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Annotated Texts of the
Languages of the Barak Valley:
Thadou, Saihriem, Hrangkhoh, Ranglong

By Pauthang Haokip

Edited by

Mary Burke

Marty Heaton



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Preface

The Computational Resource for South Asian Languages (CoRSAL) Occasional Publications series is published by Aquiline Books, an imprint of the the University of North Texas Libraries. These publications are open access, freely available for download or viewing through the UNT Digital Library. The author receives a limited print run free of charge for distribution to interested readers.

CoRSAL Occasional Publications provide a venue for further analysis of the audio and video language documentation materials archived at CoRSAL. In particular, we encourage the publication of pedagogical materials based on linguistic analyses and interlinear glossed texts. CoRSAL Occasional Publications provides an affordable and accessible alternative for displaying scholars' analyses of connected naturalistic text, which is the basis of robust language revitalization, documentation and description.

The first volume in this series is authored by Dr. Pauthang Haokip, Associate Professor of Linguistics, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, India. Dr. Haokip is a member of the Thadou community and a linguist specializing in the languages of the Barak Valley region of Assam, India. This text collection, especially as complemented by the audio recordings in the Languages of the Barak Valley collection in CoRSAL,¹ will be of lasting interest to historical, comparative, and typological linguists, as well as speakers connecting or reconnecting with cultural and linguistic traditions.

The CoRSAL archive exists in large part due to the support of Mark Phillips, Associate Dean for the UNT Digital Libraries and the continued encouragement of Kevin Hawkins, Assistant Dean for Scholarly Communication at University of North Texas Libraries. Please contact the series editor at corsal@unt.edu for information on publishing with CoRSAL Occasional Publications.

¹ Access the collection here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/LGBV/>

Author Acknowledgments

Many people have helped me in one way or another during the making of this book. I extend my sincere thanks to the following storytellers: Phalting Haokip and Houjahen Haokip for Thadou, Khuipi Saihriem and Hoite Saihriem for Saihriem, Hakthoi Phuotong for Hrangkhol, and Zeisingzong Ranglong for Ranglong. I extend my sincere thanks to the native speakers who assisted with the transcription and translation of these stories: Chungjakhup Khochung, Jacob Aimol, and John Aimol for Saihriem; Labiakthang Hrangkhol and Pachung Hrangkhol for Hrangkhol; Seingirlen Ranglong and Buma Ranglong for Ranglong. My sincere thanks are also due to Ramtanu Brahma and Hemminal Haokip who assisted me during data collection. Fieldwork for these languages was made possible through research grants from Endangered Language Fund, Firebird Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the Indian government's University Grant Commission. The goals of this collection are that linguists and other scholars will be able to make use of the texts and analysis provided for further research on the Kuki-Chin (South Central Tibeto-Burman) languages. It is hoped that the community will enjoy the texts with the sound files which are available on the CoRSAL archive. I hope this book will remain a valuable source of literature for the native communities whose stories are largely transmitted orally even in this day of technological advancement.

This work would not have been possible without the untiring support of my beloved wife Chongpi (also known as Chongboi Haokip) who, without having to bother me much, took care of our three children Junny, Hengoulen, and Stacey Lamnunhoi. Thanks to the guidance and support of Professor Shobhana Chelliah and my sincere thanks to Mary Burke, Marty Heaton, and Evaline Blair for their valuable help in editing my manuscript. Of course, I retain responsibility for any errors and omissions.

Pauthang Haokip
5 April 2021

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Introduction

This is an interlinear glossed text (IGT) collection of 17 texts of mostly well-known folktales and personal narratives from four South Central (Kuki-Chin) languages, namely Thadou (8 texts), Saihriem (3 texts), Hrangkhoh (4 texts), and Ranglong (2 texts). The contributors to the collection are listed here with their full name, gender, the area they come from, where they lived at the time of collection, and other languages they speak. You will also note that the ages of contributors range from 90 to 43.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Full name</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>From</i>	<i>Living in</i>	<i>Other languages spoken</i>	<i>Age</i>
Thadou	Phalting Haokip	F	Manipur	Lambung	Manipuri	83
Thadou	Seihlal Doungel	M	NC Hills	Songpijang	Bengali	43
Thadou	Houjahan Haokip	M	Manipur	Lambung	Manipuri	85
Saihriem	Khuhipi Saihriem	F	Barak valley	Bahbahar	Bengali	90
Saihriem	Hoihte Saihriem	F	Barak valley	Bahbahar	Bengali	80
Hrangkhoh	Hakthoi Phuotong	M	NC Hills	Zion village	Bengali	64
Ranglong	Zeisingzong Ranglong	M	Barak valley	Zuvichera	Bengali	84

Guide to this text collection

At the start of each new section, I provide a list of abbreviations used in the interlinear glossing for that language. In addition to the information in the tables, you may find the following information about conventions useful:

1. *Text and line numbering*: Spoken connected speech is broken down into clauses. Each clause is the start of a new ‘line’ in the IGT. Each clause receives a free translation.
2. *Citation*: I have used CoRSAL IGT conventions to provide users of this text collection guidance on how to cite individual lines. To cite an example from this collection, the following format may be used:
Haokip (2021:[Language] txtX, lnY)
To cite the entire collection, follow the following format:
Haokip, Pauthang (2021). Annotated Texts of Languages of the Barak Valley: Thadou, Saihriem, Hrangkhoh, Ranglong. Denton: Aquiline Books. <https://doi.org/10.12794/sps.corsal-060-1>.
For the audio recordings housed in CoRSAL, The University of North Texas Digital Library generates an automated citation including a unique identifier (ark). The unique identifier can be used to cite the audio recording.
3. *Representation per line*: The IGT includes word divisions, morpheme identification, morpheme glossing, and free translations. Sometimes it is unclear what constitutes a word, so there is some variation in word representation.
4. *Cultural information*: Some notes on cultural context are provided in footnotes.
5. *Morpheme representation*:
 - a. *Morpho-phonemics*: I provide the surface form for the morphemes in the IGT.

- b. Stem alternation: Like other South Central languages, Thadou exhibits stem alternation. I indicate Stem 1 forms with a subscript 1; Stem 2 forms with a subscript 2. Investigation of verb stem alternation in the other languages is still ongoing.
- c. Orthography: I am using a practical orthographic representation. I am also indicating tone as follows: falling tone (ˆ), rising tone (ˊ), high-level tone (ˉ), and low-level tone (ˋ).
- d. I commit to whether a morpheme is bound or free. Following Leipzig Glossing Rules, if it is bound, then I write the gloss with small capital letters; if free, then in lower case.
- e. I show if a morpheme is a prefix or suffix with dashes before or after the morpheme. I know that additional study may require change in analysis, but I provide what I know at this time. For example, as seen in (1), I analyze Verb Verb sequences as verb compounds, where one verb is functioning as a vector verb. The analysis of these as sequences of free stems may change as we learn more, and then I will need to update the representation.

1) *há* *nâai* *há* *a-* ***hông*** ***ànzìr*** *achú* *a-* *râmîng*
PROX.DET child PROX.DET 3.S- **come** **birth** DIST.DET 3.S- name

Ralngam *a-* *phûa* *-u* *-ná*
Ralngam 3.S- call -PL1 -SUB:then

‘When that baby was born, they named him Ralngam.’ Haokip (2021: Ranglong txt 1, ln 03)

6. Morpheme glossing

- a. I follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules: there is one gloss per morpheme, and two different morphemes cannot have the same gloss.
- b. Following the CoRSAL IGT guide, when two morphemes seem to have a similar gloss, I provide an annotation that shows the common category or similar meaning and, following a colon, a sense or subset of the main category. This CoRSAL IGT convention was especially useful for showing subordinators. See (2), for example.

2) *khán* *Bomrang* *khopûi* *-khă* *râal* *-in* *a-* *hông*
then Bomrang big.village -PROX.DET enemy -ERG 3.S- come

dôi *-tâk* *-a*
attack -PST -SUB:then

‘Bomrang village was attacked by the enemy.’ Haokip (2021: Hrangkhol txt 1, ln 08)

- c. In some instances, the finer semantic distinctions between multiple morphemes with similar meanings are not known. Such morphemes are glossed with numbers, such as NEG1, NEG2. See, for example, (3) and (4).

- 3) *kâikôngpâ* *-n* *hrĩlsik* *a-* *nèi* *-tà* ***-màk*** *-a*
 prawn -ERG reply 3.S- have -PST **-NEG1** -SUB:then
 ‘The prawn, having no reply, remained silent.’ Haokip (2021: Saihriem txt 1, ln 28)
- 4) *sâaipî* *-khă* *-n* *a-* *chòop* *kâng* *thèi* ***-lôi*** *-a* *ûm*
 elephant -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- suck dry able.to **-NEG2** -SUB:then exist
 ‘The elephant could not empty the water,’ Haokip (2021: Saihriem txt 1, ln 35)

- d. Some forms are not broken down into individual morphemes but are treated as frozen forms. For example, determiners in these languages may take on a subordinating or other discourse function when combined with certain morphemes; these are treated as frozen forms in the texts, and are glossed as ‘then’ throughout.

It is my hope that this text collection will be useful for both linguistic investigation of these languages, as well as to language communities for pedagogical and revitalization applications. The reader should also refer to the companion audio recordings in CoRSAL at <https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/LGBV/>.

Chapter 1: Thadou Texts

Thadou is spoken by 190,595 speakers (Census of India, 2001) in Manipur, Nagaland, Assam, and also in Chin Hills of Myanmar.² In Manipur, Thadou is spoken side-by-side along with other Kuki-Chin languages and Naga languages. In the southern district of Churachandpur, Thadou shares a higher level of mutual intelligibility with other Kuki-Chin languages, such as Paite, Simte, Gangte, Vaiphei and Zou, which are spoken in the same region. Thadou speakers are found in all the district of Manipur and constitute one of the major tribal languages of the state.

Thadou abbreviations, glosses and their corresponding morphemes

Gloss	Meaning	Morpheme
I	First person pronoun	<i>kêi(ma)</i>
1	First person participant marker	<i>kâ-</i>
you	Second person pronoun	<i>nâng</i>
2	Second person participant marker	<i>na-</i>
2 → 1	Second person acting on first person	<i>nêi</i>
s/he	Third person pronoun	<i>âmâ</i>
3	Third person participant marker	<i>â-</i>
3 → 1	Third person acting on first person	<i>i-</i>
ADV:man	Adverb: manner or quality	<i>-deh</i>
ADV:comp	Adverb: completeness of action	<i>-kea</i>
ADV:emot	Adverb: emotions	<i>-bou</i>
AFFM	Affirmative	<i>hichume</i>
BEN	Benefactive	<i>-pîh</i>
CAUS	Causative	<i>-sah</i>
CIS	Cislocative	<i>hîn-</i>
CLF:thin	Classifier: thin objects	<i>jang</i>
CLF:in	Classifier: inner parts of an object (e.g., inner part of banana stem)	<i>hôol</i>
CLF:num	Classifier: numbers	<i>vei</i>
COM	Comitative	<i>-pi</i>
COMD	Command	<i>-tâng</i>
CONS	Consecutive action	<i>-tieng</i>
DECL1	Declarative 1	<i>-ê-/mê/-vê /-tê/-jê/-ngê</i>
DECL2	Declarative 2	<i>-î/-n/-în/-mîn/-vîn/-nîn/-jîn</i>
DET	Determiner	<i>hîchũ</i>
DIR	Directional, movement toward the speaker or center	<i>ga-</i>
DIST.DET	Distal determiner	<i>-chũ/-khu</i>
DU	Dual	<i>-lhon/-hon</i>

² Census of India. 2001. Population by Mother Tongue.
<https://www.censusindia.gov.in/DigitalLibrary/MFTTableSeries.aspx>. (13 April 2021.)

ERG	Ergative	- <i>în/-n/-vîn/-jîn</i>
EVID	Evidential	<i>ná-</i>
EXCL	Exclamation	<i>-o</i>
FEM	Feminine	<i>-nû</i>
FOC	Focus	<i>-ba</i>
FUT	Future	<i>dîng/ îng</i>
HAB	Habitual	<i>-jî</i>
HORT	Hortative	<i>-tê</i>
IDEO	Ideophone	
IMP	Imperative	<i>-în/-mîn/-vîn/-nîn/-lîn/-n</i>
IMP:dirt	Imperative: directive	<i>ná-</i>
IMP:req	Imperative: request	<i>-o/-ngó</i>
INCL	Inclusive	<i>-i</i>
INST	Instrumental	<i>-á(h)/-má/-vá/-ná/-lá/-já/ -ngá</i>
INTF1	Intensifier 1	<i>-béh/-bêhsêh/-behjông</i>
INTF2	Intensifier 2	<i>-tah</i>
LOC	Locative	<i>-á-má/-vá/-ná/-lá/-já/-ngá</i>
MAS	Masculine	<i>-pa</i>
MIR	Mirative	<i>-lá</i>
NEG	Negative	<i>-lou</i>
NEG:SC	Negative: simple clause	<i>-pô</i>
NEG:proh	Negative: prohibitive	<i>-hîh</i>
NEG:stat	Negative: state of being of a person	<i>-mo</i>
NFP	Non-final particle	<i>-în/-mîn/-vîn/-nîn/-tîn/-lîn/ -jîn</i>
NMZ	Nominalizer	<i>-ná</i>
OPT	Optative	<i>-ta</i>
PL1	Plural 1	<i>-ho</i>
PL2	Plural 2	<i>-te</i>
PL3	Plural 3	<i>-u</i>
PROX.DET	Proximate determiner	<i>-hi</i>
PST	Past	<i>-tà</i>
Q1	Question 1	<i>-âm/-em/-m/-nam</i>
Q2	Question 2	<i>-he</i>
Q3	Question 3	<i>-la</i>
Q4	Question 4	<i>-mo</i>
Q5	Question 5	<i>-nge</i>
QUOT	Quotative	<i>tia</i>
REC	Reciprocal	<i>kî-</i>
REF	Reflexive	<i>kî-</i>
SPAT	Spatial	<i>-lang</i>
SUPP	Supplicative	<i>-hen</i>

SUB:and	Subordinator: and	<i>(âhì)lêh</i>
SUB:but	Subordinator: but	<i>(a)hinla</i>
SUB:then	Subordinator: then	<i>-á/-má/-vá/-ná/-lá/-já/-ngá</i>

Text 1 *Mainouloute* ‘The Pumpkin Plucker’ as told by Phalting Haokip³

Phalting Haokip, an 83 year old speaker of Thadou, lives in Lambung. She is also a speaker of Manipuri. In this story, a family gets fruits from their garden, and family members transform into birds.

01 *Lèndöu â- nû â- pâ lôu -vă kôon*
Lèndöu 3- mother 3- father field -LOC go
‘Lèndöu’s mother and father went to the fields.’

02 *â- îñ -nâ -chûn sèi -pîh lèh phà dîng ă- hì -n*
3- house -LOC -DIST.DET.NFP say₂ -BEN SUB:and good FUT 3- be -NFP
‘It would have been good had she (Lèndöu’s mother) told her at home.’

03 *lâmpî ă- gèi phâat -nâ -hĩ vớ Lèndöu â- tì lèh*
road 3- reach time -SUB:then -PROX.DET hello Lèndöu 3- tell SUB:and
hõu ă- tì -n
yes 3- tell -NFP
‘Then, when they reached the road, she said “hello, Lèndöu,” and she replied “yes.”’

04 *hõuon -nă mâinôu a- nă- lôu -îñ -lâng*
garden -LOC young.pumpkin 3- IMP:dirt- pluck -IMP -SPAT
a- nă- hõun -nô
3- IMP:dirt- cook -IMP.req
‘Pluck the young pumpkin from the garden and cook it.’

05 *nâonôu nâ- tì -m*
baby 2- tell -Q1
‘Did you say “baby”?’

06 *mâinôu kî- tî -chũ â- tì -n*
young.pumpkin REF- tell -DIST.DET 3- tell -NFP
‘She told her “she said ‘young pumpkin.’”’

07 *hõun -nâ mâinôu â- nâ- lôu -îñ -lâng mê -ín*
garden -LOC young.pumpkin 3- IMP:dirt - pluck₁ -IMP -SPAT curry -NFP
â- nâ- hõun -nîñ kî- tî -chũ
3- IMP:dirt - cook -IMP REF- tell -DIST.DET
‘She said, “pluck a young pumpkin in the garden and cook it (in a curry).”’

08 *nâonôu nâ- tì -m â- tì lèh*
baby 2- tell -Q1 3- tell SUB:and
‘She said, “did you say ‘baby’?”’

09 *vèi thũm chăn â- sèi -pîh lèh hěthêi -lòu*
CLF:num three up.to 3- say₂ -BEN SUB:and know -NEG
‘She told her three times, but she did not understand.’

³ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781635/>

- 10 *âhìlêh* *âmâ* *jông* *âmìn* *â-* *nû* *-vîn* *hîfîa* *lhâ*
SUB:and s/he also 3.NFP 3- mother -ERG like.this advise₁
- chîeh-chîeh* *-chǔ*
IDEO -DIST.DET
‘Since her mother had advised her in this manner’
- 11 *sûun* *-ná* *-hî* *â-* *nâo* *â-* *vêt* *-chǔ* *â-* *thâ* *-â*
noon -LOC -PROX.DET 3- brother 3- look₂ -DIST.DET 3- kill -SUB:then
‘In the afternoon, she killed her brother whom she was taking care of’
- 12 *â-* *thìn* *-hò* *-hî* *â-* *kî-* *hòn* *-ná* *â-* *nêh*
3- giblets -PL1 -PROX.DET 3- REF- cook -SUB:then 3- eat₂
‘She cooked the giblets and ate them.’
- 13 *â-* *nêh* *jôu* *phâat* *-ná* *-hî* *â-* *gôol* *-hò* *tôh* *kâang* *-á*
3- eat₂ over time -SUB:then -PROX.DET 3- friend -PL1 with toy -INST
- â-* *kî-* *kâap* *-û* *lêh*
3- REC- play₁ -PL3 SUB:and
‘After she had eaten, she played with a toy with her friends, then’
- 14 *Lèndôu* *ipî* *nâ-* *nêh* *-á* *nâ-* *nè* *jôl* *-hě* *â-* *tì* *-û* *lêh*
Lèndôu what 2- eat₂ -SUB:then 2- lip oily -Q2 3- tell -PL3 SUB:and
‘They asked her, “Lèndôu, what did you eat that made your lip oily?”’
- 15 *túi* *kâ-* *dòn* *-ná* *kâ-* *mûh* *jôl* *â-* *hê*
water 1- drink₂ -SUB:then 1- lip oily 3- be.DECL1
‘“I drank water and that is why my lip is oily.”’
- 16 *â-* *túi* *â-* *dòn* *-sàh* *-û* *lêh* *â-* *mûh* *jôl* *chǒm* *-hîh* *-în*
3- water 3- drink₂ -CAUS -PL3 SUB:and 3- lip oily change -NEG:proh -NFP
‘They made her drink her water, but her lips were not oily.’
- 17 *Lèndôu* *ipî* *nâ-* *nêh* *-á* *nâ-* *mûh* *jôl* *-hě* *â-* *tì* *-û* *lêh*
Lèndôu what 2- eat₂ -SUB:then 2- lip oily -Q2 3- tell -PL3 SUB:and
‘They asked her, “Lèndôu, what did you eat that made your lip oily?”’
- 18 *bù* *kâ-* *nêh* *-á* *kâ-* *mûh* *jôl* *â-* *hê* *â-* *tì* *-n*
food 1- eat₂ -SUB:then 1- lip oily 3- be.DECL1 3- tell -NFP
‘She said, “I ate food and that is why my lip is oily.”’
- 19 *â-* *bù* *â-* *nêh* *-û* *lêh* *jôl* *chǒm* *-lôu*
3- food 3- eat₂ -PL3 SUB:and oily change -NEG
‘They ate her food, but their lips did not become oily.’
- 20 *êilêh*⁴ *Lèndôu* *ipî* *nâ-* *nêh* *-á* *nâ-* *mûh* *jôl*
SUB:and Lèndôu what 2- eat₂ -SUB:then 2- lip oily

⁴ This is a variant of *âhìlêh* ‘SUB:and.’

- â- tì -û lêh
 3- tell -PL3 SUB:and
 ‘Then, they asked her, “Lèndöu, what did you eat that made your lip oily?”’
- 21 *mètûi kâ- hòop -mâ lêh kâ- mûh jôl â- hê*
 soup 1- sip -SUB:then SUB:and 1- lip oily 3- be.DECL1
 “I sipped soup that is why my lip is oily.”
- 22 *â- mètûi â- mûh -á hòop -sàh -û lêh â- mûh â- bèh~bèh*
 3- soup 3- lip -INST sip -CAUS -PL3 SUB:and 3- lip 3- same~same
 ‘They made her sip her soup, but her lip remained the same.’
- 23 *híchî -chũn âmân âtùtí dòh~dòh phâat -û -vîn*
 DET -DIST.DET s/he.ERG continue ask₂~ask₂ time -PL3 -NFP
 ‘When they keep asking her again and again’
- 24 *â- gôol -hò jàhá -chũ kâ- nâo kâ- kî- thà -á*
 3- friend -PL1 to.them -DIST.DET 1- brother 1- REC- kill -SUB:then
 ‘She told her friends that she had killed her brother.’
- 25 *kâ- nû -n â- nâ- hùon -în â- tì -á*
 1- mother -ERG 3- IMP:dirt- cook₁ -IMP 3- tell -SUB:then

kâ- thà -á
 1- kill -SUB:then
 “My mother told me to cook so I killed him.”
- 26 *â- thìn -hò kâ- kî- hùon -ná kâ- nêh lêh kâ- mûh jôl*
 3- gibleet -PL1 1- REF- cook -SUB:then 1- eat₂ SUB:and 1- lip oily

â- hê
 3- be.DECL1
 ‘She said, “I cooked his gibleets and ate it and that is why my lip is oily.”’
- 27 *â- gôol -hò -n kíchá -tà -û kî- kàap -pî ngãm -tà -lôu*
 3- friend -PL1 -ERG afraid₁ -PST -PL3 REC- play₁ -COM dare₁ -PST -NEG
 ‘Her friends were frightened and were afraid of playing with her.’
- 28 *â- gôol -hò -chũ -n khöhsat -tà -lôu -vá achũtí kòi dòh*
 3- friend -PL1 -DIST.DET -ERG care₁ -PST -NEG -SUB:then simply keep₁ out
 ‘Her friends did not pay any attention and left her alone.’
- 29 *èilêh nîlháh â- hî â- nû lêh â- pâ vâilhùn -ná hî*
 SUB:and evening 3- be 3- mother and 3- father reach -SUB:then be
 ‘In the evening, when her mother and father returned (home)’
- 30 *â- nû -n Lèndöu nâ- nâo -lá â- tì lêh*
 3- mother -ERG Lèndöu 2- brother -Q3 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘Her mother asked, “Lèndöu, where is your brother?”’

- 31 *însàhtê* *în* *-ná* *ûnôu* *vé* *â-* *hê*
north.neighbor house -LOC puppy look₁ 3- be.DECL1
“He went to see the puppy in northern neighbor’s house.”
- 32 *võ* *kâ-* *însàhtê* *kâ-* *nâo* *ûm* *-hìh* *-êimó* *â-* *tì* *leh*
hello 1- north.neighbor 1- baby exist -NEG:proh -Q1.Q4 3- tell SUB:and
‘She said, “hello, my northern neighbor, did you not see my son?”’
- 33 *â-* *ûm* *-hìh* *-ê* *â-* *tì* *lêh*
3- exist -NEG:proh -DECL1 3- tell SUB:and
‘They replied “he is not there.”’
- 34 *Lëndõu* *nâ-* *nâo* *láh* *-êimó* *â-* *tì* *-kít* *lêh*
Lëndõu 2- brother where -Q1.Q4 3- tell -again SUB:and
‘She asked again, “Lëndõu, where is your brother?”’
- 35 *înlhângtê* *în* *-ná* *vòhnôu* *vé* *-â* *chí* *â-* *hâ*
south.neighbor house -LOC piglet look₁ -INST go 3- be.DECL1
“He went to see the piglets at the southern neighbors’ house.”
- 36 *èilêh* *â* *înlhângtê* *jáhá* *kâ-* *nâo* *ûm* *-hìh* *-ễm*
SUB:and 3- south.neighbor to.them 1- baby exist -NEG:proh -Q1

tì *-n* *â-* *nû* *-n* *agá-* *sàp⁵* *-kít* *lêh*
tell -NFP 3- mother -ERG 3.DIR- call₂ -again SUB:and
‘Then, her mother called her southern neighbor and inquired “did you not see my my son?”’
- 37 *â-* *ûm* *-hìh* *-ê* *â-* *tì* *-n*
3- exist -NEG:proh -DECL1 3- tell -NFP
‘They said, “he is not here.”’
- 38 *Lëndõu* *nâ-* *nâo* *láh* *-êimó* *â-* *tì* *lêh*
Lëndõu 2- brother where -Q1.Q4 3- tell SUB:and
‘She asked her, “Lëndõu, where is your brother?”’
- 39 *khôtõtê* *-ná* *sìelnôu* *vé* *-â* *chí* *â-* *hì* *-ê*
downhill.neighbor -LOC calf look₁ -LOC go 3- be -DECL1
“He went to see a calf in the downhill neighbor’s house.”
- 40 *èilêh* *khôtõtê* *â-* *dòh* *lèlâ* *ûm* *-lôu*
SUB:and downhill.neighbor 3- ask₂ even exist -NEG
‘She then asked the downhill neighbor, but he was not there.’
- 41 *hìchì* *phâat* *-ná* *-hì* *â-* *nû* *-n* *Lëndõu* *nâ-* *nâo*
DET time -SUB:then -PROX.DET 3- mother -ERG Lëndõu 2- brother

⁵ This means literally ‘to call someone from a far off distance.’

hũijâ -bá nâ- kôl hĩnâ -ngê â- tĩ lêh
 where -FOC 2- keep be.LOC -Q5 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘At this point, she asked, “Lëndõu, where did you keep your brother?”’

42 *sàhlângtê -nâ bôngnõu sũoh -â â- vé -â chĩ hĩchũme*
 north.neighbor -LOC calf birth -INST 3- look₁ -INST go AFFM

â- tĩ -n
 3- tell -NFP

‘She said, “he has gone to see a new-born calf in the northern neighbor’s house”’

43 *àsàhtê â- dòh lèlâ thêi phâ -lõu*
 north.neighbor 3- ask₂ even know reach -NEG
 ‘When she asked the northern neighbor they were not aware’

44 *âtũtĩ dòh âtũtĩ dòh -hõn⁶ phâat nâ hĩ*
 continue ask₂ continue ask₂ -DU time -SUB:then be
 ‘When they kept asking her’

45 *kâ- thàt -nĩn kâ- hê tĩa â- sêi dòh*
 1- kill -NFP 1- be.DECL1 QUOT 3- say₂ out
 ‘She told them, I killed (the baby)’

46 *hĩchĩ phâat -nâ -chũ â- nũ lêh â- pâ -ĩn*
 DET time -SUB:then -DIST.DET 3- mother and 3- father -ERG

võh kĩtĩa â- vòh -hõn
 beat₂ hard 3- beat₂ -DU

‘At that, her father and mother beat her badly.’

47 *âtũtĩ vòh~vòh -hõn phâat -nâ hĩthĩng chũng khàt -án -hĩ*
 continue beat₂~beat₂ -DU time -SUB:then wood top one -LOC -PROX.DET
 ‘While they kept beating her, on top of a tree,’

48 *âmâ -chũ vâchâ sũoh dàn hĩtâ -chũ*
 s/he -DIST.DET bird turn₁ continue be.PST -DIST.DET
 ‘She (Lëndõu) turned into a bird.’

49 *thĩng chũng khàt -nâ hĩ tũu*
 wood top one -LOC be sit₁
 ‘She was sitting on top of a tree’

50 *â- ĩnkõtê â- kũu ĩ- kĩ- lhâ -ũ*
 3- family 3- call₁ 3- REC- exchange -PL3
 ‘Her family called him one after another’

51 *â- pâ -n hũng -nõ hũng -nõ bú hũng*
 3- father -ERG come -IMP.req come -IMP.req food come

⁶ This is a variant of *lõn* ‘-DU.’

- nê -ô bû hûng nè -ô â- tê*
eat₁ -IMP.req food come eat₁ -IMP.req 3- tell
'Her father repeatedly said, "come and eat food"'
- 52 *mõol -lá sipgà kâ- nêh kâ- và -ná â- tì -n*
hill -LOC sipga.tree.fruit 1- eat₂ 1- satiate -SUB:then 3- tell -NFP
'She said, "I am satiated with the the fruit of the sipga tree on the hilltop"'
- 53 *â- nû -n â- kòu -kít kâ- nâo hûng nè -ô*
3- mother -ERG 3- call₁ -again 1- son come eat₁ -IMP.req
'Her mother called her again saying, "my dear come and eat"'
- 54 *â- ìnkôtê â- kôu âtâtî kî- lhàh -û*
3- family 3- call₁ continue REC- exchange -PL3
'Her family called to him one after another'
- 55 *âmâ -n mõol -lá sipgà kâ- nêh kâ- và -ná*
s/he -ERG hill -LOC sipgà.tree.fruit 1- eat₂ 1- satiate -SUB:then

â- tì -n
3- tell -NFP
'She said, "I am full with the sipga fruit I ate on the hilltop."'
- 56 *âmâ -chũ lhăsiê -á văchà sôoh dân hî -tâ -chũ*
s/he -DIST.DET sad -SUB:then bird turn continue be -PST -DIST.DET
'She was so grieved that she must have turned into a bird.'
- 57 *hîti âchũ â- nû -hò â- pâ -hò â- pî -hò -n*
in.this.way 3- mother -PL1 3- father -PL1 3- grandmother -PL1 -ERG
'In this way her father, mother and grandmother,'
- 58 *hûng -nô hûng -nô kâ- nâo tîa bû*
come -IMP.req come -IMP.req 1- dear QUOT food

nê -tâ -û -tê a- ti -u lêh
eat₁ -OPT -PL3 -DECL1 3- tell -PL3 SUB:and
'said, "come dear, come dear, let us have food."'
- 59 *mõol -la sipga kâ- nêh kâ- va -ná*
hill -LOC sipga.tree.fruit 1- eat₂ 1- satiate -SUB:then

â- tì -n âhilêh
3- tell -NFP SUB:and
'She said, "I am satiated with the tree fruit I ate on the hilltop."'
- 60 *â- thăatlâl -kêa phâat -û -vîn*
3- cannot.convince -ADV:comp time -PL3 -NFP
'When they could not convince her'

- 61 *âmâ -chũ vǎchâ sùoh pèi*
 s/he -DIST.DET bird turn₁ away
 ‘She turned into a bird.’
- 62 *âmâ -chũ -n kâ- nû -n ì- dǒm*
 s/he -DIST.DET -ERG 1- mother -ERG 3→1- lift₁
- ì- dǒm lhâ jôu -lôu*
 3→1- lift down able.to2 -NEG
 ‘She said, “my mother tried to bring me down but cannot.”’
- 63 *kâ- pâ -n ì- dǒm ì- dǒm lhâ jôu -lôu*
 1- father -ERG 3→1- lift₁ 3→1- lift₁ down able.to2 -NEG
 ‘“My father tried to bring me down but cannot.”’
- 64 *kâ- pî -n ì- dǒm, ì- dǒm lhâ jôu -lôu*
 1- grandmother -ERG 3→1- lift 3→1- lift down able.to2 -NEG
 ‘“My grandmother tried to bring me down but cannot.”’
- 65 *â- ìnkòtê -n â- dòn -lôu phâat -ná -hî*
 3- family -ERG 3- accept₂ -NEG time -SUB:then -PROX.DET
- âmâ -chũ vǎchâ sùoh -pèi -tâi*
 s/he -DIST.DET bird turn₁ -away -PST.DECL2
 ‘When her family did not care anymore, she turned into a bird.’

Text 2 Lengbante ‘The Vine Cutter’ as told by Phalting Haokip⁷

Phalting Haokip, an 83 year old speaker of Thadou, lives in Lambung. She is also a speaker of Manipuri. In this story, seven sons compete with their father to cut a rope made of vine. It tells of the origin of lightning.

- 01 *â- châê pùsâl sâgì -chũ â- nû -vîn tân*
 3- children boy seven -DIST.DET 3- mother -NFP now
nâ- pâ û tòh lêng bàn kî- êl -û -vîn -lâng
 2- father -PL with vine cut₂ REC- compete₁ -PL3 -IMP -SPAT
 ‘To her seven sons, the mother said, “now compete with your father to cut a vine rope”’
- 02 *â- hâat -lôu~lôu lhò kòt -ná nâ- kî- tùn dîng -û â- hî*
 3- strong₁ -NEG~NEG tiger door -LOC 2- REF- stand₂ FUT -PL3 3- be
 ‘‘The loser will have to stand at the tiger’s door’’
- 03 *kîn chêm hîn- nõol lîn -tîng*
 I.ERG knife CIS- sharpen₁ FUT -OPT.NFP
 ‘‘I shall sharpen a knife each for you.’’
- 04 *â- chă -tê -dîng -chũ â- nõol hîem jîh~jîh înlhàn*
 3- son -PL2 -for -DIST.DET 3- sharpen₁ pointed very~very do
 ‘For her sons, she sharpened it very well’
- 05 *â- pâ -û -dîng -chũ â- bàn jî lêh phôi lạp-lạp -mîn*
 3- father -PL3 -for -DIST.DET 3- cut₂ try SUB:and blunt IDEO -NFP
 ‘But when she cut/tested the knife for their father, it would just leave a blunt mark’
- 06 *â- pùsâl sâgì -chũ lêng bàn â- kî- èl -û lêh*
 3- boy seven -DIST.DET vine cut₂ 3- REC- compete₁ -PL3 SUB:and
 ‘The seven boys competed with each other in cutting the rope’
- 07 *â- chapâ â- lhùm pîenpâ -n â- tùh lêh hàam jàh-jàh -în*
 3- son 3- young most -ERG 3- cut₂ SUB:and sound IDEO -DECL2
 ‘When the youngest son cut, he could cut it easily’
- 08 *â- pâ -û -vîn 3- tùh lêh phôi lêu-lúi -jì -n*
 3- father -PL3 -ERG 3- cut₂ SUB:and blunt IDEO -HAB -DECL2
 ‘But when their father cut, he could barely leave a mark with the blunt knife’
- 09 *â- bàaná pâ tòh â- bàn -kìt -lhòn lêh*
 3- next son with 3- cut₂ -again -DU SUB:and
 ‘With the next son, the father competed again. Then,’
- 10 *â- chapâ -în â- bàn lêh bàn tàn jôu -tà*
 3- son -ERG 3- cut₂ when cut₂ break finish -PST
 ‘His son managed to cut it into pieces’

⁷ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781633/>

- 11 *âmâ -în bán tàn jôu -tà -lôu*
s/he -ERG cut₁ break finish -PST -NEG
'He (father) could not cut/break the rope'
- 12 *âhilêh â- thum -ná -pâ toh â- bàn -kìt -lhòn lêh*
SUB:and 3- three -NMZ -MAS with 3- cut₂ -again -DU SUB:and
'Then, he competed with the third son'
- 13 *â- cha -pâ -în â- bàn lêh bàn tàn jèh-jèh -în*
3- son -MAS -ERG 3- cut₂ SUB:and cut₂ break IDEO -DECL2
'When his son cut it, he could break the rope very easily'
- 14 *âmâ -n â- tùh lêh tù bùt -lôu*
s/he -ERG 3- cut₂ SUB:and cut₁ penetrate -NEG
'When the father cut, it did not penetrate'
- 15 *hîtâ -chũ â- bàn â- kê- lhàh -pî*
like.this -DIST.DET 3- cut 3- REC- compete -COM
'In this way, they kept competing one after another'
- 16 *â- kê- jò phâat -û -vá hî*
3- REC- finish time -PL3 -SUB:then be
'When they had finished the competition'
- 17 *ì- sèi sà -û hîjèn kêi lhố kòt -ná*
INCL- say₂ already -PL3 agree I tiger door -LOC

kî- tũng -tà ìng -ngê
REF- stand₁ -OPT FUT -DECL1
'As agreed upon, "I shall have to stand at the tiger's door," said the father'
- 18 *â- pâ -û -chũ lhố kòt -ná â- kê- tũng -tà -ì*
3- father -PL3 -DIST.DET tiger door -LOC 3- REF- stand₁ -PST -DECL2

â- kê- ò
3- REF- tell
'It is said that the father stood at the tiger's door'
- 19 *âhilêh khôilĩ khàt â- hũng -în*
SUB:and kholi one 3- come -NFP
'Then, a kholi (tiger) came'
- 20 *kùi hêimó kê- làm kòt -ná kê- tũng sến pèh-pùh*
who be.Q4 1- path door -LOC REF- stand₁ red IDEO

nè ìng -ngê chă ìng -ngê
eat₁ FUT -DECL1 eat FUT -DECL1
'"Who is that stood at my gate so radiantly? Let me eat, let me eat," said the kholi'
- 21 *nêi- nè -tâng nêi- chă -tâng kê- phũ lá dũng*
2→1- eat₁ -COMD 2→1- eat₁ -COMD 1- revenge take₁ FUT

- nuôi -jâ thielná jâ chûng -ngá àhsí jâ*
under -LOC leaf number up -LOC star number
“Eat me, eat me if your dare, for I have as many men as the leaves of the forest’s floor and the stars up above who would be able to take my revenge”
- 22 *âhìlêh â- lhěi pèi -tà -ì â- lhèi pèi phâat hîn*
SUB:and 3- run₁ away -PST -DECL2 3- run₂ away time be.NFP
‘Then he (the kholi) ran away. When he had run away,’
- 23 *sângâh khàt â- hûng îh sângâh -chûn*
small.tiger one 3- come NFP small.tiger -DIST.DET.ERG
‘A sângâh (small tiger) came and he said,’
- 24 *kùi hêimó kê- làm kòt -ná kê- tûng sến pèh-pûh*
who be.Q4 1- path door -LOC REF- stand₁ red IDEO

nè îng -ngê chă îng -ngê
eat₁ FUT -DECL1 eat₁ FUT -DECL1
“Who is that stood at my gate so radiantly? Let me eat, let me eat,” said the sângâh’
- 25 *nêi- nè -tâng nêi- chă -tâng*
2→1- eat₁ -COMD 2→1- eat₁ -COMD

kê- phũ lâ dîng nûôi -jâ thielná jâ chûng -ngá
1- revenge take₁ FUT under -LOC leaf number up -LOC

àhsí jâ â- tì lêh
star number 3- tell SUB:and
“Eat me, eat me if your dare, for I have as many men as the leaves of the forest’s floor and the stars up above who would be able to take my revenge” said the father.’
- 26 *sângâh -chũ â- jăam mâng -tà -ì*
small.tiger -DIST.DET 3- run disappear -PST -DECL2
‘The sângâh ran away.’
- 27 *â- jôu~jôu -ná hîn lhổ gĩkĩel khàt â- hûng -în*
3- last~last -SUB:then be.NFP tiger hungry one 3- come -NFP
‘At last, a hungry tiger came.’
- 28 *kùi hêimó kê- làm kòt -ná kê- tûng sến pèh-pûh*
who be.Q4 1- path door -LOC REF- stay₁ red IDEO

nè îng -ngê chă îng -ngê
eat₁ FUT -DECL1 eat₁ FUT -DECL1
“Who is that who stood in my gate so radiantly? Let me eat, let me eat,” said the tiger.’
- 29 *nêi- nè -tâng nêi- chă -tâng kê- phũ lá dîng*
2→1- eat₁ -COMD 2→1- eat₁ -COMD 1- revenge take₁ FUT

núi *-ja* *thiêlná* *jâ* *chông* *-ngâ* *àhsí* *jâ*
under -LOC leaf number up -LOC star number
“Eat me, eat me if your dare, for I have as many men as the leaves of the forest’s floor and the stars
up above who would be able to take my revenge.”

