

Chapter I

Research Setting

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Ethno-historical Milieu

A group of Kirānti ethno-indigenous people (presently divided in four different groups viz. Kōits (Sunuwar/Mukhia), Rai, Yakkha and Yakthung (Limbu)) of eastern Nepal contribute a unique multiplicity of linguistic and cultural diversity in the ethno-linguistic mosaic of Nepal. Accordingly, they add amazing folktales too as a part of Nepalese folk literature. They are the only ethno-indigenous community in the country amazingly diverse and divided in more than two dozens of unintelligible ethno-mother tongues (See Figure A for the genetic tree of these interrelated Kiranti languages in terms of their proximity) having their several other idiolects, regional and social dialects.

Traditionally, after the so-called “political unification” during the Gorkhali hegemony, the Kirānti ethno-indigenous people were confined to the main three Kirāt areas viz. *Wallo* ‘near’, *Majh* ‘Mid/Central’ and *Pallo* ‘far’ Kirat of eastern Nepal in the past two centuries. According to Dhungel (2006), “The Gorkhals ultimately divided the Limbu Kirāntis into two groups, the *sampriti* and the *niti*: the former were those who had surrendered to Gorkhali power and cultural traditions, while the latter maintained their own traditions. The Gorkhali authorities naturally favoured the *sampritis*, killing the *niti* Limbus or forcing them to flee their lands. As a result, much of the *niti* population migrated towards Sikkim and Bhutan” (ibid: 60-62 article originally written in Nepali entitled ‘Limbuka ‘Sampriti’ ra ‘niti’ samuha: Gorkha shasanko den’ for a clearer picture of historical savagery of the past by conquerors). After all, this bloody history of

suppression and hegemonization in eastern Nepal helped develop rifts among the same linguistic and cultural group of Kirāntis. Whereas many more horrible anecdotes of history remains unearthed and obscure till this date from *Wallo* and *Majh Kirat* areas, where most of the Kirānti speakers other than Kirānti-Yakthung (auto-ethnonym of Limbu) are scattered in the present-day eastern hills from Janakpur to Mechi zones. Since then these suppressed linguistic groups as a glorious past as well as present of the ethno-linguistic history of Nepal remained marginalized for several decades and most of them are on the verge of extinction from the multi-linguistic, ethno-literary and ethno-genetic map of Nepal leaving no traces of ethno-linguistic identity and oral literary heritage.

However, those linguistic groups known as Kirānti (most of them are vanishing soon), are still spoken with lesser viability in those hilly areas of eastern Nepal. They are: Kirānti-Hayu, Kirānti-Kōits (Sunuwar/Mukhia, Surel), Kirānti-Ba'yung (also known as Rumdali), Kirānti-Jerung, Kirānti-Wambule (RaDhu), Kirānti-Kulung, Kirānti-Thulung, Kirānti-Khaling, Kirānti-Dumi, Kirānti-Rodung (Camling), Kirānti-Sampang, Kirānti-Puma, Kirānti-Tilung, Kirānti-Koyu, Kirānti-Yamphu, Kirānti-Lohorung, Kirānti-Mewahang, Kirānti-Kirawa (Bantawa), Kirānti-Newahang, Kirānti-Chhintang, Kirānti-Dungmali, Kirānti-Belhare, Kirānti-Athpare, Kirānti-Yakkha and Kirānti-Yakthung (Limbu includes four dialects e.g., Panthare, Phedapple, Tamarkhole and Chathare) (See Kirānti Languages' Genetic Tree in Figure A, also cf. Rapacha 2005). Most of these bilingual or polyglot mother tongue speakers have very common oral literature, history and ethnicity manifested in one male and two other female characters known as Hechhakuppa, Tawama and Khiyama (cf. Rapacha 2006: 13-15, Rapacha 2007: 33-37) respectively.

These three characters from historical linguistic point of view and other evidence such as ethno-clanonyms and linguistic-typological features from linguistic-paleontological perspective connect these Kirānti speakers each other reconstructing their assassinated glory in the pages of Nepal's 18th, 19th and 20th century history and folk literary history as well.

1.1.2 Ethno-literary and Historical Connections

1.1.2.1 Common Themes in Kirānti Oral Traditions

The Kirānti constitute a subgroup of the Kōits (Sunwar), Rai, Yakkha and Limbu in Eastern Nepal. Subsumption under Kirānti, which is a loose geographical grouping rather than an ethnic classification, is not always uncontroversial. Whereas all Kirānti of Majh Kirāt belong to the Rai, some small groups east of the Arun, e.g. the Athpare and Belhere, are also sometimes called Rai, which is a title given to them by the Shah invaders. They do not, however, exactly share the same Kirānti mythology. And in this study I have explored as many similar characters as possible for finding out their literary and ethno-historical connection in the contemporary identity movement of the Kirānti people. Their post-90 revival of identity has direct relationship with their oral traditions as well.

According to Ebert (2000) Kirānti oral traditions can be divided into four major themes such as- a) the myth of creation, b) the Khocilipa cycle, c) the migration of the ancestors, and d) the foundation of the local settlements (cf. Allen 1976, Gaenzle 1991). There are several versions of the same Hechhakuppa or Khachelipa tale and three similar versions of the Khocilipa cycle, which is the most popular of the Kirānti mythological tales (cf. also Hardman n.d.: 204). In the following, I provide a summary of the story

liking different linguistic groups (cf. Figure A) to be compared several versions of the same Khachelipa tale.

Kirānti languages

MT. Everest

Khaling	Chukwa	Mewahang	Yamphu
	Kulung	Saam Lohorong	
Kōits (Sunwar)	Thulung	Nachereng	
	SW		
Hayu Bahing	Dumi Koi	Sangpang	Yakkha
			Lumba
Umbule	Tilung Rodung (NW)	Dungmali	Mugali Limbu
	Rodung (SE)	Bantawa	
Jerung	Puma	Belhare	Athpare
		Chintang	Chulung
		(Ebert 2000: 3)	

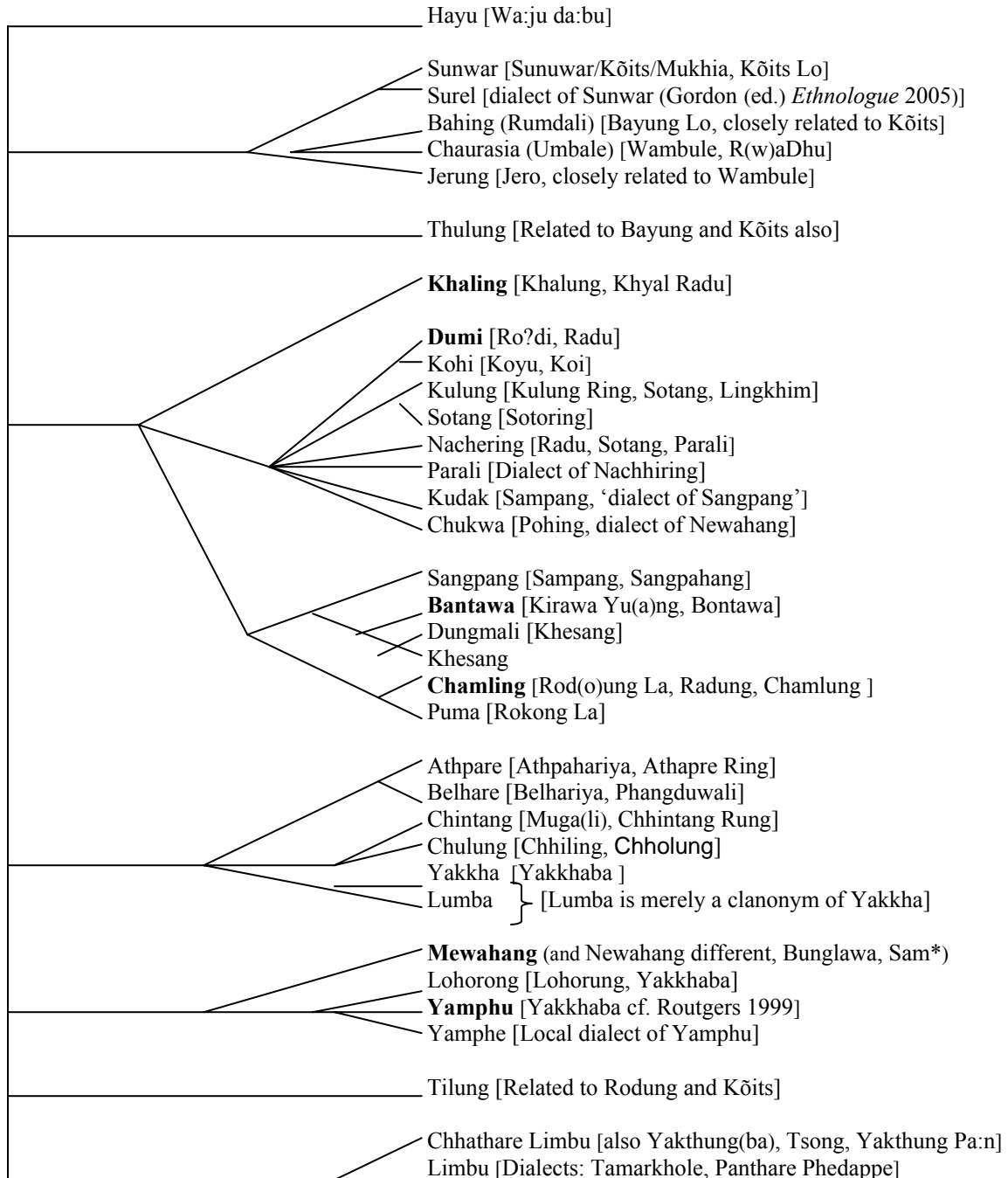
Some parts of the mythological cycles are still recited- often in ritual language- at occasions like marriages, house building, or the shaman's leading the dead soul.

However, this is no longer regularly the case, and most of the oral tradition is slowly falling into oblivion. It was not possible to get a full account from a single informant, but together the two versions from the northwestern Kirānti-Rodung area are quite elaborate- also in comparison to what could be collected from other Kirānti groups.

The tales as I have studied here clearly reveal the those linguistic groups of people known as Kirānti have had their common glorious past in terms of language, culture,

history and single identity. Until today, the historically changed nomenclature of the same character provides clues of their glorious past as shown in this study.

Figure A: Genetically related Kirānti Languages



(Source: Bradley (1997: 16) and Rapacha (2005: 3-4) I have added extra information in [] brackets from several other sources)

* is an abusive term rather than dialect called by Kulung or some other neighboring Kiranti speakers

Note: Full texts of tales represented here are in bold face

1.2 Hypothesis

The Kirānti people(s) maintaining linguistic and cultural diversity irrespective of monolithic state policy in the past have very close ethno-linguistic and literary similarities and connections in their folktales (especially in character representations and events) while collected, examined and compared from Wallo to Pallo Kirat areas of eastern Nepal.

1.3 Literature

Ethno-Kirānti folktales until today have drawn almost no attention of the world academia both nationally and internationally except for some exceptions like Nicholas J. Allen's (1976) Oxford PhD Thesis entitled 'Studies in the Myths and Oral Traditions of the Thulung Rai of East Nepal' as a subject of academic enquiry. There severely lacks other such analytical and critical studies as compared to that of Allen. Karen Ebert's (2000) study is another contemporary literature mainly concentrating on the Kirānti oral tradition. Comparative studies in this regard is a new adventure to be undertaken as an academic rigour for opening somewhat new ethno-literary scenario of the country as a potential academic subject.

However, oral texts collection is not a new area of efforts to be undertaken. Some major oral texts collections done in the past include:

Kirānti Lokkathaharu (Shrestha 2047 VS)

Kirat Lokkatha (Bartaman 2055 VS)

Hechhakuppa: Kirat Lokkatha (Bartaman 2057 VS)

Utpatti ra Paramparaka Camling Mithakharu (2055 VS)

Solukhumbu Jilako Raijatima Prachalit Lokkathaharuko Sankalan ra Addhyan (Rai 2055 VS)

Kirānti Lokkatha Sangraha (Rai 2063 VS) etc.

A detailed survey of works in a comparative perspective is provided in § 1.6 while discussing methodology of this study in detail later.

1.4 Significance

This study is relevant and significant from ethno-linguistic, ethno-historical and literary standpoint to record, document and preserve the ever-fast vanishing oral literary traditions of the multi-linguistic and cultural Kirānti people of eastern Nepal.

1.5 Data Collection

This study incorporates texts collection both primary and secondary with some translated version from Kirānti languages into English. The main sites of text collection will proportionally be from *Wallo* ‘near, hither’, *Maj* ‘mid/central’ and *Pallo* ‘far’ Kirat eastern Nepal. The following comparative method has been adapted for the purpose of this study:

1.5.1 Text and Character Collection

In the course of this research, I consulted and collected the names of characters including texts from almost more than a dozen linguistic groups in all Kirant areas of east Nepal. The linguistic groups and characters' names in this study are represented as follows:

1.5.1.1 Kirānti-Bayung

In the linguistic group known as Bayung spoken mainly in Okhaldhunga (Wallo Kirant), the male character's name is Kaktisala (Mugamaya Rai 2055: 62-65) and the same name in its neighbourhood and sister language Kirānti-Kōits is Solethocha (Uttam K Sunuwar p/c November 2006). Both linguistic groups are closely related to each other.

1.5.1.2 Kirānti-Kōits (Sunuwar/Mukhia)

Kirānti-Kōits is a sister language of Kirānti-Bayung and is spoken in Okhaldhunga, Ramechhap and Dolakha districts (*Wallo Kirant*). The male character as I found out in this linguistic group is Khakchere and the female characters are Tebam and Khībam (Lal-Shyākarelu Rapacha forthcoming). I have not quoted any full text of this linguistic community here.

1.5.1.3 Kirānti-Wambule (RaDu)

Wambule or RaDu is another Kirānti language spoken mainly in Okhaldhunga (*Wallo Kirant*). This linguistic group in its tale the male character according KJ Rai (p/c) is Khakchilupa and the female characters are Dzaumo and Khliumo according to Pradeep Rai (p/c). The same male and female characters are Khakchilukpa and Rinakha (Ganesh Rai p/c August 2006). I have not here included any text of Wambule.

1.5.1.4 Kirānti-Thulung

This Kirānti language known as Thulung is spoken in Solukhumbu district (*Wallo Kirant*) and in their group's tale, the male character is known as Khakchilik (Nicholas Allen 1976a: 93, Bala Thulung 2059: 106-110). The female characters are missing. I have not adopted the tale of this group here.

1.5.1.5 Kirānti-Sampang

Sampang as a Kirānti language is spoken in Khotang (Majh Kirant) district. The male character according to Khagendra Sampang (2062: 8 and 24) is Khachilippu or Khachuluppa. He is mentioned as one of their ancestors. The female characters are missing. I have not included any text of the tale here.

1.5.1.6 Kirānti-Rodung

Rodung is also known as Chamling. It is the only major linguistic group of Khotang (Majh Kirant) spoken by more than 40 thousand population. That is why the tale of Hechhakuppa varies considerably in some localities such as Rachakule, Tawama and Khiyama (Bag-Ayagyami Yalungcha and Rapacha 2056: 17-25), Khachilippa or Khachile (Ratanchha Dialect of Khotang), Khochilipa, Tōwama, Khliyama (Nerpa Dialect of Khotang, Karen Ebert 2000: 14), Khochilipa, Tuwama and Khliyama (Bamrang Dialect Khotang District, Karen Ebert 2000: 29). I have adapted three somewhat different tales of this group (See Appendix I) from Ebert.

1.5.1.7 Kirānti-Khaling

Khaling as a Kirānti language is spoken in Solukhumbu (Wallo Kirant) district and the Khaling speakers in their tale call the male character Khakchaalaap and the female characters Grom and Lassu (S. Toba 1984: 33-42). I have adapted the tale from Toba in Appendix I.

1.5.1.8 Kirānti-Mewahang

Mewahang is the linguistic group of Kiranti represented in this study from Sankhuwasabha (Pallo Kirant) district east Nepal. The Mewahang speakers call the male character Khakchulukpa (Karen Ebert 2000: 3, Martin Gaenszle 2000: 248-270ff) in their tale. I have adapted the tale in Appendix I for the purpose of this study.

1.5.1.9 Kirānti-Radu

Radu or Dumi is spoken in Khotang (Majh Kirant) east Nepal and they call the male character Khopsilikpa and the female characters as To:ma and Khe:ma (George van Driem 1993) in their mythology. I have included one text of the tale here (Appendix I).

1.5.1.10 Kirānti-Kulung

Kulung is spoken in Solukhumbu (Wallo Kirant), Bhojpur (Majh-Pallo Kirant) and Sangkhuwasabha (Pallo Kirant) districts in east Nepal. The Kulung speakers as other linguistic groups retain the male character's name as Khokchilip and the females as Kheu and Lhos (Martino Nicolleti 2004) in their oral tradition.

1.5.1.11 Kirānti-Yamphu/e

Yamphu in its Nepalized form is also known as Yamphe. The Yamphu speakers name the male character as Khakchrikpa (Roland Routgers 1998: 418-442). The female characters' names are missing in their tale. I have adapted here (Appendix I) Routgers' version of the tale.

1.5.1.12 Kirānti-Lohorung

Lohorung is one of the neighbouring languages of Kirānti-Lohorung and is spoken in the same area as Yamphu is spoken. The Lohorung speakers in thier mother tongue call the male character of this study- Khakchhuruppa>Yechhakuppa (Hardman n.d. 204 and 212 as mentioned in Karen Ebert 2000:3). Obviously, the character's name differs as Kuhakchulukpa, Khokyulukpa according to Khagendra Shivakoti (2062). His female counterpart's names are: Tangwama, Khewama, Ninamyang> Nanammang> Nalungma> Sumnima. I have not adapted text of this group in this study.

1.5.1.13 Kirānti-Kirawa

Kirawa also known as Bantawa is the second largest linguistic group after Kiranti-Yakthung in Kiranti group mainly spoken in Bhojpur (Majh-Pallo Kirant) district. It has more than four dialects and the male character's name also differs in different loclaities, e.g. Khokchilip>Kokchilip, Meena (Rajesh Rai 2062), Hechhakuwa (SK Shrestha 2047:

28-31), Hechhakuppa (Bartaman 2055, 2057), Hecchhakuppa, Tangwama and Khiyama (NK Rai 1985), and Hetchhakuppa (Rajan Mukarung 2005: 56). The female character's name also has differed vastly as Meena from Tawama and Khiyama. I have adapted one text from this group in this study.

1.5.1.14 Kirānti-Yakthung

Yakthung (Limbu, Tsong) has the biggest number of speakers amongst Kiranti languages. It is mainly spoken in Mechi and Koshi (Pallo Kirant) zones east Nepal. It seems that the male character in Yakthung myths has been lost and luckily the female character's name has still been in us as Kheyongna (SK Shrestha 2057: 86-87) and Kheyangna ('Khapunna Murangna', *Kantipur* daily (14 Asoj 063)). I have not adopted any text from this group in this study.

1.6 Approach of Study

My main approach in this study to mention is- descriptive and comparative approaches. However, ethno-historical connections among those ethno-linguistic groups are, also analyzed and compared to each other. Moreover, thematic and structural similarities as well as dissimilarities in terms of events, roles, cultures, genesis and characters' representation of nomenclature based on their mother tongue, are also minutely analyzed and compared for the research findings. Karen Ebert's (2000) *Camling Texts and Glossary* is the exit-point of analysis and comparison of the study and I have selected and adapted some other Kirānti folktales for this purpose annexed in Appendix I.

I have selected cross-reference of some fourteen or so among more than two dozens Kirānti languages and their folktales for the purpose of this study. And I will mainly examine and compare on characters' nomenclature and their historical sound changes, their connections, roles of the characters, cultural links in terms of shamanic

practices and festivals' name, linguistic-paleontological sub-clanonym morphemes and folk literary ancestors as mentioned in § 1.5 above. I include here the texts mainly from myths, mythology, folklore, tales and stories, narratives excluding fables, parables, legends, allegories, saga and anecdotes. I have included some representative full texts of six linguistic communities from Kiranti-Rodung, Kirawa, Dumi, Yamphu, Mewahang and Khaling. I have analyzed the rest of linguistic communities by way of cross-reference.

