# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Freely Spoken Monologues</th>
<th>Written Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anil Virendra Kullu</strong></td>
<td>Marianus Tete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AK, 2] How the Kharia lost their priesthood</td>
<td>[MT, 1] The Origin of the Kharia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AK, 3] The first two people</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AK, 4] My family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AK, 5] Life in Saldega</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rayem Olem Dungdung</strong></td>
<td>Basil Ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marcus Soreng</strong></td>
<td>[BB, 2] A peaceful sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[MS, 1] The history of the Kharia</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[MS, 2] The distribution of the clans</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Written Texts</strong></td>
<td>Rayem Olem Dungdung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singer – Anand Masih Tete</strong></td>
<td>[RD, 2] The Beloved Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AT, 1] Ode to Chotanagpur</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AT, 2] Shimmering Heaven</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AT, 3] Back to the village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AT, 4] The Kingdom of Heaven</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[AT, 5] My father is calling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singer – Basil Baa</strong></td>
<td>Songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[BB, 4] The dreamer</td>
<td>[151]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[BB, 5] Farewell, friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Abbreviations**

**Introduction**

iv

**Literature**

vii

xi

xx

**Freely Spoken Monologues**

Anil Virendra Kullu

[AK, 2] How the Kharia lost their priesthood 1

[AK, 3] The first two people 6

[AK, 4] My family 8

[AK, 5] Life in Saldega 10

Rayem Olem Dungdung

[RD, 1] The Shepherd 15

Marcus Soreng

[MS, 1] The history of the Kharia 18

[MS, 2] The distribution of the clans 61

Marianus Tete

[MT, 1] The Origin of the Kharia 67

Basil Ba

[BB, 1] Millet bread 98

[BB, 2] A peaceful sleep 109

[BB, 3] The dog’s friend 118

Rayem Olem Dungdung

[RD, 2] The Beloved Son 125

Speaker - Tarkeleng Kullu

[TK, 1] The talkative turtle 138

[TK, 2] The fruits of labor 144

Singer – Anand Masih Tete

[AT, 1] Ode to Chotanagpur 149

[AT, 2] Shimmering Heaven 149

[AT, 3] Back to the village 150

[AT, 4] The Kingdom of Heaven 150

[AT, 5] My father is calling 151

Singer – Basil Baa

[BB, 4] The dreamer 151

[BB, 5] Farewell, friend 152
Singer – Ranjit Kullu
[RK, 1] Don't wear a skirt! 153
[RK, 2] The wild cat in the millet field 153
[RK, 3] Let's go for a ride! 154
[RK, 4] A church song 154
[RK, 5] Where is everybody? 154
[RK, 6] What shall we offer you, Father? 155
[RK, 7] Serve the Lord, my son 155
[RK, 8] Jesus is born! 156
[RK, 9] This is a sinful world 156
[RK, 10] Don't forget Jesus 157
[RK, 11] Too tired for the mountain 157
[RK, 12] My friend, not my slave 157
[RK, 13] Come to me, Lord Jesus! 158
[RK, 14] A Christmas song 158

Singer – Tarkeleng Kullu
[TK, 3] Sarhul song 159
[TK, 4] I will not go! 161
[TK, 5] Tearful separation 162

Singer – Julia Kullu
[JK, 1] Marriage song 162

Singer – Rayem Olem Dungdung
[RD, 3] The Wandering dove 163

Singer – Anugrah Kullu
[AnK, 1] Marriage song (2) 163

Singer – Sylvester Kerketta
[SK, 1] Oh people of Israel! 164

Singers – Saroj Kerketta and Rose Dung Dung
[SaK/RoD, 1] Devotion 164
[SaK/RoD, 2] Marriage song (3) 165
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 Kerkeʈʈā (1990), but as my translation of Kerkeʈʈā'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 Kerkeʈʈā'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 Ḍuŋɖuŋ (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, Ḍuŋɖuŋ (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) 'gentive'), 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 Ḍuŋɖuŋ (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. Infixedes 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<\b>\b \b'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=aʔ?) [1S=GEN] 'my' in the text for written <iɲaʔ> and spoken [iɲa:], or whether this follows from the phonotactic rules of the language, such as 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=\=I=1S] 'I will do', is given in the text for what is written <karaiɲ> and pronounced [kʌɾaiɲ]). 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 [kəjam] for standard kayom [kəjɔm] 'speech, matter', but also includes what appear to be mispronunciations in the spoken texts, such as ɖaʔ [ɖɑʔ] for standard laʔ [lɑʔ] '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 (2000³) and Đuŋḍuŋ (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.

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 substitute <may> '3P' for what is commonly written as <moy>, both pronounced [mɑj], 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 duranj, 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.
**Literature**


### 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>additive focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMB</td>
<td>ambulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANAPH</td>
<td>anaphoric proform, refers back to topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPROX</td>
<td>approximative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:TEL</td>
<td>anticipatory telic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUTOPOES</td>
<td>autopoiesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>numeral classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNTR</td>
<td>contrastive focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONAT</td>
<td>conative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONV</td>
<td>imperfective converb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR</td>
<td>correlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C:TEL</td>
<td>culminatory telic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>distal demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>deparitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECHO</td>
<td>echo-word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMOT</td>
<td>emotive predicate morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCES</td>
<td>excessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>restrictive focus; also used for a number of other focus markers whose exact function still awaits further study (roʔ, gaʔ, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFER</td>
<td>inferential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTENS</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITER</td>
<td>iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITR</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative <em>hinte</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>modal (negation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHUM</td>
<td>non-human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>inalienable possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT.II</td>
<td>&quot;Past II&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTCP</td>
<td>participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>reduplicated form (found in the free-form construction). Only the stem is reduplicated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP</td>
<td>repetition (with conversbs, intensification, &quot;echo-words&quot;, plurality). Repetition of an entire phonological word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ</td>
<td>sequential converb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUD</td>
<td>suddenness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>temporal (&quot;relative clause&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic (to, from Hindi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>totality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td><em>Aktionsart</em> marker or &quot;v2&quot; following lexical base of predicate and preceding TAM markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y-</td>
<td>hiatus-breaking glide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 saldehy), where he grew up.\(^3\)

In Saldega, which is on the outskirts of Simdega (Kharia simdehy), 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 khar=ya lebu=ki\(^4\) pahan aw=ki=may.
\begin{align*}
\text{beginning}=\text{OBL} & \quad \text{Kharia}=\text{P} \quad \text{man}=\text{P} \\
\text{COP}=\text{M}.\text{PT}=3\text{P}
\end{align*}

'I IN THE BEGINNING, THE KHRARIA MEN WERE PRIESTS.'

2 ro soub lebu=ki=ya thŋ pujap=ʈh ro ponmesor apa tay arji binti
\begin{align*}
\text{and all person}=\text{P}=\text{GEN} \quad \text{for sacrifice and God Father ABL prayer petition}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{karay}=\text{na} & \quad \la=\text{ki}=\text{may}. \\
\text{do}=\text{INF} & \quad \text{IPFV}=\text{M}.\text{PT}=3\text{p}
\end{align*}

'AND FOR ALL PEOPLE THEY PERFORMED SACRIFICES AND DID PRAYERS AND PETITIONS TO GOD.'

3 u=je\(^5\) khar=ya=ki aw=ki=may.
\begin{align*}
\text{this}=\text{S}.\text{NHUM} & \quad \text{Kharia}=\text{P} \\
\text{COP}=\text{M}.\text{PT}=3\text{P}
\end{align*}

'THE KHRARIA WERE THIS.'

4 muda moŋ kahani ayi\(^7\) j no i=ghay khar=ya lebu=ki pujap=ʈh melay=kon
\begin{align*}
\text{but 1 story PRS.COP CMPL what}=\text{way Kharia person}=\text{P} \quad \text{sacrifice leave}=\text{SEQ}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{kamu}=\text{na}=\text{wala lebu}=\text{ki} & \quad \text{bone}=\text{ki}=\text{may}. \\
\text{work}=\text{INF}=\text{PTCP} & \quad \text{person}=\text{P} \quad \text{become}=\text{M}.\text{PT}=3\text{P}
\end{align*}

'BUT THERE IS A STORY OF HOW THE KHRARIA GAVE UP [PERFORMING] SACRIFICES AND BECAME WORKING PEOPLE.'

5 u=kaʒ=ʔa kahani u=ghay ayi\(^7\) j.
\begin{align*}
\text{this}=\text{S}.\text{HUM}=\text{GEN} \quad \text{story this}=\text{way PRS.COP}
\end{align*}

'ITS STORY GOES LIKE THIS.'

6 laʔ khar=ya=lebu=ki=te..., khar=ya=lebu=ki pujap=ʈh karay=na laʔ=ki=may,
\begin{align*}
\text{then Kharia person}=\text{P}=\text{OBL} & \quad \text{Kharia person}=\text{P} \quad \text{sacrifice do}=\text{INF} \\
\text{IPFV}=\text{M}.\text{PT}=3\text{p}
\end{align*}

\(^3\) 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 kaʔ is usually used with humans, but this general rule is not strictly adhered to in the spoken language.
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.'

AND THE BRAHMANNS, WHO NOW PERFORM SACRIFICES, USED TO CARRY THE PALANQUIN.'

ONE DAY IT HAPPENED THIS WAY THAT, AT THE TIME THE PALANQUIN WAS TO BE TAKEN,
THE KHARIA PRIEST HAD TO PEE.'

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.'

THE PEOPLE WHO WERE CARRYING [THE PALANQUIN] PUT IT DOWN AND THE KHARIA
PRIEST WENT TO PEE.'

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.
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.

9 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.

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.
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=kaṛ yed karay=o? no kardhani=te=ko aḍi haḍa=na bhara=ga
that=S.HUM memory do=A.PT CMPL holy.thread=OBL=CNTR ANAPH urinate=INF time=FOC

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

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

23. la? ho=te pujapāt=a? thon souʔ b 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. souʔ b cij teyar aw=ki.
all thing ready COP=M.PT
'EVERYTHING WAS READY.'

25. la? moṇ brahman, ho=kaṛ ḍoli=te goʔ=sikh=o?.
then 1 Brahman that=S.HUM palanquin=OBL carry=PERF=A.PT
THEN A BRAHMAN, HE HAD CARRIED THE PALANQUIN.'

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

27. ho=kaṛ kharīya pahan=aʔ? ḍe=na jou pujapāt suro goṭh=o?
that=S.HUM Kharia priest=GEN come=INF as.long.as sacrifice begin C:TEL=A.PT

(aw ... suro goṭh=o?)
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 kharīya pahan ḍel=ki.
then Kharia priest come=M.PT
' THEN THE KHARIA PRIEST CAME.'

29. yo=te laʔ pujapāt=ko suro god=siʔ, absiʔ b goʔ d=siʔ=may.
see=A.PT then sacrifice=CNTR begin C:TEL=PERF begin C:TEL=PERF=3p
STARTED.'
30 tay, ho, ho bhere tay=gā11 kharīya pahan gam=ō? 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 ḍoli=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 pujāṭh karay=te ḍj=em, ghaḍ, but 2S sacrifice do=A.PROG=2S therefore, 'BUT YOU ARE [NOW] DOING THE SACRIFICE, THEREFORE,'

33 musa tay am pujāṭh 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 goʔ ta han=tiʔj u=tiʔj ḍğa=te=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]

1 u kahani u goța duniya=te lebu=ki=ya? 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 ḍel=ki=may.
   what=way this world=OBL person=P come=3P
   'HOW PEOPLE CAME TO THIS WORLD.'

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

4 sou'b se suru=te ponnmesor ap aw=ki.
   all ABL beginning=OBL God Father COP=3M.PT
   'IN THE VERY BEGINNING THERE WAS GOD THE FATHER.'

5 ḍher din ho=kaṛ ekle=ga aw=na la?=ki.
   much day that=S.HUM alone=FOC COP=INF IPFV=3M.PT
   'FOR A VERY LONG TIME HE WAS ALL ALONE.'

6 muda ekle aw=ga awga muruk ansa la?=ki.
   but alone COP=3F REP very annoyance EMOT=3M.PT
   'BUT HE GOT ANNOYED OF BEING ALONE.'

7 ho=kaṛ te e ḍbloŋ=ga la?=na la?=ki.
   that=S.HUM or only=FOC EMOT=INF IPFV=3M.PT
   'HE WAS LONELY.'

   that=S.HUM think=1A.PT CMPL 1S=GEN with COP=INF=GEN PURP 1S=GEN with COP=INF=GEN PURP
   lebu=ki=te bay=ɪ[e]=iŋ."
   person=OBL make=1A.PRS=1S
   'HE THOUGHT "I'LL MAKE PEOPLE TO BE WITH ME, TO BE WITH ME."'

9 ro ho=kaṛ lebu=ki bay=na=ya? buidh, bay=na=ya? tarika socay=na maṛe=yo?.
   and that=S.HUM person=P make=INF=GEN idea make=INF=GEN method think=INF begin=1A.PT
   'AND HE BEGAN TO THINK OF AN IDEA, OF A WAY OF MAKING PEOPLE.'

10 ho=kaṛ lo?kha ḍoṭh=o? ro lo?kha ḍo ḍ=na lo?ḍho i=ghay
    that=S.HUM soil take=1A.PT and soil take=INF after what=way
    adi=ya? rup buŋ=ga konon konon12 murti bay=o?.
    ANAPH=GEN form INST=FOC small REP statue make=1A.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 tho murti bay=0?.
   2 CL statue make=A.PT
   ‘HE MADE TWO STATUES.’

12 ro bay=na lo?ḍho, mon jara? daru=ya? khōṛi=te ho dui-y-o murti un ṭu=yo?.
   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 THESE TWO STATUES IN THE HOLLOW OF A BANYAN
   TREE AND LEFT THEM THERE.’

13 ho=kəɾ ho jara? daru=ya? khoṛi=te murti=te ko<s> sor=na un=sikh=o?.
   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.’

   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 jara? daru=ya? 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 lo?ḍho ho murti=te jiyon ḍel goḍ=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 laḍa=na kayam=na15 māṛe=yo?=ki.
   that=side this=side wander=INF hurry=INF laugh=INF speak=INF begin=A.PT=I16
   ‘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=jeʔ?=ga heke u duniya=te, duniya=yaʔ…)
   this=S.HUM=FOC PRS.COP this world=OBL world=GEN

   u=jeʔ?=ga heke manus jati=ya? kahani.
   this=S.HUM=FOC PRS.COP man ethnic.group=GEN story
   ‘THIS IS THE STORY OF HUMANITY.’

18 ro mane=te=may no u beṭa ro beṭi=kiyar=ga lo?ḍho mugam col=ke
   and believe=A.PRS=3P CMPL this boy and girl=OBL after forward go=SEQ
   soub duniya=yaʔ lebu=ki=yaʔ ayo ro aba heke=kiyar.
   all world=GEN person=PR=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: toḥ(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]

   IS=GEN house Simdega=OBL PRS.COP
   'MY HOME IS IN SIMDEGA.'

   and Simdega=GEN one CL one village PRS.COP Saldega
   'AND THERE IS A SECTION (= VILLAGE) OF SIMDEGA, SALDEGA.'

   that=OBL (= 'there') IS=GEN house PRS.COP
   'MY HOUSE IS THERE.'

4 ho?=ṭe aba=ṇ ayi)?j, ayu=ṇ=ko col=ki memon=ga siray=ki,
   house=OBL father=1POS PRS.COP mother=1POS CNTR go=M.PT year=FOC expire=M.PT
   and house=OBL all ABL big spend.time=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 iṇ=a? tay konon tinbhai=ṇa=kîyar..., tin bhaya=ṇ=kîyar ayi)?j=kîyar.
   IS=GEN ABL small [... three brother=1POS HON PRS.COP=HON
   'I HAVE 3 YOUNGER BROTHERS.'

6 iṇ=a? tay konon bhai el-el-bi karay=te, rācī=te=ga, odo[ʔ] ho=ḳar=a?
   IS=GEN ABL small brother L.-L.-B. do=PRS Ranchi=OBL=FOC and that=SUB.HUM=GEN ABL
   konon em-ai-ti karay=te, ṭātṇa=te, jaker esen insṭituṭ=te.
   small M.-L.-T. do=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=ḳar=a? tay konon bhai, sou?b se konon bhai=kîyar,
   that=SUB.HUM=GEN ABL small brother all ABL small brother=HON
   tama intermidiyat=ə? paricha likha=te=kîyar.
   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 ayi)?j=ki.
   sister=3 CL PRS.COP=P
   'I HAVE (= THERE ARE) 3 SISTERS.'

9 sou?b se maha=ya? biha hoy=si?.
   all ABL big=GEN wedding become=PERF
   'THE OLDEST HAS MARRIED (= THE WEDDING OF THE BIGGEST HAS BECOME).'
10 adį=te belgard dɔʔd=siʔ=ki ro adı¹⁷=kıyar=aʔ, dui jan kɔndɔ¹⁸ ayiʔ=kıyar.
  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=dɔm=aʔ nimi heke rohit, oɗoʔ konon=aʔ Jerab,
  big-??=3POS=GEN name PRS.COP Rohit and small=GEN Jerab
  oɗoʔ=ho=kar=aʔ tay konon bahin=kıyar tama hoʔ=te=ga aj=kıyar
  and that=HUM=GEN ABL small sister=HON now house=OBL=FOC PRS.COP=HON
  kolej karay=te=kıyar, simdàʔ=te=ga.
  college do=A.PRIS=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=kar=aʔ tay konon bahin=kıyar tama ᵃʔɛnɛɗiʔ=t=axʔ paricha likha=te=kıyar.
  that=HUM=GEN ABL small sister=HON now intermediate=GEN exam write=A.PRIS=HON
  'HER YOUNGER SISTER (HON) IS NOW WRITING THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMS.'

13 hoʔ=te souʔ=b=ga baru-boʔ=ga aj=may oɗoʔ= i=ghay bone=ta
  house=OBL all=FOC good-intens=FOC PRS.COPS=3P and what=way become=M.PRIS
  souʔ=b kamu=ki=te såghro=te=le.
  all work=P=OBL help=A.PRIS=1P.EXCL
  'AT HOME ALL ARE VERY HAPPY AND, AS THE SITUATION DEMANDS (= HOW IT BECOMES),
  WE HELP IN ALL WORKS.'

14 ghad₁ ikuɗbaru laʔ=ta.
  therefore very good EMOT=M.PRIS
  'THEREFORE, [WE] ARE VERY HAPPY.'²⁰

15 u=jeʔ=ga el=aʔ kuʈum oɗoʔ= phemili=yaʔ oɗoʔ[…], ai min,…, pariwar=aʔ
  this=HUM=FOC 1P.EXCL=GEN family and family=GEN and I mean family=GEN
  choṭka-san parice heke.
  small-APPROX introduction PRS.COP
  'THIS IS A SHORT INTRODUCTION OF OUR FAMILY AND RELATIVES.'

¹⁷ Note the form adı=kıyar=aʔ instead of the standard form ad=kıyar=aʔ. Also, the speaker freely changes back
and forth between the non-honorific (adı) and the honorific (adı=kıyar) forms.
¹⁸ Standard form: konduʔ.
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

1. \( \text{ip}=\text{aʔ} \ kʰoɾi=\text{yaʔ} \ \text{pim}i^{21} \ \text{sal}ḍaʔ \ \text{heke.} \)
   \( \text{IS}=\text{GEN} \ \text{village}^{22}=\text{GEN} \ \text{name} \ \text{Saldega PRS.COP} \)
   \( \text{THE NAME OF MY VILLAGE IS SALDEGA.}' \)

2. \( \text{sal}ḍaʔ=\text{ko} \ \text{ikuḍ} \text{maha} \ kʰoɾi \ \text{heke,} \ kʰoɾi \ \text{ayi}^{23} \)\.
   \( \text{Saldega}=\text{CNTR} \ \text{very} \ \text{big} \ \text{village PRS.COP village PRS.COP} \)
   \( \text{SA}LDEGA \ \text{IS A VERY BIG VILLAGE.}' \)

3. \( \text{u} \ \text{kʰoɾi}=\text{te} \ aʔh=\text{o} \ \text{poʔ} \text{da}^{24}=\text{ki}. \ aʔh=\text{o} \ \text{poʔ} \text{da}=\text{yaʔ} \ \text{pim}i \ \text{u}=\text{ghay ayi}^{j} \)
   \( \text{this village}=\text{OBL} \ \text{eight}=\text{CL} \ \text{village section}=\text{P} \ \text{eight}=\text{CL} \ \text{village section}=\text{GEN} \ \text{name} \ \text{this}=\text{way} \ \text{COP.PRS} \)
   \( \text{[THERE ARE] 8 VILLAGE SECTIONS IN THIS VILLAGE. THE NAMES OF THE EIGHT VILLAGE SECTIONS ARE THUS:}' \)

4. \( \text{mọn} \ \text{Basentöl}, \ \text{mọn} \ \text{bojeʔtöl}, \ \text{mọn} \ \text{poɾtöl}, \ \text{mọn} \ \text{muraʔtöl}, \ \text{mọn} \ \text{kumhar}töl, \)
   \( 1 \ \text{Basentöl} 1 \ \text{Bojetöl} 1 \ \text{Portöl} 1 \ \text{Muratöl} 1 \ \text{Kumhartöl} \)

   \( \text{tọŋgritöl}, \ \text{raytöl}, \ \text{ro} \ \text{loharatöl}. \)
   \( \text{Tongritoli Raytoli and Loharatoli} \)
   \( \text{'ONE [IS]} \ \text{PASEN}töl, \ \text{ONE [IS]} \ \text{BOJET}töl, \ \text{ONE [IS]} \ \text{PORT}töl, \ \text{ONE [IS]} \ \text{MURA}töl, \ \text{ONE [IS]} \ \text{KUMHART}töl, \ \text{TONGRITOLI, RAYTOLI AND LOHARATOLI.'} \)

5. \( \text{sal}ḍaʔ \ \text{poʔ} \text{da}=\text{te} \ \text{jughay}=\text{ki} \ \text{khar}ʾi\text{ya} \ \text{heke}=\text{may} \ \text{oḍo}… \ \text{no} \ \text{jughay}=\text{ki} \)
   \( \text{Saldega} \ \text{village}=\text{OBL} \ \text{many}=\text{P} \ \text{Kharia} \ \text{COP.PRS}=3\text{P} \ \text{and} \ \text{or} \ \text{many}=\text{P} \)
   \( \text{khar}ʾi\text{ya} \ [a^{j}]=\text{may}. \)
   \( \text{Kharia} \ \text{COP.PRS}=3\text{P} \)
   \( \text{'IN THE VILLAGE OF SALDEGA THERE ARE MANY KHARIA, AND … OR [RATHER] THERE ARE MANY KHARIA.'}^{25} \)

6. \( \text{muda} \ \text{adha}=\text{ki}, \ \text{haʔ} \text{dp}=\text{ki}, \ \text{khar}ʾi\text{ya} \ \text{soj}=\text{te}=\text{may}, \)
   \( \text{but} \ \text{half}=\text{P} \ \text{half}=\text{P} \ \text{Kharia} \ \text{understand}=\text{A.PRS}=3\text{P} \)
   \( \text{adha}=\text{ki} \ \text{khar}ʾi\text{ya} \ \text{umay} \ \text{so}^{j}=\text{te}, \)
   \( \text{half}=\text{P} \ \text{Kharia} \ \text{NEG.3P} \ \text{understand}=\text{A.PRS} \)
   \( \text{'BUT HALF UNDERSTAND KHARIA, HALF DON'T UNDERSTAND KHARIA.'} \)

7. \( \text{lebu}=\text{ki} \ \text{adha}=\text{ki} \ \text{gor} \ a^{j}=\text{may}, \ \text{adha}=\text{ki} \ \text{tels} \text{wār} \ \text{adha}=\text{ki} \ \text{moghere}^{26} \ a^{j}=\text{may} \)
   \( \text{person}=\text{P} \ \text{half}=\text{P} \ \text{fair} \ \text{COP.PRS}=3\text{P} \ \text{half}=\text{P} \ \text{dark} \ \text{half}=\text{P} \ \text{black} \ \text{COP.PRS}=3\text{P} \)
   \( \text{'HALF THE PEOPLE ARE FAIR, HALF ARE DARK, HALF ARE BLACK.'}^{27} \)

---

21. ‘name’ in this story is referred to by three variant forms: pim\(\text{i}/\text{jim}\text{im}/\text{yim}. These will all be represented in the text by the standard form pim\(\text{i}.\)

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

23. See note 25 for another “correction” of the copula.


25. This is apparently a correction by the speaker when he realized he had used the “wrong” copula.

8 u kharìya=ʔ ho?=ki, seŋ=ko lo?kha=ya?= ho?= bay=na la?=ki=may,
this Kharia=GEN house=PR first=CNTR dirt=GEN house build=INF IPFV=M.PI=3P

lekin, muda, tama simēṭ, īṭa, soreŋ mesa=ke ho?= bay=te=may.
but but now cement brick stone mix=SEQ house build=PR A.PR=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 ho?= bay=na se jughay ūike=te.
why CMPL (= 'because') this=way house build=INF ABL much last=A.PR=3P
'Because by building houses this way, they last long.'

10 hin=aʔ thong ubhron=ko jahāy=ga ho?= bay=te=may,
that=GEN for nowadays=CNTR INDEF.HUM=FOC house build=A.PR=3P

laʔ simēṭ, īṭa roke=ʔ ro soreŋ=aʔ ho?= bay=te=ki.
then cement brick sand and stone=GEN house build=A.PR=PR
'Therefore, when someone makes a house nowadays, then they build a house of
cement, brick, sand and stone.'

11 u khoji bo?=ki=te lebu=ki ek dusre=te sāghro karay=naʔ ghaḍə,
this village place=P=OBL person=P own second=OBL help do=INF=GEN PURP

apan sistam oj=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 sāghro karay=naʔ ghaḍə 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.PR=3P
'In order to help one another, they seek new methods [and] ideas.'

13 jesan, a, hoḍom=ki=yaʔ ho?=te, a, hoḍom=ki=yaʔ go=ʔloʔ=te siloʔ=na
for.example umh other=P=GEN house=OBL umh other=P=GEN rice.field=OBL plow=INF

ayʔ=ʔ.
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.PR=PR
'Then they call for help'28.'

---

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 [m tad], undoubtedly due to Hindi
influence.
ro madet..., jahây..., ə, ber=aʔ oreʔj ayiʔj harhowaʔ9=ki aʔj=may
and help INDEF.HUM umh who=GEN ox PRS.COP plower=PR S.COP=3P
ho=ki apan har ɗɔʔq=ke siloʔ=na col=ta=may.
that=PR S 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.'

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

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

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

laʔ khoqi=yaʔ lebu=ki mɔŋ sori col=ke ho=kɑʔ=aʔ baʔ=te, goʔjloʔ=yaʔ
than village=GEN person=PR one together go=SEQ that=S.HUM=GEN rice=OBL rice.field=GEN
baʔ=te, say=te=ki ro ho=kɑʔ=aʔ, ikon, hoʔ=te o-ɗam ʋu=te=may.
rice=OBL cut=A.PRS=PR 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.'

u=ghay=ga hodoŋ hodoŋ kamu=ki=te=jo lebu=ki u poʔda=te
this=WAY=FOC other REP work=PR OBL=ADD person=PR this village=OBL
ek dusre=te madat karay=te=ki.
1 second=OBL help do=A.PRS=PR
'IN JUST THIS WAY, THE PEOPLE IN THIS VILLAGE HELP EACH OTHER IN OTHER WORKS AS
WELL.'

khariya=ko je beʔa beṭi=ki iskul col=ta=may
Kharia=CNTR CR boy girl=PR school go=M.PRS=3P
iskul=te=jo ho=ki khariya kayom=ta=ki.
school=OBL=ADD that=PR Kharia speak=M.PRS=PR
'KHARIA, THE BOYS AND GIRLS WHO GO TO SCHOOL, THEY SPEAK KHARIA AT SCHOOL AS
WELL.'

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

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 bo?=ki=te=jo ab khar\(\dot{i}\)ya=ya? pa\(\dot{r}\)h\(\dot{a}\)i suru hoy=ta\(^{2}\). 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 jharkhand alag hoy=ki ho bhere tay ghaḍ, iskul ko?ghel=jo this Jharkhand separate COP=M.PT that time ABL therefore school vicinity=ADD
ho=ki khar\(\dot{i}\)ya 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 se\(\ddot{e}\) umay kayam=na la?=ki, se\(\ddot{e}\)=ko hindi kayam=na la?=ki=may but first NEG.3P speak=INF IPFV=CMTR Hindi speak=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
oḍo [?\(^{2}\)] nagpuri.
and Nagpuri
'BUT AT FIRST THEY DIDN'T SPEAK [KHARIA], AT FIRST THEY SPOKE HINDI, AND NAGPURI.'

26 cahe=ko ho=je? 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 khar\(\dot{i}\)ya 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 khor\(\dot{u}\)=te konon konon kuru?=ki\(^ {32}\) adha=ki=ko khar\(\dot{i}\)ya so?\(^{7}\)=te=may village=OBL small REP children=p half=p=CNTR Kharia understand=A.PRS=3P
lekin adha=ki umay so?\(^{7}\)=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 khor\(\dot{u}\)=te... a, nake, a... khar\(\dot{i}\)ya ekalumbo? lekin o?\(^ {33}\) lebu=ki=jo a?\(^{7}\)=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: kondu?=ki.
\(^{33}\) Standard form: oḍo? 'and; more', here: 'other', or, more commonly in this meaning, hoḍom 'other'.
jesan lohra, mahra, kumhar, mura, rajput, hindu, musalman, for example blacksmith puffed rice maker potter Mundari Rajput Hindu Muslim ro odō[ʔ] hodōm jait=ki=yaʔ lebu=ki=jo aʔ=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.'

lekin soub baru-boʔ=ga aw=ta=may, soub umay koleʔ=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).'

kabhi kabhi, moka soka, koleʔ=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=PR 'SOMETIMES THEY FIGHT, BUT THEY TRY TO LIVE IN PEACE AND HARMONY.'

u=jeʔ=ga heke in=ʔaʔ saldaʔ poʔda=yaʔ konon parice.
this=5.NHUM=FOC PRS.COP IS=GEN Saldega village=GEN small introduction
'THIS IS A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO MY VILLAGE, SALDEGA.'
Rayem Olem Dungdung (f.), 30, Kumhartoli, Saldega, Simdega District

\textit{gupa lebu}
\textit{guard\textsuperscript{34} person}

\textit{'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 \textit{(saldaʔ)} where the \textit{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 \textit{=khoʔ}. 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 \textit{=sikhoʔ}. Note that this same speaker also uses this form in her written samples ([RD, 2]).

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

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

3. ho=kař=aʔ iku\textsubscript{2}d\textsuperscript{1} jugghay bheɾi merom aw=ki=may.
\textit{that=S.HUM=GEN very much sheep goat COP=M.PT=3P}
'HE HAD VERY MANY SHEEP AND GOATS.'

4. ho=kař\textsubscript{2} disaʔ disaʔ khoʔtay=jo merom gupa=na laʔ=koʔi.
\textit{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 hoḍom raij ho=ghay=ga hoghayga
\textit{this kingdom ABL that kingdom that kingdom ABL other kingdom that=way=FOC REP}
ho=kař\textsubscript{2} dheiɾ disaʔ col kan=ki.
\textit{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\textsuperscript{2}j paro=ga ho=kař\textsubscript{2} rel sarak ti\textsuperscript{2}j col=ki.
\textit{forest ECHO mountain=P side cross=FOC that=S.HUM train road side go=M.PT}
'[W]HEN CROSSING TOWARDS THE FORESTS AND MOUNTAINS, HE FOLLOWED (= WENT [ON] THE SIDE [OF]) THE TRAIN TRACKS.'

