Kharia Texts

Glossed, translated and annotated by

John Peterson
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1. Introduction

The present volume is a collection of texts which I gathered, analyzed, and discussed with native speakers of Kharia during five trips to Jharkhand between 2001 and 2005. The texts are broadly divided here into three groups: spoken texts, written (but not published) texts, and songs, both traditional songs as well as two songs which were composed by the persons who sang them for me.

I had originally planned to include excerpts from published data in this collection, especially Kerkeṭṭā (1990), but as my translation of Kerkeṭṭā's drama has progressed, it has become clear that its inclusion would have virtually doubled the size of the present volume and would have delayed its completion considerably. I have therefore decided to publish my translation of Kerkeṭṭā's drama as a separate volume when that translation is completed and to make these original texts available to the interested public now.

Originally, this collection was merely intended to be a corpus for my own research and was not meant for publication. As the text collections in Pinnow (1965a; 1965b) and Ḍuŋḍuŋ (1986) had already been published, I felt that there was no need for yet another volume of Kharia texts and mainly collected these in order to learn the language and to have a ready supply of examples. However, since then it has become apparent that there is such a need, and I have occasionally been asked whether I would publish these texts to allow others access to the data, as many researchers are either unaware of these other collections or have not been able to work with them for various reasons.

To begin with, Ḍuŋḍuŋ (1986), an excellent collection of texts which also contains many of the texts given in Pinnow (1965a) as well as a Hindi-Kharia / Kharia-Hindi glossary and much more information, is written in Hindi and is thus not accessible to many western scholars who might be interested in Kharia. It is also not well known, neither in India (outside of Jharkhand itself) nor in the west, and it can be quite difficult to obtain.

The case is somewhat different with Pinnow's two studies. Despite the high quality of the texts, the translations, and the copious notes, for those who do not read German these texts are virtually inaccessible. But even for those who do know German, these texts will be difficult to interpret if the reader does not already know Kharia or is not at least familiar with one other (South) Munda language. For example, in Pinnow (1965a) each line is accompanied by a word-for-word German translation but unfortunately, this is not a gloss in the usual sense of the term. Rather it is a German translation of the respective (segmented) word, e.g. *poʔda-ʔ* 'des Dorfes' (English: 'of the village') and the reader who is not familiar with Kharia grammar will often have to guess as to the proper analysis. Although in this particular case the difficulties are perhaps minimal (*poʔda* 'village', *-ʔ* (from *-aʔ*) 'GENitive'), in many cases the non-initiated reader will face the almost insurmountable task of determining which part of the German translation refers to which part of the Kharia word(s).

Pinnow (1965b), on the other hand, although of equally high quality and carefully commented, contains no word-for-word translation of the text but only the colloquial German translation and notes. This will clearly hinder all who do not already know both Kharia and German from gaining access to these texts. It is undoubtedly for these reasons that the three works just mentioned have still not received the attention which they certainly deserve.

Finally, the text collections mentioned above have the added disadvantage for those interested in the modern language in that they are now somewhat dated. For example, Pinnow's texts were collected in the late 1950's and, as is the case with any relatively small minority language, things can change quickly, especially with respect to the lexicon.

It is my hope that the present collection will aid those who would like to familiarize themselves with the Kharia language as it is now spoken and written but who have until now not been able to do so. Any reader who has worked through the following pages should have little difficulty with the texts in Pinnow's two works or, if they read Devanagari, with those in Ḍuŋḍuŋ (1986). This will then also allow a more detailed comparison of the modern language

with the language as it was spoken just a few decades ago and possibly allow us to draw conclusions as to how quickly and in what areas the language is changing.

2. The texts

The texts are broadly divided here into three groups: Freely spoken monologues, hand-written texts, and songs. Each line of text is segmented into morph(eme)s, and each morpheme is glossed in the line directly below this segmented line of text. Infixes in the text itself are surrounded by the sign "< >", and in the gloss the meaning of this morpheme follows that of the lexical morpheme in which it is embedded, e.g., *me<ʔb>tiʔb* 'assemble(ITR)-<CAUS>' 'assemble (TR); bring together'.

With respect to parts of speech in the gloss: As virtually any lexical morpheme in Kharia can be used in attributive, referential or predicative function, it seemed unnecessary, and perhaps even misleading, to gloss these in each case by the closest corresponding form in a particular English sentence, e.g. *lereʔ* 1. 'joy'; 2. 'joyous'; 3. 'rejoice'. Instead, I have in general opted for one particular gloss and stayed with this as much as possible, deviating from this principle only for the sake of clarity. As the enclitic grammatical markers (as well as the English translation) clearly indicate the function of the respective morpheme in the text, this should not present the reader with any problems.

The gloss is then followed by a free, more-or-less colloquial English translation, although I stay as close to the meaning of the text as possible in this translation. Among other things, I have, to the extent that this was feasible, translated e.g. tense in English corresponding to the Kharia original, even in cases where this meant translating sequences of actions in the past sometimes by past-tensed and sometimes by present-tensed predicates, as this is common practice in both spoken and written Kharia (e.g. 'He came and sees…'). Where I feel that the free English translation may not be close enough to the literal meaning of the Kharia text for the reader to be able to match these two together, the literal meaning of the Kharia text is given in parentheses, e.g. "(= …)". Where I have added elements to the English translation which are not explicitly given in the Kharia text, this additional text is marked by the sign "[…]".

The same sign, "[…]", is also used in the text itself as an aid to the reader to denote a segment which is not spoken, whether this is "omitted" in actual speech, as is often the case with the glottal stop (e.g., *iɲ=a[ʔ]* [1S=GEN] 'my' in the text for written <iɲaʔ> and spoken [ɪɲɑ:]), or whether this follows from the phonotactic rules of the language, such the automatic "deletion" of the irrealis, active marker *=e* after roots ending in a high front vowel or glide (e.g., *karay[=e]=iɲ*, [do=A.IRR=1S] 'I will do', is given in the text for what is written <karayiɲ> and pronounced [kʌɾʌjɪɲ]). Thus the use of this convention in the text should not be taken as meaning that the text is "corrupt", as this is merely intended as an aid for the reader.

Place names have generally been glossed and translated in the form that they appear in the text, with slight modifications (e.g., retroflexivity is not indicated), unless they refer to well-known cities or states, such as Delhi, Patna, West Bengal, etc. This is primarily because I have not been able to locate all of these places on maps, and some may not even exist, such as *hardinagar* ([MT, 1:109]), which could perhaps refer to the city of Haridwar in Uttaranchal, although this is far from certain (if not in fact highly unlikely). Others are ambiguous, e.g. *raigaɽh*, which could be either the city of Rohitaspur in eastern Uttar Pradesh, or however the capital of Chattisgarh, Raigarh (or perhaps yet another city or village).

The texts are labelled as follows: The initials of each speaker are used to refer to this speaker, e.g. "Anil Kullu" is referred to as "[AK]". Following this, the number of the respective text in the order it is given is used, e.g., "[AK, 1]" refers to the first text in this collection by the speaker Anil Kullu. Each text is then divided into smaller, generally

sentence-length units, each of which is numbered for ease of reference, e.g. "[AK, 2:3]" would then refer to the third line of text in the second narrative of Anil Kullu.

The texts are all given here in what is basically a segmented transliteration of the written language. The only departures from this principle are when a segment or several segments from the texts (both spoken and written) differ considerably from what is generally considered "standard" Kharia.[1] This is then indicated by giving the actual pronunciation / written form in the text itself, accompanied by a footnote giving the "standard" pronunciation / written form of this unit. This typically affects only dialectal differences, such as e.g. vowel quality in *kayam* [kəjɑm] for standard *kayom* [kəjɔm] 'speech, matter', but also includes what appear to be mispronunciations in the spoken texts, such as *ḍaʔ* [ɖɑʔᵅ] for standard *laʔ* [lɑʔᵅ] 'then'. Thus, the system used here is a kind of compromise and may be considered an extremely broad IPA transcription for the spoken texts or a segmented version of the written language, but one which includes the speakers' own written forms of dialectal pronunciations.[2]

2.1 The spoken texts

The spoken texts are all monologues. The narratives from Mr. Anil Birendra Kullu were all collected during my first trip to Jharkhand in 2001. These texts deal with traditional topics from Kharia mythology, but everyday topics, such as his family and life in the village he grew up in, are also dealt with. The spoken text from Ms. Rayem Olem Dungdung is the narration of a story originally composed by Mr. Basil Baa which this speaker told from memory.

The two narratives from Mr. Marcus Soreng both deal with traditional accounts of Kharia history. During my first two visits to Jharkhand, it soon became clear that very few Kharia were familiar with these traditional stories. A friend of mine, the now deceased Mr. Stanislas Kullu of Saldega, recommended that I pay a visit to Mr. Marcus Soreng, as he is familiar with these older stories, so we set out together for Birmitrapur, Orissa to visit Mr. Soreng and record whatever we could of these. The result of this visit are the two narratives presented in this collection which deal with the general history of the Kharia [MS, 1] and the beginnings of the nine Kharia clans [MS, 2].

Although many of the traditional stories given here are to be found in one form or another in Roy & Roy (1937), Kullū (2000[2]) and Ḍuŋḍuŋ (1999), as is the case with such stories, each version of these tales differs somewhat from all others, often considerably, so that the versions presented here are not merely reproductions of the stories found in those works. As any traditional history is bound to be based to at least some extent on events which really took place (no matter how much has been added to the story or modified since the original event), a comparison of these traditional Kharia stories with other versions of the same stories, as well as with those of their Munda and non-Munda neighbors, may eventually shed some light on the prehistory of the ancestors of present-day Jharkhand, although we are still far from being able to conduct such a comparison.

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[1] Although "standard" Kharia is admittedly a problematic concept, as it has not yet been standardized in any fashion, there is nonetheless a more or less agreed upon standard by speakers of the language with respect to grammar and pronunciation. It is this more or less intuitively standard Kharia which I am referring to here.

[2] I have made a few orthographical revisions here of the hand-written texts and will not comment on these further in the following pages, as they are mainly concerned with areas of orthography which have yet to be standardized. E.g. I subsitute <may> '3P' for what is commonly written as <moy>, both pronounced [məɻ], as the first form seems to be the more common of the two. I have in general also not included nasalization if this appears on a vowel directly before or after a nasal consonant, i.e., I write <dino> 'day' for hand-written <dinõ>, as nasalization in this environment is always predictable (and usually not indicated in the hand-written texts).

For comments on the representation of "words" in Kharia, see the section on script in Chapter 1 of Volume I.

2.2 The written texts

With the exception of [MT, 1], all written texts were composed especially for me. Although I had not asked any of the speakers to write stories for me, at some point during my second trip to Jharkhand in 2002 a speaker approached me with a children's story which he had composed and which he thought might be of interest to me. When he found my reaction to be positive, he began writing more stories, and word of this spread to other speakers I had been working with, with the result that I soon had a whole collection of stories to type, gloss and translate, with offers for more. Most (although not all) of these texts were composed by students of the Department of Tribal and Regional Languages of Ranchi University who are studying or have completed their studies in Kharia. With the exception of [RD, 2] these texts are perhaps best considered "fairy tales" or children's stories, in which bread grows on trees and animals speak and behave as humans. [RD, 2], on the other hand, deals with the case of a young man with a drinking problem and his contentious wife, and the problems this causes.

[MT, 1], which was not written especially for me, is very different from these other texts. It is an account of the mythological wanderings of the Kharia throughout the Middle East and Rome (sic!), and finally through India to their present home in eastern-central India. The story had been handed down orally in the speaker's family but had been put down in writing at some time. The version given here is a very broad transcription of this story as it was read to me by Mr. Marianus Tete.

2.3 The songs

Finally, no collection of Kharia texts, however introductory, would be complete without a sample of songs. In fact, once I had asked for a few songs, I was virtually inundated with a large selection to choose from, two of which, [RK, 14] and [TK, 3], were also composed by the persons who sang them for me. Here I present a collection of 30 songs of two types, both the traditional and very common *aloŋ*, in which one person sings a verse which is then echoed by others, as well as the *duraŋ*, which is more ceremonial and which is sung either by one person or by a group together. The songs are presented according to the person who sang them, in the order in which they were recorded.

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Abbreviations and symbols used

Symbols

< > infix marker; (in the introduction) used to mark a written word or symbol
\- denotes a derivational affix or compounded element
= denotes an enclitic

Abbreviations

A - active
ABL - ablative
ADD - additive focus
AMB - ambulative
ANAPH - anaphoric proform, refers back to topic
APPROX - approximative
A:TEL - anticipatory telic
AUTOPOES - autopoesis
BEN - benefactive
CAUS - causative
CL - numeral classifier
CMPL - complementizer
CNTR - contrastive focus
CONAT - conative
CONT - continuative
CONV - imperfective converb
COP - copula
CR - correlative
C:TEL - culminatory telic
D - dual
DEM - demonstrative
DIST - distal demonstrative
DPT - departive
ECHO - echo-word
EMOT - emotive predicate morpheme
EXCL - exclusive
EXCES - excessive
FOC - restrictive focus; also used for a number of other focus markers whose exact function still awaits further study (*roʔ, gaʔ*, etc.))
GEN - genitive
HON - honorific
HUM - human
INCL - inclusive
INDEF - indefinite
INF - infinitive
INFER - inferential
INST - instrumental
INTENS - intensifier
IPFV - imperfective
IRR - irrealis
ITER - iterative
ITR - intransitive
LOC - locative *hinte*
M - middle
MOD - modal (negation)
-*m*- hiatus-breaking glide
NHUM - non-human
OBL - oblique
OPT - optative
P - plural
PASS - passive
PERF - perfect
POSS - inalienable possession
PRES - present tense
PROG - progressive
PT - past
PT.II - "Past II"
PTCP - participle
PURP - purposive
Q - interrogative
RDP - reduplicated form (found in the free-form construction). Only the stem is reduplicated.
REC - reciprocal
REFL - reflexive
REP - repetition (with converbs, intensification, "echo-words", plurality). Repetition of an entire phonological word.
S - singular
SEQ - sequential converb
SUD - suddenness
TEMP - temporal ("relative clause")
TOP - topic (*to*, from Hindi)
TOTAL - totality
TR - transitive
V2 - *Aktionsart* marker or "v2" following lexical base of predicate and preceding TAM markers
VOC - vocative
-*y*- hiatus-breaking glide

Speaker - Anil Birendra Kullu (m.), 30, Saldega, Simdega District, Jharkhand

The following four stories were all spoken freely by this speaker and were all collected on my first trip to Jharkhand in 2001. The first two texts deal with the mythological history of the Kharia. The final two texts deal with the speaker's family and the village of Saldega (Kharia *salḍaʔ*), where he grew up.[3]

In Saldega, which is on the outskirts of Simdega (Kharia *simḍaʔ*), Kharia is widely spoken (and perhaps the predominant language), where it is spoken alongside Mundari (North Munda) and Sadri (Indo-Aryan). There are also a number of Kurukh (North Dravidian) speakers and speakers of other languages (see [AK, 5:30ff], where different ethnic groups are mentioned, although these do not correspond neatly to linguistic groups).

The language of this speaker is almost identical to what is generally considered Standard Kharia, both in terms of pronunciation as well as morpho-syntax. The few deviations from this "standard" are noted in the footnotes in the text where they occur.

How the Kharia lost their priesthood

[AK, 2]

1 suru=te khaɽiya lebu=ki[4] pahan aw=ki=may.
beginning=OBL Kharia man=P priest COP=M.PT=3P
'IN THE BEGINNING, THE KHARIA MEN WERE PRIESTS.'

2 ro soub lebu=ki=yaʔ thoŋ pujapaʈh ro ponmesor apa tay arji binti
and all person=P=GEN for sacrifice and God Father ABL prayer petition

karay=na laʔ=ki=may.
do=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'AND FOR ALL PEOPLE THEY PERFORMED SACRIFICES AND DID PRAYERS AND PETITIONS TO GOD.'

3 u=jeʔ[5] khaɽiya=ki aw=ki=may.
this=S.NHUM Kharia=P COP=M.PT=3P
'THE KHARIA WERE THIS.'

4 muda moŋ kahani ayi[ʔ]j no i=ghay khaɽiya lebu=ki pujapaʈh melay=kon
but 1 story PRS.COP CMPL what=way Kharia person=P sacrifice leave=SEQ

kamu=na=wala lebu=ki bone=ki=may.
work=INF=PTCP person=P become=M.PT=3P
'BUT THERE IS A STORY OF HOW THE KHARIA GAVE UP [PERFORMING] SACRIFICES AND BECAME WORKING PEOPLE.'

5 u=kaɽ=aʔ kahani u=ghay ayi[ʔ]j.
this=S.HUM=GEN story this=way PRS.COP
'ITS STORY GOES LIKE THIS.'

6 laʔ khaɽiya lebu=ki=te…, khaɽiya lebu=ki pujapaʈh karay=na laʔ=ki=may,
then Kharia person=P=OBL Kharia person=P sacrifice do=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P

[3] A fifth text, "The nine totems" [AK, 1], spoken by the same speaker, was also originally contained in this collection but has since appeared in the appendix of Peterson (2010).

[4] *lebu* means both 'man' and 'person'. Here, however, only the men are meant, as only they can be priests.

[5] *jeʔ* is usually used with inanimates/animals and *kaɽ* is usually used with humans, but this general rule is not strictly adhered to in the spoken language.

soub=aʔ thoŋ ro ho=ki=te ɖoli=te ɖo<ʔb>ko=ke goʔ=ke[6]
all=GEN for and that=P=OBL palanquin=OBL sit.down-<CAUS>=SEQ carry.on.shoulders=SEQ

ɖoʔɖ=na laʔ=ki=may.
take=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THE KHARIA MEN USED TO PERFORM SACRIFICES, FOR ALL, AND [THEY ≠ KHARIA] USED TO SEAT THEM [= THE KHARIA] ON A PALANQUIN AND CARRY THEM ON THEIR SHOULDERS.'

7 ro brahman=ki je tama pujapaṭh karay=te=may ho=ki ɖoli=te
and Brahman=P CR now sacrifice do=A.PRS=3P that=P palanquin=OBL

goʔ=na laʔ=ki=may.
carry=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'AND THE BRAHMANS, WHO NOW PERFORM SACRIFICES, USED TO CARRY THE PALANQUIN.'

8 musniŋ u=ghay hoy=ki no ɖoli=te ɖoʔɖ=na bhere u khaṛiya pahan=te
one.day this=way happen=M.PT CMPL palanquin=OBL take=INF time this Kharia priest=OBL

haɖa laʔ=ki.
urine EMOT=M.PT
'ONE DAY IT HAPENED THIS WAY THAT, AT THE TIME THE PALANQUIN WAS TO BE TAKEN, THE KHARIA PRIEST HAD TO PEE.'

9 haɖa=na thoŋ ho=kaṭ gam=oʔ lebu=ki=te no "tama katiʔj deri goʔ=na
urine=INF PURP that=S.HUM say=A.PT person=P=OBL CMPL now some time carry=INF

melay[=e]=pe ro u=ghay ṭhãṛo=te melay[=e]=pe no
leave=A.IRR=2P and this=way place=OBL leave=A.IRR=2P CMPL

jahã boʔ=te daru=ki ayiʔj=may, daru=ki ayij."
INDEF place=OBL tree=P PRS.COP=3P tree=P PRS.COP
'IN ORDER TO PEE, HE SAID TO THE PEOPLE [WHO WERE CARRYING THE PALANQUIN] "NOW, STOP CARRYING FOR A LITTLE WHILE AND STOP IN A KIND OF PLACE WHERE THERE ARE TREES."'[7]

10 goʔ=na laʔ[8] lebu=ki maṛay=oʔ=may ro u khaṛiya pahan haɖa=na col=ki.
carry=INF IPFV person=P put.down=A.PT=3P and this Kharia priest urine=INF go=M.PT
'THE PEOPLE WHO WERE CARRYING [THE PALANQUIN] PUT IT DOWN AND THE KHARIA PRIEST WENT TO PEE.'

11 haɖa=na=ʔ seŋ ho=kaṭ moŋ daru…, moŋ daru=te…, konon daru=te aḍi=yaʔ
urinate=INF=GEN first that=S.HUM 1 tree 1 tree=OBL small tree=OBL ANAPH=GEN

[6] When used for men, *goʔ* means 'to carry on the shoulders', when used for women it means 'to carry on the head'.
[7] Note the uncertainty in number marking here. Subject marking in the standard written language is always according to natural number (singular, dual, plural). This is not necessarily the case in the spoken language, where dual or plural subjects, especially if non-human / inanimate, are often not marked as such on the predicate. It seems the speaker, who was undoubtedly concerned with speaking "proper" Kharia with me here, was somewhat uncertain as to the "correct" marking in this case.
[8] Note that *goʔ=na laʔ* is a partially finite form. The corresponding fully finite form would be *goʔ=na laʔ=ki=may* 'they were carrying' with the tense/basic voice marker *=ki* 'M.PT' and *=may* '3P'. For more details on partially finite forms in Kharia, see Peterson (2002) and Peterson (2010, 313-317). For further examples of partially finite forms, see notes 150 and 203.

janew=ɖom=te ho=te…, ho daru=te, ʈaŋay goʈh=oʔ ro haɖa=na col=ki.
holy.cord=3POSS=OBL that=OBL(= 'there') that tree=OBL hang C:TEL=A.PT and urinate=INF go=M.PT
'BEFORE URINATING, HE HUNG HIS HOLY THREAD[9] ON A TREE, ON A SMALL TREE…, THERE, ONTHAT TREE, AND WENT TO PEE.'

12 haɖa=na=ʔ loʔɖho ho=kaɽ ho kardhani=te ol=na irib goʈh=oʔ.
urinate=INF=GEN after that=S.HUM that holy.thread=OBL bring=INF forget C:TEL=A.PT
'AFTER PEEING, HE FORGOT TO TAKE THAT HOLY THREAD.'

13 ro ho=ghay=ga ɖoli=te ɖeb goɖ=ki.
and that=way=FOC palanquin=OBL ascend C:TEL=M.PT
'AND IN JUST THIS WAY HE CLIMBED ONTO THE PALANQUIN.'

14 muda moɲ brahman$_i$, ho=kaɽ$_i$ ho=kaɽ=aʔ$_j$ daru=te ʈaŋ-al janew=te yo=yoʔ.
but 1 Brahman that=S.HUM that=S.HUM=GEN tree=OBL hang-PTCP holy.thread=OBL see=A.PT
'BUT A BRAHMAN$_i$, HE$_i$ SAW THE HOLY CORD WHICH HE$_j$ HAD HUNG ON THE TREE (= HIS$_j$ ON THE TREE HUNG THREAD).'

15 ro enem batay=ga kaʈiʔj ɖisaʔ co=na=ʔ loʔɖho haɖa=na=yaʔ bahana=ʔ
and without tell=FOC some far go=INF=GEN after urinate=INF=GEN pretence=FOC

ɖoli=te maɽay=oʔ ro badke=ga badkega ho kardhani=te ɖoʔɖ=na ɖel=ki.
palanquin=OBL put.down=A.PT and hurry=FOC REP that holy.thread=OBL take=INF come=M.PT
'AND WITHOUT TELLING [ANYONE THIS], AFTER GOING SOME DISTANCE, HE PUT DOWN THE PALANQUIN ON THE PRETENCE OF HAVING TO PEE AND HURRIEDLY CAME TO TAKE THAT HOLY THREAD.'

16 ab, a=boʔ=te pujapaʈh karay=na aw=ki,[10] ho boʔ=te ɖam=ke ho=ki ho ɖoli,
now Q=place=OBL sacrifice do=INF COP=M.PT that place=OBL arrive=SEQ that=P that palanquin

ho=ki ho ɖoli=te maɽay=oʔ=may.
that=P that palanquin=OBL put.down=A.PT=3P
'NOW, HAVING ARRIVED AT THE PLACE WHERE [THEY] WERE TO DO THE SACRIFICE, THEY PUT DOWN THAT PALANQUIN.'

17 ab pujapaʈh=yaʔ souʔb tayari hoy …, hoy may=sikh=oʔ.
now sacrifice=GEN all preparation become TOTAL=PERF=A.PT
'NOW ALL PREPARATIONS FOR THE SACRIFICE WERE FINALLY READY (= HAD BECOME, ONE-BY-ONE = (TOTALity)).'

18 ho=ki soub pujapaʈh=aʔ ghaɖ ɖoko goɖ=ki=may, cerocagordi, pahan, khaɽiya pahan,
that=P all sacrifice=GEN PURP sit.down C:TEL=M.PT=3P on.all.four.sides priest Kharia priest

ho=kaɽ ɖel=ki, pujapaʈh karay=na.
that=S.HUM come=M.PT sacrifice do=INF
'THEY ALL SAT DOWN FOR THE SACRIFICE, ON ALL FOUR SIDES, THE PRIEST, THE KHARIA PRIEST, HE CAME, TO DO THE SACRIFICE.'

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[9] The holy thread is generally worn only by those belonging to the priestly class and is a symbol of their status. In this story it is evidently the case that whoever possesses this thread is automatically a priest, regardless of his family's status.

[10] The use of the infinitive form in *=na* along with a copular form indicates obligation. If the person who is obliged to do something is expressed (which it is not here), this constituent is marked by the oblique marker *=te*. The "object" of the predicate appears in the same marking it would have in the corresponding finite clause.

19 laʔ yo=te, laʔ=ko kardhani=ko umboɽiˀj,
then see=A.PRS then=CNTR (= 'but') holy.thread=CNTR NEG.PRS.COP
'THEN HE LOOKS, BUT THE HOLY THREAD ISN'T [THERE],'

20 ho=kaɽ yed karay=oʔ no kardhani=te=ko aɖi haɖa=na bhere=ga
that=S.HUM memory do=A.PT CMPL holy.thread=OBL=CNTR ANAPH urinate=INF time=FOC

kaˀj=sikh=oʔ ro melay ʈu=siʔ ho=te=ga.
untie=PERF=A.PT and leave DPT=PERF that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC
'HE REMEMBERED THAT HE HAD REMOVED (= UNTIED) THE HOLY THREAD WHEN HE PEED AND LEFT IT THERE [WHEN HE LEFT].'

21 ho=kaɽ badke=ga badkega ho daru boʔ=te ɖel=ki.
that=S.HUM hurry=FOC REP that tree place=OBL come=M.PT
'HE HURRIED (= CAME, HURRYING) TO THE TREE.'

22 laʔ=ko kardhani=ko umboɽiˀj
then=CNTR (= 'but') holy.thread=CNTR NEG.PRS.COP
'BUT THE HOLY THREAD ISN'T [THERE].'

23 laʔ ho=te pujapaʈh=aʔ thoŋ souˀb teyar aw=ki=may.
then that=OBL(= 'there') sacrifice=GEN PURP all ready COP=M.PT=3P
'THEN ALL WERE READY FOR THE SACRIFICE'

24 souˀb cij teyar aw=ki.
all thing ready COP=M.PT
'EVERYTHING WAS READY.'

25 laʔ moŋ brahman, ho=kaɽ ɖoli=te goʔ=sikh=oʔ.
then 1 Brahman that=S.HUM palanquin=OBL carry=PERF=A.PT
'THEN A BRAHMAN, HE HAD CARRIED THE PALANQUIN.'

26 ho=kaɽ cupcap se=ga ho kardhani=te okuˀb=sikh=oʔ.
that=S.HUM quietness INST=FOC that holy.thread=OBL hide=PERF=A.PT
'HE HAD SECRETLY (= QUIETLY) HIDDEN THAT HOLY THREAD.'

27 ho=kaɽ khaɽiya pahan=a[ʔ] ɖe=na jou pujapaʈh suru goʈh=oʔ
that=S.HUM Kharia priest=GEN come=INF as.long.as sacrifice begin C:TEL=A.PT

(aw … suru goʈh=oʔ)
COP begin C:TEL=A.PT
'HE STARTED THE SACRIFICE WHILE THE KHARIA PRIEST WAS AWAY (= UP TO/AS LONG AS THE KHARIA PRIEST'S COMING).'

28 tay khaɽiya pahan ɖel=ki.
then Kharia priest come=M.PT
'THEN THE KHARIA PRIEST CAME.'

29 yo=te laʔ pujapaʈh=ko suru goɖ=siʔ, absiˀb goˀɖ=siʔ=may,
see=A.PT then sacrifice=CNTR begin C:TEL=PERF begin C:TEL=PERF=3P
'HE SEES, THEN, [THAT] THE SACRIFICE HAS [ALREADY] BEGUN, [I.E.,] THEY HAVE ALREADY STARTED.'

30 tay, ho, ho bhere tay=ga[11] khaɽiya pahan gam=oʔ no
then that that time ABL=FOC Kharia priest say=A.PT CMPL
'THEN, AT THAT TIME THE KHARIA PRIEST SAID,'

31 "brahman, musa tay am ɖoli=te um gog=e=m,
Brahman today ABL 2S palanquin=OBL NEG carry=A.IRR=2S
'BRAHMAN, AS OF TODAY YOU WILL NOT CARRY THE PALANQUIN,'

32 lekin am pujapaɽh karay=te[ʔ]jɖ=em, ghaɖ,
but 2S sacrifice do=A.PROG=2S therefore,
'BUT YOU ARE [NOW] DOING THE SACRIFICE, THEREFORE,'

33 musa tay am pujapaɽh karay[=e]=em.
today ABL 2S sacrifice do=A.IRR=2S
'AS OF TODAY, YOU WILL PERFORM SACRIFICES.'

34 ro ele am=pe=te goʔ=ta goʔta han=ti[ʔ]j u=ti[ʔ]j ɖoɽ=e=le.
and 1P.EXCL 2=2P=OBL carry=CONV REP that=side this=side take=A.IRR=1P.EXCL
'AND WE WILL CARRY YOU [I.E., YOU BRAHMANS] AROUND (= THAT SIDE AND THIS SIDE).'

[11] One would expect here the oblique marker *=te*, as this is simply the time when something happened.

The first two people

[AK, 3]
For a similar tale, see Ḍuŋḍuŋ (1999:52f.), Kullū, 2000[2]:36ff., and Pinnow, 1965a:141ff. (§26).

1 u kahani u goʈa duniya=te lebu=ki=yaʔ kahani heke.
this story this entire world=OBL person=P=GEN story PRS.COP
'THIS IS THE STORY OF THE PEOPLE ON THIS ENTIRE WORLD.'

2 i=ghay u duniya=te lebu=ki ɖel=ki=may.
what=way this world=OBL person=P come=M.PT=3P
'HOW PEOPLE CAME TO THIS WORLD.'

3. khaʈiya, khaʈiya=ki u=ghay=ga kayom=ta=ki.
Kharia Kharia=P this=way=FOC speak=M.PRS=P
'THE KHARIA TELL IT THIS WAY.'

4 sou[ʔ]b se suru=te ponmesor ap aw=ki.
all ABL beginning=OBL God Father COP=M.PT
'IN THE VERY BEGINNING THERE WAS GOD THE FATHER.'

5 ɖher din ho=kaʈ ekle=ga aw=na laʔ=ki.
much day that=S.HUM alone=FOC COP=INF IPFV=M.PT
'FOR A VERY LONG TIME HE WAS ALL ALONE.'

6 muda ekle aw=ga awga muruk ansa laʔ=ki.
but alone COP=FOC REP very annoyance EMOT=M.PT
'BUT HE GOT ANNOYED OF BEING ALONE.'

7 ho=kaʈ=te e[ʔ]bloŋ=ga laʔ=na laʔ=ki.
that=S.HUM=OBL only=FOC EMOT=INF IPFV=M.PT
'HE WAS LONELY.'

8 ho=kaʈ socay=oʔ no "iɲ=aʔ sori aw=na=ʔ thoŋ, iɲ=aʔ sori aw=na=ʔ thoŋ
that=S.HUM think=A.PT CMPL 1S=GEN with COP=INF=GEN PURP 1S=GEN with COP=INF=GEN PURP

lebu=ki=te bay=t[e]=iɲ."
person=P=OBL make=A.PRS=1S
'HE THOUGHT "I'LL MAKE PEOPLE TO BE WITH ME, TO BE WITH ME."'

9 ro ho=kaʈ lebu=ki bay=na=yaʔ buidh, bay=na=yaʔ tarika socay=na maʈe=yoʔ.
and that=S.HUM person=P make=INF=GEN idea make=INF=GEN method think=INF begin=A.PT
'AND HE BEGAN TO THINK OF AN IDEA, OF A WAY OF MAKING PEOPLE.'

10 ho=kaʈ loʔkha ɖoʈh=oʔ ro loʔkha ɖo[ʔ]ɖ=na loʔɖho i=ghay
that=S.HUM soil take=A.PT and soil take=INF after what=way

aɖi=yaʔ rup buŋ=ga konon konon[12] murti bay=oʔ.
ANAPH=GEN form INST=FOC small REP statue make=A.PT
'HE TOOK SOIL AND, AFTER TAKING SOIL, HE MADE SMALL STATUES IN (= WITH) HIS [OWN] FORM.'

[12] The repetition of the modifier here indicates non-singularity, in this case, two statues (see line 11).

11 dui ʈho murti bay=oʔ.
2 CL statue make=A.PT
'HE MADE TWO STATUES.'

12 ro bay=na loʔɖho, moɲ jaraʔ daru=yaʔ khõɽri=te ho dui-y-o murti un ʈu=yoʔ.
and make=INF after 1 banyan tree=GEN hollow=OBL that two-*y*-CL statue place DPT=A.PT
'AND AFTER MAKING THEM, HE PLACED THOSE TWO STATUES IN THE HOLLOW OF A BANYAN TREE AND LEFT THEM THERE.'

13 ho=kaɽ ho jaraʔ daru=yaʔ khoɽri=te murti=te ko<ʔ>sor=na un=sikh=oʔ.
that=S.HUM that banyan tree=GEN hollow=OBL statue=OBL dry-<CAUS>=INF place=PERF=A.PT
'HE HAD PLACED THE STATUES IN THE HOLLOW OF THAT BANYAN TREE TO DRY THEM.'

14 muda i hoy=ki ho jaraʔ daru=yaʔ gadh ho murti tuʔbluŋ=te[13] gur=ki.
but what happen=A.PT that banyan tree=GEN sap that statue top=OBL fall=M.PT
'BUT WHAT HAPPENED [BUT] THE SAP OF THAT BANYAN TREE FELL ON THOSE STATUES.'[14]

15 dui-y-o murti toʔbluŋ=te=ga jaraʔ daru=yaʔ gadh gur=ki.
2-*y*-CL statue top=OBL=FOC banyan tree=GEN sap fall=M.PT
'THE SAP OF THE BANYAN TREE FELL ON THE TWO STATUES.'

16 gur=na loʔɖho ho murti=te jiyom ɖel goɖ=ki, ro dui-y-o murti jiyom kui=ke
fall=INF after that statue=OBL life come C:TEL=M.PT and 2-*y*-CL statue life find=SEQ

han=tiʔj u=tiʔj buli=na badke=na laɖa=na kayam=na[15] mãɽe=yoʔ=ki.
that=side this=side wander=INF hurry=INF laugh=INF speak=INF begin=A.PT=P[16]
'AFTER [THE SAP'S] FALLING, LIFE CAME INTO THOSE STATUE[S], AND THE TWO STATUES, HAVING FOUND LIFE, BEGAN WANDERING THIS WAY AND THAT, HURRYING AROUND, LAUGHING AND SPEAKING.'

17 (u=je[ʔ]=ga heke u duniya=te, duniya=yaʔ…)
this=S.NHUM=FOC PRS.COP this world=OBL world=GEN

u=jeʔ=ga heke manus jati=yaʔ kahani.
this=S.NHUM=FOC PRS.COP man ethnic.group=GEN story
'THIS IS THE STORY OF HUMANITY.'

18 ro mane=te=may no u beɽa ro beɽi=kiyar=ga loʔɖho mugam col=ke
and believe=A.PRS=3P CMPL this boy and girl=D=FOC after forward go=SEQ

soub duniya=yaʔ lebu=ki=yaʔ ayo ro aba heke=kiyar.
all world=GEN person=P=GEN mother and father PRS.COP=D
'AND THEY BELIEVE THAT THIS BOY AND GIRL LATER, HAVING GONE FORTH, ARE THE MOTHER AND FATHER OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD.'

[13] Standard form: *tob(h)luŋ=te*.
[14] The use of such "rhetorical questions" is quite typical in Kharia narratives, generally to express a somewhat unexpected event as in this case the sap falling on the two statues, thereby bringing them to life (see line 16).
[15] Standard form *kayom=na*.
[16] Note the use of the plural marker *=ki* on the predicate, although the subject is 'the two statues', interestingly not marked for plurality.

My family

[AK, 4]

1 iɲ=aʔ hoʔ simɖaʔ=te ayiʔj.
1S=GEN house Simdega=OBL PRS.COP
'MY HOME IS IN SIMDEGA.'

2 ro simɖaʔ=yaʔ ek ʈho, moɲ poʔda ayiʔj, salɖaʔ.
and Simdega=GEN one CL one village PRS.COP Saldega
'AND THERE IS A SECTION (= VILLAGE) OF SIMDEGA, SALDEGA.'

3 ho=t[e] iɲ=aʔ hoʔ ayiʔj.
that=OBL (= 'there') 1S=GEN house PRS.COP
'MY HOUSE IS THERE.'

4 hoʔ=te aba=ɲ ayiʔj, ayu=ɲ=ko col=ki memon=ga siray=ki,
house=OBL father=1POSS PRS.COP mother=1POSS=CNTR go=M.PT year=FOC expire=M.PT

oɖo[ʔ] hoʔ=te souʔb se maha bitay=k[i]=iɲ.
and house=OBL all ABL big spend.time=M.PT=1S
'MY FATHER IS AT HOME, BUT MY MOTHER DIED LAST YEAR (= THE YEAR [THAT] WENT), AND I SPENT MOST [OF MY TIME] AT HOME.'

5 iɲ=aʔ tay konon tin bhai=ɲa=kiyar…, tin bhaya=ɲ=kiyar ayiʔj=kiyar.
1S=GEN ABL small [...] three brother=1POSS=HON PRS.COP=HON
'I HAVE 3 YOUNGER BROTHERS.'

6 iɲ=aʔ tay konon bhai el-el-bi karay=te, rãci=te=ga, oɖo[ʔ] ho=kaʈ=aʔ tay
1S=GEN ABL small brother L.-L.-B. do=A.PRS Ranchi=OBL=FOC and that=S.HUM=GEN ABL

konon em-ai-ʈi karay=te, paʈna=te, jaker esen insʈiʈuʈ=te.
small M.-I.-T. do=A.PRS Patna=OBL Jaker Husain institute=OBL
'MY YOUNGER BROTHER IS DOING HIS L.L.B., IN RANCHI, AND HIS YOUNGER [BROTHER] IS DOING AN M.I.T., IN PATNA, AT THE JAKER HUSAIN INSTITUTE.'

7 ho=kaʈ=aʔ tay konon bhai, souʔb se konon bhai=kiyar,
that=S.HUM=GEN ABL small brother all ABL small brother=HON

tama inʈermiɖiyaʈ=aʔ paricha likha=te=kiyar.
now intermediate=GEN exam write=A.PRS=HON
'HIS YOUNGER BROTHER, THE YOUNGEST BROTHER, IS NOW WRITING HIS INTERMEDIATE EXAM.'

8 bahin=ki tin jan ayiʔj=ki.
sister=P 3 CL PRS.COP=P
'I HAVE (= THERE ARE) 3 SISTERS.'

9 souʔb se maha=yaʔ biha hoy=siʔ.
all ABL big=GEN wedding become=PERF
'THE OLDEST HAS MARRIED (= THE WEDDING OF THE BIGGEST HAS BECOME).'

10 aḍi=te belgarḍ ḍoʔḍ=siʔ=ki ro aḍi[17]=kiyar=aʔ dui jan konḍo[18] ayiʔj=kiyar.
ANAPH=OBL Belgard take=PERF=P and ANAPH=HON=GEN two CL child PRS.COP=D
'THEY TOOK HER TO [THE VILLAGE OF] BELGARD [AFTER HER MARRIAGE] AND SHE (HON) HAS TWO CHILDREN.'

11 maha-e=ḍom=aʔ ɲimi heke rohit, oḍoʔ konon=aʔ Jerab,
big-???=3POSS=GEN name PRS.COP Rohit and small=GEN Jerab

oḍo[ʔ] ho=kaɽ=aʔ tay konon bahin=kiyar tama hoʔ=te=ga aj=kiyar
and that=S.HUM=GEN ABL small sister=HON now house=OBL=FOC PRS.COP=HON

kolej karay=te=kiyar, simḍaʔ=te=ga.
college do=A.PRS=HON Simdega=OBL=FOC
'HER OLDER [SON]'S NAME IS ROHIT, AND THE YOUNGER ONE'S [IS] JERAB, AND HER YOUNGER SISTER (HON) IS NOW AT HOME, [AND] GOES TO COLLEGE,[19] IN SIMDEGA.'

12 ho=kaɽ=aʔ tay konon bahin=kiyar tama inʈermiḍiyaʈ=aʔ paricha likha=te=kiyar.
that=S.HUM=GEN ABL small sister=HON now intermediate=GEN exam write=A.PRS=HON
'HER YOUNGER SISTER (HON) IS NOW WRITING THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMS.'

13 hoʔ=te souʔb=ga baru-boʔ=ga aj=may oḍo[ʔ] i=ghay bone=ta
house=OBL all=FOC good-INTENS=FOC PRS.COPS=3P and what=way become=M.PRS

souʔb kamu=ki=te sãghro=te=le.
all work=P=OBL help=A.PRS=1P.EXCL
'AT HOME ALL ARE VERY HAPPY AND, AS THE SITUATION DEMANDS (= HOW IT BECOMES), WE HELP IN ALL WORKS.'

14 ghaḍ ikuḍbaru laʔ=ta.
therefore very good EMOT=M.PRS
'THEREFORE, [WE] ARE VERY HAPPY.'[20]

15 u=jeʔ=ga el=aʔ kuʈum oḍo[ʔ] phemili=yaʔ oḍo[ʔ]…, ai min…, pariwar=aʔ
this=S.NHUM=FOC 1P.EXCL=GEN family and family=GEN and I mean family=GEN

choʈka-san parice heke.
small-APPROX introduction PRS.COP
'THIS IS A SHORTISH INTRODUCTION OF OUR FAMILY AND RELATIVES.'

[17] Note the form *aḍi=kiyar=aʔ* instead of the standard form *aḍ=kiyar=aʔ*. Also, the speaker freely changes back and forth between the non-honorific (*aḍi*) and the honorific (*aḍi=kiyar*) forms.
[18] Standard form: *konḍuʔ*.
[19] "College" in India is approximately the same level as "high school" in the USA. "College" in the American sense is referred to as "university" in India.
[20] I am assuming here that *ele=te* '1P.EXCL=OBL' is intended but not explicitly mentioned, as it is clear from the context.

Life in Saldega

[AK, 5]

1 iɲ=aʔ khoɽi=yaʔ ɲimi[21] salɖaʔ heke.
1S=GEN village[22]=GEN name Saldega PRS.COP
'THE NAME OF MY VILLAGE IS SALDEGA.'

2 salɖaʔ=ko ikuɖmaha khoɽi heke. khoɽi ayiʔj.[23]
Saldega=CNTR very big village PRS.COP village PRS.COP
'SALDEGA IS A VERY BIG VILLAGE.'

3 u khoɽi=te aʈh=o poʔdaʔ[24]=ki. aʈh=o poʔda=yaʔ ɲimi u=ghay ayij:
this village=OBL eight=CL village.section=P eight=CL village.section=GEN name this=way COP.PRS
'[THERE ARE] 8 VILLAGE SECTIONS IN THIS VILLAGE. THE NAMES OF THE EIGHT VILLAGE SECTIONS ARE THUS:'

4 moɲ Basenʈoli, moɲ bojeʔʈoli, moɲ porʈoli, moɲ muraʈoli, moɲ kumharʈoli,
1 Basentoli 1 Bojetoli 1 Portoli 1 Muratoli 1 Kumhartoli

ʈoŋgriʈoli, rayʈoli, ro loharaʈoli.
Tongritoli Raytoli and Loharatoli
'ONE [IS] PASENTOLI, ONE [IS] BOJETOLI, ONE [IS] PORTOLI, ONE [IS] MURATOLI, ONE [IS] KUMHARTOLI, TONGRITOLI, RAYTOLI AND LOHARATOLI.'

5 salɖaʔ poʔda=te jughay=ki khaɽiya heke=may oɖo… no jughay=ki
Saldega village=OBL many=P Kharia COP.PRS=3P and or many=P

khaɽiya [a]ʔj=may.
Kharia COP.PRS=3P
'IN THE VILLAGE OF SALDEGA THERE ARE MANY KHARIA, AND … OR [RATHER] THERE ARE MANY KHARIA.'[25]

6 muda adha=ki, haʔɖo=ki, khaɽiya soj=te=may,
but half=P half=P Kharia understand=A.PRS=3P

adha=ki khaɽiya umay soʔj=te.
half=P Kharia NEG.3P understand=A.PRS
'BUT HALF UNDERSTAND KHARIA, HALF DON'T UNDERSTAND KHARIA.'

7 lebu=ki adha=ki gor aʔj=may, adha=ki telsãwãr adha=ki moghere[26] aʔj=may.
person=P half=P fair COP.PRS=3P half=P dark half=P black COP.PRS=3P
'HALF THE PEOPLE ARE FAIR, HALF ARE DARK, HALF ARE BLACK.'[27]

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[21] 'name' in this story is referred to by three variant forms: *ɲimi / iɲimi / yĩmi*. These will all be represented in the text by the standard form *ɲimi.*

[22] When asked, this speaker responded that a *khoɽi* is a 'part of a village (*poʔda*)'. In the text, however, he says that there are eight *poʔda* in the *khoɽi*, i.e., a *poʔda* is part of a *khoɽi*. He also said that a *ʈoli* is the same as a *khoɽi*. In the text, however, he says that eight *poʔda* of the one *khoɽi* are all *ʈoli*. He also later refers to Saldega as a *poʔda*, although he begins the story by referring to it as a *khoɽi*. As this shows, in normal speech these are all used relatively interchangeably, although in standard use a *khoɽi* is the same as *ʈoli*and both are considered sections of a *poʔda*.

[23] See note 25 for another "correction" of the copula.

[24] Standard form: *poʔda*.

[25] This is apparently a correction by the speaker when he realized he had used the "wrong" copula.

[26] Standard form: *mogher*.

8 u khaɽiya=ʔ hoʔ=ki, seŋ=ko loʔkha=yaʔ hoʔ bay=na laʔ=ki=may,
this Kharia=GEN house=P first=CNTR dirt=GEN house build=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P

lekin, muda, tama simẽʈ, ĩʈa, soreŋ mesa=ke hoʔ bay=te=may.
but but now cement brick stone mix=SEQ house build=A.PRS=3P
'THESE KHARIA'S HOUSES, THEY EARLIER (= FIRST) USED TO MAKE HOUSES OF DIRT, BUT NOW THEY MIX CEMENT, BRICKS AND STONE AND MAKE HOUSES.'

9 ina no u=ghay hoʔ bay=na se jughay ʈike=te.
why CMPL(= 'because') this=way house build=INF ABL much last=A.PRS
'BECAUSE BY BUILDING HOUSES THIS WAY, THEY LAST LONG.'

10 hin=aʔ thoŋ ubhroŋ=ko jahãy=ga hoʔ bay=te=may,
that=GEN for nowadays=CNTR INDEF.HUM=FOC house build=A.PRS=3P

laʔ simẽʈ, ĩʈã roke^{ʔ}ɖ ro soreŋ=aʔ hoʔ bay=te=ki.
then cement brick sand and stone=GEN house build=A.PRS=P
'THEREFORE, WHEN SOMEONE MAKES A HOUSE NOWADAYS, THEN THEY BUILD A HOUSE OF CEMENT, BRICK, SAND AND STONE.'

11 u khoɽi boʔ=ki=te lebu=ki ek dusre=te sãghro karay=na=ʔ ghaɖ,
this village place=P=OBL person=P onw second=OBL help do=INF=GEN PURP

apan sisʈam o^{ʔ}j=siʔ=may.
REFL system take.out=PERF=3P
'THE PEOPLE OF THESE VILLAGES, IN ORDER TO HELP ONE ANOTHER, HAVE DEVELOPED (= TAKEN OUT) THEIR OWN SYSTEM.'

12 apan ek dusre=te sãghro karay=na=ʔ ghaɖ tonme tonme tarika=ki, buidh=ki
own one second=OBL help do=INF=GEN PURP new REP method=P idea=P

lam=te=may.
seek=A.PRS=3P
'IN ORDER TO HELP ONE ANOTHER, THEY SEEK NEW METHODS [AND] IDEAS.'

13 jesan, ə, hoɖom=ki=yaʔ hoʔ=te, ə, hoɖom=ki=yaʔ go^{ʔ}jloʔ=te siloʔ=na
for.example umh other=P=GEN house=OBL umh other=P=GEN rice.field=OBL plow=INF

ayi^{ʔ}j.
PRS.COP
'FOR EXAMPLE, UMH, THE HOUSE OF OTHERS, UMH, THE RICE FIELDS OF OTHERS MUST BE PLOWED.'

14 laʔ madet rema[ʔ]=te=ki.
then help call=A.PRS=P
'THEN THEY CALL FOR HELP[28].'

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[27] Although it makes little sense to speak here of three 'halves', this is the usual meaning of this term, which is a loan word from Indo-Aryan, where it means 'half'. The meaning here is obviously something like 'some', etc.

[28] *madet* means 'help' and is also the name of the system of mutual help which the villagers have designed. It derives from the Nagpuri word *madīt* 'help'. It is also often pronounced [mʌdʌt], undoubtedly due to Hindi influence.

15 ro madet…, jahãy…, ə, ber=aʔ oreʔj ayiʔj harhowa[29]=ki aʔj=may
and help INDEF.HUM umh who=GEN ox PRS.COP plower=P PRS.COP=3P

ho=ki apan har ɖoʔɖ=ke silo?=na col=ta=may.
that=P own plowing.utensils take=SEQ plow=INF go=M.PRS=3P
'AND HELP …, UMH, SOMEONE HAS OXEN, [AND] THERE ARE PLOWERS, THEY TAKE THEIR OWN PLOWING UTENSILS AND GO TO PLOW.'

16 ro ho=ghay=ga souʔb ek dusre=te sãghro karay=te=ki.
and that=way=FOC all one second=OBL help do=A.PRS=P
'AND THAT WAY ALL HELP EACH OTHER.'

17 ho=ghay=ga say=na bhere=jo.
that=way=FOC cut=INF time=ADD
'[IT IS] ALSO THAT WAY AT HARVEST TIME.'

18 mãliya, ə, moɲ pariwar=te say=na=wala lebu=ki behar=jo umboɽiʔj=may.
for.example umh one family=OBL cut=INF=PTCP person=P who=ADD NEG.PRS.COP=3P
'FOR EXAMPLE, UMH, IN ONE FAMILY THERE IS NO ONE TO DO THE HARVEST (= NO CUTTING PEOPLE).'

19 laʔ khoɽi=yaʔ lebu=ki moɲ sori col=ke ho=kaɽ=aʔ baʔ=te, goʔjlo?=yaʔ
than village=GEN person=P one together go=SEQ that=S.HUM=GEN rice=OBL rice.field=GEN

baʔ=te, say=te=ki ro ho=kaɽ=aʔ, ikon, ho?=te o-ɖam ʈu=te=may.
rice=OBL cut=A.PRS=P and that=S.HUM=GEN umh house=OBL CAUS-arrive DPT=A.PRS=3P

'THEN THE PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE GET TOGETHER, HARVEST (= CUT) HIS RICE, THE RICE OF THE RICE FIELDS, AND BRING THEM TO HIS, UMH, HOUSE AND LEAVE THEM THERE.'

20 u=ghay=ga hoɖom hoɖom kamu=ki=te=jo lebu=ki u poʔda=te
this=way=FOC other REP work=P=OBL=ADD person=P this village=OBL

ek dusre=te madat karay=te=ki.
1 second=OBL help do=A.PRS=P
'IN JUST THIS WAY, THE PEOPLE IN THIS VILLAGE HELP EACH OTHER IN OTHER WORKS AS WELL.'

21 khaɽiya=ko je beʈa beʈi=ki iskul col=ta=may
Kharia=CNTR CR boy girl=P school go=M.PRS=3P

iskul=te=jo ho=ki khaɽiya kayom=ta=ki.
school=OBL=ADD that=P Kharia speak=M.PRS=P
'KHARIA, THE BOYS AND GIRLS WHO GO TO SCHOOL, THEY SPEAK KHARIA AT SCHOOL AS WELL.'

22 lekin muruk giyal=ta=may.
but very shy=M.PRS=3P
'BUT THEY ARE VERY SHY.'

[29] According to this speaker, *har* means 'everything needed for plowing', i.e. plow, yoke, etc. *howa* does not have an independent meaning and is thus properly speaking an ECHO-word.

23 suru=te=ko kayam=na[30] umay lam=te lekin ab
beginning=OBL=CNTR speak=INF NEG.3P seek=A.PRS but now

ina no iskul boʔ=ki=te=jo ab khaɽiya=yaʔ paɽhai suru hoy=taʔj.
why CMPL(= 'because') school place=P=OBL=ADD now Kharia=GEN teaching beginning COP=M.PROG
'IN THE BEGINNING, THEY DIDN'T (= DON'T) WANT TO SPEAK [KHARIA] BUT NOW BECAUSE, AT SCHOOLS, TOO, THE TEACHING OF KHARIA IS BEGINNING.'

24 u jharkhanḍ alag hoy=ki ho bhere tay ghaḍ, iskul koʔghel=jo
this Jharkhand separate COP=M.PT that time ABL therefore school vicinity=ADD

ho=ki khaɽiya kayam=ta=may.
that=P Kharia speak=M.PRS=3P
'SINCE THE TIME JHARKHAND BECAME INDEPENDENT, THEREFORE THEY SPEAK KHARIA IN SCHOOL AS WELL.'

25 lekin seŋ umay kayam=na laʔ=ki, seŋ=ko hindi kayam=na laʔ=ki=may
but first NEG.3P speak=INF IPFV=M.PT first=CNTR Hindi speak=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P

oḍo [ʔ] nagpuri.
and Nagpuri
'BUT AT FIRST THEY DIDN'T SPEAK [KHARIA], AT FIRST THEY SPOKE HINDI, AND NAGPURI.'

26 cahe=ko ho=jeʔ gam=te=may "sadri".
or=CNTR that=S.NHUM say=A.PRS=3P Sadri
'INSTEAD, THEY CALL IT [I.E., NAGPURI] "SADRI".'[31]

27 lekin tama khaɽiya kayam=na suru=te=ki.
but now Kharia speak=INF begin=A.PRS=P
'BUT NOW THEY ARE BEGINNING TO SPEAK KHARIA.'

28 ro kayam=ta=ki.
and speak=M.PRS=P
'AND THEY SPEAK IT.'

29 khoɽi=te konon konon kuruʔ=ki[32] adha=ki=ko khaɽiya soʔj=te=may
village=OBL small REP children=P half=P=CNTR Kharia understand=A.PRS=3P

lekin adha=ki umay soʔj=te.
but half=P NEG.3P understand=A.PRS
'THE SMALL CHILDREN IN THE VILLAGE, HALF UNDERSTAND KHARIA, BUT HALF DO NOT UNDERSTAND IT.'

30 u khoɽi=te… ə, nake, ə… khaɽiya ekal umboʔ lekin oʔ[33] lebu=ki=jo aʔj=may.
this village=OBL umh ???? umh Kharia alone no but other person=P=ADD PRS.COP=3P
'IN THIS VILLAGE, THE KHARIA ARE NOT ALONE BUT THERE ARE OTHER PEOPLE AS WELL.'

[30] The speaker occasionally switches between *kayom* and *kayam.* The standard form is *kayom*.
[31] Also known as "Sadani".
[32] Standard form: *konḍuʔ=ki*.
[33] Standard form: *oḍoʔ* 'and; more', here: 'other', or, more commonly in this meaning, *hoḍom* 'other'.

31 jesan lohra, mahra, kumhar, mura, rajput, hindu, musalman,
for.example blacksmith puffed.rice.maker potter Mundari Rajput Hindu Muslim
ro oɖo[ʔ] hoɖom jait=ki=yaʔ lebu=ki=jo aʔj=may.
and more other ethnic.group=P=GEN person=P=ADD PRS.COP=3P
'FOR EXAMPLE LOHARS (BLACKSMITHS), MAHRAS (MAKERS OF PUFFED RICE), KUMHARS (POTTERS), MUNDARI, RAJPUTS, HINDUS, MUSLIMS, AND ALSO PEOPLE OF OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS.'

32 lekin soub baru-boʔ=ga aw=ta=may, soub umay koleʔj=ta.
but all good-INTENS=FOC live=A.PRS=3P all NEG.3P fight=M.PRS
'BUT ALL LIVE TOGETHER VERY WELL, NO ONE FIGHTS (= ALL DO NOT FIGHT).'

33 kabhi kabhi, moka soka, koleʔj=ta=may lekin
sometimes sometimes fight=M.PRS=3P but

mel prem se=ga aw=na=yaʔ kornis karay=te=ki.
harmony love ABL=FOC live=INF=GEN attempt do=A.PRS=P
'SOMETIMES THEY FIGHT, BUT THEY TRY TO LIVE IN PEACE AND HARMONY.'

34 u=je[ʔ]=ga heke iɲ=aʔ salɖaʔ poʔda=yaʔ konon parice.
this=S.NHUM=FOC PRS.COP 1S=GEN Saldega village=GEN small introduction
'THIS IS A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO MY VILLAGE, SALDEGA.'

Rayem Olem Dungdung (f.), 30, Kumharʈoli, Saldega, Simdega District

gupa lebu
guard[34] person

'The shepherd'

[RD, 1]

The following short narrative is a freely spoken version of a story originally composed by Basil Baa. This speaker comes from Kumhartoli, a predominantly Sadri-speaking section of Sadega (*salɖa?*) where the *kumhar* 'potters' live (see [AK, 5:31]). Her language is almost identical to what is considered standard Kharia, with a few exceptions. These are noted in the footnotes where they occur in the text.

The only feature worth noting here is her use of the "Past II" in *=kho?*. This form, which is quite common in spoken Kharia but which is generally considered "incorrect" and avoided in writing, derives from the past perfect in *=sikho?*. Note that this same speaker also uses this form in her written samples ([RD, 2]).

1. moŋ gupa lebu aw=ki.
   1 guard person COP=M.PT
   'THERE WAS A SHEPHARD.'

2. ho=kaʈ diyo=ga merom gupa=na co=na laʔ=ki.
   that=S.HUM daily=FOC goat guard=INF go=INF IPFV=M.PT
   'HE USED TO WATCH OVER GOATS DAILY.'

3. ho=kaʈ=aʔ iku^{ʔ}ɖ jughay bheʈi merom aw=ki=may.
   that=S.HUM=GEN very much sheep goat COP=M.PT=3P
   'HE HAD VERY MANY SHEEP AND GOATS.'

4. ho=kaʈ ɖisaʔ ɖisaʔ khoʔtay=jo merom gupa=na laʔ=khoʔ.
   that=S.HUM far REP up.to=ADD goat guard=INF IPFV=PT.II
   'HE USED TO TEND THE GOATS, EVEN GOING (= UP TO) VERY FAR.'

5. u raij tay han raij, han raij tay hoɖom raij ho=ghay=ga hoghayga
   this kingdom ABL that kingdom that kingdom ABL other kingdom that=way=FOC REP

   ho=kaʈ ɖheir ɖisaʔ col kan=ki.
   that=S.HUM very far go CONT=M.PT
   'FROM THIS KINGDOM [TO] THAT KINGDOM, FROM THAT KINGDOM [TO] ANOTHER KINGDOM, IN JUST THAT WAY HE KEPT GOING VERY FAR.'

6. kinir jhaŋkor biru=ki ti^{ʔ}j paro=ga ho=kaʈ rel saʈak ti^{ʔ}j col=ki.
   forest ECHO mountain=P side cross=FOC that=S.HUM train road side go=M.PT
   '[WHEN] CROSSING TOWARDS THE FORESTS AND MOUNTAINS, HE FOLLOWED (= WENT [ON] THE SIDE [OF]) THE TRAIN TRACKS.'

7. rel=yaʔ siniŋ siniŋ=ga bheʈi merom=ɖom=ki arŋoʔ=na laʔ=khoʔ=may.
   train=GEN side REP=FOC sheep goat=3POSS=P graze=INF IPFV=PT.II=3P
   'HIS SHEEP AND GOATS USED TO GRAZE ALONGSIDE THE TRAIN TRACKS.'

[34] I.e., 'guard, watch over or tend (sheep, etc.)'.

8. daʔ[35] sʈesan pase=ga moɲ daru sumboʔ=te ho carwaha ɖoko=kon
then train.station near=FOC one tree base=OBL that shepherd sit.down=SEQ

mukum=na laʔ=khoʔ.[36]
doze.off=INF IPFV=PT.II
'THEN NEAR THE TRAIN STATION, AT THE BASE OF A TREE, THAT SHEPHERD SAT DOWN AND BEGAN TO DOZE OFF.'

9. mukum=ga mukumga ho=kaʈ gitaʔ goʔɖ=ki.
doze.off=FOC REP that=S.HUM lie.down C:TEL=M.PT
'[BECAUSE HE KEPT] DOZIING OFF, HE LAY DOWN.'

10. kaʈiʔj deri=te rel chuʔʈe=na=yaʔ bera hoy=ki.
some time=OBL train leave=INF=GEN time become=M.PT
'AFTER SOME TIME, THE TIME FOR THE TRAIN TO LEAVE ARRIVED (= BECAME).'

11. rel chuʔʈe=na thoŋ põga baje=ki laʔ bheʈi merom=ki ho=tiʔj=ga col=ki=may.
train leave=INF PURP horn be.sounded=M.PT then sheep goat=P that=side=FOC go=M.PT=3P
'THE HORN SOUNDED FOR THE TRAIN TO LEAVE, SO THE SHEEP AND GOATS WENT IN THAT DIRECTION.'

12. ina no leʔbɖom, gupa kaʈ, diyo=ga aɖi=yaʔ merom=ki=te
why CMPL(='because') boss guard person daily=FOC ANAPH=GEN goat=P=OBL

ka<b>tib=na=ʔ thoŋ põga bajay=na laʔ=khoʔ ro soub bheʈi merom=ki
gather-<CAUS>=INF=GEN PURP horn sound=INF IPFV=PT.II and all sheep goat=P

leʔbɖom=yaʔ khoʔte ɖel kan=na laʔ=khoʔ=may.
boss=GEN up.to come CONT=INF IPFV=PT.II=3P
'BECAUSE THE BOSS, THE SHEPHERD, WOULD DAILY SOUND THE HORN TO GATHER HIS GOATS, AND ALL THE SHEEP AND GOATS WOULD COME TO THE BOSS.'

13. ho=ghay=ga ho dinu=jo rel=yaʔ leʔbɖom põga bajay=oʔ
that=way=FOC that day=ADD train=GEN boss horn sound=A.PT

laʔ=ko "malik=ga põga bajay=oʔ" gam=kon soub rel paʈari=te col
then=CNTR(= 'but') boss=FOC horn sound=A.PT say=SEQ all train track=OBL go

goʔɖ=ki=may.
C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'IN JUST THAT WAY, ON THAT DAY AS WELL THE BOSS OF THE TRAIN SOUNDED HIS HORN, BUT THINKING "THE BOSS HAS SOUNDED THE HORN.", ALL [THE SHEEP AND GOATS] WENT OFF TO THE TRAIN TRACK.'

14. ro rel chuʔʈe=ki tay=ko soub bheʈi merom gaʈi buŋ oton ɖom=ke
and train leave=M.PT then=CNTR all sheep goat car INST press PASS=SEQ

goʔj may=ki=may.
die TOTAL=M.PT=3P

[35] Standard form *laʔ*.
[36] Note that *laʔ*, although generally a marker of (non-present) imperfectivity and hence so glossed here, occasionally denotes the inception of an action.. For further examples, see notes 49, 63, 181, 250 and 266.

'AND THE TRAIN LEFT, BUT THEN ALL THE SHEEP AND GOATS WERE CRUSHED TO DEATH BY THE TRAIN CAR.'

15. a^{ʔ}b le^{ʔ}bɖom leme^{ʔ}ɖ tay jayɖim=ki tay merom=ɖom=ki=te han=ti^{ʔ}j u=ti^{ʔ}j
now boss sleep ABL wake.up=M.PT then goat=3POSS=P=OBL that=side this=side

yo=te, laʔ u=ti^{ʔ}j=jo um yo=ta.
see=A.PRS then this=side=ADD NEG see=M.PT
'NOW THE BOSS WOKE UP FROM HIS SLEEP AND LOOKS FOR HIS GOATS IN THIS AND THAT DIRECTION BUT IN THIS DIRECTION THEY ARE ALSO NOT [TO BE] SEEN.'

16. bhere han goɽa=ga lam-lam khor=te.
time that whole=FOC search-RDP ITER=A.PRS
'[AT THAT] TIME HE LOOKS ALL AROUND THAT WHOLE [AREA].'

17. han=ti^{ʔ}j u=ti^{ʔ}j buli=na bulina ho=kaɽ rel paɽari ti^{ʔ}j col=ki
that=side this=side wander=INF REP that=S.HUM train track toward go=M.PT

laʔ yo=te laʔ=ko soub merom=ki go^{ʔ}j may=ki=may, gaɽi buŋ oton ɖom=ke.
then see=A.PRS then=CNTR (= 'but') all goat=P die TOTAL=M.PT=3P car INST press PASS=SEQ
'WANDERING THIS WAY AND THAT, HE WENT TOWARDS THE RAILROAD TRACKS AND SEES THAT ALL THE GOATS HAD DIED, HAVING BEEN CRUSHED BY THE TRAIN.'

18. gupa lebu duʔkho buŋ iku^{ʔ}ɖ jughay go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki.[37]
guard person sorrow INST very much C:TEL=M.PT
'THE SHEPHERD BECAME VERY DEPRESSED.'

19. duʔkho buŋ ho=kaɽ=te jiyom=te jiyom um dhoʔ ɖom=ki.
sorrow INST that=S.HUM=OBL life=OBL life NEG grasp PASS=M.PT
'HE COULD NOT BEAR TO LIVE ANY MORE BECAUSE OF THE SORROW.'[38]

20. bhere murjhay=kon gur go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki.
time hang.the.head.low=SEQ fall C:TEL=M.PT
'[AT THAT] TIME, HE HUNG HIS HEAD LOW AND DROPPED TO THE GROUND (= FELL).'

21. ro ho=te=ga go^{ʔ}j go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki.
and that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC die C:TEL=M.PT
'AND HE DIED RIGHT THERE.'

22. u=ghay aw=ki gupa lebu=yaʔ kahni.
this=way COP=M.PT shepherd person=GEN story
'SUCH WAS THE STORY OF THE SHEPHERD.'

[37] This construction is quite productive with respect to experiential predicates to denote that the state involved increased. Literally it means 'The shepherd became more with sorrow.'
[38] This is an idiomatic expression and cannot be analyzed further. Literally it translates as 'Through sorrow, to him, in life, life was not grasped.'

Marcus Soreng (m.), ca. 70, Birmitrapur, Orissa

The history of the Kharia

[MS, 1]

This speaker is the only person from whom I have texts who is not from Jharkhand itself. He lives close to the city of Birmitrapur, on the Orissa side of the Jharkhand-Orissa border, about 1 kilometer from this border.

The following two stories were recorded during a short, one-day visit to this speaker's home, during which I was accompanied by Mr. Stanislas Kullu, from Saldega, near the city of Simdega, who is incidentally the father of Anil Birendra Kullu ([AK, 1] - [AK, 5]) and who also worked with H.-J. Pinnow (cf. Pinnow, 1965a: 75ff., §16).

The language of this speaker differs in many respects from that of the other speakers, mostly in terms of pronunciation. Most commonly, we often find an <a> ([ɑ]) in this speaker's dialect where other speakers/writers have an <o> ([ɔ]), such as *meram* vs. standard *merom* 'goat', *bane* vs. standard *bone* 'become', *na* vs. standard *no* 'CMPL', and the sequential converb ending *kan* instead of the standard form *kon*. He also tends to use more Hindi and Sadri loanwords than other speakers, such as *hekãy* (Sadri) 'they are', *na* 'not' or *jab* 'when (CR)', but this apparently greater influence may simply represent Kharia as it is commonly spoken.

For example, the other speakers I worked with, when asked to tell me a story, generally asked if they could think about their stories for a day before telling them, so that their stories are not as spontaneous as those of this speaker, who was unaware that we were coming to visit and who told these stories without any preparation. The other speakers were also aware of the fact that I was primarily interested in learning the Kharia language itself and often consciously used words of Kharia origin which are no longer in use, having been replaced in everyday speech by words of Sadri origin, such as Kharia *komaŋ* 'meat' instead of the more common *mãs* 'meat' from Sadri, or the Kharia numerals, with which most speakers are not even familiar. The spontaneity of these two narratives also explains the quite large numbers of false starts in the texts, the occasionally erratic syntax and the extensive use of "fillers" or "pause words" such as *mane*... 'umh…'.

The story told here is in many ways similar to the stories of the origin of some of the North Munda peoples, such as the Mundari (cf. Roy, 1912 [1995], chapter 2), although the influence of Christianity is unmistakable in this version. The question of whether this is due to a common history (which seems unlikely, if not impossible, as the language of the Kharia differs considerably from the North Munda languages), an earlier or later wandering of the Kharia along much the same route as that taken by the North Munda groups, or whether the story has been borrowed by the Kharia, will have to await further research.

