

# Texts and Grammar of Malto

Masato Kobayashi

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## Introduction

### i. Malto and the Pahariyas

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

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

### ii. Fieldwork

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

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

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

### iii. Consultants

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Dilip Pahariya (student).  
 Amlagachhi (P. O. Shahargram, P. S. Maheshpur, Dist. Pakur. Mal): Mrs. Surji Paharni (school teacher).  
 Paderkola B, also known as Dumbri (P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur, Dist. Pakur. Kumarbhadg): Mr. Sushil Pahariya, Mr. Jama Pahariya, Mrs. Kamli Paharni, and Mr. Kandna Pahariya (student).  
 Telopara (P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur, Dist. Pakur. Kumarbhadg): Mr. Shibu Pahariya.  
 Tugutola (P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur, Dist. Pakur. Mal): Mr. Kalu Pahariya.  
 Bandarkola, also known as Binderi (near Boriyo. Sawriya): Mrs. Kani Paharni.  
 Kusumghati (P. O. Kero Bazar, P. S. Boarijor, Dist. Godda. Sawriya. Mentioned in Das 1973:9): Mr. Alexander Malto (village chief), Mr. Simon Malto (residing in Khedibari).  
 Kortika (P. O. Boarijor, P. S. Boarijor, Dist. Godda. Sawriya): Mr. Maheshwar Malto (retired school teacher).

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

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

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

#### **iv. Previous Work**

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

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

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

#### v. Script

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

## Abbreviations

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

italics (or vice versa) indicates a recent loan	Ne: North-Eastern
C: Central; consonant	Nw: North-Western
Dist.: District	P. O.: post office
elic.: data acquired by elicitation	P. S.: police station
Krx.: Kurux	S.: South
lit.: literally	V: vowel
N: North	vl.: voiceless
Nc: North-central	W.: Western
	X: vowel or consonant

Amla, Am: Amlagachhi	Pandan: Pandanbita
Ani: Anibhitta	Simal: Simal Kundi
Boro: Boro Pahar	Telo: Telopara
Kusum, Ku: Kusumghati	Tugu: Tugutola
Mali: Malipara	Ursa, Ur: Ursa Pahar
PadB, Pa: Paderkola B	

#### Transcription of Texts:

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

### Transcription Systems

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

#### Droese (1884)

á = a: ; aṁ = ā ; ch = c ; ḍ = d̥ ; é = e: ; eṁ = ē ; g = ɣ ; í = i: ; iṁ = ī ; ṅg = ŋg ; ṅg = ŋɣ ; ny = ɲ, ny ; ó = o: ; oṁ = ō ; ṛ = r̥ ; ṭ = t̥ ; th = θ ; ú = u: ; uṁ = ũ

#### Das (1973)

ā = a: ; ḍ = d̥ ; ē = e: ; G = ɣ ; ī = i: ; ñ = ɲ ; aṅ etc. = ā etc. ; ō = o: ; ṛ = r̥ ; ṭ = t̥ ; θ = θ

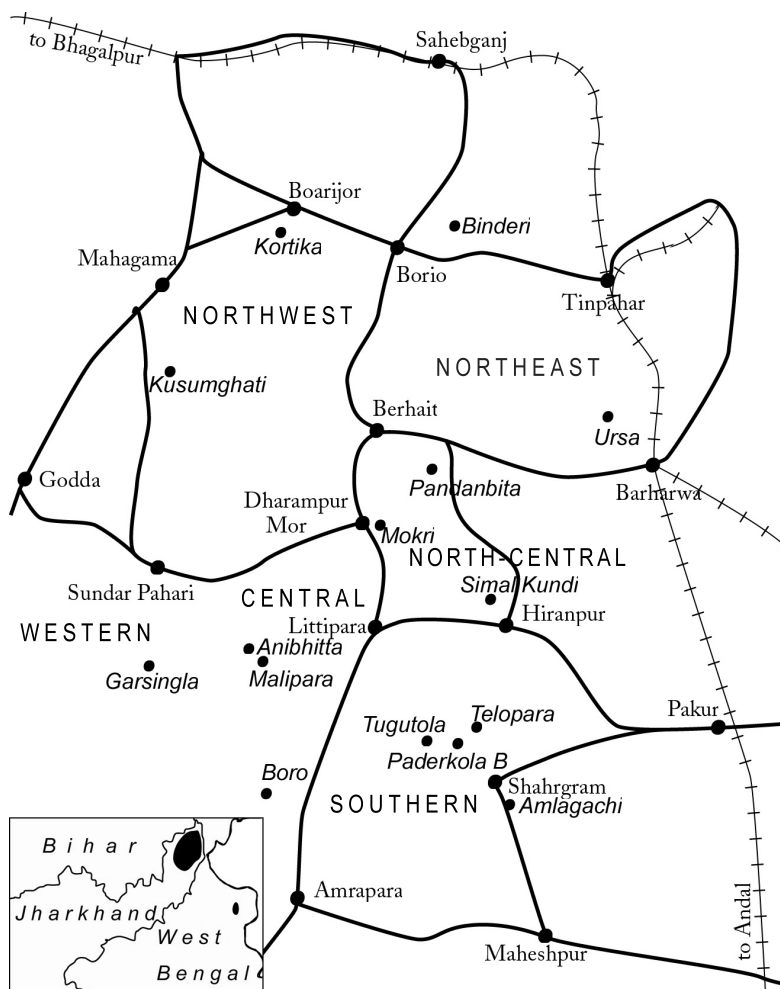
#### Mahapatra (1979)

ḍ = d̥ ; ḍ = d̥ ; ɣ = ɣ ; ñ = ɲ ; ñ = ɲ ; ṛ = r̥ ; ṭ = t̥

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



## Chapter I. Outline Grammar of Malto

### §1 Typological Overview

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

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

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

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

## §2 Dialects

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### §3 Consonants

Malto has the following twenty-three consonant phonemes:

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

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

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

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

/ʈ/ and /ɖ/ are voiceless and voiced retroflex stops, respectively. Unlike in Hindi, /ɖ/ contrasts with /ʈ/ in intervocalic position as well, e.g. *gaḍi* ‘car’ vs. *gaṛi* ‘a lot’, *baḍ-e* ‘to know’ vs. *baṛe* ‘strength’.<sup>3</sup>

/c/ and /j/ are voiceless and voiced palato-alveolar affricates, respectively. /c/ is pronounced without release when followed by /t/, e.g. *mecten* ‘upward’.

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

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

/n/ is pronounced [ŋ] when followed by /ʈ/ or /ɖ/. Since [ŋ] is an allophone of /n/, the clusters [ŋʈ] and [ŋɖ] are transcribed *nʈ* and *nɖ*. /ŋ/ is listed as a phoneme, for its occurrence is not always predictable, as pairs of /ŋg/ and /ng/ such as *teŋg-e* ‘to tell’ vs. *tung-e* ‘to gather’ show. /ŋ/ is pronounced [N] when followed by /q/ or /g/ in close conjunction. /n/ is pronounced [n] when followed by /j/ in close conjunction (transcribed *nj*). Phonemic /ŋ/ is found in a few morphemes, *siŋaṛe* ‘rich’, *kiŋ-e* ‘to put down’, *-naḥā* ‘even’, *kaṭikoŋ* ‘a little’. Both /n/ and /ŋ/ occur before /c/, as in *cinc-a* {recognize.B2-PT.3SG.NM} ‘she recognized’ vs. *ceŋc-a* {smell.B2-PT.3SG.NM} ‘it

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

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

/ɾ/ is an alveolar flap. /ɽ/ is a post-alveolar, retroflex flap. /l/ is a dental-alveolar lateral approximant.

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

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

	'ant'	'cockroach'	'to forget'	'ear'
Amlagachhi	<i>bi:ri</i>	( <i>masla</i> )	<i>mo:yr-e</i>	<i>ʔe:wi</i>
Paderkola B	<i>bi:ri</i>	( <i>masla</i> )	<i>mo:yr-e</i>	<i>ʔe:wi</i>
Boro Pahar	<i>bi:wi</i>	( <i>masla</i> )	<i>mo:dr-a</i>	<i>ʔeðwdu</i>
Malipara	<i>bi:ði</i>	<i>e:ðo</i>	<i>mo:dr-a</i>	<i>qeðwdu</i>
Mokri	<i>bi:ði</i>	<i>e:ðo</i>	<i>mo:ðr-e</i>	<i>qeðwu</i>
Ursa Pahar	<i>bi:ri</i>	<i>e:ro</i>	<i>mo:hr-e</i>	<i>qerwu</i>
Kusumghati	<i>bi:ði</i>	<i>i:ðu</i>	<i>mo:ðr-e</i>	<i>qeðwu</i>

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

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

audibly.<sup>4</sup>

#### §4 Vowels

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

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

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

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

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

#### §5 Word Stress

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

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

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

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

## §6 Phonotactics

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

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

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

The flaps /r/ and /ɾ/ neither form clusters nor may they be geminated. So for example, the -r reflexive form of *no:ɾ-e* ‘to wash’ is *no:ɾr-e* ‘to wash oneself’ and not \**no:ɾr-e*.

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

Place assimilation of a nasal and a stop is automatic in the case of /nt/ [ɲt], /nd/ [ɲd], /nj/, but /nq/ vs. /ɲq/ [ɲq], /ng/ vs. /ɲg/ [ɲg], /nk/ vs. /ɲk/, /ng/ vs. /ɲg/, /nc/ vs. /ɲc/, and /mp/ vs. /np/, are contrastive, *inq-e* ‘to cough’ vs. *teŋq-qen* [ɲq] PT.1SG of *teŋg-e* ‘to tell’, *mangu* ‘buffalo’ vs. *teŋg-e* [ɲg] ‘to

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

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

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

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

## §7 Morphophonemics

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

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

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

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

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

### §8 Reduplication and Echo Words

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

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

## Morphology

### §9 The Noun, Gender and Number

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

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

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

### §10 The Nominal Stem

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## §11 Nominal Case Suffixes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## §12 Formation of the Nominal Stem

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

Nominal Suffixes:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Compounds:

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

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

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

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

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

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

### §13 Personal and Reflexive Pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### §14 Pronominal Case Suffixes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### §15 Postpositions

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

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

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

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

## §16 Pronominal Suffixes

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

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

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

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

### §17 Adjectives

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

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

- a : *joka* ‘little’, *ɽikra* ‘shallow’, *tina* ‘right (hand)’, *popra* ‘light’, *barja ~ barj* ‘strong’.
- aha : *buklaha* ‘greedy’, *ɽagraha* ‘wicked’, *gidnaha* ‘dirty’, *gidraha* ‘stingy’, *papyaha* ‘sinful’, *mawgraha* ‘lazy’ (all from Droese 1884).
- aro : *duɽyaro* ‘dusty’ from *duɽi* ‘dust’ (Droese).
- i : *kuɽni* ‘hot’; *maja-qani* ‘pretty’, *mergani* ‘heavenly’ from *mergu* ‘heaven’, *me:d-bani* ‘feverish’ from *me:d* ‘fever’.
- e : *aɽge* ‘near’, *ade* ‘half’, *aɽpe* ‘little’ (Droese *a:ɽpe*), *embe* ‘sweet’, *ote* ‘heavy’, *onke* ‘sharp’, *qarqe* ‘bitter, spicy’, *qe:ne* ‘raw’, *ki:we* ‘cold’, *ga:re* ‘much’, *gece*, *geci* ‘far’, *pace* ‘old’, *paje* ‘cold (as weather)’, *paj-jek*, *pajjeke* ‘ripe’, *sarwe* ‘small’, *sude* ‘only’.
- o : *igjo* ‘true’, *qe:so* ‘red’ and *qe:slo* ‘reddish’ from *qe:su* ‘blood’, *kaso* ‘dirty’ from *kase* ‘dirt on a body’, *ca:po* ‘low’, *cipto* ‘flattened’, *ɽawo* ‘toothless, hollow’ (Droese), *tu:so* ‘naked’, *pato* ‘sharp’, *ba:lko* ‘yellow’, *be:ɽo* ‘large’, *maɽo* ‘little, young’, *mo:to* ‘big’, *sokto* ‘hard’. Cf. *qalwo* ADV ‘stealthily’ from *qalwe* ‘thief’ or *qal-e* ‘to steal’.

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

- ta:we*, -*ta:ni* NM ‘possessed of’ (§12, §40): *budi-ta:ni* ‘intelligent’.
- te/-ti*<sup>12</sup> and -*ote/-oti* are added after temporal and spatial expressions to form adjectives as well as nouns, e.g. *in-te*, *in-ti* ‘of today, today’ from *ine* ‘today’, *a: pahr-te* ‘of that time, that time’, *agdu-te*, *pahil-te* ‘former, former times’ (Droese *agdti*) from *agdu* ‘before’, *anek-te* ‘present, now’ from *aneke/anake* ‘now’, *le:l-ti* ‘of yesterday, yesterday’ from *le:le* ‘yesterday’, *mund-oti* ‘ancient’ from *mundi* ‘formerly’, *ma:q-ote* ‘of the morning, morning’ from *ma:qu* ‘morning’.
- to* ‘-ish’: *pel-to* ‘womanish’ (Droese).
- pan* ‘as big as’: *ino:-pan* ‘this big’ (Droese *inopa:n*), *bali-pan* ‘as big as a door’.
- balo* ‘without’: *pel-balo* ‘bachelor’ from *peli* ‘woman’, *budi-balo* ‘unintelligent’ from *budi* ‘intelligence’.
- wa*: *ki:ɾwa* ‘hungry, poor’ from *ki:ɾe* N ‘hunger’, *co:ɾwa* ‘sick’ from *co:ɾe* ‘illness’.
- ro*: *coqro* ‘narrow’, *ɖam(a)bɾo* ‘broad’, *dig(a)ro* ‘long’.
- ro*: *âɾsro* ‘hard’, *amsro* ‘waterish’, *alkro* ‘open’, *qalgro* ‘muddy’, *qawro* ‘wild’ from *qawru* ‘jungle’, *kawgro* ‘bent’, *jinpro* ‘white’, *tuɾgro* ‘broken’, *tegro* ‘damaged (eye)’, *pu:gro* ‘swollen’ from *pu:ge* ‘to swell’, *be:k-be:kro* ‘salty’ from *be:ku* ‘salt’, *maɾgro* ‘black’, *sitro* ‘sour’.
- le* ‘-less’: *emb-le* ‘tasteless’ (Droese) from *embe* ‘(sweet) taste’.
- Consonant-final: *goɾ* ‘all’, *baɾg* ‘maidenlike’ (Droese), *baɾy*, *baɾye* ‘strong’, *nekut*, *nekute* ‘good-natured’, *saryond* ‘level’.

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

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

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

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

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

### §18 Numerals and Classifiers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### §19 Demonstratives and Interrogatives

Northern and North-central Malto have demonstratives based on a three-way deixis system: *i:-*, *na:-*<sup>16</sup> and *a:-* are used for proximate, medial and remote

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*ikdine*).

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

Indefinite Pronouns and Adverbs:

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

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

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

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

## §20 Definiteness

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

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

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

## §21 Adverbs, Clitics and Adverbial Suffixes

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

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

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

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

Adverbial and Modal Suffixes, Clitics and Particles:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- ta:nu-goṭe* {then-even} ‘still’, *ta:ke-goṭe kor-la:nid* {wind-even enter-NG.FT.3SG.NM} ‘Even wind does not enter [the car]’.
- =*ja:nu* ‘just’ also marks certain emphasis, e.g. *anake=ja:nu anḍr:naq-en* {now-EPH meet-FT.1SG} ‘[Finally] now I am going to meet [him]’.
- nahã/=nahã* (-*naha/=naha*), -*jahã/=jahã* ‘even, too, just’: *maqe-jahã* ‘even a child’, *e:n ki:ṛe-nte qond-ken=naha* {I hunger-AB be.tired-PT.1SG=just} ‘I am just tired of hunger’.
- ta* ‘probably’: *ina to tetuli-nti bar-anar ta* {today TOP PROP-AB come-FT.3PL maybe} ‘Today they will probably come from Tetuli’.
- du:re/=du:re* ‘only, just’, e.g. *qoclu-du:re* ‘just bones’, *e:k-a=du:re* {go-IMP=only} ‘Just go!’
- =*dene* ‘as if’, e.g. *anḍ-abalo-h=dene* {find-NG.AP-M=as.if} ‘as if he does not notice’.
- nde* is a question marker, e.g. *ni:n indra lap-a:ni nde* {you what eat-FT.2SG.NM do.you?} ‘What do you eat?’
- =*ba* ‘even, too’, e.g. *ik-be:ri=ba* {which-time=too} ‘some day’.
- =*baru*, *baru* ‘perhaps’, e.g. *eṅg-a=baru pund-lid* {I-DA-perhaps put.on.garland-SJ.3SG.NM} ‘Maybe [the elephant] will put [the garland] on me’.
- ma:ne/=ma:ne* ‘alone’, e.g. *taṅg-ma:ne* ‘by oneself’, *ning-ma:ne* ‘by yourself’.
- mba* ‘isn’t it’, e.g. *ugle:c-ah mba* {think.B2-PT.3SG.M isn’t.it} ‘He thought, didn’t he?’, *men-a mba* {hear-IMP isn’t.it} ‘Listen, okay?’
- la:go* ‘a little’, e.g. *baṭagni-la:go* ‘maidenlike’, *be:ḍo-la:go male-h* {big-somewhat person-M} ‘a kind of big person’, *oḍohr-la:go jaga* {hide-somewhat place} ‘a somewhat hidden place’. In *baṛc-la:g-ko* ‘after I grew up a little’ (p. 126), it is attached between the Base 2 form *baṛc* and the conjunctive participle suffix *-ko*.
- se* also has a concessive meaning like English ‘even’, e.g. *ḍika men-no se kuṛni lap-la* {stiff become-IPP even hot eat-NG.PT.3SG} ‘Even if it becomes stiff, [father] did not eat food hot’.
- hi/-hi* and *se* (§43) mark focus, e.g. *na:h pel-a hi kor-oti amby-ah* {he woman-AC EPH enter-IF give.up.B2-PT.3SG.M} ‘He gave up taking a wife’, *adi-k se carc kud-in* {that-DA EPH go.around.B2.AP do-PR.1SG} ‘That is why I am going around’.<sup>19</sup>
- ho/=ho*, *hõ/=hõ* ‘too’: *e:n hõ e:k-en* {I too go-FT.1SG} ‘I am coming, too’.

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

## §22 The Verb

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

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

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

- [Base 1] + PR.SFX *-i*, *-ne* + PRO.SFX → **Present**  
 ex. *mo:q-i-n* ‘I eat’
- [Base 1] + NG.SFX *-ol(a)* + PT.SFX *-ke/-Ø* + PRO.SFX → **Pres.Neg.**  
 ex. *mo:q-ola-ke-n* ‘I don’t eat’
- [Base 2] + *(-a)* + PT.SFX *-ke/-Ø* + PRO.SFX → **Past**  
 ex. */moq-ke-n/ → moq-qe-n* ‘I ate’
- [Base 1] + NG.SFX *-la* + PT.SFX *-ke/-Ø* + PRO.SFX → **Past Neg.**  
 ex. *mo:q-la-ke-n* ‘I didn’t eat’
- [Base 1] + FT.SFX *-e*, *-en* + PRO.SFX → **Future**  
 ex. *mo:q-e-n* ‘I will eat’
- [Base 1] (+ NG.SFX *-l*) + FT.SFX *-e*, *-en* + PRO.SFX (+ neg. *-ala*)  
 (Either *-l* or *-ala* is chosen) → **Future Neg.**  
 ex. *mo:q-e-n-ala* ‘I won’t eat’

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

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

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

### §23 The Verbal Root

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

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

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

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

### §24 Base 1 and Base-Formative Suffixes

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

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

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

Intransitive/ Reflexive:

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

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

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

Transitive/ Causative:

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

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

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

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

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

- ar* and *-rar* derive an intransitive verb from a noun or an adjective, e.g. *siṇaṭ-ar-e* ‘to grow up’ from *siṇaṭe* ‘rich person’, *ka:kl-ar-e* ‘to be troubled’ from *ka:kli* ‘trouble’ (DEDR 1424), *duk-rar-e* ‘to be distressed’ from *duke* ‘sorrow’ (Mahapatra 1979:148).
- nq*, probably from /-n qaq-/ {-AC get}, also derives an intransitive verb from a noun, e.g. *da:wa-nq-* ‘to have opportunity’ from *da:wa* ‘opportunity’, *disa-nq-* ‘to recognize’ from *disa* ‘judgment’.
- ar* is attached to borrowed Indo-Aryan intransitive verbs, e.g. *ban-ar-e* ‘to be made’ from Hindi *ban-na*: ‘to be made’, *paṭ-ar-e* ‘to lie’ from Hindi *paṭ-na*: ‘to fall, lie’, *baj-ar-e* ‘to strike (clock)’ from Hindi *baj-na*: ‘to strike (clock)’, *kul-ar-e* ‘to open’ from Hindi *kʰul-na*: ‘to be open’.
- tr* is attached to borrowed Indo-Aryan transitive verbs, e.g. *bana:-tr-e* ‘to make’ from Hindi *bana:-na*: ‘to make’, *jama:-tr-e* ‘to collect’ from Hindi *jama:-na*: ‘to collect’. It also derives a verb from a noun or an adjective, with *e/e*: inserted before *-tr*, e.g. *ka:kl-etr-e* ‘to cause trouble’ from *ka:kli* ‘trouble’, *payd-etr-e* ‘to be born’ from Hindi *paida*: *ho-na*: ‘to be born’.

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

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

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

## §25 Base 2

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

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

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

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

*mog-e* ‘to emit smoke’, *mog-y-a* (Krx. *mojoxʔ-a*; *mojx-a*); *mu:nd-e* ‘to gore’, *mu:nd-y-a* (Krx. *mu:d-a*: ‘to strike or dash against some obstacle’, *mudɖy-a*); *lap-e* ‘to eat’, *lapy-a*.

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

**Class IIa** (cf. Mahapatra 1979:155 ‘Class 2’): Base 2 is formed by adding *-c* to Base 1, deleting root-final *-y* if any. *asy-e* ‘to chisel’, *asc-a*; *a:ry-e* ‘to lose (a game)’, *a:rc-a* (Krx. *ha:rʔ-a*:; *ha:rc-a*); *oy-e* ‘to take’, *oc-a* (Krx. *hoʔ-a*:; (*h*)*occ-a*); *ciy-e* ‘to give’, *cic-a* (Krx. *ciʔ-a*:; *cicc-a*); *ji:ty-e* ‘to win’, *ji:tc-a* (Krx. *ji:tʔ-a*:; *ji:tc-a*); *tal-e* ‘to cut’, *talc-a*; *ta:y-e* ‘to be lucky’, *ta:c-a*; *dary-e* ‘to catch’, *darc-a* (Krx. *dʰarʔ-a*:; *dʰarc-a*); *daly-e* ‘to grind’, *dalc-a*; *badley-e* ‘to change’, *badlec-a* (Krx. *badlʔ-a*:; *badla:c-a*); *bar-e* ‘to come’, *barc-a* (Krx. *barʔ-a*:; *barc-a*); *bujy-e* ‘to understand’, *bujc-a*; *beh-e* ‘to be’, *behc-a*, South *bey-e*, *becc-a* (Krx. *beʔ-a*:; *biccy-a*).

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

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

*a* (Krx. *nuɾʔ-a*.; *nuɖq-a*); *pund-e* ‘to put on one’s neck’, *pund-a*; *pol-e* ‘to be unable’, *pol-a* (Krx. *poll-a*.; *poll-a*); *bat-e* ‘to expose to heat’, *bat-a* (Krx. *batt-a*.: ‘(of liquids) to decrease (by evaporation, etc.)’, *batty-a*); *band-e* ‘to draw’, *band-a*; *bit-e* ‘to cook’, *bit-a*; *beq-e* ‘to wrestle’, *beq-a* (?Krx. *bekk<sup>h</sup>-a*.; *bikk<sup>h</sup>-a* ‘to be choked’); *mund-e* ‘to tie up in a cloth’, *mund-a* (Krx. *mund<sup>h</sup>-a*.: ‘to shut in’, *mund<sup>h</sup>-a*); *meq-e* ‘to roast’, *meq-a* (Krx. *mekk<sup>h</sup>-a*.; *mikk<sup>h</sup>-a*); *mendr-e* ‘to be heard’, *mendr-a* (Krx. *mendr<sup>h</sup>-a*.; *mendr-a*).

**Class IIIb** Base 2 is formed by shortening the root vowel of Base 1. *a:g-e* ‘to know’, *aq-a* (Droese *aqq-a*) (Krx. *ax<sup>h</sup>-a*.; *akk<sup>h</sup>-a*); *mo:q-e* ‘to eat’, *moq-a* (Krx. *mo:x-a*.; *mokk<sup>h</sup>-a*).

**Class IV** The verbs of this class have idiosyncratic Base 2 forms (cf. Mahapatra 1979:156 ‘Class 3’). *ih-e* ‘to pelt’, *ijnj-a* (Krx. *ijnj<sup>h</sup>-a*.: ‘to throw’, *ijnj-a*); *il-e* ‘to stand’, *ij-a* (Krx. *ij<sup>h</sup>-a*.; *ijj-a*); *o:n-e* ‘to drink’, *onq-a* (Krx. *on-a*.; *onq-a*); *qal-e* ‘to steal’, *qaq-a* (Krx. *xar<sup>h</sup>-a*.; *xadq-a*); *qoh-e* ‘to cut down’, *got-a* (Krx. *xot-a*./*xos-a*.; *xott-a*); *qoy-e* ‘to reap’, *qos-a*/ *qoj-a* (Krx. *xoy-a*.: ‘to measure’, *xojj-a*); *cog-e* ‘to pluck’, *coq-a* (Krx. *cox<sup>h</sup>-a*.; *cokk<sup>h</sup>-a*); *teh-e* ‘to knit’, *tet-a* (Krx. *tess-a*.: ‘to plait’, *tissy-a*); *pa:n-e* ‘to get ripe’, *pa:nj-a* (Krx. *pa:n-a*.; *pajj-a*); *pu:n-e* ‘to put on one’s own neck’, *pund-a*; *peh-e* ‘to take up’, *pet-a* (Krx. *pes-a*.; *pett-a*); *poy-e* ‘to rain’, *pos-a* (Krx. *pōyy-a*.; *poss-a*); *men-e* ‘to become, do’, *mej-j-a* (Krx. *man-a*.: ‘to become’, *majj-a*); *men-e* ‘to hear’, *mej-j-a* (Krx. *men-a*.; *mej-j-a*); *lal-e* ‘to dance’, *laq-a* (Krx. *nal-a*.; *naly-a*).

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

Base extension -*a*

Droese (1884:43f.) points out that certain verbs take the epenthetic vowel -*e* (to which -*a* corresponds in Ursa Pahar) between the Base 2 form and the conjunctive participle suffix -*k*- etc., e.g. *mej-j-a-keh* CP.3SG.M of *men-e* ‘to become, to hear’, *e:c-a-keh* CP.3SG.M of *ey-e* ‘to tie’ vs. *barc-keh* CP.3SG.M of *bar-e* ‘to come’, *asc-keh* CP.3SG.M of *asy-e* ‘to chisel’. There is some dialectal variation with respect to the use of -*a*, e.g. *ilda-kah* (Anibhitta) {erect-CP.3SG.M} vs. *ild-keh* (Ursa). In our data from Ursa Pahar, Base 2 forms that end in  $\check{V}c$  are often extended with -*a*, such as *oy-e* ‘to take’, *oca-keh*; *ciy-e* ‘to give’, *cica-keh*; *cuy-e* ‘to put on’, *cu:ca-keh*; *coy-e* ‘to get up’, *co:ca-keh*, whereas those ending in  $\check{V}c_1c$  such as *amy-e* ‘to

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

## §26 Tense and Aspect

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

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

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

### i) Present

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

### ii) Present Negative

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

### iii) Future

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

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

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

## iv) Future Negative

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

## v) Past

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

## vi) Past Negative

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

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

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

## Subjunctive:

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Subjunctive Negative:

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

## Subjunctive Negative (Northwest, Droese):

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

## Optative:

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

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

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

## Optative Negative:

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

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

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

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

## Imperative and Negative Imperative:

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

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

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

## §28 Infinitive and Verbal Noun

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*-ot* and *-o* infinitive:

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

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

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

Verbal noun with *-e* :

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

## §29 Verbal Adjectives

Habitual Participle with *-po* :

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

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

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

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

Present Participle with *-u* :

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

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

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

Past Participle with *-pe* :

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

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

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

### §30 Conjunctive Participles

Conjunctive Participles with *-k* :

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

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

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

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

Conjunctive Participle with *-ko* :

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

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

Conjunctive Participle with *-le* :

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

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

Conjunctive Participle with *-ate/-ati* :

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

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

## Negative Conjunctive Participles:

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

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

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

## §31 Imperfect Participles

Imperfect Participle with *-n* :

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

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

Imperfect Participle with *-no* :

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

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

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

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

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

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

### §32 The Adverbial Participles

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

Bare Base 2 form:

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

Base 1 + -a :

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

Base 2 + -i :

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

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

Base 1 + *-ponti* :

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

Base 1 + *-te* :

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

### §33 Compound Verbs

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

i) Compound verbs made of adverbial participles:

Bare Base 2 adverbial participle + *ong-e* ‘to finish ...ing’ (Das 1973:70, Mahapatra 1979:188) *onq ong-a* {drink.B2.AP finish-IMP} ‘Finish drinking!’, *e:n kagte-n paṛc ong-en* {I paper-AC read.B2.AP finish-FT.1SG} ‘I will finish reading the book’. In this connection, *toq-e* ‘to finish’ is also used to emphasize the action denoted by the main verb, e.g. *ra:ja-ki aḍa-du:ri-d sa:jar toq-li* {king-GE house-door-NM be.adorned finish-SJ.3SG.NM} ‘The king’s house and gate would surely be adorned’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘Where do boys seem to be crying?’.

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

ii) Compound verbs made of conjunctive participles:

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

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

## Southern and Central Phonology and Morphology

### §34 Phonology (S, C)

Consonants (§3):

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

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

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

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

Vowels (§4):

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

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

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

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

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

#### Phonotactics (§6):

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

#### Morphophonemics (§7):

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

### §35 The Noun (S, C)

#### The Nominal Stem (§10):

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

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

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

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

#### Nominal Case Suffixes (§11):

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

	Ursa (North)	Paderkola B (South)
my wife	<i>ɛŋga-ɖa:ni</i>	<i>ɛŋ-ki malni</i>
my husband	<i>ɛŋga-ɖa:we-h</i>	<i>ɛŋ-ki mɯrs-maʔe-h</i>
my son	<i>ɛŋ-gade-h</i>	<i>ɛŋ-ki maʔeh</i>
my daughter	<i>ɛŋ-gadi</i>	<i>ɛŋ-ki maʔō</i>
my elder brother	<i>ɛŋg-baiya-h</i>	<i>ɛŋg-owa-h</i>
my younger brother	<i>ɛŋg-ɖo-h</i>	<i>ɛŋg-ɖo-h, ɛŋ-ki sarwe-h</i>
my grandfather	<i>ɛŋ-ki beɖabo-h</i>	<i>ɛŋg-be:ɖo-h</i>
my grandmother	<i>ɛŋ-ki beɖa</i>	<i>ɛŋg-be:ɖdu</i>
my father-in-law	<i>ɛŋ-ki aboga:re-h</i>	<i>ɛŋg-mendɾko-h</i>
my mother-in-law	<i>ɛŋ-ki ayaga:rni</i>	<i>ɛŋg-peɽmo</i>
my daughter-in-law	<i>ɛŋ-ki ja:mer</i>	<i>ɛŋg-meseʔɖo</i>
my maternal aunt	<i>ɛŋg-ayamaqo</i>	<i>ɛŋg-ʔali</i>

Pronominal Case Suffixes (§14):

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

Postpositions (§15):

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

	C (Malipara)	S (Boro)
person	<i>ort, jo:ɾ-ond</i>	<i>ort, jo:ɾ-ond</i>
human couple	<i>jo:ɾ-s-ar</i>	<i>jo:ɾ-</i>
nonhuman pair	<i>jo:ɾ(a)-</i>	<i>maʔ-</i>
animal, insect	<i>maq-</i>	<i>maʔ-</i>
stick, arm, leg	<i>ɖaɾ(a)-</i>	<i>ɖaɾ-</i>
hand	<i>ɖaɾ(a)-</i>	<i>pa:n-ond, pa:nɖ</i>
tree	<i>man-</i>	<i>man-</i>
branch	<i>ɖaɾ(a)-</i>	<i>ɖa:ɾy-</i>
river	<i>ɖaɾ(a)-</i>	<i>nady-</i>
pen, rice grain	<i>kaɬ(i)y-</i>	<i>kaɬy-</i>
grass	<i>ki:ɾ(u)-</i>	<i>ki:ɾy-</i>
shoes	<i>ɖaɾ(a)-</i>	<i>paɬ-</i>
tail	<i>pand(a)-, ɖaɾ-</i>	<i>pand-</i>
rope	<i>ɖaɾ(a)-</i>	<i>pand-</i>
road	<i>pand(a)-</i>	<i>pand-</i>
story, dream, song, head, eye, fruit, egg, stone, well	<i>pa:n-ond, pa:nɖ</i>	<i>pa:n-ond, pa:nɖ</i>
banana	<i>paɾ(a)-</i>	<i>paɾ-</i>
pod (bean)	<i>joply-</i>	<i>joply-ond, jopl-is</i>
mountain, house, car, ra- dio, bicycle	<i>pa:ɾ-ond, pa:ɾ-is</i>	<i>pa:n-ond, pa:nɖ</i>
shirt, trousers, blanket, bag	<i>kand(a)-</i>	<i>kand-</i>
bread	<i>piɬ-</i>	<i>paɬ-</i>
thali	<i>paɬ-, tary-</i>	<i>paɬ-</i>
bed, chair	<i>paɬ-, ɖaɾ-</i>	<i>paɬ-</i>
paper, leaf, bank note	<i>paɬ-</i>	<i>paɬ-</i>
paddy field	<i>paɬ-</i>	<i>paɬ-</i>
mushroom, flower	<i>pul-</i>	<i>pul-</i>
cloud	<i>paɬ-</i>	<i>gudɾ-</i>
hole	<i>kaɬ(i)y-, pa:nond, pa:nɖ</i>	<i>kāɾy-</i>
village	<i>qep-</i>	<i>ʔep-</i>
shadow	<i>bah-</i>	<i>jud(a)-</i>
shadow of a figure	<i>kuj(i)y-</i>	<i>kujy-</i>
boiled rice	<i>kudy-</i>	<i>kaɬ(i)y-</i>
shrub	<i>ɖop-</i>	<i>ki:ɾy-</i>
bottle	<i>botl(u)-</i>	<i>botl-ond, botl-e:nɖ</i>
glass	<i>gilasy-ond, gilass</i>	<i>gilasy-ond, gilasy-e:nɖ</i>
day	<i>din(i)-</i>	<i>din-</i>
week	<i>apt(a)-</i>	<i>apt-ond, apt-e:nɖ</i>
month	<i>mehn(a)-</i>	<i>ma:s-ond, ma:s-e:nɖ</i>

year

| *bacr(i)-**bacr-ond, bacr-e:nd*

### §37 Demonstratives and Interrogatives (S, C)

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

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

The following demonstratives and interrogatives are used.

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

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

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

Place: *i:d, iʔdʒan* ‘here’; *a:d, aʔdʒan* ‘there’; *oho* ‘yonder’ (Pad); *ikʔa:n, ikʔa:no* ‘where’.

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

Origin: *iʒante* (Boro), *iʔdʒante* (Paderkola B) ‘from here’; *aʒante* (Boro), *aʔdʒante* (Paderkola B) ‘from there’; *ikʔante, ikʔa:rinte* ‘from where’.

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

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

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

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

## Indefinite Pronouns and Negative Polarity Items:

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

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

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

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

**§38 The Verb (S, C)**

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

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

## Base 2 (§25):

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

## Tense and Aspect (§26):

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

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

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

i) Present (*mo:q-e/mo:ʔ-e* 'to eat')

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

ii) Present Negative

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

iii) Future

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

iv) Future Negative

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

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

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

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

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

vi) Past Negative

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

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

Perfect:

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

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

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

Present Perfect (*kurk-e* 'to write'):

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

Present Perfect Negative (*mo:ʔ-e* 'to eat'):

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

Past Perfect (*ʔandr-e* 'to sleep'):

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

Past Perfect Negative:

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

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

Modal Forms (§27, §48):

Subjunctive:

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

*-l* Subjunctive (*bar-e* ‘to come’):

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

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

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

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

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

## Subjunctive Negative:

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

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

## Optative:

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

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

## Optative Negative:

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

## Imperative:

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

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

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

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

## Verbal Adjectives (§29):

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

## Conjunctive Participles (§30):

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

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

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

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

## Imperfect Participles (§31):

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

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

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

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

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

Adverbial Participles (§32):

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

## Syntax

### §39 Word Order

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

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

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

### §40 Concord

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

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

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

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

#### §41 Use of Cases

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

##### Nominative Case:

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

##### Accusative Case:

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

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

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

##### Instrumental Case:

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

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

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

#### Dative Case:

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

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

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

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

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

#### Ablative Case:

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

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

#### Genitive Case:

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

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

#### Locative Case:

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

### §42 Reflexives

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

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

### §43 Topic and Focus

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

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

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

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

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

### §44 Copula and Verbs of Existence

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

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

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

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

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

#### §45 Compound and Complex Sentences

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### §46 Relative Clause

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Semantics of Verbal Constructions

### §47 Function of the Three Tenses

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

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

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

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

### §48 Function of the Modal Forms

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

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

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

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

### §49 Transfer of Voice and Valency

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

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

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

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

## §50 Deictic Verbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## §51 Politeness

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

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

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

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

## §52 Negation

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

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

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

## §53 Emphasis and Euphemism

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

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

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

## Chapter II. Life of the Pahariyas

### §1 Escape from East Pakistan (S).

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

0'05 *e:m agdi em-dudu-abo-r agdi pakista:ne-no*  
 we.E formerly we.E.OBL-mother-father-PL formerly PROP-LO  
*becy-ar*  
 be.B2-PT.3PL

Formerly, we, namely our parents, were in [East] Pakistan.”<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

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

0'30 *indrupade-ki sindrupade-ki maʔ-kara laʔa:i co:co-ko laʔa:i*  
 what.like-GE ECHO child-time war rise.B2-CP war  
*co:co-ko aʔi-nte bec-tam*  
 rise.B2-CP there-AB be.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 The war took place when [I was] just a child. After the war took place,  
 we were [still] there.

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

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

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

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

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

- 0'55 *a:wk-biṭa-no nuḍ-ur-tam*  
cucumber-field-LO hide-RF-PT.1PLE  
We hid ourselves in the cucumber field.
- 0'57 *e:m cap-ar-nar kir-tam oḡh-ik*  
we.E hide-RF-PR.3PL return-1PLE house-DA  
We hid ourselves [and] we returned to the house.
- 1'01 *kir-kam arhu ja:gu-u:gu lap-tam*  
return-CP.1PLE again boiled.rice-ECHO eat-PT.1PLE  
We came back and ate rice and so on again.
- 1'05 *be:ṛit-no arhu kir-tam*  
in.the.evening-LO again return-PT.1PLE  
We came back again at night.
- 1'07 *kir-kam ḍibya od-latam u:ḡe-ni*  
return-CP.1PLE lamp burn-NG.PT.1PLE darkness-LO.EPH  
*koḍ-tam*  
lie.down.B2-PT.1PLE  
We came back [but] did not light the lamp. We slept in darkness.
- 1'11 *e:n arhu lap-ka-tkam arhu lap-ka-tkam arhu e:m*  
I again eat-CP-ECHO.1PLE again eat-CP-ECHO.1PLE again we.E  
*koḍ-tam koḍ-tam koḍ-lalno ek-tam*  
sleep.B2-PT.1PLE sleep.B2-PT.1PLE sleep-NG.CP go.B2-PT.1PLE  
*a:wk-biṭa-k*  
cucumber-field-DA  
After we ate, we lay down. When we were not sleeping, we went to the cucumber field [to hide].
- 1'21 *ek-kam aḍi-nte alko-hi manja-tam*  
go.B2-CP.1PLE there-AB that.way-EPH be.B2-PT.1PLE  
We went there and were there just that way.
- 1'26 *man-no man-no man-no pa:n-ond pu:le becy-a ekdam biraṭ*  
be-IPP REP REP CLF-one bridge be.B2-PT.3SG totally big  
*be:ḍo pu:le becy-a*  
big bridge be.B2-PT.3SG  
When we were there that way, there was one bridge, a very big bridge.
- 1'31 *pu:le-n laṛa:i lo:ke-r ek-kar ḡoṭ-ka tay-ar*  
bridge-AC war people-PL go.B2-CP.3PL break-CP send-PT.3PL  
Militants went to the bridge and destroyed it.
- 1'37 *ḡoṭ-ka tay-o-ko i: pa:se a: pa:se manja-tam ik.ḡa:no*  
break-CP send-CP this side that side be.B2-PT.1PLE where  
*e:k-a:nam e:m*  
go-FT.1PLE we.E  
Since they had destroyed [the bridge], it had become this side and that side. Where shall we go?

- 1'41 *e:k-oti em-e upa:y beyo*  
 go-IF we.E-DA means be.not.3SG.NM  
 We had no means to go.
- 1'43 *andi (pu:l i:) ?aj-a puya-kar dip lal-kar pa:w-a*  
 then bridge this dirt-AC throw.in-CP.3PL heap make-CP.3PL road-AC  
*lal-ka ?aty-ar*  
 make-CP give.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then they threw in dirt, piled it up, and made a way [for us].
- 1'50 *a: pa:w-an e:m ma:ʔa boh-tam i: pa:se-k hindusta:ne-k*  
 that road-AC we.E night run-PT.1PLE this side-DA PROP-DA  
*pakista:ne-nte*  
 PROP-AB  
 At night, we fled on that road to this side, from Pakistan for India.
- 1'56 *boh-tam andi ilko-hi bec-tam*  
 run-PT.1PLE and this.way-EPH be.B2-PT.1PLE  
 We ran away and we just stayed.
- 1'58 *bey-no bey-no adi-nte alko-hi ekdam akr-ar*  
 be-IPP REP there-AB that.way-EPH at.once drive.away-PT.3PL  
*taty-ar*  
 ECHO.B2-PT.3PL  
 When we were [staying there], they suddenly drove us away.
- 2'16 *akr-no-tatno [pahariya-r-in pahariya-r] hindu-r-in*  
 make.flee-IPP-ECHO Pahariya-PL-AC Pahariya-PL Hindu-PL-AC  
*turke tund-oti ca:hy-la*  
 Muslim see-IF want-NG.3SG  
 When they drove us away, [I] did not feel like seeing Hindus or Muslims.
- 2'22 *ekdam akar kud-a darc darcu ekdam pit-ka*  
 at.once make.flee.AP go.around-AP catch.B2.AP REP at.once kill-CP  
*kup-ar ekdam akr-ar*  
 throw-PT.3PL at.once make.flee-PT.3PL  
 Suddenly driving us around, catching us, killing and throwing us away, they suddenly drove us away.
- 2'28 *andi [e:]m ra:ti-ule ?andr-latam*  
 then we.E night-day sleep-NG.PT.1PLE  
 Then we did not sleep at night or by day.
- 2'30 *ik.ʔa:r mojne-bagane-k ek-tam ik.ʔa:r kocu-ba:ri-k*  
 where banana-garden-DA go.B2-PT.1PLE where taro-field-DA  
*ek-tam*  
 go.B2-PT.1PLE  
 We went to some banana garden. We went to some taro field.
- 2'32 *ik.ʔa:r a:wk-ba:ri-k ek-tam dudu-abo-n amb-a*  
 where cucumber-field-DA go.B2-PT.1PLE mother-father-AC leave-AP

- amb-a*  
leave-AP  
We went to some cucumber field, leaving our parents.
- 2'36 *pa:n-ond* *buringe* *becy-a* *digro-nihĩ* *ʔa:wr-no*  
CLF-one handpump be.B2-PT.3SG far-EPH jungle-LO  
There was a handpump in a remote place, in a jungle.
- 2'43 *a:* *buringe-k* *boh-tam* *maʔe-maʔe-m*  
that handpump-DA run-PT.1PL.E child-child-1PL.E  
We children ran to that handpump.
- 2'46 *ʔa:wr ula rahca-tam*  
jungle day stay.B2-PT.1PL.E  
We stayed in the jungle in the daytime.
- 2'48 *adi-nte ki:ʔe* *man-no barca-tam*  
there-AB hunger be-IPP come.B2-PT.1PL.E  
When [we] got hungry, we came [home] from there.
- 2'51 *oʔh-ik* *kir-tam* *be:ʔit*  
house-DA return-PT.1PL.E in.the.evening  
We returned home in the evening.
- 2'53 *kir-kam* *arhu lap-tam* *arhu boh-tam* *oʔhu-no*  
return-CP.1PL.E again eat-PT.1PL.E again run-PT.1PL.E house-LO  
*ok-latam-ĩ*  
sit-NG.PT.1PL.E-EPH  
Having returned home, we ate again, we ran away again. We did not sit in the house.
- 2'59 *adi-nte ilko-t* *mal-le:ni* *kagl-a:nam ka:ʔy.a:n-kam*  
there-AB this.way-IN be-NG.FT.3SG.NM die-FT.1PL.E talk-CP.1PL.E  
Then we talked, "[We] cannot keep staying like this. We are going to die."
- 3'04 *oʔh-a* *duwari-n* *maʔpan-an* *amb-kam* *boh-tam*  
house-AC door-AC livestock-AC leave-CP.1PL.E run-PT.1PL.E  
Leaving house, door and livestock, we ran away.
- 3'07 *ta:ri-ku:ri* *amb-kam* *ta:ri-ku:ri* *kā:sa*  
metal.plate-metal.cup leave-CP.1PL.E metal.plate-metal.cup brass  
*ta:ri-uri* *becy-a* *amb-ka boh-tam*  
metal.plate-ECHO be.B2-PT.3SG leave-CP run-PT.1PL.E  
Leaving plates and cups, – we had brass plates and so on – we ran away leaving them.
- 3'12 *boh-no* *boʔare-no* *pakista:n* *boʔa:re-no* *dary-no* *indr kud-a:nam*  
run-IPP border-LO PROP border-LO catch-IPP what do-FT.1PL.E  
*sapa bac-a bac-a oc-ar*  
totally rob-AP rob-AP take.B2-PT.3PL  
What shall we do if they catch [us] on Pakistan border while we run away? They robbed [people] of everything.

- 3'20 *indrna.pade kaṭ-ot lo:ṭ-latam male-m kaṭ-tam*  
 what.like cross-IF be.able-NG.PT.1PL.E person-1PL.E cross-PT.1PL.E  
*i: pa:se ma:ʔa*  
 this side night  
 There was no way for us to cross. [So] we people crossed to this side at night.
- 3'25 *kaṭ-ko aḍi-nte bey-no bey-no i: pa:se-no industa:n*  
 cross-CP there-AB be-IPP REP this side-LO PROP  
*kaṭ-kam bey-no bey-no*  
 cross-CP.1PL.E be-IPP REP  
 When we crossed [the border] and then stayed on this side, when we crossed [the border] to Hindustan and stayed,
- 3'32 *lape beyo indru kud-a:nam sat undʔal-em*  
 food be.not.3SG what do-FT.1PL.E seven sibling-1PL.E  
*dudu-abo-r bey-nar*  
 mother-father-PL be-PR.3PL  
 there was no food. What shall we do? There are seven of us siblings and parents.
- 3'35 *indra lap-anam ka:je ʔaṭ-omalar ka:je kud-o*  
 what eat-FT.1PL.E work give-NG.PR.3PL work do-IF  
*lo:ṭ-omalar indra lap-anam*  
 be.able-NG.PR.3PL what eat-FT.1PL.E  
 What shall we eat? They don't give us a job. We cannot work. What shall we eat?
- 3'38 *alko-hi bey-no bey-no bey-no ort budiya awḍ-a*  
 that.way-EPH be-IPP REP REP one old.woman speak-PT.3SG  
 When we were [at a loss] that way, one old woman said,
- 3'41 *e:k-a nepa:le-no maʔ-er-ponḍ goṭe-r ka:je kud-nar*  
 go-IMP PROP-LO child-PL-child all-PL work do-PR.3PL  
 "[Let's] go! In Nepal, children and everyone work.
- 3'44 *e:k-a kud-a kud-a lap-ener a:n-ki kamaṭ*  
 go-IMP work-AP work-AP eat-FT.2PL say-CP.3SG.NM blacksmith  
*budiya oc-aca em-en*  
 old.woman take.B2-PT.PRF.3SG.NM we.E-AC  
 [Let's] go! You will get food working [there]." Saying this, a blacksmith lady had taken us [to Nepal].
- 3'47 *oco-ko nepa:le-no bec-tam nepa:le-no ek-kam*  
 take-CP PROP-LO be.B2-PT.1PL.E PROP-LO go.B2-CP.1PL.E  
*kud-tam lap-tam*  
 work-PT.1PL.E eat-PT.1PL.E  
 [She] took us to Nepal and we stayed there. We went to Nepal, worked and got food.
- 3'54 *kud-no lap-no kud-no lap-no aʔa-nihi nepa:l-ni*  
 work-IPP eat-IPP work-IPP eat-IPP there-LO.EPH PROP-LO.EPH

- sinaṭ-ar-tam*  
grow-ITR-PT.1PLE  
Working and eating, we grew up there in Nepal.
- 3'58 *sinaṭ-ar-ko aḍ-enhi eng-e beṇje maṇj-a*  
grow-ITR-CP there-LO.EPH I-DA marriage be.B2-PT.3SG  
Having grown up, I got married there.
- 4'01 *beṇje maṇjo-ko ja:rkandē-k ondr-aynah beṇje lal-ka*  
marriage be.B2-CP PROP-DA take-PR.PRF.3SG.M marriage do-CP  
After [I] got married, after [we] did a wedding, [my husband] took me  
to Jharkhand.
- 4'04 *inor ja:rkandē-no bey-in*  
now PROP-LO be-PR.1SG  
Now I am in Jharkhand.

## §2 My childhood (S).

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

- 0'07 *i:d-no e:nu bacpane-no emu-gu-trer emu-gu indru*  
this-LO I childhood-LO our.E-father-PL our.E-father what  
*kudy-ah*  
do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
What did our father do when I was a child?
- 0'16 *ki emu-gu (ṭaḍi bitot) ṭaḍi bit-ah*  
COMP our.E-father wine cook-PT.3SG.M  
Our father brew [millet] wine.
- 0'19 *ṭaḍi bita-ka setal ṭep-a ṭend-i*  
wine cook-CP.3SG.M Santhal village-AC carry-AP  
*kudy-ah ba:re-no ṭow-kah*  
go.around.B2-PT.3SG.M shouldering.pole-LO carry-CP.3SG.M  
Having brewed wine, he went around Santhal villages carrying it, car-  
rying it on a shouldering pole.
- 0'25 *ar eng-e em-e to lap-ot bey-la*  
and I-DA we.E-DA TOP eat-IF be-NG.PT.3SG  
And there was no[thing] for us to eat.
- 0'27 *indrne.pade lap-ot bey-la*  
what.like eat-IF be-NG.PT.3SG  
There was nothing at all to eat.
- 0'30 *to indra kud-anam gurar kudy-ah setal ṭep-a*  
TOP what do-FT.1PLE walk.around do.B2-PT.3SG.M Santhal village-AC  
*ṭend-i kudy-ah ṭend-i kud-kah*  
carry-AP go.around.B2-PT.3SG.M carry-AP go.around-CP.3SG.M  
*kirtr-ah*  
bring.back-PT.3SG.M  
What shall we do? He walked around, sold [wine] to Santhal villages  
and brought [it] back.

- 0'36 *kirtr-kah pa:y-ond pa:y-e:nd jimn-ah ta:n*  
 bring.back-CP.3SG.M pai-one pai-two get.B2-PT.3SG.M then  
*ade-n bit-ah lap-no bit-ah a:ʔ-no lap-kam*  
 that-AC cook-PT.3SG.M eat-IPP cook-PT.3SG.M there-LO eat-CP.1PLE  
*e.mu ra:ti bita-tr-tam*  
 we.E night cook-CS-PT.1PLE  
 When he brought [it] back, he earned one *pai* or two *pai* [rice]. Then he boiled it. He boiled it when we had eaten. Eating and eating, we made [him] cook [every] night.
- 0'44 *ra:ti bita-tr-tam ar a:kaʔa indrne-pade kud-ot=hō*  
 night cook-CS-PT.1PLE and then what-thing do-IF=too  
*ciny-lar*  
 recognize-NG.PT.3PL  
 We made [him] cook [every] night. Back then, they did not even know what [cultivation work] to do.
- 0'52 *kud-no=hō malla*  
 do-IPP=too be.not.PT.3SG  
 Even if they work, there was no [crop].
- 0'54 *na:je kud-ot lehyi-lar*  
 if.not do-IF know-NG.PT.3PL  
 Or they did not know how to work.
- 0'55 *o:nad-no bahut se indro maŋj-a jayse inor*  
 that-LO much EPH what become.B2-PT.3SG as now  
*tetli-ceya a:lko ok-kan awq-in*  
 tamarind-shade that.way sit-CP.1SG speak-PR.1SG  
 Then there was a lot of that (i.e. Tamarind). I said sitting in the shade of a Tamarind tree just as [we do] now.
- 1'03 *tetli bi:ci-n baʔca-ka bita-ka mo:ʔ-po*  
 tamarind seed-AC pound.B2-CP.3SG cook-CP.3SG eat-IF  
*ma[n]j-a*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG  
 If you grind and boil the Tamarind seed, it becomes edible.
- 1'08 *aru-hi (te:lo) te:lo kalak-ka aru-hi pa:y-ond ti:ʔal-no*  
 and-EPH tree.name bite.off-CP.3SG and-EPH pai-one rice-LO  
*su:r.nal-ka lap-po maŋj-a*  
 cook.porridge-CP.3SG eat-IF become.B2-PT.3SG  
 And if you bite off Telo seed and cook it with one *pai* of rice, it becomes edible.
- 1'17 *ar ko:mo sa:ge-n ke:tn-o*  
 and plant.name vegetable-AC winnowing.basket.CLF-one  
*toʔ-ka ondra-ka a:d-no a:d-no pʰir pa:y-ond pa:y-e:nd*  
 cut.off-CP.3SG bring-CP that-LO REP again pai-one pai-two  
*ti:ʔalu-ja:gu-n[o] su:r.nal-ka lap-po maŋj-a*  
 rice-cooked.rice-LO cook.porridge-CP.3SG eat-IF become.B2-PT.3SG

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

- 1'29 *par anka toɾa.toɾi sikar-pe o:na-lagceki ri:kond*  
 but nowadays a.little study-PAP that-for a.little  
*labʔani-la.go*  
 good-somewhat

But nowadays [people are] a little educated, so [they eat] a little well.

- 1'37 *ar e:nu emu-gu-sat ek-tan (ũ) ʔa:l-a kud-u-m*  
 and I our.E-father-with go.B2-PT.1SG field-AC do-PP-1PLE  
*adi-k ʔa:l-a ʔund-a kud-ot ek-tam*  
 that-DA field-AC see-AP go.around-IF go.B2-PT.1PLE

And I went with my father. We are cultivators, so we went to make the round of the fields.

- 1'46 *ek-ko a:lko-hi emu-gu-ko:ni maʔ-ond boɖa.gu*  
 go.B2-CP that.way-EPH our.E-father-where CLF-one snake.father  
*ij-a*  
 stand.B2-PT.3SG

When we were thus going, a large snake stood up where my father was.

- 1'56 *ti masbeʔi-n gary-oti lagcaka mas-eti ta:ry-ah*  
 and fence-AC make-IF for hatchet-IN cut.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ko:r-man-an*  
 khadira-tree-AC

And he was cutting a Khadira tree with an axe in order to make a fence.

- 2'04 *a:-kaɾa maʔ-ond boɖa-d urʔy-a*  
 that-time CLF-one snake-NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then a snake came out.

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

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

- 2'17 *anka piʔ-lom a:-kaɾa ciny-latam*  
 nowadays kill-NG.SJ.1PLE that-time recognize-NG.PT.1PLE  
*piʔ-tam*  
 kill-PT.1PLE

Nowadays, we would not kill it. We did not know at that time and we killed [it].

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

*ano bardi cala:tr kud-po dehi*

there cattle graze.AP do-IF then

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

2'37 *indr kud-an e:n jambu-man-ik arig-tan bardi*

what do-FT.1SG I tree.name-tree-DA climb-PT.1SG cattle

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

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

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

2'43 *arg-ot ke.ba:d ortu maʔo-d okk-i mecca a:d hõ*

climb-IF after one girl-NM sit-PR.3SG above she too

*em-ba:yi-di*

we.E-elder.sister-NM

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

2'50 *a:d okk-i mecca ar e:n ett-i to inopa:n gandi te*

she sit-PR.3SG above and I go.down-AP(?) TOP so.big trunk and

*pakra-kan iknahi lo:ɽ-lan*

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

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

2'57 *lo:ɽ-latan p<sup>h</sup>ir e:n jarʔa-tan jarʔ-ko igjo eŋ-ki kuku*

be.able-NG.PT.1SG again I fall-PT.1SG fall-CP straight I-GE head

*pedehr-a*

break-PT.3SG

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

3'03 *ar ɽet-us mane karapar-laca kuku pedehr-a*

and hand-two that.is be.hurt-NG.PT.PRF.3SG head break-PT.3SG

And the hands were not hurt, [but I] broke my head.

3'09 *a:di-nte eng-en ceq-ar kirtr-ar*

there-AB I-AC carry-PT.3PL bring.back-PT.3PL

After that [they] carried and brought me home.

3'11 *ceq-ar kirtr-ot ke.ba:d indr kud-tan anek.ti leko*

carry-CP.3PL(?) bring.back-IF after what do-PT.1SG nowadays like

*man-no ɽakɽ-er caʔ-ler*

become-IPP doctor-PL inject-SJ.3PL

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

3'20 *a:-kara indr-indr-pade-n eng-en dab-c-ar-tatyar*

that-time what-what-like-AC I-AC apply.medicine.B2-PT.3PL-ECHO

*aɽy-a*

spread.B2-PT.3SG

- [They] applied some [medicine] to me [and] spread it.
- 3'25 *ʈi:k maŋja-kan bec-tan*  
well become.B2-CP.1SG be.B2-PT.1SG  
I got well and carried on living.
- 3'26 *bec-te bec-te eng-en awq-ah ortu maʔe-r iskule-k*  
be-AP REP I-AC speak.B2-PT.3SG.M one boy-PL school-DA  
*e:k-ener a:ny-ah*  
go-FT.3PL say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
While I lived [that way], one person said to me, "Boys, will you go to school?"
- 3'36 *di e:k-an a:n-tan*  
then go-FT.1SG say-PT.1SG  
Then I said, "I will go."
- 3'38 *eng-en iskule-k occ-ar*  
I-AC school-DA take.B2-PT.3PL  
They took me to school.
- 3'41 *oco-ko e:n hō lelhani ma[n]ja-tan par to:ʈa-to:ʈa paʈca-tan*  
take-CP I too stupid be.B2-PT.1SG but a.little-REP read.B2-PT.1SG  
After they took me to school, I was also stupid, but I studied little by little. (continued)

### §3 Our history (S).

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

- 0'04 *e:m ik.ʔa:n bec-tam mane pahila e:m bec-tam*  
we.E where be.B2-PT.1PLE that.is first we.E be.B2-PT.1PLE  
*piprujoriya-d a:n-nar*  
PROP-NM say-PR.3PL  
Where did we use to live? They say that we used to live on [a hill in] Piprujhoriya formerly.
- 0'17 *ar e:m awq-nam ki jamaʈola-d a:n-no e:m aq.ʔano*  
and we.E speak-PR.1PLE COMP PROP-NM say-IPP we.E there  
*qo:k-tam*  
stay-PT.1PLE  
And we call it Jamatola. We lived there.
- 0'23 *aq.ʔan qo:k-tam qo:k-ko teh-tan ke:pond a:ba:na-hĩ mane*  
there stay-PT.1PLE live-CP tell-PT.1SG once that.way-EPH that.is  
*angre:ji sa:sane angre:ji de:si cala-r-a i: de:si*  
British rule British country manage-ITR-PT.3SG this country  
We lived there. As I once said, the British rule, this country was run by the British.
- 0'38 *o:na-kaʔa indru kud-tam indru kudy-ar elic-kar mane*  
that-time what do-PT.1PLE what do.B2-PT.3PL fear-CP.3PL that.is  
*angre:ji-lo:ker setale-n ondr-acar e:k-a ʔawr-a*  
British-people Santhal-AC bring-PT.PRF.3PL go-IMP jungle-AC

*co:ɽy-oti a:n-kar*

cut-IF say-CP.3PL

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

0’51 *ʔawr-a co:ɽy-oti a:n-kar ondr-acar*

jungle-AC cut-IF say-CP.3PL bring-PT.PRF.3PL

They brought them saying “Cut the jungle.”

0’53 *ondr-ot ke.ba:d igjo-hi setale-r i: de:si-n nindy-ar*

bring-IF after straight-EPH Santhal-PL this country-AC fill.B2-PT.3PL

*nind-kar ʔawr-a co:ɽc-ar kete gaɽc-ar ik-ik.ʔa:r*

fill-CP.3PL jungle-AC cut.B2-PT.3PL field make.B2-PT.3PL RED-where

*saɽke gaɽc-ar*

road make.B2-PT.3PL

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

1’05 *o:na somoye-no elic-tr-kar elic-tr-ar o:nad o:nad-no se*

that time-LO fear-CS-CP.3PL fear-CS-PT.3PL that that-LO EPH

*i: pahari mecca arg-ka ɖo:k-nay pahariya male-y*

this hill above climb-CP stay-PR.1PL.I Pahariya person-1PL.I

*a:te pahariya male-y*

therefore Pahariya person-1PL.I

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

1’22 *name pahila nam-ki de:si-d i:d nam-ki-d hi manj-a*

we.I formerly we.I-GE country-NM this we.I-GE-NM EPH be.B2-PT.3SG

Formerly, this was our land. It was ours.

1’28 *setale-r hō bey-lar no:je gole-r becy-ar no:*

Santhal-PL too be-NG.PT.3PL not Hindu-PL be.B2-PT.3PL not

*angre:ji-r becy-ar to i: de:si nam-ki-d hi*

Britisher-PL be.B2-PT.3PL TOP this country we.I-GE-NM EPH

*manj-a*

be.B2-PT.3SG

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

1’39 *janam juge-no name i: de:si-no bec-kay basando*

birth era-LO we.I this country-LO be.B2-CP.1PL.I dwelling.place

*manj-aynay*

be.B2-PR.PRF.1PL.I

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

1’48 *a: male-y indrik jaga beyo*

that person-1PL.I why land be.not

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

- 1'51 *ade-n male-r awḍ-nar ki mala iknahe se name*  
 that-AC person-PL speak-PR.3PL COMP no how EPH we.I  
*pahaṛi-no bey-nay*  
 hill-LO be-PR.1PL.I

They deny that. [But] how come we live in the hills?

- 1'57 *a:-kaṛa nam-male-r pahaṛi-no bec-kar indrane*  
 that-time we.I-person-PL hill-LO be.B2-CP.3PL whatever  
*cinyi-lar ar elicy-ar*  
 recognize-NG.PT.3PL and fear.B2-PT.3PL

At that time, our people were in the hills. They did not know anything and were just scared.

- 2'07 *ortu gole-h do:ti cu:ca-ka paṭ-o cate pehr-a*  
 one Hindu-M dhoti put.on-CP CLF-one umbrella take.along-AP  
*barc-ah ta:n laboh elicy-ar*  
 come.B2-PT.3SG then much fear.B2-PT.3PL

If a Hindu came wearing a *dhoti* and carrying an umbrella, they were scared a lot.

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

- 2'28 *inor se so:c-inyay ki mala name acca*  
 now EPH think-PR.PRF.1PL.I COMP no we.I okay  
*pahil-male-y ar ikna:y name inoguṛ pahaṛi-mec*  
 original-person-1PL.I and how we.I this.much hill-above  
*ok-nay*  
 sit-PR.1PL.I

Now we think, “Okay, we are aboriginal people, but how come we are settled on top of such hills?”

- 2'42 *mala a:-kaṛa elicy-ar o:na-calte pahaṛi-k arg-ka inor*  
 no that-time fear.B2-PT.3PL that-for hill-DA climb-CP now  
*pahaṛi-no name bey-nay*  
 hill-LO we.I be-PR.1PL.I

No, they were scared at that time. Therefore they climbed up the hills and now we live in the hills.

- 2'50 *ar bec-kay inor hō kud-nay pa:re sab.se nam-e*  
 and be.B2-PT.1PL.I now too work-PR.1PL.I but than.anything we.I-DA  
*takli:pe-d amd-i bahut takli:pe*  
 hardship-NM water-EPH much hardship

We got settled and we still cultivate [here]. But the biggest difficulty is water. It is a big difficulty.

- 3'13 *iknahe inor nam-e a: setal ?ep-no ma?i-jahar ko:q-i*  
 how now we.I-DA that Santhal village-LO grave-even lie-PR.3SG  
 How come even our graveyards lie in those Santhal villages?
- 3'20 *ma?i ko:q-i lekin a:trer nam-nar par nam-en nam-kar*  
 grave lie-PR.3SG but they revile-PR.3PL but we.I-AC revile-CP.3PL  
*lo:ʔ-omlar ki nam-ki a: ped-jaga o:na-lagcak-ar se*  
 be.able-NG.PR.3PL COMP we.I-GE that root-place that-for-3PL EPH  
*bacc-ot lo:ʔ-omlar*  
 snatch-IF be.able-NG.PR.3PL  
 [Our] graveyards lie [there]. But they revile us. They cannot revile us, for that is our original place. Therefore they cannot rob [us of the land].
- 3'32 *to aq.ʔa:no pahila bec-tay bec-kay inor name*  
 TOP there formerly be.B2-PT.1PL.I be.B2-CP.1PL.I now we.I  
*bec-kay-tatkay arg-kay inor pahari meca ʔo:ke-no*  
 be.B2-CP.1PL.I-ECHO climb-CP.1PL.I now hill above mountain-LO  
*bey-nay*  
 be-PR.1PL.I  
 Formerly we were there. After living there, we were here and there, climbed up [the hill], and now we are on top of the hills. We live in the hills.
- 3'45 *inor name to inor aq.ʔa:r-ik e:k-an a:n-ka=hō*  
 now we.I TOP now there-DA go-FT.1SG say-CP=too  
*lo:ʔ-lanay*  
 be.able-NG.FT.1PL.I  
 If we say now "I will go there," we will not be able to do so.
- 3'53 *ka:hek a:trer jorib naly-ar basando tam-ki*  
 because they settlement make.B2-PT.3PL dwelling.place self-GE  
*jaga naly-ar*  
 place make.B2-PT.3PL  
 Because they made their settlement, they made [someone else's] dwelling place their own land.
- 3'58 *ayse inor e: pahariya bokka.kangya a:n-nar*  
 this.way now ITJ Pahariya stupid say-PR.3PL  
 Now they say, the Pahariyas are stupid.
- 4'04 *di bokka-y mal-tay a:-kaʔa elic-tay o:na-lagcak-ar*  
 and stupid-1PL.I not-PR.1PL.I that-time fear-PT.1PL.I that-for-3PL  
*awq-nar*  
 speak-PR.3PL  
 We are not stupid. We were scared at that time. Therefore they speak so.
- 4'09 *inor e:n name gurar-garar kud-te kud-te ilko-hi*  
 now I we.I walk.around-ECHO do-AP REP this.way-EPH

- argy-ar mecca arg-kar tundy-ar ta:n ri:kond*  
 climb.B2-PT.3PL above climb-CP.3PL look.B2-PT.3PL then a.little  
*toṛa.sa oḍohr-la:go jaga becy-a*  
 a.little hide-somewhat place be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Now, while we (our ancestors) were walking around, they climbed up  
 this way, and they looked [around] after climbing. Then there was a  
 somewhat hidden place.
- 4'24 *o:nad-no oḍhor-kar bec-kar inor bec-ko p<sup>h</sup>ir se*  
 that-LO hide-CP.3PL be.B2-CP.3PL now be.B2-CP again EPH  
*pahaṛiya-r-in sarka:ri-d bedy-a*  
 Pahariya-PL-AC government-NM search.B2-PT.3SG  
 After we hid ourselves and lived there, the government looked for the  
 Pahariyas again.
- 4'35 *mala pahaṛiya-r ikʔan bey-nar a:n-ki bedy-a*  
 no Pahariya-PL where be-PR.3PL say-CP.3SG.NM search.B2-PT.3SG  
 They looked for [us], saying "Where are the Pahariyas?"
- 4'40 *bed-te bed-te igjo-hi iskule-n bana:tr-a*  
 search-AP REP straight-EPH school-AC make-PT.3SG  
 Having searched and searched, they built schools right away.
- 4'46 *pahaṛiya-lagcaki p<sup>h</sup>ir ino iskule bana:tr-ko inor toṛa*  
 Pahariya-for.3SG.NM again here school make-CP now a.little  
*paṛca-kay name cinca-kay*  
 read.B2-CP.1PL.I we.I recognize.B2-CP.1PL.I  
 After [the government] built schools here for the Pahariyas, now we  
 are a little educated, we are more knowledgeable.
- 4'55 *ri:kond lab.ʔani bey-nay ar bahut lelha-no name bec-tay*  
 a.little well be-PR.3PL and much stupid-LO we.I be.B2-PT.1PL.I  
*ar inond takli:pe-no inor hō bey-nay*  
 and this.much hardship-LO now too be-PR.1PL.I  
 We are a little better off, but we used to be very ignorant. And we are  
 still having such difficulties.
- 5'06 *ehi tund-a inoguṛ pahaṛi meca bey-nay am nam-e*  
 ITJ look-IMP this.much hill above be-PR.1PL.I water we.I-DA  
*takli:pe-d amṇ-oti arhu name indru kud-nay*  
 hardship-NM take.bath-IF again we.I what do-PR.1PL.I  
 Look, we are on top of such a hill. Water for taking bath is a problem  
 for us. Here again, what shall we do?
- 5'17 *a:-kaṛa indrane cinyi-lar am bey-lad ade*  
 that-time what recognize-NG.PT.3PL water be-NG.PT.3SG.NM that  
*na:je indr-leko ereh-kar=jahar goga-t ci:c-r-ar*  
 if.not what-like excrete-CP.3PL=even stone-IN wipe-RF-PT.3PL  
 They did not know anything at that time, that there is no water. Oth-  
 erwise why? Even when they went to stool, they wiped their bottoms  
 with stones.

- 5'29 *ci:c-r-nay par inor toṛa paṛca-likca-kar indro toṛa*  
 wipe-RF-PR.1PL.I but now a.little read.B2-write.B2-CP.3PL what a.little  
*ereh-ka no:ḍr-ot=jahar lehyi-[nar]*  
 excrete-CP wash.hands-IF=even know-PR.3PL  
 We wipe our bottoms [with stones]. But now, they are a bit educated,  
 so when they go to stool, they have even learned to wash their hands.
- 5'40 *ante agdi goga-t ci:c-r-kari o:jr-ar*  
 and formerly stone-IN wipe-RF-CP.3PL go.away-PT.3PL  
 Formerly, they went away after wiping their bottoms with stones.
- 5'44 *ar ade-n awḍ-nar ki name lelha-ti goga-t*  
 and that-AC speak-PR.3PL COMP we.I stupid-AB stone-IN  
*ci:c-r-nay*  
 wipe-RF-PR.1PL.I  
 And they say that we wipe our bottoms with stones out of ignorance.
- 5'50 *a:te ade awḍ-nar ki name indru kud-nay ma?a-n*  
 therefore that speak-PR.3PL COMP we.I what do-PR.1PL.I statue-AC  
*a:n-nay indro-pade ṛaṛyi-nay a:n-omtay*  
 find-PR.1PL.I what-like sacrifice-PR.1PL.I find-NG.PR.1PL.I  
 So they say, "What are we doing?" We may find a statue and worship  
 it somehow or other, [but] we don't get it.
- 5'58 *name pa:n-o goga-ni ci:c-r-nay ar a:-pa:n goga*  
 we.I CLF-one stone-LO.EPH wipe-RF-PR.1PL.I and that-CLF stone  
*ik-be:ri arhu oca-kay sindra si:ṛ-nay*  
 what-time again take.B2-CP.1PL.I vermilion make.a.mark-PR.1PL.I  
 We wipe our bottoms with a stone, and some day we take up the same  
 stone and adorn it with vermilion.
- 6'03 *di bagmane nam-e indr-pade-d goga-d hi nam-ki bagmane*  
 and god we.I-DA what-like-NM stone-NM EPH we.I-GE god  
*to name to ma?a-n a:n-omtay*  
 then we.I TOP statue-AC get-NG.PR.1PL.I  
 What is god like for us? Our god is nothing but a stone. We don't get  
 a statue.
- 6'12 *o:na-lagcaki inor nam-ki itiha:se-d bana:-r-eni*  
 that-for.3SG.NM now we.I-GE history-NM make-ITR-FT.3SG.NM  
*o:nade-n paṛca-kay somjar-ot lag-e:ni*  
 that-AC read.B2-CP.1PL.I understand-IF be.attached-FT.3SG.NM  
*inonde-hi*  
 this.much-EPH  
 Therefore we have to read and understand our history that is being  
 compiled now. This much [is my story].

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

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

- 0'00 *aba.bedi-tarer onq-onqal menj-ar*  
 grandfather-PL RED-siblings be.B2-PT.3PL  
 My grandfather [and granduncle] were two brothers.
- 0'05 *onqal menja-ko aba.bedi ki:ɾwa menj-ah*  
 sibling be.B2-CP grandfather poor be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Of the two brothers, my grandfather was poor.
- 0'11 *ahi-ki na:mi guhiya pahariya uske.ba:d aba.bedi-ki*  
 he-GE name PROP PROP after.that grandfather-GE  
*taɲg.ɖo-ki na:mi jariya pahariya*  
 younger.brother-GE name PROP PROP  
 His name [was] Guhiya Paharia. And my grandfather's younger brother's name [was] Jariya Paharia.
- 0'19 *a:hu sina-sinaɾa menj-ah kajak sinaɾa menj-ah*  
 he RED-rich be.B2-PT.3SG.M very rich be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He was rich. He was very rich.
- 0'22 *ahi-k o:y ɖo:ky-a e:ɾe ɖo:ky-a dana oky-a*  
 he-DA cattle stay.B2-PT.3SG goat stay.B2-PT.3SG grain sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 He had cattle, goats, and grain.
- 0'26 *jaga-bahno ga:ɾe kudy-ah oɾgu-no kucɾi=indr*  
 land-LO much do.B2-PT.3SG.M house-LO bale=and.so.on  
*ninde-ki ɖo:ky-a*  
 fill-CP.3SG.NM stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 He cultivated his fields a lot. His house was filled with bales [of grain] and so on.
- 0'33 *ahi-ki ulɾa aba.bedi ki:ɾwa menj-ah*  
 he-GE opposite grandfather poor be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Contrary to him, my grandfather was poor.
- 0'39 *ki:ɾwa menj-ah qa:le=indrud kud-lah*  
 poor be.B2-PT.3SG.M cultivation=and.so.on do-NG.PT.3SG.M  
*ɾaɖi-n=indrud k<sup>h</sup>u:b onq-ar*  
 toddy-AC=and.so.on much drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 He was poor. He did not do cultivation and so on. They [i.e. grand-parents] drank palm toddy and so on a lot.
- 0'43 *onɖu onɖu irw-e:ri beq-a naq-a naq-a*  
 drink.B2.AP REP two.people-PL wrestle-AP REC-AP REP  
*pa:ɾy-ar beq-a naq-a naq-a pa:ɾy-ar lapy-ar*  
 sing.B2-PT.3PL wrestle-AP REC-AP REP sing.B2-PT.3PL eat.B2-PT.3PL  
*a:ɾe-k eky-ar*  
 market-DA go.B2-PT.3PL  
 Having drunk [wine], the two sang holding each other. They sang holding each other, ate, and went to the market.
- 0'52 *ta:nu jo:ɾ-s-e:ri onqy-ar onqy-ar par*  
 then couple-two-PL get.drunk.B2-PT.3PL get.drunk.B2-PT.3PL but

- ka:je-n to k<sup>bu</sup>:b kudy-ar*  
 work-AC TOP a.lot do.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then the two got drunk. They got drunk, but when it comes to work,  
 they did a lot.
- 0'59 *a: aba.beḡi cuṭi-n o:n-u meṇj-ah a:h*  
 that grandfather cigarette-AC drink-PP be.B2-PT.3SG.M he  
*cuṭi-n o:n-u meṇj-ah*  
 cigarette-AC drink-PP be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 That grandfather was a cigarette smoker. He was a cigarette smoker.
- 1'08 *a:du (ti) mak-a:tge-ki dig-digro cuṭi-n bana:tar-ah*  
 that sal-leaf-GE RED-long cigarette-AC make-PT.3SG.M  
 So he made a long long cigarette of Sal leaf.
- 1'14 *bana:tar-le onḡ-ah onḡ-onḡ ekdam*  
 make-CP drink.B2-PT.3SG.M drink.B2.AP-REP at.once  
*inḡy-ah onḡ-ar*  
 cough.B2-PT.3SG.M drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 He made and smoked it. He coughed a lot while smoking. They  
 smoked.
- 1'22 *a: cuṭi-ni bey-tar-le piṭ-a piṭ-a piṭ-a piṭ-a qedwu-no*  
 that cigarette-AC be-CS-CP put.out-AP REP REP REP ear-LO  
*bey-tar-ar*  
 be-CS-PT.3PL  
 They laid down that cigarette, put it out, and put it behind their ears.
- 1'28 *ba:ca-tar-le onḡ-ar auri piṭ-a piṭ-a qedwu-no*  
 save-TR-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL again put.out-AP REP ear-LO  
*bey-tr-ar*  
 be-CS-3PL  
 They saved it and smoked it. Then again they put it out and put it  
 behind their ears.
- 1'31 *uske.ba:d ba:ca-tar-le onḡ-ar*  
 after.that save-TR-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then they saved and smoked it.
- 1'33 *ḡa:ṭ-o-qadi cuṭi-n e:k sapta:h tak cala:tr-ar*  
 CLF-one-only cigarette-AC one week till make.last-PT.3PL  
 They made just one cigarette last for up to a week.
- 1'36 *ka:je-k eky-ah ḡa:l-a kudy-ar*  
 work-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M field-AC do.B2-PT.3PL  
 They went to work and did farm work.
- 1'39 *ḡa:l-bahno ḡa:l-no jaṭ-dine-no teṭu-no ḡaḡya qap-r-a*  
 field-LO field-LO rain-day-LO hand-LO mud smear-ITR-PT.3SG  
 In the field, [their] hands were smeared with mud on a rainy day.
- 1'43 *anda ikin nan-kar cuṭi-n bana:tar-anar*  
 then how do-CP.3PL cigarette-AC make-FT.3PL  
 Then somehow they would make a cigarette.

- 1'45 *qedwu-no cuṭi behc-a anda ande otr-a:ra*  
 ear-LO cigarette be.B2-PT.3SG then then take.out-PT.3PL  
*ade-ni paktar-le onḍ-ar*  
 that-AC.EPH light-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 The cigarette was behind their ears. Then they took it, lit it, and smoked it.
- 1'53 *a: pahr-no solei bey-la cic-ki hõ muskile mejj-a*  
 that time-LO match be-NG.PT.3SG fire-GE too difficulty be.B2-PT.3SG  
 There was no match back then. There was a difficulty about fire, too.
- 1'57 *adno a: lo:ka-r jaṛe-no ikin nan-ki solei*  
 then that people-PL rain-LO how do-CP.3SG.NM match  
*pakr-e:ni solei-d od-lara*  
 lighten-FT.3SG.NM match-NM burn-NG.PT.3PL  
 How will a match catch fire in rain? They [could] not light a match then [i.e. when it rains].
- 2'02 *a:n-kar qesu-jabe-ki bo:ṛa-n bana:tar-pa-n oc-ar*  
 say-CP.3PL paddy-straw-GE rope-AC make-PP-AC take.B2-PT.3PL  
 So they carried a rope that was made of paddy straw.
- 2'10 *a:d qos-a qos-a qos-a qos-a du:pahr tak koḍy-a*  
 that burn-AP REP REP REP noon till lie.B2-PT.3SG  
 [They tried and tried to] burn it, and it stayed [unkindled] till noon.
- 2'13 *du:pahr tak koḍy-a anda o:n-o behc-ad*  
 noon till lie.B2-PT.3SG then drink-IF be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 It stayed [unkindled] till noon. Then it was ready to smoke.
- 2'16 *a: bo:ṛa-no cuṭi-n paktar-le onḍ-ar*  
 that rope-LO cigarette-AC light-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 They lit the cigarette on that rope and smoked it.
- 2'20 *cuṭi-n paktar-le onḍ-ar kir-ka-tatkar be:ṛi-t*  
 cigarette-AC light-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL return-CP-ECHO evening-IN  
*bit-pa-n poḍ-amu nan-le ma:rc ma:rc*  
 cook-PAP-AC leftover.rice-water make-CP stir.B2.AP REP  
*onḍ-ar*  
 drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 They lit the cigarette and smoked it. After they came back, in the evening, they made salt gruel from what was cooked [and left over], stirred and ate it.
- 2'27 *a:d-no borṇga pa:ṛ-ond ar be:k mejj-a*  
 that-LO onion CLF-one and salt be.B2-PT.3SG  
 There was an onion and salt in it.
- 2'30 *tarka:ri aṛga indri.jahã bey-lad ad-no*  
 vegetable vegetable.dish anything be-NG.PT.3SG.NM that-LO  
 There was no vegetable dish at all in it.
- 2'33 *mundoti mala-r andeki ḍo:ky-ar*  
 ancient person-PL that.way stay.B2-PT.3PL

People in olden times were like that.

- 2'35 *qo:ky-ar ar ta:li-n o:qertar-lar ta:li jepla*  
 stay.B2-PT.3PL and hair-AC care.with.oil-NG.PT.3PL hair long.hair  
*mej-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG

And they did not treat their hair with oil. [Their] hair was long.

- 2'40 *pel-ar a:na ta:li-n kuk-no qo:qwji mulr-ar*  
 woman-PL like hair-AC head-LO behind gather.up-PT.3PL  
 They bundled their hair on the back of their head like women do.
- 2'45 *qo:qwji mulr-ar o:yd=indru to qo:ky-a ar*  
 behind gather.up-PT.3PL cattle=and.so.on TOP stay.B2-PT.3SG and  
*e:ra qo:ky-a kajak*  
 goat stay.B2-PT.3SG much  
 They bundled [their hair] behind. There were cattle and so on. There were also a lot of goats.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- bajra menj-ad*                      *anda tađi bit-ar*  
 millet become.B2-PT.3SG.NM then liquor cook.B2-PT.3PL  
 They cultivated the field, sowed rice and millet, and when the millet  
 had ripened, they brew wine.
- 3'35 *bakra qe:gy-ar uske.ba:d ade-n dalc dalcu*  
 mold.starter buy.B2-PT.3PL after.that that-AC grind.B2.AP REP  
*tađi=indru bit-ar*  
 liquor=and.so.on cook-PT.3PL  
 They bought mold starter. Then they ground it and brew wine and so  
 on.
- 3'40 *ar de:ta-no onđu onđu ca:ma pa:ry-ar*  
 and ritual-LO drink.B2.AP REP song sing.B2-PT.3PL  
 And drinking it in a ritual, they sang songs.
- 3'43 *gangi-qarye-no qosru-qarye-no bajra-qarye-no ta:tɔ tare-no*  
 maize-ritual-LO pulse-ritual-LO millet-ritual-LO mango festival-LO  
*bajra-ki tađi aro gangi-ki tađi bana:tar-le onđ-ar*  
 millet-GE toddy and maize-GE toddy make-CP drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 On the occasions of Maize Puja, Bean Puja, Millet Puja, and Mango  
 Festival, they brewed wines of millet and maize and drank them.
- 3'56 *indeki dɔ:ky-ar dɔ:k-ne dɔ:k-nihĩ tin-jin onđqale*  
 this.way stay.B2-PT.3PL stay-IPP stay-IPP.EPH three-CLF sibling  
*menj-ar*  
 become.B2-PT.3PL  
 They lived in this way. While they lived, they had three children.
- 4'04 *tin-jin onđqale-r andeki dɔ:ky-ar bađc-ar*  
 three-CLF sibling-PL that.way stay.B2-PT.3PL raise.B2-PT.3PL  
 That way they had three children and brought them up.
- 4'07 *pa:ry-tr-ot=hõ iskule=indru bey-la*  
 read-CS-IF=too school=and.so.on be-NG.PT.3SG  
 There was no such thing as a school to send them to.
- 4'10 *a: pahr-no mandra ja:ti.bu:ti-ki mandr-eti male-r-in*  
 that time-LO medicine medicinal.plant-GE medicine-IN person-PL-AC  
*nek-tr-ar*  
 get.well-CS-PT.3PL  
 In those days, they treated people by the medicine of the jungle plants.
- 4'16 *o:ja barc-a anda qe:ndr-ar cipy-ar*  
 Ojha come.B2-PT.3SG then tremble.B2-PT.3PL suck.B2-PT.3PL  
 Ojhas came, trembled and sucked.
- 4'20 *qe:r.pa:n-a tunđ tunđ bi:ky-ar dɔle-te qac-u-n*  
 egg-AC look.B2.AP REP call.B2-PT.3PL drum-IN cure-PP-AC  
*bi:ky-ar*  
 call.B2-PT.3PL  
 They called [spirits] staring at an egg. They called a drum beater.

- 4'25 *bi:ky-ar e:ɽ-a perwa-n=indru talc-ar a:*  
 call.B2-PT.3PL goat-AC pigeon-AC=and.so.on cut.B2-PT.3PL that  
*pahr-no*  
 time-LO  
 They cut goats and pigeons [as sacrifice] back then.
- 4'30 *ande a: pahr-no aspitāla bey-la andi.ako a: pahr-no*  
 then that time-LO hospital be-NG.PT.3SG therefore that time-LO  
*mandr-eti hi e:ɽu mejj-a*  
 herbal.medicine-IN EPH well become.B2-PT.3SG  
 At that time, there was no hospital. So they got well by herbal  
 medicine.
- 4'37 *perwa talc-ar e:ɽ-a talc-ar kis-a talc-ar*  
 pigeon cut.B2-PT.3PL goat-AC cut.B2-PT.3PL pig-AC cut.B2-PT.3PL  
*ade-ti hi e:ɽu mejj-a*  
 that-IN EPH well become.B2-PT.3SG  
 They cut pigeons, goats, and pigs. They got well by that [sacrifice].
- 4'42 *indeki dɔ:ky-a tine ondqal mejj-ar aba-trer*  
 this.way stay.B2-PT.3SG three sibling be.B2-PT.3PL father-PL  
 They lived this way, and they had three siblings, [my] dad and uncles.
- 4'46 *tine ondqal mejj-ar tine ondqale-no pi:po*  
 three sibling be.B2-PT.3PL three sibling-LO father's.elder.brother  
*me:gro mejj-ah*  
 eldest.son be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 There were three siblings. My big uncle was the eldest of them.
- 4'51 *ahi-ki na:mi ra:ju pahariya adi-nti cuḍa mejj-ah aba-h*  
 he-GE name PROP PROP that-AB younger be.B2-PT.3SG.M father-M  
*ahi-ki na:mi jome pahariya*  
 he-GE name PROP PROP  
 His name is Raju Pahariya. Dad was younger than he. His name is  
 Jama Pahariya.
- 4'59 *adi-nti awri hō cuḍa mejj-ah ahi-ki mejj-a*  
 that-AB further EPH younger be.B2-PT.3SG.M he-GE be.B2-PT.3SG  
*ka:nya pahariya*  
 PROP PROP  
 There was a younger one than he. His [name] was Kanya Pahariya.
- 5'05 *ahi-n dada a:n-tan e:nu*  
 he-AC father's.younger.brother say-PT.1SG I  
 I called him little uncle.
- 5'07 *ahi-nti awri ort cuḍa mejj-a ahi-n jeṭu pahariya na:mi*  
 he-AB further one younger be.B2-PT.3SG he-AC PROP PROP name  
*mejj-a ahi-n hō dada a:n-tan*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG he-AC too father's.younger.brother say-PT.1SG  
 There was yet another [uncle] even younger. Him, —his name was  
 Jetu Pahariya— I called him uncle, too.

- 5'14 *lekin ka:nya pahariya dada mejj-ah a:hu*  
 but PROP PROP father's.younger.brother be.B2-PT.3SG.M he  
*essa-hi ka:ja-kud-u mejj-ah*  
 very-EPH work-do-PP be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 But Kanya Pahariya, who was my uncle, he was a really hard worker.
- 5'20 *ahi-ki mi:n-a aqy-oti essa-hi gosani cic-ad*  
 he-GE fish-AC catch.by.snare-IF very-EPH god give.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*ahi-k*  
 he-DA  
 God gave him a great [talent] for catching fish.
- 5'25 *igdek-gote eky-ah jare-k dade-k eky-ah*  
 where.REL-ever go.B2-PT.3SG.M jungle-DA forest-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ta:nu juri-n talca-ka=jahã ade-no suta coj-ka mi:n-a*  
 then wooden.stick-AC cut.B2-CP=even that-LO string tie-CP fish-AC  
*aqc-ah*  
 catch.by.snare.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Wherever he went, jungle or forest, he cut wood, tied string on it, and caught fish [with it].
- 5'33 *ke:tnu-no mi:n-a argtar-le kir-tar-ah*  
 basket-LO fish-AC trap-CP return-CS-PT.3SG.M  
 He caught fish in basket and brought them back.
- 5'37 *ahi-k ekle-hi o:y do:ky-a a:hu pel.balo mejj-a a:hu*  
 he-DA alone-EPH cow stay.B2-PT.3SG he bachelor be.B2-PT.3SG he  
 He had only cattle. He was a bachelor.
- 5'42 *ahi-ki pel-a biha nan-ka ondr-abalo mejj-ah*  
 he-GE girl-AC wedding do-CP bring-NG.AP be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 [Although] he had a wedding, he had not brought his bride.
- 5'47 *orte-hi do:ky-ah tang-ma:ne-hi*  
 one.person-EPH stay.B2-PT.3SG.M self-alone-EPH  
 He lived all by himself.
- 5'49 *oꝛgu id-ah oꝛg-a indr-eti id-a a:hu*  
 house build.B2-PT.3SG.M house-AC what-IN build.B2-PT.3SG he  
*cata teh-ot baq.menj-ah*  
 ceiling weave-IF know.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He built a house. He built a house with something. He knew how to weave the ceiling.
- 5'53 *ma:s-a tet-ah ke:tn-a teh-nar*  
 bamboo-AC weave.B2-PT.3SG.M basket-AC weave-PR.3PL  
*mohlid a:-leko cata teta-ka qar-o-qadi cata-no*  
 basket-maker that-like ceiling weave.B2-CP CLF-one-only ceiling-LO  
*satra-goꝑu o:y-a ild-ah*  
 seventeen-CLF cattle-AC make.stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He weaved bamboo. He weaved the ceiling like basket-makers weave baskets, and kept seventeen heads of cattle under just one ceiling.

- 6'12 *o:y-a ild-ah pel.balo mejj-a a:h*  
 cattle-AC make.stand.B2-PT.3SG.M bachelor be.B2-PT.3SG he  
*aro awq-ah eng-e jaga-n ko:s-kar qat-ke*  
 and speak-PT.3SG.M I-DA place-AC divide-CP.3PL give-FT.IMP  
*ko:s-kar qat-ke jaga-n eng-an*  
 divide-CP.3PL give-FT.IMP place-AC I-AC  
 He kept cattle. He was single. And he said, "Divide and give land to me. Divide and give me land.
- 6'19 *e:n ekle qo:k-an a:ny-ah ani ko:s-ka cic-ar*  
 I alone stay-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M so divide-CP give.B2-PT.3PL  
*ahi-k*  
 he-DA  
 I will live by myself." So they divided land and gave it to him.
- 6'23 *ko:s-ka cico-ko taŋ-ki jaga biŋe-no man paŋar-a ade-n*  
 divide-CP give.B2-CP self-GE place side-LO tree lie-PT.3SG that-AC  
*goŋe-ni taŋg nany-ah*  
 all-AC.EPH own.OBL do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After they divided and gave [land to him], when there is a tree on the border of his land, he made it all his.
- 6'30 *ar taŋ-ki jaga-no juḍa-d aŋsy-ad a:*  
 and self-GE place-LO shadow-NM reach.B2-PT.3SG.NM that.CR  
*nane-r-ki man-a goŋe ta:r-a ta:r-a kuŋ-ah*  
 other-PL-GE tree-AC all cut.down-AP REP throw.away-PT.3SG.M  
 And if shadow of other people's tree should reach his land, he would cut it all down and throw it away.
- 6'35 *a:hu essa puŋani=hō ka:je-no kud-u mejj-ah*  
 he very wicked=too work-LO do-PP be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He was very mean, [but] he is diligent when it comes to work.
- 6'41 *ar pi:po me:gro mejj-ah pi:po*  
 and f's.elder.brother eldest.son be.B2-PT.3SG.M f's.elder.brother  
*goŋ-inti ā:hō taŋin.o:nu hi mejj-ah*  
 all-AB he drinker EPH be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And elder uncle was the eldest brother. He was the [heaviest] drinker of all.
- 6'49 *a:hu siŋaŋ mel-lah indeki qo:ky-ah*  
 he rich be-NG.PT.3SG.M this.way stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He was not rich. He lived that way.
- 6'51 *aba to ga:ŋe=ho o:y-a e:ŋa-n qaŋy-ah*  
 father TOP much=too cattle-AC goat-AC get.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*qe:r=indru qaŋy-ah po:sc-ah*  
 chicken=and.so.on get.B2-PT.3SG.M support.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Father got a lot of cattle and goats. He got chickens and so on. He raised them.

- 6'58 *em-ki o:y-eti se a:-lo:kar bahc-ar*  
 we.E-GE cattle-IN EPH those-people plough.B2-PT.3PL  
 Those [village] people ploughed with our cattle.
- 7'03 *ḍo:ky-a indeki ḍo:k-ne ḍo:k-ne ḍo:k-ne ḍo:k-nihĩ juga*  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG this.way stay-IPP REP REP stay-IPP.EPH age  
*badla:r eky-a goṭe-ri sikar-ar*  
 be.changed go.B2-PT.3SG all-PL learn-PT.3PL  
 While people lived that way, the time has changed and all got educa-  
 tion.
- 7'19 *ta:li ca:r-tr-oti suru: nany-ar*  
 hair cut-CS-IF beginning do.B2-PT.3PL  
 They started having their hair cut.
- 7'22 *pace mulr-ar a: ta:li-n ca:r-tar-le*  
 in.olden.times make.hair.in.knot-PT.3PL that hair-AC cut-CS-CP  
 In olden times, they used to tie their hair in a knot. They had that hair  
 cut, and
- 7'24 *agdi to lanḡoṭi cu:c-ar ar kuku-no pa:ga-n*  
 formerly TOP loincloth bind.B2-PT.3PL and head-LO turban-AC  
*ey-r-ar*  
 tie-ITR-PT.3PL  
 formerly, they used to wear loincloth, and turbans were tied on their  
 head.
- 7'28 *pel-ar ar jaṅga qo:wy-ar ar*  
 woman-PL and women's.clothes carry.on.shoulder.B2-PT.3PL and  
*luṅgi: cu:c-ar*  
 lungee bind.B2-PT.3PL  
 Women used to wear janga and lungee.
- 7'33 *ar kaḍu-n ḍaṛ-is ṭeṭu-ni kã:sa-ki kaḍu-n*  
 and bracelet-AC CLF-two hand-LO.EPH brass-GE bracelet-AC  
*aty-ar baṛi tak aty-ar*  
 wear.B2-PT.3PL arm till wear.B2-PT.3PL  
 And they wore two bracelets of brass on both wrists. They wore them  
 up to their arms.
- 7'40 *aur toro ṭoṇa-no=indru godna caq-r-ar*  
 and mouth chin-LO=and.so.on tattoo pierce-RF-PT.3PL  
 And they had tattoos made on [their] lips, chin and so on.<sup>2</sup>
- 7'44 *ar muso-no hõ godna caq-r-ar*  
 and nose-LO too tattoo pierce-RF-PT.3PL  
 And they had tattoos even on [their] nose.
- 7'47 *a:-lo:kri[-ki] mundoti male-r-ki awḍ-po meṇj-a*  
 that-people-GE ancient person-PL-GE speak-IF be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Those people, people in olden times, used to say.

<sup>2</sup>For tattooing among the Pahariyas, see Vidyarthi (1963:227).

- 7'49 *ika caq-r-omala ahi-n qep-no birg-ley*  
 which.REL pierce-RF-NG.PR.3SG he-AC village-LO mix-NG.FT.1PL.I  
 “We will not mingle with him who is not tattooed.”
- 7'53 *ar ika caq-r-abalo godna caq-r-abalo ahi-n*  
 and which.REL pierce-RF-NG.PP tattoo pierce-ITR-NG.PP he-AC  
*maṛi-no me:nd-tar-ley*  
 cemetery-LO burn-CS-NG.FT.1PL.I  
 “And we will not let him be cremated in the cemetery who is not tattooed.”
- 7'59 *ani ani(?) maqe-pondi mundi godna caq-r-ar*  
 so REP boy-girl formerly tattoo pierce-RF-PT.3PL  
 So everyone used to be tattooed in olden times.
- 8'03 *inor to badla:r eky-a inor to lungi: pañci: goṭe-di*  
 now TOP be.changed go.B2-PT.3SG now TOP lungee upper.wear all-NM  
*beyo*  
 be.not.3SG  
 Now it has changed. Now the lungee and the upper wear are gone.
- 8'08 *inor to ri:ko-qadi maqo-jahā sa:ṛi: cuy-i salwar*  
 now TOP little-only girl-even saree put.on-PR.3SG shalwar  
*jampare-n at-i*  
 jumper-AC wear-PR.3SG  
 Now even a little girl puts on saree, and wears shalwar and jumper.
- 8'15 *a:r ri:ko-qadi maqa-jahā na:mi kurk-oti baq-omalah a:hu*  
 and little-only boy-even name write-IF know-NG.PR.3SG.M he  
*pulpenṭe-n at-dah juta-mo:ja-n at-dah*  
 full.pant-AC wear-PR.3SG.M shoe-sock-AC wear-PR.3SG.M  
 And even a little boy who cannot write his name wears *full pants*,  
 shoes, and socks.
- 8'23 *mundote-nti ar inorte-nti juga badla:r-a*  
 ancient-AB and now-AB era change-PT.3SG  
 The times have changed between olden times and today.
- 8'27 *inor ri:ko-qadi maqa-jahā usyari-h*  
 now little-only boy-even smart-M  
 Now even a little boy is smart.
- 8'30 *mundoti male-r male-no to ika gole-h barc-ah*  
 ancient person-PL person-LO TOP which Hindu-M come.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ta:n oṛgu-no muc uṭogr-ar*  
 then house-LO close be.filled.up-PT.3PL  
 When some Hindus came to the Pahariyas, the ancient Pahariya people  
 used to shut themselves away in their house.
- 8'34 *gole-h bar-no boṅg-ey a:n-le duwar-is duwari*  
 Hindu-M come-IPP run-FT.1PL.I say-CP CLF-two door  
*nany-ar*  
 make.B2-PT.3SG.M

They used to make two doors, thinking “We will run away when a Hindu comes.”

- 8'37 *ar i: pa:w korc-ah ta:nu a: pa:w urq-qa*  
 and this way enter.B2-PT.3SG.M then that way go.out-CP  
*boŋgy-ar*  
 run.away.B2-PT.3PL

And if [a Hindu] enters [the house] from this way, they used to go out from that way and run away.

- 8'40 *inor andeki mal-a inor to maqa-jahã gol-saba-n*  
 now that.way be.not-PR.3SG now TOP boy-even Hindu-speech-AC  
*baq-eh*  
 know-PR.3SG.M

It is not like that now. Even a child knows Hindi now.

- 8'44 *maqa-jahã paŋy-ot kurk-ot baq-eh*  
 boy-even read-IF write-IF know-PR.3SG.M  
 Even a child can read and write.

- 8'46 *inor goŋe-ri usyari-la:go lehar e:k-nar*  
 now all-PL smart-somewhat become go-PR.3PL  
 Now all are becoming somewhat smart.

- 8'50 *e:nu guhiya pahariya qepdu malipara*  
 I PROP PROP village PROP  
 I [am] Guhiya Paharia. [My] village [is] Malipara.

- 8'54 *eŋ-ki oŋgu-male-r-ki-n agdi mundoti indrdu indrdu*  
 I-GE house-person-PL-GE-AC former ancient what what  
*mej-a ka:kli a: sob-an teŋg-tan*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG difficulty that all-AC tell-PT.1SG  
 I told about my family, what it was like in olden times, and [about the] difficulties [at that time].

## §5 The story of my life: from childhood to marriage (C).

Told by Mr. Guhiya Paharia of Malipara, P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at Prince Lodge, Pakur, on February 25, 2006.

- 0'03 *e:m maqa mejja-tam maqa mejja-tam adno*  
 we.E child be.B2-PT.1PL.E child be.B2-PT.1PL.E then  
*sarw-sarwli-nihĩ em-en aba-d amb-ki*  
 RED-young-LO.EPH we.E-AC father-NM leave-CP.3SG.NM  
*de:si-k eky-a*  
 remote.place-DA go.B2-PT.3SG

We were children. When we were children, our father left us and went to a remote place [as a migrant laborer], when we were little.

- 0'14 *de:si-k eky-ah dudu-du.re ɖo:ky-a*  
 remote.place-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M mother-only stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 He went to a remote place. Mother stayed alone.

- 0'18 *dudu dɔ:ky-a je: nane-r-in bəhy-tar-le qes-a*  
 mother stay.B2-PT.3SG but other-PL-AC plough-CS-CP paddy-AC  
*mand-a bəhy-tar-le gangi ca:g-a ar mejj-ad*  
 plant-AP plough-CS-CP maize sow-PT.3SG and be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Mother stayed [home], but she had other people plough and planted  
 paddy. She had [other people] plough, she sowed maize and it got  
 ripe.
- 0'33 *anda samtes-le em-en po:sc-a lap-tar-le dɔ:k-tr-a*  
 then get.in.B2-CP we.E-AC keep.B2-PT.3SG eat-CS-CP stay-CS-PT.3SG  
 Then she reaped the crop and supported us. She fed us and supported  
 us.
- 0'37 *e:n mejja-tan eng-ente sarwe eng.dɔ mejj-a*  
 I be.B2-PT.3SG I-AB younger my.sister become.B2-PT.3SG  
 I was, and I had a sister younger than I.
- 0'42 *eng.dɔ mejj-a adno dɔ:k-ni dɔ:k-ni dɔ:k-ni-hi inor*  
 my.sister be.B2-PT.3SG then stay-IPP REP stay-IPP-EPH now  
*dudu-k me:d korc-a*  
 mother-DA illness enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 I had a sister. Then, while we lived that way, mother got ill.
- 0'50 *aba-h to de:si-no dɔ:ky-ah*  
 father-M TOP remote.place-LO stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Father was in a remote place.
- 0'52 *bardma:ne-k eky-ah ke:pond ar moron de:si-k*  
 PROP-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M once and PROP remote.place-DA  
*eky-ah ke:pond*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG once  
 He went to Barddhaman once and to Moron once [as a migrant la-  
 borer].
- 0'57 *bardma:ne-no dɔ:ky-ah adno e:m oŋgu-no dɔ:k-tam*  
 PROP-LO stay.B2-PT.3SG.M then we.E house-LO stay.B2-PT.1PLE  
*adno dudu-k me:d korc-a*  
 then mother-DA illness enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 He was in Barddhaman and we were home then. Then mother got ill.
- 1'02 *me:d korc-a ani inond jo:r.se me:d korc-a*  
 illness enter.B2-PT.3SG then this.much severely illness enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 She got ill and it got very severe.
- 1'06 *je: mandra qe:g-oti pe:sa=indru bey-la*  
 but medicine buy-IF money=and.so.on be-NG.PT.3SG  
 But there was no money or so on to buy medicine.
- 1'09 *pe:sa=indru bey-la ar tɔnd-u-r me:n-u-r*  
 money=and.so.on be-NG.PT.3SG and look-PP-PL listen-PP-PL  
*male-r hō bey-lar*  
 person-PL also be-NG.PT.3PL  
 There was no money, and there were no people who gave treatment.

- 1'14 *male-r hō bey-lar ani me:d korc-a ani ne:d*  
 person-PL also be-NG.PT.3PL then illness enter.B2-PT.3SG then who  
*e:m to ri:kbeni maqa menj-a-tam*  
 we.E TOP little boy be.B2-PT.1PLE  
 There was no one, [she] got ill, and who was there? We were just children.
- 1'19 *eng.ḍo du: sa:le-ki menj-a e:nu co: sa:le-ki maqa*  
 my.sister two year-GE be.B2-PT.3SG I six year-GE boy  
*menja-tan*  
 be.B2-PT.1SG  
 My sister was two years old. I was a six-year-old boy.
- 1'23 *a: pahr.te-ki kata se i:du eṅ-ki*  
 that time-GE story EPH this I-GE  
 This is my story of that time.
- 1'27 *me:d korc-a ani ṭunḍ-u-r me:n-u-r bey-lar*  
 illness enter.B2-PT.3SG then look-PP-PL listen-PP-PL be-NG.PT.3PL  
 [She] got ill, then there was no one who gave treatment.
- 1'29 *ne: ṭunḍ-e:ni am-a ond-u-r tak bey-lar*  
 who look-FT.3SG.NM water-AC make.drink-PP-PL even be-NG.PT.3PL  
 Who would take care of her? There were not even people who gave her water.
- 1'32 *e:m to sarwli menj-a-tam me:d ikni kor-id ade-n*  
 we.E TOP young be.B2-PT.1PLE illness how enter-PR.3SG.NM that-AC  
*jahā e:mu a:g-latam*  
 even we.E know-NG.PT.1PLE  
 We were young. We did not even know how one gets ill.
- 1'36 *koḍ-kid ok-ki koḍ-kid ok-ki*  
 lie.down-CP.3SG.NM sit-CP.3SG.NM lie.down-CP.3SG.NM sit-CP.3SG.NM  
*a:d kec-a toqr-a*  
 she die.B2-PT.3SG pass.away-PT.3SG  
 She took to her bed, got up, took to her bed, got up, and she died. She passed away.
- 1'41 *toqr-ne ke.ba:d qepo-r toqr-ad a:d*  
 pass.away-VN after villager-PL pass.away-PT.3SG.NM she  
*toqor-lo=genu key-lo=genu par*  
 pass.away-SJ.NG.3SG.NM=even.if die-SJ.NG.3SG.NM=even.if but  
*a: pahr-no mandru-ki hō ikno jahā qaq-owr-oti jaga*  
 that time-LO medicine-GE also where even receive-PA-IF place  
*bey-la*  
 be-NG.PT.3SG  
 After she passed away, the villagers.... Well, even if she had not passed away, even if she were not dead, there was no place whatsoever to get medication at that time.

- 1'53 *aspatala bey-la jare-ki jaři.buři mandra bana:tar-le*  
 hospital be-NG.PT.3SG bush-GE medicinal.herb medicine make-CP  
*pi:sc pi:sc onq-ar*  
 crush.B2.AP REP drink.B2-PT.3PL  
 There was no hospital. They made herbal medicine, crushed it, and took it.
- 2'00 *mandra qe:g-oti barc-ar ta:n liřipara a:d-enti*  
 medicine buy-IF come.B2-PT.3PL then PROP there-AB  
*malipara-nti liřipara ařa:ra kilomeřar bar-no se*  
 PROP-AB PROP 18 kilometer come-IPP EPH  
 If they came to buy medicine, Littipara is eighteen kilometers from there, Malipara, just for coming.
- 2'08 *řaktare-bahno mandru jimr-a*  
 doctor-LO medicine be.available-PT.3SG  
 Medicine was available at the doctor's place.
- 2'12 *anond geca bar-ni bar-ni ikin a:n-ki ne:ga*  
 that.much far come-IPP REP how say-CP.3SG.NM breath  
*ba:car-e:ni je: o:ja men-no qe:ndru-tr-ar*  
 be.saved-FT.3SG.NM but Ojha become-IPP tremble-CS-PT.3PL  
 How will one save his life coming that far? But if there was an Ojha, they made him exorcise.
- 2'19 *řola nat nat k<sup>hu</sup>:b qe:ndr-ar*  
 drum beat.B2.AP REP very tremble-PT.3PL  
 Beating drums, they tremble a lot.
- 2'20 *[an]da nek-u neky-a neky-a qe:r-a*  
 then get.well-PP get.well.B2-PT.3SG get.well.B2-PT.3SG chicken-AC  
*talc-ar e:řa talc-ar kis-a talc-ar mudi*  
 cut.B2-PT.3PL goat cut.B2-PT.3PL pig-AC cut.B2-PT.3PL formerly  
 One who was to get well [anyway] got well. They used to cut chickens, goats, pigs formerly.
- 2'26 *ade-ti ne:ke nek-u neky-a ne:ke (nek-u)*  
 that-IN who.DA get.well-PP get.well.B2-PT.3SG who.DA (get.well-PP)  
*nek-lad a:d kec-a*  
 get.well-NG.PT.3SG.NM that die.B2-PT.3SG  
 With that, one for whom [the disease] was to be cured got well. One for whom [it was] not to be cured died.
- 2'38 *kec-a key-ne ke.ba:d em-ja:ti-m key-no essa geci*  
 die.B2-PT.3SG die-VN after we.OBL-caste-1PLE die-IPP very far  
*qep-inti geci řuri-n tunga-kam me:nd-dam*  
 village-AB far firewood-AC collect-CP.1PLE set.fire-PR.1PLE  
 [My mother] died. When [someone in] our tribe dies, we collect firewood in a very far place from the village and cremate him.
- 2'48 *andek ca:r jina-r kaře-no ceq-i ceq-i oc-ar*  
 that.way four CLF-PL bedstead-LO carry-AP REP take.B2-PT.3PL

- That way, four people took [her body] carrying on a bedstead.
- 2'52 *ceq-i ceq-i oc-ar adno e:n to cinic-tan*  
 carry-AP REP take.B2-PT.3PL then I TOP recognize.B2-PT.1SG  
 They took [her body] carrying. Then I recognized
- 2'55 *dudu kec-ad ani me:nd-ot oy-nar a:n-tan*  
 mother die.B2-PT.3SG.NM so burn-IF take-PR.3PL say-PT.1SG  
 I said, "Mother is dead, so they are taking [her] in order to cremate [her]."
- 2'57 *lekin eng-inti sarwe mejj-ad a:du ciny-la*  
 but I-AB young be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that recognize-NG.PT.3SG  
 But [my sister] who was younger than I did not understand.
- 3'00 *dudu-n ari ikde-k oy-nar a:n-le olgy-a*  
 mother-AC TOP where-DA take-PR.3PL say-CP cry.B2-PT.3SG  
 She cried saying "Where are they taking mom?"
- 3'03 *jab me:nda-kar kiry-ar ani kir-ne ke.ba:d dudu*  
 when set.fire-CP.3PL return.B2-PT.3PL so return-VN after mother  
*ga ceq-i ceq-i ikde-k oc-ar anda bar-omala*  
 TOP carry-AP REP where-DA take.B2-PT.3PL then come-NG.PR.3SG  
 When they cremated [her] and came back, after coming back, [sister says] "[Where is] mom? Where did they carry mom away to? She does not come back."
- 3'08 *a:n-ko e:n tejj-tan ki ayo-dudu kec-ad inor*  
 say-CP I tell-PT.1SG COMP mother-mother die.B2-PT.3SG.NM now  
 So I told her, "Mom is dead now."
- 3'12 *dudu bar-le:ni a:d kec-a me:nda-kar*  
 mother come-NG.FT.3SG.NM she die.B2-PT.3SG set.fire-CP.3PL  
*barc-ar a:n-ko*  
 come.B2-PT.3PL say-CP  
 "Mom will not come back. She is dead. They cremated [her] and came back."
- 3'17 *dudi-n o:n-oti and olgy-a*  
 milk-AC drink-IF all.the.time cry.B2-PT.3SG  
 She was crying all the time wanting to suck milk.
- 3'18 *and olgy-a anda indra kud-an je:*  
 all.the.time cry.B2-PT.3SG then what do-FT.1SG but  
*am-an=indru ond ond do:k-tra-tan*  
 water-AC=and.so.on make.drink.AP REP stay-CS-PT.1SG  
 She cried. What shall I do then? I gave her water and stayed her hunger.
- 3'22 *pa:k-a qemq-i kud-tan*  
 take.in.the.lap-AP hold.on.the.side-AP go.around-PT.1SG  
 I went along taking her in my lap and holding her.
- 3'24 *mo:t-ki mejj-a adi-n hō pa:k-oti*  
 grow.big-CP.3SG.NM be.B2-PT.3SG that-AC also take.in.the.lap-IF

- pa:r-latan*  
be.able-NG.PT.1SG  
She had grown big. I could not take her in my lap.
- 3'27 *i:-pa:w pa:k-a pa:k-a oca-tan a:-pa:w*  
this-way take.in.the.lap-AP REP take.B2-PT.1SG that-way  
*pa:k-a pa:k-a oca-tan*  
take.in.the.lap-AP REP take.B2-PT.1SG  
I took her holding her this way or that way.
- 3'30 *ne aba-trer eng-e ca:r ondqal mejj-ar*  
ITJ father-PL I-DA four sibling be.B2-PT.3PL  
My father was of four brothers.
- 3'34 *(eng-inti) aba-nti me:gro mejj-ah ra:ju pahariya*  
I-AB father-AB elder.son be.B2-PT.3SG.M PROP PROP  
There was a brother older than my father, Raju Paharia.
- 3'40 *a: ahi-nti(cu) ahe-n pi:po a:n-tan*  
that he-AB he-AC father's.elder.brother say-PT.1SG  
I called him big uncle.
- 3'43 *ahi-nti majtra-h mejj-ah aba-h jome pahariya-h*  
he-AB middle.one-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M father-M PROP PROP-M  
There was a middle brother [younger] than him. [That is] my father,  
Jama Paharia.
- 3'48 *ahi-nti cuḍa-h mejj-ah jeṭu pahariya-h ahi-n*  
he-AB younger-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M PROP PROP-M he-AC  
*dada a:n-tan*  
father's.younger.brother say-PT.1SG  
There was [another brother] younger than he, Jetu Pahariya. I called  
him little uncle.
- 3'57 *ahi-nti cuḍa-h mejj-ah ka:nya pahariya-h ahi-n hõ*  
he-AB younger-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M PROP PROP-M he-AC also  
*dada a:n-tan*  
father's.younger.brother say-PT.1SG  
There was [yet another brother] younger than he, Kanya Pahariya. I  
called him little uncle, too.
- 4'02 *goṭe-r hi e:ṭu mejj-ar par ka:nya pahariya-h mejj-ah*  
all-PL EPH good be.B2-PT.3PL but PROP PROP-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*pagla-h*  
mad.man-M  
All were nice. But Kanya Pahariya was a mad man.
- 4'09 *ro:kar-e-berge a:hu mas-e(n)i parse-ni*  
get.angry-VN-as.soon.as he hatchet-AC.EPH axe-AC.EPH  
*bala-ni barca-ni otr-ah*  
lance-AC.EPH spear-AC.EPH take.out-PT.3SG.M  
As soon as he got angry, he brought out a hatchet, axe, lance or spear.

- 4'15 *male-r-in caq-an a:n-le piṭ-an a:n-le qōh-an*  
 person-PL-AC stab-FT.1SG say-CP kill-FT.1SG say-CP chop-FT.1SG  
*a:n-le*  
 say-CP  
 Saying "I will stab, kill and chop people"
- 4'18 *ne: ika-gote ro:katr-a ahi-k goge-no ta:tru cak-ot*  
 who who-ever make.angry-PT.3SG he-DA stone-LO sickle whet-IF  
*suru: nany-ah*  
 beginning do.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 [If] anyone made him angry, he used to start whetting his sickle on a  
 stone for him.
- 4'23 *mo:c-an a:n-le awḍ-u ḍo:ky-ah gote-ri qepo-r ahi-n*  
 cut-FT.1SG say-CP speak-PP stay.B2-PT.3SG.M all-PL villager-PL he-AC  
*elcy-ar*  
 fear.B2-PT.3PL  
 He used to say "I will cut [you]." All the villagers were afraid of him.
- 4'27 *ar ne:k-en a:h ro:kar-a a: male-n ekdam*  
 and who-AC he get.angry-PT.3SG that person-AC at.once  
*mo:cy-ah*  
 cut.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And one with whom he got angry, he cut that person right away.
- 4'32 *ro:kar-a a: male-n ande mo:cy-a aro*  
 get.angry-PT.3SG that person-AC all.the.time cut.B2-PT.3SG and  
*ḍo:ky-ar eng-e dudu.beḍi ḍo:ky-ad aba.beḍi*  
 stay.B2-PT.3PL I-DA grandmother stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM grandfather  
*ḍo:ky-ah*  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He always cut that person with whom he got angry. And I had grand-  
 mother and grandfather.
- 4'38 *dudu keco-ko aba.beḍi-tar-bahni ḍo:k-tam e:mu onḍqal-am*  
 mother die-CP grandfather-PL-LO stay-PT.1PLE we.E sibling-1PLE  
 After mother died, we siblings stayed at our grandfather's place.
- 4'43 *ḍo:k-tam ḍo:k-ne ḍo:k-ne ḍo:k-nihi bardma:ne-nti aba-d*  
 stay-PT.1PLE stay-VN stay-VN stay-IPP.EPH PROP-AB father-NM  
*kiry-a*  
 return.B2-PT.3SG  
 We stayed [there]. While we stayed, father came back from Bard-  
 dhaman.
- 4'49 *kajari-n bor-ond guṛa-n bor-ond cu:ṛa-n*  
 parched.rice-AC bag.CLF-one jaggery-AC bag.CLF-one roasted.rice-AC  
*bor-ond ondr-a*  
 bag.CLF-one bring-PT.3SG  
 He brought a bag of parched rice, a bag of jaggery, and a bag of roasted  
 rice.

- 4'56 *ondr-ne ke.ba:d eng.ɔo-d ij-a*  
bring-VN after I.younger.sibling-NM stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Then my sister stood up.
- 5'00 *(il-ne ke) ij-ad e:nu se tʉnd-tan aba-d*  
(stand-VN of) stand.B2-PT.3SG.NM I EPH see-PT.1SG father-NM  
*bar-i aba-d bar-i a:n-tan*  
come-PR.3SG father-NM come-PR.3SG say-PT.1SG  
She stood up. I saw [him] and said, "Dad comes! Dad comes!"
- 5'04 *eng-sarwe eng.ɔo to ciny-la*  
my-younger my.sister TOP recognize-NG.PT.3SG  
My younger sister did not recognize [him].
- 5'06 *aba-d de:si-no ɔo:k-ne se jarmar-a*  
father-NM remote.place-LO stay-IPP EPH be.born-PT.3SG  
She was born while father was away [for migrant labor].
- 5'08 *ciny-la ʔɿs-nihi pa:ky-a*  
recognize-NG.PT.3SG reach-IPP.EPH take.in.the.lap.B2-PT.3SG  
*pa:k-ki-tatki cumqy-a*  
take.in.the.lap-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO kiss.B2-PT.3SG  
She did not recognize him. As soon as he arrived [home], he took her  
in the lap and kissed her.
- 5'13 *cumq-qi qepu-pa:w-no qe:r-a talc-a*  
kiss-CP.3SG.NM village-road-LO chicken-AC cut.B2-PT.3SG  
After he kissed her, he cut a chicken on the village road.
- 5'18 *de:si-nte kiry-a ad-ki-n qe:r-an=indru*  
remote.place-AB return-PT.3SG that-GE-AC chicken-AC=and.so.on  
*talc-e kir-ki amc-e no:ɔr-ki*  
cut.B2-CP return-CP.3SG.NM take.bath.B2-CP wash-CP.3SG.NM  
*goɽ-ki qepo-r-ik hō cu:ɽa-n kajari guɽa-n*  
all-DA villager-PL-DA too roasted.rice-AC parched.rice jaggery-AC  
*ba:ɽc-a*  
distribute.B2-PT.3SG  
He returned from working in a remote place. He sacrificed his chicken  
and so on, came back, took a bath and washed himself, and gave all  
the villagers roasted rice, parched rice, and jaggery.
- 5'26 *ba:ɽc-a ani ɔo:k-tam em-e to oɽgu-no hō*  
distribute.B2-PT.3SG so stay-PT.1PLE we.E-DA TOP house-LO also  
*dudu kec-ad ani oɽgu-no bu:ta ɔo:k-i ɔola*  
mother die.B2-PT.3SG.NM so house-LO ghost stay-PR.3SG drum  
*nah-i bu:ta ɔo:k-i ɔola nah-i a:n-ki*  
beat-PR.3SG ghost stay-PR.3SG drum beat-PR.3SG say-CP  
He gave those things and we lived. Still, mother died in our house, so  
[village people] said, "[Her] ghost lives [in that house] and is beating  
a drum."

- 5'33 *pahariya-ki patyare beyo* biswa:se beyo  
 Pahariya-GE belief be.not.3SG faith be.not.3SG  
 There is no [sound] belief or faith among the Pahariyas.
- 5'35 *ani oṭṭ-a qoṭy-ar ani je: ka:go-nihi ida-kam*  
 so house-AC break.B2-PT.3PL so but porch-LO.EPH build-CP.1PL.E  
*qo:k-tam*  
 stay-PT.1PL.E  
 So they broke down our house. So we lived in the porch building [a room there].
- 5'39 *qo:k-te qo:k-te qo:k-te qo:k-te em-e jo:ṛ-s-er-ki hi*  
 stay-AP REP REP REP we.E-DA pair.CLF-two-PL-DA EPH  
*goṭi co:ṭa suru: meṇj-a goṭi ro:ga*  
 smallpox illness beginning be.B2-PT.3SG smallpox disease  
 While we went on living, smallpox came on to us.
- 5'46 *ade-ni hindi-ti ce:cak.ro:g a:n-nar=jahā a: suru:*  
 that-AC Hindi-IN smallpox say-PR.3PL=also that beginning  
*meṇj-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG  
 They also call it *cecak rog* in Hindi. That started.
- 5'50 *jo:ṛ-s-er-ki hī mo:ṭa mo:ṭa pa:n meṇj-a*  
 pair.CLF-two-PL-DA? EPH big big boil become.B2-PT.3SG  
 Big boils developed over us two.
- 5'54 *ikin nan-am e:m bah-ond-ni ondqale-r-ki*  
 how do-FT.1PL.E we.E place-one-LO.EPH sibling-PL-DA  
*meṇj-a ani bah-ond-ni koḍ-tam*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG then place-one-LO.EPH lie.ill.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 What shall we do? It came onto us siblings together, so we lay ill together.
- 5'58 *koḍ-tam inond jo:r.se asgr-a asgr-a pa:ndu*  
 lie.ill-PT.1PL.E this.much violently be.put.together-AP REP boil  
*teqr-a cepc-a teqy-ad*  
 burst-PT.3SG smell.B2-PT.3SG open.B2-PT.3SG  
 We lay ill. As we were put in bed together, the boil burst so violently.  
 It smelled [when it] opened.
- 6'03 *goṭi ro:ga āṛsy-ad ani goṭi ro:ga-d*  
 smallpox disease reach.B2-PT.3SG.NM then smallpox disease-NM  
*āṛs-no agdi pahari-no indri-jahā mandru bey-la*  
 arrive-IPP formerly hill-LO what-even medicine be-NG.PT.3SG  
 Smallpox came on. When smallpox came on, there was no medicine whatsoever in the hills in olden times.
- 6'10 *mimi a:tga-n se tar-a tar-a aṭy-ar*  
 neem leaf-AC EPH break-AP REP spread.B2-PT.3PL  
 They just ripped neem leaves off and spread them.

- 6'13 *ki:w nan-enid adi-k garmi-no kuṛni-no ki:w*  
 cool make-FT.3SG.NM that-DA heat-LO warmth-LO cool  
*nan-enid a:n-le mimi a:ṭga-n tar-a tar-a*  
 make-FT.3SG.NM say-CP neem leaf-AC break-AP REP  
*aṭy-ar*  
 spread.B2-PT.3PL  
 They cool you down. So they cut neem leaves and spread them, saying  
 they cool down heat and fever.
- 6'19 *aṭ-kar goṭi co:ṭa-no ki:d-ar*  
 spread-CP.3PL smallpox illness-LO lay.down-PT.3PL  
 They spread neem leaves and laid [us] down in smallpox.
- 6'21 *andeki me:d korc-tam ḍo:k-tam ok-tam*  
 that.way disease enter.B2-PT.1PLE stay-PT.1PLE sit-PT.1PLE  
*ḍo:k-tam uske.ba:d gosani-ki daya:-ti goṭi pa:ndu*  
 stay-PT.1PLE after.that god-GE compassion-IN smallpox boil  
*cēcje-ti goṭi pa:ndu ṭi:k meṇj-a*  
 mercy-IN smallpox boil well become.B2-PT.3SG  
 We fell sick that way. We stayed, got up and stayed, and then the  
 smallpox was cured by the compassion of god, by the mercy of god.
- 6'35 *ṭi:k meṇj-a ani ṭi:k men-ne ke.ba:d andeki e:m*  
 well become.B2-PT.3SG then well become-VN after that.way we.E  
*ḍo:k-tam*  
 stay-PT.1PLE  
 We got well. After we got well, we went on living.
- 6'41 *ḍo:k-te ḍo:k-te em-e e:ṛa qe:gy-ah aba-h qe:r-a*  
 stay-AP REP we.E-DA goat buy.B2-PT.3SG.M father-M chicken-AC  
*qe:gy-ah*  
 buy.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 While we lived, father bought us goats and chickens.
- 6'46 *qe:r-a qe:gy-ah kis-a qe:gy-ah uske:.ba:d*  
 chicken-AC buy.B2-PT.3SG.M pig-AC buy.B2-PT.3SG.M after.that  
*perwa qe:gy-ah*  
 pigeon buy.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He bought chickens and pigs, and then pigeons.
- 6'53 *ga:ṛe hi ḍo:k-te ḍo:k-te e:ṛa-d hō ca:ri-ko:ṛi pac-ko:ṛi-goṭ*  
 a.lot EPH stay-AP REP goat-NM too four-score five-score-CLF  
*meṇj-a*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG  
 While many animals were kept, just the goats had become eighty or  
 one hundred head.
- 6'59 *o:ydu pac jo:ṛa co: jo:ṛa meṇj-a*  
 cattle five pair six pair become.B2-PT.3SG  
 Cattle had become five or six pairs.

- 7'04 *e:m agdi o:y bey-la anda ca:ro-n*  
 we.E formerly cattle be-NG.PT.3SG then borrowing.oxen-AC  
*oc oc bahc-tam ani di:re di:re pe:sa*  
 take.B2.AP REP plough.B2-PT.1PLE then slowly REP money  
*qaq-qi*  
 obtain-PT.3SG.NM  
 Formerly, we did not have cattle. So we borrowed oxen from other people and ploughed. [Father] got money little by little.
- 7'10 *gangi qosre bajra indru bi:s-bi:s-ki qe:gy-a*  
 maize pulse millet what RED-sell-CP.3SG buy.B2-PT.3SG  
 Having sold maize, pulse, millet and so on, he bought [them].
- 7'15 *qe:g-ne ba:d gahndy-ond lehr-a*  
 buy-VN after flock.CLF-one become-PT.3SG  
 After he bought them, they have become quite a flock.
- 7'18 *gahndy-ond men-ne ke.ba:d ade-ti hi bi:s-a bi:s-a ti:qal-a*  
 flock.CLF-one become-VN after that-AB EPH sell-AP REP rice-AC  
*qe:g-tam*  
 buy-PT.1PLE  
 Then selling from it, we bought rice.
- 7'24 *bi:s-a bi:s-a ma:k-a qe:g-tam bi:s-a bi:s-a isagn-a daba*  
 sell-AP REP meat-AC buy-PT.1PLE sell-AP REP oil-AC clothes  
*da:ri janga*  
 cloth shawl  
 Selling from it, we bought meat, oil, clothes, cloth, and shawls.
- 7'31 *a:te-ki sauda marci bornga catki capola juta gofe-nihi*  
 market-GE goods hot.pepper onion slipper sandal shoe all-AC.EPH  
*sauda:r-a (t)aty-a*  
 shop-AP finish.B2-PT.3SG  
 He bought market goods, hot pepper, onion, slippers, sandals, shoes, he finished buying them all.
- 7'41 *ar dudu bey-la ta:n-jahã orte-hi ja:gu bit-ah*  
 and mother be-NG.PT.3SG then-even one-EPH food cook-PT.3SG.M  
 And although mother was no more, he cooked food all by himself.
- 7'45 *gangi ja:gu menj-a ta:n jahã ma:qa bij.merga*  
 maize cooked.food be.B2-PT.3SG then even night before.dawn  
*qe:rdu olgy-a adno co:c-ah*  
 chicken cry.B2-PT.3SG then get.up.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Even if there was [already] cooked maize, he got up at night, before dawn, when roosters cried.
- 7'50 *qe:rdu olgy-a adno co:c-ki ade-n jata-no*  
 chicken cry.B2-PT.3SG then get.up.B2-CP that-AC millstone-LO  
*dalc-a*  
 grind.B2-PT.3SG

He got up when roosters cried and ground it (i.e. maize) on the millstone.

- 7'53 *jata-no dalco-ko inor tes-ot=indru baq.men-no se*  
millstone-LO grind.B2-CP now sift-IF=and.so.on know-IPP EPH  
*tes-ot=indru baq.mel-la*  
sift-IF=and.so.on know-NG.PT.3SG

After grinding [it] on the millstone, he did not know anything like sifting.

- 7'58 *goḡe-ni ke:pond am qeyra-ki copa-sude bicr bicr*  
all-AC.EPH once water be.heated-CP husk-with put.in.AP REP  
*la:ɽc la:ɽc bicr bicr ta:li-no taɽgro ja:gu-n*  
stir.B2.AP REP put.in.AP REP plate-LO hot cooked.food-AC  
*otr otr e:gy-a anda lap-tam*  
take.out.AP REP cool.B2-PT.3SG then eat-PT.1PLE

When the water is boiled, he put everything at once, unsifted husk together, stirred it, and served the hot food on a plate. We ate it when it cooled down.

- 8'07 *dika men-no se kuṇi lap-la e:q-qo-tatko se andeki*  
stiff become-IPP EPH hot eat-NG.PT.3SG cool-CP-ECHO EPH that.way  
*lap-tam*  
eat-PT.1PLE

Even if it becomes [cold and] stiff, he did not eat food hot. Only when it had cooled down, we ate it that way.

- 8'11 *andeki andekid em-en po:sc-a baḡyi:-tar-a*  
that.way that.way we.E-AC support.B2-PT.3SG grow-TR-PT.3SG  
Doing that way, he fed us and brought us up.

- 8'18 *po:sca-ki-tatkid andeki-hi baḡyi:-tar-ad*  
support.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO that.way-EPH grow-TR-PT.3SG.NM  
*em-en*  
we.E-AC

He fed us and brought us up that way.

- 8'21 *baḡyi:-tar-ne ke.ba:d qepo-r awḡ-ar qepo-r i: pa:w*  
grow-TR-VN after villager-PL speak-PT.3PL villager-PL this way  
*a: pel-a dikatr-a dusra pel-a ondr-a*  
that woman-AC look.for-IMP another woman-AC bring-IMP  
Then the village people said, "Look for a woman and get remarried."

- 8'27 *dusra pel-a ondr-a ondre-ke ḡo:k-le ne:*  
another woman-AC bring-IMP bring-CP.2SG.M marry-SJ.2SG.M who  
*ja:gu bit-e-ni*  
food cook-FT.3SG.NM

"Bring another woman. Bring another woman and marry [her]. Who will cook food [otherwise]?"

- 8'31 *ne:d am-a kum-eni ne:d juri*  
who water-AC take.on.the.head-FT.3SG.NM who firewood

- kum-eni* *a:ny-ar*  
take.on.the.head-FT.3SG.NM say.B2-PT.3PL  
They said, “Who will carry water? Who will carry firewood?”
- 8’35 *par aba-d awq-a amb-in e:nu dusra pel-a*  
but father-NM speak-PT.3SG leave-PR.1SG I another woman-AC  
*qo:k-tar-lan nane pel-e qo:k-no taŋ-ki teho-leko*  
stay-CS-SJ.NG.1SG other woman-AC marry-IPP self-GE mother-like  
*po:sy-le:ni*  
support-FT.3SG.NM  
But father said, “No, I won’t. I will not take another woman. If I  
marry another woman, she will not take care [of the children] like  
their own mother.”
- 8’44 *ja:gu-n ciy-omalki=jahã ja:gu cica-tan a:n-eni*  
food-AC give-NG.CP.3SG.NM=even food give.B2-PT.1SG say-FT.3SG  
“Even when she has not given food, she will say ‘I gave food.’”
- 8’48 *lap-omalko=jahã ja:gu lapy-ar a:n-enid*  
eat-CP.NG=even food eat.B2-PT.3PL say-FT.3SG.NM  
“Even if [the children] have not eaten yet, she will say ‘They have  
eaten.’”
- 8’50 *dusra peli-n ondr-no taŋ-ki teho-leko mel-le:nid*  
another woman-AC bring-IPP self-GE mother-like be-NG.FT.3SG.NM  
*ka:kles-enid a:n-kid pel.balo qo:ky-a*  
cause.trouble-FT.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.NM single stay.B2-PT.3SG  
Saying “If I take another woman, she will not be like their own  
mother; she will cause trouble to them,” he stayed single.
- 9’00 *jab.tak e:ni jo:ŋ-s maqe-r-in badyi-tr-omaltan ano*  
until myself pair.CLF-two child-PL-AC grow-TR-NG.PR.1SG there  
*pel-a qo:k-tar-lan a:ny-ah*  
woman-AC stay-CS-SJ.1SG say.B2-PT.1SG  
He said, “Until I raise the two children, I will not take a woman.”
- 9’05 *e:n a: pahr-no iskule-no barti mel-latan qep-no pacma*  
I that time-LO school-LO enrolment be-NG.PT.1SG village-LO fifth  
*kilas tak oky-a iskule*  
class till sit.B2-PT.3SG school  
I was not enrolled in school at that time. There was a school in the  
village up to the fifth class.
- 9’12 *qep-ni na:mi kurk-tr-e qaty-a*  
village-LO.EPH name write-CS-VN give.B2-PT.3SG  
It enabled [us] to write [our] names [staying] in the village.
- 9’14 *na:mi kurk-tar-ne ke.ba:d ani to:ŋa to:ŋa paŋic-tan*  
name write-CS-VN after then a.little REP read.B2-PT.1SG  
After I learned to write my name, I read little by little.
- 9’18 *paŋic-tan ani paŋyi-ne ke paŋyi-ne ke.ba:d qep-no eŋg-e*  
read.B2-PT.1SG then read-VN of read-VN after village-LO I-DA

- kala:ja:r    bima:ri darc-a  
 Kala.Azar disease catch.B2-PT.3SG  
 I read. After that, the Kala Azar disease came on to me in the village.
- 9'23 ro:ga darc-a            kala:ja:re-ki ani kala:ja:re-ki ro:ga  
 disease catch.B2-PT.3SG Kala.Azar-GE then Kala.Azar-GE disease  
 darc-a            ani ano aspatala geca mejj-a  
 catch.B2-PT.3SG then there hospital far be.B2-PT.3SG  
 The disease came on to me. The Kala Azar disease came on to me.  
 The hospital was far [from] there.
- 9'31 ani ikin nan-an a:n-ko ortu qa:k:tare qo:ky-ah            kunjbana  
 then how do-FT.1SG say-CP one doctor stay.B2-PT.3SG.M PROP  
 sarka:ri            aspatale-no  
 governmental hospital-LO  
 What shall I do? A doctor was in the governmental hospital of Kunj-  
 bona.
- 9'37 sarka:ri            aspatale-no su:y-a            caq-ah            sirape  
 governmental hospital-LO injection-AC pierce-PT.3SG.M syrup  
 qaty-ah  
 give.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He gave me injection and syrup at the government hospital.
- 9'43 ani onqa-ko kala:ja:r ro:ga ti:k mejj-a  
 then drink-CP Kala.Azar disease well become.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then after taking it, the Kala Azar disease was cured.
- 9'47 ti:k men-ne ke.ba:d qo:k-tan qo:k-tan qo:k-tan o:y-a  
 well become-VN after stay-PT.1SG REP REP cattle-AC  
 e:ni caric-tan  
 myself walk.B2-PT.1SG  
 After I got well, I kept on living. I grazed the cattle.
- 9'52 e:ɽ-a caric-tan o:y-a caric-tan kis-a to conj-a  
 goat-AC walk.B2-PT.1SG cattle-AC walk.B2-PT.1SG pig-AC TOP tie-AP  
 conj-a po:sic-tan  
 REP keep.B2-PT.1SG  
 I grazed goats and cattle. I kept the pigs tying them.
- 9'57 e:m kis-a cary-omaltam pa:re o:y-pa:we-hi juri bed-a  
 we.E pig-AC walk-NG.PR.1PL.E but cattle-way-EPH firewood seek-AP  
 bed-a qo:w-a            qo:w-a kir-tara-tan  
 REP carry.on.shoulder-AP REP return-CS-PT.1SG  
 We don't graze pigs. But by way of [grazing] cattle, I looked for  
 firewood, carried it on my shoulder, and brought them back.
- 10'04 be:r            et-o            orgi            kir-tara-tan            juri  
 sun set-IF not.yet return-CS-PT.1SG firewood  
 qo:w-kan            ar a: juri o:y-a dukatara-kan  
 carry.on.shoulder-CP.1SG and that firewood cattle-AC bind-CP.1SG

- juri kidr-tan*  
firewood split-PT.1SG  
I brought them back before the sun set. After carrying the firewood and binding the cattle, I split the firewood.
- 10'11 *juri kidra-kan am-ik ek-tan*  
firewood split-CP.1SG water-DA go.B2-PT.1SG  
After splitting the firewood, I went out for [bringing] water.
- 10'14 *am-a qo:w-oti baq.mel-latan*  
water-AC carry.on.shoulder-IF know-NG.PT.1SG  
I did not know how to carry water on my shoulder.
- 10'16 *je: barya-maqo-ti qo:wa-kan ondra-tan*  
but earthen.pot-child-IN carry.on.shoulder-CP.1SG bring-PT.1SG  
But I carried [the water] with a small pot and brought it home.
- 10'18 *aba-d ma:qa qa:l-a kud-ki kiry-a anda*  
father-NM night field-AC work-CP.3SG.NM return.B2-PT.3SG then  
*ja:gu dalic-tam gangi ja:gu-n*  
food grind-PT.1PLE maize food-AC  
Father came back from the field at night and then we ground [and prepared the staple] food, the boiled maize.
- 10'25 *ja:gu daly-ne ke.ba:d bic-a ande ke e:me lap-a lap-a*  
food grind-VN after be.cooked-PT.3SG that.way we.E eat-AP REP  
*lap-a qo:k-tam*  
REP stay-PT.1PLE  
Maize was cooked after grinding. We lived that way eating.
- 10'29 *em-ki bahut duke-ni bit-ar ani ne:-jahã tund-u*  
we.E-GE much difficulty-LO.EPH cook-PT.3PL then who-ever look-PP  
*me:n-u bey-la*  
ask-PP be-NG.PT.3SG  
They cooked food in a lot of trouble. Then there was nobody who looks [after us] or asks [about us].
- 10'35 *qo:k-ni qo:k-ni aba.bedi-trar goṭe-ri kec-ar*  
stay-IPP REP grandfather-PL all-PL die.B2-PT.3PL  
While we lived, [our] grandparents all died.
- 10'39 *ani baṛc-la:g-ko hõ i: maqe-n iskule-no barti nan-oti*  
then grow-a.little-CP too this boy-AC school-LO enrolment do-IF  
*men-ani*  
be-FT.3SG.NM  
After I grew up a little, [father said] “[I] will have to enrol this boy in the school.”
- 10'44 *a:n-ki aba-d eng-en hiranpur iskule-no barti*  
say-CP.3SG.NM father-NM I-AC PROP school-LO enrolment  
*nany-a*  
do.B2-PT.3SG  
Saying this, father enrolled me at Hiranpur School.