7. rel=yaʔ siniŋ siniŋ=ga bheɾi merom=dom=ki arṇoʔ=na laʔ=koʔ=may.
\textit{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.'

\textsuperscript{34} I.e., 'guard, watch over or tend (sheep, etc.).'
8. daʔ35 sṭesan pase=ga moŋ daru sumboʔ=te ho carwaha qoŋko=kon
then train.station near=FOC one tree base=OBL that shepherd sit.down=SEQ

mukum=na laʔ=ko.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=kar -gitə̄ goʔd=ki.
doze.off=FOC REP that=S.HUM lie.down C:TEL=M.PT
"[BECAUSE HE KEPT] DOZIING OFF, HE LAY DOWN."

10. kə̄tjoy deri=te rel chuʔte=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 chuʔte=na thonŋ pǒga baje=ki laʔ bheri 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 leʔbդom, gupa kar, diyo=ga aqj=yaʔ merom=ki=te
why CMPL (= 'because') boss guard person daily=FOC ANAPH=GEN goat=P=OBL

ka<ŋb>tiβ=naʔ thonŋ pǒga baje=na laʔ=koʔ ro soub bheri merom=ki
gather-CAUS=INF=GEN PURP horn sound=INF IPFV=PT.II and all sheep goat=P

leʔbդom=yaʔ khoʔte del kan=na laʔ=koʔ=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 leʔbդom pǒga baje=oʔ
that=way=FOC that day=ADD train=GEN boss horn sound=A.PT

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

goʔd=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 chuʔte=ki tay=ko soub bheri merom gaŋ birŋ oton dǒm=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. aʔ b ʔ leʔbdoːm lemeʔd ʔaː yajʔɪm=ki tay merom=ʔɒm=ki=te han=tiʔ j u=tiʔ j
now boss sleep ABL wake.up=3P.POSS=OBL that=side this=side

yo=te, laʔ u=tiʔ j=jo um yo=ta.
see=3.PL then this=ADD NEG see=3.PL

'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 ʔoːtʰa=ga lam-lam khor=te.
time that whole=FOC search-RDP ITER=A.PL

'[AT THAT] TIME HE LOOKS ALL AROUND THAT WHOLE [AREA].'

17. han=tiʔ j u=tiʔ j buli=na bulina ho=ʔaɾ rel paʔari tiʔ j col=ki
that=side this=side wander=INF REP that=S.HUM train track toward go=3.PL

laʔ yo=te laʔ=ko soub merom=ki goʔ j may=ki=may, gaɾʔ buŋ oton ʔɒm=ke.
then see=3.PL then=CNTR (= 'but') all goat=3.PL die TOTAL=3.PL=3P car INST press PASS=SEQ

'WANDERING THIS WAY AND THAT, HE WENT TOWARDS THE RAILROAD TRACKS AND SEE ALL THE GOATS HAD DIED, HAVING BEEN CRUSHED BY THE TRAIN.'

18. gupa lebu duʔkho buŋ ikuʔd jughay goʔd=ki.37
guard person sorrow INST very much C:TEL=M.PL

'THE SHEPHERD BECAME VERY DEPRESSED.'

19. duʔkho buŋ ho=ʔaɾ=te jiyom=te jiyom um dhoʔ ʔɒm=ki.
sorrow INST that=S.HUM=OBL life=OBL life NEG grasp PASS=3.PL

'HE COULD NOT BEAR TO LIVE ANY MORE BECAUSE OF THE SORROW.'38

20. bhere murjhay=kon gur goʔd=ki.
time hang.the.head.low=SEQ fall C:TEL=M.PL

'[AT THAT] TIME, HE HUNG HIS HEAD LOW AND DROPPED TO THE GROUND (= FELL).'

21. ro ho=te=ga goʔ j goʔd=ki.
and that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC die C:TEL=M.PL

'AND HE DIED RIGHT THERE.'

22. u=ghay aw=ki gupa lebu=yaʔ kahni.
this=way COP=M.PL 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 convers ending kan instead of the standard form kon. He also tends to use more Hindi and Sadri loanwords than other speakers, such ashekāy (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 komay 'meat' instead of the more common mās '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... anīn khaṭiya=? muʔɖa? u=je[ʔ]. duniya=ko mane hoy=ta khrisṭi=ko umbo?
well I.P.INCL Kharia=GEN origin this=S.NHUM world=CNTR umh COP=M.PRS Christian=CNTR no

lekin sristi tay.
but creation ABL


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 BECAME 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=je? heke a=kaŋ jati bone=ki=may39 hin jati
true thing that=SN.HUM 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

la? aninŋ=a? ..., un=te=niŋ la? aninŋ khaŋinya=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=ya? kayom=te han=tiʔ? u=tiʔ? karay goth=ʔ? harek
father God person=P=GEN speech=OBL that=side this=side do C:TEL=A.PT each

bhasa=te ter=ʔ? 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

kharía=jo ho=ghay=ga apan je laŋ kuy=ʔ?=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=ʔ?=ki ho bhasa anusar chinge=ga mane yar=ʔ?=ki.
language i.e. language find=A.PT=P that language according.to split.up=FOC umh flee=A.PT=P

'THEY FOUND THEIR LAJ, I.E., LANGUAGE AND, ACCORDING TO THIS LANGUAGE, THEY SPLIT UP AND, UMH, FLED (= SPLITTING UP, THEY FLED).'

7

la? bulbul nagar tay ho=ki ḍel=ki=may elam=te ḍera=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=ʔ?=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 ɗam=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 ti˒j
but that=F=OBL Father God say=PERF=A,PT CMPL 2=2P east side
yane purab disa ti˒j dhāy [=e]=pe, hoḍom ti˒j umboʔ;"
i.e. east region side hurry=IRR=2P other side no
'BUT GOD THE FATHER SAID TO THEM "YOU HURRY TOWARDS THE MUNUʔSID, I.E., TOWARDS THE EAST, NOT IN ANOTHER DIRECTION."

10
laʔ ho=ki=te aphirika col=sikh=oʔ=may.
then that=P Africa go=PERF=A,PT=3P
'THEN THEY WENT TO AFRICA.'

11
laʔ 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=ti˒j tay ... hoṭo ... oḍoʔ η=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 laʔ elam=te.
this=S,NHUM COP=M,PT then Elam=OBL
'THIS WAS THEN IN ELAM.'

14
"khaṟkhaṟi" gam=te=niŋ lekin "khaṟ" mane ompay heke.
Khaṟkhaṟi say=A,PRS=1P,INCL but khaṟ meaning river PRS,COP
'WE SAY "KHAṚKHAṚI", BUT "KHAṚ" MEANS "RIVER".42

15
"khaṟʔ" mane "jhariya", konon ompay.
khaṛʔ meaning jhariya small river
"KHAṚʔ MEANS "JHARIYA", A SMALL RIVER.'

16
laʔ ho=ki=yaʔ nimi tama u=ghay=ga. risaj karay=na=te kui=ta.
then that=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

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 ḍom=ta maha ompay=te, ho=kaṛ=a[?] niṃi buṅ nagiya … nadiya.
river=OBL say PASS=M.PRS big river=OBL that=3.HUM=GEN name INST Nagiya Nadiya
‘THE RIVER, IT IS SAID, THE GREAT RIVER, THROUGH ITS NAME [HIS NAME BECAME] NAGIYA, … NANDIYA.’

19
sow-dāy=ṛom=ā[?] hoy=ki jhariyo.
spouse-woman=3POSS=GEN become=M.PT Jhariyo
‘HIS WIFE’S [NAME] WAS JHARIYO.’

20
kai ḍho ompay mile=ke ek ḍho maha ompay hoy=ta,
few CL river meet.with=SEQ 1 CL big river become=M.PRS
la[?] ho=ghay=ga u=kiyar=ya? 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
la? elam=te=ga aw=kan ho=ki bohut dinu aw=ki45 ro moṇ=ga beḷ=ṛom 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=kaṛ=a[?] niṃi aw=ki hondo. hondo.
that=3.HUM=GEN name COP=M.PT Hondo Hondo
‘HIS NAME WAS HONDO. HONDO.’

23
la[?] hondo=wa? naw jhan bēt, naw ḍho bētī 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 nadi ‘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.
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.

46 Although there are many forms of the name of God (ponmesor, ponomesor, ponomeswar, etc., all deriving ultimately from Sanskrit parameśvara-), none of which I would like to consider “the” standard Kharia form, ponesar 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. gadha ayiʔj."
shit! dark PRS.COP deep PRS.COP
'SHIT IT'S DARK. IT'S DEEP!''

33

yo=yoʔ=ki laʔ boton=ki=may=jo suru=te.
see=A.PT=3P 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=tíʔj anin=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 boton=na=niŋ laʔ oḍoʔ atu enŋ=na=niŋ?
if get.afraid=M.IRR=1.P.INCL then again where return=M.IRR=1.P.INCL
'IF WE GET AFRAID, THEN WHERE WILL WE RETURN TO AGAIN?'

36

biru=ko dɛʔb goʔd=ki=niŋ.
mountain=CNTR climb C:TEL=M.PT=1.P.INCL
'WE CLIMBLED UP THE MOUNTAIN.'

37

himalay biru=waʔ tuta tíʔj khaybar na Tibet, laʔ moʔjihi=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
'BELLOW THE HIMALAYAN MOUNTAINS [ARE] THE KYBER PASS AND TIBET, THEN AND IT WILL
BE DIFFICULT TO WALK BETWEEN THEM.'

38

jeʔ lekin ho=ki yo=yoʔ=ki. laʔ moŋ ghat kuy=oʔ=ki.
so but that=P see=A.PT=3P then 1.valley find=A.PT=3P
'SO, BUT THEN THEY LOOKED. THEN THEY FOUND A PASS (= VALLEY).'

39

oreʔj meram sen. oreʔj=ki=te=ga laʔ dhe=na laʔ=ki=may noʔ=na ciŋ=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 BEGAN49 LOADING THE OXEN [WITH] FOOD (=  
THINGS TO EAT).'

40

u lutui buŋ tol=kan ɲeri=te ghora tobluŋ=te laʔsay=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

\[ore^{'})=ki=te=ga \ lad=na \ bay=na \ la?=ki=may\] 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^?) \ khaybar \ gha\(t\)=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=\(d\)om \ hondo \ bu\(d\)ha \ gam=te: \]
time father.in.law=3POS Hondo old.man say=A.PRS

'THEN (= [AT THAT] TIME) THE FATHER-IN-LAW, HONDOR, THE ELDER, SAYS:'

44

"babu, kimin=ki \ jah\(h\)= \ no?=na \ cij \ dho?=si?=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^?) \, a?[?)pe \ melay[=e]. \ o\(d\)o?= \ qe\(b\)=na \ um \ bone=na. \ a[?)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=je? \ ray=e=m=ga \ kay=e=ga\(^{51}\) \ gam=kan \ ho=je?=ga \ khaybar\]
that=S.NHUM pick.up=A.IRR pickups=A.IRR=FOC pick.up=A.IRR=FOC say=SEQ that=S.NHUM=FOC Khyber

gha\(t\)=te \ are=ta\(^{\prime})=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\(^{\prime}) \ meram \ han=ti\(^{\prime}) \ u=ti\(^{\prime}) \ sou\(^{b}\)=apan \ apan \ go\(h\)=ju\(n\) lam=ta \ lamta \ … \ are=ta\(^{\prime})=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 inadvertently left out the person marking on \(kay=e=ga\) or inadvertently included it on \(ray=e=m=ga\).

\(^{52}\) I am translating \(hoj\(e?\)ga\) here simply as 'thus'. It does not seem to have any referential value here but rather merely to function similar to \(je(\?)\) (without any determiner), which is often encountered with the meaning 'so'. This use of \(hoj\(e?\)ga\) is not attested elsewhere.
laʔ=te gam=oʔ=ki "umboʔ, aniŋ=jo..., jahâ noʔ=na cij gur=taʔj;" 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

"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

'Khyber Pass', he is saying to the daughters-in-law, umh..., daughters-in-law, family become=M. PT
'Daughters-in-law, don't leave them, pick them up, don't leave them.'

whatever fall = M. PROG that = S. NHUM pick. up = SEQ pick. up = A. IRR = 2P = FOC NEG. MOD = 2P leave = A. IRR

'Whatever falls, pick that up (= having picked up, pick up) and carry it down with you (= cause it to descend)!'"

in that way its name became Khyber Pass.'

'By saying "Pick it up", "pick up", it, umh, became "Khyber Pass".'

they descended into the Khyber Pass. mother and child [i.e., all of them].'

then their children, the nine, from Elam, umh, [their] family became the 9 clans.'

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 melay 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=ya?=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 beṭa kimin=ki=te=ga dho?=kan mane hindustan mane del=ki=ki.
and that 9 son daughter.in.law=p=OBL=FOC grab=SEQ umh India umh come=M.PT=3p
'AND WITH (= HAVING TAKEN) THOSE 9 SONS [AND 9] DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW, UMH, THEY CAME TO, UMH, INDIA.'

59
ro ho=ki del=ki=may la[?] are=ki=may yo=yo?=ki kinir jhanjho.
and that=p come=M.PT=3P then descend=M.PT=3P see=A.PT=p forest ECHO

la[?] ho=te aw=ki=may suru=yo?=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
la? 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=kar gam=o? no "am=te um=iŋ baŋcay[=e]. am=te nɔg[=e]=iŋ=ga. jan tar
that=s.spt say=A.PT CMPL 2S=OBL NEG=1S save=A.IRR 2S=OBL eat=A.IRR=1S=FOC life kill
go[=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=kar gam=te la? "ina jan tar=e=m? am i lam=teɔd=em?"
that=s.spt 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=kar gam=o? "umbo?."
that=s.spt say=A.PT no

56 Note the complex predicate aw=ki=may suru=yo?=ki in 59, in which both predicate components are formally finite. The usual form is aw=na (infinitive) suru=yo?=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? la? mane in ter[e]=in lekin in=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
in=a[?] kuru58 hakon=ki del=si?=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=o? "thik! in=te mohan mene darom ter=e=m, la? in mane nai?" 
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
darom mane puja. darom. ho=je? heke dasara=te.
sacrifice meaning sacrifice sacrifice that=S.NHUM PRS.COP Daśaharā=OBL
"DAvOM" MEANS "SACRIFICE". "DAvOM". THAT IS ON DAŚAHARĀ.'

68
tama arj=ki del=ki=may ro mane ho=ki mane ho ṭhāro=ki=te=ga mane
now Aryan=P come=M.PT=3P and umh that=P umh that place=P=OBL=FOC umh
bonjel puja=na suru=yo?=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
that=S.NHUM=FOC COP=M.PT Kharia=P=GEN umh sacrifice umh sacrifice
'THAT WAS THE KHARIA'S, UMH, SACRIFICE, UMH, SACRIFICE.'

70
la? harpa mahenjodaro hin ompay=a? 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=ti2] paro=na umay pal=o?.
this=side cross=INF NEG.3P be.able=A.PT
'[AT FIRST] THEYCouldn'T CROSS OVER [TO] THIS SIDE.'

72
hin ompay=a? 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: kondu?.
59 None of the other speakers I worked with could interpret this word.
'Then they lived at those places. They lived at Harappa, i.e., "Haha Rapa", (= "scurrying") [which means] "Luṭa luṭi" (= "scrambling"), they managed to live (= they became).'

'Harappa, "either you will be able or I will be able", like that.'

'Then they went from there again to Mohenjodaro. At Mohenjodaro [they made] a sacrifice.'

"If you give [me a sacrifice] then I will spare you."

'At that time, when he cut the buffalo, he began to drink its blood.'

'[At that] time he killed the enemy.'

---

60 This is meant as an explanation of Kharia haha rapa / Hindi luṭā luṭī '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: bomtel.

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.
bomtel tar=o? ɨnam ud=na  la?=ki  bhere dusman=te=ga  bruţha tar go[th=0?].
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).'

la[?] huṇḍu … hondo bruţha ɨnimi=te=ga 64  inɖiya 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.'

hondo=wa[?]nimi=te=ga  inɖiya ke souʔ b se  pahala. tama tin cair  thə ni mi 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.'

ad=ki=ko  mane dəl=ki=may. arjowar gam dakha=yoʔ=ki.
ANAPH=IP=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

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

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

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

la?=ko  bilkul seŋ  huṇḍu …,  hondo bruţha=ya[?], …  khaɾiya bruţha  souʔ b se
then=CNTR (= 'but') very first Hindu  Hondo old.man=GEN Kharia old.man all INST
pahile  elam  tay dəl=ki.
first  Elam  ABL come=M,PT
' BUT IN THE VERY BEGINNING, THE ELDER HINDU …, HONDO'S … THE KHARIA ELDER CAME
FIRST FROM ELAM.'

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).
64 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 ad=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.
65 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-'.

66
88
ho buṛha=ya? nimi=ga hindustan, ho=je?=ga iṇḍiya gam=te=ki.
that old.man=GEN name=FOC Hindustan that=S.NHUM=FOC India say=A.PRS=P
'THAT ELDERS NAME, HINDUSTAN, THEY CALL IT "INDIA".'

89
la? 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
la? u ..., u=je? ..., bohut dinu aw=ki=may ro hoḍom iṇam67=ki, koṛa=ki,
then this this=S.NHUM many day live=M.PT=3P and other clan=P Mundari=P
bolan ghaṭi tay..., aphganistan biru paha=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 ghaṭi=te koṛa=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
oḍo? niga=ki aw=ki=may. khaybar ghaṭi 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=tiʔ j tay u bhag=te khaṛiya 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 souʔ b se pahila khaṛiya=ki hindustan=te ten=siʔ=may. souʔ b 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
la? u=ki=te ho=ki gam=oʔ: "e dada, ele=jo ḍel=ki=le. ṭhāṛo
then this=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 ELDERS, WE ALSO CAME.
GIVE US LAND (= A PLACE)."'

67 iṇam 1. "blood"; 2. "clan".
68 Standard form: pare=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 (khaṛiya). Cf. also line 95, with an overt "subject" in the plural but where the predicate is unmarked for plurality (hoki gamo?).
no "hā re, konon kaṛ." mane gam=te "hā re, konon kaṛ. ter[=e]=iŋ.  
CMPL yes VOC small person umh say=PRS yes VOC small person give=A.IRR=1S  
[HE]T0] said "yes, small person." umh ... he says "yes small person. i will give [you land]."  

97  
mane sou²'b se choṭa bhai am heke=m. ter[=e]=iŋ!"  
unh 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 mano ho=ki sou²'b mane aw=ki=may.  
this=way say=PRS and umh that=PRS all umh live=M.PT=3P  
"he speaks like this and, umh, they all, umh, lived [there together]."

99  
la? ho=ki bijnaga ... ro tetraga ho=ki basa=yo²=ki.  
then that=P Vijayanagar and Tetraga that=P settle=A.PT=P  
"then they settled [in] Vijayanagar ... and tetraga."

100  
lekin khaṛiya, mahenjodaro ro harpa⁷¹ khaṛiya=ki=ya? basa-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 sou²'b lebu aw go²'d=ki=may. sahar bane=ki bhere sou²'b lebu  
that=OBL (= 'there') all person live C:TEL=M.PT=3P city become=M.PT time all person  
aw go²'d=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  
señ ḍel-ḍel=a? lebu sou²'b ho=te=ga aw go²'d=ki=may.  
first come-RDP=FOC⁷² person all that=OBL (= 'there')=FOC live C:TEL=M.PT=3P  
"the people who came first all settled down there."

103  
la? ho tay=ga jab u=ki=ya? laṛai=jo hoy=ki la? iran irak=a[?] then  
that ABL=FOC (= 'from there') CR:when this=P=GEN war=ADD become=M.PT then Iran Irak=GEN  
raja arjamihirir aw=ki, arjamihir. iran irak=a[?] 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 =a? here was rejected as ungrammatical by other speakers.
'THEN, FROM THERE, WHEN THEY WENT TO WAR (= WHEN THEIR WAR BECAME), THEN ARYAMIHIR WAS THE KING OF IRAN AND IRAK, ARYAMIHIR, IRAN AND IRAK'S KING.'  

104
mane u=te yo=yo?=ki bohut lo?=deo bohut-sa sampatî sona càdì bunç bhara-l ayyi. 
unh this=OBL see=A.PR'T=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 thôn arjamihir=ki ðel=ki=may. 
plunder=INF PURP Aryamihir=P come=M.PR'T=3P  
'ARYAMIHIR [AND HIS SOLDIERS] CAME TO PLUNDER.'

106
arja, mane, raja niimi arjamihir aw=ki. 
Aryan umh king name Aryamihir COP=M.PR'T  
'ARYA, UMH, THE KING'S NAME WAS "ARYAMIHIR."'

107
ho=kaɾ=a[ʔ] pimi=te=ga arja gam=te=ki. u=te hindustan=te arjowar=ki 
that=S.HUM=GEN name=OBL=FOC Arya say=A.PR'S=P this=OBL (= 'here') Hindustan=OBL Aryavarta=P  
arj=ki=yaʔ raj hekeʔ...,, gam=te=ki. 
Aryan=P=GEN kingdom PRS.COP say=A.PR'S=P  
'HIS NAME THEY CALL "ARYA". THE ARYAVARTANS CALL IT, HINDUSTAN, THE KINGDOM OF THE ARYANS.'

108
laʔ ho=ki ðel=ki=may mar piʔ karay=oʔ=ki láɾe=ki=may lekin u=ki=te, 
then that=P come=M.PR'T=3P killing beating do=A.PR'T=P fight=M.PR'T=3P but this=P=OBL  
u=kiyar=te,ʔ laɾai=yaʔ mane koi awjar um aw=ki. jiseki mane hare=ki=may. 
this=HON/D=OBL war=GEN umh INDEF tool NEG COP=M.PR'T therefore umh be.defeated=M.PR'T=3P  

109
hare=ki=may. laʔ haʔdo yar=oʔ daksin tiʔʔ, khariya=ki=ko 
be.defeated=M.PR'T=3P then half flee=A.PR'T south direction Kharia=P=CNTR  
"munuʔsiŋ tiʔʔ=ga yar=e=m" gam=sikh=oʔ suru tay=ga. 
east direction=FOC flee=A.IRR=2S say=PERF=A.PR'T beginning ABL=FOC

73 The form arjamihir 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].’

(inaudible text)

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

[in Hindi]"sūrāj jidhar udhar ugā hai udhar tum jānā".
'You are to go where the sun rises'
'FROM THAT TIME THEY SET OUT TOWARDS THE EAST (= munuʔsīg) i.e., [IN HINDI] "YOU ARE TO GO WHERE THE SUN RISES".'

111
u gam=sikh=o? hin=tʔj tay munuʔsinj tʔj ḏel=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 ajoʔdʔ-saʔaʔ. ajoʔdʔ-saʔaʔ mane ajodh mane no	hen that ABL(= 'from there') flee=A.PT=P dry-water(= 'Ayodhya') dry-water i.e. Ayodhya umh and
delʔ-saʔaʔ-pur mane delʔ-saʔaʔ-pur mane "dillʔi"=te gam=te=ki.
come-water-city(= 'Delhi') i.e. come-water-city umh Delhi=OBL say=A.PRS=P
'THEN FROM THERE THEY FLEED TO AJODA?, "AJODA?" MEANS "AYODHYA", AND "DELDAʔPUR", UMH, "DELDAʔPUR" THEY CALL "DELHI".'

113
delʔ-saʔaʔ-pur dillʔi tay ho=ghay=ga yar=ga yarga odoʔ?
come-water-city Delhi ABL that=way=FOC flee=FOC REP and

ho=ki boton=koʔ [mo…] bohut=ki=te kat 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 kabhiʔ ho=ki umay yar=sikh=oʔ mar kat mar khun khatara hin hisab se
then INDEF that=P NEG.3P flee=PERF=A.PT killing cutting blood danger that account INST
boton buŋ ho tay=jo odoʔ? lebu=ki=te yo=yoʔ=ki ro odoʔ? mane
fear INST that ABL(= 'from there')=ADD other person=P=OBL see=A.PT=P and again umh

yar=oʔ=ki ajoʔdaʔ[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 / Kherwarrians, who the speaker earlier had said were living with the Kharia.
77 Forms such as ajoʔdʔ-saʔaʔ and delʔ-saʔaʔ 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 boton=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=a?" khaɾiya=ki=ya? ray-ray pimi heke.
Ram=FOC Kharia=GEN choose-RDP name PRS.COP
"RAM" IS THE NAME CHOSEN BY THE KHARIA (= THE KHARIA'S CHOSEN NAME).'

116
pahan "mohtī" gam=te=ki laʔ anin=aʔ mane "kalo" gam=te=ki, "kalo" gam=te.\(^{81}\)
priest Mohti say=PRS=P then I.P.INCL=GEN umh Kalo say=PRS=P Kalo say=PRS
THEY CALL THE PRIEST "MOHTI", THEN OURS [= OUR PRIESTS], UMH, THEY CALL "KALO", THEY SAY "KALO".'

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

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

119
u=kar=aʔ pimi ray=e!". ray=na u=kar=aʔ pimi, ram. "ram=e la,
this=I.HUM=GEN name choose=I.IRR choose=INF this=I.HUM=GEN name Ram choose=I.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=dom gam=te:
that choose=INF=OBL CR:when father=3POSS say=PRS

"bohut sundar nam dela, beta. eihe nam rahi, baba. thi kheke 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

\[ \text{tab ho=te kharıya=kıyar=a? ram=na=ga mane cunay=na nimi mane then that=OBL(= 'there') Kharıa=HON=GEN choose=INF=FOC umh choose=INF name umh} \]

kharıya=ki=ga ray=o?=ki.
Kharıa=P=FOC choose=A.PT=P

'THEN, THERE, THE KHARIA'S (S, HON) CHOOSING, UMH, THE KHARIA (P) CHOSE, UMH, THE CHOOING NAME (= "RAM")'.

122

\[ \text{hin=ti jay lebu=ki dhair qısa? u=ghay=ga qel=ki=may la? ho=te that=direction ABL person=P very far this=way=FOC come=M.PT=3P then that=OBL(= 'there')} \]

ray=o?=ki.
choose=A.PT=P

'FROM THERE THE PEOPLE THUS CAME VERY FAR AND THEN THEY CHOSE [THE NAME] THERE.'

123

\[ \text{bohut dinu la? ajo'd-qıa?=te mane ho=ki=te beto'd-qıa? la?=ki bhere much day then dry-water(= Ayodhya)=OBL umh that=P=OBL hunger-water EMOT=M.PT time} \]

ho=ki gam=o?=ki…, "qel=ki=may, la? ajo'd-qıa?=si?." 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'd-qıa?" mane kați j kati' j chipir chipir qıa? ayı' j. ho=je? gam=o?=ki. dry-water meaning little REP little REP water PRS.COP that=S.NHUM say=A.PT=P "'ajo'd-qıa?" MEANS THAT THERE IS VERY LITTLE WATER. THEY SAID THAT.'

125

\[ \text{'u=te=ko la[?] ajo'd-qıa?=ki. "kado walo qıa?" mane tobqıa? kați j kați' j this=OBL(= 'here')=CNTR then dry-water=M.PT mud ECHO water meaning mud little REP qıa? ayı' j. water PRS.COP} \]

"HERE THE WATER DRIED UP. MUDDY WATER, I.E., "tobqıa?" (= 'MUD'), IS VERY LITTLE WATER.'

126

\[ \text{tobqıa? qıa?=te i=ghay ud=e=nınq? yar=e=nınq! odo? mugam ti' j. mud water=OBL what=way drink=A.IRR=1P.INCL flee=A.IRR=1P.INCL more front direction 'HOW WILL WE DRINK MUDDY WATER? LET US FLEE!' [AND THEY CONTINUED] FURTHER FORWARD.} \]

127

\[ \text{la[?] ho=ki u=ghay=ga ajo'd-qıa? tay dhirom-bo? odo? paro=ki=may then that=P this=way=FOC dry-water(= 'Ayodhya') ABL slow-INTENS more cross.over=M.PT=3P} \]

kanpur qel=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'd-qıa?.
'THEN IN THIS WAY THEY VERY SLOWLY CROSSED OVER FROM AYODHYA FURTHER AND CAME TO CAWNPUR.'

128
laʔ ho=te gam=te=ki ‘dheir dīsaʔ kāŋ goʔd=ki=nīŋ, kāŋ goʔd̃ki=niŋ.
than that=OBL (= 'there') say=A.PRS=P very far get.lost C:TÉL=M,PT=1P,INCL REP
'THEN THEY SAY THERE "WE [HAVE WALKED] VERY FAR [AND] GOT LOST, WE GOT LOST.'

129
dheir dīsaʔ paro goʔd̃=ki=nīŋ kāŋ goʔd̃=ki=nīŋ.
very far cross.over C:TÉL=M,PT=1P,INCL get.lost C:TÉL=M,PT=1P,INCL
'WE CROSSED VERY FAR AND WE GOT LOST.'

130
laʔ etna dīsaʔ kāŋ goʔd̃=ki=nīŋ je i=ghay=naʔ?
then so.much far get.lost C:TÉL=M,PT=1P,INCL CR what=way=MIRR
'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=yo=ki laʔ[?] ho tay oḍ̃oʔ ɖel=ki=may.
then that=OBL (= 'there') see=A.PRS=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
laʔ[?] ho=ghay=ga oḍ̃oʔ paro=ki=may. "umboʔ. ani yar=te=nīŋ!"
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=tiʔʒ tay jamuna ompay u=tiʔʒ tay ganga
then Allahabad=OBL that=P this=side ABL Yamuna river this=side ABL Ganges
jume=siʔ=kiyar moʔjhi=te ɖel goʔd̃=ki=kiyar.85
meet=PERF=D middle=OBL come C:TÉL=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=ki86 yo=te=ki no dusman=ki dhirom dhirom bah=te=ta^j=ki.
now that=P see=A.PRS=P CMPL enemy=PR slow REP advance=M.PROG=P

'NOW THEY SEE THAT THE ENEMY IS SLOWLY ADVANCING [FROM BEHIND THEM].

136
mane u=ki=te pon=na=2 than, "u=ki=te pon=ga gor=ni niq" gam=na=2
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 ponjiyay=ga ol=te=ki87 hin bhare
umh that=P slow REP follow.footsteps=FOC V2:bring=A.PRS=P that time

ho=ki yar=ga del=ta^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
la? ganja yamuna mo^j thai sangam=te dam go^d=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 bhare mane yo=te=ki u=ti^j=jo heke jamuna u=ti^j=jo heke ganja.
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
la? iyam=ta=ki88 lebu=ki: "hare! ab=ko aniq um=niq ban=te=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 dam go^d=ki=niq! u=ti^j=jo u=ti^j=jo mon bhag heke.
triangle=OBL arrive C:TEL=M.PT=P CNTR 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^j tay lebu del=ta^j=ki ro u=ti^j=jo jamuna u=ti^j=jo ganja
this=side ABL person come=M.PROG=P and this=side=ADD Yamuna this=direction Ganges

maha ompay.
great river

---

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: iynam=ta=ki.

89 This is in reference to the shape of the island at the confluence of the two rivers.

142
i=ghay     paro=na=ninŋ?    hāyre 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 langhe=na bhere botonin=taʔj=ki.
then that=OBL(= 'there') cry.out=M.PR.S=1P CR:like Israeli=Inf 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=ninŋ?"
what=way  cross.over=M.IRR=1P.INCL
"'HOW WILL WE CROSS OVER?'"