For a different account of much of this narrative, see [MT, 1] below.

1

ane...	aniŋ	khaṛiya=ʔ	muʔḍaʔ	u=je[ʔ].	duniya=ko	mane	hoy=ta	khrisṭi=ko	umboʔ
well	1P.INCL	Kharia=GEN	origin	this=S.NHUM	world=CNTR	umh	COP=M.PRS	Christian=CNTR	no

lekin	sristi	tay.
but	creation	ABL

'WELL, THE ORIGIN OF US KHARIA [IS] THIS. THE WORLD, UMH, IS NOT CHRISTIAN BUT FROM [NON-CHRISTIAN] CREATION [I.E., THE KHARIA STORY OF THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD IS NOT CHRISTIAN, AS THE KHARIA AT THAT TIME WERE NOT CHRISTIANS].'

2

lebu	baḍhe=ki=may	lekin	bhagwan=jo	naraj=ki	ro	lebu=te	nas	
person	increase=M.PT=3P	but	Lord=ADD	angry=M.PT	and	person=OBL	destruction	

karay=na badte lebu apan jati bone=ki=may.
do=INF after person own ethnic.group become=M.PT=3P
'THE PEOPLE MULTIPLIED BUT THE LORD ALSO BECOME ANGRY AND, AFTER DESTROYING HUMANITY (= THE PERSON), THE PEOPLE SPLIT UP INTO THEIR OWN ETHNIC GROUPS (= BECAME THEIR OWN ETHNIC GROUP).'

3
asal cij ho=jeʔ heke a=kaɽ jati bone=ki=may[39] hin jati
true thing that=S.NHUM PRS.COP Q=S.HUM ethnic.group become=M.PT=3P that ethnic.group

bone=ki=may.
become=M.PT=3P
'THIS IS A TRUE MATTER. WHATEVER ETHNIC GROUPS THEY WERE (= BECAME), THEY BECAME THAT ETHNIC GROUP.'

4
laʔ aniŋ=aʔ …, un=te=niŋ laʔ aniŋ khaɽiya=ki bulbul nagar tay=ga
then 1P.INCL=GEN place=A.PRS=1P.INCL then 1P.INCL Kharia=P Babylon city ABL=FOC

apa ponomeswar lebu=ki=yaʔ kayom=te han=tiʔj u=tiʔj karay goɽh=oʔ harek
father God person=P=GEN speech=OBL that=side this=side do C:TEL=A.PT each

bhasa=te ter=oʔ je=ki ho bhasa anusar apan apan jati bone=ki=may.
language=OBL give=A.PT CR=P that language according.to own REP ethnic.group become=M.PT=3P
'THEN OUR…, WE CLAIM (= PLACE) THAT WE KHARIA, FROM THE CITY OF BABYLON, GOD THE FATHER MIXED UP THE LANGUAGE OF THE PEOPLE (= MADE THEIR SPEECH THIS SIDE AND THAT SIDE), HE GAVE THEM EACH [THEIR OWN] LANGUAGE, WHO, ACCORDING TO THIS LANGUAGE, BECAME THEIR OWN ETHNIC GROUP.'

5
khaɽiya=jo ho=ghay=ga apan je laŋ kuy=oʔ=ki.[40]
Kharia=ADD that=way=FOC own CR language find=A.PT=P
'IN JUST THIS WAY THE KHARIA ALSO FOUND THEIR OWN LANGUAGE.'

6
laŋ mane bhasa kuy=oʔ=ki ho bhasa anusar chinge=ga mane yar=oʔ=ki.
language i.e. language find=A.PT=P that language according.to split.up=FOC umh flee=A.PT=P
'THEY FOUND THEIR *LAD*, I.E., LANGUAGE AND, ACCORDING TO THIS LANGUAGE, THEY SPLIT UP AND, UMH, FLED (= SPLITTING UP, THEY FLED).'

7
laʔ bulbul nagar tay ho=ki ɖel=ki=may elam=te ɖera=yoʔ=ki.
then Babylon city ABL that=P come=M.PT=3P Elam=OBL settle.down=A.PT=P
'THEN FROM THE CITY OF BABYLON THEY CAME [AND] SETTLED DOWN IN ELAM.'

8
elam=te… elam tay ho=ki i socay=oʔ=ki to arab hoy=kan, arbo hoy=kan,
Elam=OBL Elam ABL that=P what think=A.PT=P TOP Arabia COP=SEQ Arabia COP=SEQ

[39] Note that for this speaker, forms such as *hoy=ki/ bone=ki* (S) or *hoy=ki=may / bone=ki=may* (P) often have a stative interpretation, i.e., 'was' or 'were', instead of the standard meaning 'became'. I will consistently gloss these as 'become' but translate them as the text requires.
[40] Note the non-standard use of the correlative marker *je*, whose function is somewhat unclear here.

aphirika=jo ɖam=sikh=oʔ=may.
Africa=ADD arrive=PERF=A.PT=3P
'IN ELAM… FROM ELAM WHAT DID THEY THINK? HAVING BEEN TO ARABIA, THEY ALSO WENT TO AFRICA.'

9
muda ho=ki=te apa ponomeswar gam=sikh=oʔ na "am=pe munu[ʔ]siŋ tiʔj
but that=P=OBL Father God say=PERF=A.PT CMPL 2=2P east side

yane purab disa tiʔj dhãy[=e]=pe, hoɖom tiʔj umboʔ."
i.e. east region side hurry=A.IRR=2P other side no
'BUT GOD THE FATHER SAID TO THEM "YOU HURRY TOWARDS THE *MUNUʔSIƉ*, I.E., TOWARDS THE EAST, NOT IN ANOTHER DIRECTION.'"

10
la[ʔ] ho=ki aphirika col=sikh=oʔ=may.
then that=P Africa go=PERF=A.PT=3P
'THEN THEY WENT TO AFRICA.'

11
la[ʔ] ho=ki=te sayad baru um laʔ=ki.
then that=P=OBL perhaps good NEG EMOT=M.PT
'THEN PERHAPS THEY DID NOT LIKE [AFRICA].'

12
hin=tiʔj tay … hoɽo … oɖoʔ eŋ=ki pachli ro ho=ki elam=te=ga make.[41]
that=side ABL again return=M.PT back and that=P Elam=OBL=FOC ???
'FROM THERE THEY AGAIN RETURNED BACK AND THEY ?????? IN ELAM.'

13
ho=jeʔ aw=ki la[ʔ] elam=te.
this=S.NHUM COP=M.PT then Elam=OBL
'THIS WAS THEN IN ELAM.'

14
"khaɽkhaɽi" gam=te=niŋ lekin "khaɽ" mane ompay heke.
Khaɽkhaɽi say=A.PRS=1P.INCL but khaɽ meaning river PRS.COP
'WE SAY "KHAɽKHAɽI", BUT "KHAɽ" MEANS "RIVER".'[42]

15
"khaɽiʔ" mane "jhariya", konon ompay.
khaɽiʔ meaning jhariya small river
'"KHAɽIʔ" MEANS "JHARIYA", A SMALL RIVER.'

16
la[ʔ] ho=ki=ya[ʔ] ɲimi tama u=ghay=ga. risaj karay=na=te kui=ta.
then that=P=GEN name now this=way=FOC research do=INF=OBL find=M.PRS
'THEN THEIR NAMES [ARE] THUS. [THIS] IS FOUND IN DOING RESEARCH.'[43]

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[41] The other speakers I worked with were not able to identify this word.
[42] This seems to be an attempt to derive the name "Kharia" from a word for 'river'. Note that *nadī* in Sadani / Sadri means '(large) river' and *jhariyā* 'small river; creek; stream'.
[43] One would expect the instrumental postposition *buŋ* here instead of the oblique marker *=te*. See also line 39 below. Perhaps this is typical of this speaker's dialect.

17
nagya … nandiya. ro jhariyo.
Nagya Nandiya and Jhariyo
'NAGYA, … NANDIYA AND JHARIYO.'

18
ompay=te gam ɖom=ta maha ompay=te, ho=kaɽ=a[ʔ] ɲimi buŋ nagiya … nadiya.
river=OBL say PASS=M.PRS big river=OBL that=S.HUM=GEN name INST Nagiya Nadiya
'THE RIVER, IT IS SAID, THE GREAT RIVER, THROUGH ITS NAME [HIS NAME BECAME] NAGIYA, … NADIYA.'[44]

19
sow-ɖay=ɖom=a[ʔ] hoy=ki jhariyo.
spouse-woman=3POSS=GEN become=M.PT Jhariyo
'HIS WIFE'S [NAME] WAS JHARIYO.'

20
kai ʈho ompay mile=ke ek ʈho maha ompay hoy=ta,
few CL river meet.with=SEQ 1 CL big river become=M.PRS

la[ʔ] ho=ghay=ga u=kiyar=yaʔ mane samay hoy=ki.
then that=way=FOC this=D=GEN umh time become=M.PT
'SEVERAL RIVERS JOINED TOGETHER AND BECOME ONE GREAT RIVER, THEN IN THIS WAY THEIR TIME [TO LEAVE], UMH, CAME (= BECAME).'

21
laʔ elam=te=ga aw=kan ho=ki bohut dinu aw=ki[45] ro moɲ=ga beˀʈ=ɖom aw=ki.
then Elam=OBL=FOC COP=SEQ that=P many day stay=M.PT and one=FOC son=3POSS COP=M.PT
'STAYING IN ELAM, THEY THEN STAYED MANY DAYS AND THEY HAD ONE SON.'

22
ho=kaɽ=a[ʔ] ɲimi aw=ki hondo. hondo.
that=S.HUM=GEN name COP=M.PT Hondo Hondo
'HIS NAME WAS HONDO. HONDO.'

23
la[ʔ] hondo=waʔ naw jhan beʈa, naw ʈho beʈi aw=ki=may.
then Hondo=GEN 9 CL son 9 CL daughter COP=M.PT=3P
'THEN HONDO HAD 9 SONS AND 9 DAUGHTERS.'

24
bohut dinu ho=te aw=ki=may.
many day that=OBL(= 'there') COP=M.PT=3P
'THEY STAYED THERE MANY DAYS.'

[44] This is a derivation of the name of *nagiya / nadiya*, who will now play a role in this narrative, from the Sadani / Sadri word *nadī* 'river'.
[45] Note here that the predicate is not marked for plurality, although in the standard language it would be, as the subject is human and plural.

25
aw=na se ho=ki=te apa panesar[46] ho=ki=te u=ghay=ga buʔdhi ter=oʔ hoy
COP=INF INST that=P=OBL Father God that=P=OBL this=way=FOC understanding give=A.PT INFER

no "u=te am=p=aʔ jina khana umbo[ʔ].
CMPL this=OBL(= 'here') 2=2P=GEN life food no
'HAVING STAYED THERE, GOD THE FATHER MUST HAVE INFORMED THEM THUS: "YOU WILL NOT STAY HERE (= HERE YOUR LIFE [AND] FOOD [IS] NOT).'

26
oɖo[ʔ] mugam tiˀj dhãy[=e]=pe, purob disa tiˀj dhãy[=e]=pe.
and front side hurry=A.IRR=2P east region side hurry=A.IRR=2P
'AND HURRY FORWARD, HURRY TOWARDS THE EAST.'

27
am=pe co=na=pe laʔ am=p=aʔ ʈhãɽo kui=na."
2=2P go=M.IRR=2P then 2=2P=GEN place find=M.IRR
'IF YOU GO, THEN YOUR PLACE WILL BE FOUND.'"

28
laʔ u=ghay=ga purub disa tiˀj col=ki=may.
then this=way=FOC east region side go=M.PT=3P
'THUS THEY WENT TOWARDS THE EAST.'

29
laʔ ho tay hondo aɖi=yaʔ naw ʈho beˀʈ=ɖom ro kimin=ɖom=te
then that ABL (= 'from there') Hondo ANAPH=GEN nine CL son=3POSS and daughter.in.law=3POSS=OBL

dhoʔ=kan mane purub tiˀj mane yar=oʔ=ki.
grab=SEQ umh east side umh flee=A.PT=P
'THEN HONDO TOOK (= GRABBED) HIS 9 SONS AND THEIR WIVES (= DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW) [AND], UMH, FLED FROM THERE TOWARDS THE EAST.'[47]

30
la[ʔ] tibat ɖel=ki=may ro tibat tay ɖeˀb goˀɖ=ki=may biru toblhuŋ=te.
then Tibet come=M.PT=3P and Tibet ABL climb C:TEL=M.PT=3P mountain top=OBL
'THEN THEY CAME TO TIBET AND FROM TIBET THEY CLIMBED TO THE MOUNTAIN TOP.'

31
yo=teˀj=ki no "sala tuta tiˀj bohut gaɖha heke!
see=A.PROG=P CMPL shit! bottom side very deep PRS.COP
'THEY SEE THAT, "SHIT!, THE BOTTOM IS VERY DEEP!'

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[46] Although there are many forms of the name of God (*ponmesor, ponomosor*, *ponomeswar*, etc., all deriving ultimately from Sanskrit *parameśvara-*), none of which I would like to consider "the" standard Kharia form, *panesar* is not one of the more common forms. Note also that it shows the typical <a> of this dialect where the standard form has <o>.

[47] The nine daughters are conspicuous here through their absence. This may be due to the fact that in India, in general, when a daughter marries she moves into her husband's family's house, so that the daughters in this story may be assumed to have been married off, while the sons have married and live, with their wives, together with Hondo. This may however simply be due to the fact that the sons here play the central role, and not their sisters, who are thus not mentioned: Note e.g. that no mention has been made at all of Hondo's wife, although we may assume her existence as Hondo is the father of 18 children, unless the "9 daughters" in line 23 are in fact the daughters-in-law.

32
gali ɲeloŋ ayiʔj. gaɖha ayiʔj."
shit! dark PRS.COP deep PRS.COP
'SHIT IT'S DARK. IT'S DEEP!'"

33
yo=yoʔ=ki laʔ botoŋ=ki=may=jo suru=te.
see=A.PT=P then get.afraid=M.PT=3P=ADD beginning=OBL
'THEY LOOKED, THEN AT FIRST (= IN THE BEGINNING) THEY ALSO BECAME AFRAID.'

34
lekin gam=oʔ=ki "agar ele u=tiʔj aniŋ=te=ko yo=na=ga ayiʔj."
but say=A.PT=3P if 1.P.EXCL this=side 1.P.INCL=OBL=CNTR see=INF=FOC PRS.COP
'BUT THEY SAID "IF WE [ARE TO CONTINUE] IN THIS DIRECTION, WE MUST [FIRST] LOOK.' (???)

35
agar botoŋ=na=niŋ laʔ oɖoʔ atu eŋ=na=niŋ?
if get.afraid=M.IRR=1P.INCL then again where return=M.IRR=1P.INCL
'IF WE GET AFRAID, THEN WHERE WILL WE RETURN TO AGAIN?'

36
biru=ko ɖeʔb goʔɖ=ki=niŋ.
mountain=CNTR climb C:TEL=M.PT=1P.INCL
'WE CLIMBED UP THE MOUNTAIN.'

37
himalay biru=waʔ tuta tiʔj khaybar na tibat, laʔ moʔjhi=te co=na=ko
Himalaya mountain=GEN bottom side Khyber.Pass and Tibet then middle=OBL go=INF=CNTR

moskil hoy=na."
difficult become=M.IRR
'BELOW THE HIMALAYAN MOUNTAINS [ARE] THE KHYBER PASS AND TIBET, THEN AND IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO WALK BETWEEN THEM.'"

38
jeʔ lekin ho=ki yo=yoʔ=ki. laʔ moŋ ghaʈ kuy=oʔ=ki.
so but that=P see=A.PT=P then 1 valley find=A.PT=P
'SO, BUT THEN THEY LOOKED. THEN THEY FOUND A PASS (= VALLEY).'

39
oreʔj meram seŋ. oreʔj=ki=te=ga laʔdhe=na laʔ=ki=may ɲoʔ=na cij=ki=te.[48]
ox goat first ox=P=OBL=FOC load=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P eat=INF thing=P=OBL
'THE OXEN AND GOATS [WENT] FIRST. THEY BEGAN[49] LOADING THE OXEN [WITH] FOOD (= THINGS TO EAT).'

40
u lutui buŋ tol=kan ɲeri=te ghoɽa toblhuŋ=te laɖay=te=ki. se lekhe.
this cloth INST tie=SEQ body=OBL horse top=OBL load=A.PRS=P that like

[48] Here one would expect the instrumental postposition *buŋ*, at least in the standard language. See also line 16 above.
[49] On the use of the "imperfective" marker *laʔ* with an inceptive function, see note 36. For further examples, see notes 63, 181, 250, 266 and 272.

'THEY TIE THIS WITH CLOTH ON THE BODY [OF THE HORSE], AND LOAD IT ON THE HORSE.[50] LIKE THAT.'

41
ore^{ʔ}j=ki=te=ga lad=na bay=na laʔ=ki=may to ho=ghay=ga are=ki=may.
ox=P=OBL=FOC load=INF do=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P then that=way=FOC descend=M.PT=3P
'THEY LOADED THE OXEN AND THEN WENT DOWN THAT WAY.'

42
la[ʔ] khaybar ghaʈo=te=ga are=ki=may.
then Khyber valley=OBL=FOC descend=M.PT=3P
'THEN THEY DESCENDED INTO THE KHYBER PASS (= VALLEY).'

43
bhere, sasur=ɖom hondo buɖha gam=te:
time father.in.law=3POSS Hondo old.man say=A.PRS
'THEN (= [AT THAT] TIME) THE FATHER-IN-LAW, HONDO, THE ELDER, SAYS:'

44
"babu, kimin=ki jahã ɲoʔ=na cij dhoʔ=siʔ=pe gur=na,
child daughter.in.law=P INDEF.NHUM eat=INF thing grab=PERF=2P fall=M.IRR
'"CHILD, SOME OF THE FOOD (= THINGS TO EAT) WHICH YOU DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW HAVE TAKEN WILL FALL,'

45
la[ʔ], a[ʔ]pe melay[=e]. oɖoʔ ɖe^{ʔ}b=na um bone=na. a[ʔ]pe melay[=e]."
so NEG.MOD.2S leave=A.IRR again ascend=INF NEG become=M.IRR NEG.MOD.2S leave=A.IRR
'SO DON'T LEAVE IT. IT WILL NOT DO (= BECOME) TO GO BACK UP [TO COLLECT THE FOOD]. DON'T LEAVE IT.'"

46
"ho=jeʔ ray=e=m=ga kay=e=ga"[51] gam=kan ho=jeʔ=ga khaybar
that=S.NHUM pick.up=A.IRR=2S=FOC pick.up=A.IRR=FOC say=SEQ that=S.NHUM=FOC Khyber

ghaʈi=te are=ta^{ʔ}j=ki.
small.valley=OBL descend=M.PROG=P
'HAVING SAID "PICK IT UP, PICK IT UP", THEY THUS[52] DESCEND INTO THE KHYBER PASS.'

47
ore^{ʔ}j meram han=ti^{ʔ}j u=ti^{ʔ}j sou^{ʔ}b apan apan goʔjhuŋ lam=ta lamta … are=ta^{ʔ}j=ki.
ox goat that=side this=side all own REP path seek=CONV REP descend=M.PROG=P
'THE OXEN AND GOATS, [GOING] THIS WAY AND THAT WAY, ALL SEEKING THEIR OWN PATH …, ARE DESCENDING.'

[50] *horse* here would seem to be a mistake, as the speaker has just indicated that the oxen were loaded with food.
[51] The use of the irrealis without (overt) person marking is an imperative of the 2nd person, singular. If the 2nd person singular is marked, the meaning is somewhat less strong, e.g. 'you should pick up'. In this case, however, it would seem that the speaker has simply inadvertantly left out the person marking on *kay=e=ga* or inadvertantly included it on *ray=e=m=ga*.
[52] I am translating *hojeʔga* here simply as 'thus'. It does not seem to have any referential value here but rather merely to function similar to *je(ʔ)* (without any determiner), which is often encountered with the meaning 'so'. This use of *hojeʔga* is not attested elsewhere.

48
la[ʔ] ho=te gam=oʔ=ki "umboʔ, aniŋ=jo…, jahã ɲoʔ=na cij gur=ta^{ʔ}j,"
so that=OBL(= 'there') say=A.PT=P no 1.P.INCL=ADD INDEF.NHUM eat=INF thing fall=M.PROG
'SO THEY SAID THERE, "NO, WE ALSO…, SOME FOOD IS FALLING,"'[53]

49
"laʔ aʔ=bar melay[=e]!" kimin=ki…, mane kimin… mane bohoriya=ki=te
so NEG.MOD=2HON leave=A.IRR daughter.in.law=P umh daughter.in.law umh daughter.in.law=P=OBL

gam=te^{ʔ}j,[54]
say=A.PROG
'"SO DON'T LEAVE THEM!", HE IS SAYING TO THE DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW, UMH…, DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW, UMH…, DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW,'

50
"kimin=ki aʔ=pe melay[=e] ray=e=pe=ga, aʔ=pe melay[=e].
daughter.in.law=P NEG.MOD=2P leave=A.IRR pick.up=A.IRR=2P=FOC NEG.MOD=2P leave=A.IRR
'"DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW, DON'T LEAVE THEM, PICK THEM UP, DON'T LEAVE THEM.'

51
je kono gur=ta^{ʔ}j, ho=jeʔ ram=kan kay=e=pe ro a<b>re[=e]=pe!"
whatever fall=M.PROG that=S.NHUM pick.up=SEQ pick.up=A.IRR=2P and decend-<CAUS>=A.IRR=2P
'WHATEVER FALLS, PICK THAT UP (= HAVING PICKED UP, PICK UP) AND CARRY IT DOWN WITH YOU (= CAUSE IT TO DESCEND)!"'

52
ho hisab se ho=kaɽ=aʔ ɲimi khaybar ghaʈi hoy=ki.
that manner INST that=S.HUM=GEN name Khyber little.valley become=M.PT
'IN THAT WAY ITS NAME BECAME KHYBER PASS.'

53
"kay=e=bar" gam=na se, "kay=na", je[ʔ]=ga mane "khaybar ghaʈi" hoy=ki.
pick.up=A.IRR=2HON say=INF INST pick.up=INF that=FOC umh Khyber valley become=M.PT
'BY SAYING "PICK IT UP", "PICK UP", IT, UMH, BECAME "KHYBER PASS".'[55]

54
khaybar ghaʈi=te ho=ki are=ki=may. may chowa.
Khyber little.valley=OBL that=P descend=M.PT=3P mother child
'THEY DESCENDED INTO THE KHYBER PASS. MOTHER AND CHILD [I.E., ALL OF THEM].'

55
la[ʔ] ho=ki=yaʔ be^{ʔ}ʈ=ɖom=ki naw ʈho elam tay= ga mane kuʈum hoy=ki naw ʈho
then that=P=GEN son=3POSS=P nine CL Elam ABL=FOC umh family become=M.PT nine CL

gotar.
clan
'THEN THEIR CHILDREN, THE NINE, FROM ELAM, UMH, [THEIR] FAMILY BECAME THE 9 CLANS.'

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[53] In this and the following line there would appear to be a number of false starts.
[54] It is not entirely clear here whether Hondo is addressing just one daughter-in-law or all, as the dual/honorific form is used for respectful address only in the singular (*aʔbar melay*). Otherwise, it has a dual meaning, which does not fit in with the plural marking on *kimin=ki* or *bohoriya=ki=te*. *aʔbar melaye* at the beginning of line 49 would thus seem to be a mistake, as in line 50 the plural form *aʔ=pe melay[=e]* is used.
[55] See [MS:1,38ff.] for an almost identical etymology of the name "Khyber Pass".

56
jesan israel=ki bara kul hoy=ki=may.
CR:like Israeli=P 12 family become=M.PT=3P
'LIKE THE ISRAELIS BECAME 12 FAMILIES.'

57
se lekhe u=ki=yaʔ=jo elam tay bara naw gotar hoy=ki=may
that way this=P=GEN=ADD Elam ABL 12 9 clan become=M.PT=3P
'IN THAT WAY THOSE FROM ELAM ALSO BECAME 12 OR 9 CLANS (= OF THOSE FROM ELAM, 12 OR 9 CLANS BECAME)'

58
ro ho naw beʈa kimin=ki=te=ga dhoʔ=kan mane hindustan mane ɖel=ki=ki.
and that 9 son daughter.in.law=P=OBL=FOC grab=SEQ umh India umh come=M.PT=P
'AND WITH (= HAVING TAKEN) THOSE 9 SONS [AND 9] DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW, UMH, THEY CAME TO, UMH, INDIA.'

59
ro ho=ki ɖel=ki=may la[ʔ] are=ki=may yo=yoʔ=ki kinir jhaŋkoy
and that=P come=M.PT=3P then descend=M.PT=3P see=A.PT=P forest ECHO

la[ʔ] ho=te aw=ki=may suru=yoʔ=ki.[56]
then that=OBL(= 'there') live=M.PT=3P begin=A.PT=3P
'AND THEY CAME, THEN THEY DESCENDED [AND] THEY SAW FORESTS AND EVERYTHING ELSE AND THERE THEY BEGAN TO LIVE.'

60
laʔ ho=te kuchu dusman aw=ki mane saitan.
then that=OBL(= 'there') some enemy live=M.PT umh Satan
'AT THAT TIME THERE LIVED AN ENEMY THERE, UMH, SATAN.'[57]

61
ho=kaʈ gam=oʔ no "am=te um=iɲ baɲcay[=e]. am=te ɲog[=e]=iŋ=ga. jan tar
that=S.HUM say=A.PT CMPL 2S=OBL NEG=1S save=A.IRR 2S=OBL eat=A.IRR=1S=FOC life kill

goʈ[=e]=iŋ."
C:TEL=A.IRR=1S
'HE (= SATAN) SAID "I WILL NOT SPARE YOU. I WILL EAT YOU. I WILL KILL YOU."'

62
ho=kaʈ gam=te laʔ "ina jan tar=e=m? am i lam=teʔjɖ=em?"
that=S.HUM say=A.PRS then why life kill=A.IRR=2S 2S what want=A.PROG=2S
'HE (= HONDO) SAYS THEN "WHY WILL YOU KILL ME? WHAT DO YOU WANT?"'

63
ho=kaʈ gam=oʔ "umboʔ."
that=S.HUM say=A.PT no

[56] Note the complex predicate *aw=ki=may suru=yoʔ=ki* in 59, in which both predicate components are formally finite. The usual form is *aw=na* (infinitive) *suru=yoʔ=ki*. This form is interesting because this type of formation, i.e., multiple finite forms in a complex predicate denoting 'begin', is typical of other languages of the area, most notably Kurukh, a Dravidian language spoken in much of the area. However, the form here seems to be a simple mistake, as it is the only example for this formation in all of my data and was rejected by other speakers.
[57] For what is probably a different version of this same event, see [MT, 1:64ff.] below.

'HE (= SATAN) SAID "NO."'

64
"i lam=te=m? laʔ mane iɲ ter[=e]=iɲ lekin iɲ=te jan abu tar=e=m.
what want=A.PRS=2S then umh 1S give[=A.IRR]=1S but 1S=OBL life NEG.MOD kill=A.IRR=2S
'"WHAT DO YOU WANT? THEN, UMH, I WILL GIVE [IT TO YOU], BUT DON'T KILL ME.'

65
iɲ=a[ʔ] kuɽuʔ[58] hakon=ki ɖel=siʔ=may. ho=ki=te ina jan tar=e=m?"
1S=GEN child ECHO=P come=PERF=3P that=P=OBL why life kill=A.IRR=2S
'MY WHOLE FAMILY HAS COME. WHY WILL YOU KILL THEM?'"

66
gam=oʔ "ʈhik! iɲ=te moɲ mene daɽom ter=e=m, laʔ iɲ mane naiʔ."
say=A.PT O.K. 1S=OBL one CL sacrifice give=A.IRR=2S then 1S umh ?????[59]
'THEN HE (= SATAN) SAID "O.K.! YOU WILL GIVE ME A SACRIFICE, THEN I WILL ?????."'

67
daɽom mane puja. daɽom. ho=jeʔ heke dasara=te.
sacrifie meaning sacrifice sacrifice that=S.NHUM PRS.COP Daśaharā=OBL
'"DAɽOM" MEANS "SACRIFICE". "DAɽOM". THAT IS ON DAŚAHARĀ.'

68
tama arj=ki ɖel=ki=may ro mane ho=ki mane ho ʈhãɽo=ki=te=ga mane
now Aryan=P come=M.PT=3P and umh that=P umh that place=P=OBL=FOC umh

boŋtel puja=na suru=yoʔ=ki.
buffalo sacrifice=INF start=A.PT=P
'NOW THE ARYANS CAME AND, UMH, THEY, UMH, BEGAN TO SACRIFICE BUFFALOES, UMH, AT JUST THOSE PLACES.'

69
ho=jeʔ=ga aw=ki khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ mane daɽom mane daɽom.
that=S.NHUM=FOC COP=M.PT Kharia=P=GEN umh sacrifice umh sacrifice
'THAT WAS THE KHARIA'S, UMH, SACRIFICE, UMH, SACRIFICE.'

70
laʔ harpa mahenjodaɽo hin ompay=aʔ sitil sitil=te=ga paro=ki=may.
then Harappa Mohenjodaro that river=GEN bank REP=OBL=FOC cross=M.PT=3P
'THEN ON THE BANKS OF THE RIVER AT HARAPPA AND MOHENJODARO THEY CROSSED OVER.'

71
u=ti^{ʔ}j paro=na umay pal=oʔ.
this=side cross=INF NEG.3P be.able=A.PT
'[AT FIRST] THEY COULDN'T CROSS OVER [TO] THIS SIDE.'

72
hin ompay=aʔ han parkha paro=ki=may.
that river=GEN that side cross=M.PT=3P
'ON THAT SIDE OF THE RIVER THEY CROSSED OVER.'

---

[58] Standard form: *konɖuʔ*.
[59] None of the other speakers I worked with could interpret this word.

73
laʔ ho boʔ=ki=te aw=ki=may. aw=ki=may harpa=te mane haha rapa,
then that place=P=OBL live=M.PT=3P live=M.PT=3P Harappa=OBL meaning scurrying

luʈa luʈi, hoy=ki=may.
scrambling become=M.PT=3P
'THEN THEY LIVED AT THOSE PLACES. THEY LIVED AT HARAPPA, I.E., "HAHA RAPA",(= "SCURRYING") [WHICH MEANS] "LUʈA LUʈI" (= "SCRAMBLING"), THEY MANAGED TO LIVE (= THEY BECAME).'

74
haha rapa "am pal=e=m no iɲ pal[=e]=iɲ" ho=ghay=ga.
Haha Rapa 2S be.able=A.IRR=2S or 1S be.able=A.IRR=1S that=way=FOC
'HAHA RAPA,"EITHER YOU WILL BE ABLE OR I WILL BE ABLE", LIKE THAT.'[60]

75
laʔ ho tay ho=ki oɖo[ʔ] col=ki=may mahenjodaɽo. mahenjodaɽo=te=ga moɲ
then that ABL (= 'from there') that=P again go=M.PT=3P Mohenjodaro Mohenjodaro=OBL=FOC one

daɽom.
sacrifice
'THEN THEY WENT FROM THERE AGAIN TO MOHENJODARO. AT MOHENJODARO [THEY MADE] A SACRIFICE.'

76
khaɽiya sabda heke mahenjodaɽo. mane "moɲ=jo daɽom".
Kharia word PRS.COP Mohenjodaro meaning one=ADD sacrifice
'"MOHENJODARO" IS A KHARIA WORD. IT MEANS "ONE SACRIFICE ALSO".'

77
"ter=e=m laʔ am=te baɲcay[=e]=iɲ."
give=A.IRR=2S then 2S=OBL save=A.IRR=1S
'"IF YOU GIVE [ME A SACRIFICE] THEN I WILL SPARE YOU."'[61]

78
hin bhere=ga, bomtel[62]=te ɖech=o[ʔ] bhere, iɲam uɖ=na laʔ=ki.
that time=FOC buffalo=OBL cut=A.PT time blood drink=INF IPFV=M.PT
'AT THAT TIME, WHEN HE CUT THE BUFFALO, HE BEGAN[63] TO DRINK ITS BLOOD.'

79
bhere dusman=te tar goʈh=o[ʔ].
time enemy=OBL kill C:TEL=A.PT
'[AT THAT] TIME HE KILLED THE ENEMY.'

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[60] This is meant as an explanation of Kharia *haha rapa* / Hindi *luʈā luʈī* 'scurrying, scrambling', something along the lines of "We both scramble for something, but either you will get it or I will." (hence 'they managed [to live]' for *hoy=ki=may* in line 73, an interpretation offered by other speakers while discussing this text). The speaker here is offering an etymology of the name "Harappa", a site at which – similar to Mohenjodaro – remains of what has come to be known as the "Indus Valley Civilization" have been found.
[61] This passage refers back to the discussion in lines 60-69 above between Hondo and Satan.
[62] Standard form: *boŋtel*.
[63] On the use of the "imperfective" marker *laʔ* with an inceptive function, see note 36. For further examples, see line 80 below and notes 49, 181, 250, 266, and 272.

80
bomtel tar=oʔ iɲam uɖ=na laʔ=ki bhere dusman=te=ga buʈha tar goʈh=o[ʔ].
buffalo kill=A.PT blood drink=INF IPFV=M.PT time enemy=OBL=FOC old.man kill C:TEL=A.PT
'WHEN HE KILLED THE BUFFALO AND BEGAN TO DRINK ITS BLOOD, THE ELDER KILLED THE ENEMY (= SATAN).'

81
la[ʔ] hindu … hondo buʈha ɲimi=te=ga[64] iɳḍiya hoy=ki.
then Hindu Hondo old.man name=OBL=FOC India become=M.PT
'THEN HINDU, … THROUGH THE ELDER HONDO'S NAME "INDIA" CAME INTO BEING.'

82
hondo=wa[ʔ]ɲimi=te=ga iɳḍiya ke souʔb se pahala. tama tin cair ʈho ɲimi hoy=ki.
Hondo=GEN name=OBL=FOC India ?? GEN all INST first now three four CL name become=M.PT
'THROUGH HONDO'S NAME, "INDIA" FIRST [AROSE]. NOW THERE HAVE ARISEN (= BECOME) 3 OR 4 NAMES.'

83
aḍ=ki=ko mane ɖel=ki=may. arjowar gam dakha=yoʔ=ki.
ANAPH=P=CNTR umh come=M.PT=3P Aryavarta say CONAT=A.PT=P
'THEY [I.E., OTHERS], UMH, CAME. THEY TRIED TO CALL (= SAY) [INDIA] "ARYAVARTA".'[65]

84
arjowar. lekin arjowar berjumay [= ber=jo umay] gam=te.
Aryavarta but Aryavarta who=ADD NEG.3P say=A.PRS
'ARYAVARTA. BUT NOBODY SAYS "ARYAVARTA".'

85
bharat mane raj karay=oʔ.
Bharat umh rule do=A.PT
'BHARAT, UMH, RULED.'

86
ram=aʔ bhai=ɖom …, hin bhere ram=te mane "bharat"=ko gam=te=ki.
Ram=GEN brother=3POSS …, that time Ram=OBL umh Bharat=CNTR say=A.PRS=P
'RAM'S BROTHER …, AT THAT TIME, THEY CALL RAM, UMH, "BHARAT".'[66]

87
laʔ=ko bilkul seŋ hindo…, hondo buʈha=ya[ʔ],… khaṛiya buʈha souʔb se
then=CNTR (= 'but') very first Hindo Hondo old.man=GEN Kharia old.man all INST

pahile elam tay ɖel=ki.
first Elam ABL come=M.PT
'BUT IN THE VERY BEGINNING, THE ELDER HINDO …, HONDO'S … THE KHARIA ELDER CAME FIRST FROM ELAM.'

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[64] Recall that this speaker occasionally uses the oblique marker *=te* with an instrumental meaning instead of the instrumental postposition *buŋ*, which is more common in this function (cf. lines 16 and 39 above).
[65] *āryāvarta-* is a Sanskrit name referring to northern India and means, roughly, 'abode of the Aryans'. Note also the highly unusual use of the anaphoric *aḍ=ki* here, which otherwise always refers back to a referent in the last sentence or earlier in the same sentence. Its use here is probably a slip of the tongue.
[66] Note that *bhārat* is the commonly used name for India in Indo-Aryan languages. Like *āryāvarta-* it too derives from Sanskrit (*bhārata-*) and means roughly 'belonging to or descending from Bharata-', in this case 'the [country] belonging to Bharata-'.

88
ho buɽha=yaʔ ɲimi=ga hindustan, ho=jeʔ=ga iɳɖiya gam=te=ki.
that old.man=GEN name=FOC Hindustan that=S.NHUM=FOC India say=A.PRS=P
'THAT ELDER'S NAME, HINDUSTAN, THEY CALL IT "INDIA".'

89
laʔ ho=te=ga bohut dinu aw=ki=may.
then that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC many day live=M.PT=3P
'THEN THEY STAYED THERE MANY DAYS.'

90
laʔ u …, u=jeʔ …, bohut dinu aw=ki=may ro hoɖom iɲam[67]=ki, koɽa=ki,
then this this=S.NHUM many day live=M.PT=3P and other clan=P Mundari=P

bolan ghaʈi tay…, aphganistan biru pahaɽ=te aw=ki=may.
Bolan little.valley ABL Afghanistan mountain mountain=OBL live=M.PT=3P
'THEN THIS …, IT …, THEY STAYED MANY DAYS AND OTHER CLANS, [SUCH AS] THE MUNDARI, … FROM THE BOLAN PASS …, THEY LIVED IN THE MOUNTAINS OF AFGHANISTAN.'

91
ro ho=ki aphganistan hoy=kan bolan ghaʈi=te koɽa=ki pare=ki=may.[68]
and that=P Afghanistan COP=SEQ Bolan little.valley=OBL Mundari=P cross.over=M.PT=3P
'AND HAVING BEEN IN AFGHANISTAN, THEY, THE MUNDARI, CROSSED OVER THE BOLAN PASS.'

92
oɖoʔ niga=ki aw=ki=may. khaybar ghaʈi tay are=ki=may.
and Kurukh=P live=M.PT=3P Khyber little.valley ABL descend=M.PT=3P
'AND THE KURUKH LIVED [THERE]. THEY DESCENDED FROM THE KHYBER PASS.'

93
u=tiʔj tay u bhag=te khaɽiya u=ghay are=ki.[69]
this=side ABL this part=OBL Kharia this=way descend=M.PT
'FROM THIS SIDE TO THIS PART THE KHARIA THUS DESCENDED.'

94
[… u=ki …] lekin souʔb se pahila khaɽiya=ki hindustan=te ten=siʔ=may. souʔb se pahila.
this= P but all INST first Kharia=P India=OBL step=PERF=3P all INST first
'BUT THE KHARIA SET FOOT FIRST IN INDIA. [THEY WERE THE] VERY FIRST.'

95
laʔ u=ki=te ho=ki gam=oʔ: "e dada, ele=jo ɖel=ki=le. ʈhãɽo
then this=P=OBL that=P say=A.PT hey elder.brother 1P.EXCL=ADD come=M.PT=1P.EXCL place

ter=e=m"
give=A.IRR=2S
'THEN THEY [= KURUKH] SAID TO THESE [= KHARIA]: "HEY ELDER BROTHERS, WE ALSO CAME. GIVE US LAND (= A PLACE).'"

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[67] *iɲam* 1. 'blood'; 2. 'clan'.
[68] Standard form: *paro=ki=may*.
[69] Note the use of the singular form *are=ki* with a plural and human subject, although the "subject" is not overtly marked as plural (*khaɽiya*). Cf. also line 95, with an overt "subject" in the plural but where the predicate is unmarked for plurality (*hoki gamoʔ*).

96
no "hã re, konon kaɽ." mane gam=te "hã re, konon kaɽ. ter[=e]=iŋ.
CMPL yes VOC small person umh say=A.PRS yes VOC small person give=A.IRR=1S
'[HE[70] SAID] "YES, SMALL PERSON." UMH … HE SAYS "YES SMALL PERSON. I WILL GIVE [YOU LAND].'

97
mane sou^{ʔ}b se choʈa bhai am heke=m. ter[=e]=iŋ!"
umh all INST small brother 2S PRS.COP=2S give=A.IRR=1S
'UMH, YOU ARE THE SMALLEST BROTHER OF ALL. I WILL GIVE [YOU LAND]!'"

98
u=ghay gam=te ro mane ho=ki sou^{ʔ}b mane aw=ki=may.
this=way say=A.PRS and umh that=P all umh live=M.PT=3P
'HE SPEAKS LIKE THIS AND, UMH, THEY ALL, UMH, LIVED [THERE TOGETHER].'

99
laʔ ho=ki bijnaga … ro tetraga ho=ki basa=yoʔ=ki.
then that=P Vijayanagar and Tetraga that=P settle=A.PT=P
'THEN THEY SETTLED [IN] VIJAYANAGAR … AND TETRAGA.'

100
lekin khaɽiya, mahenjodaɽo ro haɽpa[71] khaɽiya=ki=yaʔbasa-l aw=ki.
but Kharia Mohenjodaro and Harappa Kharia=P=GEN live-PTCP COP=M.PT
'BUT THE KHARIA…, MOHENJODARO AND HARAPPA WERE SETTLEMENTS OF THE KHARIA.'

101
ho=te sou^{ʔ}b lebu aw go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki=may. sahar bane=ki bhere sou^{ʔ}b lebu
that=OBL(= 'there') all person live C:TEL=M.PT=3P city become=M.PT time all person

aw go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki=may.
live C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'ALL THE PEOPLE SETTLED DOWN THERE. WHEN THE CITY WAS FOUNDED (= BECAME), ALL THE PEOPLE SETTLED DOWN [THERE].'

102
seŋ ɖel-ɖel=aʔ lebu sou^{ʔ}b ho=te=ga aw go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki=may.
first come-RDP=FOC[72] person all that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC live C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'THE PEOPLE WHO CAME FIRST ALL SETTLED DOWN THERE.'

103
laʔ ho tay=ga jab u=ki=yaʔ laɽai=jo hoy=ki laʔ iran irak=a[ʔ]
then that ABL=FOC(= 'from there') CR:when this=P=GEN war=ADD become=M.PT then Iran Irak=GEN

raja arjamihrir aw=ki, arjamihir. iran irak=a[ʔ] raja.
king Aryamihir COP=M.PT Aryamihir Iran Irak=GEN king

[70] The subject is now once again Hondo, no longer the Kharia. These events would appear to refer to the arrival of the Kurukh in Jharkhand several centuries ago and not to any extremely distant past. The Kurukh were the last of the "tribals" to settle in Jharkhand, where they largely settled in areas where the Kharia had been living until then.
[71] Standard form: *harpa*.
[72] The use of the focus marker *=aʔ* here was rejected as ungrammatical by other speakers.

'THEN, FROM THERE, WHEN THEY WENT TO WAR (= WHEN THEIR WAR BECAME), THEN ARYAMIHRIR WAS THE KING OF IRAN AND IRAK, ARYAMIHIR. IRAN AND IRAK'S KING.'[73]

104
mane u=te yo=yoʔ=ki bohut loʔɖho bohut-sa sampati sona cãdi buŋ bhara-l ayiʔj.
umh this=OBL see=A.PT=P much after much-APPROX wealth gold silver INST fill-PTCP PRS.COP
'UMH, THEY SAW THIS, MUCH LATER, [THAT THE KHARIA'S SETTLEMENT] IS FILLED WITH MUCH WEALTH - GOLD AND SILVER.'

105
lusu=na thoŋ arjamihir=ki ɖel=ki=may.
plunder=INF PURP Aryamihir=P come=M.PT=3P
'ARYAMIHIR [AND HIS SOLDIERS] CAME TO PLUNDER.'

106
arja, mane, raja ɲimi arjamihir aw=ki.
Aryan umh king name Aryamihir COP=M.PT
'ARYA, UMH, THE KING'S NAME WAS "ARYAMIHIR."'

107
ho=kaɽ=a[ʔ] ɲimi=te=ga arja gam=te=ki. u=te hindustan=te arjowar=ki
that=S.HUM=GEN name=OBL=FOC Arya say=A.PRS=P this=OBL(= 'here') Hindustan=OBL Aryavarta=P

arj=ki=yaʔ raj heke[74]…, gam=te=ki.
Aryan=P=GEN kingdom PRS.COP say=A.PRS=P
'HIS NAME THEY CALL "ARYA". THE ARYAVARTANS CALL IT, HINDUSTAN, THE KINGDOM OF THE ARYANS.'

108
laʔ ho=ki ɖel=ki=may mar piʈ karay=oʔ=ki laɽe=ki=may lekin u=ki=te,
then that=P come=M.PT=3P killing beating do=A.PT=P fight=M.PT=3P but this=P=OBL

u=kiyar=te,[75] laɽai=yaʔ mane koi awjar um aw=ki. jiseki mane hare=ki=may.
this=HON/D?=OBL war=GEN umh INDEF tool NEG COP=M.PT therefore umh be.defeated=M.PT=3P
'THEN THEY CAME AND KILLED AND BEAT [THE KHARIA] AND FOUGHT BUT THEY [= THE KHARIA] HAD NO WEAPONS (= TOOLS OF WAR). THEREFORE, THEY [= THE KHARIA] WERE DEFEATED.'

109
hare=ki=may. laʔ haʔdo yar=oʔ daksin tiʔj, khaɽiya=ki=ko
be.defeated=M.PT=3P then half flee=A.PT south direction Kharia=P=CNTR

"munuʔsiŋ tiʔj=ga yar=e=m" gam=sikh=oʔ suru tay=ga.
east direction=FOC flee=A.IRR=2S say=PERF=A.PT beginning ABL=FOC

[73] The form *arjamihrir* here was considered a mispronunciation by the speaker, who corrects it here to *arjamihir* and sticks with this later as well (e.g. line 105).
[74] The insertion of *heke* 'is' is a slip of the tongue, which the speaker himself immediately corrected, since *hindustan=te* is marked as an object.
[75] *u=kiyar=te* in 108 is apparently a "correction" to the dual but it is not exactly clear why. Perhaps both the Kharia and the Kurukh are meant, as in this part of the narrative both groups are living in the same area. Note that this is not carried over into the last sentence of 108, where the object of the first sentence, *u=kiyar=te*, also serves as the (non-overt) subject of the last sentence, although the predicate is marked for a plural subject.

'THEY WERE DEFEATED. THEN HALF FLED SOUTHWARDS BUT THE KHARIA, [REMEMBERING] FROM THE BEGINNING [THAT GOD] HAD SAID "YOU SHALL FLEE EASTWARDS", [FLED EASTWARDS].'[76]

(inaudible text)

110
muʔ=ki=may hin bhere tay=ga munuʔsiŋ mane
emerge=M.PT=3P that time ABL=FOC east i.e.

[in Hindi]"sūraj jidhar udhar ugtā hai udhar tum jānā".
'You are to go where the sun rises'
'FROM THAT TIME THEY SET OUT TOWARDS THE EAST (= *munuʔsiŋ*) I.E., [IN HINDI] "YOU ARE TO GO WHERE THE SUN RISES".'

111
u gam=sikh=oʔ hin=ti^{ʔ}j tay munuʔsiŋ ti^{ʔ}j ɖel=ki=may.
this say=PERF=A.PT that=side ABL east direction come=M.PT=3P
'[GOD] HAD SAID THIS, FROM THERE THEY CAME EASTWARDS.'

112
laʔ ho tay yar=oʔ=ki ajo^{ʔ}ɖ-ɖaʔ. ajo^{ʔ}ɖ-ɖaʔ mane ajodh mane no
then that ABL(= 'from there') flee=A.PT=P dry-water(= 'Ayodhya') dry-water i.e. Ayodhya umh and

ɖel-ɖaʔ-pur mane ɖel-ɖaʔ-pur mane "dilli"=te gam=te=ki.
come-water-city(= 'Delhi') i.e. come-water-city umh Delhi=OBL say=A.PRS=P
'THEN FROM THERE THEY FLED TO AJODAʔ. "AJODAʔ" MEANS "AYODHYA", AND "DELDAʔPUR", UMH, "DELDAʔPUR" THEY CALL "DELHI".'[77]

113
ɖel-ɖaʔ-pur dilli tay ho=ghay=ga yar=ga yarga oɖoʔ
come-water-city Delhi ABL that=way=FOC flee=FOC REP and

ho=ki botoŋ=ko[78] [mo…] bohut=ki=te kaʈ mar khun khatara hoy=ki.
that=P get.afraid=CNTR much=P=OBL cut kill blood danger happen=M.PT
'FLEEING FROM DELDAʔPUR/DELHI THEY [BECAME] AFRAID [AND] MANY WERE KILLED AND BEATEN (= CUTTING, KILLING, BLOOD AND DANGER HAPPENED TO MANY).'

114
laʔ kabhi[79] ho=ki umay yar=sikh=oʔ mar kaʈ khun khatara hin hisab se
then INDEF that=P NEG.3P flee=PERF=A.PT killing cutting blood danger that account INST

botoŋ buŋ ho tay=jo oɖoʔ lebu=ki=te yo=yoʔ=ki ro oɖoʔ mane
fear INST that ABL(= 'from there') =ADD other person=P=OBL see=A.PT=P and again umh

yar=oʔ=ki ajoɖa [ʔ]. je=ki…, hindustan=aʔ…, ram=aʔ janam hoy=sikh=oʔ hin bhere.
flee=A.PT=P Ayodhya CR:who Hindustan=GEN Ram=GEN birth happen=PERF=A.PT that time

[76] The other "half" would seem to be the Kurukh and the Mundari / Kherwarians, who the speaker earlier had said were living with the Kharia.
[77] Forms such as *ajo^{ʔ}ɖ-ɖaʔ* and *ɖel-ɖaʔ* are examples of the incorporation of one-time clausal constituents (usually the subject or object) into the predicate. This process is no longer productive in Kharia.
[78] Or perhaps *botoŋ=ke* 'get.afraid=SEQ' = 'having become afraid' is meant?
[79] *kabhi* in Hindi means 'sometimes', but the meaning here seems to be 'some'. Similarly line 171 below.

'THEN SOME HAD NOT FLED, ON ACCOUNT OF THE KILLINGS AND BEATINGS AND OTHER DANGERS, IN FEAR, FROM THERE AS WELL, THEY SAW OTHER PEOPLE AND AGAIN, UMH, THEY FLED TO AYODHYA. WHO …, HINDUSTAN'S …, IT HAPPENED AT THE TIME OF RAM'S BIRTH.'[80]

115
"ram=aʔ" khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ ray-ray ɲimi heke.
Ram=FOC Kharia=P=GEN choose-RDP name PRS.COP
'"RAM" IS THE NAME CHOSEN BY THE KHARIA (= THE KHARIA'S CHOSEN NAME).'

116
pahan "mohti" gam=te=ki laʔ aniŋ=a[ʔ] mane "kalo" gam=te=ki, "kalo" gam=te.[81]
priest Mohti say=A.PRS=P then 1P.INCL=GEN umh Kalo say=A.PRS=P Kalo say=A.PRS
'THEY CALL THE PRIEST "MOHTI", THEN OURS [= OUR PRIESTS], UMH, THEY CALL "KALO", THEY SAY "KALO".'

117
laʔ tama lebu=ki, hoɖom iŋam=ki bamhan=te=ga ɲimi ray=na gam=te=ki.
so now person=P other blood=P Brahman=OBL=FOC name choose=INF say=A.PRS=P
'SO NOW, PEOPLE, OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS (= BLOODS) TELL THE BRAHMANS TO CHOOSE A NAME.'

118
la[ʔ] ho bhere aniŋ=a[ʔ] bamhan=aʔ pad aw=ki. hin bhere gam=oʔ=ki "ram=e la!
so that time 1P.INCL=GEN Brahman=GEN job COP=M.PT that time say=A.PT=3P choose=A.IRR VOC
'SO AT THAT TIME, OUR BRAHMAN HAD THE JOB. THEY SAID [TO HIM] AT THAT TIME: "YOU CHOOSE [A NAME]!'

119
u=kaɽ=aʔ ɲimi ray=e!". ray=na u=kaɽ=aʔ ɲimi, ram. "ram=e la,
this=S.HUM=GEN name choose=A.IRR choose=INF this=S.HUM=GEN name Ram choose=A.IRR VOC

rame la!"[82]
REP
'CHOOSE HIS NAME!" "CHOOSE", HIS NAME [BECAME] "RAM". "YOU CHOOSE, YOU CHOOSE!"'

120
ho rame=na=te jab aba=ɖom gam=te:
that choose=INF=OBL CR:when father=3POSS say=A.PRS

"bohut sundar nam dela, beʈa. eihe nam rahi, baba. ʈhik heke ram hi, rahi ram.",
[In Sadri: "He will give him a good name, son. That shall be the name, child. Ram is good, He shall be Ram.]

'THEN, THROUGH THAT "RAMENA", WHEN THE FATHER SAYS: [IN SADRI] "HE WILL GIVE HIM A GOOD NAME, SON. THAT SHALL BE THE NAME, CHILD. RAM IS GOOD, HE SHALL BE RAM",'

[80] Due to the large number of false starts, the syntax in this passage is somewhat erratic.
[81] Note that here, as often, the speaker marks the predicate as 3rd person, singular although the subject is human and plural. In this case, this occurs despite the fact that he has just given the same predicate referring to the same subject in the 3rd person, plural and is merely repeating himself here.
[82] Note that there are two variant forms for 'choose' being used here: *ram* and *ray*. In line 121 below, yet another, *cunay*, is also found.

121
tab ho=te khaɽiya=kiyar=aʔ ram=na=ga mane cunay=na ɲimi mane
then that=OBL(= 'there') Kharia=HON=GEN choose=INF=FOC umh choose=INF name umh

khaɽiya=ki=ga ray=oʔ=ki.
Kharia=P=FOC choose=A.PT=P
'THEN, THERE, THE KHARIA'S (S, HON) CHOOSING, UMH, THE KHARIA (P) CHOSE, UMH, THE CHOOSING NAME (= "RAM").'[83]

122
hin=ti^{ʔ}j tay lebu=ki ḍheir ḍisaʔ u=ghay=ga ḍel=ki=may laʔ ho=te
that=direction ABL person=P very far this=way=FOC come=M.PT=3P then that=OBL(= 'there')

ray=oʔ=ki.
choose=A.PT=P
'FROM THERE THE PEOPLE THUS CAME VERY FAR AND THEN THEY CHOSE [THE NAME] THERE.

123
bohut dinu laʔ ajo^{ʔ}ḍ-ḍaʔ=te mane ho=ki=te beto^{ʔ}ḍ-ḍaʔ laʔ=ki bhere
much day then dry-water(= Ayodhya)=OBL umh that=P=OBL hunger-water EMOT=M.PT time

ho=ki gam=oʔ=ki…, "ḍel=ki=may, laʔ ajo^{ʔ}ḍ-ḍaʔ=siʔ."
that=P say=A.PT=P come=M.PT=3P then dry-water=PERF
'[THEY HAD STAYED] MANY DAYS AT AYODHYA, UMH, AND WHEN THEY BECAME THIRSTY, THEY SAID…, "THEY CAME, THEN THE WATER DRIED UP" [I.E., BECAUSE SO MANY PEOPLE CAME AND DRANK THE WATER, IT'S ALL GONE].'

124
"ajo^{ʔ}ḍ-ḍaʔ" mane kaɽi^{ʔ}j kaɽi^{ʔ}j chipir chipir ḍaʔ ayi^{ʔ}j. ho=jeʔ gam=oʔ=ki.
dry-water meaning little REP little REP water PRS.COP that=S.NHUM say=A.PT=P
'"*ajoʔḍ-ḍaʔ*" MEANS THAT THERE IS VERY LITTLE WATER. THEY SAID THAT.'[84]

125
"u=te=ko la[ʔ] ajo^{ʔ}ḍ-ḍaʔ=ki. "kado walo ḍaʔ" mane tobḍaʔ kaɽi^{ʔ}j kaɽi^{ʔ}j
this=OBL(= 'here')=CNTR then dry-water=M.PT mud ECHO water meaning mud little REP

ḍaʔ ayi^{ʔ}j.
water PRS.COP
'"HERE THE WATER DRIED UP. MUDDY WATER, I.E., "*tobḍaʔ*" (= 'MUD'), IS VERY LITTLE WATER.'

126
tobḍaʔ ḍaʔ=te i=ghay uḍ=e=niŋ? yar=e=niŋ!" oḍoʔ mugam ti^{ʔ}j.
mud water=OBL what=way drink=A.IRR=1P.INCL flee=A.IRR=1P.INCL more front direction
'HOW WILL WE DRINK MUDDY WATER? LET US FLEE!" [AND THEY CONTINUED] FURTHER FORWARD.'

127
la[ʔ] ho=ki u=ghay=ga ajo^{ʔ}ḍ-ḍaʔ tay dhirom-boʔ oḍoʔ paro=ki=may
then that=P this=way=FOC dry-water(= 'Ayodhya') ABL slow-INTENS more cross.over=M.PT=3P

kanpur ḍel=ki=may.
Cawnpur come=M.PT=3P

[83] Syntax somewhat unclear.
[84] This is intended to be an etymology of the name "Ayodhya" from the Kharia *ajo^{ʔ}ḍ-ḍaʔ*.

'THEN IN THIS WAY THEY VERY SLOWLY CROSSED OVER FROM AYODHYA FURTHER AND CAME TO CAWNPUR.'

128
laʔ ho=te gam=te=ki "ɖheir ɖisaʔ kaŋ goʔɖ=ki=niŋ, kaŋ goʔɖkiniŋ.
then that=OBL(= 'there') say=A.PRS=P very far get.lost C:TEL=M.PT=1P.INCL REP
'THEN THEY SAY THERE "WE [HAVE WALKED] VERY FAR [AND] GOT LOST, WE GOT LOST.'

129
ɖheir ɖisaʔ paro goʔɖ=ki=niŋ kaŋ goʔɖ=ki=niŋ.
very far cross.over C:TEL=M.PT=1P.INCL get.lost C:TEL=M.PT=1P.INCL
'WE CROSSED VERY FAR AND WE GOT LOST.'

130
laʔ etna ɖisaʔ kaŋ goʔɖ=ki=niŋ je i=ghay=na?"
then so.much far get.lost C:TEL=M.PT=1P.INCL CR what=way=M.IRR
'WE HAVE BEEN LOST FOR SUCH A LONG DISTANCE THAT WE WON'T FIND OUR WAY (= HOW WILL IT BECOME)?'"

131
laʔ ho=te yo=yoʔ=ki la[ʔ] ho tay oɖoʔ ɖel=ki=may.
then that=OBL(= 'there') see=A.PT=P then that ABL(= 'from there') again come=M.PT=3P
'THEN THEY SAW THERE [= THEY LOOKED AROUND THE PLACE WHERE THEY WERE] AND CAME FROM THERE ONCE AGAIN.'

132
la[ʔ] ho=ghay=ga oɖoʔ paro=ki=may. "umboʔ. ani yar=te=niŋ!"
then that=way=FOC again cross.over=M.PT=3P no come.on! flee=A.PRS=1P.INCL
'THEN IN THAT WAY THEY CROSSED OVER AGAIN. "NO. COME ON, LET'S FLEE!'"

133
yar=oʔ=ki. laʔ ilahabad=te ɖam=ki=may.
flee=A.PT=P then Allahabad=OBL arrive=M.PT=3P
'THEY FLED. THEN THEY ARRIVED IN ALLAHABAD.'

134
laʔ ilahabad=te ho=ki u=tiʔj tay jamuna ompay u=tiʔj tay gaŋga
then Allahabad=OBL that=P this=side ABL Yamuna river this=side ABL Ganges

jume=siʔ=kiyar moʔjhi=te ɖel goʔɖ=ki=kiyar.[85]
meet=PERF=D middle=OBL come C:TEL=M.PT=D
'THEN IN ALLAHABAD THEY CAME TO THE MIDDLE [OF] WHERE THE RIVER YAMUNA FROM THIS SIDE [AND] THE GANGES FROM THIS SIDE MEET (= HAVE MET).'

[85] The use of the dual here, although the subject is 3rd person, plural, human, is perhaps due to interference from the marking for the 3rd person, dual on the previous predicate, where the subject is the two rivers Ganges and Yamuna.
For what is probably a different version of this story, see [MT, 1:121ff.] below.

135
ab ho=ki[86] yo=te=ki no dusman=ki dhirom dhirom baɽhe=ta^{ʔ}j=ki.
now that=P see=A.PRS=P CMPL enemy=P slow REP advance=M.PROG=P
'NOW THEY SEE THAT THE ENEMY IS SLOWLY ADVANCING [FROM BEHIND THEM].'
136
mane u=ki=te ɲon=na=ʔ thoŋ, "u=ki=te ɲon=ga goɽ=e=niŋ" gam=na=ʔ
umh this=P=OBL drive(an.ox)=INF=GEN PURP this=P=OBL drive=FOC C:TEL=A.IRR=1P.INCL say=INF=FOC

mane ho=ki dhirom dhirom poɲjiyay=ga ol=te=ki[87] hin bhere
umh that=P slow REP follow.footsteps=FOC V2:bring=A.PRS=P that time

ho=ki yar=ga ɖel=ta^{ʔ}j=ki.
that=P flee=FOC come=M.PROG=P
'UMH, IN ORDER TO DRIVE THEM [= THE KHARIA] ON, SAYING "WE WILL DRIVE THEM OUT!", UMH, THEY [= THE ENEMY] SLOWLY FOLLOWED THEIR FOOTSTEPS, AT THAT TIME THEY [= THE KHARIA] CAME FLEEING.'

137
laʔ gaŋga yamuna moʔjhi saŋgam=te ɖam go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki=ki.
then Ganges Yamuna middle confluence=OBL arrive C:TEL=M.PT=P
'THEN THEY ARRIVED AT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE GANGES AND THE YAMUNA.'

138
hin bhere mane yo=te=ki u=ti^{ʔ}j heke jamuna u=ti^{ʔ}j, u=ti^{ʔ}j=jo heke gaŋga.
that time umh see=A.PRS=P this=side PRS.COP Yamuna this=side this=side=ADD PRS.COP Ganges
'AT THAT TIME, UMH, THEY SEE [THAT] THIS SIDE IS THE YAMUNA, THIS SIDE, AND THIS SIDE IS THE GANGES.'

139
laʔ iyam=ta=ki[88] lebu=ki: "hare! ab=ko aniŋ um=niŋ baɲce=na!
then cry.out=M.PRS=P person=P Oh! now=CNTR 1P.INCL NEG=1P.INCL be.saved=M.IRR
'THEN THE PEOPLE CRY OUT: "OH! NOW WE WILL NOT BE SAVED!'

140
tribhuj=te ɖam go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki=niŋ! u=ti^{ʔ}j=jo u=ti^{ʔ}j=ko moɲ bhag heke.
triangle=OBL arrive C:TEL=M.PT=1P.INCL this=side=ADD this=side=CNTR one part PRS.COP
'WE ARRIVED IN A TRIANGLE![89] ON BOTH SIDES THERE IS A PART [OF THE RIVER].'

141
u=ti^{ʔ}j tay lebu ɖel=ta^{ʔ}j=ki ro u=ti^{ʔ}j=jo jamuna u=ti^{ʔ}j gaŋga
this=side ABL person come=M.PROG=P and this=side=ADD Yamuna this=direction Ganges

maha ompay.
great river

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[86] Text: *ho=ki=te*. Occasionally, this speaker marks definite "subject NPs" with the oblique marker *=te*, which is otherwise only found with "object NPs" and adjuncts (cf. also e.g. lines 179, 311). As this use of *=te* is exceedingly rare and is always found in the beginning of the clause, I will consider these instances to be false starts and will correct them in the text, pointing them out only in the notes.
It could, however, also be a dialectal feature of this speaker, as similar examples are to be found in text MS:1, whose speaker is from the same region, although it is just as rare in that text. This topic requires further research.
[87] The use of *ol* as a "V2" is very seldom. It would seem to be one of the many telicizing V2s of Kharia, although its exact function is somewhat unclear.
[88] Standard form: *iɲam=ta=ki*.
[89] This is in reference to the shape of the island at the confluence of the two rivers.

'PEOPLE ARE COMING FROM THIS DIRECTION AND [ON] THIS SIDE [IS] THE YAMUNA [AND ON] THIS SIDE [IS] THE GANGES, THE GREAT RIVER.'

142
i=ghay paro=na=niŋ? hãyre baba!"
what=way cross.over=M.IRR=1P.INCL Oh God!
'HOW WILL WE CROSS OVER? OH GOD!'"
143
laʔ ho=te iyam=taʔj=ki jaisan israil=ki ompay laŋghe=na bhere botoŋ=taʔj=ki.
then that=OBL(= 'there') cry.out=M.PRS=P CR:like Israeli=P river cross=INF time fear=M.PROG=P
'THEN THEY ARE CRYING OUT LIKE THE ISRAELIS ARE AFRAID WHEN CROSSING THE RIVER (= THE RED SEA) (= AT THE RIVER CROSSING TIME).'[90]

144
u=tiʔj dusman ro mugam=te samudar.
this=side enemy and front=OBL ocean
'ON THIS SIDE THE ENEMY AND IN FRONT THE OCEAN. (IN REFERENCE TO THE ISRAELIS FLEEING EGYPT)'

145
"i=ghay paro=na=niŋ?"
what=way cross.over=M.IRR=1P.INCL
'"HOW WILL WE CROSS OVER?"'

146
ʈhik. u=ki=yaʔ=jo ho dasa hoy=ki. laʔ i=ghay?
O.K. this=P=GEN=ADD that situation COP=M.PT then what=way
'OK, THAT WAS THEIR SITUATION. SO HOW [WERE THEY TO GET OUT]?'

147
bhere ho=ki sandeh karay=oʔ=ki…, i=jo sak umay karay=oʔ,
time that=P doubt do=A.PT=P what=ADD doubt NEG.3P do=A.PT
'[AT THAT] TIME THEY DOUBTED, … THEY DIDN'T DOUBT AT ALL,

148
ro oreʔj=ki=ya[ʔ] patta=te on goʈh=oʔ=ki.
and ox=P=GEN tail=OBL place C:TEL=A.PT=P
'AND THEY GRABBED (= PLACED [THEIR HANDS] ON) THE OXEN'S TAILS.'

149
laʔ oreʔj=ki=ya[ʔ] patta=te=ga dho[ʔ]=ta dho[ʔ]ta gaŋga ro jamuna paroʔ=ki=may.[91]
then ox=P=GEN tail=OBL=FOC grab=CONV REP Ganges and Yamuna cross.over=M.PT=3P
'THEN, HOLDING ON TO (= GRABBING) THE OXEN'S TAILS, THEY CROSSED OVER THE GANGES AND THE YAMUNA.'

150
raij des paʈna rohtasgaʈh ro u=tiʔj baisali tiʔj paro goʔɖ=ki=may.
Raij country[92] Patna Rohitasgarh and this=side Vaishali side cross.over C:TEL=M.PT=3P

[90] Note the (rare) use here of the "present progressive" to denote ongoing actions in the past. I consider this to be a kind of "historical present".
[91] Standard form: *paro=ki=may*.

'THEY CROSSED THROUGH THE RAIJ COUNTRY, PATNA, ROHITASGARH, AND IN THIS DIRECTION, TOWARDS VAISHALI.'

151
laʔ u=ghay karay=kan mane u=ki ɖel=ki=may. aniŋ=aʔ baɽhe=ga ɖel=ki=may.
then this=way do=SEQ umh this=P come=M.PT=3P 1P.INCL=GEN proceed=FOC come=M.PT=3P
'THEN, HAVING DONE THUS, UMH, THEY CAME. OUR [ANCESTORS] CAME PROCEEDING [FORWARD].'

152
laʔ u=te ɖheirtoʔ aw=ki=may raij=ki=ko karay=oʔ=ki.
then this=OBL(= 'here') much day live=M.PT=3P kingdom=P=CNTR do=A.PT=P
'THEN THEY LIVED HERE FOR A LONG TIME (= MANY DAYS) [AND] FOUNDED KINGDOMS.'

153
laʔ ho=te khali khaɽiya bheir aw=ki=may oɖoʔ hoɖom jait=ko mane
then that=OBL(= 'there') only Kharia much live=M.PT=3P and other ethnic.group=CNTR umh

ho=ki kuday=ga ol=te^{ʔ}j=ki.
that=P chase=FOC V2:bring=A.PROG=P
'THEN ONLY KHARIA LIVED THERE AND THEY DRIVE AWAY THE OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS.'

154
laʔ ɖheir to aw=ki=may. laʔ ho=te yo=yoʔ=ki no "aniŋ ɖheir ɖisa[ʔ]
then much TOP live=M.PT=3P then that=OBL(= 'there') see=A.PT=P CMPL 1P.INCL much far

ɖel=ki=niŋ tama=ko dusman ɖe=na.
come=M.PT=1P.INCL now=CNTR enemy come=M.IRR
'THEN THEY STAYED FOR A LONG TIME. THEN THEY SAW THAT "WE CAME VERY FAR BUT NOW OUR ENEMY WILL COME.'

155
laʔ ho ompay=ga chekay[=e]. ho gaŋga ompay jamuna.
then that river=FOC stop=A.IRR that Ganges river Yamuna
'THEN THAT RIVER WILL STOP [THEM]. THAT GANGES RIVER [AND] YAMUNA.'

156
u=ti^{ʔ}j=ko paro=na umay pal=e. paidal=ko paro=na heke
this=side=CNTR cross=INF NEG.3P be.able=A.IRR on.foot=CNTR cross=INF PRS.COP
'THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CROSS TO THIS SIDE. THEY HAVE TO CROSS ON FOOT.'

