-so-ʔo deŋ-da ab ankan k\'okli-hyatni pak-ma-lai dowa-ci he/she-PRN-GEN after-LOC now (N) we\'i forest-across put.in-INF-DAT sorcery-PL t\'om-yaŋ-sa ken mani saŋ-yaŋ-sa mi-t\'om-Ø. dance-PROG-SIM large.drum cymbal play-PROG-SIM 3pl-dance-NPT ‘After that, now, for us to put him in the direction of the jungle, the priests with dance, playing the drum and cymbals they will dance.’

(60) k\'okli-hyatni tiŋ-han-ma forest-across chase-send-INF ‘To chase him to the jungle.’

(61) aba-da-ŋka o-da han-da-ŋka k\'ana ayi-da-ŋka o-da k\'ana now (N)-LOC-ABL this-LOC now-LOC-ABL you’ today-LOC-ABL this-LOC you’ ta-ma ti-tok-na-n yuŋ-ma k\'ana ti-tok-na-n come.far-INF 2AS-receive-2P-NEGPTs sit-INF you’ 2AS-receive-2P-NEG sn ‘From now on, from here and today, you, from today, you will not get to go here, you will not get to stay here.’

(62) k\'ana sāb\'aį-kо ḥagi k\'okli-hyatni k\'at-ma dot-Ø. sāb\'aį-ʔo ḥagi you’ always-GEN (N) for (N) forest-across go-INF must-NPT always (N)-GEN for (N) k\'okli-yaŋa k\'ana ti-yuŋ-Ø, k\'okli-yaŋa ti-can-Ø, forest-LOC.level-EMPH you’ 2AS-sit-NPT forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-feed-NPT k\'okli-yaŋa ti-yuŋ-Ø, k\'okli-yaŋa ti-hiŋ-Ø forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-sit-NPT forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-live-NPT ‘You must forever roam in the jungle. Forever you will stay in the jungle, you will eat in the jungle, you will stay in the jungle, you will live in the jungle.’

(63) k\'ana o-da man-ta-da, ankenka-lai man-pi-da you’ this-LOC NEGPTp-come.far-NEGPTs we\'i-DAT NEGPTp-give-NEGPTs ni-ki-na-na dowa-ci-ʔa i-lo-Ø. NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP sorcery-PL-ERG 3AM-say-NPT ‘Do not come here, do not give it to use, saying the priests will say.’
After that, if it does not obey, to say, if it does not hear, then this is what do they do. Now it is the arrow, 'bhe-talek', they say, isn’t it, and shooting with that they scare him off, or with the gun.’

With the gun they must scare it away, hey.

They dig a small hole, hey, they stick edibles in, what, like that we are putting it for you, come to eat it, he says.’

If he does not refuse, that one, he will go into the pantheon again. He will enter our pantheon. Then, to enter our pantheon, by a chicken and an egg he must be completely purified.’

After the purification, well, from today you are together with our house gods, with the grandfathers and grandmothers, hey, forefathers and foremothers, you have received a place with them, and now you live there.’

They are happy with you.’

They must make way for you.
A.5 About Hatuvā and about Kiranti religion

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

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

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

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

Throughout the year, Bantawa Rai perform different rites on different occasions. The most significant are the ubhaul puja ‘upward worship’ and udhaul puja ‘downward worship’. These are performed during the full moons in the Nepali months Mānsir, i.e. November-December, and Vaiśākh, i.e. April-May, and mark the start of the
winter and spring seasons. The *ubhaulī pujā* marks the time that the shepherds bring their livestock up to the higher altitude meadows, the *udhaulī pujā* celebrates their return.

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

nudge-PROG-SIM meet-3P-NOM
‘Before, long ago, it is said, Prthvī Nārayaṇ Śāha met the Kiranti kingdoms in conquest.’

(2) k°o gari prit⁴wi narayan saha-ci-ʔa o isena-ci-ʔa he/she moment Prthvī Nārayaṇ Śāha-PL-ERG this his/her-soldier (N)-PL-ERG mo-ya kirati-ci badde mi-ser-u-ci-ni that-LOC.level Kiranti (N)-PL many 3pl-kill-3P-DUP-NAR
‘At that time, those of Prthvī Nārayaṇ Śāha, his soldiers, killed many Kirantis there.’

(3) k°on-ki mo-da hwa-tet undacitko hoŋku-ci yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci he/she-SEQ that-LOC two-qual that.small river-PL be-DU-PROG-DU k°okli-hut-da.
forest-hole-LOC
‘Then there were two small rivers, inside the forest.’

his/her-soldier (N)-PL-ERG
‘Finding the Kirantis who were hiding in that forest, they slaughtered them, the soldiers of Prthvī Nārayaṇ Śāha.’

(5) k°on-ki ico hi hoŋku-watni-ŋa sont-a-ni hoŋku-watni he/she-SEQ their blood river-SIMIL-EMPH flow-PT-NAR river-SIMIL cakwa-watni sont-a ni.
water-SIMIL flow-PT NAR
‘Then, their blood flowed like a river, it is said. It flowed like a river, like water, it is said.’

(6) ki-na-na hyakko k°ołso o-hya-kko k°ołso-ci otni SEQ-TOP-TOP that.lev stream this-level-ATTR stream-PL like.this mi-tuʔ-a-ki-na-na hatuva lis-∅-ʔo.
3pl-meet-PT-SEQ-TOP-TOP Hatuvā become-PT-NOM
‘Therefore, as this stream and that stream met that way, it became “Hatuvā”.’
Our shaman, Sindrâ’s ritual shaman died last year, they said, so, ‘I did not get to see him, he was my uncle.’

‘but in all of Sindrâ there are three shamans.’

‘Nowadays there are only two Sakenwa pujas in Sindrâ, only two.’

‘At a Sakenwa, all men, clans, all clans, brothers, relatives, all our well wishing men gather there.’

‘Then the shaman does the ritual. All the other gathered people pay him respect.’

‘Then they give him advise. After that he prays a lot.’

‘Then they give him advise. After that he prays a lot.’
He cuts the ginger. Then after he cut the ginger, in that, errr, he must see the omens.'

(16) becʰuk pe-ʔu-ʔo-watni becʰuk pek-ma dot-∅ o yin-las-sa ginger peel-3P-NOM-SIMIL ginger peel-INF must-NPT this prayer-pray-SIM

‘Like this the ginger is cut, he must cut the ginger, praying this,'

(17) sakenwa i-niŋa no-∅-yaŋ-∅-nalo mo becʰuk meksimam Sakenwa his/her-mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT COND that ginger maximum
sum-ka kʰepi peʔ-u-m-hida sin-ma li-∅.
three-CNT time peel-3P-12pA-SIMp know-INF the OMNI must-NPT

‘If the Sakenwa deity is pleased, we shall know it, cutting the ginger maximally three times.'

(18) mo nu-∅-yaŋ-∅ he it-∅-yaŋ-∅ ni-ki. that be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT or be.bad-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR-SEQ
bu-ya-ʔo coṭi pe-ʔu-m-o laŋka lis-a-nalo front-LOC.level-GEN time (N) peel-3P-12pA-NOM upright become-PT-COND
arko coṭi bomko lis-a-nalo mo maŋ i-niŋa another (N) time (N) round become-PT-COND that godhead his/her-mood
no-∅-yaŋ-∅. be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT

‘To say if it is good or bad: if the first time the cutting turns up with the flat side up, and the second is turned over, then the spirit is pleased.’

(19) hwa kʰepi-da bu-ya laŋka lis-a aɾko coṭi bomka two time-LOC front-LOC.level upright become-PT another (N) time (N) round
lis-a-nalo mo maŋ i-niŋa no-∅-yaŋ-∅. become-PT-COND that godhead his/her-mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT

‘If, in two times, the first is flat and the other time it is turned over, then the spirit is pleased.’

(20) sakenwa sumnima paruhaŋ-ci i-c-o-niŋa Sakenwa Sumnima Paruhang-PL NEGNPp-eat-3P-NEGn-EMPH
no-∅-yaŋ-∅ bʰawiŋya nu-∅-yaŋ-∅ ni tup-ma be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT future (N) be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR understand-INF
dot-∅. must-NPT

‘Sakenwa, Sumnima and Paruhang are pleased. We must understand that the future is good.’

