2

# ETHNOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FROM ORAL TEXTS: THE NARRATION OF THE *pïs-ïṭṭ* CEREMONY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILAGIRIS

Peri Bhaskararao

## INTRODUCTION

The *pïs-ïṭṭ*, (*pïs* 'bow' *ïṭ-ṭ* 'placing' abbreviated as PI hereafter), which is commonly known as the 'bow-and-arrow ceremony' is an extremely important ceremony for the Todas. Only after a pregnant woman undergoes this ceremony, her unborn child is admitted to one of the fourteen clans of the Todas. Without being admitted to one of these clans, the child will have no proper status in the Toda society. Walker (2003: 88) points this out clearly as: "The pïs-ïtt determines the paternity of an unborn child, thus ensuring its social and ritual legitimacy. If a woman bears a child without having received a bow, she brings into Toda society a child without clan affiliation and therefore with no relationship to the sacred places and the sacred herds, all of them owned by clans, not individuals". Walker (2004) explains the ritual as: "paternity is bestowed ... through ritual: the offering by a male (man or boy) of a symbolic bow-and-arrow to the pregnant woman, representing his acceptance of the fruit of her womb". The phrase 'fruit of womb' is aptly used by Walker (2004) and an analysis of the present text helps us to further understand the purport of this ceremony. It is by this ceremony alone a Toda male *assigns* or *admits* the 'womb of a woman' to his clan. Once the womb is admitted to his clan all the future children born in that womb are automatically admitted to his clan (until a future *pïs-ïṭṭ* by another male supersedes the current ceremony). This being the primary function of the ceremony, as happens with ceremonies, there are provisions for substitute ceremonies. Such substitute ceremonies are covered under *ikoṭ pïs* introduced in Sentence 83 onwards in the following text. The concept of different types of *ikoṭ pïs* shows that although by the regular *pïs-ïṭṭ* process the 'womb of a woman is admitted or assigned to a clan', the concept is extended further to signify that a woman should not die without having undergone this ceremony. Hence, once it is found that a female cannot undergo the ceremony in the regular manner, several varieties of substitute *ikoṭ pïs* ceremonies are setup to be performed during her life time. In the extreme

case where a female (whether a woman or even a female infant) dies without undergoing the ceremony one more substitute *ikoṭ piṣ* ceremony is made available for the dead body as described in Sentence 95 onwards.

Several scholarly works on the culture and language of the Todas have appeared so far of which those of Rivers, Emeneau and Walker stand out for their in-depth study. TGT for instance, contains copious texts which have significant cultural information elicited through narrations, songs etc. Goswami (1965) describes the 'bow and arrow ceremony' based on his own observation of such a ceremony and explanations provided by the native Todas. Thorough analysis by Walker (2003, 2003a, 2004) based upon his observations and information from trusted Toda resource persons is by far the most extensive account of the Toda culture and society.

## STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE TEXT

During the course of his linguistic and phonetic fieldwork of the language, the present author collected a large number of texts, songs, sentences, word lists etc. from the native speakers of Toda language. One such narration deals with the *piṣ-iṭt* ceremony. Besides the rich phonetic and linguistic information it contains (like many other texts in the collection), this text has a good amount cultural vocabulary and concepts some of which were not mentioned in earlier works. The text describes various details of the ceremony including those related to different kinds of exigencies. It is felt that presentation of the full text with necessary notes might add to our knowledge of the Toda culture. The detailed narration of the *Piṣ-iṭt* was recorded from Ms. P.Vasamalli (Toda name: *koˑs-man-teˑfy*) who has been our main language consultant over the years and who has an intricate knowledge of her culture. The narration was recorded on a solid-state sound recorder and the recording was played back sentence by sentence and with the help of the consultant, it was transcribed and translated amid discussions about some of the points that needed clarification.

From the linguistic point of view, the text is presented in the following way: *Sentence number*; *Phonemic transcription*; *Morphemic translation*: (expansions of abbreviations used here are listed at the end of the paper); English translation: (except for sentence 115 which contains only proper names).

The vocabulary and phraseology of the text gives several new insights into the ceremony. The phrase *piṣ iḍ-* (bow place/put) can be subjected to two interpretations -- a narrower one and a wider one. The narrower interpretation is usually given as 'husband presenting a bow (and arrow) to the wife'. The broader one denotes the totality of the function by taking the meaning of *iḍ-~iṭ-* as 'to place/put' but not as 'to give, present'. The words meaning specifically 'to give' in Toda are *kwir̠-~kwir̠t-* (the receiver being a third person) and *toˑr̠-~tod-* (the

receiver being a first person or second person)'. The verb *iḍ-~iṭ-* that is used in the phrase *pïṣ iṭ-t* mainly means 'to place, to put' as given in TGT (p.126a): *iḍ-, iṭ-* 'to put, place'. However, TGT, while explaining the events in the *pïṣ iṭ-t* ceremony gives the extended meaning of the verb *iḍ-* 'give' Cf. TGT (p.218b): "The utterances of the ceremony are: husband to wife's father: pïṣ ïdkina·¿ 'shall I give the bow?'; wife's father: pïṣ iḍ. 'give the bow!' ...". Rivers (1906:319)'s phrase 'bow and arrow we touch' has a meaning 'to touch' for the verb *iḍ-* which is not attested by other scholars.

The broader interpretation is attested by various occurrences of this phrase in the text as described below.

SENTENCE 38: *pïṣ=iṭ-t ku·x-m mox-m* [bow=place-NS woman-AP man-AP] 'the wife and the husband who are placing the bow'. Here both the wife and the husband are supposed to be placing the bow or participating in the ceremony.

SENTENCE 24: *pïṣ=iḍ-k-u* [bow=place-VOL-FI] 'Let us place the bow'. Here the whole family (the husband, his brothers, parents et al) discuss about having the ceremony and this shows that it is the joint activity of the family (in fact, of the clan).

SENTENCE 46: *ofoḍy=o·L̇-m em im-me·nt-ṣ pïṣ=iṭ-ṣ-pïmi* [all-person-AP we this-tree-LOC bow= place-PA-FE] 'We all placed (our) bows in this tree'. In this sentence people from different families say that they placed their bows in (at) that tree'.

SENTENCE 42 : pïṣ=iṭ-t me·nt-ṣ [bow=place-NS tree-LOC] 'in the bow-placing tree'

On the other hand, there are some phrases where verbs other than *iḍ-~iṭ-* 'to place' occurs with the word *pïṣ*. All those phrases have connotations other than the regular *Pïṣ-iṭt* ceremony. The part of the ceremony where the husband hands over the bow to the woman is denoted by the verb *kwïr* 'to' give as seen in sentence 64.

[1] The phrases *kwïr eṭy-t, koy-k kwïṛt-t, koy-k paṭ eṭy-t* :

SENTENCE 64: mox ku·x-k pïṣ kwïṛt-či [man woman-DAT bow give-NPT.TP] 'the man gives the bow to the woman'

SENTENCE 102: ku·x-k pïṣ=ït=ku·ry [woman-dat bow=PLACE-CMP] 'after the bow-placing ceremony was completed for the woman'

In 'Exceptional Bow' cases it is not *iḍ-~iṭ-*.

[a] kwïr=eṯy-t

SENTENCE 104: *tan.mox.faṯy.fv.o·L tan.on tan.wiḏ.fe·d o·ṟy-a·m ku·x-k piṣ kwïr=eṯy-či* [that-woman-DAT husband elder.brother younger.brother anybody-PL woman-DAT bow give=MED-NPT.TP]

[b] koy-k kwïṛt-t

SENTENCE 93: *mox.faṯ-fv=o·L piṣ tozmox-n koy-k kwïṛt-či* [marry-NS=man bow wife-POS hand-DAT give-NPT.TP] 'the husband gives the bow to the hand of wife'. In fact, this action is precisely called 'giving the bow to the hand' as explained in SENTENCE 94: *iθ piṣ koy-k kwïṛt-t iḏ-pïmi* [this bow hand-DAT give-NS say-FE] *We call this 'giving-bow-to-the-hand'.*

[c] koy-k paṯ=eṯy-t

SENTENCE 112: *pi·ṟ o·x-o·-fït-n-wïr kö·ḏ.o·y-n-wïr piṣ koy-k paṯ=eṯy-či* [pregnant become-NEG-CMP-TP-COND die-TP-COND bow hand-DAT catch=MED-NPT.TP] 'If (she) does not become pregnant and if she dies, then a bow has to be placed in her hand'

## EXPLANATION

In the following pages, we take up those sentences from the text which give us some new phrases or concepts concerning the ceremony and related events. The sentences are identified by their numbers as they occur in the full text given later.

5. If a female dies without having undergone this ceremony during her life time, then there are some substitute ceremonies that have to be conducted for her dead body.

6. The PI ceremony is planned to be performed only if all the formalities related to the 'marriage' (for instance paying the necessary compensations in cash/kind are completed) and if the woman becomes pregnant.

11. PI ceremony is performed only during the first pregnancy of the woman with her current husband. If a woman leaves her husband and marries another man, and becomes pregnant, then that man need to perform PI ceremony again so that the child in the womb will be assigned to his clan -- otherwise, all the children fathered by the new husband will continue to belong to the clan of her earlier husband. Once a man performs PI ceremony during the first pregnancy of his wife, he need not perform the PI ceremony again to the same wife for her later pregnancies.

15. This is an interesting observation about the convenience of conducting the ceremony during the 5th month of pregnancy.

## Ethnographic Information from Oral Texts

**17.** *pïs kods-t* is an important concept introduced by this text. In DEDR, the T⋯ verb root *kody- ~ kods-* (DEDR 1356) is given the meaning '(period of ti⋯ passes, pass successfully over all the difficulties of life'. Our consultant gives ⋯ additional and more general meaning of this verb as: 'an important function or ceremony to be completed successfully'. PI ceremony is a very important ceremony and if it is successfully completed, Toda language uses this verb to denote it. Notice that the idiomatic way of saying is: *pïs kody-* 'the bow to be successful' meaning 'the PI ceremony to be successfully completed'.

**19, 21** make clear that PI ceremony can be performed only after the woman becomes pregnant. If after thinking that a woman is pregnant, the PI ceremony is performed and later if it was realized that she was not pregnant (perhaps due to wrong diagnosis or so), then the 'bow gets cancelled'.

**26.** *pïs tu·r* is a certain variety of plant and it is used only for this ritual. A grownup girl (*mad-foct ku·x*) is not supposed to touch this plant unnecessarily as it is considered equivalent to her father (since a grownup girl is not even allowed to sit along with elder men (on the same platform) including even her father). Walker (2003:87) mentions that the bow and arrow "is made from local shrubs and is purely representational, not functional". According to our consultant, traditionally a particular plant is called *pïs tu·r* and the *pïs* should be made from that plant.

**28.** The concept of 'ritual bow-names' is introduced here. They are listed in sentence 113 and a comparable list provided by TGT is given in the note on that sentence.

**44.** Some of the trees in which a lamp-niche can be cut are listed here. Walker (2003:83) mentions only the *kö·y* (Eugenia arnottiana) tree here. Our consultant, however, is certain about the list provided here.

**45-47.** Such trees exist in villages with several lamp-niches cut into them and several of the Todas from a village can identify which niche was made for whose PI ceremony and sometimes fondly recollect the events. Falling of an old *pïs ït-t me·n* 'tree where PI ceremony is performed' is viewed as a sad but inevitable happening.