30 *âhilêh* *âmâ* *-chũ* *agĩlkiel* *-bêhsêh* *-á* *vé* *jôu* *-tà* *-lôu*
SUB:and s/he -DIST.DET hungry -INTF1 -SUB:then look₁ able.to2 -PST -NEG
‘The tiger was so hungry that he could no longer look at him, and ate him up’

31 *â- nêh* *châi* *-yá* *hî* *â- chă* *-tê* *-chũn*
3- eat₂ finish -SUB:then be 3- son -PL2 -DIST.DET.ERG
‘After the tiger had eaten him, his sons said’

32 *ì-* *pâ* *-û* *phũ* *gâ-* *lâ* *-tà* *-û* *-tê*
INCL- father -PL3 revenge DIR- take₁ -OPT -PL3 -HORT

â- *kî-* *tì* *-û* *-vîn* *âhilêh*
3- REC- tell -PL3 -NFP SUB:and
“Let us go and take our father’s revenge”

33 *â-* *pâ* *phũ* *lá* *-â* *â-* *chí* *-chũ* *â-* *lhô*
3- father revenge take₁ -SUB:then 3- go -DIST.DET 3- tiger

tôh *-chûn* *â-* *kî-* *dâl* *-û* *lêh*
with -DIST.DET.NFP 3- REC- fight₁ -PL3 SUB:and
‘While they had gone to take their father’s revenge, they fought with the tiger’

34 *chôol* *gâm* *-dîng* *hî* *-ta* *-û* *-vîn* *chômkhât* *kî-* *chòoldù* *-û* *-tê*
rest all -for be -PST -PL3 -DECL2 while REF- rest₁ -PL3 -HORT
‘They were all tired and weary and agreed to rest for a while.’

35 *â-* *lâl* *phâat* *-û* *-vá* *-chũ* *â-* *lùp* *-û* *lêh*
3- tire time -PL3 -SUB:then -DIST.DET 3- sleep₂ -PL3 SUB:and

khô *thêi* *-tà* *-lôu*
nothing know -PST -NEG
‘They were tired and fell into a deep sleep’

36 *khô* *â-* *thèi* *-lôu* *phâat* *-û* *-vá* *-hî*
sense 3- know -NEG time -PL3 -SUB:then -PROX.DET

â- *lhô* *chũn* *â-* *bàan* *sí* *lîh* *nâamsel*
3- tiger -DIST.DET.ERG 3- one.by.one claw.v₂ kill all
‘As they were fast asleep, the tiger killed them all with his claws’

37 *â-* *sí* *lîh* *phâat* *-ná* *hî* *â-* *nû* *-chũn*
3- claw.v₂ kill time -SUB:then be 3- mother -DIST.DET.ERG

châpâ nèi -tà -lôu
 son have -PST -NEG

‘After the tiger had killed them all with his claws, the mother did not have any sons.’

- 38 *phâat sôotpî nung khàt -ná hî pâsâl khàt â- hîn- nèi -kít -în*
 time long after one -SUB:then be boy one 3- CIS- have -again -NFP
 ‘After a long time, she (the mother) gave birth to a son again.’

- 39 *â- nêo -vá pàt -ná hî â- gôol -hò tôh kàng -ngâ*
 3- small -SUB:then start -SUB:then be 3- friend -PL1 with toy -INST

â- hûng kî- kàap -û lêh
 3- come REC- play -PL3 SUB:and

‘Since childhood, he would play with toys with his friends’

- 40 *âmâ -chũn â- lôoi -hò kàng jôusie -chũ â- kàap kêh*
 s/he -DIST.DET.ERG 3- friend -PL1 toy all -DIST.DET 3- shoot break

hêm-hûm -mîn
 IDEO -NFP

‘He would break all the toys of his friends into pieces.’

- 41 *â- lôoi -hò -chũ -n â- nû -tê kòm -mâ*
 3- friend -PL1 -DIST.DET -ERG 3- mother -PL2 to -LOC

kâ- kàng -û kàap kêh -ê tía â- sòm -û lêh
 1- toy -PL3 shoot break -DECL1 QUOT 3- report₂ -PL3 SUB:and

‘His playmates reported to their mothers that he broke all their toys.’

- 42 *tútî hâat -ná âhîlêh â- pâ phũ â- ú phũ*
 if strong -SUB:then SUB:and 3- father revenge 3- brother revenge

â- ga- làh lêh -tà -ěm
 3- DIR- take₂ SUB:and⁸ -OPT -Q1

‘‘If he is that strong why doesn’t he take his father’s and brothers’ revenge’’

- 43 *kàng -ngâ â- kî- kàap -ná -û -chũ â- gôol -hò*
 toy -INST 3- REC- play -LOC -PL3 -DIST.DET 3- friend -PL1

sèi -ná -â â- jáh
 say₂ -NMZ -LOC 3- hear₂

‘While he was playing with toys with his friends, he overheard them’

- 44 *â- hûng liim jàp phâat -ná hî*
 3- come wise better time -SUB:then be

‘When he became a little wiser,’

- 45 *hênû kàng kâ- kî- kàap -û lêh â- nû -hò -vîn*
 mother toy 1- REC- play -PL3 SUB:and 3- mother -PL1 -ERG

⁸ This is a variant of *âhîlêh* ‘SUB:and.’

hùtìhìn ì- hǒu -ù -vìn
 like.this 3→1- speak₁ -PL3 -NFP
 “Mother, while we were playing toys, their mothers spoke this way”

46 *kâ- ú kâ- pâ ìtí hâmb tía â- dòh lèh*
 1- brother 1- father what be.Q1 QUOT 3- ask₂ SUB:and
 “What happened to my father and my brothers?” he asked his mother’

47 *hùtì~hùtì â- hí -jè tía â- sèi -pìh lèh*
 like.this~like.this 3- be -DECL1 QUOT 3- say₂ -BEN SUB:and
 ‘Then his mother told him what had happened.’

48 *henù kìn kâ- ú phǔ kâ- pâ phǔ*
 mother 1.ERG 1- brother revenge 1- father revenge
gà- lá -tâng -ngê
 DIR- take₁ -OPT.FUT -DECL1
 “Mother, let me go and take my father’s and brothers’ revenge.”

49 *chì -hìh -în chì -hìh -în nâ- lít zàp phâat lèh*
 go -NEG:proh -IMP go -NEG:proh -IMP 2- big₂ little time SUB:and
chì nâ- ín -nâ -tê
 go 2- FUT -2 -HORT
 “Don’t go, don’t go (now). When you are a little bit grown up, you might go”

50 *tún lá jòu -pô ín -nâ -tê*
 now take₁ able.to2 -NEG:SC FUT -2 -HORT
 “Now you will not succeed.”

51 *gàplhâng chàn nâ- phàh phâat lèh gà- lá*
 gaplhang up.to 2- reach₂ time SUB:and DIR- take₁
nâ- ín -nâ -tê
 2- FUT -2 -HORT
 ‘When you reach the *gàplhâng*,⁹ you might then go.’

52 *hênù gàplhâng kâ- phàh -tâh hí -mê â- tì -n âhìlèh*
 mother gàplhâng 1- reach₂ -INTF2 be -DECL1 3- tell -NFP SUB:and
 ‘He told his mother, “I have reached the *gàplhâng*.”’

53 *kâ- nâo nâ- nêo -bèhsêh nâ- lâi -ê chì -hìh -în*
 1- baby 2- small -INTF1 2- during -DECL1 go -NEG:proh -IMP
 ‘The mother said, “my son you are too young.”’

54 *â- jò~jò -ná â- hí hênù kâ- chì đing â- hí -jè*
 3- last~last -SUB:then 3- be mother 1- go FUT 3- be -DECL1

⁹ A *gàplhâng* is a piece of bamboo suspended above the fire.

tía â- chì -tâ -ì
 QUOT 3- go -PST -DECL2
 ‘At last, he told his mother, “I am going” and left.’

55 *ûmtàdì -n nâ- chì dđng -ngá âhìlêh nâ- nĩ kôm -mâ*
 wait -IMP 2- go FUT -SUB:then SUB:and 2- aunty to -LOC

chì pâ -lâng hì bôu -vîn
 go enter -SPAT be only -NFP
 ““Wait, wait, if you are going, go to your aunty’s house,”” she said.

56 *â- nĩ kôm â- gèi phâat -ná hì â- nĩ -n*
 3- aunty to 3- reach time -SUB:then be 3- aunty -ERG
 ‘When he reached his aunty’s house, she asked.’

57 *kâ- nâo hûi- chì dđng nâ- hì -m tía â- dôh lêh*
 1- son where go FUT 2- be -Q1 QUOT 3- ask₂ SUB:and
 ““My son, where are you going?”” she asked.’

58 *hênĩ kâ- ú kâ- pâ phũ gà- lá -tâng -ngê*
 aunty 1- brother 1- father revenge DIR- take₁ -OPT.FUT -DECL1

â- tì -n
 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He told his aunty, “I am going to avenge my father and brothers.”’

59 *hì tía â- sèi phâat -ná -chũ â- nĩ -n*
 be QUOT 3- say₂ time -SUB:then -DIST.DET 3- aunty -ERG

ûmtàdì -n vòhchâ tùh ngá -khũ mân hì tì -n
 wait -IMP pig foot five -DIST.DET catch₁ be tell -IMP
 ‘When he told her his intention, she said, “wait! let us catch that five foot big pig.”’

60 *â- sâ nè -n -lâng â- thâo jông sòl hì tì -n*
 3- meat eat₁ -IMP -SPAT 3- fat also fry₁ be tell -IMP

nâ- kî- pòh dđng â- hì -jè
 2- REF- carry₂ FUT 3- be -DECL1
 ““You shall eat the flesh and we will also fry the fat for you to carry with you.””

61 *â- thâo â- sòl -lâ ùm pî khàt -ná*
 3- fat 3- fry₁ -SUB:then gourd big one -LOC

â- kî- pòh -sàh
 3- REC- carry₂ -CAUS
 ‘She fried its fat, stored it inside a big gourd, and made him carry it.’

62 *hítía~hítía -hì dđng â- hì -jè tía â- hìl*
 like.this~like.this -PROX.DET FUT 3- be -DECL1 QUOT 3- instruct
 ““It should be like this and like this” and so-saying she instructed him’

- 63 *âlhômí -tê ín sùng -ngâ -chủ âmâ ga- lúut*
 tiger.man -PL2 house inside -LOC -DIST.DET s/he DIR- enter
 ‘He entered into the house of a tiger man’
- 64 *â- kòt mâai -vá thính tôoi hôi sùng thũm*
 3- door in.front -LOC wood tender beautiful branch three

kê- sò khât â- nâ- ùm -mìn
 REF- turn one 3- EVID- exist -DECL2
 ‘There stood a tree with three branches in front of their house.’
- 65 *âmâ jông kăl dòh -în â- sa thào -chủ kê- pòh -în*
 s/he also climb₁ out -NFP 3- meat fat -DIST.DET REF- carry₂ -NFP
 ‘He carried the pig’s fat and climbed up the tree.’
- 66 *â- hính -chủ nàal -dèh -în â- khòh -în*
 3- skin -DIST.DET slippery -ADV:man -NFP 3- peel₁ -NFP
 ‘Then peeled off the skin of the tree very nicely’
- 67 *âhìlêh â- lưỡ -chủ â- húng -tâ -ì*
 SUB:and 3- tiger -DIST.DET 3- come -PST -DECL2
 ‘Then came the tiger man’
- 68 *lưỡmì -chũn măn ìng -ngê atilêh â- thính â- nàal*
 tiger.man -DIST.DET.NFP catch₁ FUT -DECL1 SUB:and 3- wood 3- smooth

jìh -chũn măn thêi -lôu
 try -DIST.DET.NFP catch₁ able.to1 -NEG
 ‘The tiger man tried to catch (him) but could not as the tree was slippery.’
- 69 *a- khât -pâ -n â- thălpí -á â- kâap âmâ thí -tâ*
 3- one -MAS -ERG 3- arrow -INST 3- shot s/he die -PST
 ‘The man shot at the tiger man, and it died.’
- 70 *âhìvâangngá -chủ kùm lằ ngăm -lôu*
 still -DIST.DET climb down dare₁ -NEG
 ‘Still, he was afraid to climb down.’
- 71 *khôilí khât húng -în âmâ -n jông khôilí jàhá -chũn*
 kholi one come -NFP s/he -ERG also kholi to.him -DIST.DET.NFP

kâ- sâ thà -chủ thí -nâm tía â- dòh lêh
 1- animal kill -DIST.DET die -Q1 QUOT 3- out SUB:and
 ‘Then came a kholi, and he asked him whether the animal he killed was dead or not’
- 72 *thí ná- hì â- tì -n*
 die EVID- be 3- tell -NFP
 ‘“It is dead,” he said.’

- 73 *â- mùtchâng jông kê- thàm lêh chàtlôh -tà -lôu*
 3- eye also 1- touch₂ SUB:and move -PST -NEG
hî -mê â- tì -n
 be -DECL1 3- tell -NFP
 ‘The kholi said, “I touched his eyes, but it was not moving.”’
- 74 *chủ- phâat -chũn â- húng kùum lhà -n â- khàngkhâ*
 DIST.DET- time -DIST.DET.NFP 3- come climb down -NFP 3- beard
mũl -ô â- há -ô â- hîn- pôh -în
 feather -EXCL 3- teeth -EXCL 3- CIS- carry₂ -NFP
 ‘Then, he came down and brought the beard and teeth of the tiger man.’
- 75 *în -láng -ngá â- húng kê- núng lê lêh*
 house -SPAT -LOC 3- come REF- back return SUB:and
 ‘Then he returned to the house,’
- 76 *â- pòt dòh kàh -á -chủ â- nû -chủ*
 3- carry out during -SUB:then -DIST.DET 3- mother -DIST.DET
pâmmâtê¹⁰ -n í â- nâ- lò hâm kichâ dàn
 monkey -ERG what 3- EVID- do be.Q1 afraid₁ continue
 ‘While he was away, the monkeys might have done something to her, and that incident scared her.’
- 77 *â- pâmmâtê núng -â -chủ â- chápâ lhung*
 3- monkey after -LOC -DIST.DET 3- son reach₁
 ‘Her son arrived just after the monkeys left.’
- 78 *hênû hênû kê- húng lhung -tà -ì kòt hống -în*
 mother mother 1- come reach₁ -PST -DECL2 door open -IMP
â- tì lêh
 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘Then, he said, “mother, mother, I have already arrived, open the door”’
- 79 *kê- châ nâ- hî lêh hîlâi -jâ pàt kê- lhùn hî*
 1- son 2- be SUB:and here -LOC thread 1- reach₂ be
 ‘“If you are my son, the thread I have stretched here”’
- 80 *nâ- kàap- tân lêh kêi châ nâ- hî đing â- hî -jè â- tì*
 2- shoot break SUB:and I son 2- be FUT 3- be -DECL1 3- tell
 ‘“If you can shoot (break) it, you are my son.”’
- 81 *âmâ -n jông â- kàap lêh kàap tàn -tà*
 s/he -ERG also 3- shoot SUB:and shoot break -PST
 ‘When he shot at it, he broke the thread.’

¹⁰A *pâmmâtê* is a monkey living in the forest.

- 82 *vèi thúm vèi lî â- lhùn -pîh -á*
 CLF:num three CLF:num four 3- reach₂ -BEN -SUB:then
â- kàap tàn phâat -ná hî
 3- shoot break time -SUB:then be
 ‘She tied the thread three or four times, and he broke it,’
- 83 *â- nû -n -lá kòt hõong -dîeh -lôu â- hòon -lôu*
 3- mother -ERG -MIR door open -ADV:man -NEG 3- open -NEG
phâat -ná hî
 time -SUB:then be
 ‘When his mother did not open the door,’
- 84 *âmâ -pâ -chũn â- chěmkon lèh -în vàan -á*
 s/he -MAS -DIST.DET.ERG 3- knife throw₁ -NFP sky -LOC
kôolphé kê- sôh lèh sôh â- tì -n
 lightning 1- turn₁ SUB:and turn₁ 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He said “what if I turned into lightning” and threw his knife up in the sky”’
- 85 *túa kôolphé -hò -hî âmâ â- hî â- tì -û -vê*
 now lightning -PL1 -PROX.DET s/he 3- be 3- tell -PL3 -DECL1
 ‘Today it is said that the lightning is him’
- 86 *â- nû jàhâ -chũn jîngkâal nâ- thò -tieng lèh*
 3- mother to.her -DIST.DET.NFP morning 2- get.up -CONS SUB:and
 ‘To his mother, “when you get up in the morning”’
- 87 *sùm sùng â- ná- vé -n -lâng*
 rice.pounder inside 3- IMP:dirt- look₁ -IMP -SPAT
àhgîl tôh â- ná- vè -n
 hen.cage with 3- IMP:dirt- look₁ -IMP
 ‘“Look inside the rice pounder and also the fowl cage.”’
- 88 *â- jîngkâal â- thò -á hî àhgîl â- vèt lèh*
 3- morning 3- get.up -SUB:then be hen.cage 3- look₂ SUB:and
â- ná- kôi -vîn
 3- EVID- keep -DECL2
 ‘When she woke up in the morning, she looked inside the fowl’s cage, and saw what her son had kept.’
- 89 *â- sùm sùng â- vèt lèh â- khângkhâ mùl*
 3- rice.pounder inside 3- look₂ SUB:and 3- beard feather

â- ná- ùm -mîn
3- EVID- exist -NFP

‘When she peeped inside the rice pounder, she saw the beard feather of the tiger man.’

90 *híchì phâat -chũn âmâ jông âtútí kàa lèh*
DET time -DIST.DET.NFP s/he also continue cry₂ SUB:and
‘At this, she kept crying.’

91 *â- jùut â- jùut -ná â- kâa lèh â- nû -lá thĩ -tà*
3- rub₂ 3- rub₂ -SUB:then 3- cry₂ SUB:and 3- mother -MIR die -PST
‘As she rubbed the beard and kept crying, she died.’

93 *âmâ -ù -chũ môh mǎngâm -kêa hî -tà -ù -chũ*
s/he -PL3 -DIST.DET simply disappear₁ -ADV:comp be -PST -PL3 -DIST.DET
‘They simply disappeared completely.’

Text 3 Mailangkoh ‘Mailangkoh’ as told by Phalting Haokip¹¹

Phalting Haokip, an 83 year old speaker of Thadou, lives in Lambung. She is also a speaker of Manipuri. In this story, a mother disappears while fishing, and her children try to catch her in the river.

- 001 *nî khàt -hî Sèinêm nû lèh Mailangkoh nû -hî*
 day one -PROX.DET Sèinêm mother and Mailangkoh mother -PROX.DET
 ‘One day Sèinêm’s mother and Mailangkoh’s mother’
- 002 *vâdûng khàt -ná ngâ sàp -mâ chì -hòn lèh*
 river one -LOC fish fish.v₁ -INST go -DU SUB:and
 ‘Went fishing in a river.’
- 003 *â- lèn â- se -hòn lèh â- Sèinêm nû -chũ -n*
 3- net 3- fish.v₂ -DU SUB:and 3- Sèinêm mother -DIST.DET -ERG
ngâ tâmpî â- kî- mù -n
 fish many 3- REF- see -NFP
 ‘As they threw their net, Sèinêm’s mother caught a lot of fish.’
- 004 *â- Mailangkoh nû -chũ -n ngâ â- nêh thùre*
 3- Mailangkoh mother -DIST.DET -ERG fish 3- eat₂ away
 ‘Mailangkoh’s mother kept eating everything she could catch’
- 005 *â- Sèinêm nû ngâ â- vèt lèh â- ôotchâat mânná*
 3- Sèinêm mother fish 3- look₂ SUB:and 3- jealous because
â- kòu dòh
 3- call₁ out
 ‘As she looked at what Sèinêm’s mother caught, she was jealous and called her out’
- 006 *vâgàal â- húngèi -hòn phâat -ná -hî*
 riverbank 3- reach -DU time -SUB:then -PROX.DET
Mailangkoh nû -chũn
 Mailangkoh mother -DIST.DET.NFP
 ‘When they reached the river bank, Mailangkoh’s mother’
- 007 *Sèinêm nû jàhá -chũn gǒol -nû Sèinêm nû nâng -în*
 Sèinêm mother to.her -DIST.DET.NFP friend -FEM Sèinêm mother you -ERG
 ‘told Sèinêm’s mother, “hello friend Sèinêm’s mother, you”’
- 008 *tûigàal -lá sàhěi -khũ gâ- lôu -tâng -ngó*
 riverbank -LOC flower -DIST.DET DIR- pluck₁ -COMD -IMP.req
tì -n âhilèh
 tell -NFP SUB:and
 ‘go and pluck flowers on the bank of the river.’

¹¹ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781636/>

009 *tûipi húipî hîbânglâiyá ìpî kê- kê- hòol đing hàm â- tê*
 current storm in.the.midst.of what 1- REF- go FUT be.Q1 3- tell
 ‘She said, “how can I go in the midst of the current and storm?”’

010 *kîn kê- kǝol sìm -lâng tûi kâng -tàn -tê*
 1.ERG 1- ear block₁ -SPAT water dry₁ -OPT.FUT -HORT

â- tì -n
 3- tell -NFP

‘She said, “if I block my ear the water will dry up.”’

011 *â- ná -hî â- sîp lêh â- tûi -chǔ*
 3- ear -PROX.DET 3- block₂ SUB:and 3- water -DIST.DET

kâng -tâhbêh -în
 dry₁ -INTF2.INTF1 -NFP

‘When she blocked her ear, the water dried up indeed.’

012 *â- tûi â- kân phâat -ná -hî âmâ -nû pâhchâ*
 3- water 3- dry₂ time -SUB:then -PROX.DET s/he -FEM flower

lôu -vâ â- chì lêh
 pluck₁ -INST 3- go SUB:and

‘When the water dried up, she went to pluck the flower.’

013 *vâđung kîmlâi â- gèi -tâh â- hî â- bìl*
 river middle 3- reach -INTF2 3- be 3- ear

â- lhà lêh
 3- release SUB:and

‘When she had reached the middle of the river, she opened her ears.’

014 *Sèinêm nû -chǔ tûi -în lhòh -tà*
 Sèinêm mother -DIST.DET water -ERG carry -PST

‘Sèinêm’s mother was carried away by the current.’

015 *tûi -în â- lhòh phâat -ná â- Mailangkoh*
 water -ERG 3- carry time -SUB:then 3- Mailangkoh

nû âchângngâ hûng kîle
 mother alone come return

‘When the river had carried her away, Mailangkoh’s mother returned back alone.’

016 *în â- lhùn phâat -ná Sèinêm -chǔn*
 house 3- reach₂ time -SUB:then Sèinêm -DIST.DET.ERG

‘When she reached home, Sèinêm’s’

017 *hènû Mailangkoh nû kê- nû lách -ěm*
 mother Mailangkoh mother 1- mother where -Q1

- â- tì lèh
 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘She asked Mailangkoh’s mother where her mother was.’
- 018 hûng nàvèhtâ â- tì -n
 come come 3- tell -NFP
 ‘She said, “she will come.”’
- 019 â- hûng -lôu hîel phâat -ná -hî â- dòh -kìt lèh
 3- come -NEG ever time -SUB:then -PROX.DET 3- ask₂ -again SUB:and
 ‘When she did not arrive, she asked again.’
- 020 hûng nàvèhtâ ipî sèi nâ- hî -m â- tì -n âhilèh
 come come what say₂ 2- be -Q1 3- tell -NFP SUB:and
 ‘She said, “why do you keep asking? She will come (on her own).”’
- 021 âchêiná â- hî â- dòh -kìt lèh
 last 3- be 3- ask₂ -again SUB:and
 ‘Finally, she asked her again.’
- 022 tûigal -lá sàhëipâh kâ- gâ- lôu dè â- tì -á
 river -LOC flower 1- DIR- pluck₁ FUT.be 3- tell -SUB:then
 ‘she said, “I am going to pluck flowers on the bank of the river”’
- 023 tûi -în â- lhòh -tâh -chũ
 water -ERG 3- carry -INTF2 -DIST.DET
 ‘The water carried her away.’
- 024 híchî â- jâh phâat -chũn â- Sèinêm -chũ
 DET 3- hear₂ time -DIST.DET.NFP 3- Sèinêm -DIST.DET

 â- kâa pũm-pũm -în
 3- cry₂ IDEO -NFP
 ‘When she heard (the news), she cried’
- 025 lèn khàt kî- pòh -în gûdãal khàt tòh kî- pòh -în
 net one REF- carry₂ -NFP winnower one with REF- carry₂ -NFP
 ‘And carried with her a net and a winnower,’
- 026 vâdûnglâng â- jùh -ná ngâ âtâtî sè
 riverside 3- go -SUB:then fish continue fish.v₂
 ‘And went to the riverside and kept fishing.’
- 027 ngâ khàt â- sàp dòh -în ngâ nâng kâ- sè
 fish one 3- fish.v₁ out -NFP fish you 1- fish.v₂

 nâ- hî -hìh -ê
 2- be -NEG:proh -DECL1
 ‘She caught one fish and said, “fish, I did not fish you”’

- 028 *kâ- nû kâ- sè êibôu -vê â- tî -n*
 1- mother 1- fish.v₂ be.only -DECL1 3- tell -NFP
 ‘She said, “I am fishing for my mother”’
- 029 *ânôoi -já líkông khàt â- sè -kìt lèh ngâ khàt*
 below -LOC water one 3- fish.v₂ -again SUB:and fish one
sàp dòh -kìt -nîn
 fish.v₁ out -again -NFP
 ‘When she threw the net in the water, she caught another fish again.’
- 030 *â- sè -jì~jì lèh ngâ â- kî- sè dòh -jì~jì*
 3- fish.v₂ -HAB~HAB SUB:and fish 3- REF- fish.v₂ out -HAB~HAB
 ‘Whenever she threw the net, she caught one fish or another.’
- 031 *nâng kâ- sè nâ- hî -po -î tía*
 you 1- fish.v₂ 2- be -NEG:SC -DECL2 QUOT
â- dàlhàh -jì~jì lèh
 3- leave HAB~HAB SUB:and
 ‘She would release the fishing saying, “I did not fish you”’
- 032 *ânûoilâng â- sùh sè -béh lèh*
 below 3- down fish.v₂ -INFT1 SUB:and
 ‘As she continued fishing downstream.’
- 033 *núoi khàt -ná hîn â- nû kî- sè dòh -în*
 below one -LOC be.NFP 3- mother REF- fish.v₂ out -NFP
 ‘In one corner, she caught her mother.’
- 034 *âmâ -n jông â- lèncha -chũ -n hîn- póo dòh -în*
 s/he -ERG also 3- net -DIST.DET -NFP CIS- carry₁ out -NFP
 ‘She brought her out with her fishing net.’
- 035 *nîlhùmmâ átútí jàap lèh â- nû -chũ kî- jàap*
 all.day continue blow SUB:and 3- mother -DIST.DET REC- blow
hîng nâh~nâh -în
 alive barely~barely -NFP
 ‘As she kept blowing on her mother the whole day, she just managed to revive her.’
- 036 *â- jàap hîng phâat -ná hî â- kî- chòoldù -sàh -á*
 3- blow alive time -SUB:then be 3- REC- rest -CAUS -SUB:then
 ‘When she managed to revive her, she made her rest.’
- 037 *â- châ thêi phâat -ná â- nû -chũ â- hîn- kî- pùi*
 3- move₂ able.to1 time -SUB:then 3- mother -DIST.DET 3- CIS- REC- bring
 ‘When she was able to move, she brought her’

- 038 *â- hùng lhùn -hòon phâat -ná hî*
3- come reach₂ -DU time -SUB:then be
'When they had arrived'
- 039 *Mailangkoh nû -chũ -n khâangbêel liên -tâh khât -ná hî*
Mailangkoh mother -DIST.DET -ERG cooking.pot big -INTF2 one -INST be
'Mailangkoh's mother, in a big cooking pot'
- 040 *â- nû -chũ â- kân -kít hî -ta -chũ*
3- mother -DIST.DET 3- fry₂ -again be -PST -DIST.DET
'Fried her mother again'
- 041 *â- nû -chũ -n â- thòhlâl -bèhsêh phâat -ná hî*
3- mother -DIST.DET -ERG 3- unable.to.bear -INTF1 time -SUB:then be
'When her mother could no longer bear any more'
- 042 *Sèinêm kê- thĩ -ê â- tîa â- pên lêh*
Sèinêm 1- die -DECL1 3- QUOT 3- shout₂ SUB:and
'She shouted saying, "Sèinêm, I am dying!"'
- 043 *â- Sèinêm -chũ -n tûi â- gâ- chòp lêh nùp*
3- Sèinêm -DIST.DET -ERG water 3- DIR- pour SUB:and good

â- sàh jàp -jì
3- feel₂ better -HAB
'When Sèinêm poured water, she felt relieved'
- 044 *vèi thũm vèi lí â- chòp phâat -ná hî*
CLF:num three CLF:num four 3- pour time -SUB:then be
'When she poured for the third and fourth time'
- 045 *â- Mailangkoh nû -chũ lûngsá -á*
3- Mailangkoh mother -DIST.DET angry₁ -SUB:then
'Mailangkoh's mother got angry.'
- 046 *nâ- bòol -kít lêh nâng -mâ pũmmâ kê- kân thà*
2- do₂ -again SUB:and you -SUB:then along.with 1- fry₂ as.well

dĩng nâ- hê â- tì lêh
FUT 2- be.DECL1 3- tell SUB:and
'She said, "if you do it again I will fry you along with her."'
- 047 *Sèinêm -chũ gíchâ -á bòol ngám -tà -lôu*
Sèinêm -DIST.DET afraid₁ -SUB:then do dare -PST -NEG
'Sèinêm was scared and did not dare to do it again.'
- 048 *achèi chèiná -á -chũ â- nû -chũ â- kân lih -á*
at.last -LOC -DIST.DET 3- mother -DIST.DET 3- fry₂ kill -SUB:then

â- *nêh -û*
 3- *eat₂ -PL3*
 ‘At last they roasted her mother to death and ate her up.’

049 *â- Sèinêm -chũ âmâ -û tòh ùm -û*
 3- *Sèinêm -DIST.DET s/he -PL3 with exist -PL3*
 ‘Sèinêm stayed with them.’

050 *â- Sèinêm nèi -hò -chũ â- hòi já hòi thèi*
 3- *Sèinêm dress -PL1 -DIST.DET 3- beautiful very beautiful know*
 ‘Sèinêm’s dresses were very beautiful.’

051 *â- chànû Mailangkoh -chũ â- Sèinêm vôn -hò -chũn*
 3- *daughter Mailangkoh -DIST.DET 3- Sèinêm cloth -PL1 -DIST.DET.NFP*

â- vôn -nîn
 3- *dress -NFP*
 ‘She dressed her daughter (Mailangkoh) with the dress of Sèinêm.’

052 *túi khâai -já â- chì -hòon jông lêh bêel hòi*
 water fetch₁ -INST 3- go -DU also SUB:and pot beautiful

tàh-tàh bâng hòi tàh-tàh â- pòh -sàh -în
 IDEO basket beautiful IDEO 3- carry₂ -CAUS -NFP
 ‘Even when they fetched water, she would give the best pot and basket to her daughter.’

053 *â- Sèinêm -chũ bêel sê pòu bâng sê pòu pòh -sàh -în*
 3- *Sèinêm -DIST.DET pot bad like basket torn like carry₂ -CAUS -NFP*
 ‘She made Sèinêm carry only a torn basket.’

054 *nìkhàt -hì túi khâai -já â- chì -hòon lêh*
 one.day -PROX.DET water fetch₁ -INST 3- go -DU SUB:and
 ‘One day while they went to fetch water’

055 *lêngpâ sâkôol chûng -ngâ â- hung tǒu -vîn*
 king horse upon -LOC 3- come sit -NFP
 ‘The king came riding on a horse.’

056 *â- Sèinêm -chũ â- mù phâat -nîn hòi â- asàh -în*
 3- *Sèinêm -DIST.DET 3- see₂ time -NFP beautiful 3- like₂ -NFP*

â- kòu lêh hooi â- tì -n
 3- *call₁ SUB:and yes 3- tell -NFP*
 ‘When he saw Sèinêm, he liked her and called to her, and she said, “yes.”’

057 *hùng tadîn hùng tadîn â- tì -n*
 come while come while 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He said, “come.”’

- 058 *â- lêngpâ -chũ -n â- kî- pùi hî -tà -chũ*
 3- king -DIST.DET -ERG 3- REC- bring be -PST -DIST.DET
 ‘The king had taken her away (as his wife).’
- 059 *â- kî- pui phâat -ná âmâ -û chângngâ â- ùm -û lêh*
 3- REC- take time -SUB:then s/he -PL3 alone 3- exist -PL3 SUB:and
 ‘When the king had taken her away, they were left alone.’
- 060 *âmâ lêngpâ tòh -chũ -n nâo khàt â- nêi -hòon -în*
 s/he king with -DIST.DET -ERG baby one 3- have -DU -NFP
 ‘She had a baby with the king.’
- 061 *â- Mailangkoh nû -chũ -n Sèinêm vèi khàt -béh*
 3- Mailangkoh mother -DIST.DET -ERG Sèinêm CLF:num one -INTF1

â- hûng liêh -tà -ěm
 3- come why -OPT -Q1
 ‘Mailangkoh mother’s said, “why didn’t Sèinêm come at least once?”’
- 062 *â- hìl â- hìl phâat -ná hî*
 3- call 3- call time -SUB:then be
 ‘When she kept on calling (her).’
- 063 *â- jipâ -chũ -n -mîn hîbângngâ nâ- hìl -lá*
 3- husband -DIST.DET -ERG -NFP so.much 2- call -SUB:then
 ‘Her husband said, “she has been reminding you so much”’
- 064 *nâo kî- pòh ìn -lâng chì -n*
 baby REC- carry₂ house -SPAT go -IMP
 ‘“Carry your baby and go.”’
- 065 *âmâ -n â- nâo â- kî- pòh -în â- ìn -lâng*
 s/he -ERG 3- baby 3- REC- carry₂ -NFP 3- house -SPAT

-chũ â- chì lêh
 -DIST.DET 3- go SUB:and
 ‘She took her baby and went towards her house.’
- 066 *ìn â- lhùn phâat -ná -hî â- nâo khàt -hîn*
 house 3- reach₂ time -SUB:then -PROX.DET 3- sister one -PROX.DET.ERG

â- chăo jâng -chũ â- dèichâat
 3- bangle CLF:thin -DIST.DET 3- like₂
 ‘When she had reached home, her younger sister liked her bangle.’
- 067 *heu Sèinêm nâ- chăo jâng khàt nêi- pê -n*
 elder.sister Sèinêm 2- bangle CLF:thin one 2→1- give₁ -IMP

â- òt lêh
 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘She said, “sister Sèinêm, please give me one of your bangles.”’

- 068 *âjòjóná -chũ â- chǎo jâng khàt â- pêh lêh*
 at.last -DIST.DET 3- bangle CLF:thin one 3- give₂ SUB:and
 ‘At last, she gave one of her bangles.’
- 069 *â- nâonû -chũ -n chǎo jâng -chũ â- lîh*
 3- younger.sister -DIST.DET -ERG bangle CLF:thin -DIST.DET 3- roll₂
lê~lê lêh
 up.and.down SUB:and
 ‘While her sister was playing with the bangle’
- 070 *ôngvâng kâh -á â- kî- lîh lhàn -kìt*
 hole between -LOC 3- REF- fall₂ down -again
 ‘It fell in the hole (of the house).’
- 071 *heu Sèinêm nêi- gâ- làh -pîh -tâng -ngó â- tê*
 elder.sister Sèinêm 2→1- DIR- take₂ -BEN -COMD -IMP.req 3- tell
 ‘She said, “sister Sèinêm, please get it for me”’
- 072 *khóh -tâh híchûmê gâ- lá vêt -tâng â- tì -n âhîlêh*
 important -INTF2 AFFM DIR- take₁ look₂ -COMD 3- tell -NFP SUB:and
 ‘She said (sarcastically), “is it so important that I go and get it?”’
- 073 *â- nû -chũ -n â- jâh phâat -ná -hî*
 3- mother -DIST.DET -ERG 3- hear₂ time -SUB:then -PROX.DET
gâ- làh -pîh -tâng tîa â- househ lêh
 DIR- take₂ -BEN -COMD QUOT 3- scold₂ SUB:and
 ‘When her mother heard, she told her (Seienem) to go and get it for her sister.’
- 074 *âmâ -n jông â- nâo â- kòi -já â- ìn nûoi -já*
 s/he -ERG also 3- baby 3- keep -SUB:then 3- house under -LOC
â- gâ- lách
 3- DIR- take₂
 ‘She left her baby and went to collect the fallen bangle under the house.’
- 075 *â- ìn nûoi -já â- lûut -ná -chũ â- thà dàn -û*
 3- house under -LOC 3- enter -SUB:then -DIST.DET 3- kill continue -PL3
 ‘While she was underneath the house they killed her.’
- 076 *phâsàhkhàtná -hî â- thà jôu phâat -vá hî*
 after.some.time -PROX.DET 3- kill over time -SUB:then be
 ‘After they had killed her’
- 077 *itîa -khà -tê nûchâ vâh dòh -hòn -lôu -béh -á*
 what -DIST.DET -PL2 mother.and.child step out -DU -NEG -INTF1 -SUB:then
 ‘Why is it that the mother and child have not stepped out at all’
- 078 *èilêh âmâ -n jông kêima gâ- chì -tà đing -ngê tì -n*
 SUB:and s/he -ERG also I DIR- go -OPT FUT -DECL1 tell -NFP

âmâ â- chî -n
 s/he 3- go -NFP
 ‘Then he said to himself, “let me go myself” and he went’

079 â- Sèinêm sâ -chũ â- nâ- kî- hòon -vá lêngpâ bû
 3- Sèinêm meat -DIST.DET 3- EVID- REC- cook -SUB:then king food

â- nêh -sàh
 3- eat₂ -CAUS
 ‘They cooked the meat of Sèinêm and served the food to the king.’

080 â- nâo â- nêopien -chũ hênû hîchi kâ- ú
 3- sibling 3- youngest -DIST.DET.NFP mother DET 1- sister

Sèinêm khòt tòh â- bâng -ngê
 Sèinêm hand with 3- similar -DECL1
 ‘The youngest sister said, “Mother, this one looks like my sister Sèinêm’s finger.”’

081 sèi -hìh -în nâ- pâ lêngpâ -n jà -tê
 say₂ -NEG:proh -IMP 2- father king -ERG hear₁ -HORT
 ‘“Don’t let your father, the king, hear that”’

082 â- lêngpâ -chũ kî- thèi -lôu sàh -în
 3- king -DIST.DET REF- know -NEG feel₂ -NFP
 ‘The king pretended as if he did not hear anything.’

083 Mailangkoh -chũ Sèinêm sîem -ma â- sîem -û vá
 Mailangkoh -DIST.DET Sèinêm make -INST 3- make -PL3 -SUB:then
 ‘They dressed Mailangkoh with the dress of Sèinêm,’

084 â- lêngpâ -chũ an- kî- pûi
 3- king -DIST.DET.ERG 3.CIS- REC- bring
 ‘The king brought her with him.’

085 kâ- jí nâ- hîlêh kâ- ûichâ -n jông
 1- wife 2- SUB:and 1- dog -ERG also

nâ- hàp -pôn -tê â- tì -n
 2- bark -NEG:SC.FUT -HORT 3- tell -NFP
 ‘“If you are my wife my dogs will not bark at you.”’

086 èilêh â- chî -hòon lêh â- ûichâ -n nêh
 SUB:and 3- go -DU SUB:and 3- dog -ERG eat₂

-dîngîn â- ná- go -n
 -for.NFP 3- EVID- try -NFP
 ‘As they were going, his dog ferociously barked at her.’