- 10'49 *hiranpur iskul barti nany-a barti nan-ne ke.ba:d*  
 PROP school enrolment do.B2-PT.3SG enrolment do-VN after  
*hiranpur iskule-no qo:k-tan*  
 PROP school-LO stay-PT.1SG  
 He enrolled me at Hiranpur School. Then I stayed at Hiranpur School.
- 10'53 *qo:k-tan qo:k-tan uni:s.so:.aqa:si sa:le-no iskule-no*  
 stay-PT.1SG REP 1988 year-LO school-LO  
*amb-kan qo:k-tan orgu-nihi adno qa:l-a kud-tam*  
 leave-CP.1SG stay-PT.1SG house-LO.EPH then field-AC work-PT.1SG  
 I stayed at the school. I left the school in 1988 and stayed home. I  
 worked the fields.
- 11'05 *qa:l-a kud-ko gangi kajak menj-a*  
 field-AC work-CP maize much become.B2-PT.3SG  
 I worked the fields and there was a lot of maize.
- 11'08 *ani gangi tar-ot a: dine jaksa menj-a ja:ra*  
 then maize break-IF that day heavy.rain be.B2-PT.3SG rain  
*pos-a bani nindy-a got-wiji bani*  
 rain.B2-PT.3SG current be.filled.B2-PT.3SG all-directions current  
*nindy-a*  
 be.filled.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then there was heavy rain on that day [on which I was supposed] to  
 pick maize. It rained and the rivulets got full everywhere.
- 11'14 *bani nindy-ad ani e:mu pahariya ja:ti nadi-no mi:n-a*  
 current be.filled.B2-PT.3SG then we.E Pahariya tribe river-LO fish-AC  
*pi:oti ca:to ki:d-dam*  
 kill-IF coop lay-PR.1PLE  
 The rivulets got full. We Pahariyas place coops in rivers to catch fish  
 then.
- 11'20 *mane ca:to ki:d-dam a:d-ek bo:ng-tan e:nu ja:ra*  
 that.is coop lay-PR.1PLE there-DA run-PT.1SG I rain  
*barc-a ani ca:to ki:d-tan a:d-ek bo:ng-tan*  
 come.B2-PT.3SG then coop lay-PT.1SG there-DA run-PT.1SG  
 That is, we place coops. I ran there, [for] I lay a coop after it rained.  
 I ran there.
- 11'24 *bo:ng-ne ke.ba:d bah-ond ca:to-no pac-muka-ba:gi*  
 run-VN after place.CLF-one coop-LO five-forearm-about  
*bo:da-d nind-ki kody-a*  
 snake-NM fill-CP lie.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then in one coop, there was a snake of about five cubits long filling  
 the coop lying in there.
- 11'30 *ma:qa bo:ng-qan ek-ko ani e:n to mi:n-d ako*  
 night run-CP.1SG go.B2-CP then I TOP fish-3SG.NM perhaps  
*a:n-tan u:qe-no bo:da-n ca:dre-no qet-kan ekdam*  
 say-PT.1SG darkness-LO snake-AC sheet-LO shake-CP.1SG at.once

- ide-n kaṛk-kan guratar-le munda-tan*  
 this-AC tighten-CP.1SG turn.round-CP tie.up-PT.1SG  
 I went there running at night, and saying “It seems to be a fish.” I shook the snake off on a sheet, tightened, rolled and tied it up right away.
- 11’39 *munda-ka.tatkan ra:t.bar ra:ty-ond qo:w-a*  
 tie.up-CP all.night night.CLF-one carry.on.shoulder-AP  
*qend-i kud-tam*  
 take.along-AP do-PT.1PLE  
 Having tied it up, I took it along all night carrying it on the shoulder.
- 11’44 *qo:w-a qend-i kud-kan ma:qondi*  
 carry.on.shoulder-AP take.along-AP do-CP.1SG morning  
*lehr-ad ani ade-n kol-ka tunḍ-tan*  
 become-PT.3SG.NM then that-AC open-CP look-PT.1SG  
 Then when morning came, I opened and took a look at it.
- 11’50 *ũ kol-ka tunḍ-tan ũ ũ ma:qondi ca:dre-ni ca:dre-ni*  
 ITJ open-CP look-PT.1SG ITJ REP morning sheet-AC.EPH REP  
*kol-tan qet-tan a: pahr-nihi teḥu-n tesy-a*  
 open-PT.1SG shake-PT.1SG that time-LO.EPH hand-AC roll.B2-PT.3SG  
 I opened and looked. I opened it and shook it down on the sheet in the morning. At that moment, it rolled around my hand.
- 11’58 *teḥu-n tesy-ad ani lo:ke boḍa boḍa boḍa a:n-tan*  
 hand-AC roll.B2-PT.3SG.NM then people snake REP REP say-PT.1SG  
 It rolled around my hand. Then I said, “[Look,] everyone! Snake! Snake!”
- 12’02 *lekin ano ortu eṇ-ki eng.ḍo-h-i meṇj-ah*  
 but there one I-GE my.brother-M-EPH be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*awḍ-ah*  
 speak-PT.3SG.M  
 But there was only one person there, my cousin. He said,
- 12’04 *aṇe boḍa mal-a jaṇe-no to ma:qa mitra*  
 ITJ snake be.not-PR.3SG rainy.season-LO TOP night kind.of.fish  
*ko:r-i mi:n-du*  
 enter-PR.3SG fish-3SG.NM  
 “Say, it is not a snake. In rainy season, Mitra fish enters [a coop] at night. It’s a fish.”
- 12’10 *mitra mi:n se kor-id ade-n kaṛk-ka kaṛk-ka*  
 kind.of.fish fish EPH enter-PR.3SG.NM that-AC tighten-CP REP  
*mund-a ani ani teḥu tesy-a ade-n qac-a qac-a*  
 tie.up-PT.3SG then REP hand wrap.B2-PT.3SG that-AC break-AP REP  
*ca:dre-no munda-tan*  
 sheet-LO tie.up-PT.1SG  
 He tightly tied up the Mitra fish which had entered [the coop]. Tearing off that fish which rolled around my hand, I tied it up in a sheet.

- 12'17 *ca:dre-no munda-kan ma:qondi ade-n kol-ka tund-in ta:n*  
 sheet-LO tie.up-CP.1SG morning that-AC open-CP look-PR.1SG then  
*to boḍa mejj-ad*  
 TOP snake be.B2-PT.3SG  
 After I tied it up in a sheet, I opened and looked at it in the morning.  
 Then it had become a snake.
- 12'21 *enḡ-en kaṭ-ki co:c-ed ij-a*  
 I-AC cross-CP rise.B2-CP.3SG.NM stand.B2-PT.3SG  
 It jumped out to me, rose and stood up.
- 12'23 *enḡ-en kaṭ-ki co:c-ed ij-a ani elc-ka*  
 I-AC cross-CP rise.B2-CP.3SG.NM stand.B2-PT.3SG.NM then fear-CP  
*bong-tan ba:pre*  
 run.away-PT.1SG ITJ  
 When it jumped out to me, rose and stood up, I was scared and ran  
 away, oh my god!
- 12'26 *inte-nti e:nu mi:n-a piṭ-oti nadi-k e:k-lan a:n-tan*  
 of.today-AB I fish-AC kill-IF river-DA go-NG.FT.1SG say-PT.1SG  
 I thought "From today on, I will never go to a river to catch fish."
- 12'30 *a:n-tan pa:re awri din-ond jaṛa pos-a ani e:t*  
 say-PT.1SG but again day.CLF-one rain rain.B2-PT.3SG.NM then ITJ  
*e:k-a aṛe ki:d-ey e:k-a aṛe paty-ey mi:n-a*  
 go-IMP ITJ lay-FT.1PL.I go-IMP ITJ pour.out.water-FT.1PL.I fish-AC  
 I said this, but one day when it rained again, [friends said] "Now let's  
 go! Let's lay a coop, pour out water and catch fish!"
- 12'35 *la:se mejj-a sangale-r patc-a ade-n*  
 happy be.B2-PT.3SG friend-PL pour.out.water.B2-PT.3SG that-AC  
*tund-ko la:se mejj-a*  
 look-CP happy be.B2-PT.3SG  
 [I] was excited. Having seen that friends [had laid the coop and]  
 poured out water, [I] was excited.
- 12'40 *ani adi-nti do: tin dini ba:de-nihĩ gangi tar-ey ina*  
 then that-AB two three day after-LO.EPH maize break-1PL.I today  
*a:n-naq-qer aba-h ade be:rni-lo:ke-r mejj-ar ade*  
 say-REC-CP.3PL father-M and wage-people-PL be.B2-PT.3PL and  
*enḡ.ḍo mejj-a gangi-tar-ot eky-a*  
 my.sister be.B2-PT.3SG maize-cut-IF go.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then after two or three days, father and farm laborers were saying  
 "We will pick maize today." My sister was there. She went to pick  
 maize.
- 12'48 *a: dine hõ jaṛa pos-a*  
 that day also rain rain.B2-PT.3SG  
 It rained on that day, too.
- 12'50 *ani mi:n-a patic-tam din-ond din-ond pos-a*  
 then fish-AC lay.coop-PT.1PL.E day.CLF-one REP rain.B2-PT.3SG

*jaɾa goɬa dine jaɾa pos-a*

rain all day rain rain.B2-PT.3SG

Then we caught fish. It rained for the whole day. It rained all day.

- 12'55 *poso-ko mi:n-a ku:ma patc-a kir-tan ula*  
rain.B2-CP fish-AC coop lay.coop.B2-CP return-PT.1SG by.day  
After it rained, I laid the coop and came back in the daytime.

- 12'58 *ani ke:tn-ond uba-mi:n korc-a*  
then basket-one fish.name-fish enter.B2-PT.3SG  
Then a basketful of Uba fish entered [the coop].

- 13'01 *ke:tn-ond uba-mi:n korc-a ani mi:n baha-nti*  
basket-one fish.name-fish enter.B2-PT.3SG then fish place-AB  
*ek-kan e:n qa:l-ik ek-tan*  
go.B2-CP.1SG I field-DA go-PT.1SG  
Then I left the place of the fish and went to the field.

- 13'06 *qa:l-inti ek-tan gangi tar-oti*  
field-AB go-PT.1SG maize break-IF  
I went from the field to pick maize.

- 13'09 *mi:n-a ki:da-kan gangi tar-oti ek-tan*  
fish-AC lay-CP.1SG maize break-IF go.B2-PT.1SG  
I put down the fish and went to get the maize in.

- 13'12 *gangi tar-oti e:k-ne ke.ba:d kud-pahr-no=hō a: ik-leko*  
maize break-IF go-VN after work-time-LO=too that which-like  
*jaga ako bu:t-jaga bu:ta dō:k-id a: jaga*  
place perhaps ghost-place ghost stay-PR.3SG.NM that place  
*mej-a ako*  
be.B2-PT.3SG perhaps  
After I went [to the field] to get the maize in, even while I was working, [I was thinking] "What a place is that? It's a ghost place. That seemed to be a place where a ghost lives."

- 13'22 *berg-bini se osga banar-le urqy-a*  
cat-like EPH mouse be.made-CP come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
It turned itself into a mouse just like a cat and came out.

- 13'25 *a: jaga-no se e:m kud-tam*  
that place-LO EPH we.E work-PT.1PL.E  
We were working in that very place.

- 13'26 *goɬe-r awd-ar i: jaga-no bu:ta dō:k-id*  
all-PL speak-PT.3PL this place-LO ghost stay-PR.3SG.NM  
*a.ny-a*  
say.B2-PT.3SG  
All said, "A ghost lives in this place."

- 13'29 *osga banar-le urqy-a*  
mouse be.made-CP come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
It turned itself into a mouse and came out.

- 13'30 *kud-u-r tat-u-r elcy-ar gangi tar-u-r hō*  
 work-PP-PL ECHO fear.B2-PT.3PL maize break-PP-PL too  
*elcy-ar*  
 fear.B2-PT.3PL  
 Those who were working were scared. Those who were getting the  
 maize in were scared, too.
- 13'33 *a: bacri em-e bahut jo:r.se gangi menj-a*  
 that year we.E-DA very violently maize be.B2-PT.3SG  
 That year we had an awful lot of maize.
- 13'37 *bajra-d hō baṛiya se menj-a gangi-d hō baṛiya se*  
 millet-NM too excellent EPH be.B2-PT.3SG maize-NM too excellent EPH  
*qosre-d hō e:ru menj-a*  
 pulse-NM too good be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Millet was excellent too. Maize was excellent. Pulse was good.
- 13'42 *a: dine gangi tar-te tar-te e:n bor-ond gangi*  
 that day maize break-AP REP I bag.CLF-one maize  
*kum-tan*  
 take.on.the.head-PT.1SG  
 Picking maize, I carried a bag of maize on my head on that day.
- 13'45 *paharī mecte-nte malipara-k argtara-tan*  
 hill above-AB PROP-DA lift.up-PT.1SG  
 I carried it from above the hill to Malipara.
- 13'49 *argtara-tan ani eng-e qasru ta:ɽgr-a a:d*  
 lift.up-PT.1SG then I-DA neck be.broken-PT.3SG that  
*qacy-a*  
 look.like.B2-PT.3SG  
 I carried it on my head. Then I felt as if my neck were broken.
- 13'52 *simint bora-no bor-ond kum-kan gangi-n e:n*  
 cement bag-LO bag.CLF-one carry.on.head-CP.1SG maize-AC I  
*argtara-tan*  
 lift.up-PT.1SG  
 I carried it in a bag of cement on the head. I carried the maize.
- 13'56 *argtara-ko qasru nujc-a e:n pa:r-lan qasru*  
 lift.up-CP neck ache.B2-PT.3SG I be.able-NG.SJ.1SG neck  
*nuyj-i e:n kum-oti pa:r-lan*  
 ache-AP I carry.on.head-IF be.able-NG.SJ.1SG  
 After I carried them, my neck hurt. "My neck hurts. I will not be able  
 to carry [another bag]."
- 14'02 *qasru nuyj-id a:n-tan a:n-kan eṇ-ki*  
 neck ache-PR.3SG.M say-PT.1SG say-CP.1SG I-GE  
*sarwe-n eng.do-n teya-tan are ni:n e:k-a gangi*  
 sister-AC my.sister-AC send-PT.1SG ITJ you go-IMP maize  
*kum-ki ondr-eni*  
 carry.on.head-CP.2SG.NM bring-FT.2SG.NM

I said, “My neck hurts.” Having said this, I sent my sister, saying  
 “You please go, and you can bring the maize carrying on your head.”

- 14'09 *eng-e qasru nuñj-id a:n-tan*  
 I-DA neck hurt-PR.3SG.NM say-PT.1SG  
 I said “My neck hurts.”
- 14'11 *ani eng.do gangi-n tar-oti eky-a*  
 then my.sister maize-AC break-IF go.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then my sister went to pick maize.
- 14'14 *gangi tar-oti eky-ad ani gangi-ki paṛa-no*  
 maize break-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.NM then maize-GE fruit-LO  
*koḍy-a a:d kakṛo.te:la*  
 lie.B2-PT.3SG that scorpion  
 She went to pick maize. Then lying in the ear of maize was a poi-  
 sonous scorpion.
- 14'20 *kakṛo.te:la koḍy-a (e:) aṛs-kid gangi-n tar-ot*  
 scorpion lie.B2-PT.3SG reach-CP.3SG.NM maize-AC break-IF  
*jokc-ad*  
 bring.together.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 A poisonous scorpion lay [there]. She reached there and put her hand  
 [on the maize] to pick it.
- 14'24 *ani kakṛo.te:la adi-n caq-a tefu-ni caq-a*  
 then scorpion that-AC sting-PT.3SG hand-AC.EPH sting-PT.3SG  
 Then the scorpion stung her, stung her hand.
- 14'29 *tefu-ni caqa-ko adi jarqy-a*  
 hand-AC.EPH sting-CP then fall.B2-PT.3SG  
 It stung her hand and then it fell.
- 14'31 *adi jarq-qo kakṛo.te:l-maqa ho and-ar pity-ar*  
 that fall-CP scorpion-bug too find-PT.3PL kill.B2-PT.3PL  
 The scorpion fell. They found it too, and killed it.
- 14'34 *adi jarqy-a ani a:qi-nti oṛg-ik ondr-ni ondr-ni ondr-ni*  
 that fall.B2-PT.3SG then there-AB house-DA bring-IPP REP REP  
*ondr-ni i: ne:ga qondy-a*  
 REP this breath be.tired.B2-PT.3SG  
 It fell. While they brought her home, her life was debilitated.
- 14'41 *ne:ga qondy-a ani [oy]oja:-guru ja:ṛi-u:ṛi-n*  
 breath be.tired.B2-PT.3SG then Ojha-guru witch.doctor-ECHO-AC  
*guru-lo:ker=indru ci:pu-r-in qa:lu-r-in goṭ-ni*  
 guru-people=and.so.on sucker-PL-AC cutter-PL-AC all-AC.EPH  
*bed-tara-tam*  
 seek-CS-PT.1PLE  
 Her life was debilitated. Then an Ojha Guru, a witch doctor, Guru  
 people and so on, people who suck [the poison] or cut [the skin with  
 leaves] – we sent for them all.

- 14'52 *mandra tipi-taro-ko=jahã nek-la ma:qa adi-ki*  
 medicine attach-CS-CP=even get.well-NG.PT.3SG night that-GE  
*ne:ga-d urqy-a*  
 breath-NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 Even after applying medicine, she did not get well. At night, she expired.
- 14'58 *ne:ga-d urqy-ad adi-ki ne:ga-d urq-ne*  
 breath-NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-GE breath-NM come.out-VN  
*ke.ba:d ande-kem inor to ja:gu lapy-ad aba-d*  
 after that.way-CP.1PLE now TOP food eat.B2-PT.3SG.NM father-NM  
*adno am onq-a*  
 then water drink.B2-PT.3SG  
 She expired. Even though she had expired, father was now eating food and drinking water.
- 15'06 *indra-jahã mal-a*  
 what-ever be.not-PR.3SG  
 [He said] "This is nothing."
- 15'07 *inor adi-ki-n olg-dam pa:ɽ-dam olg-dam*  
 now that-GE-AC weep-PR.1PLE sing-PR.1PLE weep-PR.1PLE  
*pa:ɽ-dam olg-dam olg-ni pa:ɽ-ni olg-ni pa:ɽ-ni ekdam*  
 sing-PR.1PLE weep-PR.1PLE weep-IPP sing-IPP cry-IPP sing-IPP at.once  
*e:k bacri ba:de-no se ne:ga kuc ʔanda menj-a*  
 one year after-LO EPH breath somewhat cool become.B2-PT.3SG  
 We cried and lamented over her. Crying and lamenting, our souls had become somewhat cool after one year.
- 15'17 *ʔanda men-ne ke.ba:d se (ʔanda men-ne ke.ba:d ...) ort maqo*  
 cool become-VN after EPH one girl  
*qo:ky-ad a:d-õ beyo ongr-a*  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-too be.not.3SG pass.away-PT.3SG  
 After [our soul] became cool, there was one girl. She was also no more, she passed away.
- 15'25 *pel-a ʔikatr-ey deka ning-e a:ny-ah*  
 woman-AC put.up-FT.1PL.I come.on.ITJ you-DA say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 [Father] said, "Come on, we will take a bride for you."
- 15'28 *ani ci:poʔa.pelpoʔa awqy-ah*  
 then woman.shmooman speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He then said, "Woman-shmooman (Stop crying over her.)"
- 15'30 *e:n pel-a=indru qo:k-tar-lan e:n a:n-tan*  
 I woman-AC=and.so.on stay-CS-SJ.NG.1SG I say-PT.1SG  
 I said, "I will not take such a thing like a wife."
- 15'32 *teb ne: se oɽg-an ʔund-eni alwi men-eni teb*  
 then who EPH house-AC look-FT.3SG.NM light be-FT.3SG.NM then  
*pel.balo qo:k-ene*  
 bachelor stay-FT.2SG.M

[Father said] “Who will look after the house then? There will be light. Will you stay single?”

- 15'36 *məṭrike pa:s meŋja-te inor inor pel-a*  
 matriculation pass be.B2-PT.2SG.M now now woman-AC  
*ondr-ey a:ny-ah*  
 bring-FT.1PL.I say.B2-PT.3SG.M

He said, “You have passed matriculation. Now let us take a bride.”

- 15'41 *ḍo:k-ni ḍo:k-ni ḍo:k-ni ortu em-qep-ki-ni apna malni*  
 stay-IPP REP REP one we.E-village-GE-EPH own woman  
*meŋj-a ade-n tetuli-k oc-ar*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM she-AC PROP-DA take.B2-PT.3PL  
 As we carried on, there was one woman of our village. They took her to Tetuli.

- 15'48 *tetuli-k oc-ar ani pahariya ja:ti-no lap-oti kis-a mo:ṭa*  
 PROP-DA take.B2-PT.3PL then Pahariya tribe-LO eat-IF pig-AC fat  
*mo:ṭa kasi-n kis-a piṭ-nar e:ṛe piṭ-nar*  
 fat castrated.animal-AC pig-AC kill-PR.3PL goat kill-PR.3PL  
 They took [her] to Tetuli. Then among the Pahariya tribe, they kill pigs, very fat castrated pigs, they kill goats, for eating.

- 15'57 *ṭaḍi bit-nar kejri ṭaḍi-n o:n-nar ta:lmi ṭaḍi-n*  
 toddy cook-PR.3PL date toddy-AC drink-PR.3PL palm toddy-AC  
*o:n-nar a: qepo-male-r-in pandra-jinu*  
 drink-PR.3PL that villager-person-PL-AC fifteen-people.CLF  
*solla-jinu bi:k-tar-nar lap-nar*  
 sixteen-people.CLF call-TR-PR.3PL eat-3PL  
 They brew wine, they drink date toddy and palm toddy. They invite fifteen or sixteen village people and eat.

- 16'07 *kis-a hō maq-on-ō kisdi paca seru sa:t seru beh-id*  
 pig-AC too CLF-one-too pig five seer seven seer be-PR.3SG.NM  
 And a pig too. There is one pig of five or seven seer.

- 16'13 *ade-n piṭ-a piṭ-a ciy-nar ca:ma pa:ṛ-u-n bi:k-tar-nar*  
 that-AC kill-AP REP give-PR.3PL song sing-PP-AC call-TR-PR.3PL  
*ade-n*  
 that-AC  
 They butcher [it] and treat [people to it]. They call a singer.

- 16'17 *pahariya-ki lap-e a:n-nar lap-tar-oti bi:k-tar-nar*  
 Pahariya-GE eat-VN say-PR.3PL eat-CS-IF call-TR-PR.3PL  
 They call it ‘lape’ (feast) of the Pahariyas. They invite [people] to give them food.

- 16'21 *lap-tr-oti bi:k-tr-ar ade-n lap-oti eky-ad aba-d*  
 eat-CS-IF call-TR-PT.3PL that-AC eat-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.NM father-NM  
*tetuli tetuli qep-ik*  
 PROP PROP village-DA

They called [father] to give [him] food. Father went to Tetuli village to attend the feast.

- 16'26 *tetuli qep-ik eky-a ek-kid enj-dɔ:k-u-n*  
 PROP village-DA go.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-CP.3SG.NM me-marry-PP-AC  
*tundɔ-a*  
 look.B2-PT.3SG

He went to Tetuli village. He went and saw my future wife.

- 16'31 *tund-ne ke.ba:d mhũ (ideni) idi-ne enj.gade-k oy(n)-oti e:ru*  
 look-VN after ITJ this-AC my.son-DA take-IF good  
*men-al a:n-ki-tatki tenjgr.naqy-ah*  
 be-SJ.3SG say-CP-ECHO converse.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After he saw her, he thought “Well, to take this girl for my son would be good for him,” and discussed.

- 16'39 *adi-nti deka inor samdi men-ey*  
 that-AB ITJ now married.couple's.fathers become-FT.1PL.I  
 “Look, then we will soon be parents of a married couple.”

- 16'43 *samdi men-ey en-ki en.gada-h*  
 married.couple's.fathers become-FT.1PL.I I-GE my.son-M  
*mɛtrik pa:se-h*  
 matriculation pass-M  
 “We will be parents of a married couple. My son is a *matric pass*.”

- 16'46 *a:hi pel aro=hõ qe:so essa e:ru maja.qani*  
 he woman further=too beautiful.woman very good pretty  
*a.ny-ah*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, “And also, the girl is beautiful. She is very good and pretty.”

- 16'52 *taɖi-n o:n-u malni menj-a*  
 toddy-AC drink-PP woman be.B2-PT.3SG  
 She was a woman who drinks liquor.

- 16'54 *aba-h to kejri taɖi ta:no ta:lmi taɖi ta:no ari mahwa taɖi*  
 father-M TOP date toddy and palm toddy then TOP mahua toddy  
*ta:no goɽe-di taɖin.o:nu menj-a*  
 and all-NM drinker be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Father was a drinker, whether it is date palm toddy, palm toddy, or Mahua liquor.

- 17'04 *ar en-ki dudu-ga:rni hõ taɖin.o:nu menj-a*  
 and I-GE mother-in.law.F too drinker be.B2-PT.3SG  
 And my mother-in-law was also a drinker.

- 17'09 *ma:qa ra:ty-ond taɖi-n onɖ-ar tenjgr.naqy-ar*  
 night night.CLF-one toddy-AC drink.B2-PT.3PL converse.B2-PT.3PL  
*taty-ar ande-keri ɖo:ky-ar*  
 ECHO that.way-CP.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL  
 They drank liquor the whole night and talked. They were like that.

- 17'14 *uske:.ba:d hō deko e:ru men-eni hō: deko e:ru men-eni*  
 after.that ITJ ITJ well be-FT.3SG.NM ITJ ITJ well be-FT.3SG.NM  
*a:n-naqy-ar ani (e)andeki e:ru menj-a*  
 say-REC.B2-PT.3PL then that.way well be.B2-PT.3SG  
 After that, they said to each other "Okay, look, it will be a good match." And it turned out to be so.
- 17'23 *inor aḍa em-ja:ti pahaṛiya ja:ti-ki niyame-d*  
 now house we.E-tribe Pahariya tribe-GE custom-NM  
*sa:di=indru biha-sa:di biha-no a:ʃ-enti*  
 wedding=and.so.on wedding-wedding marriage-LO market-AB  
*bajare-nti me:la-nti band-i band-i oy-nar*  
 bazaar-AB festival-AB pull-AP REP take-PR.3PL  
 Now the family, our tribe, the Pahariya tribe has a custom. In marriage, they take [girls] from a market, a bazaar or a festival pulling [their hands].
- 17'37 *a:n-ki a:ʃe-no tund-a naq-nar kali me:la-no tund-a*  
 say-CP market-LO look-AP REC-PR.3PL Kali festival-LO look-AP  
*naq-nar durga me:la-no tund-a naq-nar*  
 REC-PR.3PL Durga festival-LO look-AP REC-PR.3PL  
 And they see each other at the market. They see each other in the Kali festival. They see each other in the Durga festival.
- 17'43 *bo:ja men-i pahaṛiya me:la bo:je-no tund-a naq-nar*  
 feast be-PR.3SG Pahariya festival feast-LO look-AP REC-PR.3PL  
 There is a feast. In a festival or a feast, Pahariyas see each other.
- 17'47 *tund-a naq pahr-no rumale-no piṭa ciy-nar kajri*  
 look-AP REC time-LO handkerchief-LO bread give-PR.3PL date  
*ciy-nar laḍu ciy-nar a: pahr-no*  
 give-PR.3PL laddu give-PR.3PL that time-LO  
 When they see each other, they give bread [rolled] in a handkerchief, they give dates, they give laddu at that time.
- 17'55 *pel-du cawḍo mo:q-i muṛsa cawḍo mo:q-dah*  
 woman-NM half.piece eat-PR.3SG man piece eat-PR.3SG.M  
 The girl eats half [of it]. The boy eats the other half [of it].
- 17'59 *maṛ-eh ta:nu a: rumale-no munde-ki peli*  
 like-FT.3SG.NM then that handkerchief-LO tie-CP.3SG.NM woman  
*muṛse-k ciy-i muṛsa munda-kah peli-k ciy-dah*  
 man-DA give-PR.3SG man tie-CP.3SG.M woman-DA give-PR.3SG.M  
 If the girl likes [him, she] ties [the sweets] in that handkerchief and gives it [back] to the boy. The boy ties it and gives it to the girl.
- 18'06 *ʈi:k ʈi:k ʈi:k goṭe-ri kusa.kusi menj-ah*  
 good good good all-PL happy become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Okay, okay, all have become happy.
- 18'10 *peli ar muṛsa kusa.kusi menj-ah a:n-kar*  
 woman and man happy become.B2-PT.3SG.M say-CP.3PL

*adi-nti pa:ry-u bed-tar-dah niyares-dah siṭu*  
 that-AB be.able-PP seek-TR-PR.3SG.M invite-PR.3SG.M match-maker  
*tey-dah*  
 send-PR.3SG.M

[If] they say the woman and man have become content, then one who can afford [to have a wedding] offers a marriage proposal, sends invitation, and sends a match-maker.

- 18'20 *muṣsa peli-k pe:sa cica-kah oy-dah*  
 man woman-DA money give.B2-CP.3SG.M take-PR.3SG.M  
 The boy gives money to the girl[’s family] and takes her.

- 18'22 *pa:ry-abalo ta:n indeki band-i band-i oy-dah*  
 be.able-NG.AP then this.way pull-AP REP take-PR.3SG.M  
 If he cannot, then he takes [her] pulling this way.

- 18'25 *band-i band-i oca-kah ḍo:k-tar-dah*  
 pull-AP REP take-CP.3SG.M stay-CS-3SG.M  
 He takes her pulling and lives with her.

- 18'27 *ḍo:k-tar-ne ke.ba:d maqo men-ne ke.ba:d pa:r-dah ta:n*  
 stay-CS-VN after child be-VN after be.able-PR.3SG.M then  
*sa:di men-dah mal-a ta:n indeki ḍo:k-nar*  
 wedding do-PR.3SG.M be.not-PR.3SG then this.way stay-PR.3PL  
 After he starts living with her, after a child is born, the man marries her if he is able. If not, they stay this way.

- 18'32 *ne bey-u pel-a bed-dam a:n-tan bed-abalo=jahã*  
 who be-PP woman-AC seek-PR.1PLE say-PT.1SG seek-NG.AP=even  
*ḍo:k-nar*  
 stay-3PL  
 I said, “If we have [money], we will marry a woman. People live [together] even without getting married.”

- 18'36 *adi-nti a:t-dine adi-nti malipara gep-no bo:ja mejj-a*  
 that-AB market-day that-AB PROP village-LO feast be.B2-PT.3SG  
 On a market day after that, there was a feast in Malipara village.

- 18'42 *bo:ja mejj-ad ani uhũ ina to tetuli-nti bar-anar*  
 feast be.B2-PT.3SG.NM then ITJ today TOP PROP-AB come-FT.3PL  
*ta*  
 probably  
 There was a feast. Then [I thought] “Well, today they will come from Tetuli.”

- 18'47 *pel.maqar batga-r hõ bar-anar muṣ.maqar hõ*  
 girl-PL maiden-PL too come-FT.3PL boy-PL too  
*bar-anar ina ḍo:k-tr-ey*  
 come-FT.3PL today stay-CS-FT.1PL.I  
 “Girls and maidens will come, boys will come. We will get married today.”

- 18'53 *taḍi kejri-taḍi=indru ok-i ina ḍo:k-tr-ey*  
 toddy date-toddy=and.so.on sit-PR.3SG today stay-CS-FT.1PL.I  
 "There is liquor, date palm toddy and so on. We will get married today."
- 18'56 *ina biha men-eni biha nan-ey ina*  
 today wedding be-FT.3SG.NM wedding do-FT.1PL.I today  
 "There will be a wedding today. We will have a wedding today."
- 19'00 *a:n-ko acc<sup>ha</sup>: ṭi:k tebe ina ma:qa men-i*  
 say-CP okay good then today night be-PR.3SG  
 "Okay, well, then, it is getting night today."
- 19'03 *le:la bij-eni bijy-a adno ma:qondi pahr-no*  
 tomorrow dawn-FT.3SG.NM dawn.B2-PT.3SG then morning time-LO  
*bar-a:nar adno oṛg-a cap-tr-ey*  
 come-FT.3PL then house-AC tread-CS-FT.1PL.I  
 "It will dawn tomorrow. When it dawns, they will come in the morning. Then we will lead [them] into the house."
- 19'11 *oṛg-ik bande-key kor-tr-ey*  
 house-DA pull-CP.1PL.I enter-CS-FT.1PL.I  
 "We will pull [them] and make them enter the house."
- 19'15 *ani a: dina tetuli qepu a:mbar qepu malipara*  
 then that day PROP village PROP village PROP  
*bo:j-ba:si-no bo:la-ke:le menj-a p<sup>h</sup>uṭbo:le kelar-ar*  
 feast-day.after-LO ball-play be.B2-PT.3SG football play-PT.3PL  
 Then on that day, the villages Tetuli, Ambar, and Malipara had a ball game. After the feast, they played football.
- 19'26 *p<sup>h</sup>uṭbo:le kelar-ko eng-en awḍ-ah bo:j-bahno are (e:)*  
 football play-CP I-AC speak-PT.3SG.M feast-LO ITJ  
*niṅg-e to peli-n ḍo:k-tra-nar ta niṅg-e pel-a*  
 you-DA TOP woman-AC stay-CS-PR.3PL certainly you-DA woman-AC  
*ḍo:k-tra-nar niṅg-a a:ny-ah*  
 stay-CS-PR.3PL you-DA say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Having played football, [someone] said to me at the site of the feast,  
 "Hey, they are going to marry a girl to you, aren't they? They are going to marry a girl to you." He said this.
- 19'36 *e:ṭ e:n pel-a amb-in amb-in e:n pel-a*  
 ITJ I woman-AC leave-PR.1SG REP I woman-AC  
*ḍo:k-tr-lan amb-in e:n*  
 stay-CS-NG.FT.1SG leave-PR.1SG I  
 "Oh, no! I won't. I won't get married. I won't."
- 19'40 *laja:-tar-a laja:-tar-a e:n pel-a ḍo:k-lan*  
 blush-CS-PT.3SG REP I woman-AC stay-NG.FT.1SG  
 It made me blush [and I said] "I am not getting married."
- 19'42 *a:n-kan a: p<sup>h</sup>uṭbo:le kelar-oti ek-tan e:n*  
 say-CP.1SG that football play-IF go-PT.1SG I

Having said this, I went to play football.

- 19'47 p<sup>h</sup>u[bo:le *kelar-kan* a: pa:w *baric-tan*  
 football play-CP.1SG that way come.B2-PT.1SG

Having played football, I came by that way.

- 19'50 (*bar-ne ke*) a: pa:w *baric-tan* *em-e qep-nihi jarna*  
 that way come.B2-PT.1SG we.E-DA village-LO.EPH spring  
*kūwa ok-i*  
 well sit-PR.3SG

I came by that way. There is a spring in our village.

- 19'55 *kūwa-bahno* a: *am-a=indru onḍa-tatkan e:n*  
 well-LO that water-AC=and.so.on drink.B2-ECHO.CP.1SG I  
*to pel-a ḍo:k-tr-an a:n-ka elc-u-n besi jaldi*  
 TOP woman-AC stay-CS-FT.1SG say-CP fear-PP-1SG much fast  
*bar-latan*  
 come-NG.PT.1SG

After drinking water at the spring, thinking “I am taking a wife,” I did not go [home] so fast out of fear.

- 20'01 *pa:re pel.maqe-r-in baṭge-r-in ṭekca-kar eng-bahni*  
 but girl-PL-AC maiden-PL-AC stop.B2-CP.3PL I-LO.EPH  
*ḍo:k-tr-ar*  
 stay-CS-PT.3PL

But they stopped the girls and maidens and made them stay in my house.

- 20'06 a: *pa:w te:lo paṇjke=indru lap-kan am onḍa-kan*  
 that way tree.name ripe=and.so.on eat-CP.1SG water drink.B2-CP.1SG  
 a: *pa:w baric-tan*  
 that way come.B2-PT.1SG

Having eaten ripe Telo fruit and so on by that way, having drunk water by that way, I came [home].

- 20'11 *pel.maqe-r ḍo:ky-ar ani kejri-ṭaḍi=indru*  
 girl-PL stay.B2-PT.3PL then date-toddy=and.so.on  
 The girls [of the bride's party] were there. And there were toddy of date palm and so on.

- 20'14 *eng-sarwe-h eky-ah ahi-n darc-ar ok-tr-ar*  
 my-younger-M go.B2-PT.3SG.M he-AC catch.B2-PT.3PL sit-CS-PT.3PL  
*darc-ar ok-tra-kar bary-ond kejri-ṭaḍi-n*  
 catch.B2-PT.3PL sit-CS-CP.3PL pitcher.CLF-one date-toddy-AC  
*tund-tr-ar*  
 pour-CS-PT.3PL

My brother went. They caught him and made him sit. Then they made him pour a pitcherful of date palm toddy.

- 20'21 *tund-tra-ka cic-ah inor niṅg-ba:i-n ḍo:k-tar-dam*  
 pour-CS-CP give.B2-PT.3SG.M now you-sister-AC stay-CS-PR.1PLE

*inte-nti a:n-kar d̥o:k-tar-ar*

today-AB say-CP.3PL stay-CS-PT.3PL

They made him pour [the palm toddy] and he served it. “Now, from today on, we are marrying [this girl off as] your sister.” They married her off saying this.

- 20'27 *a:d-ente d̥o:k-tar-ne ke.ba:d sa:te d̥o:k-dam inor tak e:ru hĩ*  
 there-AB stay-CS-VN after together stay-PR.1PLE now till well EPH  
*maja maja d̥o:k-dam*  
 contented REP stay-PR.1PLE

From then on, after getting married, we live together. We have lived well contented until now.

- 20'35 *inor tin-jin maqo-ta:ni jahã inor to*  
 now three-CLF child-possessed.of even now TOP  
*pac-tar-naq-tam gosani-ki cẽgje-ti ugli-ti ade-guṭe*  
 become.old-TR-REC-PT.1PLE god-GE mercy-IN mind-IN that-until  
*auri e:ru hĩ ne:ga bey-id anond-guṭe d̥o:k-am*  
 further well EPH life be-PR.3SG.NM that.much-until stay-FT.1PLE  
 Now we have three children, too. Now we have grown old. By god's mercy and mind, we will continue to live well until our lives last.

- 20'47 *i:de hi e:nu gosani-n dine-nihĩ salama:r-in iḍi-nti ongr-a*  
 this EPH I god-AC day-LO.EPH salute-PR.1SG this-AB end-PT.3SG  
 I pray to god for this everyday. This is the end of the story.

### §6 How our village was founded (C).

Told by Mr. Jawra Pahariya of Anibhitta, P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at his residence in Anibhitta on February 21, 2007.

- 0'07 *ey-ki na:mi jawra pahariya qep-ki male-r-ki*  
 I-GE name PROP PROP village-GE person-PL-GE  
*majye-n e:ni*  
 village.chief-1SG I.myself

My name is Jawra Pahariya. I am the chief of the village people.

- 0'16 *a:lagcki e:nḍ-ond kahani-n teṅg-oti ugley-in*  
 that-for CLF-one story-AC tell-IF think-PR.1SG  
 So I would like to tell one story.

- 0'20 *em-ki beḍyo utar-ente barc-a*  
 we.E-GE forefather north-AB come.B2-PT.3SG  
 Our ancestor came from the north.<sup>3</sup>

- 0'25 *utare (pusra) pusra:t qepu-no-se em-ki beḍyo*  
 north PROP village-LO-EPH we.E-GE forefather  
*d̥o:ky-a*  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 Our ancestor was in the north, in Pusrat village.

<sup>3</sup>This speaker's final /-h/ is inaudibly weak and sometimes it is not written where it is expected.

- 0'34 *a:ti-nte* *barc-ah* *e:nd-ond* *ma:ku-maqu-d*  
 there-AB come.B2-PT.3SG.M CLF-one deer-young-NM  
*a.ny-ah* *ade-n* *akr-akr-i* *ondr-ar*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.M that-AC RED-drive-AP come-PT.3PL  
 He came from there. Chasing and chasing what they call a fawn, they  
 went after it.
- 0'47 *ondra-kar* *hu a:mbar to:ke-n[o]* *e:l-ar*  
 bring-CP.3PL ITJ PROP mountain-LO go.astray-PT.3PL  
 After they went after it, they lost sight of it in Ambar Mountain.
- 0'54 *e:la-kar* *bedy-ar* *bed-kar* *and-a-kar* *curidari*  
 go.astray-CP.3PL seek.B2-PT.3PL seek-CP.3PL find-CP.3PL PROP  
*to:ke-no* *pity-ar*  
 mountain-LO kill.B2-PT.3PL  
 After they lost sight of it, they searched and searched, and found and  
 killed it in Churidari Mountain.
- 1'00 *piṭ-kar* *e:na* *onḍgala* *ba:ye-r* *a:to* *ma:k-a*  
 kill-CP.3PL how.many sibling brother-PL there meat-AC  
*kinḍy-ar*  
 cut.B2-PT.3PL  
 After killing the fawn, as many brothers as [there were] divided the  
 meat there.
- 1'08 *kinḍ-kar* *bit-ar-utar* *moqy-ar* *curidari-no*  
 cut-CP.3PL cook-PT.3PL-ECHO eat.B2-PT.3PL PROP-LO  
 After cutting the meat, they cooked and ate it in Churidari Mountain.
- 1'13 *ani* *godri-n* *meqy-ar* *godri-n* *musgy-ar* *a:du*  
 then intestine-AC bake.B2-PT.3PL intestine-AC pack.B2-PT.3PL that  
*sona mejj-a*  
 gold become.B2-PT.3SG  
 They roasted the intestines and packed them. They became gold.
- 1'20 *ma:k-a* *musgy-ar* *capṛa-no* *a:du* *rupa*  
 meat-AC pack.B2-PT.3PL grass.package-LO that silver  
*mej-j-a*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG  
 They packed the meat in grass package. That became silver.
- 1'28 *ani* *a:* *qep-no* *be:r-d* *ety-a* *ani* *a:t*  
 then that village-LO sun-NM go.down.B2-PT.3SG then there  
*kody-ar* *a:* *samay ma:q mejj-a* *ani ikṭe-k*  
 lie.down.B2-PT.3PL that time night become.B2-PT.3SG so where-DA  
*e:k-ey* *i:t* *ko:q-ey* *a:n-ka kody-ar*  
 go-FT.1PL.I here lie.down-FT.1PL.I say-CP lie.down.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then the sun had set [when they were still] in that village. They lay  
 down there. It got dark at that time, so they lay down, saying “Where  
 shall we go?” “Let us lie down here.”

- 01'37 *am men-lad ani curidari qep-no am.ki:ʔa*  
 water be-NG.PT.3SG.NM so PROP village-LO thirst  
*mej-a ani o:n-ot lagacki eʔt-godri-ti lilg-ar*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG so drink-IF for bow-heel-IN cleanse-PT.3PL  
 There was no water, so they got thirsty in Churidari village. They  
 scratched [the ground] with the end of the bow in order to drink [wa-  
 ter].
- 01'47 *lilg-ar ani amu-d urqy-a*  
 cleanse-PT.3PL then water-NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 They scratched [the ground], then water came out.
- 01'50 *amu-d urqy-a ani ade-n onɖa-kar em-ki*  
 water-NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG then that-AC drink.B2-CP.3PL we.E-GE  
*beɖyo a:ʔo kodv-a*  
 forefather there lie.down.B2-PT.3SG  
 Water came out. So our ancestor drank the water and lay down there.
- 01'55 *ani kir-oti tan-ki qep-ik kir-oti lagacki ma:k-a kol-ka*  
 then return-IF self-GE village-DA return-IF for meat-AC open-CP  
*tundv-ah ta:nu sona mej-a*  
 look.B2-PT.3SG.M then gold become.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then when [they] opened the [packet of] meat in order to return to  
 [their] own village, it had become gold.
- 02'04 *a: godri-n kol-ka tundv-a ta:nu rupa*  
 that intestine-AC open-CP look.B2-PT.3SG then silver  
*mej-a*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG  
 When they opened and saw [the packet of] intestines, they had become  
 silver.
- 02'08 *ani eŋ-ki beɖyo so:cc-ah ki i:ɖi jaga-d essa*  
 so I-GE forefather think.B2-PT.3SG.M COMP here place-NM very  
*e:ʔu-d a:n-kah awɖ-a*  
 good-NM say-CP.3SG.M speak-PT.3SG  
 So my ancestor thought, "This place is very good," and spoke so.
- 02'14 *a:n-kah awɖ-ah indrik nam-ki pel.maqe-r-in na:m*  
 say-CP.3SG.M speak-PT.3SG.M why we.I-GE woman-PL-AC we.I  
*i:ʔ-ik pehr-i ondr-ey essa jaga-d e:ʔu-d*  
 here-DA take.along-AP bring-FT.1PL.I very place-NM good-NM  
 He said this. We will bring our ladies here [because] the place is very  
 good.
- 02'25 *a:n-kah eŋ-ki beɖyo-h awɖ-ah*  
 say-CP.3SG.M I-GE ancestor-M speak-PT.3SG.M  
 My ancestor thought and said that.
- 02'29 *ani ade male-r ɖo:ky-ar ade eky-ar ek-kar*  
 so half person-PL stay.B2-PT.3PL half go.B2-PT.3PL go.B2-CP.3PL

- pel.maqe-r-in bi:k-kar ondro-ko*  
 woman-PL-AC call-CP.3PL bring-CP  
 So half of the people stayed and half went [back to their village]. They went, invited the women, brought them, then,
- 02'38 *o: curidari-no dɔ:ky-ar a: samay-no am-kuwa*  
 ITJ PROP-LO stay.B2-PT.3PL that time-LO water-well  
*kuw-onde-di mejj-ad*  
 well.CLF-one-NM.EPH be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 when they were in Churidari, there was only one well.
- 02'45 *ani qoly-ar a:tu go:gi men-naqy-ar pel-ar*  
 so take.up.B2-PT.3PL there argument do-REC.B2-PT.3PL woman-PL  
*pel-ar ani em-ki bedyo awd-ah*  
 woman-PL so we.E-GE ancestor speak-PT.3SG.M  
 [They] brought water [from there]. A dispute arose among the women, so our ancestor spoke.
- 02'53 *ðhō i:t dɔ:k-no ande go:gi men-enid a:n-kah*  
 ITJ here stay-IPP then dispute become-FT.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M  
*jaga-n bed-i bed-i barc-ah*  
 place-AC seek-AP REP come.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said "If we stay here, there will be a dispute," and came looking and looking for a [good] place.
- 02'59 *barca-kah agwa oky-a pac qepdu a:n-tam a:tu*  
 come.B2-CP.3SG.M first sit.B2-PT.3SG five village say-PT.1PL.E there  
 He came. We used to say that there were formerly five villages there.
- 03'06 *aɖi-nte jaga bed-i bed-i barca-kah i:to*  
 there-AB place seek-AP seek-AP come.B2-CP.3SG.M here  
*basc-ah*  
 settle.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He came from there looking for a [good] place. He settled down here.
- 03'11 *basca-kah man-ond dʒumbri-d ij-ad*  
 settle.B2-CP.3SG.M tree.CLF-one fig.tree-NM stand.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*be:ɖo mandu*  
 big tree  
 When he settled down, there stood one fig tree, a big tree.
- 03'15 *ani a: dʒumbri-no ert-a ca:r ilda-kah i: qep indra*  
 so that fig.tree-LO bow-AC arrow erect-CP.3SG.M this village what  
*a:n-ne a:ny-ah*  
 say-PR.2SG.M say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 So he stood his bow and arrow against the fig tree and asked [someone] "How do you call this village?"
- 03'23 *ð: dʒumbri-d a:n-ner a:ny-ah malto-no dʒumbri*  
 ITJ PROP-NM say-PR.3PL say.B2-PT.3SG.M Malto-LO PROP  
*gol-saba-no a:nibiṭa calar-i inda a:ny-ah*  
 Hindu-speech-LO PROP pass-PR.3SG ITJ say.B2-PT.3SG.M

He said, “They call it Dumbri. It is known as Dumbri in Malto and Anibhitta in Hindi.”

## §7 How we got married (Nc).

Told by Mr. Paulus Malto of Mokri, P. O. Bara Gagri, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at Dharampur Mor on March 3, 2008.

- 0'50 *e:nu nadi-n iskule-no doky-ad a: pahr.te-nte hi ciṭi*  
 I she-AC school-LO stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM that time-AB EPH letter  
*kurk-a seṅk-ken*  
 write-AP use.to-PT.1SG  
 Since she was still in school, I used to write letters to her.
- 0'59 *ciṭi kurk-ken ante a:d indru-goṭe jawa:be-n eṅg-en*  
 letter write-PT.1SG and she what-ever reply-AC I-AC  
*tey-la ta:ni-goṭe a:d eṅg-en ugle:c-a*  
 send-NG.PT.3SG then-even she I-AC think.B2-PT.3SG  
 I wrote letters, and she did not send me any reply whatsoever. Still,  
 she liked me.
- 1'07 *e:nu hō adi-n kajak ugle:c seṅk-ken*  
 I too she-AC much think.B2.AP use.to-PT.1SG  
 I liked her very much, too.
- 1'11 *ante bi:ce-no adi-ke muṛse-n awḍy-ar*  
 and middle-LO she-DA man-AC speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 Meanwhile, they were arranging for a husband for her.
- 1'18 *ante e:nu hō qa.wr-naq-olken*  
 and I too converse-REC-NG.PR.1SG  
 And I did not talk [to her].
- 1'21 *qa.wr-naq-olken ante a:d qa.wr-naq seṅg-olken*  
 converse-REC-NG.PR.1SG and she converse-REC.AP use.to-NG.PT.1SG  
*e:m alag.alag dōk-kem*  
 we.E separately stay.B2-PT.1PLE  
 I did not talk [to her]. I used not to talk to her, and we were separate.
- 1'27 *te padrar-naq-olkem hō e:n hō padrar-olken*  
 and chat-REC-NG.PR.1PLE too I too chat-NG.PR.1SG  
 We did not talk to each other and I did not talk [to her].
- 1'31 *ante a:d eṅg-en padrar-la*  
 and she I-AC chat-NG.PT.3SG  
 And she did not talk to me.
- 1'35 *te so:c-ken inor em-e em-e em-e (nagi) idi-sa:t jo:ṛ-gr-oti*  
 and think-PT.1SG now we.E-DA REP REP she-with unite-PA-IF  
*pol-in ante so:c-ken*  
 be.unable-PR.1SG and think-PT.1SG  
 And I thought now I cannot be put together with her.
- 1'43 *ta:ni-goṭe p<sup>h</sup>ir aysa samay barc-ad e:k sa:l ayse*  
 then-even again such time come.B2-PT.3SG.NM one year this.way  
*bitary-a e:m qa.wr-naq-alo-hi*  
 pass.B2-PT.3SG we.E converse-REC-NG.AP-EPH

But such an opportunity came again. One year passed that way, without our talking to each other.

- 1'50 *ante do:haja:r.sa:te-no em-ki kelarnaqe-d essa nazdi:k*  
and 2007-LO we.E-GE affection-NM very close  
*leary-a*  
become.B2-PT.3SG

And in 2007, our relationship became very close.

- 1'59 *nazdi:k lear-e-ki ba:d eme adi-sa:tu a: bi:ce-no do: ciṭi*  
close become-VN-GE after we.E she-with that between-LO two letter  
*kurk-ken kurk-ken ante adi-k e:ne ciṭi-n teya-ken*  
write-PT.1SG write-CP.1SG and she-DA I letter-AC send-PT.1SG  
Then we wrote, I wrote two letters to her, during that period. I wrote  
and sent [those] letters to her.

- 2'09 *a: ciṭi-n hō a:-pa:w kirtre-ki tey-la*  
that letter-AC too that-way return-PT.3SG.NM send-NG.PT.3SG  
She did not write back to that letter either.

- 2'13 *tey-la ta:ni-goṭe e:n adi-n ugley-ponti dok-ken*  
send-NG.PT.3SG then-even I she-AC think-AP stay-PT.1PL.E  
She did not write back, but I kept thinking of her.

- 2'18 *ante nane-r-in hō meṭj.e:r-tit-ken*  
and other-PL-AC too inquire-CS-PT.1SG  
And I made others ask [what she thought].

- 2'21 *adno awḍy-ad e:n to ugley-in*  
then speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM I TOP think-PR.1SG  
Then she said, "I think of you."

- 2'25 *pa:re eng-e baiya-ber ante mama-ber do:k-ner a:r se*  
but I-DA brother-PL and maternal.uncle-PL stay-PR.3PL they EPH  
*ugley-olar a:ny-ar*  
think-NG.PR.3PL say.B2-PT.3PL  
"But I have elder brothers and maternal uncles. They say they don't  
like [you]."

- 2'34 *ante a:ṭi-nte e:ne indra kud-en sa:y-en a:n-ken*  
and there-AB I what do-FT.1SG break.up-FT.1SG say-PT.1SG  
Then what would I do? I thought I would forget about her.

- 2'41 *ta:ni-goṭe na:d eng-en ante baṭa:.din ho bi:c.bi:ce-no*  
then-even she I-AC and Christmas too middle-LO  
*bi:ce-no eng-en a:de awḍy-a adi-k muṛse-n ṭunḍ-oti*  
middle-LO I-AC she speak.B2-PT.3SG she-DA man-AC look-IF  
*barc-ar*  
come.B2-PT.3PL

Still she told me on Christmas day and on days in between that people came to arrange a match for her.

- 2'55 *bar-u-r meṭj-ar ante muṛse ṭunḍ-oti bar-u-r*  
come-PP-PL be.B2-PT.3PL and man look-IF come-PP-PL

*mej-ar*

be.B2-PT.3PL

They were going to come. They were going to come in order to make match.

- 3'01 *ani a: muṣe-h ta:i:s ta:ri:ke bar-e-ki mej-ah*  
 then that man-M 23 date come-VN-GE be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then that man was supposed to come on the 23rd.

- 3'05 *ta:i:s disembar bar-e-ki mej-ah bar-lah*  
 23 December come-VN-GE be.B2-PT.3SG.M come-NG.PT.3SG.M  
 He was supposed to come on December 23. He didn't come.

- 3'08 *ante e:mu andeki sangal befar-naq-a sejk-kem*  
 and we.E that.way together meet-REC-AP use.to-PT.1PLE  
 Then we saw each other as before.

- 3'12 *a: pahr-no awḍy-ad eṅg-en ni:nu ko:te-no biha*  
 that time-LO speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM I-AC you court-LO marriage  
*nan-le a:n-le awḍy-a*  
 do-SJ.2SG.M say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG  
 At that time she said, "Will you marry me at the court?"

- 3'21 *ani eṅg-e agdo-hi eṅg-e a:srar-e barc-ad*  
 then I-DA first-EPH I-DA trust-VN come.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then I got hope for the first time.

- 3'26 *ante (a:s) kajak a:srar-ken*  
 and much trust-PT.1SG  
 And my hopes rose.

- 3'29 *ante e:m ada-nte adi-sa:tu gaṛhĩ mal-ar em-en*  
 and we.E that-AB she-with many person-PL we.E-AC  
*ca:hy-lar gaṛhĩ mal-ar em-en cahc-ar*  
 want-NG.PT.3PL many person-PL we.E-AC want.B2-PT.3PL  
 And after that many people didn't approve of us, [me] and her, and many people approved of us.

- 3'37 *ade mala-r ḍo:k-nihi e:ru men-a:nda ani ḍo:k-eramla*  
 half person-PL stay-IPP.EPH well be-OP.3SG then stay-NG.FT.3PL  
*a:n-ker*  
 say-CP.3PL  
 Half of the people said, "It will be good if they are married," then [others] said, "They should not get married."

- 3'40 *qepo-r hō saba-no oky-ar ante bica:re*  
 villager-PL too matter-LO sit.B2-PT.3PL and consideration  
*mej-ad adno qepo-r awḍy-ar*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM then villager-PL speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 Villagers also sat on the matter, and there was discussion. Then they said,

- 3'48 *mala ḍo:k-tr-a:nder maqe-r a:-wj-i:-wjo men-er*  
 no stay-CS-OP.3PL child-PL this-way-that-way become-FT.3PL

- awro a:n-ker ante bica:r nany-ar*  
 furthermore say-CP and consideration do.B2-PT.3PL  
 “No, let them get married. The boy and the girl will somehow get on.” They discussed and said this.
- 3’54 *bica:r nan-e-ki ba:du ta:ni-goje teho-tambako-ber tey-oti*  
 consideration do-VN-GE after then-even mother-father-PL send-IF  
*bed-lar*  
 seek-NG.PT.3PL  
 After they discussed, [her] parents still did not want to let her go.
- 3’59 *ante to:ja: dine aqa-k oca-ken do:k-tr-ken ado*  
 and a.little day house-DA take.B2-CP.1SG stay-CS-PT.1SG again  
*bi:k-ker argtry-ar*  
 call-CP.3PL take.up.B2-PT.3PL  
 I took her to my house and put her up for a few days. They called her again and took her up [to their house].
- 4’04 *bi:k-ker argtry-ar ante a:ti-nte ondr-ken*  
 call-CP.3PL take.up.B2-PT.3PL and there-AB bring-PT.1SG  
 They called and took her back. Then I brought her from there.
- 4’07 *ante e:nu hi ek ek dok-ken a:ber-aqa-k*  
 and I EPH go.B2.AP REP stay.B2-PT.1SG they-house-DA  
 And I visited [her] at their house and stayed [with her].
- 4’09 *ek ek dok-ken to ti:n dine ante a:ti-nte eng-en*  
 go.B2.AP REP stay.B2-PT.1SG then three day and there-AB I-AC  
*awdy-ar*  
 speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 I visited and stayed [with her]. Then [when] three days [have passed], they said to me.
- 4’12 *bar-oti cahy-ola a:n-le tambako-r awdy-ar ani e:n*  
 come-IF want-NG.PR.3SG say-CP father-PL speak.B2-PT.3PL so I  
*e:k-olken*  
 go-NG.PR.1SG  
 Her father said, “[I] don’t want [you] to come.” So I did not go.
- 4’17 *e:k-olken ante a: bi:ce-n indra kudy-a*  
 go-NG.PR.1SG and that between-LO what do.B2-PT.3SG  
 I did not go. Then what did [she] do at that time?
- 4’19 *e:m a:ti-nte liṭipara-no me:la-k ek-kem*  
 we.E there-AB PROP-LO festival-DA go.B2-PT.1PLE  
 We went to a festival in Littipara then.
- 4’25 *me:la ek-kem liṭipara me:la-k me:la-ke ante na:d*  
 festival go.B2-PT.1PLE PROP festival-DA festival-DA and she  
*eky-a ante e:n ro:kar-ken agwa ety-ad*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG and I get.angry-PT.1SG before.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*eng-en amb-kid ani ro:kar-ken*  
 I-AC leave-CP.1SG.NM so get.angry-PT.1SG

We went to a festival in Littipara. And she went off and I got angry, for she left me behind and went down [the hill] first. So I got angry.

- 4'33 *ante e:n ma:qa taḍi-n onḍa-ken aḍa-k ark-ken*  
and I night toddy-AC drink.B2-PT.1SG house-DA climb-PT.1SG  
I drank liquor at night and went up home.

- 4'37 *aḍa-k arg-ken ante a:ṭi-nte e:n ga:ra baje ma:qa p<sup>hir</sup>*  
house-DA climb-PT.1SG and there-AB I eleven o'clock night again  
*i:ṭ-ik mo:ṛe-k et-ken*  
here-DA corner-DA go.down-PT.1SG  
I went up home, and I came down here again, to the [Dharampur] Mor,  
at eleven o'clock at night.

- 4'43 *mo:ṛe-nte caukida:re gaḍi-n darc-keh qaṭy-ah*  
corner-AB policeman vehicle-AC catch.B2-CP.3SG.M give.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*a:ṭi-nte e:n ek-ken liṭipara me:la-k*  
there-AB I go.B2-PT.1SG PROP festival-DA  
A policeman stopped a car [for me] at the corner. I went to the Littipara festival from there.

- 4'50 *liṭipara-no e:m beṭar-naq-qem ante ma:qa e:m ṣṭaḍiem-no*  
PROP-LO we.E meet-REC-PT.1PLE and night we.E stadium-LO  
*ḍok-kem*  
stay-PT.1PLE  
We met in Littipara, and we spent the night at the stadium.

- 4'55 *a:ṭi-nte e:m kir-kem ante e:m em-aḍa-k*  
there-AB we.E return-PT.1PLE and we.E we.E.OBL-house-DA  
*barc-kem a:ṭi-nte aneke amaṭ e:mu saṅgale ḍo:k-im*  
come.B2-CP.1PLE there-AB now until we.E together stay-PR.1PLE  
We came back from there, and we came to our house. Since then till  
now, we live together.

- 5'02 *em-en qep-ki qep-male-r gaṛi-hi male-r*  
we.E-AC village-GE village-person-PL many-EPH person-PL  
*ugle:c-ar ike-r ugley-lar*  
think.B2-PT.3PL someone-PL think-NG.PT.3PL  
Many village people approved of us. Some did not.

- 5'07 *ta:ni-goṭe goṣāyi em-jo:ṛ-ond-en ugle:c-ad*  
then-even god we.E.OBL-couple.CLF-one-AC think.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*a:-le:cki anake e:m saṅgale e:ru ḍo:k-im*  
that-for now we.E together well stay-PR.1PLE  
Still God approved of us two. So we live together happily now.

- 5'14 *inonde awḍ-in em-ki kelar:naq-e-ki kaha:ni-d*  
this.much speak-PR.1SG we.E-GE love-VN-GE story-NM  
*inonde-hi onḡry-a*  
this.much-EPH end.B2-PT.3SG  
I tell you this much. The story of our love ends here.

### §8 Life before conversion (Nc).

Told by Mr. Shiva Malto of Pandanbita, P. O. Lakhipur, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahebganj. Recorded at the community storehouse of Pandanbita on February 27, 2006.

- 0'18 *e:mu agwa: ki:rwa mejja-kem ante e:m biha-sa:di*  
 we.E formerly poor be.B2-PT.1PLE.E and we.E marriage-marriage  
*men-oti pola-kem*  
 do-IF be.unable-PT.1PLE.E

Formerly, we were poor, and we could not arrange marriages.

- 0'25 *esse hi de:si.baga:n-ente pel-a anda-kem*  
 very EPH migrant.labor.plantation-AB woman-AC find-PT.1PLE.E  
*dok-kem pahle juge se*  
 marry.B2-PT.1PLE.E former period EPH  
 We used to find and marry a lot of women from the plantations of  
 migrant labor in former times.

- 0'33 *ante ade-nte gari-hi em-a takli:pe-no dok-kem*  
 and that-AB much-EPH we.E-DA difficulty-LO stay.B2-PT.1PLE.E  
 We were in difficulties bigger than that.

- 0'40 *aq-onond aqa-no aage.mange e:mu apna jo aqa-no*  
 house-each house-LO individually we.E own REL house-LO  
*qe:r-a qota-kem perwa-n qota-kem ante e:re*  
 chicken-AC cut.B2-PT.1PLE.E pigeon-AC cut.B2-PT.1PLE.E and goat  
*qota-kem kis-a qota-kem em-ki apna aqa-no ante*  
 cut.B2-PT.1PLE.E pig-AC cut.B2-PT.1PLE.E we.E-GE own house-LO and  
*be:wa be:wa qota-kem*  
 community community cut.B2-PT.1PLE.E  
 In each house, we used to kill chickens, pigeons, goats, pigs — we  
 used to kill them in our own house and in each community.

- 1'04 *maq-ond qe:ru jo:r-ond perwa pa:n-ond pa:nu ante maq-ond*  
 CLF-one chicken pair.CLF-one pigeon CLF-one egg and CLF-one  
*e:re kisu mejj-a ante mangu mejj-a ani e:m essa*  
 goat pig be.B2-PT.3SG and buffalo be.B2-PT.3SG so we.E very  
*takli:pe-no dok-kem*  
 difficulty-LO stay.B2-PT.1PLE.E  
 [It used to take] one chicken, two pigeons, one egg, one goat and pig.  
 There was a buffalo [too]. So we lived in great difficulty.

- 1'25 *ante e:m pahle juge-no andake-m dok-kem*  
 and we.E former period-LO that.way-EPH stay.B2-PT.1PLE.E  
 In past times, we used to live that way.

- 1'34 *ante anake ante awri-hi em-ki payda mejj-a to em-ki*  
 and now and again-EPH we.E-GE birth be.B2-PT.3SG then we.E-GE  
*janme-kude-ne karma-no ok-tr-kem*  
 birth-navel-AC tree.name-LO sit-CS-PT.1PLE.E  
 And then, when there was a birth, we used to put the umbilical cord

on a Karma tree.

- 1'46 *i: pa:n-ond talya mejj-a ada-no oṛme-no ok-tr-kem*  
 this CLF-one pan be.B2-PT.3SG that-LO ash-LO sit-CS-PT.1PL.E  
 This was a pan. We used to put ash it on the ash in it.
- 1'50 *te ert-a me:jj-kem ante ca:r-a bana:tr-kem ante*  
 and bow-AC make.B2-PT.1PL.E and arrow-AC make-PT.1PL.E and  
*e:m kaṛamb kuṭa-no a: kuḍ-patli-n ok-tr-kem*  
 we.E tree.name stump-LO that navel-pot-AC sit-CS-PT.1PL.E  
 We make a bow and arrow, and we put the pot with the umbilical cord  
 at the root of the Karam (teak) tree.
- 2'01 *em-ki pahla-ki niyame andaki ante anake hō andaki*  
 we.E-GE before-GE custom that.way and now too that.way  
*beh-i*  
 be-PR.3SG  
 Our custom in the past was that way, and it is still the same.
- 2'06 *pahariya-ki niyame-no kuḍ-patli-n kaṛma-no ok-tr-im*  
 Pahariya-GE custom-LO navel-pot-AC tree.name-LO sit-CS-PR.1PL.E  
*ca:r-a me:jj-im ante ert-a me:jj-kem ante*  
 arrow-AC make-PR.1PL.E and bow-AC make-PT.1PL.E and  
 In the custom of the Pahariyas, we put the pot with the umbilical cord  
 at a Karam tree. We make a bow and arrow.
- 2'13 *ante ada-no e:mu ada-no hō andaki becc-ad*  
 and that-LO we.E that-LO too that.way be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then it was like that.
- 2'26 *adi-n hō sotale-r i:ṭi jaga-no ertu-d ca:ru-d i:d em-ki*  
 that-AC too Santhal-PL here place-LO bow-NM arrow-NM this we.E-GE  
*se ade-n hō sotale-r a: ca:r-a ertu em-ki-d a:n-ner*  
 EPH that-AC too Santhal-PL that arrow-AC bow we.E-GE-NM say-PR.3PL  
 In this place, the bow and arrow are ours. The Santhals say those bow  
 and arrow are theirs too.
- 2'40 *mala ta:no a:r-ki goṭe se tejj-a mba a:r-ki maq-ond*  
 no then they-GE all EPH tell-IMP isn't.it they-GE CLF-one  
*qe:r-ki maq-ond sim.sandj mejj-a jo:r-o sakam*  
 chicken-GE CLF-one rooster be.B2-PT.3SG pair.CLF-one leaf  
*mej-j-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG  
 No, tell all that are theirs, right? One rooster and two leaves were  
 theirs.
- 2'54 *adi-n hō anake em-ki-d em-ki a:n-ner*  
 that-AC too now we.E-GE-NM we.E-GE say-PR.3PL  
 They now say that [bow and arrow] were theirs too.
- 2'57 *mal ta:n niyame em-ki pahle juge-no kuḍ-patli ok-tr-kem*  
 not then custom we.E-GE former period-LO navel-pot sit-CS-CP.1PL.E

*oṛme-n ante kuḍ-patli-no ok-tr-kem*

ash-AC and navel-pot-LO sit-CS-CP.1PLE

No, in former times, in our custom, we put an umbilical cord pot. We put ashes in the umbilical cord pot.

- 3'06 *anond ḍaṭ-ond kuṭ-ond ca:r meṇj-a ante ertu*  
 that.much CLF-one CLF-one arrow be.B2-PT.3SG and bow  
*meṇj-a i:ḍ meṇj-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG here be.B2-PT.3SG

That much — a bow and arrow — that was here.

- 3'09 *ante agwa e:mu pahariya-ja:ti-no mang-a gota-kem*  
 and formerly we.E Pahariya-tribe-LO buffalo-AC cut.B2-PT.1PLE  
*ba:de awri-hi anḡe.manḡe bo:je-n kudy-ar*  
 after again-EPH individually feast-AC du.B2-PT.3PL

And formerly, in the Pahariya community, we used to kill buffaloes, and furthermore, we held feast in each house.

- 3'20 *ada-no hō indra payde men-la a:d ba:catr-la*  
 that-LO too what benefit be-NG.PT.3SG that preserve-NG.PT.3SG  
*em-en*  
 we.E-AC

It was no use either. It did not save us.

- 3'24 *ante anḡe.manḡe gota-kem darc-kem a:d hō*  
 and individually cut.B2-CP.1PLE catch.B2-PT.1PLE that too  
*ba:catr-la em-en*  
 preserve-NG.PT.3SG we.E-AC

And we cut and caught [animals] in each house. That did not save us either.

- 3'28 *anaku i: pa:we barc-kem ante anake indru-goṭe maq-ond*  
 now this way come.B2-PT.1PLE and now what-ever CLF-one  
*qe:rdu lag-ola*  
 chicken cost-NG.PR.3SG

Now we have followed this way (i.e. Christianity). And now it does not cost us at all. [It does not cost us] a chicken.

- 3'34 *jo:ṭ-ond perwa lag-ola pa:n-ond pa:nu lag-ola*  
 pair.CLF-one pigeon cost-NG.PR.3SG CLF-one egg cost-NG.PR.3SG  
*maq-ond e:ṛe lag-ola eṛw-emala*  
 CLF-one goat cost-NG.PR.3SG worship-NG.FT.1PLE

It does not cost two pigeons, one egg, or one goat. We do not do the rituals any more.

- 3'40 *maq-ond kisu eṛw-emala maq-ond o:ydu*  
 CLF-one pig worship-NG.FT.1PLE CLF-one cow  
*eṛw-emala maq-ond mangu eṛw-emala*  
 worship-NG.FT.1PLE CLF-one buffalo worship-NG.FT.1PLE  
*indru-goṭe mal-a ida-no*  
 what-even be.not-PR.3SG this-LO

We do not sacrifice one pig, one cow, or one buffalo. There is no [sacrifice] whatsoever in this.

- 3'47 *e:m ida-no essa ga:re-hi apoki-no do:k-im ...*  
 we.E this-LO very much-EPH happiness-LO stay-PR.1PLE  
 We live very happily in this [religion].

- 4'24 *ante indru-goŋe-hi anaku lap-oti mo:q-ot=du:re-se jokar*  
 and what-ever-EPH now eat-IF eat-IF=only-EPH meeting  
*men-im eŋwe-tu:se mal-a*  
 do-PR.1PLE.E ritual-throwing be.not-PR.3SG  
 And now we meet just for eating on any occasion. There is no worship and sacrifice.

- 4'30 *ante ne:reh-goŋe anake anond ki:ŋwa mala-kem*  
 and who.M-ever now that.much poor be.not-PT.1PLE  
 And none of us is as poor [as before] now.

- 4'34 *(a:ysinaŋesinaŋelekinta:nu) joka nek-kem hi ki*  
 a.little get.well-PT.1PLE EPH COMP  
*kank-a ga:re-goŋ kum-olkem*  
 firewood-AC much-even carry.on.head-NG.PR.1PLE  
 We became a little better off. We do not do as much as carrying a lot of firewood [and sell it in the market].

- 4'40 *mal ta:n pahle juge-no acca kum-kem*  
 not then former period-LO well carry.on.head-PT.1PLE  
 On the contrary, we used to carry [firewood] in former times.

- 4'43 *ante qe:n deŋga-ni oca-kem ante a: indr-indru-hi*  
 and raw timber-AC take.B2-PT.1PLE and that RED-what-EPH  
*ja:t-ja:ti pe:s-pe:sa bajare oca-kem ante*  
 RED-kind RED-money market take.B2-PT.1PLE and  
 And we used to take raw timber. And we used to take various kinds of things and money [to] the market.

- 4'50 *ante qalwi-n qad doky-ar anaku qalwi mal-a*  
 and theft-AC steal.B2.AP stay.B2-PT.3PL now theft be.not-PR.3SG  
 And they were committing theft. Now there is no theft.

- 4'56 *ante dākati-r mal-ar anaku*  
 and dacoit-PL be.not-PR.3PL now  
 And there are no dacoits now.

- 4'47 *dākati-n amby-ar qalwi-n amby-ar*  
 dacoit-AC leave.B2-PT.3PL theft-AC leave.B2-PT.3PL  
 They quit dacoitry. They quit theft.

- 5'00 *anaku i: isai pa:w-ik barc-ker ante essa maja e:ru*  
 now this Jesus way-DA come.B2-CP.3PL and very well good  
*do:k-im mal ta:n agwa essa qalwe-r meŋj-ar*  
 stay-PR.1PLE not then formerly very thief-PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 Now they have become Christians, and we live very well. On the contrary, there were many thieves before.

- 5'07 *ante bo:je-no baja-naq-qem la:ra:i menj-a*  
 and feast-LO beat.AP-REC-PT.1PL.E quarrel be.B2-PT.3SG  
*je:-go:je-hi anake e:ru se biha men-ner*  
 what-ever-EPH now well EPH wedding be-PR.3PL  
 And we used to beat each other in a feast. There were all kinds of quarrels. Now they do marriage in a nice way.
- 5'14 *e:ru-hi biha-sa:di menj-ker ante e:ru-hi*  
 well-EPH wedding-wedding do-CP.3PL and well-EPH  
*sopar-ker do:k-ner masi-pa:w-no danyaba:d nan-im*  
 be.fulfilled-CP.3PL stay-PR.3PL Messiah-way-LO thanks do-PR.1PL.E  
 They do marriage well, and they live well content. We say thanks to Christianity.

### §9 Famine and emigration (Nw).

Told by Mr. Alexander Malto of Kusumghati, P. O. Kero Bazar, P. S. Boar-ijor, Dist. Godda. Recorded at his residence in Kusumghati on March 5, 2008.

- 0'00 *agwa i:ti-bahno male-re dökke senjy-ar a:no*  
 formerly here-LO person-PL stay.B2.AP use.to.B2-PT.3PL there  
*ki:re bahut menj-a*  
 hunger much be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Formerly, when people used to live here, they [suffered] a lot from hunger.
- 0'05 *aka:le ba:ra senjy-a ja:ra kam pos*  
 drought extend-AP use.to.B2-PT.3SG rain little rain.B2.AP  
*senjy-a*  
 use.to.B2-PT.3SG  
 Drought used to spread. It used to rain little.
- 0'08 *aur i:t-ki male-r to:ra a:lsi-taip-ki menj-ar anpa:re*  
 and here-GE person-PL a.little lazy-type-GE be.B2-PT.3SG uneducated  
*ja:de doky-ar pa:ra:lika:kame-hi menj-ar*  
 too.many stay.B2-PT.3PL educated little-EPH be.B2-PT.3PL  
 And the people here were kind of lazy. Too many people were uneducated. There were few educated people.
- 0'14 *ani (bahre-r-iki ato) isai banary-ar a:wer bahre-k*  
 then outsider-PL-GE TOP Jesus be.made.B2-PT.3PL they outside-DA  
*eky-ar pa:dar-lo:ker-guni*  
 go.B2-PT.3PL father-people-with  
 Then those converted to Christianity went outside with the fathers.
- 0'19 *ante a:waj a:sa:m-bajo eky-ar darjiling-bajo eky-ar*  
 and that.way Assam-side go.B2-PT.3PL Darjeeling-side go.B2-PT.3PL  
 They went there, to Assam and to Darjeeling.
- 0'22 *ante a:wer ano ka:je-n kud-e senjy-ar*  
 and they there work-AC do-AP use.to.B2-PT.3PL  
 And they were working there.

- 0'25 *ante sa:l de:r sa:le-no kabi: aḍa qep-no bar-no*  
 and year one.and.a.half year-LO any.time house village-LO come-IPP  
*mej̃ seṅgy-ar*  
 ask.B2.AP use.to.B2-PT.3PL  
 And whenever they came back to the home village in a year or a year  
 and a half, they would ask.
- 0'28 *a:ti.bah-ki ha:l-sama:ca:re ikin aṛe*  
 there-GE state-condition how ITJ  
 “Tell me, how is the condition there?”
- 0'30 *e:m a:t-no to baṛiya baṛiya lap-im mo:q-im aṛe a:t-no*  
 we.E there-LO TOP fine REP eat-PR.1PL.E eat-PR.1PL.E ITJ there-LO  
*du:de dahi bʰa:ri-d aṛe i:t-no to ni:m ki:ṛe-t key-ner*  
 milk curds massive-NM ITJ here-LO TOP you.PL hunger-IN die-PR.2PL  
 “We eat very well there. There are a lot of milk and curds there. Here  
 you are dying of hunger.”
- 0'37 *ante i:t-ki male-r hō so:cc-ar ki sa:la i:t-no*  
 and here-GE person-PL too think.B2-PT.3PL COMP damn here-LO  
*ki:ṛe-t i:t-no ki:ṛe-t key-it aṛe e:k-a aṛe a:*  
 hunger-IN here-LO hunger-IN die-PR.1PL.I ITJ go-IMP ITJ that  
*de:si-k e:k-et a:n-le*  
 country-DA go-FT.1PL.I say-CP  
 And people here thought too, “We are going to die of hunger here. Let  
 us go! Let us go to that country!”
- 0'43 *i:ti-nte eky-ar eky-ar ani a:t-no mifan-pa:we hi i:wer-in*  
 here-AB go.B2-PT.3PL REP then there-LO mission-by EPH these-AC  
*ka:je-n e:d-ar*  
 work-AC show-PT.3PL  
 They went from here. Then [people] introduced jobs to them by the  
 help of the mission there.
- 0'49 *iṭ-in arq-ger ante qaj-e e:g-a*  
 here-LO.EPH dig-CP.3PL and dirt-AC throw-IMP  
 “Dig here and throw dirt.”
- 0'52 *ante i:t-no(de) du:de-d urq-enid dahi*  
 and here-LO milk-NM come.out-FT.3SG.NM curds  
*urq-enid a:n-ko*  
 come.out-FT.3SG.NM say-CP  
 “Milk and curds will be available (lit. come out) here.”
- 0'55 *a:wer a:ti-bahno ek-keh ek-keh arg-oti lagary-ah*  
 they there-LO go.B2-CP.3SG.M REP dig-IF start.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 They went there [one by one] and started digging.
- 0'58 *arg-ar ante a:wer qaj-e e:gy-ar to a:wer-ki na:pe*  
 dig-PT.3PL and they dirt-AC throw.B2-PT.3PL then they-GE measure  
 They dug and threw dirt away. Then they had a measure.

- 1'01 *anpaṛ male-r arg-e-ne arg-e[r] e:k ba:ra pi:t arg-ot*  
 uneducated person-PL dig-VN-AC dig-FT.3PL one twelve feet dig-IF  
*ca:hy-i*  
 need-PR.3SG  
 They were uneducated people. They dug a lot. They had to dig twelve feet.
- 1'05 *to arg-ner (adektu) kaṛm-onond mal-onond-ki jaldi*  
 then dig-PR.3PL waist-each man-each-GE quick  
*urq-no jaldi mo:q-en a:n-le*  
 come.out-IPP quick eat-FT.1SG say-CP  
 They dug up to each's waist and up to each's height, saying "If milk and curds come out soon, I will [drink and] eat them soon."
- 1'10 *lekin a:t-no andeki men-la te arg-e pole-ker*  
 but there-LO that.way be-NG.PT.3SG and dig-VN be.unable-CP.3PL  
*i:wer oky-ar*  
 these sit.B2-PT.3PL  
 But it was not that way there. [Getting tired and] unable to dig, they were sitting.
- 1'13 *ne: ne: oc-ar a:-gahndy-er qo:q be:r u:q-a a:*  
 who who take.B2-PT.3PL that-flock-PL later sun get.dark-PT.3SG that  
*pahr-no ek-ker tund-ner*  
 time-LO go.B2-CP.3PL look-PR.3PL  
 Those who took them there went and saw them later at sunset.
- 1'17 *ta:ni a:wer arg-e pole-ker ok-ner te indru-jahā*  
 then they dig-VN be.unable-CP.3PL sit-PR.3PL and what-even  
*urq-ola*  
 come.out-NG.PR.3SG  
 Then they were sitting unable to dig. And nothing had come out [of the ground].
- 1'20 *ani a:wer-in awdy-ar aṛe ni:m aneke e:g-o*  
 then they-AC speak.B2-PT.3PL ITJ you.PL now throw-IF  
*ong-olker qaj-e arq-qer ok-ner=du:re=r̥e aṛe*  
 finish-NG.PR.2PL dirt-AC dig-CP.2PL sit-PR.2PL=only=ITJ ITJ  
 They said to them, "Hey, you have not finished throwing the dirt away yet. You have dug dirt and are just sitting."
- 1'26 *de ta:ni-goṭe indru-goṭe urq-ola*  
 ITJ then-even what-ever come.out-NG.PR.3SG  
 [Then the laborers said] "But nothing comes out."
- 1'28 *ar be:ru u:q-eni ante-se niṇ-ki*  
 and sun get.dark-FT.3SG.NM then-EPH you-GE  
*cauka-n=indru qoy-em ante pe:sa-n*  
 square.area-AC=and.so.on measure-FT.1PL.E and money-AC  
*ciy-er*  
 give-FT.3PL

“When the sun sets, we will measure your area and so on, and they will give you money.”

- 1'33 *ante ni:m ek-ker ante bajare-no a:ja:d lap-er mo:q-er*  
 and you.PL go.B2-CP.2PL and market-LO free eat-FT.2PL eat-FT.2PL  
*du:de-n dahi-n ani-se awq-kem ondr-kem ko=ɾe*  
 milk-AC curds-AC so-EPH speak-CP.1PL.E bring-CP.1PL.E it.seems=ITJ  
*nim-en*  
 you-AC

“Then you [can] go and drink milk and eat curds freely at the market. That is why we talked [to you] and brought you [here], isn't it?”

- 1'37 *ante qo:q samjary-ar ante nan-dinte-nte a:wer ka:je-n*  
 and after understand.B2-PT.3PL and other-day-AB they work-AC  
*kudy-ar*  
 do.B2-PT.3PL

They understood later, and from the next day they did the work.

- 1'41 *cūki i:waje to ki:ɾe mejj-a te a:wer anub<sup>h</sup>av*  
 because this.way TOP hunger be.B2-PT.3SG and they experience  
*nany-ar ki i:t-no pe:sa qaq-owr-id*  
 do.B2-PT.3PL COMP here-LO money receive-PA-PR.3SG.NM  
 There was famine in this side. And they got experience that money is available [t]here.

- 1'44 *ante a:ja:d lap-e mo:q-e mejj-a ar kuc male-r aneke*  
 and freely eat-VN eat-VN be.B2-PT.3SG and some person-PL now  
*hō a:-waje basc-ker qo:k-ner aneke i: de:s-inte*  
 too that-way settle.down.B2-CP.3PL stay-PR.3PL now this land-AB  
*amb-ker eky-ar*  
 leave-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL

And they were to eat freely [with that money]. And some people have settled down and still live there. They have now left this land and gone there.



### Chapter III. Pahariya Rituals

#### §10 Birth of a baby and the first feeding (S).

Told by Mrs. Surji Paharni of Amlagachhi, P. O. Shahrgram, P. S. Maheshpur, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Amlagachhi on September 6, 2006.<sup>1</sup>

- 0'24 *e:mu maʔe-r jarmar-no ort buɖiya-leko ja:ŋg-nam*  
 we.E boy-PL be.born-IPP one old.woman-like call-PR.1PL.E  
 When babies are born, we call one elderly lady.
- 0'32 *ja:ŋga-kam pahra ok-nar a:treri kuɖe mo:c-nar*  
 call-CP.1PL.E watch sit-PR.3PL they navel cut-PR.3PL  
 After we call [someone], they sit and keep watch [on the baby]. They cut the umbilical cord.
- 0'37 *kuɖe mo:c-kar amt-nar*  
 navel cut-CP.3PL bathe-PR.3PL  
 They cut the umbilical cord and bathe [the baby].
- 0'39 *amta-kar (ɖaɖi-n) sapa ɖaɖi-no pet-a*  
 give.bath-CP.3PL clean cloth-LO take.up.B2-AP  
*pa:k-nar*  
 take.in.the.lap-PR.3PL  
 After they bathe [the baby], they take it up in clean cloth and hold it in the lap.
- 0'45 *pa:k-ne ke.ba:d aɖʱa ganʃa ba:de e:k aɖʱa ganʃa ba:de-no*  
 take.in.the.lap-VN after half hour after one half hour after-LO  
*a:r teho-bagar-ki dudi-n ond-nar*  
 and mother-PL-GE milk-AC make.drink-PR.3PL  
 After holding [the baby] in the lap, after half an hour, they give it the milk of the mother and so on.
- 0'52 *uske.ba:d a:t dini oɾh-inte urʔ-omalar*  
 after.that eight day house-AB come.out-NG.PR.3PL  
 They do not go out of their house for eight days after that.
- 0'57 *ɖaɖi-n naw dini-no bita-kar kaj-nar*  
 cloth-AC nine day-LO cook-CP.3PL wash-PR.3PL  
 They boil and clean the cloth on the nin[th] day.
- 1'01 *kaj-ne ke.ba:d male-ri sa:pe duwar-no ok-nar ca:he*  
 wash-VN after person-PL clean entrance-LO sit-PR.3PL or  
*il-nar*  
 stand-PR.3PL  
 After they wash cloths, people sit or stand at the clean front yard.
- 1'07 *a:r e:mu cuʃike ma:ny-nam*  
 and we.E restrictions.on.touching accept-PR.1PL.E  
 And we observe the restrictions on touching.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Vidyarthi (1963:122), Vidyarthi (1991a:26).

- 1'09 *je: jab.tak randa bit-omaltam a:-du:re*  
 then until.REL food.for.the.first.feeding cook-NG.PR.1PL.E that-far.CR  
*muʃs-maʔe-r-in e: ʔep-kar lap-tr-omaltam a:r ja:gu*  
 man-boy-PL-AC ITJ touch-CP.3PL eat-CS-NG.PR.1PL.E and boiled.rice  
*hō bit-omaltam*  
 too cook-NG.PR.1PL.E  
 Until we cook the food for the first feeding, we do not touch and feed  
 men, nor do we cook food.”<sup>2</sup>
- 1'19 *a: maʔe-r-in-ki-n randa bita-ka lap-tr-ne*  
 that boy-PL-AC-GE-AC food.for.the.first.feeding cook-CP eat-CS-VN  
*ke.ba:d hi e:m (male-r-ki male) muʃs-maʔe-r-in bita-ka*  
 after EPH we.E person-PL-GE or man-boy-PL-AC cook-CP  
*lap-tr-nam a:r peʔa-oʔa-r-in hō*  
 eat-CS-PR.1PL.E and guest-ECHO-PL-AC too  
 After cooking the food for the first feeding and feeding the baby with  
 it, we cook and feed men and the guests.
- 1'32 *a:r e:m nane-r-ki kaʔe-no ok-omaltam macli-no*  
 they we.E other-PL-GE bedstead-LO sit-NG.PR.1PL.E small.stool-LO  
*ok-omaltam kanʔo-no ok-omaltam*  
 sit-NG.PR.1PL.E stool-LO sit-NG.PR.1PL.E  
 We do not sit on the bed of other people. We do not sit on a small or  
 large stools.
- 1'42 *a:r randa bit-ne ke.ba:d goʔe-r-ini*  
 and food.for.the.first.feeding cook-VN after all-PL-AC  
*ʔep-ond male-r-in ja:ŋg-nam*  
 village.CLF-one person-PL-AC call-PR.1PL.E  
 And after cooking the food for the first feeding, we call all the people  
 of the entire village.
- 1'48 *ja:ŋga-kam joma-tr-ne ke.ba:d ortu apna guʃti-n hi*  
 call-CP.1PL.E collect-TR-VN after one own main.guest-AC EPH  
*be:ʔo-la:go hi male-h bey-nah ahe-n ja:ŋg-nam*  
 big-somewhat EPH person-M be-PR.3SG.M he-AC call-PR.1PL.E  
 After calling and gathering everyone, we call our main guest, a man  
 who is kind of a big person.
- 1'57 *ja:ŋga-kam loʔ-am-a ciy-nam a:hu das-jen-ko*  
 call-CP.1PL.E cup-water-AC give-PR.1PL.E he ten-CLF-to  
*ja:gu-n cic-ah pu:ra-tar-nah*  
 cooked.rice-AC give.B2-CP.3SG.M fulfil-TR-PR.3SG.M  
 After we call him, we give him a cup of water. He gives and provides  
 food to ten [i.e. many] people present.
- 2'03 *pu:ra-tar-ne ke.ba:d maji maʔe-r-in ok-tr-nar*  
 fulfil-TR-VN after middle boy-PL-AC sit-CS-PR.3PL

<sup>2</sup>Men cook food in that period.

After he provides food, they make children sit in the middle.

- 2'08 *ok-tr-ka a:d-no paʃ-ond pa:tri ciy-nah*  
 sit-CS-CP there-LO CLF-one leaf.plate give-PR.3SG.M  
 After they make [children] sit, they give [the main guest] a leaf plate.
- 2'12 *ayi-no ja:gu-n aʃhe-n sa:jc-a ciy-no ʃeʃu*  
 that-LO boiled.rice-AC vegetable-AC arrange.B2-AP give-IPP hand  
*no:qr-ka a:hu toro-no maʔe-n tind-a ciy-nah*  
 wash.hands-CP he mouth-LO boy-AC feed-AP give-PR.3SG.M  
 When they arrange rice and vegetable on it and give it to him, he  
 washes his hands and feeds the baby in its mouth.
- 2'21 *tind-a ciy-ne ke.ba:d e:noguʃ jahā jomar-na lap-oti*  
 feed-AP give-VN after how.many.REL even gather-PR.3SG eat-IF  
*a:trɛr a: maʔe-n lap-tr-ne ke.ba:d hi ja:gu lap-nar*  
 they.CR that child-AC eat-CS-VN after EPH boiled.rice eat-PR.3PL  
 After he has fed [the baby], all that gathered to eat eat food after [he  
 has] fed the baby.
- 2'30 *lap-ne ke.ba:d apna apna oʃh-ik e:k-nar*  
 eat-VN after own own house-DA go-PR.3PL  
 After they eat, they go to their own homes.
- 2'34 *a: be:rti-nte e:m oʃhu-ki-n ja:gu-n bit-nam randa*  
 that day-AB we.E house-GE-AC food-AC cook-PR.1PLE first.food  
*bit-ne ke.ba:d*  
 cook-VN after  
 From that day on, after we cook the food for the first feeding, we cook  
 food for our own family.
- 2'39 *jab.tak randa bit-omtam tab.tak e:m*  
 until.REL first.food cook-NG.PR.1PLE till.then.CR we.E  
*apna oʃhu-ki-n hō ja:gu bit-omtam e:me*  
 own house-GE-AC too boiled.rice cook-NG.PR.1PLE we.E  
*cuʃike ma:ny-nam randa bit-omtam*  
 taboo.on.touching accept-PR.1PLE first.food cook-NG.PR.1PLE  
*a:-du:r*  
 that-for.CR  
 Until we cook the food for the first feeding, while we observe the  
 restrictions on touching and have not cooked the food for the first  
 feeding yet, we do not cook food for our own family either.
- 2'49 *randa bit-ne ke.ba:d goʃe-r-ini lap-tr-nam*  
 food.for.the.first.feeding cook-VN after all-PL-AC eat-CS-PR.1PLE  
 After we cook the food for the first feeding, we feed everyone.

### §11 The Bean Puja (S).

Told by Mr. Ganesh Pahariya of Boro Pahar, P. O. Dumarchir, P. S. Amrapara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at the schoolhouse of Boro Pahar on March 1, 2009.

- 0'05 *ar inor e:nu indrupade-ki-n teh-oti e:n ok.et-yin*  
 and now I what.like-GE-AC tell-IF I sit.down-PR.PRF.1SG  
*ade-n me:n-ke*  
 that-AC hear-FT.IMP  
 Now, listen to that [story], to tell which I have sat down.
- 0'17 *jab bacri-no name indru kud-nay jab.ki kud-kay*  
 when year-LO we.I what do-PR.1PL.I whenever work-CP.1PL.I  
*ma:ntr-kay-tatkay*  
 harvest-CP.1PL.I-ECHO  
 When, in a year, we cultivate something, whenever we cultivate, harvest and so on,
- 0'24 *adi-nte got-jinise-ni pu:n-jinise-n to:ra: ʔarya-kay se*  
 there-AB all-thing-AC.EPH new-thing-AC a.little worship-CP.1PL.I EPH  
*name lap-nay*  
 we.I eat-PR.1PL.I  
 then, only after performing puja with every crop, a little of the new crop, we eat them.
- 0'32 *dihi adno se inor teh-in a:du e:n ʔosru-ʔarye-ki ba:re-no*  
 ITJ then EPH now tell-PR.1SG that I bean-worship-GE respect-LO  
*ʔosru-ʔarye-ki-n e:n teh-in*  
 bean-worship-GE-AC I tell-PR.1SG  
 Then, I will now tell it, I will tell about the Bean Puja.
- 0'46 *to inor indru kud-nam e:mu din-ond jamar-kam*  
 then now what do-PR.1PLE we.E day-one get.together-CP.1PLE  
*tehr.naʔ-tam*  
 converse-PT.1PLE  
 What do we do then? One day we get together and discuss [it].
- 0'52 *tehr.naʔ-tam inond dine-no ʔosre ʔarya-nay=ʔe ta:n*  
 converse-PT.1PLE this.much day-LO bean worship-PR.1PL.I=ITJ then  
*inond dine-no punʔadi ʔarya-nay*  
 this.much day-LO puntadi.festival worship-PR.1PL.I  
 We discuss, "On this day we will perform the Bean Puja." Then (we decide) "We will perform the Puntadi (equivalent of Hindu Holi) on this day."
- 0'59 *tehr.naʔ-kam tehr.naʔ-ni ta:n igjo inor e:m ʔosre*  
 converse-CP.1PLE converse-IPP then right now we.E bean  
*ʔaryi-po-ki ina ugsa ar ine-hi oʔh-an id-nam*  
 worship-HP-GE today fast and today-EPH house-AC build-PR.1PLE  
 After we discuss, when we discuss, right away we [do] the fast for performing the Bean Puja that day. And we build the ritual house on

that day.

- 1'09 *nam-ki peḍe-ki niyome-no dar-me-no ok-po ki paila gosāyi-ki-n*  
 we.I-GE side-GE custom-LO rule-LO sit-HP COMP first god-GE-AC  
*oṛh-an aḡdi pu:n nal-po*  
 house-AC first new make-HP  
 We should observe the rule and custom of our place. It is that we  
 should first make God's house anew.
- 1'22 *pu:n nal-ot ke.ba:d a:ḡi-nte a: mandap gary-po*  
 new make-IF after there-AB that pavilion make-HP  
 After making the house anew, then we are to make the pavilion.
- 1'28 *mandap garca-ka-tatka aruhi be:ṛit ort goṛaite-hi*  
 pavilion make.B2-CP-ECHO again in.the.evening one messenger-EPH  
*ja:ṅg-nah ṛep-ond ṛep-an*  
 call-PR.3SG.M village-one village-AC  
 After making the pavilion, at night, a messenger calls [the people of]  
 the whole village.
- 1'41 *ina gorya ugsa=ṛe teh-i puntaḡi ugsa=ṛe a:n-kari*  
 today bean.festival fast=ITJ tell-PR.3SG puntaḡi fast=ITJ say-CP.3PL  
*ja:ṅg-nah ja:ṅg-no jamar-po*  
 call-PR.3SG.M call-IPP get.together-HP  
 [The word] tells "Today is the fast for the Bean Festival, the fast for  
 Puntadi." He calls saying this. When he calls, they are going to get  
 together.
- 1'48 *jamar-ot ke.ba:d majye-peḍe-n to:ṛa: ok-kah*  
 get.together-IF after village.chief-side-LO a.little sit-CP.3SG.M  
*indrupade-n tehr.naḡ-po*  
 what.like-AC converse-HP  
 After they get together, (they) sit a while at the village chief's place,  
 and discuss things.
- 1'57 *tehr.naḡ-kam-tatkam a:ḡi-nte loṭ-ond am-a*  
 converse-CP.1PLE-ECHO there-AB metal.cup-one water-AC  
*pehra-kah majye-h aḡdu manja-kah a:*  
 take.along-CP.3SG village.chief-M front become.B2-CP.3SG.M that  
*gosāyi-ta:ne-k e:k-nah*  
 god-place-DA go-PR.3SG.M  
 After they discuss, the village chief, taking along a cup of water,  
 standing at the top of the procession, goes to that ritual ground.
- 2'11 *gosāyi-ta:ne-k ek-kah nam-ki peḍe-ki niyome-di ade*  
 god-place-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.M we.I-GE side-GE custom-NM that  
*kud-nah*  
 do-PR.3SG.M  
 After going to the ritual ground, we perform what is the custom with  
 us.

- 2'18 *dihi bawrya-r e:k-po-r majye-h korca-kar*  
 ITJ Bawrya-PL go-HP-PL village.chief-M enter.B2-CP.3PL  
*loṭ-ond am-an adi-ki tobendu inor*  
 metal.cup-one water-AC that-GE for now  
*oryar-kam-tatkam*  
 get.ready-CP.1PLE-ECHO  
 The Bawryas and the village chief are going to go, entering [the ritual house, bringing] a cup of water. Then we get ready for that purpose.
- 2'36 *inti dine-no niṭ-ki pu:n-dana-n ṛaṛy-oti lagca-kam nime*  
 of.today day-LO you-GE new-crop-AC worship-IF for-1PLE you.PL  
*niṅg-en lehor ma:n-nam a:n-kar*  
 you-AC prayer observe-PR.1PLE say-CP.3PL  
 Having said, "Today, we say prayers in order to offer new crop for you,"
- 2'46 *aruhi indr-indr-an awḍ-nar par awḍ-nar awḍa-kar a:ḍi-nte*  
 further what-what-AC say-PR.3PL but say-PR.3PL say-CP.3PL there-AB  
*am-an ḍa:ly-nar am-a tund-nar mane pudgi-nar*  
 water-AC pour-PR.3PL water-AC spill-PR.3PL namely pour-PR.3PL  
*mandap-no*  
 pavilion-LO  
 they further say this and that, but having said them, they pour water, they spill water, they pour water in the pavilion.
- 2'56 *am-a pudga-kar a:ḍi-nte ḍo:k-nar cic-a=indra*  
 water-AC pour-CP.3PL there-AB stay-PR.3PL fire-AC=and.so.on  
*oda-kar ḍo:k-nar-tatnar*  
 burn-CP.3PL stay-PR.3PL-ECHO  
 After pouring water, they stay there [at night]. They stay burning fire and so on.
- 3'06 *a:ḍi-nte ugṣa-ki-d a:n-kar ḍole-n gosāyi bar-a:k*  
 there-AB fast-GE-NM do.so-CP.3PL drum-AC god come-OP  
*a:n-kar ḍole-n ah-nar*  
 say-CP.3PL drum-AC beat-PR.3PL  
 Then, after performing what is related to the fast, they beat drums saying 'Come, God!'
- 3'15 *pa:ṛ-nar pa:ṛ-no-tatno gosāyi bar-i*  
 sing-PR.3PL sing-IPP-ECHO god come-PR.3SG.NM  
 They sing. When they sing and so on, God comes.
- 3'21 *barce-ki teh-i indr-indr-an se teh-i*  
 come.B2-CP.3SG.NM tell-PR.3SG.NM what-what-AC EPH tell-PR.3SG  
*teh-ki-tatkid i:tre-n i:lko kud-ke i:tre-n i:lko*  
 tell-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO these-AC this.way do-FT.IMP these-AC this.way  
 [God] comes and tells [us to do] this and that. Having told [us] to do these this way, these this way,

- 3'31 *a:n-kid gosāydu a:ḍi-nte coh-r-i*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM god there-AB drop.off-PR.3SG.NM  
 having said this, God leaves there.
- 3'36 *coh-r-ot ke.ba:d e:m ra:ty-ond ḍo:k-nam*  
 drop.off-IF after we.E night.CLF-one stay-PR.1PLE  
 After [God] has left, we stay there all night.
- 3'41 *ḍo:k-a bij-kam a:ḍi-nte ʔosr-ʔaṛye-n majye-h*  
 stay-AP dawn-CP.1PLE there-AB bean-worship-AC village.chief-M  
*ta:n ʔaṛyi-nah ʔaṛya-n nawani ma:n-nah*  
 then worship-PR.3SG.M worship-AC new.crop.rite observe-PR.3SG.M  
 After passing the night staying [there], the head priest worships the  
 bean puja. He performs the eating ceremony of the new crop.
- 3'52 *a:ḍi-nte nawani man-no a:ḍi-nte aroh gorya ugsa*  
 there-AB new.crop.rite become-IPP there-AB again bean.festival fast  
*ko:r-nam*  
 enter-PR.1PLE  
 Then when we perform the eating ceremony of the new crop, we enter  
 a fast for the Bean Festival again.
- 4'01 *gorya ugsa korc-atkam aroh alko-hi ḍole-t*  
 bean.festival fast enter.B2-CP.1PLE again that.way-EPH drum-IN  
*indr-et nata-kam gosāyi ind-indr bar-no-tatno arohi*  
 what-IN beat.B2-CP.1PLE god what-what come-IPP-ECHO again  
*ta:l-nam*  
 cut-PR.1PLE  
 After we enter fast for the Bean Festival, we beat drums and so on  
 that way again, and when God and other [spirits] come, we sacrifice  
 [a goat] again.
- 4'16 *ikḍano e:ṛe ta:l-po ikḍano perwa ta:l-po ade-n gosāyid-i teh-no*  
 where goat cut-HP where pigeon cut-HP that-AC god-EPH tell-IPP  
*talca-kam*  
 cut.B2-CP.1PLE  
 If God tells to sacrifice a goat somewhere, or a pigeon somewhere,  
 we do so, and
- 4'24 *a:ḍi-nte talca-tatkam buṛk-ond buṛk-e:nd ʔaḍi go:ly-po*  
 there-AB cut.B2-CP.1PLE jar.CLF-one jar.CLF-two liquor prepare-HP  
 then, after sacrificing, we are going to boil and brew one or two jarful  
 of liquor.
- 4'32 *ade-n majye-oṛh-ik korca-kam onḍa-kam*  
 that-AC priest-house-DA enter.B2-CP.1PLE drink.B2-CP.1PLE  
*kir-nam*  
 return-PR.1PLE  
 We go into the head priest's house, drink it, and come back.
- 4'40 *ar arohi bagane-k=hō bagane-d a:n-nar*  
 and again sacred.grove-DA=too sacred.grove-NM say-PR.3PL

- bagane-k=hō ek-ka talca-ka-tatka kir-po*  
 sacred.grove-DA=too go.B2-CP cut.B2-CP-ECHO return-HP  
 And again we are going to go to Bagan — they call it Bagan — sac-  
 rifice there, and come back.
- 4'52 *pa:re e:n ja:de teh-ot lehy-omtan*  
 but I much tell-IF know-NG.PR.1SG  
 But I cannot tell much.
- 4'57 *pa:re ide-n pu:n-dana ṛaṛyi-po-d a:n-nay*  
 but this-AC new-crop worship-HP-NM say-PR.1PL.I  
 But we call this worshipping of the new crop.
- 5'03 *di pu:n-dana-n=ba ṛaṛyi-po-d-i mane goṭe-d-i pu:ne*  
 ITJ new-crop-AC=too worship-HP-NM-EPH namely all-NM-EPH new  
*o:nade-n pu:ne pu:ne sapa ṛaṛyi-po*  
 that-AC new new clean worship-HP  
 We are supposed to worship the new crop. We are supposed to wor-  
 ship everything that is new and clean.
- 5'10 *inor ta:the ṛaṛyi-po arohi top-ond aroh aroh tobon pu:ne*  
 now mango worship-HP again CLF-one again again then new  
*bar-e:n[i] a:-kṛa aroh ṛaṛyi-po*  
 come-FT.3SG.NM that-time again worship-HP  
 Now we are supposed to observe the Mango [Puja], and when any  
 other new fruit comes out, we are supposed to worship.
- 5'17 *pu:n-dana-n name hō ṛaṛyi-nay pa:re gole-r hō*  
 new-crop-AC we.I too worship-PR.1PL.I but outsider-PL too  
*ṛaṛyi-nar name hō ṛaṛyi-nay*  
 worship-PR.3PL we.I too worship-PR.1PL.I  
 We also perform a ritual of the new crop. But the outsiders also per-  
 form a ritual of the new crop, and so do we.
- 5'24 *par nam-ki-d arohi somoy somoy pahre-no a:trer (ar) ke:ponti*  
 but we.I-GE-NM again season season time-LO they at.once  
*ṛaṛy-ar ojiṇ-nar*  
 worship-PT.3PL finish-PR.3PL  
 But our [ritual] is [performed] season by season, at due time. They  
 worship at one time and they are done.
- 5'33 *ade-n awḍ-ah ki agdi a:migḍa-no se ṛaṛy-ar*  
 that-AC say-PT.3SG.M COMP formerly PROP-LO EPH worship-PT.3PL  
*a:n-nar*  
 say-PR.3PL  
 [Someone] said that they say that they used to perform the ritual in  
 Amigda.
- 5'39 *a:migḍa-no ṛaṛy-ar kon pa:re ade-n peḍ-lo:ke-r*  
 PROP-LO worship-PT.3PL it.seems but that-AC age-people-PL  
*to:ṛa: teh-ot lo:ṛ-ler iknahay ṛaṛy-ar iknahay mala*  
 a.little tell-IF be.able-SJ.3PL how worship-PT.3PL how not

It seems that they [used to] perform the ritual in Amigda. Old people would be able to tell a little about how they performed the ritual and how they didn't.

- 5'48 *par mendr-i ki ra:ja-h a:migda-no becy-ahay*  
 but be.heard-PR.3SG COMP king-M PROP-LO be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*a: ra:ja-h ta:the-n aq?a:r-ik joma:-tr-no ?ary-ah*  
 that king-M mango-AC there-DA collect-TR-IPP worship-PT.3SG.M  
*cic-ah*  
 give.B2-PT.3SG.M

But — I hear that there was a king in Amigda. When that king collected mangoes there, he performed a ritual and offered [them].

- 5'57 *?ary-ah ciy-no arohi ik badma:se-h arohi*  
 worship-PT.3SG.M give-IPP again which rascal-M again  
*i:siky-ah mane a: ta:the-n beku mo:cy-ah*  
 tear.B2-PT.3SG.M namely that mango-AC stalk cut.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*mo:c-kah a: ta:the-n oco-ko*  
 cut-CP.3SG.M that mango-AC take.B2-CP

When he performed the ritual and offered them, some rascal tore them. Namely, he cut the mango at the stalk and took it away after cutting.

- 6'09 *arohi o:nade-n se mane a:migda-ki ra:ja-h arohi mahe:fpur-no*  
 again that-AC EPH namely PROP-GE king-M again PROP-LO  
*behc-ah*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.M

Thereupon, the king of Amigda — he was in Maheshpur [then],

- 6'20 *a:hu mane awd-ah ki inor e:n e:k-lan*  
 he namely say-PT.3SG.NM COMP now I go-NG.FT.1SG  
 he said, "Now I will not go [there]."

- 6'25 *inond i:lko nal-kar ondr-ar ik-be:ri=ba enj-en*  
 this.much this.way do-CP.3PL bring-PT.3PL which-time=too I-AC  
*mo:c-anar a:n-kah*  
 cut-FT.3PL say-CP.3SG.M

Saying "They did like this and took [the mangoes]. Some day, they will maybe cut me."

- 6'30 *a:n-kah a:hu bar-lah bar-loko gosāydu ahe-n*  
 say-CP.3SG.M he come-NG.PT.3SG.M come-NG.CP god he-AC  
*ide-n ade-n mane aṛsisy-a kon*  
 this-AC that-AC namely stiffen-PT.3SG it.seems

Saying this, he did not come. When he did not come, God seems to have made him stiff.

- 6'39 *dihi a:h indran budi lagar-a*  
 ITJ he why mind attach-PT.3SG  
 Why did [God] gave him that idea?

- 6'41 *budi lagar-ka erk-a e:n e:k-lan erk-a e:ṛe-no bard-no*  
 mind attach-CP.3SG go-IMP I go-NG.FT.1SG go-IMP goat-LO cattle-LO

- male-r-no ro:ge bicr-o:k*  
 person-PL-LO disease put.in-OP  
 After [God] gave him that idea, [the king said] “Go! I will not come.  
 Go! May [he] pour disease in goats, cattle and people!”
- 6’52 *ta:n ta:mi apan.apin ?ep-no indro da:ne ciy-a:nar*  
 then themselves each village-LO what offering give-FT.3PL  
*a:-kʃa mo:ʔ-eni*  
 that-time eat-FT.3SG.NM  
 “Then when they give some offering in each of their own villages,  
 [God] will eat it.”
- 7’02 *a:di niŋ-ki-d mane e:n ?ary-in ar a:di man-eni*  
 that you-GE-NM namely I worship-PR.1SG and that be-FT.3SG.NM  
*niŋg-e a:n-kah awɔo-ko*  
 you-DA say-CP.3SG.M say-CP  
 “That is yours, I mean, [now] I worship, but that will be for you [to  
 do] (from now on).” He spoke so.
- 7’10 *o:nade-t se inor apan.apin ?ep-no punʔadi ?ary-po*  
 that-IN EPH now each village-LO puntadi worship-HP  
 That is why now we have to perform Puntadi in each village.
- 7’16 *ar gorya ?ary-po ta:the ?ary-po goʃe-ni*  
 and bean.festival worship-HP mango worship-HP all-AC.EPH  
*?arya-ka moʔ-ka*  
 worship-CP eat.B2-CP  
 And we have to perform the Bean festival, the Mango festival, we  
 perform them all, eat,
- 7’26 *mo:ʔ-nay name (ci:kto ?ary-o) [?ary-abalo mo:ʔ-ot]*  
 eat-PR.1PL.I we.I worship-NG.AP eat-IF  
*lo:ʃ-omtay ci:kto mo:ʔ-o lo:ʃ-omtay*  
 be.able-NG.PR.1PL.I that.way eat-IF be.able-NG.PR.1PL.I  
 and we have feasts. We cannot eat without performing rituals. We  
 cannot have feasts that way.
- 7’32 *pa:re inor i: juge-no name-hi e:k-ʈo lelha ar e:k-ʈo usyar*  
 but now this era-LO we.I-EPH one-CLF fool and one-CLF smart  
*man-nay kon*  
 become-PR.1PL.I it.seems  
 But now in these times, we are fools on the one hand, [but] we are  
 maybe becoming smart on the other.
- 7’41 *nam-ki dar-me-n name amb-ot e:k-nay*  
 we.I-GE religion-AC we.I leave-IF go-PR.1PL.I  
 We are [gradually] leaving our religion.
- 7’45 *ike-h man-nah isaye ike-h man-nahũ satsange*  
 who-M become-PR.3SG Christian who-M become-PR.3SG Sat.sang  
*ike-h man-nahũ sa:du.darme ko:r-nah*  
 who-M become-PR.3SG Sadhu.dharm enter-PR.3SG.M

Someone becomes a Christian. Someone becomes [a follower of] Sat-sang, and someone becomes [a follower of] Sadhudharm and enters [those religions].

7'55 *mane o:nadet se mane nam-ki gosāy-d inor boh-yi*  
namely therefore EPH namely we.I-GE god-NM now run-PR.PRF.3SG  
That is why our God has now run away.

7'59 *lab.ʔani gosāy-d inor sakti-juge beyo*  
good god-NM now tough-era be.not.3SG  
Now, in [this] tough time, there is no deity that is well.

8'02 *e:n inonde-hi teh-kan me:n-tr-in*  
I this.much-EPH tell-CP.1SG hear-CS-PR.1SG  
I tell and relate this much.

### §12 Pahariya festivals (C).

Told by Mr. Guhiya Paharia of Malipara, P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Malipara on September 11, 2006.

0'00 *mundoti juge-ki kata i:du agdi mundoti mala-r inor to*  
ancient era-GE story this formerly ancient person-PL now TOP  
*badla:r eky-ar ga:ʔe-hi*  
change.AP go.B2-PT.3PL much-EPH  
This is a story of olden times. People of olden times have changed a lot now.

0'12 *ade isai korc-ar ade kor-omalar i:sob ka:je*  
half Christianity enter.B2-PT.3PL half enter-NG.PR.3PL these work  
*kud-omalar par agdi mudi isai kor-lad*  
do-NG.PR.3PL but formerly formerly Christianity enter-NG.PT.3SG.NM  
*adno i:sob ka:je-n kudy-ar*  
then this-all work-AC do.B2-PT.3PL  
Some have become Christians, some have not [but] do not practice these rituals. But they did these rituals when Christianity had not entered yet in olden times.

0'20 *ad-ki-d inor katy-ad oŋgr-a adi-ki inor kata*  
that-GE-NM now pass.B2-PT.3SG.NM end-PT.3SG that-GE now story  
*lehar-ad i:du ade-n e:nu teŋg-in*  
become-PT.3SG.NM this that-AC I tell-PR.1SG  
[The practices] of those days have now passed away. It is gone. Now it has become a story. I will tell you about it now.

0'29 *mundoti mala-r agdi jare-no ɖaɖe-no ɖo:ky-ar*  
ancient person-PL formerly bush-LO jungle-LO stay.B2-PT.3PL  
Formerly, ancient people used to live in the bush and jungle.

0'34 *a: pahra-no mala-r gol-ja:ti-r-in ʈuŋɖ-ne:-ri juta*  
that time-LO person-PL outsider-caste-PL-AC look-IPP-3PL shoe  
*qawsya-ki elc-kar oŋg-ik boŋg korc-ar ar*  
sound.B2-CP.3SG.NM fear-CP.3PL house-DA run.AP enter.B2-PT.3PL and

*ade pahari-k bongy-ar*

other hill-DA run.B2-PT.3PL

In those days, when [Pahariya] people saw outsiders, or as soon as shoes made a sound, [some] were scared and ran into their houses, and others ran away to the hills.

- 0'48 *ani se pahariya ja:ti-r-ki na:mi-d pahariya kurk-oti*  
then EPH Pahariya caste-PL-GE name-NM Pahariya write-IF  
*jejy-ar*

begin.B2-PT.3PL

That is why they started writing the name of the Pahariya people *Pahariya* ('hillman').

- 0'56 *a: pahra-no male-r ca:si kud-ot hō bad.mel-lar*  
that time-LO person-PL ploughing do-IF even know-NG.PT.3PL  
At that time, people even did not know how to cultivate.

- 1'00 *di:re di:re ka:je kud-oti bi:ndy-ar goṭe-nti agdi*  
slowly slowly work do-IF begin.B2-PT.3PL all-AB formerly  
*kusa-n gangi-n auro ti:qalo-n ca:s nany-ar*  
grass.name-AC maize-AC and millet-AC ploughing do.B2-PT.3PL  
They started doing [cultivation] work slowly. In the very beginning, they cultivated *kuṣa* grass, maize and millet.

- 1'15 *mundoti mala-r gosani-n goge-no auro mak-man-a*  
ancient person-PL god-AC rock-LO and sal-tree-AC  
*me:nj-kar gohal-kuṭi-d a:n-le qarṣy-ar*  
make.B2-CP.3PL cowshed-post-NM say-CP worship.B2-PT.3PL  
The ancient people made god of rocks and Sal wood and worshipped them as the post of the cowshed.

- 1'26 *pahariya male-r-ki goṭe-nti be:ḍo porobe gangi-qarṣe*  
Pahariya person-PL-GE all-AB big festival maize-worship  
The biggest festival of the Pahariya people is the Maize Puja.

- 1'31 *i: qarṣe-no dumṛa sindra isagndu qe:r.pandu*  
this worship-LO incense vermilion oil egg  
*lag-i*  
be.attached-PR.3SG

Incense, vermilion, oil and eggs are used in this ritual.

- 1'45 *gangi-qarṣe men-omala adno maqe-r=jahā palganje-n*  
maize-worship become-NG.PR.3SG then child-PL=even cucumber-AC  
*gangi-n mo:q-lanar qarṣy-no se goṭe-ri mo:q-nar*  
maize-AC eat-NG.FT.3PL worship-IPP EPH all-PL eat-PR.3PL  
Until the maize puja has taken place, even children do not eat cucumbers or maize. Only at the puja, everyone eats [them].

- 1'53 *jo:r-is male-r ortu na:do ar ortu koṭware men-dah*  
pair.CLF-two person-PL one priest and one official be-PR.3SG.M  
[There are] two people, one is the Nado priest and one is the town crier [to announce the puja and collect donation].

- 1'59 *na:do nan-qep-male-r-in niyari nan-dah*  
 priest other-village-person-PL-AC invitation do-PR.3SG.M  
 The Nado priest invites people of other villages.
- 2'03 *auro bakṛiya-ṭaḍi-n (bita) bit-nar ade-n ki:ro-a:tge-ti*  
 and grain-liquor-AC brew-PR.3PL that-AC wild.cashew-leaf-IN  
*uṭ-nar*  
 cover-PR.3PL  
 And they brew wine from grain. They cover it with wild cashew leaves.
- 2'12 *de:mano āṛs-no na:do tapi-n otr-dah auro*  
 diviner reach-IPP priest soaked.grain-AC take.out-PR.3SG.M and  
*qary-oti bi:nḍ-dah*  
 worship-IF begin-PR.3SG.M  
 When the Demano priest arrives, the Nado priest takes the soaked grain [out of the wine] and starts worshipping.
- 2'21 *gangi qarye-ki ca:me inor pa:ṛ-an eng-sa:tu sagar-dah*  
 maize worship-GE song now song-FT.1SG me-with help-PR.3SG.M  
*en-ki eng.ḍo-h de:wa pahariya malipara indeke*  
 I-GE brother-M PROP PROP PROP this.way  
 I will now sing the song of the Maize Puja. My cousin Dewa Pahariya of Malipara joins me.
- 2'35 *na:do majye igḍe-k eky-ah*  
 kind.of.priest priest where-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 (Singing) “Where is the Nado priest gone?”
- 2'42 *uswa-n e:ṛa.(e:n)oy-a aṛe maḡo uswa-n e:ṛ-a*  
 footprint-AC follow-IMP ITJ child footprint-AC follow-IMP  
 “Follow [his] footprint, o villagers!” (repeated)
- 3'13 *a:n-le pa:ṛ-nar pa:ṛ-no paila na:do oṛgu-nihi na:do*  
 say-CP sing-PR.3PL sing-IPP first priest house-LO.EPH priest  
*ṭaḍi-n o:n-nar adi-ki se i: ca:ma*  
 toddy-AC drink-PR.3PL that-GE EPH this song  
 They sing so. When they sing, the Nado priest[s] first drink the wine in the house. This song is for that.
- 3'25 *gangi-qarye-d oṅgr-no qosru-qarye ḍehta-d aṛs-i*  
 maize-worship-NM end-IPP pulse-worship festival-NM reach-PR.3SG  
 When the Maize Puja is over, Bean Puja festival comes.
- 3'32 *qosru-qarye-no gari-tā:ṛe qosra bit-nar auro e:ṛa-n*  
 pulse-worship-LO household-every pulse cook-PR.3PL and goat-AC  
*ku:ṛi-no ta:l-nar*  
 stable-LO cut-PR.3PL  
 In the Bean Puja, they cook the string pulse in every house, and they kill a goat in their stable.
- 3'41 *qosru bic-ka(n) gari-tā:ṛe hi maṛi-pa:w-no key-p*  
 pulse be.cooked-CP household-every EPH grave-way-LO die-PAP

*male-r-ki na:mi-no ki:d-nar*

person-PL-GE name-LO place-PR.3PL

When the pulse is cooked, they put it on the road to the graveyard in the name of dead people in every house.

- 3'49 *qosru-qarye-ki ca:me-n qosru-qarye-ki ca:me-n*  
 pulse-worship-GE song-AC pulse-worship-GE song-AC  
*ade-n-o jo:ɽ-s-em pa:ɽ-dam inor ondqala-m*  
 that-AC-too pair.CLF-two-1PLE sing-PR.1PLE now sibling-1PLE  
*mlar-kam*  
 be.together-CP.1PLE

We two cousins now sing the song of the Bean Puja together.

- 3'59 *ri:ko-qadi ku:si qosre*  
 little-only black pulse  
 (Singing) "Tiny black pulse."

- 4'04 *qana maɽo a:te-bajare-ki sindu:re-n olg-i*  
 eye black market-market-GE vermilion-AC cry-PR.3SG  
 "Its eye is black. It cries over the vermilion of the market." (repeated)

- 4'43 *a:te-bajare baniya-dokani olg-a(r) olg-a kud-i*  
 market-market merchant-shop cry-AP REP walk.around-PR.3SG  
*are-aɽe maɽo olg-a(r) olg-a kud-i*  
 ITJ-REP girl cry-AP REP walk.around-PR.3SG  
 (Singing) "It goes around in merchants' shops in the market, crying and crying."

- 5'21 *andeki cuɽim(?) i:d ongr-no ta:tɽ-qarye men-i*  
 that.way afterwards this end-IPP mango-worship be-PR.3SG  
 It is that way. Then when this is over, the Mango Puja is held.

- 5'26 *a: pahra-ki ca:me-n ta:tɽ-qarye-ki ca:me-n ide-n-o*  
 that time-GE song-AC mango-worship-GE song-AC this-AC-too  
*jo:ɽ-s-emi milar-ka pa:ɽ-dam enɽ.ɽo-h*  
 pair.CLF-two-1PLE be.together-CP sing-PR.1PLE my.brother-M  
*sa:tu orta-pa:we-no maja malla-d ani*  
 together one.person-way-LO well be.not-NM so  
 We two, my cousin [and I], are singing this one together, too, the song of that time, the song of the Mango Puja, for it does not sound good if one person [sings].

- 5'38 *qe:romaɽo pu:p-an ate-ki dah(e)ɽi ta:r-oma*  
 song.opener flower-AC wear-CP.2SG.NM branch cut-NG.IMP  
*caɽ(i)ka biɽy-i(n) andi aɽe maɽo caɽ(i)ka biɽy-i(n) andi*  
 lightning shine-PR.3SG thus ITJ girl lightning shine-PR.3SG thus  
 (Singing) "Put on the flowers and don't cut the branch, for the thunder will flash [otherwise], o villagers!" (repeated)

- 6'26 *be:ɽa(r) et-ki bag(i)ɽa maɽ(i)go caɽ(i)ke*  
 sun go.down-CP.3SG.NM slight darkness lightning

*biḍy-i(n) andid aṛe maqo caṛ(i)ke biḍy-i(nid) an...*  
 shine-PR.3SG thus ITJ girl lightning flash-PR.3SG thus  
 (*Singing*) “For the thunder will flash in the light darkness after sun-  
 set.” (repeated)

- 7'07 *be:ṛa(r) ete-ki bag(i)ḍe maṛ(i)go bani-d aṛe*  
 sun go.down-CP.3SG.NM slight darkness flow-NM ITJ  
*nindy-a bani-d aṛe nindy-a*  
 fill.B2-PT.3SG flow-NM ITJ fill.B2-PT.3SG  
 (*Singing*) “The river is full in the light darkness after sunset.”

- 7'21 *kir-oma are ka:si(r) ikano kir-eni bani-d*  
 return-NG.IMP ITJ PROP where return-FT.2SG.NM flow-NM  
*nindy-a bani-d nindy-a*  
 fill.B2-PT.3SG flow-NM fill.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Don’t come back, o Kasi! Where will you come back? The river is  
 full.”

- 7'40 *inor em-ki porobe-ki meṇj-a i: porobe-no ca:r dini ku:b*  
 now we.E-GE festival-GE be.B2-PT.3SG this festival-LO four day much  
*la:l-dam onḍ onḍ la:l-la:l-nar em-male-r*  
 dance-PR.1PLE drink.B2.AP REP dance-REP-PR.3PL we.E-person-PL  
*be:g-a be:g-a arg-nar*  
 jump-AP REP climb-PR.3PL  
 Now [the accounts] of our festivals are over. In this festival, we dance  
 a lot for four days. We [Pahariya] people dance drinking, and climb  
 jumping.

- 7'48 *ade ḍole-t la:l-nar ade lagṛe-ti la:l-nar ade*  
 other long.drum-IN dance-PR.3PL other drum-IN dance-PR.3PL other  
*qe:le-ti la:l-nar*  
 kettledrum-IN dance-PR.3PL  
 Some dance to a long drum, some to a Nagara drum, and others to a  
 kettledrum.

- 7'52 *indeki ca:r dini ekdam ra:ti ta:no ra:ti ul ta:no uldu goṭe-ri*  
 this.way four day completely night then night day then day all-PL  
 ekdam *la:se-ti be:g-a be:g-a arg-nar*  
 completely happiness-IN jump-AP jump-AP climb-PR.3PL  
 This way, all climb in dancing jumping and jumping, completely for  
 four days, at night if at night, and by day if by day.

- 8'00 *maqe-ponḍi ṭaḍi-n o:n-nar ade ṭaḍi-n o:n-abalo*  
 child-woman toddy-AC drink-PR.3PL other toddy-AC drink-NG.AP  
*me:ca lap-nar ba:car-id ade-n*  
 lees eat-PR.3PL be.left-PR.3SG.NM that-AC  
 [Everyone, even] a child, drinks wine. Some don’t drink wine, but eat  
 wine lees, which is left over.

- 8'05 *aḍi-nti a: ba:car-id ade-n kis-ik ciy-nar*  
 there-AB that be.left-PR.3SG.NM that-AC pig-DA give-PR.3PL

They give to pigs the lees which are left over from it.

- 8'08 *indeki se em-ja:ti-ki pahariya ja:ti-ki maja-n[o] dɔ:k-po*  
 this.way EPH we.E-caste-GE Pahariya caste-GE well-LO(?) stay-IF  
 This is the way the Pahariya tribe live pleasantly.

- 8'14 *dɔ:k-no ok-no male-r key-no em-e nane-di ade*  
 stay-IPP sit-IPP person-PL die-IPP we.E-DA different-EPH other  
*male-r key-no pahariya ja:ti-r kamani-n*  
 person-PL die-IPP Pahariya caste-PL memorial.ceremony-AC  
*kud-nar*  
 do-PR.3PL

When people die while living, we have different [ways] (i.e. burial and cremation). When some people die, the Pahariya tribe hold a memorial ceremony.

- 8'22 *kamani-no kis-a e:ra-n piṭ-nar auro e:nond*  
 memorial.ceremony-LO pig-AC goat-AC kill-PR.3PL and how.much  
*ma:ri-k e:k-u-r-ki goṭ-qepo-r-ik ma:k-a ca:g-nar*  
 grave-DA go-PP-PL-GE all-villager-PL-DA meat-AC divide-PR.3PL  
 They kill pigs and goats in a memorial ceremony. And they distribute meat to those who went to the graveyard [for burial] and to all villagers.

- 8'35 *em-ja:ti-r male-r key-no bo:j nan-nar*  
 we.E-caste-PL person-PL die-IPP feast do-PR.3PL  
 Our tribe hold a feast when people die.

- 8'40 *bo:je-k bo:je-k pa:n-ond kuṭri-n qepo-r-ik ba:ṭy-nar*  
 feast-DA REP CLF-one bale-AC villager-PL-DA distribute-PR.3PL  
 For a feast, they distribute one bale of grain for the villagers.

- 8'49 *na:do majye bi:cy-ond mali-tar-u*  
 kind.of.priest priest grain.CLF-one kind.of.reed-cut-PP  
*men-dah*  
 become-PR.3SG.M

The Nado priest becomes the cutter of Mali grass.

- 8'56 *peḷi-ki ba:ye-r qo:liyo-r qo:li-mo:q-u-r men-nar*  
 woman-GE relative-PL tail.person-PL tail-eat-PP-PL become-PR.3PL  
 Relatives of a woman become tail people, those who eat the tails.

- 9'03 *auro tungr-u-r ti:qalo kuṭri-n key-p male-r-ki*  
 and be.collected-PP-PL millet bale-AC die-PAP person-PL-GE  
*na:mi-no qarya-kar qepo-r-ik ṭaḍi bit-oti*  
 name-LO worship.B2-CP.3PL villager-PL-DA wine brew-IF  
*ba:ṭy-nar*  
 divide-PR.3PL

And those who get together worship in the name of the deceased people and distribute a bail of millet to the villagers for brewing wine.

- 9'16 *a: pahra key-pe-ki na:mi pet pet ca:me-n pa:r-nar*  
 that time die-PAP-GE name take.up.B2.AP REP song-AC sing-PR.3PL

*i:-leko*

this-like

At that time, they sing a song putting the name of the deceased, like this.

9'32 *ca:ndu surja sarŋge-k arg-a-nah*

PROP PROP heaven-DA climb-FT.3SG.M

(Singing) "Chandu Surja will rise to heaven." (repeated)

10'15 *a:n-le ti:qal ti:qal ti:qale jiŋy-no jiŋy-no pa:ɽ-nar*

say-CP rice REP REP sprinkle-IPP REP sing-PR.3PL

They sing so while sprinkling rice.

10'27 *a:di-nti turg pahra turg-u dōle-n nah-nar*

there-AB bury.ashes time bury.ashes-PP long.drum-AC beat-PR.3PL

*auro turga-kar oŋg-ik kir-nar*

and bury.ashes.B2-CP.3PL house-DA return-PR.3PL

Then when they bury the ashes, those who bury the ashes beat long drums, and after they bury the ashes, they go home.

10'36 *dol.bo:r-ik kis-kuk-a ciy-nar auro qepo-r*

drum.beater-DA pig-head-AC give-PR.3PL and villager-PL

*pa:tri-ja:gu-n lap-nar*

leaf.plate-boiled.rice-AC eat-PR.3PL

They give a pig's head to the drum beater, and villagers eat food on leaf plates.

10'44 *indeki se em-ja:ti-ki-d bo:je men-i*

this.way EPH we.E-caste-GE-NM feast become-PR.3SG

The memorial feast of our tribe goes like this.

10'47 *par inor ada.adi male-r isai lehar-ar*

but now majority person-PL Christianity become-PT.3PL

But now a majority of people have become Christians.

10'50 *ani bo:je-d hō di:re-di:re band men-i*

so feast-NM too slowly-REP closed become-PR.3SG

So the memorial feast is also disappearing little by little.

10'53 *baɽa:.dini baɽa-porobe-no se la:l-nar ja:de besi*

Christmas Christmas-festival-LO EPH dance-PR.3PL much great

*bo:ja-d inor men-omala*

feast-NM now become-NG.PR.3SG

They dance on Christmas, on the Christmas festival, and now there are no more big memorial feasts.

### §13 Pahariya wedding (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar, P. O. Vindudham, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahebganj. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hiranpur, on March 3, 2006.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Verma (1959:75ff.), Vidyarthi (1963:105ff.).

- 0'00 *em-ki siṭu-r a:n-im jo:ṭ-ond-er*  
 we.E-GE match-maker-PL say-PR.1PL.E pair.CLF-one-PL  
 We call the pair of people our match-makers.
- 0'05 *a:ber muṛse-ki batte-r ik-goṭe peli-aḍa-k e:k-er*  
 they man-GE sider-PL who-ever woman-house-DA go-FT.3PL  
 Those people of the boy's side go to the house of some girl.
- 0'13 *ante a:ṭ-no pata lagatr-er ki e:me palna maqe-k*  
 and there-LO information attach-FT.3PL COMP we.E so.and.so boy-DA  
*men-oti barc-kem*  
 ask-IF come.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 And there, we find out, saying "We are here to ask [about your daughter] for the boy so-and-so."
- 0'23 *anno a:ṭ-no ba:t jo:ṭ-ar-i ta:nu a:ber suru: nan-er*  
 then there-LO words join-ITR-PR.3SG then they start do-FT.3PL  
*ki palna dine e:m bar-em ante a: dine e:k-er*  
 COMP so.and.so day we.E come-FT.1PL.E and that day go-FT.3PL  
 If an agreement is reached thereon, they start [preparing], saying "We will come on such and such date." And they come on that day.
- 0'36 *e:k-e-ki ba:de-no ba:ci:te men-anid peli-ki to*  
 go-VN-GE after-LO discussion be-FT.3SG.NM girl-GE TOP  
*tambako-ber ar muṛse-ki to tambako-ber ok-er a:ṭ-no*  
 father-PL and man-GE TOP father-PL sit-FT.3PL there-LO  
 After coming [there], there will be a discussion [about the consequences of the marriage].
- 0'46 *ok-e-ki ba:de-no men-er ki e:k-en a:n-id ta:nu*  
 sit-VN-GE after-LO ask-FT.3PL COMP go-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG.NM then  
*biha-ki tay men-id*  
 wedding-GE decision be-PR.3SG.NM  
 Then they will ask [the girl] if [she wants to marry the boy]. If she says "I will go [and marry him]" then the marriage is decided on.
- 0'54 *adano qa:w.naq-er ki e:nond-goṭe pe:sa-d ca:r.so:*  
 then converse-FT.3PL COMP how.much-EPH money-NM 400  
*pã:c.so: hajar ṭaka ar e:k man du: man ti:qal-a*  
 500 thousand rupee and one maund two maund rice-AC  
*jo:-goṭe awḍ.naq-er*  
 which-EPH discuss-FT.3PL  
 At that point, they will talk how much money [should be given], four hundred, five hundred or one thousand rupees, and one *maund*, two *maund* of rice. That is what they will discuss.
- 1'06 *ante a: ik dine ta:ri:k nan-er a: dine-no biha*  
 and CR which day date do-FT.3PL that day-LO wedding  
*men-anid*  
 be-FT.3SG.NM  
 And the wedding will take place on that day on which they fix the

date.

- 1'10 *ade-k(i) siṭu-r                      ḍo:k-ner      adi-n      caryoti      ino*  
 that-DA match-maker-PL stay-PR.3PL that-AC mediating here  
*murṣe-[a]ḍa-k e:k-er      pel-aḍa-k      e:k-er      jo:r-ond-er*  
 man-house-DA go-FT.3PL girl-house-DA go-FT.3PL pair.CLF-one-PL  
*a:ber siṭu                      a:n-im*  
 they match-maker say-PR.1PLE

Match makers are for that procedure. They go to the boy's house here and the girl's house [there] to mediate it [i.e. the match]. We call those two people match-makers.

- 1'16 *a:bere men-ne-ki ba:de-no do:nō taraf se      ba:te mi:l*  
 they ask-VN-GE after-LO both side from words agreement  
*menj-ad                      ta:nu biha-ki      tay      men-anid*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM then wedding-GE decision be-FT.3SG.NM

After they ask, if words from both parties agree, then the decision regarding the wedding is all set.

- 1'25 *po:ne jo.bhi:                      qa:wr.naq-ar                      e:m      to      pel-er-ik*  
 dowry whatever converse.B2-PT.3PL we.E TOP girl-PL-DA  
*ciy-im                      pe:sa-n*  
 give-PR.1PLE money-AC

Whatever bride price they have discussed, we give that money to the girl's side.

- 1'30 *murṣe-h bed-keh      ondr-ih                      ada-no biha      men-id*  
 man-M seek-CP.3SG bring-PR.3SG.M that-LO wedding be-PR.3SG.NM  
 The boy calls her out and takes her [to his house]. Then the wedding is held.

- 1'33 *adano e:k-ner      lal-oti      baryati-r                      qe:lu.ḍugu*  
 there go-PR.3PL dance-IF groomsmen-PL kettledrum  
 Then the bridegroom's party and drums go in order to dance.

- 1'38 *apna i:      qep-ente      pel-aḍa-k                      e:k-er      pel-aḍa-no*  
 own this village-AB girl-house-DA go-FT.3PL girl-house-LO  
*lal-er(a)*  
 dance-FT.3PL

They go from this village of theirs to the bride's house. They dance at the bride's house.

- 1'44 *a: siṭu                      lo:ke-r      gurar-er                      ki      ikna:ne upa:y*  
 that match-maker people-PL walk.about-FT.3PL COMP how devise  
*lagatr-er      ada-ki-no*  
 attach-FT.3PL that-GE-LO

Meanwhile, the match makers run around, trying to mediate.

- 1'49 *ante e:k-e-ki      ba:d-no i:ṭi-nte kis-a      oy-er*  
 and go-VN-GE after-LO here-AB pig-AC take-FT.3PL  
 And after they go, they bring a pig from here.

- 1'52 *kisu oy-e-ki ba:de-no ne:re-ki ik peli-ki ar muṛse-ki*  
 pig take-VN-GE after-LO who-GE which girl-GE and man-GE  
*biha men-ani ahe-ki na:mi-ti a: kis-a caq-er*  
 wedding be-FT.3SG.NM he-GE name-IN that pig-AC stab-FT.3PL  
 After they bring the pig, they stab [and butcher] that pig by the names  
 of the boy and the girl whose wedding will take place.
- 2'01 *caq-e-ki ba:de-no a:ber-iki na:mi palna-d ar palna-h*  
 stab-VN-GE after-LO they-GE name so.and.so-NM and so.and.so-M  
*inte-nte oṛge-r*  
 today-AB married.couple-PL  
 After they stab [the pig, saying] their name [, they proclaim] “So-and-  
 so and so-and-so become man and wife from today.”
- 2'05 *a: i:ber-ki-de uj-e-de ekdam e:ru men-anded*  
 that these-GE-NM live-VN-NM completely well be-OP.3SG.NM  
 “May their lives be completely well.”
- 2'43 *a:ber-ki na:me-ti pu:ja men-id*  
 they-GE name-IN ritual be-PR.3SG.NM  
 The puja is [performed] in their names [by their relatives].
- 2'45 *caq-ner ante palna inte-nte i: maqe ahi-ki tambako-ki*  
 stab-PR.3PL and so.and.so today-AB this boy he-GE father-GE  
*na:mi-n ante a: maqe-ki na:mi-n ara peli-ki tambako-ki-n ara*  
 name-AC and that boy-GE name-AC and girl-GE father-GE-AC and  
*peli-ki-d na:mi-n awq-ker ante pu:ja: nan-er*  
 girl-GE-NM name-AC speak-CP.3PL and ritual do-PR.3PL  
 After stabbing the pig, they say this boy's father's name and that boy's  
 name [together], and [then say] the girl's father's and the girl's name  
 [together], and perform the puja.
- 2'58 *inte-nte i:ber oṛge-r i:ber-ki e:ru suk<sup>h</sup>dan se*  
 of.today-AB these married.couple-PL these-GE well happiness EPH  
*qo:k-ander e:ru uj-ander a:n-ker adi-n caq-qer ante*  
 stay-OP.3PL well live-OP.3PL say-CP.3PL that-AC stab-CP.3PL and  
*a:t-no adi-n kinq-er*  
 there-LO that-AC divide-FT.3PL  
 Having said “From today on, they are man and wife. May they stay  
 well in happiness, may they live well from today on,” they stab and  
 then divide it.
- 3'08 *adi-ne toka-r ca:gr-naq-er ma:k-a to:ṛa-to:ṛa goṛe-ki*  
 that-AC relative-PL divide-REC-FT.3PL meat-AC a.little-REP all-GE  
*toka-r a:ber-ik tey-er toṛa-toṛa goṛe-hi ahe-ki kandane-r*  
 relative-PL they-DA send-FT.3PL a.little-REP all-EPH he-GE relative-PL  
*a:ber-ik*  
 they-DA  
 They divide that meat little by little among all the relatives. They send  
 it to them, to all his [and her] relatives.

