AN AKHA CONVERSATION ON DEATH AND FUNERAL

BY

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The present paper contains an Akha text recorded in 1971 in Lampang, Thailand, with translation and vocabulary.¹

The text is a conversation among three Akhas: Asaw /ásòq/, 20 years of age (called A in the text), Amy /ámỳ/, 28 years of age (B), and Amy /ámỳ/, 24 years of age (C), all from the Mae Chan area of Chiengrai province, Thailand. The text was explained in Thai and analyzed by our main informant, Asaw. At another visit to Lampang in 1972 we checked the text once again with Asaw and Agy /agý/, 30 years of age, who comes from the same area and is trained as a spirit priest.

Below we shall briefly outline the phonology and the basic grammar (cf. also Viggo Brun, *An English-Akha Vocabulary*, AO 35, 1973).

Tones and phonation types

There are two phonation types, A and B (written -q and -0). A is laryngealized (faucalized), over-articulated, "creaky". B is under-articulated, "breathy". There are three tones: high, mid, and low. In the high tone A tends to be manifested only as non-breathy. After voiced initial B tends to be manifested only as non-creaky. Tones in A syllables tend to rise slightly towards the end.

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Tones in B syllables tend to fall slightly towards the end. We use the following notation (x = any vocalic symbol):

		A		B			
		High	ˈxq	ˈx			
		Middle	xq	x			
		Low	ˌxq	ˌx			
Finals							
	i	ü		y	u		
	e	ö		ə	o		
	ɛ	m		ŋ	ɔ		
	ai	am	a	aŋ	au		
Initials							
A	B	A ¹	B ²	AB	A	B	AB
p	ph	b	b	m			
t	th	d	d	n			
ts	tsh	dz	dz	l	s	sh	z
k	kh	g	g	ŋ	x	xh	ɣ
ʔ	h						
pj	pjh	bj	bzj	mj			
tj	tjh	dj	dzj	nj	sj	sjh	(z)j ²

1) tendency towards preglottalization

2) tendency towards prenasalization

Noun particles

Ø (zero) unmarked subject and object

à exposure (topic)

áŋ subjugation direction towards (direction, position, goal, affected object)

nɛ subjugation direction from (origin, instrument, agent)

ə adjugation (possessive, genitive, modification)

Verb particles

ə adjugation and nominalization (joining verb to noun, and expressing "he who", "that which")

high tone = non-past, low tone = past

² In the text bzj and dzj have for simplicity's sake been written bj and dj respectively, and zj has been written j.

- 5 subjugation (joining verb to verb; also with particle *ne* 'from', 'after').

Sentence particles

One system of sentence particles distinguishes the contrasting features of 'first person prime mover – non-first person prime mover', 'past – non-past', 'expectation – non-expectation', and 'positive – negative':

	positive		negative	
	X	Y	X	Y
expected non-past	má	mé	mà . . . má	mà . . . mé
non-expected non-past	é	á	mà	mà . . . a
expected past	mà	mè	mà . . . à	
non-expected past	è	à		

	Statement	Question	Indirect reference
X:	first person	second person	third person
Y:	non-first person	non-second person	non-third person

This set of particles does not specify how the speaker's knowledge was arrived at. Another set of sentence particles does supply such information. The former set we shall call non-sensorial and the latter set sensorial. The sensorial sentence particles exhibit the same system of contrasting features, except that instead of 'first person prime mover – non-first person prime mover' we find the features 'visual – non-visual' pertaining to the manner in which the speaker's knowledge was obtained. Also the category 'past – non-past' comes to include the notion of 'indirect – direct', as when you see a wound or hear a peculiar sound and guess that there has been some fighting going on. The contrast 'expectation – non-expectation' often further specifically includes the notions of 'no surprise – surprise', 'luckily – unfortunately', and 'all the time – intermittently'. When used about the speaker the sensorial particles often imply dreaming (or seeing on television!), 'I saw (in a dream) that I . . .', 'I felt (in a dream) that I . . .'. The sensorial particles are:

		Visual	Non-visual
expected	non-past	ɲáa	mía
	past	ɲàá	mìá
non-expected	non-past	ɲá	nja
	past	ɲà	njà

The particle /nja/ presents a complication because of the existence of two other words, viz. the post-verb /ɲja/ 'able to' and the sentence particle /ɲjá/ 'will'. These two words never themselves change through sandhi, but *ɲjá* may change a preceding high tone into a middle tone. The sentence particle *nja* is always pronounced as a middle tone, but can only be preceded by a high tone, so that a syllable carrying a middle or low tone before *nja* adds an extra syllable, consisting of a repetition of the vowel on a high tone, e.g. *guq + nja > guqúq nja* 'I am scared'.

The particle *ɲjá* belongs to a set designating prediction, assumption (non-knowledge), in which the contrasts 'expectation – non-expectation' and 'past – non-past' are not applicable:

first person
prime mover
ɲjá

non-first person
prime mover
ím

Sandhi

Sandhi rules for the noun particle à:

After H and M: L

After L : M

(H = high, M = mid, L = low)

Sandhi rules for the verb particle ə:

environment	after H	after M	after L
H is manifested as	M	H	M
L is manifested as	L	L	L

Sandhi rules for the non-sensorial sentence particles and the sensorial sentence particle /ɲjá/:

environment	H..0	H..H	H..M	H..L	M..0	M..H
H is manifested as	M	M	H	H~M	H	H
L is manifested as	L	L	L	L	L	L

environment	M..M	M..L	L..0	L..H	L..M	L..L
H is manifested as	H	H	H	H	H	H
L is manifested as	L	L	M~L	L~M	L	M

Text

- C: tshó-hà sjhí ó nɛ, sjhí náa,
 djáŋ bɛ bɛ ó, àdjè áa lé,
 é hɔ sjhée nɔ, é nja má là.
 When people die—as soon as
 they have died, the first thing
 you do, try to tell what that is,
 can you tell?
- B: nɔ dja nè ò thì já djè.
 You tell them [the linguists]
 everything.
- tshó-hà sjhí ò, àphii tshó-mò
 phú-làq sjhí ò, àdjóq é γɛ lá
 léɛ, ná-hà mòq ɔ ná thè.
 When people have died—
 when for instance an old
 woman has died, they [the
 linguists] want to hear what
 you do then.
- C: mà nɔ, àphi tshó-mò sjhí gàá
 lo-nm-à mà sjhì nja á nɛ.
 I don't intend to talk about
 what happens when an old
 woman dies, because I don't
 know about that.
- B: ò, zà sjhí gàá xòqì é nè ò,
 má-dm̄ phú-làq dɔq ò tóq
 (toqó)³ γɛ ó.
 Well, tell them about what
 happens in the case of a child
 having died, as for instance
 the making of a coffin.
- àdjóqdjóq é le lá lé, dja nè ò.
 What kinds of things are in-
 volved, tell them about that.
- C: sjhí náa, àdy à àkha zà sjhí
 náa, zà sjhí ná ò à, já-djó
 (~zà-dzó) sjhí nàá lé lé náa,
 When they die, when Akha
 children die, when children
 die, when it is the first child

³ When a pronunciation is indicated in parentheses, it was supplied later as an alternative to the one actually used on the tape.

- mè-tshò à nán-poq tèq é ja
dòq ó bà lé. who dies in a family, do
people have to put their
clothes on inside out?
- poq-laq tèq é, àsjhán mỳ, zà-
djó à mà ηó a là. They simply turn their clothes
inside out, brother-in-law
Amy, when it is the first child
to die, don't they?
- B: ηó mé thò. Yes, so it is.
- C: náa zà-djó mà ηó lé lé náa,
zà-djó mà ηó sjhí náa, xhó
γe poq-laq é mà dm thè. If it is not the first child to
die—if it is not their first child
who dies, in that case they
don't put them on inside out.
- B: phé-xhàn phú-làq, phé-xhàn
pjhú phú-làq, gùq gàá nē,
jə-mỳ phà é é nē ò. For instance a shirt, for in-
stance the fact that they sew
a white shirt, you should tell
them [the linguists] about it
accurately.
- C: phé-xhàn pjhú, phe pjhú tèq
é ja gùq má, zà-djó à. The white shirt, they simply
must sew it from white cloth
for the first child who dies.
- B: bàq dze í ə, shm-mí-ó phú-
làq gy ó taqùq. They carry (the child) away
on a pole and recite Sem-mi-o
/shm-mí-ó/and all his kin (=
recite the genealogy from
Sem-mi-o to the child).
- tsyq gy nē ə taqùq. They recite all the generations
for (the dead to hear).
- əə, hǒ (~xhǒ) dja nē ò, thì já
djè hǎ ló γe ə, jǒ jǒ jə jə dja Tell it to them [the linguists],
the whole story, the way it is,
you can tell it briefly to them
but tell them everything.

C: náa ə à sjhí ə má-təq təq γà
 náa, shà-phá má-təq təq ə
 dzè lá ə, xhó γε àma àda mà
 gəq xhm̄m djé deè.

When somebody has died and they have finished wrapping him, then as for the cloth which is left over after wrapping him, the mother and the father are not permitted to use it, it is said.

àphi tshó-mò phú-làq mà ηó
 à, zà phú-làq mà ηó à, mà
 gəq xhm̄m djé, ηó ə ηá.

If it is not an old woman, if it is not a child, they are not allowed to use it, it is said, that is how it is.

B: ηó mε ηó, tóq dja é mé,
 àtjhò tshó-mò.
 sjhà-xhò phú-làq xhə gəá nε,

That's right, they say like that, the old people.

As for beating on metals and such things—

C: náa sjhí náa, sjhm̄-xhò xhə é
 bə lé thè.
 gà mí djó máì òq dèq le ə le.

When somebody dies they beat on metal.

"If you are at a place where you can hear this, come back alive", they say.

xhó γà tjhé-mján máì, xhó
 γà óo, lé é ó nε.

That man's name, "such and such a person" (i.e. his name), they shout.

sjhm̄-xhò ja xhə é bə.

They have to beat on metal.

náa sjhm̄-xhò xhə γà náa, í-
 tjùq bi djỳq (dzỳq) ə bə lé.

When they have finished beating on metal, they wash him with water.

ó sjhàη zà-dzó à, zà-dzó mà
 ηó xòqì, zà sjhí náa ló ə.

Brother-in-law (B), as for the first child to die, (or rather) if it is not the first child who dies, when (such) a child dies, what then?

B: éə, í-tjùq za (~ja) bi djỳq
 mé thè jò γà naqù.

Well, they must wash everybody.

- C: í-tjùq bi djýq náa, zà-djó mà
ηó lé lé náa, mjàη má thì gá
átjyq átjyq é thò naq. When they have washed him,
if it is not the first child who
dies, then they touch (put a
dot) everywhere (on his white
clothing) with indigo color to
make it black.
- C: naq má ó gèq ə thè. Then it is accepted as black.
- B: óə, naq ə é lò, naq ə mà
djaq ná ló (lóə). Yes, it is (considered) black,
in case they don't have any
black cloth.
- C: naq ə mà djaq náa. If there is no black cloth . . .
pàq-ma-tjùq ó pàq-ma-tjùq
náa, mót-təq təq ó bə thè. When they have tied the
thumbs and tied the big toes
together, they wrap the shroud
around the body.
- xhó náa nà-bó nà-thán e deè, Then they pierce a hole in the
ja thán əsjhì è. ear lobe, they have yet to
pierce.
- B: óə, nà-bó nà-thán thán e deè Yes, they pierce a hole in the
lé, ja thán mə. ear lobes, they have to pierce.
- C: nà-bó nà-thán thán ó pàq- They pierce the ear lobes and
ma-tjùq ó, pàq-ma-tjùq náa, tie thumbs and big toes to-
má (~mó)-təq təq é bə thè. gether—when they have tied
thumbs and big toes together,
they wrap him.
- náa mót-təq təq náa, sjhí When they have wrapped
(sjhə)-xhò γε ja xhò lóó phàá him, they have to lay out a
(~phàa) ní zà áη γε ja xhò small sheet, perhaps, for the
mé è. child.
- B: ó ə, ja xhò mé, átjyq thì thó Yes, they must lay out a little,
bjaη ní ə. one handsbreadth.
- C: sjhí-xhò xhò ó, náa hót-gá They lay out a small sheet,
jò-ha dú-ma djó náa, sjhə- and then, if there is a sister

- xhò á è, jò-ha dú-ma djó gá
là lé ə. (of the dead), don't they go
and get it at the place where
she lives?
- B: àdjè mà sjhì, sjhə-xhò mà
sjhì. I don't know anything about
that piece of cloth.
- C: ηó me, áby xòqì áby, sjhə-
xhò xòqì sjhə-xhò mé thè. Yes, if there is a blanket (they
use) a blanket, if there is a
small piece of cloth (they use),
a small piece of cloth.
- B: áby sjhə-dm é xòqì, mó-təq
xòqì, àdjè xòqì thì djè, ja là
lé me, jò-ha dú-ma ó-mì i
làq-nà tàq náa ló. They put a blanket over him,
or a shroud, or anything else,
they have to go and get it, if
there are sisters or relatives
through marriage.
- C: náa mó (má)-təq təq náa,
shà-khán amjaq dəq pəq ə
lə əsjhì. When they have wrapped
him, in how many places do
they tie with thread?
- B: shà-khán shm dəq. They tie the thread in three
places.
- C: ηà ne nò ne à, tìq dəq, thì
dəq pəq, nji dəq, shm dəq,
ò dəq, ηà dəq, kòq dəq, sjìq
dəq ηá. As far as I can remember they
tie in one . . . one, two, three,
four, five, six, seven places.
- B: sjìq dəq xòqì, sjìq dəq kàq ə
ηó ə mé. In seven places, yes they tie
in seven places.
- C: sjhà-khán sjhà-khán sjìq
dəq pəq. They tie with thread in seven
places.
- ànan dzé (~adzé) mjò m ə
γε, xhó γε áthè águ gó. Also when they do other things
then (they have to consider)
odd and even numbers.

- B: m̃, áthè águ ja sóq ashì (sjhì). Yes, they also have to consider odd and even.
- C: sjhà-khán pàq gáá ne ja sóq From the time of tying thread
me náa, xhó dján γà djí náa they have to think about it.
bəə, shà-djəq toq é phà mé Having finished all that, may-
lə. be they cut bamboo into splits.
- B: əə. Yes.
- shà-djəq toq í ó, ja jú thà mé When they go to split the
thè làq-òq áη. bamboo, they have to take the
splits with their fingers and
put them in the corner.
- náa gó ja bàq daq mé ló. Then they have to carry (the
body) up (and place it on top
of the bamboo).
- bàq daq le ò, bàq daq le ò. "Come and carry, come and
carry" (they shout).
- thì γà tèq é mà bàq xhm̃m One person should not carry
djé de. alone, they say.
- B: àkhý áη thì γà, ùq-dù áη One at the feet, one at the
thì γà. head.
- C: àkhý thì γà, ùq-dù áη thì γà One lifts the feet, one the
bàq ó ne. head.
- bàq ə lə-nm̃-à bàq tjhó à ne Even though (one person)
xhó à, bàq tjhó xòqì, àkhý would be able to carry it,
áη thì γà, ùq-dù áη thì γà even though (one person)
bàq ó ne ə. could carry it one person car-
ries at the feet and one at the
head.
- ja bàq thà á, náa bàq thà They have to carry it there
náa ə à, dán-xhà dán (~dan)- and having done that, they
sjhó sjhó phà mé thè. must purify the body.

