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### *Archive*

*Karbi texts: A fully glossed corpus of different genres*

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### ABSTRACT

This is a collection of 18 Karbi texts involving 15 different native speakers of Karbi from different regions that all speak Hills varieties of the language. The collection represents a variety of genres, including folk stories, general narratives, personal narratives, procedural texts, a narration of the pear story that was recorded as a commentary on the video clip, as well as one interview/conversation. This collection of texts represents the core corpus that formed the basis for *A grammar of Karbi* (Konnerth 2014a). All texts are fully analyzed and presented with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and have literal translations along with explanations where needed. The original audio and video recordings are currently being made available in the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at SOAS at the University of London.

### KEYWORDS

Karbi, Northeast India, texts, corpus, folk stories, pear story

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# *Karbi texts*

## *A fully glossed corpus of different genres<sup>1</sup>*

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### 1 Introduction

This is a collection of 18 fully analyzed and glossed Karbi texts, representing a variety of genres. Altogether, 15 different native speakers of Karbi from different regions that all speak Hills varieties of the language. By publishing this collection, our hope is that linguists and other scholars will be able to make use of this resource for further research on the Karbi language. This collection of texts represents the core corpus that formed the basis for *A grammar of Karbi* (Konnerth 2014a) as well as for several other articles (Konnerth 2014b, 2015, 2017). Another goal is therefore to provide accountability for the data that underlie the analyses in those studies. The original audio recordings and, where available, video recordings of these texts are currently being archived in the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at SOAS University of London: <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/>.

This publication first gives a very brief introduction to the Karbi language. More information on any particular topic can easily be obtained either from the full grammar (Konnerth 2014a) or from the summary in the second edition of *The Sino-Tibetan Languages* (Konnerth 2017). The former is freely accessible online at <https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/17928>. At the end of the first part, all abbreviations used for grammatical glosses in the texts are provided, as well as the references.

The second part of this publication is the collection of texts. They have been ordered according to genre, from the least spontaneous and most monologue-like genre of folk stories via (personal) narratives and procedural texts to the most spontaneous and most dialogue-like texts of a

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<sup>1</sup> We would like to acknowledge those that have contributed their time and expertise in the course of collecting and processing these texts. First and foremost, our thanks are due to the speakers: Chandra Sing Tisso, Hem'ari Ingjai, Harsing Kro, Kare Rongpipi, Bhudeswar Timung, Kache Kropi, Kasang Teronpi, Kahan Terangpi, Puspa Engtipi, Rongbang Teron, Seng Tisso, Sashikola Hansepi, Sika Hansepi, Welisbon Ronghipi. We also could not have done this work without the energetic help in transcribing and translating from Amphu Rongpipi, Klirdap Langne Teronpi, Serdihun Beypi, and Larshika Tissopi. Finally, we were lucky to be provided access to a privately owned sound studio by Chandra Kanta Terang (along with receiving regular supplies of tea, company, and topics to chat about during breaks). The first author would furthermore like to acknowledge support from the United States National Science Foundation Grant # BCS-0951749, and the following institutions at the University of Oregon: the Center for the Study of Women in Society, the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, and the Oregon Humanities Center; as well as, current support from the Martin Buber Society of Fellows at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

stimulus-based narrative (i.e., the *pear story*) and an interview/conversation. Section §2.1 introduces the second part by providing metadata on the texts as well as on the speakers.

### *1.1 The Karbi people and their language*

Karbi is spoken by half a million people<sup>2</sup> in the Karbi Anglong and West Karbi Anglong Districts, Assam, Northeast India, and adjacent areas. An approximate outline of the present-day outline of the Karbi speaking area is given in Figure 1.

There are two major dialect groups of Karbi: the varieties spoken in the hills and the ones spoken in the plains. The hills varieties are spoken by a much higher percentage of the population across both the Karbi Anglong and the Western Karbi Anglong Districts. The plains varieties are spoken particularly in the Assam plains as well as in the Assam-Meghalaya border area. The plains varieties are also sometimes referred to by the cover terms Dumra, Kamrup, or, controversially, ‘Amri Karbi’.<sup>3</sup>

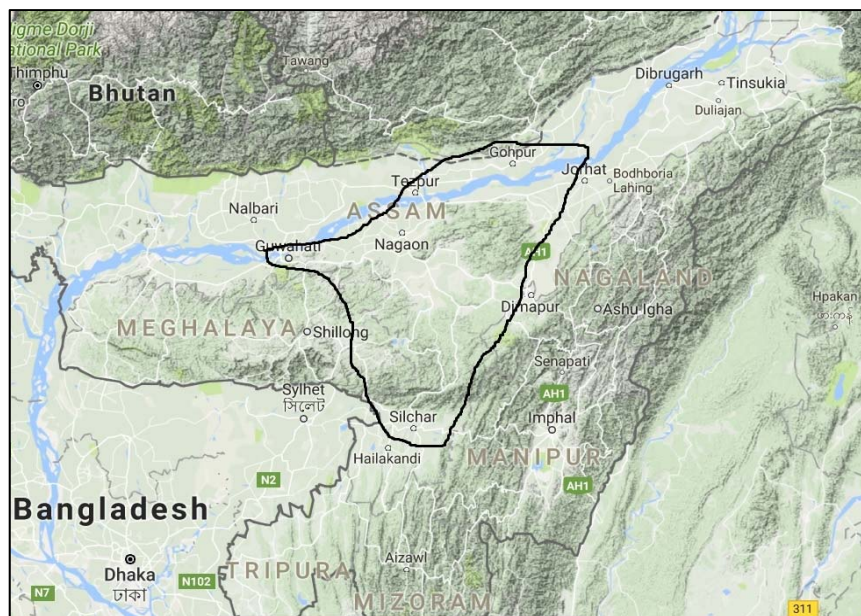


Figure 1. Current Karbi-speaking area (based on googlemaps.com)

<sup>2</sup> This figure as an approximate comes from the Karbi Literary Association called Karbi Lammet Amei, and includes speakers of all dialects. The Ethnologue lists 420,000 speakers of Hills Karbi from the 2001 census, and 125,000 speakers of what they refer to as ‘Amri Karbi’ (see fn 3) (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2015).

<sup>3</sup> The name ‘Amri Karbi’ for the plains dialect of Karbi is a political issue. The designation is rejected by the Karbi Lammet Amei (which aims to represent all Karbi people and all variants of the language, although its headquarters are in the Hills District) as well as by the other socio-cultural and student organizations of the Karbis of Karbi Anglong, Dima Hasao, and Dumra areas. According to the Karbi Lammet Amei, among those speaking one of the plains varieties, some are in favor of using this term and others are not.

### 1.2 Phonology

Consonants in onset position are shown in Table 1 (reproduced from (Konnerth 2014)). <Angle brackets> indicate the orthographic representation of a given phoneme.

|            | Bilabial   |   |                           | Alveolar |   |                        | Palatal    |           | Velar |   | Glottal                |  |
|------------|------------|---|---------------------------|----------|---|------------------------|------------|-----------|-------|---|------------------------|--|
| Stops      | b          | p | p <sup>h</sup> ~ϕ<br><ph> | d        | t | t <sup>h</sup><br><th> | ɟ~j<br><j> | c<br><ch> |       | k | k <sup>h</sup><br><kh> |  |
| Fricatives | β~w<br><v> |   |                           | s        |   |                        |            |           |       |   | h                      |  |
| Nasals     | m          |   |                           | n        |   |                        |            |           |       |   |                        |  |
| Lateral    |            |   |                           | l        |   |                        |            |           |       |   |                        |  |
| Rhotic     |            |   |                           | r~ɾ      |   |                        |            |           |       |   |                        |  |
| Glide      |            |   |                           |          |   |                        | ɟ~j<br><j> |           |       |   |                        |  |

Table 1. Syllable-initial consonants

Consonants in coda position are shown in Table 2 (reproduced from (Konnerth 2014)).

|        | Bilabial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar    |
|--------|----------|----------|---------|----------|
| Stops  | p' (<p>) | t' (<t>) |         | k' (<k>) |
| Nasals | m        | n        |         | ŋ (<ng>) |
| Rhotic |          | r~ɾ~ɻ    |         |          |

Table 2. Syllable-initial consonants

Vowel phonemes in the standard Rongkhong and Chinthong hills varieties include the following monophthongs: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/; as well as the following diphthongs: /ai/, /oi/, /ui/. The monophthong /ɪ/ and the diphthong /ei/ are found only in the Amri Hills Karbi dialect (not to be confused with the plains variety sometimes referred to as ‘Amri’). They are merged with /i/ and /ai/ respectively in the standard varieties.

Karbi syllable structure is (C)(C)V(V) for open syllables, or (C)(C)VC for closed syllables. Onset consonant clusters include /pl,pr,p<sup>h</sup>l,p<sup>h</sup>r,t<sup>h</sup>r,kl,kr,k<sup>h</sup>r/ although /t<sup>h</sup>r/ and /k<sup>h</sup>r/ occur only marginally.

There are three tone categories in Karbi, ‘low’ (L), ‘mid’ (M), and ‘high’ (H). While L and H tones are distinguished by pitch height, the M tone has variable pitch height but has characteristic glottalization.

While there are many tonal minimal pairs as well as some tonal minimal triplets, the status of the tone system is problematic in a number of respects due to its low functional load. Tone interacts with prosody and stress, word length, and morpheme type such that tonal specifications are commonly neutralized. Furthermore, Konnerth and Teo (2014) have identified a mismatch between tone production and perception: an acoustic study showed that the M and H tone categories are differentiated by one speaker tested but not by another one. But even when acoustically differentiated, listeners cannot identify the intended M or H tone, which raises questions about the phonological status of the three tones in Karbi.

Following (Konnerth 2014a), in this text collection, tone is indicated as follows. It is only marked on morphemes but not on words, and more specifically it is only marked on roots and suffixes, not on the items in the verbal proclitic slot or on prefixes. On enclitics, it is generally not marked with the exception of the additive particle =*tā*. In the case of a morphophonemic change the new tone (and not the underlying tone) is indicated. In disyllabic or sesquisyllabic morphemes, tone is generally only marked on the final syllable; the tone on the first syllable is typically predictable. Finally, there are a small number of roots and suffixes that are not marked for tone as the correct tone still needs to be confirmed. Further information on the tone marking conventions followed in these texts can be found in (Konnerth 2014a: §3.5.9).

### **1.3 Morphosyntax**

Among the most frequently used morphemes, if not the most frequently used morphemes, at least in an etymological sense, in Karbi are the nominal *a-* prefix and the nominalizer *ke--ka--ki-*. Both occur very frequently in their synchronic functions as well as in one or several diachronic functions.

Synchronically, the *a-* marks third person possession. Based on this function, it is commonly found in a general possessive construction that can schematically be represented as [N<sub>POSr</sub>] [a-N<sub>POSd</sub>], where the possessor noun precedes the *a-* marked possessed noun. This possessive construction is the historical source construction for nominal plural marking as well as a number of syntactic categories and grammatical functions, including relator nouns and relator noun-derived subordinators and adverbs, as well as the role markers *-phān* and *-lōng*, among others. In addition, the occurrence of *a-* in this construction was further extended to using *a-* marking on the head noun whenever it is preceded by any modifier, including demonstratives such as *lasō* ‘this’, numeral-classifier word used for counting, or property-concept terms.

The nominalizer *ke--ka--ki-* derives nouns and nominal modifiers from verbs. It also commonly marks subordinate clauses, including relative, complement, and adverbial clauses. Nominalized main clause constructions are moreover the historical source for modern imperfective and focus constructions.

### **1.4 Discourse Constructions**

Common discourse and rhetorical constructions that are found in particular in the narrative texts include the use of elaborate expressions and embedding them into a parallelism structure. The term of ‘elaborate expression’ refers to the use of a more complex structure when a simple one would suffice to convey the intended meaning. Its function is typically aesthetic or stylistic. In the Trans-Himalayan context, this phenomenon has been discussed by Matisoff (1973) and Peterson (2010), among others. Solnit (1995) further documents the wide use of parallel structures in Southeast Asia. An example of both phenomena is (1), where the elaborate expression (EE) *prān* plus *múi* to mean ‘life’ is embedded into a parallel structure that repeats the predicate *nangenri*.

(1) Elaborate expression and parallelism

“*Ai richo, nepran nangenri nemui*

ái richò ne-prán nang=ēn-rī ne-múi  
 how.bad! king 1EXCL:POSS-life 1/2:NSUBJ=take-NEG.IMP 1EXCL:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind)

*nangenri*”

nang=ēn-rī

1/2:NSUBJ=take-PROH

“oh king, don’t take my life!” [RBT, ChM 041]

Another common discourse construction in narratives is tail-head linkage, shown in (2). Here, the clause *harlong turpur* ‘(he) kicked over a rock’ at the end of the first intonation unit is repeated again at the beginning of the second intonation unit. The first intonation unit further includes another case of an elaborate expression, although a rare case of a suffix with a second counterpart. Finally, also note the use of the general extender (GENEX) *aját* with *kangrong* ‘was roaring’ in the first intonation unit, which functions to intensify the meaning of *ingròng* ‘roar’.

(2) Tail-head linkage

*angnarta kangrong ajat, <ku> turthap*

a-ingnàr=tā ke-ingròng aját <ku> túr-tháp  
 POSS-elephant=ADD:DM IPFV-roar GENEX <ku> kick-mindlessly

*turphrulo... harlong turpur*

túr-phrú-lò harlōng túr-pùr

kick-EE:-tháp-RL stone kick-move.over

‘this elephant was roaring and everything and kicked around mindlessly, and kicked over a rock’ [RBT, ChM 025]

*harlong turpurlo, aharlong ingplonglo, richo*

[harlōng túr-pùr-lò], [a-harlōng ingplòng-lò], [richò  
 stone kick-move.over-RL POSS-stone run.away.animal-RL king

*asopi abang ha langhe lang kachinglu...*

a-oso-pì abàng há lānghē lāng ke-chinglú]  
 POSS-child-female NPDL over.there washing.place water NMLZ-take.bath

*amat lang kachinglu ketangpen kevang amat richo*

[amāt lāng ke-chinglú ke-tāng-pen ke-vàng amāt richò  
 and.then water NMLZ-take.bath NMLZ-finish-NF:with NMLZ-come and.then king

*asopi aphan baplam*

a-oso-pì            a-phān            báp-làm]

POSS-child-female POSS-NSUBJ press.down-RES:paste.like

‘it kicked the rock, the rock rolled away, the daughter of the king was taking a bath there at the washing place, and then after having finished taking her bath, she was coming (home), and then it flattened the king’s daughter’ [RBT, ChM 026]

### 1.5 Further Reading

For more information on all topics briefly touched upon in the above, please consult the full descriptive grammar as well as a concise summary of it by the present author (Konnerth 2014a, 2017). Linguistic resources on Karbi (mostly the hill varieties) further include a comprehensive description of the phonology and morphology of the language by Grüßner (1978) and a sketch grammar by Jeyapaul (1987) from the Central Institute for Indian Languages. Dictionaries include an unpublished manuscript by Grüßner (not dated) focused on the hills varieties and with tones marked, as well as a dictionary focused on the plains varieties, which also gives hills variety forms, by Teron and Tumung (2007), with no tones marked.

### ABBREVIATIONS

|        |  |          |                                       |
|--------|--|----------|---------------------------------------|
| (kd)   | a kind of                                  | INDIR    | indirect                              |
| <Asm   | from Assamese                              | INFRML   | informal                              |
| <Eng   | from English                               | INTENS   | intensifier                           |
| <Ind   | from Indic                                 | INTERACT | interactive                           |
| <Khs   | from Khasi                                 | INTERJ   | interjection                          |
| <Pnr   | from Pnar                                  | IRR      | irrealis                              |
| 1/2/3  | first/second/third person                  | IRR1     | irrealis1 (-pò)                       |
| A      | ‘agent-like’ argument of transitive clause | IRR2     | irrealis2 (-ji)                       |
| ADD    | additive focus (=tā)                       | ITER     | iterative                             |
| ADV    | adverbial                                  | ITROG    | interrogative                         |
| AFF    | affirmative                                | JOIN     | grammaticalized ‘join’                |
| ASSUM  | assumption                                 | LOC      | locative                              |
| CAUS   | causative (pe-~pa-)                        | LV       | light verb                            |
| CC     | complement clause                          | MODIF    | modifier                              |
| CG     | common ground (=mati)                      | NEG      | negative                              |
| CIS    | cislocative (nang=)                        | NF       | non-final                             |
| CLF    | classifier                                 | NMLZ     | nominalizer                           |
| COLL   | collective                                 | NPDL     | noun phrase delimiter                 |
| COMP   | complementizer                             | NSUBJ    | non-subject                           |
| COMPAR | comparative                                | NUM      | numeral                               |
| COMPL  | completive                                 | O        | ‘other’ argument of transitive clause |
| CON    | conative                                   | PCT      | property-concept term                 |

|        |                          |        |  |
|--------|--------------------------|--------|--|
| COND   | conditional (-te)        | PFV    | perfective                             |
| CONT   | continuative (-bōm)      | PRF    | perfect (-ét)                          |
| COP    | copula                   | PL     | plural                                 |
| DEM    | demonstrative            | (poet) | poetic (song) language                 |
| DIM    | diminutive (-sō)         | POSD   | possessed                              |
| DISTR  | distributive             | POSR   | possessor                              |
| DM     | discourse marker         | POSS   | possessive                             |
| DSM    | discourse section marker | PRL    | parallel                               |
| DUBIT  | dubitative               | PURP   | purpose                                |
| EE     | elaborate expression     | Q      | question particle                      |
| EMPH   | emphatic                 | Q.TAG  | question tag                           |
| EQU    | equational               | QUOT   | quotative (pu)                         |
| EXCL   | exclusive                | RC     | relative clause                        |
| EXCLAM | exclamative              | RDL    | right dislocation                      |
| EXH    | exhaustive               | REP    | reportative (tàngbò)                   |
| FEM    | female                   | RL     | realis (-lò)                           |
| FOC    | focus                    | RR     | reflexive/reciprocal                   |
| FRML   | formal                   | S      | single argument of intransitive clause |
| GENEX  | general extender         | SG     | singular                               |
| GO     | grammaticalized 'go'     | SPLT   | superlative                            |
| HESIT  | hesitation word          | TOP    | topic                                  |
| HON    | honorific                | TS     | topic-switch                           |
| HORT   | hortative                | UNCOND | unconditional                          |
| IMP    | imperative               | VOC    | vocative                               |
| INCL   | inclusive                |        |  |

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## 2 Texts

### 2.1 Metadata

Table 3 and Table 4 have been adapted from Konnerth (2014a) and provide the metadata of texts and speakers. The text code in Table 3 consists of speaker initials (see Table 4), separated by comma from an acronym of the full text name as given in the second column. The sorting order in Table 3 is first by genre, and, within each genre category, alphabetical by speaker initials.

| Text code | Text full name                 | Genre              | # words |
|-----------|--------------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| CST, HM   | Hingchong Musoso               | folk story         | 1,140   |
| CST, RO   | Rengsopen Onso                 | folk story         | 649     |
| HI, BPh   | Bokolapo Phinu aBiha Choklem   | folk story         | 226     |
| HK, TR    | Teke Rongker                   | folk story         | 1,516   |
| KK, BMS   | Bamonpo lapen Methan Sibongpo  | folk story         | 1,317   |
| KTa, TCS  | Terang Clan Story              | folk story         | 1,006   |
| RBT, ChM  | Chonghokaloso lapen Misorongpo | folk story         | 733     |
| SeT, MTN  | Monit Thinlangno               | folk story         | 710     |
| WR, BCS   | Bey Clan Story                 | folk story         | 630     |
| KK, CC    | Crying Child                   | narrative          | 338     |
| SiT, HF   | Trip to Hornbill Festival      | personal narrative | 852     |
| SH, CSM   | Chomangkan Story Mother        | personal narrative | 827     |
| KsT, PSu  | Pindeng Sumpot                 | procedural text    | 131     |

|          |                                  |                            |       |
|----------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|-------|
| PI, BPR  | Bamboo Pork Recipe               | procedural text            | 118   |
| SiH, KH  | Kangmoi aHan                     | procedural text            | 291   |
| SiH, CW  | Cleaning and Washing             | procedural text            | 371   |
| SiT, PS  | Pear Story                       | on-line elicited narrative | 502   |
| KaR, SWK | Status of Women in Karbi Society | interview/conversation     | 1,128 |

Table 3. Metadata of texts

| Speaker initials | Full name          | Gender | From (near)             | Living in | Other languages spoken (minor knowledge) | Dialect area   | Age |
|------------------|--------------------|--------|-------------------------|-----------|--|----------------|-----|
| BT               | Bhudeswar Timung   | M      | Bamuni Karbi gaon       |           | Assamese, English, Hindi                 |                | 39  |
| CST              | Chandra Sing Teron | M      |                         |           | (Assamese)                               | Amri           | ~60 |
| HI               | Hem'ari Ingjai     | M      | Pharkong Abi            |           | (Assamese)                               |                | ~40 |
| HK               | Harsing Kro        | M      | Borkok (Boythalangso)   |           | (Assamese)                               | Amri           | ~60 |
| KaR              | Kare Rongpipi      | F      | Ran Rongki Habe Arong   |           | Assamese, Hindi                          |                | 48  |
| KK               | Kache Kropi        | F      | Balijuri (Nowgong)      |           | (Assamese)                               | Socheng Dhenta | ~60 |
| KsT              | Kasang Teronpi     | F      | Dingso (Dengaon)        | Terang    | Assamese                                 |                | 45  |
| KTa              | Kahan Terangpi     | F      |                         | Diphu     | Assamese                                 |                | ~75 |
| PI               | Puspa Engtipi      | F      | Diphu                   |           | Assamese                                 |                | ~50 |
| RBT              | Rongbang Teron     | M      | Ujandongka (Dongkamoka) |           | (Assamese)                               | Rongkhang      | ~50 |
| SeT              | Seng Tisso         | M      | Ujandongka (Dongkamoka) |           | (Assamese)                               | Rongkhang      | ~60 |
| SH               | Sashikola Hansepi  | F      | NC Hills                | Diphu     | Assamese, (English)                      | Amri           | ~50 |
| SiH              | Sika Hansepi       | F      | Men Terang (Dengaon)    |           | (Assamese)                               |                | ~45 |
| SiT              | Sikari Tisso       | M      | Bhoksong                | Diphu     | Assamese, English, Hindi, Bengali, Tiwa  | Amri           | 52  |
| WR               | Welisbon Ronghipi  | F      | Umswai Model            |           | Assamese, Tiwa                           | Amri           | ~40 |

Table 4. Metadata of speakers

## 2.2 Background information

All texts were transcribed using a Karbi orthography that follows Grüzner's (1978) work. Within the orthographical transcription, however, we added indications of some basic non-linguistic and paralinguistic aspects: whispering, laughing, the existence of short pauses ("..."), and hesitation markers. Furthermore, false starts were transcribed (using <angle brackets>). Angle brackets were also

used for words that were deemed to have been uttered mistakenly. Glosses were provided for morphemes in angle brackets if it was possible to know or at least have a reasonable guess as to what the speaker was saying or was about to say. Although most texts involve a single speaker, there are several that include two speakers, either a main speaker and an active listener (§2.3, §2.6), or two main speakers in a conversation (§2.20). Salient cases of backchanneling were transcribed but we cannot claim that we have indicated every instance of backchanneling. The same holds for hesitations and false starts. Although we tried to provide a comprehensive transcription, we are not trained, neither would have had the time, to provide the kind of rich transcription that really does capture all of this information. For more information on all of these issues, see Konnerth (2014a).

Note that the numbering of intonation units in many cases starts with ‘002’ rather than ‘001’. This is not meaningful in any way, but we did not want to change the numbering anymore after it was initially done in this way, starting at ‘002’.

### 2.3 Folk story: Hingchong Musoso by Chandra Sing Teron (CST, HM)

Folk story about two twin girls (*hingchong musoso*) that are born to the human wife of a king, who also has a second wife who is a witch. The witch is jealous and abandons the girls, who are subsequently brought up by tigers. After having grown up, they return to their father's kingdom and tell their story. The father learns the truth, the witch dies, and the reunited family lives happily ever after.

In the text, there are a few instances where Chikari Tisso, who was listening, was backchanneling. This is signaled by {curly brackets}.

*Rongphar asangho pini ilitum kechetong*

Rongphàr a-sanghò pini e-li-tūm ke-chetòng  
CLAN POSS-mister:address today 1PL.INCL-HON-PL NMLZ-meet

*ekopai keme Tisso asangho alangli*

e-kopái ke-mē Tisso a-sanghò alàng-li  
1PL.INCL-luck NMLZ-be.good CLAN POSS-mister:add 3-HON

*ilitum aphan nangkepangrum*

e-li-tūm a-phān nang=ke-pangrúm  
1PL.INCL-HON-PL POSS-NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-collect

'Mister Rongphar, today, it is our good luck that we are meeting, Mister Tisso, he made us get together' [CST, HM 001]

*lasi chetongteta ajir dingpiklo pini*

lasi chetòng-Cē=tā a-jir dīng-pik-lò pini  
therefore meet-NEG=ADD.although POSS-period.of.time be.long-very-RL today

*chetongiklo klo ilitum temole*

chetòng-īk-lò e-li-tūm temò=le  
meet-FRML-RL 1PL.INCL-HON-PL story=FOC:IRR

*chethanikronglonang mh*

che-thán-īk-ròng-lonāng mh  
RR-tell-FRML-instead-lo.HORT DSM

'so we haven't met in a long time, today we happen to meet, let's tell a story instead (of doing other possible things, nothing specific)' [CST, HM 002]

*temole chethanrongnang <m> hako ahut Hingchong*

temò=le che-thán-ròng-nāng hakò ahūt Hingchòng  
story=FOC:IRR RR-tell-instead-HORT that.time during CONSTELLATION

*musoso*

musosō

pair.of.siblings

‘let’s tell a story... in the old times, there were two Hingchong sisters’ [CST, HM 003]

*kortete<sup>4</sup> apoke richo*

kortetè a-pò=ke richò

pair.of.siblings POSS-father=TOP king

‘the father of the sisters was a king’ [CST, HM 004]

*[richolo] [amat apoke mei kedam thei*

[richò-lò] amāt a-pò=ke méi ke-dàm théi

king-RL and.then POSS-father=TOP assembly NMLZ-go EE:méi

*kedam] laso arecho abang apiso banghini*

ke-dàm [[lasō a-rechò abàng] [a-pisò bàng-hiní]]

NMLZ-go this POSS-king NPDL POSS-wife CLF-two

‘he is a king, so their father (often) goes to meetings, this king had two wives’ [CST, HM 005]

*inutke hi’ipi, inutke arlengpi, Karbipi*

[e-nūt=ke hī’ipī] [e-nūt=ke [arlēng-pī Karbi-pī]]

one-CLF:HUM.SG=TOP witch one-CLF:HUM.SG=TOP person-FEM Karbi-FEM

‘one is a witch, one is a woman, a Karbi woman’ [CST, HM 006]

*la amat Karbipi abangke areng angeselò*

là amāt Karbi-pī abàng=ke a-rèng angesé-Cē-lò

this and.then Karbi-FEM NPDL=TOP POSS-skin be.naked-NEG-RL

‘after that, the Karbi woman, she was pregnant’ [CST, HM 007]

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<sup>4</sup> More commonly, *kortete* is used to refer to a pair of siblings of the same gender while *musoso* is used to refer to a pair of siblings of different genders.

*hala apenan abang mei thei kedam aphī {mm}*

hála a-penān abàng [méi théi] ke-dàm aphī {mm}  
 that POSS-husband NPDL assembly EE:méi NMLZ-go after BACKCHANNEL

*la Karbipi abangke osomar hachelo ha hem*

[[là Karbì-pī abàng=ke osō-mār haché-lò [há hēm  
 this Karbi-FEM NPM=TOP child-PL be.born-RL over.there house

*arlo ‘mh*

arlō]] ‘mh

inside DSM

‘after her husband had gone for meetings, {mm} the Karbi woman gave birth to children there inside the house’ [CST, HM 008]

*[hem arlo osomar amahang theklo] [laso aKarbipi*

hēm arlō osō-mār a-maháng thèk-lò lasō a-Karbì-pī  
 house inside child-PL POSS-face see-RL this POSS-Karbi-FEM

*asomar oso cherop...] Hingchong musoso*

a-oso-mār osō cherōp Hingchòng musōsō  
 POSS-child-PL child twin CONSTELLATION pair.of.siblings

*kortete {mm}*

kortetè mm

2.siblings.of.same.gender BACKCHANNEL

‘inside the house, the children were born, those Karbi woman children were twins... the Hingchong sisters {mm}’ [CST, HM 009]

*lasi <ling> juja ‘e homtekangsi halaso ape ari*

[lasì juja’ē hò-m-tekáng-si] hálasō a-pé a-rī  
 therefore cradle fix.by.tying-leaving-NF:RL that POSS-cloth POSS-EE:pé

*kechekdamji pulo amatsi laso osomar banghini*

[ke-che-chōk-dām-jí pu-lò] [amātsi [lasō osō-mār bàng-hiní  
 NMLZ-RR-wash.clothes-go-IRR2 QUOT-RL and.then this child-PL CLF-two

*aphan juja ‘e homtekangsi thaptekanglo*

a-phān] juja’ē hò-m-tekáng-si thàp-tekáng-lò]  
 POSS-NSUBJ cradle fix.by.tying-leaving-NF:RL put.inside-leaving-RL

‘so (the mother) fixed the cradle, and went to wash clothes, and then, she fixed the cradle for the two children, and put them inside’ [CST, HM 010]

*amat hala hi'ipi abangke bai...*

amāt hāla hī'ipī abàng=ke bái...  
and.then that witch NPDL=TOP how.mean!  
'and then, that witch, how bad she is!' [CST, HM 011]

<bang> *nepenan abangke non dorbar pen*

<bàng> ne-penān abàng=ke nòn dorbár=pen  
somebody my-husband NPDL=TOP now big.meeting=with

*nanglelo pulotangte Karbipi asomarke*

nang=lè-lò pùlotángtē Karbi-pī a-oso-màr=ke  
CIS=reach-RL if Karbi-FEM POSS-child-PL=TOP

*banghini aso chetheklongpo nephan*

bàng-hiní a-osō che-theklōng-pò ne-phān  
CLF-two POSS-child RR-see-IRR1 1EXCL-NSUBJ

*nelangseletpole pu*

ne=làngselét-pò=le pu  
1EXCL:NSUBJ=hate-IRR1=FOC:IRR QUOT

'(she thought), "when my husband now comes back from the Dorbar, he will see the two children of the Karbi woman, and he will hate me"' [CST, HM 012]

*ne kopilo kevipo laho {mm}*

nè kopí=lo ke-vì-pò là-ho {mm}  
1EXCL what=FOC NMLZ-do-IRR1 this-EMPH:INTERACT BACKCHANNEL  
'what should I do? {mm}' [CST, HM 013]

*pu amat la Karbipi langhe kedam aphi] [laso*

[pu amāt là Karbì-pī lànghē ke-dàm aphī lasō  
QUOT and.then this Karbi-FEM washing.place NMLZ-go after this

*aosomar Hingchong musoso atum aphan*

a-oso-màr Hingchòng musōsō a-tūm a-phān  
POSS-child-PL CONSTELLATION pair.of.siblings POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ

*ha] same sadu akrong alat votek*

há] samé sadú a-kròng a-lat vōtèk  
over.there path EE:samé POSS-CLF.roads POSS-EE:kròng wild.bird

*ingrengre voso ingrengre along osomar*

ingrèng-Cē vōsō ingrèng-Cē alòng osō-mār  
 call(small.animals)-NEG EE:vōtèk call(small.animals)-NEG LOC child-PL

*ponpidam 'et thondam 'et*

pòn-pī-dām-ét thòn-dām-ét  
 take.away-BEN/MAL-go-PRF drop-go-PRF

‘and then, after the Karbi woman has gone to the water place, these Hingchong sisters, over there, she went to carry the children to a place where the roads cross, where the birds don’t sing, and went left them there [CST, HM 014]’

*thondamtilo anke halaso aKarbipi ahem*

[thòn-dām-tí-lò ánke] [[hálasō a-Karbi-pī] a-hēm  
 drop-go-get.rid.off-RL and.then that POSS-Karbi-FEM POSS-house

*nangchevanglo ja 'e along nangchelanglo asomar ave*

nang=che-vāng-lò ja'ē alòng nang=che-lāng-lò [a-oso-màr avē]  
 CIS=RR-come-RL cradle LOC CIS=RR-see-RL POSS-child-PL not.exist

‘(the witch) abandoned (the children there), and then the Karbi woman came home, she looked in the cradle, her children were not there’ [CST, HM 015]

*thengpi abengsi hini thappiroi*

thèngpī a-bēng=si hini thàp-pī-ròi  
 tree/wood POSS-piece=FOC:RL two put.inside-BEN/MAL-PL

‘she (the witch) had put two pieces of firewood in (the cradle) for (the mother to think the children were still in there)’ [CST, HM 016]

*anke halata kephere hi 'ipi puke chinilo*

ánke hála=tā ke-pheré hī'ipī pu=ke chiní-lò  
 and.then that=ADD.DM NMLZ-fear witch QUOT=TOP know-RL

‘and then, that one (the mother) was scared because she knew that that one was a witch (so she couldn’t say anything because if she did the witch would do more evil things)’ [CST, HM 017]

*ai laso ahi 'ipisi chodetlo laso ahi 'ipisi*

ái lasō a-hi'ipī=si chō-dèt-lò lasō a-hi'ipī=si  
 how.bad! this POSS-witch=FOC:RL eat-PFV-RL this POSS-witch=FOC:RL

*pu amat ningje haihe jat haihe amat lale*

pu amāt ningjé hāi-Cē jāt hāi-Cē amāt là=le  
QUOT and.then speak dare-NEG GENEX dare-NEG and.then this=FOC:IRR

*kechiru kecharnap*

ke-chirú ke-charnàp

NMLZ-cry NMLZ-EE:chirú

‘ai!, this witch has eaten them up, this witch!, and then I don’t dare to say (anything), or do anything else’, and then (instead of speaking) she was only crying’ [CST, HM 018]

*<si so aso a’osom...> athengpi abengsi*

<si sō a-osō a-osō-m...> a-thengpī a-bēng=si  
therefore this POSS-child POSS-child-(PL) POSS-tree/wood POSS-piece=FOC:RL

*lapusi mok patongbomlo pachubomlo*

lápù=si mōk pV-tòng-bōm-lò pV-chū-bōm-lò

like.this=FOC:RL breast CAUS-meet-CONT-RL CAUS-suck-CONT-RL

‘the wood, this way, she held it close to her and let it drink’ [CST, HM 019]

*[pachubomlo] [anke laso than haihe] [hala richo abang*

pV-chū-bōm-lò ánke lasō thán hāi-Cē hála richò abàng  
CAUS-suck-CONT-RL and.then this tell dare-NEG that king NPDL

*vanglo]*

vàng-lò]

come-RL

‘she let them drink, and then she didn’t dare to tell this (what has been happening), and then the king came’ [CST, HM 020]

*hi’ipi abang pulo jaho*

hī’ipī abàng pù-lò jaho

witch NPDL say-RL look.there!

‘the witch said ‘look there’’ [CST, HM 021]

*nangpiso Karbipi asomar aso <ke.. ke>*

[[nang-pisò Karbì-pī a-oso-màr a-osō

your-wife Karbi-FEM POSS-child-PL POSS-child

*kehacheke thengpi abeng angse jaho hini... pu*

ke-haché=ke      thengpī      a-bēng      angsé jaho      hiní pu  
 NMLZ-be.born=TOP tree/wood POSS-piece only look.there! two QUOT

*anke hala richo abangta chelangdamlo bai*

ánke      hála richò abàng=tā      che-lāng-dām-lò      báí  
 and.then that king NPDL=DM RR-see-go-RL how.mean!  
 ‘your wife, the Karbipi gave birth to only (in the sense of no real children, just wood) two pieces of wood, look there at the two, and then, that king also went himself to look, and “my goodness!” [CST, HM 022]

*nesomar pule kosonsi thengpi abeng*

ne-oso-màr pu=le      kosòn=si      thengpī      a-bēng  
 my-child-PL QUOT=FOC:IRR how=FOC:RL tree/wood POSS-piece

*nangketetroiroidetlo*

nang=ke-tèt-ròì-ròì-dèt-lò  
 CIS=NMLZ-exit-PL.solid.obj~DIST.PL-PFV-RL  
 ‘if they are my children, how did they come out as pieces of wood?’ [CST, HM 023]

*lata amatsi bai [laso arloso... kopi*

là=tā      amātsi      báí      [lasō arlosō... kopī  
 this=ADD.DM because how.mean! this woman what

*kemandetloma apot ne nehem*

ke-mán-dèt-lò=ma      apōt      nè      ne-hēm  
 NMLZ-become/happen-PFV-RL=Q because 1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-house

*khangkhe nerit khangkhe pusi laphanke*

kháng-Cē ne-rīt      kháng-Cē pusi      là-phān=ke  
 keep-NEG 1EXCL:POSS-field keep-NEG QUOT.COMP this-NSUBJ=TOP

*ha <e> sirkut ingdeng krehini arlo*

há      <e> sirkút ingdēng kré-hiní      arlō  
 over.there HESIT room level ten.and-two inside

*bengdamcheklo <ta> <e> sabi maricheklo*

bèng-dām-chèk-lò      <e>      sabí      marí-chèk-lò  
 lock-GO-firmly-RL HESIT key(<Asm) lock(<Asm)-firmly-RL  
 ‘and then the king also said, ‘my goodness! what happened to that woman then? so I won’t allow her to stay in my home’, and what he did with her is, he locked (her) away firmly far inside the house in a room 12 levels inside, he locked it firmly with a key’ [CST, HM 024]

*laso aphī laso aHingchong musoso hala habit*

lasō aphī lasō a-Hingchòng musosō hála habit  
this after this POSS-CONSTELLATION pair.of.siblings that jungle

*kethondamti ahut mok ingchirlo*

ke-thòn-dām-tí ahūt mōk ingchìr-lò  
NMLZ-drop-go-get.rid.off during breast be.hungry-RL  
'after that, the Hingchong sisters that were dropped in that jungle, at that time, (re-introducing the children)' [CST, HM 025]

*laso akachiru hangjo thik halaso adihu*

lasō a-ke-chirú háng-jò thík hálasō a-dihú  
this POSS-NMLZ-cry call-many.continuously:S right.then that POSS-time

*longri ateke... teke <s> pilolo vanglo*

longrī a-tekè tekè pilolō vàng-lò  
subdistrict POSS-tiger tiger female.and.male.animal come-RL  
'the children were hungry, their crying was making very loud sounds, and right at that moment, at that time, the tigers of that area, a tiger couple came' [CST, HM 026]

*laso ateke pilolo kechopan aphan kevang*

lasō a-tekè pilolō ke-chopān aphān ke-vàng  
this POSS-tiger female.and.male.animal NMLZ-graze PURP NMLZ-come

*ahut [[haso aHingchong musoso osomar] kechiru*

ahūt [[hásō a-Hingchòng musosō osō-mār ke-chirú  
during that POSS-CONSTELLATION pair.of.siblings child-PL NMLZ-cry

*banghini hangjolo] an kangchirsi mok kangchir*

bàng-hiní háng-jò-lò àn ke-ingchìr-si mōk ke-ingchìr  
CLF-two call-many.continuously:S-RL rice NMLZ-be.hungry-NF:RL breast NMLZ-be.hungry  
'this tiger couple had come to look for food, at that moment, the Hingcho musoso, the two of them, were crying loudly, they were hungry, they wanted to drink milk' [CST, HM 027]

*[la amatsi teke atum arjulonglo] [la teke pilolo*

là amātsi tekè a-tūm arjū-lōng-lò] [là tekè pilolō  
this and.then tiger POSS-PL listen-get.to-RL this tiger female.and.male.animal

*arjulonglo* [*bai kopiching apilo laho*]

arjū-lōng-lò] [bái kopichíng a-pī-lò là-ho]

listen-get.to-RL how.mean! what.possibly POSS-animal-RL this- EMPH:INTERACT

‘and then, the tigers heard it, and the female and male tigers heard, and then “how bad! what living being could that possibly be?’ [CST, HM 028]

*la’an kechiru kecharnap ansi damlo*

là án ke-chirú ke-charnàp ánsi dàm-lò

this that.much NMLZ-cry NMLZ-EE:chirú and.then go-RL

‘they were crying so much, and then they (the tigers) went’ [CST, HM 029]

*la teke pilolo damlo dammesen*

là tekè pilolō dàm-lò dàm-mē-sén

this tiger female.and.male.animal go-RL go-be.good-nicely

*thekdamlonglo monit aso penak*

thèk-dām-lōng-lò monít a-osō penāk

see-go-get.to-RL man POSS-child actually

‘they went, and as they went, they could see, they were actually human children’ [CST, HM 030]

*anke hala alo abang pulo ‘mh’ chodetanang*

ánke hála a-lò abàng pù-lò ‘mh’ chō-dèt-lonāng

and.then that POSS-male.animal NPDL say-RL NEG eat-PFV-HORT

‘then, the male one said ‘no, let’s just eat them (even though maybe he should have had pity with them)!’ [CST, HM 031]

*amat hala api abang kroikredet {mm}*

amāt hála a-pī abàng krōi-Cē-dèt {mm}

and.then that POSS-female/mother NPDL agree-NEG-PFV BACKCHANNEL

‘and then, the female didn’t agree {mm}’ [CST, HM 032]

*api abang kroikredet mane bai*

a-pī abàng krōi-Cē-dèt mane bái

POSS-female.animal NPDL agree-NEG-PFV I.mean(pause.filler) my.goodness!

*lake monit monor aso apot itum*

là=ke monít monòr a-osō apōt e-tūm

this=TOP man EE:monít POSS-child because IPL.INCL-PL

*orapondetnang*

orá-pòn-dèt-nāng

take.care-take.away-PFV-HORT

‘the female one didn’t agree, that means, “how bad!, because they are human beings, let’s carry them away and take care of them”‘ [CST, HM 033]

*orapondetnang pulo amat thik laso*

orá-pòn-dèt-nāng pù-lò amātsi thík [lasō

take.care-take.away-PFV-HORT say-RL because right.then this

*api alam ateng amat laso aosomar*

a-pī a-lám atèng] amātsi lasō a-osō-mār

POSS-female.animal POSS-matter according.to because this POSS-child-PL

*Hingchong musoso aphan laso ateke jonni*

Hingchòng musosō aphān lasō a-tekè jōn-ní

CONSTELLATION pair.of.siblings NSUBJ this POSS-tiger CLF.animals-two

*abangphu enut ing’omponkreilo*

a-abangphú e-nūt ing’òm-pōn-krèi-lò

POSS-each.one one-CLF.HUM.SG keep.in.mouth-in.passing-DISTR.PL-RL

*ha longku arlo chepondetlo anghor along {mm}*

há longkū arlō che-pōn-dèt-lò anghòr alòng {mm}

over.there cave inside RR-take.away-PFV-RL hole LOC BACKCHANNEL

‘let’s take them to take care of them, and then, right then, according to the female’s words, the two tigers took these children each one in their mouths and carried them away, inside the cave they brought them, in a hole (= the cave) {mm}’ [CST, HM 034]

*lasi longku arlo chepondetpen latum ok*

lasi longkū arlō che-pōn-dèt-pèn là-tūm òk

therefore cave inside RR-take.away-PFV-NF:with this-PL meat

*han akeme-keme vanpilo*

hán a-ke-mē~ kemē<sup>5</sup> vàn-pī-lò

prepared.vegetables POSS-NMLZ-be.good~PL bring-BEN/MAL-RL

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<sup>5</sup> Reduplication here indicates plurality, not intensification.

*jatlo sonsi orabomlo*

ját-lò lasòn=si orá-bòm-lò

GENEX-RL that.way=FOC:RL take.care-CONT-RL

‘and then, they carried them inside the cave, and then they brought to them all the good meat and curry for them and everything and that way took care of him’ [CST, HM 035]

*amat haso osomar <aphanta> hala teke aphansi amok*

amāt hásō osō-mār <aphān=ta> hála tekè aphān=si a-mōk

and.then that child-PL <NSUBJ=ADD> that tiger NSUBJ=FOC:RL POSS-breast

*chulo ajatlo amat haso ateke aphansi*

chū-lò aját-lò amātsi hásō a-tekè aphān=si

suck-RL GENEX-RL because that POSS-tiger NSUBJ=FOC:RL

*pei po pu hanglo*

pēi pō pu háng-lò

mother father QUOT call-RL

‘and then, those children drank milk from the tigress, and then they called those tigers “mother and father”’ [CST, HM 036]

*anke <laso> thelo dinglo*

ánke <laso> thè-lò dīng-lò

and.then <this> be.big-RL be.long-RL

‘and then, they grew up’ [CST, HM 037]

*arje amumangle nangkemerinti*

arjè a-mumāng=le nang=ke-mē-rintí

appearance POSS-appearance(poet)=FOC:IRR CIS=NMLZ-be.good-equally:PL:S/A

*ekdom lapu amat korteteta*

ékdòm lapù amāt kortetè=tā

EXCM(<Asm) like.this and.then pair.of.siblings=ADD.EXH

‘their appearance became equally nice and so nice! in this way, the two sisters’ [CST, HM 038]

*amatsi haso ateke atum pulo*

amātsi hásō a-tekè a-tūm pù-lò

because that POSS-tiger POSS-PL say-RL

‘and the tigers said’ [CST, HM 039]

*to nangtumta rongro juidamtha*

tò nang-tūm=tā rongrò jùì-dām-thā  
OK 2POSS-PL=ADD.EXH around.the.village play-go-CON.IMP  
'ok, go and play all around the village' [CST, HM 040]

*mh rongro juidamtha*

mh rongrò jùì-dām-thā  
DSM around.the.village play-go-CON.IMP  
'go and play all around the village' [CST, HM 041]

*rongro juidamnoi <hala richo>*

rongrò jùì-dām-nōi <hála richò>  
around.the.village play-go-INF.COND.IMP that king  
'go and play around the village, <that king...>' [CST, HM 042]

*hala apoke richo te laso aricho*

[[hála a-pō=ke] [richò]] [te lasō a-rechò  
that POSS-father=TOP king and.then/therefore this POSS-king

*ahem damra maro alongle nangtum*

a-hēm dām-ra marò alòng=le nang-tūm  
POSS-house go-NF:IRR maro LOC=FOC:IRR 2-PL

*juidamnoi*

jùì-dām-nōi  
play-go-INF.COND.IMP  
'because the father is a king, go to the house of the king, and play in the maro!' [CST, HM 043]

*maro along juidamnoi nangtum temo*

[marò alòng jùì-dām-nōi] [nang-tūm temò  
maro LOC play-go-INF.COND.IMP 2-PL story

*chethannoi <bang> richoke ha*

che-thán-nōi] <bang> [richò=ke há  
RR-tell-INF.COND.IMP <somebody> king=TOP over.there

*pharla alongsi pohui moidai along doji] nangtum*

pharlá                      alòng=si      [[pohùì mòidāi] alòng] dō-ji      nang-tūm  
 outside.part.Karbi.house    LOC=FOC:RL    pillow    backrest    LOC    exist-IRR2    2-PL

*chethandamnoi*

che-thán-dàm-nōi

RR-tell-go-INF.COND.IMP

“go play in the maro, tell the story between yourselves, the king will be over there in his pharla, on his comfortable bed, you go and tell each other” [CST, HM 044]

*tangho oi, o te o bong*

tànghò òi                                      o              tè              o              bōng  
 REP    addr.between.equal.women    vocative    elder.sister    vocative    younger.sibling:ADDRESS  
 ‘so, sister, o elder sister, o dear younger one’ [CST, HM 045]

*e epo do epoke doke do do setame*

e    [e-pō              dō]    [e-pō=ke              dō=ke              dō]    [[dō setamē]  
 EXPRS    1INCL-father    exist    1INCL-father=TOP    exist=TOP    exist    exist    nevertheless

*apiso banghini*

[a-pisò      bàng-hiní]]

POSS-wife    CLF:HUM.PL-two

‘we have a father, though we have a father, he has two wives’ [CST, HM 046]

*amat enut abangke hi’ipi enut abangke*

amāt      e-nūt                      abàng=ke      hī’ipī      e-nūt                      abàng=ke  
 and.then    one-CLF.HUM.SG    NPDL=TOP    witch    one-CLF.HUM.SG    NPDL=TOP

*arlengpi*

arlēng-pī

person-female

‘and then, one is a witch, one is a woman’ [CST, HM 047]

*etumke arlengpi asomarlo tangho*

e-tūm=ke              arlēng-pī              a-oso-màr-lò              tànghò  
 1PL.INCL-PL=TOP    person-female    POSS-child-PL-RL    REP

*epei abang lang kesokdam aphi...*

e-pēi            abàng lāng ke-sòk-dām            aphī  
1PL.INCL-mother    NPDL    water    NMLZ-get.water-go    after

‘we are said to be the children of the Karbi woman, after our mother went to get water...’ [CST, HM 048]

*hala tekesi sop thandunetlo {thanlo}*

hála tekè=si            sòp            thán-dùn-ét-lò            {thán-lò}  
that tiger=FOC:RL    all(<Ind)    tell-join-PRF-RL    tell-RL

‘the tiger told it all {(they) told it}’ [CST, HM 049]

*m <etum lang kesokdam aphi> <e>*

m                    <e-tūm            lāng ke-sòk-dām            aphī  
BACKCHANNEL    1PL.INCL-PL    water    NMLZ-get.water-go    after

*epei lang kesokdam aphi etum aphanke*

e-pēi                    lāng ke-sòk-dām            aphī e-tūm            aphān=ke  
1PL.INCL-mother    water    NMLZ-get.water-go    after    1PL.INCL-PL    NSUBJ=TOP

*ja’e alongsi... <ehom> <e> homsi*

ja’ē    alòng=si...            hóm-si  
cradle    LOC=FOC:RL    fix.by.tying-NF:RL

*ethap kanglo*

e-thàp-káng-lò  
1PL.INCL-put.inside.container-leave-RL

‘after our mother went to get water, she put us in the cradle’ [CST, HM 050]

*ethap kangdetpen aphi hi’ipi abangke*

e-thàp-káng-dét-pèn                    aphī hī’ipī abàng=ke  
1INCL-put.inside -leaving-PFV-from    after    witch    NPDL=TOP

*etum aphan nangkelangun’e epei*

e-tūm            aphan nang=ke-làng-ùn-Cē                    e-pēi  
1PL.INCL-PL    NSUBJ    1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-see-be.able-NEG    1PL.INCL-mother

*aphan kelangun'e*

aphān ke-làng-ùn-Cē

NSUBJ NMLZ-see-be.able-NEG

‘after (our mother) put us in the cradle, the witch could not tolerate us, she also couldn’t tolerate our mother’ [CST, HM 051]

*amatsi etum aphanke dak habit angbongsi*

amātsi e-tūm aphān=ke dāk habit angbòng=si

because 1PL.INCL-PL NSUBJ=TOP here jungle middle=FOC:RL

*nangkethonti*

nang=ke-thòn-tí

1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-drop-get.rid.off

‘and then, she took us here in the middle of the jungle and abandoned us [CST, HM 052]’

*nangthontilo amatsi epo abangke*

nang=thòn-tí-lò amātsi e-pō abàng=ke

1/2:NSUBJ=drop-get.rid.off-RL because 1PL.INCL-father NPDL=TOP

*dorbarpen vanglo amat o hi'ipi abang pulo*

dorbár=pen vàng-lò amāt ò hī'ipī abàng pù-lò

big.meeting=from come-RL and.then EXCM witch NPDL say-RL

<nang> nangpiso arlengpi <a..> nangsomar

nang-pisò arlēng-pī nang-so-màr

your-wife person-female your-child-PL

*chelangdamtha*

che-lāng-dām-tha

RR-see-go-CON.IMP

‘she abandoned us and then our father came from the dorbar and then, the witch said (to the king) ‘oh, go and see your wife and see your children’ [CST, HM 053]

*thengpi abengsi nangtetroiroi jaho*

thengpī a-bēng=si nang=tèt-ròì~rōi jaho

tree/wood POSS-piece=FOC:RL CIS=exit-solid.obj~DIST.PL look.there!

‘pieces of wood have come out, look there!’ [CST, HM 054]

*pura lahai atemo chethandamnoi*

pù-ra lahái a-temò che-thán-dàm-nōi  
say-NF:IRR these POSS-story RR-tell-go-INF.COND.IMP  
'say this and go tell these stories among yourselves' [CST, HM 055]

*pu anke laso ateke atum alam atengpen*

pu ánke lasō a-tekè a-tūm a-lám atèng=pen  
QUOT and.then this POSS-tiger POSS-PL POSS-word according.to=with  
'then, (they did) according to the advice of the tigers' [CST, HM 056]

*alam atengpen amatsi la Hingchong*

a-lám atèng=pen amātsi là Hingchòng  
POSS-word according.to=with and.then this CONSTELLATION

*musosoke halaso aricho ahemlo apo*

musosō=ke hálasō a-rechò a-hēm=lo a-pō  
pair.of.siblings=TOP that POSS-king POSS-house=FOC POSS-father

*ahemlo ha amaro along juidamlo*

a-hēm=lo há a-marò alòng jùi-dām-lò  
POSS-house=FOC over.there POSS-marò LOC play-go-RL  
'(they did) according to their advice, the Hingchong sisters went to the king's house, to the maro and played' [CST, HM 057]

*lasonsi juibom juibom juibomlo*

lasòn=si jùi-bōm jùi-bōm jùi-bōm-lò  
that.way=FOC:RL play-CONT play-CONT play-CONT-RL  
'this way, they played and played and played' [CST, HM 058]

*temo chethanlo tangho oi o te*

temò che-thán-lò tànghò òi o tè  
story RR-tell-RL REP addr.between.equal.women vocative elder.sister

*epoke richo tangho*

e-pō=ke richò tànghò  
IPL.INCL-father=TOP king REP  
'they are telling each other the story, "o, sister! oh older sister, our father is (said to be) a king"' [CST, HM 059]

*e epoke apiso banghini tangho*

e e-pō=ke a-pisò bàng-hiní tànghò  
 EXPRS 1PL.INCL-father=TOP POSS-wife CLF:gen-two REP

*inutke hi'ipi inutke arlengpi*

e-nūt=ke hī'ipī e-nūt=ke arlēng-pī  
 one-CLF.hum.one=TOP witch one-CLF.hum.one=TOP person-female  
 'our father is supposed to have two wives, a witch and a Karbi woman' [CST, HM 060]

*etumke arlengpi asomar tangho*

e-tūm=ke arlēng-pī a-oso-màr tànghò  
 1PL.INCL-PL=TOP person-female POSS-child-PL REP  
 'we are supposed to be the children of the Karbi woman' [CST, HM 061]

*epei lang kachingludam aphisī <h...> hala*

e-pēi lāng ke-chinglú-dàm aphī=si hálasō  
 1PL.INCL-mother water NMLZ-take.bath-go after=FOC:RL that

*epinulo epeilo hi'ipi abangke*

e-pinú=lo e-pēi=lo hī'ipī abàng=ke  
 1PL.INCL-mothers.younger.sister=FOC 1PL.INCL-mother=FOC witch NPDL=TOP

*etum aphan ha vōtek ingrengre voso*

e-tūm aphan há vōtèk ingrèng-Cē vōsō  
 1PL.INCL-PL NSUBJ over.there wild.bird call(small.animals)-NEG EE:vōtèk

*ingrengre along ekethondamti*

ingrèng-Cē alòng e=ke-thòn-dām-tí  
 call(small.animals)-NEG LOC 1PL.INCL:NSUBJ=NMLZ-drop-go-get.rid.off  
 'after our mother had gone to take a bath, that aunt, that (step-)mother of ours, that witch, she went and dropped us over there where the birds don't chirp' [CST, HM 062]

*amat tekesi etum aphan nangkeorapon*

amāt tekè=si e-tūm aphān nang=ke-orá-pòn  
 and.then tiger=FOC:RL 1PL.INCL-PL NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.care-take.away

*nangkesaidapon*

nang=ke-saidá-pòn

1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-EE:orá-take.away

‘and then, the tigers took care of us’ [CST, HM 063]

*pule chethannoi amatsi laso ateng*

pù=le che-thán-nōi amātsi lasō atèng

like.this=FOC:IRR RR-tell-INF.COND.IMP because this according.to

*chethanlo*

che-thán-lò

RR-tell-RL

‘like this, tell yourselves, and then according to that they told each other’ [CST, HM 064]

*halaso aricho abang arjulo ai kopi alamlo*

hálásō a-richo abàng arjū-lò ái kopí a-lám-lò

that POSS-king NPDL listen-RL how.strange! what POSS-word-RL

*laho*

là-ho

this-EMPH:INTERACT

‘that king listened to them, “ai! what matter is this!”’ [CST, HM 065]

*so a’osomar kaipenta nangjuibomta*

sō a-oso-màr kái=pen=tā nang=jùi-bōm=tā

this POSS-child-PL always=with=ADD.EXH CIS=play-CONT=although

*lahai atemo nangchethanthe*

lahái a-temò nang=che-thán-Cē

these POSS-story CIS=RR-tell-NEG

‘these children always come and play here but they don’t used to tell these stories (in the past)’ [CST, HM 066]

*hala aning chemathalo*

hála a-nīng che-mathá-lò

that POSS-mind RR-think-RL

‘he thought about it’ [CST, HM 067]

*nepisoke banghini*  
ne-pisò=ke                      bàng-hiní  
1EXCL:POSS-wife=TOP CLF:gen-two  
'I have two wives' [CST, HM 068]

*inutke hi'ipi inutke arlengpi*  
e-nūt=ke                      hī'ipi    e-nūt=ke                      arlēng-pī  
one-CLF.hum.one=TOP    witch    one-CLF.hum.one=TOP    person-female  
'one is a witch, one is a Karbi woman' [CST, HM 069]

*ai laso alam abangke ahokjima*  
ái                      lasō    a-lám                      abàng=ke    a-hōk-jí=ma  
how.strange!    this    POSS-word    NPDL=TOP    POSS-truth-IRR2=Q

*laho*  
là-ho  
this-EMPH:INTERACT  
oh, might these stories (that the children are telling) be true? [CST, HM 070]

*pusi arjudunding*  
pusi                      arjū-dūn-ding  
QUOT.COMP    listen-JOIN-steadily  
'he was thinking that and he was listening attentively' [CST, HM 071]

*amatsi laso atemo pajut amatsi la Hingchong*  
amātsi    lasō    a-temò                      pV-jūt                      amātsi    là    Hingchòng  
and.then    this    POSS-story    CAUS-finish    and.then    this    CONSTELLATION

*musosoke chedamruklo*  
musosō=ke                      che-dām-rùk-lè-lò  
pair.of.siblings=TOP    RR-go-away.PL-again-RL  
'and then, they (the siblings) ended the story there, the Hingchong sisters went away again' [CST, HM 072]

*ako richo abang arjudunloksi* “osomar,  
akò rechò abàng arjū-dūn-lòk-si “osō-mār  
then king NPDL listen-JOIN-happen.to-NF:RL child-PL

*penapta nangjuithutha dei*”, *ako hangthulo* {mm}  
penàp=tā nang=jùì-thū-thā déi”, akò háng-thū-lò {mm}  
tomorrow=also CIS=play-again-CON.IMP OK? again(<Asm) call-again-RL BACKCHANNEL  
‘again the king happened to hear it (and said), “children, tomorrow you also must come and play,  
ok?’, again he called them {mm}’ [CST, HM 073]

*[hangthulo] [[puthot arnita] latum abangke*  
háng-thù-lò puthōt arnì=tā là-tūm abàng=ke  
call-again-RL next day=ADD.also this-PL NPDL=TOP

*hadak juidamlo] [hala richolo apo atum*  
hádāk jùì-dām-lò hála rechò=lo a-pō a-tūm  
there play-go-RL that king=FOC POSS-father POSS-PL

*amaro along] [ako laso atemo chethanlelo]*  
a-marò alòng] akò lasō a-temò che-thán-lè-lò  
POSS-marò LOC then this POSS-story RR-tell-again-RL  
‘he called them again, the next day also, they came there to play, to the *maro* of the king, of their  
father’s people, and then these stories they told’ [CST, HM 074]

*epeike Karbipi enut abangke hi’ipi*  
[e-pēi=ke Karbì-pī] [e-nūt abàng=ke hi’ipī]  
1PL.INCL-mother=TOP Karbi-female one-CLF:HUM:SG NPDL=TOP witch

*epoke recho*  
[e-pō=ke rechò]  
1PL.INCL-father=TOP king  
our mother is a human being, and one (= the other one) is a witch, our father is a king [CST, HM  
075]

*si etumke arlengpi asomarlo*  
sì [e-tūm=ke] [arlēng-pī a-oso-màr-lò]  
therefore 1PL.INCL-PL=TOP person-female POSS-child-PL-RL

*itum aphanke ha nampi namdur alongsi*

e-tūm aphān=ke há nāmpī nāmdūr alòng=si  
 1PL.INCL-PL NSUBJ=TOP over.there big.forest EE:nampī LOC=FOC:RL

*ekethondamlo*

e=ke-thòn-dām-lò

1INCL:NSUBJ=NMLZ-drop-go-RL

‘and then, we are the children of the Karbi woman, and (the witch) abandoned us over there in the deep forest’ [CST, HM 076]

*lapen tekese etum aphan nangkeora*

là=pen tekè=si e-tūm aphān nang=ke-orá  
 this=with tiger=FOC:RL 1PL.INCL-PL NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.care

*nangkesaida*

nang=ke-saidá

1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-EE:orá

‘and then, it was the tigers actually who were taking care of us’ [CST, HM 077]

*alo abangke chodetanang pulo*

[a-lò abàng=ke [chō-dèt-lonāng] pù-lò]  
 POSS-male.animal NPDL=TOP eat-PFV-lo.HORT say-RL

*[[hala api abangke] [[chonangne] [etum*

[[hála a-pī abàng=ke] [[chō-náng-Cē] [e-tūm  
 that POSS-female/mother NPDL=TOP eat-need-NEG 1PL.INCL-PL

*orapondetnang pusi etum aphanke*

orá-pòn-dèt-nāng pusi e-tūm aphān=ke  
 take.care-take.away-PFV-HORT QUOT.COMP 1PL.INCL-PL NSUBJ=TOP

*ing’omponkreisi ha longku longdang*

ing’òm-pōn-krèi-si há longkū longdāng  
 keep.in.mouth-take.away-DISTR.PL-NF:RL over.there cave crevice

*ekepon*

e=ke-pòn

1PL.INCL:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.away

‘the male one said ‘let’s eat them up’, the female (said) ‘must not eat them, let’s carry them away and take care of them’, she said and in their mouths they carried us away over there to their cave’ [CST, HM 078]

*lasi puthot arni juidamlo*

lasi puthōt arni jùì-dām-lò  
therefore next/again day play-go-RL  
'this way the next day they came to play' [CST, HM 079]

*amat lasonthot atemo chethandamlelo*

amāt lasòn-thòt a-temò che-thán-dàm-lè-lò  
and.then that.way-exactly POSS-story RR-tell-go-again-RL  
'and then, the same way they told the story again' [CST, HM 080]

*amat hala richo abang arjudundinglo*

amāt hála richò abàng arjū-dūn-dìng-lò  
and.then that king NPDL listen-JOIN-steadily-RL  
'and then, the king was listening attentively' [CST, HM 081]

*ai nesomarlole laho theng beng*

ái [ne-oso-màr-lò=le là-ho] [thēng bēng  
how.strange! 1EXCL:POSS-child-PL-RL=FOC:IRR this-EMPH:INTERACT firewood piece

*kalilo nesomarlole laho*

kalī-lò] [ne-oso-màr-lò=le là-ho]  
NEG.EQU.COP-RL 1EXCL:POSS-child-PL-RL=FOC:IRR this-EMPH:INTERACT  
'how strange, they are my children, they are not pieces of wood anymore, they are my children'  
[CST, HM 082]

*latum <la> hi'ipi abangsi laso kethondamtilo*

là-tūm <là> hī'ipī abàng=si lasō ke-thòn-dām-tí-lò  
this-PL this witch NPDL=FOC:RL this NMLZ-drop-go-get.rid.off-RL  
'nobody else than the witch abandoned them' [CST, HM 083]

*apot laso aricho abang mathalo ai*

apōt lasō a-rechò abàng mathà-lò ái  
because this POSS-king NPDL think-RL how.strange!

*nesomarlo laho pu*

ne-oso-màr-lò là-ho pu  
 1EXCL:POSS-child-PL-RL this-EMPH:INTERACT QUOT

‘therefore, the king thought, ‘how strange, they are my children’’ [CST, HM 084]

*aosomar aphan halaso aricho abang*

a-osō-mār aphān hálásō a-rechò abàng  
 POSS-child-PL NSUBJ that POSS-king NPDL

*hangpon ’et*

háng-pòn-ét  
 call-take.away-PRF

‘the king called his children to take them with him (told them to come)’ [CST, HM 085]

*to nangtum ahokma nangtum arlengpi asomar*

tò nang-tūm a-hōk=ma nang-tūm arlēng-pī a-oso-màr  
 OK 2-PL POSS-truth=Q 2POSS-PL person-female POSS-child-PL

*pu o [arlengpi aso] netumke atemo*

pu ò [arlēng-pī a-sō] ne-tūm=ke a-temò  
 QUOT EXCM person-female POSS-child 1EXCL:POSS-PL=TOP POSS-story

‘ok, are you saying the truth? are you the children of the Karbi woman? (whether we are) the children of the Karbi (we don’t know), (what) we (are telling) is (just) the story (of....)’ [CST, HM 086]

*netumke arlengpi asolone kaline*

ne-tūm=ke arlēng-pī a-sō-lò-nē kalī-nē  
 1EXCL:POSS-PL=TOP person-female POSS-child-RL-INDEF NEG.EQU.COP-INDEF

‘whether we are the children of the Karbi woman or not (we don’t know)’ [CST, HM 087]

*pu amat to tangte pini nangtum laan atemo*

pu amāt tò tángtē pini nang-tūm là-án a-temò  
 QUOT and.then OK if today 2-PL this-that.much POSS-story

*nangkechethan atimi nangkechethan*

nang=ke-che-thán a-timí nang=ke-che-thán  
 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-RR-tell POSS-EE:temò 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-RR-tell

‘and then, ok then today, as you have told all these stories to me’ [CST, HM 088]

*apot te nokso adon donanang... mh*  
apōt te nòk-sō a-dòn dòn-lonāng... mh  
because and.then/therefore sword-small POSS-bridge/ladder place.ladder/bridge-lo.HORT DSM  
'because of that, let's build a bridge of blade' [CST, HM 089]

*nokso adon donanang anke ser honjeng*  
nòk-sō a-dòn dòn-lonāng ánke sér honjèng  
sword-small POSS-bridge/ladder place.ladder/bridge-lo.HORT and.then gold(<Khs) thread

*rup honjeng*  
rúp honjèng  
silver thread  
'let's make a bridge of blade, and then (let's use) a thread of gold, a thread of silver' [CST, HM 090]

*ser honjeng rup honjeng donlonang herang hutlo*  
[sér honjèng rúp honjèng dòn-lonāng] [herāng hùt-lò]  
gold(<Khs) thread silver thread place.ladder/bridge-lo.HORT trap.hole dig-RL  
'and they (the king ordered to have a hole dug) dug a hole' [CST, HM 092]<sup>6</sup>

*herang hutlo to pini arni pini ajo*  
herāng hùt-lò tò pini arni pini a-jò  
trap.hole dig-RL OK today day today POSS-night  
'ok, on this very day' [CST, HM 093]

*e nang nepiso neso aphan la'an*  
e nàng ne-pisò ne-osō aphān là-án  
EXPRS 2 1EXCL:POSS-wife 1EXCL:POSS-child NSUBJ this-that.much

*bondi kipi bondok kipi nangpap ave*  
bondí ke-pī bondòk ke-pī nang-páp avē  
captivity(<Ind) NMLZ-give EE:bondí NMLZ-give 2POSS-fault(<Ind) not.exist

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<sup>6</sup> Note that the missing intonation unit 'CST, HM 091' corresponds to a short moment of confusion for about five to six seconds where the storyteller is interrupted.

*pun ave pulo ante la herang along...*

pún avē pù-lò ánte là herāng alòng

EE:páp(<Asm) not.exist say-RL OK.then this trap.hole LOC

‘you (witch) gave my wife and my children in such bad captivity; if you are not a sinner, over the trap hole...’ [CST, HM 094]

*laso ser honjeng rup honjeng adolong donji*

lasō sér honjèng rúp honjèng a-dolòng dòn-jí

this gold(<Khs) thread silver thread POSS-bridge(<Asm) place.ladder/bridge-IRR2

‘this gold thread, silver thread we will fix a bridge’ [CST, HM 095]

*lasi laso ahonjeng komatma keteroiun*

lasi lasō a-honjèng komāt=ma ke-teròi-ùn

therefore this POSS-thread who=Q NMLZ-walk.cautiously-be.able

*labangke ahoklo*

là-abàng=ke a-hōk-lò

this-NPDL=TOP POSS-truth-RL

‘therefore, whoever can walk over this thread, that one is true’ [CST, HM 096]

*nepisolo*

ne-pisò-lò

1EXCL:POSS-wife-RL

‘she is my wife’ [CST, HM 097]

*komatma keteroiun’e lake paplo*

komāt=ma ke-teròi-ùn-Cē là=ke páp-lò

who=Q NMLZ-walk.cautiously-be.able-NEG this=TOP fault(<Ind)-RL

‘the one who can’t walk, is (at) sin’ [CST, HM 098]

*[pu amat <la apiso banghini aphan> laso aherang hutlo]*

[pu amāt <là a-pisò bàng-hiní aphan> lasō a-herāng hùt-lò]

QUOT and.then this POSS-wife CLF.HUM.PL-two NSUBJ this POSS-trap.hole dig-RL

‘and then, he dug this hole’ [CST, HM 099]

*anke ser honjeng rup honjeng donlo to*

ánke sér honjèng rúp honjèng dòn-lò tò  
and.then gold(<Khs) thread silver thread place.ladder/bridge-RL OK  
'and then, they built a bridge with gold and silver threads' [CST, HM 100]

*pini arni pini ajo nangtum banghinike*

pini arni pini a-jò nang-tūm bàng-hiní=ke  
today day today POSS-night 2-PL CLF.HUM.PL-two=TOP

*nepiso apot nangtum komatma nangpap kedo*

ne-pisò apōt nang-tūm komāt=ma nang-páp ke-dō  
1EXCL:POSS-wife because 2-PL who=Q 2POSS-fault(<Ind) NMLZ-exist

*nangpap kave*

nang-páp ke-avē  
2POSS-fault(<Ind) NMLZ-not.exist

'this day, this night, because both of you are my wives, whoever is a sinner and not a sinner (we must decide)' [CST, HM 101]

*apot laso ahonjeng teroinangji*

apōt lasō a-honjèng teròi-náng-jí  
because this POSS-thread walk.cautiously-need-IRR2  
'so you must climb over this hole' [CST, HM 102]

*anke Karbipike bang arnam aphan chesintipen*

ánke Karbì-pī=ke bàng arnàm aphān che-sintí-pen  
and.then Karbi-female=TOP NPDL god NSUBJ RR-pray(<Asm)-NF:with  
'and then, the Karbipi prays to god and' [CST, HM 103]

*amatsi laso ahonjeng teroiponlo bang ha*

amātsi lasō a-honjèng teròi-pòn-lò abàng há  
and.then this POSS-thread walk.cautiously-take.away-RL NPDL over.there

*parai kapkrak*

parái káp-kràk  
other.riverside cross.water-up.to.endpoint

'and then she climbed over the hole, over there she crossed to the other side' [CST, HM 104]

*amat hala hi'ipi abangke ekam anta*

amāt hālasō hī'ipī abàng=ke e-kām án=tā  
and.then that witch NPDL=TOP one-step that.much=ADD.even

*kamkelang ha herang janglut*

kām-Cē-làng há herāng jáng-lùt  
step-NEG-still over.there trap.hole fall-enter

'and then, the witch, even after just doing one step, she fell down in the hole' [CST, HM 105]

*o nangtum nesolo pusi <laso ateke>*

ò nang-tūm ne-osō-lò pusi <lasō a-tekè>  
EXCM 2-PL 1EXCL:POSS-child-RL QUOT.COMP this POSS-tiger

*<asomarta> <m> laso aHingchong musoso*

<a-oso-màr=tā> lasō a-Hingchòng musosō  
POSS-child-PL=ADD this POSS-CONSTELLATION pair.of.siblings

*aphanta hem chehangponlo*

aphān=tā hēm che-háng-pòn-lò  
NSUBJ=ADD.DM house RR-call-take.away-RL

'o, you are my children, those tiger children (false start, doesn't mean to say tiger children), these Hingchong sisters, he called them and took them home' [CST, HM 106]

*anta kalilang laso hem chehangpondet*

án=tā kalī-làng lasō hēm che-háng-pòn-dèt  
that.much=ADD.EXH NEG.EQU.COP-yet this house RR-call-take.away-PFV

'there are still things left (of the story), after taking them home' [CST, HM 107]

*anta e nepi nepo aning*

án=tā e ne-pēi ne-pō a-nīng  
that.much=ADD EXPRS 1EXCL:POSS-mother 1EXCL:POSS-father POSS-mind

*thipole pu hala Hingchong muso hala teke*

thī-pò=le pu hála Hingchòng musō hála tekè  
be.short-IRR1=FOC:IRR QUOT that CONSTELLATION young.sibling that tiger

*jonni dokok*

jōn-ní                dō-kòk  
CLF:animals-two exist-firmly

‘and then, eh, our mother and our father will get angry, these Hingchong sisters said, there are still two tigers’ [CST, HM 108]

<h> *halaphansi apei apo chitinloklo*

hála-phān=si        a-pēi                a-pō                che-tīn-lòk-lò  
that-NSUBJ=FOC:RL POSS-mother POSS-father RR-mistake-happen.to-RL  
‘they mistakenly considered them (the tigers) mother and father’ [CST, HM 109]

*la amatsi ne nepei nepo aphan*

là    amātsi    nè        ne-pēi                ne-pō                aphān  
this because 1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-mother 1EXCL:POSS-father NSUBJ

*charjudamlang*

che-arjū-dām-làng

RR-ask-go-yet

‘and then, ‘we still need to ask our mother and our father (for permission to stay with the king)’ [CST, HM 110]

*konatlo? pu ha longku arlo*

konát=lo?    pu    há                longkū arlō  
where=FOC QUOT over.there cave inside

‘‘where are they’ (the king said), ‘over there inside the cave’ (the girls said)’ [CST, HM 111]

*mh nepei nepo hadak do apot nepei*

mh    ne-pēi                ne-pō                hádāk dō    apōt    ne-pēi  
INTERJ 1EXCL:POSS-mother 1EXCL:POSS-father there stay because 1EXCL:POSS-mother

*nepo charjudamlang pu amatsi halaso*

ne-pō                che-arjū-dām-làng    pu    amātsi    hálasō  
1EXCL:POSS-father RR-ask-go-yet        QUOT because that

*ateke along ako chedamlo*

a-tekè        alòng akò                che-dām-lò  
POSS-tiger LOC again(<Asm) RR-go-RL

‘because my mother and father are there, let’s still go and ask our parents, and then they went to the tigers’ [CST, HM 112]

*pini nangtum temo chethandamloma pu*

pini nang-tūm temò che-thán-dám-lò=ma pu  
today 2-PL story RR-tell-go-RL=Q QUOT  
‘(tiger said), ‘today did you go to tell the story?’ [CST, HM 113]

*o chethandamlo, pilo richo kipu*

o che-thán-dám-lò, pí=lo richò ke-pù  
AFF(<Asm) RR-tell-go-RL what=FOC king NMLZ-say  
‘we went and told’, ‘what did the king say?’ [CST, HM 114]

*richo kipu „tangte damrinoi! nangtumke*

richò ke-pù tángtē dàm-rī-nōi nang-tūm=ke  
king NMLZ-say then go-NEG.IMP-INF.COND.IMP 2POSS-PL=TOP

*nesomarlo!”*

ne-oso-mâr-lò  
1EXCL:POSS-child-PL-RL  
‘the king said, ‘don’t go then! you are my children’ [CST, HM 115]

*pu netum kroikredet ne nepei*

pu ne-tūm krōi-Cē-dèt nè ne-pēi  
QUOT 1EXCL:POSS-PL agree-NEG-PFV 1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-mother

*nepo aphan charjudamlang*

ne-pō aphān che-arjū-dām-làng  
1EXCL:POSS-father NSUBJ RR-ask-go-still  
‘we didn’t agree, we still need to ask our mother and father’ [CST, HM 116]

*pusi nangkecharjulo peipen po*

pusi nang=ke-che-arjū-lò pēi=pen pō  
QUOT.COMP 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-RR-ask-RL mother=with father  
‘we are asking you, mother and father’ [CST, HM 117]

*ai lapu alamlote meongchotlo pei*

ái lapù a-lám-lò=te mē-òng-chòt-lò pēi  
how.strange! like.this POSS-matter-RL=COND be.good-be.too.much-only-RL mother

*atum dah nangthondunpo pusi teke*

a-tūm dah nang=thòn-dūn-pò pusi tekè  
POSS-PL go! 1/2:NSUBJ=drop-JOIN-IRR1 QUOT.COMP tiger

*pilolo jonnisi la Hingchong musoso*

pilolō jōn-ní=si là Hingchòng musosō  
female.and.male.animal CLF:animals-two=FOC:RL this CONSTELLATION pair.of.siblings

*ha richo achotai along kethondam*

há richò a-chotái alòng ke-thòn-dām  
over.there king POSS-place.before.house LOC NMLZ-drop-go  
'ai, if this is the case, this is the best thing (to happen), mothers, let's go, we will go with you and drop you', the tigers said' [CST, HM 118]

*lasi laso arnipenke hala hi'ipi aphanke*

lasi lasō arnì=pen=ke hálasō hī'ipī aphān=ke  
therefore this day=from=TOP that witch NSUBJ=TOP

*pavedetlo la Karbipipensi alangtum*

pV-avē-dèt-lò là Karbì-pī=pen=si alàng-tūm  
CAUS-not.exist-PFV-RL this Karbi-female/mother=with=FOC:RL 3-PL

*choboche chosonse asomarpen*

choboché chosonsé a-osō-mār=pen  
settle.down EE:choboché POSS-child-PL=with  
'from that very day on, he made the witch not exist any longer (i.e. killed her), with the Karbi woman they settled down, with the children' [CST, HM 119]

*lasi choboche chosonsesi akai jangikraplo*

lasi choboché chosonsé-si a-kái jáng-īk-rāp-lò  
therefore settle.down EE:choboché-NF:RL POSS-time(<Asm) fall-FRML-together-RL

*lasi la Hingchong musoso atomoke*

lasi là Hingchòng musosō a-tomò=ke  
therefore this CONSTELLATION pair.of.siblings POSS-story=TOP

*lapuik helo Rongphar asangho kethekthe anke*

lapù-īk      helò      Rongphàr a-sanghò      ke-thèk-Cē      ánke  
like.this-FRML RL:EMPH CLAN      POSS-mister:ADDR NMLZ-know.how-NEG and.then

*nangpekengpon 'iknoi {mm}*

nang=pV-kèng-pōn-īk-nōi      {mm}  
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-be.straight-take.away-FRML-INF.COND.IMP BACKCHANNEL

‘thus, they settled down and lived together until the end of their lives, and then that was the story of Hingchong musoso, Mister Rongphar, I’m not an expert, and then make it clear (i.e. correct it) {mm}’  
[CST, HM 120]

## 2.4 Folk story: Rengsofen Onso by Chandra Sing Teron (CST, RO)

Folk story about step-parenthood: the mother of two children (with the names *Rengso* and *Onso*) dies and the father marries again; the new stepmother is evil and mistreats her step-children, whereupon the father does not know what to do and both abandons his children in the jungle and kills his wife.

