

SEWALA PUJA BINTILA PUJA: NOTES ON THULUNG RITUAL LANGUAGE

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The Thulung Rai of East Nepal possess their own language and show a tendency towards endogamy, but if they themselves were asked what it was that made them a distinct social group, the more traditional among them would probably reply that it was possession of their own *Diwla*. The word could be roughly translated 'religion; lore and custom, especially as transmitted by the tribal priest'¹ The *Diwla* includes physical activities -- the coming together of certain types of people on certain occasions, the offering of sacrifices, the exchange of gifts, dancing -- but to a great extent it consists of language, of certain types of utterance. Thulung myths and legends are usually recounted (on the rare occasions when they are recounted) in more or less straightforward narrative prose, but the language used in rituals is altogether distinct from that of everyday speech.² No ethnographer interested in traditional Thulung culture could ignore the challenge of the ritual language, and I think it has some wider interest, both to the culture historian and to the linguist and student of oral literature.

Let us first situate ritual language within what one might call the 'collective linguistic competence' of the Thulung.

1. Speaking Nepali, they would render it *muddum* (= the *mundum* or *mundhum* of other areas). I shall as a rule mark Nepali words with a 'N'.

2. For examples of Thulung narrative texts see Allen (1975 Ch. VI), also my unpublished D. Phil. thesis (copies in Tribhuvan University Library, Nepal, and the Centre d'Etudes himalayennes, Paris, as well as Oxford).

1. Thulung
 - a. ritual
 - b. everyday
2. Nepali
3. Other
 - a. Rai
 - b. Asian
 - c. European

The category 'other' is included to avoid appearing to attribute to contemporary Thulung an unreal isolation. Occasionally a Thulung will take a wife from another Rai (or Kiranti) subgroup, and the children will learn their mother's language as well as their father's. Many Thulung have worked abroad, in Darjeeling ('Darling' as they call it, without humorous intent), elsewhere in India, with the British army in Malaysia or Hong-Kong, and have acquired a smattering or more of the languages spoken around them. With the spread of primary schools in the area since 1960, those of the younger generation who attend and persist are exposed to formal teaching of English, and one of my closest neighbours passed out first of his year from the military college at Sandhurst in the U.K. I was once hailed in a bazar in ex-prisoner-of-war Italian.

However the typical Thulung is simply bilingual in Thulung and Nepali. One cannot guess when the last monolingual Thulung died, but immigrants whose only language was Nepali have been arriving in the area for something like two centuries; and only some of the lowest castes among them learned any Thulung. The national language was useful also for dealings with the State and with other immigrants whose language was Bodic but not Rai. We need not here consider the varieties of Nepali, its degrees of politeness expressed by pronouns of address, its songs, the specialised languages

of the schoolmaster, of the local politician, of the Thulung who helps out with legal documents or with the astrological calendar.

Within Thulung the sensitive investigator could no doubt distinguish a number of functionally specific varieties ('diatypes'), for instance the style appropriate to joking relationships between affines. Ritual language would then be just one particularly divergent diatype, the one appropriate for addressing ancestors and spirits. The central and typical use of ritual language is in the priest's chanted invocations to the supernatural world, but two sorts of qualification must be made. Firstly, as regards the invoker, there are other types of officiant in the area, particularly the medium, who if he is a Thulung chants in ritual language (cf. Allen 1976). Informants occasionally said that such and such a ritual expression was used by the medium as opposed to the priest, and as the two have functions that overlap only in part, one would expect them actually to say different things; however the structure of the ritual language is the same and we need not here distinguish the priest's and medium's use of it. Occasionally the priest is accompanied, in would-be unison, by an assistant or by any members of the congregation who know the chant.

Secondly, ritual language invocations are sometimes enunciated without being chanted. In one instance a priest's voice became so monotonous as to lose any musical quality. More typically, an officiant stops chanting and starts to invoke in his speaking voice, though doubtless with a specific voice quality. A layman who had occasion to address the supernatural in Thulung would similarly use his ordinary voice, as

for instance when attempting a private exorcism, or when at a death ceremony the mourners ejaculate curt and uncoordinated instructions to the soul of the deceased. Finally, ritual language expressions are embedded in spoken prose in the stylised ceremonial dialogues that lead up to a traditional wedding, and also to some extent in the telling of creation mythology.