- 087 *túkáh kî- chì dòh -béh -mâ nâ- dòon thîpîi*
a.little.while REC- go out -INTF1 -SUB:then 2- young die
‘She cursed the dog, saying it was just a while ago that she was away.’
- 088 *hîbângsê -á nî- hâp hâm â- tî -n*
in.this.manner -SUB:then 2→1- bark be.Q1 3- tell -NFP
‘That you barked at me in such manner’
- 089 *èilêh nîlhâh â- hûng lhùn hîn èilêh*
SUB:and evening 3- come reach₂ be.NFP SUB:and
ân hîn- hòon -nô â- tî lêh
food CIS- cook -IMP.req 3- tell SUB:and
‘In the evening, he told her to cook food’
- 090 *èilêh bûbêel -chũ mèbêel -lá â- sùon -ná*
SUB:and food.pot -DIST.DET curry.pot -INST 3- boil₂ -SUB:then
‘She cooked food in a curry pot and curry in a food pot’
- 091 *mèbêel hî -bôu -chũ -õ ìpî -dîng -â*
curry.pot be -ADV:emot -DIST.DET -EXCL what -for -INST
hîchũ nâ- sùon hâm
DET 2- boil₂ be.Q1
‘The king interrupted saying, “What are you trying to cook?”’
- 092 *kâ- thèi -lôu hîchũ -ô â- tî -n*
1- know -NEG DET -EXCL 3- tell -NFP
‘She exclaimed saying that she had forgotten’
- 093 *èilêh âmâ -n jông -chũ phâat -nîn â- bûbêel*
SUB:and s/he -ERG also -DIST.DET time -NFP 3- food.pot
-chũ â- sùong -în
-DIST.DET 3- boil₁ -NFP
‘After which, she cooked with the food pot.’
- 094 *ân â- hòon mîn -nâ -hî â- nêh -hòon lêh*
food 3- cook finish -SUB:then -PROX.DET 3- eat₂ -DU SUB:and
‘She managed to prepare the food and they ate it.’
- 095 *â- nêh jôu -vá -hî lùpná bôol -lô*
3- eat₂ over -SUB:then -PROX.DET bed do₂ -IMP.req
â- tî -n lùpná â- gâ- bôl lêh
3- tell -IMP bed 3- DIR- do₂ SUB:and
‘After they had finished eating, he told her to prepare the bed. While she was making the bed’
- 096 *â- pûonphâ -chũ pûonsil -lá â- nêi -já*
3- bed.sheet -DIST.DET blanket -MIR 3- make -SUB:then

- â- pùonsil -û -chủ pùonphà -á â- bòol -á*
 3- blanket -PL3 -DIST.DET bedsheet -INST 3- do₂ -SUB:then
 ‘She used the bedsheet for a blanket and the blanket for a bedsheet’
- 097 *ìpì đingngâ hítia nâ- bòol hàm â- te*
 what reason like.this 2- do₂ be.Q1 3- tell
 ‘The king said, “Why did you do that?”’
- 098 *nî khàt -hî Mailangkoh -chủ -n â- sám*
 one day -PROX.DET Mailangkoh -DIST.DET -ERG 3- hair

jâng pùon -chủ
 CLF:thin cloth -DIST.DET
 ‘One day, Mailangkoh tried to weave her cloth (made of hair).’
- 099 *â- khòon lèh khốong thèi -tà -lôu*
 3- weave₂ SUB:and weave₁ able.to1 -PST -NEG
 ‘She tried to weave but could not weave it.’
- 100 *váchâ khàt -hî â- thỉl khòon -ná chùng -ngâ húng tởu -vîn*
 bird one -PROX.DET 3- cloth weave₂ -SUB:then top -LOC come sit -NFP
 ‘A bird came and sat where she was weaving’
- 101 *â- chùng -ngâ -chủ kâo -vîn -lâng â- nùoi -já -chủn*
 3- above -LOC -DIST.DET pull₁ -IMP -SPAT 3- below -LOC -DIST.DET.NFP

gòl -tâng -ngó â- tì -n
 insert -COMD -EXCL 3- tell -NFP
 ‘She said, “Pull the cloth upward and insert it below”’
- 102 *sùljũmmó -nû châ -lôu nôi chêep -sàh*
 shameless -FEM child -NEG breast drink -CAUS
 ‘“You shameless woman! who breastfed without giving birth”’
- 103 *â- Sèinêm há -chủ gâ- hí đidâan -chủ -ô*
 3- Sèinêm spirit -DIST.DET DIR- be in.fact -DIST.DET -EXCL
 ‘It was, in fact, Sèinêm’s spirit’
- 104 *hùi -lâng váchâ -béhông kâ- thà đing â- he â- tì -n*
 where -SPAT bird -INTF1 1- kill FUT 3- be 3- tell -NFP
 ‘She said, “Where did this bird come from? I will kill it.”’
- 105 *â- kâo -kít lèh â- gòl -nâ -đing thèi -kít -lôu*
 3- pull₂ -again SUB:and 3- insert -NMZ -for know -again -NEG
 ‘She pulled up the cloth again but did not know where to insert it.’
- 106 *váchâ -chủn â- sèi ngâi~ngâi -chủ â- sèi -kít*
 bird -DIST.DET.ERG 3- say₂ same~same -DIST.DET 3- say₂ -again
 ‘Again, the bird kept saying what it said.’

- 107 *âtûtî sèi phâat â- hî*
 continue say₂ time 3- be
 ‘As the bird kept saying’
- 108 *â- vǎchâ -chǔ â- vòh lièh dièhchàt*
 3- bird -DIST.DET 3- beat₂ kill almost
 ‘She almost beat the bird to death.’
- 109 *híchũ â- jípâ -chǔ â- húng -în vǎchâ -chǔ â- mân -în*
 DET 3- husband -DIST.DET 3- come -NFP bird -DIST.DET 3- catch₁ -NFP
 ‘At that moment, her husband came and caught the bird.’
- 110 *bêng -în â- hêen -în híchî vǎchâ -hî nâ- vòh lĩh*
 cage -NFP 3- keep₂ -NFP DET bird -PROX.DET 2- beat₂ kill
thèi -lôu đing â- tì -n
 able.to1 -NEG FUT 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He kept it in a basket and told her, “You should not kill this bird.”’
- 111 *èilêh nê khàt -hî mè -đing â- thèi -lôu*
 SUB:and day one -PROX.DET curry -for 3- know -NEG
-kêa phâat -ná hî
 -ADV:comp time -SUB:then be
 ‘One day when she did not know what to cook,’
- 112 *â- vǎchâ -chǔ â- ná- thà -á â- ná- hòon*
 3- bird -DIST.DET 3- EVID- kill -SUB:then 3- EVID- cook
hî -ta -chǔ
 be -PST -DIST.DET
 ‘She killed the bird and cooked it.’
- 113 *â- jípâ â- húng lhún -ná â- hêet dòh phâat -nîn*
 3- husband 3- come reach₂ -SUB:then 3- know out time -NFP
 ‘When her husband came home and knew about it’
- 114 *â- bêel -lîn mân -nîn vòh kúong -ngâ â- gâsúng lhá -n*
 3- pot -NFP catch₁ -NFP pig plate -LOC 3- pour₁ down -NFP
 ‘He took the pot and poured it on the pig’s plate.’
- 115 *ânkâm phúng hôi -tâh khàt â- húng kèh dòh -n*
 mustard plant beautiful -INTF2 one 3- come sprout out -NFP
 ‘A beautiful mustard leaf grew out of it.’
- 116 *túahî híchî ânkâm -hî mè -á nâ- hòon thèi -lôu đing*
 now DET mustard -PROX.DET curry -INST 2- cook able.to1 -NEG FUT
â- he â- tì -n
 3- be 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He said, “From now on you should not cook this mustard leaf.”’

- 117 *èilêh -mîn chũbângâ híl -lá hí*
 SUB:and -NFP so.much call -SUB:then be
 ‘Then despite being reminded so much’
- 118 *nî khàt -hî mè hòon -đing â- thèi -lôu -kêa*
 day one -PROX.DET curry cook -for 3- know -NEG -ADV:comp

phâat -ná hí
 time -SUB:then be
 ‘One day, when she did not know anything to cook’
- 119 *ânkâm -chũ â- hòon híta -chũ -ô*
 mustard -DIST.DET 3- cook be.PST -DIST.DET -EXCL
 ‘She cooked the mustard leaf again.’
- 120 *â- jipâ â- húng lhùn -ná â- hêet dòh phâat -ná hí*
 3- husband 3- come reach₂ -SUB:then 3- know out time -SUB:then be
 ‘When her husband arrived and found out,’
- 121 *â- bêel -lîn mân -în sàhlâng sùong -á â- ga- sùn*
 3- pot -NFP catch -NFP upward stone -LOC 3- DIR- pour₂

lành lêh
 down SUB:and
 ‘(He) took the pot and poured it on the stone that was on the top’
- 122 *sèh phúng khàt â- húng kèh -kít -în*
 citrus plant one 3- come sprout -again -NFP
 ‘A citrus plant sprouted out of it again.’
- 123 *híchí sèh -hî nânâ sùh lòh -lôu đing â- he â- tì -n*
 DET citrus -PROX.DET never down touch₂ -NEG FUT 3- be 3- tell -NFP
 ‘(He) told her never to touch this citrus plant’
- 124 *â- sèh a- gà phâat -nîn changpâng -hò -n*
 3- citrus 3- bear time -NFP child -PL1 -ERG

â- húng thum sòu-sòu -vîn
 3- come beg IDEO -NFP
 ‘When the citrus plant started bearing fruit, the children came asking for it.’
- 125 *â- hoi lâi~lâi -hò -chũ lò -pîh -jì -n*
 3- beautiful best~best -PL1 -DIST.DET pluck₂ -BEN -HAB -NFP
 ‘He used to pluck the best fruits for the children.’
- 126 *nî khàt -hî tehsepi khàt â- húng -în*
 day one -PROX.DET old.lady one 3- come -NFP
 ‘One day, an old lady came’

- 127 *lêngpâ kôm -ma sèh â- hûng thum -tâi*
king to -LOC citrus 3- come beg -PST
'And asked for a citrus fruit from the king.'
- 128 *chápâng -hò -n â- kî- lò gâm -vîn*
child -PL1 -ERG 3- REF- pluck₂ all -NFP
'The children have plucked them all'
- 129 *kôngbǎlbǔl khàt àgà -în ítî nâ- nêh đing hám*
unhealthy one remain -NFP how 2- eat₂ FUT be.Q1

â- tì -n
3- tell -NFP
'The king said, "There is one unhealthy fruit but how are you going to eat?"'
- 130 *acheiná -á -chǔ â- lò -pîh -á*
at.last -SUB:then -DIST.DET 3- pluck₂ -BEN -SUB:then

â- nâ- kî- bìl -în -lâng â- nâ- nè -tàn
3- IMP:dirt- REF- ferment -IMP -SPAT 3- IMP:dirt- eat₁ -OPT.IMP

tía â- lò -pîh
QUOT 3- pluck₂ -BEN
'At last, the king plucked it and told her to ferment it before eating'
- 131 *tèhsêpî -chǔ -n â- bìl -lá phatsàh jôu -á*
old.lady -DIST.DET -ERG 3- ferment -SUB:then a.while after -SUB:then

hî â- gâ- vèt lêh
be 3- DIR- look₂ SUB:and
'The old lady fermented it, and one day she peeped into it.'
- 132 *â- khòt â- kêng â- ná- ùm -tà*
3- hand 3- leg 3- EVID- exist -PST
'The citrus fruit developed its hands and legs!'
- 133 *sùh loh -lôu -vá â- kôi~kôi lêh*
down touch₁ -NEG -SUB:then 3- keep~keep SUB:and
'She kept it without touching it.'
- 134 *phasàhkeakhàtná -hî mí pîlhîng sôuh -tà -chǔ*
after.a.while -PROX.DET person adult turn -PST -DIST.DET
'After a while, the citrus fruit turned into a full-grown human being.'
- 135 *lêngpâ tèhsêpî kôm -á â- chì lêh nâosen -chǔ*
king old.lady to -LOC 3- go SUB:and baby -DIST.DET

â- hôi -în hôi -în
3- beautiful -NFP beautiful -NFP
'When the king visited the old lady, the baby was in good health.'

- 136 *lêngpâ -chủ -n kâ- nâo ìpî nâ- nêh -á*
king -DIST.DET -ERG 1- baby what 2- eat₂ -SUB:then
hîta -hî hoi nâ- him â- tì lêh
like.this -PROX.DET beautiful 2- be.Q1 3- tell SUB:and
'The king asked, "My dear, what did you eat? You are so beautiful.'"
- 137 *kâ- nû nôoi kâ- chêep lêh hîtì kâ- he*
1- mother breast 1- drink SUB:and like.this 1- be.DECL1
â- tì -pîh -în
3- tell -BEN -NFP
'The baby said, "I am healthy because I fed on my mother's breast.'"
- 138 *nâ- nû hùija ûm -âm â- te*
2- mother where exist -Q1 3- tell
'The king asked, "Where is your mother?"'
- 139 *têhsêpî kôm -mâ -khun â- ûm -mê â- tê*
old.lady to -LOC -DIST.DET.NFP 3- exist -DECL1 3- tell
'The baby said, "She is with the old lady.'"
- 140 *nî khàt lêngpâ têhsêpî kôm -ma â- chì lêh*
day one king old.lady to -LOC 3- go SUB:and
'One day the king went to the old lady (again).'
- 141 *â- nû -chủ sêh â- bil -ná -á -chủ*
3- mother -DIST.DET citrus 3- ferment -NMZ -LOC -DIST.DET
â- nâ- ûm
3- EVID- exist
'Her mother was at the place where the citrus fruit was being fermented.'
- 142 *lêngpâ -în hûng dòh dîng â- jôl lêh nôm -lôu*
king -ERG come out FUT 3- request SUB:and want -NEG
'The king requested her to come out, but she was not willing.'
- 143 *hûng dòh pông -ngê nâ- jǐ hîngne -nû kâ- kichâi*
come out NEG:SC.FUT -DECL1 2- wife flesh.eater -FEM 1- afraid₁
'"I will not come out because I am afraid of your wife, the flesh eater.'"
- 144 *nî khàt -hî lêngpâ -n chêm â- nòl -lîn*
day one -PROX.DET king -ERG knife 3- sharpen₂ -NFP
'One day, the king sharpened his knives'
- 145 *Sèinêm -dîng -chủ hîemsiel -în nòl -lîn*
Sèinêm -for -DIST.DET sharply -NFP sharpen₂ -NFP
'For Sèinêm, he sharpened them sharply'

- 146 *Mailangkoh -đing -chủ phôi lêu-lâu -în nòl -în*
 Mailangkoh -for -DIST.DET blunt IDEO -NFP sharpen₂ -NFP
 ‘(But) for Mailangkoh, he did not sharpen them well’
- 147 *nî khàt -hî â- lèitôl -lá â- kòu khỏm -lhòn -în*
 day one -PROX.DET 3- houseyard -LOC 3- call₁ together -DU -NFP
 ‘One day he called both of them in front of his houseyard’
- 148 *khèi tũn kî- tũ tởh -lhòn -în*
 hello now REC- cut₁ with -DU -IMP
 ‘‘Hello! now cut at each other’’
- 149 *â- hĩng jòjò kâ- jĩ nâ- hĩ -lhòn đĩng â- hê*
 3- alive whoever 1- wife 2- be -DU FUT 3- be

â- tì -n
 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He said, ‘‘Whoever is alive will be my wife.’’’
- 150 *Mailangkoh -în Sèinêm â- tũh lêh phôi -béh*
 Mailangkoh -ERG Sèinêm 3- cut₂ SUB:and scar -INTF1
 ‘When Mailangkoh cut Sèinêm, it left only a scar’
- 151 *Sèinêm -în Mailangkoh â- tũh lêh tũ lih -tà*
 Sèinêm -ERG Mailangkoh 3- cut₂ SUB:and cut kill -PST
 ‘(But), when Sèinêm cut, Mailangkoh died.’
- 152 *Mailangkoh sâ -chủ â- hòon -ná â- ìnko -tê -chủ*
 Mailangkoh meat -DIST.DET 3- cook -SUB:then 3- family -PL2 -DIST.DET

â- kòu -vá
 3- call₁ -SUB:then
 ‘He cooked the meat of Mailangkoh and invited her family members.’
- 153 *â- nêh -sàh lêh â- nêonũ -chủ -n*
 3- eat₂ -CAUS SUB:and 3- younger.sister -DIST.DET -ERG

hênũ híchê kâ- ú Mailangkoh khùtjũng
 mother DET 1- sister Mailangkoh finger

tỏh ákỉlỏu -vê â- tì -n
 with similar -DECL1 3- tell -NFP
 ‘When the king made them eat, her younger sister said, ‘‘Mother, this finger looks like my sister’s finger.’’’
- 154 *sèi -hĩh -în nâ- pâ lêngpâ -n jà ìn -tê*
 say₂ -NEG:proh -IMP 2- father king -ERG hear₁ FUT -HORT
 ‘Don’t say let your father, the king, hear that’
- 155 *lêngpâ -chủ -n â- lỏh -chủ thễibâng khàt -ná*
 king -DIST.DET -ERG 3- brain -DIST.DET bamboo.container one -LOC

â- khùm -mâ
 3- seal -SUB:then
 ‘The king sealed her brain in a bamboo container.’

156 *lâmpi* -á *jông* *nâ-* *hòn* *thèi* -*lôu* *điù* *în* *nâ-* *lhuizen*
 road -LOC also 2- open able.to1 -NEG FUT.PL3 house 2- reach₂

phâat -û *lêh* *nâ-* *hòn* *điù* â- *he* â- *tì* -*n*
 time -PL3 SUB:and 2- open FUT.PL3 3- be 3- tell -NFP
 ‘The king said, “Don’t open it on the way until you reach home”’

157 *èilêh* *în* â- *lhuizen* -*vá* *hî* *în* *kâh* â- *vông*
 SUB:and house 3- reach₂ -SUB:then be house between 3- empty

lâi~lâi *pûonse* â- *húh* -*vîn*
 between torn.cloth 3- seal -NFP
 ‘Then, when they reached home, they sealed the holes in the house.’

158 â- *hòn* -û *lêh* â- *l hóh* -*chũ* *khôngêl* *sûoh* *âbàn* *pê*
 3- open -PL3 SUB:and 3- brain -DIST.DET bee turn all bite₂

lĩh *gâm* -û *thi* *gâm* -*kêa* -û
 kill all -PL3 die all -ADV:comp -PL3
 ‘When they opened it, the brain had turned into bees, and stung them all to death.’

Text 4 Phuntampa lèh Changkhatpu ‘Phuntampa and Changkhatpu’ as told by Phalting Haokip¹²

Phalting Haokip, an 83 year old speaker of Thadou, lives in Lambung. She is also a speaker of Manipuri. In this story, the two title characters try to propose to Ahsijòlneng.

- 001 *Phuntampa lèh Changkhatpu Ahsijòlneng hěel dǐng -â*
 Phuntampa and Changkhatpu Ahsijòlneng propose₁ FUT -INST
â- kî- gòon -hòn lèh
 3- REC- prepare₂ -DU SUB:and
 ‘Phuntampa and Changkhatpu went to propose to Ahsijòlneng.’
- 002 *Phuntampa -chǔ -n Changkhatpu â- khàl tàn -ná*
 Phuntampa -DIST.DET -ERG Changkhatpu 3- overtake₂ break -SUB:then
â- chǐ lèh
 3- go SUB:and
 ‘Phuntampa overtook Changkhatpu and walked ahead of him.’
- 003 *lòm̄pi -á nǔpi thǐng pòo khàt tòh kî- sùtô -în*
 road -LOC women wood carry₁ one with REC- meet -NFP
 ‘On the way, he met an old woman who was collecting firewood.’
- 004 *Phuntampa hùì -já nâ- chǐ dǐng hěimó â- tì lèh*
 Phuntampa where -LOC 2- go FUT be.Q4 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘The woman asked, “Phuntampu where are going?”’
- 005 *Ahsijòlneng hěel dǐng kâ- hǐ -ê ì- dèi dǐng hǐ -âm*
 Ahsijòlneng propose₁ FUT 1- be -DECL1 3→1- like FUT be -Q1
ì- dèi -lòu dǐng hǐ -am
 3→1- like -NEG FUT be -Q1
 ‘“I am going to propose to Ahsijòlneng. Will she like me or not?”’
- 006 *nâ- dèi -pò ìn -tê nêi- hǔng pàt -nǐn*
 2- like -NEG:SC FUT -HORT 2→1- come lift -IMP
â- tì -n âhǐlèh
 3- tell -NFP SUB:and
 ‘She said, “She will not like you, so come and help me lift my load.”’
- 007 *âhǐlèh pàt talòuva kôngbùl -lá â- nâh hǒol khào -vá*
 SUB:and lift instead.of tree -LOC 3- basket CLF:in rope -INST
â- hèn -béh dàn -ná â- dâ lhâh lèh
 3- tie -INTF1 tightly -SUB:then 3- leave₂ down SUB:and
 ‘Instead of helping her, he bound her against the tree trunk with her basket’s rope.’

¹² Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781625/>

- 008 *â- chì -kìt lèh pùsâl khàt hîn sùm â- ná- sùi -jîn*
 3- go -again SUB:and man one be.NFP mill 3- EVID- cut₁ -DECL2
 ‘As he proceeded further, a man was cutting at a wood mill.’
- 009 *â- sùm sùipâ -chũ -n tê Phuntampa hùi -já*
 3- mill cutter -DIST.DET -ERG hello Phuntampa where -LOC
nâ- chì dîng hâm â- tì lèh
 2- go FUT be.Q1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘The mill cutter said, “Hello, Phuntampa. Where are you going?”’
- 010 *Ahsijòlneng hěel dîng -â kê- hí -ê ì- dèi dîng*
 Ahsijòlneng propose₁ FUT -INST 1- be -DECL1 3→1- like FUT
hâm ì- dèi -lôu dîng hâm
 be.Q1 3→1- like -NEG FUT be.Q1
 ‘‘I am going to propose to Ahsijòlneng. Will she like me or not?’’
- 011 *nâ- dèi -pô ìn -tê kê- sùm nêi- hûng sùi -pîh -în*
 2- like -NEG:SC FUT -HORT 1- mill 2→1- come cut₂ -BEN -IMP
 ‘‘She will not like you, so come and help me cut my mill.’’
- 012 *tù kâo lêu-lúi -jîn màn thèi jông â- sò -pîh*
 cut₁ spoil IDEO -DECL2 use₂ able.to1 also 3- turn -BEN
-tà -hìh -în
 -PST -NEG:proh -NFP
 ‘He cut the mill so very badly that it could no longer be used for anything.’
- 013 *â- chì -kìt lèh gũulngôngsěn khàt -hí thâang -ngâh*
 3- go -again SUB:and red.viper one -PROX.DET trap -LOC
â- ná- òh -în
 3- EVID- trap.v₁ -NFP
 ‘As he proceeded further, a snake with a red stripe was caught in a trap.’
- 014 *Phuntampa hùi -já nâ- chì dîng hâm â- tì lèh*
 Phuntampa where -LOC 2- go FUT be.Q1 3- tell SUB:and
 The snake asked, ‘‘Phumtampa, where are you going?’’
- 015 *Ahsijòlneng hěel dîng kê- hê ì- dèi dîng hâm*
 Ahsijòlneng propose₁ FUT 1- be.DECL1 3→1- like FUT be.Q1
ì- dèi -lôu dîng hâm
 3→1- like -NEG FUT be.Q1
 ‘‘I am going to propose to Ahsijòlneng, so will she like me or not?’’
- 016 *nâ- dèi -pò ìn -tê nêi- hûng sũut -nîn â- tì lèh*
 2- like -NEG:SC FUT -HORT 2→1- come loosen -IMP 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘The snake said, ‘‘She will not like you, so come and untie me.’’

- 017 *sũut -tà -lôu -vá â- hèn -bechèh*
 loosen -PST -NEG -SUB:then 3- tie₂ -INTF1
 ‘Instead of loosening him, he tightened it all the more.’
- 018 *â- chì -kìt lèh kîpi -tê -n thěi làm*
 3- go -again SUB:and parrot -PL2 -ERG fruit path

â- ná- bõol -û -vîn
 3- EVID- do₁ -PL3 -NFP
 ‘As he proceeded further, the parrots were preparing a fruit path.’
- 019 *Changkhatpu hùi -já nâ- chì đing hâm â- tì -û lèh*
 Changkhatpu where -LOC 2- go FUT be.Q1 3- tell -PL3 SUB:and
 ‘They asked, “Changkhatpu, where are you going?”’
- 020 *Ahsijòlneng hěel đing kâ- hê ì- dèi đing -hê*
 Ahsijòlneng propose₁ FUT 1- be.DECL1 3→1- like FUT -Q2

ì- dèi -lôu đing hâm â- tì -n âhîlèh
 3→1- like -NEG FUT be.Q1 3- tell -NFP SUB:and
 ‘‘I am going to propose to Ahsijòlneng, so will she like me or not?’’
- 021 *nâ- dèi -pòon -tê kâ- thei làm -û nêi- húng*
 2- like -NEG:SC.FUT -HORT 1- fruit path -PL3 2→1- come

vâat -pîh -vîn
 clear -BEN -IMP
 ‘‘‘She will not like you, so come and clear our fruit path.’’
- 022 *âhîlèh nâang tâmpî sâat lhàh dàn -nîn â- dâ lhàh*
 SUB:and grass many cut down continue -DECL2 3- leave down
 ‘Then he cut the grass and left it (on the foot path).’
- 023 *âmâ -hò -n -lá â- lònájî thèi -hìh -vîn*
 s/he -PL1 -ERG -MIR 3- idea know -NEG:proh -DECL2
 ‘They (the parrots) were left helpless not knowing what to do.’
- 024 *â- kî- pàt -kìt â- chì -kìt lèh*
 3- REF- lift -again 3- go -again SUB:and
 ‘He started again and proceeded on his journey.’
- 025 *gìchá -tê -n tûilàm â- ná- bõol -û -vîn*
 sparrow -PL2 -ERG canal 3- EVID- do₂ -PL3 -DECL2
 ‘The sparrows were digging a canal.’
- 026 *Phuntampa hùi -já nâ- chì đing â- tì -û lèh*
 Phuntampa where -LOC 2- go FUT 3- tell -PL3 SUB:and
 ‘They asked, “Phuntampa, where are you going?”’

- 027 *Ahsijôlneng hěel đing kê- hê ì- dèi đing hâm*
 Ahsijôlneng propose₁ FUT 1- be.DECL1 3→1- like FUT be.Q1
 ì- dèi -lôu đing hâm
 3→1- like -NEG FUT be.Q1
 “I am going to propose to Ahsijôlneng, so will she like me or not not?”
- 028 *nâ- dèi -pòon -tê kê- tûilàm -û nêi- húng*
 2- like -NEG:SC.FUT -DECL1 1- canal -PL3 2→1- come
bóol -pîh -û -vîn â- tì -û -vîn â- hî lêh
 do₂ -BEN -PL3 -IMP 3- tell -PL3 -NFP 3- be SUB:and
 ‘They said, “She will not like you, so come and help us dig our canal.”’
- 029 *bàan tũh siẽh -pîh nâamsel -în â- dâ lhàh lêh*
 all dig spoil₂ -BEN all -NFP 3- leave down SUB:and
 ‘He destroyed the whole canal and left.’
- 030 *âhîlêh â- chî -kìt lêh Ahsijôlneng kôm*
 SUB:and 3- go -again SUB:and Ahsijôlneng to
lhúng -kìt -tà -chũ
 reach₁ -again -PST -DIST.DET
 ‘He went again and reached where Ahsijoneng stayed.’
- 031 *Ahsijôlneng kôm â- lhùn phâat -ná hî Ahsijôlneng -hîn*
 Ahsijôlneng to 3- reach₂ time -SUB:then be Ahsijôlneng -PROX.DET.ERG
châang â- ná- sùh
 paddy 3- EVID- grind₂
 ‘When he reached Ahsijôlneng’s house, she was grinding paddy.’
- 032 *â- châang sùh -ná â- châangvâi lách -á chũtì lùp*
 3- paddy grind -LOC 3- husk among -LOC simply sleep
 ‘He slept on the paddy husk where she was grinding.’
- 033 *â- nũ lêh â- pâ húng -hòn*
 3- mother and 3- father come -DU
 ‘Her parents came.’
- 034 *kâte -hî -vá lũm pâ -hî kîel lùp -he*
 hello -PROX.DET -LOC sleep man -PROX.DET hungry sleep₂ -Q2
và lùp hî -ná -ngê
 satiate sleep₂ be -EVID -Q5
 “‘Hello, is the man sleeping here hungry or satiated?’ they exclaimed.’
- 035 *và lùp hî -chũ â- tì -n âhîlêh*
 satiate sleep₂ be -DIST.DET 3- tell -NFP SUB:and
 ‘She said, “He is sleeping with a full stomach.”’

- 036 *híchũ â- jàh phâat -nîn â- kî- thõu dòh -în*
 DET 3- hear₂ time -NFP 3- REF- get₁ out -NFP
â- eo jàl -tà -i
 3- go away -PST -DECL2
 ‘As soon as he heard that, he rose up and went away.’
- 037 *â- nûng -ngâh Changkhatpu â- hûng -în*
 3- after -SUB:then Changkhatpu 3- come -NFP
 ‘Changkhatpu came after him.’
- 038 *â- Changkhatpu -chũ â- hûng lêh*
 3- Changkhatpu -DIST.DET 3- come SUB:and
 ‘As Changkhatpu was coming.’
- 039 *nûpi thîng pòo -nû -chũn Changkhatpu hùi -já*
 women wood carry₁ -FEM -DIST.DET.NFP Changkhatpu where -LOC
nâ- chì dîng hâm â- tì lêh
 2- go FUT be.Q1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘The lady wood collector asked, “Changkhatpu, where are you going?”’
- 040 *Ahsijòlneng hěel dîng kâ- hê ì- dèi dîng he*
 Ahsijòlneng propose₁ FUT 1- be.DECL1 3→1- like FUT be
ì- dèi -lôu dîng hâm
 3→1- like -NEG FUT be.Q1
 ‘‘I am going to propose to Ahsijòlneng, so will she like me or not?’’
- 041 *nâ- dèi nâ- in -tê nêi- hûng pàt -în -lâng hí -n*
 2- like 2- FUT -HORT 2→1- come lift -IMP -SPAT be -NFP
â- tì lêh
 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘She said, “She will like you, so come and lift me up.”’
- 042 *â- nâm hõol khao -hò -chũ sùut lhàh -pîh -în*
 3- basket CLF:in rope -PL1 -DIST.DET untie down -BEN -NFP
phâtê -n â- bâng -ngâ â- kòu -pîh -în
 nicely -NFP 3- basket -LOC 3- keep -BEN -NFP
 ‘He untied her basket’s rope nicely and put it in her basket.’
- 043 *â- chì -kìt lêh sũm sũi -pâ -chũ â- ná- ùm -kìt -nîn*
 3- go -again SUB:and mill cut -MAS -DIST.DET 3- EVID- exist -again -NFP
 ‘As he went further, he saw the mill man.’
- 044 *Changkhatpu hùi -já nâ- chì dîng â- tì lêh*
 Changkhatpu where -LOC 2- go FUT 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘He asked, “Changkhatpu, where are you going?”’

- 045 *Ahsijôlneng hěel d̄ng kâ- hê ì- dèi d̄ng he*
 Ahsijôlneng propose₁ FUT 1- be.DECL1 3→1- like FUT be
 ì- dèi -lôu d̄ng hâm
 3→1- like -NEG FUT be.Q1
 ‘‘I am going to propose to Ahsijôlneng, so will she like me or not?’’
- 046 *nâ- dèi nâ- ìn -tê kâ- s̄m nêi- h̄ng s̄i -p̄h -î*
 2- like 2- FUT -HORT 1- mill 2→1- come cut₂ -BEN -IMP
 â- t̄i l̄h
 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘He said, ‘‘She will like you. Come help me cut my mill.’’
- 047 *âmâ -n j̄ng â- s̄i n̄al -d̄h -î*
 s/he -ERG also 3- cut smooth -ADV:man -NFP
 ‘He cut it nicely for him.’
- 048 *âmâsâ p̄a -n ph̄i liêu-l̄i -va s̄i -ch̄*
 previous man -ERG bad.shape IDEO -SUB:then cut₂ -DIST.DET
 âmâ -n b̄ol n̄al -d̄h -î
 s/he -ERG do₁ nice -ADV:man -NFP
 ‘What the previous man had spoiled, he made nice.’
- 049 *â- p̄at d̄h -î ã- s̄ol -t̄ -i*
 3- lift out -NFP 3- send -PST -DECL2
 ‘He lifted and sent him away.’
- 050 *â- h̄ng -k̄t l̄h ḡngôngs̄n th̄ang -nḡh*
 3- come -again SUB:and red.viper trap -LOC
 â- n̄a- òh -î
 3- EVID- trap.v₁ -NFP
 ‘As he came again, a snake was caught in a trap.’
- 051 *â- ḡngôngs̄n -ch̄ -n Changkhatpu h̄i -j̄*
 3- red.viper -DIST.DET -ERG Changkhatpu where -LOC
 n̄a- ch̄i h̄m â- t̄i l̄h
 2- go be.Q1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘The snake asked, ‘‘Changkhatpu, where are going?’’
- 052 *Ahsijôlneng hěel d̄ng kâ- hê ì- dèi d̄ng h̄m*
 Ahsijôlneng propose₁ FUT 1- be.DECL1 3→1- like FUT be.Q1
 ì- dèi -lôu d̄ng h̄m â- t̄i l̄h
 3→1- like -NEG FUT be.Q1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘He said, ‘‘I am going to propose to Ahsijôlneng, so will she like me or not?’’

- 053 *nâ- dèi nâ- ìn -tê nêi- húng sũut -nîn â- tì -n*
 2- like 2- FUT -HORT 2→1- come untie -IMP 3- tell -NFP
 ‘The snake said, “She will like you, so come and untie me.”’
- 054 *âmâ -n jông gâ- sũut lhàn â- gũl -chũ jũut -nîn*
 s/he -ERG also DIR- untie down 3- snake -DIST.DET rub -NFP
 ‘He untied the snake and rubbed it all over.’
- 055 *jũut jõol sêl -lîn jũut nâam sêl -lîn*
 rub smooth completely -NFP rub straight completely -NFP
 ‘He rubbed it smoothly.’
- 056 *â- ùm bâng~bâng -chũn â- ùm -sàh -kìt -nîn*
 3- exist same~same -DIST.DET.NFP 3- exist -CAUS -again -NFP
 ‘He made it like it was before.’
- 057 *âhìlêh âmâ -chũ â- jũut dâm phâat -nîn â- húng -kìt lêh*
 SUB:and s/he -DIST.DET 3- rub well time -NFP 3- come -again SUB:and
 ‘After he had revived the snake, he continued on again.’
- 058 *â- thêi làm bõol -hò kîpi -tê -n Changkhatpu*
 3- fruit path do₁ -PL1 parrot -PL2 -ERG Changkhatpu
hùi -já nâ- chî dîng â- tì lêh
 where -LOC 2- go FUT 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘The parrots who were making the fruitpath asked, “Changkhatpu, where are you going?”’
- 059 *Ahsijôlneng hêel dîng kâ- hê ì- dèi dîng hâm*
 Ahsijôlneng propose₁ FUT 1- be.DECL1 3→1- like FUT be.Q1
ì- dèi -lôu dîng hâm â- tì lêh
 3→1- like -NEG FUT be.Q1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘He said, “I am going to propose to Ahsijôlneng, so will she like me or not?”’
- 060 *nâ- dèi -na ìn -tê kâ- thêi làm -û nêi- húng bõol*
 2- like -OPT FUT -HORT 1- fruit path -PL3 2→1- come do
-pîh -û -vîn -lâng hî -n â- tì -û -vîn âhìlêh
 -BEN -PL3 -IMP -SPAT be -NFP 3- tell -PL3 -DECL2 SUB:and
 ‘They said, “She will like you, so come and help us clear our fruit path.”’
- 061 *âmâ -n jông â- thêi làm -hò chũ- â- bõol -pîh -ìn*
 s/he -ERG also 3- fruit path -PL1 DIST.DET- 3- do₂ -BEN -NFP
 ‘He helped them clear their fruit path.’
- 062 *hôi tàh-tàh -ìn bõol nâal -dêh -ìn âmâ -hò -lá*
 beautiful IDEO -NFP do smooth -ADV:man -NFP s/he -PL1 -SUB:then

- â- kî- tâi lùót -nîn â- hî -û -vîn
 3- REF- happy very -NFP 3- be -PL3 -NFP
 ‘He cleared their path and they were very happy.’
- 063 híchî -chủ â- dà lhàh â- chì -kìt lèh
 DET -DIST.DET 3- leave down 3- go -again SUB:and
 ‘He left them and went further again.’
- 064 gíchá -tê -n tûilàh â- nâ- bõol -û -o
 sparrow -PL2 -NFP canal 3- EVID- do₁ -PL3 -EXCL
 ‘The sparrows were digging a canal!’
- 065 Changkhatpu hùi -já nâ- chì ding â- tì lèh
 Changkhatpu where -LOC 2- go FUT 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘They asked, “Changkhatpu, where are you going?”’
- 066 Ahsijôlneng hěel đing kâ- hî -ê ì- dèi đing hâm
 Ahsijôlneng propose₁ FUT 1- be -DECL1 3→1- like FUT be.Q1
 ì- dèi -lôu đing hâm
 3→1- like -NEG FUT be.Q1
 ‘He said, “I am going to propose to Ahsijôlneng, so will she like me or not?”’
- 067 nâ- dèi nâ- ìn -tê tûilàh nêi- húng bõol -pîh -û
 2- like 2- FUT -HORT canal 2→1- come do₂ -BEN -PL3
 -vîn â- tì -n âhîlèh
 -IMP 3- tell -NFP SUB:and
 ‘They said, “She will like you, so come help us dig our canal.”’
- 068 â- tûilàh â- bõol -pîh -ìn bõol nàam sêl -lîn
 3- canal 3- do₂ -BEN -NFP do₁ smooth completely -NFP
 â- dàa lhàh
 3- leave down
 ‘He made their canal smooth and left.’
- 069 â- húng -kìt lèh Ahsijôlneng kôm -má -chủ húng lhúng -tà
 3- come -again SUB:and Ahsijôlneng to -LOC -DIST.DET come reach₁ -PST
 ‘He came again and reached Ahsijôlneng’s house.’
- 070 khângphèi -lâng -ngâ -chủn â- lǔm -mîn
 platform -SPAT -LOC -DIST.DET.NFP 3- sleep₁ -NFP
 ‘He slept on the side platform of the house.’
- 071 â- nú lèh â- pà -n kâte -hî -vá lǔm -hî
 3- mother and 3- father -ERG hello -PROX.DET -LOC sleep₁ -PROX.DET

- kîel lùp hê và lùp hâp tîn âhîlêh*
hungry sleep₂ be.DECL1 satiate sleep₂ be.Q1 tell.NFP SUB:and
‘Her parents asked, “Is the man sleeping over here hungry or full?”’
- 072 *kîel lùp hî -chủ â- tì -n âhîlêh*
hungry sleep₂ be -DIST.DET 3- tell -NFP SUB:and
‘She said, “He sleeps hungry.”’
- 073 *âmâ nì -n thiemsâ â- chèi -hòn -chủ*
s/he two -ERG meat 3- bring -DU -DIST.DET
- â- thòu -û -vîn â- nêh -sàh -vîn*
3- wake₂ -PL3 -NFP 3- eat₂ -CAUS -NFP
‘They woke him up and fed him with meat they brought with them.’
- 074 *ìpì dîngngâ nâ- hûng hâp â- tì -hòn lêh*
what reason 2- come be.Q1 3- tell -DU SUB:and
‘They asked, “Why did you come?”’
- 075 *Ahsijòlneng hêel -lá hûng kê- hê hêpî hêpû*
Ahsijòlneng propose₁ -INST come 1- be.DECL1 grandmother grandfather
- nêi- pêh -hòn -lôu dîng hâp*
2- give₂ -DU -NEG FUT be.Q1
‘He said, “I came to propose to Ahsizoolneng and asked her grandparents whether they will give her to him.”’
- 076 *hîchủ nâ- tì lêh kê- îp sàh -a lôu*
DET 2- tell SUB:and 1- house upward -LOC field
- kê- vâat -ná thîng -khủ nâ- tûh -á*
1- clear -LOC wood -DIST.DET 2- cut₂ -SUB:then
‘“If you say so then cut the tree in the field (on top of my house) I have cleared.”’
- 077 *vèi khàt lhûh -á nâ- lhûh -sàh sùoh -kêa -já*
CLF:num one fall₂ -SUB:then 2- fall₂ -CAUS all -ADV:comp -SUB:then
- nâ- hîlêh*
2- SUB:and
‘“If you manage to fell the tree in one go then.”’
- 078 *kî- pûi -tà -n -nâ -tê â- tì -n âhîlêh*
REF- bring -OPT -IMP -2 -DECL1 3- tell -NFP SUB:and
‘“You may take her,” they said.’
- 079 *âmâ -pâ -chủ lûnglâl -îp âchủtì kàa lêh*
s/he -MAS -DIST.DET weary -NFP like.that cry₂ SUB:and
‘Being helpless, he kept crying.’