- djǐ-bà djǐ-tjuq thì shǐ γε ố,
djǐ-bà djǐ-tjuq γε thì sjhǐ tềq
a ề.
- B: m, thì sjhǐ tềq à.
- C: xhố-gá ề dǎn-sjhố dĩ sềq ηε
djǐ, àmjaηl gố dĩ sềq lé a ề
nǎa.
- B: má-dm̃ phú-làq, dəq gá phú-
làq taqù (taqùq) dja nề ồ.
- C: dǎn-xhà dǎn-sjhố sjhố nǎa,
ja-tjiq à, dǎn-xhà xhà ề à,
shm̃ mó shm̃ mó le ố bə.
- B: m̃, shm̃ mó ηố ề mé.
- A: já-xhàn khà phu ǎn djố ề,
àbố koq ề ǎm̃y zǎn ləq ố γà
hố, lə-lố khà phu ǎn djố ề
àbố gồ ề ǎli ǎm̃y zǎn dzồ ề
àda.
- dja ú thà la deề hə-gá.
- C: nǎa ề à dǎn-xhà xhà shm̃
mó, àmjaη xồq-ni à, dĩ sềq
γà nǎa ề à, tjàq-hm̃ ja-tjiq
kha m̃ ề.
- They take one container of
rice liquor, simply one con-
tainer of rice liquor.
- Yes, only one container.
- At the time of beating the
ceremonial chicken to death
there, they always go and beat
it to death there (where the
dead is).
- Tell them (the linguists)
everything about coffins for
instance, about how to make
them, for instance.
- When they have performed
the purification ceremony—
(oh, I forgot) three chickens
are used and their feathers
burnt.
- Yes, there are three.
- Amy (B), son of Ko, who lives
in the Akha village Yahang,
is good at traditions, and Amy
(C), son of old man Go, from
the Akha village Lawlo, is a
wise man, knowledgeable
about traditions.
- (You two, i.e. B and C,
should) tell it here (into the
tape recorder).
- Then they burn feathers of
three chickens and always
when they have finished beat-
ing (the chickens) to death,
they must pluck the feathers.

- tjhé-gý tjhé-tjhu mà le a è. Doesn't pounded rice in banana leaves enter (into the ceremony)?
- B: tjhé-gý tjhé-tjhu mà le ò à nɛ. Rice in banana leaves does not enter at all.
- C: mà le a è djèl (djèl). It enters in no way.
- A: hú (~xhó, hó)-djè djà (~djè)- Those two should tell about
gó jà gá dja é djé deè àha the sacrifice of one male and
njàq. one female buffalo.
- C: óə, tjàq-hm tjìq kha ó nɛ ò. . . Well—[does not want to
change the subject] having
pulled the feathers out. . .
- A: njì mós jà ə gá-kəq dja nè ò Tell them about sacrificing
àlí mý à. two buffaloes, my friend Amy
(i.e. C).
- C: dán-xhà dán-sjhó sjhó e deè, As for performing the puri-
dán-xhà xhà é deè, lé ja é m fication ceremony, they must
djé thè. say "burn chicken feathers!"
- A: dán-xhà xhà é deè, é ə mà It is not correct to say "burn
phà njó à. chicken feathers!"
- dèq nɛ mà sjhó à, sjhí nɛ sjhó (They ought to say) "While
nè njá lé. alive you were not clean, now
that you have died I will clean
you".
- sjhó nè ə bə lé. They have to clean the dead.
- C: óə, mà njó e sjhí, dán-xhà That is still not right, (what
xhà ə bə lé thə à. you say) about the ceremony
of burning chicken feathers.
- náa dán-sjhó àma dì sèq ə mé Then they beat a non-white
thè. chicken to death.

- àkhý àlàq sjhè ó, ùq-dù áη
sjhè ó. (Before killing it, they)
sprinkle water on its feet,
wings, and head.
- ηó me ò tjhó sjhí bə̀. It is so in the ceremony for
the dead, isn't it?
- B: ùq-dù phə̀ nɛ sjhè kha lá. They sprinkle downwards
from the head.
- C: daη-sjhó sjhó à nɛ è, sjhí
sjhó . . . As for the purification of the
dead, the cleaning of the dead
. . . (B interrupts).
- B: jò djè (~djè) naqù (~naqùq) In all sacrifices they sprinkle
ùq-dù phə̀ nɛ tɛq é sjhè kha
ó mé. from the head downwards.
- A: nə̀-màq η á, dɛq sjhó sjhó nɛ We ought to wash you while
phà é γɛ ó à nɛ. you are alive.
- àzaq phà tɪq nɛ phà é γɛ ó bə̀. We ought to fine you a boar.
- C: mà ηó, sjhí zán m-mjò, jə̀- No! When performing death
mý m̄ ηɛ m̄-mjò djaq ó à nɛ. rituals, and performing good
ceremonies, there are rules to
follow.
- B: é ə́ má xhó, tshó-hà sjhí zán As I was saying—I was telling
é m̄à, ùq-dù phə̀ nɛ tɛq é about the traditions for the
sjhè á lé. dead, that they sprinkle only
from the head.
- C: ùq-dù phə̀ nɛ sjhè ó nɛ ò. They sprinkle from the head.
- B: jò djè naqù shm̄ poq ja dján They have to do everything
má thè. three times.
- C: dì sèq náa tjàq-hm̄ tjiq kha When the chicken has been
má thè, xhó γɛ dɛq ηɛ mà beaten to death and the
sjhó à, sjhí ηɛ sjhó njá deè lé. feathers pulled out, then (they
say): "While you were alive

- you were not clean, now that you have died I will clean you".
- A: mà sǵhá ǵó dú le. I doubt that it is like that.
- C: ǵó mǵq à. Of course it is.
- A: toq mǵl à, mà áǵ á. It is not like that in (the ceremony).
- C: náa xhǵ djǵǵ ǵà náa, tjǵq má thǵ xhǵ à. When they have finished they boil (the chicken) in water.
- dǵǵ-xhǵ ə ì ja-uq thǵ sjhǵ áǵ m. There is one egg in the ceremony of burning feathers.
- B: mǵm, ja-uq thǵ sjhǵ áǵ ma. Yes, there is one egg.
- C: dǵǵ-xhǵ ə ja-uq, dǵǵ-xhǵ ə ja-uq, xhǵ sjhǵ à, tshǵ-mǵ sjhǵ lǵǵ lé lé náa, bǵ-lǵ áǵ dǵq ú ǵ nǵ ə, ǵǵ làq njǵ ja tjhǵ-tjhǵ í m. The egg of the ceremony of burning feathers, that egg, if an old man dies, they put it in a bamboo section and must go and hang it outside (on the porch).
- náa zǵ (~jǵ) sjhǵ náa, xǵq-lǵ lǵ jǵ (~zǵ) zǵ ǵ nǵ ə, kǵq-thǵ thǵ ǵ, kǵq tǵq ǵ ǵǵ làq njǵ ja tjhǵ-tjhǵ í ma. When a child dies, they make a small basket, and weave a piece of bamboo, and tie (these things) tightly together and go and hang them outside.
- xhǵ-ǵǵ ǵǵ thǵ ǵà tǵq é mà í xhǵmǵ djǵ dǵǵ. "It is forbidden for one person to go there alone", they say.
- ǵǵ nǵq lǵq mǵ djǵ. "The spirits are watching there", they say.
- nǵl ǵà nǵl é ja í m mǵ-dǵq paq ǵ. Two persons at a time have to go (out there) cutting firewood (for light).

- A: mà ηό ηάq è. No (I want to say something . . .).
- B: ηά ή ηό dzè pòqì mà í phò ó nja. I am more afraid (than other people), I wouldn't dare to go at all.
- C: ηά ή γε mà í phò ó nja. I don't dare to go either.
- B: nèq guqú nja gó nèq djó à lé é mfe. I am afraid because they say that there are spirits there.
- A: mà ηό, dèq ηε mà sjhó ə, dèq ηε djèl mà laq sjhó xòqì, γà ηά má ló ì sjhàη óo, àsjhú γà áη bàη xòqì, àtjhò ə àqma áη. Never mind, even though you are not purified while alive, even though no (purification) is performed while you are alive, you are clean enough, brother-in-law, even if you wrong somebody, even if it is somebody's wife.
- C: dèq ηε sjhó ə à, xhó dè áη sjhó ə bə lé. To be purified while alive is one kind of purification.
sjhí ηε mà sjhó ə bə. When you are dead you are still not clean.
- A: dèq ηε mà sjhó ə à, sjhí ηε sjhó nè njá lé, sjhó ə bə thè. While alive you are not clean, when you die we purify you, that is what is called purification.
- C: ηό με ì, ηό ə bə. That's right, that's how it is.
- A: thə míð, thì γà ì gý-òq phú-làq djèl mà doq xòqì, γà ə phà ηáa lé. Therefore if anybody who is fined doesn't pay at all, then it doesn't matter.
- C: náa ə à xhó γà nèq é γò-njó tjàq thè. Then (going back to the funeral story) that person together with (another person) cooks some food.

- γò-njό tjàq náa, xhǒ-gó laq-kha ó, da-sjhí ja sjhí m deè thì sjhé (~shé) thì djèq. When the food is cooked, in order to put it down there, they must insert it on a bamboo stick, one piece of each kind (wing, foot etc.).
- B: έε. Is that so?
- C: gó laq-kha nè ə daη-sjhό xhǒ mó. They put down that purification hen (as food) for (the dead) there.
- dáη-xhà xhǒ lə-nm̄-à dzà nja ó dè, dzà má thè. As for the hen for humans, some can eat it, and they eat.
- mà dzà nja ó dè à, mà bi dzà xhm̄m thè. Those who may not eat are not allowed to be given to eat.
- náa tjàq ə γε mà ja tjàq djí m. When they prepare the food they must not cook all (of the hen).
- xhǒ daη-sjhό ja-ma, xhǒ mó dzàη-jό thì paq ja thà m̄. From that purification hen, they must keep half of the breast.
- B: náa xhǒ-gó nε náa, má-dm̄ phú-làq dəq í ə. Then, afterwards, they go to cut out a coffin.
- àqdjόq é γε ó dəq í a hóò. How do they go about making it?
- C: náa dja-jό hó thì paq à, hò bi dzà ə lé, thà thm̄m le hò. Then one half of the hen's breast is given as food (to the spirits), it is kept as food.
- xhǒ jè ó nε thè pyq ó djè-hù. First (before giving it to the spirits) they slice it and roast it on scewers.
- ja-tjiq sjhà-djí thə m̄ε, mà thè pyq xhm̄m ə. Because the hen's meat (is roasted) in such a way, (you) are not allowed to roast on

- skewers (outside of this ceremony).
- khó mó ja thè pyq má. That piece must be roasted on skewers.
- B: ády (~ády) àkhà é ló è. We Akhas say like that.
- C: óə, khó mó ja thè pyq má djè-hù. Yes, they must first roast that piece on skewers.
- khó thè pyq náa bi dzà á. When they have roasted it on skewers they give it to (the spirits) to eat.
- khó náa ηòqì mà za dzà m sjhì. Till then we must not eat anything ourselves.
- àqdy màq náa sjhà-γán tjhe lá náa, γε ja bi dzà m. We, on our side, when it has become midnight, must give food (to the spirits).
- ùq-tjìq à nèq ə na-γán mife, γán hò bi dzà ə. Because the night is the middle of the day for spirits, we give (the spirits) a midday meal.
- khó mà bi dzà náa, sjhí xòqì gú lá nja ηá djé. If we don't give them that meat to eat, the dead can come and howl, they say.
- zán khó dján γà djí náa, sjhí thé doq ó má thè, dán-xhà dan-sjhó sjhó γà náa. When that ceremony is all over, they announce the death—that is when the purification ceremony is finished.
- B: àdjóq é doq lá à. How do they announce (the death)?
- C: həó. What did you say?
- B: àdjóq é doq lá a é ə má. I said, how do they announce it.

- C: xhèé, tshó-hà sjhí à deè lé gú
ə bə lé. Oh! "Somebody has died",
they shout.
- A: tjùq dèq m phə pàq pjhó
tjùq thé m phə pàq pjhó deè. (And they shout:) "He holds
his penis in his hand pointed
towards the sky, he points the
back of his penis towards the
sky".
- C: jò γà naqù ǝ ǝ deè lé tòq lóq
é qú ə bə lé thè. "Everybody come"! They
shout like that.
- sjhe (~she)-dá dà ə dǝ, phài
dì ə dǝ, phài dì le ǝ deè, dì
mòq náa lé é ə bə thè. Those who want to gamble...,
those who want to play cards,
come and play cards".
- dán-xhà daη-sjhó mà sjhó
xhǝǝ à, phài mà dì nja lé. Before performing the puri-
fication ceremony they cannot
play cards.
- náa hə lóqé dján γà djí ó,
m bja bja lá náa, m bja bja
lá náa ə à, sjhì-né thì mǝ ja
tìq nè m. Then when they have finished
(that ceremony) and the sky
has become bright, when the
sky has become bright (at
dawn), they must kill a sacri-
ficial animal for (the village
to eat).
- àqtjhə màq doq lá náa, àqtjhə
ý lá náa, sjhì-né thì mǝ tìq
thè. When they have come out
(from their own houses) and
when they have assembled (in
the house of the dead), they
sacrifice one animal.
- zà-djó (~zà-dzǝ) à, àzàq mà
djó náa, ja-tjiq tìq xǝqì djèi
mà ηǝ. In the case of a first-born
child, if they don't have a pig,
they sacrifice a chicken, it
doesn't matter.
- zà-djó mà ηǝ xǝqì ja-tjiq
pjhú xǝqì tìq nja má thè. If it is not a first-born child,
then they can sacrifice a white
chicken.