[*Rengsofen Onso atemo chethannang pulo*] [*laso*  
Réngsō=pen Ónsō a-temò che-thán-nāng pù-lò lasō  
NAME=with NAME POSS-story RR-tell-HORT say-RL this

[*Rengsofen Onso kosonma*]  
Réngsō=pen Ónsō kosòn=ma  
NAME=with NAME how=Q

“let’s tell each other the story of Rengso and Onso”, we said, these Rengso and Onso, how were they, (what about them)? [CST, RO 002]

[*aphrang ahut... inut arong agaonbura*  
a-phráng ahūt e-nūt a-ròng a-gáonburá  
POSS-front during one-CLF.hum.one POSS-village POSS-village.headman(<Asm)

[*ba arong asarthelo*  
bá a-ròng a-sarthè-lò  
I.mean(<Asm) POSS-village POSS-village.headman-RL  
‘a long time ago, there was one village *gaonbura*, I mean, one village headman’ [CST, RO 003]

[*lasi... achor chiri arup chirilo*  
lasi a-chòr che-rī a-rùp che-rī-lò  
therefore POSS-spouse RR-search POSS-EE:chòr RR-search-RL

[*osomar... la Rengsofen Onso banghini...*  
osō-mār là Réngsō=pen Ónsō bàng-hiní  
child-PL this NAME=with NAME CLF-two

[*pamotekanglo*  
pV-mò-tekáng-lò  
VBLZ-inheritance-leave-RL  
‘like that, he looked for a wife for himself, (she) left these children, Rengso and Onso, the two of them, (she) left behind’ [CST, RO 004]

*anke la <ap> apo abangke lasi cheorabom*

ánke là a-pō abàng=ke lasì che-orá-bòm  
and.then this POSS-father NPDL=TOP therefore RR-take.care-CONT

*cheorabom “bai kopuloma?”*

che-orá-bòm báí kopùlo=ma  
RR-take.care-CONT how.mean! what.will.happen(?)=Q  
‘and then, the father, like that, kept taking care of them (his children) (after the death of his wife); how bad! What to do?’ [CST, RO 005]

*e nesomarta bihekhaklang*

e ne-oso-màr=tā bī-hek~hāk-làng  
EXPRS my-child-PL=ADD.DM be.small-small~DISTR.PL-yet  
‘o, my children are still so small’ [CST, RO 006]

*kopuloma ne sai katikipipo hem kehon*

kopùlo=ma nè sái ke-tikì-pī-pò hēm ke-hòn  
what.will.happen(?)=Q 1EXCL labor NMLZ-cultivate-BEN/MAL-IRR1 house NMLZ-look.after

*abangta ave rit kehon*

a-bàng=tā avē rīt ke-hòn  
POSS-somebody =ADD.also:PRL not.exist field NMLZ-look.after

*abangta ave bai kopuloma*

a-bàng=tā avē báí kopùlo=ma  
POSS-somebody=ADD.also:PRL not.exist how.mean! what.will.happen(?)=Q

*laho*

là-ho  
this-EMPH:INTERACT

‘‘how will I work in the field, there is nobody to look after my house and property, how bad! What to do in this situation?’’ [CST, RO 007]

*si asomar aphan charjulo “o pei atum*

[sì a-oso-màr a-phān che-arjū-lò] [ò pēi a-tūm  
therefore POSS-child-PL POSS-NSUBJ RR-ask-RL vocative mother POSS-PL

*te kopualangma? itum nangpeile kedo*

tē ko-pù-jí-lāng=ma] [e-tūm nang-pēi=le ke-dō  
if WH-like.this-IRR2-yet=Q 1PL:INCL-PL your-mother=FOC:IRR NMLZ-exist

*kalilo, nangpeita arnam mandamlo arni*

kalī-lò] [nang-pēi=tā arnàm mán-dàm-lò arni  
NEG.EQU.COP-RL your-mother=ADD.DM god become/happen-GO-RL EE:arnàm

*mandamlo apot*

mán-dàm-lò apōt]  
become/happen-GO-RL because

‘therefore, he asked his children, “O mothers, so then, what else could we do?”’, We don’t have your mother anymore, because your mother has gone to become god’ [CST, RO 008]

*ne nahokpen setame... e ne nechor*

nè nahōk=pen setāmē e nè ne-chòr  
1EXCL anywhere=from nevertheless EXPRS 1EXCL my-spouse

*chirithupo pu anke osomar*

che-rī-thū-pò pu ánke osō-mār  
RR-search-again-IRR1 QUOT and.then child-PL

*bihekhaklang jo... to chirijite*

bī-hek~hāk-làng jò tò che-rī-jí-tē  
be.small-small~DISTR.PL-yet see OK RR-search-IRR2-COND

*chirion*

che-rī-nōn  
RR-search-COND.IMP1

““from anywhere, I will find another wife again” (he thought by himself), and then, the children are still so small, see!, “if you feel like finding a wife, then find one” (said by the children)’ [CST, RO 009]

*“chininedetlo, po. Te mo nechenekvaretjima, po?”*

chiní-Cē-dèt-lò pō tē mò ne=chenék-varèt-jí=ma pō  
know-NEG-PFV-RL father if future 1EXCL:NSUBJ=torture-INTENS-IRR2=Q father

*pu, “nangchenekne, pei atum” pu*

pu nang=chenék-Cē pēi a-tūm pu  
QUOT 1/2:NSUBJ=torture-NEG mother POSS-PL QUOT

““I don’t know, father, if (you take a new wife), will she keep torturing us, father””, ““she won’t torture you, mothers”” [CST, RO 010]

*amatsi achor chiridamlò*

amātsi a-chòr che-rī-dām-lò  
and.then POSS-spouse RR-search-go-RL

‘and then, he went to search for a wife for himself’ [CST, RO 011]

*achor chirilo... anke pini cherso penap cherso*

a-chòr che-rī-lò ánke pinì chérsō penàp chérsō  
POSS-spouse RR-search-RL and.then today splinter tomorrow splinter

*halake sai tikipik apo abangke sai*

hála=ke sái tikì-pìk a-pō abàng=ke sái  
that=TOP labor cultivate-very POSS-father NPDL=TOP labor

*katikilok chiklo kevang arni kevangpen lason*

ke-tikì-lòk chiklō ke-vàng arni ke-vàng=pen lasòn  
NMLZ-cultivate-only moon NMLZ-come sun NMLZ-come=from that.way

*thakthaklo the’angtanglote ha rit*

thàkthàk-lò the’āng-tāng-lò-tē há rīt  
same-RL be.bright-finish-RL-if over.there field

*the’angtanglote ha rit*

the’āng-tāng-lò-tē há rīt  
be.bright-finish-RL-if over.there field

‘he searched for a wife, and then, little by little, that one was cultivating the field so much, their father was only cultivating, from when the moon comes until when the sun comes, that way it was always the same, when it got bright (in the morning) he was there in the field, when it got bright (again) (in the morning, i.e. dawn) he was there in the field’ [CST, RO 012]

*anke pini cherso penap cherso pipateng popateng*

ánke pinì chérsō penàp chérsō pī-paténg pō-paténg  
and.then today splinter tomorrow splinter female/mother-step father-step

*pu alam dolang*

pu a-lám dō-làng  
QUOT POSS-matter exist-still

‘and then, a little at a time, still there are issues about stepparents’ [CST, RO 013]

*anke la apenan abang aphanke aning*

[ánke là a-penān abàng a-phān=ke a-nīng  
and.then this POSS-husband NPDL POSS-NSUBJ=TOP POSS-mind

*kaparongji pupo ok paka paka han*  
ke-pV-aròng-jí pù-pò] [ōk paká paká hán  
NMLZ-CAUS-be.happy-IRR2 QUOT-IRR1 meat very.good very.good curry

*paka paka lopen thuidun pame*  
paká paká lō=pen thùi-dūn pV-mé  
very.good very.good banana.leaf=with wrap-JOIN ADVZ-be.good

*pamepo*  
pV-mé-pò]  
ADVZ-be.good-IRR1  
'and then, she wanted to satisfy her husband, she wrapped very good meat and very good curry very nicely for him to take along (to the field)' [CST, RO 014]

*anke latum aphanke, Rengsoopen Onso aphanke,*  
ánke la-tūm a-phān=ke Réngsō=pen Ónsō a-phān=ke  
and.then this-PL POSS-NSUBJ=TOP NAME=with NAME POSS-NSUBJ=TOP

*laso a'anbor <ba> dakle chonoi*  
lasō a-àn-bòr dāk=le chō-nōi  
this POSS-rice-wrapped.bundle here=FOC:IRR eat-INF.COND.IMP

*puke hadak hem along pacholo tangte athengtak*  
pù=ke hádāk hēm alòng pV-chō-lò tángtē a-thengtāk  
QUOT=TOP there house LOC CAUS-eat-RL if POSS-splinter

*athengro avohi aphakhi*  
a-thengrò a-vo-hì a-phàk-hī  
POSS-EE:thēngtāk POSS-chicken-dung POSS-pig-dung  
'and then, to them, to Rengso and Onso this rice bundle, I mean, "eat it here" (she would say), while she would give them to eat there in the house, there would be splinters of wood and chicken dung and pig dung' [CST, RO 015]

*lasonbomlo haita haipik*  
lasòn-bòm-lò hòi=tā hòi-pik  
that.way-CONT-RL have.tobacco.taste=ADD.WRT have.tobacco.taste-very

*apipateng puset apot*  
a-pī-paténg pù-sét apōt  
POSS-female/mother-step like.this-intensifier because

*hainangkoklo*

hài-náng-kòk-lò

dare-must-absolutely.required-RL

‘this way it would continue to go on, she had a very bad character, since she was their stepmother, she simply had to have a bad character (and treat her stepchildren badly)’ [CST, RO 016]

*amat anborta pinike nangtum hadakle*

[amāt àn-bòr=tā pini=ke nang-tūm hādāk=le  
and.then rice-wrapped.bundle=ADD.DM today=TOP you-PL there=FOC:IRR

*an chodunnoi kaita dah nangtumta*

àn chō-dūn-nōi] [kái=tā dáh nang-tūm=tā  
rice eat-JOIN-INF.COND.IMP always=ADD.EXH go! you-PL=ADD.EXH

*chodunnoi nangpole hemtap angsong chote*

chō-dūn-nōi] [[nang-pō=le hēmtāp angsong chō-tē]  
eat-JOIN-INF.COND.IMP your-father=FOC:IRR tree.house high.up eat-if

*nangtumke mandule cho*

nang-tūm=ke mandú=le chō]  
you-PL=TOP field.hut=FOC:IRR eat

‘and then, “the rice bundle, today, eat them there!, go, you too eat together, if your father takes his meal in the *hemtap*, you eat in the *mandu*”’ [CST, RO 017]

*ako nangpole mandu cho tangte...*

akò nang-pō-le mandú chō tángtē  
on.the.other.hand(<Asm) your-father-FOC:IRR field.hut eat if

*nangtumke ha hemtap angsongle cho*

nang-tūm=ke há hēmtāp angsong=le chō  
you-PL=TOP over.there tree.house high.up=FOC:IRR eat

“on the other hand, when your father eats in the *mandu*, you eat up there in the *hemtap*” [CST, RO 018]

*apot la nangpopen <cho> chorappetlongle... mo*

[apōt là nang-pō=pen chō-ráp-pèt-lōng-Cē] [mò  
because this your-father=with eat-together-all-get(.to)-NEG future

*chorappet ne nangarjudunlonglote ne*

[chō-ràp-pèt] nè nang=arjū-dūn-lōng-lò-tē] [nè  
eat-together-all 1EXCL CIS=listen-JOIN-get.to-RL-if 1EXCL

*banghini aphantā nangprān nang'en'etji*

bāng-hinī a-phān=tā nang-prān nang=ēn-èt-jí]  
CLF-two POSS-NSUBJ=ADD.EXH your-life 1/2:NSUBJ=take-PRF-IRR2  
'because of that, "you don't get to / must not eat together with your father, in the future if it comes to my ears that you eat together (with your father), I will take both of your lives"' [CST, RO 019]

*"nangprān nang'en'etji" pulo... osomar ante kephere*

nang-prān nang=ēn-èt-jí pù-lò osō-mār ánte ke-pheré  
your-life 1/2:NSUBJ=take-PFT-IRR2 say-RL child-PL OK.then NMLZ-fear  
'"your lives I will take", she said, so the children were scared' [CST, RO 020]

*anke <an> apo abangsi hadak hemtap angsong*

[ánke <àn> a-pō abàng=si hādāk hēmtāp angson̄g  
and.then rice POSS-father NPDL=FOC:RL there tree.house high.up

*anbor hanbor ponpipo apo*

àn-bòr hán-bòr pòn-pī-pò] [a-pō  
rice-wrapped.bundle curry-wrapped.bundle take.away-BEN/MAL-IRR1 POSS-father

*hemtap angsongle cholo ante osomar abangke*

hēmtāp angson̄g=le chō-lò ánte osō-mār abàng=ke  
tree.house high.up=FOC:IRR eat-RL OK.then child-PL NPDL=TOP

*dak mandulo kechopo*

dāk mandú=lo ke-chō-pò]

here field.hut=FOC NMLZ-eat-IRR1

'and then, their father took the food (for them) there up in the tree house, when their father ate up in the tree house, then the children would eat here in the mandu' [CST, RO 021]

*lason <lason> amatsi aosomar <la> thengtak thengro*

lasòn <lasòn> amātsi a-oso-mār thēngtāk thēngrō  
that.way that.way and.then POSS-child-PL splinter EE:thēngtāk

*vohi phakhipen kecho kecho kecho'ong*

vō-hī phāk-hī=pen ke-chō ke-chō ke-chō-òng  
chicken-dung pig-dung=with NMLZ-eat NMLZ-eat NMLZ-eat-be.much

<kechungkr> chungkreng dolo marjeng dolo lok'hu dolo  
 chungkrèng dō-lò marjèng dō-lò lòk'hù dō-lò  
 be.thin exist-RL be.thin exist-RL be.pale exist-RL

lokphlep dolo kithita kedothupo  
 lòkphlèp dō-lò ke-thì=tā ke-dō-thū-pò  
 be.pale exist-RL NMLZ-die=ADD.also:PRL NMLZ-exist-again-IRR1

kejangta kedothupo  
 ke-jāng=tā ke-dō-thū-pò  
 NMLZ-hang.down=ADD.also:PRL NMLZ-stay-again-IRR1  
 'like that, because of that, eating wood splinters and chicken dung and pig dung with (their rice),  
 eating so much of it, they became thin, they became pale, and they were about to die' [CST, RO  
 022]

bai apo abang chemathading  
 bái a-pō abàng che-mathà-dìng  
 how.mean! POSS-father NPDL RR-think-steadily  
 'how mean! their father was thinking for some time' [CST, RO 023]

bai an adin ningke an ajo ningke  
 bái án a-dín nīngke án a-jò nīngke  
 how.mean! that.much POSS-day(<Asm) even that.much POSS-night even

nesomar... e keso kali ki'une  
 ne-oso-màr e ke-sò kalī ke-ùn-Cē  
 my-child-PL EXPRS NMLZ-hurt NEG.EQU.COP NMLZ-be.able-NEG

kali phuso kali kengso kali  
 kalī phú-sò kalī kèng-sò kalī  
 NEG.EQU.COP head-hurt NEG.EQU.COP foot-hurt NEG.EQU.COP  
 'how mean! not even in this long time did my children get sick and they didn't have minor  
 sicknesses' [CST, RO 024]

le pini arni pini ajo pini cherso penap cherso...  
 le pini arni pini a-jò pini chérsō penàp chérsō...  
 this.much! today day today POSS-night today splinter tomorrow splinter

*kosonsi nesomar achethe*

kosòn=si ne-oso-màr a-chethè  
how=FOC:RL my-child-PL POSS-life

*rinrancheloma*

rìnràn-chè-lò=ma

be.between.life.and.death-unstable-RL=Q

‘in this moment, little by little, how could it happen that the life of my children is unstable?’  
[CST, RO 025]

*ai apran kedamthupo amui*

ái a-prán ke-dàm-thū-pò a-múi  
how.bad! POSS-life NMLZ-go-again-IRR1 POSS-EE:prán(<Ind)

*kedamthupo pu matha matha matha mathalo*

ke-dàm-thū-pò pu mathà mathà mathà mathà-lò

NMLZ-go-again-IRR1 QUOT think think think think-RL

“‘how bad!, even their life is about to go (i.e., end)”, he was thinking and thinking and thinking’  
[CST, RO 026]

*‘mh’ o pei atum pinike itum an chorappetsinang*

‘mh’ ò pēi a-tūm pini=ke e-tūm àn chō-ràp-pèt-sināng  
NEG vocative mother POSS-PL today=TOP IINCL-PL rice eat-together-all-CON.HORT  
‘no, o mothers, today let’s eat together now (and see what’s going to happen)’ [CST, RO 027]

*“an chorappetsinang”, pulo, “‘mh’ po, neke nang <...>*

àn chō-ràp-pèt-sināng pù-lò ‘mh’ pō nè=ke [[nàng  
rice eat-together-all-CON.HORT say-RL NEG father IEXCL=TOP you

*kecho alongke nangchodunde”*

ke-chō] alòng=ke] nang=chō-dūn-Cē

NMLZ-eat LOC=TOP CIS=eat-JOIN-NEG

‘(he) said, “let’s eat together”, “no, father, where you take your food, we won’t take it with you”’ [CST, RO 028]

*<nepei aning thiji> nepinu*

<ne-pēi a-nīng thī-jí> ne-pinú

my-mother POSS-mind be.short-IRR2 IEXCL:POSS-mothers.younger.sister

*aning thiji nethengji*

a-nīng thī-jí ne=thèng-jí  
 POSS-mind be.short-IRR2 1EXCL:NSUBJ=beat.w/sth.solid-IRR2

*nechokji*

ne=chòk-jí

1EXCL:NSUBJ=beat.w/hands-IRR2

‘[our mother will get mad,] our auntie (one way of referring to a stepmother) will get mad, she will beat us’ [CST, RO 029]

*pu amat chodunhai amat laso arni abangke hala*

[pu amāt chō-dūn-hāi] amāt [[lasō arni abàng=ke] [hála  
 QUOT and.then eat-JOIN-DARE and.then this day NPDL=TOP that

*osomar atum mandu kecho apo abangta*

osō-mār a-tūm mandú ke-chō] [a-pō abàng=tā  
 child-PL POSS-PL field.hut NMLZ-eat POSS-father NPDL =ADD.DM

*nangsuntuklo a’anbor*

nang=sūn-tùk-lò] [a-àn-bòr  
 CIS=descend-sd.of.steps-RL POSS-rice-wrapped.bundle

*ahanbor chevanlo*

a-hán-bòr che-vān-lò]  
 POSS-curry-wrapped.bundle RR-bring-RL

‘and then they didn’t dare to join (their dad) for a meal, and then that day, in order for those children to eat in the *mandu*, the father came down (from the tree house) and brought his rice and curry bundles’ [CST, RO 030]

*to peipen po nangtum <nangphu> pei atum*

tò pēi=pen pō nang-tūm <nang-phú> pēi a-tūm  
 OK mother=with father you-PL your-head mother POSS-PL

*nangtum <nangphu sose> <nang>*

nang-tūm <nang-phú sò-Cē> <nàng>

you-PL your-head hurt-NEG you

“‘okay, mother and father, you, mothers, you both don’t have a fever”’ [CST, RO 031]

*<e> nangphu keso kali nangpok keso*

nang-phú ke-sò kalī nang-pōk ke-sò  
 your-head NMLZ-hurt NEG.EQU.COP your-stomach NMLZ-hurt

*kalile nangtum la'an kechungkreng*

kalī=le nang-tūm là-án ke-chungkrèng  
NEG.EQU.COP=FOC:IRR you-PL this-that.much NMLZ-be.thin

*kedo marjeng kedo*

ke-dō marjèng ke-dō  
NMLZ-exist be.thin NMLZ-exist

“ah, (although) you don't have any minor sickness, (how come) you are this thin!” [CST, RO 032]

*to pei, pinike an chorappetanang*

tò pēi pini=ke àn chō-ràp-pèt-lonāng  
OK mother today=TOP rice eat-together-all-lo.HORT  
“okay, mother, today, let's eat together” [CST, RO 033]

*amat an chorappetlo anbor chipurlo*

amāt àn chō-ràp-pèt-lò àn-bòr che-pūr-lò  
and.then rice eat-together-all-RL rice-wrapped.bundle RR-open.unfold-RL  
'and then, they ate together and (the father) opened the rice bundle' [CST, RO 034]

*anbor chipurlo amethang <...> la apo*

àn-bòr che-pūr-lò a-metháng là a-pō  
rice-wrapped.bundle RR-open.unfold-RL POSS-self this POSS-father

*abang a'anbor hanbor tangte <...> an*

abàng a-àn-bòr hán-bòr tángtē àn  
NPDL POSS-rice-wrapped.bundle curry-wrapped.bundle TOP rice

*kelok anghip pura pura eksom <ke> han paka*

ke-lòk anghíp purá purá éksòm hán paká  
NMLZ-be.white unbroken.rice all(<Asm) all(<Asm) EXCM(<Asm) curry very.good(<Ind)  
'they opened their rice bundles, and then when the father opened his own rice and curry bundles,  
all of it only the white unbroken (=the best) rice, oh so good, very good curry' [CST, RO 035]

*anke hala asomar to pei, nangtumta*

ánke hála a-oso-màr tò pēi nang-tūm=tā  
and.then that POSS-child-PL OK mother you-PL=ADD.also

<e> *anbor chipurnoi pu, anbor*  
 àn-bòr che-pūr-nōi pu, àn-bòr  
 rice-wrapped.bundle RR-open.unfold-INF.COND.IMP QUOT rice-wrapped.bundle

*chipurlo haladak thengtak dolo thengro dolo*  
 che-pūr-lò háladāk thēngtāk dō-lò thēngrō dō-lò  
 RR-open.unfold-RL there splinter exist-RL EE:thēngtāk exist-RL

*vohi dolo phak'hi dolo*  
 vō-hī dō-lò phāk-hī dō-lò  
 chicken-dung exist-RL pig-dung exist-RL  
 ‘and then, (to) those children (he said), “okay, mother, you also open the rice bundles for yourself”, they opened the rice bundles, and there were the splinters and the chicken dung and the pig dung’ [CST, RO 036]

*amat “mai pei! kaita nangtum lasonloma?” “o*  
 amāt mái pēi kái=tā nang-tūm lasòn-lò=ma ò  
 and.then how.bad! mother always=ADD.EXH you-PL that.way-RL=Q vocative

*po! lasonlo netum khali kechongvailoksi*  
 pō lasòn-lò ne-tūm khali ke-cho-ingvāi-lòk-si  
 father that.way-RL 1EXCL-PL always(<Asm) NMLZ-MID-choose-only-NF:RL

*kecho”*  
 ke-chō  
 NMLZ-eat  
 ‘and then, “how mean, mother, was it always for you like this?”, “o father, like this we (can) always eat only what we pick and choose”’ [CST, RO 037]

*kechongvai kechongvaisi kecho*  
 ke-cho-ingvāi ke-cho-ingvāi-si ke-chō  
 NMLZ-MID-choose NMLZ-MID-choose-NF:RL NMLZ-eat  
 ‘we eat only what we picked and chose’ [CST, RO 038]

*ba lasonloklo di, o lasonloklo po*  
 bá lasòn-lòk-lò dī ò lasòn-lòk-lò pō  
 how.bad! that.way-only-RL Q.tag AFF that.way-only-RL father  
 “‘how mean, like that it’s always been, right?’, “yes, just like that, father”’ [CST, RO 039]

*bai pei nangingjinso'un'e nangtum aphan,*

bái pēi nang=ingjinsō-ùn-Cē nang-tūm a-phān  
how.mean! mother 1/2:NSUBJ=have.pity-be.able-NEG you-PL POSS-NSUBJ

*o lahello lason chungkrenng kedo marjeng*

ò lahé-lò lasòn chungkrèng ke-dō marjèng  
EXPRS that.way?-RL that.way be.thin NMLZ-exist be.thin

*kedo lok'hu kedo lokphlep kedo*

ke-dō lòkhù ke-dō lòkphlèp ke-dō  
NMLZ-exist be.pale NMLZ-exist be.pale NMLZ-exist

‘how mean!, I can’t tell you how much pity I feel for you, oh that’s why you’re so thin and so pale’ [CST, RO 040]

*nangtum la'anset apot to*

nang-tūm là-án-sèt apōt tò  
you-PL this-that.much-INTENS because OK

‘because of all this you (have been suffering), I see’ [CST, RO 041]

*pei chininedetlo to pini arnike ne'anvan*

pēi chiní-Cē-dèt-lò tò pini arni=ke ne-àn-ván  
mother know-NEG-PFV-RL OK today day=TOP my-rice-share

*chonoï*

chō-nōi

eat-INF.COND.IMP

‘‘mother, I didn’t know at all, okay, today, eat my share!’’ [CST, RO 042]

*ne'anvan chonoï pulo amat laso a'anvan*

ne-àn-ván chō-nōi pù-lò amāt lasō a-àn-ván  
my-rice-share eat-INF.COND.IMP say-RL and.then this POSS-rice-share

*chipidetlo*

che-pí-dèt-lò

RR-give-PFV-RL

‘he said, ‘‘eat my share!’’, and then he gave them this share of rice’ [CST, RO 043]

*matha mathalo ba*  
 mathà mathà-lò bá  
 think think-RL how.bad!  
 ‘he thought and thought, oh how bad!’ [CST, RO 044]

[*kosonloma ne laso... e*] [*nepiso aphan ne*  
 kosòn=lo=ma nè lasō e ne-pisò a-phān nè  
 how=FOC=Q 1EXCL this EXPRS my-wife POSS-NSUBJ 1EXCL

*apran endet amui endetta bang*  
 a-prán ēn-dèt a-múi ēn-dèt-tā bàng  
 POSS-life(<Ind) take-PFV POSS-EE:prán(<Ind) take-PFV-if CLF

*sankur sankamaita echethanpo*  
 sán-kúr sán-kamá=tā e=che-thán-pò  
 five(<KhJ)-clan five(<KhJ)-EE:kúr=EXH 1PL.INCL:NSUBJ=RR-tell-IRR1  
 ‘how I (should do) this...?, if I take my wife’s life, everybody will criticize us’ [CST, RO 045]

*kopusi apran endetta bang rat*  
 ko-pù=si a-prán ēn-dèt=tā bàng rát  
 WH-QUOT=FOC:RL POSS-life take-PFV=ADD CLF public

*neneplepo*  
 ne=nèp-lè-pò  
 1EXCL:NSUBJ=catch-again-IRR1  
 ‘‘what to do, if I take her life, everybody will come and catch me’’ (he’s thinking)’ [CST, RO 046]

*osomar aphan pathietnangta kopu*  
 osō-mār a-phān pV-thì-èt-nangtā ko-pù  
 child-PL POSS-NSUBJ CAUS-die-all:S/O-if.alternatively WH-QUOT

*manalang=ma*  
 mán-jí-lāng=ma  
 become/happen-IRR2-yet=Q  
 ‘also if I kill the children, how will it be? (= it won’t be good either)’ [CST, RO 047]

*pu amat... ha... laso matha matha amat ha*

pu amāt há... lasō mathà mathà amāt há  
QUOT and.then over.there this think think and.then over.there

*naidung ponlo*

naidūng pòn-lò  
border.between.field.and.jungle take.away-RL

‘and then, he thought and then there to the border between the field and the jungle he took them’  
[CST, RO 048]

*bahari alongtar along ponlo amatsi... o pei!*

baharí a-longtār alòng pòn-lò amātsi ò pēi  
very.big(<Ind) POSS-rock LOC take.away-RL and.then SURPRISE mother

*ladakle dotha dei jattha dak lang*

ladāk=le dō-thā déi jāt-thā dāk lāng  
here=FOC:IRR stay-CON.IMP OK? GENEX-CON.IMP here water

*chinglunoi juinoi pu amat alang abangke*

chinglú-nōi jùì-nōi pu amāt [alàng abàng=ke  
take.bath-INF.COND.IMP play-INF.COND.IMP QUOT and.then 3 NPDL=TOP

*ha nampi namdur ajo<pen>] <..> pathite]*

há nāmpī nāmdūr ajō <=pen>] pV-thì-tē  
over.there big.forest EE:nampī amidst <=from> CAUS-die-if

*[pathikhangjanganang pu amat]*

pV-thì-khangjáng-lonāng pu amāt]  
CAUS-die-do.irreversibly-lo.HORT QUOT and.then

‘he took them to the place of a very big rock, and then, “mothers, stay here, okay, here take your bath and play” he said, and then he thought in the middle of the jungle, “if this causes them to die, then let’s let it happen”’ [CST, RO 049]

*asomar aphan chititekangroklo*

a-oso-màr aphān che-tí-tekáng-ròk-lò  
POSS-child-PL NSUBJ RR-get.rid.off-give-completed-RL

*chevarkangchorlo*

che-vár-káng-chòr-lò  
RR-throw.away-just-RES:away-RL

‘he got rid of his children’ [CST, RO 050]

*anke hem vanglo apiso aphanta apran*

ánke heĩm vãng-lò a-pisò a-phān=tā a-prán  
and.then house come-RL POSS-wife POSS-NSUBJ=ADD.also POSS-life

*endetlo*

ēn-dèt-lò  
take-PFV-RL

‘and then he went home and took of his wife her life’ [CST, RO 051]

*lasonsi Rengsopen Onso lasi horon tekang, pei!*

lasòn=si Réngsō=pen Ónsō lasi horòn tekáng pēi  
that.way=FOC:RL NAME=with NAME therefore curse give.leave mother

*nangtum e lasi mo pirthe kangtang mo mindar*

nang-tūm e lasi mò pirthé ke-ingtāng mò mindár  
you-PL EXPRS therefore future world NMLZ-be.strong future world(<KhJ)

*kangtangta e pipateng popateng puke*

ke-ingtāng=tā e pī-paténg pō-paténg pu=ke  
NMLZ-be.strong=ADD EXPRS female/mother-step father-step QUOT=TOP

*asap keprek do*

asàp ke-prék dō  
little.bit NMLZ-be.different exist

‘that way, (the father of, is meant) Rengso and Onso cursed (the situation), oh mother!, you, that way in the future when the world is mature, (the love) will be a little different when there’s a stepmother and a stepfather’ [CST, RO 052]

*e nangpi <nang> amahang<le> kavepen*

e nang-pī <nàng> a-maháng<=le> ke-avē-pen  
EXPRS your-mother <you> POSS-face<=FOC:IRR> NMLZ-not.exist-NF:with

*ajoklo nangtum la’an kepho la’an*

ajōk=lo nang-tūm là-án ke-phō là-án  
because=FOC you-PL this-that.much NMLZ-reach this-that.much

*kisung la’an keboi apot*

ke-sùng là-án ke-bòi apōt  
NMLZ-be.difficult this-all NMLZ-be.miserable because

‘because your mother has died, you have faced all these things, have experienced so much trouble’ [CST, RO 053]

*chininedetlo dah mo nangtumta arnam*

chini-Cē-dèt-lò      dáh mò      nang-tūm=tā      arnàm  
know-NEG-PFV-RL    go!    future    you-PL=ADD.also    god

*mannoi arni mannoi pusi*

mán-nōi                              arni              mán-nōi                              pusi  
become/happen-INF.COND.IMP    EE:arnàm    become/happen-INF.COND.IMP    QUOT.COMP

*Rengsopen Onso aphanke tidamroklo*

Réngsō=pen    Ónsō    a-phān=ke              tí-dàm-ròk-lò  
NAME=with    NAME    POSS-NSUBJ=TOP    get.rid.off-go-completed-RL

*chevanvedetlo*

che-vān-Cē-dèt-lò  
RR-bring-NEG-PFV-RL

“‘I don’t know at all (what to do). Go, in the future, you also become gods (praying to god)”, he had gotten rid of Rengso and Onso’ [CST, RO 054]

*mh amat apiso aphantha pini cherso penap cherso*

mh amāt      a-pisò      a-phān=tā                      pini      chérsō      penàp      chérsō  
DSM and.then    POSS-wife    POSS-NSUBJ=ADD.also    today    splinter    tomorrow    splinter

*amat apiso aphantha apran endetlo <la>*

amāt a-pisò      a-phān=tā                      a-prán      eñ-dèt-lò  
self    POSS-wife    POSS-NSUBJ=ADD.also    POSS-life    take-PFV-RL

‘and then, to his own wife, little by little, he took his own wife’s life (i.e. torturing her)’ [CST, RO 055]

*mh lasi lapu’anelo kangtonlo*

mh lasi      lapù-án-helò                      ke-ingtòn-lò  
DSM therefore    like.this-that.much-COP    NMLZ-conclude-RL

‘and then, it’s like this up to here, I’m finished [CST, RO 056]’

**2.5 Folk story: Bokolapo Phinu aBiha Choklem by Hem'ari Ingjai (HI, BPh)**

Folk story about a common fool character, who does stupid things (*bokolapo*); in this story, he wants to go to the market but by switching sides of the basket he is carrying also accidentally switches the direction in which he is walking; he ends up walking back to his own house without realizing it.

*hako ahut inut Bokolapo pu*

hakò ahūt e-nūt Bokolā-pō pu  
that.time during one-CLF.HUM.SG NAME-male QUOT  
'a long time ago, there was a man called Bokolapo' [HI, BPh 002]

*Karbi angbongpen enut amen do*

Karbì angbòng=pen e-nūt a-mén dō  
Karbi middle=from one-CLF.HUM.SG POSS-name exist  
'among the Karbis (Bokolapo) is the name of one person' [HI, BPh 003]

*Bokolapo abang arnisi phenu abiha choklemlo*

Bokolā-pō abàng arni-sī phenū a-bihá cho-klém-lò  
NAME-male NPDL day-one banana POSS-trade MID-do-RL  
'Bokolapo one day went to do trade with bananas (selling bananas)' [HI, BPh 004]

*phinu chojordamji aphan hu kulat anat*

phinū cho-jōr-dām-jí aphān hú kulát a-nát  
banana MID-sell-GO-IRR2 PURP over.there shop(<Asm) POSS-direction

*damlo*

dām-lò

go-RL

'in order to go and sell bananas there he went towards the shop' [HI, BPh 005]

*amatsi dambom dambompen aphantang hinhin*

amātsi dām-bōm dām-bōm-pen a-phatáng hín ~hìn  
and.then go-CONT go-CONT-advbz POSS-tp.basket this.side ~DIST.PL

*aphi aphrang mh kapachelar amat Bokolapo*

a-phī a-phráng mh ke-pV-che-lār amāt Bokolā-pō  
POSS-backside POSS-front DSM NMLZ-CAUS-RR-switch and.then NAME-male

*abang mh aphotang kapachelar amat pu*

abàng mh a-phatáng ka-pV-che-lār amāt pú  
NPD L DSM POSS-kd.basket NMLZ-CAUS-RR-switch and.then this.side

*aphi anatsi chepangnophit*

a-phī a-nát=si che-pV-ingnò-phìt  
POSS-backside POSS-direction=FOC:RL RR-VBLZ-front-right.away  
'and then, while he was going and going and was switching his basket between (left and right) sides and moving to the front and to the back, and then he turned back again right away' [HI, BPh 006]

*[amatsi aphi kengkeng chedamaret*

[amātsi a-phī kengkèng che-dām-arèt  
and.then POSS-backside all.the.way RR-go-for.long.time

*chedamaret [amat-si Bokolapo abang mh ha*

che-dām-arèt [amātsi Bokolā-pō abàng mh há  
RR-go-for.long.time and.then NAME-male NPD L DSM over.there

*ahem atovar anat chepangnoronglo*

a-hēm a-továr a-nát che-pV-ingnò-ròng-lò  
POSS-house POSS-road POSS-direction RR-VBLZ-front-instead-RL  
'and then, he went all the way back, and then he mistakenly went on the road to his home' [HI, BPh 007]

*dambom dambom dambom amat ha ahem*

dām-bōm dām-bōm dām-bōm amāt há a-hēm  
go-CONT go-CONT go-CONT and.then over.there POSS-house

*cheleroklo, Bokolapo abang*

che-lē-ròk-lò Bokolā-pō abàng  
RR-reach-completed-RL NAME-big NPD L  
'he walked and walked and walked and then reached his house, that Bokolapo' [HI, BPh 008]

*asomar atum abangke mathalò*

a-so-màr a-tūm abàng=ke mathà-lò  
POSS-child-PL POSS-PL NPD L=TOP think-RL  
'his children were thinking' [HI, BPh 009]

*amatsi Bokolapo abangke bojar dam'etlo*

amātsi Bokolāpō abàng=ke bojár dàm-ét-lò  
and.then NAME NPDL=TOP market(<Asm) go-PRF-RL

*pusi asomar abang mathalò*

pusi a-so-màr abàng mathà-lò  
QUOT.COMP POSS-child-PL NPDL think-RL

‘the children thought that he had already gone to the market’ [HI, BPh 010]

*amatsi bojarpensì mh thesere thekumbong kecho*

amātsi bojár=pen=si mh theseré thekumbōng ke-chō  
and.then market(<Asm)=from=FOC:RL DSM fruits EE:theseré NMLZ-eat

*ahormu nangvanpilo pu aning*

a-hormú nang=vàn-pī-lò pu a-nīng  
POSS-thing 1/2:NSUBJ=bring-BEN/MAL-RL QUOT POSS-mind

*karongpen asomar abang apo aphan*

ke-aròng-pen a-so-màr abàng a-pō aphān  
NMLZ-be.happy-NF:with POSS-child-PL NPDL POSS-father NSUBJ

*chekoklo*

chekhòk-lò

show.happiness-RL

‘and then, (thinking that) “he’s bringing fruits and things to eat for us from the market”, they are happy and showing their happiness welcome their father’ [HI, BPh 011]

*matsi Bokolapo abang ahem pu chichininedet*

mātsi Bokolā-pō abàng a-hēm pu che-chiní-Cē-dèt  
and.then NAME-male NPDL POSS-house QUOT RR-know-NEG-PFV

*amat Bokolapo abang “are! ladak nephan matsi*

amāt Bokolā-pō abàng áré ladāk ne-phān māt=si  
and.then NAME-male NPDL SURPRISE(<Asm) here 1EXCL-NSUBJ who=FOC:RL

*po pu nangkehang abang kedolo” pu*

pō pu nang=ke-háng a-bàng ke-dō-lò pu  
father QUOT 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-call POSS-CLF NMLZ-exist-RL QUOT

‘and then, Bokolapo didn’t know that it was his own home, and then Bokolapo, “how strange!, who is here to call me ‘father’?”’ [HI, BPh 012]

*asomar aphantá Bokolapo abangke lasonsi lam*

a-so-màr      aphān=tā      Bokolā-pō      abàng=ke      lasòn=si      lám  
POSS-child-PL    NSUBJ=ADD.DM    NAME-male    NPDL=TOP    that.way=FOC:RL    word

*thakdunronglo*

thàk-dūn-ròng-lò

answer-JOIN-instead-RL

‘that way he mistakenly answered his children’ [HI, BPh 013]

*setame asomar abangke nepo kajoklu pu*

[setāmē      a-so-màr      abàng=ke      [[ne-pō      ke-joklū]      pu]  
nevertheless    POSS-child-PL    NPDL=TOP    my-father    NMLZ-be.foolish    QUOT

*chininedetsí nepo <bojar kidunpen>*

chini-Cē-dèt-si]      [ne-pō      <bojár      ke-dùn-pen>  
know-NEG-PFV-NF:RL    my-father    market(<Asm)    NMLZ-join-NF:with

*bojarsi kidun apot bojar kidunpensi*

bojár=si      ke-dùn      apōt      bojár      ke-dùn-pen-si  
market(<Asm)=FOC:RL    NMLZ-join    because    market(<Asm)    NMLZ-join-NF:with-NF:RL

*kevanglo pusi asomar abang mathalo*

ke-vàng-lò]      pusi      a-so-màr      abàng      mathà-lò  
NMLZ-come-RL    QUOT.COMP    POSS-child-PL    NPDL    think-RL

‘but the children didn’t know at all that their father was a fool, they thought, “our father has come back after going to the market”’ [HI, BPh 014]

*lasi Bokolapo aphan pulo*

lasi      Bokolā-pō      aphān      pù-lò  
therefore    NAME-male    NSUBJ    say-RL

‘therefore, they said to Bokolapo’ [HI, BPh 015]

*nepo kecho ahormu vanpo*

ne-pō      ke-chō      a-hormú      vàn-pò  
1EXCL-father    NMLZ-eat    POSS-thing    bring-IRR1

‘our father will bring something to eat’ [HI, BPh 016]

*noklang vanpo sangpher vanpo*

nòk-lāng vān-pò sāngphēr vān-pò  
 sugar.cane-water bring-IRR1 flattened.rice bring-IRR1  
 ‘he will bring molasses and flattened rice’ [HI, BPh 017]

*biskuit vanpo lapusonsi asomar abangke*

biskúit vān-pò lapu-sòn=si a-so-màr abàng=ke  
 biscuit(<Eng) bring-IRR1 like.this-that.way=FOC:RL POSS-child-PL NPDL=TOP

*chekoklo*

chekhòk-lò

show.happiness-RL

‘he will bring biscuits, that way the children were so happy’ [HI, BPh 018]

*[setame Bokolapo abangke bojar keje]*

setāmē Bokolā-pō abàng=ke bojár ke-lè-jí  
 nevertheless NAME-male NPDL=TOP market(<Asm) NMLZ-reach-IRR2

*kalisi] [ephoivét aphantang kachetevar*

kalī=si] e-phòì-vèt a-phatáng ke-che-tevār  
 NEG.EQU.COP=instead.of one-CLF:times-only POSS-tp.basket NMLZ-RR-turn.around

*amat akengkam chetevarphit amat ahem*

amāt a-kèng-kām che-tevār-phìt amāt a-hēm  
 and.then POSS-foot-step RR-turn.around-right.away and.then POSS-house

*anatsi chiruiphit abojarke ledunde*

a-nát=si chirùi-phìt a-bojár=ke lè-dün-Cē  
 POSS-direction=FOC:RL return-right.away POSS-market(<Asm)=TOP reach-JOIN-NEG  
 ‘but Bokolapo didn’t reach the market, and instead, only one time more he turned the basket onto the other shoulder, he also turned his step (i.e. turned around), and then suddenly he reached home, and didn’t reach the market’ [HI, BPh 019]

*[lapusonsi lasi nonpútame pini pirthe kangtang ahut*

lapusòn=si lasì nòn-pù=tāmē pini pirthé ke-ingtāng ahūt  
 like.this=FOC:RL therefore now-QUOT=any today world NMLZ-be.strong during

*setame ove kimi atum chethanlong] Bokolapo*

setāmē ovè ke-mī a-tūm che-thán-lōng Bokolā-pō  
nevertheless generation NMLZ-be.new POSS-PL RR-tell-get(.to) NAME-male

*abiha kedam pu*

a-bihá ke-dám pu  
POSS-trade NMLZ-go say

‘that way, even today also, as the world is mature, the new generations get to tell each other a saying, “Bokolapo is going to the market” (meaning instead of going to your destination, you’re going the other way)’ [HI, BPh 020]

*lasi Bokolapo atomo lasonsi monit atum non*

lasi Bokolāpō a-tomò lasòn=si monít a-tūm nòn  
therefore NAME POSS-story that.way=FOC:RL man POSS-PL now

*chethanbom*

che-thán-bòm  
RR-tell-CONT

‘therefore, that’s how people continue to tell each other the story of Bokolapo’ [HI, BPh 021]

*lasi Bokolapo biha kedam pu*

lasi Bokolāpō bihá ke-dám pu  
therefore NAME trade NMLZ-go say

‘and so they say, Bokolapo is going to the market’ [HI, BPh 022]

*[bojar ledunde] tovar ebengpen aphantang*

[bojár lè-dūn-Cē továr e-bēng=pen a-phatáng  
market(<Asm) reach-join-NEG road one-CLF:half=from POSS-tp.basket

*kachetevar amat aphantang aphantang*

ke-che-tevár amāt a-phatáng a-phàng  
NMLZ-RR-turn.around and.then POSS-tp.basket POSS-shoulder

*kapachelar amat m ahem nangchirui*

ke-pV-che-lār amāt mh a-hēm nang=chirùi  
NMLZ-CAUS-RR-switch and.then DSM POSS-house CIS=return

*pakejoidet*

pV-ke-jòì-dèt

ADVBLZ-NMLZ-be.for.free/in.vain-PFV

‘he didn’t reach the market, at going halfway he changed the baskets, he changed the shoulder where he was carrying the basket, and then, he reached home uselessly’ [HI, BPh 023]

*lapusonsi nonputa alam dokok*

lapusòn=si      nòn-pù=tā      a-lám      dō-kòk

like.this=FOC:RL    now-QUOT=ADD.even    POSS-matter    exist-firmly

‘this is how the story exists until today’ [HI, BPh 024]

## 2.6 Folk story: Teke Rongker by Harsing Kro (HK, TR)

Folk story about an orphan who encounters a tiger; by using a container with a mirror on top, he manages to convince the tiger that he (the orphan) has caught a large tiger in that container; the tiger is scared and the orphan ends up managing to steal gold from the tigers' *Rongker* (= the name of a ceremony in Karbi traditional culture) due to his trick with the mirror container

Chikari Tisso was an active listener during the recording of this text. All of his backchanneling as well as clarification questions and other remarks are included in this transcription, signaled by {curly brackets}.

*tangte osomar atum.... ne eson atomo*

tángtē osō-mār a-tūm nè e-sòn a-tomò  
if child-PL POSS-PL 1EXCL one-CLF:thing POSS-story

*nangthanpo dei ho {to}*

nang=thán-pò déi hò {to}  
1/2:NSUBJ=tell-IRR1 OK? EMPH:INTERACT OK  
'so, (dear) children, I will tell you a story, okay? {OK.}' [HK, TR 001]

*hako arni tangho {mm} enut arecho arong*

hákò arni tànghò {mm} e-nūt a-rechò a-ròng  
that.time day REP BACKCHANNEL one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-king POSS-village

*{mm} jangreso.... do tangho {mm}*

{mm} jàngrēsō.... dō tànghò {mm}  
BACKCHANNEL single.parent.child exist REP BACKCHANNEL  
'in the old days (once upon a time), in a king's village, there was an orphan' [HK, TR 002]

*jangreso... recho donsuripen jangreso*

jangrēsō rechò dòn-surí=pen jangrēsō  
single.parent.child king CLF:family-thousand=with single.parent.child

*dodunlo enut tangho {mm}*

dō-dūn-lò e-nūt tànghò mm  
stay-JOIN-RL one-CLF:HUM:SG REP BACKCHANNEL  
'the orphan... out of the thousand households of the king's kingdom, the orphan, stayed there, too, one (orphan)' [HK, TR 003]

*apei avelo apo avelo...*

a-pēi            avē-lò            a-pō            avē-lò....  
POSS-mother not.exist-RL POSS-father not.exist-RL

*a'ik avelo ate avelo*

a-ik                    avē-lò            a-tè                    avē-lò  
POSS-older.brother not.exist-RL POSS-elder.sister not.exist-RL

'he didn't have a mother anymore, he didnt have a father anymore.... he didn't have any brothers or sisters anymore' [HK, TR 004]

*{enutvetlo?}*

e-nūt-vét-lò  
one-CLF:HUM:SG-only-RL  
'{he was alone?}' [HK, TR 005]

*enutvetlo {to}*

e-nūt-vét-lò                    tò  
one-CLF:HUM:SG-only-RL OK  
'he was alone, {OK}' [HK, TR 006]

*anke.... dukpiklo laso ajangrengsoke*

ánke      dúk-pìk-lò                    lasō a-jangrēngsō=ke  
and.then be.poor(<Asm)-very-RL this POSS-orphan=TOP  
'and then... he was very poor, this orphan' [HK, TR 007]

*{dukpik} dukpik*

dúk-pìk                    dúk-pìk  
be.poor(<Asm)-very be.poor(<Asm)-very  
'{he was very poor?!} he was very poor' [HK, TR 008]

*chomove junmove {mm}*

chō-movē      jùn-movē                    mm  
eat-nothing.to drink-nothing.to BACKCHANNEL  
'(he) had nothing to eat, nothing to drink' [HK, TR 009]

*anke halaso arni.... laso ajangrengsoke....*  
ankè hálasō arni lasō a-jangrēngsō=ke....  
and.then that day this POSS-orphan=TOP

*apok ingchirdukke mati di {mm}*  
a-pōk ingchir-dùk=ke mati dī mm  
POSS-stomach be.hungry-INTENS=TOP CG Q.tag BACKCHANNEL  
'on that day, this orphan was suffering from hunger, wouldn't he have been?' [HK, TR 010]

*{jangreso ma jangrengsolo?}*  
jangrēsō ma jangrēngsō-lò  
single.parent.child Q orphan-RL  
'{was it an orphan with one parent left or no parents at all?}' [HK, TR 011]

*jangrengsolo*  
jangrēngsō-lò  
orphan-RL  
'it was an orphan with no parents left' [HK, TR 012]

*jangrengso {mm} o*  
jangrēngsō mm o  
orphan BACKCHANNEL INTERJ  
'an orphan with no parents left? {Mm} Oh.' [HK, TR 013]

*apok ingchirdukke {mm}*  
a-pōk ingchir-dùk=ke mm  
POSS-stomach be.hungry-INTENS=TOP BACKCHANNEL  
'so he was suffering from hunger, (and then...)' [HK, TR 014]

*anke inglong arloksi phurui chosot*  
ánke [inglòng arlòk=si] [phurùi chosòt]  
and.then hill foot.of.hill=FOC:RL yam kd.vegetable

*choridamlo tangho e... choridamlo {mm}*

cho-rī-dām-lò                      tànghò e      cho-rī-dām-lò                      {mm}

AUTO.BEN/MAL-search-GO-RL REP      DSM AUTO.BEN/MAL-search-GO-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘and then, he went here and there to search wild vegetables, he went to search for vegetables {Mm.}’  
[HK, TR 015]

*chingjor epak {chingjor epak}*

chingjòr e-pàk                      chingjòr e-pàk

shovel    one-CLF.flat shovel    one-CLF.flat

*hak isi do {mm}*

hák                                      isī dō      mm

finely.plaited.bamboo.basket one exist BACKCHANNEL

‘one shovel, ... {one shovel?!} (and) one basket he had’ [HK, TR 016]

*jamborong along hako arnike luji pu he*

jamboròng a-lòng      hakò      arni=ke      lují      pu      hè

bag                      POSS-LOC      that.time      day=TOP      mirror      QUOT      you.know

*{mm} dei ho*

mm                      déi hò

BACKCHANNEL OK? EMPH:INTERACT

‘in the bag, in the old days, they used to keep a so-called luji, a mirror (container), you know..., right?’  
[HK, TR 017]

*atema ajerjer do mati ho*

a-temá                                      ajerjēr dō      matí hò

POSS-tobacco.container(<Asm) small exist CG EMPH:INTERACT

‘he had a small tobacco container, OK?’ [HK, TR 018]

*{thongkup} thongkup ason {mm} athakke*

thongkūp                      thongkūp                      asòn mm                      athàk=ke

tobacco.container tobacco.container like BACKCHANNEL on.top=TOP

*aina do {mm}*

ainá                      dō      mm

mirror(<Ind) exist BACKCHANNEL

‘the tobacco container was of such a kind that it had a mirror on top’ [HK, TR 019]

*luji pu hedi {luji do} luji do {mm}*

lují pù hedī lují dō} lují dō mm  
mirror quotative Q.tag mirror exist mirror exist BACKCHANNEL  
'it had what we call a mirror - {it had a mirror?!} - it had a mirror' [HK, TR 020]

*anke... duma alangpong chethapponthotlo*

ánke dumá a-langpòng che-thāp-pōn-thòt-lò  
and.then tobacco POSS-small.bamboo.container RR-put.inside-away-into.opening-RL  
'and then... he put the tobacco container deep inside (the bag) to carry it away (to search for vegetables)' [HK, TR 021]

*{nopakke ponpe ma}*

{nopàk=ke pòn-Cē ma  
dao=TOP take.away-NEG Q  
'{he wasn't carrying a dao?}' [HK, TR 022]

*nopakta dolo dak {lahe} mm*

nopàk-tā dō-lò dāk lahé mm  
dao-ADD:also exist-RL here that.way? BACKCHANNEL  
'he did have a dao also there. {is it like that?} Mm.' [HK, TR 023]

*nopak dolo chingjor dolo {mm} hak dolo*

nopàk dō-lò chingjòr dō-lò mm hák dō-lò  
dao exist-RL shovel exist-RL BACKCHANNEL finely.woven.b.basket exist-RL

*{mm}*

{mm}  
BACKCHANNEL  
'he had a dao, he had a shovel, he had a finely woven bamboo basket' [HK, TR 024]

*anke hala duma kemong athongkupta*

ánke hála dumá ke-mòng a-thongkūp-tā  
and.then that tobacco NMLZ-smoke POSS-tobacco.container-ADD:also

*dolo* {mm}

dō-lò mm

exist-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘and then, he also had that tobacco container so he could smoke later’ [HK, TR 025]

*anke laso athongkup along lujisi kapabon*

ánke lasō a-thongkūp alòng lují=si ke-pV-bōn

and.then this POSS-tobacco.container LOC mirror=FOC:RL NMLZ-CAUS-be.attached

{*lujisi kapabon*} mm

lují=si ke-pV-bōn mm

mirror=FOC:RL NMLZ-CAUS-be.attached BACKCHANNEL

‘and then, on this tobacco container, there was a mirror attached’ [HK, TR 026]

*anke damlo tangho* {mm}

ánke dām-lò tànghò {mm}

and.then go-RL REP BACKCHANNEL

‘and then he went’ {‘Mm.’} [HK, TR 027]

*damlo phurui choridamlo* {mm}

dām-lò phurùi cho-rī-dām-lò mm

go-RL yam AUTO.BEN/MAL-search-GO-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘he went, to search yam he went’ {‘Mm.’} [HK, TR 028]

*phurui kitukbomlo* {mm} *tukbomlo tukbomlo tukbomlo*

phurùi ke-tūk-bōm-lò mm tūk-bōm-lò tūk-bōm-lò tūk-bōm-lò

yam NMLZ-dig-CONT-RL BACKCHANNEL dig-CONT-RL dig-CONT-RL dig-CONT-RL

{mm}

{mm}

BACKCHANNEL

‘he was digging for yam’ {‘Mm.’} ‘he kept digging and digging digging’ {‘Mm.’} [HK, TR 029]

*hu arni kangsam apor abangke {mm}*

hú arni ke-ingsām a-pòr abàng=ke {mm}  
then.later sun NMLZ-be.cold POSS-time NPDL=TOP BACKCHANNEL

*ejon ateke konatpenlone vanglo tangho {mm}*

e-jōn a-tekè konát=pen=lo-nē vàng-lò tànghò mm  
one-CLF:animal POSS-tiger where=from=FOC-INDEF come-RL REP BACKCHANNEL  
'then, at the time when the sun was becoming cold (i.e. just before sunset)... {mm} ...one tiger  
appeared out of nowhere' [HK, TR 030]

*bahari ateke akesarhempī {mm}*

baharí a-tekè a-ke-sàr-hempī mm  
very.big(<Ind) POSS-tiger POSS-NMLZ-be.old-intensifying BACKCHANNEL  
'a very big tiger, a very big old one' [HK, TR 031]

*{sarpiklo atekeke} sarpiklo {kalangma}*

sàr-pìk-lò a-tekè=ke sàr-pìk-lò kalàng ma  
be.old-very-RL POSS-tiger=TOP be.old-very-RL yes Q  
'{he was very old, that tiger?} he was very old?! {Ah, really?!}' [HK, TR 032]

*akethenei akehoineilo tangho {esh..}*

a-ke-thè-néi akehoì-néi-lò tanghò esh  
POSS-NMLZ-be.big-superlative powerful.person-superlative-RL REP jeez!

*vanglo {mm}*

vàng-lò mm  
come-RL BACKCHANNEL  
'he was the biggest and the most powerful one (so they say) {jeez!}... he came' [HK, TR 033]

*anke laso ateke atumke kopilo*

ánke lasō a-tekè a-tūm=ke kopí=lo  
and.then this POSS-tiger POSS-PL=TOP what=FOC  
'and then what about the tigers?' [HK, TR 034]

*hako arnike teke <pu> atumta Rongker pu do tangho*

hakò arni=ke tekè <pu> a-tūm=tā Ròngkèr pu dō tànghò  
that.time day=TOP tiger QUOT POSS-PL=also FESTIVAL QUOT exist REP

‘at that time (i.e. in the old days), the tigers also (like humans/Karbhis) celebrated the *Rongker*’ [HK, TR 035]

*{mm monitpenta chingkisai puhe}*

mm monít=pen=tā che-ingkī-sài pu=he}  
BACKCHANNEL man=with=ADD:even RR-talk-easily QUOT=AFTERTHOUGHT

*mm monitpenta chingkisai ahutlo {mm}*

mm monít-pèn=tā che-ingkī-sài ahūt-lò mm  
BACKCHANNEL man-with=ADD:even RR-talk-easily during-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘{they could talk with humans just like that?} Mm. (The story takes place) when they could talk to people just like that.’ [HK, TR 036]

*{ha pirthe kangduk ahut} mm*

{há pirthé ke-ingdūk ahūt mm  
over.there world NMLZ-immature during BACKCHANNEL

‘{it was when the world was immature?!} Mm.’ [HK, TR 037]

*{lalo anke laso ateke abangke} mm*

{là-lò ánke lasō a-tekè abàng=ke} mm  
this-RL and.then this POSS-tiger NPDL=TOP BACKCHANNEL

‘{that’s it, and then that tiger...} Mm.’ [HK, TR 038]

*hala teke Rongker pu labangso abarikalo tangho la vo*

[hála tekè Ròngkèr pù] làbàngsō a-bariká-lò tànghò] [là vō  
that tiger FESTIVAL QUOT this POSS-OFFICER-RL REP this chicken

*phak kiri abanglo tangho abanglo {kerek*

phàk ke-rì a-bàng-lò tànghò] a-bàng-lò {ke-rék  
pig NMLZ-search POSS-CLF:HUM.PL-RL REP POSS-CLF-RL NMLZ-ask.for

*abang} kerek abanglo*

a-bàng ke-rék a-bàng-lò  
POSS-CLF:HUM.PL NMLZ-ask.for POSS-CLF:HUM.PL -RL

‘that one is the main organizer of the Teke Rongker, the one looking for sacrifice, that one - {the collector (who asks for chicken and pig from different places)?!} - he is the collector’ [HK, TR 039]

*{laanke long'etlo} mm*

là-án=ke                      lònġ-èt-lò}      mm  
this-that.much=TOP get-all:S/O-RL BACKCHANNEL  
'{he had already collected everything?!} Mm.' [HK, TR 040]

*komatne akurja aso vanlo komatne*

komāt-nē    a-kurjā            a-osō            vān-lò    komāt-nē  
who-INDEF POSS-muslim POSS-child bring-RL who-INDEF

*abonggali aso ponlo aphai dopiklo*

a-bonggalí    a-osō            pòn-lò            aphái    dō-pik-lò  
POSS-Bengoli POSS-child take.away-RL number exist-very-RL  
'he brought some young muslims, he carried some young Bengolis, he already had many of them'  
[HK, TR 041]

*{<eh> halatumke} mm {<eh> la monitsi kenangpohe halatum*

hála-tūm=ke mm                      là    monít=si    ke-náng-pò=he                      hála-tum  
that-PL=TOP BACKCHANNEL this man=FOC:RL NMLZ-need-IRR1=AFTERTHOUGHT that-PL

*aphanke halatum, aphanke bi vosi ketheklo}*

a-phān=ke            hála-tūm    a-phān=ke    bī    vō=si            ke-thèk-lò}  
POSS-NSUBJ=TOP that-PL NSUBJ=TOP goat chicken=FOC:RL NMLZ-see-RL  
'{they will need human beings, right? They consider them goats and chickens (i.e. sacrifice)}' [HK, TR 042]

*ketheklo {lapulo} mm {mm}*

ke-thèk-lò    lapù=lò      mm                      mm  
NMLZ-see-RL like.this-RL BACKCHANNEL BACKCHANNEL  
'he considers them as such {is it like that?} Mm. {Mm.}' [HK, TR 043]

*te hala mumding akhei hala*

tè                      hála    ingmūm-dīng    a-khéi                      hála  
and.then/therefore that beard-be.long POSS-community that

*kopinene {kaprek kaprek}*

kopí-nē~nē            ke-prék                      ke-prék  
what-INDEF~DIST.PL NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different

*akhei ponbomlo akaprek*

a-khéi                      pòn-bōm-lò                      a-ke-prék  
 POSS-community      take.away-CONT-RL      POSS-NMLZ-be.different

*kaprek ponbomlo {mm}*

ke-prék                      pòn-bōm-lò                      mm  
 NMLZ-be.different      take.away-CONT-RL      BACKCHANNEL

‘therefore, he (the tiger) is carrying that community of long-bearded ones (i.e. muslims), and whatever other communities, he is carrying different ones’ [HK, TR 044]

*ingchin aumpensi bengsi {mm keponlo}*

ingchìn a-úm=pen=si                      bèng-si                      mm                      ke-pòn-lò  
 iron      POSS-cage=with=FOC:RL      lock-NF:RL      BACKCHANNEL      NMLZ-take.away-RL

*huladak ateke akangbura ahemsi*

húlādāk a-tekè      a-kangburá                      a-hēm=si  
 there      POSS-tiger      POSS-village.head.man(<Asm)      POSS-house=FOC

*bidamlo tangho {mm}*

bí-dām-lò      tànghò      mm  
 keep-go-RL      REP      BACKCHANNEL

‘he had locked them inside an iron cage, and there he had gone and put them in the house of the village head tiger’ [HK, TR 045]

*bidamlo te ejon nangalang*

bí-dām-lò      te                      e-jōn                      náng-jí-lāng  
 keep-go-RL      and.then/therefore      one-CLF:animal      need-IRR2-still

*{asathe ahem} mm ejon nangalang*

{a-sarthè                      a-hēm                      mm                      e-jōn                      náng-jí-lāng  
 POSS-village.headman      POSS-house      BACKCHANNEL      one-CLF:animal      need-IRR2-still

*{mm}*

{mm}

BACKCHANNEL

‘he had gone and put them there, and then, one more is needed’ [HK, TR 046]

*lalo anke... laso ateke abarika abangsi {mm}*

là-lò ánke... lasō a-tekè a-bariká abàng=si mm  
this-RL and.then this POSS-tiger POSS-OFFICER NPDL=FOC:RL BACKCHANNEL

*adengloke mati {adenglo} damlo tangho {mm}*

a-déng-lò=ke mati {a-déng-lò} dàm-lò tànghò mm  
POSS-responsibility-RL=TOP DM POSS-responsibility-RL go-RL REP BACKCHANNEL  
'that's it, and then, this tiger, this *barika* one, it was his responsibility (to collect the sacrifice) {it was his responsibility?} he went' [HK, TR 047]

*damlo anke... halabangso kiridam ahut jangreso*

dàm-lò ánke hála-bàng-sō ke-rì-dām ahūt jangrēsō  
go-RL and.then that-CLF:hum-small NMLZ-search-go during single.parent.child

*aphan chetonglok {chetonglok jangrengso}*

aphān che-tòng-lòk che-tòng-lòk jangrēngsō}  
NSUBJ RR-meet-happen.to RR-meet-happen.to orphan  
'he (the tiger) went, and then, that one while looking for more, he happened to run into the orphan'  
[HK, TR 048]

*jangrengso aphan chetongloklo {mm}*

jangrēngsō aphān che-tòng-lòk-lò mm  
orphan NSUBJ RR-meet-happen.to-RL BACKCHANNEL  
'he ran into that orphan' [HK, TR 049]

*jangrengso aphan chetongloklo anke*

jangrēngsō aphān che-tòng-lòk-lò ánke  
orphan NSUBJ RR-meet-happen.to-RL and.then  
'he ran into the orphan, and then' [HK, TR 050]

*laso ajangrengsoke phurui kituk kituk kituk kituk...*

lasō a-jangrēngsō=ke phurùi ke-tūk ke-tūk ke-tūk ke-tūk  
this POSS-orphan=TOP yam NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig NMLZ-dig

*chelangledetlo he {mm} chelangledetlo*

che-làng-Cē-dèt-lò he mm che-làng-Cē-dèt-lò  
RR-see-NEG-PFV-RL DM BACKCHANNEL RR-see-NEG-PFV-RL  
'this orphan, as he was digging and digging and digging... he didn't look around' [HK, TR 051]

anùng-pèn dàm-jòi~jòi-si                      bér-dàm-phlùt-lò                      tànghò  
back-from go-quietly~INTENS-NF:RL press.down-GO-miss/fail-RL REP

*{mm} berdampulut*

{mm}                      bér-dàm-phlùt

BACKCHANNEL press.down-GO-miss/fail

‘from behind he was very secretly approaching and tried to jump on him, but failed’ [HK, TR 052]

*chelangrailo hala jangrengso abangke {mm}*

che-lāng-rài-lò                      hála jangrēngsō abàng=ke mm

RR-see-sideways-RL that orphan                      NPDL=TOP BACKCHANNEL

*anung chelangrailo... boh*

anùng che-lāng-rài-lò...                      boh

back RR-see-sideways-RL SURPRISE(<Asm)

‘he looked around, that orphan, he turned around and looked, wow!’ [HK, TR 053]

*kodak ateke sarposi kevangphlutloma {mm}*

kodāk a-tekè                      sàr-pō-si                      ke-vàng-phlùt-lò=ma                      mm

where POSS-tiger be.old-male-FOC NMLZ-come-suddenly.big.A/O-RL=Q BACKCHANNEL

‘from where did the big old tiger appear?’ [HK, TR 054]

*“piloma la nepap kedo?” lapu ajatlo {mm}*

pílo ma là                      ne-páp                      ke-dō                      lapù                      a-ját-lò                      mm

what Q this 1EXCL:POSS-fault NMLZ-exist like.this POSS-type-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘“what my sin is (I don’t know)?” like that he was thinking {Mm}’ [HK, TR 055]

*hala teke abang pulo tangho {mm}*

hála tekè abàng pù-lò                      tànghò mm

that tiger NPDL say-RL REP                      BACKCHANNEL

‘that tiger said...’ [HK, TR 056]

“*pap alam kali, jangrengs, pinike*”

páp a-lám kalī jangrēngsō pini=ke  
fault POSS-matter NEG.EQU.COP orphan today=TOP  
‘“today, there is no matter of sin, orphan!” ‘ [HK, TR 057]

“*kedo keda kaliloke*” {eh}

ke-dō ke-dā kalī-lò=ke eh  
NMLZ-exist NMLZ-EE:dō NEG.EQU.COP-RL=TOP INTERJ  
‘“there is no matter of existence (of a sin)” ‘ [HK, TR 058]

“*pap kedo keda nangphanke*”

páp ke-dō ke-dā nang-phān=ke  
fault NMLZ-exist NMLZ-EE 2-NSUBJ=TOP

“*nangkeponpo*” {“*nangponpo*”}

nang=ke-pòn-pò {nang=pòn-pò}  
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.away-IRR1 1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-IRR1  
‘“there is no sin or anything, but I’ll carry you away” ‘ [HK, TR 059]

“*netum penaplo Rongkerji*” {o}

ne-tūm penàp=lo Ròngkèr-jí o  
1EXCL-PL tomorrow=FOC FESTIVAL-IRR2 INTERJ  
‘“tomorrow we will celebrate the *Rongker*” ‘ [HK, TR 060]

“*etum penaplo Rongkerpo!*” {mm}

e-tūm penàp=lo Ròngkèr-pò mm  
1PL.INCL-PL tomorrow=FOC FESTIVAL-IRR1 BACKCHANNEL  
‘“tomorrow we will have to/definitely will celebrate the *Rongker*” ‘ [HK, TR 061]

“*laso aRongker... netum aphai kechokche*”

lasō a-Rongkèr nè-tūm aphái ke-chòk-Cē  
this POSS-FESTIVAL 1EXCL-PL number NMLZ-be.fine-NEG

*ejonnatlo*” {mm}

e-jōn-nàt-lò mm  
one-CLF:animal-only-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘ “this Rongker festival.. our number (i.e. the number of people we have) is not OK, it’s just one (that is missing)” ‘ [HK, TR 062]

*“nangphanlo nangkeponpo*” {mm}

nang-phān=lo nang=ke-pòn-pò mm  
you-NSUBJ=FOC 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.away-IRR1 BACKCHANNEL

‘ “I’ll have to take you” ‘ [HK, TR 063]

*jangrengso abangta repik tangho* {mm}

jangrēngsō abàng=tā rè-pìk tànghò mm  
orphan NPDL=ADD:DM be.smart-very REP BACKCHANNEL

‘(but) the orphan is very smart’ [HK, TR 064]

*“o... neta lasi ho kiribom ti ho*”

o... nè=tā lasi hò ke-rì-bōm tì hò  
INTERJ 1EXCL=ADD:also therefore EMPH NMLZ-search-CONT EMPH EMPH:INTERACT

{mm}

{mm}  
BACKCHANNEL

‘ “oh, I see. I am (actually) also searching for somebody, just like you” ‘ [HK, TR 065]

*“huladak ingtong kebengta dolo*” {mm}

húlādāk ingtòng ke-bèng=tā dō-lò mm  
there big.bamboo.basket.roughly.woven NMLZ-lock=ADD exist-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘ “there in the bamboo basket, I have (a tiger)” ‘ [HK, TR 066]

*“non ejon nangalang neta*” {mm}

nòn e-jōn náng-jí-lāng nè=tā mm  
now one-CLF:animal need-IRR2-still 1EXCL=ADD:also BACKCHANNEL

‘ “I also need one more” ‘ [HK, TR 067]

*phurui angdong abangke hu*

phurùi a-ingtòng abàng=ke hú  
yam POSS-big.bamboo.basket.roughly.woven NPDL=TOP over.there

*bahera bikok {mm} teke*

baherá bí-kòk mm tekè  
away.from.here(<Asm) put-in.a.fixed.place BACKCHANNEL tiger

*theklonglelang hala phurui kituk alongke*

theklōng-Cē-làng hála phurùi ke-tūk alòng=ke  
see-NEG-yet that yam NMLZ-dig LOC=TOP  
'that yam basket, over there he set it down,... the tiger hadn't seen it yet, at that place where he was digging the yam' [HK, TR 068]

*{angtan along...}*

{a-ingtán alòng...}  
POSS-outside LOC  
'{outside....}' [HK, TR 069]

*ingtong ardikkluilo*

ingtòng ardīk-klúi-lò  
big.bamboo.basket.roughly.woven be.heavy-quite-RL

*cheponpedetlo he {mm}*

che-pōn-Cē-dèt-lò he mm  
RR-take.away-NEG-PFV-RL you.know BACKCHANNEL  
'the bamboo basket was (/had become) quite heavy, so he hadn't carried it with him' [HK, TR 070]

*jamborong la {achar bikangkok} achar*

jamboròng là {achár bí tekáng-kòk achár  
bag this far.away put give.leave-in.a.fixed.place far.away

*bikangkoklo {mm}*

bí-káng-kòk-lò mm  
put-leave-in.a.fixed.place-RL BACKCHANNEL  
'the bag.. {he kept it away}, he kept it away' [HK, TR 071]

*adung nopak epak do {mm}*  
 adūng nopàk e-pàk dō mm  
 near dao one-CLF:flat exist BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘close to him he had a dao’ [HK, TR 072]

*anke hala jamborong alongke.... dak laso aduma*  
 ánke hála jamboròng alòng=ke.... dāk lasō a-dumá  
 and.then that bag LOC=TOP here this POSS-tobacco

*thongkup dolo {dolo}*  
 thongkūp dō-lò {dō-lò}  
 tobacco.container exist-RL exist-RL  
 ‘and then, in this bag....., here he had this tobacco container’ [HK, TR 073]

*{duma mongponbom nangkokjike}*  
 dumá mòng-pōn-bōm náng-kòk-jí=ke}  
 tobacco smoke-in.passing-CONT need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP

*mongponbom nangkokjike*  
 mòng-pōn-bōm náng-kòk-jí=ke  
 smoke-in.passing-CONT need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP  
 ‘it’s necessary to keep smoking (while digging yam)’ [HK, TR 074]

*anke.... hala jangrengsota pulo {mm}*  
 ánke.... hála jangrēngsō=tā pù-lò mm  
 and.then that orphan=ADD:DM say-RL BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘and then... that orphan said {Mm}’ [HK, TR 075]

*“neta lason thakthak tí ho!” {mm}*  
 nè=tā lasòn thakthāk tí hò mm  
 1EXCL=ADD:also that.way same EMPH EMPH:INTERACT BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘ “same here (in trying to find animals for sacrifice)!” ‘ [HK, TR 076]

*“muthe jo nonta lakongsi duma kemong*

muthē jò nòn=tā làk-òng-si dumá ke-mòng  
but(<Asm) see! now=ADD be.tired-too.much-NF:RL tobacco NMLZ-smoke

*akhajisi.... jo.... phuruisi chotukrongsi*

a-khají=si.... jò.... phurùi=si cho-túk-ròng-si]  
POSS-small.food=FOC:RL see yam=FOC:RL AUTO.BEN/MAL-dig-instead-NF:RL

*chophiririsi... duma mongpo”*

cho-phí-riri-si] dumá mòng-pò]  
AUTO.BEN/MAL-roast-slightly-NF:RL tobacco smoke-IRR1

‘ “see, also now I am very tired and as snacks to take along with smoking I am digging yam and roasting (the yam) just enough and later I will smoke” ‘ [HK, TR 077]

*“anke aro kiridamlepo pulo ho....*

[ánke arò ke-rì-dām-lè-pò pù-lò hò  
and.then and/again(<Asm) NMLZ-search-go-again-IRR1 say-RL EMPH:INTERACT

*ejonke longetlo” {mm}*

e-jōn-ke lòn-ét-lò mm  
one-CLF:animal-TOP get-PRF-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘ “and then again, I am going to search for one (tiger), I already told you, OK? One I already got!” ‘ [HK, TR 078]

*“non ejon dolang” putangho {mm}*

nòn e-jōn dō-làng pù-tànghò mm  
now one-CLF:animal exist-yet QUOT-REP BACKCHANNEL

*lata laso ajangrengsota*

[là=tā lasō a-jangrēngsō=tā]  
this=ADD:DM this POSS-orphan=ADD:DM

‘ “there is still one missing”, (says) this one also, this orphan also’ [HK, TR 079]

*{“nangphantong nangkenepchektong*

{nàng-phān-tōng nang=ke-nèp-chèk-tōng  
you-NSUBJ-instead.of 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-catch-firmly-instead.of

*kemepoma?* ”} }  
 ke-mē-pò=ma}  
 NMLZ-be.good-IRR1=Q  
 ‘{“is it good to just catch you (i.e. instead of keeping looking around more for another one)?”}’ [HK, TR 080]

*oi lasonlo* <SiT laughing>  
 ōi lasòn-lò  
 yes that.way-RL  
 ‘yes, that way’ (<SiT laughing>) [HK, TR 081]

“*nang vangchitlo! meta melo!*”  
 nàng vàng-chìt-lò mē=tā mē-lò  
 you come-just.right-RL be.good=ADD:INT be.good-RL

*pu tangho* (both laughing)  
 pu tànghò  
 QUOT REP  
 ‘“you came just right, it’s very good” ‘ (both laughing) [HK, TR 082]

{*anke*} *anke laso ajangrengsota.... ningjedetlokemati* {*ningjedetlo*}  
 {ánke} ánke lasō a-jangrēngsō=tā.... ningjé-dèt-lò=ke=mati {ningjé-dèt-lò}  
 and.then and.then this POSS-orphan=ADD:DM speak-PFV-RL=TOP=CG speak-PFV-RL  
 ‘{“and then”}-’and then, this orphan had spoken this- {he already said [that]}’ [HK, TR 083]

*teketa manghutailo tangho*{*manghutailo*}  
 tekè=tā manghū-tài-lò tànghò {manghū-tài-lò}  
 tiger=ADD:DM get.surprised-for.a.moment-RL REP get.surprised-for.a.moment-RL

“*kolo ante nang keneptangke....? dolo?*”  
 kò=lo antè nàng ke-nèp-táng=ke dō-lò  
 ITROG=FOC OK.then 2 NMLZ-catch-PFV=TOP exist-RL  
 ‘the tiger was surprised, “which one have you already caught? is it there?” ‘ [HK, TR 084]

{“ahokma nahokmake?”} “ahokma nahokma mane hala?”  
 {a-hōk=ma nahōk=ma=ke} a-hōk=ma nahōk=ma mane hála  
 POSS-truth=Q lie=Q=TOP POSS-truth=Q lie=Q I.mean(<Asm) that  
 ‘{“is it true or not? (i.e. that there is a tiger in the bag)”} (yes,) “is it true or not, I mean ... ?” ‘ [HK, TR 085]

{lang nangkokjike}  
 {làng náng-kòk-jí=ke}  
 see need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP  
 ‘{(we) must see! (if there is a tiger there)}’ [HK, TR 086]

e lang nangkokjike mati {asat  
 e làng náng-kòk-jí=ke=mati {a-sát  
 INTERJ see need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP=CG POSS-proof

lang nangkokjima} “nephan  
 làng náng-kòk-jí=ma} ne-phān  
 see need-absolutely.required-IRR2=Q 1EXCL-NSUBJ

nangpakolikma? {oi} nangkapachobeima?” {oi}  
 nang=pakolík=ma ōi nang=ke-pV-chobēi=ma ōi  
 1/2:NSUBJ=lie=Q yes 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-lie=Q yes  
 ‘we must see! {we must see the proof!} “are you lying to me? are you telling me a lie?” (says the tiger)’ [HK, TR 087]

“dolo ti” pubomlo tangho lake (SiT laughing) “dolo” {mm}  
 dō-lò tì pù-bōm-lò tànhò là=ke dō-lò mm  
 exist-RL EMPH say-CONT-RL REP this=TOP exist-RL BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘ “definitely, there’s one here!”“ this one (i.e. the orphan) kept saying, (SiT laughing) “it’s there” ‘ [HK, TR 088]

“kali nang lam ningjebomte, neke  
 kalī nàng lám ningjé-bōm-te nè=ke  
 NEG.EQU.COP 2 word speak-CONT-if 1EXCL=TOP

nangkebengpo!” {“nangkebengpo”}  
 nang=ke-bèng-pò {nang=ke-bèng-pò}  
 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-lock-IRR1 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-lock-IRR1  
 ‘ “on the other hand, if you keep speaking like this, I will lock you in” {“will lock you in”} ‘ [HK, TR 089]

*ante kolo nangkeneptang? Nangpaklangtha!” lason*

ánte ko=lo nang=ke-nèp-tāng, nang=pV-klàng-thā lasòn  
 OK.then ITROG=FOC CIS=NMLZ-catch-finish 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-appear-CON.IMP that.way

*ajat abanglo he {mm}*

a-ját abàng-lò hè {mm}  
 POSS-type NPDL-RL you.know BACKCHANNEL

‘ “if so, which one have you already caught? You have to show me!”, that’s how it was’ [HK, TR 090]

*alangtum akhei mene laso... (ajat*

alàng-tūm a-khéi menē lasō a-ját  
 3-PL POSS-clan maybe this POSS-type

*abanglo he) {oi}*

abàng-lò hè ōi  
 NPDL-RL you.know yes

‘maybe he (the tiger that was caught) is from their community (the tiger’s community)’ [HK, TR 091]

*lalo anke “o nang bisasse bo?”*

là-lò ánke o nàng bisás-Cē bo  
 this-RL and.then INTERJ you believe(<Asm)-NEG ITROG.ASSUM

‘and then, “o, you don’t believe it, right?” (said the orphan to the tiger)’ [HK, TR 092]

*jamborong chipur serheserhesi laso aduma*

jamboròng che-pùr serhéserhé-si lasō a-dumá  
 bag RR-open.unfold in.a.hurry-NF:RL this POSS-tobacco

*thongkup ulaiphlutlo*

thongkūp ulái-phlüt-lò  
 tobacco.container take.out(<Asm)-suddenly.big.A/O-RL

‘he opened his bag and took the big tobacco container out in a hurry’ [HK, TR 093]

*{hala luji paklanglo} luji dokokloke {e} ladak*

hála luji pV-klàng-lò luji dō-kòk-lò=ke e ladāk  
that mirror CAUS-appear-RL mirror exist-firmly-RL=TOP INTERJ here  
'{he showed him that mirror?} that mirror has been there... here' [HK, TR 094]

*luji do athak "jo, chelangtha!" {mm}*

luji dō athāk jo che-lāng-thā mm  
mirror exist on.top see RR-see-CON.IMP BACKCHANNEL  
'the mirror is on it, "see, look yourself!" ' [HK, TR 095]

*"daklo ne kebeng adim {mm} nang*

dāk=lo nè ke-bèng a-dím mm nàng  
here=FOC 1EXCL NMLZ-lock POSS-place BACKCHANNEL you

*ansose dakke" pu*

án-sosē dāk=ke pu  
that.much-more here=TOP QUOT  
'"here is the place where I locked him, this one (tiger) here is more (i.e. bigger, stronger) than you"  
' [HK, TR 096]

*halake pu langlo jo teke abangke*

hála=ke pú làng-lò jò tekè abàng=ke  
that=TOP this.side see-RL see! tiger NPDL=TOP

*ardiklo {mm} aharchi chethekloklo*

ardīk-lò mm a-harchī che-thēk-lòk-lò  
peep-RL BACKCHANNEL POSS-image RR-see-happen.to-RL

*{chethekloklo}*

*{che-thēk-lòk-lò}*

RR-see-happen.to-RL

'that one (the tiger) looked this side, see, that tiger peeped, and got to see his image' [HK, TR 097]

*"opeija nephanta halasi nangsarlang!" <both laughing>*

opeija ne-phān=tā hála=si nang=sār-làng  
my.goodness! 1EXCL-NSUBJ=ADD:even that=FOC:RL 1/2:NSUBJ=be.old-still  
'"my goodness! this one is still older than me!" ' (*both laughing*) [HK, TR 098]

“*cheplangple!*” <both laughing>  
 che-pláng-Cē  
 RR-become-NEG  
 ‘“any effort will be useless!” ‘ (says the tiger) (*both laughing*) [HK, TR 099]

*ingplongphitlo* {*ingplongphitlo*}  
 ingplòng-phit-lò                      ingplòng-phit-lò  
 run.away.animal-right.away-RL    run.away.animal-right.away-RL

*ingplongphitlo lake* {*mm*}  
 ingplòng-phit-lò                      là=ke      mm  
 run.away.animal-right.away-RL    this=TOP    BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘he ran away- {he ran away} -he ran away, this one {Mm.}’ [HK, TR 100]

*la chetheklòkpen* {*mm*} *aharchi chethekloklo mati*  
 là    che-thēk-lòk=pen              mm                      a-harchī      che-thēk-lòk-lò=mati  
 this    RR-sec-right.then=from    BACKCHANNEL    POSS-image    RR-sec-right.then-RL=CG

{*mm*} *ingplongphitlo* {*mm*}  
 {mm}                      ingplòng-phit-lò                      mm  
 BACKCHANNEL    run.away.animal-right.away-RL    BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘as he was looking, he of course saw the image and he ran away’ [HK, TR 101]

*ingplongphitlo anke hanglo tangho*  
 ingplòng-phit-lò                      ánke              háng-lò      tànghò  
 run.away.animal-right.away-RL    and.then    call-RL      REP

{*hanglang*} *la jangrengsoke* {*o*}  
 háng-làng là    jangrēngsō=ke {ò}  
 call-yet      this orphan=TOP      EXCM  
 ‘he ran away and, and then, he shouted, the orphan did’ [HK, TR 102]

“*komantupo aRongkerjike?*” {*mm*}  
 komantú-pò    a-Ròngkèr-jí=ke                      mm  
 when-IRR1    POSS-FESTIVAL-IRR2=TOP    BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘“when will it be, the *Rongker?*” ‘ [HK, TR 103]

“*penap ne vangalang!*” *pu tangho* (both laughing) “*vangalang*”  
penàp nè vàng-jí-lāng pu tànhò vàng-jí-lāng  
tomorrow 1EXCL come-IRR2-still QUOT REP come-IRR2-still  
‘ “tomorrow I will come!” (both laughing), “I will come” ‘ [HK, TR 104]

{“*nang kedo adim ne nangchinike!*”}  
{nàng ke-dō a-dím nè nang=chiní=ke}  
you NMLZ-stay POSS-place 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=know=TOP

*nangchinike* {mm}  
nang=chiní=ke mm  
1/2:NSUBJ=know=TOP BACKCHANNEL  
‘ {“I know the place where you stay!”} ’ [HK, TR 105]

“*penap vangalang netum abang paderchotpo*” {mm}  
penàp vàng-jí-lāng ne-tūm abàng pV-dér-chòt-pò mm  
tomorrow come-IRR2-still 1EXCL-PL NPDL CAUS-be.late-a.bit-IRR1 BACKCHANNEL  
‘ “tomorrow we are coming, but we will be a little bit late” ‘ [HK, TR 106]

“*penap Rongker alongsi vangpo*” {mm}  
penàp Ròngkèr alòng=si vàng-pò mm  
tomorrow FESTIVAL LOC=FOC:RL come-IRR1 BACKCHANNEL

*hadakpenlo neta kapadorji*  
hádak=pen=lo nè=tā ke-pV-dòr-jí  
there=from=FOC 1EXCL=ADD:also NMLZ-CAUS-be.enough-IRR2

*ejonbak* {mm} *jonnibakke*”  
e-jōn-bāk mm jōn-ní-bāk=ke  
one-CLF:animal-about BACKCHANNEL CLF:animal-two-about=TOP  
‘ “tomorrow we will come to the place of the rongker, from there I will also make it enough, about one or two (more are needed)” ‘ [HK, TR 107]

{“*nangkokjike*”}  
náng-kòk-jí=ke  
need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP

*“nangkokjike” pulo tangho {mm} (both laughing)*  
 náng-kòk-jí=ke pù-lò tànghò {mm}  
 need-absolutely.required-IRR2=TOP say-RL REP BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘{[we] need [them]} “we need them” (both laughing)’ [HK, TR 108]

*te hala atarikke hot’etlo {mm}*  
 te hála a-tarík=ke hòt-ét-lò mm  
 and.then/therefore that POSS-date=TOP fix-PRF-RL BACKCHANNEL

*la teke atumke {oi}*  
 là tekè a-tūm=ke ōi  
 this tiger POSS-PL=TOP yes  
 ‘then, they had fixed that date (of the Rongker), the tigers’ [HK, TR 109]

*mane halaso arni abang.... teke Rongker*  
 mane hálasō arnì abàng.... tekè Ròngkèr  
 I.mean(<Asm) that day NPDL tiger ceremony(kd)

*pulotangte rup atangka {mm} tangka atibuk*  
 pùlotángtē rúp a-tángká mm tángká a-tíbùk  
 if silver POSS-money BACKCHANNEL money POSS-earthen.pot

*do tangho {o} mm*  
 dō tànghò o mm  
 exist REP SURPRISE BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘uhm.. that day, if (i.e. because) it’s a Teke Rongker, there are silver coins, there are earthen pots full of money’ [HK, TR 110]

*tangka atibuksi ronji la arnam aphan*  
 tángká a-tíbùk=si ròn-jí là arnàm aphan  
 money POSS-earthen.pot=FOC:RL distribute-IRR2 this god NSUBJ

*latum a’arnam aphan {avan along} avan*  
 là-tūm a-arnàm aphan {a-ván alòng} a-ván  
 this-PL POSS-god NSUBJ POSS-share LOC POSS-share

*along tangka atibuk nunrenpo lasi*

alòng tángká a-tíbùk nún-rèn-pò lasì  
LOC money POSS-earthen.pot place.container-in.a.row-IRR1 therefore

‘they (i.e. the tigers) distribute/offer the money pots for the god, for all the gods, {on their plates (of offerings)}, and they will put the earthen pots in one long row’ [HK, TR 111]

*hala kopinene adum pinene*

hála kópí-nē~nē a-dùm pí-nē~nē  
that what-INDEF~DIST.PL POSS-plains.fishermen.community what-INDEF~DIST.PL

*amumding atum aphan{mm} daksi arklipo*

a-ingmūm-dīng a-tūm aphān mm dāk=si arklì-pò  
POSS-beard-be.long POSS-PL NSUBJ BACKCHANNEL here=FOC:RL bewail-IRR1

‘here, they will sacrifice those different people from the fishermen community that live in the plain, and those long-bearded ones’ [HK, TR 112]

*{la monit akaprek kaprek*

là monít a-ke-prék ke-prék  
this man POSS-NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different

*akhei inutnut} mm mm {oi}*

a-khēi e-nūt~nūt} mm mm {ōi}  
POSS-community one-CLF.HUM.SG~DIST.PL BACKCHANNEL BACKCHANNEL yes

‘{these people from all the different communities?!}’ [HK, TR 113]

*lasonlo tangho {mm} latum keklemke {mm}*

lasòn-lò tànghò mm la-tūm ke-klém=ke mm  
that.way-RL REP BACKCHANNEL this-PL NMLZ-do=TOP BACKCHANNEL

‘this way it is, (this way) they do it’ [HK, TR 114]

*anke.... halake hangdunbomlo {mm} “penap*

ankè hála=ke háng-dùn-bōm-lò mm penàp  
and.then that=TOP call-JOIN-CONT-RL BACKCHANNEL tomorrow

*vangji penapthuke vangji vangvekji”*

vàng-jí penàp-thū=ke vàng-jí vàng-vék-jí  
come-IRR2 tomorrow-again=TOP come-IRR2 come-definitely-IRR2

*pu tangho {mm} “vangvekji” o*

pu tânghò mm vâng-vék-jí ò  
 QUOT REP BACKCHANNEL come-definitely-IRR2 DSM

‘and then, he keeps shouting, “tomorrow I will come, when it’s a new day again tomorrow, I will come, definitely I will come” he said, “definitely I will come” ‘ [HK, TR 115]

*{anke inghônghelo bo} ah {kekatchon*

{ánke inghông-Cē-lò bo {ke-kàt-chòn  
 and.then wait-NEG-RL RQ NMLZ-run.hum-very.quickly

*pulo bo} kekatchonlo*

pù-lò bo} ke-kàt-chòn-lò  
 like.this-RL RQ NMLZ-run.hum-very.quickly-RL

‘{and so, he is not waiting, huh? is he running away} he is running away’ [HK, TR 116]

*{armeta jarherjima} mm jarherlo (SiT laughing)*

armē=tā jàr-hèr-jí=ma} mm jàr-hèr-lò  
 tail=ADD:also be.standing.up-high.up-IRR2=Q BACKCHANNEL be.standing.up-high.up-RL

‘{and his tail might have been standing up?}-his tail was standing up’ (*SiT laughing*) [HK, TR 117]

*votlo lake (both laughing)*

-vòt-lò là=ke  
 -IDEOPHONE-RL this=TOP

‘quickly (he ran away) (*both laughing*)’ [HK, TR 118]