**49.** This list of items that are brought for the occasion is somewhat different from the list given in Walker (2003:83).

**50-51.** According to Walker (2003:83-4), a woman from the clan of the bow-giver 'puts ghee into the lamp, lights the wick with a match and set the lighted lamp in the niche'. However, our consultant confirms that it is not 'any woman' but the mother-in-law of the pregnant woman that is supposed to do this.

**55-56.** An important ritual of giving a gift of a *pïl-po·L* 'bow-heifer' by a *poyo·L* is an interesting new information[iii]. *pïl* 'bow' is an alternant to the word *pïṣ* 'bow' (see TGT p.30b) and is available in some compounds including the traditional 'bow-names' listed in Sentence 113. The meaning of the word *poyo·L* is given in the notes portion of the text. The heifer is called 'bow-heifer' signifying the PI ceremony. Also, the punishment for not giving such a heifer is narrated in 56.

**57.** The usage of the *pïl-poLy-fo·ṣ* for the place of the PI ceremony is interesting. *poLy-fo·ṣ* is a term otherwise used for temples and also ritual places in the cremation grounds etc (cf. DEDR 4018: To. *poLy* sacred dairy...). It is used here too to signify the ritual sanctity of PI ceremony.

**58-59.** Walker (2003:87) mentions that the husband turning 'to his father-in-law' says ' "Shall I give the bow?" '. According to our consultant, this may be the generally observable performance, but according to the custom, one need to ask the eldest man from among his *poyo·L* (who could be an elder other than the father-in-law) for this permission. Another point of difference is that Walker mentions 'Question and answer are spoken three times, according to ritual requirement'. Our consultant says that the question and answer part is performed only once but not thrice[iv].

**60-63.** Walker (2003:87) mentions that this set of question and answer is spoken only once. However, according to our text, this is spoken three times.

**66-68** describe details of the positioning of various participants in the ceremony.

**69** describes an important detail. It says that the woman keeps gazing at the lamp till she gets tears in her eyes. However, Walker (2003:87) says that 'Toda say that tradition once demanded that she watch the lamp until the flame finally went out'. Our consultant could not recall any such tradition and opines that 'watching till the flame goes out' even sounds inauspicious.

**76-77** reiterate the importance of PI ceremony implying that if a child is born without the PI ceremony performed, then that child will not have a clan affiliation and without a clan affiliation, it is not a Toda.

**78-80** specifies who has the right to perform the PI ceremony. To perform this ceremony, the husband has to take permission from his *poyo·L* who has to be necessarily a Toda person. So, the wife should be from a Toda clan proper. Then the husband has to declare his 'bow-name' which he will have only if he is from a Toda clan proper. Thus the clan membership of both the husband and wife are necessary for performing this ceremony. Hence, a 'non-Toda and Toda' couple fail to meet one of the conditions. Since PI ceremony cannot be performed by such

a couple, their children will be automatically excluded from the membership to any Toda clan.

**81** introduces the concept of *ikoṭ piṣ̌*. *ikoṭ* means 'difficulty' (DEDR 524). The regular PI ceremony is the one that is conducted according to the proper procedures at the appropriate time. However, there are occasions when the PI ceremony has to be performed as a substitute ceremony or in an emergency situations. Such instances are covered under this term. It is interesting to note that the term refers to the 'bow' that is placed and the ceremony is not called *piṣ̌ iṭ-t*. It is significant that although *ikoṭ piṣ̌* is a term that refers to 'exceptional bow' there is no term *ikoṭ piṣ̌ iṭ-t* parallel to the regular term *piṣ̌ iṭ-t*.

**84-86** introduce the method of a barren woman temporarily gaining the status necessary for undergoing PI ceremony. She can touch the bow when her co-wife (of the same husband) or the wife of her husband's brother undergoes her own PI ceremony. This is called *piṣ̌ faṭy-t* 'holding a bow'. This substitute condition clearly shows the importance of undergoing the PI ceremony during the life time of a woman. And if a woman does not undergo even a substitute PI ceremony during her life time, then there is a further substitute provision of *piṣ̌ faṭ-eṭy-t* that is mentioned here and explained later on.

**87-90** describe the details of the *piṣ̌ faṭy-t*. **89** shows that the main PI ceremony in this case is performed for the woman who is pregnant because she alone will go and place the bow at the base of the tree and gaze at the lamp etc. The woman who is undergoing the *ikoṭ piṣ̌* just touches the bow and that action is sufficient to qualify her to have undergone the PI ceremony.

**93-94** describe another kind of *ikoṭ piṣ̌*. This could be performed in emergency situations where the wife delivers a baby without having earlier undergone the PI ceremony. It could happen if the PI ceremony was postponed beyond the seventh month of pregnancy or in some emergency circumstances. Such a ritual is called *piṣ̌ koy-k kwiṛt-t* 'giving the bow to the hand'.

**95-96** describe the details of *piṣ̌ faṭ-eṭy-t* that was mentioned in **86** earlier. This is the last moment that an *ikoṭ piṣ̌* can be given because it is done to the dead body of the concerned woman before cremation. In the term *piṣ̌ faṭ-eṭy-t* the 'mediative auxiliary' *eṭy-* signifies involvement of an intermediate agent (TGT: 129pp). The meaning of *piṣ̌ faṭ-eṭy-t* would be 'making (her) to hold the bow' which is apt to describe the scene of an eligible male putting the *piṣ̌* into the hand of the dead woman. **96** mentions the males who are eligible to do this.

**97-98** bring out two new terms. *pïs-k fe·d-fy karwid* [bow-to born child] 'child born to a woman who has properly undergone the PI ceremony' and its opposite *pïs-k pe·r-o·-fy karwid* [bow-to not.born child] 'child born to a woman who has not properly undergone the PI ceremony'. It is interesting to note that *pïs* 'bow' is 'personified' in these terms in a way equating the *pïs* with the clan.

**99-101** make it clear that it is the PI ceremony that 'assigns or admits' the womb of the woman to the clan after she conceived and after the PI ceremony is completed, and it is immaterial whether the baby is delivered live or not. **99** says that once the PI ceremony is conducted during the pregnancy, the bow is 'successful'.

**102-03** describe a very rare possibility of a man 'cancelling' the bow which is called *pïs wiθky-t* [bow untying/loosening/slipping](cf. DEDR 973b *wiθx-,wiθky-*). This seems to have happened only once in the recallable past of the Todas.

**104-06** introduce and explain the term *pïs kwïr-ety-t* 'making (somebody to) give the bow'. This concept is different from *pïs fat-ety-t* (described in **95-96**) which meant 'making (a dead woman) catch the bow' Under *pïs kwïr-ety-t* in exceptional circumstances when the husband is not available, an eligible male is made to give the bow.

**109-10** and **113** introduce the new term *per pïs* [empty bow] 'unsuccessful bow' which describes the PI ceremony that was mistakenly conducted or conducted by ineligible persons. Again it is the bow that is described as an 'empty' one.

**114-17** give a list of the various *pïs kwïsm* 'ritual bow names' specific to the clans and describe some details. A comparison of these names with those given in TGT is given in the notes[v].

# The Text

## pïs̱=ït̠-t so·stuṟm
'The Bow-placing Procedure'

**[1]**
/o·L̠-s₁ pïs̱=ït̠-t₂ so·stuṟm₃ ïtwïd̠₄ so·stuṟm₅ ïyi₆/'
{Toda-LOC₁ bow=keep-NS₂ ceremony₃ important₄ ceremony.procedure₅ TP₆}
"Among the Todas, the procedure for conducting PI-ceremony is an important one."

**[2]**
/pakkïn₁ ku·x-m₂ pïs̱=fat̠y-t₃ ïyi₄/
{all₁ woman-AP₂ bow=hold-NS₃ TP₄}
"All women have to hold the bow (= undergo the PI-ceremony)."

**[3]**
/aθ₁ ïn-ïn-u=ïd̠₂ wïL̠txïs₃ ö̱st-k-ïn₄/
{that₁ what-what-is-QUOT₂ thoroughly₃ tell-VOL-FS₄}
"I will tell in detail what it is."

**[4]**
/e·d̠₁ pïs̱=ït̠-pïm₂ pïs̱=kwïṣm₃ pö·r-a·m₄ ïn-u=ïd̠₅ fakïn-m₆ wïL̠txïs₇ aṟs-t₃ ïyi₉ o·L̠-k₁₀/
{why₁ bow=keep-NPT.FE₂ bow=ritual.name₃ name-PL₄ what-TP-QUOT₅ all-AP₆ well₇ know-NS₈ TP₉ Todas-DAT₁₀}
"'Why do we perform PI-ceremony, what are the ritual names of the bows' -- all these should be known well to the Todas."

**[5]**
/wïd̠₁ xu·x₂ pïs̱=fat̠-o·s₃ kö·d.o·y-t=o·xïyi₄/
{one₁ woman₂ bow=hold-PNN₃ die-NS=NEGC₄}
"A Toda woman should not die without undergoing the PI-ceremony."

**[6]**
/wïd̠₁ xu·x₂ pïs̱=ït̠-či=ïd̠₃ foc-s-ïθ-s-ïr₄ pïs̱=ït̠-či₅ ïd-pïmi₆ as̱-ïd-n-wïṟ₇ ïn-u-ïd-n-wïṟ₈ ku·x₉ peL̠ko·t-pod-xuṟy₁₀ teṟ₁₁ ö̱sty-kuṟy₁₂ pi·ṟ-ïyi=ïd̠₁₃ wïL̠txïs₁₄ aṟs-kuṟy-n-wïṟ₁₅/
{one₁ woman₂ bow=place-NPT.TP=QUOT₃ keep-PANF-remain-PANF-be₄ bow=place-NPT.TP₅ say-NPT.FE₆ thus-say-TP-COND₇ what-NPT.TP-say-TP-COND₈ woman₉ marry.NPNF-come.NPNF-CMP1.NPNF₁₀ compensation₁₁ announce.NPNF-CMP1.NPNF₁₂ pregnancy-NPT.TP=QUOT₁₃ well₁₄ know.NPNF-CMP1.NPNF-TP-COND₁₅}
"Suppose a woman has placed the bow (=performed PI-ceremony); we say "Bow is placed" -- suppose we say so, if one asks what it is: after a woman is married, the compensation is settled, once if we come to know clearly that she is pregnant (then PI ceremony is performed)."

[7]

/piṟ-ïyi=ïd₁ exïs₂ aṟs-t-u=ïd-n-wïṟ₃ piṯon-tuds-kuṟy₄ ï-xïs-kuṟy₅ piṟ-ïyi=ïd₆
wïd.oʸy-n-wïṟ₇ mun-koʸst-ṣ₈ tozmox-aʸm₉ piʟ₁₀ nwïʸty-š=aṟs-č₁₁ kuʸx₁₂ koṇmutaʟ̣-
tïrxy-š-šï=ïds₁₃ piʟ₁₄ oy-š-šï₁₅ ï-xïs-s-si=ïds=aṟs-či₁₆/

{pregnancy-NPT.TP=QUOT₁ how₂ know-NS-NPT.TP=QUOT-TP-COND₃ vomiting-
roll.NPNF-CMP1.NPNF₄ this-do.NPNF-CMP1.NPNF₅ pregnancy-is=QUOT₆ become-TP-
COND₇ old-time-LOC₈ woman-PL₉ stomach₁₀ see-PANF=know-NPT₁₁ woman₁₂ face-
turn-PA-TP=QUOT₁₃ pregnancy₁₄ become-PA-TP₁₅ thus-do-PA-TP=QUOT=know-
NPT.TP₁₆}

"If (one) says 'how to know that there is pregnancy?', if there is morning sickness
and such, then there is pregnancy—in the earlier days, women used to understand
by looking at the belly; the woman's face has become brighter (so) there is
pregnancy –it is so, they used to understand."