- B: ɛ̃. Is that so?
- C: sjhì-né tìq ə à, ja-uq thì sjhì djaq ɨ́ gó, ja-tjiq mé, ja-tjiq m̃ náa ə à. When they kill a sacrificial animal there is one egg (as part of the ceremony)— (no, that's not right), there is a hen, a baked hen.
- sjhì-né tìq γà náa, àqtjhò màq doq lá náa. When they have killed the sacrificial animal, they come out (from the house).
- sjhì-né tìq náa, dá-khò dəq í nja ə má thè. When the sacrificial animal has been killed, they go and cut the coffin.
- náa m̃-tjeq (~m̃-tseq) thì hm̃ ja dza ɨ́ gó. So they must measure (the body) with a measuring stick.
- B: ja-tjiq zà thì m̃ ja pàq tòq ə phàá le. They have to tie a little chicken tightly (to the stick), isn't that so?
- shà-khán lóo m̃-tseq áŋ, gó pàq tòq ə mé è, bò-lo nèq é. They tie (the chicken) tightly with thread to the measuring stick together with a bamboo container.
- C: ja-uq γe thì sjhì (~shì) ɨ́ sjhì, ja-uq thì sjhì, ja-tjiq zà thì m̃, hú-sjhì (~hú-shì) lé le ɨ́ thè. Then there is also an egg; one egg, one chicken and cowrie shells enter (into the ceremony).
- náa tshó-xaq tshó-mò sjhí lòó le náa, tóq é mà ŋé. When middle-aged and old people die it is not like this.
- tshó-mò sjhí náa, àzàq ɨ́ náa. When old people die then (they use) a pig.
- B: dəq dōq ə phá bə ásjhì lóo. Further, they also have the ceremony of being the first to cut.

- C: *éé, naŋ mỳ za tshé ə bə náa.* Yes, they must choose a good day.
- naŋ mỳ i-khán ne tshé ʔ, ja í ma.* Having chosen a good day while still in the house (of the dead), they must go.
- naŋ mỳ àqshú yà mỳ lé lé.* "Who has a good day today", they say.
- ì (~ìq)-naŋ àdjè (~àqdjè) á lé.* "What day is it today", they say.
- nə pjhà ánaŋ áŋ a lóo.* "Do you relatives have this day (as a bad day)?"
- thì yà ì mà áŋ a lóo lé.* Is there one person who does not have (this day as a bad day)?
- ì-naŋ xhà-là mái xhà-là, thàn-laŋ mái thàn-laŋ.* Today is tiger-day, what about tigers, today is a mule-day, what about mules?
- nə pjhà thàn-laŋ naŋ thì yà ì mà áŋ a lóo lé.* You relatives, isn't there a single one who doesn't have a mule-day?"
- ja é m.* You have to say (like that).
- náa mà áŋ náa, xhó yà naŋ mỳ má thè.* If somebody doesn't have (a bad day today) then for that person it is a good day.
- sjhí gàá mái, sjhí ánaŋ mái mà sjhè.* In case somebody has died (on a certain day), his day of death is not considered (to be a bad day).
- sjhí è ánaŋ ʔ à, sjhí è dè áŋ à, sjhí è ánaŋ ʔ í nja má sjhí gàá à.* As for somebody's day of death, those who have a relative who has died on this day, they can perform the death day ceremonies on the occasion of death.

náa ády dá-tàq dzán (~dján) When we want to pound
 m náa, sjhí naη í mà m nja down stakes, we cannot do it
 thm thè, sjhí è dè á naη áη à on death days, the days on
 which somebody has died.

náa xhó náa dèq dòq í ó. Then they go for the cere-
 mony of cutting first.

xhó à abó mà hý ηá lé à, jə- Even if it is not a big tree
 zà xòq-ní à, dèq-hà nē mà but a small tree and they
 thú xòq-ní à, dèq-hà bàq ó would not (usually) fell it
 ja í ma deè. with an ax, they must take an
 ax (in this case).

shm làq ja dèq m dèq bē bē The first to cut has to cut at
 ó γà gó abó dè-phè áη xhó the base of the tree three
 paq ma paq é. times, on this side and that
 side.

B: dèq dòq ə γà é lə è. You told it right about the
 person who cuts first.

C: dèq dòq ə γà jə-ha abó áη The person who cuts says:
 jə-ha jə-mý é hə deè, jə-ha “Look after your own tree
 dá-khò áη jə-ha jə-mý é hə well, (you, the spirit of the
 deè lé. dead, should see how the tree
 falls) look after your own
 coffin well”.

thì gá ì mà dē ηè ní ló í lé. “Don’t let it topple over and
 get entangled anywhere”, he
 says.

tóq é é thm thè. He says like that.

é lòq é, xhá é ə lòq é. It all is the way I said it.

phá ló í mē sjhàn à xhó náa, When that (tree) has fallen
 dèq γà djí náa, thə à zà tòq down, brother-in-law, and
 é γe ó à, thə hy tēq é γe náa, they have finished cutting
 bó-tshàn bə-dán mà dzà. (the coffin), if it is a child like
 this, only this big, they don’t
 eat in the forest.

- B: mà dzà nja ná é lǝ. They must not eat, isn't that so?
- C: m̃, mà dzà nja, tshó-xaq
sjhí lá ǝ mà náa. That's right. They cannot eat unless it is a grown-up who has died.
- tshó-xaq sjhí lá náa, àtjhǝ
(~àqtjhǝ) i-kháŋ nɛ tjàq ɔ nɛ If it is a grown-up who has died, they cook food and bring it from the house (to the forest).
- àq-zaq zà xhǝ mó γɛ xhǝ-
dm̃-xhá xhǝ-dm̃-xhá é ǝ That small pig, isn't it called "xhǝ-dm̃-xhá"?
pháá è.
- B: mm̃, xhǝ-dm̃-xhá é ǝ mé. Yes, they call it "xhǝ-dm̃-xhá".
- C: xhǝ mó γɛ ja thè pyq dzà má
thè, tshó-xaq náa. They have to roast it on skewers (the part of the pig which is given to the dead as food), if it is a grown-up (who dies).
- thə γɛ dzà nja ɔ dǝ à . . . Those who are allowed to eat . . . (unfinished).
- xhǝ-gó dǝq dǝq ǝ γà, ja-uq
xhǝ sjhí (~shí) dzà ǝ mé è. The person who cuts first eats that egg.
- B: djè é. What?
- C: ja-uq xhǝ sjhí. That egg!
- B: náa dǝq γà ɔ bàq ɔ òq lá
náa é lǝ. When they have finished cutting they carry (the coffin) back, don't they?
- C: mm̃, náa dǝq γà náa ǝ à,
dá-khǝ xoq-pjèq pjèq ɔ nɛ. Yes, when they have finished cutting, they make biforked sticks.

- za (~ja) tsoq í gó nji pjêq. They must pound down two biforked sticks there.
- B: nji pjêq é ló è. Did you say two biforked sticks?
- C: áə, nji pjêq tsoq náa, xhō-gá Yes, when they have pounded two biforked sticks down, bàq daq, mà bàq daq le . . . they carry it (the coffin) up there, (corrects himself)—they don't carry it up . . . (B interrupts).
- B: náa gó səq-jòq xêq í ə lé ja í Then maybe they have to go and break bamboo for a frame. ə phàá sjhì lé.
- C: əə, bö-nm̄ dəq làq náa, səq-jòq xêq í ə má. Yes, they cut the bö-nm̄ (kind of tree) and bring it, and then they break off the bamboo for a frame.
- mà dəq γà mlé, xêq í xòqì Even if they have not finished cutting (the bö-nm̄) they can djèl mà ηó á səq-jòq à. go and break off bamboo for the frame, it doesn't matter.
- səq-jòq xêq í xòqì nan̄ mỳ ja They go and break bamboo for a frame and then they (~za) tshé. must choose a good day.
- B: xhá òq kəq lá ηε, dəq γà náa, When they have come back, bàq ó òq lá ηáa é ló. having finished cutting, they return carrying it (the coffin), don't they?
- C: òq kəq lá náa, dəq γà náa, When they have come back, bàq ó òq lá ə bə lé. when they have finished cutting, they return carrying it back.

- dəq γà náa, òq lá ə lé lè-hm̃
gàá m-sjhì xhó, xhó gó àbó
dò-phè áη, γoq dá ó nɛ ja dɛ-
pjɛq, ja dɛ-paq m̃ sjhàη à
xhó.
- When they have finished cut-
ting, before they prepare to go
back, there, at the base of the
tree (the stump of the tree
used for the coffin), they put
(an egg) down which they
must crush, (corrects him-
self) which they must break
open, brother-in-law.
- dɛ-paq náa òq lá ə má thè.
- When they have broken it
open they return home.
- náa dzáí phá òq lá náa.
- Then there is something more
to be done when they have
returned home.
- B: ju-lán (~jú-lán) áη phá mé è.
- They put (the dead body in
the coffin), don't they.
- C: hò dzà phá mé thè.
náa hò mà dzà m̃lé, ju-lán
áη xòqì γà mé, zà áη (~ή) à.
- They should eat (first).
If it is a child then they can
put him (in the coffin) with-
out having eaten.
- B: xhō-gá . . .
- There . . . (C interrupts).
- C: γə njó dján-saq thà ə bə . . .
- The food has been cooked . . .
(B interrupts).
- B: tjhì doq lèq á, sjhì ló xhō-gó.
- They lift up (the food) and go
out there.
- C: . . . lé bàq kəq lèq náa, gó
àbó tshó-mò njm-dzé thì γà
lòq m̃ le, mi-tjhé ja dəq mò
m̃ thì dəq njì dəq.
- and when they arrive carry-
ing (the coffin), an old man is
on guard at the edge of the
village, who must make as if
he is cutting with a knife,
once or twice.

- gó lòq ó nɛ ja dəq mò ím thè. On guard there he must pretend to cut.
- náa ö kəq náa, sjhà (~shà) tjhé né é m àtjhò. When they come, they must say: "(Where is) the red pickled meat?".
- A: mà ɣó, gó dəq mò ə atjhá phə bàq ó dəq mò lá lóo, amá phə bàq ó dəq mò lá lóo. No, no (not so fast!). While pretending to cut there, does he pretend to cut with (the knife) in his left hand or does he pretend to cut with (the knife) is his right hand?
- C: atjhá phə bàq ó ná-xhaŋ phə nɛ lé dəq mò thmím thè lé. He should pretend to cut backwards with the knife in his left hand.
- náa sjhà (~shà) tjhé né tjhì doq lèq é thmím thè. Then they should say, "Bring out the red pickled meat".
- náa tjhì doq lèq náa, í-tjùq hósə sjhà tjhé né tjhì doq lèq ó . . . mì-dzà tjhì doq lèq ó lé, ja ɣɛ mé ló le. When somebody has brought it . . . , they bring out water and red pickled meat . . . then somebody brings out a piece of burning wood. They must do like that.
- B: í-tjəq phè nɛ. They use a broken-off piece of a gourd water dipper.
- C: phə nɛ lé ɣɛ ó ja bì dzɛ mé ló. They must throw it away in this way (speaker showing how).
- hə phə é àdy màq òq lá ə phə í-tjəq pjhè nɛ. In this way, towards the direction from which we return, they throw the dipper away.
- A: áa, dja xòqì shú nò zà ɣ mà-bá mía deè. Talking and thinking of this and that has not dispelled the unhappiness for this child [me].

- ni-sjhò àdjóq é mà mé àdí
màq. How tomorrow will be we
can't be sure about (thinking
of coming home to his village
with his new girl friend).
- C: náa xhó dján γà djí náa, hò
dzà deq náa dzái thì mò phá
sèq phà mé, àqzàq lé-tjhò lóo
lé-tjhò. When they have finished all
that, and have had their fill
of eating, they must kill one
pig which is going to be a
companion (to the dead).
- náa lé-tjhò sèq náa, áa, lé-
tjhò mà sèq mìé, tsyq é sèq
γà ó ne gy lá là. When they have killed the
companion, eh, do they recite
the genealogy before killing
the companion or does that
come afterwards?
- B: sèq γà ó gy lá. They recite after killing it.
- C: náa bô-mò nèq mà thó lò lé
lé náa, jə-shán pjhà á, jə-
shán pjhà, jə-shán pjhà doq
le ó, mi-tjhé djé-baq thì hm̃
lè-hm̃ ó, lé thò thò é lé thò ó
ne ò, tsyq ja gy á djé, àma
àda àphì àbó djó gá sjhó kəq. If the spirit priest does not call
the spirits, the relatives who
take care of the dead—the
relatives . . . the relatives come
out (to perform the ceremony
themselves) and keep a small
knife ready, while pointing
(with the knife) like this
(showing how) and must re-
cite the genealogy leading (the
dead) backwards to the place
where his mother, father,
grandmother, and grand-
father are.
- B: gy nè ò nó gy nja mái. You (C) recite it for us if you
can.
- C: mà gy má mà gy tsyq à. I will not recite it.

- A: tsyq gy nja mál gy ú sjhá è. If you can recite the genealogy try to recite it into (the tape recorder).
- mà é mà tjhò gy ò sjhàn à. If he (B) had not said it I would not have urged you, Brother-in-law.
- nó dzò-dan gy náa, àlí my When you (B) have recited your genealogy then you (C) recite yours in the same way.
- γà dzò-bə gy thə à nɛ.
- C: jə-my é mà ləqó nja. I'm not good at it.
- àbó lə-nm-à ləq à nɛ, àphì I know some on my grandfather's side but on my grandmother's side I don't know it at all well.
- jə-mý é mà ləqó nja.
- náa xhə lóq é dján γà náa, When they have finished that, tsyq gy γà náa pyq é má thè. finished reciting the genealogy, they scorch (a pig).
- pyq náa, jə-mý pyq náa, When they have scorched it, àtjhò (~àqtjhò) shè-dà gá ə when they have scorched it djaq m xhə. well, then there is a distribution there.
- djè-zà jə-njí lə-nm-à, mà gá If it is a small animal (a small pig) then it doesn't matter if xòqì djèl mà ηó á nɛ è. there is no distribution.
- hə djè hə djè le lé laq-ý náa They gather (the pieces cut ə à . . . from the pork) saying "like this, like this" (while distributing) and then . . . (B interrupts).
- B: baq-djì djɛq phú-làq lé. The blacksmith gets the ribs, for instance.
- C: baq-djì djɛq, dzò-ma ò dzò-zà ə phú-làq lé. The blacksmith gets the ribs, and the head priest and assistant priest likewise (get their part).

- dəq dðq ə γà (~à) mè-phố
ma thê, dəq dðq ə γà (~à)
mè-phố bàq ə má. The one who cut first (when
making the coffin) (gets) the
lower jaw, the one who cut
first takes the lower jaw.
- náa səq-jòq phú-làq xèq í ə
dò, àkhý (~àqkhý) àlàq
(~àqlàq) jú ə phá á le. Then those who went and
broke off the bamboo for the
frame take perhaps hind legs
and forelegs.
- dán-naq xèq í ə γà án àdjè
(~àqdjè) òq lá a. Those who go and break off
the black wing fern, what do
they get?
- B: dán-naq xèq í ə γà án à, xhố
bé-djeq baq-djì djeq dəq xèq
nè ə mé. As for those who go and break
off the black wing fern, they
cut off some of those ribs, the
ribs (given to) the black-
smith, and give it to them.
- C: baq-djì djeq à, mà phá ja
dəq xèq à nɛ, baq-djì djeq é
máì, djeq laŋ-i bìq nè má,
baq-djì djeq à. As for the blacksmith's ribs
they don't necessarily have to
cut anything off at all. As for
the blacksmith's ribs, as I
said, all of it is given to him
for sure—the blacksmith's
ribs, I mean.
- djò shà γɛ mà laq paq nja lé. The head priest's meat cannot
be shared.
- djò shà γɛ hm̩ laŋ-i ja bìq lé
djò shà. All of the head priest's meat
must be given to him—the
head priest's meat, that is.
- náa djè-zà mó do do laŋ-i,
xhố naq-ni làq-xhố gá ə tèq
má thê. Then, of the whole pig only
those parts are divided (to the
participants from the village).

náa gó-ne náa, jò-ha jò-ha
təq ɔ̀ ɔ̀q í me ló.