Chapter II

Contents and Genesis of Kirānti Folktales

2.1 Introductory Thematic Contents

In this chapter, I have described the contents of those adapted tales in a comparative approach and analyze how these contents of the tales narrate the Kiranti people's cultural practices, genesis and creation and finally establish themselves in the evolutionary process of human kind civilization as a whole.

2.1.0 The Khocilipa Cycle

Khachelipa as protagonist of the story is an orphan in most of the tales. The fact that they are birds is not always clear from the beginning. Tuwama, the elder sister, is the giant hornbill. The other birds could not be identified in other versions of the Hechhakuppa tales. Khocilipa, also called Rochakupa (cf. other alternative names historically important in § 1.5), i.e. the orphan, is the cultural hero, though this is also not always clear from the individual accounts. Differences sometimes are very distinct.

2.1.1 Khocillpa's Death and Separation of the Sisters

2.1.2 The Sisters Find Food

Khocilipa and his elder sisters Tuwama and Khliyama are poor orphans. The sisters sweep together left-over(s) from other peoples grinding stones and rice huskers. People do not see well to it and decide not to leave them anything. A woman misunderstands the order and leaves a lot for them.

2.1.3 Their Food Spills

When the sisters come home with what they found, Khocilipa dances with happiness, and steps on a firebrand and spills the pot with the rice. He cries, cries, and finally falls into a deep sleep.

2.1.4 Brother's Burial

His sisters thought that he was dead and covered him with the branches of banana and trampled on him. The breaking of the twigs sounded like breaking bones. The sisters performed the funeral rites, buried Khocilipa and left him a knife and banana seedling.

2.1.5 Separation of the Sisters

The sisters in Ebert's (2000) narrative collection decide to separate. Tuwama goes south, down to the lowlands (*tharuhō-bajuhō*); Khliyama goes north into the mountains (*tupsungma-malungma*) and vice versa in other Rodung local varieties. In other Kiranti traditions, Tuwama tells Khliyama where to go, but she refuses. Khliyama's disobedience towards the elder sister is the reason for her being killed later. This is not mentioned in some of the Kirānti versions adapted here, e.g. Kiranti-Yamphu.

2.1.6 Symbolic Flowers

They take a symbolic flower each; Tuwama takes the *kowai*, Khliyama the *lumcum*. The flowers are mentioned only in some narratives. They agree to meet in the Terai (the lowlands) in the rainy season.

2.1.1.0 Saphopte Kills Khliyama

2.1.1.1 Khliyama Killed by Saphopte

When they split up, Tuwama tells Khliyama that she should inform their maternal uncle Saphopte about what happened. She should not tease him, as he is known to be aggressive. Again Khliyama does not listen to her sister, she teases Saphopte and he bites her to death.

2.1.1.2 Tuwama Finds only the Bones

Thereupon Khliyama's flower withers and she goes up north in search of her younger sister. When she does not find her, she asks Saphopte. He finally admits that he killed her and shows her the bones.

2.1.1.3 Khliyama Revived

One day, Tuwama goes up to Tuwacup in Halesi and sees Khliyama weaving, but she seems without life. Tuwama performs an invocation over the bones, and Khliyama become alive. They tell each other what happened and separate again.

2.1.2.0 Khocilipa Settles Down

2.1.2.1 Khocilipa Plants a Banana

Khocilipa wakes up, does not find his sisters and plants the banana seedling. He orders the banana seedling to grow and it grows. He orders the banana tree to bear fruit and it bears fruit. He orders the bananas to ripen and they ripen. He lives in the tree and eats bananas.

2. 1.2.2 Khocilipa Becomes a Farmer

In some versions, Khocilipa goes to Halesi to look for a place to settle (cari). He makes it fertile by shooting his arrow into the dry riverbed, so that the water comes out. In a second version from Nerpa narrated by Dibama, the sisters leave Khocilipa a bow. He goes hunting and once shoots a dove. In its stomach, he finds millet, maize, rice and wheat seeds. He sows these and becomes a farmer. The cultural hero starts this way the age of agriculture in Kiranti mythology from several localities of east Nepal.

Some other episodes are not always clearly separated from other events, and part of them, especially the farming, are explored to be reported in other sections later.

2.1.3.0 The Cannibal Woman

2.1.3.1 The Cannibal Drags Khocilipa by his Long Hair

While Khocilipa lives in the tree, the cannibal-Cakhrodoma (other several nomenclature) in the northwestern dialect (NW cf. Appendix I, Kiranti-Rodung), Ronambhema in the southeastern dialect (SE cf. Appendix I, Kiranti-Rodung) - comes along and asks him for a banana. The banana he throws touches chicken feces and she does not want to eat it. She tells him to tie a banana to his long hair and let it down. She then pulls Khocilipa down by his hair and drags him to her home.

2.1.3.2 Khocilipa Kills the Daughter

Cakhrodoma tells her daughter Jhungma (NW cf. Appendix I, Kiranti-Rodung) or Sikurima (SE cf. Appendix I, Kiranti-Rodung) to kill Khocilipa and keep his blood in a trough. She goes to call her brother (for the feast of eating Khocilipa). When Jhungma and Khocilipa kill each other's louse she asks him how his hair became so long. He tells her his mother poured boiling oil down his back, and they go through the same procedure for Jhungma. He sticks her head into a mortar, poured boiling oil and beats her to death with the pestle. He pours the blood into the trough, puts on the daughter's clothes, and cooks a meal from the meat. Cakhrodoma arrives with her brothers and they eat. They get high and fall asleep. Khocilipa ties Cakhrodoma with a rope, climbs to roof and shouts: "Child-eater!"

2.1.3.3 Creation of the Landscape

The cannibal realizes that she ate her own daughter, and after cutting, the rope sets out in pursuit. Khocilipa has taken sesame seeds, ashes, an egg and a potsherd with him. Whenever Cakhrodoma almost catches up with him, he throws one of these, thus creating obstacles for the cannibal. The sesame seed grows into a huge field and blocks

her view, the ashes turn into a cloud, the potsherd into a rock, the egg into a river. When Cakhrodoma does not know how to cross the river, Khocilipa advises her to tie hands and feet and jump. In a different version, he says he stuck ants into his backside, which made him jump and cross. Cakhrodoma jumps and is carried away by the river. I found out that this genesis of landscape is passed on to the new generations traditionally.

2.1.4.0 Khocilipa fishes a Stone, which Turns into his Wife

2.1.4.1 Khocilipa Fishes a Stone

Khocilipa goes fishing and catches the same stone repeatedly in his net. Finally, he takes it home and put it on the shelf. It shows the similarity of the structure in most of the adapted narratives in this study.

2.1.4.2 Stone Turns into a Girl

When he goes away, the stone falls down, breaks and a girl comes out. She cleans his house, cooks and returns to the shelf as a stone. One day, Khocilipa hides to see who is cleaning his house. He catches the girl she asks why he holds her, as the other day he threw her away, and she is still bruised. Khocilipa does not let her go and they live together. From this point of union, human family and society evolves in the Kiranti socio-cultural beliefs.

2.1.4.3 The House Building

They build a house, but Khocilipa does not know what beams to use. When finally, he brings a forked one and they ran into the whole dug for it, their baby 'falls' into the hole and is crushed to death -This episode is missing in all Rodung versions and found in some other. This is how they start organized beginning of settlement architecture.

2.1.5.0 Marriage and Reunion with Sisters

2.1.5.1 Khocilipa Sends for his Sisters

Khocilipa wants to perform the marriage rites, for which the sisters are needed. He sends louse and bedbug to call them. However, they kill both of them. Finally, the rooster is sent out, and he goes crowing "kokoreeko, khocilipa!" From then on, the family bond of brothers and sisters came into existence in the process of human evolution in the Kiranti anthropo-sociology.

2.1.5.2 The Sisters Enticed with Sour Berries

The sisters follow him and see that Khocilipa is preparing a big feast. They are ashamed that they buried him, and fly in circles over the place without coming down. In order to entice them, Khocilipa spreads out sour berries. The sisters (who are said to be pregnant and therefore keen on sour food) sit down to eat and are caught. Hechhacuppa thus for the first time discovers wild berries and introduces berries as food variety in his communities.

2.1.5.3 Exchange of Gifts

Khocilipa performs the *rungrisaka*, a ceremony to promote long life. He gives cultural gifts (*khurbusasi*) to his sisters. They pull out their feathers and give them as gift for the brother's marriage.

None of the narratives included all the major episodes. Khocilipa's fishing a stone/girl was related only in NW dialect (cf. Kiranti-Rodung in Appendix I) and in SW (cf. Kiranti-Rodung in Appendix I) dialect, the fishing episode is missed out both the wife from the water and the adventures with the cannibal and goes directly from Khocilipa's setting down to his marriage. Nothing is said about the origin of his wife. However, NW narrative is the only one to elaborate on the sisters' separation, the

symbolic flowers and their weaving in Halesi. He is also the only one to mention that the sisters do not want to come down to Khocilipas' place and are finally enticed with sour berries. He is thus most elaborate on the role of the sisters.

The SE-dialect narrative is about an orphan, Rochakupa (the name Khocilapa is not mentioned at all). After the initial part, which ends with the brother's burial, the sisters -nameless so far- do not come into play again until the end, where their names Niyama and Khiyama are mentioned. The orphan's adventure with the cannibal woman constitutes the largest part of Jhanaman's story, leaving out both Saphopte's killing Khliyama, the wife from the water and the marriage.

The two versions from the NW Kirānti-Rodung area turn out to be more complete. All the major episodes are included in at least one of the two versions. However, an important part missing in all Kirānti-Rodung versions is the house building, during which the child is killed (or sacrificed ?). I have compared in short summarized these episodes in the Kiranti-Rodung versions later in the final section of this chapter.

2.2 Specific Thematic Comparisons

In this section, I have closely and briefly described and compared several characters, plots, themes and events in the Hechhakuppa tales adapted for the purpose of this study and some nomenclature as cross-reference of representation.

Parent(s)

Father and mother of the orphan Hechhakuppa differs with considerable similarities in all the Kirānti folktales of those linguistic groups as follows:

Kirānti-Rodung (Chamling): Pātisung and Dākahamā (Bag-A. Yalungcha and L Rapacha 1999)

Kirānti-Kirawa (Bantawa): Pātisungā and Dilungdungmā (N.K. Rai 1985)

Kirānti-**Kirawa** (Bantawa): Khāruchā and Dumdilām (R. Rai 2005)

Kirānti-**Radu** (Dumi): Mukuli-yā:rita and Dakhili-surita (G. van Driem 1993)

Kirānti-**Sampang** (Sangpang): Matesung and Dilibum (K. Rai 2002, K. Rai 2005)

Kirānti-**Bayung** (Bahing): Pātālgrāsi and Tharihāngmā (M. Rai 1998)

Kirānti-**Mewahang** (Meohang): Tumnā and Dhiridummā (M. Gaenszle 2000)

The rest of other Kirānti linguistic groups e.g. Khaling, Yampheu, Kōits (Sunuwar/Mukhia) and other tales have not mentioned the names of parents of Hechhakuppa and his sisters.

Sibling(s)

Hecchakuppa's elder and younger sisters' names also have commonalities and variations such as,

Kirānti-**Khaling** (Khyal): Grom and Laas (S. Toba 1983)

Kirānti-**Bayung** (Bahing): Jaumā and Khiliumā (M. Rai 1998)

Kirānti-**Thulung** (Thalang): Jaumā and Khliumā (B. Thulung 2002)

Kirānti-**Mewahang** (Meohang): Khewa and Lakcā (M. Gaenszle 2000)

Kirānti-**Rodung** (Chamling): Tāwāmā and Khiyāmā (B-A. Yalungcha and L Rapacha 1999)

Kirānti-**Sampang** (Sangpang): Tāmā and Khemā (K. Rai 2002)

Kirānti-**Radu** (Dumi): To:mā and Khe:mā (G. van Driem 1993)

Kirānti-**Kirawa** (Bantawa): Tangwāmā and Khiyāmā (N.K. Rai 1985)

Kirānti-**Kirawa** (Bantawa): Tayāmā and Khiyāmā (Bartaman 2000 and 1998)

The elder sister is wiser than the younger-sister. Due to her wisdom, the younger sister gets rebirth. The younger sister does not obey and listen to Tāwāmā. She knows that if somebody teases to her uncle (maternal) then he would kill or eat the teasers up.

Though the gist of the story is the same, as somebody else kills the younger sister because she teases, insults and disturbs who- in Rodung as well as in other Kirānti tales the person or birds that Kھیāmā (Rodung) teases, disturbs insults and finally gets killed or eaten up are as follows:

Person/birds	Relationship	Linguistic groups
Sāphoptipā (H)	uncle (maternal)	Rodung (Yalungcha and Rapacha 1999)
Sāmphokdiwā (H)	grandfather	Kirawa (N.K. Rai 1985)
Hangrayo (B)	not mentioned	Kirawa (Bartaman 2000)
Dilipoppo (H)	uncle (maternal)	Dumi (Ratnamaya 2004)
(a night) owl (B)	not mentioned	Dumi (G. van Driem 1993)
owl (B)	uncle (maternal)	Sampang (K. Rai 2002)
owl (B)	not mentioned	Bayung (M. Rai 1998)
owl (B)	<i>soltini</i> to Kھیūmā	Thulung (B. Thulung 2002)

The above types of incidents or events are not distinct in Kھیaling, Mewahang, Yamphu and the rest of the tales under study. Here (H) stands for human and (B) stands for bird.

Relationship between the sisters and brother

The sisters' names in Kirnati-Rodung are Tawama and Kھیama. Their only one brother's name is Khachilippa. His actual name is Rachakule.

Variations in their brother's nomenclature

Male character	Linguistic groups
1. Kakcrikpa	Yamphu (R. Rutgers 1998)
2. Khachulupa	Sampang
3. Khakchilik	Thulung

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 4. Khakculup | Mewahang |
| 5. Khākcālap | Khaling |
| 6. Khokchilip | Kirawa |
| 7. Khopsilikpā | Dumi (G. van Driem 1993) |
| 8. Khakculupā | Dumi (Ratnamaya 2004) |
| 9. Kaktisālā | Bayung (M. Rai 1998) |
| 10. Hecchākuppā | Kirawa (N.K. Rai 1985) |
| 11. Hechhākupā | Kirawa (Bartaman 2000) |
| 12. Hechhākuwā | Kirawa (S.K. Shrestha 1990) |

Hecchakuppa as a male character is an orphan boy except in Yamphu (in Yamphu Kakcrikpa's sibling gets hungry) and he was supported by his sisters by giving food like left behind corn like rice, maize, etc who went from house to house 'a husking machine' *Dhiki* and millstones.

Somehow, the two sisters managed to collect remaining rice, maize or millet in the following linguistic groups' story, e.g. Rodung, Dumi (R.M. Rai 2004) Sampang, Bayung and Thulung.

In Khaling the sisters go to hoe spinach for their brother. In Kirawa, the sisters go to the jungle, bring wild-potatoes, roots, and give them to their brother. However, in N.K. Rai's story, the brother is given pine-resin.

In Mewahang, two sisters could not find anything though they went from house to house, as the husking machine (*Dhiki*) and millstones had been blown clean. Then, they began to dig out yam tubers, boiled and ate (witch asked the rent day?)

This sort of incident is not in Yamphu. What happens in Yamphu is that Kakcrikpa and his mad sister have to take their sibling to the forest where their mother is staying in order to heal wound caused from hot water or oil spilled over her body.

One incident happens in some of the linguistic groups are Rodung, Dumi (R.M. Rai 2004) Sampang, Thulung and Bayung. Two sisters fetched the remaining rice, corn and millet flour and put in cooking vessel. Then, they told him to eat after it is cooked. However, Khachilipa became so happy and while dancing around the fireplace he knocked log of firewood and all the food spilled out. Then, he cried and when his sisters arrived, they also scolded him in some of the linguistic groups and finally he fainted away. In Rodung, he already fainted away by hunger when his sisters arrived. After scolding by sisters, he hid in a bush in Bayung. He fainted away in Thulung, Dumi, and Sampang after his sisters scolded him.

One incident only in Rodung and Sampang is that people did not want Tawama and Khiyama to collect rice from their stone mills but one old woman who could not hear properly did just opposite of it.

Death of Male Character: Khachilipa

In Rodung, Kirawa, Dumi, Sampang, Thulung, Mewahng, Khaling stories, it is said that he was declared that he died due to hunger. He cried for a long time for food and at last he tired and felt asleep. In his sleeping position, his sisters thought that he is no more and they covered him with banana leaves and buried him. He does not die in Bayung and Yamphu texts. In Bayung, he hid himself in bushes as his sisters scold him. He brings fishnet or hook from his father's grave and learns hunting. On the graveyard of Khachilipa different linguistic groups put different materials, e.g.

Linguistic groups	covering materials
Kirānti-Rodung	banana tree and knife
Kirānti-Kirawa	a jar of pumpkin shell, a knife, plated a banana tree and covered with twigs

Kirānti-Dumi	banana leaf and <i>Chindo</i> 'cultural jar'
Kirānti-Sampang	twigs, planted a banana tree, and kept <i>Chindo</i> 'cultural jar', drum and cymbal etc
Kirānti-Thulung	*** (means no mention elsewhere)
Kirānti-Mewahang	branches of broke off tree, a clump of wild banana, a knife near his head
Kirānti-Khaling	***
Kirānti-Yamphu	story differs

After the brother's death, two sisters Tāwama and Khiyama disperse in different places as shown here-

Linguistic groups	elder sister	younger sister
1. Kirānti-Rodung	Terai region	hill/mountain region
2. Kirānti-Kirawa	mother's place	father's place (N.K. Rai 1985)
3. Kirānti-Dumi	hilly region	Terai region
4. Kirānti-Sampang	hilly region	Terai region
5. Kirānti-Bayung	Terai region	hilly region
6. Kirānti-Thulung	hilly region	Terai region
7. Kirānti-Mewahang	Terai	mountain region
8. Kirānti-Khaling	both of them flew to Dikdel (Diktel ?)	
9. Kirānti-Yamphu	this sort of structure does not exist	

The Two sisters' Reunion Place

Linguistic groups	reunion place
1. Kirānti-Rodung	Tawāchung hill of Khotang district
2. Kirānti-Kiwara	Nowalakangkala hill (S.K. Shrestha 1990 not in N.K. Rai)

3. Kirānti-Dumi the hill where they planted the flower (symbolic: life vs. death)
4. Kirānti-Sampang Jauma in Arkhoule village of Khotang where they planted the flower
(symbolic: life vs. death)
5. Kirānti-Bayung around the house where they planted the flower (symbolic: life vs. death)
6. Kirānti-Thulung no mention, meet later on
7. Kirānti-Mewahang depart but do not fix their meeting place
8. Kirānti-Khaling no mention of this sort of structure
9. Kirānti-Yamphu no mention of this sort of structure

Khachelipa Wakes up

The dead brother wakes up in some stories, e.g.

Kirānti-Rodung: The dead brother Rachakule wakes up and finds a banana tree and a knife- he orders the banana to grow fast and have bananas in it so that he will eat those bananas by that time a witch comes and she asks for bananas. He gives here but she wants him to take away so she pretends that she does not eat if just throws down. Then, she tells him to give by locking in his lock of hair. She pulled him down and takes him towards her house at that moment.

Kiranti-Kirawa: Hechhakupa took out the knife and aimed at the banana tree saying that he would look after the tree if that grows. And if it bore fruits he would eat them. The banana tree grew up and began to bear fruits also. He climbed on banana tree and went on eating the fruits. One day Chacrondhima, a female giant came there and asked for the banana. He threw down some bananas but she refused to take those bananas saying that they had become dirty. She asked him to hold the bananas in between his toes

and give them to her. Therefore, he gave the bananas by holding them with his toes. But she refused to take those are also saying that she would not take them because they were held between his toes and became dirty. She asked him to tie them with his pig-tail and gave them to her. Then, he gave her the banana by tying them with his pig-tail but she pulled him down together with the bananas. Chakrondhimma took him to her place. And she ordered her daughter to kill him.