146
θhiʔ. u=ki=yaʔ?=jo    ho   dasa    hoy=ki. laʔ    i=ghay?
O.K.    this=PROG=ADD that situation COP=M.PT then what=way
'O.K., 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=yaʔ?[ʔ]  patta=te    on   goth=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=yaʔ?[ʔ]    patta=te=ga    dhoʔ[ʔ]=ta dhoʔ[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    paʔnə    rohtasgarh    ro    u=tiʔj    baisali    tiʔj    paro    goʔq=ki=may.
Raij country92 Patna Rohitusgarh 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 RAJ COUNTRY, PATNA, ROHTASGARH, AND IN THIS DIRECTION, TOWARDS VAISHALL.'

151
laʔ u=ghay karay=kan mane u=ki ḍel=ki=may. anin=ʔ. baɾhe=ga ḍel=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 THIS, UMH, THEY CAME. OUR [ANCESTORS] CAME PROCEEDING [FORWARD].'

152
laʔ u=te ḍheirtoʔ. 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 kharĩya bheir aw=ki=may oʔoʔ. hoʔom jaiʔ=ko mane then that=OBL (= 'there') only Kharia much live=M.PT=3P and other ethnic.group=CNTR umh
ho=ki kuday=ga ol=teʔ=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 ḍheir to aw=ki=may. laʔ ho=te yo=yəʔ=ki no "anin ḍheir ḍisal[ʔ]?
then much TOP live=M.PT=3P then that=OBL (= 'there') see=A.PT=P CMPL 1P.INCL much far
ḍel=ki=ninʒ tama=ko dusman ḍe=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 gάnga 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=t̪iʔ=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 leke ompay=ki boro bope. 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 paʔ[ʔ]topur gam=teʔ. laʔ paʔ[ʔ]topur=te gam=oʔ=ki. 3S.NHUM now indeed then Paʔtopur say=APRS then Paʔtopur=OBL say=A.PT=P
'NOW INDEED..., THEN THEY NAMED IT PAʔTOPUR [= PATNA].'

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 raygarh, raijdes may refer to the area around Rohtasgarh or that between Rohtasgarh and Patna. Cf. also Rae Bareli?
"laʔ anin=te anin=aʔ purkha oloʔol93=0ʔ. laʔ ho=ki=yaʔ thon=jo
then 1.P.INCL=OBL 1.P.INCL=GEN ancestor bring=A.PT then that=P=GEN for=ADD

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

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

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

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

"paṭliputra" gam=na laʔ=ki=may. paṭliputra, paṭliputra ..., "putra" mane "beʔt=dam=ki".
Patliputra say=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P Patliputra Patliputra putra96 meaning son=3POSS=P
'THEY USED TO CALL IT "PATLIPUTRA". PATLIPUTRA, PATLIPUTRA..., "PUTRA" MEANS "THEIR SON(S)".'

purkha=dam=ki=yaʔ pujapathan karay=ʔ oʔ=ki ro ho=ki=te yadgari karay=ʔ oʔ.
ancestor=3POSS=P=GEN sacrifice do=A.PT=墦 and that=P=OBL remembrance do=A.PT
ro bhagwan=te=jo dhanyawad ter=ʔ oʔ=ki.
and God=OBL=ADD thanks give=A.PT=墦
'THEY PERFORMED A SACRIFICE FOR (= OF) THEIR ANCESTORS AND REMEMBERED THEM AND THEY ALSO GAVE THANKS TO GOD.'97

93 Standard form: ol=ʔ. 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 for plurality, although the following hokiyat=thon 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, paʔtopur, from paṭhpuija 'sacrifice', whose standard form is, however, pujapath.

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=a? purkha janam=ko ter=o?b ro am sangharo=yo?b 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-dam=si?d=em.
this=OBL('here') CAUS-arrive=PERF=2S
'YOU GAVE BIRTH TO OUR ANCESTORS AND YOU HELPED AND YOU HAVE BROUGHT US HERE.'

166
then this=P=GEN Pa?topur=OBL ANAPH=P=GEN sacrifice do=A.PT=P
'THEN, AT THEIR PA?TOPUR, THEY, PERFORMED THEIR SACRIFICE.'

167
ho=te=ga100 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=o?=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=? badte hindu=ki yo=yo?.
ruling do=INF=GEN after Hindu=P see=A.PT
'AFTER RULING, THE HINDUS SAW THEM.'

170
burha=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
kuru101 hakon kaṭj raja rajwa=te ... kabhi jyada beṭa beṭi 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.'

172
raj kajni ek tho iswar=a? ikon heke.103
king ECHO? 1 CL Lord=GEN ????? PRS.COP
??????

98 Standard form: ad=ki=ya?.
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: konḍu?
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=a?, 'the Lord's', is to be understood in the present context.
173
u=ghay kam=ga hoy=ga col=ki=may.\textsuperscript{104}
this=way less=FOC become=FOC v2:go=M.PT=3p
'THUS, THEY BECAME FEWER AND FEWER [= WENT BECOMING FEW].'\textsuperscript{105}

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

175
ho=te laʔ beʔ=[dom=ki konon konon aw=ki=may.
that=OBL (= 'there') then son=3PSS=\textsuperscript{p} small REP COP=M.PT=3p
'THERE HIS SONS WERE ALL VERY YOUNG.'

176
das baris āth 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=kaɾ=te ..., ho=kaɾ=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=kaɾ=ga ..., ho=kaɾ=aʔ mantri aw=ki. ho=kaɾ=te jahar ter
Gao Gwala that=S.HUM=FOC that=S.HUM=GEN minister COP=M.PT that=S.HUM=OBL poison give
goʔ=ʔ=ʔ.
c:TEL=A.PT
'GAO GWALA, HE ..., WAS HIS MINISTER. HE [= GAO GWALA] GAVE HIM [= MORENG] POISON.'

179
ho raja\textsuperscript{106} goʔ j god=ki. goʔ j goʔ d=naʔ badte lebu=ki gam=ʔ=ʔ.
that king die c:TEL=M.PT die c:TEL=INF=GEN after person=\textsuperscript{p} say=A.PT
"raja=ko goʔ j goʔ d=ki.
king=CNTR die c:TEL=M.PT
'THAT KING DIED. AFTER DYING, THE PEOPLE SAIĐ 'THE KING DIED.'

\textsuperscript{104} This use of col ‘go’ as a v2 is quite rare. It seems to have a continuous meaning here.
\textsuperscript{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 proceeded 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, \textit{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 "Ruidás-Pátñá", which they describe in a note on the same page as being used "probably to indicate the direction (north) in which Ruidás lies." More research is necessary here before any conclusions can be drawn.
\textsuperscript{106} Corrected by another speaker from raja=te 'king=OBL'.
Thus. I will simply gloss this as 'therefore' in the following.

109 later=lo

180
laʔ tama raij ber calay [=e]? raja=ko goʔj goʔd=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 kūru=dom=ko konon konon hekāy.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=o? "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.PRST=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 souʔ b=te=ko am=ga yo=tej=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 kuʔu=dom=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=kār raj karay=na suru goth=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=kār=te kaʔji j kaʔji pablik tay=jo sapoʔ kui=ki.
that=S.HUM=OBL somewhat REP people ABL=ADD support find=M.PT 'He also received some support from the people.'

187 hintiʔ j tay109 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=kār=ga ikon=oʔ.
and that=S.HUM=FOC do=A.PT 'And he did it [i.e., he governed].'

189 loʔdho=ko kharjiya=ki maha=na mahana jou=ko ho=ki=te i=jo thārunumay 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 hekāy 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 hintiʔ j 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).'

ro ho=ki=ya[?] 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

tuğa 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=taʔ.
that=way=FOC function=MPROG

'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.'

raja rajwa 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)

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

mane buɾe=ki=may.
umh end=M.PT=3P

'Thus, in this way, our ancestors were destroyed at those places, the Kharia, UMH, were finished.'

loʔdho aw goʔd=ki=may u=ghay pablik lekhen=ga mane aw goʔd=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.'

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

ulgulan bhayad=te jhagaɾa hoy=ki bhere dui bhag hoy goʔd=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.
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.

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?'

raja=ya? mane, ho=kaṭ=ko, mane sarsipahi sou=b 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].'

bhai=döm=ya? ko hak um aw=ki.
bhain=3POSS=GEN=CNTR authority NEG COP=M.PT

'BROTHER HAD NO AUTHORITY.'

raja, mane, hin..., hin se..., kaṭ mar hoy=na se mane ho tay sou=b
king um there there ABL cutting killing become=INF ABL umh that ABL(‘from there’) all

yar=o?=ki.
flee=A.PT=P

'THE KING, UMH, THERE..., FROM THERE..., ON ACCOUNT OF THE KILLING AND BLOODSHED, UMH, THEY ALL FLED FROM THERE.'

la? ha?do khaṛiya=ki koro ti?j mile=ki=may.
then half Kharia=P Mundari side be.found=A.PT=3p

'SO HALF OF THE KHARIA BECAME (= WERE FOUND TOWARDS) MUNDARI.'

ha?do khaṛiya je asali khaṛiya [u]may yar kan=o?=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.'

asudhya umay aw=ki ho=ki yar kan=o?=ki mane baru je=ki iswar=a? 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

jahāy=a? khun khatara karay=na lebu umay aw=ki. imandari aw=ki=may.
INDEF.HUM 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.'

ho=ki jahāy lebu=te tar=na bohut dosi samjhe=na la?=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=o?=ki.
CONT=A.PT=P

'THOSE WHO UNDERSTOOD [THAT IT IS] VERY SINFUL TO KILL ANY PEOPLE FLED.'

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.
"aniŋ na tar=e=niŋ na tar-tar=te yo=we=niŋ. ina la=qe=na=niŋ?"


"WE SHOULD NEITHER KILL NOR SHOULD WE WATCH KILLING. WHY SHOULD WE FIGHT?"

"ani yar=te=niŋ!" gam=oʔ=ki ro ho=ki ðel=ki=may u=tiʔ j choṭanagpur

come.on! flee=A.PRS=1.P.INCL say=A.PT=3p and that=P come=M.PT=3p this=side Chotanagpur

pahaɾi prades tiʔ j ðel=ki=may rāci eriya=te rāci mane ðel=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 region, THEY CAME THIS WAY, TO THE RANCHI AREA, TO RANCHI, UMH, THEY CAME.'

laʔ rāci 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.'

tama rāci eriya=te ðel=kan piṭauriyagarh=jo hoy=ki,

now Ranchi area=OBL come=SEQ Pitaurigarh=ADD become=M.PT

'NOW, [THEY] HAVING ARRIVED IN THE RANCHI AREA, THEY FOUNDED PITAURIAGARH (= PITAURIAGARH BECAME).'

khukharagarh=jo hoy=ki, "ðurūḍa" gam=te=ki.

Khukharagarh=ADD become=M.PT Durunda say=A.PRS=3P

'[AND] KHUKHARAGARH WAS FOUNDED (= BECAME), [WHICH] THEY CALL "DURUNDA".'

"ðurūḍa" khaɾiya=ki=yaʔ sabda heke, "ðurūŋ-daʔ?" mane "baʔ ðurūŋ=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".

hā, "ðurūŋ-daʔ?". laʔ u boʔ=ki=te ðel=ki=may ro u=te aw yes pound.grain-INTENS then this place=P=OBL come=M.PT=3p and this=OBL(= 'here') stay

goʔ=ki=may.

C:TEL=M.PT=3p

'YES, "DURUNG-DAʔ?". THEN THEY CAME TO THESE PLACES AND SETTLED DOWN HERE.'

laʔ u=ghay karay=na…, karay=na pal=te.

then this=way do=INF do=INF be.able=A.PRS

'SO, IN THIS WAY T ayiʔ 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.
mane oḍo[?] ho[=te]=jo\[116\] mane ho=ki=te acha um la?=ki. umh and that=OBL (= 'there')=ADD umh that=p=OBL good NEG EMOT=M.PT 'AND THEY DIDN'T LIKE IT THERE, EITHER.'

bhere ho=ki oḍo[?] u=ti\[j\] dèl=ki=may ro anîŋ=a? naw gaṛ=a?, time that=p again this=direction come=m.PT=3p and 1p.INCL=GEN nine CL=GEN a=te ate jughay jhunḍ aw=ki ho khota=te mane khaṛiya=ki=ya? Q=OBL (= 'where;CR') REP much large.group COP=m.PT that extended.family=OBL umh Kharia=p=GEN

mu?da[?] mane bhūiyar po?da 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[?]. 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.'\[118\]

ho=tì\[j\] tay ho ḍhāro ḍam=ki=may, khaṛiya=ki semṛa=te ḍam=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.'

soreṅ=ki…, soreṅ semṛa ḍam=ki. kerketta 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.'

maha bhai soreṅ dusra bhai kerketta heke, ho=kaṛ aw=ki porha, big brother stone second brother kerketta.bire PRS.COP that=s.HUM COP=m.PT porha.fruit

porha=te. porha.fruit=OBL 'THE ELDER BROTHER IS Soreng, THE SECOND BROTHER IS Kerketta, HE IS IN Porha.'

tab kiṛo? aw=ki pācwa bhai, ho=kaṛ aw=ki baghma=te, then tiger COP=m.PT fifth brother that=s.HUM COP=m.PT Baghma=OBL 'THEN THERE WAS Kiṛo? (= TIGER), THE FIFTH BROTHER, HE WAS IN Baghma,'

tisra bhai ḍundūŋ aw=ki, boṇloya col=ki. third brother eel COP=m.PT Bongloya go=m.PT

\[116\] 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, paṇḍeriya 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 biluṣ aw=ki, ho=kaṛ col=ki murgu. murgu=te ḍeraʔ=yoʔ.
then salt COP=M.PT that=S.HUM go=M.PT Murgu Murgu=OBL take.up.lodgings=A.PT
'THEN THERE WAS BILUNG (= SALT), HE WENT TO MURGU. AT MURGU HE SETTLED DOWN.'

227
baʔ aw=ki pherwa=te, teṭe120 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
ṭoʔpo 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 aw goʔ=ki.
Bakhe=OBL outside Bakhe=GEN/FOC? live C:TEL=M.PT
'THEY STAYED IN BAKHE, [IN] OUTER BAKHE.'

230
bahr bakhe=yaʔ simana heke. ho siman=te u=tiʔ-hekāy, 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=tiʔ souʔ bəʔpo bone gor=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 anin… 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
baṛhe=ki=may…
progress=M.PT=3P
'AND THUS WE ALL …, NOW FROM THERE,… AS THE DAYS PROGRESSED…,'

119 Standard form: ḍeraʔ=yoʔ.
120 The short form teṭe, from tetetohojʔ, '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: goʔ=ki=may.
233 tama=ko u=tiʔ j hindustan tiʔ j dë=na se u choṭanagpur u eriya dë=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=taʔ j.
approximately 1 1,000 7 year approximately umh pass(of.time)=M.PROG
'Approximately 1,007 years, approximately, umh, have passed (= are passing).'

235 tama u eriya=te urisa=te=jɔ samay gor=ki=may u bhitarëte 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 bɑɭ=te u=tiʔ j oɭoʔ bɑɭhe=ga col=taʔ 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 kharïya=ki=yaʔ mane ek samskriti heke	his=way=FOC Kharia=P=GEN umh l culture PRS.COP
'Thus the Kharia's is one [single] culture.'

238 ro kharïya=ki sudom jait heke ro kharïya=ki sen pujari aw=ki=may.
and Kharia=P pure ethic.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 go=ʔ dɔɾ=na124 laʔ=ki=may ro…, pujari=te go=ʔ dɔɾ=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 they125 were carrying the priest and…, they were carrying the priest,'

240 laʔ ho=kar=te pesab laʔ=ki hin bhare ho=kar pesab=naʔ=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 môn budḥa
then holy.thread one holy.thread COP=M.PT then that holy.thread=OBL one old.man
hin=te heṭkay goṭh=ʔ. 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., saṭ 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: dɔʔ d=na.
125 = The Brahmans, not the Kharia. Cf. the story above "How the Kharia lost their Priesthood", [AK, 2].
'THEN HE HAD (= THERE WAS) A HOLY THREAD, SO AN OLD MAN HUNG THAT HOLY THREAD UP THERE. THEN HE WENT TO PEE.'

242
pesab karay=ə? ro jaldi palki=te doko gode=ki go?= do=na thāро=te.
pee do=A.PT and quickly palki=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
la?= ho=te dəb=ki ro col kan=ki puja thāро=te yo=te la?=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! jiph=ə=b=siʔ∂=iʔ man=ə[ʔ?] mane puja=yaʔ asal cij=te=ko jip irib=siʔ∂=iʔ.
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 in ol=na col=taʔʔn. 126
S.NHUM umh 1S take=INF go=M.PROG.1S
'I AM GOING TO TAKE THAT.'"

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

247
yo=te la?= "am ina jib=ə=b? am=ə[ʔ?] jib=na=te thik 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)."

248
jip um=in puja karay[=e], dhāy[=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!'

126 Standard form: col=taʔʔd=ʔn.
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.
pujapāṭh īṇ um=iṇ 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 bhīrām gam=ō? no "thīk heke", ragom=ki,
that time say=A.PT CMPL good PRS.COP become.angry=M.PT
'THEN HE SAID "ALRIGHT", HE GOT ANGRY;'

251
rō ho bārōm mane ho=kār=a? nimi aw=ki "punya",
and that priest umh that=HUM=GEN name COP=M.PT Punya
'AND THAT [KHARIA] PRIEST, UMH, HIS NAME WAS "PUNYA",'

252
āḍī gam=ō? "am puja karay=na seṇ, jab tak, īṇ=a[?] nimi karay=kan=jo gam=ē=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).''

253
mane agar īṇ=a[?] nimi suru=te um kara[y=]e=m, la[?]am=te mane po? goṛ=ē,
umh if 1s=GEN name beginning=OBL NEG do=A.IRR=2s then 2s=OBL umh eat C:TEL=A.IRR
dusman am=te po? goṛ=ē.
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 hintīʔ 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."''

255
mane khaṛīya=ki=ya? nimi karay ḍōd=te ro, mane,
unm 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[?] bor=te la? u=ghay=ga heke.
whatever ask.for=INF PRS.COP S.NHUM ask.for=A.PRS then this=WAY=FOC PRS.COP
'WHATSOEVER IS NEEDED (= IS TO ASK FOR), HE ASKS FOR IT. THIS IS HOW IT IS.'

257
sacca heke no khaṛīya=ki baru-bo? aw=ki=may ro hēkay=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.
259

jiyada se jyada khařiya=ki kathlik dharam=te,… jyada se jyada hekāy
more ABL more Kharia=GEN Catholic religion=OBL more ABL more PRS.COP.3P
'MOST KHARIA, THE CATHOLIC RELIGION, … MOST ARE [CATHOLIC].'
lan cane bhasa ani=a? bay-bay nalage.
language i.e. language 1P.INCL=GEN make-RDP NEG.PRS.COP
"lan", I.E., "LANGUAGE" WASN'T MADE BY US.'

266
soub bhasa=te bay=o[?]=ki lekin ho bhasa=ya? 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 khariya lan iswar=a? ter-ter heke.
but Kharia language Lord=GEN give-RDP PRS.COP
'BUT GOD MADE THE KHARIA LANGUAGE (= IS A GOD'S GIVEN).' 

268
je? dinu duniya=te jati bay=o? ho lan anusar=ga khariya 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
khariya lan buj khariya kayom=ta=ki.
Kharia language INST Kharia speak=M.PRS=P
'THE KHARIA SPEAK IN (= WITH) THE KHARIA LANGUAGE.'

270
hinti?tay khariya hoy=ki=may.
therefore Kharia become=M.PT=3P
'THEY THEREFORE BECAME KHARIA.'

271
ro u khariya=ga tama itna disa? d=kan barhe=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 hekay. tama itna bhayanak barhe=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 cho?tanagpur kuch is135 eriya=te tama simda? ro simda? eriya=te,
now this Chotanagpur some this.OBL area=OBL now Simdega and Simdega area=OBL

---

134 Standard form in correlatives is je. je? 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 simджa? 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
simджa? se u=tį], 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=a? 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 anįį khaר̣iỵa=ki ayį=may.136
now this=OBL (= 'here') 1P.INCL Kharia=P PRS.COP=3p
'NOW WE KHARIA ARE HERE.'

278
ro kharįya=ki tama baru=ga hėkay ro tama u=je? yo=na se anįį mane
and Kharia=P now good=FOC PRS.COP.3p and now this=S.NHUM see=INF ABL 1P.INCL umh
u imandari=ya? cal=te kharįya mugam=te beroδ̣=na um pal=teʔ].
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=ya? cal=te rajnitịḳ=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 iŋ co=na=įŋ la? baimani kara [=e] =iŋ.
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
la? duniya biʔθuŋ=e iŋ=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 anįį, 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.'
"am=aʔ thɔŋ u karay=na..., karay kay[=e]=iŋ" gam=e.
2S=GEN for this do=INF do BEN=A.IRR=1S say=A.IRR
'H E W I L L S A Y "I W I L L D O T H I S F O R Y O U ".'

agər karay=na um pal=oʔ la? dos adʒi=te swikar karay=te=nîŋ, "dosi
if do=INF NEG be.able=A.PT then sin ANAPH=OBL acceptance do=A.IRR=1P.INCL sinful
høy=na=nŋ.
become=M.IRR=1S
'IF HE CANNOT DO IT', THEN WE WILL CONSIDER HIM SINFUL (= ACCEPT HIM AS SIN), "I WILL
B E C O M E S I N F U L ."'

ho hisab se=ga tam jou=ga hekê imandari ro saccai khəɾiɔya=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),'

ro kʰaɾiɔya=ki tama baru=ga hekây, tama bes=ga hekây.
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].'

agar, yadi u kʰaɾiɔya=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,'

laʔ musniŋ baru heke.
then one.day good PRS.COP
'T H E N O N E D A Y I T W I L L B E G O O D .'

gam đɔm=ta hindustan=te anîŋ krìscan=te koŋ=te=nîŋ, 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...,'

krìscan..., no prabhu=waʔ janam=te mane ho=ki=te iswar=aʔ dan-daŋ 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]
W AS A SENT-ONE OF THE LORD),'

hintiʔ tay anîŋ koŋ=te=nîŋ no purub disa tįʔ 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 krìscan here does not have its usual meaning
'Christian' but rather 'religion'.
gyani raja=ki. la? mon khariya=ga aw=ki. khariya 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.'

praṃhu=wa? janam, praṃhu=wa? sandes, ho sandes=te, hinti? j tay,
God=GEN birth God=GEN message that message=OBL therefore
'God's birth, God's message, that message, therefore,'

hodom dharam, jetna dharam ḍel=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,'

ho dinu=ga mane=ki, je dinu ḍe=na139 ho=je? yo=kan ḍel=ki.
that day=FOC believe=M.PT CR day come=M.PT that=S.NHUM see=SEQ come=M.PT
'That day he believed, the day on which he came, having seen it.'

la? khariya raja=jo praṃhu=te, janam bhere ho simkom140 yo=ki ho=ki=te go jhuŋ
then Kharia king=ADD God=OBL birth time that star see=M.PT that=P=OBL path

ob-yo=na=?,
CAUS-see=INF=GEN / FOC (?)
'Then the Kharia king also, God…, at the time of birth, that star appeared to show
them the way,'

"praṃhu=wa? janam hoy=si?!" gam=kon
God=GEN birth become=PERF say=SEQ
'Having said 'God has been born!'" (Unclear, who is speaking here)

ho simkom yo=ta yota jerusalem sahar ḍam=ki, najaret ḍam=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.'

la? ho=ghay=ga mane=ki khariya=ki=ya? heke.
then that=way=FOC believe=M.PT Kharia=P=GEN PRS.COP
'And the way he believed is the Kharia's [Religion].'

u=te=jo mane aw=ki=may niga ro koṇa=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 ḍe=na here would seem to be a mistake for the past-tense form ḍel=ki.
140 Standard form: simpkom.
lekin sab\textsuperscript{141} se pohila=ko mane khaṛiya=ga aw=ki.
but all ABL first=CNTR umh Kharia=FOC COP=M.PROG
\textit{\textquoteleft BUT THE KHARIA WERE \cite{MT:181} HERE\textquote right first.\textsuperscript{142}}

\textbf{301}
\begin{quote}
\textit{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}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{ka<b>tib ɖom=taʔj.}
\end{quote}
collect-<CAUS> PASS=M.PROG
\textit{\textquoteleft THIS KING THEN THEREFORE, UMH, THEREFORE\ldots, THEY (= THE KHARIA) ARE ALL BEING COLLECTED WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY.\textsuperscript{143}}

\textbf{302}
\begin{quote}
\textit{laʔ u gam=kon=ga mane khaṛiya=ki=te be\textsuperscript{b}>roq=na=ʔ thonŋ kornis ɖom=taʔj then this say=SEQ=FOC umh Kharia=P=OBL stand.up-<CAUS>=INF=GEN PURP attempt PASS=M.PROG}
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\textit{\textquoteleft THEN, SAYING THE FOLLOWING (= THIS), UMH, [SOMEONE] IS TRYING TO GET THE KHARIA TO RISE UP.\textquote right}
\end{quote}

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

\textbf{304}
\begin{quote}
\textit{hintiʔ tay aniŋ=te iswar=te=jo yo=na ro apan iṇam=te=jo yo=na hoy=na.}
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\textit{therefore 1P.INCL=OBL Lord=OBL=ADD see=INF and REFL clan=OBL=ADD see=INF become=A.IRR}
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\textit{\textquoteleft THEREFORE WE WILL HAVE TO SEE BOTH THE LORD AND OUR OWN CLAN.\textquote right (Exact meaning unclear)}
\end{quote}

\textbf{305}
\begin{quote}
\textit{apan iṇam=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}
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
\textit{\textquoteleft BECAUSE OUR CLAN IS VERY GOOD, WE\ldots, THE LORD\ldots, SOMEHOW\ldots, IF YOU ARE GOOD,\textquote right}
\end{quote}

\textbf{306}
\begin{quote}
\textit{laʔ iswar=te kui=na deri nalage.}
\end{quote}
then Lord=OBL find=INF time NEG.PRS.COP
\begin{quote}
\textit{\textquoteleft THEN IT DOES NOT TAKE LONG TO FIND THE LORD.\textquote right}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{141} Standard form: souʔb.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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
khariya laŋ=te kharab sabda, aŋt sanṭ 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 ayiʔj=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 jahāy=aʔ jan tar=na, na jahāy=aʔ jahā
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=gaumboʔ hintiʔ tay mane khariya=ki sacca hekāy.
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 iʔam\textsuperscript{144} baru-daʔ ayiʔj laʔ sidhe swarg ḍam=na goʔj=na ātīm=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=ʔaʔ khariya=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 khariya=ki=yaʔ u biswas heke no prabhu ḍel=sikh=ọ[?],
then Kharia=P=GEN this faith PRS.COP CMPL God come=PERF=A.PT
col=ki odo[?] meson de=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
odo[?] meson de=naʔ ray=na ro ray=kon ele=te je jhunḍ ayiʔj=le
again once come=M.IRR =FOC choose=INF and choose=SEQ 1P.EXCL=OBL CR flock PRS.COP=1P.EXCL
sorị sori ele=te aqį=yaʔ boʔ=te ḍoʔ=ẹ.\textsuperscript{145}
together REP 1P.EXCL=OBL ANAPH=GEN place=OBL take=A.IRR

\textsuperscript{144} Text: iʔam=te. See also footnote 86 at line 135 above.
\textsuperscript{145} Standard form: doʔ=ẹ.
'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
khaṛiya=ki=ya? tam jou ho biswas heke anin y kan=e=nin
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
gōj=si?=nin su?kho ṭhaṛō=te ayi j=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 ḍam=ki=may. lekin su?kho raij=te aiyi j=may.
heaven=CNTR maybe NEG=ADD arrive=M.PI 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 oḍo[?] ḍe=na lebu=te ray=na, acha, ro bura=te ray=na thon but one.day again come=M.IRR person=OBL choose=INF O.K. and wicked=OBL choose=INF PURP
ḍe=na. ro anin=te ḍoṭ=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 anin ḍoṭo ḍoṭo su?kho raij=te lere?-son co=na=nin, 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 thon. mane ḍam=na=nin.
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 khaṛiya=ki=ya? 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 gōj=si?=nin could be an error. See also line 277 above.
The distribution of the clans'

[MS, 2]

1 hondo buṛha=yaʔ naw ṯho, "thomsinj" gaʔ gam=te=nįŋ,
Hondo old.man=GEN nine CL nine CL say=PRS=1P.INCL
nāw, thomsinj, thomsinj beʔ=doṭom, thomsinj biʔ=doṭom=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 "thomsinj" [IN KHARIA FOR] "9", AND 9 DAUGHTERS.'

2 laʔ ab yo=te laʔ ho=ki=yaʔ thonŋ=jo sadi biha karay=na jaruri heke.
then now see=APRS 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 goʔ=ki.
then necessity=ABL umh that=P=ABL umh worry become C:TEL=M.PT
'THEN BECAUSE OF THE NECESSITY, UMH, THEY, UMH, BECAME WORRIED.'

4 mà 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 kuru=ki148 bij=doṭom=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, buṛha=te munu ter=oʔ idqib=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 "beʔ=no=m=ki=te kinir ḏan gor=e, lam-lam co=na=ki.149
son=2POSS=2S=P=OBL forest send C:TEL=A.IRR search-RDP go=M.IRR=3P
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].

147 Standard form: konɖuʔ=ki, which actually means 'children'. Here, however, only the boys are meant, in opposition to biʔ=doṭom=ki.

148 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 janwartar=e=ki ho janwar=ya? ghos ol=e=ki" gam=kon gam=o?, swapan, munubuŋ
CR animal kill=A.IRR=1P that animal=GEN meat take=A.IRR=1P say=SEQ say=A.PT dream
'Whatever animal they kill, that animal's meat they should bring [back to you]" he
said, in (= through) the dream.'

9
laʔ beʔ=ɖom=ki=te gam=oʔ.
then son=3POSS=P=OBL say=A.PT
'Then he said [this] to his sons.'

10
laʔ beʔ=ɖom=ki raj=ki=may ro kinir col god=ki. laʔ mọŋ 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=1P
'Then his sons agreed and they went off to the forest. Then they killed a deer.'

11
harin tar=kan ol=oʔ=ki. laʔ ab=ɖom gam=sikh=oʔ:
deer kill=SEQ bring=A.PT=1P then father=3POSS say=PERF=A.PT
'They killed the deer and brought it. Then their father said:'

12
"alag alag po=ʈom 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 dq=ɾ=oʔ150 col=ki=may. laʔ ol=oʔ=ki.
this say=SEQ take=A.PT go=M.PT=3P then bring=A.PT=1P
'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=ki152 goʔjhuŋ=te=jo mane qaʔ uɟ=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.'

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 dq=ɾ=oʔ, not dq=ɾ=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 ḍom=ki harek
that place=OBL. OBL=ADD opportunity that=3=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
la? ho=ghay=ga col=ki=may. tar=ʔ=ki. ol=ʔ=ki poṭom..., ol=ʔ[ʔ].
then that=way=FOC go=M.PT=3P kill=A.PT=3P bring=A.PT=3P bundle bring=A.PT
‘THEN THEY ALL WENT THUS. THEY KILLED [AN ANIMAL]. THEY BROUGHT [THEIR] BUNDLES
[BACK].’

18
maha beṭ=ḍom yo=te... poṭom karay=kan..., yo=yoʔ..., moṣ moṇ=te remaʔ=teʔ.
big son=3POSS see=A.PRS bundle=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=ḍom la? gam=te no "ṭhik, ol=ʔ, am=ʔ? i heke?” laʔ ol=ʔ[ʔ].
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
la? kaj=kan yo=te laʔ soreṇ heke. soreṇ hoy god=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
la? gam=ʔ? no soreṇ heke. laʔ soreṇ heke laʔ ho=jeʔ[ʔ] soreṇ gam=ʔ?
then say=A.PT CMPL stone PRS.COP then stone PRS.COP then =S.NHUM stone say=A.PT
‘THEN HEj SAID THAT HEj IS SORENG. HEj IS SORENG. THEN HEj CALLED HIMj SORENG.’

