

TRANSCRIBED AND GLOSSED RECORDINGS OF SAWRIYA PAHARIYA MALTO

Masato Kobayashi

Hakuoh University

Bablu Tirkey

Ranchi University

1. Story of My Hardship. By Mr. Guhiya Paharia of Malipara, P.O. Simlong, Littipara Block, Pakur District. Recorded at his residence in Littipara on September 10, 2005.

0'00 e:nu guhiya pahaɽiya. aba-ki na:mi jome pahaɽiya. qeɽdu malipaɽa. liɽipaɽa
I PROP PROP father-GE name PROP PROP village PROP PROP
bloke-no paɽa-r-i
block-LO lie(H)-IT-PR.3S

“I am Guhiya Paharia. Father’s name is Jome Paharia. Village is Malipara. It is located in Littipara Block.”

0'16 e:n inor parikɽa cic-akan pa:kuɽ iskule-no maɽare ka:ja kud-in
I now exam(H) give-CP.1S PROP school-LO teacher work do-PR.1S

“I took an exam and now I work as a teacher at a school in Pakur.”

0'23 e:n eɽ-ki mundi maq-pahr-no ka:kli meɽj-a. ad-en inor nim-e
I I-GE in.olden.times child-time(H)-LO hardship be-PT.3S that-AC now you-DA
teng-in
tell-PR.1S

“In olden times, in my childhood, I had a hard time. Now I will tell you.”

0'29 mundi maq-pahr-no suru-suru pahr-no lap-oti indri-jahã
in.olden.times child-time-LO beginning(H)-RED time-LO eat-IF what-EPH
mel-la
be-PT.NG.3S

“In my early childhood, in the beginning, there was nothing to eat.”

- 0'35 oṭgu-no sirf gaṅgim-jahā mejj-a. qesu mel-la
house-LO only(H) maize-EPH be.PT-3S rice be-PT.NG.3S
“There was only maize in the house. There was no rice.”
- 0'40 bahut muskile-ti dalc-dalc ja:gu bita-bitā qaṭy-ah
much difficulty(H)-AB grind.PT-RED food cook-RED give.PT-3S.M
“Grinding it [each time] with great difficulty, [Father] fed us cooking [little by little].”
- 0'45 anda kisi:tara.se bimari-no ba:c-ar-po mejj-a
then somehow(H) disease-LO save-IT-IF? be.PT-3S
“Somehow I recovered from my disease [lit. recovery took place].”
- 0'49 ba:c-ar-ne ke.ba:d eṅg-en abba-h iskole-no varti nany-ah
save-IT-VN after(H) me-AC father-NO school-LO enrollment do.PT-3S.M
“After I recovered, father sent me to school.”
- 0'54 iskule sarkari pahaṭiya iskule hiranpur-no okiy-ad a: pahr-no
school governmental PROP school PROP-LO sit.PT-3S.NM that time-LO
“The Pahariya school of the government was in Hiranpur back then.”
- 1'01 a:d qep-inti issa digṭo
that village-AB very far
“It was very far from my village.”
- 1'04 ad-inte eṅg-en varti nan-ne ke.ba:d e:nu bahut muskil se paṭic-tan
that-AB I-AC enrollment do-VN after I much(H) difficulty from read.PT-1 S
“After [father took me] out of the village and sent me to the school, I studied with great difficulty.”
- 1'10 eṅg-e e:k ṭaka du: ṭaka qe:r-an indru e:ṭa-n ne:k-en bi:sa-bi:sa[s]
I-DA one rupee two rupee chicken-AC what goat-AC who-AC sell-RED
eṅg-e abba-h qaṭy-ah
I-DA father-NO give.PT-3S.M
“He sold chicken, goat and so on to give me one or two rupees.”
- 1'20 pe:sa-ki to bahut muskile hi mejj-ad
money-GE TOP much difficulty EPH be.PT-3S.NM
“When it comes to money, there was a big difficulty.”

- 1'22 a: pahr-no e:k ʃaka ca:ra:na aʃa:na aŋd-ot jahã muskile mejj-a
 that time-LO one rupee 4.anna 8.anna find-IF even difficult be.PT-3S
 “At that time, even getting one rupee, a quarter or a half rupee was difficult.”
- 1'28 gaʃi-b^hara behi-no se har.samae e:kal kam.se.kam mehna-no ke:pond
 car-load(H) be-CP EPH every.time(H) go-CP at.least(H) month(H)-LO once
 eŋg-baha eky-ah
 I.OB-place go.PT-3S.M
 “Going on the back of a car every time, my father came to my place at least once a month.”
- 1'33 e:k-ne ke.ba:d eŋg-en ʃundy-ah
 go-VN after I-AC see.PT-3S.M
 “He came and saw me.”
- 1'35 ad-inti paʃyi-te paʃyi-te paʃyi-te e:nu nawma kilase-k aʃs-tan
 that-AB read-CP read-CP read-CP I ninth class-DA reach.PT-1S
 “After that I read and read, and reached the ninth class.”
- 1'42 nawma kilase-k aʃs-ne ke.ba:d e:no paʃy-oti ad-inte amb-tan
 ninth class-DA reach-VN after I read-IF that-AB stop.PT-1S
 “After reaching the ninth class, I stopped studying after that.”
- 1'47 oʃgo-no jajjaʃi mejj-a. ka:kli mejj-a. ani paʃy-oti e:nu amb-tan
 house-LO trouble be.PT-3S difficulty be.PT-3S so read-IF I stop.PT-1S
 “There was trouble, difficulty, at home, so I stopped studying.”
- 1'50 amb-ne ke.ba:d ano ort eŋg-e maʃtare dʊ:ky-ah
 stop-VN after there one I-DA teacher stay.PT-3S.M
 “Then there was a teacher there.”
- 1'53 ahi-ki na:mi mejj-a badlur hodda
 he-GE name be.PT-3S PROP PROP
 “His name was Badlur Hodda.”
- 1'58 a:hu eŋ-ki kilase-ki maʃtare mejj-ah
 he I-GE class-GE teacher be.PT-3S.M
 “He was my class teacher.”

2'02 en iskule-k naw mehna ke.ba:d enj-en p^hi:r.se ci:ʈi teya-kah bi:k-tar-ah
I school-DA nine month after I-AC again letter send-CP.3S call-TR.PT-3S.M

“After nine months, he sent me a letter and called me again.”

2'08 bi:k-tara-kah bar-a niŋg-e inor tak na:mi ka:ʈy-o:mtan
call-TR-CP.3S come-IPV you-DA now till(H) name cut-PR.NG.1S

“He called me and said ‘Come, I have not dropped your name until now.’”

2'12 inor niŋg-e te:st pari:kfa: men-e:ni
now you-DA test(E) exam(H)

‘Now there will be an exam for you.’

2'15 niŋg-e parikfa ciy-e:ne:
you-DA exam give-FT.2S.M

‘You will take the exam [specially arranged] for you.’

2'17 anda se mala[amla] tan na:mi-n niŋki-n ka:ʈy-an any-ah
then EPH not then name-AC yours-AC cut-FT.1S say.PT-3S.M

‘And if you don’t [take the exam], I will cut your name.’”

2'20 uske:ba:d enj-en abba-h ad-inte ondr-ah
after.that I-AC father-NO that-AB bring.PT-3S.M

“Then father took me from there [i.e. village].”

2'25 ondr-te ondr-te ga:ʈe dini ɖo:k-ne ke.ba:d enj-e pa:ʈy-o bed-la
take-CP take-CP many day stay-VN after I-DA study-IF seek-NG.3S

“When he was taking me along, I did not feel like studying [again] after staying home for many days.”

2'28 pa:ʈy-o bed-la ani sujbe:ra ʈo:ke-no jare-no e:nu erg-o
study-IF seek-NG.3S.NM so PROP hill-LO jungle-LO I pass.stool-IF
bid-i an-ka korc-akan o:ɖoʈ-akan ok-tan
seek-PR.3S.NM say-CP enter-CP.1S cry-CP.1S sit.PT-1S

“Not feeling like studying, in the jungle of the Surajbera Hill, I said I felt like emptying my bowels, and entered [the jungle] and sat crying.”

2'35 hedma:ʈar baj-anah ad-in-õ elic-tan
principal(E) beat-FT.3S.M he-AC-too fear.PT-1S

“The principal [of the school] would beat, and I was afraid of him, too.”

2'38 ođoŕa ok-ne: ke.ba:d aba-h eŋg-en qa:pa-qa:pa oky-ah
cry sit-VN after father-NO I-AC wait-RED sit.PT-3S.M

“While [lit. after] sitting crying, father stayed waiting [for me].”

2'42 qa:pa-qa:pa oky-ah uske:ba:d qalu-qalu ulŕar-akan malipaŕa
wait-RED sit.PT-3S.M after.that steal.PP-RED turn.around-CP.1S PROP
qep-ik bong-o mejj-atan [present perfect?]
village-DA run-IF be.PT-1S

“Then, having turned around sneakily, I fled back to Malipara village.”

2'49 darce-ke a:dno e:k ŕapar bajy-ah eŋg-en
hold-CP.3S.M there one slap beat.PT-3S.M I-AC

“Having caught me, he gave me a slap on the spot.”

2'51 baj-ne ke.ba:d muskil se tuki-tuki-tuki-tuki liŕipaŕa-k ondr-ah
beat-VN after difficulty with push.PT-RED-RED-RED PROP-DA take.PT-3S.M

“After slapping me, he kept pushing me on the back and took me to Littipara.”

2'55 liŕipaŕa-nti e:nu hiranpuri-k ek-tam jo:r.se e:m ma:nqal-e:m
PROP-AB I PROP-DA go.PT-1P.E immediately we.E father.and.son-1P.E

“We, father and son, went from Littipara to Hiranpur immediately.”

3'04 e:k-ne ke.ba:d elc-e-t eŋg-e ke:ponti me:d korc-a
go-VN after fear-VN-IN I-DA at.once illness enter.PT-3S.NM

“After going [to Hiranpur], I got fever at once because of fear.”

3'08 me:d korc-a kuku nuŕjc-a
illness enter.PT-3S.NM head ache.PT-3S.NM

“I had fever and headache.”

3'10 uske:ba:d e:k goli mandra qe:g-tan hiranpur haspaŕale-no
after.that one tablet medicine buy.PT-1S PROP hospital-LO

“Then I bought one tablet at Hiranpur Hospital.”

3'15 mo:q-ne ke.ba:d kuku-nuyu ŕi:k le:r-a
eat-VN after head-ache well become.PT-3S.NM

“After taking [the tablet], the headache got well.”

3'19 ʃi:k le:r-ne ke.ba:d e:k pa:li pari:kʃa: anno katam mejj-a
well become-VN after one row exam there end(H) be.PT-3S

“By the time I recovered, the first exam was over.”