- 080 *â- thîng -hò -chũ â- tũh gêeng~gêeng -ngâ*
 3- wood -PL1 -DIST.DET 3- cut₂ thin~thin -SUB:then
 ‘He cut all the trees to a certain point.’
- 081 *khõpî hùi -în vèi khàt tũm -mâ â- tũm lhuh*
 village air -ERG CLF:num one blow -SUB:then 3- blow fall₂
 ‘And when the storm came, it fell the tree in one go.’
- 082 *hîchî phâat -nîn hêpî hêpû chì -hòn -tâ*
 DET time -NFP grandmother grandfather go -DU -OPT

îng -nge tì -n â- tî lêh
 FUT -DECL1 tell -IMP 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘After this, he said, “Hello, grandmother and grandfather. Allow us to leave.”’
- 083 *nâ- kî- pùi đing mông~mông -ngâ nâ- hîlêh*
 2- REF- bring FUT certainly~certainly -SUB:then 2- SUB:and
 ‘‘If you are certainly going to take her, then.’’
- 084 *kâ- lưỡ nôu lùóh -á ì- chì đing -û â- hî*
 1- tiger baby take₂ -INST INCL- go FUT -PL3 3- be.DECL2
 ‘‘We have to go to gather my tiger’s cub.’’
- 085 *â- lưỡ nôu -chũ â- gâ- lò â- thîngchêh*
 3- tiger baby -DIST.DET 3- DIR- take₂ 3- with.all.effort

-în in â- hîn- lhuì nâh-nâh -û -vîn
 -NFP house 3- CIS- bring barely~barely -PL3 -NFP
 ‘He went to get the tiger’s cubs with lots of effort.’
- 086 *an- pòh lúut phâat -û -vîn hêpî lêh hêpû*
 3.CIS- carry₂ inside time -PL3 -NFP grandmother and grandfather

tù -n chì -hòn -tâng -ngê â- tì -kìt -nîn âhîlêh
 now -NFP go -DU -OPT.FUT -DECL1 3- tell -again -NFP SUB:and
 ‘When they were brought in, he said, “Hello, grandmother and grandfather. Allow us to leave now.’’
- 087 *nâ- chì -hòn đing -ngâ âhîlêh changtâh ửm pî â- đim*
 2- go -DU FUT -SUB:then SUB:and paddy gourd big 3- full

nâ- búh đing
 2- spill₂ FUT
 ‘‘If you are to leave, then you have to empty a gourd container of paddy.’’
- 088 *nâ- lò jôu -kêa đing -chũ lêh nâ- chì*
 2- pick₂ finish -ADV:comp FUT -DIST.DET SUB:and 2- go

dĩng â- hê

FUT 3- be.DECL1

“You have to pick up all the grain and leave, only then can you go.”

- 089 *híchì lúnglâl nâan âchũtì kàa lêh*
DET weary because like.that cry₂ SUB:and
‘Being helpless of this, he kept crying.’

- 090 *gìchá -tê hũng kî- chôm -û -vĩn Changkhatpu ìpì*
sparrow -PL2 come REF- gather -PL3 -NFP Changkhatpu what

nâ- kàa -pì hâm â- tì -û lêh
2- cry₂ -COM be.Q1 3- tell -PL3 SUB:and

‘The sparrows gathered and said, “Changkhatpu, why are you crying?”’

- 091 *kâ- pì lêh kâ- pu -n hũtì hĩn â- sèi -ĩn*
1- grandmother and 1- grandfather -ERG like.this be.NFP 3- say₂ -NFP

â- lò dĩng kâ- lúngjò -hìh -á kâ- kàa â- hê
3- pick₂ FUT 1- weary -NEG:proh -SUB:then 1- cry₂ 3- be.DECL1
‘He said, “My grandparents told me like this so unable to pick them, I cried.”’

- 092 *sũng lhâ -tâng sũng lhâ -tâng lúoh -tâh tâo -hên*
pour₁ down -COMD pour₁ down -COMD pick₁ -OPT OPT.PL3 -SUPP
“Pour it down, pour it down, let us pick together.”

- 093 *â- gìchá -tê -chũ -n â- lò -û lêh lúoh*
3- sparrow -PL2 -DIST.DET -ERG 3- pick₂ -PL3 SUB:and pick₁

châi -pìh -kìt -tà
finish -BEN -again -PST

‘When the sparrows picked, they finished it in no time.’

- 094 *thiêmkhât -hì vâat -nĩn*
little -PROX.DET missing -NFP
‘A little was missing.’

- 095 *âhìlêh âmâ -hò jàhá -chũ â- dìm -lôu phâat hĩn*
SUB:and s/he -PL1 to.them -DIST.DET 3- full -NEG time be.NFP
‘When it was not full, he asked them.’

- 096 *nâng -ĩn nâ- mũom¹³ -mâm â- tê*
you -ERG 2- hold -Q1 3- tell
“Did you hold it in your mouth?”

- 097 *kâ- mũom -pò -i â- tê*
1- hold -NEG:SC -DECL2 3- tell
“I did not hold it in my mouth.”

¹³ *Mũom* refers to the act of holding something in the mouth before swallowing.

- 098 *â- dòh sùoh -kêa lèh khàt -nîn*
 3- ask₂ all -ADV:comp SUB:and one -NFP
 ‘So he asked every one of them, one of them said.’
- 099 *nâng hî -ba hînátàchùn â- mèh lhàh -pîh -û lèh*
 you be -FOC the.one 3- press down -BEN -PL3 SUB:and
 ‘‘‘You are the one’’ and they pressed (it out from his throat).’
- 100 *â- ǔm â- dìp nâh~nâh -vê*
 3- gourd 3- fill barely~barely -DECL1
 ‘They managed to fill the gourd.’
- 101 *híchijôuchũn âmâ -n jông hêpû lèh hêpî*
 after.this s/he -ERG also grandfather and grandmother

tu -n chì -hòn -tâng -ngê â- tì lèh
 now -NFP go -DU -OPT.FUT -DECL1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘After this, he said, ‘‘Hello, grandparents. Allow us to leave now.’’’
- 102 *chì dîng nâ- gǔot -hòn nâ- lèh*
 go FUT 2- plan -DU 2- SUB:and
 ‘‘‘If you plan to leave, then.’’’
- 103 *kâ- lùp -ná -dîng kâ- tòu -ná -dîng*
 1- sleep₂ -NMZ -for 1- sit₂ -NMZ -for
 ‘‘‘For my sleeping and resting place.’’’
- 104 *sùng pêk kâ- lěitúol tòh kî- tôh chiêh khàt*
 stone flat 1- houseyard with REF- match exact one
 ‘‘‘A flat stone which will match my house yard.’’’
- 105 *nâ- gâ- pùh -dîng â- hê â- tì -n*
 2- DIR- bring -for 3- be.DECL1 3- tell -NFP

híchchũ lúnglâ -á â- kàa lèh
 DET.DIST.DET weary SUB:then 3- cry₂ SUB:and
 ‘‘‘You have to bring a stone,’’ he said, and, unable to do, so Changkhatpu cried.’
- 106 *mèilhâng húng lêng -în Changkhàtpu ì -bá nâ- kàa hâm*
 cloud come fly -NFP Changkhatpu what -FOC 2- cry₂ be.Q1

â- tì lèh
 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘A cloud came and asked Changkhatpu why he was crying.’
- 107 *kâ- pî kâ- pú tù -n chì -hòn -tâng -ngê*
 1- grandmother 1- grandfather now -NFP go -DU -OPT.FUT -DECL1

kâ- tì lèh
 1- tell SUB:and
 ‘‘‘When I requested my grandparents’ permission to leave now.’’’

- 108 *sûong pêk kê- ín tòh kê- tòh chêeh kê- kê- sîl*
stone flat 1- house with REF- with exact 1- REF- bathe₂
lê -ná -dîng kê- lùp lê -ná -dîng
and -NMZ -for 1- sleep₂ and -NMZ -for
nêi- gâ- pùh -pîh -în â- tî -n
2→1- DIR- bring -BEN -IMP 3- tell -NFP
“‘He told me to get a stone equal to the size of his houseyard for his sitting and bathing place.’”
- 109 *kâ- lûng jò -hîh -á kê- kàa â- he â- tî -n*
1- heart able -NEG:proh -SUB:then 1- cry₂ 3- be.DECL1 3- tell -NFP
“‘I am unable to do so, so I cried.’”
- 110 *hûng -tâng hûng -tâng gâ- pòo -tâh tâo -hên*
come -COMD come -COMD DIR- carry₁ -OPT OPT.PL3 -SUPP
‘The clouds told him, “Come, come. Let us go and carry.’”
- 111 *â- mèihâng tòh -chũn âmâ akîmlâi -tâh -á pâng -în*
3- cloud with -DIST.DET.NFP s/he middle -INTF2 -LOC stand₁ -NFP
‘Along with the clouds, he stood right at the center.’
- 112 *mèihâng -chũn â- hîn- bòp -û*
cloud -DIST.DET.ERG 3- CIS- gather₂ -PL3
â- hîn- pùt -û hèijâam â- hîn- sâm -vîn
3- CIS- bring -PL3 slogan 3- CIS- shout₁ -NFP
‘The clouds took hold of the stone and they brought it with a slogan.’
- 113 *â- hîn- pùt -û lêh â- lěitool -lá â- hîn- pú*
3- CIS- bring -PL3 SUB:and 3- houseyard -LOC 3- CIS- bring
lúut -û -vîn
enter -PL3 -NFP
‘They brought it in front of his houseyard.’
- 114 *hêpî hêpú chì -hòon -tâng -ngê â- tî lêh*
grandmother grandfather go -DU -OPT.FUT -DECL1 3- tell SUB:and
‘He said, “Hello, grandparents. Allow us to leave.’”
- 115 *âhîlêh nâ- chì -hòon dîng -ngâ*
SUB:and 2- go -DU FUT -SUB:then
“‘If you plan to go then.’”
- 116 *âhîlêh bú nâ- chùn -ná -hòon -dîng nà*
SUB:and food 2- cover -INST -DU -for leaf

- gâ- kî- lò -hòn -tâ -n â- ò- ò- -n*
 DIR- REF- pluck₂ -DU -OPT -IMP 3- tell -NFP
 ‘They said, “Go and pluck (leaves) to wrap your food.”’
- 117 *chúchi lúnglâ -jì -á â- tûti kàa*
 DIST.DET weary -HAB -SUB:then 3- like.that cry₂
 ‘Feeling helpless, he kept crying.’
- 118 *gǔlǎngōngsǎn khàt húng -în*
 red.viper one come -NFP
 ‘A snake with a red neck came.’
- 119 *Changkhatpu ì -bá nâ- kàa hám â- ò- lèh*
 Changkhatpu what -FOC 2- cry₂ be.Q1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘The snake asked why he was crying.’
- 120 *kâ- pî lèh kâ- pú -n chì -hòn*
 1- grandmother and 1- grandfather -ERG go -DU

-tàng -ngê kâ- ò- lèh
 -OPT.FUT -DECL1 1- tell SUB:and
 ‘‘‘When I told my grandparents to allow us to leave,’’’
- 121 *nâ- bú chùun -nâ -dǐng líng nâng lách -á nàlâi*
 2- food cover -NMZ -for thorn bush among -LOC inner.leaf

hǒol nâ- kî- lò dǐng â- hê
 CLF:in 2- REF- pluck₂ FUT 3- be.DECL1
 ‘‘‘They told me to go and pluck the inner portion of a leaf among the thorns to cover food.’’
- 122 *kâ- lúng jò -hìh -á kâ- kàa â- hê â- ò- -n*
 1- heart able -NEG:proh -SUB:then 1- cry₂ 3- be.DECL1 3- tell -NFP
 ‘‘‘Since I was unable to do so, I cried.’’
- 123 *â- gǔlǎngōngsǎn -chǔn húng -în kêima -n nâ- gâ-*
 3- red.viper -DIST.DET.ERG come -NFP I -ERG 2- DIR-

lò -pîh -ngê â- ná- kàp -hìh -în
 pluck₂ -BEN -DECL1 3- IMP:dirt- cry₁ -NEG:proh -NFP
 The snake came and said, ‘‘‘I shall go and pluck it for you. Don’t cry’’’
- 124 *â- gǔlǎngōngsǎn -chǔn gâ- lôu -în*
 3- red.viper -DIST.DET.ERG DIR- pluck₁ -NFP
 ‘The snake went and plucked it’
- 125 *â- kǎm -mîn â- hîn- mùom -mîn â- hîn- siét lhàh lèh*
 3- mouth -NFP 3- CIS- hold -NFP 3- CIS- spit down SUB:and

- nàal -dèh -în*
smooth -ADV:man -NFP
'The snake brought it in his mouth and spit it out in good condition.'
- 126 *híchí -chũn bû â- kî- chùun -hòn -nîn*
DET -DIST.DET.NFP food 3- REF- wrap -DU -NFP
'Then, they wrapped their lunch.'
- 127 *bû â- hîn- kî- chùun â- húng -hòn lêh*
food 3- CIS- REF- wrap 3- come -DU SUB:and
'They wrapped their food and started their journey.'
- 128 *lâmkìm â- gèi -hòn -ná hî*
half.way 3- reach -DU -SUB:then be
'When they reached halfway.'
- 129 *Ahsijôlneng -chũ -n kâtê kâ- pounvê kâ- hèi -tà -i*
Ahsijôlneng -DIST.DET -ERG hello 1- longi 1- forget -PST -DECL2

â- tì lêh
3- tell SUB:and
'Ahsijôlneng exclaimed, "I have forgotten my longi!"'
- 130 *nâ- gâ- lách -lôu lêh ipî kâ- nèi -tâh đing hâm*
2- DIR- take₂ -NEG SUB:and what 1- have -INTF2 FUT be.Q1
'"If you don't go, what will I wear?"'
- 131 *â- lă -á â- chî kâh âchũ*
3- take₁ -INST 3- go while 3.DIST.DET
'As he went to get it,'
- 132 *lhómí -nú lúikhúh -á túi khâai -já chî*
tiger -FEM well -LOC water fetch₁ -INST go
'The tiger woman went to fetch water.'
- 133 *â- lhómí -nú -chũn Ahsijôlneng kî- vòn -ná*
3- tiger -FEM -DIST.DET.ERG Ahsijôlneng REF- dress.v₁ -NMZ

-hò -chũ â- mù phâat -ná
-PL1 -DIST.DET 3- see time -SUB:then
'When the tiger woman saw the dress of Ahsijôlneng.'
- 134 *â- vèi nì â- vèi thũm â- sèi phâat -ná hî*
3- CLF:num two 3- CLF:num three 3- say₂ time -SUB:then be
'When she said this twice, thrice.'
- 135 *Ahsijôlneng lhangkâm chùng -ngâ â- ùm -ná âchũ*
Ahsijôlneng platform on -LOC 3- exist -LOC 3.DIST.DET
'Ahsijôlneng, from where she was sitting on the platform.'

- 136 *â- lhângkâm chûng -ngâ â- ùm -ná âchũ*
 3- platform on -LOC 3- exist -LOC 3.DIST.DET
 ‘From her raised platform where she stayed,’
- 137 *â- vèi nì a vèi thũm â- sèi phâat -ná hî*
 3- CLF:num two 3- CLF:num three 3- say₂ time -SUB:then be
khàtnû -chũn kêi- lîe hîbòu chũmê â- tì lêh
 woman -DIST.DET.NFP 1- shadow be.ADV:emot AFFM 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘When she said this twice, thrice, Ahsijòlneŋ said, “It is my shadow.”’
- 138 *âhîlêh -chũ phâat -nîn âmâ jông â- hûng dòh -în*
 SUB:and -DIST.DET time -NFP s/he also 3- come out -NFP
 ‘At this time, the tiger woman came out,’
- 139 *itî nâ- kâl -lá hîva -hî nâ- kâl dòh hâm*
 how 2- climb₂ -Q3 here -PROX.DET 2- climb₂ out be.Q1
â- tì -n
 3- tell -NFP
 ‘“How did you manage to climb up?”’
- 140 *kâ- lủ -lâng lèi -lâng kâ- ngàt -ná kâ- tô -lâng*
 1- head -SPAT down -SPAT 1- face -SUB:then 1- buttock -SPAT
vàan -lâng kâ- ngàt -ná kâ- kâl â- hê â- te
 sky -SPAT 1- face -SUB:then 1- climb₂ 3- be 3- tell
 ‘She said, “I climbed facing my head downward and my leg upward.”’
- 141 *â- kâl lèlà kâl thèi -lôu*
 3- climb₂ but climb₂ able.to1 -NEG
 ‘She tried to climb but could not.’
- 142 *itî nâ- kâl hâm tîa â- dòh -kìt lêh*
 how 2- climb₂ be.Q1 QUOT 3- ask₂ -again SUB:and
 ‘She asked, “How did you climb up?”’
- 143 *kâ- vâilông -á kâ- kâl â- hê â- tì -kìt*
 1- horizontal -INST 1- climb₂ 3- be 3- tell -again
 ‘She said that she climbed horizontally.’
- 144 *â- vâilông -ngâ â- kâl lêh kâl thèi dîéh -lôu*
 3- horizontal -SUB:then 3- climb₂ SUB:and climb₂ able.to1 still -NEG
 ‘She tried to climb horizontally but could not.’
- 145 *âtútí gít phâat -ná -chũ kâ- lủ -lâng*
 this.that warn time -SUB:then -DIST.DET 1- head -SPAT
vàan -lâng kâ- to -lâng lểi kâ- ngàt -ná
 sky -SPAT 1- leg -SPAT down 1- face -SUB:then

- kâ- kâl â- hê â- tê lêh*
 1- climb₂ 3- be 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘As she kept warning her she said, “I climbed facing my head upward and my leg downward.”’
- 146 *híchê -chũn â- kâl lêh kâl dòh -în*
 DET -DIST.DET 3- climb₂ SUB:and climb₂ out -NFP
 ‘This time, she managed to climb up.’
- 147 *â- kâl dòh phâat -nîn ì- hît kî- vêt -pîh hî*
 3- climb₂ out time -NFP INCL- louse REC- look₂ -BEN be
- âtê tì -n âhîlêh*
 3. DECL1 tell -NFP SUB:and
 ‘When she climbed up, she said, “Let’s search each other for lice.”’
- 148 *kîn hît kâ- nêi -pò -i â- tì -n*
 1.ERG louse 1- have -NEG:SC -DECL2 3- tell -NFP
 ‘She said she had no lice.’
- 149 *lhõmînú -chũ -n âtûti jòol*
 tiger.woman -DIST.DET -ERG like.this ask₂
 ‘The tiger woman kept asking her.’
- 150 *híchê phâat -ná -hî lhõmînú hît -chũ â- vêt lêh*
 DET time -SUB:then -PROX.DET tiger.woman lice -DIST.DET 3- look₂ SUB:and
 ‘At last she searched for lice on the tiger woman’s head.’
- 151 *sâkhî lûng ngâncông hî -n*
 deer worm only be -NFP
 ‘She saw only deer worms.’
- 152 *â- pâu ngà thêisàtná âchũ â- hît -chũ*
 3- husband wait₂ in.order.to 3- lice -DIST.DET
- â- vêt -pîh*
 3- look₂ -BEN
 ‘She searched for lice in order to wait for her husband.’
- 153 *â- pâu -lá hûng tànòon -lôu*
 3- husband -MIR come do -NEG
 ‘But her husband did not come.’
- 154 *lhõmînú -n nâng hît vé hî -tê â- tì -n*
 tiger.woman -ERG you lice look₁ be -HORT 3- tell -NFP
 ‘The tiger-woman said, “Let us search for your lice.”’

- 155 *kîn hît kê- nèi -hìh -ê â- tì lê*
 1.ERG lice 1- have -NEG;proh -DECL1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘She said that she had no lice.’
- 156 *â- nùp -lôu hiel phâat -nîn â- diélkôp -chũ lúi*
 3- agree₂ -NEG ever time -NFP 3- veil -DIST.DET pull
lành -pîh -în
 down -BEN -NFP
 ‘When she did not agree at all she pulled off her’
- 157 *Ahsijôlneng -chũ â- tùkkhúh -tâh sî -pîh -în*
 Ahsijôlneng -DIST.DET 3- forehead -INTF2 claw.v₂ -BEN -NFP
 ‘She clawed Ahsijôlneng’s forehead with her nail.’
- 158 *â- thî chòop dâng -pîh -în phâilêng nûoi -já â- gòl*
 3- blood suck₂ pale -BEN -NFP grass under -LOC 3- insert₂
lúut -nîn
 inside -NFP
 ‘She sucked her blood and buried her under the grass.’
- 159 *Changkhatpu â- húng lhùn -ná -hî kê- jĩ*
 Changkhatpu 3- come reach₂ -SUB:then -PROX.DET 1- wife
nâ- hí -hìh -ê â- te lêh
 2- be -NEG;proh -DECL1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘When Changkhatpu arrived he said, “You are not my wife.”’
- 160 *nâ- jĩ dih -tâh kê- hê â- tì -n*
 2- wife true -INTF2 1- be.DECL1 3- tell -NFP
 ‘She said, “I am truly your wife.”’
- 161 *nâ- khùt¹⁴ jûng sâo -vîn nâ- kêeng jûng â- sâo -vîn*
 2- hand nail long₁ -DECL2 2- leg nail 3- long₁ -DECL2
nâ- mît mùl jông â- sâo -vê â- tì -n
 2- eye hair also 3- long₁ -DECL1 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He said, “Your finger nails, toe nails, and eyelashes are long.”’
- 162 *nâng -lâng kê- vêt~vêt -nâ -á kê- mît mùl sâo*
 you -SPAT 1- look₂~look₂ -SUB:then -INST 1- eye hair long₁
 ‘“My eyelashes are long because I keep looking at you.”’
- 163 *nâng -lâng kê- kò~kò -nâ -á kê- khùt jûng sâo*
 you -SPAT 1- point₂~point₂ -SUB:then -INST 1- hand nail long₁

¹⁴ This is a variant of *khot* ‘hand.’

- tì -n sèi -jîn
tell -NFP say₂ -NFP
'She said, "My finger nails are long because I keep pointing at you."'
- 164 lêngpâ -n tûa ì- chì dîng làmpi nâ- hèi lèh
king -ERG now INCL- go FUT road 2- confuse SUB:and
kâ- jǐ nâ- hî -pôn nâ- tê â- tì -n
1- wife 2- be -NEG.FUT 2- DECL1 3- tell -NFP
'He said, "We will go now and if you forget the road, you are not my wife."'
- 165 â- chì -hòn lèh jòi khàt -ná â- vâat lûut -nîn
3- go -DU SUB:and path one -LOC 3- step enter -NFP
'As they were going, she went onto a different path.'
- 166 âjǐpâ -n kâ- jǐ nâ- hî -hìh -ê â- tì -n
king -ERG 1- wife 2- be -NEG:proh -DECL1 3- tell -NFP
'He said, "You are not my wife."'
- 167 óh ì- nû hîenglâng ì- pâ hîenglâng
hello INCL- mother side INCL- father side
gâ- kî- vé -chǔ â- tì -n
DIR- REF- look₁ -DIST.DET 3- tell -NFP
'She said, "I am looking back to our mother and father's side."'
- 168 ìn â- hûng lhùn -hòn -ná -hî âjǐpâ -n bû
house 3- come reach₂ -DU -SUB:then -PROX.DET 3.husband -ERG food
leh me hòn -nîn â- tì lèh
and curry cook₁ -IMP 3- tell SUB:and
'When they reached home, the husband told her to cook food.'
- 169 â- bûbêel -chǔ mètêel -lá â- nòi mètêel -chǔ
3- food.pot -DIST.DET curry.pot -INST 3- have curry.pot -DIST.DET
'She used a food pot in place of a curry pot and vice-versa.'
- 170 â- kichên -hòn -hî nì khàt -hî lhômínú -chǔ
3- live₂ -DU -PROX.DET day one -PROX.DET tiger.woman -DIST.DET
â- kòtchâ -á éh gâ- thàan âhîlèh
3- window -LOC dung DIR- defecate.NFP SUB:and
'One day the tiger-woman defecated at her window.'
- 171 ùm khàt â- hûng kèh dòh âmâ jông híchí ùm hî
gourd one 3- come sprout out s/he also DET gourd be
'A gourd sprouted out and this gourd.'

- 172 *â- jìh nâ- sì tàn -lôu đing â- hê â- tì -n*
 3- leaf 2- pluck cut₂ -NEG FUT 3- be.DECL1 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He said, “You should not pluck its leaves.”’
- 173 *â- húng pàh -în ửm pì khàt -hì â- húng gàa -n*
 3- come bloom₂ -NFP gourd big one -PROX.DET 3- come bear.fruit -NFP
 ‘It started blooming and a big gourd grew out of it.’
- 174 *nì khàt -hì lờu -va â- kôn kàh -hòn -nìn*
 day one -PROX.DET field -LOC 3- go while -DU -NFP
în -chủ â- nâ- kì- thêh jòlsel -lìn
 house -DIST.DET 3- EVID- REF- sweep clean -NFP
 ‘One day while they were in the field, the house was swept clean.’
- 175 *â- khở mì -tê â- dòh lêh*
 3- village people -PL2 3- ask₂ SUB:and
 ‘Then he asked his villager.’
- 176 *lờu kôn -béh kì- sàan -lâng khũmool -lá -khùn*
 field go -INTF1 REF- pretend -SPAT hill -LOC -DIST.DET.NFP
gâ- tũhsáa -n -lâng húng thĩm húng jâl -lìn -lâng
 DIR- whistle₁ -IMP -SPAT come secretly come away -IMP -SPAT
 ‘They told him, “Pretend as if you are going to the field, and when you reach the hill shout aloud and come back secretly.”’
- 177 *sung jông sung lhá -lôu -vìn kũunjìh -áh ngáh*
 enter also enter down -NEG -NFP backyard -LOC wait₁
lêh chũn thèi -tàn -nâ -tê
 SUB:and DIST.DET.NFP know -OPT.FUT -2 -DECL1
 ‘“Without entering the house, wait at the back of the house, then you will know it.”’
- 178 *èilêh âmân jông â- khỏmípì -hò sèi bâng -chũn*
 SUB:and s/he.ERG also 3- villager -PL1 say₂ like -DIST.DET.NFP
khũmool -lá gâ- tũhsàan
 hilltop -LOC DIR- whistle₁.NFP
 ‘As advised by his villagers, he went up the hilltop and shouted.’
- 179 *â- húng nung lểi lê âmâ nú -chũn â- in*
 3- come back run SUB:and s/he woman -DIST.DET.NFP 3- house
â- nâ- thêh -in
 3- EVID- clean -NFP
 ‘As he returned back, he saw a girl cleaning the house.’

- 180 *âmâ -chủ â- ửm sùng -á -chủ kê- khũm lúut -jì*
s/he -DIST.DET 3- gourd inside -LOC -DIST.DET REF- cover enter -HAB
- sùun lêh -chũn â- ín â- nâ- thiêh -pìh -jì*
day SUB:and -DIST.DET.NFP 3- house 3- EVID- clean -BEN -HAB
‘She would hide inside his gourd and come out during the day and clean the house.’
- 181 *nì khàt -hì â- chàan -ná â- màt gùót lêh*
day one -PROX.DET 3- wait₂ -SUB:then 3- catch₂ try SUB:and
‘One day, he waited and tried to catch her.’
- 182 *â- khùt -chủ thòl lúut vâivêi thèi -lôu*
3- hand -DIST.DET insert enter quickly able.to1 -NEG
‘But he could not catch her because he was not able to insert his hand quickly inside the gourd (where she was hiding).’
- 183 *â- bâanchông -á -chủ achũti chàl*
3- arm -LOC -DIST.DET like.that hold
‘He held onto her arms.’
- 184 *hùng dòh -ín tía â- jòl lêh*
come out -IMP QUOT 3- request SUB:and
‘He requested her to come out.’
- 185 *kâ- nôm -hìh -ê nâ- jînú híngnênú*
1- want₁ -NEG:proh -DECL1 2- wife flesh.eater
- kâ- kichâ -bòu -vê*
1- afraid₁ -ADV:emot -DECL1
‘She said, “I don’t want to come out, for I am afraid of your wife, the flesh eater.”’
- 186 *â- dà -kêa phâat -ná -hì â- ửm*
3- refuse -ADV:comp time -SUB:then -PROX.DET 3- gourd
- sùng -á -chủ lھے lúut -kìt -tà*
inside -LOC -DIST.DET run enter -again -PST
‘When she refused to come out, she entered inside the gourd.’
- 187 *nì khàt -hì âmâ -n jông ôolchà khàt -nìn â- khùnì*
day one -PROX.DET s/he -ERG also slow one -NFP 3- foot
- châ jông châ -sàh -lôu -béh -ín*
also also move₂ -CAUS -NEG -INTF1 -NFP
‘One day, he quietly proceeded without a noise.’

- 188 *â- màt lê híchê phâat -chũn â- kê- màt dòh -în*
 3- catch₂ SUB:and DET time -DIST.DET.NFP 3- REF- catch₂ out -NFP
 ‘He grasped her and managed to get her.’
- 189 *nâ- jînú kê- kichâ -bòu -vê nêi- lhà -n*
 2- wife 1- afraid₁ -ADV:emot -DECL1 2→1- release -IMP

â- tì lêh
 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘She said, “Release me, for I am afraid of your wife.”’
- 190 *gìchá -hìh -în nâ- thà -sàh -pông -nge â- tì -n*
 afraid₁ -NEG:proh -IMP 2- kill -CAUS -NEG.FUT -DECL1 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He said, “Don’t be afraid. I will not let her kill you.”’
- 191 *nî khàt -hî â- jînú -chũ thîng pòo -á chî*
 day one -prox.DET 3- wife -DIST.DET wood carry₁ -INST go
 ‘One day. his wife (the tiger woman) went to collect wood.’
- 192 *â- hûng lhùn nâhî hûng -ngó nêi- hûng dõm lhà -n*
 3- come reach₂ when come -IMP.req 2→1- come lift₁ down -NFP

â- tì lêh
 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘When she arrived, she said, “Come and take me down.”’
- 193 *âmâ -n jông khÿpsù -tâng â- tì -n*
 s/he -ERG also bend -COMD 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He told her to bend.’
- 194 *â- bûn lâi -chũn Changkhatpu -n â- lólchâang*
 3- bend₂ while -DIST.DET.NFP Changkhatpu -ERG 3- neck

â- bàn tàn -pîh
 3- cut₂ break -BEN
 ‘While she was bending, Changkhatpu slit her throat.’
- 195 *â- lú -chũ sũongpi â- sôuh -în â- pũm -chũ*
 3- head -DIST.DET rock 3- turn -NFP 3- body -DIST.DET

nâchâng â- sũoh -în
 banana 3- turn -NFP
 ‘Her head turned into a rock, and her body into a banana plant.’
- 196 *híchijôuchũn Ahsijôlneng tòh â- kê- chêeng -lhòn -în*
 after.this Ahsijôlneng with 3- REF- marry -DU -NFP
 ‘After this, he married Ahsijôlneng.’

- 197 *Changkhatpu -n Ahsijôlneng jàhá thĩl nâ- sôop jông lêh*
 Changkhatpu -ERG Ahsijôlneng to.her cloth 2- wash₂ also SUB:and
 ‘Changkhatpu told Ahsijôlneng, “When you wash cloth.”’
- 198 *híchĩ sũongpi chũng -á hĩ nâ- phòu -lôu đĩng*
 DET stone on -LOC be 2- dry -NEG FUT
 “‘Never dry on this stone.’”
- 199 *ngãan nâ- hũon jông lêh nàchâng -hò -khũ*
 wine 2- cook also SUB:and banana -PL1 -DIST.DET

nâ- lò -lôu đĩng
 2- pluck₂ -NEG FUT
 “‘When you cook wine, you should not pluck the banana leaf.’”
- 200 *nĩ khàt â- hĩ âmân jông ngãan â- hũon*
 day one 3- be s/he.ERG also wine 3- cook
 ‘One day. she was cooking wine.’
- 201 *híchĩ nĩ -á -chũ nà â- hòol -mô phâat â- hĩ*
 DET day -LOC -DIST.DET leaf 3- go -NEG:stat time 3- be
 ‘On that day, when she could not get any leaves.’
- 202 *nàchâng -chũ â- gâ- lò lêh nàchâng -chũ -n*
 banana -DIST.DET 3- DIR- pluck₂ SUB:and banana -DIST.DET -ERG

â- vâl hĩ -ta -chũ
 3- swallow be -PST -DIST.DET
 ‘It is said that the banana swallowed her.’
- 203 *Changkhatpu -n nà -chũ â- khè lêh*
 Changkhatpu -ERG leaf -DIST.DET 3- peel₂ SUB:and
 ‘When Changkhatpu peeled the banana.’
- 204 *âlai hòol -lâng -béh -á â- ná- dâng khĩl-khĩl -lĩn*
 inner.leaf CLF:in -SPAT -INTF1 -SUB:then 3- EVID- pale₁ IDEO -NFP
 “‘She was there right inside the banana stem.’”
- 205 *âmâ -n â- lòi dòh -ĩn â- jàap hĩng -ĩn*
 s/he -ERG 3- pull₂ out -NFP 3- blow alive -NFP
 ‘He pulled her out and revived her.’
- 206 *tũn vâng thĩl híchĩ sũong chũng -á -hĩ nâ- phòu -lôu*
 now on cloth DET stone on -LOC -PROX.DET 2- dry -NEG

đĩng â- he â- tĩ -pĩh lêh
 FUT 3- be 3- tell -BEN SUB:and
 ‘(He) said, “From now on you should not dry cloth on this stone.”’

- 207 *nî khàt -hî â- phòu -ná -đing thèi -tà -lôu*
 day one -PROX.DET 3- dry -NMZ -for know -PST -NEG
 ‘One day she could not find a place to dry (her clothes).’
- 208 *sôngpi chùng -á -chủ â- phòu lèh*
 stone on -LOC -DIST.DET 3- dry SUB:and

â- vâl -kít -tà
 3- swallow -again -PST
 ‘While she was drying her cloth, the stone swallowed her.’
- 209 *Changkhatpu -n sôngpi -chủ â- lhùut lèh*
 Changkhatpu -ERG stone -DIST.DET 3- burn₂ SUB:and
 ‘Changkhatpu burnt the stone.’
- 210 *sông -chủ húng pòhkèh lèh*
 stone -DIST.DET come blast SUB:and
 ‘When the stone blasted,’
- 211 *Ahsijôlneng -chủ vàan gĩjôol -á â- pêng dòh -béh -în*
 Ahsijôlneng -DIST.DET sky up -LOC 3- shout₁ out -INTF1 -NFP
 ‘Ahsijôlneng shouted up at the sky.’
- 212 *Changkhatpu âtútí kàa lèh â- kàp líh -tái*
 Changkhatpu like.that cry₂ SUB:and 3- cry₁ kill -PST.DECL2
 ‘Changkhatpu cried and cried and died.’

Text 5 *Thoche lêh Vengke* ‘Thoche and Vengke’ as told by Seihlal Doungel¹⁵

Seihlal Doungel, a 43 year old male speaker of Thadou, lives in Songpijang. He is originally from the North Cachar Hills in Assam. He is also a speaker of Bengali. In this story, the two title characters fight over land.

01 *mâsâng lâai -jîn Thoche lêh Vengke găm*
before era -NFP Thoche and Vengke land

â- ná- kî- chù -lhòn -nîn âhilêh
3- EVID- REC- fight -DU -NFP SUB:and

‘Once upon a time, Thoche and Vengki fought over a piece of land.’

02 *Thoche găm -chũ găm mâang -láh â- hî -n*
Thoche land -DIST.DET forest thick -LOC 3- be -NFP

‘Thoche’s land was a dense forest.’

03 *Vengke găm -chũ găm lhêng -láh â- ná- hî -n*
Vengke land -DIST.DET land open -LOC 3- EVID- be -NFP

‘Vengke’s land was an open land.’

04 *Thoche -n Vengke găm â- dèichâat -jih -în nîsieh -în*
Thoche -ERG Vengke land 3- like₂ -HAB -NFP everyday -NFP

â- ná- kî- chù -pî -n
3- EVID- REC- fight -COM -NFP

‘Because Thoche liked his (Vengke) land, he fought with him everyday.’

05 *Vengke -hî â- dêng~dêng -jîeng¹⁶ -tà -n â- hî*
Vengke -PROX.DET 3- beat₁~beat₁ -HAB -PST -NFP 3- be

‘Every day, he would beat Vengke.’

06 *nîkhât -hî hùmpi â- hûng -în Vengke jàhá*
one.day -PROX.DET tiger 3- come -NFP Vengke to.him

‘One day, a tiger came and asked Vengke,’

07 *pâ Vengke ipî dî nâ- kàa hám â- tì lêh*
father Vengke what reason 2- cry₂ be.Q1 3- tell SUB:and

‘“Father Vengke, why did you cry?”’

08 *Vengke -n jông Thoche -n kâ- găm ì- lách -pîh -á kâ-*
Vengke -ERG also Thoche -ERG 1- land 1- take₂ -BEN -SUB:then 1-

kàa â- hî â- tì lêh
cry₂ 3- be 3- tell SUB:and

‘Vengke said, “I cried because Thoche has seized my land.”’

¹⁵ This text does not have a corresponding audio recording in CoRSAL.

¹⁶ This is a variant of *-ji* ‘HAB.’