In retrospect, one can dream of the ideal conditions for the study of Thulung ritual language. One knowledgeable old officiant after another would have taken one through his repertoire in a leisurely and systematic fashion, expounding both the general orientation of the ritual and the meaning of each word, and telling one the dates and places when he would be performing. The realities of fieldwork were otherwise. It was not particularly difficult in most villages to collect tape-recordings of rituals, and given sufficient patience one can attempt to transcribe whatever is audible above drumming, coughing and background conversation. The problem lies in the analysis of transcripts; unfortunately, willing, persistent and knowledgeable exegetes were hard to find, and it is difficult now to estimate how many of the uncertainties in what follows might have been avoidable.

A simple rite, e.g. to the spirit Rangkime (Ban Deutā), may involve only a single chant lasting a few minutes; on grander occasions four or six different chants (these figures being from ceremonies that I observed) may occur interspersed with other ritual activities over the course of hours or on successive days. In all, something over two dozen different chants were recorded; I do not offer an exact figure since an ethnomusicologist might regard a few of the chants as variants

one of another. If the chants have names they are not widely known. A typical chant consists musically of a single melodic phrase repeated throughout essentially without variation; sometimes groups of phrases are separated by slight pauses, which may be reinforced by closing and opening textual or musical features.

The textual transcription can usually be divided straightforwardly into lines corresponding to the melodic phrases. The lines themselves can be divided into (i) an element which is constant throughout the chant or which changes only rather seldom, (ii) an element varying from line to line. The first of two chants at the Mukli HuTpa rite (see Allen 1974: 8) opens as follows:

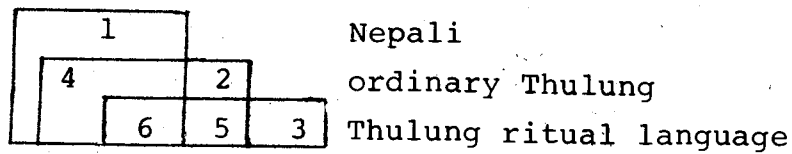
1. e mamasa marisa la onna
2. e yawalung tawalung a onna
3. e bichelung caurelung a onna...

Of the constant elements the line-opener, here *e*, probably never has a grammatical function; the final is often a verb, postposition or vocative particle, but here, as not uncommonly, I cannot translate it. The variable elements are nearly always binary in form as here, and they are the main subject of the paper. Sometimes the repeating melodic phrase covers only one half of the binary textual expression, sometimes it groups together two such expressions (though in that case the two halves of the melodic unit are closely similar).

The Thulung for 'binary ritual language expression' is *depcinəŋ* (cf. *dep* - 'invoke' and *nəŋ* 'name'). In line 1 above *mamasa marisa* is the ritual name for a certain sacred tree (the *simal* or silk-cotton tree at the major old village shrine)

while lines 2-3 refer to certain sacred stones (*lung* = stone). Classes of entity, as well as individual ones, can have ritual names, and in addition to building up a collection from transcripts of rituals one can always try asking a Thulung, preferably an elderly one, whether such and such an object or activity has a ritual name. It proved useful to record the vocabulary on cards together with other information: the location on transcripts (unless the item was excessively common), whether the form had been checked with an informant, and if so with whom (early unaided attempts at transcribing faster chants were highly unreliable), and available glosses or comments (usually in Nepali), or an indication of the inability of the particular informant to give one. Since the transcripts are apt to be highly repetitive, the cards make it much easier to collect variants and glosses and to make comparisons between villages. In this way upwards of 450 cards were collected. Even if one ignores the problem of variants, it is difficult to estimate how closely this figure approaches the total which would be collected in a more prolonged investigation covering all the Thulung villages; judging from the gradually decreasing increments obtained from attending new ceremonies or visiting new villages, one might hazard the guess of about half, though a proportion of the new accessions would be rarities.

In general, everything mentioned in a ritual must be mentioned by its ritual name, and there would be no point in a thing having a ritual name unless it was mentioned in a ritual. It is interesting to look, if only roughly, at the overlaps between what can be named in the three languages we are primarily concerned with.