157
samudar lekhe ompay=ki boɽe boɽe. laʔ ho=te paro=na muskil heke."
ocean like river=P big REP then that=OBL(= 'there') cross=INF difficult PRS.COP
'THE RIVERS ARE VERY FULL (= BIG), LIKE AN OCEAN. THEN IT IS DIFFICULT TO CROSS THERE.'"

158
jeʔ tama hontay, laʔ pa[ʔ]ʈopur gam=te…, laʔ pa[ʔ]ʈopur=te gam=oʔ=ki.
3S.NHUM now indeed then PaʔtopurSay=A.PRS then PaʔtopurSay=OBL Say=A.PT=P
'NOW INDEED…, THEN THEY NAMED IT PAʔTOPUR [= PATNA].'

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[92] The usual meaning of *raij* is 'kingdom', but it seems here to be the name of a region whose identity is unknown. As Rotasgarh is often referred to as *raygaɽh*, *raijdes* may refer to the area around Rohtasgarh or that between Rohtasgarh and Patna. Cf. also Rae Bareli?

159
"laʔ aniŋ=te aniŋ=aʔ purkha olsoʔol[93]=oʔ. laʔ ho=ki=yaʔ thoŋ=jo
then 1P.INCL=OBL 1P.INCL=GEN ancestor bring=A.PT then that=P=GEN for=ADD

yad karay=na aniŋ=aʔ bahut jaruri heke.
memory do=INF 1P.INCL=GEN great necessity PRS.COP
'"THEN OUR ANCESTORS BROUGHT US [HERE]. THUS (= THEN) IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE REMEMBER OUR THEM.'

160
aniŋ=aʔ purkha u=te ol o-ɖam=oʔ iswar=aʔ daya buŋ.
1P.INCL=GEN ancestor this=OBL(= 'here') bring CAUS-arrive=A.PT Lord=GEN mercy INST
'OUR ANCESTORS BROUGHT US HERE THROUGH THE LORD'S MERCY.'

161
el=aʔ purkha=ga u=te ol=oʔ. laʔ purkha=yaʔ yad karay[=e]=niŋ."
1P.EXCL=GEN ancestor=FOC this=OBL(= 'here') bring=A.PT then ancestor=GEN memory do=A.IRR=1P.INCL
'OUR ANCESTORS BROUGHT US HERE. THEN WE SHOULD REMEMBER THEM."'[94]

162
laʔ purkha=ʔ paʈhpuja karay=oʔ=ki tab "paʔʈopur" gam=oʔ=ki.
then ancestor=GEN sacrifice do=A.PT=P then Paʔtopur say=A.PT=P
'THEN, WHEN [OUR] ANCESTORS PERFORMED THEIR SACRIFICE, THEY CALLED IT "PAʔTOPUR".'[95]

163
"paʈliputra" gam=na laʔ=ki=may. paʈliputra, paʈliputra …, "putra" mane "beʔʈ=ɖom=ki".
Patliputra say=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P Patliputra Patliputra *putra*[96] meaning son=3POSS=P
'THEY USED TO CALL IT "PATLIPUTRA". PATLIPUTRA, PATLIPUTRA…, "PUTRA" MEANS "THEIR SON(S)".'

164
purkha=ɖom=ki=yaʔ pujapaʈh karay=oʔ=ki ro ho=ki=te yadgari karay=oʔ
ancestor=3POSS=P=GEN sacrifice do=A.PT=P and that=P=OBL remembrance do=A.PT

ro bhagwan=te=jo dhanyawad ter=oʔ=ki.
and God=OBL=ADD thanks give=A.PT=P
'THEY PERFORMED A SACRIFICE FOR (= OF) THEIR ANCESTORS AND REMEMBERED THEM AND THEY ALSO GAVE THANKS TO GOD.'[97]

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[93] Standard form: *ol=oʔ.* One speaker noted that this form is sometimes used by older speakers. This is the only example in my corpus. Other speakers I questioned were not familiar with this lexeme. Note also that neither the "subject NP" nor the predicate is marked here for plurality, although the following *hokiyaʔ thoŋ jo* refers back to this group.
As plural marking is often omitted in the following text as well, I will not comment on this further here except where this seems necessary for text comprehension.

[94] Note that the speaker begins with the exclusive form *elaʔ* from *ele* whereas the predicate is marked for the inclusive form, *=niŋ*.

[95] The speaker here is deriving the Kharia name for Patna/Patliputra, *paʔʈopur*, from *paʈhpuja* 'sacrifice', whose standard form is, however, *pujapaʈh.*

[96] *putra-* is the Sanskrit word for 'son'.

[97] Here the speaker is referring to the ancestors' performing a sacrifice for their own ancestors. The second instance of *karay*, which is not marked for plurality, nevertheless refers to the same people as the other two predicates, i.e., the ancestors of the modern Kharia.

165
el=aʔ purkha janam=ko ter=oˀb ro am saŋgharo=yoˀb ro ele=te
1P.EXCL=GEN ancestor birth=CNTR give=A.PT.2S and 2S help=A.PT.2S and 1P.EXCL=OBL

u=te o-ɖam=siʔɖ=em.
this=OBL(= 'here') CAUS-arrive=PERF=2S
'YOU GAVE BIRTH TO OUR ANCESTORS AND YOU HELPED AND YOU HAVE BROUGHT US HERE.'

166
laʔ u=ki=yaʔ paʔʈopur=te aʈ=ki=yaʔ[98] pujapaʈh karay=oʔ=ki.
then this=P=GEN PaʔʈopurOBL ANAPH=P=GEN sacrifice do=A.PT=P
'THEN, AT THEIR PAʔTOPUR, THEY$_i$ PERFORMED THEIR$_j$ SACRIFICE.'[99]

167
ho=te=ga[100] bohut dinu aw=ki=may.
that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC many day stay=M.PT=3P
'THEY STAYED THERE MANY DAYS.'

168
bohut dinu aw=na se u=ghay=ga raj karay=oʔ=ki.
many day stay=INF ABL this=way=FOC ruling do=A.PT=P
'BY STAYING THERE MANY DAYS, THEY RULED (= DID RULING) THUS.'

169
raj karay=na=ʔ badte hindu=ki yo=yoʔ.
ruling do=INF=GEN after Hindu=P see=A.PT
'AFTER RULING, THE HINDUS SAW THEM.'

170
buʈha=ki u=ghay=ga col may=ki=may.
old.man=P this=way=FOC go TOTAL=M.PT=3P
'THE ELDERS ALL WENT THIS WAY [I.E., DIED OFF].'

171
kũʈu[101] hakon kaʈiˀj raja rajwaʈ=te … kabhi jyada beʈa beʈi umay=jo hoy=ta.
child ECHO few king ECHO=OBL INDEF many son daughter NEG.3P=ADD COP=A.PRS
'[THERE WERE] FEW CHILDREN AMONG THE KING'S FAMILY MEMBERS (= KING, ETC.), THERE ARE NOT MANY SONS AND DAUGHTERS.'[102]

172
raj kajni ek ʈho iswar=aʔ ikon heke.[103]
king ECHO? 1 CL Lord=GEN ????? PRS.COP
?????

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[98] Standard form: *aɖ=ki=yaʔ*.
[99] That is, they (= the ancestors) performed a sacrifice for their own ancestors and for God.
[100] Corrected from *ho tay=ga* 'from there' by another native speaker.
[101] Standard form: *konɖuʔ*.
[102] See note 79 above, line 114.
[103] The syntax is unclear here and other speakers were unsure of a few points, such as the exact meaning of *raj kajni*. Also, *ikon* can mean either 'having done what?' (sequential converb of *i* 'do what?'), 'umh', similar to *mane*, or 'to do' / 'to do somehow or other' (depending on the speaker's dialect). It's meaning here is unclear. Similarly, it is not clear how *iswar=aʔ*, 'the Lord's', is to be understood in the present context.

173
u=ghay kam=ga hoy=ga col=ki=may.[104]
this=way less=FOC become=FOC V2:go=M.PT=3P
'THUS, THEY BECAME FEWER AND FEWER [= WENT BECOMING FEW].'

174
hin bhere moreŋ raja aw=ki.
that time Moreng king COP=M.PT
'AT THAT TIME, MORENG WAS KING.'[105]

175
ho=te laʔ beʔʈ=ɖom=ki konon konon aw=ki=may.
that=OBL(= 'there') then son=3POSS=P small REP COP=M.PT=3P
'THERE HIS SONS WERE ALL VERY YOUNG.'

176
das baris aʈh baris bara baris u=ghay=ga.
ten year eight year twelve year this=way=FOC
'LIKE THIS: 10 YEARS, 8 YEARS, 12 YEARS.'

177
laʔ ho=kaʈ=te …, ho=kaʈ=aʔ mantri aw=ki.
then that=S.HUM=OBL that=S.HUM=GEN minister COP=M.PT
'HE HAD A MINISTER.'

178
gao gwala ho=kaʈ=ga …, ho=kaʈ=aʔ mantri aw=ki. ho=kaʈ=te jahar ter
Gao Gwala that=S.HUM=FOC that=S.HUM=GEN minister COP=M.PT that=S.HUM=OBL poison give

goʈh=oʔ.
C:TEL=A.PT
'GAO GWALA, HE …, WAS HIS MINISTER. HE [= GAO GWALA] GAVE HIM [= MORENG] POISON.'

179
ho raja[106] goʔj goɖ=ki. goʔj goʔɖ=na=ʔ badte lebu=ki gam=oʔ
that king die C:TEL=M.PT die C:TEL=INF=GEN after person=P say=A.PT

"raja=ko goʔj goʔɖ=ki.
king=CNTR die C:TEL=M.PT
'THAT KING DIED. AFTER DYING, THE PEOPLE SAID "THE KING DIED.'

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[104] This use of *col* 'go' as a V2 is quite rare. It seems to have a continuous meaning here.

[105] Roy (1912[1995]:60, fn. 128) notes of the (now Indo-Aryan speaking, but Munda) Cheros the following, which is interesting in this context, as the Cheros were expelled from Mithila by enemies coming from the west: "According to the tradition among the Cheros they once lived in the Sub-Himalayan tract called Moreng [now Morang, southeastern Nepal, JP] whence they went to Kumaon and thence preceeded southwards and at length went to Bhojpur, where they reigned for seven generations." Roy notes further on the same page that the Munda tribes then "appear to have moved towards the south-east and entered Magadha or South-Behar [sic!]."
One possibility which should be mentioned here is that "King Moreng" may be, historically speaking, the "King of Moreng", and not "King Moreng", as both can be rendered by the same term in Kharia, *moreŋ raja*. Thus, the "King of Moreng" may have been reinterpreted in Kharia folklore as "King Moreng". This would fit in well with the comments in Roy & Roy (1937:34f.) where it is said that Moreng was the Kharia king in "Ruidās-Pātnā", which they describe in a note on the same page as being used "probably to indicate the direction (north) in which Ruidās lies." More research is necessary here before any conclusions can be drawn.

[106] Corrected by another speaker from *raja=te* 'king=OBL'.

180
laʔ tama raij ber calay[=e]? raja=ko goˀj goˀɖ=ki.
then now kingdom who drive=A.IRR king=CNTR die C:TEL=M.PT
'NOW WHO WILL LEAD THE KINGDOM? THE KING DIED.'

181
kũɽu=ɖom=ko konon konon hekãy.[107] raj ber calay[=e]?"
child=3POSS=CNTR small REP PRS.COP.3P kingdom who? drive=A.IRR
'HIS CHILDREN ARE VERY YOUNG. WHO WILL LEAD THE KINGDOM?"'

182
lebu gam=oʔ "umboʔ, lei. am=ga calay=te=m mane raja=ko mane aw=na laʔ=ki.
person say=A.PT no VOC 2S=FOC drive=A.PRS=2S umh king=CNTR umh live=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THE PEOPLE SAID "NO, MY FRIEND. YOU WILL LEAD, UMH, THE KING, UMH, WAS ALIVE.'[108]

183
samuca buli buli=ke=ko souˀb=te=ko am=ga yo=tejɖ=em. am=ga calay[=e]!
the.whole(world) wander REP=SEQ=CNTR all=OBL=CNTR 2S=FOC see=A.PROG=2S 2S=FOC drive=A.IRR
'HAVING WANDERED EVERYWHERE, YOU KNOW (= SEE) EVERYTHING. YOU LEAD!

184
jab tak kuɖu=ɖom=ki umay maha=na tab tak."
CR:as.long.as child=3POSS=P NEG.3P big=M.IRR until.then
'UNTIL HIS CHILDREN HAVE GROWN UP.'"

185
u=ghay gam=kan mane ho=kaɽ raj karay=na suru goɽh=oʔ.
this=way say=SEQ umh that=S.HUM ruling do=INF begin C:TEL=A.PT
'[THEY] HAVING SPOKEN THUS, UMH, HE BEGAN TO RULE.'

186
ho=kaɽ=te kaɽiˀj kaɽiˀj pablik tay=jo sapoɽ kui=ki.
that=S.HUM=OBL somewhat REP people ABL=ADD support find=M.PT
'HE ALSO RECEIVED SOME SUPPORT FROM THE PEOPLE.'

187
hintiˀj tay[109] ho gwala=ga mane u=waʔ mane gotiya asal mane natgot=ki=may.
therefore that Gwala=FOC umh this=GEN umh clan true umh family.member=M.PT=3P
'THEREFORE GWALA, UMH, BECAME A TRUE MEMBER OF THAT CLAN.'

188
ro ho=kaɽ=ga ikon=oʔ.
and that=S.HUM=FOC do=A.PT
'AND HE DID IT [I.E., HE GOVERNED].'

189
loʔɖho=ko khaɽiya=ki maha=na mahana jou=ko ho=ki=te i=jo ʈhãɽoumay ter=oʔ
later=CNTR Kharia=P big=INF REP up.to=CNTR that=P=OBL what=ADD place NEG.3P give=A.PT

[107] The form *hekãy* is the 3P form in Sadri. The standard form in Kharia is either *heke=may* or *heke=ki*.
[108] The syntax here is slightly erratic, as the speaker was searching for what to say.
[109] This speaker regularly uses the expression *hin=tiˀj tay*, literally 'from that side', with the meaning 'therefore, thus'. I will simply gloss this as 'therefore' in the following.

'BUT LATER, AS THE KHARIA [CHILDREN] GREW UP, THEY DIDN'T GIVE THEM ANY LAND (= PLACE).'

190
ro ho=ki=ya[ʔ] alchri mane raja, raja=ki=ko musa u raja heke
and that=P=GEN last umh king king=P=CNTR today this king PRS.COP

tuɖa u han raja heke. ho=ghay=ga mane tam jou=ko rajniti
tomorrow this that king PRS.COP that=way=FOC umh now up.to=CNTR politics

ho=ghay=ga cale=ta[ʔ]j.
that=way=FOC function=M.PROG
'AND THEIR LAST KING, UMH, KINGS, TODAY THERE'S THIS KING, TOMORROW THERE'S THIS OR THAT KING. THAT'S THE WAY, UMH, THAT POLITICS WORKS RIGHT UP TO THE PRESENT DAY.'

191
raja rajwaɽ seŋ=gaʔ ho=ghay aw=ki.
king ECHO first=FOC that=way COP=M.PT
'THE KING AND HIS COURT (= THE KING, ETC.) WERE LIKE THAT EARLIER (= FIRST).'

(END OF SIDE A OF TAPE)

192
to u=ghay hoy=na se aniŋ=yaʔ ho boʔ=te nas=ki=may khaɽiya=ki
TOP this=way become=INF ABL 1P.INCL=GEN that place=OBL destruction=M.PT=3P Kharia=P

mane buɽe=ki=may.
umh end=M.PT=3P
'THUS, IN THIS WAY, OUR ANCESTORS WERE DESTROYED AT THOSE PLACES, THE KHARIA, UMH, WERE FINISHED.'

193
loʔɖho aw go[ʔ]ɖ=ki=may u=ghay pablik lekhen=ga mane aw go[ʔ]ɖ=ki=may
later live C:TEL=M.PT=3P this=way people ?????=FOC umh live C:TEL=M.PT=3P

mane ho=ki raja pad=te bheir umboʔ lekin ho=ki aw=ki=may hote=ga.
umh that=P king post=OBL much not but that=P live=M.PT=3P there=FOC
'LATER, THEY LIVED THIS WAY, THE PEOPLE, THEY LIVED, UMH, THEY, IN THE KING'S OFFICE WAS NOT MUCH, BUT THEY LIVED THERE.'[110]

194
muda akhri=te u=ghay=ga hoɖom raja hoy=ki=may hin bhere ho=ki=te oɖoʔ
but end=OBL this=way=FOC other king become=M.PT=3P that time that=P=OBL and

ulgulan bhayad=te jhagaɽa hoy=ki bhere dui bhag hoy go[ʔ]ɖ=ki=may.
war extended.family=OBL fight become=M.PT time two part become C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'BUT IN THE END, WHEN OTHER KINGS AROSE, A WAR, WHEN A FIGHT BROKE OUT BETWEEN THEM AND THE EXTENDED FAMILY, THEY SPLIT INTO TWO GROUPS.'

[110] The syntax here is somewhat erratic due to a number of false starts.

195
hoɖom raja hoy=ki hin bhere dui bhag hoy=ki.
other king become=M.PT that time two part become=M.PT
'WHEN THE OTHER KING AROSE, THERE AROSE TWO PARTIES (= PARTS).'

196
laʔ ho raja je raja hoy=ki ho=kaɽ gam=te "am=te iɲ ʈhãɽo um=iɲ
then that king CR:which king become=M.PT that=S.HUM say=A.PRS 2S=OBL 1S place NEG=1S

ter=e."
give=A.IRR
'THEN THAT KING$_i$, THE KING WHO HAD ARISEN, HE$_j$ SAID [TO HIM$_i$] "I WILL NOT GIVE YOU LAND (= THE PLACE).'"

197
konon=ɖom=te gam=te. maha=ɖom gam=te "am=te konon=te ʈhaɽo um=iɲ ter=e."
small=3POSS=OBL say=A.PRS big=3POSS say=A.PRS 2S=OBL small=OBL place NEG=1S give=A.IRR
'HE SAYS TO THE SMALL ONE. THE BIGGER ONE SAYS "I WILL NOT GIVE YOU, A SMALL [PERSON], LAND (= A PLACE).'"

198
lebu pablik am=te, … am=aʔ…, ek bapa=ʔ kũɖuʔ heke=bar,[111]
person people 2S=OBL 2S=GEN 1 father=GEN child NEG.COP=2HON
'THE PEOPLE…, YOU… [YOU] ARE A FATHER'S CHILD,'

199
ek mãy bap=aʔ heke=bar laʔ i=ghay um ter=e=m?"
1 mother father=GEN PRS.COP=2HON then what=way NEG give=A.IRR=2S
'YOU ARE A MOTHER AND FATHER'S [CHILD], SO WHY WON'T YOU GIVE [ME IT]?'"

200
nai dega gam=te hin bhere ho=te laɽai hoy=ki laʔ dui dal
he won't give (in Hindi) say=A.PRS that time that=OBL(= 'there') war become=M.PT then two party

hoy goˀɖ=ki=may.
become C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'WHEN HE SAID THAT HE WOULDN'T GIVE [IT TO HIM], A FIGHT BROKE OUT AND THEY SPLIT INTO TWO PARTIES.'

201
ber raja hekay=ki ho=tiˀj haʔdo hoy=ki=may haʔdo=ki konon aw=ki.
who king PRS.COP=P that=side half become=M.PT=3P half=P small COP=M.PT
'WHO WAS [ON] THE KING['S SIDE], HALF WENT TO THAT SIDE, HALF WERE [ON] THE SMALL [ONE'S SIDE].'

202
ho=kaɽ=aʔ tiˀj hoy=ki=may. laʔ ho=te i hoy=na? ber=a[ʔ] mene[112]
that=S.HUM=GEN side become=M.PT=3P then that=OBL(= 'there') what become=M.IRR who=GEN CL

[111] Note: The speaker has changed here - the grown-up child is now speaking. Note also that the predicate is marked for the 2nd person honorific, whereas the same person is referred to earlier in the sentence by the non-honorific form *am*.
[112] The status of *mene* as a classifier is somewhat uncertain. Unlike the (other) classifiers, it can appear with all kinds of determiners, such as the genitive determiner here or with demonstratives (see [MT, 1:30]).

takat aw=ki?
power COP=M.PT
'THEY WENT TO HIS SIDE. THEN, WHAT WAS TO HAPPEN? WHOSE [MEN] WERE POWERFUL?'

203
raja=yaʔ, mane, ho=kaɽ=ko, mane sarsipahi souʔb aw=ki=may.
king=GEN umh that=S.HUM=CNTR umh soldier all COP=M.PT=3P
'THE KING'S, UMH, HE, UMH, THE SOLDIERS WERE ALL [THE KING'S].'

204
bhai=ɖom=yaʔ=ko hak um aw=ki.
brother=3POSS=GEN=CNTR authority NEG COP=M.PT
'THE BROTHER HAD NO AUTHORITY.'

205
raja, mane, hin…, hin se…, kaɽ mar hoy=na se mane ho tay souʔb
king um there there ABL cutting killing become=INF ABL umh that ABL(= 'from there') all

yar=oʔ=ki.
flee=A.PT=P
'THE KING, UMH, THERE…, FROM THERE…, ON ACCOUNT OF THE KILLING AND BLOODSHED, UMH, THEY ALL FLED FROM THERE.'

206
laʔ haʔdo khaɽiya=ki koɽa tiʔj mile=ki=may.
then half Kharia=P Mundari side be.found=A.PT=3P
'SO HALF OF THE KHARIA BECAME (= WERE FOUND TOWARDS) MUNDARI.'

207
haʔdo khaɽiya je asali khaɽiya [u]may yar kan=oʔ=ki.
half Kharia CR true Kharia NEG.3P flee CONT=A.PT=P
'HALF THE KHARIA, THOSE WHO ARE THE TRUE KHARIA, DID NOT FLEE.'[113]

208
asudhya umay aw=ki ho=ki yar kan=oʔ=ki mane baru je=ki iswar=aʔ gam-gam lekhe
impure NEG.3P COP=M.PT that=P flee CONT=A.PT=P i.e. good CR=P Lord=GEN say-RDP like

jahãy=aʔ khun khatara karay=na lebu umay aw=ki. imandari aw=ki=may.
INDEF.HUM=GEN blood danger do=INF person NEG.3P COP=M.PT honest COP=M.PT=3P
'THOSE WHO WERE NOT IMPURE FLED, I.E., THE GOOD ONES, WHO, ACCORDING TO THE LORD'S WORDS, WERE NOT PEOPLE WHO INJURE ANYONE. THEY WERE HONEST.'

209
ho=ki jahãy lebu=te tar=na bohut dosi samjhe=na laʔ=ki=may ho=ki yar
that=P INDEF.HUM person=OBL kill=INF very sinful understand=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P that=P flee

kan=oʔ=ki.
CONT=A.PT=P
'THOSE WHO UNDERSTOOD [THAT IT IS] VERY SINFUL TO KILL ANY PEOPLE FLED.'

[113] The negation in this sentence is apparently a slip-of-the-tongue, as the speaker argues in the following lines that the good people fled, in order to not take part in the killing.

210
"aniŋ na tar=e=niŋ na tar-tar=te yo=we=niŋ. ina laɽe=na=niŋ?"
1P.INCL NEG kill=A.IRR=1P.INCL NEG kill-RDP=OBL see=A.IRR=1P.INCL why fight=M.IRR=1P.INCL
'"WE SHOULD NEITHER KILL NOR SHOULD WE WATCH KILLING. WHY SHOULD WE FIGHT?"'

211
"ani yar=te=niŋ!" gam=oʔ=ki ro ho=ki ɖel=ki=may u=ti^{ʔ}j choṭanagpur
come.on! flee=A.PRS=1P.INCL say=A.PT=P and that=P come=M.PT=3P this=side Chotanagpur

pahaɽi prades ti^{ʔ}j u=ti^{ʔ}j ɖel=ki=may rãci eriya=te rãci mane ɖel=ki=may.
mountainous region side this=side come=M.PT=3P Ranchi area=OBL Ranchi umh come=M.PT=3P
'THEY SAID "COME ON, LET'S GO!" AND THEY CAME THIS WAY, TOWARDS CHOTANAGPUR, THE MOUNTAINOUS[114] REGION, THEY CAME THIS WAY, TO THE RANCHI AREA, TO RANCHI, UMH, THEY CAME.'

212
laʔ rãci eriya=te mane ho boʔ=ki=te bohut-sa heke.
then Ranchi area=OBL umh that place=P=OBL many-APPROX PRS.COP
'AND THERE ARE MANY OF THOSE PLACES IN THE RANCHI AREA.'

213
tama rãci eriya=te ɖel=kan piṭauriyagaɽh=jo hoy=ki,
now Ranchi area=OBL come=SEQ Pitauriagarh=ADD become=M.PT
'NOW, [THEY] HAVING ARRIVED IN THE RANCHI AREA, THEY FOUNDED PITAURIAGARH (= PITAURIAGARH BECAME),'

214
khukharagaɽh=jo hoy=ki, "ɖurũɖa" gam=te=ki.
Khukharagarh=ADD become=M.PT Durunda say=A.PRS=3P
'[AND] KHUKHARAGARH WAS FOUNDED (= BECAME), [WHICH] THEY CALL "DURUNDA".'

215
"ɖurũɖa" khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ sabda heke, "ɖuruŋ-ɖaʔ" mane "baʔ ɖuruŋ=na".
Durunda Kharia=P=GEN word PRS.COP pound.grain-INTENS meaning rice pound.grain=INF
'"DURUNDA" IS A KHARIA WORD, "DURUNG-DAʔ" MEANS "TO POUND RICE".'

216
hã, "ɖuruŋ-ɖaʔ". laʔ u boʔ=ki=te ɖel=ki=may ro u=te aw
yes pound.grain-INTENS then this place=P=OBL come=M.PT=3P and this=OBL(='here') stay

go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki=may.
C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'YES, "DURUNG-DAʔ". THEN THEY CAME TO THESE PLACES AND SETTLED DOWN HERE.'

217
laʔ u=ghay karay=na…, karay=na pal=te.
then this=way do=INF do=INF be.able=A.PRS[115]
'SO, IN THIS WAY T ayi^{ʔ}j.HEY CAN DO IT.'

[114] 'Hilly' would be a more appropriate translation if one considers how small the "mountains" in the area are.
[115] Exact meaning unclear.

218
mane oɖo[ʔ] ho[=te]=jo[116] mane ho=ki=te acha um laʔ=ki.
umh and that=OBL(= 'there')=ADD umh that=P=OBL good NEG EMOT=M.PT
'AND THEY DIDN'T LIKE IT THERE, EITHER.'

219[117]
bhere ho=ki oɖo[ʔ] u=tiʔj ɖel=ki=may ro aniŋ=aʔ naw gaɽ=aʔ,
time that=P again this=direction come=M.PT=3P and 1P.INCL=GEN nine CL=GEN

a=te ate jughay jhuɳɖ aw=ki ho khota=te mane khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ
Q=OBL(= 'where:CR') REP much large.group COP=M.PT that extended.family=OBL umh Kharia=P=GEN

muʔɖa[ʔ] mane bhũiyar poʔda ho tay=ga…, u=te tam jou=ga badli
origin umh birth.place village that ABL(= 'from there')=FOC this=OBL(= 'here') now up.to=FOC change

um hoy=si[ʔ].
NEG become=PERF
'[AT THAT] TIME THEY AGAIN CAME IN THIS DIRECTION AND, OUR NINE [SONS], WHEREVER THERE WAS A VERY LARGE GROUP, THAT CLAN, UMH, THE ORIGIN, UMH, THE NATIVE VILLAGE OF THE KHARIAS, FROM THERE…, HERE THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE UNTIL NOW.'[118]

220
ho=tiʔj tay ho ʈhaɽo ɖam=ki=may, khaɽiya=ki semɽa=te ɖam=ki=may.
that=side ABL that place arrive=M.PT=3P Kharia=P Semra=OBL arrive=M.PT=3P
'FROM THAT DIRECTION THEY ARRIVED AT THAT PLACE, THE KHARIA ARRIVED AT SEMRA.'

22
soreŋ=ki…, soreŋ semɽa ɖam=ki. kerkeʈʈa dusra bhai heke.
stone=P stone Semra arrive=M.PT *kerketta*.bird second brother PRS.COP
'SORENG (= STONE) ARRIVED IN SEMRA. KERKETTA (= A KIND OF BIRD) IS THE SECOND BROTHER.'

222
maha bhai soreŋ dusra bhai kerkeʈʈa heke, ho=kaɽ aw=ki poɽha,
big brother stone second brother *kerketta*.bire PRS.COP that=S.HUM COP=M.PT *porha*.fruit

poɽha=te.
porha.fruit=OBL
'THE ELDER BROTHER IS SORENG, THE SECOND BROTHER IS KERKETTA, HE IS IN PORHA.'

223
tab kiɽoʔ aw=ki pãcwa bhai, ho=kaɽ aw=ki baghma=te,
then tiger COP=M.PT fifth brother that=S.HUM COP=M.PT Baghma=OBL
'THEN THERE WAS KIROʔ (= TIGER), THE FIFTH BROTHER, HE WAS IN BAGHMA,'

224
tisra bhai ɖũŋɖũŋ aw=ki, boŋloya col=ki.
third brother eel COP=M.PT Bongloya go=M.PT

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[116] Actually *ho tay=jo* 'from there as well' on tape. Undoubtedly a slip of the tongue.
[117] What follows is a brief introduction to all the nine brothers and where they settled down. In the next story, [MS, 2], the speaker gives a more detailed account of how the brothers came to these names. See also [AK, 1].
[118] Due to the large number of false starts, the syntax of this passage is unclear.

'THE THIRD BROTHER WAS DUNGDUNG (= EEL), [HE] WENT TO BONGLOYA.'

225
cawtha bhai kulu aw=ki, paɳɖeriya col=ki.
fourth brother turtle COP=M.PT Panderia go=M.PT
'THE FOURTH BROTHER WAS KULLU (= TURTLE), [HE] WENT TO PANDERIA.'

226
tab se biluŋ aw=ki, ho=kaɽ col=ki murgu. murgu=te ɖeraʔ=yoʔ.
then salt COP=M.PT that=S.HUM go=M.PT Murgu Murgu=OBL take.up.lodgings=A.PT[119]
'THEN THERE WAS BILUNG (= SALT), HE WENT TO MURGU. AT MURGU HE SETTLED DOWN.'

227
baʔ aw=ki pheɽwa=te, ʈeʈe[120] aw=ki amkuli=te.
unhusked.rice COP=M.PT Pherwa=OBL *tetetohoj*.bird COP=M.PT Amkuli=OBL
'BAʔ (= RICE) WAS AT PHERWA, TETE (= A KIND OF BIRD) WAS AT AMKULI.'

228
ʈoʔpo aw=ki, adha phura niga bone=ki=may.
toppo.bird COP=M.PT half part Kurukh become=M.PT=3P
'THERE WAS TOPPO (= A KIND OF BIRD), THEY [= HIS DESCENDENTS, THE TOPPO CLAN] BECAME HALF KURUKH.'

229
bakhe=te, bahar bakhe=yaʔ[121] aw goʔɖ=ki.
Bakhe=OBL outside Bakhe=GEN/FOC? live C:TEL=M.PT
'THEY STAYED IN BAKHE, [IN] OUTER BAKHE.'

230
bahar bakhe=yaʔ simana heke. ho siman=te u=tiʔj hekãy, aw=ki=may.
outside Bakhe=GEN border PRS.COP that boundary=OBL this=side PRS.COP.3P live=M.PT=3P
'OUTER BAKHE HAS A BORDER. ON THAT BORDER, THIS SIDE, [THAT'S WHERE] THEY ARE, [WHERE THEY] LIVED.'

231
ho=tiʔj souʔb ʈoʔpo bone goɽ=ki=may.[122]
that=side all *toppo*.bird become C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'ALL THE TOPPOS WENT (= BECAME) IN THAT DIRECTION.'

232
ro u=ghay=ga pura aniŋ… tama ho tay=ga… jetne din din
and this=way=FOC complete 1P.INCL now there ABL=FOC(= 'from there') CR:how.many day REP

baɽhe=ki=may…
progress=M.PT=3P
'AND THUS WE ALL …, NOW FROM THERE,… AS THE DAYS PROGRESSED…,'

[119] Standard form: *ɖera=yoʔ.*
[120] The short form *ʈeʈe*, from *ʈeʈeʈohoʔj* 'the tetetohoj bird', is used by this clan as its name.
[121] Note that the oblique marker is not used here, although one would expect it.
[122] Standard form: *goɖ=ki=may.*

233
tama=ko u=ti$^{?}$j hindustan ti$^{?}$j ɖe=na se u choʈanagpur u eriya ɖe=na se
now=CNTR this=side India side come=INF ABL this Chotanagpur this area come=INF ABL
'BUT NOW, SINCE COMING HERE, SINCE COMING TO INDIA, SINCE COMING TO THIS CHOTANAGPUR, SINCE COMING TO THIS AREA,'

234
karib ek hajar sat baras lagbhag mane bite=ta$^{?}$j.
approximately 1 1,000 7 year approximately umh pass(of.time)=M.PROG
'APPROXIMATELY 1,007 YEARS, APPROXIMATELY, UMH, HAVE PASSED (= ARE PASSING).'[123]

235
tama u eriya=te uɽisa=te=jo samay goɽ=ki=may u bhitarete samay=ki=may.
now this area=OBL Orissa=OBL=ADD meet C:TEL=M.PT=3P this within meet=M.PT=3P
'AND NOW, IN THIS AREA, AND IN ORISSA AS WELL, THEY MET UP WITH ONE ANOTHER, HERE (= WITHIN THIS) THEY MET.'

236
ek hajar sat baras=yaʔ baɽh=te u=ti$^{?}$j oɖoʔ baɽhe=ga col=ta$^{?}$j=ki.
1 1,000 7 year=GEN increase=OBL this=side again increase=FOC go=M.PROG=3P
'IN MORE THAN 1,007 YEARS, THEY AGAIN ARE INCREASING HERE.'

237
u=ghay=ga khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ mane ek samskriti heke
this=way=FOC Kharia=P=GEN umh 1 culture PRS.COP
'THUS THE KHARIA'S IS ONE [SINGLE] CULTURE.'

238
ro khaɽiya=ki sudom jait heke ro khaɽiya=ki seŋ pujari aw=ki=may.
and Kharia=P pure ethnic.group PRS.COP and Kharia=P first priest COP=M.PT=3P
'AND THE KHARIA ARE A PURE ETHNIC GROUP AND THE KHARIA FIRST WERE PRIESTS.'

239
laʔ pujari=te goʔ ɖoɽ=na[124] laʔ=ki=may ro…, pujari=te goʔ ɖoɽ=na laʔ=ki=may,
then priest=OBL carry A:TEL=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P and priest=OBL carry A:TEL=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'SO THEY[125] WERE CARRYING THE PRIEST AND…, THEY WERE CARRYING THE PRIEST,'

240
laʔ ho=kaɽ=te pesab laʔ=ki hin bhere ho=kaɽ pesab=na=ʔ thoŋ are=ki.
then that=S.HUM=OBL pee EMOT=M.PT that time that=S.HUM pee=INF=GEN PURP descend=M.PT
'SO WHEN HE HAD TO PEE, HE GOT DOWN [OFF THE PALANQUIN THEY WERE CARRYING HIM ON] TO PEE.'

241
laʔ janew ek janew aw=ki laʔ ho janew=te moŋ buɖha
then holy.thread one holy.thread COP=M.PT then that holy.thread=OBL one old.man

hin=te heʈkay goʈh=oʔ. laʔ pesab karay=na col=ki.
that(DIST)=OBL(= 'there') hang.up C:TEL=A.PT then pee do=INF go=M.PT

[123] I assume what is meant here is '700' (i.e., *sat say*), not '7' (*sat*), i.e. '1,700', but as the speaker repeatedly cites this number (cf. below lines 236, 274) I will translate it as '1007'.
[124] Standard form: *ɖo$^{?}$ɖ=na*.
[125] = The Brahmans, not the Kharia. Cf. the story above "How the Kharia lost their Priesthood", [AK, 2].

'THEN HE$_i$ HAD (= THERE WAS) A HOLY THREAD, SO AN OLD MAN$_j$ HUNG THAT HOLY THREAD UP THERE. THEN HE$_i$ WENT TO PEE.'

242
pesab karay=oʔ ro jaldi palki=te ɖoko goɖ=ki goʔ ɖoɽ=na ʈhãɽo=te.
pee do=A.PT and quickly palanquin=OBL sit.down C:TEL=M.PT carry A:TEL=INF place=OBL
'HE PEED AND QUICKLY SAT DOWN ON THE PALANQUIN TO BE CARRIED TO THE PLACE [HE WAS GOING].'

243
laʔ ho=te ɖeb=ki ro col kan=ki puja ʈhãɽo=te yo=te laʔ=ko,
then that=OBL(= 'there') ascend=M.PT and go CONT=M.PT sacrifice place=OBL see=A.PRS then=CNTR ('but')
'SO HE ASCENDED THERE [ONTO THE PALANQUIN] AND CONTINUED ON TO THE SACRIFICIAL PLACE BUT THEN HE SEES [THAT HE FORGOT THE HOLY THREAD AND SAYS],'

244
"na! na! iɲ iri^{ʔ}b=siʔɖ=iɲ iɲ=a[ʔ] mane puja=yaʔ asal cij=te=ko iɲ irib=siʔɖ=iɲ.
no! no! 1S forget=PERF=1S 1S=GEN umh sacrifice=GEN true thing=OBL=CNTR 1S forget=PERF=1S
'"NO, NO! I HAVE FORGOTTEN MY, UMH, I HAVE FORGOTTEN THE TRUE THING FOR (= OF) A SACRIFICE, I HAVE FORGOTTEN.'

245
jeʔ mane iɲ ol=na col=taʔɲ."[126]
S.NHUM umh 1S take=INF go=M.PROG.1S
'I AM GOING TO TAKE THAT."'

246
are=ki laʔ ho=kaɽ col=ki.
descend=M.PT then that=S.HUM go=M.PT
'HE GOT DOWN [OFF THE PALANQUIN] AND LEFT.'

247
yo=te laʔ "am ina jiph=o^{ʔ}b? am=a[ʔ] jib=na=te ʈhik um hoy=ki.
see=A.PRS then 2S why? touch=A.PT.2S 2S=GEN touch=INF=OBL good NEG become=M.PT
'HE LOOKS AND THEN SAYS "WHY DID YOU TOUCH IT? THROUGH YOUR TOUCHING IT, IT HAS BECOME SPOILED (= DID NOT BECOME GOOD).'[127]

248
iɲ um=iɲ puja karay[=e], dhãy[=e], puja karay[=e] am=ga!
1S NEG=1S sacrifice do=A.IRR hurry=A.IRR sacrifice do=A.IRR 2S=FOC
'I WILL NOT PERFORM THE SACRIFICE, HURRY UP, YOU PERFORM THE SACRIFICE!'

249

[126] Standard form: *col=ta^{ʔ}jɖ=iɲ*.

[127] This seems to be in reference to line 241 above, where an old man (≠ the priest) hung up the holy thread. It also seems to be a combination of two different versions of why the Kharia priest voluntarily gave up his priesthood. The first version is given above in [AK, 2], where the priest had to go to pee, hung his holy thread on a tree, and then forgot it, whereupon it was taken by the Brahman. As the Brahman was now in possession of the holy thread, he was *de facto* the priest. The second version, now being told here, is that the holy thread became impure through the Brahman's touching it, since the Brahman hung it on the tree for the Kharia priest, so that the Kharia priest would not use it and let the Brahman, who had touched it, use it to perform the sacrifice.

pujapaʈh iɲ um=iɲ karay[=e], am=ga karay[=e]!"
sacrifice 1S NEG=1S do=A.IRR 2S=FOC do=A.IRR
'I WILL NOT PERFORM THE SACRIFICE, YOU PERFORM [IT]!"

250
hin bhere gam=oʔ no "ʈhik heke", ragom=ki,
that time say=A.PT CMPL good PRS.COP become.angry=M.PT
'THEN HE SAID "ALRIGHT", HE GOT ANGRY,'

251
ro ho baʈom mane ho=kaʈ=aʔ ɲimi aw=ki "punya",
and that priest umh that=S.HUM=GEN name COP=M.PT Punya
'AND THAT [KHARIA] PRIEST, UMH, HIS NAME WAS "PUNYA",'

252
aɖi gam=oʔ "am puja karay=na seŋ, jab tak, iɲ=a[ʔ] ɲimi karay=kan=jo gam=e=m.
ANAPH say=A.PT 2S sacrifice do=INF first until 1S=GEN name do=SEQ=ADD say=A.IRR=2S
'HE SAID "BEFORE YOU PERFORM THE SACRIFICE, UNTIL…, YOU FIRST HONOR ME (= YOU WILL SAY IT, ALSO HAVING DONE MY NAME).'[128]

253
mane agar iɲ=a[ʔ] ɲimi suru=te um kara[y=e]=m, la[ʔ]am=te mane ɲoʔ goʈ=e,
umh if 1S=GEN name beginning=OBL NEG do=A.IRR=2S then 2S=OBL umh eat C:TEL=A.IRR

dusman am=te ɲoʔ goʈ=e.
enemy 2S=OBL eat C:TEL=A.IRR
'IF YOU DON'T HONOR ME IN THE BEGINNING, THEN HE WILL EAT YOU UP, THE ENEMY WILL EAT YOU UP.'

254
am karay=na um pal=e=m hinti^{ʔ}j tay suru=te "punyom punyom" gam=te=ki."
2S do=INF NEG be.able=A.IRR=2S then beginning=OBL full.moon REP say=A.PRS=P
'IF YOU CAN'T DO IT, THEN THEY [WILL] SAY "FULL MOON, FULL MOON" IN THE BEGINNING.'"[129]

255
mane khaʈiya=ki=yaʔ ɲimi karay ɖoɖ=te ro, mane,
umh Kharia=P=GEN name do A:TEL=A.PRS and umh
'UMH, HE HONORS THE KHARIA (= DOES THE KHARIAS' NAME) AND, UMH,'

256
je kono bor=na heke je[ʔ] bor=te laʔ u=ghay=ga heke.
whatever ask.for=INF PRS.COP S.NHUM ask.for=A.PRS then this=way=FOC PRS.COP
'WHATEVER IS NEEDED (= IS TO ASK FOR), HE ASKS FOR IT. THIS IS HOW IT IS.'

257
sacca heke no khaʈiya=ki baru-boʔ aw=ki=may ro hẽkay=jo tama.
true PRS.COP CMPL Kharia=P good-INTENS COP=M.PT=3P and PRS.COP.3P=ADD now
'IT IS TRUE THAT THE KHARIA WERE VERY GOOD [PEOPLE] AND ALSO ARE NOW.'

258

[128] Through false starts, etc., the syntax here is somewhat erratic. *jab tak* would seem to be superfluous.
[129] Intended meaning unclear. Perhaps a reference to the Kharia priest's name *punya*.

khriscan=jo hoy=ki=may jyadatar. tama yo=ye=bar,
Christian=ADD become=M.PT=3P generally now see=A.IRR=2HON
'THEY ALSO BECAME CHRISTIAN, GENERALLY. NOW LOOK,'

259
jyada se jyada khaɽiya=ki kathlik dharam=te,… jyada se jyada hekãy
more ABL more Kharia=P Catholic religion=OBL more ABL more PRS.COP.3P
' MOST KHARIA, THE CATHOLIC RELIGION, … MOST ARE [CATHOLIC].'

260
ro tama ho=ki jahã[130] prabhu=wa[ʔ] bulaw=te, mane,
and now that=P INDEF.NHUM God=GEN calling=A.PRS umh

tama bohute… sãkhya=te, mane, kuch baɽom hinte[131] col=siʔ=may
now many number=OBL umh INDEF (non-Christian)priest LOC go=PERF=3P

phadar sisʈar=ki col=siʔ=may.
(religious)father (religious)sister=P go=PERF=3P
'AND NOW THEY, SOMEONE CALLS GOD, UMH, NOW MANY, …, MANY, UMH, THEY HAVE GONE TO SOME NON-CHRISTIAN PRIEST, PRIESTS AND NUNS HAVE GONE.'[132]

261
ro tama hekãy baru=ga laʔ u=je[ʔ]=ki=ga mane e…
and now PRS.COP.3P good=FOC then this=S.NHUM=P=FOC umh umh
'AND NOW THEY ARE GOOD [PEOPLE], UMH…, UMH…,'

262
iɲ=jar laʔ=siʔ=jar no khaɽiya abu irib guɖuʔ.
1=1HON try=PERF=1HON CMPL Kharia NEG.MOD forget OPT
'I AM TRYING TO KEEP THE KHARIA FROM FORGETTING (= I HAVE TRIED THAT THE KHARIA SHOULD NOT FORGET)'.

263
khaɽiya apan raŋ=te bancay guɖu[ʔ].
Kharia REFL culture=OBL save OPT
'THE KHARIA SHOULD SAVE THEIR OWN CULTURE.'

264
kahe iswar[=aʔ] ter-ter heke.[133]
because Lord=GEN give-RDP PRS.COP
'BECAUSE IT IS A GIFT OF GOD (= IT IS GOD'S GIVEN).'

265

[130] Standard form for the indefinite marker with humans is *jahãy*. *jahã* is generally only used with inanimates or non-humans.
[131] *hinte*, from *hin=te* 'that(DIST)=OBL' = 'there' is often used as a kind of locative marker, especially if the entity it marks is definite. I will gloss it in such cases as 'LOC'.
[132] There are a number of false starts in this sentence. The intended meaning is apparently: "If someone wanted to call God, they used to go to a non-Christian priest, now they go to priests and nuns."
[133] Text: *iswar ter-ter*. Cf. line 267 below.

laŋ mane bhasa aniŋ=aʔ bay-bay nalage.
language i.e. language 1P.INCL=GEN make-RDP NEG.PRS.COP
'"*laŋ*", I.E., "LANGUAGE" WASN'T MADE BY US.'

266
soub bhasa=te bay=o[ʔ]=ki lekin ho bhasa=yaʔ sagaro ukon hoy=ki.
all language=OBL make=A.PT=3P but that language=GEN whole.world spread.out become=M.PT
'THEY [= PEOPLE] MADE ALL [OTHER] LANGUAGES, BUT THOSE LANGUAGES SPREAD OUT OVER THE WHOLE WORLD (= THAT LANGUAGE'S WHOLE-WORLD-SPREAD BECAME).'

267
lekin khaɽiya laŋ iswar=aʔ ter-ter heke.
but Kharia language Lord=GEN give-RDP PRS.COP
'BUT GOD MADE THE KHARIA LANGUAGE (= IS A GOD'S GIVEN).'

268
jeʔ dinu duniya=te jati bay=oʔ ho laŋ anusar=ga khaɽiya jati
CR[134] day world=OBL ethnic.group make=A.PT that language according.to=FOC Kharia ethnic.group

bone=ki=may.
become=M.PT=3P
'ON THE DAY THAT [GOD] CREATED THE ETHNIC GROUPS ON THE WORLD, THE KHARIA BECAME AN ETHNIC GROUP ACCORDING TO THAT LANGUAGE [I.E., THOSE WHO SPOKE KHARIA BECAME KHARIA].'

269
khaɽiya laŋ buŋ khaɽiya kayom=ta=ki.
Kharia language INST Kharia speak=M.PRS=P
'THE KHARIA SPEAK IN (= WITH) THE KHARIA LANGUAGE.'

270
hintiʔtay khaɽiya hoy=ki=may.
therefore Kharia become=M.PT=3P
'THEY THEREFORE BECAME KHARIA.'

271
ro u khaɽiya=ga tama itna ɖisaʔ ɖel=kan baɽhe=ki=may ro tama ayij=le.
and this Kharia=FOC now so.much far come=SEQ increase=M.PT=3P and now PRS.COP=1P.INCL
'AND THESE KHARIA HAVE SPREAD OUT (= COME) NOW SO FAR [AND] INCREASED [IN NUMBERS], AND NOW WE ARE [HERE / MANY???].'

272
ro u=ga hẽkay. tama itna bhayanak baɽhe=ki=may.
and this=FOC PRS.COP.3P now so.much frightful increase=M.PT=3P
'AND THEY ARE THIS. NOW THEY HAVE INCREASED SO FRIGHTFULLY [IN NUMBER].'

273
tama u choṭanagpur kuch is[135] eriya=te tama simɖaʔ ro simɖaʔ eriya=te,
now this Chotanagpur some this.OBL area=OBL now Simdega and Simdega area=OBL

[134] Standard form in correlatives is *je*. *jeʔ* is normally used with the meaning 'S.NHUM' in 3rd, singular pronouns.
[135] From Hindi: The oblique case of the demonstrative *yah* 'this'.

'NOW THIS CHOTANAGPUR, SOME [ARE] IN THIS AREA, [AND THERE ARE] NOW [SOME] IN SIMDEGA AND IN THE SIMDEGA AREA,'

274
gumla se lekin simɖaʔ eriya=te ek hajar sat baras mane ruke=ki.
Gumla ABL but Simdega area=OBL one thousand seven year umh stop=M.PT
'[THEY CAME] FROM GUMLA, BUT IN THE SIMDEGA AREA THEY STOPPED, UMH, 1,007 YEARS [AGO].'

275
simɖaʔ se u=ti^{ʔ}j, ab batay[=e] katna baras jug mane u=te aw=ki.
Simdega ABL this=side now say=A.IRR how.much year world umh this=OBL(= 'here') COP=M.PT
'FROM SIMDEGA [THEY CAME] IN THIS DIRECTION, TELL [ME] NOW, HOW MANY YEARS WAS THE WORLD HERE?'

276
kab jug=aʔ lebu katna katna aw=ki=may, bohut aw=ki=may?
when world=GEN person how.much REP COP=M.PT=3P many COP=M.PT=3P
'WHEN WERE THE WORLD'S PEOPLE SO MANY? [WHEN] WERE THEY MANY?'

277
tama u=te aniŋ khaɽiya=ki ayij=may.[136]
now this=OBL(= 'here') 1P.INCL Kharia=P PRS.COP=3P
'NOW WE KHARIA ARE HERE.'

278
ro khaɽiya=ki tama baru=ga hẽkay ro tama u=jeʔ yo=na se aniŋ mane
and Kharia=P now good=FOC PRS.COP.3P and now this=S.NHUM see=INF ABL 1P.INCL umh

u imandari=yaʔ cal=te khaɽiya mugam=te beroɖ=na um pal=te^{ʔ}j.
this faith=GEN practice=OBL Kharia front=OBL stand.up=INF NEG be.able=A.PROG
'AND THE KHARIA ARE GOOD NOW, AND NOW, FROM SEEING THIS WE, UMH, THE PRACTICE OF FAITH, THE KHARIA ARE NOT ABLE TO PROGRESS (= STAND UP FORWARD).'

279
mane imandari saccai=yaʔ cal=te rajnitik=te=jo gam=te
umh faith truth=GEN practice=OBL politics=OBL=ADD say=A.PRS
'UMH, IN THE PRACTICE OF TRUTH AND FAITH AND IN POLITICS AS WELL, ONE SAYS'

280
"agar iɲ co=na=iɲ laʔ baimani kara[=e]=iɲ.
if 1S go=M.IRR=1S then corruption do=A.IRR=1S
'"IF I GO [INTO POLITICS], THEN I WILL BECOME CORRUPT (= DO CORRUPTION).'

281
laʔ duniya biʔthuŋ=e iɲ=te dos laʔ=na.
then world spit=A.IRR 1S=OBL sin EMOT=M.IRR
'THEN THE WORLD WILL SPIT [ON ME AND] I WILL BECOME SINFUL.'

[136] Interestingly, the subject would appear to be *aniŋ*, 1st person, plural, but the predicate is marked as 3rd person, plural. Perhaps a slip-of-the-tongue. But cf. also line 316 below, which suggests that this line might better be interpreted as 'Those of us who are here now, [they] are Kharia.'

282
"am=aʔ thoŋ u karay=na…, karay kay[=e]=iŋ" gam=e.
2S=GEN for this do=INF do BEN=A.IRR=1S say=A.IRR
'HE WILL SAY "I WILL DO THIS FOR YOU".'

283
agar karay=na um pal=oʔ laʔ dos aɖi=te swikar karay=te=niŋ, "dosi
if do=INF NEG be.able=A.PT then sin ANAPH=OBL acceptance do=A.IRR=1P.INCL sinful

hoy=na=ɲ."
become=M.IRR=1S
'IF HE CANNOT DO IT[137], THEN WE WILL CONSIDER HIM SINFUL (= ACCEPT HIM AS SIN), "I WILL BECOME SINFUL."'

284
ho hisab se=ga tam jou=ga hekẽ imandari ro saccai khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ,
that account ABL=FOC now up.to=FOC PRS.COP.3P faith and truth Kharia=P=GEN
'ON ACCOUNT OF JUST THAT, THE KHARIA TO THIS VERY DAY ARE TRUTHFUL AND FAITHFUL (= TRUTH AND FAITH ARE OF THE KHARIA),'

285
ro khaɽiya=ki tama baru=ga hekãy, tama bes=ga hekãy.
and Kharia=P now good=FOC PRS.COP.3P now good=FOC PRS.COP.3P
'AND NOW THE KHARIA ARE GOOD, THEY ARE FINE [PEOPLE].'

286
agar, yadi u khaɽiya=ki u=ghay=ga mugam=te, agar co=na=ki,
if if this Kharia=P this=way=FOC front=OBL if go=M.IRR=P
'IF THESE KHARIA MOVE FORWARD THIS WAY,'

287
laʔ musniŋ baru heke.
then one.day good PRS.COP
'THEN ONE DAY IT WILL BE GOOD.'

288
gam ɖom=ta hindustan=te aniŋ kriscan=te koŋ=te=niŋ, no,
say PASS=M.PRS India=OBL 1P.INCL religion=OBL[138] know=A.PRS=1P.INCL CMPL
'IT IS SAID THAT WE HERE IN INDIA KNOW RELIGION, THAT…,'

289
kriscan…, no prabhu=waʔ janam=te mane ho=ki=te iswar=aʔ ɖaŋ-ɖaŋ aw=ki,
religion CMPL God=GEN birth=OBL umh that=P=OBL Lord=GEN send-RDP COP=M.PT
'RELIGION…, THAT AT GOD'S BIRTH, UMH, THE LORD HAD SENT TO THEM [HIS SON] (= [JESUS] WAS A SENT-ONE OF THE LORD),'

290
hinti^{ʔ}j tay aniŋ koŋ=te=niŋ no purub disa ti^{ʔ}j tay tin raja ɖel=ki=may,
therefore 1P.INCL know=A.PRS=1P.INCL CMPL east direction side ABL 3 king come=M.PT=3P
'THEREFORE WE KNOW THAT THREE KINGS CAME FROM THE EAST,'

[137] Note that the speaker uses the past here in the protasis, whereas the irrealis is the norm.
[138] One speaker I later discussed this text with insisted that *kriscan* here does not have its usual meaning 'Christian' but rather 'religion'.

291
gyani raja=ki. laʔ moŋ khaɽiya=ga aw=ki. khaɽiya raja aw=ki.
knowledgeable king=P then one Kharia=FOC COP=M.PT Kharia king COP=M.PT
'WISE KINGS. AND ONE WAS A KHARIA. [ONE] WAS A KHARIA KING.'

292
prabhu=waʔ janam, prabhu=waʔ sandes, ho sandes=te, hinti[ʔ]j tay,
God=GEN birth God=GEN message that message=OBL therefore
'GOD'S BIRTH, GOD'S MESSAGE, THAT MESSAGE, THEREFORE,'

293
hoɖom dharam, jetna dharam ɖel=ki, a=te=jo um mane=ki,
other religion as.much religion come=M.PT Q=OBL=ADD NEG believe=M.PT
'A DIFFERENT RELIGION, SO MANY RELIGIONS CAME, ALL OF WHICH HE (= THE KHARIA KING) DIDN'T BELIEVE,'

294
ho dinu=ga mane=ki, je dinu ɖe=na[139] ho=jeʔ yo=kan ɖel=ki.
that day=FOC believe=M.PT CR day come=M.IRR that=S.NHUM see=SEQ come=M.PT
'THAT DAY HE BELIEVED, THE DAY ON WHICH HE CAME, HAVING SEEN IT.'

295
laʔ khaɽiya raja=jo prabhu=te, janam bhere ho simkom[140] yo=ki ho=ki=te goʔjhuŋ
then Kharia king=ADD God=OBL birth time that star see=M.PT that=P=OBL path

ob-yo=na=ʔ,
CAUS-see=INF=GEN / FOC (?)
'THEN THE KHARIA KING ALSO, GOD…, AT THE TIME OF BIRTH, THAT STAR APPEARED TO SHOW THEM THE WAY,'

296
"prabhu=waʔ janam hoy=siʔ!" gam=kon
God=GEN birth become=PERF say=SEQ
'HAVING SAID "GOD HAS BEEN BORN!"' (Unclear, who is speaking here)

297
ho sinkom yo=ta yota jerusalem sahar ɖam=ki, najaret ɖam=ki=may.
that star see=CONV REP Jerusalem city arrive=M.PT Nazareth arrive=M.PT=3P
'WATCHING THAT STAR THEY ARRIVED IN THE CITY OF JERUSALEM, THEY ARRIVED IN NAZARETH.'

298
laʔ ho=ghay=ga mane=ki khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ heke.
then that=way=FOC believe=M.PT Kharia=P=GEN PRS.COP
'AND THE WAY HE BELIEVED IS THE KHARIA'S [RELIGION].'

299
u=te=jo mane aw=ki=may niga ro koɽa=jo aw=ki,
this=OBL(= 'here')=ADD umh COP=M.PT=3P kurukh and Mundari=ADD COP=M.PT
'HERE, UMH, THERE WERE ALSO KURUKH AND THERE WERE MUNDARI, TOO,'

[139] *ɖe=na* here would seem to be a mistake for the past-tense form *ɖel=ki.*
[140] Standard form: *siŋkom.*

300
lekin sab[141] se pohila=ko mane khaɽiya=ga aw=ki.
but all ABL first=CNTR umh Kharia=FOC COP=M.PT
'BUT THE KHARIA WERE [HERE] FIRST.'[142]

301
u raja laʔ hintiʔ tay mane hintiʔ tay…, u=jeʔ=ki katna moskil se
this king then therefore umh therefore this=S.NHUM=P how.much difficult ABL

ka<b>tib ɖom=taʔj.
collect-<CAUS> PASS=M.PROG
'THIS KING THEN THEREFORE, UMH, THEREFORE…, THEY (= THE KHARIA) ARE ALL BEING COLLECTED WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY.'[143]

302
laʔ u gam=kon=ga mane khaɽiya=ki=te be<b>roɖ=na=ʔ thoŋ kornis ɖom=taʔj
then this say=SEQ=FOC umh Kharia=P=OBL stand.up-<CAUS>=INF=GEN PURP attempt PASS=M.PROG
'THEN, SAYING THE FOLLOWING (= THIS), UMH, [SOMEONE] IS TRYING TO GET THE KHARIA TO RISE UP.'

303
no am=pe konon nalage=pe, iswar soub=te barabar=ga bay=siʔ!
CMPL 2=2P small NEG.PRS.COP=2P Lord all=OBL equal=FOC make=PERF
'"YOU ARE NOT INFERIOR (= SMALL), THE LORD HAS MADE ALL EQUAL!'

304
hintiʔ tay aniŋ=te iswar=te=jo yo=na ro apan iŋam=te=jo yo=na hoy=na.
therefore 1P.INCL=OBL Lord=OBL=ADD see=INF and REFL clan=OBL=ADD see=INF become=A.IRR
'THEREFORE WE WILL HAVE TO SEE BOTH THE LORD AND OUR OWN CLAN.' (Exact meaning unclear)

305
apan iŋam=te baru-boʔ aw=na se aniŋ iswar=te… ese na tese… agar am baru
REFL clan=OBL good-INTENS COP=INF ABL 1P.INCL Lord=OBL somehow if 2S good

aw=na=m,
COP=M.IRR=2S
'BECAUSE OUR CLAN IS VERY GOOD, WE…, THE LORD…, SOMEHOW…, IF YOU ARE GOOD,'

306
laʔ iswar=te kui=na deri nalage.
then Lord=OBL find=INF time NEG.PRS.COP
'THEN IT DOES NOT TAKE LONG TO FIND THE LORD.'

[141] Standard form: *souʔb*.
[142] This would seem to be a reiteration of the claim made in line 94 above that the Kharia were the first people to enter India.
[143] This is undoubtedly in reference to the same event mentioned below in [MT, 1:181ff.]. It refers to a meeting which apparently took place in 1845 at which representatives of both the Dudh and Dhelki Kharia came together to discuss, among other things, the unity of the tribe, stressing that the Dudh and Dhelki Kharia were of equal status and that neither group was to be considered impure or inferior.

307
khaɽiya laŋ=te kharab sabda, anʈ sanʈ kayom, aniti kayom, um muʔ=ta.
Kharia language=OBL bad word inappropriate speech dishonest speech NEG emerge=M.PRS
'IN THE KHARIA LANGUAGE BAD WORDS OR INAPPROPRIATE OR DISHONEST SPEECH ARE NOT USED (= DO NOT EMERGE).'

308
i sabda um kui=na, hintiʔ tay am baru=ga ayiʔjɖ=em.
these word NEG find=M.PT therefore 2S good=FOC PRS.COP=2S
'THESE WORDS WILL NOT BE FOUND [THERE], THEREFORE YOU ARE GOOD.'

309
laʔ am na cori karay=na, na jahãy=aʔ jan tar=na, na jahãy=aʔ jahã
then 2S NEG theft do=INF NEG INDEF.HUM=GEN life kill=INF NEG INDEF.HUM=GEN INDEF.NHUM

karay=na.
do=INF
'SO DO NOT STEAL, DO NOT KILL ANYONE, DO NOT HARM ANYONE (= DO NOT DO ANYONE'S ANYTHING).'

310
u sabda=ga umboɽiʔ hintiʔ tay mane khaɽiya=ki sacca hekãy.
this word=FOC NEG.PRS.COP therefore umh Kharia=P honest PRS.COP.3P
'THESE WORDS DON'T EXIST (= AREN'T), THEREFORE, UMH, THE KHARIA ARE HONEST.'

311
agar apan iɲam[144] baru-ɖaʔ ayiʔj laʔ sidhe swarg ɖam=na goʔj=na ʈaim=te.
if REFL clan good-INTENS PRS.COP then straight heaven arrive=M.IRR die=INF time=OBL
'IF YOUR CLAN IS VERY GOOD, THEN IT/YOU (?) WILL GO STRAIGHT TO HEAVEN AT DEATH (= THE DYING TIME).'

312
el=aʔ khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ u=ga pakka biswas ayiʔj.
1P.EXCL=GEN Kharia=P=GEN this=FOC steadfast faith PRS.COP
'THIS IS THE STEADFAST BELIEF OF US KHARIA.'

313
laʔ khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ u biswas heke no prabhu ɖel=sikh=o[ʔ],
then Kharia=P=GEN this faith PRS.COP CMPL God come=PERF=A.PT

col=ki oɖo[ʔ] meson ɖe=na aniŋ=te ray=na.
go=M.PT again once come=M.IRR 1P.INCL=OBL choose=INF
'SO THE KHARIA HAVE THIS BELIEF: GOD CAME, WENT [AWAY], AND WILL COME ONCE AGAIN TO SAVE (= CHOOSE) US.'

314
oɖo[ʔ] meson ɖe=na=ʔ ray=na ro ray=kon ele=te je jhuɳɖ ayiʔj=le
again once come=M.IRR =FOC choose=INF and choose=SEQ 1P.EXCL=OBL CR flock PRS.COP=1P.EXCL

sori sori ele=te aɖi=yaʔ boʔ=te ɖoɖ=e.[145]
together REP 1P.EXCL=OBL ANAPH=GEN place=OBL take=A.IRR

[144] Text: *iɲam=te*. See also footnote 86 at line 135 above.
[145] Standard form: *doɽ=e*.

'HE WILL COME AGAIN TO SAVE (= CHOOSE) US AND, AFTER SAVING US, WE WHO ARE HIS FLOCK, HE WILL TAKE US ALL TOGETHER TO HIS HOME (= PLACE).'

315
khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ tam jou ho biswas heke aniŋ yo kan=e=niŋ,
Kharia=P=GEN now up.to that faith PRS.COP 1P.INCL see CONT=A.IRR=1P.INCL
'THE KHARIA HAVE THIS FAITH UNTIL NOW, WE KEEP WAITING (= SEEING / LOOKING [FOR HIM]),

316
goˀj=siʔ=niŋ suʔkho ʈhaɽõ=te ayiˀj=may.[146]
die=PERF=1P.INCL happy place=OBL PRS.COP=3P
'[WE HAVE FAITH THAT] THOSE OF US WHO HAVE DIED ARE IN A HAPPY PLACE.'

317
swarg=ko sayad um=jo ɖam=ki=may. lekin suʔkho raij=te ayij=may.
heaven=CNTR maybe NEG=ADD arrive=M.PT=3P but happy kingdom=OBL PRS.COP=3P
'PERHAPS THEY ALSO DID NOT ARRIVE IN HEAVEN. BUT THEY ARE IN A HAPPY PLACE.'

318
lekin musniŋ oɖo[ʔ] ɖe=na lebu=te ray=na, acha, ro bura=te ray=na thoŋ
but one.day again come=M.IRR person=OBL choose=INF O.K. and wicked=OBL choose=INF PURP

ɖe=na. ro aniŋ=te ɖoɽ=e.
come=M.IRR and 1P.INCL=OBL take=A.IRR
'BUT ONE DAY HE WILL COME AGAIN TO SAVE THE PEOPLE, O.K., AND TO SAVE THE WICKED HE WILL COME. AND HE WILL TAKE US [WITH HIM].'

319
ho dinu aniŋ doɽo doɽo suʔkho raij=te lereʔ-son co=na=niŋ. okon
that day 1P.INCL many REP happy kingdom=OBL joy-INTENS go=M.IRR=1P.INCL umh

ho=te.
that=OBL(= 'there')
'AND ON THAT DAY WE ALL (= MANY, MANY PEOPLE) WILL VERY JOYOUSLY GO TO THE HAPPY KINGDOM. UMH, THERE.'

320
apa parameswar=te stuti dhanyawad ter=na thoŋ. mane ɖam=na=niŋ.
father God=OBL praise thanks give=INF PURP umh arrive=M.IRR=1P.INCL
'TO GIVE PRAISE AND THANKS TO GOD THE FATHER. UMH WE WILL ARRIVE [THERE].'

321
u=ga khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ asal mane biswas…, biswas heke.
this=FOC Kharia=P=GEN true umh faith faith PRS.COP
'THIS IS THE KHARIA'S TRUE, UMH, FAITH … FAITH.'

[146] Intended meaning uncertain. The person marking on *goˀj=siʔ=niŋ* could be an error. See also line 277 above.

gotar ta^{ʔ}j=na[147]
clan distribute=INF

'The distribution of the clans'

[MS, 2]
1
hondo buɽha=yaʔ naw ʈho, "thomsiŋ" gaɽ gam=te=niŋ,
Hondo old.man=GEN nine CL nine CL say=A.PRS=1P.INCL

nãw, thomsiŋ, thomsiŋ be^{ʔ}ʈ=ɖom, thomsiŋ bi^{ʔ}j=ɖom=ki aw=ki=may.
nine nine nine son=3POSS nine daughter=3POSS=P COP=M.PT=3P
'THE ELDER HONDO HAD 9 SONS, WE SAY "*thomsiŋ*" [IN KHARIA FOR] "9", AND 9 DAUGHTERS.'

2
laʔ ab yo=te laʔ ho=ki=yaʔ thoŋ=jo sadi biha karay=na jaruri heke.
then now see=A.PRS then that=P=GEN for=ADD marriage marriage do=INF necessity PRS.COP

jaruri heke.
necessity PRS.COP
'SO NOW HE SEES THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO PREPARE A MARRIAGE FOR THEM AS WELL. IT IS NECESSARY.'

3
laʔ jaruri=te mane ho=ki=te mane cinta hoy go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki.
then necessity=OBL umh that=P=OBL umh worry become C:TEL=M.PT
'THEN BECAUSE OF THE NECESSITY, UMH, THEY, UMH, BECAME WORRIED.'

4
mã bap=te janam hoy=ki laʔ sadi biha=ko jarur hoy=na.
mother father=OBL birth become=M.PT then marriage marriage=CNTR necessary become=M.IRR
'WHEN A BIRTH OCCURS, A MOTHER AND FATHER WILL ALSO HAVE TO TAKE CARE OF [THE CHILD'S] MARRIAGE (= THEN MARRIAGE WILL BECOME NECESSARY).'

5
kuɽu=ki[148] bij=ɖom=ki=jo ayij=may.
boy=P girl=3POSS=P=ADD PRS.COP=3P
'THERE ARE SONS AND DAUGHTERS.'