Kiranti-Dumi: The hungry brother fell asleep as his sisters were killing the lice... They thought that he was dead. Later on, he woke up and made himself one small dwelling house- killed birds (dove 'dhukur') -from those birds, he found a lot of grains. He went for fishing. However, until seven times he got one stone in his net. Luckily, it changed into a beautiful girl named *Na:ghile:m* his spouse.

Kiranti-Sampang: With hunger and bitten up by his sister, Khaculuppa fainted away. Then, they did his *antesthi* 'funeral rites'. On the contrary, he woke up and called his sisters, he cried but they did not come. There he got a banana tree and told it to bear fruits quickly. Something had happened and he ate. He kept on searching his sisters. He killed birds and from them he got corn and planted them. He got a lot of corn. While fishing, he got one stone and it turned to be his spouse. Since then people started eating fish and flesh.

Kiranti-Thulung: The fainted brother woke up and looked his sisters but they had already left the house. Then, he thought to live there. The neighbours took care of him. When he grew up, he went for fishing. Then, he started to survive himself.

Kiranti-Bayung: Kaktishala did not die but he hid himself in bushes. His sisters went to call him here and there but he did not respond. The sisters thought him that he became mature. So, he did not listen them. Then, the two sisters went to their own place.

Kiranti-Mewahang: Khakculukpa fainted away. He woke up and looked around for his sisters. He called to his sisters. In response, he heard "Hu!" only and when he looked around he saw some spittle that called "Hu!" and he thought that someone is playing tricks on him. Thus, he shouted and went back. Whenever he called to his sisters, the spittle came back aping the "Hu!" of the two sisters (M. Gaenzle 2000: 250).

Yamphu has a dissimilar event than in other linguistic groups. Stepmother as a symbol of evil appears only in Kirawa and Yamphu.

Supernatural being in the Story

The witch or cannibal as a supernatural being in the story is common in some linguistic groups, whereas not common in others (shown in asterisks) e.g.,

Linguistic groups	witch's name	witch's daughter
Rodung	Ranavema (Chakhradhimma)	Jhungma
Kirawa	Chacradhimma	Rolnabhekma
Dumi	***	***
Sampang	***	***
Bayung	***	***
Thulung	***	***
Mewahang	Ca:phuma	Congdumma
Khaling	***	***
Yamphu	witch appears but no name	daughter not sure, no name

Khachilipa's long hair causes the death of witch's daughter in some linguistic groups such as Rodung, Kirawa, Mewahang, and Yamphu. When the witch took Khachilipa to his house, she ordered her daughter to kill him and prepare for party. Then, she went to invite her brothers. On the contrary, Khachilip tricks her and kills the witch's daughter in only these four linguistic groups like Rodung, Kirawa, Mewahang and Yamphu. When the witch fell asleep due to over-eating of her own daughter's blood and flesh, Khachilipa puts wax on her eyes.

After that, Khachilipa puts nettle, sickle and thorn around the witch in Rodung tale whereas in Kirawa he covers her eyes with pine resin (Bartaman 2000 and S.K. Shrestha 1990). In Mewahang, he smears her eyes with wax and throws her sickle away. This event cannot be found in Thulung, Khaling, Sampang, Bayung, Dumi and Yamphu linguistic groups.

Materials and Creation

When the witch chased Khachilipa or Hechhakuppa, he took and threw the following materials, which is the exit point of creation myth in some linguistic groups:

Rodung: ¹corn, ²shell (hill is created), ³ash (fog is created), ⁴egg (river is created)

Kirawa: ¹fried paddy, ²egg to eat for himself (N.K. Rai 1985)

¹bamboo-comb, ²millet flour, ³egg (Bartaman 2000)

¹corn, ²ash, ³egg (S.K. Shrestha 1990)

Mewahang: ¹holy food grains *satabiu palabiu* (M. Ganszle 2000), ²egg (sea, river and remains busy)

Death of the Witch's Daughter

When Khachilipa or Hecchakuppa kills the daughter of Chakhradhimma, he uses certain means to do so, e.g.

Rodung- hot boiling oil

Mewahang- ***

Kirawa- ***

Yamphu- hot boiling water

Khachilipa takes seeds, food grains, soil-pot from the witch's house in Yamphu tale. He ties the witch with reeds and sucks the sickle on the other side of the door.

Kakcrikpa or Hecchakuppa's Family

In Yamphu tale, Kakcrikpa's father has two wives and the second wife is Kakcrikpa's mother whose skin scalded off by spilling hot water from the cooking vessel. Later on, it peeled off. So she asks her husband to take her to the humid place, where there is peace and quite and a lot vegetables smart weed so that she could get healing from humidity. Then, Kakcrikpa and his eldest mad sister had to take sibling for breast-feeding till her humid place every day. However, after two or three days, the mother had turned into a deer. Then, the deer vanished. They had to go the next day also. Therefore, they went for looking their mother again when they were on the way the mad said to go easy road whereas Kakcrikpa said follow difficult road. The mad sister was rigid so he listened to her and went by easy road. While they were looking for their mother, they met a demon witch. She was busy rising out intestines. The mad called her grandma. In addition, grandma (the demon witch) summoned them. She took the child. On the way, she devoured the child. Nevertheless, she said that she put the child to sleep. Then, she (the demon witch) asked Kakcrikpa and mad to sleep together.

The mad agreed but Kakcrikpa disagreed. Kakcrikpa slept on the roof because he was afraid of demons. The mad sister who slept with grandma (demon witch) ate her. But she lied Kakcrikpa that she (mad sister) had gone to the water place. The demon witch

gave him his elder sister's (mad sister) toes and fingers as meal, which he recognized. Then, he collected hands and feet and found a shaman to bury into the grave. Thus, the demon witch ate his mad sister and younger sibling both.

In Mewahang, the witch plans to kill Kakcrikpa. The demon witch wanted to eat Kakcrikpa. So she instructed to her daughter. Kakcrikpa heard everything. But they believed that Kakcrikpa was not ripen to eat. Therefore, the mother witch puts him into a blanket. Then soon it started to grow his hair longer. His long hair caused his death in Rodung. Due to anger, the witch jumps into the river in some linguistic groups, e.g.

Rodung: When the witch Chakradhimma was chasing Khachilipa, she came near to Khachilipa so he threw an egg towards her. Then, the egg formed into a big river Koshi and it flooded her away. Her brothers were fishing so her brothers saved her.

Kirawa: Chaklungdimma jumped into the river with anger in Sunkoshi (Bartaman 2000). The angler helped him to cross the river (N.K. Rai 1985) is Hechhakupa's uncle. This episode gets no mention in Thulung, Bayung, Khaling, Sampang, Yamphu, Dumi and Mewahang.

Stone in the Tale

The male character finds stone in the river. Kirawa's Hechhakupa goes for fishing in the river. He caught a stone. The stone brought at home. When he goes out for fishing and hunting, his meal is well prepared by somebody. One day, he hid himself and caught that stone girl Rinahwa. He married her and a son born but he died as they were erecting a wooden pillar by falling into it (Bartaman 2000). In Dumi (Ratnamaya 2004) Kopsilikpa caught a stone as fish. He brought it home and the same thing happens as in Kirawa. This applies to the Sampang tale also. Bayung also has the same episode as in Kirawa. However, there is Wailingmo who trapped in Kaktishala's net. The Thulung

tale's episode matches to Kiwara and Kakchilik caught that stone-girl in her right hand. So nowadays, the Thulung community follows this system.

Kirānti-Mewahang: The structure is same as in Kirawa. However, the stone is the daughter of Nagi named Wuhurungma. Since then, blood-sacrificing culture emerges in this linguistic community. In Khaling, a man came up on the tip of the hook like a fish. Then, it turned into a stone. Food cooking resembles to Kirawa. He marries her and one son is born. He fell in a hole of beam and died as in Kirawa whereas Kirānti-Rodung and Kirānti-Yamphu do not have such event.

The anglers got the witch and they gave her to eat food:

Linguistic groups	people	chosen food of witch	Rachakule
Kirānti-Rodung	witch's bros	meat-rice but given	tiger-bearmeat, rice, elephant, horse
Kirānti-Kirawa	fishermen help tied up and dragged her to cross	a bag with full of bears, tigers and was killed by those beasts	Hechhakuppa

Hecchakuppa, on the contrary, is kept in a palanquin and is looked after by his maternal uncles. They gave him a bag of wealth, every nice place whenever needed. These types of events are not narrated in Kirānti-Dumi, Bayung, Thulung, Khaling, Yamphu, and Kirānti-Sampang. In Mewahang, the witch is not saved by anybody but swept away by the river and finally she died.

The main male character Rachakule or Khachilipa (in Kirānti-Rodung) looks for his sisters and sends someone to invite them. He sends the one, who goes to invite one by one.

Linguistic groups	the one who goes to invite
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Kirānti-Rodung ¹a flea ²a cock is sent to invite for the brother's wedding

Kirānti-Kirawa ¹a louse ²a flea ³a bug but his sisters kill all of them. Then, fourth time a needle goes and pricks too. Fifth time a quill goes but they burnt it off. Finally, a cock became successful to invite them for wedding party (Bartaman 2000) whereas in N.K. Rai's tale it is not so

Kirānti-Dumi ¹bed bug, ²a cow, ³a cock (Ratnamaya Rai 2004) whereas in van Driem ¹louse, ²a flea, ³a billigoat, ⁴a cock- invited in eternal name ceremony (Na:ghi) but the sisters felt ashamed

Kirānti-Sampang ¹a flea ²a goat, ³a pig, ⁴a cock. They go to invite his sisters to perform Chammadham in the name of those who died they are their forefathers

Kirānti-Bayung ¹a louse, ²a flea, ³a goat, ⁴a cock. At last, the cock becomes successful. They were invited for Bayung's ancestral ritual when the sisters followed to cock it reached to Kaktishala and he was dancing at the moment

Kirānti-Thulung ¹a flea, ²a bed bug, but they were killed. At last, a cock called the sisters. They were invited for wedding ceremony.

Kirānti-Mewahang ¹a flea, ²a frog, ³a bed bug, ⁴a pig, ⁵a cock. In Mewahang, the sisters were married so their husbands also come along Khewa and Lohang, Lakas and Duhang. First, they were invited in house-inauguration, second time they were invited in his (Khakculupa) wedding.

Kirānti-Khaling ¹a flea, ²a louse, a cock at last. The sisters were invited in marriage of their brother Khakcaalaap whereas in Kirānti-Yamphu such events have no mention.

Shame

When Rachakule or Hecchakuppa invited his sisters, they felt ashamed of themselves. They got ashamed in the following linguistic groups, e.g.

Kirānti-Rodung sisters felt ashamed and hid under a tree

Kirānti-Kirawa: no mention in N.K. Rai's (1985) tale, besides courtyard in Bartaman

Kirānti-Dumi: ***

Kirānti-Sampang: The two sisters felt ashamed and went back home. Then, they killed a pig and brought its four legs as present. They brought millet-wine in wooden-pot and started the present giving culture

Kirānti-Bayung: ***

Kirānti-Thulung: The two sisters are surprised and refused to go to meet him

Kirānti-Mewahang: The sisters did not feel ashamed of meeting their brother. For the first time, he invites them in a house-inauguration and second time he invites them in his wedding. They danced in the programme.

Kirānti-Khaling: Sisters felt ashamed and flew away to the ridge whereas in Kirānti-Yamphu there is no such mention.

Cultural dance

Linguistic groups

Kirānti-Rodung: Sakela sili by Rachakule

Kirānti-Kirawa: ***

Kirānti-Dumi: ceremony of eternal name

Kirānti-Sampang: Khachiluppa is identified as a shaman and dances himself

Kirānti-Bayung: Kaktishala himself dances

Kirānti-Thulung: sisters danced

Kirānti-Mewahang: ***

Kirānti-Khaling: sisters dance

Kirānti-Yamphu: ***

Exchange of Gifts as Cultural Practice

Materials given and taken in wedding of brother Rachakule

Kirānti-Rodung: leg part (uncooked) of pig or buffalo given to the sisters in brother's (elder or younger) wedding and in return, the sisters give him their hair. Nowadays, in practice not hair but money is provided.

Kirānti-Kirawa: no mention of such gifts in NK Rai (1985), Bartaman (2000) and in SK Shrestha's (1990) story but in Rajesh Rai's story is available. The brother gives his sisters shell-roti and in return, the sisters give him eight wings of the sisters from left and right two of each.

Kirānti-Dumi: Both of the sisters give four feathers to their brother.

Kirānti-Bayung: Before the two sisters leave for their residence Dzyadz, they drop four bundles of Yathuk-Chathuk [yabum-chabhum = nine sets of pots made up of copper, nowadays 2 sets only] their brother.

Kirānti-Thulung: The brother gives them meat, rice, and wine. Nowadays, the sisters get something and do not go their home empty-handed.

Kirānti-Mewahang: ***

Kirānti-Khaling: ***

Kirānti-Yamphu: ***

Departure-destination of the Sisters

Kirānti-Rodung: The two sisters split towards their own place doing Khachilipa *Sili* or dance

Kirānti-Kirawa: NK Rai (1985) does not mention of the sisters' destination. Bartaman mentions that Khiyama went to Terai and Tawama went to mountain

Kirānti-Sampang: ***

Kirānti-Bayung: The two sisters go back to Dzyadzu

Kirānti-Thulung: ***

Kirānti-Mewahang: ***

Kirānti-Khaling: The two sisters get separated to their own residence

Kirānti-Yamphu: ***

Kirānti-Dumi: Dikdel (Diktel ?)

2.3 Comparative Themes in Kirānti-Rodung Versions

Karen H. Ebert (2000) has observed the following themes similar as well as dissimilar within the same linguistic group known as Kiranti-Rodung as follows:

Sisters Bury Khocilipa and Separate

- a. the poor orphans
- b. food is spilled
- c. Khocilipa trampled to death
- d. sisters separate

Saphopte

- a. Khliyama killed by uncle Saphopte
- b. Tuwama finds only bone
- c. weaving and invocation

Khocilipa Settles Down

- a. Khocilipa makes banana tree grow
- b. Khocilipa becomes a farmer

The Cannibal Woman/witch

- a. cannibal asks for banana

- b. Khocilipa kills the daughter
- c. creation of landscape
- d. river crossing
- e. cannibal killed by tiger

The Wife from the Water

- a. Khocilipa fishes a stone
- b. girl is discovered
- c. house-building

Reconciliation

- a. Khacelipa sends out animals
- b. sisters allured with sour berries
- c. marriage/exchange of gift

In one of the NW-versions (cf. Appendix I), Saphopte kills the cultural hero Khocilipa. This has no parallel in any Kirānti tradition of folk narratives from Wallo to Pallo Kirant east Nepal.

2.4 Comparison of Themes with other Kirānti Groups

Karen H. Ebert (2000) has also made some observations in themes and amongst characters of the Hecchakuppa tale versions. She observes that the story of Khocilipa and his two sisters is the best-known part of the Kiranti oral traditions. The characters are attested for-

Kirānti-Thulung Jaw, Khliw and Khakcilik ('The Jaw-Khliw cycle', Allen 1976: 93-139)

Kirānti-Dumi To:ma, Khe:ma and Khopsilikpa ('The original family of man', van Driem 1993: 288-318)

Kirānti-Khaling Grom, Laas and Khaakcaalaap ('An ancient story about an orphan', Toba 1984: 33-42)

Kirānti-Mewahang Lakca, Khewa and Khakculukpa ('Der Kulturheros Khakculukpa', Gaenzle 1991: 271-291, English version 2000)

Kirānti-Lohorong Tawama, Khowama and Khakchrukpa/ Chumling Chongma and Yechakukpa (Hardman n.d.: 204-219)

Kirānti-Bantawa Tangwama, Khiyama *nin* Hecchakuppa (N.K. Rai 1985: 205-230)

Ebert furthermore notes that Kirānti-Thulung and Kirānti-Dumi versions share most episodes and many details with NW Kirānti-Rodung, but they both lack the cannibal episode. The Kirānti-Mewahang version is over large stretches identical with the Kirānti-Rodung and Kirānti-Thulung stories, but it lacks the episode of Saphopte killing Khliyama. The Kirānti-Khaling story is rather short and mainly restricted to the fishing, house building and marriage. The inclusion of one or the other episode does not seem to be accidental. A look at the map (See Chapter I) suggests that the Saphopte story is unknown in the north, whereas the cannibal episode is unknown in the northwest.

The episode of the girl, who turned into a stone and later becomes Khocilipa's wife is lacking only in SE Kirānti-Rodung or Yamphu and not lacking in Kirānti-Kirawa, Bayung, Sampang, Thulung, Mewahang, and Khaling. The SE Kirānti-Rodung consultants I asked on this matter did not know where Khocilipa's wife came from. However, in the SE Kirānti-Rodung versions of the creation myth there is an episode where Hōcha, the son of Paruhō and Naima, marries a *nagi* 'water snake' princess. Several details of this episode have parallels in the Kirānti-Lohorong story of Khocilipa's

fishing a stone/ wife. It looks as if there are two (or more) different traditions woven into one, and certain events appear in different parts of the mythological cycles.

There is some evidence from Kirānti-Lohorong that the cannibal story and the stone/wife-fishing could have been part of two different cycles or traditions. Hardman (n.d.) reports three Kirānti-Lohorong tales (text not adapted in this study and is mentioned by way of reference here). One is about Yechakukpa (cf. Kirānti-Rodung Rochakupa ‘orphan’) and his sister(s) *chumling Chongma* (it remains unclear whether this is one person or two). The sisters are eaten by an evil grandmother demon. Yechakukpa escapes in the same way as in the Kirānti-Rodung story, namely by killing the demon's daughter and making the demon eat the meat of her own child. When she follows him, he throws shells etc. creating obstacles, which form the landscape. As in Jhanaman's Kirānti-Rodung account, the demon ties her hands and feet and is swept away by the river into the fishing net of Yechakukpa's uncles. The uncles try to reconcile the two and give them presents. When the demon opens her basket, tiger and bear jump out and eat her. This tale corresponds to a bit slightly dialectally variant version (cf. Appendix I) as found in Kirānti-Rodung, Kirānti-Kirawa and Kirānti-Mewahang.

The second Lohorong story is about Tawama, Khewama and Khakchrukpa, and it comprises parts of episodes discussed above and adapted in Appendix I, where Khakchrukpa fishes a stone, which turns into his wife. The house building, at which the child is killed, follows. Khakchrukpa sends out animals to call his sisters. And after the failures of the flea and the bed-bug, the rooster leads them to their brother's house. The only link between the two stories is that in a third one the name Yechakukpa is used for the young man who fishes a stone which turns into a girl.

A thorough comparative mythology of the Kirānti will also have to look further east into the oral traditions of the people of Assam and Northern Burma. Gaenzle (p. 281 f.) points out parallels in the Mishmi and Aka traditions. Hardman (p. 193) reports in a different context, that the Lohorong identify themselves with the Mishmi in Assam. Ebert admits that she found a parallel for the demon eating her child's meat in a story of the Khasi (who are not Tibeto-Burmans). A systematic comparative study of the oral traditions, interesting in itself, could also turn out to be a useful tool in clarifying the relationship among the different Kirānti groups and their migrations.

2.5 Synopsis of Themes in Hecchakuppa Tales

In this section, I summarize the comparative scenario of those Hechhakuppa versions of the narrative in line with Karen H. Ebert (2000) as follows regarding their themes similar and dissimilar within the same linguistic groups selected the purpose of this study.

Bant. Thul. Dumi Khal. Mew. Loh.