1. Many important features of present-day Thulung life can only be named in Nepali (or in the course of a Thulung utterance, can only be named by means of Nepali loan-words). Examples are the plough and the associated technology of irrigated terrace agriculture.
2. It is difficult to be sure of negative results, but I doubt if there are either simple Nepali equivalents or ritual names for some of the rarer Thulung words, e.g. *dabel* 'the six or eight concentric rectangles drawn in the earth on top of graves, the outermost being made of bamboo'.
3. Certain types of evil spirit exist in Thulung culture only insofar as they are mentioned in ritual chants.
4. Some of the rarer and more insignificant fauna and flora make no appearance in ritual.
5. Certain ritual prestations such as *jiun*, or the ancestors' *chorseo*, have no Nepali equivalents.
6. Very many common traditional objects have all three sorts of label.

There is of course a further possibility 7 viz. that an entity with a ritual name could only be referred to in Thulung by a Nepali loan word. This has been omitted from the diagram because of its relative rarity. One example is maize (*makai*, no indigenous term): in one village (Lokhim) I was given the ritual name *rucela griuliuma* or *grindili grilimo*, but I never heard it used in a chant. There is no native Thulung word for worship (*pūjā* N), the ritual name for which appears in the title of this article. The rarity of category 7 has an obvious explanation. The vast majority

of category 1 words refer to innovations derived from contact with Nepali speakers; thus it is highly likely that before this contact the Thulung practised the slash-and-burn agriculture that is described in one of their myths. The innovations and loan-words were just one aspect of the process of Hinduisation, and the concomitant decline in the vitality of the local religion meant that few of the innovations such as the plough were incorporated in the chants. Instances of category 7 could of course arise from Nepali loan-words displacing native Thulung vocabulary, but although this displacement is certainly taking place it seldom seems to provide an obvious explanation.

To illustrate the problems and rewards of studying ritual language let us consider the parts of the house. It would be impossible here to give the original data in full, but rather than going to the other extreme of giving only a list of ritual names I distinguish between material from different villages and contexts; this will give some idea of the dimensions and degrees of variability encountered (Table I).³ The three main sources used differ in numerous respects (e.g. Karma's and DB's melodies are quite different), but all can be described as including a verbal journey which starts by listing parts of the house where the ritual is taking place, then leaves the house via the courtyard and village shrines. After visiting surrounding hamlets or villages (the Tingla version even takes a great leap as far as Bara Chatra near Dharan), the chant returns via the

3. Some of the more significant variants are: Col. I, 1-2 *lichiri khumori*; 3 *jāri goldori*; 4 *c. girburi*; 5 *s. bandamri*; 13 *tirisiungkhra*; 14 *w. thongkolma*; 15 *delphuri kharidelphu*; Col II *saksali* for *yachali*; 12 *ciuciuma hayungma*; 15 *kharidelphu patelkhom*; Col. III 7 1. *thomunem*; 8 *k. prāmunem*.

courtyard and reverses part of the list of house parts, viz. those items marked with R in Table 1. In Col. I the terminus of the return journey is *seorelung kokolung*, in Col. II it is *pramalung chamalung*, in Col. III *burkhali saksalichiT*. But this paper deals with the language, not with the ritual as such, and we must plunge into detail. Where I have no information or confident suggestions, I pass by without comment. I ignore minor variants, which may be dialectal, idiolectal, or simply my own recording errors.

Group A of Fig. 1 concerns the whole house and its roof. *Lichiri* (*bātā* N) = strip shaved from surface of bamboo, used e.g. to tie thatch to roofing timbers (but no doubt also in the old-fashioned wattle construction?). *Koksiuriu* (*kok* - = to strip) is a species of tree whose bark is said also to have been used as a tie. Final *-ri*, occasionally *-riu*, is often found in words connected with tying (cf. *riya* = rope, fibre). The infinitives *pramu* and *thomu* (roots *prəng-* and *thok-*) mean respectively 'found, originate' and 'sew (without needle)' but there is also an obsolescent expression *nem thok-* or *ghareri* N *thok-* 'build or found a house' which may be more relevant. *Bābiyo* N is a variety of grass used for thatching and distinct from *khar* N.⁴ For *khumori* cf. *khumsi-* 'put on or over one's head'. *Nebdi khibdi* is a well-known ritual name meaning house; cf. *nebDa* 'at home', TB **kim* 'house';⁵ the *-ya* is meaningless and for rhythm only.

B must deal with the wooden framework of the house.

