## **UC Santa Barbara**

# **Himalayan Linguistics**

### **Title**

Chantyal Discourses [HL Archive 2]

### **Permalink**

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4221169b

### Journal

Himalayan Linguistics, 0(0)

#### **Author**

Noonan, Michael

### **Publication Date**

2005-01-15

#### DOI

10.5070/H90023477

### **Copyright Information**

Copyright 2005 by the author(s). This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License, available at <a href="https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/">https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/</a>

Peer reviewed

### **Chantyal Discourses**

Michael Noonan
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
with
Ram Prasad Bhulanja

Chantyal: Introduction and typological sketch<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Introduction to the Chantyal people

The Chantyal [tshəntjal] people<sup>2</sup> are a relatively small ethnic group, numbering no more than 10,000. They can be divided into two groups, the Myagdi Chantyal and the Baglung Chantyal, named for the districts they inhabit within the Dhaulagiri Zone of central Nepal. Until the recent immigration to towns and cities, the interaction between the two groups was, in general, quite limited. The Baglung Chantyal ceased to speak the Chantyal language some time in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and now know only the national language, Nepali; the majority of the Myagdi Chantyal continue to speak Chantyal in their home villages.<sup>3</sup> There are approximately 2000 or so who still speak the Chantyal language.

The Chantyal language belongs to the Tamangic group of the Bodish languages, which in turn constitute a branch of the Bodic Division of Tibeto-Burman. The other Tamangic languages are Gurung, Manangba, Nar-Phu, Tamang, and Thakali. A fairly complete listing of the literature on Tamangic languages can be found in the bibliography.

Work on Chantyal has been going on continuously since 1989. The work has been supported by the National Science Foundation, grant No. DBC-9121114.

*Himalayan Linguistics Archive 2.* (2005) 1-254. ©2005 All rights reserved.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Ram Bhulanja for his untiring assistance in the production of the materials published here. All of the material was discussed with and/or checked by him: any remaining mistakes are entirely my responsibility. Jagman Chhantyal transcribed a number of the texts from tape. Bill Pagliuca was active in the research project in its early stages. I would like to thank also Gyöngyi Boldog, Mary Brehm, Cassandra Stephens, and Amber Rogowski for production assistance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The history and ethnography of the Chantyal are discussed in Noonan (1996) and in Noonan & Bhulanja (forthcoming).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Chantyal speaking villages are: Məŋgəle Khani, Dwari, Ghyãs Khərka, Cəwra Khani, Kwine Khani, Thara Khani, Patle Khərka, Malamphar, and Məlkaban.

### 2. Typological sketch<sup>4</sup>

### 2.1. Phonology and morphophonemics

Chantyal has a regionally typical vowel system consisting of six vowel positions with contrastive length and nasalization. Distinctive vowel length is a marginal part of the system, however, and long nasal vowels are quite rare: in general, vowel length is the product of fairly recent—and still rather unstable—processes of syllabic coalescence.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i, ii		u, uu
	ĩ, ĩĩ		ũ, (ũũ)
	e, ee		0, 00
Mid	ẽ, ẽẽ		õ, õõ
		ə <i>,</i> əə	
		õ, õõ	
			a, aa
Low			ã, ãã

As for consonants, Chantyal contrasts four points of articulation: bilabial, dental, alveolar/alveolo-palatal, and velar. The dental point of articulation is lamino-dental. The alveolar/alveolo-palatal series contains of a set of oral affricates whose stop portions are alveolar and whose fricative portions are alveolo-palatal before front vowels (/ci/ = [tci]) and alveolar elsewhere (/ca/ = [tsa]); the fricatives show a similar distribution in being alveolo-palatal before front vowels and alveolar elsewhere. The nasals in this series are postalveolar, whereas the tap approximants are apico-alveolar.

The Chantyal consonant inventory is rich in contrasts involving voice onset time and murmur. Typical of the South Asian speech area, Chantyal contrasts voiceless, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and murmured stops. In addition, Chantyal has stops with voiceless and voiceless aspirated onsets followed by murmur.<sup>5</sup> Nasals, approximants, fricatives, and glides also contrast murmured and non-murmured phonemes. In the transcription used here, <h> indicates aspiration, <fi> murmur.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> All the points mentioned in this section are discussed in great detail in Noonan & Bhulanja (in preparation) and in Noonan (1999b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> An alternate view of this situation is that there are three sorts of oral stops — voiceless, voiceless aspirated, and voiced — and two sorts of syllabic nuclei: murmured and non-murmured. The view presented in the text reflects the intuitions of Chantyals, though the transcriptional system employed here, with {fi} representing murmur, is compatible with either view.

Unaspirated Stop	p	t	c	k	
Aspirated Stop	ph	th	ch	kh	
Voiced Stop	b	d	j	g	
Murmured Stop	bh	dh	jĥ	gh	
Murmured Stop with Voiceless Onset	ph	th	ch	kh	
Murmured Stop with Voiceless Aspirated Onset		thĥ		khĥ	
Voiced Nasal Stop	m	n	ny	ŋ	
Murmured Nasal Stop	mĥ	nĥ	nhy		
Voiced Lateral Approximant		1			
Murmured Lateral Approximant		lh			
Voiced Tap Approximant			r		
Murmured Tap Approximant			rĥ		
Voilcess Fricatives			S		
Murmured Fricatives with Voiceless Onsets			sh		h
Glides			y	W	
Murmured Glides			ĥу	hw	

As the chart above shows, there are gaps in this system: /phh/ and /chh/ are unattested, and while /thh/ and /khh/ are attested, they are rare. The lack of attested /ŋh/ likely reflects the absence of /ŋ/ morpheme initially: murmured consonants are generally restricted to morpheme-initial position, except in some borrowings.

Geminate consonants occur and are distinctive, but they are found only intervocalically within morphemes.

Retroflex consonants are heard very occasionally in a few N borrowings.

There are few phonological or morphonological processes commonly encountered in moderately careful speech. Of these, the most important are the reduction of /wa/ in suffixes to [o], and /wa/ and /ma/ to  $[\tilde{o}]$ , and the weakening of morpheme initial /s/ to [h] in suffixes.

# 2.2 Morphology

Chantyal is overwhelmingly suffixing and agglutinative. There are only two native prefixes — the negative prefixes {a-} and {tha-} on verbs and adjectives.

Nouns are inflected for number (singular and plural) and case. The singular is unmarked, the plural has the suffix {-ma}, which precedes the case affixes. The case affixes are, in fact, NP-final clitics. Below is a list of case clitics and a set of descriptive labels<sup>6</sup> used to identify them. Major variants are listed, as are common case clitic combinations. Nepali borrowings are identified by (N):

<sup>-</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Noonan & Bhulanja (forthcoming) for discussion of these labels.

Absolute -Ø

Ergative/Instrumental -sə, -hə Ablative -gəm-sə

-gəm-sə, -ŋ-sə, -sə, -gəm, -ŋ,

-kəm, -kam, -kyam

Elative -nfia-ri-gəm-sə

Abessive-proximal -nasa-w
Dative -ra
Allative -nas
Locative -ri

-əŋ [with a few common nouns, deictics, case clitics]

-chə [with the noun *mhun* 'night']
-ra [in a few special expressions]

Inclusive -muwa
Adessive -muwa-ri
Inessive -nha-ri
Genitive -ye, -yi, -i

Allative/Comitative -siŋ, -səŋə, -səŋə, -səŋgə (N, except? -siŋ)

Comitative -ru
Circumlative -mar, -wãr
Subessive -phiri

Sublative -phiri-ŋ-sə, -phiri-ŋ Superessive -phyara-ŋ-sə, -phyara-ŋ

Temporal -ma, -wã (N) Comparative/Temporal -bhənda (N)

Comparative/Temporal -dhin, -dhikhin (N)

Comparative/Temporal -rasə, -ras Essive/Comparative -thōy, -thwāy

There is no case or number agreement on modifiers of nouns.

Verbs are inflected for aspect, tense, and mood. There are also numerous non-finite verbal forms. Verbal suffixes are listed below, including a few morphologically complex forms:

Non-past -m, -mu Non-past Interrogative -m-ẽ, -ẽ Perfective -ji, -i Perfective Interrogative -la

Imperfective -ma, -wã, -õ Negative Anterior Imperfective -s-are, -s-ere

Past Anterior -see Anterior -si-Hypothetical -Ø

Suppositional -ndə, -nnə, -n

Suppositional -t
Hypothetical -rə
Desiderative -to
Imperative -o
Polite Imperative -ne
Hortative -ye

Optative -kəy, -gəy, -ge

Nominalization -wa Infinitive -nu (N?)

Cotemporal -khiri, -khir, -khi (N)

Progressive converb -kəy, -gəy, -ge Sequential converb -si-rə, -si-r, -si

Resultative -nə Conditional -la

Negative conditional -khəre, -ghəre

Remote Conditional -la-i

Only one verb, *hya-* 'go', has an honorific counterpart, *ba-*, which is defective in having only imperative forms.

There is little derivational morphology native to C, apart from the extensive use of the NOM suffix {-wa}. Some derivational processes have been borrowed from N, however, along with the lexical items that included them. The most important of these are the stem extensions {-i-} for intransitive verbs and {-ə-} for transitive verbs.

### 2.3 Syntax

C is overwhelmingly head final, even in spontaneous speech. Case-marking patterns are consistently ergative in all aspects, tenses, and moods. There is no agreement, either within NPs or between arguments and verbs. There are no grammatical voice distinctions and no argument-raising processes. Interrogative pronouns are not fronted; the special interrogative verb affixes are used with information questions as well as with 'yes/no' questions.

Subordinate clauses are non-finite, save direct speech complements of bhi-'say'.

Nominalization with the morpheme {-wa} is used for a number of grammatical functions, including the following: simple nominalization [i.e. naming activities and states], verb complementation, noun complementation, purpose clauses, relative clauses, non-relative attributives [e.g. adverbs, locative nouns, case-marked nouns used attributively], agent and patient nominals, attributive nominals [i.e.nominals formed from attributive expressions], the expression of the semantic predicate in verbal periphrasis, and, under certain conditions, as main verbs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Noonan 1997 for discussion and exemplification.

Additive or sequential conjunction of clauses is possible, but is a feature borrowed from Nepali and is very rarely used. Temporal sequence is typically expressed by means of a construction involving the sequential converb [conjunctive participle].<sup>8</sup> Disjunctive coordination of clauses is both possible and commonly used.

Ellipsis of arguments [zero anaphora], in particular the ellipsis of subject and object arguments, is very common where these can be recovered from preceding discourse or supplied by world-knowledge. Therefore, subject pronouns are typically found only where contrast is intended.

<sup>8</sup> See Noonan 1999a for discussion and exemplification.

## Abbreviations

Abbreviations: (N) = Nepali text; (E) = English text

# Grammatical abbreviations:

ADES adessive INST instrumental ALL allative LOC locative ANT anterior NOM nominalization CIRC circumlative NOMV nominalization as main verb COM comitative NPST non-past COMP comparative PAST+ANT past anterior COTEMP cotemporal PERF perfective DAT dative PL plural DESID desiderative PRES+SUP present suppositional DUB dubitative PROG progressive converb EMPH emphatic Q interrogative ERG ergative RC remote conditional ESS essive RECIP reciprocal GEN genitive RSLT result HON honorific SEQ sequential converb HOR hortative sp species IMP imperative SUB subessive IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional INCL inclusive SUPER superessive INES inessive TEMP temporal	ABES	abessive	INF	infinitive
ANT anterior NOM nominalization CIRC circumlative NOMV nominalization as main verb COM comitative NPST non-past COMP comparative PAST+ANT past anterior COTEMP cotemporal PERF perfective DAT dative PL plural DESID desiderative PRES+SUP present suppositional DUB dubitative PROG progressive converb EMPH emphatic Q interrogative ERG ergative RC remote conditional ESS essive RECIP reciprocal GEN genitive RSLT result HON honorific SEQ sequential converb HOR hortative sp species IMP imperative SUB subessive IMPF imperfective INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	ADES	adessive	INST	instrumental
CIRC circumlative NOMV nominalization as main verb COM comitative NPST non-past COMP comparative PAST+ANT past anterior COTEMP cotemporal PERF perfective DAT dative PL plural DESID desiderative PRES+SUP present suppositional DUB dubitative PROG progressive converb EMPH emphatic Q interrogative ERG ergative RC remote conditional ESS essive RECIP reciprocal GEN genitive RSLT result HON honorific SEQ sequential converb HOR hortative sp species IMP imperative SUB subessive IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	ALL	allative	LOC	locative
COMP comparative PAST+ANT past anterior COTEMP cotemporal PERF perfective DAT dative PL plural DESID desiderative PRES+SUP present suppositional DUB dubitative PROG progressive converb EMPH emphatic Q interrogative ERG ergative RC remote conditional ESS essive RECIP reciprocal GEN genitive RSLT result HON honorific SEQ sequential converb HOR hortative sp species IMP imperative SUB subessive IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	ANT	anterior	NOM	nominalization
COMP comparative PAST+ANT past anterior COTEMP cotemporal PERF perfective DAT dative PL plural DESID desiderative PROG progressive converb EMPH emphatic Q interrogative ERG ergative RC remote conditional ESS essive RECIP reciprocal GEN genitive RSLT result HON honorific SEQ sequential converb HOR hortative sp species IMP imperative SUB subessive IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	CIRC	circumlative	NOMV	nominalization as main verb
COTEMP cotemporal PERF perfective  DAT dative PL plural  DESID desiderative PRES+SUP present suppositional  DUB dubitative PROG progressive converb  EMPH emphatic Q interrogative  ERG ergative RC remote conditional  ESS essive RECIP reciprocal  GEN genitive RSLT result  HON honorific SEQ sequential converb  HOR hortative sp species  IMP imperative SUB subessive  IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional  INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	COM	comitative	NPST	non-past
DAT dative PL plural  DESID desiderative PRES+SUP present suppositional  DUB dubitative PROG progressive converb  EMPH emphatic Q interrogative  ERG ergative RC remote conditional  ESS essive RECIP reciprocal  GEN genitive RSLT result  HON honorific SEQ sequential converb  HOR hortative sp species  IMP imperative SUB subessive  IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional  INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	COMP	comparative	PAST+ANT	past anterior
DESID desiderative PRES+SUP present suppositional DUB dubitative PROG progressive converb EMPH emphatic Q interrogative ERG ergative RC remote conditional ESS essive RECIP reciprocal GEN genitive RSLT result HON honorific SEQ sequential converb HOR hortative sp species IMP imperative SUB subessive IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	COTEMP	cotemporal	PERF	perfective
DUB dubitative PROG progressive converb  EMPH emphatic Q interrogative  ERG ergative RC remote conditional  ESS essive RECIP reciprocal  GEN genitive RSLT result  HON honorific SEQ sequential converb  HOR hortative sp species  IMP imperative SUB subessive  IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional  INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	DAT	dative	PL	plural
EMPH emphatic Q interrogative  ERG ergative RC remote conditional  ESS essive RECIP reciprocal  GEN genitive RSLT result  HON honorific SEQ sequential converb  HOR hortative sp species  IMP imperative SUB subessive  IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional  INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	DESID	desiderative	PRES+SUP	present suppositional
ERG ergative RC remote conditional ESS essive RECIP reciprocal GEN genitive RSLT result HON honorific SEQ sequential converb HOR hortative sp species IMP imperative SUB subessive IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	DUB	dubitative	PROG	progressive converb
ESS essive RECIP reciprocal GEN genitive RSLT result HON honorific SEQ sequential converb HOR hortative sp species IMP imperative SUB subessive IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	EMPH	emphatic	Q	interrogative
GEN genitive RSLT result  HON honorific SEQ sequential converb  HOR hortative sp species  IMP imperative SUB subessive  IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional  INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	ERG	ergative	RC	remote conditional
HONhonorificSEQsequential converbHORhortativespspeciesIMPimperativeSUBsubessiveIMPFimperfectiveSUPsuppositionalINCLinclusiveSUPERsuperessive	ESS	essive	RECIP	reciprocal
HOR hortative sp species IMP imperative SUB subessive IMPF imperfective SUP suppositional INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	GEN	genitive	RSLT	result
IMPimperativeSUBsubessiveIMPFimperfectiveSUPsuppositionalINCLinclusiveSUPERsuperessive	HON	honorific	SEQ	sequential converb
IMPFimperfectiveSUPsuppositionalINCLinclusiveSUPERsuperessive	HOR	hortative	sp	species
INCL inclusive SUPER superessive	IMP	imperative	SUB	subessive
1	IMPF	imperfective	SUP	suppositional
INES inessive TEMP temporal	INCL	inclusive	SUPER	superessive
	INES	inessive	TEMP	temporal

# **Chantyal Discourses**

Discourse	Title	Number of Clauses
A	Planting maize	6
В	Moving animals in summer & winter	2
C	Chantyal history	4
D	Making phəkən	6
E	Hunting	1
F	Coming home from Kathmandu	1
G	Going to Kathmandu for the first time	9
H	Returning home	6
I	The wild goat	55
J	The jackal's ruse	9
K	Why the Chantyal gave up mining	11
L	Jackal and the bear	79
M	The water-jar seller	9
N	The curini	27
O	The visit of the anthropologist	78
P	The old man & the leopard	420
Q	Preparing food	403
R	The gun and the Buddha	108
S	My life	124
T	Hardship in Mangale	170
U	My life	242

# A. Recorded 2/8/90

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

# Planting Maize [məkəy]

1. *jhəwnu-bhənda pəyla yipa khyala-wa* all-COMP first stone throw+away-NOM

pəri-m

happen-NPST

'First of all, you have to throw away stones.'

2. *cəŋsə mwol hi-wa* then fertilizer pour+in+mass+quantity-NOM

*pəri-m* happen-NPST 'Then you have to pour in fertilizer.'

- 3. *cəŋsə khye-wa pəri-m* then plow-NOM happen-NPST 'Then you have to plow.'
- 4. *khye-i chin-ji bhi-lanə* plow-ANT finish-PERF say-COND 'After having finished plowing,
- 5. *byu kara-wa pəri-m* seed put+in-NOM happen-NPST 'you must sow seed.'
- 6. *cəŋsə gori-wa pəri-m* then weed-NOM happen-NPST 'And then you have to weed.'

# B. Recorded 2/14/90 Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

# Moving Animals in Winter and Summer

- 1. *hyunda-ri goth kyeles-ri kha-m* winter-LOC cowshed field-LOC bring-NPST 'In the winter, we bring the animals to the fields.'
- 2. barkha-ri goth lekh-ri pho-m summer-LOC cowshed high+mountains-LOC take-NPST 'In the summer, we take the animals high up in the mountains.'

### C. Recorded 2/14/90

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

### **Chantyal History**

- 1. *chəntyal-ma pəyla jfiin-khani-ri mu-õ ro* chantyal-PL first Jhin-mine-LOC be-IMPF inference 'The Chantyal were first in Jhinkhani, people say.'
- 2. *cəŋsə koi-ma pəchyū-nas hya-i ro* then some-PL west-ALL go-PERF inference 'Then some went west, people say.'
- 3. *koi-ma purba-nas hya-i ro* some-PL east-ALL go-PERF inference 'Some went east, they say.'
- 4. *nhi-ma purba-nasaw hin tə* we-PL east-ABES be+NPST fact 'We are from the east, I know.'

### D. Recorded 2/14/90

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

### Making phəkən

- 1. *pəyla məkəy hō-wa pəri-m* first maize toast-NOM be-NPST 'First you must toast the maize.'
- 2. *hõ-i chin-lanə* toast-PERF finish-COND 'When you finish toasting,
- 3. *phara phara-wa pəri-m* flour grind-NOM happen-NPST 'you must grind the flour.'

- 4. *cəŋsə phəkən ban chu-wa pəri-m* then porridge pot set-NOM happen-NPST 'Then you must set the porridge on the stove.'
- 5. *phəkən ban wumli-lanə* dough pot boil-COND 'When the porridge on the stove is boiled,'
- 6. *phəkən cyara-wa pəri-m* porridge make-NOM happen-NPST 'you must make the porridge.'
- 7. cəŋsə phəkən ca-la yã-m then porridge eat-COND find-NPST 'Then you can eat the porridge.'

### E. Recorded 2/21/90

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

### Hunting

1. *əyra kyalō-khi naku-rə bənnu cay* hunt play-COTEMP dog-and gun need

*mu*be-NPST
'When hunting, you need a dog and a gun.'

- 2. *pharabi-nə yes-si-rə* morning-early get+up-ANT-SEQ 'Getting up early in the morning'
- 3. naku-rə bənnu pho-si-rə dog-and gun take+away-ANT-SEQ 'and taking your dog and gun,'
- 4. *ghyaŋ-ri hya-wa pəri-m* forst-LOC go-NOM be-NPST 'you go to the forest.'

- 5. *cəŋsə naku layo-wa pəri-m* then dog make+chase-NOM happen-NPST 'Then, you must put the dog on the scent.'
- 6. *rə yək jəna mənchi bənnu chij-si-rə* and one person person gun hold-ANT-SEQ 'And one person holds a gun'
- 7. *bəthan ci-wa pəri-m* waiting+place sit-NOM happen-NPST 'and sits in the waiting place.'
- 8. *naku-sə mirgə wuthə-ysi-rə* dog-ERG prey pick+up-ANT-SEQ 'When the dog flushes the prey'
- 9. *kha-i bhi-lanə* bring-PERF say-COND 'and brings it,'
- 10. *bənnu-sə lhi-si-rə* gun-INST hit-ANT-SEQ 'you have to hit it with the gun'
- 11. *sar-wa pəri-m* kill-NOM happen-NPST 'and kill it.'

# F. Recorded 3/28/90

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

### Coming Home from Kathmandu

- 1. Kadmandu-ri bəs-ri cəri-si-rə Kathmandu-LOC bus-LOC climb-ANT-SEQ 'We boarded the bus in Kathmandu'
- 2. *Pwakhəra-ri kha-i*Pokhara-LOC come-PERF
  'and came to Pokhara.'

- 3. *Pwakhəra-ri tho kha-wa*Pokhara-LOC arrive come-NOM
  'To arrive in Pokhara,'
- 4. *ath ghəntə lagi-i* eight hour take-PERF 'it took eight hours.'
- 5. *cəŋsə arko bəs-ri cəri-si-rə* then next bus-LOC climb-ANT-SEQ 'Then, next, we boarded the bus,
- 6. *yek ghəntə ligam Nə̃wdara-ri* one hour after Nawdara-LOC

*jfiəri-si-rə,* get+off-ANT-SEQ 'and one hour later we got off

- 7. capa ca-i
  meal eat-PERF
  'and ate a meal.'
- 8. capa ca-wa-ye ligam meal eat-NOM-GEN after 'After eating a meal,'
- 9. *phara-si-wa* walk-ANT-PERF 'we walked;
- 10. *cu-ri* tho kha-wa this-LOC arrive come-NOM 'to arrive at this place,'
- 11. *tin din tharləŋŋə lagi-i* three day full take-PERF 'it took three full days.'

### G. Recorded 4/4/90

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

## Going to Kathmandu for the First Time

1. *Bini-ri baŋ-gəm-sə na-ye tələb* Beni-LOC bank-ABL I-GEN money

> *thur-si-rə* remove-ANT-SEQ 'In Beni, I withdrew my money from the bank'

- 2. them-əŋ pəthə-i home-LOC send-PERF 'and sent it home.'
- 3. *na-siŋ jəmmə dwi səye rupəyã mu-õ ki ta* I-COM total two hundred rupee be-IMPF or what 'I had maybe a total of two hundred rupees.'
- 4. *gãw-ri-wa pərdhan-rə Hitman bhyanã-ru* village-LOC-NOM mayor-and Hitman brother+in+law-COM

Kadmandu-ri hya-wa bhi-si-rə phara-i Kathmandu-LOC go-NOM say-ANT-SEQ walk-PERF 'With the village mayor and fellow villager Hitman, I walked to Kathmandu.'

- 5. *dwi din ligam Pwakhəra-ri tho kha-si-rə* two day after Pokhara-LOC arrive come-ANT-SEQ 'After two days, we arrived in Pokhara'
- 6. capa ca-i
  meal eat-PERF
  'and ate a meal.'
- 7. capa ca-wa-ye ligam, meal eat-NOM-GEN after 'After eating,'

- 8. *"na yek chin Bəgər-ri hya-si-rə* I one moment Bagar-LOC go-ANT-SEQ
- 9. *kha-m,"*come-NPST
  "In one moment, I'll come and we'll go to Bagar",'
- 10. *bhi-si-wa hin* say-ANT-NOM be-NPST 'I said.'
- 11. *phərki kha-wa-khi nə* return-perf come-NOM-COTEMP topic 'When I returned,'
- 12. *cu-õ nə hare-õ* this-PL topic be-NEG-IMPF 'these guys weren't there.'
- 13. *na nə chekkə-y pəri*I topic surprised-very become-PERF
  'I was very surprised.'
- 14. *cəŋsə na palo bəs-ye tikət tha-si-rə* then I as+a+result bus-GEN ticket cut-ANT-SEQ 'So, as a result, I bought a ticket'
- 15. *yekləy kadmandu-ri hya-i* alone Kathmandu-LOC go-PERF 'and went to Kathmandu alone.'
- 16. *khyam-əŋ bini-ri-wa yəwta cini-si-wa* way-LOC Beni-LOC-NOM one know-ANT-NOM

*mastər-ra dho-si-rə* teacher-DAT meet-ANT-SEQ 'On the way, I met a teacher I knew from Beni'

17. *cə-ye ligam lagi-i* this-GEN after follow-PERF 'and followed him.'

18. *nhwathasə nhi-ye jilla-ri-wa məntəri-ye* next+day we-GEN district-ABES minister-GEN

them-əŋ tho-i home-LOC arrive-PERF 'The next day we arrived at the house of our district minister.'

19. *yek chin ligam nə cə dwita pəni* one moment after topic that two also

*cənnə tho kha-si-wa* same+place arrive come-ANT-NOMV 'After a minute, those two guys showed up'

### H. Recorded 4/18/90

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

### **Returning Home**

- 1. *na them-əŋ hya-si-rə* I home-LOC go-ANT-SEQ 'I'll go home'
- 2. *bəw-ra dho-wa hin* father-DAT meet-NOM be+NPST 'and see my father.'
- 3. *nə-ye kyatə-rə buri-ra pəni dho-wa pəri-i* I-GEN boy-and woman-DAT also meet-NOM happen-PERF 'I'll also see my wife and son'
- 4. *cəŋsə yəwta gãrãwa khyar cari-wa hin-si-n* then one good job search-NOM be-ANT-NPST+SUP

*tə* fact

'Then I will probably have to look for a nice job.'

- 5. *khyar yã-i bhi-lanə* job find-PERF say-COND 'If I find a job,'
- 6. *kadmandu-ri ci-wa pəri-i tə*Kathmandu-LOC sit-NOM happen-PERF fact
  'I will stay in Kathmandu.'
- I. Recorded 12/89 in Mangale Khani, Nepal. Speaker: Pə Bəhadur Bhulanja

#### The Wild Goat

- 1. rumə-ye thapla-ri goth mu-õ Ruma-GEN crown-LOC cowshed be-IMPF 'The animals were at Ruma's crown.'
- 2. thar khẽk-khẽk la-wa thas-ji mountain+goat khẽk-khẽk do-NOM hear-PERF 'I heard the khẽk-khẽk of the mountain goat'
- 3. *cə bhuluŋ-ye sãyesəpət təy a-thãy-i* that leopard-GEN noise nothing NEG-know-PERF 'I wasn't aware of that leopard's noise'
- 4. ruma-ri jhəri-wa khyam-gəm khyam khyam Ruma-LOC go+down-NOM road-ABL road road 'From the road which I went down to Ruma following the path.'
- 5. ruma-ri cecere kacapat mu-õ Ruma-LOC a+little tobacco be-IMPF 'There was a little bit of tobacco in Ruma.'
- 6. *a:: cõ-war hya-wa pəri-i* ah that-CIRC go-NOM happen-PERF 'Ah, I happened to go around there;'
- 6a. *ley:: bhi-wa mən ta-si-rə* emph say-NOM desire become-ANT-SEQ 'well, which is to say, I felt like going there,'

- 7. əcənək-ri mar kha-wa-khi nə -- acce -- instant-LOC downward come-NOM-COTEMP topic shock 'and all of a sudden, while I was going down -- My God!' --
- 8. *na kha-wa khyam khənnə dwandrəŋŋə* I come-NOM path right+there large+body

thar pəlti-si-wa mountain+goat fall-ANT-NOMV 'the path where I was coming, right there, a goat had fallen!'

- 9. *chə:: shya-i* carefully/slowly look+at-PERF 'I looked carefully.'
- 10. *cə wən-ri-wa phale-ra chij-ji* that front-LOC-NOM foot-DAT hold-PERF 'I held its front feet.'
- 11. *a:: cu samra n*ə *t*ə*y* ah this thigh topic nothing

ta-sere ley
become-ANT+NEG+NPST emph
"This thigh had not yet become nothing!"

- 12. *gəjjab-ri-wa sya mu ley* nice-LOC-NOM meat be-NPST emph 'Wow, it is good meat!"'
- 13. *əy, thar ley, bhuluŋ-sə sar-si-wa,* surprise goat emph leopard-ERG kill-ANT-NOM

təy nə a-ta-si-wa tə nothing topic NEG-become-ANT-NOMV fact 'The goat that the leopard had killed, nothing had happened to it!' [i.e. it hadn't rotted or been eaten] [Ram Prəsad Bhulanja]

14. *khəre-wã* sar-si-wa hin-si-n tə how+much-time kill-ANT-NOM be-ANT-NPST+SUP fact 'When had it been killed?'

[Pə Bəhadur Bhulanja]

15. *mɦun-chə khyãk-khyãk la-õ nu* night-LOC khyãk-khyãk do-IMPF reminder 'At night, it was going k-k -- remember?'

[Ram Prəsad Bhulanja]

16. *hə-cə thar nə nhe ki* that-that goat topic be+Q or 'Is that the goat that was killed or not?'

[Pə Bəhadur Bhulanja]

- 17. *cə bhuluŋ-ye səŋka yã-si-rə* that leopard-GEN distress find-ANT-SEQ 'It was distressed about that leopard,'
- 18. *khẽk-khẽk la-si-wa fiin-si-m* khẽk-khẽk do-ANT-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'and it had been going k-k.'
- 19. khẽk-khẽk khẽk-khẽk la-wa-khi nə khẽk-khẽk khẽk-khẽk do-NOM-COTEMP topic 'While it was going k-k,'
- 20. *cə khyannə bhuluŋ-sə chij-si-wa* that exact+place leopard-ERG catch-ANT-NOM

*fiin-si-m* tane
be-ANT-NPST confirm
'right there the leopard caught it, don't you think?'

21. *chəə shya-wa-khi nə, cə* gradual+motion look+at-NOM-COTEMP topic that

*mara-wa dwita samra-ye phəlcini* down-NOM two thigh-GEN muscle

*cãy ca-si-wa* aforementioned eat-ANT-NOMV 'When I slowly looked at it, [I saw that] the lower two thigh muscles had been eaten.'

- 22. *məre təy a-la-si-wa* rest nothing NEG-do-ANT-NOMV 'As for the rest, nothing had been done to it!'
- 23. *cə wəna-wa phale-õ, cə kərəŋ-ma, mutuk,* that front-NOM leg-PL that rib-PL heart

*mirkaylo, cə kəlico, təy nə* kidney that liver nothing topic

*a-la-si-wa tə*NEG-do-ANT-NOMV fact
'Those front legs, those ribs, heart, kidneys, that liver, nothing had been done to them!'

24. *cə, sirap, ligə̃-wa samra-ye phəlce* that only back-NOM thigh-GEN muscle

*cãy la-si-wa* aforementioned do-ANT-NOMV 'Only the back thigh muscles had been done [eaten]!'

- 25. *məre cãy təy a-la-si-wa* rest aforementioned nothing NEG-do-ANT-NOMV 'The rest of that one, nothing had been done to it!'
- 26. *haa gəjjab-ri-o sya mu-si-m ley* ah goodness-LOC-NOM meat be-ANT-NPST emph 'Ah, there was good meat!'
- 27. *pho-wa bhi-wa mən ta-i* take+away-NOM say-NOM desire become-PERF 'I wanted to take it away.'

- 28. *cəŋsə ghisari-la a-khaŋ nu* then drag-COND NEG-be+able reminder 'Then I wasn't able to drag it.'
- 29. *hə-jə nə cə chala tara-wa* that-that topic that skin extract-NOM

hayn nu NEG-be-NPST reminder 'That right there, I didn't [bother to] skin it.'

- 30. *cə ənnarabhūri thuti-si-rə* that viscera pull+out-ANT-SEQ 'I pulled out the viscera,'
- 31. *cə cakal-cikil la-si-wa samra-nas* that eating-sloppily do-ANT-NOM thigh-ALL

nə lərkə-i topic slide-PERF 'and then I pulled it toward the mangled thigh.'

- 33. *hə-ju kərəŋ-ye jurni khyannə ãsi-sə* that-this rib-GEN joint right+there sickle-INST

tuktuk-tuktuk la-si-rə hack-hack do-ANT-SEQ 'And then I hacked this rib joint right there with my sickle,'

34. *thuŋkə-i* break-PERF 'and broke it.'

35. *rə cə mara-wa khəre mar* and that down-NOM how+much down

*pəltə-i pin-ji tə* knock+down-ANT give-PERF fact 'And I knocked down however much lower stuff.'

36. *cə bhuluŋ-sə cakal cikil la-si-wa* that leopard-ERG sloppily+eating do-ANT-NOM

*pətti, cə torə-wa pətti-ra, tor kha pətti-rə* side that up-NOM side-DAT up neck side-and

mar kərəŋ pətti barabər ta-i nu down rib side equal become-PERF reminder 'That side that the leopard ate sloppily was equal to the upper side, up (to) the neck side and down (to) the rib side.'

37. *cə dwita cə səpito-ye əntər pəri-ji* that two that haunch-GEN middle happen-PERF

nureminder'It happened to the middle of the two legs.'

38. *te-r-sə-ŋ-sə yəwta daŋla bərio* that+place-LOC-LOC-ABL one cord tumpline

*ca-r-sə-ŋ-sə* yowta daŋla bərio la-si-rə this+place-LOC-LOC-ABL one cord tumpline do-ANT-SEQ 'I did one tumpline cord from there and one from here, and'

39. *na-wa-khir nə* carry-NOM-COTEMP topic 'while I was carrying it,'

40. *thar yep-si-wa-thôy ta-wa* goat stand-ANT-NOM-ESS become-NOM

hin-si-m tane be-ANT-NPST confirm 'the goat appeared as if standing.'

41. *məŋ cə thar-ye khuri-sə yi-cu-muwa-ri* down that goat-GEN hoof-INST this-this-ADES

cə ləcchari-wa-nha-ri pho-i tə that rub-NOM-INES take+away-PERF fact 'Down there, that goat hoof was rubbing me right here as I carried it.'

- 42. *pho-i* tə tak+away-PERF fact 'I carried it.'
- 43. *həya bəw həya ama la-gəy, khuy khuy* oh father oh mother do-PROG pant pant

*la-gəy la-wa-nha-ri* do-PROG do-NOM-INES 'While going "Oh father, oh mother" and panting,'

- 44. *tu-ŋ pho-i tə* up-LOC take+away-PERF fact 'I carried it up.'
- 45. *tu-ŋ pho-wa-khi nə* up-LOC take+away-NOM-COTEMP topic 'When I took it up,'
- 46. bəncoro-sə la-m rə axe-INST do-NPST and 'I'm doing it with an axe,'
- 47. *pəni chərə-wa nə* also same-NOM topic 'and the same result;'

- 48. *khwaja-sə la-m rə* knife-INST do-NPST and 'I'm doing it with the knife,'
- 49. *pəni chərə-wa nə* also same-NOM topic 'and the same result;'
- 50. *ãsi-sə la-m rə* sickle-INST do-NPST and 'I'm doing it with a sickle,'
- 51. *pəni chərə-wa nə* also same-NOM topic 'and the same result;'
- 52. *cə chala tara-wa la-m tə* that skin extract-NOM do-NPST fact 'I'm trying to extract that skin.'
- 53. *rðw tha-lanə hin sð cə* fur cut-COND be-NPST frustration that

wonə-wa phale-yi front-NOM leg-GEN 'If only I could cut the fur! That front leg's.

54. *cə ligəm-wa phale cây mə-ŋ nə* that back-NOM leg aforementioned down-LOC topic

*khyala-i* throw+away-PERF 'The back leg, I threw away below.'

55. *cə wonə-wa cə dwita phale-ye chala* that front-NOM that two leg-GEN skin

tara-wa bhi-si cə gyẽri-wa la-wa-khi extract-NOM say-ANT that cut-NOM do-NOM-COTEMP 'When I was trying to cut around and peel off the skin of the two front legs,' 56. *aay! kattay talay tha-i nə* gosh no+matter+what cut-PERF topic

a-tha-wa taneNEG-cut-NOMV confirm'Gosh! No matter what it wouldn't even cut!'

- 57. acce cə ghyawa nə dhin nyãsə sõõ la-si-rə huh that early topic since evening until do-ANT-SEQ 'Huh! From early until evening I worked,'
- 58. *cə bəllə bəllə la-si* that great+effort do-ANT 'and I worked with great effort,'
- 59. *chala tar-ji* skin extract-PERF 'I peeled off the skin.'
- 60. *chala tara-wa-khi* skin extract-NOM-COTEMP 'While I peeled off the skin,'
- 61. *khənə cãy-ye kartos-ye goli* which aforementioned-GEN cartridge-GEN bullet

*hin-sẽẽ* be-PAST+ANT '[I said,] "Whose bullet was this?"'

62. *cillo la-si-rə kũri-si-wa goli cə yi-cu* smooth do-ANT-SEQ shape-ANT-NOM bullet that this-this

khyãra cə phirpata khyãra yã-i right+there that shoulder+blade right+there find-PERF 'I found it right there in the shoulder blade, right there, a smoothly shaped bullet,'

63. *rə korsili-ri kar-si thhan-ji* and hanging+basket-LOC put-ANT keep-PERF 'and kept it, putting it in the hanging basket.'

- 64. *goli ca-si-wa thar fiin-si-m tə* bullet eat-ANT-NOM goat be-ANT-NPST fact 'It's the goat that was shot.'
- 65. *khinə cə dhyassə gaccə ta-si-n tə* but that weak+shot only happen-ANT-NPST+SUP fact 'But it was only a weak shot.'
- 66. *ãt a-ca-si-wa* insides NEG-eat-ANT-NOMV 'The innards weren't hit [by the bullet].'
- 67. *chala pher-si-wa* skin penetrate-ANT-NOMV 'It penetrated the skin.'
- 68. *hə-cənnə cə həjyarə-sə cə* that-same+place that scar+tissue-INST that

sya-ma-sə beri-si-rə meat-PL-INSTR wrap+around-ANT-SEQ 'There the scar tissue and the muscles wrapped around it'

- 69. *ci-si-wa* sit-ANT-PERF 'and it sat there'
- 70. *dho-i* meet-PERF '[and] I found it.'
- 71. *hə-cə korsili-ri kar-ji* that-that hanging+basket-LOC put-PERF 'I put it in that hanging basket.'
- 72. cannə bəllə bəllə chala tar-ji then great+effort skin extract-PERF 'Then with great effort I pulled off the skin'

73. *rə cə chala cãy bar* and that skin aforementioned fence

te-r-s-əŋ khyala-i that+place-LOC-LOC throw+away-PERF 'and I threw away that skin to the other side of the [cowshed's] fence.'

- 74. cannə cə kəpal-ra khãra-i then that head-DAT singe-PERF 'Then I singed the head.' [to remove the hair]
- 75. *khãra-i* singe-PERF 'I singed it'
- 76. *yi-cu-muwa-ri yek kəptyara ə̃ə yi-cə la-si-rə* this-this-ADES one portion uh this-that do-ANT-SEQ 'Around here I did one piece [of the head, which had been quartered],'
- 77. *tin kəptyara la-si-rə* three portion do-ANT-SEQ 'and I did three pieces,'
- 78. *yi-cu-ri jhuntə-i* this-this-LOC hang-PERF 'and I hung it here.'
- 79. cannə wonə-wa dwita səpito cənnə jhunta-i then front-NOM two haunches right+there hang-PERF 'Then I hung the front two haunches.'
- 80. cannə gərdən nhe-rə then thick+neck Q+be-and 'Then the thick neck, right?'
- 81. *cə sədde bir thar hin-si-m nu* that true mature+male goat be-ANT-NPST reminder 'That was a real bull goat.'