Afterwards everybody takes
(his share) and goes (home).

C: náa gó-ne náa, nan mỳ tshé
phà mé ló gó pjaq ηe.

Afterwards (before going home) they must choose a good day while they are still dividing up (the meat).

lɛ-nan dù dòŋ ə, àshú
(~àŋshú) ɣà mỳ lé lé.

“Who is a person with a good day for digging first”, they say.

áa, thî yà ì mà mỳ ná lé,
 náa dəq dòq ə, àjòq (~àqjòq)
 yà, dəq dòq ə, àjòq yà yə
 mà mỳ náa, jə-sháq xòqì dù
 í nja lé.

If there is no one with a good day, then (they choose) the person who cut first. If the person who cut first does not have a good day, then the owner of the body can go and dig.

A: thə jə-shán γà dù í nja ó è.

Can the owner of the body go
and dig?

C: m.

Yes, he can.

A: nà-ηè mó-gù, jò djè naqù mỳ
é. lé é ó.

The assistant headman, whose name is Mo Gu, says "whatever we do is good".

àqjòq tèq é tɔq djí ì mé nóò.

He simply takes whatever he can get.

mjò-xhé ì àqjòq shá-phà-thá.

As a helper he gets into everything.

C: jo-shán mà mỳ náa, jǒ phú-làq ǵ (~án) lǒ è, làn phú-làq lé tshà-lá náa, jo-shán bi dù lé, àqtjǵhǒ dù ə mà djǒ ə bæ.

If it is not a good (day) for the owner of the body, if it happens to be for instance the sheep's day or the rabbit's day (bad days for everybody),

- then they let the owner of the body dig because they have no one else to dig.
- B: thì já djè jə-shán ĩ djaq ĩá é lə.
Whatever (bad) things will happen come to the owner of the body.
- C: náa gó shà bjím m jə-mý bjím ĩà náa, thì poq ja gú m shì.
When they have finished dividing the heap of meat well, they must call out once (who got what).
- thə bə zà-djə ĩ (~án) bə mà gú phà è, jà-djə (~zà-djə) ĩ (~án) ĩə é mē è.
If it is a first-born child maybe they don't call out—oh yes, in the case of a first-born child they still do call out.
- B: jà-djə (~zà-djə) ĩ ĩə tjuq taqù ja gú mē, tshó-hà sjhí ə lé ĩə náa.
They have to call out when somebody dies, whether a first-born child or anybody-else.
- C: hò dzà ĩə djí, hò dzà gú ja gú asjhì è.
When they are about to eat, they have to call out "eat".
- B: m̃, ja gú mē taqù.
Yes, they always have to call out.
- A: sjhí ə gá-kəq án thà phá dja hód.
Don't talk about death anymore.
- sjhí ə é náa sjhí ə m̃.
If you talk about death (somebody) will die.
- C: tóq é ja é ə bə lé thə.
They (the linguists) told us to talk about this.
- B: tóq é ja é la.
They said for us to talk like that.
- A: dja ə bə dja ə ló, sjhí ə jə-xaq é thà phá dja.
As for talking, go on talking, but don't talk too much about death.

- dja ó ny djè zán dja à ló à. Talk, but talk about some other traditions.
- C: náa . . . Then . . . (A interrupts).
- A: sjhí ə é náa, nõ phà é γε
mía è sjhàn. When you talk about death it's apt to make you think about it, brother-in-law.
- C: náa shà-bjḿ bjím γà djí náa,
jò-ha shà bjím jò-ha tɔq lá ò
deè, lé thì poq ja gú asjhì
lów. When they have finished dividing the heap of meat, they have to call out once: "Everybody come and get his own share".
- A: tho-la-lêeg phá ɔ mié, nõ
phà é γε ó bə è sjhàn. Because also there was a telegram for me and that makes you think, brother-in-law.
- C: náa gú náa, é lòq é tɔq le ó. When they have called out, as I said, they come and get it.
- tɔq le náa, jò-ha jò-ha sjhà
djí jò-ha tɔq ə à, jò γà naqù
doq lá ja dù phàn í ə, lé ja é
mɛ lów. When they have come and gotten it, they have to say: "Everybody has shared all of the meat, everybody has to go out and dig and bury".
- náa bàq ó ja í mɛ è. Then they have to go, taking (the coffin) with them.
- A: ηά djó (~djɔ) gá γε tho-la-
lêeg ɔ kəq ηάά. It seems that a telegram had come to my place.
- C: náa bàq ó í náa, náa bàq ó
í náa, dù dòq ə lé bə mɛ ló
è, xhó γà ja dù dòq mɛ djé. When they have carried it (the coffin) away—when they have carried it away—since there is the (ceremony of) digging first, therefore the person (chosen) must dig first, they say.

- zà jo-zà zà é γε ó xòqì sjhò ó
ja í a xhó, shím làq ja bi dù
á xhó γà.
Even if it is a small child
(who is chosen) they must
take him along (and make
him dig first). He has to dig
three times.
- dù γà ó ne, jò γà naqù γε ó
ne dù γà ó, jaq kha náa,
shà-phí ló shè ó.
When he has finished digging
and when everybody has
finished digging together, they
sweep (the earth down into
the tomb), close (the tomb),
and then sprinkle pepper
(on it).
- á(t)-tjhà-i á(t)-tjhà-i, lé ja gú
asjhì djé m̃.
They have to sneeze like this,
"ha-choo".
- náa mé-gù gù ə lé bə á.
Then there is the ceremony
of spreading leaves on the
road to keep spirits away.
- mè-hu ne thì γà bi le ó, làq-
tsàq tsàq the ó ne ə.
They let one person go ahead
and they hold each other's
hands.
- nà-bò phan̩ é deè, lé é ó, ja
òq lé mé thè.
"Let's open the deaf ears (of
the dead)", they must say and
then return.
- náa gó àqtjhò (~àtjhò) mé-
gù gù thà ə djaq m̃, ga tshím
án̩.
By then the one who has gone
ahead will have prepared the
leaves there (to step over) at
the fork in the path.
- B: làq-tsàq γò ə dè é lə è, làq-
tsàq γò ə dè à, làq-tsàq γò ə
dè à, xhaŋ-dzə ma thè.
Those who have ceased hold-
ing hands (have severed their
relationship), yes, those who
have ceased holding hands,
those who have ceased hold-
ing hands step over (the
leaves).

àtjhò à, làq-tsàq mà γò ə dè
à, mà xhaŋ-dzə nja thm̐ mé-
gù à.

Those who have not ceased
holding hands (being rela-
tives) cannot step over the
leaves.

A: náa nán γòq mà γòq hò
xhm̐ ə bə lé oq lá náa.

When you return home it is
forbidden to turn your head
backwards and look.

C: mà phá γòq hò xhm̐ γà.

Yes, it is forbidden to turn
back and look.

thì γà àkhý (~akhý) thì γà
mà nò-thè xhm̐ ə bə, mà nò-
tjèq xhm̐ ə bə.

It is forbidden to step on each
other's feet or to touch (each
other's feet).

A: mə-ná γε mà laq ná xhm̐ ə bə.
mə-ná ná ə γε, γò-mjáŋi ná
m lé ja guq mía nó.

Don't get wounded.
If you get a wound then you
will be afraid of being sick
for a long time.

C: ηó ə bə.

That's right.

B: náa òq kəq lá náa . . .

When you have returned . . .
(A interrupts).

A: náa bàq dze í ə xhó, bàq dze
í ə mè-hu, hò-dje sjhá-dán
sjhá-dán é àqđjè dján la.

Before they carry it (the coffin)
away, they put the table in
position and what do they do
then?

C: náa bàq dze í ə lè-hm̐ ηε, hú-
djè γò-za (~γò-ja) ásjhì ló.

When they have prepared to
carry it away they have to eat
the separation meal.

m̐m̐, é á é, thə dè à ùq-shö
(~ùq-sjhö) nε ηé njà.

It is true as you said it, a
moment ago I forgot it.

A: γò-za za (~ja) dzà lá là.

Don't they have to eat the
separation meal together?

C: m̐, γò-za dzà lá, thì djóì thà
phù thà m̐ le deè, lé é ə bə

Yes, they eat the separation
meal together and say: "Don't

- thè. let us meet ever again, don't let us see each other".
- A: γò-za dzà γò ə lé ja-uq dəq
ú thà gǎá. When they are about to eat the separation meal they put an egg there (on the table).
- sjèq-ló ne djý-xhəi bà ó dzà
djí nà djé. Once She-lo took everything and ate it all up.
- àshú γà sjhí ηe lo á sjhàn ò,
ja-tjiq sjhà-djí djý-xhəi sjèq-
ló ne nǎmq djí nà djé. Who had died, brother-in-law, when She-lo took all the chicken meat and stuffed it into his mouth?
- C: dù í ó ne òq lá náa, jə-shán
(~jə-sjhán) pjhà í-lán lán ó
ne ò, ló-bò hóə tshò-tsýq dəq
ú ó. When those who have gone to dig come back, the relatives boil water and put tea and ginger root into it.
- gó oq-xhè án ja tji thà lèq
má djé. They must carry it to the doorway and put it there.
- tji thà lèq náa ə à djýq mà
djýq sjhí ηe ì lé, átjyq lé thò
lèq ó lé thò ó, àqkhý àqlàq
ή (~án) átjyq thò lèq ó,
ja òq lé ə bə ó sjhàn mà ηó
a là. After putting it there, then, having washed or not, they (at least) touch (the water) and rub it in like this, touch and rub a little into feet and hands, they must do this to return, isn't that so, brother-in-law?
- B: ja thò mé thò ja djýq mé gó. They must touch (the water or) wash themselves (a little bit).
- C: nə màq γe tóq é dján ma là. Do you all do like this?
- B: tóq é dján ma, tóq é àqkha
zà lé γe náa djí tóq é dján η
mé thè. We do like this, since we are Akhas we do like this.

- C: náa tóq é dján γà náa, nèq
thó mà thó sjhì ηε gó, xhó ηε
ə djòq paq thì hèn ja thà m
xhó, sjhì-né tiq ə mó ə djòq
paq. When they have finished
doing like this, whether they
call on the spirits or not, they
must keep one half of that
flank from before, half of the
flank of the animal which
was sacrificed.
- àqdjè γε ó lo á sjhì sjhàn
sjhàn o thə. What do they say they do with
it, brother-in-law?
- B: mà sjhì á hǒ à, àqdjè γε á é
ə mà sjhì. I don't know about that, I
don't know what they say
they do.
- C: xhó djè γε á é la, djòq paq
xhó thà ə à, xhó djè dó-la. They say like this: As for the
half flank which they keep,
there is this significance.
- shà-jàn (~shà-zàn) lan ó,
shà-zàn lan á ηó mε. They abstain from (eating)
the half loin as a token of
mourning, they abstain as a
token of mourning, that's how
it is.
- B: shà-zàn lan γà náa, lè-njǒ
sjha ó phà mé è. When they have finished the
mourning abstinence they
perhaps make the lè-njǒ cere-
mony (i.e. throwing a mixture
of tea leaves and ginger on
the ground for the spirit of
the dead).
- C: shà-zàn lan γà náa, lè-njǒ
sjha ó bə. When they have finished the
mourning abstinence they
make the lè-njǒ ceremony.
- dja dja é, mà dja náa, mà
nǒ doq lá nja nǒ. Tell it! If we don't tell about
it we cannot figure it out.

- dja dja é dja náa, nõ doq lá
mía.
zà-djõ thə à, thì djõì mà sjhí
ə, sjhí bə bə ó yà í é mál,
jò-ha ə àma àda hò mà bà
xhm ə bə ó sjhàn.
- When we tell it to each other
we can figure it out.
When there has been no case
of a first-born child who died,
then the mother and the father
of the first one to die are not
allowed to scoop up rice with
their hands, brother-in-law.
- B: hò yə mà bà xhm.
C: hò mà phá bà xhm yà, hò m
sàq-bàn í mà bà xhmím,
nan lan mà dzé xhõõ kəqí.
- They must not scoop up rice.
So they cannot scoop up rice,
they cannot scoop up rice
from the steamcooker, until
they have passed the days of
abstinence.
- A: àshú yà sjhí nē áa, sjèq-ló nē
dzà ə ja-tjiq phú-làq pùq ó
nē, gó tji dàq nē ó bi dzà ə
lé, dján thà nja lé à.
- Once when somebody had
died, She-lo ate the chicken
which had been cooked and
put out there for (the spirits)
to eat—it had been made
ready.
- ja-uq djý-xhəi sjèq-ló nē, sjhì
lan-i nmq ó nē ə.
- All of the chicken was eaten
by She-lo, he stuffed all the
eggs into his mouth, and he
chewed all the chicken legs
“crunch, crunch”.
- bə-dú tjuq taqù zõq-zõq-zõq-
zõq é yò djí nà djé.
jə-dý é ý-jó nja ý-jó ì.
- Very funny!
- C: shà-zàn lan yà náa djí ə mé
thé, xhé, hú-djè shà-zàn lan
yà náa, mè-tshõ lèq-tshì í
phàá sjhì.
- When the mourning absti-
nence is finished, eh, when
they have finished the mourn-
ing abstinence, they wash
their clothes again, I think.
- mè-tshõ mè-tshõ lèq-tshì hóə,
já bí (~bi) bí í à thì kəq lòq
é doq ó bə.
- They go out together to wash
clothes and divide the fields.

náa í já bí bí í à . . .

When they have gone to share the fields . . . (A interrupts).

A: xhó mà phá ñó γà.

Maybe it's not so.

xhó djè-hù hú-djè dɔ-khú
dɔ-njǒ ja sjha m sjhì,
djè-hù, ò, àdjè (àqdjè) é lɔ
á sjhì . . .

Before that they have to send an ill-omened gibbon (to the spirits), (this is a joke, he should have said lè-njǒ 'name of a ceremony' instead of 'ill-omened gibbon'), and before that . . . what am I saying . . .

C: sjha γà djí mà,

When they have finished the lè-njǒ ceremony . . .