3'24 dusra pa:li pari:kʃa:-no e:nu elc-u-n kirki pa:w ko:ric-tan
second row exam-LO I fear-PP-1S window through enter.PT-1S

“In the second exam, I was afraid so I entered the room from a window.”

3'28 kirki pa:w korca-tatkan kurka-tatkan e:nu te:sʃ pari:kʃa:-no goʃ-inti
window through enter.PT-CP.1S write.PT-CP.1S I test exam-LO all-AB
ja:de nambare hĩ eŋ-ki mejj-a
much number EPH I-GE be.PT-3S

“Having entered the room from a window and having written the exam, mine turned out to be the highest score of all in the exam.”

3'35 eŋ-ki men-ne ke.ba:d andu mundu agdut-enti pa:ɽy-u maqe eŋg-en
I-GE be-VN after all.the.time beginning former-AB read-PP boy I-AC
cillahtar-ah
yell.PT-3S.M

“After that, a boy who was studying all the time since ago yelled at me.”

3'41 i:h to qaɖa-ka se pa:s mejj-ah iħũ
this.M.SG TOP cheat.PT-CP EPH pass be.PT-3S.M this.M

‘He passed by cheating.’

3'44 ʃuŋʃuŋ kurk-ka pa:s mejj-ah. indeki mel-le:ni
see-RED write-CP pass be.PT-3S.M this.way be-FT.NG.3S.NM

‘He passed looking at others’ papers and writing [his own exam]. This is not right.’

3'46 ih-ik ikini-goʃe besi nambare barca any-ah
this.M.SG-DA how-EPH much number come.PT-3S.NM say.PT-3S.M

‘How did the best score come out for him?’

3'50 an-ne ke.ba:d heɖmaʃtare awɖ-ah. adano heɖmaʃtare mejj-ah rajju
say-VN after principal say.PT-3S.M then principal be.PT-3S.M PROP
mahto
PROP

“When they said so, the principal said. The principal at that time was Raju Mahto.”

3'55 rajju mahto awḍ-ah. ʈi:ke andeki ta:n deka: tobe p^hir se e:k bar
 PROP PROP say.PT-3S.M well that.way then ITJ then again EPH one time
 parikʃa nan-tr-ei
 exam do-TR-FT.1S

“Raju Mahto said, ‘Okay, if that is the case, I will give you an exam again.’”

4'00 goṭer-ni ʈund-ʈund kurk-a any-ah
 all-AC.EPH? see-RED write-IP say.PT-3S.M

‘Write [the exam] looking at everyone else.’

4'03 ani e:n awḍa-tan se p^hir dubara parikʃa men-no: hō ʈund-ʈund kurk-u-r
 so I say.PT-1S EPH again twice exam be-CP even see-RED write-PP-3P
 kurk-ander amb-a. ʈunda-balo kurk-an an-tan
 write-OP.3P leave.IP see-without write-FT.1S say.PT-1S

“So I said, ‘Even if there is an exam again, I will write it without cheating. Let those who write cheating do so.’”

4'10 ande-goṭ p^hir eṅg-e hi nambare besi meṅj-a
 again-EPH again I-DA EPH number much be.PT-3S

“Then again, I got the highest score.”

4'13 besi men-ne ke.ba:d hedmaṣṭare awḍ-ah
 much be-CP after principal say.PT-3S.M

“Then the principal said.”

4'17 ʈ^hi:k inor j^hagṛa.j^hapj^haṭ men-no koi ʈ^hi:ke mal-a
 okay(H) now quarrel(H) be-CP any(H) good be.not.PR-3S

‘Okay, now it is useless to do argument.’

4'20 ba:de-no bahut parikʃa meṭrike pa:s men-no tatno se e:n a:ḡ-an
 after-LO much exam matriculation pass be-CP thereupon EPH I know-FT.1S
 ki ne:du acc^ha budi.tani or ne:d budi.belo
 CPL who.NM.SG well intelligent and who.NM unintelligent

“When you guys pass the big matriculation exam later, then I will know who is [really] intelligent and who isn’t.”

4'29 any-ah. ʈ^hi:k ad-enti parikʃa ciy-oti ek-tam
 say.PT-3S.M good that-AB exam give-IF go.PT-1P.E

“Okay, after that we went to take the exam.”

- 4'31 parikʃa pa:kur harindaŋa iskule-no eŋ-ki sintare mejj-a
 exam PROP PROP school-LO I-GE center be.PT-3S
 “The Harindanga school in Pakur was my exam center.”
- 4'35 sintare men-ne ke.ba:d ad-no ade qa:l-u maqe-r-in turan-turan darc-ar
 center be-VN after that-LO again cheat-PP boy-P-AC at.once catch.PT-3P
 “Then they caught boys who were cheating in the exam right away.”
- 4'40 dar-ne ke.ba:d ekspel na:ny-ar
 catch-VN after expel do.PT-3P
 “Then they expelled them.”
- 4'42 ad-inte otr-otr tey-ar dubarra parikʃe ciy-tar-lar
 that-AB bring-RED send.PT-3P again(H) exam give-TR-PT.NG.3P
 “They took them and kicked them out, and did not let them take the exam any more.”
- 4'45 tʰi:k eŋg-e no ji:b.bigya:n bisae-ki parikʃa mejj-a
 okay I-DA EPH? biology(H) subject(H)-GE exam be.PT-3S
 “For me, the exam was on biology.”
- 4'50 ad-no baŋgali maqe qo:qwi: purja ki:d-ah
 that-LO Bengali boy back slip put.PT-3S.M
 “But then a guy [who was taking] Bengali [exam] put a cheating slip on my back.”
- 4'52 ani eŋg-en-õ ano ga:dʒiŋ nan-u vikʃak e:k tʰapar baj-ka purja: ke.sat
 so I-AC-too there monitoring do-PP supervisor one slap beat-CP slip with
 eŋg-en oc-ah ga:dru:me-k
 I-AC take.PT-3S.M guardroom-DA
 “A supervisor who was monitoring the exam gave me a slap too, and took me to the guardroom with the cheating slip.”
- 5'01 ga:dru:me-nte eŋg-en ji:pe-n arg-tara-kar tʰa:na:k oc-ar
 guardroom-AB I-AC Jeep-AC climb-TR-CP.3P police.station-DA take.PT-3P
 “They took me from the guardroom, made me get on a Jeep, and took me to the police station.”

5'05 t^ha:na:k oy-ne ke.ba:d ja:bu ko:pi:n ar purja-n mila:-tar-ah
police.station-DA take-VN after when test.paper-AC and slip-AC put.together(H)-TR.PT-3S.M
“Then when they compared the copy and the slip,”

5'08 ta:bu ahi-ki to ra:ftraba:sa bangla mejj-a. eŋ-ki to ji:b.bigya:ne-ki
then he-GE TOP national.language Bengali be.PT-3S I-GE TOP biology-GE
mej-j-a
be.PT-3S
“then his [cheating slip] was [on] the Bengali language, and my [exam] was
biology.”

5'13 men-ne ke.ba:d ad-inte eŋg-en p^hi:r ad^ha g^hanṭa ṭaime qaṭy-ar parikṣa-no
be-VN after that-AB I-AC again half hour time give.PT-3P exam-LO
bahut parikṣa-no kurk-oti
much exam-LO write-IF
“After that, they gave me time for half an hour to write a lot in the exam.”

5'20 qaṭ-ne ke.ba:d en mēṭrike pa:s mejj-atan
give-VN after I matric pass be.PT-1S
“Then I passed the matriculation.”

5'22 mēṭrike pa:s men-ne ke.ba:d eno ad-inte-m a: pahr-no pahaṭi qep-wijo
matric pass be-VN after I that-AB-EPH that time-LO alpine village-side
ne:-jahā mēṭrik pa:ser behi-lah
who-even matric passer be-PT.NG.3S.M
“Then, from there, from the side of the mountain villages, there was no one
who had passed the matriculation.”

5'32 uske:ba:d e:n pa:s mejj-atan. ani duniya halla mejj-a
after.that I pass be.PT-1S so news sensation be.PT-3S
“Then I passed. So the news became a sensation.”

5'35 halla mejj-a ki malipaṭa qep-no ortu guhiya pahaṭiya mēṭrik pa:s
sensation be.PT-3S CPL PROP village-LO one PROP PROP matric pass
mej-j-ah
be.PT-3S.M
“It became a sensation that Guhiya Paharia, a guy from Malipara, passed
matriculation.”

5'41 any-a ike guhiya pahaṭiya meṭrik pa:s meṭj-a an-naqy-ar goṭ-er-i[k]
 say.PT-3S which PROP PROP matric pass be.PT-3S say-RCP.PT-3P all-P-DA
 halla meṭj-a
 sensation be.PT-3S

“It was a sensation for everyone, saying to each other ‘Which Guhiya Paharia passed the matriculation?’”

5'46 halla men-ne ke.ba:d kujbana misan iskule-no ḍo:ky-a siṣṭarni mandra
 sensation be-VN after PROP mission school-LO stay.PT-3S sister.F medicine
 ba:ṭyu siṣṭarni ḍo:ky-a paṭyi-tr-u siṣṭarni ḍo:ky-a
 grind-PP sister.F stay.PT-3S study-TR-PP sister.F stay.PT-3S

“Then there was a sister at the mission school in Kunjbona, a sister grinding medicine, and a sister teaching.”

5'55 a: siṣṭarni bed-i bed-i eṅg-baha-k eky-a ki malipaṭa-no guhiya
 that sister.F search-PR.3S RED I-place-DA go.PT-3S CPL PROP-LO PROP
 pahaṭiya ike meṭrike pase-h e:n ah-in ḍo:k-tr-an any-a
 PROP who matric pass-3S.M I he-AC stay-TR-FT.1S say.PT-3S

“Searching and searching, that sister came to my place and said, ‘Guhiya Paharia in Malipara, who is a matriculation pass[er], we will hire him.’”

6'03 uske:ba:d du: so: ṭaka mehna kujbana misan iskule-no paṭyi-tr-atan
 after.that two 100 rupee month PROP mission school-LO study-TR-PT.1S
 e:nu ti:n sa:l
 I three year

“Then I taught at the mission school in Kunjbona for three years for two hundred rupees a month.”

6'10 uske:ba:d sahaṭgaṭi-k baric-tan betane-n iṅjr-oti
 after.that PROP-DA come.PT-1S salary-AC receive-IF

“Then I came to Sahargati [every month] to receive salary.”

6'13 ante kud-de kud-de a: misan-en amb-kan e:nu ek-tan dumka.
 and work-CP? RED that misson-AC leave-CP.1S I go.PT-1S PROP
 adibasi nigam dipa:ṭe-no ḍo:k-tan
 Adivasi corporation department-LO stay.PT-1S

“I worked and worked and then left the mission. I went to Dumka and got a job at the Adivasi Nigam Department.”