[8]

/at-fok-ṣn₁ piʟ=oʸy-t₂ ïd-n-wïṟ₃ at-k-wïd₄ tüĿym₅ ïyi₆/

{that-time-ABL₁ pregnant=become-NS₂ say-TP-COND₃ that.much-DAT-
which.is(~that.much)₄ pleasure₅ TP₆}

"From then, there is so much happiness because she became pregnant."

[9]

/pïn₁ pïs=ïd-k-u=ï-xïy-k-u₂ ïd₃ aʸfot-či₄/

{then₁ bow=place-VOL-FI=what-do-VOL-FI₂ QUOT₃ talk-NPT.TP₄}

"Then they (the family) discuss "Shall we perform the PI ceremony or what?""

[10]

/pïs₁ eʸd₂ it-pïm₃ ïd-n-wïṟ₄ a-kuʸx-k₅ peʸd-t₆ kaṟwïd-aʸm₇ pïs=it-fy₈ mox-mod-oʸĿ-k₉
söʸd-či₁₀/

{bow₁ why₂ give-NPT.FE₃ say-TP-COND₄ that-woman-POS₅ be.born-NS₆ child-PL₇
bow=keep-NS₈ man-clan-people-DAT(>to.the.clansmen.of.the.man)₉ join-
NPT.TP₁₀}

"If one asks "Why do we peform PI ceremony?", (the answer is that) the children
born to that woman (who undergoes the ceremonies) will join the clan of the man
who places the bow."

[11]

/pakïnm₁ kaṟwïd-m-g-m₂ pïs=ït-t=oʸxïyi₃ kaṟθaṣ-piʟ-k-ton₄ pïs=ït-t₅ ïyi₆/

{all₁ child-PL-DAT-AP₂ bow=place-NS=NEGC₃ first-pregnancy-DAT-only₄
bow=place-NS₅ TP₆}

"The PI ceremony should not be performed for each child (=pregnancy); the PI
ceremony should be perfomed only for the first pregnancy."

# Ethnographic Information from Oral Texts

**[12]**

/karθas-pi·r₁ üz̧-θi·Ł₂ o·y-n-um-sery₄ öw-θi·Ł₅ o·y-n-um-sery₆ pïs̱=ït-t₇ ïyis̱/

{first-pregnancy₁ five-month₂ become-TP-INDF-even₄ seven-month₅ become-TP-INDF-even₆ bow-place-NS₇ TP₈}

"The PI ceremony should be perfomed either in the fifth month or in the seventh month."

**[13]**

/mïdal-s̱₁ e-xïs-u=ïd̲-n-wï·r₂ üz̧-θi·Ł-s̱₃ u·r̲foc-s₄ muppo·-no·Ł₅ pïs̲a·s̲-s̲=ïθ-s₆ öw-θi·Ł-s̲₇ pïs̲=ït-či₈/

{beginning-in₁ what-do-TP=say-TP-COND₂ five-month-LOC₃ u·rfoct.ceremony-PANF₄ thirty-days₅ pïs̲a·s̲.hut-LOC=remain-PANF₆ seven-months-LOC₇ bow=place-NPT.TP₈}

"If one asks how it was in the olden days, in the fifth month of pregnacy the pregnant woman would go into the Pïs̲a·s̲ hut, remain there for 30 days and in the seventh month the PI ceremony was perfomed."

**[14]**

/aθfod₁ ï·ny₂ o·r̲θi₃ ï·ny₄ üz̧-θi·Ł-s̲-e·₅ pïs̲=ït-či₆/

{that.having.come(>that.way)₁ now₂ does.not.exist₃ now₄ five-months-in-EMPH₅ bow=place-NPT.TP₆}

"These days it is not the case; now a days in the fifth month itself, the PI ceremony is done."

**[15]**

/üz̧-θi·Ł-s̱₁ pïs̲=ït-n-wï·r₂ pi·r̲-xu·x-k₃ ko·l-fïd̲θ-p-ïk₄ ï-xïs-p-ïk₅ sulf-o·y-š-ïθ-či₆/

{five-months-LOC₁ bow=place-TP-COND₂ pregnancy-woman-DAT₃ leg-fall-NS-PUR₄ this-do-NS-PUR₅ convenience-become-PA-remain-NPT.TP₆}

"If the PI ceremony is conducted during the fifth month of pregnancy, it will be convenient for the pregnant woman when she salutes the feet of the elders (falling at the feet) and such activities (which are associated with the PI ceremony)."

**[16]**

/öw-θi·Ł-s̱₁ pïs̲=ïd̲-k-u₂ ïd̲-s̲=ïθ-s-ïθ-n-wï·r₃ aθ-k₄ mïdalkoy₅ ku·x₆ mas̲fot̲-fït̲-n-um₇ ïn-o·-fït̲-n-wï·r₈ pi·r̲₉ war̲θ-fït̲-n-um₁₀ ak-ku·x-k₁₁ pïs̲=kod̲y-ø-ïyi₁₂/

{seven-month-LOC₁ bow=place-VOL-FI₂ say-PANF=remain-PANF-PC-TP-COND₃ that-DAT₄ before₅ woman₆ deliver-CMP-TP-INDF₇ what-become-CMP-TP-COND₈ pregnancy₉ break-CMP-TP-INDF₁₀ that-woman-DAT₁₁ bow=succeed-NEG-TP₁₂}[ii]

"If one remains saying: "Let us perfom PI ceremony in the seventh month", then before the PI ceremony, the woman may deliver, otherwise there may be an abortion —and then the PI ceremony will not succeed (bow will not be successful)."

[17]

/üẓ-θiˑɫ-ṣ₁ pïṣ=ït-t-ton₂ sulf₃ ïyi₄, kuˑx-k-m₅ pïṣ=kods-či₆/

{five-months-LOC₁ bow=place-NS-EMPH₂ convenience₃ TP₄, woman-DAT-AP₅
bow=succeed-NPT.TP₆}

"If the PI ceremony is conducted in the fifth month of pregnancy only, then it is
convenient – and also the bow will be successful for the woman (she will succeed
in the PI ceremony)."

[18]

/pïṣ=kods-t=ïḏ-n-wïr₁ in=ïḏ-n-wïr₂ wïḏ-xuˑx₃ wïḏ-oˑɫ-k₄ peɫ.xoˑt₅ pïr₆ oˑy-nuˑ₇
pïṣ=ït-t₈ wïḏ₉ tïrk-θon₁₀ ïyi₁₁/

{bow=succeed-NS=say-TP-COND₁ what=say-TP-COND₂ one-woman₃ one-
Toda.man-to₄ having.married₅ pregnancy₆ become-COND(if.happens)₇ bow=place-
NS₈ one₉ time-only₁₀ TP₁₁}

"If one asks "what is 'bow becoming successful?", if a Toda woman marries a
Toda man, becomes pregnant, then PI ceremony is performed only once."

[19]

/pïn₁ pïr₂ oˑx-oˑ-fït-n-wïr₃ an-g₄ pïṣ=ït-p-ïk₅ mud-ø-ïyi₆/

{then₁ pregnant₂ become-PNN-TP-COND(=if.does.not.become)₃ her-DAT₄ bow-
place-NS-PUR₅ allow-NEG-TP₆}

"Then if she does not become pregnant, the PI ceremony cannot be performed."

[20]

/aθ-k-oˑy-š₁ üẓ-θiˑɫ₂ pïr₃ oˑy-nuˑ₄ pïṣ=ït-nuˑ₅ pïṣ=kods-fy₆ moˑθiry₇ ïyi₈/

{that-DAT-become-PANF₁ five-month₂ pregnant₃ become-COND₄ bow=keep-COND₅
bow=succeed-NS₆ like₇ TP₈}

"That is why, if one becomes pregnant and if the PI ceremony is conducted in the
fifth month, then it is just like bow is successful."

[21]

/pïn₁ pïr₂ wïḏ-feˑly-k₃ oˑx-oˑ-fït-n-wïr₄ an-g₅ pïṣ=ït-p-ïk₆ mud-ø-ïyi₇/

{then₁ pregnancy₂ one-time-DAT₃ become-PNN-CMP-TP-
COND(>if.does.not.become)₄ her-DAT₅ bow=place-NS-PUR₆ need-NEG-TP₇}

"If by chance the woman does not become pregnant, then it is not possible to do PI
ceremony."

[22]

/aθ-k-oˑy-š₁ üẓ-θiˑɫ-ṣ₂ pïṣ=ït-t₃ ïyi₄/

{that-DAT-become-PANF₁ five-month-LOC₂ bow=place-NS₃ TP₄}

"For that reason one should do the PI Ceremony in the firth month (of
pregnancy)."

# Ethnographic Information from Oral Texts

**[23]**

/pïs=koḍs-t₁ ïtwïd₂ koˑrym₃ ïyi₄ aθ-k-oˑy-š₅ ïˑny₆ ofody-oˑL₇ pïs₈ üẓ-θiˑL-ṣ₉ ïṭ-či₁₀/

{bow=succeed-NS₁ big₂ ceremony₃ TP₄ that-DAT-become-PANF₅ these.days₆ all-Todas₇ bow₈ five-month-LOC₉ place-NPT.TP₁₀}

"Success of bow (succesful completion of PI Ceremony) is a major ceremony, that is why, these days all the Todas perform the PI ceremony in the fifth month itself."

**[24]**

/peL.xoˑt.fy₁ kuˑx₂ üẓ-θiˑL-ṣ₃ piˑṛ₄ ïyi=ïd₅ wïLtxïs₆ aṛs-kuˑry-n-wïṛ₇ ak-kwïdbïl-ṣ₈ wïd.oˑy-fy-oˑL-aˑm₉ pïs=ïd-k-u=ïd₁₀ aˑfoṭ-či₁₁/

{married₁ woman₂ five-month-LOC₃ pregnant₄ TP=QUOT₅ well₆ know-CMP1.NPNF-TP-COND₇ that-family-LOC₈ exist-NS-person-PL₉ bow=place-VOL-FI=QUOT₁₀ talk-NPT.TP₁₁}

"After knowing well that the married woman is five-month pregnant, the family members discuss saying "Let us place the bow (perform the PI ceremony)"."

**[25]**

/kuˑx-k₁ pïs=ïd-k-u=ïd₂ aˑfoṭ-n-wïṛ₃ kuˑx-k₄ üẓ-θiˑl₅ piˑṛ₆ oˑy-t=ïyi₇ muṭ.noˑL-ṣ₈ pïs=ïd-t=ïyi₉/

{woman-DAT₁ bow=place-VOL-FI=QUOT₂ talk-TP-COND₃ woman-DAT₄ five-month₅ pregnancy₆ become-NS=is₇ full.moon.day-LOC₈ bow=keep-NS=TP₉}

"When they say "Let us do the PI ceremony", the pregnancy of the woman should be of five months, the PIceremony should be conducted on a new-moon day."