- 09 *hùmpì -n jông kîn nâ- kî- thòpi nâ- ìng -ngê*
 tiger -ERG also 1.ERG 2- REC- help 2- FUT -DECL1
 ‘The tiger said, “I will help you.”’
- 10 *chì -n -lâng nâ- nâo àn khě khàt gà- lá -n*
 go -IMP -SPAT 2- daughter food spoon one DIR- take₁ -IMP
â- tì -n â- sôol -tà -în â- hî
 3- tell -NFP 3- send₁ -PST -NFP 3- be
 ‘‘Go and get a spoonful of your baby’s food.’’
- 11 *Vengke jông â- chì -în â- nâo àn khě khàt*
 Vengke also 3- go -NFP 3- baby food spoon one
â- gà- lă -n hùmpî -chũ â- pe -tà -n â- hî
 3- DIR- take₁ -NFP tiger -DIST.DET 3- give₁ -PST -NFP 3- be
 ‘Vengke went and took a spoonful of his food and gave it to the tiger.’
- 12 *hùmpî -în jông tù -în Thoche -chũ gà- kòu -tàn*
 tiger -ERG also now -NFP Thoche -DIST.DET DIR- call₁ -OPT.IMP
â- tì lèh
 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘The tiger said to call Thoche now.’
- 13 *Vengke -în jông Thoche â- tì lèh*
 Vengke -ERG also Thoche 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘Vengke went and called Thoche.’
- 14 *Thoche -n jông êi- ná- ngâh -tâng*
 Thoche -ERG also 2→1 OPT- wait₁ -COMD
 ‘Thoche said, “Wait for me.”’
- 15 *kâ- vòh àn kâ- pèh jôu -tìeng lèh hùng návêhtâng*
 1- pig food 1- give₂ finish -CONS SUB:and come assure
â- tì -în
 3- tell -NFP
 ‘He said he would come after he finished feeding his pigs.’
- 16 *â- vòh àn â- pìeh jôu phâat -în â- chì -tà -n âhîlèh*
 3- pig food 3- give₂ finish time -NFP 3- go -PST -NFP SUB:and
 ‘Thoche went after feeding the pig.’
- 17 *â- gà -chì lèh â- liváthêi tòh â- pòh sùh dèt-dèt âhîlèh*
 3- DIR -go SUB:and 3- bangle with 3- carry₂ down IDEO SUB:and
 ‘He went down carrying his bangle.’
- 18 *hùmpî -n jông kâte hî -khũ -bá kichâat dîng*
 tiger -ERG also hello be -DIST.DET -FOC afraid₂ FUT

- hî -khǔ -mê tì -în â- jàam -ta -n â- hî*
 be -DIST.DET -DECL1 tell -NFP 3- run -PST -NFP 3- be
 ‘The tiger seeing him said, “This man should be afraid and run away.”’
- 19 *Thoche â- hûng lhùn -nîn Vengke -chǔ hà dèn -nîn*
 Thoche 3- come reach₂ -NFP Vengke -DIST.DET hard beat₂ -NFP
- â- dêng -în â- dàa lhàh -kìt -tà -n â- hî*
 3- beat₁ -NFP 3- leave down -again -PST -NFP 3- be
 ‘When Thoche had reached (the place), he beat up Vengke black and blue and left.’
- 20 *hîti -chǔn gànhing jòusie Vengke -chǔ â- lûng -û*
 like -DIST.DET.NFP animal all Vengke -DIST.DET 3- heart -PL3
- â- sîe -n*
 3- pity₁ -NFP
 ‘In this way, all the animals had pity on him (Vengke).’
- 21 *ahînláh Thoche â- kichâat -jì -ûn â- jâam tâo -vîn â- hî*
 SUB:but Thoche 3- afraid₂ -HAB -PL3 3- run PST.PL3 -NFP 3- be
 ‘But, being afraid of Thoche, they all ran away.’
- 22 *âjônâ piên -în âi â- hûng -în âi -în jông Vengke*
 at.last most -NFP crab 3- come -NFP crab -ERG also Vengke
- jáhá pâ Vengke ipî dĩa nâ- kàa hàmm â- tì lêh*
 to.him father Vengke what QUOT 2- cry₂ be.Q1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘At last, a crab came and asked Vengke why he was crying.’
- 23 *Thoche -n kâ- găm ì- làh -pîh â- hî â- tì lêh*
 Thoche -ERG 1- land 3→1- take₂ -BEN 3- be 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘“Because Thoche has taken away my land.”’
- 24 *âi -n jông nâ- nâo àn khě khàt*
 crab -ERG also 2- baby food spoon one
- nêi- gâ- lách -pîh -în kêimâ -n nâ- kî- thòpî*
 2→1- DIR- take₂ -BEN -NFP I -ERG 2- REF- help
- nâ- îng -ngê â- tì -tà -n â- hî*
 2- FUT -DECL1 3- tell -PST -NFP 3- be
 ‘The crab told him, “If you get me a spoonful of your baby’s food, I shall help you.”’
- 25 *Vengke â- nûom -tà -pò -n sâ liên hî- jâat -în*
 Vengke 3- agree₁ -PST -NEG:SC -NFP animal big PROX.DET- many -NFP

- bòn* *ì-* *kíchả* *-á* *nâng* *piên* *-tàh* *-în*
 also 3→1- afraid₁ -SUB:then you least -INTF2 -NFP
 ‘Vengke did not agree, saying, “All the big animals were afraid of me and you are the least.”’
- 26 *â-* *tì* *-n* *â-* *nûom* *-tà* *-pò* *-n* *â-* *hî*
 3- tell -NFP 3- agree₁ -PST -NEG:SC -NFP 3- be
 ‘He said he did not agree.’
- 27 *âhîlêh* *âi* *-în* *jông* *gà-* *lá* *-tâng* *â-* *tì* *lêh* *â-* *nâo*
 SUB:and crab -ERG also DIR- take₁ -COMD 3- tell SUB:and 3- baby
- àn* *khế* *khàt* *-chủ* *â-* *gà-* *lá* *-tà* *-n* *â-* *hî*
 food spoon one -DIST.DET 3- DIR- take₁ -PST -NFP 3- be
 ‘Then, the crab told him to go and get a spoonful of his baby’s food so he went.’
- 28 *âi* *-chủ* *â-* *pê* *-n* *-chủ* *jôu* *-vîn* *Vengke* *kôm* *-mâ*
 crab -DIST.DET 3- give₁ -NFP -DIST.DET after -NFP Vengke to -LOC
- hùija* *hông* *-jì* *-em* *â-* *tì* *lêh*
 where come -HAB -Q1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘He gave food to the crab, then the crab asked Vengke where Thoche used to come.’
- 29 *híchì* *thông* *lông* *-á* *-khữn* *â-* *hông* *-jì* *-ê*
 DET wood dead -LOC -DIST.DET.NFP 3- come -HAB -DECL1
- â-* *tì* *-tà* *-n* *â-* *hî*
 3- tell -PST -NFP 3- be
 ‘“He used to come from this wood log,” said Vengke.’
- 30 *âi* *-jîn* *jông* *Vengke* *jàhá* *tû* *-n* *Thoche* *-chủ*
 crab -ERG also Vengke to.him now -NFP Thoche -DIST.DET
- gà-* *kòu* *-tà* *-n* *â-* *tì* *lêh*
 DIR- call₁ -OPT -NFP 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘The crab told him to go and call Thoche.’
- 31 *Vengke* *-n* *jông* *vó* *Thoche* *châpâ* *gãm* *nâ-* *kî-* *ngàp*
 Vengke -ERG also hello Thoche son extinct₂ 2- REF- dare₂
- lêh* *tû* *-n* *hông* *-tà* *-ngêm* *â-* *gà-* *tì* *lêh*
 SUB:and now -NFP come -OPT -Q5.Q1 3- DIR- tell SUB:and
 ‘Vengke went up to Thoche and called to Thoche, “You sonless, if you dare me, come now.”’
- 32 *hôijo* *ěi-* *nâ-* *ngâh* *-tâng* *kâ-* *vôh* *àn* *kâ* *-n*
 yes 2→1- OPT- wait₁ -COMD 1- pig food 1 -ERG
- pêh* *jôu* *-tieng* *lêh* *hông* *nâ-* *îng* *-ngê*
 give₂ finish -CONS SUB:and come IMP:dirt- FUT -DECL1

- â- hîn- tì -n
 3- CIS- tell -NFP
 ‘Thoche replied, “Wait for me. I will come after I have finished feeding my pigs.”’
- 33 Thoche jông â- voh àn â- pêh jôu phâat -nîn â- hûng -tâ -n
 Thoche also 3- pig food 3- give₂ finish time -NFP 3- come -PST -NFP
 ‘Thoche, after feeding his pig,’
- 34 â- hûng -ná -jì thinglông -á -chủn â- lîvâthêi
 3- come -LOC -HAB tree -LOC -DIST.DET.NFP 3- bangle

 tòh â- hûng pòh sùh dèt-dèt -hòn -nîn
 with 3- come carry₂ down IDEO -DU -NFP
 ‘came to the wooden log along with his bangle.’
- 35 Thoche â- hûng sùh phâat -nîn ai -jîn jông â- tìl tó
 Thoche 3- come down time -NFP crab -ERG also 3- testicle edge

 â- pè -pîh lêh
 3- bite₁ -BEN SUB:and
 ‘When Thoche came, the crab bit his testicle.’
- 36 ná â- sâ -bêhsêh -în â- pèen â- pèen -ná
 pain 3- feel₁ -INTF1 -NFP 3- shout₂ 3- shout₂ -SUB:then

 nêi- lha -n nêi- lha -n â- tì vâng -în
 2→1- release -IMP 2→1- release -IMP 3- tell despite -NFP
 ‘Thoche felt the pain so badly that he shouted out and requested to release him, but,’
- 37 â- pát tòi â- pát tòi -jieng -în chỏmkhât jôu phâat -nîn
 3- bite₁ continue 3- bite₁ continue -HAB -NFP while after time -NFP
 ‘He (the crab) kept biting him, after a while’
- 38 Vengke gãm nâ- pêh dì há nâ- pêh -lôu đing hám â- lêh
 Vengke land 2- give₂ FUT be.Q1 2- give₂ -NEG FUT be.Q1 3- SUB:and
 ‘The crab asked him (Thoche), “Will you or will you not give back Vengke’s land?”’
- 39 â- lâl -bêhsêh phâat -nîn pê -na ìng -ngê â- hîn- tì -n
 3- tire -INTF1 time -NFP give₁ -OPT FUT -DECL1 3- CIS- tell -NFP
 ‘When he could not bear the pain any longer, he said, “I will give it back.”’
- 40 âi -jîn nâ- pêh mông~mông đing hí -ná -m â- tì lêh
 crab -ERG 2- give₂ certainly~certainly FUT be -OPT -Q1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘The crab asked him, “Will you surely give back Vengke’s land?”’
- 41 Thoche -n jông hìeng -ngê pê -ná ìng -ngê
 Thoche -ERG also yes -DECL1 give₁ -OPT FUT -DECL1

â- *tì* *phâat* -*nîn* â- *lhâ* -*tà* -*n* *âhîlêh*
 3- tell time -NFP 3- release -PST -NFP SUB:and
 ‘When Thoche said “yes, the crab set him free,”’

42 â- *jàam* -*în* *vâdûng* *gâal* â- *pháh* *phâat* -*nîn*
 3- run -NFP river side 3- reach₂ time -NFP

pê -*pông* -*ngê* â- *hîn-* *tì* -*n* â- *lhěi* -*jîn* â- *hî*
 give₁ -NEG:SC.FUT -DECL1 3- CIS- tell -NFP 3- run -NFP 3- be
 ‘He ran away. And when he reached the other side of the river, he said he will not give it back.’

43 *hînlá* *tû* -*n* *Vengke* *găm* *lhêng* -*lá* â- *châng* -*în* *Thoche*
 SUB:but now -NFP Vengke land open -LOC 3- get₁ -NFP Thoche

găm *mâang* -*lá* â- *châng* -*tà* -*ì* â- *kî-* *tì* -*în* â- *hî*
 land dense -LOC 3- get₁ -PST -DECL2 3- REF- tell -NFP 3- be
 ‘It is said that now Vengke got the open land, and Thoche got the dense forest land again.’

Text 6 About Village Administration as told by Houjahen Haokip¹⁷

Houjahen Haokip, an 85 year old male speaker of Thadou, lives in Lambung. He is also a speaker of Manipuri. In this text, he explains village administration. The council of ministers helps the chief make decisions for the village, such as divorce, announcing news, and dealing with thieves.

01 *khǒsúng hòusa â- châng -ngâ vâai â- pòh thèi -lôu â- hîn*
 village chief 3- alone -LOC rule 3- carry₂ able.to1 -NEG 3- be.NFP
 ‘In a village, the chief cannot carry out administration on his own.’

02 *âkîthòpî -dîng -în sêmâang páchông â- kòi -jîn*
 helper -for -NFP council.of.ministers 3- keep -NFP
 ‘He keeps a council of ministers to help him.’

03 *ipî~ipî hî jông lêh khǒsúng -ngâ asie a- ùm*
 what~what be also SUB:and village -LOC bad 3- exist

jông lêh â- phàa ùm jông lêh
 also SUB:and 3- good exist also SUB:and
 ‘Whatever may be, whether bad or good.’

04 *â- hòusâpâ lêh â- sêmâangpâ lêh â- páchôngpâ -chủ*
 3- chief and 3- council and 3- advisor -DIST.DET

kî- hǒu -vá
 REC- talk -SUB:then
 ‘The chief and his council of ministers discuss.’

05 *ítî bòl -lá phǎ hâm tìchǔ kî- hǒu khôm -û -vá*
 how do₂ -Q3 good be.Q1 like.that REC- talk together -PL3 -SUB:then

â- bòl -jì -û â- hê
 3- do₂ -HAB -PL3 3- be
 ‘They discuss to sort out how to deal with it.’

06 *kîvâaihòmna -chủ âtâm -mîn akhǒh diu -hò -chủ âhilêh*
 administration -DIST.DET many -NFP main FUT.PL3 -PL1 -DIST.DET SUB:and
 ‘There are many forms of administration. The main ones are,’

07 *khǒsúng -ngâ nûmei â- kî- dàa â- ùm jông lêh*
 village -LOC girl 3- REF- divorce 3- exist also SUB:and
 ‘If there is a divorce of a girl.’

¹⁷ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781645/>

- 08 *híchichũ âmâ -hò -n â- sèi đũu â- hê*
 DET.DIST.DET s/he -PL1 -ERG 3- say₂ FUT.PL3 3- be
 ‘They have to discuss it.’
- 09 *a- kî- dâa lêh ìpî dâan -ná kî- dâa hàm*
 3- REF- divorce SUB:and what law -Q1 REF- divorce be.Q1
 ‘If someone is divorced then why was she divorced?’
- 10 *âmâ -hò -chũn sêel hĩjâat -ná nâ- dâa đũu â- hê*
 s/he -PL1 -DIST.DET.ERG mithun this.much -SUB:then 2- divorce FUT.PL3 3- be
 ‘They will decide that you have to divorce by paying this number of mithuns as a fine.’
- 11 *jôunì jôuthũm jôule jôngâ -a nâ- dâa đĩng â- he*
 two three four five -INST 2- divorce FUT 3- be
 ‘They will tell him to pay a fine of two, three, four or five animals.’
- 12 *â- tì -û jông lêh âmâ -hò vâaihom -chũ â- dâa*
 3- tell -PL3 also SUB:and s/he -PL1 decision -DIST.DET 3- divorce
- đĩng hĩn -tê*
 FUT be.NFP -DECL1
 ‘If they decide so then the ones who will divorce have to abide by it.’
- 13 *chũlêh chũchĩ góh hĩ -lôu -vĩn*
 SUB:and DIST.DET.DET also be -NEG -NFP
 ‘Then, not only this.’
- 14 *vôhchâ khâk jông sâlam â- sâat -û -vĩn*
 pig one also fine 3- pay -PL3 -NFP
 ‘They fine him with a pig as well.’
- 15 *hĩtĩachũ hòusâ ùpâ -hò -chũ -n vâai â- hòmm -û*
 like.this chief elder -PL1 -DIST.DET -ERG rule 3- administer -PL3
- â- â- hê*
 3- 3- be.DECL1
 ‘In this way, the chief and elders administer the village.’
- 16 *chũ lêh khỗsũng -ngâ ìpî thú hàm khâk*
 DIST.DET SUB:and village -LOC what report be.Q1 one
- â- hũng -á â- hĩ jông lêh*
 3- come -SUB:then 3- be also SUB:and
 ‘In case certain news comes into the village.’

- 17 *thūsîe hî jông lêh thûphà hî jông lêh*
 bad.news be also SUB:and good.news be also SUB:and
 ‘Even if it is bad or good news.’
- 18 *hîchî â- hûng -tâi tìchû âmâ -hò -n*
 DET 3- come -PST DIST.DET s/he -PL1 -ERG

â- hîn- phon diu â- he
 3- CIS- declare FUT.PL3 3- be
 ‘They have to announce it.’
- 19 *khòlgãm -mâ thîl khàt â- ùm jông lêh*
 outside -LOC report one 3- exist also SUB:and
 ‘If there is news from outside.’
- 20 *thîjînkòupâ -chũ hòusâpâ ìn -ná lhung -kît ìn -tîn*
 messenger -DIST.DET chief house -LOC reach₁ -again FUT -NFP
 ‘The announcer will arrive in the chief’s house.’
- 21 *hòusâpâ -chũ hîchîachũ khòsùng -ngâ khòlhâangsâm khàt â- kòi*
 chief -DIST.DET.ERG like.this village -LOC announcer one 3- keep
 ‘The chief keeps a village announcer.’
- 22 *hîchî pâ kôm -ma -chũ hé hîchî pâ -chũ â- thî -tâi*
 DET man to -LOC -DIST.DET hello DET man -DIST.DET 3- die -PST.DECL2

â- tì -û -vîn
 3- tell -PL3 -NFP
 ‘And he will announce that such and such person passed away.’
- 23 *nâng -în khòlhâang gâ- sâm -mîn -lâng*
 you -ERG announcement DIR- announce -IMP -SPAT
 ‘The chief will tell him to announce it to the villagers.’
- 24 *â- chì thèi chàn gâ- chì -vîn tía vâaihòpnâ*
 3- go able.to1 whoever DIR- go -IMP QUOT administration

â- nèi â- hé
 3- have 3- be
 ‘He will tell that whosoever can, must go.’
- 25 *chũlêh hîchî gùot -kît -chũ hî -lôu -vîn*
 SUB:and DET only -again -DIST.DET be -NEG -NFP
 ‘Not only this, he has to inform.’
- 26 *gùchâ khàt lâchâ khàt â- ùm -tâh -á âhî jông lêh*
 thief one liar one 3- exist -INTF2 -SUB:then 3.be also SUB:and
 ‘If there is a thief or liar.’

- 27 *khàt -nîn híchê pâ -chủ -n kê- thil -chủ*
 one -NFP DET man -DIST.DET -ERG 1- property -DIST.DET
â- gùu -tâi
 3- steal₁ -PST.DECL2
 ‘If a person says, “This man has stolen my property.”’
- 28 *kê- sũm â- gùu -i kê- bông â- gùu -ì*
 1- money 3- steal₁ -DECL2 1- cow 3- steal₁ -DECL2
kê- dát â- gùu -i â- tì jông lêh
 1- gong 3- steal₁ -DECL2 3- tell also SUB:and
 ‘Or if someone complains, “He has stolen my money, cow or gong.”’
- 29 *híchê jông -chủ âmâ report â- gâ- bôol -û lêh*
 DET also -DIST.DET s/he report 3- DIR- do -PL3 SUB:and
 ‘That report is also lodged to them.’
- 30 *âmâ -hò -n híchê -achủ â- thũ -chủ â- hîn- khòl*
 s/he -PL1 -ERG DET -DIST.DET 3- report -DIST.DET 3- CIS- investigate
-û -vá
 -PL3 -SUB:then
 ‘Then they will examine the complaints.’
- 31 *nâ- gùh mông~mông hì -nâm*
 2- steal₂ certainly~certainly be -Q1
 ‘And inquire whether he has stolen or not.’
- 32 *hítôbâng report â- lhung -ngê â- tì -û -vîn*
 such.and.such report 3- reach₁ -DECL1 3- tell -PL3 -NFP
 ‘Because such and such complaint has come to us.’
- 33 *kê- gùu hì -béh -ê â- tì lêh khàt â- hì -n*
 1- steal₁ be -INTF1 -DECL1 3- tell SUB:and one 3- be -NFP
 ‘If he denies it, then the matter is treated differently.’
- 34 *kê- gùu -ì â- tì lêh kê- mào -tâi*
 1- steal₁ -DECL2 3- tell SUB:and 1- wrong -PST.DECL2
nâ- tì -m tía â- dòh -û
 2- tell -Q1 QUOT 3- ask₂ -PL3
 ‘But if he admits it, then they will ask him to apologize.’
- 35 *kê- mào -tâi â- tì lêh sîelpî*
 1- wrong -PST.DECL2 3- tell SUB:and mithun
khàt -ná salàm â- sàat -vá
 one -SUB:then fine 3- pay -SUB:then
 ‘And he will pay a fine of one mithun.’

- 36 *hòusâ -hò -dĩng -â vòhchâ tũh ngâ â- thà*
 chief -PL1 -for -INST pig foot five 3- kill
 ‘And a pig of five feet for the chief and his associates.’
- 37 *kâ- bõol -pò -ì â- tì nàh~nàh -á*
 1- do₁ -NEG:SC -DECL2 3- tell barely~barely -SUB:then
 ‘If he insists that he did not steal.’
- 38 *âlang khàtná khàt pà -chũn*
 on.the.other.hand one man -DIST.DET.ERG
- â- gũu mông~mông -ngê â- tì lèh*
 3- steal₁ certainly~certainly -DECL1 3- tell SUB:and
 ‘And if the other person insists that he stole it.’
- 39 *híchĩ achũ tũi lí hũng lùut â- hê*
 DET 3.DIST.DET water inside come enter 3- be
 ‘Then the matter is subjected to the practice of immersing into water.’
- 40 *tũi lí â- hũng kĩ- lùut koon lèh â- mōo jòh~jòh -chũ*
 water inside 3- come REF- enter before SUB:and 3- wrong who~who -DIST.DET
 ‘Before immersing into water, the price of the guilty.’
- 41 *ichànná ì- gáp diu hám tichũ hòusâpâ lèh*
 how.much incl- fine FUT.PL3 be.Q1 like.that chief and
- khõsũng -ngâ sêmâang páchông â- kòi jâat tōh -chũn*
 village -LOC council.of.ministers 3- keep number with -DIST.DET.NFP
 ‘Is already decided by the council of ministers.’
- 42 *kĩ- hòu khõm -û -va â- mōo jòh~jòh -chũ híchàn*
 REF- talk together -PL3 -SUB:then 3- wrong who~who -DIST.DET DET
- hĩn gãm -û -tê tì -chũ âmâsangâ â- sèi -û*
 be.NFP fine₁ -PL3 -DECL1 tell -DIST.DET previous 3- say₂ -PL3
 ‘After discussion and decision of the fine is arrived at.’
- 43 *â- mōo jòh~jòh -chũ thũ kĩ- tàn -ná tũa*
 3- wrong who~who -DIST.DET report REF- arrive₂ -SUB:then now
- híchĩ -hĩ nâng nâ- hũng mōo âjông lèh híchanná*
 DET -PROX.DET you 2- come wrong also SUB:and this.much
- nâ- hũng liêu ding*
 2- come fine FUT
 ‘And the person is informed that, if you are guilty, then you have to pay such and such fine.’
- 44 *khàt pà jông -chũ nâng nâ- mōo -á nâ- hĩ*
 one man also -DIST.DET you 2- wrong -SUB:then 2- be

jông lèh nâ- liéu dîng
 also SUB:and 2- fine FUT

‘The other person is also told that in case he is wrong, then he will have to pay such and such fine.’

45 *nâ- nùp -lhòn -nà -ěm tía kî- dông -ngâ*
 2- agree₂ -DU -NMZ -Q1 QUOT REF- ask₁ -SUB:then

‘They are asked whether they agree or not.’

46 *kâ- nûom -mê â- tí phâat lèh híchí âchũ âmâ nì -chũ*
 1- agree₁ -DECL1 3- tell time SUB:and DET.DIST.DET s/he two -DIST.DET

túi lî kî- lúut -sàh â- hê
 water inside REC- enter -CAUS 3- be

‘After they give their consent, they are immersed into water.’

47 *chũ lèh â- môo jòh~jòh -chũ híchànâchũ*
 DIST.DET SUB:and 3- wrong who~who -DIST.DET this.much

kî- lieu -sàh â- he
 REC- fine -CAUS 3- be

‘The one who is guilty is made to pay a fine of such and such amount.’

48 *chũ lèh khỗsùng -ngâ thúsie khàt lâsie khàt thúsie*
 DIST.DET SUB:and village -LOC bad.news one bad.song one bad.news

â- húng -ngâ
 3- come -SUB:then

‘If good or bad news comes into the village,’

49 *âhilèh gâal lèh tôol â- úm -tâi â- kî- tí jông lèh*
 SUB:and war and the.like 3- exist -PST.DECL2 3- REF- tell also SUB:and

‘Or if a war-like situation arises,’

50 *kùimâ -n jông mîjôusie kôm -mâ lhúut -lôu*
 no.one -ERG also all to -LOC inform₁ -NEG

‘No one will report to others,’

51 *híchí -chũ hòusâ kôm -mâ kî- lhùh â- hê*
 det -DIST.DET chief to -LOC REC- inform₂ 3- be

‘But such news is reported only to the chief.’

52 *hòusâpâ -chũ -n â- sêmâang lèh â- páchông -hò -chũ*
 chief -DIST.DET -ERG 3- minister and 3- advisor -PL1 -DIST.DET

â- kòu -vá

3- call₁ -SUB:then

‘The chief then calls his ministers and advisors,’

53 *híchâ kí- hòu -ná â- nèi -va*

DET REC- talk -NMZ 3- have -SUB:then

‘And they have a discussion,’

54 *hítâ ì- ûm dîu â- hé tichũ â- sèi*
like.this INCL- exist FUT.PL3 3- be like.that 3- say₂

-û -vá mîpî â- hêt -sâh -û â- hé
-PL3 -SUB:then public 3- notify -CAUS -PL3 3- be

‘And they inform the public how they should take a stand.’

Text 7 About Marriage Ceremonies as told by Houjahan Haokip¹⁸

Houjahan Haokip, an 85 year old male speaker of Thadou, lives in Lambung. He is also a speaker of Manipuri. In this text, he explains marriage ceremonies. The man must approach the parents of the bride with a pot of wine and ask permission to marry their daughter. Then, they set a date, and the families offer an animal (often, a mithun) for the ceremony.

01 *nûmêi khàt lèh pùsâl khàt -chủ jînèi phâat â- hûng*
 girl one and boy one -DIST.DET marriage time 3- come

hî phâat lèh
 be time SUB:and

‘When a boy and a girl reach a marriageable age.’

02 *â- pütê chànû -chủ kî- dông -ngâ jû ùm*
 3- maternal daughter -DIST.DET REC- ask₁ -SUB:then wine gourd

kî- pòo -á
 REF- carry₁ -SUB:then

‘They will approach the daughter of his mother’s side by carrying a pot of wine.’

03 *vèi nì vèi thũm gâ- kî- dông -ngâ chũ*
 CLF:num two CLF:num three DIR- REF- ask₁ -SUB:then DIST.DET

lèh -û -vîn ì- pèh phâat -û chũ lèh
 SUB:and -PL3 -ERG INCL- give₂ time -PL3 DIST.DET SUB:and

‘After asking twice or thrice and once their permission is obtained.’

04 *â- kî- pûi -ná -dĩng -chủ nìkhó kùm lèh lhâa*
 3- REF- bring -NMZ -for -DIST.DET day year and month

kî- kâh -kít -ná
 REF- fix -again -SUB:then

‘The day, month, and year is fixed for the marriage.’

05 *chũ lèh nûng lèh mâlêh âjôusèi ùm thèi*
 DIST.DET SUB:and after SUB:and before lair exist able.to1

-ná -lôu -dĩng -â
 -INST -NEG -for -INST

‘In order that no one should lie before or after.’

06 *ì- pû ì- pâ- -teu -chủ -n kèptàn sâ*
 INCL- grandfather INCL- father -PL2 -DIST.DET -ERG promise meat

¹⁸ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781637/>

â- thà -pîh -û -vă
 3- kill -BEN -PL3 -SUB:then
 ‘Our grandparents and fathers used to kill animals as a promise.’

07 â- thà -pîh jôu -û lêh kî- hòu -ná
 3- kill -BEN after -PL3 SUB:and REF- talk -NMZ
 kî- nòi -já nômêi -tê âmìt môo
 REF- have -SUB:then girl -PL2 conduct wrong
 lêh sîel khàt -ná liêu đing
 SUB:and mithun one -INST fine FUT
 ‘After killing the animal, a meeting is held.’

08 pùsâl -tê âmìt môo lêh sîel khàt -ná
 boy -PL2 conduct wrong SUB:and mithun one -INST
 liêu -kìt â- hîn
 fine -again 3- be.NFP
 ‘If the boy’s family do not live up to the expectation, then they are fined one mithun.’

09 híchî achũ âmì môo jòh~jòh â- ùm -lôu -vá âhilêh
 DET at conduct wrong who~who 3- exist -NEG -SUB:then SUB:and
 ‘If neither side violated the agreement, then such a fine is not required.’

10 â- púi -ná -đing ânîkho lêh âlhãa â- húng lhùn phâat
 3- carry -NMZ -for day and month 3- come reach₂ time
 lêh âmâ -û -vîn sîel jôu ngâ hîn- kái -vîn
 SUB:and s/he -PL3 -ERG mithun foot five CIS- bring -IMP
 ‘When the day and month to take the bride comes, the girl’s family will ask the boy’s family to bring one mithun.’

11 jôu thũm hîn- kái -û -vîn dáh hîn- pôo -û -vîn
 foot three CIS- bring -PL3 -IMP gong CIS- carry₁ -PL3 -IMP
 khí hîn- pôo -vîn sũm hîjâat hîn- pôo -û -vîn
 necklace CIS- carry₁ -IMP money this.much CIS- carry₁ -PL3 -IMP
 ‘They will ask them to bring three animals along with a gong and necklaces.’

12 híchî achũ mỗulhêi¹⁹ -jâ kî- chii âkhôthungâ
 DET DIST.DET bride.ceremony -INST REF- go all.the.villagers
 â- ú â- náo tòh â- kî- lhàh -sàh -û
 3- elder.siblings 3- younger.siblings with 3- REC- release -CAUS -PL3
 ‘After this is done, the entire village will go to the bride’s house where the bride bids farewell to her siblings.’

¹⁹The mỗulhêi is a ceremony in which the bride is taken from her parents.

- 13 *chũ* *lêh* *híchî* *akîchei* *phâat* *lêh* *mõu* *pûi* *-ná* *-dîng*
 DIST.DET SUB:and DET over time SUB:and bride bring -NMZ -for
âlhìn *phâat* *lêh*
 come time SUB:and
 ‘When this is over and the time to take the bride has come.’
- 14 *âmâ* *-nú* *mîpî* *-n* *jũ* *â-* *bàn²⁰* *-ná* *â-* *lhòh* *-vá*
 s/he -FEM public -ERG wine 3- serve -SUB:then 3- filter -SUB:then
â- *kî-* *pûi* *nî* *dîng* *lêh* *-chũn* *khõ* *pâm* *-mâ*
 3- REF- bring day FUT SUB:and -DIST.DET.NFP village outside -LOC
 ‘The public will place wine and will filter it.’
- 15 *khũmôol²¹* *-lá* *gâ-* *lành* *-vá* *jũ* *â-* *dòon* *-sàh* *-vá*
 hill -LOC DIR- release -SUB:then wine 3- drink₂ -CAUS -SUB:then
 ‘They make the bride drink the wine at the village hill.’
- 16 *âmâ* *-nú* *-chũ* *â-* *lúngal* *-bèhsêh* *în* *-tê* *â-* *tì* *-vá*
 s/he -FEM -DIST.DET 3- sad₁ -INTF1 FUT -HORT 3- think -SUB:then
jũ *â-* *dòon* *-sàh* *-û* *-vá*
 wine 3- drink₂ -CAUS -PL3 -SUB:then
 ‘This they do so that the bride is relieved of her sadness.’
- 17 *â-* *pûi* *-ná* *-dîng* *-chũ* *â-* *sîem* *-û* *â-* *hê*
 3- ceremony -NMZ -for -DIST.DET 3- arrange₂ -PL3 3- be
 ‘They make the wine on the day of the marriage.’
- 18 *chũlêh* *âmâ* *-nú* *â-* *kî-* *dàa* *-á* *âhìlêh* *hòusâ*
 SUB:and s/he -FEM 3- REF- divorce -SUB:then SUB:and chief
ûpâ *-hòo* *-n* *salâm* *â-* *sàat* *-sàh* *-û* *-vá*
 elder -PL1 -ERG fine 3- pay -CAUS -PL3 -SUB:then
 ‘In case the girl is divorced, the chief and the elders will impose a fine.’
- 19 *â-* *mân* *jòuste* *ânúnglê* *dîng* *júbêel* *khàt* *â-* *bân* *dîng*
 3- price after repay FUT wine.pot one 3- serve₂ FUT
 ‘The price of the bride will be returned along with a pot of wine.’
- 20 *mîpî* *kôm* *-mâ* *kêi* *kâ-* *mòo* *-tâi* *tîa* *tâoná*
 public to -LOC I 1- wrong -PST.DECL2 QUOT forgiveness
â- *thuum* *dîng*
 3- seek FUT
 ‘The groom has to apologize before the public and seek forgiveness.’

²⁰ *Bàn* refers specifically to placing a wine pot before a person for them to sip.

²¹ The *khũmôol* is the hill at the entry of the village.

- 21 *phâtêchâ -á â- kî- chên -lhòn -ná âhìlêh ìmâ*
 good -SUB:then 3- REC- marry₂ -DU -SUB:then SUB:and nothing
thiùp ùm -lôu
 at.all exist -NEG
 ‘If they live properly, such a thing will not apply.’
- 22 *chũ lêh â- mǒu -nû -chũ kî- púi âjîng lêh*
 DIST.DET SUB:and 3- bride -FEM -DIST.DET REF- take next.day SUB:and
ì- pũ ì- pâ ngêinâ âchũ
 INCL- grandfather INCL- father practice 3.DIST.DET
 ‘The bride is taken on the next day according to the practices of our forefathers.’
- 23 *âhchá khàt -ná kî- lhǎlhò²² -lhòn -á*
 hen one -INST REF- bless -DU -SUB:then
 ‘And a ceremony of blessing is performed for the newly married couple.’
- 24 *thiempúpâ -chũ -n nûnglê mâlê*
 priest -DIST.DET -ERG before after
â- kî- khàn -lhòn -lôu -dîng -á
 3- REF- separate -DU -NEG -for -SUB:then
 ‘In order to avoid separation during their marriage, the priest’
- 25 *â- dâm -lhòn -nâ -dîng châ le nâo â- hîn -nâ -dîng -á*
 3- well -DU -NMZ -for son and daughter 3- be.NFP -NMZ -for -SUB:then
â- lhǎlhò â- hê
 3- bless 3- be
 ‘Blesses them for their wellbeing and for their sons and daughters.’
- 26 *híchî jôu phâat lêh chũn âmâ nì -chũ*
 DET after time SUB:and DIST.DET.NFP s/he two -DIST.DET
kî- chên -sàh â- he
 REC- marry₂ -CAUS 3- be
 ‘After this is done they are made to live together.’

²² The *lhǎlhò* is another ceremony of blessing for the new bride.

Text 8 About Birth Ceremonies as told by Houjahen Haokip²³

Houjahen Haokip, an 85 year old male speaker of Thadou, lives in Lambung. He is also a speaker of Manipuri. In this text, he explains birth ceremonies. When a baby is born, friends and relatives visit and give gifts. A priest blesses the child and gives the child the name of their grandfather who lived the longest.

01 *châpâng khàt â- pîen lhàh lêh*
 baby one 3- birth down SUB:and
 ‘When a new baby is born,’

02 *â- ú â- nâo â- hîeng â- kôm*
 3- elders 3- younger.siblings 3- near.ones 3- relatives

â- gâh- òup -û -vá â- gâ- limbòol -û -vâh
 3- DIR- visit₂ -PL3 -SUB:then 3- DIR- help -PL3 -SUB:then
 ‘His elder and young siblings and his near ones and relatives will visit and help him.’

03 *âmâsâpienná nâodòp jũ â- kî- bàn -û -vá*
 first baby wine 3- REF- serve₂ -PL3 -SUB:then

â- chêep -û -vá thûngêi lângâi â- sèi -û â- hê
 3- drink -PL3 -SUB:then good.words good.song 3- say₂ -PL3 3- be
 ‘First they bring wine and drink it with good words and good songs.’

04 *nâo -chũ áhchâ khàt -ná â- lhâlhò -vá*
 baby -DIST.DET hen one -INST 3- bless -SUB:then
 ‘They bless the baby with one hen.’

05 *jũbêel hîn- dõm lôoi pôunsil hîn- chõi lôoi*
 wine.pot CIS- lift₁ friend blanket CIS- bring friend

sũm hîn- chõi lôoi ùm ìn -tîn
 money CIS- bring friend exist FUT -NFP
 ‘People bring a pot of wine, a blanket, and money.’

06 *chũ lêh âmâ âmâ kî- pêh nũom dũngjũiyîn*
 DIST.DET SUB:and s/he s/he REF- give₂ like according

kî- thò -û vîn -tîn
 REF- wish -PL3 FUT -NFP
 ‘They give according to their wishes.’

²³ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781623/>

- 07 *chũjôu lêh nâolhákhóp kî- bǒol îh -tîn*
 after.this SUB:and blessing.ceremony REF- do₁ FUT -NFP
 ‘After which a blessing ceremony is done.’
- 08 *híchî -chũ mǐjôusîe jông kî- nêh -sàh -lôu*
 DET -DIST.DET all also REF- eat₂ -CAUS -NEG
 ‘The meal of this occasion is not served to everyone.’
- 09 *gôolhâng nungâh châpâng â- thieng~thieng bǒu*
 bachelor maiden child 3- clean~clean only
- kî- nêh -sàh îh -tîn*
 REC- eat₂ -CAUS FUT -NFP
 ‘It is served only to bachelors, maidens, and children.’
- 10 *híchijôuchûlêh â- pú -tê îh -lâng -â*
 after.this 3- grandparent -PL2 house -SPAT -SUB:then
- gâh- kî- pǔi îh -tîn*
 DIR- REF- take FUT -NFP
 ‘After this he is taken to his grandparents.’
- 11 *pûon khàt tòh imâ~imâ tòh kî- thǔng îh -tîn*
 cloth one with something~something with REF- carry FUT -NFP
 ‘They bring a cloth and other gifts.’
- 12 *â- pú â- pî â- ú â- nâo -dǐng*
 3- grandfather 3- grandmother 3- elder 3- younger.sibling -for
- pûon kî- pôo îh -tîn*
 cloth REF- carry₁ FUT -NFP
 ‘A cloth each for his grandparents and his elder and younger siblings is carried.’
- 13 *nǐlhâh lêh â- pú -tê -chũ -n â- ú*
 evening SUB:and 3- grandparent -PL2 -DIST.DET -ERG 3- elder
- â- nâo hîn- khôm îh -tîn*
 3- younger.sibling CIS- gather₁ FUT -NFP
 ‘In the evening they gather his grandparents and elder and younger siblings.’
- 14 *híchî achũ â- pú â- pî pûon khàt chieh*
 DET 3.DIST.DET 3- grandfather 3- grandmother cloth one each
- kî- sil -pîh îh -tîn*
 REF- present -BEN FUT -NFP
 ‘A shawl is presented to each of his grandparents.’

- 15 *chũ lèh nìlhàh lèh -chũn jǔbêel kî- bǎng ìn -tîn*
 DIST.DET SUB:and evening SUB:and -DIST.DET.NFP wine.pot REF- serve₁ FUT -NFP
 ‘In the evening a pot of wine is served.’
- 16 *hìchî -chũ tùchâ jũ kî- tí ìn -tîn*
 DET -DIST.DET son.in.law wine REF- tell FUT -NFP
 ‘This wine is considered the son-in-law’s wine.’
- 17 *âmâ -hò -chũ khòn thũm khòn lí kî- sùn -pìh ìn -tîn*
 s/he -PL1 -DIST.DET cup three cup four REF- pour₂ -BEN FUT -NFP
 ‘To each of the grandparents three to four cups of wine is served.’
- 18 *adâng -hò -chũ khòn khàt kî- sùn -pìh â- hê*
 other -PL1 -DIST.DET cup one REF- give₂ -BEN 3- be
 ‘For the rest only a cup of wine is served.’
- 19 *hìchî akìchèi phâat lèh â- pú -tê -n*
 DET over time SUB:and 3- grandparent -PL2 -ERG
nâopũisâ thâ -pìh -ûn tí -n
 baby.meat kill -BEN -PL3.NFP tell -NFP
 ‘After this the grandparents kill an animal for the baby.’
- 20 *âthângphât -û -vá âhìlêh sîel ajông bông ajông*
 luck -PL3 -SUB:then SUB:and mithun also cow also
vôhcha ajông â- alhâlhò thèi -û â- hê
 pig also 3- bless able.to1 -PL3 3- be
 ‘If they are lucky, their grandparent may kill a mithun, a cow, or a pig.’
- 21 *anèilôu -bèhsêh -chũ -n áhchâ -á â- lhâlhò jông*
 even.the.poor -INTF1 -DIST.DET -ERG hen -INST 3- bless also
lèh kípah -tâh -în â- kî- sàan -pìh -ê
 SUB:and happily -INTF2 -NFP 3- REF- accept₂ -BEN -DECL1
 ‘If the grandparents are poor, even a hen is accepted with a lot of love.’
- 22 *khôsúng -ngâ thîempú khàt -chũn pú mìn -în*
 village -LOC priest one -DIST.DET.ERG grandfather name -ERG
lhâlhò ìn -tîn
 bless FUT -NFP
 ‘A priest of the village blesses the child by taking the name of his grandfather.’
- 23 *â- pú mìn jông -chũ asîe kî- làa -lôu*
 3- grandfather name also -DIST.DET bad REF- take₁ -NEG
â- phàa ngênchâng
 3- good only
 ‘Only the names of good grandfathers are selected.’