22
laʔ u=ghay=ga hoḍom bhai ḍoṭh=ʔ[ʔ]. ho=kaṭ=ʔ? nimi 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..., beṭ=ḍom aw=ki samuh. dusra bhai=ḍom 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=kaṭ poṭom=te ter=ʔ? laʔ yo=te no
because that=S.HUM bundle=OBL give=A.PT then see=A.PT CMPL

kerkèṭṭa bird that=S.HUM=GEN kerkèṭṭa COP=M.PT that=S.HUM=GEN name COP=M.PT Kayo
BIRD

...,


'MOTHER I WORKED WITH UNDERSTOOD THE NAME OF ANY CLAN, AS LINE 29 THOUGHT WOULD BE EASIER TO UNDERSTAND THAN

BECAUSE HE GAVE [HIS] BUNDLE, THEN SEES THAT A KERKETTA BIRD, HE HAD A KERKETTA [IN HIS BUNDLE]. HIS NAME WAS KAYO."

KAYO does not seem to have any independent meaning.

The other speakers I worked with understood RAYA, but not RATIYA, which the original speaker apparently thought would be easier to understand than RAYA. 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.
then=that=S.HUM=GEN that bundle=3POSS 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 KIɾO (= 'TIGER')].'\textsuperscript{155}

33
la? chaṭwā hoy=ki kayla, kayla aw=ki ho=kaɾ ɗo[t]h=о[?] la? yo=tej,
then sixth become=M,PT Kayla Kayla COP=M,PT that=S.HUM take=А,PT then see=M,PT
la?=ko teṭeṭohọʔj konṭed.
then=CNTR (= 'but') teṭetohoj bird
[HE FOUND] A TETETOHOJ BIRD. [SO HIS NAME BECAME TETE.]'

34
satwā hoy=ki gőyā. goyā yo=yo? la? ho=kaɾ yo=tej, na, ho=kaɾ biluŋ
seventh become=M,PT Goya Goya see=А,PT then that=S.HUM see=M,PT 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
aṭ Hawthā hoy=ki jeṭa ḗuɾu[?]. jeṭa ᗖuɾuʔ? gam=te=ki.
eighth become=M,PT rice\textsuperscript{156} rice say=M,PRS=3P
'THE EIGHTH [SON] WAS JERA DURU?. THEY CALL HIM JERA DURU?.'

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

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

38
ho=kaɾ=aʔ? ɲimi hoy=ki ḗuɾu.
that=S.HUM=GEN name become=M,PT Durgu
'HIS NAME WAS DURGU.'

39
u=jeʔ? heke pâc ḏo, 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 siɾiyali um ter=оʔ.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{156} The speaker who I worked on this part of the text with wrote jera ᗖuɾuʔ 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.
66

this=S.NHUM=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
distribute PASS=3 first=OBL first fourth=OBL this=way=FOC bottom top do=SEQ

bet=do=te taj goth=o? ro gam=o?:
don=3POSS=P=OBL distribute C:TEL=A.PT and say=A.PT

41
"dhây[=e]=pe, am=pe borol=na=pe, duniya=te dhây[=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 ŋolog=e=pe."
live=M.IRR=2p refl rep life eat=A.IRR=2p
'LIVE, YOU ALL LIVE (= 'EAT') YOUR OWN LIVES.'

43
u=je?=ga mane naw ġar 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

khariya=ki=vaʔ muʔ-muʔ daʔ ¹⁵⁷
Kharia=Pr=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> ([e]) where speakers from Saldega have an <o> ([o]), such as edoʔ vs. standard odoʔ 'and', eboʔ vs. standard oboʔ 'play', etc.

1 anī=yaʔ¹⁵⁸ purukh ikuʔ mamawji aw=ki=may.
   1P.INCL=GEN ancestor very free COP=3P PT=3P
   'OUR ANCESTORS WERE VERY FREE.'¹⁵⁹

2 ho=ki ber=aʔ etoŋ botaŋ 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=tʰj=ga col=ki=may hin=tʰj=ga biru, kinir, gaʔd gündha qhoʔha, bâd
   that=P Q=side=FOC go=M.PT=3P that=side=FOC mountain forest hole ECHO dam
   ho umpay=te lâge=kon u=tʰj del=ki=may.
   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 laذا jayd=am=ga del=ki=may.
   that=P rejoice laugh eager=FOC come=M.PT=3P
   'THEY CAME REJOICING, LAUGHING AND EAGER.'

5 ho=ki armaɾay=ga siʔd=ga del=ki=may.
   that=P hesitate=FOC become.lost=FOC come=M.PT=3P
   'THEY CAME HESITANTLY, AND SEARCHING (I.E., SOME CAME HAPPILY, OTHERS NERVEOUSLY).'

6 kʰjte no kʰjte memon jou khariya maha maha rokeʔhinte sango=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 khariya modui=ki buŋ=jo laɾe bhire=ki=may.
   Kharia enemy=Pr INST=ADD fight ECHO=M.PT=3P
   'THE KHARIA ALSO FOUGHT WITH THEIR ENEMIES.'

¹⁵⁷ Most speakers used the form muʔ-daʔ for 'origin'.
¹⁵⁸ Standard form: anin=ʔaʔ.
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 ōṭāro kuy=ō?=ki, hin=te hinte khaṛiṭa gaʔjlo?
Q=OBL REP good REP place find=A,PT=P that(DIST)=OBL(=‘there’) REP Kharia ricefield

kamu=na la?=ki=may.
work=INF IPFV=M,PT=3P

WHEREVER THEY FOUND GOOD LAND (= PLACES), THE KhARIA WOULD WORK THE RICE
FIELDS.

9 [oreʔ j kon ... oreʔ j 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 cuṭaʔd̪aʔpuɾ162 hinte mel=ga rahi163=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 khaṛiṭa goʔjhuŋ no enim gojhuŋ dinu no idīb
how.much or how.much Kharia path or without path day or night
dera basa=ga saŋgoq del=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, [WITH WHETHER] OR WITHOUT A [CLEARED] PATH, DAY OR NIGHT.’

12 khaṛiṭa seʔhɔɾ-ḍaʔ kayebar ghaṭa=ko..., ghətako..., umay ḍel=ki.
Kharia straight-INTENS Khyber valley=CNTR NEG,3P come=M,PT

‘THE KhARIA DIDN’T COME DIRECTLY TO THE KHYBER PASS.’

13 khaṛiṭa dhiɾəm dhiɾəm buli=ga aɾmaɾaʔ=ga kিɾoʔ, buwaŋ, bichi buŋ
Kharia slowly REP wander=FOC hesitate=FOC tiger snake scorpion INST

kheʔd̪uŋ165=ga jol ḍuŋ=ga ḍel=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 bhеɾe bulbul poʔd̪a raja nəwkod najor israeli lebu=ki=te
Q time Babylon village king Nawkokd Najor Israeli person=P=OBL

bādi bay=kon misar raij ḍoʔd̪=na la?=ki hin bhere
imprisonment make=SEQ Egypt kingdom take=INF IPFV=M,PT that time

ho=ki purkha=ki khaṛiṭa buŋ=ga aw=ki=may.
that=P ancestor=P Kharia 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.’

---

161 Standard form: koŋtaŋ.
162 Standard form: choṭaṇagpur.
163 Standard form: rahe.
164 The meaning of this line is somewhat unclear.
165 Standard form: d̪om. 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 kharīya sori eðo? iðo?166 jait aw=ki,... oðo? oðo? 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 kharīya=ki ata no ata bo? i=te higre=kon hoðom tī?j
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=ya? mudu=i jughay=ko dārhiyal=ki=ga167 aw=ki=may ina no
that=P=GEN enemy=P much=CNTR bearded=P=FOC COP=M,PT=3P why CMPL(=because')
tama jou kharīya=ki=te mod gune=jo=te=ki.168
now up.to Kharia=P=OBL eye FOC=ADD=A,PRS=P
tama jou kharīya=ki=te mod gune=jo=te=ki.168
now up.to Kharia=P=OBL eye FOC=ADD=A,PRS=P

'THEIR ENEMY WAS GENERALLY THE DARHIYAL (LITERALLY, 'THE BEARDED ONES'),
BECAUSE UNTIL NOW [THEY] STILL CAST AN EVIL EYE ON THE KHARIA.'

18 kharīya=te pal=ô?=ki hin=te=ga kackac saphay=ô?=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 anīŋ=â? purukha=ki170 aw=ki=may je? ikuḏ=ga seŋhor ro qa?
this=OBL(=here') 1P.INCL=GEN ancestor=P COP=M,PS,3P so very=FOC straight and water
ud=ga ro jiyom=â? sudhom. tam jou kharīya=ki jhaŋ buŋ=ga ro jhaŋ bo?=te
drink=FOC and soul=GEN pure now up.to Kharia=P all INST=FOC and all place=OBL
ikuḏ=ga seŋhor ayi?=may.
very=FOC straight PRS,COP=P

166 Standard form: oðo? oðo?, which is also found in the same line, apparently as a correction of eðo? iðo?.
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, tuɾko, 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 mod gune here to be a single, lexicalized unit. See also below, line 152, where the predicate is muʔ d
gune yona laʔkimay with the lexical morpheme yo 'see, look at'. There, the predicate can be analyzed as meaning
'since they had eyes (muʔ d 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 "conject-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: purukha=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 aninʔ=aʔ khaɾiyaublebub, yane babilon, poʔda tay muʔ=kon dɛ<lem>ʔdol171
then 1P.INCL=GEN Kharia Babyl on i.e. Babyl on village ABL emerge=SEQ come-???

arloʔ, serloʔsinj ghay hoy=kon u=tiʔj dɛl=ki=may.
north south way COP=SEQ this=side come=M.PT=3P

'Then Our Kharia [Ancestors], having left Bulbul, i.e., Babyl on, coming along, via (= having been) to the north and south, came this way.'

21 dhirom dhirom khaɾiya maha rokeʔd-loʔ paro=kon rusuʔ samudar ʔdam=ki=may.
slowly REP Kharia big sand-place172 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 ʔdom=ta no ata bhere israeli lebu=ki rusuʔ 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 khaɾiya=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 through their songs:'

24 hayre israeli lebu=ki, hayri israeli lebu=ki, hayri israeli lebu=ki,
Oh! Israeli person=P Oh! Israeli person=P Oh! Israeli person=P

'Ooh, people of Israel! Oh, people of Israel! Oh, people of Israel!'

25 iyam=ta=ki kʊndʔb yoa=ta yota mugam=te=jo rusuŋ samudar
cry=M.PRS=P behind see=CONV REP front=OBL=ADD red ocean

kʊndʔb=te=jo pharo raja sipahi.
back=OBL=ADD pharao king soldier

'They weep, looking back, in front, the Red Sea and in back, the Pharaoh's army.'

26 hayri174 iyam=ta=ki mugam yo=ta yota, hayri iyam=ta=ki kʊndʔb yo=ta yota.
Oh! cry=M.PRS=P front see=CONV REP Oh! cry=M.PRS=P back see=CONV REP

'Ooh! They weep, looking ahead. Oh! They weep, looking back.'

27 rusuŋ samudar=aʔ joʔ-duʔ duʔduʔ are=kon khaɾiya=ki dhirom dhirom
red ocean=GEN edge-water REP descend=SEQ Kharia=P slowly REP

171 While not exactly the same, delemdol in line 20 is reminiscent of the combination "reduplication + -nVm-inflect" construction referred to by Pinnock (1965:161, notes), where -V- has the quality of the preceding vowel. E.g. go<nom>-goj 'deceased' from goj 'die' and dɛ<lem>-dɛl 'arrived' from dɛl 'come'. Unexpected is the presence of the <o> in the form delemdol 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 laʔkha '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.
Uch Gold. They looked in all directions.

Geographical "details" of this type should of not be taken too literally in folktales such as this.

Although in line 30 above the Kharia were at the "Arabian Sea", they are now suddenly back in Rome.

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.

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 ḍam=ki=may kayebar ghaṭo.
Kabul ABL that=PT arrive=M.PL=3P Khyber valley
'From Kabul they arrived at the Khyber Pass.'

38 lebeʔbdel aw=ki. muḍu kimin kūru?=ga177 baʔ ṭuŋkuʔb
ascending.slope COP=M.PL 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=kaɾ=ʔaʔ sasu=ʔom gam=oʔ:
that=S.HUM=GEN father.in.law=3POSS say=A.PT
'Her father-in-law said:'

40 "biru ḍeb=na ḍebna baʔ ṭuŋkuʔb roʔ=ki kay=ʔe=bar. kimin kuɾuʔ,
mountain ascend=CONV REP "rice" spill=M.PL lift=A.IRR=2HON daughter.in.law child
moŋ ubar aʔ=bar=ga roʔ melay=ʔe."
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 ṭuŋkuʔb kay=na kayna tiʔ kaɾa loyoʔ=ki.
"rice" lift=CONV REP hand foot tired=M.PL
'She became tired of picking up the rice (= her hands and feet become tired,
lifting the rice).'

42 kay=ʔe=bar! kimin kūruʔ, aʔ=bar=ga roʔ melay=ʔe!
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 gamma=te=ga ho ghaṭo=waʔ nimi hou gud=ʔi178
that "kayebar! say=INF REP=OBL=FOC that valley=GEN name COP C:TEL=M.PL
"kayebar ghaṭo".
Kayebar valley
'By constantly saying "Kayebar" (= 'pick up'), the name of that valley became
"Kayebar Pass (= valley)".'

44 dhirom dhirom "kayebar" tay "kaybar" hou gud=ʔi.
slowly REP "kayebar" ABL Khyber COP C:TEL=M.PL
'Slowly, from "Kayebar" "Khyber" developed.'

45 ho ghaṭo tay purkha=ki=ga lay koj=kuŋ goʔjhuŋ179 bay=siʔ=may.
that valley ABL ancestor=pi=FOC dig scrape=SEQ path build=PERF=3P

---

177 Standard form: konquʔ=ga.
178 Standard form: goʔd=ki.
179 There are a number of various spellings of the term for 'path', perhaps the most common being goʔdjhun and goʔdhun.
'From that valley the ancestors, digging and scraping, built paths.'

46 Kaybar ghaţo hinte purkha khaɾiya mŏn ubar leraŋ guʔd=ga aw=ki=may.

Khyber valley loc ancestor Kharia one two month like=FOC stay=3p
'The Kharia ancestors stayed at the Khyber Pass for a couple of months.'

47 ho moʔbhi=te khaɾiya phaham=na180 la?=ki=may a=tiʔ j co=na a=tiʔ j umboʔ.

that middle=obl Kharia ponder=inf begin=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 mŏn khōɾa kayebar ghaţo tay edoʔ=ga toʔbluŋ ḍel=ki=may.

one section Khyber valley abl more=FOC high come=3p
'One section [of the group] went up even higher than the Khyber Pass.'

49 ho=ki jhelog jhelog182 biru=ki tay toʔba=ga paro=ki=may.

that=p long rep mountain=p abl pound.with stick=FOC cross=3p
'They crossed from the very tall mountains, leaving signs (= pounding with a stick [to make signs]) as they went.'

50 ho=tiʔ j tay=ga mŏn raij=aʔ nimi tibat hoy=ki.

that=side abl=FOC one kingdom=gen name Tibet become=3p
'From that side the name of the kingdom Tibet arose.'183

51 dhirom dhirom purkha=ki nepal, sikkim,[sic!] bhutan, arunacalprades, nagalaind, slowly rep ancestor=p nepal Sikkhim Bhutan Arunachal Pradesh Nagaland

manipur, meghalay, tripura, mijoram hoy=kon barma tiʔ j are=ki=may.
Manipur Meghalaya Tripura Mizoram cop=seq Burma side descend=3p
'The ancestors gradually arrived in (= descended towards) Burma via Nepal, Sikkhim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.'

52 khaɾiya=ki darjilinŋ=jo ḍam=sik=koʔ=ki.

Kharia=p Darjeeling=3p arrive=perf=a,pt=p
'The Kharia also came to Darjeeling.'

53 ho tay ho=ki mŏn khaɾiya melay t=yoʔ=ki.

that abl=3p 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 ghaţo 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=koʔ=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 dam=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-daʔ joʔdaʔ 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 mohanjodoro dam=ki=may.
and Mohenjodaro arrive=M,PT=3P
'And they arrived at Mohenjodaro.'

59 aw=na awna=te kharjiya=ki ho=te oʔoʔ oʔ dura bay=kon
stay=CONV REP=OBL Kharjia=P that=OBL (= 'there') again house door build=SEQ
ikud=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 tharaʔ=te purkha=ki ikud=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 tharaʔ=ki=te ho=ki lay=na koj=na māre goth=oʔ=ki.
fertile and plain place=OBL that=P dig=INF scrape=INF begin C:TEL=A,PT=P
'They began to dig and ploy (= scrape) the fertile plains (= FERTILE AND PLAIN places).'

62 hoy=na hoyna=te kharjiya ho=te ikud=ga baʔ runkjub ro gohoŋ ubjay=na
COP=INF REP=OBL Kharjia that=OBL (= 'there') very=FOC "rice" and wheat cultivate=INF
māre=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: payter.
'While staying there, the Kharia began to cultivate rice and wheat.'

63 mon=ga darom=ya? biru laph nga=ki=te purkha=ki kharlya bu=ga
1=FOC sacrifice=GEN mountain cave=OBL ancestor=P Kharia inst=FOC

i la? i bay=ta bayata likha likha bo<^b>re god=sikh=o?=ki.
what then what build=CONV RPd write REP fill<-CAUS C:TEL=PERF=A.PT=PO
'The ancestors filled the caves of one sacrificial mountain with writings of
what was all being done by the Kharia.'\textsuperscript{187}

64 akil=a? kayom no musnin a=ti? jay=ko ddel hamba?=ki mon maha dano
mind=GEN matter CMPL one.day Q=side ABL=CNTR come SUD=M.PT one big demon
ro po?da=ya? jharji lebu=ki te diyo=ga mu dull mu dull=te no?=na mau=ya?
and village=GEN all person=P=OBL daily=FOC one.CL RP=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.'\textsuperscript{188}

65 po?da=? jharji lebu=ki botoj saphay=ki=may.
village=GEN all person=P fear V2:clean=M.PT=3P
'All the people of the village were very afraid.'

66 musnini jharji kophuru?=ki\textsuperscript{189} jume kati?b=kon socay=o?=ki no
one.day all man=P assemble gather=SEQ think=A.PT=P CMPL

"ho dano=te i=gu=ga tar o?=gur=e=ni?"
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?"'

one.day all men=P bow arrow take=SEQ demon=GEN search-RPD emerge=M.PT=3P
'One day all the men took their bows and arrows and went out to look for the
demon.'

68 musnin dinu bheir lam=o?=ki muda umay kuy=o?.
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].'

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{188} This would appear to refer to the same event as that described in [MS, 1:60ff.].

\textsuperscript{189} Standard form: kompuru? or kompuru?.

\textsuperscript{190} Alternate form: kom.
69 hoɖon\textsuperscript{191} dinu=jo dano=wa? lam-lam\textsuperscript{192} muʔ=ki=may ro dano=te tar=oʔ=may.
oindent 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..., botonin..., dano=wa? botonin purkha=ki=te bhine\textsuperscript{193} god=ki.
demon fear demon=GEN fear ancestor=P=OBL separate C:TIL=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 māre=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.'\textsuperscript{194}

72 tay=ko ho=ki dher=ga salsāt=ki=may.
then=CNTR that=P very=FOC become.calm=M.PT=3P 'BUT THEN THEY BECAME VERY CALM.'

73 muda dano=wa? botonin=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 musnīn jhari ki hariya=ki mōŋ=ga darom=te meli melay=kon that=GEN for=FOC one.day all Kharia=P one=FOC sacrifice=OBL REP leave=SEQ edoʔ=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=dāʔ joʔ=ḍāʔ dē]=kon harappa=te ṭahare=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 usloʔ bes bes aw=khoʔ.
that=OBL (= 'there') field soil good REP COP=PT.II 'THERE THE FIELDS AND THE SOIL WERE GOOD.'

77 ho=kar=aʔ haha rapa go jloʔ mar=yoʔ=ki.
that=S:HEMIC=GEN hurry rice.field put=A.PT=3P 'THEREFORE, THEY QUICKLY ESTABLISHED RICEFIELDS.'\textsuperscript{195}

\textsuperscript{191} Standard form: hoɖom.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{193} One would expect here the form bhinaʔ 'separate (TR)' appearing in the active (cf. e.g. line 73 below).
\textsuperscript{194} The speaker later informed me that the second half of this sentence is a repetition which advertantely made its way into the text.
\textsuperscript{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=kar=aʔ here is unclear.
ho=te aw=na awna=te=jo purkha=ki aw=na umay pal=ö?
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.'

dārhiyal=ki ho=ki=te ḍoko=na umay ter=ö?
Darhiyal=P that=P=OBL sit.down NEG.3P give=A.PT
'THE DARHIAL DID NOT LET THEM SETTLE [THERE].'

akhir purkha=ki ho tay=jo yar kan=ö?=ki.
finally ancestor=P that ABL(= 'from there')=ADD flee CONT=A.PT=P
'FINALLY, THE ANCESTORS FLED FROM THERE AS WELL.'

eṇ=kon hariyana raij hinte ḍiyar=ki=may.
return=SEQ Hariyana kingdom LOC enter=M.PT=3P
'RETURNING, THEY ENTERED HARYANA.'

thorek to?= ho=ki raylo kinir hinte ḍera=sikh=ö?=ki,
few day that=P Railogarh forest LOC settle.down=PERF=A.PT=P
ro dhirom dhirom ho=ki ḍam=ki=may raylogaṛḥ.
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.'

coudwī satawadi aw=ki.
fourteenth century COP=M.PT
'It WAS THE 14TH CENTURY.'

ho=ki ho bhēre syambhu raja ro ḍakay rani=kiyar raij karay=na la?=ki=kiyar.
that=P that time Syambhu king and Dakai queen=OBL ruling do=INF IPFV=M.PT=D
'AT THAT TIME KING SYAMBUH AND QUEEN DAKAI WERE RULING.'

syambhu raja ro ḍakay rani khaṛiya=ki=ya? sawāṇ ro ḍiṅgar=te yo=kon
Syambhu king and Dakai queen Kharia=P=GEN power and courage=OBL see=SEQ
raja raṇi=kiyar ikuḏ khus=ki=kiyar.
king queen=D very happy=M.PT=D
'KING SYAMBUH AND QUEEN DAKAI, SEEING THE KHARIA'S POWER AND COURAGE,
BECAME VERY HAPPY.'

ho bhēre=ga raja ro rani=te mudui=ki=ya? bōṭon khaṛiya=ki sāghro=na
that time=FOC king and queen=OBL enemy=P=GEN fear Kharia=P help=INF
la?=ki=may.
IPFV=M.PT=3P
'AT THAT TIME THE KHARIA HELPED THE KING AND QUEEN [BECAUSE OF THEIR] FEAR OF
THE ENEMY.'

musnīn simbhu197 raja ro mudui=ki=ya? moʔjhi=te maha laṛai 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 khaʃiya=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 ɗakay rani khaʃiya=ki=yaʔ sawan=te yo=kon ikuɗ=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 khaʃiya=ki=te gam=ʔo? "ip musa am=p=aʔ sawan ro dĨŋg̤ar yo=kon
queen Kharia=p=OBL say=A.PT 1S today 2=p=GEN power and courage see=SEQ
ikuɗ=ga lereʔ=ki=ŋ.
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 ip am=pe=te tuɗa raylo kinir hinte
this joy INST 1S 2=2p=OBL tomorrow Railogarh forest LOC
lam-lam co=naʔ=ʔ thoŋ chutį ter[=e]=iŋ.”
search-INF 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 goreʔ=ga khaʃiya 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=ʔo?=ki.199
enemy=p=CNTR chance find=A.PT=p
'THE ENEMIES FOUND AN OPPORTUNITY.'

94 ho=ki phawɗ guʔd kaʃiʔb=ki=may ro hathiyar dơʔd=ta dơʔdta
that=p army like assemble=M.PT=3P and weapon take=CONV REP
seinor-dʔaʔ rayloŋar hinte carhái karay=ʔo?=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 ikuɗ=ga laɾai bʰiɾai hoy=ki.
very=FOC war ECHÓ become=M.PT
'A GREAT WAR ENSUED.'

198 When the story was first told, this speaker said at this point that it was the boys (kompuɾaʔ) 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 ikud=ga lebu tar dom=ki=may.  
very=FOC person kill PASS=M.PI=3P  
'A GREAT MANY PEOPLE WERE KILLED.'

97 akhir=te simbhu raja ro da kay rani=kiyar=jo tar dom=ki=kiyar.  
end=OBL Syambhu king and Dakay queen=D=ADD kill PASS=M.PI=3D  
'IN THE END, KING SYAMBHU AND QUEEN DAKAY WERE ALSO KILLED.'

98 ho=tî傑 lam-lam koŋpuru?=ki lam-lam tî傑 tay en=ki=may.  
this=side search-RDP man=PI search-RDP side ABL return=M.PI=3P  
'THE MEN WHO HAD GONE HUNTING (= THE HUNTING MEN) THERE RETURNED HERE FROM HUNTING (= FROM THE HUNTING SIDE).'

99 khoɽi dam=kon ho=ki yo=yo?=ki laʔ jhaɽi tayŋ=ga tomarŋ las ro las.  
village arrive=SEQ that=PI see=PI when 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=PI  
'RAILOGARH HAD COME TO AN END.'

101 poʔda=dom=ki=te konseldu?=ki yaʔ rawkachar iŋam toroʔ ho=ki  
village=3POSS=PI=OBL woman=PI=GEN weeping.and.wailing scream cry that=PI  
ondor=oʔ=ki.  
hear=PI=PI  
'IN THEIR VILLAGES THEY HEARD THE WEEPING AND WAILING, CRYING, AND SCREAMING OF THE WOMEN.'

102 simbhu raja ro da kay rani=kiyar=aʔ ata no pataumboʔ.  
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 gud=ki no ho=jeʔ=ki mudui=ki=yaʔ kamu=ga  
finally that=PI=OBL known EMOT C:TEL=A.PI CMPL that=SN.HUM=PI enemy=PI=GEN work=FOC  
aw=ki.  
COP=PI=PI  
'THEY FINALLY FOUND OUT THAT THESE [DEEDS] WERE THE WORK OF THE ENEMIES.'

104 enem raja ro rani=kiyar=aʔ aw-aw=te khařiya=ki katʃʔ gum=ga  
without king and queen=D=GEN COP-RDP=OBL Kharia=PI somewhat=CNTR very=FOC  
akbakay=ki=may.  
be.in.a.flurry=M.PI=3P  
'WITHOUT THERE BEING A KING AND QUEEN, THE KHARIA PANICKED.'

200 Note that in other versions of this story (e.g. Kullù, 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.
THE AND SCRUBBED THEIR HEADS IN THE

204 examples of partially finite forms, see notes partially finite, as person marking is lacking, which other speakers did accept as grammatical. Speaker later if this was merely a mistake. At any rate, the first part of this complex predicate, marked on the second predicating element for number.

203

202

201

200

209 Standard form: konḍuʔ.  
202 pham or tha(ha)m 'ponder'.  
203 Other speakers I consulted rejected this sentence and insisted that it should read til=ɔʔ raph=ɔʔ=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=ɔʔ, 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: kanḍayboʔ, genitive kanḍaybogaʔ.
114 ho bhere tay=ga khaṛiya=ki kaṭom cakhna[?] hinte saṅsaṅ may=na melay=o?=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.'

115 khoḷi po?da bo?=ki=te tam jou khaṛiya=ki kaṭom cakhna[?] hinte saṅsaṅ
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 mu?=kon buli=ga buliga ḍharmāray=ga
Hardinagar ABL emerge=SEQ wander=FOC REP go.back.and.forth=FOC
siʔd=ga col kan=ki=may ṣapūr-.daʔ.
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 ḍaṇḍra 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 mu?=kon purkha=ki ḍhīrom ḍhīrom ḍel 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 VAISHALL,'

120 baysali tay, hoy…, ho=ki moṃ baysali koṭṭaṇ ro baysali sāṛ ol san=oʔ=ki.
Vaishali ABL that=P one Vaishali cow and Vaishali ox bring AMB=A.PT=P
'FROM VAISHALL THEY BROUGHT WITH THEM A VAISHALI COW AND VAISHALI OX.'

121 baysali boʔ tay ho=ki yar=ga purkha=ki=te u=tiʔ j apjor ol=oʔ=kiyar.206
Vaishali place ABL that=P flee=FOC ancestor=P=OBL this=side front bring=A.PT=D
'FLEEING FROM VAISHALL, THEY [= THE COW AND OX] BROUGHT THE ANCESTORS THIS WAY.'

122 ho koṭṭaṇ ro sāṛ=kiyar=te pukha=ki ikuʔ=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 khaṛiya=ki oreʔ j koṭṭaṇ=ki=te ikuʔḍ 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 (saṃśay '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 dël kan=ki=may sunjorighat. 
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 punrna=ʔ dinu aw=ki. 
Kartik full.moon=GEN day COP=M.PT
'T IT WAS THE DAY OF THE FULL MOON OF [THE MONTH OF] KARTIK.'

126 janʔkoy puja dinu dām dël=sikh=oʔ. 
spring.festival worship day arrive come=PERF=A.PT
'THE DAY [FOR DOING] JANGKROY PUJA HAD ARRIVED.'

127 ho dinu purkha=ki osel sīnkoy=te ponomoswar=te daɾom207 o-dēʔ=əb=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 jāwta208 =yaʔ komaŋ nəʔ=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=ʔaʔ ghād=ga manu purkha buɾha aŋi=yaʔ ghol beɾa=ɾom=ki=te
that=GEN PURP=FOC Manu ancestor old.man ANAPH=GEN ten son=3POSS=P=OBL

kinir lam-lam dəq=əʔ.209 
forest search=REDP send=A.PT
'FOR THAT VERY REASON, THE ELDERLY ANCESTOR MANU SENT HIS 10 SONS INTO THE FOREST TO HUNT.'

130 co=naʔ siŋ210 buɾha aŋi=yaʔ beʔ=ɾom=ki=te u gam=əʔ:
goo=INF=GEN first old.man ANAPH=GEN son=3POSS=P=OBL this say=A.PT
'BEGORE [THEIR] GOING, THE ELDERLY MAN SAID THIS TO HIS SONS:'

131 am=pe leŋ-leŋ jāw tər ol=ə=pe. 
2=2p fly=REDP animal kill bring=A.IRR=2p
"YOU KILL [AND] BRING [BACK] BIRDS (= FLYING ANIMALS)."

132 sunjurighat=te purkha=ki jughay toʔ aw=na umay pal=əʔ. 
Sunjurighat=OBL ancestor=P much day stay=INF NEG.3P be.able=A.PT

---

207 Note that this speaker uses both daɾom and daɾom.
208 Standard form: j(h)āwt.
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 "Sembo" (= Sambhu, 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 dəl kan=ki=may paʔtopur.
     wander=FOC REP that=P slowly REP come CONT=M,PT=3P Patna
     'WANDERING ALONG, THEY GRADUALLY REACHED PATNA.'

134 u=te purkha=ki ikuʔd=ga memon jou aw=ki=may.
     that=OBL,(= 'here') ancestor=P very=FOC year up.to stay=M,PT=3P
     'HERE THE ANCESTORS STAYED FOR SEVERAL YEARS.'