Sisters Bury Khocilipa and Separate

a. poor orphans/ life in the jungle	-	+	+	+	+	+
b. food is spilled	-	+	+	-	-	-
c. Kh. trampled to death	+	+	+	-	+	-
d. sisters separate	+	+	+	-	+	-
e. symbolic flowers	-	+	+	-	-	-

Saphopte

a. Khliyama killed by uncle Saphopte	+	+	+	-	-	-
b. Tuwama finds only bones	+	+	+	-	-	-
c. weaving and invocation	+	+	+	-	-	-

Khocilipa Settles Down

a. Kh. makes banana tree grow	+	-	-	+	+	-
b. Kh. becomes a farmer	-	+	+	-	-	+
finds seeds in dove's crop						

The cannibal woman/witch

a. cannibal asks for banana	+	-	-	-	+	(+)*
b. Kh. kills the daughter	+	-	-	-	+	(+)
c. creation of landscape	-	-	-	-	+	(+)
d. river crossing	+	-	-	-	+	(+)
e. cannibal killed by tiger	+	-	-	-	-	(+)

The wife from the water

a. Kh. fishes a stone	-	+	+	+	+	+
b. girl is discovered	-	+	+	+	+	+
c. house-building	-	+	-	+	+	+

Reconciliation

a. Kh. sends out animals	+	+	+	+	+	+
b. sisters allured with sour berries	+	+	+	+	+	-
c. marriage/exchange of gifts	-	+	+	+	+	+

*Kiranti-Lohorung from *Pallo* 'far' Kirant area exceptionally has the cannibal episode as a separate story in its oral tradition or mythology. Here Kh. stands for Khocelippa. In addition, plus (+) and minus (-) signs stand for binary features of the themes available and unavailable in those version of the Hecchakuppa tales. Brackets mean optional or not so distinct. Bant = stands for Bantawa, Thul = Thulung, Khal = Khaling, Mew = Mewahang and Loh stands for Lohorung.

Chapter III

Ethno-linguistic-historical Connections

3.1 Characters and their Comparison

The characters' nomenclature in Kiranti folktales or narratives (cf. Appendix I) from east Nepal shows that there is a strong link or connection amongst these multi-linguistic communities. In this chapter thus I have described, compared and analysed the characters' nomenclature including linguo-cultural connections of the group under study.

3.1.1 Female Characters

One of the most interesting and challenging facts in this research is the names of the female characters how they get changed from one linguistic group or locality to the other. The same text with narrative differences with similar themes has differences in female character's name, e.g., Tawama, Tangwama, Tōwama, Tebam, To:ma, Toma, Khiyama, Khliyama, Khliumo, Kheyangna, Kheyongna, Khiliyama, Khībam, Khewama, Khe:ma, Kheu, Grom, Dzaumo, Lassu, Lhos, Meena, Ninamyang> Nanammang> Nalungma> Sumnima and Rinakha. There are, from the sound and lexeme changing perspective, directions of change amongst these nomenclature are distinct.

3.1.2 Male Characters

Like female characters, male characters' nomenclature varies widely as Kaktisala, Khakchere, Khakchilupa, Khakchilik, Khachilippu > Khachuluppa, Khachilippa > Khachile, Khochilipa, Khochilipa, Khakchalap, Khakchulukpa, Khakchulukpa, Khopsilikpa, Khokchilip, Khakchrikpa, Khakchhuruppa > Yechhakuppa, Khakchulukpa, Khokyulukpa, Khokchilip > Kokchilip, Hechhakuwa, Hecchakuppa, Hechhākupā,

Hechhakuppa, Hetchhakuppa, Rachakule, Rochakupa and Solethocha in those linguistic groups called Kiranti of east Nepal.

3.2 Historical Connections and Direction of Sound Change

Those characters' names or nomenclature, their roles, contents and themes (cf. Appendix I and Chapter II) connect those linguistic groups one another historically through folktales and narratives as we have analyzed in those adapted tales for the purpose of this study.

3.2.1 Roles

Those male and female characters in all texts adapted here have their roles of brothers and sisters and in some other they are narrated as the ancestors of the speakers' family genesis in terms of human evolution and civilization.

3.2.2 Direction of Change

When I closely observed and analyzed the direction of sound changes of the nomenclature of characters (cf. § 3.1.2) in those adapted tales in this study, I discovered that the un-aspirate /k/ changes to aspirate /k^h/ and finally /k^h/ changes into velar-fricative /h/ sound in male characters with considerable vowel shifts and predominantly vowel shifts or nomenclature shifts in female characters' nomenclature.

3.3 Pan-Kirānti Culture

The tale of Hechhakuppa links and connects the Kiranti people of more than two dozen linguistic communities of east Nepal from *Wallo* to *Pallo* Kirant in terms of their religious texts called Mudhum, cultural agents, characters and practice (cf. Appendix I).

3.3.1 Tribal Religious Text

Their religious text called *Mundum~Mukdum~Mundhum* is mostly in oral forms and one of the sources of such *Mundum* lies in their folk narratives, e.g. Hechhakuppa as well as in incantations.

3.3.2 Tribal Priest

The *Mundum* as an oral text is recited or practiced by their tribal priest called *Nā?so*, *nokso*, *nakso*, *nochung*, *nakchong*, *nagchong*, *nokcho* etc in multi Kirānti linguistic and cultural group of *Wallo*, *Majh* and *Pallo Kirant* areas eastern Nepal. They are the main socio-cultural agents who frequently play roles in their folktales also.

3.3.3 Tribal Shaman

Along with *Nokso* 'priest', *Pōibo* ['shaman' related to *Bonbo* of Bonism] is also another socio-cultural agent to play an important role in the Kiranti people's oral traditions and practices of daily life.

3.3.4 Tribal Festival

Nā?so and *Pōibo* in Kiranti oral traditions are directly linked to their cultural practice known as *Shyādar Shyil* or *Sakela Sili*, *Sakewa*, *Sakle*, *Sakhewa Sili*. The practice of this *sili* 'dance' emanates from the Hechhakuppa tales of several localities represented in this study.

3.4 Linguistic-paleontological Connections

From the linguistic-paleontological point of view, the Kiranti people's connections is found in their sub/clanonym morphemes which link them in pan-Kirānti linguistic features, e.g. -cha and -hang~ng or other variations of -cha include -cho, -chha, -che, -chu, -chi, -chung, -ku, -su, -pu. These forms are very close to each other in phonological, morphological, verbal lexemic, grammatical and syntactic similarities. Such forms,

structures and characters frequently appear in their oral traditions elsewhere in Mundum or folktales.

3.5 Folk Literary Ancestors

Pan-Kirānti folk literary connections can easily be observed in and amongst characters like Hechhakuppa, Tawama and Khiyama in folk literary oral traditions and moreover non-literary folk narrative traditions as well link them in all the three Kiranti areas of east Nepal through historical characters like Khinchihang, Harkabung, Wakudung, Langlewa, Suhacheppang etc. They are also common folk literary ancestors quite often mentioned in the Kiranti people's intangible folk literary heritage.

Chapter IV

Summary and Findings

4.1 Summary

In this study, in line with Martin Gaenzle (2002: 314-315) I observed that most of the notions underlying Kiranti social organization recur in the body of myths which forms a distinct part of the oral tradition, the Muddum including the Hechhakuppa narratives. All the myths are interlinked in a consecutive and genealogical order (cf. Appendix I texts); they first recount the creation of the universe, the first living beings and man. It is the snake deity, *nagi* (Nep), which was in the existence before everything else, and it is therefore regarded as one of the most important ancestral beings. The genuine act of creation, however which results in the variety of species, is attributed to the first cosmic couple, Su(o)mnima and Paruhang, whose encounter is a mythic metaphor of courtship and marriage. But only after the natural world, the variety of species and the cycle of birth and death has been created, does the cultural hero, Khakculukpa (different other nomenclature historically), enter the scene. Orphaned and left alone by his two sisters who “marry off”, he struggles against the evil forces of the jungle but eventually emerges as a clever hunter who can control these forces. He, unknowingly, “catches” himself a wife and then starts practicing agriculture. After the birth, their first child the couple decides to build a house, and when this has been completed, Khakculukpa remembers his two sisters, who to be sought to celebrate the inauguration of the first house. This feast, in an ambiguous way, not only commemorates these cultural achievements but is also a wedding, which involves an affinal gift exchange between the *kutumba* ‘wife-receivers’ and the *maiti* ‘wife-givers’. Thus, the

“passage” from “nature” to “culture” culminates in a genuinely social bond, which puts an end to the hero’s prior isolation.

Then follows the migration of the ancestors; four brothers considered to be more or less direct descendants of Khakculukpa, leave the “place of origin” located in the Terai and move northward. Whereas Khambuhang, the eldest brother, Mewahang, the second eldest and Limbuhang, the third brother, cut their way through the jungle, the youngest brother, “Meche Koche”, is left behind and remains in the Terai (not included in Appendix I), where he becomes the ancestor of the present Mecya and Koc. Reaching the confluence of the Seven Koshis, the eldest brother crosses the river first and cheats his younger brother Mewahang, which leads to quarreling and disputing between them. The three brothers, after they all manage to cross the river, split up and each follows one river: Khambuhang moves up the Dudhkoshi, follows the Arun and Limbuhang migrates along the Tamar Koshi. It is clear that the four original brothers constitute the vague unit of “Kirānti” and define through their migration the main subtribal groups as territorial entities. The myth thus is an important image for the interpretation of ethnic distinctions as well as simlairites, which I have compared in Chapters II and III.

The descendents of the four original brothers (in Kiranti-Mewahang, cf. Martin Gaenzle) eventually find suitable localities where they settle down. Numerous myths, which could be termed “locality myths”, recount how the First Settler came to stay in a particular area after he established a “transcendent” link with the divine forces of the *ca:ri* – territory. These are generally manifested in the ‘ancestor stone’ *sakhewalung* and receive an annual blood sacrifice. The myth also narrates the encounters of the different First Settlers, how they tricked each other, chased each other, fought one another, and

eventually exchanged wives or, in other cases, stopped the exchange of wives. Thus, the mythology gradually turns into an indigenous local history, which tells about the foundation of a particular village, a particular clan, and the genealogical line of ancestors down to the present.

To sum up the study of Kiranti mythologies: I claim that the total body of myths forms a long genealogical recounting the origin, the differentiation, migration and creative deeds of the ancestors, starting from the very beginning of the world, continuing with the establishment of the traditional order and leading to the more immediate roots of present conditions. The mythic events of the ancestral past thus pattern, define, explain and give meaning to the reality of the living.

The mythology is, thus seen as an interpretive framework through which the Kiranti people conceive social and cultural institutions. Therefore, it is crucial for the construction of an ethnic self-identity. A social actor may choose the level of identification in the genealogical structure depending on the context and the interacting “Other”, e.g. he may identify culture hero of a Kirānti or with the particular ancestor migrating of the Arun Valley as well as in parts of east Nepal. Nevertheless, these different segmentary levels are viewed by the people primarily as a “historical” past in which a primeval unity has differentiated into the present variety through fission and migration. This past, in which the order of the world has been established, is also the source of all traditional knowledge and cultural community: the deeds of the ancestors are reenacted in ritual and thus re-lived periodically. The oral tradition, the *Muddum*, thus preserves an indigenous way of life and way of thinking in today’s multi-ethnic society, and each individual faces the challenge to come to terms with both, tradition and change.

4.2 Findings

In course of this study, my hypothesis (§ 1.2) has been found out to be thesis while observing and analyzing the Hechhakuppa tale versions through descriptive and comparative framework of framework.

As I compared and analyzed in Chapters II and III in terms of characters and their nomenclature, historical connections and direction of sounds change, pan-Kiranti culture viz. tribal religious texts, tribal priests, tribal shaman, tribal festival and linguistic-paleontological connections, the Kiranti people to a greater extent share linguistic, cultural and literary similarities as well dissimilarities.

It is only the matter of historical sound changes of characters' nomenclature, which differs to a considerable extent. Their textual functions and purposes are also considerably similar. The direction of sound change of the cultural here Hechhakuppa is from un-aspirate /k/ → aspirate /k^h/ and finally /k^h/ → velar-fricative /h/ sound. This is point of differences in those multi-linguistic communities and in their folk narratives.

Thus, the Kirānti people(s) maintaining linguistic and cultural diversity irrespective of monolithic state policy in the past have very close ethno-linguistic and literary similarities and connections in their folktales while collected, examined and compared from *Wallo* to *Pallo* Kirat areas of eastern Nepal.

Appendix I

Some Selected Kirānti Texts

About the texts

These selected Kirānti texts adapted here, were collected during field trips to *Wallo, Majh* and *Pallo* Kirant areas in Eastern Nepal until recently by a number of grammarians. I have collected myself from my own linguistic community also. What I have adapted here is spoken and spontaneous language of the common people recorded for grammatical analysis-purpose. Distortions in the texts from the original one have received less priority. Paragraphs in some contexts have been reconsidered for reconnecting narratives. Apart from some ritual formulas, I noticed that there are some stylistic differences, and differences between events or plots, characters' name, themes, cultural practices and between the mythological tales and reports about everyday events.

1. Kirānti-Rodung or Chamling

collected by Karen H. Ebert

a. Towama, Khliyama and Khocilipa

Nerpa (northwestern dialect)

Saphopte

Khocilipa had two sisters, the elder Towama and the younger Khliyama.

Khocilipa was their younger brother. Now Towama and Khliyama's maternal uncle, Saphopte, was a somewhat vicious person. And the sisters kept telling their younger brother: "Do not annoy our maternal uncle!" One day the orphan (i.e. Khocilipa) teased his uncle. Saphopte came, caught him by his throat and clawed his throat to pieces. He killed the orphan. The sisters went around searching for their younger brother. They did not find him anywhere. So they asked their uncle Saphopte. "Uncle did you see him may

be? What did you do?” they asked. Saphopte told them: “He is sitting over there on a rock.” When Towama and Khliyama looked on the rock only his bones were left. Then the sisters Towama and Khliyama poured beer into a gourd, picked up a bone and reanimated him. Their little orphan brother woke up saying “I’ must have fallen asleep”. “Where did you fall sleep? Our uncle killed you and ate you. We found out and made you alive,” they said and took their brother home.

Khocilipa’s ‘death’

Their food and clothing was in a miserable condition. They went in the village from the upper houses to the lower houses in search for food, sweeping together whatever they found, and gave it to their younger brother. Then the villagers said: “These (girls) search and eat always; don’t leave anything today.” One (woman) heard: “Leave one mana!” and she left one mana rice in the mortar. [The girls] took the rice and put it on the fire in a cooking pot. The rice started to boil and the orphan in his joy started to dance around the fireplace. When he stepped on a piece of bunt firewood, he kicked over the rice, the rice was spilled. “You danced and spilled the rice,” his sisters said and scolded him. Then the sisters went again in search of food, he was crying, crying then he fell asleep. When the sisters came back later, their brother was asleep. “Our brother died”, they thought and brought banana leaves; “Now let’s make *silum halum* for our brother,” they said and put him on the banana leaves and took him to make the funeral. They made the *silum halum*, the banana leaves went *karang-kurung!* and they said: “Our brother’s bones broke. On his grave he left his small knife. There they also left one *mana*, and then the sisters descended.

Khocilipa lives in a tree

Later he awoke from his sleep and got up out of his grave. Then he took the banana and the small knife in his hand and ate the banana. When eating the banana, the banana seed became apparent. He put it in the earth. "If you come out, come out! If not, I will cut you with my knife," he said; and the banana came up. "If you grow, grow! If not I will cut with my knife," he said; it grew up. "If you ripen, ripen! If not, I will cut you with my knife," he said, and it ripened. Then he went to say in the top of the banana tree [remember that he is a bird]; the banana tree bore fruit and stayed there eating bananas.

The cannibal woman

The Cakrodhoma, the cannibal, came along cutting firewood. "Give me one of those bananas, orphan," she said. "I sit here and you are lawn there, how shall I give it to you?" he asked. "Tie it to your hair and let it hang down," she said. When he tied to his hair and gave it to her, Cakrodhoma, the cannibal, pulled the orphan down by his hair. Then Cakrodhoma carried the orphan to her house. In the house there was Cakrodhoma's daughter Jhungma. "Jhungma, kill this orphan, hang his hands at the door and keet his blood in the trough for me! I will go to bring my brothers," the cannibal said and set off to fetch her brothers. Jhungma and the orphan were killing lice.

The orphan's hair was long. "Orphan, how did your hair become so long?" she asked. "I brought a lot of oil to the boil, then I put my head in a mortar and poured the boiling oil from upside and pounded with the pestle and with the pestle and it grew long," he said. Jhungma said: "Well then, do the same to me," and he put oil on the fire and made it boil. Then he put Jhungma, upside down in the mortar and from above he poured the oil and beat her to death with the pestle. Then he hung her hand at the door and put her blood in the trough. Later when Cakrodhoma came and called "Jhungma!" he answered "huuu!" The orphan has put on Jhungma's clothes. When Cakrodhoma ate

Jhungma's meat, she got high and fell asleep. The orphan brought ghee and smeared it on her eyes. Then he climbed up on her roof and shouted: "Jhungma-eater! Jhung,a-eater!" The orphan gave me Jhungma to eat today!" she thought.

Creation of the landscape

When she woke up, rubbing her eyes, the orphan had prepared ashes, a potsherd and an egg. Cakrodhoma started to pursue the orphan, she went after him, pursuing him. When she nearly reached him, he threw the ashes at her. The ashes became a cloud, so Cakrodhoma could not see, she erred here and there. Then groping-groping, she followed him, and when again she nearly reached him, he threw the potsherd, the orphan did. As the potsherd broke, it became a huge rock.

On the rock, rock crawling-crawling, she pursued him, and when again she nearly reached him, he threw the egg. As the egg broke, it became a huge river. Now they found themselves on opposite sides. "Orphan, how did you get out?" she asked. The orphan said: I tied my hands and feet with a rope and entered. Thus I came out." Then Cakrodhoma also tied her hands and feet with a rope, and when she entered, she was swept away by the river.

The girl who turned into a stone

The orphan moved around, catching bird and fish, and he lived there. He took a net and went to the river, he came up throwing [the net]. But whenever he threw it, he caught a beautiful stone in his net. He would look, take the stone out and throw it away. Whenever he threw the net again, he caught that same stone, he took it out and threw it away. He threw again and caught the same stone. He wondered and put the stone in his bag, took it and kept it in the house, he kept it on the self. When the orphan left in order to go here and there, the stone fell down and spilt into two pieces.

A young girl came out. She started to sweep the house, to cook rice and curry, she did everything and became a stone again and remained there. The orphan came back the court was swept, the food was ready. The next day the same happened and the next day again. One day he thought: “I must watch,” and when he had hidden there, the stone fell to the ground and broke. A girl came out. The orphan embraced her tightly. “Don’t catch me! Don’t catch me! Yesterday you threw me away, the other day you threw me away. Why do you catch me now?” she said but the orphan did not let her go.

Khocilipa sends out animals

Then he thought that he had to perform *khomari*, and they sent the flea to fetch the sisters Towama and Khliyama. Towama and Khliyama squeezed to death. They sent the bedbug and it was squeezed. Then he was wondering what to do and he sent the rooster, the orphan did. The rooster went to fetch Towama and Khliyama, he went crowing “kokoreko! the orphan!” Towama and Khliyama thought: “This orphan may be our brother, let’s go and follow this rooster,” and they went away following the rooster. They went and the orphan’s *rungrisaka* (the long-life-ceremony) was performed. “Now let’s also make *rasalung*, “they said and one by one they pulled out their feathers and gave them to their brother (as marriage gift). The next day when the sisters had to go again each to her house, he put the *khurbusasi* into a basket and sent them off. Before Towama and Khliyama lived down in Halesi, at a place (now called) Mahadeu, up here this side, on a rock called Towacung. The elder sister Tawama went down to the low lands (to Ninama), the younger sister Khliyama went up to the high lands (to Salapa).

b. Tuwama, Khliyama and Khocilipa

Bamrang (northwestern dialect)

Khocilipa’s ‘death’ and separation of the sisters

Once there lived two (sisters), Tuwama and Khliyama. They had a brother, Khocilipa. Tuwama, Khliyama and Khocilipa's father and mother were dead. They became miserable orphans. When they became orphans, nobody in the village gave food and clothing. Poor Tuwama and Khliyama wandered hungry about the village, from house, to people's handmills and rice huskers. Whatever rice or flour was left in the handmil or rice husker, that they would pick up and take it home and prepare soup for their younger brother Khocilipa. Doing like that, when they acted like that, the villagers could not look on. One day in the village the discussion went like that: "Tuwama and Khliyama sweep empty all the handmills and rice huskers.