4. Has the species spread to the area recently? I think this is true of certain other category 1 species, viz. the house sparrow (*bhangero*), the pigeon (*parewā*), and the destructive herb called *bamāre*. Thuling *liusiu* now seems to cover both *khar* and *bābiyo*, but on the basis of a 1944 world-list the former meaning may be primary.

5. I take this and other Tibeto-Burman reconstructions from Benedict(1972).

Goldo, *khisa*, *thəsa*, *æksi* and *əsa* are species of tree (Nepali equivalents are given in Allen 1975:246-9); *cuksiu* = *gobare* *sallā* N, *girbal* = *cimal*.N. The myth of the Building of the First House implies that the *seolam* (*sāl* N) is a reference to the Central Pillar, but the latter seems to have lost any importance in contemporary Thulung ritual.

C goes through the interior of the house (cf. Allen 1972:84-6). *H. chayongma* was said to mean 'niche' (*khopi* N). *Burkha* = back end of house furthest from main door, mainly used by women and for storage; final *-kha* (as in II 17) may mean 'earth' cf. TB **-rka* and *burkhum* 'cave'. *Cəngma* certainly means 'earth', as when Earth opens and men emerge in a creation myth, and there is perhaps a connotation of the womb-like; anyway *-chiT* (=bone marrow) was explained by the 'interior' location of the *burkha*. Suffixed *-khom* = place; the *mosium* is the area uphill of the fire and associated with the ancestors. *Yuyu* means something like 'agnatic descent'. If a man's father or paternal ancestor was a medium and he in turn becomes one, he does so *u yayu baTpa* 'it being his y., it being in the family line'. *Sakha* is from *sākh* N 'one's own (e.g. kin or lineage)'; I do not know if *yayukhom sakhakhom* denotes a distinct area or object. *Dape* = shelf projecting from wall uphill of fire and used for offerings to ancestors. The *-ma* is semantically empty, as it often is; the *-həp* literally means 'master' but like Gurung *kleh* or Tib. *bdag* is much used of spiritual beings. The *chəkkər* (*sarāng* N) is a drying frame for holding e.g. trays (*rembu*, cf. *riyambu*) of grain etc. over the fire. It may once have been supported from beneath but is now suspended by four ropes from the rafters; *polong* is an adverb describing the motion of something that swings freely. The *dakar* is a smaller shelf sometimes found above the *chakar*.

D deals with hearth stones (*lung* = stone). *Seor* is a complex notion related to good fortune and family continuity; *dewa* = priest; for *prama* see A above; *chama* is from *chas*- 'become numerous, thrive'. *Hadi* is obscure but may relate to what is prodigious in magical or physical power; *hadilung baralung* can be used of the hearth-stones collectively, *madilung seorelung* of the downhill of the three stones (Lokhim). The hearth-stone triad is found very widely in Nepal and elsewhere (Stein 1970), and was no doubt once very important in ritual. I found now little but confusion on the topic, and I cannot confirm the obvious suggestion that the well demarcated unit II 1-3 consists of the names for particular members of the triad. *Pakhalung makhalung* are the four stones bounding the hearth (*pakha* = outside); one informant thought they once had four separate names.

E starts in the downhill part of the house (*ciupciu*; *hayu* = down) and moves out to the courtyard. The *cokcolung* is a flat circular stone let into the floor here on which to thresh grain with the wooden hammer I 11 (for *-si* cf. TB **sing* 'tree, wood'). The *jaskelo* is the side door, a category 7 object which, like maize, only has a ritual name from one village. The *lančiuka* is the main or front door which leads to the *pindi* (^o*piDhi* N), another category 7 word. I was told that *ribdung* (cf. II 17 *ritung*) was for *ribjung* 'shade'. The *siungkhra*, the standard two-foot high wooden mortar, serves for husking rice (*song-* = pound, pack down); it cannot be used on a verandah because the roof is too low, and one could speculate on why the chant appears to locate it there. The *dengkuli* was said to be the stone at the base of a ladder (*kokhrem* = notched pole for climbing), and like the Lokhim

walemdangkhu,⁶ here refers to the bottom step on which one treads (*dem-*) when descending from the level of the house, which is raised on a stone platform, and entering the courtyard (*delphu*). *Khari* = unirrigated field, so perhaps once 'clearing, open space'.