     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 ghəʔ=ga ho=ki=te goʔjəʔ 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 goʔjəʔ aŋkay=ki ikuʔd=ga usar ro phaytar ṭhâɭo 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 ubjəw=kə heʔbəne 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=COND REP live=INF
     məʔe=yoʔ=ki.
     begin=A,PT=P
     'GRADUALLY, THE ANCESTORS, BUILDING HOMES (= HOUSES AND DOORS), BEGAN TO LIVE
     [THERE].'

140 paʔtopur hinte purkha=ki boɾe boɾe mohol ro kaʔbəʔ=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).'211

141 ho=ki ho=te goʔjəʔ aŋkay kamu=na laʔ=ki=may.
     that=P that=OBL,(= 'there') rice.field field work=INF IPFV=M,PT=3P
     'THEY WORKED THE RICE FIELDS AND OTHER FIELDS.'

142 jəʔ=ko kamu=na ..., kamu=na laʔ=ki=may.
     s.NHUM=CNTR work=INF work=INF IPFV=M,PT=3P
     'THEY WORKED IT [= THE LAND].'

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).'

144 ho=ki gaɾi cakaɾa laʔna oreʔ j ro kharu=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 sono candi kâsa tamba=ki=yaʔ noʔ=na saju aw=ki. 
that=P=GEN gold silver copper bronze=GEN eat=INF vessel COP=M.PT
'THEY HAD EATING UTENSILS OF GOLD, SILVER, BRONZE AND COPPER.'

147 purkha=ki konsel=ðom=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 konselʔuʔ=ðom=ki=te sono candi=yaʔ muʔdhi. 
that=P woman=3POSS=p=OBL gold silver=GEN ring
lola, pogri, mala oʔd? [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 paʔtopur hinte purkha=ki jhaɾi buŋ=ga ikuʔd? kisro=sikho=ʔoʔ=ki. 
Patna LOC ancestor=ðP all INST=FOC very wealthy=PERF=A.PT=ðP
'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 mare=yoʔ. 
this=S.NHM=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 mohoraʔ214=jo puʔ=na mare=yoʔ. 
Mahara=ADD explode=INF begin=A.PT
'THE MAHARA ALSO BECAME ENVIOUS (= BEGAN TO EXPLODE).'

152 purkha=ki=yaʔ beʔ=ðom kulam ðay=ðom=ki=te mudui=ki 
ancestor=P=GEN son=3POSS sibling woman=3POSS=p=OBL enemy=P
muʔd? 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 (= muʔd? gunega) THEY USED TO WATCH THE BOYS AND GIRLS).'

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.
During the day but these ancestors drove their cattle during the day but the ancestors' souls were so pure (= pure and pure) that they didn't think of quarrels with anyone.'

The ancestors used to drive their cattle during the day but the ancestors' soups were so pure ( = pure and pure) that they didn't think of quarrels with anyone.'

They [= the enemies] wanted to fight, therefore the Kharia gradually moved on in this direction, getting lost as they went.'

The enemies intentionally (= with this straight mind) began to torment our ancestors a great deal.'

In the end, the ancestors, weary and defeated, had to flee from Patna.'

The child was [too] small, it couldn't walk.'

Therefore they left one or two elder brothers behind with him in Patna.'

For him [i.e., the small child] they also left a milk cow behind for milk ( = having said "milk").'
maha kulam paʔt̪opur tay seŋ muʔ=ki=may. ho=ki kud̪aʔb.218
big brother Patna ABL first emerge=M._PT=3P that=P behind
aw=ki=may ho=ki=te u gam tu=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):'

ele goʔʃuŋ gu goʔʃuŋ daru=ki=te endiŋ buŋ toʔa=ga thon=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 cawk=ki=te melay=ga co=na=le hinte thonliŋ roʔ=ga
stove ECHO=P=OBL leave=FOC go=M.IRR=1P.EXCL that(DIST)=OBL (= 'there') milk spill=FOC
go=M.IRR=1P.EXCL that(S.NHM)=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.'

ganga ro son ompay jorŋ boʔ=te dada=ðom=ki moŋ rusuŋ jhanda
Ganges and Son river confluence place=OBL elder.brother=3POSS=P one red flag

[oʔ-]muʔ=siŋ=hoʔ.
CAUS-emerge=PERF=A.PT
'AT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE GANGES AND SON RIVERS, THE ELDER BROTHERS HOISTED (= CAUSED TO EMERGE) A RED FLAG.'

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.'

jhaɾi=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.'

jhaɾi kulam dą=ðom=ki=jo dada=ðom=ki=yaʔ. soɾi soɾi=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.'

ho=ki lamðom kekeʔ 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.'

---

218 Standard form: kud̪aʔb. Note that the phrase kud̪aʔb av=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=ya? ompay paro=na bo?=te=jo mudui=ki kudha=sikh=o?=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 goth=o?=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=ya? aw-aw=te ber beṭi=ki=te um uqṇ=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 goth=o?=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 buq=ga purkha=ki be’ṭ=ḍom kulam ḏay=ḍom=ki=ya? this several incident remebrance INST=FOC ancestor=POSS son=3POSS sibling woman=3POSS=P=GEN somo hinte ek saw gyara o²b-kho<²b>da=na la?=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.]

172 tama condo=ko kharḍiya beṭi kuruʔ=ki=te sikhay poṛhe=ki=may. now time=CNTR Kharia girl child=P=OBL teach read=INF=M,PT=3P  ['BUT NOW THE KHARIA GIRLS ARE LITERATE (= THEY "TEACH-READ"-ED THE GIRLS).']

173 hin=aʔ gha’ḍ=ga ho=ki=te o³b-khoda=na melay goth=o?=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 cuta²ḍḍa kaṛ kulam maha=ki²²² sango’ḍ=na pal=oʔ bhure kulam ḏay small person brother big=SEQ walk=INF be.able=A,PT time sibling woman 

dada=ḍom=ki=te ho=ki u=ghay utuṇ=siṅk=oʔ=ki hin=ghay=ga ulich=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'?
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=kaɾ=ʔ224 than buɾʰa=ki=te ik’ʔd ik’ʔd dhain mane=na ayiʔj.
this=S.HUM=GEN for old.man=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 kʰaɭi=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 paʔtopur tay muʔ=kon purkʰa=ki dhirom dhirom ʔdel=ki=may u=tiʔj.
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 ʔdam=ki=may rohtasgaɾ.
that=P arrive=M,PT=3P Rohitasgarh
‘They arrived in Rohitasgarh.’226

187 u=jeʔ purkʰa=ki ik’ʔd 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 paʔtopur tay=ga ho=ki ik’ʔd=ga kisɾo=sikʰ=ʔ=ki hin=ʔ=caʔd=om ho=ki rohtaspuɾ
Patna=OBL FOC that=P much=FOC wealthy=PERF=A,PT=P that=GEN for that=P Rohitasgarh

hinte ḷəko dhab=na pal=ʔ=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=teʔ227 oreʔʃ kʰoɾtʰaʃ=ko aw=ki=ga hin=ʔ=ga ʔhaʔd=ga ho=ki=te
that=P+GEN=OBL ox cow=CNTR COP=M,PT=FOC that=GEN for=FOC that=P+OBL.

goʔʃloʔ aŋkʰax kamu=na buɾ 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 edoʔ jughay baʔ runʒkuʔb ruphya dʰeɾbwa 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.’

224 Despite the fact that ɯkaɾ is restricted to human reference in the standard language, it is not uncommon for speakers to use it with reference to non-animate, 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\textsuperscript{228} bore mohol ro ka\textsuperscript{2}bto=ki
slowly REP that=P that=OBL (='there')=ADD great REP castle and door=P

bay=o?=ki.
bUILD=A.PT=P

'GRADUALLY, THEY BUILT GREAT HOMES (= CASTLES AND DOORS) THERE AS WELL.'

192 u=je?=ki=ga yo=ta yota u=te=jo mudui=ki=ya? jiyom ge\textsuperscript{2}b=na
this=3.NHUM=POF=FOC see=CONV REP this=OBL (='here')=ADD enemy=P=GEN soul burn=INF

ma=ye=yo?=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 sa?dhe=na ma=ye=yo?=ki.
this=OBL (= 'here')=ADD enemy=P=OBL torment=INF begin=A.PT=P

'HERE AS WELL THE ENEMIES BEGAN TO TORMENT THE ANCESTORS.'

194 musniŋ jaŋkoy=a? 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 aŋ=ki=ya? sarna hinte do\textsuperscript{2}d=kon
that day ancestor=P white rooster=OBL ANAPH=P=GEN place.of.worship LOC take=SEQ

bhaŋwan=doŋ=ki=te daŋom o-de\textsuperscript{6}b=na la?=ki=mai.
god=3.POSS=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.'

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=a? gha\textsuperscript{2}d=ga jhari kopuru?=ki kinir lam-lam tay ēn=sikh=o?=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.'

\textsuperscript{228} Standard form: boɖe.
198 ho=ti=tj golan=jo purkas kui=sikh=o=ki bul=kon lelem=sikh=o=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 ya? randaq=te yo=yo=ki, ho=ki gha?h kuy=o=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=o=ki "el=a? gha?d ... , [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."'

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.'

Kharia woman=P=CNTR understand C:TEL=PERF=P
'THE KHARIA WOMEN UNDERSTOOD [THE SITUATION].'

203 ho=ki turthe=ga apan apan o?iyay dha?b=na suru=y=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=ya?230 lutui su dhaph=o=ki no jha?i=ga ka? kom dhokh=o=ki
enemy=P=GEN clothing put.on SUD=A.PT=P CMPL all=FOC bow arrow grab=A.PT=P
ro lo?imare=ga mudui=ki=te kuday=na ma?re=y=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 botu? bu?=ti=tj, a=ti=tj pal=o=ki, hin=ti=tj=ga boto?=son yar=o=ki.
enemy=P fear INST this=side Q=side be.able=A.PT=P that=side=FOC fear-INTENS flee=A.PT=P

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 battalion 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 WHEREEVER THEY COULD.'

206 khořiya ḍay=ki ho=ki=te kuday=kon ḍoṇ 231 siman ti=j oʰ-b-yar=na maɾe=yo?=ki. Kharia woman=ṣ that=ṣ=OBL chase=SEQ other border side CAUS-flee=INF begin=AP=ṣ 'THE KHARIA WOMEN CHASED THEM AND BEGAN TO DRIVE THEM OFF TO A DIFFERENT DIRECTION (= BORDER).'

207 jhaṛ poʔda hinte muʔu laʔ muʔu gāysi aw=ta=ki=gə. all village LOC one.CL then one.CL spy COP=M.PRIS=ṣ=FOC 'IN ALL VILLAGES THERE ARE SOME SPIES.'

208 ho poʔda=te=jo muʔu mahara ḍay gāysi aw=ki. that village=OBL=ADD 1.CL Mahara woman spy COP=M.ṣ PT 'IN THAT VILLAGE THERE WAS ALSO A WOMAN MAHARA SPRY.'

209 ho=kəɾ khoɾi buli=na modhe buŋ khořiya=ki=yaʔ jhaɾi habhaw=te that=ṣ.HUM village.section wander=INF means INST Kharia=ṣ=GEN all mannerisms=OBL erikhudi koŋ may=sikh=oʔ. from.bottom.to.top find.out TOTAL=PERF=ṣ AP '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=kəɾ=aʔ muḍui=ki=yaʔ boʔ=te col=kon ho=ki=te utun goṭh=oʔ. that=ṣ.HUM=FOC enemy=ṣ=GEN place=OBL go=SEQ that=ṣ=OBL speak C:TEL=AP PT 'SHE WENT TO THE ENEMIES' PLACE AND SPOKE TO THEM.'

211 ho=kəɾ ho=ki=te gam=oʔ: that=ṣ.HUM that=ṣ=OBL say=AP 'SHE SAID TO THEM:'

212 [The spy speaks Sadani:] "YOU PEOPLE, RUNNING OUT OF FEAR OF THE WOMEN UNTIL YOUR DHOΤIS 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 muḍui=ki yo=yoʔ=may laʔ khoṛiya ḍay=ki ụbar tiʔ buŋ=ga enemy=ṣ see=AP=ṣ=AP two hand INST=FOC guṇ=na guʔ the=na maɾe=yoʔ=ki. wash.feet=INF wash.hands=INF begin=AP=ṣ 'THE ENEMIES SAW THEN [THAT] THE KHARIA WOMEN BEGAN TO WASH THEIR FEET AND HANDS WITH TWO HANDS.'

214 muḍui=ki ḍoхиya ḍoʔ=ta ḍoʔ=ta khoṛiya=ki=te kuday=na 232 maɾe=yoʔ=ki. enemy=ṣ weapon take=CONV REP Kharia=ṣ=OBL chase=INF begin=AP=ṣ PT 'THE ENEMIES GRABBED THEIR WEAPONS AND BEGAN TO CHASE THE KHARIA [AWAY].'
'the kharia women didn’t find the path to flee on.'

216 ho=ki u=ti\2j a=ti\2j pal=0=ki, hin=te=ga yar=0=ki.
that=P this=side Q=side be.able=P that=OBL (= 'there')=FOC flee=A.PT=P
'they fled wherever they could.'

217 u=ti\2j=ko kôpuru?=ki=ya? matwari cha\2dke\233=ki.
this=side=CNTR men=GEN drunkenness burst=M.PT
'on this side the men's drunkenness came to an end (= burst).'

218 ho=ki po?da=ðom=ki=ya? halet ondö=0=ki, kundu?= hakon=ðom=ki=te
that=P village=3POSS=P=GEN condition hear=A.PT=P child ECHO=3POSS=P=OBL
sumtay=0=ki ro kuda kudi khariya dây=ki=ya? kunda\2b kunda\2b yar=0=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 hurriedly fled after the Kharia women.'

219 u matwari budhi bun=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.'

Rohitasgarh ABL emerge=SEQ ancestor=P northern Koel river ARMS edge-water REP
ðel=kon dhirom dhirom ðam=ki=may palam raj.
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 dâl\2enganj hinte ho=ki thorek to? aw=ki=may, dhirom dhirom ho=ki
Daltonganj LOC that=P few day stay=M.PT=3P slow REP that=P
ðam=ki=may mahabuwaŋ,
arrive=M.PT=3P Mahabuwaŋ (= 'great (maha) snake (buwaŋ)')
'they stayed a few days in Daltonganj, [then] gradually they came to mahabuwaŋ.'

222 ho tay ho=ki col kan=ki=may rajaðera.
that ABL= ('from there') that=P go CONT=M.PT=3P Rajadera
'from there they continued on to Rajadera.'

223 ho=te ho=ki mōn ubar leraŋ gu\2d=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\2bne to?=te ho=ki pham=na marq=yo?=ki no "u=ti\2j a=ti\2j co=na=ninj
so.much day=OBL that=P ponder=INF begin=A.PT=P CMPL this=side Q=side go=O.MRR=1P.INCL
dhame jhāri=ya? thonj 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 musniṃ ho=ki rajadera tay berod=ko² 234 col kan=ki=may kharīya ghaṭo.
oneday that=P rajadera abl get.up=seq go cont=pt=3p kharīya valley 'ONE DAY THEY UP AND LEFT RAJADERA AND CONTINUED ON TO THE KHARIA PASS (= VALLEY).'

226 ho ghaṭo=te aniṣ=a? purkha=ki lay=kon go² jlo=ō? goʔjūŋ bay=ōʔ... bay=siʔ=may.
that valley=obl 1p.incl=gen ancestor=3p dig=seq rice.field path build=ap build=perf=3p 'AT THAT PASS (= VALLEY) OUR ANCESTORS DUG OUT (= BUILT BY DIGGING) RICE FIELDS AND PATHS.'

227 lebu=ki ho ghaṭo=te=ga "kharīya ghaṭo" gam=te=ki.
person=3p that valley=obl=foC kharīya valley say=aprs=p 'PEOPLE CALL THAT VALLEY "KHARIA PASS".'

228 ho ghaṭo paro=kon purkha=ki dirom dirom dām=ki=may bitar bawe² 235 raij.
that valley cross=seq ancestor=1p slow rep arrive=ap perf=3p inner barwe kingdom. 'HAVING CROSSED THAT PASS, THE ANCESTORS GRADUALLY ARRIVED IN INNER BARWE.'

229 bitar bawe raij hinte nawadichenpur kātkahirajawal del=ta=ki
inner barwe kingdom loc nawadichenpur kathahirajawal come=aprs=p u=te=ga mon kharīya khoṭi "khaybar" ayi² j.
this=obl(=here)=foC one kharīya village section khayer prs.cop 'IN INNER BARWE THEY COME TO NAWADICHPUR AND KATKAIHRAJAWAL [AND] HERE THERE IS A KHALIA VILLAGE SECTION, "KHYBER".'

230 u=te tama jou toʔpho=ki² 236 ayi² j=may=ga.
this=obl(=here) now up to toppo bird=ap prs.cop=3p=foC 'HERE THERE ARE STILL THE [CLAN OF THE] TOPPO.'

231 dairgāw ro kharīyatoli hinte tama kharīya=kiumboʔi² j=ki.
dayragaon and khariatoli loc now kharīya=3p neg aprs.cop=3p 'THERE ARE NO KHALIA NOW IN DAIROGAON AND KHARIATOLI.'

232 hā muda bahe barwi² 237 hinte kharīya=ki jamku² d ayiʔi² j=may.
yes but outer barwi loc kharīya=3p group prs.cop=3p 'YES, BUT IN OUTER BARWE THERE ARE KHALIA GROUPS.'

233 bhiʔtar baruwe² 238 raij muʔ=kon aniṣ=a? purkha=ki dirom dirom inner barwe kingdom emerge=seq 1p.excl=gen ancestor=3p slowly rep

bāṇru biru=yaʔ kargha kargha hoy=kon dham=ki=may gumla.
safflower mountain=gen edge rep cop=seq arrive=ap perf=3p gumla 'AFTER LEAVING INNER BARWE, OUR ANCESTORS GRADUALLY CAME TO GUMLA (CAPITAL OF GUMLA DISTRICT) VIA THE EDGES OF THE SAFFLOWER MOUNTAINS.'

---

234 Standard form: berod=ko²
235 Standard form: barwe
236 Standard form: toʔpo
237 Standard form: barwe
238 Standard form: barwe
UND ONE OR TWO MONTH
SO THAT IT WILL BE
PHAM=na maɾe=yoʔ=ki no "u=tiʔj a=tiʔj co=na=ninji dhame jhari 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 MEANETIME (= IN SO MANY DAYS) THEY BEGAN TO PONDER "WHICH WAY SHOULD WE GO SO THAT IT WILL BE GOOD FOR ALL?'''

MUSNIŋ gumla hinte muɖu khariya betaa saʔmo hinte runkuʔb doʔd=kon
one.day Gumla LOC one.CL Kharia boy winnowing.basket LOC husked.rice take=SEQ
mare umper=na laʔ=sikh=oʔ laʔ muɖu buɾha=ko ho=kaɾ=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
ikuʔd=ga laʔa=na maɾe=yoʔ.
much=FOC laugh=INF begin=A.PT
'O 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.'

HO=kaɾ beṭa=te gam=oʔ "gum=e la!"
that=S.HUM boy=OBL say=A.PT winnow=A.IRR VOC
'HE SAID TO THE BOY, "WINNOW!'"

HO "gum=e la!" gam=na gamma=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".'

MUSNIŋ purkha=ki gumla tay beroʔd=ki=may.
one.day ancestor=艹 Gumla ABL stand.up=M.PT=3P
'O ONE DAY, THE ANCESTORS LEFT (= STOOD UP FROM) GUMLA.'

DHIROM dhirom ho=ki munuʔsiŋ ghay hoy=kon dama=ki=may murgu.
slow REP that=P east way become=SEQ arrive=M.PT=3P Murgu
'GRADUALLY THEY ARRIVED IN MURGU VIA THE EAST.'

MURGU=te ho=ki ikuʔd=ga baru aw=ki=may.
Murgu=OBL that=P much=FOC good COP=M.PT=3P
'IN MURGU THEY WERE VERY HAPPY.'

HO=te dama=kon jhari sasate guʔd=ki=may.
that=OBL(= 'there') arrive=SEQ all content C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'HAVING ARRIVED THERE, ALL BECAME CONTENT.'

MURGU=te ho=ki ikuʔd=ga baru aw=ki=may.
Murgu=OBL that=P much=FOC good COP=M.PT=3P
'IN MURGU THEY WERE VERY HAPPY.'

HO=te dama=kon jhari sasate guʔd=ki=may.
that=OBL(= 'there') arrive=SEQ all content C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'HAVING ARRIVED THERE, ALL BECAME CONTENT.'

HROI sasate daʔ guma=na gumla=bay=ta bayta aw=na
this=side=CNTR that=P that=OBL(= 'there') sima.tree leaf=FOC tent build=CONV REP stay=INF
'maɾe=yoʔ=ki.
begin=A.PT=P
'HERE THEY BEGAN TO STAY, BUILDING TENTS OF SIMA LEAVES.'
243 dhirom dhirom ho=ki ghal\textsuperscript{239} ṭhō bay=ōʔ=ki. hoy=na hoyna ho=ki=ya?
slow REP that=P eight CL build=A.PT=P become=INF REP that=P=GEN

\textit{jhansankhya bārhe=na māṛe=yoʔ.}

population increase=INF begin=A.PT

'\textit{GRADUALLY, THEY BUILT EIGHT [TENTS]. AFTER A WHILE, THEIR POPULATION BEGAN TO INCREASE.}'

244 ho=kaṛ=aʔ natiya hoy=ki ho=ki=te go\textsuperscript{2}jloʔ aṅkay pōʔ=na uʔḍ=na
that=Š.HUM=GEN reason become=M.PT that=P=OBL rice.field field eat=INF drink=INF

um ḍoṇ=na māṛe=yoʔ.
NEG suffice=INF begin=A.PT

'\textit{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 tonne tonne ṭhāṛo lam=na hoy=ki.
finally that=P=OBL new REP place seek=INF become=M.PT

'\textit{FINALLY, THEY HAD TO LOOK FOR NEW PLACES [TO LIVE].}'

246 ho=ki hepha\textsuperscript{2}ʔ,

that=P vicinity=OBL=FOC sit.down=INF=PT=3P

'THEY SETTLED IN THE VICINITY.'

247 jharjā nāw=o kulam hoy=ke apan apan gotor\textsuperscript{241} poʔ=na parej guʔḍ=ga u
all nine=CL brother become=SEQ REFL REP clan eat=INF abstain like=FOC this

ṭhāṛo boʔ=ki=te ṭoko=ki=may.
place place=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.'\textsuperscript{242}

248 u ṭhāṛo=ki=te=jo purkha=ki umay sekh=ōʔ.\textsuperscript{243}
this place=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 poʔ=na uʔḍ=na um ḍoṇ=ki bhre murgu=waʔ heʔpaʔḍ=ki=te ṭoko=ki=may.
eat=INF drink=INF NEG suffice=M.PT time Murgu=GEN vicinity=OBL=FOC 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, hāṛatoli, dhōysanagar, ghagra, asro, birkera, beро
for.example Digduin Purnaphani Harratoli Dhоensanagar Ghagra Asro Birkera Bero

u ṭhāṛo=ki=te umay sekh=ōʔ.
this place=OBL NEG,3P be.held=A.PT

---

\textsuperscript{239} According to this speaker '8'. The standard Kharia form for '8' is \textit{thom} but nowadays only the form \textit{aṭh} from Sadri / Hindi is in common use.

\textsuperscript{240} Standard form: \textit{heʔ}páʔ \textit{ḍ}.\n
\textsuperscript{241} Standard form: \textit{gotar}.\n
\textsuperscript{242} Cf. [AK, 1] and [MS, 2] for two versions of this story. See also lines 129-131 above and note 209.

\textsuperscript{243} \textit{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 no?=na uʔ=na goʔ=loʔ aŋkay un ḍoŋ=ki bhere dhay=ŋiʔ=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, ūrīsa, garpur, rajgarpur, sambalpur, majarbhāŋj, go CONT=M.PT=3P Birunagpur Orissa Garpur Rajgarpur Sambalpur Majarbanj

simbhum, banuy, bamra, puruliya, sillī, jhalda, baŋlades, kalkatta, gujarat, maharastar, Sinbhum Banui Bamra Purulia Silli Jhalda Bangladesh Calcutta Gujaraat Maharashtra

andhraprades, karnāṭak, madhyaprades, raygaṛ, 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 noloʔsiŋ tiʔ jaiɬkoɬ, nawgaɬ, khanjaloya, kruskela, gumla, majhaɬoli, west side Pailkot Nawgarh Khanjaloya Kruskela Gumla Majhatoli

bhikampur, kāṭkahi, ḍaygāw, khaṛiyaɬoli, bhitar barwe=te chetphut ro Bhitkampur Katkahi Daegaon Kharioti inner Barwe=OBL here.and.there and

baheɾ barwe=te jaiɬkuʔ=aiʔ=may.

outer Barwe=OBL, group PRS.COP=3P

'IN THE WEST THERE ARE [KHARIA] HERE AND THERE IN PAILKOT, NAWGARH, KHAJALOYA, KRUSKELA, GUMLA, MAJHATOLI, BHIMPAR, KATKAI, DAEGAON, KHARIATOLI, INNER BARWE, AND GROUPS [OF KHARIA] IN OUTER BARWE.'

254 munuʔsiŋ tiʔ raɬi, sillī, jonha, patratu, puruliya, ghastsila, 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.
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 inā on predicates, in place of what appears to be the more common or "standard" form in, although the use of in in written texts is typical of many authors.

1 mōŋ po?da=te mōŋ kisŋ lebu aw=na la?=ki.
one village=OBL one rich man live=INF IPFV=M.PT

'IN A [CERTAIN] VILLAGE THERE LIVED A RICH MAN.'

that man=GEN much=FOC rice.field field=ADD COP=M.PT

'THAT MAN HAD MANY RICE FIELDS AND [OTHER] FIELDS.'

rich man rice.field field work=INF=GEN PURP ANAPH=GEN village=GEN hunger poor three

kopuřa?=ki=te ro ubar kongher=kiyar=te dḥāgar un=sikh=o?.
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=kaŋ bhuti kamū lebu=ki=te ro konseloʔ=ki=te konon pattha buŋ bhuti
for=FOC that=S.HUM labor work man=P=OBL and woman=P=OBL small stone INST labor

eɖ=na la?=ki.
measure=INF IPFV=M.PT

'SO HE USED TO MEASURE THE [WORK OF THE] LABORING MEN AND WOMEN IN SMALL STONES.'

5 ho=kaŋ=a? künduʔ hakon umay aw=ki.
that=S.HUM=GEN child ECHO NEG.3P COP=M.PT

'HE HAD NO CHILDREN (= CHILDREN, ETC.).'

6 muda ho=kaŋ baʔ romkub=te246 ber=aʔ thoŋ jatay=na (un=na)247 la?=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: rumkuʔ=b=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, je? ber=jo umay koŋ=na la?=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 o?=te kisrö lebu=ya? saw-ray=ŋom, konon bhai=ŋom ro dhāgar=ki
house=OBL rich man=GEN spouse-woman=3POSS small brother=3POSS and servant=P
aw=na la?=ki=may.
live=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'In the house, the rich man's wife, his younger brother and the servants lived
[together with him].'

8 o?=te gomke ro dhāgar=ki=ya? ghaq juda juda pe? goŋ=na la?=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.'

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 dhāgar=ki=ya? thon tunbo?=te kuda gūdji=ya? ro goq=ṭ?
but servant=P=GEN for midday=OBL millet millet.flour=GEN and thick.rice=GEN
romkub=ya? leṭo pe? moŋ qubha ter=na la?=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 iqib=te mo?ṭho mo?ṭho moloy tībru kuda koloŋ ter=na la?=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 dhāgar=ki betoṭ jalāŋ lebu aw=ki=may hin=a? ghaq gomke=ŋom=ki
servant=P hunger poor person COP=M.PT=3P that=GEN for master=3POSS=P
je ter=na la?=ki=may ho=je? korob korob po?=kon aŋ=ki=ya? kamu=te
CR give=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P that=S.NHUM still REP eat=SEQ ANAPH=P=GEN work=OBL
karay=na la?=ki=may.
do=INF IPFV=M.PT=3P
'The servants were poor people, therefore, whatever [ever] their masters gave them,
they would eat that quietly and do their work.'

13 muda moŋ dhāgar kongher, ber merom gupa=na la?=ki,
but I servant boy who goat shepherd=INF IPFV=M.PT
ho=kaṭ iqib=te aŋ=ya? bāṭa kuda koloŋ=te sob=je? um po?=na la?=ki
that=S.NHUM 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.
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 mepa? te merom gupa ḍār tij idib=ga? un-un kula koluŋ=te
morning=OBL goat shepherd field side night=GEN place=RDP millet bread=OBL

dōq san=na la?=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 ḍār tij kongher mon gahhra lay=sikh=ɔ?, ho=te=ga koluŋ=te
shepherd field side boy one hole dig=PERF=A.PT that=OBL (= 'there')=FOC bread=OBL

til=na la?=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 koluŋ til-til gahhra tay
what=way REP day pass=FOC go=M.PT that=way=FOC bread bury-RDP hole ABL

mon koluŋ 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 sproouted 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=un may koŋ=sikh=ɔ? no u=je? i daru heke.
but now up.to person=ng 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 ra?-ra? ra?=ki se ghari ra?-ra?=ya? ghāri
CR time tree=OBL blossom-RDP blossom=MET that time blossom-RDP=GEN smell

kula koluŋ lekhe ghāri=na la?=ki.
millet bread like smell=INFINF IPFV=M.PT
'When the flowers (ra?-ra?) on that tree blossomed, at that time the flowers' smell smelled like millet bread.'

20 ho ra?-ra? ghāri juŋay=kon lebu=ki koŋ=ɔ?=may no u daru
that blossom-RDP smell smell=SEQ person=ng know=A.PT=3P CMPL this tree

kula koluŋ=ya? 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: mēyaʔ.
21 po?da=yə? jhaʔi lebu=ki koŋ=o?=may no u daru=te kiŋəʔo lebu=ya?

village=GEN all person=POSS know=A.PT=3P CMPL this tree=OBL rich man=GEN

merom gupa dhāgar kongher on=siiʔ.

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 maɾe=yə?.

now=FOC tree fruit=INF begin=A.PT

'NOW THE TREE BEGAN TO BEAR FRUIT.'

23 dhāgar 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 absiʔ=ʔə.

fruit ripen=INF begin=A.PT

'THE FRUIT BEGAN TO RIPEN.'

25 kongher merom gupa=na melay=kon, kuda koŋəʔo daru=te=ga

boy goat shepherd=INF leave=SEQ millet bread tree=OBL=FOC

iʔib251 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 jahə́y kon=ga ho daru boʔ=te dam=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 koŋəʔo 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=ʔəm=aʔ ului=jo jhelob jhelob hoy goʔ=d=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.'

---

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: iʔib b.
31 moŋ dinu moŋ raksin252 kàŋdaybo? bora dhoʔ=kon buli=ga buliga
one day one witch old.woman large.sack grab=SEQ wander=FOC REP
kuda kolonj daru boʔ=te ḍam=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 kàŋdayboʔ=te kolony=yaʔ ghâɾi um laʔ=ki,
that old.woman=OBL bread=GEN smell NEG EMOT=M.PT
ho=kaɾ=te manwa manwa (lebu lebu) ghâɾi laʔ=ki.
that=LEB human REP person REP smell EMOT=M.PT
'THAT OLD WOMAN DID NOT SMELL THE BREAD, SHE SMELLED HUMANS.'