**[26]**

/kuˑx-k₁ pïs=ïṭ-t₂ mox₃ pïs=tuˑṛ₄ kwïṛt-t=ïyi₅/

{woman-DAT₁ bow=keep-NS₂ man₃ bow=grass₄ give-NS=TP₅}

"The man who presents the bow to the woman should give the 'bow-grass' to her."

**[27]**

/mox-m₁ kuˑx-m₂ pïs=tuˑṛ-n₃ wïLtxïs₄ nep=aṛs-t=ïyi₅/

{man-AP₁ woman-AP₂ bow=grass-ACC₃ well₄ mark=know-NS=TP₅}

"The man and the woman should know thoroughly what bow-grass is (its identity)."

**[28]**

/wïd-wïd₁ modoˑL-k-m₂ pïs=kwïsm-pöˑṛ₃ alak-alak₄ wïddi₅/

{one-one₁ clansmen-DAT-AP₃ bow=ritual.name-name₃ separate-separate₄ is₅}

"There is a separate ritual bow-name for each clan."

**[29]**

/paˑng-kwïˑṛ-oˑL-k-m₁ pïs=kwïsm-pöˑṛ₂ öˑn=töˑkiṣy-m₃ pöˑšt-fy=pöˑṛ-u=ïd-či₄/

{fifteen-branches(clans)-Toda-DAT-AP₁ bow=ritual.name-name₂ Öˑn=Töˑkiṣy-AP₃ name-NS=name-TP=QUOT-NPT.TP₄}

"It is said that the ritual bow-names of each of the fifteen clans of Todas were those named by the God Öˑn and Goddess Töˑkiṣy."

[30]

/wid-mox₁ pis₂ kwirt-n-wir₃ am-mox₄ tan-n₅ mod-o·Ł=pis=kwism=pö·r₆ östy-š₇ pis₈ kwirt-t=iyi₉/

{one-man₁ bow₂ give-TP-COND₃ that-man₄ self-POS₅ clan-persons=bow=ritual.name=name₆ say-PANF₇ bow₈ give-NS=TP₉}

"When a man presents the bow (to his wife) he should present it while saying the ritual bow-name of his clansmen."

[31]

/pis=it-t=no·Ł₁ ku·x-m₂ mox-m₃ ašky.twi·r₄ tid-t=o·xiyi₅/

{bow=place-NS=day₁ woman-AP₂ man-AP₃ boiled.rice₄ eat-NS=NEGC₅}

"On the day of PI eremony, the man and the woman should not eat boiled rice."

[32]

/in-in-a·m₁ osk₂ tid-t=iyi₃/

{what-what-PL₁ light.food₂ eat-NS=TP₃}

"They should eat some other lighter food."

[33]

/ku·x-mox-m₁ kefina·r=it₂ pu·txuŁy₃ pu·t-t=iyi₄, tarp₅ tüt-t=iyi₆/

{man-woman-AP₁ kefina·r.style=put.NPNF₂ Pu·txuŁy₃ wear-NS=TP₄, dhoti₅ wear-NS=TP₆}

"The man and the woman should wear the Pu·txuŁy in Kefina·r style (with the right arm uncovered) and wear a turban."

[34]

/mox₁ kuposm₂ it-t=o·xiyi₃ ku·x₄ ja·ket₅ it-t=o·xiyi₆/

{man₁ shirt₂ put-NS-NEGC₃ woman₄ blouse₅ put-NS-NEGC₆}

"The man should not wear a shirt and the woman should not wear a blouse."

[35]

/koy₁ uŁa·r₂ it-s₃ in-ni₄ willy₅ xo·rym₆ xis-t=o·xiyi₇/

{hand₁ inside₂ put-PANF₃ what-EMPH₄ good₅ function₆ do-NS=NEGC₇}

"One should not do any good action while keeping the hand inside (the Pu·txuŁy)."

[36]

/twi·r₁ tid-p-pok₂ koy=muxθ-p-pok₃ pis=it-p-pok₄ iθ-mo·ry₅ in-ni₆ willy₇ ko·rym₈ xis-n-um₉ koy₁₀ kefina·r₁₁ it-t=iyi₁₂/

{cooked.rice₁ eat-NS-TMP₂ hand=salute-NS-TMP₃ bow=keep-NS-TMP₄ this-like₅ what-EMPH₆ good₇ function₈ do-TP-AP₉ hand₁₀ kefina·r.style₁₁ put- NS=DCL₁₂}

"While eating rice, while saluting, while performing PI ceremony – thus whenever good function is performed, the right arm should not be covered by Pu·txuŁy."

[37]

/kupo·sm₁ ja·ket₂ it-t=o·xiyi₃/

{shirt₁ blouse₂ put-NS-NEGC₃}

"One should not wear a shirt or a blouse."

# Ethnographic Information from Oral Texts

**[38]**

/pïs=ït-t₁ kuʾx-m₂ mox-m₃ sarg=taṛp₄ tüty₅ puxuṛ.puʾtxuŁy₆ puʾt-t=ïyi₇/

{bow=place-NS₁ woman-AP₂ man-AP₃ cloth.with.brocaded.borders=dhoti₄ wear.NPNF₅ brocaded.PuʾtxuŁy₆ wear-NS=DCL₇}

"The woman and man who are performing the PI ceremony should wear dhotis with brocaded edges and ornamentally brocaded PuʾtxuŁy."

**[39]**

/pïs=ït-p-ïk₁ pod-fy=oʾŁ₂ ofody=oʾŁ-m₃ moʾtoʾf=ït-s₄ fod-či₅/

{bow=place-NS-PUR₁ come-NS=person₂ all=person-AP₃ beautiful.attire=put-PANF₄ come-NPT.TP₅}

"All the Todas who come for the PI ceremony come well attired."

**[40]**

/nöw=xïs-s=ï-xïs-s₁ tüŁym=oʾy-š₂ fod-či₃/

{song=make-PANF=this-do-PANF₁ happiness=become-PANF₂ come-NPT.TP₃}

"They come merrily singing songs and doing such things."

**[41]**

/pïs=ït-p-ïk₁ pod-fy=oʾŁ₂ ofody=oʾŁ-k-m₃ aʾs̲-s̲₄ marjoʾdy=xïs-xuʾṛy-fït-s₅ ofody-oʾŁ-m₆ pïs=ït-t=ïṛt-k₇ fïʾ-t=ïyi₈/

{bow=place-NS-PUR₁ come-NS=person₂ all=person-DAT-AP₃ home-LOC₄ honour=do-CMP1.NPNF-CMP-PA₅ all-person-AP₆ bow=place-NS=place-DAT₇ go-NS=TP₈}

"All the persons should go to the PI ceremony place after treating nicely all the guests who came for the ceremony."

**[42]**

/mïdalkoy₁ kïsf=oʾŁ₂ soʾty-n=kuʾty=fïʾy₃ pïs=ït-t₄ meʾnt-s̲₅ pöŁkïn-xudy₆ kelp=xïs-či₇/

{earlier₁ some=person₂ soʾty-ACC=along.with=go.NPNF₃ bow=place-NS₄ tree-LOC₅ lamp-niche₆ cut=do-NPT.TP₇}

"Before then, some persons alongwith persons from Soʾty go and the PI ceremony tree and will make a notch in the PI ceremony-tree for lamp-niche."

**[43]**

/ofoʾdy₁ meʾṇaʾn-s̲₂ pöŁkïn-xudy₃ kïs₄ pïs=ït-t=oʾxïyi₅/

{all₁ trees-LOC₂ lamp-niche make.NPNF₄ bow=place-NS=NEGC₅}

"One should not make a lamp-niche in any tree and do the PI ceremony there."

**[44]**

/köʾs̲₁ pöʾs̲₂ kuṛes̲₃ kïḏ₄ poθïn₅ kwaḏky₆ ïxïs₇ wïḷḷy₈ meʾṇaʾn-s̲₉ nwïʾty₁₀ pïs=ït-t=ïyi₁₁/

{köʾs̲₁ pöʾs̲₂ kuṛes̲₃ kïḏ₄ poθïn₅ kwaḏky₆ such₇ good₈ trees-LOC₉ see.NPNF₁₀ bow=place-NS=DCL₁₁}

"One should look for a tree among good trees like *köʾs̲, pöʾs̲, kuṛes̲, kïḏ, poθïn, kwaḏky* and then perform the PI ceremony (at that tree)."

**[45]**

/wid₁ mod-s₂ tan=piyin₃ tamïn₄ tan=mox-aˑm₅ tan=wir̥.feˑd₆ tanon₇ karwïdey₈ perwïdey₉ aθ.aˑn.n₁₀ moxaˑn-g₁₁ ofody=oˑL-k-m₁₂ wid₁₃ meˑnt-s₁₄ pöLkïn-xudy₁₅ wid.oy=ïθ-s-ïθ-či₁₆/

{one₁ village-LOC₂ one's=grandfather₃ one's.father₄ one's=son-PL₅ one's=younger.brothers₆ one's.elder.brothers₇ father's.younger.brothers₈ father's.elder.brothers₉ their₁₀ sons-DAT₁₁ all=person-DAT-AP₁₂ one₁₃ tree-LOC₁₄ lamp-niches₁₅ be=remain-PANF-PC-NPT.TP₁₆}

"In one village, in (just the same one) tree, there are lamp-niches (made during the PIceremonies of) ones grandfather, father, sons, younger brothers, elder brothers, father's younger brothers, father's elder brothers, their sons and all."

**[46]**

/am-meˑn-n₁ nwïˑty-š₂ ofody=oˑL-m₃ em₄ im-meˑnt-s₅ pïs=ït-ş-pïmi=ïd-s₆ ïtwid₇ swïˑly=xïs-s₈ aˑfoṭ-či₉/

{that-tree-ACC₁ see-PANF₂ all-person-AP₃ we₄ this-tree-LOC₅ bow=place-PA-NPT.FE=say-PANF(>QUOT)₆ big₇ stories=make-PANF₈ talk-NPT.TP₉}

"Seing that tree, all of (us) (proudly) tell big stories (such as): 'We performed our PI ceremony in this tree'."

**[47]**

/ïtwid₁ meˑn₂ oˑy₃ inaˑm₄ mars=fït-n-wïr₅ ofody-oˑL-m₆ arkyl₇ oˑy=fïṭ-či₈/

{old₁ tree₂ become.NPNF₃ some.time₄ fall=CMP-TP-COND₅ all-people-AP₆ sorrow₇ become=CMP-NPT.TP₈}

"If the tree falls after becoming old, all the people feel sad."

**[48]**

/oˑd₁ ne·s₂ wid.oˑy-fy₃ ïrn₄ nwïˑty₅ twa·s₆ ama·s₇ ïrn₈ xïs-či₉/

{meadow₁ shade₂ is-NS₃ place₄ see.NPNF₅ Shola.forest₆ that.side₇ place₈ make-NPT.TP₉}

"(They) prepare the place on the side of the Shola-forest (for PI ceremony) after seing (=selecting a place) which has a meadow and shade."

**[49]**

/potm₁ ery₂ wid=θer₃ ïṭ-fy₄ puθ-ady₅ mon-föLk₆ paščy₇ nïyyi₈ iθ-aˑm₉ öry-aˑm-wid₁₀ tozmox₁₁ ap-pïs=ït-t₁₂ ïrt-k₁₃ eˑt-s=fod-či₁₄/

{millet₁ Ragi.grains₂ one=handful₃ keep-NS₄ new-pot₅ clay-lamp₆ cotton₇ ghee₈ this-PL₉ who-PL-one(>someone)₁₀ woman₁₁ that-bow=place-NS₁₂ place-DAT₁₃ carry-PANF=come-NPT.TP₁₄}

"Some woman will carry a handful of millet and Ragi grains, a new pot, a clay-lamp, cotton, ghee and come to that PI ceremony place."