- 82. *ahã, jhən a-ta bhi-si-rə* ahh, more NEG-happen say-ANT-SEQ 'Ahh, as if that weren't enough,'
- 83. *cə bhuluŋ-sə kha-ra nə jhi-si-rə* that leopard-ERG neck-DAT topic bite-ANT-SEQ 'that leopard bit the neck,'
- 84. *sãra-ysi-wa* swell-ANT-NOMV 'and it swelled.'
- 85. *yi-sər-wa sãra-ysi-wa mu-õ nu* this-manner-NOM swell-ANT-NOM be-IMPF reminder 'It had swelled like this [demonstrating].'
- 86. *mãã hə-cə sya-ma lacchi-gəy* great+effort that-that meat-PL strip-PROG 'Stripping those pieces of meat with great effort,'
- 87. *ləra ləra pari-gəy* small+strip small+strip happen+caus-PROG 'making small strips,'
- 88. *tuŋ jhuntə-gəy*up hang-PROG
  'and hanging them up:'
- 89. *hə-sə la-i nu* that-manner do-PERF reminder 'I did it that way.'
- 90. *cannə, hə-cə ləra ləra* then that-that small+strip small+strip

*pari-wa-khi*happen+caus-NOM-COTEMP
'While I was making those small strips,'

- 91. *na-sə tam thas-si-wa mu-õ* I-ERG talk hear-ANT-NOM be-IMPF '[I remember] I heard people say:'
- 92. *aa chala pəkə-ysi-rə* ah skin cook-ANT-SEQ 'Ah, "You cook the skin, and'
- 93. *ca-wa* eat-NOM 'eating it,'
- 94. *syam syam baŋra buri-wa* bite+into+something+tender tooth sink-NOM

ta-mhappen-NPST'you sink your teeth into something tender,"'

- 95. *bhi-wa tam thas-si-wa mu-õ nu* say-NOM talk hear-ANT-NOM be-IMPF reminder 'so they say.'
- 96. *cə jãtha dewri-ri pəkə-ysi-rə* that pubic+hair small+pot-LOC cook-ANT-SEQ 'If I cooked it in that useless pot,'
- 97. *chala tala syam syam baŋra* skin why bit+into+something+tender tooth

buri-wa fiinsink-NOM be-NPST'how could it become tender?'

- 98. *din chələŋŋə dewri-ri chala pəkə-i*day clear pot-LOC skin cook-PERF
  'All day I cooked the skin in the pot'
- 99. *jun pyã-si-rə chələŋŋə wujəlo mu* moon shine-ANT-SEQ clear bright be-NPST 'The moon is shining brightly' ['the moon having shown, it's clear bright']

- 100. *ligəm ca-wa la-wa-khi,* back eat-NOM do-NOM-when 'When I tried to eat,'
- 101. *baŋra na-si-rə* tooth hurt-ANT-SEQ 'my teeth hurt, and'
- 102. *cet ta-i tə* awareness become-PERF fact 'I got fed up.'

[Ram Bhulanja]

- 103. *mõre kuro, sya nə, ca-lanə* other thing meat topic eat-COND 'If you eat other things,'
- 104. *ta-wa fiin nə* become-NOM be-NPST topic 'it would be fine.'
- 105. *tala chala* why skin 'Why eat skin?'

[Pə Bəhadur Bhulanja]

- 105. *dimag-sə kam la-lanə* mind-INST work do-COND 'If I used my head,'
- 106. *fiin* sõ be-NPST frustration 'it would have been fine.'
- 107. *hə-cə baŋra na-nə la-i* that-that tooth hurt-RSLT do-PERF 'That [skin] made my teeth hurt.'

- 108. *chənnəy khyala-i nu* pointlessly throw+away-PERF reminder 'I threw it away for no reason.'
- 109. *na-ra cə tha-wa-nha-ri mas*I-DAT that cut-NOM-INES black+lentil

lagi-i nu follow-PERF reminder 'While cutting it, I got sick of it.'

110. *cannə car pan din-õ nə cə ləra pari-wa-ma* then four five day-PL topic that strip prepare-NOM-PL

gətilo ləra a-ta-si-n tə good strip NEG-become-ANT-NPST+SUP fact 'Then four or five days later the strips that I made didn't become good strips.'

- 111. *cə duŋŋ duŋŋ thhaŋkha-wa ta-i tə* that stinking stinking stink-NOM become-PERF fact 'It came to stink terribly.'
- 112. *shya-wa-khi* look-NOM-COTEMP 'While looking,'
- 113. *hə-cə jəwnu shya-lai* that-that whichever look-RC 'whichever one I looked at,'
- 114. *cə nə həriyo mara-wa ta-i tə* that topic green see-NOM become-PERF fact it became green.'
- 115. *cə səpito-ma pəni həriyo ta-i* tə that thigh-PL also green become-PERF fact 'Those thighs also became green.'

116. cənnə cə səpito-ri-wa, cə wonə-wa then that thigh-LOC-NOM that front-NOM

phale-ye səpito, sya lucchi-wa-khi leg-GEN thigh meat tear+off-NOM-COTEMP 'While tearing off the thigh meat, that from the front leg thigh,'

- 117. "yi hə yi-ddyo-dhin a-kha-m nu" hey y'know this-big-COMP NEG-come-NPST reminder "hey, y'know, bigger than this they don't come.""
- 118. *hə-cə cyãy-ra luchi-si-rə* that-that small-DAT tear+off-ANT-SEQ 'I tore off those small ones and'
- 119. *cə ləra pari-ji tə* that strip make-PERF def 'I made those strips.'
- 120. *cə kha-ri-wa, cə gərdən-ri-wa, cə* that neck-LOC-NOM that back+neck-LOC-NOM that

yaduyta ləra rə cə ligaŋ-sə na luchi-si-wa one+two strip and that back-ABL I tear+off-ANT-NOMV 'Those from the neck, those from the back of the neck, and one or two strips after that I tore off,'

121. *cə wonə-wa səpito-ri-wa cə hə yi-ddyo* that front-NOM thigh-LOC-NOM that y'know this-much

hə yi-ddyo kam lagi-ji tə y'know this-much work follow-PERF fact 'those from the front legs become useful.'

- 122. *cə phwaksa kam lagi-ji tə* that lung work follow-PERF fact 'The lung became useful.'
- 123. *ma-r kha-i tə* down-LOC bring-PERF fact 'I brought it down [to the village].'

- 124. *mõre təy kam nə a-lagi-ji tə* other anything work topic NEG-follow-PERF fact 'The others didn't become useful.'
- 125. *cə kəpal tin kəptyara pari* that head three piece make-PERF 'The head made three pieces.'
- 126. *jhuntə-ysi-wa* hang-ANT-NOMV 'They had hung.'
- 127. *hə-cə-ŋ nə cə ə̃wsiya* that-that-ABL topic that green+fly+egg

*təyə-wa ta-i nu* fall+down-NOM become-PERF reminder 'From right there, green fly eggs fell down.'

- 128. *ɔ̃wsiya hayn* green+fly+egg NEG-be-NPST 'There weren't green fly eggs;'
- 129. *kiwã* nə təyə-wa ta-i nu maggot topic fall+down-NOM become-PERF reminder 'it was the maggots that fell down.' [self-correction to 127]
- 130. *phana nə thhankha-wa ta-i nu* hard topic stink-NOM become-PERF reminder 'Boy, did it stink!'
- 131. *cəŋ thur-si a-ta bhi-si-rə* then remove-ANT NEG-become say-ANT-SEQ 'Then, removing it wasn't enough;'
- 132. *ma-r* khyala-i down-LOC throw+away-PERF '[so] I threw it away.'

- 133. *ca-wa buddi fiayn tə* eat-NOM mind NEG-be-NPST fact 'It never occurred to me to eat it.'
- 134. *thajiŋ hin-lanə* these+days be-COND 'If it were these days,'
- 135. *khəre gəjjab-siŋ ca-wa mu-õ* how+much goodness-COM eat-NOM be-IMPF 'I would eat it with relish.'
- 136. *sukuti bənə-wa hin* dried+meat make-NOM be-NPST 'I would make dried meat [jerky].'
- 137. *təy kam a-lagi* anything work NEG-follow-PERF 'Nothing was useful.'
- 138. *khərkə jəmməy thhankha-wa ta-i tə* clearing all stink-NOM become-PERF fact 'The clearing came to stink.'
- 139. *gãrawa la-si-rə khar-si-m akhir-ri* good do-ANT-SEQ dry-ANT-NPST end-LOC 'They dried well, in the end,'
- 140. *cə gərdən-ri-wa cə pholce rə cə* that back+of+the+neck-LOC-NOM that muscle and that

wonə-wa samra-ri-wa cyãy pholce hə-jəgər front-NOM thigh-LOC-NOM small muscle that-much

rə phwobsa gãrawa la-si-rə khar-si-m tə and lung good do-ANT-SEQ dry-ANT-NPST fact 'That meat from the back of the neck, that small muscle from the front thigh, that much and the lung dried well.'

141. *malday nhe ki su nhe* second+brother be+Q+NPST or who be+Q+NPST

*hya-si-rə* go-ANT-SEQ 'The second brother or somebody went,'

142. *mar jabi-ri kar-si-rə* downward bag-LOC put+in-ANT-SEQ

*kha-sẽẽ nu*bring-PAST+ANT reminder
'and put the meat in a bag and brought it down.'

[Ram Bhulanja]

143. *malday hin-si-n* second+brother be-ANT-NPST+SUP 'It must have been second brother.'

[Pə Bəhadur Bhulanja]

144. *hə-cə-i* su nhe dõr-ma that-that-also who be+Q+NPST public+servant-PL

*kha-si-rə* come-ANT-SEQ 'Also that -- some bureaucrats or other came'

- 145. *bəw-sə cũ-i* father-ERG sell-PERF 'and father sold it to them,'
- 146. *bhi-wa tam thasa-õ nu* say-NOM talk hear-IMPF reminder 'I was told.'
- 147. *yadwita cakki-wa cə phwaksa* one+or+two taste-NOM that lung

*ta-si-n tə* become-ANT-NPST+SUP fact 'One or two pieces of lung got tasted.'

148. *khərkə nə thfiankha-wa ta-si-wa* clearing topic stink-NOM become-ANT-NOM

fiin tanebe-NPST confirm'The clearing had become really stinky.'

- 149. *tu-ŋ khərkə nə buŋ buŋ thhaŋkha-wa* up-LOC clearing topic puff puff stink-NOMV 'Up there, the stink came continuously in puffs!'
- 150. *gəjjab-ri-wa thar yã-si-wa hin* excellence-LOC-NOM wild+goat find-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'I had found that really good goat.'

[Ram Bhulanja]

151. *nfiwatha-sə* next+day-INST 'Next day'

[Pə Bəhadur Bhulanja]

- 152. *ta ro*what inference
  'What did you say?'
- 153. *ligəm-wa bərsə-ri fiya-wa-khiri* back-NOM year-LOC go-NOM-COTEMP 'Following year, when we went back,'
- 154. *haar gəjjə ghigrikkə mu-õ tane* bone only sharp+ugly+cluster be-IMPF confirm 'there were only the sharp, ugly bones.'
- 155. *əə ... kəpal-ye haar-ma* ah head-GEN bone-PL 'Ah...head bones.' [i.e. skull & jawbones]

## J. Recorded 5/3/91

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

### The Jackal's Ruse

- 1. *yəwta syal mu-si-m ro* one jackal be-ANT-NPST inference 'Once there was a jackal.'
- 2. *cə syal nə nhaka ca-wa pəlki-si-wa* that jackal topic chicken eat-NOM lust-ANT-NOM

*hin-si-m*be-ANT-NPST
'The jackal loved to eat chickens.'

- 3. *jəyle hin-lai* whenever be-RC 'Whenever it was'
- 4. *chəkal chəkal ta-wa-khiri* noon noon become-NOM-COTEMP 'that it become noon,'
- 5. *cə syal gãw-muwa-ri luki-si-rə* that jackal village-ADES hide-ANT-SEQ 'the jackal hid near the village'
- 6. "cil ayo, cil ayo" bhi-wa hin-si-m eagle comes eagle comes [Nepali] say-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'and said: "The eagle is coming, the eagle is coming."
- 7. *cəŋ nə, gãw-ri-wa mənchi-õ jəmməy* then topic village-LOC-NOM person-PL all
  - *cə tuŋ akas-ri shya-wa-khiri* that up sky-LOC look-NOM-COTEMP 'Then, while all the villagers looked up to the sky,'

- 8. *cə syal-sə yowta nhaka tyappə thu-si-rə* that jackal-ERG one chicken snatching pick+up-ANT-SEQ 'the jackal snatched up one chicken'
- 9. *dugri-wa hin-si-m* run-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'and ran away.'

# K. Recorded December 1989, Cəwra Khani, Nepal Speaker: Mən Prəsad Ghərəmja

#### Why the Chantyal Gave Up Mining

[Ram Bhulanja]

- 1. pəyla khani kho-wa tala bən la-si-wa nfie? first mine dig-NOM why close do-ANT-NOM be+NPST+Q 'First of all, why did mining have to be closed?'
- 2. nuwə-ra thaa mu-ẽ hare you-DAT knowledge be+Q+NPST be+NEG+NPST 'Do you know or not?
  - [Mən Prəsad Ghərəmja; Ram Bhulanja's wife's uncle, aged about 55]
- 3. *khani bən ta-si-wa cãy* mine close become-ANT-NOM aforementioned 'As for the mine closing,'
- 4. *abə cecere mənchi kisan-ri lagi-i chin-ji* now few man farming-LOC follow-ANT finish-PERF 'at that time, few people had taken up farming;'
- 5. *phappə phuppə khəre thə̃wə ca-i* scattered+over+surface how+many they eat-ANT

*chin-ji* finish-PERF 'that which was easily collected they had used up.'

- 6. *abə tharaŋ fiya-i khan* now far go-PERF ore 'The ore went further.'
- 7. *abə dhatu khan nə kho-gəy kho-gəy* now metal ore topic dig-PROG dig-PROG

*hya-wa-khi* go-NOM-COTEMP 'While they were digging and digging,'

8. *tharaŋ fiya-i*far go-PERF
'the ore went further.'

[Ram Bhulanja]

9. *thə̃wə səri-si-rə a-fiya khani-ru* they move-ANT-SEQ NEG-go-PERF mine-COM 'Didn't they follow the vein?'

[Ghərəmja]

- 10. *55 hə-sərə-wa ta-si-rə*Yeah distal-manner-NOM become-ANT-SEQ
  'Yeah, for that reason it transpired [that]'
- 11. *thə̃wə "abə pir-ye; ta-i" bhi-wa* they now leave-HOR become-PERF say-NOM
- 12. *əbəstha-ri tho-si-wa mu-õ* situation-LOC arrive-ANT-NOM be-IMPF 'they arrived at a situation where they said: "Now,let's leave; it's enough."
- 13. *cə byala-ri sãllay-ye səsura cə* that time-LOC 3rd+brother-GEN father+in+law that

dwari-ri-wa gəme-ye baje tarik-wala

Dwari-LOC-NOM Game-GEN grandfather date-person
'At that time the third brother's father-in-law, that Game from Dwari, his grandfather [was a] court-date-person.'

14. *cə byala nhi ijara rə məwlo-ye* that time we legal+charge and post-GEN

jhəgəra mu-õ litigation be-IMPF 'That time we had a court case involving a legal charge and a post [?].'

- 15. *cə jhəgəra mu-õ* that litigation be-IMPF 'There was litigation.'
- 16. *byala-ri khi cə kadmandu-ri hya-wa-khiri nə* time-LOC he that Kathmandu-LOC go-NOM-COTEMP topic 'During the time he was going to Kathmandu,'
- 17. *"ləw nhi nə jhiŋkhani-ri khani* OK we topic Jhing Khani-LOC mine

mina la-wa hin commutation do-NOM be-NPST "Let us give up mining in Jhing Khani."

- 18. *abə a-kham mu* now NEG-be+able be-NPST 'Now we're not able,"'
- 19. *bhi-si* say-ANT 'saying [this]'
- 20. *kərə-ysi-m tane, cə nə* appeal-ANT-NPST confirm that topic 'he has appealed, that guy.'
- 21. *juluŋ juluŋ te-ŋ rajya-muwa-ri* intrusive+manner there-LOC king-ADES

*tho-si-õ ro tane kərə-gəy* arrive-ANT-IMPF inference confirm appeal-PROG 'Intrusively, he arrived there at the king's, appealing...'

[Ram Bhulanja]

- 22. "mina la-wa" bhi-wa cãy commutation do-NOM say-NOM aforementioned 'What you meant by saying "to do the commutation"
- 23. *kər a-ləgə-wa* tax NEG-compel-NOMV 'was not to compel the tax?'

[Ghərəmja]

- 24. *ɔ̃ɔ̃..." abə kər a-ləgə-wa* yeah now tax NEG-compel-NOM 'Yeah, now don't compel the tax.'
- 25. *nhi a-kham mu abə nhi"* we NEG-be+able be-NPST now we 'Now, we're not able,"
- 26. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he said and'
- 27. *kərə-ysi-m tə* appeal-ANT-NPST fact 'he appealed.'
- 28. *cə-rasə te-r chin-ji tə* that-TEMP that+place-LOC finish-PERF fact 'From that time on, it [mining] was finished.'
- 29. *hə-sə la-si-wa* that-manner do-ANT-NOM 'Since doing that,'
- 30. *ca-r khənəŋ kho-wa pir-ji* this+place-LOC mine dig-NOM leave-PERF 'from that time on we left mining.'
- 31. *khənəŋ kho-wa pir-ji tə* mine dig-NOM leave-PERF fact 'We left mining.'

32. *cə-ra[-sə] te-r kheti-ri* that-TEMP that+place-LOC farming-LOC

*lagi-si-wa hin* follow-ANT-NOM be-NPST 'Since that time we've taken up farming.'

33. *hə-sərə-wa nə ... ə̃ə ... na jərmi-wa-ye* that-manner-NOM topic ah I be+born-NOM-GEN

*lək pəchi-wãr nə hin-si-n* immediately after-CIRC topic be-ANT-NPST+SUP 'It must have been right after the time I was born.'

- 34. *pir-si-wa* leave-ANT-NOMV 'We left.'
- 35. *malday na-rasə ath bərsə jetho mu-õ* second+brother I-TEMP 8 year old be-IMPF 'Second brother was eight years older than me.'
- 36. *tə-sə* na jərmi-wa lukun I+don't+know I be+born-NOM by+the+time

*pir-si-õ ki* leave-ANT-IMPF or 'I don't know whether I was born by the time we had left.'

- 37. *abə, pəcas pəcpənnə bərsə-ri nə mu* now 50 55 year-LOC topic be-NPST 'Now it's fifty or fifty-five years'
- 38. *tala bhi-wa-khi nə* why say-NOM-COTEMP topic 'Because...'

39. *malday... i-ju te-r-sə* second+brother... this-this that+place-LOC-LOC

dəlla khənəŋ bhi-wa Dəlla mine say-NOM 'Second brother...this over there was called Dalla mine,'

- 40. *nhi-ye i-ju te-r-sə mu-õ* we-GEN this-this that+place-LOC-LOC be-IMPF 'it was ours right over there.'
- 41. *hə-jə khənəŋ kho-wa-khiri* that-that mine dig-NOM-COTEMP 'While we were working that mine,'
- 42. *malday te-ŋ khənəŋ-mar fiya-si* sec+bro that+place-LOC mine-CIRC go-ANT 'second brother went around the mine there'
- 43. *kha-wa fiin* come-NOM be-NPST '[and] came,'
- 44. *bhi-õ na-ra* say-IMPF I-DAT 'he told me.' [41-4: 'Second brother told me that, while we were working the mine, he went around the mine there and came back.']
- 45. *khi ath bərsə jetho mu-õ* he 8 year old be-IMPF 'He was eight years old.'
- 46. *la-wa-khiri*do-NOM-COTEMP
  'From all this, we can conclude,'/'Given all that,'
- 47. *na jərmi-wa-bhənda cecere won nhe ki* I be+born-NOM-COMP little before be+Q or 'I guess it was a little before I was born.'

48. *səntanəbbe sal-ri cater nhi jhəgara* 97 year-LOC from-that-time-on we lawsuit

*la-wa-khi nha-ri nə cater nhi* do-NOM-COTEMP around topic from+there we 'In '97 [i.e. '47] while we were pursuing the lawsuit,'

- 49. *kholuwa dərta kha-si-rə* registration entry come-ANT-SEQ 'the kholuwa registration came into effect.'
- 50. *tis khalta ...ee... yek tis khalta nhe ki ta* 30 valley uh one 30 valley be+Q or what 'There were thirty ..no.. thirty-one valleys, or what?'
- 51. *abə hə-jəgər səntanəbbe sal-ri-wa dərta* now that-much 97 year-LOC-NOM entry

la-si-wa hin do-ANT-NOM be-NPST 'The registration of '97 registered those.'

52. *cə dərta la-si-wa cãy-ri* that entry do-ANT-NOM aforementioned-LOC

*tejam-wa sirkhərkə, cajam-wa sirkhərkə,* far+side-NOM Sirkharka near+side-NOM Sirkharka

ratopani, chữy-phiri, phyaraŋ-wa yaŋle, ...ɔ̃ə̃... chəri, Ratopani Chuyngphiri over-NOM Yangle uh Chari

*cə-gəm-sə kwine manekhərkə, məə jhu-wa-ma ta* that-ABL Kwine-Manekharka honey divide-NOM-PL what

ta nfie bfii-wa-ma la-si-rə what be+Q+NPST call/say-NOM-PL do-ANT-SEQ 'Among those registered: Far-side Sirkharka, Near-side Sirkharka, Ratopani, Chuyngphiri [Under-Chuyng], Over-Yangle, ...uh... Chari, from that Kwine-Manekharka, Maang-Jhuwa, etc. and what-do-you-call-them's were registered,'

- 53. *khənə-wãr nhe la-si-rə* which-CIRCUM be+Q+NPST do-ANT-SEQ 'around wherever they did it,'
- 54. *khəre khərkə nhe tə-sã* how+many valley be+Q+NPST don't+know 'I don't know how many valleys.'
- 55. *la-wa-khiri* do-NOM-COTEMP 'From this we can conclude'
- 56. *fiə-sə la-si* that+way do-ANT 'they did it that way'
- 57. *la-si-wa səntanəbbe sal-ri hin* do-ANT-NOM 97 year-LOC be+NPST 'it was done in '97.' [56-7: 'they did it that way in '97]
- 58. *cə-ma-rasə won hin cu khani pir-si-wa* that-PL-TEMP before be+NPST this mine leave-ANT-NOMV 'It was before these things that the mine was abandoned.'
- 59. *səntanəbbe sal-ra ... abə na nə yakanəbbe* 97 year-LOC now I topic 91

sal-ri-wa hin year-LOC-NOM be+NPST 'In '97 .... I am of '91.'

- 60. *səntanəbbe sal kha-wa-khi nə* 97 year come-NOM-COTEMP topic 'While '97 was coming,'
- 61. *na nə sat bərsə ta-i*I topic 7 year become-PERF
  'I became seven.'

- 62. *la-wa-khi nə* do-NOM-COTEMP topic 'From this we can conclude,'
- 63. *cə-ras* won hin that-TEMP before be+NPST 'it was before that.'

[Om Bhulanja -- Ram's wife]

- 64. səntanəbbe-gəm-sə hə-jə səye katti-si-rə 97-ABL that-that 100 exceed-ANT-SEQ 'One hundred exceeded ninety-seven, and'
- 65. thãy phiri nəbbe sal mu nhi nowadays again 90 year be+NPST right? 'these days it's the '90's, isn't it?' [She confused the Western & Nepali calendars.]
- 66. *kha-wa nfie* rə how be+Q+NPST and 'Or how is it, really?'

[Ghərəmja]

- 67. səntanəbbe sal-gam-sə səye sal ye-i tə
  97 year-ABL hundred year be+enough-PERF fact
  'From the year '97, the year 100 [i.e. 2000] is complete' [He's talking about the passage of time between '97 & 100.]
- 68. *cə-gam-sə jhya-gəy kha-si thãy* that-ABL count-PROG come-ANT nowadays

*chyalis tho-kha-i tə* '46 arrive-PERF fact 'by that reckoning, we're now at '46.'

[Ram Bhulanja]

69. *chyalis sal nəbbe sal nə iŋlif sal hin* '46 year 90 year topic English year be-NPST 'The year '46 is the English year '90.'

[Om Bhulanja]

70. *yee, õ, tə nhi* yeah uh fact tag 'Yeah, you're right.'

[Ghərəmja]

71. *la-wa-khiri, pəyle-wa bura-õ, batha* do-NOM-COTEMP before-NOM old+man-PL smart

*fii-ye* ta bfii-lanə, say-HOR what say-COND 'As a result, let's say the men from times past were clever,'

- 72. *lata bhi-ye bhi-lanə* stupid say-HOR say-COND '[or] let's say they were stupid,'
- 73. *təyla-wa* bura-õ nhin-kha-wa batha yesterday-NOM old+men-PL fear-come-NOM smart 'yesterday's men were frightfully clever.' [The implication here is that they weren't so clever in arranging for the Chantyal to live in such a barren place in the mountains, but that they were clever in manipulating the '97 registration.]
- 74. *abə, purbə panja-ye ghãāti nhəkəldãra pəcchyũ* now east Panha-GEN throat Nhakadara west

*lukur khwala dhukkur bisawna əə... dəkkhin* Lukur river Dhukkur Bisauna uh south

bəyalidhra chipchipe-pani uttər dhəwlageri Bayalidara Chipchipe-Pani north Dhaulagiri 'Now to the east, Panja Pass [and] Nhakaldara; to the west, the Lukur River, Dhukkur and Bisauna; uh... to the south, Bayalidara and Chipchipe-Pani; and to the north, Dhaulagiri.' 75. *char jilla bhitrə-ko rato pīlo* [Nepali] four district inside-GEN red yellow

khəre nə abə jəmməy thəwã nə la-si-rə how+many topic now all they topic do-ANT-SEQ 'However many copper mines [red & yellow] there were inside the four districts, they did them all;'

- 76. thəwã meribəndi khi-si-wa they deed [??] tie-ANT-NOMV 'they tied them up separately as their exclusive right.' [Ram Bhulanja believes that Ghərəmja didn't know the proper Nepali and substituted the nonce word 'meribəndi'.]
- 77. *meribəndi tama pətrə bhi-wa* deed copper+plate letter say-NOM

*cãy hə-jəgər lhããwõ mu-õ* aforementioned that+much long be-IMPF 'The copper plate deed was this long.'

- 78. *kagər la-wa-khir* paper do-NOM-COTEMP 'When it is done on paper,'
- 79. *thya-m bhi-si-rə* wear+out-NPST say-ANT-SEQ 'it wears out.'
- 80. *hə-jjyajyara-wa mu-õ* that-volume-NOM be-IMPF 'It was that big in volume.'

[Ram Bhulanja]

81. *khyor-ye* copper-GEN 'Of copper?'

[Ghərəmja]

- 82. *kfiyor-ye* copper-GEN 'Of copper.'
- 83. *hə-ju duyta ya jorə-ysi-wa-bhənda cee* that-this two hand join-ANT-NOM-COMP little

thyawa mu-õ big be-IMPF 'It was a little bigger than these two hands joined together.'

- 84. *yek hat mu-õ ki khi nə* one cubit be-IMPF or it topic 'It must have been one cubit, right?'
- 85. *hə-səra-wa nə mu-si-r* that-manner-NOM topic be-ANT-NPST+SUP 'It must have been like that.'
- 86. *yek hat khəre-thwãy mu-õ* one cubit how+much-COMP be-IMPF 'It was about as long as one cubit.'
- 87. *cə thyammə khəre gãrãwa la-si-rə* that fit how+much good do-ANT-SEQ 'How perfectly beautiful it was fashioned, and'
- 88. ...əhə̃... abə kagər thya-m uh now paper wear+out-NPST
- 89. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'because paper wears out,'
- 90. *thəwã-ye kam nə pəkka hin* they-GEN work topic high+quality be-NPST 'their work is high quality.'

91. *cə byala-ri-wa khyewor-ye pata-ra* that time-LOC-NOM copper-GEN plate-DAT

*lekhi-si-wa* tane write-ANT-NOMV confirm 'A copper plate of that time was incised.'

92. *dholthan-e rajya-ye palo-ri nhe*Dholthan-ATTR king-GEN reign-LOC be+Q+NPST

tane khi pəni confirm it even 'It must have been in the reign of the King of Dholthan.'

- 93. *dholthane rajya-ye palo mu-õ-i-ta*Dholthan king-GEN reign be-IMPF-or-what
  'It was the reign of the Dholthan king.'
- 94. *cəwbise rajya-ye palo-ri-wa*24 king-GEN reign-LOC-NOM
  'Of the reign of the 24 kings,'
- 95. *abə cə byala-ri nə rajya, cəwbise rajya* now that time-LOC topic king 24 king

bhi-wa-khi nə say-NOM-COTEMP topic 'if we say, at that time, the 24 kings,'

96. *abə dholthan-e rajya-y palo-ri nə* now Dholthan-NOM king-GEN reign-LOC topic

fiin tə
be-NPST fact
'it was the Dholthan king's reign.'

97. *fiə-sərə-wa mu-õ mu-õ nu* that-manner-NOM be-IMPF be-IMPF reminder 'And so it was.'

- 98. *la-wa-khir nə* do-NOM-COTEMP topic 'Given all this,'
- 99. *khəy ca te-r nə ... əəh ...* where that-TEMP that+place-LOC topic uh 'where were we? -- from that time on...uh...'
- 100. *khəy cəwbise rajya-ye palo-ri ca* where 24 king-GEN reign-LOC that-TEMP

*te-r nə dholthan-ri-wa rajya* that+place-LOC topic Dholthan-LOC-NOM king

mu-wa-nha-ri nə be-NOM-INES topic 'In the reign of the 24 kings, from that time forward, there was a king in Dholthan.'

- 101. *phiri cə pakhpani rajya thō-i tə* again that Pakhpani king go+out-PERF fact 'Again, the Pakhpani king emerged.'
- 102. *pakhpani-ri-wa rajya thō-si-rə*Pakhpani-LOC-NOM king go+out-ANT-SEQ
  'The Pakhpani king emerged.'
- 103. *ca te-r tulku rajya thõ-i tə* that-TEMP that+place-LOC Tulku king go+out-PERF fact 'Then the Tulku king emerged.'
- 104. *tulku rajya-sə ca te-r,* Tulku king-ERG that-TEMP that+place-LOC

dholthan-ri-wa rajya, rajya-sə Dholthan-LOC-NOM king king-ERG

105. *əy, khawa nhe* wow how be+Q-NPST

- 106. *pakhpani-ri rajya thō-si-m*Pakhpani-LOC king go+out-ANT-NPST
- 107. *bhi-wa bhi-wa-khi nə* say-NOM say-NOM-COTEMP topic 'The Tulku king then, the Dholthan king, the king [correction] said: "Wow, how is it possible? A king has emerged in Pakhpani." when he said:'
- 108. *kha-si-m tə* come-ANT-NPST fact ""He has come."
- 109. *kha-si-m* come-ANT-NPST 'He has come."'
- 110. *din-bhəri hə-sə la-i* day-full that-manner do-ANT 'The whole day they did it in that manner.'
- 111. *bat-mari-i ci-si-rə* discuss-ANT sit-ANT-SEQ 'They sat and talked all day.'
- L. Recorded 10/10/93 Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

#### The Jackal and the Bear

1. *yəwta ghyaŋ-ri yəwta bhalu rə syal* one forest-LOC one bear and jackal

mu-si-m ro be-ANT-NPST inference 'In a forest, there was a bear and a jackal.'

2. *thõ dwita-sə mit lagə-ysi-m ro* they two-ERG friend follow-ANT-NPST inference 'The two of them were friends.'

3. *syal-sə "bhalu-ra khawa la-si-rə ca-wa* jackal-ERG bear-DAT how do-ANT-SEQ eat-NOM

nfie" bhi-wa be+Q+NPST say-NOM 'Jackal wondered "How can I eat Bear?'

- 4. *buddi kəmə-gəy mu-õ ro* mind chisel-prog be-IMPF inference 'and formed a plan.'
- 5. *yək din nə syal-sə yəwta səlla-ye* one day topic jackal-ERG one conifer-GEN

dhuŋ-ra əriŋŋal-ye dhar-ra dekhə-ysi-rə tree-LOC hornet-GEN hive-LOC point-ANT-SEQ 'One day, Jackal pointed to the hornet's nest on a conifer and'

- 6. *bhalu-ra bhi-i ro*bear-DAT say-PERF inference
  'said to Bear,'
- 7. "ay mit-jyu, wu shya-o ba-thyawa madal hey friend-HON yonder look+at-IMP big drum!"Hey, friend, look over there at the big drum!
- 8. *khi thyawa mənchi hya-si-rə* you big person go-ANT-SEQ 'You, big person, go and'
- 9. *dhuŋ-ra cəri-si-rə* tree-LOC climb-ANT-SEQ 'climb the tree, and'
- 10. *bəjə-lanə* play-COND 'if you play it,'
- 11. *na-ra khub məjja lagi-wa mu*I-DAT very+much satisfaction follow-NOM be-NPST
  'I'll be very satisfied."'

12. *cəŋsə nə cə lata bhalu səlla-ye* then topic that stupid Bear conifer-GEN

dhuŋ-ra cəri-si-rə tree-LOC climb-ANT-SEQ 'Then, that stupid Bear climbed the tree, and,'

13. *əriŋŋal-ye ghar-ra madəl bəjə-wa* hornet-GEN nest-LOC drum play-NOM

*la-wa-khi nθ* do-NOM-COTEMP topic 'while he played [drummed] on the hornet's nest,'

- 14. *jfiyammə ta-i ro* crunching become-PERF inference 'it made a crunching sound.'
- 15. *bhalu-ra əriŋŋal-sə jhi-si-rə*Bear-DAT hornet-ERG bite-ANT-SEQ
  'Bear was bitten by the hornets and'
- 16. *chəttəy bippətta ta-i ro* quite+a terrible+state become-PERF inference 'was in quite a terrible state.'
- 17. *bhalu nə cə əlko dhuŋ-gəm-sə təy-ji ro*Bear topic that high tree-ABL fall+down inference 'Bear fell down from that high tree.'
- 18. *khinə si-wa nə a-si-i ro* but die-NOM topic NEG-die-PERF inference 'But, in fact, he didn't die.'
- 19. *syal nə "ləw abə bhalu-ra ca-la* Jackal topic OK now Bear-DAT eat-COND

yã-wa ta-i" bhi-si-rə find-NOM become-PERF say-ANT-SEQ 'Jackal said, "Wow, I have the opportunity to eat Bear," and'

- 20. rəmə-gəy bhalu-muwa-ri hya-wa-khi nə be+happy-PROG Bear-ADES go-NOM-COTEMP topic 'while happily going up to Bear,'
- 21. *bhalu nə puli-puli la-wa ro*Bear topic wiggling do-NOMV inference 'Bear wiggled!'
- 22. sun jəmməy sãra-ysi-rə face all swell-ANT-SEQ 'His face was all swollen and'
- 23. *bipətta ta-si-wa ro* terrible+state become-ANT-NOMV inference 'he was in a terrible state.'
- 24. *"həttəre, mit-jyu, khi nə bipətta* oh+my+God friend-HON you topic terrible+state

*ta-si-m*become-ANT-NPST
"Oh my God, my friend, you're in a terrible state!"

- 25. *ləw khə-o, na wəwto thãy-si-m,* OK come-IMP I medicine know-ANT-NPST 'OK, come: I know of a medicine.'
- 26. *cari-wa-ri hya-ye"* look+for-NOM-LOC go-HOR 'Let's go look for it!"'
- 27. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he said, and'

28. *syal-sə bhalu-ra yəwta əlko phara-ye tawko-ri* Jackal-ERG Bear-DAT one high cliff-GEN edge-LOC

pho-si-rə take-ANT-SEQ 'Jackal took Bear to the edge of a high cliff, and'

- 29. *bfii-i ro* say-PERF inference 'he said:'
- 30. *ləw, mit-jyu*OK friend-HON
  "Do it, my friend,'
- 31. *khi bə-thyawa mənchi, i-cu wəwto-ye* you big person this-this medicine-GEN

buta-ra chij-o-rə bush-LOC hold-IMP-and 'you big person, hold this medicine bush, and'

- 32. *phara-ye tawko-nas kənnə phərkə-ysi-rə* cliff-GEN edge-ALL back turn-ANT-SEQ 'turn your back toward the edge of the cliff, and'
- 33. *bəl la-si-rə* strength do-ANT-SEQ 'with a lot of strength,'
- 34. *pwəkkə wukkə-o sə̃* plucking prize+up-IMP frustration 'pull it out!"'
- 35a. *cəŋ nə bhalu nə, lata mənchi,* then topic Bear topic stupid person 'Then Bear, that stupid person,'
- 35b. *buta-ra chij-si-rə* bush-DAT hold-ANT-SEQ 'he held the bush, and'

- 36. *mãã* byas la-si-rə great+effort very+much do-ANT-SEQ 'with a great effort'
- 37. *tani-wa-khi nə* pull-NOM-COTEMP topic 'while pulling it'
- 38. *khi nə tawko-ŋ-sə wucchətti-i ro* he topic edge-ABL be+flicked-PERF inference 'he was ejected from the edge.'
- 39. *cəŋ nə syal nə "ləw jãtha bhalu bəllə* then topic Jackal topic OK useless Bear finally

si-i" bhi-gəy die-PERF say-PROG 'Then Jackal was saying, "Wow, that useless Bear finally died"

- 40. *rəmə-gəy* be+happy-PROG 'he was happy'
- 41. *bə-thyawa ranne bhəri sin tha-i* big basket full firewood cut-ANT 'and having cut a big basket full of firewood'
- 42. *pho-si-rə* take-ANT-SEQ 'he took it and'
- 43. *phara-ye jəra-ri mi phur-ji ro* cliff-GEN bottom-LOC fire blow-PERF inference 'lit a fire at the bottom of the cliff.'

44. *cica bacca khwarsani tapke jəmməy* salt butter chilies saucepan all

sama la-si-rə provisions do-ANT-SEQ 'He gathered all the provisions — salt, butter, chilies, and a pot — and'

- 45. *pho-si-wa ro* take-ANT-NOMV inference 'he took them.'
- 46. *"abə bhalu-ra ghisari-gəy kha-wa pəri-i"*now Bear-DAT drag-PROG bring-NOM happen-PERF
  "'Now I must bring Bear by dragging him [to the fire]"'
- 47. *bhi-gəy* say-PROG 'he was saying'
- 48. *bhalu-muwa-ri hya-wa-khi nə*Bear-ADES go-NOM-COTEMP topic
  'while he went up to Bear'
- 49. *bhalu nə ajəy puli-puli la-gəy mu-õ ro*Bear topic still wiggling do-PROG be-IMPF inference 'Bear was still wiggling.'
- 50. *cəŋ nə bhalu-ra nə tantane phoŋ* then topic Bear-DAT topic so anger

*kha-i ro* come-PERF inference 'Then Bear became really angry.'

- 51. *cəŋ nə bhalu nə dhəŋ dhəŋ la-gəy* then topic Bear topic staggering do-PROG 'Then Bear, staggering,'
- 52. *ni* ca-ŋ kha-wa-khi nə little this+place-LOC come-NOM-COTEMP topic 'while coming a ways over here,'

- 53. *syal-sə mi phur-si-wa mara-i ro* Jackal-ERG fire blow-ANT-NOM see-PERF inference 'he saw Jackal light the fire.'
- 54. *cəŋ nə bhalu-sə nə "cu syal-sə pəkkəy na-ra* then topic Bear-ERG topic this Jackal-ERG for+sure I-DAT

*ca-wa kəssi-si-wa hin-si-m" bhi-wa* eat-NOM tighten-ANT-NOM be-ANT-NPST say-NOM

səŋka lagi-si-rə suspicion follow-ANT-SEQ 'Then Bear said to himself, "This Jackal, for sure, has determined to eat me."