A: hú-djè lɔɔ phe-thán khá-ja
phi ó tjhan ó djè lé.

As for how they do it, they walk with knitted bags suspended over their foreheads.

C: lè-njǒ sjha ó é la.

They call this the lè-njǒ ceremony.

B: thə à é nè djí mà.

We have told all there is to say about this.

C: lè-njǒ sjha ó à, jò-ha zà-mì
ja sjha ó bæ.

In the lè-njǒ ceremony the daughter (i.e. the husband of the daughter of the dead) has to perform it.

khù-ja phi ó mì-tjhé bàq-
phu ùq-dù án bàq daq ó.

He carries a bag over his forehead and carries a knife on his shoulder.

thə mɛ mì-tjhé bàq-phu ùq-
dù án mà bàq daq xhm ə
má.

Because of this, one is not (ordinarily) allowed to carry a knife on the shoulder.

- lè-njó sjha ó lé ö ú náa, àqdy
màq hæ mjaqi djó xòqì, ná-
xhaη xhō phō tjhì-pjhó ó ja
djó m. When at this ceremony the
performer enters the house
(of the dead), no matter how
many we are, we must turn
our backs towards the direc-
tion (from which he enters).
- mà hæ xhm̃ ə bæ tjhì-tjhú i,
é-hée lé mà kha xhōó kəq i. We must not look and must
be quiet until he clears his
throat.
- é-hée lé kha náa, jò γà naqù
tshò-thú ó, lè-njó dó ə bæ thē. When he has cleared his
throat everybody jumps up,
and then follows the cere-
mony of drinking the ground
leaves.
- náa òq lé náa. When he has returned home
. . . (there is nothing more to
do).
- thə à já bí phú-làq, bí í ó òq
lá djí ó nē bæ lé. This ceremony takes place
when they have all come back
from dividing the fields.
- B: mà ηó à, thə à áshà shà ə
má, já bí bí í ə. No, dividing the fields is the
last (ceremony).
- A: já bí bí í ə à, nji naη shm̃
naη γə ó xòqì bí nja ó bæ lé. As for the ceremony of divid-
ing the field, they can only do
it two or three days after (the
lè-njó ceremony).
- tóq é dja nja ηáa nōó. (How) can you tell it like this
(you should know better)!
- C: náa já bí bí í ə à, já ηe í kəq
náa, àqđjóqđjóq é dján le nō
màq. When you divide the fields,
when reaching the fields, how
do you go about it?

- B: xhèé, tjhé tjhé bò xhó sjhm̃
(~shm̃) bò laq lán náa, tsoq
lán náa, γà ə bə. Oh, when they have sur-
rounded three clusters of
paddy, when they have sur-
rounded them with sticks,
then it's all over.
- C: àqtjhhò à tóq é mà ηé ηa lé. Other (Akhas) don't do like
that.
djà-tjhá (~djà-tjhé) shý shý They whistle and point to-
wards the upper and lower
é tjhá tjhá, já-γm̃ já-dàn thò
thò é. part of the field (indicating
to the spirit where his field
is going to be located).
- B: éé, xhó à àqtjhhò tshó-mò sjhí Oh, this is what they do when
ə m̃ xhó à. old people die.
- C: zà xòql̃ tóq é ηáa lé. If it is a child they do the
same.
- B: ády (~àqdy) à tóq é mà γε. We don't do like that (i.e.
whistle).
- C: ηáa tóq é γε ə mà mó hə à. I have never seen them do
anything like that.
- B: já bí bí e deè, lé tsoq lán ó "We give this field to you",
gó laq-kha ó, òq lá sjhə ì má they say and pound down the
thè. sticks and drop some food
there, then they return home
with everything in order.
- thì já djè jò djè naqù gó bí ó. All kinds of things (which
they brought with them) are
divided there (with the spirit
of the dead).
- C: náa mè-tshò lèq-tshì í ηe, When they go to wash the
àqdjè djé jú γε lé hóó. clothes (of the dead) what do
they bring with them?

- B: mɛ̌-tshǝ̌ lɛ̌q-tshì ɲɛ̌ à, ja-xhǝ̌
hǝ̌a mǝ̌-gǝ̌ khǝ̌ ɔ̌ í ɔ̌ nɛ̌ à. When they go to wash clothes
they bring along tobacco and
smouldering sticks.
- A: hú-shì lǝ̌. What about cowrie shells?
- B: hú-sjhì thì hm gǝ̌ í-gǝ̌ áɲ
lǝ̌-bà áɲ gǝ̌ lɛ̌q-tshì ɔ̌. They have a cowrie shell on
a table by the river where
they wash the clothes.
- òq lá sjhǝ̌ ì má thè, thì djèì
mà djaq. Then they return home,
(everything) is in order, and
that's all.
- A: hú-shì àdjè (~àqdjè) áɲ dú
lé ə ɲá le. What do the cowrie shells
look like? (jokingly referring
to their resemblance with fe-
male sexual parts).
- C: hú-shì áɲ dú mǝ̌qà lé, hú-
shì à, náa djí ɲáá è. Cowries look like cowries,
you fool! And that is that!
- B: djí ɲáá thè. That's all.
- C: nèq mà thó gá-kəq à djí mè. The rituals with no spirit in-
cantations are over.

Vocabulary

á	non-sensorial sentence particle: non-ex- pected, non-past, positive context, in statements (non-first person), questions (non-second person), indirect reference (non-third person)
a	sandhi form of á
a	non-sensorial sentence particle: non-ex- pected, non-past, negative context, in statements (non-first person), questions (non-second person), indirect reference (non-third person)
à	non-sensorial sentence particle: non-ex- pected, past, in statements (non-first person), questions (non-second person), indirect re- ference (non-third person)

à	noun particle: exposure (topic)
áa	exclamation
áa	final particle
abó	tree
àbó	old man, grandfather (on both sides)
áby	blanket
àda	father
àdí màq	= àdy màq
àdjè	= àdjè
àdjè (djè, àdjè)	what
àdjóq	how
àdjóqdjóq	= àdjóq
ády	= àdy
àdy	we (inclusive), used of larger groups (e.g. we Akhas)
àdy màq (àdi màq)	we (inclusive), used of smaller group, including at least one person besides the speaker and the person spoken to
águ	even
àha njàq	the two of them; used of persons known to the speaker, but absent or engaged in some other activity than the speaker's group
àjòq	he, she; used of person known to the speaker
àkhà (khà)	Akha
àkha zà	the Akha people
àkhý	foot
àlàq	wing, foreleg
àlí	son, friend
àli	sandhi form of àlí
amá	right
àma	mother, female, wife
àmjaŋ	always
àmjaŋl	= àmjaŋ
ámjaq (mjaqi)	how many
ámý (mý)	man's name, Amy
ánaŋ	day
ànaŋ dzé	other things
áp	to have

áj	noun particle: subjugation, direction towards (direction, position, goal, affected object)
àphi	sandhi form of àphì
àphì	old woman, grandmother (on both sides)
àphìi	sandhi form of àphì
àqđjè	= àdjè
àqđjóq	= àdjóq
àqdy màq	= àdy màq
àqjòq	= àjòq
àqkha zà	= àkha zà
àqkhý	= àkhý
àqlàq	= àlàq
àqma	= àma
àqshú γà	= àsjhú γà
àqtjhò	= àtjhò
àqzaq	sandhi form of àqzàq
àqzàq	= àzàq
áshà shà	last
ashì	= ásjhì
àshú γà	= àsjhú γà
àsjháŋ (sjhàŋ)	cousin, brother-in-law
ásjhì	again
asjhì (sjhì)	sandhi form of ásjhì
àsjhú γà	anybody
áthè	odd
atjhá	left
àtjhò	3rd person pronoun, singular and plural (person or persons unknown to the speaker)
àtjhò màq	the group of them (not plural of àtjhò), the others (used in ceremony)
átjyq	a little
á(t)-tjhà-i	sound of sneezing
àzaq	pig
bá	go away, dispell, dispell unhappiness, com- fort, be happy
bàŋ	to wrong
bàq	to carry

baq-dji	blacksmith
bàq-phu	shoulder
bə	first
bé-djeq	rib
bə	final particle, used in statements
bə	to take with hands
bí	to distribute
bi	sandhi form of bí
bi	to cause, give
bì	to throw away
bìq	to give
bə	to have
bə	cl. for tǝhé
bə-dáŋ	forest
bə-dú	chicken leg
bə-lə	bamboo section
bə-tshàŋ	forest
bǝ-mə	spirit priest
bǝ-nm	kind of tree
bja	clear
bjaŋ	full
bjm	heap
dá	to lay down
dà	to gamble
dá-khə	piece of wood, stick, coffin
dáŋ-naq	black wing fern
dáŋ-xhə	to burn chicken feathers, ceremonial chicken
dáŋ-xhə dáŋ-sjhó	to purify a person
dáŋ-sjhó	non-white chicken, ceremonial chicken
daŋ-sjhó	sandhi form of dáŋ-sjhó
daŋ-sjhó sjhó	to purify a dead
daq	up
da-sjhí	small pointed bamboo stick
dá-tàq	stake
de	= deè
deè	final particle

dɛ	to topple over
dɛ-paŋ	to break open
dɛ-pjɛŋ	to crush
dɛŋ	to be full, to eat one's fill
dɛŋ	alive
dà	some
dəŋ	to cut
dəŋ	place
dəŋ-hà	ax
dì	to beat
dɪm	to put on
dó-la	significance
doŋ	to come out, go out, out
dó	to drink
də-khú də-njó	ill-omened gibbon
dò-phè	base
dəŋ	to put on
dòŋ	first
dú	to be alive
dú	final particle: perhaps
dù	to dig
dú-ma	sister (when spoken of by brother)
dō	all
dja	to tell
djà-gó (djè-gó)	sacrificial buffalo
dja-jó	see dzàŋ-jə
djáŋ	to do
djáŋ ɲ	= djáŋ ə
djáŋ-saq	to fix, prepare
djaq	to have, to harbor (bad feelings), (bad things)
	to happen
djà-tjhá (djà-tjhé)	to whistle
djé	particle indicating what another person has said
djèi	at all (negative context)
djè-zà	animal
djé	some

djè	kind
djè	= àdjè
djè-baŋ	small and pointed knife
djè-hù	first, before
djèi	= djè
djèi mà ɲó	it doesn't matter
djɛq	rib
djèq	piece
djɪ	all; finished
djɪ	time; then
djɪ-bà	rice liquor
djɪ-tjuq	jar
djòq	flank
djó	to stay, to live, to have
djỳq	to wash
djý-xhəi	clean, nothing left
djò	head priest, cf. dzò-ma
dza	to measure
dza	to eat
dzáí	more
dzáŋ	= djáŋ
dzaŋ-jó (dja-jó)	hen's breast
dze	away
dzè	left over
dzè	indicates superlative
dzó	to pass
dzò-bə	the name of the genealogical line of informant C
dzò-daŋ	the name of the genealogical line of informant B
dzò-ma	head priest, cf. djò
dzò-zà	assistant priest
é	non-sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, non-past, positive context, in statements (first person), questions (second person), indirect reference (third person)
e	sandhi form of é

è	non-sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, past, positive context, in statements (first person), questions (second person), indirect reference (third person)
è	final particle
é	to tell
é	adverbial particle
è	exclamation (= èè)
è á	that's so
è é	exclamation
è ε	exclamation of surprise ("is that so?")
é-hée kha	to clear one's throat
ó	verb particle: adjugation and nominalization, non-past
ə	sandhi form of á or à
à	verb particle: adjugation and nominalization, past tense
à	noun particle: adjugation (possessive, genitive, modification)
à	expression of confirmation, exclamation
óə	exclamation
gá	to divide
gá	place, at
gá	about
gà	to hear
gàá	case (item, phenomenon)
gá-kəq	about, concerning
ga-tshím	a fork in the path
gəq	to use, take, accept
gó	there
gò	man's name, Go
gó-ne	afterwards
gú	to cry, call out
guq	afraid
gùq	to sew
gy	to count, recite
gý-òq	to be fined

γà	enough, to finish
γà	person
γà	final particle
γάη	middle
γάη hò	midday meal
γε	to do
γε	then
γε	particle
γò	to chew
γò-mjáηi	long time
γoq	to take
γòq	to turn (oneself)
γò	to separate
γò-njó	food
γò-za	separation meal (taking leave of the dead)
hə	this
hə djè	like this (here)
həś	exclamation
hə-gá	here
h̃m	classifier for mó-tjɛq, mi-tjhé, shà, hú-sjhì
hə	to try, to see
hò	rice, meal
hò-dje	table
hóə	and
hò m̃	to cook rice
hó ò	final particles
hòə	sandhi form of hò
hú-djè	that kind
hú-sjhì	cowrie shell
h̃y	= h̃y
h̃y	big
hó	= xhó
hó-gá	= xhó-gá
í	to go
i	= ni
ì	= ni

