

RB-6 : The thief

Halbi Text, HLB-RB-6. Tape 3a 085-152 (BW) circa 1967-68. Narrator: Ramboti. Researchers: Fran Woods and Betsy Schuyler.

A. The thief

Some things that we stolen from us and this text is one result of that event. Folk in the village were most upset about the incident. Ramboti had much to say and it also provided an opportunity to learn more about what happens when a theft occurs.¹

Text begins as a narrative then there is a weaving of descriptive exposition and procedural text about theft in general. There then follows talk of the role of a *sirha* in finding the thief, and of the *sirha's* role in healing a person of sickness.

A.1 Free translation of text

We came therefore she told us (that) it was two boys. It was one boy from this hamlet and one boy from that hamlet, so I'm told. They ate a little of the dried fruit and the beans, so I heard. They have left some, so I'm told. That spirit tells. That spirit, in our country whenever cause the spirits to sit just like this, those spirits will know (who did it).

Researcher: How does he sit?

They will separate out the rice this. They will separate out the rice like this and this. Yes, if cause the spirit to sit, the spirits which sit (in) those boys like this that spirit will sit. Rice is to be giving.

Researcher: Who told?

Shaman. Yes, the Shaman told.

Researcher: Who is the sirha?

Gunji's grandfather and mother. Gunji's mother also knows. Gunji's mother told us. She told (that) it was two boys. Having stolen from Bai's house we took (the items). Saying, 'it came just like this in my sacred book' she told (us). Dried fruit. It's an eating thing of theirs. Wherever they had put it.

Researcher: What happens when rice is stolen?

One is to be telling the police (about) it. Those policemen will go investigating to the thieves' place. Just like this they will search everywhere for the threshed rice. And they will find it and they will very much beat up (the thieves). If rice is lost they don't ask (the spirits), just like this if anything such as rice and edibles are lost they will consult the spirits. One day having called Gunji's mother we will bring (her) here and tell her to separate out rice. You will watch. We will bring her just here, okay? When the cattle enter (the cattle sheds) today.

Whenever have headaches and fever one is to consult the spirits. When consult the spirits, the spirits will again tell (the cause). When they collect together chickens (and) everything, when they make (the offering), in our country the sickness will heal. In your country it is the hospital. In our country it is the Shaman.

Researcher: What is done after healing?

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When this sickness is healed one is to be giving a baby chicken. One is to be giving a coconut. Again just as that spirit will have told (what to do), like that one is to collected together (the things specified). That Shaman again will perform the ceremony. When made the offering again the sickness will heal. When healed, one is to be doing their work again just like this. One is to be eating food.

A.2 The Thief Interlinear

RB-6:1.1

ईलू	गूने	आमके	साँगली	दूई	झान	लेका	मन	आत	मने
ilu	gune	amke	sāgli	dui	dʒʰan	leka	mən	at	məne.
V	CONJ	PRON	V	NUM	CLSS	N	PRT	EQ	PRT

come-1P.PTC therefore we-GOL tell-3S.NM.PC two person boy =PL is.3P REPRTDINFO

We came therefore she told us (that) it was two boys.

RB-6:1.2

ए	पारा	चो	गोटक	आऊर	हून	पारा	चो	गोटक	लेका	आत	मने
e	para	tʃo	goʈək	aur	hun	para	tʃo	goʈək	leka	at	məne.
DEM	N	PRT	NUM	CONJ	DEM	N	PRT	NUM	N	EQ	PRT

this hamlet =POSS one and that hamlet =POSS one boy is.3P REPRTDINFO

It was one boy from this hamlet and one boy from that hamlet, so I'm told.

RB-6:1.3

ए	सूकली	पाक	के	सेमी	के	खीनीक	खादला	मने
e	sukli	pak	ke	semi	ke	kʰinik	kʰadla	məne.
PPRON	V	N	CASE	N	CASE	ADV	V	PRT

IT dry-3S.NM.PC fruit GOL beans GOL a little eat-3P.PTC REPRTDINFO

They ate a little of the dried fruit and the beans, so I heard.

RB-6:1.4

खीनीक	बाचालासे	मने
kʰinik	batʃalase	məne.
ADV	V	PRT

a little save-3P.PC REPRTDINFO

They have left some, so I'm told.

RB-6:1.5

हून	देओ	साँगे
hun	deo	sāge.
DEM	N	V

that spirit tell-3S

That spirit tells.