**[50]**
/kuˑx=tan-miˑmy₁ kefinaˑ<u>r</u>=i<u>t</u>-s₂ pöŁk-k₃ niy₄ iˈ<u>t</u>₅ pöŁk₆ koty=iθ-t=iyi₇/
{woman=one's.own-mother.in.law₁ kefinaˑ<u>r</u>.style=keep-PANF₂ lamp-DAT₃ ghee₄ keep.NPNF₅ lamp₆ light=remain-NS=TP₇}
"The mother-in-law, with her right arm uncovered (ceremoniously in Kefinaˑ<u>r</u> style) should put ghee in the lamp and light it."

**[51]**
/tan-miˑmy₁ pöŁk₂ koty-š₃ ady-wi<u>r</u>₄ potm₅ e<u>r</u>y₆ ofody-m₇ meˑ<u>n</u>-pöˑr-k₈ foc-či₉/
{one's.own-mother.in.law₁ lamp₂ light-PANF₃ pot-ASC₄ millet₅ Ragi₆ all-AP₇ tree-root-DAT₈ keep-NPT.TP₉}
"Having lit the lamp, the mother-in-law keeps at the base of the tree a potful of millet, Ragi grains and all other."

**[52]**
/töˑn₁ wi<u>d</u>₂ to<u>t</u>₃ meˑ<u>n</u>-pöˑr-k₄ foc-či₅/
{honey.comb₁ one₂ chunk₃ tree-root-DAT₄ keep-NPT.TP₅}
"She keeps a chunk of honey-comb at the base of the tree."

**[53]**
/kuˑx=mox-m₁ ofody-oˑŁ-m-n₂ koˑl-mil=fidθ-t=iyi₃/
{woman=man-AP₁ all-person-AP-POS₂ legs-on=fall-NS=DCL₃}
"The woman and the man should fall at the feet of all (salute their feet in the traditional way)."

**[54]**
/poyoˑŁ-aˑn-n₁ soˑtyaˑn-n₂ miidalkoy₃ koˑl-mil=fidθ-t=iyi₄/
{poyoˑŁ-PL-ACC Soˑty-ACC₂ first₃ legs-on=fall-NS=DCL₃}
"They should salute the feet of the men from among the poyoˑŁ and soˑty."

**[55]**
/poyoˑŁ-aˑm₁ wi<u>d</u>₂ pil-poˑŁ₃ tod-či₄/
{poyoˑŁ-PL₁ one₂ Pil-heifer₃ give-NPT.TP₄}
" One of the poyoˑŁ (on behalf of all of them) gives a heifer (which is called pil-poˑŁ; 'pil' here means 'bow')."

**[56]**
/pil-poˑŁ₁ kwi<u>r</u>-oˑ=fit-n-wi<u>r</u>₂ kuˑx₃ amunoˑ<u>t</u>-s₄ ta<u>r</u>aˑ<u>r</u>₅ twaˑnt-fit-u=i<u>d</u>-či₆/
{Pil-heifer₁ give-PNN=CMP-TP-COND₂ woman₃ after.world-LOC₄ in.front.of.house₅ sweep-CMP-TP=say-NPT.TP(>QUOT)₆}
"If a Pil-heifer is not given (at that time), the woman (after her death) will remain sweeping the front of the house in the nether world."

[57]

/mox₁ pis̱=tu·r₂ wid.o·y-fy₃ i̇rt-k₄ fi·y₅ pis̱=θu·r₆ farc-s₇ pis̱₈ ki̇s-s₉ e·t-s₁₀ pil.poḶy.fo·s̱-k₁₁ fod-či₁₂/

{man₁ bow=grass₂ exist-NS₃ place-DAT₄ go.NPNF₅ bow=grass₆ pluck-PANF₇ bow₈ make-PANF₉ carry-PANF₁₀ PilpoḶyfo·s̱-DAT₁₁ come-NPT.TP₁₂}

"The man goes to the place where bow-grass is, having cut the bow-grass, having made the bow, having brought it with him, comes to the Bow-temple (the place of bow-placing ceremony)."

[58]

/pis̱=i̇t-t₁ mox₂ tan=poyo·Ḷ-a·n-s̱₃ taltwi̇t-o·Ḷ-n₄ pis̱=i̇d-k-i̇n-a·=i̇d₅ wid-ti̱rk₆ fenty-či₇/

{bow=place-NS₁ man₂ his.own=poyo·Ḷ-PL-LOC₃ eldest-man-ACC₄ bow=place-VOL-FS-Q=QUOT₅ one-time₆ ask-NPT.TP₇}

"The man who is going to place the bow, will ask once to the eldest man from his poyo·Ḷ "Should I place the bow?""

[59]

/pin₁ ap-poyo·Ḷ₂ kwi̱r₃ i̇d-či₄/
{then₁ that-poyo·Ḷ₂ give₃ say-NPT.TP₄}
"Then that poyo·Ḷ says: "Give!""

[60]

/ku·x₁ mox-n₂ pis̱-i̇n-pis̱-u=i̇d-s̱₃ pis̱=kwi̇sm₄ pö·r-n₅ mu·d₆ ti̱rk₇ penty-či₈/

{woman₁ man-ACC₂ bow-what-bow-TP=QUOT-PANF₃ bow=ritual.name₄ name-ACC₅ three₆ times₇ ask-NPT.TP₈}

"Then the woman asks the man for the ritual name of bow of the clan by saying three times: "Bow, what bow?""

[61]

/mox₁ tan-n₂ modo·Ḷ₃ pis̱=kwi̇sm₄ pö·r-n₅ mu·d₆ ti̱rk₇ ti̱rky₈ östy-či₉/
{man₁ self-POS₂ clansmen₃ bow=ritual.name₄ name-ACC₅ three₆ times₇ again₈ say-NPT.TP₉}

"The man replies three times (with) the ritual bow name of his clan."

[62]

/ku·x₁ pis̱-i̇n-pis̱-u=i̇d₂ wi̇d₃ ti̱rk₄ penty-n-wi̱r₅ mox₆ tan-n₇ pis̱=kwi̇sm₈ pö·r-n₉ östy-či₁₀/

{woman₁ bow-what-bow-TP=QUOT₂ one₃ time₄ ask-TP-COND₅ man₆ his.own-POS₇ bow=ritual.name₈ name-ACC₉ say-NPT.TP₁₀}

"When the woman asks once "Bow, what bow?", the man answers with the ceremonial bow-name of his clan."

[63]

/i̇xis₁ ku·x₂ mu·d₃ ti̱rk₄ penty-či₅, mox₆ wi̇d-wi̇d-ti̇rk-m₇ ti̱rky₈ östy-či₉/
{thus₁ woman₂ three₃ times₄ ask-NPT.TP₅, man₆ one-one-turn-AP₇ turn₈ say-NPT.TP₉}

"Thus the woman asks three times and the man answers each time."

**[64]**

/pïs̱=kwïṣm₁ pöˑr₂ öšty-kuˑṛy-n-wïṛ₃ mox₄ kuˑx-k₅ pïṣ₆ kwïṛt-či₇/

{bow=ritual.name₁ name₂ say-CMP1.NPNF-TP-COND₃ man₄ woman-DAT₅ bow₆ give-NPT.TP₇}

"When telling the ceremonial name of the bow is completed, the man gives the bow to the woman."

**[65]**

/kuˑx₁ eˑd̲=xoy-s̲-m₂ pïs̱₃ eˑt-s₄ nes̱=oty-š₅ pö Łkïnxudy=muˑnïṛ-k₆ meˑṇ=pöˑr-k₇ nilč̣-foc-ïθ-či₈/

{woman₁ two=hands-LOC-AP₂ bow₃ lift-PANF₄ forehead=pour-PANF₅ lamp.niche=in.front-DAT₆ tree=base-DAT₇ make.to.stand-keep-remain-NPT.TP₈}

"The woman taking the bow in both hands, touching it to her forehead (as a mark of respect), keeps it standing at (leaning against)the base of the tree in front of the lamp-niche."

**[66]**

/pïs̱₁ pod-kuˑṛy-n-wïṛ₂ pïs̱=ït-t₃ meˑṇ=pas̱-maˑṛ-k₄ taltwïˑt₅ poyoˑŁ-am₆ nïd̲-či₇, mox₈ noṛt-k₉ nïd̲-t=ïyi₁₀, mox-k₁₁ öṛ-maˑṛ-k₁₂ kuˑx₁₃ nïd̲-t=ïyi₁₄/

{bow₁ come-CMP1.NPNF-TP-COND₂ bow=place-NS₃ tree=right-side-DAT₄ eldest₅ poyoˑŁ-PL₆ stand-NPT.TP₇, man₈ centre-DAT₉ stand-NS=TP₁₀ man-DAT₁₁ left-side-DAT₁₂ woman₁₃ stand-NS=TP₁₄}

"When the bow comes (i.e., when it is brought), the elder poyoˑŁs will stand towards the right side of the tree, the man should stand in the centre, the woman should stand to the left of the man."

**[67]**

/koty=foc-fy₁ nïy-pöŁk₂ muˑnïṛ-k₃ wïd̲-oˑŁ-aˑm₄ taṛt=nïd̲-t=oˑxïyi₅/

{light.NPNF=keep-NS₁ ghee-lamp₂ front-DAT₃ one-person-PL₄ block=stand-NS=NEGC₅}

"Nobody stood stand in front of the lit lamp blocking (its view)."

**[68]**

/pïs̱=ït-p-ïk₁ fod-fy=oˑŁ-aˑm₂ kwïdbïl-aˑm₃ pïs̱=ït-t₄ meˑṇ₅ muˑnïṛ-k₆ ťicik₇ poθy₈ nïd̲-t=ïyi₉/

{bow=place-NS-PUR₁ come-NS=person-PL₂ family-PL₃ bow=place-NS₄ tree₅ front-DAT₆ a.little₇ distance₈ stand-NS=TP₉}

"The family members of those who came for PI ceremony should stand a little away in the front of the bow-placing (ceremony) tree."

[69]

/kuˑxₗ pöŁk₂ muˑniˑṛ-k₃ ïθ-či₄, pöŁk₅ koty-t₆ nwïˑty-či₇, koṇ-ş₈ keṇṇiˑṛ₉ faṛ-ş-aˑṛ-mₗ₀ nwïˑty-čiₗₗ/

{womanₗ lamp₂ front-DAT₃ sit-NPT.TP₄, lamp₅ burn-NS₆ look-NPT.TP₇ eyes-LOC₈ tears₉ come-DES-till-APₗ₀ look-NPT.TPₗₗ}

"The woman sits in front of the lamp and gazes at the flame of the lamp; she keeps gazing till she gets tears in her eyes."

[70]

/pïnₗ kuˑx₂ mox₃ ofody=oˑŁ-m₄ moḍ-k₅ fiˑč-či₆/

{thenₗ woman₂ man₃ all=person-PL₄ village-DAT₅ go-NPT.TP₆}

"Then the woman, the man and all go to the village."