24 *chũ* *lêh* *â-* *hîng* *lhũm* *kêa* *â-* *thí* *jông* *thí*
 DIST.DET SUB:and 3- live long ADV:comp 3- die also die

phâ *-hò* *-chũ* *kî-* *sàm* *-mâ*
 good -PL1 -DIST.DET REF- call₁ -SUB:then

‘The name of the grandfather who lived long and died a natural death is chosen.’

25 *âmâ* *bâng~bâng* *-în* *hûng* *hîng* *súot* *-nîn* *kî-* *túa*
 s/he like~like -NFP come live long -IMP REF- QUOT

‘The priest will say “Live a long life like him”’

26 *â-* *pú* *-tê* *-vîn* *sâ* *kúong* *hîn-* *pòh* *-sàh* *vîn* *-tîn*
 3- grandfather -PL2 -ERG meat waist CIS- carry₂ -CAUS FUT -NFP

‘His grandparents will send them back with the waist of the animal killed.’

27 *în* *-nàh* *â-* *hîeng* *â-* *kôm* *tòh* *sâlhâang* *-în*
 house -LOC 3- near.ones 3- relative with mass.meal -NFP

nê *vîn* *-tîn*
 eat₁ FUT -NFP

‘When they reach home, they eat with their relatives.’

28 *â-* *pũ* *-tê* *chûng* *-áh* *kípâná* *thũ* *kî-* *sèi* *-já*
 3- grandparent -PL2 upon -LOC thank report REC- say₂ -SUB:then

hîtua *-chũ* *kî-* *bóol* *â-* *hê*
 like.this -DIST.DET REC- do₁ 3- be

‘They give thanks to the grandparents for their kindness upon the child.’

Chapter 2: Saihriem Texts

Saihriem (also known as Faihriem) is spoken by around 600-700 in five small contiguous villages in the Dwarband subdivision of Cachar district of Barak valley: Balisor, Bagbahar, Noksatilla, Nengpur, Nagathol, Saihriem Kho, and Nagathol. Grierson (1904: 61) lists Saihriem as one of the dialects of Thadou (documented as ‘Sairang’).²⁴ Grierson wrote that dialects of Thadou are spoken in the Cachar Plains (present-day Barak valley). Besides the Saihriem proper, Saihriem is spoken as a mother tongue by a few families belonging to the Thadou clans (Chongloi and Changsen) and Vaiphei for many decades that they are now no longer conversant with their counterparts in Manipur or other parts of Northeast India.

Saihriem abbreviations, glosses and their corresponding morphemes

Gloss	Meaning	Morpheme
I	First person pronoun	<i>kêi</i>
1.S	First person singular agreement	<i>ka-</i>
1.PL	First person plural participant marker	<i>kan</i>
1.OBJ	First person object	<i>mìn-</i>
you	Second person pronoun	<i>nâng</i>
2.S	Second person singular agreement	<i>i-/in-</i>
s/he	Third person pronoun	<i>ama</i>
3.S	Third person singular agreement clitic	<i>a-</i>
3.PL	Third person plural agreement clitic	<i>an-</i>
3→1	Third person acting on first person	<i>mi-</i>
BEN	Benefactive	<i>-pêk</i>
COM	Comitative	<i>-pî</i>
DECL1	Declarative 1	<i>-e</i>
DECL2	Declarative 2	<i>-choi</i>
DIST.DET	Distal determiner	<i>-chũ</i>
DIR:down	Directional: movement down from the speaker	<i>zûk-</i>
DIR:away	Directional: movement away from the speaker	<i>va-</i>
DIR:tow	Directional: movement toward from the speaker	<i>han-</i>
ERG	Ergative	<i>-in/n</i>
FUT	Future	<i>-sik</i>
IMP	Imperative	<i>-ráwh/raw</i>
INTF	Intensifier	<i>-tâk</i>
LOC	Locative	<i>-a(h)</i>
NEG1	Negative 1	<i>-mâk</i>
NEG2	Negative 2	<i>-lôi</i>
NFP	Non-final particle	<i>-n</i>
PL	Plural	<i>-hèi</i>
POLT	Politeness marker	<i>bâwng-</i>
PROX.DET	Proximate determiner	<i>-khă</i>
PST	Past	<i>-ta</i>
Q	Question	<i>-mé</i>
REC	Reciprocal	<i>in-</i>
REF	Reflexive	<i>ki-</i>

²⁴ Grierson, George A. 1904. *Linguistic Survey of India*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India.

SUB:then	Subordinator: then	<i>-a</i>
SUB:and	Subordinator: and	<i>leh</i>

Text 1 Chemtatepu ‘Chemtatepu’ as told by Khuhi Saihriem²⁵

Kuhi Saihriem, a 90 year old female speaker of Saihriem, lives in Bahbahar. She is also a speaker of Bengali. This is a traditional narrative about animals.

- 01 *Ngáchângpâ nî khàt chēm ki- tâat -a*
Ngáchângpâ day one knife REF- sharpen -SUB:then
 ‘One day, Ngáchângpâ was sharpening a knife.’
- 02 *Kâikôngpâ -n Ngáchângpâ tîl a- pêt -pêk -a*
prawn -ERG Ngáchângpâ testicle 3.S- bite -BEN -SUB:then
- chēm ki- tâat lâai -tâk*
knife REF- sharpen while -INTF
 ‘A prawn bit Ngáchângpâ’s testicle.’
- 03 *Ngáchângpâ thânglôom -a rôvá -khă a- tûk -a*
Ngáchângpâ angry -SUB:then bamboo -PROX.DET 3.S- cut -SUB:then
 ‘Ngáchângpâ got angry and cut the bamboo tree.’
- 04 *rôvá a- lû -a àttá îñ a- jēm chàk -a*
bamboo 3.S- fall -SUB:then wild.cock house 3.S- hit break -SUB:then
 ‘The bamboo fell down and it hit the wild cock’s hut.’
- 05 *àttá -khă thânglôom -a thînglûngsá bù a- inthăai*
wild.cock -PROX.DET angry -SUB:then red.ant nest 3.S- scratch
- chèk nòk -a*
scatter again -SUB:then
 ‘The wild cock got angry and scratched the red ant’s nest.’
- 06 *thînglûngsá thânglôom -a sâsěnpâ jâng a- pêt nòk -a*
red.ant angry -SUB:then reindeer penis 3.S- bite again -SUB:then
 ‘The red-ant got angry and bit the penis of the reindeer.’
- 07 *sâsěnpâ thânglôom nòk -a nàchâng bŭl bàak rĕkná*
reindeer angry again -SUB:then banana stem bat rest
- a- sùklû nòk -a*
3.S- break again -SUB:then
 ‘The reindeer got angry and destroyed the banana stem.’
- 08 *bàak thânglôom -a sâaipî kûor -a a- lŭut nòk -a*
bat angry -SUB:then elephant ear -LOC 3.S- enter again -SUB:then
 ‘The bat got angry and entered into the elephant’s ear.’
- 09 *sâaipî thânglôom -a mèithâinû ïñ a- sùksê nòk -a*
elephant angry -SUB:then widow house 3.S- destroy again -SUB:then
 ‘The elephant got angry and destroyed the widow’s house.’

²⁵ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781624/>

- 10 *mèithâinû a- thânglôom -a rêngpâ tûikhûr -a*
 widow 3.S- angry -SUB:then king well -LOC
ek a- thâk -a
 dung 3.S- defecate -SUB:then
 ‘The widow got angry and defecated inside the king’s well.’
- 11 *mèithâinû an- dèp -a êngá sîká ěk in- thâk -mé*
 widow 3.PL- ask -SUB:then why reason dung 2.S- defecate -Q
 ‘They asked the widow, “Why did you defecate (in the king’s well)?”’
- 12 *sâaipî -n ka- ĩn a- sũksê pòlá kàn thâk -e*
 elephant -ERG 1.S- house 3.S- destroy explanation 1.S. ERG defecate -DECL1
a- òt -a
 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘She said, “I defecated because the elephant had destroyed my house.”’
- 13 *sâaipî êngá sîká mèithâinû ĩn sũksê an- òt lèh*
 elephant why reason widow house destroy 3.PL- tell SUB:and
 ‘They asked elephant why he destroyed the widow’s house,’
- 14 *sâaipî -n bàak ka- kũor -a a- lĩut -a*
 elephant -ERG bat 1.S- ear -LOC 3.S- enter -SUB:then
kan sũksê a- tĩ -a
 1.S.ERG destroy 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘The elephant replied, “Because the bat entered into my ear!”’
- 15 *bàak êngá sîká sâaipî kũor -a lĩut an- òt -pèk lèh*
 bat why reason elephant ear -LOC enter 3.PL- tell -BEN SUB:and
 ‘They asked the bat why he entered into the elephant’s ear,’
- 16 *bàak -in sâsěnpâ -in ka- ùmná nàchâng bũl a- sũklhũk -a*
 bat -ERG reindeer -ERG 1.S- residence banana stem 3.S- break -SUB:then
 ‘The bat replied, “Because the reindeer destroyed my nest (the banana stem),”’
- 17 *sâsěnpâ êngá sîká bàak ĩn in- sũklhũt -mé an- òt lèh*
 reindeer why reason bat house 2.S- break -Q 3.PL- tell SUB:and
 ‘They asked the reindeer, “Why did you destroy the bat’s nest?”’
- 18 *sâsěnpâ -n thĩnglũngsá -n ka- tĩl a- pêt -a*
 reindeer -ERG red.ant -ERG 1.S- testicle 3.S- bite -SUB:then
 ‘The reindeer replied, “Because the red ant bit my testicle.”’
- 19 *thĩnglũngsá êngá sîká sâsěnpâ tĩl in- pêt -mé an- òt lèh*
 red.ant why reason reindeer testicle 2.S- bite -Q 3.PL- tell SUB:and
 ‘They asked the red ant, “Why did you bite the testicle of the reindeer?”’

- 20 *thìnglũngsá -n àttá -n ka- ãn mìn- inthăai*
red.ant -ERG wild.cock -ERG 1.S- house 1.OBJ- scratch
inchèn -pêk -a
scatter -BEN -SUB:then
‘The red ant replied, “Because the hen scratched my house.”’
- 21 *àttá êngá sîká thìnglũngsá ãn inthăai chen -pêk -mé*
wild.cock why reason red.ant house scratch scatter -BEN -Q
an- ò òlêh
3.PL- tell SUB:and
‘They asked the wild hen why he scratched the red ant’s hill.’
- 22 *àttá -n rôvá -n ka- ãn mi- insũksê -pêk -a*
wild.cock -ERG bamboo -ERG 1.S- house 3→1- destroy -BEN -SUB:then
‘The hen replied, “Because the bamboo fell and destroyed my house.”’
- 23 *rôvá êngá sîká àttá ãn insũksê -mé an- ò òlêh*
bamboo why reason wild.cock house destroy -Q 3.PL- tell SUB:and
‘They asked the bamboo why he destroyed the wild cock’s nest,’
- 24 *rôvá -n Ngáchângpâ -n mìn- intúk hluK -a*
bamboo -ERG Ngáchângpâ -ERG 1.OBJ- cut fall -SUB:then
‘The bamboo said, “Because Nachangpa cut me down.”’
- 25 *Ngáchângpâ êngá sîká rôvá intúk hluK -mé an- ò òlêh*
Ngáchângpâ why reason bamboo cut fall -Q 3.PL- tell SUB:and
‘They asked Nachangpa why he cut down the bamboo tree.’
- 26 *Ngáchângpâ -n kâikôngpâ -n ka- tîl mìn- inpêt -pêk -a*
Ngáchângpâ -ERG prawn -ERG 1.S- testicle 1.OBJ- bite -BEN -SUB:then
‘Nachangpa said, “Because the prawn bit my testicle.”’
- 27 *kâikôngpâ êngá sîká Ngáchângpâ tîl inpêt -pêk -mé*
prawn why reason Ngáchângpâ testicle bite -BEN -Q
an- ò òlêh
3.PL- tell SUB:and
‘They asked the prawn why he bit Nachangpa’s testicle,’
- 28 *kâikôngpâ -n hrîlsîk a- nêi -tà -màk -a*
prawn -ERG reply 3.S- have -PST -NEG1 -SUB:then
‘The prawn, having no reply, remained silent.’
- 29 *rêngpâ -n mễi -ah ròw -rôwh a- ò -a*
king -ERG fire -LOC burn -IMP 3.S- tell -SUB:then
‘The king told them to burn him in the fire.’

- 30 *kâikôngpâ -n mễi -ah mìn- insi lêh sắn ka -tà*
 prawn -ERG fire -LOC 1.OBJ- throw SUB:and red 1.S -PST
 ‘The prawn replied, “If you throw me in the fire, I would be red,”’
- 31 *túi -ah mìn- insi lêh ẻng ka -tà*
 water -LOC 1.OBJ- throw SUB:and yellow 1.S -PST
 “‘If you throw me inside the water, I would be yellow,””
- 32 *akhàn kâikôngpâ -khả túi -ah a- lữut -a*
 then prawn -PROX.DET water -LOC 3.S- enter -SUB:then

suk -lôi -a úm -ta
 appear -NEG2 -SUB:then exist -PST
 ‘The prawn jumped into the water and never reappeared again.’
- 33 *jôi lêh sâaipi -n túi a- chòop kâng -sik a- tì -a*
 after SUB:and elephant -ERG water 3.S- suck dry -FUT 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘The elephant tried to empty the water by sucking,’
- 34 *a- chòop kâng vâng lêh lâlâ vâtê -n a- tóok*
 3.S- suck dry almost SUB:and black bird -ERG 3.S- buttock

a- pêt -a
 3.S- bite -SUB:then
 ‘When the water was nearly empty, a black bird bit his buttock.’
- 35 *sâaipi -khả -n a- chòop kâng thèi -lôi -a úm*
 elephant -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- suck dry able.to -NEG2 -SUB:then exist
 ‘The elephant could not empty the water,’
- 36 *chũn kâikông -pâ -khả túi -a úm chàk -tàk*
 then prawn -MAS -PROX.DET water -LOC exist ever -INTF
 ‘Then, the prawn permanently stayed in the water.’

Text 2 *Ralngam* ‘*Ralngam*’ by *Hoihte Saihriem*²⁶

Hoihte Saihriem, an 80 year old female speaker of Saihriem, lives in Bahbahar. She is also a speaker of Bengali. In this story, Ralngam befriends a tiger, and they compete and eat food together. Ralngam learns magic from the tiger.

- 01 *nĩ khàt Ralngam -in tũi a- thè -a*
day one Ralngam -ERG water 3.S- drain -SUB:then
‘One day, Ralngam was draining water,’
- 02 *hũmpĩpũ -in khàt -in ràal phũt a- zũk- hmũ -a*
tiger -ERG one -NFP far distance 3.S- DIR:down- see -SUB:then
‘A tiger saw him from a far off distance.’
- 03 *bàak -sĩk a- tĩ -a*
eat -FUT 3.S- tell -SUB:then
‘He wanted to eat him,’
- 04 *a- ngãm chẽ -màk -a*
3.S- dare fully -NEG1 -SUB:then
‘Yet, he did not dare.’
- 05 *Ralngam -khã -n a- ìnhriẽt thĩem -a*
Ralngam -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- know well -SUB:then
‘Ralngam knew well (about the tiger’s intention),’
- 06 *a- hmũ -sĩk a- khan*
3.S- see -FUT 3.S- then
‘When he (Ralngam) saw (the tiger),’
- 07 *thĩng hlũnghẽi -khã a- zũk- sũi vãwr -a*
wood log -PROX.DET 3.S- DIR:down- throw scatter -SUB:then
‘He threw the wooden log near him.’
- 08 *hũmpĩpũ -khã -n a- ěn -a a- tĩt -a*
tiger -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- look -SUB:then 3.S- afraid -SUB:then
‘The tiger watched him and he was afraid.’
- 09 *bàak -ta -lũi -a a- sê -zũk -a*
eat -PST -NEG2 -SUB:then 3.S- go -DIR:down -SUB:then
‘He did not eat him and went near him.’
- 10 *a- zũk- thãnrũol -pĩ -a*
3.S- DIR:down- friend -COM -SUB:then
‘He befriended him,’
- 11 *an -in tẽp lẽh*
3.PL -ERG compete SUB:and
‘When they competed,’

²⁶ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781620/>

- 12 *Ralngam -khă -n mǝwtbũl lǝngtĩ -tàk a- bàn tǝn -a*
 Ralngam -PROX.DET -ERG banana.stem big -INTF 3.S- cut cut -SUB:then
 ‘Ralngam could cut the banana stem.’
- 13 *hùmpípá -khă -n a- khĩ -a*
 tiger -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- measure -SUB:then
 ‘The tiger measured it.’
- 14 *a- rôol nêkâ a- lǝng -a*
 3.S- neck than 3.S- big -SUB:then
 ‘(The banana stem) was bigger than his neck.’
- 15 *ama nêkâ a- hrâatá a- ngâi -a a- thàn rôol -pĩ -a*
 s/he than 3.S- strong 3.S- think -SUB:then 3.S- friend -COM -SUB:then
 ‘The tiger thought that he was stronger than him and befriended him (Ralngam).’
- 16 *sâ an- châng -sĩlá hùmpípá thòw tǝm -tàk sâ*
 animal 3.PL- hunt -CUST tiger with many -INTF animal

an- thát -sĩlá
 3.PL- kill -CUST
 ‘They used to hunt together and they killed many beasts.’
- 17 *hùmpípá -khă -n a- bàak dâná a- bàak -pĩ -a*
 tiger -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- eat manner 3.S- eat -COM -SUB:then
 ‘The tiger ate in his style.’
- 18 *a- dèp lèh a- tũi -a ènâkâ a- thâng -e*
 3.S- ask SUB:and 3.S- tasty -SUB:then but 3.S- smell -DECL1

a- tĩ -a
 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘When he (the tiger) asked (him), he said, “It is tasty, but it smells.”’
- 19 *Ralngam -khă -n a- bàak dâná a- bàak -pĩ -a*
 Ralngam -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- eat manner 3.S- eat -COM -SUB:then
 ‘Rangam ate with the tiger in his style.’
- 20 *tũi vâng a- tũi -a enêkâ a- khă -e a- tǝk*
 tasty almost 3.S- tasty -SUB:then but 3.S- bitter -DECL1 3.S- tell
 ‘(The tiger said), “It is delicious, but bitter.”’
- 21 *asǝnchũ sâ -khă a- ròw pǝwl -a*
 because meat -PROX.DET 3.S- burn explanation -SUB:then
 ‘The reason was that the meat was fried.’
- 22 *nĩ khát -chũ hùmpípá -n a- ỉn -a a- thòĩ -a*
 day one -DIST.DET tiger -ERG 3.S- house -LOC 3.S- invite -SUB:then
 ‘One day, the tiger invited (Ralngam) to his house.’

- 23 *a- nû lèh pà -an -hèi dăm -màk -a*
 3.S- mother and father -3.PL -PL well -NEG1 -SUB:then
 ‘His (tiger) parents were not well.’
- 24 *a- ẻn -hèi lèh an- há kârâ -khàn*
 3.S- look -PL SUB:and 3.PL- tooth between -PROX.DET.NFP

sâru an- tâng -a
 bone 3.PL- stick -SUB:then
 ‘When he looked at his (tiger) parents, he saw bones stuck between their teeth.’
- 25 *kan -hèi dăm -màk -a bâng- an- tì -pêk -hèi*
 1.PL -PL well -NEG1 -SUB:then POLT- 3.PL- tell -BEN -PL
 ‘They informed them (tiger and Ralngam) that they were unwell.’
- 26 *sâwt -tâk an- ỉn kâwm hnùkhàn*
 long -INTF 3.PL- home together then
 ‘After many days of their friendship of staying together,’
- 27 *Ralngam -khă -n hùmpîpâ dâwi -khă an- chùk vừ -a*
 Ralngam -PROX.DET -ERG tiger magic -PROX.DET 3.PL- learn all -SUB:then
 Ralngam learned all the magic from the tiger.’
- 28 *Ralngam -khă -n dâwi didâng khùm a- inchûk -a*
 Ralngam -PROX.DET -ERG magic other also 3.S- practice -SUB:then
 ‘He also learned other magics.’
- 29 *túi mâangpâ thàw Ralngam lèh hùmpîpâ -khă -n túi nû*
 water god with Ralngam and tiger -PROX.DET -ERG water goddess

an- vâlêem -sîlâ
 3.PL- propose -CUST
 ‘Along with the water god, Ralngam and the tiger went to propose to the water goddess.’
- 30 *túi nû -khă -n Ralngam -khă a- dôi -a*
 water goddess -PROX.DET -ERG Ralngam -PROX.DET 3.S- like -SUB:then
 ‘The water goddess liked Ralngam.’
- 31 *ni khàt an- thàn rôol rêngá zîngkàar pî -a*
 day one 3.PL- friend all morning early -LOC

a- kòi -hèi -a
 3.S- call -PL -SUB:then
 ‘One day, the water goddess called them together early in the morning’
- 32 *túi nû -khă -n a- hàw lûng mîsâ ka- nèi*
 water goddess -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- come reach first 1- have

-sik -chôi a- tì -a
 -FUT -DECL2 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘The water goddess said that she will marry the one who arrives first.’

- 33 *túi nû -khă -n Ralngam -khă a- hàw kìrâng*
 water goddess -PROX.DET -ERG Ralngam -PROX.DET 3.S- come quick
nàsìkà vâihmîn a- pèk -a
 in.order.to maize 3.S- give -SUB:then
 ‘The water goddess gave maize to Ralngam so that he could come quickly.’
- 34 *azîng -a khăn Ralngam a- sê lêh túi mâangpâ hlûng*
 next.morning -LOC then Ralngam 3.S- go SUB:and water god reach
mìsâ a- va- hmù -a
 before 3.S- DIR:away- see -SUB:then
 ‘The next morning, when Ralngam went, he saw the water god before him.’
- 35 *tàkhàn túi mâangpâ -n túi nû a- nòi -a*
 then water god -ERG water goddess 3.S- marry -SUB:then
 ‘Then, the water god married the water goddess.’
- 36 *túi mâangpâ lêh túi nû -khà -n Ralngam -khă*
 water god and water goddess -PROX.DET -ERG Ralngam -PROX.DET
lûngmêi sùng -a an- khùm -a
 hearth inside -LOC 3.PL- put -SUB:then
 ‘The water god and water goddess put Ralngam inside the hearth.’
- 37 *sôk -sik a- tì sôk nò -tâk -mâk khàn*
 climb -FUT 3.S- want climb know -PST -NEG1 then
 ‘He wanted to come out, but could not.’
- 38 *a- sùk ông -a a- dâwi bûr -khă a- pèi thlà*
 3.S- pound hole -SUB:then 3.S- magic bottle -PROX.DET 3.S- throw down
 ‘He made a hole and threw down his magic bottle.’
- 39 *túi -n a- lò -a*
 water -ERG 3.S- flow -SUB:then
 ‘The current carried away (the magic bottle).’
- 40 *mì -hèi -khàn an- ěn -a a- hàw lông -na*
 person -PL -PROX.DET.ERG 3.PL- look -SUB:then 3.S- come flow -LOC
túi -khă
 water -PROX.DET
 ‘The people looked at the bottle that was carried away by the water.’
- 41 *a- chêr jêllâ an- tĩt -a*
 3.S- sound very 3.PL- afraid -SUB:then
 ‘They were afraid of the sound (of the bottle).’

- 42 *atàwpkhàn tèr inkhàt -in a- vâjěm khôi -a*
 then old one -ERG 3.S- hit break -SUB:then
 ‘At last, an old man broke the bottle.’
- 43 *a- dâwi -khă a- lôl -a*
 3.S- magic -PROX.DET 3.S- take -SUB:then
 ‘And took his magic.’
- 44 *tâkhâkhàn mîhrîem -hèi -n dâwi an- inchûk tàn -chũ*
 then human -PL -ERG magic 3.PL- learn begin -DIST.DET
 ‘From there on, human beings began to learn magic.’

Text 3 Thoiling lêh Ngambom ‘Thoiling and Ngambom’ as told by Khuhipi Saihriem²⁷

Khuhipi Saihriem, a 90 year old female speaker of Saihriem, lives in Bahbahar. She is also a speaker of Bengali. In this story, Ngambom proposes to Thoiling.

01 *hún khàt khàn nùmei lêh pàsâl an- ùm -a*
 time one then girl and boy 3.PL- exist -SUB:then
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a boy and a girl.’

02 *an- hmîng -khă Thoilhing lêh Ngambom*
 3.PL- name -PROX.DET Thoilhing and Ngambom
 ‘Their names were Thoiling and Ngambom.’

03 *Thoilhing -khă -n Ngambom -khă a- dèi -a*
 Thoilhing -PROX.DET -ERG Ngambom -PROX.DET 3.S- like -SUB:then
 ‘Thoiling liked Ngambom.’

04 *nî khàt -khă Ngambom -in a- hlõi -a thîng*
 one day -PROX.DET Ngambom -ERG 3.S- jhum -LOC tree

a- thlàk -a
 3.S- cut -SUB:then
 ‘One day Ngambom was cutting trees in his jhum,’

05 *Thoilhing nù -n Ngambom a- kòi -a*
 Thoiling mother -ERG Ngambom 3.S- call -SUB:then
 ‘Thoiling’s mother called Ngambom.’

06 *ka- hlõi -a thîng mìn- in- hlàm -pî -ráw*
 1.S- jhum -LOC tree 1.OBJ- 2.S- cut -COM -IMP

a- tì -a
 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘She told Ngambom, “Cut the trees in my jhum.”’

07 *akhân Ngambom a- nùom àtâ*
 then Ngambom 3.S- agreee 3.S.PST
 ‘Ngambom agreed to her request.’

08 *hmâr nûnghâak a- sâai -sik lêh*
 north girl 3.S- propose -FUT SUB:and
 ‘When he wanted to propose to the girls of the north,’

09 *hmâr tîeng bàak a- hlàm -a*
 north side branch 3.S- cut -SUB:then
 ‘He would cut the branches in the northern direction.’

²⁷ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781643/>

- 10 *sìm tîeng a- sâai -sìk lèh*
south side 3.S- propose -FUT SUB:and
'When he wanted to propose to the girls from the south,'
- 11 *sìm tîeng -a bàak a- hlàm -a*
south side -LOC branch 3.S- cut -SUB:then
'He would cut the branches in the southern direction.'
- 12 *hlâklâm tîeng a- sâai -sìk lèh hlâklâm tîeng bàak*
west side 3.S- propose -FUT SUB:and west side branch

a- hlàm -a
3.S- cut -SUB:then
'When he wanted to propose to the girls from the west,'
- 13 *hlâklâm tîeng bàak hlâklâm a- hlàm -a*
west side branch west 3.S- cut -SUB:then
'He would cut the branches in the western direction.'
- 14 *sôuhlâm tîeng a- hlàm -sìk lèh*
east side 3.S- cut -FUT SUB:and
'When he (Ngambom) wanted to propose to the girls from the east,'
- 15 *sôuhlâm tîeng bàak a- hlàm -a*
east side branch 3.S- cut -SUB:then
'he (Ngambom) would cut the branches in the eastern direction.'
- 16 *hìtâ -khǎ a- thàw -e an- tì -khǎ*
like.this -PROX.DET 3.S- do -DECL1 3.PL- tell -PROX.DET
'They said that he (Ngambom) did it this way,'
- 17 *ènâkâ amâ ìndôi phùng nûmei a- hmù -màk -a*
but s/he like clan girl 3.S- see -NEG1 -SUB:then
'But Ngambom did not find the girl he wanted from his clan.'
- 18 *a- tânâ phùt Ngambom a- hàw kîr khǎn*
3.S- work place Ngambom 3.S- come back then
'When Ngambom returned back (home) from his workplace,'
- 19 *Thoilhing -khǎ a- hmù -màk*
Thoilhing -PROX.DET 3.S- see -NEG1
'He could not find Thoilhing.'
- 20 *ènâkâ a- sângrû a- hmù zâwk -a*
but 3.S- younger.sister 3.S- see instead -SUB:then
'Instead, he saw Thoilhing's younger sister (Nuilhing).'
- 21 *Thoilhing -khǎ Ngambom hàw -ná -sìk lâmpî -a -khǎ*
Thoilhing -PROX.DET Ngambom come -LOC -FUT road -LOC -PROX.DET

- a- jâal -a*
3.S- sleep -SUB:then
'Thoilhing's younger sister, Nuilhing, slept on the road where Ngambom used to come.'
- 22 *akhân a- ú nû Thoilhing àngâ a- hèi insîem -a*
then 3.S- elder sister Thoilhing like 3.S- pretend dress -SUB:then
'She (Nuilhing) pretended to be her elder sister Thoilhing.'
- 23 *a- únû emâk tí a- hrîet khàn*
3.S- elder. sister DECL1.NEG1 tell 3.S- know then
'When he (Ngambom) knew that Nuilhing was not her elder sister,'
- 24 *Ngambom -khă -n a- kêi thõi -tà -màk -a*
Ngambom -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- pull up -PST -NEG1 -SUB:then
'Ngambom did not lift her (Nuilhing) up.'
- 25 *a- kêi thõi -ta -màk bilakhàn*
3.S- pull up -PST -NEG1 then
'When Nuilhing was not lifted up,'
- 26 *a- sângrû -khă -n Ngambom mìn- kêi thõi -ráwh*
3.S- younger.sister -PROX.DET -ERG Ngambom 1.OBJ- pull up -IMP
- a- tí -a*
3.S- tell -SUB:then
'Nuilhing said, "Ngambom, lift me up."'
- 27 *Ngambom -khă -n a- kêi thõi nûom -màk -a*
Ngambom -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- pull up agree -NEG1 -SUB:then
'Ngambom did not want to lift Nuilhing up.'
- 28 *a- khùt -a kêi thõi -lôi -a*
3.S- hand -LOC pull up -NEG2 -SUB:then
'Ngambom did not want to lift Nuilhing up with his hand.'
- 29 *a- chěmkol -khă a- zûk- dàwhá*
3.S- knife.handle -PROX.DET 3.S- DIR:down- offer
'Instead, he offered Nuilhing his knife's handle.'
- 30 *akhàn chěmkawl -khă a- hânchêl -a a-*
then knife.handle -PROX.DET 3.S- catch -SUB:then 3.S-
- sângrû a- hàw thõi -a*
younger.sister 3.S- come wake -SUB:then
'She caught the knife's handle and she got up.'
- 31 *a- kêi thõi zoi -khă -n Ngambom -in hlá*
3.S- pull up after -PROX.DET -ERG Ngambom -ERG song

- a- sak -a*
3.S- sing -SUB:then
'After he lifted Nuilhing up, Ngambom sang a song.'
- 32 *a- únû khùm -màk -a*
3.S- elder.sister also -NEG1 -SUB:then
'She (Nuilhing) was not her elder sister (Thoilhing) and,'
- 33 *a- ẽng khùm -màk -a*
3.S- none also -NEG1 -SUB:then
'Nuilhing was not anyone.'
- 34 *ĩn a- hlĩng khãn*
house 3.S- arrive then
'When Ngambom arrived home,'
- 35 *Thoilhing nú -khã a- hũng va- se -a*
Thoilhing mother -PROX.DET 3.S- come DIR:away- go -SUB:then
'Thoilhing's mother came to Ngambom's house.'
- 36 *a- sãngnú Nuilhing lẽh Ngambom -khã an- dòì*
3.S- sister Nuilhing and Ngambom -PROX.DET 3.PL- like

a tãksãwn -a
3.S- believe -SUB:then
'Thoilhing thought her younger sister (Nuilhing) and Ngambom were in love.'
- 37 *Ngambom -khã -n Thoilhing -mé an- nòi en*
Ngambom -PROX.DET -ERG Thoilhing -Q 3.PL- marry or
'Whether Ngambom married Thoilhing or,'
- 38 *a- sãngnú zàwk -mé a- nòi a- únû*
3.S- younger.sister or -Q 3.S- marry 3.S- elder.sister

zàwk -mé a- nòi inhrĩet a- màk
or -Q 3.S- have know 3.S- NEG1
'Whether Ngambom married her younger or elder sister is not known.'
- 39 *Thoilhing -khã -n Ngambom -khã kòi ka- thĩ mĩsãk lẽh*
Thoilhing -PROX.DET -ERG Ngambom -PROX.DET I 1.S- die before SUB:and
'Thoilhing told Ngambom, "If I die before you,"'
- 40 *ka- kĩtũ hàn- chẽl -in -lãn*
1.S- spade.handle DIR:tow- hold -REC -LOC.NFP
'"Hold my spade's handle,"'
- 41 *nãng ì- thĩ mĩsãk lẽh i- kĩtũ hàn- chẽl ka- tĩh*
you 2.S- die before SUB:and 2.S- spade DIR:tow- hold 1.S- tell
'"If you die before me, I will hold your spade's handle."'

- 42 *Ngambom -khă Thoilhing màtêng a- thê -tà*
 Ngambom -PROX.DET Thoilhing before 3.S- die -PST
 ‘Ngambom died before Thoilhing.’
- 43 *Ngambom thê khăn*
 Ngambom die then
 ‘When Ngambom died,’
- 44 *Thoilhing a- ỉn -na a- sê -màk -a*
 Thoilhing 3.S- house -LOC 3.S- go -NEG1 -SUB:then
 ‘Thoilhing did not go to his house.’
- 45 *Ngambom rông -khă ỉn sùng -a phùt lòi sô thèi*
 Ngambom corpse -PROX.DET house inside -LOC bring take out able.to

-tah -màk -a
 -PST -NEG1 -SUB:then
 ‘Ngambom’s dead body could not come out of the house,’
- 46 *asânchủ kàwtkhar -khă an- tèt tìtêr -a*
 because door -PROX.DET 3.PL- narrow more -SUB:then
 ‘Because the door became narrower and narrower.’
- 47 *Thoilhing a- hàuw khăn a- rông -khă bèihlêta an-*
 Thoilhing 3.S- come then 3.S- corpse -PROX.DET easily 3.PL-

lòi so -a
 take out -SUB:then
 ‘When Thoilhing came they could take out his body easily,’
- 48 *a- hlàan -na a- sê -màk lèh*
 3.S- burial.ground -LOC 3.S- go -NEG1 SUB:and
 ‘When she did not go to his burial ground,’
- 49 *hlàan -na a- phùm thèi -màk -a*
 burial.ground -LOC 3.S- bury able.to -NEG1 -SUB:then
 ‘They could not bury him.’
- 50 *Thoilhing a- hàuw khăn*
 Thoilhing 3.S- come then
 ‘When Thoilhing went there,’
- 51 *a- rông bèihlêta an- phùm -a*
 3.S- corpse easily 3.PL- bury -SUB:then
 ‘They could bury his body easily.’

Chapter 3: Hrangkhol Texts

Hrangkhol is spoken by around 7,000-8,000 speakers spread in Karimganj district of southern Assam, the hills of Tripura surrounding Barak valley, and North Cachar Hills of Assam. In Karimganj district of southern Assam, the Hrangkhols are found in the villages of Zaite, Garmura, Kongpui, Donchera, and Khothar. In the hills of Tripura, Hrangkhol speakers are found in the villages of Sonarai, Bongori, Tumairang, Kila, Tuikoknek, Zion Hill, Depthang, Phertok, Romtuiva. In North Cachar district of Assam, the Hrangkhols live in the villages Zion, Moulpong, Lungkhok, A. Robi, B. Robi, and Barobi respectively.

Hrangkhol abbreviations, glosses and their corresponding morphemes

Gloss	Meaning	Morpheme
I	First person pronoun	<i>kei</i>
1.S	First person singular participant marker	<i>ki-</i>
1.PL	First person plural participant marker	<i>kîn-</i>
you	Second person pronoun	<i>nâng</i>
2.S	Second person singular participant marker	<i>ni-</i>
2.PL	Second person plural participant marker	<i>nin-</i>
s/he	Third person pronoun	<i>ama</i>
3.S	Third person singular participant marker	<i>a-</i>
3.PL	Third person plural participant marker	<i>an-</i>
INCL	Inclusive	<i>ei-</i>
BEN	Benefactive	<i>-pê</i>
CAUS1	Causative 1	<i>-tîr</i>
CAUS2	Causative 2	<i>-hen</i>
CUST	Customary, habitual action	<i>-ngai</i>
DIR:away	Directional: movement away from the speaker	<i>va-</i>
DIR:down	Directional: movement down from the speaker	<i>zu-</i>
DIST.DET	Distal determiner	<i>chũ</i>
ERG	Ergative	<i>-in/-n</i>
FEM	Feminine	<i>-nû</i>
FOC	Focus	<i>-ba</i>
FUT	Future	<i>lûa</i>
IMP:cmd	Imperative: command	<i>la-</i>
IMP:req	Imperative: request, warning	<i>-ro</i>
INTF	Intensifier	<i>-tak</i>
LOC	Locative	<i>-a(h)/-na/-ta/-ata</i>
MAS	Masculine	<i>-pâ</i>
NEG1	Negative 1	<i>-mak/-ma</i>
NEG2	Negative 2	<i>-nok/-no</i>
NEG3	Negative 3, 'never, ever'	<i>-loi</i>
NFP	Non-final particle	<i>-in/-n</i>
NON.1	Non-first person marker	<i>ni-</i>
OPT	Optative	<i>-tà</i>
PL1	Plural 1	<i>-hâi</i>
PL2	Plural 2	<i>-ni</i>
PL3	Plural 3, used with animals	<i>-te</i>
PL4	Plural 4	<i>-u</i>

PROX.DET	Proximate determiner	<i>khǎ</i>
PST	Past	<i>-tək/-tə</i>
Q	Question	<i>-mo</i>
QUOT	Quotative	<i>tîn</i>
REF	Reflexive	<i>ki-</i>
SUB:then	Subordinator: then	<i>-a</i>
TEMP	Temporal	<i>lei-</i>
TOP	Topic	<i>-hi</i>

Text 1 Denlikinhang ‘Denlikinhang’ as told by Hakthoi Phuoitong²⁸

Hakthoi Phuoitong, a 64 year old male speaker of Hrangkhol, lives in Zion Village, Haflong. He is originally from the North Cachar Hills in Assam. He is also a speaker of Bengali. In this story, Denlikinhang is born to a virgin in the Bomrang village. Denlikinhang becomes the leader of a new village called Khozol.