6
laʔ ho=ki gam=oʔ=ki no, ho=ki=te, buɽha=te munu ter=oʔ iɖib=te gam=oʔ no
then that=P say=A.PT=P CMPL that=P=OBL old.man=OBL dream give=A.PT night=OBL say=A.PT CMPL
'THEN THEY SAID, THEM…, THE ELDER HAD A DREAM (= [SOMEONE] GAVE A DREAM TO THE ELDER) AT NIGHT [IN WHICH SOMEONE] SAID [TO HIM]:'

7
"beʈ=no=m=ki=te kinir ɖaŋ goɽ=e, lam-lam co=na=ki.[149]
son=2POSS=2S=P=OBL forest send C:TEL=A.IRR search-RDP go=M.IRR=3P

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[147] The following is a story of the origin of the nine major totems or clan names of the Kharia. Each has its own meaning and is used to designate the entire clan. For an alternate story of the origin of these clans and further details, see [AK, 1].
[148] Standard form: *konɖuʔ=ki*, which actually means 'children'. Here, however, only the boys are meant, in opposition to *bi^{ʔ}j=ɖom=ki*.
[149] Note the use of the free-standing form of *lam* in this example, as opposed to the infinitive.

'"SEND YOUR SONS INTO THE FOREST, THEY WILL GO HUNTING.'

8
je janwar tar=e=ki ho janwar=yaʔ ghos ol=e=ki" gam=kon gam=oʔ, swapan, munu buŋ
CR animal kill=A.IRR=P that animal=GEN meat take=A.IRR=P say=SEQ say=A.PT dream dream INST
'WHATEVER ANIMAL THEY KILL, THAT ANIMAL'S MEAT THEY SHOULD BRING [BACK TO YOU]" HE SAID, IN (= THROUGH) THE DREAM.'

9
laʔ beʈ=ɖom=ki=te gam=oʔ.
then son=3POSS=P=OBL say=A.PT
'THEN HE SAID [THIS] TO HIS SONS.'

10
laʔ beʈ=ɖom=ki raji=ki=may ro kinir col goɖ=ki. laʔ moɲ harin tar=oʔ=ki.
then son=3POSS=P accept=M.PT=3P and forest go C:TEL=M.PT then one deer kill=A.PT=P
'THEN HIS SONS AGREED AND THEY WENT OFF TO THE FOREST. THEN THEY KILLED A DEER.'

11
harin tar=kan ol=o[ʔ]=ki. laʔ ab=ɖom gam=sikh=oʔ:
deer kill=SEQ bring=A.PT=P then father=3POSS say=PERF=A.PT
'THEY KILLED THE DEER AND BROUGHT IT. THEN THEIR FATHER SAID:'

12
"alag alag poʈom karay=kan u=ghay ol kan=e=pe."
separate REP bundle do=SEQ this=way bring CONT=A.IRR=2P
'"MAKE YOUR OWN SEPARATE BUNDLES AND BRING [THEM] WITH YOU THUS."'

13
u gam=kan ɖoɾ=oʔ[150] col=ki=may. laʔ ol=o[ʔ]=ki.
this say=SEQ take=A.PT go=M.PT=3P then bring=A.PT=P
'HAVING SAID THIS THEY TOOK [THEIR BUNDLES AND] WENT. THEN THEY BROUGHT [THEM BACK].'

14
soub apan apan ikon=ki=may.
all REFL REP do=M.PT=3P
'ALL DID [THIS] ON THEIR OWN.'[151]

15
laʔ ho=ki[152] goʔjhuŋ=te=jo mane ɖaʔ uɖ=na col=ki=may.
then that=P path=OBL=ADD umh water drink=INF go=M.PT=3P
'THEN ON THE PATH AS WELL, UMH, THEY WENT TO DRINK WATER.'

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[150] A further example of a complex predicate where the first component is only partially finite. Especially interesting here is that the basic voice marking of the two predicates is different, which speakers in interviews rejected as ungrammatical. For further examples of a partially finite form, see notes 8 and 203.
Note also that the standard form of the first element is *ɖoʈh=oʔ*, not *ɖoɾ=oʔ*.

[151] The use of the past middle marker *=ki* with an otherwise active-only predicate signals that the sons here did not all do this at once but rather that the action occurred over a long time, each doing it separately.

[152] The speaker here actually said *ho=ki=te* instead of *ho=ki.* This was rejected by other speakers. See also note 86 above.

16
hin bo[ʔ]=te…, te=jo mawke ho=ki=te darsan=ko ob-yo ɖom=ki harek
that place=OBL OBL=ADD opportunity that=P=OBL appearance=CNTR CAUS-see PASS=M.PT each

lebu=te.
person=OBL
'AT THAT PLACE AS WELL AN OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED ITSELF (= WAS SHOWN) TO EACH OF THEM.'

17
laʔ ho=ghay=ga col=ki=may. tar=oʔ=ki. ol=oʔ=ki poʈom…, ol=o[ʔ].
then that=way=FOC go=M.PT=3P kill=A.PT=P bring=A.PT=P bundle bring=A.PT
'THEN THEY ALL WENT THUS. THEY KILLED [AN ANIMAL]. THEY BROUGHT [THEIR] BUNDLES [BACK].'

18
maha beʈ=ɖom yo=te… poʈom karay=kan…, yo=yoʔ…, moɲ moɲ=te remaʔ=te^{ʔ}j.
big son=3POSS see=A.PRS bundle do=SEQ see=A.PT one REP=OBL call=A.PROG
'THE ELDEST SON SEES…, HAVING MADE A BUNDLE…, HE SAW…, HE [= THE FATHER] CALLS THEM ONE BY ONE.'

19
aba=ɖom laʔ gam=te no "ʈhik, ol=e, am=aʔ i heke?" laʔ ol=te^{ʔ}j.
father=3POSS then say=A.PRS CMPL good bring=A.IRR 2S=GEN what PRS.COP then bring=A.PROG
'THEN THE FATHER SAYS "GOOD, BRING [YOUR BUNDLE TO ME], WHAT IS IT THAT YOU HAVE?" AND [HE] BRINGS IT.'

20
laʔ kaj=kan yo=te laʔ soreŋ heke. soreŋ hoy goɖ=ki.
then untie=SEQ see=A.PRS then stone PRS.COP stone become C:TEL=A.PT
'THEN, UNTYING IT, HE LOOKS AND THERE IS A STONE. HE BECAME SORENG (= 'STONE').'

21
laʔ gam=oʔ no soreŋ heke. laʔ soreŋ heke laʔ ho=je[ʔ] soreŋ gam=oʔ.
then say=A.PT CMPL stone PRS.COP then stone PRS.COP then that=S.NHUM stone say=A.PT
'THEN HE$_i$ SAID THAT HE$_j$ IS SORENG. HE$_j$ IS SORENG. THEN HE$_i$ CALLED HIM$_j$ SORENG.'

22
laʔ u=ghay=ga hoɖom bhai ɖoʈh=o[ʔ]. ho=kaɽ=aʔ ɲimi aw=ki samuh.
then this=way=FOC other brother take=A.PT that=S.HUM=GEN name COP=M.PT flock
'THEN IN THE SAME WAY HE TOOK THE OTHER BROTHER. HIS NAME WAS SAMUH.'

23
jeki maha bhai…, beʈ=ɖom aw=ki samuh. dusra bhai=ɖom aw=ki kayo.
because big brother son=3POSS COP=M.PT flock second brother=3POSS COP=M.PT Kayo
'BECAUSE THE ELDER BROTHER…, SON WAS SAMUH. THE SECOND BROTHER WAS KAYO.'

24
jeki ho=kaɽ poʈom=te ter=oʔ laʔ yo=te no
because that=S.HUM bundle=OBL give=A.PT then see=A.PT CMPL

kerkeʈʈa kontheɖ ho=kaɽ=a[ʔ] kerkeʈʈa aw=ki. ho=kaɽ=a[ʔ] ɲimi aw=ki kayo.
kerketta bird that=S.HUM=GEN *kerketta* COP=M.PT that=S.HUM=GEN name COP=M.PT Kayo

'BECAUSE HE$_i$ GAVE [HIS$_i$] BUNDLE, THEN SEES THAT A *KERKETTA* BIRD, HE$_i$ HAD A *KERKETTA* [IN HIS BUNDLE]. HIS$_i$ NAME WAS KAYO.'[153]

25
tisra beʈ=ɖom=jo ɖoʈh=oʔ laʔ tisra beʈa=yaʔ jab komaŋ ter=tej
third son=3POSS=ADD take=A.PT then third son=FOC CR:TEMP meat give=A.PROG

laʔ gam=te mãgu "ol=e" gam=kan.
then say=A.PRS Mangu bring=A.IRR say=SEQ
'THE THIRD SON TOOK [HIS BUNDLE] AND AS THE THIRD SON IS GIVING THE MEAT, THEN HE [= THE FATHER] SAYS [TO] MANGU [= THE SON] "BRING IT".'

26
mãgu ɖoʈh=oʔ laʔ ho=kaʈ yo=te. ɖuŋɖuŋ kaɖoŋ. ɖuŋduŋ.
Mangu take=A.PT then that=S.HUM see=A.PRS eel fish eel
'MANGU TOOK [THE BUNDLE] THEN HE [= THE FATHER] LOOKS. [HE SAW AN] EEL [IN THE BUNDLE. SO HIS NAME BECAME] DUNGDUNG (= 'EEL').'

27
cawtha=jo yo=te laʔ ho=kaʈ gam=oʔ "rãya" - rãya=ʔ. rãya=ʔ mane ratiya.
fourth=ADD see=A.PRS then that=S.HUM say=A.PT bird's.call REP=FOC RDP=FOC meaning ????[154]
'THE FOURTH [SON] ALSO LOOKS, THEN HE SAID "*rãya*" (= "BIRD'S CALL") [AS THERE WAS A BIRD IN HIS BUNDLE]. "*rãya*" MEANS "*ratiya*".'

28
ratiya arthat ratiya. ho=je[ʔ]=ga "rãya=ʔ rãyaʔ" gam=na laʔ=ki.
ratiya i.e. ratiya that=S.NHUM=FOC bird's.call=FOC RPD say=INF IPFV=M.PT
'*RATIYA*, I.E., *RATIYA*. HE USED TO SAY "*rãyaʔ rãyaʔ*".'

29
ratiya=ʔ cawtha=ɖom, ratiya=ʔ.
ratiya=FOC fourth=3POSS ratiya=FOC
'"*ratiya*", THE FOURTH [SON THUS BECAME] RATIYA.'

30
laʔ ho=kaʈ hoy=ki…, ho=kaʈ=a[ʔ] poʈom=te yo=yoʔ no kulu, kulu muʔ=ki.
then that=S.HUM become=M.PT that=S.HUM=GEN bundle=OBL see=A.PT CMPL turtle turtle emerge=M.PT
'THEN HE BECAME…, HE LOOKED INTO HIS [= THE NEXT SON'S] BUNDLE AND A TURTLE, A TURTLE CAME OUT. [SO HIS SON BECAME KULLU (= 'TURTLE')].'

31
pãcwa hoy=ki dandu, dandu ho=kaʈ hoy=ki…, ho=kaʈ=a[ʔ] ɲimi aw=ki
fifth become=M.PT Dandu Dandu that=S.HUM become=M.PT that=S.HUM=GEN name COP=M.PT

dandu.
Dandu
'THE FIFTH [SON] WAS DANDU, DANDU. HE WAS… HIS NAME WAS DANDU.'

32

[153] *kayo* does not seem to have any independent meaning.
[154] The other speakers I worked with understood *rãya*, but not *ratiya*, which the original speaker apparently thought would be easier to understand than *rãya*. It is apparently not a Sadri, Hindi nor a Kharia word, nor is it to my knowledge the name of any clan, as line 29 would suggest that it is.

laʔ ho=kaɽ=aʔ ho poʈom komaŋ=ɖom kiɽoʔ aw goɖ=ki. kiɽoʔ yo=ki
then that=S.HUM=GEN that bundle meat=3POSS tiger COP C:TEL=M.PT tiger see=M.PT
'THEN THE MEAT IN THAT BUNDLE OF HIS HAD BECOME TIGER [MEAT]. HE FOUND A TIGER [SO HE BECAME KIRO (= 'TIGER')].'[155]

33
laʔ chaʈwã hoy=ki kayla, kayla aw=ki ho=kaɽ ɖoʈh=o[ʔ] laʔ yo=tej,
then sixth become=M.PT Kayla Kayla COP=M.PT that=S.HUM take=A.PT then see=A.PROG

laʔ=ko ʈeʈeʈohoʔj kontheɖ.
then=CNTR (=' but') *tetetohoj* bird
'AND THE SIXTH [BROTHER] WAS KAYLA, WAS KAYLA. HE TOOK [HIS BUNDLE] AND LOOKS, BUT [HE FOUND] A *TETETOHOJ* BIRD. [SO HIS NAME BECAME TETE.]'

34
satwã hoy=ki gõyã. goyã yo=yoʔ laʔ ho=kaɽ yo=tej, na, ho=kaɽ biluŋ
seventh become=M.PT Goya Goya see=A.PT then that=S.HUM see=A.PROG umh that=S.HUM salt

hoy=ki.
become=M.PT
'THE SEVENTH [SON] WAS GOYA. GOYA LOOKED AND THEN HE SEES, UMH, HE BECAME BILUNG (= 'SALT') [BECAUSE HE FOUND SALT IN HIS BUNDLE].'

35
aʈhwã hoy=ki jeɽa ɖuru[ʔ]. jeɽa ɖuruʔ gam=te=ki.
eighth become=M.PT rice[156] rice say=A.PRS=3P
'THE EIGHTH [SON] WAS JERA DURUʔ. THEY CALL HIM JERA DURUʔ.'

36
jeɽa ɖuru[ʔ] gam=na laʔ=ki=may ho=kaɽ hoy=ki baʔ.
rice say=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P that=S.HUM become=M.PT (unhusked)rice
'THEY USED TO CALL HIM JERA DURUʔ, [SO] HE BECAME BAʔ / BAA (= 'UNHUSKED RICE').'

37
ro akhri nawa=ɖom ɖel=ki laʔ ho=kaɽ=te, mane ʈoʔpo kontheɖ hoy=ki.
and finally nine=3POSS come=M.PT then that=S.HUM=OBL umh *toppo* bird become=M.PT
'AND FINALLY THE NINTH [SON] CAME, SO HIM, UMH, HE HAD A *TOPPO* BIRD [IN HIS BUNDLE].'

38
ho=kaɽ=a[ʔ] ɲimi hoy=ki ɖurgu.
that=S.HUM=GEN name become=M.PT Durgu
'HIS NAME WAS DURGU.'

39
u=jeʔ heke pãc ʈho, wisom, u=jeʔ heke elam hinte, mane,
this=S.NHUM PRS.COP five CL ??????? this=S.NHUM PRS.COP Elam LOC umh
u=jeʔ=ki taj ɖom=ki=may ro siriyali um ter=oʔ.

---

[155] The use of a middle marker here with *yo* indicates that the experiencer did not find what he was looking for but something else. Recall that the sons had actually killed a deer (lines 10-11), so they were all expecting to find venison in their bundles.

[156] The speaker who I worked on this part of the text with wrote *jera ɖuruʔ* as two words but translated it with the Kharia word *baʔ* 'unhusked rice'. I cannot locate the source of this word nor analyze its two components further.

this=S.NHUM=P distribute PASS=M.PT=3P and serially NEG give=A.PT
'THIS IS THE FIVE ??????, THIS IS IN ELAM, UMH, THESE [CLAN NAMES] WERE DISTRIBUTED AND HE [= THE FATHER] DID NOT DISTRIBUTE THEM SERIALLY [I.E., NOT IN ORDER OF OLDEST TO YOUNGEST].'

40
tuta tobluŋ tisra pahila=te, pahila cawtha=te, u=ghay=ga tuta tobluŋ karay=kan
bottom top third first=OBL first fourth=OBL this=way=FOC bottom top do=SEQ

beʈ=ɖom=ki=te taj goʈh=oʔ ro gam=oʔ:
son=3POSS=P=OBL distribute C:TEL=A.PT and say=A.PT
'[FROM THE] BOTTOM [TO THE] TOP, THE THIRD [THEN] THE FIRST, THE FIRST [THEN] THE FOURTH, LIKE THIS, [FROM THE] BOTTOM [TO THE] TOP, HE DISTRIBUTED [THE NAMES] TO THE SONS AND SAID:'

41
"dhãy[=e]=pe, am=pe borol=na=pe, duniya=te dhãy[=e]=pe,
hurry=A.IRR=2P 2=2P live=M.IRR=2P world=OBL hurry=A.IRR=2P
'HURRY, LIVE, HURRY INTO THE WORLD,'

42
borol=na=pe, apan apan borol ɲog=e=pe."
live=M.IRR=2P REFL REP life eat=A.IRR=2P
'LIVE, YOU ALL LIVE (= 'EAT') YOUR OWN LIVES.'

43
u=jeʔ=ga mane naw gaʈ bone=na. asal hoy=ki.
this=S.NHUM=FOC umh nine CL become=M.IRR true become=M.PT
'THIS, UMH, IS (= WILL BE) [THE STORY OF] THE NINE [SONS. IT] WAS TRUE.'

Marianus Tete (m.), 29, Thethaitangar, Jharkhand

khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ muʔ-muʔ ɖaʔ[157]
Kharia=P=GEN emerge-RDP water(?)

'The origin of the Kharia'

[MT, 1]

The following text was read to me by this speaker, who said that this story had previously been handed down orally in his family but at one point had been committed to writing. As such, it is not necessarily the way he speaks, except for the pronunciation, although it may be assumed that his style is not very different, as the text was written by a family member.

In general, his pronunciation is quite close to that of the speakers from Saldega (Anil Birendra Kullu, Rayem Olem Dungdung), although the city he is from is closer to the Jharkhand-Orissa border. The few differences in his pronunciation are mainly restricted to an occasional <e> ([ɛ]) where speakers from Saldega have an <o> ([ɔ]), such as *eɖoʔ* vs. standard *oɖoʔ* 'and', *eboʔ* vs. standard *oboʔ* 'play', etc.

1 anĩ=yaʔ[158] purukh ikuɖ mamawji aw=ki=may.
1P.INCL=GEN ancestor very free COP=M.PT=3P
'OUR ANCESTORS WERE VERY FREE.'[159]

2 ho=ki ber=aʔ etoŋ botoŋ hin=te=jo aw=na umay lam=oʔ.
that=P who=GEN order fear that(DIST)=OBL(= 'there')=ADD stay=INF NEG.3P want=A.PT
'BEING AFRAID OF SOMEONE'S CHALLENGE (= ORDER), THEY ALSO DID NOT WANT TO STAY THERE.'

3 ho=ki a=tiʔj=ga col=ki=may hin=tiʔj=ga biru, kinir, gaʔɖɖha ɖhoʈha, bãd
that=P Q=side=FOC go=M.PT=3P that=side=FOC mountain forest hole ECHO dam

ho umpay=te lãge=kon u=tiʔj ɖel=ki=may.
this river=OBL cross=SEQ this=side come=M.PT=3P
'WHERE THEY WENT, THERE THEY CROSSED OVER MOUNTAINS, FORESTS, RAVINES(?), DAMS, THIS RIVER, AND CAME HERE.'

4 ho=ki lereʔ laɖa jayɖam=ga ɖel=ki=may.
that=P rejoice laugh eager=FOC come=M.PT=3P
'THEY CAME REJOICING, LAUGHING AND EAGER.'

5 ho=ki aɽmaɽay=ga siʔɖ=ga ɖel=ki=may.
that=P hesitate=FOC become.lost=FOC come=M.PT=3P
'THEY CAME HESITANTLY, AND SEARCHING (I.E., SOME CAME HAPPILY, OTHERS NERVOUSLY).'

6 kiʔjte no kiʔjte memon jou khaɽiya maha maha rokeɖhinte saŋgoɖ=ki=may.
how.much or how.much year up.to Kharia big REP sand LOC walk=M.PT=3P
'FOR A COUPLE OF YEARS THE KHARIA WANDERED IN THE GREAT DESERT.'[160]

7 khaɽiya mudui=ki buŋ=jo laɽe bhiɽe=ki=may.
Kharia enemy=P INST=ADD fight ECHO=M.PT=3P
'THE KHARIA ALSO FOUGHT WITH THEIR ENEMIES.'

---

[157] Most speakers used the form *muʔ-ɖaʔ* for 'origin'.
[158] Standard form: *aniŋ=aʔ*.
[159] The following text seriously calls the validity of this comment into question!
[160] As will become apparent in the following (cf. lines 14ff.), this is in reference to Egypt.

8 a=te ate bes bes ʈhãɽo kuy=oʔ=ki, hin=te hinte khaɽiya goʔjloʔ
Q=OBL REP good REP place find=A.PT=P that(DIST)=OBL(= 'there') REP Kharia ricefield

kamu=na laʔ=ki=may.
work=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'WHEREVER THEY FOUND GOOD LAND (= PLACES), THE KHARIA WOULD WORK THE RICE FIELDS.'

9 [oreʔj kon ...] oreʔj koŋlaŋ[161] bui=na=ko ho=ki=yaʔ dhatam aw=ki.
ox cow raise=INF=CNTR that=P=GEN custom COP=M.PT
'BUT IT WAS THEIR CUSTOM TO RAISE OXEN AND COWS.'

10 jab sab cuɽaʔɖɖaʔpur[162] hinte mel=ga rahi[163]=ga aw=ki=may.
CR:TEMP Chotanagpur LOC meet=FOC stay=FOC live=M.PT=3P
'WHEN THEY [CAME] TO CHOTANAGPUR, THEY STAYED AND LIVED THERE.'[164]

11 kiʔjte no kiʔjte khaɽiya goʔjhuŋ no enem gojhuŋ dinu no iɖib
how.much or how.much Kharia path or without path day or night

ɖera basa=ga saŋgoɖ ɖel=ki=may.
settle.down live=FOC walk come=M.PT=3P
'A GREAT MANY KHARIA CAME SLOWLY (= STAYING [HERE AND THERE ALONG THE WAY]) ON FOOT, [WHETHER WITH] OR WITHOUT A [CLEARED] PATH, DAY OR NIGHT.'

12 khaɽiya seŋhor-ɖaʔ kayebar ghaɽa=ko…, ghaɽako…, umay ɖel=ki.
Kharia straight-INTENS Khyber valley=CNTR NEG.3P come=M.PT
'THE KHARIA DIDN'T COME DIRECTLY TO THE KHYBER PASS.'

13 khaɽiya dhirom dhirom buli=ga aɽmaɽay=ga kiɽoʔ, buwaŋ, bichi buŋ
Kharia slowly REP wander=FOC hesitate=FOC tiger snake scorpion INST

kheʔɖ ɖuŋ[165]=ga jol ɖuŋ=ga ɖel=ki=may.
bite PASS=FOC ECHO PASS=FOC come=M.PT=3P
'THE KHARIA CAME, WANDERING SLOWLY, STOPPING, BEING BITTEN, ETC., BY TIGERS, SNAKES AND SCORPIONS.'

14 ata bhere bulbul poʔda raja nãwkod najor israeli lebu=ki=te
Q time Babylon village king Nawkod Najor Israeli person=P=OBL

bãdi bay=kon misar raij ɖoʔɖ=na laʔ=ki hin bhere
imprisonment make=SEQ Egypt kingdom take=INF IPFV=M.PT that time

ho=ki purkha=ki khaɽiya buŋ=ga aw=ki=may.
that=P ancestor=P Khaia INST=FOC live=M.PT=3P
'WHEN NAWKOD NAJOR, KING OF THE VILLAGE OF BABYLON, IMPRISONED THE ISRAELIS AND WAS TAKING THEM TO EGYPT, AT THAT TIME THEY, THE ANCESTORS [OF THE ISRAELIS], LIVED WITH THE KHARIA.'

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[161] Standard form: *koŋtaŋ.*
[162] Standard form: *choɽanagpur*.
[163] Standard form: *rahe*.
[164] The meaning of this line is somewhat unclear.
[165] Standard form: *ɖom*. Note also that this example shows that "echo words" are phonological words in their own right and do not form a compound with the first (or lexical) morpheme, as various other linguistic units, in this example the passive marker and the focus marker *ga*, can intervene between the two.

15 khaɽiya sori eḍoʔ iḍoʔ[166] jait aw=ki,... oḍoʔ oḍoʔ jait lebu=ki=jo
Kharia with other REP ethnic.group COP=M.PT other REP ethnic.group person=P=ADD

aw=ki=may.
live=M.PT=3P
'ALONG WITH THE KHARIA, PEOPLE OF MANY OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS LIVED.'

16 muda khaɽiya=ki ata no ata boʔ i=te higre=kon hoḍom tiʔj
but Kharia=P Q or Q place what=OBL(= 'where') separate=SEQ other direction

col kan=ki=may.
go CONT=M.PT=3P
'BUT, AT ONE PLACE OR ANOTHER, THE KHARIA SPLIT OFF AND CONTINUED ON IN ANOTHER DIRECTION.'

17 ho=ki=yaʔ mudui=ki jughay=ko ḍaɽhiyal=ki=ga[167] aw=ki=may ina no
that=P=GEN enemy=P much=CNTR bearded=P=FOC COP=M.PT=3P why CMPL(= 'because')

tama jou khaɽiya=ki=te moḍ gune=jo=te=ki.[168]
now up.to Kharia=P=OBL eye FOC=ADD=A.PRS=P
'THEIR ENEMY WAS GENERALLY THE DARHIYAL (LITERATLLY, 'THE BEARDED ONES'), BECAUSE UNTIL NOW [THEY] STILL CAST AN EVIL EYE ON THE KHARIA.'

18 khaɽiya a=te pal=oʔ=ki hin=te=ga kackac saphay=oʔ=ki.[169]
Kharia Q=OBL be.able=A.PT=P that(DIST)=OBL(= 'there')=FOC oppress V2:clean=A.PT=P
'WHEREVER THEY COULD, THEY OPPRESSED THE KHARIA.'

19 u=te aniŋ=aʔ purukha=ki[170] aw=ki=may jeʔ ikuḍ=ga seŋhor ro ḍaʔ
this=OBL(= 'here') 1P.INCL=GEN ancestor=P COP=M.PS.3P so very=FOC straight and water

uḍ=ga ro jiyom=aʔ sudhom. tam jou khaɽiya=ki jhaɽi buŋ=ga ro jhaɽi boʔ=te
drink=FOC and soul=GEN pure now up.to Kharia=P all INST=FOC and all place=OBL

ikuḍ=ga seŋhor ayiʔj=may.
very=FOC straight PRS.COP=3P

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[166] Standard form: *oḍoʔ oḍoʔ*, which is also found in the same line, apparently as a correction of *eḍoʔ iḍoʔ*.

[167] This is probably in reference to the characteristic beards of Muslim men. This is further suggested by the fact that one of the terms for Muslims, *tuɽko*, obviously originally the term for 'Turk' or someone of central Asian descent, is also occasionally used as a generic term for the Kharias' enemies (Rose Kerketta, personal communication). This usage probably derives from the Muslim invasions into the area several centuries ago, but certainly not from the troubles of prehistoric times. The term was obviously used at some later time to refer to all of those ethnic groups with which the Kharia had had difficult relations, regardless of when.

[168] The analysis of this predicate is somewhat uncertain, as the status of *gune* is not quite clear. *gune* has some properties of a focus marker (hence the gloss) but is found quite seldomly and is very limited in its distributional properties, although it is known to all speakers I consulted. They argued that *gune* means something like 'since, because', i.e., it refers to an event which happens since something else is present. It may be best to consider the predicate *moḍ gune* here to be a single, lexicalized unit. See also below, line 152, where the predicate is *muʔḍ gune yona laʔkimay* with the lexical morpheme *yo* 'see, look at'. There, the predicate can be analyzed as meaning 'since they had eyes (*muʔḍ gune*) they used to look [at the boys and girls] (*yona laʔkimay*). However, it is not possible that the speaker here misread *yo* as *jo*, since I questioned him on this predicate.

[169] There are two ways to analyze this clause, either with the predicate *saphay* and an object, *kackac* 'oppression', in a kind of "light-verb" construction (referred to generally in South Asian linguistics as a "conjuct-verb" construction), or with *kackac* as the lexical head of the predicate, and *saphay* as a so-called "V2". As this same morpheme (*saphay*) is found again in a similar example (line 65, below) where it seems to be a kind of "V2", I prefer this interpretation, although either of the two analyses is possible.

[170] Standard form: *purkha=ki*.

'SO HERE OUR ANCESTORS WERE VERY DIRECT (= STRAIGHT), "WATER DRINKING" [I.E., HONEST, STRAIGHT-FORWARD] AND PURE OF SOUL. UNTIL NOW, THE KHARIA ARE VERY DIRECT WITH ALL [PEOPLE] AND EVERYWHERE.'

20 laʔ aniŋ=aʔ khaɽiya bulbul, yane babilon, poʔda tay muʔ=kon ɖe<lem>ɖol[171]
then 1P.INCL=GEN Kharia Babylon i.e. Babylon village ABL emerge=SEQ come-???

arloʔ, serloʔsiŋ ghay hoy=kon u=ti^{ʔ}j ɖel=ki=may.
north south way COP=SEQ this=side come=M.PT=3P
'THEN OUR KHARIA [ANCESTORS], HAVING LEFT BULBUL, I.E., BABYLON, COMING ALONG, VIA (= HAVING BEEN) TO THE NORTH AND SOUTH, CAME THIS WAY.'

21 dhirom dhirom khaɽiya maha roke^{ʔ}d-loʔ paro=kon rusuŋ samuder ɖam=ki=may.
slowly REP Kharia big sand-place[172] cross=SEQ red ocean arrive=M.PT=3P
'SLOWLY BUT SURELY, THE KHARIA CROSSED THE GREAT DESERT AND ARRIVED AT THE RED SEA.'

22 u=ghay andaj ɖom=ta no ata bhere israeli lebu=ki rusuŋ samudar=te
this=way guess PASS=M.PRS CMPL Q time Israeli person=P red ocean=OBL

paro=na laʔ=ki,[173] hin bhere=jo khaɽiya=ki ho boʔ=ki=te=ga aw=ki=may.
cross=INF IPFV=M.PT then time=ADD Kheria=P that place=P=OBL=FOC COP=M.PT=3P
'THUS IT IS ASSUMED (= GUESSED) THAT AT THE TIME THAT THE ISRAELIS WERE CROSSING THE RED SEA, AT THAT TIME THE KHARIA WERE AT THOSE PLACES AS WELL.'

23 ho=ki=yaʔ duraŋ buŋ pata laʔ=ta:
that=P=GEN song INST known EMOT=M.PRS
'IT IS KNOWN THROUGHT THEIR SONGS:'

24 hayre isiraeli lebu=ki, hayri isiraeli lebu=ki, hayri isiraeli lebu=ki,
Oh! Israeli person=P Oh! Israeli person=P Oh! Israeli person=P
'OH, PEOPLE OF ISRAEL! OH, PEOPLE OF ISRAEL! OH, PEOPLE OF ISRAEL!'

25 iyam=ta=ki kunɖa^{ʔ}b yo=ta yota mugam=te=jo rusuŋ samuder
cry=M.PRS=P behind see=CONV REP front=OBL=ADD red ocean

kunɖa^{ʔ}b=te=jo pharo raja sipahi.
back=OBL=ADD pharao king soldier
'THEY WEEP, LOOKING BACK, IN FRONT, THE RED SEA AND IN BACK, THE PHARAO'S ARMY.'

26 hayri[174] iyam=ta=ki mugam yo=ta yota, hayri iyam=ta=ki kunɖa^{ʔ}b yo=ta yota.
Oh! cry=M.PRS=P front see=CONV REP Oh! cry=M.PRS=P back see=CONV REP
'OH! THEY WEEP, LOOKING AHEAD. OH! THEY WEEP, LOOKING BACK.'

27 rusuŋ samudar=aʔ joʔ-ɖaʔ joʔɖaʔ are=kon khaɽiya=ki dhirom dhirom
red ocean=GEN edge-water REP descend=SEQ Kharia=P slowly REP

[171] While not exactly the same, *ɖelemɖol* in line 20 is reminiscent of the combination "reduplication + *-nVm-* infix" construction referred to by Pinnow (1965:161, notes), where *-V-* has the quality of the preceding vowel. E.g. *go<nom>-goj* 'deceased' from *goj* 'die' and *ɖe<nem>ɖel* 'arrived' from *ɖel* 'come'. Unexpected is the presence of the <o> in the form *ɖelemɖol* in our text instead of <e> and also the <l> instead of the expected <n>. Perhaps a dialectal variant (see discussion of the language of this speaker at the beginning of this narrative).
[172] Not used as an independent word. It is the compound form of *loʔkha* 'earth, soil'.
[173] Note here that the predicate is not overtly marked for plurality, although the "subject" *israeli lebu=ki* is.
[174] Standard form: *hayre*.

ɖam=ki=may aroma raij.
arrive=M.PT=3P Rome kingdom
'THE KHARIA DESCENDED ALONG THE SHORE OF THE RED SEA AND SLOWLY BUT SURELY ARRIVED IN THE KINGDOM OF ROME.'

28 ho tay khaɽiya jitna sona, candi, hira, moti ka<ʔb>tiʔb=na
that ABL(= 'from there') Kharia CR.how.much gold silver diamond pearl collect-<CAUS>=INF

pal=oʔ=ki jhaɽi jeʔ sumtay=oʔ=ki.
be.able=A.PT=P all S.NHUM collect=A.PT=P
'FROM THERE, THE KHARIA COLLECTED AS MUCH GOLD, SILVER, DIAMONDS AND PEARLS AS THEY COULD COLLECT.'

29 dhirom dhirom khaɽiya aroma raij=aʔ u=tiʔj ɖam=ki=may.
slowly REP Kharia Rome kingdom=GEN this=side arrive=M.PT=3P
'SLOWLY THE KHARIA ARRIVED AT THIS SIDE OF ROME.'

30 laʔ atha jhelob, ikuɖ=ga jhelob ro ho mene=ga[175] cakar arbo samudar=te=jo
then heavy long very=FOC long and that CL=FOC wide Arab ocean=OBL=ADD

oɖoʔ=ki ho=ki "bapre!" gam=oʔ=ki.
other=P that=P wow! say=A.PT=P
'THEN AT THE HEAVY, LONG, VERY LONG AND SO VERY WIDE ARABIAN SEA THE OTHERS ALL SAID "WOW!".'

31 khaɽiya=ki bape no purkhe kehiyo=jo samudar umay yo=sikh=oʔ.
Kharia=P father or ancestor sometime=ADD ocean NEG.3P see=PERF=A.PT
'THE KHARIA'S ANCESTORS HAD NEVER SEEN AN OCEAN.'

32 jeʔ botuŋ buŋ thartharay=na mãɽe=yoʔ=ki.
so fear INST tremble=INF begin=A.PT=P
'SO THEY BEGAN TO TREMBLE WITH FEAR.'

33 khaɽiya oɖoʔ=ga pacli eŋ=ki=may, biru tobluŋ tay ho=ki cairucagurdi yo=yoʔ=ki.
Kharia more=FOC behind return=M.PT=3P mountain top ABL that=P all.four.sides see=A.PT=P
'THE KHARIA RETURNED FARTHER BACK, FROM THE MOUNTAIN TOP THEY LOOKED IN ALL FOUR DIRECTIONS.'

34 ho=ki thaham=na mãɽe=yoʔ=ki no "a=tiʔj co=na=niŋ a=tiʔj umboʔ?"
that=P ponder=INF begin=A.PT=P CMPL Q=side go=A.IRR=1P.INCL Q=side no
'THEY BEGAN TO PONDER [THEIR SITUATION, SAYING] "WHICH WAY SHALL WE GO AND WHICH WAY NOT?".'

35 dhirom dhirom ho=ki aroma raij biru tay are=ki=may.
slowly REP that=P Rome kingdom mountain ABL descend=M.PT=3P
'SLOWLY THEY DESCENDED FROM THE MOUNTAIN OF THE KINGDOM OF ROME.'[176]

36 ho=ki iran balucistan hoy=kon dhirom dhirom ɖam=ki=may.
that=P Iran Baluchistan COP=SEQ slowly REP arrive=M.PT=3P

[175] The use of a classifier with a demonstrative is restricted to *mene*, whose status as a classifier, however, is somewhat uncertain. For an example of *mene* following a genitive attribute, see [MS, 1:202] and note 112.
[176] Although in line 30 above the Kharia were at the "Arabian Sea", they are now suddenly back in Rome. Geographical "details" of this type should of not be taken too literally in folktales such as this.

'THEY ARRIVED SLOWLY VIA (= HAVING BEEN [IN]) IRAN AND BALUCHISTAN.'

37 kabul tay ho=ki ɖam=ki=may kayebar ghaʈo.
Kabul ABL that=P arrive=M.PT=3P Khyber valley
'FROM KABUL THEY ARRIVED AT THE KHYBER PASS.'

38 lebeʔbɖel aw=ki. muɖu kimin kũruʔ=ga[177] baʔ ruŋkuʔb
ascending.slope COP=M.PT one.CL daughter.in.law child=FOC unhusked.rice husked.rice

rokh=oʔ.
spill=A.PT
'THERE WAS A SLOPE. A CERTAIN DAUGHTER-IN-LAW SPILLED [SOME] RICE.'

39 ho=kaʈ=aʔ sasu=ɖom gam=oʔ:
that=S.HUM=GEN father.in.law=3POSS say=A.PT
'HER FATHER-IN-LAW SAID:'

40 "biru ɖeb=na ɖebna baʔ ruŋkuʔb roʔ=ki kay=e=bar. kimin kuŋruʔ,
mountain ascend=CONV REP "rice" spill=M.PT lift=A.IRR=2HON daughter.in.law child

moɲ ubar aʔ=bar=ga roʔ melay=e."
one two NEG.MOD=2HON=FOC spill leave=A.IRR
'PICK UP (HON) THE RICE WHICH WAS SPILLED WHILE CLIMBING THE MOUNTAIN. DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, DON'T (HON) SPILL AND LEAVE [EVEN] ONE OR TWO [OF THE RICE GRAINS].'"

41 baʔ ruŋkuʔb kay=na kayna tiʔ kaʈa loyoʔ=ki.
"rice" lift=CONV REP hand foot tired=M.PT
'SHE BECAME TIRED OF PICKING UP THE RICE (= HER HANDS AND FEET BECOME TIRED, LIFTING THE RICE).'

42 kay=e=bar! kimin kũruʔ, aʔ=bar=ga roʔ melay=e!
lift=A.IRR=2HON daughter.in.law child NEG.MOD=2HON=FOC spill leave=A.IRR
'PICK THEM UP (HON)! DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, DON'T SPILL [AND] LEAVE [ANY]!'

43 ho "kayebar!" gam=na gamna=te=ga ho ghaʈo=waʔ ɲimi hoy guɖ=ki[178]
that "kayebar! say=INF REP=OBL=FOC that valley=GEN name COP C:TEL=M.PT

"kayebar ghaʈo".
Kayebar valley
'BY CONSTANTLY SAYING "KAYEBAR" (= 'PICK UP'), THE NAME OF THAT VALLEY BECAME "KAYEBAR PASS (= VALLEY)".'

44 dhirom dhirom "kayebar" tay "kaybar" hoy guɖ=ki.
slowly REP "kayebar" ABL Khyber COP C:TEL=M.PT
'SLOWLY, FROM "KAYEBAR" "KHYBER" DEVELOPED.'

45 ho ghaʈo tay purkha=ki=ga lay koj=kon goʔjuŋ[179] bay=siʔ=may.
that valley ABL ancestor=P=FOC dig scrape=SEQ path build=PERF=3P

[177] Standard form: *konɖuʔ=ga*.
[178] Standard form: *goʔɖ=ki*.
[179] There are a number of various spellings of the term for 'path', perhaps the most common being *goʔɖjhuŋ* and *goʔjhuŋ*.

'FROM THAT VALLEY THE ANCESTORS, DIGGING AND SCRAPING, BUILT PATHS.'

46 kaybar ghaʈo hinte purkha khaṛiya moɲ ubar leraŋ guʔɖ=ga aw=ki=may.
Khyber valley LOC ancestor Kharia one two month like=FOC stay=M.PT=3P
'THE KHARIA ANCESTORS STAYED AT THE KHYBER PASS FOR A COUPLE OF MONTHS.'

47 ho moʔjhi=te khaṛiya phaham=na[180] laʔ=ki=may a=tiʔj co=na a=tiʔj umboʔ.
that middle=OBL Kharia ponder=INF begin[181]=M.PT=3P Q=side go=INF Q=side no
'DURING THIS TIME (= IN THE MIDDLE OF THAT), THE KHARIA BEGAN WONDERING WHICH WAY TO GO AND WHICH WAY NOT.'

48 moɲ khõṛha kayebar ghaʈo tay eɖoʔ=ga toʔbluŋ ɖel=ki=may.
one section Khyber valley ABL more=FOC high come=M.PT=3P
'ONE SECTION [OF THE GROUP] WENT UP EVEN HIGHER THAN THE KHYBER PASS.'

49 ho=ki jhelog jhelog[182] biru=ki tay toʔba=ga paro=ki=may.
that=P long REP mountain=P ABL pound.with.stick=FOC cross=M.PT=3P
'THEY CROSSED FROM THE VERY TALL MOUNTAINS, LEAVING SIGNS (= POUNDING WITH A STICK [TO MAKE SIGNS]) AS THEY WENT.'

50 ho=tiʔj tay=ga moɲ raij=aʔ ɲimi tibat hoy=ki.
that=side ABL=FOC one kingdom=GEN name Tibet become=M.PT
'FROM THAT SIDE THE NAME OF THE KINGDOM TIBET AROSE.'[183]

51 dhirom dhirom purkha=ki nepal, sikkin,[sic!] bhutan, arunacalprades, nagalainɖ,
slowly REP ancestor=P Nepal Sikkhim Bhutan Arunachal.Pradesh Nagaland

maŋipur, meghalay, tripura, mijoram hoy=kon barma tiʔj are=ki=may.
Manipur Meghalaya Tripura Mizoram COP=SEQ Burma side descend=M.PT=3P
'THE ANCESTORS GRADUALLY ARRIVED IN (= DESCENDED TOWARDS) BURMA VIA NEPAL, SIKKHIM, ARUNACHAL PRADESH, NAGALAND, MANIPUR, MEGHALAYA, TRIPURA AND MIZORAM.'

52 khaṛiya=ki darjiliŋ=jo ɖam=sikh=oʔ=ki.
Kharia=P Darjeeling=ADD arrive=PERF=A.PT=P
'THE KHARIA ALSO CAME TO DARJEELING.'

53 ho tay ho=ki moɲ khaṛiya melay ʈu=yoʔ=ki.
that ABL(= 'from there') that=P 1 Kharia leave DPT=A.PT=P
'FROM THERE, THEY LEFT ONE [GROUP] OF KHARIA BEHIND.'[184]

54 aniŋ purkha=ki kayebar ghaʈo tay=ga hinduŋ=kon tuta yo=yoʔ=ki
1P.INCL ancestor=P Khyber valley ABL=FOC bend.down=SEQ down see=A.PT=P

laʔ ho tuta raij=te "hinduŋ pur" gam=oʔ=ki.
then that down kingdom=OBL bend.down city say=A.PT=P

[180] *phaham* or *thaham* 'ponder'
[181] On the use of the "imperfective" marker *laʔ* with an inceptive function, see note 36. For further examples, see notes 49, 63, 250, 266 and 272.
[182] Standard form: *jhelob jhelob*.
[183] This is obviously an attempt to derive the name *tibat* 'Tibet' from Kharia *toʔba* 'pound with a stick'.
[184] This would seem to be an *ad hoc* explanation for the presence of a relatively large number of Kharia speakers in the northeast of India although these people are actually descendants of workers who migrated there in the 19th and early 20th centuries to work on the British-owned tea plantations.

'OUR ANCESTORS, HAVING BENT DOWN FROM THE KHYBER PASS [I.E., IN ORDER TO SEE THE LOWER LAND BETTER, AS THEY WERE IN THE MOUNTAINS], LOOKED DOWN AND THEY CALLED THE LOWER KINGDOM "HINDUNGPUR" (= 'BEND-DOWN CITY').'

55 dhirom dhirom ho=jeʔ=ga tama lebu=ki "hindustan" gam=te=ki.
slowly REP that=S.NHUM=FOC now person=P Hindustan say=A.PRS=P
'GRADUALLY, [BY CONSTANTLY SAYING "HINDUNGSTAN",] THE PEOPLE TODAY CALL THAT [KINGDOM] "HINDUSTAN" [= INDIA].'

56 dhirom dhirom purkha=ki peswar hoy=kon ɖam=ki=may jaldham.
slowly REP ancestor=P Peshawar COP=SEQ arrive=M.PT=3P Jaldham
'THE ANCESTORS GRADUALLY ARRIVED IN JALDHAM VIA PESHAWAR.'[185]

57 ho… ho=te=ga ho=ki sindhu ompay joʔ-ɖaʔ joʔɖaʔ tuta tiʔj
that that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC that=P Sindhu river edge-water REP down side

are=ki=may.
descend=M.PT=3P
'THERE, THEY DESCENDED DOWNWARDS ALONG THE BANKS OF THE INDUS (= SINDHU) RIVER.'

58 ro mohanjodoɽo ɖam=ki=may.
and Mohenjodaro arrive=M.PT=3P
'AND THEY ARRIVED AT MOHENJODARO.'

59 aw=na awna=te khaɽiya=ki ho=te oɖoʔ oʔ dura bay=kon
stay=CONV REP=OBL Kharia=P that=OBL(= 'there') again house door build=SEQ

ikuɖ=ga memon jou aw=ki=may.
very=FOC year up.to stay=M.PT=3P
'STAYING, THE KHARIA STAYED THERE FOR SEVERAL YEARS, AGAIN BUILDING HOMES (= HOUSES AND DOORS).'

60 ho ʈhãɽo=te purkha=ki ikuɖ=ga baru aw=ki=may.
that place=OBL ancestor=P very=FOC good COP=M.PT=3P
'THE ANCESTORS WERE VERY HAPPY (= GOOD) AT THAT PLACE.'

61 usar ro payter[186] ʈhãɽo=ki=te ho=ki lay=na koj=na mãɽe goɽh=oʔ=ki.
fertile and plain place=P=OBL that=P dig=INF scrape=INF begin C:TEL=A.PT=P
'THEY BEGAN TO DIG AND PLOW (= SCRAPE) THE FERTILE PLAINS (= FERTILE AND PLAIN PLACES).'

62 hoy=na hoyna=te khaɽiya ho=te ikuɖ=ga baʔ ruŋkub ro gohoŋ ubjay=na
COP=INF REP=OBL Kharia that=OBL(= 'there') very=FOC "rice" and wheat cultivate=INF

mãɽe=yoʔ=ki.
begin=A.PT=P

[185] Note that we are now back in the northwestern section of the subcontinent, where the Kharia supposedly first entered South Asia. Apparently the author has now gone back in time to the point where the Kharia have just entered South Asia, although it is then not clear when the Kharia are supposed to have made their journey to the east - all the way to Burma (Myanmar)! - unless they then retreated to the northwest before beginning their journey towards the east once again.
[186] Standard form: *paytar*.

'WHILE STAYING THERE, THE KHARIA BEGAN TO CULTIVATE RICE AND WHEAT.'

63 moŋ=ga darom=yaʔ biru laphŋga=ki=te purkha=ki khaɽiya buŋ=ga
1=FOC sacrifice=GEN mountain cave=P=OBL ancestor=P Kharia INST=FOC

i laʔ i bay=ta bayta likha likha bo<ʔb>re goɖ=sikh=oʔ=ki.
what then what build=CONV RPD write REP fill-<CAUS> C:TEL=PERF=A.PT=P
'THE ANCESTORS FILLED THE CAVES OF ONE SACRIFICIAL MOUNTAIN WITH WRITINGS OF WHAT ALL WAS BEING DONE BY THE KHARIA.'[187]

64 akil=aʔ kayom no musniŋ a=tiʔj tay=ko ɖel hambaʔ=ki moŋ maha dano
mind=GEN matter CMPL one.day Q=side ABL=CNTR come SUD=M.PT one big demon

ro poʔda=yaʔ jhaɽi lebu=ki=te diyo=ga muɖu muɖu=te ɲoʔ=na mãɽe=yoʔ
and village=GEN all person=P=OBL daily=FOC one.CL REP=OBL eat=INF begin=A.PT
'IT IS BELIEVED (= [IS] THE MATTER OF THE MIND) THAT ONE DAY, A GREAT DEMON SUDDENLY APPEARED FROM SOMEWHERE AND BEGAN TO EAT ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE, ONE BY ONE.'[188]

65 poʔda=ʔ jhaɽi lebu=ki botoŋ saphay=ki=may.
village=GEN all person=P fear V2:clean=M.PT=3P
'ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE WERE VERY AFRAID.'

66 musniŋ jhaɽi kõpuruʔ=ki[189] jume katiʔb=kon socay=oʔ=ki no
one.day all man=P assemble gather=SEQ think=A.PT=P CMPL

"ho dano=te i=guɖ=ga tar oʔ-gur=e=niŋ?"
that demon=OBL what=like=FOC kill CAUS-fall=A.IRR=1P.INCL
'ONE DAY, ALL THE MEN GATHERED AND THOUGHT "HOW WILL WE KILL (= KILL AND CAUSE TO FALL) THAT DEMON?"'

67 musniŋ jhaɽi kõpuruʔ=ki kaʔ koŋ[190] dhoʔ=kon dano=waʔ lam-lam muʔ=ki=may.
one.day all men=P bow arrow take=SEQ demon=GEN search-RDP emerge=M.PT=3P
'ONE DAY ALL THE MEN TOOK THEIR BOWS AND ARROWS AND WENT OUT TO LOOK FOR THE DEMON.'

68 musniŋ dinu bheir lam=oʔ=ki muda umay kuy=oʔ.
one.day day entire search=A.PT=P but NEG.3P find=A.PT
'ONE DAY, THEY SEARCHED ALL DAY BUT DIDN'T FIND [THE DEMON].'

[187] This may actually be in reference to writings I have seen carved in stone in Biru, near Simdega, in southwestern Jharkhand, despite the fact that in this version of the story the Kharia are now in northwestern South Asia. It is not clear just what is written on these stones in Biru, though - in fact, it is not even entirely clear in what language they are written, as the writings are quite old and now virtually illegible (at least the ones I have seen, which are relatively exposed to sun, wind and rain). I am told, however, that there are many more writings in the caves of the area, although I have not yet had a chance to see these myself. See also Pinnow (1965b:60, line 87), which possibly refers to these same inscriptions, although this is unclear.
[188] This would appear to refer to the same event as that described in [MS, 1:60ff.].
[189] Standard form: *koŋpuruʔ* or *kompuruʔ*.
[190] Alternate form: *kom*.

69 hoɖoŋ[191] dinu=jo dano=waʔ lam-lam[192] muʔ=ki=may ro dano=te tar=oʔ=may.
other day=ADD demon=GEN search-RDP emerge=M.PT=3P and demon=OBL kill=A.PT=3P
'THE NEXT DAY THEY ALSO SET OUT TO SEARCH FOR THE DEMON AND THEY KILLED THE DEMON.'

70 dano…, botoŋ…, dano=waʔ botoŋ purkha=ki=te bhine[193] goɖ=ki.
demon fear demon=GEN fear ancestor=P=OBL separate C:TEL=M.PT
'THE DEMON …, FEAR …, THE FEAR OF A DEMON [I.E., OTHER DEMONS], MADE THE ANCESTORS LEAVE (= SEPARATED THE ANCESTORS [FROM THAT PLACE]).'

71 hin bhere ho tay=jo yar=na maɽe=yoʔ=ki laʔ purkha=ki maha
that time that ABL(= 'from there')=ADD flee=INF begin=A.PT=P then ancestor=P big

dano=te tar=oʔ=ki.
demon=OBL kill=A.PT=P
'AT THAT TIME AS WELL THEY BEGAN TO FLEE FROM THERE, THEN THE ANCESTORS KILLED A GREAT DEMON.'[194]

72 tay=ko ho=ki ɖher=ga salsãt=ki=may.
then=CNTR that=P very=FOC become.calm=M.PT=3P
'BUT THEN THEY BECAME VERY CALM.'

73 muda dano=waʔ botoŋ=ko ho=ki=te bhinay=sikh=oʔ.
but demon=GEN fear=CNTR that=P=OBL separate=PERF=A.PT
'BUT THE FEAR OF A [FURTHER] DEMON MADE THEM LEAVE (= SEPARATED THEM).'

74 hin=aʔ ghaɖ=ga musniŋ jhaɽi khaɽiya=ki moŋ=ga darom=te meli melay=kon
that=GEN for=FOC one.day all Kharia=P one=FOC sacrifice=OBL REP leave=SEQ

eɖoʔ=ga pacli yar=oʔ=ki.
more=FOC behind flee=A.PT=P
'THEREFORE, ONE DAY ALL THE KHARIA LEFT A SACRIFICE AND FLED FURTHER BACK.'

75 sindhu ompay joʔ-ɖaʔ joʔɖaʔ ɖel=kon harpa=te ʈhahare=ki=may.
Sindhu river edge-water REP come=SEQ Harappa=OBL stay=M.PT=3P
'COMING TO THE BANKS OF THE INDUS (= SINDHU) RIVER, THEY STAYED IN HARAPPA.'

76 ho=te kheti uslo? bes bes aw=khoʔ.
that=OBL(= 'there') field soil good REP COP=PT.II
'THERE THE FIELDS AND THE SOIL WERE GOOD.'

77 ho=kaɽ=aʔ haha rapa go?jloʔ maɽe=yoʔ=ki.
that=S.HUM=GEN hurry rice.field put=A.PT=3P
'THEREFORE, THEY QUICKLY ESTABLISHED RICEFIELDS.'[195]

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[191] Standard form: *hoɖom*.
[192] Note the (quite common) use of the free form *lam-lam* instead of the infinitive *lam=na* in the function of the complement of a predicate. This seems to be the only predicate to my knowledge which is used this way.
[193] One would expect here the form *bhinay* 'separate (TR)' appearing in the active (cf. e.g. line 73 below).
[194] The speaker later informed me that the second half of this sentence is a repetition which advertantly made its way into the text.
[195] This is an attempt to derive the name "Harappa" from the Kharia word *haha rapa* 'quickly'. Cf. also [MS, 1:73], where this is explicitly stated. The reference of *ho=kaɽ=aʔ* here is unclear.

78 ho=te aw=na awna=te=jo purkha=ki aw=na umay pal=oʔ.
that=OBL(= 'there') stay=INF REP=OBL=ADD ancestor=P stay=INF NEG.3P be.able=A.PT
'[AS FOR] STAYING THERE, THE ANCESTORS COULDN'T STAY.'

79 ɖaɽhiyal=ki ho=ki=te ɖoko=na umay ter=oʔ.
Darhiyal=P that=P=OBL sit.down NEG.3P give=A.PT
'THE DARHIAL DID NOT LET THEM SETTLE [THERE].'

80 akhir purkha=ki ho tay=jo yar kan=oʔ=ki.
finally ancestor=P that ABL(= 'from there')=ADD flee CONT=A.PT=P
'FINALLY, THE ANCESTORS FLED FROM THERE AS WELL.'

81 eŋ=kon hariyana raij hinte ɖiyar=ki=may.
return=SEQ Hariyana kingdom LOC enter=M.PT=3P
'RETURNING, THEY ENTERED HARYANA.'

82 thorek toʔ ho=ki raylo kinir hinte ɖera=sikh=oʔ=ki,
few day that=P Railogarh forest LOC settle.down=PERF=A.PT=P

ro dhirom dhirom ho=ki ɖam=ki=may raylogaɽh.
and slowly REP that=P arrive=M.PT=P Railogarh
'THEY TOOK UP LODGINGS FOR A FEW DAYS IN THE RAILOGARH FOREST, AND THEY GRADUALLY ARRIVED AT RAILOGARH.'

83 coudwĩ satawadi aw=ki.
fourteenth century COP=M.PT
'IT WAS THE 14TH CENTURY.'

84 ho=ki ho bhere syambhu raja ro ɖakay rani=kiyar raij karay=na laʔ=ki=kiyar.
that=P that time Syambhu king and Dakai queen=D ruling do=INF IPFV=M.PT=D
'AT THAT TIME KING SYAMBHU AND QUEEN DAKAI WERE RULING.'[196]

85 syambhu raja ro ɖakay rani khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ sawaŋ ro ɖiɽhgar=te yo=kon
Syambhu king and Dakai queen Kharia=P=GEN power and courage=OBL see=SEQ

raja raŋi=kiyar ikuɖ khus=ki=kiyar.
king queen=D very happy=M.PT=D
'KING SYAMBHU AND QUEEN DAKAI, SEEING THE KHARIA'S POWER AND COURAGE, BECAME VERY HAPPY.'

86 ho bhere=ga raja ro rani=te mudui=ki=yaʔ botoŋ khaɽiya=ki sãghro=na
that time=FOC king and queen=OBL enemy=P=GEN fear Kharia=P help=INF

laʔ=ki=may.
IPFV=M.PT=3P
'AT THAT TIME THE KHARIA HELPED THE KING AND QUEEN [BECAUSE OF THEIR] FEAR OF THE ENEMY.'

87 musniŋ simbhu[197] raja ro mudui=ki=yaʔ moʔjhi=te maha laɽai hoy=ki.
one.day Syambhu king and enemy=P=GEN middle=OBL big war become=M.PT

[196] See [AK, 1:4ff.], where Syambhu and Dakai are the parents of the founders of the nine Kharia clans whereas here they are not Kharia. See also footnote **Fehler! Textmarke nicht definiert.** there.
[197] Alternate spellings/pronunciations: *syambhu, sembhu, simbhu*, also with <o> in place of <u>.

'ONE DAY, A GREAT WAR BROKE OUT BETWEEN KING SYAMBHU AND THE ENEMIES.'

88 muda khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ bole simbhu raja jit hoy=ki.
but Kharia=P=GEN with.the.help.of Syambhu king victorious become=M.PT
'BUT, WITH THE HELP OF THE KHARIA, KING SYAMBHU WAS VICTORIOUS.'

89 ɖakay rani khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ sawaŋ=te yo=kon ikuɖ=ga lereʔ=ki.
Dakai queen Kharia=P=GEN power=OBL see=SEQ very=FOC rejoice=M.PT
'QUEEN DAKAY, SEEING THE KHARIA'S POWER, BECAME VERY HAPPY.'

90 rani khaɽiya=ki=te gam=oʔ "iɲ musa am=p=aʔ sawaŋ ro ɖiɽhgar yo=kon
queen Kharia=P=OBL say=A.PT 1S today 2=P=GEN power and courage see=SEQ

ikuɖ=ga lereʔ=ki=ɲ.
very=FOC rejoice=M.PT=1S
'THE QUEEN SAID TO THE KHARIA, "SEEING YOUR COURAGE AND STRENGTH TODAY, I AM (= BECAME) VERY HAPPY.'

91 u lereʔ buŋ iɲ am=pe=te tuɖa raylo kinir hinte
this joy INST 1S 2=2P=OBL tomorrow Railogarh forest LOC

lam-lam co=na=ʔ thoŋ chuɽi ter[=e]=iɲ."
search-RDP go=INF=GEN PURP permission give=A.IRR=1S
'BECAUSE OF THIS JOY I WILL GIVE YOU PERMISSION TO GO HUNTING IN RAILOGARH FOREST TOMORROW.'"

92 hoɖom dinu mẽyaʔ=te goreʔj=ga khaɽiya konsel=ki bher=ga aw=ki=may.[198]
other day morning=OBL early.morning=FOC Kharia girl=P only=FOC remain=M.PT=3P
'AT DAWN THE NEXT MORNING, ONLY THE KHARIA GIRLS REMAINED [AT THE CAMP].'

93 mudui=ki=ko daw kuy=oʔ=ki.[199]
enemy=P=CNTR chance find=A.PT=P
'THE ENEMIES FOUND AN OPPORTUNITY.'

94 ho=ki phawɖ guʔɖ katiʔb=ki=may ro hathiyar ɖoʔɖ=ta ɖoʔɖta
that=P army like assemble=M.PT=3P and weapon take=CONV REP

seŋgor-ɖaʔ raylogaɽh hinte caɽhai karay=oʔ=ki.
straight-INTENS Railogarh LOC attack do=A.PT=P
'THEY ASSEMBLED LIKE AN ARMY AND, TAKING THEIR WEAPONS, [WENT] STRAIGHT TO RAILOGARH AND THERE THEY ATTACKED [THE KHARIA].'

95 ikuɖ=ga laɽai bhiɽai hoy=ki.
very=FOC war ECHO become=M.PT
'A GREAT WAR ENSUED.'

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[198] When the story was first told, this speaker said at this point that it was the boys (*kompuruʔ*) and girls who stayed behind. As this cannot be the case, since the boys and men have gone to hunt in the forest, he later changed this to just the girls being left behind.

[199] The speaker here actually said *mudui=ki=te=ko* with the OBL marker *=te*, which in standard Kharia would mean that the Kharia found the enemy by chance. In fact, it is the other way around – the enemy found a chance to attack the Kharia girls and women while the men and boys were gone hunting. As with the speaker MS above, this speaker occasionally marks certain subjects with *=te*, although with no apparent regularity. This topic requires further study.

96 ikuɖ=ga lebu tar ɖom=ki=may.
very=FOC person kill PASS=M.PT=3P
'A GREAT MANY PEOPLE WERE KILLED.'

97 akhir=te simbhu raja ro ɖakay rani=kiyar=jo tar ɖom=ki=kiyar.
end=OBL Syambhu king and Dakay queen=D=ADD kill PASS=M.PT=D
'IN THE END, KING SYAMBHU AND QUEEN DAKAY WERE ALSO KILLED.'

98 ho=ti$^{?}$j lam-lam koŋpuruʔ=ki lam-lam ti$^{?}$j tay eŋ=ki=may.
this=side search-RDP man=P search-RDP side ABL return=M.PT=3P
'THE MEN WHO HAD GONE HUNTING (= THE HUNTING MEN) THERE RETURNED HERE FROM HUNTING (= FROM THE HUNTING SIDE).'

99 khoɽi ɖam=kon ho=ki yo=yoʔ=ki laʔ jhaɽi ti$^{?}$j=ga tomoŋ las ro las.
village arrive=SEQ that=P see=A.PT=P then all side=FOC only corpse and corpse
'THEY RETURNED TO THE VILLAGE AND SAW CORPSES EVERYWHERE (= ONLY CORPSES AND CORPSES).'

100 raylogaɽh cakanacur=sikh=oʔ.
Railogarh come.to.an.end=PERF=A.PT
'RAILOGARH HAD COME TO AN END.'

101 poʔda=ɖom=ki=te konselɖuʔ=ki=yaʔ rãwkachar iŋam toroʔ ho=ki
village=3POSS=P=OBL woman=P=GEN weeping.and.wailing scream cry that=P

onɖor=oʔ=ki.
hear=A.PT=P
'IN THEIR VILLAGES THEY HEARD THE WEEPING AND WAILING, CRYING, AND SCREAMING OF THE WOMEN.'

102 simbhu raja ro ɖakay rani=kiyar=aʔ ata no pata umboʔ.
Syambhu king and Dakay queen=D=GEN Q CMPL(= 'anything') known no
'NOTHING WAS KNOWN OF KING SYAMBHU AND QUEEN DAKAY.'

103 akhir ho=ki[=te] pata laʔ guɖ=ki no ho=jeʔ=ki mudui=ki=yaʔ kamu=ga
finally that=P=OBL known EMOT C:TEL=A.PT CMPL that=S.NHUM=P enemy=P=GEN work=FOC

aw=ki.
COP=M.PT
'THEY FINALLY FOUND OUT THAT THESE [DEEDS] WERE THE WORK OF THE ENEMIES.'

104 enem raja ro rani=kiyar=aʔ aw-aw=te khaɽiya=ki kaɽi$^{?}$j=ko ɖher=ga
without king and queen=D=GEN COP-RDP=OBL Kharia=P somewhat=CNTR very=FOC

akbakay=ki=may.[200]
be.in.a.flurry=M.PT=3P
'WITHOUT THERE BEING A KING AND QUEEN, THE KHARIA PANICKED.'

[200] Note that in other versions of this story (e.g. Kullū, 1977 [2000:37ff.]) Simbhu and Dakay saved humanity, not the other way around, as here. Also, in the story here Simbhu and Dakay have been killed, which is not the case in other versions.

105 musniŋ ho=ki jhaɽi kuruʔ[201] hakon=ki=te somtay=oʔ=ki
one.day that=P all child ECHO=P=OBL collect=A.PT=P

ro kuda no kudi raylogaɽh tay yar kan=oʔ=ki.
and hurry CMPL ECHO Railogarh ABL flee CONT=A.PT=P
'ONE DAY THEY GATHERED UP ALL THE CHILDREN AND FLED QUICKLY FROM RAILOGARH.'

106 raylogaɽh tay muʔ=kon purkha=ki dhirom dhirom ɖel=ki=may ɖel-ɖaʔ-pur.
Railogarh ABL emerge=SEQ ancestor=P slowly REP come=M.PT=3P come-water-city(= 'Delhi')
'HAVING LEFT RAILOGARH, THE ANCESTORS GRADUALLY CAME TO DELHI.'

107 u=te purkha=ki jughay toʔ umay aw=ki.
this=OBL(= 'here') ancestor=P much day NEG.3P stay=M.PT
'THE ANCESTORS DIDN'T STAY LONG HERE.'

108 ho=ki paham=na[202] maɽe=yoʔ=ki no a=tiˀj co=na a=tiˀj umboʔ.
that=P ponder=INF begin=A.PT=P CMPL Q=side go=INF Q=side no
'THEY BEGAN TO PONDER WHICH WAY TO GO AND WHICH WAY NOT.'

109 akhir=te ho=ki dhirom dhirom mathura, agra, kanpur hoy=kon ɖam=ki=may
end=OBL that=P slowly REP Mathura Agra Cawnpur become=SEQ arrive=M.PT=3P
hardinagar.
Hardinagar
'FINALLY, AFTER HAVING BEEN [IN] MATHURA, AGRA AND CAWNPUR, THEY GRADUALLY ARRIVED IN HARDINAGAR.'

110 ho=te=ga manu purkha buɽha=ʔ saw-ɽay=ɖom jiyom ter=oʔ.
that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC Manu ancestor old.man=GEN spouse-woman=3POSS life give=A.PT
'RIGHT THERE, THE ELDERLY ANCESTOR MANU'S WIFE DIED.'

111 jhaɽi=ga ho=kaɽ=te til=oʔ raph=oʔ[203] ro ho saŋsaŋ ompay=te=ga
all=FOC that=S.HUM=OBL bury=A.PT bury=A.PT and that turmeric river=OBL=FOC

aɖi=yaʔ ɲimi buŋ uwaʔ buliˀj=ki=may.
ANAPH=GEN name INST bathe.oneself scrub.the head=M.PT=3P
'ALL BURIED HER AND BATHED AND SCRUBBED THEIR HEADS IN THE SANGSANG (= TURMERIC) RIVER IN HER NAME.'

112 ho ompay hinte kaɖom dhoʔ=sikh=oʔ=ki.
that river LOC fish grab=PERF=A.PT=P
'THEY TOOK FISH FROM THAT RIVER.'

113 ho kaɖom buŋ=ga kãɽaybog=aʔ[204] cuˀɖka metay=oʔ=ki.
that fish INST=FOC old.woman=GEN ritual.contamination eliminate=A.PT=P
'THE REMOVED THE IMPURITY OF THE ELDERLY WOMAN WITH THAT FISH.'

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[201] Standard form: *konɖuʔ*.
[202] *pham* or *tha(ha)m* 'ponder'.
[203] Other speakers I consulted rejected this sentence and insisted that it should read *til=oʔ raph=oʔ=ki …*, i.e., marked on the second predicating element for number. I unfortunately did not have the chance to ask this speaker later if this was merely a mistake. At any rate, the first part of this complex predicate, *til=oʔ*, is only partially finite, as person marking is lacking, which other speakers did accept as grammatical. For further examples of partially finite forms, see notes 8 and 150.
[204] Standard form: *kanɖayboʔ*, genitive *kanɖayboga?*.

114 ho bhere tay=ga khaɽiya=ki kaɖom cakhna[ʔ] hinte saŋsaŋ may=na melay=oʔ=ki.
that time ABL=FOC Kharia=P fish curry LOC turmeric mix=INF leave=A.PT=P
'SINCE THAT TIME, THE KHARIA GAVE UP THE PRACTICE OF (= LEFT) MIXING TURMERIC IN FISH CURRIES.'[205]

115 khoɽi poʔda boʔ=ki=te tam jou khaɽiya=ki kaɖom cakhna[ʔ] hinte saŋsaŋ
village.section village place=P=OBL now up.to Kharia=P fish curry LOC turmeric

umay may=te.
NEG.3P mix=A.PRS
'UP TO THE PRESENT DAY, IN THE VILLAGES AND VILLAGE SECTIONS, THE KHARIA DO NOT MIX TURMERIC INTO FISH CURRIES.'

116 ho=ki tenton=ga may=te=ki.
that=P tamarind=FOC mix=A.PRS=P
'THEY MIX IN TAMARIND.'

117 hardinagar tay muʔ=kon buli=ga buliga aɽmaɽay=ga
Hardinagar ABL emerge=SEQ wander=FOC REP go.back.and.forth=FOC
siʔɖ=ga col kan=ki=may aŋjor-ɖaʔ.
get.lost=FOC go CONT=M.PT=3P front-INTENS
'AFTER LEAVING HARDINAGAR, THEY CONTINUED ON (= KEPT GOING STRAIGHT FORWARD), WANDERING, GOING BACK AND FORTH AND GETTING LOST.'

118 muda… muda ɖaŋra mahara buŋ ho=ki ho=te aw=na umay pal=oʔ.
but but Dangra Mahara INST that=P that=OBL(= 'there') stay=INF NEG.3P be.able=A.PT
'BUT THEY COULD NOT STAY THERE BECAUSE OF THE DANGRA [AND] MAHARA.'