*anke {mm} jangrengsota kejokloke*

ánke mm jangrēngsō=tā ke-jòk-lò=ke  
 and.then BACKCHANNEL orphan=ADD:DM NMLZ-get.untied-RL=TOP

*mati {kejoklo} kejoklo*

mati ke-jòk-lò ke-jòk-lò  
 DM NMLZ-get.untied-RL NMLZ-get.untied-RL

‘and then, the orphan got away (lit. got untied, thought he was trapped, but managed to get out of the situation)’ [HK, TR 119]

*hem nanglingphitlo lata*

hēm nang=lèng-phit-lò là=tā  
 house CIS=go.long.distance-right.away-RL this=ADD:DM

{nanglengphitlo} hem nanglengphit

nang=lèng-phìt-lò hēm nang=lèng-phìt

CIS=go.straight-right.away-RL house CIS=go.like.voice.or.bullet-right.away

‘he (i.e. the orphan) went straight home’ [HK, TR 120]

{ahokpetpenke phereduk <...>}

{a-hōk-pèt=pen=ke phéré-dùk-pò

POSS-truth-all=with=TOP fear-INTENS-IRR1

‘{actually, he was quite afraid (the orphan), I assume?}’ [HK, TR 121]

mm phereduklo {mm} kapherepen ajatpen he

mm phéré-dùk-lò mm ke-pheré-pèn aját-pèn he

BACKCHANNEL fear-quite-RL BACKCHANNEL NMLZ-fear-NF:with GENEX-with EMPH

hem {oi} nanglengphitlo {oi} vanglo {oi}

hēm {ōi} nang=lèng-phìt-lò {ōi} vàng-lò {ōi}

house yes CIS=go.long.distance-right.away-RL yes come-RL yes

‘yeah he was quite afraid, he was afraid and tired and everything and went straight home, came there’ [HK, TR 122]

vanglo aro hala ningjeduntangdetlomati {mm}

vàng-lò arò hála ningjé-dùn-táng-dèt-lò=matì mm

come-RL and/again(<Asm) that speak-JOIN-PFV-PFV-RL=DM BACKCHANNEL

<esonbak... alam ma> “esonbak

e-sòn-bāk a-lám ma e-sòn-bāk

one-CLF:thing-about POSS-matter Q one-CLF:thing-about

pachobeidununpo... la {mm} nephansi

pV-chobēi-dūn-ùn-pò... là {mm} ne-phān=si

CAUS-lie-JOIN-be.able-IRR1 this BACKCHANNEL 1EXCL-NSUBJ=FOC:RL

nangkepheresi kekatlo apot”

nang=ke-pheré-si ke-kàt-lò apōt

1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-fear-NF:RL NMLZ-run.away.hum-RL because

‘he came, and then, he already told the tiger (that he will come, so preparations on behalf of the orphan are necessary), “one thing... that is/I mean, I will be able to tell any lie, because he feared me and ran away” ‘ [HK, TR 123]

{*esonbak klemdunpo*} “*esonbak klemdunlo tangte...*”

e-sòn-bāk klém-dùn-pò e-sòn-bāk klém-dùn-lò tángtē....  
 one-CLF:thing-about do-JOIN-IRR1 one-CLF:thing-about do-JOIN-RL if

*latum esonbak ne longdunpo*” {*longpo*}

là-tūm e-sòn-bāk nè lònġ-dùn-pò lònġ-pò  
 this-PL one-CLF:thing-about 1EXCL get-JOIN-IRR1 get-IRR1  
 ‘{he will do anything}, “if I do any thing there, I will get something” ‘ [HK, TR 124]

*ha anongve hem leroklo* {*mm*}

há a-nongvē hēm lè-ròk-lò mm  
 over.there POSS-evening house reach-COMPL-RL BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘at night, he reached home’ [HK, TR 125]

*ajirpo chehanglo tangho* {*mm*}

a-jìrpò che-háng-lò tàng hò mm  
 POSS-friend RR-call-RL REP BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘he called his friend’ [HK, TR 126]

“*o jirpo...*” {*mm*} “*pilo ko ho?*” {*mm*} “*dak*

o jìrpō mm pí=lo ko hò mm dāk  
 VOC friend BACKCHANNEL what=FOC buddy:VOC EMPH:INTERACT BACKCHANNEL here

*vangtha ko*” {*mm*}

vàng-thā ko mm  
 come-CON.IMP buddy:VOC BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘“o friend!”, “what’s up?”, “come here!” ‘ [HK, TR 127]

*halata kidukthektik amonitlo*

hála=tā ke-dúk-thektík a-monít-lò  
 that=ADD:also NMLZ-be.poor-as.much.V.as.it.can.be POSS-man-RL

{*kidukthektik*}

ke-dúk-thektík  
 NMLZ-be.poor-as.V.as.it.can.be  
 ‘that one also is an unimaginably poor man’ [HK, TR 128]

“*dak vangtha, ko jirpo!*” {mm}

dāk vāng-thā ko jīrpō mm  
here come-CON.IMP buddy:VOC friend BACKCHANNEL  
‘“come here, my friend!” ‘ [HK, TR 129]

“*pine akam doma jirpo ho?*” {mm}

pī-nē a-kām dō=ma jīrpō hò mm  
what-INDEF POSS-work exist=Q friend EMPH:INTERACT BACKCHANNEL  
‘“is there any work, friend?” ‘ [HK, TR 130]

“*ave akamke, seta vangtha he*”.... *damlo* {mm}

avē a-kām=ke setā vāng-thā he.... dām-lò mm  
not.exist POSS-work=TOP but come-CON.IMP EMPH go-RL BACKCHANNEL  
‘“there is no work, but come here” ... and he went’ [HK, TR 131]

“*ba ko jirpo* {mm} *pinike ne*

ba ko jīrpō mm pinì=ke nè  
SURPRISE(<Asm) buddy:VOC friend BACKCHANNEL today=TOP 1EXCL

“*eson akhobor mesen arjulong*” {mm}

e-sòn a-khobòr mē-sén arjū-lōng {mm}  
one-CLF:thing POSS-news(<Ind) be.good-INTENS listen-GET BACKCHANNEL  
‘“hey my friend...today I got to hear good news” ‘ [HK, TR 132]

{*mesen abirta pulohe*} mm

{mē-sén a-birtá pù-lò=he} mm  
be.good-INTENS POSS-news say-RL=you.know BACKCHANNEL  
‘{he said good news?!} Mm’ [HK, TR 133]

“*pi apot abirtalo ko jirpo ho?*”

pí apōt a-birtá=lo ko jīrpō ho  
what because POSS-news=FOC buddy:VOC friend EMPH:INTERACT  
‘“what are the news about, my friend?” ‘ [HK, TR 134]

“*abirtake, ko, penaplo teke*”

a-birtá=ke ko penàp=lo tekè  
 POSS-news(<Khs)=TOP buddy:VOC tomorrow=FOC tiger

<rong> *teke atum <a> rongkerji* {*teke rongkerji*} mm

<rong> tekè a-tūm ròngkèr-jí tekè ròngkèr-jí mm  
 village tiger POSS-PL FESTIVAL-IRR2 tiger FESTIVAL-IRR2 BACKCHANNEL

‘“the news is that, my friend, tomorrow the tigers will have a *Rongker*” ‘ [HK, TR 135]

“*tangka atibuk longdunvekpo, ili*”

tángká a-tibùk lòn-g-dùn-vék-pò ì-li  
 money POSS-earthen.pot get-JOIN-definitely-IRR1 1PL:INCL-HON

‘“together we will surely get the earthen pots with money” ‘ [HK, TR 136]

{“*akejoisi longdunlokpo eli*”}

a-ke-jòi=si lòn-g-dùn-lòk-pò è-li  
 POSS-NMLZ-be.for.free/in.vain=FOC:RL get-JOIN-definitely-IRR1 1PL:INCL-HON

“*akejoilo ili longdunpo*”

a-ke-jòi=lo ì-li lòn-g-dùn-pò  
 POSS-NMLZ-be.for.free/in.vain=FOC 1PL:INCL-HON get-JOIN-IRR1

‘{“we will get it without any effort”}-“we will get it without any effort” ‘ [HK, TR 137]

{“*chepaduk chepalak nangnelo*”}

che-pV-dúk che-pV-làk náng-Cē-lò  
 RR-CAUS-suffer RR-CAUS-be.tired need-NEG-RL

“*chepaduk chepalaknang dunnang!*” {mm}

che-pV-dúk che-pV-làk-nāng dùn-nāng mm  
 RR-CAUS-suffer RR-CAUS-be.tired-HORT join-HORT BACKCHANNEL

‘{“no need to go through hardship or get tired (we’ll just get it free)”}-“let’s make the effort to go there!” ‘ [HK, TR 138]

“*tangka atibuk eli longpo*”

tángká a-tibùk è-li lòn-g-pò  
 money POSS-earthen.pot 1PL:INCL-HON get-IRR1

*la'an akiduk apot*” {mm}... o

là-án a-ke-dúk apōt mm ò  
this-that.much POSS-NMLZ-be.poor because BACKCHANNEL EXCLAM  
“we will get the money, as we are so poor... oh!” ‘ [HK, TR 139]

*te mo pinepinanedetjima,*

te mò pí-nē~pinā-Cē-dèt-jí=ma  
and.then/therefore future what-INDEF~EE-NEG-PFV-IRR2=Q

*ko jirpo?*” pu {mm}

ko jīrpō pu mm  
buddy:VOC friend QUOT BACKCHANNEL  
“and there won’t be anything (any difficulties, problems, dangers), my friend?” ‘ [HK, TR 140]

*“jatta manme jirpo; ne pudun’etlo”*

[ját=tā mán-Cē jīrpō] nè pù-dūn-ét-lò  
type=ADD:EXH become/happen-NEG friend 1EXCL say-JOIN-PRF-RL

{*pudun’etlo*}

pù-dūn-ét-lò  
say-JOIN-PRF-RL

“nothing will happen, friend, I’ve already done the talking (I’ve made the necessary preparations, taken the necessary precautions)” ‘ [HK, TR 141]

*“to tangte!”* {mm} *ajirpo abangke dunlo, “adapprang*

tò tángtē {mm} a-jirpò abàng=ke dùn-lò a-dappráng  
OK if BACKCHANNEL POSS-friend NPDL=TOP join-RL POSS-dawn

*damdappiknangji dei!”* {“*damdap’onangji dei”*} mm

dàm-dàp-pìk-náng-jí déi dàm-dàp-ò-náng-jí déi mm  
go-early-very-need-IRR2 right? go-morning-much-must-IRR2 right? BACKCHANNEL

*“damdappiknangji bang vangve ako eli*

dàm-dàp-pìk-náng-jí bàng vàng-Cē akò è-li  
go-early-very-need-IRR2 somebody come-NEG before 1PL:INCL-HON

*damnangji”* {mm}

dàm-náng-jí mm  
go-must-IRR2 BACKCHANNEL

“Okay, then!”, that friend followed him, “in the very early morning we need to go” {“need to go very early”} “we need to go very early, we need to go before anybody gets there” ‘ [HK, TR 142]

“damdapprangnangi” {mm} mm to  
 dàm-dàppràng-náng-jí mm mm tò  
 go-early-must-IRR2 BACKCHANNEL BACKCHANNEL OK  
 ‘“in the early morning we need to go”’ [HK, TR 143]

{thurdappik tangho} hala ajirpo abangta  
 thùr-dàp-pìk tàng hò} hála a-jirpò abàng=tā  
 get.up-morning-very REP that POSS-friend NPDL=ADD:also

halata kidukdetke mati {kalang}  
 hála=tā ke-dúk-dèt=ke=mati kalàng  
 that=ADD:also NMLZ-be.poor(<Asm)-PFV=TOP=CG yes  
 ‘he got up very early in the morning (because) that friend is also very poor (so he doesn’t want to miss out on the opportunity to get rich)’ [HK, TR 144]

jangrengso alamsi arjulo {mm} tangka atibuk  
 [[jangrēngsō a-lám=si arjū-lò] mm [tángká a-tibùk  
 orphan POSS-language=FOC:RL listen-RL BACKCHANNEL money POSS-earthen.pot

longpo pu abangthuke halata aning  
 lòn-g-pò pu a-bàng-thū=ke hála=tā a-nīng  
 get-IRR1 QUOT POSS-CLF:hum-definitely=TOP that=ADD:DM POSS-mind

<isike> arongke dolo mati {akejoisi  
 <isī=ke> aròng=ke dō-lò=mati]] a-ke-jòi=si  
 one=TOP be.happy=TOP exist-RL=CG POSS-NMLZ-be.for.free/in.vain=FOC:RL

kelongdunjike mati} aning arong dokoklo  
 ke-lòng-dùn-jí=ke mati} a-nīng aròng dō-kòk-lò  
 NMLZ-get-JOIN-IRR2=TOP DM POSS-mind be.happy stay.back-RL  
 ‘he (the friend) hears/agrees with/obeys the words of the orphan; because he will definitely get earthen pots of money, he is happy {they will get it for free} he si definitely happy’ [HK, TR 145]

anke damlo adapprang halatum damlo tangho, jirpopo {mm}  
 ánke dàm-lò a-dappráng hála-tūm dàm-lò tàng hò jīrpō~pō mm  
 and.then go-RL POSS-dawn that-PL go-RL REP friend~DUAL BACKCHANNEL  
 ‘and then, they went, early in the morning they went, the two friends’ [HK, TR 146]

<laso> *aningkanvang* <along> *Rongker* <adim> *apirda* {mm}  
<lasō> a-ningkàn-váng <alòng> Ròngkèr <a-dím> a-pirdá mm  
this POSS-year-every LOC FESTIVAL POSS-place POSS-place.of.worship BACKCHANNEL

*kithirthipke mati* {mm}  
ke-thír-thíp=ke=matì mm  
NMLZ-be.firmly.fixed/unvariable(<Asm)-firmly=TOP=CG BACKCHANNEL

*erong athengpi do* {mm}  
e-rōng a-thengpī dō mm  
one-CLF:plant POSS-tree/wood exist BACKCHANNEL  
'there is one tree in the place where the Rongker always takes place every year' [HK, TR 147]

*athengpi khaiplik ingtuipik* {ingtuipik mm}  
a-thengpī khái-pìk ingtùi-pìk ingtùi-pìk mm  
POSS-tree/wood grow-very be.high-very be.high-very BACKCHANNEL  
'the tree has a lot of leaves / is very green and is very high' [HK, TR 148]

{*aro dolo*} *aro dolo arim dolo* {mm}  
{a-rō dō-lò} a-rō dō-lò a-rìm dō-lò mm  
POSS-branch exist-RL POSS-branch exist-RL POSS-EE:rō exist-RL BACKCHANNEL

*paka angplum khaipliklo* {angplum khaipliklo}  
paka a-ingplùm khái-pìk-lò a-ingplùm khái-pìk-lò  
very.good(<Ind) POSS-sprouts grow-very-RL POSS-sprouts grow-very-RL  
'{it has branches}-it has branches, and it is sprouting very nicely' [HK, TR 149]

*halatum teke* <rongkerke> *rongkerji atum abangke*  
hála-tūm tekè ròngkèr=ke ròngkèr-jí a-tūm abàng=ke  
that-PL tiger FESTIVAL=TOP FESTIVAL-IRR2 POSS-PL NPDL=TOP

*vangvelang* {mm}  
vàng-Cē-làng mm  
come-NEG-yet BACKCHANNEL  
'those, the ones performing the *teke rongker* have not yet come' [HK, TR 150]

*latumke le'etlo {le'etlo}*

là-tūm=ke lè-ét-lò {lè-ét-lò}

this-PL=TOP reach-PRF-RL reach-PRF-RL

'these (i.e., the orphan and his friend) have already reached' [HK, TR 151]

*ha thengpi angsongsi dolo banghinita {mm}*

há thengpī angsong=sì dō-lò bāng-hiní=tā mm

over.there tree/wood high.up=FOC:RL exist-RL CLF-two=ADD:EXH BACKCHANNEL

'high up there in the tree they are there, both of them' [HK, TR 152]

*anke laso <la> kepholok abarika abangke ningjelemdetlo*

[ánke lasō ke-phō-lòk a-bariká abāng=ke ningjé-lemdet-lò

and.then this NMLZ-reach-happen.to POSS-OFFICER NPDL=TOP speak-repeatedly-RL

*tangho, "paprapnang ti komarli ho!" {mm}*

tànghò [pV-pràp-nāng tì ko-mar-lí hò] mm

REP CAUS-be.quick-HORT EMPH buddy.VOC-HUM:PL-HON EMPH:INTERACT BACKCHANNEL

'and then, that tiger that had encountered (the orphan), that is the *barika*, he kept saying, "let's make it quick, friends!"' [HK, TR 153]

*"pisi kithurvangvedetma?" {mm}*

pīsi ke-thùr-vàng-Cē-dèt=ma mm

why NMLZ-get.up-PL-NEG-PFV=Q BACKCHANNEL

'"why didn't you get up?"' [HK, TR 154]

*"paprapnang ho" {mm}*

pV-pràp-nàng hò mm

CAUS-be.quick-HORT:CON EMPH:INTERACT BACKCHANNEL

'"let's try to be quick (with our Rongker)"' [HK, TR 155]

*"mo ajatjat api vanglote {mm} eli*

mò a-ját-ját a-pī vāng-lò-tē mm è-li

future POSS-type~DIST.PL POSS-animal come-RL-if BACKCHANNEL 1PL:INCL-HON

*siksakpo*”

siksāk-pò

be.difficult-IRR1

‘ “afterwards if any living being (i.e. the orphan and his friend) comes, it will be difficult for us”

‘ [HK, TR 156]

“*paprap nangji ho paprap nangji ho*”

pV-pràp náng-jí hò pV-pràp náng-jí hò

CAUS-be.quick need-IRR2 EMPH:INTERACT CAUS-be.quick need-IRR2 EMPH:INTERACT

{o}

o

INTERJ

‘ “we have to make it quick, we have to make it quick” ‘ [HK, TR 157]

“*hala arni kaprekpen kepheretanglomati*” {mm}

hála arni ke-prék=pen ke-pherè-táng-lò=mati mm

that day NMLZ-be.different=from NMLZ-fear-finish-RL=CG BACKCHANNEL

‘ “the other day, I already got very scared” ‘ [HK, TR 158]

“ ‘*vangji netumta*’ *pusi* <kip> *kipudun tangdetlomati*”

vàng-jí ne-tūm=tā pusi ke-pù-dūn táng-dèt-lò=mati

come-IRR2 1EXCL.POSS-PL=ADD:also QUOT.COMP NMLZ-say-JOIN finish-PFV-RL=CG

{*nangledunrokte kopulo*} o

{nang=lè-dūn-ròk-tē kopùlo} o

CIS=reach-JOIN-completed-COND what.will.happen? AFF

‘ “ ‘we also will come’ he already said” {if they reach, what will happen?} yes’ [HK, TR 159]

*anke.... paprapta paprap’olo*

ánke.... pV-pràp=tā pV-pràp-ò-lò

and.then CAUS-be.quick=ADD:INT CAUS-be.quick-much-RL

*dum pinene apotta*

dùm pí-nē~nē a-pōt=tā

plains.fishermen.community what-INDEF~DIST.PL POSS-thing=ADD:EXH

<pi> a'um akhangrata tangka  
 <pí> a-úm a-khangrá=tā tángká  
 what POSS-cage POSS-basket.to.carry.firewood=ADD:also money

*atibuk vanlo ajatlo*

a-tibùk vàn-lò aját-lò  
 POSS-earthen.pot bring-RL GENEX-RL

'and then, they did everything very quickly, they brought the cage with the fisherman community and the others, and the baskets (with other items needed for the ceremony), and the earthen pots with money' [HK, TR 160]

*hala tangka atibuk theklonglo, anke hala ajirpota*

hála tángká a-tibùk thèklōng-lò ánke hála a-jirpò=tā  
 that money POSS-earthen.pot see-RL and.then that POSS-friend=ADD:DM

*aning arong'olo tangho (whispering:) "ei ko jirpo..."*

a-nīng aròng-ò-lò tànghò *whispering* ei ko jīrpō  
 POSS-mind be.happy-much-RL REP INTERJ buddy:VOC friend

'he saw those earthen pots with money, and then that friend also became very happy, *whispering*: "hey buddy..."' [HK, TR 161]

*{latum natlo kedo ante}*

{là-tūm nát=lo ke-dō ánte}  
 this-PL where=FOC NMLZ-exist then

'{so where are they?}' [HK, TR 162]

*thengpi angsongsi dolo*

thengpī angsong=si dō-lò  
 tree/wood high.up=FOC:RL exist-RL

'they are high up in the tree' [HK, TR 163]

*{thengpi angsong arlu'etlo} arlu'etlo tangho*

thengpī angsong arlū-ét-lò arlū-ét-lò tànghò  
 tree/wood high.up climb-PRF-RL climb-PRF-RL REP

'{they had climbed up high in the tree?} they had climbed up there' [HK, TR 164]

*{latum vangve ako} vangve ako {mm}*  
{là-tūm vàng-Cē akò vàng-Cē akò {mm}  
this-PL come-NEG before come-NEG before BACKCHANNEL  
'{before they (i.e., the tigers) came?!} - before they came' [HK, TR 165]

*chepatukliplo angsong {chepatukliplo}*  
che-patú-klip-lò angsong che-patú-klip-lò  
RR-hide-quietly-RL high.up RR-hide-quietly-RL  
'quietly they were hiding up there' [HK, TR 166]

*hala ejon ateketa vangpo laso angchin*  
[hála e-jōn a-tekè=tā] vàng-pò [lasō a-ingchìn  
that one-CLF:animal POSS-tiger=ADD:also come-IRR1 this POSS-iron

*a'umsi nanging'omnaipo anke nangbikok...*  
a-úm=si] nang=ing'òm-nài-pò ánke nang=bí-kòk  
POSS-cage=FOC:RL CIS=cheek-big.solid:O-IRR1 and.then CIS=keep-firmly  
'this one tiger will also come, this iron cage he will keep in his mouth and he will put it in one particular place' [HK, TR 167]

*pi apotma sipute bongali a'oso penak {mm}*  
pí a-pōt=ma si-pu-tē bongalí a-osō penāk mm  
what POSS-thing=Q therefore-QUOT-COND Bengali POSS-child actually BACKCHANNEL  
'what it actually is, is a Bengali boy' [HK, TR 168]

*hula ejon ateketa vangpo,*  
[hú-la e-jōn a-tekè=tā] vàng-pò  
over.there-this one-CLF:animal POSS-tiger=ADD:also come-IRR1

*nanging'omnaipo, mumding aso nangbikok*  
nang=ing'òm-nài-pò ingmūm-dīng a-osō nang=bí-kòk  
CIS=keep.in.mouth-big.solid:O-IRR1 beard-be.long POSS-child CIS=keep-firmly  
'that one tiger will come and will keep in his mouth (the iron cage), and will put the young muslim there' [HK, TR 169]

{*ha Chomang penak Kechè penak dopiklo*} *pine*

{há chománg penāk Kechè penāk dō-pìk-lò} pí-nē  
 over.there Khasi actually EE:Chománg actually exist-very-RL what-INDEF

*dopiklo; ajirpo tangte kaphere'ongsi pu'amatsi*

dō-pìk-lò a-jirpò tángtē ke-pheré-òng-sì pu=amāt=sì  
 exist-very-RL POSS-friend TOP NMLZ-fear-be.much-NF:RL QUOT=afterwards=FOC:RL

*klemtotlo {oi}*

klém-tòt-lò {ōi}

tremble-RL yes

‘{actually, there are many Khasis and plains people}- (yes,) there are ones from so many different tribes; but the friend was very scared so he was trembling’ [HK, TR 170]

{“*nantheklòkte kopulo? achimi dokok*”}

{nang=thèk-lòk-tē kopùlo a-chimī dō-kòk}

1/2:NSUBJ=see-happen.to-COND what.will.happen? POSS-claw exist-firmly

‘“if they happen to see us, what will happen?, they surely have claws”’ [HK, TR 171]

*anke ejon nangtetphlut <a> nangthemuchot*

ánke e-jōn nang=tèt-phlùt nang=thè-mūchòt

and.then one-CLF:animal CIS=exit-suddenly.big.A/O CIS=be.big-COMPAR

‘and then, one (tiger) came out (of the jungle or some area in the Rongker ground) and he was bigger (than expected and than the previous one)’ [HK, TR 172]

*hala ejon nangtetphlut nangthemuchot {mm}*

hála e-jōn nang=tèt-phlùt nang=thè-mūchòt mm

that one-CLF:animal CIS=exit-suddenly.big.A/O CIS=be.big-COMPAR BACKCHANNEL

‘(another) one came out and it was much bigger (than the previous one)’ [HK, TR 173]

“*bai kopuloma?*” {mm}

bái kopùlo=ma mm

how.mean! what.will.happen?=Q BACKCHANNEL

‘“oh no, what will happen?”’ [HK, TR 174]

*halake kaphere 'ong pu 'amatlo {mm}*

hála=ke ke-pheré-òng pu=amāt=lo mm  
that=TOP NMLZ-fear-be.much QUOT=and.then=FOC BACKCHANNEL

*tangka atibukta vanlo {mm}*

tángká a-tibùk=tā vàn-lò mm  
money POSS-earthen.pot=ADD:DM bring-RL BACKCHANNEL  
'and that one (friend) is very scared; and they are also bringing the earthen pots with money' [HK, TR 175]

*tangka atibuk nangnunrenlo*

tángká a-tibùk nang=nún-rèn-lò  
money POSS-earthen.pot CIS=put.container-in.a.row-RL  
'they brought the earthen pots with money and put them in a row' [HK, TR 176]

*{the 'o 'otangma, atibukta?} mm*

thè-ò-ò-tàng=ma a-tibùk=tā} mm  
be.big-much~DIST.PL-REP=Q POSS-earthen.pot=ADD:DM BACKCHANNEL  
'{are the earthen pots big?}' [HK, TR 177]

*tangka atibuk thepikpik tangho {mm}*

tángká a-tibùk thè-pik~pik tànghò mm  
money POSS-earthen.pot be.big-very~DIST.PL REP BACKCHANNEL  
'the earthen pots are very big' [HK, TR 178]

*ladak avantin puke laso atangka atibuk {mm}*

ladāk a-ván-tín pu=ke lasō a-tángká a-tibùk mm  
here POSS-CLF:share-each QUOT=TOP this POSS-money POSS-earthen.pot BACKCHANNEL  
'here, they [put] those tangka atibuk in each share/dish' [HK, TR 179]

*anke vanglo la sop chok 'etlo pumatsi*

ánke vàng-lò là sòp chòk-ét-lò pu=māt=si  
and.then come-RL this all be.fine-PRF-RL QUOT=afterwards=NF:RL

*ingjonglunlanlo karhanghunglo {karhanghunglo} mm*

ingjòng-lùn~làn-lò kàr-hàng~hùng-lò {kàr-hàng~hùng-lò} mm  
move-big:AO~DIST.PL-RL burn-quite~DIST.PL-RL burn-quite~DIST.PL-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘and then, they came, everything has been arranged nicely and then they looked big and were moving simultaneously and they looked like fire (because of the tiger stripes)’ [HK, TR 180]

*karklipo {karklipo} seta*

ke-arkli-pò                      ke-arkli-pò                      [setā  
NMLZ-perform.worship-IRR1   NMLZ-perform.worship-IRR1   but

*ejonta pakonkelang tangho; halatum aphantā,*

e-jōn=tā                      pV-kōn-Cē-làng                      tànghò   hála-tūm   a-phān=tā]  
one-CLF:animal=ADD:even   CAUS-use.up-NEG-yet   REP   that-PL   POSS-NSUBJ=also

*{mm} chok’etlo, tangka atibukke nangle’etlo*

{mm}                      chòk-èt-lò                      tángká   a-tibúk=ke                      nang=lè-èt-lò  
BACKCHANNEL   be.fine-all:S/O-RL   money   POSS-earthen.pot=TOP   CIS=reach-all:S/O-RL

*{nangle’etlo}*

{nang=lè-èt-lò}

CIS=reach-all:S/O-RL

‘they are just going to perform the worship but they still haven’t reduced the number of the men collected for even one (i.e. hadn’t sacrificed anybody yet); it’s already all been arranged, the earthen pots have reached’ [HK, TR 181]

*vangbomlo vangbomlo {mm}*

vàng-bōm-lò      vàng-bōm-lò      mm  
come-CONT-RL   come-CONT-RL   BACKCHANNEL

‘one (tiger) after the next keeps coming’ [HK, TR 182]

*ha nangkelesi ke’onglang {mm}*

há                      nang=ke-lè-Cē=si/-si                      ke-òng-làng                      mm  
over.there   CIS=NMLZ-reach-NEG=FOC:RL/-NF:RL   NMLZ-exist.much-still   BACKCHANNEL

‘over there still many of them haven’t reached’ [HK, TR 183]

*anke lake phereboplo {mm}*

ánke      là=ke      phéré-bòp-lò      mm  
and.then   this=TOP   fear-to.death-RL   BACKCHANNEL

‘and then, this one (i.e., the friend) was scared to death’ [HK, TR 184]

*rat chetongte ako {mm}*

rát che-tòng-Cē akò {mm}

public RR-meet-NEG before BACKCHANNEL

‘before the crowd (of tigers) gathered’ [HK, TR 185]

*ladak nangkeleke abarika.... asarthe laheiheike*

ladāk nang=ke-lè=ke a-bariká a-sàrthè lahei~hei=ke

here CIS=NMLZ-reach=TOP POSS-OFFICER POSS-village.headman these~DIST.PL=TOP

*nangle'etlo {oi}*

nang=lè-èt-lò {ōi}

CIS=reach-all:S/O-RL yes

‘the *barika* and the *sarthe* and all the other important tigers have already arrived there’ [HK, TR 186]

*{memeke atumke nangle} meme <me> atumke*

{méme=ke a-tūm=ke nang=lè} méme a-tūm=ke

dignitaries=TOP POSS-PL=TOP CIS=reach dignitaries POSS-PL=TOP

*vang'etlohe*

vàng-èt-lò=he

come-all:S/O-RL=AFTERTHOUGHT

*{akesarsar atum abangke} mm vangetlo*

a-ke-sàr~sār a-tūm abàng=ke} mm vàng-èt-lò

POSS-NMLZ-be.old~DIST.PL POSS-PL NPD=TOP BACKCHANNEL come-all:S/O-RL

‘{all the dignitaries have already arrived?!}-all the dignitaries have already arrived... the old ones have come’ [HK, TR 187]

*ajirpoke kaphere'ong amat laso athengpi angsongpen*

a-jirpò=ke ke-pheré-òng amāt lasō a-thengpī angsoǹg=pen

POSS-friend=TOP NMLZ-fear-be.much and.then this POSS-tree/wood up=from

*chirip thekthedetlo nangklodurlo*

che-ríp thèk-Cē-dèt-lò nang=klò-dùr-lò

RR-hold.firmly know.how-NEG-PFV-RL CIS=fall-fall.down.bigger.than.expected-RL

*nangklo*

[nang=klò]

CIS=fall

‘the friend was very scared and then from above this tree he didn’t know how to hold on to it firmly and he fell down’ [HK, TR 188]

*latum achitimsi klodamduplo*

là-tūm a-chitīm=si klò-dàm-dùp-lò

this-PL POSS-half=FOC:RL fall-go-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj-RL

{*mm klodamduplo*} *mm*

mm klò-dàm-dùp-lò] mm

BACKCHANNEL fall-go-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj-RL BACKCHANNEL

{*nangklodurlo*} *mm*

[nang=klò-dùr-lò] mm

CIS=fall-fall.down.bigger.than.expected-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘right in the middle of them he fell down, yeah he fell down...he fell down...’ [HK, TR 189]

*hala ajirpo abangke lake hala*

hála a-jirpò abàng=ke là=ke hála

that POSS-friend NPDL=TOP this=TOP that

*klodúppenke teke atumta*

klò-dùp-pèn=ke tekè a-tūm=tā

fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj-NF:with=TOP tiger POSS-PL=ADD:DM

*langphronglohe jo {mm} langphronglo*

làng-phròng-lò=he hè jò mm làng-phròng-lò

see-PL:S/A-RL=AFTERTHOUGHT you.know see BACKCHANNEL see-PL:S-RL

‘that friend, that one fell down and all the tigers saw him’ [HK, TR 190]

“*piloma lake?*” {“*piloma anhelò...?*”} *pu*

pí=lo=ma là=ke [pí=lo=ma àn-helò...] pu

what=FOC=Q this=TOP what=FOC=Q this.much-RL:EMPH QUOT

‘“what is this?” (said the tigers) {“what is this?”}’ [HK, TR 191]

*langphrong hala abarikake <...> “lake komarli”*

làng-phròng hála a-bariká=ke là=ke ko-mar-lí  
see-PL:S that POSS-OFFICER=TOP this=TOP buddy:VOC-PL:HUM-HON  
‘they saw them and that *barika* tiger said, “see friends!” ‘ [HK, TR 192]

*“tumípen nangkipudun’et <tang’et> todappen*

tumì=pen nang=ke-pù-dūn-ét <táng-ét> todáp=pen  
yesterday=from 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-say-JOIN-PRF finish-PRF this.morning=from

*ne nangpuloke, paprapnang! pu”, hala ajirpo*

nè nang=pù-lò=ke pV-práp-nàng pu hála a-jirpò  
1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=say-RL=TOP CAUS-be.quick-HORT:CON QUOT that POSS-friend

*abangke <lake> mm*

abàng=ke <là=ke> mm

NPDL=TOP this=TOP BACKCHANNEL

‘ “from yesterday I’ve told you and from this morning I’ve told you, hurry up!”’, that friend...’ [HK, TR 193]

*<nangta> “la akangburapen abarika*

<nàng=ta> là a-kángburá=pen a-bariká  
2=also this POSS-village.head.man(<Asm)=with POSS-OFFICER

*aphanle paphrangnon ko!” (laughing)*

a-phān=le pV-phráng-nōn ko  
POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR VBLZ-first-COND.IMPL1 buddy:VOC

‘ “first (catch) the *kangbura* and the *barika*, buddy!” ‘ [HK, TR 194]

*“neta <nang> kevanglo ho!” putangho*

nè=tā <nàng> ke-vàng-lò ho pu-tànghò  
1EXCL=ADD:also 2 NMLZ-come-RL EMPH:INTERACT QUOT-REP

*amat bephlunglo anke (laughing)*

amāt bè-phlùng-lò ánke  
and.then chase.away-spreading-RL and.then

*kat’etlo {kat’etlo} mm kat’etlo{mm}*

kàt-èt-lò [kàt-èt-lò] mm kàt-èt-lò mm  
run.HUM-all:S/O-RL run.HUM-all:S/O-RL BACKCHANNEL run.HUM-all:S/O-RL BACKCHANNEL

‘ “I’m also coming!” and then they chased them away, they ran away in all directions’ [HK, TR 195]

*amat la jangrengso atum abangke jirpopo laso atangka*

amāt là jangrēngsō a-tūm abàng=ke jīrpō~pō lasō a-tángká  
and.then this orphan POSS-PL NPDL=TOP friend~DUAL this POSS-money

*atibuk halake ajatta van'un'elo ajirpo*

a-tibùk hála=ke a-ját=tā vàn-ūn-Cē-lò a-jirpò  
POSS-earthen.pot that=TOP POSS-type=ADD:EXH bring-be.able-NEG-RL POSS-friend

*abangke <keso> thengpi angsongpen nangkeklosi {mm} thinilo*

abàng=ke thengpī angsong=pen nang=ke-klò-si mm thini-lò  
NPDL=TOP tree/wood high.up=from CIS=NMLZ-fall-NF:RL BACKCHANNEL be.almost.dead-RL

*{mm} bonseta nangdunbor'ibor'alo e*

mm bònsetā nang=dùn-bor'í-bor'á-lò e  
BACKCHANNEL but CIS=join-w.great.effort-EE:bor'í-RL INTERJ

‘and then, the orphan and the other one, the friends carried (home) all the earthen pots, that friend didn’t manage to carry anything, he had fallen down from the tree and hurt himself badly, but struggling and pushing on he made it home’ [HK, TR 196]

*laso atangka'anke jangrengsosi kevanthulo*

lasō a-tángká-án=ke jangrengsō=si ke-vàn-thū-lò  
this POSS-money-up.to=TOP orphan=FOC:RL NMLZ-bring-again-RL  
‘all this money the orphan brought back again all by himself’ [HK, TR 197]

*la jirpopo chethaksi {mm} aphike*

là jīrpō~pō che-thák-si a-phī=ke  
this friend~DUAL RR-divide-NF:RL POSS-after=TOP

*cholongloklo {cholongloklo} to to {mm}*

cho-lòng-lòk-lò [cho-lòng-lòk-lò] tò tò {mm}  
AUTO.BEN/MAL-get-happen.to-RL AUTO.BEN/MAL-get-happen.to-RL OK OK BACKCHANNEL  
‘the friends divided the money and afterwards they definitely got rich’ [HK, TR 198]

*la'anhelo tangho*

là=án=helò tànghò  
this=that.much=RL:EMPH REP

‘that’s it’ [HK, TR 199]

*jumepik phu! nang tomo kethan*

arjū-mē-pik      phū              nàng tomò ke-thán  
listen-GOOD-very grandfather:VOC you story NMLZ-tell

*penapta nangthantha dei {oi to} mm*

penàp=tā              nang=thán-thā              déi      {ōi tò} mm  
tomorrow=ADD:also 1/2:NSUBJ=tell-CON.IMP right? yes OK BACKCHANNEL  
'very nice (to hear), grandfather, tomorrow you'll also need to tell us a story, okay? {okay}' [HK,  
TR 200]

## 2.7 Folk story: Bamonpo lapen Methan Sibongpo by Kache Kropi (KK, BMS)

Folk story about an elderly couple with a dog; the wife dies and the dog takes the husband to *Chom arong* (i.e., the village of the dead); the wife does not want to leave, but the husband forces her; upon return to their village, soon somebody else in the village dies, and the wife has to die and go back to *Chom arong* with the other person.

*anke bamonpo abang mh hala*

ánke bamòn-pō abàng mh hála  
and.then wise.person(<Ind)-male NPDL DSM that

*bamonpopen bamonpi*

bamòn-pō=pen bamòn-pī  
wise.person(<Ind)-male=with wise.person(<Ind)-female  
'and then, that *bamonpo*, that *bamonpo* and the *bamonpi*' [KK, BMS 002]

*anke e aso ave asu ave, si*

[ánke e a-sō avē a-sū avē] [sì  
and.then EXPRS POSS-child not.exist POSS-grandchild not.exist therefore

*methan-sibongpo chopangrengloklo*

methān-sibòngpō cho-pangrēng-lòk-lò]  
dog.sp MID-rear-not.main.action-RL  
'and then, they didn't have children or grandchildren, and so they were rearing a dog for themselves' [KK, BMS 003]

*methan-sibongpo ante <pini> bamonpo*

methān-sibòngpō ántè <pini> bamòn-pō  
dog.sp OK.then today wise.person(<Ind)-male

*atum aphan kanghonso kali*

a-tūm aphān ke-inghōn-sō kalī  
POSS-PL NSUBJ NMLZ-love-intens NEG.EQU.COP  
'the dog loved the *bamonpo* and *bamonpi* so much' [KK, BMS 004]

*hala bamonpopen bamonpita*

hála bamòn-pō=pen bamòn-pī=tā  
that wise.person(<Ind)-male=with wise.person(<Ind)-female=ADD.EXH

*la methan aphanta inghonpik*

là methān aphān=tā inghōn-pìk  
this dog NSUBJ=ADD.also love-very

‘that *bamonpo* and *bamonpo*, both of them, also loved the dog a lot’ [KK, BMS 005]

*hala amethanta bamonpo atum aphan*

hála a-methān=tā bamòn-pō a-tūm aphān  
that POSS-dog=ADD.also wise.person(<Ind)-male POSS-PL NSUBJ

*inghonpik an*

inghōn-pìk án  
love-very that.much

‘that dog also loved *bamonpo* and *bamonpi* very much’ [KK, BMS 006]

*lasi e kopuloma bamonpo*

lasi e kopùlo=mà bamòn-pō  
therefore EXPRS what.will.happen(?)=Q wise.person(<Ind)-male

*pinike nangle hem honnoi pu*

pini=kè nàng=le hēm hòn-nōi pu  
today=TOP you=FOC:IRR house look.after-INF.COND.IMP QUOT

‘therefore, “what will happen? *Bamonpo*, today you will need to look after the house”’ [KK, BMS 007]

*hem kehonta la methan-sibongposi*

hēm ke-hòn=tā là methān-sibòngpō=si  
house NMLZ-look.after=ADD.INT this dog.sp=FOC:RL

*kepahonhon*

ke-pV-hòn~hòn  
NMLZ-CAUS-look.after~HAB

‘(it’s because) they always made the dog look after the house’ [KK, BMS 008]

*si hala bamonpopen*

[sì [hála bamòn-pō=pen  
therefore that wise.person(<Ind)-male=with

*bamonpike ha rit chotiki*

bamòn-pī=ke] há rīt cho-tikī  
wise.person(<Ind)-female=TOP over.there field MID-cultivate

*chonghoidam, <rit> inglong aritsi e*

cho-inghòì-dām] <rīt> [inglòng a-rīt=si e  
MID-do-GO field hill POSS-field=FOC:RL EXPRS

*kenongdam kisimdām sai chotikidāmlo*

ke-nōng-dām ke-sim-dām] [sái cho-tikī-dām-lò  
NMLZ-loosen.soil-GO NMLZ-hold-GO labor MID-cultivate-GO-RL

‘therefore, that *bamonpo* and *bamonpi* went there to the jhum field to cultivate, to the hill field they went to loosen the soil and to work (“hold” used metaphorically), to work they went’ [KK, BMS 009]

*penanso banghini sarpi sarburasi aso*

[[penānsō bāng-hiní] [sarpī sarburà=si]] a-sō  
couple CLF.HUM.PL-two old.woman old.man=FOC:RL POSS-child

*ave asu avelo*

avē a-sū avē-lò  
not.exist POSS-grandchild not.exist-RL

‘the couple, the two of them, the old woman and the old man didn’t have children or grandchildren’ [KK, BMS 010]

*si methan-sibongpo aphansi hem pahonlo*

[sì methān-sibòngpō aphān=si hēm pV-hòn-lò]  
therefore dog.sp NSUBJ=FOC:RL house CAUS-look.after-RL

*arni arni arni arnita hodai hem pahon*

[arnì arnì arnì arnì=tā hodái hēm pV-hòn]  
day day day day=ADD.EXH always(<Asm) house CAUS-look.after

*lasi*

lasi

therefore

‘therefore, they made the dog look after the house, every day they made (him) look after the house, therefore’ [KK, BMS 011]

*si ha puthot choklem chodam e*

sì há puthōt cho-klém cho-dām e  
therefore over.there next MID-do MID-go EXPRS

*rot'et so inglong asokta kerot*

ròt-ét sō inglòng a-sōk=tā ke-ròt  
cut-PFT this hill POSS-paddy=ADD.DM NMLZ-cut

*kerim tanget ajat'et*

ke-rīm táng-ét aját-ét  
NMLZ-put.in.one.place finish-PFT GENEX-PFT

‘and then, there, again, they worked for their livelihood, they finished cutting/harvesting, they finished harvesting the hill paddy and everything (including all the different tasks involved)’  
[KK, BMS 012]

*sok sang hem chevan'etke Bamonpo abang*

[sōk sāng hēm che-vān-ét=kè] [[Bamònpō abàng  
paddy raw.rice house RR-bring-PFT=TOP NAME NPDL

*apiso abangke se cholong aphu kesolo*

a-pisò abàng=ke] sè cho-lòng a-phú ke-sò-lò]  
POSS-wife NPDL=TOP disease MID-get POSS-head NMLZ-hurt-RL

‘after they brought home the paddy, *Bamonpo*’s wife got sick and had fever’ [KK, BMS 013]

*amat aphu kesopen amat bamonpi*

amāt a-phú ke-sò-pèn amāt bamòn-pī  
and.then POSS-head NMLZ-hurt-NF:with and.then wise.person(<Ind)-female

*abangke mh Chom chevoijuilo*

abàng=ke mh Chòm che-vòi-jùi-lò  
NPDL=TOP DSM PLACE RR-return-away-RL

‘and then she had a fever and so *Bamonpi* returned to Chom (i.e., died)’ [KK, BMS 014]

*so Chom chevoijuilo, ansi mai kopusi*

[[sō] [Chòm che-vòi-jùi-lò]] [ánsi mái kopù=si  
this PLACE RR-return-away-RL after.that how.bad! how=FOC:RL

*kedothek potloma mh*

ke-dō-thèk apōtlo=ma] mh  
NMLZ-stay-know.how should=Q DSM

*bamonpota ningrilo*

[bamòn-pō=tā ningrī-lò  
wise.person(<Ind)-male=ADD.DM worry-RL

‘she returned to Chom, then, “how bad! How should I be able to stay?”, *Bamonpo* worried’ [KK, BMS 015]

*[e an adin aningke sarpi sarbura*

e án a-dín a-nīngke sarpī sàrburá  
EXPRS that.much POSS-day(<Asm) POSS-even old.woman old.man

*dochom abe] [nonke methan-sibongpopen*

dō-chòm a-bé nòn=kè methān-sibòngpō=pèn  
stay-together POSS-habit now=TOP dog.sp=with

*banghinivetle kopusi pirthe mindar*

bàng-hinì-vèt=le kopù=si pirthé mindár  
CLF.HUM.PL-two-only=FOC:IRR how=FOC:RL world world(<KhJ)

*dodunthekpoma pulo*

dō-dūn-thèk-pò=ma pù-lò  
stay-join-know.how-IRR1=Q say-RL

‘before there was a habit of the old woman and the old man to stay together, “now, how will I manage to stay just the two of us with the dog?” (he thought)’ [KK, BMS 016]

*[chonghoilang ante mh ningrile jongheta*

cho-inghòì-lāng ánte mh ningrī=le jonghé=tā  
MID-do-yet OK.then DSM worry=FOC:IRR as.much.as=ADD

*phu] [methan-sibongpo abang thakdun]*

phū] [methān-sibòngpō a-bàng thàk-dūn  
grandfather:VOC dog.sp POSS-CLF answer-join

*[choklembom chobomanang] [nephi*

cho-klém-bòm chō-bōm-lonāng ne-phì  
MID-do-CONT eat-CONT-lo.HORT my-grandmother

*aphanke rira jonghe setame theklonglelo]*

a-phān=kè rí-rà jonghé setāmē theklōng-Cē-lò  
POSS-NSUBJ=TOP search-NF:IRR as.much.as nevertheless see-NEG-RL

“‘what will you do, okay then, (there is no use) worrying so much, grandfather”, the dog answered, “let’s keep working and eating (i.e., let’s live as usual), even if we keep searching for my grandmother, we won’t see her” [KK, BMS 017]

*e choklebomanang chobomanang pu*

e cho-klém-bòm-lonāng chō-bōm-lonāng pu  
EXPRS MID-do-continue-lo.HORT eat-continue-lo.HORT QUOT  
“let’s keep working, let’s keep eating (i.e. let’s keep living as usual)” [KK, BMS 018]

*mh ,,an akai adin ne nangkapangreng*

mh [án a-kái a-dín nè nang=ke-pangrèng  
DSM that.much POSS-time(<Asm) POSS-day(<Asm) 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-rear

*ningke, nang keningjepinpi amethan-sibongpole!”*

nīngke] [nàng [ke-ningjé-Cē-pín-pī a-methān-sibòngpō=le]]  
even you NMLZ-speak-NEG-never-truly POSS-dog.sp=FOC:IRR  
“even though all this time I reared you, you are the dog who never talked before at all!” [KK, BMS 019]

*[nangphi aphan theklongle anta*

nang-phi aphān theklōng-Cē án=tā  
your-grandmother NSUBJ see-NEG all=ADD.COORD

*kalilang ako nangta*

kalī-làng akò nàng=tā  
NEG.EQU.COP-yet on.the.other.hand(<Asm) you=ADD.COORD

*ningjethuserlang*

ningjé-thù-sèr-làng  
speak-again-unexpectedly(uttering)-yet  
“not only will you not see your grandmother, but also you speak like this, though you shouldn’t” [KK, BMS 020]

*mh nephanke aker apar*

mh ne-phān=kè a-kēr apár  
DSM 1EXCL-NSUBJ=TOP POSS-bad.omen besides

*nangkethanke avelo <bu>*

nang=ke-thán=ke avē-lò  
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-tell=TOP not.exist-RL  
‘to me, this is nothing but a bad omen’ [KK, BMS 021]

*pusi nangke jontu <amo> api penakle*

pusi nang=ke jontú a-pī penāk=le  
 QUOT.COMP you=TOP animal(<Asm) POSS-animal actually=FOC:IRR

*<nephan> mh [nephi*

<ne-phān> mh [ne-phì  
 1EXCL:POSS-NSUBJ DSM 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother

*aphanle kamatha nangalang]*

a-phān=le ke-mathà náng-ji-lāng  
 POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR NMLZ-think need-IRR2-yet

*nangkaningjeserlo*

nang=ke-ningjé-sèr-lò  
 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-speak-unexpectedly(uttering)-RL

‘so he spoke, “you, actually being an animal, <of me...> said to me “you still need to think of my grandmother”’ [KK, BMS 022]

*ansoselo neke abipot*

án-sosē-lò nè=ke a-bipòt  
 that.much-more-RL 1EXCL=TOP POSS-difficulty(<Asm)

*porithuji pulo*

porí-thù-jí pù-lò  
 fall(<Asm)-again-IRR2 say-RL

‘“more than that (than suffering from losing my wife), I fall into more difficulty”, he said’ [KK, BMS 023]

*bamonpo abang pulo*

bamòn-pō abàng pù-lò  
 wise.person(<Ind)-male NPDL say-RL  
 ‘(that’s what) the bamonpo said’ [KK, BMS 024]

*mh ne ansose bipot poriji*

mh nè án-sosē bipòt porí-jí  
 DSM 1EXCL that.much-more difficulty(<Asm) fall(<Asm)-IRR2  
 ‘I’ll fall into even more difficulty’ [KK, BMS 025]

*e methan-sibongpo thakdundet*

e        methān-sibòngpō thāk-dūn-dèt  
EXPRS dog.sp                    answer-JOIN-PFV  
'the dog answered' [KK, BMS 026]

*o kalilo phu*

o        kalī-lò                    phū  
INTERJ NEG.EQU.COP-RL grandfather:VOC  
'oh, not (like that), grandfather' [KK, BMS 027]

*e <ne> <nang> nephipen mo*

e        <nè> <nàng> ne-phì=pen                    mò  
EXPRS 1EXCL 2                    1EXCL:POSS-grandmother=with future

*chetongvekpo <ne>*

chetòng-vék-pò                    <nè>  
meet-definitely-IRR1 1EXCL  
'I will definitely meet my grandmother later' [KK, BMS 028]

*ne nephi aphan*

nè        ne-phì    a-phān  
1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother POSS-NSUBJ

*nangpachetongvekji e tunnoi*

nang=pV-chetòng-vék-jí    e        tún-nōi  
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-meet-definitely-IRR2 EXPRS cook-INF.COND.IMP

*dangnoi chonang junnang*

dáng-nōi    chō-nāng jùn-nāng  
put.on.stove-INF.COND.IMP eat-HORT drink-HORT  
'I will definitely make you meet my grandmother; (now) cook and prepare, let's eat and drink  
(so we can start our journey)' [KK, BMS 029]

*ne ha nephi along ne*

nè        há                    ne-phì    alòng nè  
1EXCL over.there 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother LOC 1EXCL

*nangponpo*

nang=pòn-pò

1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-IRR1

‘I will take you there to my grandmother’ [KK, BMS 030]

*[mh elike kerenget atumke*

mh è-li=ke ke-rèng-èt a-tūm=ke

DSM 1PL:INCL-HON=TOP NMLZ-be.alive-all:S/O POSS-PL=TOP

*[thangbaksi keleduntam thekji ason]*

[thàngbāk=si ke-lè-dūn-tām thèk-jí asòn

as.if=FOC:RL NMLZ-reach-JOIN-impossible know.how-IRR2 like

*nangpinkhattap nangpinkhatphru*

nang=pinkhát-táp nang=pinkhát-phrú

1/2:NSUBJ=advise-here.and.there.1/2 1/2:NSUBJ=advise-here.and.there.2/2

‘since we are alive, (how can) you give so many pieces of advice as if we could reach (the place where my wife has gone after she died)’ [KK, BMS 031]

*o kalilo phu ne*

[ò kalī-lò phū] nè

EXCM NEG.EQU.COP-RL grandfather:VOC 1EXCL

*nangponpo nangdunveknoui pu*

nang=pòn-pò] [nang=dùn-vék-nōi] pu

1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-IRR2 CIS=join-definitely-INF.COND.IMP QUOT

“‘oh not like that, grandfather, I will take you, make sure to join me’” [KK, BMS 032]

*ne kedam aling nangdunnoi setame, chonang junnang!*

[nè ke-dàm aling nang=dùn-nōi setāmē] [chō-nāng jùn-nāng]

1EXCL NMLZ-go INDEF CIS=join-INF.COND.IMP nevertheless eat-HORT drink-HORT

*hormu horton chirim chibikangvetra, dunnang,*

hormú hortòn che-rím che-bí-káng-vèt-rà] [dùn-nāng

thing EE:hormú RR-put.in.one.place RR-keep-give.leave-nicely-NF:IRR join-HORT

*ha nephi along!*

há ne-phì alòng]  
over.there 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother LOC

‘Join me, wherever I go, but let’s eat and drink and let’s keep everything nicely (here, i.e. put everything in order before we leave), let’s go there, to my grandmother’s place’ [KK, BMS 033]

*„ahokma, methan-sibongpo?, nang neponthekjima?”*

a-hōk=ma methān-sibòngpō, ne=pòn-thèk-jí=ma  
POSS-truth=Q dog.sp 1:NSUBJ=take.away-know.how-IRR2=Q

‘‘is it true, dog, you know how to take me?’’ [KK, BMS 034]

*“o ne nangponthekpo ti, phu!*

ò nè nang=pòn-thèk-pò tì phū  
AFF 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-know.how-IRR1 EMPH grandfather:VOC

*nangdunle nangdunnoi ho pulo tangho*

nang=dùn=lè nang=dùn-nōi hò pù-lò tànghò  
CIS=join=FOC:IRR CIS=join-INF.COND.IMP EMPH:INTERACT say-RL REP

‘‘I certainly know how to take you there, grandfather. Just make sure to join me’’, he said’ [KK, BMS 035]

*anke bamonpota mh kisung*

ánke bamòn-pō=tā mh ke-sùng  
and.then wise.person(<Ind)-male=ADD.DM DSM NMLZ-be.difficult

*abidi kijut’ong amat*

a-bidí ke-jūt-òng amāt  
POSS-cleverness(<Asm) NMLZ-finish-be.much and.then

*kroidunkoklo*

krōi-dūn-kòk-lò  
agree-JOIN-firmly-RL

‘and then, the bamonpo was troubled, and his cleverness had come to an end (because it was too much) and so he agreed and joined (the dog)’ [KK, BMS 036]

*kroidunkoklo dah lapu-tangte chonang*

krōi-dūn-kòk-lò [dáh lapù tángtē chō-nāng  
agree-JOIN-absolutely.required-RL go! like.this if eat-HORT

*junnang cho 'etlo jun 'etlo tangte hormu*

jùn-nāng] [chō-ét-lò jùn-ét-lò tángtē] hormú  
 drink-HORT eat-PFT-RL drink-PFT-RL if thing

*horton chisikra damanang mh*

hortòn che-sík-rà dàm-lonāng mh

EE:hormú RR-prepare-NF:IRR go-lo.HORT DSM

'he agreed, "let's go, if it's like that, let's eat and drink here, then after we eat and drink, then let's prepare everything and go!" (bamonpo said)' [KK, BMS 037]

*si hormu hortar chisik chedang mh*

sì hormú hortár che-sík che-dáng mh

therefore thing EE:hormú RR-prepare RR-put.on.stove DSM

'so they got ready' [KK, BMS 038]

*[ke methan-sibongpoke] [hem*

ke methān-sibòngpō=ke] hēm

and.then dog.sp=TOP house

*chirimkangetlo bo phu] pu*

che-rím-káng-ét-lò bo phū] pu

RR-keep.in.order-leaving-PRF-RL RQ grandfather:VOC QUOT

*[hem chirim 'et chibi 'etlo]*

hēm che-rím-ét che-bí-ét-lò]

house RR-keep.in.order-PRF RR-keep-PRF-RL

'and then, the dog (said), "I assume you already put everything in its place?", "yes, I've put everything in order"' [KK, BMS 039]

*te dah damnang pusi methan-sibongpo*

tè dáh dàm-nāng pusi methān-sibòngpō

and.then/therefore go! go-HORT QUOT.COMP dog.sp

*kedam alingsi bamonpota*

ke-dàm alíng=si bamòn-pō=tā

NMLZ-go INDEF=FOC:RL wise.person(<Ind)-male=ADD.DM

*dunvaretlo dunvaretlo dunvaretlo*

dùn-varèt-lò dùn-varèt-lò dùn-varèt-lò

join-INTENS-RL join-INTENS-RL join-INTENS-RL

‘and then, “alright, let’s go”, wherever the dog went, the bamonpo followed him and followed him and followed him (and so they went for a long time)’ [KK, BMS 040]

*ha thepai thereng longku longdang pirthe methan ko’anma*  
há thepài therēng longkū longdāng pirthé methān ko-án=ma  
over.there cliff EE:thepài cave crevice world dog ITR-that.much=Q

*kedam bamonpota la’anlo kidun*  
ke-dàm bamòn-pō=tā la-án=lo ke-dùn  
NMLZ-go wise.person(<Ind)-male=ADD.DM this-that.much=FOC NMLZ-join  
‘there, over all kinds of difficult terrain, over caves and crevices, as much as the dog went, that much the bamonpo followed him’ [KK, BMS 041]

*dun’aretlo dun’aretlo si ha*  
dùn-arèt-lò dùn-arèt-lò sì há  
join-for.long.time-RL join-for.long.time-RL therefore over.there

*mh bamonpo abang kelaklo*  
mh bamòn-pō abàng ke-lāk-lò  
DSM wise.person(<Ind)-male NPDL NMLZ-be.tired-RL  
‘he followed (the dog) for a long time, and so (after having gone very far), over there, the bamonpo got tired’ [KK, BMS 042]

*si methan-sibongpoke mh arong*  
sì methān-sibòngpō=ke mh a-ròng  
therefore dog.sp=TOP DSM POSS-village

*kachelepo methan recho arong*  
ke-che-lē-pò methān rechò a-ròng  
NMLZ-RR-reach-IRR1 dog king POSS-village

*kelepo*  
ke-lè-pò  
NMLZ-reach-IRR1  
‘and then, the dog was about to reach his village, the dog was about to reach the king’s village’ [KK, BMS 043]

*si [lapu kalilo bamonpo jo]*  
sì lapù kalī-lò bamòn-pō jò  
therefore like.this NEG.EQU.COP-RL wise.person(<Ind)-male see!

*e [ha Chom leji adim*

e [há Chòm lè-jí a-dím  
EXPRS over.there PLACE reach-IRR2 POSS-place

*angdengke] [langta ketheso*

angdēng=ke lāng=tā ke-thè-sō  
border/mark=TOP water=ADD.even NMLZ-be.big-INTS

*kethevīr kali] [langso atalo bhari]*

ke-thè-vír kalī langsō a-talò bhari  
NMLZ-be.big-EE:-sō NEG.EQU.COP this POSS-sea very.big(<Ind)

‘and then, “oh no, this is not the right way, bamonpo, look” (said the dog), over there they reached the border of the Chom (village) (mistake, meant to say of the dog king’s village), and there, there was an unbelievably big water body, a huge sea’ [KK, BMS 044]

*kopusi neke nangkeparponpoma*

kopù=si nè=ke nang=ke-pV-pár-pòn-pò=ma  
how=FOC:RL 1EXCL=TOP 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-cross(<Asm)-take.away-IRR1=Q  
‘how will I take you across the water?’ [KK, BMS 045]

*mh nephan nechiriphetnoi*

mh ne-phān ne=che-ríp-hèt-nōi  
DSM 1EXCL:POSS-NSUBJ 1EXCL:NSUBJ=RR-hold.firmly-firmly-INF.COND.IMP  
“‘hold (yourself) firmly onto me” [KK, BMS 046]

*ekdom la nemilumbong nang... <m> ...chirip’hetnoi*

ékdòm là ne-milumbōng nang= che-ríp-hèt-nōi  
EXCM(<Asm) this 1EXCL:POSS-buttocks 1/2:NSUBJ= RR-hold.firmly-firmly-INF.COND.IMP

*nangchirip’hetnoi nanglorinoi*

nang=che-ríp-hèt-nōi nang=lò-rī-nōi  
1/2:NSUBJ=RR-hold.firmly-firmly-INF.COND.IMP 1/2:NSUBJ=lose.grip-NEG.IMP-INF.COND.IMP  
‘hold onto my butt, don’t lose your grip’ [KK, BMS 047]

*ko’anma ne kevekji setame*

ko-án=ma nè ke-vèk-jí setāmē  
WH-that.much=Q 1EXCL NMLZ-swim-IRR2 nevertheless

*nangdunthornoi*

nang=dùn-thòr-nōi

CIS=join-up.to.the.end-INF.COND.IMP

‘however much I swim, you must follow me’ [KK, BMS 048]

*pumamat <la> anke la aphu*

pùmamāt <là> ánke là a-phù

just.like.that this and.then this POSS-grandfather

*bamonpo abangta laso amethan arme*

bamòn-pō abàng=tā lasō a-methān armē

wise.person(<Ind)-male NPDL=ADD.DM this POSS-dog tail

*ekdom <pini> ripdunhetlo mh*

ekdom <pini> rīp-dūn-hèt-lò mh

EXCM(<Asm) <today> hold.firmly-JOIN-firmly-RL DSM

‘and then, just like that, the bamonpo, on the other hand, held firmly onto the tail’ [KK, BMS 049]

*si arme abangke eriredetlo*

sì armē abàng=ke erí-Cē-dèt-lò

therefore tail NPDL=TOP lose.grip(<Asm)-NEG-PFV-RL

*ripdunhetlo ripdunhetlo*

rīp-dūn-hèt-lò rīp-dūn-hèt-lò

hold.firmly-JOIN-firmly-RL hold.firmly-JOIN-firmly-RL

‘and he didn’t lose his grip of the tail, he firmly held onto it, he firmly held onto it’ [KK, BMS 050]

*si hu lang kaplo si damchot*

[sì hú lāng káp-lò] [sì dām-chòt

therefore over.there water cross.water.body-RL therefore go-slightly

*<methan arong> methan recho arong lelo*

<methān a-ròng> [methān rechò a-ròng] lè-lò]

dog POSS-village dog king POSS-village reach-RL

‘and then, they crossed the water and going a little further, they reached the dog village, the village of the dog king’ [KK, BMS 051]

*ke methan recho arong lelo te*

[kè methān rechò a-ròng lè-lò] tè  
and.then dog king POSS-village reach-RL and.then/therefore

*[[neke dak helo] [[nerong nerup*

[[nè=ke dāk helò] [[ne-ròng ne-rùp  
1EXCL=TOP here RL:EMPH 1EXCL:POSS-village 1EXCL:POSS-EE:ròng

*apot] ningveke dakle sangnang]] pu*

apõt] ningvê=ke dāk=le sâng-nāng]] pu  
because evening=TOP here=FOC:IRR take.rest-HORT QUOT

‘they reached the village of the dog king, and then, “I’m here, because this is my village, let’s take rest here this evening”’ [KK, BMS 052]

*bamonpo aphan pulo, “dakle*

bamòn-pō aphān pù-lò [dāk=le  
wise.person(<Ind)-male NSUBJ say-RL here=FOC:IRR

*sangkakanang, bamonpo”*

sâng-kòk-lonāng bamòn-pō]  
take.rest-absolutely.required-lo.HORT wise.person(<Ind)-male

‘he said to bamonpo, “let’s stay here and take rest, bamonpo”’ [KK, BMS 053]

*o te kosonloma nang alinglo*

o tè [[kosòn=lo=ma nàng alíng-lò  
INTERJ and.then/therefore how=FOC=Q 2 INDEF-RL

*methan-sibongpo pu dakle sangnang*

methān-sibòngpō pu dāk=le sâng-lonāng  
dog.sp QUOT here=FOC:IRR take.rest-lo.HORT

*ningveke pulo methan recho ahem*

ningvê=ke] pù-lò] [methān rechò a-hēm  
evening=TOP say-RL dog king POSS-house

*sangkok mh*

sâng-kòk] mh  
take.rest-in.a.fixed.place DSM

‘and then, “whatever (however) you’ll (say), (we’ll do), dog. Let’s take rest here this evening”, and they took rest at the house of the dog king’ [KK, BMS 054]

*methan-recho ahem sangkoklo, anke*

[methān-rechò a-hēm sǎng-kòk-lò] [ánke  
dog-king POSS-house take.rest-in.a.fixed.place-RL and.then

*ladak eli pirthe mindar athak kipi ason*

ladāk è-lì pirthé mindár athàk ke-pī asòn  
here 1PL:INCL-HON world world(<KhJ) on.top NMLZ-give like

*thakthaksi, mh methan aphan che la*

thakthāk=si] mh methān aphān chē [[là  
same=FOC:RL DSM dog NSUBJ I.mean this

*bamonpo aphanta, longle athaksi,*

bamòn-pō aphān=tā] [longlē athàk=si]  
wise.person(<Ind)-male NSUBJ=ADD.also earth on.top=FOC:RL

<anta> ok an hor setame longle athaksi

<àn=tā> [ōk àn hōr setāmē] [longlē athàk=si]  
<rice=ADD> meat rice liquor nevertheless earth on.top=FOC:RL

*pichomchomlo*

pī-chòm~chòm-lò]

give-a.little~DIST.PL-RL

‘they took rest at the dog king’s house, and then, here, is is the case (with dogs) in the world where we live, to the dog... eh I mean, to bamonpo also, on the ground, they gave him a little bit of meat and rice and liquor each, on the ground’ [KK, BMS 055]

*methan atum ’anke abangke ha kasu keme harlung*

[[methān a-tūm-án=ke] abàng=ke] há [kasú ke-mē harlūng  
dog POSS-PL-all=TOP NPDL=TOP over.there plate NMLZ-be.good bowl

*kemepen langta*

ke-mē=pen] [lāng=tā jùn-lōng àn=tā chō-lōng,]  
NMLZ-be.good=with water=ADD.COORD drink-get.to rice=ADD.COORD eat-get.to

*junlong anta cholong, pirtheta bangke mh*

[pirthé=tā bàng=ke] mh  
world=ADD.EXH CLF=TOP DSM

‘all the dogs, there, they ate from brass plates and brass bowls, they got to drink water and they got to eat rice, everything’ [KK, BMS 056]

[*bamonpo aphanke longle thak*

bamòn-pō a-phān=ke longlē athàk  
wise.person(<Ind)-male POSS-NSUBJ=TOP earth on.top

[*bokchom*] [*eli ladak kachopangreng*

bòk-chòm [è-li ladāk ke-cho-pangrēng  
serve.small.items-a.little 1PL:INCL-HON here NMLZ-MID-rear

[*kosonma kipi*] *ke bamonpo*

kosòn=ma ke-pī ke bamòn-pō  
how=Q NMLZ-give and.then wise.person(<Ind)-male

[*aphanta lasonsi hadak videtlo*

a-phān=tā lasòn=si hādāk vi-dèt-lò  
POSS-NSUBJ=also that.way=FOC:RL there do-PFV-RL

‘they served the bamonpo on the ground, the way how we (people, narrator speaking) give (food) to the dogs that we rear here (in this world), and then they were behaving towards bamonpo that way (ie. just like towards other dogs) over there’ [KK, BMS 057]

[*lasi bamonpo abàngke mh kangchir*

lasi [bamòn-pō abàng=ke] mh [ke-ingchir  
therefore wise.person(<Ind)-male NPDL=TOP DSM NMLZ-be.hungry

[*ajoinelo methan ason thak chodun*

a-joiné=lo] [methān asòn thàk chō-dūn  
POSS-reason=FOC dog like same eat-JOIN

[*nangkoklo lasi*

náng-kòk-lò] lasi  
need-absolutely.required-RL therefore

‘and then, the bamonpo-because he was hungry-had to eat just like the dogs, and so’ [KK, BMS 058]

[*ha nangtum [pirthe mindar athak] [<ne*

há nang-tūm [pirthé mindár athàk] [<nè  
over.there 2-PL world world(<KhJ) on.top 1EXCL

[*nangtum> nekapinchong asonthotlo*

nang-tūm> ne=ke-pinchòng asòn-thòt-lò]  
2POSS-PL 1EXCL:NSUBJ=NMLZ-create like-exactly-RL

*bamonpo*

bamòn-pō

wise.person(<Ind)-male

““there, in the world, just like how you treat me (according to those rules, we are now treating you)”, (said the dog to the bamonpo)’ [KK, BMS 059]

*[netumta nangtum nangpipo longle thak*

[ne-tūm=tā nang-tūm nang=pī-pò longlē athàk  
1EXCL-PL=ADD.also 2-PL 1/2:NSUBJ=give-IRR1 earth on.top

*nangbokchom titisi] neta*

nang=bòk-chòm titī-si nè=tā  
1/2:NSUBJ=serve.small.items-a.little habitually-NF:RL 1EXCL=ADD.also

*nangkechodundun*

nang=ke-chō-dūn~dūn

CIS=NMLZ-eat-JOIN~HAB

‘to us you would also give us, on the ground always you would serve us (food), I also used to eat like that’ [KK, BMS 060]

*[[netum ’anta laso apotlo] pusi]*

[[ne-tūm-án=tā lasō apōt=lo pusi]  
1EXCL:POSS-PL-all=ADD.EXH this because=FOC QUOT.COMP

*methan-sibongpo abang kipu tangho*

methān-sibòngpō abàng ke-pù tànghò

dog.sp NPDL NMLZ-say REP

““all of us (have been treated like that), that’s why (I also treat you like that)”, said the dog’ [KK, BMS 061]

*lasi “to tangte nephi aphan*

lasi [tò tángtē ne-phì a-phān  
therefore OK if 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother POSS-NSUBJ

*nangkapachetongji abangke pathe ’anganang”*

nang=ke-pV-chetòng-jí abàng=ke] pV-the’āng-sināng  
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-meet-IRR2 NPDL=TOP CAUS-be.bright-si.HORT

‘and then, “okay then, in order to make you meet my grandmother, let it get bright (daylight)”’ [KK, BMS 062]

*the'angdanglo lepu'ante ne nephi*  
 the'āng-dàng-lò lepu'ante nè ne-phi  
 be.bright-bright-RL when 1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother

*aphan nangjaponpo*  
 aphān nang=já-pòn-pò  
 NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=lead-take.away-IRR1  
 “after it gets bright, then I will lead you to my grandmother” [KK, BMS 063]

*ha Hajong aling abojar pulo*  
 [há Hajōng aling a-bojár pù-lò  
 over.there HILL bottom POSS-market(<Asm) say-RL

*tangho, <nang nangkidun nangphi>*  
 tànghò] [<nang nang=ke-dùn nang-phi>  
 REP 2 CIS=NMLZ-join 2POSS-grandmother

*nephi nangkidunjike si ne*  
 ne-phi nang=ke-dùn-jí=ke] [sì nè  
 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother CIS=NMLZ-join-IRR2=TOP therefore 1EXCL

*nangponpo pulo*  
 nang=pòn-pò] pù-lò  
 1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-IRR1 say-RL  
 “there (to) the market at the foot of the Hajong it is said that she will come, that my grandmother will come and so I will take you there”, (the dog) said’ [KK, BMS 064]

*anke the'anglo aphu aphantā*  
 [ánke the'āng-lò a-phù a-phān=tā  
 and.then be.bright-RL POSS-grandfather POSS-NSUBJ=ADD.DM

*japonlo dah, phu, damnang*  
 já-pòn-lò] [dáh phū dām-nāng]  
 lead-take.away-RL go! grandfather:VOC go-HORT  
 ‘and then it got bright and he lead his grandfather, “okay, grandfather, let’s go”’ [KK, BMS 065]

*bang bojar nangkidun atum vanglepo*  
 bàng bojár nang=ke-dùn a-tūm vāng-lè-pò  
 CLF market(<Asm) CIS=NMLZ-join POSS-PL come-again-IRR1  
 ‘and the other people joining the market would always come again (habitually)’ [KK, BMS 066]

*mh bojarta kopuloma chetongji mh*

mh bojár=tā kopù=lo=ma chetòng-jí mh  
DSM market(<Asm)=ADD how=FOC=Q meet-IRR2 DSM  
'in the market, how will I meet her (since it will be difficult)' [KK, BMS 067]

*kenelo [Hajong aling] ante [hithi pulo]*

kenélo Hajōng aling ánte hithí pù=lo  
filler HILL bottom OK.then market(<Asm) QUOT=SFP?

*<pulo> methan abangsi thanthu*

<pù-lò> methān abàng=si thán-thù  
say-RL dog NPDL=FOC:RL tell-again  
'the foot of the Hajong is the name of the place where the market is held, the dog told as an explanation' (sentence implies that Bamonpo had gotten confused about what *hajong aling* is)' [KK, BMS 068]

*o hithi pute hako Karbi*

o [hithí pù-te [hakò Karbi  
EXPRS market(<Asm) QUOT-if that.time TRIBE

*aniomlo hithi puhenlo lasi*

a-niòm=lo] hithí pu-henlò] [lasi  
POSS-procedure(<Asm)=FOC market(<Asm) QUOT-RL:EMPH therefore

*bamonpota aning chipori tangho*

bamòn-pō=tā a-nīng che-porí tànghò]  
wise.person(<Ind)-male=ADD.also POSS-mind RR-fall(<Asm) REP  
'considering *hithi*, according to Karbi way of talking, it is the market; and then, the *bamonpo* also remembered (because maybe the bamonpo forgot the word *hithi*)' [KK, BMS 069]

*methan abangsi pirtheta than 'et lasi [[methan*

[methān abàng=si pirthé=tā thán-èt] lasì [[methān  
dog NPDL=FOC:RL world=ADD.EXH tell-all:S/O therefore dog

*pu] amenta kedo*

pu] a-mén=tā] ke-dō  
QUOT POSS-name=ADD.DM NMLZ-exist  
'the dog told (him) everything and so that's why it has the name *methan* (can be parsed as *mē-thán* 'be.good-tell', i.e. the storyteller is providing a folk etymology here)' [KK, BMS 070]

[*anke ha aphī thikma*] *anke bojar*

ánke há aphī thík=ma ánke bojár  
and.then over.there after true(<Asm)=Q and.then market(<Asm)

*nangdunsi hak-chili cheveklóklo* <...>

nang=dùn-si hák-chilí che-vék-lòk-lò  
CIS=join-NF:RL basket.with.paddy.seeds RR-hang-not.main.action-RL  
'and then, later on it is true, and then she went to the market carrying a bamboo basket' [KK, BMS 071]

[*achu nangjirhamsi*] [*anke hala*

a-chū nang=jìr-hàm-si ánke hála  
POSS-hair CIS=climb.like.creeper-large:S/O-NF:RL and.then that

*arisangho atumte pardetdetdetdet*

a-rísanghò a-tūm=te pár-dèt-dèt-dèt-dèt  
POSS-companion POSS-PL=TOP cross(<Asm)-PFV-PFV-PFV-PFV

*pardetdetdetdetlo*] [*methan-sibongpoke*

pár-dèt-dèt-dèt-dèt-lò methān-sibòngpō=ke  
cross(<Asm)-PFV-PFV-PFV-PFV-RL dog.sp=TOP

*same domdunvensi...*]

samé dòm-dūn-vèn-si...  
path lie(animal)-JOIN-curled.up:S-NF:RL  
'she had her hair down, and then the companions (of the grandmother, i.e. other people who have already died) passed by, so many of them (that's why *-det* is repeated to iconically imitate all the many people), one after another, and the dog was lying on the path curled, and...' [KK, BMS 072]

[*anke kopúloma*] *mh* [*nephi aphan*

ánke kopùlo=ma] mh [ne-phì aphān  
and.then what.will.happen(?)=Q DSM 1EXCL-grandmother NSUBJ

*nangkapachetongji pule*

nang=ke-pV-che-tòng-jí pu=le  
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-CAUS-RR-meet-IRR2 QUOT=FOC:IRR

*nangpachetongte*] *mh* [[*nanglepo ti*

nang=pV-che-tòng-Cē mh nang=lè-pò tì  
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-RR-meet-NEG pause CIS=reach-IRR1 EMPH

*methan-sibongpo abangke pubomlo*

methān-sibòngpō abàng=ke pù-bōm-lò

dog.sp NPD=TOP say-CONT-RL

‘and then, what will happen?, “you said I will get you to meet my (should be ‘your’) grandmother, but you didn’t get me to meet her”, (said bamonpo), “she will definitely reach”, the dog kept saying’ [KK, BMS 073]

*[anke an partisi damlaplo] [si*

ánke án partí=si dàm-làp-lò sì

and.then that.much party(<Eng)=FOC:RL go-completely-RL therefore

*aphi abangke aphisi vanglo] mh*

a-phì abàng=ke aphī-sí vàng-lò mh

POSS-grandmother NPD=TOP after-SPLT come-RL DSM

‘and then, everybody of so many people left and then, the grandmother was the last one who came’ [KK, BMS 074]

*achu nangjirhamsi aning*

a-chū nang=jìr-hàm-si a-nīng

POSS-hair CIS=climb.like.creeper-large:S/O-NF:RL POSS-mind

*ke’oi e*

ke-òì e

NMLZ-be.sad EXPRS

‘(her appearance was that) she had her hair down and she was sad’ [KK, BMS 075]

*lahenlo nephilo*

là-henlò ne-phì-lò

this-COP 1EXCL:POSS-grandmother-RL

‘this is my grandmother’ [KK, BMS 076]

*lapute eri ajat*

lapù=te erí aját

like.this=TOP let.loose(<Asm) GENEX

*eririnoi eri ajat*

erí-rī-nōi erí aját

let.loose(Asm)-NEG.IMP-INF.COND.IMP let.loose(<Asm) GENEX

*eririnoi phu*  
erí-rī-nōi phū  
let.loose(<Asm)-NEG.IMP-INF.COND.IMP grandfather  
“don’t let her go, grandfather, (do everything to prevent her from leaving)!” [KK, BMS 077]

[*bamhetnoi eririnoi*] [*dih*  
bām-hèt-nōi erí-rī-nōi díh  
embrace-firmly-INF.COND.IMP let.loose(<Asm)-NEG.IMP-INF.COND.IMP leave.me!

*dih puta*] [*eririnoi*  
díh pu=tā erí-rī-nōi  
leave.me! quot=ADD.although let.loose(<Asm)-NEG.IMP-INF.COND.IMP

*bamhetnoi dei*] [*eririnoi*  
bām-hèt-nōi déi erí-rī-nōi  
embrace-firmly-INF.COND.IMP OK? let.loose(<Asm)-NEG.IMP-INF.COND.IMP

[<*nangle*> *lophlotte long-lelo*]  
<nàng=le> lò-phlòt-tē lòng-Cē-lò  
you=FOC:IRR lose.grip-becoming.lose-if get(.to)-NEG-RL

*lake putangho*  
là=ke pù-tànghò  
this=TOP QUOT-REP  
“hold her in your arms, don’t let her loose, even if she says “leave me!”, don’t let her loose, embrace her tightly, okay?, don’t let her loose, if you lose her, we won’t get her”, this is how it is told (that the dog was saying)’ [KK, BMS 078]

*anke loledetlo*  
ánke lò-Cē-dèt-lò  
and.then lose.grip-NEG-PFV-RL  
‘and so he (the bamonpo) didn’t lose his grip’ [KK, BMS 079]

*loledétpen pini bamhetsi mh* [*diho*  
lò-Cē-dèt-pèn pini bām-hèt-si mh [dího  
let.loose-NEG-PFV-NF:with HESIT embrace-firmly-NF:RL DSM leave.me!