(21) hwa kʰepi-da laŋka lis-a bu-ya coṭi kʰon-ki two time-LOC upright become-PT front-LOC.level time (N) he/she-SEQ
arko-cʰan laŋka-ŋa lis-a-nalo Sakenwa-ʔa i-cirpa another (N)-also upright-EMPH become-PT-COND Sakenwa-ERG his/her-anger
kat-∅-yaŋ-∅ni-ki tup-ma dot-∅. feel-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR-SEQ understand-INF must-NPT

‘In two times, it got flat, the first time, then if the other also is flat, then we must understand that the anger of Sakenwa has been aroused.’
Appendices

(22) kʰon-ki ərkə cotʃi ... pek-ma dot-Ø. kʰon-ki mo bom-sa, he/she-SEQ another (N) time (N) ... peel-INF must-NPT he/she-SEQ that bend-PT mo-ko căhĩ boms-a-nalo, nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø. that-ref swTOP (N) bend-PT-COND be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT

    'Then another time, it must be peeled. Then, if that is round, if that one is round, it is good.'

(23) sumnima paruhang-ci bu-ya ići niña nuw-a-ŋ-a e Sumnima Paruhang-PL front-LOC level their mood be.good-PT-PROG-PT hey cʰir-a-ŋ-a taɾo han kʰo-ci ići niña no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø hai leave-PT-PROG-PT but (N) now he/she-PL their mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT hey puja mu-n-y-in-ki man mu-n-y-in-ki worship (N) be.pred-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-SEQ godhead do-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-SEQ ni-ki-na tup-ma dot-Ø. NAR-SEQ-TOP understand-INF must-NPT

    'Sumnima and Paruhang first were not pleased, but now they are pleased, hey, because we worshipped, we must understand.'

(24) kʰon-ki-na mo-da-ŋka-cʰaŋ cirpa kat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø samay nu-ma he/she-SEQ-TOP that-LOC-ABL-ever anger feel-NPT-PROG-NPT time (N) be.good-INF i-mu-nin-Ø-in. NEGNp-do-NEG-PROG-NEG

    'Then, if because of that too, their anger comes, the time will not start to be good.'

(25) kʰon-ki sakenwa mu-kʰa-da motni nákʰonj yari pek-ma. he/she-SEQ-TOP that-LOC-ABL-ever like.that shaman ginger.cutting peel-INF

    'Then, in doing Sakenwa, that way the shaman cuts the ginger, to divine the future.'


    'After the ginger has been cut, he tells everyone.'

(27) duwacʰa si-ma mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø, he mecʰacʰa, hai. son die-INF be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT or daughter hey

    'If a man or a woman is about to die, or a small child, they can also tell.'

(28) kʰo-s-o-deŋ-da bɑlła nákʰonj kɛn sɑŋ-Ø-ki-na-na he/she-PRN-GEN-back-LOC at.last (N) shaman large.drum play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP ken mani sɑŋ-Ø-ki-na-na maŋ pʰonj-Ø. large.drum cymbal play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP godhead open-NPT

    'Finally, after that, the priest, playing the drum, playing the big drum and cimbals, starts the worship.'

(29) halok i-nampik nákʰonj maŋ pʰonj-Ø.

    today his/her-evening shaman godhead open-NPT.

    'Tonight the priest starts to pray.'
A. Texts

(30) maŋkolen lak lu-si kʰat-ma dot-Ø dʰana puja
   tomorrow religious.dance feel-SUP go-INF must-NPT above worship (N)
   place-LOC.high godhead do-PNOM-LOC place-LOC.up
   ‘Tomorrow we must go to dance, up at the place for worship, at the place for the ritual.’

(31) kʰon-ki-na-na lama-tama ʃrko-na y-Ø ʃrko
   he/she-SEQ-TOP lama-copper (N) another (N)-TOP descend-NPT again (N)
   mu-du-ŋa la-ma kʰat-ma dot-Ø maŋ mu-si
   that-LOC.high-EMPH return-INF go-INF must-NPT godhead do-SUP
   ‘After that, to return, the other day we must go there again, to worship.’

(32) kʰon-ki ʃrko yi ken mani-ci la-ma yuŋ-ma-ci
   he/she-SEQ another (N) day large.drum cymbal-PL return-INF put-INF-DU
   mi-dot-Ø.
   3pl-must-NPT
   ‘Then on the other day, we must return the drum and cymbals and put them away.’

(33) ik-rati ik nampik hwa nampik sum-ka nampik
   one-night (N) one evening two evening three-CNT evening
   ‘One night, one night, two nights, three nights.’

(34) mu-n, mu-n-da jʰarak dikʰa biwa nata gota
   do-12plSP do-12plSP-TEMP all brothers elder.brother relative (N) kin (N)
   kuṭumbʰa cʰetkuma kimpakʰa,
   family (N) girl brother’s-in-laws
   ‘It is done, in doing it all male relatives and in-laws (whoever, gathering, we dance, hey)’

(35) Lak lu-kʰa-da bihe mi-mu-Ø. Nija
   religious.dance perform-PNOM-LOC marriage (N) 3pl-be.pred-NPT mood
   no-ka-no mi-mu-Ø warisa tʰaŋna-ci.
   be.happy-RECIP-be.happy 3pl-be.pred-NPT girl young.man-PL
   ‘On the dance floor they get engaged. They like one another, the young girls and boys.’

A.6 Sumnima

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

The religious codex of Kiranti people is contained in the Kirat Mundhum, or, in the Bantawa version of it, Kirawa Muddum. These scriptures are essentially an oral tradition, although recently some publications have seen the light that codify it in printed form. The Kirat Yakthung Cumlung is particularly active in publishing material, but is dominated by Limbus. Recently, Imamsimha Cemjo’s very complete and well organised bilingual book has been republished, called Kirat Mundhum as a ‘Kiranti scripture’.

More relevant to the Bantawa is the less fancily printed Kirat-Rai-Vantava ridum-mundhum ‘Kiranti Rai Bantawa oral tradition’, by Jayaprasad Mukaru (Vantava) Raa. This book, published in Dharan by the author, contains a wealth of material, chants and songs performed at different religious occasions in the Bantawa language.

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

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

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

---

1 Kirat Yakthung Cumlung, (Kirat Yakthung Chumlung).
2 *Kirat Yakthung Chumlung*.
3 More accurately ‘bilingual’ means Limbu and Nepali. In this context Limbu is named Kirat bhasa ‘Kiranti language’.
4 *Kirat Mundhum (Kiratko Ved)*, 2003, republished by Kirat Yakthung Chumlung
5 For Thulung, Allen published a study (1975). For Mewahang, Gaenszle gave a detailed study (2000). To a lesser extent, Chintang has been described, also by Gaenszle et al. (2005).
The Sumnima narrative is a story of origins. I was told that this narrative explains why the traditions are the way they are. The story relates how Sumnima, the mother goddess, and Paruhang, the sky god, met, created the earth, had children, and how the lives of their children, Bear, Tiger and Human, unfolded. The story is the creation mythology of the Bantawa Rai.

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

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

1. puŋ-ma mollok i-le-ni-ŋ-∅-ni-ŋ
   begin-INF isn’t.it NEGNPp-know/how-NEGn-1s-PROG-NEGn-1s
   sənəm-ŋa puŋ-ma. abo han NEGNPp-know-NEGn-1s-PROG-NEGn-1s Sumnima-EMPH begin-INF. now (N) now
   sumnima paruhaŋ cakwa duŋ-da yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci ni. Sumnima Paruhang water top-LOC be-PT-PROG-PT-DU NAR
   ‘To start, I do not know, I do not know how. Start with Sumnima. Now, now Sumnima and Paruhang were over the water (sea), it is said.’

2. cakwa duŋ-da ani yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida sumnima paruhaŋ-edə tərə
   water top-LOC then (N) be-PT-PROG-PT-DU-SIMp Sumnima Paruhang-COMt but (N)
   cakwa duŋ-da-ŋa yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci ni. water top-LOC-EMPH be-PT-PROG-PT-DU NAR
   ‘Over the water, and, while they were there, Sumnina together with Paruhang, but they were over the water, it is said.’

3. tərə pʰito pʰito yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci pʰito pʰito
   but (N) different different be-PT-PROG-PT-DU different different
   yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida i-kʰeri-da-na meʔen cʰok-muw-a-ci
   be-PT-PROG-PT-DU-SIMp his/her-time (N)-LOC-TOP DOUBT move-RECIPE-PT-DU
   cino.
   gift (N)
   ‘But they were apart, while they were apart, at that time, err, they sent each other presents.’

4. cino cʰok-muw-a-ci, di bʰane, jaigələ-buŋwa, ani doŋ-kʰola,
   gift (N) move-RECIPE-PT-DU what if (N) flower-flower then (N) mouth.harp-cover doŋ.
   mouth.harp
   ‘Sending presents, what to say, a jaigala flower and a mouth harp with a cover.’