í-gə	shelf, stand, table
i-kháŋ	house
í-láŋ láŋ	to boil water
ì-naŋ	today
ìq-naŋ	= ì-naŋ
í-tjəq	gourd water dipper
í-tjùq	water
já	hundred
já	field
ja	must
jà	to sacrifice
jà	small
já-dàŋ	lower part of a field
jà-djó	first child to die
ja-ma	hen
jaq	to sweep
ja-tjiq	chicken
ja-uq	egg
já-xhàŋ	name of an Akha village
ja-xhò	tobacco
já-γm̐	upper part of a field
jè	to cut
jó	sheep
jò djè naqù (jò djè naqùq)	every kind, every case
jə-dý	very
jə-ha	own
jə-mý	= jə-mý
jə-mý	good
jə-njí	small
jò γà naqù	everybody
jə-sháŋ	owner
jə-xaq	much
jə-zà	small
jú	to take with fingers
ju-láŋ	to put
jö jö jə jə	briefly

kàq	to tie
kaq-thé thé	to weave bamboo
kəq	reach
kəqi	until
koq	man's name, Ko
kòq	six
kha	down
kha	to close
kha	see é-hée kha
khà	see àkhà
khá-ja	bag made from vines
khə	to make fire, to carry fire
khù-ja	bag made from vines
lá	to come
la	non-sensorial sentence particle, excluding one explicit assumption, non-past, in statements (non-first person), questions (non-second person), indirect reference (non-third person)
là	final particle for questions
là	to get
láj	to surround
laŋ	to abstain
làŋ	rabbit
laŋ-i	all
laq	to do
làq	time, side
làq	to bring
laq-kha	put down, drop down
làq-nà	married, through marriage
làq-òq	corner
làq-tsàq tsàq	to hold hands
làq-xhó	inside
laq-ý	to gather
lé	to go

lé	non-sensorial sentence particle, excluding one explicit assumption, non-past, in statements (first person), questions (second person), indirect reference (third person)
le	to come, enter
le	sandhi form of lé
lèq	to come
lé-tjhò	companion
lé	particle for quotation
lèe	= lé
lè-hm	to prepare
lè-njó sjha	a ceremony where a mixture of tea leaves and ginger is thrown on the ground for the spirit of the dead
lèq	to rub
lèq-tshì	to wash
ló	= lóq
ló é	= lóq é
lóo	final particle for questions
lóq	as, like
lòq	= lóq
lòq	to guard
lóg é	like
ló	to fall over
ló	final particle
lò	sandhi form of ló
lò	final particle
lò á sjhì	final particle for questions
ló-bà	river
ló-bò	tea
lò-ló	name of an Akha village, Law-Lo
lò-nm-à	if, in case, in such a case
lòo	= ló
lòó	particle
lòó	= lò
lòq	to be good at
ló	powder

m'	to do
m'	non-sensorial sentence particle, non-first person prime mover: ought to, must
m	sandhi form of m'
m̃	sky
m̃	= m'm
m̃	to bake
má	non-sensorial sentence particle: expected, non-past, in statements (first person), questions (second person), indirect reference (third person)
ma	sandhi form of má
ma	this
mà	non-sensorial sentence particle: expected, past, in statements (first person,) questions (second person), indirect reference (third person)
mà	not
mà-bá	do nothing serious
má-dm̃	coffin
mái	if, as for
má-təq (mó-təq)	shroud
má-təq təq (mó-təq təq)	to wrap in a shroud
mé	non-sensorial sentence particle: expected, non-past, in statements (non-first person), questions (non-second person), indirect reference (non-third person)
mé	to be sure about
mε	sandhi form of mé
mè	non-sensorial sentence particle: expected, past, in statements (non-first person), questions (non-second person), indirect reference (non-third person)
mé-gù gù	to spread leaves on the road to keep spirits away
mè-hu	in front, before

mè-phó	lower jaw
mè-tshò	clothes
mí	at
mía	sensorial sentence particle: expected, non-past, non-visual
míà	if
míá	sensorial sentence particle: expected, past, non-visual
mì-doq	firewood
mì-dzà	piece of burning wood
míe	because, even if
míé	because
mì-gò	smouldering sticks
mìqà	final particle, used when scolding
mì-tjhé	knife
ím	exclamation of confirmation
m̃m̃	= ím
ín-mjò	actions
mó	to see
mó	piece, classifier for ja-tjiq, àzàq
mò	to pretend
mó-do	body
mó-gù	man's name, Maw-gu
mə-ná	wound
mə-ná ná	to get a wound
mòq	want to
mó-tjeq	measuring stick
mó-təq	see má-təq
m sjhì	before
mỳ	good
mỳ	= ámỳ
mjàŋ má	indigo
mjaqi	see ámjaq
mjò	things
mjò-xhé	helper

ná	to be sick
náa	when, if
náa ə à	then
nà-bó	ear
nà-bò	deaf ear
nà-bó nà-tháŋ	to pierce the ear lobe
ná-hà	to listen
náŋ	behind
naŋ	day
nà-ŋò	assistant headman
náŋ-poq	to turn inside out
naq	black
naq-ni	that much
nagù	see jò djè and jò γà
na-γáŋ	middle of the day
ná-xhaŋ	back, behind
né	red
ne	noun particle: subjugation, direction from (origin, instrument, agent); also used after verb particle ó with sense of 'after', 'when'
ne	final particle
nè	to, for; to cause, give
nèq	spirit
nèq	together with
nèq thó	to call on spirits
ni	adverbializing particle
ni-sjhò	tomorrow
nmq	to stuff into
nó	thou, you; singular
no	= nó
nò	final particle
nò	in nò áŋ 'thee, you, to you etc.'
no-màq	you; 'plural' (more than two)
nóò	final particle
nòq	thy, your; singular
nò-thè	to step on
nò-tjèq	to touch, step on

ny	other
nò	to think
njá	non-sensorial sentence particle: first person prime mover: shall, will
nja	can, able to
nja	sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, non-past, non-visual
njà	sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, past, non-visual
njí	out
nji	two
njm-dzé	edge of a house, close to a house, edge of a village
ŋ	= áŋ
ŋá	sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, non-past, visual
ŋá	1st person pronoun, 'I'
ŋa	sandhi form of ŋá
ŋà	1st person pronoun in ŋà áŋ, 'me, to me, etc.'
ŋà	five
ŋà	sensorial sentence particle: non-expected, past, visual
ŋáa	sensorial sentence particle: expected, non- past, visual
ŋàá	sensorial sentence particle, expected, past, visual
ŋàq	1st person pronoun 'my'
ŋàq	final particle: wait a minute (don't change the subject)
ŋó	to be
ŋò	to get entangled
ŋèqì	not to be so
ŋé	to forget
ŋε	when
ó	exclamation
o	= ó

ò	= ó
óo	= ó
òq	to have, possess, get
òq	to return
òq lé	to return
oq-xhè	doorway
ö	to come
ö	four
ó-mì i	relatives on wife's side
ó	verb particle: subjugation (joining verb to verb)
ò	final particle for imperative
ó ne	after, when
paq	half
paq	to cut, share
pàq	to tie, hold
pàq-ma-tjùq	to tie thumbs and big toes together
poq	time
poq-laq	turn inside out
pòqì	a little bit
pùq	to cook
pyq	to roast, scorch
phá	also, again, necessary
phà	male
phà	ought to
phà	perhaps
phàá	= phà
phài dì	to play cards
phaŋ	open
phaŋ	to bury
phe	cloth
phè (pjhè)	broken-off piece
phe-tháŋ	shoulder bag
phé-xháŋ	jacket, shirt
phò	to dare

phi	to wear suspended over head
phə	side
phu	village
phù	to meet
phú-làq	for instance
pjaq	to cut
pjèq	= xoq-pjèq
pjhà	relatives
pjhè	= phè
pjhó	to turn
pjhú	white
sàq-bàŋ	steam-cooker, cooking pot
sèq	to kill
səq-jòq	bamboo frame
sóq	to consider
shà	meat
shà-bjím bjím	to divide a heap of meat
shà-djəq	bamboo
shà-jàŋ	sadness, mourning
shà-kháŋ	thread
shà-phá	cloth
shá-phà-thá	everything
shà-phí	pepper
shà-zàŋ	= shà-jàŋ
shè	to spread
shè-dà	to distribute
shì	piece, classifier for djí-tjuq
shì	= sjhì
shm̐	three
shm̐	sandhi form of shm̐ before high and middle tones
shm-mí-ó	name of mythical ancestor, Sem-mi-o
shú	anything, anybody
shý	sound of whistling
sjèq-ló	man's name, She-lo
sjìq	seven

sjhá	to try
sjhá	to doubt
sjha	to send
sjhà	= shà
sjhá-dáŋ	to place
sjhà-dji	meat
sjhàŋ	see àsjháŋ
sjhà-γáŋ	midnight
sjhà-xhò	metal
sjhéè	particle for imperative
sjhé	kind
sjhè	to sprinkle water
sjhè-dá	money, satang (Thai)
sjhè	to consider
sjhè	to lead
sjhè-dm	to put on
sjhè-xhò	small sheet (for the dead body)
sjhí	to die
sjhí	to insert
sjhì	to know
sjhì	classifier for ja-uq, also pronounced shì
sjhì	asjhì
sjhì-né	sacrificial animal
sjhí-xhò	see sjhè-xhò
sjhí-xhò xhò	to spread out a small piece of cloth
sjhm̐	metal; also used = shm̐
sjhm̐-xhò	metal objects beaten together
sjhó	to clean
sjhò	in order
tàq	to be related
taqù	= taqùq
taqùq	all, always
tèq	only, simply
tìq	to fine
tìq	to kill
tóq	like this
toq	to split

toq lóq é máì	in that case
təq	to take
tòq	tight
thà	don't
thà	to keep
thán	to pierce
thàn-laq	mule
thé	sound
the	mutually
thè	final particle
thè	scewers
thə	that
thə mɛ	therefore
thə mɛ̀	therefore
thì	one
thì djèì mà djaq	that's all
thì djól	one time, together
thì gál	anywhere
thì já djè	everything
thì kəq lòq é	together
thm̃	= thm̃m̃
thm̃m̃	final particle
thó	to call
thó	handsbreadth
thò	final particle
thò	or
tho-la-lêeg	telegram (Thai)
thú	to cut down a tree
thỗ	to touch, point
tjàq	to boil in water
tjàq-hm	feather
tjiq	to pluck
tjùq-dəq	glans penis
tjuq taqù	anybody, all
tjùq-thé	back of penis
tjhá	to whistle

tjhaŋ	to walk
tjhe	to reach
tjhé	sour
tjhé	clump of paddy stalks
tjhé-gỹ	pounded rice (after one pounding and sifting)
tjhé-mjáŋ	name
tjhé-tjhu	rice wrapped in a banana leaf
tjhì	to lift
tjhì-pjhó	to turn around
tjhì-tjhò	to hang up
tjhì-tjhú	quiet
tjhó	person
tjhò	to urge
tjhó	be capable, able
tsoq	to pound down
tsyq	generation, genealogy
tshà-lá	to happen
tshé	choose
tshó-hà	people
tshó-mò	old person
tshò-thú	to jump up
tshò-tsỳq	ginger root
tshó-xaq	middle-aged
ú	to enter, put into
ùq-dù	head
ùq-shò	a moment ago
ùq-tjìq	night
xaq-ló	open basket
xaq-ló ló	to make a basket
xèq	to break off
xoq-pjèq	biforked stick
xoq-pjèq pjèq	to make a biforked stick
xòqì	also, even if, or

xòq-ní	= xòqì
xòq-nì	= xòqì
chá	when
chá	all which
chá-là	tiger
xhaŋ-dzó	to step over
xhé	exclamation
xhéé	= xhé
xhə	to beat
xhì	= xhì
xhì	permissible
xhò	to spread
xhó	that, yon
xhò-dm-xhà	name of a ceremonial pig
xhó-gá	there
xhò-gá	= xhó-gá
xhó-gó	over there
xhò-gó	= xhó-gó
xhó-ye	then
xhöó	still
xhöó	= xhöó
ý	to assemble
ý-jó	to laugh, be funny
za	= ja
zà	child
zà	= jà
zà-djó	= jà-djó
zà-dzó	= jà-djó
zà-mì	daughter, girl
záŋ	traditions
záŋ dzö	one who knows about traditions
zòq-zòq-zəq-zəq	sound of eating crispy things.

THE TATTOOING OF WOMEN

An Atayal Text with Vocabulary

BY

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1. Introduction

The Atayal¹ text which is published here was recorded on the 3rd of March, 1962, in the village of Tampia, close to Wulai, south of Taipei in the general area known in Atayal as Tranan (which is more specifically the name of a village between Wulai and Gogan). It is part of a conversation between a 38 year old man (called A in the text) from the Gogan area and an old woman about 70 years of age (called B in the text) from somewhere in the Sbtunux (~ Bstunux ~ Stunux) area, South of Tranan (east of Tach'i). A is identical with the person also designated A in the Atayal text 'The Origin of Headhunting' published in the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, Academia Sinica, 39.2 (1969) 291-326.²

The vocabulary records all words and a number of affixes occurring in the text. Quite a few words included have not been recorded before.

¹ My work on Atayal was carried out under two grants from the Carlsberg Foundation of Copenhagen, one in 1961-62, one in 1969.

² My previous publications on Atayal are: 'A statement on Atayal phonology'. *Artibus Asiae* (Felicitation volume for the seventy-fifth birthday of Prof. G. H. Luce, vol. 1, 1966, 120-130): 'Verb inflexion in Atayal'. *Lingua*, 15 (1965) 251-282; 'An English-Atayal word list'. *Acta Orientalia*, 19 (1965) 203-220: 'Word order and word classes in Atayal'. *Language*, 42 (1966) 346-369.

2. Text

A: aki? aa, pkaial ku? cikai. ima? lalu?
su? pi isu?, aki?.

B: iagu? siat.

A: aa. iagu? siat ga.

B: aau.

A: ru? pira? kauas su? la.

B: aa, baqau ta?. ii, kia pitu? pgan hazi? la ai.
nkis ku? la ru.

A: pitu? pgan lga.

B: agu la ru.

A: aa, kahul inu?, kahul inu?, ii, inkhulan su? hia?.

B: stunux.

A: stunux inu?.

B: stunux kia, ii, shasa qalan ga.

A: aau, baqun mu istunux hia ga?, qalan su? qenu?
son misu?.

B: baqau ta?, ini? ku? qbaq lasa la ai.

A: ha ha.

B: ini? maku? baqi la.

A: sua? su? gñian qu? iaqu? qalan su? hia? la pi.

B: aau ga. bali ku? muha? mkal ana qutux kriax la pi. ual
mhoqil mnkis maku? raral la ga. ini? maku? baqi la ru. ini?
ku? qbaq kuziñ, laqi? sami hia? la rua.

A: ini? ga? ulai, ulai bstunux, ini? ga? ziheñ, ini? ga? kiopan,
ini? ga? . . .

B: aki aau. niux ini? baqi.

A: iiat isu? qu? kahul kia ga.

B: iiat kuziñ, k?aia? mu.

A: k?aia? su? kahul kia ru? isu? hia ga? muah su?
maki? sqani.

B: laqi? saku? nia? sqani kun la.

A: haan. ruu inu? qu? iutas hia? la.

B: ual mhoqil raral la.

A: ima? lalu? nia? pi.

B: uu, kbuqa?.

A: kbuqa?.

- A: Old woman, I would like to talk a little with you. What is your name, old woman?
- B: Iagu? Siat.
- A: Oh. Iagu? Siat.
- B: Yes.
- A: And how old are you?
- B: Oh, I do not know. Maybe seventy or something like that. I am very old.
- A: Seventy?
- B: Yes.
- A: Where was your original home?
- B: At Stunux.
- A: Where in Stunux.
- B: In Stunux, in the villages over there.
- A: Yes, I know Stunux. I am asking you which village.
- B: I am not sure. I do not know where.
- A: Ha ha.
- B: I do not know it.
- A: How could you forget your own village?
- B: Oh yes. I have never been back there to visit a single time. My old relatives have died a long time ago. I do not know that place. I could not know it, since we were children then.
- A: Perhaps it was Ulai, I mean the Ulai in Stunux [B lives in Tampia, close to another Ulai], or Ziher, or Kiopan, or . . .
- B: Maybe. I do not know.
- A: Did you not come from there?
- B: Not I, my (deceased) mother.
- A: Your mother came from there and you got to be born here?
- B: Yes, I am her child from here.
- A: Oh. Where is your husband?
- B: He died a long time ago.
- A: What was his name?
- B: Eh, Buqa?
- A: Buqa??

B: aau.

A: iasa ubui kahul, ii, rua ga.

B: kahul stunux uzi sa. kahul, ii, gogan.

A: mgluu ki iai? puna? ga.