119 ho=te muʔ=kon purkha=ki dhirom dhirom ɖel kan=ki=may baysali,
that=OBL(= 'there') emerge=SEQ ancestor=P slowly REP come CONT=M.PT=3P Vaishali
'HAVING LEFT (= EMERGED FROM) THERE, THE ANCESTORS GRADUALLY CAME TO VAISHALI,'

120 baysali tay, hoy…, ho=ki moɲ baysali koŋtaŋ ro baysali sãɽ ol san=oʔ=ki.
Vaishali ABL that=P one Vaishali cow and Vayshali ox bring AMB=A.PT=P
'FROM VAISHALI THEY BROUGHT WITH THEM A VAISHALI COW AND VAISHALI OX.'

121 baysali boʔ tay ho=ki yar=ga purkha=ki=te u=tiʔj aŋjor ol=oʔ=kiyar.[206]
Vaishali place ABL that=P flee=FOC ancestor=P=OBL this=side front bring=A.PT=D
'FLEEING FROM VAISHALI, THEY [= THE COW AND OX] BROUGHT THE ANCESTORS THIS WAY.'

122 ho koŋtaŋ ro sãr=kiyar=te pukha=ki ikuɖ=ga mane=na laʔ=ki=may.
that cow and ox=D=OBL ancestor=P very=FOC honor=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THE ANCESTORS USED TO HONOR THAT COW AND OX VERY MUCH.'

123 tam jou khaɽiya=ki oreʔj koŋtaŋ=ki=te ikuʔɖ mane=te=ki.
now up.to Kharia=P ox cow=P=OBL very honor=A.PRS=P
'TO THE PRESENT DAY, THE KHARIA HONOR THE COW AND OX VERY MUCH.'

[205] This story may be motivated by the name Hardinagar (or perhaps vice versa). Compare Sadri *hardī* 'turmeric' and *nagar* 'city' with the name Hardinagar and the Sangsang (*saŋsaŋ* 'turmeric') River.
[206] This is undoubtedly in reference to the event described in [MS, 1:134-150] where the Kharia crossed the Yamuna and Ganges by holding on to the oxen's tails.

124 baysali tay muʔ=kon purkha=ki dhirom dhirom ɖel kan=ki=may sunjorighaʈ.
Vaishali ABL emerge=SEQ ancestor=P slowly REP come CONT=M.PT=3P Sunjorighat
'HAVING LEFT VAISHALI, THE ANCESTORS SLOWLY CONTINUED ON TO SUNJORIGHAT.'

125 kartik purnima=ʔ dinu aw=ki.
Karttik full.moon=GEN day COP=M.PT
'IT WAS THE DAY OF THE FULL MOON OF [THE MONTH OF] KARTIK.'

126 jaŋkoy puja dinu ɖam ɖel=sikh=oʔ.
spring.festival worship day arrive come=PERF=A.PT
'THE DAY [FOR DOING] JANGKOY PUJA HAD ARRIVED.'

127 ho dinu purkha=ki osel siŋkoy=te ponomoswar=te daɽom[207] o-ɖeʔb=na
that day ancestor=P white rooster=OBL God=OBL sacrifice CAUS-ascend=INF

laʔ=ki=may.
IPFV=M.PT=3P
'ON THAT DAY THE ANCESTORS USED TO SACRIFICE (= CAUSE TO ASCEND) A WHITE ROOSTER TO GOD.'

128 ho dinu purkha=ki kinir jãwta[208]=yaʔ komaŋ ɲõʔ=na laʔ=ki=may.
that day ancestor=P forest animal=GEN meat eat=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'ON THAT DAY THE ANCESTORS USED TO EAT THE MEAT OF FOREST ANIMALS.'

129 hin=aʔ ghaɖ=ga manu purkha buɽha aɖi=yaʔ ghol beʈa=ɖom=ki=te
that=GEN PURP=FOC Manu ancestor old.man ANAPH=GEN ten son=3POSS=P=OBL

kinir lam-lam ɖaŋ=oʔ.[209]
forest search-RDP send=A.PT
'FOR THAT VERY REASON, THE ELDERLY ANCESTOR MANU SENT HIS 10 SONS INTO THE FOREST TO HUNT.'

130 co=na=ʔ siŋ[210] buɽha aɖi=yaʔ beʔʈ=ɖom=ki=te u gam=oʔ:
go=INF=GEN first old.man ANAPH=GEN son=3POSS=P=OBL this say=A.PT
'BEFORE [THEIR] GOING, THE ELDERLY MAN SAID THIS TO HIS SONS:'

131 am=pe leŋ-leŋ jãwt tar ol=e=pe.
2=2P fly-RDP animal kill bring=A.IRR=2P
'"YOU KILL [AND] BRING [BACK] BIRDS (= FLYING ANIMALS)."'

132 sunjurighaʈ=te purkha=ki jughay toʔ aw=na umay pal=oʔ.
Sunjurighat=OBL ancestor=P much day stay=INF NEG.3P be.able=A.PT

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[207] Note that this speaker uses both *daɽom* and *darom*.
[208] Standard form: *j(h)ãwt*.
[209] This would seem to refer to the same story as that told in [AK, 1] and [MS, 2], although there are a number of differences. In [AK, 1], the father's name was "Sembho" (= Syambhu, in the present narrative an ally of the Kharia) whereas in [MS, 2] the father's name was "Hondo". In the present narrative the father's name is Manu, which is reminiscent of Manu in Hindu mythology. Also in both [AK, 1] and [MS, 2] there are 9 sons, not 10, who then go on to become the founders of the nine Kharia clans. The story of the nine clans plays no role in the present narrative, which is notable by its absence, as the speaker immediately goes on to tell how the Kharia stayed at Sunjurighat / Sonjorighat and then continued on to Patna. This incident merely appears to recall that SOMETHING happened with a father and his many sons which was important in Kharia history / mythology, but apparently the original story-teller was not familiar with the details.
[210] Standard form: *seŋ*.

'THE ANCESTORS COULD NOT STAY LONG AT SUNJURIGHAT.'

133 buli=ga buliga ho=ki dhirom dhirom ɖel kan=ki=may paʔʈopur.
wander=FOC REP that=P slowly REP come CONT=M.PT=3P Patna
'WANDERING ALONG, THEY GRADUALLY REACHED PATNA.'

134 u=te purkha=ki ikuʔɖ=ga memon jou aw=ki=may.
this=OBL(= 'here') ancestor=P very=FOC year up.to stay=M.PT=3P
'HERE THE ANCESTORS STAYED FOR SEVERAL YEARS.'

135 ho=ki gaŋga ompay=aʔ joʔ-ɖa[ʔ] joʔɖa[ʔ] hinte ɖoko=sikh=oʔ=ki.
that=P Ganges river=GEN edge-water REP LOC sit.down=PERF=A.PT=P
'THEY SETTLED ON THE BANKS OF THE GANGES RIVER.'

136 hin=aʔ ghaɖ=ga ho=ki=te goʔjloʔ aŋkay kamu=na sadhan=jo kui=sikh=oʔ=ki.[211]
that=GEN PURP=FOC that=P=OBL rice.field field work=INF means=ADD find=PERF=A.PT=P
'THEY FOUND, THEREFORE, LARGE RICE FIELDS AND OTHER FIELDS AND THE MEANS TO WORK THEM.'

137 goʔjloʔ aŋkay=ki ikuʔɖ=ga usar ro phaytar ʈhãɽo aw=ki.
rice.field field =P very=FOC extensive and fertile place COP=M.PT
'THE RICE FIELDS AND OTHER FIELDS WERE VERY EXTENSIVE AND FERTILE PLACES.'

138 ubjaw=ko heʔbne aw=ki no abu gam=e!
fertile=CNTR so.much COP=M.PT CMPL NEG.MOD.2S say=A.IRR
'DON'T EVEN SAY HOW FERTILE THEY WERE![212]'

139 dhirom dhirom purkha=ki ho=te oʔ dura bay=ta bayta aw=na
slowly REP ancestor=P that=OBL(= 'there') house door build=CONV REP live=INF

maɽe=yoʔ=ki.
begin=A.PT=P
'GRADUALLY, THE ANCESTORS, BUILDING HOMES (= HOUSES AND DOORS), BEGAN TO LIVE [THERE].'

140 paʔʈopur hinte purkha=ki boɽe boɽe mohol ro kaʔbʈo=ki bay=oʔ=ki.
Patna LOC ancestor=P big REP castle and door=P build=A.PT=P
'IN PATNA THE ANCESTORS BUILT GREAT HOMES (= CASTLES AND DOORS).'

141 ho=ki ho=te goʔjloʔ aŋkay kamu=na laʔ=ki=may.
that=P that=OBL(= 'there') rice.field field work=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THERE THEY WORKED THE RICE FIELDS AND OTHER FIELDS.'

142 jeʔ=ko kamu=na …, kamu=na laʔ=ki=may.
S.NHUM=CNTR work=INF work=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THEY WORKED IT [= THE LAND].'

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[211] Note that the subject here is not *ho=ki=te* but rather *sadhan*, so that a literal translation would read 'means to work the fields occurred (= were found) to them'. In TAM categories where there is an active/middle voice opposition, this predicate would appear in the middle voice. However, the past perfect only appears in the active. The middle voice with *kui* denotes that the event was sudden or unexpected, and that the finder did not act volitionally.

[212] Cf. the Hindi expression "… *ki pūcho mat*!" "Don't [even] ask …!", used in similar situations with a meaning 'You can't imagine [how …]!'.

143 ho=ki anaʔmanaʔ karkhana=jo bay=na laʔ=ki=may.
that=P whatever factory=ADD build=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THEY ALSO BUILT SOME KIND OF "FACTORY" (= SOME FACTORY OR OTHER).'[213]

144 ho=ki gaɽi cakaɽa laḍna oreʔj ro khaɽu=jo yo=na laʔ=ki=may.
that=P car cart merchandise ox and ox.cart=ADD see=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THEY ALSO SAW (???) CARTS, MERCHANDISE, OXEN AND OX CARTS.'

145 ho=ki baʔ rumkuʔb kuda, maso ro gohom kheti=na laʔ=ki=may.
that=P "rice" millet pulse and wheat cultivate=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'They cultivated rice, millet, pulse and wheat.'

146 ho=ki=yaʔ sona candi kãsa tamba=ki=yaʔ ɲoʔ=na saju aw=ki.
that=P=GEN gold silver bronze copper=P=GEN eat=INF vessel COP=M.PT
'THEY HAD EATING UTENSILS OF GOLD, SILVER, BRONZE AND COPPER.'

147 purkha=ki konsel=ḍom=ki=te bes bes lutuy oʔb-su=na laʔ=ki=may.
ancestor=P girl=3POSS=P=OBL good REP clothes CAUS-put.on=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THE ANCESTORS DRESSED THEIR GIRLS IN FINE CLOTHES.'

148 ho=ki konselḍuʔ=ḍom=ki=te sona candi=yaʔ muʔdhi,
that=P woman=3POSS=P=OBL gold silver=GEN ring

lola, pogri, mala oḍoʔ [oʔb]-su=na laʔ=ki=may.
earring turban garland etc. CAUS-put.on=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THEY DRESSED THEIR WOMEN IN RINGS, EARRINGS, TURBANS, GARLANDS, ETC. OF GOLD AND SILVER.'

149 paʔʈopur hinte purkha=ki jhaɽi buŋ=ga ikuʔḍ kisro=sikh=oʔ=ki.
Patna LOC ancestor=P all INST=FOC very wealthy=PERF=A.PT=P
'AT PATNA, THE ANCESTORS HAD BECOME VERY WEALTHY THROUGH ALL [THEIR WORK].'

150 u=jeʔ=ga yo=ta yota mudui=ki=yaʔ jiyom geʔb=na maɽe=yoʔ.
this=S.NHUM=FOC see=CONV REP enemy=P=GEN soul burn=INF begin=A.PT
'SEEING THIS, THE SOUL OF THE ENEMIES BEGAN TO BURN [I.E., THEY BECAME ENVIOUS].'

151 mohora[214]=jo puḍu=na maɽe=yoʔ.
Mahara=ADD explode=INF begin=A.PT
'THE MAHARA ALSO BECAME ENVIOUS (= BEGAN TO EXPLODE).'

152 purkha=ki=yaʔ beʔʈ=ḍom kulam ḍay=ḍom=ki=te mudui=ki
ancestor=P=GEN son=3POSS sibling woman=3POSS=P=OBL enemy=P

muʔḍ gune=ga yo=na laʔ=ki=may.[215]
eye FOC=FOC see=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THE ENEMIES BEGAN TO CAST AN EVIL EYE ON THE ANCESTORS' BOYS AND GIRLS (= SONS [AND THEIR] SISTERS (= SIBLING WOMEN)) (= SINCE THEY HAD EYES (= *muʔḍ gunega*) THEY USED TO WATCH THE BOYS AND GIRLS).'

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[213] What is meant here is obviously some kind of workshop where goods are produced, certainly not a factory in the modern sense.
[214] Standard form: *mahara*.
[215] See line 17 above and also note 168.

153 purkha=ki ore^{ʔ}j koŋtaŋ=ki=te, ho=ki dinu bhere=ga ɲon kan=na laʔ=ki=may
ancestor=P ox cow=P=OBL that=P day time=FOC drive CONT=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P

muda purkha=ki=yaʔ jiyom he^{ʔ}bne sudhom ro loreŋ aw=ki no
but ancestor=P=GEN soul so.much pure and pure COP=M.PT CMPL

ho=ki ber buŋ=jo kole^{ʔ}j kender umay so^{ʔ}j=na laʔ=ki.
that=P who INST=ADD quarrel argument NEG.3P think=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THE ANCESTORS USED TO DRIVE THEIR CATTLE DURING THE DAY BUT THE ANCESTORS' SOULS WERE SO PURE (= PURE AND PURE) THAT THEY DIDN'T THINK OF QUARRELS WITH ANYONE.'

154 kole^{ʔ}j=na lam=oʔ=ki hin=aʔ ghaɖ=ga khaɽiya=ki dhirom dhirom
quarrel=INF search=A.PT=P that=GEN PURP=FOC Kharia=P slowly REP

ɖel=ga siɖ=ga col=ta=ki.
come=FOC get.lost=FOC go=M.PRS=P
'THEY [= THE ENEMIES] WANTED TO FIGHT, THEREFORE THE KHARIA GRADUALLY MOVED ON IN THIS DIRECTION, GETTING LOST AS THE WENT.'

155 u seŋhor buʔdhi buŋ=ga mudui=ki aniŋ=aʔ purukha=ki=te iku^{ʔ}ɖ=ga
this straight mind INST=FOC enemy=P 1.P.INCL=GEN ancestor=P=OBL very=FOC

saʔdhe=na mãɽe=yoʔ=ki.
torment=INF begin=A.PT=P
'THE ENEMIES INTENTIONALLY (= WITH THIS STRAIGHT MIND) BEGAN TO TORMENT OUR ANCESTORS A GREAT DEAL.'

156 akhir tha^{ʔ}=ke hare=kon purkha=ki=te paʔɽopur tay yar=na=ga hoy=ki.
finally grow.tired=SEQ be.destroyed=SEQ ancestor=P=OBL Patna ABL flee=INF=FOC become=M.PT
'IN THE END, THE ANCESTORS, WEARY AND DEFEATED, HAD TO FLEE FROM PATNA.'

157 cuɽa^{ʔ}ɖ kaɽ …, cuɽa^{ʔ}ɖ kaɽ konon=ga aw=ki, saŋgoɖ=na um pal=na laʔ=ki.
small person REP small=FOC COP=M.PT walk=INF NEG be.able=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THE CHILD WAS [TOO] SMALL, IT COULDN'T WALK.'

158 hin=aʔ gha^{ʔ}ɖ muɖu beriya[216] dada=ɖom=kiyar=te aɖi=yaʔ sori sori
that=GEN PURP one.CL two.people elder.brother=3POSS=D=OBL ANAPH=GEN with REP

paʔɽopur=te=ga ho=ki melay ɽu=yoʔ=ki.
Patna=OBL=FOC that=P leave DPT=A.PT=P
'THEREFORE THEY LEFT ONE OR TWO ELDER BROTHERS BEHIND WITH HIM IN PATNA.'

159 ho=kaɽ=aʔ thoŋ moɲ toŋliŋ[217] gam=kon dudharu gay=jo ho=ki melay
that=S.HUM=GEN for 1 milk say=SEQ milk.bearing cow=ADD that=P leave

ɽu=yoʔ=ki.
DPT=A.PT=P
'FOR HIM [I.E., THE SMALL CHILD] THEY ALSO LEFT A MILK COW BEHIND FOR MILK (= HAVING SAID "MILK").'

[216] Standard form: *bariya*.
[217] Standard form: *tomliŋ*.

160 maha kulam paʔʈopur tay seŋ muʔ=ki=may. ho=ki kuɖaʔb[218]
big brother Patna ABL first emerge=M.PT=3P that=P behind

aw=ki=may ho=ki=te u gam ʈu=yoʔ=ki:
stay=M.PT=3P that=P=OBL this say DPT=A.PT=P
'THE ELDER BROTHERS SET OUT FROM PATNA FIRST. THEY SAID TO THOSE BEHIND (BEFORE THEY LEFT):'

161 ele goʔjhuŋ goʔjhuŋ daru=ki=te eɳɖi buŋ toʔba=ga thoŋ=ga co=na=le
1P.EXCL path REP tree=P=OBL pole INST pound.with.=FOC pound.=FOC go=M.IRR=1P.EXCL
stick with.rock

culha cawka=ki=te melay=ga co=na=le hinte thoŋliŋ[219] roʔ=ga
stove ECHO=P=OBL leave=FOC go=M.IRR=1P.EXCL that(DIST)=OBL(= 'there') milk spill=FOC

co=na=le. ho=jeʔ=ki=ga yo=ta yota am=pe ele=te ɖuluj=e=pe.
go=M.IRR=1P.EXCL that=S.NHUM=P=FOC see=CONV REP 2=2P 1P.EXCL=OBL follow=A.IRR=2P
'WE (EXCL) WILL POUND STICKS AND ROCKS AGAINST TREES ALONG THE WAY [TO MAKE MARKS], LEAVE STOVES BEHIND AND SPILL MILK THERE [AS SIGNS]. SEEING THESE THINGS, FOLLOW US.'

162 gaŋga ro son ompay joʈan boʔ=te dada=ɖom=ki moŋ rusuŋ jhanɖa
Ganges and Son river confluence place=OBL elder.brother=3POSS=P one red flag

[oʔ-]muʔ=sikh=oʔ.
CAUS-emerge=PERF=A.PT
'AT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE GANGES AND SON RIVERS, THE ELDER BROTHERS HOISTED (= CAUSED TO EMERGE) A RED FLAG.'

163 ho boʔ=te=ga ompay parom=ki=may.[220]
that place=OBL=FOC river cross=M.PT=3P
'THE CROSSED THE RIVER AT JUST THAT PLACE.'

164 jhaʈi=ga ho boʔ=te=ga khirom paro=ki=may.
all=FOC that place=OBL=FOC river cross=M.PT=3P
'ALL CROSSED THE RIVER AT THAT PLACE.'

165 jhaʈi kulam ɖay=ɖom=ki=jo dada=ɖom=ki=yaʔ sori sori=ga ompay
all sibling woman=3POSS=P=ADD elder.brother=3POSS=P=GEN with REP=FOC river

paro=ki=may.
cross=M.PT=3P
'ALL THE SISTERS ALSO CROSSED THE RIVER WITH THE ELDER BROTHERS.'

166 ho=ki lamɖom keʰeʔ buŋ ompay paro=ki=may.
that=P *lamdom*.tree rope INST river cross=M.PT=3P
'THEY CROSSED THE RIVER WITH THE [HELP OF A] *LAMDOM*-ROPE.'

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[218] Standard form: *kunɖaʔb*. Note that the phrase *kuɖaʔb aw=ki=may* is a modifier of *ho=ki=te*, i.e. 'those who were behind'.
[219] Standard form: *tomliŋ*.
[220] Standard form: *paro=ki=may*.

167 aḍ=ki=yaʔ ompay paro=na boʔ=te=jo mudui=ki kuday dakha=sikh=oʔ=ki,
ANAPH=P=GEN river cross=INF place=OBL=ADD enemy=P chase CONAT=PERF=A.PT=P
'THE ENEMIES TRIED TO CHASED THEM ALSO AT THE PLACE WHERE THEY CROSSED THE RIVER,'

168 muda dada=ḍom=ki mudui=ki=te pasa=kon kuday goṭh=oʔ=ki.
but elder.brother=3POSS=P enemy=P=OBL beat=SEQ chase C:TEL=A.PT=P
'BUT THE ELDER BROTHERS DROVE THE ENEMIES OFF (= HAVING BEATEN THE ENEMIES, THEY CHASED THEM).'

169 muda dada=ḍom=ki=yaʔ aw-aw=te ber beṭi=ki=te um uḍuŋ=na
but elder.brother=3POSS=P=GEN COP-RDP=OBL who dauther=P=OBL NEG make.flee=INF

pal=e.
be.able=A.IRR
'BUT AS LONG AS THE ELDER BROTHERS ARE PRESENT, NO ONE WILL BE ABLE TO DRIVE AWAY THE DAUGHTERS.'

170 dada=ḍom=ki mudui=ki=te pasa=kon ob-yar goṭh=oʔ=ki.
elder.brother=3POSS=P enemy=P=OBL beat=SEQ CAUS-flee C:TEL=A.PT=P
'THE ELDER BROTHERS BEAT THE ENEMIES AND DROVE THEM AWAY.'

171 u anes ghaṭana yadgari buŋ=ga purkha=ki beʔṭ=ḍom kulam ḍay=ḍom=ki=yaʔ
this several incident remebrance INST=FOC ancestor=P son=3POSS sibling woman=3POSS=P=GEN

somo hinte ek saw gyara oʔb-kho<ʔb>da=na laʔ=ki=may.
forehead LOC one hundred eleven CAUS-paint.oneself-<CAUS>=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'IN (= THROUGH) REMEMBRANCE OF THESE SEVERAL INCIDENTS, THE ANCESTORS USED TO HAVE THE SIGN "111" TATTOOED (= PAINTED) ON THE FOREHEADS OF THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS.'[221]

172 tama condo=ko khaṛiya beṭi kuruʔ=ki=te sikhay poṭhe=ki=may.
now time=CNTR Kharia girl child=P=OBL teach read=M.PT=3P
'BUT NOW THE KHARIA GIRLS ARE LITERATE (= THEY "TEACH-READ"-ED THE GIRLS).'

173 hin=aʔ ghaʔḍ=ga ho=ki=te oʔb-khoda=na melay goṭh=oʔ=ki.
that=GEN for=FOC that=P=OBL CAUS-paint.oneself=INF leave C:TEL=A.PT=P
'THEREFORE, THEY STOPPED TATTOOING THEM [I.E., SINCE THEY CAN NOW READ ABOUT THE STORY, THEY DON'T NEED THIS KIND OF REMINDER].'

174 cuṭaʔḍḍa kaṛ kulam maha=ki[222] saŋgoʔḍ=na pal=oʔ bhere kulam ḍay
small person brother big=SEQ walk=INF be.able=A.PT time sibling woman

dada=ḍom=ki=te ho=ki u=ghay utuŋ=sikh=oʔ=ki hin=ghay=ga ḍulich=oʔ=ki.
elder.brother=3POSS=P=OBL that=P this=way call.out=PERF=A.PT=P that=way=FOC follow=A.PT=P
'WHEN THE YOUNGER BROTHER GREW UP AND COULD WALK, THEY CALLED OUT TO THE SISTERS [AND] ELDER BROTHERS THUS, THEY FOLLOWED THEM THAT WAY.'

[221] Although this practice is now extremely seldom, to my knowledge only Kharia girls have ever been tattooed in this fashion, not the boys. This seems to be assumed in line 172 as well. "111" refers to three vertical lines tattooed on the forehead.
[222] Standard form: *maha=ke*. Or perhaps *maha=ki* (big=M.PT) 'he became big = grew up'?

175 u=ki, dada=ɖom=ki, rohtasgaɽh hinte japh=oʔ=ki.
this=P elder.brother=3POSS=P Rohitasgarh LOC catch.up.with=A.PT=P
'THEY, THE ELDER BROTHERS [= THE ONE OR TWO ELDER BROTHERS WHO WERE TAKING CARE OF THE YOUNG CHILD], CAUGHT UP WITH [THE OTHER ELDER BROTHERS AND THE SISTERS] AT ROHITASGARH.'

176 maha kulam=ki paʔʈopur tay seŋ muʔ=ki=may ro u=tiʔj ɖel=ki=may.
big brother=P Patna ABL first emerge=M.PT=3P and this=side come=M.PT=3P
'THE ELDER BROTHERS SET OUT FIRST FROM PATNA AND CAME THIS WAY.'

177 hin=aʔ ghaʔɖ=ga ho=ki "ɖel=ki konon khaɽiya" gam ɖom=na laʔ=ki=may.
that=GEN for=FOC that=P come=M.PT small Kharia say PASS=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THEREFORE THEY CAME TO BE CALLED THE "DELKI KONON KHARIA" (I.E., 'THE LOWER (= SMALL) KHARIA WHO CAME') [NOW KNOWN AS THE "D(H)ELKI KHARIA"].'

178 muda asal buŋ=ko ho=ki=ga maha khaɽiya aw=ki=may.
but true INST=CNTR that=P=FOC big Kharia COP=M.PT=3P
'BUT IN FACT THEY WERE THE ELDER (= BIG) KHARIA.'

179 maha=ki goʔjhuŋ hinte i no i jait=yaʔ lebu=ki=yaʔ peʔ
big=P path LOC what or what ethnic.group=GEN person=P=GEN rice

ɲokh=oʔ=ki ro konon goʔɖ=ki=may.
eat=A.PT=P and small C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'THE ELDER ONES ATE THE FOOD (= RICE) OF PEOPLE OF VARIOUS TRIBES ALONG THE WAY AND [THUS] BECAME SMALL [I.E., IMPURE].'

180 kunɖab aw=ki tomliŋ khaɽiya gam ɖom=na laʔ=ki=may ina no u=ki
behind COP=M.PT milk Kharia say PASS=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P why CMPL(= 'because') this=P

tomliŋ uʔɖ=ga ɖel=ki=may.
milk drink=FOC come=M.PT=3P
'THOSE IN THE REAR WERE CALLED "MILK KHARIA" BECAUSE THEY CAME DRINKING MILK.'

181 ɖher memon jou u konon maha khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ kayom aw=ki=ga
very year up.to this small big Kharia=P=GEN speech COP=M.PT=FOC

muda san aʈhara sos calis pãytalis iswi=ki=te u konon maha kayom=ki=te
but Christian.year 18 100 40 45 Christian=P=OBL this small big speech=P=OBL

khaɽiya maha ɖoklo ʔ galayʈuli hinte=ga khatam=kon jhaɽi khaɽiya=ki=te
Kharia big assembly Galaituli LOC=FOC end=SEQ all Kharia=P=OBL

me<ʔb>tiʔb may=oʔ=ki.
assemble-<CAUS> TOTAL=A.PT=P
'FOR SEVERAL YEARS THIS TALK OF GREATER AND LESSER KHARIA CONTINUED (= WAS) BUT AROUND 1840-1845 A.D., AT THE GREAT KHARIA ASSEMBLY AT GALAITULI, THEY PUT AN END TO THESE DISCUSSIONS OF GREATER AND LESSER AND THEY ASSEMBLED ALL KHARIA.'[223]

182 u=je[ʔ] ikuʔɖ=ga baru ro loreŋ kayom heke.
this=S.NHUM very=FOC good and pure matter PRS.COP

[223] This is probably the same event as the one referred to above in [MS, 1:301ff.].

'THIS IS A VERY GOOD AND PURE MATTER.'

183 u=kaɽ=aʔ[224] thoŋ buɽha=ki=te iku^{ʔ}ɖ iku^{ʔ}ɖ dhain mane=na ayi^{ʔ}j.
this=S.HUM=GEN for old.man=P=OBL very REP thank honor=INF PRS.COP
'FOR THIS [= FOR WHAT THEY DID], THE ELDERS SHOULD BE THANKED AND HONORED (= ONE SHOULD THANK [AND] HONOUR THE ELDERS FOR THIS).'

184 ho bhere khaɽiya maha ɖoklo ʔ=yaʔ sohor aw=ki=kiyar.
that time Kharia big assembly=GEN great.man COP=M.PT=HON
'AT THAT TIME THERE WAS A GREAT MAN (HON) OF THE KHARIA GREAT ASSEMBLY.'[225]

185 laʔ paʔɽopur tay muʔ=kon purkha=ki dhirom dhirom ɖel=ki=may u=ti^{ʔ}j.
then Patna ABL emerge=SEQ ancestor=P slowly REP come=M.PT=3P this=side
'THEN THE ANCESTORS LEFT PATNA AND GRADUALLY CAME IN THIS DIRECTION.'

186 ho=ki ɖam=ki=may rohtasgaɽh.
that=P arrive=M.PT=3P Rohitasgarh
'THEY ARRIVED IN ROHITASGARH.'[226]

187 u=jeʔ purkha=ki iku^{ʔ}ɖ memon jou aw=ki=may.
this=S.NHUM ancestor=P much year up.to stay=M.PT=3P
'HERE THE ANCESTORS STAYED FOR SEVERAL YEARS.'

188 paʔɽopur=te=ga ho=ki ikuɖ=ga kisro=sikh=oʔ=ki hin=aʔ caʔɖom ho=ki rohtaspur
Patna=OBL=FOC that=P much=FOC wealthy=PERF=A.PT=P that=GEN for that=P Rohitasgarh

hinte ɖoko dhab=na pal=oʔ=ki.
LOC sit.down SUD=INF be.able=A.PT=P
'IN PATNA THEY HAD BECOME VERY WEALTHY, THEREFORE THEY WERE ABLE TO SETTLE DOWN QUICKLY IN ROHITASGARH.'

189 ho=ki=yaʔ=[te][227] ore^{ʔ}j koŋtaŋ=ko aw=ki=ga hin=aʔ gha^{ʔ}ɖ=ga ho=ki=te
that=P=GEN=OBL ox cow=CNTR COP=M.PT=FOC that=GEN for=FOC that=P=OBL

go^{ʔ}jloʔ aŋkay kamu=na buŋ jughay saset um hoy=ki.
rice.field field work=INF INST much difficulty NEG become=M.PT
'THEY HAD OXEN AND COWS, THEREFORE THEY DIDN'T HAVE MANY DIFFICULTIES WITH WORKING THE RICE FIELDS AND OTHER FIELDS.'

190 u=te ho=ki eɖoʔ jughay baʔ ruŋku^{ʔ}b ruphya ɖhebwa kamu=ki=may.
this=OBL(= 'here') that=P even much "rice" money money earn=M.PT=3P
'HERE THEY EARNED EVEN MORE RICE AND MONEY.'

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[224] Despite the fact that *ukaɽ* is restricted to human reference in the standard language, it is not uncommon for speakers to use it with reference to non-animates, as here.

[225] There follows here a section of text which the speaker did not understand. For this reason I have not included it here. It appears to have been a number of names of "Great Men" and where they were from, their professions, etc.

[226] This portion of the text apparently refers back to the text in lines 156-175 above and picks up there again.

[227] The speaker actually said *tay* 'ABL' here, but I have corrected this to *te* 'OBL'. This construction is commonly used to express alienable possession and most likely derives from the possessor in the genitive followed by *boʔ=te* 'at the place (of)', where *boʔ* 'place' is optional. To my knowledge however, *tay* is never used this way.

191 dhirom dhirom ho=ki ho=te=jo bore[228] bore mohol ro ka^{ʔ}bʈo=ki
slowly REP that=P that=OBL(= 'there')=ADD great REP castle and door=P

bay=oʔ=ki.
build=A.PT=P
'GRADUALLY, THEY BUILT GREAT HOMES (= CASTLES AND DOORS) THERE AS WELL.'

192 u=jeʔ=ki=ga yo=ta yota u=te=jo mudui=ki=yaʔ jiyom ge^{ʔ}b=na
this=S.NHUM=P=FOC see=CONV REP this=OBL(= 'here')=ADD enemy=P=GEN soul burn=INF

maɽe=yoʔ=ki.
begin=A.PT=P
'HERE ALSO, SEEING ALL THESE THINGS, THE ENEMIES' SOUL BEGAN TO BURN [WITH ENVY].'

193 u=te=jo mudui=ki purkha=ki=te saʔdhe=na maɽe=yoʔ=ki.
this=OBL(= 'here')=ADD enemy=P ancestor=P=OBL torment=INF begin=A.PT=P
'HERE AS WELL THE ENEMIES BEGAN TO TORMENT THE ANCESTORS.'

194 musniŋ jaŋkoy=aʔ dinu aw=ki.
one.day spring.festival=GEN day COP=M.PT
'ONCE IT WAS THE DAY OF THE JANGKOY FESTIVAL.'

195 ho dinu purkha=ki osel siŋkoy=te aɖ=ki=yaʔ sarna hinte ɖoʔɖ=kon
that day ancestor=P white rooster=OBL ANAPH=P=GEN place.of.worship LOC take=SEQ

bhagwan=ɖom=ki=te daɽom o-ɖeʔb=na laʔ=ki=may.
god=3POSS=P=OBL sacrifice CAUS-ascend=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'ON THAT DAY THE ANCESTORS USED TO TAKE A WHITE ROOSTER TO THEIR PLACE OF WORSHIP AND OFFER IT UP TO THEIR GODS.'

196 ho dinu purkha kinir jawt=aʔ komaŋ=jo ɲoʔ=na laʔ=ki=may.
that day ancestor forest animal=GEN meat=ADD eat=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'ON THAT DAY THE ANCESTORS ALSO USED TO EAT THE MEAT OF FOREST ANIMALS.'

197 hin=aʔ ghaʔɖ=ga jhaɽi kopuruʔ=ki kinir lam-lam tay eŋ=sikh=oʔ=ki.
that=GEN for=FOC all man=P forest search-RDP ABL return=PERF=A.PT=P
'THEREFORE ALL THE MEN RETURNED FROM THE FOREST HUNT.'

[228] Standard form: *boɽe*.

198 ho=ti^{ʔ}j golaŋ=jo purkas kui=sikh=oʔ=ki bul=kon lelem=sikh=oʔ=ki.[229]
that=side rice.beer=ADD very.much find=PERF=A.PT=P get.drunk=SEQ fall.asleep=PERF=A.PT=P
'THERE THEY ALSO FOUND A GREAT DEAL OF RICE BEER, GOT DRUNK AND FELL ASLEEP.'

199 mudui=ki ho=ki=yaʔ raŋdaŋ=te yo=yoʔ=ki, ho=ki ghaɖ kuy=oʔ=ki.
enemy=P that=P=GEN drunken.state=OBL see=A.PT=P that=P opportunity find=A.PT=P
'THE ENEMIES SAW THEIR DRUNKENNESS, THEY FOUND AN OPPORTUNITY.'

200 ho=ki gam=oʔ=ki "el=aʔ gha^{ʔ}ɖ …, [the rest in Sadri]".
that=P say=A.PT=P 1P.EXCL=GEN for
'THEY SAID, "FOR US …, IF WE DON'T SURROUND THEM NOW, WE'LL NEVER BE ABLE TO.'"

201 jhaɽi mudui=ki hathiyar ɖoʔ=ta ɖoʔta aɖ=ki=yaʔ poʔda tay muʔ=ki=may.
all enemy=P weapon take=CONV REP ANAPH=P=GEN village ABL emerge=M.PT=3P
'ALL THE ENEMIES GRABBED THEIR WEAPONS AND SET OUT FROM THEIR VILLAGE.'

202 khaɽiya ɖay=ki=ko buʔjhi guɖ=siʔ=ki.
Kharia woman=P=CNTR understand C:TEL=PERF=P
'THE KHARIA WOMEN UNDERSTOOD [THE SITUATION].'

203 ho=ki turthe=ga apan apan oɽiyay dha^{ʔ}b=na suru=yoʔ=ki.
that=P fast=FOC REFL REP put.in.order SUD=INF begin=A.PT=P
'THEY QUICKLY BEGAN TO PUT THEMSELVES IN ORDER.'

204 mudui=ki=yaʔ[230] lutui su dhaph=oʔ=ki no jhaɽi=ga kaʔ kom dhokh=oʔ=ki
enemy=P=GEN clothing put.on SUD=A.PT=P CMPL all=FOC bow arrow grab=A.PT=P

ro loɽimaɽe=ga mudui=ki=te kuday=na maɽe=yoʔ=ki.
and run.here.and.there=FOC enemy=P=OBL chase=INF begin=A.PT=P
'THEY IMMEDIATELY PUT ON THE ENEMIES' [ACTUALLY: THEIR MEN'S] CLOTHING AND ALL GRABBED BOW AND ARROW AND, RUNNING TO AND FRO, THEY BEGAN TO DRIVE BACK THE ENEMY.'

205 mudui=ki botuŋ buŋ u=ti^{ʔ}j, a=ti^{ʔ}j pal=oʔ=ki, hin=ti^{ʔ}j=ga botoŋ-son yar=oʔ=ki.
enemy=P fear INST this=side Q=side be.able=A.PT=P that=side=FOC fear-INTENS flee=A.PT=P

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[229] A similar tale to the following episode is also told by the Kurukh of the region. Cf. the following, taken from Tirkey, (1998:28f.), concerning the title of a Kurukh-language periodical, *Sinagi Dai* and the story behind its name. I reprint the entire relevant passage here, as Tirkey's book is hard to obtain outside of the region:

> [The periodical *Sinagi Dai*, JP] is named so after the name of a tribal Princess Sinagi of Rohtas Garh some two and half thousand years ago according to the traditional belief of the [Kurukh, JP]. With her extraordinary courage and valour she led the women in men's attire and lethal weapons in hands to confront the enemies, when on annual "Sarhul Festival Day" her own menfolk - the soldiers ("Paikers") in the fort were all down in festive drinks and were not in a position to pick up arms against the on-coming invaders. Princess Sinagi, leading her women batallion defeated the enemies three times showing great feat of an undaunted bravery like Queen Laxmibai of Jhansi. In memory of that historic event at Rohtas Garh, even to-day the tribal women in [Jharkhand, JP] once in twelve years come out dressed as men and armed with lethal weapons ready to fight the enemy. But in the absence of any enemy, they go out on hunting spree from village to village chasing and killing goats, pigs, and hens and cocks that come their way. This hunting tradition is called "Jani sikar or Mukka Sendra".

This festival no longer seems to be carried out this way, undoubtedly due to the inevitable trouble that ensues when villagers whose livestock happen to be in the way are slaughtered by the women.

[230] This is undoubtedly a slip of the tongue, as the women put on their husbands' clothing, not that of the enemy.

'THE ENEMIES FLED IN GREAT FEAR TO WHEREVER THEY COULD.'

206 khaɽiya ɖay=ki ho=ki=te kuday=kon hoɖoŋ[231] siman tiʔj oʔb-yar=na maɽe=yoʔ=ki.
Kharia woman=P that=P=OBL chase=SEQ other border side CAUS-flee=INF begin=A.PT=P
'THE KHARIA WOMEN CHASED THEM AND BEGAN TO DRIVE THEM OFF TO A DIFFERENT DIRECTION (= BORDER).'

207 jhaɽi poʔda hinte muɖu laʔ muɖu gãysi aw=ta=ki=ga.
all village LOC one.CL then one.CL spy COP=M.PRS=P=FOC
'IN ALL VILLAGES THERE ARE SOME SPIES.'

208 ho poʔda=te=jo muɖu mahara ɖay gãysi aw=ki.
that village=OBL=ADD 1.CL Mahara woman spy COP=M.PT
'IN THAT VILLAGE THERE WAS ALSO A WOMAN MAHARA SPY.'

209 ho=kaɽ khoɽi buli=na modhe buŋ khaɽiya=ki=yaʔ jhaɽi habhaw=te
that=S.HUM village.section wander=INF means INST Kharia=P=GEN all mannerisms=OBL

erikhudi koŋ may=sikh=oʔ.
from.bottom.to.top find.out TOTAL=PERF=A.PT
'SHE HAD LEARNED THROUGH (= THROUGH MEANS OF) WANDERING [IN] THE VILLAGE ALL OF THE MANNERISMS OF THE KHARIA INSIDE AND OUT (= FROM BOTTOM TO TOP).'

210 ho=kaɽ=aʔ mudui=ki=yaʔ boʔ=te col=kon ho=ki=te utun goʈh=oʔ.
that=S.HUM=FOC enemy=P=GEN place=OBL go=SEQ that=P=OBL speak C:TEL=A.PT
'SHE WENT TO THE ENEMIES' PLACE AND SPOKE TO THEM.'

211 ho=kaɽ ho=ki=te gam=oʔ:
that=S.HUM that=P=OBL say=A.PT
'SHE SAID TO THEM:'

212 [The spy speaks Sadani:]
"YOU PEOPLE, RUNNING OUT OF FEAR OF THE WOMEN UNTIL YOUR *DHOTIS* AND *LUNGIS* FELL OFF! THOSE PEOPLE WERE WOMEN! YOU WATCH - THEY ARE NOW GOING TO WASH THEIR HANDS AND LEGS. NOW THEY WILL COLLECT WATER WITH BOTH HANDS AND WASH THEIR HANDS AND LEGS. MEN WASH THEIR HANDS AND LEGS WITH ONLY ONE HAND."

213 mudui=ki yo=yoʔ=may laʔ khaɽiya ɖay=ki ubar tiʔ buŋ=ga
enemy=P see=A.PT=3P then Kharia woman=P two hand INST=FOC

gujuŋ=na guʔʈhe=na maɽe=yoʔ=ki.
wash.feet=INF wash.hands=INF begin=A.PT=P
'THE ENEMIES SAW THEN [THAT] THE KHARIA WOMEN BEGAN TO WASH THEIR FEET AND HANDS WITH TWO HANDS.'

214 mudui=ki hathiyar ɖoʔ=ta ɖoʔta khaɽiya=ki=te kuɖay=na[232] maɽe=yoʔ=ki.
enemy=P weapon take=CONV REP Kharia=P=OBL chase=INF begin=A.PT=P
'THE ENEMIES GRABBED THEIR WEAPONS AND BEGAN TO CHASE THE KHARIA [AWAY].'

215 khaɽiya ɖay=ki yar=na guʔjuŋ umay kuy=oʔ.
Kharia woman=P flee=INF path NEG.3P find=A.PT

[231] Standard form: *hoɖom*.
[232] Standard form: *kuday=na*.

'THE KHARIA WOMEN DIDN'T FIND THE PATH TO FLEE ON.'

216 ho=ki u=ti^{ʔ}j, a=ti^{ʔ}j pal=oʔ=ki, hin=te=ga yar=oʔ=ki.
that=P this=side Q=side be.able=A.PT=P that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC flee=A.PT=P
'THEY FLED WHEREVER THEY COULD.'

217 u=ti^{ʔ}j=ko kõpuruʔ=ki=yaʔ matwari cha^{ʔ}dke[233]=ki.
this=side=CNTR men=P=GEN drunkenness burst=M.PT
'ON THIS SIDE THE MENS' DRUNKENNESS CAME TO AN END (= BURST).'

218 ho=ki poʔda=ɖom=ki=yaʔ halet onɖor=oʔ=ki, kunɖuʔ hakon=ɖom=ki=te
that=P village=3POSS=P=GEN condition hear=A.PT=P child ECHO=3POSS=P=OBL

sumtay=oʔ=ki ro kuda kudi khaɽiya ɖay=ki=yaʔ kunɖa^{ʔ}b kunɖa^{ʔ}b yar=oʔ=ki.
gather=A.PT=P and hurry ECHO Kharia woman=P=GEN back REP flee=A.PT=P
'THEY HEARD WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE VILLAGES (= THE CONDITION OF THEIR VILLAGES), GATHERED THEIR CHILDREN AND HURRILY FLED AFTER THE KHARIA WOMEN.'

219 u matwari budhi buŋ=ga purkha=ki=te rohtaspur tay yar=na hoy=ki.
this drunken mind INST=FOC ancestor=P=OBL Rohitasgarh ABL flee=INF become=M.PT
'THE ANCESTORS HAD TO FLEE FROM ROHITASGARH BECAUSE OF (= THROUGH) THIS DRUNKEN STATE OF MIND.'

220 rohtaspur tay muʔ=kon purkha=ki utri koyal ompay joʔ-ɖaʔ joʔɖaʔ
Rohitasgarh ABL emerge=SEQ ancestor=P northern Koel river edge-water REP

ɖel=kon dhirom dhirom ɖam=ki=may palam raij.
come=SEQ slow REP arrive=M.PT=3P Palamu kingdom
'HAVING FLED FROM ROHITASGARH, THE ANCESTORS CAME TO THE BANKS OF THE NORTHERN KOEL RIVER AND GRADUALLY ARRIVED IN PALAMU DISTRICT (= KINGDOM).'

221 ɖalɽengaŋj hinte ho=ki thorek toʔ aw=ki=may, dhirom dhirom ho=ki
Daltonganj LOC that=P few day stay=M.PT=3P slow REP that=P

ɖam=ki=may mahabuwaŋ.
arrive=M.PT=3P Mahabuang (= 'great (*maha*) snake (*buwaŋ*)')
'THEY STAYED A FEW DAYS IN DALTONGANJ, [THEN] GRADUALLY THEY CAME TO MAHABUANG.'

222 ho tay ho=ki col kan=ki=may rajaɖera.
that ABL= ('from there') that=P go CONT=M.PT=3P Rajadera
'FROM THERE THEY CONTINUED ON TO RAJADERA.'

223 ho=te ho=ki moɲ ubar leraŋ gu^{ʔ}ɖ=ga leru=ki=may.
that=OBL(= 'there') that=P one two month like=FOC rest=M.PT=3P
'THERE THEY RESTED FOR SOMETHING LIKE A MONTH OR TWO.'

224 he^{ʔ}bne toʔ=te ho=ki pham=na maɽe=yoʔ=ki no "u=ti^{ʔ}j a=ti^{ʔ}j co=na=niŋ
so.much day=OBL that=P ponder=INF begin=A.PT=P CMPL this=side Q=side go=M.IRR=1P.INCL

dhame jhaɽi=yaʔ thoŋ baru hoy=na?"
so.that all=GEN for good become=M.IRR

[233] Standard form: *chatke*.

'IN THE MEANTIME THEY BEGAN TO PONDER "WHICH WAY SHOULD WE GO SO THAT IT WILL BE GOOD FOR EVERYONE?"'

225 musniŋ ho=ki rajaɖera tay beroɖ=ko$^{?}$n[234] col kan=ki=may khaɽiya ghaɽo.
one.day that=P Rajadera ABL get.up=SEQ go CONT=M.PT=3P Kharia valley
'ONE DAY THEY UP AND LEFT RAJADERA AND CONTINUED ON TO THE KHARIA PASS (= VALLEY).'

226 ho ghaɽo=te aniŋ=aʔ purkha=ki lay=kon go$^{?}$joʔ goʔjuŋ bay=oʔ… bay=siʔ=may.
that valley=OBL 1P.INCL=GEN ancestor=P dig=SEQ rice.field path build=A.PT build=PERF=3P
'AT THAT PASS (= VALLEY) OUR ANCESTORS DUG OUT (= BUILT BY DIGGING) RICE FIELDS AND PATHS.'

227 lebu=ki ho ghaɽo=te=ga "khaɽiya ghaɽo" gam=te=ki.
person=P that valley=OBL=FOC Kharia valley say=A.PRS=P
'PEOPLE CALL THAT VALLEY "KHARIA PASS".'

228 ho ghaɽo paro=kon purkha=ki dhirom dhirom ɖam=ki=may bitar bawe[235] raij.
that valley cross=SEQ ancestor=P slow REP arrive=M.PT=3P inner Barwe kingdom.
'HAVING CROSSED THAT PASS, THE ANCESTORS GRADUALLY ARRIVED IN INNER BARWE .'

229 bitar bawe raij hinte nawaɖicenpur kaɽkahirajawal ɖel=ta=ki
inner Barwe kingdom LOC Nawadichenpur Katkahirajawal come=M.PRS=P

u=te=ga moɲ khaɽiya khoɽi "khaybar" ayi$^{?}$j.
this=OBL(= 'here')=FOC one Kharia village.section Khyber PRS.COP
'IN INNER BARWE THEY COME TO NAWADICHENPUR AND KATKAHIRAJAWAL [AND] HERE THERE IS A KHARIA VILLAGE SECTION, "KHYBER".'

230 u=te tama jou toʔpho=ki[236] ayi$^{?}$j=may=ga.
this=OBL(= 'here') now up.to *toppo*.bird=P PRS.COP=3P=FOC
'HERE THERE ARE STILL THE [CLAN OF THE] TOPPO.'

231 ɖairgãw ro khaɽiyaɽoli hinte tama khaɽiya=ki umboɽi$^{?}$j=ki.
Dayrgaon and Khariatoli LOC now Kharia=P NEG.PRS.COP=P
'THERE ARE NO KHARIA NOW IN DAIRGAON AND KHARIATOLI.'

232 hã muda baher barwi[237] hinte khaɽiya=ki jamku$^{?}$ɖ ayi$^{?}$j=may.
yes but outer Barwi LOC Kharia=P group PRS.COP=3P
YES, BUT IN OUTER BARWE THERE ARE KHARIA GROUPS.'

233 bhiʔtar baruwe[238] raij muʔ=kon aniŋ=aʔ purkha=ki dhirom dhirom
inner Barwe kingdom emerge=SEQ 1P.EXCL=GEN ancestor=P slowly REP

baŋru biru=yaʔ kargha kargha hoy=kon ɖam=ki=may gumla.
safflower mountain=GEN edge REP COP=SEQ arrive=M.PT=3P Gumla
'AFTER LEAVING INNER BARWE, OUR ANCESTORS GRADUALY CAME TO GUMLA (CAPITAL OF GUMLA DISTRICT) VIA THE EDGES OF THE SAFFLOWER MOUNTAINS.'

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[234] Standard form: *bero$^{?}$ɖ=kon*.
[235] Standard form: *barwe*.
[236] Standard form: *toʔpo*.
[237] Standard form: *barwe*
[238] Standard form: *barwe*.

234 ho=te ho=ki moɲ ubar leraŋ guʔɖ=ga leru=ki=may. heʔbne toʔ=te ho=ki
that=OBL(= 'there') that=P one two month like=FOC rest=M.PT=3P so.much day=OBL that=P

pham=na maɽe=yoʔ=ki no "u=tiʔj a=tiʔj co=na=niŋ dhame jhaɽi thoŋ bes
ponder=INF begin=A.PT=P CMPL this=side Q=side go=M.IRR=1P.INCL so.that all for good

hoy=na?"
become=M.IRR
'THEY RESTED THERE AROUND ONE OR TWO MONTHS. IN THE MEANTIME (= IN SO MANY DAYS) THEY BEGAN TO PONDER "WHICH WAY SHOULD WE GO SO THAT IT WILL BE GOOD FOR ALL?"'

235 musniŋ gumla hinte muɖu khaɽiya beɽa saʔmo hinte ruŋkuʔb ɖoʔɖ=kon
one.day Gumla LOC one.CL Kharia boy winnowing.basket LOC husked.rice take=SEQ

mare umper=na laʔ=sikh=oʔ laʔ muɖu buɽha=ko ho=kaɽ=te yo=yoʔ ro
very.much blow=INF begin=PERF=A.PT then one.CL old.man=CNTR that=S.HUM=OBL see=A.PT and

ikuʔɖ=ga laɖa=na maɽe=yoʔ.
much=FOC laugh=INF begin=A.PT
'ONE DAY IN GUMLA, A KHARIA BOY PUT (= TOOK) RICE IN A WINNOWING BASKET AND BEGAN TO BLOW HARD, THEN AN OLD MAN SAW HIM AND BEGAN TO LAUGH A LOT.'

236 ho=kaɽ beɽa=te gam=oʔ "gum=e la!"
that=S.HUM boy=OBL say=A.PT winnow=A.IRR VOC
'HE SAID TO THE BOY, "WINNOW!"'

237 ho "gum=e la!" gam=na gamna=te=ga ho poʔda=yaʔ ɲimi "gumla" hoy=ki.
that Gumela say=INF REP=OBL=FOC that village=GEN name Gumla become=M.PT
'BY SAYING "GUMELA" OVER AND OVER, THE NAME OF THAT VILLAGE BECAME "GUMLA".'

238 musniŋ purkha=ki gumla tay beroʔɖ=ki=may.
one.day ancestor=P Gumla ABL stand.up=M.PT=3P
'ONE DAY, THE ANCESTORS LEFT (= STOOD UP FROM) GUMLA.'

239 dhirom dhirom ho=ki munuʔsiŋ ghay hoy=kon ɖam=ki=may murgu.
slow REP that=P east way become=SEQ arrive=M.PT=3P Murgu
'GRADUALLY THEY ARRIVED IN MURGU VIA THE EAST.'

240 murgu=te ho=ki ikuʔɖ=ga baru aw=ki=may.
Murgu=OBL that=P much=FOC good COP=M.PT=3P
'IN MURGU THEY WERE VERY HAPPY.'

241 ho=te ɖam=kon jhaɽi sasate guʔɖ=ki=may.
that=OBL(= 'there') arrive=SEQ all content C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'HAVING ARRIVED THERE, ALL BECAME CONTENT.'

242 u=tiʔj=ko ho=ki ho=te sima ulaʔ=ga kumba bay=ta bayta aw=na
this=side=CNTR that=P that=OBL(= 'there') *sima*.tree leaf=FOC tent build=CONV REP stay=INF

maɽe=yoʔ=ki.
begin=A.PT=P
'HERE THEY BEGAN TO STAY, BUILDING TENTS OF *SIMA* LEAVES.'

243 dhirom dhirom ho=ki ghal[239] ʈho bay=oʔ=ki. hoy=na hoyna ho=ki=yaʔ
slow REP that=P eight CL build=A.PT=P become=INF REP that=P=GEN

jhansankhya baɽhe=na maɽe=yoʔ.
population increase=INF begin=A.PT
'GRADUALLY, THEY BUILT EIGHT [TENTS]. AFTER A WHILE, THEIR POPULATION BEGAN TO INCREASE.'

244 ho=kaɽ=aʔ natija hoy=ki ho=ki=te goʔjloʔ aŋkay ɲõʔ=na uʔɖ=na
that=S.HUM=GEN reason become=M.PT that=P=OBL rice.field field eat=INF drink=INF

um ɖoŋ=na mãɽe=yoʔ.
NEG suffice=INF begin=A.PT
'FOR THAT REASON IT HAPPENED [THAT] THE RICE FIELDS AND OTHER FIELDS FOR FOOD AND DRINK BEGAN TO BECOME INSUFFICIENT FOR (= TO) THEM.'

245 akhir ho=ki=te tonme tonme ʈhãɽo lam=na hoy=ki.
finally that=P=OBL new REP place seek=INF become=M.PT
'FINALLY, THEY HAD TO LOOK FOR NEW PLACES [TO LIVE].'

246 ho=ki hephaʔɖ[240]=ki=te=ga ɖoko=ki=may.
that=P vicinity=P=OBL=FOC sit.down=M.PT=3P
'THEY SETTLED IN THE VICINITY.'

247 jhaɽi nãw=o kulam hoy=ke apan apan gotor[241] ɲoʔ=na parej guʔɖ=ga u
all nine=CL brother become=SEQ REFL REP clan eat=INF abstain like=FOC this

ʈhãɽo boʔ=ki=te ɖoko=ki=may.
place place=P=OBL sit.down=M.PT=3P
'THEY ALL BECAME NINE FAMILIES (= BROTHERS), EACH ABSTAINING FROM EATING [THE ANIMAL OF] ITS OWN FAMILY [AND] SETTLED IN THESE PLACES.'[242]

248 u ʈhãɽo=ki=te=jo purkha=ki umay sekh=oʔ.[243]
this place=P=OBL=ADD ancestor=P NEG.3P be.held=A.PT
'IN THESE PLACES AS WELL THE ANCESTORS COULD NOT BE CONTAINED [I.E., THEY WERE TOO NUMEROUS].'

249 ɲoʔ=na uʔɖ=na um ɖoŋ=ki bhere murgu=waʔ heʔpaʔɖ=ki=te ɖoko=ki=may.
eat=INF drink=INF NEG suffice=M.PT time Murgu=GEN vicinity=P=OBL sit.down=M.PT=3P
'WHEN THERE WASN'T ENOUGH TO EAT AND DRINK, THEY SETTLED DOWN IN THE VICINITY OF MURGU.'

250 jeisan digduin, purnaphani, haɽraʈoli, dhõysanagar, ghagra, asro, birkera, beɽo
for.example Digduin Purnaphani Harratoli Dhoensanagar Ghagra Asro Birkera Bero

u ʈhãɽo=ki=te umay sekh=oʔ.
this place=P=OBL NEG.3P be.held=A.PT

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[239] According to this speaker '8'. The standard Kharia form for '8' is *thom* but nowadays only the form *aʈh* from Sadri / Hindi is in common use.
[240] Standard form: *he(ʔ)paʔɖ*.
[241] Standard form: *gotar*.
[242] Cf. [AK, 1] and [MS, 2] for two versions of this story. See also lines 129-131 above and note 209.
[243] *seʔ* means 'fill (up)' (ITR), but its meaning in this sentence (and 250 below) is 'fit (into)' (ITR).

'FOR EXAMPLE IN DIGDUIN, PURNAPHANI, HARRATOLI, DHOENSANAGAR, GHAGRA, ASRO, BIRKERA, BERO, THEY DID NOT FIT INTO THESE PLACES [BECAUSE THEY WERE TOO NUMEROUS].'

251 ɲoʔ=na uʔɖ=na goʔjloʔ aŋkay um ɖoŋ=ki bhere dhay=oʔ=ki,
eat=INF drink=INF rice.field field NEG suffice=M.PT time hurry=A.PT=P
'WHEN THE RICE FIELDS AND OTHER FIELDS DID NOT SUFFICE FOR EVERYONE (= TO EAT AND DRINK), THEY MOVED ON (= HURRIED),'

252 col kan=ki=may birunagpur, ũʈĩsa, garpur, rajgarpur, sambalpur, majarbhaɲj,
go CONT=M.PT=3P Birunagpur Orissa Garpur Rajgarpur Sambalpur Majarbhanj

simbhum,[244] banuy, bamʈa, puruliya, silli, jhalɖa, baŋlades, kalkatta, gujarat, maharastar,
Sinbhum Banui Bamra Purulia Silli, Jhalda Bangladesh Calcutta Gujaraat Maharashtra

andhraprades, karŋaʈak, madhyaprades, raygaʈh, ambikapur.
Andhra.Pradesh Karnataka Madhya.Pradesh Raigarh Ambikapur
'AND CONTINUED ON TO BIRUNAGPUR, ORISSA, GARPUR, RAJGARPUR, SAMBALPUR, MAJARBHUNJ, SINBHUM, BANUI, BAMRA, PURULIA, SILLI, JHALDA, BANGLADESH, CALCUTTA, GUJARAT, MAHARASHTRA, ANDHRA PRADESH, KARNATAKA, MADHYA PRADESH, RAIGARH AND AMBIKAPUR.'

253 ɲoloʔsiŋ tiʔj pailkoʈ, nawgaʈh, khaɲjaloya, kruskela, gumla, majhaʈoli,
west side Pailkot Nawgarh Khanjaloya Kruskela Gumla Majhatoli

bhikampur, kaʈkahi, ɖaygãw, khaʈiyaʈoli, bhitar barwe=te chetphut ro
Bhikampur Katkahi Daegaon Khariatoli inner Barwe=OBL here.and.there and

baher barwe=te jamkuʔɖ ayiʔj=may.
outer Barwe=OBL group PRS.COP=3P
'IN THE WEST THERE ARE [KHARIA] HERE AND THERE IN PAILKOT, NAWGARH, KHANJALOYA, KRUSKELA, GUMLA, MAJHATOLI, BHIKAMPUR, KATKAHI, DAEGAON, KHARIATOLI, INNER BARWE, AND GROUPS [OF KHARIA] IN OUTER BARWE.'

254 munuʔsiŋ tiʔj rãci, silli, jonha, patratu, puruliya, ghaʈsila, manbhuŋ,
east side Ranchi Silli Jonha Patratu Purulia Ghatsila Manbhum

simbhuŋ, kalkatta, pachim baŋal, baŋlades.
Sinbhum Calcutta west Bengal Bangladesh
'IN THE EAST IN RANCHI, SILLI, JONHA, PATRATU, PURULIA, GHATSILA, MANGHUM, SINBHUM, CALCUTTA, WEST BENGAL, BANGLADESH.'

[244] Standard form: *sinbhum*.

Author - Basil Baa (m.), 27, Keonḍih, Simdega District, Jharkhand

kuda koloŋ
millet bread
'Millet bread'

[BB, 1]

The following three texts from this author were all presented to me in written form. The author has composed a number of short stories in Kharia, apparently all children's stories, and kindly given me three of these to include in this collection. These and other texts are planned for publication in Kharia in the near future. The texts as they are given here have not yet been edited for publication.

The language of these texts is almost entirely the "standard" dialect, with very few exceptions. Perhaps the most prominent exception is the use of the first-person marker *iŋ* on predicates, in place of what appears to be the more common or "standard" form *iɲ*, although the use of *iŋ* in written texts is typical of many authors.

1 moŋ poʔda=te moŋ kisʈo lebu aw=na laʔ=ki.
one village=OBL one rich man live=INF IPFV=M.PT
'IN A [CERTAIN] VILLAGE THERE LIVED A RICH MAN.'

2 ho lebu=yaʔ jughay=ga goʔjloʔ ɖãʈ=jo aw=ki.
that man=GEN much=FOC rice.field field=ADD COP=M.PT
'THAT MAN HAD MANY RICE FIELDS AND [OTHER] FIELDS.'

3 kisʈo lebu goʔjloʔ ɖãʈ kamu=na=ʔ thoŋ aḍi=yaʔ poʔda=yaʔ betoḍ jalãŋ uʔphe
rich man rice.field field work=INF=GEN PURP ANAPH=GEN village=GEN hunger poor three

kopuʈuʔ=ki=te ro ubar kongher=kiyar=te dhãgar un=sikh=oʔ.
man=P=OBL and two boy=D=OBL servant place=PERF=A.PT
'IN ORDER TO WORK THE FIELDS, THE MAN RICH KEPT (= PLACED) THREE DIRT-POOR (= HUNGER POOR) MEN AND TWO BOYS FROM HIS VILLAGE AS SERVANTS.'

4 thoŋ=ga ho=kaʈ bhuti kamu lebu=ki=te ro konselḍuʔ=ki=te konon pattha buŋ bhuti
for=FOC that=S.HUM labor work man=P=OBL and woman=P=OBL small stone INST labor

eḍ=na laʔ=ki.
measure=INF IPFV=M.PT
'SO HE USED TO MEASURE THE [WORK OF THE] LABORING MEN AND WOMEN IN SMALL STONES.'[245]

5 ho=kaʈ=aʔ kunḍuʔ hakon umay aw=ki.
that=S.HUM=GEN child ECHO NEG.3P COP=M.PT
'HE HAD NO CHILDREN (= CHILDREN, ETC.).'

6 muda ho=kaʈ baʔ romkub=te[246] ber=aʔ thoŋ jatnay=na (un=na)[247] laʔ=ki
but that=S.HUM unhusked.rice husked.rice=OBL who=GEN for place=INF place=INF IPFV=M.PT

[245] I.e., he used to weigh the amount of grain that they had picked from the fields in stones and pay them accordingly.
[246] Standard form: *rumkuʔb=te*.
[247] The explanation of *jatay=na* as *un=na* 'to place' was provided by the author himself in the text. *jatay=na* is from Sadri, *un=na* is of Kharia origin. The author uses this notation several times in the following text as well. These will not be further commented on.

hontay,[248] jeʔ ber=jo umay koŋ=na laʔ=ki.
therefore S.NHUM who=ADD NEG.3P know=INF IPFV=M.PT
'BUT THEN WHO WAS HE SAVING (= PLACING) THE RICE FOR? NO ONE KNEW THIS.'

7 oʔ=te kisɽo lebu=yaʔ saw-ɽay=ɖom, konon bhai=ɖom ro dhãgar=ki
house=OBL rich man=GEN spouse-woman=3POSS small brother=3POSS and servant=P

aw=na laʔ=ki=may.
live=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'IN THE HOUSE, THE RICH MAN'S WIFE, HIS YOUNGER BROTHER AND THE SERVANTS LIVED [TOGEHER WITH HIM].'

8 oʔ=te gomke ro dhãgar=ki=yaʔ ghaɖ juda juda peʔ goŋ=na laʔ=ki=may.
house=OBL master and servant=P=GEN for separately REP cooked.rice cook=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'IN THE HOUSE, THEY USED TO COOK FOOD (= RICE) SEPARATELY FOR THE MASTER [AND HIS FAMILY] AND THE SERVANTS.'

9 gomke=ki=yaʔ thoŋ konkeʔ romkub=yaʔ peʔ dui=yo sãjh isin=na laʔ=ki.
master=P=GEN for slender husked.rice=GEN cooked.rice 2=CL evening cook=INF IPFV=M.PT
'FOR THE MASTER [AND HIS WIFE AND BROTHER], [A SERVANT] COOKED FINE (= SLENDER) RICE AT TWO O'CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON (= EVENING).'

10 muda dhãgar=ki=yaʔ thoŋ tunboʔ=te kuda gũɖɖi=yaʔ ro goɖa=ʔ
but servant=P=GEN for midday=OBL millet millet.flour=GEN and thick.rice=GEN

romkub=yaʔ leɽo peʔ moŋ ɖubha ter=na laʔ=ki=may.
husked.rice=GEN rice.and.pulse.dish cooked.rice one ball give=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'BUT FOR THE SERVANTS THEY GAVE AT MIDDAY ONE BALL [MADE] OF MILLET FLOUR AND OF A RICE AND PULSE DISH OF THICK-GRAINED [I.E., LOW-QUALITY] RICE.'

11 iɖib=te moʔɽho moʔɽho moloy ɽibru kuda koloŋ ter=na laʔ=ki=may.
night=OBL fat REP 5 6 millet bread give=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'AT NIGHT, THEY WOULD GIVE THEM FIVE OR SIX BIG FAT MILLET BREADS.'

12 dhãgar=ki betoɖ jalãŋ lebu aw=ki=may hin=aʔ ghaɖ gomke=ɖom=ki
servant=P hunger poor person COP=M.PT=3P that=GEN for master=3POSS=P

je ter=na laʔ=ki=may ho=jeʔ korob korob ɲoʔ=kon aɖ=ki=yaʔ kamu=te
CR give=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P that=S.NHUM still REP eat=SEQ ANAPH=P=GEN work=OBL

karay=na laʔ=ki=may.
do=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THE SERVANTS WERE POOR PEOPLE, THEREFORE, WHAT[EVER] THEIR MASTERS GAVE THEM, THEY WOULD EAT THAT QUIETLY AND DO THEIR WORK.'

13 muda moŋ dhãgar kongher, ber merom gupa=na laʔ=ki,
but 1 servant boy who goat shepherd=INF IPFV=M.PT

ho=kaɽ iɖib=te aɖi=yaʔ bãɽa kuda koloŋ=te sob=jeʔ um ɲoʔ=na laʔ=ki
that=S.HUM night=OBL ANAPH=GEN share millet bread=OBL all=S.NHUM NEG eat=INF IPFV=M.PT

[248] *hontay* 'thus, so, therefore'. It always appears at the end of the clause.

ro haʔdo=jeʔ un=na laʔ=ki.
and half=S.NHUM place=INF IPFV=M.PT
'BUT ONE SERVANT BOY, WHO USED TO TEND THE GOATS, HE DIDN'T USE TO FINISH ALL HIS SHARE OF THE MILLET BREAD AT NIGHT AND HE PLACED [DOWN] HALF OF IT.'

14 meŋaʔ[249]=te merom gupa ɖãʈ tij iɖib=gaʔ un-un kuda koloŋ=te
morning=OBL goat shepherd field side night=GEN place-RDP millet bread=OBL

ɖoɖ san=na laʔ=ki.
take AMB=INF IPFV=M.PT
'IN THE MORNING, HE WOULD TAKE THE MILLET BREAD WHICH HE HAD PLACED [DOWN] AT NIGHT WITH HIM TO THE GRAZING (= GOAT SHEPHERDING) FIELD.'

15 gupa ɖãʈ tij kongher moŋ gahɽa lay=sikh=oʔ, ho=te=ga koloŋ=te
shephard field side boy one hole dig=PERF=A.PT that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC bread=OBL

til=na laʔ=ki.
bury=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THE BOY HAD DUG A HOLE AT THE GRAZING FIELD, ON THAT VERY SPOT HE USED TO BURY THE BREAD.'

16 i=ghay ighay dinu bite=ga col=ki hin=ghay=ga koloŋ til-til gahɽa tay
what=way REP day pass=FOC go=M.PT that=way=FOC bread bury-RDP hole ABL

moŋ koloŋ buda jorme=ki.
1 bread plant be.born=M.PT
'AS THE DAYS PASSED, FROM THE HOLE IN WHICH HE HAD BURIED THE BREAD, A BREAD PLANT SPROUTED UP.'

17 ho buda dhirom dhirom maha=kon daru bone=ki.
that plant slowly REP big=SEQ tree become=M.PT
'THAT PLANT SLOWLY GREW AND BECAME A TREE.'