5. kʰon-ki-na pi-muw-a-ci kʰo-da-ŋka cino pʰile
   he/she-SEQ-TOP give-RECIPE-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL gift (N) before (N)
   pi-muw-a-ci-ki-na niña no-ka-no muw-a-ci.
   give-RECIPE-PT-DU-SEQ-TOP mood be.happy-RECIPE-be.happy do-PT-DU
'Then, they gave it to one another. After they had given it to one another, they liked one another.'

(6) ni nga no-mu-ci-pæh: “o-ko-na mollok amno-na yawa keṭa-na mood please-RECIP-DU-after (N) this-ref-TOP isn’t.it your”—TOP friend boy (N)—TOP mok.”

isn’t.it

‘After they liked one another, “this has become your friend.”’

(7) paruhaŋ o-na i-sipa on Paruhang this-TOP his/her-skill (N) this.much kʰan-nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-?o i-pok detni kat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø handsome-be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM his/her-body how feel-NPT-PROG-NPT ni.

NAR

‘Paruhang, however, that good was his skill, how good was his body, it is said.’

(8) ani sumnima yiŋ-a kʰon-ki-na: “lau ankaʔo paruhaŋ-na molok then (N) Sumnima say-PT he/she-SEQ-TOP well our” Paruhang-TOP isn’t.it kʰan-nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋe.”

handsome-be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-EMPH

‘And Sumnima said: Well, our Paruhang is looking very good.’

(9) “o-ŋe kʰaŋ-ma-ŋa ti-si-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo abo this-EMPH see-INF-EMPH 2AS-want-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND now (N) kʰut-ni-ŋe.” ni kekuwa yiŋ-Ø. ka-cʰok bring.for.someone-1ns2-EMPH NAR egret say-NPT APpref-move kekuwa-daʔka kʰwatni yiŋ a meʔen oḥa hyatni rə egret-LOC-ABL that.way language that.1 DOUBT like.this that.way and (N) o-hyatni meʔen yiŋ cʰoŋ-ŋ-u. this-across DOUBT language deliver-3P

‘If you want to see him, now we shall bring him to you,” said the plover, the messengers, yes, the plovers send the messages like that from here and there, right?’

(10) yiŋ cʰoŋ-ŋ-u-ki-na ã kʰon-ki-na mo i-tar-a paruhaŋ, language deliver-3P-SEQ-TOP yes he/she-SEQ-TOP that 3AM-bring.far-PT Paruhang ‘After delivering the message, they brought him, Paruhang.’

(11) paruhaŋ i-tar-a-kina sumnimaʔo i-cik-da Paruhang 3AM-bring.far-PT-CAUS Sumnima-GEN his/her-vicinity-LOC i-yukt-a. tana ani i-do cʰaŋ bangō rikt-u-kʰais-u. 3AM-place-PT TOP (N) then (N) his/her-mouth also twisted (N) twist-3P-COMPL-3P ‘After bringing Paruhang, they put him at the side of Sumnima. Then, however, Paruhang also twisted his mouth.’

(12) kʰon-ki-na moswaʔa dʰwāsoʔa somt-a-n-ci-n. “abo he/she-SEQ-TOP soot (N)—ERG soot (N)—ERG rub.in-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL now (N)
Then he rubbed himself with soot and smoke. "Now what does she think of me, how will she turn out to speak to me?" Saying that, he appeared to her.

Then, ah! Him! Well, take him away, away, she said.

Take your Paruhang back again. To your side, saying, in her place she said.

After Sumnima talked like that, well, Paruhang got very sad.

Meeting again, isn't it, they were like this, er, like this in an Arum leaf. Now, how will she think of me, saying, he teased her, it is said.
(19) yakbak-da cʰəɬ mu-Ø-pəχʰi əbʰəra cʰukt-a, sumnima. arum.leaf-LOC joke (N) do-3P-after (N) hard (N) jump-PT Sumnima
‘Teasing her in the Arum leaf, Sumnima took it hard.’

(20) ki-na kʰo-da-ŋka-na: ‘iŋka-na mollok walu ᵇe sipt-u SEQ-TOP ye/she-LOC-ABL-TOP I-TOP isn’t.it water.source EMPHe blink-3P mulu ᵇe sipt-u ani cakwa duŋ-ma si-ŋa-Ø-ŋa,’ water.source (N) EMPHe blink-3P then (N) water drink-INF want-1sNP-PROG-1sNP ni yiŋ-a.
NAR say-PT
‘And then, after that, I, my water dries up, the source dries up, and now I want to drink water, she said.’

(21) cencikwa kol-a-lukt-a-hida cencikwaʔa walu ᵇe dʰir-u-ŋ, buffalo.bird walk-PT-CON-PT-SIMp buffalo.bird-ERG water.source EMPHe find-3P-1s mulu ᵇe dʰir-u-ŋ, water.source (N) EMPHe find-3P-1s
‘The pade bird, while it was walking around, and found a water source, found water.’

(22) “kʰa-na sumnima ti-si-na-n, ti-let. iŋka kʰut-na.” ni. you’ Sumnima 2AS-die-2P-NEGn 2AS-survive I bring.for.someone-2P NAR ‘ ‘You, Sumnima, will not die, you will live. I shall bring it to you.’”

(23) kʰwatni yiŋ-a. kʰo-da-ŋka-na kʰutt-u.
that.way say-PT he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP bring.for.someone-3P
‘He spoke like that. After that, he brought it.’

only (N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NAR buffalo.bird say-PT
‘Now how do I bring it to you, I have no hands. I only have feet, said the pade bird.’

‘After the pade bird had said that, Sumnima ordered, now bring it to me in your mouth.’

(26) ani iŋko iŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma i-si-nin ani am-jũ then (N) my my-water drink-INF NEGNP-die-NEGn then (N) your’s-body (N) yakbak-da ani wa pokt-a-n-ci-n jamma arum.leaf-LOC then (N) rain get.wet-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL all (N) wa-λens-a-n-ci-n.
water-smear-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
‘And I am still thirsty. Then dip your body into the water and rub yourself in.’
he/she-SEQ-TOP here my-mouth-LOC sow-PT-1s  
rems-a-n-ci-n-ki-na kʰon-ki-na iŋko iŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma  
sprinkle-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-SEQ-TOP he/she-SEQ-TOP my my-water drink-INF  
si-Ø iŋ-sakma yun-Ø ni ni yiŋ-a, dya.  
die-NPT my-breath sit-NPT NAR-NAR say-PT or.what  
‘Then (like this) put it in my mouth, shake it all around, and then, my thirst will be quenched, and my breath will be there (still), saying, she said, right!’

(28) kʰwatni on-da-ŋka o-sa-na pakt-u, pakt-u-ta-na. mo that.way say-PT he/she-LOC-ABL this-PRN-TOP put.in-3P put.in-3P-TOP (N)-TOP that  
kʰont-a-ta-Ø ler-a-ha  
survive-PT-live-PT  
‘Like that she spoke, and after that, like that, now, (the bird) put it in, and she recovered consciousness and lived again.’

(29) ler-a-ha  
paruha K  
bicara thought (N)  
mu-Ø-ŋ-u -  
Paruhang-ERG thought (N) do-3P-PROG-3P - he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN-TOP  
akʰeri-da-na i-yawa i-kuwa-ci-sudda bʰela  
time (N)-LOC-TOP his/her-friend his/her-friend-PL-with gathered (N)  
mi-lis-a-ki i-sen-a ani jamma-s-a han-ma i-lapt-a  
3pl-become-PT SEQ 3AM-ask-PT then (N) together (N)-PRN-ERG talk-INF 3AM-try-PT  
 cep-ma i-lapt-a-ki i-sen-a:  
talk-INF 3AM-try-PT-SEQ 3AM-ask-PT  
‘Paruhang was thinking, after that, at that time, having gathering with his friends, they asked him, and all together they tried to talk with him, tried to chat, they asked,’}

(32) kʰon-ki-na i-sen-a-pacrʰi paruhang pʰeri i-sen-a picʰe  
he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-ask-PT-after (N) Paruhang again (N) 3AM-ask-PT after (N)  
o-ko amko-ŋa i-watni sumnima-ʔa ani aɣʰi-na helan  
this-REF your⁴-EMPH his/her-like.this Sumnima-ERG then (N) before (N)-TOP hate (N)  
ni-muw-ə-ŋ-wa-ʔo tʰiyo watni ki-na watni ani amko ʔe  
3A-do-PT-EMPH-LIKE-NOM PPTaux here SEQ-TOP here then (N) your EMPHHe hola.  
maybe (N)
‘After that, after asking, they asked Paruhang thereafter: this very Sumnima then, she hated you before. Like this, and then, like this, and now she is yours, may be.’