B: iiat, kahul stunux uzi. kahul stunux lasa uzi. nanu qu?
qsuian nia ga? maki? stunux, kuatan buta? ga?.

A: uatan buta? qsuian nia? ga.

B: aau. iasa qu? qsuian nia?. iaqu? son nha? kbuta? nau? ga,
iasa qu? iaba? nha?.

A: aa. nanu iasa qu? pputai cikai mucu nanu? ia? qu? kneril
raral hia?. sua? nha? xun, ii, matas qani.

B: aai. baqau ta? mrhuu raral hia?. nanu? sika? ptasan lasa
lga?, nanu iasa qu? ki?an squliq la ma. ini? ptasi ga?, ini?
agal squliq uzi ma.

A: aau.

B: ini? kiia? gaga? na? misuu qani. kia iasa gaga? na? mrhuu
raral.

A: kiaqu? ini? qbaq eminun eninun mga?, iasa qu? ini? nia?
ptasi uzi ma rua.

B: sua? baha ini? ptasi lasa hia?, ptasan tasan hia?, ana qu?
ini? qbaq eminun.

A: nanu qu? rua nii, nanu qu?, ii, spatas nia? sa pi.

B: iia? na? rom khi? balai ga ketun nia? niia? nga ltun qu?
uaqit nia?, ketun nia? ru? iasa qu? s?atuk nia? la.

A: ketun nia? nanu?.

B: baqau ta?. iia? na? sket nia? kia rakis na? iia? na? iokai
hazi? qalux gau.

A: aau.

B: liqun nia? kmobit na? nanu? sa uah.

A: son nia? nanu?, son nia? nanu? smi? uah ari? nia?.

- B: Yes.
- A: Was his lineage from that same place, whatever its name is?
- B: They were also from Stunux. From Gogan.
- A: Did they arrive [in Ulai] with Iai? Puna??
- B: No, [directly] from Stunux. His people were also from Stunux. His older brother lived at Stunux, Uatan Buta?.
- A: Was Uatan Buta? his brother?
- B: Yes. He was his brother. Buta? Naui? was their father.
- A: Oh. Well, I would like to ask about the position of women in the old days. Why did they want to tattoo them here [on the forehead] [A shows where]?
- B: Alas! What do we know of the intentions of the ancestors. Only those who were tattooed could be married. Those who were not tattooed could not be married.
- A: I see.
- B: It was not like the customs of today. I suppose the customs of our ancestors were like that.
- A: If they did not know how to weave, they did not permit them to be tattooed, was not that so?
- B: No. They did not keep them from being tattooed. They permitted them to be tattooed, whether they knew how to weave or not [This does not tally with the usual story].
- A: Anyhow, what instrument did she [the tattooer] use for tattooing?
- B: She fastened pieces [of wire] as thin as needles, [on a bamboo stick], for teeth this short, fastened [$<$ wound] them on the hammer] with thread, and then she hammered with it.
- A: What did she use for fastening [the teeth]?
- B: I am not sure. The usual method was like weaving [putting thread back and forth between the teeth and round the shaft] them on with something like black thread.
- A: I see.
- B: She fastened them well by weaving the thread, whatever kind it was, [in and out and around].
- A: How did she do, when she started applying [this instrument]?

B: baqau ta? an nia? niux son nanu? matuk. nanu iasa qu? qnsai na? patas qani ual nia? splgan kia mu?. nanu iaqu? niux biru? qani hia? ga. an nia? ui son sqani ru? ui nia? son sqani, iasa niux mbiru? ziau nia? qani rua.

A: oo. nanu iaqu? si qalux nia? hia?.

B: iziu? na rua na? haiuŋ mataq raral ga. u kia haiuŋ mataq raral rua.

A: oo. haiuŋ mataq.

B: aau. lomun nia? ru? sian nia? ana ngon sa supeh ga, nanu? maki? kia qu? iziu? nia? kgusan nia? la.

A: kgusan nia? lga?.

B: aa. nanu iasa qu? qziu? nia? kia la.

A: nanu? ariŋ balai ga?, soman nia? na? iziu? ha ru?, ruu, iasa qu? . . .

B: ini?. tukun nha?, si nia? tmai matuk ha. si nia? tmai matuk ha. tmon nia? qmsai na? u kia nanak u kia nanak gasil qalux rua. son nia? sqani smpuŋ ha. nanu? si nia? plgan kia matuk ru?, nanu? sramu? lga?, iasa qu? gran nia? iziu? mha sqani la. nanu? kia nanak kugus nia? ia? na? rima?, son nia? sqani, san sqa kmugus ramu? nia? lga?, tukun nia? lozi ru? qmasan nia? lozi, mha kia kriax.

A: ru?, pinpira? nia?, ii, matuk.

B: aa. aia, bsiaq, qutux riax ru?.

A: ru?, ariŋ balai ga?, mucu nanu, ii, ini? nha? khuŋi [~khoni?], ini? nha? an shgup, ariŋ matuk ga.

B: ini?.

A: pbiun nia?, pbiun nia? rua ma rua, aa.

B: aau. m?abi?.

A: m?abi? inu?.

B: mosa? m?abi? izik khu?

A: haan. maki? zik na? khu? ga.

B: aau.

A: ini? p?bi ŋasal.

B: ini?.

- B: I am not sure how she hammered. Anyhow she punched following the outline of the tattooing here [B shows the tattoos on her own face]. That is, this pattern [points to her own tattoos]. Maybe she did it first this way, then that way [B shows how the hammer was placed], so that in-between there was a drawing [the outline shows the whole design].
- A: Oh. What is the black stuff used in tattooing?
- B: The drug from, you know, the pine logs used in the old days. You know in the old days they used pine logs.
- A: Oh. [Soot from] pine logs.
- B: Yes. She made a fire and placed [a pot] over it, and waited for the soot to settle on the pot, then she scraped it off.
- A: And then?
- B: Then she rubbed it in there [on the face].
- A: So first she smeared the soot on, and then . . .
- B: No. First they hammered, she hammered without any further preparations. She simply hammered without further preparations. She just marked the outline with a special kind of black string. She measured the outline here like this first. Then she hammered along the string so it bled, then she smeared on the soot like this. Then she had a special razor, something like bamboo, which she used like this, she scraped the blood away, then she hammered again and scraped again, all the time like that.
- A: How many times did she hammer?
- B: Oh, a long time, a whole day.
- A: At the very beginning, when they started hammering, did they not worship and perform magic?
- B: No.
- A: They had them lie down (and sleep), did they not?
- B: Yes. They lay down.
- A: Where did they lie?
- B: They went to lie down under the storage house.
- A: I see. They were under the storage house.
- B: Yes.
- A: They did not permit them to lie in the house?
- B: No.

A: haan. ru? hñan nasa m?abi? kia ha ru?.

B: iiat.

A: qlian ga.

B: suqun nia? gbian lga? quaxan la ru? iasa qu?
mosa? ñasal la.

A: haan. kina m?ba? balai lpi.

B: ia? na? qani balai nqua? nia?. ini? qbaq maniq mami?
la ai.

A: oo.

B: ini? qbaq maniq ai. mxal ai.

A: si nia? suqi qutux riax ga.

B: aau. ai. qutux riax.

A: ru? suqun nia? lga?, ii, quaxan nia? na? qsia?. qsia? lga?,
nanu? squax nia? pi.

B: qsia? balai.

A: qsia? ga.

B: aau. pman nia? na . . .

A: pali? na? ñta? ma rua.

B: aau. ii, rua la. smgom lasa la.

A: mucu nanu? smgom hia? pi.

B: kia qu? qsia? siun ta? taku? rua.

A: aau.

B: son sqa hmau na? pali?, son sqani hmqu? la.

A: ru? tnahuk nha? ga qu? . . .

B: iiat. trtu?. aau.

A: ini? sñahoq ga.

B: ini? kiaqu? iaqeh ga? iaqeh uzi. iaqeh ru? skobit la.

A: sua? lux sñahoq. iaqeh gaga? na? sa ma ga.

B: baqau ta? lasa la. kia pzian nanak iaqeh lasa la. ki?a hi?
na? nasa qu? iaqeh lasa la.

A: aa. ru?, mucu kia qu? patas nha? raral hia? ga.

B: aau.

A: ru? pira? biñi? lga?, tuliq la.

- A: I see. And did they not sleep out there the night before [being tattooed]?
- B: No.
- A: [They only lay there] in the daytime.
- B: In the evening when she [the tattooer] had finished, she washed the face [of the tattooee] and then she [the tattooee] went home.
- A: I see. Probably it would swell.
- B: Her mouth was like this [B shows how extensive the swelling was]. She could not eat.
- A: Oh.
- B: She could not eat. It hurt.
- A: Was she through in one day?
- B: Yes. Certainly. In one day.
- A: And when she was through she washed her face with water. When she applied the water, what did she wash with.
- B: Just water.
- A: I see.
- B: She washed her by means of . . .
- A: . . . chicken feathers. Is that not right?
- B: Yes. That is it. They wiped [the face with feathers].
- A: How did they wipe?
- B: The water is put in a bottle gourd scoop.
- A: Oh yes.
- B: She scooped up the water with the feathers, and rinsed away [the badness].
- A: Did they boil the water?
- B: No. It was cold. Of course.
- A: Was there no pus.
- B: No. There might be some badness. If there was badness the tattoos would be entangled [with uneven, rough scars].
- A: What would be the reason why pus formed? I have heard it was because of previous bad behavior.
- B: I do not know about that. Maybe the person has deliberately been bad. Maybe her body is bad.
- A: Oh. So that is what their tattooing was like in the old days.
- B: Yes.
- A: Then how many days did it last before they got up?

B: aia. bsiaq ru? qutux biaciŋ ki?an nha? ŋasal ru? maki? libu?,
a baqau ta? mpuu msiau biŋi?, baqau ta? pusal msiau biŋi?,
giahan qu? libu? ktan kuara?. ini? ktai ha ru?.

A: aa. ptasan nha? ru? suqun nha? matas lga?, siun nha?
libu? ga.

B: oo.

A: libu? nanu?.

B: nanu ia? na? sakau qa ga, tlbian nha? rua pi hilau ga.

A: ru? si nha?, ii, si nha?, ii, ini? nha? pktai ana qutux ga. ini?
nha? pktai ga.

B: ini?. kiaqu? niux maŋa? ga?, iasa qu? gmeŋ mita? muah miq
qnaniq, miq qsia?.

A: aa. ru?, matuk ga?, ana nha? ktan sa.

B: sua?, aau sa.

A: ru?, masoq matas lga?.

B: ktan uzi ha. mima? ha.

A: aa, pman ha ru? masoq lga? si nia? tlbiu la ru? iasa ini?
htuu ana qutux uzi.

B: ini? ru?.

A: ru? ini? nha? ktai uzi.

B: ini?.

A: sika? hmakut qnaniq ga?, iasa mita?.

B: aau.

A: ru? pira? biŋi? lga? mhtuu la.

B: baqau ta?, mpuu biŋi? lga?, ktan nha? la, kiohan nha? la.

A: ciuqan nha?.

B: kiohan nha? la qu? libu? nia?.

A: giahan nha? la ga, iasa qu? mhtuu la ga, kia iasa qu? sqleh
la pi.

B: aau.

A: haan. mucu kia gaga? nia ga. ru? ini? nha? hbgia hia? ga.

B: ini?.

A: baq su? hmgup aki?.

B: ai, agu? squ? raral hia? ha ai.

- B: Oh! A long time! They stayed inside their house for a whole month and lived in an enclosure [within the house] for perhaps more than ten days, or perhaps more than twenty days, before they opened the enclosure so everybody could see her. Before nobody saw her.
- A: Oh. They tattooed her, and when they had finished tattooing her, they put her in an enclosure.
- B: Yes.
- A: What kind of an enclosure?
- B: They closed off a place like this bed [B points to her own bed] with cloth.
- A: Then they did not permit people to see her even once? They did not let them see her?
- B: No. Only a person who brought her something could open the curtain and look, when she gave her food or water.
- A: Oh. At the time of hammering [tattooing], could people look?
- B: Oh yes.
- A: And after the tattooing is finished?
- B: At first people could look. First they washed her face.
- A: So first they washed her face and when they were through they put her in an enclosure, and then she could not come out even once.
- B: That is right.
- A: And also people could not see her.
- B: That is right.
- A: Only if somebody brought her food could she look.
- B: Yes.
- A: After how many days did she come out?
- B: I am not sure. Maybe after ten days people could look and open the curtain.
- A: [hears ciuqan instead of kiohan] They could spit?
- B: They opened the curtain.
- A: When they pulled the curtain aside and she came out, had the swelling gone down by then?
- B: Yes.
- A: I see. So that was what that custom [ritual] was like. They did not use any witchcraft?
- B: No.
- A: Do you know any witchcraft?
- B: Well, in the old days I did.