RB-6:1.6

हून	देओ	आमचो	देस	ने	असनी	देओ	बोसालेने	हून
hun	deo	amtʃo	des	ne	əsni	deo	bosalene	hun
DEM	N	POSSPRON	N	POSTP	ADV	N	CV	DEM

that spirit we=POSS country =LOC like this-EMP spirit to cause to sit-CNSUF-temporal-condition that

देओ	मन	जानूआत
deo	mən	dʒanuət.
N	PRT	V

spirit =PL know-3P.F2

That spirit, in our country whenever cause the spirits to sit just like this, those spirits will know (who did it).

Researcher: How does he sit?

RB-6:1.7

चाऊर बासूआत असन
tʃaur basuat əsən.
N TR ADV
rice separate S.t.-3P.F2 like this

They will separate out the rice like this.

RB-6:1.8

चाऊर मन के असन असन बासते नेऊआत
tʃaur mən ke əsən əsən baste neuat.
N PRT CASE ADV ADV TR V
rice =PL GOL like this like this separate S.t.-CONJ.INC take-3P.F2

They will separate out the rice like this and this.

RB-6:1.9

होऊ, देओ बोसाले हून लेका मन देओ बोसूआतजे असनी देओ बोसूआए
hou deo bosale hun leka mən deo bosuatdʒe əsni deo bosuae.
ADV N CV DEM N PRT N V ADV N V
yes spirit to cause to sit-CNSUF that boy =PL spirit sit-3P.F2-locQ like this-EMP spirit sit-3S.F2

Yes, if cause the spirit to sit, the spirits which sit (in) those boys like this that spirit will sit.

RB-6:1.10

चाऊर देतोर आए
tʃaur detor ae.
N V
rice give-CONJ.INC-is.3S

Rice is to be giving.

Researcher: Who told?

RB-6:1.11

सीरहा
sirha.
N
shaman
Shaman.

RB-6:1.12

होऊ, सीरहा सांगलो
hou sirha sāglo.
ADV N V
yes shaman tell-PTC.3S.M

Yes, the Shaman told.

Researcher: Who is the sirha?

RB-6:1.13

गूजी चो दादा आरू चो आएआ
gūdʒi tʃo dada aru tʃo aea.
PN PRT N CONJ PRT N
Gunji =POSS FaFa and =POSS mother

Gunji's grandfather and mother.

RB-6:1.14

गूजी चो आएआ बोले जाने
gūdʒi tʃo aea bole dʒane.
PN PRT N ADV V
Gunji =POSS mother also know-3S

Gunji's mother also knows.

RB-6:1.15

आमके गूंजी चो आएआ साँगली
amke gūdzī tʃo aea sāgli.
PRON PN PRT N V
we-GOL Gunji =POSS mother tell-3S.NM.PC
Gunji's mother told us.

RB-6:1.16

हून साँगली दूई झान लेका मन आत
hun sāgli dui dʒʰan leka mən at.
DEM V NUM CLSS N PRT EQ
that tell-3S.NM.PC two person boy =PL is.3P
She told (that) it was two boys.

RB-6:1.17

बाई घरो चोरून नेऊं
bai gʰəro tʃorun neũ.
VOC POSSN V V
Bai house-POSSV steal-CONJ.COMP take-1P
Having stolen from Bai's house we took (the items).

RB-6:1.18

मचो पांजी ने असनी ईली बोलते साँगली
mətʃo pādʒi ne əsni ili bolte sāgli.
POSSPRON N POSTP ADV V V V
I=POSS sacred book =LOC like this-EMP come-3S.NM.PC say-CONJ.INC tell-3S.NM.PC
Saying, 'it came just like this in my sacred book' she told (us).

RB-6:1.19

सूकली पाक
sukli pak.
ADJ N
dry-ADJR fruit
Dried fruit.

RB-6:1.20

खातो बीती आए ए मन चो
kʰato bitī ae e mən tʃo.
V CLSS EQ PPRON PRT
eat-CONJ.INC thing is.3S they =POSS
It's an eating thing of theirs.

RB-6:1.21

कहां संगो रोहोत
kəhā sāga rohot.
RPRON V
where put away-be-3S
Wherever they had put it.

Researcher: What happens when rice is stolen?