- 55. *syal-ra surə-i ro* Jackal-DAT ask-PERF inference 'Bear asked Jackal:'
- 56. "cu mi tala phur-si-wa nhe" this fire why blow-ANT-NOM be-Q-NPST "Why did you make this fire?"
- 57. syal-sə bhi-i ro Jackal-ERG say-PERF inference 'Jackal said;'
- 58. *"khi, mit-jyu, chə thyawa phara-ŋ-sə təy-si-wa* you friend-HON so big cliff-ABL fall-ANT-NOMV "'You, my friend, fell from such a high cliff.'
- 59. *khãwa kha-si-n* cold come-ANT-NPST+SUP 'You might have got cold.'
- 60. *mi dhya-m-ẽ ki* fire warm-NPST-Q or
- 61. *bfii-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'I thought you wanted to warm yourself by the fire,'

- 62. phur-si-wa fiin" blow-ANT-NOM be-NPST '[so] I made the fire."
- 63. *"chə bhi-lanə* thus say-COND ""If you say this,'
- 64. *hə-ju tapke tala kha-si-wa nhe"* that-this pot why bring-ANT-NOM be-Q-NPST 'why have you brought the pot?"'
- 65. *syal-sə bhi-i ro* Jackal-ERG say-PERF inference 'Jackal said:'
- 66. *"khi-ye jyu na-si-n* you-GEN body be+sick-ANT-NPST+SUP "Your body must be aching."
- 67. *nun-pani la-si-rə* salt-water do-ANT-SEQ 'After making a salt-water solution,'
- 68. *chyapi-wa pəri-i* dab-NOM happen-PERF 'I'll dab it on.'
- 69. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'I thought.'
- 70. *kha-si-wa hin* bring-ANT-NOM be-NPST '[And so] I brought it.'
- 71. *a-pəttə-lanə* NEG-believe-COND 'If you don't believe me,'

- 72. *yi shya-o* hey look+at-IMP 'hey, look!'
- 73. *na-sə cica pəni kha-si-m* i-ERG salt also bring-ANT-NPST 'I also brought salt."'
- 74. *cəŋ nə bhalu-sə* then topic Bear-ERG
- 75. *"chə bhi-lanə* thus say-COND ""If you say this,'
- 76. *yi-cu bacca rə khwarsani tala* this-this butter and chilies why

kha-si-wa nhe
bring-ANT-NOM be-NPST-Q
'why did you bring the butter and the chilies?"'

- 77. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'then Bear said.'
- 78. *surə-wa-khi nə* ask-NOM-COTEMP topic 'While he was asking this,'
- 79. syal nə kyaccəy pəri-i ro Jackal topic squashed happen-PERF inference 'Jackal got squashed.' [ie he didn't know what to say]

### M. Recorded 10/31/93

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

### The Water-Jar Seller

1. *yəwta tantane dukho yã-wa lokne* one so hard+work find-NOM male

*mənchi mu-si-m ro* person be-ANT-NPST inference 'Once there was a very poor man.'

2. *khi-ra sa-ye ghəri-ye byapar la-wa* he-DAT earth-GEN jar-GEN business do-NOM

*mən kha-si-m ro* desire come-ANT-NPST inference 'The desire came over him to go into the earthenware jar business.'

- 3. cəŋsə nə khi nə Bagluŋ-ri hya-si-rə then topic he topic Baglung-LOC go-ANT-SEQ 'Then, he went to Baglung and'
- 4. sa-ye ghəri kin-si-rə clay-GEN jar buy-ANT-SEQ 'bought clay jars and'
- 5. *tor them-əŋ kha-gəy mu-õ ro* upward house-LOC bring-PROG be-IMPF inference 'was bringing them up to the village.'
- 6. *yəwta phara-ye wukalo-ri sa-ye* one slope-GEN downward-LOC clay-GEN

ghəri-ye bhari na-i kha-wa-khir nə jar-GEN load carry-ANT bring-NOM-COTEMP topic 'While he was carrying the load of earthenware jars, bringing them on an upward trail,'

- 7. *khi-sə mənmən-ri bhi-i ro* he-ERG internal+monolog-LOC say-PERF inference 'he said to himself:'
- 8. *abə cu ghəri-ma cū-m rə* now this jar-PL sell-NPST and '"Now, I'll sell these jars and'
- 9. *bhəsəkkəy pəysa la-m* a+lot money do-NPST 'I'll make a lot of money.'
- 10. *cəŋsə yəwta gãrawa swayni kha-m* then one good wife bring-NPST 'Then I'll marry a beautiful wife.'
- 11. *cəŋsə nhi-ye yəwta gãrawa lorke kwala ta-m* then we-GEN one good splendid son become-NPST 'Then we will have a handsome, splendid son.'
- 12. cəŋ nə kwala-sə na-ra "bəw!" bhi-si-rə bolə-m then topic son-ERG I-DAT father say-ANT-SEQ call-NPST 'Then my son will call to me "Father!"'
- 13. cəŋ nə na-sə "həw!" la-m"
  then topic I-ERG yeah do-NPST
  'Then I'll say "Yeah!"" [Nb: when you say 'həw' you lift up your head.]
- 14. *bhi-wa-khi nə* say-NOM-COTEMP topic 'While he was saying this,'
- 15. *thapla-ŋ-sə tha phwattə* crown+of+head-ABL tumpline slipping

phutki-si-rə slip+off-ANT-SEQ 'the tumpline slipped off from his head, and' 16. *sa-ye ghəri-ma nə jəmməy* clay-GEN jar-PL topic all

ghandraŋ rə ghundruŋ la-gəy pəlti-i ro crashing+falling+down do-PROG fall-PERF inference 'all the earthenware jars crashed down.'

- 17. phum-gəm-sə cəlla a-thō-wa nə səō egg-ABL chick NEG-go+out-NOM topic until 'Until the chicks leave the eggs,'
- 18. *nhaka jhya-wa a-ta-m* chicken count-NOM NEG-become-NPST 'you shouldn't count the chickens,' ['chicken counting doesn't happen']
- 19. *bhi-wa* cə nə hin say-NOM that topic be-NPST 'that is to say.' [17-9: 'That is to say, you shouldn't count the chickens until the chicks leave the eggs.']

## N. Recorded 11/7/93

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

#### The Curini

1. *wile Jhinkhani-ri yəwta sikari* long+ago Jhingkhani-LOC one hunter

mu-si-m ro be-ANT-NPST inference 'Once upon a time, there was in Jhingkhani a hunter.'

2. *yek din nə khi əyra kyãla-wa-ri* one day topic he hunt play-NOM-LOC

*hya-si-m ro* go-ANT-NPST inference 'One day, he went hunting.'

- 3. *khi-sə yəwta mirgə sar-si-m ro* he-ERG one game+animal kill-ANT-NPST inference 'He killed a deer.'
- 4. *them-əŋ kha-wa mhun ta-si-rə* home-LOC come-NOM night become-ANT-SEQ 'Because it got dark, he couldn't go home, and' [As far as coming home was concerned, it became night.]
- 5. *ghyaŋ-ri nə basa-ra* forest-LOC topic sleeping+place-LOC

*ci-si-m ro* stay-ANT-NPST inference 'he settled down for the night in the forest.'

- 6. *mhun-chə nhu-wa bhi-wa-khir nə* night-LOC sleep-NOM say-NOM-COTEMP topic 'At night, when he was about to fall asleep,'
- 7. *khi-ye swayni-thəwãy ta-wa ro* she-GEN wife-ESS become-NOMV inference 'She was just like his wife,'
- 8. *yəwta swayni mənchi kha-si-rə* one wife person come-ANT-SEQ 'the woman who came.'
- 9. *"həttəre, nə-ye bura, din bhəri əyra* oh+my+God I-GEN old+man day full hunt

*kyãla-ysi-wa phalap-si-n* play-ANT-NOM tire-ANT-NPST+SUP "Oh my God, my old man, you must be tired from a full day's hunting!"

10. *bhi-gəy* say-PROG 'she said,'

- 11. *pho-mar, chati-mar mari-wa ro* stomach-CIRC chest-CIRC rub-NOMV inference 'giving him a massage on his stomach and chest.'
- 12. *khi nə cimit cimit la-si cimti-wa pəni* she topic pinching do-ANT pinch-NOM also

*la-wa ro* do-NOMV inference 'Also, she was pinching him.'

13. *cəŋ nə cə mənchi nə "nə-ye swayni* then topic that person topic I-GEN wife

thokhor tala kha-wa hin?" right+now why come-NOM be-NPST "Why is my wife here right now?"

- 14. *bhi-si-rə dəŋŋəy pəri-i ro* say-ANT-SEQ surprised happen-PERF inference 'he said in puzzlement.'
- 15. *yekkəy chin ligəm nə cə swayni mənchi* one moment back topic that wife person

*nə bhar-ri-wa mirgə-ye sya-gam-sə* topic rack-LOC-NOM game-GEN meat-ABL

*chã-wa ka-ra khele ta-wa-khi nə* drip-NOM blood-DAT tongue place-NOM-COTEMP topic 'After a moment, when the woman placed her tongue under the blood that dripped from the meat,'

16. *khi-ye khele-ra nə rəw phissi-wa ro* she-GEN tongue-LOC topic hair sprout-NOMV inference '[he noticed] there was hair sprouting from her tongue.'

17. cəŋ nə cə lokne mənchi nə "əy cu then topic that male person topic Oh this

*nə curini hin-si-m"* topic curini be-ANT-NPST

- 18. *bhi-gəy thim-nas duggri-i ro* say-PROG house-ALL run-PERF [emph gemination] inference 'Then, the man ran toward his house saying: "This one is a curini!"'
- 19. *cəŋ nə cə swayni mənchi nə "pərkhyas* then topic that wife woman topic "wait till I

*təlay" bhi-gəy* get you!" [N] say-PROG 'Saying "Wait till I get you!",

- 20. *lelle dugri-i ro* after [emph gemination] run-PERF inference 'the woman ran after him.'
- 21. *cə lokne mənchi won-won, swayni mənchi lele* that male person front wife person back

dho-nu dho-nu la-gəy dugri-gəy meet-INF meet-INF do-PROG run-PROG

bhume than-muwa-ri tho kha-i ro
Bhume Shrine-ADES arrive come-PERF inference
'They arrived at the Bhume Shrine, the man in front and the woman running close behind.'

22. *cəŋ nə cə lokne mənchi nə yəwta dhuŋ-ra* then topic that male person topic one tree-LOC

*ləgləg thar-gəy khwappə cəri-i ro* trembling tremble-PROG leap+quickly climb-PERF inference 'Then the man, trembling with fear, quickly climbed up on the tree.'

23. *cə swayni mənchi nə "həə yəhã səmmə* that wife person topic "He had come right

ayathyo!"[N] bhi-gəy here!" say-PROG ""He had come right here!", the woman was saying,'

24. *dhuŋ-ye jəra-ye woripəri phən phən* tree-GEN bottom-GEN around circling

ghumi-wa ro circle-NOMV inference 'as she circled around the tree.'

25. *cəŋ nə bəllə bəllə pharabi phur-phurrə* then topic great+difficulty morning onset

wujyalo ta-wa-khi nə bright become-NOM-COTEMP topic 'Then, when if finally became light,'

26. *cə swayni mənchi nə chənnəy* that wife person topic for+no+reason

*mhã-i* ro lose-PERF inference 'the woman mysteriously disappeared.'

27. *cəŋ nə bəllə cə lokne mənchi syã syã rə* then topic finally that male person panting and

phyã phyã la-gəy them-əŋ tho kha-i ro puffing do-PROG house-LOC arrive come-PERF inference 'Then, finally, the man, huffing and puffing, went home.'

### O. Recorded 11/14/93

Speaker: Ram Prəsad Bhulanja

### The Visit of the Anthropologist

1. *na car nhe ki pãc bərsə-ra nhe* I four be+Q+NPST or five year-LOC be+Q+NPST

> *mu-wa-khi* be-NOM-COTEMP 'When I was in my fourth or fifth year,'

- 2. *nhi-ye them-əŋ yəwta gwara kha-si-wã* we-GEN house-LOC one Whiteman come-ANT-IMPF 'a Whiteman had come to our house.'
- 3. *na rə ama bərkha-ri Sĩwal Khərka* I and mother summer-LOC Siwal Kharka

*nhe* ki khəni-ŋ nhe duy tin be-Q-NPST or where-ABL be-Q-NPST two three

din-ma them-əŋ kha-wa-khi nə day-PL house-LOC come-NOM-COTEMP topic 'In the summer when my mother and I were coming home from Siwal Kharka or somewhere after an absence of two or three days,'

4. *khyam-əŋ nə su-nhe-sə nə "nõ-ye* road-LOC topic who-be+Q+NPST-ERG topic you--GEN

*them-əŋ pali-ri nə yəwta gwara* house-LOC veranda-LOC topic one Whiteman

kha-si-rə ci-si-m" come-ANT-SEQ sit-ANT-NPST 5. *bhi-i* 

say-PERF

'On the road someone or other said: "A Whiteman has come and is staying at your house on the veranda."

- 6. *na rə ama nə dəŋŋəy pəri-i* I and mother topic puzzled happen-PERF 'My mother and I were puzzled.'
- 7. ama-sə "ta la-wa hin-si-n mother-ERG what do-NOM be-ANT-NPST+SUP "What should we do?"
- 8. *ta bhi-wa hin-si-n* what say-NOM be-ANT-NPST+SUP 'What should we say?'
- 9. *nhin kha-wa"* fear come-NOM 'Oh! It's scary.!"'
- 10. *bhi-wã* say-IMPF Mother was saying."
- 11. *cəŋ nə Pakha-gãw-ye terso khyam-əŋ* then topic Pakha-village-GEN level path-LOC

tho kha-wa-khir nə
arrive come-NOM-COTEMP topic
'Then when we arrived at the level road of Pakha Village,'

12. *nhi-i them-əŋ pali-ri mi* we-GEN house-LOC veranda-LOC fire

phur-si-wa puttə dhwal wurə-wa mara-i blow-ANT-NOM smoke+rising smoke fly-NOM see-PERF 'we saw a fire set and smoke rising on the veranda of our house.'

- 13. *ama-sə na-ra "them-əŋ tho-wa-khir* mother-ERG I-DAT house-LOC arrive-NOM-COTEMP
- 14. gwara-ra nəməskar ləw" bhi-i
  Whiteman-DAT namaskar OK say-PERF
  'Mother said to me: "When we arrive home, say 'namaskar' to the
  Whiteman."
- 15. *cəŋ nə mutu dhuk dhuk la-gəy* then topic heart pounding do-PROG 'Then, my heart pounding,'
- 16. *them-əŋ tho kha-si-rə* house-LOC arrive come-ANT-SEQ 'we arrived home, and'
- 17. *na-sə nəməskar la-i*I-ERG namaskar do-PERF
  'I said 'namaskar' to him.'
- 18. *gwara-sə pəni nəməskar la-i*Whiteman-ERG also namaskar do-PERF
  'The Whiteman also said 'namaskar'.'
- 19. *cə-ye ligam nə nhin a-kha* that-GEN back topic fear NEG-come-PERF 'After that, I wasn't afraid.'
- 20. *gwara-sə na-ra khub məyã la-õ* Whiteman-ERG I-DAT much love do-IMPF 'The Whiteman loved me very much.'
- 21. *khi duy həpta ci-la ki khəre ci-la* he two week sit-PERF+Q or how+many sit-PERF+Q 'I don't know if he stayed for two weeks or however many weeks.'

22. *na din-dinəy din bhəəri khi rə khi-ye* I every+day day whole he and he-GEN

bhanche yəwta syarpa-ru ci-õ cook one Sherpa-COM sit-IMPF 'Every day, all day, I stayed with him and his cook, a Sherpa.'

- 23. *ama bəw-ma myala-mar khənə-khənə-mar hya-ma* mother father-PL field-CIRC which-which-CIRC go-IMPF 'My parents would go to some field or other.'
- 24. *na din bhəəri "cə-ō-sə ta ta* I day whole that-PL-ERG what what

la-m-e" bhi-gəy shya-gəy la-ma do-NPST-Q say-PROG watch-PROG do-IMPF 'All day I was watching them, saying to myself, "What are they doing?"

- 25. *na-ra mithay biskut-ma pinə-ma*I-DAT candy biscuit-PL give-IMPF
  'They used to give me candy and biscuits.'
- 26. *khi-ye syarpa-sə alu-ye khu la-wa* he-GEN Sherpa-ERG potato-GEN curry do-NOMV 'His Sherpa made potato curry.'
- 27. *alu cəkku-sə khurki-si-rə* potato knife-INST scrape-ANT-SEQ 'He peeled the potatoes with a knife, and'
- 28. *hadda khəre nə phwak phwak* half how+many topic come+off+in+chunks

*khyala-wa* throw+away-NOMV 'almost half of the potato came off in chunks and was thrown away!'

29. *nhi-ma nə "həttəre ta chənkhənə-ri-wa* we-PL topic Oh+my+God what scarce-LOC-NOM

alu khero kara-wa nfie" bfii-wa potato waste put-NOM be-NPST-Q say-NOMV 'We said, "Oh my God! What a waste of scarce potatoes!"'

30. *hə-jə byala səmmə iskul yekle khərsuŋ-ye* that-that time until school single oak-GEN

dhara-ra mu-ma hill-LOC be-IMPF 'At that time, the school was located at Single Oak Hill.'

31. *yek din nə cə gwara rə syarpa nə* one day topic that Whiteman and Sherpa topic

puwa polo-ye buta chij-si-rə puwa nettle-GEN bush hold-ANT-SEQ 'One day that Whiteman and the Sherpa held a puwa nettle bush and'

- 32. *iskul mu-wa-ri kha-si-wa* school be-NOM-LOC come-ANT-NOMV 'came to where the school was.'
- 33. *mənchi-ma jəmməy iskul-ye dhik-ra yep-si-rə* person-PL all school-GEN edge-LOC stand-ANT-SEQ 'All the people stood on the edge of the schoolyard and'
- 34. "ta bhãti bhãti nhe-i chərə-wa what puzzling be-NPST-Q this+way-NOM "What a weird thing, that."
- 35. *cə puwa polo-ye buta ta la-wa* that puwa nettle-GEN bush what do-NOM

hin-si-n"
be-ANT-NPST+SUP
'What are they going to do with that nettle bush?"'

- 36. *bhi-ma* say-IMPF 'they were saying.'
- 37. *cə gwara mu-wa səmmə* that Whiteman be-NOM until 'While that Whiteman was there,'
- 38. *nhi-i them-əŋ mənchi-ye diddir mu-ma* we-GEN house-LOC person-GEN crowd be-NOMV 'there was a crowd of people at our house.'
- 39. *yek nyasə nə nhi-ye pali-ri* one evening topic we-GEN veranda-LOC

mənchi-ma-sə mhun chələnnəy ghos piri-si-rə person-PL-ERG night clear song let+loose-ANT-SEQ 'One evening on the veranda of our house, people sang the whole night through, and'

- 40. *nac ləgə-ysi-rə bipətta* dance take+away-ANT-SEQ terrible+state 'They danced to excess, a terrible state, and'
- 41. *Kədi-ye bəw bfiyana-sə "Ato rə polo* Kadi-GEN father brother-in-law-ERG grits and nettle

*ca-to, khəre limpa ta-to" bhi-gəy* eat-DESID how-much tastiness become-DESID say-PROG

- 42. *chəntyal ghos piri-si-rə*Chantyal song let+loose-ANT-SEQ
  'Kadi's father, my brother-in-law, was singing in Chantyal "I want to eat grits and nettle, I want so much tastiness!"
- 43. *mənchi-ma jəmməy nerə-wa* person-PL all laugh-NOMV 'Everyone laughed.'

44. *tor-sə-wa Kədi nani Həri-Kəla diri Bəsən* up-ABL-NOM Kadi child Hari-Kala daughter Basan

Bhawjuõ-sə

Bhaujuma-ERG

'Kadi's niece from above our house, Hari-Kala's sister, Basan Bhaujuon said:'

45. [Nepali] *"jəsəri machi khelchə talma, wusəri hami* 'Whichever way the fish swim in the lake, we dance

nacəm phərər".

in the same manner."

46. *cəŋsə* [Nepali] *"suppu suppu sərər, jindəki gəyo* then

(nfie ki ta nfie) [Nepali] mən royo be-Q-NPST or become be-Q-NPST

dhərər" bhi-wa

say-NOMV

'Then "Suppu suppu sərər, life is passing by, (I'm not sure) the heart is crying.'

47. *ghos pir-gəy nacci-wa dher* song let+loose-PROG dance-NOM plate

*nəccə-wa thayã-m* dance-NOM know-NPST

'I recall them singing and dancing, the plate dance.'

48. *cə gwara-sə yəwta bəthyawa phən phən* that Whiteman-ERG one big rotating

*ghumi-wa kuro bəjə-wa* rotate-NOM thing play-NOMV

'The Whiteman played a big rotating thing [a phonograph].'

- 49. *hə-jə ghos-ma jəmməy khīci-si-rə* that-that song-PL all pull-ANT-SEQ 'He recorded all those songs, and'
- 50. *bəjə-wa-khi nə* play-NOM-COTEMP topic 'when he played them,'
- 51. *mənchi-ma nə jəmməy dəŋŋəy pəri-i* person-PL topic all puzzled happen-PERF 'everyone was puzzled.'
- 52. *nhi-i bəw-ra "nũwa-sə them-əŋ khawa* we-GEN father-DAT you-ERG house-LOC how

*la-si-rə pucə la-m-ẽ" bhi-si-rə* do-ANT-SEQ worship do-NPST-Q say-ANT-SEQ

surə-ma ro ask-NOMV inference 'The Whiteman was asking our father: "How do you worship in the house?"

53. *bəw-sə nhi-ye jhyaŋ-nha-ri-wa kwi* father-ERG we-GEN room-INES-NOM water

cərə-wa əŋkhwara-õ dekhə-wa-khi offer-NOM pot-PL show-NOM-COTEMP 'When father showed the Whiteman the pots in which we offer water in our back room,'

- 54. *cə gwara chəkkəy pəri-i ro* that Whiteman surprise happen-PERF inference 'the Whiteman was surprised.'
- 55. *hə-jə byala-ri nə-ye dayne nha-ra por* that-that time-LOC I-GEN right ear-DAT infection

kha-si-wa mu-ma come-ANT-NOM be-IMPF 'At that time, I had in infection in my right ear.' 56. *cə gwara-sə ama-ra "tato kwi* that Whiteman mother-DAT hot water

*la-si-rə din-dinəy khur-si pin-o" bhi-si-rə* do-ANT-SEQ everyday wash-ANT give-IMP say-ANT-SEQ 'The Whiteman told mother: "Every day wash the ear with hot water."

57. *ama-sə nə-ye nha pharabi pharabi* mother-ERG I-GEN ear early+in+the+morning

*kwapra-ri khur-si pinə-wa thayã-m* basin-LOC wash-ANT give-NOM know-NPST 'I recall my mother washing my ear in the basin early in the morning.'

58. *cə-ye ligəm cə gwara-sə pakdər-thəwãy* that-GEN back that Whiteman-ERG powder-ESS

*wəwto nha-nha-ri kara-wa-khi* medicine ear-INES put+in-NOM-COTEMP 'After that, when the Whiteman put medicinal powder in my ear,'

- 59. *sitolo ta-wa thayã-m* cool become-NOM know-NPST 'I recall it being soothing.'
- 60. *cə nha pəni khi hya-wa lukun* that ear also he go-NOM by+the+time 'By the time he left,'
- 61. *phwarrəy wopi-si-rə* drying heal-ANT-SEQ 'it healed, and'
- 62. səncə ta-i healthy become-PERF 'it became healthy.'

63. *ama-sə "cu gwara-sə khi-ra* mother-ERG this Whiteman-ERG you-DAT

khi-ye kwala-thəwãy nə ta-m ro he-GEN son-ESS topic become-NPST inference "This Whiteman regards you as a son;"

- 64. *məyã kha-m ro"* love come-NPST inference 'he loves you,'"
- 65. *bhi-ma* say-IMPF 'my mother was saying.'
- 66. *cəŋ nə hya-wa byala-ri* then topic go-NOM time-LOC 'At the time he left,'
- 67. *nhi-i* tharo khala-ri kha-si-rə we-GEN standing place-LOC come-ANT-SEQ 'he came to the standing place inside the house, and'
- 68. *cə gwara-sə ama-ra pãc rupəyã* that Whiteman-ERG mother-DAT five rupee

*pəysa pin-ji* money give-PERF 'the Whiteman gave my mother five rupees.'

- 69. *na-ra-i yek rupəyã pəysa pin-ji* I-DAT-also one rupee money give-PERF He also gave me one rupee.'
- 70. *na-sə ghəti ghəti nəməskar la-i* I-ERG again namaskar do-PERF 'I said 'namaskar' again.'
- 71. cəŋ nə khi hya-i nu then topic he go-PERF reminder 'Then, he left.'

- 72. *nə-ye mən a-gãrawa ta-i*I-GEN heart NEG-good become-PERF
  'I became sad.'
- 73. *khi fiya-wa-ye ligam* he go-NOM-GEN back 'After he left,'
- 74. *kyarati-ma-sə nfii-ye pali-ri khyala-ysi-wa* child-PL-ERG we-GEN veranda-LOC throw+away-ANT-NOM

kagət-ma cari-si-rə paper-PL look+for-ANT-SEQ 'children looked for paper which was thrown away on our veranda, and'

- 75. *bipətta thãjiŋ səmji-wa-khir nə* my+gosh these+days remember-NOM-COTEMP topic 'My gosh, nowadays when I remember him,'
- 76. *cə gwara-sə "mənchi-ma ərkəy* that Whiteman-ERG person-PL different

*rəŋ-ri-wa ərkəy boli boli-wa* color-LOC-NOM different speech talk-NOM

khənə-ri-wa nhe khənə-ri-wa hin-lai which-LOC-NOM be+NPST+Q which-LOC-NOM be-RC "Whatever their color, whatever their speech, wherever they are from,"

- 77. *nhi-thōy nə mənchi hin-si-m"* we-ESS topic person be-ANT-NPST 'people are like us,"'
- 78. *bhi-wa kuro sikəy-ji* say-NOM thing teach-PERF 'that Whiteman taught me.'

## P. Recorded 10/92, Mangale Khani, Nepal. Speaker: Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja

## The Old Man and the Leopard

- 1. *yəwta gãw-ri yəwta bura ci-ma* one village-LOC one old+man sit-IMPF 'There was an old man who lived in a village.'
- 2. *cə bura-ye gwadi mu-wã la* that old+man-GEN few be-IMPF incredulity 'The old man's possessions were few!'
- 3. *gwadi mu-wã la* few be-NOM incredulity 'They were few.'
- 4. *khi-i gay məre si-kəy chin-kəy* he-GEN cow other die-PROG finish-PROG

*si-kəy chin-kəy la-si-rə* die-PROG finish-PROG do-ANT-SEQ 'His cows were dying, and'

- 5. *dwita mu-wa dwita gay mu-wa-sir* two be-NOM two cow be-NOM-ANT-COTEMP 'two cows were... when there were two cows,'
- 6. *khi yek din əsadde la-si-rə* he one day intensifier do-ANT-SEQ
- 7. *jwəro-sə na-i* fever-INST be+sick-PERF 'one day, he became very sick with fever.'
- 8. *cəŋ jwəro-sə na-wa-khir* then fever-INST be+sick-NOM-COTEMP Then, when he was sick with fever,'

- 9. *khi-i gay cərə-wa-ri hya-la*he-GEN cow graze-NOM-LOC go-COND
  'his cow wasn't able to graze.' [*a-khaŋ* 'was not able' not expressed]
- 10. *ha-ya*NEG-go-PERF
  'It didn't go.'
- 11. *gay cərə-wa-ri hya-la* cow graze-NOM-LOC go-COND
  'The cow wasn't able to graze.' [*a-khaŋ* 'was not able' not expressed]
- 12. *ha-ya-wa-khir*NEG-go-NOM-COTEMP
  'When it was not moving,'
- 13. *gay gay ghyaŋ-ri ci ... ghyaŋ-ri* cow cow forest-LOC stay forest-LOC

*ci-wa-sir* stay-NOM-COTEMP 'when the cow was in the forest.'

- 14. *bhuluŋ-sə dho-i* leopard-ERG meet-PERF 'A leopard encountered it.'
- 15. *bhuluŋ-sə dho-wa-khir* leopard-ERG meet-NOM-COTEMP 'When the leopard encountered it,'
- 16. *gay bhuluŋ-sə ca-i* cow leopard-ERG eat-PERF 'the cow was eaten by the leopard.'
- 17. *bhuluŋ-sə ca-wa legam* leopard-ERG eat-NOM after 'After the leopard ate it,'

- 18. *khi "nə-ye gay a-kha* he I-GEN cow NEG-come-PERF 'He [the old man] said: "My cow didn't come.'
- 19. *khənə-wãr hya-la"* where-CIRC go-PERF+Q 'Whereabouts did it go?"'
- 20. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 21. *khi cari-kəy fiya-i*he look+for-PROG go-PERF
  'he went looking for it [the leopard].'
- 22. *khi cari-kəy fiya-wa-khir nə* he look+for-PROG go-NOM-COTEMP topic 'While he went looking for it,'
- 23. *tu-ŋ nə ghyaŋ-ri khi yewta gay* up-LOC topic forest-LOC he one cow

bhuluŋ-sə ca-si-m leopard-ERG eat-ANT-NPST 'Up there in the forest, one of his cows has been eaten by the leopard.'

- 24. *ca-si-m*eat-ANT-NPST
  'It has been eaten,'
- 25. *rə khi-ra tane tane mãya kha-i* and he-DAT so love come-PERF 'and he loved it very much.'
- 26. "na-ra noksan ta-i
  I-DAT loss become-PERF
  "I've experienced a loss.'
- 27. *na-ra ghata ta-i*I-DAT loss become-PERF
  'I've suffered a loss.'

- 28. *na yi-sərə-wa la-si-rə* I this-manner-NOM do-ANT-SEQ
- 29. *na-wa-sir* be+sick-NOM-COTEMP 'When I was sick like this,'
- 30. *ta ta-la* what become-PERF+Q 'what happened?"'
- 31. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he said, and'
- 32. *khi yekdəm cey mən la-i* he very small desire do-PERF 'he was very discouraged.'
- 33. sok la-i
  worry do-PERF
  'He was worried.'
- 34. *cə si-si-wa bhuluŋ-sə ca-si-wa* that die-ANT-NOM leopard-ERG eat-ANT-NOM

gay-ra mãya la-i cow-DAT love do-PERF 'He loved that dead cow that the leopard ate.'

35. *cə-gəm "na nə-ye gay-ra ca-wa* that-ABL I I-GEN cow-DAT eat-NOM

bhuluŋ-ra na-sə pasa swala chữ-si-rə leopard-DAT I-ERG trap trap set-ANT-SEQ 'After that, he said: "I, I will set a trap for the leopard that ate my cow, and'

- 36. *bənnuk-ye swala chū-si-rə* gun-GEN trap set-ANT-SEQ 'I'll set a gun trap, and'
- 37. *na-sə sar-mu"* I-ERG kill-NPST 'I'll kill it."
- 38. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 39. *khi-sə cãy swala bhuluŋ-ra swala chũ-i* he-ERG aforementioned trap leopard-DAT trap set-PERF 'He set the trap for the leopard.'
- 40. *bhuluŋ-ra swala chũ-wa-i legəm* leopard-DAT trap set-NOM-GEN after 'After he set the trap for the leopard,'
- 41. *khi-i them-əŋ swala swala khor chū-i* he-GEN house-LOC trap trap set-PERF 'he set a gun trap, an enclosure trap at his house.'
- 42. *khor swala hayn* trap trap NEG+be+NPST 'An enclosure trap, not a gun trap.'
- 43. *khor chũ-i* trap set-PERF 'He set the trap.'
- 44. *khor chũ-wa-i ligəm* trap set-NOM-GEN after 'After he set the trap,'
- 45. *cater khi-i them-əŋ hya-i* that+TEMP+that+LOC he-GEN house-LOC go-PERF 'after that, he went to his house.'

- 46. *them-əŋ hya-si-rə* house-LOC go-ANT-SEQ 'He went to his house, and'
- 47. *cãy nhwathasə din-ri khi phiri* aforementioned next+day day-LOC he again

shya-wa-ri kha-i look+for-NOM-LOC come-PERF 'Next day, again he came to look for the leopard.'

- 48. *shya-wa-ri kha-wa-khir n∂* look+for-NOM-LOC come-NOM-COTEMP topic 'While he was looking for the leopard,'
- 49. *khor-ri khor-ri bhuluŋ pəri-si-rə* trap-LOC trap-LOC leopard happen-ANT-SEQ 'in the trap, in the trap, the leopard got trapped, and'
- 50. *ci-si-wa hin-si-m* sit-ANT-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'it had remained.'
- 51. *bən ta-si-rə* closed become-ANT-SEQ 'The trap closed, and'
- 52. *ci-si-wa khor-nĥari* sit-ANT-NOMV trap-INES 'it stayed, inside the trap.'
- 53. *cater nə cə bura-ra* that+TEMP+that+LOC topic that old+man-DAT

bhuluŋ-sə ta bhi-i leopard-ERG what say-PERF 'After that, what did the leopard say to that old man?' 54. *"bura ba bura ba na-ra cu khor-gəm* old father old father I-DAT this trap-ABL

phiri nikali-i pin-o
outside remove-ANT give-IMP
"Old father, old father, take me out of this trap!"

- 55. *phiri nikali-i pin-o* outside remove-ANT give-IMP 'Take me out!'
- 56. *dhərmə lagi-m dhərmə lagi-m* duty follow-NPST duty follow-NPST 'It is your religious duty, it is your religious duty.'
- 57. bura ba-ra dhərmə lagi-m" old father-DAT duty follow-NPST 'Old father, it is your religious duty,"'
- 58. *bura ba-ra bhi-si-rə* old father-DAT say-ANT-SEQ 'he said to the old father.'
- 59. *bhuluŋ khor-nhari-wa bhuluŋ-sə bhi-i* leopard trap-INES-NOM leopard-ERG say-PERF 'The leopard, the leopard inside the trap said.'
- 60. *khor-nhari-wa bhuluŋ-sə hə-sərə-wa* trap-INES-NOM leopard-ERG that-manner-NOM

bhi-wa-khir say-NOM-COTEMP 'While the leopard inside the trap was saying that,'

61. bura-sə "ɔ̃ na-ra pir-ji bhi-lanə old+man-ERG ah I-DAT let+loose-PERF say-COND 'the old man said: "Uh, me, once I set you free,'
[na-ra anticipates the DO in 62]

- 62. *khi-sə khi bhuluŋ-sə na-ra thokhər nə ca-m* you-ERG you leopard-ERG I-DAT now topic eat-NPST 'You, you leopard, will eat me right now.'
- 63. *thokhər nə jhi-m* now topic bite-NPST 'Right now you will bite me."'
- 64. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 65. *cə bura-sə hə-sər bhi-i* that old+man-ERG that-manner say-PERF 'The old man said that.'
- 66. *bura-sə hə-sər bhi-wa-sir* old+man-ERG that-manner say-NOM-COTEMP 'When the old man said that,'
- 67. *bhuluŋ-sə hẽ "na-h khi-ra təy pəni* leopard-ERG uh I-ERG you-DAT nothing also

*a-la-m*NEG-do-NPST
'the leopard said: "I will do nothing to you.' [*na-sə*?]

- 68. *na-ra pir-si pin-o*I-DAT let+loose-ANT give-IMP
  'Let me loose!'
- 69. *na nə-i khyam nə-i khyam-ri hya-m* I I-GEN way I-GEN way-LOC go-NPST 'I will go on my way.'
- 70. *na khi-ra cãy khi bura*I you-DAT aforementioned you old+man

*cãy* na-sə təy a-la-m aforementioned I-ERG nothing NEG-do-NPST 'I, I won't do anything to you, you old man.'

- 71. *na-sə ha-jhi-m*I-ERG NEG-bite-NPST
  'I won't bite you.'
- 72. *na-ra jəsto la-si-rə hin-lai* I-DAT like do-ANT-SEQ be-RC 'Whatever it is you do,'
- 73. *cu khor-gəm cãy bən ta-si-wa* this trap-ABL aforementioned closed become-ANT-NOM

khor-gəm na phiri pir-si pin-o" trap-ABL I outside let+loose-ANT give-IMP 'let me out from this trap that you closed."'

- 74. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 75. *cə bhuluŋ-sə bhi-i* that leopard-ERG say-PERF 'That leopard said this.'
- 76. *cəŋ nə dhərmə lagi-m* then topic duty follow-NPST "Then it is doing one's religious duty,"
- 77. bhi-si-rə say-ANT-SEQ 'he said, and'
- 78. *bhuluŋ-sə bhi-i* leopard-ERG say-PERF 'the leopard said this.'
- 79. *bhi-wa-sir* say-NOM-COTEMP 'When he said this,'

80. *cəŋ cəŋ nə bura-ra cater* then then topic old+man-DAT that+TEMP+that+LOC

*kər pəri-i* compulsion happen-PERF 'then, after that, the old man felt compelled.'

- 81. *kər pəri-i* compulsion happen-PERF 'He felt compelled.'
- 82. *ligəm cater* ta-i nu after that+TEMP+that+LOC become-PERF reminder 'After, afterwards, he compromised.'
- 83. *dhərmə lagi-m bhi-lanə* duty follow-NPST say-do-COND 'If it is doing one's religious duty,'
- 84. *na cu bhuluŋ-ra phukə-i pinə-m"*I this leopard-DAT untie-ANT give-NPST
  'I will untie this leopard,"'
- 85. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he said, and'
- 86. *cə bura-sə cãy bhuluŋ-ye bən* that old+man-ERG aforementioned leopard-GEN closed

*ta-si-wa khor khi-sə chũ-si-wa khor dhoka* become-ANT-NOM trap he-ERG set-ANT-NOM trap door

marak cãy fugari-i door aforementioned open-PERF 'that old man, the leopard's closed trap, he opened the door, the door of the trap which he set.'

87. *hugari-i* open-PERF 'He opened it.'

- 88. *pin-si-rə* give-ANT-SEQ 'He let the leopard out, and'
- 90. *cãy bhuluŋ phiri thô-i* aforementioned leopard outside emerge-PERF 'the leopard emerged.'
- 91. *phiri thõ-wa-i ligəm nə* outside emerge-NOM-GEN after topic 'After emerging,'
- 92. *bhuluŋ-sə ta bhi-i* leopard-ERG what say-PERF 'what did the leopard say?'
- 93. *"abə nə khor-gəm phiri thō-i* now topic trap-ABL outside emerge-PERF "Now, I have emerged from the trap."
- 94. *na khor-gəm phiri thō-i*I trap-ABL outside emerge-PERF
  'I have emerged from the trap.'
- 95. *abə khi-ra na-sə ca-m* now you-DAT I-ERG eat-NPST 'Now, I'll eat you.'
- 96. *ca-m ca-m ca-m* eat-NPST eat-NPST eat-NPST
  'I'll eat you, I'll eat you, I'll eat you,"
- 97. *bhi-si-rə* say-NOM-and 'he said, and'
- 98. *bura-ra bhi-wa la-i* old+man-DAT say-NOM do-PERF 'to the old man he began to say:'

99. *cənə bura cãy əkənəbəkə* then old+man aforementioned puzzled

ta-wa la-i bhuluŋ-muwa-ri become-NOM do-PERF leopard-ADES 'Then, the old man began to be puzzled, around the leopard.'

100. *cater nə bhuluŋ-sə cə bura-ra* that+TEMP+that+LOC topic leopard-ERG that old+man-DAT

*ca-wa bhi-si-rə ãti-si-wa mu-wã* eat-NOM say-ANT-SEQ intend-ANT-NOM be-IMPF 'Afterwards, the leopard was prepared to eat the old man.'

101. *cater cə bura əkənəbəkə* that+TEMP+that+LOC that old+man puzzled

*pəri-i* happen-PERF 'Afterwards, the old man was puzzled.'