It is most unlikely that one could achieve complete elucidation of every item in a corpus of Thulung ritual language. Though it must be easier to memorise when it is understood, it is not a language whose effectiveness depends on its being fully intelligible to humans. Although my informants in general expected ritual names to have a specific global meaning, whether or not they as individuals knew it, they were not particularly interested in the analysis of its parts, and were not much given to folk-etymologising. Here and there one finds obvious confusions, e.g. the fusion of I 1-2 cited in footnote 3; I 9 similarly looks very doubtful. In II 12-13 the officiant's departure from binarism was facilitated because the repeating melodic unit in this chant separates one half of a ritual name from its fellow; in other chants he doubles the *ciuciuma*. The layman's repetition of *hayuma* is no more plausible and an element is surely missing. One suspects a certain amount of garbling in the transmission of unintelligible units of lower level, e.g. *dare*, *dili* and *tiri* with *siungkhra*. No doubt some of the lexical material is simply archaic and obsolete (*khib* -in II 11?), but it would be quite wrong to assume that this explained everything that is now uninterpretable. In III 4 *makha* may well simply echo or rhyme with *pakha* and some forms may have been originally coined without even this degree of

6. The *-khop* in the chant is odd, since this suffix usually refers to an instrument with which one does something.

motivation.

On the other hand, ritual language is far from mumbo jumbo. The more one learns, the more makes sense. Certainly more field work in the villages studied and others would fill some gaps, and comparative knowledge of related languages would help. Possibly something would be gained from more intensive comparison of this particular domain of ritual vocabulary with the rest of my corpus. Even with my present data, in a good half of the items I can with reasonable confidence identify more than one of the lexical elements, not counting suffixes.

It is probably clear already that study of the ritual language could contribute a good deal to the understanding of Thulung domestic architecture, particularly in its historical dimension; of course it would have to be supplemented by an account of the present-day house, ideally in the same detail as Sagant (1976) provides for the Limbu. Briefly, it is interesting to note not only what is mentioned in the ritual but also what is omitted--no reference to the upper storey, to windows, to the cot on the verandah, all of them category 1 entities. One notes in passing that the fire normally smouldering in the hearth is never listed. To my ear there is a hint of poetry in the references to bone-marrow, to the pendulous motion of the drying frame, to the welcome shade of the verandah, and even for the prosaic it is surely instructive to see how objects or areas are qualified or associated with each other. For good measure, here are a couple more domestic objects with ritual names of ethnohistorical interest. A pot (*lip*) is *kumalip timalip* from the Kumhale, the Newar potter caste. The metal plates often beaten during rituals are *neware kanchare* or *nepale k.*, again

indicating their traditional origin (*kāso* N=bronze; Nepal formerly meant only the Central Valley).

Ritual names evidently have a variety of structures. Let us carve them up into morphological elements represented by letters of the alphabet, each half or 'limb' of the item being separated by a period. Elements identical with, or 'closely resembling, known or probable free-standing words in ordinary Thulung will be represented by capitals (A B C). The remaining elements, those which cannot stand freely, can be divided into suffixes (s t), which occur as such in the ordinary language, and others (a b c). I ignore possible segmentation below the level of the free-standing word (as perhaps in *burkha* or *delphu*). As for the semantics, the ritual name normally has a global meaning, and I underline the symbol for the element or elements that come closest to representing it. The notion of closeness needs refining and there are many difficulties in applying this particular analysis; but I hope that it is better than nothing.

The simplest types would be A.B, two coordinate elements contributing equally to the global meaning, and A. B, where the second element qualifies or is in apposition to the first. Possible examples of one or other are the ritual names for clans; in Lokhim the Charipa clan is *minali harita*, the Muypa clan *congdisē coyongma*. In prose invocations ritual names often have the form A.b, e.g. *dewa mata* 'priest', or *seor reor* 'good fortune etc.'; in chants the simplest common forms are As. Bs (I 8) or As. bs (II 6). In these examples the semantic significance of the suffix is zero all the 'weight' lying on the other elements. One can recognise a continuum in which this relative weighting is gradually reversed. In