33 raksin han=tiʔ j u=tiʔ j tuta tobluŋ najeir=ʔom=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=kaɾ daru tobluŋ=te kongher=te yo=yoʔ.
then that=LEB tree top=OBL boy=OBL see=A.PT
'THEN SHE SAW THE BOY IN THE TREE-TOP.'

35 raksin kongher=te yo=kon bhiʔ?tar bhiʔ?tar lereʔ=ki no
witch boy=OBL see=SEQ inside REP rejoice=M.PT CMPL
"dher dinu tay lebu=yaʔ ahar (peʔ)253 musa ḍin=te kui=sıʔ!"
much day ABL person=GEN food cooked.rice today 1S=ABL find=PERF
'UPON SEEING THE BOY, THE WITCH REJOICED WITHIN, [SAYING] "AFTER MANY DAYS, I
HAVE FOUND HUMAN FLESH!'254

36 ab=ʔaʔ raksin adj=yaʔ gone ro ramad=ki=te cokhay=ʔoʔ ro daru ḍeb=na
now=FOC witch ANAPH=GEN tooth and nail=F=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 suranŋ aw=ki.
tree much big and straight COP=M.PT
'THE TREE WAS VERY BIG AND STRAIGHT.'

38 raksin ḍeb=na kornis karay=te muda haʔ?do ḍisʔaʔ tay capal=yaʔ bolebol
witch ascend=INF attempt do=A.PRS but half far ABL buttocks=GEN hard
ghari=ga gur goʔ?d=ta.
time(ʔ)=FOC fall C?TEL=M.PRS

252 On the role of witches in Kharia society, see Roy & Roy, 1937, chapter 13; Kullū (1988[2000]:64-78) and
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=a? kādaybo? loyo=kon "hođom upay konod=et[e]=iŋ" gam=o? ro
now=FOC old.woman tired=SEQ other means think.up=A.PRS=1S say=A.PT and

daru sumbo?=te=ga doko jom=ki.
tree base=OBL=FOC sit.down AUTOPOES=3M.PT

'Now the old woman became tired, said "I will think up another means" and just
sit down at the bottom of the tree.'

40 hobne=te=ga kongher kāraybo?=te yo=yo? ro ubar koloŋ ho=kaq=a?
that.much=OBL=FOC boy old.woman=OBL see=A.PT and two bread that=3S.H/UIT=GEN

mugam ob-gur kay=o?.
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 kātiʔj deri hoy=ki tay kongher kāraybo?=te jūŋ=o? "i=ghay la?=ki,
some time become=A.PT then boy old.woman=OBL ask=A.PT what=way EMOT=M.PT

yaya255?"
grandmother

'A short while passed (= became), then the boy asked the old woman "How did it
taste, grandmother?"'

42 raksin kāraybo? gam=te "loʔkha loʔkha la?=ki.
witch old.woman say=A.PRS dirt REP EMOT=M.PT

'The old witch says "It tasted like dirt."'

43 am am=a? tiʔ buŋ ob-dhog=e=m laʔ sebol la?=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 ayiʔj=d=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 in ob-gur[t[e]=iŋ, am lokay=e=m" gam=kon kongher ob-gur=na absiph=o?.
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 aŋi=yaʔ bokob=te ḥoʔ=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 loʔdho Ṽog[e]=iŋʔ" lekhe hoy=taŋ.
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=kəɾ=te yo=ta yota jorse laɾay=ɔʔ.
    boy that=S.HUM=OBL see=CONV REP forceful fight=PT
'THE BOY, WATCHING HER, FOUGHT FORCEFULLY.'

49 raksin odoʔ jughay khisay=ta (ragom=ta) ro gone keb=kon gam=te:
    witch even more become.angry=MPRS become.angry=MPRS and
tooth grind=SEQ say=APRS

"dhoʔ=siʔd=ɿη laʔ am=aʔ həɾ=mo=ŋ=te=jo eb=kon thom=ta thomta
    grab=PERF=1S then 2S=GEN bone=2POS=2OBL=ADD roast=SEQ
    pulverize=CONV REP

aked aked nog[=e]=ɿη.
    chew REP eat=AIR=1S
'THE WITCH GROWS EVEN ANGRIER AND, GRINDING HER TEETH, SAYS 'I WILL GRAB YOU' 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=ɔʔ ro oʔ col kan=ki.
    but witch that day what=ADD do=INF NEG be.able=APRS and house go CONT=MPRS
'BUT THE WITCH COULD DO NOTHING ON THAT DAY AND WENT HOME.'

51 qidib=te raksin karayboʔ kongher=te dhoʔ=na=yaʔ upay konoq=na buŋ
    night=OBL witch old.woman boy=OBL grab=INF=GEN means think.up=INF INST

    lemeʔ=na=jo um pal=ɔʔ.
    fall.asleep=INF=ADD NEG be.able=APRS
'AT NIGHT, THE OLD WITCH, BECAUSE OF HER THINKING UP A MEANS OF GRABBING THE BOY, COULD NOT FALL ASLEEP.'

52 hoʔom dinu=jo kongher=te dhoʔ=na=yaʔ kornis=ɔʔ muda um pal=ɔʔ.
    other day=ADD boy=OBL grab=INF=GEN attempt=APRS but NEG be.able=APRS
'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 konoʔh=ɔʔ.
    now=FOC witch boy=OBL love-INTENS love deceive=INF=GEN means think.up=APRS
'NOW THE WITCH THOUGHT UP A MEANS OF DECEIVING THE BOY LOVINGLY.'

54 uʔphe dinu raksin kongher buŋ sebol sebol kayom=kon gam=ɔʔ:
    three day witch boy INST sweet REP speak=SEQ say=APRS
'THE WITCH, SPEAKING SWEETLY WITH THE BOY FOR 3 DAYS, [FINALLY] SAID:'

55 "am in=te "yaya" gam=te=m muda mɔŋ dinu=jo am=aʔ tiʔ buŋ um
    2S 1S=OBL grandmother say=APRS=2S but one day=ADD 2S=GEN hand INST NEG

    ob-noʔ=te=m.
    CAUS-eat=APRS=2S
"YOU CALL ME "GRANDMOTHER" BUT NOT EVEN ON ONE DAY DO YOU FEED ME WITH YOUR [OWN] HAND.'

56 in=te diyo=ga to<b>rōʔ=te=m."
    1S=OBL daily=FOC cry=<CAUS?=APRS=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.
"Haven't said [this] the witch pretends to cry (= does playing of crying)."

'The boy feels pity and says 'Do not cry, grandmother.'

'I will feed you today.'

'The witch says 'Really?' The boy says 'Yes.'

'The witch pretends to fry his feet =1i ɖ, the old woman grabbed the boy's feet and pulled and the boy fell down.'

'The witch tied the boy up with rope and, having cast him in a sack, carried him with difficulty and took him home.'

'The witch's daughter was at home.'

'The witch said to her daughter 'take out what's in the sack and chop it up and fry it.'

Note here the use of the irrealis perfect to denote an imperative where the main emphasis is on the outcome of the action.

\(^{257}\) 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=o? ro rakṣin jhēriya259 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 rakṣin beṭi bora=te kach=o? ro yo=te la?=ko ho=te kongher
witch daughter sack=OBL untie=A.PT and see=A.PRS then=CNTR (= 'but') that=OBL (= 'there') boy
ayij ho=kaṛ=a? 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 rakṣin beṭi kongher=ya? ului=te yo=kon lobhay=ta.
witch 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 jūn=te no am=a? ului i=ghay buṅ 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=ya? upay konoḍ=te.
boy become.saved=INF=GEN means think.up=A.PRS
'THE BOY THINKS UP A MEANS OF SAVING HIMSELF.'

71 ro rakṣin beṭi=te gam=te no "iṇ=a? bokob=te sol260 hinte un=kon
and witch daughter=OBL say=A.PRS CMPL 1S=GEN head=OBL hole LOC place=SEQ
dēkhi buṅ dūṛṇ=sikh=0?=ki hin=a? thoṇ ip=a? 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 beṭi gam=te "iṇ=a? bokob=te jo dūṛṇ=ka[y]=e=ṃ!"
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 "hā, a=na, dēkhi sol bo?=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 bo?=te ḍam=ki=kiyar. kongher gam=ọ? "sol=te bokob=no=m=te
2.people hole place=OBL arrive=M.PT=مؤشر boy say=A.PT hole=OBL head=2POS=2S=OBL

259 Standard form: jhāriya.
260 sol 'hole in the floor of a house, about 8-9 cm deep, for grinding or pounding grain'
DING HOLE
E GIRL WAS WEARING OR HER
AUGHT, and witch daughter=GEN head=OBL

 Çünkü gəth=ə?.
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 beti goj go'q=ki.
girl die C:TEL=M.PT
'The girl died.'

76 beti ho beti=ya? su-su lutui=te kach=ə? ro adi su=yo?.
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 odo? beti=ya? yepari261=te khar=kon tawa=te gach=ə?.
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 rakxin karaybo? gone cokhay=ke qel=ki.
witch old.woman teeth sharpen=SEQ come=M.PT
'The old witch sharpened here teeth and returned.'

79 o? diyar=na deri bij=əm=te jun=ə? "gach=ob no beti?"
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 gəm=ə? "gə?=chiq=ə=ən. yo, ol kay=ə[e]=ən?"
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 rakxin gəm=te "ol=ə u beti ən=te, jughay=ga sa?dhe=si?.
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=əm=a? mas=te ol kay=ə?, rakxin no?=na
boy plate LOC daughter=3POSS=GEN meat=OBL bring BEN=A.PT witch eat=INF
absiph=ə?.
begin=A.PT
'The boy brought her daughter's meat on a plate for her, the witch began to eat.'

83 mon hərə nokh=ə? ro gam=te no
1 piece eat=A.PT and say=A.PRS CMPL
'She ate one piece and says:'

---

261 Standard form: per.  
262 < *ga'j=i', The perfect marker is regularly, although not obligatorily, realized as =chi?ə following a stem ending in /j/.
"Daughter, this doesn’t taste like humans."

'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?"

And the boy flees.

The witch chases him.

But the boy, fleeing, arrives at the millet bread tree and climbs up there.

The witch also arrives at the tree but she can’t grab the boy.

And crying and crying, she just dies [through sorrow] at the base of that pulse bread tree.

And the boy lives happily ever after (= very well).''
suʔkho lemeʔd
happy sleep
'A peaceful sleep'

[BB, 2]

1. məŋ poʔda=te muʔqu kontheʔ bajhay kəɾ 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=kaɾ=ɑʔ nimi daɾhi aw=ki.
   that=S,HUM=GEN name beard COP=M,PT
   'HIS NAME WAS DARHI (= BEARD).'

3. daɾhi=yaʔ məŋ beʔ=dəm ro sawʔ=ɬəm 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 hepaʔd=te=ga aw=ki.
   village forest vicinity=OBL=FOC COP=M,PT
   'THE VILLAGE WAS NEAR A FOREST.'

5. kinir=te kisim kisim=yaʔ kontheʔ ro hoʔdom jiwjantu=ki aw=na laʔ=ki=may.
   forest=OBL type REP=GEN bird and other animal=POSS COP=INF IPFV=M,PT=3P
   'IN THE FOREST LIVED MANY DIFFERENT TYPES OF BIRDS AND OTHER ANIMALS.'

6. daɾhi kontheʔ bajhay=kon obʔ=son=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=kaɾ=ɑʔ purkha=ki=jo kontheʔ bajhay=na=yaʔ kamu karay=kon=ga borol=na
   that=S,HUM=GEN ancestor=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. daɾhi diyo=ga (roj=ga) ho boʔ=ki=yaʔ kinir=te buli buli jal ropa=kon ho=te
   Darhi daily=FOC daily=FOC that place=POSS=GEN forest=OBL wander REP net spread=SEQ that=OBL (= 'there')
   moʔjhi=te tereʔ j rumkuʔb=te chiʔa=kon aʃi daru=ki=yaʔ oltha=te leʔd god=na
   middle=OBL powder rice=OBL scatter=SEQ ANAPH tree=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. rumku=yaʔ dana=te kontheʔ=ki yo=ta yota poʔ=na thon lalca=na laʔ=ki=may.
   rice=GEN grain=OBL bird=POSS 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 ṭhāɾo yo=kon poʔ=naʔ thon 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 daʔhi=yaʔ ropa jal=te bajhe goʔ=du=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 kontheʔ=te jughay koleʔ, heirla, perwā, 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, MA/NA BIRDS AND WILD CHICKENS.'

13. jal=te bajhe kontheʔ=ki=te yo=t a yota daʔhi lereʔ jal tay kontheʔ=ki=te  
net= OBL get.trapped bird=P=OBL see=CONV REP Darhi joy net ABL bird= P=OBL  
oj=k on adj=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 dəl=kon daʔhi sob kontheʔ=ki=te juda juda kondeŋ=yaʔ pijnjra=te  
house come=SEQ Darhi all bird=P=OBL separate REP bamboo=GEN cage= OBL  
un=na laʔ=ki ro poθhiya=te263 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 THE BIRDS INTO SEPARATE BAMBOO  
CAGES AND SELL THEM AT THE MARKET.'

15. daʔhi adj=yaʔ beʔ=dəm=te=jo kontheʔ bajhay=na kinir sori sori doŋ=na  
Darhi ANAPH=GEN son=3POSS=OBL ADD bird trap=INF forest together REP take=INF  
ləʔ=ki.  
IPFV=M.PT  
'DARHI ALSO USED TO TAKE HIS SON ALONG TO TRAP BIRDS IN THE FOREST.'

16. beʔ=dəm yaʔ nimi raʔa aw=ki.  
son=3POSS=GEN name Rata COP=M.PT  
'HIS SON’S NAME WAS RATA.'

17. raʔa=te kontheʔ 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 kontheʔ=ki=te yo=t a yota raʔa=te duʔ=kho laʔ=ki.  
get.trapped bird=P=OBL see=CONV REP Rata=OBL sorrow EMOT=M.PT  
'SEEING THE TRAPPED BIRDS, RATA WOULD BECOME UNHAPPY.'

263 Standard form: poθhiya.
264 The syntax here seems somewhat corrupt. One would normally expect raʔa be the grammatical subject of um karayına 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=ðom=a?  bōtοŋ bunt sori sori kinir co=na la?=ki
   but father=3POSS=GEN fear INST together REP forest go=INF IFPV=M.PT
   ro bajhe končeq=ki=te jal tay o?=Kon theila=te sajaj=na la?=ki.
   and get.trapped bird=p=OBL net ABL take.out=SEQ (hand)bag=OBL put.into=INF IFPV=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. musnįŋ raṭa=ya? ap=ðom=te koso dhokha=o?.
    one.day Rata=GEN father=3POSS=OBL sickness catch=A.PT
    'One day, Rata's father got sick (= a sickness caught him).'

21. ap=ðom raṭa=te remakh=o? ro gam=o? no babu musa Ĭp
    father=3POSS Rata=OBL call=A.PT and say=A.PT CMPL child today 1s
    kinir co=na um=ǐŋ pal=ɛ.
    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. je?= am eblon=ga kinir končeq bajhay=na dhāy[=e].
    so 2s alone=FOC forest bird trap=INF run=A.IRR
    'So you hurry off alone to catch forest birds.'

23. iŋ=te musa neri ko<b>su</b>=tej ro kulq=jo jab=si?.
    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. raṭa jal=te theila hinte sajaj=kon kundq=ab=te la?=dhe=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 ðam=kon raṭa thorek to? leru=ki, ro aba=ðom=a? lekhe=ga
    forest arrive=SEQ Rata little time rest=M.PT and father=3POSS=GEN like=FOC
    jal ropa=kon dana chiṭa=yo? ro daru sumbo=te le= قوله go=ðeq=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. raṭa=te ðoko ðoko lemeʔd la?=ki.
    Rata=OBL sit.down REP sleep EMOT=M.PT
    'While he was seated, Rata became tired.'

27. khôd_q=jo doko=te=ga mukum=ki, tay ho bo?=te=ga khôd_q=jo mene265
    a.while=CNTR sit=OBL=FOC doze.off=M.PT then that place=OBL=FOC a.while CL.
    dжаланпе=tə=ιŋ" - gam=o? ro gitə=kon lemeʔd godq=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=kaɾ leme'ɖ leme'ɖ munu yo=na la?=ki no kontheɖ=ki ho=kaɾ=te
that=3.HUM sleep REP dream see=INF IPFV=3.PT CMPL bird=3P that=3.HUM=OBL
ob-len=ga swarag raij ɖoq=na la?=ki=may.
CAUS-fly=FOC heaven kingdom carry=INF IPFV=3.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 khoɾe=ga moŋ kauwa ɖɛl=ki ro kontheɖ=ki=te gam=te no
that time=FOC one crow come=3.PT and bird=3P=OBL say=3.APRS CMPL
"am=pe u papi lebu=ya? kunɖu?=te ina swarag ɖoq=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=kaɾ=te tobluŋ tay ob-gur=kon daɾhi=te aniŋ cetay=te=niŋ.
that=3.HUM=OBL top ABL CAUS-fall=SEQ Darhi=OBL 3.P.INDL warn=3.APRS=1.P.INDL
'[THEY SAID:]'WE WILL DROP HIM FROM THE SKY (= TOP) AND WARN DARHI.'

31. ina no daɾhi aniŋ=a? kontheɖ wās=te bajhay=kon
why CMPL.(='because') Darhi 1.P.INDL=GEN bird lineage=OBL trap=SEQ
(khatam karay=tej) buŋay=teʔj.
end do=A.APRS finish.off=A.PROG
'BECAUSE DARHI WILL DESTROY OUR LINEAGE BY TRAPPING US.'

32. hin=a? thoŋ u=kaɾ=te tobluŋ tay ob-gur=kon daɾhi=ya? wāsaj=te
that=GEN for this=3.HUM=OBL top ABL CAUS-fall=SEQ Darhi=GEN descendant=OBL
buŋay ɡoq=te=niŋ."
finish.off C:TEL=A.APRS=I.P.INDL
'THEREFORE WE WILL DROP HIM FROM ABOVE AND FINISH OFF DARHI'S DESCENDANTS.'"

33. hobne=te=ga ubar koleʔ kunduʔ jal=te bajhe=kon "tāy-tāy" toroʔ=na
that.much=OBL=FOC two parrot child net=OBL get.trapped=SEQ "tay, tay!" cry=INF
la?=ki=kiyar.266
IPVF=3.PT=3D
'MEANWHILE (= IN THAT MUCH), TWO BABY PARROTS GOT CAUGHT IN THE NET AND BEGAN CRYING "TAY! TAY!".'

34. koleʔ=yaʔ ma=qom ro apa=qom ho=kiyar=te jal tay oj=na thoŋ
parrot=GEN mother=3.POSS and father=3.POSS that=3=OBL net ABL take.out=INF PURP
han=te u=te puʔɖ-puʔɖ khor=taʔj=kiyar ro sob=ga "tāy-tāy"
that(DIST)=OBL(= 'there') this=OBL(= 'here') jump-REDP ITER=M.PROG=3D and all=FOC "tay, tay!"
toroʔ=yaʔ=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=ya? torod ondor=kon ratā=ya? leme’d=jo caṭke go’d=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. ratā jal bo?=te col=ta ro yo=te la[ʔ] ubar kole? kundū 
Rata net place=OBL go=M,PRS and see=A,PRS then 2 parrot child
jal=te bajhe=kon saṅghra=ya? thon iyam=taʔ)=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 ratā=te muruk sog la?=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=o? ro melay goth=o?. boriya=ga len=kon 
net ABL both=OBL take.out=A,PT and leave C:TEL=A,PT both=FOC fly=SEQ
ma=dom ap=dom=ya? sori dhisa? col=ki=may.
mother=3.POSS father=3.POSS=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. ratā socay=te no "iŋ=a? karne boriya kundū=te ki?=te duʔkho hoy=ki." 
Rata think=A,PRS. CMPL IS=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 ratā=te=jo duʔkho la?=ta. 
this think=SEQ Rata=OBL=ADD unhappy EMOT=M,PRS
'THINKING THIS, RATA IS ALSO VERY UNHAPPY.'

40. hin khōrhol=ga ratā jal=te somṭay=kon theila=te sajay=o? ro o? 
that(DIST) time=FOC Rata net=OBL gather.up=SEQ (hand)bag=OBL put.into=A,PT and house
del=ki.
come=M,PT
'AT THAT VERY MOMENT RATA GATHERED UP THE NET, PUT IT INTO THE HANDBAG AND
WENT (= CAME) HOME.'

41. ratā=te tomoŋ tiʔ yo=kon ap=dom gam=te "i hoy=ki? 
Rata=OBL empty hand see=SEQ father=3.POSS say=A,PRS what become=M,PT
'SEEING RATA EMPTY-HANDED, HIS FATHER SAYS "WHAT HAPPENED?"'

42. konthēd um ol=teʔj=d=em. 
bird NEG bring=A,PROG=2S
'YOU AREN’T BRINGING [ANY] BIRDS.'

43. ratā gam=te "iŋ u ikuʔd sundar konted=ki=te bajhay=kon satay=na um=iŋ lam=te. 
Rata say=A,PRS IS 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=a? thoŋ=ga je bajhe=sikh=oʔ=may ho=jeʔ=ki=jo\(^{267}\) jaltay o\(^{2}j\)=kon
that=GEN for=FOC CR get.trapped=PERF=AP.T=3P that=S.NHUM=ADD net ABL take.out=SEQ
ob-leŋ goth=o\(^{2}j\), melay goth=o\(^{2}j\)."
CAUS-fly C:TEL=AP.T=1S leave C:TEL=A.P.T=1S
'THEREFORE, I ALSO TOOK OUT OF THE NET THOSE WHICH HAD BEEN TRAPPED AND
RELEASED THEM (= LET THEM FLY, LEFT THEM).''

45. rata\(=t\)e aba=ŋ dom samjhay\(=t\)e, gam\(=t\)e no "babu,
Rata=OBL father=3POSS explain=A.PRS say=A.PRS CMPL child
aniŋ\(=t\)a purkha=ko=j o u kamu karay=kon=ga borol=ki=may.
1P.INC=GEN ancestor=CNTR=ADD this work do=SEQ=FOC live=3M.PT=3P
'THE FATHER EXPLAINS TO RATA AND SAYS 'CHILD, OUR ANCESTORS ALSO LIVED BY DOING
THIS WORK.,'

46. ro anaŋ\(=t\)e\(=j\)o purkha=ki=yaʔ ter-ter kamu\(=t\)e=ga karay=kon borol=na ayi\(^{2}j\).
and 1D.INCL=OBL=ADD ancestor=P=GEN give-RDP work=OBL=FOC do=SEQ live=3INF PRS.COP
'AND WE BOTH MUST ALSO LIVE BY DOING THE WORK WHICH THE ANCESTORS HAVE GIVEN
US.,'

47. konthed\(=k\)e ob-sonŋ=ke jetna rupaya kamu\(=d\)om=ta,
bird CAUS-buy=SEQ CR:how.much money earn PASS=M.PRS
ho\(^{2}b\)ne rupaya hoŋdom kamu karay=kon um kamu\(=d\)om=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. rata\(=t\)e gam\(=t\)e "borol=na=ʔ thoŋ ro rupaya kamu=na=ʔ thoŋ u sundar
Rata say=A.PRS live=3INF=GEN PURP and money earn=3INF=GEN PURP this beautiful
konthed\(=k\)i=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 laṁta\(=t\)oʔ=te=ki ro borol=ta=ki.
that=P=ADD=CNTR own REP look=CONV REP eat=A.PRS=P and live=3M.PRS=P
'THEY ALSO HAVE TO SURVIVE (= EAT AND LIVE) BY SEARCHING [FOR] THEMSELVES. '

50. iŋ musa tay=ga konthed\(=b\)ajhay kamu melay=kon hoŋdom kamu\(=y=e\)=iŋ."
1S today ABL=O3A 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. rata\(=t\)e ap=ŋ dom gam\(=t\)e 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\(=t\)e mōŋ hapt\(=t\)a=te am mōŋ hajar rupaya kamu\(=k\)e ter=ε=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 iɲ kądį=na=iɲ no am hɔdɔm kamu karay=kon borol=na=m."
then=FOC 1S accept=M.IRR=1S CMPL 2S other work do=SEQ live=M.IRR=2S
'OONLY THEN WILL I ACCEPT THAT YOU WILL LIVE BY DOING OTHER WORK.'"

52. raʈa gaɾa=ŋa=ɔ? "baru kayom=ga heke."
   Rata say=A.PT good speech=FOC PERS.COP
   'RATA SAID "WHAT YOU SAY IS GOOD."'

53. ro saŋgo=ɗɔm=ə? boʔ=te col=ki.
   and friend=3POSS=GEN place=OBL go=M.PT
   'AND HE WENT TO THE HOME OF HIS FRIEND.'

54. saŋgo=ɗɔm bɑʈhi kamu soʔj=na laʔ=ki.
   friend=3POSS carpenter work know=INF IPFV=M.PT
   'HIS FRIEND KNEW CARPENTRY.'

55. raʈa saŋgo=ɗɔm=te sob kayom=te utun=əɔ.
   Rata friend=3POSS=OBL all matter=OBL relate=A.PT
   'RATA RELATED THE ENTIRE MATTER TO HIS FRIEND.'

56. ro gaɾa=ŋa=ɔ? no "iɲ=te konon konon daru=ya? konon kundyʔ=ki=ya?
   and say=A.PT CMPL 1S=OBL small REP wood=GEN small child=p=GEN
   thɔŋ 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=ɗɔm raʈa=te raŋrinyaʔd, anaʔmanaʔ khelawna bay=na sikhay=əɔ.
   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 ɖeʔj ol=əɔ? 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
   peʈhinya=te ob-soŋ=na absiph=əɔ? ro rupaya ḥuray=əɔ.
   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=ɗɔm=ə? gaɾa=naʔ motabik=ga hapta dinu=yaʔ loʔqbo raʈa aba=ɗɔm=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=əɔ?
   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=ðom rupaya=te yo-yo=ya? yo-yo=ga aw god=q=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. bet=ðom a? mehneit=ya? kamu rupaya=te yo=kon mo²d=te romo²dq=ya?
son=3POSS=GEN labor=GEN earn money=OBL see=SEQ eye=OBL tear

bhore god=q=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 "kundu?=na=in, am in=te godjhuŋ ob-yo=yo=b no and say=A.PRS child=POSS=1S 2s 1S=OBL path CAUS=see=A.PT.2S CMPL

i=ghay kamu=kon borol=na ayi²j.
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 in konthed bajhay kamu melay god[e]=in.
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=a? sori in=jo khelawna bay[e]=in.
and 2s=GEN with 1S=ADD doll make=A.IRR=1S
'AND I WILL MAKE DOLLS TOGETHER WITH YOU.'

65. hoðom jiyom=ki=te sattay=kon iði²b=te lemën²q=jo um ðel=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 onðor=kon rāt=ya ayo=ðom, daɾhi=ya? saw-ray=ðom, gam=te: this matter hear=SEQ Rata=GEN mother=3POSS Darhi=GEN spouse-woman=3POSS say=A.PRS
'HARING THIS MATTER, RATA'S MOTHER, DARHI'S WIFE, SAID:'

67. "mehneit ro iman=ya? kamu karay=na se iði²b=te suʔ kho=ya? lemén²q ðel=ta." labor and honor=GEN work do=INF ABL night=OBL happiness=GEN sleep come=M.PRS
"BY DOING LABOR AND HONORABLE WORK (= LABOR AND HONOR'S WORK), ONE SLEEPS HAPPILY (= THE SLEEP OF HAPPIESS COMES) AT NIGHT.'"

68. hoðom dinu tay ma=ðom ap=ðom ro rāta daru=ya? kamu karay=kon other day ABL mother=3POSS father=3POSS and Rata wood=GEN work do=SEQ

sundar-boʔ borol noʔ=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=ya?) followed by a free-standing form marked by ga and accompanied by a finite form of aw marked for culminatory telicity (go²d) denotes either a long-term activity, as here, or that the resultant state is more or less permanent.
likha kaṛ  basil baṅ.
write person Basil Baa
'AUTHOR: BASIL BAA.'
The dog's friend

1. ikudı́́́ jughay bair kayom heke. akhāť kinir=te möŋ soloʔ aw=na laʔ=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=kaɾ=ŋaʔ beɾ=jo sango umay aw=ki. that=S.HUM=GEN who=ADD friend NEG.3P COP=M.PT
   'HE HAD NO FRIENDS WHATSOEVER.'

3. caʔdo soloʔ eblon=ga han=tiʔ j u=tiʔ j buli khor=na laʔ=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=kaɾ=te ekla=ga baru um laʔ=na laʔ=ki. musniŋ=ŋaʔ 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. soloʔ sango lam=na muʔ=ki. dog friend search=INF go.out=M.PT
   'THE DOG WENT OUT TO LOOK FOR A FRIEND.'

6. ho=kaɾ mugam tiʔ j co=na laʔ=ki no acka=ga soloʔ=yaʔ najeir möŋ póɾon=te
   that=S.HUM front side go=INF IPFV=M.PT CMPL sudden=FOC dog=GEN sight one hare=OBL
   yo=yoʔ.
   see=A.PT
   'HE WAS WALKING FORWARD WHEN SUDDENLY HE CAUGHT SIGHT OF A HARE (= THE DOG'S SIGHT SAW ONE HARE).'

7. soloʔ tomon=ki ro konoq=na márë=yoʔ, no "kiʔte baru hoy=na haʔniŋ
   dog stand=INF and think=INF begin=A.PT CMPL how.much good become=M.IRR indeed
   u=kaɾ ip=ŋaʔ sango bone goʔd=na=∅ laʔ=.]'
   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. soloʔ póɾon=yaʔ hepaq col=ki ro gam=ʊʔ "e iyar (e bhai)
   dog hare=GEN vicinity go=M.PT and say=A.PT VOC friend VOC brother
   am=bar ip=ŋaʔ kayom onɖor=ɛ=bar!" 2=HON 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. póɾon gam=te "gam=ɛ=bar." hare say=A.PRS say=A.IRR=2HON
   'THE HARE SAYS "SPEAK."

10. soloʔ gam=te "am=bar bura um=bar mane=tiʔ j laʔ anan boriya sango
    dog say=A.PRS 2=HON bad NEG=2HON consider=A.PROG then 2D.INCL both friend
bone=kon sorî=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. poŋoŋ mon=te konoŋ=x=ro gam=ŋ=oŋ "jn=te jah=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 poŋoŋ sori aw=na=ŋ thɒŋ tey=ki. soloŋ ikuŋ jughay lere?=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=kar=te moŋ saŋo kui goŋ=ŋ=di=ki.
why CMPL (=because') that=S.HUM=OBL one friend be.find C:TEL=M.PT
'BECAUSE HE FOUND A FRIEND.'

14. ho=kiyar boriya dinu bher sori aw=ki=kiyar.
that=OBL both day whole together remain=M.PT=D
'THE TWO REMAINED TOGETHER THE WHOLE DAY.'

15. idỳi hoy=ki boriya=ga moŋ daru sumbo?=te gita?=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. gita?=na deri poŋoŋ=te ikuŋ jughay lemeŋ la?=ki ro lemeŋ goŋ=ŋ=di=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 solo?=te lemeŋ um ɬel=ki. ho=kar 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 saŋa ondoŋ=na la?=ki no bhabru=na la?=ki.
INDEF.NHUM noise hear=INF IPFV=M.PT COMPL bark=INF IPFV=M.PT
'WHENEVER HE HEARD ANY NOISE HE WOULD BARK.'