- 102. *khi-ra sok kha-i* he-DAT worry come-PERF 'He became anxious.'
- 103. *khi-ra cinta kha-i* he-DAT worry come-PERF 'He become worried.'
- 104. *khi-ra dər kha-i* he-DAT fear come-PERF 'He was afraid.'
- 105. *cater khawa te-r* that+TEMP+that+LOC come-NOM that+place-LOC

bura-sə ta bhi-i old+man-ERG what say-PERF 'After becoming afraid, what did the old man say?'

- 106. "phan-o wait-IMP "Wait!"
- 107. *yek phera na rə khi yewta bacca kəpəl la-ye* one time I and you one agreement promise do-HOR 'One time, you and I, let's make an agreement.!'
- 108. *tala bĥi-lanə* why say-COND 'Because,'
- 109. *khi sətyə bhəndəy ca-wa hin-lanə* you truth certainly eat-NOM be-COND 'If you really want to eat me,'
- 110. *ca-wa nə ca-wa də na-sə yek thok* eat-NOM topic eat-NOM EMPH I-ERG one thing

kuro sodhi-m"
thing ask-NPST
'Then eat, but -- I'll ask you one thing,"'

- 111. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he said, and'
- 112. *ni te-r hya-i* a+little that+place-LOC go-PERF 'he moved a little away.'
- 113. *te-r hya-wa-sir nə* that+place-LOC go-NOM-COTEMP topic 'When he had moved away,'
- 114. *cater nə yewta bura khõs dhõ-i* that+TEMP+that+LOC topic one old ox meet-PERF 'after that, he encountered an old ox.'

115. *yewta bura kĥe-wa kam-ri cãy* one old plow-NOM work-LOC aforementioned

khe-si khe-si-rə
plow-ANT plow-ANT-SEQ
'The old ox plowed and plowed the plowing work, and'

- 116. *kĥe-wa kam-ri kam la-la a-kham mu-wã* plow-NOM work-LOC work do-COND NEG-be+able be-IMPF 'until he wasn't able to do the plowing work.'
- 117. *ta-si-rə* become-ANT-SEQ
- 118. *khi-ra pakha* he-DAT slope 'he was retired...'
- 119. *khi-ra khe-wa kam-ri ha-ka-wa* he-DAT plow-NOM work-LOC NEG-bring-NOM

ta-si-wa
become-ANT-NOMV
'He wasn't brought in for the plowing work!'

- 120. *bura khõs mu-wã* old ox be-IMPF 'There was an old ox.'
- 121. *cə khōs-ra bura goru bura khōs bura khōs* that ox-DAT old ox old ox old ox 'To that ox he said: "Old ox, old ox, old ox!"
- 122. *na-ra cu bhuluŋ-sə ca-wa bhi-m*I-DAT this leopard-ERG eat-NOM say-NPST
  'I will be eaten by this leopard.'
- 123. *khi cə bhuluŋ khor-ri pəri-si-wa mu-wã* he that leopard trap-LOC happen-ANT-NOM be-IMPF 'He, that leopard, had been in the trap.'

- 124. *na-sə cãy khor-gəm nikali-i pin-ji* I-ERG aforementioned trap-ABL remove-ANT give-PERF 'I removed him from the trap.'
- 125. *rə khi-sə dhərmə lagi-m bhi-wã* and he-ERG duty follow-NPST say-IMPF 'And he used to say, "It is doing one's religious duty."'
- 126. *na-sə khor-gəm nikali-i pin-ji* I-ERG trap-ABL remove-ANT give-PERF 'I removed him from the trap.'
- 127. *dhərmə lagi-m bhi-si-rə* duty follow-NPST say-ANT-SEQ "It is doing one's religious duty," he said, and'
- 128. *na-sə khor-gəm nikali-wa te-r* I-ERG trap-ABL remove-NOM that+place-LOC

jhən na-ra dhərmə səmji-to rather I-DAT duty remember-DESID 'after I took him out of the trap, rather, I wanted him to remember his duty to me,"'

- 129. *bhi-i* rə say-PERF and 'he [old man] said, and'
- 130. *jhən na-ra ca-m* rather I-DAT eat-NPST "Rather, he will eat me."
- 131. *khi-ra khi bura-ra na thokhər nə ca-m* you-DAT you old+man-DAT I now topic eat-NPST "You, you old man, I will eat you now,"
- 132. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he [leopard] said., and'

- 133. *bhuluŋ-sə bhi-wa-sir* leopard-ERG say-NOM-ANT-COTEMP 'while leopard was saying that,'
- 134. *na-sə phiri khi khõs-ra* I again you ox-DAT 'I again ask you, ox,'
- 135. "Iəw ta la-wa nhe
  OK what do-NOM be+Q+NPST
  'What should we do?'
- 136. *bura khõs na-ra cu bhuluŋ-sə ca-wa la-i* old ox I-DAT this leopard-ERG eat-NOM do-PERF 'Old ox, this leopard will start to eat me."'
- 137. *bhi-si-rə surə-ysi-wa hin* say-ANT-SEQ ask-ANT-NOM be+NPST
- 138. *cater nə cə bura khõs-sə* that+TEMP+that+LOC topic that old ox-ERG

ta bhi-i bhi-lanə what say-PERF say-COND 'After that, once he said that, what did the old ox say?'

- 139. *ẽ hin* eh be+NPST '"OK.'
- 140. *dhərmə-sə dhərmə ca-m* duty-ERG duty eat-NPST 'Duty eats duty.' [*i.e.*, if you do good deeds, you'll be rewarded]
- 141. *kam-sə kam ca-m* work-ERG work eat-NPST 'Work eats work.' [*i.e.*, if you work, you'll be prosperous]

- 142. *wənəŋkhir tənnəri mu-wa-sir* long+ago young be-NOM-COTEMP 'Long ago, when I was young,'
- 143. *na-ra cica pinə-ma*I-DAT salt give-IMPF
  'they used to give me salt.'
- 144. *ghãs pinə-ma* fodder give-IMPF 'They used to give me fodder.'
- 145. *wobano goth-nfiari thfiana-ma* dry cowshed-INES keep-IMPF 'They used to keep me in a dry cowshed.'
- 146. *na-ra susar la-ma la-ma* I-DAT care do-IMPF do-IMPF 'They used to take care of me.'
- 147. *na-ra səyar susar la-ma*I-DAT attention care do-IMPF
  'They used to care for and attend to me.'
- 148. *na-ra jĥewno kuro pinə-wã*I-DAT all thing give-IMPF
  'They gave me everything.'
- 149. *na-ra cari-ma*I-DAT look+for-IMPF
  'They used to look for me.'
- 150. *na-ra mãya la-ma*I-DAT love do-IMPF
  'They used to love me.'
- 151. *thãy* na bura nowadays I old 'Nowadays I [am] old.'

- 152. *na-sə tənnəri mu-wa-sir* I-ERG young be-NOM-COTEMP 'When I was young,'
- 153. *jəmin khe-i* ground plow-PERF 'I plowed the land.'
- 154. *kyeləs khe-i* field plow-PERF 'I plowed the fields.'
- 155. *mol la-i khəri nhe khəri nhe* fertilizer do-PERF how+many be+Q how+many be+Q+NPST 'I fertilized the land tons and tons.'
- 156. *na-sə kam la-i* I-ERG work do-PERF 'I worked.'
- 157. *tərə thãy* na bura ta-i but nowadays I old become-PERF 'But, now, I've become old.'
- 158. *na kyeləs khe-la a-kham mu-wã* I field plow-COND NEG-be+able be-IMPF 'I was not able to plow.'
- 159. *te-r* thãy na-ra cu mənuse-ma-sə cu that+place-LOC now I-DAT this human-PL-ERG this

bura-ma-sə cãy na-ra hyala la-m old+man-PL-ERG aforementioned I-DAT contempt do-NPST 'Now, after that, these humans, these old men, have contempt for me.'

160. *na-ra hyala la-m*I-DAT contempt do-NPST
'They have contempt for me'

161. *thãy na-ra ghãs kara-wa swor pəni* now I-DAT fodder put+in-NOM voice also

*a-la-m*NEG-do-NPST
'Now, they don't collect fodder for me.'

- 162. *cica khway-wa swor pəni a-la-m* salt feed-NOM voice also NEG-do-NPST 'They neglect to feed me salt.'
- 163. *wəpano khyala-ri pho-si-rə*dry place-LOC take+away-ANT-SEQ
  'They neglect to take me away to a dry place,'
- 164. *sotter tir-si-rə* litter spread-ANT-SEQ 'to spread litter for me, and'
- 165. *na-ra thhana-wa swor pəni a-la-m* I-DAT keep-NOM voice also NEG-do-NPST 'to provide for me.'
- 166. *na-ra hyala la-m*I-DAT contempt do-NPST
  'They have contempt for me.'
- 167. *dhərmə-sə dhərmə ca-wa hin bhi-lanə* duty-ERG duty eat-NOM be+NPST say-COND 'If we say duty eats duty,'
- 168. *cu bura-ra ca-lai ta-m* this old+man-DAT eat-RC become-NPST 'whatever eats this old man, so be it.'
- 169. *bhulun ca-lai ta-m* leopard eat-RC become-NPST 'Whatever the leopard eats, so be it.'

- 170. *cu bura-ra ca-lai ta-m* this old+man-DAT eat-RC become-NPST 'Whatever eats this old man, so be it,'
- 171. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he said, and'
- 172. *cə khõs-sə cə bhi-i* that ox-ERG that say-PERF 'that ox said that.'
- 173. *cater nə cə khõs-sə bhi-si-rə* that+TEMP+that+LOC topic that ox-ERG say-ANT-SEQ 'After that, the ox said it.'
- 174. *canə phiri bhuluŋ rə cə tane cə* then again leopard and that what's-its-name that

bura mənchi fiya-i old man go-PERF 'Then again the leopard and the 'what's his name — the old person — went.'

- 175. *bura mənchi hya-i* old person go-PERF 'The old person left.'
- 176. *bura mənchi fiya-wa ligəm* old person go-NOM back 'After the old person left,' [-*ye* also possible]
- 177. *ni te-ŋ hya-wa-khir nə* little that+place-LOC go-NOM-COTEMP topic 'when he had gone a little further,'
- 178. *bhuluŋ-sə ta bhi-i* leopard-ERG what say-PERF 'the leopard said what:'

- 179. *ə khōs-sə pəni na bhi-wa-thāy nə la-i* ah ox-ERG also I say-NOM-ESS topic do-PERF "OK, the ox said what I said."
- 180. *na bhi-wa-thãy nə-i khyo nə mili-i*I say-NOM-ESS I-GEN friend topic get+along-PERF
  'My friend agreed with what I said.'
- 181. *əbə na kfii-ra ca-m ca-m ca-m ca-m* now I you-DAT eat-NPST eat-NPST eat-NPST eat-NPST 'Now I will eat you, eat you, eat you, eat you,"
- 182. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he said, and'
- 183. *bhuluŋ-sə phiri bhi-wa la-i* leopard-ERG again say-NOM do-PERF 'the leopard began to speak again.'
- 184. *phan-o phan-o* wait-IMP wait-IMP ""Wait! Wait!"
- 185. *yek phera na yewta kura sori-m* one time I one thing ask-NPST 'One time, I will ask you one thing.'
- 186. *yewta tam sori-m* one speech ask-NPST 'One thing I will ask you.'
- 187. *cater ca-wa də bhi-si-rə* that+TEMP+that+LOC eat-NOM EMPH say-ANT-SEQ 'After that, you will eat me,"'
- 188. *bhi-i nu* say-PERF reminder 'he [the old man] said.'

- 189. *bhuluŋ-ra sori-kəy* leopard-DAT ask-PROG 'To the leopard he was asking,'
- 190. *hə-sər la-kəy la-kəy* that-manner do-PROG do-PROG 'he was doing it like that'
- 191. *hya-wa-khir* nə go-NOM-COTEMP topic 'while they were going,'
- 192. *ni te-ŋ hya-wa-khir nə* little that+place-LOC go-NOM-COTEMP topic 'when they had gone a little way,'
- 193. *yewta cəwtaro-ri pipəl mu-si-m* one resting+place-LOC pipal be-ANT-NPST 'there was a pipal tree at a resting place.'
- 194. canə cə cəwtaro pipəl-ri dho-wa bela-ri then that resting+place pipal-LOC meet-NOM time-LOC "Then, at the time that we meet at the resting place pipal tree,
- 195. *na u-cə cəwtaro pipəl-ra sori-m*I yonder-that resting+place pipal-DAT ask-NPST
  'I will ask yonder resting place pipal tree.'
- 196. *cə cəwtaro pipəl-sə-i khi bhuluŋ-ye tam* that resting+place pipal-ERG-also you leopard-GEN talk
  - nə səmərthən la-i bhi-lanə topic support do-PERF say-COND 'If the resting place pipal tree also supports your, the leopard's, position,'
- 197. *khi-sə ca-wa də bhi-si-rə* you-ERG eat-NOM EMPH say-ANT-SEQ 'you will eat me,"'

- 198. *bura-sə bhi-i rə* old+man-ERG say-PERF and 'the old man said, and'
- 199. *ləw ləw tam ba*OK OK talk come-IMP
  "OK, OK, sure, let's go,"
- 200. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he said, and'
- 201. *bhuluŋ rə bura lele wən lele wən* leopard and old+man back front back front

la-si-rə fiya-i do-ANT-SEQ go-PERF 'the leopard and the old man went single file, single file.'

- 202. *hya-i nə* go-COTEMP topic 'When they had gone,'
- 203. *cəwtaro pipəl-muwa-ri tho-sir* resting+place pipal-ADES arrive-COTEMP 'when they arrived at the resting place pipal tree,'
- 204. *canə bura-sə bhi-i* then old+man-ERG say-PERF 'the old man said:'
- 205. *cəwtaro pipəl cəwtaro pipəl na-ra cu* resting+place pipal resting+place pipal I-DAT this

bhuluŋ-sə ca-wa bhi-m leopard-ERG eat-NOM say-NPST '"Resting place pipal tree! Resting place pipal tree! This leopard says he will eat me.'

- 206. *na-sə khor-gəm... khor-ri thuni-si-wa*I-ERG trap-ABL trap-LOC shut+in-ANT-NOM
  'I had shut the leopard from the trap... in the trap.'
- 207. *bhuluŋ-ra pəni na-sə pir-si-rə* leopard-DAT even I-ERG let+loose-ANT-SEQ 'I even let the leopard loose, and'
- 208. *phiri nikali-i pin-ji* outside remove-ANT give-PERF 'took him out of the trap.'
- 209. *jhən ulto mukho na-ra ca-wa bhi-m* more opposite face I-DAT eat-NOM say-NPST 'Instead, the opposite: he says he will eat me.'
- 210. *ləw dhərmə la-i pin-o* OK duty do-ANT give-IMP 'OK, do your duty toward me!'
- 211. *səyog la-i pin-o cəwtaro pipəl* help do-ANT give-IMP resting+place pipal 'Help me, resting place pipal tree!"'
- 212. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he said, and'
- 213. *cə bura-sə cəwtaro pipəl-ra* that old+man-ERG resting+place pipal-DAT

*bĥi-wa-sir* say-ANT-COTEMP 'when that old man spoke to the resting place pipal tree,'

214. *cəwtaro pipəl-sə hā dhərmə-sə dhərmə ca-m* resting+place pipal-ERG uh duty-ERG duty eat-NPST 'The resting place pipal tree said: "Duty eats duty.'

- 215. *cu mənuse-ra dhərmə hare* this human-DAT duty be+NEG+NPST 'There is no duty to this human.'
- 216. *gun hare* gratitude be+NEG+NPST 'There is no gratitude.'
- 217. *mayã hare* love be+NEG+NPST 'There is no love.'
- 218. *na bãysə mu-wa-khiri nə* I adult be-NOM-COTEMP topic 'When I was in my prime,'
- 219. *na char cəwtaro char bə̃ysə-ri-wa dhuŋ* I new resting+place new adult-LOC-NOM tree

*mu-wa-sir* be-NOM-COTEMP 'when I was a new resting place... a new tree in my prime,'

- 220. *na-ra khəre mayã la-wã* I-DAT how+much love do-IMPF 'they used to love me very much.'
- 221. *cəwtaro-ri jfiar khfiyala-ma* resting+place-LOC weed throw+away-IMPF 'At the resting place, they used to remove the weeds.'
- 222. *cəwtaro-ri bhari bisə-ma* resting+place-LOC load rest-IMPF 'At the resting place, they used to rest their loads,"'
- 223. *bfii-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'the pipal tree said.'

- 224. *bisə-ma* rest-IMPF "They used to rest."
- 225. *pipəl-sə nə-yə cyãy bot biruwa dhin* pipal-ERG I-GEN small tree plant since

khəre mayã la-ma how+much love do-IMPF 'The pipal tree said: "They loved me very much since I was a small tree.'

- 226. *na-sə khəre* sitalo bhari bisə-wa-sir
  I-ERG how+much coolness load rest-NOM-COTEMP
  'When I... a lot of coolness... when they rested their loads,'
- 227. *cəwtaro-ri sitəlo chayã sitəlo* resting+place-LOC coolness shadow coolness

fiawa bətas kha la pinə-wã breeze wind come do give-IMPF 'at the resting place I used to give them shade, coolness, breezes, wind.'

228. *bhəriya-ma-ra dhakre-ma-ra tirthə la-wa mənchi-ma-ra* porter-PL-DAT porter-PL-DAT shrine do-NOM person-PL-DAT

khəri səncə anəndə kha-wã gərəm-ri how+much relief peace come-IMPF hot-LOC 'The porters, the basket carriers, people on pilgrimage used to receive much relief and peace, in the heat.'

- 229. *thãy* na bura ta-si-rə nowadays I old become-ANT-SEQ 'Now, I've become old, and'
- 230. *dhuŋ pat jhəri-i* tree leaf go+down-PERF 'my leaves fell.'
- 231. *dala pəni khara-wa la-i* branch also dry-NOM do-PERF 'My branches also are about to dry.'

- 232. *cəwtaro pəni bigri-si-rə* resting+place also be+spoiled-ANT-SEQ 'The resting place also was about to be broken up, and'
- 233. *bhətki-wa la-i* fall+in+ruins-NOM do-PERF 'it began to fall to ruins.'
- 234. *ghərki-wa la-i* collapse-NOM do-PERF 'It began to collapse.'
- 235. *hə-sər lawa te-r cəwtaro rə* that-manner do-NOM that+place-LOC resting+place and

yipa pəni nhi-i cəwtaro rə yipa pəni stone also we-GEN resting+place and stone also

wukkə-ysi-rə prize+up-ANT-SEQ 'After doing that, our resting place and the stones also are prized up, and'

- 236. *khfiyala-m* throw+away-NPST 'thrown away.'
- 237. *ghərkə-ysi-rə* collapse-ANT-SEQ 'They demolished it, and'
- 238. *khfiyala-m* throw+away-NPST 'threw the stones away.'
- 239. *nhi dhuŋ-ra pəni ləra wukkə-i pinə-wa* we tree-DAT also root prize+up-ANT give-NOMV 'To us, the trees, they prize up our roots.'

- 240. *bwakra khyala-i pinə-wa* bark throw+away-ANT give-NOMV 'They throw away our bark.'
- 241. *həŋŋa tha-i pinə-wa* branch cut-ANT give-NOMV 'They cut our branches.'
- 242. *pat jhari-i pinə-wa* leaf knock+off-ANT give-NOMV 'They knocked off our leaves.'
- 243. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'It was done like that, and'
- 244. *thãy cu mənuse-sə cãy nhi bura* now this human-ERG that we old

*ta-wa te-r*become-NOM that+place-LOC
'now these human beings ... after we have become old,'

- 245. *nhi umer hya-wa te-r* we age go-NOM that+place-LOC 'after the years passed us by,'
- 246. *fiyala la-wa la-i te-r* contempt do-NOM do-ANT that+place-LOC 'after they began to have contempt for us,'
- 247. *fiyala la-wa te-r* contempt do-NOM that+place-LOC 'after they had contempt for us,'
- 248. *dfiərmə a-lagi-wa fiin-si-m* duty NEG-follow-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'duty hasn't been done.'

- 249. *dhərmə la-si-rə* duty do-ANT-SEQ 'We did our duty, and'
- 250. *dhərmə a-lagi-wa hin-si-m* duty NEG-follow-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'duty has not resulted.'
- 251. *hə-sərə-wa-sə* dhərmə-sə dhərmə that-manner-NOM-INST duty-ERG duty

*ca-m bhi-lanə* eat-NPST say-COND 'Therefore, if duty eats duty,'

- 252. *cu bura-ra bhuluŋ-sə ca-lai ta-m* this old+man-DAT leopard-ERG eat-RC become-NPST 'if this old man is eaten by the leopard, so be it.'
- 253. *bhulun bura-ra ca-lai ta-m* leopard old+man-DAT eat-RC become-NPST 'Leopard, whatever eats the old man, so be it.'
- 254. *bhulun ca-lai ta-m* leopard eat-RC become-NPST 'Leopard, whatever eats him, so be it."'
- 255. *bhuluŋ bhi-si-rə* leopard say-ANT-SEQ "Leopard," the pipal tree said, and
- 256. *cə cəwtaro pipəl-sə cə tane-ra* that resting+place pipal-ERG that whatever-DAT

bhuluŋ-ra bhi-i leopard-DAT say-PERF 'that resting place pipal tree said that to that whatever ... to the leopard.'

257. *cəŋ bhuluŋ-sə "hẽ na-sə bhi-wa mani-i* then leopard-ERG yes I-ERG say-NOM agree-PERF 'Then the leopard said: "He agreed with what I said.'

- 258. *abə na-sə bhi-wa yo-i* now I-ERG say-NOM be+enough-PERF 'Well, what I said was correct.'
- 259. *abə khõs-sə pəni na-ra nə-i tam səməthən la-i* now ox-ERG also I-DAT I-GEN talk support do-PERF 'Now the ox also supported my position.'
- 260. *abə khi-ye khi bura yeklo ta-i* now you-GEN you old+man alone become-PERF 'Now, your ... you, old man, are alone.'
- 261. *khi bura-ra na-sə ca-m* you old+man-DAT I-ERG eat-NPST 'I will eat you, old man,"'
- 262. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'the leopard said, and'
- 263. *cə bura cater nə tato* that old+man that+TEMP+that+LOC topic hot

ciso yekdəm tato ciso pari-i cold very hot cold cause+to+happen-PERF 'after that, that made the old man become hot and cold, very hot and cold.'

- 264. bura jfiən thər thər thara-wa ta-si-m old+man more trembling shake-NOM become-ANT-NPST 'The old man started to tremble.'
- 265. *jhən mən-ri pir pəri-si-m* more desire-LOC pain happen-ANT-NPST 'He lost heart.'
- 266. *cinta ta-si-m* worry become-ANT-NPST 'He became worried.'

- 267. sok kha-si-m sorrow come-ANT-NPST 'He became anxious.'
- 268. cəŋ nə bura ajəy pəni bicar la-m then topic old+man still also thought do-NPST 'Then, the old man still also thinks,'
- 269. *bəllə cãy akhir-ri nə-ye təy* finally aforementioned end-LOC I-GEN nothing

sip a-lagi bhi-lanə ability NEG-follow-PERF say-COND "Finally, in the end, if I was not successful,"

- 270. *bəllə kfii-sə ca na-ra* finally you-ERG eat-HYP I-DAT 'you will eat me,"'
- 271. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'he said, and'
- 272. cə bura-sə bhuluŋ-ra hə-sər bhi-kəy that old+man-ERG leopard-DAT that-manner say-PROG 'that old man was saying it to the leopard in that way,'
- 273. *khi-sə yewta bicar la-ma la-ma* he-ERG one thought do-IMPF do-IMPF 'he has one thought.'
- 274. *bicar la-kəy te-ŋ fiya-wa-khir nə* thought do-PROG that+place-LOC go-NOM-COTEMP topic 'While the old man was walking and thinking,'

275. *ni te-ŋ nə yewta syal hya-wa* little that+place-LOC topic one jackal go-NOM

*fiin-si-m*be-ANT-NPST
'a little ways ahead a jackal was walking.'

276. *cəŋ nə cə syal wile səti jug-ri-wa* then topic that jackal long+ago truth era-LOC-NOM

*jəməna-ri-wa jəmmu məntri bhi-wa nisaph* era-LOC-NOM wild+garlic minister say-NOM justice

la-wa jəntu ghyaŋ-ri-wa jəntu hin do-NOM animal forest-LOC-NOM animal be+NPST 'The jackal is a forest animal that administered justice as a Jammu minister long ago in the golden age.'

- 277. cənə cə syal-ra dho-si-rə then that jackal-DAT meet-ANT-SEQ 'The old man met that jackal, and'
- 278. *canə "o syal o syal phan-o phan-o phan-o* then oh jackal oh jackal wait-IMP wait-IMP wait-IMP 'then said: "Oh Jackal, oh Jackal. Wait! Wait!'
- 279. *na na-ra cu bhuluŋ-sə ca-wa bhi-m* I I-DAT this leopard-ERG eat-NOM say-NPST 'I... this leopard says he will eat me.'
- 280. *khõs-sə pəni ca-lai ta-m bhi-i* ox-ERG also eat-RC become-NPST say-PERF 'The ox also says that whatever eats me, so be it.'
- 281. *cəwtaro pipəl-sə pəni na-ra bhuluŋ-sə cu* resting+place pipal+tree-ERG also I-DAT leopard-ERG this

*bura-ra* ca-lai ta-m bfii-i old+man-DAT eat-RC become-NPST say-PERF 'The resting place pipal tree also said that if the leopard eats me, so be it.'

- 282. *tərə na-ra na-sə ajəy pəni gwar hir-kəy la-m* but I-DAT I-ERG still also help beg-PROG do-NPST 'But I... I still also am begging for help.'
- 283. *ləw syal cu bhuluŋ-sə ca-wa bhi-m* OK jackal this leopard-ERG eat-NOM say-NPST 'OK, Jackal, this leopard says he will eat me.'
- 284. *na-ra khawa la-wa nfie*I-DAT how do-NOM be+NPST+Q
  'What can you do for me?'
- 285. *yewta ərto pin-o* one advice give-IMP 'Give it a thought!"'
- 286. *bhi-i* nə say-COTEMP topic 'While he said this,'
- 287. *aa te-ŋ-gəm nə bhi-ro* ah that+place-LOC-ABL topic say-IMP '"Say it from there.'
- 288. *chyaran kha-wa-khir nə* near come-NOM-COTEMP topic 'When he comes near," said the jackal,'
- 289. *na-ra-i* sara-m I-DAT-also kill-NPST '"he will kill me also.'
- 290. *na-ra-i lagari-m*I-DAT-also chase+away-NPST
  'he will also chase me.'
- 291. *cu mənuse-sə te-ŋ-gəm nə bhi-ro* this human-ERG that+place-LOC-ABL topic say-IMP

- 292. *bhi-wa hin bhi-lanə* say-NOM be+NPST say-COND
  'If this human would say, "Say it from there!"'
- 293. *bhi-ro* say-IMP 'say it!."'
- 294. *fiayn*NEG+be+NPST
  "No!"
- 295. *phan-o phan-o phan-o phan-o* wait-IMP wait-IMP wait-IMP wait-IMP 'Wait, wait, wait, wait!"'
- 296. *bhi-kəy* say-PROG 'the old man was saying.'
- 297. canə cə syal wən wən dugri-ma then that jackal in+front run-IMPF 'Then, that jackal was running ahead of him.'
- 298. *bhuluŋ-rə bura ligəm ligəm dugri-wa la-si-rə* leopard-and old+man back run-NOM do-ANT-SEQ 'The leopard and the old man ran after him,'
- 299. *ni...* canə ni ələkkə phərək-ri a+little then a+little separate distance-LOC

*cãy nikkinə tharaŋ phərək-ri* aforementioned a+lot far distance-LOC 'quite separate from a distance,'

300. *canə syal-sə bhi-i* then jackal-ERG say-PERF 'and then the jackal said:'

- 301. *chə bhi-lanə* thus say-COND "If you say so,"
- 302. *pəkkəy nhe* for+sure be+NPST+Q 'is it certain?' [*i.e.*, should I believe you?]
- 303. *khi bura-ra ca-wa nhe*you old+man-DAT eat-NOM be+NPST+Q
  'You [leopard] want to eat the old man?"
- 304. *bhi-i* nə say-PERF topic 'While the jackal said this,'
- 305. *ca-wa fiin*eat-NOM be+NPST
  "I will eat him," [the leopard said].'
- 306. *khəni mu-wã* where be-IMPF "Where were you?"
- 307. *cu... khi khəni mu-wã* this you where be-IMPF 'You...[pointing]... where were you?"'
- 308. *bhi-i* nə say-PERF topic 'While the jackal said this,'
- 309. *canə u-te-ŋ mu-wã* then yonder-that+place-LOC be-IMPF "Then we were at that place over there."
- 310. *cəŋ nə ta-ri mu-wã* then topic what-LOC be-IMPF "Then, what were you in?"

- 311. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 312. *cə syal-sə sori-i* that jackal-ERG ask-PERF 'that jackal asked.'
- 313. *syal-sə sori-wa-khir* jackal-ERG ask-NOM-COTEMP 'While the jackal was asking this,'
- 314. *bura-sə na-sə khor chū-si-wa mu-wã* old+man-ERG I-ERG trap set-ANT-NOM be-IMPF 'the old man said: "I had set a trap.'
- 315. *na-sə bhuluŋ-ra khor chũ-si-wa* I-ERG leopard-DAT trap set-ANT-NOMV 'I set a trap for the leopard."
- 316. *bhi-si-rə bhi-i* say-ANT-SEQ say-PERF
- 317. *cəŋ nə syal-sə phiri sədde nhe* then topic jackal-ERG again true be+NPST+Q 'Then the jackal said again: "Is it true?'
- 318. *khi-ra khor chū-si-wa* you-DAT trap set-ANT-NOM 'He set a trap for you?"'
- 319. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 320. *bhuluŋ-ra sori-wa-khir* leopard-DAT ask-NOM-COTEMP 'While he was asking the leopard,'
- 321. *bhuluŋ-sə əə na-ra khor chū-si-wa* leopard-ERG yes I-DAT trap set-ANT-NOM 'the leopard said: "Yes, he set a trap for me."'

- 322. *bfii-i* say-PERF
- 323. *khəy khəy hya-ye* where go-HOR '"I need proof, let's go!'
- 324. *nowa bura-ye tam pəni a-pətə-m* you-PL old+man-GEN talk also NEG-believe-NPST 'You two, I don't believe the old man.'
- 325. *bhuluŋ-ye tam pəni na a-pətə-m* leopard-GEN talk also I NEG-believe-NPST 'I don't believe the leopard.'
- 326. *ləw ba-ne* ba-ne OK go-IMP go-IMP 'OK, please go, please go!'
- 327. *hya-ye* go-HOR 'Let's go!'
- 328. *hya-re* go-HOR 'Let's go!'
- 329. *na-ra nə dekhə-wa pəri-m*I-DAT topic show-NOM happen-NPST
  'You must show me.'
- 330. *na-ra tam-sə gəjjə na biswas a-mani-m* I-DAT talk-INST only I trust NEG-agree-NPST 'I don't believe talk only.'
- 331. *tərə na-sə mi-sə pəni mara-wa pəri-m* but I-ERG eye-INST also see-NOM happen-NPST 'Rather, I must see with my own eyes.'

- 332. *ləw ba-ne ba-ne*OK go-IMP go-IMP
  'OK, please go, please go!'
- 333. *hya-re* go-IMP 'Let's go!'
- 334. *bəllə na-sə nisap la-m* finally I-ERG justice do-NPST 'Then, I will administer justice."'
- 335. *cəŋ syal-sə cə bura-ra rə cə* then jackal-ERG that old+man-DAT and that

bhuluŋ-ra phərkə-ysi-rə kha-i leopard-DAT turn+around-ANT-SEQ bring-PERF 'Then the jackal brought back the old man and the leopard.'

- 336. *phərkə-ysi-rə* turn+around-ANT-SEQ
- 337. *kha-wa kha-wa la-si-rə* bring-NOM bring-NOM do-ANT-SEQ 'He started to bring them back, and'
- 338. *cə bura-sə pəyle bhuluŋ-ra khor* that old+man-ERG first leopard-DAT trap

chũ-si-wa khyala-ri kha-si-rə set-ANT-NOM place-LOC bring-ANT-SEQ 'he brought them back to the place where the old man first set the trap for the leopard, and'

- 339. *cater nə dekhə-i* afterwards topic show-PERF 'they demonstrated for him.'
- 340. *khəy bura khor* where old trap ""Where, old man, is the trap?""

- 341. *bhi-i* say-PERF 'the jackal said.'
- 342. *yi* hə-ju khor here that-this trap ""This, this is the trap.""
- 343. *yi hin khor* here be+NPST trap "Here it is, the trap."
- 344. *bhi-i nə* say-COTEMP topic 'When they said this,'
- 345. *canə hə-ju khor-ri nhe bhuluŋ* then that-this trap-LOC be+NPST+Q leopard 'Then: "You were in this trap, leopard?"'
- 346. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 347. *syal-sə bhuluŋ-ra sori-i* jackal-ERG leopard-DAT ask-PERF 'the jackal asked the leopard.'
- 348. *syal-sə bhuluŋ-ra sori-wa-khi nə* jackal-ERG leopard-DAT ask-NOM-COTEMP topic 'When the jackal asked the leopard,'
- 349. *bhuluŋ-sə əə na hə-ju khor-ri* leopard-ERG yes I that-this trap-LOC

thuni-si ni-si-wa hin restrain-ANT happen-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'the leopard said: "Yes, I was shut in this trap."'

- 350. *bhi-i* say-PERF
- 351. *ləw ləw kha la-i* OK OK how do-ANT
- 352. *thuni-sĩ-m-ẽ* restrain-ANT-NPST-Q 'How did you get shut in?'
- 353. *wã-la* enter-Q 'Did you go in?"'
- 354. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'the jackal said.'
- 355. *bura... syal-sə sorə-wa-khir* old+man jackal-ERG ask-NOM-COTEMP 'The old man... when the jackal was asking,'
- 356. *bhuluŋ swakkə khor-nhari wã-wa la-i* leopard entering+quickly trap-INES enter-NOM do-PERF 'the leopard quickly began to enter the trap.'
- 357. *ləw wã-wa la-i*OK enter-NOM do-PERF
  "OK, you began to enter the trap."
- 358. *wã-i-rə* enter-ANT-SEQ 'you went in, and'
- 359. *canə khor-nhari wã-i-rə* then trap-INES enter-ANT-SEQ 'then you went in the trap, and'

360. *canə bhuluŋ-ra... cater phiri syal-sə khənə* then leopard-DAT then again jackal-ERG which

*khõra fiya-i* place go-ANT 'Then... Then again the jackal said the to leopard:'

- 361. *ci-si-wã* sit-ANT-IMPF "Where did you go and stay?"
- 362. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 363. *ci-i* sit-PERF 'I stayed there,"
- 364. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'the leopard said, and'
- 365. *sori-wa-sir* ask-NOM-COTEMP

  'When the jackal had asked the leopard,'
- 366. *bhulun... ləw ləw khəni khə̃ra hya-i* leopard... OK OK where place go-ANT
- 367. *ci-si-wã* sit-ANT-IMPF "Leopard... OK, OK. Where did you go and stay?"
- 368. *ləw ləw hya-ro* OK OK go-IMP "OK, OK. Go!"
- 369. *ci-o s* $\tilde{s}$  sit-IMP frustration 'Sit in there!"'

- 370. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'the jackal said, and'
- 371. *syal-sə bhuluŋ-ra bhi-wa-sir* jackal-ERG leopard-DAT say-NOM-COTEMP 'when the jackal had said this to the leopard,'
- 372. *bhulun khor-nhari hya-si* leopard trap-INES go-ANT 'the leopard went into the trap, and'
- 373. *te-ŋ nə tuppa-ri sãco mu-wa-ri* that+place-LOC topic end-LOC trigger be-NOM-LOC
- 374. *hya-si-rə* go-ANT-SEQ 'he went in order to be further toward the end where the trigger was, and'
- 375. *sãco chətki-wa khyala khəna hya-si* key activate-NOM place place go-ANT
- 376. *ci-i* sit-PERF 'he went to the exact place where the trigger will activate and stayed.'
- 377. *na hə-ju khənnə ci-si-wa mu-wã* I that-this place sit-ANT-NOM be-IMPF '''I had been sitting here.'
- 378. *bura-sə na-ra pirə-wa-sir* old+man-ERG I-DAT let+loose-NOM-COTEMP 'When the old man let me loose,'
- 379. *hə-ju khənnə ci-si-wa mu-wã* that-this place sit-ANT-NOM be-IMPF 'I had been sitting here,"'
- 380. *bhi-i* say-PERF 'the jackal said.'

- 381. *canə khi marak kha la-i* then you door how do-ANT
- 382. *kar-si-wã sõ* put+in-ANT-IMPF frustration "Then, you, how did you shut the door?"
- 383. *kha la-i* how do-PERF 'How did you do it?'
- 384. *chətkə-la sə̃* activate-Q frustration 'Did it snap shut?'''
- 385. *bĥi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'the jackal said.'
- 386. *chər hə-sə la-i* this+way that-manner do-PERF '"I did it that way.'
- 387. *chətkə-i sãco* activate-PERF trigger 'I set it off, the trigger."'
- 388. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 389. *bhuluŋ-sə bhi-i* leopard-ERG say-PERF 'the leopard said.'
- 390. *cənə bura-sə marak kha la-i* then old+man-ERG door how do-ANT
- 391. *kar-si-wa mu-wã sã* put+in-ANT-NOM be-IMPF frustration "Then, how did the old man shut the door?"

- 392. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 393. *bura-ra bĥi-i* old+man-DAT say-PERF 'the jackal said to the old man.'
- 394. *na bura-ra... na-sə yi hə-sə la-i* I old+man-DAT I-ERG this that-manner do-ANT
- 395. *kar-si-wa hin marak* put+in-ANT-NOM be-NPST door ""I, old man... I shut it like this, the door,"
- 396. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'the old man said, and'
- 397. *khor-ye marak yəwta marak muli marak* trap-GEN door one door main door

kar-si pin-ji
put+in-ANT give-PERF
"The trap's door, the one door, the main door, I shut it on him.'

- 398. *marak kara-wa* door put+in-NOMV 'I shut the door."'
- 399. *te-r* cater nə ləw bura-ye marak that+place-LOC then topic OK old+man-GEN door

*kara-wa bura-ye bən la-wa* put+in-NOM old+man-GEN closed do-NOM

*pərman mara-i* proof see-PERF

Then: "OK, I see the old man's proof that he shut the door and closed it."

- 400. *bhuluŋ na hə-sər la-si-rə* leopard I that-manner do-ANT-SEQ '"Leopard: I did it that way, and'
- 401. *khor-nhari na hə-ju khənnə hə-sər la-si-rə* trap-INES I that-this place that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'I went into the trap in this place in that way, and'
- 402. *ci-si-wa* sit-ANT-NOMV 'I stayed here."' [Jackal says this acting out the part of Leopard.]
- 403. *bura kha-wa-khir* old+man come-NOM-COTEMP 'When the old man came,'
- 404. *bhi-wa* say-NOMV 'he said:'
- 405. *bhuluŋ-sə pəni pərman dekhə-i* leopard-ERG also proof show-PERF "The leopard also showed his proof."
- 406. *əbə khi pərman khi-sə nə dekhə-i* now you-GEN proof you-ERG topic show-PERF 'Now you showed your proof.'
- 407. *khi cə khi khyala-ri nə ci-o* you that you-GEN place-LOC topic sit-IMP You, sit in your place!'
- 408. *bura khi dhoka kar-si-rə* old+man you-GEN door put+in-ANT-SEQ 'Old man, you shut your door, and'
- 409. *khi hya-i* you go-PERF 'you left.'