When they come down to the husker and the handmill, nobody must leave any flour or rice!" they announced. One woman heard: "Today leave one mana rice and one mana flour in the husker and the handmill," she heard and that woman left [those things] behind. When Tuwama and Khliyama went home and showed the things to their brother Khocili. "Well, today you brought a lot," he said, little Khocili was happy, bao-bao! Finally he fell asleep. Tuwama and Khliyama prepared rice and curry. It became time to eat and when they tried to wake up their younger brother Khocili, he did not wake up, he was fast asleep. With him so fast asleep, Tuwama and Khliyama thought: "Our brother was always crying with hunger. Today he danced, he rejoiced, so he fell asleep and he is probably dead," they said, the elder and the younger sister. "Now let's make the *silum-halum* for our little brother," they said, and they carried him away and performed the funeral rites.

They took a gourd, they took this much rice, they made the funeral. Then with what did they cover him? They covered him with *dhusure* branches, climbed the funeral

heap and when they trampled on it, it sounded 'korek-korek'. "Our brother Khocili's bones, his arms and legs broke," they thought. Tuwama and Khliyama came up to Tuwatup-Mountain, blocking the road (for evil spirits) and they did their wearing there. "Well, let us two also separate now. There was a younger brother and he died away, "they thought, "where shall we go now?" "Tuwama, you go down to the lowlands, I will stay here in the mountains. One day in the rainy season I'll come down to meet you in tharup-land," Khliyama said and they separated and parted.

Khocilipa settles down

Later, after some time, little Khocili woke up. "They have made *silum-halum!* My god, how fast must I have been asleep. How could my sisters do the *silum-halum* like this," he thought, and with bitterness in his heart he went to Halesi Cicing, and he cleared his mind, alone.

Then...he stayed there... he lived there, looking for his *cari*, for a place to settle. He took a piece of land, but there was no water. Then, searching, searching in his dream, he shot with his arrow into the (dry) riverbed and took out water and he stayed there. As for Tuwama and Khliyama, the elder and the younger sister, Tuwama went down to the lowlands; Khliyama said: I'll stay in the mountains, "and she stayed in the mountain wilderness. At the time of their separation they divided flowers between them-what were the names of the flowers? - *lumcum* and *kowai*. The elder sister Tuwama took with her the kowa-flower, the younger sister took the *lumcum*. Like that they separated.

Saphopte

"The story of how we have separated today must be reported to our maternal uncle Saphopte; you my younger sister Khliyama, you tell him, "Tuwama said and left for the lowlands. Now Khliyama did not report to her uncle Saphopte; what happened to

them, how they separated, what happened to her little brother Khocilipa, this she did not tell him. Now , Tuwama had said to her sister Khliyama: Do not tease our maternal uncle Saphopte. She teased him, but she did not know that he was her uncle, and Saphopte did not know that they were his nieces. Saphopte, when Khliyama teased him, bit her in the throat and killed her. After some time the flower divided up with Tuwama withered. Tuwama, asking herself why her flower withered, came up, searching, searching.

When she came up, she did not find her, so she asked their uncle Saphopte: When she asked her uncle Saphopte: "My uncle, my younger sister Khliyama is not here?" Saphopte answered: I don't know. Some days ago someone teased me. I became angry and bit her to death, "he told her. After her told her (she thought): My little sister- uncle Saphopte must have killed her. Was she out of her wits? 'You must be afraid of our uncle, you must be careful,' I kept telling her, I sent her away with this warning when we separated the year before last. It turns that she did not keep those words in her heart. She must have teased our uncle. "Where did you kill her, where did you make the *silum-halum*?" Tuwama asked her uncle Saphopte. "Right here I killed her here I have eaten her," said. He took her to the place where she had died and showed her. When he showed her, only Khliyama's bones were left. She took up the bones and made the funeral. Tuwama brought down her sister Khliyama's bones, told her uncle and performed the *silum-halum*.

After that she arrived in the lowlands. Later she came again up there to *tuwatup*. "Why is my younger sister ashamed? What worries her?" she thought. One day Tuwama waited for her. While Tuwama, the elder, was waiting, the younger sister Khliyama was weaving. When Tuwama sprinkled water on her-water from the sosompa plant, Paru's

water, Khliyama woke up. The two sisters talked, they sat together and they wept. "Such and such happened to me, uncle Saphopte killed me when I teased him," she said; Khliyama told her elder sister Tuwama everything. Their meeting happened thus, they made their peace and again they parted and went away. They thus separated, and as they thought that their brother Khocilipa had died, they had performed the silum-halum.

Reconciliation

Khocilipa, however, was not dead, he had fallen asleep and he woke up and made *capcobarō*. "Today I must till this soil, I must till this earth," he thought and he looked for a hoe. He made the *rungri-saka* (dowry for his sisters). He sent negotiators out for the marriage talks and he made the *rungri-saka*. I must do the ancestor worship, I must look in the mountains, he thought. . . . In order to do the *hōpasaplo* he gathered all the relatives from father's side. The relatives of the village and the soil must stay, the sisters must meet them all, he thought. "I am going to do the *hōpasaplo*, but where are my sisters Tuwama and Khliyama?"

c. Mythology: The Khocilipa cycle

He sent negotiators out for the marriage talks and he made the *rungri-saka*. I must do the ancestor worship, I must look in the mountains, he thought. . . . In order to do the *hopāsaplo* he gathered all the relatives from father's side. The relatives of the village and the soil must stay, the sisters must meet them all, he thought. "I am going to do the *hopāsaplo*, but where are my sisters Tuwama and Khliyama?" "Sending men out in search, he said "We must bring them over, too. "First he sent the flea. The flea went and arrived at Tuwama's place and it bit her. "What is biting me?" Tuwama crushed it. After the flea was lost he sent the louse. The louse also arrived and bit her. "What bit me?"-she killed that one in the same way.

After that he sent the bedbug. The bedbug set out and bit Tuwama and Khliyama; that one they also crushed to death. In the end the flea did not come, the louse did not come, the bedbug also did not come, whom could he send now? "The three that I sent did not come back; what happened?" Khocilipa thought and now he sent the rooster. At the time for crowing the rooster shouted "kukurika!" When he shouted, what did Tuwama and Khliyama hear? "hopāsaplo Khocili-cha, " they heard. "What did this rooster say?" They asked, and Tuwama took up the pursuit, Khliyama took up the pursuit.

When they followed him, they saw Khocili, their brother. "Our brother died earlier and we make a funeral," they said. "What shall we say now to our brother?" When they saw Khocilipa they hid. Khocilipa was disappointed. "Why are my elder and younger sisters hiding like this now?" he thought, he felt bitter. Finally he [called out] "Here is food and drink!" and he threw some wild herbs. So they came and he covered them with basket. After that he asked: "My elder and younger sister, my relatives! Why do you act like this?" When he asked, Tuwama and Khliyama said: "Before, brother, such-and-such happened to you, we saw you like that (i.e. dead asleep), we did so-and-so, we made the silum-halun," and they were distraught. After that Khocilipa took his sisters to the *hopāsaplo*. "Today I brought over my sisters, but what can I do to appease them? What must a brother do?" He thought. When he asked the relatives "What should I give my sisters?" [They said:] the *khurbusasi*..... How is the *khurbusasi* done? What is it? [It consists of]... a head strap, a wild boar's leg, rice, beer, liquor; then also a certain type of jar.

Doing all that he made the sisters heart softens, in the name of the *khurbusasi*..... "Today I have brought over my sisters, but maybe they are worried.

Their brothers, their father and mother, the in-laws, the relatives are there, maybe they will say: "You went to your brother's house, what you brought back?" They may ask. Today, when you go home, when your in-laws in your village ask you, the wilderness asks you, so when you go, you should tell the mountains, you should tell your mother-in-law: "Today I went to my brother's house.

My brother's people then gave me the *khurbu*, they gave me the *sasi*, "saying thus you will tell the mountains and your in-laws. You will go and show [The presents] to your father-in-law, you will show to your mother-in-law, you will show to the village, you will tell them." Happily they said: "Brother, now that you made the rites for us, we are content." You made the *Khurbusasi* for us, now we will go and tell the mountains. May you become rich, you have taken *cari* (ancestral land) here, become an important man on the *cari*, they said. They pulled out one of Tuwama's feathers and, tying it to their brother's ornament, they said "feather of Tuwama -saharomma-botoromma- wherever you will go? Fly around like this Tawa-bird." Saying *saharomma botoromma*, they tied the feather to Khocilipa's head; "saharomma-botoromma, soimonmma-satumromma, take care!" they said.

The orphan

Khamla (southeastern dialect)

The orphan's 'death' and separation of the sisters

Long time ago in our village, there lived an old woman and man. They had three children. The old woman and the old man died, and they became orphans. When they became orphans, the people of our village could not look after them. As they did not look after them, they were in distress. They went to sweep food-things in other people's handmill and rice husker; the two older sisters went and brought [the things] home. After

having brought it home they prepared rice soup for their younger brother and gave it to him.

As they prepared rice soup and gave it to him, one day the village people heard: "These orphans sweep other's handmill and rice husker and take things home and give it to their brother. From now on scrape everything together and take it with you!" When this was said, what did they hear? "When they come and take away like this, leave more!" Thus they heard. Well then, from the next day on they left behind one *mana* each. The next day, when they again went to sweep, they found one *mana* here, one *mana* there, and they happily brought the food home. When they brought it and prepared rice in order to make soup and give it to their brother, he was happy, and moving here and there he overturned the firebrand and spilled [the food]. After he had spilled the food, he started to cry. When his sisters scolded him, he started to cry, and from all the crying he fell asleep. After he had fallen asleep, his sisters thought: "Our brother died, what shall we do now that he died?" and they brought bamboo leaves and covered him. When they covered him and trampled on him, it sounded as if his bones broke. "Our brother's bones broke, let's make *silum-halum* now," they said and they left a knife and a banana seeding at his head. Then they went, one down to the Madhes and one up into the mountains.

The orphan settles down

When the little brother woke up later, and when he looked at his head-rest, he found a knife and a banana seed. As he looked around, his sisters were not there, he stayed there weeping and he planted his banana. He planted his banana, and as he said: "My banana grows! My banana grows!" the banana grew. Then he stayed in its top: "My banana come out! my banana come out!" he said, and his banana come up. After the

banana came up, he said: "My banana ripen!" and his banana ripened. After the banana had ripened, he ate one banana per day and stayed there.

The cannibal woman

One day a certain Ronambhema (the cannibal) arrived. She arrived, and what she said was: "Orphan, how did you climb up there?" "I climbed up just like this." "Give me also a banana, please," she begged. After she begged: "I won't give you any! This is my food, I eat it and I live on it. How could I give it to you?" "Give me just one," [she begged], and he threw one to her. When he had thrown it down: "This one has chicken and pig droppings sticking to it, this one I won't eat." "How shall I give it to you then?" he asked her. "Your hair is long. Tie it to your hair and throw it here," she said. When he tied it to his hair and threw it, she pulled him down. When she took him to her house, there was a child of her's, called Sikurima. She told Sikurima "do like this, do like that," and she herself went to call her brothers. "Kill him and fill his blood into the pig trough," she said and went.

Then she covered him with a small basket. "I'll get out of here," he said, "I'll somehow get out." Then she thought: "It turned out to be no good in this small basket," and she covered him with a *doko* (carrying basket). When she had covered him with the *doko*, he thought: "Where to get out now?" "Now, here it turned out to be good," she thought and she left him there. He had heard everything the mother had ordered her daughter. Then, after her mother had left, the daughter, Sikurima, asked him: "How come, orphan, your hair is so long?" "Earlier my mother brought oil to the boil, and when she poured it down my back, my hair grew long," he told Sikurima. "Let's make mine [long] also," she said, and they boiled the oil that the mother had left there to prepare the curry.

And after they put her back upside-down, and when he poured [the oil] and she was about to die, she, he beat her to death, and then he poured her blood into the pig trough. After filling the trough, he put on her clothes and prepared rice and curry. The brothers arrived, and when she said: "Give what you have filled [into the trough] to elder mother-brother," he gave to the younger mother-brother. When she said: "Give to your younger mother-brother," he gave to the elder mother-brother.

While doing so, the mother drank her blood and ate her meat and got intoxicated from her child's meat. After that she fell to sleep. The orphan now brought a long rope and tied her. He lay down a sickle at her head, rubbed glue in her eyes and climbed up on top of the house and shouted. With him he carried: little sesame, ashes, an egg and a potsherd. He carried this and shouted up there. He shouted: "This Ronambhema is a child-eater!" When he shouted, she thought: "This guy must have killed my child," and when she woke up, her hands were all tied up with a rope. She cut them loose, and then she pursued him. She pursued him, running, running, and now as she nearly reached the orphan, he threw the sesame at her. From the sesame seeds a lot of sesame grew up, and she came with difficulties out of it. After that she pursued him again. She nearly reached him.

When she nearly reached him, this time he threw the ashes at her. After throwing the ashes what's its name became..... When he threw the ashes, a cloud came out, a running, running, she managed to come out of the cloud. After coming out, again she pursued him and she nearly reached him. When she nearly had reached him, he threw the potsherd and it became a rock. She escaped from the rock, crawling, crawling, and again started to pursue the orphan. She pursued him for a long time, and again she nearly

reached him. When she had nearly reached him, he threw the egg at her. From the egg then a big river came into being. Now they found themselves each on one side of the river.

Now Ronambhema asked: "Orphan, how did you get out? I am stuck here." He said: "I searched lot ants and stuck them into my backside and jumped out." So she also searched and jumped and was carried away, the river carried her away. Meanwhile the brothers had set up a fish-trap. Into the fish-trap set up by the brothers she fell. Now the orphan also came, looking, looking, where she was taken. She had fallen into their trap. Then, what was said is: "What did you do, you two, orphan and you Ronamabhema, how did you get here?" "I was pursuing the orphan, the river brought me out over here," she said.

Then the brothers closed one box for each...one there was an elephant horse and in one a tiger, and they gave one to each "Orphan will you go on the tiger or will you go on the elephant horse?" Ronambhema said: "The orphan is a strong young man, so it is he who will go on tiger, I will go on the elephant horse," she said. They sent them away with a box each and [the two] set out, and when a little away they opened [one], it was the tiger; Ronambhema was eaten. The elephant horse was now the orphan's and he brought it home. Some time later he offered the "khur" to his sisters and he fetched Niyama and Khiyama, and that time he brought them home After he ate, as ate, as he looked at him, he began to see a ghost. He threw his net over his shoulders and ran off. As he was running, his belly... making such sounds he went on. He went home and told his people what had happened to him, and he drank some water and died, it is said.

2. Kirānti-Kirawa or Bantawa

collected by Novel Kishor Rai

Tangwama-Khiyama and Hecchakuppa

Tangwama and Khiyama had a brother called Hecchakupa. Their father's name was Patisunga and mother was Dilungdungma. Their father went out towards north and mother went towards south. Tangwama and Khiyama the sisters used to look after their small brother Hecchakuppa in the absence of their parents. They used to feed him with pine-resin. They had a stepmother too. She used to ask Hecchakuppa on what he was living on. She used to inquire of him what food he used to get from his sisters.

Hecchakuppa was instructed by his sisters not to reveal anything to anyone. One day Hecchakuppa disclosed that he is being served with pine-resin by his sisters. After coming to know of the fact his step-mother put soot in the resin. Since that day the pine-resin wasn't good to eat any more. But they had a goat. It used to give anything one asked or wised. Their step-mother pretended to be sick. In spite of the witch doctor's treatment she never became well. But she went pretending to be ill. Their step-mother said that if they killed Hecchakuppa's goat and offered it to the God she would be well. So they killed the goat. They treated her by killing that goat. Both the sisters and the brother wept together when the goat was killed. Their step-mother pretended to be well when they kill the goat. The two sisters went out in search of food and left their brother at home. He fell asleep because of hunger. He was hunger-stricken. They thought their brother was dead and buried him. They kept a jar of pumpkin-shell on his graveyard. They kept a knife too. They planted a banana tree also. They covered his grave with twigs.

The pumpkin-shell was broken when they stamped upon it. They thought that their brother's skull was broken when the shell was broken. And they thought that their brother's bones were broken when the twigs were broken. They planned to go to their

parents' place when they finished burying their brother. Tangwama, the elder sister told Khiyama, the younger one that she would go to their father's place and she [the younger one] should go to mother's place. Khiyama, the younger one told her that she would go to the father's place and Tangwama should go to the mother's place. Tangwama went out to look for her sister. She asked Samphokdiwa, the grandfather but he repeatedly answered/replied that he didn't know anything. She went on asking him repeatedly about her sister but he didn't reply her positively. At last, he disclosed that he had eaten her up because she kept on teasing him. Then she asked him where he had kept her bones. Samphokdiwa showed her the bones where he had covered them.

Tangwama collected Khiyama's bones and kept them in a pig-trough. Gradually, a shape of a person began to be formed in the pig-trough. Tangwama used to weave the loom. Tangwama inquired with surprise who was weaving and got the reply that was Khiyama herself. Tangwama related all the stories that had happened. Khiyama said that she felt as if she was getting up from deep asleep. So both the sisters kept on weaving. Hecchakuppa, then got up and started calling his sisters. His sisters had passed their stool, unmated, spitted and blown off their nose in each corner of his graveyard. Their excreta used to reply whenever he called for his sisters. Hecchakuppa took out the knife and aimed at the banana-tree saying that he would look after the tree if that grows. And if it bore fruits he would eat them. The banana tree grew up and began to bear fruits also. Hecchakuppa climbed on the banana tree and went on eating the fruits.

One day Chakrondhima, a female giant came there and asked for the banana. Hecchakuppa hrew down some bananas but she refused to take those (bananas) saying that they had become dirty. She asked him to hold the bananas in between his toes and

given them to her. Therefore, he gave the bananas by holding them with his toes. But she refused to take those ones also saying that she wouldn't take them because they were held between his toes and became dirty. She asked him to tie them with his pig-tail and give them to her. Then he gave her (the bananas) by tying them with his pig-tail but she pulled him down together with the bananas. Chakrondhima took him to her place. And she ordered her daughter to kill the head-like of He Hecchakuppa and he would fall asleep then. After sleeping she should then kill by beating (him) with a pestle and hang up his limbs. Then she should fry body-flesh for her. And keep his blood in the pig-trough.

Then, Chakrondhima went out. Hecchakuppa was listening to the talk from outside. Chakrondhima's daughter was searching for Hecchakuppa's lice but she herself fell asleep instead. Without missing the opportunity, Hecchakuppa killed her with the Hecchakuppa killed her with the pestle. He fried the body-flesh for Chakrondhima. He hung up her limbs. And he kept her blood in the pig-trough. Hecchakuppa put on Chakrondhima's daughter's clothes and went up on the roof top. After sometime Chakrondhima came and drank the blood and became drunk. She ate the body-flesh and limbs also. He was shouting from there by uttering, "wakelama roinambhekma wakelama Chakrondhima roinambhebhe". Chakrondhima was telling her (him) not to speak not like that. He (she) however replied that he (she) was going to attract his (her) maternal uncle's attention. Again he shouted thrice by saying that Chakrondhima had eaten her own daughter.

In the meantime, she found out that Hecchakuppa was not her daughter and began to chase him. She went on chasing him. Hecchakuppa went out throwing fried-paddy and eggs to her. When she stopped to pick up the fried-paddy and egg to eat, he went off far

laving her behind. When she was about to reach up to him then he used to throw away the fried-paddy and eggs. He left her far behind when she used to pick up the paddy and egg. Hecchakuppa went on like that and reached near the river and the fisher-man helped him to cross the river too. Chakrondhima inquired of Hecchakuppa how he could cross the river. He told her that he collected ants and put them into his anus. She also collected ants and put them into her anus and jumped into the river and the river washed her away. She was carried away by the river which took her far away where Hecchakuppa's maternal uncle took her out. Hecchakuppa had also reached there. They asked her whether she or Hecchakuppa should be dragged.