*puta*] *kroikredetlò*  
pu=tā krōi-Cē-dèt-lò  
QUOT=ADD.although agree-NEG-PFV-RL

‘he didn’t let her go, he was embracing her tightly, although she said “hey, leave me!”, he didn’t agree’ [KK, BMS 080]

*ansi ha hithi dunlo ason ason*

[ánsi há hithí dùn-lò] [[a-sòn a-sòn  
after.that over.there market(<Asm) join-RL POSS-thing POSS-thing

*kenamta dunkrilo*

ke-nàm=tā] dùn-kri-lò]  
NMLZ-buy=ADD.EXH join-follow.closely-RL

‘and then, there they went to the market and they kept following her closely to all the places where she was buying different things’ [KK, BMS 081]

*apiso along chidunkri laso*

[a-pisò alòng che-dūn-kri] [lasō  
POSS-wife LOC RR-join-follow.closely this

*abamonpi along dunkrilo*

a-bamòn-pī alòng dùn-kri-lò]  
POSS-wise.person(<Ind)-female LOC join-follow.closely-RL

‘he followed his wife closely, he followed this bamonpi closely’ [KK, BMS 082]

*anké dunkrisi ason ason ason*

[ánke dùn-kri-si] [a-sòn a-sòn a-sòn  
and.then join-follow.closely-NF:RL POSS-thing POSS-thing POSS-thing

*kenam kerettame nam ’et ret ’etlo]*

[ke-nàm ke-rèt]=tāmē nàm-ét rèt-ét-lò  
NMLZ-buy NMLZ-EE:nàm=any buy-PFT EE:nàm-PFT-RL

*[[arbung arphe chevanglo*

arbùng arphè] che-vāng-lò]  
bamboo.pole.in.middle.of.roof bamboo.poles.on.sides.of.roof RR-come-RL

*anke arbung arphe*

[ánke arbùng arphè  
and.then bamboo.pole.in.middle.of.roof bamboo.poles.on.sides.of.roof

*chevangta anke hala bamonpota*

che-vāng=tā] [ánke hála bamòn-pō=tā  
RR-come=ADD and.then that wise.person(<Ind)-male=ADD.DM

*dunthorlo*

dùn-thòr-lò]

join-up.to.the.end-RL

‘and then, they followed her closely, and she even though she bought so many things that she had to buy, she came back to her house, and the bamonpo also followed closely’ [KK, BMS 083]

*“nangdun nangne” puta, kroikredetlo,*

[nang=dùn náng-Cē pu=tā] [krōi-Cē-dèt-lò]  
CIS=join need-NEG quot=ADD.although agree-NEG-PFV-RL

*“nangke nangdin dolang”*

[nàng=ke nang-dín dō-làng]

you=TOP your-day(<Asm) exist-still

‘although she said, “you shouldn’t follow me”, he didn’t agree, “you still have your life to live (lit. days)” (he said)’ [KK, BMS 084]

*[[[pirthe mindar kedo nangji]*

pirthé mindár ke-dō náng-jí  
world world(<KhJ) NMLZ-stay need-IRR2

*kedokoklangle] [pusi [[nang*

ke-dō-kòk-làng=lē pù=si nàng  
NMLZ-stay.back-yet=FOC:IRR how=FOC:RL you

*nangkidunpoma puta]*

nang=ke-dùn-pò=ma pu=tā  
CIS=NMLZ-join-IRR1=Q QUOT=ADD.although

*[kroikredetlo]]*

krōi-Cē-dèt-lò

agree-NEG-PFV-RL

‘(though she said,) “you need to stay in the world, you still need to stay, (how) will you follow me?”’, he didn’t agree’ [KK, BMS 085]

*abamonpota dunkrilo*

[a-bamòn-pō=tā dùn-kri-lò]  
POSS-wise.person(<Ind)-male=ADD.DM join-follow.closely-RL

*apiso kedam aling tangho*

[a-pisò ke-dàm alíng] tànghò  
POSS-wife NMLZ-go INDEF REP  
'the *bamonpo* followed, wherever his wife went, so they say' [KK, BMS 086]

*anke ha mh methan-sibongpo abang bojar*

ánke há mh [methān-sibòngpō abàng] bojár  
and.then over.there pause dog.sp NPDL market(<Asm)

*la bamonpo atum 'anta anke*

[[là bamòn-pō a-tūm-án=tā ánke  
this wise.person(<Ind)-male POSS-PL-all=ADD.EXHAUST and.then

*bang bojarpen nangkelelo*

[bàng] [bojár=pen] nang=ke-lè-lò  
CLF market(<Asm)=from CIS=NMLZ-reach-RL  
'and then, there, the dog... the market... the *bamonpo* and everybody (including the *bamonpi* and all the other people mentioned before), they came back from the market' [KK, BMS 087]

*nanglerokpen [methan-sibongpota dak*

nang=lè-ròk-pèn [methān-sibòngpō=tā dāk  
CIS=reach-completed-NF:with dog.sp=ADD.DM here

*[methan-recho arong] chedokkelelo*

methān-rechò a-ròng che-dò-kòk-lè-lò  
dog-king POSS-village RR-stay-back-again-RL  
'they reached and then, the dog again stayed back here in the village of the dog king' [KK, BMS 088]

*anke mo nang nephipen mh ejo arnisile*

[ánke mò nàng ne-phì=pen mh [[e-jò áni-sī=le]  
and.then future you my-grandmother=with DSM one-night day-one=FOC:IRR

*doji ajatle dojitá] mo nanghem chedam*

dō-jí aját=lē dō-jí=tā [mò nang-hēm che-dām  
stay-IRR2 GENEX=FOC:IRR stay-IRR2=ADD future your-house RR-go

*ahomoike lapu chevangthurá langso atovarhot*

a-homòi=ke lapú che-vāng-thū-ra] [langsō a-továr-thòt  
 POSS-time(<Asm)=TOP this.side RR-come-again-NF:IRR this POSS-road-exactly

*vangra lapen ladak nanghumrira nanghem*

vāng-ra] [la=pèn ladāk nang=humrí-ra] [nang-hēm  
 come-NF:IRR this=with here CIS=visit.friends/relatives-NF:IRR your-house

*chepaletu*

che-pV-lè-tū]  
 RR-CAUS-reach-IMP

‘and then, you will stay with my grandmother one night and one day or however long, and later when you go home, again come like this, come on the exact same road, and then go to the familiar place (i.e. where the dog is staying) and then go and make sure you reach your house’ [KK, BMS 089]

*ne nangchethondunpo pusi methan-sibongpo*

[[nè nang=che-thōn-dūn-pò] pusi methān-sibòngpō  
 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=RR-drop-join-IRR1 QUOT.COMP dog.sp

*thak che pinkhatlo*

thāk che pinkhát-lò  
 answer I.mean advise-RL

“‘I will drop you home”, the dog answered, I mean, advised’ [KK, BMS 090]

*“to tangte” pu*

tò tángtē pu  
 OK if QUOT

“‘okay then” (said the *bamonpo*)’ [KK, BMS 091]

*methan-sibongpota anke inghongdinglo*

methān-sibòngpō=tā ánke inghòng-dìng-lò  
 dog.sp=ADD and.then wait-steadily-RL

‘and then the dog waited and waited’ [KK, BMS 092]

[*aphi atum ejo arnisi dokokta*]

a-phì                      a-tūm    e-jò                      árni-sī    dō-kòk=tā  
 POSS-grandmother    POSS-PL    one-night    day-one    stay-back=ADD

[*ehem chedamnang erit chedamnang*]

e-hēm                      che-dām-nāng    e-rīt                      che-dām-nāng  
 1PL.INCL-house    RR-go-HORT    1PL.INCL-field    RR-go-must

*e [kasu harlung] pirthe [rim abang ave]*

e            kasú    harlūng    pirthé    [rīm                      a-bàng    avē  
 EXPRS    plate    bowl            world    keep.in.order    POSS-CLF    not.exist

[*bi abang ave*] *hem [hormu hortar]*

bí    a-bàng    avē                      hēm    hormú    hortár  
 keep    POSS-CLF    not.exist    house    thing    EE:hormú

*rikcho rikhaplo pu*

rík-chò    rík-hàp-lò    pu  
 be.scattered-everything.neg.1/2    be.scattered-everything.neg.2/2-RL    QUOT  
 ‘the grandmother and grandfather stayed one night and one day, and then (the old man) said  
 ‘let’s go home, let’s go to our property, the plates and bowl and everything (are scattered)  
 because nobody kept them in place, everything is scattered’ [KK, BMS 093]

*ne nangdunde puta bamonpi*

[[[nè    nang=dùn-Cē]    pù=tā    bamòn-pī  
 1EXCL    CIS=join-NEG    say=ADD.although    wise.person(<Ind)-female

*abangta puta kroikredetlo*

abàng=tā                      pù=tā]    krōi-Cē-dèt-lò]  
 NPDL=ADD.DM    QUOT=ADD.although    agree-NEG-PFV-RL

*bamonpo abang chevanbor’idetlo*

[bamòn-pō    a-bàng                      che-vān-bor’í-dèt-lò]  
 wise.person(<Ind)-male    POSS-CLF    RR-bring-try-PFV-RL

[*laso asarpi aphan chevandétlo*]

lasō    a-sarpī    aphān    che-vān-dèt-lò  
 this    POSS-old.woman    NSUBJ    RR-bring-PFV-RL  
 ‘although (she said), although the *bamonpi* (said), “I won’t come along”, (he) didn’t agree. The  
*bamonpo* with a big effort managed to take (her) home, and he brought the old woman home’  
 [KK, BMS 094]

[*dak pirthe mindar athak kevangji pu*  
 dāk pirthé mindár athàk ke-vàng-jí pu  
 here world world(<KhJ) on.top NMLZ-come-IRR2 QUOT

[*chevanbor'ibor'a chevandetlo] ansi*  
 che-vān-bor'í-bor'á che-vān-dèt-lò ánsi  
 RR-bring-try-EE:bor'í RR-bring-PFV-RL after.that

[*nangvurlo [methan-sibongpo ahemthot*  
 nang=vùr-lò methān-sibòngpō a-hēm-thòt  
 CIS=drop.in-RL dog.sp POSS-house-exactly

[*nangchivursi] [ako langso*  
 nang=che-vūr-sì akò langso  
 CIS=RR-drop.in-NF:RL on.the.other.hand(<Asm) this

[*amethan-sibongpota anke <nang> aphan*  
 a-methān-sibòngpō=tā ánke aphan  
 POSS-dog.sp=ADD.DM and.then NSUBJ

[*pulelo] [te nangthondunnoi*  
 pù-lè-lò tè nang=thòn-dūn-nōi  
 say-again-RL and.then/therefore 1/2:NSUBJ=drop-JOIN-INF.COND.IMP

[*methan-sibongpo nangke e nangjakat*  
 methān-sibòngpō nàng=ke e nang-jakát  
 dog.sp 2=TOP EXPRS your-place(<Asm)

[*nangmuluklo]]*  
 nang-mulúk-lò]]  
 your-people(<Ind)-RL

“we will come here to the surface of the world”, (he said), and by trying very hard (he) took (her) home. And then they dropped in, they dropped in at the exact house of the dog, and on the other hand, they said to this dog, “so then, come and drop us, dog. For you, this is your place (therefore you know your way around)” [KK, BMS 095]

[*e nanghem nangritlo nangke nangcheleroklo*  
 [e nang-hēm nang-rīt-lò nàng=ke nang=che-lē-ròk-lò]  
 EXPRS 2POSS-house 2POSS-field-RL you=TOP CIS=RR-reach-completed-RL

[*netumke damthekthelo, nangphípen*  
 [ne-tūm=ke dà-m-thèk-Cē-lò nang-phì=pen  
 1EXCL-PL=TOP go-know.how-NEG-RL 2POSS-grandmother=with

*nangphuké*

nang-phù=ke

2POSS-grandfather=TOP

‘it’s your house and property, you’ve already reached, (but) we don’t know how to go, (we meaning) your grandmother and your grandfather’ [KK, BMS 096]

*kevang akoke ne nanglong nangdunjuilo*

[ke-vàng akò=ke] [nè nang-lòng nang=dùn-jùi-lò]

NMLZ-come then=TOP 1EXCL 2POSS-LOC CIS=join-away-RL

*ne non chedamji abang thekthedetpo*

[nè nòn che-dām-jí abàng thèk-Cē-dèt-pò]

1EXCL now RR-go-IRR2 NPDL know.how-NEG-PFV-IRR1

*nangthondunnoi pulo tangho*

nang=thòn-dūn-nōi pù-lò] tànhò

1/2:NSUBJ=drop-JOIN-INF.COND.IMP say-RL REP

“when we came, I followed you along far away, I now won’t find my way back, (so) come along and drop (the bamonpi)!”, (the bamonpo) said, as they say’ [KK, BMS 097]

*lasi to lapu’ante nangthondunji*

lasi tò lapú-ánte nang=thòn-dūn-jí

therefore OK like.this-OK.then 1/2:NSUBJ=drop-JOIN-IRR2

*nangthondunpo*

nang=thòn-dūn-pò

1/2:NSUBJ=drop-JOIN-IRR1

“so, if it’s like that, then okay, I’ll go with you and drop you, I’m going to drop you”, (the dog said)’ [KK, BMS 098]

*dah pu’ansi methan-sibongpo ejon*

dáh pu-ánsi methān-sibòngpō e-jōn

go! QUOT-after.that dog.sp one-CLF:animals

*aphipen aphu mh bangkethom*

a-phì=pen a-phù mh bāng-kethòm

POSS-grandmother=with POSS-grandfather DSM CLF-three

*vangchomchomchomchomchom*

vàng-chòm~chòm~chòm~chòm~chòm  
 come-a.little~DIST.PL~DIST.PL~DIST.PL~DIST.PL

“let’s go!”, and then one dog, his grandmother and his grandfather, all three, went step by step by step’ [KK, BMS 099]

*la bhari <..> talothepe nangkekapji kopuloma*

là bhari talò-the-pī nang=ke-káp-jí kopú=lo=ma  
 this very.big(<Ind) sea-be.big-big CIS=NMLZ-cross.water-IRR2 how=FOC=Q

‘how will we be able to cross the huge sea?’ [KK, BMS 100]

*ne <nang> nepepardunde*

[[nè <nàng> ne=pV-pár-dùn-Cē]  
 1EXCL 2 1EXCL:NSUBJ=CAUS-cross(<Asm)-JOIN-NEG

*pulotangte nangphipen nangphu aphan*

pùlotángtē] [[nang-phì=pen nang-phù aphān  
 if 2POSS-grandmother=with 2POSS-grandfather NSUBJ

*nangpapardunde pulotangte netum*

nang=pV-pár-dùn-Cē] pùlotángtē] [ne-tūm  
 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-cross(<Asm)-JOIN-NEG if 1EXCL-PL

*pirthe mindar letheckthelo nehem*

pirthé mindár lè-thèk-Cē-lò] [ne-hēm  
 world world(<KhJ) reach-know.how-NEG-RL 1EXCL-house

*nerit chelethekthelo, methan-sibongpo*

ne-rīt che-lē-thèk-Cē-lò methān-sibòngpō]  
 1EXCL-field RR-reach-know.how-NEG-RL dog.sp

“if you don’t let me cross the water along with you, if you don’t let your grandfather cross the water along with your grandmother, then we won’t know how to reach the world (of human beings), we won’t know how to reach our house and property, dog” [KK, BMS 101]

*mh nanghem hala nangbari siluka arong*

[mh nang-hēm hála nang-barī sílukā a-rōng  
 DSM your-house that your-garden(<Asm) tree.sp(<Asm) POSS-plant

*dokokke lale siluka-thepo* <pu>

dō-kòk=ke] [là=le sílukā-thepō] <pu>  
be.at-firmly=TOP this=FOC:IRR tree.sp(<Asm)-huge QUOT

*[lale bojar* <nangkidun> nangdunji

là=le bojár <nang=ke-dùn> nang=dùn-jí  
this=FOC:IRR market(<Asm) CIS=NMLZ-join CIS=join-IRR2

*apot la nangpaparponnang ne*

apōt] [là nang=pV-pár-pòn-nāng] [nè  
because this 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-cross(<Asm)-take.away-HORT 1EXCL

*nangthanpidunpo*

nang=thán-pī-dūn-pò]  
1/2:NSUBJ=tell-BEN/MAL-JOIN-IRR.IMM

‘in your house, you have a garden, and there’s a *siluka* plant/tree, and so this huge *siluka*, because it will come to the market, let it take you to cross the river, I will tell (the *siluka* tree) for you (to help you cross the river)’ [KK, BMS 102]

*lale dunnoi! arobak athak*

[[là=le dùn-nōi] [a-robàk athàk  
this=FOC:IRR join-INF.COND.IMP POSS-big.branch on.top

*nangbatdunphròngpo, lang*

nang=bàt-dūn-phròng-pò] [lāng  
1/2:NSUBJ=put.on.elevated.place-JOIN-PL:S/A-IRR1 water

*nangpaparpo, dunnoi ladakle*

nang=pV-pár-pò] [dùn-nōi ladāk=le]  
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-cross(<Asm)-IRR1 join-INF.COND.IMP here=FOC:IRR

*pusí, thikta thik, anke siluka*

pù-si] [thík=tā thík] [ánke sílukā  
say-NF:RL true(<Asm)=ADD.INT true(<Asm) and.then tree.sp(<Asm)

*thepota vanglò, mh kevangsi*

thepō=tā vāng-lò] mh [ke-vāng-si  
huge=ADD.DM come-RL DSM NMLZ-come-NF:RL

*nangpartingsirlo*

nang=pV-arting-sir-lò]  
CIS=CAUS-spin-sound.fast.spinning-RL

“‘follow this one (the *siluka*)! I will put you up high on a big branch, (that way) I will make you cross the water, follow (it) here!’” (the dog said), and it’s really true, and then the huge *siluka* tree came, and it was spinning’ [KK, BMS 103]

*anke dak langroi arai chingki chethan*

ánke dāk làngrōi a-rài chingkī che-thán  
and.then here river POSS-side talk RR-tell

‘and then, here at the side of the river, they discussed everything among each other’ [KK, BMS 104]

*[jo la nephipen nephu aphan*

jò là ne-phì=pen ne-phù aphān  
see this my-grandmother=with my-grandfather NSUBJ

*ponnoi nangphanta bihekpen*

pòn-nōi] [nang-phān=tā bī-hèk=pen  
take.away-INF.COND.IMP you-NSUBJ=ADD.COORD be.small-small=since

*nangkaora nangkelanasi*

nang=ke-orá nang=ke-laná-si]  
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.care 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-take.care-NF:RL

*nangta kethelo siluka-thepo*

[nàng=tā ke-thè-lò sílukā-thepō  
you=ADD.COORD NMLZ-be.big-RL tree.sp(<Asm)-huge

‘‘see, take my grandmother and my grandfather, since your childhood, they’ve been taking care of you, (therefore) now you’re grown up, *siluka* tree’’ (the dog said)’ [KK, BMS 105]

*ponnoi jo la ephi pen*

pòn-nōi jò [là e-phì=pen  
take.away-INF.COND.IMP see this 1PL.INCL-grandmother=with

*ephu aphan pu*

e-phù aphān] pu  
1PL.INCL-grandfather NSUBJ QUOT

‘‘take them, look, (take them,) our grandmother and grandfather’’ [KK, BMS 106]

*anke ha langso asiluka-thepota*

ánke há langso a-sílukā-thepō=tā  
and.then over.there this POSS-tree.sp(<Asm)-huge=ADD.DM

*pulelo*

pù-lè-lò  
say-again-RL

‘and then, there, this *siluka* tree replied (said again)’ [KK, BMS 107]

*mh* “*pirthe mindar athak kedo ahut ningke,*  
mh [[pirthé mindár athák ke-dō ahūt nīngkē]  
DSM world world(<KhJ) on.top NMLZ-stay during even

*nephan nekehortot*  
ne-phān ne=ke-chòr-tòt  
1EXCL-NSUBJ 1EXCL:NSUBJ=NMLZ-cut-unnecessarily

*nekithutot, amek saide apot*  
ne=ke-thú-tòt] [[a-mèk saidé apōt]  
1EXCL:NSUBJ=NMLZ-cut-unnecessarily POSS-wound all.over because

*ne ponpe” pulo tangho*  
nè pòn-Cē] pù-lò tànghò  
1EXCL take.away-NEG say-RL REP  
“‘when I still existed in the world, they cut me down, and so because I have wounds from them cutting me down all over (because of having been cut down), I won’t take them (because they had cut me down)’” [KK, BMS 108]

*ponpe ponpa kalilo, ponnoi*  
[[pòn-Cē pònpā kalī-lò] [pòn-nōi]]  
take.away-NEG EE:pònpē NEG.EQU.COP-RL take.away-INF.COND.IMP

*hadak pirthe mindar ponnoi, nangta*  
[[hádāk pirthé mindár pòn-nōi] nàng=tā]  
there world world(<KhJ) take.away-INF.COND.IMP you=ADD  
“‘it’s not about whether you want to or don’t want to take them, just take them, there to the world take them, you (need to)’” [KK, BMS 109]

*e nangphi nangphu*  
e nang-phì nang-phù  
EXPRS your-grandmother your-grandfather

*nangpaoranang*  
nang=pV-orá-nāng  
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-take.care-HORT  
‘let your grandmother and your grandfather take care of you’ [KK, BMS 110]

*e nonke nangchorchelo*  
e [nòn=ke nang=chòr-Cē-lò  
EXPRS now=TOP 1/2:NSUBJ=cut-NEG-RL

*nangthuthelo nangthanthelo*  
nang=thú-Cē-lò nang=thàn-Cē-lò  
1/2:NSUBJ=cut-NEG-RL 1/2:NSUBJ=cut-NEG-RL

*putangdetlo apot*

pù-táng-dèt-lò                      apōt]  
say-PFV2-PFV-RL                      because

*nangpachorlongrinoi*

nang=pV-chòr-lōng-rī-nōi  
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-cut-get(.to)-NEG.IMP-IMP:inf

*nangpathulongrinoi*

nang=pV-thú-lōng-rī-nōi  
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-cut-get(.to)-NEG.IMP-INF.COND.IMP

‘now, because they already confirmed that they won’t cut you down, so don’t let them cut you down’ [KK, BMS 111]

*ke ponta ponnoi pusí*

ke            [pòn=tā                      pòn-nōi]                      pù-si  
and.then take.away=ADD.INT take.away-INF.COND.IMP say-NF:RL

*[siluka-thepo arobaksi*

sílukā-thepō                      a-robàk=si  
tree.sp(<Asm)-huge POSS-big.branch=FOC:RL

*patotdunphronglo] [lasi lang*

pV-tòt-dūn-phròng-lò            lasi            lāng  
CAUS-squat-JOIN-PL:S/A-RL therefore water

*nangkepapar]*

nang=ke-pV-pár]  
CIS=NMLZ-CAUS-cross(<Asm)

‘and then, “take them!”, and he (the dog) made them sit down along with him on the big branch of the huge siluka tree, and so they crossed the water’ [KK, BMS 112]

*an ansi ahem arit chevánglo, ahem arit*

[án            ánsi            a-hēm            a-rīt            che-vāng-lò] [[a-hēm            a-rīt  
that.much after.that POSS-house POSS-field RR-come-RL POSS-house POSS-field

*chevangsi bang hako ahem hako arit e*

che-vāng-si] [bàng hakò            a-hēm            hakò            a-rīt            e  
RR-come-NF:RL CLF that.time POSS-house that.time POSS-field EXPRS

*nangcharkok nangcharpheklo ajatlo, ahem arit*

nang=che-arkòk nang=che-arphèk-lò aját-lò] [a-hēm a-rīt  
CIS=RR-clean CIS=RR-EE:arkòk-RL GENEX-RL POSS-house POSS-field

<chevangsi> *nangchotun nangchodanglo*

<che-vāng-si> nang=cho-tún nang=cho-dāng-lò]  
RR-come-NF:RL CIS=MID-cook CIS=MID-put.on.stove-RL

‘and then they came home to their house and property, they came home, and then they cleaned their house and property and everything, and they came home and cooked there for themselves’ [KK, BMS 113]

*e penanso setame chiru chethaipensi*

e penānsō setāmē che-rú che-thái-pen-si  
EXPRS couple nevertheless RR-serve RR-serve-NF:with-NF:RL

*dorap thakraplo*

dō-ràp thák-ràp-lò  
stay-together EE:dō(<Asm)-together-RL

‘and although they are a couple, they served each other in a very hospitable and generous way, and, they lived together’ [KK, BMS 114]

*choboche choingtung hako ateng hako amangle*

[choboché cho-ingtúng hakò atèng hakò amàng=le  
settle.down MID-desire that.time according.to that.time EE:atèng=FOC:IRR

*kali setame, hala arloso abangke bamonpike*

kalī setāmē] [[hála árlosō abàng=ke bamòn-pī=ke  
NEG.EQU.COP nevertheless that woman NPDL=TOP wise.person(<Ind)-female=TOP

*bang asangtet kiiksi, adin ajuk*

bàng] a-sangtèt ke-ik=si] [a-dín a-júk  
CLF POSS-rice.for.journey NMLZ-finish.up=NF:RL POSS-day(<Asm) POSS-era(<Asm)

*tangdetsi, bangke Chom Rongme Chom Rongso*

tāng-dèt-si] [bàng=ke Chòm ròng-mē Chòm ròng-sō  
finish-PFV-NF:RL CLF=TOP PLACE village-be.good PLACE village-small

*letangrok, anke hala bamonpo abangke pirthe*

lè-táng-ròk] [ánke hála bamòn-pō abàng=ke pirthé  
reach-finish-completed and.then that wise.person(<Ind)-male NPDL=TOP world

*mindar athak kedo nangji, atarik amat dokok*

mindár athàk ke-dō náng-jí] [a-tarík amāt dō-kòk]  
 world(<KhJ) on.top NMLZ-stay need-IRR2 POSS-date(<Asm) self stay-firmly

*lapulo*

[lapù-lò]  
 like.this-RL

‘although it is not like before when they settled down, the *bamonpi*, her rice for the journey (of life) is finished, and her days are finished, and she had already reached *Chom arong*, but the *bamonpo* needs to be in the world, he (still) has his life itself, it’s like this’ [KK, BMS 115]

*setame asai jokjesi hemphi hala*

setāmē a-sái jòk-Cē-si hēmphī hála  
 nevertheless POSS-labor get.untied-NEG-NF:RL house.owner.fem.hon that

*bamonpita nangdunlò*

bamòn-pī=tā nang=dùn-lò  
 wise.person(<Ind)-female=ADD.DM CIS=join-RL

‘but she didn’t get out of the situation (of the following the *bamonpo* instead of staying at *Chom arong*) from the place of the dead, the grandmother, the *bamonpi* followed (to her house)’ [KK, BMS 116]

*lasi dak hopta isi hini angbong dolo, lasi*

[lasi dāk hoptá isī hiní angbòng dō-lò] [lasi  
 therefore here week(<Asm) whole two middle stay-RL therefore

*hala bamonpi abangke amek janglò*

hála bamòn-pī abàng=ke a-mēk jáng-lò]  
 that wise.person(<Ind)-female NPDL=TOP POSS-eye fall-RL

‘and so it was for up to one or two weeks, and then that *bamonpi* slept’ [KK, BMS 117]

*hala rong isi atumta anke mh ajuk*

[hála ròng isī a-tūm=tā] [ánke mh a-júk  
 that village same POSS-PL=ADD.EXH and.then DSM POSS-era(<Asm)

*kedam ahut poridunchit, amat laso*

ke-dàm ahūt porí-dùn-chit] [amāt lasō  
 NMLZ-go during fall(<Asm)-JOIN-in.the.right.moment and.then this

*sarpita ajo mek janglo,*

sarpī=tā a-jò mēk jáng-lò]  
 old.woman=ADD.DM POSS-night eye fall-RL

*bamonpita amek jang, amat langso*

[bamòn-pī=tā a-mēk jáng] amāt [langsō  
wise.person(<Ind)-female=ADD.DM POSS-eye fall and.then this

*alokot la bamonpi abangta*

alokòt là bamòn-pī abàng=tā  
along.with(<Asm) this wise.person(<Ind)-female NPDL=ADD.DM

*dunjuilo*

dùn-jùi-lò]

join-away-RL

‘and then people from the same village (actually just one person), at the time she died, it happened right at that moment, and then also that old woman slept at night, the *bamonpi* slept, and then she had gone along (with the person from the village who has died)’ [KK, BMS 118]

*dunjuilò anké adap amek nangpranglo*

dùn-jùi-lò ánke a-dàp a-mēk nang=prāng-lò  
join-away-RL and.then POSS-morning POSS-eye CIS=wake.up-RL

‘she had joined him and gone away with him, and then, in the morning, (anybody in the village or *Bamonpo*) woke up’ [KK, BMS 119]

*jo [nehem asarpiburita avelo, bang*

jò ne-hēm a-sarpiburì=tā avē-lò] [bàng  
see my-house POSS-old.woman=ADD.DM not.exist-RL CLF

*ahem amonit kithichotta kali,*

a-hēm a-monít ke-thì-chòt=tā kalī]  
POSS-house POSS-man NMLZ-die-only=ADD.COORD NEG.EQU.COP

*nehem asarpita lason pulo tangho*

[ne-hēm a-sarpī=tā lasòn pù-lò] tànghò  
my-house POSS-old.woman=ADD.COORD that.way say-RL REP

‘‘see, the old woman of my house isn’t there anymore, not only did that person from the other house die, but the old woman of my house (did) the same’’, (they/*Bamonpo*) said’ [KK, BMS 120]

*mamat bamonpi aphan pen hala rong isi <‘a>*

mamāt [bamòn-pī aphān pén hála ròng isī  
and.then wise.person(<Ind)-female NSUBJ and that village same

*mh a'oso lata thondamrappetlo,*

mh a-osō là=tā thòn-dām-ràp-pèt-lò]  
 DSM POSS-child this=ADD.also drop-go-together-all-RL

*anke laso asarpiburita laso alokot dun*

[ánke lasō a-sarpīburì=tā lasō alokòt dùn]  
 and.then this POSS-old.woman=ADD.also this along.with(<Asm) join

*amatsí*

amātsi

and.then

‘and then, the *bamonpi* and that child from the same village (that had died), (the child) as well they went to cremate together, and then this old woman joined along with that one, and then’  
 [KK, BMS 121]

*mh haladak pirthe mindarpen*

mh háladāk pirthé mindár=pen  
 ? there world world(<KhJ)=from

*che'erikangpensi <sarpi>*

che-erí-káng-pen-si <sarpī>  
 RR-let.loose(Asm)-give.leave-NF:with-NF:RL old.woman

*bamonpi abangta ha Chom*

bamòn-pī abàng=tā há Chòm  
 wise.person(<Ind)-female NPDL=ADD.also over.there PLACE

*Rongme Chom Rongso dunjuilo pu tangho,*

ròng-mē Chòm ròng-sō dùn-jùi-lò pu tànghò,  
 village-be.good PLACE village-small join-away-RL QUOT REP

*kardom dei*

kardòm déi

GREETING OK?

‘after having let loose of her world there, the *bamonpi* joined there to the *Chom arong*, so it is told’, ‘thank you’ [KK, BMS 122]

## 2.8 Folk story: Terang Clan Story by Kahan Terangpi (KTa, TCS)

Folk story about the origin of the division into Terang subclans starting with two Terang brothers, the younger one, *Dili* and the older one, *Rongchetcho* (also referred to as *Rongchercho*); the older one causes a lot of hardship for the younger one, finally, the younger one, *Dili*, takes a vow to officially form separate subclans (with various societal implications).

<a> hako ahut, pirthe kangduk ahut temo  
hakò a-ahūt, pirthé ke-ingdūk a-ahūt temò  
that.time POSS-during world NMLZ-be.immature POSS-during story

bang <a> kene Dilipen Rongchetcho hako ahut  
bàng kene Dilí=pen Rongchetchò hakò a-ahūt  
CLF HESIT NAME=with NAME that.time POSS-during

kortetelo  
kortetè-lò  
pair.of.siblings-RL

‘in the old days, when the world was immature, this story... somebody, *Dili* and *Rongchetcho*, in the old days, there were two brothers’ [KTa, TCS 001]

kortete banghinilò anke pajangredetlo  
kortetè bàng-hiní-lò ánke pV-jangrē-dèt-lò  
pair.of.siblings CLF:HUM.PL-two-RL and.then VBLZ-orphan-PFV-RL  
‘there were two brothers, and then, they became orphans’ [KTa, TCS 002]

anke edon <a> asar ahem,  
ánke e-dòn a-sàr a-hēm  
and.then one-CLF.house POSS-village.headman POSS-house

akangbura ahem dodunlò... thelo  
a-kángburá a-hēm dō-dūn-lò... thè-lò  
POSS-village.head.man(<Asm) POSS-house exist-JOIN-RL be.big-RL

dinglò ansi <ha> kenelò thelo  
dīng-lò ánsi <há> kene-lò thè-lò  
be.long-RL and.then over.there HESIT-RL be.big-RL

dinglò  
dīng-lò  
be.long-RL

‘and then, one house... in the house of the village elder, at the house of the village headman, they lived together..., they grew up, and then..., they are grown up, they grew up’ [KTa, TCS 003]

<a> [hala aphilo aphulo pu ason]

hála a-phì-lò a-phù-lò pu asòn  
that POSS-grandmother-RL POSS-grandfather-RL QUOT like

[pulo] [anke nangtumta sai chotikidunnoi, po

pù-lò ánke nang-tūm=tā sái cho-tikī-dūn-nōi pō  
say-RL and.then your-PL=also labor MID-cultivate-JOIN-IMP father

atum] [jo <a> nopak abe ponnoi] [nopak

a-tūm jò nopàk a-bè pòn-nōi nopàk  
POSS-PL see dao POSS-handle take.away-IMP:INFM dao

ponnoi] [ku ponnoi, ku choponnoi

pòn-nōi kú pòn-nōi] [kú cho-pōn-nōi]  
take.away-IMP:INFM spade take.away-IMP:INFM spade MID-take.away-IMP:INFM

rit chopandunnoi sai tikiidunnoi

[rīt cho-pān-dūn-nōi sái tiki-dūn-nōi  
field MID-clear.vegetation-JOIN-IMP:INFM labor cultivate-JOIN-IMP:INFM

pulo tangho

pù-lò tanghò  
say-RL REP

‘and they were like grandmother and grandfather, and then, they said, “you guys go and cultivate the land, fathers. Look, take the handle of the dao, take the dao, take the spade, take the spade for yourselves, clear the vegetation in the field, cultivate the land”, they said’ [KTa, TCS 004]

anke sai tikiidunlò anke rit nongdunlò <a>

ánke sái tiki-dūn-lò ánke rīt nōng-dūn-lò  
and.then labor cultivate-JOIN-RL and.then field loosen.soil-JOIN-RL

sok nongdunlò rit me kailo sok nongdunlò

sōk nōng-dūn-lò rīt mē kài-lò sōk nōng-dūn-lò  
paddy loosen.soil-JOIN-RL field fire set.fire-RL paddy loosen.soil-JOIN-RL

‘and then the cultivated the land, the ploughed the field, they sew the paddy, they set fire, they sew the paddy’ [KTa, TCS 005]

*ansi <arong> sok arong vanglo <a> sok*

ánsi <a-rōng> sōk a-rōng vâng-lò sōk  
and.then POSS-plant paddy POSS-plant come-RL paddy

*arong vangbonglo bong etumta*

a-rōng vâng-bông-lò bōng e-tūm=tā  
POSS-plant come-nicely.arranged-RL younger.sibling:A 1PL.INCL-PL=also

*sok choarludunnang*

sōk cho-arlū-dūn-nāng  
paddy MID-weed-JOIN-EXHORT

‘and then, the paddy plants came/grew, the paddy plants sprouted nicely, “o brother, we also need to clear the weeds from the paddy’ [KTa, TCS 006]

*sok arludamnang [mendu chikimra <sok nang*

sōk arlù-dām-nāng [mendú che-kīm-rà <sōk nāng  
paddy weed-go-EXHORT field.hut RR-build-NF:IRR paddy you

*arlu> hadak doklungnang] [sok arlunang] pulo*

arlù> hādāk dō-klùng-nāng] [sōk arlù-nāng] pù-lò  
weed there stay-for.long.time-EXHORT paddy weed-EXHORT say-RL

*tangho*

tànghò

REP

“‘let’s go to clear out the weeds, let’s build us a field hut, and stay there for a long time. Let’s clear the weeds!’”, they said’ [KTa, TCS 007]

*anke hala a’ik pinkhatlo tangho... anke hala*

ánke hála a-ik pinkhát-lò tanghò... ánke hála  
and.then that POSS-older.brother advise-RL REP and.then that

*chekroilo sok arludamlò mendu kimtanglò sok*

che-kròì-lò sōk arlù-dām-lò mandú kìm-táng-lò sōk  
RR-agree-RL paddy weed-go-RL field.hut build-PFV-RL paddy

*arlulò*

arlù-lò

weed-RL

‘and then, the older brother advised, and then they agreed, they went and cleared the weeds from the paddy, they built a field hut, they cleared the weeds from the paddy’ [KTa, TCS 008]

*anke thik [arit kenong amò] [sok*

ánke thík a-rīt ke-nōng a-mò sōk  
and.then right.then POSS-field NMLZ-loosen.soil POSS-strip.of.field paddy

*karlu amo] kenelo <a> [sok karlu*

ke-arlù a-mò kene-lò sōk ke-arlù  
NMLZ-weed POSS-strip.of.field HESIT-RL paddy NMLZ-weed

*amò] <a> [pholong jonni] hu*

a-mò pholòng jōn-ní hu  
POSS-strip.of.field grasshopper CLF:animals-two over.there

*ethakpen barithe aso*

e-thàk=pen barithè a-osō  
1PL:INCL-on.top=from god POSS-child

*nangklochomlo dei*

nang=klò-chòm-lò deí  
CIS=fall-together.few.close.people-RL OK?

‘and then right on the cultivating field strip, where they were weeding, where they were weeding, two grasshoppers, over there, from above us, children of god’ [KTa, TCS 009]

*[barithe aso nangklochomlò] [anke thik*

barithè a-osō nang=klò-chòm-lò ánke thík  
god POSS-child cis=fall-together.few.close.people-RL and.then right.then

*sok karlu amo <banghin...> korte banghini*

sōk ke-arlù a-mò kortè bàng-hiní  
paddy NMLZ-weed POSS-strip.of.field same.gender.siblings CLF-two

*<angno> angno nangklolo] [anke <la> neplò]*

<angnò> angnò nang=klò-lò ánke <là> nèp-lò  
in.front in.front CIS=fall-RL and.then this catch-RL

‘the children of the god fell down, and right there where they were working, in front of the two brothers they fell, and they caught them’ [KTa, TCS 010]

*me’ong’ong pu neplo <ta> arveta*

mē-òng-òng pu nèp-lò arvè=tā  
be.good-be.too.much-be.too.much QUOT catch-RL rain=ADD

*kejang da me chothordamnang bong, mendu*

ke-jáng dah mē cho-thōr-dām-nāng bōng, mendú  
NMLZ-fall let's.go fire MID-kindle-go-EXHORT younger.sibling:A field.hut

*along*

alòng

LOC

'because they are very nice, they caught them, it was also raining, let's go, let's go make a fire, brother, in the field hut' [KTa, TCS 011]

*anke mendu along me chinghipdamlo me*

ánke mendú alòng mē chinghīp-dām-lò mē  
and.then field.hut LOC fire warm.oneself.with.fire-GO-RL fire

*chothorloklo me chinghiplò*

cho-thōr-lòk-lò mē chinghīp-lò  
MID-kindle-just-RL fire warm.oneself.with.fire-RL

'and then, in the field hut they sat around the fire, they made a fire and sat around the fire' [KTa, TCS 012]

*hala a'ik abangke chophidétlo tangho*

hála a-ìk abàng=kè cho-phī-dèt-lò tànghò  
that POSS-older.brother NPDL=TOP MID-roast-PFV-RL REP

'that older brother roasted it for himself' [KTa, TCS 013]

*chophidetlò chophinangne, me'ong*

cho-phī-dèt-lò cho-phī-nāng-Cē, mē-òng  
MID-roast-PFV-RL MID-roast-EXHORT-NEG be.good-be.too.much

*puta a'ik abangke kroikre,*

pu=tā a-ìk abàng=kè krōi-Cē,  
QUOT=although POSS-older.brother NPDL=TOP agree-NEG

*chophidetlo*

cho-phī-dèt-lò

MID-roast-PFV-RL

'he roasted it, although (the younger brother said), "no need to roast, it's very nice", the older brother didn't agree, he roasted it' [KTa, TCS 014]

*anke hala amu abangke bu*

ánke hála a-mū abàng=kè bū  
and.then that POSS-younger.sibling NPDŁ=TOP bamboo.container.type

*busi... bu arlo thapthotlo tangho*

bú-si... bū arlō thàp-thòt-lò tànghò  
plight-NF:RL bamboo.container.type inside put.inside-into.opening-RL REP  
'and then, that younger brother made a bamboo basket and in the bamboo basket he put (the grasshopper)' [KTa, TCS 015]

*[anke bu arlo thapthotlò] [[ne*

ánke bū arlō thàp-thòt-lò nè  
and.then bamboo.container.type inside put.inside-into.opening-RL 1EXCL

*chophiphe me'ong] pulohe,] [[hem ponji]*

cho-phī-Cē mē-òng pù-lò=he,] hēm pòn-jí  
MID-roast-NEG be.good-be.too.much say-RL=DM house take.away-IRR 1

*pulohe]*

pù-lò=he]  
say-RL=DM

'and then, he put (the grasshopper) inside the bamboo basket, "I won't roast it, it's very nice", (the younger brother) said, "I will take it home", (the younger brother) said' [KTa, TCS 016]

*hem ponlo anke arni ingsamlo ningvelo <ba> hem*

hēm pòn-lò ánke arnì ingsām-lò ningvē-lò hēm  
house take.away-RL and.then sun be.cold-RL evening-RL house

*ponlo*

pòn-lò  
take.away-RL

'he took it home, and then it was in the late afternoon, in the evening' [KTa, TCS 017]

*[anke ninibak do nithombak do so asok*

ánke nì-ní-bāk dō nì-thōm-bāk dō sō a-sōk  
and.then CLF.day-two-about stay CLF.day-three-about stay this POSS-paddy

*karlu tanglo] asok athe philò dolò*

ke-arlù tāng-lò] a-sōk a-thē phí-lò dō-lò  
NMLZ-weed finish-RL POSS-paddy POSS-fruit give.birth-RL stay-RL

*anke sok rotdamnang pulo*

ánke sōk ròt-dām-nāng pù-lò  
and.then paddy cut-go-EXHORT say-RL

‘and then, it was a few days and the weeding was finished, (the paddy plants) were starting to carry the rice grains, there were rice grains, and then ‘let’s go harvest the paddy’, he said’ [KTa, TCS 018]

*anke thik [[[laso asok kerotdampo] pu] arni]*

ánke thík lasō a-sōk ke-ròt-dām-pò pu arni  
and.then right.then this POSS-paddy NMLZ-cut-go-IRR1 QUOT day

*laso <a> alongkoipi abang <a> monit <ch..>*

lasō a-longkòì-pī abàng monít  
this POSS-grasshopper-female NPDL man

*okorjang <cheman> chemandetlo tangho dei*

okorjāng <che-mán> che-mán-dèt-lò tànghò déi  
girl RR-become RR-become-PFV-RL REP OK?

*okorjang cheplangdetlo*

okorjāng che-pláng-dèt-lò  
girl RR-become-PFV-RL

‘and right on the day when they were harvesting the paddy, that female grasshopper, a human being, a girl she turned into, she became a girl’ [KTa, TCS 019]

*anke bupen nangmi’etlo arje*

ánke bū=pen nang=mí-ét-lò arjè  
and.then bamboo.container.type=from CIS=EE:mán-PRF-RL appearance

*keme*

ke-mē  
NMLZ-be.good

‘and then, from the bamboo basket (the grasshopper) came out and turned into a nice appearance’ [KTa, TCS 020]

*amat [[halabangke] [akleng abangke]] piso enlo*

amāt [[hála-bàng=kè] [a-klèng abàng=kè]] pisō ēn-lò  
and.then that-CLF=TOP POSS-older NPDL=TOP wife take-RL

*Timungpi Timungpi enlo*

Timùng-pī Timùng-pī ēn-lò  
CLAN-female CLAN-female take-RL

‘and then, that one, the older one, got married, he married a Timungpi’ [KTa, TCS 021]

*anke la akebi abangke [la non longkoi*

ánke là a-ke-bī abàng=kè [là nòn longkòì  
and.then this POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL=TOP this now grasshopper

<a> pu ason] pholong aphan] lasi <ke’ enlo>

pu asòn] pholòng a-phān] lasi <ke-ēn-lò>  
QUOT like grasshopper POSS-NSUBJ therefore NMLZ-take-RL

*che’ enlo*

che-én-lò  
RR-take-RL

‘and then, the younger one marries the one that we now call the grasshopper, the grasshopper he marries’ [KTa, TCS 022]

*anke sok chorotdamlo ajatlo <ha>*

ánke sōk cho-ròt-dām-lò aját-lò <há>  
and.then paddy MID-cut-go-RL GENEX-RL over.there

*chobochelo cho’ ingtunglo tangho*

cho-boché-lò cho-ingtúng-lò tànghò  
MID-create-RL MID-EE:boché-RL REP

‘and then, they went to do the harvest and everything, and they settled down’ [KTa, TCS 023]

<’e> <nangtumta> kene <sok chorotnon> kene

<nang-tūm=tā> kene <sōk cho-ròt-nōn> kene  
your-PL=also HESIT paddy MID-cut-IMP HESIT

*bong non ili sok rim’ et <rim>*

bōng nòn i-lì sōk rīm-ét <rīm>  
younger.sibling:A now 1PL:INCL-HON paddy keep.in.order-PRF keep.in.order

*rim’ et bi’ etke <la> <a>*

rīm-ét bí-ét=kè <là>  
keep.in.order-PRF keep-PRF=TOP this

*nekorpihaita* <ar> *areng angseselo apot*  
ne-korpiháit=tā      a-rèng      angsé-Cē-lò      apōt  
my-sister.in.law:R=also      POSS-skin      be.naked-NEG-RL      because

*ok cho 'ar'ipo*  
ōk      chō-ar'ī-pò  
meat      eat-crave-IRR1  
“‘younger brother, as we have already stored the harvest, because my sister in law is pregnant, she will crave meat’ [KTa, TCS 024]

*ok neppidamnang ok*  
ōk      nèp-pī-dām-nāng      ōk  
meat      catch-BEN/MAL-go-EXHORT      meat

<tur> *ripidamnang pulo tangho*  
<tùr> rì-pī-dām-nāng      pù-lò      tànghò  
<catch.fish.with.net> search-BEN/MAL-go-EXHORT      say-RL      REP  
“‘let’s go catch fish for her, let’s search for fish for her’”, he said’ [KTa, TCS 025]

*anke ok ripidamlò*  
ánke      ōk      rì-pī-dām-lò  
and.then      meat      search-BEN/MAL-go-RL  
‘and then, they went to search for fish for her’ [KTa, TCS 026]

*anke ok keridambinongjima pulo bangphu*  
ánke      ōk      ke-rì-dām-binòng-jí=ma      pù-lò      bangphú  
and.then      meat      NMLZ-search-go-real-IRR1=Q      say-RL      each.one

*ku kongsin cheponlo*  
kú      kongsin      che-pòn-lò  
spade      kind.of.shovel      RR-take.away-RL  
‘and then, (the younger brother thought) they would really go fishing, (so) both of them took spade and shovel’ [KTa, TCS 027]

*anke* <haba> *hala a'ik chomatha lang*  
ánke      hála      a-ik      cho-mathā      lāng  
and.then      that      POSS-older.brother      MID-think      water

*tengnang bong to nang'inoi lang*

tèng-nāng                      bōng                      tò nang=i-nōi                      lāng  
 build.dam-EXHORT younger.sibling:A OK CIS=lie.down-IMP:INFM water

*tengnang*

tèng-nāng  
 build.dam-EXHORT

‘and then, that older brother conceived an evil plan, “let’s build a dam, younger brother, okay, come and lie down, let’s build a dam’ [KTa, TCS 028]

*anke [a'ik abangke] [laso la*

ánke      a-ik                      abàng=kè      lasō      là  
 and.then POSS-older.brother NPDL=TOP this this

*akebi abang aphan] kenelo [laso <a>*

a-ke-bī                      abàng a-phān                      kene-lò      lasō  
 POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL POSS-NSUBJ HESIT-RL this

*lang keteng] arlan] endetlo] inghan*

lāng      ke-tèng                      arlān                      ēn-dèt-lò      inghàn  
 water NMLZ-build.dam dam.base take-PFV-RL mud

*bok'hetlo] [lasi anke alang abangke <ok*

bòk-hèt-lò      lasì                      ánke                      alàng      abàng=kè      òk  
 load-firmly-RL therefore and.then 3      NPDL=TOP meat

*nepruirui amat> <..> ok silo*

nèp-rùi-rùi                      amāt                      òk      sí-lò  
 catch-many:S/O-many:S/O and.then      meat catch.fish.by.picking.up-RL

*amat*

amāt  
 and.then

‘and then, the older brother took/used the younger brother as the dam base, he loaded mud on him; and then (he caught many fish), and then, he dewatered (that portion of the river)’ [KTa, TCS 029]

*ok nepruirui amat anke bu nangthap*

òk      nèp-rùi~rùi                      amāt                      ánke                      bū                      nang=thàp  
 meat catch-many:S/O~PL.DIST and.then and.then bamboo.container.type CIS=put.inside

*amat vangjuilo*

amāt vāng-jùi-lò

and.then come-away-RL

‘he caught a lot of fish and then put (the fish) (in) the bamboo container and then came away’  
[KTa, TCS 030]

*halaphanke lang tenghet amat*

hála-phān=kè lāng tēng-hèt amāt

that-NSUBJ=TOP water build.dam-firmly and.then

*thotheadetlo*

thò-Cē-dèt-lò

make.opening-NEG-PFV-RL

‘he built a dam on him (the younger brother), and then he didn’t make an opening’ [KTa, TCS 031]

*anke ha amethang <.> <chehe>*

ánke há a-metháng <chehe>

and.then over.there POSS-self crab

*chirukonglo chephurbor’ibom <ch.> amat*

chirú-kòng-lò che-phūr-bor’i-bòm amāt

cry-continuously-RL RR-dig-w.great.effort-CONT and.then

*<chehe vang> chehe dolo hedi lang along chehe dolo*

<chehē vāng> chehē dō-lò hedi lāng alòng chehē dō-lò

crab come crab exist-RL okay? water LOC crab exist-RL

‘and then, later on (“ha”), he himself was continuously crying, he kept trying to dig himself out, and then, (a crab came,) there was actually a crab’ [KTa, TCS 032]

*[chehe anghor] [dolo]*

chehē anghòr dō-lò

crab hole exist-RL

‘there actually was a crab hole’ [KTa, TCS 033]

*anke laso achehesi etchot etchot etchot*

ánke lasō a-chehē=si èt-chòt èt-chòt èt-chòt

and.then this POSS-crab=FOC:RL make.hole-only make.hole-only make.hole-only

*phurchot phurchot mat <laso> laso <oso> laso arlenghai*  
 phùr-chòt phùr-chòt māt <lasō> lasō <osō> lasō arlēng-hái  
 dig-only dig-only and.then this this child this person-HON

*arlenghe laso aTerang <lo> lasi kethurlo*  
 arlēng=he lasō a-Teràng lasì ke-thùr-lò  
 person=DM this POSS-CLAN therefore NMLZ-get.up-RL  
 ‘and then, this crab was making hole little by little and was digging little by little, and then, this  
 chil(d).., this man, this Terang (man), that way he was getting out’ [KTa, TCS 034]

*thurphlutpen hem chevanglo*  
 thùr-phlút-pen hēm che-vāng-lò  
 get.up-suddenly.big.A/O-NF:with house RR-come-RL  
 ‘he got out and appeared very big (standing up) and then returned home’ [KTa, TCS 035]

*anke chinglu’et chingthi’et hem chevanglo [pi*  
 ánke chinglú-ét chingthí-ét hēm che-vāng-lò [pí  
 and.then take.bath-PRF wash.head/hair-PRF house RR-come-RL what

*apotsi <vang> nanglelereklo, bong]*  
 apōt=si <vāng> nang=lè-Cē-rèk-lò, bōng  
 because=FOC:RL come CIS=reach-NEG-delayed-RL younger.sibling:A

*pu tangho karju*  
 pu tànghò ke-arjū  
 QUOT REP NMLZ-ask  
 ‘and then, after taking a thorough bath, he came home, “why did you get delayed in reaching  
 here, younger brother?”, (the older brother) asked’ [KTa, TCS 036]

*amatke <bong> che ik nang lang*  
 amāt=kè <bōng> che ik nàng lāng  
 and.then=TOP younger.sibling:A I.mean older.brother you water

*nangtengkanghetsi ne*  
 nang=tèng-káng-hèt-si nè  
 1/2:NSUBJ=build.dam-leave.behind-firmly-NF:RL 1EXCL

*kethur'un'edet tangdetle chehesi*

ke-thùr-ūn-Cē-dèt                      tāng-dèt=lè                      chehē=si  
NMLZ-get.up-be.able-NEG-PFV   finish-PFV=FOC:IRR   crab=FOC:RL

*nangkephurlo pu tangho*

nang=ke-phùr-lò                      pu                      tànghò  
1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-dig-RL   QUOT   REP

‘and then, “younger brother, I mean, older brother, you had built such a strong dam on me, I couldn’t get out at all, nothing other than a crab had dug me out”‘ [KTa, TCS 037]

*to chonang junnang ho*

tò chō-nāng                      jùn-nāng                      ho  
OK   eat-EXHORT   drink-EXHORT   EMPH:INTERACT

“‘okay, come on, let’s eat and drink”‘ [KTa, TCS 038]

*anke cholo junlo <..>*

ánke                      chō-lò                      jùn-lò  
and.then   eat-RL   drink-RL

*<a> ejo joni dolo*

e-jò                      jò-ní                      dō-lò  
one-night   night-two   exist-RL

‘and then they ate and drank, and then..., they stayed a few nights’ [KTa, TCS 039]

*<pinike> <an> kapinkhatlelo la akleng*

<pini=kè>   <án>                      ke-pinkhát-lè-lò                      là                      a-klèng  
today=TOP   and.then   NMLZ-advise-again-RL   this   POSS-older

*abang*

abàng

NPDL

‘(“today...”), the older one advised again’ [KTa, TCS 040]

*anke pinike <the> kenenang bong tharve*

ánke                      pini=kè                      <thē>                      kene-nāng                      bōng                      tharvē  
and.then   today=TOP   fruit   HESIT-EXHORT   younger.sibling:A   mango

*athele endam nang tharve menpiklo*

a-thē=lè ēn-dām-nāng tharvē mèn-pik-lò  
 POSS-fruit=FOC:IRR take-go-EXHORT mango be.ready.to.eat-very-RL

*pusi pu tangho tharve athe endam nang*

pusi pù tânghò tharvē a-thē ēn-dām-nāng  
 QUOT.COMP say REP mango POSS-fruit take-go-EXHORT

‘and then, “today, younger brother, let’s, let’s go and get mangos, the mangos are very ripe”, (the older brother) said, “let’s go and get mangos”’ [KTa, TCS 041]

*ne dundelo ik pulo tangho*

nè dùn-Cē-lò ìk pù-lò tânghò  
 1EXCL join-NEG-RL older.brother say-RL REP

‘“I won’t join, older brother”, (the younger brother) said’ [KTa, TCS 042]

*<a> nangdunnangji <da> damraprapnang*

nang=dùn-náng-jí <da> dàm-ràp-rāp-nāng  
 CIS=join-need-IRR1 this go-together-together-EXHORT

*nangpisohaike chor’idukjike pu tangho*

nang-pisō-hái=kè chōr’ī-dùk-jí=kè pu tânghò  
 your-wife-HON=TOP crave.to.eat-objectively-IRR2=TOP QUOT REP

‘“you need to join me, let’s go together, your wife will crave to eat them” (the older brother said)’ [KTa, TCS 043]

*anke dunlo tharve athe endamlo dunlo*

ánke dùn-lò tharvē a-thē ēn-dām-lò dùn-lò  
 and.then join-RL mango POSS-fruit take-go-RL join-RL

‘and then, he joined, he went to get mangos, he joined’ [KTa, TCS 044]

*anke ha tharve akengri lelò*

ánke há tharvē a-kengrī lè-lò  
 and.then over.there mango POSS-base.of.tree reach-RL

‘and then, they reached over there at the base of the mango tree’ [KTa, TCS 045]

*anke [matsi karlupo ik] [arluthekthe*

ánke [māt=sì ke-arlū-pò ìk] [arlū-thēk-Cē  
 and.then who=FOC:RL NMLZ-climb-IRR1 older.brother climb-know.how-NEG

*neke] pu kroikredetlo*

nè=kè] pu krōi-Cē-dèt-lò

1EXCL=TOP QUOT agree-NEG-PFV-RL

‘and then, “who will climb, older brother?”, (the younger brother said), “I don’t know how to climb”, (the older brother) disagreed (to climb up himself)’ [KTa, TCS 046]

*to dondolon dondetnangho... <dolong>*

tò dondolòn dòn-dèt-nāng=ho

<dolòng>

OK ladder place.ladder/bridge-PFV-EXHORT=EMPH.INTERACT bridge(<Asm)

*donnang... <ne> nang arlunoi*

dòn-nāng <nè> nāng arlū-nōi

place.ladder/bridge-EXHORT 1EXCL you climb-IMP:INFM

“okay, come on, let’s place a ladder (to go up there - as implied by /-det/), let’s place a ladder, I... you (go ahead and) climb up”, (the older brother said)’ [KTa, TCS 047]

*ante nang arlutha ik ne arluthekthe*

ántē nāng arlū-thā ìk nè arlū-thēk-Cē

and.then you climb-IMP:pol older.brother 1EXCL climb-know.how-NEG

*bong nangle arlunoi pu*

bōng nāng=lè arlū-nōi pu

younger.sibling:A you=FOC:IRR climb-IMP:INFM QUOT

“and then, “you climb up, older brother”, (the younger brother said), “I don’t know how to climb, younger brother, you instead climb up”” [KTa, TCS 048]

*anke ne arluthekthe bong nangle*

ánke nè arlū-thēk-Cē bōng nāng=lè

and.then 1EXCL climb-know.how-NEG younger.sibling:A you=FOC:IRR

*arlunoi*

arlū-nōi

climb-IMP:INFM

and then, “I don’t know how to climb, younger brother, you instead climb up” (the older brother said)’ [KTa, TCS 049]

*to ante karlulo*

tò án-tē ke-arlū-lò  
 OK that.much-COND NMLZ-climb-RL  
 “okay then”, and he is climbing’ [KTa, TCS 050]

*[anke arluthethe ti ik puta*

ánke arlū-thēk-Cē ti ik pu=tā  
 and.then climb-know.how-NEG EMPH older.brother QUOT=although

*kroikredetlo to*

krōi-Cē-dèt-lò tò  
 agree-NEG-PFV-RL OK

*nangbatdunbor’ibor’apo pulo]*

nang=bát-dùn-bor’i-bor’á-pò pù-lò  
 1/2:NSUBJ=put.on.elevated.place-join-w.great.effort-DBL:bor’i-IRR1 say-RL

*<la> dondonpen ha tharve arobak, tharve*

<là> dondòn=pen há tharvē a-robàk, tharvē  
 this ladder=with over.there mango POSS-big.branch mango

*aro along batdamkoklo tangho*

a-rō alòng bát-dàm-kòk-lò tànghò  
 POSS-branch LOC put.on.elevated.place-go-firmly-RL REP  
 ‘even though he said, “I really don’t know how to climb, older brother”, (the older brother) didn’t agree, “okay, I will try very hard and put you up high there”, (and) with this ladder (i.e. using this ladder / going up this ladder), up there, on the big branch of the mango tree he securely put (the younger brother)’ [KTa, TCS 051]

*anke arlunoi bong nanghijuknoi*

ánke arlū-nōi bōng nang=hijūk-nōi  
 and.then climb-IMP:INFM younger.sibling:A CIS=shake.sth.big-IMP:INFM

*pulo <tharve athe hijuklo> hijuk*

pù-lò <tharvē a-thē hijūk-lò> hijūk  
 say-RL mango POSS-fruit shake.sth.big-RL shake.sth.big

*hijuklo hum’olo, humdun’olo alang*

hijūk-lò hūm-ò-lò, hūm-dūn-ò-lò alàng  
 shake.sth.big-RL pick.up-much-RL pick.up-JOIN-much-RL 3  
 abangke  
 abàng=kè

NPDL=TOP

‘and then, “climb, younger brother, shake (the mangos) down!”, (the older brother) said, and (the younger brother) shook the mangos, he shook them, he shook them, and (the older brother) picked up many mangos, he picked up many (with the younger brother shaking the tree), that one (i.e., the older brother)’ [KTa, TCS 052]

*anke laso atharve hum’ongdetpen alangke*

ánke lasō a-tharvē hūm-òng-dét-pen alàng=kè  
and.then this POSS-mango pick.up-be.too.much-PFV-NF:with 3=TOP

*vangjuilo <a> amu aphanke <a>*

vàng-juì-lò a-mū a-phān=kè  
come-away-RL POSS-younger.sibling POSS-NSUBJ=TOP

*bikangkoklo, tharve angsong*

bí-káng-kòk-lò, tharvē angsong  
keep-just-firmly-RL mango high.up

‘and then, after picking up so many mangos, he went back home,... the younger brother... the younger brother he left behind, high up in the mango (tree)’ [KTa, TCS 053]

*anke bai kosonsi nangkehrtheipo*

ánke báí kosòn=sì nang=ke-hír-thèk-pò  
and.then how.mean! how=FOC:RL CIS=NMLZ-descend-know.how-IRR 1

*hirthekthelo matha’onglo*

hír-thèk-Cē-lò mathà-òng-lò  
descend-know.how-NEG-RL think-be.too.much-RL

‘and then, “how mean! How will I come down? I don’t know how to climb down”, (the younger brother) was thinking a lot’ [KTa, TCS 054]

*[mai o] [anke thik chirukonglo] [anke la*

[mái ò] [ánke thík chirú-kòng-lò] [ánke là  
how.bad! SURPRISE and.then right.then cry-be.immersed-RL and.then this

*voterang atumta atar do,] [voterang jonni]*

vōtērāng a-tūm=tā a-tār dō,] [vōtērāng jōn-ní]  
hornbill POSS-PL=also POSS-nest exist hornbill CLF:animals-two

“how bad!”, and right then when he was just crying and crying, then there was a Hornbill nest, (there were) two Hornbills’ [KTa, TCS 055]

[<aso> aso chopathe halatumta] [anke  
 [<a-osō> a-osō cho-pV-thē hála-tūm=tā] [ánke  
 POSS-child POSS-child MID-CAUS-be.big that-PL=also and.then

asomar hangjo]  
 a-oso-màr háng-jò]  
 POSS-child-PL call-many.continuously:S  
 ‘they were raising their babies, and the babies were calling them’ [KTa, TCS 056]

anke hala asomar abang thanlo, apai  
 ánke hála a-oso-màr abàng thán-lò a-pēi  
 and.then that POSS-child-PL NPDL tell-RL POSS-mother

apo aphan kopi apilone  
 a-pō a-phān kopí a-pī-lò-nē  
 POSS-father POSS-NSUBJ what POSS-animal-RL-INDEF  
 ‘and then, those babies were telling, to their mother and father (they said), “what kind of creature is this?”’ [KTa, TCS 057]

paipen po jo la etum angsongsi dolo  
 pāi=pen pō jo là e-tūm angsong=si dō-lò  
 mother=with father see this 1PL.INCL-PL high.up=FOC:RL stay-RL  
 ““mother and father, look, there above it is”” [KTa, TCS 058]

mopen kachiru phereong pulo asomar  
 mò=pen ke-chirú phéré-òng pù-lò a-oso-màr  
 while=from NMLZ-cry fear-be.too.much say-RL POSS-child-PL

atumke voterang atumta  
 a-tūm=kè vōterāng a-tūm=tā  
 POSS-PL=TOP hornbill POSS-PL=also  
 ‘since earlier they (the Hornbill babies) were crying, “we are scared”, the babies said, the Hornbills’ [KTa, TCS 059]

[hako apirthe ahutke] lasi [anke do’aret  
 hakò a-pirthé a-ahūt=kè] lasi [ánke dō-arèt  
 that.time POSS-world POSS-during=TOP therefore and.then stay-INTENS

*do'aretlo*] [*bai kosonsi chemathapo latum*

dō-arèt-lò] [bái kosòn=si che-mathà-pò là-tūm  
stay-INTENS-RL how.mean! how=FOC:RL RR-think-IRR1 this-PL

*aphan jo*] [*akechome chome athe*] <*an*

a-phān jò] [a-ke-chō-mē chō-mē a-thē] <àn  
POSS-NSUBJ see POSS-NMLZ-eat-be.good eat-be.good POSS-fruit rice

*kecho*> *an* <*ke*> *kerike* [*sokta*

ke-chō> àn ke-rì=kè [sōk=tā  
NMLZ-eat rice NMLZ-search=TOP paddy=ADD

*longthekthe*] *anta longthekthe*

lòng-thèk-Cē] àn=tā lòng-thèk-Cē  
get(.to)-know.how-NEG rice=ADD get(.to)-know.how-NEG

‘(it was) in the old days of the world (i.e., it couldn’t happen in modern times), and so they (the Hornbill couple) were staying and staying for a long time (i.e., thinking and not being able to make a decision), “How bad! How will we care for him, look!”, different good and edible fruits..., (although) they were looking for food, they weren’t able to get paddy or rice’ [KTa, TCS 060]

*kopilo kipipo, la aphan*

kopí=lo ke-pī-pò là a-phān  
what=FOC NMLZ-give-IRR1 this POSS-NSUBJ  
“what can we give him?” [KTa, TCS 061]

*anke akechome chome athe*

ánke a-ke-chō-mē chō-mē a-thē  
and.then POSS-NMLZ-eat-be.good eat-be.good POSS-fruit

*enpidampo hedi*

ēn-pī-dām-pò hedī  
take-BEN/MAL-go-IRR1 okay?

‘and then, they would go and get for him different tasty fruits, right?’ [KTa, TCS 062]

*anke akachome athe athe pipo*

ánke a-ke-chō-mē a-thē a-thē pī-pò  
and.then POSS-NMLZ-eat-be.good POSS-fruit POSS-fruit give-IRR1  
‘and then, they would give him different tasty fruits’ [KTa, TCS 063]

*anke [la akachono chonoke] alangtum*

ánke là a-ke-chō-nō chō-nō=kè alàng-tūm  
and.then this POSS-NMLZ-eat-be.bad eat-be.bad=TOP 3-PL

*asomarpén chopo*

a-oso-màr=pen chō-pò  
POSS-child-PL=with eat-IRR1

‘and then, the different not so tasty ones, they (i.e., the Hornbill parents) and their babies would eat’ [KTa, TCS 064]

*anpenke ‘mh’ thilotpo dak amat <thero>*

án=pen=kè ‘mh’ thi-lòt-pò dāk amāt  
and.then=from=TOP NEG die-INTENS-IRR1 here self

*netum therakmemepo*

ne-tūm theràk-mémè-pò  
1EXCL:POSS-PL be.ashamed?-IRR1

and then, “no (i.e., it’s no good), he would die here itself, we will be embarrassed” [KTa, TCS 065]

*dah etumle arveng chepachap*

dáh e-tūm=lè arvēng che-pV-cháp  
go! 1PL.INCL-PL=FOC:IRR feather RR-CAUS-pile.up

*chepachapra rungponra ha purthimi*

che-pV-cháp-rà rùng-pōn-rà há purthimí  
RR-CAUS-pile.up-NF:IRR lift-take.away-NF:IRR over.there earth(<Asm)

*along thondamnang*

alòng thòn-dām-nāng  
LOC drop-go-EXHORT

“let’s go, let’s pile up our wings, and lift him up and take him and go and drop him there on the ground” [KTa, TCS 066]

*pulo anke lasi latum voterang penansohe*

pu-lò ánke lasi la-tūm vōterāng penānsō=he  
QUOT-RL and.then therefore this-PL hornbill couple=DM

<arve> *arveng chepachap chepachaplo*

<arvè> arvēng che-pV-cháp che-pV-cháp-lò

rain feather RR-CAUS-pile.up RR-CAUS-pile.up-RL

‘they said and then, they, the Hornbill couple, they piled up their wings, one upon another’ [KTa, TCS 067]

*lasi arum nangthonlo*

lasi arúm nang=thòn-lò

therefore down CIS=drop-RL

‘that way they dropped him down’ [KTa, TCS 068]

*anke la aning kejangjelo*

ánke là a-nīng ke-jāng-Cē-lò

and.then this POSS-mind NMLZ-fít-NEG-RL

‘and then, he (i.e., the younger brother) got irritated’ [KTa, TCS 069]

*bongkruille vangta*

bongkrūi=lè vàng=tā

leopard=FOC:IRR come=also

‘even when a leopard came (he was feeling so weak because of having been up in the tree for so long that he said)’ [KTa, TCS 070]

*[[o bongkrui nechokangdetnoi]*

o bongkrūi nè chō-káng-dèt-nōi

vocative leopard 1EXCL eat-leave.behind-PFV-IMP:INFM

*puta] [mo ne nangchoche*

pu=tā [mò nè nang=chō-Cē

QUOT=although DISAGREEING 1EXCL 1/2:NSUBJ=eat-NEG

*nangjinso’ong] [pisi nangkechopoma]*

nang=jinsō-òng pī=si nang=ke-chō-pò=ma

1/2:NSUBJ=have.pity-be.too.much what=FOC:RL 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-eat-IRR1=Q

‘even though he said, ‘o leopard, eat me up here itself (because of /tekang/),’ “no, I won’t eat you, I’ve taken pity on you, why should I eat you’ [KTa, TCS 071]

*chodetta ne, ne'ingho e'omta ave*

chō-dèt=tā nè ne-inghò e-ò̄m=tā avē  
eat-PFV=ADD 1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-mouth one-mouthful=even not.exist

*nangchoche*

nang=chō-Cē

1/2:NSUBJ=eat-NEG

‘even if I eat you, I, (for) my mouth, it’s not even one mouthful, I won’t eat you’ [KTa, TCS 072]

*mai ante kopulo pulo*

mai án-tē kopùlo pù-lò  
how.bad! that.much-COND what.will.happen(?) say-RL

‘“how bad, and then what will happen?”’, he said’ [KTa, TCS 073]

*ante amethang chedambor'ibor'a*

án-tē a-metháng che-dām-bor'í-bor'á  
that.much-COND POSS-self RR-go-w.great.effort-E:bor'í

*ahem chedambor'ibor'alo hu ahem chelelo*

a-hēm che-dām-bor'í-bor'á-lò hu a-hēm che-lē-lò  
POSS-house RR-go-w.great.effort-EE:bor'í-RL over.there POSS-house RR-reach-RL

‘and then, by himself by trying very hard he reached home, over there his house he reached’ [KTa, TCS 074]

*mat thik hala Dili abang asohe thilotlo*

māt thík hála Dilí abàng a-osō=he thì-lòt-lò  
and.then right.then that NAME NPDL POSS-child=DM die-INTENS-RL

‘and then, right then, that Dili, his child died’ [KTa, TCS 075]

*anke hala thilot <ame che chephlong o*

ánke hála thì-lòt a-mē che che-phlōng o  
and.then that die-INTENS POSS-fire I.mean RR-burn EXPRS

*kali> <anta> laso <oso> aso thilotlo*

kalī> <án=tā> lasō a-osō thì-lòt-lò  
NEG.EQU.COP that.much=even this POSS-child die-INTENS-RL

‘and then, that one died, they cremated, oh no! (i.e., I didn’t mean to mention that yet), this child of his has died’ [KTa, TCS 076]

<...> <ame chephlongdam> ame  
a-mē che-phlōng-dām a-mē  
POSS-fire RR-burn-go POSS-fire

*chephlongdun’unchitlo*  
che-phlōng-dūn-ūn-chit-lò  
RR-burn-JOIN-be.able-finally-RL  
‘they went to cremat..., he (Dili, i.e. the younger brother) were finally able to cremate (Dili’s child)’ [KTa, TCS 077]

*ako aphī <laso> lapen dochot dochot ningkan*  
akò a-aphī <lasō> lapèn dō-chòt dō-chòt ningkán  
again(<Asm) POSS-after this and stay-only stay-only year

*isi hini dolo*  
isī hiní dō-lò  
one two exist-RL  
‘again after this, staying for awhile, it was after a few years’ [KTa, TCS 078]

*anke <la> Dili <asopi> aso apai thilelo*  
ánke <là> Dílí <a-oso-pì> a-osō apāi thì-lè-lò  
and.then this NAME POSS-child-female POSS-child sb’s.turn die-again-RL  
‘and then, it was also the turn of Dili’s <daughter>, child to die’ [KTa, TCS 079]

*anke <la> <Terang Dili <a> Rongchetcho> amehip*  
ánke <là> <Teràng Dílí <a-> Rongchetchò> a-mehīp  
and.then this CLAN NAME POSS- NAME POSS-fireplace

*along <amethur along> phlongdunchotlo*  
alòng <a-mēthūr alòng> phlòng-dūn-chòt-lò  
LOC POSS-fire.with.high.flames LOC burn-JOIN-only-RL  
‘and then, on the cremation place, (Dili’s daughter) was also cremated’ [KTa, TCS 080]

*phlongdunlo amat aning thihaklo halabangke*

phlòng-dūn-lò amāt a-nīng thī-hàk-lò hála-bàng=kè  
burn-JOIN-RL and.then POSS-mind be.short-INTENS-RL that-CLF=TOP

*la'an neduk nekanghoi apot*

là án ne-dúk ne-ke-inghòì apōt  
this that.much 1EXCL:POSS-hardship(<Asm) 1:NSUBJ-NMLZ-do because  
'they cremated her too, and then (Dili) got angry, that one (Dili) (said), "because of so much hardship and doing (bad things) to me"' [KTa, TCS 081]

*[pulo anke] [nepiso neso]*

pù-lò ánke ne-pisò ne-osō  
like.this-RL and.then 1EXCL:POSS-wife 1EXCL:POSS-child

*ne'empithai anta kalilang]*

ne-ēn-pī-thái án=tā kalī-làng  
1:AGR-take-BEN/MAL-all:EXH:S/O that.much=even NEG.EQU.COP-still

*[la'an neduk nekanghoi apot <e>*

là-án ne-dúk ne-ke-inghòì apōt <e>  
this-that.much 1EXCL:POSS-hardship(<Asm) 1:AGR-NMLZ-do because EXPRS

*iru erang chingkrungnang*

e-rū e-ràng che-ingkrùng-nāng  
1PL.INCL-leftover.bones.after.burning 1PL.INCL-EE:rū RR-sieve-EXHORT  
'it's like this, and then, "still not only my wife and my child you have all taken from me, (there was some other quarrel between the two, which is, however, not mentioned by the storyteller), because of all the hardship and what you have done to me, let's sieve out (sieve the ashes to get the bones) our (children's) leftover bones!' [KTa, TCS 082]

*nangke Dili neke Rongchetcho lapunang*

nàng=kè Dilí nè=kè Rongchetchò lapù-nāng  
you=TOP NAME 1EXCL=TOP NAME like.this-EXHORT  
"you are Dili, I am Rongchecho, let it be like this" [KTa, TCS 083]

*pulo anke hala aning thilo amu*

pù-lò ánke hála a-nīng thī-lò a-mū  
like.this-RL and.then that POSS-mind be.short-RL POSS-younger.sibling

*abangke aning thilo hedi*

abàng=kè a-nīng thī-lò hedī  
NPDL=TOP POSS-mind be.short-RL okay?

‘like this it was, and then, that one got angry, the younger one got angry, right?’ [KTa, TCS 084]

*anke <nongnong angsu> nongnong <angkrung>*

ánke <nòngnòng a-ingsū> nòngnòng a-ingkrūng  
and.then creeper.sp POSS-thorn creeper.sp POSS-round.winning.sieve

*ajintak <bu> lenglo hadak <hemthur-langno*

a-jintāk <bú> lèng-lò hādāk <hemthūr-langnō  
POSS-bamboo.strip plight split.bamboo-RL there cremation.ground

*alongpen> hemthur-langno along*

alòng=pen> hemthūr-langnō alòng  
LOC=from cremation.ground LOC

‘and then, <with the thorn of the Nongnong creeper,> they cut strips out of the Nongnong creeper, there at the cremation ground [KTa, TCS 085]

*anke <la> angkrung bulo*

ánke <là> a-ingkrūng bú-lò  
and.then this POSS-sieve weave/plait-RL

‘and then, he wove the winnowing sieve’ [KTa, TCS 086]

*anke <la> <la> lake nesopi <a...>*

ánke <là> <là> là=kè ne-oso-pì  
and.then this this this=TOP 1EXCL:POSS-child-female

*arepilo*

a-repī-lò  
POSS-bone-RL

‘‘and then, these are the bones of my daughter’’ [KTa, TCS 087]

*lake nangsopi arepilo*

là=kè nang-oso-pì a-repī-lò  
this=TOP your-child-female POSS-bone-RL

‘‘these are the bones of your daughter’’ [KTa, TCS 088]

*iru erang chingkrungnang*

e-rū e-ràng che-ingkrùng-nāng  
 1PL.INCL-leftover.bones.after.burning 1PL.INCL-EE:rū RR-sieve-EXHORT

*“nangke Dililo, <nangke> neke Rongchetcho!” lason*

nàng=ke Dilí-lò, <nàng=ke> nè=ke Rongchetchò lasòn  
 you=TOP NAME-RL you=TOP 1EXCL=TOP NAME that.way

*chepulo tangho*

che-pū-lò tànghò

RR-say-RL REP

“let’s separate our bones left over after burning!, you are Dili, you are, (and) I am Rongchecho”,  
 like this they said to each other’ [KTa, TCS 089]

*anke... anke chevanglo hem chevanglo anke la*

ánke... ánke che-vāng-lò hēm che-vāng-lò ánke là  
 and.then and.then RR-come-RL house RR-come-RL and.then this

*[Dilipen Rongchetcho aseme] chetangdetlo*

Dilí=pen Rongchetchò a-semé che-táng-dèt-lò

NAME=with NAME POSS-vow RR-LV-PFV-RL

‘and then, ... and then, they returned, they returned home, and then, the vow of Dili and  
 Rongchetcho was made (among them)’ [KTa, TCS 090]

*mo <nang> <e> <pirthe plangrap> pirthe kangtang*

mò <nàng> <pirthé plāng-ràp> pirthé ke-ingtāng  
 future you world become-together world NMLZ-be.strong

*longle kangtang seta <nang> ingjir arlota*

longlē ke-ingtāng setā <nàng> ingjir arlò=tā

earth NMLZ-be.strong but you sister EE:ingjir=ADD

*chepeknangne <ma> <tarkong..> tar*

che-pēk-nāng-Cē <tàrkòng..> tàr

RR-give.way-HORT-NEG mat.for.sitting bamboo.mat

*epak ingnirapnangne hor harlung isi*

e-pàk ingnì-rāp-nāng-Cē hōr harlūng isī

one-CLF.flat EE:ingnēk-together-must-NEG liquor bowl one

*junrapnangne pu la Rongchetcho abang*

jùn-rāp-nāng-Cē            pu    là    Rongchetchò    abàng  
drink-together-must-NEG QUOT this NAME            NPDL

*aning thilo seme tangdetlo tangho*

a-nīng      thì-lò    semé    táng-dèt-lò    tànghò  
POSS-mind die-RL oath LV-PFV-RL REP

“‘in the future, <when you, when the world began>, when the world is hard, when the earth is hard, our sisters shouldn’t help each other out, they shouldn’t end up in the same house, they shouldn’t sit on the same mat together, they shouldn’t drink from the same liquor bowl”, that Rongchecho got angry, he took that vow’ [KTa, TCS 091]

<e> [lapu helobo] [kejutlo] <e> la’anta

[lapù    helò=bo]                    [ke-jūt-lò]                    là-án=tā  
like.this COP=ITROG.ASSUM NMLZ-finish-RL    this-that.much=ADD

*choklobo atemo avelobo anke... ne*

chòk-lò=bo                    a-temò            avē-lò=bo                    ánke...    nè  
be.fine-RL=ITROG.ASSUM POSS-story not.exist-RL=ITROG.ASSUM and.then 1EXCL

*thanthe’o thekthe pu nangthanloke*

thán-thèk-ò                    thèk-Cē            pu    nang=thán-lò=ke  
tell-know.how-much know.how-NEG QUOT 1/2:NSUBJ=tell-RL=TOP

‘it’s like this, I guess, it’s finished, it’s fine..., this much is fine, are there more stories?, and then I told you I don’t know how to tell much [KTa, TCS 092]’

## 2.9 Folk story: Chonghokaloso lapen Misorongpo by Rongbang Teron (RBT, ChM)

Folk story about a chain reaction of events that sets off when a frog blocks the road and sits down on an ant that in turn bites the frog. From there on, one animal suffers from being disturbed or hurt by another animal, and as a consequence accidentally disturbs or hurts another animal, and so on: the ant disturbs the frog, the frog disturbs the squirrel, the squirrel disturbs the pig, the pig disturbs the bird, the bird disturbs the elephant, the elephant kicks a rock, which then kills the daughter of the king. The king traces back the chain reaction to the frog and the ant, and punishes both of them. This folk story, in a variety of versions, appears to be very common in the extended Eastern Himalayan region. Note also that a late 19<sup>th</sup> century telling of this story can be found in the Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1904).