(33) įįka de-ki mollok kʰaŋ mus-a-ŋ-ci-ŋ iŋ-dukʰa kʰar-a-lo iŋ-som I what-SEQ isn’t.it show CAUS2-PT-1s-DUP-1s my-trouble go-PT-MAN my-love tuʔ-a-lo i- low-a-ŋ iŋko-ŋe ni ỹɨŋ-a. be.ill-PT-MAN 3AM-say-PT-1s my.EMPH NAR say-PT ‘Why then did I show myself: she made me unhappy. However, she is mine, he said.’

(34) kʰon-pačʰi kʰwatni ỹɨŋ-a-pačʰi o mi-tums-u-ci pačʰi he/she-after (N) that.way say-PT-after (N) yes 3pl-join.together-3P-DUP after (N) tuʔ-a-ci. meet-PT-DU ‘After that, after he said this, they made them meet one another. After that they met.’

(35) pačʰi meʔen u - sriŋti o-ko rita tʰapsiŋ abo detni ñ after (N) DOUBT he/she (N) - creation (N) this-ref ritual (N) ritual now (N) how yes abo ankaci sumnima ra paruhang lis-a-ci tu-ʔa-ci now (N) we di Sumnima and (N) Paruhang become-PT-DU be.ill-PT-DU bʰela-li-sa-ci tʰapsiŋ hili detni o-ko ani puŋ-c-u detni gathered (N)-ATTR-PRN-PL ritual culture how this-ref then (N) begin-DU-3P how boñe-mu-c-u o-ko mollok. make (N)-do-DU-3P this-ref isn’t.it ‘After, errr, creation, this tradition now how was it? Now we have become Sumnima and Paruhang. We met, we gathered, and now how do we start the tradition, how do we make it, hey.’

(36) henkʰamma sumnima bʰane sumnima ʒ kʰun-ki-na kʰwatni earth Sumnima saying (N) Sumnima yes he/she-SEQ-TOP that.way ỹɨŋ-a-ci, kʰon-da-ŋka. say-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL ‘The earth, Sumnima said, then she spoke like this, after that.’

(37) o-sa ɟ pahilet kʰon-pačʰi o-ko cakwa matte cakwa-matʰi ani this-PRN yes first (N) he/she-after (N) this-ref water only (N) water-on.top (N) then (N) ʒ loha-ʔo kʰəmba sumnima-ʔa adee pi-ʔo-ki-na e la loha-ʔo yes iron-GEN pole (N) Sumnima-ERG order (N) give-3P-SEQ-TOP EMPHe OK iron-GEN kʰəbo tʰunja-dot pʰalame o kʰəbo i-tʰuŋsa-ŋ-c-u-ki-na ʒ pillar (N) dig-INF-OBLLIG iron (N)-GEN pillar (N) 3AM-dig-PT-DU-3P-SEQ-TOP yes cakwa-hut-yu-ŋka-ŋ. water-inside-LOC.low-ABL-EMPH ‘Like this first then she had to bury a strong pole in the water, Sumnima, he gave her the order. After they had buried the pole, it was from out of inside the water.’

(38) ʒ coke kʰəbo-ki-na kʰon-ki coke kʰəbo yes flat (N) pillar (N)-SEQ-TOP he/she-SEQ flat (N) pillar (N) i-tʰuŋsa-ŋ-c-u-ki-na cakwa-hut-yu bʰen-yu o luŋ. 3AM-dig-PT-DU-3P-SEQ-TOP water-hole-LOC.low root-LOC.low this stone
‘The flattened (top) of the pole, then having buried the flat pole, down in the water (at the foot) the stone,’

(39) i-lons-a-c-u-ki-na mu-du i-hamt-a-c-u
3s-take.outside-PT-DU-3P-SEQ-LOC TOP 3AM-hang-PT-DU-3P
that-LOC.high 3AM-hang-PT-DU-3P after (N) yes charm 3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P
‘Having taking out (the stone) they put it up there, on top they put it and then they put on a charm.’

(40) baca i-pakt-a-c-u-p pʰəle li-yänṣa kʰar-a-kina
charm 3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P-also spread (N) tie.up-ERG
‘Having put on the charm, having spread, it covered (the water).’

(41) kʰon-ki mo-ci-ʔa ənî bândana-ʔa i-cʰums-a-c-u bândana-cʰaŋ
he/she-SEQ that-PL-ERG tie (N)-ERG 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P tie (N)-also
he/she-SEQ-TOP
‘Then they bound it with a rope, the rope also appeared to be required.’

(42) á cʰum-ma-cʰaŋ cʰum-ma-da kʰun-ki-na i-cʰums-a-c-u á
yes tie.up-INF-also tie.up-INF-TEMP he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P yes
kʰayamay-ʔa i-cʰums-a-c-u
snake.god-ERG tie (N)-ERG 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P
‘Yes, they bound it with the snake god (Pimang), by Khayamang they strangled him.’

(43) bakʰa kʰon-ki-na i-lös-a-c-u á
soil he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-take.outside-PT-DU-3P yes our⁵ chant-VIA
bobbyoŋma bʰaŋcʰa dʰaŋmira.
termite they say (N) termite (N)
‘Then they took the mud out. Yes, according to our tradition, they say the “bobbyoŋma”, the termite.’

(44) dʰaŋmira-ʔa bakʰa lois-u luŋ-ʔo i-duŋ dʰu-trni pa-ʔu á
termite (N)-ERG soil take.outside-3P stone-GEN his/her-top up-ALL put.in-3P yes
kʰun-pacʰi á mo rase i-muw-a-c-u bândana
he/she-after (N) yes that strangle (N) 3AM-do-PT-DU-3P tie (N)
i-pakt-a-c-u.
3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P
‘The termite took the mud on top of the stone, above, then they bound him and put him in bondage.’

(45) kʰun-pacʰi caḥi jamma dʰake mu-Ø-kʰatt-u.
he/she-after (N) swTOP (N) all (N) cover (N) do-3P-DIR away-3P
‘After that, altogether they covered and took him,’
They covered it with water, after covering it, now, then, whatever, hey, what will we make grow from the tree take, they said.

They discussed, from the tree what will we take out, hey. We, er, now, let us plant the sirkhan. d. a tree and creation, they said.

And then they planted it. And then, that complete town, it held all.

Then, after they planted that, after that they put in a rudraksha seed.

From there, they planted a bar-pipal tree, a bar tree and a pipal tree.

By that, their new-born children grew up.

Er, like that, after they got their children they also grew up there, continued to grow up.

They got their children they also grew up there, continued to grow up.

small.leopard yes eldest (N) his/her-son (N) small.leopard other
And Sumnima saw in a dream, it is said, Ah, Cikiwa, well, their eldest son is called Cikiwa (small leopard).'

(55) əni maksa əni tumun ni ə ico-nį kʰwa-kko ni.
then (N) bear then (N) Tumun NAR yes theirď-name that-ATTR NAR
'And "bear" (maksa), then, Tumun, is their name, like that.'

(56) tumun maksə cikiwa ni ə maksə ə kiwa əni
Tumun bear and (N) small.leopard NAR yes bear and (N) tiger then (N)
kʰo-da-ŋka-ʔo-sa ani haŋcʰanuma manusya.
he/she-LOC-ABL-GEN-PRN then (N) Hangchanuma human.(being (N)
'Tumun bear, and Cikiwa, bear and tiger, then, following that, then there was
Hangchanuma, a human.'

(57) haŋcʰanuma kancʰa ənkan ni
Hangchanuma youngest (N) we5 NAR
'Hangchanuma, the youngest are we, it is said.'

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

(59) iŋka kama-cʰaŋ i-mu-ni-ŋ
I work (N)-also NEGNPp-do-NEGn-1s
"I shall not do work."

(60) baŋbasi-ŋa waŋ-ŋa kʰat-ŋa, jągala-ya-tni-ŋa
jungle-house (N)-EMPH enter-1sNP go-1sNP jungle (N)-LOC.level-ALL-EMPH
waŋ-pa kʰat-ŋa ni yąŋ-a-ki, waŋ-a kʰar-a ni.
enter-1sNP go-1sNP NAR say-PT-SEQ enter-PT-DIRaway-PT NAR
'Saying, "I shall go off into the jungle," he went off into the jungle.'