- 6'21 nigam dipa:ʈe-no ma:tr eŋg-e pa:c so ʈaka betane mejj-a
 corporation department-LO only I-DA five 100 rupee salary be.PT-3S
 “Only from the Department I got a salary of five hundred rupees.”
- 6'25 bahut dine-no sa:t mehna bina be:tane:-ti ka:li mandra baʈic-tan
 much day-LO seven month without salaryIN only(H) medicine grind.PT-1S
 “For many days, for seven months, I was just grinding medicine without salary.”
- 6'30 ka:kla:-r-atan. ja:ʈi-bu:ʈi mandra baʈic-tan e:nu
 troubleIN-PT.1S jungle-medicinal.plant(H) medicine grind.PT-1S I
 “I had a tough time. I was grinding medicine from the medicinal plants of the jungle.”
- 6'32 baʈyi-ne ke.ba:d ro:j eŋg-e pac ʈaka pe:sa mejj-a
 grind-VN after day I-DA five rupee money be.PT-3S
 “After grinding, I got five rupees every day.”
- 6'36 a: pe:sa-ti je: e:nu nasta-indru mejj-mejj ʈo:k-tan
 that moneyIN which I tiffin-what be.PT-RED stay.PT-1S
 “I used to have whatever tiffin [is available] with that money.”
- 6'39 ja:gu-nte e:n sahabe-ki bit-atan ad-en e:k mu:ʈi ja:gu lap-tan
 food-AB I master-GE cook.PT-1S that-AC one fist cooked.rice eat.PT-1S
 e:nu
 I
 “I had a fistful of food from what I cooked for the boss.”
- 6'45 ʈo:k-te ʈo:k-te sa:t mehna: ke.ba:d painti:s so: pe:sa qaq-ogr-ad
 stay-CP stay-CP seven month after 35 100 money receive-PA.PT-3S.NM
 eŋg-e
 I-DA
 “After seven months, I got 3,500 rupees.”
- 6'50 qaq-ogr-ne ke.ba:d aba-k ondr-aka cic-akan o:ʈgu-no cic-akan
 receive-PA-VN after father-DA bring-CP give-CP.1S house-LO give-CP.1S
 “Then I brought the money to my father, gave it [to him] at home, and,”

6'55 p^hi:r a: dine turant a:nond se elc-a mejja dyuti nan[-u]
 again that day immediately so.much EPH fear-VN be.PT-3S duty do-PP
 pah-r-no elc-po mejj-a kir-ka ek-tan dumka
 time-LO fear-IT-IF be.PT-3S return-CP go.PT-1S PROP

“I went back to Dumka immediately on the same day. So much was I afraid. I was afraid as I was on duty.”

7'01 p^hi:r dumka-no do: sal d̪o:k-ne ke.ba:d ad-inte tey-ar eŋg-en sahebgoŋje-k
 again PROP-LO two year stay-VN after that-AB send.PT-3P I-AC PROP-DA

“After staying in Dumka for two more years, they sent me from there to Sahebganj.”

7'05 sahebgoŋje-no dukani-ki ti:qalu da:li a:lu sabji oc-oc lap-tan
 PROP-LO shop-GE rice lentil potato vegetable take.PT-RED eat.PT-1S
 uda:ri
 credit

“Taking rice, dal, potatoes and vegetable from a shop in Sehebganj, I ate them on credit.”

7'16 pe:sa-ʃikana behi-la e:k ʃaka jã dokri-no behi-la pe:sa
 money-abode[H] be-PT.NG.3S one rupee even pocket-LO be-PT.NG.3S money

“There was no money at all. There was no money, not even a rupee, in the pocket.”

7'17 uda:ri lap-te lap-te ga:ʃe le:ʃ-ad an-no ga:ʃe mejj-a
 credit eat-CP eat-CP much become.PT-3S.NM that-LO much be.PT-3S

“Eating and eating on credit, it became a big amount.”

7'20 ga:ʃe men-ne ke.ba:d d̪o:k-te d̪o:k-te eŋg-en ad-inte haʃa:tar-ah
 much be-VN after stay-CP stay-CP I-AC that-AB drive.off[H]-TR.PT-3S.M

“Then [the shop-owner] kicked me out from there [i.e. the shop],”

7'25 ki niŋg-e inor pe:sa jim[-r]-le:ni jo: pã:c so: ʃaka mehina
 CPL you-DA now money get-IT-FT.NG.3S.NM which five 100 rupee month
 jim-te qaq-te a:d ino pe:sa jim[r]-le:ni ek-ka inor ni:nu
 get-CP acquire-CP that here money get-IT-FT.NG.3S.NM go-CP now you
 oʃgo[i] d̪o:k-o:ka an-ka tey-ar eŋg-en
 house stay.IPV say-CP send.PT-3P I-AC

“saying, ‘If you have no money, if you cannot get the five hundred rupee you [are supposed to] get monthly, go home and stay’, they sent me back.”

7'35 uske:ba:d ad-inte olg-ot suru nan-tan qa:n-amdu topy-ot suru many-ad
after.that that-AB cry-IF begin do.PT-1S eye-water drop-IF beginning do.PT-3S.NM

“Then I started crying. Tears started dropping.”

7'40 ad-inte iki-[n]o dukani-no ja:gu uda:ri lap-ta:n. dudi-n uda:ri
that-AB which-ever shop-LO cooked.rice credit eat.PT-1S milk-AC credit
oc-atan
take.PT-1S

“I ate all food on credit from there, at the shop. I took milk on credit from there.” [?]

7'45 ikt-enti pe:sa ciy-an
which-AB money give-FT.1S[?]

“From where shall I give the money back?”

7'46 pe:san ad-in band many-ar. band nan-ka barc-a
money that-AB[?] closing do.PT-3P closing do-CP come.PT-3S

“They stopped paying salary, they had stopped paying salary.”

7'49 bar-ne ke.ba:d baric-tan e:n apna qep-ik malipaṛa-k
come-VN after come.PT-1S I own village-DA PROP-DA

“Then I went to my own village Malipara.”

7'52 malipaṛa-k bar-ne ke.ba:d a: pahr-no kunjbona-no miḍil iskule kula:r-a
PROP-DA come-VN after that time-LO PROP-LO middle school open-IT.PT-3S

“Then a middle school had [just] opened in Kunjbona.”

7'58 naya: naya: mejj-a
new(H) new be.PT-3S

“It was brand new.”

8'00 e:n ad-inte lungi cu:c-eken baric-tan lungi cu:c-akan baric-tan
I that-AB lungee put.on-CP.1S come.PT-1S lungee put.on-CP.1S come.PT-1S

“I put on a lungee and went there.”

8'03 tan bar-ne ke.ba:d a:te-n[o] gurac-te gurac-te hedmasṭare
then come-VN after market-LO walk.around-CP walk.around-CP principal
kunjbona-ki hedmasṭare mejjah
PROP-GE principal be.PT-3S.M

“Then the principal of Kunjbona [School] was walking around in the market.”

- 8'11 ah-in luggi cuc-ekeni parna:m sar a:n-tan
 he-AC lungee put.on-CP.1S hello Sir say.PT-1S
 ‘I wore lungee and said ‘Hello, sir’ to him.’
- 8'15 parna:m sar an-ne ke.ba:d awq-ah ikno dq:k-de ino:r an-ku
 hello Sir say-VN after say.PT-3S.M stay-PR.2S.M now say-CP
 ‘Then he said, ‘Where do you work now?’’
- 8'18 mala e:n agdi sahebgojje-no dq:k-tan adibasi nigame-no lekin
 no I formerly PROP-LO stay.PT-1S Adivasi corporation-LO but(H)
 enjg-en ad-inte otr-ar
 I-AC that-AB take.out.PT-3P
 ‘I was in Sahebganj before, at Adivasi Nigam, but they let me get out of there.’
- 8'22 otr-ne ke.ba:d inor e:n eise hi a:te gurarkudd-ot baric-tan
 take.out-VN after now I this.way(H) EPH market walk.around-IF come.PT-1S
 ‘And now I came [here] to walk around the town.’
- 8'27 a:nko a: ma:tare ho borio-ki mejj-ah. bahut dayalu ma:tare mejj-ah
 then that teacher EPH PROP-GE be.PT-3S.M much merciful teacher be.PT-3S.M
 ‘That teacher was from Borio, a very compassionate teacher.’
- 8'32 awq-ah e:k januari-no paha:riya kalya:n saabe bara-nah
 say.PT-3S one January-LO Pahariya welfare master come-FT-3S.M
 ‘He said, ‘On January 1, the officer from the Pahariya Welfare comes.’
- 8'37 bar-ne ke.ba:d ne:k-en apna ma:eh a: maq-en dq:k-tra:n-nah
 come-VN after who-AC self like-PR[FT].3S.M that boy-AC stay-TR-FT.3S.M
 ‘Then he hires whomever he likes.’
- 8'41 ni:n e:k tari:ke-no e:k januari-no bar-ke ar dark^hase kurk-ke
 you one date(H)-LO one January-LO come-CP-2S and application(H) write-CP.2S
 ciy-e:ne
 give-FT.2S.M
 ‘[Why don’t] you come on January 1, and write and submit an application.’
- 8'46 uske:ba:d ni:ng-en paha:riya iskule dq:k-tr-ah [?] tan t^hi:ke
 after.that you-AC Pahariya school stay-TR-FT.3S.M then good
 ‘Then if Pahariya School hires you, that will be good.’

8'49 any-ah uske:ba:d e:n baric-tan tʰi:k ade-no amɲ-o:ti usra mejj-ano
 say.PT-3S.M after.that I come.PT-1S well that-LO bathe-IF spare.time ?
 kuk-a qa:sr-ot usra mejj-a
 head-AC comb-IF spare.time be.PT-3S

‘Then if Pahariya School hires you, that will be good.’

8'49 any-ah uske:ba:d e:n baric-tan tʰi:k ade-no amɲ-o:ti usra mejj-ano
 what-even spare.time be-PT.NG.3S
 kuk-a qa:sr-ot usra mejj-a

“Then I came there. There there was no time to bathe nor comb the hair.”

8'56 a: dine ba:jɽa ba:ɽic-tan e:nu
 that day millet pound.PT-1S I

“I was pounding millet that day.”

8'57 ar a:lu ja:gu ba:jɽa ja:gu mejj-a
 and potato boiled.rice millet boiled.rice be.PT-3S

“There were boiled potato and boiled millet.”

9'00 e:k muɽa ba:jɽa ja:gu lap-tan. uske:ba:d am-an onɽa-tan
 one fist millet boiled.rice eat.PT-1S after.that water-AC drink.PT-1S

“I ate a handful of boiled millet and drank water.”

9'14 o:n-ne ke.ba:d pʰi:r ad-inte amɲata-balo gamca:ti qetur-atan pʰir
 drink-VN after again that-AB bathe.?-without towelIN dust.PT-1S again
 kuɲjbanak baric-tan
 PROP come.PT-1S

“Then without taking bath, having just dusted myself with a towel, I came to Kunjbona again.”