3. Vocabulary

a	maybe
-a	suffix forming active subjunctive from the reduced stem, sometimes preceded by the prefix m-. With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -a <*-aa
aa	interjection, hesitation syllable
aai	interjection; alas
aau	interjection; yes
aba?	father. Used in direct address only, otherwise iaba? if alive, k?aba? if dead
agal	(magal, galan) to take
agu	interjection; yes (cf. aau)
ai	final particle; interjection
-ai	suffix forming first passive subjunctive from reduced stem. With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -ai <*-aai, cf. -i
aia	interjection
aia?	mother. Used in direct address only, otherwise iaia? if alive, k?aia? if dead
aki	will; preverb construed with the indicative; maybe; cf. aki?
aki?	grandmother; mother-in-law; old woman. Used in direct address only, otherwise iaki? if alive, k?aki? if dead
aki?	(maki?, ki?an) to be, to be there, to live at, dwell in; to be pregnant, to be born; ki?an squliq a married person
an	preverb used to make a periphrastic negatable indicative and an imperative, especially of the third passive
-an	suffix forming first passive indicative from the reduced stem. With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -an <*-aan
-an	suffix forming first passive perfect from the reduced stem when co-occurring with the infix -n-. With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -an <*-aan

ana	even, even if, if, whether, whatever, whoever; frequently constructed as preverb (cf. an and anai)
anai	preverb used to mark a periphrastic subjunctive, especially of the third passive
ariŋ	(?riŋan) begin, originate from
atuk	chipping knife; instrument used for tattooing
atuk	(matuk, tukun) to hack, to chip off, to hammer with tattooing instrument
baha	of course, how
balai	very, verily, true, truly
bali	preverb construed with indicative indicating emphatic negation, certainly not cf. balai
baq (baqan)	know, can
baqau	second passive subjunctive of baq
baqi	first passive negatable indicative of baq
baqun	second passive indicative of baq
biaciŋ	moon, month
biŋi	night
biq	(miq, biqan) give
biru?	(miru?, bruan) to draw, make a drawing, paint, decorate, write; drawing, pattern, writing, characters, letters, letter, book
blaq (liqan)	good, well
bsiaq	a long time
bstunux	= sbtunux
buqa?	personal name for man
buta?	personal name for man
buta? naui?	buta? the son of naui?, personal name for man
bu?	arrow, shoot, peak, goal
bu?	(mu?, buan) to shoot, to punch; to climb a peak
cikai	a little, a few, please
cinun	(tminun ~ cminun, tunun) weave
ciuqan	see: tuiog

cminun ~ tminun	see: cinun
cninun ~ tninun	second passive perfect of cinun
ciux	preverb construed with indicative, indicating recent or present progressive, away from speaker (cf. niux)
cziul	thirty
cziu?	six
cziu? pgan	sixty
ga	a weakened form of ga? particle of precentral exposure; a final particle indicating that the story or the conversation is to continue
gaga?	ritual, custom, customary law, headhunting, social group
ga?	particle of precentral exposure
gasil	string
gbian	late afternoon, evening
	cf. m?abi? to sleep
giahān	see: gmeh
gluu	(mluu, lgan) follow, share, go by (conveyance)
gmeh	(giahān) to open (seemingly from *geh)
gñian	see: iuñi?
gogan	place name
gran	see: grgul
grgul	(gran) to rub, rub in, smear on
ha	final particle: before, formerly, first; preverb indicating a suggestion, let us . . . cf. mha; let us go, cf. moha?
haan	interjection, I see
ha ha	interjection; ha ha
haiuŋ	pine
haiuŋ mataq	a kind of pine
hazi?	somewhat, rather, maybe
hbgan	see hgup
hbgi	first passive negatable indicative of hgup

hga?	primary and nominalized pronoun III+III they
hgup	(hmgup, hbgan) to perform magic
hia	unaccented form of hia?
hia?	primary and nominalized pronoun III he, she, it
hi?	flesh, body, person, self
hilau	(hmilau, hlagun) to cover oneself, put over oneself; a cover, a cloth
hmakut	carry, bring (seemingly from *hakut)
hmau	(hma?un) ladle, scoop up
hmgup	see: hgup
hmqul	(hquli) to clean, rinse, remove dirt (seemingly from *hqul)
hŋan	nighttime
honi?	magic; to put under an evil spell, bewitch
hoqil	(mhoqil, hqilan) die
htuu	(mhtuu, htgan) come out
-i	suffix forming first passive negatable indicative and imperative from the reduced stem. With stems ending in -i and -i? we find -i <*-ii. With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -ai coinciding with first passive subjunctive.
iaba?	big; father see: aba?
iagu?	personal name for woman
iagu? siat	Iagu? the daughter of Siat
iaia?	see: aia?
iaki?	see: aki?
iaqeh	bad, evil
iaqu?	= iia? + qu?
iasa	the thing in question, that, then cf. iia? the like of, like that, like and sa particle of subjugation, at, in, by, that, there
ia	unaccented form of iia?
iaui?	personal name for man

iaui? puna?	Iaui? the son of Puna? personal name for man
ibstunux	= sbtunux
ii	hesitation syllable
iiat	is not . . . ; iiat nia? iaba? it is not his father; preverb construed with the future indicating negated future tense, will not . . . ; preverb construed with the perfect indicating negated past tense, have not . . . ; preverb construed with the negatable indicative indicating that which should be avoided, will not . . . ; do not want to . . . ; in order not to . . . ; (kiia?, niia?; me?a, ne?a) the like of, like that, like
iaa?	
ima?	who, which one, which, any one, any
ini?	preverb construed with negatable indicative indicating negated past tense, did not . . . , have not . . . , cannot . . . ; no; maybe, perhaps
inkhulan	first passive perfect of kahul
inu?	where
iokai	thin thread
istunux	= sbtunux
isu?	nominalized pronoun II
	you
iun̄i?	(mun̄i?, ḡn̄ian) forget
iutas	see: utas
izik	= zik
iziu?	drug, medicine, poison
k-	prefix for deceased persons (cf. ka)
k-	prefix forming an active negatable indicative of intransitive verbs
ka	that there . . . , yonder; maybe (short for kia ?)
kahul	(mkahul, khulan) come from
kaial	(kmaial, kialan) speak, talk
kal	(mkal, pkalan) to visit
kauas	year

kbuqa?	the way a man named Buqa? is referred to after his death cf. k- and buqa?
kbuta?	the way a man named buta? is referred to after his death cf. k- and buta?
ket	(kmet, ketun) plait, wind, coil cf. kobit
ketun	see: ket
kgusan	see: kugus
khi?	thin
khun̄i	probably for khoni?, negatable indicative of honi?
khu?	storage house, storage hut
ki	unaccented form of ki?
kia	there is, there, now, at
kiaqu?	= kia + qu?
kiia?	the like of, like that, like (cf. iia?)
kina	just about, maybe, perhaps
kiohan	first passive indicative of a verb that means to open, move aside a curtain
kiopan	place of entering (Chinese territory), place name
kita?	(mita?, ktan) see
ki?	particle of inclusion, and (also)
ki?a	let it be, maybe if, I wonder; active subjunctive of aki?
ki?an	see: aki?
kmugus	see: kugus
kmobit	see: kobit
kneril	woman
kobit	(kmobit, kbetun) plait, wind, coil cf. ket
kriax	time(s), ever, forever, all the time, always cf. riaux
ktai	first passive negatable indicative of kita?
ktan	see: kita?
kuara?	all

kuatan	the way a man named Uatan is referred to after his death cf. k- and uatan
kugus	(kmugus, kgusan) to scrape, to shave (beard) razor
kun	= kuziŋ
kuziŋ	nominalized pronoun I I
ku?	= saku?
kziup	(mziup, iopan) enter
k?aba?	see: aba?
k?aia?	see: aia?
k?aki?	see: aki?
k?utas	see: utas
la	final particle of completed action or new situation
lalu?	name
laqi?	child (minor), child (offspring), descendant
lasa	that, those, there, then;
lga?	= la ga?
libu?	(plbuan) surround, enclose, set a trap; trap, enclosure
liqun	second passive indicative of blaŋ
lom	(lomun) make a fire, burn
lozi	= la uzi
lpi	= la pi
ltuŋ	short
lux	(mlux, lxan, xun) insist on . . . , do against propriety, foolishly . . . , of all things . . .
m	affixes containing m are mostly used referring to animates or atmospheric and other natural phenomena
m-	prefix forming an active indicative indicating reciprocity, corresponding to active negatable indicative in p-.

m-	prefix forming an active indicative of intransitive verbs, corresponding to active negatable indicative in k-
m-	prefix forming active subjunctive from the reduced stem when followed by the suffix -a
-m-	infix forming an active indicative corresponding to active negatable indicative without affixes
ma	final particle indicating that the speaker is repeating somebody else's story 'I am told, according to what I hear'
maki?	see: aki?
maku?	secondary pronoun I my, I
mami?	(cooked) rice
mamu	secondary pronoun II+III
maniq	see: qaniq
maŋa?	see: paŋa?
masoq	(suqan) finish
matas	see: patas
matuk	see: atuk
mbiru?	intransitive indicative in m- from biru?
mgluu	indicative of reciprocity from gluu
mha	do thus, say thus, think thus used in some areas as the equivalent of mucu, see: uci
mhoqil	see: hoqil
mhtuu	see: htuu
mian	secondary pronoun I+III
miq	see: biq
misuu	nowadays, at the moment, at once
misu?	secondary primary pronoun I+II you are my . . . , you . . . by me, I . . . you
mita?	see: kita?
mnaga?	see: naga?
mnkis	old, of old, forefather
mu?	see: bu?
moha?	= mosa?

mosa?	an active indicative of usa?
mpuu	(pgan) to count; ten
mrhuu	chief, ancestor
msiau	more than
mu	= maku?
muah	see: uuah
muci	see: uci
muha?	= musa?
musa?	see: usa?
mxal	(kxal) to hurt
mziup	see: kziup
m?abi?	(?bian) to lie down, to sleep
m?ba?	to swell
n-	prefix equal to mn-
-n-	(~ -in-) infix forming second passive perfect
-n-	(~ -in-) infix forming first passive perfect from the reduced stem when co-occurring with the suffix -an
na	unaccented form of na?
naga?	(mnaga?, ngon) to wait
nanak	(knanak) apart, alone, only, own, self, simple, strange, different, other
nanu	unaccented form of nanu?
nanu?	why, anyhow, what, anything
nasa	thereof
	cf. na? and sa
naui?	personal name for man
na?	particle of adjugation
ngon	see: naga?
nha?	secondary pronoun III+III
	their, they
nia?	secondary pronoun III
nii	hesitation syllable
niiia?	to be like
niux	preverb construed with the indicative, indicat- ing recent or present progressive, close to the speaker (cf. ciux)

nkis	= mnkis
nqa	= na? + qa
nquaq	mouth
ηahoq	pus
ηasal	house, home
ηta?	chicken
oo	interjection
p-	prefix forming an active negatable indicative indicating reciprocity
p-	prefix forming active future
p-	prefix forming causative verbs
pali?	feather
paŋa?	(maŋa?) carry, bring
paqut	(maqut, pqutan) to ask
patas	(matas, ptasan ~ tasan) tattoo
pbiun ~ p?biun	second passive indicative of m?abi? with causative prefix p-
pgan	used in forming the numerals cziu? pgan, pitu? pgan, spat pgan, qeru? pgan (cf. mpuu)
pi	final particle of exclamation
pima?	(mima?, pman) wash
pinpira?	second passive perfect of pira?
pira?	how many, how many times
pitu?	seven
pitu? pgan	seventy
pkaial	discuss, discussion, dispute
pktai	first passive negatable indicative of kita? with causative prefix p-
plgan	first passive indicative of gluu with causative prefix p-
pman	see: pima?
pqutai	first passive subjunctive of paqut
ptasan	see: patas
ptasi	first passive negatable indicative of patas
puna?	personal name for man

pusal	twenty (cf. mpuu)
pziaŋ ~ spziaŋ	(spiaŋun) especially, deliberately, intentionally
pʔbi	first passive negatable indicative of mʔabi?
	with causative prefix p-
qa	here, there
qaiaʔ	thing
qalaŋ	village, town
qalux	black
qani	this, here
qaniq	(maniq, niqan) eat
qasa	that, there
qbaq	partially reduplicated form of baq
genuʔ	which, where (seemingly from qa + inuʔ)
qeruʔ	nine
qeruʔ pgan	ninety
qlian	daytime
qmamas	(qmasan) rub, smear (seemingly from *qamas)
qmsai	(qsaian)
	to stretch a string, to string a frame
qmariq	second passive perfect of qariq
qnsai	second passive perfect of qmsai
qsiaʔ	water
qsuian	older sibling
quax	(qmuax, quaxan) wash
quaxan	see: quax
qutux	one, another; once
quʔ	nominalizing particle
qziuʔ	(qmziuʔ, qziuan) to transfer, transmit, apply
	(drug), contagious, contagion, infection, tradition
rakis	habit, custom, method
raral	old times, the old days, formerly, a long time ago
ramuʔ	blood
riax	day
rom	needle

ru	final particle; you know, of course
rua	that one (which you know, but which we do not mention by name, or whose name escapes me right now); you know, of course
ruu	lengthened form of ru?
ruu?	lengthened form of ru?
ru?	particle of coordination
s-	prefix forming third passive indicative
s-	prefix for instrumentative verbs
sa	particle of subjugation; at, in, by that, cf. iasa there, cf. qasa
sakau	bed; place name
saku?	primary pronoun I I
san	see: son and uci
sbtunux	place name
shasa	over there
shgup	third passive indicative of hgup; an shgup third passive negatable indicative of hgup
si	preverb construed with negatable indicative (rarely with indicative) indicating punctual realization, actual manifestation actually . . . , directly, just . . . cf. son, san
si	unaccented form of si?
sian	see: si?
siat	personal name for man
sika?	only, just
simu	primary and nominalized pronoun II+III you and he/she
siun	second passive indicative of si?
si?	(smi?, sian) to put
si? lihui	to tattoo the forehead (cf. si? and lihui)
skobit	third passive indicative of kobit
sngom ~ lmom	(soman) rub, smear, wipe

smi?	see: si?
smpuŋ	see: spuŋ
sŋahoq	there is pus cf. ŋahoq
soman	see: smgom
son	(first passive perfect insonan or snonan) say, call, institute also for ?son from usa? sometimes seems to function as second passive indicative of uci, with a first passive indicative form san
spat	eight
spatas	third passive indicative of patas
spat pŋan	eighty
splgan	first passive indicative of gluu with instrumen- tative prefix s- and causative prefix p- (smpuŋ, spŋan) to measure, evaluate, judge
spuŋ	= sa qa
sqa	= sa qani
sqani	= sa qasa
sqasa	(for flood, swellings, etc.) to subside
sqleh	= sa qu?
squ?	third passive indicative of quax
squax	human being
squliq	(msramu?)
sramu?	to bleed cf. ramu?
sua?	(hmsua?, sua?un) to do it how, to do it why, how, why
supeh	small iron pot
suqi	first passive negatable indicative of masoq
suqun	see: masoq
su?	primary and secondary pronoun II
s?atuk	third passive indicative of atuk
ta?	primary and secondary pronoun I+II I and you, mine and yours, we, our
taku?	bottle gourd, scoop made from bottle gourd

tasau	see: patas
tlbuan	see: tlbu?
tlbui	first passive negatable indicative of tlibu?
tlibu?	(tlbuan) surround, enclose, set a trap, form a circle, cf. libu?
tmai	first passive negatable indicative of tma?
tma?	(tmma?, tmon) for no good reason, simply, just
tmon	second passive indicative of tma?
tnahuk	boil (water)
tranan	place name
trtu?	cold
tuioq	(mtuioq, ciuqan) spit
tukun	see: atuk
tuliq	(mtuliq) get up
u	unaccented form of uu
uah	final particle of mild exclamation and exhortation
uaial	to go
ual	to go = uaial
uaqit	canine tooth, fang, tusk, tooth of instrument
uatan	personal name for man
uatan buta?	uatan the son of buta?
uci	personal name for man (muci, tusan ~ san) do thus, say thus, think thus cf. son and si
ui	[?ui] final particle, I dare say
ui	[?ui] interjection, maybe cf. uzi
ulai	hot springs; place name
ubui	continuation, result, part, lineage, system
ubui	(mubui, buian) to continue, join
-un	suffix forming second passive indicative from the reduced stem. With stems ending in -a and -a? we find -on <*-aun

usa?	(musa?, ?san) to go
utas	penis; grandfather; father-in-law; old man; husband As relationship term used in direct address only, otherwise iutas if alive, k?utas if dead
uu	particle, as you know, you know; also construed as preverb with indicative
uuah	(muah, uahan) come
uzi	also
xun	second passive indicative of lux
ziau	space between, in between, circumstance
ziheŋ	place name
zik	underside, underneath, before
ziuau	= ziau