(61) jągala-ya kʰon-ki waŋ-a kʰar-a-pacʰi mo mamarem
jungle (N)-LOC.level he/she-SEQ enter-PT-DIRaway-PT-after (N) that Mamarem
i-ma-ʔi-pa-ci-ʔa mamarem maya mare i-muw-a-c-u
his/her-mother-his/her-father-PL-ERG Mamarem love (N) kill (N) 3AM-do-PT-DU-3P
ni
NAR
'Into the jungle, and after he had gone off, that Mamarem, his mother and father
stopped loving him (he was lost in Mamarem).'

(62) maŋarem i-muw-a-ci-pacʰi ə cikiwa ə haŋcʰanuma matte
mamarem 3AM-do-PT-DU-after (N) yes small.leopard and (N) Hangchanuma only (N)
yųŋ-a-lar-a-ci ni
sit-PT-DIROff-PT-DU NAR
'Having lost him in Mamarem, only Cikiwa and Hangchanuma were left.'
The oldest and youngest children only were left, and they were going to hunt, it is said.

While they were hunting, then, the younger "The elder will chase and bring some game, maybe.'

By a bow-and-arrow, he will come, he, then, whatever, will kill, tear me up and kill me, he was thinking.'

Yes, his clothes were not there, after that, Nathe my brother like that is doing to me, thinking, and then my elder brother, like this he will do to me, what will I do? I, then, will save my life.'
A. Texts

(69) abo ama am-sakoŋwa cʰa-ŋa iŋ-biwa maila-na
now (N) mother (N) your-1-heart child-EMPH my-elder.brother second.brother-TOP
mollok abo accʰa-ŋa kʰar-a-lont-a jáŋol-ya-tni.
 isn't. it now (N) truly-EMPH go-PT-DIRup-PT jungle (N)-LOC.level-ALL
'Now, mother, your precious child, my older brother, the second brother, now, he really went up towards the jungle.'

(70) ani iŋ-daju jeṭʰa-ʔemen yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci-ʔa.
then (N) my-brother (N) eldest (N)-COM sit-DU-PROG-DU-e
'And we were together with my eldest brother.'

(71) iŋ-daju jeṭʰa ʔa “o-ko aikara-ci ani cʰekt-u-ci, ant-u
my-brother (N) eldest (N) EMPHa this-ref hunt (N)-PL then (N) block-3P-DUP turn-3P
tar-u-ci ʔa!” ni lo-Ø ta-na.
bring-3P-DU EMPHa NAR say-3P-1s TOP (N)-TOP
'Now, I said to my eldest brother: “Block the game, turn it and bring it, OK?”'

(72) ʔįŋka e mollok Ĭŋka aikara huŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa ta-na.
yes I hey isn't. it I hunt (N) wait-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-1sNP-TOP (N)-TOP
'Yes, I was waiting for the game (to arrive).'

(73) kʰo-sa-ʔe mollok Ĭŋka cikiwa mu-nan-ci-n-ki-na jamma
he/she-PRN-EMPH isn't. it yes small.leopard do-REFL-DUP-REFL-SEQ-TOP all (N)
i-pamt-a-ŋ kes-a-ŋ!
3AM-tear-PT-1s throw.away-PT-1s
'Now, as he is a leopard, he will tear me all up!'

(74) Ĭŋka detni ci-ŋa-ki mollok Ĭŋka nu-Ø
I how do-1sNP-SEQ isn't. it I be.good-NPT
'Now, what should I to come out right?'

(75) “iŋ-biwa detni-ʔo ni lo-ŋ-ki-na nu-Ø” ni ajna
how-NOM NAR say-1s-SEQ-TOP be.good-NPT NAR order (N)
dor-a, i-ma-ʔeda kancʰa.
must-PT his/her-mother-COML youngest (N)
' "What will I say to my brother, and be good," he asked for instructions with his mother, the youngest.'

(76) kʰo-da-ŋka-na kancʰa i-cʰora ajna dor-a. ani “la amco
he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP youngest (N) his/her-son (N) order (N) must-PT then (N) OK yourd
mina rə amco budiʔa dʰir-u-ʔo-wa-ŋa ciw-a-ci aha,” ni.
man and (N) yourd wisdom (N)-ERG find-3P-NOM-LIKE-EMPH do-PT-DU EMPHa NAR
'That way, the youngest son asked for instructions. And she said: “Just like what your heart and your wisdom finds, do these things, hey.”'

(77) ajna pi-Ø kancʰa i-cʰora-laʔi ʔįŋka pi-Ø-pacʰi la
order (N) give-3P youngest (N) his/her-son (N)-DAT (N) yes order (N) give-3P-after (N) OK
bʰaihalyo lə nu-Ø-ŋe ama ni yĩŋ-ŋa.
already done (N) OK be.good-NPT-EMPH mother (N) NAR say-PT
'She gave instruction to her youngest son. Yes, after she gave an order, well, now, done. It is good now, the mother said to her youngest.'

(78) i-c'ha kanc'ha k'un-lo å ik-topra kok met-Ø ni ik his/her-child youngest (N) that-MAN yes one-leaf plate (N) rice cause-NPT NAR one lat'ha bec'ukś solonwa-da-ŋka-ŋ wac' in pak-Ø ni-ni lo-Ø stick (N) ginger yes gourd-LOC-ABL-EMPH beer put-in-NPT NAR-NAR say-3P muw-a-ci å.
do-PT-DU yes
'She gave him one plate of rice and one stick of ginger. In a bottle gourd she put beer.'

(79) ama-lai k'watni i-rem-u ni k' on-ki-na å ama-lai mother (N)-DAT that-way 3AM-order-3P NAR he/she-SEQ-TOP yes mother (N)-DAT i-rem-u-pac'i la ni-ki-na kok-c'haŋ mett-u-ci-kina 3AM-order-3P-after (N) OK NAR-SEQ-TOP rice-also cause-3P-DUP-CAUS topra-da-ŋka å hæg'c' anuma-ña k'uy-u ni. leaf.plate (N)-LOC-ABL yes Hangchanuma-ERG carry-3P NAR 'He ordered his mother like that, and then, yes, after he ordered his mother, OK, she said and gave him rice as well, and Hangchanuma carried it away in a leaf plate.'

(80) i-c'ha kanc'a-ña ni solonwa c'haŋ k'uy-u ni his/her-child youngest (N)-ERG NAR gourd also carry-3P NAR 'Her youngest son also carried the bottle gourd.'

(81) ik-pana bec'uk-c'haŋ k'uy-u ni kombi-c'haŋ k'uy-u ni talik-c'haŋ one-leaf (N) ginger-also carry-3P NAR grass.knife-also carry-3P NAR bow-also k'tuy-a k'un-ki-pac'i k'ar-a-ci jāgala-ya eikara mu-si. carry-PT that-SEQ-after (N) go-PT-DU jungle (N)-LOC.level hunt (N) do-SUP 'One lump of ginger also he carried, a sickle he carried, a bow he carried. Then they went to the jungle, to hunt.'

(82) "a-biwa k'ana eikara-ci jo-ʔo yaŋb'ak-ci k'issa-ci VOCp-elder.brother.you' hunt (N)-PL whoever (N)-GEN wild.boar-PL deer-PL. b'iksa-ci mi-ta-ʔo-ʔo ti-d'ir-u-ci-ʔo ent-o uh-PL 3pl-come.far-NPT-NOM 2AS-find-3P-DUP-NOM chase.in hunt-3P batt-u-ci, iŋka o-da yuŋ-ga," ni-ʔa ni lo-Ø bring-3P-DUP 1 this-LOC sit-1sNPl NAR-EMPHa NAR say-3P ' ‘Older brother! Whichever game, any wild boars, deer, elk that come your way, that you find, you must chase them (towards me). I stay here,’ he said.’

(83) i-biwa-c'æ lə ni yin-a ni i-biwa ni his/her-elder.brother-ever OK NAR say-PT NAR his/her-elder.brother NAR i-biwa k'watni yin-a-pac'hi ni k'ar-a, abo ayi-na his/her.elder.brother.that.say-PT-after (N) NAR go-PT now (N) today-TOP ancu-ʔa-ʔo set-mu-ma-ʔo ñin nai ho. our'-e-GEN kill-RECIPI-INF-GEN day (N) EMPH (N) is (N) 'His brother said: OK. After his brother said that, he went. Today is the day we kill each other.'
(84) iŋ-maʔa abo-ya i-hant-a-ciʔaʔo amco buddhiʔa my-mother-ERG now (N)-LOC.level 3AM-talk-PT-DU-e-NOM your wisdom (N)-ERG dʰir-ʔaʔo samma ni i-low-a-ciʔaʔo ciw-a-ci ni.
find-3P-NOM till (N) 3AM-say-PT-DU-e-NOM do-PT-DU NAR
‘Now my mother had said to us two, to the extent of your wisdom, she had said, do it.’