She replied that she was too old to be dragged and should be put in a palanquin and Hecchakuppa should be dragged. Chakrondhima was tied up and dragged but Hecchakuppa was kept in a palanquin and care by his maternal uncles. They were served with a good meal when they reached at their uncle's house. They sent off their nephew with good food and a lot of wealth and asked him to open the bag when and whenever he found a very nice place or when he felt hungry and thirsty. Chakrondhima was to send off with a bag full of bears and tigers and they asked her to open the same when and where she would be afraid of something. They went on and on and Chakrondhima got afraid when night fell and she opened her bag and she was eaten up by the tigers immediately. Hecchakuppa reached a very beautiful field and opened his bag the place was full of wealth and he settled down there. After a few days, he remembered his sisters. He remembered his sisters Tangwama and Khiyama and how they used to live together.

Then he asked who could find out his sisters and a louse was ready to do it. The louse went to Tangwama and Khiyama's place and started biting them. They found that a

louse was biting them and killed it. The louse didn't return and a flea went for that search. The flea also started biting them and they killed that also. Again, a bug went out in search of them. They killed that also. A needle went out and began to prick them. They broke that too. A quill went for that search. The quill was jumping here and there and they caught hold of that and burnt off it. Finally, a cock wanted to go and went out to search the sisters.

The cock reached them and started crowing. They drove away that cock thinking that it might belong to someone else. The cock used to come back again and again and danced and crowed to them. They used to drive that away and again the cock used to come back. They began to follow the cock and they reached their brother Hecchakuppa's place. They were surprised to see him and wondered how he was alive and so well settled. They were ashamed to talk to their brother and remained silent. Their brother talked to them many times but they didn't talk at all. He erected poles and hung some meat for them. After doing all these things for them he danced and sang for them but they didn't come down and didn't talk too. He hung sour fruits for them. They started salivating while looking at the sour fruits and they came down and started eating them. They began to dance and sing for their brother.

Tangwama and Khiyama began to explain through songs what had happened to them earlier. They talked to each other about their childhood sufferings. They also recollected how their parents had left them and they had been troubled by their stepmother. Then Hecchakuppa also narrated his stories how he got up and suffered how he happened to meet his uncles and how Chakrondhima was killed. They wept and wept for one another. Hecchakuppa told them how he got the wealth. He also told them how he

searched them out. After that, they all lived together happily, and spent their time singing, dancing and talking together.

3. Kirānti-Dumi

collected by George van Driem

The original family of Man

It is said that [the first father] *Mukuli-Yari:ta* and [the first mother] *Dakhili-Surita* gave birth to *To:ma* [the eldest daughter], *Khe:ma* [the youngest daughter] and *Khopsi-Likpa* [their son and youngest offspring]. Having done no more than give birth to the children *To:ma*, *Khe:ma* and *Khopsi-Likpa*, they just sat there. The two elder sisters were a bit big, but *Khopsi-Likpa* was just small. Their mother did not raise the three little ones. Their mother just abandoned them in the jungle. At that time, there were only savages [living in the jungle]. In the jungle there lived only cannibals. So, the two elder sisters raised that *Khopsi-Likpa*.

Then one day *To:ma* and *Khe:ma* both went and picked up from out of the *dhiki*, the milstone and the mortar of the savages and the cannibals all the grains that the savages had tossed out [and left behind] and brought these back with them. "Oh, my younger sister have both gone off and hidden themselves," [*Khopsi-Likpa* is said to have thought. So, *Khopsi-Likpa* went to sleep. Meanwhile, *To:ma* and *Khe:ma*] picked up the grain and bought it back with them. They cooked it in a small, little pot and covered it with a lid, the small cauldron.

Then, as they were cleaning each other of lice, their younger brother *Khopsi-Likpa* lay fast asleep. "Let's go [they said to each other]. Having picked up the paddy and brought it, they had cooked it in a small pot.

[Then when *Khopsi-Likpa* awoke], he went about dancing gleefully saying, "Both my elder sister and my younger sister have cooked me a small pot of rice, a small pot of rice for me!" Then he knocked over the rice in the small pot. *Khopsi-Likpa* danced about, [saying] "my two elder sisters have cooked me rice". Then, as he danced, he knocked over the rice in the small pot. The whole day long, he said to have carried on in that fashion. [In this way] *Khopsi-Likpa* totally bummed out both *To:ma* and *Khe:ma*. So *To:ma* and *Khe:ma* both deliberated, [saying] "Let's kill off our younger brother!". They consulted each other. They said [to *To:ma* and *Khe:ma*], "Come here! Let us clean the lice off of you (literally: Let's kill lice)!" At that point they began to kill the lice. Then as they sat there killing the lice, *Khopsi-Likpa* fell fast asleep in the rice straw. At this point the two sisters constructed one bamboo platform. On top of it, on top of that bamboo platform, they put tiny dried out twigs. They placed a gourd there as an effigy of [*Khopsi-Likpa's*] head. Then, pretending, they said, "Let's kill him!"

To:ma and *Khe:ma* danced on top of that platform. The dried out wood snapped and crackled, "[His] legs have snapped!" they are said to have cried. "[His] bones have broken!" they cried. As the gourd got smashed, they cried, "His head has gotten smashed!" "It appears we've killed off our younger sibling! Let's split the scene and be off!" [As they left,] it turned out that they had left one dagger behind. They left a dagger behind and split and were off, it is said. "Well, all right, let us go our separate ways and let us plan flowers!" They are said to have sown marigold. "Which of you will die? Which of you will survive? Each of theirs^d, theirs^d we will be our^{di} very own, our^{di} own!" They cried. Let us come back later on to look! Which of you will survive? Which of you will die? Then, they sowed the flowers and split up and went on their separate ways.

As they split up the eldest sister *To:ma* is said to have gone up above to the mountain source up to the source of *gracias* melt water, up toward the place where water springs forth. As for *Khe:ma* she should have taken the water sources down to the lowlands of the Terai. Then later on *Khe:ma* returned to the place where they had planted the flowers. But as it turned out, she then met her maternal uncle there, the night owl. He was engaged in the weaving of mats and baskets and the spinning and weaving of yarn. He was busy spinning yarn and weaving. *Khe:ma* sat there ridiculing her maternal uncle, the night owl. Her uncle's wrath was aroused. "Open your mouth," he said. "All right" she taunted him. "I've opened it. Now, what are you going to do to me?" The night owl flew up and entered... into *Khe:ma's* mouth! The maternal uncle devoured *Khe:ma's* liver and heart. After that, the uncle emerged again. After the maternal uncle came out, he went on spinning and weaving. He just went on spinning and weaving in great concentration.

At that time, her elder sister *To:ma* came down from the mountain source above. She descended. She looked at the flowers they had planted. She saw that the flower of her younger sibling had withered and died. "Since our maternal uncle [has been with us], her body has not been well," she thought. "My younger sister has been eaten up by maternal uncle," she felt inside.

She went off to ask, to the place where the maternal uncle was ever weaving, where he was spinning and weaving. She put the question to him, saying, "It appears that my younger sibling's flower has gone and died. You will [certainly already] know of this, maternal uncle! What happened that my younger sibling had died?" The maternal uncle did not speak. He just kept on sitting there pouting. *To:ma* is said to have asked him again and again. "Well, do you persist in deriding me?" [was the only response.] The

eldest born sister thought herself: "My maternal uncle appears to have killed her and eaten her up, my younger sibling." So then she spoke, "All right then, maternal uncle of mine! Well, where are my younger sibling's bones and remains? Show me!" But the maternal uncle spoke not. He just kept on pouting. "Come on and show me!" she cried. Losing this temper under the persistent questioning, the maternal uncle said, "They're way over there! I tossed them out!" "Whereabouts are they?" she said. [He replied] "Go a looking somewhere over there!"

As *To:ma*, the elder sister, went about looking, it is said that the bones and remains just lying there in a big heap. Afterwards, *To:ma* put her bones and remains in a deep circular wooden trough (*Nep.ari*) and immersed her remains and bones and everything together in ashes and water, and she placed the *ari* inside a *doko*-basket and covered it with cloth and rags. Then, it happened that the elder sister went to the hallowed place *Dzuwa-dzum* and spun yarn, wove cloth and sat at a loom there.

As she wove the clothes, she would take a look inside the *doko* every so often while she kept on weaving. Every once in a while, she would look at the ashes in the *ari*-trough in the *doko*. She saw what was going on inside that which she had covered with clothes, starting from one side: her head and navel, the flesh of *Khe:ma*'s body began re-assembling itself. Subsequently, her feathers sprouted up all over her body. Then after that, her wings sprouted on her back, on the back of her body. When she had become whole, her feathers sprouted forth and her wings sprouted forth. She finished growing.

She was about to fly off. At that point, the elder sister *To:ma* has also just finished weaving the cloth, and *Khe:ma* too had just emerged having become all just as before. Then she spoke. "Elder sister, I have slept so long," she said. And elder sister *To:ma* told

her, "You have slept all right. From now on don't you rile up maternal uncle, the night owl!"

Maternal uncle ate you up, and after I went back to look for your bones and remains which he had tossed out way over there and fetched them back and immersed them in ashes and water in an *ari*-trough, now you have come out looking as you did before!" When she had also said this, she went on to say, "Now be off in earnest to the place you had gone off toward the other day!" As she was on the verge of flying away, the elder sister *To:ma* seized her. Then she said, "Oh elder sister, I seem to have slept so terribly long."

"You are sleeping all right. Did you pester maternal uncle when you had been told not to rile him up? Maternal uncle had killed you and eaten you up. Now that I have picked up and gathered your bones and remains which maternal uncle had tossed out, and mixed them together with ashes, water and wet ash paste in an *ari*-trough you have been resurrected. It is not so that you have slept. From now on, don't get maternal uncle riled up! Go now to where you were headed the other day!"

"And I too will go to where I was headed yesterday."

They (mankind) are said to have learned the craft of weaving clothes at *Dzawadzuma*. [Meanwhile] when *Khopsi-Likpa* got up from his sleep, there was on one there. There was only just a dagger. *Khopsi-Likpa* chopped pieces of wood here and there and made himself one small dwelling house [diminutive]. After that, a *dhukur*-bird came flying along. The following day, he made and set a snare. He killed the *dhukur* in the snare. Then, *Khopsi-Likpa* removed the *dhukur* from the snare. He kindled a fire and roasted [the bird]. When he broke the bird open, there were grain of millet, wheat, maize

and barley and other grains in the gizzard. He sowed these. There the millet and wheat later on sprouted up as grain and came up.

[Then, *Khopsi-Likpa*] manufactured a net, wove a net, wove a net to catch (lit, kill) fish with. Carrying the net, he went off over toward the river. In order to catch fish *Khopsi-Likpa* carried that net to the river and cast it. Having cast [and drawn in] the net, he took the fish from the net. He brought these fish home and ate them there. Having brought them back with him, he cooked them and ate them. The following day he went too. Then he cast the net into the river. However, not a fish was caught (lit, killed) not a fish came out. "It appears that a stone has been caught in the net," *Khopsi-Likpa* thought. He threw back the stone. Then he cast out the net yet another time. But the same stone came out. Again he threw the stone back. He cast the net. And the very small stone as before came out again. He cast the net as many as seven times. Seven times the same stone as before was drawn in. So *Khopsi-Likpa* thought, "No fish have been caught. Well we'll just have to grind up some hot chilies and eat that stone then!" He brought the stone in his creel. Here he placed the stone in the *khoksim* (viz. a wicker basket for utensils and foodstuffs suspended above the fireplace). *Khopsi-Likpa* put the stone in the *khoksim* on the higher of the two bamboo platforms on high above the fireplace.

The following day he went hither and thither about his business as usual. Ever since he had put the stone away, ever since he had brought the stone back with him, *Khopsi-Likpa's* house got all nice and clean and tidied up. And as for food, it would be set out and served. Whatever, he returned home from having gone off hither and thither, the house would be all nice and cleaned up. All of the food would be only the best. The rice and stuff would be cooked, and the food would just be there all prepared. He would see

how it had all been arranged. He would look around in the house. But wherever he looked in the house, there was no one to be found. Now, whenever he came home in the evenings, everything would be nice. *Khopsi-Likpa* cried out, "Who here is the one who is cleaning up in my house and keeping an eye on me? Who are you?" A savage cannibal woman [who happened to be lurking about within earshot of the house] cried in response. "It's me!" "Who is it," *Khopsi-Likpa* cried, "that is taking care of my comfort and well-being?" "It's me," she cried and came into the house. After she had finished eating and drinking, she cried out. "Well, I'll just be on my way!" *Khopsi-Likpa* thought to himself, "Is this the one who has been doing it?! There doesn't seem to be anyone else." The following day he went off in just the same way as before. In the early evening he returned in just the same fashion. He went off and returned in the same way as he had come back the preceding day. In the same way as on the preceding day both the house had been cleaned up and the rice had been cooked. The following day in the evening it happened just as it had the preceding day.

The following day he shouted out just as on the evening of the preceding day, "Oh on who cares for my well-being, who watches over me and who cooks my meals for me!" "That's me!" she cried that following day and the savage cannibal woman who it had been on the evening of the preceding day strode in. *Khopsi-Likpa* felt great anxiety in his heart. To look at her, she was ugly. She had no manner or correct behavior. The person herself was ugly.

It seemed [to *Khopsi-Likpa* as though this could not be her. So he laced the winnowing basket next to the millstone. Then he went off just like that, making a terrible racket as he went. No sooner had he gotten a ways far off [from the house] ever so slowly

and stealthily. He returned in such a way that no one would come to know about it. He curled himself up and hid behind the winnowing basket next to the millstone and next to the door. [*Khopsi-Likpa* thought] "Who will come out here now? Will yesterday's savage cannibal woman come? Who will it be?"

At that time the sun reached this point [the narrator points up at the zenith to show the position of the noonday sun] in broad daylight the stone in the *khoksim* that he had brought back and placed in that *khoksim*, the stone above the fireplace, turned into a young lady and shot forth [from the *khoksim*] and came down.

Having picked up and taken out the broom, she swept the house. Sweeping all the trash, she removed it [from the house]. At that time, she came out through the door-way. In the doorway, *Khopsi-Likpa* seized her. "Don't seize me! Don't! Don't seize me! You threw me into the river. [In so doing,] my bones have broken. My arms are broken too, and my legs are broken as well. My entire body hurts. Don't seize me!" In this way *Na:ghile:m* related all the matters which were on her mind. Having caught her as he had done, from the tack [into the river], her limbs had been aching up to the present moment! Then they became spouse(m.) and spouse(f.) They became wife and husband and wife. With *Khopsi-Likpa* there was a wife, and with *Na:ghile:m* there was a husband. *Khopsi-Likpa* and *Na:ghile:m* performed the rainbow ritual, the *Na:ghi*. They performed the ceremony of the Eternal Name. They assumed their names. They performed the *Tsomdam* festival.

Khopsi-Likpa said, "Let's perform the ceremony of the Eternal Name!"

Na:ghile:m said, "But how are we to go about it? How are the names to be given?"

Khopsi-Likpa replied [as he went through the actions], "The names should be given

acting in this fashion." *Na:ghile:m* said, "Do you have any relatives (lit. people) or don't you?" "I have two elder sisters, *To:ma* and *Khe:ma*," *Khopsi-Likpa* replied. *Na:ghile:m* said, "They must be summoned!" and *Khopsi-Likpa* said, *Khe:ma* is way down on the level plains of the Terai, and *To:ma* is way up at the source of the glacial meltwater." *Na:ghile:m* said, "Well all right them, who must be sent in order to look for them?" [Because there were no civilized men on earth at this time,] they sent a louse. And it is said that the louse went as they had sent it. But [the louse] said nothing. They'll just keep on biting you like that! They just do no leave people alone. So, they sent a flea. They hop about and shoot up. That flea went and bit them in their arsehole. They felt with their hand, and to their surprise it was a flea. "Where do you come from to bite me?" [one of them] said.

Having come to where *To:ma* and *Khe:ma* were, they bit [the flea] and let it go and sent it on its way. So, *Khopsi-Likpa* asked, "Well did you meet them?" "Meet them I did," said the flea. "After they bit me in the head, I wrapped my head up in the husk of a maize cob and came back," the flea reported. So, they sent billy goat, and it went. It went. It went on its way. The goat did not find them. "It may come back any second now," they thought as they cast glances at the road.

They performed the rituals of the *Na:ghi* ceremony. They performed the *Na:ghi* ceremony the *Ti:dam* ritual, the *Tsi:dam* ritual and the ceremony of taking the Eternal Name. "The billy goat that has gone to look for *To:ma* and *Khe:ma* doesn't appear to be coming back." They thought and commenced with the performance of the rituals. The billy goat did not return. *Khopsi-Likpa* became angry. So he said to a cock, "Go off in order to look for *To:ma* and *Khe:ma*, and he sent the cock off. And so it happened that

the cock ran into them It crowed saying, "Cock-a-doole-doo *Khopsi-Likpa* !" "Why is it that this cock is crying out the name of our brother of our parental home whom we put to death the other day?" [they thought] and, when they threw some rock or stick at the cock, they knocked one feather off of it. They picked it up and held it.

[At this point in the narrative, as the chase scene begins, the narrator switches to the narrative present.]

The cock took to the road. At that time, as the cock ran along the road, *To:ma* and *Khe:ma*, also both took off in hot pursuit. When they had gone a little ways, they were about to lose track of the cock. At that point, further down the road, the cock cried out as before, "Cock-a-doodle-doo *Khopsi-Likpa*!" Then, just as before, they tossed sticks and rocks at the cock. Again they knocked off a feather. They knocked off the feather in seven different places [in addition to the spot where they had knocked off the very first feather], and went to fetch it. They knocked off one feather. They picked it up and beheld it. They were charmed by it. They loved it. They saw it was beautiful.

As they carried on in this fashion, the cock managed to lead *To:ma* and *Khe:ma* all the way to the place where *Khopsi-Likpa* was performing the ceremony of the Eternal Name, the *Na:ghi*, the *Ti:dam*, the *Tsi:dam* ritual. Then when they had been brought to the place of sacrifice the where *Khopsi-Likpa* was conducting the Eternal Name ritual of the *Na:ghi* ceremony, they seemed to feel ashamed in *Khopsi-Likpa's* place of worship. "The two elder sisters have come here," *Khopsi-Likpa* said and he showed them everything. They felt ashamed. Then he showed them the *ri:si-pham*, they felt it was sour.

They came on over to the place of sacrifice for the Eternal Name ceremony. They came on over to within the heart area, in the ceremonial arena, in *Khopsi-Likpa's*

ceremonial arena where he performed the Eternal Name ritual. At that point, unexpectedly the billy goat arrived in the place where they had all gathered and were sitting down together. At that point, *Khopsi-Likpa* became angry and told the billy goat, "Don't you come into this, my place of offering, my Eternal Name!" That's what he told the billy goat then and there. But now, the wrath of the billy goat was unleashed, "You sent me to look for both your elder sisters! I have searched. I did not find them. From searching and searching, I have grown totally depressed. Now, I have come back and you tell me, 'You go away! Don't come over here!' All that you have told me won't do. I have searched. I have not found. Now, while I come back, you get angry with me. Now my anger too has aroused. If you do not take me [as a sacrifice] in your name giving ceremony, in your *Ti:dam* and *Tsi:dam* ritual, my wrath will truly be ashamed! And if you do not put my flesh [into your ceremony], may your Eternal Name ceremony, your *Na:ghi*, *Ti:dam* and *Tsi:dam* not take place without my voice!"