[71]

/oˑŁ-aˑmₗ oˑšt-či₂, oˑḍ-či₃, tozmox-aˑm₄ nöw=xïs₅ ofody₆ kuˑx₇ mox-mïl₈ koṇ₉ öšty-čiₗ₀/

{man-PLₗ dance-NPT.TP₂, dance-NPT.TP₃, woman-PL₄ song=make.NPNF₅ all₆ women₇ men-on₈ ritual.phrases₉ tell-NPT.TPₗ₀}

"Men dance and dance, women make songs by inserting traditional phrases (into the songs) making fun of men and women present there."

[72]

/moḍ-şₗ poyoˑŁ=mox-aˑm₂ twïˑṛ₃ oṭ-či₄, pïn₅ eş₆ kwïṛt-či₇/

{village-LOCₗ poyoˑŁ=man-PL₂ rice₃ cook-NPT.TP₄, then₅ leaves₆ give-NPT.TP₇}

"In the village, the poyoˑŁ will cook rice and then serve it (distribute leaf-plates)."

[73]

/pïş=ïṭ-tₗ paˑṇ-k₂ a-koˑlt-ş₃ kapoty₄ twïˑr₅ oṭ-pïmi₆, iˑny₇ twïˑṛ₈ koˑṛm₉ oṭ-pïmiₗ₀/

{bow-place-NSₗ festival-DAT₂ that-time-LOC₃ jaggery₄ rice₅ cook-NPT.FE₆, now₇ rice₈ curry₉ cook-NPT.FEₗ₀}

"For the PI ceremony, we used to cook rice with jaggery in those days, (but) now we cook rice and curry (too)."

[74]

/ofody-oˑŁ-mₗ tïḍ=xuˑṛy-n-wïr₂ a-moḍ-k₃ koˑt-fy₄ kuˑx-aˑm₅ eş₆ eˑt₇ eṛs-t=ïyi₈/

{all-person-APₗ eat=CMP1-TP-COND₂ that-village-DAT₃ marry-NS₄ woman-PL₅ leaves₆ lift.NPNF₇ throw-NS=TP₈}

"After all the people finish eating, the women who are married into that village remove the leaf plates and throw them away."

[75]

/pïnₗ moḍ.oˑŁ₂ koˑt-fy₃ kuˑx₄ wïdaˑṛ₅ ïθ₆ tïḍ-t=ïyi₇/

{thenₗ clansmen₂ marry-NS₃ women₄ one.side₅ sit.NPNF₆ eat-NS=TP₇}

"Then all the women married to the clansmen (of that village) should sit down to eat."

[76]

/pïs̱=ït-n-wïr̲=θon₁ om₂ o·Ł₃ o·y-pïmi₄/

{bow=place-TP-COND=EMPH₁ we₂ Todas₃ become-NPT.FE₄}

"Only by perfoming the PI ceremony, we become Todas."

[77]

/om₁ ïxïs₂ pïs̱=ït-n-wïr̲=θon₃ ïnïna·r̲₄ o·Ł₅ o·y₆ wïd̲.o·y-pïmi₇/

{we₁ this.way₂ bow=place-TP-COND=EMPH₃ in.future₄ Todas₅ become.NPNF₆ are-NPT.FE₇}

"Only if we perfom PI cermonies this way, in future (having become Todas) we will be Todas."

[78]

/o·Ł-k₁ ko·f-o·s₂ o·Ł=tozmox-a·n-n₃ moxfat̲-o·s₄ par̲muta·r̲₅ kïd̲θ-fy₆ mox-a·m₇ ku·x-a·m₈ pïs̱=ït-p-ïk₉ mud̲-ø-ïyi₁₀/

{Todas-DAT₁ marry-PNN₂ Toda-woman-PL-ACC₃ marry-PNN₄ outside₅ cross-NS₆ man-PL₇ woman-PL₈ bow=place-NS-PUR₉ permit-NEG-TP₁₀}

"Without marrying a Toda man or a Toda woman, when the Toda men and women cross (the boundary and marry outside Toda community), they are not permitted to perform PI ceremony."

[79]

/pïs̱=ïd-o·s₁ aθa·n-g₂ pe·d-fy₃ kar̲wïd-a·m₄ mod̲.o·Ł₅ o·y₆ o·Ł₇ o·y-xïs̱-ø-ïyi₈/

{bow=place-PNN₁ they-DAT₂ be.born-NS₃ child-PL₄ clansmen₅ become.NPNF₆ Toda₇ become-POT-NEG-TP₈}

"If the PI ceremony is not performed, the children born to them cannot become clansmen and so cannot become Todas."

[80]

/mod̲.o·Ł₁ o·y-n-wïr̲=θon₂ o·Ł₃ o·y-p-ïk₄ mud̲s-či₅/

{clansmen₁ become-TP-COND-EMPH₂ Toda₃ become-NS-PUR₄ be.possible-NPT.TP₅}

"If one becomes a clansman (=is assigned to a clan), then only it is possible for him/her to become a Toda."

[81]

/mïdalkoy₁ östy-fy₂ exïs₃ pïs̱=ït-t-u=ïd̲₄ östy-š-pini₅/

{beginning₁ tell-NS₂ how₃ bow=place-NS-TP=QUOT₄ tell-PA-FS₅}

"So far (what was ) told was how to perform the PI ceremony."

[82]

/mïdalkoy₁ o·n₂ östy-fy₃ exïs₄ pïs̱=ït-u=ïd̲₅ ïyi₆/

{beginning₁ I₂ tell-NS₃ how₄ bow=place-TP=QUOT₅ TP₆}

"So far what I told is about how to perform the PI ceremony."

[83]

/ïxïs-al-o·()₁ ikot₂ pïs-a·m₃ exïs₄ ït-pïm=ïd₅ nwïṭ-k-u₆/

{like.this-be-PRNN₁ difficult₂ bow-PL₃ how₄ place-NPT.FE=QUOT₅ see-VOL-FI₆}

"If it is not like this, let us see how we place exceptional bows (perform PI ceremony in difficult cases which are exceptions)."

[84]

/ikoṭ=pïs₁ ïd-n-wïr₂ ïn-u=ïd₃ nwïṭ-k-u₄/

{difficult=bow₁ say-TP-COND₂ what-TP=QUOT₃ see-VOL-FI₆}

"Let us see what is meant by exceptional bow (that is placed in difficult situations)."

[85]

/ikoṭ₁ pïs₂ kwïrt-t₃ etk-ïšky₄ wïḍḍi₅/

{difficult₁ bow₂ give-NS₃ how.much-WQ₄ are₅}

"There are many ways (<how many ways!) of performing exceptional PI ceremony."

[86]

/tozmox₁ pïṛ=o·x-o·-fïṭ-n-wïr₂ tan-n₃ wïṛxity-k₄ pïs=ïṭ-n-wïr₅ ap-pïs₆ at-tozmox₇ faṭy-či₈/

{woman₁ pregnancy=become-PNN-CMP-TP-COND₂ self-POS₃ co.wife/husband's.brother's.wife-DAT₄ bow=place-TP-COND₅ that-bow₆ that-woman₇ hold-NPT.TP₈}

"If a woman cannot become pregnant, she holds/touches (can touch) the bow when her co-wife or her husband's brother's wife undergoes the PI ceremony."

[87]

/axïs₁ pïs₂ faṭy-n-wïr₃ a·n-g₄ pïs=koḍs-fy₅ mo·θiry₆ ïyi₇/

{thus₁ bow₃ hold-TP-COND₃ her-DAT₄ bow=succeed-NS₅ similar₆ TP₇}

"If she thus holds the bow, it is as good as the bow was successful for her."

[88]

/pïn₁ kö·ḍ.o·y-fïṭ-n-wïr₂ pïs₃ faṭ-eṭy-t₄ kwïḷḷ-ø-ïyi₅/

{then₁ die-CMP-TP-COND₂ bow₃ hold-MED-NS₄ need-NEG-DCL₅}

"Then if (she) dies, it is not necessary to make her (corpse) hold a bow."

[89]

/pïṛ=xu·x-k₁ pïs=ïṭ-n-wïr₂ pïṛ₃ o·x-o·-fy₄ wïṛxity₅ pïṛ=xu·x₆ ama·ṛ-k₇ nïḍ-s₈ pïs₉ faṭy-či₁₀/

{pregnant=woman-DAT₁ bow=place-TP-COND₂ pregnancy₃ become-NEG-NS₄ co.wife₅ pregnant=woman₆ that.side-DAT₇ stand-PANF₈ bow₉ hold-NPT.TP₁₀}

"When the PI ceremony is performed for a pregnant woman, her co-wife (or her husband's brother's wife) who is not pregnant stands next to her and holds the bow."

## Ethnographic Information from Oral Texts

[90]

/axïs₁ e·d₂ wï·ṛxity₃ winna·ṛ₄ pïs₅ faṭy-či₆/

{thus₁ two₂ co.wives/brothers'.wives₃ same.time₄ bow₅ hold-NPT.TP₆}

"That way both the co-wives of a husband or wives of brothers hold the bow at the same time (and participate in the PI ceremony)."

[91]

/pïn₁ pi·ṛ=xu·x₂ pïs-n₃ me·n₄ põ·r-k₅ foc-či₆, põŁk-k₇ nwï·ty-či₈/

{then₁ pregnant=woman₂ bow-ACC₃ tree₄ base-DAT₅ keep-NPT.TP₆, lamp-DAT₇ look-NPT.TP₈}

"Then the pregnant woman places the bow at the base of the tree and gazes at the lamp."

[92]

/pïs₁ faṭy-fy₂ wï·ṛxity-xu·x₃ põŁk-k₄ nwï·t-ø-ïyi₅/

{bow₁ hold-NS₂ co.wife-woman₃ lamp-DAT₄ see-NEG-TP₅}

"The co-wife who (also) touched the bow does not (sit down and) gaze at the lamp."

[93]

/peŁxo·t-fy₁ ku·x₂ pïs=ïd-o·-n-wïr₃ maṣfot-fït-n-wïr₄ mox.faṭ-fy=o·Ł₅ pïs₆ kwaṛt-s₇ fod₈ kaṛwïd-n₉ mer-k₁₀ ïṣt-eṭy-š₁₁ pïs₁₂ tozmox-n₁₃ koy-k₁₄ kwïṛt-či₁₅/

{marry-NS₁ woman₂ bow=place-PNN-TP-COND₃ deliver-CMP-TP-COND₄ marry-NS=man₅ bow₆ cut-PANF₇ come.NPNF₈ child-ACC₉ lap-DAT₁₀ sit-MED-PANF₁₁ bow₁₂ wife-POS₁₃ hand-DAT₁₄ give-NPT.TP₁₅}

"If the wife delivers a baby without performing the PI ceremony, then the husband (goes) cuts a bow (makes a bow from bow-grass), comes, makes the infant sit in the lap (of the wife) and gives the bow to the hand (of the wife)."

[94]

/iθ₁ pïs₂ koy-k₃ kwïṛt-t₄ ïd-pïmi₅/

{this₁ bow₂ hand-DAT₃ give-NS₄ say-NPT.FE₅}

"We call this 'giving-bow-to-the-hand'."