9'11 kuɲjbanak bar-ne ke.ba:d ano so:la ɽaka bar:ana eɲg-e betane mejj-a
 PROP come-VN after there 16 rupee 12.anna I-DA salary be.PT-3S
 ɽe:li. dine-nihĩ betane mejj-a
 daily day-LO.EPH salary be.PT-3S

“Then my salary there was sixteen rupees and 75 paise a day. There was salary every day.”

9'17 men-ne ke.bad d̥o:k-te d̥o:k-te d̥o:k-te a:no du: sal bi:ta-r-a.
 be-VN after stay-CP stay-CP stay-CP there two years pass(H)-IT.PT-3S
 lekin a: solla t̥aka ba:ra-na-n jahã qaq-ogr-te qaq-ogr-te band
 but that 16 rupee 12.anna-AC even receive-PA-CP receive-PA-CP closed
 nany-a
 do.PT-3S

“Then two years have passed working there, but even that sixteen rupees and 75 paise was first available and then stopped.”

9'25 band nan-ne ke.bad eŋg-e bina paise d̥o:k-tan
 closed do-VN after I-DA without money stay.PT-1S

“After the payment had stopped, I worked for no salary.”

9'30 borio-ki heḍmaṣṭare mehna-no a:t̥ kilo a:lu qat̥y-ah
 PROP-GE principal month-LO eight k.g. potato give.PT-3S.M

“The principal from Borio gave me eight kilogram potatoes per month.”

9'34 aur bi:s kilo t̥i:qal-a qat̥y-ah. a:ta:reni lapa-lapa d̥o:k-tan uske:ba:d
 and 20 k.g. rice-AC give.PT-3S.M ?[usi: ko] eat-RED[?] stay.PT-1S after.that
 e:k t̥aka jahã pe:sad eŋg-e qaq-ogr-la
 one rupee even money-NO I-DA receive-PA-PT.NG.3S

“And he gave me twenty kilogram rice. I was eating only them. Then not even a single rupee was available.”

9'39 p^hir d̥o:k-te d̥o:k-te eŋg-e unni:s so: nabbe: sa:le aktumbar mehna: eŋg-e
 again stay-CP stay-CP I-DA 19 100 90 year October month I-DA
 bahli mejj-a
 selection be.PT-3S

“Carrying on and on working, in October 1990, I was hired by selection.”

9'48 maṣṭare-no bahli men-ne ke.ba:d ad-inte c^ho: sa:l kunjbona-no d̥o:k-tan
 teacher-LO selection be-VN after that-AB six year PROP-LO stay.PT-1S

“After hired as a teacher, I worked at Kunjbona for six years.”

9'52 uske:ba:d ad-inte badli mejj-ad eŋg-e masiliya dumka jila
 after.that that-AB transfer be.PT-3S.NM I-DA PROP PROP District

“Then I was transferred to Masiliya, Dumka District.”

9'56 dumka jila car sa:l dɔ:k-tan
PROP District four year stay.PT-1S

“I was in Dumka District for four years.”

9'58 ad-inte car sa:l dɔ:k-ne ke.ba:d ino:r pakuɟ jila harijan iskule badli
that-AB four year stay-VN after now PROP District Harijan school transfer
mejja
be.PT-3S

“Then after working for four years, I was transferred to the Harijan school in Pakur District.”

10'05 harijan iskole-n[o] en inor dɔ:k-in dɔ:k-in e:nu
Harijan school-LO I now stay-PR.1S stay-PR.1S I

“I now work at the Harijan school.”

10'10 maqe-r-in indr inor eɟ-ki maqe-r-in jaise ka:kla:r-akan paɟic-tan
boy-P-AC what now I-GE boy-P-AC as have.difficulty-IT-CP.1S study.PT-1S
sika-r-tan no:kri mejj-a
teach-IT.PT-1S employment be.PT-3S

“Just as I [first] had difficulty, then studied, taught and got a job,”

10'16 a:l-ekno eɟ-ki maqe-r-in kisi.tara.se baɟ^hiyã iskole-no paryi-tr-oti so:cy-in.
that-like I-GE boy-P-AC somehow good school-LO study-TR-IF think-PR.1S
maqe-r-in inor dɔ:k-tar-in
boy-P-AC now stay-TR-PR.1S

“I am thinking of sending my children to a good school to study [and get a good job] in the same way. And now I [actually] send them [to a boarding school].”

10'23 pare a:ge indri men-enid ad-en gosanyi hi a:g-ih
but front what be-FT.3S.NM that-AC god EPH know-PR.1S.M

“But only God knows what will happen in future.”

10'26 bas inonde eɟ-ki eɟ-ki duke-ki kata oŋgr-i
enough this.much I-GE I-GE hardship-GE story end-PR.3S

“Okay, this much is the story of my hardship.”

2. Pahariya Wedding, by Mr. Surja Pahariya, Ursa Pahar, P.O. Ghatyari, Ranga Block, Sahebganj District. Recorded on March 3, 2006 at Adivasi Residential Boys High School, Hiranpur.

0'00 em-ki siʈu-r a:n-im jo:ʈ-ond-er
we-GE match-maker-P say-PR.1P.E pair-one-P

“We call the pair of people our match-makers.”

0'05 a:berε muʈse-ki batte-r ik-goʈε peli.aʈa-k e:k-er
they man-GE sider-P who-ever woman.house-DA go-FT.3P

“Those people belonging to the boy’s side go to the house of whichever girl it may be.”

0'13 ante a:ʈno pata laga-tr-er ki e:me palna maqe-k
and there information(H) attach(H)-TR-FT.3P CPL we.E so.and.so boy-DA
men-oti barc-kem
ask-IF come.PT-1P.E

“And there, we get information, saying ‘We have come to ask [about your girl] for the boy so-and-so.’”

0'23 anno a:ʈno bat jo:ʈa-r-i ta:nu a:ber suru nan-er ki
there thereon discussion(H) join(H)-IT-3S then they start(H) do-FT.3P CPL
palna dine e:m bar-em
so.and.so day we.I come-FT.1P.E

“If an agreement is reached thereon, they start [preparing], saying ‘We will come on such and such a day’.”

0'34 ante a: dine e:k-er
and that day go-FT.3P

“And they come on that day.”

0'36 e:k-e-ki ba:de-no batci:te men-anid
go-VN-GE after-LO discussion(H) be-FT.3S.NM

“After going there, there will be a discussion [about the consequences of the marriage].”

0'39 peli-ki to tambako-ber ar muʈse-ki to tambako-ber o:k-er a:ʈno
girl-GE TOP father-P and man-GE TOP father-P sitFT.3P there

“The girl’s parents and the boy’s parents sit there.”

0'46 ok-e-ki ba:de-no men-er ki e:k-en a:n-id ta:nu biha-ki
 sit-VN-GE after-LO ask-FT.3P CPL go-FT.1S say-PR.3S.NM then wedding-GE
 tay men-id
 decision be-PR.3S.NM

“Then they 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 ada-no qa:wnaq-er ki e:nond-goṭe pe:sa-d car:so: pā:c:so:
 then[uske ba:d] converse-FT.3P CPL how.much-EPH money-NM 400 500
 hajar ṭaka a:r e:k man du: man ti:qal-a jo:-goṭe awḡnaq-era
 1000 rupee and one maund two maund rice-AC which-EPH discuss-FT.3P

“At that point, they talk how much money, 400, 500, 1,000 rupees, and one maund, two mounds of rice. They discuss all those matters.”

1'06 ante a: ik dine ta:rik nan-er a: dine-no biha men-anid
 and CR which day date do-FT.3P that day-LO wedding be-FT.3S.NM

“And the wedding will take place on that day on which they fixed the date.”

1'10 a:de-k(i) siṭu-r ḡo:k-ner ad-in carioti[?] inno muṭṣeḡa-k
 that-DA match-maker-P stay-PR.3P that-AC mediating[12'37] here man's.house-DA
 e:k-er pelaḡa-k e:k-er jo:ṭond-er a:ber siṭu a:n-im
 go-FT.3P woman's.house-DA go-FT.3P one.pair-P they match-maker say-PR.1P.E

“Match makers are for that procedure. They go to boy’s house here and 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:no taraf se barte mi:l mejj-ad
 they ask-VN-GE after-LO both side from words agreement be.PT-3S.NM
 ta:nu biha-ki tay men-anid
 then wedding-GE decision be-FT.3S.NM

“After they ask, if words from both parties agree, then the decision of the wedding is all set.”

1'25 po:ne jo.b^{hi}: qawrnoq-ar e:m to pel-er-ik ciy-im pe:sa-n
 dowry whatever converse.PT-3P we.E TOP girl-P-DA give-PR.1P.E money-AC

“Whatever dowry they have discussed, we give that money to the girl’s people.”

1'30 muṣse bed-keh ondr-ih
man seek-CP.3S bring-PR.3S.M

“The boy calls her out and [is going to] take her [to his house].”

1'32 adano biha men-id adano e:k-ner lal-oti bariati-r qe:lu.ɖugu
there wedding be-PR.3S.NM there go-PR.3P dance-IF groomsmen-P kettledrum

“Then wedding is held. Then the bridegroom’s party and drum go in order to dance.”

1'38 apna i: qep-ente pel-aɖa-k e:k-er
self this village-AB girl-house-DA go-FT.3P

“They go from this village of theirs to the bride’s house.”

1'41 pel-aɖa-no lal-er(a)
girl-house-LO dance-FT.3P

“They dance at bride’s house.”

1'44 a: siṭu lo:ke-r[21'14] gurar-er ki ikna:ne upa:y laga-tr-er
that match-maker people-P walk.about-FT.3P CPL how devise attach-TR-FT.3P
adaki-no
its-LO

“Meanwhile, the match makers run around, wondering how to mediate.”

1'49 ante e:k-e-ki ba:d-no i:ṭinte kisa oy-er
and go-VN-GE after-LO from.here

“And after they go, they bring a pig from here [i.e. their place].”

1'52 kis oy-e-ki ba:de-no ne:re-ki ik peli-ki ar muṣse-ki biha men-a:ni
pig bring-VN-GE after-LO who-GE which girl-GE and man-GE wedding take.place-FT.3S.NM
ahe-ki na:mi-ti a: kisa caq-er
he-GE name-IN that pig-AC stab-FT.3P

“After they bring the pig, they stab [and butcher] that pig by the name of that boy and that girl whose wedding will take place.”

2'01 caq-e-ki ba:de-no a:beri-ki na:mi palna-d ar palna-h inte-nte
stab-VN-GE after-LO they-GE name so.and.so-NM and so.and.so-M today-AB
oṭG-er
become.man.and.wife-FT.3P

“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:ɽu men-anded
that these-GE-NM live-VN-NM always well be-OP.3S.NM

'May the lives of these be always well.'