This is why the shaman and medicine man must perform their rituals and utter their predictions in the manner of a goat in the language of the goats. They must bleat like a goat when making prediction, performing rituals and reciting myths. It is forbidden to eat goat's meat. It is forbidden for the shamans, the adult members of the household and for the father and mother to eat the flesh of goat. If you (impersonal) eat it, disease will enter your body. Except for the adult members of the household and the father and mother, it's all right for the small [prepubescent] children to eat meat. They have cooked it somewhere for off outdoors and then only come back in the house after they have washed their mouths and hands well. Such is the oral tradition of us. Dumi Rai, of us *Muraho?-Bi'rCsmi*. These words are not of the present. Having arisen long ago in Time

Promordial, and having come down, they have passed it on down. We are obliged to do [that which we d] through the shaman.

To:ma and *Khe:ma* and their male sibling *Khopsi-Likpa* decided they would split up and go their separate ways. As that time the tradition instituted by both *To:ma* and *Khe:ma*, they picked up the cock's feather and brought it over "[For a woman] to perform [the sacred ritual] in the house of one's male siblings after she is married is unacceptable. That we do it is therefore no good. We shall go once and for all."

We so, after that, they each placed four feathers of a cock [in *Khopsi-Likpa*'s house]. Four were placed by *To:ma*, four by *Khe:ma*. "You keep these feathers. When you look at them, think of us!" Four *kathuwa*-vessals of millet brandy, four *kathuwa*-vessals full of millet beer. *To:ma* and *Khe:ma* said, "From this day forward [we all] go our separate ways! Remember us!" and *To:ma* and *Khe:ma* related [the following matters]. They discussed the matter of young womenfolk undergoing the ritual. The customary practice was instituted by *To:ma* and *Khe:ma*. That which both *To:ma* and *Khe:ma* had done, undergoing the ritual long, long ago by the fire fireplace, that is the oral tradition which both *To:ma* and *Khe:ma* have passed on down to us. Only when the young womenfolk of today act [impersonal first plural inclusive] in this very fashion, as in the tale of *To:ma* and *Khe:ma*, and undergo [impersonal first plural inclusive] the rituals at least once, can they feel content. It would be wrong if we, we Dumi Rai, were to give up these rituals.

4. Kirānti-Khaling

collected by Sueyoshi-Ingrid Toba

An ancient story about an orphan

The story goes: There were three children of one man. And when the man died, the children had not grown up yet. However, when the two sisters of the boy had grown up, they went to hoe spinach. And although they told their brother: "Don't go!" he did not obey. And the girls were called Grom and Laas. Those two, Grom and Laas said: "You orphan, don't go, or else you'll afterwards die with hunger and thirst. Then what will you eat, what will you drink?" They said, but he did not obey. And so they went. And really, when his sisters were hoeing spinach, he got hungry. That boy's name was Khaakcaalap. And when Khaakcaalap went to his older sister to get some snack, she said: "Go over there to Laas," and when he had gone, she said: "Go over there to Grom," so at last he died.

And because they did not eat, they got hungry, and Grom and Laas also got tired, and when the spinach plant split, they said: "Hey split that Khaakcaalap's bone and tooth!" And they put a bottle gourd in there. And when it broke, they said: "Hey that Khaakcaalap's head broke." And again they held counsel together what to do about Khaakcaalap. "Hey, let's go to the sämsi tree and we will fly," and when they had counsel together: "whose sämsi tree sprouts, that one will be kept alive, may we all live long." They agreed and flew to Dikdel. As for Khaakcaalap, after he had been overcome by hunger, he woke up, startled, and killed a bird.

And then afterwards again, when he began to fish, there was a man long long ago, whose mother was at the point of death, his aunt (on mother's side) was full of contempt. And he lived in the village of his uncle (on mother's side). And when Khaakcaalap pulled his hook, he comes up on the tip of the hook like a fish. And the man turned into a stone, he did so himself, but Khaakcaalap caught him right away. And as there was a basket, he

said: "I thought I killed you, and in turn it is a stone." And again he fished in some other place, and again it happened the same way. "Later, I should make this into a pestle to grind pepper," he said and took it.

And he took his house and put it down in Chasku. And as he had again gone out and come back, he found a meal ready at his house. "Who made this?" he called out. At that an old woman said: "I made it." "Let's eat and they ate together. And so the two of them ate for many days. And one day a woman said: "This is not your servant, there is another one", and with that, she covered her with a basket. "But you know your servant, she really was here and worked with her stone nestle. And when she went outside, he caught her right away. At this, she said: "once when you caught me my bones and my teeth split, when you caught me the second time, my foot and my hand split, don't catch me!" And when he let her go, they had a talk together. He said: "I just now did not know you."

And thus the two of them became wife and husband, and when they made their house and the man went out in order to fetch a beam, and he only brought back a straight one his wife said: "This orphan, I wonder what happened?" And just then, there was a swallow in a tree and its tail was forked, and when she had shown him this, he brought a beam like that. And with great effort they built their house and later on they became very rich and the wife asked: "since there were no sisters of yours we became orphan landlords. Orphan, if you know of any one of yours. Go bring them," his wife said. To that Khaakcaalap said: "Somewhere there were tow sisters of mine. Where they went I do not know," he said.

At that time his sisters lived on the ridge near Dikdel and as they sent a flea and a louse as their go-between, they went, but the flea went fast while the louse went slowly. The flea forgot what Khaakcaalap had told him, but the louse remembered. And the flea said to the louse: "I forgot," he said. And the louse said: "Carry me and I will tell you." And he did and louse told him and as they went they said: "Oh, now where is the offering?" and when they had killed it, they did not cut it.

And Khaakcaalap sent another rooster and as he arrived the rooster, what did he say? "Khaakcaalap Waylam, pokonokoo", he crowed. And Grom and Laas the sisters said: "What does this wild fowl say? Long ago our brother died", "what is the bird offering for?", and having said this they threw the lease rod of the loom. Now the rooster had one very beautiful tail feather. And: "oh, how pretty is the bird offering", they said and picked it up.

Again the rooster said nothing and they went to pick up wood. And so they came to their brother's house and when they saw their brother they were ashamed and flew to the ridge. And Khaakcaalao dried some sour herb where they had run away and said: "Now this is how my two sisters run away". We two, I and your sister-in-law have become a couple of orphans. I was thinking to marry you two and that's what I sent the rooster for". He told them.

And he gave them into marriage. They cooked a meal. And Grom shook her wings and danced. And Laas shook her wings and danced and they ate the meal. And then they separated. And our custom comes from that. 66. When they think of go-between, of wedding, of house building, they recite thus, the knowledgeable men, the

priests do. I myself recite a little bit too. 68. Our customs are like this, if you please. 69.
So now, my talk is done.

5. Kirānti-Yamphu

collected by Roland Rutgers

Kakcripa

Her husband went fishing. Long before, she had been the second wife. The second wife had gone down into the river. [He went to look for] his [second] wife. 'May be [I'll find] my wife' -the first [wife] of the one who goes fishing was sitting on the lower side [of the fire place] and weaving a rug-Then he, the father, the husband, came back with a fish like this. 'Shall I cut [the fish] up then? Shall I chop [the fish] up a little and cook it?' he asks his wife, the one who was sitting weaving the rug on the lower side [of the fireplace].

He had to cook the fish up here- just like where you're sitting - and just like down there, she was weaving the rug. Then that fish started crying out 'Whole, whole.' [The fish] cried 'Whole, whole. 'So they cooked [the fish] whole, after putting it in a large cooking vessel. Then he dropped [the cooking vessel]. It was this big, a large fish, like this.

So when he dropped [the cooking vessel] and when [the water] got split, the one who was weaving the rug at the lower [side of the fireplace] had her skin scalded off. 'At last I've had the chance to get back at the other wife,' that fish cried, you see. [The fish] cried out like that. The one [sitting] below [the fireplace] got burnt [till her skin] peeled off, that mother, who was weaving the rug. 'Now if I stay in this village, my wounds will increase. Carry me far away to a humid place, a place with lots of vegetable smart weed, a place with water, humid and marshy, I will probably only cool down there.

In this sunshine, I will most probably get steamed even more and then [more] wounds will appear.' she said. 'Lead me far away.' So then her husband, the man, the one who had been fishing, carried her away. He laid her down in a place full of vegetable smart weed, a humid place. Then Kakcrikpa, with his elder sister, who was mad, went daily to his mother in order to feed [the child] milk. 'Come and bring the child in order to be fed.

Just keep living at home. Bring me the child [every day],' she said that's what their mother told them, [that's] what she said Then Kakcrikpa and the mad girl -Kakcripa was the younger sibling and the mad girl was his elder sister. They take [the child] and go and examine their mother for lice. Because of the humid cold, the wounds everywhere had healed a bit. Then [Kakcrikpa] takes [the child] to let it have the breast and brings [the child] back again.

'Was your mother there?' 'Yes she was, 'they cry at their father's place. 'Did she give [the child] milk?' 'Yes,' they cry at their father's place. 'Did she give [the child] milk?' 'Yes they cry. 'Take [the child] today tomorrow as well,' their father then says to them, All right. So they keep taking [the child]. [Kakcripa] brings [the child] to be fed. They also set themselves to examine their mother for lice.

They look for lice] for about a week. There's nothing there. A week later, 'Mother horns are springing up on your head! What is this?' they said to her. 'Don't touch them! They're this thing of old people,' their mother cried. 'Mother, what kind of old people's things spring up like this?' he says. 'These, these are horn, I tell you. This is the place where our horns spring up. We also have them here,' she tells them.

So for another two or three days, he comes and takes [the child with him] and says this every time. One day he takes [the child] along. There's a deer standing there. She had turned into a deer. This comes later on. Now I'll tell it straight away. Only later does this matter of the deer come. [The deer] was standing there like this. Her children only say 'Mother, mother.' [She has become] a deer.

Could it really be your mother, [our] Mother? Our mother's vanished.' Their mother bounded away, straight to the place full of vegetable smart weed. She had become a deer. After that they came back. Father, mother wasn't there today. Was it mother or what?' they cried. 'There was only a deer that bounded away. Yesterday she already had horn. Our mother had horns springing up, and [today] a red deer bounded away,' they said to their father. 'Well, all right, let [the deer] bound away.

It was your mother, I guess. That's what she's become. It's too bad for me! What had I caught the fish for (i.e. to no purpose)? I had taken a second wife long before. She took on this hue, the one who killed your mother,' father and children cried. They were to go and look again the next day, taking the child with them. So they went. When they were on their way, the mad one says, 'This road'.

Kakrikpa says, 'No follow the difficult road,' Kakrikpa says, 'Follow the difficult road.' Kakrikpa says, 'Follow the difficult road.' The mad one says, 'We should follow the easy road.' 'No we must follow the difficult road, elder sister.' 'We have to follow this easy road. 'They went. While they're looking for their mother, [there was] this old demoness (one of sixteen demoness, this one living in the jungle and believed to afflict people with illness and diseases) by the river.

No, not a demoness, but a demon-witch She was busy rinsing out intestines. So this demoness was rinsing was rinsing out intestines. 'Grandma, grandma, the mad one called,'Grandma!' she said 'Don't call her, don't call her, that old woman bites. Don't call her, elder sister.' 'Grandma, Kakcrikpa here says you are an old woman,' his elder sister cried. Oh dear, 'Grandchild, youngsters, dear children, come down, come down,' that old woman said to them.

She summoned them. 'Give [the child], dear children, 'I'll carry the child. 'They let her carry the child. While they let her carry the child, the old woman took them to her home, what [happened]? On the way she devoured the child. 'Look, I've put the child to sleep, I've put the child to sleep,' she said. 'I've put the child to sleep. She had already gone to sleep, unlike you two would have done.

On the way, she had devoured the child, but that was what she told them. In the evening the sun went down. 'Grandma, has our younger sibling gone sleep?' Kakcrikpa asks. 'Of course [our sibling] has gone to sleep ', says his elder sister, says the mad first - born. At night, 'Well, 'well where you two are you two going to sleep, Kakcrikpa? Let's sleep in the basket [above the fireplace], all of us, children, kids!' she says to them, she said to them. 'All right, grandma, I'll sleep with you, I'll sleep together with you,' cried the mad one, the first-born. And then Kakcrikpa, where will you be sleeping? Sleep in the basket [above the fireplace]!' she says. 'No, the demons of the basket [above the fireplace] will eat me,' he called. So then, 'Up on the drying shelf' there was another, a different basket above the basket [which hung above the fireplace] When she said, 'Sleep on the drying shelf!' [Kakcrikpa said] 'No, the drying shelf demons will eat me,' Well then, sleep on first floor.' 'The demons of the first floor will eat me,' Kakcrikpa cried.

Well then, sleep up on the roof.' 'All right!' 'Sleep up on the roof.' 'All right, I'll sleep on the roof.

Will the mad one sleep with grandma?' 'I'm going to sleep with my grandmother, I'll sleep with grandmother,' she cried. So she went to sleep [while Kakcrikpa went up]. Then, he [Kakcrikpa] moved creeper trunks about for a long while. He moved them. The two slept. In the morning the mad one got up and he came down too.

Then day after, 'Kakcrikpa, are you going up again?' 'Yes, I'm going up again.' He stayed on the first floor. 'Ow, ow, ' The mad one cried, his elder sister cried. And then 'Grandma, why is my elder sister crying 'ow, ow'? My younger sibling isn't getting up either,' he said. 'The old woman's bones are pricking her. 'The old woman's bones are jabbing her. 'What do you know? You, Kakcrikpa, quarrel [with yourself] up there,' she claims.

She calls upstairs. And the next morning where on earth...? She's eaten her. She's eaten her. She's eaten her, the old grandmother has eaten his elder sister. 'Where has my elder sister gone?' he says 'unlike you [who get up late]. She has already gone to the water-place.' 'But she's have done], she's gone to gather firewood.' she says.

Then a little later, while she' cooking the meal, after cooking the toes and fingers, she dished them up for Kakcrikpa. She dished them up for Kakcrikpa, his elder sister's while saying 'Stir this a minute,' she dished them up. He looked and [there were] his sister's hands and feet. The old woman had eaten his sister. So he found out, the shaman. She had devoured [his sister]. He took [the hands and feet] and dug a grave and buried them. 'She has eaten both my younger sibling and my elder sister.

What am I to do about this old woman? We're all finished. Even though I had said not to go by the easy road, my elder sister said we should. Where so our father staying? Things have turned out like this for us.' he cried and wept. He wept and went to track down [has siblings] 'my elder sister hasn't come from anywhere grandmother, so I'm going to sleep up on the roof.' he said and went.

He went [upstairs]. That day was the day [she was going] to eat Kakcrikpa. She had already eaten his elder sister. She took an iron rod like this one and made it red hot. To poke Kakcrikpa [who was sitting] up there, to eat him she does sizzle [with the rod] Sizzle [the rod] says and she tastes it. 'Oh, it's bitter. He isn't ripe yet, he isn't ripe yet.

Kakcrikpa isn' ripe yet,' she says. The next day she pokes [the creeper trunks] like that again. [Kakcrikpa] had moved all these creeper trunks up to where he sleeps. One day her child -this old woman has a child. A daughter, that is. She has a daughter. So then she instructed her [daughter]. Kakcrikpa listens. 'This Kakcrikpa just isn't getting ripe up there.' The old woman seizes [kakcrikpa] and locks him up in a basket.

She locks him up in a basket. 'Child, hang on a minute, wait. You can't do anything with this Kakcrikpa he's bitter, he's not ripe. Today I seized him and locked him up in a basket. Child, you kill him. Heat some hot water and pour it over the basket and kill him by scalding him,' her mother said to her. 'All right mother, I'll burn him with boiling water, ' the child said that's what the child said to the old woman.

Then inside the basket, when [the child's] mother was away, Kakckrikpa's hair soon grew this long, flowing and gleaming, 'Elder brother, what has made your hair that long? You're somebody who really likes hair.' 'Child, dear, try and lock yourself up in

this basket for a moment. Then your [hair] too will grow like this. When your mother locked me up, my hair grew, ' he said. 'Come on and untie me.'

I'll be sure to come. You lock yourself up and I'll tie you for a minute. Then when you sit there, your hair will grow like this,' he lied to her. 'All right elder brother, I'll go inside and I'll untie you.' She untied Kakrikpa. She let him go outside. She let him go outside. Then her child [that old woman's child], went inside. He tied her up.

When he poured boiling water over her, he finished her child off by pouring water over her. How would his hair ever have grown? The hair didn't grow. He was a shaman. So he completely finished her off by pouring hot water over her. What did she say? This once I'll say it right. (The storyteller's husband keeps correcting her.) 'Hang the entrails on the ladder. Collect the blood in the large wooden mortar lay out the meat on a bamboo mat, Kakrikpa's [meat], when I come,' her mother had said.

Kakrikpa had heard this. Then her child went inside [the basket] and [Kakrikpa] scalded her to death with hot water. Then [Kakrikpa] collected the blood in the large wooden mortar. Then she came running to the large wooden mortar. That old woman came running. She came, furious with anger. 'Today Kakrikpa was ready to escape. He was ready to escape,' she thought.

So that day she came running. 'This is Kakrikpa's blood,' she said. And she drank [the blood] from the large wooden mortar. Then she came from the door. 'Kakrikpa's entrails,' she said. That old woman ate those intestines bit by bit. She ate them. Then the old woman ate the meat from bamboo mat. She ate it. Then, 'Gosh, this is really Kakrikpa's meat,' she said, and picking the pieces up, she set herself down to eat it.

Then [Kakcrikpa] asked the old woman, 'Mother, you ate meat. As for me, I'm [still] hungry. Where are all the seeds and grains, the millet, the lentils and the maize? I will also mix some and roast and eat some,' he said. 'Right there, roast and eat, search and eat. [The stuff] is there, near the entrance of first floor.' She said.

She was laid up from having eaten too much, [her stomach] throbbing. Kakcrikpa made a bundle of the grains. He made a bundle. Then the old woman went to sleep. What [did] he [then do]? Her child- there was a small piece of meat [you see] her child wore a ring. There was a bit of meat with the ring. But [the ring] just wouldn't come off.

He scorched [that piece of meat]. 'Hey, child, but he's wearing a ring, this one is, youngest sibling. He had taken youngest sibling's clothes off and had put them on. So 'Mother, he wouldn't agree [to die]. I gave him the ring to divert [his attention]. I allowed him to wear [the ring]. Only then did he consent to die,' he said. 'Well, that's fine,' she said.

She burnt it. Her child, the food, the meat, that is, cried 'thuiii' [spitting]. In the fireplace [this meat] cried. When the child's food cried 'thuii', she said, 'Oh dear, but the food is crying "thuii", ' she said. 'You've looked after him as your own child, of course he'll cry. Up till today, you've looked after him as your child. Why wouldn't he cry?' 'Well, that's all right then,' she cried.

Having swallowed that too, she immediately fell asleep. Then in shed- Kakcrikpa gathered all the seeds and grains. Having gathered them, he carried them on his back. He also smashed an earthen pot. He loaded the shards too, putting them in a bag. Then he carried her to the shed and tied her up.

He tied her with reeds. He tied that old woman up. He stuck the [toothed] sickle on the other side of the door, in the crack between wall and ceiling. Having shut the door, he lit a fire. 'Oh no, how did Kakrikpa make me eat my child? With what am I to open this door?' she cried, 'Between the door and ceiling,' he said.

Kakrikpa ran off carrying the foodstuffs. Kakrikpa ran. Because [he thinks that] she'll catch up with him, he runs. She found the sickle, untied herself and came out and chased him. 'Chase me, chase me, old woman, come on and chase me!' Kakrikpa says. 'Well, I suppose I must.' She chases him.

'You made me eat my child. You murderer, Kakrikpa!' What? You ate her up, old woman, murderer, you ate them up. You ate my elder sister, you ate my younger sister, you ate your own child. Now chase me, too,' he said. He had also brought an egg, Kakrikpa. 'There is no egg!' 'Okay, look for one and eat it,' she had said previously. He had also put that in his baggage. He had also made a bundle of some *Perilla frutescens* seed and had wrapped the seeds in some clothes. He sprinkles some [seed], 'Oh, this dratted Kakrikpa. These are my seeds and grains'.