- 410. *khi khi khyam hya-ro* you you-GEN way go-IMP 'You, go your way!'
- 411. *na nə-y khyam hya-m* I I-GEN way go-NPST 'I will go my way,"'
- 412. *bhi-i* say-PERF 'he said.'
- 413. *cater nə syal cater syal-sə cə bhuluŋ-ra phiri* then topic jackal then jackal-ERG that leopard-DAT again
  - cə pəyle-wa khyala-ri khor-nhari thuni-i that first-NOM place-LOC trap-INES close-PERF 'Then the jackal... then the jackal again closed the leopard into the trap in the original place.'
- 414. *bura-ra bəcə-ysi-rə* old+man-DAT protect-ANT-SEQ 'He saved the old man, and'
- 415. *them-əŋ lakari-i* house-LOC chase-PERF 'he chased him home.'
- 416. *them-əŋ pəthə-i* house-LOC send-PERF 'He sent him home.'
- 417. *khi cãy* syal ghyaŋ-ri hya-i he aforementioned jackal forest-LOC go-PERF 'He, the jackal, went to the forest.'
- 418. *cater cu nisap syal-sə hə-sər la-si-rə* then this justice jackal-ERG that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'So, the jackal administered this justice in that way, and'

- 419. *nisap la-i* justice do-PERF 'he administered justice.'
- 420. *cater cu cãy kətha chin-ji* then this aforementioned story finish-PERF 'This story is finished.'
- Q. Recorded 11/92, Mangale Khani, Nepal. Speaker: Nənda Kumari Khərka

## **Preparing Food**

- 1. *phəgən* porridge 'Porridge:'
- 2. phəgən cyara-wa phəgən bənə-wa-ye lagi porridge stir-NOM porridge make-NOM-GEN for 'In order to stir porridge and make it,'
- 3. *pəyla yewta dabilo caya-m* first one spoon need-NPST 'we need a spoon.'
- 4. *phəgən yewta bhãra-ri kwi* porridge one pot-LOC water

*bəsali-si-rə* put+on+fire-ANT-SEQ 'For the porridge, we put water in a pot, and'

- 5. *kwi paki-wa byala-ri* water boil-NOM time-LOC 'when the water is just about to boil,'
- 6. *nhi-sə phara kar-si-rə* we-ERG flour put-ANT-SEQ 'we add flour, and'

- 7. dabilo-sə cyar-si-rə spoon-INST stir-ANT-SEQ 'stir with a spoon, and'
- 8. *duy tin minet ghəre khap-kəy* two three minute almost cover-PROG 'covering almost two or three minutes,'
- 9. *cyar-kəy la-si-rə* stir-PROG do-ANT-SEQ 'and stirring, and'
- 10. *cə-rasə phəgən təyar ta-m* that-TEMP porridge prepared become-NPST 'after that, the porridge is done.'
- 11. *cə-rasə nhi-sə ca-m* that-TEMP we-ERG eat-NPST 'After that, we eat it.'
- 12. *ərko alu* next potato 'Next, potatoes:'
- 13. *alu pəkə-wa ki tərkari alu* potato cook-NOM or curry potato

pəkə-si-rə pəni cook-ANT-SEQ also 'cooking potatoes or curry, we also cook potatoes and'

- 14. *ca-m* eat-NPST eat them.'
- 15. *tərkari bənə-ysi-rə pəni* curry make-ANT-SEQ also 'We also make curry, and'

- 16. *ca-m* eat-NPST 'we eat it.'
- 17. pəkə-ysi-rə
  cook-ANT-SEQ
  'We cook them, and'
- 18. *ca-wa-khiri*eat-NOM-COTEMP
  'when we eat them,'
- 19. *yewta bhara-wãr kar-si-rə* one pot-ADES put-ANT-SEQ 'we put them in a pot, and'
- 20. *kwi kar-si-rə* water put-ANT-SEQ 'add water, and'
- 21. *kei ni lesəŋ paki-m* some a+little+bit behind cook-NPST 'after a little bit they cook.'
- 22. rə cə-ra phi-si-rə and that-DAT peel-ANT-SEQ 'And we peel them [potatoes], and'
- 23. *chop dopi-si-rə* spicy+dip dip+into-ANT-SEQ 'dip them into the spicy dip, and'
- 24. *ca-wa la-m* eat-NOM do-NPST 'eat them.'
- 25. *tərkari bənə-wa-i lagi* curry make-NOM-GEN for 'In order to make curry,'

- 26. *alu tha-si-rə* potato cut-ANT-SEQ 'we cut the potatoes, and'
- 27. *bhãra-ri cicya khorsani bacca-õ jhewno kuro kar-si-rə* pot-LOC salt chili ghee-PL all thing put-ANT-SEQ 'in the pot put salt, chili, and ghee, etc. all the things, and'
- 28. *bhãra-ri khur-kəy kar-kəy la-si-rə* pot-LOC clean-PROG put-PROG do-ANT-SEQ 'keep cleaning them and putting them in the pot, and'
- 29. *cə-ra hõ-si-rə* that-LOC toast-ANT-SEQ 'toast them, and'
- 30. *cejere kwi kar-si-rə* a+little water put-ANT-SEQ 'add a little water, and'
- 31. *caya-wa ghəre səmman-ma kar-si-rə* need-NOM how+many until-LOC put-ANT-SEQ 'we put in however much we need, and' [*səmman-ma* is Nepali]
- 32. *cə-rasə kei səməyə lesəŋ tərkari təyar* that-TEMP some time back curry ready
  - alu-ye tərkari ta-m potato-GEN curry become-NPST 'then, after some time, the curry, the potato curry, is ready.'
- 33. *hə-hə la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'we do it like that, and'
- 34. *alu-ye tərkari bənə-ysi-rə* potato-GEN curry make-ANT-SEQ 'we make potato curry, and'

- 35. *ca-m* eat-NPST 'we eat it.'
- 36. *kan* rice 'Rice.'
- 37. *kan pəkə-ywa-ye lagi* rice cook-NOM-GEN for 'In order to cook rice,'
- 38. *yewta bhãra-ri mhala kar-si-rə* one pot-LOC uncooked+rice put-ANT-SEQ 'we put uncooked rice in a pot, and'
- 39. *khur-si-rə* clean-ANT-SEQ 'clean it, and'
- 40. *cə-gəm-sə ceyere khur-si* that-ABL a+little clean-ANT 'clean it a little more'
- 41. *khyala-si-rə* throw+away-ANT-SEQ 'throw away the water, and'
- 42. *cə-rasə pheri kwi kar-si-rə* that-TEMP again water put-ANT-SEQ 'afterward put in water again, and'
- 43. *paki-m* cook-NPST 'and it cooks.'
- 44. *cələ-kəy paki-kəy la-m* move-PROG cook-PROG do-NPST 'We keep stirring it and cooking it.'

- 45. *cə-rasə yek pəltə khap-ji bhi-lanə* that-TEMP one time cover-PERF say-COND 'Afterward, once we cover the pot,'
- 46. *paki-m* cook-NPST 'it cooks.'
- 47. *fiə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'We do it like that, and'
- 48. *nhi-sə kan pəkə-m* we-ERG rice cook-NPST 'we cook rice.'
- 49. *ato* grits 'Grits.'
- 50. *ato pəni məkəy phara-ysi-rə* grits also corn grind-ANT-SEQ 'Grits also, we grind corn, and'
- 51. *nhi-sə ato bənə-m* we-ERG grits make-NPST 'we make grits.'
- 52. ato pəkə-ywa lagi yewta bhãra-ri ərkəli-si-rə grits cook-NOM for one pot-LOC guess-ANT-SEQ 'In order to cook grits, we estimate in one pot [how many grits are needed], and'
- 53. *caya-wa khəri ato kar-si-rə* need-NOM how+many grits put-ANT-SEQ 'we put however many grits we need [in the pot], and'
- 54. *cə-ri kwi kar-si-rə* that-LOC water put-ANT-SEQ 'put water in it, and'

- 55. *pəkə-i bəsali-m* boil-ANT put+on+fire-NPST 'cook, err, boil it on the fire.' [*pəkə-i* is a false start]
- 56. *cə-rasə paki-m* that-TEMP cook-NPST 'Afterwards, it cooks.'
- 57. *cələ-kəy pəkə-kəy la-si-rə* move-PROG cook-PROG do-ANT-SEQ 'We stir it and cook it, and'
- 58. *yek chin pəchi khap-si-rə* one moment after cover-ANT-SEQ 'cover after a moment, and'
- 59. *yek gfiənta lesəŋ ato təyar ta-m* one hour after grits ready become-NPST 'after an hour, the grits are ready.'
- 60. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'Having done this,'
- 61. *nhi-sə ato ca-wa la-m* we-ERG grits eat-NOM do-NPST 'we eat the grits.'
- 62. sya meat 'Meat.'
- 63. sya pəkə-ywa-ye lagi meat cook-NOM-GEN for 'In order to cook meat,'
- 64. sya tha-si-rə meat cut-ANT-SEQ 'we cut the meat, and'

- 65. *tukra tukra pari-si-rə* piece piece cause+to+happen-ANT-SEQ 'make it into pieces, and'
- 66. *yewta tapke-wãr bhãra-wãr cica bacca* one pot-CIRC pot-CIRC salt ghee

khorsani-ma jĥewno kuro kar-si-rə chili-PL all thing put-ANT-SEQ 'put salt, ghee, chilies — everything — in a small or medium pot, and'

- 67. sya khur-kəy khur-si-rə meat wash-PROG wash-ANT-SEQ 'wash the meat, and'
- 68. *kar-si-rə*put-ANT-SEQ
  'put it in the pot, and'
- 69. *cə-rasə khap-kəy hõ-kəy la-si-rə* that-TEMP cover-PROG toast-PROG do-ANT-SEQ 'afterwards cover and cook it, and'
- 70. *caya-wa khəre səmman-ma mərməsala* need-NOM how+much until-LOC spices

*jəmməy kuro kar-si-rə* all thing put-ANT-SEQ 'we add however many spices we need, everything, and'

- 71a. *hõ-wa* toast-NOM 'to cook it,'
- 71b. *cə-rasə khap-si-rə* that-TEMP cover-ANT-SEQ 'afterwards cover it, and'

- 72. *yek chin lesəŋ ceyere kwi kar-si-rə* one moment back a+little water put-ANT-SEQ 'after a minute, add a little water, and'
- 73. *hõ-si-rə* toast-ANT-SEQ 'cook it, and'
- 74. *cə-rasə yek chin lesəŋ sya pəni paki-m* that-TEMP one moment back meat also cook-NPST 'afterwards, after a moment, the meat cooks.'
- 75. *təyar ta-m* prepared become-NPST 'It is ready,'
- 76. *rə ca-wa-ye lagi thik ta-m* and eat-NOM-GEN for right become-NPST 'and it is proper to eat it.'
- 77. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'We prepare it in that manner, and'
- 78. *nhi sya pəkə-si-rə* we meat cook-ANT-SEQ 'we cook meat, and'
- 79. *ca-m* eat-NPST 'eat it.'
- 80. *thara* buttermilk 'Buttermilk.'
- 81. *thara nhe nhe jəmə-ysi-rə* buttermilk milk milk coagulate-ANT-SEQ 'Buttermilk, the milk the milk coagulates, and'

82. *theko-ri yewta bhãra-mar nhe* wooden+vessel-LOC one pot-CIRC milk

*jəmə-ysi-rə* coagulate-ANT-SEQ 'in a wooden vessel, in one pot the milk coagulates, and'

83. *key din lesəŋ mərəni-sə thara* some day back churning+stick-INST buttermilk

*pari-m*become-NPST
'after a few days, we make buttermilk with a churning stick,'

- 84. *rə bacca chuttə-ysi-rə* and ghee separate-ANT-SEQ 'and separate the ghee, and'
- 85. *bacca ghəre thur-si-rə* ghee how+much remove-ANT-SEQ 'remove however much ghee, and'
- 86. *cə-rasə thara pari-si-rə* that-TEMP buttermilk become-ANT-SEQ 'afterward it becomes buttermilk, and'
- 87. *nhi-sə thara ca-m* we-ERG buttermilk eat-NPST 'we consume buttermilk.'
- 88. *dal* pulse 'Pulse.'
- 89. *dal pəkə-ywa lagi* pulse cook-NOM-GEN for 'In order to cook pulses,'
- 90. *pəni kwi bəsali-si-rə* also water put+on+fire-ANT-SEQ 'we also put water on the fire, and'

91. *kwi cə-rasə caya-wa ghəre dal* water that-TEMP need-NOM how+much pulses

*kar-si-rə*put+in-ANT-SEQ
'water, afterward we put in however many pulses we need, and'

- 92. *cə-ra paki-i bhi-lanə* afterwards cook-PERF say-COND 'afterwards, once we cook them,'
- 93. *məsəla-ma lhəsuŋ-ma mərməsala-ma methi-ma jhewno* spices-PL garlic-PL spices-PL fenugreek-PL all

*əthəwa mu-wa khəre məsəla-ma kar-si-rə* or be-NOM how+much spice-PL put+in-ANT-SEQ 'we put in spices, garlic, spices, etc. — all of them — or however many spices you have, and'

94. *jhani-wa bacca-sə jhani-wa məsəla-ma* sizzle-NOM ghee-ERG fry-NOM spice-PL

kara-wa la-si-rə put+in-NOM do-ANT-SEQ 'sizzling... we start to put in spices sizzling with ghee, and'

- 95. *dal təyar ta-m* pulses ready become-NPST 'the pulses are ready.'
- 96. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'In that way we make pulses, and'
- 97. *dal ca-m* pulses eat-NPST 'we eat the pulses.'

- 98. *kan* rice 'Rice.'
- 99. *kan pəkə-wa-i lagi* rice cook-NOM-GEN for 'In order to cook rice,'
- 100. *yewta bhãra-ri mhala kar-si-rə* one pot-LOC uncooked+rice put+in-ANT-SEQ 'put uncooked rice in a pot, and'
- 101. *kwi kar-si-rə* water put+in-ANT-SEQ 'put water into it, and'
- 102. *khur-si khur-si-rə* wash-ANT wash-ANT-SEQ 'wash it, and'
- 103. *cə-rasə bəsali-si-rə* that-TEMP put+on+fire-ANT-SEQ 'then, put it on the fire, and'
- 104. *key chin lesəŋ cələ-kəy* some moment back stir-PROG 'after a few moments, stirring,'
- 105. *paki-kəy* cook-PROG 'cooking,'
- 106. *pəkə-kəy* cook-PROG 'cooking it,'
- 107. *cələ-kəy* stir-PROG 'stirring,'

- 108. *paki-kəy* cook-PROG 'cooking,'
- 109. *pəkə-kəy* cook-PROG 'cooking it,'
- 110. *cələ-kəy* stir-PROG 'stirring,'
- 111. *la-wa pəri-m* do-NOM happen-NPST 'you must do this.'
- 112. *cə-rasə yek chin khap-si-rə* that-TEMP one moment cover-ANT-SEQ 'Then, cover a moment, and'
- 113. *cə-rasə kan təyar ta-m* that-COMP rice ready become-NPST 'then the rice is ready.'
- 114. *cə-rasə nhi-sə ca-m* that-TEMP we-ERG eat-NPST 'Then, we eat.'
- 115. *chya* tea 'Tea.'
- 116. *chya chya nhi-sə chya chya thũ-wa-i lagi* tea tea we-ERG tea tea drink-NOM-GEN for 'Tea, tea in order for us to drink tea,'
- 117. *pəyle kilti-ri kwi kar-si-rə* firstly kettle-LOC water put-ANT-SEQ 'First, we put water in the kettle, and'

- 118. *cə-rasə cini chya pəkə-lanə* that-COMP sugar tea cook-COND 'then if we boil sugar and tea,'
- 119. *cini chya pətti-ma məsəla-ma nhe-ma kara-m* sugar tea tea+leaf-PL spice-PL milk-PL put-NPST 'we put in sugar, tea leaves, spices and some milk, etc..'
- 120. *cə nhe cini hare bhi-lanə* that milk sugar NEG+be+NPST say-COND 'If there is no milk and sugar,'
- 121. *cica-ye chya pəkə-m* salt-GEN tea cook-NPST 'we boil salt tea.'
- 122. *cica-ye chya pəkə-wa-si* salt-GEN tea cook-NOM-COTEMP 'When we boil salt tea,'
- 123. *timmər timmər siltimər akhitimər-ye* timur timur aluminum+timmər eye+timmər

*pəni pəkə-m* also cook-NPST 'timur, timur: aluminum timur, eye timur we also boil.'

- 124. *cica cica chya məsala-ma lhəsun-ma kar-si-rə* salt salt tea spice-PL garlic-PL put-ANT-SEQ 'Salt, salt tea: we put in spices and garlic, and'
- 125. *timmər-ma kar-si-rə* timur-PL put-ANT-SEQ 'we put in timur, and'
- 126. *nhi-sə chya pəkə-ysi-rə* we-ERG tea cook-ANT-SEQ 'we boil tea, and'

- 127. *nyasə pharapi əni ca-wa-khir* evening morning snack eat-NOM-COTEMP 'When we eat snacks in the evening or the morning,'
- 128. *chya pəkə-ysi-rə* tea cook-ANT-SEQ 'we boil tea, and'
- 129. *thũ-m* drink-NPST 'we drink it.'
- 130. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'That's how we do it, and'
- 131. *chya təyar la-si-rə* tea ready do-ANT-SEQ 'we prepare tea, and'
- 132. *nhi-sə thũ-m* we-ERG drink-NPST 'we drink it.'
- 133. *khyaŋ* panbread 'Panbread.'
- 134. *khyaŋ nhi-sə khəma nyasə capa pəni ca-m* panbread we-ERG sometimes evening food also eat-NPST 'Panbread we also sometimes eat in the evening.'
- 135. ənni pəni ca-m snack also eat-NPST 'We also eat it for snacks.'
- 136. *khyaŋ kara-wa-i lagi* panbread put-NOM-GEN for 'In order to make panbread,'

- 137. *nhi pəyle phara rə kwi bacca caya-m* we first flour and water ghee need-NPST 'we first need flour, water, and ghee.'
- 138. *yewta bĥãra-ri bacca təttə-ysi-rə* one pot-LOC ghee heat-ANT-SEQ 'We heat ghee in a pot, and'
- 139. *cə-rasə phara rə kwi muci* that-TEMP flour and water knead 'then we knead flour and water...'
- 140. *yewta bhāra-ri phara kar-si-rə* one pot-LOC flour put-ANT-SEQ 'We put the flour in a pot, and'
- 141. *kwi-sə muci-si-rə* water-ERG knead-ANT-SEQ 'we knead it with water, and'
- 142. *yek chin bhijə-i bhi-lanə* one moment soak-PERF say-COND 'if we soak it for a moment,'
- 143. *bhijə-si-wa khyaŋ gãrawa ta-m* soak-ANT-NOM panbread good become-NPST 'the soaked bread becomes good.'
- 144. *cə-rasə bacca təttə-ysi-rə* that-TEMP ghee heat-ANT-SEQ 'then heat the ghee, and'
- 145. *ni byas la-i bacca khəri-wa* little very+much do-ANT-SEQ ghee get+hot-NOM
  - byala-ri khyan kar-ji bhi-lanə time-LOC panbread put+PERF say-COND 'if the panbread is done by the time the ghee gets very hot,'

- 146. *gãrawa ta-m* good become-NPST 'it turns out good.'
- 147. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'Having done it that way,'
- 148. *nhi-sə khyaŋ kara-m* we-ERG panbread put-NPST 'we make panbread.'
- 149. *ato-ye khyaŋ khwara-ye pəni kara-m* grits-GEN panbread wheat-GEN also put-NPST 'Corn grits panbread...we also make it of wheat.'
- 150. *nhi-sə ato-ye pəni kara-m* we-ERG grits-GEN also put-NPST 'We also make it of corn grits.'
- 151. *mhala-ye pəni kara-m* rice-GEN also put-NPST 'We also make it of rice.'
- 152. *mhala-ye ato-ye kara-wa lagi* rice-GEN grits-GEN put-NOM for 'In order to make it of rice or corn grits,'
- 153. *kawlo-ma caya-m* Persea odoratissima-PL need-NPST 'we need P. odoratissima.'
- 154. *kawlo* sirgil əthəwa jetebete ciplo
  P. odoratissima? or things slippery

la-wa cij-ma kar-ji bhi-lanə do-NOM thing-PL put-PERF say-COND 'If we put in things which are slippery, P. odoratissima, sirgil or whatever,'

- 155. *gãrawa ta-m* good become-NPST 'it turns out good.'
- 156. *khwara-ye khyaŋ kara-wa-ye lagi* wheat-GEN panbread put-NOM-GEN for 'In order to make wheaten panbread,'
- 157. *təy pəni a-caya-m* nothing also NEG-need-NPST 'we don't need anything else.'
- 158. *kwi-sə muci-si-rə* water-INST knead-ANT-SEQ 'We knead it with water, and'
- 159. *bhiji... nikkinə bhijə-ysi-rə* wet quite+a+bit wet-ANT-SEQ 'wet... we wet it quite a bit, and'
- 160. *cə-rasə bacca khərə-si-rə* that-TEMP ghee make+hot-ANT-SEQ 'then we heat the ghee to a high temperature, and'
- 161. *khəri-wa byala-ri khyaŋ kar-ji* get+hot-NOM time-LOC panbread put-PERF 'by the time it gets very hot, the panbread is done.'
- 162. *cyapte la-kəy kar-kəy la-si-rə* flat do-PROG put-PROG do-ANT-SEQ 'Having been making it flat,'
- 163. *khyaŋ təyar ta-m* panbread ready become-NPST 'the panbread becomes ready.'
- 164. *cəŋ nhi-sə ca-m* then we-ERG eat-NPST 'Then we eat it.'

- 165. *bacca* ghee 'Ghee.'
- 166. *nikkinə səmmə nhe jəmə-ysi-rə* quite+a+bit until milk coagulate-ANT-SEQ 'We curdle the milk for quite a while,'
- 167. *nhe-ra mərəni-sə phiti-si-rə* milk-DAT churning+stick-INST mix-ANT-SEQ 'we mix the milk well with a churning stick, and'
- 168. *pari-i bhi-lanə* make+happen-PERF say-COND 'if we do this,'
- 169. *bacca pəri-m* ghee happen-NPST 'the result is ghee.'
- 170. *hə-jə bacca nə nhi-sə khu-ra kara-wa* that-that ghee topic we-ERG curry-DAT put-NOM

khyaŋ-ma kara-wa nhəy-wa pəni la-m panbread-PL put-NOM wash-NOM also do-NPST 'We put that ghee on curry and on panbread and use it to anoint ourselves.'

- 171. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'We do it that way, and'
- 172. *bacca bənə-m* ghee make-NPST 'we make ghee.'
- 173. *kubinda* pumpkin 'Pumpkin.'

- 174. *kubinda nfii-sə ənni ca-wa pəni ta-m* pumpkin we-ERG snack eat-NOM also become-NPST 'Pumpkin: we are inclined to eat also as snacks.'
- 175. *kubinda khu ca-wa pəni ta-m* pumpkin curry eat-NOM also become-NPST 'We are also inclined to eat pumpkin curry.'
- 176. *kubinda pəkə-i* pumpkin cook-ANT-SEQ 'We boil pumpkin, and'
- 177. ənni-wã ca-wa khu-ma ca-wa pəni ta-m snack-PL eat-NOM curry-PL eat-NOM also become-NPST 'We are also inclined to eat snacks and to eat curry.'
- 178. *pəkə-si-rə* cook-ANT-SEQ 'We cook it, and'
- 179. *ca-wa-ye lagi* eat-NOM-GEN for 'in order to eat it,'
- 180. *pəkə-si-rə* cook-ANT-SEQ 'we boil it, and'
- 181. *pəni ca-m* also eat-NPST 'we also eat it.'
- 182. *khu pəni ca-m* curry also eat-NPST 'We also eat curry.'
- 183. *pəkə-ysi-rə* cook-ANT-SEQ 'We cook it, and'

- 184. *ca-wa-ye lagi* eat-NOM-GEN for 'in order to eat it,'
- 185. *məsino la-si-rə* thin do-ANT-SEQ 'we chop thinly, and'
- 186. *tha-si-rə* cut-ANT-SEQ 'cut it, and'
- 187. *tukra tukra pari-si-rə* slice slice make+happen-ANT-SEQ 'make it into slices, and'
- 188. *cəŋ yewta bhãra-ri kar-si-rə* then one pot-LOC put-ANT-SEQ 'then put it into a pot, and'
- 189. *cejere kwi kar-si-rə* little water put-ANT-SEQ 'put in a little water, and'
- 190. *bəsali-i bhi-lanə* put+on+fire-PERF say-COND 'if we put it on the fire,'
- 191. *yek ghənta ded ghənta lesən* one hour one+and+a+half hour back

kubinda paki-mpumpkin cook-NPST'after and hour or hour and a half, it is cooked.'

192. *kəmlo ta-m* soft become-NPST 'It becomes soft.'

- 193. *cə-rasə ca-wa təyar ta-m* that-TEMP eat-NOM ready become-NPST 'Then, it becomes ready to eat.'
- 194. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'We do it that way, and'
- 195. *nhi-sə kubinda ca-m* we-ERG pumpkin eat-NPST 'we eat the pumpkin.'
- 196. *pəkə-ysi-rə* cook-ANT-SEQ 'We cook it, and'
- 197. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'we do it that way, and'
- 198. *ceyere ənni pəni ta-m* little snack also become-NPST 'and it becomes also a little bit of a snack.'
- 199. *khāwa capa pəni ta-m* sometime meal also become-NPST 'Sometimes it also becomes a meal.'
- 200. *rə khu ca-wa-ye lagi pəni* and curry eat-NOM-GEN for also 'And in order to eat curry,'
- 201. *məsino tukra tukra pari-si-rə* thin slice slice make+happen-ANT-SEQ 'we make thin slices, and'
- 202. *bhāri-ri kar-si-rə* pot-LOC put-ANT-SEQ 'we put them in a pot, and'

203. *jfiewno kuro ca-wa mərməsəla-ma cica* all thing eat-NOM spice-PL salt

khorsani-ma jhewno kuro-ma kar-si-rə pepper-PL all thing-PL put-ANT-SEQ 'we put into it all things to eat — spices, salt, peppers — and'

- 204. *pəkə-ysi-rə* cook-ANT-SEQ 'we cook them, and'
- 205. *fiə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'we do it that way, and'
- 206. *dal-thwãy la-si-rə pəni* pulse-COMP do-ANT-SEQ also 'we do it like pulses also, and'
- 207. *ca-m*eat-NPST
  'we eat them.'
- 208. *nhi-sə hə-sər la-si-rə* we-ERG that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'we do it like that, and'
- 209. *kubinda pəni kam lagi-wa nfii-ra kam* pumpkin also work follow-NOM we-DAT work

*lagi-m* follow-NPST 'Pumpkin also becomes useful... it becomes useful to us.'

- 210. *pinalu* arum [Caladium arumaciae] 'Arum.'
- 211. *pinalu pəni pinalu pəkə-ysi-rə* arum also arum cook-ANT-SEQ 'Arum also, arum we cook, and'

- 212. *pəni ca-m* also eat-NPST 'we also eat it.'
- 213. *khi-ye gana pəkə-ysi-rə* it-GEN tuber cook-ANT-SEQ 'We cook its tubers, and'
- 214. *pəni ca-m* also eat-NPST 'we also eat them.'
- 215. *khu la-si-rə* curry do-ANT-SEQ 'We make curry, and'
- 216. *pəni ca-m* also eat-NPST 'we also eat it.'
- 217. *jəra gana koy pəkə-ysi-rə* root tuber some cook-ANT-SEQ 'The root tuber... some cook, and'
- 218. *pinalu pəkə-ysi-rə* arum cook-ANT-SEQ 'having cooked arum,'
- 219. *ca-m* eat-NPST 'eat it.'
- 220. *khi-ye dãth pəni khu ca-wa kam lagi-m* it-GEN stalk also curry eat-NOM work follow-NPST 'Its stalk is also useful to eat.'
- 221. *khi dãth thətə-ysi-rə* it-GEN stalk beat-ANT-SEQ 'We beat its stalk, and'

- 222. *gfiyala-si-rə* chop-ANT-SEQ 'chop it, and'
- 223. *sã-si sã-si-rə* dry-ANT dry-ANT-SEQ 'spread it out to dry, and'
- 224. *məsino tukra tukra pari-si-rə pəri* small piece piece make+happen-ANT-SEQ also 'cut it into small pieces also, and'
- 225. *sã-si-rə* dry-ANT-SEQ 'we dry it, and'
- 226. *nhi-sə lesəŋ lesəŋ sã-si* we-ERG back back dry-ANT 'after after it has dried,'
- 227. *thhan-ji bhi-lanə* store-PERF say-COND 'if we store it,'
- 228. *a-kuyə-m a-kuyə-m* NEG-spoil-NPST NEG-spoil-NPST 'it doesn't spoil.'
- 229. *lesəŋ lesəŋ səmə khu ca-wa prəyog la-m* back back until curry eat-NOM use do-NPST 'After a long time, we use it in curry.' [*i.e.* 'we can use it for a long time']
- 230. *pinalu ganta gana-ma pəkə-ysi-rə* arum lump tuber-PL cook-ANT-SEQ 'We cook arum lumpy tubers, and'
- 231. ənni-ma ca-wa capa-ma ca-wa pəni la-m snack-PL eat-NOM meal-PL eat-NOM also do-NPST 'we eat it for snacks and we eat it for meals also.'

232. *khu ca-wa pəni ta-wa capa ənni-ma* curry eat-NOM also become-NOM meal snack-PL

pəni ta-wa ta-si-rə also become-NOM become-ANT-SEQ 'Arum is good for curry, and it is good for meals and snacks also, because of that,'

233. *pinalu nfii-ra ni nikkinə phayda* arum we-DAT little very+much benefit

ta-m ta-m pəni become-NPST become-NPST also 'arum becomes... becomes little...very beneficial for us also.'

234. *nikkinə kam lagi-wa ni mhəhətwə* very+much work follow-NOM little greatness

purnə cij hin nhi-ye lagi full thing be+NPST we-GEN for 'It's very useful and a bit important... for us.'

- 235. *phapər* buckwheat 'Buckwheat.'
- 236. *phapər yewta ənnə hin* buckwheat one grain be+NPST 'Buckwheat is a grain.'
- 237. *phapər pəni phara-si-rə* buckwheat also grind-ANT-SEQ 'We also grind buckwheat, and'
- 238. *phara ta-m* flour become-NPST 'it becomes flour.'

239. *hə-sər-wa hə-jə phara khyaŋ* that-manner-NOM that-that flour bread

*kar-si-rə pəni*put-ANT-SEQ also
'In that way, that flour makes panbread also, and'

- 240. *ca-m* eat-NPST 'we eat it.'
- 241. *phəgən pəni ca-m* porridge also eat-NPST 'We also eat buckwheat porridge.'
- 242. *khyaŋ kar-si-rə* panbread put-ANT-SEQ 'We make buckwheat panbread, and'
- 243. *ənni-ma nyasə-wãr capa-wã la-si-rə* snack-PL evening-CIRC meal-PL do-ANT-SEQ 'we make snacks and, around evening, meals, and'
- 244. *ca-lay* ta-m eat-COND become-NPST 'if we eat it, it's fine.'
- 245. *phəgən cyar-si-rə* porridge stir-ANT-SEQ 'We stir porridge, and'
- 246. *khi-ye phara phəgən cyar-si-rə* it-GEN flour porridge stir-ANT-SEQ 'we stir porridge from its flour, and'
- 247. *ca-lay* ta-m
  eat-COND become-NPST
  'if we eat it, it's fine.'

- 248. *phapər dwi kisim-ri-wa ta-m* buckwheat two kind-LOC-NOM become-NPST 'There are two kinds of buckwheat:'
- 249. *yewta tite phapər, yewta gulyo phapər* one bitter buckwheat one sweet buckwheat 'one is bitter buckwheat, one is sweet buckwheat,'
- 250. *bhi-wa tito a-ta-m* say-NOM bitter NEG-become-NPST 'which isn't bitter.'
- 251. *limpa nə ta-m* tasty topic become-NPST 'It's tasty enough.'
- 252. *dwinə dwinə phapər-ye nhi-sə khyaŋ* both both buckwheat-GEN we-ERG panbread

*pəni ca-m* also eat-NPST 'Both, both types of buckwheat we also eat in panbread.'

- 253. *phəgən cyar-si-rə-i* porridge stir-ANT-SEQ-also 'We also make porridge with them, and'
- 254. *khyaŋ kar-si-rə* panbread put-ANT-SEQ 'we make panbread, and'
- 255. ənni-ma nyasə-wãr capa-wã pəni la-m snack-PL evening-CIRC meal-PL also do-NPST 'we also make snacks of them and meals around evening also.'
- 256a. *ənni pəni ta-wa rə phapər-ye* snack also become-NOM and buckwheat-GEN

*phəgən pəni ta-wa* porridge also become-NOM 'It's good for snacks, and it's good for buckwheat porridge,'

256b. *yewta chak pəni tari-wa phapər pəni* one meal also provide-NOM buckwheat also

yewta nikəy kam lagi-wa ənnə hin one quite work follow-NOM grain be+NPST 'and buckwheat which provides a daily meal is a quite useful grain.'

- 257. *hə-sər ta-si-rə* that-manner become-ANT-SEQ 'Because it is used in that manner,'
- 258. *nhi-sə phapər pəni tho-m* we-ERG buckwheat also plant-NPST 'we also plant buckwheat.'
- 259. *nhi-i khyala-ri phapər pəni ta-m* we-GEN place-LOC buckwheat also become-NPST 'In our place, buckwheat is also grown.'
- 260. *phapər-ye khyaŋ pəni bənə-m* buckwheat-GEN panbread also make-NPST 'We make buckwheat panbread also,'
- 261. *rə nhi-sə phəgən-ma pəni ca-m* and we-ERG porridge-PL also eat-NPST 'and we eat porridge, etc. also.'
- 262. *thap* vegetable 'Vegetables.'
- 263. *thap bhi-m* vegetable say-NPST 'I'll tell you about vegetables.'

264. *thap nhi-sə thap bibhinnə* vegetable we-ERG vegetable various

*kisim-ri-wa thap-ma tho-m* kind-LOC-NOM vegetable-PL plant-NPST 'Vegetables... we... vegetables... plant various kinds of vegetables.'

- 265. *koyra thap tho-m* radish vegetable plant-NPST 'We plant radish.'
- 266. *parsay* thap-ma-i tho-m mustard+greens vegetable-PL-even plant-NPST 'We even plant mustard greens.'
- 267. *mula-ye* thap-ma-i ta-m radish-GEN vegetable-PL-even become-NPST 'Even radishes are planted.' [daikon-type radish]
- 268. *junsukəy thap hin-lai pəni* whichever vegetable be-RC also 'Whatever vegetables there are also,'
- 269. *nfii-sə tərkari bənə-wa khu la-si* we-ERG vegetable+curry make-NOM curry do-ANT

ca-wa la-m
eat do-NPST
'Having made curry from vegetables, we'll eat it,'

- 270. *rə sã-si-rə* and dry-ANT-SEQ 'and having spread them out to dry,'
- 271. *bəphə-ysi-rə* boil+to+dry-ANT-SEQ 'having boiled to dry them,'
- 272. *sã-si-rə* dry-ANT-SEQ 'having spread them out to dry,'

- 273. *hĩwdə-ri lesəŋ lesəŋ ca-wa pəni la-m* winter-LOC back back eat-NOM also do-NPST 'in the winter, much later, we'll also eat them.'
- 274. *rə dãth ca-wa-ye lagi* and stalk eat-NOM-GEN for 'And in order to eat the stalk,'
- 275. *tukra tukra pari-si-rə* piece piece make+happen-ANT-SEQ 'we cut it into pieces, and'
- 276. *məsino la-si-rə* thin do-ANT-SEQ 'we make them thin, and'
- 277. *tha-si-rə* cut-ANT-SEQ 'we cut them, and'
- 278. *tapke-ri əthəwa yewta bhãra-ri* small+pot-LOC or one medium+pot-LOC

cica khursani bacca jhewno kuro kar-si-rə salt pepper ghee all thing put-ANT-SEQ 'in a small pot or a medium pot we put salt, peppers, ghee — everything, and'

- 279. *patpət hõ-si-rə* frying fry-ANT-SEQ 'fry them, and'
- 280. *ca-i bhi-lanə* eat-PERF say-COND 'if we eat them,'
- 281. *limpa pəni ta-m* tasty also become-NPST 'they also become tasty.'

- 282. *rə ceyere kwi kar-si-rə* and little water put-ANT-SEQ 'And we put in a little water, and'
- 283. *jhol la-si-rə pəni* sauce do-ANT-SEQ also 'we also make curry sauce, and'
- 284. *ca-m* eat-NPST 'eat it.'
- 285. *rə hõ-si-rə* and fry-ANT-SEQ 'And having fried it, and'
- 286. *tərkari bənə-si-rə pəni* curry make-ANT-SEQ also 'having made curry also,'
- 287. *ca-m* eat-NPST 'we eat it.'
- 288. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'Having done it in that manner,'
- 289. *ca-wa-khiri*eat-NOM-COTEMP
  'when we eat it,'
- 290. *limpa ta-m* tasty become-NPST 'it becomes tasty.'

291. *rə thap thup nhi-ra tagətilo pəni ta-wa rə* and vegetable we-DAT strong also become-NOM and

phayda ta-wa ta-si-rə benefit become-NOM become-ANT-SEQ 'And vegetables, having come to make us strong and having come to be a benefit, therefore,'

- 292. *nhi-sə thap thup nikkinə thap thup-ma-i tho-m* we-ERG vegetable very+much vegetable-PL-also plant-NPST 'vegetables... we also plant very many vegetables.'
- 293. *rə hə-sər la-si-rə* and that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'And, having done it that way,'
- 294. *pəkə-ysi-rə* cook-ANT-SEQ 'having cooked them,'
- 295. *nhi-sə thap bənə-ysi-rə* we-ERG vegetable make-ANT-SEQ 'having made vegetables,'
- 296. *ca-m* eat-NPST 'we eat them.'
- 297. *cyaw* mushroom 'Mushrooms.'
- 298. *cyaw pəni ghyaŋ-mar ta-wa jat* mushroom also forest-CIRC become-NOM kind

yewta khu ca-wa kuro hin one curry eat-NOM thing be+NPST 'Mushrooms also, the kind growing around in the forest, are things we use to make a curry dish.'

- 299. *cyaw pəni ni thəri thəri ta-m* mushroom also little kind kind become-NPST 'There are also a few kinds of mushrooms.'
- 300. *yewta rato cyaw ta-m* one red mushroom become-NPST 'One is a red mushroom.'
- 301. *seto cyaw ta-m* white mushroom become-NPST 'One is a white mushroom.'
- 302. *nəmre cyaw bhūre cyaw bhi-wa* claw mushroom pot-bellied mushroom say-NOM 'Claw mushrooms and pot-bellied mushrooms, for example,'
- 303. *camre cyaw bhi-wa* tough mushroom say-NOM 'tough mushrooms, for example,'
- 304. *ciple cyaw bhi-wa* smooth mushroom say-NOM 'smooth mushrooms, for example,'
- 305. *mane cyaw bhi-wa* pot mushroom say-NOM 'mana-pot mushrooms, for example:'
- 306. *hə-sər-wa* bibhinnə kisim-ri-wa that-manner-NOM various kind-LOC-NOM
  - *cyaw-ma ta-m* mushroom-PL become-NPST 'so, there are various kinds of mushrooms,'
- 307. *rə hə-jə cyaw-ma nhi-sə ca-m* and that-that mushroom-PL we-ERG eat-NPST 'and those mushrooms we eat.'