<nelike...> nelimenke Rongbang Teron,  
 <nè-li=ke...> ne-li-mén=ke Ròngbàng Teròn  
 IEXCL-HON=TOP IEXCL:POSS-HON-name=TOP NAME CLAN

motiyar <arpu>, kedoke Ujandongka Teron arong  
 motíyár <arpū> ke-dō=ke Ujándongká Teròn a-ròng  
 OFFICER responsibility NMLZ-stay=TOP VILLAGE CLAN POSS-village  
 ‘I... my name is Rongbang Teron, I have the responsibility of a Motiyar, I live in Ujandongka, Teron Village’ [RBT, ChM 002]

choklemdun habe bangphli aso; habe  
 [cho-klém-dùn habē bàng-phlī a-sō] [[habē  
 AUTO.BEN/MAL-do-JOIN headman CLF:HUM:PL-four POSS-child headman

bangphli atum alongsi, nem chodun rakom chodun  
 bàng-phlī a-tūm alòng=si] [ném chō-dūn] [rakòm chō-dūn]  
 CLF:HUM:PL-four POSS-PL LOC=FOC:RL custom eat-JOIN EE:ném eat-JOIN

ajor chodun akri chodun  
 [a-jòr chō-dūn] [a-kri chō-dūn]]  
 POSS-slice.of.meat eat-JOIN POSS-EE:jòr eat-JOIN  
 ‘working together, there are children of four *habe* in this area, together with the four *habe*, we accept the responsibility of this post, we eat together the long slices of meat’ [RBT, ChM 003]

matsi ajor akri pinchongma lake chu  
 [māt=si a-jòr a-kri pinchòng=ma] [là=ke chú  
 who=FOC:RL POSS-slice.of.meat POSS-EE:jòr create=Q this=TOP long.ago

*Socheng Rengbonghompensi bang habe atum haren*

Sochēng Rengbonghōm=pen=si bàng habē a-tūm harēn  
VILLAGE PLACE=from=FOC:RL somebody headman.assistant POSS-PL EE:habē

*atum... e kethe atum kiding atum*

a-tūm e ke-thè a-tūm ke-dīng a-tūm  
POSS-PL DSM NMLZ-be.big POSS-PL NMLZ-be.long POSS-PL

*solangdo arnam pharo atumsi bang ajor*

solangdō arnām pharò a-tūm=si bàng a-jòr  
four.chieftains(<Khs) god hundred POSS-PL=FOC:RL CLF POSS-slice.of.meat

*pinchongkang akri pinchongkang*

pinchòng-káng a-kri pinchòng-káng  
create-give.leave POSS-EE:jòr create-give.leave

‘who has established these customs of *ajor akri*? It was, long ago, from the time of *Socheng Rengbonghom* that the *habe* and *haren*, the dignitaries, the four chieftains, the hundred gods established the *ajor* and established the *akri*’ [RBT, ChM 004]

*lasi ajor chodun akri chodun*

lasi a-jòr chō-dūn a-kri chō-dūn  
therefore POSS-slice.of.meat eat-JOIN POSS-EE:jòr eat-JOIN  
‘that way, we eat the *ajor* and eat the *akri*’ [RBT, ChM 005]

*nelilam nelitomoke lapuhelo; tomo*

[ne-li-lám ne-li-tomò=ke lapù-helò] [tomò  
1EXCL:POSS-HON-word 1EXCL:POSS-HON-story=TOP like.this-RL:EMPH story

*thannangji pulotangte, tomoke...*

thán-náng-jí pùlotángtē] [tomò=ke]  
tell-need-IRR2 if story=TOP

‘my word, my story is that way, if I should tell a story, this is my story’ [RBT, ChM 006]

*puhelo, misorongpopen chongho ron kachipi atomo:*

pù-helò [misòrongpō=pen chonghō ròn ke-che-pí a-tomò]  
like.this-RL:EMPH ant.sp=with frog fight NMLZ-RR-give POSS-story

*arnisi*

[arnì-sī]

day-one

‘it’s like this, the story of when the ant fought with the frog, one day’ [RBT, ChM 007]

<chongh..> *misorongpo atum korte banghini*

<chongh..> misòrongpō a-tūm kortè bāng-hiní

<fro(g)..> ant.sp POSS-PL brother CLF-two

‘there were two <fro(g)>... ant brothers’ [RBT, ChM 008]

*chonghoke ejonvet misorongpoke a’ik*

[chonghō=ke e-jōn-vét] [misòrongpō=ke a-ik

frog=TOP one-CLF:animal-only ant.sp=TOP POSS-older.brother

*atum atipi atum adappen rit damjuilo*

a-tūm a-tepī a-tūm a-dàp=pen rīt dām-jùi-lò]

POSS-PL POSS-elder.brother’s.wife POSS-PL POSS-morning=from field go-away-RL

‘the frog was alone, the ant’s older brother and his wife had gone to the jhum field in the morning’ [RBT, ChM 009]

*e misorongpoke <...> a’ik aphan... an kethondam*

e misòrongpō=ke a-ik a-phān àn ke-thòn-dām

DSM ant.sp=TOP POSS-older.brother POSS-NSUBJ rice NMLZ-drop-GO

‘the ant was on the way to drop off rice for his older brother’ [RBT, ChM 010]

*amat horbong anbor... inghorpontanlo*

amāt hōr-bōng àn-bòr inghòr-pòn-tàn-lò

and.then liquor-gourd rice-wrapped.bundle carrying.load-take.away-S/O:big-RL

*chonghokalosoke tovar dakkrang*

chonghōkalòsō=ke továr dàk-kràng

frog.sp=TOP road assume.spreadout.position-INTENS

‘and then, the ant was carrying heavily on the liquor gourd and the rice bundle, and the frog was spread out in the road, blocking the way’ [RBT, ChM 011]

*ai tovar nangpektha ti ko jirpo,*

ái továr nang=pèk-thā ti ko jīrpō,  
how.bad! road 1/2:NSUBJ=give.way-IMP:CON EMPH buddy:VOC friend

*ne'ik atum aphan an thonji pu*

ne-ik a-tūm a-phān àn thòn-jí pu  
1EXCL:POSS-older.brother POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ rice drop-IRR2 QUOT  
“how bad! Please do give way to me, friend. I’m supposed to drop off rice to my brother (and sister-in-law)” [RBT, ChM 012]

*arvi suinangta dannokso ar'e suinangta dannokso*

[arvī sùi-nangtā dannoksō] [ar'ē sùi-nangtā dannoksō]  
left turn-if.alternatively danger right turn-if.alternatively danger  
'if I turn left, it will be dangerous, if I turn right, it will be dangerous' [RBT, ChM 013]

*la nekengdak arum lutponchoksi*

[là ne-kèng-dāk arúm lūt-pōn-chòk-si  
this 1EXCL:POSS-foot-road.inbetween down enter-CARRY-disappearing-NF:RL

*apotlo ko mopen pu kedam*

apōtlo ko] [mò=pen pú ke-dàm  
should buddy:VOC while=from this.side NMLZ-go

*chingkiponklung atum'anta*

che-ingkī-pōn-klùng a-tūm-án=tā]  
RR-talk-CARRY-echoing.sound POSS-PL-all=ADD:EXH  
“you should pass through between my legs, buddy, just awhile earlier, all of these people that are talking there have done the same” [RBT, ChM 014]

*bang nekengdak arumloklo kedam*

bàng ne-kèng-dāk arúm-lòk=lo ke-dàm  
somebody 1EXCL:POSS-foot-road.inbetween down-just=FOC NMLZ-go  
“the other people simply passed through between my legs” [RBT, ChM 015]

*pulo akengdak arum kilut ahut amat...*

pù-lò [a-kèng-dàk arúm ke-lūt ahūt amāt]  
say-RL POSS-foot-road.inbetween down NMLZ-enter during and.then

*anborpenpen chongho abang ingnidunpret*

àn-bòr=pén~pén chonghō abàng ingni-dūn-prèt  
rice-wrapped.bundle=with~DISTR.PL frog NPDL sit-JOIN-acting.on.inflated.obj  
'the frog said, and as the ant was passing through, with all its rice bundles, the frog sat down (pressing down the rice bundles)' [RBT, ChM 016]

*amat misorongpo abang... aning siksaklo jo an*

[amāt misòrongpō abàng a-nīng siksāk-lò] [jò] [àn]  
and.then ant.sp NPDL POSS-mind be.difficult-RL see rice

*ingnipipretlo chongho ami korlut*

ingni-pī-prèt-lò [[chonghō a-mí] kòr-lùt]  
sit-BEN/MAL-acting.on.inflated.obj-RL frog POSS-buttocks bite-enter  
'and then, the ant was annoyed, see!, the frog sat down on the rice bundles (to the detriment of the ant), and the ant bit the frog's butt with the teeth entering' [RBT, ChM 017]

*amat chonghota chonthap chonphrulo*

amāt chonghō=tā chòn-tháp chòn-phrú-lò  
and.then frog=ADD:DM jump-here.and.there.1/2 jump-here.and.there.2/2-RL

*kesolo... karlesibongpo adon chonrai*

ke-sò-lò karlēsibòng-pō a-dòn chòn-rài  
NMLZ-hurt-RL squirrel.sp-male POSS-bridge jump-solid.obj.breaking  
'and then, the frog was jumping everywhere because he was hurt, and he jumped on the ladder of the squirrel and it broke' [RBT, ChM 018]

*amat karlesibongpota... aning thilo: "mat*

[amāt karlēsibòng-pō=tā... a-nīng thī-lò] [māt]  
and.then squirrel.sp-male=ADD:DM POSS-mind be.short-RL who

*akethek mat akere mat akangtang*

a-ke-thèk māt a-ke-rè māt a-ke-ingtāng  
POSS-NMLZ-know.how who POSS-NMLZ-be.smart who POSS-NMLZ-be.strong

*mat akangsaksi nedondon chonraima?"*

māt a-ke-ingsàk=si ne-dondōn chòn-rài=ma]  
who POSS-NMLZ-EE:ingtāng=FOC:RL 1EXCL-ladder jump-RES:solid.obj.breaking=Q

*pu, lata*

pu là=tā  
QUOT this=ADD:DM

‘and then, the squirrel... got mad, “who is the wise one, who is the smart one, who is the strong and mighty one, and sat down on my ladder so it broke?” it (the squirrel) (said)’ [RBT, ChM 019]

*aning kithi, thengpi arongtin thengphrang*

[a-nīng ke-thī] [thengpī a-rōng-tín thēngphráng  
POSS-mind NMLZ-be.short tree/wood POSS-CLF:plant-each EE:thengpī

*arongtin rikang asitin rotthap*

a-rōng-tín rikāng a-sī-tín ròt-tháp  
POSS-CLF:plant-each creeper POSS-one-each cut-here.and.there.1/2

*rotphrulo, hanthar athe rotpet*

ròt-phrú-lò] [hanthàr a-thē ròt-pèt]  
cut-here.and.there.2/2-RL vegetable.sp POSS-fruit cut-RES:cut.off

‘it was mad, and then, (the squirrel) gnawed each tree and creeper, and it gnawed off the fruit of the *hanthar*’ [RBT, ChM 020]

*phakbelengpi amoi pekloodup*

phàkbeléngpī a-mòì pV-klò-dùp  
pig.sp POSS-back CAUS-fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj  
‘it made it (the fruit) fall down on the back of a pig’ [RBT, ChM 021]

*mat laso aphakta kathirikpenlo, lata*

māt [lasō a-phàk=tā ke-thirik-pen-lò), [là=tā  
and.then this POSS-pig=ADD:DM NMLZ-startle-NF:with-RL this=ADD:DM

*timurthap timurphru, lobong timurphlut, vo'arbipi*

timùr-tháp timùr-phrú), [lobōng timùr-phlùt] [vō'arbí-pī  
root-here.and.there.1/2 root-here.and.there.2/2 plantain root-miss/fail bird.sp-female

*atar saprai, an aso*

a-tār sáp-rài] [án a-sō  
 POSS-nest beat.w/sth.flexible-solid.obj.breaking that.much POSS-child

*joningkoi jonthomkep kedoji, lata*

jōn-ingkòì jōn-thòm-kēp ke-dō-jí [là=tā  
 CLF:animal-twenty CLF:animal-three-ten NMLZ-exist-IRR2 this=ADD:DM

*aso kaluksonlo*

a-sō ke-luksòn-lò  
 POSS-child NMLZ-lose(<Asm)-RL

‘and then, as a consequence, this pig startled and then it also was throwing things up in the air with its snout here and there, and then it lifted and uprooted the plantain plant with its snout, (the plantain plant) beat the nest of a *voarbipi* and then there will be many many offspring, this one’s (the bird’s) offspring were also lost’ [RBT, ChM 022]

*amatsi voarbipita... aning chipithihudet*

amātsi vōarbí-pī=tā... a-nīng che-pV-thī-thū-dét  
 and.then bird.sp-female=ADD:DM POSS-mind RR-CAUS-be.short-again-PFV

*lutthap lutphru, arkethap arkephru amat*

lūt-tháp lūt-phrú arkè-tháp arkè-phrú amāt  
 enter-mindlessly enter-EE:-tháp scratch-mindlessly scratch-EE:-tháp and.then

‘and so the *voarbipi* bird got mad, it entered in a crazy fit and scratched around here and there, and then’ [RBT, ChM 023]

*ingnar nothongpo ano lutchok arkevaret*

[[ingnàr nothōng-pō] a-nò] lūt-chòk arkè-varèt  
 elephant deaf-MODIF POSS-ear enter-disappearing scratch-INTENS

‘(the bird) got into the ears of a deaf elephant, and scratched around’ [RBT, ChM 024]

*angnarta kangrong ajat, <ku> turthap*

a-ingnàr=tā ke-ingròng aját túr-tháp  
 POSS-elephant=ADD:DM NMLZ-roar GENEX kick-mindlessly

*turphrulo... harlong turpur*

túr-phrú-lò harlōng túr-pùr  
kick-EE:-tháp-RL stone kick-move.over

‘this elephant was roaring and everything and kicked around mindlessly, and kicked over a rock’  
[RBT, ChM 025]

*harlong turpurlo, aharlong ingplonglo, richo*

[harlōng túr-pùr-lò], [a-harlōng ingplòng-lò], [richò  
stone kick-move.over-RL POSS-stone run.away.animal-RL king

*asopi abang ha langhe lang kachinglu...*

a-oso-pì abàng há lānghē lāng ke-chinglú]  
POSS-child-female NPDL over.there washing.place water NMLZ-take.bath

*amat lang kachinglu ketangpen kevang amat richo*

[amāt lāng ke-chinglú ke-tāng-pen ke-vàng amāt richò  
and.then water NMLZ-take.bath NMLZ-finish-NF:with NMLZ-come and.then king

*asopi aphan baplam*

a-oso-pì a-phān báp-làm]  
POSS-child-female POSS-NSUBJ press.down-RES:paste.like

‘it kicked the rock, the rock rolled away, the daughter of the king was taking a bath there at the washing place, and then after having finished taking her bath, she was coming (home), and then it rolled over the king’s daughter smashing her’ [RBT, ChM 026]

*amat “an arni tiliphak potsi*

amāt [[án arnì tilí-phák pōt=si  
and.then that.much sun decline-almost.completely reason=FOC:RL

*neso langhe kedam vangverekma?” pulo richo,*

[ne-osō lānghē ke-dàm] vàng-Cē-rèk=ma] pù-lò richò]  
1EXCL:POSS-child washing.place NMLZ-go come-NEG-late=Q say-RL king

*donsuri arat chingthumdunlo...,*

[dòn-surì a-rát che-ingthùm-dūn-lò]  
CLF:household-thousand POSS-public(<Asm) RR-go.and.bring-JOIN-RL

*harlong baplam*

harlōng báp-làm  
stone press.down-RES:paste.like

‘and then, “even though it’s already past mid-day, why has my child having gone to the washing

place still not come back?”, said the king and all the subjects went to bring (the king’s daughter)... and she was smashed by the stone’ [RBT, ChM 027]

*amat harlong aphan arjulo*, “*Kopisi nang*  
[amāt harlōng a-phān arjū-lò] [kopīsi nang  
and.then stone POSS-NSUBJ ask-RL why 2

*nesopi aphan kipithima?*”, “*O, ne*  
ne-oso-pì a-phān ke-pV-thì=ma] [o nè  
1EXCL:POSS-child-female POSS-NSUBJ NMLZ-CAUS-die=Q SURPRISE 1EXCL

*kali.*”

[kalī]

NEG.EQU.COP

‘and then the king asked the stone, “for what possible reason did you kill my daughter?”, “o, it wasn’t me” ‘ [RBT, ChM 028]

“*komatlo tangte*”

komāt=lo tángtē

who=FOC if

““who then?”” [RBT, ChM 029]

“*ingnar nothongposi bang nemi*

[ingnàr nothōng-pō=si bàng] ne-mí

elephant deaf-MODIF=FOC:RL CLF 1EXCL:POSS-buttocks

*netimurphit, amat neta neri*

ne=timùr-phìt]

[amāt nè=tā ne-rí

1EXCL:NSUBJ=root-w/sudden.movement and.then 1EXCL=ADD:DM 1EXCL:POSS-hand

*nekeng ave, pulo neta ave*

avē ne-kèng avē] [pù=lo nè=tā

not.exist 1EXCL:POSS-foot not.exist like.this=FOC 1EXCL=ADD:DM

*vangnangkoklo*”

vàng-náng-kòk-lò]

come-must-absolutely.required-RL

‘ “the deaf elephant lifted up my butt, and then also, I don’t have hands or feet, and like this, I had to come (rolling)” ‘ [RBT, ChM 030]

“amat nangso doke chinilo neta chekhang ’un ’e  
amāt nang-osō dō=ke chiní-lò nè=tā che-kháng-ùn-Cē  
and.then 2POSS-child exist=TOP know-RL 1EXCL=ADD:DM RR-keep-be.able-NEG

amatsi nangso apran enlongbinlo”  
amātsi nang-osō a-prán ēn-lōng-bìn-lò  
and.then 2:POSS-child POSS-life take-GET-unintentionally-RL  
“and then, I knew your child was there, but I also couldn’t control myself and then I unintentionally took your daughter’s life” [RBT, ChM 031]

„matlo ante kechokcheke?”, <“o ha ingnar  
[māt=lo ánte ke-chòk-Cē=ke] [ò há <ingnàr  
who=FOC OK.then NMLZ-be.fine-NEG=TOP INTERJ over.there elephant

nothongpole”> ingnar nothongpo aphan arjudamlo  
nothōng-pō=le> [ingnàr nothōng-pō a-phān] arjū-dām-lò]  
deaf-MODIF =FOC:IRR elephant deaf-MODIF POSS-NSUBJ ask-GO-RL  
““who then is the guilty one?”, <o there the deaf elephant...>, he went to ask the deaf elephant’ [RBT, ChM 032]

“pi chonghoisi nang harlongle <nang>  
[pí chonghòì=si nàng harlōng=le <nang>  
what reason=FOC:RL you stone=FOC:IRR your

kiturnek kiturnok? Neso apran  
ke-túr-nèk ke-túr-nòk] [ne-osō a-prán  
NMLZ-kick-doing.bad.unnecessarily NMLZ-kick-EE:-nèk 1EXCL:POSS-child POSS-life

damjuilo, pinike nangpran damji nangmui  
dām-jùì-lò] pini=ke nang-prán dām-jí nang-múi  
go-away-RL today=TOP 2:POSS-life go-IRR2 2:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind)

damji, <nangsapdamji>  
dām-jí] <nang=sáp-dām-jí>  
go-IRR2 1/2:NSUBJ=beat.w/sth.flexible-go-IRR2

nangsapji nangthengji!”  
nang=sáp-jí nang=thèng-jí  
1/2:NSUBJ=beat.w/sth.flexible-IRR2 1/2:NSUBJ=beat.w/sth.solid-IRR2  
““what did you kick the rock for? The life of my daughter has gone. Today your life and everything will go, I will beat you, I will make you suffer!” ‘ [RBT, ChM 033]

*pulo ingnar nothongpo chethakdunlo*, “o bang  
 pù-lò [ingnàr nothōng-pō che-thāk-dūn-lò] [o bāng  
 say-RL elephant deaf-MODIF RR-answer-JOIN-RL VOC CLF

*voarbipi, akam kechomathale neno*  
 vōarbīpī a-kám ke-chomathā=le ne-nò  
 bird.sp POSS-work NMLZ-think.with.bad.intentions=FOC:IRR 1EXCL:POSS-ear

*nanglutchok nangarkerakraketkema?*”  
 nang=lūt-chòk nang=arkè-rāk~rāk-dèt=ke=ma]  
 CIS=enter-disappearing CIS=scratch-RES:little.wound~DISTR.PL-PFV=TOP=Q  
 ‘he said and then, the deaf elephant answered, ‘O Voarbipi, what were you thinking, coming into my ears and scratching there; that’s why” [RBT, ChM 034]

*amat “neta dothekthe sangthekthelo,*  
 amāt [nè=tā dō-thèk-Cē sàng-thèk-Cē-lò]  
 and.then 1EXCL=ADD:DM stay-know.how-NEG take.rest-know.how-NEG-RL

*nenokangthak neno kangthong amat neta*  
 [ne-nò ke-ingthàk ne-nò ke-ingthōng] amāt [nè=tā  
 1EXCL:POSS-ear NMLZ-itch 1EXCL:POSS-ear NMLZ-be.deaf and.then 1EXCL=ADD:DM

*turthap turphrulo, ahoklo, neke harlong*  
 túr-tháp túr-phrú-lò] [a-hōk-lò] [nè=ke harlōng  
 kick-mindlessly kick-EE:-tháp-RL POSS-truth-RL 1EXCL=TOP stone

*turpurlo*”  
 túr-pùr-lò]  
 kick-move.over-RL

‘and then, “I also didn’t know how to stay or how to rest, my ears were itching, my ears are deaf, and then it’s true I was kicking here and there, and I kicked the rock”’ [RBT, ChM 035]

*ha nangso aphan rodamji marek pupe*  
 há nang-osō a-phān rō-dām-jí marēk pu-Cē  
 over.there 2:POSS-child POSS-NSUBJ hit-GO-IRR2 unexpectedly QUOT-NEG  
 ‘there (the stone) went and unintentionally hit your child’ [RBT, ChM 036]

*“apot nele kechokche kali, richo. Hala*  
 [apōt nè=le ke-chòk-Cē kalī richò] [[hála  
 because 1EXCL=FOC:IRR NMLZ-be.fine-NEG NEG.EQU.COP king that

*voarbipi aphanle arjudamnoi*”

vōarbí-pī a-phān=le] arjū-dām-nōi]

bird.sp-female POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR ask-go-INF.COND.IMP

““therefore, I’m not the guilty one, king, go ask that *voarbipi!*”” [RBT, ChM 037]

*voarbipi along richo atum damlilo*

[vōarbí-pī a-lông] [richò a-tūm] dām-li-lò

bird.sp-female POSS-LOC king POSS-PL go-again-RL

‘the people of the king next went to the *voarbipi*’ [RBT, ChM 038]

*“O voarbipi, nangbang doma?”, pulo, “Do.”*

o vōarbí-pī nang-bàng dō=ma pù-lò dō

VOC bird.sp-female 2:POSS-body stay=Q say-RL stay

‘“O *voarbipi*, are you there?”, (the king) said, “I’m here”.’ [RBT, ChM 039]

*“Piloma richo?” “Richo kali! Pisi nang ingnar*

[pílo=ma richò] [richò kalī] [pīsi nàng ingnàr

what=Q king king NEG.EQU.COP why you elephant

*nothongpo ano lutchokmati? Nang pinike*

nothōng-pō a-nò lūt-chòk=mati] [nàng pini=ke

deaf-MODIF POSS-ear enter-disappearing=CG you today=TOP

*nangpran damji nangmui damji!*”

nang-prán dām-jí nang-múi dām-jí]

2:POSS-life go-IRR2 2:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind) go-IRR2

““What’s the matter, king?”, “It’s not about calling me the king! Why the heck did you get into the elephant’s ear? Today your life will go!”” [RBT, ChM 040]

*“Ai richo, nepran nangenri nemui*

ái richò ne-prán nang=ēn-rī ne-múi

how.bad! king 1EXCL:POSS-life 1/2:NSUBJ=take-NEG.IMP 1EXCL:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind)

*nangenri*”

nang=ēn-rī

1/2:NSUBJ=take-PROH

“ai, king, don’t take my life!” [RBT, ChM 041]

*“pisi ne ingnar nothongpo ano lutledetjima?”*

pīsi nè ingnàr nothōng-pō a-nò lūt-Cē-dèt-jí=ma

why 1EXCL elephant deaf-MODIF POSS-ear enter-NEG-PFV-IRR2=Q

“how could I’ve not gone into the deaf elephant’s ears?” [RBT, ChM 042]

*Neso tangte avelo, nesu tangte avelo.*

[ne-osō tángtē avē-lò ne-sū tángtē avē-lò]

1EXCL:POSS-child TOP not.exist-RL 1EXCL:POSS-grandchild TOP not.exist-RL

*Nangso kithike enutnat, nesoke*

nang-osō ke-thì=ke e-nūt-nàt ne-osō=ke

2:POSS-child NMLZ-die=TOP one-CLF.hum.one-only 1EXCL:POSS-child=TOP

*bangthrok phosi kithi.*

bàng-thrōk phō=si ke-thì

CLF-six five=FOC:RL NMLZ-die

“as for my children, I don’t have any left, and I don’t have grandchildren either; only one child of yours has died, but of mine, so many (lit. five, six) have died” [RBT, ChM 043]

*“laso alobongle netar*

[lasō a-lobòng=le ne-tār

this POSS-plantain=FOC:IRR 1EXCL:POSS-nest

*sapraike, jo!, lobong aphanle*

sáp-rài=ke jò [lobōng a-phān=le

beat.w/sth.flexible-solid.obj.breaking=TOP see! plantain POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR

*arjudamnoi, richo, nangmasi!”*

arjū-dām-nōi, richò] nàng-masi

ask-go-INF.COND.IMP king you-the.only.one

“(it’s because) this plantain destroyed my nest, see, go and ask the plantain. King, you’re the only one (who can settle this issue)” [RBT, ChM 044]

*mat richo atum <che> damthulelo, lobong along,*  
māt richò a-tūm dām-thū-lè-lò, lobōng a-lòng,  
and.then king POSS-PL go-again-again-RL plantain POSS-LOC  
'and so, the king and his people went again, to the plantain' [RBT, ChM 045]

*“O lobong, chonghoisi nang... voarbipi atar*  
o lobōng, chonghòì=sì nàng... vōarbí-pī a-tār  
VOC plantain reason=FOC:RL 2 bird.sp-female POSS-nest

*kesapraimati? Nangpran damji,*  
ke-sáp-rài=mati nang-prán dām-jí  
NMLZ-beat.w/sth.flexible-solid.obj.breaking=CG 2:POSS-life go-IRR2

*nangmui damji, nangjat nangkhong*  
nang-múi dām-jí nang-ját nang-khòng  
2:POSS-EE:prán(<Ind) go-IRR2 2:POSS-type 2:POSS-tribe

*nangpavir'etji. Sala!”, Therdamlo.*  
nang=pV-vír-èt-jí sala thér-dàm-lò  
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-lose-all-IRR2 damn.you! threaten-go-RL  
“O plantain, why the heck did you break the nest of the *voarbipi*, your life will go, I will destroy your tribe and your species, damn you!”, he went to threaten (the plantain)' [RBT, ChM 046]

*lobong chethakdunlo*  
lobōng che-thāk-dūn-lò  
plantain RR-answer-JOIN-RL  
'the plantain answered' [RBT, ChM 047]

*“Ai! Ne kali, richo”*  
ái nè kalī richò  
how.bad! 1EXCL NEG.EQU.COP king  
“ai, it wasn't me, king!” [RBT, ChM 048]

*“phakbelengpisi nemi nangtimurphlut”*  
phàkbeléngpī=sì ne-mí nang=timùr-phlùt  
pig.sp=FOC:RL 1EXCL:POSS-buttocks 1/2:NSUBJ=root-quickly:bad  
“the pig had quickly uprooted my butt with its snout.” [RBT, ChM 049]

*“amatsi neta dothekthedetlo, neta*

amātsi [nè=tā dō-thèk-Cē-dèt-lò] [nè=tā  
and.then 1EXCL=ADD:DM stay-know.how-NEG-PFV-RL 1EXCL=ADD:DM

*ingnilun anat”*

ingni-lùn a-nàt]  
sit-big:AO:not.suddenly POSS-only

“and then, I also couldn’t stay still, I also just sat down big as I am” [RBT, ChM 050]

*“amat ahoklo, voarbipi atar do marek*

amāt a-hōk-lò vōarbī-pī a-tār dō marēk  
and.then POSS-truth-RL bird.sp-female POSS-nest exist unintentionally/unexpectedly

*chinine amat neke kreprailo”*

chini-Cē amāt [nè=ke krēp-rài-lò]  
know-NEG and.then 1EXCL=TOP fall.over-solid.obj.breaking-RL

‘and then it’s the truth, I had no idea it was the *voarbipi*’s nest, and then I fell over and destroyed (the nest)” [RBT, ChM 051]

*“pot nele kechokche kali. Phakbelengpi*

pōt [nè=le ke-chòk-Cē kalī] [phàkbeléngpī  
reason 1EXCL=FOC:IRR NMLZ-be.fine-NEG NEG.EQU.COP pig.sp

*aphanle... arjudamnoi, nangmasi!”*, *pulelo*

a-phān=le arjū-dām-nōi] nàng-masi pù-lè-lò  
POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:IRR ask-go-INF.COND.IMP 2-the.only.one say-again-RL

“therefore, I’m not the guilty one, go and ask the pig, you’re the only one (who can ask and find out)”, he also said’ [RBT, ChM 052]

*so aricho thakthak charjudamthulelo..., “O phakbelengpi”*

sō a-richò thàkthāk che-arjū-dām-thū-li-lò..., ò phàkbeléngpī  
this POSS-king same RR-ask-go-again-again-RL VOC pig.sp

‘so this king, all the same, again went to ask in this matter of his own, “O *phakbelengpi!*”’ [RBT, ChM 053]

*“pinike, nangjat nangkhong nangpivir’etji, sala!*

pini=ke nang-ját nang-khòng nang=pi-vír-èt-jí sala  
today=TOP 2:POSS-type 2:POSS-tribe 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-lose-PFT-IRR2 damn.you!

*nangpithitheiji!”*

nang=pi-thì-théi-jí

1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-die-all:S/O-IRR2

““today, I will destroy your tribe and kind, I will kill all of you!”” [RBT, ChM 054]

*“nangtum kopisi lobong katimurthap katimurphru? <ar>*

[nang-tūm kopīsi lobōng ke-timùr-tháp ke-timùr-phrú]

2:POSS-PL why plantain NMLZ-root-mindlessly NMLZ-root-EE:-tháp

*Vo’arbipi atar kesaprai athema!”*

[vōarbí-pī a-tār ke-sáp-rài athēma]

bird.sp-female POSS-nest NMLZ-beat.w/sth.flexible-solid.obj.breaking because

““why do you (pigs) go around lifiting up plantains more than you need to? that’s why you destroyed the nest of the *voarbipi*!”” [RBT, ChM 055]

*“ai,... ne kali, richo”*

ái nè kalī richò

how.bad! 1EXCL NEG.EQU.COP king

““ai, it wasn’t me, king!”” [RBT, ChM 056]

*“bang hantharsi nemoi nangklodup,*

[bàng hanthàr=si ne-mòi nang=klò-dùp]

CLF vegetable.sp=FOC:RL 1EXCL:POSS-back CIS=fall-falling.from.high:solid.obj

*neta keso kasiksaksi”*

[nè=tā ke-sò ke-siksāk-si]

1EXCL=ADD:DM NMLZ-hurt NMLZ-be.difficult-NF:RL

““a *hanthar* fruit fell on my back, so I was hurt and disturbed”” [RBT, ChM 057]

*“ahoklo neta timurthap timurphru amat*

a-hōk-lò nè=tā timùr-tháp timùr-phrú amāt

POSS-truth-RL 1EXCL=ADD:DM root-mindlessly root-EE:-tháp and.then

*ahok, lobong timurpur*”

a-hōk lobōng timùr-pùr  
POSS-truth plantain root-move.over

‘“it’s the truth, I was lifting up things with my snout, and then I uprooted the plantain’ “ [RBT, ChM 058]

<...> “*hanthar aphan arjudamnoi!*”

hanthàr a-phān arjū-dām-nōi  
vegetable.sp POSS-NSUBJ ask-go-INF.COND.IMP

‘“go and ask the *hanthar*” ‘ [RBT, ChM 059]

*ha hanthar aphan arjudamlo... “Kopisi nang*

há hanthàr a-phān arjū-dām-lò kopīsi nàng  
over.there vegetable.sp POSS-NSUBJ ask-go-RL why 2

*phakbelengpi amoi klodupmati, hanthar?*”

phàkbeléngpī a-mòì klò-dùp=mati hanthàr  
pig.sp POSS-back fall-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj=CG vegetable.sp

‘there to the *hanthar* he went and asked, “why did you possibly fall down on the back of the pig, *hanthar?*”’ [RBT, ChM 060]

“*nangrong nangrim nangpiviretji, sala!*”

nang-rōng nang-rīm nang=pi-vír-èt-jí sala  
2:POSS-plant 2:POSS-EE:rōng 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-lose-all:s/O-IRR2 damn.you!

‘I will destroy your stem and everybody (of your species), damn you!’ [RBT, ChM 061]

“*Ai richo, nejat nepivirri, nekhong*

ái richò ne-ját ne=pi-vír-rī, ne-khòng  
how.bad! king 1EXCL:POSS-type 1EXCL:NSUBJ=CAUS-lose-PROH 1EXCL:POSS-tribe

*nepivirri!*”

ne=pi-vír-rī  
1EXCL:NSUBJ=CAUS-lose-PROH

““ai, king, don’t kill the ones of my kind, don’t kill my tribe!”” [RBT, ChM 062]

*“nele kechokche kali. Ne neri*

[nè=le ke-chòk-Cē kalī] nè ne-rí  
1EXCL=FOC:IRR NMLZ-be.fine-NEG NEG.EQU.COP 1EXCL 1EXCL:POSS-hand

*ehongvetsi chiripling anat”*

e-hòng-vét=si che-ríp-ling a-nàt]  
one-CLF:long.cylindrical-only=FOC:RL RR-hold.firmly-sth.small.hanging POSS-only  
‘ ‘I’m not the guilty one, I was just holding myself with one hand only’ ‘ [RBT, ChM 063]

*“karlesibongpo abang neri nangrotpet amat*

[karlēsibòng-pō abàng ne-rí nang=ròt-pèt] amāt  
squirrel.sp-male NPDL 1EXCL:POSS-hand 1/2:NSUBJ=cut-sd.of.resulting.event and.then

*neta ahoklo phakbelengpi amoi*

[nè=tā a-hōk-lò phàkbeléngpī a-mòì  
1EXCL=ADD:DM POSS-truth-RL pig.sp POSS-back

*chonduplo”*

chòn-dùp-lò]  
jump-falling.from.high:solid.obj-RL  
‘ ‘the squirrel gnawed off my hands and then, it’s true, I jumped on the pig’s back’ ‘ [RBT, ChM 064]

*apot nangle arjudamnoi, ha karlesibongpo aphan*

apōt nàng=le arjū-dām-nōì, há karlēsibòng-pō a-phān  
because you=FOC:IRR ask-go-INF.COND.IMP over.there squirrel.sp-male POSS-NSUBJ  
‘therefore, you (only you), go and ask, there, the squirrel’ [RBT, ChM 065]

*ha karlesibongpo along arjudamlo... “te*

há karlēsibòng-pō alòng arjū-dām-lò tè  
over.there squirrel.sp-male LOC ask-go-RL and.then

*karlesibongpo, pisi nang hanthar athe*

karlēsibòng-pō pīsi nàng hanthàr a-thē  
squirrel.sp-male why you vegetable.sp POSS-fruit

*kerotpetle... phakbelengpi amoi*

ke-ròt-pèt=le phàkbeléngpī a-mòì  
NMLZ-cut-sd.of.resulting.event=FOC:IRR pig.sp POSS-back



“*la chonghokalosopen la misorongpo atum kopi*  
[[là chonghōkalòsō=pen là misòrongpō a-tūm] kopí  
this frog.sp=with this ant.sp POSS-PL what

*chomathalone, nedon*  
cho-mathà-lò-nē] [ne-dòn  
AUTO.BEN/MAL-think-RL-INDEF 1EXCL:POSS-ladder

*chonraikemati; pot neta*  
chòn-rài=ke=mati] [pōt nè=tā  
jump-RES:solid.obj.breaking=TOP=CG therefore 1EXCL=ADD:DM

*nedon kachithu*”

ne-dòn ke-che-thú]  
1EXCL:POSS-bridge/ladder NMLZ-RR-cut

‘the frog and the ant doing whatever mischief, they just jumped on my ladder and destroyed it; because of that I was just collecting the materials to (re-)build my ladder’ [RBT, ChM 072]

*amat <chongho... aphan misorongpo arjulo pichonghoisi o>*  
amāt [chonghō a-phān] misòrongpō arjū-lò pí-chonghò=si  
and.then frog POSS-NSUBJ ant.sp ask-RL what-reason=FOC:RL  
‘and then <the ant asked the frog, why...>’ [RBT, ChM 073]

*chongho aphan arjulo, “Pi chonghoisi nangke karle*  
[chonghō a-phān arjū-lò] [pí chonghò=si nàng=ke karlē  
frog POSS-NSUBJ ask-RL what reason=FOC:RL you=TOP squirrel

*adon chonraimati?” pu*  
a-dòn chòn-rài=mati] pu  
POSS-bridge/ladder jump-RES:solid.obj.breaking=CG QUOT  
‘(the king) asked the frog, “Why did you jump on the ladder of the squirrel?”’ [RBT, ChM 074]

“*misorongpota nemi nangkorakke*”  
misòrongpō=tā ne-mí nang=kòr-ràk=ke  
ant.sp=ADD:DM 1EXCL:POSS-buttocks 1/2:NSUBJ=bite-RES:little.wound=TOP  
‘the ant bit me in my butt’ [RBT, ChM 075]

<ha> *misorongpo arju*, “Chonghoisi nang chongho  
 misòrongpō arjū chonghòì-si nàng chonghō  
 ant.sp ask reason-FOC you frog

*ami korrakmati?*” “*Tovar nangdangthipke*”

a-mí kòr-ràk=mati] továr nang=dāng-thip=ke  
 POSS-buttocks bite-RES:little.wound=CG road CIS=block-firmly=TOP  
 ‘he asked the ant, “why did you bite the frog in the butt?”, “he had come and was blocking the road”’ [RBT, ChM 076]

*o <nang> mota nangtum kachekoi*

o <nang> mò=tā nang-tūm ke-che-kòì  
 INTERJ you future=ADD:EXH you-PL NMLZ-RR-accuse

*nangbe doji*

nang-bé dō-jí  
 2:POSS-habit exist-IRR2

“o, you will (continue to) in the future have a habit to accuse each other” [RBT, ChM 077]

*misorongpo aphan chujengpen avam kokdong*

misòrongpō a-phān chūjēng=pen a-vám kòk-dòng  
 ant.sp POSS-NSUBJ single.hair=with POSS-waist tie-attached

*pechengran*

pV-chēng-ràn  
 CAUS-be.narrow.inbetween-delicate/about.to.break  
 ‘(the king) took the ant on its hair and tied it up on its waist’ [RBT, ChM 078]

*chongho aphan jamir abupen*

chonghō a-phān jamír a-bú=pen  
 frog POSS-NSUBJ grain.sp POSS-bundle=with

*sapphratphratdet amat abang*

sáp-phrát~phrát-dèt amāt a-bàng  
 beat.w/sth.flexible-sd.beating~DISTR.PL-PFV and.then POSS-CLF:HUM.PL

*pevangphrok*

pV-vàng-phròk  
 CAUS-come-bulging.out  
 ‘and with a bundle of *jamir* they beat the frog so his skin got swollen’ [RBT, ChM 079]

*ansi ingtonlo*

ánsi      ingtòn-lò

after.that    conclude-RL

‘and that’s it’ [RBT, ChM 080]

## 2.10 Folk story: Monit Thinlangno by Seng Tisso (SeT, MTN)

Folk story about a couple, in which the husband tricks his wife in order to get her to give him meat to eat. He carves a hole into a tree and pretends to be a scary big black bird and tells his wife to feed the big black bird. After the wife has fed the big black bird (i.e., her husband) all of their chickens, the husband himself tells her to look inside the hole the next time around, which she does. Upon recognizing her husband, the wife is angry and tells him she will separate from him and go to stay with her parents. She collects all her things into a big basket. The husband sneaks himself into the basket, and as the wife is on the way carrying the basket, the husband urinates. As if it had not been enough already before, the wife now leaves him with even angrier than before.

*nelimenke Seng Tisso*

ne-li-mén=ke            Séng   Tīssō  
 1EXCL-HON-name=TOP   NAME   CLAN  
 ‘my name is Seng Tisso’ [SeT, MTN 002]

*neli kachoklemke Habepi*

nè-li            ke-cho-klém=ke    Habepī  
 1EXCL-HON   NMLZ-MID-do=TOP   DISTRICT

*ahabekongiklo*

a-habekōng-īk-lò  
 POSS-main.headman-FRML-RL  
 ‘what I work as is *habekong* of the *Habepi* district (of *Rongkhang*)’ [SeT, MTN 003]

*lasi <alun lunikpo> tomosi thanpo,*

[lasi            <a-lún      lún-īk-pò>            tomò=si            thán-pò]  
 therefore   POSS-song   sing-FRML-IRR1   story=FOC:RL   tell-IRR1

*nelitomo kethanjike ako ahut asomar*

[ne-li-tomò            ke-thán-jí=ke]            [akò            ahūt            [a-so-màr  
 1EXCL-HON-story   NMLZ-tell-IRR2=TOP   that.time   during   POSS-child-PL

*keongpen ajok sarpi sarbura atum ha*

ke-òng-pèn                            ajōk]            sarpī            sàrburá    a-tūm    há  
 NMLZ-exist.much-NF:with   because   old.woman   old.man   POSS-PL   over.there

*ritlo vopi chopangrengdamlo*

rītłō                            vō-pī                            cho-pangrēng-dām-lò  
 inhabited.field   chicken-female   MID-rear-GO-RL  
 ‘and so, (I will sing a song and, actually, a story (not a song), I will tell. (Now), the story I will

tell (goes like this): Once upon a time, because they had many children, the old woman and the old man went over there to the field, where they were staying, to rear hens' [SeT, MTN 004]

*rit chopandamsi vopi*

[rīt cho-pān-dām-si vō-pī  
field MID-clear.vegetation-GO-NF:RL chicken-female

*chopangrengdamlo penanso lapen kachopangrengdam*

cho-pangrēng-dām-lò penānsō] [lapèn ke-cho-pangrēng-dām]  
MID-rear-GO-RL couple and.then NMLZ-MID-rear-GO

*api jonpharo alo jonpharo*

[[[[a-pī jōn-pharò] [a-lò jōn-pharò]  
POSS-female/mother CLF:animals-hundred POSS-male.animal CLF:animals-hundred

*amir erklar penke kapati kokkedakjo*

a-mír] èr-klār pèn=ke ke-pati kokkedakjo  
POSS-flower be.red-shine and.then=TOP NMLZ-lay.eggs sd.hens

'they went to clear themselves the vegetation in their field and went to rear the hens, the couple. They went to rear (the hens). With the combs of the many many hens and many many roosters being shining red, (the hens) were laying eggs and were going *kokkedakjo*' [SeT, MTN 005]

*amatsi apenan abang pulo, ai sarpi!*

[amātsi a-penān abàng pù-lò] ai sarpi  
and.then POSS-husband NPDL say-RL how.strange! old.woman

*etumta dak ritlo nangkedo jailo nangkedo*

e-tūm=tā dāk rītlō nang=ke-dō jàilò nang=ke-dō  
1PL.INCL-PL=ADD here inhabited.field CIS=NMLZ-stay EE:rītlō CIS=NMLZ-stay

'and then, the husband said, "how bad, woman. We (have come here and) are staying here in the field (but should be staying in the village)"' [SeT, MTN 006]

*esomar kechanpen ajok etum dak*

[e-so-mār ke-chán-pèn ajōk] e-tūm dāk  
1PL.INCL-child-PL NMLZ-flourish-NF:with because 1PL.INCL-PL here

*ritlo jailo vopi nangkachopangreng non vo*

rītlō jàilò vō-pī nang=ke-cho-pangrēng nòn vō  
inhabited.field EE:rītlō chicken-female CIS=NMLZ-MID-rear now chicken

*erklár, api jonpharo, alo*

èr-klàr [a-pī jōn-pharò] [a-lò  
be.red-shine POSS-female/mother CLF:animals-hundred POSS-male.animal

*jonpharo dokoklo apot] ningveke*

jōn-pharò] dō-kòk-lò apōt ningvē=ke  
CLF:animals-hundred exist-firmly-RL because evening=TOP

*elitumta e vopi ejon*

e-li-tūm=tā e vō-pī e-jōn  
1PL.INCL-HON- PL=ADD.DM EXPRS chicken-female one-CLF:animals

*chothatnang pulo amat hala apiso abang pulo*

cho-thāt-nāng] pù-lò] [amāt hála a-pisò abàng pù-lò  
MID-slaughter-HORT say-RL and.then that POSS-wife NPDL say-RL

*thatnangne ti sarbura*

[thāt-nāng-Cē ti sàrburá]]  
slaughter-must-NEG EMPH old.man

“‘because we have so many children that are growing up, now we are rearing chickens here in the field, where we are also staying, and now the (combs of) the chickens are shining red (i.e. we have many chickens), because we have many many hens and many many roosters (lit. one hundred), let’s kill us a hen tonight”, he said, (but) the wife said, “let’s not, man (and I won’t change my mind)”’ [SeT, MTN 007]

*e pedo ’osinang pusi kipu*

e pV-dō-ò-sināng pusi ke-pù  
EXPRS CAUS-exist-much-CON.HORT QUOT.COMP IPFV-say  
“‘let them remain in abundance for now”, (she) said’ [SeT, MTN 008]

*amatlo la kroikrelo*

amāt=lo là krōi-Cē-lò  
and.then=FOC this agree-NEG-RL  
‘and then, she disagreed’ [SeT, MTN 009]

*hala alo abangle chothatnang*

[[hála a-lò abàng=le cho-thāt-nāng]  
that POSS-male.animal NPDL=FOC:IRR MID-slaughter-HORT

*puta, hala alo abangta*

pu=tā] [hála a-lò abàng=tā  
QUOT=ADD.although that POSS-male.animal NPDL=ADD.DM

*thatnangnelang, <piku> akiku*

thàt-náng-Cē-làng] <pV-ku> [a-ke-kú  
slaughter-need-NEG-still CAUS-crow POSS-NMLZ-crow

*jumeong pusi pukok pu*

arjū-mē-òng] pusi pù-kòk pu  
listen-be.good-be.much QUOT.COMP say-firmly QUOT

‘although (he) said, “let’s kill that rooster!”, (she) firmly replied, “let’s not kill that rooster. (Let it crow,) his crowing is very nice to hear”’ [SeT, MTN 010]

*amatsi kroikrelo apenan abang mathalo*

amātsi krōi-Cē-lò a-penàn abàng mathà-lò  
and.then agree-NEG-RL POSS-husband NPDL think-RL

‘and then, she didn’t agree, and the husband was thinking’ [SeT, MTN 011]

*bai nepisota kopipotsi an ahan*

bái ne-pisò=tā kopí-pōt=si [án a-hán  
how.mean! 1EXCL-wife=ADD.DM what-reason=FOC:RL that.much POSS-curry

*kechono, an angse angse kechonang kopi*

ke-chō-nō] àn angsé angsé ke-chō-nāng kopí  
NMLZ-eat-be.bad rice only ITER NMLZ-eat-HORT what

*apotloma?*

a-pōt-lò=ma

POSS-reason-RL=Q

‘‘how bad! Why does my wife (say), let’s eat the rice and curry with the poor taste, always only rice, why only is that?’’ [SeT, MTN 012]

*apot “vo anta chothatlongle, kachopangreng*

[apōt vō án=tā cho-thāt-lōng-Cē] [[ke-cho-pangrēng  
because chicken that.much=ADD.even MID-slaughter-get.to-NEG NMLZ-MID-rear

*emethang avopi pule, chothatlongle” pu*

e-metháng] a-vo-pì] pù=le] cho-thāt-lōng-Cē pu  
1PL.INCL-self POSS-chicken-FEM QUOT=FOC:IRR MID-slaughter-get.to-NEG QUOT

“‘why can’t we kill even just a chicken, a hen that we raised ourselves we don’t get to slaughter!’” [SeT, MTN 013]

*mathalo amatsi adappen chokang arsovaret*  
 mathà-lò amātsi a-dàp-pèn chòkàng arsō-varèt  
 think-RL and.then POSS-morning-from axe sharpen-INTENS

*arsovaret arsovaretlo apiso abang arjulo*  
 arsō-varèt arsō-varèt-lò a-pisò abàng arjū-lò  
 sharpen-INTENS sharpen-INTENS-RL POSS-wife NPDL ask-RL  
 ‘he was thinking, and then since early in the morning, he was sharpening his axe for a long time, and his wife asked...’ [SeT, MTN 014]

*pipot achokang arsovaretlo sarbura pu*  
 kopí-pōt a-chòkàng arsō-varèt-lò sàrburá pu  
 what-reason POSS-axe sharpen-INTENS-RL old.man QUOT  
 “‘why are you sharpening that axe’” [SeT, MTN 015]

*thangta kali hadak etum apongrep*  
 [tháng=tā kalī] hádāk e-tūm a-pongrēp  
 anything=ADD.EXH NEG.EQU.COP there 1PL.INCL-PL POSS-outside.wall

*along thengpi kehong damji jaho pu*  
 alòng thengpī ke-hōng dām-jí jáho pu  
 LOC tree/wood NMLZ-make.hole.in.tree go-IRR2 look.there! QUOT  
 “‘it’s nothing. there just outside near the walls of our house I’m going to make a hole in the tree, look there’ (he) said’ [SeT, MTN 016]

*amatsi la apenan abangke adapprang la chokang*  
 amātsi [là a-penàn abàng=ke a-dappráng là chòkàng  
 and.then this POSS-husband NPDL=TOP POSS-dawn this kd.axe

*karso kejutpen laso athengpi along*  
 ke-arsō ke-jūt-pèn] [lasō a-thèngpī alòng  
 NMLZ-sharpen NMLZ-finish-NF:with this POSS-tree/wood LOC  
*hongdamvaret hongdamvaret abang*  
 hōng-dām-varèt hōng-dām-varèt a-bàng  
 make.hole.in.tree-GO-INTENS make.hole.in.tree-GO-INTENS POSS-body

*chethaplut chepunpo ako*

che-thāp-lūt      che-pún-pò]      [akò  
RR-put.inside-enter RR-measure-IRR1 on.the.other.hand(<Asm)

*hongtanglelo chethaplut*

hōng-táng-lè-lò      che-thāp-lūt  
make.hole.in.tree-PFV2-again-RL RR-put.inside-enter

*hongtanglelo kehong tanglobo*

hōng-táng-lè-lò      ke-hōng      tāng-lò=bo  
make.hole.in.tree-PFV2-again-RL NMLZ-make.hole.in.tree finish-RL=ITROG.ASSUM

*choklobo pulo anparke dak vanglo*

chòk-lò=bo      pù-lò      anpár=ke      dāk      vàng-lò  
be.fine-RL=ITROG.ASSUM say-RL besides=TOP here come-RL

‘and then early in the morning, after having finished sharpening his axe, the husband kept making a hole for a long time, and he measured up to a point that he could put himself inside, and then again! he was making the hole, and he put himself inside, and he was making the hole again!, and then he finished making the hole, right, it’s okay, right, like this, then, he came here’  
[SeT, MTN 017]

*ai sarpi! itum la’an avopi*

[ái      sarpī]      [e-tūm      [là-án      a-vo-pì]  
how.strange! old.woman 1PL.INCL-PL this-that.much POSS-chicken-female

*ke’ong <la’an aphak> la’an*

ke-òng]      <là-án      a-phāk>      [[là-án  
NMLZ-exist.much this-that.much POSS-pig this-that.much

*avolo ke’ong etum*

a-vō-lò]      ke-òng]      [e-tūm  
POSS-chicken-male.animal NMLZ-exist.much 1PL.INCL-PL

*chothatlongle apot etum ladak etum*

cho-thāt-lōng-Cē      apōt]      [e-tūm      ladāk      e-tūm  
MID-slaughter-get.to-NEG because 1PL.INCL-PL here 1PL.INCL-PL

*apongrep along aphong arong along <theng>*

a-pongrēp      alòng [a-phòng      a-rōng      alòng]  
POSS-outside.wall LOC POSS-wild.jackfruit POSS-plant LOC

*vo ikpo vo thepo do*

vō ík-pō vō thè-pō dō]  
bird be.black-MODIF bird be.big-MODIF exist

“‘how bad, woman! Although we have so many hens and so many pigs, eh, and so many roosters, because we don’t get to kill them, here just outside the walls of our home, by the wild jackfruit tree, there is a huge black bird”“ [SeT, MTN 018]

*“o pu amat,” apiso abang arjulo, “bai pu*

[o pu amāt] [a-pisò abàng arjū-lò] [[bái pù  
INTERJ QUOT and.then POSS-wife NPDL ask-RL how.mean! like.this

*an avo thepo vo ikpo dole*

án a-vō ík-pō vō thè-pō dō  
that.much POSS-bird be.black-MODIF bird be.big-MODIF exist=FOC:IRR

*pute kopilo kecho kopilo kijun” pu*

pù-te [kopí=lo ke-chō kopí=lo ke-jùn pu]  
QUOT-COND what=FOC NMLZ-eat what=FOC NMLZ-drink QUOT

‘and then “I see”, the wife asked, “how bad!, if there is a huge black bird, what will it eat, what will it drink (since we will need to feed it so it won’t eat us)?”“ [SeT, MTN 019]

*ai sarpi! itum ante <adappranglote>*

[[ái sarpi e-tūm ánte <a-dàp-práng-lò-te>  
well! old.woman 1PL.INCL-PL OK.then POSS-morning-dawn-RL-COND

*‘aningve vo ’ok ejon adap vo ’ok*

[[a-ningvē [vō-ōk e-jōn]] [a-dàp [vō-ōk  
POSS-evening chicken-meat one-CLF:animals POSS-morning chicken-meat

*ejon aningve ok nangji hanbor*

e-jōn]] [a-ningvē ōk nāng-jí] [hán-bòr  
one-CLF:animals POSS-evening meat need-IRR2 curry-wrapped.bundle

*nangji anbor nangji ’pusi bang kipu*

nāng-jí àn-bòr nāng-jí] pusi] bàng ke-pù]  
need-IRR2 rice-wrapped.bundle need-IRR2 QUOT.COMP CLF NMLZ-say

“‘well, woman, <when it’s early in the morning>, (it is our duty, we must ensure), ‘in the evening, one chicken, and in the morning one chicken, in the evening it needs meat, it needs curry, it needs bundles of rice’, so they say’ [SeT, MTN 020]

*o lapu ante abangta kroidunlo*

[o lapù ánte a-pisò abàng=tā krōi-dūn-lò]  
AFF like.this OK.then POSS-wife NPDL=ADD.DM agree-JOIN-RL

*anke hem nangchelelo vopi thatlo*

[ánke hēm nang=che-lē-lò] [vō-pī thàt-lò]  
and.then house CIS=RR-reach-RL chicken-female slaughter-RL  
'and then, his wife also agreed, and then they reached their home and slaughtered a hen' [SeT, MTN 021]

*anke anbor thuilong*

ánke àn-bòr thùi-lòng  
and.then rice-wrapped.bundle wrap.big.size.by.rolling-RES:round

*thuilong thondamlo*

thùi-lòng thòn-dām-lò  
wrap.big.size.by.rolling-RES:round drop-GO-RL  
'and then she wrapped the rice bundle every day and went to give it (to the big black bird)' [SeT, MTN 022]

*amat la apenan abangke the 'angtanglo tangte ha*

[amāt [là a-penàn abàng=ke] [the'āng táng-lò tángtē] há  
and.then this POSS-husband NPDL=TOP be.bright start-RL if over.there

*chethapdamlutpo anke anbor pu*

che-thāp-dām-lùt-pò] ánke [àn-bòr pù  
RR-put.inside.container-GO-enter-IRR1 and.then rice-wrapped.bundle like.this

*ha peklobuppo bangke chotanglo juntanglò*

há pV-klò-bùp-pò] bàng=ke chō-táng-lò jùn-táng-lò  
over.there CAUS-fall-sd.of.falling.down-IRR1 CLF=TOP eat-finish-RL drink-finish-RL  
'and then, the husband, when it had gotten bright, he would put himself there in (the hole in the tree trunk), and then she dropped the rice bundle there (into the hole), and he ate and drank (everything)' [SeT, MTN 023]

*anke avo jonpharo vo alo*

ánke [a-vō jōn-pharò] [vō [a-lò  
and.then POSS-chicken CLF:animals-hundred chicken POSS-male.animal

*jonpharo api jonpharo*

jōn-pharò] [a-pī jōn-pharò]]  
 CLF:animals-hundred POSS-female/mother CLF:animals-hundred

*vota ikranglo*

[vō=tā ik-ràng-lò]  
 chicken=ADD.EXH finish.up-about.to-RL  
 ‘and then, they were about to finish up one hundred chickens, one hundred roosters and one hundred hens, all the chickens (they finished up)’ [SeT, MTN 024]

*anke dak chevangpò, pi apotsi nang nangbang*

ánke [dāk che-vāng-pò] [pí a-pōt=si] nàng nang-bàng  
 and.then here RR-come-IRR1 what POSS-reason=FOC:RL you your-body

*lengvaretmati, sarbura” pu*

léng-varèt=mati, sàrburá pu  
 be.fat.HUM-INTS=CG old.man QUOT  
 ‘and then he would return, “why are you so fat/healthy, man? (That’s very strange!)”’ [SeT, MTN 025]

*e nebangle kelengledetalangma”*

e ne-bàng=le ke-lèng-Cē-dèt-jí-làng=ma  
 EXPRS 1EXCL-body=FOC:IRR NMLZ-be.fat.hum-NEG-PFV-IRR2-still=Q  
 “‘why would I not be fat?’” [SeT, MTN 026]

*“kechochot anat keklemke thekthedet*

[ke-chō-chòt a-nàt] [[ke-klém=ke thèk-Cē-dèt]  
 NMLZ-eat-only POSS-only NMLZ-do=TOP know.how-NEG-PFV

*tiki thekthedet inghoi thekthedetke”*

[tiki thèk-Cē-dèt] [inghòi thèk-Cē-dèt=ke]  
 cultivate know.how-NEG-PFV do know.how-NEG-PFV=TOP

*pusi, apenan abang chethakdun*

pusi [a-penàn abàng che-thāk-dūn]  
 QUOT.COMP POSS-husband NPDL RR-answer-JOIN  
 “‘because I’m only eating, I can’t work, I can’t cultivate, I can’t do anything”, the husband answered’ [SeT, MTN 027]

*son chobom chobomlo, api jonpharo*

[sòn chō-bōm chō-bōm-lò] [[a-pī jōn-pharò]  
that.way eat-CONT eat-CONT-RL POSS-female/mother CLF:animals-hundred

*alo jonpharo, avopen*

[a-lò jōn-pharò] a-vō=pèn  
POSS-male.animal CLF:animals-hundred POSS-chicken=with

*api jonni alo*

[a-pī jōn-ní] [a-lò  
POSS-female/mother CLF:animals-two POSS-male.animal

*jonnivetlo jonphlivetlo*

[jōn-ní-vèt-lò] [jōn-phlī-vèt-lò]  
CLF:animals-two-only-RL CLF:animals-four-only-RL  
'that way, he kept eating and eating, and from the one hundred hens and one hundred roosters,  
two hens and two roosters only, only four (were left)' [SeT, MTN 028]

*amatsi chepulo, "ai padap abangke, sarpi...*

amātsi che-pū-lò ái padāp abàng=ke sarpī...  
and.then RR-say-RL how.bad! this.morning NPDL=TOP old.woman

*avota etumta kiihta*

[a-vō=tā e-tūm=tā ke-ik=tā  
POSS-chicken=ADD.EXH 1PL.INCL-PL=ADD NMLZ-finish.up=ADD

*kiikthuranglo, apot padap abangke,*

ke-ik-thū-ràng-lò] [apōt padāp abàng=ke  
NMLZ-finish.up-again-about.to-RL because this.morning NPDL=TOP

*tunpi peme dangpi pemeno!*

tún-pī pV-mé dàng-pī pV-mé-nōi]  
cook-BEN/MAL ADVZ-be.good put.on.stove-BEN/MAL ADVZ-be.good-INF.COND.IMP

*la api avo ejon báng*

là a-pī a-vō e-jōn bàng]  
this POSS-female/mother POSS-chicken one-CLF:animals CLF

*thatra tunpi peme dangpi*

thàt-rà tún-pī pV-mé dàng-pī  
slaughter-NF:IRR cook-BEN/MAL ADVZ-be.good put.on.stove-BEN/MAL

*peme hanbor thuilong*

pV-mé hán-bòr thùi-lōng  
 ADVZ-be.good curry-wrapped.bundle wrap.by.rolling-RES:round

*anbor thuilong e*

àn-bòr thùi-lōng e  
 rice-wrapped.bundle wrap.by.rolling-RES:round EXPRS

*ponpinoi amat <[laso alongku along]> la*

pòn-pī-nōi] [amāt <lasō a-longkū alòng] [là  
 take.away-BEN/MAL-INF.COND.IMP and.then this POSS-cave LOC this

*hongvang along jokdamnoi anpen*

hōngvàng alòng] jòk-dām-nōi án=pèn  
 big.hole.in.tree LOC drop.into.container-GO-INF.COND.IMP and.then=from

*angthor ardikphlitha] pusi kipu pu*

angthòr ardīk-phli-thā] pusi ke-pù pu  
 hole peep-for.awhile-COND.IMP1 QUOT.COMP NMLZ-say QUOT

‘and then he said, “how bad this morning, woman. Because our chickens will be finished up, this morning cook and prepare them nicely for me. Slaughter one of the two hens and cook and prepare it nicely, wrap the curry bundle, wrap the rice bundle, and bring it to me! And then (after that) go and take it to the cave, to the place near the outside walls of our house, and peep into the hole for awhile”’ [SeT, MTN 029]

*amatsi laso <so> apiso abangke klemlèlò apenan*

[amātsi lasō a-pisò abàng=ke klém-lè-lò] [a-penàn  
 and.then this POSS-wife NPDL=TOP do-again-RL POSS-husband

*abangke adapprangpen hadak chethapdamlutlèlò*

abàng=ke a-dàppràng=pen hádāk che-thāp-dām-lùt-lè-lò]  
 NPDL=TOP POSS-dawn=from there RR.put.inside-GO-enter-again-RL

‘and then, the wife did as she did before, and the husband early in the morning went there and put himself inside (the hole in the tree trunk) and stayed there’ [SeT, MTN 030]

*amatsi la apiso abangke laso <api>*

amātsi là a-pisò abàng=ke lasō <a-pī>  
 and.then this POSS-wife NPDL=TOP this POSS-female/mother

*avopi thatlo tunlo danglo*

a-vo-pi thàt-lò tún-lò dāng-lò  
 POSS-chicken-female slaughter-RL cook-RL put.on.stove-RL

‘and then, the wife slaughtered and cooked and prepared the hen’ [SeT, MTN 031]

*lapenke anbor thuilong han an*

lapèn=ke      àn-bòr                      thùi-lōng                      hán    àn  
and.then=TOP    rice-wrapped.bundle    wrap.by.rolling-RES:round    curry    rice

<tot> *ponpi pemesi*

pòn-pī                      pV-mé-si  
take.away-BEN/MAL    ADVZ-be.good-NF:RL

*jokdamlutlò anghor amahang ardiklo*

jòk-dām-lūt-lò                      anghòr    a-maháng    ardīk-lò  
drop.into.container-GO-enter-RL    hole      POSS-face    peep-RL  
'and then she wrapped the rice bundle, and she took the curry and the rice there nicely for (the big black bird), put it there, and she peeped into (the face of) the hole' [SeT, MTN 032]

*apenansi iksangsi kedo pu*

a-penàn=si                      ik-sàng-si                      ke-dō      pu  
POSS-husband=FOC:RL    be.black-black-NF:RL    NMLZ-stay    QUOT  
'nobody but the husband was black (due to the lack of light in the hole) and staying there' [SeT, MTN 033]

*amatsi apenan abang pulo, "bai pisi nang*

amātsi    a-penàn                      abàng    pù-lò,    bái                      pí=si                      nàng  
and.then    POSS-husband    NPDL    say-RL    how.mean!    what=FOC:RL    you

*kardikphlilo" pu, "he matsi", hala apiso*

ke-ardīk-phlì-lò                      pu    he    komāt=si                      hála    a-pisò  
NMLZ-peep-for awhile-RL    QUOT    hey!    who=FOC:RL    that    POSS-wife

*abang pulo, "he therak thekthe apinso"*

abàng    pù-lò    he    therāk                      thèk-Cē                      a-pinsò  
NPDL    say-RL    hey!    be.ashamed    know.how-NEG    POSS-married.man  
'and then, the husband said, "how bad! Why are you looking?" and then, "Hey, who is that!", the wife said, "hey, you are a man who doesn't feel any shame"' [SeT, MTN 034]

*anle nang epi jonpharo*

[án=le                      nàng]    e-pī                      [jōn-pharò  
that.much=FOC:IRR    you    1PL.INCL-female/mother    CLF:animals-hundred

<ajon> *alo jonpharo avopi*

<a-jōn>                      a-lò]                      [jōn-pharò                      a-vo-pì  
POSS-CLF:animals    POSS-male.animal    CLF:animals-hundred    POSS-chicken-female

*chodet <avo> avolo chodet apot*  
 chō-dèt] [<a-vō> a-vō-lò chō-dèt] apōt]  
 eat-PFV POSS-chicken POSS-chicken-male.animal eat-PFV because

*pinipenke nangpenke ne kachekak pu*  
 [pinì=pen=ke nàng=pen=ke nè ke-che-kák] pu  
 today=from=TOP you=from=TOP 1EXCL NMLZ-RR-part QUOT  
 “‘this (bad) you are, because you ate all our one hundred chicken, from today, I am separated from you”, (she) said’ [SeT, MTN 035]

*hem chevanglò*  
 hēm che-vāng-lò  
 house RR-come-RL  
 ‘and she returned home’ [SeT, MTN 036]

*anke halaso <a> hem chevangdétpenke, pe*  
 [ánke hálasō hēm che-vāng-dèt-pèn=ke] [pé  
 and.then that house RR-come-PFV-NF:with=TOP cloth

*nangchisiklo ri nangchisiklo; la*  
 nang=che-sík-lò rī nang=che-sík-lò] [[là  
 CIS=RR-prepare-RL EE:pé CIS=RR-prepare-RL this

*apenan abangke <nang>*  
 a-penàn abàng=ke]  
 POSS-husband NPDL=TOP

*nangkechephodunke bangke... khalun marjong*  
 nang=ke-che-phò-dùn=ke] [bàng=ke [khalùn marjòng  
 CIS=NMLZ-RR-reach-JOIN=TOP CLF=TOP kd.big.basket kd.big.basket

*along pe kedoan ri kedoan pe kumbor*  
 alòng] [pé ke-dō-án] [rī ke-dō-án] [pé kumbòr  
 LOC cloth NMLZ-exist-all EE:pé NMLZ-exist-all cloth blanket(<Ind)

*pe rinchitho penke pini vankok*  
 pé rinchithò] pèn=ke pinī vankòk  
 cloth kd.cloth and=TOP tradt.fem.waist.cloth tradt.fem.belt

*chesik'etlo kithurpo kedampo pu*

che-sík-ét-lò ke-thùr-pò ke-dàm-pò pu  
RR-prepare-PRF-RL NMLZ-get.up-IRR1 NMLZ-go-IRR1 QUOT

*anlo, amat apenan abang chipulo "nalo*

án-lò [[amāt a-penàn abàng che-pū-lò] [konát=lo  
till-RL and.then POSS-husband NPDL RR-say-RL where=FOC

*kedampo, sarpi?" pu*

ke-dàm-pò sarpi] pu]  
NMLZ-go-IRR1 old.woman QUOT

‘and then after having returned home, she prepared her clothes and then the husband also reached back along with her, and then, she prepared all her different clothes, and she also prepared all of her *pini* and *vankok*, and she was up to the point of just being about to get up and go, and then her husband said to her, “where are you going, old woman?”’ [SeT, MTN 037]

*"neke nepeipén nepo ahem chedampo"*

nè=ke [[ne-pēi=pen ne-pō] a-hēm] che-dām-pò  
1EXCL=TOP 1EXCL-mother=with 1EXCL-father POSS-house RR-go-IRR1  
“I will go to my mother and father’s house” [SeT, MTN 038]

*"apot nangke nekechobei aling kali*

apōt nang=ke ne=ke-chobēi aling kalī  
because you=TOP 1:NSUBJ=NMLZ-lie INDEF NEG.EQU.COP

*litthuong; 'etum ritlo dodamnang'*

lit-thū-òng] [[e-tūm rītlo dō-dām-nāng]  
exceed-again-be.much 1PL.INCL-PL inhabited.field stay-GO-HORT

*pule, vopi jonpharo volo*

pu=le] [[vō-pī jōn-pharò] [vō-lò  
QUOT=FOC:IRR chicken-female CLF:animals-hundred chicken-male.animal

*jonpharo etum kachopangrengdamle*

jōn-pharò] e-tūm ke-cho-pangrēng-dām=le]  
CLF:animals-hundred 1PL.INCL-PL NMLZ-MID-rear-GO=FOC:IRR

*non avo jonpharota jonthomvet*

nòn a-vō jōn-pharò=tā jōn-thōm-vét  
now POSS-chicken CLF:animals-hundred=ADD.EXH CLF:animals-three-only

*jonnivet <avo> avo 'ok nang chodet*  
 jōn-ní-vèt <a-vo> a-vo-òk nàng chō-dèt  
 CLF:animals-two-only POSS-chicken POSS-chicken-meat you eat-PFV

*pot [pinipenke ne nangpen neke*  
 apōt] [pini=pen=ke nè nàng=pen nè=kè  
 because today=from=TOP 1EXCL you=from 1EXCL=TOP

*chekaknangpo] pulo amatsi*  
 che-kák-náng-pò] pù-lò amātsi  
 RR-part-must-IRR1 say-RL and.then  
 ‘the reason is that you didn’t only lie to me, but exceedingly so, “let’s go and stay in our field”, you said, and we reared one hundred hens and one hundred roosters for us, but now one hundred chicken (were there, but) only three, only two (are left), because you ate the meat, from today I will need to part from you>, (she) said and then’ [SeT, MTN 039]

*halaso kachesik esekke*  
 hálasō ke-che-sík e-sēk=ke  
 that NMLZ-RR-prepare one-CLF.section=TOP

*thakdunmovedetlo dojoilo*  
 thák-dūn-movē-dèt-lò dō-jòi-lò  
 answer-JOIN-nothing.to-PFV-RL exist-quietly-RL

*hongpharlasi sa kachodangsi*  
 hòng-pharlá=si sá ke-cho-dáng-si  
 outside-outside.part.Karbi.house=FOC:RL tea(<Ind) NMLZ-MID-put.on.stove-NF:RL

*totborlo apenan abangke*  
 tòt-bòr-lò a-penàn abàng=ke  
 squat-appearing.small:S-RL POSS-husband NPDL=TOP  
 ‘while she was getting ready, he didn’t have anything to answer and quietly on the porch he prepared himself tea and sat there appearing very small, the husband’ [SeT, MTN 040]

*amat la apiso abangke akhalun*  
 amāt là a-pisò abàng=ke a-khalùn  
 and.then this POSS-wife NPDL=TOP POSS-kd.big.basket

*chinghortanglò ha kedamlo*  
 che-inghòr-tàng-lò há ke-dàm-lò  
 RR-carry.load-finish-RL over.there NMLZ-go-RL  
 ‘and then, the wife put the basket rope around her head and was just leaving to go over there (to her parents’ place)’ [SeT, MTN 041]

*amat hala apiso abangke apei apo ahem*

[amāt hálà a-pisò abàng=ke [[a-pēi a-pō] a-hēm]  
and.then that POSS-wife NPDL=TOP POSS-mother POSS-father POSS-house

*kachedam ahutlo anke amat eson abang*

ke-che-dām ahūt-lò] [ánke amāt [e-sòn a-bàng]  
NMLZ-RR-go during-RL and.then and.then one-CLF:thing POSS-CLF

*jangthu abong chepon tennedet pu amat laso*

jàngthù a-bòng che-pōn tengnè-dèt pu] [amāt [lasō]  
oil POSS-gourd RR-take.away forget-PFV QUOT and.then this

*hem nangkachiri aphi, apenan abang*

hēm nang=ke-che-rī aphī a-penàn abàng  
house CIS=NMLZ-RR-search after POSS-husband NPDL

*sunjoi amat akhalun ha phakroi*

sūn-jòi amāt a-khalùn há phàk-rōi  
descend-quietly and.then POSS-kd.big.basket over.there pig-stall

*ami along <sun> e thaplut*

a-mí alòng <sun> e thàp-lùt  
POSS-buttocks LOC descend HESIT put.inside.container-enter

‘and then it was at the time of the wife leaving to go to her parents’ house, and then, one thing, a bottle of oil, she forget to carry along, and so after she went back to search for it (laso) in the house, then the husband quietly came down (from the bamboo platform, where people stay in a Karbi house setting), and then he put her big bamboo basket behind the pig stall (to prevent his wife from leaving)’ [SeT, MTN 042]

*<thaplut e> thokphlup amat la*

<thàp-lùt e> thōk-phlūp [amāt là  
<put.inside.container-enter HESIT> empty.out-sd.falling.and.scattering and.then this

*apenan abangke chethaphlut*

a-penàn abàng=ke che-thāp-thū-lùt  
POSS-husband NPDL=TOP RR-put.inside.container-again-enter

‘he emptied out everything and then the husband put himself there inside again’ [SeT, MTN 043]

*amat la apiso abangke la jangthu abong*

amāt là a-pisò abàng=ke là jàngthù a-bòng  
and.then this POSS-wife NPDL=TOP this oil POSS-bottle

*cheenlo amat khalun anung vekponlok*

che-én-lò amāt khalùn anùng vĕk-pōn-lòk

RR-take-RL and.then kd.big.basket back hang-take.away-not.main.action

‘and then, the wife took herself the bottle of oil and hung it on the back of the basket to carry it’

[SeT, MTN 044]

*amat <akhara inghorpondet> akhalun*

amāt <a-khará inghòr-pòn-dèt> a-khalùn

and.then <POSS-basket.for.firewood carry.load-in.passing-PFV> POSS-kd.big.basket

*inghorponcheklo ahem chedamlo*

inghòr-pòn-chĕk-lò a-hĕm che-dām-lò

carry.load-take.away-firmly-RL POSS-house RR-go-RL

‘and then she was carrying her basket and she went home’ [SeT, MTN 045]

*bhari arleng dingpo arlulò*

bharí arlèng dīng-pō arlū-lò

very.big(<Ind) slope be.long-big climb-RL

‘and she climbed up a very big slope’ [SeT, MTN 046]

*ingparke la apiso inghorponlo kai*

ingpár=ke là a-pisò inghòr-pòn-lò kái

besides=TOP this POSS-wife carry.load-in.passing-RL time(<Asm)

*akhalun kai amarjong kai ape*

a-khalùn kái a-marjòng kái a-pé

POSS-kd.big.basket time(<Asm) POSS-kd.big.basket time(<Asm) POSS-cloth

*kai ari amatsi inghorponlunlo*

kái a-rī amātsi inghòr-pòn-lùn-lò

time(<Asm) POSS-EE:pé and.then carry.load-take.away-big:AO-RL

‘and then, the wife was carrying her load, her *khalun* basket, her *marjong* basket, her clothes she was carrying’ [SeT, MTN 047]

*ingparke bhari arleng dingpo karlu alongke,*

ingpár=ke [bharí arlèng dīng-pō ke-arlū alòng=ke]

besides=TOP very.big(<Ind) slope be.long-big NMLZ-climb LOC=TOP

*la apenan abangke barso kedo kangtung, amat*

là a-penàn abàng=ke barsō ke-dō ke-ingtúng] [amāt  
this POSS-husband NPDL=TOP peeing NMLZ-exist NMLZ-desire and.then

*khalun arlo phi'ingrot*

khalùn arlō phi'ing-ròt]  
kd.big.basket inside pass.urine-RES:wet

‘and then, when she was climbing up on the long slope, the husband felt the need to pee, and he peed inside the basket’ [SeT, MTN 048]

*phi'ingrotlo amatsi “haihaihai la nepei aphan*

phi'ing-ròt-lò amātsi háiháihái [là [ne-pēi aphān  
pass.urine-RES:wet-RL and.then my.goodness! this my-mother NSUBJ

*keponpi ahor ahan pachomatdakji*

ke-pòn-pī] [a-hōr a-hán]] pV-chomāt-dāk-jí  
NMLZ-take.away-BEN/MAL POSS-liquor POSS-curry CAUS-taste-sudden-IRR2

*pule kopi potsi*

pu=lè kopí pōt=si  
QUOT=FOC:IRR what reason=FOC:RL

*kachekippakma” pulo*

ke-che-kīp-phāk=ma pu-lò  
NMLZ-RR-pour.out-almost.completely=Q QUOT-RL

‘he peed, and things got wet, and then, “my goodness!, the rice beer that I was carrying for my mom to let her taste it, why is almost all of it it coming out by itself?” (she was thinking)’ [SeT, MTN 049]

*hala arleng ebeng'an amatsi akhalun*

hála arlèng e-bēng-án amātsi a-khalùn  
that slope one-CLF:half-till and.then POSS-kd.big.basket

*ingpuvklò apenansi iksang*

ingpú-vàk-lò a-penàn=si ik-sàng  
open-RES:open-RL POSS-husband=FOC:RL be.black-black

‘she (had climbed) halfway of the slope and then she opened her basket, and her husband was dark (i.e., inside the basket)’ [SeT, MTN 050]

*bai la'anset apot nang nekachobei aling*

[bái là-án-sèt apōt] [nàng ne-ke-chobēi aling  
how.mean! this-that.much-intensifier because you 1:AGR-NMLZ-lie INDEF

*litthuong! amatsi pinipenke chekakangpo*

lit-thū-òng] amātsi pinì=pen=ke che-kák-náng-pò  
exceed-again-be.much and.then today=from=TOP RR-part-must-IRR1

*pu amat ingparke chekaddaklo tangho*

pu amāt ingpār=ke che-kák-dāk-lò tànghò  
QUOT and.then besides=TOP RR-part-RES:split-RL REP

“‘how bad! because this is really too much, you didn’t just lie to me but exceedingly so, and then from today we will need to part”, and then they parted, they say’ [SeT, MTN 051]

*lasi la alamthe lapu helo; neli Seng Tisso*

[lasì là a-lamthē lapù helò] [nè-li Séng Tisso  
therefore this POSS-matter like.this RL:EMPH 1EXCL-HON NAME CLAN

*habekongpenke, alamthe neli*

habekòng=pen=ke] [a-lamthē nè-li  
main.headman.asst=from=TOP POSS-matter 1EXCL-HON

*lapu'ansi non ephonglokke atomo*

lapù-án=si nòn e-phòng-lòk=ke] [a-tomò  
like.this-that.much=FOC:RL now one-CLF:time-only=TOP POSS-story

*kethan kangtoniklo; kardom'iklo ho*

ke-thán ke-ingtòn-īk-lò] kardòm-īk-lò ho]  
NMLZ-tell NMLZ-conclude-FRML-RL GREETING-FRML-RL EMPH:INTERACT

‘this is how it goes, and me, Seng Tisso, from the side of the *habekong*, this matter I’m telling, just this one thing (doesn’t want to tell any other stories), I’m finished telling the story, thank you, here you go’ [SeT, MTN 052]

### **2.11 Folk story: Bey Clan Story by Welisbon Ronghipi (WR, BCS)**

Folk story about the origin of the division into Bey subclans. *Bey Ki'ik* and *Bey Ke'et* have a falling out over changing marriage plans as a result of the grandmother's advice. As a result, a taboo exists such that descendants of *Bey Ki'ik* and those of *Bey Ke'et* are not allowed to marry each other. Another result is that members of the *Bey Ronghang* clan are not allowed to grind rice for rice beer, because in mythological times, the *Bey Ronghang* women kept grinding rice beer without doing anything else, even forgetting to breast-feed their children, who then died from starvation.

*hako ahut hedi Bey atum korte bangkethom do tangho*

hakò ahūt hedī Bēy a-tūm kortè bàng-kethòm dō tànghò  
that.time during NP.EMPH CLAN POSS-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-three exist REP  
'in the old days, you know, there were three Bey brothers, they say' [WR, BCS 001]

*Bey atum korte bangkethom do aklengsi abangke*

[Bēy a-tūm kortè bàng-kethòm dō] [a-klèng-sí abàng=ke  
CLAN POSS-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-three exist POSS-old.one-SPLT NPDL=TOP

*Bey Ki'ik adakvam abangke Bey Ke'et*

Bēy ke-ik] [adakvám abàng=ke Bēy ke-èt  
CLAN NMLZ-be.black second.child NPDL=TOP CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow

*akibi abangke Bey Ronghang*

[a-ke-bī abàng=ke Bēy Ronghāng]  
POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL=TOP CLAN CLAN

'there were three Bey brothers, the oldest one was Bey the Black, the second one was Bey the Fair, and the small one was Bey Ronghang' [WR, BCS 002]

*anke latum thelo dīnglo, piso some enlo tangho*

ánke [la-tūm thè-lò dīng-lò] [pīsō sōmē ēn-lò] tànghò  
and.then this-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL wife EE:pīsō take-RL REP  
'and then, they grew up and they got married, so they say' [WR, BCS 003]

*piso some enlo anke Bey Ki'ik abangta*

[pīsō sōmē ēn-lò] ánke [Bēy ke-ik abàng=tā  
wife EE:pīsō take-RL and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=ADD:also:PRL

*ahem arit dolo Bey Ke'et abangta*

a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò] [Bēy ke-èt abàng=tā  
 POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow NPDL=ADD:also:PRL

*ahem arit dolo Bey Ronghang abang,*

a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò] [Bēy Ronghāng abàng  
 POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL CLAN CLAN NPDL

*akibi abangta, ahem arit dolo*

a-ke-bī abàng=tā a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]  
 POSS-NMLZ-be.small NPDL=ADD:also:PRL POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL

‘they got married, and then Bey the Black had his (own) house and property, Bey the Fair likewise had his (own) house and property, and Bey Ronghang, the young one, also had his (own) house and property’ [WR, BCS 004]

*anke aklengsi abangke piso some enlo apotsi,*

ánke a-klèng-sí abàng=ke pīsō sōmē ēn-lò apōt=si  
 and.then POSS-old.one-SPLT NPDL=TOP wife EE:pīsō take-RL reason=FOC:RL

*asomar thelo dinglo tangho*

a-oso-màr thè-lò dīng-lò tànghò  
 POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL REP

‘and then, the oldest had gotten married and so his children grew up’ [WR, BCS 005]

*asomar thelo dinglo, anke Bey Ke'et*

a-oso-màr thè-lò dīng-lò ánke Bēy ke-èt  
 POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow

*abangta lason thakthaklo, piso some enlo; potsi*

abàng=tā lasòn thakthāk-lò pīsō sōmē ēn-lò apōt=si  
 NPDL=ADD:also that.way same-RL wife EE:pīsō take-RL reason=FOC:RL

*halata asomar thelo dinglo*

hála=tā a-oso-màr thè-lò dīng-lò  
 that=ADD:also POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL

‘his children were growing up and then Bey the Fair also did the same and he got married and so with respect to him also, his children grew up’ [WR, BCS 006]

*an Bey Ronghang akibisi abangta piso*

án Bēy Ronghāng a-ke-bī-sí abàng=tā pīsō  
and.then CLAN CLAN POSS-NMLZ-be.small-SPLT NPDL=ADD:also wife

*some enpen, asomar thelo dinglo; anke*

sōmē ēn-pen a-oso-màr thè-lò dīng-lò] [ánke  
EE:pīsō take-NF:with POSS-child-PL be.big-RL be.long-RL and.then

*aklengsi abangke... la Bey Ke'et Bey*

a-klèng-sí abàng=ke... [là Bēy ke-èt Bēy  
POSS-old.one-SPLT NPDL=TOP this CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow CLAN

*Ronghang lapen Bey Ki'ik atum, angjirta do pu*

Ronghāng lapèn Bēy ke-ik a-tūm a-ingjìr=tā dō pu  
CLAN and CLAN NMLZ-be.black POSS-PL POSS-sister=ADD:also exist QUOT

‘and then, Bey Ronghang, the youngest, he also got married and his children grew up, and then, the oldest one, that Bey the Fair, Bey Ronghang, and Bey the Black, they also had a sister’ [WR, BCS 007]

*angjirta do anke, la angjirpi abangta*

a-ingjìr=tā dō ánke [là a-ingjìr-pī abàng=tā  
POSS-sister=ADD:also exist and.then this POSS-sister-female NPDL=ADD:also

*penan dolo; anke a'ik aklengsi along Bey*

penān dō-lò] ánke [[[a-ik a-klèng-sí alòng] [Bēy  
husband stay-RL and.then POSS-older.brother POSS-old.one-SPLT LOC CLAN

*Ki'ik ahemsi piso kehangdam tangho*

ke-ik a-hēm=si]] pīsō ke-hàng-dām] tànghò  
NMLZ-be.black POSS-house=FOC wife NMLZ-ask-GO REP

‘they also had a sister, and then the sister also got married, and then to the oldest brother, to Bey the Black’s house, she went to ask for a wife (for her son) [WR, BCS 008]

*piso hangdamlo anke kene, 'Bey Ki'ik' pu*

pīsō hàng-dām-lò ánke kené Bēy ke-ik pu  
wife call-GO-RL and.then filler CLAN NMLZ-be.black QUOT

*apotsi halatumke asomar abang ikpikpik*

apōt=si hála-tūm=ke a-oso-màr abàng ik-pìk~pìk  
because=FOC:RL that-PL=TOP POSS-child-PL NPDL be.black-very~DIST.PL

‘she went to ask for a wife, and then, ehm, because he was called ‘Bey the Black’, they, his children were all very black’ [WR, BCS 009]

*an 'Bey Ke 'et' pu atum abangke asomar*

án Bēy ke-èt pu a-tūm abàng=ke a-oso-màr  
and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow QUOT POSS-PL NPDL=TOP POSS-child-PL

*abang etpik tangho*

abàng èt-pìk tànghò  
NPDL be.yellow-very REP

‘and then, with respect to the so-called ‘Bey the Fair’ and his family, his children were very fair’  
[WR, BCS 010]

*an lasi latum korte banghini alòngpén 'Bey*

án lasì la-tūm kortè bàng-híní a-lòng=pen [Bēy  
and.then therefore this-PL brother CLF:HUM:PL-two POSS-LOC=from CLAN

*Ki 'ik' pu abang ahemsi angjirpi abang*

ke-ik pu abàng a-hēm=si] [a-ingjìr-pī abàng]  
NMLZ-be.black QUOT NPDL POSS-house=FOC POSS-sister-female NPDL

*pisò hangdamlohe*

pīsò hàng-dām-lò=he  
wife call-GO-RL=EMPH

‘and then, therefore, among the two brothers, their sister went to the so-called ‘Bey the Black’, to his house, to ask for a wife, you know’ [WR, BCS 011]

*pisò hangdamlò, anke hala aphi sarpi dolang*

[pīsò hàng-dām-lò] [ánke [hála a-phì sarpī] dō-làng  
wife call-GO-RL and.then that POSS-grandmother old.woman exist-still

*tangho, la Beyhem asarpihe... aphi*

tànghò] [là Bēy-hēm a-sarpī=he...] [a-phì  
REP this CLAN-house POSS-old.woman=AFTERTHOUGHT POSS-grandmother

*sarpi dolang, anlo aphi abang kipu tangho,*

sarpī dō-làng] [ánlo a-phì abàng ke-pù tànghò]  
old.woman exist-still and.then POSS-grandmother NPDL NMLZ-say REP

*hala asupo aphanlohe asopi*

[hála a-su-pò a-phān=lo=he] [a-oso-pì  
that POSS-grandchild-male POSS-NSUBJ=FOC=AFTERTHOUGHT POSS-child-female

*aso aphanlohe [hala a'ik*

a-osō a-phān=lo=he] [hála a-ik  
POSS-child POSS-NSUBJ=FOC=AFTERTHOUGHT that POSS-older.brother

*abangke 'Bey Ki'ik' pu apot... anke kene*

abàng=ke Bēy ke-ik pu apōt] [ánke kenē  
NPDL=TOP CLAN NMLZ-be.black QUOT because and.then HESIT

*aphi sarpi abang kipu tangho*

a-phì sarpī abàng ke-pù tànghò]  
POSS-grandmother old.woman NPDL NMLZ-say REP

‘and then there was still their grandmother (i.e. father’s mother of the three brothers and one sister), the old woman. The old woman of the Bey house, you know. His grandmother, the old woman was still there. This was how it was, up to here. And then the grandmother was saying, to her grandson, you know. To her daughter’s son, you know. The eldest brother, because he was called Bey the Black... The grandmother, the old woman said’ [WR, BCS 012]

*“hala <nang> adakvam aphanlohe... Bey*

[hála <nang-> adakvám a-phān=lo=he] [Bēy  
that 2POSS- second.child POSS-NSUBJ=FOC=AFTERTHOUGHT CLAN

*Ke'et abang aphanlo... nangong adakvam*

ke-èt abàng a-phān=lo] [nang-ōng adakvám  
NMLZ-be.yellow NPDL POSS-NSUBJ=FOC 2:POSS-maternal.uncle second.child

*ahemsi kene asopi arje*

a-hēm=si] kenē [a-oso-pì arjè  
POSS-house=LOC HESIT POSS-child-female appearance

*kemerintihe po nang hadak Bey*

ke-mē-rintí=he] [pō nàng hádāk Bēy  
IPFV-be.good-equally:PL:S/A=EMPH father you there CLAN

*Ki'ik ahemsi nang piso hangdamrong”*

ke-ik a-hēm=si nàng pīsō hàng-dām-ròng]  
NMLZ-be.black POSS-house=FOC:RL 2 wife call-GO-instead

‘ “it’s to your second-born (maternal uncle), you know, to Bey the Fair (that you should go and ask for a wife), at your second-born maternal uncle’s house, his daughters are all equally beautiful, you know, father, you went there to the house of Bey the Black to ask for a wife instead” ‘ [WR, BCS 013]

“*nangong akleng ahemke, nangong*  
 [nang-ōng a-klèng a-hēm=ke] [nang-ōng  
 2:POSS-maternal.uncle POSS-old.one POSS-house=TOP 2:POSS-maternal.uncle

*ahemripo ahemke, la'an abang*  
 a-hēm'rī-pō a-hēm=ke] la=án abàng  
 POSS-oldest.son-male POSS-house=TOP this=that.much NPDL

*ki'ikrintile putangho*  
 ke-ik-rintí=le pù-tànghò  
 IPFV-be.black-equally:PL:S/A=FOC:IRR QUOT-REP  
 ‘ “the family of your oldest maternal uncle, the family of your uncle who is the eldest son of the family, all of them are so black (so you shouldn't get your wife from them)” ‘ [WR, BCS 014]

*anlo aphi abangke aphi sarpi abang la*  
 ánlo aphī abàng=ke [a-phì sarpī abàng] [là  
 and.then after NPDL=TOP POSS-grandmother old.woman NPDL this

*asopi asopo aphan pudet apot*  
 a-oso-pì a-oso-pò a-phān pù-dèt apōt]  
 POSS-child-female POSS-child-male POSS-NSUBJ say-PFV because

*asupo aphan hadak nangong* “<Bey  
 [a-su-pò a-phān] [hádāk nang-ōng <Bēy  
 POSS-grandchild-male POSS-NSUBJ there 2:POSS-maternal.uncle CLAN

*Ki'ik> Bey Ke'et ahemle piso*  
 ke-ik> Bēy ke-èt a-hēm=le] [pīsō  
 NMLZ-be.black CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-house=FOC:IRR wife

*hangdamrongnon hadaksi abang*  
 hàng-dām-ròng-nōn] hādāk=si a-bàng  
 call-GO-instead-COND.IMP there=FOC:RL POSS-somebody/people

*ke'etrinti" pu apot, asupo*  
 ke-èt-rintí pu apōt] [a-su-pò  
 IPFV-be.yellow-equally:PL:S/A QUOT because POSS-grandchild-male

*abangta aphi alam apot kroidetlohe*  
 abàng=tā] [[a-phì a-lám] apōt] krōi-dèt-lò=he  
 NPDL=ADD:DM POSS-grandmother POSS-word because agree-PFV-RL=AFTERTHOUGHT  
 ‘it was the grandmother, the grandmother, the old woman, because she had said to the son of her daughter, to her grandson, “there to your uncle, to Bey the Fair's house go and ask for a wife. There,

the people (i.e. daughters) are all equally fair”, because she said that, because these were the words of his grandmother, the grandson agreed, you know’ [WR, BCS 015]

*aphi alam apot kroilo, anke hala Bey*

[a-phì a-lám apōt krōi-lò] ánke [hála Bēy  
POSS-grandmother POSS-word because agree-RL and.then that CLAN

*Ki ’ik ahemke piso hangdam ’et jat ’et*

ke-ik a-hēm=ke pīsō hàng-dām-ét jat-ét]  
NMLZ-be.black POSS-house=TOP wife call-GO-PFT GENEX-PFT

*lo han sik ’et jat ’et [kache pangri*

[lō hán sík-ét jat-ét] [ke-che-pangrí  
banana.leaf curry prepare-PFT GENEX-PFT NMLZ-RR-reconcile

*pangdonnangji aphan kesiktang ’anta*

pangdòn-náng-jí aphān ke-sík-táng-án=tā  
even.out-need-IRR2 PURP NMLZ-prepare-finish-all=ADD:EXH