2'43 a:ber-ki na:me-ti pu:ja men-id
they-GE name-IN ritual be-PR.3S.NM

'The puja is [performed] in their name [by their relatives].'

2'45 caq-ner ante palna inte-nte i: maqe ahi-ki tambako-ki na:mi-n
stab-PR.3P and so-and-so today-AB this boy-DA he-GE father-GE name-AC
ante a: maqe-ki na:mi-n ara peli-ki tambako-ki-n ara peli-ki-d na:mi-n
and that boy-GE name-AC and girl-GE father-GE-AC and girl-GE-NM name-AC
awɔ-ker ante pu:ja: nan-er
say-CP.3P and ritual do-PR.3P

'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 iber oɽger iber-ki e:ɽu suk^hɔan-se ɔo:k-ander e:ɽu
today-AB these married.couple these-GE well happiness-in stay-OP.3P well
uj-ander a:n-ker ad-in caq-qer ante a:ɽno ad-in kiŋɔ-er
live-OP.3P say-CP.3P it-AC stab-CP.3P and there it-AC divide-FT.3P

'Having said 'May this couple stay well in happiness, may they live well from today on', they stab it and then divide it.'

3'08 ad-ine toka-r ca:gr-naqer ma:k-a toɽa.toɽa goɽe-ki toka-r a:ber-ik
that-AC relative-P divide-REC meat-AC a.little all-GE relative-P they-DA
taj-er t^hoɽa.t^hoɽa goɽe-hi ahe-ki kandane-r aber-ik
send-FT.3P a.little all-EPH he-GE relative-P they-DA

'They divide that meat little by little for all relatives. They send it to them, for all his [and her] relatives.'

3'16 a: ino jo: bic-ad ad-in aɔulte-n ceiro-d a:n-im
CR here CR be.boiled-PT.3S.NM that-AC inner-AC heart.and.liver-NM say-PR.1P.E
ad-in bit-er
that-AC cook-FT.3P

'We call the inner part of that which is cooked *ceiro* ['heart and liver']. They cook it [for the couple].'

3'20 a: ine biha men-id a: pahr-no em-ki batte biha
 CR today wedding take.place-PR.3S.NM that time-LO we.E-GE side wedding
 men-i a: pahr-no
 take.place-PR.3S that time-LO

“When the wedding takes place today, when the wedding takes place on our side.”

3'28 peli-ki ar muṣse-ki e:k siṭ-no ok-er indake
 girl-GE and man-GE one seat-LO sit-FT.3P 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 ʈeʈu-n ok-er
 then they-DA this.way hand-AC sit-FT.3P

“Then they [i.e. the couple] sit with hands [covering their face] to them this way.”

3'35 adano toṭa.toṭa-ti inte-nte iber oṭger ar jama-lap-era
 then little.by.little-IN today-AB these married.couple they together-eat-FT.3P
 indru-goṭe-hi do:se men-la:ni-d
 what-ever-EPH guilt be-FT.NG.3S-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 an-ker ante a:ber-ik ciy-ner ante mejj-a
 say-CP.3P and they-DA give-PR.3P and be.PT-3S

“They say so 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:ḍr-e-ki ba:de-no p^hir.se ok-ner
 that-GE after this wash-VN-GE after-LO again sit-PR.3P

“After that, after they have washed their hands, they sit again.”

3'47 adano sundra:-ne poro:g-tr-pe-d ad-ine peli-ki indake ante a:he
 then vermilion-AC be.soaked-TR-PAP-NM that-AC girl-GE this.way and he
 ʈu:ḍ-e a: peli-d hō nahe-k indek ʈu:ḍ-en[id]
 paint-3S that girl-NM too he-DA this.way paint-FT.3S.NM

“Then he puts moistened vermilion [on] the bride’s [forehead] like this. That bride will also put [vermilion] on him this way.”

4'00 a:dintente a:ber oʻgʻer a:ʃinte biha.sa:di meʃj-a ante aʃa-male-r
 from.that.day? they married.couple therewith wedding be.PT-3S and house-people-P
 awq-er ki niŋg-a id-in inte-nte ceʃagni mel-la qalu-ni mel-la
 say-FT.3P CPL you-DA this-AC today-AB witch be-NG.3S thief-F be-NG.3S
 gaʃiya mella a: taragru mella e:ʃu mal-ni-n niŋg-a sopy-im
 lazy.person be-NG.3S that crippled be-NG.3S good person-F-AC you-DA give-PR.1P.E

“From then on they are a married couple. The wedding is complete at that point. And the family [of the bride] say, ‘We give you this girl today. She is not a witch, a thief, a lazy or crippled woman. She is a good woman.’”

4'16 an-ke ante siʃu-k ciy-er aʃa-male-r taʃ-dada-h
 say-CP and match-maker-DA give-FT.3P house-people-P self-uncle-M

“Having said so, the family, her uncle, give [her] to the match-maker.”

4'19 a:h ok-eh a:h ante ah-ε ike-h biha.muʃse men-eh ah-ek
 CR.M sit-FT.3S.M he and he-DA who-M bridegroom become-FT.M he-DA
 indake dari-tr-eh ʃeʃu-n ante a:h darc-ah
 this.way hold-TR-FT.3S.M hand-AC and he hold.PT-3S.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 meʃj-ad ante adi-ki toqriy-ad
 hold-VN-GE after-LO become.PT-3S.NM and that-GE be.finished.PT-3S.NM
 indr-goʃe awq-eh ade-ki ba:de-no ad-in aʃa-nte banda-keh otr-eh
 what-ever say-FT.3S that-GE after-LO she-AC house-AB pull-CP.3S take.out-FT.3S

“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 toqriy-ad a:ʃinte bariati-r apna
 that-GE after-LO marriage be.finished.PT-3S.NM thereon groomsmen-P own
 aʃa-ke oy-er ad-in
 house-DA take-FT.3P 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 ad-in oc-ar id-in e:r-oti ad-in lunti-d
 that next day-LO today she-AC take.PT-3P this.F-AC see-IF that-AC reception-NM
 a:n-im
 say-PR.1P.E

“On the next day, in order to see this [girl] whom they took away [the day before] — we call this reception —”

4'49 a:t̪inte peli-ki aḍa-maler toqa-r a:ber bar-er ino lap-oti
thereupon girl-GE house-people-P relative-P they come-FT.3P here eat-IF
mo:q-oti
eat-IF

“Then the bride’s family and relatives come, today for eating [and not for formality].”

4'55 a:ber-in jetna juṭa-r-i taḍi-ko cahe ma:ku ja:gu
they-AC how.much(H) be.collected(H)-IT-3S toddy-be.it though(H) meat cooked.rice
a:ber-in lap-tr-er
they-AC eat-TR-FT.3P

“They [i.e. the bridegroom’s family] make them eat as much [food] as they can collect, maybe toddy, meat, or rice.”

5'01 ina ḍo:k-er le:la a:ber-ik bida men-a:ni
today stay-FT.3P tomorrow they-DA leave(H) be-FT.3S.NM

“They will stay on that day. On the next day they take leave [of the host].”

5'05 p^hir a:ber-in goṭe-r-nihi isagnamander inder kuderte bida nan-er otr-er
again they-AC all-P-AC.EPH anoint? leave do-FT.3P bring-FT.3P
bahre:-k
outside-DA

“Again 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 aḍa-k
that-GE after-LO shake.hands-FT.3P and they return-FT.3P they house-DA
bar-er
come-FT.3P

“After that they shake hands and they return and go home.”

5'18 biha-no jo:bi juṭa-r-i-d da:li ti:qalu a:lu ma:ku
wedding-LO whatever(H) be.collected-IT-3S-NM pulse rice potato meat
jese pa:ryin-er oryetr-oti
as(H) can-FT.3P collect-IF

“(What food do they serve?) — At wedding, whatever is available, dal, rice, potato, meat, depending on what they can get.”

5'29 kiṛwa-r ta:nu to jese.tese men-a:nid
poor-P then then plain(H) be-FT.3S.NM

“If they are poor, then [the food] will be something plain.”

3. Story, told by Miss Shanti Malto of Mokri Pahar, at the primary school of the village where she teaches.

0'00 eŋ-ki na:mi sa:nti malto: eŋ-ki abo-ki na:mi da:ud malto: eŋ-ki qepu
I-GE name PROP PROP I-GE father-GE name PROP PROP I-GE village
mokri poŋte ba:ra.gagri t^hana li:ŋipa:ra jila pa:kurɕe
PROP post.office PROP police.station PROP district PROP

“My name is Shanti Malto. My father’s name is Daud Malto. My village is Mokri. Post office is Bara Gagri, police station Littipara, district Pakur.”

0'25 a:t-ki ɖo:k-u-n e:nu
there-GE stay-PP-1S I

“I am a local resident of the area.”

0'28 to: en eŋɖ-ond qe:ri-n teŋg-oti ugley-in
ITJ I piece-one story-AC tell-IF want-PR.1S

“I want to tell a story.”

0'52 em tin jine unɖqal-em
we.E three people brother-1P.E

“We are siblings of three.”

0'55 to tin jine-mihĩ tin jine-no go:te-mihĩ pa:ɕk-em
ITJ three people-EPH three people-LO all-EPH read.PT-1P.E

“All of the three got education.”

1'00 te baya-ki biha mejj-a nuni-ki hō biha mejj-a
and? elder.brother-GE wedding be.PT-3S younger.sister-GE too wedding be.PT-3S

“The elder brother got married and the younger sister got married, too.”

1'04 e: sirp anaku eŋ-ki ba:ki to eŋ-ki aɖa-no eŋ-ki beɖaya:r dada-ber
ITJ only now I-GE unmarried ITJ I-GE house-LO I-GE grandmother uncle-P
ɖo:k-ner
stay-PR.3P

“[Wedding has not taken place] only for me now, I am single. In my house, my grandmother and my uncles live.”

1'09 to aya.baber (eŋg-e) go:te-ri ɖo:k-ner
ITJ mother.father I-DA all-P stay-PR.3P

“Both my parents are in life.”

1'13 e:n enɔ-on qe:ri-n teŋg-oti ugley-in em-ki bice-no
I CLS-one story-AC tell-IF want-1S we.E-GE among-LO

“I want to tell a story [told] among us.”

1'19 ki enɔ-on qep-no ort na:ku na:mi-ki ort male-h ɔo:ky-ah
CPL CLS-one village-LO one PROP name-GE one man-M stay.PT-3S.M

“There lived a man named Naku in a village.”

1'26 ahe-ki enɔ-is o:yu ɔoky-a
he-GE CLS-two ox stay.PT-3S

“He had two oxen.”

1'29 ante enɔ-is oydu-no enɔ-on oydu essa ga:ɕiya me:ɕj-a enɔ-ond oydu essa
and CLS-two ox-LO CLS-one ox very lazy be.PT-3S CLS-one ox very
ca:ɕe me:ɕj-a
diligent be.PT-3S

“Of the two oxen, one ox was very lazy, the other was very diligent.”