- 308. *ghyaŋ-mar ta-m* forest-CIRC become-NPST 'They are found around the forest.'
- 309. *ghyaŋ-mar-gəm kha-si-rə* forest-CIRC-ABL bring-ANT-SEQ 'Having brought them from around the forest, and'
- 310. *gãrawa la-si-rə* good do-ANT-SEQ 'having done them well, and'
- 311. *kələ-ysi-rə* cull+and+clean-ANT-SEQ 'having culled and cleaned them, and'
- 312. *ni kath kəsyãr-ma khyala-si-rə* little wood refuse-PL throw-ANT-SEQ 'having thrown away refuse, and'
- 313. *khur-si-rə* wash-ANT-SEQ 'having washed them, and'
- 314. *cə-rasə yewta tapke-mar cə-wãr bhãra-ri* that-TEMP one pot-CIRC that-CIRC pot-LOC

mərməsala-ma cica khursani-ma jhewno kuro kar-si-rə spice-PL salt peppers-PL all thing put-ANT-SEQ 'then, having put in a small pot... in a medium pot spices, salt, peppers — everything, and'

- 315. *cəŋ hō-si-rə* then fry-ANT-SEQ 'then having fried them, and'
- 316. *ca-i bhi-lanə* eat-PERF say-COND 'if we eat them,'

- 317. *hõ-si-rə* fry-ANT-SEQ 'having fried them,'
- 318. *ca-m* eat-NPST 'we eat them.'
- 319. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'Having done them like that,'
- 320. *ca-wa-khir* eat-NOM-COTEMP 'when we eat them,'
- 321. *sya-thwãy pəni ta-m* meat-ESS also become-NPST 'they even become like meat.'
- 322. *limpa pəni ta-m* tasty also become-NPST 'They become tasty.'
- 323. *ceyere kwi kar-si-rə* little water put-ANT-SEQ 'Having put in a little water,'
- 324. *ceyere jhol la-ri-rə* little sauce do-ANT-SEQ 'having made a little sauce,'
- 325. *pəni ca-m* also eat-NPST 'we also eat them.'
- 326. *rəksi* raksi 'Raksi.' [distilled spirit]

- 327. *rəksi pəri-wa la-i* raksi happen-NOM do-PERF 'We begin to make raksi.'
- 328. *əbə nhi nhi-siŋ cikha khwara məkəy rãre* now we we-COM barley wheat corn millet

jhewno kuro ənnə-ma ənnə-ma ta-m all thing grain-PL grain-PL become-NPST 'Now we... barley, wheat, corn, millet, all kinds of grains, we have grains.'

329. *rə nhi-sə cu-wãr yewta dyammər-ma citro-ma-ye* and we-ERG this-CIRC one dogwood-PL barberry-PL-GEN

*fiə-sərə-wa* phəlphul-ma-ye rəksi pəni that-manner-NOM fruit-PL-GEN raksi also

pari-m make+happen-NPST 'And we around here make a fruit raksi from fruits like dogwood and barberry.'

- 330. *rə khim thhana-wa-ye lagi* and beer store-NOM-GEN for 'And in order to make beer,'
- 331. *nhi-sə ənnə-ma-ra pəkə-ysi-rə* we-ERG grain-PL-DAT cook-ANT-SEQ 'we cook those grains, and'
- 332. *phara-ysi-rə* grind-ANT-SEQ 'grind them, and'
- 333. *pəkə-i* cook-ANT 'having cooked them,'

- 334. *la-i* do-ANT 'having done it,'
- 335. *ta-m* become-NPST 'it's done.'
- 336. *koy cikha rãre-ma nhi-sə gyara nə pəni pəkə-m* some barley millet-PL we-ERG kernel topic also cook-NPST 'Some, barley and millet, etc., we cook the kernels.'
- 337. *məre ənnə-wã məkəy phara-ysi-rə pəni* other grain-PL corn grind-ANT-SEQ also 'Other grains, corn, we also grind, and'
- 338. *la-m* do-NPST 'make it.'
- 339. *phara-ysi-rə* grind-ANT-SEQ 'Having ground the grain,'
- 340. *əthəwa gyara nə pəkə-ysi-rə* or kernel topic cook-ANT-SEQ 'or having cooked the kernels,'
- 341. *yewta bĥãra-ri nə pəkə-ysi-rə* one pot-LOC topic cook-ANT-SEQ 'having cooked it in a pot,'
- 342. *phyattə pəkə-ysi-rə* soft+and+wet cook-ANT-SEQ 'having cooked it soft and wet,'
- 343. *gãrawa la-si-rə* good do-ANT-SEQ 'having done it well,'

- 344. *pəkə-si-rə* cook-ANT-SEQ 'having cooked it,'
- 345. *paki-wa səmmə pəkə-si-rə* cook-NOM until cook-ANT-SEQ 'having cooked it until they are completely cooked,'
- 346. *cə-rasə ucali-si-rə* that-TEMP raise-ANT-SEQ 'then having lifted up the pot from the fire,'
- 347. *yewta bhãra-wãr yewta bhalaŋ-mar phĩjə-i* one pot-CIRC one mat-CIRC spread-PERF 'we spread it around in a pot... on a mat.'
- 348. *phĩjari-si-rə* spread-ANT-SEQ 'Having spread it out,'
- 349. *əli ceyere məntato məntato ceyere basi* slightly little lukewarm lukewarm little cold

basi ta-i bfii-lanə cold become-PERF say-COND 'when it becomes a little bit lukewarm, a little bit cold,'

350. *yewta thunce-mar yewta bhãra phuŋo* one basket-CIRC one pot basket

dalo-mar uri-si-rə basket-CIRC fly-ANT-SEQ 'we gather it up in a basket or a pot, and'

- 351. *thhan-si-rə* store-ANT-SEQ 'we store it, and'
- 352. *yewta jetebete-sə khap-si khap-si thhana-m* one whatever-INST cover-ANT cover-ANT store-NPST 'having covered it with a something or other, we store it.'

353. *rə dwi din tin pəchi dwi tin din lesəŋ* and two day three after two three day back

*təyar ta-m* ready become-NPST 'And two or three days later, two or three days after, it's ready.'

354. *cə-ra hə-jə phiri yewta drəm-mar* that-DAT that-that again one drum-CIRC

drəm-mar jetebete-mar kar-si-rə drum-CIRC whatever-CIRC put-ANT-SEQ 'To that, we put that again in a drum, in a drum, or whatever, and'

- 355. *təyar ta-i* bhi-lanə phiri chə sat din pəchi ready become-PERF say-COND again thus seven day after 'if it becomes ready, again thus after seven days,'
- 356. *cə-rasə rəksi pari-wa ta-m* that-TEMP raksi make+happen-NOM become-NPST 'then the raksi is ready to be made.'
- 357. *rəksi pari-wa ta-i bhi-lanə* raksi make+happen-NOM become-PERF say-COND 'When the raksi is to be made,'
- 358. *ceyere jfiəmjfiəm la-wa* little burning do-NOM 'it burns a little'
- 359. *jfiəmmə la-wa* burning do-NOM 'it burns,'

360. *rə ceyere rəksi gənnə-thwãy nə rəksi-thwãy* and little raksi smell-ESS topic raksi-ESS

nə jhəmmə la-wa topic burning do-NOM 'and it smells a little like raksi and it tingles like raksi,'

361. *rə ceyere əmilo əmilo tito tito* and little sour sour bitter bitter

*ta-i bhi-lanə* become-PERF say-COND 'and when it becomes a little sour and bitter,'

362. *nhi-sə rəksi pari-wa ta-i* we-ERG raksi make+happen-NOM become-PERF

bhi-si-rə say-ANT-SEQ 'having said, "We are to distill raksi,"'

- 363. *rəksi cə-rasə rəksi pari-m* raksi that-TEMP raksi make+happen-NPST 'raksi, then we make raksi.'
- 364. *rə rəksi pari-wa-i lagi* and raksi make+happen-NOM-GEN for 'And in order to make raksi,'
- 365. *yewta bata pəyni tawlo hãri mujəli caya-m* one pot pot pot seal need-NPST 'we need a bata, pəyni, tawlo, hãri, and mujəli [the components of a still].'
- 366. *hə-jə pəyle, rəksi pari-wa-sir* that-that first raksi make+happen-COTEMP 'That first, when we make raksi,'

- 367. *tawlo bəsali-si-rə* pot put+on+fire-ANT-SEQ 'we place the tawlo on the fire, and'
- 368. *tawlo-ri khim kara-m* pot-LOC beer put-NPST 'in the tawlo we put in the beer.'
- 369. *cə-rasə cə-phyaraŋ pəyni bəsali-m* that-TEMP that-SUPER pot put+on+fire-NPST 'Then we put the pəyni over it on the fire.'
- 370. *cə-rasə hə-jə-nhari hãri kara-m* that-TEMP that-that-INES pot put-NPST 'Then in it we put the hãri.'
- 371. *cə-rasə cə-i-phyaraŋ bata kar-si-rə* that-TEMP that-GEN-SUPER pot put-ANT-SEQ 'Then over that we put the bata, and'
- 372. *cə-rasə phyaraŋ-sə mujəli-sə tali-si-rə* that-TEMP SUPER-INST seal-INST patch-ANT-SEQ 'then we seal it with the mujəli on top, and'
- 373. *kwi kar-si-rə* water put-ANT-SEQ 'we put water in it, and'
- 374. *cə-rasə təttə-kəy khyala-kəy la-i* that-TEMP heat-PROG throw+away-PROG do-PERF 'then we are heating it and emptying and refilling.'
- 375. *tin pane car pane əthəwa pāc pane səmə* three dilution four dilution or five dilution until

*la-si-гә* do-ANT-SEQ 'We do it until it is three, four, or five times diluted, and'

376. *khyala-kəy* tin car pəltə kwi təttə-kəy throw+away-PROG three four time water heat-PROG

khyala-kəy kwi təttə-kəy khyala-kəy throw+away-PROG water heat-PROG throw+away-PROG

la-si-rə do-ANT-SEQ 'we're emptying it three or four times, heating water and emptying the pot, heating water and emptying the pot, and'

- 377. *nhi-sə rəksi təyar la-m* we-ERG raksi ready do-NPST 'we prepare the raksi.'
- 378. *hə-sər* la-si-rə that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'Having done it that way,'
- 379. *rəksi pari-m* raksi make+happen-NPST 'we make raksi.'
- 380. *nĥi-sə ərko phəlphul-ye rəksi bənə-wa-khir* we-ERG next fruit-GEN raksi make-NOM-COTEMP 'Next, when we make fruit raksi,'
- 381. *phəlphul-ma dyammər əthəwa citro-ma* fruit-PL dogwood or barberry-PL

*jənəmano kha-si-rə* Mahonia bring-ANT-SEQ 'We gather fruit: dogwood or barberry, Mahonia, and'

382. *sojəy wəwto mərca kar-si-rə* immediately medicine pellet put-ANT-SEQ 'right away we put in a pellet of yeast, and'

- 383. *muci-si-rə* mix-ANT-SEQ 'we mix it togther by hand, and'
- 384. *cəŋ nə drəm-mar kar-si-rə* then topic drum-CIRC put-ANT-SEQ 'put it in the drum, and'
- 385. *cə-ra cə-i phəlphul-ye rəksi khim rəksi* that-DAT that-GEN fruit-GEN raksi beer raksi

pari-wa-i lagi make+happen-GEN for 'to that, in order to make fruit raksi, beer raksi,'

- 386. *ni məstəy səwə kwi-nə la-si-rə* little a+lot until rot-RSLT do-ANT-SEQ 'we let it rot [ferment] for a bit, and'
- 387. *ni məstəy səwə ənnə-ye-bhənda nhi-sə ni* little a+lot until grain-GEN-COMP we-ERG little

məstəy səwə thhana-m a+lot until store-NPST 'a little bit longer than the grain, we keep it a little bit longer.'

- 388. *ni byas la-i thhan-ji bhi-lanə* little very+much do-ANT store-PERF say-COND 'If we store it very much more,'
- 389. *phəlphul-ri rəksi kha-m* fruit-LOC raksi come-NPST 'raksi comes from the fruit.'
- 390. *ənnə-bhənda phəlphul ləkəttəy a-kwi-wa* grain-COMP fruit immediately NEG-rot-NOM

ta-si-rə become-ANT-SEQ 'Fruit doesn't rot [ferment] faster than grain, and'

- 391. *phəlphul-ra ni məstəy thhan-si-rə* fruit-DAT little a+lot store-ANT-SEQ
- 392. pari-wa pəri-m bhi-si-rə make+happen-NOM happen-NPST say-ANT-SEQ 'because we need to ferment the fruit a little longer in order to make raksi,'
- 393. *nhi-sə ənnə-bhənda phəlphul ce məstəy* we-ERG grain-COMP fruit little a+lot

səmmə thhana-m until store-NPST 'we keep the fruit a little longer than grain.'

- 394. *rə hə-sər la-si-rə* and that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'And having done that,'
- 395. *pari-wa tərika cãy* make+happen-NOM method aforementioned

*ənnə pəni phəlphul pəni yewtəy nə hin* grain also fruit also same topic be+NPST 'the method of making raksi is the same for grain and fruit.'

396. *rə thhana-wa cãi ənnə pəyle ərko* and store-NOM aforementioned grain first next

bhãra-ri thhan-si-rə pot-LOC store-ANT-SEQ 'And the method of fermenting, we ferment the grain first in a pot, and'

397. *lesəŋ pheri ərko bhãra-ri sari-wa pəri-m* back again another pot-LOC move-NOM happen-NPST 'after we must again move it to another pot.'

398. *phəlphul-ye cãy* yewtəy bhãra-ri pəyle fruit-GEN aforementioned same pot-LOC first

*nə-i* yewtəy kar-si-rə topic-even same put-ANT-SEQ 'As for fruit, we put it in the same pot, the same, and'

- 399. *wəwto kar-si-rə* medicine put-ANT-SEQ 'having put in the yeast,'
- 400. *thhana-m* store-NPST 'we keep it.'
- 401.  $h entsize \eta s entsize = n entsize pari-m$  that-that-ABL topic make+happen-NPST 'We make it from that [pot].' [*i.e.* we distill it from the same pot]
- 402. *hə-sər la-si-rə* that-manner do-ANT-SEQ 'Having done that,'
- 403. *nhi-sə rəksi pari-m* we-ERG raksi make+happen-NPST 'we make raksi.'

## R. Recorded 1/2/94

Speaker: Ram Bhulanja

## The Gun and the Buddha

- 1. *na ath bərsə-ra-wa mu-si-n*I eight year-LOC-NOM be-ANT-NPST+SUP
  'I might have been eight years old.'
- 2. *tala bhi-lanə* why say-COND 'Which is to say,'

- 3. *na tin kəcchya-ri pəri-ma*I three level-LOC study-IMPF
  'I was in the third grade.'
- 4. *ama rə bəw Dərmija tato-pani-ri* mother and father Darmija hot-water-LOC

*hya-si-wa mu-wã* go-ANT-NOM be-IMPF 'Mother and father had gone to Darmija hot springs,'

5. *rə them-əŋ thyadiri, malday rə* and house-LOC eldest+sister second+brother and

Khənə bhawju mu-wã Khənə elder+brother's+wife be-IMPF 'and in the house eldest sister, second brother and Khənə,his wife, were there.'

6. *malday həjə byala-ri chutti-ri* second+brother that time-LOC leave-LOC

*kha-si-wa mu-wã* come-ANT-NOM be-IMPF 'At that time, second brother had come home on leave [from the army].'

7. *khi din-dinəy Kədi-i bəw* he every+day Kadi-GEN father

> bhyana-ma-ru əyra kyala-wa-ri hya-wã brother+in+law-PL-COM hunting play-NOM-LOC go-IMPF 'Everyday he used to go hunting with Kadi's father, my brotherin-law, and others.'

8. *yek din nə iskul-ri Gəwtəm Buddə-ye* one day topic school-LOC Gautama Buddha-GEN

bare-ri pəri-i about-LOC study-PERF 'One day at school we studied about Gautama Buddha.'

- 9. *fiəjə byala-ri Bfiəbədəttə mastər mu-wã* that time-LOC Bhabadatta teacher be-IMPF 'At that time, Bhabadatta was a teacher.'
- 10. *nhi kyarati-ma-sə khi-ra khub mən pəri-wa him* we children-PL-ERG he-DAT much desire happen-NOM be 'We kids like him very much.'
- 11. *cə Buddə-ye jindəgi-ye bare-ri* that Buddha-GEN life-GEN about-LOC

iskul-ri pəri-wa dhikin school-LOC study-NOM since 'Because we studied about the life of the Buddha at school,'

- 12. "həttəre! na pəni təpəsse la-to oh+my+God I also asceticism do-DESID "Oh my God! I also want to live the life of an ascetic,"
- 13. *na pəni Buddə ta-to!"*I also Buddha become-DESID
  'I also want to become a Buddha!"
- 14. *bhi-wa mən kha-i* say-NOM desire come-PERF 'I wanted to say.'
- 15. *cəŋ nə iskul-gam-sə chutti ta-wa-ye* then topic school-ABL release become-NOM-GEN

bənnə them-əŋ kha-si-rə immediately house-LOC come-ANT-SEQ "Then immediately after being dismissed from school, I came home, and'

16. *bhar-gam-sə bənnu thur-ji* rack-ABL gun remove-PERF 'I removed the gun from the ceiling rack.'

- 17. *na-sə din-dinəy-thwãy nə bənnu thur-gəy* I-ERG every+day-ESS topic gun remove-PROG 'Every day I used to remove the gun,'
- 18. *kəl hugari-gəy* cock open-PROG 'cock it,'
- 19. *chətkə-gəy la-wã* activate-PROG do-IMPF 'and pull the trigger.'
- 20. *cə din nə bənnu nə bhərə-ysi-wa* that day topic gun topic fill-ANT-NOM

*mu-wa hin-si-m* be-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'That day, the gun was loaded.'

- 21. *na nə "haa kyep cərki-si-m* I topic haa cap crack-ANT-NPST '"The cap has split.'
- 22. *cu bənnu pətkə-ysi-wa hin* this gun explode-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'This gun has fired.'
- 23. *kyep a-khyala-ysi-wa gəcjə hin"* cap NEG-throw+away-ANT-NOM only be+NPST 'It's just that the cap hasn't been thrown away.'
- 24. *bhi-si-rə chəə la-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ this+way do-ANT-SEQ 'I said like this, and'
- 25. *ghwara hukari-si-rə* hammer open-ANT-SEQ 'the hammer opened, and'

- 26. *chətkə-wa-khir nə* activate-NOM-COTEMP topic 'when I fired it,'
- 27. *bənnu nə dyammə fiya-i tə* gun topic boom go-PERF fact 'the gun went boom.'
- 28. *nə-ye nfia-ma tiŋŋə ta-si-m*I-GEN ear-PL deaf become-ANT-NPST
  'My ears became deaf.'
- 29. *bənnu-ye nal taato ta-si-wa* gun-GEN barrel hot become-ANT-NOMV 'The gun's barrel become hot!'
- 30. *na nə ta la-wa nə ta la-wa ta-i*I topic what do-NOM topic what do-NOM become-PERF
  'I didn't know what to do.'
- 31. *cəŋ nə tippa-tip mədus-phyãraŋ cəri-si-rə* then topic hurry wooden+box-SUPER climb-ANT-SEQ 'Then, I hurriedly climbed on top of a wooden box, and'
- 32. *bənnu bhar-ri kar-ji* gun rack-LOC put-PERF 'put the gun on the rack.'
- 33. *phiri atti-ri ləttha buŋ buŋ dɦwãya-wã* again veranda-LOC plug puff-puff smoke-IMPF 'Again, on the veranda the plug was smoking.'
- 34. *tippa-tip digri-gəy hya-si-rə* hurry run-PROG go-ANT-SEQ 'I ran away in a hurry, and'
- 35. *ya-ri təwlia sap-si-rə* hand-LOC towel drape-ANT-SEQ 'I draped a towel over my hand, and'

- 36. *karap-kuruppə pari-si-rə* forcefully+compressed cause+happen-ANT-SEQ 'I squeezed it, and'
- 37. *chij-si than-ji*hold-ANT hang-PERF
  'having held on to it, it hung there.'
- 38. *"lə-w abə ama pəni hare* wow father mother also be+NEG+NPST '"Wow, Father and Mother aren't here.'
- 39. *malday-sə khəre galla-m-ẽ* second+brother-ERG how+much scold-NPST-Q 'How much will my second brother scold me?'"
- 40. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'I said, and'
- 41. *dər-sə tuttur pəri-i* fear-INST manner+of+dripping happen-PERF 'I was peeing my pants with fear.'
- 42. *cə-ye yekkəy chin ligəm Kədi-i bəw* that-GEN one moment back Kadi-GEN father

bhyana Kədi-i ama sãldiri rə Bəsən brother+in+law Kadi-GEN mother third+sister and Basan

*bhawju nhi-i them-əŋ "ta* elder+brother's+wife we-GEN house-LOC what

ta-si-n-ẽ?" bhii-si-rə kha-i become-ANT-NPST+SUP-Q say-ANT-SEQ come-PERF 'A moment later, Kadi's father, my brother-in-law, Kadi's mother, my third sister, and Basan, my elder brother's wife, wondering "What's happened?"' and came.' 43. *cəŋ nə Kədi-i bəw bhyana-sə "əy* then topic Kadi-GEN father brother+in+law-ERG hey

*kancha khi bənnu pətkə-la rə-i* youngest+brother you gun explode-PERF+Q really-even

bhi-gəy say-PROG 'Then Kadi's father, my brother-in-law, was saying: "You, youngest brother, did you fire the rifle?"'

- 44. *bhar-ri-wa bənnu thur-si-rə* rack-LOC-NOM gun take+out-ANT-SEQ 'while he took the gun from the rack, and'
- 45. *shya-i* look+at-PERF 'looked at it.'
- 46. *na-sə "hayn jhətək pətkə-ysi-wa* I-ERG be+NEG+NPST match explode-ANT-NOM

*fiin" bfii-i* be+NPST say-PERF 'I said: "No, I've exploded a match."

47. *khi-sə "ləw ləw phiri pətkə-o"* he-ERG come+on again explode-IMP

bhi-wa-khir nə say-NOM-COTEMP topic 'While he was saying, "Come on, explode it again!",'

- 48. *na-sə "thokhor nə chin-ji" bhi-i*I-ERG right+now topic finish-PERF say-PERF
  'I said: "Right now, I've finished."'
- 49. *cəŋ nə thəwã hya-i nu* then topic they go-PERF reminder 'Then, they left.'

50. *na nə dər-sə tippa-tip nə-ye iskul-li-wa* I topic fear-INST hurried I-GEN school-LOC-NOM

> *jhwala rə yewta kamlo sap-si-rə* bag and one blanket hang-ANT-SEQ 'I hung my school bag and a blanket and hurried from fear, and said:'

- 51. "Iəw na nə abə Buddə ta-wa pəri-i OK I topic now Buddha become-NOM happen-PERF "'Let me become Buddha.'
- 52. *them-əŋ khəmməy phərki-si-rə a-kha-m* house-LOC never return-ANT-SEQ NEG-come-NPST 'I'll never return home.'
- 53. *ghyaŋ-ghyaŋ-ri nə təpəsse la-m* forest-forest-LOC topic asceticism do-NPST 'From forest to forest I'll live an ascetic life.'
- 54. *cəŋ-sə Gəwtəm Buddə-thwãy bhəguwãn* then Gautama Buddha-ESS god

ta-wa pəri-i" become-NOM happen-PERF 'Then I'll become a god, like Buddha."'

- 55. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ
- 56. *ghyan lagi-wa bhi-si-rə* forest follow-NOM say-ANT-SEQ 'determined to live in the forest,'
- 57. *dugri-i* run-PERF 'I ran.'

- 58. *həjə byala-ri nhi-ye goth Nəwbəyni-ri mu-wã* that time-LOC we-GEN cowshed Nawbayni-LOC be-IMPF 'At that time, our cattle were in Nawbayni.'
- 59. *na nə Təmmu-wã-ye Khoriya-ri-wa myala-ye* I topic Tammu-PL-GEN Khoriya-LOC-NOM field-GEN

*ca-r-sə pakha-ri-wa yewta cyãji* this+place-LOC-LOC slope-LOC-NOM one small

wadar-ri kamlo rə jfiwala thfian-ji cave-LOC blanket and sack store-PERF 'I stored the blanket and the sack in a small, cliff-side cave towards Tammu's family's Khoriya field.'

- 60. *cəŋ nə "mi phurə-wa pəri-i" bhi-si-rə* then topic fire blow-NOM happen-PERF say-ANT-SEQ 'Then I said, "I must make a fire," and'
- 61. *Sakho-ri Som-ma-ye them-əŋ Tuli diri* Sakho-LOC Som-PL-GEN house-LOC Tuli sister

*mu-wa hin-si-m*be-NOM be-ANT-NPST
'In Sakhor, at Som's family's house, Tuli, my sister, was there!'

62. *got-thi pho-wa mi hirə-wa-khir* cowshed-LOC take+away-NOM fire ask+for-NOM-COTEMP

пə

topic

'When I asked for fire to take away to the cowshed,'

63. *Tuli diri-sə nə "Kãlday-sə thokho thette*Tuli sister-ERG topic fourth+brother-ERG moment+ago

*pho-si-wa hin nu sã"* take+away-ANT-NOM be-NPST reminder disappointment

*bhi-wã* say-IMPF

'Tule, my sister, was saying: "Fourth brother had taken fire a moment ago."

- 64. *na-sə "haa si-i tane" bhi-si-rə*I-ERG ah die-PERF confirm say-ANT-SEQ
  'I said, "Ah, it died!"'
- 65. *kaccəy dfiāti-si-rə*raw lie-ANT-SEQ
  'saying a bald-faced lie, and'
- 66. *mi hir-si* fire ask+for-ANT 'I asked for fire, and'
- 67. *pho-si-rə* take+away-ANT-SEQ 'I took it away, and'
- 68. *Mənəkhwāla-ye khyū-mar siŋ-ma thu-si*Manakhola-GEN river-CIRC firewood-PL pick+up-ANT 'around Manakhola River I picked up firewood,'
- 69. *pho-si-rə* take+away-ANT-SEQ 'and took it away, and'
- 70. *cə wadar-ri mi phur-ji* that cave-LOC fire blow-PERF 'lit a fire in that cave.'

- 71. *cəŋ nə nyasə sãs sãs pəri-wa-khiri nə* then topic evening dusk happen-NOM-COTEMP topic 'Then when dusk fell,'
- 72. *əə... Syālkhərkə-wār-gəm-sə kha-wa mənchi-õ* Uh... Syalkharka-CIRC-ALB come-NOM person-PL

Sakho-ye cəwtaro mar-sə dhara-mar Sakho-GEN resting+place down-ABL hill-CIRC

*ləskər lagi-gəy tor hya-wa mara-wa* file follow-PROG up go-NOM see-NOMV 'Uh... I saw people, who came from around Syalkharka, going up the hill in a file below the Sakho resting place.'

- 73. *na-sə "yii..." la-gəy kuli-wa pəni thayã-m* I-ERG hey do-PROG shout-NOM also know-NPST 'I recall shouting "Hey" to them.'
- 74. *cə-rasə nə mhun pəni pəri-i* that-TEMP topic night also happen-PERF 'Then night fell.'
- 75. kamlo khapi-si-rə blanket lay+over-ANT-SEQ 'I laid the blanket over me and'
- 76. *lamme lumme pəri-si-rə* completely+cover happen-ANT-SEQ 'completely covered myself and'
- 77. *nhu-i* sleep-PERF 'slept.'
- 78. *khəy mhun-chə nə yewta kalce bənnu* hey night-LOC topic one black gun

*tharo la-si-rə* standing do-ANT-SEQ 'Hey, at night a black gun stood erect, and'

- 79. *than-si-wa mara-si-rə* hang-ANT-NOM see-ANT-SEQ 'I saw it hanging in the air, and'
- 80. *suyna chəttə-ysi-rə bippətta* dream become+insane-ANT-SEQ terrible state 'my dream went crazy, and I was in a terrible state.'
- 81. *pəyle-wa nyasə cittoro-ye pəlaw-ma* yesterday-NOM evening barberry--GEN young+leaf-PL

*mənchi-ō-ye myala-ō-mar-wa kəlla-ma ca-wa* person-PL-GEN field-PL-CIRC-NOM pea-PL eat-NOM

*pəri-i* happen-PERF

- 82. *bhi-wa-thōy ta-ma* say-NOM-ESS become-IMPF 'Yesterday evening, I had a vague plan to eat young barberry leaves and the peas from someone's field.'
- 83. *khəy pharabi yesə-wa-khi nə* hey morning get+up-NOM-COTEMP topic 'Hey, when I got up early in the morning,'
- 84. *na-ra nə tantane khyana kha-si-wa*I-DAT topic so+much hunger come-ANT-NOMV
  'I really got hungry!'
- 85. *cəŋ nə na nə "abə khawa la-si-rə* then topic I topic now how do-ANT-SEQ

*them-əŋ hya-wa nhe"* house-LOC go-NOM be-NPST-Q

86. *bhi-wa gəjjə ta-i* say-NOM only become-PERF 'Then the only thing I thought was: "Now how can I go home?"' 87. *thini jhulki-wa byala-ri nə sakho-ye dhara-mar* sun rise-NOM time-LOC topic Sakho-GEN hill-CIRC

thyadiri tor thim-nas hya-wa mara-i-rə eldest+sister upward house-ALL go-NOM see-ANT-SEQ 'By the time the sun rose, I saw eldest sister around Sakho Hill going up toward the house, and'

- 88. *na nə khi-ra byas la-si-rə kərə-i* I topic she-DAT very+much do-ANT-SEQ shout-PERF 'I really shouted to her.'
- 89. *cəŋ nə thyadiri-sə pəni na-ra* then topic eldest+sister-ERG also I-DAT

kərə-gəy kha-i shout-PROG come-PERF 'Then eldest sister came shouting to me also.'

- 90. *na pəni tippatip jhwala rə kamlo chiji-i*I also busy sack and blanket grab-PERF
  'I grabbed my sack and blanket in a hurry.'
- 91. *rə tor kha-wa-khi nə* and upward come-NOM-COTEMP topic

*thyadiri-ru Mənəkhwala-ye tarpa* eldest+sister-COM Manakhwala-GEN puwa+steaming

*kara-wa khyala-ri dho-wa khum ta-i* put+in-NOM place-LOC meet-NOM RECIP become-PERF 'And when I went upward, I met eldest sister at the puwa making place.'

92. *thyadiri-sə "cə məre-ye bənnu tala* eldest+sister-ERG that other-GEN gun why

khelə-wa pəri-wã rə" bhi-gəy kara-i play-NOM happen-IMPF and say-PROG cry-PERF 'Eldest sister cried: "Why did you have to play with another's gun?" 93. *na "ama tato pani-ŋ-sə kha-la?"*I mother hot water-ABL come-PERF+Q

bhi-si-rə surə-gəy kara-i say-ANT-SEQ ask-PROG cry-PERF 'I asked crying: "Did mother come back from the hot springs?"'

94. *thyadiri* nə pəyle-wa nyasə əbyala esdest+sister topic before-NOM evening late

səmmə na-ra gãw bhəri cari-si-rə until I-DAT village throughout look+for-ANT-SEQ 'Eldest sister looked for me throughout the village yesterday evening until late, and'

- 95. *pharabi wujyalo pəni a-ta nə* morning bright also NEG-become topic 'even before it got light in the morning.'
- 96. *"ki cu kyata Sirkharkə-ri Ipəsar bhay* or this boy Sirkharka-LOC Ipəsar brother

*mu-wa-ri hya-si-n-ẽ"* be-NOM-LOC go-ANT-NPST+SUP
"Maybe this boy has gone to Sirkharka to be with his brother Ipasar,"

- 97. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'she said, and'
- 98. *fiya-si-rə* go-ANT-SEQ 'went there, and'

99. *pəni gãw-ri* thini jhulki-wa-bhənda pəyle also village-LOC sun rise-NOM-COMP before

tho kha-si-wa hin-si-m arrive come-ANT-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'before the sun had risen, we arrived in the village.'

- 100. *cəŋ nə nhi duynu them-əŋ hya-i* then topic we two house-LOC go-PERF 'Then we two went home.'
- 101. *na-sə pəyle-wa nyasə-wa basi phəkən* I-ERF before-NOM evening-NOM leftover mush

rə khu ca-wa-khi nə and curry eat-NOM-COTEMP topic 'While I was eating yesterday evening's leftover mush and curry,'

102. *malday rə Khənə bhawju* second+brother and Khana sister+in+law

phiri-wãr-gam-sə thim-nhari kha-i outside-CIRC-ABL house-INES come-PERF 'Second brother and my sister-in-law Khana came into the house.'

- 103. *na nə "ləw abə ta bhi-m-ẽ" bhi-si-rə*I topic come+on now what say-NPST-Q say-ANT-SEQ
  'I said to myself: "Come on, now, what is he going to say?"'
- 104. *nhin kha-si-wã* fear come-ANT-IMPF 'and I got scared.'
- 105. *khinə Khənə bhawju-sə "əy... thokhor* But Khana sister+in+law-ERG ah moment+ago

 $n \ni kha\text{-}si\text{-}m$  nu  $s \ni "$  bhi-i topic come-ANT-NPST reminder disappointment say-PERF 'But Khana, my sister-in-law, said: "Ah, you just came a moment ago."'

- 106. *malday* khissə ner-ji second+brother smile smile-PERF 'Second brother smiled a broad smile.'
- 107. *təy pəni ha-bhi* nothing even NEG-say-PERF 'He didn't say anything.'
- 108. *ajə pəni malday-sə assõ hə-jə-ye* still even second+brother-ERG still+until that-that-GEN

bare-ri təy pəni bhi-sere about-LOC nothing even say-ANT+NEG+NPST 'Until now second brother has still not said anything about that.'

## S. Recorded 10/92, Mangale Khani, Nepal Speaker: Sən Devi Ghərəmja

#### My Life

- 1. *ama bəw-ye kokh-gəm pirthibi-ri jənmi-i* mother father-GEN womb-ABL earth-LOC be+born-PERF 'I was born on Earth from my mother and father's womb.'
- 2. *jənmi-si-rə* be+born-ANT-SEQ 'I was born, and'
- 3. *cey cey mu-wa-sir* small small be-NOM-COTEMP 'when I was small,'
- 4. *təy pəni a-thãy* nothing also NEG-know-PERF 'I also knew nothing.'
- 5. *cee thewa ta-wa* a+little+bit big become-NOMV 'I became a little big.'

6. *te-r ama bəw-ye kokh-gəm* that+place-LOC mother brother-GEN womb-ABL

*tho-si-rə* arrive-ANT-SEQ

'Then I arrived from my mother and father's womb, and'

7. *te-r ama bəw-ye kokh-gəm* that+place-LOC mother brother-GEN womb-ABL

phiri tho-si-rə outside arrive-ANT-SEQ 'Then I arrived from outside my mother and father's womb, and'

- 8. *kyãla-i* play-PERF 'I played.'
- 9. *khyo-ma-ru kyãla-i* friend-PL-COM play-PERF 'I played with my friends.'
- 10. *khyo-ma-ru duli-i* friend-PL-COM wander-PERF
  'I wandered around with my friends.'
- 11. *phiri phiri nəw bərsə-rasə te-r* again again nine year-TEMP that+place-LOC

*iskul*-ri wã-i school-LOC enter-PERF 'Again, again, from the age of nine years, I entered school.'

- 12. *skul-ri wã-si-rə* school-LOC enter-ANT-SEQ 'I entered school, and'
- 13. *nəw bərsə-kəm pəri-kəy pəri-kəy* nine year-ABL study-PROG study-PROG 'from nine years of age I was studying and studying,'

- 14. *pas ta-kəy pas ta-kəy* pass become-PROG pass become-PROG 'and I was passing and passing,'
- 15. *hya-si-rə* go-ANT-SEQ 'I moved on, and'
- 16. *thãy* sorə bərsə-ra ath kəkchya-ri pəri-kəy mu nowadays 16 year-LOC 8 class-LOC study-PROG be+NPST 'nowadays at 16 years old I'm in the eighth grade.'
- 17. *cu ath kəkchya pəni pas ta-lanə* this 8 class also pass become-COND 'If I pass the eighth grade,'
- 18. *ta-wa fiin də* become-NOM be+NPST fact 'it would be fine;'
- 19. *bhi-wa* say-NOM
- 20. *cu mən-ri bhawəna ta-m* this desire-LOC thinking become-NPST 'that's what I think.'
- 21. *cu cu ta-ẽ a-ta-ẽ* this this become-NPST+Q NEG-become-NPST+Q 'This may or may not happen.'
- 22. *cə kuro thaa a-ta-m* that thing knowledge NEG-become-NPST 'I don't know about that.'
- 23. *ajəy ta-wa fiin* still become-NOM be+NPST 'Still, it would be fine,'

- 24. *bhi-si-rə* say-ANT-SEQ 'therefore'
- 25. *kosis la-kəy mu* effort do-PROG be+NPST 'I'm making an effort.'
- 26. *skul cimkhola skul-ri mu* school Chimkhola school-LOC be+NPST 'My school is in Chimkhola.'
- 27. *cu-gəm sare yek ghəntə phara-si-rə* this-ABL half one hour walk-ANT-SEQ
- 28. *hya-wa pəri-m* go-NOM happen-NPST 'From here I have to walk for an hour and a half.'
- 29. *nfii-i kəkchya-ri terə jəna kyeti pəccis jəna* we-GEN class-LOC 13 people girl 25 people

kyata muboy be+NPST'In our class are 13 girls and 25 boys.'

- 30. *nhi-ma jəmməy pəri-kəy mu* we-PL all study-PROG be+NPST 'We are all studying.'
- 31. *khəma pəri-m* sometimes study-NPST 'Sometimes we study.'
- 32. *khəma phiri chutti din-ri kam la-m* sometimes again release day-LOC work do-NPST 'Sometimes again we work on holidays.'
- 33. *kam la-si-rə* work do-ANT-SEQ 'We work, and'

- 34. *tharaŋ tharaŋ hya-si-rə* far far go-ANT-SEQ 'we go far away'
- 35. *kam la-m* work do-NPST 'to work.'
- 36. *ghãs tha-wa pəni tharaŋ mu* fodder cut-NOM also far be+NPST 'We are cutting fodder also far away.'
- 37. *nhi-i khyala-ri siŋ tha-wa siŋ tha-wa* we-GEN place-LOC wood cut-NOM wood cut-NOM

bhi-lanə say-COND 'If we gather wood, gather wood in our place,'

- 38. *cee chyaraŋ chyaraŋ nə yã-m* little near near topic find-NPST 'we find it a little nearer to us.'
- 39. *thãy* nə ghyaŋ pəni chin-si-rə nowadays topic forest also finish-ANT-SEQ 'Nowadays, the forest is also finished, and'
- 40. *jəmməy tharan tharan fiya-si-rə kha-wa pəri-m* all far far go-ANT-SEQ bring-NOM happen-NPST 'we have to go far away to bring everything.'
- 41. *bərkha lagi-i bfii-lanə* monsoon follow-PERF say-COND 'When the monsoon starts,'
- 42. *tipar kha-m* leech come-NPST 'the leeches come.'

- 43. *hyūdə lagi-i* bhi-lanə winter follow-PERF say-COND 'When winter arrives,'
- 44. *khilin kha-m* snow come-NPST 'the snow comes.'
- 45. *khãwa kha-m* cold come-NPST 'We get cold.'
- 46. *thəndi ta-m* cold become-NPST 'It becomes the cold season.'
- 47. *nhi khya-ri dukho a-la-ghəre* we place-LOC hard+work NEG-do-COND 'Unless we work hard around here,'
- 48. *ca-la a-yã-m* eat-COND NEG-find-NPST 'we aren't able to eat.'
- 49. *dukho la-si-rə* hard+work do-ANT-SEQ 'We work hard, and'
- 50. *pəni limpa hin-lanə* also tasty be-COND 'if it's also tasty,'
- 51. *ta-wa*become-NOMV
  'it's OK.' [*ie* 'After all the hard work, if the food is tasty, then it's OK']
- 52. *a-līwa ca-wa pəri-wa*NEG-tasty eat-NOM happen-NOMV
  'If not tasty, we have to eat it.'

- 53. *bərkha mas lagi-i bfii-lanə* monsoon month follow-PERF say-COND 'When the monsoon month comes,
- 54. *bhər gəjjə ta-m* brush only become-NPST 'there's only brush.'
- 55. *tipar gəjjə kha-m* leech only come-NPST 'Only the leeches are available.'
- 56. *nam nam gəjjə kha-m* rain rain only come-NPST 'The rain comes and comes.'
- 57. *hyūdə lagi-i* bhi-lanə winter follow-PERF say-COND 'When winter comes,'
- 58. *khilin kha-m* snow come-NPST 'snow comes.'
- 59. *khãwa kha-m* cold come-NPST 'You get cold.'
- 60. *tato tato kwən-ma kwənə-wa pəri-m* hot hot cloth-PL wear-NOM happen-NPST 'It's necessary to wear many warm clothes.'
- 61. *hə-jə kwənə-wa kwən-ma pəni jəmməy* that-that wear-NOM cloth-PL also all

mar-kəm nə kha-wa pəri-m down-ABL topic bring-NOM happen-NPST 'Even all those clothes we wear have to brought from down below.'