- 3'16 *a: ino jo: bic-ad adi-n aḍulte-n ceyro-d*  
 CR here CR be.boiled-PT.3SG.NM that-AC inner-AC heart.and.liver-NM  
*a:n-im adi-n bit-er*  
 say-PR.1PLE that-AC cook-FT.3PL  
 We call the inner part of that which is cooked *ceyro* ['heart and liver'].  
 They cook it [for the couple].
- 3'20 *a: ine biha men-id a: pahr-no em-ki batte*  
 CR today wedding take.place-PR.3SG.NM CR time-LO we.E-GE side  
*biha men-i a: pahr-no*  
 wedding take.place-PR.3SG that time-LO  
 When the wedding takes place today, when the wedding takes place  
 on our side,
- 3'28 *peḷi-ki ar muṛse-ki e:k si:t-no ok-er indake*  
 girl-GE and man-GE one seat-LO sit-FT.3PL this.way  
 the bride's [people, i.e. the bride and the performer of the rite like her  
 uncle, and the match-maker] and the bridegroom's [people] sit on one  
 [mat] seat this way.
- 3'33 *adano a:ber-ike indake teṭu-n ok-er*  
 then they-DA this.way hand-AC sit-FT.3PL  
 Then they [i.e. the couple] sit with their hands [covering their face]  
 towards them this way.
- 3'35 *adano toṛa-toṛa-ti inte-nte i:ber oṛge-r ar jama*  
 then a.little-REP-IN today-AB these married.couple-PL they together  
*lap-era indru-goṭe-hi do:se mel-la:ni-d*  
 eat-FT.3PL what-ever-EPH guilt be-NG.FT.3SG-NM  
 Then, [since they do everything together as a married couple] little by  
 little from today, these [newly] married couple, they eat together, and  
 still there will be no guilt whatsoever.
- 3'42 *a:n-ker ante a:ber-ik ciy-ner ante meṇj-a*  
 say-CP.3PL and they-DA give-PR.3PL and be.B2-PT.3SG  
 They say this and [the match-makers] give [the bride] to them [i.e. the  
 bridegroom's family] and [the wedding] is done.
- 3'45 *ada-ki ba:de i: no:qṛ-e-ki ba:de-no pḥir se ok-ner*  
 that-GE after this wash.hand-VN-GE after-LO again EPH sit-PR.3PL  
 After that, after they have washed their hands, they sit again.
- 3'47 *adano sundra-ne porg-tr-pe-d adi-ne peḷi-k indake*  
 then vermilion-AC be.soaked-TR-PAP-NM that-AC girl-DA this.way  
*ante a:he tu:q-eh a: peḷi-d ho nahe-k indek*  
 and he paint-FT.3SG.M that girl-NM too he-DA this.way  
*tu:q-enfid*  
 paint-FT.3SG.NM  
 Then he puts moistened vermilion on the bride[']s forehead] like this.  
 That bride also puts [vermilion] on him this way.

- 4'00 *a:d inte-nte a:ber orge-r a:ti-nte biha-sa:di*  
 that of.today-AB they married.couple-PL there-AB wedding-wedding  
*menj-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG  
 From then on they are a married couple. The wedding is complete at that point.
- 4'02 *ante aqa-male-r awq-er ki ning-a idi-n inte-nte*  
 and house-people-PL speak-FT.3PL COMP you-DA this-AC of.today-AB  
*ceṛagni mel-la qalw-ni mel-la gariya mel-la a:*  
 witch be-NG.3SG thief-F be-NG.3SG lazy.person be-NG.3SG that  
*taragru mel-la e:ṛu malni-n ning-a sopy-im*  
 crippled be-NG.3SG good woman-AC you-DA give-PR.1PLE  
 And the family [of the bride] say, "We give you this girl today. She is not a witch, a thief, a lazy woman, or a crippled woman. She is a good woman."
- 4'16 *a:n-keh ante siṭu-k ciy-er aqa-male-r*  
 say-CP.3SG.M and match-maker-DA give-FT.3PL house-people-PL  
*tang-dada-h*  
 self-uncle-M  
 Having said this, the family, namely her uncle, gives [her] to the match-maker.
- 4'19 *a:h ok-eh a:h ante ahe-[k] ike-h biha.muṛse men-eh*  
 CR.M sit-FT.3SG.M he and he-DA who-M bridegroom become-FT.M  
*ahe-k indake dary-tr-eh teṭu-n ante a:h darc-ah*  
 CR-DA this.way hold-TR-FT.3SG.M hand-AC and he hold.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He [the match-maker] makes him who is sitting, him who becomes the bridegroom, hold [her] hand like this, and he holds [it].
- 4'25 *dary-e-ki ba:de-no menj-ad ante adi-ki*  
 hold-VN-GE after-LO become.B2-PT.3SG.NM and that-GE  
*toqry-ad indru-goṭe awq-eh ade-ki ba:de-no*  
 be.finished.B2-PT.3SG.NM what-ever speak-FT.3SG that-GE after-LO  
*adi-n aqa-nte banda-keh otr-eh*  
 she-AC house-AB pull-CP.3SG take.out-FT.3SG  
 After he holds [her hand], it is done and things related to that [i.e. the wedding] is finished. He says something and after that leads and takes her out from [her] house.
- 4'34 *ade-ki ba:de-no sa:di toqry-ad a:ti-nte*  
 that-GE after-LO marriage be.finished.B2-PT.3SG.NM there-AB  
*bariati-r apna aqa-ke oy-er adi-n*  
 groomsmen-PL own house-DA take-FT.3PL she-AC  
 After that the wedding is finished. Then the groomsmen take her to [the bridegroom's] house.
- 4'41 *a: dosra dine-no ina adi-n oc-ar idi-n e:r-oti*  
 that next day-LO today she-AC take.B2-PT.3PL this.F-AC see-IF

*adi-n lunti-d a:n-im*

that-AC reception-NM say-PR.1PL.E

On another day, in order to see this [girl] whom they took away — we call this *lunti* ‘reception’ —

- 4’49 *a:ʔi-nte peli-ki aqa-male-r toka-r a:ber bar-er ino*  
there-AB girl-GE house-people-PL relative-PL they come-FT.3PL here  
*lap-oti mo:q-oti*  
eat-IF eat-IF

Then the bride’s family and relatives come, today for eating [and not for formality].

- 4’55 *a:ber-in jetna juʔ-ar-i taʔi ko ca:he ma:ku*  
they-AC how.much be.collected-ITR-3SG toddy maybe though meat  
*ja:gu a:ber-in lap-tr-er*  
boiled.rice they-AC eat-TR-FT.3PL

They [i.e. the bridegroom’s family] make them [i.e. the bride’s family] eat as much [food] as they can collect, maybe liquor, meat, and rice.

- 5’01 *ina ʔo:k-er le:la a:ber-ik bida men-ani*  
today stay-FT.3PL tomorrow they-DA leave be-FT.3SG.NM  
They will stay on that day. On the next day they take leave [of the host].

- 5’05 *pʰir a:ber-in goʔe-r-nihi isagn-a ma:nq-er*  
again they-AC all-PL-AC.EPH oil-AC anoint-FT.3PL  
*inder-kuder=goʔe bida nan-er otr-er bahre:-k*  
what-ECHO=even leave do-FT.3PL take.out-FT.3PL outside-DA  
Again they anoint all [the guests], they say goodbye and [the bridegroom’s family] go out [of the house] with them [to see them off].

- 5’10 *ada-ki ba:de-no samby-er ante a:ber kir-er a:ber*  
that-GE after-LO shake.hands-FT.3PL and they return-FT.3PL they  
*aqa-k bar-er*  
house-DA come-FT.3PL

After that they shake hands, they (i.e. the guests) go home, and they (i.e. the hosts) come back.

- 5’18 *biha-no jo:bʰi juʔ-ar-i-d da:li ti:qalu a:lu*  
wedding-LO whatever be.collected-ITR-3SG-NM lentil rice potato  
*ma:ku je:se pa:ry-ner oryetr-oti*  
meat as be.able-PR.3PL collect-IF

(What food do they serve?) — At the wedding, whatever is available, dal, rice, potato, meat, depending on what they can get.

- 5’29 *ki:rwa-r ta:nu to je:se.te:se men-anid*  
poor-PL then then plain be-FT.3SG.NM

If they are poor, then [the food] will be something plain.

- 5’32 *ar pa:ry-ih ta:nu to ma:ku-d ho men-ani*  
and be.able-PR.3SG.M then then meat-NM also be-FT.3SG.NM

*ja:gu-d ho men-ani ar ta:di-n ho o:n-er*  
 boiled.rice-NM also be-FT.3SG.NM and toddy-AC also drink-FT.3PL  
*e:k-u-r*  
 go-PP-PL

And if he can afford it, then there will be meat too, and there will be rice too, and those who went [with the bridegroom] will drink liquor, too.

#### §14 Birth ritual and name giving (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hiranpur, on September 5, 2006.<sup>4</sup>

0'00 *em-ki sawriya.pahariya-no janam men-id*  
 we.E-GE Sawriya.Pahariya-LO birth be-PR.3SG.NM  
*sawriya.pahariya-no janam men-id jarmar-im ada-no*  
 Sawriya.Pahariya-LO birth be-PR.3SG.NM be.born-PR.1PLE that-LO  
 In our Sawriya Pahariya [community], when birth takes place, when we are born, then,

0'09 *ada-no pel.maqe jarmar-ad ta:nu cukri-d*  
 that-LO girl be.born.B2-PT.3SG.NM then earthen.cup-NM  
*a:n-im ada-no o:me-n bara:tr-ner*  
 say-PR.1PLE that-LO ash-AC fill-PR.3PL  
 when a girl is born, we fill ash in an earthen cup that we call *cukri*.

0'20 *ante ada-no adi-ki ku:de cogr-id a: pahr-no*  
 and that-LO she-GE navel drop-PR.3SG.NM that time-LO  
*ko:mo-ki a:tge-n kale-n pata-ker ada-no ok-tr-ker*  
 plant.name-GE leaf-AC cup-AC sew-CP.3PL that-LO sit-CS-CP.3PL  
 And then her umbilical cord drops. Then they sew a leaf-cup of Komo leaves and put [the umbilical cord] there.

0'32 *ante isagn-a pury-ner ada-no ku:de-n ok-tr-ner*  
 and oil-AC pour-PR.3PL that-LO umbilical.cord-AC sit-CS-PR.3PL  
 And they pour oil [in the cup]. They put the umbilical cord in it.

0'36 *ante ada-nihi a:d mane a:d cala:tr-u malni-d*  
 and that-LO.EPH she namely she drive-PP woman-NM  
*ar:ge-n=indru bana:tr-anid ik.dine*  
 vegetable.dish-AC=and.so.on make-FT.3SG.NM someday  
 She will cook *sabzi* and so on as a homemaker (lit. woman driving a wooden ladle) someday.

0'42 *a:-le:kki a:de peli-d ade-ki cihna-d ta:du-d*  
 that-for she woman-NM she-GE mark-NM wooden.ladle-NM  
 So, if it is a girl, the symbol is a wooden ladle.

0'48 *ta:du ke.sa:t na:mkan men-id adi-n*  
 wooden.ladle with naming.ceremony be-PR.3SG.NM that-AC

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Vidyarthi (1963:118ff.).

*bahre:-k oca-ker ante qep-ente bahre-no ok-tr-ner*  
 outside-DA take.B2-CP.3PL and village-AB outside-LO sit-CS-PR.3PL  
 The naming ceremony (on the fifth day) will take place with the  
 wooden ladle. They bring it (i.e. the earthen cup) outside and put  
 it outside the village.

- 0'56 *ar muṣ.maqe jarmar-ih ada-no ahe-ki-n-ō*  
 and boy be.born-PR.3SG.M that-LO he-GE-AC-too  
*ko:mo-ki a:tge-n pat-ker ante cukṛi-no oṛme-no*  
 plant.name-GE leaf-AC sew-CP.3PL and earthen.cup-LO ash-LO  
*ok-tr-ker ante ahe-ki e:ṛtu ca:ru me:nj-ker*  
 sit-CS-CP.3PL and he-GE bow arrow make-CP.3PL

And when a boy is born, they sew [a leaf-cup of] Komo leaves for  
 him too, and put [it with the umbilical cord] on an earthen cup, on the  
 ash, and after making his bow and arrow,

- 1'11 *ante ahe-ki na:me indru-goṭe me:sa gaṅga ca:he ajra ca:he jawra*  
 and he-GE name what-even PROP PROP or PROP or PROP  
*ca:he tomoṣe male indri-goṭe*  
 or PROP or what-even  
 [having decided on] his name, Mesa, Ganga, Hajra, Jawra, or Thomas,  
 or any name,

- 1'18 *ahe-ki na:me-n tambako-he ina bali-n tisg-in ani*  
 he-GE name-AC father-EPH today door-AC open-PR.1SG so  
*ahe-ki ti:na-batte-n tin-dapa u:r-eh a:h leṭra-batte-n*  
 he-GE right-side-AC three-time.CLF blow-FT.3SG.M he left-side-AC  
*dap-is u:r-eh pac-dapa qerwu ahe-ki-d*  
 time.CLF-two blow-FT.3SG.M five-time.CLF ear he-GE-NM  
 the father opens the door of the baby's name today, so he blows his  
 right side three times [calling the baby's name], then blows his left  
 side twice, so [he blows the name into the baby's] ears five times.

- 1'30 *mane ahe-ki na:me surja-d na:me piṅj-en a:n-keh*  
 namely he-GE name PROP-NM name name-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M  
*ante f a:n-keh u:r-eh i:-batte-n tin-dapa*  
 and ONOM say-CP.3SG.M blow-FT.3SG.M this-side-AC three-time.CLF  
 So for example, calling his name saying "I give the name Surja," he  
 blows "ph" on this side three times.

- 1'36 *ar i:-batte-ne dap-is pel.maqe ta:nu a:-juka-hi*  
 and this-side-AC time.CLF-two girl then that-way-EPH  
*u:r-eh ar muṣ.maqe ta:nu a:-juka-hi u:r-eh*  
 blow-FT.3SG.M and boy then that-way-EPH blow-FT.3SG.M  
 And twice on this side. If it is a baby girl, he blows like this, and if it  
 is a baby boy, he blows like this.

- 1'42 *ante a: pel.maqe ta:nu to a: cukṛi-no ṭaḍu-n*  
 and that girl then then that earthen.cup-LO wooden.ladle-AC

- ild-eh*                      *cala:tr-ner*      *ayi-n*      *ṭaḍu-d*  
 make.stand-FT.3SG.M    drive-PR.3PL    that-AC    wooden.ladle-NM  
*a:n-im*      *ayi-n*  
 say-PR.1PLE that-AC  
 If it is a baby girl, he makes a wooden ladle stand on that earthen cup.  
 They use it. We call it *ṭaḍu*.
- 1'48 *ar mups.mage ta:nu ert-a*    *ca:r-a*    *ild-eh*  
 and boy                      then bow-AC arrow-AC make.stand-FT.3SG.M  
 And if it is a baby boy, he makes a bow and arrow stand.
- 1'53 *i:d mane jarmar-e-ki inonde-hi jarmar-e-ki jo:*  
 this namely be.born-VN-GE this.much-EPH be.born-VN-GE REL  
*lag-id*                      *a:*  
 be.related-PR.3SG.NM that  
 [The ritual] of birth is this much, that which is related to birth.
- 1'58 *ar key-no a:-juka-hi pel.mage kec-a ta:nu to*  
 and die-IPP that-way-EPH girl die.B2-PT.3SG then TOP  
*indra-ṇahā tey-olar lekin murse kec-a ta:nu ert-a*  
 what-even send-NG.PR.3PL but man die.B2-PT.3SG then bow-AC  
*ca:r-a tey-ner*  
 arrow-AC send-PR.3PL  
 And [they do it] that way [even] when [the baby] is dead. If a baby  
 girl dies, then they do not send anything. But if a baby boy dies, they  
 send a bow and arrow.
- 2'16 *i: (jan)janme-ki inonde menj-a*  
 this birth-GE this.much be.B2-PT.3SG  
 [The ritual] of birth is this much. It is over.

### §15 Funeral and the Boje feast (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hiranpur, on March 3, 2006.<sup>5</sup>

- 0'00 *ada-no na: male-h ike-goṭe key-ih key-e-ki ba:de-no*  
 that-LO that person-M which-ever die-PR.3SG.M die-VN-GE after-LO  
*ahe-n key-pe male-n amt-ner no:r-ner*  
 he-AC die-PAP person-AC bathe-PR.3PL wash-PR.3PL  
 When any man dies, then they bathe and wash him, the dead man.
- 0'12 *ada-ki ba:de-no ka:ṭi-no ki:d-ner (ad) bica-tr-ker*  
 that-GE after-LO bedstead-LO lay-PR.3PL spread-TR-CP.3PL  
*jo:bi indr-goṭe beh-i gadle cahe indr-goṭ ade-ti*  
 whatever what-ever be-PR.3SG quilt or what-ever that-IN  
*bica-tr-ker ki:d-ner*  
 spread-TR-CP.3PL lay-PR.3PL  
 After that, they lay the dead person on a bedstead. Having spread  
 whatever quilt is available, whatever you can cover [the body] with,

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Vidyarthi (1963:134ff.).

they lay the body.

- 0'19 *isagn-a ma:ndq-ker ante jo: juʃar-i ta:nu ho*  
 oil-AC anoint-CP.3PL and which be.collected-PR.3SG then too  
*beh-i ta:no beh-i mala ta:no mala*  
 be-PR.3SG then be-PR.3SG be.not.PR.3SG then be.not.PR.3SG  
 They apply oil to the body and dress him with what is available — if  
 there is something, they do so, but if there isn't, then they don't.

- 0'24 *beh-i ta:n to pune sa:jatr-ner ar mala ta:n to*  
 be-PR.3SG then then new dress-PR.3PL and be.not.PR.3SG then then  
*pace-ni no:ʃ-ker ante ahe-n mane sa:jatr-er*  
 old-AC wash-CP.3PL and he-AC namely dress-FT.3PL  
 If they can afford, then they dress [the body] with new clothes. If not,  
 they wash old clothes and dress him.

- 0'29 *sa:jatr-ker ante ceḍa-ker oy-er oy-im ante*  
 dress-CP.3PL and carry-CP.3PL take-FT.3PL take-PR.1PLE and  
*a:ʃ-no em-a jaga beh-id masani-d a:n-im*  
 there-LO we.E-DA place be-PR.3SG.NM graveyard-NM say-PR.1PLE  
 They dress the body, carry it, and take it. We carry the body and we  
 have a place there. We call it *masani*.

- 0'36 *masan-no arg-ner dari-n pu:rw-paccim*  
 cemetery-LO dig-PR.3PL hole-AC east-west  
 They dig a hole east-west in the graveyard.

- 0'42 *pu:rw-paccim arg-ner ante paccime-no kuk-a gaʃc-ker*  
 east-west dig-PR.3PL and west-LO head-AC place-CP.3PL  
*ante igjo kuk-a garc-ker ante ki:d-ner inda-ker*  
 and straight head-AC place-CP.3PL and lay-PR.3PL do.like.this-CP.3PL  
*ante*  
 and

They dig [a hole] east-west, place the head in the west, place the head  
 straight, and lay down [the body], doing it like this, and

- 0'49 *ada-ki ba:de-no kandwaʃe bana:tr-im man-ki-n*  
 that-GE after-LO box make-PR.1PLE wood-GE-AC  
*simbaʃi man-ki-n*  
 silk.cotton.tree wood-GE-AC  
 after that we make a wooden box (coffin) of the silk cotton tree.

- 0'54 *ada-no ki:da-ker ante uʃa-ker ante ki:da-ker meca pʰir se*  
 that-LO lay-CP.3PL and cover-CP.3PL and lay-CP.3PL above again EPH  
*man-a ʃukʀa-n car-pe-n inda-ker uʃa-ker*  
 tree-AC wooden.block-AC cut-PAP-AC do.like.this-CP.3PL cover-CP.3PL  
*ki:da-ker ante qaje-t bara:tr-ner*  
 lay-CP.3PL and soil-IN fill-PR.3PL  
 They lay [the body] in it, cover it, lay it, and again cover and put in  
 this way a wooden plate that is made [on site]. They fill [the grave]  
 with soil.

- 1'06 *bara:tr-e-ki ba:de-no a:ʃi-nte goʃ male-ri hi kir-ner apna*  
 fill-VN-GE after-LO there-AB all person-PL EPH return-PR.3PL self  
*no:qr-ner amy-ner kir-ner*  
 wash.oneself-PR.3PL take.a.bath-PR.3PL return-PR.3PL  
 After filling [the grave with soil], all people return from there. They  
 wash themselves, take baths and come back.
- 1'14 *ada-ki ba:de-no be:ʃit ahi-ki ba:re-no a:*  
 that-GE after-LO in.the.evening he-GE matter-LO that  
*kiry-ar a: male-r-ki isa:be-t em-a qe:ru*  
 return.B2-PT.3PL that person-PL-GE account-IN we.E-DA chicken  
*lag-i maq-ond*  
 cost-PR.3SG CLF-one  
 After that, in the evening, we need to offer a chicken, in the name of  
 those who returned [from the funeral].
- 1'24 *qe:r-et mane a:ber kiry-ar a:ber jitna a:ʃi-nte*  
 chicken-IN namely they return.B2-PT.3PL they how.many there-AB  
*barc-ar a: male-r cumbaʃe-tr-ner*  
 come.B2-PT.3PL that person-PL do.purificatory.rite-CS-PR.3PL  
 All those people who returned from there have a purificatory rite per-  
 formed with the chicken.
- 1'28 *cumbaʃe-tr-e-ki ba:de-no i: to kiry-ar*  
 do.purificatory.rite-CS-VN-GE after-LO this TOP return.B2-PT.3PL  
*pa:ʃeca-r toqry-a*  
 attendant.of.burial-PL end.B2-PT.3SG  
 These people, attendants of the burial, return after having a purifica-  
 tory rite performed, and it is done.
- 1'33 *ante ahe-ki ba:re-no ka:je bandane men-id*  
 and he-GE matter-LO work ritual be-PR.3SG.NM  
 And there is what is called *ka:je* or *bandane* in his name.
- 1'39 *ada-no ne:k-a e:nond beh-id anond hi e:k mon*  
 that-LO who-DA how.much be-PR.3SG.NM that.much EPH one maund  
*du: mon ti:qal-a ciy-ner a: mala ta:no ho e:k.so:*  
 two maund rice-AC give-PR.3PL that be.not.PR.3SG then too 100  
*du:.so: pe:sa-n ciy-ner*  
 200 money-AC give-PR.3PL  
 In it, one gives as much as he has, one *maund* or two *maund* of rice. If  
 one does not have it, still he gives one hundred or two hundred rupees.
- 1'52 *ar ne:reh juʃa-tr-oti pa:ry-ih ta:nu ti:n mon ca:r mon*  
 and who.M gather-CS-IF be.able-PR.3SG then three maund four maund  
*ciy-ih aro kis-a ada-no oryatr-ker ciy-ner ada-ki*  
 give-PR.3SG.M and pig-AC that-LO prepare-CP.3PL give-PR.3PL that-GE  
*ka:je-d men-id adi hi bandane men-id*  
 work-NM be-PR.3SG.NM that EPH ritual be-PR.3SG  
 And [if] anyone can collect [much], then he gives three *maund* or four

*maund.* And they prepare a pig and give it in that. *Ka:je* is for such person. Such is *Bandane*.

- 2'05 *a:* *p<sup>h</sup>ir* *a:* *pa:teca-r* *mej<sup>h</sup>-a* *ahi-ki*  
 that again that attendant.of.burial-PL be.B2-PT.3SG he-GE  
*kec-a* *ani* *pac din jumary-a*  
 die.B2-PT.3SG then five day come.together.B2-PT.3SG  
 Five days after he dies, those who attended the burial get together again.

- 2'11 *pac dine jumary-a* *ta:nu ahi-ki ade-no aḍa-nte*  
 five day come.together.B2-PT.3SG then he-GE that-LO house-AB  
*apna lape-n mo:qe ind<sup>h</sup>-goṭe oryary-a* *a:* *dine*  
 own food-AC food what-ever be.prepared.B2-PT.3SG that day  
*buja-n kaldi-n piṭa-n ja:gu-n*  
 puffed.rice-AC banana-AC laddu-AC boiled.rice-AC  
 When they get together, each person's food, anything like puffed rice, bananas, laddu and boiled rice, is prepared from their houses on that day, in that [ritual] for him.

- 2'38 *a:* *pe<sup>h</sup>i-d* *ta:nu qe:ru men-anid buḍi aro muṣe-h*  
 that woman-NM then chicken be-FT.3SG.NM old.woman and man-M  
*ta:nu laṅga-qe:ru men-anid*  
 then cock-chicken be-FT.3SG.NM  
 If the [deceased] is a woman, then it will be a hen, and if a man, then it will be a rooster.

- 2'36 *adi-n oy-er ante pac dine nahe-ki ja:gu-d piṭa-d*  
 that-AC take-FT.3PL and five day he-GE boiled.rice-NM laddu-NM  
*jilebi-d kaldi-d a:t<sup>h</sup>-no ki:da-ker ante ahe-ki na:mi-t pu:ja*  
 sweet-NM banana-NM there-LO lay-CP.3PL and he-GE name-IN puja  
*nan-er ada-ki ba:de-no kir-er ante bas*  
 do-FT.3PL that-GE after-LO return-FT.3PL and enough  
 They bring it, and after five days, they lay boiled rice, laddu, sweets, bananas for him and they perform a puja in his name there. After that they go home, and it is done.

- 2'51 *ahe-ki na:mi je: ne:reh ko kec-ah ahe-ki na:mi-t*  
 he-GE name REL who.M it.seems die.B2-PT.3SG.M he-GE name-IN  
*niṅg-a ina ka:je-n bo:je-n ciy-im lape-n ciy-im*  
 you-DA today duty-AC feast-AC give-PR.1PLE food-AC give-PR.1PLE  
*lap-ku moq-qu e:ṛu aru e:ṛu carc-ku*  
 eat-FT.IMP eat-FT.IMP well and well walk-FT.IMP  
 [—What do they say in the puja? They pray] in his name who died,  
 “Today we hold a *ka:je*, a *bo:je* feast for you. We give you food. You please eat well, and please walk around well.”

- 3'01 *indru gosapi-d oc-ad a:d niṅg-en*  
 what god-NM take.B2-PT.3SG.NM that you-AC

*jogy-anded*

take.care.of-OP.3SG.NM

“May that god which took [you] take care of you.”

- 3'03 *lekin inte-nte ni:n to em-ki male mala-ke alag*  
 but of.today-AB you TOP we.E-GE person be.not-PR.2SG.M separate  
*menja-ke*  
 become.B2-PT.2SG.M  
 “But from today on, you are not our person. You have become separate.”

- 3'08 *aṭi-nte ahe-ki-d katam men-id*  
 there-AB he-GE-NM end become-PR.3SG.NM  
 Then things related to him is over.
- 3'12 *ahe-ki ne:re-goṭe tambako buṛwa-h mal-a ta:nu ahe-ki*  
 he-GE who-ever own.father old.man-M be.not-PR.3SG then he-GE  
*apna taṇ.gade-h nan-eh aro je:se tambako-h hi ḍo:k-i*  
 own own.son-M do-FT.3SG and like own.father-M EPH stay-PR.3SG.M  
*taṇ.gade-h mal-ah ta:nu to tambako-h nan-eh*  
 own.son-M be.not-PR.3SG.M then TOP own.father-M do-FT.3SG.M  
 [—Who performs the puja?] In the case of one [whose] father is no  
 more, his son will do it. And if his father is alive and he has no son,  
 then the father will do it.
- 3'25 *ara hi ko:i ne:goṭe toka-r mal-ar gosṭi-r ta:nu*  
 further EPH anyone who-ever party-PL be.not-PR.3PL relative-PL then  
*ahe-ki gosṭi-no ne:re-goṭe apna male-r beh-er a:ber hi*  
 he-GE relative-LO who-ever own person-PL be-FT.3PL they EPH  
*nan-er*  
 do-FT.3PL  
 If [he has] no family member, then some among his relatives who are  
 close to him (lit. his own people) will do it.

### §16 Pahariya rituals (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hiranpur, on March 3, 2006.

a. Mangu-pi:je or the buffalo sacrifice.<sup>6</sup>

- 0'00 *eṇ-ki aḍa-d uḍsa.pahare eṇ-ki na:me surja pahariya*  
 I-GE home-NM PROP I-GE name PROP PROP  
 My home is Ursa Pahar. My name is Surja Pahariya.
- 0'12 *auro mangu pi:je-ki ba:re-no ida-no e:m ga:re-hi*  
 and buffalo ritual-GE matter-LO this-LO we.E much-EPH  
*gec-gec-ente apna ba:ye-r je ba:ye-r gosṭi-r beh-ner*  
 far-far-AB self relative-PL REL relative-PL meeting-PL be-PR.3PL  
*a:ber-in nimantran nan-im mane manga:tr-im*  
 they-AC invitation do-PR.1PLE namely invite-PR.1PLE

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Vidyarthi (1963:158ff.).

About Buffalo Puja. In this [ritual], we invite whomever relatives there are, from very remote places.

- 0'39 *adi-ki ba:de-no me:ca-n ok-tr-ner ne:k-a jitna*  
 that-GE after-LO wine-AC sit-CS-PR.3PL who-DA how.many  
*juṭar-id das-goṭa ba:ra-goṭa bi:s-goṭa*  
 get.together-PR.3SG.NM ten-CLF twelve-CLF twenty-CLF  
*paco:hi i: sara:pe-ki ru:pe-no*  
 fermentation.starter this liquor-GE form-LO

After that, they prepare wine, put as many fermentation starter balls as are available, be it ten, twelve or twenty. These [take] the form of alcohol.

- 0'50 *ada-ki ba:de-no a:ber-ik i: kabare men-i bar-ner*  
 that-GE after-LO they-DA this news become-PR.3SG come-PR.3PL  
*ik-dine men-ani a: dine ta:ri:k nan-ner a: dine-no*  
 which-day be-FT.3SG.NM that day date do-PR.3PL that day-LO  
 After that, those who have received the notice come on the day on which they have fixed the date.

- 0'56 *bar-e-ki ba:de-no jisse pi:je men-id a:de pi:je-no*  
 come-VN-GE after-LO from.which ritual be-PR.3SG.NM that ritual-LO  
*e:nḍ-ond mo:ṭo kuṭa-n gary-im bi:ce-no qep-ki*  
 CLF-one big post-AC make-PR.3SG.1PLE middle-LO village-GE  
*bi:ce-no*  
 middle-LO

After they come, we make a big post during the ritual, with which the ritual takes place, in the village.

- 1'07 *qep-ki bi:ce-no mo:ṭo kuṭa mane ida-kem*  
 village-GE middle-LO big post namely erect-CP.1PLE  
*ild-im ante ada-no bara:hi coṇj-im*  
 make.stand-PR.3SG and that-LO rope tie-PR.1PLE  
 We put up a big post in the middle of the village, set it up, and tie a rope on that.

- 1'14 *coṇj-e-ki ba:de-no adi-n ke:la:-tr-ner*  
 tie-VN-GE after-LO that-AC play-TR-PR.3PL  
 After they tie rope, they make it (i.e. the buffalo) dance.

- 1'17 *male-r jamar-ker ada-no bahre-nte ho male-r*  
 person-PL gather-CP.3PL that-LO outside-AB too person-PL  
*bar-ner a:ber-in bi:nḍwa-r a:n-im*  
 come-PR.3PL they-AC invited.guest-PL say-PR.1PLE  
 People get together there. People come from outside too. We call them *bi:nḍwar* 'invited guests'.

- 1'23 *bi:nḍwa-r a:n-im a:ber barc-ker ante ke:la:-tr-er*  
 invited.guest-PL say-PR.1PLE they come.B2-CP and play-TR-FT.3PL  
 We call them *bi:nḍwar*. They come and make [it] dance.

- 1'27 *ina* suru: *menj-ad* *le:la* *ma:qond adi-n* *ike-h*  
 today beginning be.B2-PT.3SG.NM tomorrow morning that-AC REL-M  
*ca:l:majye a:n-im* *ike-h* *singpaṭ:majye a:n-im* *a:ber*  
 kind.of.priest say-PR.1PLE REL-M kind.of.priest say-PR.1PLE they  
*e:k-ner*  
 go-PR.3PL  
 [If] it has started today, [then] next morning those priests whom we  
 call *ca:l:majye* and *singpaṭ:majye* go.
- 1'37 *ada-ki ba:de-no a: dine ke:la:-tr-e-ki ba:de-no qōh-ner*  
 that-GE after-LO that day play-TR-VN-DA after-LO cut-PR.3PL  
 After that, after making [the buffalo] dance on that day, they cut [it].
- 1'40 *qōh-e-ki ba:de-no kuk-a toq-ner*  
 cut-VN-GE after-LO head-AC cut.off-PR.3PL  
 After cutting [the buffalo] they cut the head off.
- 1'43 *toq-ner ade-ki ba:de-no a: kuku oca-ker ante*  
 cut.off-PR.3PL that-GE after-LO that head take.B2-CP.3PL and  
*singpaṭe-no erw-ner mane pu:ja: nan-ner*  
 ritual.ground-LO sacrifice-PR.3PL namely worship do-PR.3PL  
 After cutting [the head] off, they take that head and performs the sac-  
 rifice at the *Singpat* ground, in other words, they do the puja.
- 1'49 *erw-ner ada-no dumanisundra ci:ni: baseta guwa*  
 sacrifice-PR.3PL that-LO incense vermilion sugar sugar.cake betel.leaf  
*sopari nan-ker ante a: (pu:j indro) ca:l:majye a:n-im*  
 betel.nuts do-CP.3PL and that grove-priest say-PR.1PLE  
*a: singpaṭ:majye a:n-im a:ber irw-er*  
 that ritual.ground-priest say-PR.1PLE they two.person-PL  
*erw-ner*  
 sacrifice-PR.3PL  
 When they perform the sacrifice, they offer incense, vermilion, sugar,  
 sugar-cake, betel leaf, betel nuts there, and those two [priests] whom  
 we call *ca:l:majye* and *singpaṭ:majye* perform the sacrifice.
- 2'06 *bas ada-ki ba:de-no a:d pu:ja erw-e-d katam*  
 enough that-GE after-LO that puja sacrifice-VN-NM end  
*menj-ad*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Well, then that puja, the sacrifice, ends.
- 2'11 *ante apna pi:je mana:-tar-ner ki kusi-no apna*  
 and own ritual worship-TR-PR.3PL COMP happiness-LO own  
*bahre-nte apna apna gosṭi-r barc-ar toka-r*  
 outside-AB own own guest-PL come.B2-PT.3PL party-PL  
*male-r a:ber-sa:t lap-ner mo:q-ner (aṭan) aḍa-no*  
 person-PL they-together.with eat-PR.3PL eat-PR.3PL there-LO  
*juṭar-id adi-n*  
 be.collected-PR.3SG.NM that-AC

Then they perform sacrifice for themselves. Their own guests, the people of their party, have come from outside. They eat what they have at home with them in happiness.

- 2'24 *ida-ki ba:de-no to dosra dine bida men-i*  
 this-GE after-LO TOP second day leave be-PR.3SG  
 After this, they will ask for leave on the second day.
- 2'31 *bida pahra-no indra ayse-hi a:ber-ik jo:bi:*  
 leave time-LO what this.way-EPH they-DA whichever  
*juṭar-i beh-id ta:nu indru-goṭ da:li ca:he*  
 be.collected-PR.3SG be-PR.3SG.NM then what-ever dal or  
*ti:qalu ca:he gangi indra-goṭ cica-ker ante bahre-k*  
 rice or maize what-ever give.B2-CP.3PL and outside-DA  
*urq-pahra-no e:me isagn-a lagatr-im a:ber-ik*  
 come.out-time-LO we.E oil-AC attach-PR.1PLE they-DA  
 On the third day... (—What do they do when they leave?) If there is any relation to them, then they give them whatever [food] is available, [whatever food] they have, dal, rice, maize or whatever else when they leave, and we anoint them when they go out.
- 2'45 *je:se ba:ye-r barc-ar i:ber bida nan-ner a: pahra*  
 as relative-PL come.B2-PT.3PL these leave do-PR.3PL that time  
*toṛa-toṛa-ti isagn-an ciy-im ma:nq-em ada-ki*  
 a.little-REP-IN oil-AC give-PR.1PLE apply-FT.1PLE that-GE  
*ba:de-no bida nan-em*  
 after-LO leave do-FT.1PLE  
 These relatives ask for leave in the same way as [they did when] they came. At that time, we give oil [to each] little by little, we apply it to them. After that we give them leave.
- 2'52 *bida nan-e-ki ba:de-no sala:m men-id indaki-d i:*  
 leave do-VN-GE after-LO salutation be-PR.3SG.NM this.way-NM this  
*goṭe-r-nihi ante a:ber e:k-ner e:m aḍa-k kir-im*  
 all-PL-DA.EPH and they go-PR.3PL we.E house-DA return-PR.1PLE  
*qep-ki to:ṛa de:r bahre-nte*  
 village-GE a.little delay outside-AB  
 After giving leave, [we do] a salutation, in this way to everyone, and they go. We come back from a little outside the village.
- 3'04 *garne tab to aḍa-no bas a:ber kiry-ar e:m ino*  
 hot then TOP house-LO enough they return.B2-PT.3PL we.E here  
*toqry-a pi:je-d inond-hi pi:je menj-ad*  
 end.B2-PT.3SG ritual-NM this.much-EPH ritual be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 If it is hot, it is enough [to say goodbye] in the house. They have gone, and we are done here. This much is the ritual. The ritual is done.
- b. Ca:l-pi:je or the Sarhul Festival.
- 0'00 *ca:l-pi:je-no je:se ki adi-ki an[d<sup>h</sup>].biswa:se ca:he biswa:se-d*  
 grove-ritual-LO how COMP that-GE superstition be.it belief-NM

- pahil.te-nte*      *bar-id*      *ki*      *parte:k*      *bacari-no*  
olden.times-AB      come-PR.3SG.NM      COMP      each      year-LO  
*men-id*  
be-PR.3SG.NM  
How [it is like] in the grove ritual — whether it is superstition or [sound] belief, comes from olden times. It is held each year.
- 0'15 *parte:k bacari-no men-id*      *ano a:hu e:k sapta:h pahle e:k*  
each    year-LO    be-PR.3SG.NM    then he    one week    before one  
*hapta pahle-nte hi ada-ki ninya:ri men-id*  
week    before-AB EPH    that-GE    date.fixing be-PR.3SG.NM  
It is held each year. Its date is fixed just a week before.
- 0'24 *ninya:ri men-e-ki ba:de-no bahre-nte na:-juka-hi bar-ner*  
date.fixing be-VN-GE after-LO    outside-AB    that-like-EPH    come-PR.3PL  
*male-r ada-k*  
person-PL    home-DA  
After fixing the date, people come to the house from outside that way.
- 0'31 *apna apna-ki toka-r a:ber pi:j-dine mana:-tr-oti a: dine-m*  
own own-GE    party-PL    they    ritual-day    worship-TR-IF    that day-EPH  
*e:k-im bahre-k qade-no*  
go-PR.1PLE    outside-DA    forest-LO  
The people of their own parties, go out to the forest on that day, in order to worship.
- 0'38 *e:k ta:ne beh-i jaga-d a:ti-no i:ti-nte qe:lu qole*  
one site    be-PR.3SG    place-NM    there-LO    here-AB    kettledrum    drum  
*baja-tr-i e:k-ner laq-i pa:r-i*  
beat-CS-AP    go-PR.3PL    dance.B2-AP    sing-AP  
There is one site, one place. They go from here to there dancing and singing, making [someone] beat kettledrums and drums.
- 0'48 *a:ti-no ho dumani sundra ci:ni: baseta guwa sopari*  
there-LO    too    incense    vermilion    sugar    sugar.cake    betel.leaf    betel.nuts  
*auro bica:ri.gund-e-d a:n-ner dana-ki-d pi:sy-pe-n*  
and    rice.dumpling-NM    say-PR.3PL    grain-GE-NM    crush-PAP-AC  
*sa:ny-pe-d a:d city-oti men-id ano city-ner*  
make.ball-PAP-NM    that sprinkle-IF    be-PR.3SG.NM    then sprinkle-PR.3PL  
*jinpro jinpro je:se-d ayi-n*  
white    REP    like-NM    that-AC  
There they need to sprinkle incense, vermilion, sugar, sugar-cake, betel leaves, betel nuts, and what they call rice dumplings — ones made of crushed grain — and those that were rolled into balls. They sprinkle them there, very white ones.
- 1'06 *a:ti-no jinpro e:re-n tal-ner*  
there-LO    white    goat-AC    cut-PR.3PL  
There they cut a white goat.

- 1'11 *ade-ki ba:de-no pu:ja mejj-ad man-erwe-d*  
 that-GE after-LO ritual be.B2-PT.3SG.NM tree-sacrifice-NM  
 After that the ritual is complete, the tree worship.
- 1'14 *ade-ki ba:de-no p<sup>h</sup>ir se laḍ-i laḍ-i aḍa-k kir-ner*  
 that-GE after-LO again EPH dance.B2-AP REP home-DA return-PR.3PL  
 After that they go home dancing again.
- 1'18 *p<sup>h</sup>ir apna ba:ye-r sa:t milar-ker lap-ner mo:q-ner*  
 again own relative-PL together meet-CP.3PL eat-PR.3PL eat-PR.3PL  
*bas inonde-d hi mejj-a*  
 enough this.much-NM EPH be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then they get together with their relatives and have feast. Well, this  
 much is the ritual.

## c. Gund Pi:je or the Harvest Festival.

- 0'00 *nada-no i: pi:je-no ca:s nan-im bajra-n*  
 that-LO this ritual-LO ploughing do-PR.1PLE millet-AC  
 In that, in this ritual, we do millet cultivation.
- 0'08 *ada-ki ba:de-no sa:l-ba:re-ki ada-ki je:se anake ca:se*  
 that-GE after-LO year-occasion-GE that-GE like now ploughing  
*mejj-ad*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 After that, [after] the annual [cultivation] period, the cultivation is  
 done now.
- 0'14 *men-ne-ki ba:de-no adi-ki nisgre-d a:n-im*  
 be-VN-GE after-LO that-GE first.fruit.festival-NM say-PR.1PLE  
*ne:wane-n nisgre men-id a: dana-n pune*  
 first.fruit-AC first.fruit.festival be-PR.3SG.NM that grain-AC new  
*dana-n lap-oti le:kki*  
 grain-AC eat-IF for  
 Then we call the first fruit of that [cultivation] *nisgre*. The first fruit  
 festival is for eating that grain, the new grain.
- 0'22 *ada-no adi-n nisgre-ki ino adi-n erw-oti*  
 that-LO that-AC new.fruit.festival-GE here that-AC sacrifice-IF  
*men-anid ano apna ba:p-dada je:se kec-ar*  
 be-FT.3SG.NM there own father-grandfather REL(?) die.B2-PT.3PL  
*agdu a:ber-iki na:mi-t pu:ja men-id erw-im*  
 before they-GE name-IN ritual be-PR.3SG.NM sacrifice-PR.1PLE  
 We have to worship that of the new fruit festival, [namely,] there is a  
 puja, we perform sacrifice, by the name of those father and grandfa-  
 ther of ours who died before.
- 0'35 *ada-no gunde-d mane tegalo-ki-n hi gunde-n*  
 that-LO powder-NM namely millet-GE-AC EPH powder-AC  
*bana:tr-im ada-ki sattu adi-n apna apna aḍa-no*  
 make-PR.1PLE that-GE coarse.flour that-AC own own home-LO

*ho apna pariwa:re kandane (kir) kec-ar a:ber-iki na:me-t*  
 too own family relative die.B2-PT.3PL they-GE name-IN  
*pu:ja men-id*  
 ritual be-PR.3SG.NM

We make powder in that [ritual], powder of millet. In each family, there is a puja [to offer] the coarse flour of that [millet] in the name of those family members and relatives who died.

- 0'52 *a: qep-no ho singpaṭe-d a:n-im ada-no pu:ja*  
 that village-LO too ritual.ground-NM say-PR.1PLE that-LO puja  
*men-id*  
 be-PR.3SG.NM

The puja is [performed] in that [place] in the village that we call *Singpat*.

- 0'54 *ada-ki ba:de-no a: singpaṭ.majye-h pu:ja-n katam nany-ah*  
 that-GE after-LO that singpat.priest-M puja-AC end do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After that the *Singpat* priest finishes the puja.

- 0'57 *ada-ki ba:de-no aḍa-k kir-e-ki ba:de-no apna apna*  
 that-GE after-LO home-DA return-VN-GE after-LO own own  
*gunde-n sattū-n nan-ner*  
 powder-AC coarse.flour-AC make-PR.3PL

After that, after returning home, they make their own powder, coarse flour.

- 1'02 *ante goṭe-r-iki maḡe-r jitna aḍa-no pariwa:re-r je:se ca:r-jin*  
 and all-PL-GE boy-PL as.many home-LO family-PL like four-CLF  
*du:-jine-r ca:he pā:c-jine-r ca:he das-jine-r a:ber-ik ba:ṭy-er*  
 two-CLF-PL be.it five-CLF-PL be.it ten-CLF-PL they-DA divide-FT.3PL  
 And for all the people, how many family there may be at home, whether it is four people, two people, five people or ten people, they divide [the powder] for them.

- 1'09 *aḍa-ki ma:like-r je:se aya-abo ok-er a: pahr-no*  
 home-GE master-PL like mother-father sit-FT.3PL that time-LO  
 Father and mother sit at that time like the masters of the house.

- 1'13 *ada-ki ba:de-no i: ba:ṭc-ker ante goṭe-r-ik ciy-er*  
 that-GE after-LO this divide.B2-CP.3PL and all-PL-DA give-FT.3PL  
*mane ina gunde nisgr-ke-d toro-k kor-tr-a*  
 namely today powder eat.first.fruit-PTP-NM mouth-DA enter-CS-3SG  
 After that they divide this and give everyone [their share], namely, they put the powder, the first fruit, into their mouth.

- 1'19 *ida-ki inonde-hi niyame itne mejj-a*  
 this-GE this.much-EPH custom this.much be.B2-PT.3SG

This much is the practice of this ritual. It is over at this point.

d. Hunting. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hiranpur, on March 3, 2008.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Vidyarthi (1963:21ff.), Vidyarthi (1991b:61f.).

- 0'00 *e:me dade-n get-oti e:k-oti gaṛar-im*  
 we.E jungle-AC beat.jungle-IF go-IF prepare-PR.1PLE  
 [When] we prepare to go hunting to the jungle,
- 0'05 *ada-no a:di-nten awḍ-naq-im ki na: dine e:k-et*  
 that-LO there-AB speak-REC-PR.1PLE COMP that day go-FT.1PL.I  
*dade get-ot a:n-naq-im ante*  
 jungle beat.jungle-IF say-REC-PR.1PLE and  
 then we talk to each other “Let us go to beat the jungle on that day.”
- 0'15 *jama:tr-ner a:tgo-aḍa-no ert-a ca:r-a pin-a balme-n*  
 collect-PR.3PL priest-house-LO bow-AC arrow-AC stick-AC spear-AC  
*mas-a ta:tr-a*  
 hatchet-AC sickle-AC  
 They collect a bow, an arrow, a stick, a spear, a hatchet, and a knife,  
 in the priest's house.
- 0'22 *ante jamare-ki jamar-im aḍa-k ante*  
 and be.collected-CP.3SG get.together-PR.1PLE house-DA and  
*a:tgo-he am-a bicr-ih*  
 priest-M water-AC sprinkle-PR.3SG.M  
 And after [the weapons] are collected, we get together in that house,  
 and the priest sprinkles water.
- 0'31 *e:ru e:k-em dase-r male-r e:ru kir-ander*  
 well go-FT.1PLE ten-PL person-PL well return-OP.3PL  
 “May we go safely, the [team of] ten people. May they return safely.”
- 0'39 *a:n-keh ante cuwe-n qe:r-a kis-a tu:ḍ-a (piṭka)*  
 say-CP.3SG.M and peacock-AC chicken-AC pig-AC tiger-AC  
*piṭ-kem bar-ond ar e:ru.qani male-r kir-ker*  
 kill-CP.1PLE come-OP and safely person-PL return-CP.3PL  
*bar-ander a:n-keh ante am-a bicr-ih*  
 come-OP.3PL say-CP.3SG.M and water-AC sprinkle-PR.3SG.M  
 “May we kill a peacock, hen, pig, or tiger, and come back. And may  
 the men come back safely.” Saying this, he sprinkles water.
- 0'50 *ante qe:rpa:n-a qoṭ-ih adi-ke a: man-ki dade-ki*  
 and egg-AC knock-PR.3SG.M that-DA that tree-GE jungle-GE  
*ḍo:k-u gosapi janware eṇ-ki male-r dade-n get-ot*  
 stay-PP god animal I-GE person-PL jungle-AC beat.jungle-IF  
*e:k-ner*  
 go-PR.3PL  
 And he breaks an egg, [saying] “O, gods living in the trees and the  
 jungle, o animals, my men are going to hunt the jungle.”
- 1'01 *e:ru.qani kir-ander e:ru bar-ander a:n-keh ante*  
 safely return-OP.3PL well come-OP.3PL say-CP.3SG.M and  
*qoṭ-ih ante am-a bicr-ih ante e:k-im*  
 knock-PR.3SG.M and water-AC sprinkle-PR.3SG.M and go-PR.1PLE  
 He breaks an egg, saying “May they return safely. May they come

back safely.” Then he sprinkles water and we go.

- 1'10 *e:k-im ante dade-no panti ild-ner e:nond*  
 go-PR.1PL.E and jungle-LO line make.stand-PR.3PL how.many  
*male-r e:k-ner a:ber saw-ond-er ko*  
 person-PL go-PR.3PL they hundred.CLF-one-PL maybe  
*de:d-saw-er ko male paca:s-jin-er ko*  
 one.and.a.half-hundred-PL maybe person fifty-CLF-PL maybe  
 We go, and however many people may go — whether it is one hundred, one hundred and fifty, or fifty people — they make them stand in line in the jungle.

- 1'23 *ante a:ber panti i:t-no ort i:t-no ort i:t-no ort i:n-ker*  
 and they line here-LO one here-LO one here-LO one do.thus-CP.3PL  
*panti il-ner*  
 line stand-PR.3PL  
 And they stand in line, doing like this — one person here, one person here, one person here.

- 1'29 *panti ilde-ki ild-ner ante get-ot*  
 line make.stand-CP.3SG make.stand-PR.3PL and beat.jungle-IF  
*lagar-ner ano ho: ha: ho: a:n-naq-le e:k-ner*  
 begin-PR.3PL there ITJ ITJ ITJ say-REC-CP go-PR.3PL  
 They make them stand in line, and start hunting. Then they go, saying  
 “Haw, hah, haw” to each other.

- 1'38 *e:k-no cuwe-d and-uwr-id ta:nu ho agdu ka:ndwar-no*  
 go-IPP peacock-NM find-PA-PR.3SG.NM then too first front.line-LO  
*ild-ner a:ber-bajo agdu-bajo awd-ner*  
 make.stand-PR.3PL they-toward first-toward speak-PR.3PL  
 When they go and when a peacock is found, they tell the people who stand in front.

- 1'48 *e:k-i=ɽe na:peɽ e:k-i=ɽe a:n-le awd-ner*  
 go-PR.3SG=ITJ that-way go-PR.3SG=ITJ say-CP speak-PR.3PL  
 They say, “Hey, it is going from that way.”

- 1'52 *ante a:ber adi-n ge:ry-ner te dade-n*  
 and they that-AC surround-PR.3PL and jungle-AC  
*get-im ante a:ti-nte indra-gote-hi piɽ-im*  
 beat.jungle-PR.1PL.E and there-AB what-ever-EPH kill-PR.1PL.E  
*cuwe men-no ho kis-a men-no ho qe:r-a men-no ho*  
 peacock be-IPP too pig-AC be-IPP too chicken-AC be-IPP too  
 And they surround it. And we hunt in the jungle. Then whatever we may hunt, whether it is a peacock, a pig, or a chicken,

- 2'05 *ante kir-im ano aɽpe-ne gaɽo-n cigalo-n qe:r-a*  
 and return-PR.1PL.E there little-AC wild.cat-AC jackal-AC chicken-AC  
*piɽ-no to erw-olar*  
 kill-IPP then worship-NG.PR.3PL  
 we go back. If we catch small animals, whether it is a wild cat, a

jackal or a chicken, we do not perform a ritual.

- 2'16 *a: cuwe-d kisu-d tu:du-d indru-goŋe mo:to ci:je*  
 that peacock-NM pig-NM tiger-NM what-ever big thing  
*piŋ-uwr-i ta:nu eŋw-ner ano kir-tr-no*  
 kill-PA-PR.3SG then worship-PR.3PL there return-CS-IPP

If that is anything big, like a peacock, pig or a tiger, then the hunters perform a ritual there when they bring [the game] back.

- 2'27 *lawa-gunde-d ante qe:r.pa:nu-d garc-ker ante*  
 parched.grain-flour-NM and egg-NM melt.B2-CP.3PL and  
*ada-no eŋw-ner ano*  
 that-LO worship-PR.3PL there

When they mix the powder of parched grain and egg and perform a ritual there,

- 2'35 *adi-ke man-ki ɖade-ki gosani janware po:sy-u gosani ning-a*  
 that-DA tree-GE jungle-GE god animal nurture-PP god you-DA  
*ciy-im*  
 give-PR.1PLE

[we say] "O, god of tree and jungle, god nurturing the animals, we give [this to] you."

- 2'41 *indake-mi piŋ-a piŋ-a bar-ond ɖade-k e:k-em ano*  
 this.way-EPH kill-AP REP come-OP jungle-DA go-FT.1PLE there  
*aca murge-n kuŋi-n indra lagatr-omku caq-tr-omku*  
 well sharp.end-AC peg-AC what attach-NG.FT.IMP stab-CS-NG.FT.IMP  
*a:n-le awq-im inonde-hi*  
 say-CP speak-PR.1PLE this.much-EPH

We say, "When we come to kill [animals] this way, when we go to the jungle, let things like blades and pegs not hit us, let them not stab us."

### §17 Village chief's duty (Nw).

Told by Mr. Alexander Malto of Kusumghati, P. O. Kero Bazar, P. S. Boar-ijor, Dist. Godda. Recorded in Kusumghati on February 22, 2007.

- 0'13 *e:m to jarmar-kem ante budi barc-ko ta:n avasya*  
 we.E TOP be.born-CP.1PLE and intellect come.B2-CP then necessary  
*isai meŋj-ar ani inor roman.katlik isai-nihi*  
 Christian become.B2-PT.3PL then now PROP Christian-LO.EPH  
 When we were born and attained the age of discretion, we all became Christians and now [we are] in Roman Catholic church.

- 0'22 *ante e:n to kiriscan d'arme-n manc bar-in*  
 and I TOP Christian religion-AC obey.B2.AP come-PR.1SG  
 And I have followed Christianity.

- 0'26 *lekin aneke amaŋe-no aba-h kec-ah adi-ba:de*  
 but now till-LO father-M die.B2-PT.3SG.M that-after  
*mã:ji-ki poŋe men-i*  
 village.chief-GE post be-PR.3SG

But there is a post of village chief until now after father died.

- 0'31 *aba-ki ba:de tambako-ki ba:de mā:ji-lo:ker-ki*  
 father-GE after father-GE after village.chief-PL-GE  
*taŋ.gade-bager-ik qaq-owr-i*  
 their.son-PL-DA receive-PA-PR.3SG

After the father, the village chiefs' sons take over it.

- 0'35 *a:di-isa:be-ti e:n kusumga:ti-ki mā:ji-n e:n*  
 that-share-IN I PROP-GE village.chief-1SG I  
 By that inheritance I am the village chief of Kusumghati.

- 0'40 *ani mā:ji-n e:n ani em-qep-no pel.bede=indru*  
 so village.chief-1SG I so we.E-village-LO wedding=and.so.on  
*men-no*  
 be-IPP

So I am the village chief. So when there is a wedding and so on in our village,

- 0'46 *ca:he jagra-saba-d=indru men-no to eng-en bi:k-ner*  
 or quarrel-matter-NM=and.so.on be-IPP then I-AC call-PR.3PL  
*male-r botl-ond ta:di-n qat-ner*  
 person-PL bottle.CLF-one toddy-AC give-PR.3PL  
 or when there is a dispute and so on, people call me. They give me a bottle of wine.

- 0'52 *ante e:n guḍite-n qend-ken bar-in*  
 and I local.policeman-AC take.along.B2-CP.1SG come-PR.1SG  
 And I come along with a local policeman.

- 0'54 *ante qepu male-r-in tung-in ante saba men-id*  
 and village person-PL-AC gather-PR.1SG and word be-PR.3SG.NM  
*galti men-id ta:n ahe-n jaribana nan-im*  
 guilt be-PR.3SG.NM then he-AC penalty do-PR.1PLE  
 And I summon the village people. And when proceedings take place and when guilt is [established], then we impose a penalty on him.

- 1'00 *ani em-ki mal-sama:je-no ja:de jaribana hō mala*  
 then we.E-GE Pahariya-society-LO much penalty too be.not.3SG  
 And there are not many [cases of] penalties in our Pahariya society.

- 1'04 *halka-pulka a:h-ō ganti ma:sus men-no e:m*  
 light-ECHO he-too guilt acknowledgement become-IPP we.E  
*halka-pulka (gar ene) saja cice-kem sama:je-nte*  
 light-ECHO punishment give.B2-CP.1PLE meeting-AB  
*kame-no amb-im*  
 little-LO release-PR.1PLE

When he also acknowledges the guilt, we give him a light punishment and let him go from the assembly with light [penalty].

- 1'14 *ki agle.ba:r ganti nan-eneala a:n-le mo:kam*  
 COMP first.time guilt do-NG.FT.2SG.M say-CP opportunity

*ciy-im*

give-PR.1PLE

In the first time, we give him a chance, saying "Don't commit [any more] fault."

- 1'19 *ante key-im boŋg-im indru ade-no to hõ eng-en*  
and die-PR.1PLE run-PR.1PLE what that-LO TOP too I-AC  
*teŋg-ner ante bar-im goŋe gepu-male-r-in*  
tell-PR.3PL and come-PR.1PLE all village-person-PL-AC  
*bi:k-im*  
call-PR.1PLE

And when [any of us] has died or anything, then they also tell me.  
And we come and call all the villagers.

- 1'26 *ante tung-ur-kem e:k-im ante pel-ga:mer e:k-ner*  
and collect-RF-CP.1PLE go-PR.1PLE and woman-PL go-PR.3PL  
*e:toja-n ante*  
ritual.place-AC and

And after gathering [villagers], we go, and the women go, up to the  
ritual place (outside the village), and

- 1'30 *e:toja-nte pel-er-in kir-tr-im murse mande-kem*  
ritual.place-AB woman-PL-AC return-CS-PR.1PLE man bury-CP.1PLE  
*a:t-no mande-kem ante kir-im*  
there-LO bury-CP.1PLE and return-PR.1PLE

We let women go home from the ritual place. After we, the men, bury  
[the dead person] there, we go home.

- 1'36 *ante ade-no je da:n nan-ner adi-n pe:sa-n indru*  
and that-LO REL gift do-PR.3PL that-AC money-AC what  
*milar-kem goŋe qepo-mi-hĩ taŋi=indru*  
be.obtained-CP.1PLE all villager-1PLE-EPH toddy=and.so.on  
*o:n-im*  
drink-PR.1PLE

And when we get the donation they make there, money and so on, we  
villagers all drink liquor and so on.

- 1'45 *ante dine-no em-ki pa:ry-ar i:waje-no beh-id*  
and day-LO we.E-GE sing.B2-PT.3PL this.way-LO be-PR.3SG.NM  
*pac-dine-nihi bo:j nan-im e:m*  
five-day-LO.EPH feast do-PR.1PLE we.E

And we lament for the day. [The funeral] is like this. After five days,  
we hold a funeral feast.

- 1'50 *je:goŋe pa:ry-ih a:hu maq-ond e:re ciy-eh*  
REL-all be.able-PR.3SG.M he CLF-one goat give-FT.3SG.M  
*cahe kis-e ciy-eh ade-ti e:m bo:je=indru*  
or pig-AC give-FT.3SG.M that-IN we.E feast=and.so.on  
*ma:nar-naq-im*  
observe-REC-PR.1PLE

Whoever can afford to give a goat or a pig does so. We observe the feast and so on with it.

- 1'58 *ante p<sup>h</sup>ir ade-no ba:y-got<sup>y</sup>a-r(ie) je bar-u-r key-pe*  
 and again that-LO brother-relative-PL REL come-PP-PL die-PAP  
*dine-no bar-ner a:ber hō ade-nihi kir-ker e:k-ner*  
 day-LO come-PR.3PL they too that-LO.EPH return-CP.3PL go-PR.3PL  
*pa:c-dine-no*  
 five-day-LO

And those relatives who come on the day of the death return and come again on the fifth day.

- 2'05 *ahi-k ja:de do:k-tr-ot pa:ry-o:kem ano karca hō*  
 he-DA many stay-CS-IF be.able-NG.PR.1PLE there expense too  
*mala ani-lagacki pac-dine hi so:te-no ong-im*  
 be.not.3SG that-for five-day EPH short-LO finish-PR.1PLE  
 We cannot put up many of them and we do not have money for that.  
 So we finish [the feast] in a short period, in five days.

- 2'10 *ar... aneke... gangi lehary-a qep-no to gangi*  
 and now maize become.B2-PT.3SG village-LO then maize  
*lehary-a ta:ni gofe-ri awq-ner*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG then all-PL speak-PR.3PL  
 And if maize becomes ripe in [our] village, when maize becomes ripe,  
 all tell [that].

- 2'21 *gofe-ri qal-no gangi pa:n-no tung-r-ner ante*  
 all-PL field-LO maize get.ripe-IPP collect-ITR-PR.3PL and  
 When maize becomes ripe in everyone's field, they get together.

- 2'24 *o: ine pi:je nan-et ante tung-r-ner ante gofe-r din*  
 ITJ today worship do-FT.1PL.I and collect-ITR-PR.3PL and all-PL day  
*nan-ner nendā nan-ner*  
 do-PR.3PL date do-PR.3PL  
 They get together [saying] "Let us perform the worship today." And  
 they all fix the date.

- 2'30 *ante peṛa-r-in kuṭu[mbe]-r-in bi:k-ner ade-no*  
 and relative-PL-AC family-PL-AC call-PR.3PL that-LO  
 And they invite family and relatives to it.

- 2'34 *apna ri:ti-d i:waje-t ante ma:ku ko ṭaḍi ko a:*  
 own manner-NM this.way-IN and meat maybe toddy maybe that  
*gangi-n ko pu:g-ner kuṛ-ner ma:ṛ-ner*  
 maize-AC maybe boil-PR.3PL roast-PR.3PL boil.after.parching-PR.3PL  
 According to their own manner, meat, wine, and that maize – they  
 boil it, roast it, or boil it after parching it a little.

- 2'41 *ante ayi-n-o o:n-ner mo:q-ner*  
 and that-AC-too drink-3PL eat-3PL  
 And they drink and eat them.

- 2'43 *ar ikeno je: key-ner male-r oca-ker ok-tr-ner*  
 and where REL die-PR.3PL person-PL take.B2-CP.3PL sit-CS-PR.3PL  
*e:to:ja a:n-ner*  
 ritual.place say-PR.3PL  
 And at the place where they bring those who have died and place them,  
 which they call *Etoja*,
- 2'49 *a:ti-bahno e:m oc-kem ki:d-im ayi-n ya:dga:ri*  
 there-LO we.E take.B2-CP.1PLE place-PR.1PLE that-AC memory  
*lagacki pace male-r lagacki a:t-no ki:d-im te a:ti-nte*  
 for old person-PL for there-LO lay-PR.1PLE and there-AB  
*kir-im*  
 return-PR.1PLE  
 we take that (i.e. food and wine) and lay them there for the memory,  
 for the old people. We lay them there and come back from there.
- 2'55 *ante aqa-n barc-kem ta:di me:ca o:n-im*  
 and home-AC come.B2-CP.1PLE toddy rice.liquor drink-PR.1PLE  
*mo:q-im*  
 eat-PR.1PLE  
 And after coming home, we drink liquor and wine.
- 2'58 *aye-nte agwa e:m o:n-o:kem mo:q-o:kem jab.tak*  
 that-AB before we.E drink-NG.PR.1PLE eat-NG.PR.1PLE until  
*a:t-no ki:d-o:kem e:toja-no*  
 there-LO lay-NG.PR.1PLE ritual.place-LO  
 We neither drink or eat before that, until we lay them there, at the  
 ritual place.
- 3'03 *i:d em-ki mu:l-pura:na i:d riti-d i:waje em-ki*  
 this we.E-GE root-old this manner-NM this.way we.E-GE  
 This is our original manner. Our manner was like this.
- 3'07 *jab.tak ki:d-o:kem tab.tak ko:i: mage-r palqanje hō*  
 until place-NG.PR.1PLE till.then anyone boy-PL cucumber too  
*mo:q-eralā gangi-n hō mo:q-eralā*  
 eat-NG.FT.3PL maize-AC too eat-NG.FT.3PL  
 Until we place [the new crop at the *Etoja*], no child will eat even a  
 cucumber or maize.
- 3'17 *ante ado samay bar-id ma:dgi=indru ade-n-ō*  
 and more time come-PR.3SG.NM mahua=and.so.on that-AC-too  
*pʰir se andeki nan-im*  
 again EPH that.way do-PR.1PLE  
 And after some time, we now celebrate the Mahua Festival that way.
- 3'24 *idi paramparay calar bar-id adi-ki jetna*  
 this tradition be.current.AP come-PR.3SG.NM that-GE how.much  
*naya pasle bar-id*  
 new harvest.time come-PR.3SG.NM  
 This tradition has been observed, whatever new harvest may come.

- 3'28 *ne:-goṭe agwa ayi-n kap-olar mo:q-olar qep-no*  
 who-even before that-AC touch-NG.PR.3PL eat-NG.PR.3PL village-LO  
*qa:we.naq-qeri mo:q-ner lap-ner ayi-n*  
 converse-CP.3PL eat-PR.3PL eat-PR.3PL that-AC  
 No one touches or eats it (i.e. the first harvest) beforehand. They eat it after talking in the village.
- 3'33 *e:g-ner cu:ṭ-ner ante em-ki pu:rwaje-nte bar-id*  
 throw-PR.3PL cast-PR.3PL and we.E-GE ancestor-AB come-PR.3SG.NM  
*ki a: pace male-k aguwa ciy-a ante lap-ene mo:q-ene*  
 COMP that old person-DA first give-IMP and eat-FT.3PL eat-FT.3PL  
*ya:dgari lagacki e:ṭo:ja-no*  
 memory for ritual.place-LO  
 They throw and offer [it]. [This custom] of ours, to give [the new harvest] first to the dead and then eat in the ritual place — for the memory [of the dead —], comes from [our] ancestors.
- 3'42 *e:m oce-kem ki:d-im ante a:ṭ-ente kir-im*  
 we.E take.B2-CP.1PLE place-PR.1PLE and there-AB return-PR.1PLE  
*ante o:n-im mo:q-im je:-goṭe gangi-ki hō men-no*  
 and drink-PR.1PLE eat-PR.1PLE what-even maize-GE too be-IPP  
*qesu-ki hō men-no ti:qal-ki je:-goṭe-hi*  
 paddy-GE too be-IPP rice-GE what-even-EPH  
 We take [the new harvest], place [it], return from there, and drink and eat, whatever it may be, either [the first harvest] of the maize, paddy or rice.
- 3'51 *ṭo:ṭal em-ki a:d hi parampara-nti barce-ki*  
 total we.E-GE that EPH tradition-AB come.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
 It comes totally from our tradition.
- 4'01 *pura:na ya:dgare lagacki a:-gahnḍi-n... pace male-r lagacki*  
 old memory for that-PL-AC old person-PL for  
*e:m a:-gahnḍi ka:je-n kud-im*  
 we.E that-PL work-AC do-PR.1PLE  
 For remembering the past, for the dead people, we do that much work.
- 4'05 *pahile a:-lagacki ki:d-im pa:w-no adi-ba:di e:m*  
 first that-for place-PR.1PLE road-LO that-after we.E  
*o:n-im mo:q-im cahe lap-im*  
 drink-PR.1PLE eat-PR.1PLE or eat-1PLE  
 For that reason, we first place [the new harvest] on the road and then drink or eat.
- 4'11 *pundana-n hō cahe adi-ki ya:dgare-ni e:m j[e:]goṭe-hi*  
 new.harvest-AC too or that-GE memory-LO.EPH we.E REL-even-EPH  
*e:ṭo:ja-k aguwa indri bahri ka:je kud-o:kem a:-du:r*  
 ritual.place-DA first what outside work do-NG.PR.1PLE that-far  
 As to the new harvest as well, we [bring] everything to the ritual place for their memory, and we do not do any outside work in that period.

## §18 Pahariya funeral (Nw).

Told by Mr. Alexander Malto of Kusumghati, P. O. Kero Bazar, P. S. Boar-ijor, Dist. Godda. Recorded in Kusumghati on February 22, 2007.<sup>8</sup>

- 0'00 *qep-no male-r key-no aḍa-no ne:-goṭe aḍa-no inopa-n*  
village-LO person-PL die-IPP house-LO who-even house-LO this.big  
*qep-no key-ni eṅg-en kabar nan-no e:n-ō awq-in*  
village-LO die-IPP.EPH I-AC news do-IPP I-too speak-PR.1SG  
*a:ber-in ki qep-ga:mer-in kabar nan-a*  
they-AC COMP village-PL-AC news do-IMP

When people die in the village, — whoever may die in a house in a village of this size —, they let me know, and I tell them in turn to inform the whole village of it.

- 0'09 *eṅ-ki guḍite-n tey-in ante qep-ga:me-ni kabar*  
I-GE local.policeman-AC send-PR.1SG and village-PL-LO.EPH news  
*men-i ante ahe-ki ba:y-goṭya-r-in kabar nan-im*  
be-PR.3SG and he-GE brother-relative-PL-AC news do-PR.1PL.E  
I send my staff and the news is spread over the village, and we notify the relatives of the deceased.

- 0'16 *to ani eme pahariya-sama:je jya:de gec-gec to*  
then then we.E.OBL Pahariya-society much far-REP TOP  
*mal-ar a:gal-bagale sambande beh-i*  
be.not-PR.3PL near-ECHO relationship be-PR.3SG  
[For] our Pahariya society is not [spread] far away. The blood relationship is in nearby area.

- 0'21 *ani a:ber-in bi:k-ker ondr-ner*  
then they-AC call-CP.3PL bring-PR.3PL  
Then they call and bring them.

- 0'23 *ante e:mu ma:q men-no=goṭe mand-im goṭe-m*  
and we.E night become-IPP=even bury-PR.1PL.E all-1PL.E  
*tung-r-kem ahi-[ki] ba:y-goṭya bar-no mand-im*  
collect-ITR-CP.1PL.E he-GE brother-family come-IPP bury-PR.1PL.E  
And we bury him even if it has gotten dark. After all of us [villagers] get together, we bury [the deceased] upon the arrival of his relatives.

- 0'28 *ante mand-ot jab e:k-im a: pahra-no goṭe pel-gahndi-n*  
and bury-IF when go-PR.1PL.E that time-LO all woman-PL-AC  
*e:mu e:to:ja a:n-ner a:ṭi-bahante kirtr-im*  
we.E ritual.place say-PR.3PL there-AB bring.back-PR.1PL.E  
And when we go in order to bury, then we make all the women go home from a place we call *Etoja*.

- 0'35 *muṛse-m du:re e:to:ja-nte agwa ek-kem maṛi-[no]*  
man-1PL.E only ritual.place-AB forward go.B2-CP.1PL.E grave-LO  
*mand-im masani*  
bury-PR.1PL.E burial.ground

<sup>8</sup>About the funeral of the Pahariyas, cf. Vidyarthi (1963:134ff.).

Only us men go further forward from the ritual place and bury [the deceased] in a grave, [in] a burial ground.

- 0'39 *ade-no masani ek-kem mand-im gaita:kodal*  
that-LO burial.ground go.B2-CP.1PLE.E bury-PR.1PLE.E pickaxe

*goṭe-m qend-kem e:m e:k-im*  
all-1PLE.E carry-CP.1PLE.E we.E go-PR.1PLE.E

Then we go to the burial ground and bury [him]. All of us carry the pickaxe and go.

- 0'42 *a:ṭ-no arg-im ante i:ṭi-nte la:se qend-kem*  
there-LO dig-PR.1PLE.E and here-AB corpse carry-CP.1PLE.E  
*oy-im tab.tak intija:r nan-im*  
take-PR.1PLE.E until.then waiting do-PR.1PLE.E

We dig there and bring the body carrying it from here. We wait [for people coming from afar] until then.

- 0'46 *ki ne:-goṭe ba:ki: peṛa-r kuṭumbe-r bar-er=goṭe (a:le)*  
COMP who-ever remaining relative-PL family-PL come-FT.3PL=even  
*la:se aḍa-ni beh-i*  
corpse house-LO.EPH be-PR.3SG

The body is in the house [until] any bereaved family member or relative comes.

- 0'51 *kaṛi-n arg-im ante tab.take-no pa:wnar hō barc*  
pit-AC dig-PR.1PLE.E and till.then-LO guest too come.B2.AP  
*oṅgr-ner tuṇḍ oṅgr-ner*  
finish-PR.3PL look finish-PR.3PL

We dig a pit, and guests will have arrived and have seen [the deceased] by then.

- 0'56 *ante e:m awri qend-kem oy-im*  
and we.E again carry-CP.1PLE.E take-PR.1PLE.E

And we carry and bring [the body of the deceased] again.

- 0'58 *ado ke:pond e:ṭo:ja-no awri la:sṭ e:t-im e:m*  
more once ritual.place-LO again last show-PR.1PLE.E we.E  
We show [the body of the deceased] once again and for all in the ritual place.

- 1'01 *a:ṭ pel-maq-gahndyer-in ca:(he) peṛa-kuṭumbe-r-in a:ṭi-bahno*  
there woman-child-PL-AC or relative-family-PL-AC there-LO  
*e:t-im ante e:m qow-ponti maṛi-k oy-im*  
show-PR and we.E carry.on.shoulder-AP grave-DA take-PR.1PLE.E  
We show [the body of the deceased] to women and children, family and relatives there and we take him to the grave once and for all.

- 1'06 *maṛi:-no em-ki-d parampara key-p dada.buṛa-ki cow e:k*  
grave-LO we.E-GE-NM family.line die-PAP grandfather-GE way one  
*si:ṭ-hi beh-i alag-alag*  
seat-EPH be-PR.3SG separately-REP

In the graveyard, there is [a row for] our family line, and a separate seat on the same row as the grandfather.

- 1'13 e:k.hi jagah *dada.buṛa-ka eṇ-ki* gotya-*d i:-wajo ayi* gotya-*ki*  
same place grandfather-GE I-GE lineage-NM this-way that lineage-GE  
*a:-wajo*

that-way

In the same place as one's grandfather, [like] my lineage is this way, [the place] of that lineage is that way.

- 1'18 *andeki em-ki parampara hi beh-i* *dada.buṛa-nte agwa:*  
that.way we.E-GE family.line EPH be-PR.3SG grandfather-AB forward  
*ba:p.dada-nte hi*  
forefather-AB EPH

That way, we have family lines, [like] from the grandfather onwards, or from forefathers.

- 1'21 *e:m a: la:ine-no ahi-ki tambako buḍo-ki kiṭ-no beh-i*  
we.E that line-LO he-GE father old.lady-GE nigh-LO be-PR.3SG  
On that line, we [find a place] near his father and mother's [place].

- 1'24 *tambako kec-ah ta:ni taṇ.gade-ki tambako-ki bagal-nihī*  
father die.B2-PT.3SG.M then son-GE father-GE side-LO  
*e:m mand-im*

we.E bury-PR.1PLE

If the father is dead, we bury the son's [body] on the side of his father.

- 1'28 *muṛse kec-ah ta:ni peli-n hō muṛse-ki bagale-ni*  
husband die.B2-PT.3SG.M then wife-AC too husband-GE side-LO.EPH  
*mand-im*

bury-PR.1PLE

If the husband is dead, we bury the woman on the side of her husband too.

- 1'31 *ante indeki mand-im=indru ante a:ṭi-nte e:m je*  
and this.way bury-PR.1PLE=and.so.on and there-AB we.E REL  
*aḍa-no qep-no je peṛa kuṭu-r barc-ar da:n*  
house-LO village-LO REL relative family-PL come.B2-PT.3PL gift  
*nan-ner pā:c das bi:s paca:s ṭaka*  
do-PR.3PL five ten twenty fifty rupee

We bury [them] this way. And those who are in the homes in the village, those family and relatives who have come, make donations of five, ten, twenty or fifty rupees.

- 1'40 *ayi-n e:m a:pase-no das male-m tung-r-kem*  
that-AC we.E group-LO ten person-1PLE collect-ITR-CP.1PLE  
*leky-im pe:sa-n*  
count-PR.1PLE money-AC

After ten of us get together, we count that money.

- 1'45 *amy-im no:ḍr-im a:ṭ-no*  
take.bath-PR.1PLE wash.hands.and.feet-PR.1PLE there-LO

- tung-r-kem*                      *ga:te-no ante pe:sa-n*    *leky-im*  
 collect-ITR-CP.1PLE ghat-LO and money-AC count-PR.1PLE  
 We take baths and wash our hands and feet. We get together there at  
 the ghat and count the money.
- 1'49 *pe:sa-n*    *leky-im*                      *ante adi-n*    *ca:r kura-ki ka:te-ki*  
 money-AC count-PR.1PLE and that-AC four leg-GE bedstead-GE  
*kura men-en[i]*                      *ca:r ku:ta-no*    *ca:r-jan*    *a:dmi*    *ca:r-jen*  
 leg be-FT.3SG.NM four peg-LO four-CLF man four-CLF  
*qow-ner*  
 carry.on.shoulder-PR.3PL  
 We count the money, and — there are legs of a four-legged bedstead  
 — four men carry it on [a bier with] four pegs.
- 1'57 *ani*    *a:ber-ik*    *ca:r*    *kura-ti*    *e:m*    *pe:sa-n*    *ag[wa]*  
 so they-DA four leg-AB we.E money-AC in.advance  
*bakrec-kem*                      *ciy-im*                      *agwa*                      *la:se-n*                      *ne:*  
 divide.B2-CP.1PLE give-PR.1PLE in.advance corpse-AC REL  
*qow-ner*                      *a:ber-ik*  
 carry.on.shoulder-PR.3PL they-DA  
 So we divide and give money to them in advance, those who carry the  
 body [on the bier] by the four legs.
- 2'04 *botl-ond*                      *ta:di-n*    *ciy-im*                      *ante qe:r.go:ta-n*    *gura:tr-kem*  
 bottle.CLF-one toddy-AC give-PR.1PLE and egg-AC turn-CP.1PLE  
*cu:t-im*                      *ante e:m aqa-k*    *bar-im*  
 throw-PR.1PLE and we.E house-DA come-PR.1PLE  
 We give a bottle of wine. And [those four men] turn around and throw  
 the eggs [they brought from home to the graveyard], and we go home.
- 2'11 *aqa-k*    *bar-im*                      *ante a:t-ni*                      *tejgr.naq-im*                      *ki*  
 house-DA come-PR.1PLE and there-LO.EPH converse-PR.1PLE COMP  
*ikonno bo:j nan-e:ne*                      *ne:*                      *ba:rye ta:ni pac din nan-ih*  
 when feast do-FT.2SG.M who.REL strong then five day do-PR.3SG.M  
 We come home and there we talk, “When will you hold the feast?” If  
 one is rich, he does it in five days.
- 2'16 *mal ta:ni ado-r*                      *nandu awq-er*                      *ki*                      *mala aneki mala*  
 not then other-PL again speak-FT.3PL COMP no now no  
 If some others are not [rich], they will say “No, not now.”
- 2'20 *eng-e e:n to:ta*                      *ju:tar-en*                      *kular-en*                      *ante e:n ciy-en*  
 I-DA I a.little collect-FT.1SG look.for-FT.1SG and I give-FT.1SG  
*ani*  
 so  
 I will collect and look for [food and wine], and I will give [the feast].
- 2'24 *ante ma:ji-n*                      *kabar nan-eh*                      *ante ma:ji*                      *kabar*  
 and village.chief-AC news do-FT.3SG.M and village.chief news  
*nan-eh*  
 do-FT.3SG.M

And he tells it to the village chief, and the village chief tells it [to the whole village].

- 2'26 *inond qa:we.naq-im ante agar ne:ke beh-id a:h pac dine*  
 this.much converse-PR.1PLE and if who.DA be-PR he five day  
*nan-ih*  
 do-PR.3SG.M

We talk this much. And if he has [money], he holds [the feast] in five days.

- 2'30 *ar mala ta:ni-goŋe-hi pac-dini dine a: ne:*  
 and no then-even-EPH five-day day that REL  
*qow-ker eky-ar ca:r-jen male-r-in a:r-in*  
 carry.on.shoulder-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL four-CLF person-PL-AC they-AC  
*bi:k-kem ante e:m qe:r-e ŋaŋi-n cice-ke:m ante*  
 call-CP.1PLE and we.E chicken-AC toddy-AC give.B2-CP.1PLE and  
*aŋa-ki-n e:m sap<sup>h</sup>a:i nan-im*  
 house-GE-AC we.E cleaning do-PR.1PLE

And even if he cannot [hold a feast], we call those four men who went [to the graveyard] carrying [the body of the deceased] on the fifth day, give them chicken and wine, and we clean things in the house.

- 2'40 *cahe ki a:-dini peŋa kuŋumba-ri male-r-in e:m bida*  
 or COMP that-day relative family-PL person-PL-AC we.E leave  
*nan-im je bar-ner a: murda: male-n ŋund-oti*  
 do-PR.1PLE REL come-PR.3PL that dead person-AC look-IF  
*a:-gaŋndi-n pac dine-no bida nan-im*  
 that-PL-AC five day-LO farewell do-PR.1PLE

Or we bid farewell to family and relatives on that day. We bid farewell to those who come to see the deceased person on the fifth day.

- 2'47 *ani a: dine a:ber-ki adi-ki ki:ŋwa male-r-ki a: dini*  
 so that day they-GE that-GE poor person-PL-GE that day  
*oŋgr-i*  
 end-PR.3SG

So for those poor people, that (i.e. the funeral) is finished on that day.

- 2'51 *ante jab juŋar-enid ante agane bar-no ante e:m*  
 and when collect-FT.3SG.NM and month.name come-IPP and we.E  
*tung-r-kem qepo-m bo:j nan-im bāŋiya: se*  
 collect-ITR-CP.1PLE villager-1PLE feast do-PR.1PLE fine EPH  
*ŋendaŋar-se*  
 standard-from

When [food and drink] are obtained and Aghan month comes, we villagers get together and have a feast of fine standard.

- 2'57 *pu:ra goŋiya ba:i-goŋiya qep-ga:meri male-r-in bi:k-kem*  
 all relative cousin-relative village-PL person-PL-AC call-CP.1PLE  
*lap-tr-im sama:je-ki male-r-in agal.bagal male-r-in*  
 eat-CS-PR.1PLE society-GE person-PL-AC nearby person-PL-AC

*hō*

too

We call all siblings and relatives, village people, [distinguished] people of the area too, and give them food.

- 3'06 *bo:je-no andeki ja:gu bic-i em-ki bahut*  
 feast-LO that.way cooked.rice be.cooked-PR.3SG we.E-GE much  
*bāṛiya: se bice-nihi*  
 fine EPH be.cooked-IPP.EPH

Rice is cooked in the feast. When it is cooked very well,

- 3'09 *ante e:m goṭe-nte agwa-agdu e:ṭo:ja-k ṭaḍi-n*  
 and we.E all-AB forward-before ritual.place-DA wine-AC  
*ja:gu-n ma:ke*  
 cooked.rice-AC meat

before all, we [bring] wine, rice and meat to the ritual place at first.

- 3'14 *aḍa-no jetna sampati juṭa:-tr-kem ahi-lagacki key-u*  
 house-LO how.much property collect-CS-CP.1PLE he-for die-PP  
*male-lagacki*  
 person-for

[We bring] as much property as we collected in the house for him, for the deceased person.

- 3'17 *biskuṭe pawro:ṭi meṭa:i-d laḍḍu jetna:-hi a: goṭe-n*  
 biscuit biscuit sweets-NM laddu how.much-EPH that all-AC  
*oce-kem e:ṭo:ja-no ki:d-im*  
 take-CP.1PLE ritual.place-LO place-PR.1PLE

We bring it all, biscuit, sweets, *laddu* and so on, and place it in the ritual place.

- 3'23 *ante a:ṭ-no sumbrar-im goṭe-mi ṭaḍi-n pudg-im a:ṭ-no*  
 and there-LO pray-PR.1PLE all-1PLE toddy-AC pour-PR.1PLE there-LO  
*e:mu pahariya ri:ti.riwa:je-k anusa:r a:ṭ pudg-im ante*  
 we.E Pahariya manner-DA according there pour-PR.1PLE and  
*a:ṭi-nte e:m kir-kem bar-im*  
 there-AB we.E return-CP.1PLE come-PR.1PLE

And we all pray there. We pour wine [on the ground] there according to the manner of the Pahariyas. We pour [wine] and we go home from there.

- 3'31 *ante bar-im ante aḍa-no goṭe-m hi bo:je-no ok-kem*  
 and come-PR.1PLE and house-LO all-1PLE EPH feast-LO sit-CP.1PLE  
*pre:m.se lap-im*  
 with.love eat-PR.1PLE

We come [home] and we all sit at the feast at the house [of the deceased], and eat with love.

- 3'35 *ante a: dine a:ḍi-ntente aḍa-male-r-ki-d oṅgr-id*  
 and that day there-AB house-person-PL-GE-NM end-PR.3SG.NM

*a:d kriya.karme-d*

that funeral.ceremony-NM

And on that day, [the duty] of the family ends there. That is the funeral ceremony.

3'40 *ante cu:te oṅgr-i ani ante das male-r sa:mne*  
and impurity end-PR.3SG then and ten person-PL in.front  
*ok-kim coy-im*

sit-CP.PR.1PL.E get.up-PR.1PL.E

And the period of impurity ends. Then the ten (main) people (of the village) sit together and stand up.



## Chapter IV. Folk Tales

### §19 Story of two old women and a little frog (S).

Told by Mrs. Surji Paharni (Malpahariya) of Amlagachhi, P. O. Shahrgram, P. S. Maheshpur, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Amlagachhi on September 6, 2006.

0'00 *jo:ɽ-ond buɖiya-r maɲj-ar ayi-ki ʔamre kata teh-in*  
 pair.CLF-one old.woman-PL be.B2-PL that-GE ITJ story tell-PR.1SG  
 There were two old women. I will tell a story about that, okay?

0'05 *jo:ɽ-o buɖiya-r maɲj-ar*  
 pair.CLF-one old.woman-PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 There were two old women.

0'08 *a:ɖi-nte a:trɛr jo:ɽ-ond-er e:k-nar pa:w-an*  
 there-AB they pair.CLF-one-PL go-PR.3PL road-AC  
 Then those two [women] were going on the road.

0'13 *e:k-ne e:k-ne-r ʔond-iy-nar ʔond-ne ke.ba:d ceya*  
 go-IPP go-IPP-3PL be.tired-PRF-PR.3PL be.tired-VN after shade  
*ceya-k ʔɽs-iy-nar a:-kaɽa ok-nar*  
 shade-DA reach-PRF-PR.3PL that-time sit-PR.3PL  
 Walking and walking, they got tired. After they got tired, they arrived at a shade. Then they sat down.

0'20 *i:ɖ ano (koɖ) okk-a ɖo:k-ay deko.maʔo ʔondtr-a:y a:y*  
 here there sit-AP stay-FT.1PL.I ITJ tire-PT.3SG.NM that  
*naʔ-kar ok-nar*  
 say-CP.3PL sit-PR.3PL  
 "Let's be sitting here. Boy, we got tired." Saying that to each other, they sat down.

0'25 *ok-nar a:-kaɽa ortu koɖ-ki ɖo:k-in a:n-ki*  
 sit-PR.3PL that-time one.person lie.down-CP stay-PR.1SG say-CP.3SG  
*ʔandr-a:yi a:r ort okk-i*  
 sleep-PR.PRF.3SG.NM and one.person sit-PR.3SG  
 When they sat down, one woman said lying down, "I will stay [here for a while]," and fell asleep. And the other woman was sitting.

0'32 *andi koɖ-ki ʔandr-i ayi-ki muso-nte maʔ-ond*  
 then lie.down-CP.3SG.NM sleep-PR.3SG she.CR-GE nose-AB CLF-one  
*mu:ʔ-maʔo tot-ni urʔ-i:*  
 frog-child jump-IPP.3SG.NM come.out-PR.3SG.NM  
 Then, from the nostril of the one who lay down and fell asleep, a little frog came jumping out.

0'37 *andi okk-i a:yi awɖ-i je ayi-ki muso-nte*  
 then sit-PR.3SG.NM she speak-PR.3SG.NM then she-GE nose-AB  
*maʔ-ond mu:ʔ-maʔo tot-ni urʔiy-a*  
 CLF-one frog-child jump-IPP.EPH come.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM

Then the sitting woman said, “A little frog came jumping out from her nostril.”

- 0'43 *ta:ni e:nocud e:k-i acc<sup>h</sup>a: e:n e:r.oy-an ik.ʔa:r-ik*  
 then until.how.far go-PR.3SG.NM ITJ I see-FT.1SG where-DA  
*e:k-i i:-maʔ mu:ʔe*  
 go-PR.3SG.NM this-CLF frog

“Well, then, I will see how far it goes, where the little frog is going.”

- 0'48 *a:n-ki koq-ki ʔandr-u ʔandr-i a:r*  
 say-CP.3SG lie.down-CP.3SG.NM sleep-PP sleep-PR.3SG.NM and  
*okk-i a:yi*  
 sit-PR.3SG.NM she

When she said this, the woman who lay down and fell asleep was sleeping. And she was sitting.

- 0'50 *a:-maʔ mu:ʔ-maʔo tot-ni tot-ni e:k-i a:yi*  
 that-CLF frog-child jump-IPP.3SG.NM REP go-PR.3SG that  
 That little frog went jumping.

- 0'54 *e:k-i andi a:y e:k-i a:y mu:ʔ-maʔo sa:te hi*  
 go-PR.3SG then she go-PR.3SG she frog-child together EPH  
 It went, and she went together with the little frog.

- 0'56 *e:k-ni e:k-ni ekdam a: mu:ʔ-maʔo man-ond man-ik*  
 go-IPP.3SG.NM REP suddenly that frog-child tree.CLF-one tree-DA  
*tot-ni argy-ay*  
 jump-IPP.3SG.NM climb.B2-PT.3SG.NM

As they went, the little frog suddenly climbed up a tree jumping.

- 1'01 *andi a: malni hō tot-ni argiy-ay*  
 then that woman too jump-IPP.3SG.NM climb.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the woman climbed up jumping, too.

- 1'03 *andi man-ond man koŋgro-no inopa:ne i: pa:n-ond taka-ki*  
 then tree.CLF-one tree hollow-LO this.big this CLF-one money-GE  
*kaʔsa ok-ki peʔʔiy-ay*  
 jar sit-CP.3SG.NM hiss.B2-PT.3SG.NM

Then, in a hollow of a tree, there was this jar of money, this big, sitting and making hissing sound.

- 1'09 *andi aye-n ʔundʔ-a a:yi a:-maʔ mu:ʔ-maʔo ʔundʔ-ki*  
 then that-AC look.B2-PT.3SG that that-CLF frog-child look-CP.3SG.NM  
*kir-ki etty-ay*  
 return-CP.3SG.NM go.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM

Then the little frog saw it [i.e. the jar of money]. Having seen it, it turned back and went down [the tree].

- 1'14 *andi a: malni hō kir-ki etty-ay*  
 then that woman too return-CP.3SG.NM go.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then that woman also turned back and went down.

- 1'16 *et-ki (awɬy-a) et-ki*  
 go.down-CP.3SG.NM (speak.B2-PT.3SG) go.down-CP.3SG.NM

- e:k-i a:yi a:-ma? mu:ʔ-ma? sa:te hi*  
 go-PR.3SG that that-CLF frog-child together EPH  
 She came down and went with that little frog.
- 1'20 *andi a:-ma? mu:ʔ-ma?o tot-ni hi ek-ki*  
 then that-CLF frog-child jump-IPP.3SG.NM EPH go.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
*ars-ki ayi-muso-k ar koq-ki*  
 reach-CP.3SG.NM she-nose-DA and lie.down-CP.3SG.NM  
*ʔandr-i ayi-muso-k kir-ki korc-a*  
 sleep.B2-PT.3SG she-nose-DA return-CP.3SG.NM enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then that little frog went jumping, arrived, and it went back into her  
 nostril, the nostril of [the woman] who lay down and slept.
- 1'27 *kor-ne ke.ba:d a:h ʔandr-ay-tan jande?ko?mo*  
 enter-VN after ITJ sleep-PRF-PT.1SG ITJ  
 After it entered [the sleeping woman's nostril, she said,] "Good heav-  
 ens! I had fallen asleep."
- 1'31 *indru tumgl-a=jahā ʔunq-tan e:n ri:kond ʔandra-kan e:n*  
 what dream-AC=even look-PT.1SG I a.little sleep-CP.1SG I  
*a:ny-ay*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 "I slept a little and even had a dream." She said this.
- 1'35 *indr-leko tumgl-a se ʔunq-ti-ʔmu a:n-no*  
 what-like dream-AC EPH look-PT.2SG.NM-ITJ say-IPP  
 When [the other woman] asked, "What kind of dream did you see?"
- 1'39 *arey man-ond man-no ʔaka kaʔsa oky-a aye-n se*  
 ITJ tree.CLF-one tree-LO money jar sit.B2-PT.3SG that-AC EPH  
*ʔunq-tan a:n-no*  
 look-PT.1SG say-IPP  
 "Listen! I saw a jar of money sitting on a tree."
- 1'43 *ik.biji okk-i ik.ʔa:no okk-i disa ning-e*  
 which.way sit-PR.3SG where sit-PR.3SG.NM direction you-DA  
*a:ny-ay*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 [The other woman] said, "Do you have any idea which way it is, where  
 it is?"
- 1'47 *iye-n ta disa lal-omtan par man meca kaʔsa-no*  
 this-AC TOP direction do-NG.PR.1SG but tree on.top.of jar-LO  
*ʔaka oky-a a:n-i andi a:yi teh-omalay*  
 money sit.B2-PT.3SG say-PR.3SG then that tell-NG.PR.3SG.NM  
 She said, "I don't remember that. But the money is in a jar on top of  
 a tree." And she did not tell.
- 1'53 *toben e:k-a oʔh-ik eky-a:ray*  
 then go-IMP house-DA go.B2-PT.3PL  
 [Saying] "Let's go now," they went home.
- 1'56 *e:k-ne ke.ba:d ayi-k ʔaka kaʔsa ʔunq-ki ekk-iyi*  
 go-VN after that-DA money jar look-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-PT.3SG.NM

- andi lo:be bey-i andi a:yi kiry-a*  
 then greed be-PR.3SG.NM then that return.B2-PT.3SG  
 After they went home, greed arose in that [woman] who had seen the jar of money and come back. Then she went back.
- 2'02 *kir-ki ino sa:li buđiya taka kārša*  
 return-CP.3SG.NM here wicked old.woman money jar  
*tunq-ki disa lal-omala*  
 look-CP.3SG.NM direction do-NG.PR.3SG  
 After she went back there, [she thought] "That darned woman saw the jar of money [but] does not remember [where it is]."
- 2'05 *i: kepe e:n otr-an taka-n*  
 this time I take.out-FT.1SG money-AC  
 "This time I will take the money out."
- 2'07 *ek-ki a:yu a: man-ik argy-a arg-ki*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM that that tree-DA climb.B2-PT.3SG climb-CP.3SG  
*taka-n otr-a*  
 money-AC take.out-PT.3SG  
 She went [back there], climbed up the tree, and took the money.
- 2'11 *otre-ki kum-i a:-kařa po:k-pocor*  
 take.out-CP.3SG.NM take.on.the.head-PR.3SG.NM that-time ant-insect  
*man-i hu: taka ar po:k-pocor man-i*  
 become-PR.3SG ITJ money and ant-insect become-PR.3SG  
 When she took and put [the jar of money] on her head, oh my, the money became ants.
- 2'16 *ʔo:s-an=jahā a:n-ki ʔe:ʔel-no ʔo:s-i*  
 dash.down-FT.1SG=EPH say-CP.3SG.NM earth-LO dash.down-PR.3SG  
 Saying "I will just dash them down," she dashed them down on the ground.
- 2'19 *ʔo:s-ne ke.ba:d ar taka gařar-i*  
 dash.down-VN after and money become-PR.3SG  
 After she dashed them down, [the ants] turned into money.
- 2'21 *aro ke:pe kum-ki e:k-i*  
 further once take.on.the.head-CP.3SG go-PR.3SG  
 She put [the jar] on her head and went once again.
- 2'23 *e:k-ni e:k-ni aye-n po:k-pocor man-i ar*  
 go-IPP.3SG.NM REP she-AC ant-insect become-PR.3SG and  
*koh-i*  
 bite-PR.3SG  
 As she went, [the money] became ants and bit her.
- 2'26 *kōh-ne ke.ba:d arhu ʔo:s-i a:-kařa arhu taka*  
 bite-VN after again dash.down-PR.3SG.NM that-time again money  
*gařar-i*  
 become-PR.3SG

After they bit [her], she dashed [the ants] down again. Then [they] became money again.

- 2'30 *a:lko a:lko-ti a:yi kum-ki oy-i*  
 that.way that.way-IN she take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM take-PR.3SG  
 Doing that way, she carried the money putting it on her head.
- 2'32 *oy-ne ke.ba:d jokon a: buđiya tumgl-a*  
 take-VN after when.REL that.REL old.woman dream-AC  
*tunđ-iyca a: buđiya-ko:ni āṛs-iyi*  
 look-PT.PRF.3SG that.CR old.woman-near reach-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
 Then, when she arrived at the old woman who had seen the dream,
- 2'39 *a:-kaṛa ci:k kajak po:k-pocor man-i ar koh-i*  
 that-time.CR very many ant-insect become-PR.3SG and bite-PR.3SG  
*aye-n*  
 she-AC  
 at that time, [the money] became very many ants and bit her.
- 2'43 *sa:l.ni buđiya tunđ-ki barc-oke e:n ondr-in*  
 wicked.F old.woman look-CP.3SG.NM come.B2-CP I bring-PR.1SG  
*eng-en po:k-pocor kōh-i*  
 I-AC ant-insect bite-PR.3SG  
 Seeing [the woman], the wicked woman [said] “I am taking [the jar of money] and the ants are biting me.”
- 2'47 *buđiya-ni kot piṭ-ak ayi-n (ca)*  
 old.woman-AC.EPH bite.B2.AP kill-OP she-AC  
*ṛo:s-ki cic-a ayi-peḍe-no ṭaka (gata)*  
 dash.down-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG she-side-LO money  
*[gaṛary-a]*  
 [become.B2-PT.3SG]  
 [Thinking] “Let it bite and kill that old woman,” she threw [the jar] down. [Then] it became money near her [i.e. the lady who was asleep].
- 2'51 *a:-kaṛa tunđ-ay sapna-no jim-iyca a:r a:yi ci:k*  
 that-time look-PT.3SG.NM dream-LO get-PT.PRF.3SG and she very  
*tunđ-iyca ari sapna-no jim-iyca aye-ki ṭaka*  
 look-PT.PRF.3SG and dream-LO get-PT.PRF.3SG she-GE money  
 At that time, the woman who saw [the money] in the dream got it. She had seen a lot [of money] in the dream and got [it as] her money.
- 2'58 *aḍi-nte a:yi girosto manj-a*  
 there-AB that rich.person become.B2-PT.3SG  
 She became prosperous from then.
- 2'59 *a:yi oy-i a:-kaṛa aye-n po:k gaṛar-ki*  
 she take-PR.3SG that-time she-AC ant become-CP.3SG.NM  
*kōh-i ar ayi-ko:ni cico-ko ar ṭaka i: gaṛar-a*  
 bite-PR.3SG and she-near give-CP and money this become-PT.3SG  
 When she (i.e. the woman who was sitting) took [the money], it became ants and bit [her]. And when she gave it [throwing it] to her (i.e.

the woman who was sleeping), it became money.

- 3'05 *toʔr-a oŋgr-a*  
end-PT.3SG end-PT.3SG  
This is the end of the story.

### §20 How civilization started (S).

Told by Mrs. Surji Paharni (Malpahariya) of Amlagachhi, P. O. Shahrgram, P. S. Maheshpur, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Amlagachhi on September 6, 2006.

- 0'00 *mundoti male-r patra-no becy-a:ray*  
ancient person-PL forest-LO be.B2-PT.3PL  
Ancient people lived in the forest.
- 0'04 *a:r patra-no becy-a:ray dā:ʔa-patra-n miny-a:ra:yu*  
and forest-LO be.B2-PT.3PL branch-leaf-AC eat.B2-PT.3PL  
And they lived in the forest and ate branches and leaves.
- 0'09 *a:r ma:k-an hō ʔe:ne moʔy-a:ray*  
and meat-AC too raw eat.B2-PT.3PL  
And they also ate meat raw.
- 0'13 *pa:n-a pu:p-an hō ʔe:ne-ni moʔy-a:ray*  
fruit-AC flower-AC too raw-AC.EPH eat.B2-PT.3PL  
They ate fruits and flowers raw, too.
- 0'15 *a:di-nte dō:k-no dō:k-no ilko-hi dā:ʔa-patra-ni*  
there-AB stay-IPP REP this.way-EPH branch-leaf-AC.EPH  
*min-kar dō:ky-ar pa:n-a pu:p-an e:ʔe-n indra kis-an*  
eat-CP.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL fruit-AC flower-AC goat-AC what pig-AC  
*indra goʔe-ni a:trēr ʔe:ne-ni moʔy-a:ray*  
what all-AC.EPH they raw-AC.EPH eat.B2-PT.3PL  
Staying and staying there [i.e. in the forest], they were eating branches and leaves this way. They ate everything raw, fruits, flowers, goats, pigs and so on.
- 0'31 *mo:ʔ-ne ke.ba:d patra-no man-ond man-no ta:n-ta:ni cic*  
eat-VN after forest-LO tree.CLF-one tree-LO itself-itself fire  
*lagar-ay*  
be.attached-PT.3SG  
Then, in the forest, fire started spontaneously on a tree.
- 0'37 *cic lagar-ne ke.ba:d aur ʔosy-a*  
fire be.attached-VN after further be.burnt.B2-PT.3SG  
Then it spread further.
- 0'40 *ʔos-ko inor e:ʔe-n indru kagl-ki ʔos-yi*  
be.burnt-CP now goat-AC what die-CP.3SG be.burnt-PR.PRF.3SG  
When [trees] were burnt, goats and so on had now died and were burnt.
- 0'43 *a:tre-n peta-kar moʔ-ka tūnd-a:ray*  
they-AC take.up.B2-CP.3PL eat-CP look-PT.3PL  
They took up and tasted them.

- 0'45 *moʔ-ka tʊŋd-ne ke.ba:d kajak sawa:di a:y bic-ke*  
 eat-CP look-VN after much tasty that be.cooked-CP.3SG  
*a:di-nte arhu a:trer hō matlab kuʃa-kar mo:ʔ-ot*  
 there-AB further they too namely burn.B2-CP.3PL eat-IF  
*sikar-a:ray kurmuʃtu maŋj-a:ray*  
 learn-PT.3PL inquiring be.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then they were cooked very deliciously. They learned to cook and eat from then. They became keen inquirers.
- 0'57 *a:di-nte ja:gu bit-ot hō bic-ke lap-oti bita-ka lap-no*  
 there-AB rice cook-IF too be.cooked-CP eat-IF cook-CP eat-IPP  
*sawa:di maŋj-a:y*  
 tasty be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then [they learned] to cook rice and eat rice after cooking, too; it was tasty when they ate it after cooking.
- 1'05 *ma:ku ja:gu goʃe-yi andi bita-ka lap-oti ʃe:ʃte*  
 meat rice all-NM that.way cook-CP eat-IF test  
*cinc-akar a:di-nte bita-kar lap-ot lagy-a:ray*  
 recognize.B2-CP.3PL there-AB cook-CP.3PL eat-IF start.B2-PT.3PL  
*sikar-ot lagy-a:ray*  
 learn-IF start.B2-PT.3PL  
 Having run tests on cooking meat, rice and everything that way and eating, they then started doing so. They started learning.
- 1'15 *aru daʃi-n indr-an hō cuy-ot lagy-ar*  
 and clothes-AC what-AC too wear-IF start.B2-PT.3PL  
 And they started wearing clothes and so on, too.
- 1'18 *a:di-nte goʃe-ni kaʃe gaʃc-a tʊŋd-na:r ʃebule kursi*  
 there-AB all-AC.EPH bedstead make.B2-AP look-PR.3PL table chair  
*gaʃc-a tʊŋd-nar goʃe-ni ko:sis man-na:ray*  
 make.B2-AP look-PR.3PL all-AC.EPH attempt be-PR.3PL  
 Then they tried to make everything: beds, tables and chairs. They tried everything.
- 1'27 *alko-ti di:re di:re man-ne kud-ne kud-ne-ri baʃhar-ar*  
 that.way-IN slowly REP be-AP do-IPP do-IPP.3PL grow-PT.3PL  
 They slowly developed being and doing that way.
- 1'33 *baʃhar-kar se inor daʃi cuy-ot sikar-ar*  
 grow-CP EPH now clothes wear-IF learn-PT.3PL  
 They have developed and now they have learned to wear clothes.
- 1'38 *tarpoʃe bit-a lap-o sikar-ar ka:je kud-kar goʃe-ni goʃ*  
 then cook-AP eat-IF learn-PT.3PL work do-CP.3PL all-AC.EPH all  
*jinise-ni ma:k-a bit-o sikar-ar ja:gu bit-o sikar-ar*  
 thing-AC.EPH meat-AC cook-IF learn-PT.3PL rice cook-IF learn-PT.3PL  
 Then they learned eating after cooking. Having done their work, they learned cooking everything. They learned cooking meat and rice.

- 1'49 *a:di-nte inor(rehe) me:la juge kaṭ-ke e:k-ne ke.ba:d di:re di:re*  
 there-AB now festival time pass-CP go-VN after slowly REP  
*di:re di:re goṭe-ni sama:je-k āṛsy-ar paṛy-ot leky-ot hō*  
 REP REP all-AC.EPH society-DA reach.B2-PT.3PL read-IF write-IF too  
*sikar-ar*  
 learn-PT.3PL  
 After that, as time passed, after they went to the festivals, they reached  
 the whole society slowly and slowly. They learned to read and write,  
 too.
- 1'59 *a:r ike-h mistri sikar-nah ike-h da:ṛi tuny-o*  
 and which-M carpenter learn-PR.3SG.M which-M clothes weave-IF  
*sikar-nah ike-h ga:ṛi cala:tr-o sikar-nah ike-h*  
 learn-PR.3SG.M which-M vehicle drive-IF learn-PR.3SG.M which-M  
*reksa cala:tr-o sikar-nah*  
 rickshaw drive-IF learn-PR.3SG.M  
 And someone learns carpentry. Someone learns to weave cloth.  
 Someone learns to drive a car. Someone learns to drive a rickshaw.
- 2'08 *a:r maṭe-ri ponḍe-ri paṛy-tr-ot hō dʰya:ne lagatr-nar*  
 and boy-PL child-PL study-CS-IF too thought attach-PR.3PL  
 And they pay attention to giving education to the children.
- 2'13 *ate mudi-kara ka:li patra-no becy-a:ray ṭe:ne miny-a:ray*  
 or.else formerly-time only forest-LO be.B2-PT.3PL raw eat.B2-PT.3PL  
*oṅgr-a*  
 end-PT.3SG  
 But in olden times, they lived only in forests and ate things raw. This  
 is the end of the story.

## §21 Tale about unity (S).

Told by Mr. Sushil Pahariya (Kumarbhag Pahariya) of Paderkola B, P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at the schoolhouse of Paderkola B on February 25, 2007.

- 0'22 *e:n pa:n-ond kahani teh-ot e:k-in ilko ekta-ki ba:re-no*  
 I CLF-one story tell-IF go-PR.1SG this.way unity-GE respect-LO  
 I am going to tell a story about unity.
- 0'33 *ortu gari:b kisa:ne-h maṇj-ah*  
 one.person poor farmer-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 There was a poor farmer.
- 0'45 *a:r ahi-ki tin-jen maṭe-r maṇj-ar*  
 and he-GE three-CLF boy-PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 And he had three sons.
- 0'51 *be:ḍo maṭe-ki na:mi sundra maṇj-a majtra maṭe-ki na:mi*  
 big boy-GE name PROP be.B2-PT.3SG middle boy-GE name  
*maṇj-a surja a:r sarwe maṭe-ki na:mi maṇj-a ra:ja*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG PROP and younger boy-GE name be.B2-PT.3SG PROP

The eldest son's name was Sundra, the middle one's Surja, and the youngest one's Raja.

- 1'02 *tin-jen tin-jen ba:ye-r-peḍe-no me:la bey-la*  
 three-CLF three-CLF brother-PL-way-LO harmony be-NG.PT.3SG  
 There was no harmony among the three brothers.

- 1'13 *tin-jene-no tin-jen-er-ki-no goṭ-ka:re hi*  
 three-people.CLF-LO three-people.CLF-PL-GE-LO all-affair EPH  
*jagṛa hi maṇji becy-a jagṛa maṇja-kari becy-ar*  
 quarrel EPH do.B2.AP be.B2-PT.3SG quarrel do.B2-CP.3PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 Among the three, quarrel kept arising, they kept fighting, about everything.

- 1'26 *pahla maḍe-ki mo:ne maṇj-a paṛy-po-ki ar dusra maḍe-ki*  
 first boy-GE mind be.B2-PT.3SG read-HP-GE and second boy-GE  
*maṇj-a ruce maṇj-a kelar-po-ki ar tisra maḍe-ki mo:ne*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG taste be.B2-PT.3SG play-HP-GE and third boy-GE mind  
*maṇj-a gurar-po-ki*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG walk.around-HP-GE

The eldest son's mind was on reading. The second son's interest was on playing. And the third son's mind was on strolling.

- 1'46 *ahi-ki tambako-h din-ond ugla:r-ah ki tin-jen (maḍe)*  
 he-GE own.father-M day-one think-PT.3SG.M COMP three-CLF boy  
*taṅg.ḍo-bager-no i:tre(r)-ki eṇ-ki jaga bey-i*  
 own.younger.brother-PL-LO these-GE I-GE land be-PR.3SG.NM  
*aye-n i:tre(r) din-ond bi:s-kar lap-a:nar*  
 that-AC these day-one sell-CP.3PL eat-FT.3PL

His father thought one day, "My land will [go] to these three brothers. [If they go on like this,] they will sell and eat it one day."

- 2'06 *iye-n so:ca-ka ugla:r-ka ugla:r-ka a:hu buṛ<sup>h</sup>a kisa:ne a:hu din-ond*  
 this-AC think-CP think-CP think-CP he old farmer he day-one  
*me:y korc-a*  
 disease enter.B2-PT.3SG

Thinking and thinking about this, the old farmer got sick one day.

- 2'27 *a:ḍi-nte a:h koḍ-ka tin-jen-er-in awḍ-ah*  
 there-AB he lie.down-CP three-people.CLF-PL-AC speak-PT.3SG.M  
*ja:ṅga-ka awḍ-ah*  
 call-CP speak-PT.3SG.M

Then, lying [in bed], he said to the three [sons], he called them and said [to them].

- 2'34 *erk-a ḍaḍe-k ni:mu aḍ-ente ni:m usri-n ta:r-a*  
 go-IMP forest-DA you.PL there-AB you.PL firewood-AC cut-IMP  
*tunhe-ke ondr-e:ner a:ny-ah*  
 collect-CP bring-FT.2PL say.B2-PT.3SG.M

He said, "Go to the woods, cut firewood, collect it and bring it from there."

- 2'47 *a:di-nte ondr-ne ke.ba:d a: tin-jen-er-in daɣ-onond*  
 there-AB bring-VN after that three-people.CLF-PL-AC CLF-each.one  
*daɣ-ond indra-ka ta:r-tr-tit-ah*  
 CLF-one divide-CP cut-TR-CS-PT.3SG.M  
 Then, after they brought [the firewood], he split it in bundles, one for each of the three, and made [them] cut [it].
- 2'58 *ta:r-tr-ne ke.ba:d aye-n goɣe-r-in tin-jen-er-in*  
 cut-TR-VN after that-AC all-PL-AC three-people.CLF-PL-AC  
*mila:-tr-tit-ah*  
 collect-TR-CS-PT.3SG.M  
 After he made [each of them] cut it, he made all the three [sons] put it together [in one big bundle].
- 3'05 *mila:-tr-tatka aɣi-nte aye-n ta:r-ot end-ah ta:r-ot*  
 collect-TR-ECHO.CP there-AB that-AC cut-IF tell-PT.3SG.M cut-IF  
*lo:ɣ-lar*  
 be.able-NG.PT.3PL  
 Having made them gather [it], he told [them] to cut it then. They could not cut [it].
- 3'17 *andi awɣ-ah ni:m ilko ta:r-ot lo:ɣ-omla(r)*  
 then speak-PT.3SG.M you.PL this.way cut-IF be.able-NG.PR.3PL  
 Then [the farmer] said, "See, you cannot cut [it]."
- 3'21 *ilko ni:m agar orto-no man-e-ner ta:n to*  
 this.way you.PL if one.person-LO become-FT.2PL then then  
*nim-en berba:d nal-la:nar piɣ-ot hō lo:ɣ-[la]nar*  
 you.PL-AC destruction do-NG.FT.3PL kill-IF too be.able-PR.3PL  
 "If you will be together like this, then they will not destroy you, nor will they be able to kill you."
- 3'27 *pare ni:m e:k.sa:t man-ner tunhur-ke bey-ner ta:n*  
 but you.PL together be-PR.3PL get.together-CP be-PR.3PL then  
*nim-en iker-ne indr-ne kud-ot lo:ɣ-la:nah*  
 you.PL-AC who-ever what-ever du-IF be.able-NG.FT.3SG.M  
 "(But) if you are together, if you stay together, then nobody will be able to do any [harm] to you."
- 3'37 *a:n-ka a:h kagl-kah eky-ah*  
 say-CP he die-CP.3SG.M go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Having said this, he passed away.

## §22 Story of a blind king and his princes (S).

Told by Mr. Sibū Pahariya of Telopara. Recorded at his house in Telopara on March 7, 2009.

- 0'00 *paco pacge-r manj-a:ray*  
 old.woman old.man-PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 There were an old man and an old woman.

- 0'03 *andi bey-no dɔ:k-no bey-no dɔ:k-no ʔoʔtro-h ra:ja-h*  
 then be-IPP stay-IPP be-IPP stay-IPP blind-M king-M  
*maɲi-ahay ahi-ki na:mi ʔoʔtro*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG he-GE name blind  
 While they were living, a blind man became a king. His name is 'Otro.
- 0'11 *andi jaɽe-bohe gaɽar-ayay gaɽar-ko bengna ar bengni*  
 then rain-storm become-PT.3SG become-CP PROP and PROP  
*maʔ-as puju eɽru*  
 CLF-two bird parrakeet  
 Then, when there was a rainstorm, two parrakeet birds, Bengna and Bengni,
- 0'20 *e:k-i a: arhu i:t-no oket-ki kaɽ-i*  
 go-PR.3SG that again here-LO sit.down-CP.3SG.NM cross-PR.3SG  
 they went, sat down (on a tree) and crossed it.
- 0'24 *andi jaɽe-bohe gaɽar-a gaɽar-ko to i:d-no*  
 then rain-storm become-PT.3SG become-CP then here-LO  
*ʔan.e:h-kay e:k-ay dekoke*  
 take.rest-CP.1PL.I go-FT.1PL.I ITJ  
 Then when there was a rainstorm, [they said] "Let us take rest and go."
- 0'32 *jaɽe-oɽe kaɽ-noye ʔa:y-naʔy-ay ta:m*  
 rain-ECHO pass-IPP dry-REC.B2-PT.3SG themselves  
*mā:ʔalni bengna bengni*  
 mother.and.daughter PROP PROP  
 When the rain passed, they dried themselves, the mother and daughter, Bengna and Bengni.
- 0'36 *a:ɽi-nte jaɽe poy-ot lagy-ay ande oɽhu-ʔa:r pisi*  
 there-AB rain rain-IF start.B2-PT.3SG then house-side under  
*et-ki oky-ay*  
 go.down-CP.3SG.NM sit.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then it started raining. Then they went under the eaves of a house and sat there.
- 0'41 *andi se teho awɽ-i bengni awɽ-i ra:ja-h taʔmo*  
 then EPH mother speak-PR.3SG PROP speak-PR.3SG king-M look.he.is  
*a.ny-a e: ʔoʔtro-h i:hu ra:ja-h mal-ah tahadi*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG ITJ blind-M.EPH he king-M be.not-PR.3SG.M daughter  
 Then Bengni, the mother, said, "Look, he is the king." The daughter said, "He is a blind man, not a king."
- 0'52 *andi mala i:h ra:ja-hi anno mala ra:ja-h mala-h*  
 then no he king-M.EPH then no king-M be.not-M  
 Then [they said] "No, he is the king." "No, he isn't."
- 0'57 *ante tehr-naʔ-no tehr-naʔ-no aye-n a: ʔoʔtro ra:ja-h*  
 and tell-REC-IPP tell-REC-IPP that-AC that blind king-M

- mej-ahay*  
hear.B2-PT.3SG  
When they were saying [this] to each other, the blind king heard it.
- 1'03 *jaɽe-bohe kaɽ-ko eky-ay puju ek-ki ande*  
rain-storm pass-CP go.B2-PT.3SG.NM bird go.B2-CP.3SG.NM then  
*nan-dina*  
other-day  
When the rainstorm had passed, the birds went and on another day,
- 1'08 *taŋg-cohdi-mala-r-in tunh-aynah tunha-kah*  
self-domain-man-PL-AC gather-PR.PRF.3SG.M gather-CP.3SG.M  
*me:n-nah*  
ask-PR.3SG.M  
he summoned the people [living] within his boundary and asked.
- 1'13 *i:tr i:tr saba-n mejj-ayner a:n-nahay*  
these these word-AC hear.B2-PR.PRF.2PL say-PR.3SG.M  
He said, "Did you hear these words?"
- 1'15 *andi e:n ho me:n-layin e:n ho me:n-layin*  
then I too hear-NG.PR.PRF.1SG I too hear-NG.PR.PRF.1SG  
*i:n-naʔ[y-a]ray*  
say.thus-REC.B2-PT.3PL  
Then they all said, "I haven't heard" "I haven't heard, either."
- 1'19 *andi me:n-na-se teh-ot lo:ɽ-anar andi a: maʔ-as beŋgna ar*  
then hear-IPP-EPH tell-IF be.able-FT.3PL then that CLF-two PROP and  
*beŋgni eky-ay ok.ety-ay andi*  
PROP go.B2-PT.3SG sit.down.B2-PT.3SG then  
They can tell only if they have heard [it]. Then Bengna and Bengni  
went and sat down.
- 1'26 *pa:n-o saba mejj-ayni a:n-no indru saba-n*  
CLF-one word hear.B2-PR.PRF.2SG.NM say-IPP what word-AC  
*teh-an mejj-ayin a:n-naʔ-i*  
tell-FT.1SG hear.B2-PR.PRF.1SG say-REC-PR.3SG  
When they said [to them] "Did you hear [such] a word?" "What  
word?" "I'll tell you." They said, "Yes, I heard it."
- 1'30 *i:h ʔoɽro-h a:ny-a ortu ar ortu aruhi ra:ja-h a:ny-a*  
he blind-M say.B2-PT.3SG one and one again king-M say.B2-PT.3SG  
One said "He is blind," and another said "Still, he is a king."
- 1'36 *andi o: mejj-ayin eng-maʔo awd-i ʔoɽro-h*  
then ITJ hear.B2-PR.PRF.1SG my-girl say-PR.3SG blind-M  
*a:ny-a e:n ho ra:ja-h a:n-tan*  
say.B2-PT.3SG I too king-M say-PT.1SG  
"Yes, I heard it. My daughter said [he is] blind, and I also said [he is]  
a king."
- 1'42 *ni:n ihe-n ta.rkurci a:the-n ondra-ka as-a ciy-no*  
you he-AC plant.name leaf-AC bring-FT.IMP foment-AP give-IPP

- nek-man-eni* *a: edru teh-i*  
 get.well-become-FT.3SG.NM that parrot tell-PR.3SG  
 The parrakeet said, “You bring him the leaf of the Tarpurchi plant. If you give it to him applying it as a hot compress, he will get well.”
- 1’49 *andi sa:t undʔal maʔe-ray sa:t undʔal maʔe-r sude mʊs-maʔe-r*  
 then seven sibling boy-PL seven sibling boy-PL only male-boy-PL  
*a: ʔoʔro ra:ja-ki*  
 that blind king-GE  
 King ’Otro had seven children, only sons.
- 1’59 *andi e:k-naray toben e:k-a ta:rkurci a:the bed-ot a:n-naʔ-kar*  
 then go-PR.3PL then go-IMP plant.name leaf seek-IF say-REC-CP.3PL  
 Then they went, saying to each other “Let’s go to find the Tarkurchi leaf.”
- 2’05 *e:k-naray e:k-no e:k-no ort bagwa:n malni urʔy-ay*  
 go-PR.3PL go-IPP go-IPP one god woman come.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 They went. When they were going, a goddess came out.
- 2’12 *ik.ʔa:r-ik e:k-ner a:lko a:n-no*  
 where-DA go-PR.2PL that.way say-IPP  
 When she said, “Where are you going?”
- 2’15 *ar goʔ sarwe-n se me:n[-i] a:y a:h ʔō:ʔō e:k-nahay*  
 and all young-AC EPH ask-PR.3SG she he back go-PR.3SG.M  
 She asked the youngest one. He was going at the end.
- 2’21 *ihi-n andi eng-abo-h ʔoʔro-h andi ta:rkurci a:the-k e:k-nam*  
 he-AC then my-father-M blind-M then plant.name leaf-DA go-PR.1PL.E  
*a:n-nah ar andi e:nond e:k-ner*  
 say-PR.3SG and then how.much go-PR.2PL  
 [She asked] him [and he said], “My father is blind. And we are going for Tarpurchi leaves.” “How far are you going?”
- 2’31 *i:man ga:rsingla-n mʊʔy.ond-ti ust-a tar-ker me:nd*  
 this-CLF tree.name-AC one.pull-AB kick-AP break-CP.3PL burn.AP  
*tey-a*  
 send-IMP  
 “Break down this Garsingla tree by one kick and burn it.” (Then the earth will break.)
- 2’35 *ʔē:ʔel bi:grnet-ker mo:c-ker otr-a:nar a:ny-ay*  
 earth break.up-CP.2PL cut-CP.2PL take.out-FT.2PL say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “After the earth breaks, you will cut [the leaves] and take [them] out.”  
 She told so.
- 2’40 *ande aʔne:y owa-trer aʔne:y owa-trer ani indru=ʔe sa:la-maʔe*  
 then ITJ brother-PL ITJ brother-PL then what=ITJ darned-boy  
*a:ny-ar*  
 say.B2-PT.3PL  
 “Come on, brothers!” “What’s the matter, darned boy?”

- 2'44 *andi ort malni awq-a i: man-a ust-a tar-ker ?e:?el*  
 then one woman say-PT.3SG this tree-AC kick-AP break-CP.2PL earth  
*bigrnet-ker mo:c-ker oy-ener oy-ener a:ny-a a:n-ko*  
 break.up-CP.2PL cut-CP.2PL take-FT.2PL REP say.B2-PT.3SG say-CP  
 Then [the boy] said, "A woman said, 'Kick and break down this tree.  
 You will pull it down on the ground, take it out, cut and take it.'"
- 2'50 *be:q.owa ust-a:ndah a:n-naray*  
 elder.brother kick.down-OP.3SG say-PR.3PL  
 They said, "Let the eldest brother kick it down."
- 2'52 *be:q.owa boh-ek-ka usty-ah to*  
 elder.brother run.AP-go.B2-CP kick.B2-PT.3SG.M then  
*lo:ɽ-lah jar?y-ah*  
 be.able-NG.PT.3SG.M fall.down.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The eldest brother went running and kicked. Then he was unable to  
 do it and fell down.
- 2'56 *a:lko goɽe-r soy und?al-er pu:rar-aray ust-a*  
 that.way all-PL six sibling-PL be.completed-PT.3PL kick-AP  
*pu:rar-aray*  
 be.completed-PT.3PL  
 That way, all the six brothers kicked and were all unable [to break it].
- 3'01 *lo:ɽ-lar nuɽjr-ar jar?a jar?a andi*  
 be.able-NG.PT.3PL get.hurt-PT.3PL fall-AP fall-AP then  
 They could not [kick it down] and got hurt, falling down and falling  
 down.
- 3'04 *sa:la-ma?e-h nuɽj-tr-ah ni:n ust-a tar-a muty.ond-ti*  
 darned-boy-M hurt-CS-PT.3SG.M you kick-AP break-IMP one.pull-AB  
 "The darned boy hurt us. You break it down by one kick."
- 3'07 *ate lo:ɽ-omte ta:n niɽg-en ca:r-pobi*  
 otherwise be.able-NG.PR.2SG.M then you-AC four-cross.section  
*murk-anam a:n-naray*  
 cut.across-FT.1PLE say-PR.3PL  
 "Otherwise, if you cannot, then we will cut you in four slices." They  
 said this.
- 3'11 *andi indru kud-a:nah a:qi-nte elcy-ah*  
 then what do-FT.3SG.M there-AB be.afraid.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 What did he do? He got scared then.
- 3'14 *ikleko malni se awq-a a:n-ka aca a:n-ka boh-ek-ka*  
 how woman EPH speak-PT.3SG say-CP okay say-CP run-go.B2-CP  
*usty-ah ust-a tary-ahay*  
 kick.B2-PT.3SG.M kick-AP break.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Saying, "[I'll do] just as the woman told," he went running and kicked.  
 He kicked and broke it down.
- 3'20 *tar-ka teyo-ko me:nd-aray me:ndo-ko sa:t tarɽkla ?e:?el*  
 break-CP send-CP burn-PT.3PL burn-CP seven parts ground

*bi:gr-a:yi*

break.up-PR.PRF.3SG.NM?

After he broke it down, they burned it. After they burned it, the earth opened up in seven parts.

- 3'28 *bi:gr-ko inor be:q.owa-h et-a:ndah be:q.owa-h*  
 break-CP now elder.brother-M go.down-OP.3SG.M elder.brother-M  
*a:n-nah*  
 say-PR.3SG.M

When [the earth opened], they said “Let [the eldest brother] go down.”

- 3'32 *be:do tang-owa-h-ō o:tres-kah a:n-kah*  
 big own-big.brother-M-too lean.forward.B2-CP.3SG.M say-CP.3SG.M  
*e:n lo:ɽ-lan a:n-kah a:h piric-kah*  
 I be.able-NG.PT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M he jump.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*kir-nah*  
 return-PR.3SG.M

The [eldest] brother leaned forward, peeped into [the crack], said “I can’t,” and jumped and went back.

- 3'36 *a: soy-jen-er alko-hi manj-a:ray andi*  
 that six-person-PL that.way-EPH become.B2-PT.3PL then  
*et-ne tan et-a ate ca:r-pobi*  
 go.down-PR.2SG.M then go.down-IMP otherwise four-cross.section  
*murk-a:nam a:n-na:ray ahe-n sarwe maʔe-r-in*  
 cut.across-FT.1PLE say-PR.3PL he-AC younger.brother boy-PL-AC  
 Those six people did like that, then they said to the younger boy, “If you go down, go down. Otherwise, we will cut you in four slices.”

- 3'43 *andi se piɽ-oti piɽ-oti hi ok-ner a:n-kah pand-ond*  
 then EPH kill-IF kill-IF EPH sit-PR.3PL say-CP.3SG.M CLF-one  
*suta-n otr-ahay*  
 thread-AC take.out-PT.3SG.M

Then they sat down to kill him. He took out a thread.

- 3'50 *i: pand-ond suta-n band-in a:-kɽa argtr-ener bande-ker*  
 this CLF-one thread-AC pull-PR.1SG that-time lift-FT.2PL pull-CP.2PL  
*la:ɽ-in a:-kɽa band-e: argtr-a a:ny-ahay*  
 shake-PR.1SG that-time pull-CP lift-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, “When I pull this one thread, will you pull it and lift me up? When I shake it, pull it and lift me up.”

- 3'59 *co:r-ka ety-ahay et-ko awq-a malni*  
 hang-CP go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M go.down-CP say-PT.3SG woman  
 He went down hanging [on the thread]. When he went down, the woman spoke.

- 4'02 *simbi jaɽa ula ok-ki arsi-t kuk-a*  
 plant.name aerial.roots inside sit-CP.3SG.NM mirror-IN head-AC  
*ʔa:sr-ay*  
 comb.oneself-PT.3SG.NM

She was sitting inside the roots of a Simbi tree and was combing her head using a mirror.

- 4'07 *ande a:he gurar-nahĩ gurar-nahĩ ek-kah*  
 then he walk.around-IPP.3SG.M REP go.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*a: malni-n and-ahay anda-kah ?õ: ?piji il-nahay*  
 that woman-AC find-PT.3SG.M find-CP.3SG.M back stand-PR.3SG  
*ek-kah*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.M

He went walking around, and he went, found that woman and stood back.

- 4'15 *il-no il-no a: malni and-a:y arsi-pa:w*  
 stand-IPP REP that woman find-PT.3SG.NM mirror-by  
 When he was standing, that woman found [him] with the mirror.  
 4'18 *andi ultar-ki tundy-ay tund-ki indr-leko*  
 then turn.back-CP.3SG.NM look.B2-PT.3SG look-CP.3SG.NM what-like  
*male-y indr-leko male-y a:n-no*  
 man-2SG what-like man-2SG say-IPP

Then she turned back and saw [him]. When she saw him and said "What kind of man are you? What kind of man are you?"

- 4'23 *e:n hĩ:hĩ:lko-k barc-ayin eyg-abo-h ?oŋro-h ande*  
 I like.this-DA come.B2-PR.PRF.1SG my-father-M blind-M then  
*ta:rkurci a:the-k a:n-no*  
 plant.name leaf-DA say-IPP  
 he said "I have come here for such and such. My father is blind and [I have come here] for a Tarkurchi leaf."

- 4'26 *ni:n lo:ŋ-le:ne a.ny-ay*  
 you be.able-NG.FT.2SG say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 She said, "You will not be able [to get one by yourself]."  
 4'29 *okk-a a.ny-ay ok-tr-ki mo:n-ond*  
 sit-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG.NM sit-CS-CP.3SG.NM maund.CLF-one  
*lahri-n eŋy-ay ar mo:n-o*  
 parched.rice-AC roast.B2-PT.3SG.NM and maund.CLF-one  
*ko:ye-n*  
 parched.rice-AC

She told [him] to sit. Having made him sit down, she roasted a *maund* of *lahri* rice and a *maund* of *koye* rice.

- 4'35 *a: nadi-n se e:k-nara jity-neri jity-ner ma?pan*  
 that river-AC EPH go-PR.3PL sprinkle-IPP.3PL sprinkle-IPP.3PL animal  
*mo: ?-i a:y a:tr-en ar ta:m majt-no e:k-nar*  
 eat-PR.3SG that try-AC and themselves middle-LO go-PR.3PL  
 They went to that river sprinkling it. Animals ate it. And they went in the middle [of them].

- 4'42 *e:k-ner e:k-ner ārsy-aray ārs-kar aye-n*  
 go-IPP.3PL REP arrive.B2-PT.3PL arrive-CP.3PL that-AC

*mo:cy-aray*

cut.B2-PT.3PL

They went and arrived. Having arrived there, they cut it (i.e. the Tarkurchi leaf).

4'49 *mo:c-kar suta-peḍe-k eky-a:ray ar caku mo:yr-ahay*

cut-CP.3PL thread-way-DA go.B2-PT.3PL and knife forget-PT.3SG.M

After they cut it, they went to the place of the thread. Then they forgot [to take] the knife.

4'52 *mo:c-kah a:t-nihi ki:y-aynahay*

cut-CP.3SG.M there-LO.EPH place-PR.PRF.3SG.M

After he cut it, he left [the knife] there.

4'55 *andi iye-n pehre-ki ni:n il-oke e:n caku-k*

then this-AC take.along-CP.2SG.NM you stand-FT.IMP I knife-DA

*e:k-in a:n-kah kiry-ahay kir-ko*

go-PR.1SG say-CP.3SG.M return.B2-PT.3SG.M return-CP

Then, saying "You take this (leaf) and stand. I will go [and get] a knife," he went back.

5'02 *teh-abalo a:hu kirc-ahay andi a: malni suta*

tell-NG.AP he return.B2-PT.3SG.M then that woman thread

*la:ry-ay*

shake-PT.3SG.NM

He went back, and that woman shook the thread without telling [him].

5'06 *la:ry-ko to band-e argtar-ar ʔe:ʔel uʔuhr-aha*

shake-CP TOP pull-CP raise-PT.3PL earth get.closed-PT.3SG.M

*ʔekar-aha*

be.hindered-PT.3SG.M how climb-FT.3SG.M

When she shook [the thread], they pulled [it] and lift [her] up. He got stuck [in the earth] and ended up there. How will he go up?

5'13 *oca-ka (okka) aye-n asaco-ko tambako neku*

take.B2-CP.3SG it-AC foment.B2-CP father well

*manj-ahay*

become.B2-PT.3SG.M

After [the elder brothers] took it and applied it as a hot compress, his father got well.

5'17 *a:di-nte a:h to janjaṭar-ah arg-ot*

there-AB he TOP be.in.trouble-PT.3SG.M climb-IF

There he (i.e. the youngest brother) had a hard time climbing up.

5'21 *anda cu:ri pehra-kah ʔe:ʔl-ulte-n gurar-nahay*

then knife take.along-CP.3SG.M earth-inside-AC walk.about-PR.3SG.M

Then he walked around under the ground carrying the knife.

5'25 *gurar-no gurar-no maʔ-as mu:ʔe ok-i*

walk.around-IPP REP CLF-two frog sit-PR.3SG

When he walked around, there were two frogs sitting.

- 5'29 *tahadi nekute-ay ar teho-budīya-k me:y*  
 daughter well-NM and mother-old.woman-DA illness  
*ko:r-iaq mu:ʔe*  
 enter-PR.3SG.NM frog  
 The daughter was well, but the mother was ill.
- 5'36 *andi eng-en argtr-a ni:n ate ning-en caʔ-a piʔ-an*  
 then I-AC raise-IMP you otherwise you-AC stab-AP kill-FT.1SG  
*a:n-nahay*  
 say-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he said, "Lift me up. Otherwise, I will stab and kill you."
- 5'41 *[en]g-en argtr-a mecca ate ning-en piʔ-an*  
 I-AC raise-IMP above otherwise you-AC kill-FT.1SG  
 "Lift me up above. Otherwise, I will kill you."
- 5'47 *andi ek-ki i:h piʔ-a-nahi dekoke-ya ʔo:ro argtr-e*  
 then go.B2-CP.3SG.NM he kill-FT.3SG.M ITJ-mother child raise-IMP  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then [the daughter frog] went and said, "Look, he will kill [me]. Let's go, lift the boy up."
- 5'51 *cala:tr-ki pircy-ay*  
 drive-CP.3SG.NM be.smashed.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*popʔos-erh-ki jarʔy-ay lo:ʔ-la*  
 ONOM-emit.sound-CP.3SG.NM fall.B2-PT.3SG.NM be.able-NG.PT.3SG  
*argtr-ot*  
 raise-IF  
 She tried to lift him up and was squashed. She fell with a thud. She could not lift him up.
- 5'57 *andi mu:ʔe argtr-a ate piʔ-an a:ny-ah*  
 then frog raise-IMP otherwise kill-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then he said, "Hey frog! Lift [me] up. Otherwise I will kill [you]."
- 6'01 *dekoke dudu ate piʔ-a-nah-i ka:ʔy-a:nah*  
 ITJ mother otherwise kill-FT.3SG.M-EPH throw.away-FT.3SG.M  
 [The daughter said,] "Let's go, mom. Otherwise he will kill me and throw me away."
- 6'05 *ni:n anond juwan malni-jahā lo:ʔ-omti e:n jombʔo*  
 you that.much young woman-even be.able-NG.PR.2SG.NM I ill  
*budīya-malni-n ikna:y lo:ʔ-an a:ny-ay*  
 old.woman-woman-1SG how be.able-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 She said [to her daughter], "Even such a young woman like you cannot [lift him up]. How can a sick old woman like me do so?"
- 6'11 *dekoke dudu dekoke a:ny-ay elc-ki*  
 ITJ mother ITJ say.B2-PT.3SG.NM fear-CP.3SG.NM  
 She said fearfully "Let's go, mom. Let's go."