18 muda tam jou lebu=ki umay koŋ=sikh=oʔ no u=jeʔ i daru heke.
but now up.to person=P NEG.3P know=PERF=A.PT CMPL this=S.NHUM what tree PRS.COP
'BUT TO THIS DAY, PEOPLE HAVE NOT FOUND OUT WHAT TREE IT IS.'

19 je bera daru=te raʔ-raʔ raʔ=ki se ghari raʔ-raʔ=yaʔ ghãɽi
CR time tree=OBL blossom-RDP blossom=M.PT that time blossom-RDP=GEN smell

kuda koloŋ lekhe ghãɽi=na laʔ=ki.
millet bread like smell=INF IPFV=M.PT
'WHEN THE FLOWERS (*raʔ-raʔ*) ON THAT TREE BLOSSOMED, AT THAT TIME THE FLOWERS' SMELL SMELLED LIKE MILLET BREAD.'

20 ho raʔ-raʔ ghãɽi juŋay=kon lebu=ki koŋ=oʔ=may no u daru
that blossom-RDP smell smell=SEQ person=P know=A.PT=3P CMPL this tree

kuda koloŋ=yaʔ daru heke.
millet bread=GEN tree PRS.COP
'WHEN THEY SMELLED THE SMELL OF THE FLOWERS, THE PEOPLE KNEW THAT THIS TREE IS A MILLET BREAD TREE.'

[249] Standard form: *mẽyaʔ*.

21 poʔda=yaʔ jhaɽi lebu=ki koŋ=oʔ=may no u daru=te kisɽo lebu=yaʔ
village=GEN all person=P know=A.PT=3P CMPL this tree=OBL rich man=GEN

merom gupa dhãgar kongher on=siʔ.
goat shepherd servant boy plant=PERF
'ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE FOUND OUT THAT THE RICH MAN'S GOAT SHEPHERDING SERVANT BOY HAS PLANTED THIS TREE.'

22 ab=aʔ daru luku=na maɽe=yoʔ.
now=FOC tree fruit=INF begin=A.PT
'NOW THE TREE BEGAN TO BEAR FRUIT.'

23 dhãgar kongher daru=te luku yo=ta yota lereʔ=na laʔ=ki.
servant boy tree=OBL fruit see=CONV REP rejoice=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THE SERVANT BOY, SEEING THE FRUIT ON THE TREE, BEGAN TO REJOICE.'[250]

24 luku beloŋ=na absiph=oʔ.
fruit ripen=INF begin=A.PT
'THE FRUIT BEGAN TO RIPEN.'

25 kongher merom gupa=na melay=kon, kuda koloŋ daru=te=ga
boy goat shepherd=INF leave=SEQ millet bread tree=OBL=FOC

iɽib[251] tunboʔ aw=na laʔ=ki.
night midday live=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THE BOY GAVE UP SHEPHERDING THE GOATS AND LIVED DAY AND NIGHT IN THE MILLET BREAD TREE ONLY.'

26 jahãy kon=ga ho daru boʔ=te ɖam=na laʔ=ki=may.
INDEF.HUM INDEF=FOC that tree place=OBL arrive=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'SOME PEOPLE BEGAN TO COME TO THAT TREE (= THAT TREE PLACE).'

27 laʔ kongher moŋ ubar uʔphe koloŋ ob-gur kay=na laʔ=ki.
then boy one two three bread CAUS-fall BEN=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THEN THE BOY WOULD DROP A COUPLE (= 1, 2, 3) [LOAVES OF] BREAD FOR THEM.'

28 kongher daru tobluŋ=te=ga aw=na laʔ=ki.
boy tree top=OBL=FOC live=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THE BOY LIVED ONLY IN THE TREE-TOP.'

29 bokob=ɖom=aʔ ului=jo jhelob jhelob hoy go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki.
head=3POSS=GEN hair=ADD long REP become C:TEL=M.PT
'AND THE HAIR ON (= OF) HIS HEAD BECAME VERY LONG.'

30 ho=ghay=ga aw=na laʔ=ki.
that=way=FOC live=INF IPFV=M.PT
'HE LIVED THUS.'

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[250] On the use of the "imperfective" marker *laʔ* with an inceptive function, see note 36. For further examples, see notes 49, 63, 181, 266 and 272.
[251] Standard form: *iɖi^{ʔ}b*.

31 moŋ dinu moŋ raksin[252] kãɖayboʔ bora dhoʔ=kon buli=ga buliga
one day one witch old.woman large.sack grab=SEQ wander=FOC REP

kuda koloŋ daru boʔ=te ɖam=ki.
millet bread tree place=OBL arrive=M.PT
'ONE DAY, AN OLD WITCH TOOK A LARGE SACK AND, WANDERING ALONG, SHE CAME TO THE PLACE WHERE THE MILLET BREAD TREE WAS.'

32 ho kãɖayboʔ=te koloŋ=yaʔ ghãɽi um laʔ=ki,
that old.woman=OBL bread=GEN smell NEG EMOT=M.PT

ho=kaɽ=te manwa manwa (lebu lebu) ghãɽi laʔ=ki.
that=S.HUM=OBL human REP person REP smell EMOT=M.PT
'THAT OLD WOMAN DID NOT SMELL THE BREAD, SHE SMELLED HUMANS.'

33 raksin han=ti^{ʔ}j u=ti^{ʔ}j tuta tobluŋ najeir=ɖom=te ghumray=oʔ.
witch that=side this=side bottom top glance=3POSS=OBL turn.around=A.PT
'THE WITCH CAST HER GLANCE THIS WAY AND THAT, UP AND DOWN.'

34 laʔ ho=kaɽ daru tobluŋ=te kongher=te yo=yoʔ.
then that=S.HUM tree top=OBL boy=OBL see=A.PT
'THEN SHE SAW THE BOY IN THE TREE-TOP.'

35 raksin kongher=te yo=kon bhiʔtar bhiʔtar lereʔ=ki no
witch boy=OBL see=SEQ inside REP rejoice=M.PT CMPL

"ɖher dinu tay lebu=yaʔ ahar (peʔ)[253] musa iŋ=te kui=siʔ!"
much day ABL person=GEN food cooked.rice today 1S=OBL find=PERF
'UPON SEEING THE BOY, THE WITCH REJOICED WITHIN, [SAYING] "AFTER MANY DAYS, I HAVE FOUND HUMAN FLESH!'[254]

36 ab=aʔ raksin aɖi=yaʔ gone ro ramaɖ=ki=te cokhay=oʔ ro daru ɖeb=na
now=FOC witch ANAPH=GEN tooth and nail=P=OBL sharpen=A.PT and tree ascend=INF

thoŋ sumboʔ khoʔ=te col=ki.
PURP base place=OBL go=M.PT
'NOW THE WITCH SHARPENED HER TEETH AND (FINGER)NAILS AND WENT TO THE BASE [OF THE TREE] TO CLIMB IT.'

37 daru ajam jabar ro surãŋ aw=ki.
tree much big and straight COP=M.PT
'THE TREE WAS VERY BIG AND STRAIGHT.'

38 raksin ɖeb=na kornis karay=te muda haʔdo ɖisaʔ tay capal=yaʔ bolebol
witch ascend=INF attempt do=A.PRS but half far ABL buttocks=GEN hard

ghari=ga gur go^{ʔ}ɖ=ta.
time(?)=FOC fall C:TEL=M.PRS

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[252] On the role of witches in Kharia society, see Roy & Roy, 1937, chapter 13; Kullū (1988[2000]:64-78) and Ḍuŋḍuŋ (1999:291-313).

[253] *peʔ* is here to be understood as 'food in general', not 'cooked rice'.

[254] The use of the middle markers with *kui* denotes that the action of finding something was unexpected.

'THE WITCH TRIES TO CLIMB UP BUT, SHE FALLS FLAT ON HER BACKSIDE FROM HALF THE DISTANCE.'

39 ab=aʔ kãɖaybоʔ loyo=kon "hoɖom upay konoɖ̱=t[e]=iŋ" gam=oʔ ro
now=FOC old.woman tired=SEQ other means think.up=A.PRS=1S say=A.PT and

daru sumboʔ=te=ga ɖoko jom=ki.
tree base=OBL=FOC sit.down AUTOPOES=M.PT
'NOW THE OLD WOMAN BECAME TIRED, SAID "I WILL THINK UP ANOTHER MEANS" AND JUST SAT DOWN AT THE BOTTOM OF THE TREE.'

40 hobne=te=ga kongher kãɽaybоʔ=te yo=yoʔ ro ubar koloŋ ho=kaɽ=aʔ
that.much=OBL=FOC boy old.woman=OBL see=A.PT and two bread that=S.HUM=GEN

mugam ob-gur kay=oʔ.
front CAUS-fall BEN=A.PT
'MEANWHILE (= IN JUST THAT MUCH), THE BOY SAW THE OLD WOMAN AND THREW DOWN FOR HER TWO [LOAVES OF] BREAD IN FRONT OF HER.'

41 kaɽiʔj deri hoy=ki tay kongher kãɽaybоʔ=te jũŋ=oʔ "i=ghay laʔ=ki,
some time become=A.PT then boy old.woman=OBL ask=A.PT what=way EMOT=M.PT

yaya[255]ʔ"
grandmother
'A SHORT WHILE PASSED (= BECAME), THEN THE BOY ASKED THE OLD WOMAN "HOW DID IT TASTE, GRANDMOTHER?"

42 raksin kãɽaybоʔ gam=te "loʔkha loʔkha laʔ=ki.
witch old.woman say=A.PRS dirt REP EMOT=M.PT
'THE OLD WITCH SAYS "IT TASTED LIKE DIRT.'

43 am am=aʔ tiʔ buŋ ob-dhog=e=m laʔ sebol laʔ=na."
2S 2S=GEN hand INST CAUS-grab=A.IRR=2S then delicious EMOT=M.IRR
'IF YOU GIVE ME IT (= CAUSE [ME] TO GRAB [IT]) WITH YOUR [OWN] HANDS, THEN IT WILL TASTE GOOD.'"

44 kongher gam=te "tobluŋ=te ayiʔjɖ̱=iŋ laʔ i=ghay ob-dhog[=e]=iŋ?
boy say=A.PRS top=OBL PRS.COP=1S then what=way CAUS-grab=A.IRR=1S
'THE BOY SAYS "I AM IN THE TOP [OF THE TREE], SO HOW SHALL I GIVE IT TO YOU ?'

45 iŋ ob-gur=t[e]=iŋ, am lokay=e=m" gam=kon kongher ob-gur=na absiph=oʔ.
1S CAUS-fall=A.PRS=1S 2S catch=A.IRR=2S say=SEQ boy CAUS-fall=INF begin=A.PT
'SAYING "I DROP THEM AND YOU CATCH THEM", THE BOY BEGAN DROPPING [BREAD].'

46 raksin loka=na um pal=oʔ ro koloŋ aɖ̱i=yaʔ bokob=te ʈhoʔ=ki.
witch catch=INF NEG be.able=A.PT and bread ANAPH=GEN head=OBL hit=M.PT
'THE WITCH COULDN'T CATCH [THE BREAD] AND THE BREAD HIT HER ON THE HEAD.'

47 raksin khis buŋ "kongher=te tama no loʔɖho ɲog[=e]=iŋ?" lekhe hoy=taj.
witch anger INST boy=OBL now Q later eat=A.IRR=1S like become=M.PROG
'THE WITCH ANGRILY THINKS (= SHE IS BECOMING THROUGH ANGER LIKE) "SHALL I EAT THE BOY NOW OR LATER?"'

[255] *yaya* 1. 'father's mother'; 2. 'term of address for an elderly woman'

48 kongher ho=kaɽ=te yo=ta yota jorse laɽay=oʔ.
boy that=S.HUM=OBL see=CONV REP forceful fight=A.PT
'THE BOY, WATCHING HER, FOUGHT FORCEFULLY.'

49 raksin oɖoʔ jughay khisay=ta (ragom=ta) ro gone keb=kon gam=te:
witch even more become.angry=M.PRS become.angry=M.PRS and tooth grind=SEQ say=A.PRS

"dhoʔ=siʔɖ=iŋ laʔ am=aʔ haɽ=no=m=te=jo eb=kon thom=ta thomta
grab=PERF=1S then 2S=GEN bone=2POSS=2S=OBL=ADD roast=SEQ pulverize=CONV REP

akeɖ akeɖ ɲog[=e]=iɲ.
chew REP eat=A.IRR=1S
'THE WITCH GROWS EVEN ANGRIER AND, GRINDING HER TEETH, SAYS "I WILL GRAB YOU[256] AND THEN, HAVING ROASTED YOUR BONES TOO, I WILL EAT THEM, CHEWING AND THEREBY PULVERIZING THEM.'

50 muda raksin se dinu i=jo karay=na um pal=oʔ ro oʔ col kan=ki.
but witch that day what=ADD do=INF NEG be.able=A.PT and house go CONT=M.PT
'BUT THE WITCH COULD DO NOTHING ON THAT DAY AND WENT HOME.'

51 iɖib=te raksin kaɽaybo? kongher=te dhoʔ=na=yaʔ upay konoɖ=na buŋ
night=OBL witch old.woman boy=OBL grab=INF=GEN means think.up=INF INST

leme?ɖ=na=jo um pal=oʔ.
fall.asleep=INF=ADD NEG be.able=A.PT
'AT NIGHT, THE OLD WITCH, BECAUSE OF HER THINKING UP A MEANS OF GRABBING THE BOY, COULD NOT FALL ASLEEP.'

52 hoɖom dinu=jo kongher=te dhoʔ=na=yaʔ kornis=oʔ muda um pal=oʔ.
other day=ADD boy=OBL grab=INF=GEN attempt=A.PT but NEG be.able=A.PT
'THE NEXT DAY AS WELL SHE TRIED TO GRAB THE BOY BUT COULD NOT.'

53 ab=aʔ raksin kongher=te dular-boʔ (pyar) ʈhakay=na=yaʔ upay konoʈh=oʔ.
now=FOC witch boy=OBL love-INTENS love deceive=INF=GEN means think.up=A.PT
'NOW THE WITCH THOUGHT UP A MEANS OF DECEIVING THE BOY LOVINGLY.'

54 uʔphe dinu raksin kongher buŋ sebol sebol kayom=kon gam=oʔ:
three day witch boy INST sweet REP speak=SEQ say=A.PT
'THE WITCH, SPEAKING SWEETLY WITH THE BOY FOR 3 DAYS, [FINALLY] SAID:'

55 "am iɲ=te "yaya" gam=te=m muda moɲ dinu=jo am=aʔ tiʔ buŋ um
2S 1S=OBL grandmother say=A.PRS=2S but one day=ADD 2S=GEN hand INST NEG

ob-ɲoʔ=te=m.
CAUS-eat=A.PRS=2S
"YOU CALL ME "GRANDMOTHER" BUT NOT EVEN ON ONE DAY DO YOU FEED ME WITH YOUR [OWN] HAND.'

56 iɲ=te diyo=ga to<b>roʔ=te=m."
1S=OBL daily=FOC cry-<CAUS>=A.PRS=2S
'YOU MAKE ME CRY EVERY DAY.'"

[256] The perfect followed by *laʔ* and a predicate in the irrealis is used to denote a future event which immediately precedes another event. The event marked by *laʔ* serves as the background for the following event, as here.

57 gam=kon raksin iɲam=na=yaʔ (naʈak) eboʔ karay=te.
say=SEQ witch cry=INF=GEN drama play do=A.PRS
'HAVING SAID [THIS] THE WITCH PRETENDS TO CRY (= DOES PLAYING OF CRYING).'

58 kongher=te lebui laʔ=ta ro gam=te "abu iɲam=na, yaya.
boy=OBL pity EMOT=M.PRS and say=A.PRS NEG.MOD.2S cry=M.IRR grandmother
'THE BOY FEELS PITY AND SAYS "DO NOT CRY, GRANDMOTHER.'

59 iɲ musa am=te iɲ=aʔ tiʔ buŋ=ga ob-ɲog[=e]=iɲ."
1S today 2S=OBL 1S=GEN hand INST=FOC CAUS-eat=A.IRR=1S
'I WILL FEED YOU TODAY WITH MY [OWN] HAND."'

60 raksin gam=te "soʔtoʔ[257]=ga?" kongher "hã" gam=te.
witch say=A.PRS truth=FOC boy yes say=A.PRS
'THE WITCH SAYS "REALLY?" THE BOY SAYS "YES".'

61 ro daru tay koloŋ kej=kon are=na laʔ=ki uslоʔ um ɖam=sikh=oʔ,
and tree ABL bread pluck=SEQ descend=INF IPFV=M.PT ground NEG arrive=PERF=A.PT

se ghari=ga kaʈaybоʔ kongher=yaʔ kaʈa=te dhokh=o[ʔ] ro ɖiɲ goʈh=oʔ
that time=FOC old.woman boy=GEN foot=OBL grab=A.PT and pull C:TEL=A.PT

laʔ kongher gur goʔɖ=ki.
then boy fall C:TEL=M.PT
'AND HE PLUCKED BREAD FROM THE TREE AND WAS DESCENDING, [BUT] HE HADN'T [YET] REACHED THE GROUND WHEN (= AT THAT TIME) THE OLD WOMAN GRABBED THE BOY'S FEET AND PULLED AND THE BOY FELL DOWN.'

62 raksin kongher=te keke buŋ tol=oʔ ro bora=te sajay=kon kurumuʈu
witch boy=OBL rope INST bind=A.PT and sack=OBL cast=SEQ difficulty

gokh=oʔ ro oʔ ol=oʔ.
carry=A.PT and house bring=A.PT
'THE WITCH TIED THE BOY UP WITH ROPE AND, HAVING CAST HIM IN A SACK, CARRIED HIM WITH DIFFICULTY AND TOOK HIM HOME.'

63 oʔ=te raksin=yaʔ bij=ɖom aw=ki.
house=OBL witch=GEN daughter=3POSS COP=M.PT
'THE WITCH'S DAUGHTER WAS AT HOME.'

64 raksin bij=ɖom=te gam=oʔ no "bora=te je ayij
witch daughter=3POSS=OBL say=A.PT CMPL sack=OBL CR PRS.COP

ho=jeʔ oj=e=m ro khãʈo=ke gaj=sig=e=m.[258]
that=S.NHUM take.out=A.IRR=2S and chop.up=SEQ fry=PERF=A.IRR=2S
'THE WITCH SAID TO HER DAUGHTER "TAKE OUT WHAT'S IN THE SACK AND CHOP IT UP AND FRY IT.'

65 iɲ gone cokhay=ke ɖel=tajɖ=iɲ=ga."
1S tooth sharpen=SEQ come=M.PROG=1S=FOC

[257] Standard form: *soʔto*.
[258] Note here the use of the irrealis perfect to denote an imperative where the main emphasis is on the outcome of the action.

'I'LL SHARPEN MY TEETH AND COME [RIGHT BACK].'"

66 gam=oʔ ro raksin jhẽriya[259] tij col=ki.
say=A.PT and witch small.river side go=M.PT
'THE WITCH SAID [THIS] AND WENT TOWARDS THE RIVER [TO WASH FOR DINNER].'

67 raksin beʈi bora=te kach=oʔ ro yo=te laʔ=ko ho=te kongher
witch daughter sack=OBL untie=A.PT and see=A.PRS then=CNTR (= 'but') that=OBL(= 'there') boy

ayij ho=kaʈ=aʔ ului jhelob jhelob ayij.
PRS.COP that=S.HUM=GEN hair long REP PRS.COP
'THE WITCH'S DAUGHTER UNTIED THE SACK AND SHE SEES THEN [THAT] THERE IS A BOY THERE. HIS HAIR IS VERY LONG.'

68 raksin beʈi kongher=yaʔ ului=te yo=kon lobhay=ta.
witch daughter boy=GEN hair=OBL see=SEQ desire=M.PRS
'THE WITCH'S DAUGHTER SEES THE BOY'S HAIR AND COVETS IT.'

69 ro kongher=te jũŋ=te no am=aʔ ului i=ghay buŋ hebne
and boy=OBL ask=A.PRS CMPL 2S=GEN hair what=way INST so.much

jhelob jhelob ayij?
long REP PRS.COP
'AND SHE ASKS THE BOY "HOW IS YOUR HAIR SO LONG?"'

70 kongher bance=na=yaʔ upay konoɖ=te.
boy become.saved=INF=GEN means think.up=A.PRS
'THE BOY THINKS UP A MEANS OF SAVING HIMSELF.'

71 ro raksin beʈi=te gam=te no "iŋ=aʔ bokob=te sol[260] hinte un=kon
and witch daughter=OBL say=A.PRS CMPL 1S=GEN head=OBL hole LOC place=SEQ

ɖhẽki buŋ ɖuruŋ=sikh=oʔ=ki hin=aʔ thoŋ iŋ=aʔ ului hebne jhelob
pounding.machine INST pound.grain=PERF=A.PT=P that=GEN for 1S=GEN hair so.much long

maha=siʔ."
big=PERF
'AND HE SAYS TO THE WITCH'S DAUGHTER "I PUT MY HEAD IN THE HOLE IN THE FLOOR AND THEY POUNDED IT WITH THE POUNDING MACHINE, THEREFORE MY HAIR HAS BECOME SO BIG.'"

72 beʈi gam=te "iŋ=aʔ bokob=te=jo ɖuruŋ=ka[y=e]=m!"
daughter say=A.PRS 1S=GEN head=OBL=ADD pound.grain=BEN=A.IRR=2S
'THE DAUGHTER SAYS "YOU POUND MY HEAD TOO!"'

73 kongher gam=te "hã, a=na, ɖhẽki sol boʔ=te!"
boy say=A.PRS yes come.on!=M.IRR pounding.machine hole place=OBL
'THE BOY SAYS "YES, COME ALONG TO THE POUNDING HOLE AND MACHINE!"'

74 boriya sol boʔ=te ɖam=ki=kiyar. kongher gam=oʔ "sol=te bokob=no=m=te
2.people hole place=OBL arrive=M.PT=D boy say=A.PT hole=OBL head=2POSS=2S=OBL

[259] Standard form: *jhariya*.
[260] *sol* 'hole in the floor of a house, about 8-9 cm deep, for grinding or pounding grain'

un=e, iɲ ɖurũŋ=t[e]=iɲ" gam=oʔ ro raksin beʈi=yaʔ bokob=te
place=A.IRR 1S pound=A.PRS=1S say=A.PT and witch daughter=GEN head=OBL

ɖuruŋ goʈh=oʔ.
pound C:TEL=A.PT
'BOTH WENT TO THE POUNDING HOLE. THE BOY SAID "PUT YOUR HEAD IN THE HOLE, I WILL POUND IT" HE SAID AND HE POUNDED THE WITCH'S DAUGHTER'S HEAD.'

75 beʈi goj go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki.
girl die C:TEL=M.PT
'THE GIRL DIED.'

76 beʈa ho beʈi=yaʔ su-su lutui=te kach=oʔ ro aɖi su=yoʔ.
boy that girl=GEN put.on-RDP clothing=OBL untie=A.PT and ANAPH put.on=A.PT
'THE BOY TOOK OFF (= UNTIED) THE CLOTHING THAT THE GIRL WAS WEARING HE AND PUT IT ON [HIMSELF].'

77 oɖoʔ beʈi=yaʔ yeɲari[261]=te khaɽo=kon tawa=te gach=oʔ.
and girl=GEN body=OBL cut.up=SEQ cooking.pot=OBL fry=A.PT
'AND HE CUT UP HER BODY AND FRIED IT IN A COOKING POT.'

78 raksin kaɽayboʔ gone cokhay=ke ɖel=ki.
witch old.woman teeth sharpen=SEQ come=M.PT
'THE OLD WITCH SHARPENED HERE TEETH AND RETURNED.'

79 oʔ ɖiyar=na deri bij=ɖom=te juɲ=oʔ "gach=ob no beʈi?"
house enter=INF while daughter=3POSS=OBL ask=A.PT fry=A.PT.2S Q daughter
'WHILE ENTERING THE HOUSE, SHE ASKED HER DAUGHTER "DID YOU FRY HIM, DAUGHTER?"'

80 kongher rag badli=kon gam=oʔ "ga^{ʔ}j=chi^{ʔ}ɖ=iŋ,[262] yo, ol kay=t[e]=iŋ?"
boy voice change=SEQ say=A.PT fry=PERF=1S mother.VOC bring BEN=A.PRS=1S
'THE BOY, CHANGING HIS VOICE, SAID "I HAVE FRIED HIM, MOTHER, SHALL I BRING SOME FOR YOU?"'

81 raksin gam=te "ol=e u beʈa iɲ=te, jughay=ga saʔdhe=siʔ."
witch say=A.PRS bring=A.IRR this boy 1S=OBL much=FOC torment=PERF
'THE WITCH SAYS "BRING THIS BOY TO ME, HE HAS TORMENTED ME SO VERY MUCH."'

82 kongher thara hinte bij=ɖom=aʔ mas=te ol kay=oʔ, raksin ɲoʔ=na
boy plate LOC daughter=3POSS=GEN meat=OBL bring BEN=A.PT witch eat=INF

absiph=oʔ.
begin=A.PT
'THE BOY BROUGHT HER DAUGHTER'S MEAT ON A PLATE FOR HER, THE WITCH BEGAN TO EAT.'

83 moɲ khãɽo ɲokh=oʔ ro gam=te no
1 piece eat=A.PT and say=A.PRS CMPL
'SHE ATE ONE PIECE AND SAYS:'

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[261] Standard form: *ɲeri*.
[262] < **ga^{ʔ}j=siʔɖ=iɲ*. The perfect marker is regularly, although not obligatorily, realized as *=chiʔɖ* following a stem ending in /j/.

84 "beʈi, manwa lekhe=ko um laʔ=ta."
daughter human like=CNTR NEG EMOT=M.PRS
'"DAUGHTER, THIS DOESN'T TASTE LIKE HUMANS."'

85 ho ghari=ga kongher beʈi=yaʔ su-su lutui=te kaj=te ro
that time=FOC boy daughter=GEN put.on-RDP clothing=OBL untie=A.PRS and

raksin=te gam=te "sebol laʔ=ki am=aʔ bij=no=m=aʔ mãsu?"
witch=OBL say=A.PRS delicious EMOT=M.PT 2S=GEN daughter=2POSS=2S=GEN meat
'AT THAT VERY MOMENT THE BOY TAKES OFF (= UNTIES) THE CLOTHING WHICH THE GIRL HAD WORN AND SAYS TO THE WITCH "DOES YOUR DAUGHTER'S MEAT TASTE GOOD?"'

86 ro beʈa yar=te.
and boy flee=A.PRS
'AND THE BOY FLEES.'

87 raksin ho=kaʈ=te kuday=te.
witch that=S.HUM=OBL chase=A.PRS
'THE WITCH CHASES HIM.'

88 muda beʈa yar=ga kuda koloŋ=aʔ daru boʔ=te ɖam=ta ro ho=te
but boy flee=FOC millet bread=GEN tree place=OBL arrive=A.PRS and that=OBL(= 'there')

ɖeb go^{ʔ}ɖ=ta.
ascend C:TEL=M.PRS
'BUT THE BOY, FLEEING, ARRIVES AT THE MILLET BREAD TREE AND CLIMBS UP THERE.'

89 raksin=jo daru boʔ=te ɖam=ta muda beʈa=te dhoʔ=na um pal=te.
witch=ADD tree place=OBL arrive=M.PRS but boy=OBL grab=INF NEG be.able=A.PRS
'THE WITCH ALSO ARRIVES AT THE TREE BUT SHE CAN'T GRAB THE BOY.'

90 ro ho kuda koloŋ=aʔ daru sumbhoʔ=te iŋam=ga iŋamga goj jom=ta.
and that millet bread=GEN tree base=OBL cry=FOC REP die AUTOPOES=M.PRS
'AND CRYING AND CRYING, SHE JUST DIES [THROUGH SORROW] AT THE BASE OF THAT PULSE BREAD TREE.'

91 ro kongher baru-ɖaʔ borol=ta.
and boy good-INTEN live=M.PRS
'AND THE BOY LIVES HAPPILY EVER AFTER (= VERY WELL).'

suʔkho leme^{ʔ}ɖ
happy sleep
'A peaceful sleep'

[BB, 2]

1. moŋ poʔda=te muɖu kontheɖ bajhay kaɽ aw=na laʔ=ki.
one village=OBL one.CL bird catch person live=INF IPFV=M.PT
'IN A [CERTAIN] VILLAGE THERE LIVED A BIRD-CATCHER.'

2. ho=kaɽ=aʔ ɲimi daɽhi aw=ki.
that=S.HUM=GEN name beard COP=M.PT
'HIS NAME WAS DARHI (= BEARD).'

3. daɽhi=yaʔ moŋ beɽ=dom ro saw-ɽay=ɖom sori aw=na laʔ=ki=kiyar.
Darhi=GEN one son=3POSS and spouse-woman=3POSS together live=INF IPFV=M.PT=D
'DARHI'S ONE SON AND HIS WIFE LIVED TOGETHER [WITH HIM].'

4. poʔda kinir hepa^{ʔ}ɖ=te=ga aw=ki.
village forest vicinity=OBL=FOC COP=M.PT
'THE VILLAGE WAS NEAR A FOREST.'

5. kinir=te kisim kisim=yaʔ kontheɖ ro hoɖom jiwjantu=ki aw=na laʔ=ki=may.
forest=OBL type REP=GEN bird and other animal=P COP=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'IN THE FOREST LIVED MANY DIFFERENT TYPES OF BIRDS AND OTHER ANIMALS.'

6. daɽhi kontheɖ bajhay=kon ob-soŋ=kon borol=na laʔ=ki=may.
Darhi bird trap=SEQ CAUS-buy=SEQ live=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'THEY LIVED BY DARHI CATCHING AND SELLING BIRDS.'

7. ho=kaɽ=aʔ purkha=ki=jo kontheɖ bajhay=na=yaʔ kamu karay=kon=ga borol=na
that=S.HUM=GEN ancestor=P=ADD bird trap=INF=GEN work work=SEQ=FOC live=INF

laʔ=ki=may.
IPFV=M.PT=3P
'HIS ANCESTORS AS WELL USED TO LIVE BY TRAPPING BIRDS (= DOING BIRD-TRAPPING WORK).'

8. daɽhi diyo=ga (roj=ga) ho boʔ=ki=yaʔ kinir=te buli bulijal ropa=kon ho=te
Darhi daily=FOC daily=FOC that place=P=GEN forest=OBL wander REP net spread=SEQ that=OBL(= 'there')

moʔjhi=te tere^{ʔ}j rumku^{ʔ}b=te chiɽa=kon aɖi daru=ki=yaʔ oltha=te le^{ʔ}ɖ goɖ=na
middle=OBL powder rice=OBL scatter=SEQ ANAPH tree=P=GEN hiding.place=OBL hide C:TEL=INF

laʔ=ki.
IPFV=M.PT
'DARHI, WANDERING DAILY IN THE FOREST OF THOSE PLACES, WOULD SPREAD OUT HIS NET, SCATTER GROUND RICE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NET (= THERE), AND HIDE IN THE HIDING PLACES OF THE TREES.'

9. rumkub=yaʔ dana=te kontheɖ=ki yo=ta yota ɲoʔ=na thoŋ lalcay=na laʔ=ki=may.
rice=GEN grain=OBL bird=P see=CONV REP eat=INF PURP covet=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'SEEING THE GRAINS OF RICE, THE BIRDS WERE EAGER (= COVETED) TO EAT THEM.'

10. ro sunsan ʈhãɽo yo=kon ɲoʔ=na=ʔ thoŋ are=na laʔ=ki=may.
and peaceful place see=SEQ eat=INF=GEN PURP descend=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P

'AND, HAVING SEEN THAT THE PLACE WAS PEACEFUL, THEY CAME DOWN TO EAT.'

11. laʔ=ko daʈhi=yaʔ ropa jal=te bajhe goˀɖ=na laʔ=ki=may.
then=CNTR (= 'but') Darhi=GEN spread.out net=OBL get.trapped C:TEL=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'BUT THEY WOULD GET TRAPPED IN THE NET THAT DARHI HAD SPREAD OUT.'

12. bajhe kontheɖ=te jughay koleʔ, heirla, perwã, kurkur, mayna, ro kinir siŋkoy
get.trapped bird=OBL many parrot green.pigeon pigeon dove *maina*.bird and forest chicken

aw=na laʔ=ki=may.
COP=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'AMONG THE BIRDS CAUGHT THERE WOULD BE MANY PARROTS, GREEN PIGEONS, OTHER PIGEONS, DOVES, *MAINA* BIRDS AND WILD CHICKENS.'

13. jal=te bajhe kontheɖ=ki=te yo=ta yota daʈhi lereʔ jal tay kontheɖ=ki=te
net= OBL get.trapped bird=P=OBL see=CONV REP Darhi joy net ABL bird=P=OBL

oj=kon aɖi=yaʔ bora theila=te sajay=na laʔ=ki.
take.out=SEQ ANAPH=GEN sack (hand)bag=OBL put.into=INF IPFV=M.PT
''SEEING THE BIRDS CAUGHT IN THE NET, DARHI WOULD JOYOUSLY TAKE THE BIRDS OUT OF THE NET AND PUT THEM INTO SACKS AND BAGS.'

14. oʔ ɖel=kon daʈhi sob kontheɖ=ki=te juda juda konɖeŋ=yaʔ piŋjra=te
house come=SEQ Darhi all bird=P=OBL separate REP bamboo=GEN cage=OBL

un=na laʔ=ki ro poʈhiya=te[263] ob-soŋ=na laʔ=ki.
place=INF IPFV=M.PT and market=OBL CAUS-buy=INF IPFV=M.PT
'UPON RETURNING HOME, DARHI WOULD PUT ALL OF THE BIRDS INTO SEPARATE BAMBOO CAGES AND SELL THEM AT THE MARKET.'

15. daʈhi aɖi=yaʔ beʈ=ɖom=te=jo kontheɖ bajhay=na kinir sori sori ɖoɖ=na
Darhi ANAPH=GEN son=3POSS=OBL=ADD bird trap=INF forest together REP take=INF

laʔ=ki.
IPFV=M.PT
'DARHI ALSO USED TO TAKE HIS SON ALONG TO TRAP BIRDS IN THE FOREST.'

16. beʈ=ɖom yaʔ ɲimi raʈa aw=ki.
son=3POSS=GEN name Rata COP=M.PT
'HIS SON'S NAME WAS RATA.'

17. raʈa=te kontheɖ bajhay=na=yaʔ mon um karay=na laʔ=ki.
Rata=OBL bird trap=INF=GEN mind NEG do=INF IPFV=M.PT
'RATA DID NOT ENJOY (= DO THE MIND OF) TRAPPING BIRDS.'[264]

18. bajhe kontheɖ=ki=te yo=ta yota raʈa=te duʔkho laʔ=ki.
get.trapped bird=P=OBL see=CONV REP Rata=OBL sorrow EMOT=M.PT
'SEEING THE TRAPPED BIRDS, RATA WOULD BECOME UNHAPPY.'

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[263] Standard form: *peʈhiya*.

[264] The syntax here seems somewhat corrupt. One would normally expect *raʈa* be the grammatical subject of *um karayna laʔki* and thus in the direct case. Apparently, the author originally intended to use the "auxiliary" *hoyki* with *mon*, with roughly the same meaning but lacking agency, but then changed his mind. *mon hoyki* would then take an experiencer in the oblique case.

19. muda aba=ɖom=aʔ botoŋ buŋ sori sori kinir co=na laʔ=ki
but father=3POSS=GEN fear INST together REP forest go=INF IPFV=M.PT

ro bajhe konteɖ=ki=te jal tay oʔj=kon theila=te sajay=na laʔ=ki.
and get.trapped bird=P=OBL net ABL take.out=SEQ (hand)bag=OBL put.into=INF IPFV=M.PT
'BUT OUT OF FEAR OF HIS FATHER, HE WOULD GO ALONG TO THE FOREST AND HE WOULD TAKE THE TRAPPED BIRDS FROM THE NET AND PLACE THEM INTO THE SMALL BAG.'

20. musniŋ raʈa=yaʔ ap=ɖom=te kosu dhokh=oʔ.
one.day Rata=GEN father=3POSS=OBL sickness catch=A.PT
'ONE DAY, RATA'S FATHER GOT SICK (= A SICKNESS CAUGHT HIM).'

21. ap=ɖom raʈa=te remakh=oʔ ro gam=oʔ no babu musa iɲ
father=3POSS Rata=OBL call=A.PT and say=A.PT CMPL child today 1S

kinir co=na um=iɲ pal=e.
forest go=INF NEG=1S be.able=A.IRR
'HIS FATHER CALLED RATA AND SAID TO HIM "SON, TODAY I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GO TO THE FOREST.'

22. jeʔ am ebloŋ=ga kinir kontheɖ bajhay=na dhãy[=e].
so 2S alone=FOC forest bird trap=INF run=A.IRR
'SO YOU HURRY OFF ALONE TO CATCH FOREST BIRDS.'

23. iɲ=te musa ɲeri ko<b>su=tej ro kulɖaʔ=jo jab=siʔ.
1S=OBL today body hurt-<CAUS>=A.PROG and fever=ADD catch=PERF
'TODAY MY BODY IS HURTING ME AND FEVER HAS ALSO TAKEN HOLD OF (= CAUGHT) ME.'

24. raʈa jal=te theila hinte sajay=kon kunɖab=te laʔdhe=kon kinir col=ki.
Rata net=OBL (hand)bag LOC put.into=SEQ back=OBL load=SEQ forest go=M.PT
'RATA PUT THE NET INTO THE HANDBAG, LOADED IT ON HIS BACK AND WENT TO THE FOREST.'

25. kinir ɖam=kon raʈa thorek toʔ leru=ki, ro aba=ɖom=aʔ lekhe=ga
forest arrive=SEQ Rata little time rest=M.PT and father=3POSS=GEN like=FOC

jal ropa=kon dana chiʈa=yoʔ ro daru sumboʔ=te leʔɖ goʔɖ=ki.
net spread.out=SEQ grain scatter=A.PT and tree base=OBL hide C:TEL=M.PT
'AFTER ARRIVING AT THE FOREST, RATA RESTED A LITTLE WHILE, AND JUST LIKE HIS FATHER HE SPREAD OUT THE NET, SCATTERED GRAIN [ON IT] AND HID AT THE TREE TRUNK.'

26. raʈa=te ɖoko ɖoko lemeʔɖ laʔ=ki.
Rata=OBL sit.down REP sleep EMOT=M.PT
'WHILE HE WAS SEATED, RATA BECAME TIRED.'

27. khõɖeʔj=ko ɖoko=te=ga mukum=ki, tay ho boʔ=te=ga "khõʈeʔj mene[265]
a.while=CNTR sit=OBL=FOC doze.off=M.PT then that place=OBL=FOC a.while CL

ɖhalaɲŋe=ta=iɲ" – gam=oʔ ro gitaʔ=kon lemeʔɖ goɖ=ki.
take.a.nap=M.PRS=1S say=A.PT and lie.down=SEQ sleep C:TEL=M.PT
'SITTING FOR A WHILE, HE BEGAN TO DOZE OFF (= HE DOZED OFF), SO HE SAID [TO HIMSELF] AT THAT PLACE "I'LL SLEEP FOR A WHILE" AND HE LAY DOWN AND FELL ASLEEP.'

[265] On the status of *mene* as a classifier, see note 112 at [MS, 1:202].

28. ho=kaɽ leme^{ʔ}ɖ leme^{ʔ}ɖ munu yo=na laʔ=ki no kontheɖ=ki ho=kaɽ=te
that=S.HUM sleep REP dream see=INF IPFV=M.PT CMPL bird=P that=S.HUM=OBL

ob-leŋ=ga swarag raij ɖoɖ=na laʔ=ki=may.
CAUS-fly=FOC heaven kingdom carry=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'WHILE HE WAS ASLEEP, HE HAD (= SAW) A DREAM: THE BIRDS WERE CARRYING HIM (= WERE CARRYING HIM, CAUSING HIM TO FLY) [TOWARDS] THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.'

29. ho khoɽej=ga moŋ kauwa ɖel=ki ro kontheɖ=ki=te gam=te no
that time=FOC one crow come=M.PT and bird=P=OBL say=A.PRS CMPL

"am=pe u papi lebu=yaʔ kunɖuʔ=te ina swarag ɖoɽ=tej=pe?"
2=2P this sinful man=GEN child=OBL why heaven bring=A.PROG=2P
'AT THAT VERY MOMENT A CROW CAME AND SAID TO THE BIRDS "WHY ARE YOU BRINGING THIS SINFUL MAN'S CHILD TO HEAVEN?"'

30. "ho=kaɽ=te tobluŋ tay ob-gur=kon daɽhi=te aniŋ cetay=te=niŋ.
that=S.HUM=OBL top ABL CAUS-fall=SEQ Darhi=OBL 1P.INCL warn=A.PRS=1P.INCL
'[THEY SAID:]"WE WILL DROP HIM FROM THE SKY (= TOP) AND WARN DARHI.'

31. ina no daɽhi añĩŋ=aʔ kontheɖ wãs=te bajhay=kon
why CMPL(= 'because') Darhi 1P.INCL=GEN bird lineage=OBL trap=SEQ

(khatam karay=tej) buŋay=te^{ʔ}j.
end do=A.PRS finish.off=A.PROG
'BECAUSE DARHI WILL DESTROY OUR LINEAGE BY TRAPPING US.'

32. hin=aʔ thoŋ u=kaɽ=te tobluŋ tay ob-gur=kon daɽhi=yaʔ wãsaj=te
that=GEN for this=S.HUM=OBL top ABL CAUS-full=SEQ Darhi=GEN descendant=OBL

buŋay goɖ=te=niŋ."
finish.off C:TEL=A.PRS=1P.INCL
'THEREFORE WE WILL DROP HIM FROM ABOVE AND FINISH OFF DARHI'S DESCENDANTS.'"

33. hobne=te=ga ubar kole^{ʔ} kunɖuʔ jal=te bajhe=kon "ʈãy-ʈãy" toro^{ʔ}ɖ=na
that.much=OBL=FOC two parrot child net=OBL get.trapped=SEQ "tay, tay!" cry=INF

laʔ=ki=kiyar.[266]
IPFV=M.PT=3D
'MEANWHILE (= IN THAT MUCH), TWO BABY PARROTS GOT CAUGHT IN THE NET AND BEGAN CRYING "TAY! TAY!".'

34. kole^{ʔ}=yaʔ ma=ɖom ro apa=ɖom ho=kiyar=te jal tay oj=na thoŋ
parrot=GEN mother=3POSS and father=3POSS that=D=OBL net ABL take.out=INF PURP

han=te u=te pu^{ʔ}ɖ-pu^{ʔ}ɖ khor=ta^{ʔ}j=kiyar ro sob=ga "ʈãy-ʈãy"
that(DIST)=OBL(= 'there') this=OBL(= 'here') jump-RDP ITER=M.PROG=3D and all=FOC "tay, tay!"

toro^{ʔ}ɖ=taj=ki.
cry=M.PROG=P
'THE TWO PARROTS' MOTHER AND FATHER KEEP JUMPING HERE AND THERE TO FREE THEM FROM THE NET AND ALL [THE BIRDS] ARE CRYING "TAY! TAY!".'

[266] On *laʔ* as 'begin', see notes 36, 49, 63, 181, 250, and 272.

35. ho=ki=yaʔ toroɖ onɖor=kon raʈa=yaʔ leme^{ʔ}ɖ=jo caʈke go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki.
that=P=GEN cry hear=SEQ Rata=GEN sleep=ADD burst C:TEL=M.PT
'UPON HEARING THEIR CRIES, RATA WOKE UP (= RATA'S SLEEP BURST).'

36. raʈa jal boʔ=te col=ta ro yo=te la[ʔ] ubar koleʔ kunɖu
Rata net place=OBL go=M.PRS and see=A.PRS then 2 parrot child

jal=te bajhe=kon saŋghra=yaʔ thoŋ ĩyam=ta^{ʔ}j=kiyar.
net=OBL get.trapped=SEQ help=GEN for cry=M.PROG=D
'RATA GOES TO THE NET AND SEES THEN [THAT] TWO BABY PARROTS HAVE GOTTEN TRAPPED IN THE NET AND ARE CRYING FOR HELP.'

37. ho=kiyar=te yo kon raʈa=te muruk sog laʔ=ki.
that=D=OBL see=SEQ Rata=OBL much pity EMOT=M.PT
'SEEING THEM BOTH, RATA FELT MUCH PITY.'

38. jal tay boriya=te och=oʔ ro melay goʈh=oʔ. boriya=ga leŋ=kon
net ABL both=OBL take.out=A.PT and leave C:TEL=A.PT both=FOC fly=SEQ

ma=ɖom ap=ɖom=yaʔ sori ɖisaʔ col=ki=may.
mother=3POSS father=3POSS=GEN with far go=M.PT=3P
'HE TOOK THEM OUT OF THE NET AND LEFT THEM. BOTH FLEW UP AND WENT FAR AWAY WITH THEIR MOTHER AND FATHER.'

39. raʈa socay=te no "iɲ=aʔ karne boriya kunɖu=te kiʔte duʔkho hoy=ki."
Rata think=A.PRS CMPL 1S=GEN because.of both baby=OBL how.much unhappy become=M.PT
'RATA THINKS "HOW UNHAPPY THE TWO BABIES BECAME BECAUSE OF ME."'

39. u socay=kon raʈa=te=jo duʔkho laʔ=ta.
this think=SEQ Rata=OBL=ADD unhappy EMOT=M.PRS
'THINKING THIS, RATA IS ALSO VERY UNHAPPY.'

40. hin khõʈho=ga raʈa jal=te somʈay=kon theila=te sajay=oʔ ro oʔ
that(DIST) time=FOC Rata net=OBL gather.up=SEQ (hand)bag=OBL put.into=A.PT and house

ɖel=ki.
come=M.PT
'AT THAT VERY MOMENT RATA GATHERED UP THE NET, PUT IT INTO THE HANDBAG AND WENT (= CAME) HOME.'

41. raʈa=te tomoŋ tiʔ yo=kon ap=ɖom gam=te "i hoy=ki?
Rata=OBL empty hand see=SEQ father=3poss say=A.PRS what become=M.PT
'SEEING RATA EMPTY-HANDED, HIS FATHER SAYS "WHAT HAPPENED?'

42. kontheɖ um ol=te^{ʔ}jɖ=em.
bird NEG bring=A.PROG=2S
'YOU AREN'T BRINGING [ANY] BIRDS."'

43. raʈa gam=te "iɲ u iku^{ʔ}ɖ sundar konteɖ=ki=te bajhay=kon satay=na um=iɲ lam=te.
Rata say=A.PRS 1S this very beautiful bird=P=OBL trap=SEQ torment=INF NEG=1S want=A.PRS
'RATA SAYS "I DON'T WANT TO TRAP THESE BEAUTIFUL BIRDS AND TORMENT THEM.'

44. hin=aʔ thoŋ=ga je bajhe=sikh=oʔ=may ho=jeʔ=ki=jo[267] jal tay oʔj=kon
that=GEN for=FOC CR get.trapped=PERF=A.PT=3P that=S.NHUM=P=ADD net ABL take.out=SEQ

ob-leŋ goʈh=oʔj, melay goʈh=oʔj."
CAUS-fly C:TEL=A.PT.1S leave C:TEL=A.PT.1S
'THEREFORE, I ALSO TOOK OUT OF THE NET THOSE WHICH HAD BEEN TRAPPED AND RELEASED THEM (= LET THEM FLY, LEFT THEM).'"

45. raʈa=te aba=ɖom samjhay=te, gam=te no "babu,
Rata=OBL father=3POSS explain=A.PRS say=A.PRS CMPL child

aniŋ=aʔ purkha=ko=jo u kamu karay=kon=ga borol=ki=may.
1P.INC=GEN ancestor=CNTR=ADD this work do=SEQ=FOC live=M.PT=3P
'THE FATHER EXPLAINS TO RATA AND SAYS "CHILD, OUR ANCESTORS ALSO LIVED BY DOING THIS WORK.'

46. ro anaŋ=te=jo purkha=ki=yaʔ ter-ter kamu=te=ga karay=kon borol=na ayiʔj.
and 1D.INCL=OBL=ADD ancestor=P=GEN give-RDP work=OBL=FOC do=SEQ live=INF PRS.COP
'AND WE BOTH MUST ALSO LIVE BY DOING THE WORK WHICH THE ANCESTORS HAVE GIVEN US.'

47. kontheɖ ob-soŋ=ke jetna rupaya kamu ɖom=ta,
bird CAUS-buy=SEQ CR:how.much money earn PASS=M.PRS

hoʔbne rupaya hoɖom kamu karay=kon um kamu ɖom=na."
that.much money other work do=SEQ NEG earn PASS=M.IRR
'AS MUCH MONEY AS IS EARNED BY SELLING BIRDS WILL NOT BE EARNED BY DOING OTHER WORK.'"

48. raʈa gam=te "borol=na=ʔ thoŋ ro rupaya kamu=na=ʔ thoŋ u sundar
Rata say=A.PRS live=INF=GEN PURP and money earn=INF=GEN PURP this beautiful

kontheɖ=ki=te um satay=na cahi.
bird=P=OBL NEG torment=INF be.necessary:PRS
'RATA SAYS "IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO TORMENT THESE BEAUTIFUL BIRDS IN ORDER TO EARN MONEY AND TO LIVE.'

49. ho=ki=jo=ko apan apan lam=ta lamta ɲoʔ=te=ki ro borol=ta=ki.
that=P=ADD=CNTR own REP look=CONV REP eat=A.PRS=P and live=M.PRS=P
'THEY ALSO HAVE TO SURVIVE (= EAT AND LIVE) BY SEARCHING [FOR] THEMSELVES.'

50. iŋ musa tay=ga kontheɖ bajhay kamu melay=kon hoɖom kamu kara[y=e]=iŋ."
1S today ABL=FOC bird trap work leave=SEQ other work do=A.IRR=1S
'AS OF TODAY, I WILL GIVE UP THE WORK OF TRAPPING BIRDS AND DO OTHER WORK.'"

51. raʈa=te ap=ɖom gam=te no "am je=bhi kamu karay[=e],
Rata=OBL father=3POSS say=A.PRS CMPL 2S CR=ADD work do=A.IRR
'THE FATHER SAYS TO RATA "DO WHATEVER KIND OF WORK,'

muda iŋ=te moŋ hapta=te am moŋ hajar rupaya kamu=ke ter=e=m
but 1S=OBL one week=OBL 2S one thousand rupees earn=SEQ give=A.IRR=2S

[267] The use of *jeʔ* with plural marking is quite seldom, hence the gloss 'S' for 'singular', although it is not appropriate in the present example.

'BUT IF YOU EARN AND GIVE ME 1,000 RUPEES IN ONE WEEK'

tob=ga iŋ kãɖij=na=iŋ no am hoɖom kamu karay=kon borol=na=m."
then=FOC 1S accept=M.IRR=1S CMPL 2S other work do=SEQ live=M.IRR=2S
'ONLY THEN WILL I ACCEPT THAT YOU WILL LIVE BY DOING OTHER WORK.'"

52. raʈa gam=oʔ "baru kayom=ga heke."
Rata say=A.PT good speech=FOC PRS.COP
'RATA SAID "WHAT YOU SAY IS GOOD."'

53. ro saŋgo=ɖom=aʔ boʔ=te col=ki.
and friend=3POSS=GEN place=OBL go=M.PT
'AND HE WENT TO THE HOME OF HIS FRIEND.'

54. saŋgo=ɖom baʈhi kamu so^{ʔ}j=na laʔ=ki.
friend=3POSS carpenter work know=INF IPFV=M.PT
'HIS FRIEND KNEW CARPENTRY.'

55. raʈa saŋgo=ɖom=te sob kayom=te utun=oʔ.
Rata friend=3POSS=OBL all matter=OBL relate=A.PT
'RATA RELATED THE ENTIRE MATTER TO HIS FRIEND.'

56. ro gam=oʔ no "iŋ=te konon konon daru=yaʔ konon kunɖuʔ=ki=yaʔ
and say=A.PT CMPL 1S=OBL small REP wood=GEN small child=P=GEN

thoŋ khelawna bay=na sikhay[=e]."
PURP doll make=INF teach=A.IRR
'AND HE SAID "TEACH ME HOW TO MAKE SMALL WOODEN DOLLS FOR YOUNG (= SMALL) CHILDREN."'

57. saŋgo=ɖom raʈa=te raŋrina^{ʔ}ɖ, anaʔmanaʔ khelawna bay=na sikhay=oʔ.
friend=3POSS Rata=OBL of.many.kinds of.many.kinds doll make=INF teach=A.PT
'THE FRIEND TAUGHT RATA TO MAKE MANY DIFFERENT KINDS OF DOLLS.'

58. raʈa kinir tay daru ɖe^{ʔ}j ol=oʔ ro sob lekhe=yaʔ khelawna bay=ta bayta
Rata forest ABL tree cut.down bring=A.PT and all kind=GEN doll make=CONV REP

peʈhiya=te ob-soŋ=na absiph=oʔ ro rupaya ʈhuray=oʔ.
market=OBL CAUS-buy=INF begin=A.PT and money collect=A.PT
'RATA CUT DOWN [AND] BROUGHT [BACK] WOOD FROM THE FOREST AND, MAKING ALL KINDS OF DOLLS, HE BEGAN TO SELL THEM AT THE MARKET AND TO COLLECT MONEY.'

59. aba=ɖom=aʔ gam=na=ʔ motabik=ga hapta dinu=yaʔ loʔɖho raʈa aba=ɖom=te
father=3POSS=GEN say=INF=GEN according.to=FOC week day=GEN after Rata father=3POSS=OBL

moŋ hajar rupaya tay=jo jughay ter=oʔ.
one thousand rupee ABL=ADD much give=A.PT
'AS HIS FATHER HAD SAID (= ACCORDING TO HIS FATHER'S SAYING), AFTER A WEEK RATA GAVE HIS FATHER EVEN MORE THAN 1,000 RUPEES.'

60. aba=ɖom rupaya=te yo-yo=yaʔ yo-yo=ga aw goɖ=ki.[268]
father=3POSS money=OBL see-RDP=GEN see-RDP=FOC remain C:TEL=M.PT
'HIS FATHER JUST KEPT STARING AND STARING AT THE MONEY.'

61. beʈ=ɖom=aʔ mehneit=yaʔ kamu rupaya=te yo=kon moʔɖ=te romoʔɖɖaʔ
son=3POSS=GEN labor=GEN earn money=OBL see=SEQ eye=OBL tear

bhore goɖ=ki.
fill.up C:TEL=M.PT
'WHEN HE SAW THE MONEY EARNED [THROUGH] HIS SON'S LABOR, HIS EYES FILLED UP WITH TEARS.'

62. ro gam=te "kunɖu[ʔ]=na=iŋ, am iŋ=te goɖjhuŋ ob-yo=yoʔb no
and say=A.PRS child=POSS=1S 2S 1S=OBL path CAUS-see=A.PT.2S CMPL

i=ghay kamu=kon borol=na ayiʔj.
what=way work=SEQ live=INF PRS.COP
'AND HE SAYS "MY CHILD, YOU SHOWED ME THE PATH [OF] HOW TO LIVE BY WORKING.'

63. musa tay=ga iŋ kontheɖ bajhay kamu melay goɖ[=e]=iŋ.
today ABL=FOC 1S bird trap work leave C:TEL=A.IRR=1S
'AS OF TODAY I WILL GIVE UP THE WORK OF TRAPPING BIRDS.'

64. ro am=aʔ sori iŋ=jo khelawna bay[=e]=iŋ.
and 2S=GEN with 1S=ADD doll make=A.IRR=1S
'AND I WILL MAKE DOLLS TOGETHER WITH YOU.'

65. hoɖom jiyom=ki=te sattay=kon iɖiʔb=te lemeʔɖ=jo um ɖel=ta."
other life=P=OBL torment=SEQ night=OBL sleep=ADD NEG come=M.PRS
'BY TORMENTING OTHER LIVING BEINGS, I ALSO CANNOT SLEEP AT NIGHT (= SLEEP ALSO DOESN'T COME).'"

66. u kayom onɖor=kon raʈa=yaʔ ayo=ɖom, daɽhi=yaʔ saw-ɽay=ɖom, gam=te:
this matter hear=SEQ Rata=GEN mother=3POSS Darhi=GEN spouse-woman=3POSS say=A.PRS
'HEARING THIS MATTER, RATA'S MOTHER, DARHI'S WIFE, SAID:'

67. "mehneit ro iman=yaʔ kamu karay=na se iɖiʔb=te suʔkho=yaʔ lemeʔɖ ɖel=ta."
labor and honor=GEN work do=INF ABL night=OBL happiness=GEN sleep come=M.PRS
'"BY DOING LABOR AND HONOURABLE WORK (= LABOR AND HONOR'S WORK), ONE SLEEPS HAPPILY (= THE SLEEP OF HAPPINESS COMES) AT NIGHT."'

68. hoɖom dinu tay ma=ɖom ap=ɖom ro raʈa daru=yaʔ kamu karay=kon
other day ABL mother=3POSS father=3POSS and Rata wood=GEN work do=SEQ

sundar-boʔ borol ɲoʔ=ki=may.
beautiful-INTENS life eat=M.PT=3P
'FROM THE NEXT DAY ON, MOTHER, FATHER AND RATA LIVED HAPPILY (= ATE LIFE VERY BEAUTIFULLY) WORKING WITH WOOD.'

[268] The idiomatic construction with a free-standing form in the genitive (here: *yo-yo=yaʔ*) followed by a free-standing form marked by *ga* and accompanied by a finite form of *aw* marked for culminatory telicity (*goʔɖ*) denotes either a long-term activity, as here, or that the resultant state is more or less permanent.

likha kaɽ basil baʔ.
write person Basil Baa
'AUTHOR: BASIL BAA.'

solo?=ya? saŋgo
dog=GEN friend
'The dog's friend'

[BB, 3]

1. ikuɖ jughay bair kayom heke. akhãɽ kinir=te moɲ solo? aw=na la?=ki.
very much old speech PRS.COP deep forest=OBL one dog live=INF IPFV=M.PT
'[THIS] IS A VERY OLD STORY. IN A DEEP FOREST A DOG ONCE LIVED.'

2. ho=kaɽ=a? ber=jo saŋgo umay aw=ki.
that=S.HUM=GEN who=ADD friend NEG.3P COP=M.PT
'HE HAD NO FRIENDS WHATSOEVER.'

3. ca?ɖo solo? ebloŋ=ga han=ti?j u=ti?j buli khor=na la?=ki.
therefore dog alone=FOC that=side this=side wander ITER=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THEREFORE THE DOG USED TO WANDER HERE AND THERE ALL ALONE.'

4. ho=kaɽ=te ekla=ga baru um la?=na la?=ki. musniŋ=a? kayom heke.
that=S.HUM=OBL alone=FOC good NEG EMOT=INF IPFV=M.PT one.day=GEN matter PRS.COP
'HE DIDN'T LIKE BEING ALL ALONE. [THIS] IS THE STORY OF ONE [PARTICULAR] DAY.'

5. solo? saŋgo lam=na mu?=ki.
dog friend search=INF go.out=M.PT
'THE DOG WENT OUT TO LOOK FOR A FRIEND.'

6. ho=kaɽ mugam ti?j co=na la?=ki no acka=ga solo?=ya? najeir moɲ poɽoŋ=te
that=S.HUM front side go=INF IPFV=M.PT CMPL sudden=FOC dog=GEN sight one hare=OBL

yo=yo?.
see=A.PT
'HE WAS WALKING FORWARD WHEN SUDDENLY HE CAUGHT SIGHT OF A HARE (= THE DOG'S SIGHT SAW ONE HARE).'

7. solo? tomon=ki ro konoɖ=na maɽe=yo?, no "ki?te baru hoy=na ha?niŋ
dog stand=M.PT and think=INF begin=A.PT CMPL how.much good become=M.IRR indeed

u=kaɽ iɲ=a? saŋgo bone go?ɖ=na=∅ la?."
this=S.HUM 1S=GEN friend become C:TEL=M.IRR then
'THE DOG STOPPED (= STOOD) AND BEGAN TO THINK "HOW NICE IT WOULD BE IF HE WERE TO BECOME MY FRIEND."'

8. solo? poɽoŋ=ya? hepaɖ col=ki ro gam=o? "e iyar (e bhai)
dog hare=GEN vicinity go=M.PT and say=A.PT VOC friend VOC brother

am=bar iɲ=a? kayom onɖor=e=bar!"
2=2HON 1S=GEN speech hear=A.IRR=2HON
'THE DOG WENT CLOSE TO THE HARE AND SAID "HEY FRIEND, LISTEN TO WHAT I HAVE TO SAY (= MY SPEECH)!"'

9. poɽoŋ gam=te "gam=e=bar."
hare say=A.PRS say=A.IRR=2HON
'THE HARE SAYS "SPEAK."'

10. solo? gam=te "am=bar bura um=bar mane=te?j la? anaŋ boriya saŋgo
dog say=A.PRS 2=2HON bad NEG=2HON consider=A.PROG then 2D.INCL both friend

bone=kon sori=ga aw=na=naŋ."
become=SEQ together=FOC live=M.IRR=2D.INCL
'THE DOG SAYS "IF YOU DON'T CONSIDER IT BAD THEN WE TWO CAN BECOME FRIENDS AND LIVE TOGETHER.'"

11. poɽoŋ mon=te konoʈh=oʔ ro gam=oʔ "iɲ=te jahã=ko um karay[=e]?"
hare mind=OBL think=A.PT and say=A.PT 1S=OBL INDEF.NHUM=CNTR NEG do=A.IRR
'IN HIS MIND THE HARE THOUGHT AND SAID "HE WON'T DO ANYTHING TO ME?'"

12. muda poɽoŋ sori aw=na=ʔ thoŋ teyar=ki. soloʔ ikuɖ jughay lereʔ=ki.
but hare with live=INF=GEN PURP ready=M.PT dog very much joy=M.PT
'BUT HE DECIDED [= BECAME READY] TO LIVE WITH HIM. THE DOG BECAME VERY HAPPY'.

13. ina no ho=kaɽ=te moɲ saŋgo kui goʔɖ=ki.
why CMPL(= 'because') that=S.HUM=OBL one friend be.found C:TEL=M.PT
'BECAUSE HE FOUND A FRIEND.'

14. ho=kiyar boriya dinu bher sori aw=ki=kiyar.
that=D both day whole together remain=M.PT=D
'THE TWO REMAINED TOGETHER THE WHOLE DAY.'

15. iɖib hoy=ki boriya=ga moɲ daru sumboʔ=te gitaʔ=ki=kiyar.
night become=M.PT both=FOC one tree base=OBL lie.down=M.PT=D
'NIGHT FELL. BOTH LAY DOWN AT THE BASE OF A TREE.'

16. gitaʔ=na deri poɽoŋ=te ikuɖ jughay lemeɖ laʔ=ki ro lemeɖ goʔɖ=ki.
lie.down=INF as.soon.as hare=OBL very much sleep EMOT=M.PT and sleep C:TEL=M.PT
'AS SOON AS HE LAY DOWN, THE HARE BECAME VERY TIRED AND FELL ASLEEP.'

17. muda soloʔ=te lemeɖ um ɖel=ki. ho=kaɽ jage=ga aw=ki.
but dog=OBL sleep NEG come=M.PT that=S.HUM wake.up=FOC remain=M.PT
'BUT THE DOG DID NOT GET TIRED (= SLEEP DID NOT COME TO THE DOG). HE REMAINED AWAKE.'

18. jaha saɽa onɖor=na laʔ=ki no bhabru=na laʔ=ki.
INDEF.NHUM noise hear=INF IPFV=M.PT COMPL bark=INF IPFV=M.PT
'WHENEVER HE HEARD ANY NOISE HE WOULD BARK.'

19. iɖib bhere enem bhabru soloʔ um aw=na pal=na laʔ=ki.
night time without bark dog NEG remain=INF be.able=INF IPFV=M.PT
'AT NIGHT THE DOG COULD NOT KEEP QUIET (= COULD NOT REMAIN WITHOUT BARKING).'

20. soloʔ=yaʔ bhabru buŋ poɽoŋ=yaʔ lemeɖ piʔj goɖ=ki.
dog=GEN bark INST hare=GEN sleep break C:TEL=M.PT
'THROUGH THE DOG'S BARKING THE HARE WOKE UP (= THE HARE'S SLEEP BROKE).'

21. poɽoŋ beroɖ=ki ro gam=oʔ no "iyar, am=te lemeɖ um laʔ=taʔ
hare arise=M.PT and say=A.PT CMPL friend 2S=OBL sleep NEG EMOT=M.PRS
'THE HARE AROSE AND SAID "FRIEND, AREN'T YOU TIRED?'

22. lemeɖ um laʔ=ta laʔ korob korob=ga gitaʔ=siʔ=na.
sleep NEG EMOT=M.PRS then silent REP=FOC lie.down=PERF=M.IRR
'IF YOU ARE NOT TIRED THEN LIE QUIETLY.'

23. umboʔ laʔ=ko am=aʔ riryay=te onɖor=kon maha tuyu ɖe=na ro anaŋ
not then=CNTR 2S=GEN crying.out=OBL hear=SEQ big jackal come=M.IRR and 1D.INCL

boriya=te=ga ɲoʔ goɽ=e."
both=OBL=FOC eat C:TEL=A.IRR
'OTHERWISE THE GREAT JACKAL WILL HEAR YOUR CRYING OUT AND WILL COME AND EAT BOTH OF US UP.'"

24. soloʔ bhabru=na melay=oʔ. ro mon=te=ga konoʈh=oʔ no "saŋgo iɲ bes
dog bark=INF stop=A.PT and mind=OBL=FOC think=A.PT CMPL friend 1S good

um=iɲ kui=siʔ."
NEG=1S find=PERF
'THE DOG STOPPED BARKING. AND HE THOUGHT TO HIMSELF (= IN HIS MIND) "I HAVEN'T FOUND A GOOD FRIEND.'

25. poɽoŋ=ko (ɖarguha) pattajhaɽa ayiʔj. ho=kaɽ maha tuyu=te botoŋ=ta.
hare=CNTR coward coward PRS.COP that=S.HUM big jackal=OBL fear=M.PRS
'THE HARE IS A COWARD. HE FEARS THE GREAT JACKAL.'

26. iɲ u=ghay saŋgo buŋ um=iɲ aw=na."
1S this=way friend INST NEG=1S remain=M.IRR
'I WILL NOT REMAIN WITH SUCH A FRIEND.'"

27. soloʔ acka=ga socay=oʔ no "poɽoŋ maha tuyu=te botoŋ=ta.
dog sudden=FOC think=A.PT CMPL hare big jackal=OBL fear=M.PRS
'THE DOG SUDDENLY THOUGHT "THE HARE FEARS THE GREAT JACKAL.'

28. laʔ tuyu jarul=ga ɖiɽhgar ro sawãgar ayiʔj hoy."
then jackal certain=FOC brave and strong PRS.COP INFER
'THEN THE JACKAL MUST CERTAINLY BE BRAVE AND STRONG.'"

29. u gam=kon soloʔ tuyu=te saŋgo bay=na=ʔ thoŋ lam=na col=ki.
this say=SEQ dog jackal=OBL friend make=INF=GEN PURP search=INF go=M.PT
'HAVING THOUGHT (= SAID) THIS, THE DOG WENT OFF TO SEARCH FOR THE JACKAL TO MAKE HIM HIS FRIEND.'

30. lam=na lamna soloʔ tuyu=te yo=yoʔ ro ho=kaɽ=aʔ hepaɖ col=ki.
search=INF REP dog jackal=OBL see=A.PT and that=S.HUM=GEN vicinity go=M.PT
'SEARCHING AND SEARCHING, THE DOG SAW THE JACKAL AND WENT UP TO HIM (= TO HIS VICINITY).'

31. tuyu=yaʔ boʔ=te ɖam=kon soloʔ gam=te "i=ghay ayiʔjɖ=em iyar, baru=ga no?
jackal=GEN place=OBL arrive=SEQ dog say=A.PRS what=way PRS.COP=2S friend good=FOC Q
'HAVING ARRIVED WHERE THE JACKAL WAS THE DOG SAYS "HOW ARE YOU FRIEND, [DOING] WELL?'

32. ɖher dinu tay bheʔʈo=siʔ=naŋ jeʔ sori=ga saŋgo bone=ke aw=na=naŋ."
much day ABL meet=PERF=1D.INCL so together=FOC friend become=SEQ live=M.IRR=1D.INCL
'IT'S BEEN A LONG TIME (= WE HAVE MET [NOW] SINCE MANY DAYS) SO LET'S BECOME FRIENDS AND LIVE TOGETHER.'"

33. tuyu gam=oʔ "baru=ga aw=na." ro dinu bheir sori=ga aw=ki=kiyar.
jackal say=A.PT good=FOC remain=M.IRR and day entire together=FOC remain=M.PT=D
'THE JACKAL SAID "OK (= IT WILL BE GOOD)." AND THEY REMAINED TOGETHER THE WHOLE DAY.'

34. iɖib=te boriya=ga moɲ daru=waʔ sumboʔ=te gitaʔ=ki=kiyar.
night=OBL both=FOC one tree=GEN base=OBL lie.down=M.PT=D
'AT NIGHT THE TWO LAY DOWN AT THE BASE OF A TREE.'

35. gitaʔ=na deri tuyu=ko phõkare phõkare lemeɖ goʔɖ=ki.
lie.down=INF as.soon.as jackal=CNTR snore REP sleep C:TEL=M.PT
'AS SOON AS HE LAY DOWN, THE JACKAL FELL ASLEEP, SNORING.'