- 62. *jəmməy a-kin-ghəre* all NEG-buy-COND 'Unless we buy them all,'
- 63. *a-ta-m*NEG-become-NPST
  'we have nothing.'
- 64. *cu khyala-ri yəwta pəysa pəni upəti a-ta-m* this place-LOC one money also income NEG-become-NPST 'Here, there isn't even a penny of income.'
- 65. *cu-ri nĥi-i gãw-ri pãc kəkchya səmmə* this-LOC we-GEN village-LOC five class until

*pəri-m* study-NPST 'Here in our village we study until the fifth grade.'

- 66. *pãc kəkchya səmmə skul mu* five class until school be+NPST 'There is school until the fifth grade.'
- 67. carta carta mastər mastərni mu four four teacher teacher-FEM be+NPST 'There are four men and women school teachers.'
- 68. *yəwta mastərni mu*one teacher-FEM be+NPST
  'There is one woman school teacher.'
- 69. *tinta mastər mu*three teacher be+NPST
  'There are three male teachers.'
- 70. *kwi ca-wa chyaraŋ mu*water eat-NOM near be+NPST
  'Water is near.'

- 71. *ghãs tha-wa tharaŋ tharaŋ ta-kəy hya-i* fodder cut-NOM far far become-PROG go-PERF 'We must go far away to gather fodder.'
- 72. *mənchi pəni jəti bəgal ta-i* person also like group become-NPST 'The more people there are,'
- 73. *uti pəni ghyaŋ masi-kəy hya-wa la-i* that+much also forest disappear-PROG go-NOM do-PERF 'the more the forest is disappearing.'
- 74. *abə chənnəy nə kəmjori gãw ghər chənnəy* now for+no+reason topic weak village house for+no+reason

nə jhən jhən kəmjori ta-kəy hya-wa la-i topic more more weak become-PROG go-NOM do-PERF 'Now, to begin with, the weak home village is pointlessly getting even weaker.'

- 75. *dukho a-la-ghəre* hard+work NEG-do-COND
- 76. *ca-la a-yã-wa khyala* eat-COND NEG-find-NOM place 'The place where we won't be able to eat unless we work hard,
- 77. *jhən dukho la-wa pəri-wa ta-i* more hard+work do-NOM happen-NOM become-PERF 'we must do more hard work.'
- 78. *jhəwno thãw-mar hya-to* all place-CIRC go-DESID 'I want to go everywhere,'
- 79. *jətasukəy duli-to* everywhere wander-DESID 'I want to wander everywhere,'

- 80. *bhi-wa-thwãy ta-m* say-NOM-ESS become-NPST 'it's as though I'm saying.'
- 81. *cu kəmjori əwəstha-sə la-wa ta-si-rə* this weak condition-INST do-NOM become-ANT-SEQ 'We have to get by in this weak state, and'
- 82. *cu cu gãw-ri nə cu khyala-ri nə* this this village-LOC topic this place-LOC topic

*ci-wa pəri-wa ta-i* sit-NOM happen-NOM become-PERF 'in this village we must stay on this place.'

- 83. *təy pəni upəti hare-wa* anything also profit NEG-be-NOM
- 84. *təy la-si-rə sukhə a-yã-wa* anything do-ANT-SEQ happiness NEG-find-NOM
- 85. *təy la-si-rə bikas a-bəni-wa* anything do-ANT-SEQ development NEG-make-NOM
- 86. *kfiyala bikas bənə-la a-kham* place development make-COND NEG-be+able

mu-wa ta-i
be-NOM become-PERF
'The place where there is no income, where having done something one can't take it easy, where having done something there is no development, it turns out that we cannot have development.'

87. *cu gãw-ra phana nə kəmjori phana nə* this village-DAT strong topic weakness strong topic

*əpəcce gərib ta-i* indigestible poor become-PERF 'This village will become thoroughly weak and thoroughly poor.'

- 88. *jəti gərib hin-lai* as+much poor be-RC 'However poor we are,'
- 89. *jəti kəmjori hin-lai* as+much weakness be-RC 'however weak we are,'
- 90. *sũy jənmi-si-wa khyala-ra mayã* who+PL+GEN be+born-ANT-NOM place-DAT love

kha-wa fiin-si-m come-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'One loves one's birth place.'

- 91. *cu khyala-ra pir-si-rə* this place-DAT let+loose-ANT-SEQ 'We abandon this place, and'
- 92. *ərko thãw-ri hya-la a-kham mu-wa* next place-LOC go-COND NEG-be+able be-NOM

təy la-si-rə anything do-ANT-SEQ 'we aren't able to go to another place, and'

- 93. *fiya-lai pəni* go-RC also 'wherever we go, also'
- 94. *cu khyala-ra səmji səmji-si-rə* this place-DAT remember remember-ANT-SEQ 'we'll remember this place, and'
- 95. *ci-wa hin-si-m* sit-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'we'll continue to remember.'
- 96. *cu khyala-ri gay bhəysi nha-wa-i lagi ghyaŋ* this place-LOC cow water+buffalo raise-NOM-GEN for forest 'In this place, forest for raising cows and water buffalo,'

- 97. *pəni masi-kəy hya-i* also disappear-PROG go-PERF 'is also disappearing.'
- 98. *ghãs-ma pəni təy a-yã-wa ta-i* fodder-PL also anything NEG-find-NOM become-PERF 'Fodder can't be found.'
- 99. *phiri gay bhəysi ha-na-ghəre* again cow water+buffalo NEG-raise-COND 'But, unless we raise cows and water buffalo,'
- 100. *bali pəni ubjəni a-ta-wa ta-i* crops also production NEG-become-NOM become-PERF 'the crops, they also won't be produced.'
- 101. gay bhəysi nha-wa pəni dukho cow water+buffalo raise-NOM also hard+work

*ta-wa ta-i*become-NOM become-PERF
'Raising cows and water buffalo will become very hard work.'

- 102. *gay bhəysi nha-si-rə-i a-ta-wa* cow water+buffalo raise-ANT-SEQ-also NEG-become-NOM 'Having raised cows and water buffalo, nothing happens;
- 103. *fna-na-si-rə-i a-ta-wa ta-i* NEG-raise-ANT-SEQ-also NEG-become-NOM become-PERF 'not having raised them, nothing happens.
- 104. gay bhəysi nha-ye bhi-lanə cow water+buffalo raise-HOR say-COND 'If we say, "Let's raise cows and water buffalo!"
- 105. ghyan ghəre masi-kəy hya-i forest how+much disappear-PROG go-PERF 'all the forest is disappearing!'

- 106. *fia-na-ye* bhi-lanə NEG-raise-HOR say-COND 'If we say, "Let's not raise them!"'
- 107. bali bali təy pəni ubjəni a-ta-m crops crops anything also production NEG-become-NPST 'the crops, the crops also won't produce anything;'
- 108. *dukho ta-wa ta-i* hard+work become-NOM become-PERF 'hard work will result.'
- 109.bikas a-bəni-wa ta-i development NEG-make-NOM become-PERF 'There will be no development.'
- 110. gãw ghər-ri jhən jhən kəmjori village house-LOC more more weakness

ta-kəy hya-wa la-i become-PROG go-NOM do-PERF 'The home village is becoming more and more weak.'

- 111. *jya kuro hin-lai* what thing be-RC 'Whatever it is'
- 112. *mar* bəjar mar-kəm nə kin-si-rə downward market downward-ABL topic buy-ANT-SEQ 'that we buy from down at the market,'
- 113. *kha-wa pəri-m*bring-NOM happen-NPST
  'we must carry it back up.'
- 114. *jya kuro hin-lai* what thing be-RC 'Whatever it is'

- 115. *məŋ mar-gəm nə kha-wa pəri-wa* down downward-ABL topic bring-NOM happen-NOM 'we have to bring it down from below;'
- 116. *cu khyala-ri təy pəni ubjəni* this place-LOC anything also production

*a-ta-wa ta-i*NEG-become-NOM become-PERF
'in this place, we won't produce anything.'

117. *cica mĥala kwən-ma jəmməy mar-kəm nə* salt rice cloth-PL all down-ABL topic

kha-wa pəri-wa ta-i bring-NOM happen-NOM become-PERF 'It's come about that we have to bring salt, rice and cloth from down below.'

118. *cu khyala-ri cu khyala-ri a-yã-wa* this place-LOC this place-LOC NEG-find-NOM

ta-si-rə become-ANT-SEQ 'In this place, we can't find these things in this place,'

119. *bhari na-si-rə* load carry-ANT-SEQ 'we carry our loads, and'

120. *kha-i* bring-ANT 'bring them home, and'

121. *ca-wa pəri-wa ta-i* eat-NOM happen-NOM become-PERF 'we have to eat them.'

# 122. *cu khyala-ri ubjəni a-ta-wa* this place-LOC production NEG-become-NOM

ta-si-rə become-ANT-SEQ 'Because it has come about that there is

'Because it has come about that there is no production in this place.' [afterthought]

- 123. *hə-jəgər-ri nə səmaptə la-m* that-much-LOC topic finished do-NPST 'With that, I am finished.'
- 124. dhənyəbad thanks 'Thanks.'
- T. Recorded 10/92, Mangale Khani, Nepal Speaker: Cən Devi Bhulanja

#### Hardship in Mangale

- 1. *na Nərbijəŋ-ye diri hin*I Narbijang-GEN sister be+NPST
  'I am Narbijang's sister.'
- 2. *fiə-i-ddyawa bhi-lanə* that-this-big say-COND 'If I say that... this much,'
- 3. ta-ē
  become-NPST+Q
  'is it OK?'
  [she's asking whether she's speaking loud enough]

## [Jəg Man Chəntyal]

4. *ta-m ta-m* become-NPST become-NPST 'It's OK, it's OK.'

### [Can Devi Bhulanja]

- 5. *na Nərbijəŋ-ye diri hin*I Narbijang-GEN sister be+NPST
  'I am Narbijang's sister.'
- 6. *cu-ri nhi-ye a-gãrawa khyala-ri rastrə-ri-wa* this-LOC we-GEN NEG-good place-LOC country-LOC-NOM

thyawa thyawa sab-ma kha-si-m big big sir-PL come-ANT-NPST 'Here, to our ugly place, the high, high sirs from the US have come.' [She uses the term rastrə 'country' to refer to the US.]

- 7. *jhewno kuro-ri dukho ta-i* all thing-PL hard+work become-PERF 'Everything [for you] has been hard.' [referring to trek to Mangale]
- 8. *dukho ta-i*hard+work become-PERF
  'It was hard work.'
- 9. *ca-wa kuro-ri dukho ta-i* eat-NOM thing-LOC hard+work become-PERF 'Food has been difficult.'
- 10. *ci-wa khyala dukho ta-i* sit-NOM place hard+work become-PERF 'A place to stay has been difficult.'
- 11. *nhu-wa khyala dukho ta-i* sleep-NOM place hard+work become-PERF 'A place to sleep has been difficult.'
- 12. *khəy ta la-wa* hey what do-NOM 'Hey, what to do?'

- 13. *nhi-i khyala hə-sərə-wa nə mu nu* we-GEN place that-manner-NOM topic be+NPST reminder 'Our place is like that.'
- 14. *əbə khəmməy a-kha-m* now never NEG-come-NPST "Now we will never come."
- 15. *tha-bhi-ne* sab-ma NEG-say-IMP sir-PL 'Please, don't say that, sirs!'
- 16. *ta la-wa sõ* what do-NOM frustration 'What to do?'
- 17. *nhi-i* khyala-ri bikas təy hare we-GEN place-LOC development anything NEG+be+NPST 'In our place, there is no development.'
- 18. *hə-sərə-wa nə mu nu* that-manner-NOM topic be+NPST reminder 'It's like that.'
- 19. *nhi-ra nepali sərkar-sə pəni* we-DAT Nepali government-ERG also

shya-sare-wa-thãy nə look-PERF+NEG-NOM-ESS topic

- 20. *mu*be+NPST
  'It's like the Nepalese government hasn't looked at us.'
- 21. *bikas bhi-wa təy jat hare* development say-NOM anything kind NEG+be+NPST 'As for development, there isn't any kind.'
- 22. *nhi cejere so-wa jukti la-si-rə* we little live-NOM plan do-ANT-SEQ 'We do little to survive, and'

- 23. *gəjjə ci-si-wa mu* only sit-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'we have only stayed put.'
- 24. *sab-ma-sə mara-i nu* sir-PL-ERG see-PERF reminder 'The sirs saw this.'
- 25. *dukho nĥi-ye nepali sərkar-sə a-mara-nə* hard+work we-GEN Nepalese government-ERG NEG-see-RSLT 'Before our Nepalese government saw our hard work,'
- 26. *rastrə-ri-wa sərkar-sə mara-i* country-LOC-NOM government-ERG see-PERF 'the government of your country saw.'
- 27. *nhi-ye dukho cu-wã-sə chərə-wa* we-GEN hard+work this-PL-ERG this+way-NOM

*la-i ci-si-wa hin-si-m* do-ANT sit-ANT-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'Our hard work: "These people have continued to work this way.'

- 28. *cu-wã carə-wa ca-wa hin-si-m* this-PL this+place-NOM eat-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'They have eaten this way."'
- 29. *bhi-wa rastrə-ra thyawa thaa ta-i* say-NOM country-DAT high knowledge become-PERF 'came to be known to your country.'
- 30. *thaa ta-wa-khiri* knowledge become-NOM-COTEMP 'When they know,
- 31. *nhi-ra laj pəni kha-m* we-DAT shame also come-NPST 'we become ashamed.'

- 32. *tala so-si-wa hin*why live-ANT-NOM be+NPST
  "Why have we lived?"
- 33. *bhi-wa-thwãy pəni ta-m* say-NOM-ESS also become-NPST 'it seems like we say.'
- 34. *pheri rastrə-ri-wa sab-ma-ra mara-wa-khiri* again country-LOC-NOM sir-PL-DAT see-NOM-COTEMP "Again, when we see the sirs from your country,"
- 35. *hə-sərə-wa mara-wa mu-wa hin-si-m* that-manner-NOM see-NOM be-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'that way we see [why we are living],"'
- 36. *bhi-wa soci-wa hin-si-m* say-NOM think-NOM be-ANT-NPST
- 37. *bhi-wa-thwãy ta-m* say-NOM-ESS becom-NPST 'it is as though we have thought this.'
- 39. *jhən sab-ma kha-si-m* more sir-PL come-ANT-NPST 'Moreover, the sirs have come.'
- 40. *boli-wa ha-rapa-wa ta-i* speak-NOM NEG-know+how-NOM become-PERF 'We will not know how to speak to them.'
- 41. *dukho sukho-ri-wa bad* hard+work easy+work-LOC-NOM discussion

khəri mari-wa hin how+much kill-NOM be+NPST 'How much will we discuss the hard work/easy work issue?'

42. *khəre mari-wa hin* how+much kill-NOM be+NPST 'How much will we discuss it?'

- 43. *khəy ta la-wa* where what do-NOM 'Hey, what will we do?'
- 44. *gay-ma bhəysi-ma-thwãy nə ta-i də* cow-PL buffalo-PL-ESS topic become-PERF fact 'We are like cows and water buffalo.'
- 45. *nhi nə kul kul shya-wa khəy* we topic staring look+at-NOM where

*a-boli-wa a-boli-lai*NEG-speak-NOM NEG-speak-RC
'We, just staring bug-eyed, not speaking, even if not speaking,'

- 46. *phiri mõya kha-wa-n ta-i* again love come-NOM-topic become-PERF 'came to love again.'
- 47. *mara-ysi-rə* see-ANT-SEQ
- 48. *gəjjə hin-lai* only be-RC 'Even if just by seeing us,'
- 49. *mõya kha-m* love come-NPST 'they will love us.'
- 50. *abə sab-ma fiya-wa bfii-wa fiin-si-n* now sir-PL go-NOM say-NOM be-ANT-SUP 'Now the sirs are going to say they're going.'
- 51. *nhi-ra* ətyar lagi-wa hin-si-n we-DAT boredom follow-NOM be-ANT-SUP 'We are going to miss them.'

- 52. *nhi tala so-si-m* we why live-ANT-NPST "Why have we lived?"
- 53. *bhi-wa hin-si-m* say-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'we will say.'
- 54. *pəni phiri sab-ma hə-sərə-wa rastrə-ri-wa* also again sir-PL that-way-NOM country-LOC-NOM

sab-ma kha-wa-khir sir-PL come-NOM-COTEMP 'Also, again, the sirs... when the sirs from the US [that sort of country] come that way,'

- 55. *nhi-ra nhi so-wa-si* we-DAT we live-NOM-COTEMP 'To us: "While we lived,'
- 56. *so-i-rə nə* live-ANT-SEQ topic 'having lived,'
- 57. *mara-i* see-PERF 'we saw them.'
- 58. *si-si-wa fiin-lanə* die-ANT-NOM be-COND 'If we have died,'
- 59. *ta mara-wa mĩ-ẽ* what see-NOM be+NPST-Q 'what will we see?'
- 60. *rə bhi-wa-thwãy nə ta-m* and say-NOM-ESS topic become-NPST 'And this is how we feel.'

- 61. *phiri bənəbəstə təy hare-wa bənobəstə təy* again plan any be+NEG-NOM plan any
  - hare-wa mara-wa-khiri be+NEG-NOM see-NOM-COTEMP 'Again when we see that there is no plan... there is no plan,'
- 62. *nhi-ra laj pəni kha-m də* we-DAT shame also come-NPST fact 'we become ashamed.'
- 63. sab-ma yek sal ci-lai sir-PL one year sit-RC ""If the sirs stay one year,"
- 64. *ta-wa fiin də* become-NOM be+NPST fact 'it would be fine:"'
- 65. *bhi-wa-thwãy ta-m də* say-NOM-ESS become-NPST fact 'that's how we feel.'
- 66. əbə duy char din ci-wa-nhari nə now two four day stay-NOM-INES topic 'Now, within the two or four days they stay,'
- 67. *sab-ma bhəsəkəy bhəsəkəy gəli chin-ji* sir-PL a+lot a+lot weak finish-PERF 'the sirs have become weak [*ie* lost a lot of weight].'
- 68. *ca-wa kuro a-ta-wa-n ta-i* eat-NOM thing NEG-become-NOM-topic become-PERF 'Of course, there isn't enough food.'
- 69. *ci-wa khyala dukho nə ta-i nu* sit-NOM place hard+work topic become-PERF reminder 'The place we live has become difficult, after all.'

- 70. *ca-wa kuro təy hare-wa* eat-NOM thing any be+NEG-NOMV 'There isn't any food.'
- 71. *ləw hə-jəgər nə hin ta-i*OK that-quantity topic be+NPST become-PERF 'OK, that's all for now.'
  [She finishes, but is signaled to continue.]
- 72. əbə sab-ma fiya-wa fiin-si-m now sir-PL go-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'Now the sirs go.'
- 73. *phiri phiri kha-lanə* again again come-COND 'If you come again and again,'
- 74. *ta-wa fiin də* become-NOM be+NPST fact 'it would be fine.'
- 75. *nhi-ra* əbə nowa-sə nə tala we-DAT now you+PL-ERG topic why

*hya-si-m-ẽ* go-ANT-NPST-Q 'To us you say: "Now, why have we gone?'

- 76. *tala kha-si-m-ẽ* why come-ANT-NPST-Q 'Why have we come?'
- 77. əbə khəmməy kha-wa pəni hare now never come-NOM also be+NEG+NPST 'Now we are also never to come.'
- 78. *cə khyala-ri hya-wa pəni hare* that place-LOC go-NOM also be+NEG+NPST 'We also won't go to that place,"'

- 79. *bhi-wa hin-si-m* say-NOM be+ANT-NPST 'you are going to say to us.'
- 80. *nowã-sə sab-ma ta la-wa* you-ERG sir-PL what do-NOM 'You, sirs, what to do?'
- 81. *khəy dukho nhi-ye hə-sərə-wa nə* where hard+work we-GEN that-manner-NOM topic

mu nube+NPST reminder'Hey, our hardship is like this:'

- 82. *nhi nepal-ye yewta tuppu-ra ci-si-rə* we Nepal-GEN one end-LOC stay-ANT-SEQ 'We live in one end of Nepal, and'
- 83. *cejere jibita cələ-si-rə* a+little+bit livelihood move-ANT-SEQ 'earn a livelihood a little bit, and'
- 84. *ci-si-wa mu* sit-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'stay put.'
- 85. *khəy jya hin-lai* where what? be-RC 'Hey, whatever it is,
- 86. *jya hin-lai pəni* what? be-RC also 'whatever it is also,'
- 87. *əbə sərkar-sə pəni* now government-ERG also

ha-sy-si-wa-thwãy nə mu nu NEG-look+at-ANT-NOM-ESS topic be+NPST reminder 'it's like the government also hasn't looked at us.'

- 88. *bikas pəni təy hare* development also any be+NEG+NPST 'There also isn't any development.'
- 89. *nhi nhi nowã-muwa-ri diŋŋa gay-ma* we we you-ADES cattle cow-PL

bhəysi-ma-thwãy ta-i buffalo-PL-ESS become-PERF 'We are, to you, like cows and buffalo.'

- 90. *boli-wa ha-rapa-wa nə ta-i* speak-NOM NEG-know+how-NOM topic become-PERF 'We come not to know how to speak.'
- 91. *boli-wa fia-rap-lai* speak-NOM NEG-know+how-RC 'Even if we don't know how to speak,'
- 92. *khəre* nhe khəre phiri mə̃ya how+much be+NPST+Q how+much again love

*kha-wa də* come-NOMV fact 'so much love came again!'

- 93. *mõya kha-lai* love come-RC 'Even if there is love,'
- 94. *təy pin-la-i a-kham mu-wa* anything give-COND-even NEG-be+able be-NOM

*nə ta-i* topic become-PERF 'we aren't able to give you anything,'

95. *a-boli-la-i pəni* NEG-speak-COND-even also 'even to speak.'

- 96. *mi-sə mara-ysi-rə gəjjə pəni* eye-ERG see-ANT-SEQ only also 'Having seen it only with the eyes,'
- 97. *mõya kha-wa hin-si-m nu* love come-NOM be-ANT-NPST reminder 'it turned out that love came.'
- 98. *mõya kha-si-rə pəni* love come-ANT-SEQ also 'Love having also come,'
- 99. *ta la-wa* what do-NOM 'what to do?'
- 100. *khəy pinə-wa kuro təy hare-wa* where give-NOM thing anything NEG+be-NOM

*nə ta-i* topic become-PERF 'Hey, there came to be nothing to give.'

- 101. *mõya kha-wa gəjjə ta-i* love come-NOM only become+PERF 'Only love is to come.'
- 102. bad mari-la-i a-yã-wa nə ta-i talk kill-COND-even NEG-find-NOM topic become-PERF 'We aren't able to speak.'
- 103. *nhi boli-wa ha-rapa-wa ta-i* we speak-NOM NEG-know+how-NOM become-PERF 'We are not to know how to speak.'

104. *abə nowa sab-ma-muwa-ri nfii diŋŋa pəsu* now you+PL sir-PL-ADES we cattle animal

*jənuwar-ma-thwãy ta-i* animal-PL-ESS become+PERF 'Now, around you sirs, we are like cattle, animals.'

105. *nhi khəre dukho sukho-ri-wa* we how+much hard+work easy+work-LOC-NOM

bad mari-wa hin talk kill-NOM be+NPST 'How much would we talk about the hard work/easy work issue!'

106. *khəy ta la-wa* where what do-NOM 'Hey, what to do?'

107. *nhi pəyle nə a-pəri nu* we before topic NEG-study-PERF reminder 'In the past, we did not study.'

108. *pəri-si-wa fiin-lanə* study-ANT-NOM be-COND 'If we had studied,'

109. *thayã-wa hin* know-NOM be+NPST 'we would know.'

110. *pəri-si-wa-ma* thãy-si-wa nə study-ANT-NOM-PL know-ANT-NOM topic

*mu-wa-n ta-i* be-NOM-topic become-PERF 'Those who have studied have come to be knowledgeable.'

111. *thayã-wa ta-i* know-NOM become-PERF 'They come to know things.'

112. *rhapa-wa-n ta-i* know+how-NOM-topic become-PERF 'They come to know how to do things.'

113. *nhi a-pəri-si-wa-ma a-thayã-n* we NEG-study-ANT-NOM-PL NEG-know-NOM-topic

*ta-i* become-PERF

'We who have not studied know nothing.'

114. *abə mara-m nu* now see-NPST reminder 'Now we see you.'

115. khyam-əŋ dho-wa-khir pəni road-LOC meet-NOM-COTEMP also 'When we meet on the way,'

116. ta bhi-si bolə-wa phawri what be-ANT speak-NOM senseless 'what to say to them?'

117. *rhap-lanə* know+how-COND 'If we know how to,'

118. *boli-m* speak-NPST 'we speak.'

119. *hə-sərə-wa səmjhi-wa-khiri nə* that-way-NOM remember--NOM-COND topic 'When we remember in that way,'

120. *si-lai* die-RC 'if we die,'

- 121. *ta-wa-thwãy mu də* become-NOM-ESS be+NPST fact 'it's OK.'
- 122. *phiri mi-sə hin-lai* again eye-INST be-RC
- 123. *mara-khir* see-COTEMP 'Again, when we see if only with the eyes,'
- 124. *nhi-ra pəni rastrə-ri-wa sab-ma mara-i* we-DAT also country-LOC-NOM sir-PL see-PERF "We saw the sirs from your country,"
- 125. *bhi-wa-thwãy ta-m də* say-NOM-ESS become-NPST fact 'that's how we feel.'
- 126. *mara-si-rə pəni* see-ANT-SEQ also 'Having seen you,'
- 127. *mara-si-rə* gəjjə pəni see-ANT-SEQ only also 'even only having seen you,'
- 128. *mãya kha-wa hin-si-m* love come-NOM be-ANT-NPST 'love might come.'
- 129. *mãya kha-wa* love come-NOM 'It will come about that love will come,' [*ta-i* is understood]
- 130. *bolə-wa a-kham mu-wa ta-i* speak-NOM NEG-be+able be-NOM become-PERF 'but we are unable to speak.'

- 131. *fia-rapa-wa* ta-i nu

  NEG-know+how-NOM become-PERF reminder

  'It came to be that we don't know how!'
- 132. ta boli-wa what speak-NOM 'What to say?'
- 133. *khəy ci-o ca-o khə-o bhi-wa* where sit-IMP eat-IMP come-IMP say-NOM 'Hey, even to say, "Sit, eat, come!"
- 134. *sayno-ma pəni a-thayã-wa nə* relationships-PL also NEG-know-NOM topic

ta-i nu become-PERF reminder 'we won't come to know how to call you.' [i.e. what relationship word to use for you]

- 135. bolə-wa mən kha-lai pəni speak-NOM desire come-RC also 'Even if we want to speak with you,'
- 136. *khəy ta la-wa* where what do-NOM '— hey, what to do? —'
- 137. bolə-wa mən kha-m speak-NOM desire come-NPST 'we want to speak.'
- 138. *ha-rapa-wa-n ta-i*NEG-know+how-NOM-topic become-PERF
  'We have come not to know how.'
- 139. *ha-rap-lai pəni*NEG-know+how-RC also
  'Although we don't know how to speak,'

- 140. *nhi-sə mi-sə shya-si-rə* we-ERG eye-INST look+at-ANT-SEQ 'we, having looked at you with our eyes,'
- 141. *fiin-lai* be-RC 'in case it is,'
- 142. sakəm la-si-wa mu satisfaction do-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'are satisfied.' [i.e., we are satisfied even though we can only look with our eyes.]
- 143. *mara-wa-rasə te-r* see-NOM-COMP that+place-LOC 'From the time we saw,'
- 144. *na-ra-i mãya kha-i* I-DAT-also love come-PERF 'within me, love came.'
- 145. *mãya kha-wa gəjjə hin tə* love come-NOM only be+NPST fact 'We are only going to love.' [*i.e.*, all we can do is love you.]
- 146. *nhi-i* khyala-ri təy hare-wa-n ta-i we-GEN place-LOC anything NEG+be-NOM-topic become-PERF 'In our place, there has come to be nothing.'
- 147. ca-wa ca-wa kuro konə-wa kuro jhəwno eat-NOM eat-NOM thing wear-NOM thing all

*kuro-ri dukho ta-si-m* thing-LOC hard+work become-ANT-NPST 'Food, clothes — in all things — have become difficult.'

148. sab-ma-ra khəy dukho fiin-lai sir-PL-DAT where hard+work be-RC 'However difficult it was for the sirs,'

149. *kha-i* come-PERF 'you came.'

150. *dukho tha-mani-ne* hard+work NEG-agree-IMP 'Refuse the hard work!' [*ie*, 'don't feel it is a hardship' *or* 'bear with us']

151. phiri phiri hya-to again again go-DESID "Again, again I want to go!"

152. *kha-to* come-DESID 'I want to come!"'

153. *bhi-wa la-ne* say-NOM do-IMP 'Please say it!'

154. *nhi nə nhi hya-la a-kham* we topic we go-COND NEG-be+able

*mu-wa-n ta-i* be-NOM-topic become-PERF 'We came to be unable to go.'

155. sab-ma phiri phiri kha-ne sir-PL again again come-IMP 'Sirs, come again and again!'

156. *phiri phiri kha-lanə* again again come-COND 'If you come again and again,'

157. *nhi-sə mara-wa hin-si-n də* we-ERG see-NOM be-ANT-SUP fact 'we are going to see you.'

158. *nətrə nhi hya-la a-kham* otherwise we go-COND NEG-be+able

*mu-wa-n ta-i* be-NOM-topic become-PERF 'Otherwise we are going to be unable to go.'

- 159. *pəysa hare-wa-n ta-i* money NEG+be-NOM-topic become-PERF 'There has come to be no money.'
- 160.*nhi hya-ye* we go-HOR
- 161. *bhi-lanə* say-COND 'If we said, "Let's go!"'
- 162. *nhi-ra nə mãya kha-i* we-DAT topic love come-PERF 'within us, love came.'
- 163. *ətyar lagi-i* boredom follow-PERF 'We missed you.'
- 164. *chəgər nə hin* that+much topic be+NPST 'That's as much as there is.' [*ie*, 'that's it' *or* 'there's no hope']
- 165. *kha-lanə* come-COND 'If you come,'
- 166. *ta-wa hin də* become-NOM be+NPST fact 'it would be good.'
- 167. *kha-lanə* come-COND 'if you come,'

- 168. *ta-wa fiin də* become-NOM be+NPST fact 'it would be good.'
- 169. *bhi-wa-thwãy ta də* say-NOM-ESS become-HYP fact 'That's how we feel.'
- 170. *chəgər* nə hin də that+much topic be+NPST fact 'That's as much as there is.' [*ie* 'that's all we can do']
- U. Recorded 10/92, Mangale Khani, Nepal Speaker: Nər Bəhadur Khərka

## My Life

1. *na-sə ath bərsə umer-ri saw-ye* I-ERG eight year age-LOC moneylender-GEN

them-əŋ hya-i house-LOC go-PERF 'At eight years of age I went to the house of a moneylender,' [-sə is a mistake]

- 2. *ci-i* stay-PERF 'and stayed.'
- 3. saw them-əŋ car bərsə sə̃wə ci-i moneylender house-LOC four year until stay-PERF 'I stayed at the moneylender's house four years.'
- 4. *car bərsə ci-wa-khir* four year stay-NOM-COTEMP 'When I stayed four years,'
- 5. *barə bərsə ta-i* twelve year become-PERF 'I was twelve years old.'

- 6. *phiri dwi bərsə thəpi-si-rə* again two year repeat-ANT-SEQ 'Again, having repeated two years,'
- 7. *sorə bərsə ta-i* sixteen year become-PERF 'I was sixteen years old.'
- 8. *sorə bərsə ta-wa-dhikin* sixteen year become-NOM-TEMP 'Since I was sixteen,'
- 9. *bhərti ta-wa-ri hya-i* enlistment become-NOM-LOC go-PERF 'I went to enlist.'
- 10. *bharat-ri bhərti ta-wa-ri hya-wa-khir* India-LOC enlistment become-NOM-LOC go-NOM-COTEMP 'When I went to India to enlist,'
- 11. *cə-wãr nə bhərti ta-i* that-CIRC topic enlistment become-PERF 'around there I enlisted.'
- 12. *bhərti ta-si* enlistment become-ANT 'Having enlisted,'
- 13. *yek bərsə ci-si-rə* one year stay-ANT-SEQ 'I remained for one year, and'
- 14. *nəw tha-si* name cut-ANT 'having resigned,'
- 15. *kha-i* come-PERF 'I came home.'

- 16. *pəltən tuti-si-rə* platoon break-ANT-SEQ 'The platoon having been broken up,'
- 17. *cəŋsə phiri cu-ri kha-si* then again this-LOC come-ANT 'then having come here again,'
- 18. *bya la-i* wedding do-PERF 'I got married.'
- 19. *bya la-si-rə* wedding do-ANT-SEQ 'Having gotten married,'
- 20. *dwi bərsə tin tin bərsə ta-wa-sir* two year three three year become-NOM-COTEMP 'when two or three years passed,'
- 21. *phiri hya-i* again go-PERF 'again I left.'
- 22. *na nə bharat-ri bharat-ri ath bərsə ci-i* I topic India-LOC India-LOC eight year stay-PERF 'I stayed in India, in India eight years.'
- 23. *ath bərsə ta-wa-sir* eight year become-NOM-COTEMP 'When eight years had passed,'
- 24. *kha-i* come-PERF 'I returned.'
- 25. *na phiri nəw tha-si*I again name cut-ANT
  'I, having resigned again,'

- 26. *kha-i* come-PERF 'came home.'
- 27. *nəw tha-si* name cut-ANT 'Having resigned,'
- 28. *kha-wa-dhikin* come-NOM-TEMP 'since I had come home,'
- 29. *cu-ri skul-ri kam la-si-wa* this-LOC school-LOC work do-ANT-NOMV 'I worked here in the school.'
- 30. *thokhər untis* bərsə ta-i now twenty-nine year become-PERF 'Now, twenty-nine years have passed.'
- 31. *ta-i* become-PERF 'They have passed.'
- 32. *nə-i jibən-ri jəmməy dukho la-i* I-GEN life-LOC all hard+work do-PERF 'In my life, I have worked hard.'
- 33. *sewa la-i* service do-PERF 'I served [in the army].'
- 34. *ci-si-wa aj səmmə ci-si-wa nə mu* stay-ANT-NOM still until stay-ANT-NOM topic be+NPST 'I'm still working [as a teacher].'
- 35. *dukho la-i* hard+work do-PERF 'I worked hard.'

36. *pəyle dukho kati-wa kati-wa-nhari cu* before hard+work cut-NOM cut-NOM-INES this

byala səmmə cu jibən bitə-kəy mu time until this life pass-PROG be+NPST 'From the past until now, I'm spending this life doing hard work.'

- 37. *phiri bimar ta-si-rə* again sick become-ANT-SEQ 'Having become sick again,'
- 38. *yek phera tansen-ri hya-i* one time Tansen-LOC go-PERF 'once I went to Tansen.'
- 39. *tansen-ri hya-si-rə*Tansen-LOC go-ANT-SEQ
  'Having gone to Tansen,'
- 40. *əpresən la-i* operation do-PERF 'they did an operation.'
- 41. *kha-i* come-PERF 'I came home.'
- 42. *cə əpresən aj səmmə thik a-ta* that operation still until right NEG-become 'That operation still hasn't been right.'
- 43. *na-ra thik a-ta-si-rə* I-DAT right NEG-become-ANT-SEQ 'Having not become right by me,'
- 44. *ajəy na-kəy la-m* still hurt-PROG do-NPST 'it is hurting still.'

- 45. *rə cu-ri kha-si-rə* and this-LOC come-ANT-SEQ 'And having come here,'
- 46. *jəmməy skul-ri ci-wa-nhari ghər bari kin-ji* all school-LOC stay-NOM-INES house garden buy-PERF 'While continuing at the school, I bought a house and fields.'
- 47. diŋŋa nĥa-si-wa jĥewno kuro la-i cattle raise-ANT-NOM all thing do-PERF 'I did everything, including cattle raising.'
- 48. *thokər na thik nə mu* now I right topic be+NPST 'Now, I'm OK.'
- 49. *fiə-jə-r bfii-lanə ta-i* that-that-LOC say-COND become-PERF 'As for that, that's all.' [He signaled he was finished talking.]

[Jəg Man Chhəntyal]

- 50. *əntər-ri ta ta la-si-wã* middle-LOC what what do-ANT-IMPF 'How many other things were you doing during the interval?'
- 51. *pənnər minet səmmə bhi-ro* fifteen minute until say-IMP 'Tell us about it for fifteen minutes!'

[Nər Bəhadur Khə̃rka]

- 52. *əntər-ri dwita chame-wã-ra pwakhəra-ri pho-i* middle-LOC two daughter-PL-DAT Pokhara-LOC take-PERF 'In the interval, I took two daughters to Pokhara.'
- 53. *pwakhəra-ri pho-si-rə*Pokhara-LOC take-ANT-SEQ
  'Having taken them to Pokhara,'
- 54. *talim la-nə la-i* training do-RSLT do-PERF 'I made them take training.'

- 55. *pəri-i* study-PERF 'They studied.'
- 56. *untis* bərsə-nhari bəhut kam la-si-wa hin twenty-nine year-INES much work do-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'In twenty-nine years, I have done a lot of work.'
- 57. *untis bərsə-nhari kam la-wa-sir* twenty-nine year-INES work do-NOM-COTEMP 'While I have done work in twenty-nine years,'
- 58. *kyata-ma-ra jəmməy-ra pərə-i* boy-PL-DAT all-DAT teach-PERF 'I taught the boys, all of them.'
- 59. *koy-ra ta la-i* some-DAT what do-PERF 'I did a lot of things for some people.'
- 60. *koy-ra ta la-i* some-DAT what do-PERF
  'I did a lot of things for some people.'
- 61. *la-si-wa la-si-wa koy talim* do-ANT-NOM do-ANT-NOM some training

*la-wa-ri hya-i* do-NOM-LOC go-PERF 'Of those that I did things for, some that I did things for went in order to train.'

- 62. *phiri na mustaŋ-ri talim la-i* again I Mustang-LOC training do-PERF 'Again, I trained in Mustang.'
- 63. *pwakhəra-ri talim la-i*Pokhara-LOC training do-PERF
  'I trained in Pokhara.'

- 64. *talim la-si* training do-ANT 'Having trained,'
- 65. *kha-si-rə* come-ANT-SEQ 'having come home,'
- 66. *skul-ye kyarati-wã-ru sewa la-si-rə* school-GEN child-PL-COM service do-ANT-SEQ 'having done service with the school children,'
- 67. *ci-i* stay-PERF 'I have stayed.'
- 68. *cəŋsə phiri yek bərsə dhãr-ri hya-wa* then again one year Dhanr-LOC go-NOM

pəri-m khi bhi-si happen-NPST you say-ANT 'Then, again, "For one year you have to go to Dhanr," they said, and'

- 69. *yek phera dhãr-ri pəni hya-i* one time Dhanr-LOC also go-PERF 'I once also went to Dhanr.'
- 70. *hə la-si-rə* that[-manner] do-ANT-SEQ 'Having done that,
- 71. *ci-si-wa hin na* stay-ANT-NOM be+NPST I 'I have stayed.'

[Jəg Man Chhəntyal]

72. *kheti kisan səmbəndhi pəyle-dhikin* farming farmer related first-TEMP

hə-sərə-wa mu-wã that-manner-NOM be-IMPF 'Regarding farming, it was like that since the first.'

73. *hə-sərə-w mu-wã* that-manner-NOM be-IMPF 'It was like that.'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

- 74. *kheti-ma pəyle təy nə hare-wã* farming-PL first any topic NEG+be-IMPF 'First, there wasn't any farming, etc.'
- 75. *jəmməy na-sə kin-ji* all I-ERG buy-PERF 'I bought all of it.'
- 76. *carta pãcta kyelas kin-ji* four five field buy-PERF 'I bought four or five plots.'
- 77. *thim hare-wã* house NEG+be-IMPF 'I didn't have a house.'
- 78. *thim la-i* house do-PERF 'I built a house.'
- 79. *na-sə jəmməy thim la-i* I-ERG all house do-PERF 'I built the whole house.'
- 80. *dwita tinta thim la-i* two three house do-PERF 'I built two or three houses.'