- 6'16 *andi a: jombro ma? cala:tr-ki piri-tr-ay*  
 then that ill one drive-CP.3SG.NM jump.up-CS-PT.3SG.NM  
*ke:ponti e:k-a ka?ki argtr-ay*  
 at.once go-AP cross-CP.3SG.NM raise-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the sick one lifted [him] up and made [him] jump, and made [him] cross and go up.
- 6'21 *?e:ʔel uʔuhr-a a:-ma? ett-ot ?ekar-ay*  
 earth get.closed-PT.3SG that-CLF go.down-IF be.hindered-PT.3SG.NM  
 The earth closed and it got difficult for her to go down.
- 6'25 *andi inor niŋg-en to argtr-tan (r)e:n ikna:y ett-an*  
 then now you-AC TOP raise-PT.1SG I how go.down-FT.1SG  
*ma?o-ko:ni a:ny-ay*  
 girl-place say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 “Now I lifted you up. How shall I go down to my daughter’s place?”
- 6'31 *aye-n bawnar-ni ni:n e:k-oke niŋg-en so:na-me:ce ciy-a:n*  
 that-AC worry-IPP you go-IMP.F you-AC gold-jewel give-FT.1SG  
*a:h a:n-kah oc-ahay*  
 he say-CP.3SG.M take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 When she was worrying about it, he said, “Let’s go. I will give you gold and jewels,” and took [her].
- 6'35 *ta:ke u:r-i a: am-no ok-tr-aynahay*  
 wind blow-PR.3SG that water-LO sit-CS-PR.PRF.3SG.M  
 He made [her] sit in the water [where] wind blew.
- 6'38 *ekdom cocre:tr-ni oy-iyay am-an*  
 at.once go.here.and.there-IPP.3SG.NM take-PR.3SG.NM water-AC  
 [The wind blew] here and there, and took [her] to the water.
- 6'40 *indr-leko lab.ʔani a:n-no ɔ:ʔe ikʔan-hi ʔo:k-an e:n*  
 what-like fine say-IPP yes=ITJ where-EPH stay-FT.2SG.M I  
*ekdom lab.ʔani a:ny-ay*  
 at.once fine say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 When he said, “How are you? Are you fine?” the frog said, “Yes. I will stay somewhere. I am fine.”
- 6'45 *ani andi se mu:ʔe i: de:si-no bey-iyay*  
 then thus EPH frog this land-LO be-PR.3SG.NM  
 That is why frogs are on this land.
- 6'48 *adi-nte ek-kah tambako-n awq-nahay*  
 there-AB go.B2-CP.3SG.M father-AC speak-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he went to his father[’s place] and said [to him],
- 6'53 *indr-leko bagman malni se urʔ-iyca=ʔe*  
 what-like god woman EPH come.out-PR.PRF.3SG.NM=ITJ  
 “Dad, some divine woman came out.”
- 6'55 *urʔ-ko i:-man ga:rsiŋla-n ust-a tar-ker me:nd*  
 come.out-CP this-CLF tree.name-AC kick-AP break-CP.3PL burn.AP

- tey-a a:n-no*  
 send-IMP say-IPP  
 After [she] came out, she said, “Kick and break down this Garsingla tree and burn it.”
- 7'00 *ust-a tar-ot ho lo:ɽ-lar piɽ-ot oky-ar eng-en*  
 kick-AP break-IF too be.able-NG.PT.3PL kill-IF sit.B2-PT.3PL I-AC  
 “They could not kick it and break it down. They sat down to kill me.”
- 7'04 *adi-nte me:nda-tat-ko ɖe:ɖlu bi:gr-ko*  
 there-AB burn-ECHO-CP earth break.up-CP  
 “Then after burning it and so on, the earth opened up.”
- 7'10 *ett-ot elcy-ar andi et-kar mo:c-kar uɽ-ko*  
 go.down-IF fear.B2-PT.3PL then go.down-CP.3PL cut-CP.3PL drop-CP  
*se ni:n nek maɽj-ay a:ny-ah*  
 EPH you well become.B2-PT.3SG.NM say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 “They were scared of going down. Then after I went down and cut [the leaf], you got well.” He said this.
- 7'15 *andi toben i: malni ta niɽ-ki meseɖɖo*  
 then then this woman surely you-GE son's.wife  
*paɽar-eni i: bai maɖe-ki se a:ny-ay*  
 come.across-FT.3SG.NM this TOP boy-GE EPH say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then [the king] said, “Then this woman shall surely be your wife.”
- 7'23 *tambako awɖ-ah ɖoɽro a:hu laɽar-ar*  
 father speak-PT.3SG.M blind he be.ashamed-PT.3PL  
*taɽɽ-owa-bager laɽar-kar a: malni-n ar a:*  
 own-brother-PL feel.ashamed-CP.3PL that woman-AC and that  
*maɖe-n akr-away*  
 boy-AC chase.away-PT.3PL  
 The father, the blind [king] said this. The brothers got ashamed and chased away that woman and the boy.
- 7'34 *ante akro-ko boh-kar aɖiyã jungɽes-kar*  
 and chase.away-CP run.away-CP.3PL that.way make.hut-CP.3PL  
*bey-naray*  
 be-PR.3PL  
 After being chased away, they ran away, made a hut and lived.
- 7'38 *bey-no bey-no a: malni-ki maɖe-h maɽj-ahay*  
 be-IPP be-IPP that woman-GE boy-M become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*so:naputro ra:ja*  
 PROP king  
 While they lived, that woman had a baby boy, King Sonaputro.
- 7'49 *a: maɖe erh-nah umbl-nahay goɽe-hi sona ɽaka*  
 that boy defecate-PR.3SG.M urinate-PR.3SG.M all-EPH gold money  
 What that boy defecated and urinated were all gold and money.
- 7'55 *andi ort bikka buɖiya-ki a:yi ek-ki din-ond*  
 then one alms old.woman-GE she go.B2-CP.3SG.NM day.CLF-one

- ta tund-ki kiry-ay*  
maybe look-CP.3SG.NM return.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
Then a beggar woman went one day; maybe she saw [him] and went back.
- 8'01 *a:ʔi-nte arhu din-ond eky-ay ek-ki*  
there-AB again day-one go.B2-PT.3SG.NM go.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
Then she went on another day.
- 8'05 *are ʔo:ro e:nond a:-wji ja:gu-n gurar kud-an e:n*  
ITJ child how.much that-way food-AC walk.around.AP do-FT.1SG I  
*niŋg-maʔe-ki go:ʔwa maŋj-e lap-an dekoke*  
you-boy-GE baby.sitter become.B2-CP eat-1SG ITJ  
“Say, how much shall I walk around for food that way [any more]? I will become your son’s babysitter and eat.”
- 8'11 *mala eŋg-eti man-i dekoʔke:hen eŋg-eti man-i*  
no I-IN become-PR.3SG.NM ITJ I-IN become-PR.3SG  
*je a:n-no mala dekokon mala dekokon*  
but say-IPP no ITJ no ITJ  
“No, [he gets enough care] from me. [He gets enough care] from me.”  
When she said this, “No, come on, no, come on.”
- 8'17 *ki:ʔe-ti barce-ki awq-i kon*  
hunger-IN come.B2-CP.3SG.NM speak-PR.3SG.NM it.seems  
*a:n-ki ojiŋg-ayay*  
say-CP.3SG.NM finish-PT.3SG.NM  
Thinking “She seems to have come and be saying [this] out of hunger,” she turned her down.
- 8'21 *a: toʔʔo-k hi ka:je-k eky-a malni a:-kaʔa*  
she near-DA EPH job-DA go.B2-PT.3SG woman that-time  
The woman went to a nearby place for work at that time.
- 8'25 *erhy-ah umbly-ah a:tre ʔaka-pesa-n*  
defecate.B2-PT.3SG.M urinate.B2-PT.3SG.M those money-money-AC  
*sona-gahna-n barce-ki(...) a: maʔe-ki a:n-ki*  
gold-jewel-AC come.B2-CP.3SG.NM that boy-GE say-CP.3SG.NM  
*cicc-ay*  
give.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
When he defecated and urinated, she gave away the money, gold, and jewels that came out, saying it is from the boy.
- 8'32 *aʔi-nte digra-hi eky-ay andi a:-be:ri*  
there-AB far-EPH go.B2-PT.3SG.NM then that-time  
She went afar from there at that time.
- 8'35 *a: maʔe-n pehre-ki satra jila kaʔ-ki*  
that boy-AC take.along-CP.3SG.NM seventeen district cross-CP.3SG.NM  
*pehr-a boh-tr-ay*  
take.along-AP run-CS-PT.3SG.NM

Taking [him] and having crossed seven districts, [the beggar woman] took the boy away.

- 8'42 *boh-tr-ko kir-ki* *tund-i* *ta:n beyo-h ma?e-h*  
 run-CS-CP return-CP.3SG.NM look-PR.3SG.NM then be.not-M boy-M  
 After [she] took [the boy] away, [the mother] came back and saw that the boy wasn't there then.

- 8'46 *andi ni:n do:k-o:re e:n ma?e bedd-ot ur?-an*  
 then you stay-IMP.M I boy look.for-IF go.out-FT.1SG  
*a:n-ki teho ur?-ay*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM mother go.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then, saying, "You stay here. I will go out to look for the boy," the mother went off.

- 8'54 *teho ur?-ay ur?-ki kand-ond dari*  
 mother go.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM go.out-CP.3SG.NM CLF-one cloth  
*pehr ur?-ay*  
 take.along.AP go.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 The mother went off. When she went off, she took a cloth and went off.

- 9'01 *jil-ond-ek ek-ki ārsy-ay*  
 district.CLF-one-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.NM reach.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*ek-ki ārs-ki ra:ja-ki pokri-bi?e-no*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM reach-CP.3SG.NM king-GE pond-side-LO  
*ok-ki olh-ay*  
 sit-CP.3SG.NM weep-PT.3SG.NM  
 She went to one district and arrived there. She went and arrived there, sat on the bank of a pond, and cried.

- 9'09 *andeki ra:ja-ki pulis-bager amy-ot eky-aray*  
 that.way king-GE police-PL bathe-IF go.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then the king's police officers went [there] to take baths.

- 9'13 *malni ok-ki olh-ay ra:ja-ki pokri-bi?e-no andi*  
 woman sit-CP.3SG.NM cry-PT.3SG.NM king-GE pond-side-LO then  
*ra:ja-ki pulis-bager amy-ot eky-a:ray*  
 king-GE police-PL bathe-IF go.B2-PT.3PL  
 The woman sat down and cried at the bank of the pond. The king's police officers went [there] to take baths.

- 9'21 *ek-kar amc-a kir-kar teh-naray ra:ja-n*  
 go.B2-CP.3PL take.bath.B2-CP return-CP.3PL tell-PR.3PL king-AC  
 They went, took baths, returned and told [it to] the king.

- 9'24 *indr-leko malni-n oc-aynay ni:n*  
 what-like woman-AC take.B2-PR.PRF.2SG.M you  
 "[Your Majesty,] what a [beautiful] woman did you receive [as a wife]!"

- 9'28 *pokri-bi?e-no ok-ki olh-ay ci:g be:r*  
 pond-side-LO sit-CP.3SG.NM weep-PT.3SG.NM much sun

*narh-na:nd-i* *a.yi se ra:ja-n teh-naray*  
 rise.up.in.a.flame-seem-PR.3SG.NM she EPH tell-PR.3PL  
 They told the king, “She was crying sitting at the bank of the pond.  
 She was just like the sun shining.”

9'33 *andi ek-kar erk-a tobe ja:ŋg-e ondr-oka a:n-kah*  
 then go.B2-CP.3PL go-IMP then call-CP bring-IMP say-CP.3SG.M  
*ja:ŋg-tr-aray*  
 call-CS-PT.3PL  
 Then [the king] said, “Go, call her and bring her,” and made [them]  
 call her.

9'37 *andi e:n ra:ja-ko:ni indrik e:k-an e:n da:ri-n bi:s-a*  
 then I king-place why go-FT.1SG I cloth-AC sell-AP  
*kud-in a:ny-ay*  
 walk.around-PR.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 “Why shall I go to the king’s place? I am going around selling cloth.”

9'41 *andi ra:ja-ko:ni e:k-lan e:n da:ri-n bi:s-a*  
 then king-place go-NG.FT.1SG I cloth-AC sell-AP  
*kud-in a:n-i ta?me a:n-no*  
 walk.around-PR.1SG say-3SG ITJ say-IPP  
 “She says, ‘I will not go to the king’s place. I am going around selling  
 cloth.’” When they said this,

9<sup>45</sup> *indr-leko*    *dari-n*    *ʔe:h-an*    *erk-a*    *ja:ŋg*    *ondr-oka*  
 what-like    cloth-AC    buy-FT.1SG    go-IMP    call.AP    bring-IMP  
*a:ny-ah*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 he said, “I will buy whatever cloth [it may be]. Go, call and bring  
 her.”

9'48 *andi ja.ŋg-a oca-kar ra:ja-h dəri ʔe:h-a:nah a:n-no*  
 then call-AP take.B2-CP.3PL king-M cloth buy-FT.3SG.M say-IPP  
 Then when [they] said, “The king will buy [your] cloth,” and called  
 her.

9'52 *ek-ki* *mutyond-hi* *co:c* *eky-ay*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM at.once-EPH rise.B2.AP go.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*ek-ki* *ikleko* *ɖaɾi* *otr-ehe* *a.ny-ah*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM what.like cloth take.out-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 She went. She stood up at once and went. When she went [to his  
 place, the king] said, “What cloth [do you have]? Take it out.”

9'57 *kand-ond*      *dar-i-n*      *otre-ki*      *tay-ay*  
CLF-one      cloth-AC      take.out-CP.3SG.NM      send-PT.3SG.NM  
*jil-ond*      *uʔ-ay*      *ke:ponti kand-onde-hi*  
district.CLF-one cover-PT.3SG.NM at.once CLF-one-EPH  
She took out a piece of cloth and sent it forward. Just one cloth covered one district at once.

- 10'05 *adi-nte jil-ond ufo-ko are e:n i: dari-n ?e:h-ot*  
 there-AB district.CLF-one cover-CP ITJ I this cloth-AC buy-IF  
*lo:ɽ-lan a: soy ra:ja-jila kaɽ-ki erk-a*  
 be.able-NG.FT.1SG that six king-district cross-CP.2SG.NM go-IMP  
*sonaputro ra:ja ?e:h-anah*  
 PROP king buy-FT.3SG.M  
 Then, after [the cloth] covered one district, [the king said,] “I will not be able to buy this cloth. Go across six districts. King Sonaputro will buy it.”
- 10'15 *andi tang-ma?e-na:mi-n to mejj-a eky-ay*  
 then own-son-name-AC TOP hear.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*ek-ki āɽsy-ay*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM arrive.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then she heard her son's name. She went and arrived.
- 10'22 *āɽs-ki aro pokri-biɽe-no ok-ki olh-iyay*  
 arrive-CP.3SG.NM again pond-side-LO sit-CP.3SG.NM cry-PR.3SG.NM  
 Having arrived [at King Sonaputro's place], she sat on the bank of a pond and cried again.
- 10'27 *olh-no olh-no aro amy-ot eky-aray ahe-ki pulis-bager*  
 cry-IPP cry-IPP again bathe-IF go.B2-PT.3PL he-GE police-PL  
*eky-ar*  
 go.B2-PT.3PL  
 When she was crying, his (i.e. the son's) police officers went [there] to take baths.
- 10'33 *amc-a kir-kar teh-naray ni:n oc-ayne*  
 bathe.B2-AP return-CP.3PL tell-PR.3PL you take.B2-PR.PRF.2SG.M  
 Having taken baths, they went back and told [the king and asked]  
 “[Your Majesty,] did you take [her as your wife]?”
- 10'35 *indr-pade ne: ikni pokri-biɽe-no ok-ki olh-a (ji:k)*  
 what-like who how pond-side-LO sit-CP.3SG.NM weep-PT.3SG  
*be:r narh-nah andi se teh-no*  
 sun rise.up.in.a.flame-PR.3SG.M thus EPH tell-IPP  
 “What [woman], who, how?” When they told [him] “She sat down on the bank of a pond and was crying. [She was] shining like the sun.”
- 10'44 *andi sonaputro awɽ-nah toben erk-a ja:ng-e ondr-oka*  
 then PROP say-PR.3SG.M then go-IMP call-CP bring-IMP  
 Then Sonaputro says, “Then go, call and bring her.”
- 10'48 *a:n-keh e:k-a ning-en sonaputro ja:ng-tr-nah*  
 say-CP.3SG.M go-IMP you-AC PROP call-CS-PR.3SG.M  
 He said this, [and the policemen said] “Let's go, Sonaputro made [us] call you.”
- 10'52 *a:n-ko mufy-ond co:c eky-a ek-ki a:he*  
 say-CP fist-one rise.B2.AP go.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-CP.3SG.NM he

*ok-nah meŋc-no ok.ety-ay*

sit-PR.3SG.M seat-LO sit.downB2-PT.3SG.NM

When [they] said this, she stood up at once and went. She went and sat down on the throne [where] he sits.

- 10'57 *andi awdy-a urʔ-ki maʔe-meŋc-no indrik*  
then speak.B2-PT.3SG come.out-CP.3SG.NM boy-seat-LO why  
*okket-i eng-maʔe-meŋc-no indrik a.ny-a*

sit.down-PR.3SG my-boy-seat-LO why say.B2-PT.3SG

Then [the beggar woman] said, "Why does she come out and sit down on my boy's throne? Why do you [sit down] on my boy's throne?"

- 11'03 *i: ayo-d eng-maʔe-h a.ny-a a: ayo-d*  
this mother-NM my-boy-M say.B2-PT.3SG that mother-NM  
*eng-maʔe-h ji:k-be:r jagr-aray*

I-boy-M all-day fight-PT.3PL

This mother said "It's my boy," and that mother said "It's my boy." They fought all day.

- 11'08 *a:h to adyar-aynah ikay se eng-dudu ta:n muskil*  
he TOP be.confused-PT.3SG.M which EPH my-mother then difficult  
*manj-a*

become.B2-PT.3SG

He got confused, [thinking] "Which is my mother?" Then it became difficult.

- 11'14 *muskil manja-ka ilko-t mal-le:ni a:n-kah*  
difficult become.B2-CP this.way-IN be-NG.FT.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M  
When it became difficult, he said, "It cannot stay like this."

- 11'19 *pa:nɖu pokri ʔoh-tr-ahay*  
CLF.two pond cut-CS-PT.3SG.M  
He made [his men] dig two ponds.

- 11'23 *pokri ʔoh-tr-ahay ʔoh-tr-kah pa:n-onond-no*  
pond cut-CS-PT.3SG.M cut-CS-CP.3SG.M CLF-each.one-LO  
*ort-onon ild-ahay*

one.person-each make.stand-PT.3SG.M

He made [them] enter the pond and made each stand in each [pond].

- 11'29 *ni:n eng-dudu-y ta:n kaɽyo dudi-n pi:ʔ-ki*  
you my-mother-2SG then a.little milk-AC squeeze-CP.2SG.NM  
*tey-eni a:y pokry-ond man-e:ni*

send-FT.2SG.NM that pond.CLF-one become-FT.3SG.NM

"If you are my mother, squeeze and drop a little milk. It [will become] a pond."

- 11'34 *ar ni:n eng-dudu-y ta:n kaɽyo dudi-n pi:ʔ-ki*  
and you I-mother-2SG then a.little milk-AC squeeze-CP.2SG.NM  
*tey-eni a:y pokry-ond man-eni*  
send-FT.3SG.NM that pond.CLF-one become-FT.3SG.NM

And [to the other woman he said,] “If you are my mother, squeeze and drop a little milk. It will become a pond.”

- 11'38 *a: teho-t a:y pi:ʔy-ay pokry-ond*  
 that mother-IN that squeeze.B2-PT.3SG.NM pond.CLF-one  
*majj-a(r)*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG

That [milk] which was squeezed by the mother became a pond.

- 11'40 *a: boh-tr-aca cambr-budjya dudi*  
 that run.away-CS-PT.PRF.3SG be.crooked-old.woman milk  
*bey-no se urʔ-eni pi:ʔy-ay lawʔa*  
 be-IPP EPH come.out-FT.3SG.NM squeeze.B2-PT.3SG.NM penis  
*urʔ-eni*  
 come.out-FT.3SG.NM

The wicked old woman [who] had abducted [him] — Had there been milk, it would have come out. She squeezed, and a penis came out.

- 11'48 *a: ra:mra:j majj-ayay toʔr-a*  
 that Ram's.reign become.B2-PT.3SG.NM be.finished-PT.3SG  
 [Then] it became a perfect reign. [The story] ends [here].

### §23 Story of a lazy orphan (S).

Told by Mr. Kalu Pahariya (Malpahariya) of Tugutola, P. O. Dangapara, P. S. Hiranpur. Recorded in Paderkola B (Dumbri) on March 9, 2008.

- 0'05 *e:n pa:n-ond kahani teh-ot e:k-in*  
 I CLF-one story tell-IF go-PR.1SG  
 I am going to tell a story.
- 0'08 *ortu maʔe-h majj-ah*  
 one boy-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 There was a boy.
- 0'11 *ahe-ki tambako teho-tambako-r bey-lar*  
 he-GE father mother-father-PL be-NG.PT.3PL  
 He had no parents.
- 0'14 *ahe-ki tang-be:ʔo=du:re becy-a*  
 he-GE own-grandmother=only be.B2-PT.3SG  
 He had only a grandmother.
- 0'16 *ande tang-be:ʔo=du:re becy-a ande*  
 then own-grandmother=only be.B2-PT.3SG then  
*tang-be:ʔo-ki saba-n me:n-lah*  
 own-grandmother-GE story-AC listen-NG.PT.3SG.M  
 [He] had only a grandmother. He did not listen to what she said.
- 0'21 *dine-nihi a:h ino ano gurar-ot urʔy-ah*  
 day-LO.EPH he here there walk.around-IF go.out.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He went out here and there for a walk every day.
- 0'23 *tang-be:ʔo-ki saba-n me:n-lah ar*  
 own-grandmother-GE story-AC listen-NG.PT.3SG.M and

- taŋg-be:ɔ*      *kajak ki:ɾe-t*      *hi ɔ:kɪ-a*  
own-grandmother much hunger-IN EPH stay.B2-PT.3SG  
He did not listen to his grandmother. And she was living in great hunger.
- 0'28 *kajak ki:ɾe-no*      *becy-a*      *andi a: maʔe-h*      *dine-ni*  
much hunger-LO be.B2-PT.3SG then that boy-M day-LO.EPH  
*eky-ah*  
go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
She was living in great hunger, and that boy went out every day.
- 0'32 *man-ond*      *ek-kah*      *piʔa-man-ik*      *ek-kah-tatkah*  
tree.CLF-one go.B2-CP.3SG.M bread-tree-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.M-ECHO  
*dine-ni*      *piʔa mi:n-eh*  
day-LO.EPH bread eat-FT.3SG.M  
He went to a tree of bread and was eating bread every day.
- 0'37 *piʔa mi:n-en*      *ʔaŋj-e*      *ʔaʔ-a*      *mi:n-a mi:n-a ɔ:k-eno*  
bread eat-FT.1SG bear.fruit-CP give-IMP eat-AP eat-AP stay-FT.1SG  
“(Singing) I will eat bread. Bear fruits and give [them to me]. I will live eating and eating.”
- 0'46 *andi dine-ni*      *pa:ɾ-a pa:ɾ-a a: maʔe-h*      *piʔa-man-no nukr*  
then day-LO.EPH sing-AP sing-AP that boy-M bread-tree-LO swing.AP  
*nukr ɔ:kɪ-ahay*  
swing.AP stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Singing and singing, that boy lived swinging under the tree every day.
- 0'49 *ar taŋg-be:ɔ-kɪ*      *saba-ni*      *me:n-omalahay*      *ekdam*  
and own-grandmother-GE story-AC.EPH listen-NG.PR.3SG.M at.once  
*dine-ni*      *min-a min-a*  
day-LO.EPH eat-AP eat-AP  
And he did not listen to his grandmother, just eating and eating every day.
- 0'53 *a:lko*      *e:k-nahay*      *arhu*      *nan-dini*      *bijya-kinihĩ*      *ar*  
that.way go-PR.3SG.M further other-day dawn.B2-CP.EPH and  
*e:k-nahay ar piʔa mi:n-eh*  
go-PR.3SG.M and bread eat-FT.3SG.M  
He went out that way. Then on another day, as soon as it became morning, he went and ate bread.
- 0'58 *piʔa min-en*      *ʔaŋj-e*      *ʔaʔ-a*      *min-a min-a ɔ:k-ano*  
bread eat-FT.1SG bear.fruit-CP give-IMP eat-AP eat-AP stay-FT.1SG  
“(Singing) I will eat bread. Bear fruits and give [them to me]. I will live eating and eating.”
- 1'02 *andi dine-ni*      *pa:ɾ-a pa:ɾ-a ɔ:k-nahay*      *a: maʔe-h*  
then day-LO.EPH sing-AP sing-AP stay-PR.3SG.M that boy-M  
That boy lived singing.
- 1'05 *ani taŋg-be:ɔ*      *ki:ɾe-ti*      *ɔ:k-i*  
then own-grandmother hunger-IN stay-PR.3SG

Then his grandmother was living in hunger.

- 1'06 *andi din-ond tang-be:qo kajak ragar-a*  
 then day-one own-grandmother much get.angry-PT.3SG  
*ragar-ki-tatki i: ma?e-n amb-ehe oca-ka*  
 get.angry-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO this boy-AC leave-IMP take.B2-CP  
*e:n pu:ha-ka mo:ʔ-an a:ny-ay*  
 I boil-CP eat-FT.3SG say.B2-PT.3SG.NM

Then one day, the grandmother got very angry. She got angry and said, "Forget this boy. I will take him, boil him, and eat him."

- 1'13 *i: ma?e-n oca-kan pu:h-a mo:ʔ-an e:nu a:n-i*  
 this boy-AC take.B2-CP.1SG boil-AP eat-FT.1SG I say-PR.3SG.NM  
 "I will take this boy, boil him, and eat him."

- 1'16 *a:qi-nte arhu (mehn-ond)[din-ond] arhu a: ma?e-h a:lko*  
 there-AB further (month-one)[day-one] further that boy-M that.way  
*nan-dini bijya-ki e:k-nahay*  
 other-day dawn.B2-CP.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG.M

Still, he wouldn't listen. On another day, that boy went out that way when it became morning.

- 1'21 *ar piʔa min-en ʔaʔj-e ʔaʔ-a min-a min-a qo:k-a:ne*  
 and bread eat-FT.1SG bear.fruit-CP give-IMP eat-AP eat-AP stay-FT.1SG  
*a:n-nahay*  
 say-PR.3SG.M

And he said, "(Same as 0'58)."

- 1'26 *a:qi-nte tang-be:qo din-ond eky-a*  
 there-AB own-grandmother day-one go.B2-PT.3SG  
*ek-kid-tatki deko:re babu*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO ITJ boy

Then the grandmother went out one day. She went and said, "Come on, son."

- 1'30 *piʔa-n to:ra eng-e ʔaʔ-o:re teye-ke a:n-nay*  
 bread-AC a.little I-DA give-IMP.M send-CP.2SG.M say-PR.3SG.NM  
 She said "Send and give me a little bread."

- 1'33 *a:n-i budjya tang-be:qo andi a:h tey-a*  
 say-PR.3SG old.lady own-grandmother then he send-AP  
*ciy-omlah*  
 give-NG.PR.3SG.M

The woman, the grandmother, said this. Then he did not send and give it to her.

- 1'37 *a:qi-nte arhu tanggo ik.ʔa:no oc-a ciy-an*  
 there-AB further grandmother where take.B2-CP give-FT.1SG  
*ettra-ka*  
 take.down-CP

Then [he said,] "Grandma, where shall I take [bread], take it down and give it to you?"

- 1'40 *a:di-nte ar tang-be:qo awq-i ettra-ke ?at-ore*  
 there-AB and own-grandmother say-PR.3SG take.down-CP give-IMP  
*a.ny-ay*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then the grandmother said, "Bring [some] down and give [it to me]."
- 1'43 *adi-nte arhu ettr-lah ciy-omalahay ande a:d*  
 there-AB further take.down-NG.PT.3SG.M give-NG.PR.3SG.M then she  
*ettra-ke ?at-ore a.ny-ay*  
 take.down-CP.2SG.M give-IMP.M say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then again, he did not take [bread] down and give [it to her.] Then  
 she said, "Bring [some] down and give [it to me]."
- 1'46 *ettr-lah ciy-omalah a:di-nte arhu*  
 take.down-NG.PT.3SG.M give-NG.PR.3SG.M there-AB further  
*tang-be:qo awq-i ettra-ke ?at-ore*  
 own-grandmother say-PR.3SG take.down-CP.2SG.M give-IMP.M  
*a.n-ko*  
 say-CP  
 He did not give [bread] to her. His grandmother said again, "Bring  
 [some] down and give [it to me]."
- 1'49 *arhu ettra-ka cic-ah ante arhu a:*  
 further take.down-CP give.B2-PT.3SG.M then further that  
*ma?e-ni arhu tang-nati ma?e-n ke:ponti band*  
 boy-AC.EPH further own-grandson boy-AC at.once pull.AP  
*ettre-ki-tatki*  
 take.down-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO  
 He took [bread] down and gave [it to her]. Then she pulled and took  
 down that boy, her grandson, at once.
- 1'54 *bora-no bara:tr-ki e:k-i a:y pu:h-a mo:ʔ-oti oy-i*  
 sack-LO fill-CP.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG she boil-AP eat-IF take-PR.3SG  
 She put him in a bag and she went. She took him in order to boil and  
 eat him.
- 1'59 *pu:h-a mo:ʔ-ot oy-i kum-ki oy-i*  
 boil-AP eat-IF take-PR.3SG take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM take-PR.3SG  
*oy-no oy-no oy-no oy-no kajak kum-ki*  
 take-IPP REP REP REP much take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM  
*oy-i*  
 take-PR.3SG  
 She took him in order to boil and eat him. She carried him on her head  
 and took him. Carrying and carrying, she carried him on her head and  
 took him for a long distance.
- 2'04 *oy-ne oy-ne ekdam ?ondy-a*  
 take-IPP REP at.once get.tired.B2-PT.3SG  
 Carrying and carrying him, she got very tired.

- 2'06 *ʔond-ki-tatki* *amn.ki:ʔe-t* *oy-ne* *oy-ne*  
 get.tired-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO thirst-IN take-IPP REP  
*ʔond-ki ettr-a*  
 get.tired-CP.3SG.NM take.down-PT.3SG  
 She got tired; she got tired out of thirst while taking him away, and took him down.
- 2'09 *ettre-ki-tatki* *a:ʔ-no* *se* *tund-i*  
 take.down-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO there-LO EPH look-PR.3SG  
*ina-noten tund-i* *andi aʔa-no tang-samne*  
 this.way-that.way look-PR.3SG then there-LO own-near  
*gowar-maʔe-r do:k-nar*  
 cowherd-boy-PL stay-PR.3PL  
 She took him down and looked here and there. Then near her, there were cowherds living there.
- 2'14 *andi gowar maʔe-r-in se me:n-i babu-trer ikʔan am-kuwa*  
 then cowherd boy-PL-AC EPH ask-PR.3SG boy-PL where water-well  
*ko:q-i ano gowar maʔe-r awd-naray*  
 lie-PR.3SG there cowherd boy-PL say-PR.3PL  
 Then she asked the cowherds. "Boys, is there a well?" Then the cowherds said,
- 2'20 *ekdom anno oho boge e:tr-i aʔa-no boge*  
 at.once there thither heron be.visible-PR.3SG there-LO heron  
*jinp-i aʔa-no am-kuwa ko:q-i a:n-nah*  
 be.white-PR.3SG there-LO water-well lie-PR.3SG say-PR.3SG  
 "There yonder, you can see a heron. There the heron is white. There is a well." He said this.
- 2'27 *maʔe-r andi awd-i ekdom bora-n kipe-ki*  
 boy-PL then say-PR.3SG at.once sack-AC put.down-CP.3SG.NM  
*maʔe-ki*  
 boy-GE  
 The boys said. Then she immediately put down the bag [in which] the boy [is].
- 2'30 *ahe-n tang-nati-n bara:tr-aca bo:ʔa-n*  
 he-AC own-grandson-AC fill-PT.PRF.3SG sack-AC  
*kip-e-ki-tatki ekdom am o:n-oti e:k-i*  
 put.down-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO at.once water drink-IF go-PR.3SG  
*am-kuwa-k*  
 water-well-DA  
 She put down the bag in which she put her grandson, and immediately went to the well to drink water.
- 2'35 *a:qi-nte eky-a e:k-ne e:k-ne e:k-ne ekdam ik.ʔa:r-no boge*  
 there-AB go.B2-PT.3SG go-IPP REP REP at.once where-LO heron  
*jinp-i a:q-no se am-kuwa ko:q-i*  
 be.white-PR.3SG there-LO EPH water-well lie-PR.3SG

Then she went. She went and went, and right where the heron looked white, the well was.

- 2'41 *andi eky-a ek-ki-tatki inor am-an*  
 then go.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO now water-AC  
*onq-a*  
 drink.B2-PT.3SG

She went, and now she drank water.

- 2'44 *onqe-ki-tatki inor pir arhu kir-ki*  
 drink.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO now again further return-CP.3SG.NM  
*bora-k bar-i*  
 sack-AC come-PR.3SG

Having drunk [water], she went back again, and went to the bag.

- 2'47 *a:kpa se bo:ʔa-k bar-i (a:pah) a:kpa*  
 that-time EPH sack-DA come-PR.3SG that-time

At that time, when she was going to the bag,

- 2'50 *bo:ʔa-k barc āʔs-abalo-hi agdi-hi maʔe-r gowaʔ*  
 sack-DA come.B2.AP arrive-NG.CP-EPH first-EPH boy-PL cowherd  
*maʔe-r arhu maʔe-n kol-kar-tatkar*  
 boy-PL again boy-AC open-CP.3PL-ECHO  
 before she arrived at the bag, the cowherds opened [and let] the boy [out].

- 2'55 *bo:ʔa-no goga-n ac-an capri-n ind-indru-pade-n*  
 sack-LO rock-AC thorn-AC stone-AC RED-what-like-AC  
*qala-patʔa-n bara:tr-ka ninda-ka kij-a*  
 basket-leaf.plate-AC fill-CP fill-CP put.down-AP  
*cic-aynar andi*  
 give.B2-PR.PRF.3PL then

They filled the bag with rocks, thorns, stones, and whatever else, basket or leaf plates, and put it down [for him].

- 3'03 *maʔe-n kol-ka teya-kar a:qi-nte arhu malni ekdam*  
 boy-AC open-CP send-CP.3PL there-AB further woman at.once  
*taŋg-be:qo kum-ki oy-i a:y*  
 own-grandmother take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM take-PR.3SG she  
 They opened and let the boy out, then the woman, his grandmother, carried it on her head and took it away at once again.

- 3'09 *kum-ki oy-no oy-no goga caʔ-no ac*  
 take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM take-IPP take-IPP rock pierce-IPP thorn  
*caʔ-no awd-i*  
 pierce-IPP say-PR.3SG

While she was carrying it and taking it away, the rocks pricked her, the thorns pricked her, then she said,

- 3'12 *cing-oʔe maʔe cing-e cing-e kajak cing-e*  
 pinch-IMP.M boy pinch-IMP pinch-IMP much pinch-IMP  
 “Pinch me, son. Pinch me [with your nails].”

- 3'14 *nigg-en oc-a pu:h-a mo:ʔ-an e:n*  
 you-AC take.B2-CP boil-AP eat-FT.1SG I  
 "I will take you, boil you, and eat you."
- 3'16 *aye-k goga ofy-no=ho kas-or maʔe kas-e kajak*  
 she-DA rock press-IPP=too punch-IMP.M boy punch-IMP much  
*kas-e nigg-en oy-an ar pu:h-a mo:ʔ-an e:n*  
 punch-IMP you-AC take-FT.1SG and boil-AP eat-FT.1SG I  
 When the rock pressed her, [she said] "Beat me, boy, beat me a lot. I  
 will take you, boil you and eat you."
- 3'21 *a:n-le ekdam kajak kum-ki e:k-i a:d*  
 say-CP at.once much take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG she  
*ekdam tang-be:ʔo kum-ki e:k-i*  
 at.once own-grandmother take.on.the.head-CP.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG.NM  
*e:k-ne e:k-ne kajak e:k-i a:y*  
 go-IPP REP much go-PR.3SG she  
 Saying this, the grandmother carried [the bag] and went a lot. Carry-  
 ing [the bag] on her head, she went and went a lot.
- 3'27 *adi-nte arhu caʔ-i acu andi arhu awq-i*  
 there-AB further pierce-PR.3SG thorn then further say-PR.3SG  
 Then the thorn pricked her again. Then she said,
- 3'30 *aye ni:n kajak ni:n cing-a ina*  
 ITJ you much you pinch-IMP today  
 "Oh, you pinch me a lot today."
- 3'31 *cing-a nigg-eno oy-an ar pu:h-a mo:ʔ-an e:n ani*  
 pinch-IMP you-AC take-FT.1SG and boil-AP eat-FT.1SG I then  
 "Pinch me. I will take you, boil you and eat you."
- 3'34 *adi-nte oy-i oy-no oy-no kajak oy-i*  
 there-AB take-PR.3SG take-IPP take-IPP much take-PR.3SG  
 Then she carried [the bag], and carried a lot.
- 3'37 *oce-ki oce-ki inor oce-ki-tatki*  
 take.B2-CP.3SG.NM REP now take.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO  
*kol-ki tund-i pu:h-a mo:ʔ-an ani a: pahr-no*  
 open-CP.3SG.NM look-PR.3SG boil-AP eat-1SG then that time-LO  
*se tund-i*  
 EPH look-PR.3SG  
 She took [the bag], and now she opened and looked in it. [Saying] "I  
 will boil and eat you," she finally looked [into the bag] at that time.
- 3'42 *ta:n a:hu goga ar ik.ʔa:r-no sude goga ar acu se indro*  
 then he rock and where-LO only rock and thorn EPH what  
*bora-no bey-iyay*  
 sack-LO be-PR.3SG.NM  
 Then where is he? Only rocks and thorns were in the bag.
- 3'51 *ar a: maʔe-h awq-nah a:ʔi-nte oc-e ārs-tar-a*  
 and that boy-M say-PR.3SG.M there-AB take.B2-CP arrive-CS-PT.3SG

*oc-e pu:h-a mo:ʔ-an ani*  
take.B2-CP boil-AP eat-FT.1SG then

Then the boy said, “She took and brought it, saying ‘I will boil and eat [him].’”

- 3’56 *a: pahra-no arhu ekdom indro-ondro-n gormes-i ampatna*  
that time-LO further at.once what-ECHO-AC heat-PR.3SG cauldron  
*andi gormes-ki-tatki bora-n ettr-ay*  
then heat-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO sack-AC take.down-PT.3SG.NM  
*kij-a*  
put.down-PT.3SG

At that time, she heated this and that in a cauldron, and having heated [the cauldron], she put down the bag.

- 4’03 *ettre-ki kije-ki-tatki inor*  
take.down-CP.3SG.NM put.down-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO now  
*ettr-a*  
take.down-PT.3SG

After she took [the bag] down, now she had taken [it] down.

- 4’06 *a:-kaʃa-hũ ac caʔy-a and cing-oʃe maʔe*  
that-time-too thorn pierce.B2-PT.3SG at.that.time pinch-IMP.M boy  
*cing-e ning-en pu:h-a mo:ʔ-an e:n a:n-i a:y kajak inor*  
pinch-IMP you-AC boil-AP eat-FT.1SG I say-PR.3SG she much now  
*pu:h-a mo:ʔ-an a:n-i*  
boil-AP eat-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG

Even at that time, the thorns were pricking her. Then [she said], “Pinch me, son, pinch me. I will boil you and eat you.” She said, “Now I will boil [him] a lot and eat [him].”

- 4’11 *a:-kʃa gormar-ay a: am-ni*  
that-time become.hot-PT.3SG.NM that water-LO  
Then into the water which had become hot,

- 4’13 *arhu tangg-nati a:hu (?)[k]e:ponti gorme am-nihi a:*  
further own-grandson he at.once hot water-LO.EPH that  
*budjya-n tuk-ka tey-ah*  
old.woman-AC push-CP send-PT.3SG.M  
into the hot water, the grandson pushed that old woman at once.

- 4’19 *ar key-o:k paco key-o:k paco ar urʔ-ka-tatka*  
and die-OP old.woman die-OP old.woman and go.out-CP-ECHO  
*bohy-ah*  
run.away.B2-PT.3SG.M

And [saying] “Die, nanny! Die, nanny!” he went off and ran away.

## §24 Story of an orphan and buffaloes (S).

Told by Mr. Ganesh Pahariya of Boro Pahar, P. O. Dumarchir, P. S. Amrapara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Boro Pahar on March 7, 2008.

- 0'00 *eŋ-ki na:mi-d gane:f pahariya ar ʔep be:qo.pahari ʔep*  
 I-GE name-NM PROP PROP and village PROP village  
*be:qo.pahari*  
 PROP  
 My name is Ganesh Pahariya, and [my] village is Boro Pahar.
- 0'08 *maʔe-r me:n-ke ko:q-u maʔe e:n pa:n-o kata teh-an*  
 child-PL listen-FT.IMP lie.down-PP child I CLF-one story tell-FT.1SG  
 Listen, children, children who are in bed, I will tell [you] a story.
- 0'18 *paco-pacg manj-a:ray*  
 old.woman-old.man be.B2-PT.3PL  
 There was an old woman and an old man.
- 0'20 *paco-pacg manja-kar ort maʔe-h jarmar-ahe*  
 old.woman-old.man be.B2-CP.3PL one boy-M be.born-PT.3SG.M  
 There was an old woman and an old man, and a boy was born.
- 0'26 *ort maʔe-h jarmar-ahe jarmar-ko a: teho-tambako-r*  
 one boy-M be.born-PT.3SG.M be.born-CP that mother-father-PL  
*toʔr-ar*  
 pass.away-PT.3PL  
 After the boy was born, the mother and father passed away.
- 0'33 *toʔro-ko indru kud-a:nah a: maʔe-h*  
 pass.away-CP what do-FT.3SG.M that boy-M  
 After they passed away, what did the boy do?
- 0'37 *a:hu ta:the-n pusre-n jambu-n qumbri-n lap-a*  
 he mango-AC kind.of.berry-AC jamun-AC fig-AC eat-AP  
*kud-nah*  
 go.around-PR.3SG.M  
 He was eating mangoes, Pusre berry, Jamun and figs.
- 0'44 *lap-a kud-nah lap-a kud-nah alko-hi to*  
 eat-AP go.around-PR.3SG.M eat-AP do-PR.3SG.M that.way-EPH then  
*din-ond lap-a kud-nah a:-kʃa-hi maʔ-ond tu:qdu*  
 day-one eat-AP go.around-PR.3SG.M that-time-EPH CLF-one tiger  
*ar maʔ-ond kisu laga-naʔ-i*  
 and CLF-one pig beat-REC-PR.3SG  
 [The boy] was eating [fruits]. Then one day, when he was eating, a  
 tiger and a pig were fighting.
- 1'01 *maʔ-ond tu:qdu ar maʔ-ond kisu laga-naʔ-i dihi*  
 CLF-one tiger and CLF-one pig beat-REC-PR.3SG ITI  
 A tiger and a pig were fighting.
- 1'05 *laga-naʔ-ko okk-a lap-nah*  
 beat-REC-CP sit-AP eat-PR.3SG.M  
 When they were fighting, he was eating sitting.
- 1'11 *a:-kʃa-hi laga-naʔ-ko tu:q lo:ʃ-la kisu*  
 that-time-EPH beat-REC-CP tiger be.able-NG.PT.3SG pig

*lo:ɾc-a*

be.able.B2-PT.3SG

Then they fought and the tiger could not [win]. The pig could.

- 1'16 *lo:ɾ-loko ar a:rar-kid ar awq-id ki*  
 be.able-NG.CP and be.defeated-CP.3SG.NM and speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP  
*ɬu:qdu awq-i*  
 tiger speak-PR.3SG  
 Unable to win, defeated, the tiger said,

- 1'21 *nusgr nusgr amn-a:nay sat-dine-dine*  
 rub.oneself.AP REP take.bath-FT.1PL.I seven-day-day  
 “Let us take a bath for seven days rubbing ourselves.”

- 1'24 *ar a:-be:ri laga-naʔ-anay a:n-i*  
 then that-time beat-REC-FT.1PL.I say-PR.3SG  
 “And let us fight at that time.” It said this.

- 1'27 *to a:-be:ri a:h paile e:k-i na:h ek-kahki qumbri-man*  
 then that-time he first go-PR.3SG he go.B2-CP.3SG.M fig-tree  
*ark-kah okk-a qumbri lap-nah*  
 climb-CP.3SG.M sit-AP fig eat-PR.3SG.M  
 At that time, he (i.e. the boy) went first, climbed up a fig tree, and ate  
 figs sitting.

- 1'33 *a:-kɾa a: qumbri lap-nah a:-kɾa ek-ki*  
 that-time that fig eat-PR.3SG.M that-time go.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
*laga-naʔ-i*  
 beat-REC-PR.3SG  
 When he was eating figs, they went and fought.

- 1'38 *to kisu sa:t dini ga:de-no loɾar-ayid ar*  
 then pig seven day puddle-LO roll.around-PR.PRF.3SG.NM and  
*ɬu:qdu arohi sa:t dini goga-no kuɾa-no nusgr-ki*  
 tiger further seven day stone-LO stump-LO rub.oneself-CP.3SG.NM  
*tuɾhr-ay*  
 be.broken-PT.3SG.NM

Then the pig rolled around in the puddle for seven days, and the tiger  
 rubbed itself on stones and stumps for further seven days, and [their  
 hides] were broken.

- 1'48 *adno tuɾhr-ki-tatki ek-ki laga-naʔ-i*  
 then be.broken-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO go.B2-CP.3SG.NM beat-REC-PR.3SG  
 Then [their hides] were broken, and they went and fought.

- 1'52 *to kisd ek-ki pa:s-ond (laindru) kisd*  
 then pig go.B2-CP.3SG.NM chunk.CLF-one pig  
*ek-kid pa:s-ond ma:k-a ɾac-kid*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM chunk.CLF-one meat-AC break-CP.3SG.NM  
*otr-i*  
 take.out-PR.3SG

Then the pig went, tore [the tiger's body] and took out a chunk of meat.

- 1'58 *tu:qd ek-ki kis-ki-n indro pa:s-o ʔaj-a*  
 tiger go.B2-CP.3SG.NM pig-GE-AC what chunk.CLF-one dirt-AC  
*ʔac-kid ondr-i*  
 break-CP.3SG.NM bring.out-PR.3SG

The tiger went, tore the side of the pig's [body] and took out dirt.

- 2'03 *a:lko a:lko-ti tu:qd lo:ɣ-la*  
 that.way that.way-IN tiger be.able-NG.PT.3SG  
 The tiger could not win that way.

- 2'07 *lo:ɣ-loko aɖi-nte bohy-a*  
 be.able-NG.CP there-AB run.away.B2-PT.3SG  
 Unable [to win], it ran away.

- 2'10 *boh-ot ke.ba:d a:d ulʔar-ki kiry-a tu:qdu*  
 run.away-IF after that turn.back-CP return.B2-PT.3SG tiger  
 After the tiger ran away, it turned back and came back.

- 2'15 *dihī top-ond qumbri se mo:c-ka tey-a*  
 ITJ CLF-one fig EPH cut-CP send-PT.3SG  
 It cut a fig and threw it down.

- 2'19 *a: baɖa.ɖo:kla di awɖ-id aɣe baɖa.ɖokla ok-ne*  
 that PROP then speak-PR.3SG.NM ITJ PROP sit-PR.2SG.M  
 It said, "Hey, Bada Dokla, are you sitting?"

- 2'25 *okk-in e:m kelar-tam e: tʊnd-te ano*  
 sit-PR.1SG we.E play-PT.1PLE ITJ look-PT.2SG.M there  
 "Yes, I am sitting." "Did you see we were playing?"

- 2'29 *mala tʊnd-layin inor barc-ayin*  
 no look-NG.PR.PRF.1SG now come.B2-PR.PRF.1SG  
 "No, I didn't. I came here just now."

- 2'32 *mala ni:n tʊnd-te akon teh-ne ta:n tʊnd-ke*  
 no you look-PT.2SG.M it.seems tell-PR.2SG.M then look-FT.IMP  
*niŋg-en mo:ʔ-an ka a:n-i*  
 you-AC eat-FT.1SG okay? say-PR.3SG  
 It said, "No, apparently you did. If you tell [about it] later, look, then I will eat you, okay?"

- 2'38 *mala e:n teh-lan a: tʊnd-layin a:n-nah*  
 no I tell-NG.FT.1SG that look-NG.PR.PRF.1SG say-PR.3SG.M  
 He said, "No, I will not tell. I did not see it [in the first place.]"

- 2'43 *di arohi kiry-ah kir-ka be:ɣit sa:rye-t*  
 then further return.B2-PT.3SG.M return-CP in.the.evening friend-IN  
*koɖy-ah ar koɖ.ba:sa-no iŋʔad-maɖe-h*  
 lie.down.B2-PT.3SG.M and dormitory-LO orphan-boy-M  
 The orphan boy went back, and slept at the youth dormitory with his friends in the evening.

- 2'51 mane *awd-nah* *eng-enu* *kolro* *pat-ker* *maji*  
 namely speak-PR.3SG.M I-AC leaf.mat sew-CP.2PL middle  
*ki:d-ler* *ta:n e:n kata teh-el* *a:n-nah* *dih*  
 place-SJ.2PL then I story tell-SJ.1SG say-PR.3SG.M ITJ  
 I mean, he said, "If you would sew a leaf mat and roll me up in it, I  
 would tell a story."
- 3'01 *teh-nahi* mane *kolro* *pat-ker* *maji* *ki:d-ler* *ta:n*  
 tell-PR.3SG.M namely leaf.mat sew-CP.2PL middle place-SJ.2PL then  
*kata teh-el* *a:n-keh* *dih* *teh-nah*  
 story tell-SJ.1SG say-CP.3SG.M ITJ tell-PR.3SG.M  
 He told it. He said, "If you sew a leaf mat and roll me up in it, I will  
 tell a story," and he told it.
- 3'08 *(la) kolro* *pat-kar* *ki:d-ar* *ki:do-ko a:hu* *teh-nah*  
 leaf.mat sew-CP.3PL place-PT.3PL place-CP he tell-PR.3SG.M  
 They sew a leaf mat and rolled him up in it. Then he told [the story].
- 3'14 *a:-kʔa* *teh-ka-tatka* *ʔandr-ah*  
 that-time tell-CP-ECHO sleep-PT.3SG.M  
 Then he told [the story] and fell asleep.
- 3'17 *ʔandro-ko eksom a: ʔu:du korc-a*  
 sleep-CP at.once that tiger enter.B2-PT.3SG  
 After he fell asleep, the tiger came in at once.
- 3'20 *korc-ed* *a: maʔe-n* *kolro-ta:we-n* *ekdom*  
 enter.B2-CP.3SG.NM that boy-AC leaf.mat-possessed.of-AC at.once  
*band-i* *band-i* *band-i* *band-i oy-i*  
 pull-PR.3SG REP REP REP take-PR.3SG  
 It came in, pulled and pulled the boy who [lay rolled up] in the middle  
 of the leaf mat and took him away.
- 3'26 *oy-no* *oy-no* *oy-no* *oy-no* *kuʔa-no* *i:sr-ah*  
 take-IPP REP REP REP stump-LO be.torn-PT.3SG.M  
 It took him away and he was beaten up in a stump.
- 3'30 *i:sr-ko* *a: maʔe a: kolro-n* *se band-ih* *a: maʔe*  
 be.torn-CP that boy that leaf.mat-AC EPH pull-PR.3SG.M that boy  
 After the boy was beaten up, he pulled the leaf mat.
- 3'34 *ulʔar-ka* *orh-ik* *boh* *kiry-ah*  
 turn.back-CP home-DA run.away.AP return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He turned back and ran back to his home.
- 3'36 *boh* *kir-ot* *ke.ba:d aʔe i: maʔe budi-n* *naly-ah*  
 run.AP return-IF after ITJ this boy lie-AC make.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*a:n-i* *budi-n naly-ah* *a:n-i* *dih*  
 say-PR.3SG lie-AC make.B2-PT.3SG.M say-PR.3SG ITJ  
 After he ran back home, [they] said, "Hey, this boy fooled [us]. This  
 boy fooled us."
- 3'44 *a:n-kid* *aro* *be:ʔit* *kir-ka* *aro* *a:h*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM again in.the.evening return-CP again he

*awq-nah*

speaking-PR.3SG.M

They said this. Then in the evening, he came back and said,

- 3'48 *eng-en kolro pat-ker kolro-no ki:d-ler ta:n e:n kata*  
 I-AC leaf.mat sew-CP.2PL leaf.mat-LO place-SJ.2PL then I story  
*teh-el a:n-nah di*  
 tell-SJ.1SG say-PR.3SG.M then  
 “If you sew a leaf mat and roll me up in it, then I will tell a story.” He said this.

- 3'55 *kolro pat-kar male-n bara:tr-la inad mane goga*  
 leaf.mat sew-CP.3PL person-AC fill-NG.PT.3SG that namely stone  
*bara:tr-ok-kar kolro-n ki:d-aynar*  
 fill-sit-CP.3PL leaf.mat-AC place-PR.PRF.3PL  
 They sew a leaf mat, and instead of putting a man in it, they filled it with stones and put it [there].

- 4'03 *inbani gitti (baindro) bicra-bara:tr-kar (dihai) bara:tr-kar*  
 this.small rubble put.in-fill-CP.3PL fill-CP.3PL  
*ki:do-ko aro teh-nah*  
 place-CP again tell-PR.3SG.M  
 Then they filled it with this tiny rubble, put it, and he told [the story].

- 4'10 *ma?e-r ande-hi a:n-keh mane tu:qdu arohi kisdu ek?ar*  
 boy-PL thus-EPH say-CP.3SG.M namely tiger further pig play.off  
*may-na?y-a laga-na?ki lo:ɽ-leki*  
 place-REC.B2-PT.3SG beat-REC-CP.3SG.NM be.able-NG.CP.3SG.NM  
 He said, “Boys, it is like this,” [and told the story.] “The tiger and the pig set a play-off match, fighting but unable [to win].”

- 4'19 *to e:n qumbri lap-ot se ek-kan okk-in*  
 then I fig eat-IF EPH go.B2-CP.1SG sit-PR.1SG  
 “I went to eat figs and was sitting.”

- 4'23 *a:-kɽa ekɽar may-na?kid inalko e:n ek-kan*  
 that-time duel place-REC-CP.3SG.NM that.way I go.B2-CP.1SG  
*okk-in a:-kɽa*  
 sit-PR.1SG that-time  
 “Then they were having a duel, and I went and was sitting then that way.”

- 4'28 *igjo-hi tu:qd ek-kid pa:s-o ?aj-a*  
 true-EPH tiger go.B2-CP.3SG.NM chunk.CLF-one earth-AC  
*?a:r-kid otr-i*  
 bite.off-CP.3SG.NM take.out-PR.3SG  
 “The tiger went straight, bit off the pig’s body] and took out a chunk of dirt.”

- 4'33 *kisd ek-kid pa:s-o ma:k-a ?ac-kid*  
 pig go.B2-CP.3SG.NM chunk.CLF-one meat-AC break-CP.3SG.NM

- otr-i*  
take.out-PR.3SG  
“The pig went, broke the tiger[’s body] and took out a chunk of meat.”
- 4’36 *alko alko-ti tu:q lo:ɽ-la lo:ɽ-loko*  
that.way that.way-IN tiger be.able-NG.PT.3SG be.able-NG.CP  
*boby-a tu:qd a:rar-a a:n-ko*  
run.away.B2-PT.3SG tiger be.defeated-PT.3SG say-CP  
“[Fighting] that way, the tiger could not [win] and ran away. The tiger was defeated.”
- 4’43 *ante tu:qde lo:ɽ-la a:qi-nte indru kudy-ah*  
and tiger be.able-NG.PT.3SG there-AB what do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
“The tiger could not win.” What did he do then?
- 4’51 *pusr-man-ik ark-ka a: pusre-n se nunh-a*  
kind.of.berry-tree-DA climb-CP that kind.of.berry-AC EPH swallow-AP  
*tanh-kah ok-nah*  
fill.up-CP.3SG sit-PR.3SG.M  
He climbed up a Pusre tree, ate Pusre berry, filled up on it and was sitting.
- 4’57 *a:-kɽa a:-ma? tu:q-d ekk-iyi*  
that-time that-CLF tiger-NM go-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
At that time, that tiger has arrived.
- 4’59 *amb-a-ta (bodar) baqa.qokla i:lko budi nal-nah*  
leave-IMP-will.you PROP this.way lie do-PR.3SG.M  
“Stop it, Bada Dokla. He is fooling me this way.”
- 5’02 *ar amb-a iko-be:ri jokar nan-ki dagar-a adi-k*  
and leave-IMP what-time meeting do-CP.3SG.NM talk-IMP that-DA  
*igjo-hi ek-ki jokar-ayi*  
true-EPH go.B2-CP.3SG.NM meet-PR.PRF.3SG  
[He said,] “No, no. Sometime [we will] meet and talk.” And actually it went and met him.
- 5’07 *jokar-ki awq-i ki o: baqa.qokla en-ge anond*  
meet-CP.3SG.NM speak-PR.3SG COMP ITJ PROP I-DA that.much  
*budi nal-u ahi-n mo:ʔ-an a:n-i*  
lie do-PP he-AC eat-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG  
They met and it said, “O Bada Dokla, who fooled me that much. I will eat him.”
- 5’13 *ʔi:ke-di mo:ʔ-eni dekoke*  
well-NM.EPH eat-FT.2SG.NM ITJ  
“Well, you are going to eat me, right?”
- 5’16 *pa:re eng-en kalk-a tar-a tar-a mo:ʔ-no nuyj-eni ta:nu*  
but I-AC gnaw-AP break-AP REP eat-IPP sore-FT.2SG.NM then  
“But when you gnaw me, break me, and eat me, it will hurt.”
- 5’24 *e:nu o:na qa:ri etro-qa:ri sa:mne paɽ-o ta:ya-k*  
I that branch lower-branch in.front CLF-one cooking.pot-DA

- ahal-ki*                      mane   *mineʔ-ki*                      *ok-a*  
 gape-CP.2SG.NM namely shut.eye-CP.2SG.NM sit-IMP  
 “Under that branch, the lower branch, sit that way opening [your mouth like] a cooking pot, with your eyes shut.”
- 5’35 *da:ne-n co:r-et-kan*                      *toro-nihi*                      *korc-a*                      *ciy-an*  
 gift-AC hang-go.down-CP.1SG mouth-LO.EPH enter.B2-AP give-FT.1SG  
*nunh-eni*                      *a:-kʃa*                      *nunʃ-le:ni*  
 swallow-FT.2SG.NM that-time hurt-NG.FT.2SG.NM  
 “I will hang and drop a gift and make it fall right into your mouth. You will swallow it and there will be no pain.”
- 5’40 *a:n-ko igjo-hi*                      *ano ahal-ki*                      *miniʔ-kid*                      *okk-i*  
 say-CP true-EPH there gape-CP.3SG.NM shut.eyes-CP.3SG.NM sit-PR.3SG  
 When he said this, it gaped [its mouth], shut its eyes and was sitting.
- 5’46 *a:-kʃa*                      *pusre*                      *nunah-tar-ki*                      *ade-n*                      *ekdam*  
 that-time                      kind.of.berry                      swallow-CS-CP.3SG                      that-AC                      at.once  
*toro-nihi*                      *cerar-kah*                      *cic-ah*  
 mouth-LO.EPH defecate-CP.3SG.M give.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then after he let it swallow Pusre berry, he dropped his feces right into its mouth.
- 5’51 *ti piʃ-te=ʃe*                      *baʃa.ʃokla piʃ-te=ʃe*                      *baʃa.ʃoklo ayi*  
 and kill-PT.2SG.M=ITJ PROP                      kill-PT.2SG.M=ITJ PROP                      it  
*boh-id*                      *e:k-id*                      *ar a:hu boh-nah*  
 run.away-PR.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG.NM and he                      run.away-PR.3SG.M  
*ekdom*  
 at.once  
 It went running, saying “You have killed [me], Bada Dokla!” And he ran away at once.
- 5’57 *boh-nah*                      *a:h-ō*                      *boh-te*                      *boh-te*                      *eky-ah*  
 run.away-PR.3SG.M                      he-too                      run-AP                      REP                      go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ek-kah*                      *ek-kah digro bohy-ah*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.M REP                      long run.away.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He ran away, too. He went running. He went and ran for a long distance.
- 6’03 *boh-kah*                      *name*                      *name*                      *bais*                      *manuhdu*                      *baʃdi-d*  
 run.away-CP.3SG.M                      we.I                      we.I                      buffalo                      buffalo                      cattle-NM  
*a:n-nay*  
 say-PR.1PL.I  
 He ran away. Now [in our speech], we call the buffalo *manuhdu* *baʃdi*.
- 6’13 *o:na maʃpan koʃy-a*                      *manuhdu*                      *o:nah*                      *adi-k*  
 that                      animal                      lie.down.B2-PT.3SG                      buffalo                      he                      that-DA  
*ek-kah*                      *āʃsy-ah*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.M reach.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Those animals, buffaloes, were lying. He went and reached them.

- 6'18 *to gobri-d dippe maʔpan ko:q-id ad-ki*  
 then cow.dung-NM pile animal lie.down-PR.3SG.NM that-GE  
 Then the animals were lying [on] the pile of their cowdungs.
- 6'22 *a: pi:k-mece ko:q-i pi:k-mece ko:q-i potte*  
 that dung-above lie.down-PR.3SG dung-above lie.down-PR.3SG ITJ  
*inogur maʔpandu aruhi indr-leko da:nar*  
 this.much animal further what-like on.earth.ITJ  
 They lay on top of the cowdung. Boy, [they are] such big animals!  
 What on earth [would that have been] like?
- 6'28 *inond pi:k-meca ko:q-ide a:n-kah*  
 this.much dung-above lie-PR.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M  
*ery-ah*  
 sweep.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 As they were lying on such cowdung, he cleaned it.
- 6'32 *er-ka-ba:k-kah balahne ʔāram-man kongro*  
 sweep-CP-scrape-CP.3SG.M large Karam-tree hollow  
*becy-ad aye-k se korc-ah ok-ka*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-DA EPH enter.B2-PT.3SG.M sit.B2-CP  
*ʔandar-nah*  
 sleep-PR.3SG.M  
 After he swept and scraped, there was a hollow of a big Karam tree.  
 He entered it, sat and slept.
- 6'40 *kir-i manhu kir-ki ʔund-i ne: acca*  
 return-PR.3SG buffalo return-CP.3SG.NM look-PR.3SG ITJ okay  
*inogur dine name pi:k-meca pi:k-no koq-tay*  
 this.much day we.I dung-above dung-LO lie.down.B2-PT.1PL.I  
*pi:k-meca pi:k-no koq-tay*  
 dung-above dung-LO lie.down.B2-PT.1PL.I  
 The buffaloes came back and saw it. “Oh my goodness, we were lying  
 on top of the cowdung, in the cowdung, for so many days? We were  
 lying on top of the cowdung, in the cowdung.”
- 6'48 *ar inor indr-maʔ barc-ed ilko sapa*  
 and now what-CLF come.B2-CP.3SG.NM this.way cleaning  
*nal-yi indru maʔdu*  
 do-PR.PRF.3SG what creature  
 “And now what came and cleaned?”
- 6'52 *hayre.ba:pre may-naʔ-i mane ci:g ekki:ba:re hi*  
 ITJ do-REC-PR.3SG namely very making.a.fuss EPH  
*may-naʔ-i*  
 do-REC-PR.3SG  
 They were saying “Oh my goodness” to each other, and they were  
 making quite a fuss.
- 6'57 *may-naʔ-ki-tatkid a:qi-nte kiry-a ar*  
 do-REC-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO there-AB return.B2-PT.3SG and

- tahrar-a*                      *tahrar-kid*                      *ni:n*    *koq-a*  
 fall.asleep-PT.3SG    fall.asleep-CP.3SG.NM    you    lie.down.B2-AP  
*?a:p-oke*                      *a:n-ki*                      *mu:la-ma?a-n* *?a:p-tr-a*  
 keep.guard-IMP.NM    say-CP.3SG.NM    chief-one-AC    wait-CS-PT.3SG  
 After that, they went back then. And they fell asleep. Then [the buffalo] said, “Keep guard of us lying,” and made the chief buffalo stand watch.
- 7’08 *mu:la-ma?a-n* *?a:p-tr-ko* *be:r et-e*                      *lagy-a*                      *a:-kpa*  
 chief-one-AC    wait-CS-CP    sun    go.down-VN    start.B2-PT.3SG    that-time  
*a: awd-i*  
 that speak-PR.3SG  
 When they made the chief buffalo stand watch, the sun started to set. Then it said,
- 7’14 *pote* *a:trer* *hō* *min-ki*                      *mo?-ki*                      *kir-id*  
 ITJ    they    too eat-CP.3SG.NM    eat-CP.3SG.NM    return-PR.3SG.NM  
*a:-kpa* *eng-e* *hō* *ki:re* *men-id*                      *e:n* *hō* *ek-kan*  
 that-time I-DA    too hunger become-PR.3SG.NM    I    too go.B2-CP.1SG  
*adno* *carc-a*                      *bar-an*                      *a:n-ki*  
 then walk.around.B2-CP    come-FT.1SG    say-CP.3SG.NM  
 “When they also graze and come back, I will feel hungry, too. I will go, walk around and come, too.”
- 7’22 *co:c-ed*                      *eky-a*                      *e:k-nihi* *ad?an* *a: ma?e*  
 rise.B2-CP.3SG.NM    go.B2-PT.3SG    go-IPP    there    that boy  
*?āram-kongro-nte*                      *ur?-kah*                      *ada-no* *a:h* *ada-no*  
 Karam.tree-hollow-AB    come.out-CP.3SG.M    that-LO    he    that-LO  
*ada-no*                      *er-ka*                      *ba:k-ka*                      *korc-ah*  
 that-LO    sweep-CP.3SG    scrape-CP.3SG    enter.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*tahrar-ah*  
 fall.asleep-PT.3SG.M  
 They got up and went. When they are gone, then he came out of the hollow of the Karam tree, swept and scraped clean there, went into [the hollow] and slept.
- 7’30 *ba:pre* *lo:re-ti*                      *lo:re-layin*                      *ba:pre* *ikin-leko*  
 ITJ    be.able.B2-PT.2SG.NM    be.able-NG.PR.PRF.1SG    ITJ    how-like  
*de lo:re-layni*                      *a:n-ka*  
 ITJ be.able-NG.PR.PRF.2SG.NM    say-CP.3SG  
 “Could you [see who it was]?” “No, I couldn’t.” “Good heavens! How come you couldn’t [see it]?”
- 7’36 *ma?-ondu* *biyatr-ot* *nal-u* *o:na* *ga:y-a* *ki:d-ar*                      *nan* *dina*  
 CLF-one    deliver-IF    do-PP    that    cow-AC    place-PT.3PL    other day  
 One buffalo cow that worked as a midwife delivered a buffalo cow on another day.
- 7’43 *o:na* *ga:y-a* *ki:do-ko* *a:-ma?* *ga:ydu* *hō* *koq-a*                      *?a:p-a*  
 that    cow-AC    place-CP    that-CLF    cow    too lie.down.B2-CP    watch-AP

- koq-a*      *ʔa:p-a*      *hi*      *ko:q-ni-tatni-d*      *igjoho*  
 lie.down.B2-CP    watch-AP    EPH    lie.down-IPP-ECHO-NM    true  
*biyatr-a*  
 deliver-PT.3SG  
 That buffalo cow made another buffalo cow lie, and lying and watching, it delivered it safely.
- 7'53 *biyatr-ko-tatko adi-k hō ki:ʔe mejj-a*  
 deliver-CP-ECHO that-DA too hunger become.B2-PT.3SG  
 After [the midwife buffalo] delivered [a buffalo], it also felt hungry.
- 7'58 *a:qi-nte a:d hō be:ʔit jogar-ayi*  
 there-AB that too in.the.evening go.away-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
 Then it also went away [to the market] in the evening.
- 8'01 *to arhu urʔ-kah a:h koŋgro-nte urʔ-kah*  
 then again come.out-CP.3SG.M he hollow-AB come.out-CP.3SG.M  
*aruhi aruhi er-ka ba:k-ka bacru-n se cumʔ-a*  
 further further sweep-CP.3SG scrape-CP.3SG calf-AC EPH kiss-AP  
*cumʔ-a ok-nah*  
 REP sit-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he (i.e. the boy) came out of the hollow again, swept and scraped again, and was sitting kissing the calf.
- 8'11 *a:qi-nte ekdam a: ga:y boh-nid kiry-a*  
 there-AB at.once that cow run-IPP.3SG.NM return.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then that buffalo came back running at once.
- 8'15 *andē-ki ekdam (maʔe) maʔe-n ekdam pete-kid*  
 find-CP.3SG.NM at.once boy-AC at.once take.up.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
*ekdam i:-qara marg-ik katr-i a:-qara marg-ik katr-i*  
 at.once this-CLF horn-DA carry-PR.3SG that-CLF horn-DA carry-PR.3SG  
 After it found him, it took him up at once and carried him on one horn and on the other.
- 8'22 *ekdam nald-id ahe-n di a:hu olh-ot ok-nah*  
 at.once make.dance-PR.3SG.NM he-AC then he cry-IF sit-PR.3SG.M  
 It made him dance, and he was about to cry (lit. he sat down to cry).
- 8'25 *di olh-omka olh-omka a:n-ih*  
 then cry-NG.IMP cry-NG.IMP say-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he said, "Don't cry, don't cry!"
- 8'27 *a:qi-nte ahe-n ettr-a ettre-kid capro*  
 there-AB he-AC bring.down-PT.3SG bring.down-CP.3SG.NM lac  
*sindra cic-a*  
 vermilion give.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then it brought him down, and then gave him lac and vermilion.
- 8'33 *capro sindra cic-ed awq-i ki a:re ni:nu agdu*  
 lac vermilion give.B2-CP speak-PR.3SG COMP ITJ you first  
*manj-ed bar-id a: maʔe-ki boh-ney*  
 become.B2-CP.3SG.NM come-PR.3SG.NM that boy-GE run-IPP.2SG.M

- ek-key                      sindra-n                      si:ɽ-ke-anu*  
 go.B2-CP.2SG.M vermilion-AC attach-FT.IMP-ITJ  
 After it gave him lac and vermilion, it said, “Hey, would you go running, and put vermilion on the one who comes first?”
- 8’43 *dihi igjo-hi                      dandlar-ki                      kir-i*  
 ITJ true-EPH form.line-CP.3SG.NM return-PR.3SG  
 Then actually they came in a line.
- 8’48 *a:-kɽa-hi                      a:h-ō                      and-aynah                      a:hu and-ay*  
 that-time-EPH he-too find-PR.PRF.3SG.M he find-PR.PRF.3SG(?)  
 Did he see [the buffalos coming] at that time? Yes, he did.
- 8’51 *indru sindra                      si:ɽ-tr-anay                      si:ɽ-tr-enid*  
 what vermilion attach-CS-FT.1PL.I attach-CS-FT.3SG.NM  
 Did we make him put vermilion? Yes, [the buffalo] seems to have done so.
- 8’54 *ti:k boh-ni-d                      eky-ad                      are ekdam ke:ponti sindra*  
 well run-IPP-NM go.B2-PT.3SG.NM ITJ at.once at.once vermilion  
*si:r-tr-la                      ekdam*  
 attach-CS-NG.PT.3SG at.once  
 Well, it went running. It did not make him attach vermilion.
- 8’59 *ke:ponti i:                      maʔa-d a:                      maʔa-d(e:don)                      ɽaɽ-ond-no                      ɽaɽ-ond-no*  
 at.once this boy-NM that boy-NM CLF-one-LO CLF-one-LO  
*margu-no (kela)                      kelatr-i                      kelatr-id                      a:h olh-nah*  
 horn-LO play-PR.3SG play-PR.3SG.NM he cry-PR.3SG.M  
 [Saying] “The boy is here, the boy is there,” the buffaloes played on each horn. He was crying.
- 9’05 *par kelatr-ki-tatki-d                      ettr-ed                      ild-a*  
 but play-CP.3SG-ECHO-NM bring.down-CP.3SG.NM make.stand-PT.3SG  
 But after they played with the boy, they brought him down [on the ground].
- 9’08 *ettr-ed                      ilde-kid                      inoguɽ                      dine e:m*  
 bring.down-CP.3SG.NM make.stand-CP.3SG.NM this.many day we.E  
*pi:k-no                      koɽ-tam*  
 dung-LO lie.down-PT.1PL.E  
 After they brought him down, [they said] “We were lying on our dung for such a long time.”
- 9’13 *ar ci:g umbla-tam                      ad-nihi                      erh-tam                      ad-nihi*  
 and just urinate-PT.1PL.E that-LO.EPH defecate-PT.1PL.E that-LO.EPH  
*koɽ-tam*  
 lie.down-PT.1PL.E  
 “We lay right where we were urinating and defecating.”
- 9’17 *ar ni:n maʔe barce-keh                      em-en                      inond                      suke-no*  
 and you boy come.B2-CP.3SG.M we.E-AC this.much comfort-LO  
*ki:de-tey*  
 place-PT.2SG.M

“And you, boy, came and put us in such comfort.”

- 9'23 *unda-o:ɾe* tobon *de i:-dɔɾa* *tunga-d* *niŋ-ki-de*  
hold.it-you then ITJ this-CLF bamboo.flute-NM you-GE-NM  
*a:n-kid* *cic-a*

say-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG

Saying “Then take this bamboo flute. [This is] yours,” they gave it to him.

- 9'28 *cico-ko* *pa:re ni:n ca:ŋg-meca* *ca:ŋge-n aɾ-key* *meca*  
give.B2-CP but you stage-above stage-AC spread-CP.2SG.M above  
*ɔo:k-o:k* *a:n-kid*

stay-IMP.2SG say-CP.3SG.NM

They gave it to him and said, “But you make a stage and stay on it.”

- 9'36 *awɔo-ko* *ca:ŋge-n aɾ-kah* *meca ɔo:ky-ah*  
speak-CP stage-AC spread-CP.3SG.M above stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
After they said this, he made a stage and stayed on it.

- 9'39 *ɔo:ky-ah* *ɔo:k-no aruhi* *pa:re ike-r* *hō bar-nar*  
stay.B2-PT.3SG.M stay-IPP further but who-PL too come-PR.3PL  
After that, who else would come?

- 9'45 *indru-hō-ma?* *bar-i* *ta:n em-en* *ja:ŋg-ke* *a:n-ko*  
what-ever-one come-PR.3SG then we.E-AC call-FT.IMP say-CP  
They said, “If any [animal] may come, call us.”

- 9'49 *potte ma?e* *a:h ca:ŋge-n aɾ-kah* *potte ma?e iknahe*  
ITJ boy he stage-AC spread-CP.3SG.M ITJ boy how  
*ja:ŋg-an* *a:n-kah* *se mane* *ja:ŋg-a tund-an* *potte*  
call-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M EPH namely call-AP look-FT.1SG ITJ  
*a:n-kah*

say-CP.3SG.M

The boy made a stage and thought “How shall I call [them]?” then thought “I will try and call [them].”

- 10'00 *a: tunga* *ciy-u* *ade-t u:ry-ah*  
that bamboo.flute give-PP that-IN blow.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He blew the bamboo flute that [the buffaloes] gave.

- 10'03 *ade-n* *acca e:n inor* *pa:ɾ-ka* *men-tr-an* *a:n-kah*  
that-AC well I now sing-CP hear-TR-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M  
*u:ry-ah* *a:lko* *mane*

blow.B2-PT.3SG.M that.way namely

Saying “Okay, now I will play it and make it heard,” he blew it that way.

- 10'09 *harahara* *ga:s ko:wailom* *harahara* *pa:ni pi:yailom* *koto*  
plant.name grass I.made.eat place.name water I.made.drink how  
*du:r gelire* *jingajurli* *ornamohi* *tulu* *tulu*  
far you.went PROP PROP ONOM ONOM

(Singing) “I fed [it] the Harahara grass and I let [it] drink the Harahara water. How far did you go, o Jingajurli, o Ornamohi? Toot toot.”

- 10'23 *a:n-ko* *ʔeðw-a* *etr-iday* *ne:* *indru* *a:n-o*  
 say-CP ear-AC shake-PR.PRF.3SG.NM who what say-IF  
*ʔac-i* *harahara...*  
 look.like-PR.3SG  
 When [the flute] said this, [the buffaloes] shook their ears. Who or what seems to be speaking? (Repeat 10'09).
- 10'43 *a:n-ko* *se* *boh-ni-d* *kiry-a* *kir-ki*  
 say-CP EPH run-IPP-NM return.B2-PT.3SG return-CP.3SG.NM  
*tund-i* *iko* *iko* *indru manj-ad* *a:n-i*  
 look-PR.3SG where where what become.B2-PT.3SG.NM say-PR.3SG  
 When he said this [with the flute], the buffaloes came back running. They came and looked [for him], saying "Where is [he]? What happened?"
- 10'48 *mala e:n iknahe se awd-no barc-ed* *ārs-ler* *a:n-kan*  
 no I how EPH speak-IPP come.B2-CP reach-SJ.3PL say-CP.1SG  
*mane awd-ah* *tund-tan* *a:n-ko*  
 namely speak-PT.3SG.M look-PT.1SG say-CP  
 [The boy] said, "No, I said and tried, thinking 'How would they come and arrive [here] if I play [this]?' "
- 10'55 *aʔiya ja:ŋg-omke ike-r hō bar-no ja:ŋg-ke a:n-ko*  
 that.way call-NG.FT.IMP who-PL too come-IPP call-FT.IMP say-CP  
*igjo-hi alko-hi cary-ot eky-a*  
 true-EPH that.way-EPH walk.around-IF go.B2-PT.3SG  
 They said, "Don't call us that way. Call us if anyone comes," and went to graze.
- 11'02 *alko-hi er-ka ba:k-ka oky-ah*  
 that.way-EPH sweep-CP.3SG scrape-CP.3SG sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 He swept and scraped as usual and was sitting.
- 11'04 *to din-ond eky-a a:du siyare ek-kid*  
 then day-one go.B2-PT.3SG that jackal go.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
*awd-i*  
 speak-PR.3SG  
 Then one day, they (i.e. the buffaloes) went. A jackal came and spoke.
- 11'06 *aʔe inna niŋg-en mo:ʔ-an a:n-i*  
 ITJ today you-AC eat-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG  
 It said, "Hey, today I am going to eat you."
- 11'13 *di niŋg-en mo:ʔ-an a:n-i di a:di-nte enŋ-en*  
 then you-AC eat-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG then there-AB I-AC  
*mo:ʔ-ene pa:re em-dudu-trer gu-trer tund-no mo:ʔ-ene*  
 eat-FT.2SG.M but we.E-mother-PL father-PL look-IPP eat-FT.2SG.M  
*a:n-i*  
 say-PR.3SG  
 It said, "I will eat you." Then he said, "Are you going to eat me? But will you eat me after you see my mothers and fathers?"

- 11'24 *nimu-gu-h masʔonge ʔow-kah bar-anah*  
 you.OBL-father-M axe carry-CP.3SG.M come-FT.3SG.M  
*nim-dudu ta:tr-et urʔ-i peh-le bar-enid*  
 you-mother sickle-IN come.out-PR.3SG carry-CP come-FT.3SG.NM  
*elc-an a:n-i indra se elc-eni*  
 fear-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG what EPH fear-FT.2SG.NM  
 “Your father will come carrying an axe. Your mother will come out  
 carrying a sickle. I will be scared.” “What would you be scared of?”
- 11'32 *elc-le:ni mo:ʔ-eni par em-dudu-trer tund-no*  
 fear-NG.2SG.NM eat-FT.2SG.NM but we.E-mother-PL look-IPP  
*mo:ʔ-eni a:n-nah ada-no tunga-n u:r-nah*  
 eat-FT.2SG.NM say-PR.3SG.M that-LO bamboo.flute-AC blow-PR.3SG.M  
*harahara...*

He said, “You won’t be scared. You will eat me. But eat me after  
 you see my parents.” Then he blew the bamboo flute, [which sang]  
 (Repeat 10'09)

- 11'52 *a:n-kah ekdam igjo-hi boh-ni-d eky-a*  
 say-CP.3SG.M at.once true-EPH run-IPP-NM go.B2-PT.3SG  
*ek-kid a: siyare-n pity-a*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM that jackal-AC kill.B2-PT.3SG  
 When he played so, [the buffaloes] went straight [to his place] running  
 without fail. They went and killed the jackal.
- 11'56 *piʔ-ko awd-id ki kun-ot awd-id ki*  
 kill-CP speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP throw.away-IF speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP  
*ciʔ-o la miʔ-o a:n-i dihi*  
 throw.away-IF or eat-IF say-PR.3SG ITJ  
 Then they told him to throw it away, to eat it or throw it away.
- 12'02 *ciʔ-o a:ny-a a:ʔi-nte a:n-ko kun-ah*  
 throw.away-IF say.B2-PT.3SG there-AB say-CP throw.away-PT.3SG.M  
 They told him to throw it away. Then he threw it away.
- 12'06 *kupo-ko arohi eky-a ek-ko a:ʔi-nte ek-ka*  
 throw.away-CP further go.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-CP there-AB go.B2-CP  
*arohi maʔ-ond kulaye-d eky-a ek-ko ada-no harahara...*  
 further CLF-one hare-NM go.B2-PT.3SG go.B2-CP that-LO  
 After he threw it away, they went again. After they are gone, one hare  
 came. When it came, [he blew the bamboo flute and said] (same as  
 10'09)
- 12'32 *a:n-ko ada-no boh-ni-d kiry-a kir-ki*  
 say-CP that-LO run-IPP-NM return.B2-PT.3SG return-CP.3SG.NM  
*pity-a piʔ-ko igjo-hi a: kulaye-n moʔ-yah*  
 kill.B2-PT.3SG kill-CP true-EPH that hare-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 When he said this, [the buffaloes] came back running. They came  
 back and killed [the hare]. After they killed it, [the boy] ate that hare

right away.

- 12'40 *moʔ-ka-tatka aroho ark-ka ʔandr-nah*  
eat.B2-CP.3SG-ECHO further climb-CP.3SG sleep-PR.3SG.M  
After he ate it, he climbed up [the stage] again and slept.

- 12'43 *a:-kʔa toʔa somoye-n nal-an i:de alko-hi e:k-i*  
that-time a.little time-AC do-FT.1SG this that.way-EPH go-PR.3SG  
*tu:qdu ejdu kisdu sapa goʔe-d e:k-i pa:re anond*  
tiger bear pig clean all-NM go-PR.3SG but that.much  
*mal-a*  
be.not-PR.3SG

Then I will advance [the story] a little forward. This goes like this. A tiger, a bear, a pig, they all go. But [I am] not [telling] that much.

- 12'56 *(ac)inor asol mu:l-maʔa-n awq-an a:qi-nte ar la:sʔe-ki-n*  
now in.fact root-one-AC speak-FT.1SG there-AB and last-GE-AC  
*awq-an*  
speak-FT.1SG

Now in fact I will tell about the main character. Then I will tell about the last one.

- 13'01 *to eky-a tu:qd ek-ki ada-no o: baqa.qokla*  
then go.B2-PT.3SG tiger go.B2-CP.3SG.NM that-LO ITJ PROP  
*aʔan barc-e okk-ne a:n-id*  
there come.B2-CP sit-PR.2SG.M say-PR.3SG.NM  
Then the tiger went, sat down there and said, "Come and sit down there, Bada Dokla."

- 13'07 *ku:b elc-tr-kid di a:h awq-no ð: iʔano okk-in*  
much fear-CS-CP.3SG.NM then he speak-IPP ITJ here sit-PR.1SG  
It scared him a lot. When it said this, he [said] "I will sit here."

- 13'12 *to ina niŋg-en mo:ʔ-an mo:ʔ-abalo amb-lan*  
then today you-AC eat-FT.1SG eat-NG.AP leave-NG.FT.1SG  
*a:n-id*  
say-PR.3SG.NM  
Then it said, "Today I will eat you. I will not leave without eating you."

- 13'15 *ʔi:ke-di ina mo:ʔ-eni ʔi:ke-di em-dudu-trer gu-trer*  
well-NM today eat-FT.2SG.NM well-NM we.E-mother-PL father-PL  
*ʔund-no mo:ʔ-eni*  
look-IPP eat-FT.2SG.NM  
"Okay, you eat me today. Eat me after you see my mothers and fathers.

- 13'20 *ano a: tu:qd awq-i nim-gu masʔonge ʔow-kah*  
there that tiger speak-PR.3SG you.PL-father axe carry-CP.3SG.M  
*bar-a-nah nim-dudu (ta:teturʔe)[ta:turturʔi] ʔow-ka*  
come-FT.3SG.M you.PL-mother sickle carry-CP  
*bar-enid elc-an a:n-i*  
come-FT.3SG.NM fear-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG

Then the tiger said, “Your father will come carrying an axe. Your mother will come carrying a sickle. I will be scared.”

- 13'26 *indra se elc-enid par tund-no mo:ʔ-eni a:n-ko*  
 what EPH fear-FT.2SG.NM but look-IPP eat-FT.2SG.NM say-CP  
 He said, “What will you be scared of? Just see [my parents] and eat me.”

- 13'29 *igjo-hi ada-n harahara... a:n-ko igjo-hi a: tu:q-an a:*  
 true-EPH that-LO say-CP true-EPH that tiger-AC that  
*kup-ene la mo:ʔ-ene a:n-ko (kup-o a:nnah a:nko)*  
 throw.away-FT.2SG.M or eat-FT.2SG.M say-CP  
*kup-oka a:n-ko*  
 throw.away-IMP say-CP  
 Then [he blew the bamboo flute and said] (Repeat 10'09) When he said this, [the buffaloes killed] the tiger right away, and said, “Throw it away or eat it.” They said, “Go and throw it away.”

- 13'52 *igjo-hi eky-ad ek-ko a:qi-nte a:qi-nte inor maʔ-ond*  
 true-EPH go.B2-PT.3SG.NM go.B2-CP there-AB there-AB now CLF-one  
*giryong-d ekk-iyi*  
 mynah-NM go.B2-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
 He went right away. He went and then a mynah bird came.

- 14'00 *di iknahe akr-an a:n-nah ino kat-ki hō*  
 then how chase-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG.M here cross-CP.3SG.NM too  
*giryong giryong a:n-i ano kat-ki hō giryong giryong*  
 ONOM REP say-PR.3SG there cross-CP.3SG.NM too ONOM REP  
*a:n-i*  
 say-PR.3SG

He said, “How shall I chase [it]?” He came over here and said, “*Giryong giryong*,” and came over there and said, “*Giryong giryong*.”

- 14'06 *di aʔsar-kah babʔy-ah*  
 then reach.out-CP.3SG.M swing.around.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He tried to catch it and swung around [a stick of the platform].

- 14'09 *babʔ-ko a:qi-nte babʔ-akr-ah*  
 swing.around-CP there-AB swing.around-chase-PT.3SG.M  
 He swung around [a stick] and chased it away from there.

- 14'11 *a:qi-nte maʔ-ond eqr-d ekk-iyi*  
 there-AB CLF-one parrot-NM go.B2-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
 Then a parrot went [there].

- 14'16 *ek-kid inor kat-ki ti a:n-i*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM now cross-CP.3SG.NM ONOM say-PR.3SG  
*ano kat-ki ti a:n-i babʔ-no=hō*  
 there cross-CP.3SG.NM ONOM say-PR.3SG swing.around-IPP=too  
*boh-ola*  
 run.away-NG.PR.3SG

It went, jumped here now and said “Tee.” It jumped there and said “Tee.” It did not run away even when he swung around [a stick].

- 14'22 *ar babɣ-ɔŋg-ɪynah mo:tehi dɑɣ-su indro*  
and swing.around-finish-PR.PRF.3SG.M at.once CLF-two what  
*ok-nah ad-ki ca:ŋge-ki dɑɣ-s ɛŋg-iyi dihi*  
sit-PR.3SG.M that-GE stage-GE CLF-two be.left-PR.PRF ITJ  
He finished swinging around [sticks]. Then only two [sticks] of that stage were left.

- 14'30 *ide-n otr-a babɣ-an ta:n e:n jarʔ-an*  
this-AC take.out-AP swing.around-FT.1SG then I fall-FT.1SG  
*a:n-kah tunɣa-t babɣy-ah*  
say-CP.3SG.M bamboo.flute-IN swing.around.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Thinking that “If I take [one of these two sticks] out and swing it around, I will fall down,” he swung around with the bamboo flute.

- 14'34 *tunɣa-t babɣ-ko a: tunɣa-n*  
bamboo.flute-IN swing.around-CP that bamboo.flute-AC  
*atlong-ked oc-a*  
take.hold.of-CP.3SG.NM take.B2-PT.3SG  
When he swung around the bamboo flute, [the parrot] took hold of that bamboo flute and took it away.

- 14'38 *oc-a oc-ed ra:ja-dalane-n tey-a*  
take.B2-PT.3SG take.B2-CP.3SG.NM king-balcony-AC send-PT.3SG  
It took [the flute] away. After taking it away, it brought it to the king's verandah.

- 14'41 *a: e:nogur becy-ad a: manhu ʔettre kagly-a*  
that how.many be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that buffalo all die.B2-PT.3SG  
As many buffaloes as there were all died when the parrot brought down [the bamboo flute].

- 14'44 *kagl-ko indru kud-an a:n-ka eky-ah olh-i olh-i*  
die-CP what do-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG go.B2-PT.3SG.M cry-AP REP  
After [the buffaloes] died, he said, “What shall I do?” and went crying.

- 14'49 *ek-kah ra:ja-dalane-n ra:ja-oŋhu-no iʔa:r-ik maʔ-ond*  
go.B2-CP.3SG.M king-balcony-AC king-house-LO here-DA CLF-one  
*eɖrdu tunɣa-n ondr-ayid ɛŋg-e ʔaɣ-a*  
parrot bamboo.flute-AC bring-PR.PRF.3SG.NM I-DA give-IMP  
*a:n-nah olh-olh ahe-n a:h*  
say-PR.3SG.M cry-AP-REP he-AC he  
[The boy] went to the king's balcony, the king's house, and said to him (i.e. the king) crying, “A parrot had brought a bamboo flute [here]. Give [it back].”

- 15'00 *ciy-lanam ik.ʔa:r eɖrdu ondr-ayi ciy-lanam*  
give-NG.FT.1PLE where parrot bring-PR.PRF.3SG give-NG.FT.1PLE

- a:n-nah*  
say-PR.3SG.M  
[The king] said, “We are not giving it to you. From where did the parrot bring [it]? We are not giving it to you.”
- 15’04 *mala ondr-ayī            ?aṭ-a    a:n-nah*  
no bring-PR.PRF.3SG give-IMP say-PR.3SG.M  
[The boy] said, “No, it did. Give it back.”
- 15’07 *a:ḍi-nte ciy-e-ni            ciy-omlar*  
there-AB give-VN-LO.EPH give-NG.PR.3PL  
Then they would not give it back.
- 15’12 *to i: ra:ja-tahadi-n bej man-ne ta:n se ning-e*  
then this king-daughter-AC marriage be-PR.2SG.M then EPH you-DA  
*ciy-anam a:n-nah dihi*  
give-FT.1PLE say-PR.3SG.M ITJ  
Then [the king] said, “If you marry this princess, then we will give [the flute back] to you.”
- 15’18 *e:n iṣṣad-maḥe-n e:n ra:ja-tahadi-n e:n bej man-lan*  
I orphan-boy-1SG I king-daughter-AC I marriage be-NG.FT.1SG  
*amb-in e:n a:n-no*  
leave-PR.1SG I say-IPP  
[The boy] said, “I am an orphan. I am no match for the princess. I will not [marry her].”
- 15’24 *mala i: ra:ja-tahadi-n bej man-ne ta:n se*  
no this king-daughter-AC marriage be-PR.2SG.M then EPH  
*ciy-anam*  
give-FT.1PLE  
“No, we will give [it back to you] only if you marry this princess.”
- 15’28 *indru kud-anah jo:rmo:ṭ nal-kar bej naly-ah*  
what do-FT.3SG.M coercion do-CP.3PL marriage do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
What will he do? They put pressure [on him], so he married her.
- 15’32 *bej nal-ko bej maṣṣ-ah par ṭi:ke-di e:n bej*  
marriage do-CP marriage be.B2-PT.3SG but well-NM I marriage  
*maṣṣa-tan pa:re e:m jo:ṛa-m dalan-meca bey-anam*  
be.B2-PT.1SG but we.E couple-1PLE balcony-above be-FT.1PLE  
*ni:m pisi bey-ener a:n-ko*  
you.PL below be-FT.2PL say-CP  
After he got married, he said, “Okay, I got married [as you told me to]. But we two will be on top of the balcony. You stay below.”
- 15’44 *igjo-hi pisi becy-ar a:-kṛa a: manḥ kagl-yid*  
true-EPH below be.B2-PT.3PL that-time that buffalo die-PR.PRF.3SG.NM  
*a:du inor erar-eni            ade-n pa:ṛ-an mane meca*  
that now revive-FT.3SG.NM that-AC sing-FT.1SG namely above  
*jo:ṛa-r ok-nar a:-kṛa u:r-nah harahara...*  
couple-PL sit-PR.3PL that-time blow-PR.3SG.M

*harahara...*

They stayed below. At that time, when the couple was sitting above, [thinking that] “I will sing so that those buffaloes which have died would revive,” [the boy] blew the bamboo flute, which said (Repeat 10’09).

- 16’25 *a:n-ko a: kagł-yid a: manhu-ki a: sapa*  
 say-CP that die-PR.PRF.3SG.NM that buffalo-GE that clean  
*pacca:r-ayid a:-du:r ʔocldu a:q-ula*  
 be.rotten-PR.PRF.3SG.NM that-far bone there-inside  
*tunğa:-nihi bey-i para:ni dihi a:d di:re-di:re*  
 bamboo.flute-LO.EPH be-PR.3SG soul ITJ that slowly-REP  
*a:d ekdam tunhr-i kaṛekaṛeti tunhr-i*  
 that at.once get.together-PR.3SG little.by.little get.together-PR.3SG  
 mane *harahara... harahara...*  
 namely

When [the flute] sang so, all the rotten bones of those buffaloes that have died suddenly started to get together little by little — [for their] soul is inside the bamboo flute — [when it sang] (Repeat 10’09).

- 16’52 *pahi-pahi-ti laṛar-ki-tatki tunhr-ki*  
 row-row-IN move-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO get.together-CP.3SG.NM  
*tunhr-a tunhr-kid harahara... a:n-ko*  
 get.together-PT.3SG get.together-CP.3SG.NM say-CP  
 [The bones] got together moving slowly and slowly. When they got together, [the flute sang again] (Repeat 10’09).

- 17’11 mane *a: tunhr-kid inor ʔe:ndr ʔe:ndr*  
 namely that get.together-CP.3SG.NM now tremble.AP tremble.AP  
*coy-i-tati jarʔ-i-tati qoraloṛa a:qi-nte arhu*  
 rise-PR.3SG-ECHO fall-PR.3SG-ECHO shakingly there-AB further  
*u:r-nah harahara...*  
 blow-PR.3SG.M

They got together, and now they got up and fell down trembling. Then he blew [the bamboo flute] again, (Repeat 10’09).

- 17’36 *igjo-hi a: manhu jiyar-a jiyar-kid*  
 true-EPH that buffalo recover.life-PT.3SG recover.life-CP.3SG.NM  
 ekdam *eky-a ekdam meca okk-a u:ry-ah*  
 at.once go.B2-PT.3SG at.once above sit-AP blow.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*eky-a bohy-a boh-kid ek-kid*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG run.B2-PT.3SG run-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
*boh-kid ek-kid āṛsy-a*  
 run-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-CP.3SG.NM arrive.B2-PT.3SG

Those buffaloes recovered life right away. Having recovered life, they went at once. He was blowing [the flute] sitting above. They went, ran, went, ran and arrived there.

- 17'46 *a: beŋj-on male-r-in sapa pity-a beŋj-on*  
 that wedding-LO person-PL-AC clean kill.B2-PT.3SG wedding-LO  
*male-r-in sapa pity-a*  
 person-PL-AC clean kill.B2-PT.3SG  
 They killed all the people present at the wedding.
- 17'51 *piŋ-ot ke.bad a: jo:ɽa-r=du:re eŋgy-ar*  
 kill-IF after that couple-PL=only be.left.B2-PT.3PL  
 After they killed [all present], only that couple were left.
- 17'57 *eŋg-kar a: injʔad maʔe hi ek-ka innond injʔad maʔe-h*  
 be.left-CP.3PL that orphan boy EPH go.B2-CP this.far orphan boy-M  
*manj-ah ara ek-kah ra:jra:m manj-ah*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.M and go.B2-CP.3SG.M king become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*o:ɽe-peɖe-ti:tram e mo:cy-a*  
 tree.top-tree.root-bird.name ITJ cut.B2-PT.3SG  
 [Being left], the orphan went. [He was] such an orphan, and he went  
 and became a king. [This is] the end. [It is] finished.
- 18'08 *inonde-hi eŋ-ki saba e kata*  
 this.much-EPH I-GE story ITJ story  
 My story is this much.

### §25 Story of a mother and a wicked daughter-in-law (C).

Told by Mr. Guhiya Paharia of Malipara, P. O. Simlong, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at his residence in Littipara on September 10, 2005.

- 0'00 *kata teŋg-in*  
 story tell-PR.1SG  
 I will tell a story.
- 0'03 *kata-ki sirsake teho-ga:rni aro taŋg-mesqaɖo i:*  
 story-GE title mother-in.law.F and own-daughter.in.law this  
*kata-ki sirsake*  
 story-GE title  
 The title of the story is 'mother-in-law and daughter-in-law'. That is the title of this story.
- 0'23 *ort teho ar taŋ.gade-h ɖo:ky-ar bah-ond qep-no*  
 one mother and son-M stay.B2-PT.3PL place.CLF-one village-LO  
 There lived a mother and her son in a village.
- 0'25 *kajak ki:ɽwa meŋj-ar*  
 much poor be.B2-PT.3PL  
 They were very poor.
- 0'29 *tambako to maqa-nihi toqr-ah*  
 father TOP child-LO.EPH pass.away-PT.3SG.M  
 Father died when [he was] a child.
- 0'32 *toqr-ne ke.ba:d a: maqe-n bahut muskil se*  
 pass.away-VN after that boy-AC much difficulty EPH  
*be:rnec-le a: maqe-n teho baɖyi:-tar-a*  
 work.for.wages.B2-CP that boy-AC mother grow-CS-PT.3SG

After [father] died, mother brought the boy up with a lot of difficulty, doing wage labor.

- 0'39 *din(en)-ond be:r-a ka:je kudy-a kete-no*  
 day.CLF-one day-AC work do.B2-PT.3SG field-LO  
 She worked in the field all day.

- 0'42 *uske.ba:d e:k pa:y du: pa:y ondre-ki*  
 after that one pai two pai bring-CP.3SG.NM  
*darce-ki-tatki lap-tare-ki ahi-n badiyi-tar-a*  
 hold.B2-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO eat-CS-CP.3SG.NM he-AC grow-CS-3SG  
 After that she brought one *pai* or two *pai* [grain], and fed him and raised him.

- 0'48 *badiyi-ne ke.ba:d ahi-n jabu celke lehr-ah ani*  
 grow-VN after he-AC when young.man become-PT.3SG then  
*awq-a ki*  
 speak-PT.3SG COMP  
 After he grew up, she said to him when he had become a young man,

- 0'53 *are ning-e bahu-n ondr-ey*  
 ITJ you-DA bride-AC bring-FT.1PL.I  
 "Listen, we will bring a wife for you."

- 0'56 *ning-e pel-a bed-key ondr-ey inor ni:nu*  
 you-DA woman-AC seek-CP.1PL.I bring-FT.1PL.I now you  
*badic-te a:ny-a*  
 grow.B2-PT.2SG.M say.B2-PT.3SG  
 "We will look for a girl for you and bring [her]. Now you have grown up." She said this.

- 1'01 *õ deka tebe dudu orte hi paco malni*  
 ITJ ITJ then mother one EPH old.woman woman  
*ka:klar-di*  
 be.in.trouble-PR.2SG.NM  
 "Yeah, right, mom, you are by yourself, and have trouble as an old woman."

- 1'05 *am-an ek-ke kum-ot bahut dikate a:n-ka*  
 water-AC go.B2-CP.2SG.NM carry.on.the.head-IF much difficult say-CP  
*ku:kr-a*  
 nod-PT.3SG  
 "It is very tough to go and carry water." Saying this, the son nodded.

- 1'09 *ku:kr-ne ke.ba:d ahi-k pel-a bed-kid ondre-ki*  
 nod-VN after he-DA woman-AC seek-CP.3SG.NM bring-CP.2SG.NM  
*cic-a*  
 give.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then she looked for a woman for him and gave [her to him].

- 1'16 *(e:nu) uske.ba:d a: peli e:nond teho buři si:da*  
 I after.that that woman how.much mother old.woman right

- mej-a anond peli-d ulṭa mej-a*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG that.much woman-NM opposite be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then that woman was wicked just as much as the mother was right.
- 1'23 (*tehon*) *teho maja maja qo:roses-le bi:ky-a*  
 mother nicely nicely cherish-CP call.B2-PT.3SG  
 Mother called her nicely with love.
- 1'27 *uske.ba:d a: tang-mesqaḍo aro kuco buṛiya*  
 after.that that own-daughter.in.law ITJ dog old.woman  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then the daughter-in-law says "Hey, you old bitch."
- 1'32 *kuco-buṛi bar-a a:n-le bi:ky-a*  
 dog-old.woman come-IMP say-CP call.B2-PT.3SG  
 She called her "Come, you old bitch."
- 1'33 *maja maja bi:ky-a anda jahā kuco-buṛi bar-a*  
 nicely nicely call.B2-PT.3SG then even dog-old.woman come-IMP  
*kuco-buṛi bar-a a:n-le bi:ky-a*  
 dog-old.woman come-IMP say-CP call.B2-PT.3SG  
 Even though mother called nicely, the daughter-in-law called her  
 "Come, old bitch."
- 1'38 *bi:k-ne ke.bad jahā a: paco ro:kar-la*  
 call-VN after even that old.woman get.angry-NG.PT  
 Even after she did so, the old woman did not get angry.
- 1'41 *acc<sup>h</sup>a: tam-bahno bey-i tam-ki saba tam-e bey-id e:n*  
 ITJ self-LO be-PR.3SG self-GE word self-DA be-PR.3SG.NM I  
*ulṭes-kan awḍ-in malki*  
 turn.over-CP.1SG speak-PR.1SG not  
 "Okay, one's word remains in one's place, as of oneself. I will not  
 turn back and speak back to her."
- 1'47 *kuco-n ar kuco-n e:n indra-jahā a:n-lan ani e:ru a:n-le*  
 dog-1SG and dog-1SG I what-even say-NG.FT.1SG then well say-CP  
*ado kusi se ḍo:ky-a*  
 further happiness EPH stay.B2-PT.3SG  
 "I am a bitch. I won't say anything. Fine." Saying this, she kept on  
 living happily.
- 1'51 *nam-lad indra-jahā kud-la*  
 reproach-NG.PT.3SG.NM what-even do-NG.PT.3SG  
 She did not reproach her. She did not do anything.
- 1'53 *uske.ba:d ḍo:k-te ḍo:k-te inor tang-ḍo:ku-n awḍ-a*  
 after that stay-AP REP now self-spouse-AC speak-PT.3SG  
 After some time, she said to her husband this time.
- 1'58 *are ayo buṛi-n e:k-a oce-ke ḍaḍe-no*  
 ITJ mother old.woman-AC go-IMP take.B2-CP.2SG.M forest-LO

- piṭ-ey*      *anda me:nd-e:y*  
kill-FT.1PL.I then burn-FT.1PL.I  
“Hey, you go, take the old mother, and we will kill her in the forest  
and burn her body.”
- 2'03 *ani a:h hō burbak-ja:ti male-h mejj-ah*  
then he too stupid-kind person-M be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Then he was also a stupid kind of person.
- 2'07 *a:h hō deka tebe e:k-a ikin ikin nan-ey a:n-ko*  
he too ITJ then go-IMP how how do-FT.1PL.I say-CP  
He also said, “Okay then, let’s go. How shall we do it?”
- 2'09 *mala ina mas-an da:wa-n otr-a*  
no today hatchet-AC chopping.knife-AC take.out-IMP  
“No, you take a hatchet and a chopping knife with you today.”
- 2'13 *ar ek-ke kank-a tung-e tung-qey-tatkey*  
and go.B2-CP.1PL.I wood-AC collect-CP.2SG.M collect-CP.1PL.I-ECHO  
*ano sahi-n aṭ-e sahi-n aṭ-ke*  
and funeral.pyre-AC spread-CP.2SG.M funeral.pyre-AC spread-CP.1PL.I  
*ayo-n me:nde-ke bar-ey*  
mother-AC burn-1PL.I come-FT.1PL.I  
“And let’s go, collect firewood, spread a funeral pyre, burn mother,  
and come back.”
- 2'20 *a:ny-a a:n-ne ke.ba:d ṭhi:k a:hu ra:ji*  
say.B2-PT.3SG say-VN after well he approving  
*mej-ah*  
become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
She said this. Then he approved [her plan] saying “Okay”.
- 2'24 *turante teyar mejj-ah orya:r-ah uske.ba:d*  
at.once ready become.B2-PT.3SG.M get.ready-PT.3SG.M after.that  
*mas-a da:wa-ne pehra-kar eky-ar*  
hatchet-AC chopping.knife-AC take.along-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL  
He got ready immediately. Then they took a hatchet and a chopping  
knife along and went.
- 2'29 *e:k-ne ke.ba:d qa:yek man-ki-n ta:r-ah*  
go-VN after dry tree-GE-AC cut.down-PT.3SG.M  
After going, he cut down dry wood.
- 2'31 *tunga-kar tey-ar aur di:ng-ond nany-ar*  
collect-CP.3PL send-PT.3PL and pile-one make.B2-PT.3PL  
*sahi nan-yar teho-ga:rni-n me:nd-tar-oti*  
funeral.pyre make.B2-PT.3PL mother-in.law-AC burn-CS-IF  
They rapidly collected [wood], and made a pile, made a funeral pyre,  
in order to burn the mother-in-law.
- 2'38 *a:d maji maji mejj-a tung-a*  
that middle REP be.B2-PT.3SG collect-PT.3SG  
She played a central role and collected [wood].

- 2'40 *tung-ne ke.ba:d inor e:k-a bi:k-ke ondr-ey anda i:*  
 collect-VN after now go-IMP call-CP.1PL.I bring-FT.1PL.I then this  
*meca ki:de-key me:nd-ey*  
 above lay-CP.1PL.I burn-FT.1PL.I  
 After collecting wood, [she said] “Go, call and bring her. Then we  
 will put her on this and burn her.”
- 2'46 *a.ny-a a:n-ne ke.ba:d oryes-ka-tatkar p<sup>hir</sup>*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG say-VN after prepare-CP-ECHO.3PL again  
*barc-ar qep-ik tam-ki org-ik barc-ar*  
 come.B2-PT.3PL village-DA self-GE house-DA come.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then, having prepared, they went back to the village again. They  
 went home.
- 2'51 *org-ik bar-ne ke.ba:d are dudu e:k-a*  
 house-DA come-VN after ITJ mother go-IMP  
 After coming home, [they said] “Say, mother, let’s go.”
- 2'55 *e:k-ey anno qade-k e:k-ey a.ny-a*  
 go-FT.1PL.I there forest-DA go-FT.1PL.I say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Let’s go there, to the forest.”
- 2'57 *(n)indrik oy-de a:n-ke e:k-a ka:je-d e:k-a*  
 why take-PR.2SG.M say-CP go-IMP work-NM go-IMP  
*a.ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Why do you take me [there]?” When she said this, they said, “Let’s  
 go! There is work there.”
- 2'59 *jabarjasti e:k-ot ok-la tetu-no darca-ka band-i band-i*  
 forcibly go-IF sit-NG.PT.3SG hand-LO hold.B2-CP.3SG pull-AP REP  
*oc-a*  
 take.B2-PT.3SG  
 She was not willing to be taken by force. She (i.e. the daughter-in-  
 law) seized her on the hand and took her pulling.
- 3'04 *band-i band-i oy-ne ke.ba:d awd-a dudu ning-e ina*  
 pull-AP REP take-VN after say-PT.3SG mother you-DA today  
*pit-ot ondr-dam inno me:nd-dam adi-k se sahi-no*  
 kill-IF bring-PR.1PLE here burn-PR.1PLE that-DA EPH funeral.pyre-LO  
*ki:da-kam ning-en me:nd-dam*  
 lay-CP.1PLE you-AC burn-PR.1PLE  
 After taking her pulling, they said, “Mother, today we have brought  
 you here to kill you. We will burn you here. Therefore, we will put  
 you on the funeral pyre and burn you.”
- 3'11 *a:n-ka ano sahi-no meca adi-n buṛi malni*  
 say-CP there funeral.pyre-LO above that-AC old.woman woman  
*beca:r-ni tuk-i tuk-i arg-tar-a*  
 poor-F push-AP REP climb-CS-PT.3SG  
 Saying this, they made that old poor woman climb on top of the fu-

neral pyre there pushing her.

- 3'16 *arg-tara-ka-tatkar mo:ta mo:ta tukra-ti denga:-ti*  
 climb-CS-CP-ECHO.3PL big REP wooden.block-IN log-IN  
*arg.ut-tar-a adi-n ujni malni-n*  
 load.over.one.another-CS-PT.3SG that-AC alive woman-AC  
 Having made her climb, they covered that woman alive with big  
 wooden blocks and logs.
- 3'22 *arg.ut-ne ke.ba:d inor are solei paktr-ey*  
 load.over.one.another-VN after now ITJ match kindle-FT.1PL.I  
*iko solei*  
 where match  
 Then [the son said,] "Hey, now let's light a fire with a match. Where  
 is a match?"
- 3'26 *are solei ali:.ba:ba tan-ki karma=indru bedy-ar*  
 ITJ match ITJ self-GE waist=and.so.on seek.B2-PT.3PL  
 "Hey, [where is] a match! Good heavens!" They looked for their  
 waist [pocket] and so on.
- 3'30 *solei-n oŕg-inte e:la-ka aŕky-ar*  
 match-AC house-AB forget-CP thrust.in-PT.3PL  
 They forgot [to bring] the matches from home and had pushed [their  
 mother] in [the funeral pyre].
- 3'32 *ikin nan-ey solei-n e:le-tey*  
 how do-FT.1PL.I match-AC forget-PT.1PL.I  
 "What shall we do? We forgot [to bring] matches."
- 3'34 *e:k-a i: buŕi-n aŕgra-ke ki:d-ey denga-ti*  
 go-IMP this old.woman-AC press.down-CP.1PL.I lay-FT.1PL.I log-IN  
 "Let's go! We will lay this old woman pressed down with logs."
- 3'37 *e:k-ey na:m inor solei-n ondr-ey anda se me.nd-ey*  
 go-FT.1PL.I we.I now match-AC bring-FT.1PL.I then EPH burn-FT.1PL.I  
 "Let's go! We will bring matches now. And then we will burn her."
- 3'41 *a:n-ki irweri solei-k kiry-ar*  
 say-CP two.person match-DA return.B2-PT.3PL  
 Saying this, the two people went back for matches.
- 3'44 *solei-k kir-ne ke.ba:d a: buŕi kono:rokom*  
 match-DA return-VN after that old.woman somehow  
*nan-ki kuke-ti teŕtu-ti jo:r laga-tar-ekid*  
 do-CP.3SG.NM head-IN hand-IN power attach-TR-CP.3SG.NM  
*tukra-n daŕ-ond geci tey-a*  
 wooden.block-AC CLF-one far send-PT.3SG  
 After they went to get matches, that old woman somehow put strength  
 into her head and hands and pushed one log away.
- 3'52 *geci tey-ne ke.ba:d a:du kuk-a di:re di:re di:re di:re di:re di:re*  
 far send-VN after she head-AC slowly REP REP REP REP REP

*kuk-eti alaktare-kid urqy-a*

head-IN open-CP.3SG.NM come.out.B2-PT.3SG

Then she opened [the pile of wood] very slowly with her head and came out.

- 3'58 *urq-ne ke.ba:d maji ma:q mejj-a maji ma:q*  
 come.out-VN after middle night become.B2-PT.3SG middle night  
*ikdi-k e:k-enid a:du (mla:ũ) urqy-a*  
 where-DA go-FT.3SG.NM that come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then it had become midnight. Where will she go at midnight? She came out.

- 4'04 *urq-ne ke.ba:d essa mecca man-ik arg-kid*  
 come.out-VN after very tall tree-DA climb-CP.3SG.NM  
*oky-a hō pakri man-ik mecca arg-kid*  
 sit.B2-PT.3SG ITJ Ficus.religiosa tree-DA above climb-CP.3SG.NM  
*oky-a qo:r-no*  
 sit.B2-PT.3SG top-LO  
 Then she climbed a very high tree and sat there. She climbed up a pipal tree and sat on top of it.

- 4'12 *tab.taka taj.gade sa:tu irw-ar solei-n ondr-ar*  
 till.then own.son together two.persons-PL match-AC bring-PT.3SG  
 By then the two people, [the daughter-in-law] together with the son, had brought matches.

- 4'16 *solei ondr-ne ke.ba:d a: ma:ri-no solei-n paktr-ar*  
 match bring-VN after that grave-LO match-AC kindle-PT.3PL  
 Then they lit the match at the funeral place.

- 4'20 *paktar-ne ke.ba:d turant cicdu qa:yekdu juri mejj-a*  
 light-VN after at.once fire dry firewood be.B2-PT.3SG  
*kanku mejj-a darc-a ar [e]kdam dag.dag*  
 wood be.B2-PT.3SG hold.B2-PT.3SG and at.once shiningly  
*qosy-a*  
 be.burnt.B2-PT.3SG  
 After they lit the match, the fire immediately took hold of the firewood and it was burnt fiercely — the firewood, the sticks were dry.

- 4'27 *gos-ne ke.ba:d inor tawy-a kec-a e:k-a*  
 be.burnt-VN after now put.out.B2-PT.3SG die.B2-PT.3SG go-IMP  
*kir-ey na:m a:n-kar irwe:ri alq-a alq-a kelar-i*  
 return-FT.1PL.I we.I say-CP.3PL two.persons laugh-AP REP play-AP  
*kelar-i oŋg-ik kiry-ar*  
 REP house-DA return.B2-PT.3PL  
 After it was burnt, they went home laughing and playing, saying “Now the fire has burnt out. She is dead. [Let’s] go! We will go home.”

- 4'34 *kir-ne ke[.ba:d] aŋe ayo-n me:nd-etey ad-ki-n*  
 return-VN after ITJ mother-AC burn-PT.1PL.I that-GE-AC

- qe:r-a kuř-ey deka ina*  
 chicken-AC burn-FT.1PL.I ITJ today  
 After they went home, she said, “We killed mother. We will [kill and]  
 roast a chicken for her. Come on!”
- 4’38 *bāṭiya se qe:r-a kuřa-kar-tatkar* *ta:ṭ.se*  
 fine EPH chicken-AC burn.B2-CP.3PL-ECHO.3PL in.ease  
*ta:ry-ond nan-kar lap-kar barg-a barg-a*  
 metal.plate.CLF-one make-CP.3PL eat-CP.3PL snore-AP REP  
*kudy-ar ano barg-a barg-a kudy-ar*  
 do.B2-PT.3PL there snore-AP REP do.B2-PT.3PL  
 After roasting the chicken well, they made a plate nicely, ate it, and  
 slept there, snoring heavily.
- 4’47 *a: buři (dargai) solei-k kiry-a ani man-ik*  
 that old.woman match-DA return.B2-PT.3SG then tree-DA  
*arg-kid oky-a*  
 climb-CP.3SG.NM sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 After they returned for matches, that old woman climbed on top of the  
 tree and was sitting.
- 4’51 *ba:ra baje ma:qa adno (andru) pakři man bagce-no*  
 twelve o’clock night there Ficus.religiosa tree orchard-LO  
*qalwa-r jama-r-ar dine-nihĩ dine-ni ano qalwa-r*  
 thief-PL gather-ITR-PT.3PL day-LO.EPH day-LO.EPH there thief-PL  
*jama-r-ar*  
 gather-ITR-PT.3PL  
 At twelve o’clock at night, thieves gathered in the pipal garden every  
 day. Every day thieves gathered there.
- 4’58 *ar ta:m indra-goře qaq-ar-tatka[r] pe:sa-n ade-n*  
 and themselves what-even steal.B2-PT.3PL-ECHO money-AC that-AC  
*ko:s-r-naqy-ar ba:ř-naqy-ar*  
 divide-ITR-REC.B2-PT.3PL divide-PT-3PL  
 And they counted and divided whatever money they stole.
- 5’04 *din-ond a: buři ma:q nany-ad a:*  
 day.CLF-one that old.woman night make.B2-PT.3SG.NM that  
*dine mec oky-ad ad-nihi tin-jin qalwa-r*  
 day above sit.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-LO.EPH three-CLF thief-PL  
*ařsy-ar ma:qa*  
 reach.B2-PT.3PL night  
 On the day when that old woman spent night, on the day when she  
 was sitting above, three thieves arrived at night.
- 5’08 *qalwa-r ařs-kar-tatkar ade-n ba:ř-naq-ot suru:*  
 thief-PL reach-CP.PL-ECHO.3PL that-AC divide-REC-IF beginning  
*nany-ar*  
 do.B2-PT.3PL  
 After the thieves arrived, they started dividing it (i.e. what they had

stolen).

- 5'11 *nigg-e e:k hisa eng-e e:k hisa eng-e e:k hisa*  
 you-DA one portion I-DA one portion I-DA one portion  
*a:n-le ba:ʔ-naq-e-ni-tatni mec ok-u buʔi-d*  
 say-CP divide-REC-VN-LO.EPH-ECHO above sit-PP old.woman-NM  
*awq-a*  
 speak-PT.3SG

Just when they were dividing, saying “This is your portion. This is my portion,” the old woman who was sitting above said this.

- 5'18 *eng-e hō e:k hisa qaʔ-anar man-mec oky-ad a:d*  
 I-DA too one portion give-FT.3PL tree-above sit.B2-PT.3SG.NM that  
*awq-a eng-e hisa men-eni*  
 speak-PT.3SG I-DA portion be-FT.3SG

“They will give a portion to me, too.” The old woman who was sitting on top of the tree said, “There will be a portion for me.”

- 5'23 *a:n-ko goʔe-ri qalwe-r mecten tundy-ar*  
 say-CP all-PL thief-PL upward look.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then all the thieves looked up.

- 5'25 *mecten tundy-ar uske.ba:d ba:pre bu:ta*  
 upward look.B2-PT.3PL after.that ITJ ghost  
*urqy-ad bu:te bu:te-d a:n-kar jitna*  
 come.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM ghost ghost-NM say-CP.3PL how.much.REL  
*ʔaka pe:sa menj-ad ade-n amb-ka-tatkar qalwe-r*  
 money money be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-AC leave-CP-ECHO.3PL thief-PL  
*boŋgy-ar*  
 run.B2-PT.3PL

They looked up. Then saying “My god! A ghost has come out. Ghost! Ghost!” the thieves left as much money as there was and ran away.

- 5'33 *boŋg-ne ke.ba:d a: buʔi dʰi:re dʰi:re dʰi:re dʰi:re mec*  
 run-VN after that old.woman slowly REP REP REP tall  
*man-inti pisi ety-a*  
 tree-AB below go.down.B2-PT.3SG

After they ran away, the old woman went down from the tall tree.

- 5'39 *pisi et-ne ke.ba:d ma:qa aʔsy-a ma:qa aʔs-ko*  
 below go.down-VN after night reach.B2-PT.3SG night reach-CP  
*inor du: kaʔsa-no ʔaka nind-pa menj-a*  
 now two jar-LO money fill-PAP be.B2-PT.3SG

After she came down, night fell. When night fell, [she found out that] two jars were filled with money.

- 5'44 *ʔaka nind-pe menj-a ade-n ʔeʔ-s-eti*  
 money fill-PAP be.B2-PT.3SG that-AC hand-two-IN  
*oʔc-ki-tatki oc-a oʔc-ik*  
 carry.with.hand-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO take.B2-PT.3SG house-DA

[The jars] were filled with money. She carried them with her hand

and took them home.

- 5'48 *oŋg-ik oce-kid maji ma:qa aŋs-kid*  
 house-DA take.B2-CP.3SG.NM middle night reach-CP.3SG.NM  
*eŋ.gade qandr-de coy-a eŋ.gade qandr-de coy-a*  
 my.son sleep-PR.2SG.M rise-IMP my.son sleep-PR.2SG.M rise-IMP  
*a.ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG

When she took them home, it was already midnight. She said, "My son, are you asleep? Get up!"

- 5'58 *aŋe ayo-ki saba qacy-a he ayo me:nd-etey*  
 ITJ mother-GE speaking look.like.B2-PT.3SG ITJ mother burn-PT.1PL.I  
*a:d cic-no qosy-a katam meŋj-a*  
 that fire-LO be.burnt.B2-PT.3SG end become.B2-PT.3SG  
*kec-a*  
 die.B2-PT.3SG

"Say, it sounded like mother's voice. We burned mother, she was burnt in fire, she expired and died[, didn't she?]."

- 6'03 *p<sup>h</sup>ir t<sup>h</sup>o:ŋa de:r ke.ba:d awŋ-a ey taŋ.gade coy-a*  
 again a.little delay after speak-PT.3SG ITJ own.son rise-IMP  
*ayo-n baric-tan ejr-a coy-a ayo-n*  
 mother-1SG come.B2-PT.1SG be.awake-IMP rise-IMP mother-1SG  
*baric-tan a:n-ko tisg-a ni:nu tisg-a*  
 come.B2-PT.1SG say-CP open-IMP you open-IMP

After a while, she said again, "O my son, get up! I, mother, have come. Be awake, get up! I, mother, have come! Open, open!"

- 6'14 *t<sup>h</sup>i:k ekdam ŋaŋ-s teŋu-nihĩ du: kaŋsa ŋaka meŋj-a*  
 well at.once CLF-two hand-LO.EPH two jar money be.B2-PT.3SG  
*ŋaka-n aŋs-tar-a*  
 money-AC reach-CS-PT.3SG

Well, then suddenly, there was two jarfuls of money in her two hands. She brought the money.

- 6'20 *aŋs-tar-ne ke.ba:d ba:pre dudu ning-en me:nda-tam ani*  
 reach-CS-VN after ITJ mother you-AC burn-PT.1PLE then  
*ŋaka-n ondr-di a:n-ko tebe me:nd-r-no to ŋaka*  
 money-AC bring-PR.2SG.NM say-CP then burn-ITR-IPP then money  
*qaq-owr-i=jahã a.ny-a*  
 get-PA-PR.3SG.NM=even say.B2-PT.3SG

Then [they said], "Good heavens, mother! We burned you and then you have brought money!" Then she said, "Well, after I got burnt, the money was obtained."

- 6'26 *me:nd-ne ke.ba:d ŋaka qaq-owr-i ma:q-a ŋaka-n*  
 burn-VN after money get-PA-PR.3SG.NM night-AC money-AC  
*tuŋŋ-ki taŋg-ŋo:ku be:g-a be:g-a argy-a*  
 look-CP.3SG.NM own-spouse jump-AP REP climb.B2-PT.3SG

*kafe-no*

bedstead-LO

The money was obtained after burning! Seeing the money at night, his wife started jumping on the bed.

- 6'33 *be:g-a be:g-a argy-a ra:ty-ond qandr-la*  
 jump-AP REP climb.B2-PT.3SG night.CLF-one sleep-NG.PT.3SG  
*be:g-a tund-ki kabi:*  
 jump-AP look-CP.3SG.NM at.any.time  
 She started jumping. After seeing [the money], she did not sleep all night at all looking [at the money] jumping.

- 6'36 *a: taka indra karša kabi: i: ko:řakci-n nuđ-i kabi:*  
 that money what jar some.time this corner-LO hide-AP some.time  
*a: ko:řakci-n nuđ-i kabi: kař-qolgr-ik kuk*  
 that corner-LO hide-AP some.time bedstead-beneath-DA head  
*kor-tar-id la:lci mejj-a tang-đo:ku*  
 enter-CS-PR.3SG.NM greedy become.B2-PT.3SG own-spouse  
 She, the son's wife, became greedy. Hiding [the money] in this corner for some time and in that corner for some time, she put her head underneath the bed.

- 6'45 *uske.ba:d awđ-a tang-đo:ku-d awđ-a ahi-n*  
 after.that speak-PT.3SG own-spouse-NM speak-PT.3SG he-AC  
*tang-đo:ku-n awđ-a are jabu i: burı malni*  
 own-spouse-AC speak-PT.3SG ITJ when this old.woman woman  
*me:nd-etey ta:n du: karša taka mejj-a*  
 burn-PT.1PL.I then two jar money be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then she, the wife, said to him, her husband, "Look, when we burned this old woman, it was two jarfuls of money [that we got]."

- 6'56 *eng-en bařagni-la:go-n me:nd-le anda to ca:r karša taka*  
 I-AC maiden-a.little-AC burn-SJ.2SG.M then TOP four jar money  
*men-al*  
 be-SJ.3SG.NM  
 "If you would burn me, a maiden-like woman, it will be four jarfuls of money."

- 6'59 *eng-en ade me:nd-ey deka me:nda-lar deka ayo sa:tu*  
 I-AC too burn-FT.1PL.I ITJ burn-SJ.2PL ITJ mother together  
*e:k-a a:ny-a*  
 go-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG  
 "Let's burn me, too. Come on, you two will burn me. Let's come with mother."

- 7'03 *hō: deko tebe me:nd-ey a:ny-a acc<sup>h</sup>a: t<sup>h</sup>i:k taka-ki*  
 ITJ ITJ then burn-FT.1PL.I say.B2-PT.3SG okay good money-GE  
*la:lci-ti ka:lka:s-u-r oc-ar*  
 greed-IN covet-PP-PL take.B2-PT.3PL  
 He said, "Well, okay, then we will burn [you]." Well, the greedy peo-

- ple took her out of desire for money.
- 7'09 *oca-kar andeki mari-n nany-ar*  
 take.B2-CP.3PL that.way graveyard-AC make.B2-PT.3PL  
*sahi-n afy-ar*  
 funeral.pyre-AC spread.B2-PT.3PL  
 They took her and made a funeral site that way. They spread the funeral pyre.
- 7'12 *sahi-n af-kar-tatkar adi-n argr-ar*  
 funeral.pyre-AC spread-CP.3PL-ECHO.3PL that-AC be.ensnared-PT.3PL  
*argr-ar-tatkar solei-ti paktr-ar cic-ar*  
 be.ensnared-PT.3PL-ECHO.3PL match-IN kindle-PT.3PL give.B2-PT.3PL  
 Having spread the funeral pyre, they bound her [atop it]. Having bound her, they set it on fire.
- 7'17 *a:d cic-no qos-ki qosy-ad a:du*  
 that fire-LO be.burnt-CP.3SG.NM be.burnt.B2-PT.3SG.NM that  
 Being burnt in fire, she was burnt.
- 7'21 *qos-ne ke.ba:d inor barc-ah barc-ad-ni*  
 be.burnt-VN after now come.B2-PT.3SG.M come.B2-CP-LO.EPH  
*dudu dudu e:k-a e:no e:no samay-no bar-eni*  
 mother mother go-IMP how.much REP time-LO come-FT.3SG.NM  
*ni:n e:no samay-no baric-ti a:ny-a*  
 you how.much time-LO come.B2-PT.2SG.NM say.B2-PT.3SG  
 After she was burnt, [he] came back. [The son asked her] "Mother, let's go! How long until she comes back? How long did it take you to come back?"
- 7'28 *bar-i ta a:d inor taka-n ondr-id*  
 come-PR.3SG certainly she now money-AC bring-PR.3SG.NM  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 "She is going to bring money now."
- 7'31 *p<sup>h</sup>ir kody-ar kafe-no ko:d-te ko:d-te ko:d-te ada:-ra:t*  
 again lie.B2-PT.3PL bedstead-LO lie-AP REP REP mid-night  
*menj-a dudu dudu e:no pahr-no bar-eni*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG mother REP how.much time-LO come-FT.3SG.NM  
*a:du a:n-ko*  
 that say-CP  
 They lay in bed again. Lying and lying in bed, it became midnight.  
 "Mother, how long until she comes back?"
- 7'38 *a:d ey.gade ok-a me:n-a teyg-an ning-en a:d igjo*  
 that my.son sit-IMP listen-IMP tell-FT.1SG you-AC that true  
*qosy-a*  
 be.burnt.B2-PT.3SG  
 "Sit and listen, my son. I will tell you. She was really burnt."
- 7'44 *e:n ni:m solei-n ondr-ot kir-tar ani se e:nu*  
 I you.PL match-AC bring-IF return-PT.2PL then EPH I

- ba:car-kan pakṛi(baccak)-mecca arg-kan ok-tan*  
 be.saved-CP.1SG Ficus.religiosa-up climb-CP.1SG sit-PT.1SG  
 “I escaped because you two returned home to bring matches. I climbed a pipal tree and sat there.”
- 7’51 *arg-ka[n] ok-ne ke.ba:d tin-jin qalwa-r menj-ar a:*  
 climb-CP.1SG sit-VN after three-CLF thief-PL be.B2-PT.3PL that  
*qalwe-r ṭaka-n ba:ṭ-naqy-ar*  
 thief-PL money-AC divide-REC.B2-PT.3PL  
 “After I climbed and sat [up there], there were three thieves. Those thieves were dividing money.”
- 7’56 *apna apna bakra-n=indra a:n-naqy-ar eng-e hō e:k*  
 self self share-AC=and.so.on say-REC.B2-PT.3PL I-DA too one  
*bakra qaṭ-anar a:n-tan*  
 share give-FT.3PL say-PT.1SG  
 “They were talking about each one’s share. I said ‘They shall give me a share, too.’”
- 7’59 *ani elc-kar boṅgy-ar pet-a[ka]n ondra-tan*  
 then fear-CP.3PL run.B2-PT.3PL take.up.B2-CP.1SG bring-PT.1SG  
 “Then then were scared and ran away. I took [the jars] up and brought them.”
- 8’01 *inor to jindgi-b<sup>h</sup>ar ke.lie kec-ad*  
 now TOP life-all for.the.sake.of die.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*eky-ad a:du inor auri kir-ki*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.NM that now again return-CP.3SG.NM  
*bar-le:ni*  
 come-NG.FT.3SG.NM  
 “Now she is dead for good. She is gone. She will not return and come back again now.”
- 8’06 *ni:n inda i: ṭaka pehr-ke e:k-a ni:nu*  
 you take.this.ITJ this money take.along-CP.2SG.M go-IMP you  
 “You take this. Take this money and go!”
- 8’10 *qep-ta:re awḍ kud-oka ne:-goṭa qep-no teho-n*  
 village-PL speak.AP go.around-IMP who-ever village-LO mother-AC  
*bi:s-eni ne:-goṭa qep-no teho-n bi:s-eni*  
 sell-FT.3SG.NM who-ever village-LO mother-AC sell-FT.3SG.NM  
 “Go, walk around asking in the villages if anyone in the village would sell his mother.”
- 8’18 *a:n-ko ḍo:k-a agar ika-r-goṭe taṅ-ki teho-bager-in bi:s-nar*  
 say-CP stay-IMP if who-PL-ever self-GE mother-PL-AC sell-PR.3PL  
*ta:nu ni:n teho-n qe:q-qe ondr-ka a:ny-a*  
 then you mother-AC buy-CP.2SG.M bring-FT.IMP say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Keep saying that. If anyone sells his mother and so on, then you buy his mother and bring her.” She said this.

- 8'25 *a:n-ki* *a:* *pe:sa-ne* *cic-a* *ciy-ne* *ke.ba:d*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM that money-AC give.B2-PT.3SG give-VN after  
*eky-ah* *a:* *qep-ik* *i:* *qep-ik* *eky-a*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M that village-DA this village-DA go.B2-PT.3SG  
 Having said this, she gave that money to him. Then he went to this  
 and that village.
- 8'30 *ne:-goṭe* *teho-n* *bi:s-eni* *bi:s-nar* *ta:n e:n qe:G-an*  
 who-ever mother-AC sell-FT.3SG.NM sell-PR.3PL then I buy-FT.1SG  
*a.ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 He said, "If anyone sells or is selling his mother, I will buy her."
- 8'33 *pʰir* *dusra* *qep-ik* *eky-ah* *ne:-goṭe* *teho*  
 again other village-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M who-ever mother  
*bi:s-eni* *bi:s-nar* *ta:n qe:G-an* *a.ny-ah*  
 sell-FT.3SG.NM sell-PR.3PL then buy-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He went to yet another village and said, "If anyone sells his mother,  
 then I will buy her."
- 8'37 *a:n-ne* *ke.ba:d meṇj-ar* *sa:la i:* *pagla-ja:ti*  
 say-VN after listen.B2-PT.3PL ITJ this mad.man-kind  
 They heard this [and said] "Bastard! This is a mad kind of man."
- 8'40 *pagla* *ar* *burbak* *male-h* *inor* *teho-n* *ika-r-goṭe*  
 mad.man and stupid person-M now mother-AC who-PL-ever  
*bi:s-a:nar*  
 sell-FT.3PL  
 "He is a mad and stupid man. Now who on earth will sell his mother?"
- 8'42 *keyamro* *jarmes-kar* *baḍy-tar-nar* *teho-n* *bi:s-ot*  
 with.difficulty give.birth-CP.3PL grow-CS-PR.3PL mother-AC sell-IF  
*awḍ-dah* *a:n-kar* *laṭi-ti* *baj-a* *baj-a* *akr-ar*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M say-CP.3PL stick-IN beat-AP REP drive.away-PT.3PL  
*akr-ar* *goṭ-qep-ni* *akr-a[r]* *ani* *kiry-ah*  
 REP all-village-LO.EPH drive.away-PT.3PL then return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Saying "Mothers give birth to and raise [children] with difficulty. He  
 speaks of selling his mother," they chased him away beating him with  
 sticks. They chased him away in the whole village and he came back.
- 8'51 *ani iko* *ayo-n* *qaq-te* *a:n-ko* *mala qaq-omtan*  
 then where mother-AC obtain-PT.2SG.M say-CP no obtain-NG.PR.1SG  
*goṭe-r* *eng-en* *bajy-ar* *jahā* *ninj-a* *ninj-a*  
 all-PL I-AC beat.B2-PT.3PL EPH hit.with.stone-AP REP  
*akr-ar* *a:n-ko*  
 drive-PT.3PL say-CP  
 Then [mother asked,] "Did you get a mother anywhere?" [The son  
 answered] "No, I could not. They all started beating me, threw stones  
 at me, and drove me away."

- 8'58 *ʈi:k ba:te niŋ[ɡ-en] niŋj-a akr-ar ta:n e:ru*  
 good thing you-AC hit.with.stone-AP drive-PT.3PL then good  
 “Good thing. If they drove you away, hitting you with stones, that is good.”
- 9'00 *inor ni:n pʰir pe:sa-n oy-oka e:k-a*  
 now you again money-AC take-FT.IMP go-AC  
 “Now you take the money again and go!”
- 9'03 *ne:k-bahno=goʈe bahu bikar-i bahu bikar-i ta:n*  
 who-LO=ever bride be.sold-PR.3SG bride be.sold-PR.3SG then  
*eng-e qaʈ-a e:n ɖo:k-tar-an a:n-ke ʈundʌ-oka*  
 I-DA give-IMP I stay-CS-FT.1SG say-CP.2SG.M look-FT.IMP  
*a:ny-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “You say ‘Is a bride for sale anywhere? Is a bride for sale anywhere? Then give me one. I will marry her,’ and see [what happens].”
- 9'10 *pʰir inor eky-ah pe:sa pehra-kah dusra*  
 again now go.B2-PT.3SG.M money take.along-CP.3SG.M another  
*qep-ik*  
 village-DA  
 Taking the money along, he now went to another village again.
- 9'12 *e:k-ne ke.ba:d awɖ-ah ne:k-bahno=goʈe bahu bikar-u*  
 go-VN after speak-PT.3SG.M who-LO=ever bride be.sold-PP  
*bey-i a:ny-ah*  
 be-PR.3SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After going, he said, “Is there any bride for sale at anyone’s place?”
- 9'16 *i: pã:c-jin cʰo:-jin urqy-ar eng-bahno baʈagni*  
 this five-CLF six-CLF come.out.B2-PT.3PL I-LO maiden  
*ɖo:k-i eng-bahno baʈagni ɖo:k-id e:n ciy-an a:n-le*  
 stay-3SG I-LO maiden stay-3SG.NM I give-FT.1SG say-CP  
*jama:-r-ar uske.ba:d kiry-ah*  
 gather-ITR-PT.3PL after.that return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 [Then] five or six people came out, and gathered [saying] “There is a girl in my place. There is a girl in my place. I will offer her.” Then he went home.
- 9'23 *indra a:ny-ar [a:n]-ko dudu inor*  
 what say.B2-PT.3PL say-CP mother now  
 Mother now asks “What did they say?”
- 9'26 *ke:ponde awɖa-tan ne:-goʈe pel-a bi:s-eni*  
 once speak-PT.1SG who-ever woman-AC sell-FT.3SG.NM  
*a:n-tan ani qepo-ndr jamar-ar*  
 say-PT.1SG then villager-and.so.on get.together-PT.3PL  
 “I said ‘Will anyone sell a girl?’ once and then villagers gathered.”
- 9'31 *ba:pre ʈi:k ort qe:q-qe ondr-oka maɾ-e adi-n*  
 ITJ good one buy-CP.2SG.M bring-IMP like-FT.2SG.M that-AC

- a:n-ka pe:sa-ti qe:q-qa oc-ah peli-n*  
 say-CP money-IN buy-CP take.B2-PT.3SG.M woman-AC  
 [Mother] said, "Good heavens! Well, buy and bring the one you like,"  
 and he bought and brought a girl.
- 9'36 *tund-de ina peli-n to adi-n piṭ-te ani-jahã*  
 look-PR.2SG.M today woman-AC TOP that-AC kill-PT.2SG then-even  
*nane-n qe:q-qa and-ete lekin ayo-n qe:q-qa*  
 other-AC buy-CP find-PT.2SG.M but mother-AC buy-CP  
*and-ete anda*  
 find-PT.2SG.M then  
 "Look, even though you have killed a woman, you bought and found  
 another today. But did you buy and find a mother?"
- 9'41 *is.lie: teho-tambako-r-in kabi: piṭ-ot cahy-omala*  
 therefore mother-father-PL-AC anytime kill-IF should-NG.PR.3SG  
*keyamro po:sy-nar baj-ot cahy-omala*  
 with.difficulty support-PR.3PL beat-IF should-NG.PR.3SG  
 Therefore, you should never kill your parents. They nurture you with  
 difficulty. You should not beat them.
- 9'47 *a:n-ki sika:tar-a a: dine hĩ naya bahu pun*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM teach-PT.3SG that day EPH new bride new  
*bahu sa:tu a:ra:m.se suk<sup>h</sup>.se jindgi-b<sup>h</sup>ar bita-tar-le*  
 bride together in.peace happily life-all spend.time-TR-CP  
*qo:ky-ar*  
 stay.B2-PT.3PL  
 [The story] teaches thus. [From] that day on, she lived with the new  
 wife together, spending time in peace and happiness for life.
- 9'57 *i: kata-d i:d-ni ongr-a*  
 this story-NM this-LO.EPH end-PT.3SG  
 This story ends here.

## §26 Story of a smart nephew (Nc).

Told by Mr. Mangal Malto of Simal Kundi, P. O. Hiranpur, P. S. Littipara,  
 Dist. Pakur. Recorded in Simal Kundi on September 7, 2006.

- 0'21 *e:n e:nd-ond qe:ri-n tejg-oti ugley-in*  
 I CLF-one story-AC tell-IF feel.like-PR.1SG  
 I would like to tell a story.
- 0'26 *orte-h kank-qaḍe-k eky-ah*  
 one.CLF-M wood-jungle-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 A man went to the woods for firewood.
- 0'32 *kank-qaḍe-k ek-keh kank-a ta:r-ot eky-ah*  
 wood-jungle-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.M wood-AC cut-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ani*  
 then  
 He went to the woods in order to cut firewood.