*siktheilo, an hadak abangke lo han*

sík-théi-lò] [án hādāk abàng=ke lō hán  
prepare-all.of.a.set:S/O-RL and.then there NPDL=TOP banana.leaf curry

*thuruilo, hala aphi alam karju an*

thū-rùi-lò] [hála a-phì a-lám ke-arjū án  
rot-many-RL that POSS-grandmother POSS-word NMLZ-listen because

*Bey Ke ’et ahem hedi hadak asopi*

Bēy ke-èt a-hēm hedī hādāk a-oso-pì  
CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-house NP.EMPH there POSS-child-female

*la Bey Ke ’et asopi aphantsi hedi*

là Bēy ke-èt a-oso-pì aphān=si hedī  
this CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-child-female NSUBJ=FOC:RL NP.EMPH

*piso hangdamrong hadaksi pangri pangdonrong tangho*

pīsō hàng-dām-ròng hādāk=si pangrí pangdòn-ròng tànhò  
wife call-GO-instead there=FOC:RL reconcile even.out-instead REP

‘because it was his grandmother’s advice, he agreed, and so he went to Bey the Black’s house to ask for a wife and do all the formalities, and prepare the banana leaves and the curry (for the wedding) and everything, they prepared all of the necessary things for the wedding, and then there all the food got rotten, (because) he had followed his grandmother’s advice and had gone to Bey the Fair’s house, you know; there (that man’s) daughter, to the daughter of Bey the Fair, you know, he went to ask for her as a wife instead, there he went to get married instead’ [WR, BCS 016]

*pangri pangdonronglò anke ha aphike la Bey*

pangrí pangdòn-ròng-lò ánke há aphī=ke là Bēy  
reconcile even.out-instead-RL and.then over.there after=TOP this CLAN

*Ke'etpen Bey Ki'ik abangke aning*

ke-èt=pen Bēy ke-ik abàng=ke a-nīng  
NMLZ-be.yellow/fair=with CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=TOP POSS-mind

*che'oitanglo*

che-òì-táng-lò

RR-be.sad-finish-RL

'they got married, and then after this, Bey the Fair and Bey the Black got upset with each other' [WR, BCS 017]

*hala Bey Ki'ik atumke lo han*

[hála Bēy ke-ik a-tūm=ke] [lō hán  
that CLAN NMLZ-be.black POSS-PL=TOP banana.leaf curry

*thik'etlomati kene kecho kijunnangji,*

thík-ét-lò=mati kenē [ke-chō ke-jùn-náng-ji]

be.okay(<Asm)-PFT-RL=CG HESIT NMLZ-eat NMLZ-drink-need-IRR2

*ok hanta thiktheilo seta, hala*

[ōk hán=tā thík-théi-lò setā [hála  
meat curry=ADD:also be.okay(<Asm)-all:EXH:S/O-RL but that

*aphi sarpi alam karju apot, anke Bey*

a-phì sarpī a-lám ke-arjū apōt] [ánke Bēy  
POSS-grandmother old.woman POSS-word NMLZ-listen because and.then CLAN

*Ke'et ahem chepangri chepangdonronglo; anke*

ke-èt a-hēm che-pangrí che-pangdòn-ròng-lò [ánke  
NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-house RR-reconcile RR-even.out-instead-RL and.then

*hala Bey Ki'ik akleng abangke aning ke'oilo*

hála Bēy ke-ik a-klèng abàng=ke a-nīng ke-òì-lò]  
that CLAN NMLZ-be.black POSS-old.one NPDL=TOP POSS-mind IPFV-be.sad-RL

'and then, Bey the Black and his family had already arranged everything, you know, and although they had prepared all the food and beverages, because (he) had followed that grandmother's advice, he had instead married into Bey the Fair's family, and then that Bey the Black, the oldest one, got upset' [WR, BCS 018]

*lasi pini-arni'anta hedi Bey Ke'etpen Bey*

lasi pini-arni=án=tā hedī Bēy ke-èt=pen Bēy  
therefore today-day=till=ADD:even NP.EMPH CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow=with CLAN

*Ki'ikke chi'une tangho Karbi atum, Bey*

ke-ik=ke che-ün-Cē tǎnghò Karbi a-tūm [Bèy  
NMLZ-be.black=TOP RR-be.able-NEG REP Karbi POSS-PL CLAN

*Ke'etpen Bey Ki'ik kechiune*

ke-èt=pen Bēy ke-ik ke-che-ün-Cē  
NMLZ-be.yellow=with CLAN NMLZ-be.black NMLZ-RR-be.able-NEG

*athaike <hala piso> aphī sarpi abang*

a-thái=ke] <hála pīsō> a-phī sarpi abàng  
POSS-place(<Asm)=TOP that wife POSS-grandmother old.woman NPDL

*chokchedétlomati*

chòk-Cē-dèt-lò=mati  
be.fine-NEG-PFV-RL=CG

‘up to today, Bey the Fair and Bey the Black can’t tolerate each other (among) the Karbis, and the reason why Bey the Fair and Bey the Black can’t tolerate each other is that <that wife>, grandmother made a mistake, you know’ [WR, BCS 019]

*asupo aphan pudundét, “nangong, Bey*

[a-su-pò a-phān pù-dūn-dèt] [[nang-ōng Bēy  
POSS-grandchild-male POSS-NSUBJ say-JOIN-PFV 2:POSS-maternal.uncle CLAN

*Ke'et ahemsi asopi arje keme”*

ke-èt a-hēm=si] [a-oso-pi] [arjè ke-mē]]  
NMLZ-be.yellow POSS-house=LOC POSS-child-female appearance IPFV-be.good

*pu pudundétpen, hadak chepangridet apot hedi;*

pu pù-dūn-dèt-pen hádāk che-pangrì-dèt apōt hedī  
QUOT say-JOIN-PFV-NF:with there RR-reconcile-PFV because EMPH

*anke Bey Ki'ik abangke seme ketang tangho*

ánke Bēy ke-ik abàng=ke semé ke-táng tǎnghò  
and.then CLAN NMLZ-be.black NPDL=TOP oath(<Khs) IPFV-LV REP

‘(she) had said to the grandchild, “at the house of your maternal uncle, Bey the Fair, his daughters are very beautiful”, she had said that and then because he got married there, you know, so Bey the Black took a vow’ [WR, BCS 020]

*Karbi atumhe adohai dokoklohe*

Karbì a-tūm=he a-dohái dō-kòk-lò=he  
 Karbi POSS-PL=AFTERTHOUGHT POSS-vow(<Ind) exist-firmly-RL=AFTERTHOUGHT  
 ‘among the Karbis, you know, there is a vow, you know’ [WR, BCS 021]

*“mò pirthe kangtangta nang Bey Ke’etpen*

mò pirthé ke-ingtāng=tā nàng Bēy ke-èt=pen  
 future world NMLZ-be.strong=even you CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow=with

*Bey Ki’ikke nangpachiunenang!” pu tangho*

Bēy ke-ik=ke nang=pV-che-ūn-Cē-nāng pu tānghò  
 CLAN NMLZ-be.black=TOP 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-RR-be.able-NEG-HORT QUOT REP  
 ‘ “in the future, even when the world is firm, you (my offspring), Bey the Fair and Bey the Black, let’s make you not be able to tolerate each other” ‘ [WR, BCS 022]

*ke latum banghini abàngke korte banghini*

ke la-tūm bàng-hinì abàng=ke kortè bàng-hinì  
 and.then this-PL CLF:HUM:PL-two NPDL=TOP brother CLF:HUM:PL-two

*abangke aseme dokoklohe*

abàng=ke a-semé dō-kòk-lò=he  
 NPDL=TOP POSS-vow(<Khs) exist-firmly-RL=AFTERTHOUGHT  
 ‘and then, (between) the two brothers, the vow remains, you know’ [WR, BCS 023]

*lasi pini-arnita Bey Ke’etpen Bey*

lasi pini-arnì=tā Bēy ke-èt=pen Bēy  
 therefore today-day=ADD:even CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow=with CLAN

*Ki’ik chi’une*

ke-ik che-ūn-Cē  
 NMLZ-be.black RR-be.able-NEG  
 ‘and so up to today, Bey the Fair and Bey the Black can’t tolerate each other’ [WR, BCS 024]

*latumke hedi la Bey Ke’et kele*

la-tūm=ke hedī là Bēy ke-èt ke-lè  
 this-PL=TOP NP.EMPH this CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow NMLZ-reach

*ahemlote Bey Ki 'ik le 'un 'e pu*

a-hēm-lò-te Bēy ke-ik lè-ūn-Cē pu  
POSS-house-RL-COND CLAN NMLZ-be.black reach-be.able-NEG QUOT

*laso adohai dokoklo aseme dokoklo*

lasō a-dohái dō-kòk-lò a-semé dō-kòk-lò  
this POSS-vow(<Ind) exist-firmly-RL POSS-vow(<Khs) exist-firmly-RL

‘and so, when there’s a house that (a daughter of) Bey the Fair has reached (i.e. got married there), there (a daughter of) Bey the Black can’t reach (i.e. can’t get married), there’s a *dohai*, there’s a vow’ [WR, BCS 025]

*anke 'Bey Ronghang' pu abangke akibi*

ánke Bēy Ronghāng pu abàng=ke a-ke-bī  
and.then CLAN CLAN QUOT NPDL=TOP POSS-NMLZ-be.small

*atumlo tangho*

a-tūm-lò tànghò  
POSS-PL-RL REP

‘and then, the (children of the) so-called ‘Bey Ronghang’ were the youngest’ [WR, BCS 026]

*latumke akibisi atumlo, latumta piso some*

[la-tūm=ke a-ke-bī-sí a-tūm-lò] la-tūm=tā pīsō sōmē  
this-PL=TOP POSS-NMLZ-be.small-SPLT POSS-PL-RL this-PL=ADD:DM wife EE:pīsō

*enlo potsi ahem arit dolò*

ēn-lò] [pōt=si a-hēm a-rīt dō-lò]  
take-RL reason=FOC:RL POSS-house POSS-field exist-RL

‘they were (the children/descendants of) the youngest, they also had gotten married and so they had their house and property’ [WR, BCS 027]

*anke latum abangke hedi thap ketoklok tangho*

ánke la-tūm abàng=ke hedī thap ke-tòk-lòk tànghò  
and.then this-PL NPDL=TOP NP.EMPH cake.for.rice.beer IPFV-pound-only REP

‘and then, they kept pounding the rice to prepare the cake for rice beer, it is said’ [WR, BCS 028]

*Karbi atum la hor ketun'i apot he*

Karbì atūm là hōr ke-tún-ī apōt=he

Karbi PL this liquor NMLZ-cook-with because=EMPH

'because that's what Karbi prepare liquor with, you know' [WR, BCS 029]

*thap ketoklok jo arnita sanglongle,*

[thàp ke-tòk-lòk] [jò arni=tā sáng-lōng-Cē]

cake.for.rice.beer IPFV-pound-only night day=ADD:EXH take.rest-GET-NEG

*thap ketoklok ketoklok, aso mok*

[thàp ke-tòk-lòk ke-tòk-lòk] [[[a-sō mōk

cake.for.rice.beer IPFV-pound-only IPFV-pound-only POSS-child breast

*kachepechuji apor ave tangho*

ke-che-pV-chū-jí] a-pòr] avē tànghò]

NMLZ-RR-CAUS-suck-IRR2 POSS-time not.exist REP

'they just kept pounding the rice for the rice beer cake, the whole time they didn't get to take rest, they were pounding the rice beer cake, they didn't even have time to breastfeed their children' [WR, BCS 030]

*lasi aso mok chipichulongle jatlongle,*

lasi [a-sō mōk che-pV-chū-lōng-Cē ját-lōng-Cē]

therefore POSS-child breast RR-CAUS-suck-GET-NEG GENEX-GET-NEG

*lasi aso hedi ja'e arlo aso thilot tangho*

lasi a-sō hedī ja'ē arlō a-sō thì-lòt tànghò

therefore POSS-child NP.EMPH cradle inside POSS-child die-INTENS REP

'and so, they didn't get a chance to breastfeed their children and everything and so, you know, inside the cradles their children just died, it is said' [WR, BCS 031]

*anke latumta hedi seme tangdetlo*

ánke la-tūm=tā hedī semé táng-dèt-lò

and.then this-PL=ADD:also NP.EMPH vow(<Khs) LV-PFV-RL

'and then, they also, you know, took a vow' [WR, BCS 032]

*latum abangke nohokta che'undun, la akibi*

la-tūm abàng=ke nohōk=tā che-ūn-dūn, là a-ke-bī  
this-PL NPDL=TOP anywhere=ADD:EXH RR-be.able-JOIN this POSS-NMLZ-be.small

*atumke he... Bey Ke'et alongta che'undun*

a-tūm=ke he... Bēy ke-èt alòng=tā che-ūn-dūn  
POSS-PL=TOP NP.EMPH CLAN NMLZ-be.yellow LOC=ADD:also:PRL RR-get.along-JOIN

*an Bey Ki'ik alongta che'undun sita, latum*

án Bēy ke-ik alòng=tā che-ūn-dūn sitā [la-tūm  
then CLAN NMLZ-be.black LOC=ADD:also:PRL RR-get.along-JOIN but this-PL

*aseme <ketok> kedo abangke thap*

a-semé <ke-tòk> ke-dō abàng=ke [thàp  
POSS-vow(<Khs) NMLZ-pound NMLZ-exist NPDL=TOP cake.for.rice.beer

*toklongle*

tòk-lōng-Cē]

pound-GET-NEG

‘they can tolerate anybody (i.e. can tolerate both Bey the Black and Bey the Fair), the youngest brother’s clan ones, you know, Bey the Fair’s clan members they can tolerate, and Bey the Black’s clan members they can tolerate, but with respect to their vow, they shouldn’t pound the rice for the rice beer cake’ [WR, BCS 033]

*“thap toklongle mò pirthe kangtang sita la*

thàp tòk-lōng-Cē mò pirthé ke-ingtāng setā là  
cake.for.rice.beer pound-GET-NEG future world NMLZ-be.strong but this

*netum Bey Ronghang atumke thap*

ne-tūm Bēy Ronghāng a-tūm=ke thàp  
1EXCL-PL CLAN CLAN POSS-PL=TOP cake.for.rice.beer

*nangpatoklonglenang” pu*

nang=pV-tòk-lōng-Cē-nāng pu  
1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-pound-GET-NEG-HORT QUOT

‘ “we don’t get to pound, even in the future when the world is mature, we, the Bey Ronghang shouldn’t be made to have to pound the rice for rice beer cake”, (he) said’ [WR, BCS 034]

*lasi pini-arni'anta hedi la Bey Ronghang atumke*

lasi pini-arni-án=tā hedī là Bēy Ronghāng a-tūm=ke  
therefore today-day-till=ADD:even NP.EMPH this CLAN CLAN POSS-PL=TOP

*bang thap ketok alengpumta otdunno*

bàng thàp ke-tòk a-lengpūm=tā òt-dùn-nō  
 people cake.for.rice.beer NMLZ-pound POSS-pestle=ADD:DM touch-JOIN-be.bad  
 ‘even up to today, you know, for the Bey Ronghang, the pestle (other people use) to pound the rice  
 for the rice beer cake is bad to touch (i.e., shouldn’t be touched)’ [WR, BCS 035]

*bang thap ketok alengpum otdunlote*

[bàng thàp ke-tòk a-lengpūm òt-dùn-lò-tē]  
 people cake.for.rice.beer NMLZ-pound POSS-pestle touch-JOIN-RL-COND

*ekene Karbi atum kipu asingnam avedetji*

ekenē [Karbi a-tūm ke-pù a-singnām [avē-dèt-jí  
 HESIT Karbi POSS-PL NMLZ-say POSS-head.strap not.exist-PFV-IRR2

*che asingnam kave pondetji pu ekene*

chē] a-singnām ke-avē pòn-dèt-jí pu ekenē  
 I.mean POSS-head.strap NMLZ-not.exist take.away-PFV-IRR2 QUOT HESIT

*teke pondetji tangho*

teké pòn-dèt-jí tànghò  
 tiger take.away-PFV-IRR2 REP

‘if somebody touches the pestle used for pounding the rice for the rice beer cake, then what the  
 Karbis call the one without a headstrap, I mean, the one that doesn’t have a head strap will take him  
 away, (i.e.) the tiger will take him away, it is said’ [WR, BCS 036]

*lasi la thap ketok alengpumta*

lasi [là thàp ke-tòk a-lengpūm=tā  
 therefore this cake.for.rice.beer NMLZ-pound POSS-pestle=ADD:DM

*otdunno, an hor kitun ahutta hedi la*

òt-dùn-nō] án [[[hōr ke-tún ahūt=tā hedī] là  
 touch-JOIN-be.bad and.then serve.food NMLZ-cook during=ADD NP.EMPH this

*Bey Ronghang atumke thapta lapu*

Bēy Ronghāng a-tūm=ke thàp=tā lapù  
 CLAN CLAN POSS-PL=TOP cake.for.rice.beer=ADD like.this

*kekoinangji bongpen, kotpenhe pu*

ke-kòi-náng-jí] [bòng=pen kòt=pen=he]] [pù  
 IPFV-rub-must-IRR2 bottle=with paper(<Asm)=with= AFTERTHOUGHT like.this

*koisi ansi hala an along teinangji*

kòì-sì      ánsì      hála    àn    a-lòng      téi-náng-jí]  
rub-NF:RL    after.that    that    rice    POSS-LOC    apply-need-IRR2

‘the pestle cannot be touched, and so at the time of pounding the rice, the Bey Ronghang grind the rice like that, with a bottle, with a piece of paper (put between rice cake and bottle), they grind it and then they need to apply the powder (after grinding) with the rice (to prepare the rice beer)’ [WR, BCS 037]

*lapu ’an anatlo atomoke*

lapù=án      a-nàt-lò      a-tomò=ke  
like.this=till    POSS-only-RL    POSS-story=TOP

‘just like this, up to here it goes, the story’ [WR, BCS 038]

## 2.12 Narrative: Crying child by Kache Kropi (KK, CC)

Narration about the (traditional) everyday situation of a mother having a baby to take care of while having to perform other chores such as getting firewood and cooking (not considered a true folk story by language consultants).

*ne kethanji alamtheke jo dak rong'aje along*

[nè ke-thán-jí a-lamthē=ke] [jò dāk róng'ajé alòng  
1EXCL NMLZ-tell-IRR2 POSS-matter=TOP see here festival LOC

*nangkachetongdunsi*

nang=ke-chetòng-dūn-si]

1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-meet-JOIN-NF:RL

'the matter that I will talk about... after meeting here at the festival' [KK, CC 002]

*ethevet setame thanji pusi dak kevanglò*

[e-thē-vét setāmē thán-jí pusi] dāk ke-vàng-lò  
one-CLF:word-only nevertheless tell-IRR2 QUOT.COMP here NMLZ-come-RL  
'I have come here to tell just one thing' [KK, CC 003]

<neli> *ne kedo ajakat abangke ha*

<nè-li> [nè ke-dō a-jakát abàng=ke] há  
1EXCL-HON 1EXCL NMLZ-stay POSS-place(<Asm) NPDL=TOP over.there

*pu kene Socheng Dhenta anathu, Duarsalonasi kedo*

lapú kenē Sochēng Dhentá a-nátthū Duarsalona=si ke-dō  
this.side HESIT TOWN POSS-direction AREA=FOC:RL NMLZ-stay

'the place where I live is that side, it's towards Socheng Dhenta in Duarsalona, where I live'  
[KK, CC 004]

*nerong amenke Sarthe Rongphar arong*

[ne-ròng a-mén=ke] [Sarthe Ròngphàr a-ròng]  
1EXCL-village POSS-name=TOP VILLAGE POSS-village  
'the name of my village is Sarthe Rongphar' [KK, CC 005]

*ako langmemedet setame isi basapilo*

akò lǎng-mē-Cē-dèt          setāmē          isī      básápī-lò

then see-be.good-NEG-PFV nevertheless one wife.of.headman-RL

‘and then, even though I may not be perfect in it, I’m one Basapi (wife of headman)’ [KK, CC 006]

*nemen abangké Kache Kropi pu*

[ne-mén          abàng=ke] [Kaché Krōpī pu]

1EXCL-name NPDL=TOP NAME CLAN QUOT

‘my name is Kache Kropi’ [KK, CC 007]

*ta ne kethan atomo abangke*

tā [nè      ke-thán      a-temò      abàng=ke]

but 1EXCL NMLZ-tell POSS-story NPDL=TOP

*pachekengdamthekthedet tahai meneta*

[pV-che-kèng-dàm-thèk-Cē-dèt                      tahài] [menē=tā

CAUS-RR-be.straight-go-know.how-NEG-PFV DUBIT maybe=ADD.even

*nangthanpo*

nang=thán-pò]

1/2:NSUBJ=tell-IRR1

‘the story I’m telling now, I may not be able to tell it perfectly (straight), but maybe I will still tell (it)’ [KK, CC 008]

<ne hala> *hakokota so ’arlo atumke hem*

<nè      hála> [[hakò~kò=tā                      sō’arlō              a-tūm=ke              hēm

1EXCL that      that.time~INTENS=ADD.EXH women:COLL POSS-PL=TOP house

*akam kachoklem ajoine esomarpen, laso alamlo*

a-kám      ke-cho-klém a-joiné]      [e-oso-màr-pen]]      [lasō a-lám-lò]

POSS-work NMLZ-MID-do POSS-reason 1PL.INCL-child-PL-from this POSS-matter-RL

‘in the old, old days, because the women had to do the house work, with the children, this is the matter’ [KK, CC 009]

*e ha apai abang theng endamjuilò*

e      há      [a-pāi      abàng] thēng      ēn-dām-jùi-lò

EXPRS over.there POSS-mother NPDL firewood take-GO-away-RL

‘over there/far away, a mother went away to get firewood’ [KK, CC 010]

*asomarke asoke aphi aphan tekangbuplo*

a-so-màr=ke      a-osō=ke      a-phi      aphān    tekáng-bùp-lò  
POSS-child-PL=TOP    POSS-child=TOP    POSS-grandmother    NSUBJ    leave.for-away-RL  
'she left her child with the grandmother' [KK, CC 011]

*anke aphike baithekthe baithekthe,*

ánke    a-phi=ke      bàì-thèk-Cē      bàì-thèk-Cē  
and.then    POSS-grandmother=TOP    console-know.how-NEG    console-know.how-NEG

*lasi apai abangke thik theng ke'enpen*

lasi      a-pāi      abàng=ke    thík      thēng      ke-ēn-pen  
therefore    POSS-mother    NPDL=TOP    right.then    firewood    NMLZ-take-NF:with/from

*nanglelo*

nang=lè-lò

CIS=reach-RL

'and then, afterwards, she (the grandmother) could not console (the child) (although she tried and tried again), and the mother right at that moment, from getting firewood arrived' [KK, CC 012]

*theng enpen nanglelò anke hala asota*

thēng    ēn-pen    nang=lè-lò    ánke    hála    a-osō=tā  
firewood    take-with    CIS=reach-RL    and.then    that    POSS-child=ADD.DM

*mek prang chirulo*

mēk    prāng    chirú-lò

eye    dawn    cry-RL

'she reached back from getting firewood, and then, that child woke up and cried' [KK, CC 013]

*lasi ha nangpai vanglo jaho damnoi mok*

lasi    há      nang-pāi      vàng-lò      jáho      dām-nōi      mōk  
therefore    over.there    your-mother    come-RL    look.there!    go-INF.COND.IMP    breast

*chudamnoi dah pulo*

chū-dām-nōi      dáh    pù-lò

suck-GO-INF.COND.IMP    go!    say-RL

'and then, "from there your mom has come, look there!, go and drink milk, go!" said (the grandmother)' [KK, CC 014]

*e anke apaita <m> pharla dam,*

e [ánke a-pāi=tā pharlá dām]  
EXPRS and.then POSS-mother=ADD.DM outside.part.Karbi.house go

*theng akhangra okòksi, hem damsì,*

[thēng a-khangrá ò-kòk-sì] [hēm dām-sì]  
firewood POSS-basket.for.firewood leave-in.a.fixed.place-NF:RL house go-NF:RL

*hongkup ingnilúnsi, mok chepachusi,*

[hongkūp ingnì-lùn-sì] [mōk che-pV-chū-sì]  
entrance.area.Karbi.house sit-big:AO-NF:RL breast RR-CAUS-suck-NF:RL

*“dojoinoi, po!”*

[dō-jòì-nōi pō]  
stay-quietly-INF.COND.IMP father

‘and then, the mother went and unloaded the firewood in the *pharla* (porch), then went inside the house, sat down at the *hongkup*, breastfed the child, ‘be quiet, daddy’ [KK, CC 015]

*ne han an tunpò ajatpò, chirurinoi!*

[nè hán àn tún-pò aját-pò] [chirú-rī-nōi]  
1EXCL curry rice cook-IRR1 GENEX-IRR1 cry-NEG.IMP-INF.COND.IMP

*nangphihai along damnòì dei]*

[nang-phi-hái alòng dām-nōi déi]  
2POSS-grandmother-HON LOC go-INF.COND.IMP OK?

‘I will cook food and everything, don’t cry, go to your grandmother, ok?’ [KK, CC 016]

*aphihai alongle donoi*

a-phi-hái alòng=le dō-nōi  
POSS-grandmother-HON LOC=FOC:IRR stay-INF.COND.IMP

*chirurinòì pu tangho*

chirú-rī-nōi pu tànghò  
cry-NEG.IMP-INF.COND.IMP QUOT REP

‘‘stay with your grandmother, don’t cry’’ [KK, CC 017]

*anke aphi abangta anke “vangnoi, po!”*

[ánke a-phi abàng=tā] [ánke vàng-nōi pō]  
and.then POSS-grandmother NPDL=ADD.DM and.then come-INF.COND.IMP father

*nangpai an patunnang pu*

nang-pāi àn pV-tún-nāng pu]  
 your-mother rice CAUS-cook-HORT QUOT

‘and then, the grandmother, and then “come, daddy, let (or let’s let) your mother cook rice”’ [KK, CC 018]

*anke apai abangke an tundamlo ajatlo,*

[ánke a-pāi abàng=ke àn tún-dàm-lò aját-lò]  
 and.then POSS-mother NPDL=TOP rice cook-GO-RL GENEX-RL

*anke hala aso abangke kroithekthesi*

ánke hála a-osō abàng=ke krōi-thēk-Cē-si  
 and.then that POSS-child NPDL=TOP agree-know.how-NEG-NF:RL

*chiruthuvaret*

chirú-thù-varèt]  
 cry-again-INTENS

‘and then, the mother went and cooked food and everything, and then, that child wasn’t able to agree and kept crying a lot’ [KK, CC 019]

*lasi “mai! kachiruta pu’ansetmá?! ha*

lasi [mái ke-chirú=tā pù-án-sèt=ma [há  
 therefore how.bad! NMLZ-cry=ADD.?? like.this-that.much-intensifier=Q over.there

*nangphihai along damnoi dah” pu*

nang-phì-hái alòng dàm-nōi dáh pu]  
 2POSS-grandmother-HON LOC go-INF.COND.IMP go! QUOT

‘and then, ‘oh, you are crying so much?!, go there to your grandmother, go!’’ [KK, CC 020]

<*aphihai*> *aphihai abangke hangdunlo,*

a-phì-hái a-phì-hái abàng=ke háng-dùn-lò]  
 POSS-grandmother-HON POSS-grandmother-HON NPDL=TOP call-JOIN-RL

*“vangnoi, po!”*

[vàng-nōi pō]  
 come-INF.COND.IMP father

‘the grandmother also called, ‘come, daddy’’ [KK, CC 021]

*chiruta chiru'ongchotlo nang piba chevanra*

chirú=tā      chirú-òng-chòt-lò      nàng pibā      che-vān-ra  
cry=ADD.INT cry-exist.much-slightly-RL 2 baby.carrying.cloth RR-bring-NF:IRR

*hong vannoi ho*

hòng vàn-nōi      ho  
outside bring-INF.COND.IMP definitely  
'(you) have cried so much, bring your piba and bring it outside' [KK, CC 022]

*"hong vangnoi, nangbapo" pu*

hòng vàng-nōi      nang=bā-pò      pu  
outside come-INF.COND.IMP 1/2:NSUBJ=carry.on.back-IRR1 QUOT  
'come outside, I'll carry you on my back' [KK, CC 023]

*te "damnoi!" ante "dah! nangphihai along,*

tè dàm-nōi      ánte dah! nang-phì-hái      alòng  
OK.then go-INF.COND.IMP OK.then go! 2POSS-grandmother-HON LOC

*e, lothe lotha doji, mene mena" pu*

e lothē lothā dō-jí      menē menā pu  
EXPRS banana EE:lothē exist-IRR2 maybe EE:menē QUOT  
'then, go to your grandmother, she will have bananas and other fruit maybe' [KK, CC 024]

*aphi abang thakdunlo, "o lothe ave, po;*

a-phì      abàng thàk-dūn-lò      ò lothē avē pō  
POSS-grandmother NPDL answer-JOIN-RL EXCM banana not.exist father

*ne non malom ram damde"*

nè nòn malōm ràm      dàm-Cē  
1EXCL now while old.jhum.field go-NEG  
'the grandmother answered, 'oh, I don't have bananas, father, I didn't go to the old jhum field these days' [KK, CC 025]

*<pot> tangke hala apei abang tunlongle*

<pōt> tángke [[hála a-pēi      abàng tún-lōng-Cē  
thing and.then that POSS-mother NPDL cook-get.to-NEG

*danglonglelo, aso kachiru ajoine,*  
 dàng-lōng-Cē-lò] [a-osō ke-chirú a-joiné]  
 put.on.stove-get.to-NEG-RL POSS-child NMLZ-cry POSS-reason(<Ind)

*si “bai! <s> han anta*  
 [lasì bái hán àn=tā  
 therefore how.mean! prepared.vegetables rice=ADD

*tunlonglelo an arni kethetangdetle!”*  
 tún-lōng-Cē-lò án arni ke-thè-tāng-dèt=lē  
 cook-get(.to)-NEG-RL that.much sun NMLZ-be.big-finish-PFV=FOC:IRR  
 ‘that mother couldn’t cook, couldn’t prepare (place on stove), because the child was crying,  
 “how bad!, neither the curry nor the rice I could cook, (and) this much the sun has become so big  
 already”’ [KK, CC 026]

*nangpoke nangkelepo kelak’huipo*  
 nang-pō=ke nang=ke-lè-pò ke-lāk-hùi-pò  
 your-father=TOP CIS=NMLZ-reach-IRR1 NMLZ-be.tired-quite-IRR1  
 ‘your father will reach, he will be quite tired’ [KK, CC 027]

*an <a> inglong arlok e karlu <kesu(n)>*  
 án inglòng arlòk e ke-arlū <ke-sūn>  
 that.much hill valley EXPRS NMLZ-climb NMLZ-descend

*kachotiki kedamle*  
 ke-cho-tikī ke-dām=lē  
 NMLZ-MID-cultivate NMLZ-go=FOC:IRR  
 ‘(the father) is climbing across such big hills and valleys and is cultivating (that’s why he will be  
 tired)’ [KK, CC 028]

*nang non’anta han anta tuntelang*  
 nàng nòn-án=tā hán àn=tā tún-Cē-làng  
 you now-until=ADD.even curry rice=ADD.even cook-NEG-yet

*pulepo*  
 pù-lè-pò  
 say-again-IRR1  
 ‘(he) will also/again say, ‘even up to now, you haven’t cooked food yet’’ [KK, CC 029]

*lasi “dojoinoi, po ho! ne*

lasi dō-jòì-nōi pō ho nè  
therefore stay-quietly-INF.COND.IMP father definitely 1EXCL

*nangbapo nangtharunpo”*

nang=bā-pò nang=tharún-pò  
1/2:NSUBJ=carry.on.back-IRR1 1/2:NSUBJ=rock-IRR1  
‘so you must be quiet, father, here, I will carry you and rock you’ [KK, CC 030]

*nangpo sai kachotikidam; ang’i jangriri lang*

[nang-pō sái ke-cho-tikī-dām] [a-ing’í jáng-rìrì [lāng  
your-father labor NMLZ-MID-cultivate-GO POSS-sweat fall-slightly water

*nangkang’it an nangkangchirpo, an*

nang=ke-ing’it] [àn nang=ke-ingchìr-pò] [àn  
CIS=NMLZ-be.thirsty rice CIS=NMLZ-be.hungry-IRR1 rice

*tunpinang ho pu*

tún-pī-nāng ho pu]  
cook-BEN/MAL-HORT EMPH:INTERACT QUOT

‘your father will go work in the field, his sweat will be running down, he will be very thirsty, he will be very hungry, let’s cook rice for him!’ [KK, CC 031]

*lasi anke tharunvirsi, aoso ha padok*

lasi ánke tharún-vìr-si a-osō há pV-dòk  
therefore and.then rock-gently-NF:RL POSS-child then.much.later CAUS-be.sweet

*padoksi, aphi along*

pV-dòk-si a-phì alòng  
VBLZ-be.sweet-NF:RL POSS-grandmother LOC

*thondamkoklo*

thòn-dām-kòk-lò  
drop-GO-in.a.fixed.place-RL  
‘and then, gently she was rocking the child and consoling and consoling, she dropped (the child) with the grandmother’ [KK, CC 032]

*lasi “vangnoi, po! nangbapo nangpai an*

lasi vāng-nōi pō nang=bā-pò nang-pāi àn  
therefore come-INF.COND.IMP father 1/2:NSUBJ=carry.on.back-IRR1 your-mother rice

*patunnang” pu*

pV-tún-nāng pu  
CAUS-cook-HORT QUOT

‘and then, “come, father, I’ll carry you on my back, let your mother cook rice” (grandmother said)’ [KK, CC 033]

*an ansi apai abangke han an kitundam*

án ánsi a-pāi abàng=ke hán àn ke-tún-dàm  
that.much after.that POSS-mother NPDL=TOP curry rice NMLZ-cook-GO

*kedangdam*

ke-dàng-dām

NMLZ-put.on.stove-GO

‘after that, the mother went to cook food and went to put it on the stove’ [KK, CC 034]

*lasi han an tun’et men’etlo*

lasi hán àn tún-ét mèn-ét-lò  
therefore curry rice cook-PRF be.ready.to.eat-PRF-RL

‘and then, the food was already cooked and ready to eat’ [KK, CC 035]

*lasi “vangnoi, po! han an men’etlò,*

lasi vàng-nōi pō hán àn mèn-ét-lò  
therefore come-INF.COND.IMP father curry rice be.ready.to.eat-PRF-RL

*nangpota nanglepo, vangnoi ho!*

nang-pō=tā nang=lè-pò vàng-nōi ho  
your-father=ADD.DM CIS=reach-IRR1 come-INF.COND.IMP EMPH

‘and then, come, father, the food is ready, your father also will reach, come on!’ [KK, CC 036]

*pu’ansi apai abang chedengdunloklo*

pu-ánsi a-pāi abàng che-dēng-dūn-lòk-lò  
QUOT-after.that POSS-mother NPDL RR-accept-JOIN-happen.to-RL

‘after that, the mother took again (the baby)’ [KK, CC 037]

*an ansi mok chepachu ajatsí, anke hala*

[án      ánsi      mōk      che-pV-chū      aját-si]      [ánke      hála  
and.then    after.that    breast    RR-CAUS-suck    GENEX-NF:RL    and.then    that

*osota aning mepensi apai alongsi*

osō=tā      a-nīng      mē-pen-si      [a-pāi      alòng=si  
child=ADD.DM    POSS-mind    be.good-NF:with-NF:RL    POSS-mother    LOC=FOC:RL

*chedodunlo, charbaklo, chibu cheoralo tangho*

che-dō-dūn-lò]    [charbàk-lò]      che-bú      che-orá-lò      tànghò  
RR-stay-JOIN-RL    hold.embraced-RL    RR-carry.on.back    RR-take.care-RL    REP

‘after that, she breastfed the baby and then, the child was good and stayed by himself with the mother, she held him, carried him on her back, took care of him’ [KK, CC 038]

*nelam abangké lapu’anvetlo*

ne-lám      abàng=ke      lapú-án-vèt-lò  
1EXCL-word    NPD=TOP    this.side-that.much-only-RL  
‘my words are up to here’ [KK, CC 040]

### 2.13 Personal narrative: Trip to Hornbill Festival by Sikari Tisso (SiT, HF)

Personal narrative about a trip to the Hornbill festival in Nagaland.

*tumi nelitum Kohima kadam alamsi jerso*

[tumi ne-li=tūm Kòhimà ke-dàm a-lám=si] jérsō  
yesterday 1EXCL-HON=PL TOWN NMLZ-go POSS-matter=FOC:RL a.little

*than kangtung*

thán ke-ingtúng  
tell NMLZ-desire

‘I want to tell just a little bit about when we went to Kohima yesterday’ [SiT, HF 001]

*adap baji throkra achitim aporsi ladakpen*

a-dàp bájí thrōk-ra a-chitim a-pòr=si làdāk=pen  
POSS-morning o’clock six-and POSS-half POSS-time=FOC:RL here=from

*kebar nelitum... enut thanbangphi do Lily*

ke-bár ne-li=tūm... e-nūt thánbàngphi dō Líly  
NMLZ-start 1EXCL-HON=PL one-CLF:humans fem.teacher exist NAME

*Terangpi pu alanglisi neliphan nangkarne...*

Teràng-pī pu alàng-li=si ne-li-phān nang=ke-arnè...  
CLAN-female QUOT 3-HON=FOC:RL 1EXCL-HON-NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-invite

*Naka anglong ladak Naka akhei do’an*

Náká a-inglòng làdāk Náká a-khéi dō-án  
TRIBE POSS-hill here TRIBE POSS-community exist-all

*kachingrumpensi isi a-rong’aje do lasoke*

ke-che-ingrúm-pèn-si isī a-ròng’ajé dō lasō=kè  
NMLZ-RR-collect-NF:with-NF:RL one POSS-festival exist this=TOP

*alanglitum kipuke areng kelok*

alang-li-tūm ke-pù=kè a-rèng ke-lòk  
3-HON-PL NMLZ-say=TOP POSS-skin NMLZ-be.white

*alampen Hornbill-Festival la langdunnang*

a-lám=pen Hornbill-Festival là làng-dūn-nāng  
POSS-word=with Naga.FESTIVAL this see-JOIN-HORT

‘at six o’clock in the morning, we started from here... there is one female teacher, Lily Terangpi, she invited me.. here, at the Naga Hills area, all of the Naga tribes got together, there is one festival. This one (i.e. the festival), they call it ‘Hornbill Festival’ in the language of the white people, this one, let’s go and watch’ [SiT, HF 002]

*neliphanke me'ongchotlo*

ne-li-phān=ke                      mē-òng-chòt-lò  
1EXCL-HON-NSUBJ=TOP   be.good-be.much-very-RL  
'this is very good (i.e. a very good opportunity) for me' [SiT, HF 003]

*Naka anglong pu bihek akopenta arjulong*

Náká a-inglòng pu      bī-hèk                      akò=pen=tā                      arjū-lōng  
TRIBE POSS-hill   QUOT   be.small-small   then=from=ADD.even   listen-get.to

*Naka akhei puta arjulong lapenke... Naka*

Náká a-khéi                      pu=tā                      arjū-lōng      lapèn=ke...      Náká  
TRIBE POSS-community   QUOT=ADD.although   ask-get.to   and.then=TOP   TRIBE

*akhei amonit so'arlopen pusetame sopinsopen*

a-khéi                      a-monít      so'arlō=pen                      pusetāmē      sopinsō=pen  
POSS-community   POSS-man   women:COLL=with   likewise   boy:COLL=with

*pusetame elong longni lason kechetong doke*

pusetāmē e-lòng                      lòng-ní                      lasòn      ke-chetòng      dō=ke  
likewise   one-CLF:place   CLF:place-two   that.way   NMLZ-meet   exist=TOP

*do he*

dō      he  
exist   you.know

'since my childhood, I got to hear about the Naga hills, the Naga people, but from both the women and men, (only some), like that, I got to meet in a place or two' [SiT, HF 004]

*seta adunghetpen alanglitum arong alanglitum*

setā adūng-hét=pen                      alang-li-tūm      a-ròng                      alang-li-tūm  
but   near-very.near=from   3-HON-PL      POSS-village   3-HON-PL

*ahem alanglitum kedo kethak kosonma*

a-hēm                      alang-li-tūm      ke-dō                      ke-thák                      kosòn=mà  
POSS-house   3-HON-PL      NMLZ-stay   NMLZ-EE:dō(<Asm)   how=Q  
'but from very near, their villages, their houses, how do they stay and live?' [SiT, HF 005]

*kaningje kosonma ape ari kosonma jutang-jubat*

ke-ningjé      kosòn=ma      a-pé                      a-rī                      kosòn=mà      jutáng-jubát  
NMLZ-speak   how=Q      POSS-cloth   POSS-EE:pé   how=Q      custom-EE:jutáng

*kosonma kilun kosonma kekan kosonma*  
 kosòn=mà ke-lún kosòn=mà ke-kán kosòn=mà  
 how=Q NMLZ-sing how=Q NMLZ-dance how=Q

*ahokpetpenke theklonglelang nelita*  
 a-hòk-pèt-pen=ke thèklōng-Cē-làng nè-li=tā  
 POSS-truth-all-ADVBZ=TOP see-NEG-still 1EXCL-HON=ADD.also  
 ‘how do they talk, how their attires look, how their customs are, how they sing and how they dance, how all these things really are, I myself haven’t seen yet either’ [SiT, HF 006]

*ahem aritta theklonglelang amatsi*  
 a-hēm a-rīt=tā thèklōng-Cē-làng amātsi  
 POSS-house POSS-field=ADD.also see-NEG-still because

*chekoklo*  
 chehòk-lò  
 show.happiness-RL  
 ‘I also haven’t seen their houses, and so I was very happy’ [SiT, HF 007]

*enutvet kedunke pine dinghakjak amatsi*  
 e-nūt-vét ke-dùn=ke pí-nē dīnghakják amātsi  
 one-CLF.HUM.SG-only NMLZ-join=TOP what-INDEF odd and.then

*la elitum ajirpo alangli Yu’espensi*  
 là e-li-tūm a-jirpò alàng-li Yu’és=pen=si  
 this 1PL:INCL-HON-PL POSS-friend 3-HON COUNTRY=from=FOC:RL

*kevang Kavon Kavon aphantā cheponlo*  
 ke-vàng Kavòn Kavòn aphān=tā che-pōn-lò  
 NMLZ-come NAME NAME NSUBJ=ADD.also RR-take.away-RL  
 ‘going alone along with (Lily) is a strange thing, and so, this (because sitting there at the moment of storytelling) friend of ours, he who has come from the US, Kavon, Kavon we also took along with us’ [SiT, HF 008]

*si ladakpen damlo Dimapur vurpon sa*  
 sì ladāk=pen dām-lò Dimápúr vùr-pōn sá  
 therefore here=from go-RL PLACE drop.in-in.passing tea(<Ind)  
*junponlang*  
 jùn-pōn-làng  
 drink-in.passing-still  
 ‘and then, from here we went, we stopped by in Dimapur and just had tea’ [SiT, HF 009]

*lasi baji sirkep bak aporpensi puthot*

lasi baji sirkēp-bāk a-pòr=pen=si puthōt  
therefore o'clock(<Asm) nine-about POSS-time=from=FOC:RL next/again

*damthulo Kohima'an tovar kek'o*

dām-thū-lò Kohimà-án továr kēk-ò  
go-again-RL PLACE-till road be.not.straight-much  
'at nine o'clock, from about that time, we again went, up to Kohima, the road is winding a lot'  
[SiT, HF 010]

*la kedambom ahut Patkai-College konatma kedo*

là ke-dām-bōm ahūt Pátkái-College konát=mà ke-dō  
this NMLZ-go-CONT during NAME where=Q NMLZ-stay

*lata nangpaklanglo*

là=tā nang=pV-klàng-lò  
this=ADD.also 1/2:NSUBJ=CAUS-appear-RL  
'while we were going, they also showed us where the Patkai College is' [SiT, HF 011]

*Patkai-Collegeke enut Spanish Naga pusi pu*

Pátkái-College=ke e-nūt Spanish Naká pusi pù  
NAME=TOP one-CLF.HUM.SG Spanish TRIBE QUOT.COMP say

<latum> *Naga amonit Spainsi kacharlidam*

[<la-tūm> Naká a-monít Spain=si ke-charli-dām  
this-PL TRIBE POSS-man Spain=FOC:RL NMLZ-study-GO

*hadakpensi <so'arlo kachevan> arloso apiso*

hádāk=pen=si <sō'arlō ke-che-vān> àrlosō a-pisò  
there=from=FOC:RL women:COLL NMLZ-RR-bring woman POSS-wife

*kachevan*

ke-che-vān

NMLZ-RR-bring

'about the Patkai College, one Spanish Naga, one Naga had gone to Spain to study, from there he brought home a woman, he brought home his wife' [SiT, HF 012]

*nonke lasi charibom...*

[nòn=ke la=si charí-bòm...]  
now=TOP DEM=FOC:RL rule-CONT

*lapenke damlo elong adim... adim amensi*

[lapèn=ke dàm-lò e-lòng a-dím...] [a-dím a-mén=si  
and=TOP go-RL one-CLF.place POSS-place POSS-place POSS-name=FOC:RL

*chetengnebuplo, neli... parok-jangphong*

che-tengnè-bùp-lò nè-li] [paròk-jàngphòng  
RR-forget-sd.of.falling.down-RL 1EXCL-HON pineapple

*dopik hadak*

dō-pik hādāk]

exist-very there

‘so now, he is running the institution. And then, we went, one place, the name of the place I’ve forgotten, there are many pineapples’ [SiT, HF 013]

*anglong anglong parok-jangphong latum asai*

[a-inglòng a-inglòng paròk-jàngphòng] [là-tūm a-sái  
POSS-hill POSS-hill pineapple this-PL POSS-labor

*katiki hedi, la Deithor elitum la*

ke-tiki hè-dī] [là Déithòr è-li-tūm là  
NMLZ-cultivate you.know-Q.tag this PLACE 1PL:INCL-HON-PL this

*Karbi Anglong arlo kedo lason thakthaksi latum sai*

Karbi a-inglòng arlō ke-dō lasòn thakthāk=si là-tūm sái  
Karbi POSS-hill inside NMLZ-exist that.way same=FOC:RL this-PL labor

*tiki’o*

tiki-ò]

cultivate-much

‘hill after hill: pineapples, they cultivate, you know, just like how they cultivate in Deithor, the place inside our Karbi Anglong’ [SiT, HF 014]

*parok-jangphongke penang’an ong*

paròk-jàngphòng=ke penáng-án òng  
pineapple=TOP a.lot-that.much exist.much

‘there were so many pineapples’ [SiT, HF 015]

*tovar akungkung laso kejorta penang'an do*

[továr akùng~kūng [lasō] [ke-jòr-tā]] penáng-án dō  
road at.side.of~DIST.PL this NMLZ-sell-if a.lot-that.much exist

‘at the sides of the road, there are a lot of places where they sell (pineapples)’ [SiT, HF 016]

*penke damsı isi aporke Kohima rongsopi lelo...*

pèn=kè dàm-sı isı a-pòr=ke Kòhımà ròngsöpı lè-lò  
and.then=TOP go-NF:RL one POSS-time=TOP PLACE town reach-RL

*laso adak isi hini achitchit arong*

lasō a-dāk isı hını achıtchıt a-ròng  
this POSS-road.inbetween one two tiny POSS-village

*kephopon do*

ke-phō-pōn dō  
NMLZ-reach-in.passing exist

‘and then we went and at one o’clock, we reached Kohim Town..., one the road inbetween / up to there, there were one or two tiny villages that we had crossed’ [SiT, HF 017]

*amen heihai nangthanpon... ta ning ave*

a-mén héihái nang=thán-pòn... tā nīng avē  
POSS-name some 1/2:NSUBJ=tell-in.passing but mind not.exist

‘their names they had told us in passing... but I can’t remember’ [SiT, HF 018]

*ajatnon Kohima ko'an akethe ko'an*

ajátñōn Kòhımà ko-án a-ke-thè ko-án  
anyway PLACE WH-that.much POSS-NMLZ-be.big WH-that.much

*akibilone chinine neli sita hadak*

a-ke-bī-lò-nē chiní-Cē nè-lì [setā hādāk  
POSS-NMLZ-be.small-RL-INDEF know-NEG 1EXCL-HON but there

*thekdamloklo lapenke manghuhaklo*

thèk-dām-lòk-lò lapèn=kè manghū-hák-lò  
see-GO-right.then-RL and=TOP get.confused-suddenly-RL

‘anyway, I didn’t know how big or small it is, but right when I went there and saw, then I got suprised suddenly’ [SiT, HF 019]

*la'an akarleng arlengpikpak, lapenke*

la-án a-ke-arlèng arlèng-pìk~pāk [lapèn=ke  
 this-that.much POSS-NMLZ-be.steep be.steep-very~DIST.PL and.then=TOP

*terrace-cultivation pusi areng kelok*

terrace-cultivation pusi a-rèng ke-lòk  
 terrace-cultivation QUOT.COMP POSS-skin NMLZ-be.white

*alampenke pu la terracingpen sok keklem la*

a-lám=pen=ke pù là terracing=pen sōk ke-klém là  
 POSS-language=with=TOP say this terracing=with paddy NMLZ-do this

*sok mepikpak la theklong, kerot kirim*

sōk mē-pìk ~pāk là thèklōng] [ke-ròt ke-rīm  
 paddy be.good-very ~DIST.PL this see NMLZ-cut NMLZ-put.in.one.place

*aporlo*

a-pòr-lò]  
 POSS-time-RL

‘the slopes were so steep, in English it’s called terrace cultivation, with terrace cultivation they cultivate, the paddy in the different places is very good, we saw all this, and it was the time of harvesting’ [SiT, HF 020]

*komatneke... la ser kapali 'et asonsi*

[komāt-nē=ke... là sér ke-pV-li-èt asòn=si]  
 who-INDEF=TOP this gold NMLZ-CAUS-flow-RES:yellow like=FOC:RL

*acharpen ketheklong langmepik lapenke*

[[a-chár=pèn ke-theklōng] [làng-mē-pìk]] lapèn=ke  
 POSS-far.away=from NMLZ-see see-be.good-very and=TOP

*Kohima lelo, haladak motor-karika la Silong*

Kohimà lè-lò [háladāk motòr-karí=ke là Silòng  
 PLACE reach-RL there vehicle(<Eng)-car(<Asm)=TOP this PLACE

*atovar ason thakthaksi ongpik, tovar biheksen*

a-továr asòn thakthāk=si òng-pìk] [továr bī-hèk=pen  
 POSS-road like same=FOC:RL exist.much-very road be.small-small=from

*amat...*

amāt...]  
 and.then

‘as if somebody had colored it with gold to make it look yellow and shiny, from far away it’s very nice to see, and then we reached Kohima, there also like on the Shillong road, there are too many vehicles, the road is small, and so...’ [SiT, HF 021]

*jatsita lelo, nelitum haladak... anke*

ját-sitā lè-lò [ne-li-tūm háladāk... ánke  
type-but reach-RL 1EXCL-HON-PL there and.then

*Hornbill-Festival laso adim... nelitum lelò*

Hornbill-Festival lasō a-dím... ne-li-tūm lè-lò  
Naga.FESTIVAL this POSS-place 1EXCL-HON-PL reach-RL  
'nevertheless we reached there, and then the Hornbill Festival, this place, we reached' [SiT, HF 022]

*asystem me'o haladak latum keklem*

a-systém mē-ò háladāk la-tūm ke-klém  
POSS-system be.good-much there this-PL NMLZ-do

*kedampenke isi alam abangke pudamme*

ke-dàm-pen=kè isī a-lám abàng=ke pù-dām-mē  
NMLZ-go-NF:with=TOP one POSS-matter NPDL=TOP say-GO-be.good  
'its system is very good, with respect to (how) they work, one thing is worth mentioning' [SiT, HF 023]

*Nagalen government laso kachari atum keklem*

Nágálén government lasō ke-charí a-tūm ke-klém  
PLACE government this NMLZ-rule POSS-PL NMLZ-do

*mesen*

mē-sén

be.good-nicely

'the government of Nagaland, the ruling people do a good job' [SiT, HF 024]

*do'an atangka amethang choke cholo mene*

dō-án a-tángká a-metháng chō=ke chō-lò menē  
exist-all POSS-money POSS-self spend=TOP spend-RL maybe

*chochelo mene chinidunde sita tangkapen latum*

chō-Cē-lò menē chiní-dùn-Cē sitā tángká=pen la-tūm  
spend-NEG-RL maybe know-JOIN-NEG but money=with this-PL

*kam klem angthek do*

kám klém a-ingthēk dō  
work do POSS-sign exist

‘all the money, whether they (the government) have spent it for themselves (i.e. have had issues with corruptions) or not, I can’t say, but there are signs of them using the money to (actually) do work’ [SiT, HF 025]

*la’an akarleng alongsi latum*

là-án            a-ke-arlèng            alòng=si            la-tūm  
this-that.much    POSS-NMLZ-be.steep    LOC=FOC:RL    this-PL

*motor-gari kepasang adim do lapenke*

motòr-garí            ke-pV-sáng            a-dím            dō    lapèn=ke  
vehicle(<Eng)-car(<Asm)    NMLZ-CAUS-take.rest    POSS-place    exist    and=TOP

*haladak... kelechng nelitum, kenesi*

háladāk [ke-lè-chéng            ne-li-tūm]            [kenē=si  
there    NMLZ-reach-for.first.time    1EXCL-HON-PL    HESIT=FOC:RL

*kelang... la kosonloma... festival aground along*

ke-làng... [là    kosòn-lò=ma...] [festival a-ground            alòng  
NMLZ-see    this    how-FOC=Q            festival    POSS-ground    LOC

*lele ako abángke...*

lè-Cē            akò            abàng=ke...]  
reach-NEG    before    NPDL=TOP

‘on a very steep slope, there is a place for them to park cars, and then, there..., the place where we reached first, I mean, we saw... how was it, before we reached the festival grounds...’ [SiT, HF 026]

*war-cemetery pharo-kresirkep ra phlikep ra phli*

[war-cemetery]    pharò-kré-sirkēp            rà    phlī-kēp    rà    phlī  
war-cemetery    hundred-ten.and-nine    and    four-ten    and    four

*aningkan Japan lapen British angbong kachedan*

a-ningkán    Japan    lapèn    British    angbòng    ke-che-dán]  
POSS-year    Japan    and    British    middle    NMLZ-RR-fight

‘(there was) the war cemetery from 1944, when there was a war between Japan and the British’ [SiT, HF 027]

*halaso ahut kithidun Britainpen ke’ongdung*

[hálásō            ahūt            ke-thì-dūn            Britain=pen            ke-òng-dùng  
that            during            NMLZ-die-JOIN    Britain=from            NMLZ-exist.much-INTENS

*aregiment do'ò laso aregiment kololo*

a-regiment dō-ò] [lasō a-regiment kòlò~lō  
 POSS-regiment exist-much this POSS-regiment which~DIST.PL

*amonitpenloma, koloso aregimentpensi, ladak*

a-monít=pèn-lò=ma] [kòlò-sō a-regiment=pèn=si] ladāk  
 POSS-man=with-RL=Q which-DEM POSS-regiment=with=FOC:RL here

*kachedandunra <kithipen> kithidunma]*

ke-che-dán-dùn-rà <ke-thì-pèn> ke-thì-dūn=ma  
 NMLZ-RR-fight-JOIN-NF:IRR NMLZ-die-NF:with NMLZ-die-JOIN=Q

‘at the time, too many from the British died, many regiments died, from which different regiments are the people (that have died), from which regiment they are, did they fight together here, and did they die together (their names have been written here on the epitaphs)’ [SiT, HF 028]

*lapenke halaso ahut Indian amonitta la Bharat*

lapèn=ke hálasō ahūt Indian a-monít=tā là Bharát  
 and=TOP that during Indian POSS-man=ADD.also this India(<Ind)

*adet amonitta Muslim atum Sikh atum*

a-dét a-monít=tā Muslím a-tūm Síkh a-tūm  
 POSS-country POSS-man=ADD.also PN POSS-PL PN POSS-PL

*Hindu atum ko'anma kithi halatum aphan*

Hindú a-tūm ko-án=ma ke-thì hála-tūm a-phān  
 PN POSS-PL WH-that.much=Q NMLZ-die that-PL POSS-NSUBJ

*kachikimo pura achitchit longtar kibi*

ke-che-kimò pù-rà achítchít lóngtār ke-bí  
 NMLZ-RR-commemorate QUOT-NF:IRR tiny rock NMLZ-keep

*lapenke hadak mir ke'e lason do*

lapèn=ke hádāk mír ke-è lasòn dō  
 and=TOP there flower NMLZ-plant that.way exist

‘and then in order to also commemorate how many of the Indian people, the people from India also, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Hindus, have died at that time, they kept rocks (tomb stone), and then there they also planted flowers there, it's like that’ [SiT, HF 029]

*penke isi arlong abangke... neli ning ingsampik*

pèn=ke isī arlōng abàng=ke... nè-lì nīng ingsām-pīk  
 and=TOP one stone NPDL=TOP 1EXCL-HON mind be.cold-very

*athe non neli Lammet-Amei along do lapenke*

a-thē nòn nè-li Lammét-Améi alòng dō [lapèn=ke  
 POSS-reason now 1EXCL-HON PN LOC exist and.then=TOP

*lammet lamchong kaboche amenpen ketok*

[[[lammét lamchōng ke-boché] a-mén=pen] ke-tòk  
 literature EE:lammét NMLZ-create POSS-name=with NMLZ-write

*kacharli 'icheng along neli isi ahormu*

ke-charli-ī-chéng alòng] nè-li isī a-hormú  
 NMLZ-study-INSTR-for.first.time LOC 1EXCL-HON one POSS-thing

*hadak kelongke areng kelokpensi*

hádāk ke-lòng=ke] a-rèng ke-lòk=pen=si  
 there NMLZ-get(.to)=TOP POSS-skin NMLZ-be.white=with=FOC:RL

*ketok paper alongsi porhilong paphrang khobor*

ke-tòk paper alòng=si porhí-lòng pV-phráng khobòr  
 NMLZ-write paper LOC=FOC:RL read(<Asm)-get(.to) ADVZ-first news(<Ind)

*kakot alongsi alam lapu helo halaso kithitang*

kakòt alòng=si a-lám làpù helò hálasō ke-thì-táng  
 paper(<Asm) LOC=FOC:RL POSS-word like.this RL:EMPH that NMLZ-die-finish

*atum aphan kachikimopensi haladak*

a-tūm aphān ke-che-kimò-pen-si háladāk  
 POSS-PL NSUBJ NMLZ-RR-commemorate-NF:with-NF:RL there

*ketokke*

ke-tòk=ke  
 NMLZ-write=TOP

‘and then, one (tomb)stone, I was very happy, because now I’m with the Karbi Lammet Amei, and then, when I first started writing in the name of creating Karbi literature, I got one thing there, I had read it (before, when it) was written in the language of the white people in a (news)paper, in the newspaper it was like that, in order to commemorate those who had died, there it was written’ [SiT, HF 030]

*mm... when you go home tell them of us we gave our today for their tomorrow*

[SiT, HF 031]

*isi great inspiration neliphan laso hormu neli*

isī great inspiration ne-li-phān lasō hormú nè-li  
one \*\*\* \*\* 1EXCL-HON-NSUBJ this thing 1EXCL-HON

*atumi thekdamlonglokpenke ning ingsam'olo*

tumì thèk-dām-lōng-lòk-pèn=ke nīng ingsām-ò-lò  
yesterday see-go-get(.to)-happen.to-NF:with=TOP mind be.cold-much-RL  
'it was a great inspiration for me, that I got to see this thing yesterday I was very glad' [SiT, HF 032]

*neli Kohima kedampenke, isi tengne'un'e,*

[nè-li Kohimà ke-dām-pèn=ke] [isī tengnè-ùn-Cē]  
1EXCL-HON PLACE NMLZ-go-NF:with=TOP one forget-be.able-NEG

*laso amoment abangke*

[lasō a-moment abàng=ke]  
this POSS-moment NPDL=TOP  
'going to Kohima, was one thing I can't forget, this moment' [SiT, HF 033]

*lapenke laso aphisi Hornbill along kedam anke*

lapèn=ke lasō aphī=si Hornbill alòng ke-dàm ánke  
and.then=TOP this after=FOC:RL Naga.FESTIVAL LOC NMLZ-go and.then

*Lily, la nelitum aphan nangkejapon*

Lilý là ne-li-tūm aphān nang=ke-já-pòn  
NAME this 1EXCL-HON-PL NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-lead-take.away

*aosopi, elong adim dosi computer akam*

a-osopì e-lòng a-dím dō-si computer a-kám  
POSS-lady one-CLF:place POSS-place exist-NF:RL computer(<Eng) POSS-work

*klemlo nelitum aphan "ning hang'an juinon"*

klém-lò] [ne-li-tūm aphān nīng hāng-án jù-i-nōn  
do-RL 1EXCL-HON-PL NSUBJ mind want-that.much play-COND.IMP1

*pulo*

pù-lò]

say-RL

'and then, after that, as we were going to the Hornbill Festival, Lily, the lady who took us there, she stayed in one place and did her computer work, and she said to us, "enjoy yourselves as much as you want"' [SiT, HF 034]

*amat Kavonpen nelitum kekan kilun langdunlo*

amāt Kavòn=pen ne-li-tūm ke-kán ke-lún làng-dūn-lò  
and.then NAME=with 1EXCL-HON-PL NMLZ-dance NMLZ-sing see-JOIN-RL

*photo penang endunlo*

photò penáng ēn-dūn-lò  
photo(<Eng) a.lot take-JOIN-RL

‘and then, with Kavon we watched the dancing and singing and took many photos’ [SiT, HF 035]

*lapen latum haladak... la botor bakan areng*

lapèn là-tūm háladāk [la botòr bokán a-rèng  
and.then this-PL there this climate(<Asm) EE:botòr POSS-skin

*kelok alampenke climate pulo laso*

ke-lòk a-lám=pen=ke climate pù-lò lasō  
NMLZ-be.white POSS-language=with=TOP \*\*\* say-RL this

*kemesen apotlone mate la Naka*

ke-mē-sén a-pōt-lò-nē] mètè [là Naká  
NMLZ-be.good-nicely POSS-reason-RL-INDEF otherwise this TRIBE

*atum aphan ketheklongpen akele aning*

a-tūm aphān ke-theklōng-pèn] [akelé a-nīng  
POSS-PL NSUBJ NMLZ-see-NF:with more.than.expected POSS-mind

*kangsampik apotlone*

ke-ingsām-pīk] a-pōt-lò-nē  
NMLZ-be.cold-very POSS-reason-RL-INDEF

‘and then, they... maybe the reason was that the *botor bakan*, ‘climate’ in English, was good or the reason was seeing the Nagas, (but) everybody was exceedingly happy’ [SiT, HF 036]

*Europe lapen kaprek kaprek adet America*

Europe lapèn ke-prék ke-prék a-dét America  
\*\*\* and NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different POSS-country \*\*\*

*heihaiopen phorena atum dopik hadak*

héihái=pèn phorená a-tūm dō-pīk hādāk  
some=from foreigner(<Eng) POSS-PL exist-very there

‘from Europe and from many different countries, (like) from America etc., there were many foreigners there’ [SiT, HF 037]

*adet kaprek amonit kevang, haladak*

[[a-dét ke-prék a-monít ke-vàng háladāk  
POSS-country NMLZ-be.different POSS-man NMLZ-come there

*nangkelangdun do'o domestic touristta do'o*

nang=ke-làng-dūn] dō-ò] domestic tourist=tā dō-ò  
CIS=NMLZ-see-JOIN exist-much \*\*\* \*\*\*=ADD.also exist-much

'there were many people who came from different countries to come and see, and there were also many domestic tourists' [SiT, HF 038]

*det arlo angbongpen laso nangkelangdunta*

dét arlō angbòng=pèn lasō nang=ke-làng-dūn=tā  
country inside middle=from this CIS=NMLZ-see-JOIN=ADD.also

'from within the country they came to watch this (i.e. there were domestic tourists)' [SiT, HF 039]

*lapenke nelitum... kecho kijunta*

lapèn=ke ne-li-tūm... ke-chō ke-jùn=tā  
and=TOP 1EXCL-HON-PL NMLZ-eat NMLZ-drink=ADD.also

*me'o hadak hotel pinene do*

mē-ò hādāk hotel pí-nē~nē dō  
be.good-much there eatery(<Eng) what-INDEF~DIST.PL exist

'and then we...the system of eating and drinking is very good there, there were hotels and other places to eat there' [SiT, HF 040]

*penke ongdung aNaka akhei hala*

pèn=ke òng-dùng a-Naká a-khéi [hála  
and.then=TOP exist.much-exceedingly POSS-TRIBE POSS-community that

*alangtum angbong amethang alam chethekvangve*

alàng-tūm angbòng] [a-metháng a-lám che-thēk-vàng-Cē  
3-PL middle POSS-self POSS-language RR-see-PL-NEG

*pusitame halatum Nagamesesi kaningje common*

pùsitāmē] [hála-tūm Nagamese=si ke-ningjé] [common  
even.though that-PL LANGUAGE=FOC:RL NMLZ-speak \*\*\*

*languageke Nagamese lapenke officialke areng*  
 language=ke Nagamese] lapèn=ke [official=ke] [[a-rèng  
 \*\*\*=TOP LANGUAGE and.then=TOP \*\*\*=TOP POSS-skin

*kelok alam*  
 ke-lòk] a-lám]  
 NMLZ-be.white POSS-language  
 ‘and then, all the many Naga communities, even though among each other they don’t understand each other’s languages, they speak Nagamese, the common language is Nagamese, and then, the official language is English’ [SiT, HF 041]

*sitame latum chinghon’o*  
 sitāmē là-tūm che-inghōn-ò  
 nevertheless this-PL RR-love-much  
 ‘but they love each other a lot’ [SiT, HF 042]

*unity amongst diversity pu ahormu abang latum*  
 [unity amongst diversity pu a-hormú abàng] là-tūm  
 \*\*\* \*\* QUOT POSS-thing NPDL this-PL

*paklang theklo*  
 pV-klàng thèk-lò  
 CAUS-appear know.how-RL  
 ‘they could show this thing called ‘unity amongst diversity’’ [SiT, HF 043]

*laso ahormu abangke kadokave akheita*  
 lasō a-hormú abàng=ke kadòkavē a-khéi=tā  
 this POSS-thing NPDL=TOP all POSS-community=ADD.EXH

*kacharlidunke mesen pusi neli matha*  
 ke-charli-dūn=ke mē-sén pusi nè-li mathà  
 NMLZ-study-JOIN=TOP be.good-nicely QUOT.COMP 1EXCL-HON think  
 ‘I think for this thing, it would be good for everybody from every tribe (i.e. everybody in the world) to learn it’ [SiT, HF 044]

*laso aphike asitin akhei aphanta*

lasō aphī=ke a-isī-tín a-khéi a-phān=tā  
this after=TOP POSS-one-each POSS-community POSS-NSUBJ=ADD.EXH

*isisi ahem kikimpi do hadak governmentpen*

isī~sī a-hēm ke-kim-pī dō hādāk government=pen  
one~DIST.PL POSS-house NMLZ-build-BEN/MAL exist there government=from  
'after that, there was one house for every tribe, built by the government' [SiT, HF 045]

*si Kavonpen nelitum damlo, nelitum*

sì Kavòn=pen ne-li-tūm dām-lò [ne-li-tūm  
therefore NAME=with 1EXCL-HON-PL go-RL 1EXCL-HON-PL

*haladak <langdam> kethekdamlongke Ao Naka*

háladāk <làng-dām> ke-thèk-dām-lōng=ke] [Aò Naká  
there see-go NMLZ-see-GO-get.to=TOP TRIBE TRIBE

*atum kosonsi kedo kethakma*

a-tūm kosòn=si ke-dō ke-thák=ma]  
POSS-PL how=FOC:RL NMLZ-stay NMLZ-EE:dō(<Asm)=Q  
'so we went with Kavon (i.e. Kavon and I), as we were going there to see, how do the Ao Nagas live and stay (we were wondering)' [SiT, HF 046]

*Sangtam atum Chakesang atum Lotha atum*

Sangtám a-tūm Chakesáng a-tūm Lothá a-tūm  
TRIBE POSS-PL TRIBE POSS-PL TRIBE POSS-PL

*Anggami atum Zeliang atum lapen Rengma atum...,*

Anggámí a-tūm Zeliáng a-tūm lapèn Rengmá a-tūm  
TRIBE POSS-PL TRIBE POSS-PL and TRIBE POSS-PL

*halatum kecho kosonma kedo kosonma ahem*

hála-tūm ke-chō kosòn=ma ke-dō kosòn=ma a-hēm  
that-PL NMLZ-eat how=Q NMLZ-stay how=Q POSS-house

*kosonma hormu hortar kibi kosonma*

kosòn=ma hormú hortár ke-bí kosòn=ma  
how=Q thing EE:hormú NMLZ-keep how=Q  
'(we went to see how) the Sangtam, the Chakesang, the Lotha, the Angami, the Zeliang, and the Rengma..., how they eat and stay, i.e. how they live, how their houses are, how they keep the things in their houses' [SiT, HF 047]

*anung anatpen ketheklong <ma> kosonma angno*  
 anùng a-nát=pen ke-theklōng <ma> kosòn=ma angnò  
 back POSS-direction=from NMLZ-see Q how=Q in.front

*anatpen ketheklong kosonma lapenke arlong*  
 a-nát=pen ke-theklōng kosòn=ma lapèn=ke arlōng  
 POSS-direction=from NMLZ-see how=Q and=TOP stone

*achetpen sarnung kidip ahemta*  
 a-chèt=pen sarnūng ke-dìp a-hēm=tā  
 POSS-small.piece=with roof NMLZ-cover POSS-house=ADD.also

*nelitum thekdamlong*  
 ne-li-tūm thèk-dām-lōng  
 1EXCL-HON-PL see-GO-get.to  
 ‘from the backside, how (the houses) look, from the front, how they look, and then, we also went to see the houses, whose roofs they cover with small pieces of stone’ [SiT, HF 048]

*laso ahem langmepik humni humthom lason*  
 làso a-hēm làng-mē-pīk hùm-ní hùm-thōm lasòn  
 this POSS-house see-be.good-very CLF:house-two CLF:house-three that.way

*do*  
 dō  
 exist  
 ‘those houses look very nice, there are two or three (i.e. a few) of that kind’ [SiT, HF 049]

*latum phelangpenta kali tinpenta*  
 [là-tūm [[phelāng=pen=tā kalī] [tín=pen=tā  
 this-PL thatch=with=ADD.also:PRL NEG.EQU.COP tín(<Eng)=with=ADD.also:PRL

*kali arlong achetpensi kidip aphlak*  
 kalī] [arlōng a-chèt=pen=si] ke-dìp] a-phlāk  
 NEG.EQU.COP stone POSS-piece=with=FOC:RL NMLZ-cover POSS-split.off.pieces

*the'o'a la theklonglo*  
 thè-ò-á là theklōng-lò  
 be.big-very~DIST.PL this see-RL  
 ‘neither with thatch nor with tin, but with pieces of stone they cover (their roofs), the split off pieces are quite big, those also we got to see’ [SiT, HF 050]

*lapenke eson acheng do hadak achengke*

[lapèn=ke e-sòn a-chēng dō] [[hádāk a-chēng=ke]  
and=TOP one-CLF:thing POSS-drum exist there POSS-drum=TOP

*kibihek kali lake thepik thengpi*

ke-bī-hèk kalī] [là=ke thè-pik] [thengpī  
NMLZ-be.small-small NEG.EQU.COP this=TOP be.big-very tree/wood

*arong amatsi vandet*

a-rōng amātsi vān-dèt]  
POSS-plant self bring-PFV

‘and then, there was one kind of drum there, the drums there are not small, that one was very big, they had brought a tree itself’ [SiT, HF 051]

*kiding phut krepho-throk do lapenke*

[ke-dīng phút kré-phō-thrōk dō] [lapèn=ke  
NMLZ-be.long foot.measure(<Eng) ten.and-five-six exist and=TOP

*penang’an the hongvang la Kavonpen penang’an*

penáng-án thè hòngváng] là Kavòn=pen penáng-án  
a.lot-all be.big big.hole.in.tree this NAME=with a.lot-all

*thipkanglang laso acheng*

thīp-káng-làng lasō a-chēng  
beat.drum-leaving-still this POSS-drum

‘it was fifteen, sixteen feet long, and then, it was quite big, and with Kavon, we beat the drum for a long time’ [SiT, HF 052]

*lapen <haladak akaprek kaprek la>*

lapèn <hálādāk a-ke-prék ke-prék là>  
and.then there POSS-NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different this

*Nakapen prekdák akaprek akhei*

[Naká=pen prék-dák a-ke-prék a-khéi  
TRIBE=from be.different-RES:split POSS-NMLZ-be.different POSS-community

*Kuki atumta haladak kacherapdun do*

Kùkì a-tūm=tā hálādāk ke-che-ráp-dūn dō]  
TRIBE POSS-hold.sth=ADD.also:PRL there NMLZ-RR-stick-JOIN exist

*Kuki atumta hadak ahem do*

[Kùkì a-tūm=tā hādāk a-hēm dō]  
 TRIBE POSS-PL=ADD.also:PRL there POSS-house exist  
 ‘and then, there, a different tribe from the Nagas, the Kukis, there they were also represented there, and the Kukis also had a house there’ [SiT, HF 053]

*anke Dimasa atumta do anpenke Garo*

ánkè Dímàsà a-tūm=tā dō án=pen=ke Garò  
 and.then TRIBE POSS-PL=ADD.also:PRL exist and.then=with=TOP TRIBE

*atumta do*

a-tūm=tā dō  
 POSS-PL=ADD.also:PRL exist  
 ‘and then, there were also Dimasas and then also Garos’ [SiT, HF 054]

*son thekdamlongsi ening ingsam’olo*

sòn thèk-dām-lōng-si e-nīng ingsām-ò-lò  
 that.way see-GO-get.to-NF:RL 1PL.INCL-mind be.cold-much-RL  
 ‘that way we went and were very happy’ [SiT, HF 055]

*arni kangsamke, lahei langdét jatdétpen War*

arnì ke-ingsām=ke lahái lang-dèt jāt-dèt-pèn War  
 sun NMLZ-be.cold=TOP these see-PFV type-PFV-NF:with \*\*\*

*museum Kohima <War> War museum pu la Britishpen*

museum Kohimà <War> War museum pu [là British=pen  
 \*\*\* PLACE \*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\* QUOT this \*\*\*=with

*‘Japan <ahut kachedan..> la kachedan ahut*

Japan ahūt ke-che-dán..> là ke-che-dán ahūt]  
 \*\*\* during NMLZ-RR-fight this NMLZ-RR-fight during

*kopipima ladak kelongdun ahormu hortar’an*

[[[kopí-pí=ma làdāk ke-lòng-dùn] a-hormú hortár-án]  
 what-what=Q here NMLZ-get(.to)-JOIN POSS-thing EE:hormú-all

*kirim kibi isi ahem do laso*

ke-rīm ke-bí] isī a-hēm] dō lasō  
 NMLZ-put.in.one.place NMLZ-keep one POSS-house exist this

*langdamlonglo*

làng-dām-lōng-lò

see-GO-get.to-RL

‘in the late afternoon, after we had seen everything, (there is) the War Museum, the Kohima War Museum, there is one house where they put everything they got from the time of when the British were fighting against Japan, this we got to go and see’ [SiT, HF 056]

*halaso ahut documentaryta paklangbom nelitum*

hálasō ahūt documentary=tā pV-klàng-bōm ne-li-tūm

that during \*\*\*=ADD.also CAUS-appear-CONT 1EXCL-HON-PL

*langdamlonglo*

làng-dām-lōng-lò

see-GO-get.to-RL

‘they also were showing a documentary about that time, and we got to go and see it’ [SiT, HF 057]

*laso langdét aphike nelitum hadakpen*

lasō làng-dèt aphī=ke ne-li-tūm hádāk=pen

this see-PFV after=TOP 1EXCL-HON-PL there=from

*chevangjuilo Kohima kijuidam abangke Naka*

che-vāng-jùi-lò Kohimà ke-jùi-dām abàng=ke Naká

RR-come-away-RL PLACE NMLZ-play-GO NPDL=TOP TRIBE

*akhei atum aphan adunghétpen*

a-khéi a-tūm aphān adūng-hèt=pen

POSS-community POSS-PL NSUBJ near-INTENS=from

*kethekdamlong apot ning ingsam ’o neli*

ke-thèk-dām-lōng apōt nīng ingsām-ò nè-li

NMLZ-see-GO-get.to because mind be.cold-much 1EXCL-HON

‘after we had seen this, we went away from there, having been able to walk around Kohima and because I could see the Naga tribes from very near, I was very happy’ [SiT, HF 058]

*Lily aphantā ning ingsam ’olo*

Lílý a-phān=tā nīng ingsām-ò-lò

NAME POSS-NSUBJ=ADD.also:PRL mind be.cold-much-RL

*Kavonpenta penang'an juilo*

Kavon=pen=tā            penáng-án        jùi-lò  
NAME=with=ADD.also:PRL a.lot-that.much enjoy-RL

'I was also grateful to Lily, and I had a lot of fun with Kavon' [SiT, HF 059]

*te Linda abangsi nangdudedet la kam chinghan'o*

tè Líndá abàng=si        nang=dùn-Cē-dèt        là kám chinghán-ò  
but NAME NPDL=FOC:RL 1/2:NSUBJ=join-NEG-PFV this work be.busy-much

*amethang akam chinghon'o amat*

a-metháng a-kám        che-inghōn-ò        amāt  
POSS-self    POSS-work    RR-love-much    and.then

*nangdudedet*

1/2:NSUBJ=dùn-Cē-dèt  
CIS=join-NEG-PFV

'but Linda, on the other hand, didn't come along, she was very busy with work, she loves her work a lot, and so she didn't come along' [SiT, HF 060]

*Lindale do asonte ansose ning arongji*

Líndá=le        dō        asòn-te        án-sosē        nīng aròng-jí  
NAME=FOC:IRR exist like-COND that.much-more mind be.happy-IRR2

*apotlo... pu anchothlo*

apōtlò        pù        án-chòt-lò  
COUNTERFACT like.this that.much-only-RL

'if Linda would have been there, I would have been even happier, that's all' [SiT, HF 061]

**2.14 Personal narrative: Chomangkan Story Mother by Sashikola Hansepi (SH, CSM)**

Personal narrative about a trip to the *Chomangkan* festival, narrated by the mother of the family that went on the trip.