RB-6:1.22

ए पूलीस मन के साँगतोर आए
e pulis mən ke sāgtor ae.
DEM N PRT CASE V
this police =PL GOL tell-CONJ.INC-is.3S
One is to be telling the police (about) it.

RB-6:1.23

हून पूलीस मन पोता करते पोता करते जाऊआत हून चोर मन
 hun pulis mən pota kərte pota kərte dʒauat hun tʃor mən
 DEM N PRT N V N V V DEM TR PRT
 that police =PL investigation do-CONJ.INC investigation do-CONJ.INC go-3P.F2 that steal =PL

थाने
 t^hane.

N

place=LOC

Those policemen will going investigating to the thieves place.

RB-6:1.24

असनी गूलाए डगराऊआत धान मीडलो बीती के
 əsni gulae dʒəgrauat d^han miːdlo biti ke.
 ADV ADJ V N ADJ CLSS CASE
 like this-EMP everywhere-EMP search for-3P.F2 paddy rice thresh-ADJR thing GOL

Just like this they will search everywhere for the threshed rice.

RB-6:1.25

आरू हून के भेटूआत आरू अएसा मारूआत
 aru hun ke b^heʈuat aru əesa maruat.
 CONJ DEM CASE V CONJ ADJ V
 and that GOL meet-3P.F2 and much hit-3P.F2

And they will find it and they will very much beat up (the thieves).

RB-6:1.26

धान हाजले नी पूचोत असनी काई जाई काए चाऊर चाऊरा आऊर असनी
 d^han hadʒle ni puʧot əsni kaɪ dʒaɪ kae tʃaur tʃaura aur əsni
 N V NEG V ADV PRON REL N CONJ ADV
 paddy rice be lost-CNSUF not ask-3P like this-EMP everything what rice and like this-EMP

खातो बीती हाजले देओ बोसातोर आए
 k^hato biti hadʒle deo bosator ae.
 V CLSS V N V

eat-CONJ.INC thing be lost-CNSUF spirit sit-CAUS-CONJ.INC-is.3S

If rice is lost they don't ask (the spirits), just like this if anything such as rice and edibles are lost they will consult the spirits.

RB-6:1.27

एक दिन आमी गूंजी चो आएआ के हाग देऊन आनूंदे एताए चाऊर
 ek din ami gū̃dʒi tʃo aea ke hag deun anū̃de etae tʃaur
 NUM N PPRON PN PRT N CASE V V ADV N
 one day we-EMP Gunji =POSS mother GOL call-CONJ.COMP bring-1P.F1 here-EMP rice

बासाक बोलूआँ आमी
 basak boluā̃ ami.
 V V PPRON

separate out-INF say-1P.OPT we-EMP

One day having called Gunji's mother we will bring (her) here and tell her to separate out rice.

RB-6:1.28

तूमी दकासे
 tumi dəkase.
 PPRON V
 you=EMP look-2P.F1

You will watch.

RB-6:1.29

ई थाने आनूंदे आमी एह
i th'ane anūde ami eh.
DEM N V PPRON PRT
this very one place=LOC bring-1P.F1 we-EMP 'okay?'
We will bring her just here, okay?

RB-6:1.30

गाए ओल्लेने आजी
gae ollene adzi.
N V ADV
cow enter-CNSUF-temporal-condition today-EMP
When the cattle enter (the cattle sheds) today.

RB-6:1.31

ए जर मूंड धरालेने देओ बोसातोर आए
e dʒər mūd̪ dh̄aralene deo bosator ae.
DEM N V N V
this fever headache cause to take hold-CNSUF-temporal-condition spirit sit-CAUS-CONJ.INC-is.3S
Whenever have headaches and fever one is to consult the spirits.

RB-6:1.32

देओ बोसाले हून देओ मन फेर साँगूआत
deo bosale hun deo mən pʰer sāṅuāt.
N V DEM N PRT ADV V
spirit to cause to sit-CNSUF that spirit =PL again tell-3P.F2
When consult the spirits, the spirits will again tell (the cause).

RB-6:1.33

हून मन कूकड़ी चीऊँड़ी काई जाई जोडून दीले हून मन
hun mən kukṛi tʃiūṛi kaī dʒaī dʒoṛun dile hun mən
PPRON N ONO PRON V PPRON
they chicken(F) RHY everything be joined-CONJ.COMP-BEN-CNSUF they

मोनान दीले आमचो देस ने बेमार छाडूआए
monan dile amtʃo des ne bemar tʃʰāḍuāe.
V POSSPRON N POSTP N TR
make-FEM-BEN-CNSUF we=POSS country =LOC sickness heal-3S.F2

When they collect together chickens (and) everything, when they make (the offering), in our country the sickness will heal.