- 0'38 *kank-a ta:r-ot e:k-ne ke.ba:du maq-onde ejdu urgy-a*  
 wood-AC cut-IF go-VN after CLF-one bear come.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 After going to cut firewood, a bear came out.
- 0'52 *maq-ond ejdu urgy-a ante a:hu man-ik*  
 CLF-one bear come.out.B2-PT.3SG and he tree-DA  
*arg-keh ij-ah adno ejdu te:lo lap-ot*  
 climb-CP.3SG.M stand.B2-PT.3SG.M then bear tree.name eat-IF  
*urgy-ad ani*  
 come.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM then  
 A bear came out. And he climbed up a tree and stood on it. The bear  
 came out to eat Telo fruit.
- 1'00 *a:he ikna:na et-ken boŋg-en a:ny-ah*  
 he how go.down-CP.1SG run.away-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, "How shall I go down and run away?"
- 1'04 *ante et-keh boŋg-oti pa:w-a jimr-keh*  
 and go.down-CP.3SG.M run.away-IF road-AC be.obtained-CP.3SG.M  
*upa:y-a lagatry-ah*  
 devise-AC attach.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He went down, and having found a way to escape, he used a trick.
- 1'10 *ki ej-nihi be:k-keh ety-ah*  
 COMP bear-LO.EPH jump-CP.3SG.M go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He jumped onto the bear and went down.
- 1'13 *ante ej-no be:k-ke et-keh ok-keh*  
 and bear-LO jump-CP.3SG.M go.down-CP.3SG.M sit-CP.3SG.M  
*aḍa-k andake oc-ah*  
 house-DA that.way take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He jumped down and sat on the bear and took it home that way.
- 1'19 *oca-keh ante coŋj-keh ildy-ah*  
 take.B2-CP.3SG.M and tie-CP.3SG.M make.stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He took it home, tied it, and made it stand.
- 1'22 *coŋj-keh ild-keh a:h ej-ki erg-id*  
 tie-CP.3SG.M make.stand-CP.3SG he bear-GE excrete-PR.3SG.NM  
*a:ti-no e:k-taka pe:sa-n asq-qeh oŋy-ah*  
 there-LO one-rupee money-AC paste-CP.3SG.M keep.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After he tied it and made it stand, he pasted a one-rupee coin on where  
 it has excreted and kept it.
- 1'32 *asq-qeh oŋy-ah ante ahi-k tang-mama-da:ru*  
 paste-CP.3SG.M keep.B2-PT.3SG.M and he-DA own-maternal.uncle-PL  
*sat-jin-er ḍoky-ar*  
 seven-CLF-PL stay.B2-PT.3PL  
 He pasted [a one-rupee coin] and left it. He had seven maternal uncles.
- 1'37 *ani (u:te) bagna(d)-aḍa-k bagna-bahak e:k-a a:n-ker*  
 then nephew-house-DA nephew-LO go-IMP say-CP.3PL

- eky-ar*  
go.B2-PT.3PL  
Then they said “Let us go,” and went to [their] nephew’s place.
- 1’47 *ante a:h awɬy-ah ki aju: mama-da:ru ik-pa:w*  
and he speak.B2-PT.3SG.M COMP ITJ maternal.uncle-PL which-way  
*barc-ker ok-a a:n-keh awɬy-ah*  
come.B2-PT.2PL sit-IMP say-CP.3SG.M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Then he said, “Oh uncles, from where did you come? Please take a seat.”
- 1’54 *ante a:ber oky-ar a:-pahra tang-mama-da:ru ej-a*  
and they sit.B2-PT.3PL that-time own-maternal.uncle-PL bear-AC  
*tund-ker awɬy-ar*  
look-CP.3PL speak.B2-PT.3PL  
When they took their seats, the maternal uncles saw the bear and said,
- 2’00 *aju:=ɣe ide-n ik.wa-nte ondr-ke a:n-le mala ide-n*  
ITJ=ITJ this-AC where-AB bring-PT.2SG.M say-CP no this-AC  
*ɬade-no anda-ken*  
jungle-LO find-PT.1SG  
“My, from where did you bring this?” “No, I found it in the jungle.”
- 2’07 *and-ko i:de pe:sa-n erg-id a:n-ko*  
find-CP this money-AC excrete-PR.3SG.NM say-CP  
After I found it, [I learned that] it excretes money.
- 2’10 *indra kud-er mama-da:ru pʰir pe:sa-n*  
what do-FT.2PL maternal.uncle-PL again money-AC  
*ke:tn-onond erg-id a:n-keh a:n-le*  
winnow.basket-each.one excrete-PR.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M say-CP  
*awɬy-ah*  
speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He said, “What will you do, uncles? It excretes a basketful of money each time again.”
- 2’17 *ani em-bagna ið-en bi:s-ne ta:n e:m qe:g-lem*  
then we.E-nephew this-AC sell-PR.2SG.M then we.E buy-SJ.1PL.E  
*a:n-ko*  
say-CP  
Then they said, “Dear nephew, if you sell it, we will buy it.”
- 2’22 *lap-a qond-ken mama-da:ru bi:s-len a:ny-ah*  
eat-AP be.tired-PT.1SG maternal.uncle-PL sell-SJ.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He said, “I got tired of [its] eating. Uncles, I will sell it.”
- 2’25 *ante e:nond dam nan-ne a:n-ko a:y besi dame*  
and how.much price make-PR.2SG.M say-CP ITJ much price  
*mala-d appe beh-i*  
be.not-NM a.little be-PR.3SG  
When they said, “How much do you want?” [he said] “Not much; just a little.”

- 2'34 *a:n-ko e:k.so: taka-no qe:q-qer oc-ar*  
 say-CP one.hundred rupee-LO buy-CP.3PL take.B2-PT.3PL  
 Saying this, they bought it for one hundred rupees and took it.
- 2'41 *ante tang-bagna-h awqy-ah mama-da:ru i:d*  
 and own-nephew-M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M maternal.uncle-PL this  
*qoli-n alktr-id a:-pahra ke:tn-a tuk-ku*  
 tail-AC open-PR.3SG.NM that-time winnow.basket-AC push-FT.IMP  
*a:ny-ah*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And the nephew says, "Uncles, when it raises the tail, put a winnow basket."
- 2'49 *ante pe:sa-n erg-anid a:n-ko*  
 and money-AC excrete-FT.3SG.NM say-CP  
 "And it will excrete money"
- 2'53 *a:du qoli-n alktr-nihi ke:tn-a tuk-ko*  
 that tail-AC open-IPP.EPH winnow.basket-AC push-CP  
*te:lo-bi:ci-n te:lo-bi:ci-n ergy-a*  
 plant.name-seed-AC REP excrete.B2-PT.3SG  
 When they put a winnow basket when it raised the tail, it excreted one Telo seed after another.
- 2'58 *ani tang-mama-da:ru ahi-n ro:kary-ar*  
 so own-maternal.uncle-PL he-AC get.angry.B2-PT.3PL  
 So the maternal uncles got angry at him.
- 3'04 *ro:kar-ker ante sa:la-bagna-h nam-en essa*  
 get.angry-CP.3PL and term.of.abuse-nephew-M we.I-AC much  
*jagc-keh bi:sy-ah*  
 cheat.B2-PT.3SG.M sell.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The darned nephew cheated us and sold [the bear to us].
- 3'10 *(a:) pe:sa-n erg-anid a:ny-ah ta:n*  
 money-AC excrete-FT.3SG.NM say.B2-PT.3SG.M then  
*te:lo-bi:ci-n ergy-a*  
 plant.name-seed-AC excrete.B2-PT.3SG  
 [Though] he said it will excrete money, it [actually] excreted Telo seeds.
- 3'14 *e:k-a nahi-n baj-et a:n-ker eky-ar*  
 go-IMP he-AC beat-FT.1PL.I say-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL  
 They went, saying "Let's go and beat him up."
- 3'16 *ante e:k-ne ke:ba:du awri-hi tang-bagna awqy-ah*  
 and go-VN after again-EPH own-nephew speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And after they went, the nephew said again.
- 3'20 *aju: mama-da:r ik-pa:w barc-ker ok-a qo:k-a*  
 ITJ maternal.uncle-PL which-way come.B2-CP.2PL sit-IMP stay-IMP  
*a:ny-ah ante oky-ar*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG.M and sit.B2-PT.3PL

He said, “Oh uncles, by which way did you come? Please take a seat and stay.” And they sat down.

- 3'25 *ok-ne ke.ba:du teho-paco-n awɔy-ah ki*  
 sit-VN after mother-old.woman-AC speak.B2-PT.3SG.M COMP  
*mama-da:ru barc-a[r] dudu-paco qe:r-a*  
 maternal.uncle-PL come.B2-PT.3PL mother-old.woman chicken-AC  
*piɬ-a*  
 kill-IMP

After they sat down, he said to his wife, “Maternal uncles have come, momma. Kill a chicken.”

- 3'34 *a:n-ko a:du be:ri lagatry-a piɬ-e-no ani*  
 say-CP she time attach.B2-PT.3SG kill-VN-LO so  
 Saying “It has taken her a lot of time to kill [a chicken],”  
 3'37 *curi-n peta-keh teho-paco-n caq-a*  
 knife-AC take.up-CP.3SG.M mother-old.woman-AC stab-AP  
*piɬy-ah*  
 kill.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 he took up a knife, stabbed and killed his wife.

- 3'42 *caq-a piɬy-ah ante suɲstry-a ani*  
 stab-AP kill.B2-PT.3SG.M and sniff.B2-PT.3SG then  
*jiyary-ad*  
 revive.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 He stabbed and killed her. Then she [started] breath[ing again] and got back to life.

- 3'50 *ade-n=hō ɬundy-ar tang-mama sob-er*  
 that-AC=too look.B2-PT.3PL own-maternal.uncle all-PL  
 All the maternal uncles saw it.

- 3'53 *ante awɔy-ar aju:=re bagna em-sa:mne-hi ni:ne caq-a*  
 and speak.B2-PT.3PL ITJ=ITJ nephew we.E-front-EPH you stab-AP  
*piɬ-ke ante suɲstr-ki ani jiyary-ad*  
 kill-PT.2SG.M and sniff-CP.3SG.NM then revive.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 And they said, “Oh my, nephew, you stabbed and killed [her] right in front of us, and she [started] breath[ing again] and got back to life.”

- 4'02 *i: curi-n bi:s-ne bi:s-le ade-n e:m qe:g-lem a:n-ko*  
 this knife-AC sell-PR.2SG.M sell-CP that-AC we.E buy-SJ.1PLE say-CP  
 They said, “Will you sell this knife? If you do, we will buy it.”

- 4'06 *indra kud-en mama-da:ru bi:s-en e:n ado-jaha*  
 what do-FT.1SG maternal.uncle-PL sell-FT.1SG I more-even  
*me:nj-tr-en a:ny-ah*  
 make-CS-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, “What shall I do, uncles? I will sell it. I will have another one made.”

- 4'11 *to ade-n qe:gy-a[r] qe:q-qer oc-ar*  
 then that-AC buy.B2-PT.3PL buy-CP.3PL take.B2-PT.3PL

*tang-mama-da:ru*

own-maternal.uncle-PL

And they bought it. The maternal uncles bought and took it along.

- 4'15 *oy-ne ke.ba:du a:r apne apne tanga-qa:ni-bagter-in a:n-le*  
 take-VN after they own REP own-wife-PL-AC do.so-CP  
*caq-a piṭv-ar*  
 stab-AP kill.B2-PT.3PL

After that, they stabbed their own wives that way and killed them.

- 4'21 *ante suṇstr-ko jiyar-lar*  
 and sniff-CP revive-NG.PT.3PL

And [the wives] did not [start] breathing again and get back to life.

- 4'23 *ani sat-jine to apna apni tanga-qa:ni-bagter-in piṭ*  
 so seven-CLF then own own own-wife-PL-AC kill.AP  
*oṅgy-ar*  
 finish.B2-PT.3PL

Then the seven uncles had killed their own wives.

- 4'30 *piṭ oṅg-ker ado ro:kar-ker eky-ar*  
 kill finish-CP.3PL more get.angry-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL  
*tang-bagna-baha[-k]*  
 own-nephew-place-DA

After they had killed them, they got even more angry and went to their nephew's place.

- 4'35 *ante ek-ker ahi-n eky-ar awro darc-ar*  
 and go.B2-CP.3PL he-AC go.B2-PT.3PL again catch.B2-PT.3PL  
 They went to him and caught him again.

- 4'39 *darc-ker ihi-n samdre-no tu:s-et a:n-ker*  
 catch.B2-CP.3PL this-AC sea-LO throw.away-FT.1PL.I say-CP.3PL  
*bora-no bara:tr-ker e:ca-ker oc-ar*  
 bag-LO fill-CP.3PL bind-CP.3PL take.B2-PT.3PL  
 Saying they would throw him into the ocean, they put him in a bag,  
 tied it and took him along.

- 4'47 *e:ca-ker oca-ker ante amn.ki:ṛa qondy-ar majte*  
 bind-CP.3PL take-CP.3PL and thirst be.tired.B2-PT.3PL middle  
*bila-no sa:ṛi-no*  
 plain-LO field-LO

They bound and took him along, and got tired [from] thirst in the middle of a plain.

- 4'58 *amn.ki:ṛa qond-ker a:ṛi-no orte mohara o:y-a eṛe-n*  
 thirsty be.tired-CP.3PL there-LO one herdsman cattle-AC goat-AC  
*beḍi-ne:k-en cala:-te ḍoky-ah*  
 sheep-who-AC drive-AP stay.B2-PT.3SG.M

They got thirsty and tired. There was one herdsman driving cattle, goats, sheep and so on.

- 5'10 *ahi-n mejj.e:ry-ar ik.wahno am ko:q-id a:n-ko*  
 he-AC inquire.B2-PT.3PL where water lie-PR.3SG.NM say-CP  
 They asked him, "Where is water?"
- 5'13 *ekdam a: be:r qe:sqe:sr-id a:-bahno se ko:q-id*  
 at.once that sun glare-PR.3SG.NM that-LO EPH lie-PR.3SG.NM  
*a:n-keh awqy-ah*  
 say-CP.3SG.M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said, "[Water] is where sun glares at dawn."
- 5'19 *ano i: bora-n em-a tund-ke qat-ku e:mu*  
 there this bag-AC we.E-DA look-CP.2SG.M give-FT.IMP we.E  
*onqa-kem bar-em (a:nke) a:n-ker eky-ar*  
 drink.B2-CP.1PLE come-FT.1PLE say-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL  
 "Please watch this bag for us. We will be back after drinking [water]."  
 Having said this, they went.
- 5'26 *ani a:hu a: bora-n mang-a cala:tr-uh kol-ke*  
 then he that bag-AC buffalo-AC drive-PP.M open-CP.3SG.M  
*e:r-ih ta:nu adno ortu male-h oky-ah*  
 see-PR.3SG.M then then one man-M sit.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then when the buffalo herdsman opened the bag and saw, there was  
 a man sitting in it.
- 5'36 *ante a: male-n mejj.e:ry-ah are indra kud-oti niyg-en*  
 and that man-AC inquire.B2-PT.3SG.M ITJ what do-IF you-AC  
*e:ca-ker oy-ner a:n-ko*  
 bind-CP.3PL take-PR.3PL say-CP  
 Then he asked that man, "Say, why did they bind you and are taking  
 you?"
- 5'42 *a: bora-no ok-u-h awqy-ah*  
 that bag-LO sit-PP-M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 That man sitting in the bag said,
- 5'45 *ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-gun biha nan-ot awq-ner*  
 king-daughter-with wedding do-IF speak-PR.3PL  
 "They tell me to marry the king's daughter."
- 5'46 *amb-in ani bora-no bara:tr-ker oy-ner a:ny-ah*  
 leave-PR.1SG then bag-LO fill-CP.3PL take-PR.3PL say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ani*  
 then  
 He said, "I said I would not, and they put me in a bag and are taking  
 me along."
- 5'51 *a:hu awqy-ah iko=ŋe e:n e:k-ene*  
 he speak.B2-PT.3SG.M where=ITJ I go-FT.1SG  
 He said, "Where [is it]? I will go."
- 5'54 *a:n-keh badla:r-keh goŋe qerse-ne a: cala:tr-u-k*  
 say-CP.3SG.M change-CP.3SG.M all dress-AC that drive-PP-DA

*cica-keh ante ta:ne laʃi-ne:k-en pehr-keh o:y-a*  
 give.B2-CP.3SG.M and self staff-who-AC take.up-CP.3SG.M cattle-AC  
*cala:tr-le ij-ah*

drive-CP stand.B2-PT.3SG.M

He changed [clothes], gave them to the herdsman, and he took up a staff and stood driving the cattle.

- 6'06 *ante a:r am onʒa-ker barc-ker ade-n*  
 and they water drink.B2-CP.3PL come.B2-CP.3PL that-AC  
*kum-ker oca-ker samdre-no tu:sy-ar*

take.on.the.head-CP.3PL take.B2-CP.3PL water-LO throw.B2-PT.3PL

They (the uncles) drank water, came back, carried it (i.e. the bag), took it along and threw it in the ocean.

- 6'14 *tu:s-ne ke.ba:du i:hu badlary-a a:hu kirtr-keh*  
 throw-VN after he change.B2-PT.3SG he bring.back-CP.3SG.M  
*o:y-a ne:k-en kirtr-keh taŋ-ki aʒa-no ninda-keh*  
 cattle-AC who-AC bring.back-CP.3SG.M self-GE house-LO fill-CP.3SG.M  
*ildy-ah*

make.stand.B2-PT.3SG.M

Then this [nephew] who changed [clothes with the herdsman] drove the cattle and so on home, put them in his own house and kept them there.

- 6'23 *ante ahi-n tu:s-ker barc-ar ante a:*  
 and he-AC throw-CP.3PL come.B2-PT.3PL and that  
*taŋg-bagna-sober aʒa-k ek-ke[r] tund-ner ta:nu*  
 own-nephew-all.PL house-AC go.B2-CP.3PL look-PR.3PL then  
*o:ydu e:re beʒi ninda-keh ildy-ah*

cattle goat sheep fill-CP.3SG.M make.stand.B2-PT.3SG.M

They threw him [in the ocean] and came back. And when they went to the house of the nephew and looked, he filled it with cattle, goats, and sheep, and kept them.

- 6'33 *a:re niŋg-eni hi e:m samdre-no tu:s-kem ta:n awri-hi*  
 ITJ you-AC EPH we.E sea-LO throw-CP.1PLE then again-EPH  
*o:y-a e:re-n=jahā ondr-ke*

cattle-AC goat-AC=even bring-PT.2SG.M

“Say, we threw you in the ocean, then you even brought back cattle and goats.”

- 6'39 *a:n-ko mala mama-dar eŋg-en coŋpond qond-la:go-no*  
 say-CP no maternal.uncle-PL I-AC a.little deep-somewhat-LO  
*tu:s-ler adno besi mo:ʔ-mo:ʔo mang-a ne:k-en ondr-len*

throw-SJ.2PL then much RED-fat buffalo-AC who-AC bring-SJ.1SG

“No, uncles, if you had thrown me in an even deeper [sea], I would have brought back really big buffaloes.”

- 6'46 *coŋpond oʔto(?) -no tu:s-ker ani sarwli a:n-keh qe:ri-n*  
 a.little shallow-LO throw-CP.2PL then small say-CP.3SG.M story-AC

*qacy-ah*

end.B2-PT.3SG.M

“You threw me in a little shallow [sea], so [they are] small.” Saying this, he gave an end to the story.

### §27 Story of a jackal and a tiger wife (Nc).

Told by Mr. Paulus Malto of Mokri, P. O. Bara Gagri, P. S. Littipara, Dist. Pakur. Recorded at Dharampur Mor on September 7, 2006.

0'00 *eŋ-ki na:mi-d paulus malto-d e:n mo:kri qepo-n*

I-GE name-NM PROP PROP-NM I PROP villager-1SG

My name is Paulus Malto. I am a villager of Mokri.

0'06 *anake e:nu juka qe:ri-n teŋg-en*

now I a.little story-AC tell-FT.1SG

Now I will tell a small story.

0'14 *maq-ond cigalo ante tu:du-d ante cigalo doky-ad*

CLF-one jackal and tiger-NM and jackal stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM

There lived a tiger and a jackal.

0'23 *tu:du-d oŋg.ni meŋj-ad a:d e:nq-ond mo:to daqe-no  
doky-ad*

tiger-NM wife be.B2-PT.3SG.NM that CLF-one big forest-LO  
stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM

There was [another] tiger which was the wife. They lived in a big forest.

0'30 *ante din-ond cigalo-de tu:du-da:ni-n ka:lka:s ki:d-i*

and day.CLF-one jackal-NM tiger-wife-AC desire lay-PR.3SG

And one day, the jackal coveted the tiger's wife.

0'37 *ante awdy-ad lega are na:m din-ond  
ne:reh agwa aŋs-eh din-ond na.mu boŋg-et  
a:ny-a*

say.B2-PT.3SG

And he said, “Come along. Let us race sometime [and see] who will arrive first.”

0'46 *ante a:ber din-onde boŋg-ad*

and they day.CLF-one run-PT.3SG.NM

And they raced one day.

0'50 *a: pahr-no cigalo-d boŋg-e-no kajak te:ji boŋg-ad*

that time-LO jackal-NM run-VN-LO much fast run-PT.3SG.NM

At that time, the jackal ran very fast in running.

0'55 *essa boŋg-e-ki ba:du a: tu:d-a ikni-goŋe piŋ-oti becc-ad*

much run-VN-GE after that tiger-AC how-ever kill-IF be.B2-PT.3SG.NM

He was going to kill the male tiger somehow after running a lot.

- 1'00 *ante a: tu:q-a piṭ-oti lagcki a:du man-ond mimi-manu-d*  
 and that tiger-AC kill-IF for that tree.CLF-one neem-tree-NM  
*ij-ad*  
 stand.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 And there stood that neem tree fit for killing the tiger.
- 1'06 *a: bande-n a:de bande=indru qolgr-a tu:dur-ki*  
 that root-LO that root=and.so.on beneath-AC walk.under-CP.3SG.NM  
*kaṭy-a*  
 cross.B2-PT.3SG  
 It went under the root and passed it.
- 1'11 *ade-no tu:du-d hō adi-k boṅg-ad*  
 that-LO tiger-NM too that-DA run-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the tiger also ran to that [tree].
- 1'15 *adi-n tu:du-d(ke) kaṭ-in a:n-kid ante a:t-no*  
 that-AC tiger-NM cross-PR.1SG say-CP.3SG.NM and there-LO  
*jaṭ-kid kec-ad*  
 run.into-CP.3SG.NM die.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Thinking “I will pass it,” [the tiger] ran into [the root] and died there.
- 1'20 *key-e-ki ba:du a: cigalo-d ek-ki ante tu:du-ḍa:ni-n*  
 die-VN-GE after that jackal-NM go.B2-CP.3SG.NM and tiger-wife-AC  
*awḍy-ad*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then the jackal went and told the wife of the tiger.
- 1'26 *e:n ning-a ḍa:we-n piṭ-ken bar-in a:ny-a*  
 I you-DA husband-AC kill-CP.1SG come-PR.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG  
 He said, “I killed your husband and have come [to your place].”
- 1'29 *ani a: cigalo awḍy-ad*  
 thus that jackal speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 The jackal said this.
- 1'31 *ni:n eṅg-a ḍa:we piṭ-ke e:n ning-en ḍo:k-en*  
 you I-DA husband kill-PT.2SG.M I you-AC marry-FT.1SG  
 “You killed my husband? [Oh well, then] I will marry you.”
- 1'34 *ino maqo-ta:ni-d maqe-r ḍo:k-ner a:-le:cki ne:reh*  
 here child-possessed.of-NM child-PL stay-PR.3PL that-for who.M  
*po:sy-eh*  
 support-FT.3SG.M  
 [For] here is a mother with cubs. Cubs are [also] there. So who will support [them]?
- 1'39 *a:n-ko cigalo awḍy-a e:n ning-en ḍo:k-oti se ning-a*  
 say-CP jackal speak.B2-PT.3SG I you-AC cohabit-IF EPH you-DA  
*ḍa:w-e[n] piṭ-ken a:ny-a*  
 husband-AC kill-CP.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then the jackal said, “I killed your husband only to marry you.”

- 1'45 *ante a:d indra kud-enid adi-n jogy-oti po:sy-oti*  
 and that what do-FT.3SG.NM that-AC take.care.of-IF support-IF  
*awqy-ad*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then what did she do? She told him to take care of the cubs and to feed them.
- 1'52 *ante awqy-ad ki ni:nu ka:l-a maqe-r-ik lape-n*  
 and speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM COMP you go-IMP boy-PL-DA food-AC  
*ondr-oka a:ny-a*  
 bring-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG  
 And she said, "You go and bring food for the cubs."
- 1'57 *ante a:d eky-ad maqe-r-ik lape-n ondr-oti*  
 then that go.B2-PT.3SG.NM boy-PL-DA food-AC bring-IF  
 He went in order to bring food for the cubs.
- 2'01 *ante din-ond a:du anno inno qaqe-no carc*  
 and day.CLF-one that there here forest-LO walk.around.B2.AP  
*kudy-a*  
 go.around.B2-PT.3SG  
 And he walked around in the forest all day.
- 2'07 *carc kudy-a ante ikeno-goqe lape-n*  
 walk.around.B2.AP do.B2-PT.3SG and where-ever food-AC  
*and-olkid ante a:d ante dukrar-ki*  
 find-CP.NG.3SG.NM and that and be.distressed-CP.3SG  
*kiry-ad*  
 return.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Unable to find food anywhere, he came back distressed.
- 2'13 *ante awqy-ad e:n ine lap-oti maqe-r le:cki*  
 and speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM I today eat-IF boy-PL for  
*pola-ken*  
 be.unable-PT.1SG  
 And he said, "I could not [let] the cubs eat today."
- 2'17 *a:n-kid ante a:h arigari ondr-le qatq-ah ani ni:n*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM and he always bring-CP give.B2-PT.3SG.M then you  
*ikni pol-ne*  
 how be.unable-PR.2SG.M  
 "He (i.e. my former husband) always brought food and gave [it to us].  
 Why can't you?"
- 2'21 *a:n-ko a:d awqy-ad aneke ahe-n piṭ-ken e:n*  
 say-CP that speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM now he-AC kill-PT.1SG I  
*dukre:tr-o:ken a:n-kid ado-hi kir-kid*  
 distress-NG.PR.1SG say-CP.3SG.NM further-EPH return-CP.3SG.NM  
*eky-a*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG

She spoke so. Saying “I killed him and now I won’t distress [you any more],” he went back [to the forest] once more.

- 2’27 *kir-ki* *ɖaɖe-k* *eky-ad* *ante* *ano* *cigalo-de*  
 return-CP.3SG forest-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.NM and there jackal-NM  
*o.y-a* *e.ɾe-n* *bang-e* *kudy-ad*  
 cow-AC goat-AC lie.in.wait-VN do.B2-PT.3SG.NM

The jackal went back to the forest and lay waiting for cattle and goats.

- 2’35 *ante* *ikni-goɽe* *gowale-r-inte* *bac-kid* *ante* *e.ɾe-n*  
 and how-ever cowherd-PL-AB rob-CP.3SG.NM and goat-AC  
*boŋgtry-a*  
 carry.away.B2-PT.3SG

And somehow he robbed of herdsmen and carried goats away.

- 2’40 *boŋgtr-kid* *ante* *maqe-r-in* *mo:q-try-ad*  
 carry.away-CP.3SG.NM and boy-PL-AC eat-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 He carried [goats] away and fed the tiger cubs.

- 2’43 *mo:q-try-a* *a:* *pahr-no* *ɖa:ni-n* *awɖy-ad*  
 eat-CS.B2-PT.3SG that time-LO wife-AC speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 He fed them. Then he said to the wife.

- 2’45 *are* *eɾw-en* *adi-k* *eng-e* *konɖa-cedro-n*  
 ITJ sacrifice-FT.1SG that-DA I-DA heart-intestine-AC  
*eng-tr-ku* *a:ny-a*  
 remain-CS-FT.IMP say.B2-PT.3SG

He said, “My dear, I will perform a puja. So save the heart and intestines for me.”

- 2’50 *ante* *a:* *konɖa-cedro-n* *eng-tr-ki* *cic-ad* *ani*  
 and that heart-intestine-AC remain-CS-CP.3SG give.B2-PT.3SG.NM then  
 So she saved the heart and intestines and gave them to him.

- 2’53 *cigalo-de* *te* *konɖa-cedro-ni* *mo:q-u* *adi-n* *a:du* *ta:nu*  
 jackal-NM TOP heart-intestine-AC.EPH eat-PP that-AC that then  
*moq-ad*  
 eat.B2-PT.3SG.NM

Jackals eat heart and intestines, so he ate them then.

- 2’58 *moq-qid* *ante* *a:* *u:qy-ad* *ante* *bijy-ad*  
 eat-CP.3SG and that get.dark.B2-PT.3SG.NM and dawn.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then it got dark and morning came.

- 3’01 *ado* *hi* *nan* *dine* *a:du* *a:* *dine* *tey-ad* *ka:l-a* *ni:n*  
 further EPH other day that that day send-PT.3SG.NM go-IMP you  
*maqe-r-ik* *ondr-oka* *ni:n*  
 boy-PL-DA bring-IMP you

On another day, she sent him out again, saying “You go and bring [food] for the cubs.”

- 3’07 *ado* *hi* *eky-ad* *gurar-oti*  
 further EPH go.B2-PT.3SG.NM walk.about-IF  
 He went to walk about again.

- 3'09 *bed-oti eky-ad e:ɾe-n ante ano ɖaɖe-no i:-baje*  
 seek-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.NM goat-AC and there forest-LO this-side  
*a:-baje akry-ad goɖa-hi*  
 that-side chase.B2-PT.3PL all-EPH  
 He went to look for a goat. He chased [goats] this way and that way  
 all around there in the forest.
- 3'15 *goɖe-ri cigalo-n ikno-goɖe and-ar a:t-nihi*  
 all-PL jackal-AC where-ever find-PT.3PL there-LO.EPH  
*akry-a*  
 chase.B2-PT.3SG  
 In every place, everyone found the jackal, and they chased him there.
- 3'18 *ani ado-hi nira:s menja-kid ante*  
 then further-EPH disappointed become.B2-CP.3SG.NM and  
*kiry-ad*  
 return.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 And again, he got disappointed and came back.
- 3'22 *kir-e-ki ba:du a:d awɖy-ad i:t-no caukida:r*  
 return-VN-GE after that speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM here-LO watchman  
*ga:ɾe-r are*  
 many-PL ITJ  
 Then he said, "There are too many watchmen here, dear."
- 3'28 *e:n qaq-oti jim-oti pol-in*  
 I get-IF meet-IF be.unable-PR.1SG  
 I cannot find or get [food because of them].
- 3'30 *a:-le:cki na:m e:k-a em-de:s-ik a:ny-a*  
 that-for we.I go-IMP we.E.OBL-country-DA say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Therefore let's go to our (i.e. of the jackals) land.
- 3'33 *a:ɖi-nte tam-de:s-ik a:d oy-oti lagcki*  
 there-AB themselves-land-DA that take-IF for  
*sapɾe:c-ad*  
 prepare.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 They prepared in order to move from there to their (i.e. of the jackals)  
 land.
- 3'38 *sapɾe:c-ad a: pahr-no a: ɖu:ɖ-ik maq-is maqo*  
 prepare.B2-PT.3SG.NM that time-LO that tiger-DA CLF-two child  
*menj-ad ɖadi-ɖu:ɖ-ik*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM female-tiger-DA  
 So they prepared. Then that female tiger had two cubs.
- 3'44 *(a:l ane) a: ɖadi-ɖu:ɖu-n awɖy-a ning-a se maqo-n*  
 that female-tiger-AC speak.B2-PT.3SG you-DA EPH child-AC  
*ni:n pa:k-a a:ny-a*  
 you take.in.the.lap-IMP say.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then he said to the female tiger, "You carry your children."

- 3'49 *ani a: tu:du-d awdy-ad orto-d-i*  
 then that tiger-NM speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM one-NM-EPH  
*pa:k-a a:n-ko*  
 take.in.the.lap-IMP say-CP  
 Then the tiger said, "You carry one."
- 3'52 *amb-in e:n pa:k-o:ken e:n i:-sob-en*  
 leave-PR.1SG I take.in.the.lap-NG.PR.1SG I this-all-AC  
*motra.jutra-n qow-en*  
 packs.of.luggage-AC carry-FT.1SG  
 "No, I won't. I will carry all these [belongings]."
- 3'56 *ni:n niŋ-ki maq-a pa:k-a a:n-ko*  
 you you-GE child-AC take.in.the.lap-IMP say-CP  
 "You carry your own cubs."
- 3'58 *a: tu:du taŋ-ki maq-a pa:k-kid ante*  
 that tiger self-GE child-AC take.in.the.lap-CP.3SG.NM and  
*eky-ad*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 That tiger took her own cubs and went.
- 4'02 *eky-ar se eky-ar eky-ar ante i: parte-n*  
 go.B2-PT.3PL EPH go.B2-PT.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL and this mountain-AC  
*kaŋ-ker [an]te a: parte ʈo:ke-n kaŋ-ker ante samdre-k*  
 cross-CP.3PL then that mountain hill-AC cross-CP.3PL and sea-DA  
*aŋsy-ar*  
 reach.B2-PT.3PL  
 They went and went, and having crossed this mountain and that mountain, they reached the sea.
- 4'10 *samdre-k aŋsy-ar a: pahr-no cigalo-d*  
 sea-DA reach.B2-PT.3PL that time-LO jackal-NM  
*awdy-ad*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 When they reached the sea, the jackal said,
- 4'14 *e:n ato anaki a:ndre-n*  
 I [TOP] now single-1SG  
 "I am still by myself (i.e. have no offspring)."
- 4'16 *e:n i:ʈi-nti ikni-goŋe be:k-ken kaŋ-en i: samudre-n*  
 I here-AB how-ever jump-CP.1SG cross-FT.1SG this sea-AC  
 "How on earth shall I jump and cross this sea from here [and risk my life]?"
- 4'19 *par ni:n maq-a pa:k-ki ikna:n be:g-ani*  
 but you child-AC take.in.the.lap-CP.2SG.NM how jump-FT.2SG.NM  
*a:n-i*  
 say-PR.3SG  
 "But how are you going to jump carrying the children [in the first place]?"

- 4'22 *a:n-ko a: tu:du-d awɖy-ad*  
say-CP that tiger-NM speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
Then the female tiger said,
- 4'26 *acca e:n indra kud-en anaku*  
okay I what do-FT.1SG now  
“Well, what shall I do now?”
- 4'28 *maɔo-ta:we-n de je: hi be:k-ken tund-en*  
child-possessed.of-1SG but but EPH jump-CP.1SG look-FT.1SG  
*a:n-kid ante qo:q.baje kiry-ad*  
say-CP.3SG.NM and backward return.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
Having said, “I have children with me, but I will try to jump,” she stepped back.
- 4'32 *kir-kid ante a: tu:du qo:q.pa:w kir-kid*  
return-CP.3SG.NM and that tiger backward return-CP.3SG.NM  
*ante essa jo:r boŋg-qid ante i: ku:ɽe-nte a: ku:ɽe-n*  
and much fast run-CP.3SG.NM and this edge-AB that edge-AC  
*be:k-kid ety-ad*  
jump-CP.3SG.NM go.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
Having stepped back, the tiger ran very fast, jumped from this bank to that bank, and landed.
- 4'39 *be:k-kid et-e-ki ba:du a: ku:ɽe-nte be:g-e-ki*  
jump-CP.3SG.NM go.down-VN-GE after that edge-AB jump-VN-GE  
*ba:du ada-no maqe-r-in ok-tr-kid ante awɖy-ad*  
after that-LO boy-PL-AC sit-CS-CP.3SG.NM and speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
After jumping and landing, after jumping from that bank, she made the children sit there and said,
- 4'45 *aɽeyjaldi e:k-et adi-k kaɽ-a*  
ITJ quick go-FT.1PL.I that-DA cross-IMP  
“Hey, cross it, so that we can go fast!”
- 4'48 *a:n-ko i: cigalo-d elc-u-de enɽ-en ro:katr-oku ate*  
say-CP this jackal-NM fear-PP-NM I-AC make.angry-NG.IMP or.else  
*nijg-en kaɽ-ken be:g-en a:n-i*  
you-AC cross-CP.1SG jump-FT.1SG say-PR.3SG  
This jackal, being scared, said, “Don’t make me angry. Otherwise I was going to cross and jump to you”
- 4'53 *a:ny-a ani na: awɖ-i mala andaki ba:te mala*  
say.B2-PT.3SG then that speak-PR.3SG no that.way thing no  
*kaɽ-ne(l) kaɽ-o:ku de be:k-ki kaɽ-a*  
cross-IPP.2SG.M cross-NG.FT.IMP then jump-CP.2SG.NM cross-IMP  
He said this. Then she says, “No, it is not so (i.e. I am not challenging you or anything). Do not [just] cross [it]. Jump and cross [it].”
- 4'59 *e:ɽ enɽ-en ro:ka-tr-oku ate be:k-ken kaɽ-en*  
ITJ I-AC get.angry-CS-NG.IMP or.else jump-CP.1SG cross-FT.1SG

*a:n-ko lega be:k-ki kaʔ-ki tund-a*  
 say-CP come.along.ITJ jump-CP.2SG.NM cross-CP.2SG.NM look-IMP  
*eng-en a:ny-ah*

I-AC say.B2-PT.3SG.M

He says, “Hey! Don’t make me angry! Otherwise I was going to jump and cross [it].” She said, “Come on! Try to jump and cross [it] toward me.”

5’04 *ante cigalo-de qo:q.baje kir-kid ante essa*  
 and jackal-NM backward return-CP.3SG.NM and much  
*ma:ri be:k-kid a:n-kid ante majte*  
 at.full.power(?) jump-CP.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.NM and middle  
*samdre-no jarq-qi qungy-ad*  
 sea-LO fall-CP.3SG.NM be.drowning.B2-PT.3SG.NM

Then the jackal stepped back, jumped at full power, fell in the sea in the middle, and was drowning.

5’12 *qung-e-ki ba:du anake key-oti am-a o:n-i*  
 be.drowning-VN-GE after now die-IF water-AC drink-PR.3SG  
*mecca arg-id pisi et-i mecca*  
 above climb-PR.3SG.NM below go.down-PR.3SG above  
*arg-id pisi et-i a:n-kid am*  
 climb-PR.3SG.NM below go.down-PR.3SG say-CP.3SG.NM water  
*onq onq burq-a burq-a epra:ry-a*  
 drink.B2.AP REP shout-AP REP struggle.B2-PT.3SG

Then he drank [so much] water that he would die. He came up and went down, came up and went down. He struggled drinking water and shouting.

5’20 *ante anake qadi-tu:qu anake a:d eng-a qa:we-n pity-a*  
 and now female-tiger now that I-DA husband-AC kill.B2-PT.3SG  
*anaku i:d key-i eng-en ne:reh po:sy-eh a:n-kid*  
 now this die-PR.3SG I-AC who.M support-FT.3SG say-CP.3SG.NM  
*ante a:d be:k-kid ety-ad ba:ca-tr-oti*  
 and that jump-CP.3SG.NM go.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM save-TR-IF  
 And now, thinking “He killed my husband. [If] he dies now, who will feed me?” the female tiger jumped down in order to save [him].

5’29 *ba:ca-tr-o be:k-kid et-kid ante a:d indra*  
 save-TR-IF jump-CP.3SG.NM go.down-CP.3SG.NM and that what  
*kudy-ad*  
 do.B2-PT.3SG

What did she do after she jumped and went into [the sea] to save [him]?

5’32 *adi-n pa:k-ki ceqa-ki*  
 that-AC take.in.the.lap-CP.3SG.NM carry-CP.3SG.NM  
*coy-try-ad*  
 rise-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM

She took him in her lap, carried [him to the shore,] and woke him up.

- 5'34 *coy-tr-kid ante duwari-k otry-a*  
 rise-CS-CP.3SG.NM and door-DA take.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 After she woke him up, he took her outside.
- 5'36 *duwari-k otr-ko qadi-ʃu:q-a bajy-ad*  
 door-DA take.out-CP female-tiger-AC beat.B2-PT.3SG  
 After he took the female tiger outside, he beat her.
- 5'39 *e:n mage-r le:cki icca:-mi:n-a bed-ken ni:n ar eng-en*  
 I boy-PL for shrimp-fish-AC seek-CP.1SG you and I-AC  
*duwari-k otr-ko ok-tr-ni a:n-le bajy-ad*  
 door-DA take.out-CP sit-CS-PR.2SG.NM say-CP beat.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Saying "I was looking for shrimp for the children. [But] you took me  
 outside and made me sit [on the shore]," he beat [her].
- 5'44 *i: kahani i: qe:ri-d i:t-ni hi ongr-id*  
 this story this story-NM here-LO.EPH EPH end-PR.3SG.NM  
 This much is this story.

## §28 Story of seven brothers and a sister (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Barnya Ganga) Mesa Pahariya of Ursa Pahar, P. O. Vindudham, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahebganj. Recorded in Ursa Pahar on February 24, 2007.<sup>1</sup>

- 0'00 *ey-ki na:mi me:sa abo-ki na:mi baɽna ganga*  
 I-GE name PROP father-GE name PROP PROP  
 My name is Mesa. My father's name is Barnya Ganga.
- 0'07 *a:n-le a:g-it=baru mba*  
 say-CP know-PR.1PL.I=maybe isn't.it  
 We know it, don't we?
- 0'14 *e:n pahariya-n pahariya-n na:mi to pahariya beh-i*  
 I Pahariya-1SG REP name TOP Pahariya be-PR.3SG  
 I am a Pahariya. The name is Pahariya.
- 0'20 *ante e:n teɽg-in*  
 and I tell-PR.1SG  
 Then I will tell.
- 0'22 *ante goɽ male-ri men-a kide pel-er-in ang-a*  
 and all person-PL listen-IMP COMP woman-PL-AC choose-IMP  
*ortonti*  
 together  
 Listen, everyone. [Suppose] you talk about girls together,
- 0'26 *e:n kahani teɽg-oti bi:r-en umba*  
 I story tell-IF be.about.to-FT.1SG isn't.it  
 [saying] "I am going to tell a story," right?

<sup>1</sup>For the first part of this story, similar passages are found in 'The story of a princess' in Bodding (1925–29: vol.2, 306–315). For similar motifs, see Thompson and Balys (1958:398).

- 0'30 *ta:nu ne:d aŋg-ani ne:-jahā aŋg-oti*  
 then who choose-FT.3SG.NM who-even choose-IF  
*aŋg-olad*  
 choose-NG.PR.3SG.NM  
 Then who will chat [about girls]? Nobody chat [about girls]?
- 0'33 *lekin men-a agdu male-r teŋgr.naq-ar*  
 but listen-IMP first person-PL converse-PT.3PL  
 But listen, at first, people were talking.
- 0'38 *qandr pahra-no indra awḡy-ar*  
 sleep time-LO what speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 What did they say when they went to bed?
- 0'40 *lega kata-n teŋg-a a:n-le maqe-r teŋg-naq-ner*  
 come.along story-AC tell-IMP say-CP boy-PL tell-REC-PR.3PL  
 Saying "Come on, tell a story," boys talk.
- 0'42 *ante ne:reh a:g-ih a:he kata-n men-a men-a*  
 and who.M know-PR.3SG.M he story-AC listen-IMP REP  
*pel-er-in aŋg-a a:n-ih*  
 girl-PL-AC choose-IMP say-PR.3SG.M  
 One who knows says "Listen to [my] story. [First] tell which girl you like."
- 0'46 *ante aŋg-a qop-or-ner aŋge.mange*  
 and choose-AP gather-ITR-PR.3PL among.themselves  
 And they get together chatting [about girls] among themselves.
- 0'49 *e:n adi-n maḡ-en e:n idi-n maḡ-en a:n-le peli-n*  
 I that-AC like-PR.1SG I this.NM-AC like-PR.1SG say-CP girl-AC  
*aŋg-ner*  
 choose-PR.3PL  
 They chat about girls saying "I like this [girl]" "I like that girl."
- 0'53 *budḡi-n ca:he maḡi-n aŋg-ner ante teŋg-ih*  
 old.woman-AC or young.girl-AC choose-PR.3PL and tell-PR.3SG.M  
*orte*  
 one  
 Whether it is an old woman or a young girl, they chat [about women]  
 and then one tells [a story].
- 0'58 *ade-no men-ner kide men-a acca men-a e:n teŋg-in*  
 that-LO ask-PR.3PL COMP listen-IMP well listen-IMP I tell-PR.1SG  
*kata-n a:n-ih*  
 story-AC say-PR.3SG.M  
 Then they listen. "Listen, well, listen, I am telling a story."
- 1'04 *ante teŋg-ih adi-n men-ner a:-juka-hi teŋg-oti*  
 and tell-PR.3SG.M that-AC hear-PR.3PL that-like-EPH tell-IF  
*bi:r-en kata-n*  
 be.about.to-FT.1SG story-AC

And he tells [the story]. They listen to it. I am going to tell a story that way.

- 1'10 *i:d men-oti i:t-no ok-u-r ho men-er*  
 this hear-IF here-LO sit-PP-PL too hear-FT.3PL  
 Those sitting here for listening to this will listen, too.
- 1'13 *ida-no to ida-no male-r men-oti ho pa:ry-ne[r] sikar-oti ho*  
 this-LO TOP this-LO person-PL hear-IF too be.able-PR.3PL learn-IF too  
*pa:ry-ner ante*  
 be.able-PR.3PL and  
 People can both listen to this story and learn from it.
- 1'20 *i:d indrik i:ber barc-ker ante band-ner i:ber ho a:*  
 this why these come.B2-CP.3PL and pull-PR.3PL these too that  
*ik-pahra-no men-er [ad-]ike ugle:c-ker ante band-ner*  
 which-time-LO hear-FT.3PL that-DA think.B2-CP.3PL and pull-PR.3PL  
 Why have these people (i.e. Kobayashi and Tirkey) come and why are they recording this [story]? They are recording this so that [people] will listen to it some time.
- 1'27 *ani dohra mal-a dohra mal-a men-a mba*  
 so double be.not-PR.3SG double be.not-PR.3SG listen-IMP isn't.it  
*dosra-d mal-a e:ru*  
 second-NM be.not-PR.3SG good  
 And [this] is not a repetition. Listen, okay? [This] is not a twice-told [story,] but a good [story].
- 1'31 *ante tegg-in e:n anake kata-n*  
 and tell-PR.1SG I now story-AC  
 And now I will tell the story.
- 1'33 *kide sat-jin onqgal-er menj-ar*  
 COMP seven-CLF sibling-PL be.B2-PT.3PL  
 There were seven brothers.
- 1'37 *ta:no sat-jin onqgal-er-no ort pel.maqe menj-a*  
 then seven-CLF sibling-PL-LO one girl be.B2-PT.3SG  
 Aside from the seven brothers, there was a girl.
- 1'41 *pel.maqe menj-a a:d cuqe menj-a*  
 girl be.B2-PT.3SG that youngest be.B2-PT.3SG  
 There was a girl. She was the youngest.
- 1'43 *cuqe menj-a ante indra kudy-ar sat-jin-er gofe-ri*  
 youngest be.B2-PT.3SG and what do.B2-PT.3PL seven-CLF-PL all-PL  
*pel.ta:ry-ar*  
 get.married.B2-PT.3PL  
 She was the youngest. And what did they do? All the seven of them got married.
- 1'49 *gofe-ri pel.ta:r-ker ante a:ber sat-jin-er-ki sat-jin-er*  
 all-PL get.married-CP.3PL and they seven-CLF-PL-GE seven-CLF-PL

- a:ber sikare-k eky-ar (repeated)*  
 they hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3PL  
 All got married and the seven of them went hunting.
- 2'06 *tang-bahu-ber doky-ar a:ber dok-ker ante*  
 own-elder.brother's.wife-PL stay.B2-PT.3PL they stay-CP.3PL and  
*indra kudy-ar*  
 what do.B2-PT.3PL  
 Her sisters-in-law stayed [home]. They stayed [home] and what did they do?
- 2'11 *tang.do tang.erqo-n adi-n kank-ik*  
 own.sister own.husband's.younger.sister-AC that-AC firewood-DA  
*tey-ar*  
 send-PT.3PL  
 They sent the sister, the younger sister-in-law, for firewood.
- 2'15 *ka:l-a gaqy-ond kank-a ta:r-oka*  
 go-IMP cart.CLF-one firewood-AC cut-IMP  
 "Go and cut a cartful of firewood."
- 2'17 *ante ey-abalo kum-ki bar-ani*  
 and tie-NG.AP carry.on.head-CP.2SG.NM come-FT.2SG.NM  
 "And come back carrying it on your head without tying."
- 2'20 *ante se ni:n ja:gu-n qaq-ani a:n-le awqy-a*  
 then EPH you food-AC receive-FT.2SG.NM say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG  
*ante a:d indra kud-anid eky-a*  
 and she what do-FT.3SG.NM go.B2-PT.3SG  
 "Only then you will get food." What did she do? She went.
- 2'24 *ek-kid qade-k ek-kid ante ta:ry-a*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM jungle-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.NM and cut.B2-PT.3SG  
 She went to the jungle and cut [firewood].
- 2'26 *ta:r-a jamatr-ne-ki ba:de a:de bā:grec-e:r-i*  
 cut-AP collect-VN-GE after she embrace-see-PR.3SG  
*ceq-e:r-i ta:nu gaqy-ond kanku-d ikni*  
 carry-see-PR.3SG then cart.CLF-one firewood-NM how  
*sambɣar-ani*  
 handle-FT.3SG.NM  
 After cutting and gathering [firewood], she tried to hold and carry it.  
 Then how can she handle a cartful of firewood?
- 2'35 *sambɣar-la adi-ki ba:de-no olg-ad a:d kajak*  
 handle-NG.PT.3SG that-GE after-LO cry-PT.3SG.NM she much  
 She [could] not handle it. Then she cried a lot.
- 2'37 *ayu: gosapi anake bahu-ber eng-eng-a baiya-ber sikare-k*  
 ITJ god now sister.in.law-PL I-RED-DA brother-PL hunting-DA  
*eky-ar ani bahu-ber eng-en tey-ar*  
 go.B2-PT.3PL so sister.in.law-PL I-AC send-PT.3PL

“Oh, god, my elder brothers have gone hunting now, and the elder sisters-in-law sent me, saying

- 2'44 *ki gady-ond kank-a ta:r-oka ante ey-abalo*  
 COMP cart.CLF-one firewood-AC cut-IMP and tie-NG.AP  
*kum-ki bar-ani ta:nu ja:gu-n*  
 carry.on.head-CP.2SG.NM come-FT.2SG.NM then food-AC  
*qaq-ani ate qaq-la:ni a:n-le*  
 receive-FT.2SG.NM otherwise receive-NG.FT.2SG.NM say-CP  
*awdy-ar*  
 speak.B2-PT.3PL

‘Cut a cartful of firewood, and come back carrying it on your head without tying it. Then you will get food. Otherwise you will not.’

- 2'49 *ta:nu e:n anake barc-ken ante ta:r-ken jama:tr-ken ta:nu*  
 then I now come.B2-CP.1SG and cut-CP.1SG collect-CP.1SG then  
*anake ikna:n e:ca-ken kir-en e:n*  
 now how tie.B2-CP.1SG return-FT.1SG I  
 Then I came, cut and collected [firewood] now, but how shall I tie it and take it home?”

- 2'55 *a:n-le ugle:c-a olg-i adi-ki ba:de-no pac-goṭa*  
 say-CP think.B2-PT.3SG cry-PR.3SG that-GE after-LO five-CLF  
*kanku-neru-d urq-a urq-qid ante pac*  
 firewood-snake-NM come.out-PT.3SG come.out-CP.3SG.NM and five  
*bandani poj-ki cic-a*  
 fastening entwine-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG  
 She thought so. After that five firewood snakes came out and coiled themselves into five ties.

- 3'04 *ante neru-d awdy-a kide (eng-en) e:n e:ca-ken*  
 and snake-NM speak.B2-PT.3SG COMP I tie.B2-CP.1SG  
*cica-ken ciy-en*  
 give.B2-CP.1SG give-FT.1SG  
 Then the snake said, “I will tie [this for you].”

- 3'11 *ante ni:n ase:rabe ki:d-ku ante e:n kolr-le*  
 and you slowly lay.down-FT.IMP and I get.loose-CP  
*boṅg-en*  
 run.away-FT.1SG  
 “And remember to put it down slowly, and I will untie myself and run away.”

- 3'14 *ante ni:n e:d-ani ning-bahu-ber-in*  
 and you show-FT.2SG.NM you-sister.in.law-PL-AC  
 “And you will show [it] to your sisters-in-law.”

- 3'16 *a:n-ko a: neru-d e:ca-ki cic-ad ani i:de*  
 say-CP that snake-NM tie.B2-CP.2SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG.NM so this  
*kum-ki ante kiry-a*  
 carry.on.head-CP.3SG.NM and return.B2-PT.3SG

Having said this, the snakes bound [the firewood for her,] so she went home from the woods.

- 3'23 *kir-kid*                      *ante ki:d-a*                      *ki:d-ne-ki*                      *ba:de neru*  
 return-CP.3SG.NM and lay.down-PT.3SG lay.down-VN-GE after snake  
*boŋg*                      *oŋgry-a*  
 run.away.AP finish.B2-PT.3SG  
 After she went home and put [the firewood] down, the snakes ran away.

- 3'27 *ante bahu-ber*                      *e:r-owa* *kanku-d*                      *idi-n* *ondr-ken*  
 and sister.in.law-PL see-IMP firewood-NM this-AC bring-CP.1SG  
*gady-ond* *kank-a*  
 cart.CLF-one firewood-AC  
 “Sisters, come and see. [Here is] the firewood. I brought this, a cartful of firewood.”

- 3'31 *a:n-ko* *e:ry-ar*                      *ante o: t̪i:ke* *gady-ond*                      *kanku* *ja:gu*  
 say-CP see.B2-PT.3PL and ITJ well cart.CLF-one firewood food  
*ko:q-i* *lap-a* *a:ny-a[r]*  
 lie-PR.3SG eat-IMP say.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then they saw and said, “Okay, [this is] a cartful of firewood. Here is food. Eat it.”

- 3'35 *lap-a* *a:n-ker*                      *ante lap-try-ar*  
 eat-IMP say-CP.3PL and eat-CS.B2-PT.3PL  
 They gave her food saying “Eat it.”

- 3'38 *lap-ne-ki* *ba:de-no* *ante do:k-ner*                      *ok-ner*                      *ok-ner ok-ner* *ante*  
 eat-VN-GE after-LO and stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL REP REP and  
*awri-hi* *awdy-ar*                      *kide* *pac* *toma* *kalsa* *nulky-ar*  
 again-EPH speak.B2-PT.3PL COMP five hole jar bore.B2-PT.3PL  
 Then after living for a while, they told her again [to bring something, water this time,] and made five holes on the jar.

- 3'45 *a:ber to* *taŋg-baiya-ber* *sikare-k*                      *eky-ar*                      *bar-olar*  
 they TOP own-brother-PL hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3PL come-NG.PR.3PL  
*a:ber*  
 they  
 Those elder brothers had gone hunting and have not come back.

- 3'48 *pac* *toma* *nul-k-er*                      *kalsa* *nul-k-er*                      *ante* *tey-ar*  
 five hole bore-CP.3PL jar bore-CP.3PL and send-PT.3PL  
*qoba-k*  
 pond/well-AC  
 They made five holes in one jar and sent her to the well.

- 3'52 *ka:l-a*                      *ani*                      *qol-ki*                      *bar-oka*                      *ante* *ja:gu-n*  
 go-IMP then scoop-CP.2SG.NM come-IMP and food-AC  
*qaq-ani*                      *ate*                      *qaq-la:ni*                      *a:n-ko*  
 receive-FT.2SG.NM otherwise receive-NG.FT.2SG.NM say-CP

Saying, “Go, and scoop water and come. Then you will get food. Otherwise you won’t.”

- 3’54 *ek-ki qoba-k ek-ki ante olg-i*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.NM pond/well-DA go.B2-CP.3SG.NM and cry-PR.3SG  
*qol-e:r-id e:k-id qol-e:r-id*  
 take.up-see-PR.3SG.NM go-PR.3SG.NM take.up-see-PR.3SG.NM  
*e:k-id*  
 go-PR.3SG.NM

She went to the well and cried. She tried to scoop water, but it flowed out. She tried to scoop water, but it flowed out.

- 3’58 *ante indra kud-ani olg-i urkro kalsa ikna:n*  
 and what do-FT.3SG.NM cry-PR.3SG holey jar how  
*kir-anid amu*  
 return-FT.3SG.NM water

And what did she do? She cried. It was a jar with holes. How would water be brought back?

- 4’02 *ante olg-a adi-ki ba:de-no (o:) mu:qe-d urq-qed*  
 and cry-PT.3SG that-GE after-LO frog-NM come.out-CP.3SG.NM  
*awɖy-a pac-goŋe mu:qe-d urq-qed*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG five-CLF frog-NM come.out-CP.3SG.NM  
*awɖy-a ide indra olg-ni*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG ITJ what cry-PR.2SG.NM

She cried. Then frogs came out and spoke. Five frogs came out and spoke [to her]. “Say, what are you crying over?”

- 4’09 *mala baiya-ber sikare-k eky-ar sat-jin baiya-ber*  
 no brother-PL hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3PL seven-CLF brother-PL  
*sikare-k eky-ar*  
 hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3PL

“No, my elder brothers went hunting. Seven brothers went hunting.

- 4’13 *sat-jin bahu-ber eng-en awɖy-ar e: ka:l-a*  
 seven-CLF sister.in.law-PL I-AC speak.B2-PT.3PL ITJ go-IMP  
*am-a qol-ki bar-oka a:n-ker ante pac toma*  
 water-AC take.up-CP.2SG.NM come-IMP say-CP.3PL and five hole  
*nulk-ker ikna:[n] qol-ken qaq-en*  
 bore-CP.3PL how take.up-CP.1SG receive-FT.1SG

Seven sisters-in-law said to me, ‘Go, scoop water and come.’ How can I scoop water when there are five holes [in the jar]?

- 4’20 *adi-n olg-in a:n-ko bawna:r-oma e:n qol-ken*  
 that-AC cry-PR.1SG say-CP worry-NG.IMP I take.up-CP.1SG  
*ciy-en*  
 give-FT.1SG

I am crying over it.” They (the frogs) [said], “Don’t worry. I will scoop.”

- 4'24 *uʔa-kem ciy-em a:n-ki ante pac-goʔa (nerud)*  
 cover-CP.1PL.E give-FT.1PL.E say-CP.3SG.NM and five-CLF  
*uʔa-ki cic-a kalsa-no*  
 cover-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG jar-LO  
 “We will cover [the holes for you].” The five [frogs] covered [the  
 holes] of the jar.
- 4'28 *ani tu:tro-n tu:tro-n (tu)ʔuky-a*  
 then hole-AC REP seal.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then they covered each hole.
- 4'29 *ante a: mu:qe-d mu:qe-d ante uʔa-ki cic-a*  
 and that frog-NM REP and cover-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG  
*adi-ki ba:de-no qol-ki kiry-a*  
 that-GE after-LO take.up-CP.3SG.NM return.B2-PT.3SG  
 Those frogs covered [the holes for her]. Then she scooped [water]  
 and went home.
- 4'35 *ante dusra kalsa-no pu:rc-a ante idi bahu am*  
 and other jar-LO fill.B2-PT.3SG and ITJ sister.in.law water  
*ondr-ken o: ʔi:ke ja:gu-n lap-a ja:gu-n lapy-a*  
 bring-PT.1SG ITJ well food-AC eat-IMP food-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG  
 And emptied the water into another jar. “Look, sisters, I brought wa-  
 ter.” “Okay, good. Eat food.” She ate food.
- 4'40 *ante ja:gu-n lap-ne-ki ba:de nandu-hi anake ni:n ka:l-a*  
 and food-AC eat-VN-GE after again-EPH now you go-IMP  
 [They said to her] again, “Now you go.”
- 4'46 *i: ʔal-ond kalayi-n bargi-no ca:g-ki*  
 this basket.CLF-one pulse-AC kitchen.garden-LO sow-CP.2SG.NM  
*bar-oka*  
 come-IMP  
 Go and sow this basketful of pulse in the kitchen garden.
- 4'50 *a:n-ko bahc gundʔ-pe meŋj-a ba:lu-cow*  
 say-CP plough.B2.AP grind.to.powder-PAP be.B2-PT.3SG sand-like  
*qe:ql-no*  
 earth-LO  
 The field was cultivated into powder on the surface like sand.
- 4'51 *ca:gy-a ca:g-ne-ki ba:de-no anake bahu ca:g-kem*  
 sow.B2-PT.3SG sow-VN-GE after-LO now sister.in.law sow-CP.1SG  
*barc-kem*  
 come.B2-PT.1SG  
 She sowed. After sowing, she said, “Sister, I sowed and now I came  
 back.”
- 4'57 *a:n-i to ort-id awq-id ki indrik*  
 say-PR.3SG TOP one-NM speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP why  
*ca:g-ki ka:l-a peta-ki bar-oka*  
 sow-PT.2SG.NM go-IMP take.up.B2-CP.2SG.NM come-IMP

Then one [sister-in-law] said, “Why did you sow? Go, and take [the seeds] up.”

- 5'01 *ante ja:gu-n ciy-en ate ciy-olaken*  
and food-AC give-FT.1SG otherwise give-FT.PR.1SG  
Then I will give you food. Otherwise, I won't.

- 5'03 *a:n-ki ca:g-ot awq-ko ca:gy-a ta:nu p<sup>h</sup>ir se*  
say-CP.3SG.NM sow-IF speak-CP sow.B2-PT.3SG then again EPH  
*peh-oti awq-i*  
take.up-IF speak-PR.3SG  
They told her to sow [the seeds], and when she sowed them, [the sister-in-law] told her to take them up again.

- 5'06 *ante ek-ki bed-e:r-i qe:qI-a ta:nu du:ri-n[o]*  
and go.B2-CP.3SG.NM look.for-see-PR.3SG earth-AC then dust-LO  
*ik.bahno and-ani kalayi-n*  
where find-FT.3SG.NM pulse-AC  
She went and tried to look for the pulse on the ground, but where would she find the pulse in the dust[-like soil]?

- 5'10 *and-ola te nandu a:t-no olg-id ca:g-oka*  
find-NG.PR.3SG.NM then again there-LO cry-PR.3SG.NM sow-IMP  
*a:n-ko ca:g-ken*  
say-CP sow-PT.1SG  
She did not find pulses and cried there, saying “Since they told me to sow, I sowed.”

- 5'15 *gosani ta:n anake peh-ot awq-ner ikna:n peta-ken*  
god then now take.up-IF speak-PR.3PL how take.up.B2-CP.1SG  
*kir-ken ja:gu-n qaq-en*  
return-CP.1SG food-AC receive-FT.1SG  
“O god, they now tell me to take them up. How can I take them up, go home and get food?”

- 5'20 *ante olg-ad ani na:m awq-ite qa:qarcu a:n-it*  
and cry-PT.3SG.NM so we.I speak-PR.1PL.I name.of.bird say-PR.1PL.I  
*a: ba:r-batte-r awq-er cekwa-d a:n-ner*  
that Western-sider-PL speak-FT.3PL crow-NM say-PR.3PL  
And she cried. Then a crow — we call it *qa:qarcu* and the people of those Western Hills call it *cekwa*.

- 5'28 *na: puju-d et-kid ante awqy-a indra*  
that bird-NM come.down-CP.3SG.NM and speak.B2-PT.3SG what  
*olg-ni a:n-ko*  
cry-PR.2SG.NM say-CP  
That bird came down and said, “What are you crying over?”

- 5'30 *ca:g-oti awq-ko ca:g-ken a:n-ken peta-ki*  
sow-IF speak-CP sow-CP.1SG say-CP.1SG take.up.B2-CP.2SG.NM  
*bar-oka ande-hi ja:gu-n ciy-em ate ciy-olakem*  
come-IMP then-EPH food-AC give-FT.1PLE otherwise give-NG.PR.1PLE

- a:n-ner a:n-kid ante*  
 say-PR.3PL say-CP.3SG.NM and  
 “When they told me to sow and I said ‘I sowed,’ they said ‘Go, take them up and come back. Then we will give you food. Otherwise we won’t.’” She said this.
- 5’36 *barc-ken i:-pa:w duři-ni ikna:n and-en*  
 come.B2-CP.1SG this-way dust-LO.EPH how find-FT.1SG  
*bed-in and-olaken*  
 look.for-PR.1SG find-NG.PR.1SG  
 “I came [here], and I am seeking how to find [the pulses] in the dust like this, but have not found how.”
- 5’37 *a:n-le awqy-ad adi-ki ba:de-no puju*  
 say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-GE after-LO bird  
*peta-ki cic-ad*  
 take.up.B2-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 She said this. Then the bird took them up [for her].
- 5’42 *na:d ku:kry-ad qer̥kucu a:n-le pinq̣c-ad*  
 that call.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM ONOM say-CP sound.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*qer̥kucu qer̥kucu a:n-le and-it=jaha*  
 ONOM REP say-CP find-PR.1PL.I=even  
 It called out [birds] and sounded *qer̥kucu*, saying “We will just find them saying *qer̥kucu*.”
- 5’47 *a:n-le pinq̣c-le ety-a argy-a*  
 say-CP sound.B2-CP go.down.B2-PT.3SG climb.B2-PT.3SG  
*jamary-a puju*  
 gather.B2-PT.3SG bird  
 Making that *qer̥kucu* sound, it went up and down, and birds flocked.
- 5’52 *goṭe jamary-a puj-ja:ti goṭe jamar-ki*  
 all gather.B2-PT.3SG bird-caste all gather-CP.3SG.NM  
*pet-ad*  
 take.up.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 All kinds of birds got together. They all got together and took [the pulses] up.
- 5’54 *ante inonde mejj-a mala aur beh-id a:n-ko awro*  
 and this.much be.B2-PT.3SG or more be-PR.3SG.NM say-CP more  
*ba:ki re:kond a:n-ko*  
 left a.little say-CP  
 “Was it this much, or was there more?” “A little more is left.”
- 5’58 *ne: nuḍ-a mala a:n-le nuter kudy-a*  
 who hide-PT.3SG no say-CP check walk.around.B2-PT.3SG  
 Saying “Who hid them, or not?” they went around checking.
- 6’00 *ta:nu gaṛwa a:n-it nadi-ki-no oky-ad*  
 then name.of.bird say-PR.1PL.I that-GE-LO sit.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Then it was with [the bird] that we call *gaṛwa*.

- 6'02 *ani sa:la ni:n indrike injqad-mage-ki nuḍa-ki*  
 so stinker you why orphan-child-GE hide-CP.2SG.NM  
*a:n-ki ante usaty-a*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM and kick.B2-PT.3SG  
 “Stinker! Why did you hide an orphan’s [possession]?” [The  
*qa:qarṣu* bird] said this and kicked [the *garwa* bird].
- 6'06 *ani porwa qo:qwajo katy-a*  
 so dewlap backward cross.B2-PT.3SG  
 So the dewlap of [the *garwa* bird] went behind [its neck].
- 6'09 *a: bogla nuḍ-ad(a) ni:n bogla sa:la ni:n*  
 that paddy.bird hide-PT.3SG.NM you paddy.bird stinker you  
*badma:se ni:n a:n-ki ide-n qasr-a darc-ki*  
 rascal you say-CP.3SG.NM this-AC neck-AC hold.B2-CP.3SG.NM  
*bi:jiy-a*  
 widen.B2-PT.3SG  
 The paddy bird hid them [too]. “Paddy bird! You stinker! You ras-  
 cal!” Saying this, it held [the bird] by the neck and stretched it.
- 6'14 *anake bogla qasru digaro-d*  
 now paddy.bird neck long-NM  
 Now the neck of a paddy bird is long.
- 6'15 *awro qeḍ-a darc-ki bi:jiy-ad ano qeḍu-d*  
 and foot-AC hold.B2-CP.3SG.NM extend.B2-PT.3SG.NM there foot-NM  
*nu:tr-ki beh-i kolgr-ola*  
 stretch.out-CP.3SG.NM be-PR.3SG be.bent-NG.PR.3SG  
 And [the *qa:qarṣu* bird] held [the paddy bird] by the legs and ex-  
 tended them. So [the latter’s] legs are stretched out and are not bent.
- 6'19 *ante kiry-a ninda-kid ante kiry-a ante*  
 and return.B2-PT.3SG fill-CP.3SG.NM and return.B2-PT.3SG and  
*ja:gu-n lap-a a:n-ko lapy-a*  
 food-AC eat-IMP say-CP eat.B2-PT.3SG  
 And she went home. She went home after filling [the basket with the  
 pulse]. When they said “Eat your food,” she ate.
- 6'24 *e:da-ko ante nandi nandi-hi ḍoky-ar oky-ar*  
 show-CP and again again-EPH stay.B2-PT.3PL sit.B2-PT.3PL  
*ḍoky-ar oky-ar ante nandu-hi nadi-ne indra*  
 stay.B2-PT.3PL sit.B2-PT.3PL and again-EPH she-AC what  
*kudy-ar*  
 do.B2-PT.3PL  
 She showed [the pulses to them and got food]. They kept on living,  
 and what did they do to her again?
- 6'32 *ḍe:ki-no sat-jin-er cap-ner*  
 husking.machine-LO seven-CLF-PL tread-PR.3PL  
 The seven were treading the husking machine.

- 6'35 *orta-qadi* *tang-erqo-d* *qes-a*  
 one.person-only own-husband's.younger.sister-NM paddy-AC  
*tuk-id*  
 push-PR.3SG.NM  
 Their younger sister-in-law was feeding rice [to the machine] alone.
- 6'38 *mane* *tuk-a* *ciy-id* *baru* *and-it=jahã*  
 namely push-AP give-PR.3SG.NM you.know find-PR.1PL.I=even  
*tuk-ner* *a:-juke* *tuky-a[r]*  
 push-PR.3PL that-like push.B2-PT.3PL  
 She was feeding [rice to the machine]. See, they were pounding [rice]  
 just as we still see [people] doing.
- 6'43 (a) *i:* *andu* *cap-ner* *sat-jin-er* *daq-ond*  
 this then tread-PR.3PL seven-CLF-PL CLF-one  
*qe:ki-n[o]*  
 husking.machine-LO  
 These seven [sisters-in-law] were treading one husking machine.
- 6'45 *to* *are* *ni:n* *ka:l-a* *are* *ni:n* *ka:l-a* *teyr-naq-ner* *ante*  
 TOP ITJ you go-IMP ITJ you go-IMP be.sent-REC-PR.3PL and  
*me:gri-d* *ek-ki* *tuk-ki* *qatj-a*  
 eldest-NM go.B2-CP.3SG.NM push-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG  
 They sent each other saying "You go, you go," and the eldest sister-  
 in-law went [first] and pushed [her into the husking machine].
- 6'51 *bahu* *tuk-oma* *qe:ki* *maqy-anid*  
 sister.in.law push-NG.IMP husking.machine trample-FT.3SG.NM  
*a:ny-a* *ante* *a:d* *pol-a*  
 say.B2-PT.3SG and she be.unable-PT.3SG  
 She said, "Don't push me, sister. The husking maching will trample  
 me." Then she could not [kill her].
- 6'54 *are* *ni:n* *ka:l-a* (*adit*) *adibaha-d* *eky-ad*  
 ITJ you go-IMP younger-NM go.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 Saying "You go," the second eldest sister-in-law went.
- 6'56 *ante* *a:* *tuk-ki* *qatj-a* *nadi-n* *mba* *qe:ki*  
 and she push-CP give.B2-PT.3SG she-AC isn't.it husking.machine  
*dari-k* *umba* *ta:n* *a:* *tuk-ki* *qatj-a* *a:* *ho*  
 hole.inside-DA isn't.it then she push-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG she too  
*pol-a*  
 be.unable-PT.3SG  
 And she pushed her, you know, she pushed her into the husking ma-  
 chine, but she could not do so either.
- 7'01 *te* *bahu* *ni:n* *tuk-oma* *qe:ki*  
 and sister.in.law you push-NG.IMP husking.machine  
*maqy-anid*  
 trample-FT.3SG.NM  
 "Don't push me, sister. The husking machine will trample me."

- 7'04 *o: ke:tɲi kaʔ-i[n] e:n qoʔr-in a:n-i*  
 ITJ winnow pass-PR.1SG I knock-PR.1SG say-PR.3SG  
 [Each of the sisters-in-law made excuses and] said, "I am bringing a winnow basket" or "I am [just] knocking."
- 7'06 *na:n na:n na:n na:n[l]e gaʔar ɖoky-ar sat-jin-er ante*  
 that.way REP REP that.way do stay.B2-PT.3PL seven-CLF-PL and  
*goʔe-ri pol-ar*  
 all-PL be.unable-PT.3PL  
 They went on doing things like that, and none of the seven could [push her into the husking machine].
- 7'10 *adi-ki ba:de-no cuʔe-d eky-a ante tuky-a*  
 that-GE after-LO youngest-NM go.B2-PT.3SG and push.B2-PT.3SG  
 Then the youngest sister-in-law went and pushed her.
- 7'12 *ke:ponti a:d ɖe:ki-dari-no tukar-ki*  
 at.once she pounding.machine-mortar-LO move.on-CP.3SG.NM  
*bicry-a*  
 shove.B2-PT.3SG  
 She moved on and shoved [her] into the mortar of the pounding machine at one push.
- 7'16 *ante indra kud-er cuɲjy-ar qes-no*  
 and what do-FT.3PL pound.rice.B2-PT.3PL paddy-LO  
*milatr-ker*  
 put.together-CP.3PL  
 Then what did they do? They pounded [her], mixing [her body] with rice.
- 7'20 *cuɲjy-ar peʔq-qer ante ke:s-ker ante*  
 pound.rice.B2-PT.3PL boil-CP.3PL and sift-CP.3PL and  
*tu:sy-ar goda-no*  
 dash.down.B2-PT.3PL toilet.bush-LO  
 They pounded rice, parboiled, sifted and threw [the husk and her remains] away in a nearby bush.
- 7'23 *goda-no tu:sy-ar adi-ki ba:de-no ja:gu-n*  
 toilet.bush-LO dash.down.B2-PT.3PL that-GE after-LO boiled.rice-AC  
*ti:ql-a bit kamy-ar*  
 rice-AC cook.AP earn(?).B2-PT.3PL  
 After they threw [them] away in a nearby bush, they cooked rice.
- 7'27 *bit kam-ker ɖoky-ar oky-ar ante a:*  
 cook earn.B2-PT.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL sit.B2-PT.3PL and that  
*be:ʔit jaʔa kajak pos-a*  
 in.the.evening rain much rain.B2-PT.3SG  
 After cooking rice, they stayed on, and it rained a lot at that night.
- 7'33 *kajak pos-a ante kuwa-d na: qep male-r na:*  
 much rain.B2-PT.3SG and well-NM that village person-PL that

*male-r onq-ar a:ti a: kuwa-d jo:r ku:re-no kuwa*  
 person-PL drink.B2-PT.3PL there that well-NM waterfall edge-LO well  
*menj-a*

be.B2-PT.3SG

It rained a lot. And the well where the village people drink from was near a waterfall.

7'40 *ani ja:ra pos-a ante a: qesu-umk-a qocl-an*  
 so rain rain.B2-PT.3SG and that rice-husk-AC bone-AC  
*no:r-kid etry-a*

wash-CP.3SG.NM bring.down.B2-PT.3SG

It rained and washed and brought down that rice husk and bones.

7'47 *te etr-ne-ki ba:de kuwa bi:te-no a:d indra kud-[anid]*  
 and bring.down-VN-GE after well shore-LO she what do-FT.3SG.NM  
*qoclu te:kar-kid pu:p lehary-a*

bone be.stopped-CP.3SG.NM flower become.B2-PT.3SG

After the water brought them down, what did she do near the well?  
 Her bones stopped [at the well] and became a flower.

7'51 *pu:p lehar-ki ante ij-a adi-ki ba:de-no*  
 flower become-CP.3SG.NM and stand.B2-PT.3SG that-GE after-LO  
*sikare-nte kiry-ar tang-b[a]iya-ber*

hunting-AB return.B2-PT.3PL own-brother-PL

After [the bones] became a flower, it stood up. After that her elder brothers came back from hunting.

7'59 *sikare-nte kiry-ar ante kir-ko e:r-ner tund-ner*  
 hunting-AB return.B2-PT.3PL and return-CP see-PR.3PL look-PR.3PL  
*ta:nu iko eng.do iko eng.do*

then where my.sister where my.sister

They came back from hunting. Then they saw and looked and [asked]  
 "Where is sister? Where is our sister?"

8'06 *ta:nu a:ber teng-olar indra a:g-en*

then they tell-NG.PR.3PL what know-FT.1SG

Then [the wives] did not tell, saying "What do I know?"

8'09 *olg-in[olg-ni] pa:r-in[pa:r-ni] a:n-ker ante ikto*  
 cry-IPP sing-IPP say-CP.3PL and where  
*tirry-ad adi-n nim-en ugle:c-le a:n-ner*

go.away.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-AC you.PL-AC think.B2-CP say-PR.3PL

Crying and wailing, they said, "Where has she gone away?" [Their wives] said of her "[She went away] thinking about you."

8'12 *ante tang-baiya-h ety-ah anake ca:me men-oti*  
 and own-brother-M go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M now song hear-IF  
*bi:r-eh*

attend.to-PR.3SG.M

Then an elder brother went down [to the well]. Now he is going to hear a song.

- 8'21 *taŋg-baiya-he sikare-k eky-ah ante amy-oti*  
 own-brother-M hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M and bathe-IF  
*eky-ah kuwa-k ani a: pu:pu-d awd-i kide*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M well-DA then that flower-NM speak-PR.3SG COMP  
 The elder brother [who] went hunting went to the well to take a bath  
 and that flower said,
- 8'30 *sat[i]-jani baiya sebere sikare-k ek[i]y-ar*  
 seven-CLF brother all hunting-DA go.B2-PT.3PL  
 “(Singing) The seven elder brothers all went hunting.”
- 8'35 *sat[i]-jani bahu sebere de:ki-no cuŋj[i]y-ar*  
 seven-CLF sister.in.law all husking.machine-LO pound.B2-PT.3PL  
 “(Singing) The seven sisters-in-law all pounded [me] in a husking  
 machine.”
- 8'41 *cuŋj[i]-keri goda-no tu:s[i]y-ar*  
 pound-CP.3PL toilet.bush-LO dash.down.B2-PT.3PL  
 “(Singing) They pounded [me] and threw [me] to the nearby bush.”
- 8'47 *a:n-le a: pu:pu-d olg-i pa:ɾ-i mba*  
 say-CP that flower-NM cry-PR.3SG sing-PR.3SG isn't.it  
 See, that flower cries and sings so.
- 8'50 *a: olg-i pa:ɾ-id taŋ-ki duke-d*  
 that cry-PR.3SG sing-PR.3SG self-GE distress-NM  
 It cries and sings its own distress.
- 8'52 *ante indra kudy-a a:he amc-a*  
 and what do.B2-PT.3SG he take.bath.B2-PT.3SG  
*no:dry-a akabaka kiry-ah*  
 wash.hands.and.feet.B2-PT.3SG in.a.hurry return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 What did he do then? He took a bath, washed his hands and feet, and  
 went back in a hurry.
- 8'56 *a:h to anq-olah mba aro ahi-k diyane-d ho*  
 he TOP find-NG.PR.3SG.M isn't.it and he-DA thought-NM too  
*mal-a nahe-k bujar-olah-o*  
 be.not-PR.3SG he-DA be.understood-NG.PR.3SG.M-too  
 He did not find [her]. He had no idea either. He did not understand  
 either.
- 9'01 *ante a:he kiry-a amc-keh*  
 and he return.B2-PT.3SG.M take.bath.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*ante kiry-a ante nandi-hi me:gro bai*  
 and return.B2-PT.3SG.M and again-EPH elder brother  
*ety-ah eky-ah amy-oti*  
 go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M go.B2-PT.3SG.M take.bath-IF  
 And he came back, he came back after taking his bath, and again, the  
 second eldest brother went down [to the well]. He went to take a bath.
- 9'09 *ante a:h ek-keh il-ih ano ho awd-i*  
 and he go.B2-CP.3SG.M stand-PR.3SG.M there too speak-PR.3SG

He went and stood [by the well]. [The flower] said again.

- 9'23 *cujj(i)-keri goda-no tu:s(i)y-ar*  
pound-CP.3PL toilet.bush-LO dash.down.B2-PT.3PL  
“(Singing) They pounded [me] and threw [me] to the nearby bush.”
- 9'28 *a:n-le awdy-a pu:pu-d ada-no ho a:ber and-lar*  
say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG flower-NM there-LO too they find-NG.PT.3PL  
*and-lar ante a:h-ō kiry-ah*  
REP and he-too return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
The flower said this. Still they did not find [her]. They did not find [her] and came back.
- 9'33 *kir-ne-ki ba:d i:n-le i:n-le teŋg-ih*  
return-VN-GE after do.this.way-CP REP tell-PR.3SG.M  
After coming back, he told [it was] like this and this.
- 9'35 *ta:nu gaŋi-hi ca:me-d e:k-ani ar gaŋi-hi saba-d*  
then much-EPH song-NM go-FT.3SG.NM and much-EPH talk-NM  
*e:k-ani*  
go-FT.3SG.NM  
— Then there are going to be a lot of songs and a lot of stories.
- 9'39 *de irw-ente la:sŋ nan-im sat-jin-er-ki ba:de-no irw-ente*  
ITJ two-AB last do-PR.1PLE seven-CLF-PL-GE after-LO two-AB  
*la:sŋ nan-im*  
last do-PR.1PLE  
Well, we stop after the two [brothers]. [Actually it is] after the seven brothers [have gone to the well, but] we stop after the two. —
- 9'43 *ide cuđe-h ety-ah cuđe-h*  
look youngest-M go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M youngest-M  
*ety-ah a: pahra-no a:he đaŋ-ond taŋwa:ri-n*  
go.down.B2-PT.3SG.M that time-LO he CLF-one sword-AC  
*kajak ur-ur caky-ah*  
much ONOM-REP whet.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Look, the youngest brother went down [to the well to take a bath].  
Then he whetted one sword making a hissing sound.
- 9'52 *ur-ur cak-keh ante ante ur-ur cak-in-tatin ante*  
ONOM-REP whet-CP.3SG.M and and ONOM-REP whet-IPP-ECHO and  
*ante tilnŋr-a talce-le caky-ah adi-n taŋwa:ri-n*  
and fly-AC cut.off.B2-CP whet.B2-PT.3SG.M that-AC sword-AC  
He whetted and whetted making a hissing sound. He whetted that sword [so sharp that he even] cut flies [with it] while whetting.
- 9'59 *cak-keh ante-hi goŋo-no goŋo-no ar paŋ-ond bałti-n*  
whet-CP.3SG.M and-EPH horse-LO REP and CLF-one bucket-AC  
*qend-keh ante eky-ah amy-oti*  
take.along-CP.3SG.M and go.B2-PT.3SG.M bathe-IF  
After he whetted [the sword], he took a bucket with him and went to take a bath on a horse.

- 10'05 *ta:nu goɽo-n ild-keh ante am-a balʃi-n*  
 then horse-AC make.stand-CP.3SG.M and water-AC bucket-AC  
*conj-keh ante tey-ih*  
 fasten-CP.3SG.M and send-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he made the horse stand, tied the bucket with water, and [was  
 about to] send it.
- 10'10 *a: pahra-no pu:pu-d awɖ-i kide*  
 that time-LO flower-NM speak-PR.3SG COMP  
 Then the flower says.
- 10'25 *cunʃ[i]-keri goda-no tu:s[i]y-ar*  
 pound-CP.3PL toilet.bush-LO dash.down.B2-PT.3PL  
 “(Singing) They pounded [me] and threw [me] in the nearby bush.”
- 10'30 *a:n-le olq-qo ikʃe enʒ.ɖo-d olg-id a:n-le*  
 say-CP cry-CP where my.sister-NM cry-PR.3SG.NM say-CP  
*awɖy-ah ikʃe enʒ.ɖo-d olg-id a:n-keh*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG.M where my.sister-NM cry-PR.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M  
*ante e:ry-ah*  
 and see.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 So [the flower] cried. [The brother] said “Where is my sister singing?”  
 He said “Where is my sister crying?” and looked.
- 10'35 *ta:nu nandu acca men-en e:ru a:n-keh te il-ih*  
 then again okay hear-FT.1SG well say-CP.3SG.M and stand-PR.3SG.M  
 Then he said, “Well, I will listen well once again,” and stood [there].
- 10'38 *ada-nihi a: balʃi-ne kol-keh alktr-ih a:*  
 there-LO.EPH that bucket-AC untie-CP.3SG.M open-PR.3SG.M that  
*pahra-nihi nandu pa:ɾ-i*  
 time-LO.EPH again sing-PR.3SG  
 When he untied the bucket and was opening it there, it sang again.
- 10'54 *cunʃ[i]-keri goda-no tu:s[i]y-ar*  
 pound-CP.3PL toilet.bush-LO dash.down.B2-PT.3PL  
 “(Singing) They pounded [me] and threw [me] in the nearby bush.”
- 10'59 *a:n-le olq-qo aiya-ŋ.gadi a:ny-ah*  
 say-CP cry-CP ITJ-my.daughter say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 When it cried like that, he said “Oh my girl!”
- 11'01 *ay enʒ.gadi a:n-ko ke:ponte a:d mal lehar-ki ante*  
 ITJ my.daughter say-CP at.once that person become-CP.3SG.NM and  
*taŋ-ki doɽa-no be:gy-a*  
 self-GE lap-LO jump.B2-PT.3SG  
 When he said “Oh my girl!” it took a human form at once and jumped  
 onto his lap.
- 11'04 *be:g-ne-ki ba:de-no a:he amty-ah no:ɾy-ah*  
 jump-VN-GE after-LO he bathe.B2-PT.3SG.M wash.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*pu:ra*  
 wholly

After she jumped [onto his lap], he bathed her and washed her well.

- 11'08 *adi-n kajak sa:bune-t indr-et amt-keh no:ɣ-keh ante*  
she-AC much soap-IN what-IN bathe-CP.3SG.M wash-CP.3SG.M and  
*ok-i*

sit-PR.3SG

He bathed her and washed her with a lot of soap and so on, and then she sat down.

- 11'13 *[a]yu:-ŋ.gadi inond dini men-id and-olaken*  
ITJ-my.daughter this.much day become-PR.3SG.NM find-NG.PR.1SG  
*a:n-le awq-ih*

say-CP speak-PR.3SG.M

“Oh well, sister, I did not find you for such [a long time].”

- 11'16 *ante baiya baiya inond baiya-ber barc-ar*  
and brother brother this.much brother-PL come.B2-PT.3PL  
*sat-jin baiya-ber ni:m undgal-er eng-e a:t-jin-et*  
seven-CLF brother-PL you.PL sibling-2PL I-DA eight-CLF-1PL.I  
*menja-ket na:m undgal-et*

become.B2-CP.1PL.I we.I sibling-1PL.I

“Brother, this many elder brothers came [but did not find me]. There are seven of you, and including me, we are eight siblings.”

- 11'25 *ta:nu e:n cuɖe-n pel.maqe-n mejja-ken ni:m sikare-k*  
then I youngest-1SG girl-1SG be.B2-PT.1SG you.PL hunting-DA  
*eky-ar doky-ar*

go.B2-PT.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL

“I am the youngest girl, [but] you [left me and] had gone hunting.”

- 11'29 *eng-en baiya-ber-ki nim-ki pel-er eng-en ga:ɽe sason*  
I-AC brother-PL-GE you.PL-GE woman-PL I-AC much torment  
*nany-ar dukaretry-ar a:n-le awq-i a: peli*

do.B2-PT.3PL distress.B2-PT.3PL say-CP speak-PR.3SG that woman

“My elder brothers’ wives, your wives, gave me a lot of suffering, gave me a lot of distress.” She spoke so.

- 11'37 *a: maqi mba sasone-ti a:n-kid ante awq-i kide*  
that girl isn't.it torment-IN say-CP.3SG.NM and speak-PR.3SG COMP  
*teŋg-id*

tell-PR.3SG.NM

That girl said this with suffering and told [the story].

- 11'41 *a: teŋg-a a:n-olah ante olg-ih a:h*  
that tell-PT.3SG say-NG.PR.3SG.M and cry-PR.3SG.M he  
She told. He did not say [a word] and cried.

- 11'43 *de teŋg-a a:n-olah kide a:d teŋg-i ta:n baiya*  
ITJ tell-PT.3SG say-NG.PR.3SG.M COMP she tell-PR.3SG then brother  
*olg-oma men-a saba-n a:n-le awq-i*  
cry-NG.IMP listen-IMP story-AC say-CP speak-PR.3SG

She told [it] and he did not say [a word]. When she told [it], she said “Brother, don’t cry. Listen to [my] story.”

- 11’47 *ante a: awq-i kide nanond so:-jin baiya-ber*  
and that speak-PR.3SG COMP that.many six-CLF brother-PL  
*barc-le amc-le kiry-ar and-lar eng-en*  
come.B2-CP take.bath.B2-CP return.B2-PT.3PL find-NG.PT.3PL I-AC  
And she said, “As many as six elder brothers came, took baths and went back, [but] did not find me.”

- 11’56 *ni:n baiya and-a-ke anake eng-en mal nan-ke a:n-le*  
you brother find-PT.2SG.M now I-AC human do-PT.2SG.M say-CP  
*awqy-a*  
speak.B2-PT.3SG  
“You, brother, found me, and made me human now.”

- 12’03 *ante men-a e:n teng-en nadi-n a:n-le awqy-a ante*  
and listen-IMP I tell-FT.1SG that-AC say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG and  
“And listen, I will tell you this.” (*She repeats the story of 2’15 to 6’24.*)

- 13’37 *ante nanond sat-jin-er bahu-ber de:ki-no*  
and so.many seven-CLF-PL sister.in.law-PL mortar-LO  
*cujy-ar*  
pound.B2-PT.3PL  
“And so many sisters-in-law, seven of them, pounded me in a mortar.”

- 13’41 *capy-ar e:n andu qes-a tuk-ken*  
tread.B2-PT.3PL I at.that.time paddy-AC push-PT.1SG  
“They were treading [the pounding machine]. I was feeding rice [to it] at that time.”

- 13’43 *ani tuk-a tuk-a qaty-ar gofe-ri-hi-d so:-jin*  
so push-AP REP give.B2-PT.3PL all-PL-EPH-NM six-CLF  
*bahu-ber tuk-a tuk-a qaty-ar*  
sister.in.law-PL push-AP REP give.B2-PT.3PL  
“They pushed me [into the machine]. All of them. Six sisters-in-law pushed and pushed me [one after another].”

- 13’47 *ani eng-en tuk-a kor-tr-oti pol-ar*  
so I-AC push-AP enter-CS-IF be.unable-PT.3PL  
“Then they could not push and put me [into the mortar].”

- 13’49 *lekin niy-ki bahu-d eng-en ke:ponti*  
but you-GE sister.in.law-NM I-AC at.once  
*de:ki-dari-no tukar-ki bicry-a*  
pounding.machine-mortar-LO move.on-CP.3SG.NM shove.B2-PT.3SG  
“But your wife moved on and shoved me in the mortar of the pounding machine at one push.”

- 13’53 *ani cujy-ar perq-qer ante ke:s-ker ante goda-no*  
so pound.B2-PT.3PL boil-CP.3PL and sift-CP.3PL and toilet.bush-LO

*tu:sy-ar*

dash.down.B2-PT.3PL

“Then they pounded [me]. After they parboiled and sifted [me], they threw [my remains] in a nearby bush.”

- 13'56 *ani a: be:rit hi jaɾa pos-ad ako ante*  
so that in.the.evening EPH rain rain.B2-PT.3SG.NM it.seems and  
*ikna:n ikna:ne ettr-ko it-no dɔba biɾa-nihi pu:p*  
how how bring.down-CP here-LO pond/well side-LO.EPH flower  
*lehar ija-ken ako*  
become.AP stand.B2-PT.1SG it.seems

“And it seemed to have rained in that evening, and somehow [the rain] brought me down. I became a flower and stood here, near the well.”

- 14'06 *enɟ-en bahu-ber baiya-ber and-lar ni:n and-ke*  
I-AC sister.in.law-PL brother-PL find-NG.PT.3PL you find-PT.2SG.M  
“Sisters-in-law and elder brothers did not find me, but you did.”

- 14'08 *a:n-le teɲɟ-ad na:d ante*  
say-CP tell-PT.3SG.NM she and  
She told so.

- 14'11 *na:he o: acca ʈi:ke-d a:n-keh ante kiry-ah*  
he ITJ well good-NM say-CP.3SG.M and return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He said “Well, okay,” and went back.

- 14'13 *amc-keh no:qr-keh kiry-ah*  
take.bath.B2-CP.3SG.M wash.oneself-CP.3SG.M return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ante na:ber-in goɟe-r-nihi taɲɟ-baiya-n taɲɟ-bahu-n*  
and they-AC all-PL-AC.EPH own-brother-AC own-sister.in.law-AC  
*pac ʈukɾa-ti qot qot tu:s-ih indro*  
five piece-IN chop.B2.AP REP dash.down-PR.3SG.M what  
*ki:d-ah*  
lay.down-PT.3SG.M

He took a bath, washed his hands and feet, and went home. Then he cut all his elder brothers and sisters-in-law in five pieces each and laid them [on the ground].

- 14'21 *ki:da-keh ante pu:ra gaɟa nan-keh ante*  
lay.down-CP.3SG.M and whole pit make-CP.3SG.M and  
*kor-urɟ duwar-no manda-keh ante pac-dapa*  
enter-come.out door-LO bury-CP.3SG.M and five-times  
*korc-ah urq-ah*  
enter.B2-PT.3SG.M come.out-PT.3SG.M

After he laid them, he made a big hole, buried each of them at the door where he enters and comes out, and entered and came out five times.

- 14'26 *uske.ba:de-no na:h pel-a hi kor-oti amby-ah*  
after.that-LO he woman-AC EPH enter-IF leave.B2-PT.3SG.M  
After that he gave up taking a wife.

- 14'29 *pel-a hi kor-oti amby-ah awdy-ah kide*  
 woman-AC EPH enter-IF leave.B2-PT.3SG.M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M COMP  
*e:n anake pel-a kor-olaken amb-in*  
 I now woman-AC enter-NG.PR.1SG leave-PR.1SG  
 He gave up taking a wife, and said, "I will not take a wife any more."
- 14'34 *i:n-le se dukaretr-er en-ki eng.qo-n*  
 do.this.way-CP EPH distress-FT.3PL I-GE my.sister-AC  
 "[Wives] will give so much distress to my sister."
- 14'37 *aya-d ante abo kec-ad a:nahã ga:re*  
 mother-NM and father die.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-even much  
 "Mother and father died. That was already too much [for me]."
- 14'40 *ta:nu anake i: orta-qadi pel.maqe ta:nu idi-n ho*  
 then now this.NM one-only girl then this.NM-AC too  
*dukaretr-ner*  
 distress-PR.3PL  
 "Now she is the only girl. Then they even tormented her."
- 14'44 *tembru eng.qo je ma:ngc-le ondr-en adi-ne bit-a*  
 rather my.sister whatever beg.B2-CP bring-FT.1SG that-AC cook-AP  
*bit-a qat-anid adi-n hi lap-a lap-a qo:k-en*  
 REP give-FT.2SG.NM that-AC EPH eat-AP REP stay-FT.1SG  
 "My sister! I will rather beg and bring something. You cook it. I will live eating it."
- 14'50 *lekin pel-a kor-enala a:n-le ugle:c-ah*  
 but woman-AC enter-NG.FT.1SG say-CP think.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 "But I will not take a wife." He thought so.
- 14'52 *ante qoky-ah qo:k-ne-ki ba:de a:de dine-nihi a: to*  
 and stay.B2-PT.3SG.M stay-VN-GE after she day-LO.EPH she TOP  
*qo:k-e qo:k-e-ti juwa lehr e:k-i batg lehr*  
 stay-VN stay-VN-IN youth become.AP go-PR.3SG maiden become.AP  
*e:k-i*  
 go-PR.3SG  
 And he lived. While he lived, she was becoming a young woman, a maiden.
- 14'58 *ante to tangg-a so:ci-no bar-i kide indrik ikna:n*  
 and TOP self-DA mind-LO come-PR.3SG COMP why how  
*baiya-gun qo:k-en*  
 brother-together stay-FT.1SG  
 And [an idea] came into her thoughts, "Why and how shall I [keep] living with my elder brother?"
- 15'03 *baiya-guni ikin qo:k-en ide maja mal-a*  
 brother-together how stay-FT.1SG ITJ fine be.not-PR.3SG  
 "How shall I live with my elder brother? This is not good."
- 15'06 *baiya pel-a kor-le amb-in nuni*  
 brother woman-AC enter-SJ.2SG.M leave-PR.1SG sister

*kor-olaken*

enter-NG.PR.1SG

“Brother, would you take a wife?” “No, dear, I won’t.”

- 15’09 *ni:n je bit-a bit-a qaṭ-a e:ne carc-le bar-en*  
 you but cook-AP REP give-IMP I walk.around.B2-CP come-FT.1SG  
 “You cook and give [me food]. I will walk around, [beg and] come.”

- 15’13 *qaḍa-ken ondr-in ca:he ma:ngc-ken ondr-in ca:he*  
 steal.B2-CP.1SG bring-PR.1SG or beg.B2-CP.1SG bring-PR.1SG or  
*kum-ken ondr-in*  
 carry.on.head-CP.1SG bring-PR.1SG  
 “I will steal and bring [something], I will beg and bring [something],  
 or I will take on my head and bring [something].”

- 15’16 *ade-n ondr ciy-en ni:n bit-a qaṭ-a a:n-le*  
 that-AC bring.AP give-FT.1SG you cook-AP give-IMP say-CP  
*awḍ-ih*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M  
 “You shall cook and serve me that which I bring and give you.” He  
 said this.

- 15’20 *ani o: a:n-id a: pahra ante ḍo:k-id ok-id*  
 so ITJ say-PR.3SG.NM that time and stay-PR.3SG.NM sit-PR.3SG.NM  
*a: pahra nandu baiya pel-a kor-le*  
 that time again brother woman-AC enter-SJ.2SG.M  
 She said “Yes” at that time, and [after] she lived for some time, she  
 said again “Brother, would you take a wife?”

- 15’24 *a:n-le awḍ-ko awḍ-ne-ki ba:d indra kud-ani kud-eh*  
 say-CP speak-CP speak-VN-GE after what do-FT.3SG.NM do-FT.3SG.M  
*na:h*  
 he  
 After she said this, what did she do, I mean, what did he do?

- 15’30 *kajak dine-game qondtry-a tang.ḍo-d tang-baiya-n*  
 many day-throughout vex.B2-PT.3SG own.sister-NM own-brother-AC  
*pel-a kor-oti ani*  
 woman-AC enter-IF so  
 The sister teased her elder brother to take a wife every day.

- 15’34 *acca pel-a kor-en a:n-keh ante korc-ah*  
 well woman-AC enter-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M and enter.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He said “Okay, I will take a wife,” and did so.

- 15’37 *kor-ne-h korc-ah ta:nu i: indra peli*  
 enter-IPP-3SG.M enter.B2-PT.3SG.M then this what woman  
*mej-ad ako*  
 be.B2-PT.3SG.NM it.seems  
 Yes, he took a wife. Then what kind of wife was she?

- 15’41 *tu.ḍu mejj-a mala se mu:qe-d mejj-ad ako*  
 tiger be.B2-PT.3SG or EPH frog-NM be.B2-PT.3SG.NM it.seems

- mala indru menj-a*  
or what be.B2-PT.3SG  
Was she a tiger? Was she a frog? Or what was she?
- 15'44 *a:h kuwa biṭa-no amy-oti eky-ah ani*  
he well side-LO bathe-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.M then  
He went to the side of a well to take a bath.
- 15'46 *kuwa biṭe-no [es]sa maja.qani baṭagni [banar-kid] ade*  
well side-LO very pretty maiden become-CP.3SG.NM she  
*oky-a*  
sit.B2-PT.3SG  
There was a very pretty girl sitting near the well.
- 15'48 *ante na:h anḍa-keh ante are ni:n ikote baṭagni a:n-ko*  
and he find-CP.3SG.M and ITJ you of.where maiden say-CP  
He found her and said, "Say, where do you come from?"
- 15'53 *e:n ikote-n=gote hi iko.te e:n de e:n carc*  
I of.where-1SG=even EPH of.where I ITJ I walk.B2.AP  
*kud-in ani indra car-eni*  
walk.around-PR.1SG so what walk-FT.2SG.NM  
"Wherever I am from, I am walking about." "Why are you walking about?"
- 15'58 *je: murse-h urq-qeh ḍo:k-tr ḍo:k-tr-no*  
REL man-M come.out-CP.3SG.M stay-CS stay-CS-IPP  
*ḍok-tr-leh ḍo:k-len adi-k ani*  
stay-CS-SJ.3SG.M stay-SJ.1SG that.CR-DA then  
"So that if any man comes out and would put me up, I could marry [him]."
- 16'02 *ani o: ṭi:ke eng.ḍo-d ho jawale-tr-i de i: peli-n*  
so ITJ okay my.sister-NM too trouble-TR-PR.3SG ITJ this woman-AC  
*oy-en a:n-keh ante oc-ah*  
take-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M and take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
"Okay, my sister is also teasing me. I will take this woman." Saying this, he received [her as his wife].
- 16'08 *oy-ne-ki ba:de-no ḍoky-ah oky-ah ante*  
take-VN-GE after-LO stay.B2-PT.3SG.M sit.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
*awḍ-ih kide*  
speak-PR.3SG.M COMP  
After he married her, he lived for a while and spoke.
- 16'14 *ka:l-a bahu-erqo am-ik ka:l-a*  
go-IMP sister.in.law-husband's.younger.sister water-DA go-IMP  
*saṅgal a:n-ko ṭi:k eky-ar*  
together say-CP okay go.B2-PT.3PL  
[He said,] "You two go for water together." They said "Okay" and went.

- 16'18 *pahal.te dine eky-ar sangale-hi*  
 first day go.B2-PT.3PL together-EPH  
 On the first day, they went together.
- 16'20 *ek-ker ante dengtr-naq-ner dengtr-naq-ner ta:nu am-it*  
 go.B2-CP.3PL and joke-REC-PR.3PL REP then water-IN  
*ec-er-naq-ner*  
 throw.out-RF-REC-PR.3PL  
 They went and joked to each other. Then they sprinkled water to each other.
- 16'24 *ta:nu adi-ke ta:ni agdi-hi ec-i tang-bahu*  
 then she-DA herself first-EPH throw.out-PR.3SG.NM own-sister.in.law  
*a:n-id-hi*  
 do.so-PR.3SG-EPH  
 Then she, the elder sister-in-law, she first threw water on her (the younger sister-in-law).
- 16'27 *am-eti ecy-ad ta:nu o: i:d ho*  
 water-IN throw.out.B2-PT.3SG.NM then ITJ she too  
*ec-i a:d ho ec-i*  
 throw.out-PR.3SG.NM she too throw.out-PR.3SG  
 She sprinkled water. Then one sprinkled water and the other did too.
- 16'31 *ec-r-naq-ne-ki ba:de tang-bahu-ki qan-ik*  
 throw.out-RF-REC-VN-GE after own-sister.in.law-GE eye-DA  
*korc-a male amby-a ako*  
 enter.B2-PT.3SG or leave.B2-PT.3SG it.seems  
 They sprinkled water on each other. Then [water] entered the sister-in-law's eyes, or maybe it did not.
- 16'34 *korc-a mala amby-a ki sa:la a:ti-nte*  
 enter.B2-PT.3SG or leave.B2-PT.3SG COMP wicked.person there-AB  
*hi kalsa-n amb-ki te mucagr-ki*  
 EPH jar-AC leave-CP.3SG.NM and cover.face.with.hands-CP.3SG.NM  
*kiry-a aqa-k*  
 return.B2-PT.3SG house-DA  
 [Whether] water entered her eyes or not, the wicked woman left the jar there, covered her face with her hands, and went home.
- 16'38 *ante a:h kiry-a aro ka:ti-no kod.et-ki*  
 and he return.B2-PT.3SG and bedstead-LO lie.down-CP.3SG.NM  
*kody-a*  
 lie.B2-PT.3SG  
 She went home, went to bed, and lay there.
- 16'41 *ante a:de olg-id a:t-no tang.do nandu-hi*  
 and she cry-PR.3SG.NM there-LO own.sister again-EPH  
 And the sister cried there again.
- 16'44 *baiya-h eng-en pit-eh anake=jano pit-eh eng-en*  
 brother-M I-AC kill-FT.3SG.M now=just kill-FT.3SG.M I-AC

*a:n-id*

say-PR.3SG.NM

She said, “Brother will kill me right now.”

- 16'47 *a:n-le awq-i ante acca indra kud-en kir-en*  
 say-CP speak-PR.3SG and well what do-FT.1SG return-FT.1SG  
*ko a:n-kid ante a:d ta:nu qol-ki*  
 it.seems say-CP.3SG.NM and that then take.up-CP.3SG.NM  
*kiry-a*  
 return.B2-PT.3SG  
 She said this. Then [having thought] “Well, what [else] shall I do?  
 It seems I am going home [after all],” she scooped water and went home.

- 16'53 *ante kir-ne-ki ba:de-no ande qoky-a oky-a*  
 and return-VN-GE after-LO thus stay.B2-PT.3SG sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 After she returned, she kept on living.

- 16'54 *te i:he indra kud-eh*  
 and he what do-FT.3SG.M  
 What did he do then?

- 16'57 *guru-r-in ante qa:k̄tar-er-in manga:tr manga:tr*  
 sorcerer-PL-AC and doctor-PL-AC send.for REP  
*caq-tr-ih ante ka:ty-tr-ih indra kud-i*  
 inject-CS-PR.3SG.M and bleed-CS-PR.3SG.M what do-PR.3SG  
 Calling sorcerers and doctors, he made them give her injections and bleed her. What did she do?

- 17'03 *ano nek-e-nihi nek-ola*  
 there get.well-VN-LO.EPH get.well-NG.PR.3SG  
 She did not get well then.

- 17'04 *a: amu-d aga qan-ik kor-ni se a:*  
 that.CR water-NM you.know eye-DA enter-IPP.EPH EPH that.CR  
*qagre:-tr-li mba*  
 get.corrupted-CS-SJ.3SG isn't.it  
 The water that entered [her] eyes must have made [her] ill.

- 17'07 *a: to tang.do-n piṭ-ot ugley-id*  
 she TOP own.sister-AC kill-IF think-PR.3SG.NM  
 She thought of killing her sister.

- 17'09 *adi-n se gaṭar-i tang-erqo-n piṭ-oti*  
 that-AC EPH do-PR.3SG own-husband's.younger.sister-AC kill-IF  
*ugley-i adi-n se*  
 think-PR.3SG that-AC EPH  
 She did only that. She just thought of that, of killing her husband's younger sister.

- 17'12 *ante na:nle na:nle gaṭar-ko ante awq-ih kide*  
 and that.way REP do-CP and speak-PR.3SG.M COMP

*mepj.e:ry-ah*

ask.B2-PT.3SG.M

Having [carried on] like that, he said, he asked.

- 17'16 *qond-keh ante karca-barca-d qond-keh ante*  
be.tired-CP.3SG.M and expense-ECHO-NM be.tired-CP.3SG.M and  
*awq-ih te*  
speak-PR.3SG.M and

He got tired of the [medical] expenses and said,

- 17'18 *are niŋg-a indru co:te-de nek-ola a:n-ko*  
ITJ you-DA what illness-NM get.well-NG.PR.3SG say-CP  
“My dear, what is your illness. You don’t get well.”

- 17'21 *enŋ-a indru co:te men-ane aro kud-ane*  
I-DA what disease ask-FT.2SG.M and do-FT.2SG.M  
“Are you asking what my illness is? And are you going to take action?”

- 17'24 *teŋg-en a:n-le awq-i o: teŋg-a ciy-a a:n-ih*  
tell-FT.1SG say-CP speak-PR.3SG ITJ tell-AP give-IMP say-PR.3SG.M  
She said “I will tell you.” He said “Okay, tell me.”

- 17'26 *ante e:n ni:ŋg.do:-ki qe:s-et mu:njr-len se enŋ-a*  
and I you.sister-GE blood-IN wash.face-SJ.1SG EPH I-DA  
*nek-lid qanu-d a:n-le awq-i*  
get.well-SJ.3SG.NM eye-NM say-CP speak-PR.3SG  
She said, “Only if I wash my face with your sister’s blood, my eyes will get well.”

- 17'31 *ante a:h to kuk-a baj-r-keh ugley-ih kide aju:*  
and he TOP head-AC hit-RF-CP.3SG.M think-PR.3SG.M COMP ITJ  
*gosapi*  
god  
Then he thought hitting his head, “Oh, god!”

- 17'34 *agdu to bahu-ber piŋy-ar aur en-ki enŋ-a qa:ni*  
first TOP sister.in.law-PL kill.B2-PT.3PL and I-GE I-DA wife  
*piŋy-ar*  
kill.B2-PT.3PL  
“[Those] sisters-in-law killed [my sister] before. And they [caused me to] kill my wife [together].”

- 17'39 *anake (enŋa hi) enŋ-en hi piŋ-oti awq-i*  
now I-AC EPH kill-IF speak-PR.3SG  
“Now she is telling me to kill [my sister].”

- 17'42 *indru ba:te a:n-le awq-ih*  
what matter say-CP speak-PR.3SG.M  
He said “What a matter!”

- 17'44 *indru ba:te acca ante acca kud-ken e:r-en a:n-le*  
what matter well and well do-CP.1SG see-FT.1SG say-CP

*ugle:c-ah*

think.B2-PT.3SG.M

“What a matter! Okay, I will try and see.” Saying this, he thought.

- 17'48 *ante i:he e:k-a nuni ning-en acca piṭ-oti hi men-ani*  
and he go-IMP sister you-AC well kill-IF EPH be-FT.3SG.NM  
*ik.bahni*  
where.EPH

Then he said, “Let’s go, sister. Well, I will have to kill you somewhere.”

- 17'54 *a:n-keh ante eky-ah oc-ah ante a:he*  
say-CP.3SG.M and go.B2-PT.3SG.M take.B2-PT.3SG.M and he  
mane *indru oc-ah*  
namely what take.B2-PT.3SG.M

He said this and went. He took, I mean, what did he take?

- 17'59 *oy-olah kide oy-in a:n[-le] oca-keh*  
take-NG.PR.3SG.M COMP take-PR.1SG say-CP take.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*ḍaḍe-no ḍo:k-try-ah*  
jungle-LO stay-CS.B2-PT.3SG.M

He did not take her [life], i.e. he said “I will take [your life]” and took her, but put her in a jungle.

- 18'02 *ḍo:k-tr-keh awḍ-ih kide indru murko-ki*  
stay-CS-CP.3SG.M speak-PR.3SG.M COMP what tree.name-GE  
*qe:s-a murko man-a qot-ah*  
blood-AC tree.name tree-AC cut.down.B2-PT.3SG.M

He put her in a jungle. Saying “What about [giving my wife] the blood of Murko?” he cut down a Murko tree.

- 18'07 *ante murko curg-i bar-u a: and-it ko*  
and tree.name ooze-PR.3SG come-PP that find-PR.1PL.I it.seems  
*mba male-t and-it*  
isn't.it person-1PL.I find-PR.1PL.I

We have seen that [sap] which comes out oozing [from] a Murko tree, haven’t we? We have seen it.

- 18'10 *adi-ne qe:s-a patc-keh ante oc-ah*  
that-AC blood-AC catch.up.liquid.B2-CP.3SG.M and take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*i:d egg.ḍo-qe:su a:ny-ah*  
this my.sister-blood say.B2-PT.3SG.M

He collected that blood, collected it [in a vessel], took it [home] and said, “This is my sister’s blood.”

- 18'14 *a:d indru mejj-a indru ja:ti malni mejj-a ako de*  
that what be.B2-PT.3SG what kind woman be.B2-PT.3SG it.seems ITJ  
*awḍy-a*  
speak.B2-PT.3SG

What was she? What kind of woman does she seem to have been? Now she said,

- 18'17 *i:d eng.do-ki qe:su a:n-ne*  
 this my.sister-GE blood say-PR.2SG.M  
 “Are you saying ‘This is my sister’s blood?’”
- 18'18 *ning.do to ning.do to da:de-no do:k-id*  
 your.sister TOP your.sister TOP jungle-LO stay-PR.3SG.NM  
 “Your sister is in the jungle.”
- 18'21 *i: to murko-ki qe:su-d a:ny-a*  
 this TOP tree.name-GE blood-NM say.B2-PT.3SG  
 “This is blood of the Murko tree.” She said this.
- 18'22 *egestr-ki tundy-a*  
 empty.vessel-CP.3SG.NM throw.out.B2-PT.3SG  
 She emptied the vessel and threw [the blood] away.
- 18'24 *o: men-la ante a:d to kiry-a a:g-ne-ki*  
 ITJ become-NG.PT.3SG and that TOP return.B2-PT.3SG know-VN-GE  
*ba:de to kiry-ad tang.do*  
 after TOP return.B2-PT.3SG.NM own.sister  
 Oh, it did not work. Then she came back. The sister came back after  
 she learned [how it went].
- 18'28 *ante nandu-hi din-ond dusra dine nandu-hi i:he e:k-a eng.do*  
 and again-EPH day-one other day again-EPH he go-IMP my.sister  
*ning-a ina=jano ja:ne-d ongry-a ko=re eng.do*  
 you-DA today=just life-NM end.B2-PT.3SG it.seems=ITJ my.sister  
 Again, on another day, he said, “Let’s go, sister. Today it seems your  
 life is going to end.”
- 18'37 *ano olg qemq-keh otr-keh*  
 there cry.AP hold.on.the.side-CP.3SG.M take.out-CP.3SG.M  
*oy-ih da:de-k*  
 take-PR.3SG.M jungle-DA  
 He held her on his side crying, took her out and took her to a jungle.
- 18'39 *da:de-no pit-ken bar-en a:n-le*  
 jungle-LO kill-CP.1SG come-FT.1SG say-CP  
 Saying [to his wife] “I will kill her in the jungle and come back.”
- 18'41 *ante oc-ah ante a:t-no nandu qalwo qalwo*  
 and take.B2-PT.3SG.M and there-LO again stealthily REP  
*maq-ond ale-n darc-keh oca-keh ale-n*  
 CLF-one dog-AC catch.B2-CP.3SG.M take.B2-CP.3SG.M dog-AC  
*qota-keh ante al-qe:s-a oc-ah*  
 cut.down.B2-CP.3SG.M and dog-blood-AC take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He took [her to the jungle]. There he caught and took a dog stealthily,  
 cut it and took canine blood.
- 18'47 *ante i:de a:da-no koq-kid a:g-id ko*  
 and this.NM house-LO lie-CP.3SG.NM know-PR.3SG.NM it.seems  
*indru mejj-a ako*  
 what become.B2-PT.3SG it.seems

And this woman seems to have learned [that while] lying at home.  
What on earth does she seem to be?

- 18'51 *ante awqy-ad ale-ne ale-n qota-keh ante*  
and speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM dog-AC dog-AC cut.down.B2-CP.3SG.M and  
*oc-ah ani*  
take.B2-PT.3SG.M so

And she said [to herself], "He cut a dog and took [the blood]."

- 18'57 *inda i:d eng.qo-ki qe:su-d a:n-keh ante olg olg*  
take.this this my.sister-GE blood-NM say-CP.3SG.M and cry.AP REP  
*ciy-ih ani awq-i kide*  
give-PR.3SG.M so speak-PR.3SG COMP  
"Look, this is my sister's blood." Having said this, he gave it [to her]  
crying. Then she said,

- 19'00 *ma:en niŋg.qo-ki qe:su-d a:n-ne ma:en to al-qe:su*  
at.will your.sister-GE blood-NM say-PR.2SG.M at.will TOP dog-blood  
*niŋg.qo to qa:de-no qo:k-i a:n-le awq-i*  
your.sister TOP jungle-LO stay-PR.3SG say-CP speak-PR.3SG  
"You are saying at will that [it is] your sister's blood, [which is actu-  
ally] dog's blood. Your sister is in the jungle." She said this.

- 19'04 *te ik.ja:ti a:g-id aca a:n-le ugle:c-ah ante*  
and how know-PR.3SG.NM well say-CP think.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
How come she knows? He said "Well," and thought.

- 19'08 *(nuni)[peli] baqa-d ako indra kud-en eng.qo-ni*  
[wife] great-NM it.seems what do-FT.1SG my.sister-AC.EPH  
*piṭ-en a:n-keh ante oc-ah*  
kill-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M and take.B2-PT.3SG.M  
"[A man's wife] is important, I think. It can't be helped. I will kill  
my sister [after all]." He said this and took [her to a jungle].

- 19'11 *i:he oc-ah qa:de-k oca-keh ante e: ta:tr-a*  
he take.B2-PT.3SG.M jungle-DA take.B2-CP.3SG.M and ITJ sickle-AC  
*taṭwa:ri-n ara curi-n ara mas-a ara da:wa-n*  
sword-AC and knife-AC and hatchet-AC and chopping.knife-AC  
He took sickle, sword, knife, hatchet and chopping knife to the jungle.

- 19'21 *te auro pa:ṭ-ond loṭa-n qend-keh*  
and further CLF-one brass.pot-AC take.along-CP.3SG.M  
*eky-ah*  
go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He took a brass pot along and went.

- 19'25 *ante sa:mne caq-oti pol-ah*  
and face.to.face stab-IF be.unable-PT.3SG.M  
And he could not stab her face to face.

- 19'28 *ante kobq-a piṭ-oti pol-ah ante*  
and hit.back.of.head-AP kill-IF be.unable-PT.3SG.M and

- got piṭ-oti pol-ah*  
cut.down.B2.AP kill-IF be.unable-PT.3SG.M  
He could not kill her by hitting the back of her head, nor could he kill her by hacking.
- 19'31 *adi-n birq-qeh a:he ta:n ta:ɾ-man-ik argy-ah*  
that-AC mix-CP.3SG.M he then palm-tree-DA climb.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He got confused about it and climbed a palm tree.
- 19'34 *a: maqi-n qolgr-no qe:ql-no ki:d-ah*  
that girl-AC beneath-LO earth-LO lay.down-PT.3SG.M  
He made the girl lie below on the ground.
- 19'38 *qe:ql-no ki:da-keh ante a: gec-ente iɲj*  
earth-LO lay.down-CP.3SG.M and that afar-AB stone.B2.AP  
*piṭ-eh got piṭ-eh ani caq-a piṭ-eh*  
kill-FT.3SG.M cut.down.B2.AP kill-FT.3SG.M and stab-AP kill-FT.3SG.M  
*ani adi-k man-ik argy-ah*  
then that-DA tree-DA climb.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He made her lie on the ground, and [in order to] throw [the chopping knife] and kill her, cut down and kill her, or stab and kill her, he climbed up a tree for that.
- 19'44 *man-ik arg-keh ante awd-ih nandi-hi ca:me-d*  
tree-DA climb-CP.3SG.M and speak-PR.3SG.M again-EPH song-NM  
*iɲi-nte ho ante awd-ih kide*  
here-AB too and speak-PR.3SG.M COMP  
He climbed up a tree and sang. Here again, he sang a song.
- 19'50 *idi=re eng(i).qo da:wa ka:l-i*  
ITJ=ITJ my.sister chopping.knife go-PR.3SG  
“(Singing) Look, sister, the chopping knife is going.”
- 19'56 *tey-a=re baiya pune bahu piṭ-i*  
send-IMP=ITJ brother new sister.in.law kill-PR.3SG  
“(Singing) Throw down [the chopping knife], o brother, the new sister-in-law is killing [me].”
- 20'03 *a:n-le olg-id a:d*  
say-CP cry-PR.3SG.NM that  
She cried so.
- 20'04 *a:h ho olg olg tey-ih i:d ho olg olg ko:q-i*  
he too cry.AP REP send-PR.3SG.M this.NM too cry.AP REP lie-PR.3SG  
He threw [the chopping knife] down crying. She also lies crying.
- 20'06 *ante tey-ah ta:n da:wa-d adi-n indra*  
and send-PT.3SG.M then chopping.knife-NM that-AC what  
*lag-ani gece be:gy-a*  
hit-FT.3SG.NM far jump.B2-PT.3SG  
And he threw it down, the chopping knife. What did it hit? It jumped far away.

- 20'10 *ante p<sup>h</sup>ir se nandu lag-lad a:n-keh ante nandu*  
and again EPH again hit-NG.PT.3SG.NM say-CP.3SG.M and again  
*awq-ih*  
speak-PR.3SG.M  
He said "It did not hit her," and said again.
- 20'13 *idi=re engi.qo masu ka:l-i*  
ITJ=ITJ my.sister hatchet go-PR.3SG  
“(Singing) Look, sister, the hatchet is going.”
- 20'20 *tey-a=re baiya pune bahu pit-i*  
send-PT.3SG=ITJ brother new sister.in.law kill-PR.3SG  
“(Singing) Throw down [the axe], o brother, the new sister-in-law is killing [me].”
- 20'26 *a:n-ko tey-ah ta:nu a:d ho lag-lad masu-d ho*  
say-CP send-PT.3SG.M then that too hit-NG.PT.3SG.NM hatchet-NM too  
*lag-la*  
hit-NG.PT.3SG  
He said this and threw [the hatchet] down. The hatchet did not hit her either.
- 20'31 *te nandu hi awq-ih nandu awq-ih pa:r-ih*  
and again EPH speak-PR.3SG.M again speak-PR.3SG.M sing-PR.3SG.M  
*olg-ih kide*  
cry-PR.3SG.M COMP  
And he said again, sang and cried,
- 20'35 *idi=re engi.qo curi ka:l-i*  
ITJ=ITJ my.sister knife go-PR.3SG  
“(Singing) Look, sister, the knife is going.”
- 20'41 *tey-a=re baiya pune bahu pit-i*  
send-PT.3SG=ITJ brother new sister.in.law kill-PR.3SG  
“(Singing) Throw down [the knife], o brother, the new sister-in-law is killing [me].”
- 20'47 *a:n-le awdy-ad na:h tey-ah a: ho*  
say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM he send-PT.3SG.M that too  
*lag-la gece e:k-i qe:ql-a pata-kid*  
hit-NG.PT.3SG far go-PR.3SG earth-AC stick-CP.3SG.NM  
*ij-a*  
stand.B2-PT.3SG  
She said this. He threw down [the knife]. It did not hit her either. It went far away, and stuck and stood on the ground.
- 20'51 *ante tarwa:ri-n tey-ah a: pahra awdy-ah*  
and sword-AC send-PT.3SG.M that time speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
And he threw down the sword. He said at that time.
- 20'53 *idi: re engi.qo tarwa:ri ka:l-i*  
ITJ ITJ my.sister sword go-PR.3SG  
“(Singing) Look, sister, the sword is going.”

- 20'59 *tey-a=ɾe baiya pune bahu piɬ-i*  
 send-PT.3SG=ITJ brother new sister.in.law kill-PR.3SG  
 “(Singing) Throw down [the sword], o brother, the new sister-in-law  
 is killing [me].”
- 21'05 *a:n-le oɫ-gad a:n-id tey-ah ke:ponti pac*  
 say-CP cry-PT.3SG.NM say-PR.3SG.NM send-PT.3SG.M at.once five  
*ɬukɾa qot-a*  
 piece cut.down.B2-PT.3SG  
 She cried and said this. He threw it down. It chopped her in five  
 pieces at once.
- 21'08 *da:p-ond cu:ɬv-ah a: pac ɬukɾa qot-a*  
 time.CLF-one throw.B2-PT.3SG.M that five piece cut.down.B2-PT.3SG  
 He threw it down once. It cut her in five pieces.
- 21'10 *qot-ne-ki ba:de et-keh ante qe:s-a*  
 cut.down-VN-GE after go.down-CP.3SG.M and blood-AC  
*patc-keh loɬa-no patc-keh*  
 catch.up.liquid-CP.3SG.M brass.pot-LO catch.up.liquid-CP.3SG.M  
*ante kiry-ah*  
 and return.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After that, he went down, emptied her blood in the brass pot, and went  
 home.
- 21'13 *kiry-ah a: qeɬy-ond qeɬu-de bahre-no beh-i*  
 return.B2-PT.3SG.M that CLF-one leg-NM outside-LO be-PR.3SG  
 He went home. Then that one leg [of his wife] was sticking out.
- 21'17 *qeɬy-ond qeɬu duwar-no beh-i aɬa-no beh-i*  
 CLF-one leg door-LO be-PR.3SG house-LO be-PR.3SG  
 One (i.e. the other) leg was at the doorway, in the house.
- 21'19 *anihi ga co:ca-kid oky-a*  
 for.nothing surely get.up.B2-CP.3SG.NM sit.B2-PT.3SG  
 She got up and was sitting without any [special treatment].
- 21'20 *i:d eng.ɬo-ki qe:su-d a:n-oti-ga*  
 this my.sister-GE blood-NM say-IF-surely  
*da:wanq-ola=jahã*  
 have.opportunity-NG.PR.3SG=even  
 There was not even a chance to say “This is my sister’s blood.”
- 21'23 *kor-ni=jahã de alq urq-ad anake*  
 enter-IPP.EPH=even ITJ laugh.AP come.out-PT.3SG.NM now  
*neky-a aɾe a:n-le awɬy-a*  
 get.well.B2-PT.3SG ITJ say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG  
 As soon as he entered, she came out smiling. She said, “I have gotten  
 well now.”
- 21'28 *anake neky-a aɾe maja.qani de ɬi:ke de a:n-le*  
 now get.well.B2-PT.3SG ITJ fine ITJ well ITJ say-CP

*awqy-a*

speak.B2-PT.3SG

She said, “Now I have gotten well. I am fine. I am well.”

- 21'31 *ante indra kud-eh qe:su-d ho bekar mejj-a*  
and what do-FT.3SG.M blood-NM too useless become.B2-PT.3SG  
*malni-d ho ano tukra tukra pac tukra*  
woman-NM too there piece REP five piece  
What did he do? The blood had become useless, and the woman [had]  
also [become] pieces, five pieces, there [in the jungle].
- 21'36 *ante doky-ar oky-ar sangale-hi*  
and stay.B2-PT.3PL sit.B2-PT.3PL together-EPH  
And they lived together.
- 21'38 *doky-ar oky-ar ante nawre-d awro bijli-d*  
stay.B2-PT.3PL sit.B2-PT.3PL and weasel-NM and mongoose-NM  
*carc kud-i carc kud-i eky-a*  
walk.B2.AP walk.around-AP walk.B2.AP walk.around-AP go.B2-PT.3SG  
They lived. Then a weasel and a mongoose were walking around  
together.
- 21'44 *carc kud-i carc kud-i eky-a*  
walk.B2.AP go.around-AP walk.B2.AP go.around-AP go.B2-PT.3SG  
*ta:nu a:de malni ko:q-id ani pac tukra qoh-pe ko:q-i*  
then that woman lie-PR.3SG.NM so five piece cut-PAP lie-PR.3SG  
They were walking around. Then that woman [i.e. his sister] lay  
[there]. She lay cut in five pieces.
- 21'50 *ani e:r-kid ante are are bar-a bar-a indru ko:q-i are*  
so see-CP.3SG.NM and ITJ REP come-IMP REP what lie-PR.3SG ITJ  
*elktr-i a:n-i*  
frighten-PR.3SG say-PR.3SG  
[One of them] saw her and said, “Hey, come [and look], what lies  
here? I’m scared.”
- 21'53 *ta:nu malni aju: aju: malni ko:q-i bar-a e:r-et*  
then woman ITJ ITJ woman lie-PR.3SG come-IMP see-FT.1PL.I  
Then it’s a woman. “Good heavens! [Here] lies a woman. Come,  
let’s see.”
- 21'54 *a:n-ki ante jamar-y-a nawre ar bijli*  
say-CP.3SG and get.together.B2-PT.3SG weasel and mongoose  
Saying this, the weasel and the mongoose stood close to each other.
- 21'58 *ante jamar-kid ante e:ry-a a: pahr malni*  
and get.together-CP.3SG.NM and see.B2-PT.3SG that time woman  
*pac tukra qoh-pe*  
five piece cut-PAP  
When they stood close to each other and looked, [it was] a woman cut  
in five pieces.

- 22'01 *ani nawre-d aur bijli jo:ɽe-ti suru: men-i*  
 so weasel-NM and mongoose pair-IN beginning become-PR.3SG  
 Then the weasel and mongoose started [singing] together.
- 22'04 *aur nandu-hi ca:me-d i:ɽ-no kide*  
 and again-EPH song-NM here-LO COMP  
 And again [there is] a song here,
- 22'08 *nawr toto nawr bilo bilo kajiy-a*  
 weasel ONOM weasel ONOM REP board.B2-PT.3SG  
 “(Singing) Nawr Toto, Nawr Bilo, he got aboard.”
- 22'12 *qerwu dolo dolo dolo pa:ni a:n-le*  
 ear big REP REP water say-CP  
 “(Singing) Qerwu Dolo, Dolo, Dolo, [bring] water.”
- 22'14 *a:n-le a:n-le a:n-ki ante jo:ɽc-a*  
 say-CP REP say-CP.3SG.NM and put.together.B2-PT.3SG  
*ɽukɽ-ond ante awd-i pa:ɽ-i*  
 piece.CLF-one and speak-PR.3SG sing-PR.3SG  
 Saying this, they put together one piece. And they said singing.
- 22'22 *qerwu dolo dolo dolo pa:ni a:n-le*  
 ear big REP REP water say-CP  
 “(Singing) Qerwu Dolo, Dolo, Dolo, [bring] water.”
- 22'24 *a:n-le a:n-ki ante ɽukɽ-is jo:ɽc-a*  
 say-CP say-CP.3SG.NM and piece.CLF-two put.together.B2-PT.3SG  
 Saying this, they put together two pieces.
- 22'27 *na:n-le na:n-le pa:ɽ-a pa:ɽ-a a: malni-n*  
 do.that.way-CP REP sing-AP REP that woman-AC  
*jo:ɽc ongy-a gand-i*  
 put.together.B2.AP finish.B2-PT.3SG body  
 Singing and singing that way, they finished putting together the woman, her body.
- 22'31 *pac ɽukɽa gand-i-n jo:ɽc ongy-kid ante*  
 five piece body-AC put.together.B2.AP finish-CP.3SG.NM and  
*male-n ji:we-n bicry-a jiyary-a*  
 person-AC life-AC put.in.B2-PT.3SG recover.life.B2-PT.3SG  
 They finished putting together the five-piece body, and they put back the person, the life, and she got back to life.
- 22'36 *ante indru nuɽj-tr-i a:n-le awd-y-a ani*  
 and what pain-CS-PR.3SG say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG then  
 They said [to her] “Does anything hurt?”
- 22'38 *enɽ-a kakali nuɽj-tr-i a:n-le awd-ko*  
 I-DA waist pain-CS-PR.3SG say-CP speak-CP  
 She said, “My waist hurts.”
- 22'40 *ek-e:r-a a:n-le awd-y-a ani eky-a a:n-e-ki*  
 go.B2-see-IMP say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG so go.B2-PT.3SG say-VN-GE

- ba:d *kakali nuɲj-id*      a:n-i      ante *nandi-hi awd-i*  
 after waist pain-PR.3SG.NM say-PR.3SG and again-EPH speak-PR.3SG  
 They said, “Try to walk.” So she walked, and then said, “The waist hurts.” They said again.
- 22’49 *qerwu dolo dolo dolo pa:ni a:n-le*  
 ear big REP REP water say-CP  
 “(Singing) Qerwu Dolo, Dolo, Dolo, [bring] water.”
- 22’52 *a:n-kid*      ante *a: jo:ɽ-ot toq-a*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM and that put.together-IF finish-PT.3SG  
 Singing like this, they finished putting her together.
- 22’53 *nek-id*      *anake indru-goɽe nuɲj-tr-ola*      *a:n-ko*  
 get.well-PR.3SG.NM now what-ever pain-CS-NG.PR.3SG say-CP  
*ante*  
 and  
 She said, “I got well. Now nothing hurts.”
- 22’56 *nuɲj-i*      *nuɲj-ola*      *a:n-ki*      *indru-goɽe*  
 pain-PR.3SG pain-NG.PR.3SG say-CP.3SG what-ever  
*nuɲj-tr-ola*      *a:n-ko ante*  
 pain-CS-NG.PR.3SG say-CP and  
 When they said “Does it hurt or not?” she said “Nothing hurts.”
- 22’58 *acca ti:k he je ni:n anake aɖa-k kir-oma*  
 well good is but you now house-DA return-NG.IMP  
 “Okay, that’s good. But don’t go home now.”
- 23’01 *ni:n i:t-no hi ok-a i:t-nihi ko:q-a*  
 you here-LO EPH sit-IMP here-LO.EPH lie-IMP  
 “You sit right here, and you lie right here.”
- 23’05 *ning-a to anake keca-ki*      *ante jiyar-ki*  
 you-DA TOP now die.B2-CP.3SG.NM and recover.life-CP.3SG.NM  
*jiyar-tr-kem*      *e:m e:m mal gaɽc-kem*  
 recover.life-CS-PT.1PL.E we.E we.E person make.B2-PT.1PL.E  
 “You died and came back to life now, and it is us that revived you.  
 We made you human.”
- 23’09 *to anake ning-a to anake indrik kir-ani*  
 TOP now you-DA TOP now why return-FT.2SG.NM  
 “Now how are you going to go back?”
- 23’11 *ni:n to anake jamar-ki*      *mba taɖka-hi*  
 you TOP now be.born-PT.2SG.NM isn’t.it right.now-EPH  
*jamar-ner a:ber to i: janar:paydar sa:te-hi du:de-n*  
 be.born-PR.3PL they TOP this birth together-EPH milk-AC  
*o:n-olar*  
 drink-NG.PR.3PL  
 “You are just born, aren’t you? When [babies] are just born, they do  
 not drink milk right after birth.”

- 23'16 *toɾa olg-ner ante epri.bupri men-ner*  
 a.little cry-PR.3PL and twisting become-PR.3PL  
 "They cry a little and twist [their body]."
- 23'19 *iske.ba:de du:d-ki:re dary-no ond-ner toho-ber*  
 after.this milk-hunger catch-IPP make.drink-PR.3PL mother-PL  
 "When they feel hungry for milk after this, their mothers feed them."
- 23'21 *a:-joka niŋg-a anake to anake jarmar-ki*  
 that-like you-DA now TOP now be.born-CP.2SG.NM  
*a:n-ki niŋg-a ki:re mal-a*  
 do.so-CP.2SG.NM you-DA hunger be.not-PR.3SG  
 "The same [is true of] you. You were born just now, and aren't you hungry?"
- 23'24 *a:-le:kki a:ra:m men-a ko:q-a ok-a iŋ-no a:n-ko*  
 that-for at.ease be-IMP lie.down-IMP sit-IMP here-LO say-CP  
*be:ɾit u:q-a koqy-ad*  
 in.the.evening become.dark-PT.3SG lie.down.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 "Therefore, be at ease, lie down and sit here." Then it got dark in the evening and she lay down.
- 23'27 *ta:nu ko:q-ne-ki ba:d pa:ɾ-ond aqa de pa:ɾ-ond indru paka-ki*  
 then lie-VN-GE after CLF-one house ITJ CLF-one what baked-GE  
*aqa banary-a a:t-no*  
 house be.made.B2-PT.3SG there-LO  
 Then after she lay down, a house, a house of bricks and mortar, formed by itself there.
- 23'34 *koqy-a aqa a: ge:ra maji-no aqa-maji*  
 lie.down.B2-PT.3SG house that boundary middle-LO house-middle  
*lehary-a koqy-a ani*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG lie.down.B2-PT.3SG so  
 She lay down. Then that space became the middle of the walls, middle of the house, and she lay [there].
- 23'38 *koq-a bij-ne-ki ba:d aqa-maji koq-ki*  
 lie.down.B2-AP dawn-VN-GE after house-middle lie.down-CP.3SG.NM  
*ante e:r-i co:ca-ki bijy-a ani*  
 and see-PR.3SG get.up.B2-CP.3SG.NM dawn.B2-PT.3SG so  
 After she spent the night lying there, she [found herself] lying in the middle of the house. She got up and looked, it had become morning.
- 23'40 *ta:nu aqa e:n to qaqa-no koq-ken qacy-a ta:nu*  
 then house I TOP jungle-LO lie.B2-PT.1SG look.like.B2-PT.3SG then  
*aqa a:n-kid ante e:ry-a*  
 house say-CP.3SG.NM and see.B2-PT.3SG  
 "It seems that I lay down in the jungle. But [now there is] a house [here]." She said this and looked.
- 23'45 *urq e:r-i ta:n qaqa-di hi bahre ante*  
 come.out.AP see-PR.3SG then jungle-NM EPH outside and

- doky-a a:t-no a:t-no dɔ:k-ne-ki ba:d a: ma:qond-nihi*  
 stay.B2-PT.3SG there-LO REP stay-VN-GE after that morning-LO.EPH  
 She went out and looked. Then it was a jungle outside. And she stayed there. Then, that morning,
- 23'51 *gesu tegalo tonda lohri ma:si e:nond*  
 paddy millet ear.of.corn kind.of.pulse kind.of.pulse how.much  
*ko pasile-d pahari-no beh-id a: ca:se goṭe-d*  
 it.seems crop-NM hill-LO be-PR.3SG.NM that ploughing all-NM  
*aḍa-no beh-id*  
 house-LO be-PR.3SG.NM  
 as large a crop [of] rice, millet, maize, Lahri pulse, and Ulad pulse as was on the hill — that harvesting was all in that house.
- 23'59 *ante urq-qid e:r-id i: ne:d*  
 and come.out-CP.3SG.NM see-PR.3SG.NM this who  
*ondry-ad i:t-ik a:n-le e:r-id so:c-id*  
 bring.B2-PT.3SG.NM here-DA say-CP see-PR.3SG.NM think-PR.3SG.NM  
*ante*  
 and  
 She went outside, looked, and wondered “Who brought this here?”
- 24'03 *ante dɔ:k-i ok-i ta:nu ne:-goṭe hi kor-ola*  
 and stay-PR.3SG sit-PR.3SG then who-ever EPH enter-NG.PR.3SG  
*urq-ola tang-ma:ne-d dɔ:k-id*  
 come.out-NG.PR.3SG self-alone-NM stay-PR.3SG.NM  
 And she lived there. Then nobody came in or went out. She lived all by herself.
- 24'06 *ante becc-ad oky-ad ani i:de doky-a*  
 and be.B2-PT.3SG.NM sit.B2-PT.3SG.NM so this.NM stay.B2-PT.3SG  
*oky-a ante male-r to ḍaḍe-k e:k-ner kank-ik*  
 sit.B2-PT.3SG and person-PL TOP jungle-DA go-PR.3PL firewood-DA  
 And she was [there]. This woman lived [there]. And people went to the jungle for firewood.
- 24'12 *ante a:tge-k indr-ik hi e:k-ner*  
 and leaf-DA what-DA EPH go-PR.3PL  
 And they go [to the jungle] for leaves and so on.
- 24'14 *a: pahra-no na: anḍ-id qepo-r-in*  
 that time-LO she find-PR.3SG.NM villager-PL-AC  
 Then she found the villagers.
- 24'17 *ide aju: e:n i:t-no dɔ:k-in aju: ar inno dɔ:k-ni*  
 ITJ ITJ I here-LO stay-PR.1SG ITJ and here stay-PR.2SG.NM  
 “Say, look, I live here.” “Oh, you live here?”
- 24'20 *ne: ide-ki cic-ad aḍa-n*  
 who build-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG.NM house-AC  
 “Who built [this] house [for you]?”