36. muda soloʔ=te=ko lemeɖ=ga abu ɖe=na.
but dog=OBL=CNTR sleep=FOC NEG.MOD.S come=M.IRR
'BUT THE DOG JUST COULDN'T GET ANY SLEEP (= BUT TO THE DOG, SLEEP SHOULD NOT COME).'

37. ro saɽa onɖro[269]=te no=ga jor jor se bhabru=te.
and sound hear=A.PRS CMPL=FOC(= 'as.soon.as') strong REP INST bark=A.PRS
'AND AS SOON AS HE HEARS A SOUND, HE BARKS LOUDLY.'

38. ho=kaɽ=aʔ bhabru onɖor=kon tuyu=yaʔ lemeɖ caɽke goʔɖ=ki.
that=S.HUM=GEN bark hear=SEQ jackal=GEN sleep burst C:TEL=M.PT
'HEARING HIS BARKING, THE JACKAL AWOKE (= HIS SLEEP BURST).'

39. tuyu beroɖ=ki ro soloʔ=te gam=oʔ no "am=te lemeɖ um ɖel=ta
jackal arise=M.PT and dog=OBL say=A.PT CMPL 2S=OBL sleep NEG come=M.PRS

laʔ korob korob gitaʔ=siʔ=na, umboʔ laʔ=ko ɖoko=siʔ=na.
then silent REP lie.down=PERF=M.IRR NEG then=CNTR sit.down=PERF=M.IRR
'THE JACKAL GOT UP AND SAID TO THE DOG "IF YOU CAN'T SLEEP THEN LIE QUIETLY, OTHERWISE SIT [QUIETLY].'

40. agar am=aʔ bhabru onɖor=kon kiɽoʔ ɖe=na laʔ boriya=te=ga tar ɲog=e."
if 2S=GEN bark hear=SEQ tiger come=M.IRR then both=OBL=FOC kill eat=A.IRR
'IF, HAVING HEARD YOUR BARKING, THE TIGER COMES, HE WILL KILL AND EAT US BOTH.'"

41. u kayom onɖor=kon soloʔ=te baru um laʔ=ki.
this matter hear=SEQ dog=OBL good NEG EMOT=M.PT
'HEARING THIS MATTER, THE DOG WAS UNHAPPY.'

42. ro gam=oʔ no "tuyu=jo pattajhaɽa ayiʔj. ina no ho=kaɽ
and say=A.PT CMPL jackal=ADD coward PRS.COP why CMPL(= 'because') that=S.HUM

kiɽoʔ=te botoŋ=ta.
tiger=OBL fear=M.PRS
'AND HE SAID "THE JACKAL IS A COWARD. BECAUSE HE FEARS THE TIGER."'

43. ro konoɖ=te tay gam=te no "jarul=ga kiɽoʔ tuyu=yaʔ tay jughay=ga
and think=A.PRS then say=A.PRS CMPL certain=FOC tiger jackal=GEN INST much=FOC

[269] Standard form: *onɖor*.

ɖiɽhgar ro sawãgar ayi^{ʔ}j hoy."
brave and strong PRS.COP INFER
'AND HE THINKS AND THEN SAYS [TO HIMSELF] "THE TIGER IS CERTAINLY MUCH BRAVER AND STRONGER THAN THE JACKAL.'"

44. u socay=kon soloʔ gam=te no "iɲ tuyu=te melay=kon a^{ʔ}b kiɽoʔ=te saŋgo
this think=SEQ dog say=A.PRS CMPL 1S jackal=OBL leave=SEQ now tiger=OBL friend

bay[=e]=iɲ."
make=A.IRR=1S
'HAVING THOUGHT THIS THE DOG SAYS [TO HIMSELF] "I WILL LEAVE THE JACKAL NOW AND MAKE THE TIGER MY FRIEND.'"

45. ro kiɽoʔ=te lam=na col=ki. lam=na lamna=te soloʔ kiɽo[ʔ]=te kuy=oʔ
and tiger=OBL search=INF go=M.PT search=INF REP=OBL dog tiger=OBL find=A.PT

ro gam=te "i=ghay ayi^{ʔ}jɖ=em bhai, baru=ga no?"
and say=A.PRS what=way PRS.COP=2S brother good=FOC Q
'AND HE WENT TO LOOK FOR THE TIGER. SEARCHING AND SEARCHING HE FOUND THE TIGER AND SAYS "HOW ARE YOU BROTHER, OK?'"

46. kiɽoʔ gam=te "baru baru=ga." ro juŋ=te no "am=bar=ko?"
tiger say=A.PRS good REP=FOC and ask=A.PRS CMPL 2=2HON=CNTR
'THE TIGER SAYS "VERY GOOD." AND ASKS "AND YOU?'"

47. laʔ soloʔ[270] gam=te "iɲ=ko enem saŋgo=yaʔ baru umboɽi^{ʔ}jɖ=iɲ.
then dog say=A.PRS 1S=CNTR without friend=GEN good NEG.PRS.COP=1S
'THEN THE DOG SAYS "BUT WITHOUT A FRIEND I AM NOT WELL.'

48. am=bar=te=gaʔ saŋgo bay=na lam=te^{ʔ}jɖ=iɲ[271] je[ʔ] i gam=te=bar?"
2=2HON=OBL=FOC friend make=INF want=A.PROG=1S so what say=A.PRS=2HON
'I WANT TO MAKE YOU MY FRIEND, SO WHAT DO YOU SAY?'"

49. kiɽoʔ gam=te "baru aw=na." ro sori=ga aw=na maɽay=oʔ=kiyar.
tiger say=A.PRS good COP=M.IRR and together=FOC live=INF begin=A.PT=D
'THE TIGER SAYS "IT WILL BE GOOD." AND THEY BEGAN TO LIVE TOGETHER.'

50. iɖib bhere boriya=ga moɲ daru sumboʔ=te=ga gitaʔ=sikh=oʔ=kiyar.
night time both=FOC one tree base=OBL=FOC lie.down=PERF=A.PT=D
'AT NIGHT THEY BOTH LAY DOWN AT THE BASE OF A TREE.'

51. kiɽoʔ lemeɖ=sikh=oʔ. acka=ga saɽa onɖor=kon soloʔ bhabru=na laʔ=ki.[272]
tiger sleep=PERF=A.PT sudden=FOC sound hear=SEQ dog bark=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THE TIGER FELL ASLEEP. SUDDENLY, HAVING HEARD A NOISE, THE DOG BEGAN TO BARK.'

52. ho=kaɽ=aʔ gul onɖor=kon kiɽoʔ=yaʔ lemeɖ caɽke=ki ro soloʔ=te lech=oʔ
that=S.HUM=GEN cry hear=SEQ tiger=GEN sleep burst=M.PT and dog=OBL curse=A.PT

"am=te lemeɖ um laʔ=ta laʔ hoɖom=ki=te ina taŋ karay=te=m?
2S=OBL sleep NEG EMOT=M.PRS then other=P=OBL why annoyance do=A.PRS=2S

[270] Text: *tuyu* 'jackal', obviously a mistake, as it is the dog who has gone out to look for a new friend.
[271] *lam* 1. 'search, look for'; 2. 'want'.
[272] On *laʔ* as 'begin', see notes 36, 49, 63, 181, 250, and 266.

'HAVING HEARD HIS CRIES, THE TIGER AWOKE AND SWORE AT THE DOG: "IF YOU AREN'T TIRED, THEN WHY DO YOU ANNOY OTHERS?"'

53. am=aʔ bhabru onɖor=kon lebu ɖe=na laʔ boriya=te=ga tar goɽ=e.
2S=GEN bark hear=SEQ man come=M.IRR then both=OBL=FOC kill C:TEL=A.IRR
'HEARING YOUR BARKING, A MAN WILL COME AND KILL US BOTH.'

54. korob korob gitaʔ=na. soloʔ=te kiɽog=aʔ kayom baru um laʔ=ki.
silent REP lie.down=M.IRR dog=OBL tiger=GEN speech good NEG EMOT=M.PT
'LIE DOWN QUIETLY." THE DOG DID NOT LIKE THE TIGER'S WORDS.'

55. ro gam=te "kiɽoʔ=jo pattajhaɽa ayiˀj lebu=te botoŋ=ta.
and say=A.PRS tiger=ADD coward PRS.COP man=OBL fear=M.PRS
'AND HE SAYS "THE TIGER IS A COWARD, HE FEARS THE MAN.'

56. ab iɲ kiɽoʔ=te melay lebu=te saŋgo bay[=e]=iɲ."
now 1S tiger=OBL leave man=OBL friend make=A.IRR=1S
'NOW I WILL LEAVE THE TIGER AND MAKE THE MAN MY FRIEND.'"

57. u socay=kon soloʔ lebu=te lam=na muʔ=ki.
this think=SEQ dog man=OBL search=INF go.out=M.PT
'HAVING THOUGHT THIS THE DOG WENT OUT TO LOOK FOR THE MAN.'

58. lam=na lamna lebu=te kuy=oʔ. lebu koɖeˀj[273] buŋ daru ɖej=na laʔ=ki.
search=INF REP man=OBL find=A.PT man axe INST tree chop=INF IPFV=M.PT
'SEARCHING AND SEARCHING HE FOUND THE MAN. THE MAN WAS CHOPPING A TREE WITH AN AXE.'

59. soloʔ lebu=yaʔ hepaɖ patta=ɖom=te hilay=ga col=ki ro ɖoko goɖ=ki.
dog man=GEN vicinity tail=3POSS=OBL shake=FOC go=M.PT and sit.down C:TEL=M.PT
'THE DOG WENT NEAR THE MAN, WAGGING HIS TAIL, AND SAT DOWN.'

60. kaɽiˀj deri=yaʔ loʔɖho lebu=te gam=te no "am=bar iɲ=te saŋgo bay=e=bar."
somewhat while=GEN after man=OBL say=A.PRS CMPL 2=2HON 1S=OBL friend make=A.IRR=2HON
'A SMALL WHILE LATER HE SAYS TO THE MAN "MAKE ME YOUR FRIEND."'

61. lebu laɖa=te ro gam=oʔ hã, iɲ am=te saŋgo bay[=e]=iɲ.
man laugh=A.PRS and say=A.PT yes 1S 2S=OBL friend make=A.IRR=1S
'THE MAN LAUGHS AND SAID "YES, I WILL MAKE YOU MY FRIEND.'

62. muda am=te iɲ=aʔ oʔ co=na hoy=na."
but 2S=OBL 1S=GEN house go=INF become=M.IRR
'BUT YOU WILL HAVE TO GO TO MY HOUSE [TO LIVE].'"

63. soloʔ lebu=waʔ sori co=na=ʔ thoŋ teyar goˀɖ=ta.
dog man=GEN with go=INF=GEN PURP ready C:TEL=M.PRS
'THE DOG BECOMES READY TO GO WITH THE MAN.'

64. lebu=waʔ oʔ=te soloʔ=te ɲoʔ=na thoŋ peʔ ter=te=may.
man=GEN house=OBL dog=OBL eat=INF PURP cooked.rice give=A.PRS=3P
'AT THE MAN'S HOUSE THEY GIVE THE DOG FOOD (= RICE) TO EAT.'

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[273] Standard form: *konɖeˀj*.

65. iɖib=te solo ʔ bhabru=te muda ber=aʔ=jo lemeɖ um pi^{ʔ}j=ta sob aram
night=OBL dog bark=A.PRS but who=GEN=ADD sleep NEG break=A.PRS all comfort

se lemeɖ=ta=ki.
INST sleep=M.PRS=P
'AT NIGHT THE DOG BARKS, BUT NOBODY WAKES UP, ALL SLEEP COMFORTABLY.'

66. solo ʔ gam=te no "lebu=ki ikuɖ jughay udar (niɖar) ɖiɽhgar oɖo ʔ nek dil
dog say=A.PRS CMPL man=P very much compassionate brave brave and pure heart

jiyom hekãy.[274]
soul PRS.COP.3P
'THE DOG SAYS "PEOPLE ARE VERY COMPASSIONATE, BRAVE AND PURE-HEARTED SOULS.'

67. u duniyã=te lebu=te melay=kon iɲ=aʔ saŋgo bone=na laik ber=jo hoɖom
this world=OBL man=OBL leave=SEQ 1S=GEN friend become=INF worthy who=ADD other

umboɽi^{ʔ}j=may."
NEG.PRS.COP=3P
'IN THIS WORLD OTHER THAN (= HAVING LEFT) PEOPLE THERE ARE NO OTHERS WORTHY OF BECOMING MY FRIEND."'

68. u gam=kon solo ʔ tam jou=ga lebu=waʔ saŋgo um melay=siʔ.
this say=SEQ dog now until=FOC man=GEN friend NEG leave=PERF
'HAVING SAID THIS, THE DOG, MANKIND'S FRIEND, HAS NOT LEFT [MANKIND] UNTIL NOW.'

[274] Standard form: *hekemay* or *hekeki*. *hekãy* is the Sadri form.

Rayem Olem Dungdung (f.), 30 y., Kumharṭoli, Saldega, Simdega District

dular beṭa
love son
'The beloved son'

[RD, 2]
For a brief introduction to the Kharia of this speaker, see the introduction to "The shepherd" [RD, 1] above.

1. etwa=ʔ beṭ=ḍom modi ḍheir=ga lelgar aw=ki.
   Etwa=GEN son=3POSS Modi very=FOC love COP=M.PT
   'ETWA'S SON, MODI, WAS VERY BELOVED.'

2. modi je gam=na laʔ=ki ho=jeʔ ma=ḍom ap=ḍom pura karay=na
   Modi CR say=INF IPFV=M.PT that=S.NHUM mother=3POSS father=3POSS fulfilling do=INF

   laʔ=ki=kiyar.
   IPFV=M.PT=D
   'WHATEVER MODI WANTED, HIS PARENTS GOT IT FOR HIM (= WHATEVER MODI SAID, HIS MOTHER AND FATHER FULFILLED IT).'

3. moŋ beṭa gam=kon ho=kaṭ=te rakam rakam rãg ritaʔ lutui phaṭa
   one son say=SEQ that=S.HUM=OBL way REP color ECHO clothing ECHO

   ob-su=na laʔ=ki=kiyar.
   CAUS-wear=INF IPFV=M.PT=D
   'SEEING AS HE WAS THEIR SON (= HAVING SAID "A SON"),[275] THEY DRESSED HIIM IN ALL KINDS OF BRIGHTLY COLORED CLOTHES.'

4. khawna=ko peṭhiya geinka ol kay=na laʔ=ki=kiyar.
   a.kind.of.sweets=CNTR market every bring BEN=INF IPFV=M.PT=D
   'AND [AT] EVERY MARKET THEY WOULD BRING SWEETS FOR HIM.'

5. modi paguṭ rẽgse=na laʔ=ki bhere tay=ga arkhi uʔḍ=na=ʔ thoŋ ĩyam=na
   Modi crawl move.by.sliding=INF IPFV=M.PT time ABL=FOC liquor drink=INF=GEN PURP cry=INF

   laʔ=ki.
   IPFV=M.PT
   'SINCE THE TIME THAT MODI WAS CRAWLING HE USED TO CRY BECAUSE HE WANTED TO DRINK LIQUOR (= CRY TO DRINK LIQUOR).'

6. bhala ayo aba=ḍom=ko sadhu jeʔ kunḍuʔ ho=ghay.
   well mother father=3POSS=CNTR simple FOC child that=way
   'WELL, HIS MOTHER AND FATHER WERE SIMPLE, LIKE CHILDREN.'[276]

7. etwa jughay=ko umboʔ muda kaṭiʔj kaṭiʔj arkhi uʔḍ=na laʔ=ki.
   Etwa much=CNTR NEG but a.little REP liquor drink=INF IPFV=M.PT
   'ETWA USED TO DRINK A LITTLE LIQUOR, BUT NOT MUCH.'

8. etwa dular buŋ gam=na laʔ=ki "hen beṭa=iɲ, kaṭiʔj-ḍuʔ uʔḍ goṭ=e."
   Etwa love INST say=INF IPFV=M.PT come.on! son=1S a.little-APPROX drink C:TEL=A.IRR
   'ETWA WOULD SAY LOVINGLY "COME ON, MY SON! DRINK A LITTLE BIT!"'

[275] *gamkon* here would seem to function as a kind of focus particle.
[276] The status of *jeʔ* as a focus marker here is uncertain and is not attested elsewhere.

9. ro botol tay ɖharay ɖharay ter=na laʔ=ki.
and bottle ABL pour.out REP give=INF IPFV=M.PT
'AND POURING [THE LIQUOR] FROM THE BOTTLE, HE WOULD GIVE [HIM SOME].'

10. modi babu ɖhakar ɖhakar uʔɖ=na laʔ=ki.
Modi child guzzle REP drink=INF IPFV=M.PT
'LITTLE MODI WOULD GUZZLE IT DOWN.'

11. etwa khoub laɖa=e ro gam=e no "iɲ=aʔ beʈa=iɲ arkhi uʔɖ goʈh=oʔ
Etwa very laugh=A.IRR and say=A.IRR CMPL 1S=GEN son=1S liquor drink C:TEL=A.PT

tewjo um bul=ki."
nevertheless NEG get.drunk=M.PT
'ETWA WILL THEN LAUGH AND SAY "MY SON DRANK LIQUOR BUT STILL DIDN'T GET DRUNK."'

12. aʔb modi dhirom dhirom arkhi uʔɖ=na genu=ki.
now Modi slow REP liquor drink=INF habit=M.PT
'NOW MODI SLOWLY DEVELOPED A HABIT OF DRINKING LIQUOR.'

13. ap=ɖom=te botol dhoʔ-dhoʔ yo=ye laʔ cokoʔɖ=ga guʈiyay khor=na laʔ=ki.
father=3POSS=OBL bottle take-RDP see=A.IRR then drag.oneself=FOC crawl ITER=INF IPFV=M.PT
'IF HE SEES HIS FATHER TAKE THE BOTTLE THEN HE WOULD CRAWL AROUND HERE AND THERE.'

14. modi eʔbloŋ aw=ki bhere ap=ɖom ma=ɖom khoub dular karay=oʔ=kiyar.
Modi alone COP=M.PT time father=3POSS mother=3POSS very love do=A.PT=D
'WHEN MODI WAS ALONE, HIS MOTHER AND FATHER WERE BE VERY LOVING TO HIM.'

15. aʔb=ko modi jhan moloy kulam hoy=ki=may.
now=CNTR Modi CL 5 brother COP=M.PT=3P
'BUT NOW MODI HAD FOUR BROTHERS.'[277]

16. teuwaʔjo modi=te oɖoʔ=ki=yaʔ tay jughay=ga dular karay=na laʔ=ki=kiyar.
nevertheless Modi=OBL other=P=GEN ABL much=FOC love do=INF IPFV=M.PT=D
'NEVERTHELESS, THEY LOVED MODI MORE THAN THE OTHERS.'

17. modi cautha klas=te aw=ki bhere ap=ɖom moɲ saykil soŋ kay=oʔ.
Modi fourth class=OBL COP=M.PT time father=3POSS 1 bicycle buy BEN=A.PT
'WHEN MODI WAS IN THE FOURTH CLASS, HIS FATHER BOUGHT HIM A BICYCLE.'

18. modi saykil buŋ iskul co=na laʔ=ki.
Modi bicycle INST school go=INF IPFV=M.PT
'MODI WOULD GO TO SCHOOL BY BIKE.'

19. iskul tay ɖel=kon saykil buŋ=ga khoʈi khoʈi buli=na laʔ=ki.
school ABL come=SEQ bicycle INST=FOC village.section REP wander=INF IPFV=M.PT
'AFTER COMING [HOME] FROM SCHOOL, HE WOULD RIDE AROUND THE VILLAGE SECTIONS ON HIS BIKE.'

20. khoʈi=yaʔ lebu=ki modi=te yo=ye=may ro gam=e=ki "baba! modi poʈhe=na
village.section=GEN man=P Modi=OBL see=A.IRR=3P and say=A.IRR=P Wow! Modi study=INF

[277] The use of the classifier *jhan* with a proper name means *X and those with him/her*, in this case Modi and his brothers, i.e., there were five brothers in all.

col=ta. ho=kaɽ=te behar=jo i=jo aʔpe gam=e."
go=M.PRS that=S.HUM=OBL who=ADD what=ADD NEG.MOD.2P say=A.IRR
'THE PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE SECTION WILL SEE MODI AND SAID "WOW! MODI'S GOING TO STUDY. [SO] NONE OF YOU SAY ANYTHING TO HIM.'"

21. modi=te og=aʔ lebu lelgar=na laʔ=ki=may.
Modi=OBL house=GEN person love=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
' HIS FAMILY (= THE PEOPLE OF THE HOME) LOVED MODI VERY MUCH.'

22. muda aʔb=ko goʈa khoɽi=yaʔ lebu=ki=jo lelgar=te=may.
but now=CNTR all village.section=GEN person=P=ADD love=A.PRS=3P
'BUT NOW ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE LOVE HIM.'

23. aʔb modi babu soub tiʔj tay dular kui=kon gorgora koloŋ guʔɖ kuŋ goʔɖ=ki.
now Modi child all side ABL love find=SEQ cake bread like swell C:TEL=M.PT
'NOW THE CHILD MODI, FINDING LOVE FROM ALL SIDES, SWELLED UP LIKE A LOAF OF *GORGORA* BREAD.'

24. ro oɖoʔ=ga arkhi uʔɖ=na=te josay goʔɖ=ki.
and more=FOC liquor drink=INF=OBL keen C:TEL=M.PT
'AND HE BECAME EVEN KEENER ON DRINKING LIQUOR.'

25. oʔ=te ap=ɖom teinko arkhi un=sig=e ho=jeʔ=ko ho=kaɽ capu
house=OBL father=3POSS a.little liquor place=PERF=A.IRR that=S.NHUM=CNTR that=S.HUM rummage

karbaʔɖ=kon uʔɖ iɖaʔ=na laʔ=ki.
ECHO=SEQ drink ECHO=INF IPFV=M.PT
'IF HIS FATHER HAS PLACED SOME LIQUOR IN THE HOUSE, THEN HE WOULD RUMMAGE THROUGH EVERYTHING [UNTIL HE FOUND IT] AND THEN DRINK IT ALL UP.'

26. aʔb modi iskul um col=kon a=tiʔj atiʔj peʈhiya, kuʔɖhiŋ ho=tiʔj hotiʔj co=na laʔ=ki.
now Modi school NEG go=SEQ CR=side REP market fair that=side REP go=INF IPFV=M.PT
'NOW MODI, INSTEAD OF GOING TO SCHOOL, WOULD GO WHEREVER THERE WAS A MARKET OR FAIR.'

27. modi menson chaɽwã klas=te phel hoy=ki.
Modi once sixth class=OBL fail become=M.PT
'ONCE MODI FAILED THE SIXTH CLASS.'

28. ap=ɖom ma=ɖom=ko pas ro phel i=te gam=te=may ho=jeʔ=jo
father=3POSS mother=3POSS=CNTR pass and fail what=OBL say=A.PRS=3P that=S.NHUM=ADD

um=kiyar soʔj=na laʔ=ki.
NEG=D understand=INF IPFV=M.PT
'HIS MOTHER AND FATHER ALSO DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT PASS AND FAIL MEAN (= WHAT THEY CALL "PASS" AND "FAIL").'

29. modi iskul melay goʈh=oʔ.
Modi school stop C:TEL=A.PT
'MODI QUIT SCHOOL.'

30. etwa gam lakha=yoʔ no "dhãy[=e] babu poʈhe=na!" muda modi giyal buŋ
Etwa say CONAT=A.PT CMPL hurry=A.IRR child study=M.IRR but Modi shame INST

um col=ki.
NEG say=M.PT
'ETWA TRIED TO SAY [TO HIM] "HURRY, CHILD, STUDY!" BUT MODI DIDN'T GO BECAUSE OF SHAME.'

31. ina no modi iskul bheir tay soub se maha aw=ki.
why CMPL(= 'because') Modi school whole ABL all ABL big COP=M.PT
'BECAUSE MODI WAS THE OLDEST (= BIGGEST) OF THE WHOLE SCHOOL.'

32. ro paricha=te phel=sikh=oʔ=jo.
and exam=OBL fail=PERF=A.PT=ADD
'AND HE HAD FAILED HIS EXAM.'

33. iskul melay=kon arkhi golaŋ=te=ga leɽo aw=na laʔ=ki.
school stop=SEQ liquor rice.beer=OBL=FOC very.drunk COP=INF IPFV=M.PT
'AFTER QUITTING SCHOOL HE WAS USUALLY HEAVILY DRUNK WITH LIQUOR AND RICE BEER.'

34. gore^{ʔ}j mẽyaʔ aw=na cahe iɖi^{ʔ}b soub bhere bul-bul=ga aw=na laʔ=ki.
early.morning morning COP=M.IRR whether night all time drunk-RDP=FOC COP=INF IPFV=M.PT
'WHETHER IT BE EARLY MORNING OR NIGHT, HE WAS DRUNK ALL THE TIME.'

35. a^{ʔ}b modi peɽhiya peɽhiya col=kon dokan dawri karay=na maɽe=yoʔ.
now Modi market REP go=SEQ shop.owning do=INF being=A.PT
'NOW MODI BEGAN GOING FROM ONE MARKET TO ANOTHER SELLING THINGS.'

36. muda je kamu=na laʔ=ki ho=jeʔ u^{ʔ}ɖ ɲoʔ=kon=ga pal=na laʔ=ki.
but CR earn=INF IPFV=M.PT that=S.NHUM drink eat=SEQ=FOC finish=INF IPFV=M.PT
'BUT WHATEVER HE EARNED, IT WAS JUST ENOUGH TO LIVE ON (= HE WOULD FINISH IT, HAVING EATEN AND DRUNKEN).'

37. puŋji=te ɖubi ɖubay=kon ap=ɖom=te oɖoʔ=ga keciya bor=na laʔ=ki.
funds=OBL ECHO deplete=SEQ father=3POSS=OBL more=FOC money ask.for=INF IPFV=M.PT
'WHEN HE HAD DEPLETED HIS FUNDS HE WOULD ASK HIS FATHER FOR MORE MONEY.'

38. modi=yaʔ uɖ-uɖ yo=kon ap=ɖom kono^{ʔ}ɖ=na laʔ=ki no "beɽa=iŋ i=ghay
Modi=GEN drink-RDP see=SEQ father=3POSS think=INF IPFV=M.PT CMPL son=1S what=way

buŋ roʔ sudhre=na?"
INST FOC improve=M.IRR
'SEEING MODI'S DRINKING, HIS FATHER WOULD THINK "HOW WILL MY SON IMPROVE?"'

39. modi na silоʔ=na laʔ=ki no oɖoʔ=ga hoɖom kamu karay=na laʔ=ki.
Modi neither plow=INF IPFV=M.PT or more=FOC other work do=INF IPFV=M.PT
'MODI NEITHER PLOWED NOR DID ANY OTHER WORK.'

40. supaɽ u^{ʔ}ɖ=na=yaʔ dheyan aw=ki.
only drink=INF=GEN concentration COP=M.PT
'HE ONLY THOUGHT ABOUT DRINKING (= THERE WAS ONLY CONCENTRATION OF DRINKING).'

41. etwa gam=te "i karay[=e]=iŋ, i umboʔ?". modi=yaʔ ma=ɖom[=te] i=jo
Etwa say=A.PRS what do=A.IRR=1S what NEG Modi=GEN mother=3POSS=OBL what=ADD

buʔdhi um ɖel=ta^{ʔ}j.
mind NEG come=M.PROG

'ETWA SAYS "WHAT WILL I DO, WHAT NOT?". MODI'S MOTHER COULD NOT THINK OF ANYTHING.'

42. modi=yaʔ ma=ɖom gam=te "moɲ upay ayiʔj."
Modi=GEN mother=3POSS say=A.PRS 1 means PRS.COP
'[THEN] MODI'S MOTHER SAYS "THERE IS ONE MEANS."'

43. modi=yaʔ kersoŋ=na se ho=kaʈ=te rumkub dail=yaʔ giniŋ pata laʔ=na.
Modi=GEN marry=INF ABL that=S.HUM=OBL rice lentil=GEN price known EMOT=M.IRR
'THROUGH MODI'S MARRIAGE, HE WILL COME TO BE MORE RESPONSIBLE (= THE PRICE OF RICE AND LENTILS WILL BECOME KNOWN TO HIM).'

44. aʔb etwa=kiyar[278] modi=yaʔ biha=yaʔ tiha=na absiph=oʔ=kiyar.
now Etwa=D Modi=GEN marry=GEN arrange=INF begin=A.PT=D
'NOW ETWA AND HIS WIFE BEGAN TO ARRANGE FOR MODI'S WEDDING.'

45. suiyaʔ=ki[279] beʈi yo=yoʔ=may.
intermediary=P girl see=A.PT=3P
'THE INTERMEDIARIES SAW A GIRL.'

46. ro biha=yaʔ ʈipʈhekan karay=oʔ=may.
and marry=GEN fix.a.date make=A.PT=3P
'AND THEY FIXED A DATE FOR THE MARRIAGE.'

47. modi=yaʔ caʈ mãgni[280] paʈ biha hoy=ki.
Modi=GEN as.soon.as water.ceremony as.soon.as marry become=M.PT
'NO SOONER HAD MODI'S WATER CEREMONY TAKEN PLACE DID THE WEDDING TAKE PLACE.'

48. etwa aʔb beʈa kimin ol=oʔ muda kimin=ɖom ikuʔɖ koleʔj-boʔ
Etwa now son daughter.in.law bring=A.PT but daughter.in.law=3POSS very fight-INTENS

aw=ki.
COP=M.PT
'NOW ETWA BROUGHT HIS SON [AND] DAUGHTER-IN-LAW [HOME] BUT HIS DAUGHTER-IN-LAW WAS VERY CONTENTIOUS.'

49. boker boksel=ɖom=ki buŋ teinko=jo bana um aw=na laʔ=ki.
brother.in.law sister.in.law=3POSS=P INST somewhat=ADD liking NEG COP=INF IPFV=M.PT
'SHE ALSO STRONGLY DISLIKED HER BROTHERS AND SISTERS-IN-LAW (= SOME LIKING WAS NOT).'

50. aji boksel koleʔj=na koleʔjna kinkar=ɖom=jo
paternal.grandmother sister.in.law fight=INF REP mother.in.law=3POSS=ADD

soʔɖ ɖom goʔɖ=na laʔ=ki.
mix PASS C:TEL=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THE MOTHER-IN-LAW WAS ALSO BROUGHT (= MIXED) INTO THE GRANDMOTHER AND SISTER-IN-LAW'S QUARRELS.'

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[278] The use of the dual here with *etwa* is to signal that Etwa and his wife are meant.
[279] On the role of the intermediaries, see e.g. Roy & Roy, 1937:240.
[280] I can find no reference to this term in Roy & Roy (1937). Perhaps the ceremony mentioned here is that described in Roy & Roy (1937:263), where water is either sprinkled or poured out of jars over the couple during the wedding.

51. soub=aʔ kole^{ʔ}j yo=kon modi sãw-ɽay=ɖom=aʔ pacha beroɖ=na laʔ=ki.
all=GEN fight see=SEQ Modi spouse-woman=3POSS=GEN side arise=INF IPFV=M.PT
'SEEING EVERYONE FIGHT, MODI TOOK (= STOOD UP [AT]) HIS WIFE'S SIDE.'

52. kinkar kimin, aji boksel soub kaɽ=aʔ kuluʔtar
mother.in.law daughter.in.law grandmother sister.in.law all person=GEN cheek

puwa koloŋ lekhe kuŋ=siʔ=na laʔ=ki.
sweet.cake bread like swell=PERF=INF IPFV=M.PT
'MOTHER- AND DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, GRANDMOTHER AND SISTER-IN-LAW, THEIR CHEEKS ALL BEGAN TO SWELL UP LIKE *PUWA* BREAD [IN ANGER].'

53. ɲoʔ=na no u^{ʔ}ɖ=na=yaʔ ʈhekan umboʔ.
eat=INF or drink=INF=GEN fixed.place no
'THERE WAS NO FIXED PLACE FOR EATING OR DRINKING.'

54. culha=te=ko mu^{ʔ}jɖaʔ, seʈa karam ku^{ʔ}j=na laʔ=ki=may.
stove=OBL=CNTR ant ant festival dance=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'BUT ON THE STOVE ANTS WERE DANCING FESTIVELY (= FESTIVAL-DANCING).'

55. yo=na yona eʈhe^{ʔ}ɖ goɖ=ki bhere modi=yaʔ ma=ɖom timsoŋ soŋol
see=INF REP annoy C:TEL=M.PT time Modi=GEN mother=3POSS fire firewood

goŋɽiŋ=na col=ki.
cook.rice=INF go=M.PT
'WHEN SHE GOT ANNOYED AT WATCHING [THEM FIGHT], MODI'S MOTHER WENT TO GATHER FIREWOOD FOR COOKING (= SHE WENT TO FIRE-FIREWOOD-COOK RICE).'

56. beto^{ʔ}ɖ buŋ modi=yaʔ konon kulam kulam ɖay=ɖom=ki bhit siniŋ siniŋ
hunger INST Modi=GEN small sibling sibling woman=3POSS=P wall edge REP

japaʔ khor=ta^{ʔ}j=may bhere mo^{ʔ}ɖ kici oɖoʔ rajh rajh romo^{ʔ}ɖɖaʔ
lean ITER=M.PROG=3P time eye sleep and falling.in.quick.procession tear

gur=ta^{ʔ}j.
fall=M.PROG
'WHEN MODI'S YOUNGER BROTHERS AND SISTERS WERE LEANING HERE AND THERE (= *khor*) AGAINST THE WALL IN HUNGER, THEIR EYES [WERE FULL OF] SLEEP AND THEIR TEARS WERE FALLING IN QUICK PROCESSION.'

57. ayo=ɖom goŋ=oʔ ɖeŋ=oʔ ro soub=te ob-ɲokh=oʔ.
mother=3POSS cook.rice=A.PT cook.vegetables=A.PT and all=OBL CAUS-eat=A.PT
'THE MOTHER COOKED RICE AND VEGETABLES AND FED EVERYONE.'

58. muda kimin=ɖom=te juŋ=j=um (= juŋ=jo um) juŋ=oʔ.
but daughter.in.law=3POSS=OBL ask=ADD NEG ask=A.PT
'BUT SHE DIDN'T EVEN ASK HER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.'

59. modi gitaʔ iɖib=te peʔ och=oʔ ro moŋ loʈa ɖaʔ a^{ʔ}ɖ=kiyar=yaʔ gitaʔ
Modi lie.down night=OBL cooked.rice take.out=A.PT and 1 cup water ANAPH=D=GEN lie.down

koʈhri ti^{ʔ}j ɖi<ʔbh>ar=oʔ.
room side enter-<CAUS>=A.PT

'AT BED-TIME MODI TOOK OUT SOME COOKED RICE AND A CUP OF WATER AND BROUGHT THEM TO THE COUPLE'S (= THEIR (DUAL)) BEDROOM.'

60. saw-ɽay=ɖom bero^{ʔ}ɖ=ki ro nadhnadhay=kon peʔ ɲokh=oʔ ro
spouse-woman=3POSS arise=M.PT and eat.one's.fill=SEQ cooked.rice eat=A.PT and

saɽaŋ jom=ki.
lie.down AUTOPOES=M.PT
'HIS WIFE GOT UP AND, HAVING EATEN HER FILL OF RICE, SHE JUST LAY DOWN [AGAIN].'

61. iɖib mẽyaʔ a^{ʔ}ɖ=kiyar=yaʔ gitaʔ koʈhri tay um muʔ=na laʔ=ki.
night early.morning ANAPH=D=GEN lie.down room ABL NEG go.out=INF IPFV=M.PT
'EARLY THE NEXT MORNING SHE DIDN'T LEAVE THEIR BEDROOM.'

62. moɲ=jo gur-gur ponɖo^{ʔ}ɖ tahĩt um ram=na laʔ=ki.
1=ADD fall-RDP grass.blade ADD NEG pick.up=INF IPFV=M.PT
'SHE WOULDN'T LIFT A FINGER (= DIDN'T EVEN PICK UP A SINGLE FALLEN GRASS BLADE).'

63. kãɽay=ɖom=aʔ korhni yo=kon modi oɖoʔ arkhi ʈẽɽay=na laʔ=ki.
wife=3POSS=GEN lazy see=SEQ Modi more liquor overindulge=INF IPFV=M.PT
'SEEING HIS WIFE'S LAZINESS, MODI BEGAN TO DRINK EVEN MORE LIQUOR.'

64. adharait, paharait ɖe=na ro maychawa buŋ kole^{ʔ}j kender=na laʔ=ki.
midnight after.midnight come=INF and family INST fight quarrel=INF IPFV=M.PT
'AT MIDNIGT OR LATER HE WOULD COME AND ARGUE AND QUARREL WITH HIS FAMILY.'

65. etwa jhan maychawa modi ro saw-ɽay=ɖom buŋ khijray go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki=may.
Etwa CL family Modi and spouse-woman=3POSS INST irritate C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'ETWA'S FAMILY BECAME IRRITATED WITH MODI AND HIS WIFE.'

66. a^{ʔ}b modi=te kulam=ɖom=ki ɖahe=na laʔ=ki=may.
now Modi=OBL sibling=3POSS=P annoy=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'NOW MODI'S BROTHERS BEGAN TO ANNOY HIM.'

67. muda aji=ɖom baran baran=yaʔ lene^{ʔ}j le^{ʔ}j=na laʔ=ki.
but grandmother=3POSS kind REP=GEN scolding scold=INF IPFV=M.PT
'BUT THE GRANDMOTHER KEPT ON ISSUING ALL KINDS OF ABUSE.'

68. musniŋ=ko modi=te kulam=ɖom=ki kinbhar=te khaʈi keke? buŋ tol=kon
one.day=CNTR Modi=OBL sibling=3POSS=P courtyard=OBL bed rope INST tie=SEQ

khuʈay goʈh=oʔ=ki.
tie.to.a.post C:TEL=A.PT=P
'ONE DAY MODI'S BROTHERS TIED HIM TO A POST IN THE COURTYARD WITH ROPE FROM THE BED.'

69. ro oʔ saŋgo^{ʔ}ɖ=kon gitaʔ go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki=may.
and house go=SEQ lie.down C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'AND THEY WENT [INTO] THE HOUSE AND LAY DOWN.'

70. modi=yaʔ ɖay=ɖom muʔ=ki ro soub=te rakm=aʔ[281] lene^{ʔ}j le^{ʔ}j=ga le^{ʔ}jga
Modi=GEN woman=3POSS go.out=M.PT and all=OBL kind=GEN scolding scold=FOC REP

[281] From *rakam* 'kind, type'.

saw=ɖom=te kach=oʔ ro oʔ ɖi<ʔbh>ar=oʔ.
spouse=3POSS=OBL untie=A.PT and house enter-<CAUS>=A.PT
'MODI'S WIFE CAME OUT AND, SCOLDING ALL (= SCOLDING ALL A SCOLDING OF [ALL] KINDS), SHE UNTIED HER HUSBAND AND BROUGHT HIM INTO THE HOUSE.'

71. etwa aɖi=yaʔ kunɖuʔ=ki buŋ kamu=yaʔ tiha=te=ga aw=na laʔ=ki.
Etwa ANAPH=GEN child=P INST work=GEN provision=OBL=FOC COP=INF IPFV=M.PT
'ETWA HAD A WORKING ARRANGEMENT (= WAS IN A PROVISION OF WORK) WITH HIS CHILDREN.'

72. a=ti^{ʔ}j modi u^{ʔ}ɖ=na=yaʔ tiha=te=ga aw=na laʔ=ki,
CR=side Modi drink=INF=GEN provision=OBL=FOC COP=INF IPFV=M.PT
'WHEREVER MODI PROCURED DRINK (= WHEREVER HE WAS IN A PROVISION OF DRINK),'

73. ho=ti^{ʔ}j modi ɖay=jo kole^{ʔ}j=na=ʔ thoŋ aŋ=siʔ=na laʔ=ki.
that=side Modi woman=ADD fight=INF=GEN PURP open.mouth=PERF=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THERE MODI'S WIFE WOULD ALSO BE FIGHTING (= WAS WITH AN OPEN MOUTH FOR FIGHTING).'

74. jahãy ho=kaɽ=te ʈokay[=e]=ki kole^{ʔ}j buŋ anɖor goɽ=e.
INDEF.HUM that=S.HUM=OBL talk[=A.IRR]=P fight INST make.noise C:TEL=A.IRR
'IF SOMEONE WOULD TALK TO HER SHE WOULD CAUSE A COMMOTION (= MAKE NOISE BY FIGHTING).'

75. maha kimin=yaʔ kole^{ʔ}j-boʔ yo=kon etwa konon beʈ=ɖom=aʔ biha=yaʔ
big daughter.in.law=GEN fight-INTENS see=SEQ Etwa small son=3POSS=GEN marriage=GEN

tiha karay=oʔ.
provision do=A.PT
'SEEING HOW QUARRELSOME THE ELDER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW WAS, ETWA ARRANGED FOR THE MARRIAGE OF HIS YOUNGER SON.'

76. abkir=ko etwa beʈ=ɖom ro bi^{ʔ}j=ɖom=aʔ moŋ maɽwa=te=ga biha karay=oʔ.
now=CNTR Etwa son=3POSS and daughter=3POSS=GEN one canopy=OBL=FOC marriage do=A.PT
'BUT NOW ETWA MARRIED HIS SON AND HIS DAUGHTER[282] UNDER A CANOPY.'

77. biha hoy=ki tay modi ɖay ɖonkui=ɖom buŋ phusri gu^{ʔ}ɖ
marriage COP=M.PT then Modi woman elder.brother's.wife=3POSS INST pimple like

kayom=te kole^{ʔ}j=na=ʔ thoŋ sãɽhin gõɽi lekhe tarnay khor=na laʔ=ki.
matter=OBL fight=INF=GEN PURP sarhi cow like stand.ready.to.fight ITER=INF IPFV=M.PT
'AFTER THE MARRIAGE HAD TAKEN PLACE, SHE [= THE NEW DAUGHTER-IN-LAW] WOULD STAND READY TO QUARREL LIKE A PIMPLE, LIKE A *SARHI* COW, IN [ANY] MATTER, WITH MODI'S WIFE, HER ELDER SISTER-IN-LAW.'[283]

78. tonme kimin suru suru giyal botoŋ buŋ um kayom=na laʔ=ki.
new daughter.in.law beginning REP shyness fear INST NEG speak=INF IPFV=M.PT
'IN THE BEGINNING THE NEW DAUGHTER-IN-LAW WOULD NOT SPEAK BECAUSE OF SHYNESS AND FEAR.'

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[282] The daughter-in-law is meant here.
[283] The relationships here are apparently given from the perspective of Etwa's younger son, not his wife. "like a pimple" with respect to fighting is clearly an idiomatic expression.

79. muda kiʔte dinu jou um kayom=na.
but how.may day up.to NEG speak=M.IRR
'BUT FOR SOME TIME SHE WOULDN'T SPEAK.'

80. u=kaɽ=te=ko ɖonkui=ɖom diyo=ga huɽay loʔ=na laʔ=ki.
this=S.HUM=OBL=CNTR elder.brother's.wife=3POSS daily=FOC poke ITER=INF IPFV=M.PT
'BUT HER SISTER-IN-LAW [I.E., MODI'S WIFE] WOULD KEEP POKING HER EVERY DAY.'

81. aˀb=ko boriya=ga iroˀɖ moroˀɖ koleˀj=ta=kiyar.
now=CNTR both=FOC very.intensively fight=M.PRS=D
'BUT NOW BOTH OF THEM FIGHT VERY MUCH.'

82. konon kimin ro kinkar=ɖom moŋ tiˀj, maha kimin ebloŋ=ga.
small daughter.in.law and mother.in.law=3POSS one side big daugher.in.law alone=FOC
'ON THE ONE SIDE THE YOUNGER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW AND THE MOTHER-IN-LAW, [ON THE OTHER] THE ELDER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW [I.E., MODI'S WIFE] ALONE.'

83. khoub uɽha uɽhi koleˀj=ta=ki.
very back.and.forth fight=M.PRS=P
'THE FIGHT VERY INTENSIVELY.'[284]

84. maha kimin na goŋ=na na ɖeɲ=na na taˀj=na ter=na i=jo
big daughter.in.law NEG cook.rice=INF NEG cook.pulse=INF NEG distribute=INF give=INF what=ADD

um laʔ=na laʔ=ki.
NEG take.place=INF IPFV=M.PT
'THE ELDER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW DIDN'T COOK RICE OR LENTILS OR EVEN DISTRIBUTE OR GIVE [THE FOOD TO THE OTHERS] (= AS FOR THE ELDER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, NEITHER COOKING RICE, NOR COOKING PULSE, NOR DISTRIBUTING OR GIVING IT TOOK PLACE).'

85. supaɽ oˀj=na ro laˀj besu ɲoʔ=na bheir aw=ki.
only take.out=INF and stomach good eat=INF whole COP=M.PT
'SHE ONLY TOOK IT OUT [OF THE POT] AND ATE HER FILL (= HER STOMACH-GOOD-TO EAT WAS WHOLE).'

86. oɖoʔ=ki=yaʔ thoŋ pure=na cahe abu pure=na.
other=P=GEN for become.enough=M.IRR or NEG.MOD.S become.enough=M.IRR
'SHE DIDN'T CARE IF THERE WAS ENOUGH FOR THE OTHERS TO EAT OR NOT (= LET THERE BE ENOUGH FOR THE OTHERS OR LET THERE NOT BE ENOUGH).'

87. bes bes ɲoʔ=na thoŋ=ga hahray khor=na laʔ=ki.
good REP eat=INF PURP=FOC crave.food ITER=INF IPFV=M.PT
'SHE WANDERED AROUND ALWAYS ON THE LOOKOUT FOR GOOD FOOD TO EAT.'[285]

88. modi=kiyar=yaʔ[286] lachan yo=kon aˀb ayo aba=ɖom=kiyar ro kulam=ɖom=ki
Modi=D=GEN behaviour see=SEQ now mother father=3POSS=D and sibling=3POSS=P

bikhre goˀɖ=ki=may.
annoy C:TEL=M.PT=3P

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[284] *uɽha uɽhi* 'back and forth with allegations and counter allegations in a fight'.
[285] *khor* denotes not only iterativity but also 'here and there', i.e., she 'was craving food here and there and over and over'.
[286] On the use of *kiyar* here, see note 278.

'SEEING THE BEHAVIOUR OF MODI AND HIS WIFE, HIS MOTHER AND FATHER AND HIS BROTHERS BECAME ANNOYED.'

89. soub=ga modi=kiyar=te juda karay=na=ʔ thoŋ socay=oʔ=may.
all=FOC Modi=D=OBL separate do=INF=GEN PURP think=A.PT=3P
'ALL THOUGHT UP A WAY OF GETTING RID OF (= SEPARATING) MODI AND HIS WIFE.'

90. gam=oʔ=may no "diyo diyo=yaʔ kole^{ʔ}j kender buŋ ɖisaʔ=ga aw=na cahi."
say=A.PT=3P CMPL daily REP=GEN fight quarrel INST far=FOC COP=INF is.necessary
'THEY SAID THAT THE TWO HAD TO TAKE THEIR DAILY QUARRELS FAR AWAY (= "IT IS NECESSARY TO BE FAR AWAY WITH THE DAILY QUARRELS").'

91. u gam=kon etwa beʈ=ɖom=te ju<b>da=na=ʔ thoŋ khoɽi=yaʔ pahan
this say=SEQ Etwa son=3POSS=OBL separate-<CAUS>=INF=GEN PURP village.section=GEN priest

paɲc=ki=te ro mudh mudh lebu=ki=te paɲceiʈ=te remaʔ=yoʔ.
Panch=P=OBL[287] and special REP man=P=OBL panchayat=OBL call=A.PT
'HAVING SAID THIS, THE PRIEST OF THE VILLAGE CALLED THE PANCH AND [OTHER] SPECIAL PEOPLE TO THE PANCHAYAT IN ORDER TO GET RID OF ETWA'S SON [= MODI].'

92. paɲc=ki soub go^{ʔ}jloʔ ɖãʈ=te tach=oʔ=ki.
Panch=P all rice.field field=OBL distribute=A.PT=P
'THE MEMBERS OF THE PANCHAYAT (= THE PANCH) DISTRIBUTED ALL OF THE RICE FIELDS AND OTHER FIELDS [BELONGING TO ETWA'S FAMILY].'

93. modi ro kãʈay=ɖom jughay=ga og=aʔ rupya poysa=te hethiyay=sikh=oʔ=kiyar
Modi and wife=3POSS much=FOC house=GEN money money=OBL grab=PERF=A.PT=D

hin=aʔ thoŋ lereʔ=na laʔ=ki=kiyar.
that=GEN for joy=INF IPFV=M.PT=D
'MODI AND HIS WIFE GOT (= HAD GRABBED) MUCH OF THE HOME'S MONEY, THEREFORE THEY WERE VERY HAPPY.'

94. modi=yaʔ kulam=ɖom=ki=yaʔ kamu keciya aw=ki muda ho=ki rupya=yaʔ
Modi=GEN sibling=3POSS=P=GEN work money COP=M.PT but that=P money=GEN

khoj puchar umay karay=oʔ.
search ECHO NEG.3P do=A.PT
'MODI'S BROTHERS HAD WORK AND MONEY, BUT THEY DID NOT SEARCH FOR MONEY [I.E., WHEN THE PROPERTY WAS DIVIDED UP, THEY WEREN'T GREEDY].'

95. ho=kiyar=yaʔ carpaʈ yo=kon kulam=ɖom=ki gam=oʔ=ki no "ele[288] mehneit
that=D=GEN cleverness see=SEQ sibling=3POSS=P say=A.PT=P CMPL 1P.EXCL hard.labor

karay[=e]=le laʔ biru=te=jo kheti karay=kon borol=na=le."
do=A.IRR=1P.EXCL then mountain=OBL=ADD agriculture do=SEQ live=M.IRR=1P.EXCL
'SEEING THE TWO'S CLEVERNESS, HIS BROTHERS SAID "IF WE WORK HARD, THEN WE WILL LIVE BY WORKING THE FIELDS ON THE MOUNTAIN AS WELL."'

[287] The members of the *panchayat*, the local governing body.
[288] It is interesting to note here the use of the exclusive form of the first person, plural, *ele*, instead of the expected *aniŋ*. Perhaps "contaminated" by the idea that Modi is being excluded here, although he is at least apparently not being directly addressed.

96. kulam=ɖom=ki khoub mehneit karay=kon kamu=ki=may.
sibling=3POSS=P much hard.labor do=SEQ work=M.PT=3P
'HIS BROTHERS WORKED VERY HARD.'[289]

97. ro moŋ memon=te=ga iku^{ʔ}ɖ jughay baʔ keciya kamu=ki=may.
and 1 year=OBL=FOC very much unhusked.rice money earn=M.PT=3P
'AND [WITH]IN A YEAR THEY HAD EARNED VERY MUCH RICE AND MONEY.'

98. modi aɖi=yaʔ ap=ɖom kulam=ɖom=ki=yaʔ kamu yo=kon u^{ʔ}ɖ=na melay=oʔ
Modi ANAPH=GEN father=3POSS sibling=3POSS=P=GEN work see=SEQ drink=INF stop=A.PT

ro khoub kamu=na maɽe=yoʔ.
and much work=INF start=A.PT
'MODI, SEEING THE WORK OF HIS FATHER AND BROTHERS, GAVE UP DRINKING AND BEGAN WORKING HARD.'

99. muda ebloŋ=ga a=ti^{ʔ}j gune yo=ye.
but alone=FOC Q=side FOC see=A.IRR
'BUT BEING ALONE HE WILL LOOK AROUND IN ALL DIRECTIONS.'

100. ongher=ki=jo umay kui=na laʔ=ki.
male.servant=P=ADD NEG.3P find=INF IPFV=M.PT[290]
'THERE WERE ALSO NO FARM-HANDS.'

101. hin=aʔ thoŋ aɖi=yaʔ beʈ=ɖom bij=ɖom=ki=te iskul me<^{ʔ}b>lay=kon
that=GEN for ANAPH=GEN son=3POSS daughter=3POSS=P=OBL school leave-<CAUS>=SEQ

kamu=te lagay=oʔ.
work=OBL apply=A.PT
'THEREFORE HE MADE HIS SONS AND DAUGHTERS QUIT SCHOOL AND MADE THEM WORK (= APPLIED THEM TO THE WORK).'

102. muda u=ki=yaʔ kamu um sore=na laʔ=ki.
but this=P=GEN work NEG quick=INF IPFV=M.PT
'BUT THEIR WORK DID NOT PROCEED QUICKLY.'

103. modi=yaʔ konon beʈ=ɖom=te ɖain=ki kaɽa hinte ban tar=oʔ=ki.
Modi=GEN small son=3POSS=OBL witch=P foot LOC spell beat=A.PT=P
'WITCHES CAST (= BEAT) A SPELL ON MODI'S YOUNGEST SON'S FEET.'[291]

104. beʈ=ɖom kosu buŋ jhalay=kon jhalaykon kamu=na=jo um ter=na laʔ=ki.
son=3POSS sickness INST be.troubled=SEQ REP work=INF=ADD NEG allow=INF IPFV=M.PT
'WITH HER SON SUFFERING SO MUCH FROM THE ILLNESS, [HIS MOTHER][292] DIDN'T EVEN LET HIM WORK.'

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[289] Or, considering that *kamu* also means 'earn (money)': '… earned [money] by working hard.'

[290] *kui* in the active means 'find', in the middle 'be found'. It is clearly this second meaning which is intended here, however in the past imperfective the active/middle opposition is neutralized, as this category is always marked as middle.

[291] On the role of witches in Kharia society, see Chapter 13 in Roy & Roy (1937), Kullū (1988[2000]:64-78) and Ḍuŋḍuŋ (1999:291-313).

[292] The author herself told me that the person who did not permit the son to do any work was the boy's mother, although she is not mentioned here anywhere in the text.

105. ho bhere=ga modi ɖay=aʔ tiʔ=te=jo ban tar=oʔ=ki.
that time=FOC Modi woman=GEN hand=OBL=ADD spell beat=A.PT=P
'JUST AT THAT MOMENT, [THE WITCHES] ALSO CAST A SPELL ON MODI'S WIFE'S HANDS.'

106. ma=ɖom kunɖuʔ kosu buŋ ĩyam patar=na laʔ=ki=kiyar.
mother=3POSS child sickness INST cry light=INF IPFV=M.PT=D
'MOTHER AND CHILD [I.E., HIS WIFE AND THEIR SON] WERE BECOMING PALE THROUGH CRYING DUE TO THE SICKNESS.'

107. u soub haleit yo=kon modi oɖoʔ=ga u^{ʔ}ɖ=na maɽe=yoʔ.
this all condition see=SEQ Modi more=FOC drink=INF begin=A.PT
'SEEING THIS ENTIRE CONDITION, MODI BEGAN TO DRINK EVEN MORE.'

108. etwa=te u=ki=yaʔ haleit yo=kon lebui laʔ=ki.
Etwa=OBL this=P=GEN condition see=SEQ love EMOT=M.PT
'ETWA, SEEING THEIR CONDITION, FELT COMPASSION.'

109. bhala ayo aba=ko apan kunɖuʔ jahã ghay=ga aw=ta=ki,
well mother father=CNTR REFL child INDEF.NHUM way=FOC COP=M.PT=P

ho=ki=te duʔkho bhere umay melay=te.
that=P=OBL sad time NEG.3P leave=A.PRS
'WELL, A MOTHER AND A FATHER DO NOT LEAVE THEIR OWN CHILDREN, NO MATTER HOW THEY ARE, WHEN THEY ARE UNHAPPY.'

110. ayo apa=yaʔ jiyom=te=ko kunɖuʔ=ki=yaʔ thoŋ soub bhere=ga dular aw=ta.
mother father=GEN soul=OBL=CNTR child=P=GEN for all time=FOC love COP=M.PRS
'IN A MOTHER'S OR FATHER'S SOUL THERE IS ALWAYS LOVE FOR THEIR CHILDREN.'

111. etwa=kiyar boriya=ga buɽha buɽhi modi jhan=te sewa karay=oʔ=kiyar.
Etwa=D both=FOC old.man old.woman Modi CL=OBL service do=A.PT=D
'ETWA AND HIS WIFE, BOTH OF THEM, THE OLD MAN AND THE OLD WOMAN, HELPED MODI AND HIS FAMILY.'

112. konon kimin=jo peʔ cakhnaʔ goŋ ter=na laʔ=ki.
small daughter.in.law=ADD cooked.rice curry cook BEN=INF[293] IPFV=M.PT
'EVEN THE YOUNGER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW COOKED RICE AND CURRY FOR THEM.'

113. modi ro saw-ɽay=ɖom ayo aba ro boker kulam=ɖom=ki=yaʔ
Modi and spouse-woman=3POSS mother father and brother.in.law brother=3POSS=P=GEN

kaɽa sumboʔ=te gur=kon ĩyam ĩyam maph bor=oʔ=kiyar.
foot base=OBL fall=SEQ cry REP forgiveness ask=A.PT=D
'MODI AND HIS WIFE FELL DOWN AT THE FEET OF HIS MOTHER, FATHER, BROTHERS-IN-LAW AND BROTHERS AND, CRYING, ASKED FOR FORGIVENESS.'

114. hin tay=ko soub=ga moŋ oʔ=te aw=kon sori sori kamu=kon
that ABL(= 'since then')=CNTR all=FOC one house=OBL live=SEQ together REP work=SEQ

[293] The use of *ter* as a benefactive is extremely seldom in my texts (this is the only example I am aware of) and is certainly a calque of the use in Indo-Aryan languages of a so-called V2 which is homophonous with the lexeme for 'give' as a benefactive. At least two other speakers of approximately the same age also confirmed that this form is used. Cf. Hindi *de-* in *kar de-* 'do (for someone)', which as a lexical morpheme means 'give'. The Kharia form is otherwise always *kay*, which has no lexical meaning.

borol=na laʔ=ki=may.
live=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'SINCE THEN ALL OF THEM LIVED IN ONE HOUSE, WORKING TOGETHER FOR THEIR LIVING.'

115. ayo aba apan dular beʈ=ɖom=te khoub dular karay=oʔ=kiyar.
mother father REFL love son=3POSS=OBL much love do=A.PT=D
'MOTHER AND FATHER LOVED THEIR SON VERY MUCH.'

Tarkeleng Kullu (f.), 28, Simdega District

batbawni kulu
talkative turtle

'The talkative turtle'

[TK, 1]

The following two stories were written by Tarkeleng Kullu, from western Simdega District. The language in these two texts is, similar to the others, quite similar to the "standard" dialect, with only minor differences. The texts also show more Indo-Aryan influence than the written texts of other speakers and is hence somewhat closer to the spoken language.

1. mõɲ bandho aw=ki. ho=kaɽ=a[ʔ][294] siniŋ=te moɲ kulu aw=na laʔ=ki.
   one pond[295] COP=M.PT that=S.HUM=GEN side=OBL one turtle live=INF IPFV=M.PT
   'THERE WAS A POND. ON ITS SIDE THERE LIVED A TURTLE.'

2. ubar hãsa=jo ho=te aw=na laʔ=ki=kiyar.
   2 goose=ADD that=OBL(= 'there') live=INF IPFV=M.PT=D
   'TWO GEESE ALSO LIVED THERE.'

3. kulu=yaʔ ubar hãsa=ʔ buŋ dosti (seir saŋgo) aw=ki.
   turtle=GEN 2 goose=GEN INST friendship friendship[296] COP=M.PT
   'THE TURTLE WAS A FRIEND OF (= HAD FRIENDSHIP WITH) THE TWO GEESE.'

4. uʔphe muruk saŋgo laʔ=na laʔ=ki=may.
   3 very friend EMOT=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
   'THE THREE WERE VERY CLOSE FRIENDS.'[297]

5. meson u=ghay hoy=ki no ɖheir dino tay barkha um ɖel=ki.
   once this=way become=M.PT CMPL many day ABL rain NEG come=M.PT
   'IT ONCE HAPPENED THAT FOR MANY DAYS RAIN DID NOT FALL (= COME).'

6. bandho kosor go^{ʔ}ɖ=ki. moɲ hãsa saŋgo=ɖom=te gam=oʔ:
   pond dry.up C:TEL=M.PT one goose friend=3POSS=OBL say=A.PT
   'THE POND DRIED UP COMPLETELY. ONE GOOSE SAID TO HIS FRIEND:'

7. "ani jahã ti^{ʔ}j col=ta=niŋ. u=te=ko enem ɖaʔ=yaʔ
   come.on INDEF.NHUM side go=M.PRS=1P.INCL this=OBL(= 'here')=CNTR without water=GEN

   goj goɖ=na=niŋ."
   die C:TEL=M.IRR=1P.INCL
   '"COME ON! LET'S GO SOMEWHERE. HERE WE WILL DIE WITHOUT WATER."'

8. hãsa=kiyar saŋgo=ɖom kulu=yaʔ boʔ=te col=ki=kiyar.
   goose=D friend=3POSS turtle=GEN place=OBL go=M.PT=D
   'THE TWO GEESE WENT TO THE HOME OF THEIR FRIEND THE TURTLE.'

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[294] As has been noted elsewhere, the use of *ho=kaɽ* is generally restricted to human reference, although its use with non-humans and inanimates is not uncommon.
[295] Actually, a dam or the artificial lake resulting from the dam.
[296] *saŋgo* means 'friend' while *seir* does not appear to have any independent meaning.
[297] What is interesting here in terms of morphosyntax is that the predicate shows the three friends as being the subject, although *laʔ* usually takes the "underlying object" as the morphological subject.

9. ro gam=oʔ=kiyar "bhai (kulam), u ʈhãɽo=te melay=kon col=ta^{ʔ}j=jar.
and say=A.PT=D brother brother this place=OBL leave=SEQ go=M.PROG=1P.EXCL
'AND THEY SAID "BROTHER, WE ARE LEAVING THIS PLACE AND GOING [SOMEWHERE ELSE].'

10. am=te bheiʈ karay=na ɖel=siʔ=jar."
2S=OBL meeting do=INF come=PERF=1P.EXCL
'WE HAVE COME TO MEET YOU [ONE LAST TIME].'"

11. kulu gam=oʔ "baru kayom! iɲ=te=jo am=bar=aʔ sori ɖoɽ=e=bar!"
turtle say=A.PT good speech 1S=OBL=ADD 2=2D=GEN with take=A.IRR=2D
'THE TURTLE SAID "GREAT IDEA! TAKE ME ALONG WITH YOU AS WELL!"'

12. hãsa=kiyar gam=oʔ=kiyar "am=te i=ghay ɖoɽ=e=jar? am=ko leŋ=na
goose=D say=A.PT=D 2S=OBL what=way take=A.IRR=1P.EXCL 2S=CNTR fly=INF

um pal=e=m."
NEG be.able=A.IRR=2S
'THE GEESE SAID "HOW SHALL WE TAKE YOU? YOU WON'T BE ABLE TO FLY."'

13. kulu gam=oʔ "jahã (kornis) upay karay[=e]=bar.
turtle say=A.PT INDEF.NHUM attempt means do=A.IRR=2D
'THE TURTLE SAID "TRY SOMEHOW.'

14. iɲ am=bar=a[ʔ] bina aw=na um=iɲ pal=e."
1S 2=2D=GEN without live=INF NEG=1S be.able=A.IRR
'I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO LIVE WITHOUT YOU BOTH."'

15. hãsa=kiyar upay socay=na maɽe=yoʔ=kiyar. kulu=jo upay socay=te^{ʔ}j.
goose=D means think=INF begin=A.PT=D turtle=ADD means think=A.PROG
'THE TWO GEESE BEGAN TO THINK OF A MEANS. THE TURTLE IS ALSO THINKING OF A MEANS.'

16. pase=te=ga mõɲ ɖãɽaʔ yo=ki. ɖãɽaʔ=te ram ol=oʔ ro gam=oʔ, no:
near=OBL=FOC one stick see=M.PT stick=OBL pick.up bring=A.PT and say=A.PT CMPL
'NEARBY A STICK WAS SEEN. [THE TURTLE] PICKED UP THE STICK, BROUGHT IT OVER AND SAID:'

17. "u=je[ʔ] am=bar apan apan ʈhor buŋ dhog=e=bar.
this=NHUM 2=2D REFL REP beak INST grab=A.IRR=2D
'"YOU TWO GRAB THIS WITH YOUR BEAKS.'

18. iɲ ɖãɽaʔ=te mõjhi=te gone buŋ ake^{ʔ}ɖ=sig[=e]=iɲ.
1S stick=OBL middle=OBL tooth INST bite[298]=PERF=A.IRR=1S
'I'LL HOLD ON TO THE STICK WITH MY TEETH.'

19. am=bar leŋ=na=bar laʔ iɲ=jo laʈke=ga (jhule=ga) co=na=iɲ."
2=2D fly=M.IRR=2D then 1S=ADD swing=FOC swing=FOC go=M.IRR=1S
'YOU FLY AND I WILL ALSO GO SWINGING."'

20. mõɲ hãsa gam=oʔ "hã! accha upay ayij. u=ghay=ga karay[=e]=niŋ."
one goose say=A.PT yes good means PRS.COP this=way=FOC do=A.IRR=1P.INCL
'ONE GOOSE SAID "YES! THAT IS A GOOD MEANS. WE WILL DO IT THIS WAY."'

[298] In the standard dialect, *ake^{ʔ}ɖ* means 'chewed' whereas 'bite' is *khe^{ʔ}ɖ*.

21. hoɖom hãsa=jo gam=oʔ "hã! u=ghay=ga karay[=e]=niŋ."
other goose=ADD say=A.PT yes this=way=FOC do=A.IRR=1P.INCL
'THE OTHER GOOSE ALSO SAID "YES! WE WILL DO IT THIS WAY."'

22. hoɖom dino gore^{ʔ}j meyaʔ=ga bheʔʈo=ki=may.
other day early.morning morning=FOC meet=M.PT=3P
'THE NEXT DAY, THEY MET VERY EARLY IN THE MORNING.'

23. mõŋ hãsa gam=oʔ, "kulu bhai, ɖãɽaʔ=te moʔjhi=te dhog=e."
one goose say=A.PT turtle brother stick=OBL middle=OBL grab=A.IRR
'ONE GOOSE SAID "BROTHER TURTLE, GRAB THE STICK IN THE MIDDLE."'

24. kulu ɖãɽaʔ=te gone buŋ ake^{ʔ}ɖ=siʔ.
turtle stick=OBL tooth INST bite=PERF
'THE TURTLE BITES (= HAS BITTEN) INTO THE STICK WITH HIS TEETH.'

25. moŋ hãsa ɖãɽa[ʔ]=te moŋ ti^{ʔ}j ʈhor buŋ akeʈh=oʔ.
one goose stick=OBL one side beak INST bite=A.PT
'ONE GOOSE BIT THE STICK WITH ITS BEAK ON ONE SIDE.'

26. hoɖom hãsa hoɖom ti^{ʔ}j (pakhi) ɖãɽaʔ=te akeʈh=oʔ.
other goose other side side stick=OBL bite=A.PT
'THE OTHER GOOSE BIT THE STICK ON THE OTHER SIDE.'

27. ro phaɽphaɽay=ga leŋ goɖ=ki=may.
and flap.wings=FOC fly C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'AND FLAPPING THEIR WINGS THEY FLEW OFF.'

28. ho=ki=yaʔ tomoɖ=te ɖãɽaʔ aw=ki. ɖãɽaʔ=te kulu ake^{ʔ}ɖ=siʔ.
that=P=GEN[299] mouth=OBL stick COP=M.PT stick=OBL turtle bite=PERF
'IN THEIR MOUTHS WAS THE STICK. THE TURTLE HAS BITTEN THE STICK.'

29. hãsa=kiyar tobhluŋ leŋ=ki=kiyar. ho=kiyar=yaʔ sori kulu=jo leŋ=ki.
goose=D top fly=M.PT=D that=D=GEN with turtle=ADD fly=M.PT
'THE TWO GEESE FLEW UPWARDS. WITH THEM THE TURTLE ALSO FLEW.'

30. ho=ki=te tobhluŋ tay tuta=yaʔ yo=na ikuɖ bes laʔ=ki.
that=P=OBL top ABL bottom=GEN see=INF very good EMOT=M.PT
'THEY VERY MUCH ENJOYED THE SIGHT OF BELOW FROM ABOVE.'

31. mõŋ hãsa gam=oʔ "am=te mõŋ kayom batay=na ayi^{ʔ}j."
one goose say=A.PT 2S=OBL one matter tell=INF PRS.COP
'ONE GOOSE SAID: "THERE IS ONE MATTER TO TELL YOU."'[300]

32. hoɖom hãsa=jo gam=oʔ, "hã am=te jaruri kayom batay=na ayi^{ʔ}j."
other goose=ADD say=A.PT yes 2S=OBL important matter tell=INF PRS.COP
'THE OTHER GOOSE ALSO SAID, "YES, WE HAVE TO TELL YOU AN IMPORTANT MATTER."'

33. kulu gam=oʔ, "batay[=e]=bar. i kayom heke?"
turtle say=A.PT tell=A.PT=2D what matter PRS.COP
'THE TURTLE SAID, "TELL ME. WHAT IS THE MATTER?"'

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[299] Note the use of the plural here, not the dual, although the two geese are apparently meant.
[300] What is not mentioned here is that the three have landed in the meantime.

34. "kulu bhai am batbawni (balbal) heke=m" moŋ hãsa gam=oʔ.
turtle brother 2S talkative talkative PRS.COP=2S one goose say=A.PT
'"BROTHER TURTLE, YOU ARE TALKATIVE" ONE GOOSE SAID.'