(85) abo iŋko-tet gaksi tʰəmba dʰet-ŋa-kina iŋ-swarupa
now (N) my-swTOP banana stem cut-1sNP-CAUS my-form (N)
mu-ma-n-ci-n-kina mina but-ma dot-∅-yaŋ-∅.
do-INF-REFL-DUP-REFL-CAUS man call-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘Now after I find a banana pole, and made it into my own shape, I must call (it) a man.’

(86) iŋ-bastar ki-na gaksi tʰəmba-da em-ma-da-ma
my-dress (N) SEQ-TOP banana stem-LOC make-stand-INF-eff-INF
dot-∅-yaŋ-∅ talik bʰe chʰaj kʰik-met-ma dot-∅-yaŋ-∅.
must-NPT-PROG-NPT bow arrow also hold-CAUS-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘With my dress, I must make the banana pole stand. Also it must be made to hold the arrow-and-bow.’

(87) o-ko iŋ-biwa detni mu-∅-ŋ-u račʰa.
this-ref my-elder.brother how do-3P-PROG-3P MIR
‘What is my brother doing?’

(88) iŋ-bastar gaksi tʰəmba-daŋkʰo-daŋkʰa detni mu-∅-ŋ-u račʰa ni
my-dress (N) banana stem he/she-LOC-ABL how do-3P-PROG-3P MIR NAR
min-ɑ-kina siŋ-raŋ cok-du waŋ-a-kʰar-a
think-PT-CAUS tree-plant top-LOC.high enter-PT-DIR-away-PT
‘In my dress banana-thamba from there how he does it, it appears, thinking he climbed up to the top of the tree.’

(89) siŋ-raŋ cok-du waŋ-a-kʰar-a pɑcʰi talik bʰe chʰaj
tree-top-LOC.high enter-PT-DIR-away-PT after (N) bow arrow also
mu-du-ŋa waŋ-a-kʰar-a i-kok bʰom-ci-chʰaj
that-LOC.high-EMPH put.in-3P that-LOC.high-EMPH his/her-rice bundle-PL-also
wakt-u-ci.
put.in-3P-DUP
‘After he climbed up to the top of the tree, he had also brought his arrow-and-bow up there, he had also brought his rice and snack.’

(90) mu-yu-na i-bastar matte gaksi tʰəmba-da
that-LOC.low-TOP his/her-dress (N) only (N) banana stem-LOC
hum-met-tu-do-∅ ni.
dress-CAUSE-3P-eff-3P NAR
‘Below, he only had dressed up a banana pole with his clothes.’

(91) waŋ-a-kʰar-a pɑcʰi haha ra hahu dʰanaŋka ban-a-kina jamma
put.in-3P-DUP after (N) haha and (N) hahu above-ABL come.level-PT-CAUS all (N)
cent-u-kʰaʃ-u-ci.
splice-3P-COMPL-3P-DUP
'After he had gone up, he was screaming “haha and hahu” from there.'

(92) i-nic-ha-ʔo i-bastar ṭaksi tʰamba.
his/her-younger.brother-GEN his/her-dress (N) banana stem
siŋaŋ-cok-daŋka “a-bi mo-ko de ti-ci-ʔyaŋ-ʔo? mwatni
tree-top-LOC-ABL VOCP-brother that-ref what 2AS-do-NPT-PROG-NPT that.way
a-biwa iŋka-na hasikʰeli mu-ŋa-ʔa-ŋa-ʔo.”
VOCP-brother I-TOP jest (N) be.pred-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM
‘His younger brother’s dress was on the banana pole. From up the tree (he said):
“brother, what are you doing? Like that, brother, I am just kidding.”’

(93) s̄ e ni i-biwa yiŋ-a ni.
yes hey NAR his/her-elder.brother say-PT NAR
‘Alright! Right! said his elder brother.”

(94) kʰana kʰa-daŋka han-ma ti-lam-ʔaŋ-ʔo? ni iŋka-na
where-LOC-ABL talk-INF 2AS-seek-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM NAR I-TOP
siŋ-raŋ cok-du yuŋ-ŋa-ʔa ni yiŋ-ma ni.
tree-plant top-LOC.high sit-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR say-PT NAR
‘From where are you trying to talk? I am sitting in the top of a tree, as I said.’

(95) kʰun-ki-na la abo anco amaʔa kʰaja mollok
he/she-SEQ:TOP OK now (N) ourṭ mother (N)-ERG snack (N) isn’t it
i-pakt-a-ciʔo duŋ-cu-ne hai. kok bʰom ca-cu-ne kok
3AM-put.in-PT-DU-NOM drink-DU-3P-OPT hey rice bundle eat-DU-3P-OPT rice
cʰaŋ ca-cu-ne wacʰin cʰaŋ duŋ-cu-ne ni yiŋ-a-ci ni
also eat-DU-3P-OPT beer also drink-DU-3P-OPT NAR say-PT-DU NAR
‘And then: well, now let us eat the snack that our mother has wrapped, hey. Let us eat
our snack, let use eat our rice and drink our beer, they said (it is said).’

(96) la kʰana iŋka aibo i-dʰan-niŋ-či-niŋ, ani lanŋka
OK you’ I now (N) NEGNPp-take.down-NEGn-1s-DUP-NEGn-1s then (N) flat
dʰis-a-ń-ci-n. am-do-da owatni hoʔ-u-ki tatt-u al ni
lay-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL your’h-mouth-LOC like.this open-3P-SEQ add-3P that.1 NAR
lo-ma ni lo-ʔo.
say-PT NAR say-3P
‘Well, I am not taking it down to you. Then, lie yourself down flat on the floor. Open
your mouth and take it like this! he said.’

(97) i-nic-haʔa lo-ʔo ni, kʰun-ki i-biwa
his/her-younger.brother-ERG say-3P NAR he/she-SEQ his/her-elder.brother
kaŋs-a ni. kʰon-pačʰi kok cʰaniŋka pahile lett-u-dis-u
obey-PT NAR he/she-after (N) rice cʰaniŋka before (N) send-3P-reach-3P
kʰon-daŋka wacʰin tʰokt-u-dis-u. c-o, kʰipʰu.
he/she-LOC-ABL beer pour.to-3P-reach-3P eat-3P swallow-3P
‘The younger brother said that, and his elder brother obeyed, it is said. After he first
fed him from the rice. After that, he poured him the beer. He at, and he swallowed.’
Now I shall do as clever as I can to my brother, he thought.

The younger brother was thinking up in that tree. Then, hmm, well, close your eyes, for now I have the remainder.

Bring it all, he said, it is said. Then, his mouth, (as he had obeyed, he had opened his mouth and closed his eyes), opening his mouth, he shot an arrow inside.

After he shot the arrow, he died.

He breathed his last. After he breathed his last, her heart felt it (traced it): his mothers heart felt it.

'My children went to the hunt. How did they do, did they come up perhaps?' she was thinking, their mother.

Sumnima NAR he/she-LOC-ABL-GEN-PRN-TOP that.way think-PT-after (N) i-kanc'a-ʔo-tet pahilet ta-Ø. his/her-youngest (N)-GEN-swTOP first (N) come.far-PT
That is Sumnima. As a consequence, after she thought that way, her youngest, for one, came first.'

(105) kancʰa am-biwa kʰaʔu kʰada ti-chʰiɾ-u-d-o ni sen-u. youngest (N) yourʰ-elder.brother see-3P where 2AS-leave-3P-eff-3P NAR ask-3P Youngest, what about your brother? Where did you leave him?''

(106) ā in-ʃ-биwa-na ā di ama ti-sen-u-ŋ mollok. ā yes my-elder.brother-TOP yes what mother (N) 2AS-ask-3P-1s isn’t.it yes cɨkara-ŋe mu-Ø-yəŋ-Ø mo-ya jāgala-yə-ŋe hunt (N)-EMPH be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT that-LOC.level jungle (N)-LOC.level-EMPH čʰiɾ-u-ŋ-do-Ø-ŋ-ʔo ni yɨŋ-a. leave-3P-1s-eff-3P-1s-NOM NAR say-PT ‘Yes, as for my brother, what, mother, you asked me, well. Yes, he was hunting, over there in the jungle I have left him, he said.’