- 24'21 *ne: ide-ki cic-a e:n disanq-olaken e:n de*  
 who build-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG I recognize-NG.PR.1SG I ITJ  
*qo:k-in mba a:n-le awq-i*  
 stay-PR.1SG isn't.it say-CP speak-PR.3SG  
 She said, "I have no idea who built it. But I live [here]."
- 24'27 *a: to keca-kid jiyar-pe ante qandr-ne-ki ba:de*  
 that TOP die.B2-CP.3SG.NM recover.life-PAP and sleep-VN-GE after  
*aqa-d ho banar-pe*  
 house-NM too be.made-PAP  
 She died, was brought to life, and after she slept, [that] house was made.
- 24'30 *ante ne:k-en aqa-ki teyg-a ani*  
 and who-AC find-PT.2SG.NM tell-IMP so  
 And [they asked] "Tell me, whom did you find?"
- 24'32 *anq-ola ada-ki ba:de-no indra a:g-len*  
 find-NG.PR.3SG that-GE after-LO what know-SJ.1SG  
*disanq-olaken qo:k-in e:n*  
 recognize-NG.PR.1SG stay-PR.1SG I  
 "I did not find [anybody]." And then [she said] "What would I know?  
 I have no idea. I [just] live [here]."
- 24'35 *a:n-le awq-id ante aqa-n korc-le e:r-ner*  
 say-CP speak-PR.3SG.NM and house-AC enter.B2-CP see-PR.3PL  
*tonda ti:qalu ma:si gofe-hi ok-i ante ok-i*  
 ear.of.corn rice kind.of.pulse all-EPH sit-PR.3SG and sit-PR.3SG  
*ca:se te awq-i kide*  
 ploughing and speak-PR.3SG COMP  
 She said this. Then they entered the house, and saw maize, rice and pulse all sitting there. Harvests were sitting there. And she said,
- 24'43 *eng-a baiya-n aro bahu-n e:r-o bed-i*  
 I-DA brother-AC and sister.in.law-AC see-IF seek-PR.3SG  
*qond-try-ad eng-a*  
 be.tired-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM I-DA  
 "I want to see my elder brother and sister-in-law. I am anxious [to see them]."
- 24'45 *teyq-qer qat-ku bar-a:nder a:n-le awq-i*  
 tell-CP.3PL give-FT.IMP come-OP.3PL say-CP speak-PR.3SG  
 "Please tell them. I hope they will come over." So she said.
- 24'48 *ante kir-ker ante teyg-ner*  
 and return-CP.3PL and tell-PR.3PL  
 And they went back and told them.
- 24'49 *are ning.qo-d aga awq-i kide baiya-n*  
 ITJ your.sister-NM surely speak-PR.3SG COMP brother-AC  
*aur bahu-n tey-ku e:r-o bed-in*  
 and sister.in.law-AC send-FT.IMP see-IF seek-PR.1SG

- gond-try-ad*                      *ani a:n-ko a:h to ołg-ih*                      *se*  
 be.tired-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM so say-CP he TOP cry-PR.3SG.M EPH  
 “Say, your sister says, ‘Please send my elder brother and sister-in-law.  
 I want to see them. I am anxious [to see them].’ ” Then he cried.
- 24’57 *ikpad eng.đo-d eng.đo-n to piṭ-ken barc-ken*  
 how my.sister-NM my.sister-AC TOP kill-PT.1SG come.B2-PT.1SG  
*ikpad eng.đo-d awđ-i a:n-le awđ-ih*  
 how my.sister-NM speak-PR.3SG say-CP speak-PR.3SG.M  
 He said, “How [can it be] my sister? I killed my sister and went back.  
 How [can] my sister say [that]?”
- 25’02 *a:h patyar-olah awđ-ni awđ-ni ołg-ih*  
 he believe-NG.PR.3SG.M speak-IPP.EPH REP cry-PR.3SG.M  
 He did not believe it. Saying and saying this, he cried.
- 25’05 *ante đo:k-ner ok-ner na:nle na:nle ga:ṛe-hi male-r-in*  
 and stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL that.way REP many-EPH person-PL-AC  
*teṅg-a teṅg-a tey-id a:d đade-k e:k-u-r-ni*  
 tell-AP REP send-PR.3SG.NM that jungle-DA go-PP-PL-AC.EPH  
*e:k-u-r-nihi*  
 go-PP-PL-AC.EPH  
 While they kept on living, she sent a lot of people [to them], telling  
 them that way. [She sent] those who came to the jungle.
- 25’12 *ante mejj-r-naq-le i:ṭ to đo:k-id are iṭ to*  
 and hear-RF-REC-CP here TOP stay-PR.3SG.NM ITJ here TOP  
*đo:k-id are a:n-naq-le đusra male-r-ik e:r-o*  
 stay-PR.3SG.NM ITJ say-REC-CP other person-PL-DA see-IF  
*bed-id*  
 seek-PR.3SG.NM  
 And while they heard from each other and they said to each other  
 “Say, she lives here,” she felt like seeing other people.
- 25’16 *piṭ-pe saba-n mejj-ar a: mejja-ker đoky-ar*  
 kill-PAP story-AC hear.B2-PT.3PL that hear.B2-CP.3PL stay.B2-PT.3PL  
*a:n-ki*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM  
 They heard the story of killing her. They had heard it.
- 25’19 *ante ek ek e:r-ner-naq-ner ante ante nahe na:de indra*  
 and go.B2.AP REP see-PR.3PL-REC-PR.3PL and and he she what  
*kud-anid*  
 do-FT.3SG.NM  
 They went and met her. And what did he and she do?
- 25’28 *baiya-n auro bahu-n tey-ku a:n-no teṅg-a teṅg-a*  
 brother-AC and sister.in.law-AC send-FT.IMP say-IPP tell-AP REP  
*tey-no=goṭe-hi ek-e:r-olar*  
 send-IPP=even-EPH go-see-NG.PR.3PL  
 Even though she told [people] to send her elder brother and sister-

in-law to her, and sent them back telling so, they two did not try to go.

- 25'32 *ante i:he olg-ih olg-ni do:k-ih*  
and he cry-PR.3SG.M cry-PR.2SG.NM stay-PR.3SG.M  
And he was crying. He lived crying.
- 25'36 *ante din-onde-no na:d me:ca-n indra bita-kid ante*  
and day-one-LO she millet.wine-AC what cook-CP.3SG.NM and  
And one day, she (the younger sister) brewed millet wine.
- 25'38 *le:la mane na: dine pu:ra-hi bar-e[r] baiya ar*  
tomorrow that.is that day all-EPH come-FT.3PL brother and  
*bahu bar-er du:re-hi a:n-le tejg-ar ani*  
sister.in.law come-FT.3PL only-EPH say-CP tell-PT.3PL so  
They delivered [her message to them], "Tomorrow, I mean, on that day, please come by all means, brother and sister."
- 25'43 *auro ni:n ho bar-ani patyar-ola ta:nu e:d-oti*  
and you too come-FT.2SG.NM believe-NG.PR.3SG then show-IF  
"And you (i.e. the villager whom she talked to) should come too, in order to show, in case [they] don't believe it."
- 25'46 *e:n tam-en=du:re-n tey-ku a:n-no ne:-goṭe-hi*  
I self.PL-AC=only-AC send-FT.IMP say-IPP who-even-EPH  
*bar-olad*  
come-NG.PR.3SG.NM  
"I told them to send you two [here], but neither came."
- 25'50 *de ni:n sangal bar-ani a:n-ko ort malni mejj-a*  
ITJ you together come-FT.2SG.NM say-CP one woman be.B2-PT.3SG  
When she said "You will come together, won't you?" there was a lady.
- 25'52 *tam-sangalni-d ort tang-baiya-h ort*  
self.PL-companion.lady-NM one own-brother-M one  
*tang-bahu eky-a daḍe-k e:r-oti a:n-le*  
own-sister.in.law go.B2-PT.3SG jungle-DA see-IF say-CP  
Their companion lady, her elder brother, and her sister-in-law went to the jungle to see [her].
- 25'59 *a:d me:ca-ni indru bita-kid doḳy-ad*  
that millet.wine-AC.EPH what cook-CP.3SG.NM stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
She was brewing millet wine and so on.
- 26'02 *indro neru mejj-a maq-ond neru mejj-a aro*  
what snake be.B2-PT.3SG CLF-one snake be.B2-PT.3SG and  
*panḍu.neru mejj-a aro boḍa mejj-ad*  
cobra be.B2-PT.3SG and viper be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
There were snakes. There were snakes, cobras, and vipers.
- 26'09 *aro cicinkujo mejj-a awro te:le mejj-a*  
and kind.of.centipede be.B2-PT.3SG and scorpion be.B2-PT.3SG  
There were centipedes and scorpions.

- 26'13 *i: ci:je-n na:d maq-is-ti maq-is-ti jama:tr-le darc*  
 this thing-AC she CLF-two-IN REP collect-CP catch.B2.AP  
*qo:k-try-a*  
 stay-CS.B2-PT.3SG  
 She gathered these things two by two; she caught and kept them.
- 26'18 *darc-kid ok-try-a ok-try-a ante adi-ki ba:de-no*  
 catch.B2-CP.3SG.NM sit-CS.B2-PT.3SG REP and that-GE after-LO  
*na:ber barc-ar a: sangalni barc-a*  
 they come.B2-PT.3PL that companion.lady come.B2-PT.3SG  
*bar-ne-ki ba:de e:r-i*  
 come-VN-GE after see-PR.3SG  
 She caught and kept them. Then they came. That companion lady came. Then she saw [them].
- 26'29 *e:r-i ante a: tang-bahu-n to indra kud-ani*  
 see-PR.3SG and that own-sister.in.law-AC TOP what do-FT.3SG.NM  
 She saw them, and her sister-in-law. What did she do?
- 26'31 *aqa-d e:r-i ba:pre ne: i:-juka garc*  
 house-NM see-PR.3SG ITJ who this-like make.B2.AP  
*cic-ad ani*  
 give.B2-PT.3SG.NM so  
 She saw the house. "Oh my! Who made [a house] like this [for you]?"
- 26'35 *a:h tang-baiya ado cinta menja-ki ok-ih*  
 he own-brother further thinking be.B2-CP.3SG.NM sit-PR.3SG.M  
 He, her elder brother, was sitting, thinking further.
- 26'38 *kide taqi-n bit-a bit-a ciy-id kajak*  
 COMP liquor-AC cook-AP REP give-PR.3SG.NM much  
*ond-id tang-bahu-n*  
 make.drink-PR.3SG.NM own-sister.in.law-AC  
 Having brewed liquor, she served it. She made her sister-in-law drink a lot.
- 26'43 *kajak ond-i a: ca:m-qe:l men-id*  
 much make.drink-PR.3SG that song-drum be-PR.3SG.NM  
 She made her drink a lot and there were songs and drum beating.
- 26'45 *i:h andu olg-en pa:ɽ-en a:n-keh ante ja:gu-n*  
 he thus cry-FT.1SG sing-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M and food-AC  
*lapy-a ar a:h ma:tra ma:tra-hi onq-ah*  
 eat.B2-PT.3SG and he a.little.bit a.little.bit-EPH drink.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He thought "I will cry and lament," ate food, and drank just a little bit.
- 26'50 *onqa-ker-tatker ante ok-ner adi-ki ba:de-no*  
 drink.B2-CP.3PL-ECHO and sit-PR.3PL that-GE after-LO  
 After they drank, they sat, and then,
- 26'52 *na:d awq-id-e bahu sa:ɽi pu:n-a are ey-ki*  
 she speak-PR.3SG.NM sister.in.law saree wear-IMP ITJ I-GE

*sari-ne*

saree-AC

she said, “Sister, try a saree on, try my saree on.”

- 26'57 *inda a:n-ko a: to onq-qi mej-a mba*  
 take.this say-CP she TOP be.drunk-CP.3SG.NM be.B2-PT.3SG isn't.it  
*neru mala te:lo mala a:g-olad a:d*  
 snake or scorpion or know-NG.PR.3SG.NM she  
 When she said ‘Take this’, she [i.e. the sister-in-law] was drunk. She  
 did not know whether they were snakes or scorpions.

- 27'02 *boḍa-n peta-kid dapna-no ki:d-a*  
 viper-AC take.up.B2-CP.3SG.NM shoulder-LO lay.down-PT.3SG  
 She took up a viper and put it on her shoulder.

- 27'04 *dapna-no ki:d-a ante awḍ-i kide*  
 shoulder-LO lay.down-PT.3SG and speak-PR.3SG COMP  
 After she put the viper on her shoulder, [the sister] said,

- 27'07 *bahu ḍo:ra are a:n-kid ante paṇḍu.ner-a kuk-no*  
 sister.in.law string ITJ say-CP.3SG.NM and cobra-AC head-LO  
*ki:d-a*  
 lay.down-PT.3SG  
 she said, “Sister, [here is] a string [to tie your hair],” and put a cobra  
 on her head.

- 27'10 *ante bahu kake-d a:n-kid ante nandu*  
 and sister.in.law comb-NM say-CP.3SG.NM and again  
*cicinkujo-n kuk-no ki:d-a*  
 kind.of.centipede-AC head-LO lay.down-PT.3SG  
 And saying “Sister, [here is] a comb,” she put a centipede on her head.

- 27'14 *ante bahu muṇ-angṭi re inda a:n-kid ante*  
 and sister.in.law nose-ring ITJ take.this say-CP.3SG.NM and  
*te:le muṇu-no angtr-ki be:try-a*  
 scorpion nose-LO suspend-CP.3SG.NM attach.B2-PT.3SG  
 Saying “Sister, here is a nose ring. Take this,” she hung a scorpion on  
 her nose.

- 27'17 *ante neru indro ḍaṭ-ond muṇ-angṭi aro kuḍurpo maja.qani-hi*  
 and snake what CLF-one nose-ring and hairpin pretty-EPH  
*beh-id a:n-ko baksa-n cic-a*  
 be-PR.3SG.NM say-CP box-AC give.B2-PT.3SG  
 And saying “There is a pretty nose-ring and a hairpin,” she gave her  
 a box.

- 27'22 *aḍula koḍy-a indro neru-d te:le-d*  
 inside.it lie.down.B2-PT.3SG what snake-NM scorpion-NM  
*cicinkujo-d boḍa*  
 centipede-NM viper  
 Inside it lay a snake, a scorpion, a centipede, and a viper.

- 27'26 *sa:la-k* *tuk-ki* *cic-a* *a:d* *ho*  
wicked.person-DA push-CP.3SG.NM give.B2-PT.3SG that too  
*qa:ry-a* *gandī-ki-d* *ho qa:ry-a*  
sting.B2-PT.3SG body-GE-NM too sting.B2-PT.3SG  
She thrust [the box] on the wicked woman. They stung [her] and those  
which were on her body also stung [her].
- 27'29 *qa:r-a* *piṭy-a* *ante* *ner-ik* *pa:r-ond* *loṭa-ki*  
sting-AP kill.B2-PT.3SG and snake-DA CLF-one brass.pot-GE  
*am-a* *otr-kid* *ante*  
water-AC take.out-CP.3SG.NM and  
They killed her by stinging. Then she took out a brass pot of water  
and,
- 27'34 *goṭ ner-ik* *cic-a* *ma:rc-ki* *ante*  
all snake-DA give.B2-PT.3SG sprinkle.by.hand(?).B2-CP.3SG.NM and  
*neru a: ceḍa-ki* *otr-ki* *tey-a*  
snake that carry-CP.3SG.NM take.out-CP.3SG.NM send-PT.3SG  
she gave it to all snakes, sprinkling it by hand (?). Then she carried  
them, took them out and let them go.
- 27'38 *ante tang-bahu* *keca-ki* *toqry-a*  
and own-sister.in.law die.B2-CP.3SG.NM pass.away.B2-PT.3SG  
And the sister-in-law died and passed away.
- 27'40 *ante* <sup>phir</sup> *a:ṭ-nihi* *tang-baiya* *aur tang.ḍo* *ḍoky-a*  
and again there-LO.EPH own-brother and own.sister stay.B2-PT.3SG  
And the brother and sister lived there again.
- 27'43 *eṇ-ki saba-d* *i: kahani-ki saba qandr-ner* *a: pahra-no kata*  
I-GE story-NM this tale-GE story sleep-PR.3PL that time-LO story  
*teṇḡ-a* *a:n-ner* *ante teṇḡ-ner*  
tell-IMP say-PR.3PL and tell-PR.3PL  
This story of mine, the story of this tale, is told when [children] go to  
bed and say "Tell me a story."
- 27'49 *ne:reh* *a:g-ih* *a:h* *teṇḡ-ih*  
who.M know-PR.3SG.M he.CR tell-PR.3SG.M  
He who knows tells it.
- 27'50 *a:-juka-hi* *e:n* *kata-n* *eṇḡ-a* *arpi-hi* *oky-a*  
that-like-EPH I tale-AC I-DA a.little-EPH sit.B2-PT.3SG  
*qacy-a* *ani teṇḡ-qen*  
look.like.B2-PT.3SG so tell-PT.1SG  
I told the story that way, for I felt like I had something in mind.
- 27'55 *eṇ-ki oṇḡry-a*  
I-GE end.B2-PT.3SG  
My [story] is over.

### §29 Story of a prince and an ascetic (Ne).

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar, P. O. Vindudham, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahebganj. Recorded at the custodian's office of Adivasi Res-

idential Boys' High School, Hiranpur, on September 24, 2007.

0'28 *e:n kata-n teŋg-oti bi:r-en*

I story-AC tell-IF be.about.to-FT.1SG

I am going to tell a story.

0'32 *orte ra:ja-h meŋj-ah*

one king-M be.B2-PT.3SG

There was a king.

0'37 *ra:ja-h oŋger meŋj-ar te a:ber-ike maqe-r*  
king-M married.couple be.B2-PT.3PL and they-DA child-PL  
*men-lar*

be-NG.PT.3PL

There was a royal couple. They had no children.

0'44 *te mandr-a=indru gary-tr-ner-tatner ga:ŋe-hi*

and medicine-AC=and.so.on melt-CS-PR.3PL-ECHO much-EPH

So they had a lot of medicine and so on prepared.

0'49 *te men-e-ni men-olar maqe-r*

and become-VN-LO.EPH become-NG.PR.3PL child-PL

But still [they got] no children.

0'52 *te orte sa:du barc-ah ante a:he awdŋ-ah*

and one ascetic come.B2-PT.3SG.M and he speak.B2-PT.3SG.M

And one ascetic came and spoke.

1'00 *i:d ra:ja-aŋa-d a:n-le awdŋ-ko hō: ra:ja ante ma:ŋgy-ot*  
this king-house-NM say-CP speak-CP yes king and beg-IF  
*eky-ah*

go.B2-PT.3SG.M

He said, "Is this the king's palace?" "Yes, the king[']s palace]," and he went in to beg.

1'07 *te a:h ma:ŋgc-keh tirr-u meŋj-ah a: pahra*

and he beg.B2-CP.3SG.M go.away-PP become.B2-PT.3SG.M that time

*hi ra:ja-h awdŋ-ah eŋg-a maqe-r mal-ar*

EPH king-M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M I-DA child-PL be.not-PR.3PL

When he begged and was about to leave, the king said, "I have no child."

1'14 *awdŋ-ko awdŋ-ne ta:nu mandr-a gary-en a:n-le*  
speak-CP speak-IPP then medicine-AC melt-FT.1SG say-CP  
*awdŋ-ah*

speak.B2-PT.3SG.M

When [the king] said this, then [the ascetic] said, "I will prepare medicine."

1'19 *te mandr-a garc-ko ahe-k maqe-h meŋj-ah*

and medicine-AC melt.B2-CP he-DA child-M become.B2-PT.3SG.M

*muŋs.maqe-h*

boy-M

After [the ascetic] prepared medicine, he (i.e. the king) had a child, a boy.

- 1'28 *muɾs.maqe-h meɲj-ah*                      *ante dɔ:k-ner ok-ner sa:du*  
 boy-M                      become.B2-PT.3SG.M and stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL ascetic  
*ho ad-ni dɔky-ah bah-ond jo:prɪ-n bana:tr-ko*  
 too that-LO.EPH stay.B2-PT.3SG.M place-one grass.hut-AC make-CP  
 [The king] had a boy. And they lived. The ascetic made a hut in one  
 place and stayed there, too.

- 1'37 *ante dɔ:k-te dɔ:k-ner dɔ:k-ner ante a: maqe mo:tary-ah*  
 and stay-AP stay-PR.3PL REP and that boy grow.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And while they lived, that boy grew up.

- 1'43 *a: maqe-h mo:tar-ko mo:tar-keh ante a: sa:du-bahak*  
 that boy-M grow.big-CP grow.big-CP.3SG.M and that ascetic-to  
*ek ek dɔ:k-ih*  
 go.B2.AP REP stay-PR.3SG.M  
 Having grown up, that boy kept going only to that ascetic[’s place].

- 1'49 *te na:h awd-ih i: duniya-no ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho*  
 and he speak-PR.3SG.M this world-LO who-GE-NM too who too  
*mal-a*  
 be.not-3SG  
 And he (i.e. the ascetic) said, “There is nobody for anyone in this  
 world.”

- 1'55 *i: duniya-no ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho mal-a a:n-le*  
 this world-LO who-GE-NM too who too be.not-3SG say-CP  
*awd-ih sa:du-h*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M ascetic-M  
 The ascetic said, “There is nobody for anyone in this world.”

- 2'00 *ante a:h kir-a kir-a aqa-no ra:ja-ra:ni-bahno i: duniya-no*  
 and he return-AP REP house-LO king-queen-LO this world-LO  
*ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho mal-a i: duniya-no ne:k-ki-d ho*  
 who-GE-NM too who too be.not-3SG this world-LO who-GE-NM too  
*ne:d ho mala-d a:n-le awd-ih ani*  
 who too be.not-3SG.NM say-CP speak-PR.3SG.M then  
 And when he (i.e. the prince) came back, he said at the place of the  
 king and the queen, “There is nobody for anyone in this world. There  
 is nobody for anyone in this world.”

- 2'13 *ra:ja-h ra:ni meɲja-ker ante ro:kary-ar*  
 king-M queen hear.B2-CP.3PL and get.angry.B2-PT.3PL  
 The king and the queen heard it and got angry.

- 2'17 *ante ni:n to ra:ja-ki maqe-y em-ki maqe-y aro ikin*  
 and you TOP king-GE child-2SG we.E-GE child-2SG and how  
*awd-ne ne:d ho mal-ad ki i: duniya-no*  
 speak-PR.2SG.M who too be.not-3SG.NM COMP this world-LO

*ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho mala-d a:n-le*  
 who-GE-NM too who too be.not-NM say-CP

“You are a prince. You are our child. And how come you say ‘There is nobody for anyone in this world?’”

- 2’27 *de anake ihe-n tey-etala sa:du-bajo nano ek ek*  
 ITJ now he-AC send-NG.FT.1PL.I ascetic-toward there go.B2.AP REP  
*qo:k-ehala*  
 stay-NG.FT.3SG.M

“Well, now we will not let him go to the ascetic’s place. He shall not go and stay there.”

- 2’33 *te e:k-ehala te p<sup>h</sup>ir se eky-ah te nande*  
 and go-NG.FT.3SG.M and again EPH go.B2-PT.3SG.M and again  
*kir-keh i: duniya-no ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho*  
 return-CP.3SG.M this world-LO who-GE-NM too who too  
 [Though they said] “He shall not go,” he went again, and when he  
 came back [he said] again, “There is [no]body for anyone in this  
 world.”

- 2’48 *te nahe-n nandu ra:ja-h ra:ni-d ho mane toho-tambako-ber*  
 and he-AC again king-M queen-NM too namely mother-father-PL  
*a:ber qary-ner e:m qo:k-im ino sampati da:ne daulate*  
 they scold-PR.3PL we.E stay-PR.1PL.E here riches gift wealth  
*beh-id aro ni:n ikin ne:k-ki-d ho ne:d ho mal-a*  
 be-PR.3SG.NM and you how who-GE-NM too who too be.not-PR.3SG  
*a:n-le awq-ne*  
 say-CP speak-PR.2SG.M

And the king and the queen, namely his father and mother, scolded him again, [saying,] “We are alive. There are riches, gift and wealth here, and how come you say ‘There is nobody for anyone in this world?’”

- 3’02 *a:n-le awq-ko mala ihe-k biha nan-et anake*  
 say-CP speak-CP no he-DA wedding do-FT.1PL.I now  
*mo:tary-ah ada-ki ba:de-nihi nano e:k-ehala*  
 grow.big.B2-PT.3SG.M that-GE after-LO there go-NG.FT.3SG.M  
*sa:du-bahak eky-ah a:t-ik*  
 ascetic-to go.B2-PT.3SG.M there-DA

After they said this, [they thought,] “No, let us marry him off. He has now grown old. After that he will not go there, to the ascetic’s place where he used to go.”

- 3’12 *ante ahe-k biha nany-ar biha nan-ko qo:k-ner*  
 and he-DA wedding do.B2-PT.3PL wedding do-CP stay-PR.3PL  
 And they married him off. They kept on living after they married [him  
 off].

- 3’18 *ano-go:te-hi na:h awq-ih i: duniya-no ne:d ho*  
 there-even-EPH he speak-PR.3SG.M this world-LO who too

*ne:k-ki-d ho mal-a i: duniya-no ne:reh ho ne:kki ho*  
 who-GE-NM too be.not-PR.3SG this world-LO who.M too whose too  
*mal-ah*

be.not-PR.3SG.M

He still said, "There is nobody for anyone in this world. In this world nobody has anyone."

- 3'26 *ante nandu ro:kary-ar ante aye a: dine ek-keh*  
 and again get.angry.B2-PT.3PL and ITJ that day go.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*men-ih eng-en i:n-le i:n-le awd-no abo-aya-ber*  
 hear-IMP I-AC do.this.way-CP REP speak-IPP father-mother-PL  
*qary-ner*  
 scold-PR.3PL

And they got angry again. And on that day, he went [to the ascetic's place and] asked, "Say, when [I say] so and so, my parents scold me."

- 3'42 *qary-ner ante tey-lar ante na:he eng-en qary-ner*  
 scold-PR.3PL and send-NG.PT.3PL and he I-AC scold-PR.3PL  
*i:n-le i:n-le aya-abo-ber*  
 do.this.way-CP REP mother-father-PL  
 "They scold me and do not allow me to come [here]. And parents scold me saying this and this."

- 3'52 *o: acca: ni:n e:r-ane na:nle qary-ner ta:nu te ni:ne*  
 ITJ well you see-FT.2SG.M that.way scold-PR.3PL then and you  
*ka:l-a ina awd-oka ki e:ne biha nany-ar*  
 go-IMP today speak-IMP COMP I wedding do.B2-PT.3PL  
 "Oh well, then you try [this]. If they scold that way, you go and say today 'I am married [now].'"

- 4'05 *te nahe-ki biha menj-ad a: ra:ja-tay.gade-ki-d*  
 and he-GE wedding become.B2-PT.3SG.NM that king-son-GE-NM  
*ante e:n eng-a qa:ni-ki tetu-t ja:gu lap-en*  
 and I I-DA wife-GE hand-IN food eat-FT.1SG  
 And his wedding, the king's son's wedding, was done. And [he told him to say,] "I will eat food from my wife's hand."

- 4'15 *ante ra:ni-d awdy-ad o: anake ey-ki maqe-h*  
 and queen-NM speak.B2-PT.3SG.NM ITJ now I-GE boy-M  
*juwan leary-ah*  
 young.man become.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 And [when he said that], the queen said, "Oh, now my child has become a young man."

- 4'20 *tay-ki aqa-male-r-ki tetu-t lap-oti ca:hy-ih*  
 own-GE house-person-PL-GE hand-IN eat-IF want-PR.3SG.M  
 "He wants to eat from the hand of his family (i.e. his wife)."

- 4'24 *ante na: bana:try-a ante a:d kicri-n indru bit-ad*  
 and she make.B2-PT.3SG and she khicri-AC what cook-PT.3SG.NM

- ante qend-kid*                      *eky-ad*                      *ahe-ki ru:me-k ahe-ki*  
and take.along-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-PT.3SG.NM he-GE room-DA he-GE  
*aqa-k*  
house-DA  
And she (his wife) prepared [food]. She cooked *khicri* and so on,  
carried it and went to his room, his living quarters.
- 4'34 *ante ciy-id*                      *ante na:he indra kud-eh*                      *keca-keh*  
and give-PR.3SG.NM and he                      what do-FT.3SG.M die.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*ana ko:q-ih*  
like lie.down-PR.3SG.M  
She gives [it to him]. And what did he do? He lay down as if he were  
dead.
- 4'40 *ani na:d e:r-kid-tatkid*                      *ante ayu: i:h to kec-ah*  
so she see-CP.3SG.NM-ECHO and ITJ he TOP die.B2-PT.3SG.M  
Then she saw him and so on, and [said] "Good heavens! He is dead."
- 4'45 *i:h to keca-keh*                      *ko:q-ih*                      *ante e:n indra kud-en*  
he TOP die.B2-CP.3SG.M lie.down-PR.3SG.M and I                      what do-FT.1SG  
"He is lying dead. What shall I do then?"
- 4'49 *idi-n lap-en*                      *ante ba:de-no e:n olg-a qo:k-en*  
this-AC eat-FT.1SG and after-LO I cry-AP stay-FT.1SG  
"I will eat this, and after that I will be crying."
- 4'52 *a.ny-ad*                      *ante a:de ra:ja-tan.gade-qa:ni-d a:de kicri-n*  
say.B2-PT.3SG.NM and she king-own.son-wife-NM she *khicri*-AC  
*lapy-a*  
eat.B2-PT.3SG  
She said this. Then she, the king's son's wife, ate the *khicri*.
- 4'58 *lap-e-ki*                      *ba:de-no a:n-le awdy-ah*                      *ante na:he ina*  
eat-VN-GE after-LO say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG.M and he today  
*eng-a qa:ni-ki tetu-ti lap-en bana:tr-ander kicri-n a:n-le*  
I-DA wife-GE hand-IN eat-FT.1SG make-OP.3PL *khicri*-AC say-CP  
*awdy-ah*                      *ante*  
speak.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
After she ate the *khicri*, [she said,] "He said he would eat from his  
wife's hand today and wanted them cook *khicri*."
- 5'11 *bana:try-ad*                      *kicri-n*                      *ante oc-ad*                      *ani na:he*  
make.B2-PT.3SG.NM *khicri*-AC and take.B2-PT.3SG.NM then he  
*keca-keh*                      *ana ko:q-ih*  
die.B2-CP.3SG.M like lie.down-PR.3SG.M  
She cooked *khicri* and brought it [to him]. Then he lay like he was  
dead.
- 5'17 *te i:h to kec-ah*                      *a:n-kid*                      *ante na:d lap-en*                      *ante*  
and he TOP die.B2-PT.3SG.M say-CP.3SG.NM and she eat-FT.1SG and  
*olg-a qo:k-en a:n-le awdy-a*  
cry-AP stay-FT.1SG say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG

She said, “He is dead,” and then said, “I will eat and be crying.”

- 5'24 *te lap-en ante olg-a qo:k-en a:n-le awq-kid ante*  
and eat-FT.1SG and cry-AP stay-FT.1SG say-CP speak-CP.3SG.NM and  
*lap-kid ante olg-i*  
eat-CP.3SG.NM and cry-PR.3SG

She said, “I will eat and be crying.” Having said this, she ate and cried.

- 5'27 *indrik ek-ke ra:jumare e:n key-len adin ni:n*  
why go.B2-PT.2SG.M prince I die-SJ.1SG then you  
*keca-ke e:n aro key-len adin ni:n keca-ke*  
die.B2-PT.2SG.M I too die-SJ.1SG then you die.B2-PT.2SG.M  
*a:n-le olg-id ante indra kudy-a*  
say-CP cry-PR.3SG.NM and what do.B2-PT.3SG

“Why are you gone, prince? I will die! You are dead. I will die, too! You are dead.” Saying this, she cried. What did she do then?

- 5'38 *ra:ja-h aur ra:ni-d ho menj-ar ante awq-ner*  
king-M and queen-NM too hear.B2-PT.3PL and speak-PR.3PL  
*indra kudy-ah mal-ah nuna-h nam-ki*  
what do.B2-PT.3SG.M be.not-PR.3SG.M dear-PR.3SG.M we.I-GE  
*mal-ah*  
be.not-PR.3SG.M

The king and the queen heard it and said, “What did he do? He is no more, our darling is no more.”

- 5'45 *ante ek-ker ante olg-ner ante de:si-no duniya-no*  
and go.B2-CP.3PL and cry-PR.3PL and country-LO world-LO  
*kabare menj-ad mal-ah ra:ja-taŋ.gade-h*  
news become.B2-PT.3SG.NM be.not-PR.3SG.M king-own.son-M  
*mal-ah*  
be.not-PR.3SG.M

And they went and cried. And the news that the king's son was no more spread in the country, in the world.

- 5'53 *ra:ja-taŋ.gade-h mal-ah a:n-le jamar-ar*  
king-own.son-M be.not-PR.3SG.M say-CP get.together.B2-PT.3PL  
*jamar-ko awq-ner ki*  
get.together-CP speak-PR.3PL COMP

They got together saying “The king's son is no more.” They got together and spoke.

- 6'00 *olg-ner duniya jamar-ar a:ber e:n aro key-len*  
cry-PR.3PL world get.together.B2-PT.3PL they I too die-SJ.1SG  
*indrik ahe-n oca-ki gosani*  
why he-AC take.B2-PT.2SG.NM god

The people cried and got together. They [cried] “I will die, too. Why did you take him, o lord!”

- 6'06 *e:no aro key-len indrik ahe-n oca-ki gosapi a:n-le*  
 I too die-SJ.1SG why he-AC take.B2-PT.2SG.NM god say-CP  
*olg-ner ante na:h keca-keh ana a:he kodɣ-ah*  
 cry-PR.3PL and he die.B2-CP.3SG.M like he lie.down.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 "I will die, too. Why did you take him, o lord!" they cried so. And he  
 lay as if he were dead.
- 6'14 *a:h key-olah ayi-no men-e adi-k se ko:q-ih*  
 he die-NG.PR.3SG.M that-AC listen-VN that-DA EPH lie.down-PR.3SG.M  
 He did not die. He lay in order to listen to that (i.e. what they say).
- 6'17 *ante jamar-ker olg-ner ante sa:du-n tejg-ar*  
 and get.together-CP.3PL cry-PR.3PL and ascetic-AC tell-PT.3PL  
 They got together, cried, and told the ascetic [about the death].
- 6'22 *mal-ah na: maqe-h kec-ah ra:ja-taŋ.gade-h*  
 be.not-PR.3SG.M that boy-M die.B2-PT.3SG.M king-own.son-M  
*ikna:n kec-ah indra kudy-ah*  
 how die.B2-PT.3SG.M what do.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 That boy, the king's son, is no more. How did he die? What did he  
 do?
- 6'27 *indra a:g-leh lekin na:h kec-ah te eky-ah*  
 what know-SJ.3SG.M but he die.B2-PT.3SG.M and go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*a:h e:r-oti*  
 he look-IF  
 What would he know? But he died. So he (i.e. the ascetic) went in  
 order to take a look.
- 6'33 *ante jamar-ker olg-ner a:bere e:n aro key-len e:n aro*  
 and get.together-CP.3PL cry-PR.3PL they I too die-SJ.1SG I too  
*key-len a:n-le olg-ner*  
 die-SJ.1SG say-CP cry-PR.3PL  
 They got together and cried. They were crying, "I will die, too. I will  
 die, too."
- 6'38 *ante na:h eky-ah ante e:k upa:y ihe-ki ba:ca-tr-oti*  
 and he go.B2-PT.3SG.M and one means he-GE save-TR-IF  
 And he went and [said there is] one way to save him.
- 6'42 *ki ba:car-eh de idi-k le:kki ort male key-oti*  
 COMP be.saved-FT.3SG.M then this-DA for one person die-IF  
*men-ani*  
 be-FT.3SG.NM  
 "He will be saved. But one person has to die for this."
- 6'50 *ante na:he guɽe-ne gilase-no bicry-ah guɽe-n*  
 and he raw.sugar-AC glass-LO put.in.B2-PT.3SG.M raw.sugar-AC  
*gilase-ki am-no bicr-keh*  
 glass-GE water-LO put.in-CP.3SG.M  
 And he put jaggery in a glass. He put jaggery in a glass of water.

- 6'59 *ante idi-n o:n-er a:ber key-er a: i: mage-h*  
 and this-AC drink-FT.3PL they die-FT.3PL that this boy-M  
*jiyar-eh ante i: mage-h jiyar-eh*  
 recover.life-FT.3SG.M and this boy-M recover.life-FT.3SG.M  
 And [he said] "Those who drink this will die. This boy will recover life."
- 7'21 *ante na:he idi-n o:n-a ne:d ho o:n-er a:ber*  
 and he this-AC drink-IMP who too drink-FT.3PL they  
*key-er idi-n o:n-eh a:h key-eh a: i: mage-h*  
 die-FT.3PL this-AC drink-FT.3SG.M he die-FT.3SG.M that this boy-M  
*jiyar-eh*  
 recover.life-FT.3SG.M  
 And he [said,] "Drink this. Whoever may drink this will die. He who drinks this will die, and this boy will recover life."
- 7'38 *ante ne:d ho adi-n o:n-ote ca:hy-olar o:n-ote*  
 and who too that-AC drink-IF want-NG.PR.3PL drink-IF  
*ugley-olar*  
 feel.like-NG.PR.3PL  
 And nobody wants to drink that. Nobody feels like drinking it.
- 7'44 *ki e:n indrik key-en a:n-le ante ort langgr-i-d*  
 COMP I why die-FT.1SG say-CP and one lame.woman-NM  
*pin-et u:dur-kid eky-ad a:d ho olg-id e:n aro*  
 stick-IN lean-CP.3SG go.B2-PT.3SG.NM she too cry-PR.3SG.NM I too  
*key-len*  
 die-SJ.1SG  
 [They declined saying] "Why should I die?" And there was one lame woman walking leaning on her stick. She was crying "I will die, too," too.
- 7'49 *ahi-n ra:ja-taŋ.gade-n ra:jkuma:re-n indrik piŋ-ki gosapi*  
 he-AC king-own.son-AC prince-AC why kill-PT.2SG.NM god  
*a:n-le olg-id*  
 say-CP cry-PR.3SG.NM  
 She cried, "Why did you kill him, the king's son, the prince, o lord!"
- 7'54 *ante na:he mejj mejj ko:q-ih keca-keh*  
 and he hear.B2.AP hear.B2.AP lie.down-PR.3SG.M die.B2-CP.3SG.M  
*ana te na: langgr-i-n awdy-ar*  
 like and that lame.woman-AC speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 And he lies listening as if he were dead. And they said to the lame woman.
- 8'01 *ni:no o:n-a a:n-ko mala ahe-n jiyar-oti key-oti*  
 you drink-IMP say-CP no he-AC recover.life-IF die-IF  
*qo:k-olaken anake indrik o:n-en a:n-kid ante*  
 stay-NG.PR.1SG now why drink-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.NM and  
 When they said, "You drink [it]," she said, "No, I don't live to die and

bring him to life. Why am I going to drink it now?"

- 8'08 *eng-en a:r ond-er a:n-kid agdi-hi a:d boŋg-oti*  
 I-AC they make.drink-FT.3PL say-CP.3SG.NM first-EPH she run-IF  
*lagary-a langri*  
 start.B2-PT.3SG lame.woman  
 Thinking "They are going to make me drink it," the lame woman  
 started to run away first.

- 8'12 *ada-ki ba:de-no e:nond male-r jamary-ar*  
 that-GE after-LO how.many person-PL get.together.B2-PT.3PL  
*a:ber-ine ond-oti laga(cki) ne:d o:n-anid*  
 they-AC make.drink-IF for who drink-FT.3SG.NM  
 After that, none of those who got together was going to drink it.

- 8'18 *ort male-r o:n-er a:ber key-er ante se*  
 one person-PL drink-FT.3PL they die-FT.3PL and EPH  
*jiyar-eh a:n-ko ne:d ho o:n-oti ugley-olar*  
 recover.life-FT.3SG.M say-CP who too drink-IF feel.like-NG.PR.3PL  
 One who drinks would die, and only then [the prince] will recover  
 life. When he said this, nobody felt like drinking it.

- 8'25 *ante gote-ri-hi pa:se.pa:se.ti tirr oŋg-ner boŋg*  
 and all-PL-EPH gradually go.away.AP finish-PR.3PL run.AP  
*oŋg-ner*  
 finish-PR.3PL  
 And all had gradually gone away, run away.

- 8'32 *ani ra:ja-n awd-ih ani ra:ja-h awd-ih ki ni:n*  
 then king-AC speak-PR.3SG.M then king-M speak-PR.3SG.M COMP you  
*o:n-a ante ni:n key-ni maqe-h coy-eh adi-k*  
 drink-IMP and you die-IPP.EPH boy-M rise-FT.3SG.M that-DA  
 He said to the king and the king said, "Drink it and die, so that the boy  
 will get up."

- 8'39 *ano aye-n o:n-enala jab dō:k-in ta:nu p<sup>h</sup>ir se*  
 there that-AC drink-NG.FT.1SG when stay-PR.1SG then again EPH  
*maqe-r men-er=jahā*  
 child-PL become-FT.3PL=even  
 "I will not drink it. If I am alive, then I will get [other] children."

- 8'44 *te ra:ni-n awd-no a: o:n-enala di nuna maqe-h*  
 and queen-AC speak-IPP she drink-NG.FT.1SG and dear boy-M  
*eky-ah lekine dosra to men-ere hī dō:k-no*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M but other TOP become-FT.3PL EPH stay-IPP  
 Then when he said [the same to] the queen, she [said,] "I will not drink  
 it. My dear boy is gone. But I will get another one if I am alive."

- 8'51 *a:d ho o:n-la*  
 she too drink-NG.PT.3SG  
 She did not drink either.

- 8'52 *te qa:ni-n awq-ko ahe-ki qa:ni-n awq-ko a:d awq-id*  
 and wife-AC speak-CP he-GE wife-AC speak-CP she speak-PR.3SG.NM  
*e:ne o:n-olaken tembru dosra biha men-anide*  
 I drink-NG.PR.1SG rather other wedding be-FT.3SG.NM  
*key-olaken e:n*  
 die-NG.PR.1SG I  
 Then when he said [the same] to the wife, to his wife, she said, "I won't drink it. I would rather get married again. I will not die."
- 9'02 *a:n-id ani gofe-r-ini male-r-in men-ih*  
 say-PR.3SG.NM then all-PL-AC.EPH person-PL-AC ask-PR.3SG.M  
*jamary-ar a:ber-in te ne:d ho o:n-oti ca:hy-ola*  
 get.together.B2-PT.3PL they-AC and who too drink-IF want-NG.PR.3SG  
 She said this. Then he asked everyone, all who got together, and nobody wanted to drink it.
- 9'08 *ada-ki ba:de-no na:he sa:du-he nahe-ne tarcy-ah*  
 that-GE after-LO he ascetic-M he-AC slap.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*qerw:tafi-no*  
 temple-LO  
 After that he, the ascetic, slapped him on his temple.
- 9'16 *e:r-a ni:n awq-ke eng-a aya-abo-ber do:k-ner*  
 see-IMP you speak-PT.2SG.M I-DA mother-father-PL stay-PR.3PL  
*ra:ja-sampati-de a:n-le awq-ke*  
 king-wealth-NM say-CP speak-PT.2SG.M  
 "Look! You said, 'I have a father and mother, I have the king's wealth.'"
- 9'23 *ikko ni:n keca-ke ana kod-ke ne:reh ning-en*  
 where you die.B2-CP.2SG.M like lie.down-CP.2SG.M who.M you-AC  
*e:r-ot becc-ah*  
 see-IF be.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 "Where [are they]? When you lay down as if you were dead, who was there to look after you?"
- 9'27 *a:-le:kki i: duniya-no ne:k-ki-d ho ne:reh ho mal-ah*  
 that-for this world-LO who-GE-NM too who.M too be.not-PR.3SG.M  
 "Therefore there is nobody for no one in this world."
- 9'32 *ekla hi barc-ket ekla hi e:k-et*  
 alone EPH come.B2-PT.1PL.I alone EPH go-FT.1PL.I  
 "We come alone and we go alone."
- 9'35 *i: duniya-no ne:reh ho ne:k-ki ho mal-a*  
 this world-LO who.M too who-GE too be.not-PR.3SG  
 "There is nobody for no one in this world."
- 9'37 *inonde-hi tejg-qen i:ti-nte ongyry-a*  
 this.much-EPH tell-PT.1SG here-AB end.B2-PT.3SG  
 I have told this much. [The story] ends here.

**§30 Story of exiled princes (Ne).**

Told by Mr. (Mesa) Surja Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at Adivasi Residential Boys' High School, Hiranpur, on September 24, 2007.

- 0'15 *e:n kata-n tegg-oti bi:r-en*  
I story-AC tell-IF be.about.to-FT.1SG  
I am going to tell a story.
- 0'20 *orte ra:ja-oṛger meṇj-ar*  
one king-couple be.B2-PT.3PL  
There was one royal couple.
- 0'25 *ante ḍoky-ar esa e:ru-hi ḍoky-ar*  
and stay.B2-PT.3PL very well-EPH stay.B2-PT.3PL  
They lived very happily.
- 0'31 *ḍo:k-e-ki ba:de-no ḍa:ni-d awḍ-id ki ni:n to e:n*  
stay-VN-GE after-LO wife-NM speak-PR.3SG.NM COMP you TOP I  
*key-no dosra peli-n kor-ane*  
die-IPP other woman-AC enter-FT.2SG.M  
Then the wife said, "If I die, will you marry another woman?"
- 0'39 *a:n-le awḍ-id ani e:n kor-enala iknin a:n-le*  
say-CP speak-PR.3SG.NM so I enter-NG.FT.1SG how say-CP  
*awḍ-ni*  
speak-PR.2SG.NM  
She said this. Then [he said] "I won't. Why do you say that?"
- 0'42 *mala e:n a:g-in=jahā ni:n kor-ane*  
no I know-PR.1SG=just you enter-FT.2SG.M  
"No, I just know you will."
- 0'45 *mala kor-olaken a:n-le awḍy-ah*  
no enter-NG.PR.1SG say-CP speak.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He said, "No, I won't."
- 0'47 *ante ḍo:k-ner ok-ner ḍo:k-ner ok-ner a:ber-ik irw*  
and stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL stay-PR.3PL sit-PR.3PL they-DA two  
*muṛs.maqe-r meṇj-ar*  
boy-PL become.B2-PT.3PL  
And they kept on living. They had two boys.
- 0'58 *irw muṛs.maqe-r meṇj-ar ḍo:k-te ḍo:k-te muṛs.maqe-r*  
two boy-PL become.B2-PT.3PL stay-AP REP boy-PL  
*men-ne-ki ba:de-no a:bere mo:tary-ar*  
become-VN-GE after-LO they grow.up.B2-PT.3PL  
They had two boys. They lived and grew up.
- 1'08 *ṭi:ke pary-ler anond pary-juka meṇj-ar*  
well read-SJ.3PL that.much study-like become.B2-PT.3PL  
*anonde-nihi to keca-kid eky-ad*  
that.much-LO.EPH TOP die.B2-CP.3SG.NM go.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
Well, when they were about to go to school, when they reached the school age, she passed away.

- 1'15 *to kec-ad ante a: ra:ja-h olg-ih pa:ɽ-ih*  
 TOP die.B2-PT.3SG.NM and that king-M cry-PR.3SG.M sing-PR.3SG.M  
*a:n-keh ante ɖoky-ah ante*  
 say-CP.3SG.M and stay.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
 She passed away, and the king lived crying and lamenting.
- 1'28 *mehn-ond mehn-is bi:ce-nihi a:h dosra peli-n*  
 month-one month-two between-LO.EPH he other woman-AC  
*korc-ah nandu-hi*  
 enter.B2-PT.3SG.M again-EPH  
 In one or two months, he married another woman again.
- 1'32 *dosra peli-n korc-ah ante ɖo:k-ner ante a:*  
 other woman-AC enter.B2-PT.3SG.M and stay-PR.3PL and that  
*ra:ja-ki ku:ɽe-nihi a:te lagary-a*  
 king-GE side-LO.EPH market be.attached.B2-PT.3SG  
 He married another woman. They lived. Then a market was held near  
 the king's [palace].
- 1'42 *ante a:te-no je:wara sama:ne-d urq-ad indru-goɽe*  
 and market-LO whatever goods-NM come.out-PT.3SG.NM what-ever  
*ci:je-d adi-ne bi:sy-ar bikary-ad a:*  
 goods-NM that-AC sell.B2-PT.3PL be.sold.B2-PT.3SG.NM that  
*ongr-lad adi-ne ra:ja-h qe:G-ah*  
 be.finished-NG.PT.3SG.NM that-AC king-M buy-PT.3SG.M  
 And [for] all goods that were sold at the market, if anything on sale  
 was left unsold, the king [used to] buy them.
- 1'52 *nandu a:te men-id hapta-no te indr-indr sama:ne*  
 again market be-PR.3SG.NM week-LO and what-what goods  
*bikar-id a: bikar-lad adi-n ra:ja-h*  
 be.sold-PR.3SG.NM that be.sold-NG.PT.3SG.NM that-AC king-M  
*qe:G-ih*  
 buy-PR.3SG.M  
 A market was held again in a week. And the king bought whatever  
 goods that were for sale but did not sell.
- 2'01 *ante na:nle na:nle a:te lag-a ɖoky-ad*  
 and that.way that.way market be.attached-AP stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*otr ɖoky-ar ante din-onde-no orte pure-n*  
 take.out.AP stay.B2-PT.3PL and day-one-LO one dove-AC  
*otry-ah*  
 take.out.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The market kept on being held that way. They kept bringing [goods  
 there]. And one day, one man brought a dove.
- 2'09 *ante pure-n otr-ih otry-ah ante*  
 and dove-AC take.out-PR.3SG.M take.out.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
*awɖ-ih ki e:k-u-r e:k-u-r men-ner i:d e:nond*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M COMP go-PP-PL REP ask-PR.3PL this.NM how.much

- dame-d idi-ki dame-d e:k.la:ke*  
 price-NM this-GE price-NM one.lakh  
 He brought a dove, and when passersby asked “How much is this?”  
 he said, “Its price is one lakh.”
- 2’20 *nande dusra-h e:k-ih qe:g-uh idi-ki e:nond dame-d*  
 again other-NM go-PR.3SG.M buy-PP.M this-GE how.much price-NM  
*idi-ki dame-d e:k.la:ke*  
 this-GE price-NM one.lakh  
 Another shopper goes [and asks] “What is the price of this?” “The  
 price of this is one lakh.”
- 2’26 *e:ʈ ino-qadi pure-ki-d e:k.la:ke-d ne:re qe:g-eh*  
 ITJ this.much-only dove-GE-NM one.lakh-NM who buy-FT.3SG.M  
 “Come on! [The price] of this big dove is one lakh. Who would buy  
 it?”
- 2’30 *ante a:n-le a:n-le ahe-ki-d sama:ne-d bikar-la*  
 and do.so-CP do.so-CP he-GE-NM goods-NM be.sold-NG.PT.3SG  
 And [doing] that way, his goods did not sell.
- 2’35 *bikar-lad ante nande ra:ja-h be:rit*  
 be.sold-NG.PT.3SG.NM and again king-M in.the.evening  
*eky-ah ante indru-indru bikar-lad adi-n*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M and what-REP be.sold-NG.PT.3SG.NM that-AC  
*goʈe-ni qe:g-ah ante nahi-n ek-keh men-ih*  
 all-AC.EPH buy-PT.3SG.M and he-AC go.B2-CP.3SG.M ask-PR.3SG.M  
 It did not sell. And again, the king came in the evening, and bought  
 all that did not sell. And he went to him and asked him.
- 2’43 *arpe-d-i pure-d adi-n men-ih ta:nu na:h e:k.la:ke*  
 little-NM-EPH dove-NM that-AC ask-PR.3SG.M then he one.lakh  
*awq-ih*  
 speak-PR.3SG.M  
 It was just a little dove. [The king] asked [its price]. Then he said [it  
 was] one lakh.
- 2’48 *ano ino-qadi pure-ki-d e:k.la:ke awq-ne*  
 then this.much-only dove-GE-NM one.lakh speak-PR.2SG.M  
*ida-ki-d indru indru-indru ka:je-n kud-enid*  
 this-GE-NM what what-REP work-AC do-FT.3SG.NM  
 “You ask one lakh for a dove just this big! What is it? What work  
 does it do?”
- 2’54 *mala idi-ki-d-i bahut ka:je-n kud-ani idi-ki-n*  
 no this-GE-NM-EPH much work-AC do-FT.3SG.NM this-GE-AC  
*kuk-a moq-qeh a:he hira-muti-n turw-eh*  
 head-AC eat-CP.3SG.M he diamond-pearl-AC spit-FT.3SG.M  
 “No sir, [the meat] of this will do a lot of work. One who eats the  
 head of this will spit out diamond jewels.”

- 3'03 *a: gandi-n mo:q-eh a:h ra:ji nan-eh*  
 that body-AC eat-FT.3SG.M he kingdom do-FT.3SG.M  
 "One who eats the body will be a ruler."
- 3'09 *a:n-le awd-ko o: acca ti:ke qe:g-en a:n-keh ante e:ne*  
 say-CP speak-CP ITJ well okay buy-FT.1SG say-CP.3SG.M and I  
*gandi mo:q-en ra:ja nan-en ra:ji cala:tr-ne-k*  
 body eat-FT.1SG king do-FT.1SG kingdom run-VN-DA  
 When he said this, [the king said] "Okay, I will buy it. I will eat the  
 body and become a king, so that I can govern the kingdom."
- 3'18 *ar eng-a da:ni kuk-a mo:q-anid idi-n a:de*  
 and I-DA wife head-AC eat-FT.3SG.NM this-AC she  
*hira-muti-n turw-anid*  
 diamond-pearl-AC spit-FT.3SG.NM  
 "And my wife will eat the head and she will spit out diamond jewels."
- 3'24 *a:n-keh ante qe:g-qeh oc-ah e:nond*  
 say-CP.3SG.M and buy-CP.3SG.M take.B2-PT.3SG.M how.much  
*sama:ne bikar-la qe:g-ah a:-juka-hi adi-n ho*  
 goods be.sold-NG.PT.3SG buy-PT.3SG.M that-like-EPH that-AC too  
*qe:g-ah*  
 buy-PT.3SG.M  
 He said this. And just as he [always] buys as much goods as are left  
 unsold, he bought and took it, too.
- 3'29 *qe:q-qeh oc-ah ante adi-ne kuk-a alag se*  
 buy-CP.3SG.M take.B2-PT.3SG.M and that-AC head-AC separate EPH  
*mo:cy-ar*  
 cut.B2-PT.3PL  
 He bought and took it [home]. And they cut the head off.
- 3'35 *kuku-de qar-ond dumba mejj-a qar-ond tukra a:*  
 head-NM CLF-one lump become.B2-PT.3SG CLF-one piece that  
*gandi-de qar-ond tukra*  
 body-NM CLF-one piece  
 The head became one lump, one piece. That body [became] one piece.
- 3'44 *ante na:bere na:h dusra korc-a a: ra:ni-guni*  
 and they he second enter.B2-PT.3SG that queen-together  
*pokar-no kelar-ner amy-ner tu:so alqtr-naq-a*  
 pond-LO play-PR.3PL take.bath-PR.3PL naked make.laugh-REC-AP  
*qo:k-ner*  
 stay-PR.3PL  
 And they, he and the queen that he married again, played and bathed  
 in the pond, and were flirting naked [there].
- 3'52 *ada-nihi a: maqe-r barc-ker ante iskule-nte*  
 house-LO.EPH that boy-PL come.B2-CP.3PL and school-AB  
*barc-ker ante na:bere otr-ker ante ki:re-nte*  
 come.B2-CP.3PL and they take.out-CP.3PL and hunger-AB

- takar-ker ante lap-ner ja:gu-n otr-ker ante*  
 be.tired-CP.3PL and eat-PR.3PL food-AC take.out-CP.3PL and  
 At home, those boys came back from school. They were weary with  
 hunger, and they took out food and ate.
- 4'05 *lap-ner ano tang-baiya-he ganđi-n moq-ah*  
 eat-PR.3PL there own-elder.brother-M body-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 They ate. Then the elder brother ate the body [of the dove].
- 4'11 *a: tang.do-he kuk-a moq-ah*  
 that own.younger.brother-M head-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The younger brother ate the head.
- 4'14 *te ra:ja ra:ni pokar-no amc-ar tu:so=indru*  
 and king queen pond-LO take.bath.B2-PT.3PL naked=and.so.on  
*kelar-im-tatim a:n-ker ante a: dusra peli*  
 play-AP-ECHO say-CP.3PL and that second woman  
*mej-ad adi-guni*  
 become.B2-PT.3SG.NM that-together  
 After bathing and playing naked and so on in the pond, the king and  
 the queen, [the woman] who has become the second wife,
- 4'22 *ante a:ber kir-ker ante e:r-ner ta:nu ma:ku-d ok-ola*  
 and they return-CP.3PL and see-PR.3PL then meat-NM sit-NG.PR.3SG  
 when they came back and looked, the meat was not there.
- 4'28 *ma:ku-d ok-olad ani na:d indra kud-ani kajak*  
 meat-NM sit-NG.PR.3SG.NM so she what do-FT.3SG.NM much  
*olg-id ante a: ra:ja-n awđ-id*  
 cry-PR.3SG.NM and that king-AC speak-PR.3SG.NM  
 The meat was not there. Then what did she do? She cried a lot and  
 said to the king.
- 4'37 *eng-e na:ber-ki ceyro-n ondr-oka*  
 I-DA they-GE liver-AC bring-IMP  
 "Bring me the liver of those [who ate it]."
- 4'40 *na: jořar-ki ceyro-n ondr-no nadi-n mo:q-en ante*  
 that two.people-GE liver-AC bring-IPP that-AC eat-FT.1SG then  
*se patgr-en ate patgr-olaken a:n-le*  
 EPH cool.down-FT.1SG otherwise cool.down-NG.PR.1SG say-CP  
*awđ-i*  
 speak-PR.3SG  
 She said, "Only [if you] bring the livers of those two [boys] and I eat  
 them, I will cool down. Otherwise I will not."
- 4'45 *ani na:he tan-ki sipa:hi-n tey-ah ka:l-a*  
 so he self-GE policeman-AC send-PT.3SG.M go-IMP  
*nahe-n piř-ke ondr-oka na:ber jořar-in a:n-le*  
 he-AC kill-CP.2SG.M bring-IMP they two.people-AC say-CP  
*awđy-ah na:ber-ine*  
 speak.B2-PT.3SG they-AC

Then he sent his policeman, telling him, “Go! Kill those two and bring [their livers].”

- 4'57 *na:he e:k-a maqe nim-en piṭ-ot awḍ-ih te ni:m*  
 he go-IMP boy you.PL-AC kill-IF speak-PR.3SG.M and you.PL  
*e:k-a to qalwo qalwo a:n-keh ante bahre-k*  
 go-IMP TOP stealthily REP say-CP.3SG.M and outside-DA  
*otry-ah ante otr-keh ante*  
 take.out.B2-PT.3SG.M and take.out-CP.3SG.M and

He said, “Let’s go, boys. [The king] tells [me] to kill you. Let’s go secretly.” He took [them] out, and

- 5'03 *na:he a:ber-in piṭ-olah cēḡjy-ah ante na:he*  
 he they-AC kill-NG.PR.3SG.M show.mercy.B2-PT.3SG.M and he  
*ale-n piṭ-keh ante ceyro-n kirtry-ah*  
 dog-AC kill-CP.3SG.M and liver-AC bring.back.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 He did not kill them. He had mercy [on them]. He killed dogs and brought their livers back.

- 5'15 *maq-ise-ki ceyro-ni maq-is ale-n piṭ-keh ante ante*  
 CLF-two-GE liver-AC.EPH CLF-two dog-AC kill-CP.3SG.M and and  
*a:ber-ine tirr-a ni:m geci ikṭo-goṭe e:k-oka ante*  
 they-AC go.away-IMP you.PL far where-ever go-IMP and  
 Livers of two [dogs]. He killed two dogs. [He told them] “You two go far away. Go somewhere!”

- 5'24 *qalwo uj-er i:ṭ-no ḍo:k-eralā*  
 stealthily live-FT.2PL here-LO stay-NG.FT.2PL  
 “You live secretly. Do not live here.”

- 5'27 *ra:ja-h eng-en piṭ-ke ante ceyro-n ondr-oka a:n-keh*  
 king-M I-AC kill-CP.2SG.M and liver-AC bring-IMP say-CP.3SG.M  
*tey-ah*  
 send-PT.3SG.M  
 “The king told me to kill you and bring your livers and sent me out.”

- 5'30 *a:-lki nim-en piṭ-ken tey-in da*  
 that-way you.PL-AC kill-CP.1SG send-PR.1SG ITJ  
 “So I have killed you two and am sending you away.”

- 5'33 *i: aṅḡti-ne qend-ker ka:l-a*  
 this ring-AC take.along-CP.3PL go-IMP  
 “Take this ring and go.”

- 5'35 *ante idi-n ikno-goṭ ki:ṛe-n takar-er a:ṭ-no*  
 and this-AC where-ever hunger-AC be.tired-FT.2PL there-LO  
*bi:s-ker lap-er*  
 sell-CP.2PL eat-FT.2PL  
 “And wherever you feel hungry, sell this [ring] and get food.”

- 5'39 *a:n-keh ante aṅḡti-ne cic-ah pulise-h*  
 say-CP.3SG.M and ring-AC give.B2-PT.3SG.M policeman-M  
 The policeman said this and gave the ring.

- 5'42 *te a: mage-r qend-ker eky-ar ante e:k-ner se*  
 then that boy-PL take.along-CP.3PL go.B2-PT.3PL and go-PR.3PL EPH  
*e:k-ner e:k-ner se e:k-ner ante*  
 go-PR.3PL REP EPH go-PR.3PL and  
 And the boys took [the ring] along, and they went and went.
- 5'49 *a:-wajo-wajo qep-d=indru ho mal-a qade*  
 that-way-way village-NM=and.so.on too be.not-PR.3SG jungle  
*bitre-k eky-ar*  
 inside-DA go.B2-PT.3PL  
 There was no village at all on that way. They went into a jungle.
- 5'54 *ade-ki ba:de-no man-ik arg arg e:r-ner man-ik arg*  
 that-GE after-LO tree-DA climb.AP REP see-PR.3PL tree-DA climb.AP  
*arg e:r-ner ikto-nahā e:tr-ola*  
 REP see-PR.3PL where-ever be.seen-NG.PR.3SG  
 Then they climbed up trees and saw. They climbed and saw, [but]  
 [there was no village] found anywhere.
- 5'59 *ante bah-onde-no cicu mo:g-i ani*  
 and place-one-LO fire emit.smoke-PR.3SG then  
 Then a fire was smoking in one place.
- 6'01 *o: ka:l-a ade-no male-r qo:k-ner idi-n bi:s-oka ante*  
 ITJ go-IMP that-LO person-PL stay-PR.3PL this-AC sell-IMP and  
 "Go. People live there. Go and sell this [ring]."
- 6'06 *ni:n idi-n qe:q-qe bar-a:ne a:n-keh ante*  
 you this-AC buy-CP.2SG.M come-FT.2SG.M say-CP.3SG.M and  
*tanjg-baiya-h tey-ah ani tanjg.qo-h*  
 own-elder.brother-M send-PT.3SG.M so own.younger.brother-M  
*eky-ah*  
 go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The elder brother sent [the younger brother], saying "You buy [food  
 for] this and come back." So the younger brother went.
- 6'11 *ek-keh ante a:he bed-ih se bed-ih*  
 go.B2-CP.3SG.M and he seek-PR.3SG.M EPH seek-PR.3SG.M  
*dokani=indru and-olah ante nandu man-ik*  
 shop=and.so.on find-NG.PR.3SG.M and again tree-DA  
*ark-keh e:r-ih te ek-keh eky-ah*  
 climb-CP.3SG.M see-PR.3SG.M and go.B2-CP.3SG.M go.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*ante*  
 and  
 He went and looked for [a shop]. He did not find any shop, and he  
 climbed up a tree again, looked, and went [there] again.
- 6'25 *bah-onde-no bagate-ki aqa menj-ad*  
 place-one-LO ascetic-GE house be.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 There was an ascetic's house in one place.

- 6'31 *a:he a:t-ik a:s-keh ante a:he aŋgɟi-n qaqtɔ-n*  
 he there-DA reach-CP.3SG.M and he ring-AC ring-AC  
*bi:s-keh ante a:h ʈi:qal-a qe:g-ah*  
 sell-CP.3SG.M and he rice-AC buy-PT.3SG.M  
 He arrived there, sold the ring and bought rice.
- 6'40 *qe:q-qeh ante a:he adi-n oy-leh anonde-nihi*  
 buy-CP.3SG.M and he that-AC take-SJ.3SG.M that.much-LO.EPH  
*bah-ond ku:ʁe-no jo:re meŋj-a*  
 place.CLF-one side-LO waterfall be.B2-PT.3SG  
 When he bought [rice] and was going to take it, there was a waterfall  
 on a brow [of a hill].
- 6'49 *ada-no a:h cuʈar-ih cuʈar-ih hira-muti-du:re-d*  
 that-LO he rinse.mouth-PR.3SG.M REP diamond-pearl-only-NM  
*urq-i cuʈar-ih a: pahra ani a:d*  
 come.out-PR.3SG.M rinse.mouth-PR.3SG.M that time so that  
 He rinsed his mouth there. Then just diamond jewels came out [of his  
 mouth]. He spat them out.
- 6'57 *i:d indru-goʈa-d a:n-keh ante a:he ta:nu a:g-olah*  
 this what-ever-NM say-CP.3SG.M and he then know-NG.PR.3SG.M  
*kuk-a moq-ah ahe-ki*  
 head-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG.M he-GE  
 Saying "What on earth are these?" he had no idea, the one who ate  
 the head.
- 7'04 *te a:he cuʈar-keh ante pa:ʈ-onde dokan-no*  
 and he rinse.mouth-CP.3SG.M and CLF-one shop-LO  
*ok-tr-keh ante kiry-ah ante na: aɖa-no ante*  
 sit-CS-CP.3SG.M and return.B2-PT.3SG.M and that house-LO and  
 After he rinsed his mouth, he went back to that house and put one  
 [jewel] in the shop.
- 7'07 *na: dokan-aɖa-k eky-ah ante (e:rid) e:d-ih i:d*  
 that shop-house-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M and show-PR.3SG.M this  
*indru-d a:n-le awɖ-ko*  
 what-NM say-CP speak-CP  
 He went to that shop house, showed [the jewel to them] and said,  
 "What is this?"
- 7'13 *o: idi-n (ʈ)andɔ-ke a:n-ko idi-n andɔ-ken i:h ide-n*  
 ITJ this-AC find-PT.2SG.M say-CP this-AC find-PT.1SG he this-AC  
*cuʈar-nihi urq-id a:n-le awɖ-ih*  
 rinse.mouth-IPP.EPH come.out-PR.3SG.NM say-CP speak-PR.3SG.M  
 When [the shopkeeper asked] "Did you find this?" he said, "I found  
 it. It came out when I rinsed my mouth."
- 7'18 *te a:de a: dokani a: ɖa:ni-d taŋ-ki maq-sa:t ahe-n*  
 and she that shop that wife-NM self-GE child-with he-AC

- qo:k-tr-id*                      *ante-hi*                      *tang.baiya-k*                      *indra*  
 stay-CS-PR.3SG.NM              and-EPH                      own.elder.brother-DA              what  
*qe:q-qeh*                      *ek-keh*                      *i:h e:k-olah*  
 buy-CP.3SG.M go.B2-CP.3SG.M he go-NG.PR.3SG.M  
 And she, the lady [of] the shop, makes him stay with her own child.  
 So [the younger brother] who bought things for his elder brother tried  
 to go, but did not.
- 7'29 *te a: cufar-ih*                      *adi-no a:ber jama:tr-ner*  
       and that rinse.mouth-PR.3SG.M              that-AC they collect-PR.3PL  
*hira-muti-n*  
       diamond-pearl-AC  
 They (i.e. the shopkeeper's family) collected that which he spat out  
 after rinsing his mouth, the diamond jewels.
- 7'32 *dine-nihĩ a: tang.baiya-h ano qoky-ah ante*  
       day-LO.EPH that own.elder.brother-M there stay.B2-PT.3SG.M and  
 The elder brother stayed there day after day.
- 7'36 *a:h ahe-n bed-in a:n[-le] urq-ah*  
       he he-AC seek-PR.1SG say-CP come.out-PT.3SG.M  
*urq-qeh ante a:he ahe-n bed-in*  
       come.out-CP.3SG.M and he he-AC seek-PR.1SG  
*tang.qo-n bed-in a:n-le gurar-ih*  
       own.younger.brother-AC seek-PR.1SG say-CP walk.about-PR.3SG.M  
*se gurar-ih gurar-ih se*  
       EPH walk.about-PR.3SG.M walk.about-PR.3SG.M EPH  
*gurar-ih andq-olah-i*  
       walk.about-PR.3SG.M find-NG.PR.3SG.M-EPH  
 He went out in order to find him. He walked around to find his  
 younger brother. He walked around, but did not find him.
- 7'45 *ante ante ante a:he rakase-aqa-k urq-ah ante*  
       and and and he demon-house-DA come.out-PT.3SG.M and  
 And he ended up at a demon's house.
- 7'50 *rakase-h ikto bahre-k eky-ah tan.gadi-du:re*  
       demon-M where outside-DA go.B2-PT.3SG.M own.daughter-only  
*qoky-ad*  
       stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
 The demon went out somewhere. Only his daughter was there.
- 7'54 *a:d ganga maji qar-ond ka:ti-no ko:q-id*  
       she Ganga middle CLF-one bedstead-LO lie-PR.3SG.NM  
*amc-kid ante*  
       take.bath.B2-CP.3SG.NM and  
 She took a bath and was lying on a bed in the middle of the river  
 Ganga.
- 8'00 *a: satra ka:ti-no ta:li-n bata-kid ante*  
       she seventeen bedstead-LO hair-AC expose.to.heat-CP.3SG.NM and

- te a:h a:t-ik urq-ahe*  
and he there-DA come.out-PT.3SG.M  
She spread her hair on seventeen bedsteads for drying. He showed up at that scene.
- 8'06 *e:r-ih ta:nu ayu: ikni ikbah aʔs-ken a:n-ih ante*  
see-PR.3SG.M then ITJ how where reach-PT.1SG say-PR.3SG.M and  
When he saw [her], he said, "Good heavens! What a place I have come to?"
- 8'12 *(a:de ba:cet) tambako barc-keh ante mo:q-oti e:n ina*  
father come.B2-CP.3SG.M and eat-IF I today  
*male-n mo:q-en mal-mal-gande-d a:n-le bed-ih*  
person-AC eat-FT.1SG person-person-smell-NM say-CP seek-PR.3SG.M  
The father [demon] came back and felt like eating, saying "I will eat a human being today. It smells like a human being."
- 8'21 *te na: tambako and-e-nihi and-olah ano*  
and that father find-VN-LO.EPH find-NG.PR.3SG.M there  
*dari-no uʔa-kid ante ok-try-a bah-ond dari*  
hole-LO cover-CP.3SG.NM and sit-CS.B2-PT.3SG CLF-one hole  
*becc-ad a:t-no*  
be.B2-PT.3SG.NM there-LO  
The father looked for him but did not find him. There was a hole. She covered it and let him sit there.
- 8'27 *te bed-ih ante and-ah ani na:d awdy-a*  
and seek-PR.3SG.M and find-PT.3SG.M then she speak.B2-PT.3SG  
He looked for him, and found him. Then she said,
- 8'32 *ihe-n e:ne eng-a qa:we bana:tr-ne-k nuʔa-ken ok-tr-ken*  
he-AC I I-DA husband make-VN-DA hide-CP.1SG sit-CS-PT.1SG  
*abo mo:q-la:nat e:ʔu men-la:nid*  
father eat-NG.FT.1PL.I good be-NG.FT.3SG.NM  
"I hid him and let him sit in order to make him my husband. Father, let us not eat him. It will not be good."
- 8'37 *a:n-le awd-ko a:h nung-ot gaʔary-ah ahi-n*  
say-CP speak-CP he swallow-IF do.B2-PT.3SG.M he-AC  
*otry-a ante mo:q-tit-la*  
take.out.B2-PT.3SG and eat-CS-NG.3SG  
When she said this, he was about to swallow him. She took him out and did not let [her father] eat him.
- 8'41 *te (ahe)[adi]-guni a:h dqoky-ah ante a: jaga-ki ra:ja*  
and she-with he stay.B2-PT.3SG.M and that place-GE king  
*banar-keh dqoky-ah*  
become-CP.3SG.M stay.B2-PT.3SG.M  
He stayed with her and became the king of that place.
- 8'48 *ra:ja banar-keh dqoky-ah gandj moq-ah a:hi*  
king become-CP.3SG.M stay.B2-PT.3SG.M body eat.B2-PT.3SG.M he

The one that ate the body [of the dove] had become a king.

- 8'52 *taŋg.ɔo-h*                      p<sup>h</sup>ir se na:h dokan-no ɔoky-ah  
own.younger.brother-M again EPH he shop-LO stay.B2-PT.3SG  
The younger brother still stayed at the shop.

- 8'57 *baɣat-maɣi-guni*                      *adi-n*                      *a:*                      *buɖi-de*  
ascetic-daughter-together she-AC that old.woman-NM  
*boŋgtry-a*  
carry.away.B2-PT.3SG

The old lady took him away with the ascetic's daughter.

- 9'08 *boŋg-try-a*                      *ante a:ʈi-nte ho ahi-n boŋgtry-a*  
run.away-CS.B2-PT.3SG and there-AB too he-AC carry.away.B2-PT.3SG  
*ani a:he boŋgtr-ih*  
so he carry.away-PR.3SG.M

She took them away. She took them away from there again, and he took her away.

- 9'15 *ante e:k-te e:k-te na:h nandu-hi ɔa:ku-re ek-ker*  
and go-AP REP he again-EPH robber-PL go.B2-CP.3PL  
*ante ikote-nte ɔaɔa-ker kiry-ar a:ber-bahno*  
and where-AB steal.B2-CP.3PL return.B2-PT.3PL they-LO  
*beɣary-ah*  
meet.B2-PT.3SG.M

Then there were robbers who went, stole from somewhere and came back. On his way, he came across their place.

- 9'22 *ante a:bere uŋan.kaɔola-n ondry-ar*  
and they flying.bedstead-AC bring.B2-PT.3PL  
They brought a flying bedstead.

- 9'25 *ondr-ker ante ca:g-naq-a ɔo:k-ner ada-nihi*  
bring-CP.3PL and divide-REC-AP stay-PR.3PL that-LO.EPH  
*aɣsy-ah*  
reach.B2-PT.3SG.M

He came across just when they were dividing their plunder.

- 9'30 *i:h aɣs-ko a:ber amb-ker boŋg-ar*  
he reach-CP they leave-CP.3PL run.away-PT.3PL  
When he came, they left [their plunder] and ran away.

- 9'35 *ante idi-n peta-keh ante na:h nandu e:k du: ti:n a:h*  
and this-AC take.up-CP.3SG.M and he again one two three he  
*uŋan.kaɔola co:ca-keh boŋg-ah ani-hi*  
flying.bedstead get.up.B2-CP.3SG.M run.away-PT.3SG.M then-EPH  
He took them up and [saying] "One, two, three!" he took off [on] the flying bedstead and ran away.

- 9'41 *co:ca-kide boŋg-a ante na:h nandu na:h*  
get.up-CP.3SG.NM run.away-PT.3SG and he again he  
*buɖi-waje eky-ah*  
old.woman-to go.B2-PT.3SG.M

It rose up and flew away. And he went to the old woman's place.

- 9'46 *budj-waje e:k-e-ki ba:de-no nandu na:d nadi-n ho*  
 old.woman-toward go-VN-GE after-LO again she she-AC too  
*bac-oti cahc-ah bagat-budj*  
 remember-IF want.B2-PT.3SG.M ascetic-old.woman  
 After going to the old woman's place — he wanted to remember the  
 ascetic's wife, too.

- 9'52 *ante na:de dqoky-a ante ante ante na:h dqoky-ah a:*  
 and she stay.B2-PT.3SG and REP REP he stay.B2-PT.3SG.M that  
*bagate-taj.gadi-guni oꝛg menjja-ker ante*  
 ascetic-daughter-with couple become.B2-CP.3PL and  
 And she kept on living. And he married the ascetic's daughter and  
 lived.

- 10'01 *te nahe-dq.ni-d esa e:ru-de esa e:ru na: dqoky-ad*  
 and he-wife-NM very good-NM very good she stay.B2-PT.3SG.NM  
*a:n-naq-ar ani*  
 say-REC-PT.3PL then  
 And [people] said to each other "His wife is very pretty. She is very  
 pretty."

- 10'07 *tang.baiya-h menjja-keh ante e:k-i adi-n e:r-oti ante*  
 own.elder.brother-M hear.B2-CP.3SG.M and go-PR she-AC see-IF and  
*ne:reh pa:ry-eh ahi-n adi-n bac-keh bojgtr-oti*  
 who.M be.able-FT.3SG.M he-AC that-AC pull-CP.3SG.M carry.away-IF  
*pa:ry-eh a:n-le awdy-a[r]*  
 be.able-FT.3SG.M say-CP speak.B2-PT.3PL  
 His elder brother heard [of her] and went to see her. They said, "Who  
 can pull and take her away?"

- 10'17 *te eky-ah ta:nu a:d indra kud-anid ahe-ki*  
 and go.B2-PT.3SG.M then she what do-FT.3SG.NM he-GE  
*tang-ja.mni-di hi paꝛary-ah*  
 own-younger.brother's.wife-NM EPH come.across.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 When he went, what did she do? She turned out to be his younger  
 brother's wife.

- 10'23 *te got male-ri pol-ar a:h*  
 and all person-PL be.unable-PT.3PL he  
*pa:rc-ah a:-ba:de-no men-ih ta:nu a:*  
 be.able.B2-PT.3SG.M that-after-LO hear-PR.3SG.M then she  
*tang-ja.mni-di hi paꝛary-a*  
 own-younger.brother's.wife-NM EPH come.across.B2-PT.3SG  
 While no man could, he could. Then when he asked, she turned out  
 to be his younger brother's wife.

- 10'29 *ada-ki ba:de-no a:ti-nte adi-n oy-oti eky-ah a:*  
 that-GE after-LO there-AB that-AC take-IF go.B2-PT.3SG.M that

*pahra-no beṭar-naq-ar*

time-LO meet.with-REC-PT.3PL

Then when he went to take her from there, they met.

- 10'34 *te tang.baiya-h ar tang.ḡo-h milary-ar*  
and own.elder.brother-M and own.younger.brother-M meet.B2-PT.3PL  
And the elder and younger brothers met.

- 10'36 *ada-ki ba:de-no ni:n ne:re e:ne i: taṇ.gade-n mejja-ken*  
that-GE after-LO you who I this own.son-1SG become.B2-CP.1SG  
*e:n boṅg-qen ante*  
I run.away-CP.1SG and  
Then [they said] "Who are you?" "I had become this [man's] son and I ran away."

- 10'43 *eng.ḡo-n teya-ken na:h qe:g-ot a:n-le*  
my.younger.brother-AC send-CP.1SG he buy-IF say-CP  
*ek-keh ante a:n-keh kir-lah*  
go.B2-CP.3SG.M and say-CP.3SG.M return-NG.PT.3SG.M  
"I sent my younger brother. He went to buy [things] but did not come back."

- 10'48 *e:no i: male-ni hi e:nu baiya-k kirtr-ot a:n-le*  
I this person-1SG EPH I elder.brother-DA bring.back-IF say-CP  
*ek-ken dokani qe:g-ot a:n-le*  
go.B2-PT.1SG shop buy-IF say-CP  
"I am that very man. I went to the shop in order to buy [things and] bring [them] back for my elder brother."

- 10'53 *ante a:ṭi-nte e:ne cuṭar-ken a: pahr-ni*  
and there-AB I rinse.mouth-PT.1SG that time-LO.EPH  
*hira-muti-d urq-ad*  
diamond-pearl-NM come.out-PT.3SG.NM  
"And just when I was rinsing my mouth there, diamond jewels came out."

- 10'57 *ani eng-ene bagat-ni ḡo:k-try-ad ante taṇ.gadi-n*  
so I-AC ascetic-F stay-CS.B2-PT.3SG.NM and own.daughter-AC  
*qatṭy-ad ante ḡok-ken idi-guni*  
give.B2-PT.3SG.NM and stay.B2-PT.1SG she-together  
"So the ascetic's wife made me stay, gave me her daughter, and I married her."

- 11'02 *ante a:n-ken-ihī eng-en tey-lad ani e:k-oti*  
and say-CP.1SG-EPH I-AC send-NG.PT.3SG.NM so go-IF  
*mo:dr-ken*  
forget-PT.1SG  
"After I did so, she (i.e. the ascetic's wife) did not let me go, so I forgot about going [back]."

- 11'06 *a:n-ker ante aṭi-nte milary-ar a:ṭi-nte-nte ḡoky-ar*  
say-CP.3PL and there-AB meet.B2-PT.3PL there-AB-AB stay.B2-PT.3PL

- They said this, and then met there. They stayed [together] from then.
- 11'09 *ani tang.baiya-h ra:ji-n cala:tr-ih a:h aru*  
 so own.elder.brother-M kingdom-AC govern-PR.3SG.M he and  
*tang.qo-h hira-muti-ne turwy-ah*  
 own.younger.brother-M diamond-pearl-AC spit.out.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 The elder brother ruled the kingdom and the younger brother spat out  
 diamond jewels.
- 11'16 *mane kuk-a moq-ah ahe-ki-d hira-muti-d*  
 that.is head-AC eat.B2-PT.3SG.M he-GE-NM diamond-pearl-NM  
*urq-ad ar gandi moq-ah ahe-ki-d ra:ji*  
 come.out-PT.3SG.NM and body eat.B2-PT.3SG.M he-GE-NM kingdom  
*qaq-owry-a*  
 receive-PA.B2-PT.3SG  
 That is, diamond jewels came out of the one who ate the head, and  
 kingdom was acquired for the one who ate the body.
- 11'22 *inonde-nte ongry-ad i:ti katam*  
 this.much-AB end.B2-PT.3SG.NM here end  
 This story ends here.

### §31 Story of a nasty king and a jackal (Nw).

Told by Mr. Maheshwar Malto of Kortika, P. O. Boarjior, P. S. Boarjior, Dist. Godda. Recorded in the schoolhouse of Kortika on March 4, 2009.

- 0'00 *ort dukta-h mejj-ah*  
 one orphan-M be.B2-PT.3SG  
 There was an orphan.
- 0'03 *ort ra:ja-h a: dukta-n awdy-ah*  
 one king-M that orphan-AC speak.B2-PT.3SG  
 A king told the orphan.
- 0'07 *ki na: pokeri-no ni:n sagr-ma:qe il-a*  
 COMP that pond-LO you whole-night stand-IMP  
 "Stand in that pond all night."
- 0'11 *e:k-kafo:ra: taka-n ciy-en a:ny-ah*  
 one-cup money-AC give-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 "I will give you a cupful of money."
- 0'15 *ante a: maqe-h la:lcar-keh ante a: pokeri-no ra:t.bar*  
 and that boy-M covet-CP.3SG.M and that pond-LO all.night  
*payye-no ij-ah*  
 cold-LO stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 Then that boy coveted [the money] and stood in the pond all night in  
 the cold.
- 0'22 *ante adi-ki ba:d job ma:qondi lehary-a ade-no a:*  
 and that-GE after when morning become.B2-PT.3SG that-LO that  
*ra:ja-h ek-keh ante a: dukta-n mejj-ah*  
 king-M go.B2-CP.3SG.M then that orphan-AC ask.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 After that, when morning came, the king went and asked the orphan.

- 0'32 *ni:n ikeno=oh̃ri*                      *cic-e* *tund̃-ke*  
 you where=or.something fire-AC look-PT.2SG.M  
 “Did you see fire anywhere?”
- 0'35 *ō: tund̃-ken*    *e:k.ko:s* *geci: d̃ibya-ki aweli e:try-a*  
 yes look-PT.1SG one.kos far lamp-GE light be.visible.B2-PT.3SG  
*adi-n* *tund̃-ken*  
 that-AC look-PT.1SG  
 “Yes, I did. At a distance of one *kos*, the light of a lamp was seen. I saw it.”
- 0'42 *le:kin ante ra:ja-h awd̃y-ah*                      *ki*    *o: anno ni:n adi-ki*  
 but and king-M speak.B2-PT.3SG.M COMP ITJ there you that-GE  
*garne-t se i: pokeri-no ije-ke*  
 heat-IN EPH this pond-LO stand.B2-PT.2SG.M  
 But then the king said, “Oh, then you were standing [in] this pond with that heat.”
- 0'51 *a:n-le awd̃y-ah*                      *ante a:lko antekte adi-ki ba:d*  
 say-CP say.B2-PT.3SG.M and that.way then that-GE after  
*awd̃-ih mala andeki mala e:n ije-ken*                      *taka-n*  
 say-PR.3SG.M no that.way no I stand.B2-PT.1SG money-AC  
*ciy-lah*  
 give-NG.PT.3SG.M  
 He said this. Then, after that, [the boy] said, “No, it was not so. I was standing.” He did not give the money.
- 1'02 *ahe-k taka-n ciy-leko adi-ki ba:d maq-ond a:pi*  
 he-DA money-AC give-NG.CP that-GE after CLF-one from.thither  
*gidre barc-a*  
 jackal come.B2-PT.3SG  
 After he [thus] did not give money [to the orphan], a jackal came out from there.
- 1'09 *loya barc-ad*                      *ante indre olg-ne dukta maqe*  
 jackal come.B2-PT.3SG.NM and what cry-PR.2SG.M orphan boy  
*a:n-ko*  
 say-CP  
 A jackal came and said, “What are you crying over, orphan boy?”
- 1'14 *tund̃-a i: ra:ja i: am-no sagr-ma:qe il-ku ante*  
 look-IMP this king this water-LO whole-night stand-FT.IMP and  
*nijg-e taka-n e:k-ka:to:ra ciy-en a:ny-ah*  
 you-DA money-AC one-cup give-FT.1SG say.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 “Look, this king said, ‘Stand in this water whole night and I will give you a cupful of money.’”
- 1'24 *ante aneke andu awd̃-ih*                      *ni:n ikeno=h̃ō=oh̃ri*  
 and now then say-PR.3SG.M you where=even=or.something  
*cic-e tund̃-ke*  
 fire-AC look-PT.2SG.M

- “And he now says, ‘Did you see fire anywhere?’”
- 1’28 *a:n-ko o: tund-ken a:n-ko o: adi-ki dawke-t se ni:n*  
say-CP yes look-PT.1SG say-CP ITJ that-GE splendor-IN EPH you  
*ij bij-ke*  
stand.B2.AP dawn-PT.2SG.M  
“When he said this, I said ‘Yes, I saw it,’ then ‘Oh, you passed [the  
night] standing [warm] with its heat.’”
- 1’33 *lekin ning-e taka-n ciy-enala*  
but you-DA money-AC give-NG.FT.1SG  
‘I will not give money to you.’
- 1’36 *ciy-enala a:n-le awq-ih ani se i:t-no olg-in*  
give-NG.FT.1SG say-CP say-PR.3SG.M then EPH here-LO cry-PR.1SG  
*a:n-ko gidre-d awqy-a*  
say-CP jackal-NM say.B2-PT.3SG  
“He spoke so, ‘I will not give [money].’ So I am crying here.” When  
he said this, the jackal said,
- 1’42 *e:k-a acca ti:k ra:ja e: calo: e:k-a sangal*  
go-IMP good okay king ITJ let’s.go go-IMP together  
“Let’s go! Fine. Let’s go to the king[’s place]. Let’s go together.”
- 1’47 *e:nq-ond ma:s-e arg-tit-a*  
CLF-one bamboo-AC dig-CS-PT.3SG  
It made [the king] plant a bamboo [pole in the ground].
- 1’50 *ante a: mecca am-e e:nq-ond dubi-no purc-kid*  
and that above water-AC CLF-one earthen.cup-LO pour-CP.3SG.NM  
*ante a:t-no ok-tr-a ante cic-e pisi od-tit-a*  
and there-LO sit-CS-PT.3SG and fire-AC below light.fire-CS-PT.3SG  
And it poured water on an earthen cup on top [of the bamboo], and  
put [rice] in it and made [him] light a fire under it.
- 1’58 *cic-e ino od-tit-a a:nno nandu ti:qalu ar*  
fire-AC here light.fire-CS-PT.3SG there again rice and  
*dubi-d oky-a*  
earthen.cup-NM sit.B2-PT.3SG  
It made [him] light a fire here. And then rice and the earthen cup was  
[above it].
- 2’04 *ade-no awq-i indru gidre gidre-d awq-i ra:ja*  
that-LO speak-PR.3SG what jackal jackal-NM speak-PR.3SG king  
*a:t-a:ti-no amu ar ti:qalu-d okk-i*  
that.place-there-LO water and rice-NM sit-PR.3SG  
Then it said, the jackal said, “Your Majesty, there are water and rice  
there.”
- 2’14 *a: i:ti-no cice od-i indrany bic-ola adi-ki*  
that here-LO fire burn-PR.3SG why be.cooked-NG.PR.3SG that-GE  
*ni:n utar nan-ke qat-a*  
you answer do-CP.2SG.M give-IMP

“A fire is burning here. Why isn’t [the rice] cooked? Please give an answer to that.”

- 2’20 *a:n-ko anond cu:qi-nte ino cicu pakr-i a:d ikin*  
 say-CP that.much far-AB here fire lighten-PR.3SG that how  
*bic-eni*  
 be.cooked-FT.3SG.NM

When it said this, [the king said] “A fire burns here. How will that [rice] be cooked from that far?”

- 2’24 *tab a:-co:w-i a:t-õ poker-ni ij-ah*  
 then that-like-EPH there-too pond-LO.EPH stand.B2-PT.3SG.M  
*payne-no qe:ndr-le*  
 cold-LO tremble-CP

“Just in the same way, he was standing there in the pond, shaking in the cold.”

- 2’29 *iko cu:qi-no se cicu e:try-a qan-et tundy-ah*  
 how far-LO EPH fire be.seen.B2-PT.3SG eye-IN look.B2-PT.3SG.M  
 “How far away was the fire that he saw? He [just] saw with [his] eyes.”

- 2’33 *adi-[n] ni:n awq-ne ki o: adi-ki dawke-t*  
 that-AC you speak-PR.2SG.M COMP ITJ that-GE splendour-IN  
*ije-ke a:n-ke awq-ne*  
 stand.B2-PT.2SG.M say-2SG.M say-PR.2SG

“Do you [still] say ‘You were standing [warm] with the heat of that [fire]’?”

- 2’38 *to ikni bic-ola a:ti ikni barkar-ola*  
 then how be.cooked-NG.PR.3SG there how be.boiled-NG.PR.3SG

“Why isn’t that [rice] cooked there? Why isn’t it boiled?”

- 2’41 *a:n-kid ante a:hu ji:tc-ko ante a: maqe-k taka-n*  
 say-CP.3SG.NM then he win.B2-CP then that boy-DA money-AC  
*cic-ah ra:ja-h itne:hi*  
 give.B2-PT.3SG.M king-M this.much

When it said this, it won, and the king gave money to the boy.



## Chapter V. Tales from Ursa Pahar (Parallel Text)

- §32 Story of a fisherman who gave his wife away (Ne). Told by Mr. Lokhon Pahariya of Ursa Pahar, P. O. Vindudham, P. S. Ranga, Dist. Sahabganj, Jharkhand. Recorded at the front yard of the village chief of Ursa Pahar on March 8, 2008. .... 366
- §33 Story of abandoned children. Told by Mr. (Barnya Ganga) Mesa Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at the front yard of the village chief of Ursa Pahar on March 2, 2009.<sup>1</sup> .... 370
- §34 Story of a family torn asunder. Told by Mr. Lokhon Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at the front yard of the village chief of Ursa Pahar on March 8, 2008. .... 380
- §35 Story of a ruined prince and his lost love. Told by Mr. (Barnya Ganga) Mesa Pahariya of Ursa Pahar. Recorded at the front yard of the village chief of Ursa Pahar on March 2, 2009. .... 400

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<sup>1</sup> A Santal version of this story is found in Bodding 1925–29: vol.2, 220ff., ‘A king and his seven wives’.

### §32 Story of a fisherman who gave his wife away.

[0'00] e:n i:t-bah-male-n uḍṣa-qepo-n eṅ-ki na:me lokone [0'06] e:n i: saba-n teṅg-oti e:k-in a: pahra-no men-ku [0'10] i:d gaṭi gece mala duke-ki ba:te mala alq-e-ki ba:te mala [0'14] di ta:ni-guṭe-hi eṅ-ki qeḍw-no meṅja-ken eṅg-e aya-d ino:pane maqe-n a: pahra-no teṅg-ad a:d [0'21] go:ṭwa maqe meṅja-ken a: pahr-no teṅg-ad adi-n meṅja-ken e:n [0'25] indeki aca ort gondye-h mi:n-a piṭ-oti eky-ah goṭe-ri mi:n-a piṭ-oti eky-ah [0'32] ada-no goṭe-r-ik arg-ad [0'35] ada-no nahe-k arg-la mi:nu [0'38] arg-lad anihi nandu e:k-ih [0'41] nandu sohja-hi jalc-keh kir-ih andaṛe [0'43] nandu e:k-ih nandu sohja-hi jalc-keh kir-ih andaṛe [0'46] a: dosra-r nandu mo:t-mo:to-n jalc-le kir-ner [0'50] kir-ner ani indra a:n-ih de [0'52] aju: pote e:ne inda-ken kir-ne-n to [0'57] ujaṭi-hi aḍa-male-r-ine dukare:tr-in de [0'59] e:n ikkin-i men-en a:n-ko [1'01] dosra-h i:kasa:r-u-h awdy-ah i:kasa:r-u-h awdy-ah [1'05] aṛe ni:n niṅga-ḍa:ni-n angoc men-a [1'08] mal tembru niṅ-ki maqa-n angoc men-a [1'11] ante se niṅ-g-a mi:nu arg-anid a:n-ko [1'13] e:n maqe-n indrik angoc men-en [1'16] maqe-n jarmetr-ken [1'18] eṅga-ḍa:ni-n angoc men-en a:n-keh ante [1'21] i:he i: kepe acca e:n bar-en [1'24] eṅg-a bali-pane mi:nu-d arg-lid ano eṅga-ḍa:ni-n ciy-len a:ny-ah

[1'29] ani ek-keh ante jale-n cu:ty-ah [1'31] jale-n cu:ty-ah ta:nu sidahro bali-pane minu-d arg-a [1'35] adi-ne peta-keh-tatkeh ante kirtry-ah [1'38] kirtr-keh-tatkeh ante adi-ne idi-ne kind-a a:n-keh ante cu:t-keh cic-ah ani kindy-ad [1'45] kind-ki moq-qi-tat-kid ante kody-ad [1'48] ante nandu ikna:n-kene argr-en a:n-keh ante nandu eky-ah [1'54] nandu ina ni:n ka:l-ku=re [1'57] ni:ne e:ne kum-oti pol-in [1'59] ni:n ka:l-ku ante dar-ko bar-ani a:ny-ah [2'01] angoc-ṇaha meṅj-ah mba [2'02] ante ek-keh ante nandu cu:t-ih-tat-ih cu:t-ih-tatih [2'06] ta:nu a: mi:nu arg-e-ni arg-ola ani [2'08] e: bali-pane mi:nu arg-lid ano e:ne eṅga-ḍa:ni-n ciy-len a:ny-ah [2'12] ano nandu bali-pane mi:ndu arg-a [2'14] i:d eky-ad ani awdy-ah de ja:gu-n oy-ku a:n-ko ja:gu-n qe:nd-kid ek-kid ante oky-ad ani awdy-ah de [2'20] eṅga-ḍa:ni-n ciy-en e:n bali-pane mi:ndu arg-a:nded a:n-ko [2'24] nandu bali-pane mi:ndu arg-a ani ayi-n cu:ty-ah [2'28] adi-ne i: peli-de cu:t-keh ante are dary-a a:n-ko [2'32] idi-n dary-in ayi-n dary-in nayi-n dary-in dary-in a:ny-a anni-hi ḍoba-ke cubqerg-a [2'36] adin mulgr-kid eky-a [2'39] mulgr-ki eky-ad ani i:he olg-olah pa:ṭ-olah de mi:n-a qow-keh kiry-ah [2'44] a:d to ḍuṅgy-a ḍuṅgy-a ani tang-ma:ne-hi mi:n-a qe:nd-keh kiry-ah

[2'51] tang-ma:ne mi:n-a qe:nd-keh kir-keh ante idi-n nuni nuna-ber

I am from here, I am a villager of Ursa. My name is Lokhon.' I am going to tell this story. Please listen.' This is not a very remote [story]. It is not a sad story, nor a funny story.' Still, I heard [it] with my ears. My mother told it [to me] when I was a boy this big.' I heard it as she told [it] when I was a baby-sitter boy.' [It was] like this. Well, a fisherman went to catch fish. He went to catch all the fish.' Then all [other fishermen] caught fish.' Then he did not catch any fish.' No [fish] was caught. He went again to no avail.' He cast his net straight away again, and went back empty-handed.' He went again, cast his net straight away again, and went back empty-handed.' Those other people cast net, [caught] very big [fish] and went back.' They went back. Then what does he say?' "Oh my! Good heavens! I am coming back this way, and' I am making my family unjustly sad.' What shall I do?" Some evil-minded person said, "Hey, promise [to give me] your wife.' No, rather you promise [to give me] your son.' Then fish will be caught for you." "How shall I promise [him to give] my son?' I begot my son.' I will promise [to give] my wife (as a sacrifice for black magic)." Saying this,' this time, he said, "Okay, I will come.' If I should catch a fish as big as a door, I would give my wife [to you]."

Then he went and cast a net.' He cast a net. Then a fish as big as a door was really caught.' He took it up and brought it home.' He brought it home, and saying "Cut this," he threw and gave it [to his wife], and she cut it.' She cut it, ate it and lay down.' And he went again, saying "I will somehow lay a snare." [He said] again, "Would you go today, dear?' I will not be able to carry [the fish].' Would you go, take [the fish] and carry it home?" He said this.' He made a promise, didn't he?' Then he went and cast [a net] and so on again.' Then he did not catch such a fish.' He said, "Oh, if a fish as big as a door would be caught, then I would give my wife away." Once again, a fish as big as a door was caught.' She went and he said, "Bring food along." Then she took food along, went and sat down. Then he said (to himself), "I will give my wife away. I want to catch fish as big as a door." Again a fish as big as a door was caught. He threw away that [fish] (on purpose).' When he threw it away, [he said to] her, this wife, "Catch it, dear." When she said 'I'll catch this! I'll catch that!', he plunged her into the water.' She dived [into the water] and went away.' She dived [into the water] and went away. Then he neither cried nor wept, carried the fish on his shoulder and went back.' She was drowned. She was drowned. Then he carried the fish for himself and went back.'

Having carried the fish for himself and returned, he said, "Boys and girls,

kind-a mi:n-a a:n-ko [2'57] iko nde aya o: ning-aya dade-k korc-a [3'00] idi-n kind-a a:n-ko kind-ner mo:c-ner kind-ner mo:c-ner ante kindy-ah [3'05] ante nandu awd-ih iko aya-d abo [3'09] mala dade-k korc-ad bar-id lega kind-a bit-a a:n-ko [3'12] nandu bit-ar-ut-ar bit-ar-ut-ar ante nandu men-ner [3'16] abo iko aya e:m ja:gu-n otr-lid [3'20] o: bar-anid ako mba lega otr-a ande lap-et a:ny-ah [3'23] ante a:n-ko ante a:ber duke-duke-ti-hi olg-olg-hi ja:gu-n otry-ar otr-ker ante lapy-ar [3'30] lap-ker-tat-ker ante ko:d-pahra nandu awd-ner [3'34] abo iko aya o: ma:qond bar-ani amb-a ta:n lega lap-et ande qandr-et a:n-ko [3'39] ante nandu lap-ker ante qandry-ar [3'41] lap-ker ante qandry-ar ante do:k-ner ok-ner do:k-ner ok-ner [3'44] toqry-ad a:d a:d to kec-a mba i:ber maqe-r nandu do:k-ner [3'48] ante apt-ond amat menj-ad ani abo iko aya abo iko aya olg-ner [3'54] olg-a-hi do:k-ner ante a:h to tang-ma:ne se kir-ih bar-ih [4'00] mi:n-ik ikahi sikare-k ikt-ikto e:k-ih ante kir-in bar-in a:n-keh ante

[4'06] doky-ah ani i: dosra male-r awdy-ar de [4'10] i: dosra male-r awdy-ar de e: maqe-r ni:m ning-a ning-aya-n ca:me-n pa:ɽ-a a:n-ker [4'18] ca:me pa:ɽ-po-d jo [4'21] *ta:ke-puli menja-ki bar-a=re-r aya ta:ke-puli menja-ki bar-a=re-r aya* [4'31] a:ny olg-ar ako a: maqe-r jo [4'34] i:d udyar-kid ek-kid ante ta:nd qolgr-ni okety-a [4'37] ta:nd qolgr-ni oket-ki ante i:-peɽ a:ny qetuw-r ni i:-peɽ qalg-ni [4'42] qetuw-r qetuw-r ante akawaka-akawaka bit-a [4'44] bit-a-taty-a bit-a-taty-a ante loly-a [4'48] lol-kid-tatkid ante i:d niŋ-ki-d i: niŋ-ki niŋ-ki ning-abo qermbru-ki-d a:n-i [4'53] a:n-kid ante udyar-kid eky-a [4'55] ante nandu do:k-ner ok-ner do:k-ner ok-ner ante i:h (awd-ih) de kiry-ah [4'59] nandu kir-keh ante a: maqa ja:gu-n ne: bit-a [5'01] e:m bita-kem a:n-ih [5'03] na:ber to teŋc-olar mba e:m bita-kem a:n-ih [5'06] ante nandu nandu dosra dine nandu nandu awd-ner [5'11] *take-puli menja-ki bar-a=re-r aya take-puli menja-ki bar-a=re-r aya* a:n-ih [5'22] a:ny olg-ar ani nandu i:de udyar-kid ek-ki ta:nd qolgr-ni oket-kid nandu [5'27] i:-peɽ qetuwry-a da:li-n i:-peɽ qetuwry-a ti:qal-a [5'28] nandu bit-a od-a bita od-a nandu awdy-a de [5'32] i:d niŋ-ki i:d niŋ-ki niŋ-ki ning-abo qermbru-ki [5'36] a:n-ki urq-qid nandu urq-qi tirry-ad [5'39] urq-qi tirry-ad a:n-in-tat-in a:n-ko ante i:h kir-ih [5'43] dine-game ja:gu ko:d-i [5'45] ne: bit-id a: nuni a:n-ko [5'48] e:mi-hi bit-im a:n-ner a:ber ho teŋc-olar ani a:ber ho teŋc-olar

[5'54] ani dosra male-r awdy-ar de aɽe ni:n i: maqe-r-ik ne:de ja:gu-n ciy-ani ne:de ti:qal-a ciy-ani [6'02] ni:nu ga je:se cary-ne ujaɽi-hi cary-ne de i: maqe-r-ik toho-d bar-id

cut this fish.” “Where is mom?” “Yeah, your mother went into the jungle (to the bathroom).” When he said, “Cut this,” they cut and chopped, cut and chopped, and he divided it.’ Then [the son] asked again, “Dad, where is mom?” “No, she went into the jungle. She will come. Come on, cut and cook.” Again they cooked and so on, and they asked again, “Dad, where is mom? She would serve [us] food.” He said, “Yeah, maybe she will come, okay? Come on, serve [the food] and then let us eat.” Then, when he said this, they served food very sadly, crying and crying, and ate.’ Having eaten and so on, they said again when they went to bed, “Dad, where is mom?” “Yeah, she will come home tomorrow morning. Leave it. Now let us eat up and sleep.” Then they ate and went to sleep.’ They ate and went to sleep. And they carried on living.’ [He said] “She passed away. She died, okay?” These children carried on living again.’ Then a week had passed. Then they wept saying, “Where is mom, dad? Where is mom, dad?” They wept [every day], and he came back all by himself.’ He went here and there to [catch] fish or to hunt, saying “I will be back.”’

He lived. Then these other people said, these other people said, “Hey kids, you sing a song to your mother.” — [I] have to sing a song, right? — ‘ [4’21] “(*Singing*) Be a wind or a whirlwind and come back, mom.” Those children wept [singing] so, right?’ She came flying and then sat down on the threshold under the doorway.’ She sat down on the threshold under the doorway, winnowing [grains] away to this side like that and shaking off (?) to this side.’ Winnowing and winnowing, she cooked [rice] busily.’ She cooked and so on, and ladled it out.’ Having ladled out [the cooked rice, she gave it saying] “This is yours. This is yours. This is for your father[’s] dead body.” Having said this, she flew and went away.’ Then they carried on living, and he came back.’ He came back again [and asked] “Son, who cooked the food?” He said, “We cooked [it].” They did not tell [the truth], right? He said, “We cooked [it].” And on another day, they said again and again.’ “Be a wind ... (Repeat 4’21)” They cried so. Then again, she came flying, sat on the threshold under the doorway, and again, she winnowed lentils. She winnowed rice.’ Again she cooked and burned, cooked and burned, and said again.’ “This is yours. This is yours. This is for your father[’s] dead body.’ Having said this, she went out and took off again.’ She went out and took off. Saying “I’ll do this and that,” the father came back.’ Cooked food was placed there every day.’ “Who is cooking, my dear?” They say “We are cooking.” They do not tell him either. They do not tell him either.’

Then other people said, “Come on, who would give food to these children? Who would give them rice?’ See, while you are rambling, while you are rambling thoughtlessly, the mother comes for these children.’

[6'07] toho barc-le se i: ja:gu bit-a bit-a ciy-id [6'10] de ni:ne ba:lke-ne ka-jak baŋc-ku guŋdɕ-ku cuŋj-ku ante [6'16] ino:pane cukti-no ba:lke-ne am-a qorq-qe oktr-a:ne [6'21] ante ta:ŋd duwar-nihi il-ane [6'23] ta:ŋd duwar-nihi il-ane ante na:de indra (qeq-ik) qeq-a kortr-kid qedy-onde qedy-ond ta:ŋd-ek argtr-ani qedy-ond pisi [6'34] anonde-nihi ni:ne balk-am-a purc-ke tey-ane [6'37] purc-ke tey-ane ante nayi-n dary-ane a:n-ko [6'41] i:h indra kudy-ah de balk-am-a

[6'44] i:h cuŋj-keh ante adi-ne qe:nd-keh ij-ah bali-kō:ra-no [6'47] bali-kō:ra-no oɖ-e-no ija-keh ante i:he indaki nandu maqe-r pa:ry-ar [6'53] *ta:ke-puli menj-a-ki bar-a=re-r aya ta:ke-puli menj-a-ki bar-a=re-r aya* [7'04] a:ny-hi nandu ta:ke-t udyar-ki barc-a [7'07] qedy-ond ta:ŋdɕ-k korc-a qedy-ond i:t-no ij-a [7'09] anonde-nihi am-a balk-am-a purc-keh tey-ah [7'11] purc-keh tey-ah ani eng-en a:ɖa-ke eng-en a:ɖa-ke eng-en a:ɖa-ke a:ny olg-a [7'15] i:he qemɖ-keh ij-ah [7'16] eng-en a:ɖa-ke eng-en a:ɖa-ke a:ny olg-a ante idi-n qemɖ-keh ij-ah ante [7'20] aye-ne inte-nte e:ne na:n-enala inte-nte na:n-enala [7'24] a:n-ko ante a:ber a:n-keri-hi ɖoky-ar oŋce-r menj-ar [7'28] toqry-a i:n-ki agr-te ba:te-d [7'30] i:n-ki menj-ad ako male amby-ad ako de a:gr-te juge-ki saba

### §33 Story of abandoned children.

[0'00] eŋ-ki janam qepu-d i:ti uɖsa ante uɖsa-d eŋ-ki na:mi-d me:sa pahariya baŋna taŋ.gade-n e:n [0'11] ante e:n anake kata teŋg-oti e:k-in men-ku male-r ho sikar-ku ho [0'17] i:de anake agdu mundoti je: teŋgr-naq-qet ante qandru-r qandry-ar men-u-r menj-ar [0'22] ante ne:ka-hi qerw-ik barc-a ne:ka-hi bar-la [0'25] anake to e:r-a iko-cu:ɖ-te male-r ikt-no ja:pane-d adi-n to a:g-olaket aŋɖ-olaket [0'30] i:ber male-r ja:pane-ki male-r barc-ker ante poŋo kī:cy-ner band-ner [0'33] a:de essa mo:to ka:je-di [0'36] ani sikar-oti ho men-i je:wara saba-n ho [0'39] ani e:n anake teŋg e:k-in men-a

[0'42] ort ra:ja-h sat-jin pel-a ɖoky-ah [0'46] sat-jin pel-a ɖoky-ah ante na:h indra kudy-ah kajak bawnary-ah [0'52] kajak bawnary-ah na:h indru-ki-n bawnary-ah [0'54] i: lape-d aty-la na:h qe:qlu kame menj-a [0'58] na:h indru-ki kame menj-a sat-jin pel-a ɖoky-ah *pir:se* qe:qlu ho ga:ŋe menj-a ja:di menj-a [1'03] ante na:h ugle:c-ah kide maqu-h men-lah [1'07] nanond sat-jin pel-er-ki bi:ce-no maqe-r paydar-u men-lar [1'10] maqu maq-ond=goŋe jarmar-lah [1'11] ani ugle:c-le bawnary-ah kide qe:qlu-ki kame mala-ken pel-ki kame mala-ken [1'16] de:si-ki kame (male)mala-ken ta:nu eng-a maqu mala-h [1'19] e:n aga anake uj-in nanond se maja embe-n embe-n lap-in [1'23] to key-en a: pahra-no key-oti ko:ɖ-in a: pahra eng-a ne:d ondr-ki qaŋ-anid eng-a am-a da [1'27] am-a qe:g-en ja:gu-n qe:g-en a: pahra-no

The mother comes and gives them this food, cooking and cooking.' You grind turmeric, powder and pound it very well, and' melt that turmeric in water and keep it in an earthen cup this big.' And then you stand at the threshold of the door.' You will stand at the threshold of the door, then she will put her leg in, and make one leg cross the threshold and have the other behind [the threshold].' At that moment, you throw the turmeric water over her.' You will throw [the turmeric water over her,] then you will catch her.'"

What did he do with the turmeric water?' He pounded [turmeric], carried it and stood near the door.' He stood hiding near the door, and now the children sang again.' "Be a wind ... (Repeat 4'21)" Then again, [the mother] came flying with the wind.' One leg entered the threshold, and the other stood on this side.' At that point he threw the turmeric water over her.' He threw [the turmeric water], then she cried saying "You have erased me, you have erased me." He stood holding [her] (i.e. his wife, who was restored to life) under his arm.' She cried "You have erased me, you have erased me," and he stood holding [her] under his arm.' "From today on, I will not do such a thing. I will not do such a thing." Saying this, they lived together that way. They have become husband and wife [again].' [The story] is over this way. It is a story of olden times.' It seems to have been like this, or not. It is a story of olden times.'

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My native village is here, Ursa. My name is Mesa Pahariya, son of Barnya.' I am now going to tell a story. Listen, people, and learn.' Formerly, [when] we told anything, those who slept fell asleep, those who listened listened.' For some people, it came into the ears. It didn't for others.' Now see, how far away [these] people [are] from? We don't know or find out where Japan is.' These people, people from Japan, came and took pictures.' That is a very big job.' [He] also wants to learn some story.' So I am telling now. Listen.'

A king had seven wives.' He had seven wives, and what did he do? He worried a lot.' He worried a lot. What did he worry about?' Was he out of food? Or was he short of land? What was he short of? He had seven wives. What is more, he had a lot of land. He had a lot.' And he was thinking that he had no offspring.' Of as many as seven wives, no children were born.' Not even one child was born.' Then he thought and got worried, "There is no shortage of land, no shortage of women.' There is no shortage of land, still I have no child.' As long as I am alive, I will eat delicious food.' When I am dying, when I am on my deathbed, who will bring me water?' When I

eng-en ne: tant-bant men-ani a:n-le awdy-ah [1'32] a:n-le ugle:c-le nah(en)  
bawgary-ah ante indra kudy-ah

[1'36] pakire dine-game eky-ah dine-game cic-le tey-ah da:n a:n-le cic-ah [1'40] pe:sa becc-a ta:nu pe:sa-n cic-ah mal ta:n *ana:je* cic-ah [1'43] qes-a ti:qal-a jawe-n gohme cic-ah [1'46] ayi-ki ba:de-no na:h indra kudy-ah pakire eky-ah na:n-le bawna:r doky-ah ade-nihi pakire ek-ko awdy-ah kide [1'52] pakire naq-olah naq-olah ante awd-ih kide pakire-h co:ca-keh tirry-ah ani [2'00] a:re bar-ta:nu bar-ta:nu a:ny-ah bi:k-keh kir-try-ah ante a:h menj.e:r-ih [2'03] de e:n anake bar-olaken ul:tar-ken [2'05] e:n e:k-in a:da-k a:n-ko mala bar-a [2'08] inond pahra ok-ken e:n ga:ri-n e:r-ken e:n das pandra minat menj-a ga:ri-de [2'12] ano ni:n eng-a indra-go:te da:n nan-lake [2'15] anake indrik e:k-en a:n-ko mala bar-a ta:n e:n to:ta bawna:r-ken [2'19] ra:ja-n=te e:n a:g-ne ni:n pakire a:da-no e:nond beh-id ok-id go:te-n a:g-ne ni:n pakire [2'23] lekin e:n ante pel-a ho e:na-jin do:k-in ni:n a:g-ne [2'27] ni:n and-ne go:te-nihi sat-jin do:k-in [2'29] ta:nu eng-a maqe-r mala-r [2'31] i:d aga maqe-r mala-r ta:nu naprar-ken ko:q.naprar-ken eng-a ne:de am-a qat-anid ja:gu-n qat-anid [2'37] pel-er aga urq-qer bo:ng-u-r se nat [2'40] kec-ah to:rc-ah ucy-ah anond se nam-ki eng-a da:we-h menj-ah a:n-ner [2'44] a: maqe-h aga aya-abo-h takary-ah a:n-le ja:gu-n qaq-tr-eh am-a qaq-tr-eh [2'48] a:n-le e:n ayi-n se bawna:r-le do:k-a ok-in ning-e da:n nan-olaken a:n-le awdy-ah

[2'51] ani o: nadi-ki *cinta*:-no ok-ne ante e:n a:g-in=jahã [2'55] ni:q-ki bagane-no meca pa:ɽ-onde-hi ta:ɽga-d ok-i [2'59] adi-ne e:k-ku ante pa:ɽ-ond peh-ku ca:ce-n ante awd-ane kide [3'04] sida:-hi e:ne (ort) irw mu:ts.maqe-r in and-in ta:nu [3'12] na: ta:ɽge-n mu:ɽ-ond-ti ettr-en a:n-ke ante inj-ane a:n-le awdy-ah pakire-h [3'15] ani ek-keh ante e:r-ih ta:nu bed-a kud-ih man-a [3'18] ta:nu pa:ɽ-onde ok-i meca ta:ɽge-man-no [3'20] ani awdy-ah kide sida eng-a irw mu:ts.maqe-r jarmar-ner ta:n i: ta:ɽge-n mu:ɽ-ond-ti ettr-en a:n-keh ante inj-ah [3'26] mu:ɽ-ond-ti-hi ih tey-ah ta:ɽge-n [3'28] peta-keh ante kir-try-ah [3'31] kirtry-ah adi-n go:te-r-ik ciy-ku a:ny-ah

[3'33] lekine a:ber to pel-er a:ratr-naq-ner mba [3'37] a:ratr-naq a:ratr-naqe-tihi ta:ɽge-n cu:ɽ-peli-k qatc-le tey-ar am-ik [3'42] am-ik eky-ad ka:l-a ni:n am-ik e:k-a e:m ba:l-em basg-em ante ning-a ki:d-em [3'47] *isa* nan-kem ca:g-kem ante ki:d-em a:n-le awdy-ar bakra-n [3'51] ante na:d eky-a anonde-nihi i:ber bacr-ko:ɽ-naq-im a:n-le a: ta:ɽge-n ba:l-ker ante moq-ar [3'57] moq-ar ante a:da-no indru gepu mo:c-it a: gepu kody-ad ano [4'01] ani am-ente barc-ki tab tirry-ar a: moq-qer lap-ker ante

beg for water, when I beg for food, who will help me?" He said this.' Thinking so, he worried, and what did he do?'

An ascetic went [there] every day. He gave [him] alms and sent [him] off every day.' If there was money, he gave money. If not, he gave grains.' He gave [him] paddy, rice, barley and wheat.' What did he do after that? The ascetic came, and he was worried like that. Then the ascetic came and addressed [him]. 'He did not answer the ascetic. The ascetic addressed [him], stood up, and left.' He said, "Come back, come back!" He called him, made him come back, and asked. 'I won't turn around and come back.' I am going home." Then [the king] said, "No, come." "I was sitting for such a long time. I saw the clock and it [showed that] ten or fifteen minutes had passed.' Then you did not give any alms to me.' Now why should I come back?" When he said this, [the king said,] "No, come. I was a little worried.' See, I am a king. You are an ascetic, and you know how much there is at home. You know everything. You are an ascetic.' But you know how many wives I have.' You know [them] all, don't you? I have seven.' I have no child.' If I have no child, then when I get sick, when I lie sick, who will give me water; who will give me food?' Women will go out and run away.' If one is dead, he is okay. As long as he is alive, they say 'We have a husband.' A son will give food, give water, saying 'Mom and dad are tired.' I was worrying about it that way, and was sitting. [So] I did not give you alms." He said this.'

Then [the ascetic said,] "Yes, I of course know you are sitting worrying about it.' There is a mango [fruit] up in your garden.' Go to that and take up one stone and you will say, 'If I really get two sons'. 'Saying 'I will knock down that mango at once', throw [the stone at the mango].'" The ascetic said this.' Then he went and looked. Then he walked around looking for a tree.' Then there was a [mango] on a tall mango tree.' Then he said, "If I really have two sons, I will knock down this mango at once." Having said this, he threw [the stone at it]. 'He hit the mango [and it fell] at once.' He took it up and brought it home.' He took it home and told [the wives] to give it to all [of them].'

But those wives became mean to each other, didn't they?' Becoming mean to each other [about] the mango, they scolded the youngest wife and sent her for water.' She went for water. "You go for water. We will cut, peel, and keep [the mango] for you.' We will divide, distribute, and keep your share for you." They said this.' While she was gone, they said, "We will steal [it] and deprive her of [this]," and they cut and ate the mango.' They ate, and there was a stalk — the stalk that we cut — left at home.' When she came back from [bringing] water, they had gone away, after eating [the

[4'05] am-ente barc-kid karṣa-n oktr-kid ante bed-a kud-i aḍa-n ta:n ta:ṭce mala [4'08] ko:d-ola aḍa-no ca:g-pe bakra [4'11] ani i:de aḍa-no er-i er-i ta:nu er-i er-i oca-kid ante ta:nd̥-ku:ṭe-no gepu kody-a pet-a ante qa:ry-a [4'16] qa:ry-ad ante a: er-ki ba:k-ki tu:sy-a [4'22] te ḍoky-ad oky-ad ḍoky-a (ge)ta:nu goṭe-r-ki gand̥i-nihi mala-r [4'26] orte-ki na: gepu-n qa:ry-a adi-ki gand̥i-ni becc-a [4'30] ba:ri meṇj-ad ante ḍoky-a oky-a payda:ry-a

[4'34] payda:ry-a ani adi-n indra kud-eh na:h to sikare-k eky-ah ḍa:we-h ra:ja-h [4'39] sikare-k eky-ah ante na:he eky-ah ayi-ki ba:de-no a: payda:r-(n)e-ki ba:de [4'44] awdy-ah eky-ah a: pahr awdy-ah kide pa:ṭ-ond duke-ki-n baja:tr-ku pa:ṭ-ond suke-ki-n baja:tr-ku [4'48] a:n-keh me:ṇj-keh eky-ah ḍole-n [4'50] ani a: ḍole-ne na:he indro nadi-n akr-ker ante suke-ki ḍole-n baja:try-ar [4'54] suke-ki ḍole-n baja:try-ar ḍole-n baja:try-ar ante baja:try-ar a: pel-er so:-jin pel-er baja:try-ar [5'08] nadi-n qaṭc akr-ker ante baja:try-ar [5'09] ani barc-ah barc-keh ante e:r-ih [5'11] ta:nu a: maq-a peta-ker oc-ker kumbare-r kuṭ-ner a: dari-no tu:sy-ar [5'16] tu:sy-ar ante i:bere iṭa-n ki:d-ar iṭa-n ki:d-ar [5'21] iṭa-n ki:d-ar ante (uṭ) iṭa-n ba:c.uṭa-kar ki:d-ar [5'26] a: to am-ente kir-kid ante na:pra-d ide payda:r-pe gand̥i mba takary-a [5'33] barc-a ar ko:d-et-i ka:ṭi-no [5'34] to maqu male pa:nu ciny-ola=ṇahā meṇcoj-ki ko:d-id a:d e:r-ola

[5'38] ta barc-keh ante e:r-ih [5'39] e:r-a ṇiṅga-ḍa:ni-d ujaṭi awd̥-i kide maqo-ta:we-n a:n-le ka:je-n kud-ola [5'44] e:r-a i:ṭa meṇcoj-ki ko:d-id argtr-ker e:d-ner [5'46] a: maq-a andu oca-ker kumbare-r kuṭ-ner a: dari-no tu:sy-ar [5'49] ante indra kudy-ah ayi-n baj-akry-ah ayi-n [5'51] i:-pade-r ka:je-ne aḍa-ki tant-bant-en pa:ry-er i:n-le kud-u-r [5'55] a:n-keh ante sahi-d a:ny-ah baj-akr-keh bicry-ah [5'58] ante ade-ki pu:p-bagane-k pu:p-bagane-k eky-a ante eky-a a: peli-d toho-d

[6'05] ante kumbare-ber oṭge-r a:ber maq-balo-r meṇj-ar [6'09] a:ber maq-balo-r a:ber ek-ker ante kumbare-(n)[r] karahi-n kuṭ-oti e:k-u-r awdy-ar kide [6'14] a: maqe-r olg-i eṭṭi-bupṭi men-ner [6'16] ani na:he na: buḍa-buḍi de maq-balo-r meṇj-ar na:ber ho and̥a-ker ante are [6'21] ikni mal-maqu=ṭe oy-et ek-a oc-ar [6'24] peta-ker oca-ker ante tiyar na:m maq-balo-t a:n.naq-qer ante oca-ker ante aḍa-no e:ṭe-n qot-ar [6'28] e:ṭe-n qota-ker ante qe:s-a aḍa-no paṭatry-ar [6'31] ante a:de paṭatr-keh ante maq-ta:we-m a:n-le a:ber ḍoky-ar [6'38] ḍoky-ar ante a: maqa payda:ry-a a:n-le ne: male-r aq-ar i:de paydary-a a:n-le [6'43] ante ḍoky-ar oky-ar a: maqe po:sc-ar-tatyar carḡtry-

mango]. ' She came back from [bringing] water, put down the jar, and walked around the house searching, then there was no mango. ' It is not in the house, [her] share that was divided. ' Then she swept the house. Then while she was sweeping, there was a stalk near the threshold. She took it up and bit it off. ' She bit it off, and she swept, gathered the dust and threw it away. ' She carried on living. Then nobody got pregnant. ' The one that bit the stalk off got pregnant. ' She got pregnant. She carried on living, and [the two babies] were born. '

[The babies] were born. Then what did he do? The husband, the king, went hunting. ' He went hunting, and after that, after [the babies] were born, ' he said when he was going, "Beat one [drum] of sadness. Beat one [drum] of happiness." ' He said this, and made drum [teams] and went. ' And they drove her (i.e. the youngest wife) away and they beat only the drum of happiness. ' They beat the drums of happiness. Those six wives beat [the drums]. ' They drove her away abusing, and beat [the drums]. ' Then he came back. He came back and saw. ' Then they had taken up those boys, and had thrown them in the hole where potters fire [pottery]. ' After they threw [them] in, they put bricks [in the place of the boys]. ' They put bricks. They covered the brick with cloth and laid it. ' She came back from water, and the sickness — I mean, it is a body that just gave birth, right? — she was tired. ' She came back, and lay down on a bed. ' You can't tell whether it is a baby or an egg. She lay holding it (i.e. the brick). She did not look [at it]. '

He came back and saw. ' "Look! This is your wife. She just says 'I have babies' and does not work. ' Look! She is lying holding bricks." They made him climb and showed [her to him]. ' They took the babies, and threw them in the hole where potters burn [pottery]. ' Then what did he do? He beat her and kicked her out. ' "Would such women be able to take care of the household work, [women] who do [things] like this?" ' Having said this, he said, "That's true." He beat her, kicked her out and sent her away. ' Then she, the wife, the mother, went to her flower garden. '

Then the potters' couple had no child. ' They had no child. They went [to the kiln], and the potters who went [to the kiln] to burn pans said, ' "Those children are crying. They are wriggling." ' Then that old man and woman, who had no child, they also found them and [said] "My! ' Why are human babies [here]? Let's take them and go." And they took [them]. ' They took them up and took them away. Saying "We actually have no child" to each other, they took them [home], and killed a goat at home. ' They cut a goat and soaked the house with [its] blood. ' And having soaked [the house with] blood, they said, "We had children," and lived. ' They lived. Then all the people learned that these [babies] were born there. ' Then they carried on

ar a:qtry-ar [6'48] ante ante na: maqe i:palka-i:palka lehary-ar [6'53] ante indra kudy-ar a:ber to abo-aya a:ny-ar [6'56] ante awdy-ar kide abo em-a kank-goŋo-n me:nj-a qat-le a:n-le awdy-ar [7'01] ani kank-goŋo-n me:nj-ker cic-ar kumbare buḍa-buḍya oŋge-r [7'04] me:nj-ker ante awdy-ar kide na:ber oc-a kelar-oti pokari-bajo [7'11] a: pahr-no ca:me-d i:t-bahante bey-a amb-a ta:no oc-ar ante awdy-ar indro mal-saba-t teŋg-en [7'22] awdy-a kide abo kank-goŋo-n me:nj-a qat-a ani awdy-a kank-goŋo me:nj-ah ante oc-ar kide [7'27] ra:ja-ki pokari ki kank-goŋo o:n-a o:n-a a:n-le mulgr-ner a:ber [7'33] ra:ja-ki po[kari] (e:tu a: saba-d i: a: saba-d i: ca:me men-li indro-d indi-t men-lid ad-in mal[-saba-t] teŋg-in) ra:ja-ki pokari-ki am-a kank-goŋo o:n-a o:n-a a:n-le awd-ner mulgr-ker a:n-ner

[7'48] ani i: so:-jin pel-er e:r-ker ante awd-ner kide na:m i: na:m tu:s-kit a: maqe-r [7'53] anihi ra:ja-n awd-ner [7'55] a:ber bujary-ar bujar-ker ante awdy-ar kide i: maqe-r ikna:n piṭ-et lega [8'00] a:n.naq-qer ante din-onde-no a:ḍa-no bisi-n bicr-i ante oc-ar [8'04] ante e: maqe-r e: bar-ta:nu bar-ta:nu indrik bar-ta:nu mba [8'09] ante eky-ar ek-ker ante qac-ker ante mo:q-oti amaḍa:r-ih ka me:gro-h [8'13] ani cuḍe-h awd-ih de baiya mo:q-oma amb-a [8'16] ida-no indru indru beh-i na:de ok-id and-olake qa:qe [8'19] qa:qe-k ciy-ih ta:nu qac-keh cuḍe-h cic-ah [8'21] qa:qe moq-ad ar kec-a ani e:r-ne baiya idi-n awd-ken [8'25] mo:q-omku a:n-ken na:m je:wara indra-goṭe ja:gu lap-it a: pahra qe:ql-no bicr-it bicr-it ani lap-oti men-i [8'32] a:-joka-hi cu:t-ket cica-ket e:r-a a:n-keh qa:qe moq-a na:m ani se a:g-it ate na:m mo:q-let ano nam key-let a:n-le awdy-ah taŋgḍo [8'38] ante na:ber to cic-ar aro tirry-ar mba [8'41] a:t-ni il-no to ni:m piṭ-ker a:n-ler nde a:n-le [8'43] tirry-ar ante *pir:se* nandu ek-ker ante ḍo:k-ner hi [8'46] ra:ja-ki pokari-ki i: kank-goŋo-n ino o:n-a o:n-a a:n-le am-no mulogr-ker a:n-ner ḍuba:tr-le

[8'52] ani i: a:n-le ḍo:k-ner dine-ni a:n-le kelar-ner [8'55] ante din-onde-no mala i:ber-ik jilabi-no bisi me:nj-et a:n.naq-qer ante [8'59] bisi-n jilabi-no bara:try-ar [9'02] ante oca-ker cic-ar e: maqe-r bar-ta:nu bar-ta:nu oc-ar [9'04] eky-ar a: maqe-r ante nandu cic-ar [9'07] nandu cica-ker ante awd-ner kide na:ber cic-ar boŋg-ar ante nandu taŋg-baiya-h mo:q-leh ka amaḍa:r-le gaṭary-ah [9'14] jilabi to embe emb-ci:je mba mo:q-leh amaḍa:r-ih [9'17] ante awd-ih de baiya amb-a mo:q-oma [9'19] adi-n and-lake nandu indru=baru beh-id a:g-ne [9'22] na:m mo:q-et ta:nu key-et [9'23] de a: ale ko:d[-i] a: ale-k ciy-ih ta:nu ale-k cic-ah

living. They brought up those boys.' And those children had become this big.' Then what did they do? They said, "Dad, mom.'" They said, "Dad, would you make a wooden horse and give [it to us]?" Then the couple of the old potter and his wife made a wooden horse and gave it to them.' They made it and said, "They took [it] to the pond in order to play.'" At that time a song [was heard] from here (— Leave it, then). — They took it and said that. Shall I tell [about it] in Malto?' They said, "Dad, make a wooden horse and give [it to us]." Then he made one, and they took it, and' saying, "It's the king's pond. Drink, drink, wooden horse!" they sank it in [the water].' Saying "It's the king's pond. — Okay, this is that story. This song would be in Hindi. I will tell it in Malto — Drink, drink, wooden horse!" they sank it in [the water] and said [this].'

Then these six wives saw [them] and said, "They are the boys that we threw away.'" They told [nothing to] the king.' They found out. They found out and said, "How shall we kill these boys? Come along!" They were saying this. Then one day, one put poison (in a piece of bread) at home and they took it along.' Then [they said,] "Hey, kids! Come, come!" "Why?" "Come, okay?" Then they went. They tore [a piece] off and the elder brother was about to eat it.' Then the younger brother said, "Brother, don't eat it. Leave it.' There is something in it. There is a crow there, don't you see?" When [they decided to] give it to the crow, the younger brother tore [a piece] and gave [it to the crow]. The crow ate it and died. "You see, brother? This is what I said.' I said 'Don't eat [it]'. Whenever we eat something, we will put some on the ground; we have to eat [after] putting [some] on the ground.' Like that, let us see after throwing and giving [some food]. A crow ate it, so we found out. If we ate it instead, we would have died." The younger brother said this.' And they gave [the food] and went away, didn't they?' If they were standing there, [people] would say, "You killed them," right?' They went away, and again they went [home] and lived.' In the king's pond, they sank this wooden horse in the water saying "Drink here, drink," dipping [it in the water].'

Then they lived that way, and they played that way every day.' And one day, [the six wives] said to each other, "No, we will make *jalebi* with poison for them.'" They filled the *jalebi* with poison.' And they took it and gave it, [saying] "Hey kids, come, come!" Those boys went, and they gave it again.' They gave it and [the boys] said, "They gave [us this] and ran away." Then again, the elder brother was eager to eat [it]. *Jalebi* is a tasty thing, isn't it? He was about to eat [it]. Then he said, "Brother, leave it. Don't eat it.' Didn't you see? Do you know what on earth is in it? If we eat [it], we will die.'" Then [they decided to] give it to the dog that was lying, and

[9'24] to ale moq-ad ar kec-a [9'26] ani e:r-ne baiya idi-n awd-ken [9'29] ante na:m indrik mo:q-it na:m to anake nam-en ti i:ber piṭ-oti se *ko:sis* laga:tr-ner [9'34] baiya lekin na:m anake aḍa-k kir-etala [9'39] de lega am-ik kor-et a:ny-ar

[9'40] am-ik kor-et a:n-ker ante i:di pu:p-a qend-ker barc-ker sahi-no i: pu:p-joka pu:p lehar-ker ij-ar a:ber irw maqe-r [9'48] pu:p lehar-ker ante ij-ar am-no [9'51] ante am-no lehar-ker ij-ar pu:p lehar-ker ante [9'53] a:ber key-olar a:ber am-no lekin pu:p lehar-ker ij-ar [9'57] ante ra:ja-ki to no:kryo-r male-r siṇaṇe-ki siṇaṇe-r ho no:kryo-n ḍo:k-tr-ner [10'02] a:-joka-hi nahe-k no:kryo-r male-r becc-ar [10'04] a:ber to pokari-no e:ry-ar aḍa-bahno e:ry-ar [10'07] a: male-r ek-ker ante aṇḍ-ar kide pu:pu-d il-i kide [10'10] ca:me-d anake ca:me-n se ik:ja:ti teṅg-en ako ante indra a:n-le awdy-a te [10'19] *ra:ja ca:ku:ri amar nije ma:y pu:ler bagan kahu ka:y te kawai* [10'30] *ra:ja ca:ku:ri amar nije ma:y pu:ler ba:gān kahu ka:y te kawai* [10'42] a:n-le pa:ṭy-ar na: maqe-r [10'43] ada-no a:ber indra male-n aṇḍ-er lekin ca:me to qerw-ik kor-i [10'47] a: pu:pu se laṭar-id i:n-le [10'49] ceṅg-ceṅgjo et-id arg-id adi-n e:r-ner [10'51] ante ba:de-no na:ber kiry-ar majaqani pu:p=ṭe essa mi:nj-ide [10'56] i: pu:p-a oca-ket ante (laṭdur) ra:ja-ki aḍa-du:re id-let ta:nu [10'59] mi:njo men-lid sa:jar-le mba a:n.naq-ner a:ber [11'02] e:nond se cehra meṇj-ad ako [11'04] ante ante na:ber kir-ker ante no:kryo-r kir-ker ante teṅg-ner [11'08] to ra:ja niṇ-ki pokar-no pu:pu-d il-id [11'12] na: pu:pu nam-aḍa-k ondr-ket idl-et mba ano nam-a aḍa-baha essa mi:nj-li [11'16] essa sa:ji-li ra:ja-ki aḍa-du:ri-d ano sa:jar toq-li a:n-le awd-ner [11'20] am-no ik-pad pu:pu-de mi:njo-d il-id aṭe nanond a:n-le awd-ih [11'23] patyar-olah e:k-a mba e:r-a:ne ni:n a:n-le awdy-ah [11'27] ante nahe-n jabarjasti oca-ker ante e:d-ner ante il-i a: pahr-no awd-i kide a: pahr-no pu:pu-d awd-i kide [11'34] *ra:ja ba:bu:y amara nije ma:y pu:ler bagan kahu ka:y te ka:wai* [11'45] *ra:ja ba:bu:y amara nije ma:y pu:ler bagan kahu ka:y te ka:wai*

[11'56] a:n-le pa:ṭy-ar ani na: pa:ṭy-ar ani na:h awdy-ah ay eṇ.gade a:ny-ah [12'01] ay eṇ.gade-bagter a:ny-ah ke:ponti a:ber doṛa-k be:gy-ar a:ber pokari-nte ahe-ki doṛa-k be:gy-ar [12'07] doṛa-k be:g-ko ante kirtry-ah kirtr-keh ante aḍa-no muc-keh oktry-ah [12'12] muc-keh oktry-ah ante ba:de-no a:ḍi-nte ma:qu bijy-a dusra dine ma:qond awd-ih kide [12'19] a:ber teṅg-olar i: tambako-h men-olah de a: maqe-r-hi teṅg-ner kide [12'24] abo ni:n maqe-le:kki ni:n ki:ṭwa meṇja-ke [12'29] ta:nu (ni:m) anake e:m payda:r-kem ante niṅg-a apoki bar-oti meṇj-a [12'33] ta:nu ni:n aya-n baj-akr-ke pu:p-bagane-no ḍo:k-i aya-d [15'21] a:n-ko ante na:h a:n-le teṅg-ah ani se ante na:he indra kud-eh

gave it to it.' Then the dog ate it and died.' "You see, brother? This is what I said.' Why are we going to eat [that poison]? Now, they are trying to kill us.' Brother, let's not go home now.' Let's go. Let's go into water." They said this.'

Saying "Let's go into water," they came carrying flowers, and having really become like flowers, turning themselves into flowers, those two boys stood [there]. They turned themselves into flowers and stood on the [edge of the] water.' Then they turned themselves into water and were standing [there]. They did not die, on the [edge of the] water, but they turned themselves into flowers and were standing.' And the king had servants. Rich people have servants.' Like that, he had servants.' They kept guard of the pond, they kept guard of the palace.' Those men went and found that flowers are standing [there]. Now [there is] a song. I will somehow tell the song, too. What did it say? "(*Singing*) King's servants, the crows drove our mother to the flower garden' (repeated)."' Those boys sang so.' They did not see any person there. But the song went into their ears.' Just those flowers were moving like this.' They were compassionately seeing those [flowers] rocking up and down.' Afterwards, they came back, [saying] "There were beautiful flowers. They looked very nice.' If we would take these flowers and stand them at the door of the king's palace, then' being adorned, [it] would look very nice, wouldn't it?" They said this to each other.' How pretty they seem to have been!' Then they, the servants, went back and told [the king]. "Your Majesty, flowers are standing on your pond.' If we should bring those flowers to our house and stand them, our house would look very nice.' The king's house and gate would be adorned a lot." They said this.' He said, "What sort of flowers are standing on the water so beautifully?"' He did not believe [it]. He (i.e. the servant) said, "Let's go. You will see." And he took him (i.e. the king) forcibly and showed [the flowers] to him. They were there. At that time the flowers said, (*Singing*) "O Raja Babu, the crows drove our mother to the flower garden' (repeated)"

They sang so. When they sang, he said, "Oh my sons!" He said, "Oh my sons!" They jumped onto his lap at once. They jumped from the pond to his lap.' When they jumped onto his lap, he took them home. After he took them home, he shut up the palace and put them.' He shut up the palace and put them. And after that, the day dawned, and in the morning of the next day he said.' They (i.e. the wives) did not tell. This father did not ask. These boys told [him], "Dad, you were longing for a child.' Then we were born, and you were to become happy.' Then you beat and drove mom away and she lives in the flower garden." (*Here the younger brother tells the king what the six wives did.*)' He told [him] so. Then what did he do?'

[15'26] goṭ-pel-er-in-hi so:jin pel-er-in goṭe-r-in jama:tr-keh ante a:h qot-ah [15'32] qot-ah a:h mba qot-ah ante kor-duwar-no manda-keh ante [15'37] na:h ta:ke-goṭe kor-la:nid a: gaḍi-n gaḍi becca-nahe-k [15'41] a: gaḍi-t eky-ah ante taṇ-ki maqe taṇ-ki i: maqe-r-ki toho-n ondry-ah [15'45] pu:p-bagane-k ek-keh ante ondry-ah [15'48] ondry-ah ante a: peli-guni na: maqe-r-ki toho-guni-hi ḍoky-ah [15'53] ante eṇ-ki saba-d oṅgry-a inondi-hi

### §34 Story of a family torn asunder.

[0'00] ort male-h siṇaṭe-h meṇj-ah [0'03] siṇaṭe-h meṇj-ah ort male-h a: ḍa:ni-d ho jimida:re meṇj-a [0'09] jimida:re ḍa:ni meṇj-a a: ḍa:ni meṇj-a [0'12] ani siṇaṭe siṇaṭe-r-hi andr-naq-ar andr-naq-qer ante ḍoky-ar [0'17] irwa-qad-er-ih i ḍo:k-im ok-im bedr-naq-ar mba [0'20] bedr-naq-qo ḍo:k-im ok-im ḍo:k-im ok-im a:n-ko ante ort maqe-h paydary-ah [0'25] a:ti-no tam-aḍa-no ort maqe-h paydary-ah ani i: ḍa:ni-d awḍy-a de [0'30] e:k-a abo-ber-aḍa-k a:ny-a [0'33] abo-ber-aḍa-k e:k-a a:n-ko aca e:k-a a:n-keh ante eky-ar [0'36] eky-ar ek-ker ḍo:k-im ok-im ḍo:k-im ok-im a:n-ner [0'40] ta:nu anno-hi nandu ort maqe-h gaṇḍi-no becca-ah [0'45] gaṇḍi-no becca-ah ani ḍo:k-im ok-im i:ber to gole-r to din-ond ul-is ḍok-ker to kir-lar mba [0'51] ti:n mehna ca:r mehna ḍo:k-ner [0'53] anonde-nihi ort maqe-h gaṇḍi-no becca-ah [0'55] ani gaṇḍi-no becca-ah ani awḍy-ah de [0'58] are na:m to ti:n-jene-t barc-ket [1'02] anake nandu-hi ca:r-jen-er men-oti bi:r-et [1'05] niṅg-a gaṇḍi-no beh-i anake to ca:r-jen-et men-oti bi:r-et [1'07] de e:k-a eṇ-ki aḍa-k [1'10] a:n-ko mala inond-pahā eṅg-a abober-ik qe:qlu ga:ṭe dana ga:ṭe ṭaka ga:ṭe [1'16] dana-daulate goṭe-di beh-id [1'19] indrik e:k-et a:ny-a [1'20] ani mala e:k-a e:nond ḍo:k-et ino [1'23] a:n-ko na:h na:he na:d awḍy-ad e:k-olaken a:n-no [1'29] nandu-hi awḍ-ih e:k-a=du:re-hi e:ne i:t-inte e:k-en nande se [1'33] idi anake a:ti-n-te ti:n-jen-et barc-ket ort maqe-n ondr-ket [1'37] nandu-hi i:ti-no ort maqe-h kund-oti beh-i [1'40] e:k-a=du:re-hi niṅ-ki qe:ql-a e:d-en [1'44] eṅg-e anake ik.ja:ti e:k-en e:n a:n-ko [1'47] e:k-a a:ny-ah eṭq-a-hi

[1'49] eṭq-ah ani eky-ar kiry-ar [1'52] kir-ner e:k-ner boṅg-ner e:k-ner boṅg-ner ta:nu bah-ond gaṅga-k aṭsy-ar [1'58] gaṅga-k aṭsy-ar ani i: peli-d awḍ-id [2'02] aṭe i: gaṅga-n ik.ja:ti kaṭ-et nam-a a:ny-a [2'06] ik.ja:ti kaṭ-et a:n-ko [2'07] mala e:n kaṭ-tr-en a:n-ko [2'08] ik.ja:ti kaṭ-et a:n-ko i:he acca kaṭ-tr-en e:n a:n-keh ante eky-ah [2'13] i: gaṅga-biṭe acca ni:n i:t-no ok-a [2'16] a:n-keh ante biṭe-no oktr-keh ante [2'18] gaṅga-biṭe-no gaṅga-biṭe-no eky-ah [2'20] ek-keh ante a:ber-in i:ber-in awḍ-ih indra [2'23] cigalo-n awḍ-ih e: cigalo e: mama mama il-a ani [2'27] indru aṭe ante a: elc-kid boṅg-i se boṅg-i [2'30] indru il-ani ante e:k-i boṅg-i qa:qe-n awḍ-ih [2'33] e: ba:yi qa:qe-n awḍ-ih e: ba:yi a:n-no [2'37] a:d ho qaqa qaqa a:n-id

He gathered all wives, six wives, and he killed them.' He killed [them], right? He killed them, buried them in the entrance door.' He had a car, such that even wind does not come in.' He went on that car, and brought the mother of these children of his.' He went to the flower garden and brought [her back]. He brought [her back], and lived with that wife, the mother of those boys.' My story ends here.'