19. idỳi bhere enem bhabru soloŋ um aw=na pal=na la?=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. solo?=ya=ŋ bhabru bun poŋoŋ=ya=ŋ lemeŋ piŋ god=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. poŋoŋ beroŋ=ki ro gam=oŋ no "iyar, am=te lemeŋ um la?=ta?
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?"

sleep NEG EMOT=M.PRS then silent REP=FOC lie.down=PERF=M.IRR
'IF YOU ARE NOT TIRED THEN LIE QUIETLY.'
23. umbo? laʔ=ko am=aʔ riray=te ondor=kon maha tuyu ðe=na ro anaŋ
not then=CNTR 2S=GEN crying.out=OBL hear=SEQ big jackal come=M.IRR and 1D.INCL
boriya=te=ga noʔ goŋ=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.'"

24. soloʔ bhabr=na melay=ʔoʔ. ro mon=te=ga konoʔ=ʔoʔ no "sango in bes
dog bark=INF stop=A:PT and mind=OBL=FOC think=A:PT CMPL friend 1S good
um=ʔiŋ 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. poɾoŋ=ko (qarguha) pattajhaɾa ayiʔj. ho=kaɾ 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. inʔ u=ghay sango buŋ um=ʔiŋ 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=ʔoʔ no "poɾoŋ 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 ɗiʔŋgar ro sawagar 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 sango bay=naʔ? 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=kaɾ=ʔaʔ hepaq 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 ɗam=kon soloʔ gam=te "i=ghay ayiʔjɗ=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. ɗheɾ dinu tay bheʔʔo=siʔ=naŋ jeʔ? sori=ga sango 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=o? "baru=ga aw=na." ro dinu bheir sori=ga aw=ki=kiyar.
    jackal say=AP.T 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. iðib=te boriya=ga mọn daru=wa? sumbo?=te gita?=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. gita?=na deri tuyu=ko phökare phökare lemed go'ɖ=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 solo?=te=ko lemed=ga abu de=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 saɾa onɖoro269=te no=ga jor jor se bhabru=te.
    and sound hear=A.PR.S CMPL=FOC(= 'as soon as') strong rep inst bark=A.PR.S
    'AND AS SOON AS HE HEARS A SOUND, HE BARKS LOUDLY.'

38. ho=kəɾ=aʔ bhabru onɖoɾ=kon tuyu=ya? lemed çaɾke go'ɖ=ki.
    that=S.HUM=GEN bark=SEQ jackal=GEN sleep burst C:TEL=M.PT
    'HEARING HIS BARKING, THE JACKAL AWOKE (= HIS SLEEP BURST).'

39. tuyu bered=kilo ro solo?=te gam=o? no "am=te lemed um de=ta
    jackal arise=M.PT and dog=OBL say=A.PR.T CMPL 2S=OBL sleep NEG come=M.PR.S
    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 onɖoɾ=kon kiró? de=na laʔ boriya=te=ga tar noq=e." if 2S=GEN bark hear=SEQ tiger come=M.IRR neg then=CNTR kill eat=A.IRR
    'IF, HAVING HEARD YOUR BARKING, THE TIGER COMES, HE WILL KILL AND EAT US BOTH."'

41. u kayom onɖoɾ=kon solo?=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=o? no "tuyu=jo pattajhaɾa ayiʔ. ina no ho=kaɾ
    and say=A.PR.T CMPL jackal=ADD coward PRS.COP why CMPL(= 'because') that=S.HUM
    kiró?=te boroɾ=ta.
    tiger=OBL fear=M.PR.S
    'AND HE SAID "THE JACKAL IS A COWARD. BECAUSE HE FEARS THE TIGER."'

43. ro konoɖ=te tay gam=te no "jarul=ga kiró? tuyu=yaʔ tay jughay=ga
    and think=A.PR.S then say=A.PR.S CMPL certain=FOC tiger jackal=GEN INST much=FOC

269 Standard form: onḍor.
44. u socay=kon solo? gam=te no "in tuyu=te melay=kon a' b kiro?=te sango this think=SEQ dog say=A.PRS CMPL 1s jackal=OBL leave=SEQ now tiger=OBL friend bay[=e]=in." make=A.BRR=1S 'HAVING THOUGHT THIS THE DOG SAYS [TO HIMSELF] "I WILL LEAVE THE JACKAL NOW AND MAKE THE TIGER MY FRIEND."

45. ro kiro?=te lam=na col=ki. lam=na lamna=te solo? kiro[?]=te kuy=o? and tiger=OBL search=INF go=M.PT search=INF REP=OBL dog tiger=OBL find=A.PT ro gam=te "i=ghay ayi'jd=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. kiro? gam=te "baru baru=ga." ro juj=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. la? solo?270 gam=te "in=ko enem saango=ya? baru umbor=a'jd=in. 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=ga? saango bay=na lam=te'jd=in271 je[?] 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. kiro? gam=te "baru aw=na." ro sori=ga aw=na maray=oa=kiyar. tiger say=A.PRS good COP=M.BRR and together=FOC live=INF begin=A.PT=D 'THE TIGER SAYS "IT WILL BE GOOD." AND THEY BEGAN TO LIVE TOGETHER.'

50. idib bhere boriya=ga mon daru sumbo?=te=ga gita?=sikh=o?=kiyar. night time both=FOC one tree base=OBL one tree base=FOC lie.down=PERF one tree base=FOC "AT NIGHT THEY BOTH LAY DOWN AT THE BASE OF A TREE."

51. kiro? lemed=sikh=o?. acka=ga sara ondor=kon solo? bhabru=na la?=ki. 272 tiger sleep=PERF=A.PT sudden hear=SEQ dog bark=INF IPFV=M.PT 'THE TIGER FELL ASLEEP. SUDDENLY, HAVING HEARD A NOISE, THE DOG BEGAN TO BARK.'

52. ho=kar=a? gul ondor=kon kiro?=ya? lemed cakte=ki ro solo?=te lech=o? that=S.HUM=GEN cry hear=SEQ tiger=GEN sleep burst=M.PT and dog=OBL curse=A.PT "am=te lemed um la?=ta la? hodom=ki=te ina tan 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 la? as 'begin', see notes 36, 49, 63, 181, 250, and 266.
'HAVING HEARD HIS CRIES, THE TIGER AWOKE AND SWERE AT THE DOG: "IF YOU AREN'T TIRED, THEN WHY DO YOU ANNOY OTHERS?"

53. am=aʔ habru ondoʔ=kon lebu de=na laʔ boriya=te=ga tar gor=e.
    2s=gen bark hear=seq man come=mirr then both=oobl foc kill c:tel=a irr
    'HEARING YOUR BARKING, A MAN WILL COME AND KILL US BOTH.'

    silent rep lie.down=mirr dog=oobl tiger=gen speech good neg emot=m pt
    'AND HE SAYS "THE TIGER IS A COWARD, HE FEARS THE MAN.'

55. ro gam=te "kiro?=jo pattajha ayiʔ j lebu=te bota=ta.
    and say=apr tiger=add coward prs.cop man=oobl fear=m prs
    'NOW I WILL LEAVE THE TIGER AND MAKE THE MAN MY FRIEND.'

56. ab iŋ kiro?=te melay lebu=te sango bay[=e]=iŋ.
    now 1s tiger=oobl leave man=oobl 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 mu?=ki.
    this think=seq dog man=oobl search=inf go.out=m pt
    'HAVING THOUGHT THIS THE DOG WENT OUT TO LOOK FOR THE MAN.'

58. lam=na lamna lebu=te ku=y=oʔ. lebu kodɛʔ j buŋ daru dej=na la?=ki.
    search=inf rep man=oobl find=ap tiger 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 hepaŋ patta=qom=te hilay=gə col=ki ro ḍoko god=ki.
    dog man=gen vicinity tail=poss oobl shake=foct go=m pt and sit.down c:tel=m pt
    'THE DOG WENT NEAR THE MAN, WAGGING HIS TAIL, AND SAT DOWN.'

60. kati{j deri=yaʔ loʔqho lebu=te gam=te no "am=bar iŋ=te sango bay=e=bar."
    somewhat while=gen after man=oobl say=apr cmpl 2=2hon 1s=oobl friend make=a irr=2hon
    'A SMALL WHILE LATER HE SAYS TO THE MAN "MAKE ME YOUR FRIEND.'"

61. lebu laḏa=te ro gam=oʔ hā, iŋ am=te sango bay[=e]=iŋ.
    man laugh=apr and say=ap yes 1s 2s=oobl friend make=a irr=1s
    'THE MAN LAUGHS AND SAID "YES, I WILL MAKE YOU MY FRIEND.'"

62. muda am=te iŋ=aʔ oʔ co=na hoy=na." 
    but 2s=oobl 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=naʔ thọŋ teyar goʔ qa=ta.
    dog man=gen with go=inf=gen purpos ready c:tel=m prs
    'THE DOG BECOMES READY TO GO WITH THE MAN.'

64. lebu=waʔ oʔ=te soloʔ=te poʔ=na thoŋ peʔ ter=te=may.
    man=gen house=oobl dog=oobl eat=inf purpos cooked.rice give=apr prs=3p
    'AT THE MAN'S HOUSE THEY GIVE THE DOG FOOD (= RICE) TO EAT.'

273 Standard form: konqeqj.
65. iqilib=te soloʔ bhabru=te muda ber=aʔ=jo lemeɖ um piʔj=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. soloʔ gam=te no "lebu=ki ikuɖ jughay udar (niɖar) djirhgar odoʔ nek dil
dog say=A.PRS CMPL man=P very much compassionate brave brave and pure heart

jiyom hekãy.

'THE DOG SAYS 'PEOPLE ARE VERY COMPASSIONATE, BRAVE AND PURE-HEARTED SOULS.'

67. u duniyã=te lebu=te melay=kon in=aʔ saŋgo bone=na laik ber=jo hoɖom
this world=OBL man=OBL leave=SEQ 1S=GEN friend become=INF worthy who=ADD other

umboʔj=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 soloʔ 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 βeta*

\textit{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=?* \textit{bet}=\textit{qom} \textit{modi} \textit{ðheir}=\textit{ga} \textit{lelgar} \textit{aw}=\textit{ki}.  
   *Etwa*=\textit{GEN} \textit{son}=\textit{3POSS} \textit{Modi} \textit{very}=\textit{FOC} \textit{love} \textit{COP}=\textit{M.PT}  
   \textit{ETWA'S SON, MODI, WAS VERY BELOVED.}  

2. \textit{modi je gam}=\textit{na} \textit{la}=\textit{ki} \textit{ho}=\textit{je}? \textit{ma}=\textit{qom} \textit{ap}=\textit{qom} \textit{pura} \textit{karay}=\textit{na}  
   \textit{Modi} \textit{CR} \textit{say}=\textit{INF} \textit{IPFV}=\textit{M.PT} \textit{that}=\textit{S.NHUM} \textit{mother}=\textit{3POSS} \textit{father}=\textit{3POSS} \textit{fulfilling} \textit{do}=\textit{INF}  
   \textit{la}=\textit{ki}=\textit{kiyor}.  
   \textit{IPFV}=\textit{M.PT}=\textit{D}  
   \textit{WHATEVER MODI WANTED, HIS PARENTS GOT IT FOR HIM (= WHATEVER MODI SAID, HIS MOTHER AND FATHER FULLFILLED IT).}  

3. \textit{mön} \textit{beta} \textit{gam}=\textit{kon} \textit{ho}=\textit{kaɾ}=\textit{te} \textit{rakam rakam} \textit{rāg} \textit{rita}? \textit{lutui} \textit{phaʃa}  
   \textit{one} \textit{son} \textit{say}=\textit{SEQ} \textit{that}=\textit{S.HUM}=\textit{OBL} \textit{way} \textit{REP} \textit{color} \textit{ECHO} \textit{clothing} \textit{ECHO}  
   \textit{ob-su}=\textit{na} \textit{la}=\textit{ki}=\textit{kiyor}.  
   \textit{CAUS-wear}=\textit{INF} \textit{IPFV}=\textit{M.PT}=\textit{D}  
   \textit{SEEING AS HE WAS THEIR SON (= HAVING SAID "A SON"),}^{275} \textit{THEY DRESSED HIIM IN ALL KINDS OF BRIGHTLY COLORED CLOTHES.}  

4. \textit{khawna}=\textit{ko} \textit{peṭhiya} \textit{geinka} \textit{ol} \textit{kay}=\textit{na} \textit{la}=\textit{ki}=\textit{kiyor}.  
   \textit{a.kind.of.sweets}=\textit{CNTR} \textit{market} \textit{every} \textit{bring} \textit{BEN}=\textit{INF} \textit{IPFV}=\textit{M.PT}=\textit{D}  
   \textit{AND [AT] EVERY MARKET THEY WOULD BRING SWEETS FOR HIM.}  

5. \textit{modi paguɾ} \textit{rēgse}=\textit{na} \textit{la}=\textit{ki} \textit{bhere} \textit{tay}=\textit{ga} \textit{arkhi} \textit{u}=\textit{d}=\textit{na}=\textit{ʔ} \textit{thoŋ} \textit{yam}=\textit{na}  
   \textit{Modi} \textit{crawl} \textit{move.by.sliding}=\textit{INF} \textit{IPFV}=\textit{M.PT} \textit{time} \textit{ABL}=\textit{FOC} \textit{liquor} \textit{drink}=\textit{INF}=\textit{GEN} \textit{PURP} \textit{cry}=\textit{INF}  
   \textit{la}=\textit{ki}.  
   \textit{IPFV}=\textit{M.PT}  
   \textit{SINCE THE TIME THAT MODI WAS CRAWLING HE USED TO CRY BECAUSE HE WANTED TO DRINK LIQUOR (= CRY TO DRINK LIQUOR).}  

6. \textit{bhala} \textit{ayo} \textit{aba}=\textit{qom}=\textit{ko} \textit{sadhu} \textit{je}? \textit{kunduʔ} \textit{ho}=\textit{ghay}.  
   \textit{well} \textit{mother father}=\textit{3POSS}=\textit{CNTR} \textit{simple} \textit{FOC} \textit{child} \textit{that}=\textit{way}  
   \textit{WELL, HIS MOTHER AND FATHER WERE SIMPLE, LIKE CHILDREN.}^{276}  

7. \textit{etwa jughay}=\textit{ko} \textit{umboʔ} \textit{muda} \textit{kaṭiʔj} \textit{kaṭiʔj} \textit{arkhi} \textit{u}=\textit{d}=\textit{na} \textit{la}=\textit{ki}.  
   \textit{Etwa} \textit{much}=\textit{CNTR} \textit{NEG} \textit{but} \textit{a.little} \textit{REP} \textit{liquor} \textit{drink}=\textit{INF} \textit{IPFV}=\textit{M.PT}  
   \textit{ETWA USED TO DRINK A LITTLE LIQUOR, BUT NOT MUCH.}  

8. \textit{etwa dular bun} \textit{gam}=\textit{na} \textit{la}=\textit{ki} "\textit{hen} \textit{beta}=\textit{in}, \textit{kaṭiʔj}-\textit{duʔ} \textit{u}=\textit{d}=\textit{goɾ}=\textit{e}."  
   \textit{Etwa} \textit{love} \textit{INST} \textit{say}=\textit{INF} \textit{IPFV}=\textit{M.PT} \textit{come.on!} \textit{son}=\textit{1S} \textit{a.little}-\textit{APPROX} \textit{drink} \textit{C:TEL}=\textit{A.IRR}  
   \textit{ETWA WOULD SAY LOVINGLY "COME ON, MY SON! DRINK A LITTLE BIT!"}  

---

^{275} \textit{gamkon} here would seem to function as a kind of focus particle.  
^{276} The status of \textit{jeʔ} as a focus marker here is uncertain and is not attested elsewhere.
9. ro botol tay d̪haray d̪haray 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 d̪hakar d̪hakar uʔd=na laʔ=ki.
Modi child guzzle REP drink=INF IPFV=M.PT
'LITTLE MODI WOULD GUGGLE IT DOWN.'

11. etwa khoub laʔa=e ro gam=e no "iʔ=naʔ beʔa=ʔn arkhi uʔd goθ=ʔo?
Etwa very laugh=A.IRR and say=A.IRR CMPL 1S=GEN son=1S liquor drink C:TEL=A.PT
tewjo um bul=ʔki.
nevertheless NEG get.drunk=TEL=M.PT
'ETWA WILL THEN LAUGH AND SAY "MY SON DRANK LIQUOR BUT STILL DIDN'T GET DRUNK."'

12. aʔb modi dhirom dhirom arkhi uʔd=na genu=ʔki.
now Modi slow REP liquor drink=INF habit=M.PT
'NOW MODI SLOWLY DEVELOPED A HABIT OF DRINKING LIQUOR.'

13. ap=ʔdom=te botol dhoʔ=ʔdhoʔ yo=ʔye laʔ cokoʔd=ʔga guʔriyay 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 eʔblo̞ŋ aw=ʔki bhere ap=ʔdom ma=ʔdom khoub dular karay=ʔoʔ=kiyar.
Modi alone COP=M.PT time father=3POSS mother=3POSS very love do=APT=D
'WHEN MODI WAS ALONE, HIS MOTHER AND FATHER WERE BE VERY LOVING TO HIM.'

15. aʔb=ko modi jhan moloy kulam hoy=ʔki=may.
now=CNTR Modi CL 5 brother COP=M.PT=3p
'BUT NOW MODI HAD FOUR BROTHERS.'

16. teuwaʔjo modi=te oʔoʔ=ʔki=ʔyaʔ tay jughay=ʔga dular karay=na laʔ=ʔki=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=ʔki bhere ap=ʔdom moŋ saykil soŋ say=ʔoʔ.
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 d̪el=koŋ saykil buŋ=ʔga khorj̪i khorj̪i 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. khorj̪i=ʔyaʔ lebu=ʔki modi=te yo=ʔye=may ro gam=e=ʔki "baba! modi porj̪e=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.
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=tē og=a? lebu legar=na la?=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 aʔ=bo ko goṭa khora=ya? lebu=ki=jo legar=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. aʔ=bo modi babu soub tūʔ jī tay dular kui=kon gorgora koloŋ guʔ dī kūŋ goʔ dī=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 oḍoʔ=ga arkhi uʔ=da=na=te josay goʔ=dī=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=dōm teinko arkhi un=sig=ə ho=jeʔ=ko ho=kaʔ capu house=OBL father=3POSS a little liquor place=PERF=A.IRR that=S.HNUM=CNTR that=S.HUM rummage karbaʔ=dī=kon uʔ=da ida=na la?=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. aʔ=bo modi iskul um col=kon a=tiʔ jī atiʔ pethiya, kuʔdhiŋ ho=tiʔ jī hotiʔ j co=na la?=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 chaṭwā klas=te phel hoy=ki. Modi once sixth class=OBL fail become=M.PT 'Once Modi failed the sixth class.'

28. ap=dōm ma=dōm 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.HNUM=ADD um=kīyar soʔ jī=na la?=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 goṭ=əʔ. Modi school stop C:TEL=A.PT 'Modi quit school.'

30. etwa gam lakha=yoʔ no "dhāy[=e] babu poṛhe=na!" muda modi giyal buņ Etwa say CONAT=A.PT CMPL hurry=A.IRR child study=M.IRR but Modi shame INST
um col=ki.
NEG say=M.PT
'TETRA TRIED TO SAY [TO HIM] "HURRY, CHILD, STUDY!" BUT MODI DIDN'T GO BECAUSE OF SHAME.'

31. ina no modi iskuk bheir tay soub se maha aw=ki.
why CPL(= 'because') Modi school whole ABL all ABL big COP=M.PT
'BECUSE MODI WAS THE OLDEST (= BIGGEST) OF THE WHOLE SCHOOL.'

32. ro paricha=te phel=sikh=0?=jo.
and exam=OBL fail=PERF=A.PT=ADD
'AND HE HAD FAILED HIS EXAM.'

33. iskuk melay=kon arkhi gola=t=ga le=ro aw=na la?=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. gorej měya= aw=na cahe idq=b soub bhure bul-bul=ga aw=na la?=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旃 modi pethiya pethiya col=kon dokan dawri karay=na mae=yo?.
now Modi market REP go=SEQ shop.owning do=INF being=A.PT
'NOW MODI BEGAN GOING FROM ONE MARKET TO ANOTHER SELLING THINGS.'

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. punji=te dũbi dubay=kon ap=ðom=te oðoʔ=ga keciya bor=na la?=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=ya? uʔ_ud yo=kon=ap=ðom konoʔ=da=na la?=ki no "beja=în i=ghay
Modi=GEN drink-RDP see=SEQ father=3POSS think=INF IPFV=M.PT CMPL son=1S what=way
buʔ roʔ sudhre=na=ʔ?"
INST FOC improve=M.IRR
'SEENING MODI'S DRINKING, HIS FATHER WOULD THINK "HOW WILL MY SON IMPROVE?"'

39. modi na silo=na la?=ki no oðoʔ=ga hoʔom kamu karay=na la?=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. supat uʔ=da=na=ya? 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]=îj, i umbo??". modi=ya? ma=ðom[=te] i=jo
Etwa say=A.PRS what do=A.IRR=1S what NEG Modi=GEN mother=3POSS=OBL what=ADD
buʔdhi um dəl=taʔj.
mind NEG come=M.PROG
42. modi=ya? ma=ṭom gam=te "moŋ upay ayiʔ."  
Modi=GEN mother=3POSS say=APRS 1 means PRS.COP  
'THEN MODI'S MOTHER SAYS "THAT HAS ONE MEANS."

Modi=GEN marry=INF ABL that=3.HUM=ABL 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=kiyar²⁷⁸ modi=ya? biha=yaʔ tiha=na absiph=ʔ=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=ki²⁷⁹ beʔi yo=ʔ=may.  
intermediary=P girl see=A.PT=3P  
'THE INTERMEDIARIES SAW A GIRL.'

46. ro biha=yaʔ tipṭẹkan karay=ʔ=may.  
and marry=GEN fix.a.date make=A.PT=3P  
'AND THEY FIXED A DATE FOR THE MARRIAGE.'

47. modi=yaʔ cat macgni²⁸⁰ paṭ 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 beʔa kimin oл=ʔ= muda kimin=ʔom ikuʔdʃ 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=ʔom=ki buŋ teinko=jo bana um aw=na laʔ=ki.  
brother.in.law sister.in.law=3POSS=IN INST somewhat=ADD liking NEG COP=INF IFPV=M.PT  
'SHE ALSO STRONGLY DISLIKED HER BROTHERS AND SISTERS-IN-LAW (= SOME LIKING WAS NOT).'

50. aji boksel koleʔj=na koleʔjna kinkar=ʔom=jo  
paternal.grandmother sister.in.law fight=INF REP mother.in.law=3POSS=ADD  
soʔdʒ ḏom goʔd=na laʔ=ki.  
mix PASS C:TEL=INF IFPV=M.PT  
'THE MOTHER-IN-LAW WAS ALSO BROUGHT (= MIXED) INTO THE GRANDMOTHER AND SISTER-IN-LAW'S QUARRELS.'

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=a a koleʔ j yo=kon modi sāw-ray=ðom=a? pacha berod=na la?=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 kar=ð a? kuluʔtar mother.in.law daughter.in.law grandmother sister.in.law all person=GEN cheek puwa kołon lekhe kuñ=siʔ=na la?=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. noʔ=na no uʔd=na=yaʔ thekan umboʔ. eat=INF or drink=INF=GEN fixed.place no 'THERE WAS NO FIXED PLACE FOR EATING OR DRINKING.'

54. culha=te=ko muʔjdaʔ, seta karam kuʔj=na la?=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 eʔheʔd' god=ð ki bhere modi=yaʔ ma=ðom timson soŋol see=INF REP annoy C:TEL=M,PT time Modi=GEN mother=3POSS fire firewood gonŋiŋ=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. betoʔd' buŋ modi=yaʔ konon kulam kulam ðay=ðom=ki bhit siniŋ siniŋ hunger INST Modi=GEN small sibling sibling woman=3POSS=P wall edge REP japaʔ khor=taʔj=may bhere moʔd kici oðoʔ rajh rajh romoʔd'ðaʔ lean ITER=M,PROG=3P time eye sleep and falling.in.quick.procession tear gur=taʔj. 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=ðom goŋ=oʔ dəŋ=oʔ ro soub=te ob-pokh=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=ðom=te juŋ=jo 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 idib=te peʔ och=oʔ ro moŋ loṭa dãʔ aʔd=kiyar=yaʔ gitaʔ Modi lie.down night=OBL cooked.rice take.out=A,PT and 1 cup water ANAPH=D=GEN lie.down koʔhari tiʔj diʔbh=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-ray=咎 bero²d=ki ro nadhnadhay=kon pe  nokh=o? ro 
spouse-woman=3POSS arise=3.M.PT and eat.one's.fill=SEQ cooked.rice eat=A.PT and

saraŋ jom=ki.
lie.down AUTOPOES=3.M.PT
'HIS WIFE GOT UP AND, HAVING EATEN HER RICE, SHE JUST LAY DOWN [AGAIN].'

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. moŋ=jo gur-gur pongo²d tāhīt um ram=na la?=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. kārṣay=ŋom=a? korhi ni=yon kon Modi oḍoʔ arkhi tērṣay=na la?=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, paharaĩt ñe=na ro maychawa buṇ kolej kender=na la?=ki.
midnight after.midnight come=INF and family INST fight quarrel=INF IPFV=M.PT
'AT MIDNIGHT OR LATER HE WOULD COME AND ARGUE AND QUARREL WITH HIS FAMILY.'

65. etwa jhan maychawa modi ro saw-ray=ŋom buṇ khijray go²d=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'b modi=te kulam=ŋom=ki ñahe=na la?=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=ŋom baran baran=ya? lenej lej=na la?=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=ŋom=ki kinbhar=te khaṭi keke=buṇ tol=kon 
one.day=CNTR Modi=OBL sibling=3POSS=P courtyard=OBL bed rope INST tie=SEQ

khutay goṭh=o?=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 o? sango²d=kon gita? go²d=ki=may.
and house go=SEQ lie.down C:TEL=M.PT=3P
'AND THEY WENT [INTO] THE HOUSE AND LAY DOWN.'

70. modi=ya? día=ŋom mu?=ki ro soub=te rakm=æ ²81 lenej lej=ga lejga
Modi=GEN woman=3POSS go.out=M.PT and all=OBL kind=GEN scolding scold=FOC REP

²81 From rakam 'kind, type'. 
71. *Etwa* anaph=GEN child=p inst work=GEN provision=OBL COP=INF IPFV=M,PT

'Etwa had a working arrangement (= was in a provision of work) with his children.'

72. a=tī’j modi u’q=na=ya? tiha=te=ga aw=na la?=ki.

'Wherever Modi procured drink (= wherever he was in a provision of drink),'

73. ho=tī’j modi ḍay=jo kolēʔ=na=ʔ thoŋ anṣ=si?=na la?=ki.

'There Modi's wife would also be fighting (= was with an open mouth for fighting),'

74. jahāy ho=kaṛ=te ṭokay[=e]=ki kolēʔ buŋ andor gor=e.

'If someone would talk to her she would cause a commotion (= make noise by fighting),'

75. maha kimin=ya? kolēʔ-boʔ yo=kon ḍay=moŋ konon bet=ṭom=ma? biha=ya?

'Seeing how quarrelsome the elder daughter-in-law was, Etwa arranged for the marriage of his younger son.'

76. abkir=ko ḍay=moŋ ro biʔ=ṭom=ma? moŋ marwa=te=ga biha karay=ōʔ.

'But now Etwa married his son and his daughter under a canopy.'

77. biha hoy=ki tay modi ḍay ḍonkui=ṭom buŋ phusri gu’q

'marriage COP=M,PT then Modi woman elder.brother’s.wife=3POSS INST pimple like

kayom=te kolēʔ=na?=ʔ thoŋ sāṛhin gōṛi lekhe tarnay khor=na la?=ki.

'matter=OBL fight=INF=GEN PURP surhi 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 sarhī cow, in [any] matter, with Modi's wife, her elder sister-in-law.'

78. tonme kimin suru suru giyal bōṭοŋ buŋ um kayom=na la?=ki.

'in the beginning the new daughter-in-law would not speak because of shyness and fear,'

---

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=kaɾ=te=ko donkui=dom diyo=ga huray 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. aʔb=ko boriya=ga iroʔd moroʔd koleʔj=ta=kiyar.
   now=CNTR both=FOC very.intensively fight=M.PRS=P
   'BUT NOW BOTH OF THEM FIGHT VERY MUCH.'

82. konon kimin ro kinkar=dom mən tijʔj, maha kimin ebloŋ=ga.
   small daughter.in.law and mother.in.law=3POSS one side big daugher.in.law alone=FOC

83. khoub utha uthi koleʔj=ta=ki.
   very back.and.forth fight=M.PRS=P
   'THE FIGHT VERY INTENSIVELY.'284

84. maha kimin na goŋ=na na dəŋ=na na taʔj=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. supaʔ oʔj=na ro laʔj besu poʔ=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. oʔʔʔ=ki=yaʔ thonŋ pure=na cahe abu pure=na.
   other=POSS 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 poʔ=na thonŋ=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=yaʔ286 lachan yo=kon aʔb ayo aba=dom=kiyar ro kulam=dom=ki
   Modi=D=GEN behaviour see=SEQ now mother.father=3POSS=D and sibling=3POSS=P
   bikhre goʔd=ki=may.
   annoy C:TEL=M.PT=3P

---

284 uṭha uṭhi ‘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=? thoŋ socay=o?=may.  
   all=FOC Modii=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=o?=may no "diyo diyo=ya? koleʔj kender buŋ diša?=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 beŋ=döm=te jum=da=na=? thoŋ khoʒi=ya? pahan  
   this say=SEQ Etwa son=3POSS=OBL separate-<CAUS>=INF=GEN PURP village.section=GEN priest  
   paŋc=ki=te ro mudh mudh lebu=ki=te paŋceŒ=te rema?=yo?.  
   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 PANCHAṬAY IN ORDER TO GET RID OF ETWA'S SON [= MODI].'

92. paŋc=ki soub goʔjloʔ dąʔ=te tach=oʔ=ki.  
   Panch=p all rice.field field=OBL distribute=A,PT=p  
   'THE MEMBERS OF THE PANCHAṬAY (= THE PANCH) DISTRIBUTED ALL OF THE RICE FIELDS  
   AND OTHER FIELDS [BELONGING TO ETWA'S FAMILY].'

93. modi ro kārjay=döm 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 lere?=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=döm=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 carpaṭ yο=kon kulam=döm=ki gam=oʔ=ki no "ele288 mehnēit  
   that=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.'
290
97. ro mən memon=te=ga ikuʔd jughay ba? keciya kamu=ki=may.
   and 1 year=OBL=FOC very much unhusked.rice earn=M.PT=3P
   'And [with] in a year they had earned very much rice and money.'
98. modi adʒ=ya? ap=ɖom kulam=ɖom=ki=ya? kamu yo=kon uʔd=na melay=子弟?
   Modi ANAPH=GEN father=3POSS sibling=3POSS=1=GEN work see=SEQ drink=INF stop=A.PT
   ro khoub kamu=na maɾe=yo?.
   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 eblon=ga a=tiʔj gune yo=ye.
   but alone=FOC 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
    'There were also no farm-hands.'
101. hin=aʔ thonʒ adʒ=ya? bet=ɖom bij=ɖom=ki=te iskul meʔb lay=kon
    that=GEN for ANAPH=GEN son=3POSS daughter=3POSS=P=OBL school leave-<CAUS>=SEQ
    kamu=te lagay=子弟.
    work=OBL apply=A.PT
    'Therefore he made his sons and daughters quit school and made them work (=applied 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 bet=ɖom=te dain=ki kaɾa 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. bet=ɖom kosu buŋ jhalay=kon jhalay=kon 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.'

290 Or, considering that kamu also means 'earn (money)': '... earned [money] by working hard.'

291 For 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.

292 On the role of witches in Kharia society, see Chapter 13 in Roy & Roy (1937), Kulluai (1988[2000]:64-78) and

293 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.