1'46 ante i: na:ku dinenĩ ad-in bahai-pahra ga:ɕiya oy-a essa baj-a siŋgy-ah
and this PROP everyday that-AC joining-time lazy ox-AC very beat-? use.to.PT-3S.M

“And everyday, he was beating the lazy ox when he yoked the two together.”

1'52 ante din-on esse: bajy-ah essa bajy-ah ki a: oydu kec-a
and day-one? very beat.PT-3S.M so beat.PT-3S.M CPL that ox die.PT-3S

“And one day he beated it so hard that the ox died.”

1'58 key-e-ki qo:qu a:h indra kudy-ah ki e:n agar i: oy-a anaku mand-in
die-VN-GE after he what do.PT-3S.M CPL I if this cow-AC now bury-1S
tan eŋg-lecki indr-go:ɕe-hĩ ja:gu lapoti indr-go:ɕe jimr-la:ni
then me-for what-ever-EPH rice eat-IF what-ever be.obtained-FT.NG.3S

“What did he do after it died? ‘If I bury this ox now, then no food whatsoever will be available for me.’”

2'10 a:-le:cki e:n i: oy-a indra kud-en
that-for I this ox-AC what do-FT.1S

“Then, what shall I do about this ox?”

2'13 i: oy-ki cambe-n e:nu otr-ken ante bajare-k oca-ken bi:s-en
 this ox-GE hide-AC I bring-CP.1S and market-DA take-CP.1S sell-FT.1S
 an-le socc-ah
 say-CP think.PT-3S.M

“He thought, ‘I will bring this ox’s hide, take it to the market, and sell it.’ ”

2'19 ante jab ã:h adi-ki oy-ki cambe-n otr-keh ante bajare-k oca-pahr-no
 and when he that-GE ox-GE hide-AC bring-CP.3S.M and market-DA take-time-LO
 pu:ra bajare-no adu bika-r-la
 whole market-LO that be.sold-IT-PT.NG.3S

“And when he brought that ox’s hide and took it to the market, it did not sell in the whole market.”

2'27 ante ã:h socc-ah e:n pu:ra bajare-n gurar-ken lekin eŋ-ki
 and he think.PT-3S.M I whole market-AC walk.about-CP.1S but I-GE
 cambe indru indr-goŋe bika-r-la
 hide what what-ever be.sold-IT-PT.NG.3S

“And he thought, ‘I walked about in the whole market but my hide did not sell at all.’ ”

2'34 a:-lecki e:no anaku e:k.e:k aŋa-k ek-ken ante eŋ-ki cambe-n bi:s-en
 that-for I now each house-DA go-CP.1S and I-GE hide-AC sell-FT.1S
 an-le ãhũ so:c-keh ante e:k.e:k aŋa-n pu:ra gurar-le ʈokʈoktry-ah
 say-CP he think-CP.3S.M and each house-AC all walk.around-CP knock.PT-3S.M

“Therefore, he thought ‘Now I will visit each house and sell my hide’ and went around each and every houses and knocked.”

2'43 ta:nu goŋe ahe-ki camben ne:goŋe oy-la
 then everyone he-GE hide who-ever take-PT.NG.3S

“Then nobody took his hide.”

2'46 adi-ki qo:qu a:h p^hi:r socc-ah ki e:n anaku indra kud-en
 that-GE after he again think.PT-3S.M CPL I now what do-FT.1S

“After that he thought again, ‘What shall I do now?’ ”

2'51 aŋa-aŋa-taŋe ek-ke-n ante aen a:ber-ni ʈo:kʈo:ktr-ken ado-kepon
 house-house-DISTRB go-CP-1S and I they-DA.EPH knock-CP.1S more-once
 awd-en an-ke ante ekiy-ah
 say-FT.1S say-CP and go.PT-3S.M

“Having said ‘I will go to each house, knock one more time and ask’, he went.”

2’58 ante enḑ-on aḑa-no ort essa-hi essa paco ḑoky-a
and CLS-one house-LO one very-EPH very old.woman stay.PT-3S

“And there lived a very old woman in one house.”

3’03 adi-ki indr-goḑe lap-oti moq-oti mel-la issa ki:ṛwa paco
she-GE what-ever eat-IF eat-IF be-PT.NG.3S this.much poor old.woman
meṛj-a
be.PT-3S

“She was such a poor old woman that she did not have anything to eat.”

3’08 tanu-goḑe adu ah-en bali-n kol-ki ṭunḑ-i ante sa:mne-no a: cambe-n
then-even she he-AC door-AC open-CP look-PR.3S and near-LO that hide-AC
qo:qe ij-a ante a:d essa ceḡṛjy-a
back stand.PT-3S and she very feel.compassionPT-3S

“Nevertheless, she opened the door, sees him. She carried that hide on her back and felt great compassion.”

3’15 ante a:d awḑy-ad ṭunḑ-a e:nu yahā: ki:ṛwa-n
and she say.PT-3S.NM look-IP I here(H) poor-1S

“And she said, ‘Look, I am poor here.’ ”

3’19 pare niḡ-e indra ciy-enen eḡḡ-bahno indr-goḑe mal-a
but you-DA what give-FT.1S I-LO what-ever be.not-PR.3S

‘But what shall I give you? I have nothing.’

3’24 lekin eḡ-ki be:ḑo beḑiyo-r a: enḑ-on bartane-n ok-tr-ker ekiy-ar
but I-GE great grandfather-P that CLS-one pot-AC sit-TR-CP.3P go.PT-3P

‘But my ancestors placed that one pot and went.’

3’29 a: bartane-n e:n niḡ-e ciy-en ni:n a: cambe-n qaṭ-a
that pot-AC I you-DA give-FT.1S you that hide-AC give-IP

‘I will give you that pot. You give me that hide.’

3'32 ante ni:nu a: bartane-n oca-ke indra-goṭe ka:je-n kud-oka an-ki a:
 and you that pot-AC take-CP what-ever work-AC do-IP say-CP? that
 boḍo tey-a
 old.woman send.PT-3S

‘And you take that pot, go and do whatever work [you can do with it].’ Having said so, she sent him off.

3'39 tey-e-ki qoqu a: bartane-n pe:r-keh ante ekiy-ah
 send-VN-GE after that pot-AC catch-CP.3S.M and go.PT-3S.M

“Then he took that pot up and went.”

3'44 ekiy-ah ante pa:w-no enḍ-on kuwa-n aṇḍa-keh ante a:ṭi-bahno qeḍe-indr
 go.PT-3S.M and way-LO CLS-one well-AC find-CP.3S.M and there-LO foot-what
 no:ṭ-keh ante en juḍa behc-a a:ṭ-no qa:ne:g-oti lecki okiy-ah
 wash-CP.3S.M and ? shade be.PT-3S there-LO take.rest-IF for sit.PT-3S.M

“Then he found a well on the way and washed feet and so on there. There was a shade, and he sat there to take rest.”

3'53 okiy-ah a: pahr-no a:h taṅ-ki bartane-n ṭuṇḍiy-ah ante ki ad-no
 sit.PT-3S.M that time-LO that self-GE pot-AC see.PT-3S.M and that-LO dust
 duṭi qap-r-pe meṅj-a
 attach-IT-PP? be.PT-3S

“When he sat, he saw his own pot, and dust was attached on that.”

4'09 ante ad-in sapa nan-ot uglec-ah
 and that-AC cleaning do-IF want.PT-3S.M

“And he felt like cleaning it.”

4'04 sapa nany-ah e:n eṅ-ki qeḍ-a dure noṭ-ken eṅ-ki bartane-n e:n
 cleaning do.PT-3S.M I I-GE foot-AC only wash-CP.1S I-GE pot-AC I
 sapa nan-o:ken an-ke ante ah oca-ke ante ad-in no:ṭiy-ah
 cleaning do-PT.NG.1S say-CP and he take-CP and that-AC wash.PT-3S.M

“He cleaned it. Saying ‘I washed only my feet and I did not wash my pot’, he took and washed it.”

4'10 a: pahr-no pu:ra ganda ad-inte qaju-d urqiy-ad
 that time-LO all dust that-AB mud-NM come.out.PT-3S.NM

“At that time, mud came out from the whole chunk of dust.”

4'14 ante a: qaju-d urqiy-ad adi-ki qo:qu enq-on sona-ki kalsa-d
 and that mud-NM come.out.PT-3S.NM that-GE after CLS-one gold-GE pitcher-NM
 urqiy-ad ad-ante
 come.out.PT-3S.NM that-AB

“And then a golden pitcher came out of it.”

4'20 ante ah essa: apokariy-ah
 and he very be.happy-3S.M

“And he was very happy.”

4'22 en to: cambe-n oca-ken cica-ken a: eŋ-ki
 I TOP hide-AC take-CP.1S give.PT-1S that I-GE

‘I took and gave that cowhide of mine.’

4'25 a: buqo-d eŋg-e sona-ki enq-on kalsa-n qatjy-ad an-keh
 that old.woman-NM I-DA gold-GE CLS-one pitcher-AC give.PT-3S.NM say-CP.3S.M
 ante ekiy-ah
 and go.PT-TSG.M

‘That old woman gave me a golden pitcher.’ Having said so, he went.

4'29 ekiy-ah ante a:hu taŋ-ki qep-no ortu sonare qo:ky-ah
 go.PT-3S.M and he self-GE village-LO one goldsmith stay.PT-3S.M

“He went. And there was a goldsmith in his village.”

4'36 sonare-k ahe-n a: bartane-n cic-ah
 goldsmith-DA he-AC that pitcher-AC give.PT-3S.M

“He gave that pitcher to the goldsmith.”

4'39 ante a:hu gaŋi: pe:sa-no ad-in badleca-keh ante ondry-ah
 and he much money-LO that-AC change-CP.3S.M and bring.PT-3S.M

“And he changed it for a lot of money and took [that money] away.”

4'45 ante qepo-male-r pu:ra ah-en andu:lary-ar
 and village-person-P all he-AC be.surprised.PT-3P

“And the village people were all surprised about him.”

4'48 i: cambe-d-ato indr inon [aka-n-ato sona-n-ato
 this hide-NM-be.it what this.much money-AC-be.it[yah ... jo hai] gold-AC-be.it
 bikar-lanid
 be.sold-FT.NG.3S.NM

'Things like this cowhide will not sell for this much money or gold.'[?]

4'52 ihe-k ikne bikary-ad an-ker ante pu:ra na:ku-bahno mejj.he:ry-ar
 he-DA how be.sold.PT-3S.NM say-CP.3P and all PROP-LO ask.PT-3P

'How could he sell it?' Saying so, all asked Naku.