35. "muda leŋ=na bhere am i=jo abu kayom=na=m." hoɖom hãsa=jo gam=oʔ.
but fly=INF time 2S what=ADD NEG.MOD.2S speak=M.IRR=2S other goose=ADD say=A.PT
'"BUT WHEN FLYING YOU SHOULD NOT SAY ANYTHING." THE OTHER GOOSE ALSO SAID.'

36. kulu cilay=ki, "iɲ um=iɲ kayom=na? jarur kayom=na=ɲ!"
turtle shout=M.PT 1S NEG=1S speak=M.IRR certainly speak=M.IRR=1S
'THE TURTLE SHOUTED, "I SHOULDN'T SPEAK? OF COURSE I WILL SPEAK!"'

37. "e bhai, am kayom=na=m laʔ ɖãɽaʔ i=ghay dhog=e=m?
VOC brother 2S speak=M.IRR=2S then stick what=way grab=A.IRR=2S
'"OH BROTHER, IF YOU SPEAK, THEN HOW WILL YOU HOLD ON TO (= GRAB) THE STICK?'

38. kayom=na=m laʔ tomoɖ khule goɖ=na.
speak=M.IRR=2S then mouth open C:TEL=M.IRR
'IF YOU SPEAK, THEN YOUR MOUTH WILL OPEN.'

39. tomoɖ khule=na laʔ ɖãɽa[ʔ] chu[ʔ]ɽe goˀɖ=na. laʔ gur goˀɖ=na=m."
mouth open=M.IRR then stick leave C:TEL=M.IRR then fall C:TEL=M.IRR=2S
'IF YOUR MOUTH OPENS, THEN THE STICK WILL COME OUT OF YOUR MOUTH (= THE STICK WILL LEAVE). THEN YOU WILL FALL DOWN."'

40. kulu buʔjhi=ki. gam=oʔ "hã! um=iɲ kayom=na. um-laʔ gur goˀɖ=na=ɲ."
turtle understand=M.PT say=A.PT yes NEG=1S speak=M.IRR NEG-then fall C:TEL=M.IRR=1S
'THE TURTLE UNDERSTOOD. HE SAID "YES! I WON'T TALK. OTHERWISE I WILL FALL DOWN."'

41. ubar hãsa oɖoʔ leŋ=ki=kiyar. kulu ɖãɽa[ʔ]=te akeɖ=kon laɽke=siʔ.
2 goose again fly=M.PT=D turtle stick=OBL bite=SEQ sway=PERF
'THE TWO GEESE ONCE AGAIN FLEW UP. THE TURTLE SWAYED (= HAS SWAYED) [IN THE AIR] HOLDING ONTO (= HAVING BITTEN) THE STICK.'

42. ho=kaɽ enem ɖena=yaʔ leŋ=na laʔ=ki.
that=S.HUM without feather=GEN fly=INF IPFV=M.PT
'HE WAS FLYING WITHOUT FEATHERS.'

43. uslоʔ=ga lebu=ki yo=teˀj=may no ubar hãsa leŋ=taˀj=kiyar.
ground=FOC person=P see=A.PROG=3P CMPL 2 goose fly=M.PROG=D
'[ON] THE GROUND, PEOPLE SEE THAT TWO GEESE ARE FLYING.'

44. ho=kiyar=yaʔ tomoɖ=te ɖãɽaʔ ayij. ɖãɽaʔ=te kulu laɽke=siʔ.
that=D=GEN mouth=OBL stick PRS.COP stick=OBL turtle sway=PERF
'THERE IS A STICK IN THEIR MOUTHS. ON THE STICK A TURTLE IS SWINGING (= HAS SWUNG) BACK AND FOURTH.'

45. lebu=ki=te u yo=kon ikuˀɖ lereʔ laʔ=ki.
person=P=OBL this see=SEQ much joy EMOT=M.PT
'THE PEOPLE, SEEING THIS, ARE (= BECAME) VERY HAPPY.'

46. ho=ki ikuˀɖ khus=ki=may. leŋ=taˀj=kiyar. korob korob. kulu=jo koroˀb=siʔ.
that=P very happy=M.PT=3P fly=M.PROG=D quiet REP turtle=ADD quiet=PERF

'THEY ARE VERY HAPPY. THEY TWO [GEESE] ARE FLYING. QUIETLY. THE TURTLE WAS ALSO QUIET.'

47. leŋ=ga leŋga ɖheir ɖisaʔ col goʔɖ=ki=may.
fly=FOC REP very far go C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'FLYING ALONG, THEY WENT VERY FAR.'

48. ber yo=te, ho=kaɽ=ga khus lereʔ goʔɖ=ta ro laɖa goʔɖ=te=may.[301]
who see=A.PRS that=S.HUM=FOC happy rejoice C:TEL=M.PRS and laugh C:TEL=A.PRS=3P
'WHOEVER SEES THEM IS HAPPY AND LAUGHS.'

49. moɲ boʔ=te muɖu beɽa gam=oʔ "u hãsa=kiyar baɽa buidhgar ayiʔj=kiyar.
one place=OBL one.CL boy say=A.PT this goose=D big intelligent PRS.COP=D
'AT ONE PLACE A BOY SAID "THESE TWO GEESE ARE REALLY INTELLIGENT.'

50. yo=ye=pe i=ghay upay socay=siʔ=kiyar."
see=A.IRR=2P what=way method think=PERF=D
'LOOK AT THE KIND OF METHOD THEY HAVE THOUGHT UP.'"

51. pase=te=ga toŋon beɽa=ʔ ma=ɖom=jo gam=oʔ "hã hãsa maha buidhgar ayiʔj.
near=OBL=FOC stand boy=GEN mother=3POSS=ADD say=A.PT yes goose big intelligent PRS.COP
'THE BOY'S MOTHER, WHO WAS STANDING NEARBY, SAID "YES, THE GOOSE IS VERY INTELLIGENT.'

52. kulu=ko budhu=ga hoy=ta.
turtle=CNTR stupid=FOC COP=M.PRS
'BUT THE TURTLE IS STUPID."'[302]

53. kulu=te laʔ=ki no "gam[=e]=iɲ, 'iɲ budhu umboɽiʔjɖ=iɲ.
turtle=OBL seem=M.PT CMPL say=A.IRR=1S 1S stupid NEG.PRS.COP=1S
'THE TURTLE THOUGHT TO HIMSELF (= IT SEEMED TO THE TURTLE THAT) "I WILL SAY, 'I AM NOT STUPID.'

54. iɲ=ga u=ghay upay socay=siʔɖ=iɲ."
1S=FOC this=way method think=PERF=1S
'I AM THE ONE WHO THOUGHT UP THIS KIND OF METHOD.""

55. muda korob=ga aw=ki.
but quiet=FOC COP=M.PT
'BUT HE REMAINED QUIET.'

56. gam=na lam=oʔ muda i=jo um gam=oʔ.
say=INF want=A.PT but what=ADD NEG say=A.PT
'HE WANTED TO SPEAK BUT DIDN'T SAY ANYTHING.'

57. mugam poʔda=te beɽa kunɖu[ʔ]=ki eboʔ=na laʔ=ki=may.
front village=OBL boy child=P play=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'AT A VILLAGE FURTHER ON, BOYS WERE PLAYING.'

58. ho=ki ubar hãsa=te kulu=te ɖoɖ=na yo=kon thapɽi bajay=oʔ=ki.
that=P 2 goose=OBL turtle=OBL take=INF see=SEQ clapping sound=A.PT=P

[301] The plural marking on the final predicate would appear to be a mistake.
[302] I.e., the turtle IN GENERAL is a stupid animal, not this one in particular.

'SEEING THE TWO GEESE CARRYING THE TURTLE, THEY CLAPPED.'

59. muɖu beʈa cilay=kon gam=oʔ, "yo=ye=pe yoyepe,
1.CL boy shout=SEQ say=A.PT see=A.IRR=2P REP
'ONE BOY SHOUTED OUT, "LOOK! LOOK!'

ubar buddhiman hãsa=kiyar budhu kulu=te ob-leŋ=kon ɖoɖ kan=teʔj=kiyar."
2 intelligent goose=D stupid turtle=OBL CAUS-fly=SEQ take CONT=A.PROG=D
'TWO INTELLIGENT GEESE ARE CARRYING (= HAVING MADE FLY, ARE TAKING) AWAY A STUPID TURTLE.'"

60. aʔb=ko kulu=te koroʔb um aw-mon laʔ=ki.[303]
now=CNTR turtle=OBL quiet NEG remain-mind EMOT=M.PT
'BUT NOW THE TURTLE DID NOT WISH TO REMAIN QUIET.'

61. ho=kaʈ gam=oʔ "iɲ …" muda aɖi=yaʔ kayom=jo um tuʔɖ=ki.
that=S.HUM say=A.PT 1S but ANAPH=GEN speech=ADD NEG finish=M.PT
'HE SAID "I …" BUT HIS WORDS DID NOT REACH THEIR END.'

62. kulu dhãy se soreŋ=te gur=ki.
turtle fast ABL stone=OBL fall=M.PT
'THE TURTLE FELL ONTO A STONE AT A HIGH SPEED.'

63. ho=kaʈ=aʔ kunɖaʔb paʔ goɖ=ki ro ho=kaʈ goʔj goɖ=ki.
that=S.HUM=GEN back break C:TEL=M.PT and that=S.HUM die C:TEL=M.PT
'HIS BACK BURST OPEN AND HE DIED.'

[303] One means of expressing wishes or intentions is to form a compound consisting of a predicate and *mon* 'mind', with the experiencer appearing in the oblique case, in this case having the literal translation 'a remain-mind did not attach (*la?*) to the turtle'. Note that this is a compound, as we do not find the reduplicated free-standing form *aw-aw*, which necessarily appears in attribution.

mehneit=yaʔ kamoy
labor=GEN earning
'The fruits of labor'

[TK, 2]

1. moŋ kinir aw=ki. ho=te ɖheir bhari daru khunʈo aw=ki.
one forest COP=M.PT that=OBL(= 'there') very much tree ECHO COP=M.PT
'THERE WAS A FOREST. THERE WAS VERY MUCH VEGETATION (= TREES, ETC.) THERE.'

2. ho=te=ga moŋ pheinga aw=na laʔ=ki.
that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC one grasshopper live=INF IPFV=M.PT
'A GRASSHOPPER LIVED RIGHT THERE.'

3. ho=kaʈ i=jo um kamu=na laʔ=ki.
that=S.HUM what=ADD NEG work=INF IPFV=M.PT
'HE DIDN'T DO ANY WORK AT ALL.'

4. ho=kaʈ din bheir u ɖair han ɖair eboʔ loʔ=na laʔ=ki.
that=S.HUM day entire this branch that branch play ITER=INF IPFV=M.PT
'ALL DAY HE CONTINUALLY PLAYED ON THIS BRANCH AND THAT.'

5. betoʔɖ laʔ=na bhere hariyar hariyar ulaʔ=ki=te ɲoʔ goʔɖ=na laʔ=ki.
hunger EMOT=INF time green REP leaf=P=OBL eat C:TEL=INF IPFV=M.PT
'WHEN HE GOT HUNGRY, HE WOULD EAT UP THE GREEN LEAVES.'

6. musniŋ ho=kaʈ moŋ ciɽra yo=yoʔ.
one.day that=S.HUM one squirrel see=A.PT
'ONE DAY HE SAW A SQUIRREL.'

7. pheinga gam=oʔ, "a=e bohin, anaŋ sori sori eboʔ=na=naŋ.
grasshopper say=A.PT come.on=A.IRR sister 1D.INCL together REP play=M.IRR=1D.INCL
'THE GRASSHOPPER SAID, "COME ON, SISTER, LET'S PLAY[304] TOGETHER!'

8. ketna sundar jaŋkor=yaʔ samay ayiʔj!"
how.much beautiful spring=GEN time PRS.COP
'HOW BEAUTIFUL THIS SPRING IS (= IS THE TIME OF SPRING)!"'

9. ciɽra gam=oʔ "umbo[ʔ] dada, iɲ kuʔɽu[305]=ki=yaʔ ghaʔɖ dana thuray=teʔjɖ=iɲ.'
squirrel say=A.PT no elder.brother 1S child=P=GEN for grain gather=A.PROG=1S
'THE SQUIRREL SAID "NO, BROTHER, I AM GATHERING GRAIN FOR THE CHILDREN.'

10. iɲ=te phurseit umboɖiʔj." pheinga laɖa=ga col kan=ki.
1S=OBL free.time NEG.PRS.COP grasshopper laugh=FOC go CONT=M.PT
'I HAVE NO FREE TIME." THE GRASSHOPPER CONTINUED ON, LAUGHING.'

11. ho=kaʈ moŋ gerwa yo=yoʔ.
that=S.HUM one nightingale see=A.PT
'HE SAW A NIGHTINGALE.'

12. ho=kaʈ kontheɖ=te gam=oʔ, "gerwa bohin, a=e iɲ=a[ʔ] sori kuʔj=na,
that=S.HUM bird=OBL say=A.PT nightingale sister come.on=A.IRR 1S=GEN with dance=M.IRR

[304] *eboʔ* 'play; have fun, enjoy oneself', etc.
[305] Standard form: *konɖuʔ*.

eboʔ=na.
play=M.IRR
'HE SAID TO THE BIRD, "SISTER NIGHTINGALE, COME ON! DANCE AND PLAY WITH ME!'

13. yo=ye ketna sundar mawsam ayiˀj."
see=A.IRR how.much beautiful weather PRS.COP
'LOOK HOW BEAUTIFUL THE WEATHER IS!'"

14. gerwa gam=oʔ, "umboʔ bhai pheinga, iɲ kuʔɽu=na=iɲ=ki=yaʔ ghaˀɖ
nightingale say=A.PT no brother grasshopper 1S child=1POSS=1S=P=GEN for

peʔ lam=teˀjɖ=iɲ.
cooked.rice seek=A.PROG=1S
'THE NIGHTINGALE SAID, "NO BROTHER GRASSHOPPER, I AM LOOKING FOR FOOD (= COOKED RICE) FOR MY CHILDREN.'

15. iɲ tama um=iɲ eboʔ=na."
1S now NEG=1S play=M.IRR
'I WON'T PLAY NOW.'"

16. pheinga eboʔ=ga mugam col goˀɖ=ki.
grasshopper play=FOC front go C:TEL=M.PT
'THE GRASSHOPPER CONTINUED ONWARDS, PLAYING.'

17. ho=kaɽ=te moɲ jharkul kui=ki.
that=S.HUM=OBL one bear be.found=M.PT
'HE RAN INTO A BEAR (= A BEAR WAS FOUND TO HIM).'

18. ho=kaɽ jharkul=te gam=oʔ, "jharkul bhai, i karay=teˀjɖ=em?
that=S.HUM bear=OBL say=A.PT bear brother what do=A.PROG=2S
'HE SAID TO THE BEAR, "BROTHER BEAR, WHAT ARE YOU DOING?'

19. a=e iɲ buŋ kayom ɖoɽ=na."
come.on=A.IRR 1S INST speak A:TEL=M.IRR
'COME ON, TALK WITH ME!'"

20. jharkul tiʔ joɽe=kon gam=oʔ, "umboʔ, bhai pheinga,
bear hand join=SEQ say=A.PT no brother grasshopper
'THE BEAR JOINED HIS HANDS [RESPECTFULLY] AND SAID, "NO BROTHER GRASSHOPPER,'

iɲ=te raŋga bhere=yaʔ ghaˀɖ terom thuray=na ayiˀj.
1S=OBL cold time=GEN for honey gather=INF PRS.COP
'I HAVE TO GATHER HONEY FOR THE COLD SEASON.'

21. iɲ am=aʔ sori um=iɲ eboʔ=na pal=e."
1S 2S=GEN with NEG=1S play=INF be.able=A.IRR
'I WON'T BE ABLE TO PLAY WITH YOU.'"

22. khoɽeˀj hoy=ki no pheinga yo=yoʔ moɲ tiˀj tay
short.while become=M.PT CMPL grasshopper see=A.PT one side ABL

lain-e-lain muˀjɖaʔ=ki ɖel=taˀj=may.
in.a.line ant=P come=M.PROG=3P

'AFTER A SHORT WHILE IT HAPPENED (= BECAME) THAT THE GRASSHOPPER SAW ANTS IN A LINE COMING FROM ONE SIDE.'

23. ho=kaʈ sob[306] tay seŋ aw=ki ho muˀjɖaˀ=te gam=oˀ, "am iɲ=aˀ sori
that=S.HUM all ABL first COP=M.PT that ant=OBL say=A.PT 2S 1S=GEN with

kuˀj=na ro ebоˀ=na!
danche=M.IRR and play=M.IRR
'HE SAID TO THE ANT WHO WAS IN FRONT (= THE FIRST OF ALL, THAT ANT), "DANCE AND PLAY WITH ME!'

24. yo=ye musa ketna bes dino ayiˀj."
see=A.IRR today how.much good day PRS.COP
'LOOK HOW GOOD A DAY TODAY IS."'

25. muˀjɖaˀ gam=oˀ, "umboˀ bhai, iɲ=aˀ=te samay umboɽiˀj.
ant say=A.PT no brother 1S=GEN=OBL time NEG.PRS.COP
'THE ANT SAID, "NO BROTHER, I HAVE NO TIME.'

26. ele cini ol=na col=taˀj=le." u gam=kon sob muˀjɖaˀ col kan=ki=may.
1P.EXCL sugar bring=INF go=M.PROG=1P.EXCL this say=SEQ all ant go CONT=M.PT=P
'WE ARE GOING TO GET SUGAR." HAVING SAID THIS, ALL THE ANTS CONTINUED ON.'

27. pheinga ho=te=ga kuˀj=ga ebоˀ=ga aw goˀɖ=ki.
grasshopper that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC dance=FOC play=FOC remain C:TEL=M.PT
'THE GRASSHOPPER REMAINED DANCING AND PLAYING RIGHT THERE.'

28. raŋga=yaˀ dino ɖam=ki.
cold=GEN day arrive=M.PT
'A COLD DAY (= DAY OF COLDNESS) ARRIVED.'

29. daru=yaˀ ulaˀ kosor=kon gur may=ki.
tree=GEN leaf dry.up=SEQ fall TOTAL=M.PT
'THE TREES' LEAVES DRIED UP AND ALL FELL [TO THE GROUND].'

30. pheinga=te ɲoˀ=na ghaɖ atu=jo koɽom ulaˀ um bance=ki.
grasshopper=OBL eat=INF PURP where=ADD soft leaf NEG be.saved=M.PT
'NOWHERE WERE SOFT LEAVES LEFT OVER FOR THE GRASSHOPPER TO EAT.'

31. ho=kaʈ socay=oˀ, "sob raŋga bhere=yaˀ ghaɖ ɲoˀ=na thoŋ thuray=siˀ=may.
that=S.HUM think=A.PT all cold time=GEN for eat=INF PURP gather=PERF=3P
'HE THOUGHT, "ALL HAVE GATHERED [FOOD] FOR EATING FOR THE COLD SEASON.'

32. col=ta=ɲ ho=ki=yaˀ tay ɲoˀ=na thoŋ bor ol[=e]=iɲ.
go=M.PRS=1S that=P=GEN ABL eat=INF PURP ask.for bring=A.IRR=1S
'I WILL GO BEG FOR SOMETHING (= ASK FOR [AND] BRING) TO EAT FROM THEM.'

33. ho=kaʈ ciɽra=yaˀ boˀ=te col=ki.
that=S.HUM squirrel=GEN place=OBL go=M.PT
'HE WENT TO THE SQUIRREL'S HOME.'

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[306] Standard form: *souˀb*.

34. gam=oʔ, "ciɽra bohin johar! iɲ=te ɲoʔ=na ghaɖ jahã ol=e."
say=A.PT squirrel sister salutation 1S=OBL eat=INF PURP INDEF.NHUM bring=A.IRR
'HE SAID, "GREETINGS SISTER SQUIRREL! BRING ME SOMETHING TO EAT."'

35. ciɽra gam=oʔ peʔ=ko iɲ kuɽuʔ=ki=yaʔ thoŋ sama=siˀɖ=iɲ, ho=je[ʔ]=ko
squirrel say=A.PT cooked.rice=CNTR 1S child=P=GEN for collect=PERF=1S that=S.NHUM=CNTR

um=iɲ ter=e.
NEG=1S give=A.IRR
'THE SQUIRREL SAID "I HAVE GATHERED FOOD (= COOKED RICE) FOR THE CHILDREN, I WILL NOT GIVE IT [TO YOU]."'

36. pheinga gerwa kontheɖ=yaʔ boʔ=te col=ki muda gerwa boŋ[307] bheʔʈo
grasshopper nightingale bird=GEN place=OBL go=M.PT but nightingale INST meeting

um hoy=ki.
NEG COP=M.PT
'THE GRASSHOPPER WENT TO THE HOUSE OF THE NIGHTINGALE BUT HE DID NOT MEET (= THERE WAS NOT A MEETING) WITH THE NIGHTINGALE.'

37. ho=kaɽ garam raij tiˀj col kan=sikh=oʔ.
that=S.HUM warm kingdom side go CONT=PERF=A.PT
'SHE HAD GONE OFF TO A WARM PLACE.'

38. tay ho=kaɽ jharkul=yaʔ boʔ=te col=ki, "jharkul bhai, iɲ=te muruk betoˀɖ
then that=S.HUM bear=GEN place=OBL go=M.PT bear brother 1S=OBL much hunger

laʔ=siʔ."
EMOT=PERF
'THEN HE WENT TO THE BEAR'S HOME, "BROTHER BEAR, I AM VERY HUNGRY."'

39. jharkul lemeˀɖ=na laʔ=ki. um beroˀɖ=ki.
bear sleep=INF EMOT=M.PT NEG stand.up=M.PT
'THE BEAR WAS SLEEPING. HE DIDN'T GET UP.'

40. ho=kaɽ=a[ʔ] loʔɖho pheinga muˀjɖa[ʔ]=ki=yaʔ boʔ=te col=ki.
that=S.HUM=GEN after grasshopper ant=P=GEN place=OBL go=M.PT
'AFTER THAT THE GRASSHOPPER WENT TO THE ANTS' HOME.'

41. ho=kaɽ moɲ muˀjɖaʔ=te gam=oʔ, "muˀjɖaʔ bohin, kaɽij cini ol=e."
that=S.HUM one ant=OBL say=A.PT ant sister some sugar bring=A.IRR
'HE SAID TO ONE ANT, "SISTER ANT, BRING [ME] SOME SUGAR."'

42. muˀjɖaʔ pheinga=te leˀj bay=oʔ, "u cini iɲ=aʔ bohin=na=ɲ=ki
ant grasshopper=OBL curse EXCESS=A.PT this sugar 1S=GEN sister=1POSS=1S=P

thuray=siʔ=may.
gather=PERF=3P
'THE ANT GAVE THE GRASSHOPPER A GOOD SCOLDING, "THIS SUGAR MY SISTERS HAVE GATHERED.'

[307] Standard form: *buŋ*.

43. u=je[ʔ]=ko ho=ki=yaʔ=ga heke. um=iŋ ter=e."
this=S.NHUM=CNTR that=P=GEN=FOC PRS.COP NEG=1S give=A.IRR
'IT IS THEIRS. I WILL NOT GIVE [IT TO YOU].'"

44. ho bhere=ga tobluŋ tay cil gam=oʔ "sob kamu=ki=may,
that time=FOC top ABL hawk[308] say=A.PT all work=M.PT=3P

apon[309] apon ɲoʔ=na ghaʔɖ baʔ rumkuʔb sama=yoʔ=ki.
REFL REP eat=INF PURP "rice" collect=A.PT=P
'[AT] THAT TIME, A HAWK SAID FROM ABOVE, "ALL WORKED, THEY THEMSELVES COLLECTED FOOD (= RICE) TO EAT.'

45. pheinga am=ko kuʔj=na ro eboʔ=na=te=ga samay bitay=ob. aʔb hawa
grasshopper 2S=CNTR dance=INF and play=INF=OBL=FOC time spend.time=A.PT.2S now air

ɲog=e!"
eat=A.IRR
'GRASSHOPPER, YOU SPENT YOUR TIME IN DANCING AND SINGING. NOW EAT AIR!'"

[308] According to one speaker, *cil* is the equivalent of English 'eagle', whereas this author translates it with the Hindi word *bāz*, which McGregor (1997:720) translates as 'hawk; falcon (properly female).' As I had no opportunity to observe this bird, I will translate it here as this author does and elsewhere as other authors do. To complicate the issue, note that *cīl* in Hindi means 'a kite (the bird)' (McGregor, 1997:321).
[309] Standard form: *apan*.

Note that the syntax in these songs is often somewhat different from that of both the spoken and written language, due to constraints of rhythm and measure.

Traditional Kharia songs, sung by Mr. Anand Masih Tete, Saldega, Simdega District, Jharkhand

Ode to Chotanagpur

[AT, 1]

1. choʈanagapur, hira nagapur, hira nagapur, hira nagapur,
   Chotanagpur diamond Nagpur diamond Nagpur diamond Nagpur

(Sung twice)

2. jhimir jhimir bacan gim=te, sona bũda bũda bacan gim=te.
   pitter.patter rain sprinkle=A.PRS gold pitter.patter rain sprinkle=A.PRS

(Sung once)

3. o<ʔb>ɖor ɖoʈ=e bacan=no=m=te.
   hear-<CAUS> A:TEL=A.IRR rain=2POSS=2S=OBL

4. he re masi raja! he masi raja!
   Oh! Messias king Oh! Messias king

(Verse 2, sung once more)

'CHOTANAGPUR, BEAUTIFUL (= DIAMOND) NAGPUR, BEAUTIFUL NAGPUR, BEAUTIFUL NAGPUR,
THE RAIN FALLS "PITTER-PATTER", THE RAIN FALLS [WITH] A GOLDEN "PITTER-PATTER".
LET YOUR RAIN RESOUND, OH, MESSIAS! OH KING!'

Shimmering Heaven

[AT, 2]

(sung twice)

1. tarkeleŋ sayun salim=te, apa joy kiʔte suʔkho lereʔ
   sparkling Heaven=OBL father VOC how.much happy joy
   'OH FATHER, IN SHIMMERING HEAVEN, HOW MUCH JOY [THERE IS THERE]'

(sung twice)

2. bonor daru bagoyca, bhore khirom leŋge=taʔj, loŋgoy=ɖom=ki sundar-boʔ
   green[310] tree garden full river flow=M.PROG shade=3POSS=P beautiful-INTENS

   luhur luhur koyo=te.
   cool[311] REP wind=OBL
   'THE LUXURIANT GREEN TREES [OF THE] GARDEN, THE FULL RIVER IS FLOWING, THEIR SHADE [IS] VERY BEAUTIFUL IN THE COOL BREEZE.'

3. sant sadhu=ki=yaʔ moʔjhi=te apa joy kiʔte suʔkho lereʔ.
   holy holy.man=P=GEN middle=OBL father VOC how.much happy joy
   'AMONGST THE HOLY MEN, OH FATHER, HOW MUCH JOY [THERE IS].'

(Repeat verse 2)

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[310] Actually, 'luxuriant (green)' (Hindi *harā bharā*) or 'dense (as in forest)' (cf. Hindi *saghan, ghanā*).
[311] 'cool' or 'soft', only in reference to a breeze.

Back to the village

[AT, 3]
1. (sung twice)
muʔ=na! a=na! co=na=naŋ! poʔda=te=ga aw=na=naŋ!
emerge=M.IRR come.on!=M.IRR go=M.IRR=1D.INCL village=OBL=FOC live=M.IRR=1D.INCL
'COME OUT, COME ON, LET'S GO! LET US LIVE IN THE VILLAGE!'

2. (sung twice)
ho=waʔ lekhe suʔkho ʈhãʈo atu=ga roʔ kuy=e=naŋ re?
that=GEN like happy place where=FOC FOC find=A.IRR=1D.INCL Oh!
'WHERE WILL WE EVER FIND A PLACE AS HAPPY AS THAT?'

(Repeat 1 twice, then 2 twice.)

3. (sung twice)
mudui, cara, saitan kayom=ga roʔ bay=oʔ.
enemy thug devil speech=FOC FOC make=A.PT
'THE ENEMY, THE THUG, THE DEVIL SPOKE.'

4. (sung twice)
ewa beʈi ʈhakay=oʔ ro ɖoʈh=oʔ hay re tunboʔ moʔjhi=te.
Eve daughter deceive=A.PT and take=A.PT alas! day middle=OBL
'HE DECEIVED EVE, HE TOOK HER, ALAS!, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE DAY.'

The Kingdom of Heaven[312]

[AT, 4]
1. (sung twice)
kiʔthuŋ raij=te tomliŋ khirom leŋe=taʔj raij=te.
heaven kingdom=OBL milk river flow=M.PROG kingdom=OBL
'IN THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, RIVERS OF MILK FLOW, IN THE KINGDOM.'

2. (sung twice)
kosu raŋga buŋ bhiren=taʔjɖ=iɲ.
sickness cold INST flounder(?)=M.PROG=1S
'I AM PLAGUED BY SICKNESS AND ILLNESS.'

3. (sung twice)
ol=e mariyam am=aʔ patar, ol=e yisu am=aʔ paʈom,
bring=A.IRR Mary 2S=GEN light bring=A.IRR Jesus 2S=GEN strength

kiʔthuŋ raij=te tomliŋ khirom leŋe=taʔj raij=te.
heaven kingdom=OBL milk river flow=M.PROG kingdom=OBL
'BRING, MARY, YOUR LIGHT, BRING, JESUS, YOUR STRENGTH, IN THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, RIVERS OF MILK FLOW, IN THE KINGDOM.'

4. (sung twice)
moɲ kunɖa golaŋ buŋ buiɖaʔ=taʔjɖ=em.
1 rice.beer.pot rice.beer INST take.care.of.onself=M.PROG=2S
'YOU ARE TAKING CARE OF YOURSELF ONLY WITH A POT OF RICE BEER.'

[312] Speakers I consulted for this text were somewhat uncertain of the meanings of verses 2 and 4.

5. (sung twice)
ho=ti^{ʔ}j=te u=jo um yo=ta, kiʔthuŋ raij=te tomliŋ khirom
that=side=OBL this=ADD NEG see=M.PRS heaven kingdom=OBL milk river

leŋe=ta^{ʔ}j raij=te.
flow=M.PROG kingdom=OBL
'ON THAT SIDE THIS IS ALSO NOT SEEN, IN THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, RIVERS OF MILK FLOW, IN THE KINGDOM.'

My father is calling

[AT, 5]
1. (sung twice)
ompay=aʔ han paro=te apa=ɲ=ko remaʔ=te.
river=GEN that side=OBL father=1POSS=CNTR call=A.PRS
'ON THAT SIDE OF THE RIVER, MY FATHER CALLS.'

2. (sung twice)
ẽ um=iɲ pal=e apa joy am=aʔ kayom onɖor=na!
Oh! NEG=1S be.able=A.IRR father VOC 2S=GEN speech hear=INF
'OH, I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO HEAR YOUR WORDS, FATHER!'

3. (sung twice)
ompay=jo bhore=ki, khirom=jo bhore=ki, khewa ɖaŋ=jo oɽoʔ=ki.
small.river=ADD fill.up=M.PT big.river=ADD fill.up=M.PT oar stick=ADD get.stuck=M.PT
'THE SMALL RIVER HAS SWOLLEN, THE BIG RIVER HAS SWOLLEN, AND THE OAR HAS GOTTEN STUCK.'

4. (sung twice)
i=ghay pal[=e]=iɲ apa joy am=aʔ kayom onɖor=na?
what=way be.able=A.IRR=1S father VOC 2S=GEN speech hear=INF
'HOW SHALL I BE ABLE TO HEAR YOUR WORDS, OH FATHER?'

5. (sung twice)
ompay=aʔ han paro=te apa=ɲ=ko remaʔ=te,
river=GEN that side=OBL father=1POSS=CNTR call=A.PRS
'ON THAT SIDE OF THE RIVER, MY FATHER CALLS.'

6. (sung thrice)
ẽ um=iɲ pal=e apa joy am=aʔ kayom onɖor=na,
Oh! NEG=1S be.able=A.IRR father VOC 2S=GEN speech hear=INF
'OH, I WON'T BE ABLE TO HEAR YOUR WORDS, FATHER!'

Sung by Mr. Basil Baa:

The dreamer

[BB, 4]
1. laroʔ biru=te ɖaʔ gim=te jhoɽi=te re.
date.palm mountain=OBL water fall=A.PRS torrent=OBL VOC
'ON LARO MOUNTAIN IT IS RAINING IN TORRENTS.'

2. hãyre arabɖuʔ moŋ=ga bohin=na=iɲ daru sumboʔ=te japaʔ=siʔ.
alas poor one=FOC sister=POSS=1 tree base=OBL lean.against=PERF
'ALAS, MY POOR SISTER IS LEANING AGAINST A TREE.'

3. koyo=te dhukay=te tapaʔ=te arabɖuʔ.
wind=OBL blow.strongly=A.PRS sprinkle=A.PRS poor
'THE WIND IS BLOWING STRONGLY AND [THE RAIN] IS GETTING THE POOR [GIRL] WET.'

4. moŋ=ga bohin=na=iɲ daru sumboʔ=te japaʔ=siʔ,
one=FOC sister=1POSS=1S tree base=OBL lean.against=PERF
'MY SISTER IS LEANING UP AGAINST A TREE.'

5. laroʔ biru=te ɖaʔ gim=te jhoɽi=te re.
date.palm mountain=OBL water fall=A.PRS torrent=OBL VOC
'ON LARO MOUNTAIN IT IS RAINING IN TORRENTS.'

6. dada=ɲ=ko gam=te "a=e bohin, dura=te a=na bohin,
elder.brother=1S=CNTR say=A.PRS come.on=A.IRR sister door=OBL come.on=M.IRR sister

oʔ=te re."
house=OBL VOC
'MY ELDER BROTHER SAYS "COME ON, SISTER, COME HOME (= TO THE DOOR, TO THE HOUSE), SISTER."

7. aji=ɲ=ko gam=te "goʔj=na=m laʔ=jo siʔɖ=na=m laʔ=jo munu
paternal.grandmother=1S=CNTR say=A.PRS die=M.IRR=2S then=ADD get.lost=A.IRR=2S then=ADD dream

buŋ=jo abu ter=e=m."
INST=ADD NEG.IMP give=A.IRR=2S
'GRANDMOTHER SAYS "EITHER YOU'LL DIE OR YOU'LL GET LOST, DON'T DREAM (= DON'T GIVE WITH A DREAM)."'

Repeat verses 1-5

Farewell, friend!

[BB, 5]

1. ata raji co=na=m, saŋgo, kaʈa=no=m=aʔ juta paɲj=te ɲimi likha ʈu=ye=m.
Q country go=M.IRR=2S friend foot=2POSS=2S=GEN shoe footstep=OBL name write DPT=A.IRR=2S
'TO WHAT COUNTRY WILL YOU GO, FRIEND, YOU WILL WRITE YOUR NAME WITH THE FOOTPRINTS OF YOUR SHOES (= THE SHOE FOOTSTEPS OF YOUR FEET) AS YOU DEPART (= WRITE-DEPART).'

2. paɲj yo=ta yota ɲimi paɽhe paɽhe ɲayam[313] jom=na=iɲ.
footstep see=CONV REP name read REP cry AUTOPOES=M.IRR=1S
'SEEING YOUR FOOTSTEPS AND READING YOUR NAME, I'LL JUST CRY.'

3. ɖisaʔ raji co=na=m, saŋgo, kaʈa=no=m=aʔ juta paɲj=te ɲimi likha
far country go=M.IRR=2S friend foot=2POSS=2S=GEN shoe footstep=OBL name write

ʈu=ye=m.
DPT=A.IRR=2S

[313] Standard form: *iɲam*.

'YOU WILL GO TO A FAR COUNTRY, FRIEND, YOU WILL WRITE YOUR NAME WITH THE FOOTPRINTS OF YOUR SHOES AS YOU DEPART.'

(Repeat 2)

4. jarman raji co=na=m, saŋgo, kaʈa=no=m=aʔ juta paɲj=te ɲimi likha
Germany country go=M.IRR=2S friend foot=2POSS=2S=GEN shoe footstep=OBL name write

ʈu=ye=m.
DPT=A.IRR=2S
'YOU WILL GO TO GERMANY, FRIEND, YOU WILL WRITE YOUR NAME WITH THE FOOTPRINTS OF YOUR SHOES AS YOU DEPART.'[314]

(Repeat 2)

Sung by Mr. Ranjit Kullu, 19, Taraboga, Simdega District

iskaʈ=te abu su=ye=m
skirt=OBL NEG.MOD put.on=A.IRR=2S
Don't wear a skirt!

[RK, 1]
Note: The following song is considered "adult only" material. Singing or even mentioning it in mixed company is considered highly inappropriate!

Sung twice:
1. iskaʈ=te abu su=ye=m saɽi=te=ga su=ye=m!
skirt=OBL NEG.MOD put.on=A.IRR=2S saree=OBL=FOC put.on=A.IRR=2S
'DON'T WEAR A SKIRT, WEAR A SAREE!'

Sung twice:
2. iskaʈ su=ye=m laʔ kuʈum umay are=na.
skirt put.on=A.IRR=2S then family NEG.3P descend=M.IRR
'IF YOU PUT ON A SKIRT, THEN FAMILIES WILL NOT COME DOWN [TO US TO SEEK YOUR HAND IN MARRIAGE].'

The wild cat in the millet field

[RK, 2]
Sung twice:
1. yo=ye se kuda ɖãʈ=te khorkhoro u=ghay pata hilay=te,
see=A.IRR please millet field=OBL wild.cat this=way tail shake=A.PRS

yo=ye se kuda ɖãʈ=te.
see=A.IRR please millet field=OBL
'LOOK AT HOW THE WILD CAT IS WAGGING ITS TAIL IN THE MILLET FIELD, LOOK, IN THE MILLET FIELD.'

Let's go for a ride!

[RK, 3]

[314] In my honour, this last verse was added, as I was returning the next day to Germany.

1. yar=e=naŋ[315] yar=e=naŋ ɖjjal gaɽi=te yar=e=naŋ!
   flee=A.IRR=1D.EXCL flee=A.IRR=1D.EXCL diesel car=OBL flee=A.IRR=1D.EXCL
   'LET'S GO FOR A RIDE (= FLEE) WITH THE DIESEL CAR, LET'S GO FOR A RIDE!'

2. saikil=te yar=e=naŋ!
   bicycle=OBL flee=A.IRR=1D.EXCL
   'LET'S GO FOR A RIDE WITH THE BICYCLE!'

Repeat 1 and 2.

3. yo=ye=may laʔ gil=e=may thom=e=may saikil=te yar=e=naŋ!
   see=A.IRR=3P then beat=A.IRR=3P throw=A.IRR=3P bicycle=OBL flee=A.IRR=1D.EXCL
   'IF THEY SEE [US RIDING IN THE CAR], THEY'LL THROW [STONES AT US], LET'S GO FOR A RIDE WITH THE BICYCLE!'

Repeat 1 and 2.

A church song

[RK, 4]

1. am umboʔ laʔ yesu jiyom=na=iɲ alay balay laʔ=ta jiyom=na=iɲ yeloŋ yeloŋ
   2S NEG then Jesus life=1POSS=1S restless EMOT=M.PRS life=1POSS=1S dark REP

   yo=ta.
   see=M.PRS
   'IF YOU WERE NOT [HERE], JESUS, MY LIFE WOULD BE SO RESTLESS, MY LIFE WOULD BE VERY DARK.'

Sung twice:

2. am=ga patar ter-ter heke=m, am, yesu, ɖe=na=m ro patar ter=e=m patar
   2S=FOC light give-RDP PRS.COP=2S 2S Jesus come=M.IRR=2S and light give=A.IRR=2S light

   ter=e=m.
   give=A.IRR=2S
   'YOU ARE THE ONE WHO GIVES LIGHT (= LIGHT GIVER), YOU, JESUS, WILL COME AND GIVE LIGHT, YOU WILL GIVE LIGHT.'

Where is everybody?

[RK, 5]

sung twice:

1. u khoɽi=te beʈi umboɽiʔj=may.
   this village.section=OBL girl NEG.PRS.COP=3P
   'IN THIS VILLAGE SECTION THERE ARE NO GIRLS.'

sung twice:

2. el=aʔ og=aʔ may chowa joray[=e]=le selem raʔ-raʔ.
   1P.EXCL=GEN house=GEN family join.hands=A.IRR=1P.EXCL *selem* blossom-RDP
   'OUR WHOLE FAMILY (= THE FAMILY OF OUR HOUSE) WILL JOIN HANDS [LIKE] A *SELEM* FLOWER.'

[315] *yar* 'flee; take off (ITR); leave quickly'.

sung twice:
3. u khoɽi=te beɳa umboɽiʔj=may.
this village.section=OBL boy NEG.PRS.COP=3P
'IN THIS VILLAGE SECTION THERE ARE NO BOYS.'

sung twice:
4. el=aʔ og=aʔ may chowa joray[=e]=le selem raʔ-raʔ.
1P.EXCL=GEN house=GEN family join.hands=A.IRR=1P.EXCL *selem* blossom-RDP
'OUR WHOLE FAMILY (= THE FAMILY OF OUR HOUSE) WILL JOIN HANDS [LIKE] A *SELEM* FLOWER.'

sung twice:
5. u khoɽi=te lebu umboɽiʔj=may.
this village.section=OBL person NEG.PRS.COP=3P
'IN THIS VILLAGE SECTION THERE ARE NO PEOPLE[316].'

sung twice:
6. el=aʔ og=aʔ may chowa joray[=e]=le selem raʔ-raʔ.
1P.EXCL=GEN house=GEN family join.hands=A.IRR=1P.EXCL *selem* blossom-RDP
'OUR WHOLE FAMILY (= THE FAMILY OF OUR HOUSE) WILL JOIN HANDS [LIKE] A *SELEM* FLOWER.'

What shall we offer you, Father?

[RK, 6]
sung twice:
1. apa joy am=aʔ kaɳa sumboʔ=te, i roʔ ter=e=le i roʔ
father VOC 2S=GEN foot base=OBL what FOC give=A.IRR=1P.EXCL what FOC

o-ɖeb=e=le?
CAUS-ascend=A.IRR=1P.EXCL
'OH FATHER, AT YOUR FEET, WHAT SHALL WE GIVE YOU, WHAT SHALL WE SACRIFICE (= RAISE)?'

sung twice:
2. baʔ=jo umboɽiʔj, rumbkub=jo umboɽiʔj, keciya=jo umboɽiʔj.
unhusked.rice=ADD NEG.PRS.COP husked.rice=ADD NEG.PRS.COP money=ADD NEG.PRS.COP
'THERE IS NO UNHUSKED RICE, THERE IS NO HUSKED RICE, AND THERE IS NO MONEY [I.E., WE HAVE NOTHING TO OFFER].'

Serve the Lord, my son

[RK, 7]
1. dhãy[=e] beɳa=iɲ, dhãy[=e] co=na=m yesu sewa sonhor=na!
hurry=A.IRR son=1POSS hurry=A.IRR go=M.IRR=2S Jesus service religious.service=INF
'HURRY, MY SON, HURRY, GO AND (= TO) SERVE JESUS!'

2. beɳa=iɲ joy ele am=te un=na um=le pal=e.
son=1POSS VOC 1P.EXCL 2S=OBL keep=INF NEG=1P.EXCL be.able=A.IRR

[316] Or 'men', as *lebu* is ambiguous.

'OH MY SON, WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO KEEP YOU.'

Repeat 1, then 2

Jesus is born!

[RK, 8]
sung twice:
1. yesu jorme=ki, masi jorme=ki,
   Jesus be.born=M.PT Messias be.born=M.PT
   'JESUS IS BORN, THE MESSIAS IS BORN,'

sung twice:
2. kulam=ki aloŋ=na=pe musa=ko yesu jorme=ki.
   brother=P sing=M.IRR=2P today=CNTR Jesus be.born=M.PT
   'SING, BROTHERS, FOR TODAY JESUS IS BORN.'

Repeat 1, then 2.

This is a sinful world

[RK, 9]
sung twice:
1. yesu he am=aʔ mugam=te iɲ=ko u=ghay roʔ co=na=iɲ.
   Jesus VOC 2S=GEN front=OBL 1S=CNTR this=way FOC go=M.IRR=1S
   'OH JESUS, I WILL GO THUS BEFORE YOU.'

sung twice:
2. masi he am=aʔ mugam=te u=ghay roʔ ɖam=na=iɲ.
   Messias VOC 2S=GEN front=OBL this=way FOC arrive=M.IRR=1S
   'OH MESSIAS, I WILL ARRIVE THUS BEFORE YOU.'

Repeat 1.

sung twice:
3. u uslo ʔ raij=te pap dos bhore=siʔ.
   this land kingdom=OBL sin vice fill=PERF
   'IN THIS EARTHLY KINGDOM, SIN AND VICE HAVE BECOME RAMPANT (= FILLED).'

Repeat 1, then 2.

sung twice:
4. u uslo ʔ raij=te hĩsi=ga ɖah bhore=siʔ.
   this land kingdom=OBL envy=FOC jealousy fill=PERF
   'IN THIS EARTHLY KINGDOM, ENVY AND JEALOUSY HAVE BECOME RAMPANT (= FILLED).'

sung twice:
5. u uslo ʔ raij=te lobh lalac bhore=siʔ.
   this land kingdom=OBL avarice greed fill=PERF
   'IN THIS EARTHLY KINGDOM, AVARICE AND GREED HAVE BECOME RAMPANT (= FILLED).'

Don't forget Jesus

[RK, 10]
sung twice:
1. yesu=te abu irib=e=m saŋgo=na=iɲ dular=na=iɲ, masi=te abu
   Jesus=OBL NEG.MOD forget=A.IRR=2S friend=POSS=1S love=POSS=1S Messias=OBL NEG.MOD

   irib=e=m!
   forget=A.IRR=2S
   'DON'T FORGET JESUS, MY FRIEND, MY LOVE, DON'T FORGET THE MESSIAS!'

sung twice:
2. yesu=ko chema=te, pap chema=te. (sung once:) bhala.
   Jesus=CNTR forgive=A.PRS sin forgive=A.PRS good
   'FOR JESUS FORGIVES, HE FORGIVES SINS. GOOD.'

Repeat 1.

sung twice:
4. yesu=ko ter=te, jiyom ɖaʔ ter=te.
   Jesus=CNTR give=A.PRS life water give=A.PRS
   'FOR JESUS GIVES, HE GIVES LIFE (= LIFE-WATER).'

sung twice:
5. yesu=ko karay=te, caŋga karay=te.
   Jesus=CNTR do=A.PRS purity do=A.PRS
   'FOR JESUS MAKES, HE MAKES [US] PURE.'

Too tired for the mountain

[RK, 11]
sung twice:
1. sanoy biru ɖeʔb=na ɖeʔbna ele musa thoke=ki=le.
   Sinai mountain climb=INF REP 1P.EXCL today tired=M.PT=1P.EXCL
   'CLIMBING UP MOUNT SINAI, WE BECAME TIRED TODAY.'

sung twice:
2. ele=ko re musa um=le co=na. ele=ko re musa eŋ=na=le.
   1P.EXCL=CNTR VOC today NEG=1P.EXCL go=M.IRR 1P.EXCL=CNTR VOC today return=M.IRR=1P.EXCL
   'WE WILL NOT GO [THERE] TODAY, WE WILL RETURN TODAY.'

My friend, not my slave

[RK, 12]
sung twice:
1. das am=te um=iɲ gam=e, saŋgo=na=iɲ gam[=e]=iɲ.
   slave 2S=OBL NEG=1S say=A.IRR friend=POSS=1S say=A.IRR=1S
   'I WILL NOT CALL YOU SLAVE, I WILL CALL [YOU] MY FRIEND.'

sung twice:
2. melki sedek lekhe kalo sadawga aw=na=m.
   Melchizedek like priest always COP=M.IRR=2S
   'LIKE MELCHIZEDEK, YOU WILL ALWAYS BE A PRIEST.'

sung twice:

3. daɽom o-ɖeb=e=m pap chema ter=e=m sunmer karay=e=m.
   sacrifice CAUS-ascend=A.IRR=2S sin forgiveness give=A.IRR=2S praise do=A.IRR=2S
   'YOU WILL OFFER UP SACRIFICES, YOU WILL FORGIVE SINS, YOU WILL DO [MY] PRAISE.'

sung twice:
4. janam=no=m=aʔ seŋ=ga oh re! ray=siʔɖ=iɲ am=te.
   birth=2POSS=2S=GEN before=FOC INTERJ choose=PERF=1S 2S=OBL
   'AH! EVEN BEFORE YOUR BIRTH I CHOSE YOU.'

sung twice:
5. loreŋ kayom=te goʈa duniya=te jhaɽi=te utun=e=m.
   pure speech=OBL whole world=OBL all=OBL narrate=A.IRR=2S
   'YOU WILL PROCLAIM THE GOOD WORD TO ALL EVERYWHERE ON EARTH.'

Come to me, Lord Jesus!

[RK, 13]
sung twice
1. prabhu yesu a=e iɲ=te ɖe=na=m, jiyom=na=iɲ sampaɽe=siʔ.
   Lord Jesus come.on=A.IRR 1S=OBL come=M.IRR=2S life=1POSS=1S prepare=PERF
   'LORD JESUS, COME TO ME, MY LIFE HAS BECOME READY.'

sung twice:
2. prabhu=ko gam=oʔ jiwan=aʔ kayom jiwan=aʔ kayom:
   Lord=CNTR say=A.PT life=GEN matter life=GEN matter
   'FOR THE LORD HAS TOLD [US] ABOUT LIFE, ABOUT LIFE (= LIFE'S MATTER):'

sung twice:
3. "swarag guʔjhuŋ[317]=te swarag sacai=ko iɲ hek=iɲ, iɲ hek=iɲ."
   heaven path=OBL heaven truth=CNTR 1S PRS.COP=1S 1S PRS.COP=1S
   '"ON THE PATH TO HEAVEN, I AM THE DIVINE TRUTH, I AM."'

Sung and composed by Ranjit Kullu.

A Christmas song

[RK, 14]
sung twice:
1. a=e re yesu,ae re yesu ɖel=ki, iɲ=aʔ raja, iɲ=aʔ raja no, kulam, am=aʔ raja.
   come.on=A.IRR VOC Jesus REP come=M.PT 1S=GEN king 1S=GEN king or brother 2S=GEN king
   'OH! JESUS, OH! JESUS CAME, MY KING, MY KING OR, BROTHER, YOUR KING.'

sung twice:
2. mariyam=aʔ kunɖum=te joseph=aʔ mugam=te a=e re ae re ae!
   Mary=GEN lap=OBL Joseph=GEN front=OBL come.on=A.IRR VOC REP
   'IN MARY'S LAP, BEFORE JOSEPH, OH!'

sung twice:
3. sona lekhe yo=ta rupa lekhe yo=ta.
   gold like see=M.PRS silver like see=M.PRS
   'HE LOOKS LIKE GOLD, HE LOOKS LIKE SILVER.'

[317] Standard form: *goʔ(ɖ)jhuŋ*.

Repeat verse 1, twice.

sung twice:
4. cunu munu yesu raja cunu munu masi raja a=e re ae re ae!
tiny Jesus king tiny Messiah king come.on=A.IRR VOC REP
'TINY KING JESUS, TINY KING MESSIAH, OH!'

5. cuma=e=pe yesu=te, cuma=e=pe masi=te a=e re ae re ae!
kiss=A.IRR=2P Jesus=OBL kiss=A.IRR=2P Messiah=OBL come.on=A.IRR VOC REP
'KISS JESUS, KISS THE MESSIAH, OH!'

Repeat verse 1, twice.

sung twice:
6. sona loban ro gandh ras ter=oʔ=may, a=e re ae re ae!
gold incense and fragrance juice gave=A.PT=3P come.on=A.IRR VOC REP
'THEY GAVE GOLD, INCENSE AND PERFUME, OH!'

sung twice:
7. sona=jo umboɽiʔj rupa=jo umboɽiʔj.
gold=ADD NEG.PRS.COP silver=ADD NEG.PRS.COP
'THERE IS NO GOLD, AND THERE IS NO SILVER.'

Repeat verse 1, twice.

sung twice:
8. aloŋ=na=pe kulam=ki duraŋ=na=pe kulam ɖay=ki!
sing=M.IRR=2P brother=P sing=M.IRR=2P sibling woman=P
'SING BROTHERS, SING SISTERS!'

9. he, he, he!
VOC REP REP
'OH, OH, OH!'

Repeat 8, twice, then 1, twice.

Composed and sung by Ms. Tarkeleng Kullu

sarhul aloŋ (jaŋkor aloŋ)
Sarhul song Jangkor song[318]

[TK, 3]
1. kinir=te i raʔ-raʔ raʔ=siʔ?
forest=OBL what blossom-RDP blossom=PERF
'WHAT FLOWER (= *raʔ-raʔ*) HAS BLOSSOMED IN THE FOREST?'

2. goɽa kinir osel-ɖaʔ yo=ta re!
entire forest white-INTENS see=M.PRS VOC

[318] The festival of flowers or spring festival, celebrated anually in Jharkhand and beyond by tribal groups in March/April. *sarhul* is the name now generally used for this celebration and derives from the north Munda languages such as Santali. *jaŋkor* is the traditional Kharia name of the festival and means '(the season of) spring'.

'OH! THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY WHITE!'

3. goʈa kinir osel-ɖaʔ yo=ta!
entire forest white-INTENS see=M.PRS
'THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY WHITE!'

4. ani co=na=niŋ dhirom dhirom!
come.on! go=M.IRR=1P.INCL slow REP
'COME ON! LET'S WALK, SLOWLY!'

I.

5. kinir=te seirga raʔ-raʔ raʔ=siʔ,
forest=OBL *sal*.tree[319] blossom-RDP blossom=PERF
'THE BLOSSOMS OF THE *SAL* TREE HAVE BLOSSOMED IN THE FOREST,'

6. goʈa kinir osel-ɖaʔ yo=ta re!
entire forest white-INTENS see=M.PRS VOC
'OH! THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY WHITE!'

7. goʈa kinir osel-ɖaʔ yo=ta!
entire forest white-INTENS see=M.PRS
'THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY WHITE!'

8. ani co=na=niŋ dhirom dhirom!
come.on! go=M.IRR=1P.INCL slow REP
'COME ON! LET'S WALK, SLOWLY!'

II.

9. kinir=te phaʈsa raʔ-raʔ raʔ=siʔ,
forest=OBL *ɖhāk*.tree[320] blossom-RDP blossom=PERF
'THE BLOSSOMS OF THE *ɖhāk* TREE HAVE BLOSSOMED IN THE FOREST,'

10. goʈa kinir rusuŋ-ɖaʔ yo=ta re!
entire forest red-INTENS see=M.PRS VOC
'OH! THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY RED!'

10. goʈa kinir rusuŋ-ɖaʔ yo=ta!
entire forest white-INTENS see=M.PRS
'THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY RED!'

12. ani co=na=niŋ dhirom dhirom!
come.on! go=M.IRR=1P.INCL slow REP
'COME ON! LET'S WALK, SLOWLY!'

III.

13. kinir=te tiloy raʔ-raʔ raʔ=siʔ,
forest=OBL *tiloy*[321] blossom-RDP blossom=PERF

[319] Hindi name: *sāl*.
[320] Hindi name: *ɖhāk*.

'THE BLOSSOMS OF THE *TILOI* TREE HAVE BLOSSOMED IN THE FOREST,'

14. goʈa kinir osel-ɖaʔ yo=ta re!
entire forest white-INTENS see=A.PRS VOC
'OH! THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY WHITE!'

15. goʈa kinir osel-ɖaʔ yo=ta!
entire forest white-INTENS see=M.PRS
'THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY WHITE!'

16. ani co=na=niŋ dhirom dhirom!
come.on! go=M.IRR=1P.INCL slow REP
'COME ON! LET'S WALK, SLOWLY!'

Traditional songs, sung by Tarkeleng Kullu

I will not go!

[TK, 4]

1. kinbhar=te munga daru on=oʔb no mã joy?
courtyard=OBL *munga* tree plant=A.PT.2S Q mother VOC
'DID YOU PLANT THE *MUNGA* TREE IN THE COURTYARD, OH MOTHER?'

sung twice:

2. oʔ patar kinbhar patar re sundar yo=ta!
house light courtyard light INTERJ beautiful see=M.PRS
'THE LIGHT OF THE HOUSE, THE LIGHT OF THE COURTYARD APPEARS VERY BEAUTIFUL!'

3. beʈa putow ol=oʔb no re mã joy?
son daughter.in.law bring=A.PT.2S Q INTERJ mother VOC
'DID YOU BRING THE SON AND DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, OH MOTHER?'

Repeat verse 2.

sung twice:

4. kayar daru sumboʔ=te joʈa mãdɽi sodhom=ta, um=iɲ co=na.
mango tree base=OBL pair *mandri*.drum resound=M.PRS NEG=1S go=M.IRR
'THE PAIR OF *MANDRI* DRUMS RESOUNDS AT THE BASE OF THE MANGO TREE, [BUT] I WILL NOT GO.'

sung twice:

5. khoɽi=te=ga kelom kelom kongher, um=iɲ co=na.
village.section=OBL=FOC beautiful REP boy NEG=1S go=M.IRR
'[THERE ARE] BEAUTIFUL BOYS IN THE VILLAGE SECTION, [BUT] I WILL NOT GO.'

sung twice:

6. guɖa daru sumboʔ=te joʈa mãdɽi sodhom=ta, um=iɲ co=na.
guda tree base=OBL pair *mandri*.drum resound=M.PRS NEG=1S go=M.IRR
'THE PAIR OF *MANDRI* DRUMS RESOUNDS AT THE BASE OF THE *GUDA* TREE, [BUT] I WILL NOT GO.'

[321] Here and in the following, I give the plant names in Kharia when the speakers I consulted did not know their Hindi names.

Repeat 5, twice.

sung twice:

7. pailkoʈa poʔda abu ter=e=m, dada, um=iɲ co=na.
   Pailkota village NEG.MOD give=A.IRR=2S elder.brother NEG=1S go=M.IRR
   'DO NOT GIVE [ME AWAY IN MARRIAGE AT] PAILKOTA VILLAGE, ELDER BROTHER, I WILL NOT GO.'

Repeat 5, twice.

Tearful separation[322]

[TK, 5]

1. ompay ɖipa kudamba sumboʔ=te,
   river (other)side *kadamba*.tree[323] base=OBL
   'ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER, AT THE BASE OF THE *KADAMB* TREE,'

2. saŋgo=na=ɲ siri riri basri bajay=te.
   friend=1POSS=1S the.sound.of.flute.playing flute resound=A.PRS
   'MY FRIEND IS PLAYING THE FLUTE.'

3. moɲ tiʔ buŋ saju maɲjay=t=iɲ, moɲ tiʔ buŋ romoʔɖɖaʔ joɖ=t=iɲ.
   one hand INST pot clean=A.PRS=1S one hand INST tear wipe=A.PRS=1S
   'WITH ONE HAND I CLEAN A POT, WITH ONE HAND I WIPE MY TEARS.'

4. hãyre saŋgo=na=ɲ dular=na=ɲ siri riri basri bajay=te.
   alas! friend=1POSS=1S love=1POSS=1S the.sound.of.flute.playing flute resound=A.PRS
   'ALAS, MY FRIEND, MY LOVE IS PLAYING THE FLUTE.'

Sung by Ms. Julia Kullu, ca. 60, Purna Pani, Simdega District, Jharkhand

kersoŋ aloŋ / duraŋ
marriage song song

[JK, 1]

1. hariyaro maʈwa=te ɖoko=ki=m re mã joy koroʔb koroʔb re.
   green canopy=OBL sit.down=M.PT=2S VOC mother VOC quiet REP VOC
   'YOU ARE SEATED (= SAT DOWN) SILENTLY UNDER THE GREEN [WEDDING] CANOPY, OH MOTHER.'

2. ina n-um [= no um] kayom=ki=m re mã jõy,
   why CMPL NEG speak=M.PT=2S VOC mother VOC
   'WHY DID YOU NOT SAY, OH MOTHER,

3. tomleŋ=aʔ giniŋ no re mã joy, tomleŋ=aʔ giniŋ no re mã?
   milk=GEN price CMPL VOC mother VOC milk=GEN price CMPL VOC mother
   'THAT MILK HAS ITS PRICE, OH MOTHER, THAT MILK HAS ITS PRICE?'[324]

   tomleŋ=aʔ giniŋ no re mã joy ɖoʈ=e lutui.
   milk=GEN price CMPL VOC mother VOC take=A.IRR clothes

[322] See also [AnK, 1] below for a version sung by the man.
[323] Standard form: *kadamb* (Hindi).
[324] I.e., there is a price for the care-free days of childhood, namely that of growing up, getting married and then having to support one's own family. The singer here is the man who is to marry.

'THAT MILK HAS ITS PRICE, OH MOTHER, TAKE [THESE MARRIAGE] CLOTHES.'

4. pãti pãti su=yoʔb no re mã joy.
folded.seam REP put.on=A.PT.2S CMPL VOC mother VOC
'YOU PUT ON [YOUR SAREE WITH THE] FOLDED SEAM ON THE EDGES, OH MOTHER.'

Repeat 3.
Sung by Ms. Rayem Olem Dungdung

The Wandering dove

[RD, 3]
sung twice:
1. lakha pati bagoyca moɲ goʔʈhoŋ pandan daru.
very.many garden one group *pandan* tree
'IN VERY MANY GARDENS THERE IS A GROUP OF *PANDAN* TREES.'

sung twice:
2. dure=na re kurkur ho pandan daru=te.
cry.out=M.IRR VOC dove that *pandan* tree=OBL
'CRY OUT, OH DOVE, IN THAT *PANDAN* TREE.'

3. arelo ʔ[325] co=na=m turelo ʔ co=na=m,
north go=M.IRR=2S south go=M.IRR=2S
'YOU WILL GO TO THE NORTH, YOU WILL GO TO THE SOUTH,'

4. munuʔsiŋ co=na=m ɲoloʔsiŋ co=na=m.
east go=M.IRR=2S west go=M.IRR=2S
'YOU WILL GO TO THE EAST, YOU WILL GO TO THE WEST."

5. iʔphon kona co=na=m re kurkur.
four corner go=M.IRR=2S VOC dove
'YOU WILL GO TO THE FOUR CORNERS [OF THE WORLD], OH DOVE.'

6. eŋ=na=m ɖuʔj=na=m ɖe=na=m re kurkur.
return=M.IRR=2S turn.back=M.IRR=2S come=M.IRR=2S VOC dove
'YOU WILL RETURN (HITHER), YOU WILL RETURN (THITHER), [THEN] YOU WILL COME [BACK TO US AGAIN], OH DOVE.'

Sung by Mr. Anugrah Kullu

biha duraŋ[326]
marriage song (2)

[AnK, 1]
Sung twice:
1. ompay ɖipa kadam[327] daru, kadam sumboʔ=te hayre! saŋgo naij dular naij!
river other.side *kadamb*.tree tree *kadam*.tree base=OBL Oh! friend sight love sight
'ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER, THE *KADAM* TREE, AT THE BASE OF THE *KADAM* TREE, OH!, [SUCH A] FRIENDLY SIGHT, [SUCH A] LOVING SIGHT!'

2. tiri tiri basri bajay=te.
the.sound.of.flute.playing flute play=A.PRS

[325] Standard form: *arloʔ*.
[326] See also [TK, 5] above. I am not quite sure why this speaker chose to refer to this as a "marriage song".
[327] Standard form: *kadamb* (Hindi).

'SHE IS PLAYING THE FLUTE.'

3. ompay ɖipa kadam daru, kadam sumboʔ=te hayre! saŋgo naij dular naij!
river other.side *kadamb*.tree tree *kadam*.tree base=OBL Oh! friend sight love sight
'ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER, THE *KADAMB* TREE, AT THE BASE OF THE *KADAMB* TREE, OH!, [SUCH A] FRIENDLY SIGHT, [SUCH A] LOVING SIGHT!'

4. saju ragoj=te.
eating.vessel clean=A.PRS
'SHE IS CLEANING THE POTS.'

5. moɲ tiʔ boŋ[328] romoɖɖaʔ joʔ=te,[329] moɲ tiʔ buŋ saju rajoj=te.
one hand INST tear wipe=A.PRS one hand INST eating.vessel clean=A.PRS
'WITH ONE HAND SHE WIPES HER TEARS, WITH ONE HAND SHE CLEANS THE POTS.'

Sung by Mr. Sylvester Kerketta

Oh people of Israel![330]

[SK, 1]

1. hayre isreli lebu=ki, hayre isreli lebu=ki! hayre iŋam=ta=m toroʔ=ta=m!
Oh! Israeli person=P Oh! Israeli person=P Oh! cry=M.PRS=2S cry=M.PRS=2S
'OH, PEOPLE OF ISRAEL! OH, PEOPLE OF ISRAEL! OH, YOU (S!) CRY, YOU (S!) WEEP!'

2. mugam yo=ta yota kuɖab[331] akel akel,
front see=CONV REP back turn.around REP

mugam=te=jo lal samudar, kuɖab=te=jo pharaw raja sipahi ge na yo.
front=OBL=ADD red ocean back=OBL=ADD Pharao king soldier VOC NEG mother
'LOOKING FORWARD, TURNING AROUND [TO THE] BACK, IN FRONT [IS] THE RED SEA, IN THE BACK, THE PHARAO'S (= PHARAO KING) SOLDIERS, RIGHT, MOTHER?.'[332]

Sung by Ms. Saroj Kerketta and Ms. Rose Dung Dung

bhajan
devotion

[SaK/RoD, 1]

1. kiʔthuŋ raij co=na lam=t=iŋ, he apa ɖam=na um=iŋ pal=te!
heaven kingdom go=INF want=A.PRS=1S Oh! father arrive=INF NEG=1S be.able=A.PRS
'I WANT TO GO TO THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, OH FATHER, I CANNOT ARRIVE [THERE]!

2. ohre daya kiʔthuŋ raij, i=ghay ro co=na=iŋ, i=ghay ro ɖam=na=iŋ?
Oh! mercy heaven kingdom what=way FOC go=M.IRR=1S what=way FOC arrive=M.IRR=1S
'OH, HEAVENLY KINGDOM OF MERCY, HOW WILL I GO [THERE], HOW WILL I ARRIVE [THERE]?'

[328] Standard form: *buŋ*.
[329] Standard form: *joʔɖ=te.*
[330] See also [MT, 1:24-27] above.
[331] Standard form: *kunɖaʔb*.
[332] What is apparently meant here is that the singer is addressing his or her own mother in the song.

3. saitan=aʔ phanda=te bajhe no[333] goʔɖ=ta=iɲ?
   Satan=GEN net=OBL get.trapped Q C:TEL=M.PRS=1S
   'WILL I GET TRAPPED IN SATAN'S NET?'

Repeat 1, 2.

4. pap rupi samudar=te ɖube no goʔɖ=ta=iɲ.
   sin having.the.attribute.of ocean=OBL drown(ITR) Q C:TEL=M.PRS=1S
   'WILL I DROWN IN THE SINFUL OCEAN?'

kersoŋ duraŋ

marriage song (3)

[SaK/RoD, 2]

1. ɖisa[ʔ] raji kinir moʔjhi ter=oʔb no re ayo, ter=oʔb no re!
   far kingdom forest middle give=A.PT.2S Hey! mother give=A.PT.2S Hey!
   'HEY, MOTHER! YOU GAVE [ME OFF IN MARRIAGE TO] A FAR-AWAY COUNTRY [IN] THE MIDDLE OF A FOREST!'

2. biru ɖeʔb=kon yo=t=iɲ laʔ=jo [um] yo=ta nahiyar=a[ʔ] raji.
   mountain ascend=SEQ see=A.PRS=1S then=ADD NEG see=M.PRS wife's.parents'.house=GEN kingdom
   'EVEN HAVING CLIMBED A MOUNTAIN, I COULD NOT SEE YOUR COUNTRY (= THE KINGDOM OF YOUR HOUSE).'[334]

3. daru ɖeʔb=kon yo=t=iɲ laʔ=jo um yo=ta nahiyar=aʔ des.
   tree ascend=SEQ see=A.PRS=1S then=ADD NEG see=M.PRS wife's.parents'.house=GEN country
   'EVEN HAVING CLIMBED A TREE, I COULD NOT SEE YOUR COUNTRY.'

4. u kinir raij=te na gaɽi baje=ta na gaɽi onɖor=ta.
   this forest kingdom=OBL NEG car be.sounded=M.PRS NEG car hear=M.PRS

   jiyom=te socay socay lemeʔɖ=jo um laʔ=ta.
   life=OBL think REP sleep=ADD NEG EMOT=M.PRS
   'IN THIS FOREST KINGDOM, NO CAR IS SOUNDED, NO CAR IS HEARD. THINKING ABOUT LIFE, THERE IS NO SLEEP.'

5. u kinir raij=te na ciʈʈhi ɖel=ta.
   this forest kingdom=OBL NEG letter come=M.PRS

   jiyom=te socay socay genu=jo um ɖel=ta.
   life=OBL think REP habit=ADD NEG come=M.PRS
   'IN THIS FOREST KINGDOM, LETTERS DO NOT COME. THINKING ABOUT LIFE, I CANNOT GET ACCUSTOMED TO [LIVING HERE] (= HABIT DOESN'T COME).'

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[333] Note that the interrogative marker *no* intervenes between the lexical morpheme and the "V2" telicizer, showing clearly that the so-called "V2"s are phonological words.

[334] The woman here is referring to the house she grew up in (= 'wife's parents' house').