When she picked up [the seeds], another mountain ridge [came into existence]. He set up a shard, erect. This river [below the village], Kakrikpa erected that mountain ridge [across the river]. The side of the four villages down there. *Seduvā*, where you (i.e. the addressee) came up. When she was about catch up with him, he broke an egg. A river came into existence. 'Come on and catch up,' he's says and again there is an upward slop.

Again he says, 'Catch up,' and another mountain comes into being. From the shards, you see. While he is erecting the shards of this broken pot, a mountain ridge, a

river and yet again a mountain ridge come into existence. She was just about to catch up with him, when down below by the river, the shards were finished. So down there on the plain, there aren't any [shards] left. Only below us there are [plains].

From Khādbāri up this way, there are rivers and ridges. But further down there aren't When she was about to overtake him, he broke an egg. Then the great river (the Arun) came into being. 'Child, how did you go? How did you go, child? I have to cross the river too.' 'Grandmother, buy a waist band and nicely tie yourself up in it. You must tie your legs and hands as well. Then tumble down and you'll arrive [here].

I also got across like that. You tie yourself too. 'Well, if that's the way' When she had tied herself up, the river soon washed her away to who knows where. From down below Kakrikpa stooped her. He [was coming] from the river. Below, rowers had picked her up, the old woman.

They had hoisted her into the boat. They had hosted her into the boat. 'What kind of old woman has come here, all tied up like this?' Kakrikpa came from afar. 'Hasn't any game come?' Kakrikpa asked the rowers. 'No, we didn't catch anything. We've only hoisted out a person, all tied up, ' they said. She was shivering from the cold.

Completely drenched she was shivering. They had taken her out and put her down right there. Then they ate and sat. While they were eating, she said, 'Give Kakrikpa chalk-fruit stodge and an old ladder. Give me sweet rice and a golden ladder,' she said, that old woman [said] In that way they bicker and contend. They get down and talk. 'Well grandmother, what an extreme plague you are to trouble us so.

Today too they are giving you a golden ladder, even though I have been just to you. You come up on the golden ladder, up to the first storey. I'll come up on the old

bamboo ladder,' he said. Later they gave the chalk-first stodge to the demoness and the sweet rice to Kakcrikpa.

There was sweet, fine rice there. They gave the sweet rice to Kakcrikpa. They gave the chalk-fruit stodge to the old woman Later they got the bamboo ladder, such as the one we cut today, and put it in place. To him they gave the golden ladder, to Kakcrikpa. Then when they were doing that (To her husband who's interrupting the whole time) What on earth is he making me mess everything up for?

Then, 'Uncles, our family has been finished off. I tied this old woman and caused her to be washed away by the river. How will you help me escape from here? This old woman has chased me like this through seven countries. Kill her for me. Oh *Bahgvān Visnu*,' Kakcrikpa prayed to his uncles. 'Even though I'm a shaman, this old woman will not die. So what to do? You really must be killed.'

Three flasks- drat- it those *siriṅgi* dogs, those- what I've forgotten their name. The *samsiri* dogs, the *samsiri ruṅjiri*. [Saying] 'Ko-ko-ko,' his uncles summoned the dogs. Then the dogs tore the old woman to pieces. Then [the rowers] said: 'You [called] us for help. The best among seven Brahmins. You asked us for help in this [matter]. These *samsiri ruṅjiriji* dogs have bitten you (i.e. the demoness) to death.'

Then those dogs portioned her, and another [dog] portioned her and another [dog] portioned her. Many old women came into being on the spot. They ate the small pieces. Then when the dogs died, many old women sprang up on that spot. That's the meaning, you see. Where did Kakcrikpa go? He was a shaman. He and the old woman parted there. He had repaid her for his elder sister and younger sibling.

She ate my younger sibling and a she ate my elder sister. That I may find deliverance', cried Kakcrikpa. Kakcrikpa is the one who, in the beginning, made the great river (the Arun), he's the creator of the mountains and the streams. He's the maker of our slopes. That's all. With ducks and doves they sat down and enjoyed themselves.

6. Kirānti-Mewahang

collected by Martin Gaenzle

Khakculukpa

Khakculukpa's childhood and death

Khakculukpa's mother was Dhirikumma. He had two elder sisters, Khewa and Lakca. Khakculukpa was the only brother, and thus they were three. They had no income and the two sisters (*celi*) Brought up their brother by sweeping together the leftover flour from other people's millstones (*jāto*). One day (the forest witch) *ca:pnūma* (m,=banketi N) apperaed, wanting to drive away and kill Khakculukpa-this *Yagangma*. His sisters had just gone out to scrounge when she came and asked him:

"What do your sisters give you (to eat)?"

"My sisters sweep millstones and mortars at other people's house and give me that to eat," Khakculukpa answered. When (the forest witch) heard how Khakculukpa was being brought up, she thought to herself, "May he be done for."

Afterwards she spread the advice in the village: "People, make your millstones nice and clean, and if a bit of flour sticks to them, blow it away."

Then the people in fact did that: when they had something to grind, they swept it up with a broom, and whatever did to come off they blew away.

Therefore, it is not allowed to blow grain nowadays. When the two (sisters) went from house to house, the husking machines (*dhiki*) and millstones had been blown clean.

They walked about the whole day, but nowhere did they find anything for their māiti (= Khakculukpa) to eat. He was about to die of starvation.

Thereupon they began to dig out yam tubers (*khù*: M, tarul N, *Dioscorea Daemonia*?) These they boiled and ate, and the next day they went off again to dig for tubers. Then the forest witch asked (Khakculukpa), "What did your sisters give you yesterday?"

"My sisters almost beat me [for having revealed it]. Why are you asking me this?" said Khakculukpa.

"You are like my own grandson. I asked you because I pity you so."

She lied to him.

"They dug out yam tubers, and we ate them," said Khakculukpa. Thereupon (the forest witch) began to wrap the yam tubers in her hair and pull them down; she pulled them down to hell (*pātāl*). When next day (the two sisters) wandered about to dig out tubers, it was as if the latter were firmly tied down, and they couldn't get them to come out. Comment from the audience: "He shouldn't have said anything." What, then, should they bring back that day?

The next thing the sisters brought was another tuber, called le[^]wass (*githo* N, *Dioscorea sativa*). Again, Khakculukpa revealed what his sisters had given to him to eat, and the forest witch proceeded to make the tuber utterly bitter and inedible, as they are now. Finally, the sisters brought a third type of tuber, *suwa* M (*bhyākur* N, *Dioscorea daltoidea*). Once again Khakculukpa carelessly blurted out everything, whereupon the forest witch also made this tuber inedible: she pierced the fruit with her hair, so that it had

only cavities; outside it had many root "hairs." Khakculukpa having revealed all, there was nothing more to eat, and- from hunger-he fell asleep.

The sisters attempted to wake him up, but he did not wake up, and they thought that he had died of hunger. "Let's go, but (first) we'll cover him up." They covered him with tukima:pu (M) branches that they broke off. "Our brother will get hungry along the way." they said and placed a clump of wild bananas (*bankerā* N) and a knife near his head. Finally, thought, (Khakculukpa) woke up and called to his sisters. In reply, however, he heard only "Hu!," and when he looked around he saw some spittle that called "Hu!" "Spittle? I think someone's playing tricks on me," he shouted and went back. Whenever he called to his sisters, the spittle came back aping the "Hu!" of the two (sisters).

Lakca now went up into the mountains (lekhtira N) to Rudohang; Khewa went to Pamuhang in the plains (*mades* N), to her kutumba. They are (also) called Lohang and Duhang. duhang is Khewa's husband; Lohang is Lakca's husband.

Khakculukpa's fight with the forest witch

When Khakculukpa returned (to the gravesite), he saw the bananas and the knife and ate the former. At that time wild bananas had no seeds; these, too have come about only because of the forest witch. Nowadays there is nothing but seeds in these wild bananas. There was, however, one seed in it, and since the banana had been quite delicious (Khakculukpa) planted it in the ground. "Grow quite delicious (Khakculukpa) planed it in the ground." Grow quickly!" he said.

And indeed the banana plant grew and flourished until it began to mature. "Now, if I stay down here, the spirits will eat me. I must climb up, "he said to himself and he built himself a house up in the banana bush.

After he had built his house and was living up in it, the forest witch returned. "Grandson, give me a banana too," she said. "Not one will I give you. Because of you my sisters have gone away; there's no way I'll give you any," he replied. "Give me only one; tomorrow I'll bring you rice," she said.

He tore off one quickly threw it down. "Oho this one, though, I won't eat. Lower it to me with your teeth (?), tied to your hair," she said. But he answered, "No, no." "Give me just one. Just one give me." He tore out a hair, tied it to a banana and lowered it. But then, with a jerk, she pulled Khakculukpa down and carried him away.

She came to a place where there were people working in the fields; there she rested a moment and went down to the stream to freshen up. Curious to see what she was carrying with her, (the workers) approached and took out Khakculukpa, who had wonderful hair. In his place they put a hornet's nest (*yowe* M, =*aringal* N), = *kamilā* N), wasps' nest (*sakwe* M, = *bacchiu* N) and an ant hill (*yaklepa* M, =*kamilā* N) in her sack and closed it the way it was before. As she proceeded on with her load, she began to itch all over. "Don't pinch me, grandson," she shouted. But those were ant bites. The buzzing and stinging began to increase.

Arriving home, she saw the hornet's nest, the wasps' nest, the ant hill. "The spirits of the dead (*hillasi* M) must have tricked me." The forest witch once more tried to dupe Khakculukpa by asking for a banana. At first he put her off, but she convinced him that she was not the evil witch and succeeded in getting him a second time in a sack. This time, though, she went straight to her house.

Her daughter Congdumma was there. "I'll go to fetch your uncles (*depa* M, *koyeng* M). Kill Khakculukpa, empty his blood into the pig trough, hang his intestins

over the entrance door and boil his flesh until well done." Thus (the forest witch) spoke to her daughter, while Khakculukpa listened to everything from within the basket. Then the mother went off. "I wonder what he looks like," Congdumma thought to herself and took him out.

She saw him in his radiant appearance, with his beautiful hair. "Come out, elder brother; so you're the one. My mother told me I should kill you, but how should I kill you?" she asked. "You want to kill me? Kill me ten," he retorted. "No, give me instead your hair, then you can go." "I can make yours to be like mine," he said. "How, how?" "Well, in my case my mother boiled oil until it was clear, then she turned me upside down in a mortar and drained the oil over me from my rear, like a fountain (dhāra N). So my hair became long."

Indeed his hair reached down to his feet.

She said, "Then do it exactly like that for me." "All right." He brought a pot full of oil to a boil. He put her, head first, into the mortar, poured the oil over her and by this means killed Congdumma. As for Khakculukpa, nothing had happened to him.

Afterwards Khakculukpa hid his clothes and put on the daughter's. His hair, too, he quickly fashioned the way hers had been, very short and yellow. Then he did everything according to what the mother had said. He emptied the blood into the pig trough and placed it next to the door, the rinsed intestines he hung above the entrance, and inside he boiled the flesh. "Give (it) to your paternal uncle (depa)," said the mother, having dished out the food. He gave it, though, to the maternal uncle (koyeng). "What's wrong with Congdumma today. When I say, Give (it) to your koyeng, she gives (it) to her

depa.' when I say, Give (it) to your depa, she gives (it) to her phoba ('grandfather'). Watch out, or I'll do the same to you as I did to Khakculukpa!"

They ate up everything, the rice and all the flesh that came from their own daughter. Then the forest witch fell asleep, drunk on the blood. But Khakculukpa took grain (*sattabiu pallabiu* N) and prepared to set off. He smeared wax over her eyes, threw her sickle away and made one of wax in its place. Then he began to tease her.

"Hey, Ca:pnùma, you're drunk on the blood of your own daughter Congdumma!" he cried and began to take to the road. "How's that? This Khakculukpa is still not dead!" She wanted to go after him but when she stood up she noticed that her eyes were closed with wax. "Feel along the side," he cried. When she felt around, she found the sickle, but it too was wax

Now she began to pursue him. While going along, he scattered some grains behind him, and she followed him, picking them up one after the other. For when he scattered some grains and picked them up, he was able to run on further in the meantime.

Then she called out angrily, "just you wait! If I catch you today, I'll eat you up".

One portion of the grain, however, he kept in reserve. He did not scatter everything, of course. Now when she was within a hair's breadth of overtaking him, he broke a chicken egg. In that same moment it became a sea, a river.

"Grandson, pull me across, pull me across. How did you get across?" "Well, I tied my hands and legs together too," she shouted. And indeed she tore out a hair and tied her hands and legs together with it. In this way she let herself fall into the river, and then she disappeared, this forest witch. Thus she died. This chicken egg was an oracle (*satyabācā* N), at that time when (Khakulukpa) just escaped with his life...

Khakculukpa goes fishing and meets his wife

Khakculukpa now returned to his banana tree and resided there, while the days passed. Finally he sowed the forest witch's grains of millet and rice and shouted, "Hey, you grains of rice and millet, I'm scattering you. Grow quickly, flourish quickly, mature quickly."

He gathered some earth (dhulo N) and scattered the grains there. Immediately they began to sprout, to grow, and soon the grain was ripening in great quantity. "What shall I eat with this? My sisters at one time gave me such grain to eat.³³⁹ It's time now to go fishing; then I can eat fish with it." Thus he thought to himself and went forth. He pulled out hairs from his head and made a noose; the line, too, he made from them, and so he fished. Wuhurungma (Wùhùrùngma) recognized him from below. "That's the hair of Khakculukpa," She thought, and allowed herself to be caught in the knot.

Wuhurungma was the daughter of nāgi. He drew her out with a jerk. "What's that? There's a stone in my noose!" he cried and threw it back. A bit later, after he had recast the line, the same stone was again in it—a longish one, about this long.

"Okay, what's going on today? I came to catch fish, and now I have this stone in the line again. It doesn't look like I'll get to taste fish. What a pity!" Then he stopped casting the line for a while and sat dejectedly. The fish, though, swam gaily about and jumped here and there out of the water. But they didn't approach the line; only this stone did.

Again one jumped out. "This one I'll catch," he thought to himself, and cast out the line again. Again it was only the same stone and no fish. "It's really strange today. I'll just take it along with me now. I can use you to pound chilis," he said, and put it in his creel (*phurlung* N).

That, then was everything he caught. Back home he laid (the stone) in the chichu^M ('small heart basket'). "What to do? Yesterday I didn't catch anything; today I'll have to go out again. "Thus he went fishing again the next day.

When he had gone, (the stone) descended from the chichu^, began to pound the rice, cook the meal and make everything ready. (When Khakculukpa returned) nobody was there, but the meal was ready and waiting.

"Who could it has been that was so busy in my house and cooked the meal? Come there and eat." Then the jackal (jambu M) called, "I was the one!" "Okay then," said (Khakculukpa) and gave him something to eat. The pigs also cried, "I was the one!" "Okay then," said (Khakculukpa) and gave him something to eat. The pigs also cried, "I was the one!" Thus he also gave then something to eat. But now there was nothing left over for him.

So he still had no side dish (*khen M*,=*tiun N*) for his meal. The next day he again set off, and again everything was ready (when he returned). Again he summoned (the "helpers") and gave them something to eat. The people of the village came with curiosity, and (Khakculukpa) asked one old woman (masungma M), "Someone is repeatedly coming to my house and cooking the meat for me. My sisters have long since gone. Who can it be?"

"Haven't you brought anyone with you into your house? It's a beautiful girl who does the work, cooks the meal, fetches water during the day." "I haven't brought anyone into my house. I only brought a stone once from fishing," he said.

"Then do the following: Pretend as if you were going away today but then circle on around back and slip in through the door from the steps. Hide there behind a winnowing tray (thambaM,=nānlo N). "The villagers advised him thus.

This is exactly what he did. When it looked as though he had gone, (Wuhurungma) jumped-whoosh- out of the chichu^ and began to pound rice. And when she went around looking for the winnowing tray, Khakculukpa remembered that the villagers had said, "And if she looks for the winnowing tray, seize her and make her your wife." And so he seized her then.

"No, elder brother (bu:bu M)! What are you trying to do? I don't like you. You threw me into the river; once my hipbones broke, once my hands broke. What are you doing with me today?" she cried.

"So you're the one, my wife! You've always been cooking the meal!"

Thus Wuhurungma became his wife. Finally she said, "Well, you too have had to put up with some things. Now you've caught me."

The construction of the First House

"Come, let's build a house now," the two said. "But I don't even know how to build one, how to hew the pillars into shape," he said, "Take a look at the tail of the king crow (*sangma* M, *cibhe* N, of the Dicruridae family). That's exactly how you must hew it," she said. The tail of the king crow is so...so forked, like a V.

He now actually made the pillar in this way. He hewed it into shape and put it in place. But no matter how deep Khakculukpa sunk the pillar, it was tilted and loose. They tried everything to make it straight, but it remained tilted. His wife, who carried their child on her back, approached. "What's wrong? Can't you manage to sink this pillar?" She removed the pillar herself, and when he put it back in place their child fell off her. With

that the pillar was now completely straight. It had demanded a blood sacrifice (bhokN), and they were now utterly astonished. "That's why have to offer a blood sacrifice, three times."

The reunion with the sisters

Thus, they completed the house. "Now must fetch our sisters (celi). Once they're here, we must make them dance during the consecration of the house (gharpaisā N). They'll then give us pots and money," said the daughter of *nāgi*, Wuhurungma.

"But how? Where have our sisters gone? We must send out the cock. He knows when the sun rises, he knows when the sun sets. The cock will fetch them ringt away," said (Khakculukpa).

First they sent the flea... "Wasn't it the louse and the pig...?" and then they sent out the frog and the bedbug .But none of them made it. They didn't find the sisters and so returned. Then they sent the pig. The pig went, aid, "hang po:k po:k," and then returned. "What's that supposed to mean-hang po:k po:k? Who does the pig belong to anyhow?" they asked themselves, and there things rested. The next day they sent the rooster. The rooster arrived, fluttered its wings and crowed, "Khakculukpa hang po:k, o^ori-yo Khakculukpa hang po:k po:k!"

"What on earth! We've already bride our māiti. Isn't this rooster calling out the name of our māiti? What's going on? !" They shooed it away and followed it straight to Khakculukpa's house. Khakculukpa received them there in front of the house and gave them, exhausted as they were, the laptupma that his wife had prepared. "O sisters!" he said.

He thereupon led his sisters into the house. He called upon them to dance. This big *jhyāmta* ('cymbal'), which is called *phùmma*, is Lakca's; the small one, *semma*, is Khewa's. Khewa and Lakca made these *jhyāmtās*. They both banged these (cymbals) and danced. Then Khakculukpa gave them both a *khandauli* N ('piece of meat') and some rice-not much: you have to give the sisters four *mānā*. Then in the evening they all ate together. The next morning they cooked a meal with the *khandauli*. The four of them-Lohang and Duhang and Khewa and Lakca-ate the four *mānā* of rice and the *khandauli* and then went away. Khewa and Lakca left the two *jhyāmtās* behind. The large *phùmma* and the small *semma* they laid under the *syāuli* N (=dewān N?). During weddings we splash them (with beer).

...They arrived at the house of the *māiti*. There, at the wedding, they danced the dance (*sili* M) of the *katuj* tree (*Castanopsis*). Then the *celis* said, "Well now, this is what has been in store for us. We've trodden on our *māiti*, so today we want to raise the head of uor *māiti* (*sir uthāune* N)." The *celis* gave the *māiti* beer as *sir uthāune*. Then, during the house consecration, the *māiti* gave (the *celis*) a piece (*khandauli*) of the sacrificed animal and they danced.

They danced and then they said, "We have trodden on our *māiti*; now we want to give him-the *Khambuhang jethā* eight, we *Mewahang māhilā* seven-copper kettles as *sir uthāune*."

During this time Khewa and Tangwa fulfill their ritual duties. "We have married out of our family," they say. Some bring pots and eating utensils, some bring money. Formerly they also brought seven nested pots. But now these customs have been

abandoned. Nowadays the māmāli receives only rakshi from the sisters. Then the sisters are given their dowry; they in turn are given useful articles, such as pots and utensils.

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