4'56 ante na:ku awdij-ah ki tund-a
 and PROP say.PT-3S.M CPL look-IP

"And Naku said, 'Look,'"

4'58 ort paco-d eng-e bikar-lad an-i ort paco-bahno
 one old.woman-NM I-DA be.sold-PT.NG.3S.NM say-CP one old.woman-LO
 ek-ken ante e:n id-in cambe-n sona-ki indru-no badle:ca-ken
 go-CP.1S and I this.NM-AC hide-AC gold-GE what-LO change.PT-1S

'I could not sell it. So I went to one old lady's place and I changed this hide for something [?] containing gold.'

5'06 an-ko qepo-male-r pu:ra: naku-n na:ku-ki saba-n patyar-ker
 say-CP village-people-P all PROP-AC PROP-GE word-AC believe.in-CP.3P
 ante aber pu:ra tam-ki tam-ki oy-a go:teri tam-ki
 and they all themselves-GE themselves-GE cow-AC all themselves-GE
 oy-a pi:iy-ar
 cow-AC kill.PT-3P

"Then the village people all believed Naku's word and they all killed their cows."

5'16 pi:ker ante go:te-r cambe-n indru cambe-n otr-ker ante a: cambe-n
 kill-CP.3P and all-P hide-AC what hide-AC bring-CP.3P and that hide-AC
 bi:s-orti lecki bajare-k occ-ar
 sell-IF for market-DA take.PT-3P

"Having killed their cows, they all took cowhide and brought it to the market in order to sell it."

5'25 ante ne:-d hō: qe:G-olar
 and who-NM even buy-PT.NG.3P

"And nobody bought it."

5'27 ne:-d hō: qe:G-olar ante i: na:ku indra kudy-ah um male-r
 who-NM even buy-PT.NG.3P and this PROP what do.PT-3S.M ITJ person-P
 indra kudy-ar
 what do.PT-3P

“Nobody bought it and what did this Naku do? I mean, what did the people do?”

5'33 pu:ra na:ku-meca ro:kary-ar
 all PROP-on be.angry.PT-3P

“They all got angry at Naku.”

5'35 ante barc-ker ante na:ku-ki goṭ sama:ne-n ante e:non a: sonare
 and come-CP.3P and PROP-GE all possession-AC and how.much that goldsmith
 bah-ante badle:c-ah pe:sa goṭe-nihī aḍa-n-indru goṭe-nihī me:nd-ar
 place-AB change.PT-3S money all-EPH house-AC-what all-EPH set.on.fire.PT-3P

“Then they came and they set all the belongings of Naku, and all the money that he changed at the goldsmith’s place, his house, and everything on fire.”

5'45 ante na:ku dure ba:cary-ah
 and PROP alone be.saved.PT-3S

“And only Naku was saved.”

5'47 ante indra kudy-āhū essa dukwary-ah
 and what do.PT-3S.M very be.distressed.PT-3S.M

“What did he do? He was distressed very much.”

5'50 dukwar-e-ki qo:qo a:hu taṅ-ki ar taṅ-ki aḍa-ki jo qos-pe
 be.distressed-VN-GE after he self-GE and self-GE house-GE RL burn-PP?
 oṭme-indru goṭe-ni pe:r-ke enḍ-on bail-gaṭi-no pe:r-keh ante
 ash-what all-EPH catch-CP CLS-one ox-cart-LO catch-CP.3S.M and

“After he was distressed, he took all the ash of his house and what [else] was burnt, carried it on an ox-cart,”

6'05 dosra qep-no ḍo:k-en an-le a:hu eky-ah
 other village-LO stay-FT.1S say-CP he go.PT-3S.M

“and thinking ‘I will live in another village’, he went.”

6'05 dosra qep-no d̪o:k-en an-le a:hu eky-ah
other village-LO stay-FT.1S say-CP he go.PT-3S.M

“and thinking ‘I will live in another village’, he went.”

6'07 e:k-e-ki qo:qo a:hu indra kudy-ah ki e:k-pahra pa:w-no ort ra:jkumare-n
go-VN-GE after he what do.PT-3S.M CPL go.RT-time road-LO one prince-AC
beṭary-ah
meet.PT-3S.M

“What did he do after he went? When he was going, he met a prince on the road.”

6'16 ra:jkumare-h a: pa:w essa qond-ke barc-ah
prince-M that road very be.tired-CP come.PT-3S.M

“The prince came on that road very tired.”

6'19 d̪aḍe-no puja-indru piṭ-keh ante essa qond-ke barc-ah ante
jungle-LO bird-what kill-CP.3S.M and very be.tired-CP come.PT-3S.M and
awḍiy-ah
say.PT-3S.M

“He hunted birds and so on in the jungle and he came very tired. And he said.”

6'25 o: male ni:n enḡ-en jokka hi eṅ-ki ra:jmahale-k oy-oti amaṭ enḡ-e saga
ITJ man you I-AC a.little EPH I-GE palace-DA take-IF until I-DA company
behi-le
be-SJ.2S.M

‘I say, fellow, you be my companion while you take me to my palace.’

6'31 niṅ-ki oy-gaṭi-no enḡ-en ok-tr-ke oy-le
you-GE ox-cart-LO I-AC sit-TR-CP[.2S.M] take-SJ.2S.M

‘You let me sit on your ox-cart and take me.’

6'36 ano essa e:ṭu mel-le an-le a:hu awḍiy-ah
there very good be-SJ.2S.M say-CP he say.PT-3S.M

‘You will be well there [in appreciation].’ Thus he said.

6'39 ante indra kudyah i: na:ku ahe-ki saba-n meṅja-ke awḍiy-ah
and what do.PT-3S.M this PROP he-GE word-AC hear-CP say.PT-3S.M

“And what did this Naku do? Having heard the prince’s word, he said.”

6'47 ni:n okk-a:ne okk-ot-ato lekin e:k sar:te-no nin okk-a:ne eḡ-ki-no
 you sit-FT.2S.M? sit-IF-be.it but one caravan[?]-LO you sit-FT.2S.M I-GE-LO
 ki eḡ-ki bail-gaḡi-no ok-ke ni:nu inq-oti ca:hi-ola
 CPL? I-GE ox-cart-LO sit-CP you cough-IF want-PR.NG.3S

‘You take seat if [you want] to sit. But you will sit on my ox-cart You must not cough.’

6'57 agar inq-ne: ta:nu eḡ-ki enḡ-on so:na:r-ki indru uḡa-ke ondri-nar
 if cough-PR.2S.M then I CLS-one gold-GE what hide-CP carry-PR.3P
 goḡe-d-ihi oḡme le:r-a:nid
 all-NM-EPH ash become-FT.3S.NM

‘If you cough, they are carrying a golden thing of mine hiding.’

7'05 an-le ah-en pasye:tr-ke awḡiy-ah
 say-CP he-AC tell.lie-TR-CP say.PT-3S.M

‘He said so to him lying.’

7'07 adi-ki qo:qo indra kudiy-ah pu:ra: e:n andaki kud-enamala andaki
 that-GE after what do.PT-3S.M all I that.way do-FT.NG.1S that.way
 inq-enamala a:lecki ni:n eḡg-en ok-tr-a an-ko
 cough-FT.NG.1S that-for you I-AC sit-TR-IP say-CP

‘What did he do after that? [The prince] said ‘I will never do so. I will not cough. So you let me sit.’”

7'17 i: na:ku ah-en ok-tr-keh ante a:da: du:r oc-ah
 this PROP he-AC sit-TR-CP and half far take.PT-3S.M

‘This Naku let him sit and took up to halfway [on the road].’

7'21 a:da: du:re-no essa-hi inq-e-ki ugli barc-ad ah-ek
 half far-LO very-EPH cough-VN-GE mind come.PT-3S.NM he-DA

‘Halfway [on the road], he felt like coughing very much.’

7'24 ante indra kudy-ah aca:nak inq-e tey-ah
 and what do.PT-3S.M unexpectedly cough-VN send.PT-3S.M[?]

‘And what did he do? He burst out coughing unexpectedly.’

7'27 ante pu:ra a:hu na:ku a:t-no olg-oti suru: nany-ah
 and all he PROP there-LO cry-IF beginning do.PT-3S.M

‘And that Naku started crying on the spot,’

7'31 ki ni:nu eŋ-ki goɽ sona oɽme du:re nan-ke
CPL you I-GE all gold ash only do-CP

“saying ‘You made all my gold just ash.’ ”

7'36 a:-lecki e:nu anaku niŋg-en dary-en nan-keh
that-for I now you-AC catch-FT.1S say-CP.3S.M

‘Therefore I will now catch you.’ Having said so,

7'39 ante ah-en pu:ra: raj:kumare-n pu:ra qaɽy-oti lagary-ah
and he-AC all prince-AC all reproach-IF start.PT-3S.M

“He started to blame the prince.”

7'43 ante i: raj:kumare indra kudy-ah ano raj:mahale-ke aɽs-keh ante
and this prince what do.PT-3S.M there palace-DA reach-CP.3S.M and
ā: oɽme-n pu:ra e:k-tr-keh ante sona-ki sikka-n goɽe-nihī a: bail-gaɽi-no
that ash-AC all go-TR-CP.3S.M and gold-GE coin-AC all-LO.EPH that ox-cart-LO
bara-tr-ke cic-ah
fill-TR-CP give.PT-3S.M

“And what did this prince do? When he arrived at the palace, he [had] the ash totally cleaned up and filled the ox-cart with gold coin all over.”

7'56 ante p^hi:r a: qep-ik kir-ke barc-ah
and again that village-DA return-CP come.PT-3S.M

“And he [i.e. Naku] went back to that village again.”

7'59 ante male-r meŋj-ar ki ni:n ato oɽme: se pe:r-ke ek-ke ni:n
and person-P ask.PT-3P CPL you TOP ash EPH catch-CP go.PT-2S.M you
to sona-n to pe:r-ke e:k-olke
TOP gold-AC TOP catch-CP go-PT.NG.2S.M

“And people asked, ‘You went taking the ash, but you didn’t go taking gold.’ ”

8'04 ni:n oɽme-n pe:r-ke ek-ke niŋ-ki ikni so:na-ki indru qaɽq-ogriy-ad
you ash-AC catch-CP go.PT-2S.M you-GE how gold-GE what give-PA.PT-3S.NM
an-ko
say-CP

‘You went with ash, and how come gold was given to you?’

8'08 a:h pu:ra teŋg-ah ki mala ra:jkumar eŋg-e oʔme-ki badl-ah
 he all tell.PT-3S.M CPL no prince I-DA ash-GE change.PT-3S.M
 sona-n qaʔiy-ah
 gold-AC give.PT-3S.M

“He told them the whole story. ‘No, the prince changed ash [for it] for me. He gave [me] gold.”

8'12 ante pu:ra male-r p^hir dusra dine tam-ki tam-ki
 he all tell.PT-3S.M CPL no prince I-DA ash-GE

“He told them the whole story. ‘No, the prince changed ash [for it] for me. He gave [me] gold.”