*adapprang netum thurlo Hongkram Chomangkan dunji pu*

a-dappráng ne-tūm thùr-lò Hongkrām Chomangkán dùn-jí pu  
POSS-dawn 1EXCL:POSS-PL get.up-RL PLACE celebration(kd) join-IRR2 QUOT  
'we got up early in the morning to join the Chomangkan in Hongkram' [SH, CSM 001]

*lasi osomar aphan pulo adapprang thurdap nangji dei*

lasi osō-mār aphān pù-lò a-dappráng thùr-dàp náng-jí déi  
therefore child-PL NSUBJ say-RL POSS-dawn get.up-early need-IRR2 OK?  
'so I said to the children, we need to get up early in the morning, okay?' [SH, CSM 002]

*lasi nemethangta thurdappranglo lang*

lasi ne-metháng=tā thùr-dàppràng-lò lāng  
therefore 1EXCL-self=ADD.PRL get.up-very.early-RL water

*chinglu'et ajat'etlo osomar aphantā ingthurlo*

chinglú-ét aját-ét-lò osō-mār aphān=tā ingthùr-lò  
take.bath-PRF GENEX-PRF-RL child-PL NSUBJ=ADD.PRL wake.up-RL  
'so I got up early in the morning and took a bath and everything and also woke up the children'  
[SH, CSM 003]

*Samprita dunji Rasinjata dunji Lindata*

Sàmpri=tā dùn-jí Rasínjá=tā dùn-jí Líndá=tā  
NAME=also:PRL join-IRR2 NAME=also:PRL join-IRR2 NAME=also:PRL

*dunji pulo*

dùn-jí pù-lò  
join-IRR2 say-RL  
'Sampri, Rasinja, and Linda also said they would join' [SH, CSM 004]

*lasi Linda aphantā thurdapprangnoi pu*

lasi Líndá aphān=tā thùr-dàppràng-noī pu  
therefore NAME NSUBJ=also get.up-early-INF.COND.IMP QUOT  
'so I also said to Linda, "get up early!"' [SH, CSM 005]

*Rasinja aphanta damsi ne ingthurdamlo*

Rasínjá aphān=tā dām-si nè ingthùr-dām-lò  
NAME NSUBJ=also go-NF:RL 1EXCL wake.up-GO-RL  
'I also went and woke up Rasinja' [SH, CSM 006]

*lasi anke chesik chedanglo baji throksi*

lasì ánke che-sík che-dáng-lò bají thrōksi  
therefore and.then RR-prepare RR-start-RL o'clock(<Asm) seven

*aporlo garita vanglo*

a-pòr=lo garí=tā vàng-lò  
POSS-time=FOC car(<Asm)=ADD.DM come-RL  
'and then we got ready and at seven o'clock, the car came' [SH, CSM 007]

*garipen vangdét aphisi netum dakpen Hongkram*

garí=pen vàng-dèt aphī=si ne-tūm dāk=pen Hongkrām  
car(<Asm)=with come-PFV after=FOC:RL 1EXCL-PL here=from PLACE

*kedam kechenglo*

ke-dām ke-chèng-lò  
NMLZ-go NMLZ-begin-RL  
'after the car came, we started going from here to Hongkram' [SH, CSM 008]

*Hongkramke heloving apot lasi ako alogot*

Hongkrām=ke helō-víng apōt lasì akò alogòt  
PLACE=TOP be.far-very because therefore again(<Asm) along.with(<Asm)

*nete atumta nangdunji pu nete*

ne-tè a-tūm=tā nang=dùn-jí pu ne-tè  
my-elder.sister POSS-PL=also 1/2:NSUBJ=join-IRR2 QUOT my-elder.sister

*netepota nangdun*

ne-tepō=tā nang=dùn  
my-brother.in.law=also 1/2:NSUBJ=join  
'because Hongkram is very far... so my elder sister and her husband said they wanted to come along with us as well, my older sister and brother-in-law joined us' [SH, CSM 009]

*lasi netum ha nete netepo*

lasi ne-tūm há ne-tè ne-tepō  
therefore 1EXCL-PL over.there 1EXCL:POSS-elder.sister 1EXCL:POSS-brother.in.law

*aphanta ingthumponlo*

aphān=tā ingthùm-pōn-lò  
NSUBJ=ADD go.and.bring-take.away-RL  
'so we went there to pick up my elder sister and brother-in-law as well' [SH, CSM 010]

*ingthumponsi netum dakpen baji throksi*

ingthùm-pōn-si ne-tūm dāk=pen baji thrōksí  
go.and.bring-take.away-NF:RL 1EXCL-PL here=from o'clock(<Asm) seven

*ra achitim aporlo netum dakpen barlo*

rà a-chitim a-pòr=lo ne-tūm dāk=pèn bár-lò  
and POSS-half POSS-time=FOC 1EXCL-PL here=from start-RL  
'we went to pick them up and from here... it was at seven thirty, from here we started' [SH, CSM 011]

*lasi laso adakke tovarta mesen apot*

lasi lasō a-dāk=ke továr=tā mē-sén apōt  
therefore this POSS-road.inbetween=TOP road=ADD.DM be.good-nicely because

*leta ledappranglo Bokolia'an*

lè=tā lè-dàppràng-lò Bokoliá-án  
reach=ADD.WRT reach-early-RL PLACE-till  
'so for this stretch, the road was good, and so we reached Bokolia early' [SH, CSM 012]

*anke Bokolia ledét aphī hala dak netum sa junlo*

ánke Bokoliá lè-dèt aphī hála dāk ne-tūm sá jùn-lò  
and.then PLACE reach-PFV after that here 1EXCL-PL tea(<Ind) drink-RL  
'and then, after we reached Bokolia, here we had tea' [SH, CSM 013]

*anke thesere haihuita namponlo <kecho> tovar*

ánke theseré haihúi=tā nàm-pōn-lò <ke-cho> továr  
and.then fruits different.kinds=also buy-take.away-RL NMLZ-eat road

*kecho aphan lang haihui namponlo*

ke-chō aphān lāng haihúi nàm-pōn-lò  
NMLZ-eat PURP water some buy-take.away-RL

‘and then, we also bought some fruit to carry along, to eat on the road, and we bought some water to carry along’ [SH, CSM 014]

*namdétsi ladakpen netum damlo*

nàm-dèt-si làdāk=pèn ne-tūm dām-lò  
buy-PFV-NF:RL here=from 1EXCL-PL go-RL

‘after buying (these things), from here we went’ [SH, CSM 015]

*laso adakke Bokoliapen Doboka ’an abangke*

lāsō a-dāk=ke Bokoliá=pèn Doboká-án abàng=ke  
this POSS-road.inbetween=TOP PLACE=from PLACE-till NPDL=TOP

*atovarta mesen apot netum ledappranglo*

a-továr=tā mē-sén apōt ne-tūm lè-dàppràng-lò  
POSS-road=DM be.good-nicely because 1EXCL-PL reach-early-RL

‘also during this stretch, from Bokolia to Doboka, the road was good, and we reached soon’ [SH, CSM 016]

*bonseta Dobokapen <Hojai> Hojai adak*

bònsetā Doboká=pèn <hojai> Hojái a-dāk  
but PLACE=with PLACE PLACE POSS-road.inbetween

*abangke tovar henopik*

abàng=ke továr henō-pìk  
NPDL=TOP road bad-very

‘but between Doboka and Hojai the road is very bad’ [SH, CSM 017]

*anke <tovar> tovar longle adukta dopiklo*

ánke <továr> továr lònglē a-dūk=tā dō-pìk-lò  
and.then road road earth POSS-dust=DM exist-very-RL

‘and then, there is also a lot of dust’ [SH, CSM 018]

*anke lapusi ekdom nangkangthuloklo*

ánke lǎpù=sì ékdòm nang=kangthú-lòk-lò  
and.then like.this=FOC:RL EXCM(<Asm) CIS=bounce-only-RL  
'and then, like this we were constantly bouncing up and down' [SH, CSM 019]

*tovar memedét apot erép emoi 'anta*

továr mē-Cē-dèt apōt e-rēp e-mò-i-án=tā  
road be.good-NEG-PFV because 1PL.INCL-side 1PL.INCL-back-all=EXH

*so 'etlo setame jo Chomangkan dunlongji...*

sò-èt-lò setamē jò Chomángkán dùn-lōng-jí  
hurt-all:S/O-RL nevertheless see! celebration(kd) join-get(.to)-IRR2  
'because the road was so bad, all our waists and backs and everything were hurting, but nevertheless, we get to join the Chomangkan...' [SH, CSM 020]

*Chomangkan thekdunlongji pu laso <eninglo>*

Chomángkán thèk-dūn-lōng-jí pu lāsō <e-ning=lo>  
celebration(kd) see-JOIN-get(.to)-IRR2 QUOT this 1PL.INCL-mind=FOC

*ening kerongpen ajatpen amat-si*

e-nīng ke-aròng-pèn aját-pèn amātsi  
1PL.INCL-mind NMLZ-be.happy-NF:with GENEX-NF:with and.then

*netum chepenangpen kangnekpen*

ne-tūm che-penáng-pèn ke-ingnēk-pèn  
1EXCL-PL RR-make.fun-NF:with NMLZ-laugh-NF:with

*kachingnipen, lasonsi damlo*

ke-che-ingnì-pèn, lāsòn=sì dàm-lò  
NMLZ-RR-EE:ingnēk-NF:with that.way=FOC:RL go-RL  
'we get to join and watch the Chomangkan, and so we are happy and everything, and then teasing each other and laughing each other, that's how we go' [SH, CSM 021]

*damlo anke... la ning duk alam... laso*

dàm-lò ánke... là nīng dúk a-lám... lāsō  
go-RL and.then this mind be.poor(<Asm) POSS-matter this

*Nagaonpen Karbi Anglong laso ahoipen lapu'an*

Nagaon=pen Karbì a-inglòng lasō a-hōi=pen lapú-án  
PLACE=with Karbi POSS-hill this POSS-boundary=from this.side-till

*anke tovar mesen nangji apotlo bonseta tovarata 'an*

ánke továr mē-sén náng-jí apōtlo bōnsetā továr=tā-án  
and.then road be.good-nicely need-IRR2 should but road=ADD-all

*memedetlo*

mē-Cē-dèt-lò

be.good-NEG-PFV-RL

‘we go and then, this is a sad matter, the boundary between Nagaon and Karbi Anglong, from the boundary, up to this side, the road should be good, but the road is not good at all’ [SH, CSM 022]

*amatsi penang kedamta eduk dolo*

amātsi penáng ke-dám=tā e-dúk dō-lò  
and.then a.lot NMLZ-go=ADD 1PL.INCL-hardship(<Asm) exist-RL

*<arlong> la inglong arlok apot*

<arlōng> là inglòng arlòk apōt  
stone this hill foot.of.hill because

‘and then, as we go we have to suffer a lot because of all the up and down’ [SH, CSM 023]

*la setame isi ning kerong ajoinelo*

là setāmē isī nīng ke-aròng a-joiné-lò  
this nevertheless one mind NMLZ-be.happy POSS-reason(<Ind)-RL

‘despite this, it’s one reason to be happy’ [SH, CSM 024]

*osomarta Chomangkan theklonglelang*

osō-mār=tā Chomangkán theklōng-Cē-làng  
child-PL=also:PRL celebration(kd) see-NEG-still

‘the children haven’t seen the Chomangkan yet either’ [SH, CSM 025]

*Lindata Chomangkanke kopilone theklonglelang*

Líndá=tā Chomangkán=kè kopí-lò-nē theklōng-Cē-làng  
NAME=also:PRL celebration(kd)=TOP what-RL-INDEF see-NEG-still

‘Linda hasn’t seen what the Chomangkan is yet either’ [SH, CSM 026]

*laso <apot langji> patheklongji pu aphansi*

lāsō <apōt lāng-jí> pV-theklōng-jí pu aphān=si  
this because see-IRR2 CAUS-see-IRR2 QUOT PURP=FOC:RL

*netumta ning arongpen ponlo*

ne-tūm=tā nīng arōng-pèn pòn-lò  
1EXCL-PL=ADD.DM mind be.happy-NF:with take.away-RL  
'and because of that, to show her, we also are happy taking her' [SH, CSM 027]

*anke netum Hongkram kele baji kre'isi*

ánke ne-tūm Hongkrām ke-lè bájí kre-isī  
and.then 1EXCL-PL PLACE NMLZ-reach o'clock(<Asm) ten.and-one

*apor'anlo netum Hongkram kele*

a-pòr-ań-lò ne-tūm Hongkrām ke-lè  
POSS-time-till-RL 1EXCL-PL PLACE NMLZ-reach  
'and then, (when) we reached Hongkram, it was up to eleven o'clock when we reached'  
Hongkram [SH, CSM 028]

*netum keleke thik rong-ketong ahut*

ne-tūm ke-lè=ke thík rōngketòng ahūt  
1EXCL-PL NMLZ-reach=TOP be.okay(<Asm) CEREMONY during

*phodunchitlo*

phō-dūn-chìt-lò  
reach-JOIN-just.right-RL  
'when we reached, we reached just during the time of the *rong ketong*' [SH, CSM 029]

*<Amri asor> Amri asorsi rong-ketonglo anke*

<Amri a-sòr> Amrī a-sòr=si rōngketòng-lò ánke  
KARBI.GROUP POSS-people KARBI.GROUP POSS-people=FOC:RL CEREMONY-RL and.then

*netumta Amri asorbo anke*

ne-tūm=tā Amrī a-sòr-bò ánke  
1EXCL-PL=ADD.also KARBI.GROUP POSS-people-also and.then

*chephodunloklo ening arongpiklo*

che-phò-dùn-lòk-lò e-nīng arōng-pìk-lò  
RR-reach-JOIN-right.then-RL 1PL.INCL-mind be.happy-very-RL

‘it was the Amri people doing the Rongketong, and then we are also from Amri, and so we happened to reach just in time for it, and we were very happy’ [SH, CSM 030]

*anke chenglokta chorthrokbak do*

ánke chēng-lòk=tā chòr-thrōk-bāk dō  
and.then drum-only=ADD.even CLF:pair-six-about exist  
‘and then, there were also about six pairs of drums’ [SH, CSM 031]

*anke jambili-athon hongthomlo Amri asor*

ánke jambili-athōn hòng-thōm-lò Amrī a-sòr  
and.then CULTURAL.ITEM CLF:long.objects-three-RL KARBI.GROUP POSS-people

*abangke...*

abàng=ke...

NPDL=TOP

‘and then, it was three *jambili athon*s, (which) the Amri people (have)’ [SH, CSM 032]

*anke Chinthong Ronghang atumke ha aphrang*

ánke Chinthòng Ronghāng a-tūm=ke há aphráng  
and.then KARBI.GROUP KARBI.GROUP POSS-PL=TOP over.there first

*ponbomlo*

pòn-bōm-lò

take.away-CONT-RL

‘and the Chingthong and Ronghang people had carried them (i.e. the *jambili athon*s) earlier’ [SH, CSM 033]

*anke ha hem chotai... alongsi jambili-athon*

ánke há hēm chotái... alòng=sì jambili-athōn  
and.then over.there house place.before.house LOC=FOC:RL ITEM

*kele’anta somdambomlo,*

ke-lè-án=tā sòm-dām-bōm-lò,

NMLZ-reach-all=ADD put.in.ground-go-CONT-RL

*achengta thipbomlo*

a-chēng=tā thīp-bōm-lò

POSS-drum=ADD.also beat.drum-CONT-RL

‘and then, there, at the place before the houses, they had put all the *jambili athons* that had reached in the ground, and they were also beating drums’ [SH, CSM 034]

*lasonthotsi Lindata ketheklongpen aning*

lasòn-thòt=si                      Líndá=tā      ke-theklōng-pèn      a-nīng  
that.way-exactly=FOC:RL      NAME=ADD      NMLZ-see-NF:with      POSS-mind

*kerong akimi ahormulo amonit*

ke-aròng              a-ke-mī                      a-hormú-lò              a-monít  
NMLZ-be.happy      POSS-NMLZ-be.new      POSS-thing-RL      POSS-man

*atum aphanta theklongloklo*

a-tūm      a-phān=tā                      theklōng-lòk-lò  
POSS-PL      POSS-NSUBJ=DM      see-happen.to-RL

‘seeing exactly this, Linda was happy, it was a new thing, she also happened to see the people’ [SH, CSM 035]

*pindeng-sumpotpen danglok aron atang*

píndéng-sumpòt=pèn                      dǎng-lòk              a-rōn              a-táng  
dress.and.ornaments-EE:píndéng=from      start-right.then      POSS-custom      POSS-EE:rōn

*haihui kethekdunlong alang aning kerong*

haihúi ke-thèk-dūn-lōng              alàng a-nīng              ke-aròng  
etc.      NMLZ-see-JOIN-get(.to) 3              POSS-mind      NMLZ-be.happy

‘starting from the dresses and ornaments, she got to see some customs and she was happy’ [SH, CSM 036]

*alangta <te> ekdom kemera cheponlo*

alàng=tā <te> ékdòm              kemerá              che-pōn-lò  
3=also      if      EXCM(<Asm)      camera(<Eng)      RR-take.away-RL

<lahai> *alangta lahai etum rong-ketong kosonma*

<lahai=pen> alàng=tā laháí e-tūm              ròng-ketòng      kosòn=ma  
these=with      3=also      these 1PL.INCL-PL      ceremony(kd)      how=Q

*netumta thanponbomlo*

ne-tūm=tā                      thán-pòn-bōm-lò  
1EXCL-PL=ADD.also      tell-in.passing-CONT-RL

‘she also took her camera, and we also told her in passing about how these people [perform] the Rongketong’ [SH, CSM 037]

*komantusi rong-ketongma lahaita thanponlo laso*

komantú=sì rònḡ-ketòḡ=ma lahái=tā thán-pòn-lò lāsō  
 when=FOC:RL ceremony(kd)=Q these=ADD tell-in.passing-RL this

*apotsi alangta ning rongpiklo*

apōt=sì alàng=tā nīḡ aròḡ-pìk-lò  
 because=FOC:RL 3=ADD.DM mind be.happy-very-RL

‘when they do the rongketong and these things we also told her in passing, because of that, she was happy’ [SH, CSM 038]

*anke netumta lasonsi dunbomsì hadak*

ánke ne-tūm=tā lasòn=sì dùn-bōm-sì hádāk  
 and.then 1EXCL-PL=ADD.also that.way=FOC:RL join-CONT-NF:RL there

*kelepen ahem asorta netum aphan*

ke-lè-pèn a-hēm a-sòr=tā ne-tūm aphan  
 NMLZ-reach-NF:with POSS-house POSS-people=ADD 1EXCL-PL NSUBJ

*nangkeru nangkethaita <ke>*

nang=ke-rú nang=ke-thái=tā  
 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-serve 1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-serve=ADD

*kechepameso kali la’an a’arleng*

ke-che-pV-mē-sō kalī là án a-arlēḡ  
 NMLZ-RR-CAUS-be.good-INTENS NEG.EQU.COP this that.much POSS-person

*keong angbong*

ke-òḡ angbòḡ  
 NMLZ-be.much middle

‘and then, that way we were joining them and reaching there, the people of the house served as really really well, amongst so many people’ [SH, CSM 039]

*anta netum la Diphu asor alohi kadam*

án-tā ne-tūm là Diphú a-sòr alohí ke-dàm  
 this.much-if 1EXCL-PL this PLACE POSS-people guest(<Asm) NMLZ-go

*pu amat alangtum te lang keso kecho*

pu amāt alàng-tūm te lāḡ ke-sō ke-chō  
 QUOT and.then 3-PL and.then/therefore water NMLZ-be.hot NMLZ-eat

*kejun haihui 'anta nangsikpi pame*

ke-jùn haihúi-án=tā nang=sík-pī pV-mé  
NMLZ-drink etc.-all=ADD 1/2:NSUBJ=prepare-BEN/MAL ADVZ-be.good

*nangdangpi pame*

nang=dáng-pī pV-mé  
1/2:NSUBJ=put.on.stove-BEN/MAL ADVZ-be.good

'we are all guests from Diphu going (to the Chomangkan), and so they had prepared tea and to eat and drink, everything, nicely' [SH, CSM 040]

*ansi la sa jun 'et ajat 'et aphisi netum*

ánsi là sá jùn-ét aját-ét aphī=si ne-tūm  
after.that this tea(<Ind) drink-PRF GENEX-PRF after=FOC:RL 1EXCL-PL

*la <cheng kethiplo> cheng kethip*

là <cheng ke-thip-lo> chēng ke-thīp  
this drum NMLZ-beat.drum-RL drum NMLZ-beat.drum

*langdunlo*

làng-dūn-lò  
see-JOIN-RL

'after we drank tea and everything they were beating drums, we watched the drum beating' [SH, CSM 041]

*anke la jambili-athon 'an nangsom 'et aphī anke*

ánkè là jambili-athōn-án nang=sòm-ét aphī ánke  
and.then this CULTURAL.ITEM-all CIS=put.in.ground-PRF after and.then

*arong arongpen arong arup habe, habe*

a-ròng a-ròng=pèn a-ròng a-rùp habē, habē  
POSS-village POSS-village=from POSS-village POSS-EE:ròng headman headman

*pinpo atum cheng kethiplo*

pinpō a-tūm chēng ke-thīp-lò  
OFFICER POSS-PL drum IPFV-beat.drum-RL

'and then, after they had put all the *jambili athons* in the ground, from the villages the village headmen were beating the drums' [SH, CSM 042]

*anpen aron atang bang hor kachingle*

án=pen a-rōn a-táng bång hōr ke-chinglé  
 that.much=with POSS-custom POSS-EE:rōn CLF liquor NMLZ-pour.each.other

*ajat lahai langdunlo*

aját laháí làng-dūn-lò  
 GENEX these see-JOIN-RL

‘after all this, we watched the rituals, (how) people poured each other liquor and everything’  
 [SH, CSM 043]

*anke lapu thoi asorpen hapu Rongkhang*

ánke lapú thòi a-sòr=pèn hápú Rongkháng  
 and.then this.side plains POSS-people=from that.side AREA

*anathu aChomangkanke neta*

a-nátthū a-Chomangkan=ke nè=tā  
 POSS-direction POSS-celebration(kd)=TOP 1EXCL=also

*ketheklongchenglo aronta chinidun ’o’e*

ke-theklōng-chéng-lò a-rōn=tā chiní-dùn-ò-Cē  
 NMLZ-see-for.first.time-RL POSS-custom=also know-JOIN-much-NEG

*setame ning arongpiklo*

setāmē nīng aròng-pik-lò  
 nevertheless mind be.happy-very-RL

‘and then, the Chomangkan of people from this side, from the plains, and from that side, the Ronghang side, I also see for the first time’ [SH, CSM 044]

*prekke prekchot lapu anathupen*

prék=ke prék-chòt lapú a-nátthū=pèn  
 be.different=TOP be.different-slightly this.side POSS-direction=from

‘it really is slightly different from this side’ [SH, CSM 045]

*amatsi kelangta ening arongpiklo*

amātsi ke-làng=tā e-nīng aròng-pik-lò  
 and.then NMLZ-see=ADD 1PL.INCL-mind be.happy-very-RL

‘and then, seeing this, we were very happy’ [SH, CSM 046]

*anke anerlolo anke Linda aphanta hadak riportar*

ánke anérlo=lo ánke Linda a-phān=tā hádāk riportar  
and.then midday=FOC and.then NAME POSS-NSUBJ=ADD there reporter

*atum dopikbo*

a-tūm dō-pìk=bo

POSS-PL exist-very=ITROG.ASSUM

‘and then in the evening, there were many reporters for Linda’ [SH, CSM 047]

*anke halatumta pulo je o akehelopen*

ánke hála-tūm=tā pù-lò je ò a-ke-helō=pen  
and.then that-PL=ADD say-RL QUOT EXCM POSS-NMLZ-be.far=from

*<nang> kevang apot ladak Chomangkan nangkidun*

<nang=> ke-vàng apōt làdāk Chomangkán nang=ke-dùn  
CIS= NMLZ-come because here celebration(kd) CIS=NMLZ-join

*kolosonlone aning rongne rongrene*

kolosòn-lò-nē a-nīng aròng-nē aròng-Cē-nē  
how-RL-INDEF POSS-mind be.happy-INDEF be.happy-NEG-INDEF

*kolosontong alang kemunthilone laso alam*

kolosòn-tōng alàng ke-múnthí-lò-nē lasō a-lám  
how-INDIR.ITRG 3 NMLZ-think.deeply-RL-INDEF this POSS-matter

*netum intervyyu enji, alomso enji*

ne-tūm intervyyu ēn-jí, alōm-sō ēn-jí  
1EXCL-PL interview(<Eng> take-IRR2 while-small take-IRR2

‘and then, they said, “o! since she has come from far away to join the Chomangkan here, how is it (for her), is she happy or not, how does she think is it, about this matter, we want to take interviews, for awhile (we want to) take (interviews)”’ [SH, CSM 048]

*“chokjima?” pu nephan arjulo amatsi neta*

chòk-jí=ma pu ne-phān arjū-lò amātsi nè=tā  
be.fine-IRR2=Q QUOT 1EXCL-NSUBJ ask-RL and.then 1EXCL=ADD.CONV

*pulo “chok; pisi chokchedetpo? Mesenloke,*

pù-lò chòk pīsi chòk-Cē-dèt-pò mē-sén-lò=ke  
say-RL be.fine why be.fine-NEG-PFV-IRR1 be.good-nicely-RL=TOP

*ennoi” pu*

ēn-nōi                      pu  
take-INF.COND.IMP QUOT

“‘is it fine?’”, they asked me, and I replied, “it’s fine, why would it not be fine?, it’s okay, take (the interviews)” [SH, CSM 049]

*lasi hangpidamlo amanke Linda aphantā hala*

lasi            háng-pī-dām-lò            amánke    Líndá    aphān=tā            hála  
therefore call-BEN/MAL-go-RL and.then NAME NSUBJ=ADD.CONV that

*NETV atum NewsLive atum riortar atum latum*

NETV a-tūm    NewsLive a-tūm    riortar a-tūm    la=tūm  
\*\*\*            POSS-PL    \*\*\*            POSS-PL reporter POSS-PL this=PL

*intervyu enlo alangta intervvyu chepidunlo*

intervyu            ēn-lò    alàng=tā    intervvyu            che-pí-dùn-lò  
interview(<Eng) take-RL 3=ADD.DM interview(<Eng) RR-give-JOIN-RL

‘and then I went to call her for them, and then the NETV people and the NewsLive people and the reporter, they took interviews from Linda, and she also gave them interviews’ [SH, CSM 050]

*anke aning kerong’o’lo alangta*

ánke    a-nīng    ke-aròng-ò-lò            alàng=tā  
and.then POSS-mind NMLZ-be.happy-much-RL 3=ADD.CONV

‘and she also was very happy’ [SH, CSM 051]

*amatsi alangtum intervvyu endet ajatet aphilo...*

amāt    alàng-tūm    intervvyu            ēn-dèt    aját-ét            aphī=lo  
and.then 3-PL            interview(<Eng) take-PFV GENEX-PRF after=FOC

*<pulote> non latum kecho kejun chenglo*

<pu-lò-te>    nòn    la-tūm    ke-chō    ke-jùn            chèng-lò  
QUOT-RL-COND now this-PL NMLZ-eat NMLZ-drink begin-RL

‘and then, after they took the interviews and everything, now they (i.e. people attending the Chomangkan) started eating and drinking’ [SH, CSM 052]

*apot non hala <Borsing> Borsing Teron ahem la non*

apōt    nòn    hála    <Borsing>    Borsíng    Teròn    a-hēm            là    nòn  
because now that NAME            NAME    CLAN    POSS-house this now

*Ratul Teron ahemsi Chomangkan apot*

Ratúl Teròn a-hēm-si Chomangkán apōt  
NAME CLAN POSS-house-LOC celebration(kd) because  
'because the Chomangkan was at Borsing Teron's house, now Ratul Teron's house' [SH, CSM 053]

*hala apunulo Ratul Teron apunu Borsing Teron pu*

hála a-punú=lo Ratúl Teròn a-punú Borsíng Teròn pu  
that POSS-uncle=FOC NAME CLAN POSS-uncle NAME CLAN QUOT

*latum ahemsi Diphu asor aphanke kecho*

là-tūm a-hēm-si Diphú a-sòr aphān=ke ke-chō  
this-PL POSS-house=LOC PLACE POSS-people NSUBJ=TOP NMLZ-eat

*kejun kesik apot hadakle kecho*

ke-jùn ke-sík apōt hádāk=lè ke-chō  
NMLZ-drink NMLZ-prepare because there=FOC:IRR NMLZ-eat

*kejunke kene kesiklo apot hadakle*

ke-jùn=ke kene ke-sík-lò apōt hádāk=lè  
NMLZ-drink=TOP HESIT NMLZ-prepare-RL because there=FOC:IRR

*damnang pusi netum aphan nangthanlo matsi*

dām-nāng pusi ne-tūm aphān nang=thán-lò mātsì  
go-EXHORT QUOT.COMP 1EXCL-PL NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=tell-RL self

*netum aphan nangponlo ajatlo hadaksi*

ne-tūm aphān nang=pòn-lò aját-lò hádāk=sì  
1EXCL-PL NSUBJ 1/2:NSUBJ=take.away-RL GENEX-RL there=FOC:RL

*kadokave la Diphu asor aphan kecho kejun*

kadòkavē là Diphú a-sòr aphān ke-chō ke-jùn  
all this PLACE POSS-people NSUBJ NMLZ-eat NMLZ-drink

*nangsikpilo hadaksi netum an cholo*

nang=sík-pī-lò hádāk=sì ne-tūm àn chō-lò  
1/2:NSUBJ=prepare-BEN/MAL-RL there=FOC:RL 1EXCL-PL rice eat-RL

*han cholo*

hán chō-lò  
prepared.vegetables eat-RL

'that one is his uncle; Ratul Teron's uncle is the so-called /is called Borsing Teron, and at his house, they prepared meals for Diphu people, there they had prepared the meals for us, there we had our meal' [SH, CSM 054]

*an han cho pamelo Lindata hadaksi*

àn hán chō pV-mé-lò Líndá=tā hádāk=sì  
 rice prepared.vegetables eat ADVZ-be.good-RL NAME=also there=FOC:RL

*nangchodunlo*

nang=chō-dūn-lò

CIS=eat-JOIN-RL

‘we ate nicely, Linda also ate there along (with us)’ [SH, CSM 055]

*chodétpen vanglo vangdétsi ako netum... laso*

chō-dèt-pèn vàng-lò vàng-dèt-si akò ne-tūm... lasō  
 eat-PFV-NF:with come-RL come-PFV-NF:RL again(<Asm) 1EXCL-PL this

*ahutke thik la chong kachingnanglo*

ahūt=ke thík là chōng ke-chingnáng-lò

during=TOP be.okay(<Asm) this shield NMLZ-DANCE-RL

‘after we ate, we came (back), and after that, again... right at that time, the sword and shield dance was taking place’ [SH, CSM 056]

*jambili-athon <la> laso kene laso la jambili-athonke*

jambili-athōn <la> lasō kene lasō là jambili-athōn=ke

CULTURA.ITEM this this HESIT this this CULTURAL.ITEM=TOP

*kesom sariophale laso chong chingnanglo*

ke-sòm sariòphale lasō chōng chingnáng-lò

NMLZ-put.in.ground around(<Asm) this shield DANCE-RL

‘the *jambili athon*... the *jambili athon*s had been put in the ground, and then they did the sword dance around (the *jambili athon*s)’ [SH, CSM 057]

*amatsi anke Linda aphantá thanlo lake chong*

amāt ánke Líndá aphān=tā thán-lò là=ke chōng

and.then and.then NAME NSUBJ=also tell-RL this=TOP shield

*chingnanglo*

chingnáng-lò

DANCE-RL

‘and then we also told Linda, “this is the sword dance”’ [SH, CSM 058]

*lasonson pu netum thanlo ason amungta*

lasòn~sòn pù ne-tūm thán-lò a-sòn a-mùng=tā  
that.way~DIST.PL like.this 1EXCL-PL tell-RL POSS-thing POSS-EE:sòn=ADD

*thanponlo, alangke aning rongpiklo*

thán-pòn-lò, alàng=ke a-nīng aròng-pìk-lò  
tell-in.passing-RL 3=TOP POSS-mind be.happy-very-RL  
'like that we told (her), we told here all the things in passing, and she is also very happy' [SH, CSM 059]

*anke chong chingnang langdét aphi anke aporta*

ánke chōng chingnáng làng-dèt aphī ánke a-pòr=tā  
and.then shield DANCE see-PFV after and.then POSS-time=ADD.DM

*dolo*

dō-lò  
exist-RL

'and then after we watched the sword dance, the time was also there (to leave)' [SH, CSM 060]

*lasi netum abangke ako nangchirui Diphu chirui*

lasì ne-tūm abàng=ke akò nang=chirùi Diphú chirùi  
therefore 1EXCL-PL NPDL=TOP DC(<Asm) CIS=return PLACE return

*la hem chevangthuphitji pu alam do*

là hēm che-vàng-thū-phìt-jí pu a-lám dō  
this house RR-come-again-right.away-IRR2 QUOT POSS-matter exist

*apotsi ako netum hadakpen vanglo*

apōt=si akò ne-tūm hādāk=pen vàng-lò  
because=FOC:RL again(<Asm) 1EXCL-PL there=from come-RL  
'so we returned back to Diphu again, because it is a matter of returning back home right away (i.e. not spending the night), so again we left from there' [SH, CSM 061]

*anke Lindata pulo o neta dak dokokte*

ánke Líndá=tā pù-lò o nè=tā dāk dō-kòk-te  
and.then NAME=ADD.DM say-RL EXPRS 1EXCL=ADD.DM here stay-firmly-COND

*kosonpo neta lason ajahak alam ajahak*

kosòn-pò nè=tā lasòn ajahák a-lám ajahák  
how-IRR1 1EXCL=ADD.DM that.way some POSS-matter some

*alunke ne rikordingdunji ajatji pulo setame*

a-lún=ke      nè      rikording-dùn-jì      aját-jí      pù-lò      setāmē  
 POSS-song=TOP 1EXCL      record(<Eng)-JOIN-IRR2      GENEX-IRR2      say-RL      nevertheless

*adappen hadakpen nangchesikmek'et'edetlo*

a-dàp=pen      hádāk=pèn      nang=che-sík-mék-èt-Cē-dèt-lò  
 POSS-morning=from      there=from      CIS=RR-prepare-in.advance-all:S/O-NEG-PFV-RL  
 ‘and then, Linda said, “o, if I stay back here, how will it be? I want to record some stories and songs”, but from the morning from there we hadn’t prepared it (well)’ [SH, CSM 062]

*anke komat aphantsi kepitekangpo, enutvetpo*

ánke      komāt      a-phān=si      ke-pī-tekáng-pò,      e-nūt-vét-pò  
 and.then      who      POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:RL      NMLZ-give-leave-IRR1      one-CLF:humans-only-IRR1  
 ‘and then, who would we have given her to, she would have been alone’ [SH, CSM 063]

*anke anuttinta bang akam dorep angse*

ánke      a-nūt-tín=tā      [bàng a-kám]      dō-rèp      angsé  
 and.then      POSS-CLF:humans-each=EXH      CLF      POSS-work      exist-each:subj      only  
 ‘and then, everybody has their own work’ [SH, CSM 064]

*laso kematha amatsi o do nangnelo non abangke*

lasō      ke-mathà      amātsi      o      dō      nāng-Cē-lò      nòn      abàng=ke  
 this      NMLZ-think      and.then      EXCM      stay      need-NEG-RL      now      NPDL=TOP  
 ‘we were thinking this, and “o, no need to stay this time”’ [SH, CSM 065]

*athema nangphan nangkelang enut do nangji*

athēma      nāng-phān      nang=ke-làng      e-nūt      dō      nāng-jí  
 because      you-NSUBJ      1/2:NSUBJ=NMLZ-see      one-CLF:humans      exist      need-IRR2

*kevan kepon enut do nangji nangke*

ke-vàn      ke-pòn      e-nūt      dō      nāng-jí      nāng=ke  
 NMLZ-bring      NMLZ-take.away      one-CLF:humans      exist      need-IRR2      you=TOP

*dakke arleng kimi apot la siksakji pu*

dāk=ke      arlēng      ke-mī      apōt      là      siksāk-jí      pu  
 here=TOP      person      NMLZ-be.new      because      this      be.difficult-IRR2      QUOT

*amatsi netumta ako osomar*

amātsi ne-tūm=tā akò osō-mār  
and.then 1EXCL-PL=ADD.DM on.the.other.hand(<Asm) child-PL

*aphanta do nangnelo pu chepinkhat ajat*

a-phān=tā dō nāng-Cē-lò pù che-pinkhát aját  
POSS-NSUBJ=ADD.DM exist need-NEG-RL QUOT RR-advise GENEX

*amatsi netum abangke ha Chomangkan ahem*

amātsi ne-tūm abàng=ke há Chomangkán a-hēm  
and.then 1EXCL-PL NPDL=TOP over.there celebration(kd) POSS-house

*asor atumpen ako netum*

a-sòr a-tūm=pen akò ne-tūm  
POSS-people POSS-PL=from on.the.other.hand(<Asm) 1EXCL-PL

*chebidaithulo ajatlo amatke*

che-bidái-thù-lò aját-lò amāt=ke  
RR-say.goodbye(<Asm)-again-RL GENEX-RL and.then=TOP

*vanglo*

vàng-lò

come-RL

‘because there needs to be somebody to look after you, there needs to be somebody to bring you and to take you, because there are new people here, so it will be difficult, and so we also advised the children, “no need to stay”, and then we said goodbye to the people from the Chomangkan house and the came back’ [SH, CSM 066]

*ako Sangvai ahem Hangmiji <habe> habelo*

akò Sangvāi a-hēm Hangmijí <habē> habē-lò  
again(<Asm) NAME POSS-house NAME headman headman-RL

*alanglike latum ahemsi nangvursi sa*

alàng-li=ke là-tūm a-hēm=si nang=vùr-si sá  
3-HON=TOP this-PL POSS-house=FOC:RL CIS=drop.in-NF:RL tea(<Ind)

*ajat nangjunlo*

aját nang=jùn-lò

GENEX CIS=drink-RL

‘and then, it was Sangvai’s house, it was Hangmiji, the habe, at their house we stopped by and had tea and everything’ [SH, CSM 067]

*nangjundétpen anke netum Diphu <aphan> pura*

nang=jùn-dèt-pen      ánke      ne-tūm      Diphú <a-phān>      pù-rà  
 CIS=drink-PFV-NF:with    and.then    1EXCL-PL    PLACE    POSS-NSUBJ    say-NF:IRR

*netum ako nangchiruiithulo*

ne-tūm      akò      nang=chirùi-thū-lò  
 1EXCL-PL    again(<Asm)    CIS=return-again-RL  
 ‘after we had tea, then we again returned to Diphu’ [SH, CSM 068]

*anke tovarke mepikpe*

ánke      továr=ke      mē-pìk-Cē  
 and.then    road=TOP    be.good-very-NEG  
 ‘and then, the road wasn’t very good’ [SH, CSM 069]

*anke osomar atumta anuttinta arep*

ánke      osō-mār      a-tūm=tā      a-nūt-tín=tā      a-rēp  
 and.then    child-PL    POSS-PL=ADD    POSS-CLF:humans-each=ADD    POSS-waist

*amoi kesolo singjam longle adukpen*

a-mòì      ke-sò-lò      singjám      lònglē      a-dūk=pen  
 POSS-back    NMLZ-hurt-RL    have.a.cold    earth    POSS-dust=from

*ajatpen lapu amanke netum hapupen vanglo*

aját=pen      lapù      mánke      ne-tūm      hápú=pen      vàng-lò  
 GENEX=from    like.this    and.then    1EXCL-PL    that.side=from    come-RL  
 ‘and then, the children, each of them, had his waist and back hurt, and a cold, from the dust and everything, and like this we then came from that side’ [SH, CSM 070]

*vangsi ajo baji nerkep aporsi netum*

vàng-sì      a-jò      bají      nerkèp      a-pòr=sì      ne-tūm  
 come-NF:RL    POSS-night    o’clock(<Asm)    eight    POSS-time=FOC:RL    1EXCL-PL

*hem nangchelelo*

hēm      nang=che-lē-lò  
 house    CIS=RR-reach-RL  
 ‘we came and at eight o’clock at night we reached back home’ [SH, CSM 071]

*nangchelelo anke lasi ako sopta lang*

nang=che-lē-lò ánke lasi akò sòp=tā lāng  
CIS=RR-reach-RL and.then therefore again(<Asm) all(<Ind)=ADD water

*chinglulo ajatlo an cholo ajatlo amatsi*

chinglú-lò aját-lò àn chō-lò aját-lò amātsi  
take.bath-RL GENEX-RL rice eat-RL GENEX-RL and.then

*mek jangkliplo*

mēk jáng-klip-lò  
eye fall-quietly-RL

‘we reached home and then all of us took a bath and everything and ate and everything and then went to sleep quietly’ [SH, CSM 072]

*la’anchotlo*

là-án-chòt-lò

this-till-only-RL

‘it’s just up to here’ [SH, CSM 073]

## 2.15 Procedural text: Pindeng Sumpot by Kasang Teronpi (KsT, PSu)

Procedural text / non-fictional narration about traditional clothing items, weaving, and applying colors.

*hako ahut Karbi akhei atum apindeng*

[hakò ahūt Karbì a-khéi a-tūm a-pindéng  
that.time during Karbi POSS-community POSS-PL POSS-dress.and.ornaments

*asumpot halabangso ahut elitum Karbi*

a-sumpòt] [hála-bàng-sō ahūt e-li-tūm Karbì  
POSS-EE:pindéng that-CLF-small during 1PL.INCL-HON-PL Karbi

*akhei atum pindeng sumpot aphan*

a-khéi a-tūm pindéng sumpòt a-phān  
POSS-community POSS-PL dress.and.ornaments EE:pindéng POSS-NSUBJ

*kosonsonsi keklemma*

kosòn~sòn=si ke-klém=ma  
how~DIST.PL=FOC:RL NMLZ-do=Q

‘in the old days, the people of the Karbi tribe, the clothing and ornaments, during the old days, what are the (different) ways in which we the Karbi tribe would make/produce dresses and ornaments?, (that’s what I will talk about)’ [KST, PSu 002]

*lake elitum Karbi akhei so ’arloso*

[[[là=ke] [e-li-tūm Karbì a-khéi sō’arlosō  
this=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL Karbi POSS-community women:COLL

*atum pusetame pholo epo, pholo epen*

a-tūm pùsetāmē]] pholò è-pò pholò è-pen  
POSS-PL likewise cotton plant-IRR1 cotton plant-NF:with

*pathepo, ingdakpo*

pV-thē-pò] [ingdàk-pò]  
VBLZ-fruit-IRR1 disperse-IRR1

‘this (i.e., the planting of cotton), the women of the Karbi tribe plant the cotton, after having planted the cotton, (the cotton tree) carries fruit, then (the seeds) will (burst open and) spread’ [KST, PSu 003]

*ansi pholo ingdaklote hekpo*

ánsi pholò ingdàk-lò-tē hək-pò  
after.that cotton disperse-RL-COND remove.cover-IRR1  
‘then, when the cotton gets dispersed, we open up (the seeds)’ [KST, PSu 004]

*lasi takiripen jengpo*

lasì takirí=pen jèng-pò  
therefore spindle(<Asm)=with spin-IRR1  
‘then we spin (the thread) with a spindle’ [KST, PSu 005]

*takiripen jengdette ansi thakpo*

takirí=pen jèng-dét-tē ánsi thàk-pò  
spindle(<Asm)=with spin-PFV-COND after.that weave-IRR1  
‘after having spun the thread, we then weave it’ [KST, PSu 006]

*ape ranpo thakpò, lasi elitum Karbi*

[a-pé rán-pò thàk-pò lasi [e-li-tūm Karbi  
POSS-cloth set.up.thread-IRR2 weave-IRR1 therefore 1PL.INCL-HON-PL Karbi

*arloso atum pusetame chethaksi anije*

arlosō a-tūm pùsetāmē] che-thāk-si anijé  
woman POSS-PL even.though RR-weave-NF:RL REFL(<Asm)

*chethaksi pining punon elitum*

che-thāk-si pinīng punōn e-li-tūm  
RR-weave-NF:RL tradt.fem.waist.cloth say/e.g. 1PL.INCL-HON-PL

*thakpensi sibu jokpo*

thàk-pen-si sibū jòk-pò  
weave-NF:with-NF:RL indigo.plant drop.into.container-IRR1  
‘we set up the thread for the cloth, we will weave it, and then we Karbi women also weave our own clothes, our very own clothes we weave, say the *pini* we weave, and then we add the indigo plant’ [KST, PSu 007]

*sibu arong epò lasi elitum*

sibū a-rōng è-pò lasi e-li-tūm  
indigo.plant POSS-plant plant-IRR1 therefore 1PL.INCL-HON-PL

*arong pipò*

a-ròng                      pī-pò  
POSS-color(<Asm) give-IRR1

‘we plant the indigo plant, and then we add the color (to the clothing that we weave)’ [KST, PSu 008]

*ake'er pusetame aki'ik pusetame akalar*

a-ke-èr                      pùsetāmē a-ke-ik                      pùsetāmē a-kalár  
POSS-NMLZ-be.red likewise POSS-NMLZ-be.black likewise POSS-color(<Eng)

*pipò*

pī-pò  
give-IRR1

‘red or black color (or whatever color) we will give’ [KST, PSu 009]

*lasi elitum pindeng sumpot aphan*

lasi            e-li-tūm                      [pindéng                      sumpòt            a-phān  
therefore 1PL.INCL-HON-PL dress.and.ornaments EE:pindéng POSS-NSUBJ

*pusetame halaso ahutpensi elitum non*

pùsetāmē] hálasō ahūt-pen=si]                      e-li-tūm                      [[nòn  
likewise that during-from=FOC:RL 1PL.INCL-HON-PL now

*pu'an pusetame non abangke hako ahutke lapusonlo*

pu-án                      pùsetāmē] [nòn abàng=ke]] hakò            ahūt=ke            làpusòn-lò  
QUOT-that.much likewise now NPDL=TOP that.time during=TOP like.this-RL

‘and so, we, the dresses and ornaments, from the old days, we, up to today also, today, just like the old days’ [KST, PSu 010]

*lasi pindeng sumpot aphan pusetame*

[lasi            [pindéng                      sumpòt            a-phān            pùsetāmē]  
therefore dress.and.ornaments EE:pindéng POSS-NSUBJ likewise

*emenasi chethakji, laso apholo epensi chethakji*

e-mená=si                      che-thāk-jí            lasō a-pholò            è-pen-si                      che-thāk-jí  
1PL.INCL-self=FOC:RL RR-weave-IRR2 this POSS-cotton plant-NF:with-NF:RL RR-weave-IRR2

‘and so, we weave any and all of our dresses by ourselves, after planting the cotton we weave it’ [KST, PSu 011]

*ansi idunji non ahut abangta lapusonlò*

ánsi      ī-dūn-jí      nòn    ahūt      abàng=tā      làpusòn-lò  
after.that wear-JOIN-IRR2 now during NPDL=ADD.also like.this-RL  
'and then, we (all of us) wear (these clothes), now also the same way' [KST, PSu 012]

*non ahut abangke akai nangkekirlalò*

nòn    ahūt      abàng=ke    a-kái      nang=ke-kirlá-lò  
now during NPDL=TOP POSS-time(<Asm) CIS=NMLZ-turn.over-RL  
'now, the time has changed' [KST, PSu 013]

*lasi bhari bhari aviving nangbisi*

[lasi      bhari      bhari      a-vivíng      nang=bí-si  
therefore very.big(<Ind) very.big(<Ind) POSS-weaving.center(<Eng) CIS=keep-NF:RL

*thaklo, non abangke*

thàk-lò      nòn    abàng=ke]  
weave-RL now NPDL=TOP  
'and then, we establish big big weaving centers, and (there) we weave, nowadays' [KST, PSu 014]

*lasi pindeng sumpot elitum non anke Karbi*

lasi      pindéng      sumpòt      e-li-tūm      nòn    ánke      Karbi  
therefore dress.and.ornaments EE:pindéng 1PL.INCL-HON-PL now and.then Karbi

*akhei pusetame chan'olò lasi*

a-khéi      pùsetāmē      chàn-ò-lò      lasi  
POSS-community likewise flourish-much-RL therefore  
'and then, the dresses and ornaments and their weaving centers, within the Karbi community, now flourish' [KST, PSu 015]

## 2.16 Procedural text: Bamboo Pork Recipe by Puspā Engtipi (PI, BPR)

Procedural text about the recipe for pork with fermented bamboo shoots.

*hen 'uppen phak'ok ketunke lapu henlo*

hen'ūp=pen      phàk-ōk   ke-tún=ke      lapù      henlò  
bamboo.shoot=with   pig-meat   NMLZ-cook=TOP   like.this   RL:EMPH  
'this is how to cook pork with bamboo shoots' [PI, BPR 001]

*aphrangsi la phakok abang... jongsì phakok abang*

aphráng-sí là   phàk-ōk   abàng...   jòngsì   phàk-ōk   abàng  
first-SPLT   this   pig-meat   NPDL   if   pig-meat   NPDL

*athu do pulote*

a-thú   dō   pulote  
POSS-fat   exist   if  
'first, the pork..., if there is fat on the pork' [PI, BPR 002]

*laso a'ok phast kerahi <a> along arnusi...*

lasō a-ōk      phast      kerahí   alòng   arnū-sí...  
this   POSS-meat   first(<Eng)   utensil   LOC   fry-NF:RL  
'first fry this meat in a pan and...' [PI, BPR 003]

*penang'an apor la alang pathepsi laso ahut...*

penáng-án      a-pòr      là      a-lāng      pV-thēp-si      lasō      ahūt  
a.lot-that.much   POSS-time   this   POSS-water   CAUS-dry.up-NF:RL   this   moment  
'for awhile, the water [has to] evaporate and at that time...' [PI, BPR 004]

*ako ingti tharmit ba birik jokjite, jokpo*

akò   ingtí   tharmìt   bá      bírík   jòk-jí-tē,      jòk-pò  
then salt   turmeric   or(<Asm)   chili   add-IRR2-if   add-IRR1  
'then if you want to add salt, turmeric, or chili, add those' [PI, BPR 005]

*penke lahai pisi laso ako arnuthunangpo*

pen=ke      lahái pī-si      lasō akò      arnū-thū-náng-pò  
and.then=TOP these give-NF:RL this then fry-again-must-IRR1  
'and then, after giving/adding all these, then you need to fry it again' [PI, BPR 006]

*arnupen pakrengwokpo*

arnū-pen      pV-krèng-hòk-pò  
fry-NF:with CAUS-be.dry-dried.up-IRR1  
'you need to fry it and let all the water evaporate' [PI, BPR 007]

*la <apa'e..> a'ok abang pa'erringnangpo pen*

là a-ōk      abàng pV-'èr-rìng-náng-pò      pèn  
this POSS-meat NPDL CAUS-be.red-slightly-must-IRR1 and.then

*a'ok pa'erriglote*

a-ōk      pV-'èr-rìng-lò-tē  
POSS-meat CAUS-be.red-slightly-RL-if  
'you have to make [fry until] this meat reddish and then when you have fried it until it is reddish  
[PI, BPR 008]

*ladak ako hen'up jokthu nangpo hen'up*

ladāk akò      hen'ūp      jòk-thū      náng-pò      hen'ūp  
here again bamboo.shoot drop.into.container-again need-IRR1 bamboo.shoot

*joksi laso a'ok ako <pakreng e>*

jòk-si      lasō a-ōk      akò      <pV-krèng>  
drop.into.container-NF:RL this POSS-meat again(<Asm) CAUS-be.dry

*tunthunangpo*

tún-thù-náng-pò  
cook-again-need-IRR1  
'here (i.e., at this point) then you have to again (again as in 'since you've added other things before) add bamboo shoots. After adding bamboo shoots, you have to dry up, eh, cook again this meat' [PI, BPR 009]

*<tun> alomso tun aphike ako laso a'ok along*

<tún>      a-lòm-sō      tún      aphī=ke      akò      lasō a-ōk      alòng  
cook      POSS-time-small      cook      after=TOP      then      this      POSS-meat      LOC

<e> *rosun tharmit* <...> *rosunpen... hanso*  
 rosún tharmīt rosún=pen hansò  
 garlic(<Asm) turmeric garlic(<Asm)=with ginger

*joksi arnuthunangpo lapenlote*  
 jòk-si arnū-thū-náng-pò lapèn-lò-tē  
 drop.into.container-NF:RL fry-again-need-IRR1 and.then-RL-COND  
 ‘you have to cook it for awhile, after cooking it, then, to this meat you have to add garlic, turmeric, eh, garlic and... ginger, and fry it again. After that...’ [PI, BPR 010]

*laso a’ok along asapso ingvui*  
 lasō a-ōk alòng asáp-sō ingvùi-pò  
 this POSS-meat LOC little.bit-small stir-IRR1  
 ‘this meat you have to stir for awhile’ [PI, BPR 011]

*ingpenke ladak lang dungpo lang dungsi* <a>  
 ingpènke ladāk lāng dúng-pò lāng dúng-si  
 and.then here water pour-IRR1 water pour-NF:RL

*pamennangpo laso a’ok pamenpò*  
 pV-mèn-náng-pò lasō a-ōk pV-mèn-pò  
 CAUS-be.ready.to.eat-need-IRR1 this POSS-meat CAUS-be.ready.to.eat-IRR1  
 ‘..and then, here, you have to pour water, after pouring water, you have to wait until it is well-cooked (you have to let it get well-cooked), you have to cook it well’ [PI, BPR 012]

*alang thep’hoihoilo pulote* <..> *nempo*  
 a-lāng thēp-hoihōi-lò pulote nempō  
 POSS-water dry.up-little.bit-RL if sesame

*joknangpo*  
 jòk-náng-pò  
 drop.into.container-need-IRR1  
 ‘when the water has almost completely evaporated (i.e. there’s still some water left), you will have to add sesame’ [PI, BPR 013]

*nempo joksi aru la alang*  
 nempō jòk-si arú là a-lāng  
 sesame drop.into.container-NF:RL and/again(<Asm) this POSS-water

*patheppo*

pV-thēp-pò

CAUS-dry.up-IRR1

‘after adding the sesame, you have to let the water evaporate some more’ [PI, BPR 014]

*paninoktoklo pulote laso a’ok menpo pen*

pV-ninōktòk-lò

pulote lasō a-ōk

mèn-pò

lapèn

CAUS-become.gravy-RL if this POSS-meat be.ready.to.eat-IRR1 and.then

*rungkoknangpo*

rùng-kòk náng-pò

lift-firmly-need-IRR1

‘once it has become a gravy, this meat will be ready, and you have to lift it (from the stove)’ [PI, BPR 015]]

**2.17 Procedural text: Kangmoi aHan by Sika Hansepi (SiH, KH)**

Procedural text about cooking alkaline food by burning *jbum* fields and using the ashes.

*e elitum Karbi atum kangmoi ahan*

e [e-li-tūm Karbi a-tūm] ke-ingmōi a-hán  
 DSM 1PL.INCL-HON-PL Karbi POSS-PL NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline POSS-vegetables

*kechotun aronke lason 'ik'helo*

ke-cho-tún a-rōn-ke lasòn-īk-helò  
 NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-cook POSS-custom-TOP that.way-FRML-RL:EMPH  
 ‘the custom of our Karbi people’s way of cooking ourselves vegetables with alkaline is like this’  
 [SiH, KH 001]

*mane hu inglong aritsi elitum...*

mane hú inglòng a-rīt=si e-li-tūm  
 I.mean(<Asm) over.there hill POSS-field=FOC:RL 1PL.INCL-HON-PL

*kopunelo... la inglong arit panpò*

ko-pu-nē=lo là inglòng a-rīt pān-pò  
 ITROG-QUOT-INDEF=FOC this hill POSS-field clear.vegetation-IRR1  
 ‘I mean... up there on the fields on the hill, what do you call it?, we clear the vegetation from the hill fields’ [SiH, KH 002]

*ansi laso anglong arit kepan alongsi me*

ánsi lasō a-inglòng a-rīt ke-pān alòng=si mē  
 after.that this POSS-hill POSS-field NMLZ-clear.vegetation LOC=FOC:RL fire

*kaipo lasi laso arjang aphelosi*

kài-pò lasì lasō arjàng a-phelō=si  
 set.fire-IRR1 therefore this immature.bamboo POSS-alkaline=FOC:RL

*elitum humdunji*

e-li-tūm hūm-dūn-jí  
 1PL.INCL-HON-PL pick.up-JOIN-IRR2  
 ‘after that, on the hill fields where we have cleared the vegetation, we have to set a fire and then these ashes from the immature bamboo we have to pick up’ [SiH, KH 003]

*ansi 'phelo-bisir' pu Karbi atum kabonai*

ánsi [phelō-bisīr pu] Karbì a-tūm ke-bonái  
then alkaline-funnel.for.filtering.ashes QUOT Karbi POSS-PL NMLZ-make(<Asm)

*do*

dō

exist

‘and then, there is the so-called ‘phelo bisir’ (funnel-like instrument for filtering the ashes) that the Karbi people make’ [SiH, KH 004]

*laso aphelo-bisir alongsi laso aphelo*

[lasō a-phelō-bisīr alòng=si] [lasō a-phelō  
this POSS-alkaline-funnel.for.filtering.ashes LOC=FOC:RL this POSS-alkaline

*ingkrunget humdun'etpo, ingkrunget arje'etpo*

ingkrùng-ét hūm-dūn-ét-pò] ingkrùng-ét arjè-ét-pò  
separate-PRF pick.up-JOIN-PRF-IRR1 strain-PRF separate-PRF-IRR1

‘in this ash funnel, we sieve the ashes and pick them up, we thoroughly sieve the ashes’ [SiH, KH 005]

*ingkrunget arje'etlo tangte, laso aphelosi thappò*

ingkrùng-ét arjè-ét-lò tángtē lasō a-phelō=si thàp-pò  
strain-PRF separate-PRF-RL if this POSS-alkaline=FOC:RL put.inside-IRR1

‘when we are finished sieving, we put these ashes inside (a container)’ [SiH, KH 006]

*ansi lang dungpo, anke lasi <ka> ingsir'etlo tangte pacharmatpo;*

ánsi [lāng dúng-pò] ánke [lasi ingsīr-ét-lò tángtē pacharmát-pò]  
then water pour-IRR1 and.then then filter-PRF-RL if test.if.taste.is.good-IRR1

*chenangchitpen, phu'iksopen elitum han*

[chenáng-chìt-pèn phu'īk-sō=pen e-li-tūm hán  
match-finally-NF:with earthen.pot-DIM=with 1PL.INCL-HON-PL vegetables

*tun'ikpo*

tún-īk-pò]

cook-FRML-IRR1

‘and then, we pour water and then when (the bisir) has filtered (the ashes), we test the taste, and after finding it matching, we cook the curry in a small earthen pot’ [SiH, KH 007]

*ansi la hepi ason ingmoipo hepipen thijok a'ok*

ánsi là hepī asòn ingmōi-pò hepī=pen thijōk a-ōk  
then this brinjal like cook.with.alkaline-IRR1 brinjal=with deer POSS-meat

*tangho pine lason kechongmoi*

tànghò pí-nē lasòn ke-cho-ingmōi  
REP what-INDEF that.way NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-cook.with.alkaline  
'and then, we cook brinjal or something similar with the alkaline, we cook brinjal and deer meat, so they say, or whatever like that' [SiH, KH 008]

*kechome'aretke aseng*

ke-chō-mē-arèt=ke a-sèng  
NMLZ-eat-GOOD-INTENS=TOP POSS-condiments

*kejok'ikke lapuhelo*

ke-jòk-ìk=ke lapù-hélo  
NMLZ-drop.into.container-FRML=TOP like.this-RL  
'to become very tasty, condiments are added like this' [SiH, KH 009]

*mane kopune aseng*

mané ko-pu-nē a-sèng  
HESIT(<Asm) ITROG-QUOT-INDEF POSS-condiments

*kechojoknangjike nempo*

ke-cho-jōk-náng-jí=ke nempō  
NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-add-must-IRR2=TOP sesame  
'the condiment that we have to add is sesame' [SiH, KH 010]

*lapente menthuta ekdom langpong tok*

lapènte menthū=tā ékdòm langpōng tòk  
after.this dried.fish=ADD:also EXCLAM(<Asm) small.bamboo.container pound

*peme*

pV-mé  
CAUS-be.good  
'after that, you need to pound the dried fish in the Langpong well' [SiH, KH 011]

<arni> *cham'et arni te'etpo*  
<arni> chà-m-ét arni tè-ét-pò  
sun wash-PRF sun let.dry.by.sun-PRF-IRR1  
'and then, you need to clean it and let it dry in the sun' [SiH, KH 012]

*ansi elitum pakrengdunpo, anke horpentame*  
ánsi e-li-tūm pV-krèng-dūn-pò ánke hōr=pen=tāmē  
then 1PL.INCL-HON-PL CAUS-be.dry-JOIN-IRR1 and.then liquor=with=any

*jattame ingti patippo, tokklingpo*  
ját=tāmē ingtí patīp-pò tokkling-pò  
GENEX=any salt mix-IRR1 pound.until.tight-IRR1  
'and then, we need to dry it, and then either with liquor or something else we need to mix it with salt and pound until it's tight/crushed to a paste' [SiH, KH 013]

*anke nemphrupleungpo*  
ánke nemphrù-phlùng-pò  
and.then have.sweet.smell-spreading-IRR1  
'and then it will develop a sweet smell' [SiH, KH 014]

*laso akenemphru ajoinesi han*  
[lasō a-ke-nemprù a-joiné=si hán  
this POSS-NMLZ-have.sweet.smell POSS-reason=FOC:RL prepared.vegetables

*akechome e <men> la kangmoi*  
a-ke-chō-mē] e <men> [là ke-ingmōi  
POSS-NMLZ-eat-GOOD DSM be.ready.to.eat this NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline

*ahan aphule kachenang*  
a-hán a-phulè ke-chenáng  
POSS-prepared.vegetables POSS-pot NMLZ-match

*akechomeke lason kejok*  
a-ke-chō-mē=ke lasòn ke-jòk  
POSS-NMLZ-eat-GOOD=TOP that.way NMLZ-drop.into.container

*aseng do 'o apotlo e tiha*

a-sèng            dō-ò            apōt-lò        e        tihà  
 POSS-condiments exist-much because-RL DSM kd.root.spice

*jokpo*

jòk-pò

drop.into.container-IRR1

‘this fragrant smell is the reason why the curry is tasty; in order to make the dish tasty, you have to add many condiments like this, because of that you have to add *tiha*’ [SiH, KH 015]

*pine pine natne riho*

pí-nē            pí-nē            nát-nē            rihō  
 what-INDEF what-INDEF direction-INDEF fruit.of.creeper

*jokprepo*

jòk-prè-pò

drop.into.container-spread.all.over-IRR1

‘and then add whatever, for example *riho*’ [SiH, KH 016]

*lapulo lasi elitum Karbi atum kangmoi*

lapù=lo            lasì    e-li-tūm            Karbì    a-tūm    ke-ingmōi  
 like.this=FOC then 1PL.INCL-HON-PL Karbi POSS-PL NMLZ- cook.with.alkaline

*ahan kechotun kejoknangji*

a-hán            ke-cho-tún            ke-jòk-náng-jí  
 POSS-curry NMLZ-AUTO.BEN/MAL-cook NMLZ-add-must-IRR2

*aseng anke lapu 'ik helo*

a-sèng            ánke            lapù-īk-helò  
 POSS-condiments and.then like.this-FRML-RL:EMPH

‘like this we Karbi people cook with alkaline, cook the curry, and add the condiments, like this it is’ [SiH, KH 017]

*lapente... isi alam dothulang*

lapènte    isī    a-lám            dō-thū-làng  
 after.this one POSS-matter exist-again-yet

‘after this... there is still one more thing’ [SiH, KH 022]

*kene elitum Karbi atumke jat chojun*

kené [e-li-tūm Karbi a-tūm=ke jāt [chōjūn  
HESIT 1PL.INCL-HON-PL Karbi POSS-PL=TOP type CELEBRATION

*choku punoi ajat punoi kangmoi ahan*

chokú punōi aját punōi] [ke-ingmōi a-hán]  
EE:chojūn say/e.g. GENEX say/e.g. NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline POSS-curry

*tunte pulotangte elitumke chokche*

tún-tē pùlotángtē] [e-li-tūm=ke chòk-Cē  
cook-NEG if 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP be.fine-NEG

*karkli kaphojo*

ke-arklì ke-phojō]  
NMLZ-bewail NMLZ-EE:arklì

‘so... for us Karbi people, consider any celebration or anything, if we don’t cook alkaline curry, for us, the celebration is not adequate’ [SiH, KH 023]

*pirthe along seta pine se-kasadi tangho kopine*

pirthé a-lòng setā pí-nē sè-kasadí tànghò kopí-nē  
world POSS-LOC but what-INDEF precelebration.rituals REP what-INDEF

*tangho puta elitumke <kangmoi>*

tànghò pù=tā e-li-tūm=ke <ke-ingmōi>  
REP QUOT=ADD 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP <NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline>

<a> *hanmoi hanmi nangji*

hanmōi hanmì náng-jí  
ingmoi.curry food.taken.with.liquor need-IRR2

‘everywhere, for whatever, for any kind of precelebration rituals we need the curry made with alkaline’ [SiH, KH 024]

*lapente chojun kasadi tangho rongker kasadi*

lapènte chōjūn kasadí tànghò róngkèr kasadí  
and.then CELEBRATION CELEBRATION REP CELEBRATION CELEBRATION

*tangho puta hanmoi hanmi doji*

tànghò pù=tā hanmōi hanmì dō-jí  
REP QUOT=ADD:EXH ingmoi.curry food.taken.with.liquor exist-IRR2

‘and then, there will be the alkaline curry for the *Chojun Kasadi* and the *Rongker Kasadi* etc.’ [SiH, KH 025]

*chojunta hanmoi doji ajat doji, lasi*

chōjūn=tā hanmōi dō-jí aját dō-jí lasì  
 CELEBRATION=ADD:also ingmoi.curry exist-IRR2 GENEX exist-IRR2 then

*elitumke jutang jubat along'an pusetame*

e-li-tūm=ke [jutáng jubát a-lòng=án pusetāmē]  
 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP custom EE:jutáng POSS-LOC=all likewise

*kangmoi ahan abangke elitumke*

ke-ingmōi a-hán abàng=ke e-li-tūm=ke  
 NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline POSS-curry NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP

*kenangsot*

ke-náng-sòt

NMLZ-need-be.required

‘there is alkaline curry at the *Chojun* also, and other things also (at the *Chojun*), therefore for us, wherever there are customs performed, alkaline curry is required for us’ [SiH, KH 026]

*ha pirthe kangdukpen pusetame kangmoi*

há pirthé ke-ingdūk=pen pusetāmē ke-ingmōi  
 over.there world NMLZ-immature=since likewise NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline

*ahanke elitumke jat alongta ledunlo*

a-hán=ke e-li-tūm=ke ját alòng=tā lè-dūn-lò  
 POSS-curry=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP type LOC=ADD:EXH reach-JOIN-RL

‘when long ago, the world was soft, the curry cooked with alkaline, for us, reaches every type (of celebration) (i.e., is required for each celebration)’ [SiH, KH 027]

<e> *biya-baru alongpen chenglok chojun choku*

biyá-barú alòng=pen chèng-lòk chōjūn chokú  
 equalize(<Asm) LOC=from begin-right.then CELEBRATION EE:chojūn

*alongpen chenglok pirthe along pusetame kangmoi*

alòng=pen chèng-lòk pirthé alòng pusetāmē ke-ingmōi  
 LOC=from begin-right.then world LOC likewise NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline

*ahan abangke elitumke kenangsot*

a-hán abàng=ke e-li-tūm=ke ke-náng-sòt  
 POSS-curry NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=TOP NMLZ-need-be.required

‘starting from the wedding ceremony, starting from the *Chojun* and *Choku*, everywhere in every celebration, alkaline curry is required for us’ [SiH, KH 028]

*lasi kangmoi ahan kitunnangji*

lasi ke-ingmōi a-hán ke-tún-náng-jí  
therefore NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline POSS-curry NMLZ-cook-need-IRR2

*kejoknangji aseng sop kutei pusetame*

ke-jòk-náng-jí a-sèng sòp kutéi pùsetāmē  
NMLZ-add-need-IRR2 POSS-condiments all(<Ind) all(<Asm) likewise

*neli mopen nangpachiniiklo*

nè-li mò=pen nang=pV-chiní-īk-lò  
1EXCL-HON while=with 1/2:NSUB=CAUS-know-FRML-RL  
'and then, just awhile ago/ just now I showed/pointed out everything about cooking with alkaline,  
cooking the curry and adding the condiments' [SiH, KH 029]

*elitem kangmoi ahan*

e-li-tūm ke-ingmōi a-hán  
1PL.INCL-HON-PL NMLZ-cook.with.alkaline POSS-prepared.vegetables

*kitunnangji asonke lapu'an'ikvetlo*

ke-tún-náng-jí asòn=ke lapù-án-īk-vèt-lò  
NMLZ- cook-need-IRR2 like=TOP like.this-that.much-FRML-only-RL  
'like this it is all about how we need to cook the curry with alkaline' [SiH, KH 030]

## 2.18 Procedural text: Cleaning and Washing by Sika Hansepi (SiH, CW)

Procedural text / non-fictional narration about the important status of cleanliness in Karbi culture.

*lapente monit atum kedo kethak kachepangthir*

lapènte monít a-tūm ke-dō ke-thák ke-che-pV-ingthìr  
and.then man POSS-PL NMLZ-stay NMLZ-EE:dō(<Asm) NMLZ-RR-CAUS-be.clean

*nangji*

náng-jí

must-IRR2

‘and then, people need to stay and live in a clean environment’ [SiH, CW 001]

*lang kachinglu phu kachingthi*

lāng ke-chinglú phú ke-chingthí  
water NMLZ-take.bath head NMLZ-wash.head/hair

*kechepangthiretpen kedothekji*

ke-che-pV-ingthìr-èt-pen ke-dō-thèk-jí]  
NMLZ-RR-CAUS-be.clean-PFT-NF:with NMLZ-stay-know.how-IRR2

*avarsai abangke] lapu 'ik'helo*

a-varsāi] abàng=ke] lapù-ík-helò  
POSS-way NPDL=TOP like.this-FRML-RL:EMPH

‘this is the way how to take a bath, how to wash your head, how to keep everything clean to stay and live in the proper way’ [SiH, CW 002]

*elitum hako pirthe kangduk ahut inglong kedo*

[e-li-tūm [hakò pirthé ke-ingdūk ahūt inglòng ke-dō  
1PL.INCL-HON-PL that.time world NMLZ-immature during hill NMLZ-stay

*ahutke sabun tangho kopine tangho la konane*

ahūt=ke] [sabún tànghò kopí-nē tànghò là konát-nē  
during=TOP soap(<Asm) REP what-INDEF REP this where-INDEF

*asempu non'alom ke'enthapvaret, lahai*

a-sempu] nòn-alōm ke-ēn-tháp-varèt] [lahái  
POSS-shampoo(<Eng) now-while NMLZ-take-mindlessly-for.long.time these

*abangta chokchelo*

abàng=tā chòk-Cē-lò]

NPDL=ADD.also be.fine-NEG-RL

‘when the world was immature, long ago, when we stayed in the hills, (it was just like today) soap, they say, and whatever, shampoo from wherever, now taking without knowing the origins or anything of it, and it is not okay (to use) all these things (without knowing much about them)’ [SiH, CW 003]

*aprang elitum pirthe kangduk inglong kedo*

[[a-práng e-li-tūm pirthé ke-ingdūk inglòng ke-dō

POSS-front 1PL.INCL-HON-PL world NMLZ-immature hill NMLZ-stay

*ahutke... <kopi> monit atum jiman*

ahūt=ke] <kopi> [monít a-tūm jimán

during=TOP what man POSS-PL as.much(<Asm)

*akangjang jiman akesapha jiman*

a-ke-ingjàng jimán a-ke-saphá jimán

POSS-NMLZ-look.proper as.much(<Asm) POSS-NMLZ-be.clean(<Asm) as.much(<Asm)

*akangthir... pusetame halaso ahutke ilitum*

a-ke-ingthìr pusetāmē hálasō a-hūt=ke e-li-tūm

POSS-NMLZ-be.clean even.though that POSS-time=TOP 1PL:INCL-HON-PL

*sabun pinene pu alamke avelo*

sabún pí-nē~nē pù a-lám=ke avē-lò]]

soap(<Asm) what-INDEF~DIST.PL like.this POSS-matter=TOP not.exist-RL

‘before, when the world was immature and we were staying in the hills, people though considering (all the cleaning methods) just as clean and beautiful, at that time we did not have anything like soap or such things’ [SiH, CW 004]

*ephule chingthijita vo'arkokpo*

[e-phú=le chingthí-jí=tā vō'arkòkpō

1PL.INCL-head=FOC:IRR clean.thoroughly-IRR2=ADD plant.sp

*tangho... <e> konane choi pele*

tànghò] [konát-nē chōi pé=le

REP where-INDEF shirt cloth=FOC:IRR

*chekokjita konane suho athe*

che-chōk-jí=tā konát-nē sūhō a-thē

RR-wash.clothes-IRR2=ADD where-INDEF thorny.plant.sp POSS-fruit

*tangho, pine lasi siri-sabun aniom asonlo,*

tànghò] [pí-nē lasì sirí-sabún a-niòm asòn-lò]  
 REP what-INDEF therefore Shree.soap(<Asm) POSS-procedure(<Asm) like-RL

*laso athe phlakdakpò*

[lasō a-thē phlāk-dāk-pò  
 this POSS-fruit split-RES:split-IRR1

‘when we would wash our head we (would use) the *Voarkokpo* plant, when we would wash our shirts and clothes, from anywhere... we use the *Suho* fruit, therefore, it’s like *Shree* soap, we would need to split this fruit’ [SiH, CW 005]

*ansi ilitum lapu pe along koipò, laso kekoi*

[ánsi e-li-tūm lapù [pé alòng] kòi-pò] [[lasō ke-kòi  
 after.that 1PL:incl-HON-PL like.this cloth LOC rub-IRR1 this NMLZ-rub

*abangke mane angpip dopiklo, siri-sabun*

abàng=ke] mane angpìp dō-pìk-lò] [sirí-sabún  
 NPDL=TOP I.mean(<Asm) foam exist-very-RL Shree.soap(<Asm)

*anijom asonlo*

a-nijòm asòn-lò]  
 POSS-procedure(<Asm) like-RL

‘and then, like this we rub the cloth, this rubbing, I mean.. it creates a lot of foam, like using *Shree* soap’ [SiH, CW 006]

*lasi la suho athe pu abangke pe ri*

[lasì là sūhō a-thē pu abàng=ke] [[pé rī  
 therefore this thorny.plant.sp POSS-fruit QUOT NPDL=TOP cloth EE:pé

*kechok aphan'iklo*

ke-chòk] aphān-īk-lò]  
 NMLZ-wash.clothes PURP-FRML-RL

‘therefore, the suho fruit is for washing clothes’ [SiH, CW 007]

*lapente ephu kechingthike vo'arkokpo tangho,*

[lapènte e-phú ke-chingthí=ke] [vō'arkòkpō tànghò]  
 and.then 1PL.INCL-head NMLZ-clean.thoroughly=TOP plant.sp REP

*lapente plimplam abo tangho, laheihui helo*

[lapènte plimplām a-bō tànghò] lahéi~húi helò  
and.then sour.fruit.sp POSS-fruit.inside REP these~DIST.PL RL:EMPH

‘and then, to wash our head, the things (we use) are *Voarkokpo*, and then the inside of the *plimplam* fruit, it is these ones’ [SiH, CW 008]

*ilitum haphrang ahutke kechepang’e*

[[e-li-tūm há-aphráng ahūt=ke] [ke-che-pang’è  
1PL.INCL-HON-PL over.there-first during=TOP NMLZ-RR-dress.up

*ba kechepangjang kechepangthir, lahai*

bá ke-che-pV-ingjàng ke-che-pV-ingthìr] [lahái  
or(<Asm) NMLZ-RR-CAUS-look.proper NMLZ-RR-CAUS-be.clean these

*ke’en ahormu ’iklo lasi...*

ke-ēn a-hormú-īk-lò] lasi  
NMLZ-take POSS-thing-FRML-RL therefore

‘in the early times, to dress up and make everything look proper and to clean everything these are the things we would use, and therefore’ [SiH, CW 009]

<e> *hako ahut atumta non ilitum*

<e> hakò a-ahūt a-tūm=tā [nòn e-li-tūm  
HESIT that.time POSS-during POSS-PL=also now 1PL.INCL-HON-PL

*kosonma sabun jangthu lahai ke’en’aret, laso anta*

kosòn=ma sabún jàngthù lahái ke-ēn-arèt] lasō án=tā  
how=Q soap(<Asm) oil these NMLZ-take-very this all=ADD.EXH

*sose halaso ahut amonit atumsi kangthir*

sosē hálasō ahūt a-monít a-tūm=si ke-ingthìr  
more that during POSS-man POSS-PL=FOC:RL NMLZ-be.clean

‘the people from the old days, compared to how we use soap and oil, (actually) at that time the people had things cleaner’ [SiH, CW 010]

*athe bangke kecho kejunpen chenglòk*

a-thē bàng=ke ke-chō ke-jùn-pen chèng-lòk  
POSS-reason people=TOP NMLZ-eat NMLZ-drink-NF:with begin-right.then

‘the reason is starting right from eating and drinking’ [SiH, CW 011]

*pirtheta sap sikun ingthirjir*

[pirthé=tā sáp sikún] [ingthirjir  
world=ADD.EXH neat.and.clean(<Asm) neat.and.clean(<Asm) be.clean

*ingthir'etpensi bangke kecho klarbòr*

ingthir-èt-pen-si bång=ke ke-chō] [klàrbòr  
be.clean-all:S/O-NF:with-NF:RL CLF=TOP NMLZ-eat shine

*klar'etpensi kecho*

klàr-èt-pen=si ke-chō]  
shine-all:S/O-NF:with-NF:RL NMLZ-eat

'everything was neat and clean and the clean things they would eat only, and they would eat the nice looking things only' [SiH, CW 012]

*a-jo kitun ahan a'an adap choche*

[a-jò ke-tún a-hán a-àn a-dàp chō-Cē]  
POSS-night NMLZ-cook POSS-curry POSS-rice POSS-morning eat-NEG

<sa> la <inut> edon along inut aphanke

[[là <e-nūt> [e-dòn alòng e-nūt a-phān=ke]  
this one-clf:hum one-CLF.house LOC one-clf:hum POSS-NSUBJ=TOP

*sarrú sarhàng aphan pulote ilitum*

[sàr-rù sàr-hàng a-phān pulote i-li-tūm  
be.old-quiete be.old-quiete POSS-NSUBJ if 1PL:incl-HON-PL

*pangjangviknangji*

pV-ingjàng-vik-náng-jí]  
CAUS-look.proper-very-must-IRR2

'the curry and rice that was cooked in the night they wouldn't eat in the morning, and at least one person of a family, at least the very old person, they should have everything perfectly clean and nice' [SiH, CW 013]

*pangthirviknangji la aphan pulotangte*

[pV-ingthir-vik-náng-jí là a-phān pùlotángtē]  
CAUS-be.clean-very-must-IRR2 this POSS-NSUBJ if

*ilitum la inut edon <a>*

[i-li-tūm là e-nūt [e-dòn  
1PL:incl-HON-PL this one-CLF.hum.one one-CLF.house

*akehai, edon along akhetiri, la*

a-kehái] [e-dòn alòng a-khetíri] là  
 POSS-honorable.person:addr one-CLF.house LOC POSS-main.people.in.charge this

*aphan abangke ilitum an han pusetame*

a-phān abàng=ke] e-li-tūm àn hán pusetamē  
 POSS-NSUBJ NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL rice curry likewise

*ingthirvétpensi ilitum bipisi abang*

ingthìr-vèt-pen-si] [e-li-tūm bí-pī-si] [a-bàng  
 be.clean-only-NF:with-NF:RL 1PL.INCL-HON-PL keep-BEN/MAL-NF:RL POSS-CLF

*kedo kedam heloving pusetame ingthirvétpen*

ke-dō ke-dām helō-víng pùsetāmē ingthìr-vèt-pen  
 NMLZ-stay NMLZ-go be.far-very even.though be.clean-nicely-NF:with

*bisi ilitum la hem isi do'an la'an*

bí-si] [[e-li-tūm là hēm isī dō-án la-án  
 keep-NF:RL 1PL.INCL-HON-PL this house whole exist-all this-that.much

*atum kecholongji ba alohi dolohile do seta*

a-tūm] ke-chō-lōng-jí] [bá alohí dolohí=le dō setā  
 POSS-PL NMLZ-eat-get.to-IRR2 or(<Asm) guest EE:alohí=FOC:IRR stay but

*kecholongji*

ke-chō-lōng-jí]

NMLZ-eat-get.to-IRR2

‘they need to have everything very nice and clean, at least this person, the honored person, the main person of the house, for him we keep rice and curry among other things (pusetame-probably having beer in mind) in a very nice and clean way, we keep it for him when he’s gone far away, we keep it nice and clean the whole house gets to it; and even guests when there are guests, they only get to eat then’ [SiH, CW 014]

*don rap kevang kecholongji seta alangliphan*

[dōn ráp ke-vàng ke-chō-lōng-jí setā] alang-li-phān  
 relative EE:dōn NMLZ-come NMLZ-eat-get.to-IRR2 but 3-HON-NSUBJ

<e> *isi ingthir'étpen klar'étpen abahak bipi*

<e> isī ingthìr-èt-pen klàr-èt-pen a-bahák bí-pī]  
 HESIT one be.clean-all:S/O-NF:with shine-all:S/O-NF:with POSS-share(<Asm) keep-BEN/MAL

*an ansi ilitum abangke kadokave'anta*

án ánsi [e-li-tūm abàng=ke kadòkavē-án=tā]  
 that.much after.that 1PL.INCL-HON-PL NPDL=TOP all-all=ADD.EXH

*laso ahan a'an ilitum chohorpensi*

[lasō a-hán a-àn] e-li-tūm cho-hōr-pen-si  
 this POSS-curry POSS-rice 1PL.INCL-HON-PL MID-serve.food-NF:with-NF:RL

*ilitum cholongji*

e-li-tūm chō-lōng-jí  
 1PL.INCL-HON-PL eat-get.to-IRR2

‘even when relatives come, for him one share needs to be kept nicely and cleanly, and then we all get to serve for ourselves and eat’ [SiH, CW 015]

*lasi monit atum la'an*

lasi monít a-tūm la-án  
 therefore man POSS-PL this-that.much

*kechepangjangthek*

ke-che-pV-ingjàng-thēk  
 NMLZ-RR-CAUS-look.proper-know.how

‘therefore, people know how to keep everything clean’ [SiH, CW 016]

*la'an akemesen atovar kedamtheksi*

[la-án a-ke-mēsén a-továr ke-dàm-thēk-si]  
 this-that.much POSS-NMLZ-be.good POSS-road NMLZ-go-know.how-NF:RL

*hako amonit atumke nonpu 'anta*

[[hakò a-monít a-tūm=ke] nòn-pu-án=tā  
 that.time POSS-man POSS-PL=TOP now-QUOT-all=ADD.EXH

*ilitum a'ansose nangpa 'okorjangdunlonglang*

e-li-tūm a-án-sosē nang=pV-okorjāng-dūn-lōng-làng  
 1PL.INCL-HON-PL POSS-that.much-more CIS=VBLZ-girl-JOIN-get.to-yet

*nangparisomardunlonglang*

nang=pV-risō-mār-dūn-lōng-làng]  
 CIS=VBLZ-young.man-PL-JOIN-get.to-yet

‘they know how to go on a good road up to a high degree (metaphorically referring to knowing how to do things properly, how to keep everything clean, etc.), and, because they know how to keep everything clean and nice, those people back then up until today, get to stay even more like girls and boys (i.e., young) than we do’ [SiH, CW 017]

*ke'en kangthir ajoine kecho kangthir ajoine*  
[ke-ēn ke-ingthír a-joiné] [ke-chō ke-ingthír a-joiné]  
NMLZ-take NMLZ-be.clean POSS-reason NMLZ-eat NMLZ-be.clean POSS-reason  
'because they stay clean and eat clean food' [SiH, CW 018]

*kali kalang kejekthek ajoine, laso*  
kalī kalàng ke-jék-thèk a-joiné lasō  
NEG.EQU.COP yes NMLZ-know.dos.and.donts-know.how POSS-reason this

*apotsi*  
apōt=si  
because=FOC:RL  
'because they know what to do and what not to do' [SiH, CW 019]

*nonpu'anta bangke sarrú sarháng*  
nòn-pu-án=tā [bàng=ke sàr-rù sàr-hàng  
now-quotative-all=ADD.EXH CLF=TOP be.old-quite be.old-quite

*phùmén phulokta ilitum along*  
phú-mèn phú-lòk=tā [e-li-tūm alòng]  
head-be.ready.to.eat head-be.white=ADD.EXH 1PL.INCL-HON-PL LOC

*nangdoduntheklo nangdodunlonglo*  
nang=dō-dūn-thēk-lò nang=dō-dūn-lōng-lò  
CIS=stay-JOIN-know.how-RL CIS=stay-JOIN-get.to-RL  
'up to today all the old men and the wise men and the white men they still know how to stay on  
with us and they get to still be around' [SiH, CW 020]

*non ilitumpen pusetame chelangrappet*  
nòn [e-li-tūm=pen pùsetāmē] [cheláng-ràp-pèt  
now 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=with even.though intermingle-together-all

*dorappet klemrappet damrappet ason alanglitum*  
dō-ràp-pèt klém-ràp-pèt dàm-ràp-pèt asòn] alang-li-tūm  
stay-together-all do-together-all go-together-all like 3-HON-PL

*nangkiundunlo lake kedo*  
nang=ke-ùn-dūn-lò [là=ke ke-dō  
CIS=NMLZ-be.able-JOIN-RL this=TOP NMLZ-stay

*kethak kangthir ajoine <e>*

ke-thák ke-ingthìr a-joiné] <e>  
 NMLZ-EE:dō(<Asm) NMLZ-be.clean POSS-reason HESIT

‘today even with us they are intermingling and staying with us and doing everything with us and going with us like us, they manage to do everything with us, it’s because they are staying nicely and cleanly’ [SiH, CW 021]

*kemesenpen kechothek ajoine apotsi*

[ke-mēsén-pen ke-chō-thēk] a-joiné apōt=si  
 NMLZ-be.good-ADVBLZ NMLZ-eat-know.how POSS-reason because=FOC:RL

‘it’s the reason why they know how to eat nicely’ [SiH, CW 022]

*monit atum lapu ’anta non ’anta*

[monít a-tūm] lapù-án=tā nòn-án=tā  
 man POSS-PL like.this-all=ADD.EXH now-all=ADD.EXH

*ilitumpen dorappet thakrappét*

[e-li-tūm=pen] [dō-ràp-pèt thák-ràp-pèt  
 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=with stay-together-all EE:dō(<Asm)-together-all

*klemrappet damrappét kedo ’ik’rap’longlo*

klém-ràp-pèt dàm-ràp-pèt ke-dō-īk-ràp-lōng-lò]  
 do-together-all go-together-all NMLZ-stay-FRML-together-get.to-RL

*lahai hako alanglitumpenke*

[lahái hakò alang-li-tūm=pen=ke]  
 these that.time 3-HON-PL=with=TOP

‘people (from back then) up to today stay with us and do everything with us and go everywhere with us, the people from the old days with (us)’ [SiH, CW 023]

*ningkanpharo tangho ningkantheroksirkep tangho pu*

[[ningkán-pharò tànghò ningkán-therōk-sirkēp tànghò pu  
 year-hundred REP year-ten-nine REP quot

*atum ’anta] non ilitumpen*

a-tūm-án=tā nòn [e-li-tūm=pen]  
 POSS-PL-all=ADD.EXH now 1PL.INCL-HON-PL=with

*kechelanglongrappet keklem*

ke-cheláng-lōng-ràp-pèt ke-klém  
NMLZ-intermingle-get.to-together-all NMLZ-do

*kedam<rap>longrappetke alanglitum kecho*

ke-dám-lōng-ràp-pèt=ke] [[alang-li-tūm ke-chō  
NMLZ-go-get(.to)-together-all=TOP 3-HON-PL NMLZ-eat

*kejun, kedo kethak kangthir ajoine*

ke-jùn ke-dō ke-thák ke-ingthìr a-joiné  
NMLZ-drink NMLZ-stay NMLZ-EE:dō(<Asm) NMLZ-be.clean POSS-reason

*apotsi nonpu'an pusetame alanglitumpen*

apōt=si] nòn-pu-án pùsetamē alang-li-tūm=pen  
because=FOC:RL now-QUOT-till even.though 3-HON-PL=with

*itumke lapu do thak ekdom chingnek*

e-tūm=ke lapù dō thák ékdòm che-ingnēk  
1PL.INCL-PL=TOP like.this stay EE:dō(<Asm) EXCM(<Asm) RR-laugh

*chingni arong alon kedo 'ikraplonglo*

che-ingnì aròng alòn ke-dō-īk-ràp-lōng-lò]

RR-EE:ingnēk be.happy elegance NMLZ-stay-FRML-together-get.to-RL

'as they would be up to one hundred years or ninety years (I heard), today with us they get to mingle and do everything with us, and because everything they eat or drink and everything related to their lifestyle is very clean, therefore up to today with them, we stay and we laugh and we get to happily stay all together' [SiH, CW 024]

**2.19 On-line elicited narrative: Pear story by Sikari Tisso (SiT, PS)**

This text is an online narration of the Pear Story (Chafe 1980). The speaker was asked to describe what was happening as he was watching the video clip.