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There was a rich man.' The man was rich. The wife was also of a landlord [family]. She was [from] a landlord [family]. She was [his] wife.' So rich people met each other. They met and got married.' Living together, the couple loved each other, right? They were in marriage, lived together, and a boy was born.' There, in their house, a boy was born, and this wife said, "Let's go, to [my] father's house." When she said "Let's go to [my] father's house," he said "Let's go," and they went.' They went. They said, "We will go and live [there]."' Then there again, she got pregnant with a boy.' She got pregnant. Then these Hindus did not [just] stay for a day or two and go back, did they? They were there for three or four months.' At that point, [she] was pregnant with a boy.' When [she] was pregnant, he said, "Look, we were three people when we came here.' Now we are going to become four people.' There is [one] in your womb. Now we are going to become four people.' Let's go to my house." When he said this, [she said,] "No. My father's family has this much land, much grain, and much money.' [He] has all provisions and riches.' Why are we going to go?" Then [the husband said,] "No, let's go. How long are we going to stay here?" When [he] said this, she said "I will not go." Then' he said again, "Let's just go. I will still go.' Look, now three of us have come from there. We took one boy along.' Here again, one boy is about to be born.' Let's just go. [Son,] I will show you your land." She said, "How shall I go now?" He said, "Let's go. Get started."

They got started and went. They went back.' They went back. They went, ran and went. Then they arrived at a river.' They arrived at a river. Then this woman spoke.' She said, "Look, how shall we cross this river? How shall we cross it?" When she said this, "No, I will take you over [the river]." When he said this, She said, "How shall we cross?" He said "Well, I will take you over," and went.' On the river bank, [he said] "You sit here." Having said this and having made her sit on the bank,' he went on the bank of the river.' He went, and what did he say to these and those people?' He says to a jackal, "Hey, uncle jackal, stop." [It said] "Why?" It got scared, ran and ran.' Why will it stop? Going and running, he spoke to a crow.' When he said to the crow "Hey, sister! Hey, sister!" it also cried "Caw, caw,"

ar ujaŋi-hi saŋŋ [ɔlar-ki man-ik arg-i [2'41] ante e:k-i boŋg-i e:k-i boŋg-i ante i: toto geçi beh-i baru [2'48] bogla qeɖ-et i:n-id i:n-id qet-id i:n-id i:n-id [2'51] i:n-le mi:n-a i:n-le qet-id i:n-le aɖe kaɖ-tr-le kork-kid kork-a ɖo:k-i nadi-no [2'56] gaŋga-biɖe-no i:h eky-ah ek-keh ante are indru eŋg-ene i: gaŋga-n kaɖ-tr-ki qaɖ-li a:n-ko [3'04] aju: e:n ki:ɖe[-nte] qond-ken=naha qet-a qet-a mo:q-a ɖo:k-in ta:nu ikni men-en [3'10] e:ɖ-tole ni:n indra lap-ani nde a:n-ko [3'13] eŋg-a sawr-ond mi:n-kuk-a qaɖ-a a:n-ko [3'16] i:h ikote-n and-en a:n-le sotyar-keh ok-in ok-in a:n-keh ante gondye-r-waj eky-ah [3'20] ek-keh ante poti-mi:n-a sawar-ond poti-mina oca-ke cic-ah [3'25] oca-ke cica-ko adi-n moq-a baryary-a [3'27] moq-a baryar-ki ante e:k-a a:n-ko oy-en a:ny-a [3'30] e:k-a a:n-ko oy-en a:n-ki ante oc-a eky-a

[3'33] ek-ko-tatko ante a: oky-ad a:ɖ-bahak aɖs-yar [3'37] aɖs-ker ante aɖs-kid ante awɖ-id de ni:ne i:ɖ-no ok-a ni:n i:ɖ-no ok-a a:ny-a [3'43] bogla-de ti:n-jen-er-in goɖ-er-in qo:qe-k arg-try-a [3'47] qo:qe-k arg-tr-ki ante boŋg-tr-i se boŋg-tr-i se boŋg-tr-i [3'51] saŋge-k uɖyar-ki boŋg-tr-i hi boŋg-tr-i ta:nu a: peli-d awɖ-i de [3'55] bah-ond guɖu meŋj-a ani a: peli-d awɖ-id de [3'57] are eŋg-a to eŋg-a kakali co:c-a ani (ahen) ikna:n e:k-en e:n [4'02] eŋg-en i:ɖ-bahno ettr-a a:ny-a [4'04] mala ikna:n ettr-en i:ɖ-no a:n-ko [4'07] mala ettr-a=du:re-hi a:n-i [4'08] a:n-ko i:he bah-ond guɖu meŋj-a [4'12] indro amu qa:ɖ-gry-a i:-pet eky-a baj-ond i:-pet eky-a [4'15] bah-ond guɖu meŋj-ad a:ɖ-no ettry-a [4'18] ettry-a ani a:ɖ-no ɖoky-ar [4'20] ɖo:k-im ok-im a:n-ki ante a: peli-d a:ɖ-no a: maqe-n payde:try-a gaŋga-maji [4'26] gaŋga-maji payde:tr-ko ante ɖo:k-ner ok-ner ok-ner ante a:d awɖ-i de [4'30] a:h awɖ-ih de bogla qa:p-id a:ɖi-nihi a:ɖ-nihi qa:p-id ante a:h awɖ-ih de [4'36] e:k-a anake a:n-ih ani a: peli-d awɖ-i de [4'39] aɖe eŋg-a anake kakali nuŋjtr-i [4'42] kankɖar-ki=dene beh-i ik:ja:ti e:k-en e:n [4'44] eŋg-en oɖcond=ohɖi cic-a ondr-le ante eŋg-en as-le [4'48] kakali-n as-a biɖoɖe:tr-le ante e:k-let a:ny-a [4'52] a:ny-a ani ikote cic-a and-en e:n [4'54] i:-pade na: gaŋga-maji ok-i ta:nu ikote cic-a and-en a:n-ko [4'58] mala ka:l-a=du:re-hi a:n-ko [5'00] bah-onde-no e:try-a ako ani [5'02] ka:l-a a:ɖi cicu-d e:tr-i a:ɖ-bahak ka:l-a a:n-ko i:h eky-ah [5'06] nandu-hi bogla-qo:qe-k arg-keh eky-ah [5'08] a:ber ko:ɖ-ner a: maqu jarmay-ah a:h ko:ɖ-ih [5'11] agrte maqu-d ho ok-i ba:rgi-no [5'14] a:d ho ok-i ok-i ko:ɖ-i ante i:he bogla-qo:qe-k arg-keh eky-ah [5'19] arg-keh ek-keh ante cic-ik ek-keh ante cic-a pet-ah [5'23] a:hu salai-n=ohɖi indra=ohɖi qe:nd-keh bar-leh ano [5'26] cic-mundro peta-keh barc-ah [5'28] cicu mundro-n peta-keh ante bogla-qo:qe-k argy-ah

and heartlessly flew up in the sky and climbed on a tree.' And going and running, going and running, —[there is a bird] that has a long beak, right?' [It is] a paddy bird. It beats water with its legs like this, like this.—' It was looking for fish like this. It crossed forward and stayed in the river beating the water with its beak.' On the bank of the river, he went. He went and said, "Hey, would you please take me over this river?" "Oh my! I am just tired of hunger. Beating water and eating [fish], I live. What shall I do?" "Oh, come on! What do you eat?" "Give me a plateful of fish head." Thinking "Where shall I get it?" he was grieved, and sitting and sitting, he went to the fishermen's place.' He went, took a plateful of the Poti fish and gave it [to the bird]. When he took and gave [the fish to the bird], it got full eating it.' After it got full eating it, he said "Let's go," then it said "I will take [you]."' When he said "Let's go," it said "I will take [you]," took [him] and went.'

Going [on its back], they arrived where she was sitting.' Having arrived, it said, "You sit here, you sit here." The paddy bird made all three of them climb on its back.' Having made [them] climb on its back, it took them away.' Having climbed up in the sky, it took them away. Then the woman spoke.' There was one island. Then the woman said, "Hey, I have contractions. How shall I go? Take me down here." It said, "No, how can I take [you] down here?" She said, "No, just take [me] down." When she said this, there was an island.' Water was split and went to this side one way, to this side [one way]. There was one island. It took [them] down there.' It took [them] down and they stayed there.' Saying "We will stay here," that woman gave birth to that baby there, in the middle of the river.' She had delivery in the middle of the river. They stayed, and she said that.' He said, "The paddy bird is watching over you there." And he said, "Let's go now." Then that woman said, "Hey, my waist hurts now.' It feels as if it has become tight. How shall I go? Would you bring some small fire and warm me up? Would you warm up my waist, fix me up, and then shall we go?" She said this.' Then [he said,] "Where shall I get fire? This way, [this island] lies in the middle of that river. Then where shall I get fire?" "No, just go [and get fire]."' It seemed that there was [a fire] visible in one place.' "Go! There is a fire visible there. Go there." When she said this, he went.' He rode on the back of the paddy bird again and went.' They (i.e. the children) were lying [in the island]. The baby boy who was born was lying [there]. The elder boy was also sitting on her side.' She was also sitting. She was sitting and lying. And he climbed on the back of the paddy bird and went away.' Having climbed [on its back] and gone away, he went to the fire and took it up.' Would he come carrying a match or something? He took up an ember and came.' He took up an ember and climbed on the back of a paddy

[5'31] aneke brunj brunj brunj brunj a: boŋtry-a [5'34] cicu pakr-ki ante bogla pakra paktry-a [5'37] paktr-ko ante majte ganga-nihi uŋtry-a [5'40] bogla nandu eky-a peŋe-peŋe-peŋe-peŋe a:ny eky-a boŋg-a

[5'44] a:h nandu et-keh maji uŋtry-ah ani mi:nu-de ahe-ne nung-a ahe-n [5'50] mi:nu nung-a ani aneke a:hu mi:nu nung-ad ani a: ma:qondi-hi eky-ah gondye-h [5'58] ek-keh ante jalc-ah ta:nu ik-maqu nung-ad a: maq-a-hi jalc-ah [6'03] jalc-keh ante banda-keh otry-ah [6'05] banda-keh otr-keh ante aŋa-no ʈupla-t muc-keh oktry-ah-ka [6'10] ʈupla-t muc-keh oktry-ah ani i:h awd-ih de buŋi-d awd-i de [6'16] aŋe ina mi:nu ondr-ke e:nond bit-en [6'20] pay-ond bit-en male pay-is [6'21] a: ʈupla-no ok ok awd-ih de [6'23] pay-is bit-a=re beŋa ti:n pay bit-a=re beŋa a:n-ih [6'29] nandu aŋe ne: qa:w-id a:n-i [6'31] nandu ina mi:nu ondr-ke e:nond bit-en pa:y-is mala pa:y-ond [6'35] ti:n pay bit-a=re beŋa ne: qa:w-id a:ni [6'40] ante a:n-in-tatin a:n-keh ante ti:n pay bit-a [6'42] ti:n pay bita-kid-tatkid mi:n-a kind-a a:ny-a mi:n-a kind-a a:n-ko [6'48] i: buŋa-n awdy-a ni:n kind-a a:n-i [6'51] i:h buŋi-n awd-ih buŋa-h awd-ih ni:n kind-a a:ny-ah [6'54] a:n-ko ante i:he ni:n kind-a a:n-ko buŋi-d ek-kid ante [7'00] beŋi-n otr-keh ante kind-in a:n-i [7'02] beŋa sarpa-sarpe mo:c-ku puŋa-n a:ny-ah [7'05] ani i:de i:-peŋ puŋa-nihi se mo:c-ner mba mi:n-a [7'09] i:-peŋ puŋa-nihi sarpa-sarpe mo:cy-a ta:n i:h tu:s-keh urq-ah (tu:s-kar) tu:s-keh urq-ah ani aju: buŋa [7'16] nam-ki maqe-h barc-ah aŋe buŋa nam-ki maqe-h barc-ah a:ny apokar-i [7'19] ante ja:gu-n apokar-le mi:n-a nandu bit-a [7'22] mi:n-a nandu bit-ar ahe-n nandu apokar-le no:ŋ-ker-tatker mu:ŋj-ker-tatker ante isagn-a ma:nd-ker oktr-ner [7'28] ɖoky-ah maqe-h men-leh nde maqe-h men-leh nde buŋa-male-r [7'32] ante a:h ok-ih ok-ih a:ber nandu bit-ner od-ner apokar-le [7'39] ante bita-ker oda-ker ante ahe-n niŋtry-ar [7'41] niŋtry-ar a: bogla nandu eky-ad-hi nandu a:ŋ-no ɖo:k-i [7'45] anake to a:h to tam-ki maqe-h lehary-ah ɖo:k-ih

[7'49] ani i: ganga-no ok-u maqe-r maqu-d ho a: paydary-a maqu-d ho ce ce ce a:ny olg-id [7'57] a: mo:ŋo maqe-h ho olg-ih ja:g[u]-ki:ŋe-t [8'02] ti:n dini male ca:r dini meŋj-ad ano ki:ŋe-t-hi oky-ar [8'06] olg-i pa:ŋ-i olg-i pa:ŋ-i ok-ner [8'08] a: ɖa:ni-d ho olg-id indra kud-anid a:d [8'11] indra andaki lap-ani ki:ŋe-t olg olg ok-i [8'15] ki:ŋe-t olg olg ok-i ti:n ma:q ca:r ma:q meŋj-ad ako ano [8'19] ok-im ɖo:k-im a:n-ko ante a:ber oky-ar ɖoky-ar [8'22] indra kud-et a:n-naq-ar [8'24] ante i: ganga indro na:wi-a:we-h jahj-a:we-h biŋe-n biŋe-n biŋe-n qend kud-ner baru

bird.' Now it took off [saying] "Brunj, brunj.'" The fire blazed up and lit up the paddy bird's wing.' After [the fire] lit up [the wing], [the paddy bird] went down in the middle of the river.' The paddy bird went [up] again. Saying 'Tepe, Tepe,' it went, it flew away.'

He went down again and went down in the middle [of the river]. Then a fish swallowed him.' A fish swallowed [him]. Now, in the morning when the fish swallowed him, a fisherman went.' He went and cast a net. Then he caught that one which swallowed [the man].' Having caught and pulled [it from the net], he took it out.' After he pulled and took out [the fish], he put it at home keeping it in a small basket.' He put it keeping it in a small basket. Then he said, well, the old wife said, ' "Darling, you brought a fish today. How much [rice] shall I cook?' Shall I cook one *pai* or two *pai* of [rice]?"' He said sitting in that basket.' He said, "Please cook two *pai*, grandma. Please cook three *pai*, grandma.'" She said, "Now who is talking?"' [She said] again, "You brought fish today. How much shall I cook, two *pai* or one *pai*?"' [He said,] "Please cook three *pai*, grandma." She said, "Who is talking?"' Thinking this and that, [he said again] "Cook three *pai*.'" He said, "Cook three *pai* of rice and cut the fish. Cut the fish.'" She said to this old man, "You cut it.'" The old man said to the old woman, "You cut it.'" He said to her "You cut it." Then the old woman went, and' took out a knife and said, "I will cut [then].'" He said, "Grandmother, cut the entrails slowly.'" Then she, no, they cut fish this way from the belly, don't they?' She cut it from the belly slowly. He came out throwing the fish. Then [the woman said] "Goodness, darling!"' She became happy, saying "Our son has come. Say, darling, our son has come.'" Having become happy, she cooked rice and fish.' They cooked fish again. Having become happy with him, they washed him, bathed him, applied oil [on his body] and made him sit.' He lived [there]. They had no son, right? The old couple had no son.' He was sitting. They cooked and baked, feeling happy.' Having cooked and baked, they fed him.' They fed [him]. That paddy bird went again and was staying there again.' Now he has become their son. He was staying. '

Then those children sitting in the river, the child who was born, cried "Che, che, che.'" That elder boy was also crying out of hunger.' It has become three or four days. They were sitting feeling hungry.' They were sitting crying and weeping.' That wife was also crying. What could she do? What will she eat [if he is away] that way? She was sitting crying and crying out of hunger.' She was sitting crying and crying out of hunger. It seems to have become three or four nights.' Sitting and staying, they were sitting, staying.' They said to each other "What shall we do?"' Then [in] this river, boatmen and sailors walked around carrying [boats] from bank to bank, right?'

[8'33] a: jahj-a:we-h ino maqe-r olg-ner qa:gas-le hē: hē: a:ny olg-a dō:k-ner  
 [8'39] i:berē na:wi-t oy-ner ta:nu iktō maqe-r olg-na:nd-ner a:n-ih na:wi-  
 a:we-h [8'43] maqe-r iktō olg-na:nd-ner a:n-ih [8'47] ante a:n-in-tatin a:n-  
 keh ante hū oy-en a:n-keh ante [8'50] na:wi-a:we-h a:t-bahak bi:ṛa:try-ah  
 [8'53] oc bi:ṛa:try-ah oc bi:ṛa:tr-ko ante a: maqe-r olg olg ko:d-ner ort maqe-  
 h ko:d-ih [8'59] a: ok-u maqe-h-o toho-ki gandj-no i:n-keh dē:war-keh ko:d-  
 ih [9'03] ki:ṛe-t takary-ar to anake ko:d-ih [9'05] anake i: na:wi-a:weh oca-  
 keh ante e:k-a niŋg-en na:wi-k argtr-en a:n-ih [9'11] mala e:ne i:t-nihi key-  
 in ta:nu key-en e:ne arg-olaken a: peli-d awd-i [9'18] i:t-nihi key-in ta:nu  
 key-em goṭe-mi-hi de arg-olaken a:n-i [9'21] mala e:k-a argtr-en niŋg-en  
 argtr-en=du:re-hi a:ny a:n-ih [9'24] aca argtr-ne ta:nu i: maqe-r=indru goṭe-  
 n argtr-a [9'28] mala maqe-r-in argtr-olaken niŋg-en=du:re argtr-en [9'31]  
 e:t amb-in ande e:n e:k-olaken e:k-olaken a:ny-a [9'35] mala maqe-r=indru  
 argtr-ne ta:nu e:k-en a:n-ko [9'39] amb-in niŋg-en=dru argtr-en a:ny-ah  
 [9'41] amb-in e:k-olaken anno-goṭe-hi jo:rjabri-hi indake banda-keh jahje-k  
 argtry-ah [9'47] jahje-k argtry-ah ante muc-uṭ-keh ante boŋctry-ah jahje-n  
 jahje-n boŋctry-ah

[9'52] a: maqe-r kundy-a a: maqu aro ok-i a: maqu a:t-ni sara-sara ma:q-  
 a olg-ner se olg-ner olg-ner se olg-ner gaŋga-maji [10'01] gaŋga-maji olg-ner  
 dō:k-ner olg-ner dō:k-ner indru na:ber-in ho gosāyi saga becca-a [10'06] maq-  
 ond mi:nu male maq-ond janware male indru-goṭe peta-kid aṭkr-la [10'10]  
 a:ber a:n-ker olg-ner ko:d-ner ok-ner ani maq-ond o:yu ceŋcgy-ad a:d [10'17]  
 adi-ne mahra-he a:t-bahak dine-game gaŋga-biṭe-k oc-ah [10'20] dine-game  
 gaŋga-biṭe-k oc-ah ani maq-ond o:yu-de a: maqe-r olg-ar adi-n meŋja-kid  
 ante eky-ad [10'26] iktō maqe-r olg-ner a:n-le e:ry-ad [10'29] e:r-kid ante  
 sidahro gaŋga majte gaŋga-no maqe-r olg-ar ani i:de [10'33] a: mahra-he in-  
 dru ga:si-n qot(ḍ) dōky-ah lohri-ḍaḍe mali-ḍaḍe mba [10'39] ga:si-n qot(ḍ)  
 dōky-ah anonde-nihi o:yu puc qerq-qi korc-a [10'43] puc qerq-qi korc-kid  
 ante a:ber-ki maji ija-ki indaki ija-ki ante du:de-n cirr-cirr-tr-le tey-a a: toro-  
 no [10'52] toro-no du:de-n cirr-cirr-tr-le cir-tit-le tey-a ani onḍ onḍ uṛc-ke[r]  
 ante [10'56] a:ber aslu kody-ar anond amby-ar anond ond-a [10'58] e:nond  
 olg-ar anond ond-a ante olg-lar [11'03] anonde-nihi anake uṛc-ar a:n-ker ante  
 puc qerq-qid urq-a [11'06] puc qerq-qid ante urq-qid ante biṭe-no carar dō:k-  
 i [11'08] biṭe-no carar dō:k-id ani i: mahra-he andā-keh ante [11'14] anake  
 iktē eky-a am onḍa-ki bar-id iktē ek-kid ante bar-id a:n-keh ante [11'18]  
 mahra-h ga:si ante o:y-a indro qend-keh kirtr-ih [11'22] kirtr-keh-tatkeh  
 ante i:he indra kud-eh de kirtr-keh ante du:de-n no:ṛ-ih [11'29] balṭi-no am-  
 a=indru otr-keh-tatkeh ante du:de=indru no:ṛ-ih-tatih

That boatman [saw] that the boys were crying there choking. They were crying "Hee, hee." When they were going carrying their boat, [one] said, "Where do boys seem to be crying? Where do boys seem to be crying?" Saying this and that, [the boatman said] "Well, I'll take you." The boatman brought [the boat] over there. He came there and brought [the boat over]. The boys were lying [there] weeping. One boy was lying [there]. The boy who was sitting also lay [there], being held on his mother's body. Now that they were weary with hunger, he was lying. Now this boatman came and said, "Let's go! I will put you on the boat." The woman said, "No, if I die here, I will die. I will not get on [your boat]." She said, "If I die here, we will all die. I will still not get on [your boat]." He said, "No, let's go. I will put you on [my boat]. I will put you on by all means." "Okay, if you put me on [your boat], put the children and everything on, too." "No, I will not put the children on. I will just put you on." She said, "Well, then I will not go. I will not go." She said, "No, if you put the children on, then I will go." He said, "No, I will just put you on." "No, I will not go." Still, he dragged her like this by force and put her on his boat. He put her on his boat, covered and shut her up, and started the boat. He started the boat.

The children, the one who was born and the one who was sitting, they cried and cried all night there, in the middle of the river. They were crying and staying there. The god was with them. Nothing, fish, animal or whatever, took and swallowed them. Doing so, they cried, lay, and sat. Then a cow had mercy [on them]. The cowherd took them (the cattle) there, to the bank of the river, every day. Every day he took them to the bank of the river. Then a cow heard them crying and went [there]. Thinking "Where are children crying?" it looked. It looked, and indeed, children were crying in the middle of the river. That cowherd was cutting some grass, [there was] a bush of Arhar or something. He was cutting grass. Meanwhile, a cow entered [the river] from its tail. After entering [the river] and standing in the middle of them this way, it spilled milk into the[ir] mouth. It spilled milk in [their] mouth. Drinking and drinking, they got full, and they lay still. At that point they stopped [drinking]. It gave them so much milk. It gave them as much milk as they were crying for, and they did not cry [any more]. Now they are so full. Then it [entered the river] from its tail and got out [of the island]. It [entered the river] from its tail, got out and was grazing at the bank. It was grazing at the bank. Then this cowherd found it, and saying "Now where has it gone? Was it drinking water and came back? Where did it go away to and come back from?" The cowherd carried the grass and the cattle and brought them back. After bringing them back and so on, what did he do? He brought them back and washed the udders. Having brought

[11'33] no:ʔ-keh-tatkeh ante du:de-n pi:q-ih [11'36] ta:nu du:de curg-ola  
 [11'38] du:de mala-d anond-paha tund ongy-a ta:n ikkin du:de beh-ani  
 [11'42] du:de mala-d ani i:he awd-ih de i: o:yu-d indra kudy-a du:de-n  
 [11'47] inond dini=paha das pai ba:rah pai men-i ta:n ina ikni-m du:de mala  
 [11'53] pa:y-ond=goʔe urq-ola [11'54] a:n-keh ante bawnar-keh ok-ih i:n-  
 keh [11'56] ayu i:de du:de-n indra kudy-ade [11'58] a:n-keh ante bawnar-  
 keh ok-kin-tatin a:n-keh ante [12'01] tang-a lap-oti=goʔe du:de curg-ola  
 [12'04] ani i:he nandu-hi bawnar-kehi ko:d-ih ok-ih ko:d-ih ok-ih

[12'08] ante nandu ina kol-en e:n kajak niʔg-tr-en a:ny-ah [12'13] ga:si-  
 n oc-ahi nayi-k=du:re kila:-try-ah [12'15] nayi-k=du:re cic-ah uʔc-kid urq-a  
 [12'17] nandu eky-ah nandu a: ganga-biʔe-k oca-keh ante nandu cala:tr-ih  
 ʔo:k-ih [12'22] nandu ide a:ber olg-ar adi-n mepj-a aro puc qerq-qi korc-  
 a [12'27] puc qerq-qi korc-kid ante nandu cir-cir-tre tey-i du:de-n a:ber-ki  
 toro-no [12'31] cir-cir-tr-le tey-in-tatin a:n-kid ante uʔdy-a [12'34] uʔd-kid  
 ante nandu boŋc urq-a [12'35] urq-qi ante nandu biʔe-no ʔo:k-i [12'37]  
 nandu i:he ina e:r-en mba cewru indra kudy-ade ina nandu e:r-en [12'42]  
 a:n-keh ante nandu i:he nandu balʔi-no am-a indru otr-keh ante no:ʔ-ih  
 [12'47] no:ʔ-keh-tatkeh ante nandu pi:q-e:r-ih [12'49] ta:nu nandu du:de  
 mala [12'58] du:de nandu mala-d ani awd-ih de i: o:yu indr-indra kud-i  
 du:de-n de eng-a qaq-tr-ola [12'57] eng-en ond-ola eng-en piʔ-ani i: o:yu  
 [13'00] de i: o:y-a e:n e:r-en [13'02] a:n-keh ante niʔg-tr-in-tatin bawnar-  
 keh ok-in-tatin a:n-keh ante nandu oc-ah [13'07] e:k-en aca ina e:r(y)-en e:n  
 a:n-keh ante i:he oca-keh ante ganga-biʔe-no ʔo:k-try-ah [13'14] i:h nandu  
 man-ik arg-ki oky-ah e:r-en e:n adi-k a:n-le [13'17] man-ik arg-keh oky-  
 ah i: o:yu-d eky-a [13'19] ano aʔa-no=pahã ikni du:de curg-ola ano uʔd-  
 keh ondry-ah mba [13'22] uʔd-keh ondry-ah ani i:(m) o:yu nandu-hi eky-a  
 [13'25] ek-kid ante nandu i:d carar-ola indru kud-olade nandu ke:ponti puc  
 qerg-a [13'31] puc qerg-ni ante nandu cir-cir-le ond-a [13'34] cir-cir-tr-le  
 ond-in-tatin a:n-ko ante onda-ki-tatki ante urq-ad [13'38] ano ond-ad ano  
 i:h e:ry-ah man-ente ok ok [13'40] man-ente ok ok e:r-keh ante o: i:d i:ʔ-  
 bahak ek ek se eng-a du:de-n qaqtr-ola [13'46] a:n-keh ante urq-qeh ante i:  
 o:yu-d urq-a a:hu o:yu-bahak aʔs-keh ante [13'51] are ni:n ne:ka oc oc bar-ni  
 nde dine-game eng-a du:de-n qaqtr-olaki [13'56] jaldi oca-ki e:ʔ a:n-keh ante  
 mergr-keh bicry-ah dap-ond [13'59] ʔuʔng-tr-keh bicry-ah ani ʔuʔng-tr-keh  
 bicry-ah aru qoli-n darc-ki eky-ah ani

water and so on in a bucket, he washed the udders and so on.' After washing [the udders] and so on, he milked the cow.' Then milk does not ooze out.' There is no milk. It stopped spilling just after that much. What is going on with the milk?' There is no milk, and he said, "What did this cow do with the milk?' For so many days it gives ten *pai* or twelve *pai* of [milk]. Then why is there no milk today?' Not even one *pai* of [milk] comes out.'" Saying this, he was sitting this way, getting worried.' "My goodness! What did it do with the milk?"' Saying this, he was worried and was sitting.' Milk does not come out even for his own consumption.' Then he got worried and lay and sat [thinking].'

Then he said, "I will open the cowshed today again, and I will let it graze a lot.'" He took grass and fed it just to that [cow]. He fed it just to that [cow]. It got full and went out.' He went again. He took it to that bank of the river again, grazed and stayed.' It again heard them cry. It again entered [the river] from the tail.' Having entered the river from the tail, it spilled milk into their mouths again.' While spilling milk [in the children's mouths], it made them full.' Having made them full, it ran away and went out.' Having gone out [of the island], it stayed on the bank again.' He again [said] "I will see today, what it did yesterday. Today I will see again.'" Saying this, he brought water in a bucket again and washed [the udders]. Having washed [the udders], he tried to milk [the cow]. Then there was no milk again.' There was no milk again, and he said, "What is this cow doing? It does not let me get milk.' It does not let me drink [it]. This cow is killing me.' I will see this cow.'" Thinking so, he fed it and so on, got worried and sat, and again took it out.' Saying "I will go. Today I will see," he took it and let it stay at the bank of the river.' He climbed up a tree and sat [there] in order to see.' He climbed up a tree and sat [there]. This cow has gone away.' Milk does not come out even at home. So he fed it full and brought it, didn't he?' After making it full, he brought it. Then this cow went away again.' It went and did not graze or do anything. It [goes into the river] from the tail again at once.' Having [entered the river] from the tail, it spilled [milk] and fed [the children]. Spilling [milk] and feeding [the children], it fed [the children] and went out.' He was seeing from the tree that it fed [the children] there, sitting [on top of it]. Seeing from the tree sitting [on top of it, he thought] "Oh, it goes there and [so] does not give me milk.'" He thought so and came down [from the tree]. Then this cow came out. He arrived at the cow and "Hey, whose place do you stop by and come back? You don't give me milk every day.' Come back quickly, hey you!" Saying this, he furiously gave it a blow once.' He gave it [a blow] making a big sound. He gave it [a blow] making a big sound, caught it by the tail and went.'

[14'03] ke:ponti naʔ-naʔ-tr-le oc-ad ahe-bajo maqe-r-bahak [14'07] oca-kid ante i:di a:n-kid e:d-a [14'09] ani a:hu a:ber-ine a: indro mo:ʔo maqe-n nandu i:ʔ-no qasr-no argtry-ah [14'16] a: qo:ro maqa nandu i:ʔ-no i:ny-ah [14'19] a:h ʔeʔy-ond-ete a: dap-ond bajy-ah aru ʔeʔy-ond-et indake qoli-n darc-ah [14'23] qoli-n darc-ko ani urc-kid urc-kid otry-a [14'26] urc-kid urc-kid otry-ad ani a: otr-k(e)[i]-tatko ante i:he a:-maq o:y-eti-hi a: irw maqe-r-in po:sc-ah m [14'35] a:ber-in e:r-a to nanond gosāyi menj-a-kide ba:cetry-a [14'40] ani po:sc-ko to a:ber po:sc-ar a:ber ʔoky-ar

[14'43] ani anonde-nihi i: mi:n-puʔa-no ok-uh-ō ante bijoʔa:ry-ah [14'49] ante anonde-nihi dosra jila-ki ra:ja ra:ja-h awdy-ah de [14'55] eŋ-ki eŋ.gadi-k biha men-tr-en [14'58] ne:reh pasina:r ne:ken pasina:r-anid ati-d ahe-ki pu:n-a pund-anid [15'02] ahe-n eŋ-ki ra:ji-n qa:ʔ-ken ciy-en dana-n qa:ʔ-ken ciy-en [15'06] dana-daulate rupa-candi sona rupa-n qa:ʔ-ken ciy-en ante eŋ-ki ra:ja-n ciy-en a:ny-ah [15'13] eŋ-ki ra:ja-n ciy-en a:n-keh ante dunya-n ʔa:katry-ah [15'16] dunya-n ʔa:katr-ko a:he ʔoky-ah oky-ah [15'20] ante a: i: dine jamar-er a:n-ko [15'24] na: maqe-ne na: mi:n-puʔa-no oky-ah ahe-n amty-a[r] no:ʔy-a[r] [15'27] na:h to maqe-h men-leh nde ahe to guti-isab ʔo:k-try-ar aber taŋ-ki maq nany-ar [15'32] ʔoky-ah ante i: o:yu-d oc-ad a:ho a:ber ho ʔoky-ar [15'38] a:ber ho beʔo:ʔa:ry-ar iskule-k tey-ar [15'40] iskule-k teya-ko paʔy-ner ʔo:k-ner [15'42] ante i: peli-de awdy-ade eŋg-en argtr-ne=naḥā [15'46] eŋg-en argtr-le=naḥā de eŋg-en ba:ra baceri eŋg-en nu:t-omku a:ny-a m [15'54] gaʔi-k argtr pahra-no eŋg-en argtr-ne=naḥā de eŋg-en ba:ra baceri eŋg-en nu:t-omaku [15'59] eŋg-en nu:t-omku-hi aro naq-omku a:ny-a ani [16'02] adi-n maʔ-e ta:nu e:k-en a:n-ko argtr-keh boŋctry-ah [16'05] ante argtr-ko boŋctr-ko ante nadi-n na:n-kid ante ahe-n a: peli-n piŋjʔa-n gaʔc-ah [16'12] siripe ja:gu-n ciy-oti=du:re embe-n tise-n ciy-oti=du:re tu:tro-n ogy-ah ino:pame tu:tro-n [16'18] ade-t cic cic oktry-ah [16'19] a:d ba:ra bacari oky-ad oky-ad ano-hi jahje-nihi [16'24] ante ba:ra baceri jumary-ad anonde-no i: maqe-r ho jumar-e:k-id ani maqe-r ho paḍr-e:k-ner paʔc-ar [16'32] ante pahḍr-e:k-ner anonde-nihi ra:ja-he eŋ-ki eŋ.gadi-n biha nan-en a:n-ko maŋga:try-ah [16'39] ani dunya-male-r jamary-ar dunya-male-r jamary-ar [16'43] adi-ne e:ne pasinar-olaken de ati-d ika pasinar-anid adi-n-ih i adi-n-ihin pasina:r-en a:n-keh ante [16'52] a: peli-d indakide du:de-n ar pu:n-a ci:ni baseta-n ta:ri-no indaki otry-a [16'59] indaki otr-kid ante o: ati-gosāyi ni:n eŋg-en pasinar-ki qaʔ-ani a:n-ki sumbrar-kid

Writhing and crawling, the cow took him to their place, to the children's place at once.' Having arrived, it said "Here," and showed [the children to him]. ' Then he put them, the elder boy, on here, on his shoulder.' He [held] the baby boy here, like this.' He slapped [the cow] once with one hand, and caught its tail with the other hand this way.' When he held it by the tail, it dragged forward and took [them] out [of the island]. ' After it dragged and took [them] out, after it took [them] out and so on, he raised those two children with that cow.' Look at them. God hear [of us] and save [us] so much.' Then he raised [them] and they raised, I mean, they lived.'

Then he who was sitting in the belly of a fish for so long, he also had come back to his senses.' Then at that time, a king of another district said, ' "I will arrange marriage for my daughter.' He who an elephant likes and on whose [neck] it puts a garland, ' to him I will divide my kingdom and give it. I will divide my provisions and give [them to him]. ' I will divide provisions and riches, silver, gold and silver and give [them to him], and I will give my kingdom." He said this.' Saying "I will give my kingdom," he announced it to the world.' Having announced it to the world, he carried on living.' And when [they] said [candidates] would get together on this day,' they (i.e. the old couple) bathed and washed the boy who was sitting in the belly of a fish.' Is he a son? They made him live [with them] like a servant. They made him their own son.' He was living. And those [children] who the cow took were also living.' They also have grown up. They sent them to school.' After they sent them to school, they read and lived.' And this woman said, "You just put me on [your boat]. ' You may put me on [your boat, but] do not touch me for twelve years." She said this.' "When you put me on the boat, [I said] 'You put me on [your boat]. Do not touch me for twelve years.'" Do not touch me, and do not talk to me." She said this.' "If you are happy with it, then I will come [with you]."

When she said this, he put [her] on [his boat] and took [her] away.' Then after putting [her] on [his boat] and taking [her] away, having done so, he made a cage for that woman.' Just for giving food, for giving sweet and sour things, he had a hole, a hole this big.' He kept her, giving [food] with that.' She was sitting there for twelve years. She was sitting right there, in the boat.' Then it got close to twelve years. During that time, [the time] was getting full [for] these boys too, and they also kept growing up. They went to school.' And while they were growing up, the king ordered to arrange a wedding for his daughter.' Men of the world got together. Men of the world got together.' He said, "[Even if] I don't like him, I will like the one who the elephant likes." Then that woman took out milk, garland, sugar, sugar-cake, this way on a metal plate.' Taking [them] out that way, she prayed, "O, elephant-god, please do me a favor and give

ante [17'04] indaki ij-ad ani ati-de sunḍe-ti indaki peta-kid ante cary-i gurar-i cary-i gurar-i na:n-kid ante [17'10] i: mi:n-puṛa-no ok-u-h-ō eky-ah mba ahe-ki qasr-nihi pund-a [17'16] dunya-male-r jamar-y-ar ano goṭe-r-in amb-kid ante a: mi:n-puṛa-no oky-ah ahe-ki qasr-no pund-a [17'22] ani ṭi:ke de ika pund-a indro ati-gosāyi pasina:ry-ad a:di-hi men-a:nded a:n-keh ante biha-sa:di nany-ah [17'32] biha-sa:di nan-ker ante i:h ḍo:k-ih ok-ih ḍo:k-ih ḍo:k-ih a:n-keh ante a: biha-sa:di-n nan-ko [17'38] i:he dana-n daulate-n qa:ṭ-keh cic-ah [17'41] ante ra:ji-n qa:ṭ-keh cic-ah ante taṇ-ki no:kri-n cic-ah [17'47] ani i:h awḍ-ih de i: mi:n-puṛa-no ok-u-h awḍ-ih de [17'53] eṅg-en anake agdu eṅg-abo-ga:re-h ra:ja-h meṇj-ah [17'57] ra:ja-h meṇj-ah anake e:ne eṅg-ene i: ra:ja-taṇ-gadi-n sopc-ar ani anake e:ne [18'04] e:ne eṅg-a qat-y-a[r] a:ny-ah [18'08] dunya-male-r jamar-y-ar ani ahe-k sopc-ar ra:ja-h [18'11] dunya-male-r jamar-ko ahe-n ra:ja-h sop-sopc-ah [18'14] sopc-ko ante ḍo:k-im ok-im a:n-ker ante i:ber i: ra:ja-h awḍy-ah i: mi:n-puṛa-no ok-u-h awḍy-ah de [18'21] aca ṭi:ke eṅg-a to ra:ja-he taṇ-ki no:kri-n eṅg-a sopc-ah de [18'27] e:nond-ako anake kurk-ner paṭy-ner a:ber goṭe-ri jamar-a:nder [18'32] e:n no:kri-n ciy-en dosra se [18'35] agṛte no:kri-n cic-ah cic-ah ade-n awri-hi dosra se maqe-r kurk-u-r paṭy-u-r goṭe-ri jamar-a:nder [18'40] e:n no:kri-n ciy-en a:ny-ah no:kri-n baṭy-en a:n-ko [18'44] *alka-alka* maqe-r qo:q-baje paṭy-u maqe-r goṭe-ri jamar-y-ar [18'49] goṭe-ri jamar-ko i:h awḍ-ih de i: mi:n-puṛa-no ok-u-h awḍ-ih de [18'52] ning-a i: no:kri men-ani i: no:kri men-ani saabe men-ane ra:ja men-ane mala maṣṭara men-ane [18'59] ante indra-indra-hi i: okile-n ikpade-n a: no:kri cica-keh ba:ṭc-ah [19'05] ba:ṭc-ko ba:ṭc-ah anonde-nihi i:ber i: o:y-du:de-n onḍ-ḍo:k-u maqe-r-in qo:q-baje oc-ar *la:sṭe*-no [19'13] *la:sṭe*-no oca-ker ante aṛe ra:ja na:t-no no:kri-n bily-ih pune-ra:ja-h a:n-ko se ondr-in [19'19] i:ber-ik indr-indru beh-i male mala a:n-ko [19'21] ayu: koni-la:go ondr-le [19'24] koni-la:go ondr-le anake (r)a: no:kri-n to bilc oṅg-ken [19'27] bilc oṅg-ken a:ny-ah ani [19'30] i:h awḍ-ih de aca to:ṛa coṭa-mo:ṭa-n=ohṭi no:kri-n qat-a a:n-ko [19'36] aca so:cy-in bujar-in a:n-keh ante aca ṭi:ke-d [19'39] e:ne anake ra:ja-n eṅg-a *jima*: nany-ah ani eṇ-ki abo-ga:re ra:ja-n *jima*: nany-ah ani [19'46] maqe-r-ik e:ne eṇ-ki pa:we-ti no:kri-n bilc qop-ken [19'49] de i:ber e:n anake lap-tr-en a: pahra-no e:n lap-tr-en niṭṭr-en a: pahra-no i: maqe-re jahj-a:we-n ondr-er [19'58] a: pahra-ni jahje-n qa:p-er a:ny-ah a: maqe-r

me [a husband].” The elephant stood this way, taking [the garland] up with its trunk this way, walked around and around. ‘ Then this man who was in the belly of a fish also went [there], didn’t he? [The elephant] put [the garland] on his neck. ‘ Men of the world got together. There, leaving everyone else behind, it put [the garland] on the neck of him who was sitting in the belly of a fish. ‘ Then [the king] said, “Okay, whoever the elephant god liked and put [the garland] on, let that be,” and held the wedding. ‘ After they held the wedding, he carried on living, and after doing the wedding’ he (i.e. the king) divided provisions and riches and gave [them to him]. ‘ And he divided the kingdom and gave it [to him]. He gave [him] his own post. ‘

Then he, the man who was in the belly of a fish, said, ‘ “Formerly, my father-in-law was the king. ‘ [He] was a king. Now they have entrusted this princess to me and now’ they gave [her] to me.” He said this. ‘ Men of the world got together, and the king entrusted [her] to him. ‘ Men of the world got together and the king entrusted [her] to him. ‘ After [the king] entrusted [the princess], they lived, and they, the new king, said, the man who was in the belly of a fish said, ‘ “Okay, the king entrusted his own post to me. ‘ Everyone who reads and writes, however [little] it may be, should all come. ‘ I will give jobs in addition [to the current ones]. ‘ The former jobs [the previous king] gave, they were given [and secure]. Again, [this is] different. All boys, those who read and write, should all get together. ‘ I will give [you] jobs. I will distribute jobs [to you].” He said this. ‘ Small boys and boys who are lagging behind, they all got together. ‘ When everyone got together, this man who was in the belly of a fish said. ‘ “This job will be for you. This job will be [for you]. You shall be a *sahab*, you shall be a *raja*, or you shall be a teacher.” ‘ Lawyer and whatever else, he distributed and gave those jobs. ‘ Having distributed [the jobs], while he was distributing [jobs], they took them forward, the boys who lived drinking cow’s milk, from the end, as the last [interviewees]. ‘ When they took [them] forward as the last [interviewees, they said,] “Your Majesty, they said ‘The new king is distributing jobs’ so I brought [myself] here.” ‘ When he said, “What and what are there [still left] for them, or not?’ Good heavens! You should have brought [yourself here] a little earlier. ‘ You should have brought [yourself here] a little earlier. Now I have finished distributing jobs. ‘ I have finished distributing [jobs].” He said this. ‘ He said, “Okay, then give me some odd job, big job or anything.” ‘ He said, “Well, I will think and figure it out,” and then [said], “Okay, fine, ‘ I am now a king. He entrusted [it] to me. My father-in-law entrusted the kingship [to me]. ‘ I distributed and gave jobs in my way to the boys. ‘ Now, when I feed them, when I feed them and give them food, these boys will bring boatmen along. ‘ Those boys will watch [the boatmen’s] boats

[20'01] i: maqe-r jahje-n qa:p-er a:ny-ah [20'03] a:n-ko ante adi-n no:kri-n to qaq-ar a:ber [20'06] ta:n ra:ja-h to tambako tambako a: i: maqe-r nandu no:kri-n qaq-uwr-i jahje-n qa:p-u-r

[20'15] ante awdy-ah de anake no:kri-n cica-ken de anake e:n dunya-male-r jamar-ar e:n lap-tr-en niŋg-tr-en [20'24] eŋ-ki indro no:kri-ki isa:be-n e: dunya-r-in e:n da:n nan-en dunya-male-r lap-oti mo:q-oti [20'32] ne:d kis-a mo:q-ani kis-a ciy-en e:ŋe-n mo:q-ani e:ŋe-n ciy-en o:y-a mo:q-ani o:y-a ciy-en [20'37] jila:bi-n-cot-u-r-ik jila:bi-n-rasigula-cot-u-r-ik rasigula-n [20'40] ante iki-pade bundya ro:ti cot-u-r-in adi-ni-hi orye:tr-en a:ny-ah [20'45] dunya-male-r jamar-a:nder a:n-keh ante dōle-n dīga-n baja-try-ar [20'49] anake se ciŋi-d e:k-id a: pahra-no dīga-n baja:-try-ar dōle-n [20'52] dōle-n baja-try-ar adi-n se ciŋi-d a:ny-ar [20'56] anake a:ŋe-n kurk-kah kurk-kah tey-ih ciŋi-d a:n-le [20'58] agdu dīga-n baja:-try-ar dōle-n a:t-ta:ŋe baja:-try-ar a: pahr-te meŋj-a [21'03] ani dunya jamary-ad dunya jamary-ad ano i: dunya jamary-ad ano i: jahj-a:we-h e:k-olah [21'14] jahj-a:we-h e:k-olah aka lap-oti mo:q-oti mba [21'16] na: dine jamary-ar a:n-ko dunya jamary-ar ani jamar-ko-tatko ante i: jahj-a:we-h e:k-olah

[21'23] aŋe jahj-a:we-h bar-a a:ny-a[r] [21'25] mala e:n indrik e:k-en [21'27] a: peli-n qađa-keh oktr-ih mba [21'30] idi-ne e:k-en amb-ken e:k-en ante idi-n ne:reh boŋg-tr-eh male urq-qi boŋg-anid [21'34] a:ny so:c-le i:he jahj-a:we-h e:k-olah jahje-ni urq-olah [21'39] ani aŋe ning-a qa:p-u-r dō:k-ner bar-a a:n-no [21'43] mala eŋg-a jahje-nihi embe-tise-d ok-i e:k-olaken a:n-ih jahj-a:we-h [21'47] jahj-a:we-h awd-ih ante nandu ek-ker awd-ner no:kryo-r [21'51] aŋe e:k-a=du:re niŋg-a indra lap-a:ne mo:q-a:ne e:n ciy-en a:n-ih a:n-no [21'56] mala eŋg-a embe-tise-d a: jahje-nihi beh-id e:k-olaken a:n-ih [21'59] a: nandu ek-ker awd-ner aŋe ra:ja na: jahj-a:we-h awd-ih de eŋg-a ađa-nihi jahje-ni embe-tise-d ok-id ani e:k-olaken a:n-ih a:n-ko [22'07] na:h indre male-h jaldi nahe-n ondr-oka a:n-ih [22'10] jaldi nahe-n ondr-o:ka a:n-ko nandu eky-ar [22'13] aŋe e:k-a=du:re niŋg-en awd-ih ra:ja-h ate e:ŋ-la:nid ani [22'17] a:n-ko i:he awdy-ah de aca e:k-en to e:k-en [22'19] de eŋ-ki sama:ne-d i:ti-no qal-uwr-i ta:nu doŋti qat-ih ta:nu e:k-en [22'24] kal-a adi-n teŋg-oka ra:ja-n a:n-ko [22'26] i: no:kryo-r ek-ker ante ra:ja na: jahj-a:we-h awd-ih de eŋ-ki sama:ne-d i:ti-no qal-uwr-i ta:nu e:n doŋti oy-en a:n-ih [22'33] adi-ne mu:j-ne ta:nu e:k-en a:n-ih a:n-ko

at that time.' These boys will watch the boats." He said this.' He said this, and they got it, the job. ' The king is their father. As watch of boats, these boys got a job.'

Then he (i.e. the new king) said, "Now I gave jobs out, and I will feed and give food to the men of the world who got together.' To share [the wealth] of my [new] position, I will give the world's people a gift, so that people in the world can eat.' [To] him who eats a pig, I will give a pig. [If one] eats a goat, I will give a goat. [If one] eats a cow, I will give a cow.' [I will give] *jalebi* to those who eat *jalebi*, *rasgulla* to those who eat *rasgulla*.' And those who eat any [food], *bundya* or bread, I will provide [them] with it." He said this.' He made [his men] beat longdrums and Diga drums with the notice, "May the people of the world get together.'" Now letters go around. At that time, they beat longdrums and Diga drums.' They beat a drum. They announced it, the decree.' Now [the government] writes and sends out letters.' In olden times, they used to beat Diga drums. They beat longdrums in each market. It was of that time.' Then the whole world got together. The whole world got together. When this whole world got together, [only] this boatman did not go.' The boatman did not go, see? For the feast, okay?' On that day, they got together, the whole world got together. When they got together, [only] this boatman did not go.'

"Hey, boatman, come!" They said this.' "No! Why should I come?"' He had stolen that woman and kept her, didn't he?' "[If] I go and leave her, someone would take her away. Or she might get out and run away.'" Thinking so, he, the boatman, did not come, [staying] in the boat. He did not go out.' Then, "Come on, there are people who watch [the boat] for you. Come!" When they said this,' the boatman said, "No. I have sweet and sour food in the boat. I will not come.'" The boatman said [this]. Then again, the king's men went and said [to the king]. ' [The king] said, "Hey, just come! I will give you what you eat." When he said this,' he [still] said, "No, I have sweet and sour [food] in that boat. I will not come.'" They went and said again, "Your Majesty, that boatman says that 'I have sweet and sour [food] in [my] house, in [my] boat, and I am not going to come.' " When they said this,' he said, "What kind of man is he? Bring him quickly.'" When [the king] said, "Bring him quickly," they went again.' "Hey, just come! His Majesty said this to you. If you don't, it will not be good.'" When they said this, he said, "Okay, if I [have to] come, I will come.' If he gives me twice as much when my possession is stolen here, then I will come.' Go and tell it to the king." When he said this,' these servants went and said [to the king], "Your Majesty, that boatman says, 'If my possession is stolen here, I will take twice as much'." He said, 'If you will liquidate it, I will come'." When

[22'36] mu:j-en ka:l-a awd-ke bar-oka [22'37] a:n-ko ihe-n eṭq-qer otry-ar [22'40] e: indro a: jahj-a:we-h oc-ah ek-keh ante lap-ih mo:q-ih lap-ih mo:q-ih ma:qa mba [22'46] lap-ner mo:q-ner ta:nu i: maqe-r a: jahje-n qa:p-ner [22'50] jahje-n qa:p-ner a: pinjta nan-ker ok-try-ar a: toho i: pade-ni ok-i [22'55] i: pade-ni ok-id i:beri biṭe-no ok-ner [22'57] a: jahje-no=gote mala biṭe-no ok-ner qa:p-ner [23'00] ano i: tangdo-h awd-ih i: ganga-biṭe-no payda:r-u-h ganga-biṭe-no payda:r-u-h awd-ih de [23'08] aṭe baiya aneke na:m ino:pane ma:q-a ikna:n i: ma:q-a bij-tr-et kata teng-a a:n-ih [23'16] a: cu:d-maqe-h kata teng-a a:n-ih ani aṭe indra-ṇahā a:g-olaken [23'21] e:n ikna:n-keh teng-en a:n-ih [23'23] mala teng-a=du:re-hi baiya teng-a=du:re-hi na:m ikna:n ma:q-a bij-et [23'27] ate qandr-it ta:ni jahje qal-uwr-anid ante nam-en piṭ-er ani [23'27] teng-a=du:re-hi ano a:n-le sotye:tr-keh bicr-ih a: indro ganga-maji kund-u-h [23'37] ani i:h awd-ih tang-baiya-h awd-ih de aṭe e:n indra a:g-olaken e:n e:n indra-gote a:g-olaken de [23'44] e:n agrte aya-bobe-r doky-ar a: pahrte-ne a:g-in adi-n aro se teng-len a:n-ko [23'49] o: nada-hi mba na:n-ket-i tengr.naq-le na: ma:q-a bij-et a:n-i [23'54] a:n-ih ani ani i:h awd-ih de aṭe nuna nam-ki aya-bobe-r aya-de jimida:re-taṇ.gadi menj-ad [24'03] a: abo-he sinaṭe-taṇ.gade-h menj-jah na:h kamjo:ri menj-ah ani biha nany-ar [24'08] biha nan-ko do:k-im ok-im a:n-ko ante e:n abo-ki aḍa-nihi kund-ken [26'50] aya-n=ho jahj-a:we-h peta-keh boṇctry-ah aya-n peta-keh boṇctry-ah [26'55] aṭe adi-n aro se a:g-in a:ny-ah

[26'57] ani a: to tengr.naq-ar a: to so:ja:try-a toho-k toho menj menj oky-a [27'01] menj menj ok-kid ante maqe-r nandu tengr.naq-a indra tengr.naq-ner a:n-i m [27'06] maqe-r indra tengr.naq-ner nandu tengr.naq-a a:n-id ani [27'09] mala e:m indra-gote tengr.naq-olakem de agrte abo-bere dukarary-ar ako male ikni gaṭary-ar [27'15] aya aya-de majte ganga-no oky-ad abo-h bogla-qo:qe-k arg-keh ek-keh ewjy-ah [27'20] a:n.naq-im se a:n-ko o: ti:ke-de a:n-ko ante i: de ma:qu bijy-a [27'27] ba:ra bacari jumary-ad ani i: saba ma:qu indro ra:ja banary-ah [27'33] ante ma:qu bijy-ad ani i: peli-d indra nan-id urq-ani a:le:kki [27'33] din-ond becc-ad urq-oti ba:ra-bacari-no [27'40] din-ond urq-oti becc-ad a: dine-no i:d awdy-a de [27'44] male eng-en otr-a=du:re-hi [27'45] eng-en ne:ke-n qa:p-tr-keh a: maqe-r eng-en gaṭbaṭ menj-ar a:ny-ad aka [27'51] ne:ke-n qa:p-tr-keh a: maqe-r eng-en gaṭbaṭ menj-ar [27'54] eng-en jaldi otr-a a:n-ko [27'55] i:he taṭwaṭi-n ta:tr-a pet-keh mas-a ta:tr-a qend-keh guṭguṭr-keh oy-ih e:k-a na:ber-in piṭ-et a:n-le m

they told it, ' [the king said] "I will liquidate it. Go, tell it and come back!"' When [the king] said this, they got started and went out.' That boatman arrived. He went and ate, at night, right?' When he was eating, these boys kept guard of the boat.' They kept guard of the boat. He made that cage and kept her [in there]. That mother was sitting on this side.' She was sitting on this side. These [boys] were sitting on the bank.' They were not on the boat. They were sitting on the bank and were keeping guard [of it].' Then this younger brother said, this one who was born on the bank of the river said, "Hey, brother, how shall we pass such a long night? Tell me a story." That younger boy asked [him] to tell a story. [The elder brother] said, "See, I don't know anything.' How shall I tell [you a story]?"' "No, just tell me, brother. Just tell me. How shall we pass the night? Otherwise, if we fall asleep, then the boat will be stolen and they will beat us.' Just tell me." Saying this, the [boy] who was born in the middle of the river got distressed.' Then he said, the elder brother said, "See, I don't know anything. I don't know anything.' I know things of the old days when our parents were still alive. I could tell you that.'" "Yes, that's it. We will pass the night talking that way.'" Then this [elder brother] said, "Look, dear, [of] our parents, mom was a daughter of a landlord.' Dad was a son of a rich man. He was weak. They got married.' After getting married, they lived, and I was born in father's house. (*He goes on telling the younger brother how they ended up in the middle of the river.*)' A boatman took mom and abducted her. He took mom and abducted her.' See, that is as much as I know." He (i.e. the elder brother) said this.'

Then what they were talking about brought the mother around. The mother was sitting listening.' When she was sitting listening, she said, "Boys, tell it again. What are you telling?"' When she said, "Boys, what are you telling? Tell it again.'" [They said] "No, we were not saying anything. Our former parents must be distressed, or [I wonder] how they are doing.' Mother was sitting in the middle of the river. Father climbed on the back of a paddy bird, went and got lost.' We were saying that." When he said this, she said, "Okay," and then it had become morning.' It had become twelve years. Then on this night, [the man] became a king.' Then, when it had become morning, what did this woman do, in order to get out?' It was the only day in twelve years to come out.' It was the only day to come out. She said on that day, "[Help,] someone, just take me out. ' Those boys whom [the king] made keep guard of me and so on, they are doing outrageous things to me." She said this, you see?' "Those boys whom [the king] made keep guard [of me] and so on did outrageous things to me.' Take me out quickly.'" He (i.e. the boatman) took up a sword, a sickle and an axe,

[28'02] ek-a na:ber-in piṭ-et a:n-ko guṭguṭr-keh oca-keh ante a:ber-ine toho-  
n otrya [28'07] mala i:t-no piṭ-oma baj-oma eng-en e:k-a ra:ja-aḍa-k a:n-  
id aka jo [28'12] e:k-a eng-en ra:ja-aḍa-k oy-a [28'19] a:t-no piṭ-er je:-  
goṭe men-ner e: a:ny-a [28'16] a:n-ko ante ra:ja-aḍa-k oc-ar [28'18] ra:ja-  
aḍa-k oca-ko ante indru meṇj-a indru meṇj-a [28'22] mala i: maqe-r indru  
indru teṇgr.naq-ar i:ber-in maqe-r-in men-a a:ny-ad a:d [28'27] i: maqe-r  
indra teṇgr.naq-ar i: maqe-r-i-n men-a ante piṭ-er [28'30] eng-en ho piṭ-er i:  
maqe-r-in ho piṭ-er a:n-i [28'32] ani i:ber-ine sotye:tr-ner [28'35] sotye:tr-  
ner a:ber to piṭ-oti qōh-oti oky-ar mba i:ber qe:ndr-ner [28'39] i:n-in qe:ndr-  
ner ante i:d awḍ-i de i: maqe-r-in men-a a:n-ko [28'43] i: maqe-r awḍ-ner  
de e:m indra teṇgr.naq-olakem [28'46] eṇ-ki ayabo-ber-in se teṇgr.naq-qem  
[28'50] abo-h siṇaṭe aḍa meṇj-ah aya-de jimida:re aḍa meṇj-a [28'55] ayi-  
ne korc.naq-ar korc.naq-qer ante ḍoky-ar oky-ar [28'59] ta:nu e:ne abo-ki  
aḍa-nihi kund-ken [29'03] abo-ki aḍa-nihi kund-ken a: aya-de aya-de abo-ki  
aḍa-nihi kund-ken aya-de [30'41] i:h bogla-qo:qe-k arg-keh eky-ah a:n-keh  
ewjy-ah aya-de majte gaṅga-no oky-ad a:t-no ok-a ḍok-kem [30'46] ani em-  
ene em-ene indro o:yu se em-ene kitr-le ond-a [30'54] du:de-n circitr-le tey-  
ad ond-a pahtry-ad [30'57] onda-ko-tatko se em-ene em-ene a: du:d-a:weh  
male o:y-a:weh se em-en aḍa-ke otr-keh ante ḍo:kty-ah [31'05] aḍa-ke otr-  
keh ante ḍo:k-tr-in oktr-in a:n-keh ante paṛy-try-ah [31'08] paṛy-tr-ko ante  
dosra pun-ra:ja-h banary-ah [31'10] pun-ra:ja-h banary-ah ahe a:h se no:kri-  
n maqe-r-ik e:nond qo:qte-paṛy-u maqe-r-ik e:n no:kri-n ciy-en [31'19] a:n-  
le jama:tr-ko a:n-le jama:tr-kem barc-kem [31'23] ta:nu em-en jahje-n qa:p-  
oti laga:try-ar em-en ga [31'26] ayabo-r eṇ-ki ayabo-bere ewjy-ar abo-h  
ewjy-ah aya-n jahj-a:we-h boṇctry-ah [31'31] a: em-en nandu mahra-h se  
po:sc-ah [31'35] a:n-le teṇgr.naq-qem a:n-le teṇg-ih ka ra:ja-bahno ani

[31'40] i: peli-d ija-kid ante awḍ-id de i: e:r-a i:ber eṇ.gad-bagter a:n-  
i [31'44] a: i: ra:ja-n qaq-uh mi:n-puṭa-no ok-u-h ti:ke na: eṇ.gad-bagter  
[31'49] e:ne bogla-qo:qe-k arg-ken ek-ken ta:nu cicu pakr-ki bogla-ni pakṭa-  
n paktr-ken gaṅga-no uṭr-ken [31'56] ani mi:nu pet-ad ani a: gondye-h  
darc-ah a:n-ih [32'00] a: i: peli nandu awḍ-id de ti:ke-de e:ne maq-a majte  
gaṅga-no aṇḍa-ken majte gaṅga-no aṇḍa-ken a: maq-a [32'08] majte gaṅga-  
no aṇḍa-ken a: maq-a orte-he mo:ṭo meṇj-ah orte-he qo:ro maqu meṇj-ah  
[32'12] ahe-n goṭe-r-in oy-a oy-a a:n-ken [32'15] ta:nu i: jahj-a:we-h oy-lah  
de eng-en=du:re argtr-keh boṇctry-ah ani [32'18] e:n ba:ra bacari eng-en  
nu:t-omaku ba:ra bacari nu:t-olake ta:nu se e:n e:k-ken a:ny-ad [32'25] a:n-  
ken ani e:ṅg-en jahje-t argtr-keh boṇctry-ah maqe-r a:t-ni kody-ar

carried it, gathered a big troop and took [them there], saying “Let’s go and kill them.”’ Saying “Let’s go! Let’s kill them!” he gathered a big troupe, caught [them] and took them and the mother out.’ She said, “No, don’t kill me here, don’t beat me here. Let’s go to the king’s palace.’ Let’s go. Take me to the king’s palace.’ You will kill me, or do whatever [you like] there.”’ When she said this, they took her to the king’s palace.’ When they took her to the king’s palace, [they said] “What happened? What happened?”’ She said, “No. Ask these boys what they were talking.’ Ask these boys what they were talking, and then kill [me].’ Kill me and kill these boys.”’ Then they felt sorry for them.’ They felt sorry. They were ready for killing and slaying, weren’t they? They were shaking.’ They were shaking like this. Then she said, “Ask these boys.”’ These boys said, “We were not talking anything.’ We were talking just about my parents.’ My father was [of] a rich family. My mother was [of] a landlord’s family.’ They got married. Having gotten married, they lived.’ Then I was born in my father’s house.’ “I was born in my father’s house. I was born in my father’s house. My mother [said] ... *(He now repeats the story of how they ended up in the middle of the river.)*’ He climbed on the back of a paddy bird and went. Then he was lost. Mother was sitting in the middle of the river. We were sitting there.’ Then a cow came to us and gave us milk.’ It spilled milk [for us], fed us and made us full.’ After it fed us, the milkman or cowherd brought us home and let us stay [there].’ After bringing us home and letting us stay, he sent [us] to school.’ After he sent us to school, another king, a new king, was crowned.’ The new king who was enthroned [said], ‘I will give jobs to boys, however far behind they may be in schoolwork.’’ When [he] said this and gathered people, we got together and came.’ Then they appointed us to keep guard of ships.’ My parents were lost. Father got lost, and a boatman abducted mother.’ The cowherd brought us up.’ That is what we were talking.” He told that at the king’s place.’

This woman stood up and said, “Look, these are my sons.”’ Then this [man], who got kingship, who was in the belly of a fish, [said] “Okay, these are my sons.’ I climbed the back of a paddy bird and went. Then fire started on the paddy bird. I burnt [its] wing, and fell into the river.’ Then fish took me up, and a fisherman caught it.” He said this.’ Then this woman said, “Okay. I had a child in the middle of the river. I had that child in the middle of the river.’ I had that child in the middle of the river. There was a big one, and a little one.’ I said ‘Take [them] both’ to him (i.e. the boatman).’ Then this boatman did not take [them]. He made only me get on the boat and took me away.”’ She said, “‘Do not touch me for twelve years. If you don’t touch me for twelve years, then I will marry you.’” When I said that, he put me on

[32'30] a:t-ni kody-ar ani a: ikna:n-ker ba:cary-ar ako male amby-ar ako  
 [32'33] eng-en to boŋtry-ah a: *cinta*:-bawna:-tihi e:n ja:gu lap-in a: eng-  
 a mala [32'39] e:n e:d e:r-a qa:ya-ken a:ny-a [32'41] sidahro qa:y-oŋgry-a  
 la:ʃaʃ meŋj-a qoclu=du:re [32'44] e:nond lap-en cot-en cic-ah anond-goʃe  
 a:de lapy-a moq-a de parc-lad [32'48] a:n-ko ante a:n-ki teŋg-ad ani ti:ke  
 [32'51] na:h awd-ih de e:ne bogla-qo:qe-k arg-ken ek-ken pakʃa-n qos-try-a  
 ani mi:n-puʃa-no oket-ken ani [32'58] a: i:d awd-id e:ne eng-en jahj-a:we-  
 h peta-keh arg-tryah [33'01] a:n-ko ti:ke-d ande-no i:d eŋga-ɖa:ni-d a:n-ih  
 i: peli-d awd-i i:h eng-a ɖa:we-h ani [33'06] a:n-keh ante a:ber-ih i oʃe-r  
 meŋj-ar [33'09] oʃe-r meŋj-ar idi-n-o ɖo:k-tr-en [33'11] ya: i: qo:q-baje  
 biha meŋj-ad adi-n ho ɖo:k-tr-en [33'13] a:n-keh ante aca i:h ta:ni qalwe-h  
 jahj-a:we-h a:n-ker ante [33'17] jahje-k oca-ker isagn-a purc-ker ante jahje-n  
 me:nda-ker tey-ar toqry-a

### §35 Story of a ruined prince and his lost love.

[0'00] do:.hajare do:.hajare.no:we a:n-le male-r awd-ner e:n to a:g-olaken  
 paʃy-oti kurk-oti a:g-olaken [0'06] lekin anake kata-n teŋg-oti awdy-ar  
 ja:pani-a:we-r baiya-ber barc-ker ante [0'10] ante kata teŋg-oti e:k-in [0'12]  
 nam-male-r ho meŋja-ker sikar-ker beh-ku dine-k pa:wu men-anid [0'18]  
 ante kata teŋg-en eŋ-ki na:mi baʃna me:sa qepu-d uɖsa [0'23] meŋja-ker  
 men-a sikar-a [0'25] indro ort ra:ja-ki ort ra:ja-h meŋj-ah [0'29] ahe-ki de  
 ort muʃs.maqe-h meŋj-ah [0'32] ante muʃs.maqe-h men-ne *ke.ba:de*-no a:  
 maqe-n pu:ra apokary-ar dulare:try-ar [0'37] ante a:he suk-sala-ti pahry-ah  
 mo:ʃary-ah [0'41] mo:ʃar-ne *ke.ba:d* pel-joka lehary-ah [0'44] ante ahe-k  
 pel-a bedy-ar [0'46] pel-a toho-tambako-ber bedy-ar ante ɖoky-ar oky-ar  
 [0'51] ante ɖo:k-te ɖo:k-te toho-d ho *kamjo:r* lehary-a tambako hō *kamjo:r*  
 lehary-a [0'56] ante tambako naprary-ah adi-ki ba:de-no taŋ.gade-h awdy-  
 ah de [1'00] o: e:n guru-r-in ondr-en [1'04] mandr-a gaʃy-tr-en abo-k ante  
 nek-a:nded [1'06] a:n-le gur-aɖa-k eky-ah ɖakʃar-aɖa-k eky-ah [1'10] ante  
 kiry-ah gaʃy-try-ah nek-lah [1'12] nandu urq-qeh eky-ah guru-r-bajo a:tce-n  
 e:r-tr-oti car-in bedtr-oti [1'16] ada-no nahe-ki tambako-he ra:ja-he qondy-  
 ah na:pra-t

[1'25] takary-a key-ot eky-ah a: pahr awd-ih de [1'27] are meŋj meŋj  
 ok-a [1'30] e:n baʃy-et meŋj-ket goʃe-di a: pahr-no to indra-goʃe teŋg-laken  
 [1'36] de nam-ki pu:p-bagane-no sat-kohna ʃaka-d ok-id [1'42] aɖa-ki kōʃa-  
 no ca:r-kohna ʃaka-d ok-id a:n-le awdy-ah a: ra:ja-buʃa-h [1'48] ante a: to  
 toho ra:ja-ɖa:ni toho aɖa-no ja:gu-n aʃe-n bit-a [1'53] taŋg-ja:mni meŋj-ad  
 a:di aɖa-no nahe-ki gand-i-bahno oky-a na:pra-gand-i-bahno [1'59] ante adi-  
 n ni:n goʃe-nihi meŋj meŋje ok-ku e:n teŋg-in adi-n [2'05] ante dinonde-no  
 ni:n nam-ki ja:mpel-a ante ni:n ho ante nuna ho e:ʃu po:sar-eh adi-k [2'13]

a boat and took me away on it. The boys were lying there.' They were lying there. Then how were they saved or not?' He took me away. From worry and distress, I did not even eat food.' Look, I got dried up.' I got dried up indeed. I am battered and am just bones.'" He gave her as much as she would eat and chew. That much she ate and still she was not satisfied.' When she said that, [he said] "Okay.'" He said, "[It is] I [that] climbed the back of a paddy bird and went. [The ember] burnt the wing and I ended up sitting in the belly of a fish.'" She said, "The boatman put me on a boat and took me away.'" When she said this, he said, "Okay, then this is my wife." This woman said, "This is my husband.'" They said that and they became husband and wife [again].' They became husband and wife. "I will have her [as my wife]. I will have that [woman] who married [me] later [as my wife], too.'" Then they said, "Well, this very man is the thief, the boatman.'" And they took [him] to the boat, poured oil [on it], and burned the boat away. [The story] is over.'

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They say '2009'. I don't know. I can't read or write.' But now the Japanese, the brothers, came and told me to tell a story.' And I am going to tell a story.' We Pahariyas should also listen and learn. Some day it will be of some use.' Then I will tell the story. My name is Barnya Mesa. [My] village is Ursa.' Listen and learn.' Well, there was a king.' He had a son.' And after the son was born, they got totally happy about him. They loved him.' And he grew up happily.' After he grew up, he became pubescent.' And they found a wife for him.' The parents found a wife and they lived together.' And as they lived, the mother became weak, and the father became weak.' Then the father got ill. Then the son said, 'I will get Ojha Gurus.' I will make [them] prepare medicine for father. And he will get well.'" Saying this, he went to an Ojha's house and to a doctor's house.' He came back, made [them] prepare [medicine], and he did not get well.' He went out again and went to the Ojhas' places, to make [them] look at a leaf and to make [them] run divination.' Then his father, the king, got weary for the illness.'

When he got weary and was going to die, he said, "Dear, sit listening.' When I was strong, I did not tell anything.' In our flower garden, there are seven jarfuls of money.' In the corners of the house, there are four jarfuls of money.'" The old king said this.' And the mother, the mother who is the king's wife, was cooking rice and vegetable at home.' The one who was his daughter-in-law was sitting at home near his body, near his sick body.' "You sit listening to all. I will tell it.' So that you, our daughter-in-law, and the boy, can support [themselves] well,' take care of all the provisions and

aḍa-ki dana-daulate-n goṭe-nihi jogc-ki ante ok-ki ante po:sc-ku a:ny-ah [2'19] ante e:n key-en=goṭe ko anake [2'20] e:n inonde se aq-qen a:n-keh ante teṅg-ah [2'23] ani o: a:ny-ad [2'25] ante aḍa-no oky-a a: toho na: maqe-ki toho adano i: ra:ja-taṅg-ja:mni-de ujaṭi-hi olg-in a:n-le qanam-a ci:cry-a [2'38] aca men-a pa:ry-in ko male pol-in de teṅg e:k-in [2'42] ante awdy-ad de ho: a:n-kid ante na:de goṭe-ni meṅj pu:ratr-ki-ṇa a:n-ko ho: a:ny-a [2'51] ante na:h to ahe-ki ji:we-d urq-a [2'55] urq-ad ante urq-ne-ki ba:de-no qargr-id ujaṭi-hi la:li-n qan-no ma:ndry-a ante [3'01] qan-no ma:ndry-a qargr urq-ad ani toho-ga:ni budya-d indru meṅj-a indru meṅj-a [3'06] mala i: abo-ga:re toqry-ad ante a:d qargr-i olg-id [3'10] ante goṭe-ri olg-ner pa:ṭ-ner taṅ.gade-h to aṇd-olah [3'14] guru-aḍa-k ḍakṭar-aḍa-k eky-ah aṇd-olah [3'16] ante kiry-ar olg-a pa:ṭ-a ḍo:k-ni-hi kiry-ar [3'19] ante a:he jud-ondi-hi olg-ih kide abo [3'22] aya indra indra a:n-keh teṅg-ah ako male teṅg-olah ako [3'26] e:n ok-len a:n-no indra a:n-le teṅg-ah ako aya-n a:n-le buku-n baj-uwr-le olg-ah [3'29] siṇaṭe-taṅ.gade-h meṅj-ah nahi-k nuṇjtry-ad kajak olg-ah [3'32] olg-ah ante ahe-n pa:ṭec-ar

[3'37] bar-ne-ki *ba:d* ḍoky-ar oky-ar ḍoky-ar oky-ar ante [3'42] ca:r bacari ako male pac bacari anonde-ni-hi aḍa-ki dana to oṅgry-a [3'47] ante aḍa-ki ja:gu-lape-d oṅgr-ko ki:ṭwary-ah [3'52] ki:ṭwar-ne-ki ba:de-no awd-ih lajary-ah [3'55] ino:pane ra:ja-taṅ.gade-n anake ki:ṭwar-ken [3'58] de ni:n niṅ-ki niṅg-aḍa-k ka:l-a ante ḍo:k-oka [4'02] eṅg-en ik-dine usra:r-en biḷoṭa:r-en lape-d aty-anid a: pahra niṅg-en ondr-en a:ny-ah [4'10] a:n-keh ante tey-ah ani a:d apokar-le eky-a ek-kid ta:nu ḍoky-ad tam-aḍa-no [4'15] a i:h ino ḍoky-ah ante i:he aḍa-bahno bi:s-ker lapy-ah [4'20] a:h to qe:ql-no ṭaka-d ok-id i:h to a:g-olah a:h bi:sy-ah [4'22] qe:g-u-h-ḍ ag-olah ṭaka-d ok-id adi-n [4'24] ante bi:s-ker lapy-ar ante ḍoky-ar [4'26] ta:Imi-aṅgḍa-t aḍa-n ilda-ker ḍoky-ar

[4'29] ante ḍo:k-ner ok-ner ḍo:k-ner ok-ner ante na:he awd-ih ki saṅgale-h awd-ih dosra-h awd-ih de [4'36] aṭe e:k-a a:n-le awdy-ah [4'39] iktō=ṭe a:n-le awd-ih [4'40] a: peli-d a:n-le ek-kid ante dosra bacari ba:de-no awd-ide [4'43] *kusi*-t na:de da:n nan-i lap-tr-i bo:j nan-i [4'47] ani eka=ṭe na:ṭ-no ort ra:ja-taṅ.gadi-de indr-kin lap-tr-id mo:q-tr-id e:k-a lap-et [4'55] a:n-le awdy-ah ani na: saṅgale-h awdy-ah ani na:he aḍa-no ek-keh ante awd-ih de [5'01] aya patṭ-ond qaq-in ta:nu e:n ad-patṭ-ond lap-en ad-patṭ-ond niṅg-a ondr-en [5'07] de e:k-en aya ikiṭ-no lap-oti mo:q-oti ra:ja-taṅ.gadi maṅga:tr-id ano a:ṭ-ik jamar-ner ana a:n-ko eky-ah [5'15] aca nuna ka:l-a jaldi bar-ku a:n-kid tey-ad eky-ah [5'18] eky-ah adi-ki ba:de-no ano lap-ner mo:q-ner

riches of the house, sit and support [themselves].” He said this. “I am surely going to die now.” This is as much as I know” he told so. Then she said “Yes.” Then that mother who was at home, that boy’s mother, ... this daughter-in-law of the king wiped tears, thinking, “I will pretend to cry.” Okay, listen. I am going to tell [this story] whether or not I can do so. And she said yes. She has finished hearing everything, then she said yes. And as to him (i.e. the king), his life expired. He expired. After he expired, she cried aloud, and falsely attached spittle on her eyes. Attaching [spittle] on her eyes, she went out crying aloud. Then the old woman, the mother-in-law, [said] “What happened? What happened?” [She said] “No, this father-in-law passed away,” and wept crying aloud. Then all cried and bewailed. His son did not know. He went to the Ojha Guru’s house, the doctor’s house, and did not know. Then [he and Ojhas] came back just when they were crying and bewailing. And he cried separately [saying] “Dad!” “Mom, what and what did [dad] tell, or didn’t he?” Wondering “If I were sitting [by his side], what would he have told [me and] mother,” he cried beating his chest. It was a big shock for him, who was a son of the rich man. He cried a lot. He cried and buried [the father’s body].

After he came back, they carried on living, and it was maybe four years, or five years. At that point, the provisions of the house ran out. And when the food of the house ran out, he became poor. After he became poor, he was ashamed, and said, “I, son of such a king, have now become poor. You go to your [parents’] house and live [there]. When I get back to normal, get ready, and when there is enough food, I will bring you back.” He said this. Saying this, he sent her out. Then she went [home] happily. She went and lived in their (i.e. her parents’) own house. He (i.e. the prince) stayed there, and got food selling his property. He did not know there was money under the ground. He sold [the land]. The buyer also did not know that there was money. They (i.e. he and his mother) got food selling [their property], and were living. They built a house with palm leaves and lived [there].

They carried on living. Then he said, the friend said, another person said, he said, “Hey, let’s go.” [The prince] said “Where?” After that woman left that way, she said in another year [that] she was giving gift out of happiness. She was feeding. She was holding a feast. “Let’s go. A princess is holding a feast of something there. Let’s go and eat.” He said this. His friend said this. Then he went home and said, “Mom, if I get a leaf-plateful [of food], I will eat a half plate and bring the other half for you. I am going, mom. The princess invite [all] somewhere for eating. They seem to be gathering there.” Having said that, he went. She sent him out saying “Okay, son, go and come back soon.” He went. He went. After that, they

[5'21] paṅkti-no ok-ner ahe-guni saṅgale saṅgale-guni [5'25] oky-ar ade-no i:de patra-n bilc-i bilc-i a: pahra-no [5'29] dosra lunggi-paṅci cu:ca-ki urq-ad [5'32] ante a:t-ike aṛsy-ad aro patla-d aty-lad a:ny-a [5'35] a: to cinc-ad ako ante patla-d aty-lad a:n-kid ante patla ciy-lad [5'41] ante korc-ki ante nandu dosra luga cu:ca-keh boṅg-nid urq-id [5'44] nandu am-a bilc bilc oc-a [5'46] e:t amu-d qalgro a:ny-ah [5'48] ante adi-ne kor-try-ad [5'50] ante nandu-hi korc-kid nandu ja:gu-n bilc-i bilc-i e:kid [5'56] ada-no nan-dusra-luga-n punda-ki cu:ca-ki urq-a [6'00] badl-budl gaṛary-a ante a: pahra bilc-i bilc-i oc-ad aro e:t ja:gu aty-lad a:ny-a [6'05] ahe-bahak aṛstry-ad arhu na:n-le awdy-a [6'07] a:h ok-ih a:h ciny-olah a:d cinc-le gaṛar-id ako i:h ciny-olah [6'12] ante nandu aṛge-n bilc bilc-i oy-id a: pahr-no nandu-hi luga-n lunggi-n paṅci-n dosra-n cu:ca-ki ante urq-a [6'19] a: pahr-no awd-ih a: pahr-no awd-ih de aṛe i:t-no batge-r gaṛe-r mba [6'23] anihi dosra urq-ner a:n-le awd-ih [6'27] ani a:n-le awd-a ḍo:k-ih saṅgale-n [6'30] i:-pa:w aṛge bilc-i bilc-i e:k-id [6'31] te awd-i kide ahe-bahak aṛsy-a ar enne eng-en qed-a darc-ah a:ny-ad [6'35] ani indra kud-eni a:t-no uṛtry-ad [6'37] uṛtr-ko ante indra kud-er lap-u mo:q-u male-r [6'39] sa:la i:h lap-oti mo:q-oti bar-lah [6'41] pel-ar-in batge-r-in band-oti barc-ah [6'43] a:n-ker ante muṭ-ond-ti muṭ-ond-ti baj-e-ti nahe-n baj-a piṭy-ar [6'46] baj-a piṭy-ar ante lap-ker moq-qer ante ada-ni-hi no:ḍry-ar patla tu:ḍ-ar [6'50] ante qoṭry-ar kir-a seṅgry-ar aḍa-k

[6'54] kir-a seṅgry-ar ante se ma:q-a indro ej-acry-ah bijoṛary-ah ja:ne kiry-ad ani [7'00] co:ca-keh ante awd-ih de ayu: e:n ino:pane ma:q-a indra qandr-in ko a:ny-ah [7'03] a:h to piṭ-ko se kody-ah qandr-u-h men-leh nde [7'06] ante co:ca-keh ante awd-ih e:n indra qandr-in ko ino:pane ma:q-a a:ny-ah [7'10] a:-batte-n i:-batte-n e:r-ih ta:nu ahe-ki a:h eng-en band-ah a:n-le awdy-ad a: peli-d ek-kid ante [7'17] ano muṛse-bahno kelar alq-a ḍo:k-id a:d [7'20] alqla:l meṅj ḍo:k-id a:t-no [7'21] ani ciraki-awali meṅj-a ayi-n e:r-keh ante [7'24] na:t-no aro ciraki-awali-d a:n-keh ante eky-ah [7'27] ek-keh ante duwari-no ij-ah [7'29] ani awd-i ne:reh il-ne ko=ṛe de [7'31] bar-a loṭa-ki am-a qend-keh ok-owa ca:r-ana ciy-en a:n-ko [7'34] o: ti:ke aya-ke ho kirtr-en ar e:n-ḍ *nasta* meṅja-ken kir-en a:n-le awd-ih [7'39] ante teṅgr.naq-a teṅgr.naq-a ante ka:ti tary-ad [7'42] ka:ti tar-ne-ki ba:de awd-i aṛe ka:ti qow-ke ok-owa nandu ca:r-ana ciy-en [7'46] o: ti:ke ca:r-ana-ki niṛen ca:r-ana-ki-n aya-k oy-en [7'50] ante a:h qow-keh ok-ih ano i:ber adi-n-ikin teṅgr.naq-le alqtr.naq-ner a:n-le awd-i [7'57] aṛe ma:qu meṅj-a ano awd-ide aṛe [7'59] e:n ḍok-ken a: muṛse-ki jaga-n qe:g-let a:n-le awd-i

ate.' They sat together in a line with him, with his friend.' They were sitting, and [the princess] was distributing leaf-plates.' She put on a different lungee and upper garment and came out.' She arrived there and said the leaf-plates are gone.' She seems to have recognized [him] and said the leaf-plates are gone. And she did not give him a leaf-plate.' When she entered, she put on different clothes and came out running.' She arrived distributing water.' He said, "Hey, the water is dirty.'" Then he made her put water in.' Then again, she entered and went distributing food.' Then [his former wife] put on different clothes and came out.' She was changing clothes. And at that time, she came distributing [food], and said, "Hey, the food is gone.'" She said that when she arrived at his place.' He was sitting and did not recognize [her]. She seemed to have recognized [him], but he did not recognize [her]. And again, she came distributing curry. At that time, she again put on a different lungee and upper garment and came out.' At that time he said, "Say, there are a lot of girls here, aren't there?' One comes out after another for nothing.'" He was saying this to his friend.' She went distributing curry like this.' She arrived at his place and [falsely] said, "Hey, you seized me by the foot.'" And what did she do? She fell down there.' What did the men who were eating do when she fell?' "Bastard! He did not come to eat.' He came to pull women and girls.'" Saying this, they beat him and put him out, each beating once.' After they beat and put him out, they ate, and they washed hands there and threw the leaf plates there (on him). And they dispersed. They had gone home.'

They had gone home. Then at night, he woke up. He came back to his senses. He got back to life.' He got up and said, "Oh my! Why am I sleeping [in] such a big night?"' He was lying beaten up. He is not [in a situation] to fall asleep, right?' Then he woke up and said, "Why am I sleeping in such a big night?"' When he saw that way and this way, the woman who said "He pulled me" went and she was playing and laughing at [her] man's place.' She was flirting there.' There was a lamp light. She saw it and said, "There is a lamp light," and he went.' He went and stood at the door.' Then she said, "Who [are you] standing?' Come, bring a pot of water and sit. I will give [you] 25 rupees." When she said this, he said, ' "Yes, fine. I will bring [food] to my mother and I can also have snack.'" While [those two] were chatting, the bed broke.' After the bed broke, she said, "Hey, come, hold the bed and sit [here], I will give you 25 rupees again.'" "Oh, okay. I will eat 25 rupees' meal, and I will take 25 rupees' meal for my mother.'" Then he held [the bed] and sat. Then they were telling this and that, saying jokes, and said, ' "Hey, it has become night." Then she said, "Say, let us buy the land of the man who I married." She said this.'

[8'02] ani e:t ikpade-jaga-n qe:g-ani [8'04] eng-a=ñahã qe:qlu ade mala  
 taka-dana ade mala indra kud-ot qe:g-ani ani [8'09] alqla:l peli to muṛse-  
 h kamti qawr.naq-olaket to [8'12] awd-ih ante na:h patyar-olah [8'14] e:n  
 eng-a=ñahã beh-i mba indra kud-ot qe:g-et ani [8'17] ante ano-goṭe-hi mala-  
 qate qe:g-et e:n [8'19] e:n boly-ond saba-ne teṅg-en ning-a men-ane a:ny-a  
 [8'22] a:h qow-keh oky-ah anihi da:we-hi a: ciny-ola ma:qu to [8'26] ciny-  
 le-ki ba:de awd-i ante a: pahr-no awd-i kide [8'31] aṛe e:n ning-en qe:g-ot  
 awd-in e:n [8'33] e:n dōk-ken a: muṛse-h essa ra:ja meñj-ah ra:ja-ki taṇ.gade-  
 n dōk-ken e:n [8'37] qe:qlu-mercu-d ho kame men-la taka dana-d ho kame  
 men-lad [8'41] so:na-ru:pa-candi-ba:rah goṭe-hi kame men-la sinaṛe-h meñj-  
 ah [8'44] lekin qond eky-ah na:pra meñj-ah tambako-buṛa-h aḍa-no aḍa-no  
 na:he naprar-keh kody-ah ani [8'52] e:n dōk-ken a: muṛse-h guru-aḍa-k eky-  
 ah daktar-aḍa-k eky-ah ante cari-a:tge men-oti eky-ah [8'57] a: pahr-no e:n  
 ba:rgi-no ok-ken am-a cic-le [9'01] a: aḍa-malni-de eng-aya-ga:rni meñj-  
 ad a:de aḍa-no aṛge-ja:gu-n peyalary-a [9'07] ani se na:he key-oti eky-ah a:  
 pahr-no awd-ih de key-oti eky-ah a: pahr-no awd-ih de [9'15] are meñj meñj  
 ok-a e:n teṅg-in adi-n [9'18] ante ik-dine nam-ki (ja:mpeli-n ante) nuna-  
 n ante ni:n e:ṛu po:sar-ani [9'24] goṭe-ni-hi e:n barya meñja-ken a: pahr-  
 no goṭe-ti e:ṛu ok-ket a: pahr-no teṅg-olaken boly-ond=goṭe [9'30] de meñj  
 meñj ok-a pu:p-bagane-no sat-kohna taka-d ok-i [9'33] a: i: aḍa-ki kōṛa-no  
 ca:r-kohna taka-d ok-id [9'36] a:n-le awdy-ah anake e:n key-in e:n ba:car-  
 enala a:ny-ah aro ahe-ki ji:we-d urq-ad [9'40] ante e:n olg-in ujaṛi a:n-le  
 la:li-n ma:nd-a ma:nd-a alq-qen-qate gaṛar-ken ani se [9'45] toho-d urq-qid  
 disanq-a-qate a:n-le awdy-ad [9'48] ani i:h po:te-n kud-eh de ko:d-a-qena  
 a:ny-ah aro a:r a:tj-nte [9'51] muc-uṭa-keh ante boṅg-ah urq-qeh aḍa-k kiry-  
 ah [9'55] kiry-ah ante kir-ne-ki *ba:d* kir-ne-ki ba:de-no a:he aḍa-ke aṛs-keh  
 ante toho-d awd-id iko nuna [10'03] bo:je lap-oti e:k-in ante indra-goṭe ondr-  
 lake [10'06] mala=re aya indro-goṭe-de a:ny-ah

[10'09] ante dōky-ar oky-ar ante na:h awd-ih de e:k-a eng-a eṇ-ki ka:je-  
 n kud-et a:n-le awd-ih [10'18] ne:reh e:k-eh ni:n ni:n-ñahã andaṛe dō:k-  
 ne [10'22] indra kud-tr-ane ante indra qat-ane a:n-le awdy-ah [10'24] ani  
 eka=ṛe a:n-oma ano-goṭe-hi [10'27] amb-in=ṛe e:k-olakene [10'29] ani a:t-  
 ik eky-ah a:t-no awd-ih [10'30] aṛe e:k-a=ṛe eṇ-ki ka:je-n kud-ane a:n-  
 ih ani [10'34] ni:n anake lap-ke ok-ane ad-ik=ñahã mal-a ani ni:n indra  
 ka:je-n kud-tr-ane indra qat-ane a:n-ih a:h awdy-ah [10'40] ante nandu jaldi  
 akawaka qaq-qeh ante taka-n ba:r-keh ondr-leh [10'44] ante aḍa-ne a: taka-n  
 ba:catr-leh ante aḍa-n id-leh adi-k ugley-ih [10'48] ante na:n-le na:n-le bed-  
 a kudy-ah and-uwr-olah [10'52] ar e:r-ni=ñahã ki:ṛwa-male-h indrik e:k-er  
 [10'54] anḡe.mange-t ho a:g-tr-id [10'56] de ceṅgje-d beh-id a:joka-hi

Then [he said,] “Come on! What kind of land are you going to buy?’ I am not short of land. I am not short of money or provisions. For what are you buying [it]?’” Wouldn’t a flirting woman and [her] man speak a lot?’ He said that and did not trust [what she said]. ‘I have some [riches] too, don’t I? For what are we buying [it]?’” [She] still [said], “No, let’s buy it. I am telling you a story. Listen.” He, the husband, was sitting carrying the bed for nothing. She did not notice, it was night. Then she said, she said at that time, “Look, I am telling you to buy it. The man I married was quite a king. I married a king’s son. There was no shortage of land property. There was no shortage of money and provisions either. There was no shortage of gold, silver or whatever else. [The king] was a rich man. But he got weak. The father was sick. He was lying sick at home. The man I married had gone to an Ojha Guru’s house and a doctor’s house. He went to ask for pendulum and leaf divination. At that time I was sitting at [the king’s] side, giving him water. The wife, my mother-in-law, was preparing for vegetable and rice at home. At that very time he was dying. At that time he said, when he was dying, ‘Say, sit listening. I am telling this to you. Some day, you will support our boy well. When I was strong, when I was sitting well with everything, I did not tell even a word. Sit listening. There are seven jarfuls of money in the flower garden. There are four jarfuls of money in the corners of this house.’ He said this. He said, ‘Now I am dying. I will not be saved’, and his life expired. Then I cried falsely, and laughed attaching spittle [to my eyes]. Just then ‘mother came out and noticed.” She said this. ‘What would he (i.e. her former husband) do? He said, “Keep lying there,” and [went out]. Having slammed the door, he ran away. He got out and went home. He went home, and after he went home, he arrived at home and mother said, “Where [were you], son? You said ‘I am going to eat at the feast’, but you did not bring anything back.” He said, “No, mom, [I brought] quite something.”

And they carried on living, and he said [to others], “Let’s go. Let’s do my work for me.” He said this. Who would go? [The one who he talked to] said, “You are living empty-handed. What job are you going to give [me] and what are you going to give [me for that]?” “Let’s go. Don’t say such a thing.” “No, I won’t go.” Then he went there and said [to someone] there. He said, “Hey let’s go. Will you work for me?” “Now you don’t have [money] even for eating and sitting. What job are you going to give [me] then? What will you give me?” He (i.e. the man he talked to) said this. Still he wanted to find [someone] quickly, take out and bring the money home. He was thinking that he would regain that money and build a house. He was looking for [laborers] that way, but did not find one. Just at sight, he was a poor man. Why would they go? It is self-evident. His friend went [with

taṅ-ki sangale-hi eky-ah [11'00] eky-ah ante eky-ah aca indru ka:je kud-tr-ne kud-en a:ny-ah [11'03] eky-ah e:ke-ki ba:de-no arg-ah [11'07] arg-ah ante jaga pu:p-bagane-ki ṭaka-n arg-ah [11'09] arg arg oc-ah ante arg-try-ah ako disanq-ah ako na:h [11'12] ante nek-a:nded anake kir-oka a:ny-ah [11'14] kiry-ah aḍa-k i:he a: ṭaka-n muṭq-qeh kirtry-ah qalwo [11'18] ante cic-ah ante nandu ort bed-ku a:n-le awḍ-ih

[11'22] indra a:ber-ine i:ber-ine bed-en eng-ma:ne kud-a ḍo:k-en ga:ṭ-dine kud-a ḍo:k-en [11'27] ante ano-goṭe-hi a:h taṅ-ki ugli-t e:k-ih ka:je-k [11'32] ante orte-hi meṅj-ah e:r-keh e:r-keh eky-ah ahe-n [11'35] aṭe iḱṭo e:k-ne il-a e:n de ka:l-in [11'37] a:h goda se e:k-in mba bar-oma a:n-ih [11'40] ar eng-a ho bed-id eng-a ho bed-id ani ujaṭi erg.boṭi-n nu:ter-le eky-ah [11'44] ante ek aṭsy-ah ante a:h awro-ṇahā awḍy-ah [11'46] i:h to taṅg-ma:ne kud-leh adi-n ugle:c-ah [11'49] ek aṭs-ker ante kud-ner bed-ner nandu arg-ner [11'51] ante orte-hi meṅj-ah kohn-ond ṭaka-n otry-ah [11'56] irw-er ek-ker nandu aur-hi na:ber ti:n-goṭa-ki jaga-n arg-ar [12'00] ti:n-goṭa-ki jaga-n arg-qer ante arg-nihi a: ṭaka to gandi-no becc-a na:h qend-keh kiry-ah a: ṭaka [12'07] ante nek-a:nded anake a:ny-ah ani [12'10] a:ṭ-nihi i:ber-in cic-ah ani kiry-ar [12'12] pe:sa cica-ko kiry-ar ante nandu ort bed-ku=ṭe a:n-ih [12'16] aṭe nam-ma:ne-t bar-et=ṭe [12'17] ga:ṭ-dini kud-tr-le ano ga:ṭ-dini men-anid pa:ṭ-o-qadi kud-ken ante inond qatṭy-ah [12'21] a:n-naq-le a:ber apoketr-naq-le kir-ner

[12'23] ante nandu orte-hi eky-ah [12'27] aṭe iḱṭo e:k-ne e:n ho e:k-en [12'29] bar-oma ano-goṭe-hi i:ber to cil-ner e:n geci beh-en a:n-le kuk-a e:r-keh e:r-keh e:k-ih [12'35] ante kuk-a e:r-keh e:r-keh e:k-ih ante na:ne-na:ne-ti(?) bar-oma anno-goṭehi eky-ah ek-keh aṭsy-ah [12'40] ante nandu a:ber arg-ar arg-ner-tatner ante [12'44] a:ber agdu e:k kohn-ond otry-ar [12'47] qo:q-baje ti:n-kohna ca:r-kohna lehary-a [12'50] ante ti:n-jener aur ti:n kohna-ki jaga arg-ar [12'54] arg-ar ante awḍ-ih de anake oṭkr-ken=ṭe bar-omku ṇe a:ny-ah [12'58] e:r-a=ṭe idi-ṇahā e:ne awḍ-ken a:n-ko men-lake ni:n awḍ-ke ko

him], for [he] had some pity [on him].’ He went and [the friend] said, “Okay, what work will you give me? I will do it.” [The friend] went, and after that he dug.’ He dug, and dug the money from the place, the flower garden.’ Digging and digging, [the prince] reached [the location of the jar], and made [his friend] dig it. He seems to have located it.’ He said, “Leave it at that. Now you go home.” [The friend] went home. [The prince] dug the money out and took it home secretly.’ And he gave [wages to his friend]. Then he asked [the friend] to look for a [laborer] again.’

[The friend thought,] “Why should I look for these and those? Only I will be working. I will be working for many days.” Still, [his friend] went to work of his own accord.’ And there was one person [coming along]. Looking and looking, he came after him (i.e. the prince’s friend going to work).’ [The man asked the prince’s friend] “Hey, where are you going? Stop! I am coming.” He (i.e. the prince’s friend) said, “I am going to the toilet. Don’t come.” Saying “Me too! I want to go to the toilet, too,” he (i.e. the man) came, falsely covering his buttocks [with his hand] (and pretending that his bowels were moving).’ And he went and arrived. [The prince] told [the two to dig] again.’ This [friend of the prince] wanted to do the work by himself.’ They went, arrived and worked. They searched and dug again.’ Then [when] there was one person, he took out one jar of money.’ The two people went and again they dug where the three [jars] were.’ After digging where the three [jars] were, he (i.e. the friend) went home carrying the money that he (i.e. the prince) had with him.’ Then he (i.e. the prince) said, “Leave it at that for now.” He gave [money] to them right there and they went back.’ After he gave money and they went, [the prince] said [to them], “Hey, find yet another person.” [The second man said] “Hey, let just two of us come.’ Making us work for many days, many days[’ wages] will be available. I worked just for one [day], and he gave me this much.” Saying this to each other, they both felt happy (lit. they made each other happy) and went back.’

Again [on the next day,] one man went [after them].’ “Hey, where are you going? I am coming, too.” “Don’t come.” Still, [even though] they stopped him, he came looking at their heads, saying “I will be far back.” And he came looking at their heads. And [even though the second man said] “Don’t follow us that way,” he came and arrived.’ And again they (i.e. the three people) dug. They dug and so on, and’ they first took out one jarful [of money].’ Later it became three jarfuls, four jarfuls [in total].’ Then the three people dug the places of the three more jars.’ They dug, and he said, “Now I am satisfied. Don’t come [any more], okay?” [The prince’s friend said to the second man,] “Look, this is what I told [you]. You didn’t listen, and told [the third man about the job].” They (the prince’s friend and the second

[13'02] e:n mal-a-qar̥e ni:n awd-ke ko e:n mal-a-qar̥e a:n-naq-le qar̥c-naq-qer kiry-ar [13'06] [ʔaka oŋgry-a anno ante indra kud-er de [13'08] ante kiry-ar a:ber-ik to [ʔaka cica-keh tey-ah pe:sa-n [13'13] e:nond-ti dini-*majdu:ri* menj-a cica-keh tey-ah ante toqry-a [13'17] ante i:he aɖa-ki aɖa-de e:no:pane menj-ad ano:pane jaga-ni ge:rc-ah [13'22] aɖa-n ildy-ah [ʔaka aɖa-k kortr-keh ante aɖa-ki [ʔaka-de ok-a:nded [13'26] lekin i: [ʔaka-ti kud-tr-en a:n-le adi-n otr-olah aɖa-ki [ʔaka-n [13'29] ante mistri-n bed-a kudy-ah [13'30] to ba:ra-jila-ki mistri-r-in manga:try-ah [13'34] a:ber ba:ra-jila-ki mistri-r ba:ra roŋg nany-ar [13'37] ild-ner aɖa-n ild-ner-tatner ante mistri-r-inte aɖa-nte ba:car-ki [ʔaka-de e:k.hajare kody-a pe:sa-d

[13'45] ani i: peli-d auri-hi muɽse-n bed-oti *kabar* nan-id [13'52] ani i:he menj-ah ako te [13'54] aya eng-a eng-a pe:sa-n qat-li e:ne bajar-ik e:k-len a:n-ko [14'01] ba:ra-ko:ɽi pe:sa-ne cica-kide cic-a [14'04] cic-a toho nandu awd-i kide [14'06] beh-a:nde ka:l-a ni:n e:nond maɽ-e anond qe:g-a=ɽe a:n-le awd-no [14'09] ante mala niŋ-ki ɽeɽu-ti qat-a=ya ante e:n e:k-en a:n-le awdy-ah [14'13] ante a: ba:ra-ko:ɽi pe:sa-n cica-ko a:ɽe-k eky-ah

[14'16] ante na: peli-d ano tam-aɖa-no muɽse-n bed-id [14'22] muɽse-n bed-id kide dugu-n pind-try-ar ko male indru ko dɔga-n baja:tr-i a:n-ner [14'27] a: dɔga baja:tr-ko nada-no ra:ja-taŋ.gadi muɽse-n bed-id [14'32] na: dine jamar-et a:n-naq-qo i:he bajare-k ek-keh ante so:na-saɽi-n qe:g-qeh kiry-ah [14'38] so:na-saɽi-n qe:g-qeh kir-keh ante aɖa-no ɖoky-ah [14'40] ante dine jumary-a a:ɽ-ik eky-ah [14'43] sarŋg-jahje-t *ji:pe-t ka:re-t mo:ɽa-saikile-t* ante ba:no-ba:ni gaɽar eky-ar baɖa-baɖa menj-menj-le [14'51] ra:ja-taŋ.gadi eŋg-en=ohɽi maɽ.men-lid eŋg-en=ohɽi maɽ.men-lid eŋg-en=ohɽi biha men-lid a:n-le eky-ar [14'57] jamary-ar ante il-ner ɖo:k-ner a: pahra-no a:he qaso jula-no so:na-saɽi-n qow-keh eky-ah [15'03] ante a:he geci oky-ah [15'06] geci oky-ah ante nada-no ati-ki juge menj-ad ako [15'11] ati-de pu:n-a qend-ki gurar kudy-ad [15'15] muɽse-n bed-a kudy-ad pu:n-a qend-ki gurar kudy-ad a: pahr-no [15'19] eŋg-a=baru pund-lid eŋg-a=baru pund-lid e:n ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-ɖa:we men-len a:n-le bed-a kud-ner [15'25] bed-a kud-i pu:n ati-d=pahã nanond male-r-in bed-a kud-i-tatine ante e:k-i ante [15'30] a: qaso jula-no sona-saɽi-n qend-keh oky-ah ahe-n to and-olad ati [15'33] lekin oca-kid ante ahe-ki pund-ad [15'36] ani i:h ma:ɽe-h male ma:ɽe-h male

man) went back blaming each other, saying "It's not me. You must have said that. It's not me.'" The money is done. Then what will they do?' And they went back. He gave them money and let them go.' He gave whatever [money] the day labor was worth, and sent them off. And [the digging] was done.' And he hedged in as much land as the house originally had.' He built a house. He put the money in the house, and [said] "Let the money underneath the house sit there.' But I will make this money do [my work]." And he did not take out the money underneath the house.' And he went around looking for a carpenter.' Then he called carpenters of twelve districts.' Those carpenters from twelve districts made twelve plans.' They built the house. They built [the house], and after [paying] the carpenters and [paying] for the house, one thousand rupees of money was still left.'

Then this woman announces in order to find a husband again.' Then he seems to have heard it.' "Mom, would you give me money? I would like to go to the market.'" She gave [him] 240 rupees.' The mother gave [the money] and said again, "Don't worry and go [to the market]. Buy as much as you like." When she said this,' he said, "No, give [me the money] from your hand, mother, and then I will go.'" Then she gave him 240 rupees and he went to the market.'

That woman was looking for a husband there, at her home.' She was looking for a husband, so they seem to have beaten Nagara drums or whatever else. They spoke while beating Diga drums.' They beat those drums and [said], "The king's daughter is looking for a husband in that place.' Let us get together on that day." When they said this, he went to the market and bought a golden saree and came back.' He bought a golden saree, came back and stayed home.' And the day came. He went there.' By airplanes, Jeeps, cars, and motorcycles, they went in various ways, forming a big big [crowd]. Thinking "The king's daughter might maybe like me" "She might maybe like me" "She might maybe marry me," they went.' They got together, stood and stayed [there]. Then he went to a dirty hammock carrying the golden saree.' And he sat far back.' He sat far back. At that time, it seems to have been an era of elephants.' An elephant went walking around carrying a garland.' It went around looking for a husband. It went walking around carrying a garland. At that time,' they were looking for [the bridegroom elect] thinking "Maybe it will put [the garland] on me." "Maybe it will put [the garland] on me." "I would become the king's daughter's husband." "The elephant is walking around looking. It is looking for such great men." [While they were thinking so,] the elephant went but' did not find him, who carried the golden saree and was sitting in the dirty hammock.' But it arrived [at him] and put [the garland] on him.' "Is he a Mar, a barber, a blacksmith,

la:pite-h male kamare-h male dombe-h male ati ihe-k pund-ad ati [15'42]  
 e:ɽ-olad i: ati-d ati-d a:g-ola [15'45] de e:ɽ ina men-la:ni a:n-naq-qer kiry-ar  
 [15'47] ina men-la:ni palna dine men-anid dosra dine-no a:n-naq-qer qoɽry-  
 ar

[15'51] te doky-ar oky-ar nandu-hi nandu dosra dine jamar-y-ar [15'56]  
 a: pahr-no la:pite-r-joka eky-ah [15'59] a: sona-saɽi qend-keh eky-ah gobari-  
 qa:ŋgi-no oky-ah [16'02] ek-keh gobari-qa:ŋgi-no oky-ah a: nandu dunya-  
 male-r jamar-y-ar sarŋg-gaɽi-t *ji:pe-t ka:re-t mo:ɽasaikile-t* ik-ik.ja:ti gaɽar-  
 le e:ky-ar [16'10] eŋg-a pund-lid e:n ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-qa:we-h men-len adi-k  
 a:n-le [16'13] awɽ.naq-ner ante de a: pahr-no na bar-ner jamar-le a: pahr-no  
 [16'18] na: ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-d (a:ni) ra:ja-taŋ.gade- taŋ.gade-qa:ni meŋj-ad a:d  
 tam-aɽa-no eɽwy-a sorsoti-n [16'25] aɽa-no sorsoti-d-bahak korc-ad cini-n  
 baseta-n indru-ko eɽw-ci:je becc-ad adi-n [16'31] gosani-k eɽw-ci:je-d becc-  
 a adi-n qend-kid ante korc-ad a: pahr-no [16'35] a: pahr-no sorsoti awɽ-i kide  
 [16'38] ina to ja:mayr bar-er a:n-le awɽy-a [16'41] ina to ja:mayr bar-er a:n-  
 ko are eŋg-en naq-oma [16'44] a: dine-ŋahā ikpade meŋj-a pund-a=re ani  
 [16'47] ok-u-r i:n-le tupy-ar=re ani jo:r gaɽar-le eky-a=re [16'49] lajatr-id  
 mba naq-oma je a:n-ko [16'53] e:n maɽ.men-en adi-n male ni:n maɽ.men-  
 eni ad-in nde [16'55] ante ni:n maɽ.men-ani adi-n ni:n mba a:n-le awɽ-i ante  
 e:r-a indrik na:n-ne nde [16'59] eŋ-ki saba-n dary-olaki ta:nu a:ny-a [17'01]  
 ante a: a:n-kid ante eɽw-kid ante urq-a [17'04] urq-a ante cary-i gurary-a ati  
 pu:n-a qend-ki [17'08] cary-no pu:n-a qend-ki carc-a gurary-a eŋg-a=baru  
 pund-lid eŋg-a=baru pund-lid ani maji maji meŋj kudy-ar [17'12] a:d ek-  
 kid la:pita-h qacy-ah gobari-qa:ŋgi oky-ah ahe-ki oca-ki pund-a [17'16] ani  
 e:ɽ ati-d e:ɽ-olad qōh-a piɽ-a baj-a [17'20] i: ati-de muɽse-n a:d-oti a:g-olad  
 a:n-le [17'22] dunya-male-r dō:k-ner o:qre:ŋj-le tupy-ar a:rary-ar [17'25]  
 jo:r gaɽar-le eky-a [17'26] ante nandu ina men-la:nid a:n-naq-ar ina nandu  
 men-la:nid dosra dine men-anid [17'32] i: ati-d a:g-olad a:n-naq-qer nandu  
 qoɽry-ar

[17'35] qoɽry-ar ante qoɽry-ar ante nandu dosra dine eky-ar [17'41]  
 nan-dine men-anid a:n-naq-qo nandu na:he a:h qaso jula-ni sona-saɽi-n aɽk-  
 keh ante nandu eky-ah [17'46] ante a:h nandu geci ok-ih ma:ŋgy-u-joka  
 paj.cu:gu-r-joka [17'52] ante nandu sorsoti eɽw-oti korc-a ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-hi

or a Dom? The elephant put [the garland] on him.' This elephant is not good. The elephant does not know.'" Saying "Damn! It wouldn't have been today" to each other, they went home.' "It won't be today. It will be on such and such day, on a different day." Saying this to each other, [the men gathered] broke up.'

They carried on living, and they got together again on another day.' At that time, [the prince] went [dressed] like a barber.' He went carrying the golden saree and sat on a pile of cowdung.' He went and sat on the pile of cowdung. Those men of the world got together again, by airplanes, Jeeps, cars, motorcycles, in various ways.' "[The elephant] might put [a garland] on me. I would become a husband of the king's daughter.'" They said [this] to each other, and when they came and got together,' the king's daughter, who was the wife of the prince, was performing a puja for Saraswati at home.' She went into the place (i.e. altar) of Saraswati. [Carrying] sugar, sugar-cake, whatever offering there was,' carrying the offering that was for gods, she entered [the altar] at that time.' At that time Saraswati said, "Today, the bridegroom will come.'" When [Saraswati] said, "The bridegroom will come today," [the princess] said, "Hey, don't say [that] to me.' What happened on that day? It put [the garland on that dirty man]. Those sitting spit like this and [the spittle] made a water race and flew.' Isn't it shameful? Don't say such a thing." When she said this,' [Saraswati said,] "[Which do you like,] the one that I like, or the one you like?"' She said, "[Give] the man whom you like, will you?" "See? [Then] why did you say that?' You didn't observe my words.'" After [Saraswati] said this, [the princess] performed a puja and came out.' She came out. Then the elephant went walking around carrying a garland.' When it walked around, it carried a garland and walked around. [Men] kept getting [further forward to] the middle, [thinking] "Maybe it will put [the garland] on me" "Maybe it will put [the garland] on me.'" It (i.e. the elephant) went, reached [the man] who sat on the pile of cowdung dressed like a barber and put [the garland on him]. "Damn! The elephant is not good. Chop it, kill it, and beat it.' This elephant does not know [how] to choose a man." Saying that,' the men of the world [who] were present cleared their throats, spat, and were disgusted.' It formed a water race and flew.' And they said to each other again "Today will not be [the day]" "Again it will not be today" "It will be on another day." Saying to each other "This elephant does not know," [the crowd] broke up again.'

[The crowd] broke up and they went on another day again.' Saying to each other "It should be on a different day," he thrust the golden saree into a dirty hammock and went again.' Then he again sat afar, like a beggar, like a bird catcher.' Then again, the king's daughter went into [the altar] to

[17'58] nandu ra:ja-taŋ.gadi meŋj-ad a:d korc-a a: pahr-no nandu awd-id sor-soti awd-id ante [18'04] ina=janu ja:mayr bar-er [18'05] a:n-ko are a: ke:pe ho ik-pade ma:ŋgy-u-k=ma:ne ik-pade indru pund-a=re [18'10] i: ke:pe ho ik.ja:ti indrik pund-a ati-d a:g-ola [18'14] baj-a piŋ-a a:n-naq-ar o:qre:ŋj-le tupy-ad a:di jo:r gaŋar-le eky-ad [18'18] a:n-le awdy-a ani mala ni:n na:n-le na:n-le gaŋar-ni ta:nu ne:kki pasine men-ani ni:n [18'23] eŋ-ki pasine-n do:k-ani male niŋ-ki pasine-t do:k-ani niŋ-ki pasine-t mba a:n-ko [18'29] e:ne awd-in adi-n men-ane ina j@amayr bar-er a:n-le awd-ko [18'32] aca ani e:n indra kud-en a:ny-a [18'34] ante urq-ad a:d male-r-bajo urq-ad [18'38] ante nandu ati-de ta:ri-no pu:n-a cini baseta ako indru indru becc-a ako adi-ne pund-a pund-oti urq-a a: pahr-no [18'46] eŋg-a=baru pund-lid eŋg-a=baru pund-lid a:n-le awdŋr.naq-qo kud-ner [18'50] ante baŋa baŋa meŋj kud-ner maji maji meŋj kud-ner [18'53] ada-no na: gulgulya qacy-a puj.cu:gu-r qacy-a ahe-ki oca-ki pund-ad [18'58] ani e:ŋ orta-qadi-peli-k e:nond dine-game bar-et [19'02] e:nond dine-game jamar-et apta-taŋe [19'04] nek-a:nded biha gaŋy-a

[19'05] a:n-le awd-ko ante tambako meŋj-ah na: peli-ki tambako meŋj-ah a:he eŋg-a eŋ.gadi-de muŋse-n bed-oti a:g-ola muŋse-n kor-oti a:g-ola [19'15] eŋ.gadi-n kor-tr-laken a:n-le a:he a:he amb-keh kiry-ah [19'20] tembru piŋ-en aro se nde aŋa-k oy-olaken a:ny-ah ante [19'24] male-r to *jowab* nan-ker cic-ar kide e:nond orta-qadi-k peli-ke e:n hapta jamar-en [19'29] a:n-naq-qer amb-ker tey-ar nadi-ki pu:n-a pund-ad ati-ki nahe-ki ante [19'35] aŋe biha meŋj-a ko il-ner a:ber a:n-ker goŋe-r lajar-ker [19'39] goŋe-r lajar-ker ante a:ŋ-no il-ner biha ik-bahno biha meŋj-ad aŋ-hi jaga-no i:n-le [19'42] ante ma:q lehary-a ma:q meŋj-a anno-goŋe-hi ante na:he awd-ih kide male-r qoŋr oŋgr-ne-ki ba:de awd-ih de [19'48] e:n to pasinar-laken ni:n pasinar-ki ante eŋg-ene eŋg-ene pu:n-a pund-tr-ki biha nan-ki [19'54] anake e:ŋg-en aŋa-k oy-a a:n-le awdy-ah ani [19'56] a:d indra kud-anide a:ŋgli-qo:re-t ahe-ki luga-n darc-ki ante oca-a [20'00] aŋa-k oc-ad aŋgli-qo:re-t oc-ad ante aŋa-no korc-ko (ra:ja) na: peli-ki tambako-ki no:kryo-r meŋj-ar a:ber-ine [20'11] awd-ih kide na: ma:ŋgyu-oŋce-r-ike e:ŋ-kodli-n=ohŋi e:da-ke ciy-a a:n-ko [20'14] no:kryo-r doky-ar a:ber-ike a:ber awd-ko a:ber e:ŋ-kodli-no jaga-n cic-ar a:ber-ik oŋce-r-ik [20'20] ante a:ŋi-no a:ŋ-no a:ber ko:d-ner a: pahra-no awd-ih de [20'26] ŋi:ke eŋg-en biha nan-kid aŋa-ki aŋa-k awd-ko aŋa-k ondr-ki te eŋg-en anake lape-n qat-a [20'31] eŋg-a ki:ŋe kor-id lape-n qat-a a:n-le awd-ih eŋg-e ja:gu-n qat-a

perform puja for Saraswati.' The [girl] who was the king's daughter entered [the altar] again. At that time, Saraswati said again.' "Today the bridegroom will come.'" When she said this, [the daughter said] "Hey, [the elephant] put [the garland] on a mere beggar or something at that time, too.' This time too, why and what kind [of man] did the elephant put the garland on? It does not know.' Saying 'Beat! Kill!' people spat clearing their throats. It formed a water race and flew.'" She said that. Then [Saraswati said,] "Wait, you behaved that way, but whose choice will you accept?' Will you marry the one that I like? Or will you marry as you like? [You are going to marry] as you like, aren't you?' Listen to what I say. Today, your bridegroom will come." When she said this, [the daughter] said, "Okay, then I don't have to do anything.'" Then she went out. She went out to the men.' Then again, the elephant went out to put on what was on the metal plate, maybe garland, sugar, sugarcake and so on.' They kept saying "It would put [the garland] on me." "It would put [the garland] on me.'" They kept stretching themselves higher up. They kept getting [further forward] to the middle.' [The elephant] reached him who looked like a tramp, like a bird catcher.' Then [they said], "Darn it! For how many days are we going to come, for just one woman?' How many days are we going to get together every week?' Forget it. Do the wedding."

When they said this, he who was the girl's father heard [it]. He [said] "My daughter does not know [how] to choose a husband. She does not know how to marry a man.' I [could] not marry my daughter off." Saying this, he left and went back.' He said, "I would rather kill [her]. And I will not take [her and the man] home.'" The men had given their answer, "[For] how many [days] am I going to get together [every] week, for just one woman?"' Saying this, they forgot about her, the elephant that put the garland, and him (i.e. the prince). All those who were standing said, "Hey, the wedding seems to be done," and they all got ashamed.' All got ashamed and stood like this, right at the place where the wedding took place.' Then night came. It became dark. Then he said, he said after the men had dispersed.' "I did not like you. You liked me, put the garland on me and married me.' Now take me home." He said this.' What did she do? She held his garment by her fingertips and took [him home]. She took him home. She took [him home] with her fingertips. Then [they] entered the house. There were the woman's father's servants. [The father] said to them, "Show those beggars' couple the goat-pen or something.'" The servants [who] were [there] gave them, the couple, a place in the goat-pen.' Then when they lay down there, [the prince] said, "Okay, you married me and got me. After I asked you to take me home, you took me home. Now give me food.' I feel hungry. Give

[20'36] ante lap-en te qandr-en a:n-le awd-ih [20'37] ani aslu ok-a aslu ok-a eng-en=ñahã piñ-oti baj-oti ok-ih [20'41] eñ.gadi muñse-n a:g-ola kor-oti a:n-le [20'43] e:n ikto ek-ken indru ja:gu-n ne:ke qaq-qen ondr-en niñg-a [20'49] aslu qandr-a a:n-le awd-id [20'51] mala eng-a qat-a=du:re a:n-le sotye:try-ah [20'53] ani aña-no kody-ar a:t-no ik-bahno ti:qalu-pa:nu kody-a ako adi-n ar naryale adi-n meq-qid ante cic-ad [21'02] idi-n=ohñi moq-qe ante am o:n-ene a:n-kid ante nadi-n a:tge kody-ad ade-ti meq-qid ante cic-ad [21'07] cic-ad ani a:h moq-qeh ante adi-n-hi moq-qeh ante am onða-keh ante kody-ah [21'12] kody-ah ante qandr-ner ma:q-a na:h to indra qandr-en adi-n se qandr-tit-ih [21'18] qandry-ad kajak ja:ng-no tuk-no coy-la ejer-la qandry-a ko:d-i [21'23] te disa a:g-la qandry-ad ani i:he a: sona-sañi-n otr-keh ante ba:c-uñ-ah [21'28] na: peli-n ba:c-uñ-ah-keh ante indra ko:d-en ante boñg-ah a: maqe-h [21'31] aña-k tam-aña-k kiry-ah

[21'34] kiry-ah ante kir-ko i:he tañ-ki no:kryo-n awd-ih [21'39] na:h ra:ja-tañ.gadi ra:ja-tañ.gadi-ki tambako-h mba a: ra:ja-h na:h awd-ih kide [21'50] açe ka:l-a no:kryo-r i: na: mañgyu-gadah-oñge-r indra coy-olar [21'56] inond a:t-baj be:ru meñj-ad ano [21'58] indra na:ber-in urc-otr-le dwar-no cu:t-oka a:n-le awdy-ah tambako-h peli-tambako [22'02] ani ek-ker ante e:r-ner ta:nu aña to u:qe meñj-a [22'06] ani a:ber muc-ogr-ker ante e:r-ner teñu-t e:r-ot pola-ker ante [22'10] ante ayu: ra:ja ayu: ra:ja a:n-ner a:ber [22'12] ayu: ra:ja siñaçe ayu: niñ.gadi se niñ.gadi niñ.gadi se niñ.gadi=çe a:n-le awd-ih [22'16] indra kudy-ad ma:ngyu-oñge-r-in gadah-oñge-r-in a:ny-ah [22'20] bar-a=çe bar-a bar-a e:r-owa ra:ja e:r-owa siñaçe a:n-le awd-ner a:ber no:kryo-r [22'24] ante band-oca-ker ante e:d-ner ta:nu a:he indra kud-ih qandr-id i:he eky-ah [22'30] a:h-ð ta:n ho e:r-oti pola-keh ante uñ-ogry-ah teñu-t [22'33] uñ-ogr-keh ante adi-ke u:ñr-keh ante co:ca-keh ante adi-n urc coy-tr-keh ante gala-n cumqy-ah [22'38] iko ja:mayr iko ja:mayr i: toro-t sa:wc-ken i: toro-t qañc-ken piñ-en baj-en a:n-le tañ-ki toro-n baj-uwr-le a:he tañ.gadi-n cumqy-ah [22'48] iko ja:mayr anake e:d-a ja:mayr a:n-le a: qandr-u-d indra anđ-anid boñg-ah maqe-h [22'53] ante a:h tañ-ki toro-n baj-uwr-le a:he adi-n cumq-ih gañar-ih [22'56] qandr-u-mogro urc coy-tr-keh ante ðoky-ah oky-ah ante [23'00] (awdide) a: maqi-d ho a: peli-d ho sañi indra palñar-kid-tatkid ante [23'05] ogy-ar ante ðoky-ar kide e:n-ñahã ra:ja-n a: ja:mayr baña eno:pane ra:ja-h ako a:n-le

me food. Give me a meal.” He said, “Give me a meal. ‘I will eat and sleep.’” Then she said, “Sit quietly! [Father] is ready to beat and kill even me,’ saying ‘My daughter does not know [how] to marry a man’. ‘Where can I go? What meal can I get? And for whom can I bring it, for you?’ Sleep quietly!’” He complained, “No, just give me [food].” Then she roasted the rice grains and coconuts, which seem to have been somewhere in the house where they were lying, and gave [it to him]. ‘Saying “Eat this and drink water,” [she] roasted it with the leaf that was there, and gave [it to him]. ‘She gave [it to him]. He ate [that], he ate that, drank water, and lay down. ‘He lay down and they fell asleep. [Saying] “Why will I be sleeping?” he let her sleep. ‘She was asleep. When [he] called her a lot and pushed her, she did not get up. She did not wake up. She was sleeping and was lying. ‘She was unconscious and was sleeping. Then he took out the golden saree and covered her with it. ‘The boy covered that woman [with the golden saree], and saying “Why will I be lying down?” he ran away. ‘He went home, to his own house.’

He went back. After he went back, he (i.e. the king) said to his servant. ‘He is the father of the king’s daughter, right? That king said, ‘“Go, servants! Why don’t that beggar-donkey couple get up?’ It has become so [late], eight o’clock. ‘Go, drag them out, take them out and throw them out of the gate.” The father said this, the woman’s father. ‘When they went and saw, the house (i.e. the goat-pen) was dark. ‘Then they covered their faces with their hands and looked. They could not see’ and then they said, “Good gracious, Your Majesty! Good gracious, Your Majesty!”’ [The servant] said, “Good gracious, Your Majesty, lord! [It’s] your daughter, [it’s] your daughter!”’ [The king] said, “What does she have to do with the beggars’ couple, the donkeys’ couple?”’ Those servants said, “Come and see, Your Majesty! Come and see, lord!”’ After they pulled him and took him [there], they showed him, then what was he (i.e. the prince) doing? She was sleeping and he had gone. ‘He (i.e. the king) could not see either. He made a shade with his hands, ‘he made a shade with his hands [to see], then he [stumbled and] fell down on her. He got up, woke her up pulling [her with his hands] and kissed her cheek. ‘“Where is the bridegroom? Where is the bridegroom? I cursed [him] with this mouth. I abused him with this mouth, saying ‘I will kill and beat [him].’” Beating his mouth saying this, he kissed his daughter. ‘He said, “Where is the bridegroom? Show [me] the bridegroom now!” She was sleeping and what would she find? The boy had run away. ‘Then beating his own mouth, he (i.e. the king) was kissing her. ‘After he pulled [her hands] and woke her up, who was dead asleep, he carried on living, and’ the girl, the woman also changed her saree and so on, and’ they kept [the golden saree] and lived. [The king was] thinking “I am a king, too. What a big king the

[23'12] ugle:c-ah mba adi-n awdy-ah na:n-le baj-uwry-ah [23'15] ante doky-ar oky-ar ante na:he agdu-jahā piṭ-try-ad a:n-le ugle:c-keh ante mba

[23'21] apta male mehna bacari katy-ad ani eky-ah [23'25] kaṭiḱoṇ kacronḱoṇ laṅgoṭ aṛk-keh ante eky-ah jã:c nan-oti awri [23'28] kaṭiḱoṇ kacronḱoṇ laṅgoṭ aṛk-keh ante eky-ah e:ṭ-go:wal maq-joka-hi [23'32] eky-ah ani a:de a: peli-d pokari-no luga kaj-a dō:k-id [23'37] ani a:he pokar-a:ṭi-no e:k-neh andu a:sru-pi:sru a:sru-pi:sru eky-ah [23'41] ani na: luga kaj-id na: peli-di-hi awd-id kide [23'45] aṛe maqe iḱṭ-ik iḱṭ-ik e:k-ne il-a-ta:nu il-a-ta:nu [23'48] indrik ani ceṅej-ceṅej-le awd-ih indrik ani [23'50] il-a mba iḱto e:k-ne [23'54] iḱto e:k-en je: dō:k-tr-dō:k-tr-no dō:k-len adi-k se carc kud-in a:n-ih a:h [23'59] ani o: e:n abo-n meṇja-ken bar-en=ṛe [24'03] a: boṅg kiryad luga-n amb-kid ante [24'05] abo ik-pad maqe-h na:-peṭ eky-ah ine bi:k-ken [24'10] je: dō:k-tr-dō:k-tr-no dō:k-len a:n-ih e:ṛe-n cara:tr-le dō:k-tr-let ani [24'15] o: ka:l-a ondr-oka a:ny-ah [24'17] ante ba:te-n darc-ah=jahā taṇ.gadi-ki ba:te-n [24'21] ante ka:l-a ondr-oka a:n-ko i:de akawaka luga-ne kajy-ad sa:ṭc-ad ahe-no amty-ad no:ṛy-ad ante kirtry-ad [24'28] aḱa-k kirtr-ko idi-n ondr-ken-ih i and-ken awd-ki a:n-ko [24'31] o: te dō:k-ner ok-ner a:h e:ṛe-n kol-a kol-a e:k-ih [24'36] kirtr-ni cara:tr-le ante aḱa-no ho saṅgal saṅgal-hi dō:k-ner ok-ner [24'40] alqtr-kelatr-naq-ner ci:qlund-i kelatr-id ikni gaṛar-id [24'43] ḱaḱe-k e:k-no ho akawaka ja:gu-n aṛge-n bit-id aro ḱaḱe-k oy-id e:ṭ-ḱaḱe-k [24'47] ja:gu-n am-a loṭa-no qend qend ante e:k-i [24'50] a:ṭ-no lap-eki ci:qlund-id ikni gaṛar-id kelatr-id ṭepoletr-id [24'55] dine-nihi na:n-ih na:h [24'57] kelatr-ki bicr-id qond-tr-ki bicr-id ani

[24'59] din-onde-no na:he ugle:c-ah ante awd-ih kide ni:ne are eng-en ni:ne kelatr-oma i:n-le ci:qlund-oma [25'08] ni:n aga muṛs-ta:ni ko [25'10] eng-en muṛse-h baj-eh piṭ-eh e:n aru-hi iṇjqad-maqe-n ki:ṛwa-maqe-n [25'16] uj-e eṇ-ki puṛa uj-e-k se dō:k-in a:n-le awd-ih [25'18] ani aṛe muṛs-balo-n (pel-balo-n) a:n-id a: ujaṛi pasye:tr-i (pel) muṛs-balo a:n-id [25'24] ante a: to ḱa:we-jahā ṭa:kc-e:r-ih mba muṛs-balo-n a:n-id [25'30] ante o: ani nandu na:n-le dō:k-ner ok-ner dō:k-ner ok-ner ante ante awd-ih de [25'38] e:ne ni:n muṛs-ta:ni-d e:n a:g-in niṅg-a ḱa:we-n and-a-ken a:ny-ah ni:n muṛs-ta:ni and-a-ken niṅg-a ḱa:we-n [25'44] and-a-ke sidahe a:n-id [25'46] oho: and-a-ken iḱto dō:k-ih nde [25'48] a:h ano palna qep-no dō:k-ih na qep-no dō:k-ih ondr-len a:n-ih [25'51] ondr-ku aca jo [25'53] eky-ah ujaṛi-hi ek-keh ante ahe-n awd-ih [25'56] aṛe mba ni:n ra:ja-taṇ.gadi-ḱa:we [25'58] o:

son-in-law must be?" He thought so, didn't he? [For] he said this and beat [his mouth] that way.' And they carried on living. [He was] thinking "Even previously, she killed [me] (with worries)."

A week, a month or a year has passed. Then he (i.e. the prince) went.' He put on a small [piece of] cloth, a loincloth, and went, in order to test her again.' He put on a small [piece of] cloth, a loincloth, and went, like a goatherd boy.' He went. Then she, the woman, was washing clothes at a pond.' Going on the bank of the pond, he was going hesitantly.' Then the woman, who was washing clothes, said, "Hey boy! Where are you going? Stop, stop." "Why?" he said graciously, "Why?" "Stop, okay? Where are you going?" He said, "Where am I going? Wherever [someone] hires me, I would stay [there]. That's why I am going around." "I see. I will ask my dad and come back, okay?" She left the clothes [she was washing] and went back running.' "Dad, I invited some boy who was going there today.' He says 'I would stay wherever [someone] hires me.' Let us hire him, making him graze goats." He said, "Okay, go and bring him." And he just accepted the words, his daughter's words.' And when he said, "Go and bring [him]," she washed and hung (lit. pasted) the clothes in a hurry, gave him a bath, washed him and brought him back.' After she brought him home, she said, "I found him and brought him [home]." When she said this, [the king said,] "Okay" and they carried on living. He (i.e. the prince in disguise) opened the goat[pen] and went [to graze goats]. She took him home, made him graze [goats], and they lived together at home, too.' They said jokes and amused each other. She played giggling and so on.' When he went to the woods, she cooked rice and vegetables excitedly, and brought it to the woods, to the goat woods.' She went carrying meal and water in a brass pot.' Eating there, she giggled, played and joked.' He was doing so all day.' It made [him] play and made [him] tired.'

Then one day, he thought and said, "Say, don't play with me. Don't giggle this way.' You seem to be married.' The husband will beat and kill me. Again, I am an orphan and a poor boy.' I am living just to fill my stomach." He said this. ' Then she said, "Oh, I am single." She lied and falsely said she was single.' That husband is testing [her], isn't he? She said she was single.' Then [he said] "Oh," and they carried on living that way again. Then he said again, "I know that you are married. I have seen your husband. You are married. I have seen your husband." She said, "Did you see him? Really?" "Yes, I saw him." "Where does he live?" He said, "He lives in such-and-such village. He lives in that village. I will bring him." "Would you bring him then, huh?" He falsely went. He went and said to someone.' "Hey, are you the king's daughter's husband?" [That man] said, "Oh, yes."

a:n-ih ante e:k-a ning-en awd-ide ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-d [26'03] oc-ah oca-keh ante a:he ok-ih geci-hi ani awd-id [26'09] aca na: biha-no indru indru lapy-ah moq-ah men-a aca a:n-id [26'13] a:h to biha-pahr-no moq-ah lapy-ah ti:qalu-pa:n-a ar naryale-n adi-n to moq-qeh-tatkeh ante tu:s-ot awd-ko tu:s-lah [26'21] iŋa-t manda-keh ki:d-ah [26'23] a:tge-n moq-ah a:tge-n a: to ko:d-id=paḥā [26'26] ante na:h awd-ih kide i: biha-no indra indra moq-ah adi-n men-a awd-id ani [26'32] meŋj-e:r-ih aŋeman biha-no indra indra moq-qe [26'35] ayu: ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-ki biha-d ani ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-ki biha kamti embe-tise meŋj-a [26'39] moq-qen lap-ken adi-n melqe-n qa:ŋmec-ad a:n-le awdy-ah [26'42] ani indra indra awd-ih [26'44] ayu: biha-no kamti (duk)suke meŋj-a ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-ki biha ani biha embe-tise cini-rasigula moq-qen melqe qa:ŋmey-i a:n-ih a:n-ko [26'54] e:t na:h mal-ah eŋg-a ḍa:we-h nahe-n tey-a a:n-le awd-id [26'57] aŋeman ni:n mala-ke baru=aŋe [26'59] ka:l-a ani tuk-keh tey-ah [27'01] e:k-e:k-nehi awd-ih de aŋe bar-ta:nu bar-ta:nu [27'03] ning-a tali pahry-ad ani muŋse e:ŋu men-lake [27'06] a:n-keh ante darc-oktr-keh ante tali-n car-in car-in a:ny oca-keh ante qerw-a ba:l-keh tey-ah [27'12] sa:l-a i: ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-ḍa:we-h ahe-n akry-ah

[27'15] akr-ne-ki ba:de ḍo:k-ner ok-ner nandu kelatr-naq-ner alq-naq-ner sangale-hi [27'20] e:t-ḍaḍe-k oy-no ho ja:gu-n bit-a bit-a oy-id [27'23] aḍa-no ho kirtr-no aḍa-no ho a:n-ker ŋepole:tr-naq-ner indra kud-ner [27'27] ante nandu awd-ih e:ne aḍa-ken sidahro ning-a ḍa:we-n [27'34] a: dini ikpade-no awd-ke ondr-ke ujaŋi-hi eŋg-a ḍa:we-h a:ny-ah [27'39] eŋga-ḍa:ni-de a:n-le a:ny-ah nandu dosra awd-ne a:n-i [27'41] mala-qate sidahi e:r-ken aḍa-ken a:n-ih [27'44] ka:l-a aca ondr-oka [27'45] nandu dosra dine ek-keh ante nandu awd-ih [27'48] aŋeman ni:n ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-ḍa:we-h [27'50] o: e:k-a ning-a ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-d awd-ih eŋq-qeh oc-ah [27'54] eŋq-qeh oc-ah ante nandu oc-ah ante a: geci oktr-ih [27'58] e:d-olah=paḥā geci oktr-ih ante [28'00] na:he biha-no nandu indru indru moq-ad awdy-ah men-a [28'04] ante de eŋg-a ḍa:we-h men-eh a:n-i [28'06] te aŋeman biha-no indru indru lap-ke moq-qe [28'08] adi-n men-id ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-d a:n-ko [28'11] ayu:ŋe ra:ja-taŋ.gadi ani ra:ja-taŋ.gadi-ki biha [28'14] kamti embe-tise men-la moq-qen lap-ken pola-ken e:ga-ja:ŋy meŋj-ad a:n-le awdy-ah [28'19] melqe=goŋe qa:ŋmec-ad a:n-ih a:h

“The king’s daughter tells you to come.” [The prince] took [the man]. He took him and [the man] sits far back. Then she said, “Okay, ask him what he ate at that wedding.” [Actually,] he ate rice grains and coconut at the time of the wedding. After he ate it, she told [him] to throw [the leaf] away, but he didn’t. He buried [the leaf with] bricks and kept [it]. The leaf [on which] he ate was still there. Then he said, “[The daughter] tells [me] to ask [you] what [you] ate at the wedding.” He asked, “Say, what did you eat at the wedding?” [The man] said, “Come on! It’s the king’s daughter’s wedding, the king’s daughter’s wedding. Were there few delicacies? I ate [so much that] it made my throat feel itchy.” [She asked] “What did he say?” He said, “He said, ‘Come on! Were there few delicacies? It’s the king’s daughter’s wedding. [At] the wedding, I ate delicacies, sugar and rasgulla. It made [my] throat feel itchy.’” When he said this, she said, “Here now! He is not my husband. Send him away!” [The prince said.] “Hey, surely you are not [her husband]. Off with you!” He pushed him and sent him away. While [the man] was going, [the prince] said, “Hey, come, come! Your hair has grown too long. So you are not handsome.” Saying this, he caught [the man], made him sit, and cutting and cutting his hair, he caught [the man on his] ear, cut it off and sent him away. “Bastard, this husband of the king’s daughter!” He drove him away.