[Jəg Man Chhəntyal]

81. *əni khi pəyle india-ri hya-wa byala-mar* then you first India-LOC go-NOM time-CIRC

ghyan khaw mu-wã forest how be-IMPF 'Then, around the time you first went to India, how was the forest?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

- 82. *pəyle india-ri hya-wa-khiri* first India-LOC go-NOM-COTEMP 'First, when I went to India,'
- 83. *gfiyaŋ cu-wãr pərsəstəy mu-wã* forest this-CIRC plentiful be-IMPF 'the forests were plentiful around here.'
- 84. *thãy jəmməy chin-ji* nowadays all finish-PERF 'Now it's all finished.'
- 85. *ghyaŋ pəni chin-ji* forest also finish-PERF 'The forest also is finished.'
- 86. *thãy* nə diŋŋa nha-la nowadays topic cattle raise-COND

*a-khammə-wa ta-i* NEG-be+able-NOM become-PERF 'Nowadays, it's come about that we can't raise cattle.'

87. *sorə bərsə unnis bərsə rə-ri ətharə* sixteen year nineteen year and-LOC eighteen

bərsə-ri bya la-i year-LOC marriage do-PERF 'I was married at the age of sixteen, nineteen and...at eighteen years.'

- 88. *unnis bərsə-ri nə-ye nani ta-i* nineteen year-LOC I-GEN baby become-Perf 'At the age of nineteen, my baby was born.'
- 89. *na-ra phiri dukho kha-i*I-DAT again hard+work come-PERF
  'Hard times came again to me.'
- 90. *phiri dukho kha-i* again hard+work come-PERF 'Hardship came again.'
- 91. *rə cəŋ phiri bharat-ri hya-i* and then again India-LOC go-PERF 'And then again I went to India.'
- 92. *cəŋ nə kam la-wa la-wa-nhari* then topic work do-NOM do-NOM-INES 'Then, during the time that I was working,'
- 93. *phiri leknath kedər la-si-wa nə* again Leknath Kedar do-ANT-NOMV topic 'again I did clerk training.'
- 94. *cəŋsə phil la-i pin-si-m* then fail do-ANT give-ANT-NPST 'then they have failed me.'
- 95. *cəŋ nə nəw tha-i* then topic name cut-PERF 'Then, I resigned.'
- 96. *kha-i* come-PERF 'I came home.'
- 97. *na na nə-i khusi-sə nəw tha-i*I I I-GEN happy-INST name cut-PERF
  'I, I resigned willingly.'

- 98. *kha-wa-ye yek sal səmmə wəda sədəsyə la-i* come-NOM-GEN one year until ward member do-PERF 'For one year after I came back, I was a representative of the ward.'
- 99. *wəda sədəsyə la-wa-sir phiri* ward member do-NOM-COTEMP again 'When I was a ward representative again,'
- 100. *tuŋ-gəm skul kha-i* up-ABL school come-PERF 'we got a school from the authorities.'
- 101. *na ghəre pəri-si-wa mənchi* I how+much study-ANT-NOM person

fiare-si-m cu-ri
NEG+be-ANT-NPST this-LOC
'There wasn't anybody as educated as me here.'

- 102. sekin klas pas la-si-wa second class pass do-ANT-NOM 'Getting a second class pass,'
- 103. *cater nə khi nə mastər* that+TEMP+that+LOC topic you topic teacher

*ci-wa pəri-m* stay-NOM happen-NPST 'from that time on, "You have to be the teacher,"'

- 104. *bhi-i* say-PERF 'they said.'
- 105.rə mastər na-ra niyukti la-i and teacher I-DAT appointment do-PERF 'And they appointed me teacher.'
- 106. *niyukti la-i-rə* appointment do-ANT-SEQ 'Having appointed me,'

- 107. na ci-si-wa I stay-ANT-NOMV 'I stayed.'
- 108. *thokhər untis bərsə ta-i* now 29 year become-PERF 'Now, twenty-nine years have passed.'
- 109. *cəŋ ci-si-wa ci-si-wa nə hin* then stay-ANT-NOM stay-ANT-NOM topic be+NPST 'Then I have stayed, stayed.'
- 110. rə na-sə mastər ta-si-rə and I-ERG teacher become-ANT-SEQ 'And I, having become a teacher,'
- 111. *təmam mənchi jəmməy nə-i-gəm-sə pas ta-si-rə* whole person all I-GEN-ABL pass become-ANT-SEQ 'one and all, all people got a pass from my efforts, and'
- 112. *hya-i* go-PERF 'left.'
- 113. *thokhər nə-i kancha pəni na-sə* now I-GEN youngest+brother also I-ERG

*pərə-ysi-wa hin* teach-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'Now, I have also taught my youngest brother.'

114. *yi-ju bebi-ma-ra pəni jəmməy* this-this baby-PL-DAT also all

pərə-ysi-wa nə hin teach-ANT-NOM topic be+NPST 'These babies, I have also taught all of them.' [He was referring to the children gathered round.]

- 115. *jəmməy pərə-ysi-wa mənchi-wã mu* all teach-ANT-NOM person-PL be+NPST 'They are all people who I taught.'
- 116. *nə-ye jəmməy* I-GEN all 'My... all....'
- 117. dwita mastər nə mu two teacher topic be+NPST 'There are two teachers.'
- 118. tinta dwita chame yewta hedmastər
  three two daughter one head+master
  'Three, two daughters... a head master... [were my students.]'
  [Three people presently teaching were his students: his daughter, his niece, and the headmaster of the local school.]

[Jəg Man Chhəntyal]
119. bidyarthi-ma khəre mu-ẽ
student-PL how+many be-NPST+Q
'How many students are there?'

[Nər Bəɦadur Khə̃rka] 120. *bidyarthi-wã-ra* student-PL-DAT 'Students....'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

121. *bidyarthi-ma cãy pərə-wa te-r* student-PL aforementioned teach-NOM that+place-LOC

khəre jəna bidyarthi ərko skul-ri hya-la how+many person students next school-LOC go-PERF+Q 'After teaching those students, how many other students went to school?' [i.e., how many went on to higher grades?]

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka] 122. *bhi-wa-sir* say-NOM-COTEMP 'As I was saying,' 123. *na-sə hə-jəgər nə pərə-ysi-wa hin* I-ERG that-quantity topic teach-ANT-NOM be+NPST

sal-ri-wa
year-LOC-NOM
'I have taught so many students yearly.'

124. dwita tinta carta pacta chəwəta satota sə̃wə pas two three four five six seven until pass

la-si pəthə-ji do-ANT send-PERF 'Two, three, four, five, six, seven passed and we sent them.'

125. *na-sə cu-ŋ-sə* I-ERG this-ABL 'I... from this...'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

126. *cu-ri* ajə khəre klas səmmə this-LOC still how+many class until

*pərə-ẽ* teach-NPST+Q 'How many grades do you still teach here?'

[Nər Bəfiadur Khərka]
127. pac klas səmmə pəri-m
five class until study-NPST
'They study until the fifth grade.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Gfiərəmja] 128. *bidyarthi-ma-ra phis lagi-ẽ* student-PL-DAT fees follow-NPST+Q

a-lagi-ẽNEG-follow-NPST+Q'Do the students pay fees or not?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

- 129. *bidyarthi-wã-sə khub caso la-si-wa hin* student-PL-ERG much concern do-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'The students have liked me very much.'
- 130. *na-ra bidyarthi ghəre jəmməy-sə ajəy ajəy* I-DAT student how+many all-ERG still still

səmmə la-kəy mu until do-PROG be+NPST 'However many students, all still, still like me.'

131. *bidyarthi-ma-sə* student-PL-ERG 'Students...'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

132. *bidyarthi-ma-sə phis a-pha-m həni* student-PL-ERG fees NEG-pay-NPST OK 'Students don't pay fees, right?.'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

133. *bidyarthi-wã phis a-pha-m* student-PL fees NEG-pay-NPST 'Students, they don't pay fees.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

134. *cu* sərkar-gəm ta-la ki this government-ABL become-PERF+Q or

gãw-kəm ta-la village-ABL become-PERF+Q 'Did it come from this government or did it come from the village?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

135. *sərkar-əŋ-sə phis a-lagi-wa la-i* government-ABL fees NEG-follow-NOM do-PERF 'The government hasn't made them pay the fees.'

- 136. *pəyle lagi-si-wa hin* first follow-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'First they had to pay.'
- 137. *wuthə-ysi-wa fiin* raise-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'They collected them.'
- 138. *thokhər a-lagi-wa la-si-m* now NEG-follow-NOM do-ANT-NPST 'Now, they haven't made them pay.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

139. *abə cu-gəm bidyarthi-ma-ra cãy lagi sichyək* but this-ABL student-PL-DAT aforementioned for teacher

lagi kei subidha la-si-wa mu-ẽ hare-ẽ for some facilities do-ANT-NOM be-NPST+Q NEG+be-NPST+Q 'But from this, have they made some facilities for the students and for the teachers, or haven't they?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

- 140. *sichyək-ma-ra nə dukho nə hin* teacher-PL-DAT topic hard+work topic be+NPST 'For the teachers it's a hardship.'
- 141. *bidyarthi gfiəre* nə thikəy nə mu student how+many topic OK topic be+NPST 'All the ones that are students, they're OK.'
- 142. *tharaŋ fiya-wa pəri-sare* far go-NOM happen-ANT+NEG+NPST 'They haven't yet needed to go far.'
- 143. cunnə pãc kilas pas la-si-rə right+here five class pass do-ANT-SEQ 'Right here, the fifth class having passed,'
- 144. *ni bə-thyawa nə fiya-wa pəri-m* little big+one topic go-NOM happen-NPST 'the little bigger ones must go.'

- 145. *bidyarthi-ma-ra nə thikəy nə mu* student-PL-DAT topic OK topic be+NPST 'It's OK for the students.'
- 146. *sichyək-ma-ra nə ca-wa kuro a-yã-m* teacher-PL-DAT topic eat-NOM thing NEG-find-NPST 'As for the teachers, they can't find food.'
- 147. *dukho mu* hard+work be+NPST 'There's hardship.'
- 148. *khyala bi-kami mu* place NEG-busy be+NPST 'This place is undeveloped.'
- 149. *hə-sərə-wa-sə lek-ri chərə-w-sə* that-manner-NOM-INST highland-LOC this+way-NOM-INST

sichyək-ma-ra dukho mu teacher-PL-DAT hard+work be+NPST 'As a result, in the highlands, therefore, for teachers there is hardship.'

- 150. *mõre kha-si mõre mastər kha-si* other come-ANT other teacher come-ANT 'Another having come, another teacher having come,'
- 151. *ci-wa pəni dhəw mu* sit-NOM also difficulty be+NPST 'it's difficult for them to stay.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

152. *iskul-ra cãy sərkar-gəm-sə səyog* school-DAT aforementioned government-ABL help

*kha-la* come-PERF+Q 'Did help come from the government to the school?'

153. kha-sarë

come-ANT+NEG+NPST+Q 'Hasn't it come yet?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khə̃rka]

154. *sərkar-əŋ-sə thãy nə pərsəstə* government-ABL nowadays topic plentiful

kha-si-wa mu
come-ANT-NOM be+NPST
'From the government, these days, a plentiful amount comes.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

155. *gãw-sə* səyog pinə-wa pəri-ẽ village-ERG help give-NOM happen-NPST+Q

*a-pəri-ẽ* NEG-happen-NPST+Q 'Does the village have to give help or not?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khə̃rka]

156. *ajə səmmə nə abə iskul səmbəndhi nə* still until topic now school regarding topic

pinə-wa pəri-wa nə pəri-i give-NOM happen-NOM topic happen-PERF 'Still, until now, regarding the school, we have had to pay.'

- 157. phərnicər səmbəndhi pinə-wa pəri-i furniture regarding give-NOM happen-PERF 'Regarding furniture, we've had to pay.'
- 158. *mastər-ma səmbəndhi nə sərkar-sə* teacher-PL regarding topic government-ERG

*pin-si-wa mu* give-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'Regarding teachers, the government has paid.' [Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

159. koy phana cãy pichədi-si-wa some strong aforementioned impoverish-ANT-NOM

*bidyarthi-ma-ra iskul-kam koy bebəstha* student-PL-DAT school-ABL some arrangement

*milə-ysi-ẽ milə-ysare-ẽ* suit-ANT-NPST+Q suit-ANT+NEG+NPST-Q 'Has the arrangement suited or not suited the students from the school who can't pay?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

160. *chatrəbritti pinə-m* scholarship give-NPST 'They give them scholarships.'

161. *khəma khōwa bewəstha nə abə* sometimes sometimes arrangement topic now

nisulkə la-i pin-ji nu waiver do-ANT give-PERF reminder 'Sometimes, sometimes the arrangement is now that they get a fee waiver.'

- 162. *nisulkə la-wa-khir* waiver do-NOM-COTEMP 'When they get a waiver,'
- 163. *thõwa-ra cə nə ta-i* they-DAT that topic become-PERF 'that's what it is for them.'
- 164. phis a-lagi-wa kitab chənnəy yã-wa fees NEG-follow-NOM book for+nothing find-NOM

tin tin kəkchya səmmə hə-jəgər subidha mu three three class until that-much facilities be+NPST 'Until the third...third grade we have books which are free, there is that much in the way of facilities.' 165. *hə-jəgər nə hin* that-much topic be+NPST 'It's as much as that.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

166. *cu-ri-wa iskul cu-bhənda pəyle pəyle* this-LOC-NOM school this-COMP first

hikin khuli-wa dhikin pãc kəkchya nhe TEMP open-NOM TEMP five class be+NPST+Q 'The local school, since before it was here, since it opened, has had a fifth grade,'

167. *ki khəri kəkchya mu-wã* or how+many class be-IMPF 'or how many classes were there?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

168. pãc kəkchya səmmə nə hin pəyle dhikin five class until topic be+NPST first TEMP 'It has been until the fifth grade, since the first.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

169. *thokər cu iskul-ri pãc kəkchya pəri-m həni* now this school-LOC five class study-NPST OK 'Now, they study the fifth grade in this school, right?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

170. pãc kəkchya pəri-m five class study-NPST 'They study the fifth grade.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

171. pãc kəkchya pas la-si-rə five class pass do-ANT-SEQ 'Having passed the fifth grade,'

172. *khəni khəni iskul-ri hya-wa pəri-ẽ* where where school-LOC go-NOM happen-NPST+Q 'Where, where must they go to school?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka] 173. pac kəkchya pas la-si-rə five class pass do-ANT-SEQ 'Having passed the fifth grade,'

174. *thokər nhi-i jhewno-bhənda chyaraŋ cimkhola* now we-GEN all-COMP near Chimkhola

mu nube+NPST reminder'these days, Chimkhola is the nearest to us, remember?'

- 175. *cimkhola-ri hya-m də* Chimkhola-LOC go-NPST fact 'They go to Chimkhola.'
- 176. *cəŋsə koy iccha lagi-wa-ma bini-ri* then some desire follow-NOM-PL Beni-LOC

*hya-si-wa mu* go-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'Then some, those who want, have gone to Beni.'

177. *koy iccha lagi-wa-ma pakhpani-ri* some desire follow-NOM-PL Pakhpani-LOC

*fiya-si-wa mu* go-ANT-NOM be+NPST 'Some, those who want, have gone to Pakhpani.'

- 178. *mu-wa nə mu-lai pəni* be-NOM topic be-RC also 'But, even if there are,'
- 179. *thōwa-i thōwa-i subidha shya-si-rə* they-GEN they-GEN facilities look+at-ANT-SEQ 'having considered their, their resources,'
- 180. koy ci-wa khyala mu bhi-lanə some sit-NOM place be+NPST say-COND 'if they have a place to stay,'

181. *bini-ri tho-si-wa mu nu*Beni-LOC arrive-ANT-NOM be+NPST reminder 'they have arrived in Beni, remember?'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

182. *cə iskul-ri cãy sikchyək-ma* that school-LOC aforementioned teacher-PL

khəre jəna mu-ẽ how+many person be-NPST+Q 'In that school, how many teachers are there?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

183. pəyle car jəna fiin first four person be+NPST 'First, there are four.'

184. *thokər nə tin jəna kəjjə mu* now topic three person only be+NPST 'Now there are only three.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

185. *bisesi mu-ẽ ki swədesi* outsider be-NPST+Q or native 'Are they outsiders or locals?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

186. *them-əŋ-wa nə mu* house-LOC-NOM topic be+NPST 'They are from home.'

187. *jəmməy gãw-ri-wa nə gãw-ri-wa* all village-LOC-NOM topic village-LOC-NOM

*mastər-ma mu* teacher-PL be+NPST 'All are teachers from the village, from the village.' [Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

188. *cə-wã-ye nəw ta ta mu-ẽ* that-PL-GEN name what what be-NPST+Q 'What, what are their names?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

189. *Khə Bəhadur Chəntyal Nəndebi Khə̃rka Nər* Khə Bəhadur Chəntyal Nənda+Devi Khə̃rka Nər

Bəhadur Khərka nhi tin jəna Bəhadur Khərka we three person 'Khə Bəhadur Chəntyal, Nənda Devi Khərka, Nər Bəhadur Khərka, we three people.'

[Jəg Man Chəntyal]

190. *pəyle khiri-wa* before during-NOM 'In the old days?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

191. *pəyle khiri-wa bidesi mu-wã* before during-NOM outsider be-IMPF 'In the old days, there were outsiders.'

192. goradi rakhu-ŋ-sə kha-si-wa yewta palikhet-əŋ-sə few Rakhu-ABL come-ANT-NOM one Palikhet-ABL

kha-si-wa yewta hə-jə-wã jəmməy hya-i come-ANT-NOM one that-that-PL all go-PERF 'A few, one who came from Rakhu, one who came from Palikhet: they all went.'

- 193. *thōwa-i thanna thanna ci-la a-kham mu-wã* they-also many many stay-COND NEG-be+able be-IMPF 'They also, many, many weren't able to stay.'
- 194. *thōwa nə yek mhun yek bərsə duy bərsə ci-i ki* they topic one night one year two year stay-PERF or 'Every time they stayed one night, one year, two years,'

195. cater nə thõwa-ye byebəstha milə-wa then topic they-GEN arrangement suit-NOM

*pəri-wa ta-i* happen-NOM become-PERF 'they had to have their own accommodations.'

- 196. gfiər pai milə-wa bfii-wa-khir house nearness suit-NOM say-NOM-COTEMP 'If their house was suitably near,'
- 197. *chənnəy thō-kəy hya-kəy* for+nothing go+out-PROG go-PROG 'pointlessly going out, going...'

[Jəg Man Chəntyal]

- 198. əbə khi əbə pensən tho-si-rə now you now pension arrive-ANT-SEQ 'Now you... now the pension having come,'
- 199. *ta la-wa bicar mu-ẽ* what do-NOM thought be-NPST+Q 'what are you thinking of doing?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khə̃rka]

200. *na-ra pinsin sərkar-sə pinsin pin-ji* I-DAT pension government-ERG pension give-PERF

*bhi-lanə* say-COND

'A pension... if the government gave a pension to me,'

- 201. *khəy ta la-wa əbə bura ta-yji nu* where what do-NOM now old become-PERF reminder 'hey, what to do now that I've become old.'
- 202. *ci-wa də* stay-NOMV fact 'I'll sit still doing nothing!'

- 203. *phiri la-la kham-lanə* again do-COND be+able-COND 'Again, if I'm able to work,'
- 204. *nhaka-wã* shya-wa ci-wa them-əŋ-wa chicken-PL look+AT-NOM stay-NOM house-LOC-NOM

dhulo pitho la-la kham-lanə dust flour do-COND be+able-COND 'if I'm able to stay and watch the chickens, to clean the house and grind flour,'

- 205. *la-wa fiin nu* do-NOM be+NPST reminder 'I'll do it.'
- 206. *la-la* a-khaŋ-lanə do-COND NEG-be+able-COND 'If I can't do it,'
- 207. *ci-wa də* stay-NOM fact 'I'll sit still and do nothing!'
- 208. *ta kham me-ẽ r*ə *cu byala-ri* what be+able be-NPST+Q and this time-LOC 'What can I do, really, at this time?'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

209. *pinsin yã-m bhi-wa pəkkə gyarenti nə* pension find-NPST say-NOM for+sure guarantee topic

*mi-ê ki ta mi-ê* be-NPST+Q or what be-NPST+Q 'Is there a definite guarantee of getting a pension, or what?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

210. yã-wa nə pinsin nə yã-wa nə find-NOM topic pension topic find-NOM topic

*ta-si-wa mu*become-ANT-NOM be+NPST
'The pension that I'll get, it has been determined that I'll get it.'

- 211. *thokər untis bərsə ta-i nu* now 29 year become-PERF reminder 'It's been 29 years now.'
- 212. *nə-ye sərves nə-ye-bhənda dwi bərsə ta-syə* I-GEN service I-GEN-COMP two year become-ANT-NOM

mənchi rakhu-ri-wa thō-i chin-ji man Rakhu-LOC-NOM go+out-ANT finish-PERF 'A man... from Rakhu... that was two years from mine, my service, left and finished.'

213. *bis bərsə-ma paki-wa bhi-wa sərkar-ye* twenty year-TEMP cook-NOM say-NOM government-GEN

hukum hin nucommand be+NPST reminder'To retire in twenty years is the government's regulation.'

214. *sərkar-ye hukum-ra bis bərsə-ma* government command-DAT twenty year-TEMP

thõ-lay ta-i də go+out-COND become-PERF fact 'As for the government regulation, if you leave in twenty years, that's right.'

215. sũy pẽysətthi bərsə səmmə ci-wa bhi-wa who-PL-GEN 65 year until stay-NOM say-NOM

sərkar-sə bhi-si-wa mu umer pə̃ysətthi government-ERG say-ANT-NOM be+NPST age 65

bərsə ta-wa səmmə year become-NOM until 'Until one's 65th year, the government has said to stay, until one's 65th year.'

- 216. tərə na nikəy bimar-sə gfiyari-i but I moderately sick-ERG surround-PERF 'But I was fairly sick.'
- 217. *phiri nə-ye gārawa gārawa bhay-ma* again I-GEN good good younger+brother-PL

kha-i bhi-lanə come-PERF say-COND 'Again, if my good, good younger brothers family came,' [he refers to the other teachers in the school]

218. gãrawa gãrawa gãw-ri-wa kyata-wã-sə good good village-LOC-NOM boy-PL-ERG

*la-i bhi-lanə* do-PERF say-COND 'if the boys from the good, good village do it,'

- 219. *thōwa-sə gārawa kam la-nnə-i* they-ERG good work do-SUP-even 'They might do good work.'
- 220. gãw jhən gãrawa ta bhi-wa mən village more good become-HYP say-NOM desire

mu nə-yebe+NPST I-GEN'There is a desire for the village to become better, my desire.'

- 221. hə-sərə-wa-sə thõ-wa mən mu nə-ye that-way-NOM-ERG go+out-NOM desire be+NPST I-GEN 'As a result, I want to leave.'
- 222. hə-sərə-wa-sə thõ-wa nhe ki that-way-NOM-ERG go+out-NOM be+NPST+Q or

bhi-wa tam hin say-NOM talk be+NPST 'The matter is whether it's my desire to leave that way.'

223. *na nikəli-wa rə a-nikəli-wa* I remove-NOM and NEG-remove-NOM

ta-sarebecome-ANT+NPST+NEG'I have not yet come to remove or not to remove myself.'

224. *kagəj pətrə milə-wa tam gəjjə fiin* paper letter arrange talk only be+NPST 'It's only a matter of arranging the documents.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

225. *məyna-ri-wa tələb khəre tho-m-ẽ* month-LOC-NOM salary how+much arrive-NPST-Q 'What does your monthly salary come to?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

226. barə səyə bis rupiyã hin nu twelve hundred twenty rupee be+NPST reminder

*khi-ye tələb skel* he-GEN salary scale 'It's twelve hundred twenty rupees, their salary scale.'

227. *thokər nə-ye gred-sə la-wa-khiri* now I-GEN grade-ERG do-NOM-COND 'Now, with my grade,'

228. *chəwdhə səyə tho-si-m* fourteen hundred arrive-ANT-NPST 'it has reached fourteen hundred.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

- 229. *hə-jəgər mu-lanə* that-much be-COND 'If it's that much,'
- 230. *janbəcca jəmməy chəgər səmmə gãrawa* family all how+many until good

*la-i* nha-si-wa mu-si-n do-ANT raise-ANT-NOM be-ANT-SUP 'you probably raised your family well until now.'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

- 231. *nĥa-si-wa nə mu də* raise-ANT-NOM topic be+NPST fact 'I have raised them.'
- 232. nha-wa nə nha-wa hayn ki raise-NOM topic raise-NOM NEG+be+NPST or 'Raising... it's not really raising them.'
- 233. *əbə nə-ye ceyere warpar na-ra gəjjə* now I-GEN little this+side+that+side I-DAT only

ta-m də
become-NPST fact
'Now my salary becomes only a little this or that to me.'

234. *nə-ye mənchi-wã-ra ceyere cica-ma ca-w gəjjə hin* I-GEN person-PL-DAT little salt-PL eat-NOM only be+NPST 'To my people, it only means a little salt, etc. to eat.'

235.*əbə kyelas hə-jə kyelas-əŋ-sə thōwa ənnə bali* now field that-that field-ABL they grain crop

*ca-m də* eat-NPST fact 'Now, the field, they eat the grain crop from the field.'

236. na-sə hə-ju ceyere cica ca-wa bato I-ERG that-this little salt eat-NOM means 'I, the means of eating this little salt...'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

237. *tələb kha-wa-ri khəni hya-wa pəri-ẽ* salary bring-NOM-LOC where go-NOM happen-NPST+Q 'Where must you go in order to get your salary?'

[Nər Bəhadur Khərka]

238. *bini-ri*Beni-LOC
'To Beni.'

[Cəndra Prəsad Ghərəmja]

239. *bini-ri hya-wa pəri-m*Beni-LOC go-NOM happen-NPST
'You must go to Beni.'

- 240.  $\tilde{\partial}\tilde{\partial}$  cə-ri byank-ri hya-wa pəri-m yeah that-LOC bank-LOC go-NOM happen-NPST 'Yeah, I have to go there, to the bank.'
- 241. *sicchya karyaləya-ri hya-si-rə* education office-LOC go-ANT-SEQ 'Having gone to the education office,'
- 242. *kagəj pətrə milə-m də* paper letter suit-NPST fact 'I arrange the documents.'

## References

- Bista, Dor Bahadur et al., (eds.). 1982. *Anthropological and linguistic studies of the Gandaki area in Nepal.* Monumenta Serindica No 10. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur et al., (eds.). 1987 [1967]. *People of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Rana Pustak Bhandar.
- Burton-Page, John. 1955. "Two studies in Gurungkura: I. Tone; II. Rhotacization and retroflexion". *BSOAS* 17:111-119.
- Chhantyal, Dil Bahadur Gharabja. 2004 [1987]. *Chhantyal jati: Ek parichaya*. Kathmandu: Sushi Jayanti Chhantyal.
- Coburn, Broughton. 1984. "Some medicinal plants of the Western Gurung". *Kailash* IX 1:55-87.
- Dobremez, Jean-François, (ed.). 1986. Les collines du Népal central: écosystèmes, structures sociales et systèmes agraires. Tome 1 & Tome 2. Paris: Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique.
- Dobremez, Jean-François et al. 1984. *Carte écologique du Népal Butwal-Mustang*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Dobremez, Jean-François; and Jest, Corneille. 1976. *Carte écologique du Népal*. Paris-Grenoble: Centre National du Recherche Scientifique.
- Doherty, Victor. 1974. "The organizing principles of Gurung kinship". Kailash 2:273-301.
- Everitt, Fay. 1973. "Sentence patterns in Tamang". In Trail, Ronald (ed.), *Patterns in clause, sentence, and discourse in selected languages of India and Nepal. Part I, Sentence and discourse* 197-234. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph von (ed.). 1974. *Contributions to the anthropology of Nepal.* Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips.
- Gauchan, Surendra; and Vinding, Michael. 1977. "The history of the Thakaali according to the Thakaali tradition". *Kailash V* 2:97-184.
- Georg, Stefan. 1996. *Marphaten Thakali: Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Dorfes Marpha im Obeen Kali-Gandaki-Tal/Nepal*. München Newcastle: LINCOM EUROPA.
- Glover, Jessie R. 1969. "Structure and function in the Gurung interrogative". *Journal of the Tribhuvan University (Special Linguistics Number)* 37-56.
- Glover, Jessie R. 1971. "Paragraph structure in Gurung discourse". Kirtipur (Nepal): Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ms.
- Glover, Jessie; and Guruna, Deu Bahadur. 1979. *Conversational Gurung*. Canberra: Australian National University [Pacific Linguistics Series D, no. 13].
- Glover, Warren. 1969a. "Three Gurung equivalents of English 'be'". *Journal of the Tribhuvan University (Special Linguistics Number)* 1-36.
- Glover, Warren. 1969b. "Gurung phonemic summary". Kirtipur (Nepal): Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ms.
- Glover, Warren. 1970a. "Gurung segmental synopsis". In: Hale & Pike (eds.) 211-36.

- Glover, Warren. 1970b. "Gurung tone and higher levels". Hale & Pike (eds.). 52-73.
- Glover, Warren. 1970c. "Gurung texts". In: Lehman (ed.). 1970b. 1-131.
- Glover, Warren. 1971. "A Devanagari spelling system for the Gurung language", Kirtipur (Nepal): Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ms.
- Glover, Warren. 1974. Sememic and grammatical structures in Gurung (Nepal). Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Glover, Warren; and Glover, Jessie R. 1972. "A Guide to Gurung tone". Kirtipur (Nepal): Summer Insitute of Linguistics. Ms.
- Glover, Warren; Glover Jessie R.; and Gurung, Deu Bahadur. 1977. *Gurung-Nepali-English dictionary, with English-Gurung and Nepali-Gurung idexes*. [Pacific Linguistics, Series C, No. 51.] Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU.
- Glover, Warren; and Landon, John. 1980. "Gurung dialects". Papers in South East Asian Linguistics 7:29-77.
- Grierson, George A. 1909. Linguistic survey of India. Vol. III: Tibeto-Burman family. Part I: General introduction, specimens of the Tibetan dialects, The Himalayan dialects, and the North Assam group. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India.
- Grimes, Joseph E. (ed.). 1978. *Papers on discourse*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Gurung, Deu Bahadur; Glover, Jessie; and Glover, Warren. 1976. *Gurung-Nepali-English glossary, with Nepali-Gurung index*. Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Gurung, Nareswor. 1976. "An introduction to the socio-economic structure of Manang District", *Kailash* IV 3:295-310.
- Gurung, Nareswor. 1977. "An ethnographic note on Nar-Phu Valley". Kailash V 3:229-44.
- Haiman, John; and Thompson, Sandra (eds.). 1988. *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam/Philadephia: John Benjamins.
- Hale, Austin (ed.). 1973. Clause, sentence, and discourse patterns in selected languages of Nepal. Part I, general approach. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hale, Austin. 1973. Clause, sentence, and discourse patterns in selected languages of Nepal. Part IV, word lists. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hale, Austin; and Glover, Warren. 1970. "A Note on glides, syllabicity and tone in Gurung". In: Hale & Pike (eds.) 49-51.
- Hale, Austin; and Pike, Kenneth (eds.). 1970. Occasional papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman linguistics. Vol. III. Tone systems of Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. Part I. Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Hale, Austin; and Watters, David. 1973. "A Survey of clause patterns". In: Hale, Austin; and Watters, David (eds.) 175-249.
- Hale, Austin; and Watters, David (eds.). 1973. Clause, sentence, and discourse patterns in selected languages of Nepal. Part II, Clause. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

- Hari, Maria. 1969. "Thakali phonemic summary". Kirtipur (Nepal): Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ms.
- Hari, Maria. 1970a. "Guide to Tamang tone". Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ms.
- Hari, Maria. 1970b. "Thakali segmental synopsis". In: Hale & Pike (eds.) 258-278.
- Hari, Maria. 1970c. "Thakali tone and higher levels". In: Hale & Pike (eds.) 125-142.
- Hari, Maria. 1971a. "A guide to Thakali tone". Summer Institute of Linguistics, Kathmandu. Ms.
- Hari, Maria. 1971b. "A vocabulary of the Thakali language". Kirtipur (Nepal): Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ms.
- Hari, Maria; and Maibaum, Anita. 1970. "Thakali texts". In: Lehman (ed.). 1970b. 165-306.
- Hari, Maria; Taylor, Doreen; and Pike, Kenneth. 1970. "Tamang tone and higher levels". In: Hale & Pike (eds.) 82-124.
- Heide, Suzanne von der. 1988. *The Thakalis of North Western Nepal*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Hepburn, Jennifer. 1978. "Linkage at high levels of Tamang discourse". In: Grimes (ed.) 331-341.
- Hinton, Bruce. 1970. "Spectrographic confirmation of contrastive pitch and breathiness in Gurung". In: Hale & Pike (eds.) 74-81.
- Hodgson, Brian Houghton. 1853. "On the Indo-Chinese borders and their connexion with the Himalayans and Tibetans". *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 22 1:1-25.
- Hodgson, Brian Houghton. 1857. "Comparative grammar of the languages of the broken tribes of Nepal". *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 26 5:317-332.
- Höfer, András. 1981. Tamang ritual texts. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Hoshi, Michiyo. 1984. "A Prakaa vocabulary: A dialect of the Manang language". In: Tachikawa et al. (eds.) 133-202.
- Hoshi, Michiyo. 1986. "An outline of the Prakaa grammar: A dialect of the Manang language". In: Ishii et al. (eds.) 187-317.
- Ishii, Hiroshi et al. (eds.). 1986. *Anthropological and linguistic studies of the Kathmandu Valley and the Bandaki area in Nepal.* [Monumenta Serindica No 15.] Tokyo: Institute for the Study of the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Jest, Corneille. 1966. "Les Thâkâli: note préliminaire concernant une ethnie du Nord-Ouest du Népal". *l'Ethnographie* 58/59:26-49.
- Kawakita, J. 1957. "Ethno-geographical observations of the Nepal Himalaya". In H. Kihara, (ed.). *Peoples of Nepal Himalaya: Scientific results of the Japanese expeditions to Nepal Himalaya, 1952-1953.* Kyoto: Fauna and Flora Research Society, Kyoto University.

- Lehman, F.K. (ed.). 1970a. Occasional papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman linguistics, vol III. Tone systems of Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, part II. Lexical lists and comparative studies. Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Lehman, F.K. (ed.). 1970b. Occasional papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman linguistics, vol. III. Tone systems of Tibeto-burman languages of Nepal, part III. Texts I. Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Lehman, F.K. (ed.). 1970c. Occasional papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman linguistics, vol III. Tone systems of the Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal, part IV. Texts II. Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Macfarlane, Alan. 1976. Resources and population: A study of the Gurungs of Nepal. Cambridge [UK]: Cambridge University Press.
- Macfarlane, Alan; and Gurung, Indrabahadur. 1990. *Gurungs of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Matisoff, James (ed.). 1998. *Sino-Tibetan etymological dictionary and thesaurus*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Mazaudon, Martine. 1973. *Phonologie Tamang*. Paris: Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France.
- Mazaudon, Martine. 1978a. "Consonantal mutation and tonal split in the Tamang subfamily of Tibeto-Burman". *Kailash: A Journal of Himalayan Studies* 6.3:157-79.
- Mazaudon, Martine. 1978b. *Tibeto-Burman tonogenetics*. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 3.2 [Monograph issue].
- Mazaudon, Martine. 1985. "Proto-Tibeto-Burman as a two-tone language? Some evidence from Proto-Tamang and Proto-Karen". In: Thurgood et al. (eds.) 201-229.
- Mazaudon, Martine. 1988. "The influence of tone and affrication on manner: some irregular manner correspondences in the Tamang group". CNRS, Paris and University of California, Berkeley. Ms.
- McCoy, J.; and Light, T. (eds.). 1986. Contributions to Sino-Tibetan studies. Leiden: Brill.
- Michl, Wolf D. 1974. "Shamanism among the Chantel of the Dhaulagiri Zone". In: Fürer-Haimendorf (ed.) 222-31.
- Nagano, Yasuhiko. 1984. "A Manang glossary". In: Tachikawa et al. (eds.) 203-234.
- Noonan, Michael. 1991. "Anti-dative shift". Milwaukee Studies on Language 5:50-58.
- Noonan, Michael. 1996. "The fall and rise and fall of the Chantyal language". *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 15:1-2:121-36.
- Noonan, Michael. 1997. "Versatile nominalizations". In Bybee, Joan; Haiman, John; and Thompson, Sandra (eds.). *Essays on language function and language type. In honor of T. Givón* 373-394. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Noonan, Michael. 1999a. "Converbal constructions in Chantyal". In: Yadava, Yogendra P., (ed.). *Topics in Nepalese linguistics*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- Noonan, Michael. 1999b. "The Chantyal language". In: LaPolla, Randy; and Thurgood, Graham (eds.). *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. Richmond, England: Curzon Press.

- Noonan, Michael. 1999c. "The Nar-Phu language". In: LaPolla, Randy; and Thurgood Graham (eds.). *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. Richmond, England: Curzon Press.
- Noonan, Michael et al. 1999. Chantyal Dictionary and Texts. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Noonan, Michael; and Bhulanja, Ram Prasad. Forthcoming. The Chantyal.
- Noonan, Michael; and Bhulanja, Ram Prasad. In preparation. Chantyal Grammar.
- Pignède, B. 1966. Les Gurungs: une population himalayenne du Népal. Paris: Mouton.
- Pittman, Richard. 1970. "Gurung, Tamang, Thakali, Sherpa, and Chepang prosodies". In: Lehman (ed.). 1970a 1-8.
- Pittman, Richard; and Glover, Jessie. 1970. "Proto-Tamang-Gurung-Thakali". In: Lehman (ed.). 1970a 9-22.
- Pohle, Perdita. 1990. *Useful plants of Manang District: A contribution to the ethnobotany of the Nepal Himalaya*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Spengen, Wim van. 1987. "The Nyishangba of Manang: geographical perspectives on the rise of a Nepalese trading community". *Kailash* XIII 3-4:131-277.
- Sprigg, R.K. 1990. "Tone in Tamang and Tibetan, and the advantages of keeping register-based tone systems separate from contour-based systems". *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 13.1:33-56.
- Strickland, S.S. 1987. "Notes on the language of the Gurung pe". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1987:53-76.
- Tachikawa, Musahi et al. (eds.). 1984. *Anthropological and linguistics studies of the Gandaki area in Nepal, Vol 1.* [Monumenta Serindica No 12.] Tokyo: Institute for the Study of the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Taylor, Doreen. 1969. "Tamang phonemic summary". Summer Institute of Linguistics, Kirtipur (Nepal). Ms.
- Taylor, Doreen. 1970a. "Tamang segmental synopsis". In: Hale & Pike (eds.) 237-257.
- Taylor, Doreen. 1970b. "Tamang texts". In: Lehman (ed.). 1970b 132-64.
- Taylor, Doreen. 1973. "Clause patterns in Tamang". In: Hale & Watters (eds.) 81-174.
- Taylor, Doreen. 1978. "Topicalization in Tamang narrative". In: Grimes (ed.) 149-156.
- Taylor, Doreen; Everitt, F.; and Tamang, Karna Bahadur. 1972. "A vocabulary of the Tamang language". Kirtipur (Nepal): Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ms.
- Thurgood, Graham et al. (eds.). 1985. *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan area: the state of the art*. [Pacific Linguistics, Series C, no. 87.] Canberra: Australian National University.
- Trail, Ronald (ed.). 1973. Patterns in clause, sentence, and discourse in selected languages of India and Nepal. Part I, Sentence and discourse. Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Vinding, Michael. 1979. "A preliminary report on kinship terminologies of the Bodish section of Sino-Tibetan speaking peoples". *Kailash* VII 3-4:191-225.

Michael Noonan noonan@uwm.edu