*vo kiku*

vō ke-kú

chicken IPFV-crow

‘a rooster is crowing’ [SiT, PS 001]

*vota kujengsi do... inut*

[vō=tā kú-jèng-si dō] [e-nūt

chicken=ADD crow-for.long.time(sound)-NF:RL exist one-CLF:HUM:SG

*chotiki chonghoi amonit amethang abiri*

cho-tikī cho-inghòì a-monít] [a-metháng a-birī

AUTO.BEN/MAL-cultivate AUTO.BEN/MAL-do POSS-man POSS-self POSS-garden

*arlopen eson <athe...> thesere kelik*

arlō=pen] e-sòn <a-thē...> theseré ke-lík

inside=from one-CLF:thing POSS-fruit fruits IPFV-pluck

‘there’s a rooster crowing (in the background)... one cultivator (/farmer) inside his own garden is picking one kind of fruit’ [SiT, PS 002]

*dondon chedonsi... anke amonit abang*

[dondòn che-dòn-si...] [ánke [a-monít abàng]

ladder RR-place.ladder/bridge-NF:RL and.then POSS-man NPDL

*<a> pe akelokpen keroi isi ajamborong*

[[pé a-ke-lòk=pen ke-ròì isī a-jamboròng

cloth POSS-NMLZ-be.white=with NMLZ-sew one POSS-bag

*arlosi lahai kethap lapen arum kevan*

arlō=sì] [lahái] ke-tháp]] lapèn [arúm ke-vàn]]

inside=FOC:RL these NMLZ-put.inside and down NMLZ-bring

‘he’s placed himself a ladder... and then, the man, into one bag sown from white cloth he puts these (fruits), and then brings them down’ [SiT, PS 003]

*lake phatang alongsi kethap*

là=ke [phatáng a-lòng=si] ke-thàp

this=TOP B.BASKET POSS-LOC=FOC NMLZ-put.inside

‘he is putting them in a *phatang* bamboo basket’ [SiT, PS 004]

*ajahak atheke longle athak klobom lapusonta do*

[[ajahák a-thē=ke] [longlē a-thàk] klò-bòm] [làpusòn=tā dō]

some POSS-fruit=TOP earth POSS-on.top fall-CONT like.this=also exist

‘some fruits keep falling on the ground, that’s also (something that is) happening’ [SiT, PS 005]

*so amonit achethok along peta do <aphutup*

[[sō a-monít] a-chethōk a-lòng pé=tā dō] <a-phutūp

this POSS-man POSS-neck POSS-LOC cloth=ADD exist POSS-hat

*alongke> aphu alongke phutupsi kachekup choi*

a-lòng=ke> [a-phú a-lòng=ke phutūp=si ke-che-kúp] [chòi

POSS-LOC=TOP POSS-head POSS-LOC=TOP hat=FOC:RL NMLZ-RR-cover shirt

*ki’iksi kachingchoi*

ke-ik=si ke-chingchòi]

NMLZ-be.black=FOC:RL NMLZ-wear

‘this man also has a cloth on his neck, on his head he wears a hat, he wears a black shirt’ [SiT, PS 006]

*dondon do a-rongta the’o, laso athesere <e>*

[[dondòn dō a-rōng=tā thè-ò] lasō a-theséré

ladder exist POSS-plant=ADD be.big-much this POSS-fruits

*a-rong... bita nangkangreng ase*

a-rōng...] [bī=tā nang=ke-ingrèng a-sè

POSS-plant goat=even CIS=NMLZ-call(small.animals) POSS-disease

*kethepar*

ke-thè-pār]

NMLZ-be.big-very

‘there’s a ladder, the tree is very big; this fruit tree..., the voice of a goat is also very loud’ [SiT, PS 007]

*laso kethap aphrang aphrang <la> longle keklo alongpen*

lasō ke-thàp            a-phráng~a-phráng <là> longlē ke-klò    alòng=pen  
this NMLZ-put.inside before~INTENS    this earth NMLZ-fall LOC=from

*humsi laso aketer atesere <la> longle*

hūm-si            lasō a-ke-tèr                    a-theseré <là> longlē  
pick.up-NF:RL this POSS-NMLZ-be.dirty POSS-fruits this earth

*kero 'anke halaso aepensi venlo*

ke-rō=án=ke            hálasō a-pé=pen=si                    vēn-lò  
NMLZ-hit=all=TOP that POSS-cloth=with=FOC:RL wipe-RL

'just before putting them into (the basket), he picks them up from having fallen onto the ground, and these dirty fruits, all the ones that were dirty, with this cloth, he wiped them clean' [SiT, PS 008]

*anke lasonsi thapbomlo*

ánke    lasòn=si                    thàp-bōm-lò  
and.then that.way=FOC:RL put.inside-CONT-RL

'and then, like this he kept putting them inside (the baskets)' [SiT, PS 009]

*ha achar tovar kengkeng inut phutup*

[[há            achár            továr kengkèng] [e-nūt                    phutūp  
over.there far.away road all.the.way one-CLF:HUM:SG hat

*kachikupdong amonit... bi api*

ke-che-kúp-dòng            a-monít]... [bī    a-pī]  
NMLZ-RR-cover-attached POSS-man goat POSS-female

*nangchithurkrikrisi laso <la> thesere*

nang=chithùr-kri-kri-si]                    [lasō <là> theseré  
CIS=drag-follow.closely-follow.closely-NF:RL this this fruits

*kelik amonit adung'an nanglelo*

ke-lík            a-monít    adūng-án] nang=lè-lò  
NMLZ-pluck POSS-man near-up.to CIS=reach-RL

'over there, far away, all the way down the road, one hat-wearing man, dragging along a female goat, close up to this fruit picking man he reached' [SiT, PS 010]

*laso amonitta... <a> lapu bi ponlo <la> abi abangke*

lasō a-monít=tā... lapù bī pòn-lò <là> a-bī abàng=ke  
this POSS-man=ADD like.this goat take.away-RL this POSS-goat NPDL=TOP

*kedun mo*

ke-dùn mō  
NMLZ-join hesitate

‘this person also... like this carries the goat, this goat is hesitating to go along’ [SiT, PS 011]

*ne <kechokang...> kachopanji aning*

[nē <ke-chō-káng...> ke-chopān-jí a-nīng  
something NMLZ-eat-just NMLZ-look.for.food-IRR2 POSS-mind

*kehang ason bonsita halaso amonit chingtontesi*

ke-hàng asòn] bònsetā hálasō a-monít chingtòn-Cē-si  
NMLZ-want like but that POSS-man stop.for awhile-NEG-NF:RL

*chithurponbomlo*

chithùr-pōn-bōm-lò  
drag-take.away-CONT-RL

‘it’s as if the goat wants to graze, but that man without stopping for awhile keeps dragging (the goat) away’ [SiT, PS 012]

*abi ponbomlo ha helovinglo*

a-bī pòn-bōm-lò há helō-víng-lò  
POSS-goat take.away-CONT-RL over.there be.far-very-RL

‘he keeps taking the goat away, over there far away’ [SiT, PS 013]

*anke laso amonit abangke, la chotiki*

ánke [lasō a-monít abàng=ke] [là cho-tikī  
and.then this POSS-man NPDL=TOP this AUTO.BEN/MAL-cultivate

*chonghoipen kecho amonit abangke... puthot*

cho-inghòi-pen ke-chō a-monít abàng=ke]... puthōt  
AUTO.BEN/MAL-do-NF:with NMLZ-eat POSS-man NPDL=TOP next/again

*angsong arlusi... thengpi arong arlusi athe likbomlo*

angsong arlū-si... thengpī a-rōng arlū-si a-thē lík-bòm-lò  
high.up climb-NF:RL tree/wood POSS-plant climb-NF:RL POSS-fruit pluck-CONT-RL

‘and then, this man, the man who lives off of (lit., eats from) cultivating, again climbed up, climbed up in the tree and kept picking the fruit’ [SiT, PS 014]

*laso ahut amat inut akaprek amonit*

[lasō a-ahūt amāt] [e-nūt a-ke-prék a-monít  
this POSS-during and.then one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-NMLZ-be.different POSS-man

*abangke saikel nangardonsi vanglo... laso amonitta*

a-bàng=ke] saikél nang=ardòn-si vâng-lò... lasō a-monít=tā  
NPDL=TOP bicycle(<Eng) CIS=ride-NF:RL come-RL this POSS-man=also

*aphu along aphutup do*

a-phú alòng a-phutūp dō  
POSS-head LOC POSS-hat exist

‘in this moment, another person riding on a bicycle came, this person also had a hat on his head’ [SiT, PS 015]

*lapenke la thesere kelikbom amonit along nanglelo*

lapèn=ke là theseré ke-lík-bòm a-monít a-lòng nang=lè-lò  
and=TOP this fruits NMLZ-pluck-CONT POSS-man POSS-LOC CIS=reach-RL  
‘and then, he reached the (place where) the fruit picking man was’ [SiT, PS 016]

*thengpi arum nanglelo amonit abangke angsongsi do*

thengpī arúm nang=lè-lò a-monít abàng=ke angsong=si dō  
tree/wood down CIS=reach-RL POSS-man NPDL=TOP high.up=FOC:RL exist  
‘he reached underneath the tree, that man (who’s picking the fruit) is up high in the tree’ [SiT, PS 017]

*lapenke arum la dondon adunghet amat... <a>*

lapèn=ke arúm là dondòn adūng-hét amāt...  
and.then=TOP down this ladder near-INTENS self

*phatang hini plengchongchong... <a> thesere kiliktang*

phátáng hini plèng-chòng~chòng... theseré ke-lík-táng  
kd.basket two be.full-slightly.high~INTENS fruits NMLZ-pluck-PFV

*theklonglo lapenke saikel pasangkoklo*

thèklōng-lò lapèn=ke saikél pV-sáng-kòk-lò  
see-RL and.then=TOP bicycle(<Eng) CAUS-take.rest-firmly-RL

‘and then, underneath, in the place itself very close by the ladder, two baskets were full, he sees the fruit that had already been picked, and then he stopped the cycle’ [SiT, PS 018]

<sangkok> *asaikel kapasangkokra*

<sáng-kòk> a-saikél ke-pV-sáng-kòk-ra  
take.rest-firmly POSS-bicycle(<Eng) NMLZ-CAUS-take.rest-firmly-NF:IRR

*parjaplun kibiji a-son avedet amat*

pV-arjáp-lùn ke-bí-jí a-sòn avē-dèt amāt  
CAUS-stand-big:AO NMLZ-keep-IRR2 POSS-thing not.exist-PFV and.then

*asaikel abang pakrepkhrām*

a-saikél abàng pV-krēp-khrām  
POSS-bicycle(<Eng) NPDL CAUS-fall.over-with.loud.noise

‘he stops the bicycle and there is no device to keep it standing up, and then he made the cycle fall over with a loud noise’ [SiT, PS 019]

*lapenke amonit kopisi keklemma, hala*

lapèn=ke a-monít kopī=si ke-klém=ma hála  
and.then=TOP POSS-man what=FOC:RL NMLZ-do=Q that

*ahemphu abang la langrei amat*

a-hēmphū abàng là làng-rèi amāt  
POSS-house.owner.male.hon NPDL this see-sideways.briefly and.then

‘and then, what the man is doing, that old man, he glances to the side briefly, and then’ [SiT, PS 020]

<aphatang along’an saikel...> <a> saikel along’an

<a-phatáng alòng-án saikél...> saikél a-lòng=án  
POSS-kd.basket LOC-up.to bicycle(<Eng) bicycle(<Eng) POSS-LOC=up.to

*phatang abang vansi... la phatang saikel along*

[phatáng abàng] vàn-si... là phatáng saikél a-lòng  
kd.basket NPDL bring-NF:RL this kd.basket bicycle(<Eng) POSS-LOC

*kethapji aphan bor'ilo*

ke-thàp-jí                      aphān bor'í-lò

NMLZ-put.inside-IRR2    PURP    try.w.great.effort-RL

'<the bicycle to the baskets>, to the bicycle he brings the basket, the basket he is trying to put on the cycle' [SiT, PS 021]

*amat amonitta ajon thihek*

amāt      a-monít=tā      a-jōn              thī-hèk

and.then    POSS-man=also    POSS-height    be.short-INTENS

'and then, the person is short' [SiT, PS 022]

*lapenke saikel along aphant anatsi*

lapèn=ke      saikél                      a-lòng      a-phráng    a-nát=si

and.then=TOP    bicycle(<Eng)    POSS-LOC    POSS-first    POSS-direction=FOC:RL

*kethap*

ke-thàp

NMLZ-put.inside

'and then he puts them on the bicycle in the front' [SiT, PS 023]

*lapenke hala kangni adim along ingnithektesi*

lapèn=ke      [hála ke-ingnì a-dím      a-lòng]      ingnì-thēk-Cē-si

and.then=TOP    that    NMLZ-sit    POSS-place    POSS-LOC    sit-see-NEG-NF:RL

<a> *si ingchin apum along ingnisi... saikel*

sì              ingchìn a-púm                      a-lòng      ingnì-si...    saikél

therefore    iron      POSS-CLF:round    POSS-LOC    sit-NF:RL    bicycle(<Eng)

*kevekponlo*

ke-vèk-pōn-lò

NMLZ-steer-away-RL

'and then, he doesn't know how to sit down on that sitting place (saddle), and then on the iron bar he sits and steers the bicycle away' [SiT, PS 024]

*saikel vekponbom dambomlo atheta*

[saikél              vèk-pòn-bōm      dām-bōm-lò]    a-thē=tā

bicycle(<Eng)    steer-away-CONT    go-CONT-RL    POSS-fruit=also

*kloponpresi tovar soding kloponbomlo*

klò-pòn-prè-si                      továr sodíng      klò-pòn-bōm-lò  
fall-on.the.way-scattered-NF:RL road all.along fall-on.the.way-CONT-RL  
'he is steering the bicycle away and going away, and the fruit is falling out here and there and all  
along the road it keeps falling out' [SiT, PS 025]

*bonsita hala ahemphu abangke chipudunthekthe*

bònsētā hálā a-hēmphū                      abàng=ke che-pū-dūn-thēk-Cē  
but that POSS-house.owner.male.HON NPDL=TOP RR-say-JOIN-know.how-NEG  
'but that old man couldn't realize' [SiT, PS 026]

*<la> dambomlo... anke kedambom ahut ha*

<là> dàm-bōm-lò... ánke      ke-dàm-bōm      ahūt      há  
this go-CONT-RL and.then NMLZ-go-CONT during over.there

*<punu> anathupen inut arloso oso, skul*

a-nátthū=pen                      e-nūt                      árlosō      osō      skúl  
POSS-direction=from one-CLF:HUM:SG woman child school(<Eng)

*kidun a'oso... halata saikel nangveksi*

ke-dùn      a-osō      hálā=tā      saikél                      nang=vèk-si  
NMLZ-join POSS-child that=also bicycle(<Eng) CIS=steer-NF:RL

*vangbomlo... menmen latum chetonglok amat*

vàng-bōm-lò... ménmèn      la-tūm      che-tòng-lòk      amāt  
come-CONT-RL suddenly this-PL RR-meet-just and.then  
'he keeps going, and then, as he's going, from that side (i.e., the opposite side), one girl, one school  
girl, she's also riding a bike and coming, suddenly they meet' [SiT, PS 027]

*<la> <saikel...> <a> <la> arlososo abangpen*

<là> <saikél...>      <là> árlosō~sō      abàng=pen  
this bicycle(<Eng) this woman~DUAL NPDL=with

*chetongder amat aphutup klophit*

che-tōng-dèr                      amāt      a-phutūp      klò-phìt  
RR-collide-IDEOPHONE and.then POSS-hat fall-right.away  
'the bicycle..., with the girl he collided and then his hat fell down' [SiT, PS 028]

*amat laso damchet amat chekhang'un'elo isi arlong*

amāt lasō dām-chèt amāt che-kháng-ùn-Cē-lò isī arlōng  
and.then this go-a.bit and.then RR-keep-be.able-NEG-RL one stone

*along tongdér*

a-lòng tōng-dèr

POSS-LOC collide-IDEOPHONE

‘and then he went just a bit further and then he couldn’t hold himself anymore, he hit a stone’ [SiT, PS 029]

*alang kepon atsesere do'anta klolaplo*

[[alàng ke-pòn] a-theséré dō=án=tā] klò-làp-lò

3 NMLZ-take.away POSS-fruits exist=all=ADD:EXH fall-completely-RL

‘all of the fruit that he was taking away fell out’ [SiT, PS 030]

*adunghet osomar banghini bangkethom do... halatumke*

adūng-hét osō-mār bàng-hiní bàng-kethòm dō... hála-tūm=ke

near-INTENS child-PL CLF:HUM:PL-two CLF:HUM:PL-three exist that-PL=TOP

*juirekraksi do*

jùi-rek~rāk-si dō

play-silently~DIST.PL-NF:RL exist

‘nearby, there were a few children, they were playing silently’ [SiT, PS 031]

*tennis <a> kapathu abol lapenke bet*

[tennis ke-pathú a-bòl lapèn=ke bét

tennis(<Eng) NMLZ-play POSS-ball(<Eng) and.then=TOP bat(<Eng)

*otdong inut oso abangke... lapenke <la>*

òt-dòng e-nūt osō abàng=ke]... lapèn=ke <là>

touch-attached one-CLF:HUM:SG child NPDL=TOP and.then=TOP this

*kachingkoidup amonit <a>*

[ke-chingkoí-dùp a-monít

NMLZ-fall.down.HUM-falling.sound.from.high.solid.obj POSS-man

*aphan <la> <thesere aphantang heihai thesere along>*

a-phān] <là> <theséré a-phatáng haihúi theséré alòng>

POSS-NSUBJ this fruits POSS-kd.basket these.types.of fruits LOC

*aphatang along thesere thapdunlo rapdunlo, laphan*

a-phatáng a-lòng theseré thàp-dūn-lò ráp-dùn-lò là-phān  
POSS-kd.basket POSS-LOC fruits put.inside-JOIN-RL help-JOIN-RL this-NSUBJ

‘(there’s) one child who’s holding a tennis ball and a bat, and then for the person who had fallen down, they put with him the fruit in the basket, they helped him’ [SiT, PS 032]

*<raptang’et aphike> rapdun’et aphike <a> la saikel*

<ráp-táng-ét a-aphī=ke> ráp-dùn-ét aphī=ke [là saikél  
help-PFV-PRF POSS-after=TOP help-JOIN-PRF after=TOP this bicycle(<Eng)

*kevek abang puthot chevekponthulo lapenke*

ke-vèk abàng] puthōt che-vèk-pōn-thū-lò lapèn=ke  
NMLZ-steer NPDL next/again RR-steer-away-again-RL and.then=TOP

*inut oso abangke la aphrang along kedo <a> arlong*

[e-nūt osō abàng=ke] [là apha-ráng a-lòng ke-dō arlōng]  
one-CLF:HUM:SG child NPDL=TOP this first POSS-LOC NMLZ-exist stone

*terekpiphitlo...] penke padamlo*

terék-pī-phit-lò... pèn=ke pV-dàm-lò  
move-BEN/MAL-away-RL and.then=TOP CAUS-go-RL

‘after helping, the bicycle rider again got on his way, and then one child, the one who was in front, he moved the stone away for him, and then they (the children) let him (the bicycle boy) go away’ [SiT, PS 033]

*latum bangkethomke amethang atovar chedamlo,*

[[là-tūm bàng-kethòm=ke] a-metháng a-továr che-dām-lò]  
this-PL CLF:HUM:PL-three=TOP POSS-self POSS-road RR-go-RL

*lapenke saikel ingdoiponbomsi,*

[lapèn=ke saikél ingdōi-pōn-bōm-si  
and.then=TOP bicycle(<Eng) push-away-CONT-NF:RL

*la apha-rang kevang abang, dambomlo*

[là apha-ráng ke-vàng abàng] dàm-bōm-lò]  
this first NMLZ-come NPDL go-CONT-RL

‘the three of them went their own way, and then pushing the bicycle, the one who first came (i.e. the one with the bicycle), he kept going’ [SiT, PS 034]

*damchot aphī... phutup kitirok theklongloklo hala*

dàm-chòt aphī... phutūp ke-tí-ròk thèklōng-lòk-lò [hála  
go-a.bit after hat NMLZ-leave.behind-COMPL see-just-RL that

*bol ke'otdong a'oso abang*

bòl ke-òt-dòng a-osō abàng]  
ball(<Eng) NMLZ-touch-attached POSS-child NPDL

‘and then, after going just a bit, he saw the hat that had been thrown off, that boy that was holding the ball’ [SiT, PS 035]

*pen pasi'idunvotsi phutup humra aphī*

pèn pasi'í-dùn-vòt-si phutūp hūm-rà a-phī  
and.then whistle-JOIN-INTENS-NF:RL hat pick.up-NF:IRR POSS-behind

*anat chevangthulo*

a-nát che-vàng-thū-lò  
POSS-direction RR-come-again-RL

‘and then, he whistled, picked up the hat and brought it back’ [SiT, PS 036]

*hala saikel kangdoipon abangta <a> chingtonkoklo*

hála saikél ke-ingdōi-pōn abàng=tā chingtòn-kòk-lò  
that bicycle(<Eng) NMLZ-push-away NPDL=ADD:also stop.for awhile-firmly-RL

‘that bicycle pushing person also stopped for awhile’ [SiT, PS 037]

*lapenke aputup pidetlo laphan*

lapèn=ke a-phutūp pī-dèt-lò là-phān  
and.then=TOP POSS-hat give-PFV-RL this-NSUBJ

‘and then, he gave him his hat’ [SiT, PS 038]

*lapenke la phutup <kapa..> kipidunthu apot, laphan*

lapèn=ke [là phutūp ke-pī-dūn-thū apōt] là-phān  
and.then=TOP this hat NMLZ-give-JOIN-again because this-NSUBJ

*aning ingsamsi, thesere pumni tekanglo*

a-nīng ingsām-si theseré púm-ní tekáng-lò  
POSS-mind be.cold-NF:RL fruits CLF:round-two leave.for-RL

‘and then, because he returned the hat, he (the bicycle boy) was grateful to him and gave him two pieces of fruit’ [SiT, PS 039]

*an laso a'oso abang thesere pumni hala ajirpo*

án [lasō a-osō abàng] [theseré púm-ní] [hála a-jirpò  
and.then this POSS-child NPDL fruits CLF:round-two that POSS-friend

*banghini aphan chepaklangdamlo*

bàng-hiní a-phān] che-pV-klàng-dām-lò  
CLF:HUM:PL-two POSS-NSUBJ RR-CAUS-appear-GO-RL  
'and then, this child went to show the two pieces of fruit to those two friends' [SiT, PS 040]

*chepaklangdampen... latum kedamthu pangchenglò*

che-pV-klàng-dām-pen... là-tūm ke-dām-thū pangchèng-lò  
RR-CAUS-appear-GO-NF:with this-PL NMLZ-go-again start-RL  
'after going to show them, they again started to go' [SiT, PS 041]

*anke ajabok along kethapthot*

ánke [a-jabòk a-lòng ke-thàp-thòt  
and.then POSS-pocket(<Asm) POSS-LOC NMLZ-put.inside-into.opening

*akriket abet ensi juiponbomlo*

a-kriket a-bet ēn-si jùì-pòn-bōm-lò  
POSS-cricket(<Eng) POSS-bat(<Eng) take-NF:RL play-on.the.way-CONT-RL  
'and then, the cricket bat that he had put into his pocket he takes again and keeps playing while going away' [SiT, PS 042]

*penke hala thesere <a> kelikdam amonit abangta nangsunlo*

pèn=ke hála theseré ke-lík-dàm a-monít abàng=tā nang=sūn-lò  
and.then=TOP that fruits NMLZ-pluck-GO POSS-man NPDL=also CIS=descend-RL  
'and then, the man who had gone to pick fruits, on the other hand, has come down' [SiT, PS 043]

*lapenke... phatang along thesere thaplelo... bonta isi*

lapèn=ke... phatáng a-lòng theseré thàp-lè-lò... bontā isī  
and.then=TOP kd.basket POSS-LOC fruits put.inside-again-RL but one

*aphatang along thesere chetheklongledetlo*

a-phatáng a-lòng theseré che-thēklōng-Cē-dèt-lò  
POSS-kd.basket POSS-LOC fruits RR-see-NEG-PFV-RL  
'and then, he again put more fruit in the baskets, but in one basket he didn't see any fruit' [SiT, PS 044]

*anke laso a 'osomar atum nangke 'otkrei*

ánke [[lasō a-osō-mār a-tūm] nang=ke-òt-krèi  
and.then this POSS-child-PL POSS-PL CIS=NMLZ-touch-DISTR.PL

*atheseresi langdunveretlo... anke inut*

a-theséré=si] làng-dūn-verèt-lò... ánke e-nūt  
POSS-fruits=FOC:RL see-JOIN-INTENS-RL and.then one-CLF:HUM:SG

*abangke juiponbom thengponbomlang*

abàng=ke jùi-pōn-bōm thèng-pōn-bōm-làng  
NPDŁ=TOP play-on.the.way-CONT beat.w/sth.solid-on.the.way-CONT-still  
'and then, he (the old man) keeps watching the fruit that these children are each holding, and then one keeps playing, keeps beating still' [SiT, PS 045]

*anke la chelangdundinglo <latum aphansi*

ánke là che-lāng-dūn-dìng-lò là-tūm a-phān=si  
and.then this RR-see-JOIN-steadily-RL this-PL POSS-NSUBJ=FOC:RL

*<chonghupon> kanghupon>, "latumtong*

cho-inghū-pòn ke-inghū-pōn là-tūm-tōng  
AUTO.BEN/MAL-steal-take.away NMLZ-steal-take.away this-PL-INDIR.ITROG

*kepon 'etma? lajo!" pu <sontong> lapusonsi*

ke-pòn-èt=ma là-jò pu <sòn-tōng> lapusòn=si  
NMLZ-take.away-all:S/O=Q this-see! QUOT like.this-instead.of like.this=FOC:RL

*kamatha*

ke-mathà  
NMLZ-think

'and then he kept watching them for a long time, "could they have taken them all away, look at that", like this he was thinking' [SiT, PS 046]

*amat jutletlo*

amāt jūt-lèt-lò  
and.then finish-PFV3-RL  
'and then, (the story) is finished' [SiT, PS 047]

## 2.20 Interview/conversation: Status of Women in Karbi Society – Kare Rongpipi and Bhudeswar Timung (KaR, SWK)

Interview/conversation about the status of women in Karbi society; the lady interviewed is Ms. Kare Rongpipi, and the interview was conducted by Mr. Bhudeswar Timung. Ms. Rongpipi points out the ways in which women have traditionally played a very important role in Karbi society.

The presentation of the transcription of this interview follows the style of the (mostly) single-speaker texts above although we acknowledge the obvious drawback of losing information regarding overlaps. The more salient individual instances of backchanneling were transcribed and added in more or less where they occurred (i.e., in the other speaker's turn) using {curly brackets} following the style used in other texts above. As a result, the numbering of intonation units is somewhat eclectic as in the initial transcription process, separate intonation units were marked off for backchanneling.

### Bhudeswar Timung:

*nelitum Karbi Lammet Amei ahinpen*

[ne-li-tūm Karbi lammét a-méi a-hín=pen]  
1EXCL-HON-PL Karbi literature POSS-assembly POSS-this.side=from

*lamthe kimi kiri lapen anparta Karbi*

[lamthē ke-mī ke-ri] [lapèn anpár=tā Karbi  
word NMLZ-be.new NMLZ-search and.then besides=also Karbi

*ahamphang along*

a-hamphāng alòng...]  
POSS-society LOC

'we are from the Karbi Lammet Amei and we are looking for new words (in the sense of special or rare words), and then besides that, in the Karbi society...' [KaR, SWK 001]

### Bhudeswar Timung:

*[so'arlosomar atum ardi ko'an doma...]* [*hamphangpen*

sō'arlosō-mār a-tūm ardí ko'án dō=ma hamphāng=pèn  
women-PL POSS-PL weight how.much exist=Q society=from

*anparata <hemtum> kaboche alongta hemtun*

anpará=tā <hemtum> ke-boché alòng=tā hēmtūn  
besides=also <...> NMLZ-create LOC=also good.family

*kaboche... hem isi hembang isi la hem kachari*

ke-boché... hēm isī hēmbāng isī là hēm ke-charí  
NMLZ-create house one extended.family whole this house NMLZ-rule

*alongta]* [*<arlosomar atum> so'arlosomar atum*

alòng=tā [<arlosō-mār a-tūm> sō'arlosō-mār a-tūm  
LOC=ADD woman-PL POSS-PL women-PL POSS-PL

*ko'an ardi doma*] [*lahaihui alam kachini aphan*

ko'an ardi dō=ma laháihúi a-lám ke-chiní aphān  
 how.much weight exist=Q these.DISTR POSS-word NMLZ-know PURP

*penang'an amonit atumphan nelitum*

penáng án a-monít a-tūm-phān ne-li-tūm  
 a.lot that.much POSS-man POSS-PL-NSUBJ 1EXCL-HON-PL

*chetongiklo*

che-tòng-īk-lò

RR-meet-FRML-RL

'how important are the women? Besides (i.e., not only within) the society as a whole, but also with respect to running a family in a proper way, with respect to be in charge of the whole house, what is the status of women? In order to learn about these kinds of matters, we are meeting many people' [KaR, SWK 002]

### **Bhudeswar Timung:**

*[si pini ladak nelitum non kedobom*

sì pini ladāk ne-li-tūm nòn ke-dō-bōm  
 therefore today here 1EXCL-HON-PL now NMLZ-exist-CONT

*abangke Boithalangso along...]* [*Boithalangso along*

abàng=kè Boithalangso alòng Boithalangso alòng  
 NPDL=TOP TOWN LOC TOWN LOC

*neli inut banghini amonit atumpen*

nè-li e-nūt bàng-hiní a-monít a-tūm=pen  
 1EXCL-HON one-CLF:HUM:SG CLF-two POSS-man POSS-PL=with

*chetongji*] [*si aphantangi nelitum*

che-tòng-jí sì aphantangi sí ne-li-tūm  
 RR-meet-IRR2 therefore first-SPLT 1EXCL-HON-PL

*enut <'e> abanghipen chetongiklo*

e-nūt a-bàngphì=pen che-tòng-īk-lò  
 one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-lady=with RR-meet-FRML-RL

'so today where we are staying here is in Boithalangso... In Boithalangso I will (want to/have plans to) meet with a few people... So first we are meeting with this lady [KaR, SWK 003]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*si aphrangsi nanglimen chethan asonte* <‘e’>

sì           aphráng-sí nang-li-mén           che-thán asòn-tē  
therefore first-SPLT 2POSS-HON-name RR-tell like-COND

*me’iksenji*

mē-īk-sén-jí

be.good-FRML-INTENS-IRR2

‘so first, if you could tell us your name, that would be wonderful’ [KaR, SWK 004]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*nelimenke Sami Kare Rongpipi pu*

neli=mén=kè                           Samí Karé Rongpī-pī    pu  
1EXCL:POSS:HON=name=TOP ADDR NAME CLAN-female QUOT

‘my name is Mrs Kare Rongpipi’ [KaR, SWK 005]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*neli dak Ran habe arong Terang hem asor*

nè-li           dāk [Ran habē]           a-ròng]]           [[Teràng hēm] a-sòr]  
1EXCL-HON here NAME headman POSS-village CLAN house POSS-people

‘I am here at Ran Habe village a member of the Terang family’ [KaR, SWK 006]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*Terang hemsì nangli kedoloke di? {m}, Terang*

Teràng hēm=sì           nàng-li   ke-dō-lò=ke           dī?, {m} Teràng  
CLAN house=FOC:RL you-HON NMLZ-stay-RL=TOP Q.tag AFF CLAN

*hem asorloke di? {m}*

hēm a-sòr-lò=kè           dī? {m}

house POSS-people-RL=TOP Q.tag AFF

‘at the Terang house you stay, right? {m}, you’re a member of the Terang family, right? {m}’

[KaR, SWK 007]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*nonjong amat nangli pine klem’ikbom lapuma*

[nòn-jōng amāt]   nàng-li   pí-nē           klém-īk-bōm lapù=ma  
now-just and.then you-HON what-INDEF do-FRML-CONT like.this=Q

‘currently you work in some (job), (is it) like this?’ [KaR, SWK 008]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*neli ladak Karbi-Langpi Hydro-Electric-Project*

o nè-li ladāk Karbi-Langpī Hydro-Electric-Project  
AFF 1EXCL-HON here Karbi-NAME NAME

*alongsī kam choklemdunbom*

alòng=si kám cho-klém-dùn-bōm

LOC=FOC:RL work MID-do-JOIN-CONT

‘yes, I work here at the Karbi Langpi Hydro Electric Project’ [KaR, SWK 009]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*Hydro-Electric-Project alongsī kam klem’ikbom {m}*

Hydro-Electric-Project alòng=si kám klém-īk-bōm {m}

NAME LOC=FOC:RL work do-FRML-CONT AFF

‘(you) work for the Hydro-Electric Project {m}’ [KaR, SWK 010]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*[kaprek kaprek abangphu bangphi*

ke-prék ke-prék a-bàngphù bàngphi

NMLZ-be.different NMLZ-be.different POSS-member member:FEM

*atumpen kachetong ason thakthak] <‘e>*

a-tūm=pèn ke-che-tòng asòn thàkthàk

POSS-PL=with NMLZ-RR-meet like same

*[nanglilongpenta ethe theni alam*

nang-li-lòng=pèn=tā e-thē thē-ní a-lám

2-HON-LOC=from=ADD.also one-CLF.word CLF.word-two POSS-matter

*nelitum arjupon’iklang pu]*

ne-li-tūm arjū-pōn-īk-làng pu

1EXCL-HON-PL ask-take.away-FRML-still QUOT

‘in the same way as we have met different people, we also ask one or two things from you, too [KaR, SWK 011]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*oi meparlo*

ōi mē-pár-lò

yes be.good-cross(<Asm)-RL

‘yes, that’s very good’ [KaR, SWK 012]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*lasi laso alam along aKarbi ahamphang along*

lasi lāsō a-lám alòng a-Karbi a-hamphāng alòng  
therefore this POSS-matter LOC POSS-Karbi POSS-society LOC

*alamta nangleji*

a-lám=tā nang=lè-jí  
POSS-word=ADD.also CIS=reach-IRR2

‘so in this discussion, matters about the Karbi society will be touched upon’ [KaR, SWK 013]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*pen anparke ethe theni nelitum*

pèn anpár=kè e-thē thē-ní ne-li-tūm  
with.this besides=TOP one-CLF.word CLF.word-two 1EXCL-HON-PL

*abangke lamta lapu humponbom lason*

abàng=kè lám=tā lapù hūm-pōn-bōm lasòn  
NPDL=TOP word=also like.this pick.up-take.away-CONT that.way

*abangta do ’ikkoktema jo*

abàng=tā dō-īk-kòk-tē=ma jo  
NPDL=also exist-FRML-firmly-COND=Q see

‘and then besides that, we keep picking up a few things (discussion points, cultural matters, etc.) like this as we go, that’s how it is, see!’ [KaR, SWK 014]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*m kalanglo*

m kalang-lò  
BACKCHANNEL yes-RL

‘I agree’ [KaR, SWK 015]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*si un’an abangke elitum*

[si ùn-án abàng=kè e-li-tūm  
therefore be.able-up.to NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL

*kachethan along abangke {m} akaprek alam*

ke-che-thán alòng abàng=ke... {m} [[a-ke-prék a-lám  
NMLZ-RR-tell LOC NPDL=TOP BACKCHANNEL POSS-NMLZ-be.different POSS-language

*abang humponpera pareponpera*

abàng] hūm-pōn-Cē-rà                      parē-pōn-Cē-rà  
 NPDŁ pick.up-take.away-NEG-NF:IRR use.tool-take.away-NEG-NF:IRR

*ningjeponpera Karbi alampen un'an abangke*

ningjé-pòn-Cē-rà]                      [Karbi a-lám=pèn                      ùn-án                      abàng=kè]  
 speak-take.away-NEG-NF:IRR TRIBE POSS-language=with be.able-up.to NPDŁ=TOP

*Karbi alampen kachethanponji aphan...*

[Karbi a-lám=pèn                      ke-che-thán-pòn-jí                      aphan...]  
 TRIBE POSS-language=with NMLZ-RR-tell-take.away-IRR2 PURP

*si bor'ilonang hedi? {m}*

[sì                      bor'í-lò-nāng                      hedī?]] {m}  
 therefore w.great.effort-RL-EXHORT okay? AFF

‘so as much as we can, regarding our talking to each other, {m} without picking up another language, without speaking another language, in Karbi as much as we can, to speak in Karbi to each other let’s try, okay? {m}’ [KaR, SWK 016]

### **Bhudeswar Timung:**

*[te] [nangliphan karju kangtung abangke] [lalo...]*

te                      náng-li-phān ke-arjū                      ke-ingtúng abàng=kè là-lò  
 so.then 2-HON-NSUBJ NMLZ-ask NMLZ-desire NPDŁ=TOP this-RL

*[aphrangsi abangke nangli dak Terang hemsí bochélo] {m}*

aphráng-sí abàng=kè náng-li                      dāk Teràng hēm=si                      boché-lò {m}  
 first-SPLT NPDŁ=TOP you-HON here CLAN house=FOC:RL create-RL AFF

‘so then, what I would like to ask you, it’s like this..., first of all, you have settled down here at the Terang house {m}’ [KaR, SWK 017]

### **Bhudeswar Timung:**

*to aphrangsi nelithan'ikjima hem*

tò                      aphaáng-sí neli=thán-īk-jí=ma                      hēm  
 OK first-SPLT 1EXCL:HON:NSUBJ=tell-FRML-IRR2=Q house

*asor amen, dak Terang hem asor*

a-sòr                      a-mén,                      dāk Teràng hēm                      a-sòr  
 POSS-people POSS-name here CLAN house POSS-people

‘okay, first of all, will you tell me the name of your spouse, here the Terang family head (meaning her of hem asor)’ [KaR, SWK 018]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*Mister Dhonsing Terang*  
[KaR, SWK 020]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*alangli pilo keklem 'ikbomke nonjong amat*  
alàng-lì pí=lo ke-klém-ík-bōm=kè nòn-jòng amāt  
3-HON what=FOC NMLZ-do-FRML-CONT=TOP now-? and.then

*abangke*  
abàng=kè  
NPDL=TOP  
'what does he do, currently?' [KaR, SWK 021]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*Hamren-Division along mane Kheroni arens*  
Hamren-Division alòng mane Kheroní a-rens  
NAME LOC I.mean(<Asm) NAME POSS-range(<Eng)

*along rens ofisar*  
alòng rens ofisar  
LOC range(<Eng) officer(<Eng)  
'he is a range officer in Kheroni range at Hamren subdivision' [KaR, SWK 022]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*renj ofisar di {m} o*  
renj ofisar dī {m} o  
range(<Eng) officer(<Eng) Q.TAG AFF AFF  
'a range officer, right? {m} ah' [KaR, SWK 023]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*te nangli inut ahemari pilo*  
te nàng-lì e-nūt a-hēmarīpī-lò  
and.then/therefore you-HON one-CLF:HUM:SG POSS-wife.of.eldest.son-RL

*apot tema jo hemaripilo apot*  
apōt tema jo hēmarīpī-lò apōt  
because DM EXCM wife.of.eldest.son-RL because  
'so since you are the honorable lady of the house, right?, since you are the honorable person...'  
[KaR, SWK 024]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*mh kalanglo*

mh kalang-lò

BACKCHANNEL yes-RL

‘yes’ [KaR, SWK 025]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*si la hemtun isi kaboche along kachari along*

sì là hēmtūn isī ke-boché alòng ke-charí alòng

therefore this good.family one NMLZ-create LOC NMLZ-rule LOC

*<so’arlosomar atum> arlosomar atum arpu ko’an do*

<sō’arlosō-mār a-tūm> árlosō-mār a-tūm arpū ko’án dō

women-PL POSS-PL woman-PL POSS-PL responsibility how.much exist

‘so with running a family and being in charge, how much responsibility do the women have?’

[KaR, SWK 026]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*penke [alanglitum laso along <‘e> mantune*

pèn=kè alang-li-tūm lāsō alòng mantú-nē

and.then=TOP 3-HON-PL this LOC when-INDEF

*pine akisung asonta doma] ba*

pí-nē a-ke-sùng a-sòn=tā dō=ma bá

what-INDEF POSS-NMLZ-be.difficult POSS-thing=even exist=Q or

*[akisung mane pi aphanlo ho neli*

a-ke-sùng mane pí a-phān-lò ho nè-li

POSS-NMLZ-be.difficult I.mean(<Asm) what POSS-GOAL-RL INT 1EXCL-HON

*kipudamji pu abangke..] [so’arlo atum hem*

ke-pù-dām-jí pu abàng=kè sō’arlō a-tūm hēm

NMLZ-say-GO-IRR2 QUOT NPDL=TOP women POSS-PL house

*kachari hem kaboche pulotangte osomar*

ke-charí hēm ke-boché pùlotángtē osō-mār

NMLZ-rule house NMLZ-create if child-PL

*kalanapen chenglok kadokave’anta arpu*

ke-laná-pen chèng-lòk kadòkavē án=tā arpū

NMLZ-take.care-NF:with begin-right.then all that.much=ADD responsibility

*penang'an do]*

penáng-án dō  
a.lot-this.much exist

‘and then with this (i.e., running the household), are there difficulties at certain times? Or the difficulties... what kind of difficulties (lit., what are they for) (asking himself), what am I wanting to say... If the women are in charge at home and run the household, starting with taking care of the children and with going up to everything else, there is a lot of responsibility’ [KaR, SWK 027]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*kalang*

kalang

yes

‘true’ [KaR, SWK 028]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*lasi [<laso along> <laso keklem along> laso*

lasi <làsō alòng> <làsō ke-klém alòng> làsō  
therefore this LOC this NMLZ-do LOC this

*akam along pinsomarpen arlosomar atum ardi ko'an*

a-kám alòng pinsō-mār=pen árlosō-mār a-tūm ardí ko'án  
POSS-work LOC boy-PL=with woman-PL POSS-PL weight how.much

*ko'anbak do pu] nangli pu'ikji*

ko'án-bāk dō pu nàng-lì pù-ík-jí  
how.much-about exist QUOT you-HON say-FRML-IRR2

‘with this, with doing this, with this work, about how high is the respective status of men and women, would you say?’ [KaR, SWK 030]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*o laso alamthe abangke elitum*

[o làsō a-lamthē abàng=kè e-li-tūm  
INTERJ this POSS-matter NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-HON-PL

*alomso chethandetle*

alōm-sō che-thán-dèt=lè  
time-small RR-tell-PFV=FOC:IRR

*pejutdet'un'etema bonsita thihekpen sita*

pV-jūt-dèt-ün-Cē=tema [bònsitā thī-hèk=pen setā  
CAUS-finish-PFV-be.able-NEG=DM but be.short-INTENS=from but

*neli kaningje kangtungke lapuhelo bangbang*

nè-li ke-ningjé ke-ingtúng=kè lapù-helò] [bàng-bāng  
1EXCL-HON NMLZ-speak NMLZ-desire=TOP like.this-COP:EMPH somebody~DIST:PL

*akhaipen pangbardam'etlote <Kar>*

a-kháipèn pangbár-dám-èt-lò-tē  
POSS-community=with compare-go-PRF-RL-COND

*elitum Karbi akhaike <so'arlo atum>*

e-li-tūm Karbi a-kháikè <sō'arlō a-tūm>  
1PL.INCL-HON-PL Karbi POSS-community=TOP women POSS-PL

*la pirthe kachoboche alongke so'arlo atum arpu*

là pirthé ke-cho-boché alòng sō'arlō a-tūm arpū  
this everything NMLZ-MID-create LOC women POSS-PL responsibility

*thenaima pusi neli kematha*

thè-nái=ma pusi nè-li ke-mathà  
be.big-superlative=Q QUOT.COMP 1EXCL-HON NMLZ-think

'this matter, just telling for a little while, we won't finish it... nevertheless, what I want to tell although in short terms is this... when compared with other peoples' tribes, for us, the Karbi tribe, in the world, at managing everything in a household, the women might have the greatest responsibility, I think' [KaR, SWK 031]

### Bhudeswar Timung:

*kalang*

kalang

yes

'yes' [KaR, SWK 032]

### Kare Rongpipi:

*athema [hem chotun chodang lapen eso*

athēma hēm cho-tún cho-dāng lapèn e-osō  
because house MID-cook MID-put.on.stove and 1PL.INCL-child

*esu <ka> chelanapen angparta] so'arlo atum*

e-sū che-laná-pen anpár=tā sō'arlō a-tūm  
1PL.INCL-grandchild RR-take.care-NF:with besides=EXH women:COLL POSS-PL

*la pirthe angkang along... <e> laso ahem pu*  
là pirthé angkāng alòng lāsō a-hēm pu  
this world circumference LOC this POSS-house QUOT

*kachepaklangdunji aphan ba laso*  
ke-che-pV-klàng-dūn-jí aphān bá lasō  
NMLZ-RR-CAUS-appear-JOIN-IRR2 PURP or this

*akhai pu kachepaklangdunji aphan*  
a-khái pu ke-che-pV-klàng-dūn-jí aphān  
POSS-community QUOT NMLZ-RR-CAUS-appear-JOIN-IRR2 PURP

*so 'arlo atum <ka> keklemnang parsik akam*  
sō'arlō a-tūm ke-klém-náng pV-arsīk a-kám  
women:COLL POSS-PL NMLZ-do-need ADVZ-be.deep POSS-work

*dopik*  
dō-pik  
exist-very

'because besides doing household works and taking care of the children, in order to show to the whole world that this house (is okay) or in order to show that this community (is okay), there is a lot of (things to think) deeply about and work to do' [KaR, SWK 033]

### **Kare Rongpipi:**

*athema pinso atumke kiri,*  
athēma pinsō a-tūm=kè ke-rì  
because married.man POSS-PL=TOP NMLZ-search

*kangdatdam pu pathelokpen mane kasorsa*  
ke-ingdát-dàm pu pathē-lòk-pen mane ke-sorsá  
NMLZ-make.a.living-go QUOT pretend-just-NF:with I.mean(<Asm) NMLZ-accuse

*<akam> alam kalilohe*  
<a-kám> a-lám kalī-lò=he  
POSS-work POSS-matter NEG.EQU.COP-RL=DM

'because the men just pretend to look (for food or things to make a living), pretend to go and make a living, I mean... it's not like I'm accusing them' [KaR, SWK 034]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*kalang kalang*  
 kalang kalang  
 yes yes  
 ‘yes, yes’ [KaR, SWK 035]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*[pinso atum aphan kesorsa alam*  
 pinsō a-tūm a-phān ke-sorsá a-lám  
 married.man POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ NMLZ-accuse POSS-matter

*kalilo] {m} [sita akhai amatsi lapu*  
 kalī-lò {m} sitā a-khèi amātsi lapù  
 NEG.EQU.COP-RL AFF but POSS-community self like.this

*penaklone lasonlone] [hem kachoboche hem*  
 penāk-lò-nē lasòn-lò-nē hēm ke-cho-boché hēm  
 actually-RL-INDEF that.way-RL-INDEF house NMLZ-MID-create house

*arlo ketun kedang adimpen chenglokke {m}*  
 arlō ke-tún ke-dàng a-dím=pen chèng-lòk=kè {m}  
 inside NMLZ- NMLZ- POSS- begin- BACKCHANNEL  
 cook put.on.stove place=from right.then=TOP

*kelangdun komre asonsi neli theklong*  
 ke-làng-dūn kòm-rè asòn=si nè-li thèklōng  
 NMLZ-see-JOIN be.less(<Aasm)-INTENS like=FOC:RL 1EXCL-HON see  
 ‘it’s not a matter of criticizing/accusing the men, but whether the community itself is actually like this or like that (I don’t know), running a household, starting right from the place of cooking (i.e., the kitchen), the (work of) looking after all these things is done very little (by men), like this I have seen’ [KaR, SWK 036]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*arlosomar atumsi akele langpik*  
 árlōsō-mār a-tūm=si akelé làng-pìk  
 woman-PL POSS-PL=FOC:RL more see-very  
 ‘the women look after things a lot more’ [KaR, SWK 040]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*akele langpik*

akelé làng-pìk

more see-very

‘they look after things a lot more’ [KaR, SWK 041]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*arlosomar atumsi laso kelang kelana akam*

árlosō-mār a-tūm=si làsō ke-làng ke-laná a-kám

woman-PL POSS-PL=FOC:RL this NMLZ-see NMLZ-take.care POSS-work

*abangke akele klemnangkok*

abàng=ke akelé klém-náng-kòk

NPDL=TOP more.than.expected do-need-absolutely.required

‘the women have to do this work of looking after the children and taking care of them more’  
[KaR, SWK 042]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*akele klemnangkok {o}*

akelé klém-náng-kòk {o}

more.than.expected do-need-absolutely.required BACKCHANNEL

‘they have to do this more’ [KaR, SWK 043]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*athema <a> ketun kedang nongvepen pini*

athēma ke-tún ke-dàng nongvē=pen pini

because NMLZ-cook NMLZ-put.on.stove evening=from today

*pima kechoji kejunjipen abahereta {m}*

pí=ma ke-chō-jí ke-jùn-jí=pen a-bahéré=tā {m}

what=Q NMLZ-eat-IRR2 NMLZ-drink-IRR2=with POSS-beyond(<Asm)=ADD BACKCHANNEL

‘because beyond just whatever to eat and drink, whatever to cook for every meal...’ [KaR, SWK 044]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*osomar kachopethe, <a> osomar sodet*

[osō-mār ke-cho-pV-thē] [osō-mār sò-dèt

child-PL NMLZ-MID-CAUS-be.big child-PL hurt-PFV

*un'edetpen... kopine... laso osomar aphan, laso*  
 ùn-Cē-dèt-pen] kópí-nē [lasō osō-mār aphān] [lāsō  
 be.able-NEG-PFV-NF:with what-INDEF this child-PL NSUBJ this

*akeso ke'un'epen, kosonsi*  
 a-ke-sò ke-ùn-Cē-pen] kosòn=si  
 POSS-NMLZ-hurt NMLZ-be.able-NEG-NF:with how=FOC:RL

*kelangnangjimata*  
 ke-làng-náng-jí=ma=tā  
 NMLZ-see-need-IRR2=Q=ADD

‘for pregnancy and raising the children (kachopethe refers to both), when children are sick and not feeling well,... what (is it that I want to say),... in whatever ways we also need to look after the children when they are sick’ [KaR, SWK 045]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*[athema apaisi abesi {kalang} anparke {kalang}]*  
 athēma a-pāi=si a-besí {kalang} anpár=kè {kalang}  
 because POSS-mother=FOC:RL POSS-more(<Asm) yes besides=TOP yes

*langnangpohe...]* {kalang} [bonsita <lapen ch.> <laso apor>  
 làng-náng-pò-he {kalang} bònstitā <lapèn> <lasō a-pòr>  
 see-need-IRR1-AFTERTHOUGHT yes but and this POSS-time

*laso artapen pardetta,...]* [osomar aphan non  
 lasō artá=pen pár-dét=tā osō-mār a-phān nòn  
 this age=with cross(<Asm)-PFV=ADD child-PL POSS-NSUBJ now

*adinke bangbang akhai ason*  
 a-dín=kè bàng~bāng a-khèi asòn  
 POSS-day(<Asm)=TOP somebody~DIST.PL POSS-community like

*pacharlinangkok patheknangkok*  
 pV-charli-náng-kòk pV-thèk-náng-kòk  
 CAUS-study-need-absolutely.required CAUS-know.how-need-absolutely.required

*parenangkokji] pusi {m}*  
 pV-rè-náng-kòk-jí pusi {m}  
 CAUS-be.sharp-need-absolutely.required-IRR2 QUOT.COMP BACKCHANNEL

‘because the mother really (to translate =he) has to look after the children much more, but even after crossing this time, (I mean) this age (i.e. for the children the age of having to be close to the mother, i.e. when they start going to school at age 4 or 5),... we need to make the children study like other peoples’ tribes nowadays, we need to make them knowledgeable, we need to make them smart, (I think)’ [KaR, SWK 046]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*[laso apor'anta ako arloso atumsi,*

lasō a-pòr-án=tā akò árlosō a-tūm=si  
this POSS-time-up.to=EXH again(<Asm) woman POSS-PL=FOC:RL

*apai abangsi mane kechengpenke*

a-pāi abàng=si mane ke-chèng=pen=kè  
POSS-mother NPDL=FOC:RL I.mean(<Asm) NMLZ-begin=from=TOP

*osomar aphan skul thondunnangji*

osō-mār a-phān skúl thòn-dūn-náng-jí  
child-PL POSS-NSUBJ school(<Eng) drop-JOIN-need-IRR2

‘even in (/up to) this time (when they go to school), again/also, the women, the mothers, from the beginning on (when the children start going to school), they have to take the children to school’  
[KaR, SWK 048]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*[skul thondundetpenta chingthumnangji*

skúl thòn-dūn-dét-pen=tā che-ingthùm-náng-jí  
school(<Eng) drop-JOIN-PFV-NF:with=also RR-go.and.bring-need-IRR2

*pu] [[laso apor kemathanangji abangta]*

pu lasō a-pòr ke-mathà-náng-jí abàng=tā  
QUOT this POSS-time NMLZ-think-need-IRR2 NPDL=also

*[pinsomar atum abang kematha komre*

pinsō-mār a-tūm abàng ke-mathà kòm-rè  
married.man-PL POSS-PL NPDL NMLZ-think be.less(<Asm)-INTENS

*asonsi] neli theklonglang non akoke]*

asòn=si nè-lì thèklōng-làng nòn akò=kè  
like=FOC:RL 1EXCL-HON see-still now when=TOP

‘even after taking (the children) to school, they need to take them back, this matter (lit. time, but perhaps ‘matter’ (lam) was intended) also needs to be thought about, the men think very little of this is what I still see nowadays’ [KaR, SWK 049]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

[*laso aphan*] [*nangli*] [*pine kakirlaji*]  
 lasō a-phān nàng-lì pí-nē ke-kirlá-jí  
 this POSS-NSUBJ you-HON what-INDEF NMLZ-turn.over-IRR2

*aphan*] [*pu ingtungma*]  
 a-phān pù ingtúng=ma  
 POSS-NSUBJ say desire=Q  
 ‘about this, do you want to say something about (how) things should change?’ [KaR, SWK 050]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

[*neli kekirlaji kipu kangtungke*] <a>  
 nè-lì ke-kirlá-jí ke-pù ke-ingtúng=kè  
 1EXCL-HON NMLZ-turn.over-IRR2 NMLZ-say NMLZ-desire=TOP

[*athema isi akhai non adinke*] <m>  
 athēma isī a-khái nòn a-dín=kè  
 because one POSS-community now POSS-day(<Asm)=TOP

*skul koles thekdunde chinidunde*  
 skúl kòlés thèk-dūn-Cē chiní-dùn-Cē  
 school(<Eng) college(<Eng) see-JOIN-NEG know-JOIN-NEG

*pulote*] [*isi akhai mane pirthe along*]  
 pulote isī a-khái mane pirthé alòng  
 if one POSS-community I.mean(<Asm) world LOC

*kacheklangdunji aphan sungkrung*] *ba*  
 ke-che-klàng-dūn-jí aphān sùng-krùng] bá  
 NMLZ-RR-appear-JOIN-IRR2 PURP be.difficult-very.difficult or(<Asm)

[*ahisap e 'enponpedet {kalang} asonsi*]  
 [a-hisáp e-ēn-pòn-Cē-dèt {kalang} asòn=si  
 POSS-account(<Asm) 1PL.INCL-take-take.away-NEG-PFV yes like=FOC:RL

*kedo*]  
 ke-dō  
 NMLZ-stay  
 ‘what I want to say about this change that should happen: because if a community doesn’t see (the building) and doesn’t learn from (the institution of) a school or college nowadays, it will be very difficult for a community to show itself to the world, or/otherwise, it’s like they/others won’t take us into account (they won’t count us as equal to them)’ [KaR, SWK 051]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*lasi pinso arlo ba apai apota*

lasi [[pinsō arlò] bá [a-pāi a-pō=tā]]  
therefore married.man woman or(<Asm) POSS-mother POSS-father=also

*pachehoman osomar aphan, laso*

pV-che-homán osō-mār a-phān lasō  
CAUS-RR-be.equal(<Asm) child-PL POSS-NSUBJ this

*adaito che'en pute, bangbang*

a-daitò che-én pu-tē bāng~bāng  
POSS-responsibility(<Asm) RR-take QUOT-COND somebody~DIST.PL

*akhai ason] mane undunjima pusi*

a-khái asòn mane ùn-dūn-jí=ma pusi  
POSS-community like I.mean(<Asm) be.able-JOIN-IRR2=Q QUOT.COMP

*nelita kamatha*

nè-li=tā ke-mathà  
1EXCL-HON=also NMLZ-think

‘so the men and women, or the mothers and fathers, if they make themselves equal for the children, if they take this their own responsibility, then like other peoples’ tribes we will be successful (on a par with other peoples’ tribes), is what I think’ [KaR, SWK 052]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*<mane kepacharli ahin abangke> [tok*

<mane ke-pV-charli a-hín abàng=kè> tòk  
I.mean(<Asm) NMLZ-CAUS-study POSS-this.side NPDL=TOP write

*lang kacharli ahin abangke] [[pinsomar*

làng ke-charli a-hín abàng=kè pinsō-mār  
read NMLZ-study POSS-side NPDL=TOP married.man-PL

*a'osomar aphan] [ko'ansi ardi]*

a-osō-mār a-phān ko'án=si ardí  
POSS-child-PL POSS-NSUBJ how.much=FOC:RL weight

*kipiponma] [so'arlosomar a'osomar*

ke-pī-pōn=ma sō'arlosō-mār a-osō-mār  
NMLZ-give-take.away=Q women-PL POSS-child-PL

*aphanta] la'an thakthak ardi piponnangji]*

a-phān=tā là-án thakthāk ardí pī-pōn-náng-jí  
POSS-NSUBJ=even this-up.to same weight give-take.away-need-IRR2

*kalang o*

kalang o

yes SURPRISE

‘with respect to learning how to read and write, however much weight/importance we give to the boy children, do we give the same weight to the girl children?’ [KaR, SWK 053]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*piponnangji lalo*

pī-pōn-náng-jí la-lò

give-take.away-need-IRR2 this-RL

‘they need to give it, that’s it’ [KaR, SWK 055]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*angko <kipu...> non nangli kipu’an kaningje*

akò <ke-pù...> nòn nàng-lì ke-pù-án ke-ningjé

and.then(<Asm) NMLZ-say now you-HON NMLZ-say-up.to NMLZ-speak

*anpenlole pulotangte adap ingthangvakpen*

án-pen-lò=lè pùlotángtē a-dàp ingthàng-vàk-pen

that.much-with-RL=FOC:IRR if POSS-morning be.dawn-RES:open-NF:with/from

*arni kachelut an ajo’an {m}*

arnì ke-che-lút ánke a-jò-án {m}

sun NMLZ-RR-enter and.then POSS-night-up.to BACKCHANNEL

‘and then, according to what you have said so far, from morning until the sun entering itself (in the horizon), until night’ [KaR, SWK 056]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*[la’an abangke] [la hem arlo abangthu*

là án abàng=kè là hēm arlō a-bàng-thū

this that.much NPDL=TOP this house inside POSS-CLF-again

*abangke] {m} [hemtun isi along abangthuke] {m}*

abàng=kè hēmtūn isī alòng abàng-thū=kè

NPDL=TOP good.family one LOC NPDL-again=TOP

<a> [ake'ongdung abangke] [so'arलो]
a-ke-òng-dùng abàng=kè sō'arलो
POSS-NMLZ-exist.much-exceedingly NPDL=TOP women

atum akamsi ke'ong} {ke'ong} [kalangveklo la
a-tūm a-kám=si ke-òng kalàng-vék-lò là
POSS-PL POSS-work=FOC:RL NMLZ-exist.much yes-definitely-RL this

abangke} {m} [lapulo di] {m}
abàng=ke] lapù-lò dī
NPDL=TOP like.this-RL Q.tag

'this much, the one (i.e., work) inside the house, definitely the one (i.e., work) in a family, the most of it, the women's work (not the men's) is very much, it's very true, this one, it's like this, isn't it?' [KaR, SWK 057]

Bhudeswar Timung:

<a> nangli [aphrangphrang, hakoko alam
nàng-lì a-phráng~phràng hakò~kò a-lám
you-HON POSS-first~ DIST.PL that.time~DIST.PL POSS-matter

sitame] arju'iklong tahailo {m}
sitā-mē arjū-īk-lōng tahài-lò
but-be.good listen-FRML-get.to DUBIT-RL

'you most probably have heard the different matters about the old days' [KaR, SWK 059]

Bhudeswar Timung:

<a> [la so'arლოსmar atum] [isi ahembang] <isi>
la sō'arლოს-mār a-tūm isī a-hēmbāng <isī>
this woman-PL POSS-PL one POSS-extended.family one

[hemtun isi] [laso aphan] [kacharipondetji
hēmtūn isī lasō a-phān ke-charí-pòn-dét-jí
good.family one this POSS-NSUBJ NMLZ-rule-take.away-PFV-IRR2

aphan] [kalanapondet kangdatpen
a-phān ke-laná-pòn-dét ke-ingdát-pen
POSS-NSUBJ NMLZ-take.care-take.away-PFV NMLZ-make.a.living-NF:with

chenglok} {m}
chèng-lòk
begin-just

'the women, for this (to do this), starting with being in charge of an extended family, a family, to take care of everybody, they make a living (work outside in exchange for money)' [KaR, SWK 060]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

[<aphrang> hako adin ahut] [so'arlosomar  
 <a-phráng> hakò a-dín a-ahūt sō'arlosō-mār  
 POSS-first that.time POSS-day(<Asm) POSS-during women-PL

atumpen] [non adin ahut] [non akai  
 a-tūm=pen nòn a-dín a-ahūt nòn a-kái  
 POSS-PL=with now POSS-day(<Asm) POSS-during now POSS-time(<Asm)

ahut] [so'arlosomar atum] la kangdat  
 ahūt sō'arlosō-mār a-tūm là ke-ingdát  
 during women-PL POSS-PL this NMLZ-make.a.living

katelopen lahai kadokave along hedi] {m} o  
 ke-telò-pen laháí kadòkavē alòng hedi o  
 NMLZ-EE:ingdát-NF:with these all LOC okay? AFF(<Asm)  
 '(besides) working to make a living in the case of both the women from the old days and the women nowadays, in all of these cases, right?' [KaR, SWK 061]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

[laso kopine akeprek ason] [nangli  
 lasō kopí-nē a-ke-prék asòn nàng-li  
 this what-INDEF POSS-NMLZ-be.different like you-HON

arju'iklongma?] [aphrang <...> hako ahutpen  
 arjū-īk-lōng=ma a-aphráng hakò a-hūt=pen  
 listen-FRML-get.to=Q POSS-first that.time POSS-during=from

non apor ahut]  
 nòn a-pòr a-ahūt  
 now POSS-time POSS-during  
 'have you heard/seen (/do you know) the differences between these (/laso/ i.e., the old days and the now days); between before and now?' [KaR, SWK 062]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

hako ahutke so'arlo atumke la hem arlo  
 [hakò a-hūt=ke] sō'arlō a-tūm=kè là hēm arlō  
 that.time POSS-during=TOP women:COLL POSS-PL=TOP this house inside

ketun kedang asomar  
 ke-tún ke-dàng a-oso-màr  
 NMLZ-cook NMLZ-put.on.stove POSS-child-PL

*kachopethepen* <abahere> *angparke*  
ke-cho-pV-thē-pen <a-baheré> anpár=ke]  
NMLZ-MID-CAUS-be.big-NF POSS-beyond(<Asm) besides=TOP

*pirthe* <a> *angtanke, kachoklemdunji avarsai chinidunde*  
[pirthé a-ingtán=kè] ke-cho-klém-dùn-jí a-varsāi chiní-dùn-Cē  
world POSS-outside=TOP NMLZ-MID-do-JOIN-IRR2 POSS-way know-JOIN-NEG  
'in the old days, beyond doing household works and raising children, ways of working in the  
outside world, they don't understand how to get (as men do, cf. /dun/)' [KaR, SWK 063]

### **Kare Rongpipi:**

*bonta* [non adin abang] [asapso kakirla  
bòntā nòn a-dín abàng asàp-sō ke-kirlá  
but now POSS-day(<Asm) NPDL little.bit-small NMLZ-turn.over

*dochetlo* [so'arlo atumta] [hem arlo akam]  
dō-chèt-lò sō'arlō a-tūm=tā hēm arlō a-kám  
exist-a.bit-RL women:COLL POSS-PL=also house inside POSS-work

*chepajut'etpen aso asu* <a>  
che-pV-jūt-ét-pen a-osō a-sū  
RR-CAUS-finish-PRF-NF:with POSS-child POSS-EE:sō

*kachelana* <a> *pine arpu* <ch..>  
ke-che-laná pí-nē arpū  
NMLZ-RR-take.care what-INDEF responsibility

*asapso cheparjangpen angtan akam*  
asàp-sō che-pV-arjāng-pen a-ingtán a-kám  
little.bit-small RR-CAUS-be.light-NF:with POSS-outside POSS-work

*kachongdatdunji aphantā so'arlo*  
ke-cho-ingdát-dùn-jí aphān=tā sō'arlō  
NMLZ-MID-make.a.living-JOIN-IRR2 PURP=also women:COLL

*atum kabor'i do'olo*  
a-tūm ke-bor'í dō-ò-lò  
POSS-PL NMLZ-w.great.effort exist-much-RL  
'but nowadays, there's some change, the women also after finishing the household working, after  
some of the responsibility of bringing up the children has become lighter, then many (i.e.,  
do'olo) women also try to get outside work' [KaR, SWK 064]

*lapen [laso kabor'i ajokpen] [non inut*

lapèn lasō ke-bor'í ajōk=pen nòn e-nūt  
and.then this NMLZ-w.great.effort because=with now one-CLF:humans

*banghini atum...] o nelimena amatta <a>*

bàng-hiní a-tūm o ne-li-mená amāt=tā  
CLF-two POSS-PL AFF(<Asm) 1EXCL:POSS-HON-self self=also  
'and then, because of this effort (they make), another few people (are able to go out to make money)..., I myself also...' [KaR, SWK 065]

### Bhudeswar Timung:

*[thekta theklonglo] nanglimenata isi... kalanglo... a*

thèk=tā thèklōng-lò nángli-mená=tā isī kalàng-lò a  
see=WRT see-RL 2POSS:POL-self=also one yes-RL AFF

*a [bisar alamke nangliphan amatta*

a bisár a-lám=kè nángli-phān amāt=tā  
AFF case(<Asm) POSS-matter=TOP 2POSS:POL-NSUBJ self=even

*jongnangkokpo*

jòng-náng-kòk-pò

point-need-firmly-IRR1

'we can even see (it in your case), you yourself..., right, for this case, we also need to point at you yourself' [KaR, SWK 066]<sup>7</sup>

### Kare Rongpipi:

*o [nelimena amatta lapu'an bangpho*

o ne-li-mená amāt=tā lapù-án bàng-phō  
AFF(<Asm) 1EXCL:POSS-HON-self self=also like.this-up.to CLF-five

*bangthrok {m } osomar don rap a'osomar {o} hem isi*

bàng-thrōk osō-mār dōn ráp a-oso-mār hēm isī  
CLF-six child-PL relative EE:dòn POSS-child-PL house whole

<sup>7</sup> The two intonation units [065] and [066] are overlapping.

*pacho'et pajun'et* {*kalang*} *mane* [*hem*  
 pV-chō-ét pV-jùn-ét mane hēm  
 CAUS-eat-PRF CAUS-drink-PRF I.mean(<Asm) house

*chelanakang'etpen* {*m*} [[*bahera ophis*  
 che-laná-káng-ét-pen baherá ophís  
 RR-take.care-leaving-PRF-NF:with away.from.here(<Asm) office(<Eng)

*kopine along kachongdatdun aphan*  
 kopí-nē alòng ke-cho-ingdát-dùn a-phān  
 what-INDEF LOC NMLZ-MID-make.a.living-JOIN POSS-NSUBJ

*nelita* {*m*} *pining'an ningkan thomkep'an plenglo*  
 nè-li=tā píníng-án níngkán thòm-kēp'-án plèng-lò  
 1EXCL-HON=also this.year-up.to year three-ten-that.much be.full-RL  
 'I myself also after feeding this (lapu'an) many children and children's relatives, the whole family, after taking care of the children at house, away at offices and such place up to this year I've also worked for thirty years [KaR, SWK 067]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*lapusi nelita ne'arpu mane* {*cheklemponbom*}  
 lapù=si nè-li=tā ne-arpū mane  
 like.this=FOC:RL 1EXCL-HON=also 1EXCL:POSS-responsibility I.mean(<Asm)

<*che*> *cheklemponbomsi*  
 che-klém-pòn-bōm-si  
 RR-do-take.away-CONT-NF:RL

*cheparjangponduntheklo* { *cheparjang* }  
 che-pV-arjāng-pōn-dūn-thēk-lò  
 RR-CAUS-be.light-take.away-join-know.how-RL  
 'like this I'm also continuing to perform my responsibilities and have been able to make the responsibilities of household works [KaR, SWK 068]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

[*neli karjulong*] <*a*> [[*hako ahut abang*  
 nè-li ke-arjū-lōng hakò a-hūt abàng  
 1EXCL-HON NMLZ-listen-get.to that.time POSS-during NPDL

<*a*> *rit ke'en rit kepan*] [*chonong*  
 rīt ke-ēn rīt ke-pān cho-nōng  
 field NMLZ-take field NMLZ-clear.vegetation MID-loosen.soil

*chosim alongle pusitame] [pinsomar*

cho-sīm                      alòng=lè                      pu-setamē                      pinsō-mār  
MID-DBL:nōng              LOC=FOC:IRR                      QUOT-nevertheless              married.man-PL

*atum] mute arlosomar atumsi akele klempik]*

a-tūm    mutē                      árlosō-mār    a-tūm=si                      akelé klém-pik  
POSS-PL    compared.to    woman-PL    POSS-PL=FOC:RL    more    do-very

*pu] laso abang arjulonglong hedi <m> ingnekmeme*

pu    lasō    a-bàng    arjū-lōng~lōng                      hedī    ingnēk-mémè  
QUOT    this    POSS-CLF    listen-get.to~DIST.PL    okay?    laugh-able

*alam asonlo <neli> isi bisar alam aphan... {m}*

a-lám                      asōn-lò <nè-li>                      isī    bisár                      a-lám                      a-phān  
POSS-matter    like-RL    1EXCL-HON    one case(<Asm)    POSS-matter    POSS-NSUBJ

‘I have heard this: (I could learn this:), in the old days, while cultivating the jhum field, while working on loosening the soil and doing these kinds of works or whatever, compared to the men, it was the women who did much more, this I got to hear from different sources, it’s like a laughable (funny) matter, for example, I (want to tell this)’ [KaR, SWK 070]

### Bhudeswar Timung:

*kosonlo, mandu dopo [rit along sitame [pinsomar*

kosòn=lo    mandú    dō-pò                      rīt    alòng    setamē                      pinsō-mār  
how=FOC    field.hut    stay-IRR1    field    LOC    nevertheless    married.man-PL

*atum abangke] hala osomarpen*

a-tūm                      abàng=kè                      hála    osō-mār=pen  
POSS-PL    NPD=TOP                      that    child-PL=with

*jui'irongpo] <la> [[hala rit kenongpen*

jùi-ī-ròng-pò                      <là>    hála                      rīt    ke-nōng-pen  
play-INSTR-instead-IRR1    this    that                      field    NMLZ-loosen.soil-NF:with

*chenglok asok karlule puji*

chèng-lòk    a-sōk                      ke-arlù=lè                      pù-jí  
begin-just    POSS-paddy    NMLZ-weed=FOC:IRR    say-IRR2

*ajatle puji sitame] [[so'arlo atumsi]*

aját=lè                      pù-jí                      sitamē                      sō'arlō                      a-tūm=si  
GENEX=FOC:IRR    say-IRR2    nevertheless    women:COLL    POSS-PL=FOC:RL

*[keklem abang] dopo] [[pinso atum abangke]*

ke-klém    a-bàng    dō-pò                      pinsō                      a-tūm    abàng=kè  
NMLZ-do    POSS-CLF    exist-IRR1    married.man    POSS-PL    NPD=TOP

*osomarpən chelemrong titi]] [lason arjulonghe] {m}*

osō-mār=pen che-lém-ròng titī lasòn arjū-lōng=he  
child-PL=with RR-play.with.toys-instead habitually that.way listen-get.to=DM

‘now how is it..., they would stay in the field hut, in the field or wherever (i.e., is true for other instances), the men, with the children they would play instead (of working in the field), starting with loosening the soil, say for clearing the weeds out of the paddy or whatever you want to say, the women would be the working ones, the men would play with always their children instead, this is actually (=he) what I’ve heard’ [KaR, SWK 071]

### **Bhudeswar Timung:**

*si nanglitumta lason arjulongne*

sì nang-li-tūm=tā lasòn arjū-lōng-nē  
therefore 2-HON-PL=also that.way listen-get.to-INDEF

*arjulonglene angko lason thakthak atomo*

arjū-lōng-Cē-nē akò lasòn thakthāk a-tomò  
listen-get.to-NEG-INDEF on.the.other.hand(<Asm) that.way same POSS-story

*pine ason nanglitum karjulong doma lason*

pí-nē asòn náng-li-tūm ke-arjū-lōng dō=ma lasòn  
what-INDEF like 2-HON-PL NMLZ-listen-get.to exist=Q that.way

‘and so, whether you have heard like this or not, is there any such story like this that you’ve heard, like that?’ [KaR, SWK 072]

### **Kare Rongpipi:**

*atomo abangke neli pu’an than pajirmi*

a-tomò abàng=kè nè-li pù-án thán pajirmī  
POSS-story NPDL=TOP 1EXCL-HON like.this-up.to tell elaborate

*thekthe bonta non akai’anta emekpen*

thēk-Cē bontā nòn a-kái-án=tā e-mēk=pen  
know.how-NEG but now POSS-time(<Asm)-up.to=even 1PL.INCL-eye=with

*kethekduṅlong ba kachinivek asonlo {m}*

ke-thēk-dūn-lōng bá ke-chiní-vék asòn-lò  
NMLZ-see-JOIN-get.to or(<Asm) NMLZ-know-definitely like-RL

‘such a story I can’t tell any details about, but even up to today with eyes I could see or anyway definitely know, that’s how it is’ [KaR, SWK 073]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*so'arlo atum adapprang ha the'ang'e*  
 sō'arlō a-tūm a-dàppráng há the'āng-Cē  
 women:COLL POSS-PL POSS-very.early over.there be.bright-NEG

*akopen hem kedo atum aphantā*  
 akò=pen hēm ke-dō a-tūm a-phān=tā  
 before=from house NMLZ-stay POSS-PL POSS-NSUBJ=also

*tun-dangpikang'et nangjilang {m}*  
 tún-dàng-pī-káng-ét náng-jí-lāng  
 cook-put.on.stove-BEN/MAL-leaving-PRF need-IRR2-still  
 'early in the morning, over there, the women have to cook and do all the household works from before dawn also for those who stay at home (besides food for themselves)' [KaR, SWK 074]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*tun dangpikang'etsi*  
 tún dàng-pī-káng-ét-si  
 cook put.on.stove-BEN/MAL-leaving-PRF-NF:RL

*chinghorponkingsi rit kedo atum*  
 che-inghòr-pòn-kìng-si rīt ke-dō a-tūm  
 RR-carry.load-take.away-INTENS-NF:RL field NMLZ-stay POSS-PL

*aphanta ba hadak keklemdamji aphan {m}*  
 a-phān=tā bá hādāk ke-klém-dàm-jí aphan  
 POSS-NSUBJ=also or(<Asm) there NMLZ-do-go-IRR2 PURP

*chinghorponkingsi rit dampo hadakta*  
 che-inghòr-pòn-kìng-si rīt dàm-pò hādāk=tā  
 RR-carry.load-take.away-INTENS-NF:RL field go-IRR1 there=also

*rit mandu do hemtap do pusita hadak*  
 rīt mandú dō hēmtāp dō pu-sitā hādāk  
 field field.hut exist tree.house exist QUOT-although there

*totdamlunchot kali {m}*  
 tòt-dām-lùn-chòt kalī  
 squat-go-big:AO-only NEG.EQU.COP  
 'they cook for others at home (bc. of /tekang), carrying the load (of food) on her own (to) the ones staying in the field or carrying it to go there and eat they would go to the field, maybe there's a field hut or a tree house (i.e., places to rest and sit), but it's not about just sitting around there' [KaR, SWK 075]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*so'arlo atumke laso kecho kijun*

sō'arlō a-tūm=kè lasō ke-chō ke-jùn  
women:COLL POSS-PL=TOP this NMLZ-eat NMLZ-drink

*ahormu chinghor ahakpen*

a-hōr-mū che-inghòr a-hák=pen  
POSS-liquor-younger.sibling RR-carry.load POSS-finely.woven.b.basket=with

*chinghorponking alangpen kechenglok*

che-inghòr-pòn-kìng a-lāng=pen ke-chèng-lòk  
RR-carry.load-take.away-INTENS POSS-water=with NMLZ-begin-just

*chinghorponkingsi amandu along*

che-inghòr-pòn-kìng-si a-mandú alòng  
RR-carry.load-take.away-INTENS-NF:RL POSS-field.hut LOC

*chibidamkoxi <a.. ke> rit kenong*

che-bí dàm-kòk-si rīt ke-nōng  
RR-keep go-firmly-NF:RL field NMLZ-loosen.soil

*punoi bap karlu punoi mo kerot*

pù-nōi báp ke-arlù pù-nōi mò ke-ròt  
say-IMP:INFM press.down NMLZ-weed say-IMP:INFM future NMLZ-cut

*irim punoi {m}*

ke-rīm pù-nōi  
NMLZ-keep.in.order say-IMP:INFM

'she has to carry everything including water to the field, it's at all times: at the time of sowing the seeds, harvesting, and so on, (it never stops for the women)' [KaR, SWK 076]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*so'arlo atumsi {m} keklem pu <a> patibitji*

sō'arlō a-tūm=si ke-klém pu pV-tibit-jí  
women:COLL POSS-PL=FOC:RL NMLZ-do QUOT VBLZ-wood.boring.insect-IRR2

'the women have to do all the small things here and there to make sure everything is properly taken care of (i.e., doing things in the manner of the wood boring insects)' [KaR, SWK 077]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*keklem patibit abangke ke'ong*

ke-klém pV-tibit abàng=kè ke-òng  
NMLZ-do VBLZ-wood.boring.insect NPDL=TOP NMLZ-exist.much

'there are lots of these small things that need to be done here and there' [KaR, SWK 078]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*sita pinso atum abangke dak hепен kebar*

setā pinsō a-tūm abàng=kè dāk hēm=pen ke-bár  
but married.man POSS-PL NPDL=TOP here house=from NMLZ-start

*ahutpenta <kali> laso kecho kejun*

a-ahūt=pen=tā <kalī> lasō ke-chō ke-jùn  
POSS-during=from=even NEG.EQU.COP this NMLZ-eat NMLZ-drink

*kanghorpon abang batdetsi*

ke-inghòr-pòn a-bàng bát-dét-si  
NMLZ-carry.load-take.away POSS-CLF put.on.elevated.place-PFV-NF:RL

*kali <oso do> <pulo> [oso akibi do*

kalī osō dō <pu-lò> osō a-ke-bī dō  
NEG.EQU.COP child exist QUOT-RL child POSS-NMLZ-be.small exist

*pute] [ososi optonlokchotji ba*

pu-tē osō=si òt-pòn-lòk-chòt-jí ba  
QUOT-COND child=FOC:RL touch-take.away-just-only-IRR2 I.mean(<Asm)

*anopak cheparphangponlokchotji] {m}*

a-nopàk che-pV-arphang-pòn-lòk-chòt-jí  
POSS-dao RR-CAUS-put.on.shoulder-take.away-just-only-IRR2  
'but the men will only carry the dao/knife and if there is a child, that one, too-everything else the woman has to carry (i.e., a huge load while the men only carry a small load)' [KaR, SWK 079]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*la abangke emekpen non'anta*

là abàng=kè e-mēk=pen nòn-án=tā  
this NPDL=TOP 1PL.INCL-eye=with now-up.to=even

*kethekduolong <akam> alamlo*

ke-thèk-dūn-lōng a-kám a-lám-lò  
NMLZ-see-JOIN-get.to POSS-work POSS-matter-RL  
'all these things that I've told here are true, I have seen it myself' [KaR, SWK 080]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*nanglitum bihek ako nanglitum sitame lason*

nang-li-tūm bī-hèk akò nang-li-tūm setamē lasòn  
2-HON-PL be.small-small when 2-HON-PL nevertheless that.way

*inglong arit ke'endunlong ason lason <a do'ik*  
inglòng a-rīt ke-ēn-dūn-lōng asòn lasòn  
hill POSS-field NMLZ-take-JOIN-get.to like that.way

*the'ik>*

*thè-īk>*

be.big-FRML

'do you yourself have any experience in going to the jhum field?' [KaR, SWK 082]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*nelitumke bihekpenta inglongle*

ne-li-tūm=kè bī-hèk=pen=tā inglòng=lè  
1EXCL-HON-PL=TOP be.small-small=from=even hill=FOC:IRR

*kedoke kali non ason thoisi kedo apot*

ke-dō=kè kalī nòn asòn thòi=si ke-dō apōt  
NMLZ-stay=TOP NEG.EQU.COP now like plains=FOC:RL NMLZ-stay because

*rit pine akam abangke pu'an mane*

rīt pí-nē a-kám abàng=kè pù-án mane  
field what-INDEF POSS-work NPDL=TOP like.this-up.to I.mean(<Asm)

*ebe ave pule pudet sitame m*

e-bé avē pu=lè pu-dèt setamē m  
1PL.INCL-habit not.exist QUOT=FOC:IRR QUOT-PFV nevertheless BACKCHANNEL

'as we are staying in the plain areas since my childhood, I haven't had any experiences in going to the jhum field (since jhum cultivation only happens in the hilly areas)' [KaR, SWK 083]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*muthe bang keklem*

muthē bàng ke-klém

but(<Asm) CLF NMLZ-do

'but I could see it on others (not myself, but experience with others)' [KaR, SWK 086]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*ako la thoi along sitame thoi amat sitame*

akò là thòi alòng setamē thòi amāt setamē  
on.the.other.hand(<Asm) this plains LOC nevertheless plains self nevertheless

<a> la chonong chosim along abangke chotiki

là cho-nòng cho-sīm alòng abàng=ke cho-tiki  
this MID-loosen.soil MID-EE:nōng LOC NPDL=TOP MID-cultivate

chonong along abangke pinsomar atum alokot

cho-nòng alòng abàng=ke pinsō-mār a-tūm alogòt  
MID-loosen.soil LOC NPDL=TOP married.man-PL POSS-PL along.with(<Asm)

pinsomar atum ko'anma keklem so'arlosomar atum setame

pinsō-mār a-tūm ko'án=ma ke-klém sō'arlosō-mār a-tūm setamē  
married.man-PL POSS-PL how.much=Q NMLZ-do women-PL POSS-PL nevertheless

la'an keklem abangke thekdunlong

là-án ke-klém abàng=ke thèk-dūn-lōng  
this-up.to NMLZ-do NPDL=TOP see-JOIN-get.to

'in the plains, just like the men, the women also do cultivation work, it's true' [KaR, SWK 087]

### Kare Rongpipi:

thekdunlong kalang

thèk-dūn-lōng kalàng

see-JOIN-get.to yes

'yes, I've seen it' [KaR, SWK 088]

### Bhudeswar Timung:

non thoi along <a> katiki alamle

nòn thòi alòng ke-tiki a-lám=lè

now plains LOC NMLZ-cultivate POSS-matter=FOC:IRR

chethandamlole pulotangte <a> sok

che-thán-dàm-lò=lè pùlotángtē sōk

RR-tell-go-RL=FOC:IRR if paddy

katikisi ke'ongke ke'ong tema

ke-tiki-si ke-òng=kè ke-òng tema

NMLZ-cultivate-NF:RL NMLZ-exist.much=TOP NMLZ-exist.much DM

'talking about the cultivation practice in the plains, paddy (wet rice) cultivation is prevalent'  
[KaR, SWK 089]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*lasi la abangke pinsomar atum'an*

lasi là abàng=kè pinsō-mār a-tūm-án  
therefore this NPDL=TOP married.man-PL POSS-PL-all

*abangke inghan pavangpo ajatpo sitame*

abàng=kè inghàn pV-vàng-pò aját-pò setamē  
NPDL=TOP mud CAUS-come-IRR1 GENEX-IRR1 nevertheless

*laso hala achili kaparipen chenglok achili*

lasō hála a-chilí ke-pV-rì-pen chèng-lòk a-chilí  
this that POSS-seed NMLZ-CAUS-search-NF:with begin-just POSS-seed

*<ke'e'en> kephu ke'epen mo kerot*

<ke-è-ēn> ke-phú ke-è-pen mò ke-ròt  
NMLZ-plant-take NMLZ-head NMLZ-plant-NF:with strip.of.field NMLZ-cut

*kerim anta so'arlosomar atumta*

ke-rīm án=tā sō'arlosō-mār a-tūm=tā  
NMLZ-keep.in.order that.much=EXH women-PL POSS-PL=also

*kacherapdun kedolokemati di*

ke-che-ráp-dūn ke-dō-lò=kè=mati dī  
NMLZ-RR-help-JOIN NMLZ-exist-RL=TOP=CG Q.TAG

‘the main work done by the men is to till the field and prepare the soil for planting the seeds, but regarding the sowing of the seeds and transplanting and harvesting, that’s where the women have to work just as much as the men, right?’ [KaR, SWK 091]

**Kare Rongpipi:**

*kacherapke dolo m lalo*

ke-che-ráp=kè dō-lò m là-lò  
NMLZ-RR-help=TOP exist-RL BACKCHANNEL this-RL

‘they have to work together; the men couldn’t do without the women there, that’s it, right’ [KaR, SWK 094]

**Bhudeswar Timung:**

*te la'an abangke la sai katiki*

te là-án abàng=kè là sái ke-tiki  
and.then/therefore this-up.to NPDL=TOP this labor NMLZ-cultivate

*alonglo chotiki chonong alonglo penke*

alòng-lò cho-tiki cho-nōng alòng-lò penke  
LOC-RL MID-cultivate MID-loosen.soil LOC-RL and.then

‘up to this, all we talked about is about how much the women are involved in the cultivation’  
[KaR, SWK 095]

*sai katiki arenlo*

sái ke-tiki a-ren-lò  
labor NMLZ-cultivate POSS-line-RL

‘it’s been about cultivation’ [KaR, SWK 096]

### **Bhudeswar Timung:**

*sita non isi alam abangke hamphang isike*

setā nòn isī a-lám abàng=kè hamphāng isī=kè  
but now one POSS-matter NPDL=TOP society one=TOP

*<akangthimlimji kipu> akangthimlim*

<a-ke-ingthim-lim-jí ke-pù> a-ke-ingthim-lim  
POSS-NMLZ-be.complete-INTENS-IRR2 NMLZ-say POSS-NMLZ-be.complete-INTENS

*kipuji pulotangte pinsomarpen arlosomar laso*

ke-pù-jí pùlotángtē pinsō-mār=pen árlosō-mār lasō  
NMLZ-say-IRR2 if married.man-PL=with woman-PL this

*kacherap abangke kenangsot {kenangsot}*

ke-che-ráp abàng=kè ke-náng-sòt  
NMLZ-RR-help NPDL=TOP NMLZ-need-be.required

‘but another thing is that to have a complete society, the equal cooperation of men and women is necessary’ [KaR, SWK 097]