RB-6:1.34

तूमचो देस ने अस्पताल आए
tumtʃo des ne əspətal ae.
POSSPRON N POSTP N EQ
you==POSS country =LOC hospital is.3S
In your country it is the hospital.

RB-6:1.35

आमचो देस ने सीरहा मन आत
amtʃo des ne sirha mən at.
POSSPRON N POSTP N PRT EQ
we=POSS country =LOC shaman =PL is.3P
In our country it is the Shaman.

Researcher: What is done after healing?

RB-6:1.36

ए बेमार छाँडली आले कूकड़ी पीला देतोर आए
 e bemar tʃʰãdli ale kukṛi pila detor ae.
 DEM N TR ADV N N V
 this sickness let go-3S.NM.PC when chicken(F) child give-CONJ.INC-is.3S
 When this sickness is healed one is to be giving a baby chicken.

RB-6:1.37

नडेर देतोर आए
 naṛer detor ae.
 N V
 coconut give-CONJ.INC-is.3S
 One is to be giving a coconut.

RB-6:1.38

फेर जसन जसन हून देओ साँगू रोएदे ऊसन
 pʰer dʒəsən dʒəsən hun deo sāṅu roede usən
 ADV REL REL DEM N V ADV
 again as as that spirit tell-CONJ.COMP-be-3S.F1 like that

जोड़ून देतोर आए
 dʒoṛun detor ae.
 V
 be joined-CONJ.COMP-BEN-CONJ.INC-is.3S

Again just as that spirit will have told (what to do), like that one is to be collected together (the things specified).

RB-6:1.39

हून सीरहा फेर मोनान देऊआए
 hun sirha pʰer monan deuae.
 DEM N ADV V
 that shaman again make-CONJ.COMP-BEN-3S.F2
 That Shaman again will perform the ceremony.

RB-6:1.40

मोनान दीले फेर बेमार छाडूआए
 monan dile pʰer bemar tʃʰãd̥uae.
 V ADV N TR
 make-FEM-BEN-CNSUF again sickness heal-3S.F2
 When made the offering again the sickness will heal.

RB-6:1.41

छोँडले फेर असनी बूता करतोर आए
 tʃʰõṇdle pʰer əsni buta kərtor ae.
 TR ADV ADV V
 leave behind-CNSUF again like this-EMP work-CONJ.INC-is.3S
 When healed, one is to be doing their work again just like this.

RB-6:1.42

खाना खातोर आए
 kʰana kʰator ae.
 V
 food-eat-CONJ.INC-is.3S
 One is to be eating food.

Abbreviations

- 1P = first person, singular
 2P = second person, singular
 3S = third person, plural

3P	=	third person, singular
ADJ	=	adjective
ADJR	=	adjectiviser
ADV	=	adverb(ial)
BEN	=	benefactive
CASE	=	case marker
CAUS	=	causative
CLSS	=	classifier
CNSUF	=	conditional/temporal suffix
COMP	=	complete
CONJ	=	conjunctive
CV	=	compound verb
DEM	=	demonstrative
EMP	=	emphatic marker
EQ	=	equative
F	=	female
F1	=	future 1
F2	=	future 2
FEM	=	feminine
GOL	=	goal marker
INC	=	incomplete
INF	=	infinitive
IT	=	intransitive
LOC	=	locative
M	=	human male
N	=	noun
NEG	=	negation, negative
NM	=	non human-male
NUM	=	cardinal number
ONO	=	onomatopoetic compounding particle, rhyming word
OPT	=	optative
PC	=	present complete
PL	=	pluraliser
PN	=	proper noun
POSS	=	possessive particle
POSSN	=	possessive noun
POSSPRON	=	possessive pronoun
POSSV	=	possessive
POSTP	=	post position
PPRON	=	personal pronoun
PRON	=	pronoun
PRT	=	particle
PTC	=	past complete
REL	=	relative marker
REPRTDINFO	=	reported information marker
RHY	=	rhyming word or particle
RPRON	=	relative pronoun
S	=	singular

TR = transitive
V = verb
VOC = vocative