[95]

/pi·ṛ₁ o·x-o·s₂ pïs₃ faṭ-o·s₄ tozmox₅ kö·d.o·y-fït-n-wïr₆, kaṛ-xu·x₇ pïs₈ faṭ-o·s₉ kö·d.o·y-fït-n-um₁₀, ku·x₁₁ maṣfot-s₁₂ kö·d.o·y-fït-n-wïr₁₃, aθan-g₁₄ kö·tno·t-s₁₅ mö·θkuḍyfo·ṣ-s₁₆ pïs₁₇ faṭy=eṭy-t=ïyi₁₈/

{pregnancy₁ become-PNN₂ bow₃ hold-PNN₄ woman₅ die-CMP-TP-COND₆ young-girl₇ bow₈ hold-PNN₉ die-CMP-TP-AP₁₀ woman₁₁ deliver-PANF₁₂ die-CMP-TP-COND₁₃ they-DAT₁₄ cremation.ground-LOC₁₅ Mö·θkuḍyfo·ṣ-LOC₁₆ bow₁₇ hold=MED-NS=TP₁₈}

"When a woman dies without becoming pregnant and without holding a bow, when a small girl dies without holding a bow, when a woman dies after delivering (but before holding a bow), then all of them (=their corpses) are made to touch a bow in the Mö·θkuḍyfo·ṣ area near the cremation ground (before cremation)."

[96]

/aθan-g$_1$ o·Ł$_2$ wiḍoy-n-u$_3$, o·Ł$_4$ pïṣ$_5$ faṭy=eṭy-či$_6$, o·Ł$_7$ o·ṛθ-fïṭ-n-wïṛ$_8$ maṛ$_9$ o·x-o·-fy$_{10}$ o·Ł-a·m$_{11}$ pïṣ$_{12}$ faṭ=eṭy-či$_{13}$/

{them-DAT$_1$ husband$_2$ exist-TP-COND$_3$ husband$_4$ bow$_5$ hold=MED-NPT.TP$_6$, husband$_7$ not.exist-CMP-TP-COND$_8$ prohibited.relationship$_9$ become-PNN-NS$_{10}$ man-PL$_{11}$ bow$_{12}$ hold=MED-NPT.TP$_{13}$}

"If such a (dead) woman has a husband, the husband makes her (hand) touch the bow; if there is no husband, then a man (from the husband's clan) who does not belong to a prohibited relationship makes her(hand) touch the bow."

[97]

/pïṣ=ït$_1$ karwïd$_2$ fe·d-n-um$_3$ iko·ṭ$_4$ pïṣ=ït$_5$ karwïd$_6$ fe·d-n-um$_7$ ak-karwïd-a·n-n$_8$ pïṣ-k$_9$ fe·d-fy$_{10}$ karwïd$_{11}$ ïd-pïmi$_{12}$/

{bow=place.NPNF$_1$ child$_2$ be.born-TP-AP$_3$ difficult$_4$ bow=place.NPNF$_5$ child$_6$ be.born-TP-AP$_7$ that-child-PL-ACC$_8$ bow-DAT$_9$ born-NS$_{10}$ chid$_{11}$ say-NPT.FE$_{12}$}

"If a child is born after PI ceremony is conducted (for its mother) or if a child is born after the exceptional PI ceremony was conducted, we call such a child 'child-born-to-a-bow'."

[98]

/pïṣ=ïd-o·s$_1$ iko·ṭ$_2$ pïṣ-m$_3$ ïd-o·s$_4$ fe·d-fy$_5$ karwïd-a·n-n$_6$ pïṣ-k$_7$ pe·ṛ-o·-fy$_8$ karwïd-a·m$_9$ ïd-pïmi$_{10}$/

{bow=place-PNN$_1$ difficult$_2$ bow-AP$_3$ place-PNN$_4$ be.born-NS$_5$ child-PL-ACC$_6$ bow-DAT$_7$ born-NEG-NS$_8$ child-PL$_9$ say-NPT.FE$_{10}$}

"Those children who are born without the proper PI ceremony or (even) the exceptional PI ceremony – we call such children 'children-not-born-to-a-bow'."

[99]

/pïṣ=ït-ku·ṛy-n-wïr$_1$ ak-ku·x-k$_2$ pi·ṛ$_3$ warθ-fïṭ-n-wïṛ$_4$ maṛč$_5$ pïṣ=ït-t=o·xïyi$_6$/

{bow=place-CMPl.NPNF-TP-COND$_1$ that-woman-DAT$_2$ pregnancy$_3$ break-CMP-TP-COND$_4$ again$_5$ bow=place-NS=NEGC$_6$}

"If the PI ceremony is sucessfully completed, even if the woman has a miscarriage, it is not necessary to perform PI ceremony again (during her next pregnancy)."

[100]

/karwïd$_1$ o·ṛθo·-fïṭ-n-um-ku·dy$_2$ kö·ṭno·ṭ-s$_3$ pïṣ$_4$ kwïṛ-eṭy-t=o·xïyi$_5$/

{child$_1$ does.not.exist-CMP-TP-COND-even$_2$ cremation.ground-LOC$_3$ bow$_4$ give-MED-NS=NEGC$_5$}

"(After the PI ceremony was performed) even if the child dies, there is no need to get a bow be given to the woman (when she dies) in the cremation ground."

[101]

/ak-ku·x-k$_1$ pïṣ=kods=ku·ṛy-ši$_2$/

{that-woman-DAT$_1$ bow=succed=CMP$_1$-NPT.TP$_2$}

"The bow was successful for that woman."

# Ethnographic Information from Oral Texts

**[102]**

/kuˑx-k₁ pïṣ=iṭ=kuˑry₂ poyoˑL=ter-n₃ kwïr-oˑs-n-wïr₄ pïṣ=iṭ-fy-oˑL₅ pïṣ=wïθky-fïṭ-či₆/

{woman-DAT₁ bow=place-CMP₂ wife's.natal.patriclansmen's=compensation-ACC₃ give-PNN-TP-COND₄ bow=place-NS-man₅ bow=untie-CMP-NPT.TP₆}

"(Even) after performing the PI ceremony, if the poyoˑL do not give the special compensation (called poyoˑLter), then the man who performed the PI ceremony cancels (unties) the bow."

**[103]**

/pïṣ=wïθky-fïṭ-n-wïr₁ peˑd-fy₂ karwïd₃ modoˑL₄ oˑy-p-ïk₅ mud-ø-ïyi₆/

{bow=untie-CMP-TP-COND₁ born-NS₂ child₃ clansmen₄ become-NS-PUR₅ permit-NEG-DCL₆}

"The child born after the bow is cancelled is not permitted to join the clansmen."

**[104]**

/pïṣ₁ kwïr=ety-t₂ ïd-n-wïr₃ wïd₄ xuˑx₅ pïr₆ oˑy-š₇ an-oˑL₈ köˑd.oˑy-fïṭ-n-um₉ oˑL₁₀ ïṭkoṭ-fïṭ-n-um₁₁ pïn₁₂ ak-kuˑx-k₁₃ tan.mox.faṭy.fy.oˑL₁₄ tan.on₁₅ tan.wïd.feˑd₁₆ oˑry-aˑm₁₇ kuˑx-k₁₈ pïṣ₁₉ kwïr=ety-či₂₀/

{bow₁ give=MED-NS₂ say-TP-COND₃ one₄ woman₅ pregnancy₆ become-PANF₇ her-husband₈ die-CMP-TP-AP₉ husband₁₀ disappear-CMP-TP-AP₁₁ then₁₂ that-woman-DAT₁₃ husband₁₄ elder.brother₁₅ younger.brother₁₆ anybody-PL₁₇ woman-DAT₁₈ bow₁₉ give=MED-NPT.TP₂₀}

"What is meant by 'letting-the-bow-be-given' is: when a woman becomes pregnant and if her husband dies or disappears, then either the elder brother or the younger brother of her husband may give her the bow."

**[105]**

/tan.on₁ tan.wïd.feˑd₂ oˑrθ-fïṭ-n-wïr₃ mox₄ mod.oˑL-ṣ₅ oˑry.aˑm₆ mar₇ oˑx-oˑ-fy₈ oˑL-n₉ pïṣ₁₀ kwïr=ety-či₁₁/

{elder.brother₁ younger.brother₂ not.exist-CMP-TP-COND₃ husband₄ clansmen-LOC₅ anyone₆ probibited.relationship₇ become-PNN-NS₈ man-ACC₉ bow₁₀ give=MED-NPT.TP₁₁}

"If the husband has no brothers, then one of the males from the clan who is not in a prohibited relationship will be made to give the bow."

**[106]**

/mox₁ modoˑL₂ oˑrθ-fïṭ-n-wïr₃ ïn.wïd₄ mod.oˑL-ṣ₅ mar₆ oˑx-oˑ-fy₇ oˑL₈ wïd-n₉ pïṣ₁₀ kwïr=ety-či₁₁/

{husband₁ clansmen₂ not.exist-CMP-TP-COND₃ another₄ clansmen-LOC₅ prohibited.relationsip₆ become-PNN-NS₇ man₈ one-ACC₉ bow₁₀ give=MED-NPT.TP₁₁}

"If there is no man (remaining) from the clan of the husband, then a man from another clan who is not in a prohibited relationship will be made to give the bow."

[107]

/mun-xo·st-s₁ wïd₂ a·s-s₃ uŁ.s₄ tanon-a·m₅ wïd.oy-o·y-n-wïr₆ tanon-an-g₇ xo·t.fïy-a·m₈ o·ry.a·m₉ pi·r₁₀ o·y-n-wïr₁₁ kar̠θas₁₂ tanon₁₃ pïs̠=ïṭ-u=ïd̠-čï₁₅/

{previous-time-LOC₁ one₂ house-LOC₃ inside₄ brother-PL₅ be-become-TP-COND₆ brother-PL-DAT₇ married-PL₈ anyone₉ pregnant₁₀ become-TP-COND₁₁ eldest₁₂ elder.brother₁₃ bow=place-TP=say-NPT.TP₁₅}

"They say that in the earlier times, if the wife of any of the brothers staying in the same house becomes pregnant, the eldest brother used to present the bow."

[108]

/ï·ny₁ axïs₂ o·r̠θi₃; tam-tam₄ ko·t-fy-a·n-g₅ aθ-a·n-n₆ o·Ł-a·m-θon₇ pïs̠=ïṭ-čï₈/

{now₁ thus₂ does.not.exist₃ one's.own-one's.own marry-NS-PL-DAT₅ she-PL-POS₆ husband-PL-EMPH₇ bow=place-NPT.TP₈}

"These days, it is not so; each woman's husband performs the PI ceremony for his wife."

[109]

/ku·x₁ ni·r̠.oty.t₂ peri̠s₃ ιopy=fï·y-n-g₄ pi·r̠₅ ïyï₆ ïd₇ unc-s₈ o·Ł₉ pïs̠=ïṭ-n-wïr₁₀ ap-pïs̠-n₁₁ per̠=pïs̠₁₂ ïd-pïmi₁₃/

{woman₁ menstruation₂ emptily₃ miss=CMP-TP-while₄ pregnancy₅ TP₆ QUOT₇ think-PANF₈ husband₉ bow=place-TP-COND₁₀ that-bow-ACC₁₁ empty=bow₁₂ say-NPT.FE₁₃}

"If after mistaking that a woman missed her periods, then if the husband places the bow in a PI ceremony such a bow is called 'empty bow'."

[110]

/per̠=pïs̠=ïṭ-n-wïr₁ pïs̠₂ kody-ø-ïyi₃/

{empty=bow=place-TP-COND₁ bow₂ succeed-NEG-TP₃}

"If an 'empty bow' is placed (if such a PI ceremony is performed), then the bow is not successful."