- 01 *Denlikinhang -hĩ Bomrang khũopũi mĩ a- ni*
 Denlikinhang -TOP Bomrang big.village person 3.S- be
 ‘Denlikinhang hailed from the big village of Bomrang.’
- 02 *Denlikinhang -hĩ mĩ hráat -ták a- ni*
 Denlikinhang -TOP person strong -INTF 3.S- be
 ‘Denlikinhang was a very strong man.’
- 03 *a- sũak làm -chũ -hĩ ângĩn a- ni*
 3.S- birth way -DIST.DET -TOP like 3.S- be
 ‘The way he was born is like this.’
- 04 *a- nũ -khã dõngmâtê irthĩang -ták a- ni -a*
 3.S- mother -PROX.DET maiden clean -INTF 3.S- be -SUB:then
 ‘His mother was a virgin woman.’
- 05 *lõi a- fê -a sũun -a a- zãal -a*
 jhum 3.S- go -SUB:then noon -LOC 3.S- sleep -SUB:then
 ‘At noon, while she went to the jhum and slept,’
- 06 *nãai a- vông -tã a- ni*
 baby 3.S- conceive -PST 3.S- be
 ‘She conceived a baby.’
- 07 *nãai -khã Denlikinhang a- hông ni -tã a- ni*
 baby -PROX.DET Denlikinhang 3.S- come be -PST 3.S- be
 ‘The baby came to be known as Denlikinhang.’
- 08 *khán Bomrang khopũi -khã rãal -in a- hông*
 then Bomrang big.village -PROX.DET enemy -ERG 3.S- come

dõi -ták -a
 attack -PST -SUB:then
 ‘Bomrang village was attacked by the enemy.’
- 09 *khàsikãkhán õm ìnsõot thêi -tã -màk -hãi -a*
 then exist long able.to -PST -NEG1 -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘As a result, they could not stay’
- 10 *khopũi thár an- sãm -a Kholzol tĩn an- phũa an- ni*
 big.village new 3.PL- make -SUB:then Kholzol QUOT 3.PL- call 3.PL- be
 ‘They built a new village and named it ‘Khozol’.’

²⁸ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1727572/>

- 11 *khă- khũa -ata -khă Denlikinthang -chủ*
 PROX.DET- village -LOC -PROX.DET Denlikinthang -DIST.DET
 ‘From that village, Denlikinthang,’
- 12 *a- hông hráat -tìr~tìr -tàk -a*
 3.S- come strong CAUS1~CAUS1 -PST -SUB:then
 ‘became stronger and stronger.’
- 13 *khàn- khâlai -khàn Sonlen mê -hâi râmkaar -a òm*
 PROX.DET.NFP- period -PROX.DET.NFP Sonlen person -PL1 forest -LOC exist
 ‘In those days, the Sonlen people lived in the forest.’
- 14 *dier le silkâi bôl -hâi -khă dier le*
 cloth and dress naked -PL1 -PROX.DET cloth and
- silkâi ìrbêl an- ìrchû -hên -tàk -a*
 dress wear 3.PL- teach -CAUS2 -PST -SUB:then
 ‘They taught the naked people how to dress.’
- 15 *khán Sonlen -hâi -khán pùanrâap -hĩ*
 then Sonlen -PL1 -PROX.DET.ERG tax -TOP
- an- pêk -hâi -ngâi a- nì*
 3.PL- give -PL1 -CUST 3.S- be
 ‘From there on, Sonlen people started to pay tax’
- 16 *pùanrâap -hĩ mê ú -pâ -hâi kâlîm kâbûr*
 tax -TOP person elder -MAS -PL1 chief elder
- Denlikinthang -hâi an- fâk*
 Denlikinthang -PL1 3.PL- eat
 ‘The tax was eaten (collected) by the elders, chief and Denlikinthang’
- 17 *zòrô sòtnòtê zôi -a -chủ Sonlen -hâi -in*
 year shortly after -SUB:then -DIST.DET Sonlen -PL1 -ERG
 ‘After some years, the Sonlen people asserted that,’
- 18 *‘kêi -nì khôm mê hráat kîn- nêi -tàk sîkîn*
 ‘I -PL2 also person strong 1.PL- have -PST because
 “‘because we have a strong man,’”
- 19 *pùanrâap -hĩ nâng -nì pê -tà -nòk nì -ûng*
 tax -TOP you -PL2 give -OPT -NEG2 be -PL4
- an- tì -pê -hâi a- nì*
 3.PL- tell -BEN -PL1 3.S- be
 ‘They said “we (Sonlen people) will not pay tax to them,”’

- 20 *kîn- pêk hrângîn -chũ ìrsûal -ei -tá*
 1.PL- give for.NFP -DIST.DET fight -INCL -OPT
 ‘‘If we are to pay, then let us fight.’’
- 21 *Bomrang -hâi an- hráat ínchũ pê -hâi kîn- tí*
 Bomrang -PL1 3.PL- strong when give -PL1 1.PL- tell
 ‘‘If Bomrang wins, then we will pay the tax.’’
- 22 *Sonlen -hâi an- hráat ínchũ pê -hâi -tá -nò nî -hâi*
 Sonlen -PL1 3.PL- strong when give -PL1 -OPT -NEG2 be -PL1
 ‘‘If Sonlen people win, then they will stop paying tax.’’
- 23 *khànchũ ìrsûal -nà hmùn a- sítam -tá a- nì*
 then fight -LOC place 3.S- arrange -PST 3.S- be
 ‘Then they prepared a fighting ground.’
- 24 *khànkhá ìrsûal -nà hrângîn lũng an- bük*
 then fight -LOC for.NFP stone 3.PL- collect

khôm a- nì -tá
 also 3.S- be -PST
 ‘Then they started gathering stones for the battle.’
- 25 *Sonlen -hâi mî hráat -pâ ìrhming khă- Tungur*
 Sonlen -PL1 person strong -MAS name PROX.DET- Tungur
 ‘The name of the strong man of Sonlen was Tungur.’
- 26 *khàn Tungur le Denlikinhang -khă ìrsûal -a*
 then Tungur and Denlikinhang -PROX.DET fight -SUB:then
 ‘So, Tungur and Denlikinhang fought.’
- 27 *Denlikinhang -in hráatna a- châng -a*
 Denlikinhang -ERG victory 3.S- become -SUB:then
 ‘Denlikinhang emerged victorious.’
- 28 *pànrâap -khă Sonlen -hâi -in an- pêk -nòk -tá a- nì*
 tax -PROX.DET Sonlen -PL1 -ERG 3.PL- give -NEG2 -PST 3.S- be
 ‘Sonlen people did not give tax.’
- 29 *khan zôi -chũ Sonlen -hâi -khă Denlikinhang hrângîn*
 PROX.DET.NFP after -DIST.DET Sonlen -PL1 -PROX.DET Denlikinhang for.NFP

râal an- châng -ngâi a- nì
 enemy 3.PL- become -CUST 3.S- be
 ‘After some time, the Sonlen people became an enemy of Denlikinhang again.’
- 30 *khă sikîn Denlikinhang -in khỏvâar mâan khúa rìngă*
 PROX.DET because Denlikinhang -ERG dawn before village five

- a- hông -in hnè -ngâi a- nì*
 3.S- come -NFP win -CUST 3.S- be
 ‘Therefore, Denlikinthang raided five villages before dawn and he won the all the battles.’
- 31 *khă sikîn Denlikinthang -in thëibivăl inthũm le rìngă*
 PROX.DET because Denlikinthang -ERG necklace three and five

a- hông nèi -ngâi
 3.S- come have -CUST
 ‘That is how Denlikinthang used to receive three to five necklaces.’
- 32 *Denlikinthang -in nâai -pâ sâl inhnì a- nèi -a*
 Denlikinthang -ERG baby -MAS boy two 3.S- have -SUB:then
 ‘Denlikinthang had two baby boys.’
- 33 *a- nâai ùlian -pâ irhmîng -chũ Lalneisui*
 3.S- baby elder -MAS name -DIST.DET Lalneisui
 ‘The name of his elder son was Lalneisui.’
- 34 *a- nâai pâng ùal -pâ irhmîng khă- Lalzamrai*
 3.S- baby small younger -MAS name PROX.DET- Lalzamrai
 ‘The name of the younger son was Lalzamrai.’
- 35 *khànchũ Maharani -in a- hrâat -in an- hrâat inchũ*
 then Maharani -ERG 3.S- strong -NFP 3.PL- know when
 ‘Since then Maharani came to know about strength,’
- 36 *a- sèpâi ùlian Dapsingrai -khă Denlikinthang kûng khàn*
 3.S- army elder Dapsingrai -PROX.DET Denlikinthang to PROX.DET.NFP

a- va- tìr
 3.S- DIR:away- send
 ‘She sent her general Dapsingrai to Denlikinthang.’
- 37 *an- chël -tâk a- nì*
 3.PL- arrest -PST 3.S- be
 ‘They arrested him.’
- 38 *sepia -hâi -in Denlikinthang -khă tîng pûi an- khìt -a*
 army -PL1 -ERG Denlikinthang -PROX.DET cane big 3.PL- tie -SUB:then

an- hrûai -a
 3.PL- take -SUB:then
 ‘The army tied Denlikinthang with cane rope and took him away.’
- 39 *khànchũ sâi pûi mìnli le irsâtná a- châng -a*
 then elephant big four and fight 3.S- become -SUB:then
 ‘Then he had a fight with four elephants.’

- 40 *Denlikinhang -in hráatna a- châng a- nì*
 Denlikinhang -ERG victory 3.S- become 3.S- be
 ‘Denlikinhang was victorious’
- 41 *reng -nu -khǎ -n Denlikinhang a- hráatna a- hmù -chǔ*
 queen -FEM -PROX.DET -ERG Denlikinhang 3.S- victory 3.S- see -DIST.DET
 ‘When the queen saw his strength,’
- 42 *púan sěn sǔmtàkbàlà a- kùt -a ìrbùn hrângin*
 cloth red ring 3.S- hand -LOC wear for.NFP
- a- pěk a- nì*
 3.S- give 3.S- be
 ‘She gave him a ring to wear on his finger.’
- 43 *Denlikinhang -hǐ a- târ denîn mî rapûi ìrkûal -in*
 Denlikinhang -TOP 3.S- old till person winnower circle -NFP
- a- thǐ a- nì*
 3.S- die 3.S- be
 ‘Denlikinhang grew old and died like a winnower.’

Text 2 *Mairingthang* ‘*Mairingthang*’ as told by Hakthoi Phuoitong²⁹

Hakthoi Phuoitong, a 64 year old male speaker of Hrangkhol, lives in Zion Village, Haflong. He is originally from the North Cachar Hills in Assam. He is also a speaker of Bengali. In this story, Mairingthang, an orphan, has to choose between his two girlfriends.

- 01 *Mairingthang* -hĩ *nâifàrà* a- *nì*
Mairingthang -TOP orphan 3.S- be
‘Mairingthang was an orphan.’
- 02 a- *chìn* *lâai* -in a- *nû* -n a- *thisăn* -a
3.S- young time -NFP 3.S- mother -ERG 3.S- die -SUB:then
‘When he was still young, his mother died,’
- 03 *pûingâk* -in *dòn* a- *nì*
stepmother -ERG look 3.S- be
‘His stepmother brought him up.’
- 04 *ama* -chũ *Bomrang* *khõ* *mî* a- *nì*
s/he -DIST.DET Bomrang village person 3.S- be
‘He was from Bomrang village.’
- 05 a- *pûingâk* -nu -chũ *nûnsîa* -tâk a- *nì* -a
3.S- stepmother -FEM -DIST.DET cruel -INTF 3.S- be -SUB:then
‘His stepmother was a very cruel woman,’
- 06 *kâm kêi* -te *nèi* *le* *sâvõm* -te *nèi* *inchèl* -tîr a- *tùm*
tiger -PL3 baby and bear -PL3 baby send -CAUS1 3.S- want
‘She wanted to send him among the tiger and bear cubs,’
- 07 *anîachũ* *anìm* *khàn* *lêiseûal* -mâk -hâi
but 3.PL.PL2 PROX.DET.ERG harm -NEG1 -PL1
‘But, they did not harm him.’
- 08 *khànchũ* *Mairingthang* -khă *rûathârtê* a- *hông* *châng* -tâ
then Mairingthang -PROX.DET bachelor 3.S- come become -PST
‘After some time, Mairingthang became a bachelor.’
- 09 *rûal* -nû *inhni* a- *hông* *nèi* -tâ
friend -FEM two 3.S- come have -PST
‘He had two girlfriends.’
- 10 a- *rûal* -nû *irhmîng* *inkhât* -chũ *Khupchông*
3.S- friend -FEM name one -DIST.DET Khupchong
‘The name of one of his girlfriends was Khupchong.’
- 11 a- *rûal* -nû *inkhât* *nòk* -chũ *Kangreng* a- *nì*
3.S- friend -FEM one other -DIST.DET Kangreng 3.S- be
‘The name of the other girlfriend was Kangreng.’

²⁹ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1727573/>

- 12 *a- pûingâk -nû -khă -n a- rûal -nû -hâi kôlâ*
 3.S- stepmother -FEM -PROX.DET -ERG 3.S- girl -FEM -PL1 to
hmâimôk inlârsê a- tì -a
 insult try 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘His stepmother wanted to insult him in front of his girlfriend.’
- 13 *sâm tôm le vòk ěk an- fùn -pê -hên*
 hair bunch and pig dung 3.PL- wrap -BEN -CAUS2
 ‘She prepared a food wrap mixed with a bunch of hair and pig’s dung.’
- 14 *sònôtêhnùngachũ Mairingthang -khă tùkhâ -mo a- lûa*
 after.some.time Mairingthang -PROX.DET who -Q 3.S- marry
hrâng tîn a- mĩlũng an- bûia -a
 for QUOT 3.S- heart 3.PL- confuse -SUB:then
 ‘After a short while, Mairingthang was confused whom he should marry.’
- 15 *Mairingthang -in a- tì -chũ Khupchong ki- lûa le*
 Mairingthang -ERG 3.S- tell -DIST.DET Khupchong 1.S- marry and
Kangreng nûar a- tì a- tì
 Kangreng offend 3.S- tell 3.S- tell
 ‘Mairingthang said, “If I marry Khupchong, will Kangreng be offended?”’
- 16 *kha sikhin Mairingthang -khă Bomrang rôl -a a- fê -a*
 PROX.DET because Mairingthang -PROX.DET Bomrang hill -LOC 3.S- go -SUB:then
 ‘Because of that, Mairingthang went up to Bomrang hill.’
- 17 *a- rûal -nu inhnì -hâi khôm khàn an- zûi*
 3.S- friend -FEM two -PL1 also PROX.DET.NFP 3.PL- follow
 ‘His two girlfriends also followed him.’
- 18 *a- rûal -nû inhnì -khă chûng tûang -a*
 3.S- friend -FEM two -PROX.DET up direction -LOC
vâpôl -khĩ ên -u -tà
 bird -PROX.DET look -PL4 -OPT
 ‘He told his girlfriends to look at the flying bird in the sky.’
- 19 *a- ti kàarin Bomrang rôl -a khán àrchôm thàk -a*
 3.S- tell while Bomrang hill -LOC PROX.DET.NFP jump down -LOC
 ‘While he was saying this, he jumped down Bomrang hill.’
- 20 *a- rú -chũ ândĩ chît -tà*
 3.S- bones -DIST.DET powder all -PST
 ‘His bones turned to dust.’

Text 3 *Ralngam* ‘*Ralngam*’ as told by Hakthoi Phuoitong³⁰

Hakthoi Phuoitong, a 64 year old male speaker of Hrangkhol, lives in Zion Village, Haflong. He is originally from the North Cachar Hills in Assam. He is also a speaker of Bengali. In this story, Ralngam learns magic from his grandfather.

- 01 *Ralngam pú -khǎ dòikúng a- nì*
Ralngam grandfather -PROX.DET magician 3.S- be
 ‘*Ralngam*’s grandfather was a magician.’
- 02 *Ralngam nú le pâ -chǔ inhriat nì -mâ*
Ralngam mother and father -DIST.DET know be -NEG1
 ‘*Ralngam*’s mother and father’s names were not known.’
- 03 *Ralngam a- hông lian ínchǔ a- pú kúang -a*
Ralngam 3.S- come big when 3.S- grandfather to.him -LOC
dòi ìrchú a- fê -a
magic learn 3.S- go -SUB:then
 ‘When *Ralngam* grew up, he went to his grandfather to learn magic.’
- 04 *a- pú -khǎn a- lâchìn sikhìn dòì*
3.S- grandfather -PROX.DET.ERG 3.S- young because magic
láchǔ nûam -mâk -a
teach this.way -NEG1 -SUB:then
 ‘His grandfather refused to teach him because he was too young.’
- 05 *la- lian -ró a- tì -pê -a*
IMP:comd- big -IMP:req 3.S- tell -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘He told him, “When you grow up.”’
- 06 *nì khǒ khât -chǔ khǒ lâi a- lêng -na -khàn*
day village one -DIST.DET village inside 3.S- roam -LOC -PROX.DET.NFP
 ‘One day, while he was roaming in the village,’
- 07 *mî -hâi -in nì- pú -n dòì nâng àrchǔ*
person -PL1 -NFP 2.s- grandfather -ERG magic you teach
-no ínchǔ nì- pò -ró an- tì -a
-NEG2 when NON.1- carry -IMP:req 3.PL- tell -SUB:then
 ‘The villagers said, “If your grandfather does not want to teach you magic, ask him to carry you.”’
- 08 *jîng nòk -a -chǔ a- pú kúang -khǎn*
morning other -LOC -DIST.DET 3.S- grandfather to.him -PROX.DET.NFP
nì- pò -ró a- tì -pê -a
NON.1- carry -IMP:req 3.S- tell -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘The next morning, he told his grandfather to carry him on his back.’

³⁰ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1727574/>

- 09 *a- pú -khǎ Ralngam -in nì- pô -ró a- ti*
 3.S- grandfather -PROX.DET Ralngam -ERG NON.1- carry -IMP:req 3.S- tell
ngòt sikín a- púak -tāk -a
 always because 3.S- carry -PST -SUB:then
 ‘His grandfather carried him because Ralngam had insisted again and again.’
- 10 *Ralngam -khǎ a- pú -n a- púak ìnchên*
 Ralngam -PROX.DET 3.S- grandfather -ERG 3.S- carry meanwhile
 ‘While his grandfather was carrying Ralngam’
- 11 *a- tùkbùrúng -a ìrngê -khǎ a- ìnzùp -pê -a*
 3.S- shoulder -LOC moth -PROX.DET 3.S- suck -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘He sucked the moth on his shoulder.’
- 12 *a- pú -n ki- túpâ ìrngê -khǎ hlò hrâng lúá*
 3.S- grandfather -ERG 1.S- grandson moth -PROX.DET medicine for FUT
ìntê ni- hòi -pê -ró -bá a- tô -pê -a
 use NON.1- preserve -BEN -IMP:req -FOC 3.S- say -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘His grandfather said, “My grandson, don’t finish it up. It (the moth) is used as a medicine.”’
- 13 *Ralngam -khǎ dòì a- thêi -tâ a- nì*
 Ralngam -PROX.DET magic 3.S- know -PST 3.S- be
 ‘Ralngam learned the magic.’
- 14 *khànchũ a- pú mìlũng -khǎ hòi -tâ -màk -a*
 then 3.S- grandfather heart -PROX.DET good -PST -NEG1 -SUB:then
 ‘His grandfather was not happy with him.’
- 15 *kasikín a- pú -n a- túpâ -khǎ sîal ìnkhàt*
 because 3.S- grandfather -ERG 3.S- grandson -PROX.DET mithun one
kâai -in -lân
 bring -NFP -OPT.NFP
 ‘Therefore, his grandfather told him to bring one mithun,’
- 16 *a- khũa tiang fê -ró a- tì -pê -tāk -a*
 3.S- village direction go -IMP:req 3.S- tell -BEN -PST -SUB:then
 ‘And told him to return to his village.’
- 17 *a- pú -khǎn a- dòì le sîal dól tâm -tāk*
 3.S- grandfather -PROX.DET.ERG 3.S- magic and mithun image many -INTF
a- sîam -a
 3.S- make -SUB:then
 ‘His grandfather created a lot of mithun images with the help of his magic,’
- 18 *khànissian sîal tàk -chũ ìnkhàt ìnthîr khâk a- nì*
 then mithun real -DIST.DET one skinny completely 3.S- be
 ‘But he made the real mithun very skinny.’

- 19 *a- pú -n a- dòì thêi hmù sùak hrângîn*
 3.S- grandfather -ERG 3.S- magic know see rise for.NFP
 ‘In order to test his magical skill, his grandfather’
- 20 *khă- sîal tâm -tâk lâai -atá ìnkhàt kâi hrângîn*
 PROX.DET- mithun many -INTF time -LOC one pick for.NFP

a- tì -pê
 3.S- tell -BEN
 ‘Told him to select one amongst the mithun (images).’
- 21 *Ralngam -khă dòì a- thêi -tâk sîkîn a- pú*
 Ralngam -PROX.DET magic 3.S- know -PST because 3.S- grandfather

sîal tak tak -chủ a- hrîat -pê -tâk -a
 mithun real real -DIST.DET 3.S- know -BEN -PST -SUB:then
 ‘Since Ralngam had learned the magic, he knew the real mithun.’
- 22 *khasikîn a- pú milũng -chủ hôi -pê -tà -màk -a*
 because 3.S- grandfather heart -DIST.DET good -BEN -PST -NEG1 -SUB:then
 ‘Because of this, his grandfather was not happy with him.’
- 23 *a- pú -n ki- tûpâ sîal tàk tàk -khă*
 3.S- grandfather -ERG 1.S- grandson mithun real real -PROX.DET

ni- kâai hrângîn -chủ
 2.S- bring for.NFP -DIST.DET
 ‘His grandfather said, “My grandson, if you can bring me real mithun,”’
- 24 *ni- kùt le sîal hrui -khă ìrmân rìsê ni- mìt*
 2.s- hand and mithun rope -PROX.DET bind let 2.s- eye

khôm chỏ rìsê a- tì -pê -a
 also blind let 3.S- tell -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘Let your hand be tied with mithun’s rope and your eyes be blinded!’
- 25 *khànchủ Ralngam -in ka- pú kêi -chủ*
 then Ralngam -ERG 1.S- grandfather I -DIST.DET

ki- mìt a- chỏ khôm -in ki- kùt le
 1.s- eye 3.S- blind also -NFP 1.s- hand and

sîal hrùi arman sîkîn
 mithun rope tie because
 ‘Then Ralngam said, “My grandfather, if my eye is blinded and my hands are tied with the mithun’s rope,’
- 26 *ni- kâai tól -ata nâng mâtê khôn -mo -ta hrâng*
 NON.1- pull away -LOC you about where -Q -LOC for

- a- ti -pê -a*
3.S- tell -BEN -SUB:then
'The mithun will pull him along, then what will happen to you?''
- 27 *a- pú -n lũng phêer phà chùng -a ki- tôi tìn*
3.S- grandfather -ERG stone flat wide on -LOC REF- sit QUOT

a- sàm -a
3.S- shout -SUB:then
'His grandfather said, "I will sit on a wide flat rock."'
- 28 *Ralngam -in ni- zèr le lũng -khâ ìrmân rìsê tìn*
Ralngam -ERG 2.s- buttock and rock -PROX.DET join let QUOT

a- sàm -a
3.S- shout -SUB:then
'Ralngam said, "Let your buttock be pasted on the rock and be stuck!''
- 29 *an- khũa a- tưng ìnchũ Ralngam -khả -n Chuankili -chũ*
3.PL- village -3.S reach when Ralngam -PROX.DET -ERG Chuankili -DIST.DET

dongma -n a- nèi -tàk -a
wife -NFP 3.S- have -PST -SUB:then
'When Ralngam reached home, he married Chuankili.'
- 30 *an- nâai ìrhmîng -khả Rokoising an- phũ -a*
3.PL- son name -PROX.DET Rokoising 3.PL- call -SUB:then
'They named their son Rokoising.'
- 31 *an- nâai tũalsũa hrângin sâ zông a- fê ìnchũ*
3.S- son anniversary for.NFP animal hunt 3.S- go when
'When he went hunting on their son's birthday,'
- 32 *kàm kêi le rũal an- vârchâng*
tiger and friend 3.PL- become
'He befriended a tiger.'
- 33 *Ralngam -khả kàm kêi le rũal an- ìrchâng sikhin*
Ralngam -PROX.DET tiger and friend 3.PL- become because
'Because Ralngam befriended the tiger,'
- 34 *a- hmîng khôm Ralngam a- hông nì -tâ a- nì*
3.S- name also Ralngam 3.S- come be -PST 3.S- be
'The tiger's name also came to be known as Ralngam.'
- 35 *kàm kêi -khả an- khũa -a a- fê -a*
tiger -PROX.DET 3.PL- den -LOC 3.S- go -SUB:then
'The tiger went to his den.'

- 36 *thěibivăl a- hông chò -pê*
jewel 3.S- come bring -BEN
'He brought a jewel for his friend.'
- 37 *kha- zôi -inchũ an- khũa -hâi -in*
PROX.DET- after -NFP.DIST.DET 3.PL- village -PL1 -ERG
'After a while, his villagers,'
- 38 *Ralngam -khă Tuibum dung -a -khăn ìrú sùk fê*
Ralngam -PROX.DET Tuibum river -LOC -PROX.DET.NFP fish.poison grind go

hrângîn an- ò -pê
for.NFP 3.PL- tell -BEN
'Requested Ralngam to go fishing in Tuibum river (using fish poison).'
- 39 *khă- Tuibum chôngpu ìrhming -khă Balireng a- ò*
PROX.DET- Tuibum owner name -PROX.DET Balireng 3.S- be
'The owner of the Tuibum river was named Balireng'
- 40 *Balireng -khăn Ralngam -khă a- òi ìrchũ hrângîn*
Balireng -PROX.DET.ERG Ralngam -PROX.DET 3.S- magic teach for.NFP

a- ngèn -a khánchũ a- chũ -tìr -tà
3.S- request -SUB:then then 3.S- teach -CAUS1 -PST
'When Balireng requested Ralngam to teach her his magic, he taught her.'
- 41 *Balireng -khă òi a- hông thêi zôi ìnchũ*
Balireng -PROX.DET magic 3.S- come know after when

ômsâlôi a- thò pui -hâi -tà -a
erotic 3.S- do big -PL1 -PST -SUB:then
'When Balireng had learned the magic, she misused it erotically,'
- 42 *anîachũ Balireng -in Ralngam vâi- khâ a- pûm tàk tàk*
but Balireng -ERG Ralngam DIR:away- only 3.S- body real real

a- pêk
3.S- give
'But, Balireng only offered Ralngam her physical body.'
- 43 *kha- zôi ìnchũ Ralngam -khă Balireng -in*
PROX.DET- after when Ralngam -PROX.DET Balireng -ERG

Tuibum -a -khán a- kâai thàk -tà a- ò
Tuibum -LOC -PROX.DET 3.S- pull down -PST 3.S- be
'Then, Balireng pulled Ralngam into the Tuibum river.'

44 *khan* *Ralngam* *-chǔ* *Balireng* *le* *khàn* *an-* *ôm*
then Ralngam -DIST.DET Balireng and PROX.DET.NFP 3.PL- exist

sûam *-tâ* *tâitûanîn*
together -PST forever

‘Thereafter, Ralngam stayed together with Balireng forever.’

Text 4 *Udoi le Liendoï* ‘Udoi and Liendoï’ by Hakthoi Phuoi tong³¹

Hakthoi Phuoi tong, a 64 year old male speaker of Hrangkhol, lives in Zion Village, Haflong. He is originally from the North Cachar Hills in Assam. He is also a speaker of Bengali. In this story, the orphans, Udoi and Liendoï, are hated by the rest of the village, but when the goddess Fapite visits, she chooses to stay with them. Fatipe shows the orphans how to find food in the forest.

- 01 *Udoi le Liendoï -hĩ nâaifara an- nì*
Udoi and Liendoï -TOP orphan 3.PL- be
‘Udoi and Liendoï were orphans.’
- 02 *an- nû le an- pâ -in an- thısǎn -hâi -tà sikîn*
3.PL- mother and 3.PL- father -ERG 3.PL- die -PL1 -PST because
‘Because their parents passed away early,’
- 03 *an- ìrhmîng khôm ìnhre -hâi thei nì -tà -mâ*
3.PL- name also realize -PL1 know be -PST -NEG1
‘Their names were not known.’
- 04 *ani- ú le nâai -hĩ a- sânnâ lũng ìrthungâ lèi- ôm*
3.PL.PL2- sister and brother -TOP 3.S- very heart dearly TEMP- exist
-ngâ an- nì
-CUST 3.PL- be
‘The brother and sister loved each other very dearly.’
- 05 *mìnlàk le ìnrú thò -ngâi -lôi mî an- nì*
lie and steal do -CUST -NEG3 person 3.PL- be
‘They never lied or cheated people.’
- 06 *nâaifara an- nì sikîn mî mûrdìn an- èsêl -hâi -ngâi*
orphan 3.PL- be because person everyone 3.PL- hate -PL1 -CUST
‘Because they were orphans, everyone hated them.’
- 07 *mî khôm -in an- hmù -màk -hâi -ngâi*
person also -ERG 3.PL- see -NEG1 -PL1 -CUST
‘They were also looked down on by others.’
- 08 *mî -n bu an³² pêk -hâi khômân*
person -ERG food give -PL1 also
‘Even when people offered them food,’
- 09 *vòk ék le sàm tôl kêng an- pêk -ngâi*
pig dung and hair bundle only 3.PL- give -CUST
‘They mixed it with pig’s dung and a bunch of hair and gave it to them.’

³¹ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1727571/>

³² *Bù ân* ‘food’ is a compound of *bù* ‘food’ and *ân* ‘curry’. Speakers write it as *bù ân* with a space.

- 10 *nì khố khàt -chủ khốsung mì mûrdĩ ìrú*
 day village one -DIST.DET villager person everyone fish.poison
an- sùk -a
 3.PL- grind -SUB:then
 ‘One day, all the villagers were grinding ìrú (fish poison),’
- 11 *ngâ pûi an- mân -a*
 fish big 3.PL- catch -SUB:then
 ‘They caught a big fish.’
- 12 *Uidoi le Liendoi -khă chũ- a- rĩl an- pêk -hâi -a*
 Uidoi and Liendoi -PROX.DET DIST.DET- 3.S- intestine 3.PL- give -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘They gave them the intestine.’
- 13 *an- ìrsâk ìnchũ dârvân hrâng an- hmù -a*
 3.PL- wash when gong for 3.PL- see -SUB:then
 ‘When they washed the intestine, they found a big gong.’
- 14 *ni kho khàt -chủ khốsung mì -n Fapite zúang*
 day village one -DIST.DET villager person -ERG Fapite arrive
hrâng a- nì tîn an- lèi- ngâk
 for 3.S- be QUOT 3.PL- TEMP- wait
 ‘One day, the villagers said that Fapite (the goddess) will be coming and they waited.’
- 15 *ìrchông -hâi -în -chủ a- sâtê rêngîn*
 rich -PL1 -ERG -DIST.DET 3.S- beautiful as.much
an- lèi- ìrsiam -a
 3.PL- TEMP- decorate -SUB:then
 ‘When the rich people decorated (their houses) beautifully,’
- 16 *an- lèi- ngâk angîn Fapite -chủ*
 3.PL- TEMP- wait during Fapite -DIST.DET
a- zúang -pê -hâi -tâk -a
 3.S- arrive -BEN -PL1 -PST -SUB:then
 ‘While they were waiting, Fapite arrived (at the village),’
- 17 *Fapite -chủ ìrchông -hâi in -ah -khàn -chủ*
 Fapite -DIST.DET rich -PL1 house -LOC -PROX.DET.NFP -DIST.DET
an- in àrthiàng -a -chủ an- mĩlúng àrthiàng -no
 3.PL- house clean -LOC -DIST.DET 3.PL- heart clean -NEG2
sikîn tûng -mâk -a
 because stay -NEG1 -SUB:then
 ‘Fapite did not enter into the houses of the rich because their hearts were not clean.’

- 18 *túngna hrâng an- vâi -a*
place for 3.PL- struggle -SUB:then
'She could not find any place to stay.'
- 19 *Uidoi le Liendoï -hâi in a- phâak ìnchũ*
Uidoi and Liendoï -PL1 house 3.S- reach when
'When she reached the house of Uidoi and Lendoï,'
- 20 *nì- tâng -tìr -rói a- ì -hâi -a*
2.S- stay -CAUS1 -IMP:req.PL2 3.S- tell -PL1 -SUB:then
'She said, "Allow me to stay."'
- 21 *ani -n ka- pî fâk hrâng itê nêi -ma -ung*
3.PL.PL2 -ERG 1.S- grandmother eat for also have -NEG1 -PL4.NFP
mêilũm³³ bânâ -chũ
fire only -DIST.DET
'They replied, "Hello! grandmother, we have nothing to offer you but fire."'
- 22 *Fapite -n ki- tũ -hâi ki- târ -tà sikhin mêilũm*
Fapite -ERG 1.S- grandson -PL1 1.S- old -PST because fire
vâi- kêng kin nâng
DIR:away- only 1.S. ERG need
'Fapite said, "My grandsons, since I am old, I need only fire"'
- 23 *nikhômsian Fapite -hĩ pâthian a- nì tîn lân*
however Fapite -TOP god 3.S- be QUOT yet
hrê -ma -hâi a- nì
realize -NEG1 -PL1 3.S- be
'But they did not realize that Fapite was the goddess'
- 24 *Fapite -chũ zîng -a a- thòi -a bù ân a- thô*
Fapite -DIST.DET morning -LOC 3.S- wake -SUB:then food 3.S- cook
a- kâithôi -hâi -ngâi a- nì
3.S- wake -PL1 -CUST 3.S- be
'Fapite used to get up early in the morning, cook food, and wake them up.'
- 25 *Uidoi le Liendoï -hâi -chũ bù ân fâk hrâng*
Uidoi and Liendoï -PL1 -DIST.DET food eat for
lũa nêi -loi -khã
FUT have -NEG3 -PROX.DET
'Uidoi and Liendoï having never had food to eat before,'

³³*Mêilũm* 'fire' is a compound of *mêi* 'fire' and *lũm* '(to be) warm.'

- 26 *an- hông nèi -tàk sikîn asân an- chardông -tàk -a*
 3.PL- come have -PST because very 3.PL- surprise -PST -SUB:then
 ‘When they came to have food, they were surprised.’
- 27 *khán a- ùlân -pâ Uidoi -in Fapite chânglâm -ngâi tua*
 then 3.S- elder -MAS Uidoi -ERG Fapite become -CUST think

a- tùm -tàk -a
 3.S- want -PST -SUB:then
 ‘Then, the elder brother Uidoi started observing where Fapite got the food.’
- 28 *a- zàal khômin a- mìt ìrdîn -khă a- rông -a*
 3.S- sleep also.NFP 3.S- eyes straight -PROX.DET 3.S- dig -SUB:then

Fapite -chủ a- vêng -a a- nì
 Fapite -DIST.DET 3.S watch -SUB:then 3.S- be
 -
 ‘While he (Uidoi) was in bed, he bore a hole in the blanket and watched Fapite.’
- 29 *an- ú le nâai -in zàan sôot in -lôi -in Fapite -chủ*
 3.PL- sister and brother -ERG night long sleep -NEG3 -NFP Fapite -DIST.DET

an- vêng chîana
 3.PL- watch hidden
 ‘The whole night, they watched Fapite secretly without sleeping’
- 30 *zîng -a -chủ a- kùt mîtîn ata bù a- kêlsúa*
 morning -LOC -DIST.DET 3.S- finger nail from food 3.S- take.out
 ‘In the morning, she took out food from her fingernails.’
- 31 *sùn khàt -chủ Fapite -n lôi ẻn fê -rôi*
 afternoon one -DIST.DET Fapite -ERG jhum look go -IMP:req.PL2

a- tì -pê -hâi -a
 3.S- tell -BEN -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘One afternoon, Fapite told them, “Go and look after the jhum.”’
- 32 *lôi hmùn an- ẻn -na khán*
 jhum site 3.PL- look -LOC then
 ‘When they surveyed the jhum site,’
- 33 *pòirâng kûng a- mûal a- tâng a- síp khâk -a*
 creeper branch 3.S- hill 3.S- area 3.S- cover completely -SUB:then
 ‘The hills and mountains were all covered by a creeper tree.’
- 34 *an- châr a- đông -a Fapite an- hril -tàk -a*
 3.PL- mind 3.S- wonder -SUB:then Fapite 3.PL- report -PST -SUB:then
 ‘They wandered and reported it to Fapite.’

- 35 *zu- fê -ung lân mî ró pùt hmù nîn tì*
 DIR:down- go -PL4.NFP OPT.NFP person bamboo bundle see be.NFP tell
 ‘She said, “Go down and you will find a bunch of bamboo that belongs to a man.”’
- 36 *lâ -ung làmtàk -a intûng -rôi a- tì -pê -hâi -a*
 take -PL4.NFP roadside -LOC erect -IMP:req.PL2 3.S- tell -BEN -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘She said, “Take it and erect them on the roadside.”’
- 37 *khôsûng mî -hâi -in Uidoi le Liendoï ró pùt tîn*
 villager person -PL1 -ERG Uidoi and Liendoï bamboo bundle QUOT

an- inhrîat inchũ
 3.PL- know when
 ‘When the villagers came to know that the bamboo bundle belonged to Uidoi and Liendoï,’
- 38 *chẽm le an- sâat bông -tâk -a*
 knife and 3.PL- cut break -PST -SUB:then
 ‘They cut it into pieces with a knife,’
- 39 *hi- thũ -hĩ an- inhrîat inchũ Fapite -n*
 TOP- news -TOP 3.PL- know when Fapite -ERG

pôirâng ìrzûng -khã zu- lâ -ûng lân va- sùn
 creeper root -PROX.DET DIR:down- take -PL4.NFP OPT.NFP DIR:away- pierce

that -rôi a- tì -pê -hâi -a
 kill -IMP:req.PL2 3.S- tell -BEN -PL1 -SUB:then
 When Fapite heard the news, she told them, “Go and collect the creeper’s root and pierce it.”’
- 40 *an- sùn thât zôi a- châr -tâk -a*
 3.PL- pierce kill after 3.S- dry -PST -SUB:then
 ‘After they pierced (the creeper tree), it dried up and,’
- 41 *lôi -khã hal zòrô a- hông phâk -tâk -a*
 jhum -PROX.DET burn season 3.S- come reach -PST -SUB:then
 ‘When the season for burning the jhum came,’
- 42 *khànisian an- khũa -hâi -in rûathô ni kêng nin- i- hâl*
 however 3.PL- village -PL1 -ERG raining day only 2.PL- INCL- burn

hrâng an- tì -pê -hâi
 for 3.PL- tell -BEN -PL1
 ‘But the villagers said, “We will have to burn (the jhum) only on a rainy day.”’
- 43 *khã- thũ -khã Uidoi le Liendoï -in*
 PROX.DET- news -PROX.DET Uidoi and Liendoï -ERG

an- pî anin- hril -tâk -a
 3.PL- grandmother 3.PL.NFP- report -PST -SUB:then
 ‘Uidoi and Liendoï reported the matter to their grandmother.’