(107) ā i-chʰa kancʰa sumnima-lai kʰwatni lo-Ø ni. yes his/her-child youngest (N) Sumnima-DAT that.way say-3P NAR kʰon-pacʰi-na peri-ŋa las-u-sen-u hasikʰelil mi-yəŋ ni he/she-after (N)-TOP again (N)-EMPH return-3P-ask-3P jest (N) NEGPTp-be NAR lo-Ø ni say-3P NAR ‘Yes, her youngest child said so to Sumnima. After that, she asked again: “do not fool me”, she said.’

(108) kʰo-da-ŋka-sa pʰeri-ŋa tʰin bakyə tʰin kʰepi he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN again (N)-EMPH three (N) sentence three (N) time ta-Ø-la-Ø-pacʰi, abo mollok iŋ-ma-ʔeda-ʔo watni come.far-PT-return-PT-after (N) now (N) isn’t.it my-mother-COMl-GEN here i-biwa-ʔa i-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa ni tə amco his/her-elder.brother-ERG 3AM-do-1sNPROG-1sNPROG-1sNPROG-1sNPROG-1sNPROG-NAR though (N) yourd buddʰi-ʔa dʰir-u-ʔo amco minmə-ʔa dʰir-u-ʔo-sə cw-a-ci ni, yourd-wisdom (N) find-3P-NOM yourd mind-ERG find-3P-CONS do-PT-DU NAR ‘That way, after this happened three times, he said: Just as my mother said, when my brother would behave to me like this: “do as your wisdom finds, as your mind finds…”’

(109) āni ti-lo-Ø ni-ʔo kʰon-ki-na hasikʰelil mu-Ø-yəŋ-Ø then (N) 2AS-say-3P NAR-NOM he/she-SEQ-TOP jest (N) be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT mo-ya mo-da-ŋa δ cɨkara hun-Ø-yəŋ-Ø ni that-LOC.level that-LOC-EMPH yes hunt (N) wait-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR ma-ʔa NEGPTp-be.PTNEG ‘That was as you said. After that, in jest, over there, he waited for the game, right?’

(110) kʰwatni man-yin-da. dʰaṭa man-mu-da. kʰa ett-ा-ŋ that.way NEGPTp-say-NEGPTs lie (N) NEGPTp-be.pred-NEGPTs AntP tell-PT-1s
am-buwa-ʔo ʰi-tuno ꞏi-yun-kʰa i-sikara
your-elder.brother-GEN yes his/her-last (N) 3AM-put-PNOM his/her-hunt (N)
mu-kʰa ni kʰatni ti-lo-∅ ni-ʔo mollok.
do-PNOM other where.dir that.way 2AS-say-3P NAR-NOM isn’t it
‘Do not speak that way. Do not lie. Show me your brother’s final place, while he was
hunting, what direction, that way, you will say it.’

(111) ser-u-ŋ-do-∅-ŋ ni a-kʰeri-da calhi ani hančʰanuma-ʔa ʰi-
kill-3P-1s-eff-3P-1s NAR finally (N)-LOC swTOP (N) then (N) Hangchanuma-ERG
i-cʰa-kančʰa sumnima-ʔo i-cʰa kančʰa-ʔa lo-∅
his/her-child-youngest (N) Sumnima-GEN his/her child youngest (N)-ERG say-3P
i-ma-lai kʰa ett-u.
his/her-mother-DAT AntP tell-3P
‘I killed him,’ finally, Hangchanuma, Sumnima’s youngest child, said, and he told
his mother.’

(112) kʰon-daŋkaŋ pʰeri-ŋa ik-pana becʰuk r∅ solonwa
he/she-LOC-ABL-EMPH again (N)-EMPH one-leaf (N) ginger and (N) gourd
kʰatt-u kʰatt-u-kina muddum mett-u i-cʰa
take.away-3P take.away-3P-CAUS chant cause-3P his/her-child
i-ma-lai
kʰa ett-u.
his/her-love (N)-ERG
‘After that, again, she brought one leaf of ginger and a gourd. After taking it, she said
prayers over him, her son, by her love.’

(113) mo-ko-na inko-na sakonmi cʰa kʰana watni ni-muwa-tha
that-ref-TOP my-TOP heart child isn’t it cikonmi-cʰa you’h here 3A-do-PT
iŋ-sakonwa-ya kʰana ani cikiwa-ŋa tʰiyo.
my-heart-LOC.level you’h then (N) small.leopard-EMPH PPTaux
‘This mine heart-child, well, dear-heart-child, you did such to me, in my heart you
were my leopard.’

(114) ani tumun maksa-ʔo tʰiyo
then (N) Tumun bear-VOC PPTaux
‘There was Tumun, the bear.’

(115) hančʰanuma kančʰa ani amno bʰai nicʰa-ʔo
Hangchanuma youngest (N) then (N) your? younger.brother (N) younger.brother-GEN
tʰiyo-ni ani lo-∅. kʰatni lo-∅ paeʰi i-cʰati-da luŋ
PPTaux-EMPH (N) then (N) say-3P where.dir say-3P after (N) his/her-chest-LOC stone
yukt-u, cikma luŋ.
place-3P flint stone
‘Hangchanuma, was the youngest, and your younger brother, she said, then, well.
After she said such, she put a stone in her son’s chest, a flint stone.’

(116) ani solonwa-ʔa kʰitt-u tʰokt-u-dis-u i-do-da-tni jammə
then (N) gourd-ERG worship-3P spill-3P-reach-3P his/her-mouth-LOC-ALL all (N)
rept-u. kʰon-paeʰi rept-u-paeʰi ani tʰiint-u-kʰais-u.
sprinkle-3P that-after (N) sprinkle-3P-after (N) then (N) wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P.
'Then, with the gourd she worshipped, poured water into his mouth, she sprinkled it all. And she splashed water on him, and she revived him.'

(117) waset komnaga dipt-\text{-}u\text{-}ki\text{-}na k\text{\textasciicircum}watni mu\text{-}Ø. k\text{\textasciicircum}on\text{-}ki\text{-}na chicklet ??komnaga cover\text{-}3P\text{-}SEQ\text{-}TOP that\text{\textasciicircum}way do\text{-}3P. he/she\text{-}SEQ\text{-}TOP t\text{\textasciicircum}int\text{-}u\text{-}k\text{\textasciicircum}aïs\text{-}u. t\text{\textasciicircum}int\text{-}u\text{-}k\text{\textasciicircum}aïs\text{-}u\text{-}pac\text{\textasciicircum}i k\text{\textasciicircum}ar\text{-}a, ya hant\text{-}u wake.up\text{-}3P\text{-}COMPL\text{-}3P wake.up\text{-}3P\text{-}COMPL\text{-}3P\text{-}after (N) go\text{-}PT prayer send\text{-}3P t\text{\textasciicircum}in\text{-}loïs\text{-}u\text{-}pac\text{\textasciicircum}i. wake\text{-}come\text{-}up\text{-}3P\text{-}after (N)

'Covering him with a chick and komnenga, she did it like that. Then, she made him sit up. After she made him sit up, she went, and prayed, and woke him up.'

(118) deki mollok watni ti-ci-Ø-wa? am-budd\text{\textasciicircum}i un-samma-ŋa why isn't\text{\textasciicircum}it here 2AS\text{-}do\text{-}3P\text{-}LIKE your\textsuperscript{\textdagger} wisdom (N) this\text{\textasciicircum}much\text{-}up\text{\textasciicircum}to (N)\text{-}EMPH rac\text{\textasciicircum}a. MIR

'Why, then, did you act like this? Your wisdom turns out to be up to this.'

(119) am-nic\text{\textasciicircum}a hanč\text{\textasciicircum}anuma-ŋo t\text{\textasciicircum}hiyo k\text{\textasciicircum}ana cikiwa-ŋo your\textsuperscript{\textdagger} younger.brother Hangchanuma-NOM PPTaux you\textsuperscript{\textdagger} small.leopard-NOM t\text{\textasciicircum}hiyo. PPTaux

'Your brother was Hangchanuma. You were Cikiwa.'

(120) abo o-ko i-budd\text{\textasciicircum}i badd\text{\textasciicircum}e-ŋa rac\text{\textasciicircum}a, amko am-budd\text{\textasciicircum}i now (N) this\text{-}ref his/her wisdom (N) many\text{-}EMPH MIR your\textsuperscript{\textdagger} your\textsuperscript{\textdagger} wisdom (N) i-cit t\text{\textasciicircum}ore-ŋa rac\text{\textasciicircum}a. MIR

'Now his wisdom appeared to be great, your wisdom appears to be a bit less.'