[111]

/pïn₁ pi·r̠₂ o·y-n-wïr₃ mar̠č₄ pïs̠=ïd-t=ïyi₅/

{later₁ pregnant₂ become-TP-COND₃ again₄ bow=place-NS-TP₅}

"When (she) becomes pregnant later, then again PI ceremony should be conducted."

[112]

/axïs₁ pi·r̠₂ o·x-o·-fïṭ-n-wïr₃ kö·d.o·y-n-wïr₄ pïs̠₅ koy-k₆ pat̠=ety-čï₇/

{thus₁ pregnant₂ become-NEG-CMP-TP-COND₃ die-TP-COND₄ bow₅ hand-DAT₆ catch=MED-NPT.TP₇}

"Thus, if (she) does not become pregnant and if she dies, then a bow has to be placed in her hand."

[113]

/o·Ł₁ al-o·θ₂ ïn.o·ṟy-a·m₃ om₄ xalxe·ṯy₅ pïṣ=ïṯ-n-wïṟ₆ ap-pïṣ₇ peṟ=pïṣ₈ ïyi₉ aθ₁₀ sal-ø-ïyi₁₁/

{Todas₁ be-PRNN₂ any.other-PL₃ we₄ imitate.NPNF₅ bow=place-TP-COND₆ that=bow₇ empty-bow₈ TP₉ that₁₀ be.valid-NEG-TP₁₁}

"Not being a Toda, if any others, imitating us, does PI ceremony, that bow is an empty bow – it is not valid."

[114]

/i·ny₁ pïṣ=kwïṣm₂ pö·ṟ-a·n-n₃ öšt-k-ïn₄/

{now₁ bow-ritual.name₂ name-PL-ACC₃ tell-VOL-FS₄}

"Now I tell the ritual names of the bows (of all the clans)."

[115]

/pïṣ-i·šky₁ pïl-xoṟo·f₂ pïl-poxom₃ pïl-koṟ-pu·f₄ pïṣ-poxom₅ pïṣm-po·xm₆ pïṣ-xoṟo·f₇ ko·yṣy-tïšky₈ pïṣ-eṣ-pob₉ kaṭṣ-kuṭṣ-kuṟ-koṭ-pïṣ₁₀ pïl-nöṟo·f₁₁ pïl-xoṟ-u·f₁₂/

{pïṣ-i·šky₁ pïl-xoṟo·f₂ pïl-poxom₃ pïl-koṟ-pu·f₄ pïṣ-poxom₅ pïṣm-po·xm₆ pïṣ-xoṟo·f₇ ko·yṣy-tïšky₈ pïṣ-eṣ-pob₉ kaṭṣ-kuṭṣ-kuṟ-koṭ-pïṣ₁₀ pïl-nöṟo·f₁₁ pïl-xoṟ-u·f₁₂}

"Comment: The above are the ceremonial bow-names of different clans}"

[116]

/ïxïs₁ pa·ng-kwïṟ-o·Ł-k₂ alak-alak₃ pïṣ₄ wïḍḍi₅/

{this.way₁ fifteen-branch-people-DAT₂ different-different₃ bow₄ is₅}

"Thus each of the fifteen clans has individual ceremonial bows."

[117]

/wï·ṟït-pok₁ wïḍ-e·₂ mo·θiṟy₃ o·y-n-um₄ alak-alak₅ pïṣ₆ wïḍḍi₇/

{call-TMP₁ one-EMPH₂ like₃ become-TP-AP₄ different-different₅ bow₆ is₇}

"Even though they (=some of them) sound similar in pronunciation, there is a different bow name (for each clan)."

[118]

/ö·n₁ pïṣ=kwïṣm₂ pö·ṟ₃ ofody-m₄ öšty-š₅ pïṟxo·ṟ-o·Ł-k₆ pö·ṟ₇ öšt-k-ïn₈ ïd-n-g₉ ofsoṟt-ṣ₁₀ kaṭṣ-kuṭṣ-kuṟ-koṭ-pïṣ₁₁ ïd-s₁₂ ö·n-no·t-k₁₃ pürs-fïṭ-ṣ-k=ïd-či₁₄/

{ö·n₁ bow=ritual.name₂ name₃ all-AP₄ tell-PANF₅ Pïṟxo·ṟ.clan-people-DAT₆ name₇ tell-VOL-FS₈ say-TP-while₉ hurry-LOC₁₀ "kaṭṣ-kuṭṣ-kuṟ-koṭ-pïṣ"₁₁ say-PANF₁₂ ö·n-land-DAT₁₃ disappear-CMP-PA-TP=say-NPT.TP₁₄}

"The God Ö·n after announcing the ceremonial bow-names of all the clans, (since he was) in a hurry, as for the ceremonial bow-name for the Pïṟxo·ṟ clan people, he announced "kaṭṣ-kuṭṣ-kuṟ-koṭ-pïṣ", and went away to Ö·n no·ṟ, the land of Ö·n."

## CONCLUSIONS

Collection and analysis of oral texts from native speakers of a language who are knowledgeable about their culture and society could result in deeper insights into their cultural patterns. This is in addition to the rich linguistic material that one obtains from such narratives. In fact, in the case of Todas, some of the most

detailed information about their society and culture comes from the collection of texts and songs by Emeneau (1971 and 1984). The text presented and analysed in this paper brings out some more details related to one of the most important ceremonies of the Todas.

## SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

All the phonemic symbols used by TGT are preserved in this paper with two exceptions (our replacements are shown in brackets). These symbols are listed below in the order given in DEDR (p.584) :  a, a·, b, c, č, d, ḍ, ḍ, e, e·, f, g, i, i·, ï, ï·, j, k, l, ł, ḷ,(= Ł), m, n, ṇ, o, o·, ö, ö·, p, r, ṛ, ṛ, s, ṣ, š, ṣ, t, ṭ, ṭ, θ, u, u·, ü, ü·, ẕ (= ḍ).

Text in phonemic transcription is included within / /.  Morpheme-to-morpheme translation is included within { }. In morphemic translation, {-} separates a free morpheme and a bound morpheme; {=} separates two free morphemes.  A dot {.} is used to separate two meanigful units across the transcribed sentence and the corresponding morpheme translation when the number of items do not equally match across them. All forms that separated by a space are marked with a subscript numeral at both the levels (for ease of verification). Verbal roots are mostly quoted with two forms, e.g., *id-~iṭ-* as 'to place/put' -- these two forms are conventionally called $S^1$ and $S^2$ forms of the same verbal root/base (which occur in different conjugations).

The abbreviations used are:  ABL : ablative, ACC : accusative, AP : additive particle, ASC : associative, CMP : completive, CMP1 : completive (denoted by the auxiliary *ku·r~ku·ry*), COND : conditional, DAT : dative, DCL : declarative, DES : desiderative, EMPH : emphatic, FE : first person exclusive plural, FI : first person inclusive plural, FS: first person singular, INDF : indefinitive (represented by the suffix *–um*), LOC : locative, MED : mediative, NEG : negative, NEGC : the negative copula *o·x.ïyi*, NPT : non-past, NPNF : non-past non-finite (the S2 verb stem alone functions as NPNF -- hence, the gloss is marked, for instance, as *pod* 'come. NPNF), NS : nominalizing suffix, PA : past, PANF : past nonfinite (the past stem itself functions as past non-finite form which is also known as conjunctive participle – hence the non-finite usage of past stem is indicated this way), PC : perfective-continuative, PL : plural, PNN : past negative non-finite, POS : possessive, POT : potential, PRNN : present negative non-finite, PUR : purposive, Q : interrogative, QUOT : quotative, SP : second person plural, SS : second person singular, TMP : temporal suffix (at the time of), TP : third person, VBN : verbal noun marker,VOL : voluntative, WQ : wondering query marker.

## NOTES

[i] Throughout the text, we treat *iyi* as a unitary form 'TP' meaning 'third person', although we follow TGT's analysis of this form into -iy '3rd personal suffix' and -*i* 'declarative particle' (Re: TGT (§I.8.6, II.8.2)). This is done for the ease of interlinear translation.

[ii] Among the regular finite paradigms, Toda has a Negative Paradigm (TGT: 130ff and Bhaskararao 2006: 126ff). TGT ,and following it Bhaskararao (2006) consider the negative paradigm formed out of the S2 form of the verb followed directly by a person suffix (without any separate suffix to denote 'negative'). However, in this paper, we introduced a -ø suffix to denote 'negative' just for the sake of clarity of explanation.

[iii] English Translation Equivalents of Words and Phrases: Most of the Toda terms are directly translatable into Engish. Proper nouns are not translated. A couple of words require explanatory translation and so they are left untranslated in the above text. Their lengthier translations are the following: *poyo·L* : 'one's wife's natal patriclansmen' *so·ty* : 'a person from the moiety other than one's own moiety' [out of the currently existing fourteen clans, five are grouped under one moiety viz., *towfiLy*; and nine belong to the other moiety viz., *to·rθas*].

[iv] According to TGT (p.218): "The utterances of the ceremony are: husband to wife's father: pis idkina·¿ 'shall I give the bow?'; wife's father: pis id. 'give the bow!'; wife to husband: pis i·/e· fisu. 'the bow – what bow is it?'; husband to wife: kwasm of bow, repeated three times."

[v] The *kwasms* recorded by TGT (p.218) are: **No·s,** pis ii·sky; **Ka·s,** pis fo·xm; **To·ro·r,** pil gorof; **Kö·ro·r,** pil garuf; **Kerir,** pi gorof; **Niry,** pil bo·xm, or pil garuf; **Pirgo·r,** kaskus kurkudfis; **Inkity,** pis fo·xm, or pis yu·xm; **Melga·s,** pil goruf; **Kö·r,** pis ii·sky, or pil goru·f; **KoLem,** pis xee·n.

## REFERENCES

Bhaskararao, Peri. 2006. "Toda Verbal Paradigms – Past, Non-past and Negative". *Research on Minority Languages of South and South-east Asia: Working Papers*. ILCAA, Tokyo Univesity of Foreign Studies 126-44.

Burrow, T. and Emeneau, M.B. 1984. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary -- Second Edition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. [= DEDR] DEDR = Burrow and Emeneau 1984.

Emeneau, M.B. 1971. *Toda Songs*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Emeneau, M.B. 1984. *Toda Grammar and Texts*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. [= TGT]. TGT = Emeneau 1984.

Goswami, B.B. 1965. "Bow and Arrow Ceremony of the Toda -- An Interpretation". *Bulletin of the Anthropological Survey of India*. 14 (1-2). 35-49.

Rivers, W.H. 1906. *The Todas*. London: Macmillan.

Walker, Anthony. 1986. *The Toda of South India: A New Look*. Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corp.

_____. 2003. *The Toda People of South India: Between Tradition and Modernity*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corp. [an earlier 1998 edition of this was titled *Between Tradition and Modernity and Other Essays on the Toda of South India*].

_____. 2003a. "Establishing Paternity: The Pi̤s i̤tt Rite of the Toda (1985)". Walker 2003. 82-88pp. [Reported to have been 'originally published in *The India Magazine of Her People and Culture* (New Delhi) 5(7):48-57' with a 'few minor revisions and stylistic changes...'].

_____.2004. "The Truth about the Todas". *Frontline*. Volume 21-Issue 05, (February 28-March 12, 2004).

[http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl2105/stories/20040312000206600.htm] *accessed on 16 March 2010*.