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 HANDS.'

106. ma=ḍom kunḍu?= kosu buṇ ḳam patar=na la?=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 oḍo?=ga u’d=na maṛe=yo?.

this all condition see=SEQ Modi more=FOC drink=INF begin=A.PT

'SEENING THIS ENTIRE CONDITION, MODI BEGAN TO DRINK EVEN MORE.'

108. etwa=te u=ki=yȧ? haleit yo=kon lebui la?=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 kunḍu?= jahā ghay=ga aw=ta=ki,

well mother father=CNTR REFL child INDEF.NHUM way=FOC COP=M.PT=P

ho=ki=te du?kho 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.'


mother=GEN soul=OBL=CNTR child=I=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 buṛa buṛhi modi jhan=te sewa karay=o?=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.'


small daughter.in.law=ADD cooked.rice curry cook BEN=INF IPFV=M.PT

'EVEN THE YOUNGER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW COOKED RICE AND CURRY FOR THEM.'

113. modi ro saw-ṛay=ḍom ayo aba ro boker kulum=ḍom=ki=ya?

Modi and spouse-woman=3POSS mother father and brother.in.law brother=3POSS=P=GEN

kaṭa sumbo?=te gur=kon ḳyam ḳyam maph bor=o?=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 môṇ o?=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 la?=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 bet=ɖom=te khoub dular karay=o?=kiyar.
mother father REFL love son=3POSS=OBL much love do=A.PT=D
'MOTHER AND FATHER LOVED THEIR SON VERY MUCH.'
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. mɔŋ bandho aw=ki. ho=kaɾ=əŋ[ʔ] sinin=te mɔŋ kulu aw=na laʔ=ki.
   one pond[ʔ] 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 hása=ji ho=te aw=na laʔ=ki=kiyar.
   2 goose=ADD that=OBL (=there') live=INF IPFV=M,PT=D
   'TWO GEESE ALLO LIVED THERE.'

3. kulu=yaʔ ubar hása=ʔ buŋ dosti (seir sango) aw=ki.
   turtle=GEN 2 goose=GEN INST friendship friendship[ʔ] COP=M,PT
   'THE TURTLE WAS A FRIEND OF (= HAD FRIENDSHIP WITH) THE TWO GEESE.'

4. uʔphe muruk sango laʔ=na laʔ=ki=may.
   3 very friend EMOT=INF IPFV=M,PT=3P
   'THE THREE WERE VERY CLOSE FRIENDS.'

5. meson u=ghay hoy=ki no d̪eir dino tay barkha um d̪el=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 gøʔ=ki. mɔŋ hása sango=d̪om=te gam=ʔ:
   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 jahh̄ t̄j̄ col=ta=niŋ. u=te=ko enem qaʔ=yaʔ?
   come.on INDEF,HUM side go=M,PRS=1P,INCL this=OBL (=here')=CNTR without water=GEN
   goj gød=na=niŋ."
   die C:TEL=M,IRR=1P,INCL
   "COME ON! LET'S GO SOMEWHERE. HERE WE WILL DIE WITHOUT WATER."

8. hása=kiyar sango=d̪om 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.'

As has been noted elsewhere, the use of ho=kaɾ is generally restricted to human reference, although its use with non-humans and inanimates is not uncommon.

Actually, a dam or the artificial lake resulting from the dam.

sango means 'friend' while seir does not appear to have any independent meaning.

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=ə?=kiyar "bhai (kulam), u ṭhāṛo=te melay=kon col=taʔ=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 bheit karay=na ḍel=siʔ=jar."
2S=OBL meeting do=INF come=PERF=1P.EXCL 'WE HAVE COME TO MEET YOU [ONE LAST TIME]."'

11. kulū gam=ə? "baru kayom! ḍin=te=jo am=bar=a? sori ḍor=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. hāsa=kiyar gam=ə?=kiyar "am=te i=ghay ḍor=e=jar? am=ko lep=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. kulū gam=ə? "jahā (kornis) upay karay=[e]=bar.
turtle say=A.PT INDEF.NHUM attempt means do=A.IRR=2D 'THE TURTLE SAID "TRY SOMEHOW."

14. ḍin am=bar=a[ʔ] bina aw=na um=ɪʔ 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. hāsa=kiyar upay socay=na māṛe=yoʔ=kiyar. kulū=jo upay socay=teʔ. 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=ga mōṅ dāṛa? yo=ki. dāṛaʔ=te ram ol=ʔ? ro gam=ə?, 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-jeʔ[ʔ] am=bar apan apan ḍhor bun ḍhog=e=bar.
this=NHUM 2=2D REFL REP beak INST grab=A.IRR=2D '"YOU TWO GRAB THIS WITH YOUR BEAKS.'

18. ḍin dāṛa?=te mōjhi=te gone bun ḍeʔ[d]=sig[e]=ɪʔ. 1S stick=OBL middle=OBL tooth INST bite298=PERF=A.IRR=1S 'I'LL HOLD ON TO THE STICK WITH MY TEETH.'

19. am=bar lep=na=bar la? ḍin=jo laṭke=ga (jhule=ga) co=na=ɪʔ."
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. mōṅ hāsa gam=ə? "ha! accha upay ayij. u=ghay=ga karay=[e]=niʔ."
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, akeʔ[d] means 'chew' whereas 'bite' is kheʔ[d].
What is not mentioned here is that the three have landed in the meantime.

Note the "turtle kulu" other one that goose="  ḥ=ki=ya."

A turtle said, "BROTHER TURTLE, GRAB THE STICK IN THE MIDDLE."

The turtle bites (= has bitten) into the stick with his teeth.

The other goose bit the stick with its beak on one side.

The other goose bit the stick on the other side.

And flapping their wings they flew off.

In their mouths was the stick. The turtle has bitten the stick.

The two geese flew upwards. With them the turtle also flew.

They very much enjoyed the sight of below from above.

One goose said: "There is one matter to tell you." 300

The other goose also said, "Yes, we have to tell you an important matter."

The turtle said, "Tell me. What is the matter?"

Note the use of the plural here, not the dual, although the two geese are apparently meant.

What is not mentioned here is that the three have landed in the meantime.
34. "Kulu bhai am bathawni (balbal) heke=m" mon hāsa gam=o?.
   turtle brother 2s talkative talkative prs.cop=2s one goose say=a.p.t
   "brother turtle, you are talkative" one goose said.'

35. "Muda len=na bhere am i=jo abu kAYOM=na=m." ho=Jo hāsa=jo gam=o?.
   but fly=inf time 2s what=add neg.mod.2s speak=m.IRR=2s other goose=ADD say=a.p.t
   "but when flying you should not say anything." the other goose also said.'

36. Kulu cilay=ki, "ij un=ij kAYom=na? jarur kAYom=na=ni!"
   turtle shout=mpt 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 lā? dārā? 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 lā? tomoḍ khule godç=na.
   speak=m.IRR=2s then mouth open c.tel=m.IRR
   'if you speak, then your mouth will open.'

39. Tomoḍ khule=na lā? dārā[?] chuf[?]=te goˈd=na. lā? gur goˈd=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=o? "hā! um=ij kAYom=na. um-lā? gur goˈd=na=ni."
   turtle understand=mpt say=a.p.t 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 hāsa odō? len=ki=kiyar. kulu dāhra[?]=te aked=kon latke=sī?.
   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=kār enem dena=ya? len=na lāʔ=ki.
   that=s.hum without feather=gen fly=inf ipfv=m.pt
   'he was flying without feathers.'

43. Uslōʔ=ga lebu=ki yo=tej=may no ubar hāsa let=taʔj=kiyar.
   ground=fock 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=ya? tomoḍ=te dārāʔ? ayij. dārāʔ=te kulu latke=sīʔ.
   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 ikuʔd lereʔ lāʔ=ki.
   person=p=obl this see=seq much joy emot=m.p.t
   'the people, seeing this, are (= became) very happy.'

46. Ho=ki ikuʔd khus=ki=may. len=taʔj=kiyar. korob korob. kulu=jo koroʔb=sīʔ.
   that=p very happy=m.p.t=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. len=ga lenga dheir ḍisaʔ col go²ḍ=ki=may.
fly=FOC REP very far go C:TEL=M.PT=3p
'Flying along, they went very far.'

48. ber yo=te, ho=kar=ga khus lereʔ go²ḍ=ta ro laʔa go²ḍ=te=may.²
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. mon boʔ=te muʔu beʔa gam=oʔ "u hāsa=kιyar baʔa buidhgar ayi²j̣=kiyar.
one place=OBL one.CL boy say=A.PT this goose=D big intelligent PRS.COP=0
'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=0
'Look at the kind of method they have thought up.'"

51. pase=te=ga toj̣ọṇ beʔaʔ= si ma=ʔọṃ=jo gam=oʔ "hā hāsa maha buidhgar ayi²j̣.
near=OBL 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 budu=ga hoy=ta.
turtle=CNTR stupid=FOC COP=M.PRS
'But the turtle is stupid.'³

53. kulu=te laʔ=ki no "gam=[e]=ịp̣, ịp̣ budu=umboʔ²j̣=ịp̣.
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. ịp̣=ga u=ghay upay socay=si²j̣=ịp̣.
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 beʔa kund[uʔ]=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 hāsa=te kulu=te ḍọʔ=na yo=kon thapri bajay=oʔ=ki.
that=P 2 goose=OBL turtle=OBL take=INF see=SEQ clapping sound=A.PT=0

³ The plural marking on the final predicate would appear to be a mistake.
³² 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 ciɭay=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 hāsa=kiyar buду kulu=te ob-len]=kon ɖoɖ kan=te]=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=kɐʔ gam=oʔ "iɲ …" muda adɿ=yaʔ kayom=jo um tuʔd=ki.
   that=S.HUM say=A.PT IS but ANAPH=GEN speech=ADD NEG finish=M.PT
   'HE SAID "I …" BUT HIS WORDS DID NOT REACH THEIR END.'

63. ho=kɐʔ aʔ kʊndɿʔb pəʔ god=ki ro ho=kɐʔ goʔj god=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 (laʔ) 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
\[\text{ labor=GEN earing}\]

'The fruits of labor'

[TK, 2]
1. mọn kinir aw=ki. ho=te d’heir bhari daru khunṭo 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 mon pheinga aw=na la?=ki.
   that=OBL (= 'there')=FOC one grasshopper live=INF IPFV=M.PT
   'A GRASSHOPPER LIVED RIGHT THERE.'

   that=S.HUM what=ADD NEG work=INF IPFV=M.PT
   'HE DIDN'T DO ANY WORK AT ALL.'

   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. betoʔ la?=na bhere hariyar hariyar ula?=ki=te noʔ goʔ la?=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=kaɾ mon ciɾa 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, anaʃ 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 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. ciɾa gam=oʔ "umboʔj ada, iɲ kuʔruʔji=ki=yaʔ ghaʔd la dana thuray=teʔj=ɲip.'
   squirrel say=A.PT no elder.brother 1s child=P=GEN for grain gather=A.PROG=1S
   'THE SQUIRREL SAID "NO, BROTHER, I AM gather GRAIN FOR THE CHILDREN.'

10. iɲ=te phurseit umboʔjʔ." pheinga laɗa=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=kaɾ mon gerwa yo=yoʔ.
    that=S.HUM one nightingale see=A.PT
    'HE SAW A NIGHTINGALE.'

12. ho=kaɾ konθeq=te gam=oʔ, "gerwa bohin, a=e iɲ=aʔj] 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: konθuʔ.
He said to the bird, "Sister Nightingale, come on! Dance and play with me!"

13. yo=ye ketna sundar mawsam ayi²j.
   see=A.IRR how.much beautiful weather PRS.COP
   'Look how beautiful the weather is!'"

14. gerwa gam=o², "umbo² bhai pheinga, in ku?mu=na=in=ki=ya² gha²d
   nightingale say=A.PT no brother grasshopper 1S child=1POSS=1S=P=GEN for
   pe² lam=te²d=q=ip.
   cooked.rice seek=A.PROG=1S
   'The Nightingale said, "No brother Grasshopper, I am looking for food (= cooked
   rice) for my children.'

15. in tama um=ijn ebo?=na.
   1S now NEG=1S play=M.IRR
   'I won't play now.'"

   grasshopper play=FOC front go C:TEL=M.PT
   'The Grasshopper continued onwards, playing.'

17. ho=ka=te mon 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=ka=f jharkul=te gam=o², "jharkul bhai, i karay=te²d=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 in buŋ kayom dọŋ=na.
   come.on=A.IRR 1S INST speak A:TEL=M.IRR
   'Come on, talk with me!'''

20. jharkul ti? jọge=kon gam=o², "umbo², bhai pheinga,
   bear hand join=SEQ say=A.PT no brother grasshopper
   'The bear joined his hands [respectfully] and said, "No brother Grasshopper,'
   in=te rangga bhere=ya² gha²d terom thuray=na ayi²j.
   1S=OBL cold time=GEN for honey gather=INF PRS.COP
   'I have to gather honey for the cold season.'

21. in am=a²? sori um=ijn ebo?=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. kho=jo² hoi=ki no pheinga yo=yo² mon ti²j tay
   short.while become=M.PT CMPL grasshopper see=A.PT one side ABL
   lain-e-lain mu²jda?=ki del=ta²j=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=kaɾ sob306 tay sen aw=ki ho muʔjdaʔ=te gam=oʔ, "am iɲ=aʔ sori that=S.HUM all ABL first COP=M.PT that ant=OBL say=A.PT 2S 1S=GEN with

kuʔj=na ro eboʔ=na!
danche=M.IRR and play=M.IRR
'THE SANG TO THE GRASSHOPPER THAT WAS IN FRONT (= THE FIRST OF ALL, THAT ANT), "DANCE AND PLAY WITH ME!"

24. yo=ye musa ketna bes dino ayiʔj." see=A.IRR today how.much good day PRS.COP
'LOOK HOW GOOD A DAY TODAY IS."

25. muʔjdaʔ gam=oʔ, "umboʔ bhai, iɲ=aʔ=te samay umboɾjʔj.
ant say=A.PT no brother 1S=GEN=OBL time NEG.PRS.COP
'THE ANTS SAID, "NO BROTHER, I HAVE NO TIME."

26. ele cini ol=na col=taʔj=le." u gam=kon sob muʔjdaʔ 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 kuʔj=ga eboʔ=ga aw goʔd=ki. grasshopper that=OBL(= 'there')=FOC dance=FOC play=FOC remain C.TEL=M.PT
'THE GRASSHOPPER REMAINED DANCING AND PLAYING RIGHT THERE.'

28. ranga=yaʔ dino ɡam=ki. cold=GEN day arrive=M.PT
'A COLD DAY (= DAY OF COLDNESS) ARRIVED.'

29. daru=yaʔ ulaʔ 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 noʔ=na ɡhaʔ atu=jo koɾom ulaʔ 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=kaɾ socay=oʔ, "sob ranga bhere=yaʔ ɡhaʔ noʔ=na thoɲ thuray=siʔ=may. that=S.HUM think=A.PT all cold time=GEN for eat=INF PURP gather=PERF=3P
'THE THOUGHT, "ALL HAVE GATHERED [FOOD] FOR EATING FOR THE COLD SEASON.'

32. col=taɲ ho=ki=yaʔ tay noʔ=na thoɲ bor ol[=e]=iɲ. go=M.PRST=1S that=F=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=kaɾ ciɾra=yaʔ boʔ=te col=ki. that=S.HUM squirrel=GEN place=OBL go=M.PT
'THE HE WENT TO THE SQUIRREL'S HOME.'

306 Standard form: souʔb.
34. gam=oʔ, "cirra bohin johar! in=te noʔ=na ghad jahā ol=e."
say=A.PT squirrel sister salutation 1s=OBL eat=INF PURP INDEF.NHUM bring=A.IRR
'THE SQUIRREL SAID, "GREETINGS SISTER SQUIRREL! BRING ME SOMETHING TO EAT."'

35. cirra gam=oʔ peʔ=ko in kuɾuʔ=ki=yaʔ thon sama=siʔd=in, ho=jeʔ[?]=ko
squirrel say=A.PT cooked.rice=CNTR 1s child=p=GEN for collect=PERF=1s that=s.NHUM=CNTR
um=in 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 konthε=yaʔ boʔ=te col=ki muda gerwa bonʔ bheʔ[?]o
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=kaɾ garam raij tiʔj col kan=sikh=əʔ.
that=s.HUM warm kingdom side go CONT=PERF=A.PT
'SHE HAD GONE OFF TO A WARM PLACE.'

38. tay ho=kaɾ jharkul=yaʔ boʔ=te col=ki, "jharkul bhai, in=te muruk betoʔd
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 lemeʔd=na laʔ=ki. um beroʔd=ki.
bear sleep=INF EMOT=M.PT NEG stand.up=M.PT
'THE BEAR WAS SLEEPING. HE DIDN'T GET UP.'

40. ho=kaɾ=aʔ[?] loʔdho pheinga muʔjdaʔ[?]=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=kaɾ mɔŋ muʔjdaʔ=te gam=oʔ, "muʔjdaʔ bohin, kaʔiʔ cini ol=e."
that=s.HUM one ant=OBL say=A.PT ant sister some sugar bring=A.IRR
'THE SQUIRREL SAID TO ONE ANT, "SISTER ANT, BRING [ME] SOME SUGAR."'

42. muʔjdaʔ pheinga=te leʔj bay=oʔ, "u cini ip=aʔ bohin=na=p=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[?]=ko
    ho=ki=yâ?=ga
    heke. um=iɲ
    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
    say=A._PT
    all
    work=M.PT=3P
    apon
    apon
    ŋoʔ=na
    gha’ʔ
    baʔ
    rumkuʔ
    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
    kuʔ=ja
    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
    ŋog=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).

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. chotanagapur, hira nagapur, hira nagapur, hira nagapur,
   Chotanagpur diamond Nagpur diamond Nagpur diamond Nagpur

(Sung twice)

2. jhimir jhimir bacan gim=te, sona būda būda bacan gim=te.
   pitter.patter rain sprinkle=A.PRS gold pitter.patter rain sprinkle=A.PRS

(Sung once)

3. o’ʔ b>ɖ oɽ =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)


**Shimmering Heaven**

[AT, 2]

(sung twice)

1. tarkelŋ sayun salim=te, apa joy kiʔte suʔkho lere?
   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 khiro m lenge=taʃę, longoy=qom=ki sundar-bo?
   green tree garden full river flow=M.PROG shade=3POSS=P beautiful-INTENS
   luhur luhur koyo=te.
   cool 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=ya? moʔjhi=te apa joy kiʔte suʔkho lereʔ.
   holy holy.man=Pl=GEN middle=OBL father VOC how.much happy joy
   'AMONGST THE HOLY MEN, OH FATHER, HOW MUCH JOY [THERE IS].'

(Repeat verse 2)

---

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=naʕ! poʔda=te=ga aw=na=naʕ!
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 suʔ khoʔh otu=ga roʔ kuy=ε=naŋ reʔ?
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)
'here will we ever find a place as happy as that?'

The Kingdom of Heaven

[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 ranga buŋ bhiren=taʔj_dl=ɪŋ.
sickness cold INST flounder(?)=M.PROG=1S
'I AM PLAGUED BY SICKNESS AND ILLNESS.'

3. (sung twice)
ol=ε mariyam am=aʔ patar, ol=ε yisu am=aʔ paɾom,
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)
moŋ kundə golaŋ buŋ buidaʔ=taʔj_dl=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.'

Speakers I consulted for this text were somewhat uncertain of the meanings of verses 2 and 4.
5. (sung twice)
ho=tiʔj=te u=jo um yo=ta, kiʔthunraj=te tomlinjihirom
that=side=OBL this=ADD NEG see=M.PRS heaven kingdom=OBL milk river

lene=taʔj 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 rema?=te.
river=GEN that side=OBL father=1POSS=CNTR call=A.PRS
'ON THAT SIDE OF THE RIVER, MY FATHER CALLS.'

2. (sung twice)
č um=ɲ=apa joy am=aʔ kayom ondor=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, hirom=jo bhore=ki, khewa daŋ=jo orŋ=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]=ın=apa joy am=aʔ kayom ondor=na?
what=way be.able=A.IRR 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 rema?=te,
river=GEN that side=OBL father=1POSS=CNTR call=A.PRS
'ON THAT SIDE OF THE RIVER, MY FATHER CALLS.'

6. (sung thrice)
č um=ɲ=apa joy am=aʔ kayom ondor=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. laɾoʔ biru=te daʔ gim=te jhoɾi=te re.
date.palm mountain=OBL water fall=A.PRS torrent=OBL VOC
'ON LARO MOUNTAIN IT IS RAINING IN TORRENTS.'
   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 tapa?=te arabdū?.
   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=iŋ daru sumbo?=te japa?=siʔ,
   one=FOC sister=1POSS=1s tree base=OBL lean.against=PERF
   'MY SISTER IS LEANING UP AGAINST A TREE.'

5. laroʔ biru=te ḍaʔ gim=te jhoɾji=te re.
   date.palm mountain=OBL water fall=A.PRS torrent=OBL VOC
   'ON LARO MOUNTAIN IT IS RAINING IN TORRENTS.'

6. dada=n=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. ajı=n=ko gam=te "goʔ=na=m laʔ=jo siʔ=da=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 rajı co=na=m, saŋo, kaɾa=na=mo=aʔ juta paŋj=te nimı likha ṭu=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. paŋj yo=ta yota nimı paɾhe paɾhe ɾayam313 jom=na=iŋ.
   footstep see=CONV REP name read REP cry AUTOPOES=M.IRR=1s
   'SEEING YOUR FOOTSTEPS AND READING YOUR NAME, I'LL JUST CRY.'

3. djisaʔ rajı co=na=m, saŋo, kaɾa=na=mo=aʔ juta paŋj=te nimı likha
   far country go=M.IRR=2s friend foot=2POSS=2s=GEN shoe footstep=OBL name write
   ṭu=ye=m.
   DPT=A.IRR=2s

313 Standard form: ɾam.
'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, sango, kat=#a=no=m=a? juta panj=te pimi likha
   Germany country go=M.IRR=2S friend foot=2POS$=2S=GEN shoe footstep=OBL name write
   [tu=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.'

(Repeat 2)

Sung by Mr. Ranjit Kullu, 19, Taraboga, Simdega District
iskat=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. iska$=te abu su=ye=m sarji=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. iska$ su=ye=m la? kutch 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 da$=te khorkhoro u=ghay pata hilay=te,
   see=A.IRR please millet field=OBL wild.cat this=way tail shake=A.PRS
   yo=ye se kuda da$=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**
   - **di jal gaṯi=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 jiyo=na=in alay balay laʔ=ta jiyo=na=in yeloon yeloon**
   - **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, ðe=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 khoři=te beţi umbořiʔj=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'.
What shall we offer you, Father?

[ RK, 6 ]

sung twice:
1. apa joy am=aʔ kaṭa sumboʔi=posi=te, i ro? ter=e=le i ro?
   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 umboʔi=o, rumkub=jo umboʔi=o, keciya=jo umboʔi=o.
   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. dhāy[=e] beṭa i=in, dhāy[=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. beṭa=in 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 alon=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=a? mugam=te iŋ=ko u=ghay ro? co=na=iŋ.
   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=a? mugam=te u=ghay ro? ɖam=na=iŋ.
   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 usloʔ 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 usloʔ raij=te hisi=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 usloʔ raij=te loblalac 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

1. yesu=te abu irib=e=m sango=na=iŋ dular=na=iŋ 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!'

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.

3. yesu=ko ter=te, jiyom da? ter=te.
   Jesus=CNTR give=A.PRS life water give=A.PRS
   'FOR JESUS GIVES, HE GIVES LIFE (=LIFE-WATER).'

4. yesu=ko karay=te, caŋa karay=te.
   Jesus=CNTR do=A.PRS purity do=A.PRS
   'FOR JESUS MAKES, HE MAKES [US] PURE.'

Too tired for the mountain

1. sanoy biru ðe³b=na ðe³bna 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.'

2. ele=ko re musa um=le co=na. ele=ko re musa en=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

1. das am=te um=iŋ gam=e, sango=na=iŋ gam[]=e]=iŋ.
   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.'

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. ḏaṛom o-ḍeb=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 sen=ga oh re! ray=siʔd=ɪn 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 goṭa duniya=te jhari=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 dë=na=m, jiyom=na=ɪɲ sampa=te=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 ḏel=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 kunqum=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(d)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!'

Repeat verse 1, twice.

sung twice:
5. cuman=pe yesu=te, cuman=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=ʔ=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 umborj=ʔ rupa=jo umborj=ʔ.
   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 duran=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 alon (jaŋkor alon)

Sarhul song Jangkor song

[TK, 3]

The festival of flowers or spring festival, celebrated annually 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. goṭa kinir osel- qa? yo=ta!
   entire forest white-INTENS see=M.PRS
   'THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY WHITE!'

4. ani co=na=nīṇ dhirom dhirom!
   come.on! go=M.IRR=1P.INCL slow REP
   'COME ON! LET’S WALK, SLOWLY!' I.

5. kinir=te seirga ra?-ra? ra?=si?,
   forest=OBL sāl.tree319 blossom-RDP blossom=PERF
   'THE BLOSSOMS OF THE SĀL TREE HAVE BLOSSOMED IN THE FOREST,'

6. goṭa kinir osel- qa? yo=ta re!
   entire forest white-INTENS see=M.PRS VOC
   'OH! THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY WHITE!'

7. goṭa kinir osel- qa? yo=ta!
   entire forest white-INTENS see=M.PRS
   'THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY WHITE!'

8. ani co=na=nīṇ dhirom dhirom!
   come.on! go=M.IRR=1P.INCL slow REP
   'COME ON! LET’S WALK, SLOWLY!' II.

9. kinir=te phaṛṣa ra?-ra? ra?=si?,
   forest=OBL ḍhāk.tree320 blossom-RDP blossom=PERF
   'THE BLOSSOMS OF THE ḍHĀK TREE HAVE BLOSSOMED IN THE FOREST,'

10. goṭa kinir rusūṇ- qa? yo=ta re!
    entire forest red-INTENS see=M.PRS VOC
    'OH! THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY RED!'

10. goṭa kinir rusūṇ- qa? yo=ta!
    entire forest white-INTENS see=M.PRS
    'THE ENTIRE FOREST LOOKS SO VERY RED!'

12. ani co=na=nīṇ dhirom dhirom!
    come.on! go=M.IRR=1P.INCL slow REP
    'COME ON! LET’S WALK, SLOWLY!' III.

13. kinir=te tiloy ra?-ra? ra?=si?,
    forest=OBL tiloy321 blossom-RDP blossom=PERF

319 Hindi name: sāl.
320 Hindi name: ḍhāk.
'The blossoms of the tiloi tree have blossomed in the forest,'

14. gota kinir osel-da? yo=ta re!
   entire forest white-intens see=a.prs voc
   'Oh! The entire forest looks so very white!'

15. gota kinir osel-da? yo=ta!
   entire forest white-intens see=m.prs
   'The entire forest looks so very white!'

16. ani co=na=ni dhirom dhirom!
   come.on! go=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=o\b no m\a 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. o\b 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. beta putow ol=\b no re m\a 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 sumbo?=te jo\a mad\ti sodhom=ta, um=in co=na.
   mango tree base=obl pair mandri.drum resound=m.prs neg=1s go=m.rr
   'The pair of mandri drums resounds at the base of the mango tree, [but] I will not go.'

sung twice:
5. kho\j=te=ga kelom kelom kongher, um=in co=na.
   village.section=obl=fnoc beautiful rep boy neg=1s go=m.rr
   '[There are] beautiful boys in the village section, [but] I will not go.'

sung twice:
6. gu\a daru sumbo?=te jo\a mad\ti sodhom=ta, um=in co=na.
   guda tree base=obl pair mandri.drum resound=m.prs neg=1s go=m.rr
   '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. pailkota po?da abu ter=e=m, dada, um=ɨɲ 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

[TK, 5]
1. ompay ɖipa kudamba sumbo?=te,
   river (other)side kadamba.tree 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.'

   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. häyre 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

kerson_alon / duran

marriage song song

[JK, 1]
1. hariyaro maŋa=te ɖoko=ki=m re mā joy koro?b koro?b 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 mā jōy,
   why CMPL NEG speak=M.PT=2S VOC mother VOC
   'WHY DID YOU NOT SAY, OH MOTHER,'

3. tomlен=a? giniŋ no re mā joy, tomlen=a? giniŋ no re mā?
   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?'

   tomlen=a? giniŋ no re mā joy ɖọɾ=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. pāti pāti su=yɔb no re mā 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 mọŋ goʔthon 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. areloʔ325 co=na=m tureloʔ 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 ɗuʔj=na=m dė=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 duran**326

marriage song (2)

[AnK, 1]
Sung twice:
1. ompay djpa kadam327 daru, kadam sumboʔ=te hayre! sango naij dular naij!
   river other.side kadam.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
'She is playing the flute.'

3. ompay dpika kadam daru, kadam sumbo?=te hayre! sango najj dular najj!
river other.side kadam.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=prs
'She is cleaning the pots.'

one hand inst tear wipe=prs one hand inst eating.vessel clean=prs
'With one hand she wipes her tears, with one hand she cleans the pots.'

Sung by Mr. Sylvester Kerkeka

Oh people of Israel!330

[SK, 1]
1. hayre isreli lebu=ki, hayre isreli lebu=ki! hayre inam=ta=m toro?=ta=m!
Oh! Israeli person=p Oh! Israeli person=p Oh! cry=mprs=2s cry=m.prss=2s
'Oh, people of Israel! Oh, people of Israel! Oh, you (s!) cry, you (s!) weep!'

2. mugam yo=ta yota kuɖa331 akel akel,
front see=conv rep back turn.around rep
mugam=te=jo lal samudar, kuɖa=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 Kerkeka and Ms. Rose Dung Dung

bhajan
devotion

[SaK/RoD, 1]
1. kiʔthuŋ raij co=na lam=t=inj, he apa Ḫa|=na um=inj 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=inj, i=ghay ro Ḫa|=na=inj?
Oh! mercy heaven kingdom what=way foc go=m.iri=1s what=way foc arrive=m.iri=1s
'Oh, heavenly kingdom of mercy, how will I go [there], how will I arrive
[there]?'

328 Standard form: buŋ.
329 Standard form: jolangte.
330 See also [MT, 1:24-27] above.
331 Standard form: kunqadab.
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\textsuperscript{333} goʰɁ=ta=ɪŋ?
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 goʰɁ=ta=ɪŋ.
sin having.the.attribute.of ocean=OBL drown(ITR) Q C:TEL=M:PRS=1S
'WILL I DROWN IN THE SINFUL OCEAN?'

\textbf{kerson\textsuperscript{on} duran}

marriage song (3)

[SaK/RoD, 2]

1. ɖisaʔ] rajir kirir moʔijhi ter=ʊb no re ayo, ter=o̞b 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 ɖɛ̞b=kon yo=t=ɪŋ ɭaʔ=jo [um] yo=ta nahiyar=аʔrajir.
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).\textsuperscript{334}'

3. daru ɖɛ̞b=kon yo=t=ɪŋ ɭaʔ=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 kirir rajir=te na gaɾi baje=ta na gaɾi onɖor=ta.
this forest kingdom=OBL NEG car be.sounded=M:PRS NEG car hear=M:PRS

jiyom=te socay socay lemeʔɁ=jo um ɭaʔ=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 kirir rajir=te na ciṭṭhi ɖɛl=ta.
this forest kingdom=OBL NEG letter come=M:PRS

jiyom=te socay socay genu=jo um ɖɛl=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).'

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{334} The woman here is referring to the house she grew up in (= 'wife's parents' house').