After he drove [the man] away, they carried on living, and they were playing and joking together again. Even when he was taking [goats] to goat woods [for grazing], she cooked food and brought [it]. When he brought [the goats] home, they were joking and so on. Then he said again, “I have really seen him, your husband.” She said, “On that day, you said something, brought [the man], and [he] falsely said he was my husband. He said [I am] his wife. Are you telling again about another [such man]?” He said, “No, I really saw and found [your husband].” “Okay, go and bring [him].” He went on another day again and said [to someone] again, “Hey, you are the king’s daughter’s husband, [aren’t you]? Let’s go [to] your king’s daughter.” He said [this], set off and took him [to the palace]. He set off and took [him along]. He took [him] along again, and made him sit far back. He did not even made him visible [to the woman]. He made him sit far back. [She said] “Ask what he says he ate at the wedding. Then he would be my husband.” “Hey, what did you eat at the wedding? The king’s daughter is asking that.” When he said this, “Come on, [it’s] king’s daughter, king’s daughter’s wedding. There were not a few delicacies. I could not eat [them] and they were being thrown away.” He said this. He said, “They even made my throat itchy.” “What did he say?” “He said ‘Oh my! Eating and eating,

[28'21] ani indra a:n-ih ayu: e:n mo:q-e-lap-e-ti pola-ken embe-tise-n melqe=goṭe qa:ṛmec-ad a:n-le awdy-ah [28'29] e:ṭ na:h-ō mal-ah tey-a nahe-n a:n-ko [28'31] nandu aṛeman ni:n mala-ke baru=aṛe [28'33] a:n-ko a:h-ō eky-ah ante e:k-ne-e:k-nehi hay bar-ta:nu bar-ta:nu a:n-keh ante bi:k-keh kirtry-ah [28'39] o: ning-e ba:coṛi pahry-a=ṛe [28'41] toro-ki ciṅgo pahry-a e:n qe:r-ene a:ny-ah [28'43] qe:r-a qe:r-a oc-ah ante nandu muṇ-a ba:l-keh tey-ah [28'46] a:h-ō boṅg-ah

[28'48] ante ḍoky-ah oky-ah deṅgtr-naq-ner na:n-lehi ḍoky-ar oky-ar ante [28'55] ante din-onde-no din-onode-no na:he indra kud-eh ḍaḍe-nihi kurky-ah [29'01] kurky-ah e:ṭ-ḍaḍe-nihi ja:gu-n oy-o-gni-hi ja:gu oye-ki agdu-hi na:he kurky-ah [29'06] kide ina nuna-h bar-a:ndeh a:n-le kurky-ah [29'10] ina nuna-h bar-a:ndeh nuna-n e:r-o bed-e-t qondtry-a a:n-le [29'13] toho-ki na:mi-n bicry-ah taṅ-ki na:mi bicry-ah ante qend-keh ḍoky-ah kur-keh ante [29'17] kur-keh ḍoky-ah ante i:d akawaka ja:gu-ne aṛge-n bita-ki loṭa-no amu kum-kid ante e:k-id apokar-le [29'23] a:h andu maṛg-oṅgr-keh ok-ih kaki-hi [29'26] maṛg-oṅgr-keh ok-ih ante a:d eky-a ar nandu ci:qlund-i ikni maṛg-oṅgr-ke [29'29] male ja:gu-n de:ratr-ken a:ny gaṛar-id a:d [29'32] ani mala a:n-ih i:he amba-ta:nu mba a:ny-ah [29'35] ja:gu-n e:n lapy-a-tatya eṅg-a ja:gu-n=goṭe lap-o bed-ola qac-i a:n-ih a:h [29'38] lapy-ah ante e:r-a i:h di i:-peṭ ikpad male-h meṇj-ah ako eky-ahe [29'44] a:h eṅg-a i: aṭge-n qaty-ah kide [29'46] iktj-no and-ane a:ṭ-nihi ciy-ane nuna-h bar-eh adike ciy-ane ṇo a:n-ki qaty-ah a:h di [29'52] e:r-o bed-u qondtry-ad a:n-le awdy-ad aya-d [29'54] e:n kir-en ko a:ny-ah [29'56] ani ante a:d ante a:ṭi-nte maṛg-oṅgry-a ta:n bawnary-ah ante ante kiry-ah [30'03] e:ṛe-n=indru kirtry-a-tatyah ante ma:qu-qalu meṇj-ad dosra dine na:he aḍa-k eky-ah tam-aḍa-k [30'09] kiry-ah ante a:ṭ-no a:ṭi-nte awro-hi ciṭi-n tey-ah [30'15] ina ra:ja-taṅ.gade ra:ja-taṅ.gade-h ina ra:ja-taṅ.gadi-baje e:k-ih biha meṇj-a eky-ah a:n-keh ante nandu ciṭi-n tey-ah [30'23] ani ante a:de aḍa-no ḍoky-ad

[30'25] ante eky-ahi ciṭi-n teya-keh dosra dine eky-ah [30'29] eky-ah ante ciṭi-ne korc-ko e:ry-ar na:h bar-eh a:n-le [30'34] a:bere embe-n tise-n orye:tr-ker ḍoky-ar [30'36] ikuko o:n-po-n mo:q-po-n adi-n orye:tr-ker ḍoky-ar i:ber eky-ar eky-ar ante awḍ-ih [30'41] a:he to no:kryo-r ḍoky-ar ra:ja-ki no:kryo-r ḍoky-ar a:ber-in kor-tr-lar bahre-no oky-ar [30'45] ante men-ner ante na: peli-d awḍ-i kide aca i:h biha-no indra indra moq-ah men-a a:n-ko [30'52] e:n indra indra moq-qen biha-no e:n teṅg-en a:ny-ah [30'55] o: teṅg-a [30'57] eṅg-ene ti:n-dini meṇj-ad

I could not [finish] the delicacies. It even made my throat itchy.’” “Darn it! He is not [my husband] either. Send him away.” When she said this, [the prince said to the man] again, “Hey, you are certainly not [her husband].” [The prince] said this, and he (i.e. the man) also went off. Then while he was going, [the prince] called him [back], “Hey, come, come!” and made him come back.’ “Oh, your beard has grown too long.’ The moustache of the mouth has grown too long. I will shave [it].” [The prince] said this.’ He held [him] shaving, and he again cut off [his] nose and sent [him] away.’ He ran away, too.’

And he carried on living. They were joking to each other. Doing so, they carried on living.’ And one day, what did he do? He wrote in the woods.’ He wrote in the goat woods. Before [she] brought food, before bringing food, he wrote.’ He wrote “May the son come today.’ May the son come today. [I am] tired of wanting to see the son.”’ He put [his] mother’s name [on the letter]. He put his own name [there]. Having written [the letter], he was there carrying [it].’ He wrote [the fake letter] and was there. Then she cooked rice and vegetables excitedly, scooped water in a pot and went joyfully.’ Then he was sitting [there], fainted falsely.’ He was sitting [there] fainted. Then she went [there] and shook him up, [saying] “Why have you fainted?’ Or did I get late?” She reacted that way.’ Then he said, “No. Let’s stop it.”’ He ate the meal. He said, “It seems I don’t feel like even eating meals.”’ He ate. Then [he said] “Look, what a man was he? He went away from this way.’ He gave me this letter.”’ “Where did you get it?” “Right there.” “Will you give it to me?” [The letter said] “The boy will come.” When she said, “Give it, will you?” he gave it [to her].’ He said, “Mother says she is tired of wanting to see me.’ I guess I’d be going home.”’ Then, she fainted away there. Then he worried [about her] and went home.’ He brought back goats and so on, and night came. On another day, he went home, to his own house.’ He went home, and he sent a letter from there again.’ “Today, the king’s son goes to the king’s daughter’s place. The wedding is done. He has set off.” Having written this, he sent [her] a letter again.’ Then she stayed at [her] house.’

Then he went. Having sent the letter, he went on another day.’ He went. Then they read the letter when it came in, [and the letter said] “He will come.”’ They prepared delicacies and were [waiting].’ Having prepared whatever [food there is] to eat and were [waiting]. Then these people (i.e. the prince’s marriage procession) went and [the prince] spoke.’ Those servants of the king who were there did not let them in. They sat outside.’ And they asked him, and the woman said, “Okay, ask [him] what he ate at the wedding.” When she said that, [the prince] said, “I will tell [you] what I ate at the wedding.”’ “Okay, tell [me].”’ “It took me three days.’

[31'00] ati-d pu:n-a pund-ad ti:n-dine-no ul-ise-no eng-en pasinar-lar  
 [31'04] ante dosra dine-no orta-qadi peli-k e:nonde dine-game jamar-et apta-  
 tã:te jamar-et [31'09] a:n-naq-qer ante eng-en ti:n-dine-no eng-en pund-  
 ad [31'14] ul-is din ba:de-no pund-ad eng-en ani punda-ko-tatko tambako-  
 r eng-en qõh-oti piť-oti oky-ar taŋ.gadi-n qõh-oti piť-oti oky-ar [31'22]  
 eŋ.gadi-d e:tu muře kor-lad a:n-le ante ađa-k kor-tr-lar [31'25] ante e:m ikt-  
 no biha meŋj-ad a:ť-no ija-kem na:ťi-no [31'28] ante eng-en pasinar-ki biha  
 nan-kid eng-en ađa-k oy-a a:n-ko [31'33] eng-en kaťikoŋ angli-qo:re-t eng-  
 en luga-n darc-kid ante bande-ki oc-ad [31'37] ante tambako-ki no:kryo-r  
 eng-en e:ť-koťli-n e:da-ko a:ť-no kođ-ken [31'42] ante eng-en mať.meŋja-  
 ki=naħã ondr-ki [31'44] de eng-en lape-n qat-a ja:gu-n aťge-n qat-a a:n-le  
 awd-ken ani [31'49] e:n urq-oti=goťe muskilar-ken ok-in anake ikoti ning-  
 e ja:gu-n male aťge-n ondr-ken ciy-en [31'54] aslu ko:đ-a a:n-le awdy-ad  
 [31'56] a:no-goťe e:n qe:g-o=qadi qe:g-qen ani [31'58] naryale-n ar ti:qalu-  
 pa:n-a meq-qĩ qaty-ad ani moq-qen ante [32'02] i: a:tge-n cu:ť-oka a:n-ko  
 cu:ť-la[ken] ani [32'04] iko e:ne cu:ť-en ante peta-ken uťa-ken ante ki:da-  
 ken ih di a:n-keh ante arctr-keh e:d-ah a:tge-n [32'07] ani o: na:h ti:k eng-a  
 đa:we-h a:ny-ad na:h se eng-a đa:we-h a:ny-ad [32'11] ante nahe-ki-n lap-  
 ker moq-ar ante kiry-ar ađa-k oc-ah tam-ađa-k [32'18] tam-ađa-k oca-ko a:h  
 to ba:ra-jila-ki mistri-r ba:ra roŋg nany-ar ba:ra mahal nany-ar ađa-no a: ađa  
 meŋj-a ahe-ki [32'25] ante adi-k sa:ťi-n ba:c-keh ante ek-keh ante awdy-ah  
 [32'31] sa:ťi-n ba:c-keh ante sa:ťi-n ba:c-keh ante boŋg-keh e:n ko:đ-olaken  
 a:n-le awdy-ah ante barc-ah [32'37] ante e:ť-gowal-joka gaťar-keh đoky-ah  
 adi-n to teŋg-olah mba [32'41] lekin a:n-le awdy-ah ađa-k oc-ah biha na:n-  
 keh ante oc-ah

[32'45] ante oca-keh ante a:ť-no đo:k-try-ah ani de đo:k-id ok-id a: pahr-  
 no ekdam kajak qa:y-oŋgry-ad a:d [32'52] kajak qa:y-oŋgry-ad a:d nano:-  
 pane ađa-k tam-ađa-nte=goťe besi meŋj-ad ađa-k ek-kid ante i:de bawna-ti  
 qa:y-oŋgry-ad [32'59] ja:gu-n aťge lap-no=goťe-hi nadi-ke embe mal-a ante  
 nahe-n bawnar-le e:ť-gowale-n bawnar-le [33'05] bawnar-le a:de qa:y-oŋgr-  
 id kajak ani i:he indra kud-eh [33'09] awro-hi budi-n pet-ah [33'10] i: to e:ť-  
 gowale a:n-le țepole:try-ad alq-a kelary-ad eng-en-hi de i:de nadi-n ugley-id  
 [33'16] a:n-keh taŋ-ki ugli-ti so:car-keh ante [33'18] i:h ano meca ok-id ađa-  
 no ba:ra mahal-meca ok-id ađa-no ani et-keh ante [33'24] dosra-pa:w gurar-  
 keh eky-ah a:n-le ani a:joka dosra-pa:w gurar-keh eky-ah boŋg-ah tirry-ah

The elephant put the garland on me on [all] the three days. On two days, they did not like me.' Then on the other day, they said to each other, 'For how many days are we going to get together? We get together every week.' [The elephant] put [the garland] on me on [all] the three days.' After the [first] two days, [the elephant] put [the garland] on me [again]. Then after it put [the garland] and so on, the father's people sat down to chop and kill me. They sat down to chop and kill his daughter.' Saying 'My daughter did not marry a good man', they did not let her in the house.' Then we were standing where the wedding took place.' Then [I] said 'You liked me and married [me]. Take me to your house'. ' She held me, [my] clothes, with her fingertips just a little, pulled me and took me [home]. ' Then when the father's servants showed me the goat-pen, I lay there, ' and [said] 'You brought [me] just [because] you liked me.' Give me food, give me rice and vegetables'. I said that. ' She said, 'I have tough time even getting out [of here] and I am sitting. Now from where shall I bring rice or vegetables for you and give [them to you]? ' Lie down quietly'. ' Still I just asked and asked.' Then she roasted coconut and rice grains and gave [them to me]. I ate, and ' when [she] said 'Throw away this leaf', [I] did not do so, and ' [saying] 'Where shall I throw [it away]', I took it up, covered and lay [it there].'' Saying this, he made [them] dig the leaf out and showed it.' Then she said, "Yes, okay, that is my husband." She said, "That is my husband." Then after having a feast for him, they went to [his] house. He took [her] to his own house.' [He] took her to their own house. The carpenters of twelve districts made twelve plans, and made twelve palaces. [He took her] to the house that he had.' — (On that night,) he covered her with the saree, went and said, ' he covered [her with] the saree, ran away and said, "I will not lie down," and went back.' Then he became like a goatherd and stayed. He did not tell her [who he was], right?' But he said this and took [her] home. He took [her home] after having the wedding. —'

He took her [home] and made her live there. While she lived there, she had soon languished very much.' She had languished very much. She went to such a big house, even bigger than her own home, and [still languished] out of worries.' Even when eating rice and vegetables, she did not feel them tasty, thinking of him, the goatherd.' She languished very much thinking [of him]. Then what did he do?' He took up a trick again.' "She was telling jokes [with] the goatherd. [She] was playing only with me. And she is thinking of that." He thought so in his own mind, and ' while she sat upstairs in the house, on the twelve[fold] palace, he went down in the house.' Going around by a different way, he went away. That way, he went around by a different way and went away. He ran away and was off.' He was off.

[33'28] tirry-ah juta-n kamba-n anga-n goṭe-n ic-keh ante i:-pade-no duwar-bahno oca-keh ante eky-ah [33'34] eky-ah ante a:-peṭe gece-nte and-anid a:-joka-hi na:h a:-peṭ bar-ih a:-peṭ [33'39] awri-hi e:ṭ-gowale-joka lehar-keh ante bar-ih

[33'42] a:-peṭ bar-ih ani i:de a: gece-nte and-ad aro a:d-i bar-i na:he na:he qac-ih [33'46] e:ṭ-gowale akr-ih na:h [33'48] a:n-le a:de upaṭ-ond-ti upaṭ-ond-ti et-ki-tatki e:k-i [33'50] a:h bar-ponti bar-ih ante e:r-i e:r-i ondr-ih et-i et-i e:k-id [33'54] ante aṛs eky-ah et-kid et-kid eky-ad ante na:he a:de apokar-le ji:we-n ekdōm amade:tr-le gaṛar-id [34'01] na:hi bar-ih anake-janu andr-naq-en [34'03] a:n-le bar-id a:n-le (ok)il-id a: i:h andu duwari-bahak aṛs-keh ante [34'09] kaṭ-keh eky-ah and-abalo-h=dene [34'11] kaṭ e:k-ni aṭe ni:n ino se ḍo:k-in bar-a [34'14] eo: ino ḍo:k-in e:n to kaṭ-ken e:k-in and-olaken [34'17] ayu: ino ḍo:k-ni a:n-ih [34'19] ino ḍo:k-in e:r-a [34'20] bar-a i:-hi-de e:r-a i:-hi ning-en ugle:c-le qa:y-ongr-in e:n [34'22] baṭi-n e:d-id a:d e:r-a ning-en ugle:c-le qa:y-ongr-in [34'26] to ayu: ino:pane aḍa-no ḍo:k-ni qa:y-tr-i ni:n eng-en bawnar-le a:n-ih [34'30] ante a:he awḍ-ih ante ok-ok-ponti awḍ-ih [34'36] i:d be:ṛe-ki anga [34'38] o: at-ane [34'40] amb-in at-olaken a:n-ih [34'43] e: at-a qaṛy-ehala [34'45] ambin-re:-ya bai qaṛy-eh a:n-ih [34'48] a:de anga-n at-try-ad [34'50] anga=indru maja milar-i mba ning-a a:n-id [34'52] maja saji-i ning-be:ṛe-ki gandji=indru ba:rabari mba a:n-id [34'56] ante i: kamba-d ho nandu-hi be:ṛe-kamba-di a: kamba-n at-try-ad [35'00] a:d ho maja nek-i mba saji-i mba [35'02] ani apokar-le gaṛar-id ahe-n ante juta-n at-try-a [35'06] juta-n at-try-a ante o: i: be:ṛe-juta [35'09] o: ning-be:ṛe-juta-d at-ane [35'11] amb-in e:n at-olaken [35'12] at-a qaṛy-ehala [35'14] e:ṭ-gowale se aty-ah mba a:n-en [35'16] ante at-try-ad ante awḍ-id kide [35'19] i:tj ar na:tj ek-e:r-a aca a:n-id a:d [35'21] ek-e:r-a aca awḍ-id ani e:k-ih a:h usbi [35'24] a:di e:r-i apokar-le osuwtr-id ano e:k-ponti e:k-ponti e:k-e:k-ponti tang-a ḍa:we-ki ru:p banary-ah [35'33] ani a:d indra kud-anid de [35'34] ahi-ki gandji-no koḍ-et-kid ante olg-a se olg-a olg-a se olg-a [35'38] de ni:n eng-en qa:y-tr-ke ni:n eng-en bawne:tr-ke [35'42] ante eng-en eṇ-ki ji:we-n mund-oti nan-ke ni:n a:n-le olg-ad pa:ṛy-ad ante [35'47] indra olg-ane anake po:sc-naq-et adi-k se ondr-ken [35'49] bawnar-oma adi-n-ikin *cinta*: men-oma [35'52] na:m-hi uj-it amat po:s-a ḍo:k-et a:n-le a:he awḍy-ah [35'56] ante i:t-bahante saba-d ongry-ad eṇ-ki saba teṅg-e

Having taken off shoes, pants, shirt and everything, he brought them to this side, at the door, and went away.' He went away, and came back from that side, so that she will find him from afar.' He became like a goatherd again and came back.'

He came from that side. She found [him] from that far. "That one comes. [He] looks like him,' the goatherd [who] was grazing [goats].'" [She] thought so. She went coming down one [step?] by one.' Coming and coming, he came. [While she was] looking and looking, he arrived. She went going down [the stairs].' Then he arrived. She went going down. She rejoiced and her soul suddenly got excited.' He was coming. "Now I am going to meet him.'" [As she] thought so, he came. She was standing. He arrived at the door and' he walked past her as if he did not notice.' When he went past [her], [she said] "Hey, [it's] you. I live here. Come!' See, I live here" "I was going past [you]. I did not notice.' Wow! You live here?" He said this.' "I live here. Have a look.' Come, look at this. Thinking of you, I have languished.'" [Saying this,] she showed [her] arm [to him]. "Look! Thinking of you, I have languished.'" Then he said, "My goodness! You live in such a house, and you have languished thinking of me?" And he talked sitting.' "Is this brother-in-law's (i.e. your husband's) shirt?" "Yes. Will you put [it] on?" He said, "No, I won't." "Put [it] on. He won't blame you.'" He said, "I won't, sister. He will blame me.'" She put the shirt on [him].' She said, "The shirt and so on fit you well, don't they?' It fits you well. You are of the same size as your brother-in-law's (i.e. my husband's), aren't you?" Then [he asked], "Are this pants his, too?" She put the pants on [him].' "They also go well. They fit well, don't they?" She behaved happily and put [shoes] on him.' She [tried to] put the shoes on [him], and [he said] "Oh, are these brother-in-law's shoes?" "Yes, they are your brother-in-law's shoes. Will you put [them] on?" "No, I won't." "Put [them] on. He won't blame [you].'" The goatherd put them on, didn't he? I will tell you.' She put [them] on [him] and said, "Try and walk here and there, okay?" She said, "Try and walk, okay?" Then he walked slowly.' Seeing [him], she got happy and put a step forward. While he was walking, he had taken on the shape of her husband.' What did she do?' She threw herself onto his body, cried and cried. She cried and cried.' "You made me languish! You made me worry!" Saying "You did hurt me, my life," she cried and wept. Then he said, "What are you crying [about]? I have now brought [you back here] so that we will support each other.' Don't worry. Don't be anxious about this and that.' As long as we are alive, let us live supporting [each other].'" So he said.' And here the story ends, my story-telling [ends now].'

## Glossary

*-a* adverbial participle suffix, 55  
*-a* dative case suffix, 28  
*ārs-e, ārs-/ārsy-* ‘to arrive, reach’  
*āh-e, at-* ‘to beat (drum)’ (Boro)  
*aʔa/aʔa-no* ‘there’  
*aʔiya* ‘that way’  
*aʔne:y* [ITJ]  
*-aka* [ITJ] ‘you see?’  
*akabaka/akawaka* ‘in a hurry’  
*aka:le* ‘drought’  
*ako* ‘it seems’, 37  
*akon* ‘it seems’, 37 (S)  
*akr-e, akr-/akry-* ‘to drive away, to chase’  
*-aga* see *-ga*  
*agane* name of a month  
*agar* ‘if’  
*agal-bagal* ‘nearby’  
*agdi/agdu* ‘first, formerly, before’  
 (with VN), 51, 62  
*agwa* ‘first, formerly, before’, 29  
*agrite* ‘former’  
*angga* ‘shirt’  
*ang-e* ‘to choose (as when boys talk about girls)’ (Ursa)  
*ange-mange* ‘among themselves, individually’  
*angoc men-e* ‘to promise (to give)’ (Ursa)  
*angtr-e* ‘to suspend’  
*angti* ‘ring’  
*angda* ‘(palm) leaf’  
*angre:ji* ‘British, Britisher’  
*a:ngli* ‘finger’  
*a:ngli-qo:re* ‘fingertip’  
*aca, acc<sup>h</sup>a:* ‘okay, well’  
*acu, -a* ‘thorn’  
*aju:* [ITJ] ‘good heavens!’  
*aʔ-e, aʔy-* ‘to spread’  
*aʔy-e, aʔc-* ‘to be enough’

*ada* ‘house’  
*ada-male-r* ‘family, wife (in taboo relationship as younger brother’s wife)’, 84  
*aqula* [ADV] ‘inside’  
*aqul-te* ‘inner’  
*aq-onond* ‘each house’ from *ada*  
*aq-ʔa:n, aq-ʔa:no* ‘there’  
*aqʔa:r-ik* ‘thither’  
*ady-e, aqc-* ‘to catch by snare’  
*and-uwr-e* ‘to be found’  
*and-e, and-* ‘to find’  
*and-r-naq-e* ‘to meet’ (Ursa)  
*ati* ‘elephant’  
*ate* ‘or else’  
*-ate/-ati* conjunctive participle suffix, 53  
*at-e, aty-* ‘to wear’  
*ato* [TOP]  
*atlong-e, -gy-* ‘to take hold of’ (Boro)  
*ada* ‘half’  
*ada-no* ‘then’  
*ada:-ra:t* ‘midnight’  
*adin* ‘then’ (Ursa)  
*ade* ‘half, little’  
*ade* ‘lack, want’  
*ado/ade* ‘again, further’  
*ado-r* ‘others’ (Kusum)  
*adno* ‘then’  
*adyar-e, adyary-* ‘to be confused’  
*ana/=ana* ‘like’ (Ursa)  
*anake, anaku* ‘now’  
*ana:je* ‘grain’  
*ani* ‘so, then’  
*ani-jahā* ‘still, yet’  
*ani-lagacki* ‘therefore’  
*ani se* ‘therefore, then only’  
*anihi* ‘in vain, for nothing’ (Ursa)  
*anub<sup>h</sup>av* ‘experience’

anusa:r 'according'  
 aneke, aneki 'now'  
 anek-ti 'nowadays'  
 ano 'then, there'  
 anond 'that much, that many'  
 anka 'nowadays' (Boro)  
 ante 'and, then', 53  
 antekte 'then'  
 and/andu/ande 'all the time' (Mali)  
 and/andu/ande 'at that time'  
 andape 'empty-handed, without eating'  
 andi/ande 'then, and, thus' (S, C)  
 andular-e, -ry- 'to be surprised'  
 andeki, andeke, andake 'that way'  
 andek- [CP] doing that way' (Mali)  
 and<sup>h</sup> biswa:se 'superstition'  
 ano, anno 'then, there'  
 anpaṭ 'uneducated'  
 apan.apin 'each'  
 apokar-e, apokary- 'to be happy'  
 apoki 'happiness'  
 apoketr-e 'to make happy'  
 apta 'week'  
 apna 'own, oneself'  
 aba 'father', 84  
 aba-beḍi 'grandfather' (Mali)  
 abo 'father'  
 abo-aya-ber 'parents'  
 abo-ga:re 'father-in-law'  
 amaṭ 'until', 'as long as' 29, 50, 78  
 amaḍa:r-e 'to be anxious to, to be about to' (Ursa)  
 amade:tr-e 'to excite'  
 amu, -a 'water'  
 am-ki:ṛe 'thirst'  
 am-kuwa 'a well'  
 amj-e, amc- see amy-e  
 amt-e, amty- 'to bathe'  
 amn-ki:ṛe 'thirst'  
 ampatna 'cauldron'  
 amb-e, amby- 'to leave, not to do' (with IF), 85  
 amy-e, amc- 'to take bath'

-ay, -an a meaningless element attached after finite forms, 67  
 aya 'mother'  
 aya-abo 'parents'  
 ayu: see aju:  
 aye-/ayi- [OBL] of a.yi  
 ayu:, ay [ITJ] 'good heavens!'  
 ayo 'mother'  
 ayse 'this way'  
 avasya 'necessarily'  
 aweli 'light'  
 awḍ-e, awḍy-/awḍ- (S,C) 'to speak, to say' (with acc.), 'to tell' (with IF)  
 awri/awro 'again, further'  
 awlagac<sup>hi</sup> [PROP] of a village  
 ar, ara 'and'  
 -ar intransitive suffix, 42  
 arigari 'always'  
 ari/aru/aruhi 'and'  
 are [ITJ] used to address a woman  
 aro/aroh/arohi 'and, again, further'  
 arg-e, arg- 'to dig, to be trapped'  
 arg-tr-e, arg-try- 'to trap'  
 argr-e, argr- 'be ensnared'  
 arg-uṭ-tar-e 'to load over one another' (Mali)  
 arg-e, argy- 'to climb'  
 arg-tr-e, arg-tr- 'to make someone climb, lift up'  
 arsi 'mirror'  
 arhu 'again, further'  
 aṛe/aṛeman [ITJ] used to address a male  
 aṛge 'vegetable dish'  
 aṛk-e, aṛky- 'to thrust in'  
 aṛkr-e 'to swallow' (Ursa)  
 aṛgr-e, -ry- 'to be pressed down' (Mali)  
 aṛpe 'a little'  
 aṛbaḍar-e, aṛbaḍary- 'to die'  
 aṛs-e, aṛsy- see āṛs-e  
 aṛsro 'difficult, tough'

*aṛhe* 'vegetable' (S)  
*alag* 'separate'  
*ale* 'dog'  
*alq-e, alq-* 'to laugh'  
*al-qe:su* 'canine blood'  
*alqtr-naq-e* 'to joke to each other'  
*alqla:le* 'flirting'  
*alka-alka* 'insignificant' (Ursa)  
*alko* 'that way'  
*alktr-e, -try-* 'to open'  
*alwi* 'light'  
*as-e, asc-* 'to foment'  
*ase:rabe* 'slowly'  
*asol* 'in fact'  
*asg-e, asg-* 'to paste on, put together'  
*asgr-e* 'to be put together'  
*aspatala, aspitala* 'hospital'  
*aslu* 'quietly'  
*ahal-e* 'to gape' (S)  
*ah-e* see *āh-e*  
*a:qtr-e, -try-* 'to make mature'  
*a:g-e, aq-/a:gy-* 'to know'  
*a:g-tr-e* 'to let know'  
*a:-kaṛa* 'at that time'  
*-a:ga* [ITJ] 'you know'  
*a:gal-bagale* 'near'  
*a:-gahnḍi-* 'they'  
*a:ge* 'front'  
*a:-calte* 'therefore'  
*a:-co:w* 'like that'  
*a:j* 'today'  
*a:ja:d* 'free'  
*a:-joka/-juka* 'like that'  
*a:-joka-hi* 'therefore'  
*a:t* 'eight'  
*a:t-, a:ti-/aṭi-* 'there'  
*a:ṭe* 'market'  
*a:q-, a:qi-/aḍi-* 'there'  
*a:q-e, a:q-* 'to erase' (Ursa)  
*a:tge* 'leaf'  
*a:tgo* 'priest'  
*a:tr/a:trēr, a:tre-/a:trēr-* 'they', 61  
*a:the* 'leaf' (S)

*a:d* 'that, she', 34  
*a:da:* 'half'  
*a:du* 'that, she' (C,Nc)  
*a:-du:r* 'until then, that much'  
*a:d-e, a:dy-* 'to select'  
*a:d-no* LO of *a:d-* 'that'  
*a:dmi* 'man'  
*a:na* 'like' (Mali)  
*a:n-e, a:ny-* 'to say so, think so, do so', 84  
*a:n-e, and-* 'to get, find' (Boro)  
*a:ny/a:n* 'that way'  
*a:n-le/a:ny-le* quotative 'having said that', 'having thought or done so', 'that way'  
*a:npaṭ* 'uneducated'  
*a:-pa:n* 'that', see *pa:n-* (Boro)  
*a:-pa:wu* 'that way'  
*a:-pahra* 'that time'  
*a:pi* 'from thither'  
*a:-baje* 'that side'  
*a:-bahno* 'there'  
*a:-ba:de-no* 'after that'  
*a:ber; a:wer* 'they', 27, 61  
*a:-be:ri* 'that time'  
*a:y, a:yi, a:yu* 'she, that' (S)  
*a:-ma?* 'that', see *-ma?*  
*a:-waje/-wajo* 'that way'  
*a:wke* 'cucumber' (Mahapatra 'sugarcane')  
*a:wk-ba:ri, -biṭa* 'cucumber field'  
*a:-wji* 'that way'  
*a:r* see *ar*  
*a:r* 'they'  
*a:rar-e, -r-* 'to be defeated, to dislike'  
*a:ratr-e, -ry-* 'to be displeasing' (Ursa)  
*a:ra:m.se* 'at ease'  
*a:ṛi* 'hedge'  
*a:-lagcki, -le:cki, -le:kki* 'for that, therefore'  
*a:lu* 'potato'  
*a:-leko, a:-lekno* 'like that'

*a:-lo:kar* ‘those people’, 61  
*a:-lko/a:-lki* ‘that way’  
*a:lsi* ‘lazy’  
*a:sra:r-e, a:sra:ry-* ‘to trust’  
*a:sru-pi:sru* ‘hesitantly’  
*a:h/ā:h/a:hu, ahe-* ‘he’  
*ih-e, iŋj-* ‘to pelt’  
*-i* adverbial participle suffix, 55  
*ik/ika/ike* ‘which’  
*ik ik* [PL] ‘which’  
*-ik* dative case suffix, 24  
*ikahi* ‘or’ (Ursa)  
*-iki* genitive case suffix, 24  
*ikin* see *ikni*  
*-ikin* ‘and so on’ (Ursa)  
*ikuko* ‘whatever’ (Ursa)  
*ikeno/ikano* ‘where’  
*ikeno-goŋe* ‘anywhere’  
*ike-r* [PL][REL.PL] ‘who’  
*ike-r-ne* ‘anyone’ (S)  
*ike-h* [M][REL.M] ‘who’  
*iko* ‘where’  
*ikote* ‘of where’  
*ikote-nte* ‘from where’  
*iko-cu:di* ‘how far’  
*ikonno* ‘when’ (Kusum)  
*iko-be:ri* ‘what time’  
*iko-te/-ti* ‘of which place’, 31  
*ik-ʔa:no* ‘where’  
*ik-ʔa:r* ‘where’  
*ik-ʔa:r-ik* ‘to where’  
*ik-goŋe* ‘anyone’  
*ik-ja:ti* ‘how’  
*ikt-ik* ‘whither’  
*iktē/iktō* ‘where’  
*ikdano* ‘where’ (S)  
*ikde-k* ‘whither (Mali)’  
*ik-dine* ‘which day, some day’  
*ikna:y, iknahi, iknahe* ‘how’  
*ikna:n* ‘how’  
*ikni/ikin* ‘how’  
*ik-no* ‘where’  
*ik-pade* ‘how, what a’  
*ik-pahra-no* ‘at which time’

*ik-pa:wu* ‘how’  
*ik-bahno/ik-wahno* ‘where’  
*ik-biji* ‘which way’  
*ik-be:ri* ‘when’  
*ik-wa-nte* ‘from where’  
*ik-leko* ‘how, what kind of’  
*igjo/igjoho* ‘true, right, right away’  
*igde-k* ‘to where’ (voice assimilation according to Mahapatra 1979:36)  
*icca-mi:nu* ‘shrimp’  
*ic-e, icy-* ‘to take off (clothes)’  
*injqad* ‘orphan’  
*it/iŋi/it-no* ‘here’  
*iŋa* ‘brick’  
*iŋi-nte* ‘from here’  
*-it* instrumental case suffix, 24  
*itiha:se* ‘history’  
*itne:(hi)* ‘this much’  
*id-e, id-* ‘to build’  
*ide* [ITJ] ‘look’  
*-in* accusative case suffix, 24, 28  
*ina/ine/inna* ‘today’  
*inad* ‘that’ (Boro)  
*ina-noten* ‘this way and that way’ (Tugu)  
*inalko* ‘that way’ (Boro)  
*ino/inno* ‘here’  
*-ino* locative case suffix, 24  
*ino-qadi* ‘only this much’  
*inoguŋ* ‘this much’  
*inond* ‘this much’  
*inopa:n/ino:pan* ‘this big’, 31  
*inor* ‘now’  
*inq-e, inqy-* ‘to cough’  
*intija:r* ‘waiting’  
*in-te, in-ti* ‘of today’, 31  
*-inte* ablative case suffix, 24, 28  
*inte-nte* ‘from today’  
*inda* [ITJ] ‘take this’ (Mahapatra 1979:201 *unda*)  
*ind-e* ‘to do or be like this’, 84  
*indeki/indaki* ‘this way’

*indra/-an* ‘what’ (AC), ‘why’  
 (Droese *indramy*)  
*indrany* ‘why’  
*indrik* ‘why’  
*indru/-du* ‘what’  
 =*indru* ‘and so on’, 37  
*indru-ko* ‘whatever’ (Ursa)  
*indru-gofe* ‘anything’  
*indru-jahā* ‘anything’  
*indru-pade* ‘what kind of’  
*indru-leko* ‘what kind of’  
*indr-e, indr-* ‘to divide’ (PadB)  
*indro* ‘what’ (when recollecting something)  
*indro-ondro* [ECHO] ‘what’  
*indrne* ‘anything’, 65  
*indrne-pade/indrna-pade* ‘(not) ... any’, 65  
*iwr, iwr-er* ‘two people’, 32  
*irw, irw-er* ‘two people’, 32  
*irwa-qad-er* ‘couple’ (Ursa)  
*il-e, ij(a)-* [ITR] ‘to stand, stop’  
*ilko* ‘this way’  
*ild-e, ild(a)-, ildy-* ‘to erect’  
*-is/-su* ‘two’  
*isa* ‘portion’  
*isagnu/-du, -a* ‘oil’  
*isai, isaye* ‘Jesus, Christian, Christianity’  
*isa:be* ‘share, inheritance’  
*iskule* ‘school’  
*is.lie:* ‘therefore’  
*ihe-* see *i:h*  
*i:* [ADJ] ‘this’  
*i:kasa:r-e, -ry-* ‘to be envious’  
*i:t, i:ti-* ‘here’  
*i:q, i:qi-* ‘here’  
*i:tr/i:tr-er* ‘these’  
*i:d, ide-/idi-* ‘this, she’, 34  
*i:n-e, i:ny-* ‘to do this way’  
*i:n-le* ‘this way’  
*i:-pade-r* ‘such people’  
*i:-pa:w* ‘this way’  
*i:-baje* ‘this side’

*i:-batte* ‘this side’  
*i:ber/i:wer, i:beri-* ‘these’  
*i:yi, iye-* ‘this’ (S)  
*i:-wajo* ‘this way’  
*i:-leko* ‘like this’  
*i:lko* ‘this way’  
*i:-sob* ‘this all’  
*i:sr-e, i:sr-* ‘to be torn’  
*i:h, ihi-/ihe-* ‘he’  
 -u present participle suffix, 51  
*uglar-e, uglar-* ‘to think’  
*ugli* ‘mind’  
*ugley-e, ugle:c-* ‘to think’ (Droese *uglec-*), ‘to think of ...ing’ (with IF)  
*ugsa* ‘fast’ (Boro)  
*ujari* ‘unjustly, falsely’ (Ursa)  
*uj-e, ujy-* ‘to live’  
*ujni* ‘alive’  
*uṭ-e, uṭ-* ‘to cover’  
*uṭuhr-e, -r-* ‘to be filled up’ (S)  
*uṭogr-e, -r-* ‘to be filled up’  
*uṭr-e, -ry-* ‘to drop, fall down’  
*uḍsa* [PROP] of a village  
*undqal* ‘sibling’  
*undqal* ‘sibling’ (Ursa)  
*utare* ‘north’  
*utar* ‘answer’  
*uda:ri* ‘credit’  
*unda* [ITJ] ‘hold it’  
*upaṭ-ond* ‘one step’ (?) (Ursa)  
*upa:y* ‘means’  
*uba* name of a fish (?) (Mali)  
*umku, -a* ‘rice husk’  
*umba, mba* [ITJ] ‘isn’t it?’, 38  
*umbl-e, umbly-* ‘to urinate’  
*ur-ur* [ONOM] ‘very sharp’  
*urq-e, urq-/urqy-* ‘to come out’, 58  
*urkro* ‘holey’  
*ury-e, urc-* ‘to drag forward’  
*uṣan.kaṭola* ‘flying bedstead’  
*uṭ-e, uṭc-* ‘to get full’  
*uṭd-e, uṭdy-* ‘to make someone full’  
*ul-* [CLF] of days

*ula* 'inside', 29  
*ule/-du* 'day'  
*ulŋa* 'opposite'  
*ulŋar-e, -ry-* 'to turn back'  
*ulŋes-e* 'to turn over' (Mali)  
*ulte* 'inside'  
*u:sat-e, u:saty-* 'to kick' (Droese  
*utes-e)*  
*uske: ba:d* 'after that'  
*ust-e, usty-* see *usat-e* (Telo)  
*usbi* 'slowly'  
*usyare/usyari* 'smart'  
*uswe* 'footprint' (Mali)  
*usra* 'spare time'  
*usra:r-e, -ry-* 'to be ready'  
*usri* 'firewood' (PadB)  
*u:qe* 'darkness'  
*u:q-e, u:q-* (Ursa)/ *u:qy-* (Mokri)  
 'to become dark'  
*u:dur-e, u:dury-* 'to lean'  
*u:r-e, u:ry-* 'to blow'  
*equestre* 'to empty a vessel' (Ursa)  
*ek-/eky-* see *e:k-e*  
*-ek* dative case suffix, 24  
*ekta* 'unity'  
*ekdam* 'at once, completely'  
*ekŋar-e* 'to play off, fight a duel'  
 (Boro)  
*ekle, ekla* 'alone'  
*eŋ.gade* 'my son'  
*eŋg-e, eŋgy-* 'to be left'  
*eŋg-a-da:ni* 'my wife'  
*eŋg.do* 'my younger sibling'  
*eŋg-do:k-u* 'my spouse'  
*eŋg-tr-e* 'to save, leave'  
*ec-e, ec-/ecy-* 'to throw out' (Ursa)  
*ec-r-naq-e* 'to throw (water) to  
 each other'  
*ej-agr-e, -agry-* 'to wake up'  
 (Ursa)  
*ejr-e* 'to get up'  
*eju/-du, -a* 'bear'  
*edru/-du* 'parrakeet, parrot'  
*-et* instrumental case suffix, 24, 28

*et-e, ety-* 'to go down, to set (of  
 sun)', 58  
*ettr-e, ettr-* 'to bring down'  
*etro* lower (Boro)  
*-en* accusative case suffix, 28  
*-ente* ablative case suffix, 24, 28  
*enne* [ITJ] 'hey' (Ursa)  
*end-e, end-* 'to tell to, to charge to'  
 (with IF)  
*epŋa:r-e, -ry-* 'to struggle'  
*epŋi.bupri* 'twisting, wriggling'  
*em-* [OBL] of *e:m*  
*emu-gu* 'our father'  
*embe* 'sweet, sweet taste'  
*embe-tise* 'sweet and sour things,  
 delicacies'  
*-ey/-es* denominative suffix, 41, 65  
*ey-e, e:c-* 'to tie'  
*ey-r-e, -r-* 'to be tied'  
*erar-e* 'to revive' (?) (Boro)  
*er-e, ery-* 'to sweep'  
*erqo* 'husband's younger sister'  
*erg-e, ergy-* 'to defecate'  
*erg-boŋi* 'anus' (Ursa)  
*erk-a* [IMP] 'go!' (S)  
*erh-e, erhy-* 'to defecate' (S)  
*erq-e* 'to get started' (Ursa)  
*eŋtu* 'bow'  
*eŋw-e, eŋwy-* 'to worship'  
*eŋwe-tu:se* 'ritual and offering'  
*elktr-e* 'to frighten'  
*elc-e/elic-, elcy-* 'to fear'  
*ewj-e, ewjy-* 'to be lost'  
*essa* 'very, much'  
*e:g-e, e:gy-* 'to cool'  
*e:k* 'one'  
*e:k-e, eky-* 'to go', 57, 83  
*e:k-pahra* 'when going'  
*e:k ba:r* 'once'  
*e:k sa:t* 'together'  
*e:k-hi* 'same'  
*e:g-e, e:gy-* 'to throw'  
*e:t* [ITJ] 'come on! oh no!'  
*e:to:ja* 'ritual place'

*-e:nd* ‘two’, 32  
*e:nd(a)-* [CLF] for generic use, 34  
*e:tr-e, e:try-* ‘to be visible’  
*e:d-e, e:d-* ‘to show’  
*e:n/e:nu, eŋg-* ‘I’  
*e:noguɾ* ‘how many/much’ (S)  
*e:nocuɖ* ‘until how far’  
*e:nond/e:no/e:na* ‘how many/much’  
*e:no:pan* ‘how big’  
*e:m/e:mu, em-* ‘we’ (E)  
*e:r-e, e:ry-* ‘to see’, 57  
*e:re* ‘goat’  
*e:r-e, e:ry-* ‘to follow’ (Mali, Mahapatra *e:roy-e*)  
*e:ru* ‘good, well’, *e:r-ol-* ‘be bad’, 32  
*e:rc-e* ‘to carry with hand’  
*e:ru-qani* ‘safely’  
*e:re,-a/-en* ‘goat’  
*e:r-kodli* ‘goat-pen’  
*e:rtu, -a* ‘bow’  
*e:l-e, e:l-* ‘to go astray, to lose sight of’  
*e:so* ‘this year’  
*-o* subjunctive suffix, 69 (PadB)  
*okile* ‘lawyer’  
*ok-e, oky-* ‘to sit’  
*ok-et-e, -ety-* ‘to sit down’  
*ok-tr-e, -tr-/try-* ‘to place’  
*oŋg-e, oŋgy-* [TR] ‘to finish’, perfective marker, 56  
*oŋgr-e, oŋgry-/oŋgr-* [ITR] ‘to end, pass away’, perfective marker  
*oc-* see *oy-e*  
*ojing-e, ojing-* ‘to be done’ (?)  
*oj-e, oiy-* ‘to make, plant, keep’  
*oŋto* ‘shallow’ (?) (Simal)  
*oŋy-e, oŋc-* ‘to press’  
*oŋ-e, oŋy-* ‘to hide’  
*oŋ-ohr-e* ‘to hide oneself’ (Boro)  
*oŋd-* see *o:n-e*  
*oŋqal/oŋqal* ‘sibling’

*otr-e, otry-* ‘to take out, to serve’  
 [food]  
*od-e, od-* ‘to burn’  
*ona-* ‘that’, 64 (Boro)  
*ona:d* ‘that’, 64 (Boro)  
*-onond* ‘each, one by one’, 32  
*oŋq-e, oŋq-/oŋqy-* ‘to be drunk’  
*-ond* ‘one’  
*ond-e, ond-* ‘to make drink’  
*ondr-e, ondr-/ondry-* ‘to bring, to come’, 58, 83  
*oy-e, oc-* ‘to take, take along’, 58, 83  
*-owa* ‘brother’  
*orgi* ‘not yet’ (with IF)  
*ort/orte/ortu* ‘one person’, 32  
*orta-qadi* ‘only one person’  
*ort-id* [F] ‘one person’  
*ortonti* ‘together’  
*oryatr-e/oryetr-e, -try-* ‘to prepare, arrange for’  
*oryary-a* ‘to be prepared’  
*oryes-e* ‘to prepare’ (Mali)  
*oɾgu, -a* ‘house’  
*oɾgu-male* ‘family member’  
*oɾge-r* ‘married couple’  
*oɾgond* ‘a little’  
*oɾgni* ‘mistress’  
*oɾkr-e, oɾkry-* ‘to be satisfied’  
*oɾme* ‘ash’  
*oɾhu, -a* ‘house’ (S)  
*oŋg-e, oŋg-/oŋgy-* ‘to cry, weep’  
*osuwtr-e* ‘to put a step forward’ (Ursa)  
*osge* ‘mouse’  
*oha-* ‘that’, 64 (S)  
*oho* ‘thither’  
*=ohɽi* ‘or something’, 37  
*o:, ô:* ‘yes’  
*o:qer-tr-e, -try-* ‘to have one’s hair treated with oil’  
*o:qre:ɲj-e, -ɲj-* ‘to clear one’s throat’ (Ursa)  
*o:ja* ‘Ojha’

*o:jr-e, o:jr-* 'to go away' (Boro)  
*o:tres-e* 'to lean forward to peep'  
 (Telo)  
*o:na* 'that'  
*o:na-kaɾa* 'that time'  
*o:nade-t* 'therefore'  
*o:nah* 'he' (Boro)  
*o:n-e, onɔ-* 'to drink'  
*o:yu/o:ydu, -a* 'cattle'  
*o:y-gaɖi* 'ox cart'  
*o:ɾe-peɖe-ti:tram* 'end' (Boro)  
*aiya* [ITJ] 'oh my!'  
*auri/auro* 'again, further'  
*ʔãɾam-man* 'Karam tree'  
*qaq-e, qaq-/qaqy-* 'to obtain'  
*qaq-owr-e, qaq-owry-* 'to be available'  
*qaqto* 'ring'  
*qaq-tr-e* 'to make available'  
*qac-e, qacy-* 'to look like, seem'  
*qac-e, qacy-* 'to break'  
*qaju/qaje* 'dirt, mud'  
*-qad* [CLF] of children, 32 (Ursa)  
*-qadi/=qadi* 'only', 37, 85  
*qanj-e, qanj-* 'to bear fruit'  
*qaɬ-e, qaɬ-/ʔaɬy-* 'to give' (to the speaker), 84  
*qan-amu/amdu* 'tear'  
*qanu, -a* 'eye'  
*ʔan-e:h-e, -e:h-* 'to take rest'  
*qandr-e, qandr-* 'to sleep'  
*qandr-u-mogro* 'dead asleep'  
*qandr-tit-e, -tit-* 'to let someone sleep'  
*qap-e* 'to be soiled with' (Droese), 58  
*qap-r-e* 'to be smeared'  
*ʔamre* [ITJ] (Amla)  
*qaws-e, qawsy-* 'to sound'  
*qargr-e, -ry-* 'to cry out'  
*-qare* [ITJ] 'you see?' (Ursa)  
*qaɾy-e, qary-* 'to worship' (Mali)  
*qaɾy-e, qary-* 'to reproach, abuse' (Ursa)

*qaɾye/ʔaɾya* 'worship'  
*qal-e, qad(a)-* 'to steal, cheat'  
*qalg-e* 'to shake off' (?) (Ursa)  
*qalgro* 'muddy, dirty'  
*qalu, -a* 'field'  
*qalwe* 'thief'  
*qalwi* 'theft'  
*qalwo* 'stealthily'  
*qaso* 'dirty'  
*qasru, -a* 'neck'  
*qa:qarɕu* name of a bird  
*qa:qe* 'crow'  
*qa:gas-e* 'to sob chokingly'  
*qa:p-e, qa:py-* 'to watch, keep guard'  
*qa:y-e, qa:y-* 'to dry, to languish'  
*qa:yek/qa:yekdu* 'dry'  
*qa:w-e, qa:wy-* 'to talk'  
*qa:we-naq-e, -naq-* 'to talk, converse'  
*ʔa:wru, -a* 'jungle'  
*qa:wr-e* 'to talk'  
*qa:wr-naq-e, -naq-* 'to talk, converse'  
*-ʔa:r* 'side' (S)  
*qa:r-e, qa:ry-* 'to bite off, sting'  
*qa:ɾ-e, qa:ɾy-* 'to divide'  
*qa:ɾ-gr-e, -ry-* 'to be separated'  
*qa:ɾmey-e (?)*, *qa:ɾmec-* 'to make itchy' (Ursa)  
*qa:lu, -a* 'field' (C,S)  
*qa:sr-e, qa:sr-* 'to comb'  
*qeɖu, -a* 'leg'  
*qedy-* [CLF] of legs  
*qet-e, qety-* 'to beat jungle, beat water (for fish)'  
*qetuwr-e, -r-* 'to dust oneself, to shake off'  
*ʔettre* 'all' (Boro)  
*qedwu* 'ear'  
*-gena* emphatic particle (Ursa)  
*qend-e, qendy-* 'to take along' (Droese *qe:nd-e*)  
*qepu/qepdu, -a* 'village'

*qepo* ‘villager’  
*qep-ga:me* ‘whole village’  
*qemq-e, qemqy-* ‘to hold on one’s side’  
*qeyr-e, qeyry-* ‘to be heated’  
*qerg-e, qerg-* probably ‘to make something front’, *qerqqi* ‘from’ (Ursa)  
*qermbru* ‘corpse’ (Ursa)  
*qerwu* ‘ear’ (Ursa)  
*qerw.ɬaɬi* ‘temple (of a head)’  
*qesu* ‘paddy’  
*quesu-jabe* ‘paddy straw’  
*qes-umku* ‘rice husk’  
*qe:qlu/?e:ɬlu/?e:ɬel* ‘earth’  
*qe:g-e, qe:g-/qe:gy- (C)* ‘to buy’  
*qe:ne* ‘raw’  
*qe:ndr-e, qe:ndr-/qe:ndry-* ‘to tremble’  
*qe:ru/qe:rdu, -a* ‘chicken’  
*qe:ri* ‘story’  
*qe:r-e, qe:ry-* ‘to shave’  
*qe:rgoɬa* ‘egg’  
*qe:rpa:nu/-du* ‘egg’  
*qe:lu* ‘kettledrum’  
*qe:su* ‘blood’  
*qe:so* ‘beautiful woman’  
*qe:sqe:sr-e* ‘to glare’  
*qōh-e, qot(a)-* ‘to cut, to kill’  
*qoclu* ‘bone’  
*qot-e, qoty-* ‘to knock’  
*qotr-e, -ry-* ‘to be broken, to be scattered’, ‘to knock against’  
*ɬotro* ‘blind’  
*qonqe* ‘deep’  
*qot-* see *qōh-e*  
*qond-e, qondy-* ‘to be tired, to get weak’  
*qond-tr-e, qond-try-* ‘to tire, to vex, to make anxious’  
*qop-e, qopy-/qop-* ‘to pile up’  
*qop-r-e* ‘to get together’  
*qoy-e, qos-* ‘to measure’

*gow-e, gowy-* ‘to carry on the shoulder’  
*qorq-e* ‘to melt’ (?) (Ursa)  
*qol-e, qoly-* ‘to take up, scoop’  
*qoli* ‘tail’  
*qol-e:r-e, qol-e:ry-* ‘to take up and see’  
*qolgru, -a* ‘underneath’  
*qos-e, qosy-* ‘to burn, be burnt’  
*qosre, qosru* ‘pulse’  
*qosru-qarye* ‘Bean Puja’  
*ɬō:ɬō* ‘back’ (Telo)  
*ɬō:ɬpiji* ‘backward’  
*qo:q, qo:qu, qo:qe* ‘after, behind, afterwards’, 29  
*qo:q-pa:wu* ‘backward’  
*qo:q-bajo/qo:q-baje/qo:q-baji* ‘backward, behind, later’  
*qo:w-e, qo:wy-* ‘to carry on the shoulder’ (Mali)  
*qo:ro* ‘child, infant’  
*qo:roses-le* ‘affectionately’  
*qo:li* ‘tail’ (Mali)  
*qo:liyo* ‘tail person’, 172 (Mali)  
*ɬo:s-e, ɬo:sy-* ‘to dash down’  
*-gadi* ‘daughter’  
*-gade* ‘son’  
*-gr* intransitive/reflexive suffix, 41  
*-k* dative case suffix, 28  
*kāɬsa* ‘jar’  
*-ka* conjunctive participle suffix, 71  
*-ka* modal particle, 37  
*kakali* ‘waist’  
*kaki-hi* ‘falsely, deliberately’  
*kake* ‘comb’  
*kakɬo-te:la* ‘scorpion’  
*kagl-e, kagly-* ‘to die, expire’  
*kacr-* [CLF] of cloth (Ursa)  
*kajak* ‘much’  
*kajari* ‘parched rice’  
*kaj-e, kajy-* ‘to wash’ (Ursa)  
*kajri* see *kejri*  
*kaɬikope* ‘little, tiny’  
*kaɬ-e, kaɬy-* ‘to cross, pass’, 58

*kaṭe* ‘bedstead’  
*kaṭo:ra:* ‘metal cup’  
*kaṭ-tr-e, -tr-* ‘to take over’  
*kaṭy-o* ‘a little’ (Telo)  
*kaḍu* ‘bracelet’  
*kaḍo* ‘stool’  
*kand(a)-* [CLF] of cloth  
*kandwaṛe* ‘coffin’ (Droese: manger)  
*kata* ‘story’  
*katam* ‘end’  
*kanku, -a* ‘firewood’  
*kanku-neru* ‘kind of snake’  
*kankṛar-e* ‘to become tight’  
*kandane* ‘relative’  
*kā:sa* ‘brass’  
*kap-e, kapy-* ‘to touch’  
*kabar* ‘news’  
*kabi:* ‘some time’  
*kame* ‘little’  
*kamani* ‘memorial ceremony’  
*kamare* ‘blacksmith’  
*kam-e, kamy-* ‘to earn’ (?), 56  
*kamkre* ‘servant’  
*kamba* ‘pants’  
*karapar-e* ‘to get hurt’ (Boro)  
*karahi* ‘pan’  
*karca* ‘expense’  
*kaṛa* ‘time’  
*kaṛamb* ‘Karam (teak) tree’  
*kaṛi* ‘pit’  
*kaṛekaṛe-ti* ‘little by little’  
*kaṛk-e, kaṛky-* ‘to tighten’  
*kaṛma* ‘waist’  
*kaṛsa* ‘jar’  
*kalayi* ‘peas’  
*kala:ja:r* ‘Kala Azar’  
*kali* ‘Kali’  
*kale* ‘leaf cup’  
*kalk-e* ‘to bite off, gnaw’  
*kaldi* ‘banana’  
*kalya:n* ‘welfare’  
*kalsa* ‘jar’  
*kasi* ‘castrated’

*kas-e, kas-* ‘to punch on the back’  
*kahani* ‘story’  
*ka* ‘certainly, sure’ (Boro)  
*ka:klar-e* ‘to be in trouble’  
*ka:kli* ‘difficulty, hardship’  
*ka:kles-e* ‘to cause trouble’ (Mali)  
*ka:go* ‘porch’  
*ka:je* ‘work, feast’  
*ka:ty-tr-e* ‘to make bleed’  
*ka:ṭi* ‘bedstead’  
*ka:ty-e* ‘to cut’  
*ka:nḍwar* ‘front line’ (Ursa)  
*ka:re* ‘automobile’  
*ka:li:* ‘only’  
*ka:l-e, eky-* ‘to go’ (no B2 of its own), 45  
*ka:lka:s* ‘desire’  
*ka:lka:s-e, -sy-* ‘to covet’  
*ka:hek* ‘because’  
*ki* [COMP]  
*-ki* genitive case suffix, 24, 28  
*kicri* ‘khicri’  
*kiṇ-e, kiṇ-* ‘to put down’ (Tugutola)  
*kiṇḍ-e, kiṇḍy-* ‘to cut and divide’  
*kitr-e, kitr-/kitry-* ‘to approach’  
*kide* [COMP] (Ursa)  
*kidr-e, kidr(a)-* ‘to split (firewood)’ (Mali)  
*kir-e, kiry-/kirc-* ‘to return’  
*kiriscan* ‘Christian’  
*kir-tr-e, -tr-/try-* ‘to bring back, to make return’  
*kiṭki* ‘window’  
*kila-tre, -try-* ‘to feed’  
*kilase* ‘class’  
*kilo* ‘kilogram’  
*kilomeṭar* ‘kilometer’  
*kisa:ne* ‘farmer’  
*kisu/-du, -a* ‘pig’  
*ki:d-e, ki:d-* ‘to lay down’  
*ki:y-e, ki:y-* ‘to lay down’ (Telo)  
*ki:we* ‘cool’  
*ki:ro* ‘wild cashew’  
*ki:ṛe* ‘hunger’

*ki:ɾwa* 'poor, longing for'  
*ki:ɾwar-e* 'to become hungry or poor'  
*kuku*, -a 'head'  
*kuku-nuyu* 'headache'  
*kuc* 'somewhat'  
*kuco* 'dog' (Mali)  
*kucɾi* 'bale of grain'  
*kuɾ-e*, *kuɾ-* 'to throw away'  
*kujɾbana*, *kujɾbo:na* [PROP] of a town  
*kuɾ-* see *kuɾ-e*  
*kuɾa* 'post'  
*kuɾi* 'peg'  
*kuɾumbe* 'family'  
*kuɾu* 'family' (Kusum)  
*kuɾurpo* 'hairpin'  
*kuɾe* 'navel'  
*kuɾ-patli* 'pot to put a navel'  
*kud-e*, *kudy-* 'to do, to go around,  
 57  
*kund-e*, *kundy-* 'to be born'  
*kum-e*, *kumy-* 'to take on the head'  
*kumbare* 'potter'  
*kuwa/kūwa* 'well'  
*kuw(a)-* [CLF] of wells  
*kura* 'leg (of a bed)'  
*kurk-e*, *kurky-* 'to write'  
*kurk-tr-e* 'to let write'  
*kurmuftu* 'inquisitive' (Amla)  
*kursi* 'chair'  
*kuɾ-e*, *kuɾ-* 'to burn'  
*kuɾ-* [CLF] of arrows  
*kuɾni* 'hot'  
*kulaye* 'hare'  
*kula-r-e*, -r- [ITR] 'to open'  
*kular-e* 'to look for' (Kusum)  
*kusa.kusi* 'happy'  
*kusa* name of a grass  
*kusi* 'happiness'  
*ku:kr-e*, -ry- 'to nod'  
*ku:kr-e*, -ry- 'to call out'  
*kʰu:b* 'a lot'  
*ku:me/a* 'fishing coop'

*ku:ɾi* 'stable'  
*ku:ɾe* 'edge, side, brow of a hill'  
*ku:si* 'black' (Mali)  
*kec-* see *key-e*  
*kejri* 'date palm'  
*kejri-taɾi* 'date toddy'  
*kete* 'field'  
*kepe* 'time'  
*ke.ba:d* 'after'  
*keyamro* 'with difficulty' (Mahap-  
 atra: *keyo mari*)  
*key-e*, *kec-* 'to die'  
*kelatr-e/ke:la:tr-e* 'to play'  
*kelar-e*, -ry- 'to play'  
*kelar-naq-e*, -naq- 'to love'  
*ke lie* 'for the sake of'  
*ke sa:t* 'with'  
*ke:gr-e* 'to drive away spirits'  
*ke:tnu*, -a 'winnow basket'  
*ke:tn-ond* 'a basketful'  
*ke:pe* 'once'  
*ke:ponti* 'at once'  
*ke:p-ond* 'once'  
*ke:s-e*, *ke:sy-* 'to sift'  
*kōɾa* 'corner'  
*kōh-e*, *kot-* 'to bite'  
*ko* see *ako*  
*-ko* conjunctive participle suffix, 53  
*koŋgro* 'hollow'  
*kocu* 'taro' (?) (PadB)  
*koɾware* 'village official'  
*koɾ.et-e* 'to lie down'  
*koɾ.ba:sa* 'youth dormitory' (Boro)  
*konɾa* 'heart'  
*kot-piɾ-e* 'to bite and kill'  
*kon* see *ako* (S)  
*koni* 'at the right time' (Ursa)  
*kono:rokom* 'somehow' (Mali)  
*kopa* 'nest'  
*kobɾ-e* 'to hit the back of the head'  
*kor-e*, *korc-* 'to enter, marry'  
*kork-e* 'to beat with a beak' (Ursa)  
*korc-naq-e*, -naq- 'to get married'  
*kol-e*, *koly-* 'to open'

*kolro* 'leaf mat'  
*kolr-e, -ry-* 'to get loose'  
*kohna* 'jar'  
*kô:ɾa* 'corner'  
*ko:i* 'anyone'  
*ko:ɽe* 'court'  
*ko:q-e, koɽy-* 'to lie down', 58  
*-ko:ni* 'at the place of' (Boro)  
*ko:mo* name of a plant with edible leaves, Kachnar (*Bauhinia variegata*)  
*ko:ye* 'parched rice'  
*ko:r-e, korc-* 'to enter' (C, S)  
*ko:ɾakci* 'corner' (Mali)  
*ko:ɾi* 'score, twenty', 32  
*ko:sis* 'effort'  
*ko:s-e, ko:sy-* 'to divide'  
*ko:s-r-naq-e, -naqy-* 'to divide'  
*kriya.karme* 'funeral ceremony'  
*-ga* [TOP], 37, 77  
*gaŋgi* 'maize'  
*gaŋgi-qarɽe* 'Maize Puja'  
*gaɖa* 'pit'  
*gaɖi* 'car, cart'  
*gaɖo* 'wild cat'  
*gaɖya* 'mud'  
*gaɖy-ond* 'a cartful'  
*ganɽa* 'hour'  
*ganɖi* 'body, trunk'  
*gadah* 'donkey'  
*gadle* 'quilt'  
*ganda* 'dust'  
*gamca* 'towel'  
*gari* 'household'  
*gari:b* 'poor'  
*garmi/garme* 'heat'  
*gary-e, garc-* 'to melt'  
*garar-e* 'to do, behave, to prepare for (with IF)', 49 (N)  
*garar-e* 'to become' (S)  
*garɽbaɽ* 'offense' (Ursa)  
*garɽhi/garɽihi* 'many, much'  
*garɽi.bara* 'fare'  
*garɽiya* 'lazy, lazy person'

*garɽy-e, garɽc-* 'to make, manufacture'  
*garɽwa* name of a bird  
*gala* 'cheek'  
*galti* 'guilt'  
*gahnɖi* 'flock'  
*-gahnɖi* plural suffix, 24  
*gahna* 'jewel'  
*ga:ɽe* 'ghat'  
*ga:de* 'puddle'  
*-ga:mer* plural suffix, 24  
*ga:y/-du* 'cow' (S)  
*ga:y* 'wound'  
*ga:ra* 'eleven'  
*ga:rsiŋgla* name of a tree  
*ga:ɽi* 'vehicle'  
*ga:ɽe* 'many, much'  
*giɽti* 'rubble' (Boro)  
*gidre* 'jackal'  
*girosto* 'rich person'  
*giɽyo* 'mynah'  
*gilase* 'glass'  
*-gu* 'father' (S)  
*-guɽe* 'until' (Mali)  
*guɽu* 'island'  
*guɖɽite* 'local policeman'  
*gunɖe* 'powder'  
*gundɽy-e, gundɽc-* 'to grind to powder'  
*guti-isab* 'like a servant' (?) (Ursa)  
*-guni/-gunu* 'together with', 28, 74  
*guwa* 'betel leaf'  
*gurar-e, gurary-* 'to walk around'  
*gura:tr-e* 'to turn'  
*guru* 'sorcerer'  
*guɽe* 'jaggery'  
*guɽguɽtr-e* 'to form a big crowd' (Ursa)  
*gusɽi* 'main guest' (Amla)  
*gece, geci* 'far, far away'  
*=genu* 'even if'  
*gepu* 'stalk of a fruit', cf. *beku*  
*ge:ra* 'boundary'  
*ge:ry-e, ge:rc-* 'to surround'

*goga* 'rock, stone'  
*-goʔa/-goʔ* [CLF] for generic use, 32, 34  
*goʔe* 'all'  
*goʔe-nte* superlative marker, 32  
*-goʔe/=goʔe, -guʔe/=guʔe* suffix or clitic meaning 'even' or '-ever', 36, 37  
*goʔi* 'smallpox'  
*goʔiya* 'relative'  
*godri* 'heel'  
*gonɖye* 'fisherman'  
*gotya* 'lineage'  
*goda* 'nearby bush (which serves as the toilet)'  
*godna* 'tattoo'  
*godri* 'intestine'  
*gobari-ɖa:ŋgi* 'cowdung pile'  
*gobri/gobari* 'cow dung'  
*gowale/goware* 'cowherd'  
*gormar-e, -r-* 'to become hot'  
*gorme* 'hot'  
*gormes-e* 'to heat' (Tugu)  
*gorya* 'Bean Festival'  
*goʔo* 'horse'  
*goʔaite* 'messenger'  
*goli* 'tablet'  
*gole* 'outsider, Hindu'  
*golto, gol-saba* 'outsiders' language, Hindi'  
*gosāyi/gosapi* [NM] 'god'  
*gosʔi* 'relative, guest'  
*gohale* 'cowshed' (Mali)  
*gohme* 'wheat'  
*go:gi* 'argument, talking'  
*—men-naqy-ar* 'to argue with each other'  
*go:ɽwa* 'baby sitter'  
*go:ly-e* 'to prepare for brewing (grain liquor)'  
*gaita.kodal* 'pickaxe'  
*-gni* 'before' (with IF in -o) (Ursa)  
*caq-e, caq-/caʔy-* 'to pierce, stab, sting, inject'

*caqr-e, caqr-* 'to get tattooed'  
*caku* 'knife' (Telo)  
*cak-e, caky-* 'to whet'  
*caʔo* 'coop'  
*caʔki* 'slippers'  
*cate* 'umbrella'  
*capola* 'sandal'  
*cap-e* 'to tread'  
*cap-tr-e* 'to lead someone'  
*cap-r-e* 'to hide oneself' (PadB)  
*capra* 'kind of grass' (Ani)  
*capri* 'stone' (Tugu)  
*capɽo* 'lac'  
*cambe* 'hide'  
*cambr-budya* 'wicked old woman'  
*cawɖo* 'half piece'  
*carar-e, carary-* 'to graze'  
*cari* 'pendulum divination' (Ursa)  
*car-e, cary-* 'to cut'  
*cargtr-e, -try-* 'to bring up'  
*cary-e, carc-* 'to walk around'  
*caryoti* 'mediating'  
*cala-tr-e, -try-* 'to graze (cattle), to drive (a car), to govern'  
*calar-e, -ry-* 'to be current, to be managed'  
*-calte* 'because of, due to', 29  
*cahe* 'or'  
*cahy-e, cahc-* 'to want'  
*ca:g-e, ca:gy-* 'to sow, to divide'  
*ca:gr-naq-e* 'to divide'  
*ca:ŋge* 'stage'  
*ca:dre* 'sheet'  
*ca:me* 'song'  
*ca:r* 'four'  
*ca:ri-ko:ɽi* 'eighty'  
*ca:ru* 'arrow'  
*ca:ro* 'borrowing oxen from someone else' (Mali)  
*ca:re* 'diligent'  
*ca:l-pi:je* 'Grove Puja (Sarhul)'  
*ca:l-majye* 'grove priest'  
*ca:s* 'ploughing'  
*ca:he* 'or'

*ca:hy-e, ca:hc-* 'to want, want to'  
 (with IF)  
*cigalo* 'jackal'  
*ciŋgo* 'moustache'  
*cic-* see *ciy-e*  
*cicinkujo* 'kind of centipede'  
*cicu/cicdu, -a* 'fire'  
*cic-e, cicc-* 'to sprinkle (water)'  
 (Ursa)  
*ciŋi* 'letter'  
*ciŋ-e, ciŋy-* 'to throw away, sprinkle'  
*cing-e, cingy-* 'to pinch'  
*cinta:* 'thinking'  
*ciny-e, cinc-/ciŋc-* 'to recognize'  
*ciy-e, cic-* 'to give', permissive, 50,  
 vector verb, 56, 58, 84  
*ciraki* 'lamp'  
*cirq-e, cirqy-* 'to shout'  
*cirtr-e* 'to spill' (Ursa)  
*cil-e, cil-* 'to forbid'  
*cilla:-tr-e* 'to yell'  
*cihna* 'mark'  
*ci:qlund-e* 'to giggle, to shake up'  
 (Ursa)  
*ci:k, ci:g* 'only, very'  
*ci:c-r-e, -r-* 'to wipe, to wipe one's  
 bottom'  
*ci:je* 'thing'  
*ci:ni:* 'sugar'  
*ci:poŋa-pelpoŋa* 'woman-  
 shmooman' (Mali)  
*cuki* 'because'  
*cukŋi* 'earthen cup'  
*cunŋ-e, cunŋy-* 'to pound'  
*cuŋar-e, cuŋary-* 'to rinse mouth'  
*cuŋi* 'cigarette'  
*cuŋike* 'restrictions on touching'  
*cuŋe/cuŋa* 'younger (of siblings)'  
*cuŋim* 'afterwards' (?) (Mali)  
*cubqerg-e, cubqerg-* 'to push  
 down'  
*cumq-e, cumq-/cumqy-* 'to kiss'  
*cumbare-tr-e* 'to do a purificatory  
 rite'

*cuy-e, cu:c-* 'to put on, bind'  
*cuwe* 'peacock'  
*curi* 'knife'  
*curidari* a place name  
*curg-e, curg-* 'to ooze out' (Ursa)  
*cu:c-* see *cuy-e*  
*cu:t-e, cu:ty-* 'to throw, cast'  
*cu:ŋi* 'far'  
*cu:te* 'impurity'  
*cu:ri* see *curi* (Telo)  
*cu:ŋa* 'roasted rice'  
*cēgje/ceŋgje* 'mercy'  
*cēgje-e/ceŋgje-e, cēgŋy-/ceŋgŋy-* 'to  
 show mercy'  
*ceŋgŋro* 'compassionate'  
*cekwa* 'crow'  
*cēy-e, ceŋc-* 'to smell bad'  
*ceŋ-e, ceŋ-* 'to carry'  
*ceya* 'shade'  
*ceyro/cedro* 'liver, intestine'  
*cerar-e* 'to empty bowels'  
*ceŋagni* 'witch'  
*celke* 'young man' (Mali)  
*cehra* 'pretty' (?) (Ursa)  
*ce:ŋage* 'wizard' (Droese)  
*cogr-e, cogr-* 'to drop off'  
*cocre:tr-e* 'to go here and there'  
*coŋj-e, coŋjy-* 'to tie'  
*coŋj-ond* 'a little' (Simal)  
*cot-e, coty-* 'to eat'  
*copa* 'husk'  
*coy-e, co:c-* 'to rise, get up'  
*cow* 'way'  
*-cow* 'like', 29  
*cohdi* 'territory, boundary' (Telo)  
*cohr-e* 'to drop off' (S)  
*co:* 'six'  
*co:ŋe* 'illness'  
*co:r-et-e, -ety-* 'to go down hang-  
 ing'  
*co:r-e, co:ry-* 'to hang'  
*co:ry-e, co:rc-* 'to cut down'  
*cauka* 'square area'  
*caukida:r* 'policeman'

*jaksa* 'heavy rain'  
*jaga* 'land, place'  
*jagṛa, jagṛa:janjāt* 'dispute, quarrel'  
*jagṛ-ar-e, -ar-* 'to fight'  
*janḡa* 'women's clothes'  
*janjaṛa-r-e, -r-* 'to be in trouble'  
*janjaṛi* 'trouble'  
*jaṭa* 'aerial roots'  
*jaṭ-e* 'to run into, to get stumbled'  
 (?) (Mokri)  
*jata* 'millstone'  
*-jan* [CLF] see *-jin*  
*janam* 'birth'  
*=jano/=janu* 'just', 38 (Ursa)  
*jande?ko?mo* [ITJ] 'good heavens'  
 (Amla)  
*janme-kuḡe* 'umbilical cord'  
*janwari* 'January'  
*janware* 'animal'  
*jab* [REL] 'when'  
*jabarjasti* 'forcibly'  
*jab.tak* 'until'  
*jama* 'together'  
*jamatr-e* 'to collect'  
*jama-r-e, -ry-/r-* 'to get together'  
*jampaṛe* 'jumper'  
*jambu* 'jamun'  
*jayse* 'as'  
*jawale-tr-e* 'to bother, tease'  
*jawa:be* 'reply'  
*jawe* 'barley'  
*jaribana* 'penalty'  
*jare* 'jungle, bush'  
*jarq-e, jargy-* 'to fall'  
*jarna* 'spring, fountain'  
*jarmar-e, -ry-/r-* 'to be born'  
*jarmes-e* 'to give birth' (Mali)  
*jaṛi.buṭi* 'medicinal herb of the jungle'  
*jaṛe/-a* 'rain'  
*jaṛe-oṛe* [ECHO] 'rain'  
*jaṛe-bohe* 'rainstorm' (Telo)  
*jale* 'net'  
*jaldi* 'fast'

*-jahā/=jahā* 'even, just', 36, 38, 65  
*-jahar* 'even, just', 36 (Boro)  
*jahje* 'boat'  
*jahj-a:we* 'boatman'  
*jahru* 'poison'  
*jā:c* 'test'  
*ja:gu, -n* 'boiled rice, cooked food'  
*ja:gu-u:gu* [ECHO] 'boiled rice'  
*ja:ṅg-e, ja:ṅgy-* 'to call'  
*ja:ti* 'tribe, caste, kind'  
*ja:de* 'much'  
*-ja:nu* emphatic particle meaning  
 'just', 38  
*ja:ne* 'life'  
*ja:me/ja:mayr* 'bridegroom'  
*ja:mni* 'younger brother's wife,  
 daughter-in-law'  
*ja:m-peli* 'daughter-in-law'  
*ja:ṛi-u:ṛi* [ECHO] 'witch doctor'  
*ja:ṛy-e, ja:ṛc-* 'to shake down'  
*jity-e, jiṭc-* 'to sprinkle'  
*jitna* 'how many'  
*-jin* [CLF] of persons, 32  
*jinise* 'things'  
*jinp-e, jinpc-* 'to be white', 32  
*jinpro* 'white'  
*jima: nan-e, nany-* 'to entrust'  
*jimida:re* 'landlord'  
*jim-e, jimy-* 'to get, meet'  
*jimr-e, -r-* 'to be available, to be obtained'  
*jīyar-e, -ry-/r-* 'to recover life'  
*jila* 'district'  
*jilebi* 'sweet'  
*jil(a)-* [CLF] of districts  
*jis se* [REL] 'from which'  
*jī:ty-e, jī:tc-* 'to win'  
*ji:pe* 'Jeep'  
*ji:we* 'life'  
*-juka* see *-joka*  
*juge* 'era'  
*juge-k* 'forever'  
*juṅgres-e* 'to make a hut' (Telo)  
*juṭa-tr-e* 'to collect'

*juṭar-e* 'to be collected'  
*juḍa* 'shade'  
*juta* 'shoe'  
*jude* 'separate'  
*jud-ond* 'separately'  
*jumar-e, -ry-* 'to come (together)'  
*juwan, juwa* 'young'  
*juri* 'firewood'  
*jula* 'hammock'  
*jej-e, jeivy-* 'to begin', 50  
*jetna* [REL] 'how much'  
*-jen* [CLF] see *-jin*  
*jepla* 'long hair'  
*je:* 'but, then' (Mahapatra 1979:197  
     'that')  
*je:* [REL] 'what, anything that'  
*je:-goṭe* [REL] 'whatever'  
*je:wara* 'some, any' (Ursa)  
*je:se* 'as'  
*je:se te:se* 'ordinary'  
*joka* 'a little'  
*-joka* 'like', 'of ... age', 29  
*jokar* 'meeting'  
*jokar-e, -r-* 'to meet' (Boro)  
*jokon* [REL] 'when'  
*joky-e, jokc-* 'to bring together'  
     (Mali)  
*jogar-e, -r-* 'to go away, escape'  
     (Boro)  
*jogy-e, jogc-* 'to take care of'  
*job* [REL] 'when'  
*jomatr-e* 'to collect'  
*jombro* 'ill'  
*gorib* 'settlement'  
*jowab* 'answer'  
*jo:* [REL] 'which'  
*jo:prī* 'grass hut'  
*jo: bi:* [REL] 'whatever'  
*jo:r* 'power'  
*jo:re* 'waterfall, water race'  
*jo:rjabri* 'by force'  
*jo:r se* 'by force'  
*jo:ṛa* 'pair'  
*jo:ṛ(a)* [CLF] of pairs

*jo:ṛa-r-e* 'to join'  
*jo:ṛ-gr-e* 'to unite'  
*jo:ṛy-e, jo:ṛc-* 'to put together'  
*jya:de* 'too much'  
*-nahā/=nahā* 'even, just', 38  
*=ne* [ITJ] 'okay?' (Ursa)  
*no* [ITJ] 'right?', 37  
*ṭaka* 'money'  
*ṭagy-e, ṭagc-* 'to cheat'  
*ṭaṭka-hi* 'right now'  
*ṭaḍi* 'palm toddy, liquor'  
*ṭaḍi-n o:n-u* 'drinker'  
*ṭaḍu, -un* 'wooden ladle'  
*ṭanda* 'cool'  
*ṭapar* 'slap'  
*ṭalya* 'pan'  
*ṭa:ky-e, ṭa:kc-* 'to test, examine'  
*ṭa:ṭge* 'mango'  
*ṭa:ṭg-tare* 'Mango Festival' (Mali)  
*ṭa:ṭg-qar̥ye* 'Mango Puja'  
*ṭa:ṭ se* 'in ease'  
*ṭa:ṭhe* 'mango' (S)  
*ṭikatr-e* 'to put up, take someone as  
     a wife'  
*ṭhi:k/ti:ke* 'okay, good'  
*ṭukṛa/ṭukrā* 'piece, wooden block'  
*ṭukṛ(a)-* [CLF] of pieces  
*ṭund-e, ṭundy-* 'to look', 57  
*ṭupla* 'small basket'  
*ṭu:d-e, ṭu:d-* 'to throw away, to  
     smear' (?) (Ursa)  
*ṭu:ḍu, -a/-un* 'tiger'  
*ṭekar-e, -r-* 'to be stopped' (Telo)  
*ṭeṭu, -un* 'hand'  
*ṭep-e, ṭepy-* 'to touch'  
*ṭepoletr-e* 'to joke' (Ursa)  
*ṭebule* 'table'  
*ṭe:ky-e, ṭe:kc-* 'to stop' (Ursa)  
*ṭe:kar-e, -ry-* 'to be stopped' (Ursa)  
*ṭe:sṭe* 'test'  
*-ṭo* [CLF] of pieces  
*ṭokṭoktr-e, -try-* 'to knock'  
*ṭokri* 'basket'  
*ṭona* 'chin'

*tonḍa* 'ear of corn'  
*topy-e, topc-* 'to drop'  
*toma* 'hole'  
*to:ke* 'hill'  
*ṭaime* 'time'  
*ḍakati* 'dacoit'  
*ḍagre:-tr-e* 'to corrupt, make ill'  
*ḍaḍe* 'jungle'  
*ḍadi-ṭu:ḍu, -a/-un* 'female tiger'  
*ḍaṛi* 'cloth'  
*ḍaṛ(a)-ḍāṛ(a)-* [CLF] of long ob-  
 jects  
*ḍaṛ-onde-di-hi* 'the same'  
*ḍala* 'basket'  
*ḍal-ond* 'a basketful'  
*ḍāhṛi* 'branch'  
*ḍa:katr-e, -try-* 'to announce'  
*ḍa:ku* 'robber'  
*ḍa:kṭare* 'doctor'  
*ḍa:ni* 'wife'  
*ḍa:we* 'husband', 27  
*ḍa:ṛa/ḍa:ṛi* 'branch'  
*ḍa:ly-e* 'to pour' (Boro)  
*ḍika* 'stiff, sticky'  
*ḍiga* 'Diga drum'  
*ḍibya* 'lamp'  
*ḍipe* 'heap'  
*ḍugu* 'a Nagara drum'  
*ḍuṅg-e, ḍuṅgy-* 'to be drowning'  
*ḍubatr-e* [TR] 'to sink, to dip'  
*ḍubi* 'earthen cup'  
*ḍumba* 'lump'  
*ḍumbri* 'fig tree'  
*ḍuṛṅgtr-e, -try-* 'to make a thunder-  
 ing sound'  
*ḍekoṛe* [ITJ] 'come on! look!'  
*ḍeṅga* 'log'  
*ḍeṅgtr-naq-e* 'to joke to each other'  
*ḍerse* 'dress'  
*ḍeṛkucu* [ONOM] of a bird's song  
*ḍehta* 'festival' (Mali)  
*ḍe:ki* 'husking machine'  
*ḍe:war-e* 'to be held' (Ursa)  
*-ḍo* 'younger sibling'

*ḍoba* 'pond, well'  
*ḍombe* 'Dom', name of a caste  
*ḍoraloṛa* 'shakingly' (Boro)  
*ḍole* 'long drum'  
*ḍo:k-e, ḍoky-(N)/ḍo:ky-(C,S)* 'to  
 stay, marry', 84, progressive, 56  
*ḍo:k-tr-e, -try-/tr-* 'to make stay,  
 keep, hire, marry'  
*ḍo:ra* 'string'  
*-t* instrumental case suffix, 24, 28  
*ta* particle meaning 'probably', 38  
*ta* see *to*  
*taḍmo, taḍme* [ITJ] 'look!' (Telo)  
*tak* 'till, even'  
*takar-e, -ry-* 'to be tired'  
*takli:pe* 'hardship'  
*taṅ-qali* 'stepmother'  
*taṅ-gade/a* 'own son'  
*taṅ-gadi* 'own daughter'  
*taṅg-ḍo* 'own younger sibling'  
*taṅgo* 'grandmother' (Tugu)  
*taṅg-ḍo:ku* 'own spouse'  
*taṅg-maḍe* 'own son'  
*taṅg-ma:ne* 'all by oneself'  
*tat-e, taty-* [ECHO] an echo verb  
*tan* see *ta:nu*  
*tant-bant* 'help, work'  
*tapi* 'soaked grain'  
*tab* 'then'  
*tab-tak* 'till then'  
*tam* [OBL] of *ta:m*  
*tambako* 'own father'  
*tay* 'decision'  
*tay-e, tay-* 'to send' (Telo)  
*taw-e, tawy-* 'to go out (as of fire)'  
*-tar-* see *-tr-* (C)  
*tar-e, tary-* [ITR] 'to break, pick'  
*taragru* 'crippled' (Ursa)  
*taraf* 'side'  
*tarka:ri* 'vegetable'  
*tarpore* 'then'  
*taṛgro* 'hot' (Mali)  
*taṛkla* 'part' (Telo)  
*taṛc-e, taṛcy-* 'to slap'

*taɾwa:ri/taɾbari* 'sword' (Mahapatra *tarbali*)  
*tali* 'hair'  
*tal-e/ta:l-e, talc-* 'to cut off'  
*tahadi* 'daughter' (S)  
*tahrar-e, -r-* 'to fall asleep' (Boro)  
*-tā:ɾe* 'every, each'  
*ta:i:s* '23'  
*ta:ke* 'wind'  
*ta:nd(e?)* 'threshold' (Ursa)  
*ta:tetur?e/ta:turtur?i* 'sickle' (Boro)  
*ta:tru, -a* 'sickle'  
*ta:n* 'himself, herself, itself'  
*ta:n* see *ta:nu*  
*th'a:na* 'police station'  
*ta:ni, tang-* 'himself, herself, itself'  
*-ta:ni* [F] see *-ta:we*  
*ta:nu/ta:no/ta:ni* 'then'  
*ta:nu-goɽe* 'still'  
*ta:ne* 'site'  
*ta:n-ta:ni* 'of itself'  
*ta:mi, tam-* 'themselves'  
*ta:ya* 'cooking pot'  
*ta:r-e, ta:ry-/ta:r-* 'to cut'  
*ta:ri* 'metal plate'  
*ta:ri-ku:ri* 'metal plate and cup'  
*ta:ri:k* 'date'  
*ta:rkurci* 'name of a plant'  
*ta:r-tr-e* 'to make cut'  
*ta:ry-* [CLF] of metal plates  
*-ta:ɾe/-tā:ɾe* 'every, each'  
*ta:ɾ-manu* 'palm tree'  
*ta:ɾgr-e, -r-* 'to be broken (as neck)' (Mahapatra: 'to be spread') (Mali)  
*ta:li* 'hair' (Mali)  
*ta:l-e, talc-* 'to cut off'  
*ta:lmi* 'palm'  
*-ta:we, -ta:ni* 'possessed of', 31  
*-tit* causative suffix, 41  
*tin/tine/tini* 'three'  
*tind-e, tind-* 'to feed'  
*tipi-tar-e* 'to cause to attach'  
*tiyar* 'actually'

*tirr-e, tirry-* 'to go away'  
*tilhgru* 'a fly'  
*tise* 'sour'  
*tisg-e, tisgy-* 'to open'  
*tisra* 'third'  
*ti:qalu, -a* 'rice', 60  
*ti:qalo* 'millet' (S,C)  
*ti:n/ti:ni* 'three'  
*ti:na* 'right'  
*ti:s* 'thirty'  
*tuk-e, tuky-* 'to push'  
*tukr-e, tukry-* 'to approach'  
*tungga* 'bamboo flute'  
*tung-e, tung-* 'to collect'  
*tungr-e, tungry-* 'to be collected, to get together'  
*tund-e, tundy-* 'to spill, throw out (liquid)'  
*tuny-e, tunc-* 'to weave'  
*tunh-e, tunh-* 'to collect' (S)  
*tunhr-e, -r-* 'to get together' (S)  
*tumgle* 'dream'  
*turant* 'immediately'  
*turke* 'Muslim'  
*turg-e, turgy-* 'to bury ashes'  
*turw-e, turwy-* 'to spit out'  
*tuɾhr-e, -a* 'to be broken' (Boro)  
*tu:tro* 'hole'  
*tu:s-e, tu:sy-* 'to throw way'  
*tu:so* 'naked'  
*te* [TOP] (Mokri)  
*te* see *ante*  
*-te* adverbial participle suffix, 56  
*-te/-ti* adjective suffix, 31  
*teqalo* 'millet' (Ursa)  
*teq-e, teq-/teqy-* 'to break forth'  
*teʔ-tr-e, -tr-* 'to set off (a bomb)' (PadB)  
*teqr-e, -r-* 'to burst open'  
*teyg-e, teyg-* 'to tell'  
*teygr:naq-e, naq-/naqy-* 'to talk, chat'  
*tetuli* [PROP] of a village  
*tetuli* 'tamarind'

*tebe* 'then'  
*tembru* 'rather' (Ursa)  
*tey-e, tey-/tay-* 'to send'  
*teyar* 'ready'  
*teyr-naq-e* 'to send each other'  
*tes-e, tesy-* 'to sift'  
*tes-e, tesy-* 'to roll, wrap' (Mali)  
*teh-e, teh-* see *teyg-e* (S)  
*teh-e, tet-* 'to weave'  
*teho* 'mother' (C, S)  
*teho-ga:rni* 'mother-in-law'  
*teho-tambako* 'parents'  
*tehr-naʔ-e, -naʔy-* 'to talk'  
*te:ji* 'fast'  
*te:le/-o* 'scorpion'  
*te:lo* name of a tree (Vidyarthi 1963:226 'Diospyros melanoxylon')  
*to* [TOP] 'then', 37, 77  
*-to* adjective suffix, 31  
*toq-e, toq-* 'to finish, cut off', 56  
*toqr-e, toqry-/toqr-* 'to be finished, to pass away'  
*toʔto* 'near' (Telo)  
*toka-r* [PL] 'party, relatives'  
*tot-e* 'to jump' (S)  
*toto* 'beak'  
*top(a)-* [CLF] of fruits  
*tobe/toben/tobon* 'then'  
*tobendu* 'for' (Boro)  
*toro* 'mouth'  
*toʔa/to:ʔa* 'a little'  
*toʔa sa* 'a little'  
*toho* 'mother' (Ursa)  
*to:ry-e, to:rc-* 'to become fine' (Ursa)  
*-tr/-tar* transitive/causative suffix, 41, 42, 65  
*-trer* plural suffix, 24  
*dagar-e, dagar-* 'to talk' (Boro)  
*dag-dag* 'shiningly'  
*dada* 'father's younger brother'  
*dada.buʔa* 'grandfather'  
*dana* 'grain'

*dandlar-e* 'to form a line' (Boro)  
*danyaba:d* 'thanks'  
*dap(a)-* [CLF] of times  
*dapna* 'shoulder'  
*daba* 'clothes' (Mali)  
*daby-e, dabc-* 'to apply medicine'  
*dame* 'price'  
*daya:* 'compassion'  
*dawke* 'splendor' (Kortika)  
*dari* 'hole'  
*darme* 'religion'  
*dary-e, darc-* 'to hold, catch'  
*daʔi* 'cloth'  
*dalane* 'balcony'  
*daly-e, dalc-* 'to grind'  
*das* 'ten'  
*dase-r/das-jen* 'ten people, several people'  
*dahi* 'curds'  
*da:ne* 'gift'  
*da:nar* [ITJ] 'on earth' (Boro)  
*da:p-ond* 'once'  
*da:wa* 'chopping knife'  
*da:wanaq-e* 'to have opportunity' (Ursa)  
*-da:ru* [PL]  
*da:ʔi* 'cloth'  
*da:li* 'lentil'  
*di* 'and, then'  
*dikate* 'difficult'  
*dikatr-e* 'to look for'  
*digaro/digro* 'long, far'  
*dine/dina/dini* 'day'  
*dine-k* 'some day'  
*dine-game* 'every day' (Ursa)  
*dine-nihi* 'every day'  
*din-onʔa* 'one day' (?) (Telo)  
*din-ond* 'one day, a whole day'  
*diyane* 'thought'  
*disa* 'direction'  
*disanaq-e, disanq-* 'to recognize' (Ursa)  
*disembar* 'December'

- dihi* [ITJ] occurring at sentence-initial or final  
*di:ng-ond* 'a woodpile' (Mali)  
*di:re* 'slowly'  
*-du* nominal suffix, 60  
*dukatr-e* 'to bind (cattle)' (Mali)  
*dukani* 'shop'  
*dukare:tr-e, -try-* 'to distress'  
*duke* 'hardship'  
*dukta* 'orphan' (Kortika)  
*dukwar-e* 'to be distressed'  
*dukrar-e/dukarar-e, -ry-* 'to be distressed'  
*dudi/dude* 'milk'  
*dudu* 'mother' (S, C)  
*dudu-abo-r* 'parents'  
*dudu-ga:rni* 'mother-in-law'  
*dudu-beḡi* 'grandmother'  
*dud-ki:re* 'hunger for milk'  
*duniya* 'world'  
*dumani* 'incense'  
*dumburcar* [PROP] of a town  
*dumṛa* 'incense'  
*duwari* 'door'  
*duwar-* [CLF] of doors  
*durga* 'Durga'  
*duṛi* 'dust'  
*dulare:tr-e, -try-* 'to love'  
*dusra* 'other, second'  
*du:* 'two'  
*du:de* 'milk, udder'  
*du:pahr* 'noon'  
*du:r* 'far'  
*du:ri* see *duwari* (Ursa)  
*-du:re/=du:re, -du:r/=du:r* 'only', 'as far as' 38, 85  
*de* [ITJ] (Boro, Ursa)  
*de* 'then, but'  
*deka/dekoke/dekoṛke:hen* [ITJ] 'come on! wait!'  
*deko.maḡo* [ITJ] 'oh boy!' (Amla)  
*=dene* 'as if', 38  
*dehi* 'so'  
*de:mano* 'priest' (see Vidyarthi 1963:170ff.)  
*de:r* 'delay'  
*de:ratr-e* 'to get late'  
*de:si* 'country, going to a remote place for migrant labor'  
*dokani* 'shop'  
*doṛa* 'lap'  
*dosra* 'other, second'  
*dohra* 'double'  
*do:* 'two'  
*do:ti* 'dhoti'  
*do:nō* 'both'  
*do:se* 'guilt'  
*daulate* 'wealth'  
*dḡya:ne* 'thought'  
*-n* accusative case suffix, 24  
*naq-e, naq-* 'to talk'  
*-naq-e, -naq-/naqy-* [REC] 'to do to each other' (with AP, often extended with -r), 57, 83  
*nati* 'grandson'  
*nadi* 'river'  
*nan-e, nany-* 'to do'  
*nane* 'other'  
*nano* 'there'  
*nandu/nandi* 'again, still'  
*naprar-e, -ry-* 'to get ill'  
*nam* [OBL] of *na:m*  
*name* 'we (I)' (S)  
*nam-e, namy-* 'to revile, abuse' (Boro)  
*naya:* 'new'  
*naw* 'nine'  
*nawani* 'new crop rite'  
*nawre* 'weasel'  
*naryale* 'coconut'  
*narh-e* 'to rise up in a flame' (Telo)  
*naṛ* 'they' (?) (Ursa)  
*naṛnaṛtr-e* 'to crawl' (Ursa)  
*nal-e, naly-* 'to do'  
*nald-e* 'to make someone dance'  
*nasta* 'snack'  
*nahe-* [OBL] of *na:h*

*nah-e, nat-* ‘to beat’ (see *āh-e*)  
*nazdi:k* ‘close’  
*na:* ‘that’ (medial), 34  
*na:d* ‘that, she’  
*na:-juka-hi* ‘like that’  
*na:je* ‘if not, otherwise’  
*na:t, na:ti-* ‘there’ (Ursa)  
*na:d* ‘deity’  
*na:do* ‘priest’  
*na:n* ‘that way’  
*nanond* ‘that many’  
*-na:nd-e, -na:ndy-* ‘to seem’, 57  
*na:n-le* ‘that way’  
*na:pe* ‘measure’  
*na:-peṭ* ‘from that way’  
*na:pra* ‘disease’  
*na:ber* ‘they’  
*na:m* ‘we (I)’  
*na:mi/na:me* ‘name’  
*na:mkan* ‘naming ceremony’  
*na:wi-a:we* ‘boatman’  
*na:h* ‘he’  
*-ni* feminine suffix  
*-ni(hi)* emphatic locative or imperfect participle suffix, 24, 24, 54  
*niŋg-* [OBL] of *ni:n*  
*nind-e, nindy-* ‘to fill’  
*ninya:ri* ‘date fixing’  
*nimantran* ‘invitation’  
*nimu-gu* ‘your father’  
*nim-* [OBL] of *ni:m*  
*nime* ‘you (PL)’  
*niyame* ‘custom’  
*niyari* ‘invitation’  
*niyares-e* ‘to invite’  
*niyome* ‘custom’  
*nira:s* ‘disappointed’  
*niṛgtr-e, -try-* ‘to give food’  
*nisgre* ‘first fruit festival’  
*nisgr-e* ‘to eat the first fruit’  
*nih-e, nijj-* ‘to hit with stone’  
*ni:n/ni:nu* ‘you’  
*ni:m/ni:mu* ‘you (PL)’  
*-nu* subjunctive suffix, 69

*nukr-e, nukry-* ‘to swing’  
*nuyj-e, nuyjc-* ‘to ache, hurt’  
*nuyjtr-e* ‘to ache, hurt’  
*nuyjr-e, -r-* ‘to get hurt’  
*nuḍ-e, nuḍ-* ‘to hide’  
*nuter* ‘check’  
*nuna* ‘dear’  
*numi* ‘sister’  
*nung-e, nung-* ‘to swallow’  
*nunh-e, nunh-* ‘to swallow’ (S)  
*nulk-e, nulky-* ‘to bore’  
*nusgr-e, -ry-* ‘to rub oneself’  
*nu:t-e, nu:ty-* ‘to touch’  
*nu:tr-e* ‘to stretch out, to touch oneself’  
*-ne* ‘(not) even’, 65 (S)  
*nek-e, neky-* ‘to get well, to let it be’  
*neku* ‘well’  
*nekute* ‘well’  
*nenda* ‘date’ (Kusum)  
*neru* ‘snake’  
*ne:* [ITJ]  
*ne:, ne:k-* ‘who’, [REL] ‘who’, 35  
*ne:ga* ‘breath, life’  
*ne:-goṭe, ne:-jahā* ‘anyone’  
*ne:d* ‘who’ (NM), 35, 64  
*ne:wane* ‘first fruit’  
*ne:re-h* ‘who (M)’, 35  
*-no, -ni(hi)* imperfect participle suffix, 54  
*-no, -ni(hi)* locative case suffix, 24, 28  
*no:* ‘not’  
*no:kri* ‘employment’  
*no:kryo* ‘servant’  
*no:je* ‘not’ (Boro)  
*no:ḍr-e, -r-/ry-* ‘to wash one’s hands and feet’  
*no:ṛ-e, no:ṛy-* ‘to wash’  
*-nq* denominative suffix, 42  
*-nti* ablative case suffix, 62, 28 (C)  
*-nte* ablative case suffix, 24, 28

*nde* question marker, also used for confirming, 38  
*paka* 'bricks and cement'  
*pakire* 'ascetic'  
*pakuṛ, pakoṛe* name of a city  
*pak-r-e, -ry-* 'to blaze, light up'  
*pak-tr-e* 'to light, kindle'  
*pakṛa* 'wing'  
*pakṛi* 'Ficus religiosa'  
*pagla* 'mad man'  
*paṅkti* 'line'  
*pac* 'five'  
*paca:s* 'fifty'  
*pace* 'old, in olden times'  
*pac-e, pacy-* 'to become old'  
*paco* 'old woman'  
*paco-pacge-r* 'old couple'  
*paco:hi* 'fermentation starter'  
*pacar-e, pacar-* 'to be rotten' (Boro)  
*paccime* 'west'  
*pac-tr-naq-e* 'to grow old together'  
*pacma* 'fifth'  
*paṅca:yate* 'panchayat'  
*paṅci:* 'upper wear'  
*paṅjke* 'ripe'  
*paṭ(a)-* [CLF] 32, 62  
*paṭatr-e, -try-* 'to irrigate, soak'  
*paṇḍu-neru* 'cobra'  
*pata* 'information'  
*pat-e, pat-/paty-* 'to sew leaves'  
*patgr-e* 'to be at ease, to calm down' (Ursa)  
*patye, patc-* 'to lay a fishing coop, to catch up liquid'  
*patyare* 'belief'  
*patyar-e* 'to believe'  
*patra* 'forest' (Amla)  
*paṭṛa/patla* 'leaf plate'  
*-pad* 'like', 29  
*pade* 'side, way' (Ursa)  
*padrar-e* 'to converse'  
*panti* 'line'  
*pand(a)-* [CLF] 32, 62

*pandra* 'fifteen'  
*paṅne* 'cold'  
*payda* 'birth, advantage' (Pandan)  
*paydar-e* 'to be born'  
*payde:tr-e* 'to give birth'  
*payse* 'money'  
*pawro:ṭi* 'biscuit'  
*par/pare* 'but'  
*parampara* 'tradition, family line'  
*para:ni* 'soul' (Boro)  
*parikṣa* 'exam'  
*pariwa:re* 'family'  
*parc-e, parcy-* 'to be satisfied' (Ursa)  
*parte* 'mountain'  
*parte:k* 'each'  
*parna:m* 'hello'  
*farwari* 'February'  
*parse* 'axe' (Mali)  
*paṛa* 'fruit, pod' (Mali)  
*paṛar-e, -ry-* 'to lie, to come across'  
*paṛa:lika:* 'educated'  
*paṛ(a)-* [CLF] of long pods or fruits  
*paṛy-e, paṛc-* 'to read'  
*paṛy-tr-e* 'to give education, to teach'  
*palqaṇje* 'cucumber' (Kusum)  
*palgaṇje* 'cucumber' (Mali)  
*palṭar-e* 'to change clothes'  
*palna* 'so-and-so'  
*pasina:r-e* 'to like'  
*pasine* 'liking, choice'  
*pasile/pasle* 'crop, harvesttime'  
*pasye:tr-e* 'to tell a lie'  
*pahari* 'hill'  
*paharṇi/paharṇin* [PROP.F] 'Pa-hariya'  
*paharṇiya* [PROP] 'Pahariya'  
*pahal-te* 'first'  
*pahi* 'row' (Boro)  
*pahila, pahla* 'first, former'  
*pahil-te* 'of olden times'  
*pahtr-e, -try-* 'to make full'

*pahra, pahr* 'time, watch'  
*pahr-e, pahr-y-* 'to grow, to grow up'  
*pahôr-e:k-e* see *pahr-e* (Ursa)  
*pā:c* 'five'  
*pa:k-e, pa:ky-* 'to take in the lap'  
*pa:kuɾ, pa:kure* [PROP] of a city  
*pa:ga* 'turban'  
*pa:ɽey-e, pa:ɽec-* 'to (change dress and) bury'  
*pa:ɽeca* 'attendant of a burial'  
*pa:nɖ* fused [CLF] of two round objects, 62  
*pa:tri* 'leaf plate'  
*pa:dar* '(Catholic) Father'  
*pa:nu, -a* 'egg'  
*pa:nu* 'fruit, grain (of rice)'  
*pa:nu/-du* 'boil' (Mali)  
*pa:ne-hi* 'whole piece' (Mali)  
*pa:n-* [CLF] of round objects  
*pa:n-e, pa:nj-* 'to get ripe'  
*pa:y* 'pai (unit of weight)'  
*pa:y-e:nɖ* 'two pais'  
*pa:wu, -a* 'road'  
*pa:wnar* 'guest'  
*pa:re* 'but'  
*pa:ry-e, pa:rc-* 'to be able' (with IF)  
*pa:ɽ-e, pa:ɽc-* 'to sing'  
*pa:ɽ-/pā:ɽ-* [CLF] of round objects, 32  
*pa:li* 'row'  
*pa:s* 'pass'  
*pa:se* 'side'  
*pa:s-ond* 'a chunk of' (Boro)  
*pa:se-pa:se-ti* 'gradually' (Ursa)  
*piñj-e, piñjy-* 'to name'  
*piñjɾa* 'cage'  
*piɽ-e, piɽy-* 'to kill, catch (fish), put out'  
*piɽa* 'bread'  
*piɽa-manu* 'bread tree'  
*piɽ-uwr-e* 'to be killed'  
*pind-e, pindc-* 'to sound'  
*pind-tr-e, -try-* 'to beat (a drum)'

*pinu, -a* 'stick'  
*p<sup>h</sup>ir* 'again'  
*pirc-e, pircy-* 'to jump'  
*pisi* 'below'  
*pi:q-e, pi:qy-* 'to squeeze, to milk'  
*pi:ku* 'dung'  
*pi:je* 'ritual'  
*pi:t* 'feet'  
*pi:po* 'father's elder brother'  
*p<sup>h</sup>i:r* 'again'  
*pi:sy-e, pi:sc-* 'to crush'  
*puju, -a* 'bird'  
*puj-cu:gu* 'bird catcher'  
*puɽani* 'wicked' (Mali)  
*fuɽbo:le* 'football'  
*puntɒdi* 'Puntadi festival'  
*pudg-e, pudg-* 'to pour' (Boro)  
*puy-e, puy-* 'to throw in' (PadB)  
*pune* 'new'  
*pun-dana* 'new harvest'  
*pund-e, pund-* 'to put on the neck'  
*pura:na* 'old'  
*pure* 'dove'  
*purja* 'slip'  
*pury-e, purc-* 'to pour'  
*puɽa* 'entrails'  
*pulise* 'policeman'  
*pusre* 'a kind of berry (kusum)'  
*pusle:tr-e, -try-* 'to lie'  
*pu:g-e, pu:g-* 'to boil'  
*pu:ja:* 'worship'  
*pu:nu, -a* 'garland'  
*pu:n-e, pund-* 'to wear'  
*pu:ne* 'new' (Boro)  
*pu:n-dana* 'new crop'  
*pu:pu, -a* 'flower'  
*pu:p-bagane* 'flower garden'  
*pu:ra* 'all, wholly'  
*pu:ra-tr-e, -try-* 'to fulfil, finish'  
*pu:rar-e, -r-* 'to be fulfilled'  
*pu:ry-e, pu:rc-* 'to fill'  
*pu:rw* 'east'  
*pu:rwaje* 'ancestor'  
*pu:le* 'bridge'

*pu:h-e, pu:h-* ‘to boil’ (S)  
*-pe* past participle suffix, 52  
*-peṭ* ‘side’  
*peḍe* ‘way’, ‘root’  
*-peḍe-no* ‘at the place of’, 29, 62  
*peḍ-jaga* ‘homeland’  
*peḍ-lo:ke-r* ‘old people’  
*pet-* see *peh-e*  
*petgr-e* ‘to be settled’  
*pedehr-e, -r-* ‘to hit hard and break’  
 (Boro)  
*peyalar-e, -ry-* ‘to be busy with, to  
 be occupied with’  
*perwa* ‘pigeon’  
*peṛa* ‘relative, guest’  
*peṛa-oṛa-r* [ECHO] ‘relatives and  
 so on’  
*peṛʔ-e, peṛʔy-* ‘to hiss’ (Amla)  
*peṛq-e, peṛqy-* ‘to parboil’ (Ursa)  
*peli, -n/pela* ‘girl, woman’  
*pel-joka* ‘pubescent’  
*pel-ta:r-e/-tawr-e, -ta:ry/-tawry-*  
 ‘to get married’  
*pel-balo* ‘bachelor’  
*pel-bede* ‘marriage’  
*pel-maqe* ‘girl’  
*peh-e, pet-* ‘to take up’  
*pehr-e, pehry-* ‘to take along’  
*pe:sa* ‘money’  
*paila* ‘first’  
*-po* habitual participle suffix, 51, 71  
*pokari/pokri* ‘pond’  
*pokry-* [CLF] of pond  
*pocor/pocru* ‘insect’  
*poj-e, pojy-* ‘to entwine’  
*poḍa* ‘leftover rice’  
*poḍ-amu* ‘gruel made of leftover  
 rice’  
*ponḍe* ‘child’  
*poti-mi:nu* ‘Poti fish’  
*pote* [ITJ]  
*pobi* ‘cross section’  
*poy-e, pos-* ‘to fall (as rain)’  
*porobe* ‘festival’

*porg-tr-e* ‘to soak’  
*porwa* ‘dewlap’  
*pol-e, pol-* ‘to be unable’ (with IF),  
 85  
*pos-* see *poy-e*  
*poṣṭe* ‘post office, post’  
*po:ku* ‘ant’  
*po:te* ‘what’ (?) (Ursa)  
*po:ne* ‘dowry’  
*po:sy-e, po:sc-* ‘to keep, support’  
*bāṛiya* ‘fine’  
*=ba* clitic meaning ‘even, too’, 38  
*bakra* ‘share’  
*bakrey-e, bakrec-* ‘to divide’  
*bakṛa* ‘leaven, fermentation starter’  
*bakṛiya-taḍi* ‘grain wine’  
*baksa* ‘box’  
*bagate* ‘ascetic’  
*bagat-ni* [F] ‘ascetic woman’  
*bagane* ‘grove, sacred grove’  
*bagale* ‘side’  
*-bager/-bagter* plural suffix, 24  
*bagce* ‘orchard’  
*bagna* ‘nephew’  
*bagmane* ‘god’  
*bagwa:n* ‘god’  
*bac-e, bacy-* ‘to rob’  
*bac-e, bacy-* ‘to remember’ (Ursa)  
*bacari/bacri* ‘year’  
*bacpane* ‘childhood’  
*bacru* ‘calf’  
*baja-naq-e* ‘to beat each other’  
*bajare* ‘market’  
*baj-uwr-e, -ry-* ‘to beat oneself’  
*baj-e, bajy-* ‘to beat’  
*baje* ‘o’clock’  
*-bajo, -baje* ‘toward’, 29  
*baj-* [CLF] of ways or sides  
*bajra* ‘millet’  
*baṭagni* ‘maiden’  
*baṭy-e, baṭc-* ‘to grind’  
*baṭge* ‘maiden’  
*baṭy-e, baṭc-* ‘to grind’  
*baḍa* ‘great, tall’

*baḍa-gary-e* 'to make more of'  
*baḍy-e, baḍc-* 'to grow'  
*baḍ-e, baḍ.meñj-* 'to know', 45  
*baḍyi-tr-e* 'to raise'  
*baṇḍane* 'memorial feast'  
*bat-e, bat-* 'to expose to heat'  
*batte* 'side'  
*badma:se* 'rascal'  
*badla* 'exchange'  
*badl-budl* [ECHO] 'changing'  
*badla:r-e, -ry-/r-* [ITR] 'to change'  
*badley-e, badle:c-* [TR] 'to change'  
*badli* 'transfer'  
*bana:-tr-e, -try-/tr-* 'to make'  
*bana:-r-e* 'to be made'  
*bani* 'current'  
*baniya* 'merchant'  
*baṅg-e* 'to lie in wait' (Mokri)  
*band* 'closed'  
*bandani* 'fastening'  
*band-e, band-* 'to pull'  
*bande* 'root'  
*babu* 'boy'  
*baḍṛ-e, baḍṛy-* 'to swing around'  
*baya* see *baiya*  
*bawna* 'worry'  
*bawnar-e, -ry-* 'to worry'  
*bar-e, barc-* 'to come', 57, 83  
*bara:tr-e* 'to fill'  
*bar-e, barc-* 'to come'  
*bara:hi* 'rope' (Ursa)  
*=baru* 'you know', 38  
*barg-e, barg-* 'to snore'  
*barca* 'spear'  
*barti* 'enrolment'  
*barya* 'earthen pot'  
*baryati* 'groomsmen'  
*baryar-e, baryary-* 'to get full'  
*bary(a)-* [CLF] of pitchers  
*baṛ-e* 'to extend' (Kusum)  
*baṛa:ḍin* 'Christmas'  
*baṛi* 'arm'  
*baṛiya* 'excellent'  
*baṛkar-e, -ry-* 'to be boiled'

*baṛgi* 'kitchen garden'  
*baṛy-e, baṛc-* 'to grow' (Mali)  
*baṛye* 'strong'  
*baṛhar-e, -r-* 'to grow' (Amla)  
*bala* 'lance'  
*balahne* 'very big' (Boro)  
*bali* 'door'  
*-balo* suffix meaning 'less', 31  
*baṭṭi* 'bucket'  
*balme* 'spear'  
*bas* 'enough'  
*basando* 'dwelling place'  
*baseta* 'sugar cake'  
*basg-e, basgy-* 'to peel'  
*basy-e, basc-* 'to settle down'  
*baha* 'place'  
*-bahak* 'to the place of', 29  
*-bahante* 'from', 29  
*bahu* 'bride, sister-in-law'  
*bahut* 'very'  
*bah(a)-/bāh(a)-* [CLF] for generic  
   use (cf. Droese 1884:17), 34  
*-bahno* 'at', 29  
*bahy-e, bahc-* 'to plough'  
*bahri/e* 'outside'  
*bahre-k* [ADV] 'outside'  
*bahli* 'selection'  
*bā:grey-e, bā:gr̥ec-* 'to embrace'  
*ba:ki:* 'remaining'  
*ba:k-e, ba:ky-* 'to collect, gather'  
*ba:g-e, ba:gy-* 'to scrape, pare'  
   (Boro)  
*ba:ca-tr-e, -try-* 'to save'  
*ba:car-e, -ry-* 'to be saved, to be  
   left'  
*ba:c-uṭ-e, -uṭ-* 'to cover with cloth'  
*ba:coṛi* 'beard'  
*ba:jṛa* 'millet'  
*ba:ṭ-naq-e* 'to divide among them-  
   selves'  
*ba:ty-e, ba:ṭc-* 'to divide'  
*ba:te* 'words, matter'  
*ba:tcī:te* 'discussion'  
*baḍa* 'big'

ba:d/ba:du/ba:de 'after' (with VN),  
 51  
 ba:no-ba:ni (*bahno-bahni*?) 'in  
 various ways' (Ursa)  
 ba:p.dada 'father-frandfather'  
 ba:pre [ITJ] 'oh my!'  
 ba:ye 'brother, cousin, relative'  
 ba:yi 'elder sister'  
 ba:y-goŋya 'cousins and family'  
 ba:ra 'twelve'  
 ba:ra-ana '12 anna'  
 -ba:rah 'and so on' (Ursa)  
 b<sup>h</sup>a:ri 'massive'  
 ba:ri 'pregnant' (Ursa)  
 ba:r-e, ba:ry- 'to take out'  
 ba:re 'occasion'  
 ba:re-no 'with respect to'  
 ba:rgi 'side (of a body)' (Ursa)  
 ba:r-batte-r [PL] 'Western Sawriya  
 Pahariyas' (Ursa)  
 ba:l-e, ba:ly- 'to cut the pulp of a  
 fruit'  
 ba:lu 'sand'  
 ba:lke 'turmeric'  
 ba:ly-e, ba:lc- 'to cut up flesh'  
 bikar-e, bikary- 'to be sold'  
 bikka 'alms' (Telo)  
 bigrnet-e 'to break up'  
 bic-e, bic- 'to be cooked'  
 bica-tr-e 'to spread' (Ursa)  
 bicaŋi-gunḍe 'rice dumpling'  
 bica:re 'consideration'  
 bicr-e, bicry-/bicr- 'to put in,  
 shove, to sprinkle, to send away',  
 58  
 bij-merga 'before dawn'  
 bij-e, bijy- 'to dawn'  
 bijoŋa:r-e, -ry- 'to come to one's  
 senses'  
 bijoŋe:tr-e, -try- 'to bring to one's  
 senses'  
 bij-tr-e 'to pass a night'  
 bijli 'mongoose'  
 biŋe 'side, shore'

biḍy-e, biḍc- 'to shine'  
 bit-e, bit- 'to cook, brew'  
 bitatr-e 'to spend time'  
 bitar-e, bitary- 'to pass'  
 bitre-k [ADV] 'inside'  
 bida: 'farewell'  
 bina 'without'  
 -bini 'like' (Mali)  
 bima:ri 'disease'  
 biyatr-e, -tr- 'to deliver (a calf)'  
 (Boro)  
 biraŋ 'big' (PadB)  
 birg-e, birg- 'to mix'  
 bila 'plain' (Simal)  
 bily-e, bilc- 'to distribute'  
 bisay 'subject'  
 biskute 'biscuit'  
 biswa:se 'faith'  
 biha 'marriage, wedding'  
 biha-muŋse 'bridegroom'  
 biha-sa:di 'wedding'  
 bi:k-e, bi:ky- 'to call' (N, C)  
 bi:gr-e/bi:grnet-e 'to break up'  
 (Telo)  
 bi:ci 'seed'  
 bi:ce 'between'  
 bi:cy- [CLF] of grain  
 bi:j-e, bi:jy- 'to widen'  
 bi:nd-e, bi:ndy- 'to begin', 50  
 bi:ndwa 'invited guest' (Ursa)  
 bi:r-e 'to be about to' (with IF;  
 present only)  
 bi:ŋa:tr-e, -try- 'to bring together'  
 bi:s 'twenty'  
 bi:s-e, bi:sy- 'to sell'  
 buku 'chest'  
 buja 'puffed rice'  
 bujar-e 'to be understood' (Ursa)  
 buḍi/buḍya 'old woman'  
 buḍo 'old woman'  
 budi 'mind, intelligence, lie, trick'  
 budi-ta:ni 'intelligent'  
 budi-balo 'unintelligent'  
 buringe 'handpump'

*buṛiya* 'old woman'  
*burq-e* 'to shout'  
*burbak* 'stupid'  
*buṛa* 'old, old man'  
*buṛi* 'old woman'  
*buṛk-e-nḍ* 'two jarfuls'  
*buṛk-ond* 'a jarful'  
*buṛwa* 'old man'  
*bu:ta* 'ghost'  
*bu:t-jaga* 'haunted place'  
*beq-e, beq-* 'to wrestle'  
*bekar* 'useless'  
*beku* 'stalk', cf. *gepu*  
*beca:re* 'poor man'  
*beca:rni* [F] 'poor woman'  
*bejje* 'marriage' (S)  
*beṭar-naq-e, -naq-* 'to meet'  
*beṭar-e, -ry-* 'to meet'  
*beṭo:ṛa:r-e, -ry-* 'to grow up'  
 (Ursa)  
*beḍa* 'paternal grandmother' (Ursa)  
*beḍaya* 'grandmother' (Mokri)  
*beḍi* 'sheep'  
*-beḍi* 'some', 36  
*beḍiyo* 'grandfather' (Mokri)  
*beḍyo* 'ancestor' (Ani)  
*benṭi* 'knife'  
*betane* 'salary'  
*bed-e, bedy-* 'to search, seek, to  
 want to' (with IF)  
*bed-uwr-e* 'to be married off'  
*bed-e:r-e* 'to look for'  
*bedr-naq-e* 'to love each other'  
*bey-e, becy-* 'to be', 59 (S, C)  
*beyo* 'be not' (S, C)  
*bey-tr-e, -tr-* 'to cause to be'  
*-ber* plural suffix, 24  
*berge* 'cat'  
*-berge* [with VN] 'as soon as'  
 (Mali)  
*berba:d* 'destruction'  
*besi* 'much, more'  
*beh-e, behc-/becc-* 'to be' (N, sup-  
 pleted by *men-e* in the future), 77,

77

*be:ku, -a* 'salt'  
*be:g-e, be:gy-* 'to jump'  
*be:ḍo* 'big' (C, S)  
*be:ḍo* 'grandmother' (Tugu)  
*be:ḍ.owa* 'big brother'  
*be:tr-e, be:try-* 'to attach'  
*be:wa* 'community'  
*be:ri* 'time'  
*be:ru* 'sun'  
*be:r-u:q-e, -u:q-* 'to get dark'  
*be:r-ti* 'day' (Amla)  
*be:rni* 'wage'  
*be:rney-e, be:rnec-* 'to work for  
 wages'  
*be:ṛa* 'sun' (?) (Mali)  
*be:ṛi-t* 'in the evening'  
*be:ṛe* 'elder sister's husband'  
*baiya, baya* 'elder brother'  
*boka/bokka/bokka.kangya* 'stupid'  
*boge* 'heron'  
*bogla* 'paddy bird'  
*boṅg-e, boṅg-/boṅgy-* 'to run, run  
 away'  
*boṅg-tr-e, -try-* 'to abduct, to make  
 run away, to take away'  
*boḍa* 'snake, viper'  
*boḍa-gu* 'large snake'  
*boḍare* 'border'  
*botl-ond* 'a bottle of'  
*bora* 'bag'  
*boriyo* [PROP] of a town'  
*bor-ond* 'a bagful of'  
*bornṅga* 'onion'  
*boly-* [CLF] of words  
*boh-e, bohy-* 'to run, run away' (S)  
*boh-kir-e, -kiry-* 'to run away and  
 return' (S)  
*boh-tr-e, boh-tr-* 'to make run  
 away'  
*bo:je/a* 'feast'  
*bo:j-ba:si* 'day after a feast'  
*bo:me-ume* [ECHO] 'bomb and so  
 on'

bo:la-ke:le 'ball game'  
 baiya/baya 'brother'  
 bloke 'block'  
 -m emphatic particle (?), 38  
 -maʔ/-maq pronominal classifier,  
 'one', 64, 65  
 maq- [CLF] of animals, 32  
 maʔa 'statue' (Boro)  
 maqi 'girl'  
 maqu, -a 'child' (Ursa)  
 maqu, -a 'bug' (Mali)  
 maqe 'boy, child'  
 maqe-ponḍi 'everyone, children  
 and women'  
 meṇc[u] 'seat' (Telo)  
 maqo 'child, girl' (Mali, Mokri)  
 -maqo diminutive suffix  
 maqo-ta:ni [NM] '[woman] having  
 children'  
 maqo-ta:we 'having children',  
 used for a female, 286  
 maʔ-kaʔa 'childhood' (S)  
 maʔdu 'creature, bug'  
 maʔpan 'animal'  
 maq-pahr 'childhood'  
 maq-balo 'childless'  
 maku, -a 'sal tree'  
 maṅga:tr-e, -try- 'to invite'  
 macli 'small stool'  
 maja 'fine'  
 maja-qani 'pretty'  
 maji 'middle'  
 majila 'middle'  
 majte 'middle'  
 majtra 'middle (of siblings)'  
 majdu:ri 'wage'  
 majye/mājye 'village chief, priest'  
 maḍy-e, maḍc- 'to trample', 58  
 maḍap 'pavilion'  
 matlab 'namely'  
 man 'maund'  
 manu/mandu, -a 'tree'  
 mana:-tr-e 'to worship'  
 man-e, maṅj- 'to be, become'

mane 'namely'  
 man-eṛwe 'tree puja'  
 man(u)- [CLF] of trees  
 mangu, -a 'buffalo'  
 mand-e, mand- 'to bury'  
 mand-e, mand- 'to plant (paddy)'  
 (Mali)  
 mandru/mandrdu, -a 'medicine'  
 many-e, manc- 'to obey, accept'  
 manhu/manuhdu, -a 'buffalo'  
 may-naʔ-e, -naʔy- 'to do to each  
 other'  
 margu 'horn'  
 marc 'March'  
 marci 'hot pepper'  
 maṛi 'grave'  
 maṛ-e, maṛ.meṅj- 'to like', 45, 73  
 maṛen 'at will'  
 maṛg-e, maṛg- 'to be black, to  
 faint'  
 margo 'black'  
 mala [PR] 'be not', [ITJ] 'no'  
 male/mala 'or'  
 mal-e, menl- 'to be not'  
 mala se 'or else'  
 mali 'Arhar, kind of reed'  
 malipaṛa [PROP] of a village  
 male/mala 'man, person'  
 male/mala 'or'  
 mal ta:n 'if not, otherwise', 'on the  
 contrary'  
 malto [PROP] 'Pahariya, Malto lan-  
 guage'  
 mal-ni 'woman'  
 malla [PT] 'was/were not' (Boro)  
 mal-sama:je 'Pahariya society'  
 masani 'burial ground'  
 masala 'spice'  
 masi 'Mesiah'  
 masu, -a 'hatchet'  
 maṣṛe 'teacher'  
 mas-ṭoṅge 'axe'  
 masbeṭi 'handle of an axe'  
 mahe:ḥpur [PROP] of a town

*mahra* 'cowherd'  
*mahwa* 'mahua flower'  
*mā:ʔalni* 'mother and daughter'  
 (Telo)  
*mā:ji* 'headman'  
*ma:q-a* 'at night'  
*ma:qu* 'night'  
*ma:qu-qalu* 'night' (Ursa)  
*ma:qond* 'morning'  
*ma:q-ond* 'one night', 32  
*ma:ku, -a* 'meat, stag'  
*ma:ŋgy-e, ma:ŋgc-* 'to beg'  
*ma:ŋgy-u* 'beggar'  
*ma:nq-e, ma:ndy-* 'to apply'  
*ma:ndr-e, -ry-* 'to apply on one's  
 body'  
*ma:tr* 'only'  
*ma:tra* 'a little bit'  
*ma:dgi* 'mahua' (Kusum)  
*ma:n-ar-e* 'to accept, observe'  
*-ma:ne/=ma:ne* 'alone', 38  
*ma:nqal* 'father and son'  
*ma:ntr-e* 'to harvest' (?) (Boro)  
*ma:ny-e, ma:nc-* 'to accept, ob-  
 serve' (Amla)  
*ma:ri* 'at full power' (?) (Mokri)  
*ma:ry-e, ma:rc-* 'to stir (with a  
 stick)', 'to sprinkle(?)'  
*ma:ry-e, ma:rc-* vector verb denot-  
 ing completive aspect (Ursa)  
*ma:r-e* 'to boil after parching'  
 (Kusum)  
*ma:re* 'Mar', name of a caste  
*ma:like* 'master'  
*ma:si* 'Ulad bean'  
*ma:su, -a* 'bamboo'  
*ma:sus* 'acknowledgement'  
*miṭ-e* 'to eat' (Boro)  
*mitra* 'kind of fish'  
*minq-e, minqy-* 'to shut one's eyes'  
*min-e, miny-* 'to eat' (bread)  
*mimi* 'neem'  
*mila:tr-e* 'to put together'

*milar-e* 'to be together, to fit, to be  
 obtained'  
*misan* 'mission'  
*mistri* 'carpenter'  
*mi:ŋj-e, mi:ŋjy-* 'to make someone  
 feel pleasant'  
*mi:ŋjo* 'beautiful'  
*mi:nu/du, -a* 'fish'  
*mi:l* 'agreement'  
*muka* 'forearm, cubit'  
*muc-agr-e/muc-ogr-e* 'to cover  
 one's face with hands'  
*muc-uṭ-e, -uṭ-* 'to shut, slam (a  
 door)'  
*muc-e, mucy-* 'to close'  
*mujnu, -a* 'nose'  
*muṭi* 'fist'  
*muṭy-ond-ti/muṭ-ond-ti* 'at one  
 stroke'  
*mundro* 'ember of firewood'  
*mund-e, mundy-* 'to cause damage  
 to'  
*munde, mund-* 'to tie up'  
*mundi* 'formerly, in olden times'  
*mundoti, -te* 'ancient'  
*murk-e, murky-* 'to cut across'  
*murko* name of a tree  
*murge* 'sharp end'  
*murda:* 'dead'  
*muṛg-e, muṛg-* 'to dig out'  
*muṛse* 'man, husband'  
*muṛs-mage* 'boy'  
*mulgr-e, -tr-* 'to make dive'  
*mulgr-e, mulgr-* 'to dive'  
*mulr-e, -ry-* 'to make hair in a knot'  
*muso* 'nose'  
*muskil* 'difficulty'  
*musg-e* 'to pack'  
*mu:qe* 'frog'  
*mu:ŋjr-e, mu:ŋjry-* 'to wash one's  
 face'  
*mu:la* 'largest, chief' (Boro)  
*meq-e, meq-/meqy-* 'to bake'  
*mejg-e, mejgyj-* 'to incubate'

*meca, mec* 'above', 29  
*mece* 'tall'  
*mecten* 'upward'  
*mec.te-nte* 'from above'  
*mej.je:r-e, mej.je:ry-* 'to ask'  
*mej.je:r-naq-e* 'to hear from each other' (Ursa)  
*meʈa:i* 'sweets'  
*men-e, mej.je-/majj-* (S) 'to become, to be, to take place, to do, to have to (with IF)', 50, 77, 77  
*men-e, mejj-* 'to listen'  
*men-tr-e* 'to tell'  
*mendr-e* 'to be heard'  
*mergtr-e, -tr-* 'to act furiously'  
*mel-* see *men-e*  
*mesqado* 'daughter-in-law'  
*meseʔdo* 'son's wife' (S)  
*mehna* 'month'  
*mehn(a)-* [CLF] of months  
*me:gri* 'eldest daughter'  
*me:gro* 'eldest son'  
*me:ca* 'lees, wine made of grains'  
*me:jj-e, me:jjy-* 'to make'  
*meʈrik* 'matriculation'  
*me:d/me:y* 'fever, disease'  
*me:n-e, mejj-* 'to hear, ask' (S, C)  
*me:nd-e, me:nd-* 'to burn, to set on fire'  
*me:la* 'harmony'  
*me:la* 'festival'  
*moje* 'banana'  
*moʈa* 'big, fat'  
*moʈra-juʈra* 'packs of luggage'  
*mon* 'maund'  
*mohara* 'herdsman' (Simal)  
*mohlid* 'basket maker' (Mali)  
*mo:q-e, moq-/moqy-* 'to eat'  
*mo:qe* 'food'  
*mo:g-e* 'to emit smoke'  
*mo:kam* 'opportunity'  
*mo:kri* [PROP] of a village  
*mo:c-e, mo:c-y-* 'to cut'  
*mo:ʈar-e, -ry-* 'to grow big'

*mo:ʈo* 'fat'  
*mo:ʈ-mo:ʈo* 'very big'  
*mo:dr-e, mo:dry-* 'to forget'  
*mo:ne* 'mind'  
*mo:n-* [CLF] maunds  
*mo:yr-e, mo:yr-* 'to forget'  
*mo:ʈe* 'corner'  
*mo:q-e, moq-* 'to eat'  
*mba* [ITJ] see *umba*  
*-ya* [ITJ] 'mother!, sister!'  
*ya:* [ITJ] (Ursa)  
*ya:dga:ri* 'memory'  
*-waje/-waji/-wajo* 'to'  
*-wajo/-waj/-wiji* 'in the direction of'  
*-wr* passive/reflexive suffix, 41  
*-r* intransitive suffix, 41  
*rakase* 'demon'  
*ragar-e, -r-* see *ro:kar-e* (Tugu)  
*randa* 'food for the first feeding'  
*-rar* intransitive suffix, 42  
*rahy-e, rahc-* 'to stay'  
*ra:ja* 'king'  
*ra:ji* 'kingdom'  
*ra:ji* 'approving'  
*ra:jkumare* 'prince'  
*ra:jmahale* 'palace'  
*ra:ti* 'night'  
*ra:ti-ule* 'day and night'  
*ra:t.bar* 'all night'  
*ra:ty-ond* 'whole night'  
*ra:ni* 'queen'  
*ra:m-ra:j* 'Ram's reign'  
*ri:ko-qadi* 'tiny little'  
*ri:kond/re:kond* 'a little'  
*ri:kbeni/ri:kbani* 'little, young'  
*ruce* 'taste'  
*rupa* 'silver'  
*rumale* 'handkerchief'  
*ru:pe* 'form'  
*ru:me* 'room'  
*=re* [ITJ] used to address a woman  
*reksa* 'rickshaw'  
*ronj* 'style'

*ro:katr-e, -try-* 'to make angry'  
*ro:kar-e, -ry-* 'to get angry'  
*ro:ga* 'disease'  
*ro:j* 'day'  
*=ɾe* [ITJ] used to address a man  
*la* see *male*  
*-lagacki* 'for', 29, 50  
*lagatr-e, -try-* 'to attach'  
*laga-naʔ-e* 'to beat each other'  
 (Boro)  
*lagar-e, -ry-/r-(S)* 'to be attached,  
 to start ...ing' (with IF), 50 (S)  
*lag-e, lagy-* 'to be attached, to hit,  
 to cost, to have to, to start' (with IF),  
 50  
*-lagcak-* 'for' (with a pronominal  
 suffix) (Boro)  
*lagre* 'drum' (Mali)  
*langa-qe:ru* 'cock'  
*laŋgoʈi* 'loincloth'  
*laŋgri* 'lame woman'  
*lajar-e, -ry-/r-* 'to feel ashamed'  
*laja:-tr-e* 'to make feel ashamed'  
*laʈi* 'staff, stick'  
*laq-* see *lal-e*  
*laɖu* 'laddu'  
*lap-e, lapy-* 'to eat'  
*lape* 'food'  
*lap-tr-e, -try-* 'to feed'  
*laboh* 'much'  
*lab-ʔani* 'fine'  
*lawa-gunɖe* 'flour of parched  
 grain'  
*lawɾa* 'penis'  
*laɾar-e, -ry-* 'to move'  
*laɾa:i* 'war, quarrel'  
*lal-e, laq-* 'to dance'  
*lal-e, laly-* 'to do' (S)  
*la:sɛ* 'last'  
*lahri* 'parched rice'  
*la:ine* 'line'  
*-la:go* 'somewhat', 38  
*la:pite* 'barber'  
*la:ɾ-e, la:ɾy-* 'to stir, shake' (Telo)

*la:ɾy-e, la:ɾc-* 'to stir, shake'  
*la:ɾsaɾ* 'battered'  
*la:li* 'spittle'  
*la:l-e, laq-* 'to dance' (Mali)  
*la:lcar-e, -ry-* 'to covet'  
*la:lci* 'greedy'  
*la:se* 'corpse'  
*la:se* 'happy, happiness'  
*liky-e, likc-* 'to write'  
*liʈipaɾa* [PROP] of a town  
*lilg-e, lilg-* 'to clean, to scratch'  
*luga* 'clothes'  
*luŋgi:* 'lungee'  
*hunti* 'reception' (Ursa)  
*-le* conjunctive participle suffix, 53  
*lear-e, leary-* see *lehar-e*  
*lekin* 'but'  
*-leko* 'like', 29  
*leky-e, lekc-* 'to count, to write'  
*lega* [ITJ] 'come along'  
*leʈra* 'left'  
*lelha* 'fool' (Mahapatra *lela*)  
*lehar-e/lehr-e, lehary-* 'to become'  
*lehor* 'prayer' (Boro)  
*lehy-e* 'to know' (Boro)  
*le:cki/le:kki* 'for'  
*le:la/le:le* 'tomorrow'  
*loʈa* 'brass pot'  
*loʈar-e, -ry-* 'to roll around'  
*loʈ-ond* 'a cupful'  
*loya* 'jackal' (Kortika)  
*lol-e, loly-* 'to ladle out'  
*lohri* 'Lahri bean'  
*lo:ke* 'people'  
*lo:be* 'greed'  
*lo:ɾ-e, lo:ɾc-* 'to be able' (with IF)  
 (S)  
*sakti-juge* 'tough era' (Boro)  
*saga* 'company'  
*sagar-e, -ry-* 'to help'  
*sagr-ma:qe* 'whole night'  
*saŋgale/-l* [ADV] 'together'  
*saŋgale* 'friend'  
*saŋgalni* [F] 'female friend'

- saja* ‘punishment’  
*sajy-e, saj-c-* ‘to fit, suit’  
*sat* ‘seven’  
*sattu* ‘coarse flour’  
*satra* ‘seventeen’  
*satsange* ‘Satsang’  
*sapa* ‘cleaning, totally’  
*sap<sup>h</sup>a:i* ‘cleaning’  
*sapta:h* ‘week’  
*sapna* ‘dream’  
*saprey-e, sapre:c-* ‘to prepare’  
 (Mokri)  
*saba* ‘story, speaking, matter’  
*sabji* ‘vegetable’  
*sab se* ‘than anything’  
*samay* ‘time’  
*sama:je* ‘society’  
*sama:ne* ‘goods’  
*samjar-e, -ry-* ‘to understand’  
*samtes-e* ‘to get in’ (Mali)  
*samdi* ‘married couple’s fathers’  
*samdre* ‘sea’  
*sampati* ‘riches’  
*sambande* ‘relationship’  
*samby-e* ‘to shake hands’  
*sambṛar-e* ‘to handle’  
*sawari, sawar-* ‘earthen lid, plate,’  
 [CLF]’  
*sawa:di* ‘tasty’  
*saw-ond* ‘one hundred’  
*sara-sara* ‘whole’  
*sara:pe* ‘liquor’  
*sarka:ri* ‘government, govermental’  
*sarṅge* ‘heaven’  
*sarṅg-gaḍi* ‘airplane’  
*sarṅg-jahje* ‘airplane’  
*sarpa-sarpe* ‘slowly’ (Ursa)  
*sarwe* ‘small, younger’  
*sarwli* ‘small, young’  
*saṛi* ‘saree’  
*saṛke* ‘road’  
*sal* ‘year’  
*salama:r-e* ‘to salute’  
*sala:m* ‘salutation’  
*salwar* ‘cotton trouser’  
*salha* ‘stupid’  
*sasone* ‘torment’  
*sahabe/saabe* ‘master, officer’  
*sahi* ‘funeral pyre’  
*sahi-no* ‘really, indeed’  
*sahebganje* [PROP] of a city  
*sa:ge* ‘vegetables’  
*sa:jar-e, -ry-* ‘to be adorned’  
*sa:jatr-e, -try-* ‘to dress’  
*sa:jy-e, sa:jc-* ‘to arrange (food)’  
*sa:ṭy-e, sa:ṭc-* ‘to paste’  
*sa:t* ‘seven’  
*sa:te, sa:tu* ‘together’  
*sa:di* ‘marriage, wedding’  
*sa:du* ‘ascetic’  
*sa:ny-e* ‘to make a ball’  
*sa:pe* ‘clean’  
*sa:bune* ‘soap’  
*sa:mne* ‘near’  
*sa:y-e, sa:c-* ‘to break up (as of friends)’ (Mokri)  
*sa:r* ‘Sir’  
*sa:rye* ‘friend’ (Boro)  
*sa:ṛi* ‘field’ (Simal)  
*sa:ṛi:* ‘saree’  
*sa:le* ‘year’  
*sa:la* [ITJ] ‘darn it!’  
*sa:la* ‘wicked person’  
*sa:lni* ‘wicked woman’  
*sa:wy-e, sa:wc-* ‘to curse’  
*sa:sane* ‘rule’  
*sīyaṛe* see *sinaṛe*  
*sikatr-e, -tr-* ‘to teach’  
*sikar-e, -r-* ‘to learn’  
*sikare* ‘hunting’  
*sikka* ‘coin’  
*singpate* ‘ritual ground’  
*singpaṭ-majye* ‘kind of priest’  
*sing-e, singy-* see *seng-e*  
*sinaṛe* ‘rich person’  
*sinaṛar-e* ‘to grow up’  
*siṭu* ‘match-maker’

<i>sidahe/sidahi/sidahro</i>	‘indeed, really’	<i>sotye:tr-e, -ry-</i>	‘to feel sorry for, to complain’
<i>sindra, sindu:re</i>	‘vermilion’	<i>sona</i>	‘gold’
<i>sipa:hi</i>	‘policeman’	<i>sonare</i>	‘goldsmith’
<i>simint</i>	‘cement’	<i>sopari</i>	‘betel nuts’
<i>simbaṛi</i>	‘silk cotton tree’	<i>sopar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be fulfilled’ (Pandani)
<i>simbal.kundī</i>	[PROP] of a village	<i>sopy-e, socp-</i>	‘to give in charge, entrust’
<i>simbi</i>	name of a plant	<i>sob</i>	‘all’
<i>sim-sandī</i>	‘rooster’	<i>somoye</i>	‘time’
<i>siyaṛe</i>	‘jackal’ (Boro)	<i>somjar-e</i>	‘to understand’
<i>sirape</i>	‘syrup’	<i>soy</i>	‘six’
<i>sirf</i>	‘only’	<i>sorsoti</i>	‘goddess Saraswati’
<i>sirsake</i>	‘title’	<i>solei</i>	‘match’
<i>sisṭar.ni</i>	‘nun’	<i>solla</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>si:t</i>	‘seat’	<i>sohja</i>	‘straight’
<i>si:da</i>	‘right’	<i>so:</i>	‘six, hundred’
<i>si:ṭ-tr-e</i>	‘to make make a mark on the forehead’	<i>so:c-e, so:c-/socp-</i>	‘to think’
<i>si:ṭ-e</i>	‘to make a mark on the forehead’	<i>so:ja:tr-e, -try-</i>	‘to bring around’
<i>-su</i>	‘two’ (S)	<i>so:ṭe</i>	‘short’
<i>suke, suk<sup>h</sup></i>	‘happiness, comfort’	<i>so:na</i>	‘gold’
<i>suk-sala</i>	‘happiness’	<i>so:la</i>	‘16’
<i>suṇstr-e, suṇstry-</i>	‘to sniff’	<i>sauda</i>	‘goods’
<i>sunde</i>	‘trunk (of an elephant)’	<i>sauda:r-e</i>	‘to shop’
<i>suta</i>	‘thread’	<i>-h</i>	[M]
<i>sude</i>	‘only, together with’	<i>hajar</i>	‘thousand’
<i>sundra</i>	‘vermilion’ (Ursa)	<i>hapta</i>	‘week’
<i>sumbrar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to pray’ (Kusum)	<i>hayre-ba:pre</i>	[ITJ] ‘oh my goodness!’
<i>suru:</i>	‘beginning’	<i>halka-pulka</i>	[ECHO] ‘light’
<i>su:ye</i>	‘injection’	<i>ha:l-sama:ca:re</i>	‘condition’
<i>su:r-nal-e</i>	‘cook porridge’	<i>hi/hī, -hi/-hī</i>	[EPH], 38, 77, 85
<i>se</i>	‘from’	<i>hindu</i>	‘Hindu’
<i>se</i>	[EPH] ‘just, only, even’, 38, 77, 85	<i>hiranpur</i>	[PROP] of a town
<i>seṅg-e, seṅgy-</i>	‘to be wont to, to use to’ 57	<i>hira-muti</i>	‘diamond jewel’
<i>seṅgr-e, -ry-</i>	a vector verb denoting perfective aspect (?) (Ursa)	<i>hisa</i>	‘portion’
<i>setale/sotale</i>	‘Santhal’	<i>hedmastare</i>	‘principal’
<i>sebere</i>	‘all’	<i>hō/ho, =hō/=ho</i>	‘too, either, even’, 38, 65
<i>seru</i>	‘a seer’	<i>hō:</i>	see <i>o:</i>
<i>sotyar-e, -ry-</i>	‘to be grieved’		

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