- 44 *Fapite -n chôrâ ârbôm sîng -khă va- ìnkhùp -rôi*
 Fapite -ERG roof hen.cage cover -PROX.DET DIR:away- cover.v -IMP:req.PL2
a- tì -pê -hâi -a
 3.S- tell -BEN -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘Fapite told them to overturn the fowl cage over the roof.’
- 45 *an- va- ìnkhùp ìnchũ nisa a- lùm -tâk -a*
 3.PL- DIR:away- cover.v when sun 3.S- shine -PST -SUB:then
 ‘When they overturned (the fowl cage), the sun started to shine.’
- 46 *khànchũ an- lôi -kha an- hâal a- sãn*
 then 3.PL- jhum -PROX.DET 3.PL- burn 3.S- very
a- kâang -tâk -a
 3.S- combust -PST -SUB:then
 ‘When they burned their jhum and it burned very well,’
- 47 *Uidoi le Liendoï bu nêi làm -khă -chũ nîsă*
 Uidoi and Liendoï rice have way -PROX.DET -DIST.DET sun
sûak tîang sîar sârî nîtâak tîang sîar sârî
 rise direction barn seven sunset direction barn seven
an- nêi -tâk -a sârî
 3.PL- have -PST -SUB:then seven
 ‘The paddy of Uidoi and Liendoï was seven barns when the sun rises and seven barns when the sun sets.’
- 48 *Fapite -n chông âbè -hâi -chũ fâpûon hâal -no -rôi*
 Fapite -ERG language advise -PL1 -DIST.DET hay burn -NEG2 -IMP:req.PL2
itik lâai khôm -in
 any time also -NFP
 ‘Fapite advised them never to burn the hay at that point in time.’
- 49 *sùun khàt -chũ Liendoï -in Fapite -n ìmó amâ*
 day one -DIST.DET Liendoï -ERG Fapite -ERG why s/he
ngôot -hĩ a- nì tì -ngâi -a inhrîat a- tùm
 ban -TOP 3.S- be tell -CUST -SUB:then know 3.S- want
a- fâpûon a- hâal -tâk -a
 3.S- hay 3.S- burn -PST -SUB:then
 ‘One afternoon Liendoï wanted to know why Fapite forbade him to burn, and burned all his hay.’
- 50 *Fapite -chũ a- khêk -a ki- mîlũng a- kàng tîn*
 Fapite -DIST.DET 3.S- shout -SUB:then 1.S- heart 3.S- burn QUOT

irtûngpil a- vèel -a àrhâng pát -tâk -a
ant.hill 3.S- circle -SUB:then disappear away -PST -SUB:then
'Fapite shouted out (in agony) saying, "My heart is burning!" and disappeared after circling
an ant hill'

Chapter 4: Ranglong Texts

Ranglong is also spoken by around 7,000-8,000 speakers. In Assam, the speakers of Ranglong are found in Karimganj district, namely Langkhanthong, Pipla, Sobiri, Jugichera, Nurka, Jairal, and Sai-et. In the hills of Tripura surrounding Barak valley, the Ranglong settlements are Noagang, Saitha, Laikho, Seisindung, Vomthat, Rothabil, Lungkam, Joynagar, Joitang, and Joilai. In North Cachar Hills, the Ranglongs live in the villages of Halflong, Kaisaneri, and Sotosarganga. Finally, in Mizoram, the Ranglongs are found in Luimoi and Kanmun.

Ranglong abbreviations, glosses and their corresponding morphemes

Gloss	Meaning	Morpheme
I	First person pronoun	<i>kêi</i>
1.s	First person singular participant marker	<i>ka-</i>
1.OBJ	First person object participant marker	<i>na-</i>
you	Second person pronoun	<i>nâng</i>
2.s	Second person singular participant marker	<i>na-</i>
s/he	Third person pronoun	<i>ama</i>
3.S	Third person singular participant marker	<i>a-</i>
3.PL	Third person plural participant marker	<i>an-</i>
ADV:comp	Adverb: completion	<i>-sûa</i>
BEN	Benefactive	<i>-pè</i>
CAUS	Causative	<i>man-</i>
CLF	Classifier	<i>tâng-</i>
DET	Determiner	<i>hí</i>
DIST.DET	Distal determiner	<i>chũ</i>
DIR:away	Directional: movement away from the speaker	<i>va-</i>
DIR:tow	Directional: movement toward the speaker	<i>la-/lèi-</i>
ERG	Ergative	<i>-in/n</i>
FEM	Feminine	<i>-nû</i>
FOC	Focus	<i>-ba</i>
FUT	Future	<i>-râng</i>
FUT:neg	Future (negative)	<i>-ning</i>
HAB	Habitual	<i>-châk</i>
IMP	Imperative	<i>-ro</i>
INST	Instrumental	<i>-na</i>
INTF1	Intensifier 1	<i>-tâk</i>
INTF2	Intensifier 2	<i>-sâbâk</i>
LOC	Locative	<i>-a</i>
MAS	Masculine	<i>-pâ</i>
NEG	Negative	<i>-mâk</i>
NEG:proh	Negative: prohibitive	<i>-nò(k)</i>
NFP	Non-final particle	<i>-n</i>
NON.1	Non-first person marker	<i>ei-</i>
PL1	Plural for verbs	<i>-u</i>
PL2	Plural for nouns	<i>-ngai</i>
PROX.DET	Proximate determiner	<i>há</i>
PST	Past	<i>-lâai</i>
Q	Question	<i>-mó</i>

QUOT	Quotative	<i>tina</i>
SUB:then	Subordinator: then	<i>-a</i>
SUB:and	Subordinator: and	<i>le</i>

Text 1 Ralngam ‘Ralngam’ as told by Zeisingzong Ranglong³⁴

Zeisingzong Ranglong, an 84 year old male speaker of Ranglong, lives in Zuvichera. He is also a speaker of Bengali. In this story, Ralngam learns magic from a tiger and searches for his father.

01 *mànâ chũ nùpûipàrâm khàt a- òm -a*
 once DIST.DET couple one 3.S- exist -SUB:then
 ‘Once upon a time, there lived a couple.’

02 *a- nûngák -in nâai a- vông -lâai -tâk a- pâ -n*
 3.S- wife -ERG child 3.S- pregnant -PST -INTF1 3.S- father -ERG

sâl a- lò ràng -a a- mâak -a
 mithun 3.S- search for -SUB:then 3.S- leave -SUB:then
 ‘While his wife was pregnant, Ralngam’s father went in search of mithun.’

03 *há nâai há a- hông ànzìr achú a- râmîng*
 PROX.DET child PROX.DET 3.S- come birth DIST.DET 3.S- name

Ralngam a- phûa -u -ná
 Ralngam 3.S- call -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘When that baby was born, they named him Ralngam.’

04 *há Ralngam há a- hông a- lian -a*
 PROX.DET Ralngam PROX.DET 3.S- come 3.S- big -SUB:then

a- lòm -ngâi le àndâi -u kîpì
 3.S- friend -PL2 SUB:and play -PL1 at.that.time

a- râat khît bîlâ a- nî -nâ
 3.S- strong most among 3.S- be -SUB:then
 ‘When Ralngam grew up and played with his friends, he was the strongest.’

05 *ni khàt chũ rãm -a a- va- chêi -a*
 day one DIST.DET forest -LOC 3.S- DIR:away- roam -SUB:then
 ‘One day, he went to a forest.’

06 *phúlûm a- sùak a- mù -a*
 winged.ant 3.S- reach 3.S- see -SUB:then
 ‘He saw the winged ants emerging out of their hole.’

07 *sòvá rãm sâ~sâ -tâk a- mù -a*
 there forest animal~animal -INTF1 3.S- see -SUB:then

a- sàan -sâbâk -a
 3.S- happy -INTF2 -SUB:then
 ‘When Ralngam saw many wild animals, he was very happy.’

³⁴ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781642/>

- 08 *hânùk nìkhũo -a a- mùn dên -a a- sê -na*
 next day -LOC 3.S- place same -LOC 3.S- go -SUB:then
há rùapûi anêr a- riat -a
 PROX.DET bamboo collide 3.S- hear -SUB:then
 ‘On the next day, while he was going to the same place, he heard a sound of bamboo colliding.’
- 09 *há rùapûi sùng -a sâilî thăi le chêm-pûi*
 PROX.DET bamboo inside -LOC catapult bow and knife
pâthian -in a- pèk -a
 god -ERG 3.S- give -SUB:then
 ‘God kept a catapult and knife inside the bamboo.’
- 10 *a- nìkhûanâ răm -a a- sê -châchâk -a sâilî le*
 3.S- daily forest -LOC 3.S- go -HAB -LOC catapult and
a- kàap -tăk chũ a- dâm ôm -màk
 3.S- shoot -INTF1 DIST.DET 3.S- miss exist -NEG
 ‘Every day, he went to the forest and he never missed whatever he shot with his catapult.’
- 11 *nî khàt chũ àkôi a- kàap râng a- tì a- kôi*
 day one DIST.DET tiger 3.S- shoot for 3.S- tell 3.S- tiger
-pâ -in a- sâilî rànhú a- riat -a
 -MAS -ERG 3.S- bow sound 3.S- hear -SUB:then
 ‘One day he wanted to shoot a tiger, but the tiger heard the sound of his bow.’
- 12 *mâlâ na- kàap -nò -ro a- lèi- tì*
 friend 1.OBJ- shoot -NEG:proh -IMP 3.S- DIR:tow- tell
 ‘The tiger said, “Don’t shoot me!”’
- 13 *há àkôi râmîng há Rang-sai a- nì -a*
 PROX.DET tiger name PROX.DET Rang-sai 3.S- be -SUB:then
 ‘The tiger’s name was Rang-sai.’
- 14 *a- nî khũa tinnâ ànlòp -u -a*
 3.S- day village every accompany -PL1 -SUB:then
sâ a- thàt -u -châchâk
 animal 3.S- kill -PL1 -HAB
 ‘Everyday they accompanied each other and would always kill wild animals.’
- 15 *nî khàt chũ sâ a- thàt anêng -u -na*
 day one DIST.DET animal 3.S- kill compete -PL1 -SUB:then
Rang-sai nêktên Ralngam -in a- thàt a- tâm bèt
 Rang-sai than Ralngam -ERG 3.S- kill 3.S- many more
 ‘One day, they had a killing competition and Ralngam killed more animals than Rang-sai.’

- 16 *nùkâ há mê há a- sîvô -u -ná*
 after PROX.DET meat PROX.DET 3.S- clean -PL1 -SUB:then
Ralngam -in a- chôi -na dôn -màk -a
 Ralngam -ERG 3.S- take -INST have -NEG -SUB:then
 ‘After dressing the meat, Ralngam did not have a container to carry the meat.’
- 17 *Rangsai -in chũ đĩbì asîntê -a a- chông le³⁵*
 Rangsai -ERG DIST.DET container small -LOC 3.S- magic and
a- thòl zít -a
 3.S- place all -LOC
 ‘Rangsai put all his meat in a small container with his magical words.’
- 18 *hântinhân Rangsai -in a- mâl -pâ Ralngam arâng*
 like.this Rangsai -ERG 3.S- friend -MAS Ralngam for
a- thâal -pè -a
 3.S- put -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘In this way Rangsai helped Ralngam put the meats inside the small container.’
- 19 *tên Ralngam -in a- chôi a- va- bûnpâk -a*
 but Ralngam -ERG 3.S- take 3.S- DIR:away- pour.all.out -SUB:then
tên thâal thèi -lâi -màk -a
 but put able.to -PST -NEG -SUB:then
 ‘Ralngam poured out all the meat he carried, but did not know how to put it back’
- 20 *a- màl -pâ râng a- kúi -a a- màl -pâ*
 3.S- friend -MAS for 3.S- call -SUB:then 3.S- friend -MAS
Rangsai -in a- thâal -pè rêt -a
 Rangsai -ERG 3.S- put -BEN again -SUB:then
 ‘He called for his friend and his friend Rangsai put it in again for him’
- 21 *hântinhân a- ôm -lâai -nòk narângâ*
 this.way 3.S- exist -PST -NEG:proh in.order.to
Rangsai -in chông mànthêi làk -a
 Rangsai -ERG magic teach take -SUB:then
 ‘So that Ralngam would not make the same mistake, Rangsai taught him some magic’
- 22 *tên a- khũa a- va- sủak vít -a*
 but 3.S- village 3.S- DIR:away- reach almost -SUB:then
a- va- bûnpâk rêt -a
 3.S- DIR:away- pour.all.out again -SUB:then

³⁵ The form *le* ‘and’ may take on an instrumental function in some constructions.

- a- thâal -súa -lâai -màk*
 3.S- put -ADV:comp -PST -NEG
 ‘Just before he was about to reach his village, the meat slipped, but he could not put it back.’
- 23 *hânkê a- mâl -pâ râng ka- mâl hònnâl -mó*
 then 3.S- friend -MAS for 1.S- friend where -Q
ei- ôm hí a- tì -na a- mâl -pâ
 NON.1- exist be 3.S- tell -SUB:then 3.S- friend -MAS
a- hông sâal -a
 3.S- come appear -SUB:then
 ‘Then, Rangam asked, “My friend, where are you?” and his friend appeared.’
- 24 *atun chũ Rang sai -in há mê thâal -na*
 now DIST.DET Rang sai -ERG PROX.DET meat put -LOC
chông dora há a- mànthêi zít -a
 magic whole PROX.DET 3.S- teach all -SUB:then
 ‘Now, Rangam taught Rangam all the magic of putting back the meat in the container.’
- 25 *ni khàt chũ Rangam há a- mâl -pâ khũa -a*
 day one DIST.DET Rangam PROX.DET 3.S- friend -MAS village -LOC
a- chêi râng a- sê -a
 3.S- roam for 3.S- go -SUB:then
 ‘One day Rangam went to visit his friend’s village.’
- 26 *Rang sai a- nũ le pâ há mê a- sàak*
 Rang sai 3.S- mother and father PROX.DET meat 3.S- eat
rèi -u -a a- tar -a
 again -PL1 -SUB:then 3.S- old -SUB:then
 ‘Rangam’s parents were old because of eating meat.’
- 27 *Rangam -in a- mâl -pâ nũ le pâ -ngâi há -a*
 Rangam -ERG 3.S- friend -MAS mother and father -PL2 teeth -LOC
mê an- ók -ngâi thîng hêr khàt le
 meat 3.PL- stick -PL2 wood stick one and
a- va- không -pè -a
 3.S- DIR:away- clean -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘Then, Rangam cleaned Rangam’s parent’s teeth with a stick.’
- 28 *Rang sai a- nũ le pâ a- rài sâan -sâbâk -u -na*
 Rang sai 3.S- mother and father 3.S- happy -INTF2 -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘Rangam’s parents were very happy.’

- 29 *ama ni hí pàthian chi khàt a- ni -u -na*
 s/he two DET god type one 3.S- be -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘They (Ralngam and Rang sai) were a type of god.’
- 30 *hànkê Ralngam -in chông nâmân chủ -ro a- tì -na*
 then Ralngam -ERG magic teach DIST.DET -IMP 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘Then Ralngam asked Rang sai’s parents to teach him magic.’
- 31 *maniapur -a chông dora a- mànthêi zít -u -na*
 world -LOC magic whole 3.S- teach all -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘They taught him all the worldly magic,’
- 32 *hànkê a- khũa tâng a- kìr -a a- nû râng*
 then 3.S- village side 3.S- return -SUB:then 3.S- mother for

a- pà rúi a- rækêl -a
 3.S- father story 3.S- ask -SUB:then
 ‘Then he returned to his village and asked his mother about his father,’
- 33 *hànkê a- nû -in a- pà rúi a- mànthêi -a*
 then 3.S- mother -ERG 3.S- father story 3.S- teach -SUB:then
 ‘Then his mother told him about his father.’
- 34 *babu na- pà hí vòn -a na- ôm -lâai -tăk sâl*
 dear 2.s- father DET belly -LOC 2.s- exist -PST -INTF1 mithun

râng -a a- sê -a a- la- hông
 for -SUB:then 3.S- go -SUB:then 3.S- DIR:tow- come

kìr -màk a- tì -pè -na
 return -NEG 3.S- tell -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘His mother told him, “You father went in search of mithun while you were in the womb and has not returned.”’
- 35 *hànkê Ralngam -in a- pà thún rângâ a- sủak -a*
 then Ralngam -ERG 3.S- father search for 3.S- reach -SUB:then
 ‘Then Ralngam went in search of his father.’
- 36 *a- nû kôm chông a- màak -a na- nâai*
 3.S- mother to magic 3.S- promise -SUB:then 2.s- child

ka- hông- kìr -lâai -nòk tên ka- pà hí
 1.s- come return -PST -NEG:proh but 1.s- father DET

ànták ni -a
 problem be -SUB:then
 ‘He promised his mother, “If I don’t return soon, know that my father is in danger,”’
- 37 *ka- hông kìr lên tên ka- pà hí a- bẻi a- tì -na*
 1.s- come return soon but 1.s- father DET 3.S- good 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘“If I return back soon, it means my father is fine.”’

- 38 *sun sârî zàan sârî kâl -a chôi -a*
 day seven night seven walk -SUB:then take -SUB:then
- a- sê -na pâthên -in a- rûai zêl -a dôikûng*
 3.S- go -LOC god -ERG 3.S- take care -SUB:then magic
- pû ôm -na a- -va ma sûak -a*
 man exist -LOC 3.S- -SUB:then s/he reach -SUB:then
- ‘He walked for seven days and seven nights and God took care of him and led him up to the Dôikûngpa (the magic man).’
- 39 *hânkê Ralngam -in a- en chîan -a dôikûng pú ràkûl*
 then Ralngam -ERG 3.S- look when -SUB:then magic man compound
- há chông le bèr ânkûl a- ni -na*
 PROX.DET magic and fence round 3.S- be -SUB:then
- ‘When Ralngam looked at Dôikûngpu’s compound, it was fenced in with his magic.’
- 40 *tên a- vêng a- vêng -na sikngîr a- lûut pàt a- sûak*
 but 3.S- look 3.S- look -SUB:then ant 3.S- enter while 3.S- reach
- pàt a- mù -na*
 while 3.S- see -SUB:then
- ‘He looked around and he saw an ant passing to and fro.’
- 41 *hânkêng Ralngam hàn sikngîr a- châng -a*
 then Ralngam PROX.DET.NFP ant 3.S- turn -SUB:then
- a- lûut -a*
 3.S- enter -SUB:then
- ‘Then Ralngam turned himself into an ant and entered into the compound’
- 42 *Ralngam há mâzú a- châng -a a- lûut rêl -a*
 Ralngam PROX.DET mouse 3.S- turn -SUB:then 3.S- enter again -SUB:then
- ‘Ralngam turned himself into a mouse again and passed through the fence.’
- 43 *hânkê dôikûng pú a- ûi ànlôi chîan a- mùn tên*
 then magic man 3.S- dog roam always 3.S- see but
- ûi -a châng -a a- lûut -a*
 dog -LOC turn -SUB:then 3.S- enter -SUB:then
- ‘Then, he saw Dôikûngpu’s dog roaming and turned himself into a dog and entered through the fence.’
- 44 *a- lûut sua le dôikûng pú râng a- ka- pú*
 3.S- enter over SUB:and magic man for 1.s- grandfather

- na- dăm -mó a- va- tì -ná*
 2.s- well -Q 3.S- DIR:away- tell -SUB:then
 ‘After he entered, he asked Dôikôngpu, “My grandfather, how are you?”’
- 45 *dôikông pú hàn o ka- dăm’ a- lèi- tì -a*
 magic man PROX.DET.NFP yes 1.s- well’ 3.S- DIR:tow- tell -SUB:then
 ‘*hông àthó -mó nèi hông a- lèi- ti -a*
 ‘come why -Q you come 3.S- DIR:tow- tell -SUB:then
 ‘Dôikôngpu replied, “Yes, I am fine,” and asked him why he came.’
- 46 *hon -mó na- hông zùzêi a- tì zũ kông -a ka- hông zú*
 where -Q 2.s- come how 3.S- tell rat path -LOC 1.s- come follow
a- tì -pè -na
 3.S- tell -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘Dôikôngpu asked him how he entered and he said, “I followed a rat’s hole.”’
- 47 *zũ há chông zũ a- ni -na a- thúi*
 wine PROX.DET magic wine 3.S- be -SUB:then 3.S- below
tâng hàn bàlì nîng zũ a- ni -na
 side PROX.DET.NFP sand residue wine 3.S- be -SUB:then
 ‘That wine was a magic wine and its residue was sand.’
- 48 *hânkê nâng nè mân -ro an- tì -u -na Ralngam*
 then you drink first -IMP 3.PL- tell -PL1 -SUB:then Ralngam
a- dôn kè -a
 3.S- turn start -SUB:then
 ‘Then, they asked each other to start and Ralngam started to drink first.’
- 49 *Ralngam -in kè dôikông pú râng hàn ka- pú*
 Ralngam -ERG start magic man for PROX.DET.NFP 1.s- grandfather
hông nè -ro a- tì -pè -na
 come drink -IMP 3.S- tell -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘Ralngam said to Dôikôngpu, “My grandfather, come and drink.”’
- 50 *Ralngam -in nàpôr châtê khàt mǔkhài a- mánchâng -a*
 Ralngam -ERG leaf dry one eagle 3.S- turn -SUB:then
 ‘Ralngam turned a dry leaf into an eagle.’
- 51 *havásualê dôikông pú hàn ‘bù nêi nêk -râng*
 after.that magic man PROX.DET.NFP ‘food have eat -FUT
a- tì -a
 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘After that Dôikôngpu said, “Will you have food?”’

- 52 *a- bù nêk -u râng há chông bù a- ni -a*
 3.S- food eat -PL1 for PROX.DET magic food 3.S- be -SUB:then
 ‘The food they ate was a magical food.’
- 53 *hânkê dôiông pú hàn a- kúi -a hông*
 then magic man PROX.DET.NFP 3.S- call -SUB:then come

nêk -tâ- -ró a- tì -pè -na a- nêk
 eat -OPT -IMP 3.S- tell -BEN -SUB:then 3.S- eat

râng -a a- chũm -a
 for -SUB:then 3.S- sit -SUB:then
 ‘Dôiôngpu called to him, “Come and eat,” and he sat down for the food.’
- 54 *Ralngam -in dôiông pú a- vók -ngâi a- màn- sũal -pè -na*
 Ralngam -ERG magic man 3.S- pig -PL2 3.S- CAUS- fight -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘Ralngam caused Dôiôngpu’s pigs to fight among themselves.’
- 55 *ka- pú na- vók -ngâi an- sũal -sâbàk -u -na*
 1.s- grandfather 2.s- pig -PL2 3.PL- fight -INTF2 -PL1 -SUB:then

a- ti -na a- ẻn -a
 3.S- tell -SUB:then 3.S- look -SUB:then
 ‘He said, “My grandfather, your pigs are fighting intensely,” and he went and looked at his pigs.’
- 56 *Ralngam -in ka- pú ka- pâ hí a- sũal lò*
 Ralngam -ERG 1.s- grandfather 1.s- father DET 3.S- mithun earn

a- sũot -sâbàk a- râkâl -a
 3.S- long -INTF2 3.S- ask -SUB:then
 ‘Ralngam asked, “My grandfather, my father took very long to earn a mithun.”’
- 57 *na- pâ hí a- lũi chũan -râng la- zũi*
 2.s- father DET 3.S- jhum cut -FUT DIR:tow- finish

kêhâlê a- tì -pè -na
 not.yet 3.S- tell -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘He told him, “Your father hadn’t finished clearing the jhum.”’
- 58 *hânkê Ralngam -in chông le a- chũan vâng -a*
 then Ralngam -ERG magic and 3.S- cut clear -SUB:then
 ‘Then Ralngam cleared the jhum with his magic.’
- 59 *tên Ralngam -in a- mar -ngâi chũ mator -nò -ning*
 but Ralngam -ERG 3.S- fat -PL2 DIST.DET carry -NEG:proh -FUT:neg

a- ti -pè -na
 3.S- tell -BEN -SUB:then
 ‘But Ralngam replied, “I would not be able to carry the fat ones.”’

- 60 *hânkê Ralngam -in a- pâ le a- sâl chũ a- chôi -a*
 then Ralngam -ERG 3.S- father and 3.S- mithun DIST.DET 3.S- take -SUB:then
 ‘Then, Ralngam took his father and the mithun.’
- 61 *a- pâ há sâl chũng -a a- man- sut -a*
 3.S- father PROX.DET mithun on -LOC 3.S- CAUS- sit -SUB:then
 ‘He carried his father on the back of the mithun.’
- 62 *ama há a- rãmoi a- sur -a a- holtir*
 s/he PROX.DET 3.S- tail 3.S- catch -SUB:then 3.S- follow
 ‘He held the tail and followed.’
- 63 *tên dôikûng pú hàn ‘a- sâl rãmoi le a- kut*
 but magic man PROX.DET.NFP ‘3.S- mithun tail and 3.S- hand
an- zomchân rase’ tina zomchân khomak a- sam -a
 3.PL- join curse’ QUOT join spell 3.S- curse -SUB:then
 ‘Then the Dôikûngpu cursed him, saying, “Let your hand be joined with the tail!”’
- 64 *Ralngam le a- pâ chũ a- khũa -na*
 Ralngam and 3.S- father DIST.DET 3.S- village -LOC
a- va- sũak -u na- rãisân -a a- in
 3.S- DIR:away- reach -PL1 2.S- happy -SUB:then 3.S- home
khũa -a leng -u
 village -LOC live -PL1
 ‘Ralngam and his father reached their village and they lived happily with his family.’

Text 2 *Suining le Rangvom* “Suining and Rangvom” as told by Zeisingzong Ranglong³⁶

Zeisingzong Ranglong, an 84 year old male speaker of Ranglong, lives in Zuvichera. He is also a speaker of Bengali. In this story, a tuaiteng fruit turns into two babies, Suining and Rangvom, who grow up and get married.

- 01 *khũa khàt -a lòm le sâ a- ôm -a*
village one -LOC friend and friend 3.S- exist -SUB:then
‘There were friends in a village.’
- 02 *a- nî khũa thîng a- pêl a- sê -u -a*
3.S- day village wood 3.S- carry 3.S- go -PL1 -SUB:then
‘Every day, they used to go and carry firewood.’
- 03 *a- thîng pêl -u -na tuaiteng³⁷ kûng a- mû -u -na*
3.S- wood carry -PL1 -LOC tuaiteng tree 3.S- see -PL1 -SUB:then
‘While they were carrying wood, they saw a tuaiteng tree,’
- 04 *há tuaiteng kûng -a a- mara àngkhàt dàk a- ôm -a*
PROX.DET tuaiteng tree -LOC 3.S- fruit one only 3.S- exist -SUB:then
‘On that tuaiteng tree there was only one fruit.’
- 05 *há tuaiteng há ànbàk -u -a a- vòn -a*
PROX.DET tuaiteng PROX.DET divide -PL1 -SUB:then 3.S- belly -LOC
a- sùn chíp -u -na
3.S- tie hide -PL1 -SUB:then
‘They divided the tuaiteng fruit, tied it, and kept it on their belly.’
- 06 *in -a a- hông a- tûng -u ỉn -na chử*
house -LOC 3.S- come 3.S- reach -PL1 home -SUB:then DIST.DET
a- tuaiteng há ôm -lâai -màk -a
3.S- tuaiteng PROX.DET exist -PST -NEG -SUB:then
‘When they reached home, the tuaiteng fruit was not found.’
- 07 *há tuaiteng há nâai te hông a- châng -a*
PROX.DET tuaiteng PROX.DET child small come 3.S- turn -SUB:then
‘That tuaiteng fruit turned into a baby.’
- 08 *a- hông ànrâi -u -na Suining le Rangvom*
3.S- come pregnant -PL1 -SUB:then Suining and Rangvom
a- hông an- pìan -a
3.S- come 3.PL- birth -SUB:then
‘It was pregnant and gave birth to Suining and Rangvom.’

³⁶ Access the audio here: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc1781622/>

³⁷ The tuaiteng tree is known for its sour fruit.

- 09 *a- sìn̄te lèn únàtâ a- hông àndâi -u -châchâk -a*
 3.S- childhood since long.ago 3.S- come play -PL1 -HAB -SUB:then
 ‘From their childhood they used to play together.’
- 10 *bari a- hông a- tưng -u -na nungák rùathâr*
 mature 3.S- come 3.S- reach -PL1 -SUB:then maiden bachelor
- a- hông -a*
 3.S- come -SUB:then
 ‘When they were grown up, they became a bachelor and a maiden.’
- 11 *Suining chũ nungák mêl a- sá khít a- ni -na*
 Suining DIST.DET maiden look 3.S- beautiful most 3.S- be -SUB:then
 ‘Suining was the most beautiful maiden.’
- 12 *Rangvom chũ a- thêi a- thâm a- ni -a*
 Rangvom DIST.DET 3.S- knowledge 3.S- clever 3.S- be -SUB:then
 ‘Rangvom was a wise and intelligent man.’
- 13 *rùathâr tâm -tăk -in Suining rang àn- ôm rêi*
 bachelor many -INTF1 -ERG Suining for 3.S- exist together
- a- ti -u -a*
 3.S- tell -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘Many boys wanted to live with Suining.’
- 14 *Suining -in ka- vo Rangvom va- rækêl -u -ro*
 Suining -ERG 1.s- elder.brother Rangvom DIR:away- ask -PL1 -IMP
- a- lèi- ti -chak -a*
 3.S- DIR:tow- tell -HAB -SUB:then
 ‘Suining used to tell the boys, “Ask my brother Rangvom.”’
- 15 *Rangvom a- va- rækêl rêl -u le chũ Suining*
 Rangvom 3.S- DIR:away- ask again -PL1 SUB:and DIST.DET Suining
- rækêl -u -ro -ba a- tì rêl*
 ask -PL1 -IMP -FOC 3.S- tell again
 ‘When they asked Rangvom, he replied, “Ask Suining.”’
- 16 *Suining le Rangvom àn- dít -sâbâk a- ni -u -na*
 Suining and Rangvom 3.PL- love -INTF2 3.S- be -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘Suining and Rangvom loved each other very much.’
- 17 *Dôikungpu a- nâai -pâ sâl -in Suining há a- mû*
 Dôikungpu 3.S- child -MAS son -ERG Suining PROX.DET 3.S- see
- na a- dít -sâbâk*
 -SUB:then 3.S- love -INTF2
 ‘Dôikungpu’s son saw Suining and liked her very much.’

- 18 *a- p̄a k̄om Suining k̄ei l̄ak -r̄ang a- t̄i -na*
 3.S- father to Suining I take -FUT 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘He told his father that he would marry Suining.’
- 19 *D̄oik̄ungpu h̄an Suining a- n̄u k̄om na- n̄ai le ka-*
 D̄oik̄ungpu PROX.DET.NFP Suining 3.S- mother to 2.s- child and 1.s-
n̄ai òm r̄ei a- va- t̄i -a
 child exist again 3.S- DIR:away- tell -SUB:then
 ‘The D̄oik̄ungpu went to Suining’s mother and said, “Let your child and my child live together.”’
- 20 *Suining a- n̄u -in a- r̄iat -a a- m̄al̄ung a- na -s̄ab̄ak*
 Suining 3.S- mother -ERG 3.S- know -SUB:then 3.S- heart 3.S- pain -INTF2
 ‘When Suining’s mother heard this, she was deeply depressed.’
- 21 *h̄ank̄e Suining a- n̄u -in ka- n̄ai*
 then Suining 3.S- mother -ERG 1.s- child
a- l̄ak -r̄ang -t̄ak -in ch̄u in
 3.S- take -FUT -INTF1 -ERG DIST.DET house
a- t̄ang- s̄ar̄i a- l̄ian na- p̄ek -r̄ang
 3.S- CLF- seven 3.S- big 2.s- give -FUT
 ‘Then Suining’s mother said, “Whoever marries my child will have to give me seven big houses,”’
- 22 *ch̄em b̄ang -a a- t̄ang- s̄ar̄i ènz̄ep -r̄ang s̄ial kachók*
 knife wall -LOC 3.S- CLF- seven insert -FUT mithun pillar
-a a- ênth̄ung -r̄ang p̄uan s̄ar̄i eina- p̄ek -r̄ang
 -LOC 3.S- tie -FUT cloth seven NON.1- give -FUT
a- t̄i -na
 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘Has to hang seven knives, tie mithun to their pillar, and give me seven cloths.’”
- 23 *D̄oik̄ungpu h̄an Suining a- b̄iak r̄ang it̄ik -m̄ó*
 D̄oik̄ungpu PROX.DET.NFP Suining 3.S- engage for when -Q
n̄ei hông r̄ang t̄i a- r̄ak̄el -a
 I come for tell 3.S- ask -SUB:then
 ‘The D̄oik̄ungpu asked, “When should I come to seek Suining?”’
- 24 *n̄angtuk hông -u -ro a- l̄ei- t̄i -na n̄angt̄uk*
 tomorrow come -PL1 -IMP 3.S- DIR:tow- tell -SUB:then tomorrow
 ‘She said, “Come tomorrow.”’
- 25 *h̄ia r̄ui Rangvom -in a- r̄iat ach̄an*
 DET news Rangvom -ERG 3.S- know when

- a- mắlắng a- na*
3.S- heart 3.S- pain
'When Rangvom came to know the news, he was offended.'
- 26 *hắnkê Dắikắngpu -ngắi -in Suining a- lắk rắng a- sê -u -na*
then Dắikắngpu -PL2 -ERG Suining 3.S- take for 3.S- go -PL1 -SUB:then
'Then, Dắikắngpu's family went to get Suining.'
- 27 *lắm pắi -a zắbắ³⁸ kắng há a- phắr -a*
road big -LOC zabo tree PROX.DET 3.S- cut -SUB:then
- núpắng -ngắi há mắnchắi -a*
lady -PL2 PROX.DET take -SUB:then
'On the way they cut a zắbắ tree and their ladies carried it.'
- 28 *chắm a- mắnchắng -a a- ắn ngắl chắak -mắk*
knife 3.S- turn -SUB:then 3.S- house even contain -NEG
'The tree turned into knives and there was no space to keep them.'
- 29 *a- mắtắn -a an- tắng a- ôm dắrắ há sắl*
3.S- front -LOC 3.S- reach 3.S- exist whole PROX.DET mithun
- a- mắnchắng -a*
3.S- turn -SUB:then
'When they reached the front side, they turned everything that was there into mithuns.'
- 30 *na zắal há pắan a- mắnchắng -a zắ chắ bắlắ*
leaf bundle PROX.DET cloth 3.S- turn -SUB:then wine DIST.DET sand
- zắ a- ni -na*
wine 3.S- be -SUB:then
'They turned the bundle of leaves into a cloth and the wine was a sand wine.'
- 31 *hắnkê Suining chắ a- hắng rắai -u*
then Suining DIST.DET 3.S- come take -PL1
'Then, they took Suining.'
- 32 *Suining -in Rangvom -rắng sắngkắng na tà -pề -ro*
Suining -ERG Rangvom -FUT basket 1.OBJ make -BEN -IMP
- a- tắ -na*
3.S- tell -SUB:then
'Suining told Rangvom to make a basket for her.'
- 33 *na- va- thắk -ro a- tắ -na*
1.OBJ- DIR:away- drop -IMP 3.S- tell -SUB:then

³⁸ The zabo tree is known for its large leaves.

- a- va- thàk*
3.S- DIR:away- drop
'She asked him to drop her and he dropped her'
- 34 *àsôtsúanâ chũ Suining a- ná -n*
after.a.while DIST.DET Suining 3.S- sick -NFP
- a- thì râng ànjèi*
3.S- die for about.to
'After a long time, Suining was very sick and was about to die'
- 35 *Rangvom a- hông kúi -u -na Rangvom -in a- mú -a*
Rangvom 3.S- come call -PL1 -SUB:then Rangvom -ERG 3.S- see -SUB:then
- a- mắlắng a- ná rềi -a Suining*
3.S- heart 3.S- pain again -SUB:then Suining
- a- rắt há a- lắk -pề -ná*
3.S- soul PROX.DET 3.S- take -BEN -SUB:then
'When they came and called Rangvom, he saw her and was deeply sad and he took away her soul.'
- 36 *hắnkê khủa -a a- hông a- kừi rềt -a*
then village -LOC 3.S- come 3.S- return again -SUB:then
'Then, he returned back to his village again.'
- 37 *Suining chũ a- lắthi jềi -a*
Suining DIST.DET 3.S- dead already -SUB:then
- amắ rắng chũ lắthi -mắk -a*
s/he for DIST.DET dead -NEG -SUB:then
'Suining was dead, but to Rangvom, she was not dead.'
- 38 *khủlủi rắp -a Rangvom -in thắn a- chủi -a*
evening dark -LOC Rangvom -ERG grave 3.S- dig -SUB:then
- a- chủi -lắai -tắk nắite -nủ khắt -in a- mú -na*
3.S- dig -PST -INTF1 woman -FEM one -ERG 3.S- see -SUB:then
'In the evening while he was digging the grave, a woman saw him.'
- 39 *pắar kúng khắt a- lắng -a a- pắar mắsắng*
flower tree one 3.S- plant -SUB:then 3.S- bloom before
- tồn -nồ -nắng a- tắi -na khắmắk ànsắm -a*
touch -NEG:proh -FUT:neg 3.S- tell -SUB:then promise promise.v -SUB:then
'He planted a flower and promised not to touch it before it bloomed.'
- 40 *nủkắ pắar kúng há a- húng a- pắar -a*
later flower tree PROX.DET 3.S- come 3.S- bloom -SUB:then
'After a while the flower started blooming.'

- 41 *tên zâng an- thũ -a a- va- ẻn -inchũ*
 but morning 3.PL- awake -SUB:then 3.S- DIR:away- look -NFP.DIST.DET
- pàar há àngkhàt dàk a- ôm -a*
 flower PROX.DET one only 3.S- exist -SUB:then
 ‘But when he woke up in the morning, he went and looked and found only one flower.’
- 42 *atakasi rẻi -a a- khàm tàk kẻi thàt -râng*
 angry again -SUB:then 3.S- pluck the.one I kill -FUT
- a- tẻi -na*
 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘He got angry and said, “I will kill the one who plucked it.”’
- 43 *zàan khàt a- sìn -na zâng -a vá khàt*
 night one 3.S- watch -SUB:then morning -LOC bird one
- lẻichẻnte a- hẻng -a a- lẻi sủr -a*
 small.bird 3.S- come -LOC 3.S- DIR:tow- catch -SUB:then
 ‘One night, while he was watching, a small bird came in the morning and he caught it.’
- 44 *Rangvom -in Suining a- bìl -a na- tẻang -ro*
 Rangvom -ERG Suining 3.S- place -LOC 1.OBJ- reach -IMP
- a- tẻi -na*
 3.S- tell -SUB:then
 ‘Rangvom requested the bird, “Take me to Suining.”’
- 45 *lẻichẻnte -in a- mánhẻa -na a- mẻnchẻang -a*
 small.bird -ERG 3.S- wing -LOC 3.S- carry -SUB:then
 ‘The bird carried him with its wing.’
- 46 *Suining a- khủa -na a- va- sủak -a*
 Suining 3.S- village -LOC 3.S- DIR:away- reach -SUB:then
- Suining -in a- lẻi- phẻm -sẻbẻak -a*
 Suining -ERG 3.S- DIR:tow- welcome -INTF2 -SUB:then
 ‘They reached Suining’s village and Suining welcomed him warmly.’
- 47 *nẻi khàt nẻi nẻi a- ôm rẻng a- lẻi- khẻp -a*
 day one day two 3.S- exist for 3.S- DIR:tow- stop -SUB:then
 ‘She requested him to stay for a day or two.’
- 48 *nẻi khàt chử ngẻ rủ thẻan rẻng*
 day one DIST.DET fish poison spray for
- an- pẻi -u -na*
 3.PL- throw -PL1 -SUB:then
 ‘One day they went to spray fish poison.’

- 49 *Rangvom* *hàm* *a-* *sê* *-na* *tên* *ngâ* *khàt* *mân* *-màk* *-a*
 Rangvom also 3.S- go -SUB:then but fish one catch -NEG -SUB:then
 ‘Rangvom also went, but he did not catch any fish.’
- 50 *hânkê* *rămûal* *-a* *a-* *hông* *kìr* *-a* *a-* *hông* *ná* *-a*
 then earth -LOC 3.S- come return -SUB:then 3.S- come sick -SUB:then
 Then he returned to earth and he was sick.’
- 51 *hân* *chủ* *Rangvom* *há* *a-* *thí* *-na* *vanchengzol* *-a*
 then DIST.DET Rangvom PROX.DET 3.S- dead -SUB:then dead.man’s.village -LOC
- a-* *sê* *-a* *Suining* *le* *an-* *mû* *-un*
 3.S- go -SUB:then Suining and 3.S- see -PL1.NFP
 ‘Then Rangvom died and went to a dead man’s village³⁹ and met Suining’

³⁹ *Mithi khúa* is another term for *vanchengzol* ‘dead man’s village.’