8'12 ante pu:ra male-r p^hir dusra dine tam-ki tam-ki
 and all man-P again other day themselves-GE themselves-GE

“Then all people began burning their own houses on another day.”

8'17 me:nda-ker ante pu:ra tam-ki indru oʔme-n a: ra:jmahale-k occ-ar
 set.on.fire-CP.P and all themselves-GE what ash-AC that palace-DA take.PT-3P

“After they burned their house, they all took ash to the palace.”

8'28 ante ra:jmahale-k oy-e-ki qo:qo indra kudy-ah i: ra:jmahale-no a:
 and palace-DA take-VN-GE after what do.PT-3S.M this palace-LO that
 oʔme: bikar-la
 ash be.sold-PT.NG.3S

“What did they do after they went to the palace? That ash did not sell in this palace.”

8'36 ante pu:ra iber ro:kary-ar
 and all these get.angry.PT-3P

“And they all got angry.”

8'39 ki i:h oʔme-n ikna:no ahe-ki ikna:no oʔme-ki badl-ah so:na:
 CPL this.M ash-AC how he-GE how ash-GE change.PT-3S.M gold
 qaq-ogry-a nam-e ikne qaq-ogr-olar
 give-PA.PT-3S we.I-DA how give-PA-PT.NG.3P[?]

‘How did this [Naku] change his ash? [How] was gold given [to him]? How come gold was not given to us?’

8'44 an-ker ante pu:ra: na:ku-n occa-ker ante e:ŋd-on ʈokri-no pu:ra ah-en
 say-CP.3P and all PROP-AC take-CP.3P and CLS-one basket-LO all he-AC
 coŋjiy-ar am-no e:g-em an-le
 tie.PT-3P water-LO throw.away-FT.1P.E say-CP

“Having said so, they caught Naku together and tied him in a basket together, saying they will throw him in water.”

8'51 ante ah-en coŋj-ker ante qow-ker occ-ar
 and he-AC tie-CP.3P and carry.on.shoulder-CP.3P take.PT-3P

“They tied him and took him carrying [the basket] on their shoulders.”

8'55 ante pa:w-no aber qond-ker ante a: ʈokri-n ok-triy-ar
 and road-LO they be.tired-CP.3P and that basket-AC sit-TR.PT-3P

“And they were tired on the way and put that basket down.”

8'58 ok-tr-e-ki qo:qu aber joka nadi-k eky-ar ante muŋj-r-ke no:d-r-ke
 sit-TR-VN-GE after they small river-DA go.PT-3P and wash.face-RF-CP wash.hands.and.feet-RF-CP
 bar-oti uglec-ar
 come-IF want.PT-3P

“After they put it down, they went into a small river, washed their face, hands and feet, and felt like going back.”

9'05 ante goŋe-r-ihi eky-ah
 and all-P-EPH go.PT-3S.M

“And they all went.”

9'06 ad-no ort gowale-h aŋi-bahno ɖo:ky-ah
 that-LO one herdsman-M there-LO stay.PT-3S.M

“There lived a herdsman there.”

9'09 ante a: gowale ʈuŋɖiy-ah ʈokri-n
 and that herdsman see.PT-3S.M basket-AC

“And that herdsman saw the basket.”

9'12 ki iber indra oy-ner an-keh ante a: ʈokri-n ʈuŋɖ-oti eky-ah
 CPL these what take-PR.3P say-CP.3S.M and that basket-AC see-IF go.PT-3S.M
 a: pahr-no
 that time-LO

‘What are they carrying?’ Wondering so, he went to see that basket then.

9'17 ʈokri-no ort male-h oky-ah
basket-LO one man-M sit.PT-3S.M

“There was a man sitting in the basket.”

9'19 ante a: male-n alk-tr-ke mejj.he:ry-ah ki ning-en indru-le:cki indaki
and that man-AC open-TR-CP ask.PT-3S.M CPL you-AC what-for this.way
coj-ker oy-ner an-ko
tie-CP.3P take-PR.3P say-CP

“And he opened [it] and asked that man [sitting inside], ‘Why do they tie you this way and carry?’ ”

9'25 a: male-h indra awdy-ah ʈuŋd-a eng-en biha: nan-oti awd-ner
that man-M what say.PT-3S.M look-IP I-AC wedding do-IF say-PR.3P

“What did that man [i.e. Naku] say? ‘Look, they tell me to get married.’ ”

9'29 ani e:n a: peli maɾm-alken a:-le:cki e:n e:k-ot ugley-o:ken
then I that girl love-PR.NG.1S that-for I go-IF want-PR.NG.1S

‘But I don’t like that girl. That’s why I don’t want to go.’

9'33 ani iber indra kud-ner eng-en indaki coj-ker ante oy-ner an-le
thus these what do-PR.3P I-AC this.way tie-CP.3P and take-PR.3P say-CP

‘So what they are doing is they tied me this way and are taking me.’

9'38 i:hũ indra kudy-ah ah-en pusle:-try-ah
this.M what do.PT-3S.M he-AC lie-TR.PT-3S.M

“What did this man do? He told a lie to him.”

9'40 ante i:h awdy-ah e:no majaqani peli ni:n indrik maɾmen-o:ke
and he say.PT-3S.M I pretty girl you why like-PR.NG.2S.M

“Then he said, ‘Why don’t you like a pretty girl?’ ”

9'44 e:n a:dine acc^ha: ni:n urq-a
I then okay you come.out-IP

‘Well, then, you come out.’

9'46 e:n ok-ken ante ni:n qo:qwjo: um e:n peli-n bedu:r-en
I sit-CP.1S and you afterwards ITJ I girl-AC marry-FT.1S

‘I will sit and you, I mean, I, will marry the girl later.’

9'53 ni:n eŋ-ki oy-a oy-ane an-keh ante pu:ra a:h pusle:-tr-ko
 you I-GE cow-AC take-FT.2S.M say-CP.3S.M and all he lie-TR-CP
 'You take my cattle.' He [i.e. herdsman] said so. He [i.e. Naku] made him
 believe the lie.

9'57 i gowale indra kudy-ah ʈokri-n pu:ra kol-ke tan korc-ke oky-ah
 this herdsman what do.PT-3S.M basket-AC all open-CP then enter-CP sit.PT-3S.M
 na:ku urqy-ah
 PROP come.out.PT-3S.M
 "What did this herdsman do? He opened up the basket totally, then went in it
 and sat. Naku came out."

10'04 urq-e-ki qo:qu na:ku indra kudy-ah a:h ah-en e:ʈu se enɖ-on
 come.out-VN-GE after PROP what do.PT-3S.M he he-AC well EPH CLS-one
 ʈo:kri-no bicr-keh ante a: gowale-n cojjiy-ah
 basket-LO put.in-CP.3S.M and that herdsman-AC tie.PT-3S.M
 "What did Naku do after he came out? He put the herdsman in a basket and
 tied him tight."

10'13 coj-e-ki qo:qu a:h indra kudy-ah gowale-ki o:y-a e:ʈe-n goʈe-nihĩ
 tie-VN-GE after he what do.PT-3S.M herdsman-GE cow-AC goat-AC all-EPH
 indr taŋ-ki ta:nu oc-ah
 what self-GE self take.PT-3S.M
 "What did he do after tying? He took all the cattle and goats of the herdsman
 as his own."

10'22 a: gowale-n iber na:ku oky-ah an-ker male-r gowale-n
 that herdsman-AC these PROP sit.PT-3S.M say-CP.3P man-P herdsman-AC
 goʈe-nihĩ pe:r-ker ante enɖ-on nadi-baha-k a:ʈsy-ar
 all-EPH catch-CP.3P and CLS-one river-place-DA arrive.PT-3P
 "Saying of that herdsman 'Naku is sitting', these men took the herdsman
 together and arrived at a river."

10'32 ante awdy-ar ki na:mu i: na:ku-n id-no e:g-et ante
 and say.PT-3P CPL we.I this PROP-AC this-LO throw.away-FT.1P.I and
 i:h ato key-eh anaku any-ar
 this.M TOP die-FT.3S.M now say.PT-3P
 "And they said, 'We will throw away this Naku here, and he will die right
 away.'"

10'38 ante jab a:ber e:g-oti tokri-n peṭ-ar a: pahr-no a:h cirqy-ah
 and when they throw.away-IF basket-AC throw.PT-3P that time-LO he shout.PT-3S.M
 indra
 what

“And when they threw the basket to dump it, he shouted.”

10'45 ki e:n e:g-oma eṅg-en biha nan-ner an-ko se e:n id-no
 CPL I throw.away-IP.NG I-AC wedding do-PR.2P say-CP EPH I this-LO
 ok-ken barc-ken
 sit-CP.1S come.PT-1S

‘Don’t dump me. I sat in here and came because he said you are marrying me off.’

10'50 e:n na:ku mal-ken e:n ato gowale-n an-ko
 I PROP be.not-PR.1S I TOP herdsman-1S say-CP

‘I am not Naku. I am a herdsman.’

10'53 anno goṭe ni:n ju:t qa:w-ne an-ker a: male-n e:gy-a
 then all you lie tell-PR.2S.M say-CP.3P that man throw.away.PT-3S

“Then all said ‘You are telling a lie’, and threw that man away.”

10'56 ante qo:qwjo: barc-ke tuṅḍ-ner ta:n na:ku taṅ-ki e:ṭe-n oy-a goṭe-nihi
 and later come-CP look-PR.3P then PROP self-GE goat-AC cow-AC all-EPH
 taṅ-ki aḍa-k aṛs-tr-ke ij-ah
 self-GE house-DA reach-TR-CP stand.PT-3S.M

“And when they came back, they saw that Naku had taken home all the goats and cattle and was standing there.”

Abbreviations: AB: ablative; AC: accusative; CPL: complementizer; CLS: classifier; CR: correlative; CP: conjunctive participle; DA: dative; DISTRB: distributive; EPH: emphatic; E: exclusive; F: feminine; FT: future; GE: genitive; HP: habitual present; I: inclusive; IF: infinitive; IN: instrumental; IT: intransitive; IP: imperative; ITJ: interjection; LO: locative; M: masculine; NG: negative; NM: non-masculine; NO: nominative; OP: optative; PA: passive; PAP: passive participle; PT: past; P: plural; PR: present; PROP: proper noun; PP: present participle; REC: reciprocal; RF: reflexive; RL: relative; RT: root; RED: reduplicant; SG: singular; SJ: subjunctive; TR: transitive; TOP: topicalizer; VN: verbal noun

Malto phonemes:

short vowels	a	i	u	e	o	
long vowels	a:	i:	u:	e:	o:	
voiceless stop	p	t	t̚	c	k	q
voiced stop	b	d	d̚	j	g	
nasal	m	n	(ŋ)	(ɲ)	(ŋ)	
flap			r	ɽ		
lateral				l		
fricative		s (θ, ð)		(ʃ)		ɣ
glide	w			y		