(121) c\text{\textasciicircum}ukt\text{-}a-ŋo rac\text{\textasciicircum}a am-budd\text{\textasciicircum}i ni lo-Ø mo cikiwa jump\text{-}PT\text{-}NOM MIR your\textsuperscript{\textdagger} wisdom (N) NAR say\text{-}3P that small.leopard t\text{\textasciicircum}int\text{-}u\text{-}loïs\text{-}u\text{-}pac\text{\textasciicircum}i. wake\text{-}3P\text{-}take\text{-}up\text{-}3P\text{-}after (N)

'Your wisdom now has gone down, she said, after she had woken up the tiger.'

(122) lu ani am-nic\text{\textasciicircum}a c\text{\textasciicircum}ib\text{\textasciicircum}i-ri-du kon-Ø-yan-Ø-nalo, well then (N) your\textsuperscript{\textdagger} younger.brother hill.close\text{-}LOC high walk\text{-}NPT\text{-}PROG\text{-}NPT\text{-}COND e, d\text{\textasciicircum}ib\text{\textasciicircum}i-ri-yu kon-Ø-yan-Ø-nalo, k\text{\textasciicircum}ana c\text{\textasciicircum}ib\text{\textasciicircum}i lont-a, hey hill\text{-}far\text{-}LOC low walk\text{-}NPT\text{-}PROG\text{-}NPT\text{-}COND you\textsuperscript{\textdagger} hill\text{-}close go\text{-}outside\text{-}PT k\text{\textasciicircum}ana c\text{\textasciicircum}ib\text{\textasciicircum}i-ri-du ti-kon-Ø-yan-Ø-nalo am-nic\text{\textasciicircum}a you\textsuperscript{\textdagger} hill\text{-}close\text{-}LOC high 2AS\text{-}walk\text{-}NPT\text{-}PROG\text{-}NPT\text{-}COND your\textsuperscript{\textdagger} younger.brother d\text{\textasciicircum}ib\text{\textasciicircum}i-ri-yu kon-Ø. hill\text{-}far\text{-}LOC low walk\text{-}NPT

'Well, now, if your younger brother goes over to the nearby hill, goes down from that far hill, then you must come up from the nearby hill, and your younger brother down from the hill further out.'
(123) abo amko am-kəmaʔ-cʰaż matdiŋ-∅ di-cʰaż kama
now (N) your’-your’-income (N)-also not there-NPT what ever work (N)
ti-muw-aʔ-o-cʰaż matdiŋ-∅.
2AS-do-PT-NOM-also not there-NPT
‘Now you also have no earning, income, you have done no work whatever.’

(124) am-nicʰaʔ-aʔ-na kənt-u-ŋu-ciʔo jamma
your’-younger.brother-ERG-EMPH keep.animals-3P-PROG-3P-DUP-NOM all (N)
ani kʰana kʰis-u-co-∅ʔa
then (N) you steal-3P-eat-3P-EMPH.wav.
‘All that your younger brother is keeping, you steal and eat it, hey!’

(125) kʰwatni lo-∅-pəcʰi i-maʔo i-som siw-a.
that.way say-3P-after (N) his/her-mother-GEN his/her-love die-PT
‘After she had said this, his mother was satisfied.’

(126) i-maʔo i-som siw-a-pəcʰi kʰon-daʔka-sa abo
his/her-mother-GEN his/her-love die-PT-after (N) he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN now (N)
tʰapsiŋ riti-da di bʰone ǝ
ritual ritual (N)-LOC what (N)-yes
‘After his mother was satisfied, now, from that what do we say about the traditions.’

(127) maŋ mu-ma ca-maʔo maŋ mu-ma ca-maʔo ani detni bʰone,
godhead do-INF eat-INF-NOM godhead do-INF eat-INF-NOM then (N) how if (N)
‘To continuously worship the gods, and then how.’

(128) abo sakenwa ani yupaŋ-diwa ani epma-diwa ni
now (N) Sakenwa then (N) Yupung-grandfather then (N) grave-grandfather NAR
yiŋ-in-y-in. ǝ epma kʰit-ма ni aŋʰiʔo
say-12plSP-PROG-12plSP yes grave worship-INF NAR before (N)-GEN
an-baje-ci an-diwa-ci an-pa-ci
ourʰ*-grandfather (N)-PL ourʰ*-grandfather-PL ourʰ*-father-PL
mi-yuw-a-ŋ-aʔo tʰiyo.
3pl-be-PT-PROG-PT-NOM PPTaux
‘Now we say Sakenwa and Yupungdiwa and Epmadiwa (god of the grave?). Er, worship
at the grave means: they were our previous grandfathers, grandfathers and fathers.’

(129) tərə sumnimaʔ-aʔ-na kʰwatni yuʔuṣ-u-do-∅ʔo huna-le
but (N) Sumnima-ERG-EMPH that.way put-3P-eff-3P-NOM being (N)-INSTR (N)
epma-diwa kʰit-ма dot-∅-yan-∅.
grave-grandfather worship-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘But as Sumnima has laid it down, the Epmadiwa must be paid honour.’

(130) ani yupaŋ-diwa-cʰaż mu-ma dot-∅-yan-∅.
then (N) Yupung-grandfather-also do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘And Yupungdiwa also must be done.’
(131) sampukdiwa-chaj mu-ma dot-Ø-yan-Ø sum-ka-tet luŋ-ci-chaj
Sampukdiwa also do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT three-CNT-qual stone-PL-also
an-dabya-kham-da tluŋ-ma-ci dot-Ø-yan-Ø.
our PL-fireplace-place-LOC dig-INF-DU must-NPT-PROG-NPT
’Sampukdiwa also must be done, also, three stones must be spread out in the hearth stone.’

(132) i-lain mo-da-ŋa ani chute lis-a.
his/her-line (E) that-LOC-EMPH then (N) divided (N) become-PT
‘From the line there now there was the division’

(133) ani sakenwa ni yiŋ-in-y-in sakenwa-chaj ani mo
then (N) Sakenwa NAR say-12plSP-PROG-12plSP Sakenwa also then (N) that
lain-da-ŋja chute lis-a luŋ-maj’a-da lims-a-dha-Ø.
line (E)-LOC-ABL divide (N) become-PT stone-middle (N)-LOC turn-over-PT-DIR-Dir-down-PT
‘What we call Sakenwa: There is a separation by that line, it fell over in between the stones.’

(134) ik-lain-da sakenwa lis-a, ik-lain-da cahi yupung-diwa
one-line-LOC Sakenwa become-PT one-line-LOC swTOP (N) Yupung-grandfather
lis-a, ik-lain-da, tõn-waţa mo-da tluŋ-ma dot-da-ŋ.
become-PT one-line-LOC three (N)-qual (N) that-LOC dig-INF must-eff-EMPH.
’Sakenwa was in one line, in one line came Yupungdiwa. In one line, three pieces must be dug.’

(135) an-k’im hut-ya luŋ-ci ani k’on-ki-na mo-da bal ẽk’a
our PL-house inside-LOC-level stone-PL. then (N) he/she-SEQ-TOP that-LOC strength (N)
dot-ma dot-Ø-yan-Ø, mo luŋ-ci-da.
beg-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT that stone-PL-LOC
‘In our house’s stone hearth, there we must ask for strength, in those stones.’

(136) ki-na k’watni lis-a-ţo.
SEQ-TOP that.way become-PT-NOM
‘Then, that is what it is like.’

(137) ani ke garne ani simnima-ţo-na lau iŋka-na
then (N) what (N) to do (N) then (N) Sumnima-GEN-TOP well 1-TOP
mon-samma-ŋa, nati, jet’h’a...
that.much-up.to (N)-EMPH grandson (N) eldest (N)
‘Then what to do, Sumnima’s (story), as for me, is up to here only, child, eldest son…’

(138) abi mun-ŋa he ẽrk-o-ci chaj
now (N) that.much-EMPH or another (N)-PL-also
‘Now, that much only, or others also?’

(139) ẽrk-o-ci ẽrk-o-so abo di o-kọ ani
another (N)-PL another (N)-PRN now (N) what this-ref then (N)
‘Others? Another, now what? This, and then...’
(140) bhagata-ʔo-na iŋka ɨ-tat-ŋ.  
Bhagata-GEN-TOP I NEGPP-bring-NEG-1s  
‘The one from Bhagata I do not know.’