mosiukhom murikhom (As.bs) the suffix meaning 'place' adds little since the *mosium* is already a place; in *yayukhom sakhakhom* it adds more and one might rather hesitantly write As. Bs. There is a similar problem of what to underline in *seolamri thasari* (As.Bs). The notation becomes less problematic in items like *seorlung reorlung* (AB.cB), but one has to make some arbitrary decisions on what constitutes a free-standing form: is *kuma* sufficiently close to *Kumhale* to count? In the ritual language as a whole the commonest general class is undoubtedly a/AB.c/CB where the slant line separates alternatives. There is a considerable range of other types and I cannot attempt exhaustive treatment even of the examples in this paper. Here are a few suggested analyses: *lamciuka phalema* A.bst, *dilisiungkhra songlema* aB.Cst (representing a verb root as if it were a free-standing element), *burkhalichiT yachalichiT* AsB.csB, *lichiri thomunem* A.BC (the BC being, uncharacteristically for Thulung, exocentric).

Phonologically, the two limbs of a ritual name often show similarities which are not due to their containing the same morphemes. There are rather few examples in this paper, but a wider treatment would show a significant incidence of various types of rhyme and assonance.

Typologically, Thulung ritual language seems to be intermediate between two phenomena. On the one hand stands 'canonical parallelism' (Fox 1977). *Khlamyami toeyami* (As.bs, *-mi* being a pluraliser) is the ritual name for curses, but in one chant each limb is followed by *hepto* 'I have warded off', the result being two parallel five-syllable statements. On the other hand stands what Malkiel (1959) writing on European languages calls 'irreversible binomials'; to explore the phenomenon in Asian languages one could well

start with Emeneau (1978). Nepali examples are *dāju-bhāi* = brothers, *bhut-pret* = ghosts, *riti-sthiti* = customs, and I mention a few Thulung examples in my grammar (p.97) under the heading of 'augmentatives'. One could speculate on the historical movement of Thulung lexical material between the two types of expression. Mauss (1968:135) once emphasised the influence of ritual languages on ordinary ones, and he may well be right here.

As for regional comparison, it is highly likely that the other Rai subgroups, with their distinct but related languages, possess or once possessed, ritual languages comparable to that of the Thulung; MacDougal (1973:211) mentions the Kulung clan as having 'not only a popular name, but also a magical name, or *daphning*, used only in ritual contexts'. Very little has been done so far to publish texts of invocations by nonliterate ritual specialists in Nepal, but Höfer (1971) analyses a spoken Tamang invocation to the spirits of the soil and inhabited space (*gzhi-bdag gnas-bdag* (Tib)) residing in a certain territory (*gyülsang tāsang*), who are to ward off evil spirits (*shindre sandre*); the AB.C/cB pattern is clear. I have a few other isolated instances of the pattern in the names of spirits or mythological beings from elsewhere in the Himalayas, and Thulung may turn out to be quite typical.⁷

The relative neglect of non-literate ritual languages is understandable. There are other urgent tasks of a more obvious and practical nature, and the outside investigator interested in the bilingual Himalayan peoples may well feel

7. Cf. Watters (1975:132) on the Kham Magar: 'There is also a ritualized language which includes many terms, phrases, and jingles unintelligible to the layman.' Their First Shaman officiated at 'Rāni Gāon, Māni Gāon' (ibid: 151, 154).

that two languages are already more than enough. At first, Thulung ritual language appeared to present a totally confused tangle of obsolete forms and corrupt variants, and one could easily despair. But suppose that the texts had been scratched on scapulae a millennium or two ago: what a lot of scholarly attention they would receive! I hope that if little more has been achieved, the deficiencies of the present paper will encourage others to collect fuller material. It would be sad indeed if, with the advance of the literate religions, this aspect of the cultural richness and creativity of the Nepalese peoples were allowed to perish without fuller record.

TABLE I

I. <u>Lokhim</u>	II. <u>Mukli</u>	III. <u>Tingla</u>
A. 1. lichiri pramunem	9. lichiri thomunem	7. liucheri pramunem
		8. koksiuriu thomunem
2. babiyo khumori	10. babiyo khaytanem	1. babiya khayeta.
	11. nebdiya khibdiya	2. nebdi khebdi
B. 3. goldori jariri		
4. cuksiuriu khisari.	8. cuksiuri goldori.	
5. seolamri bundamri	7. seolamri thəsari	6. thəsari seolamri
6. səksiuri cəsari.		
C. hayongma chayongma		
burikha cəngmakha	burkhalichiT	burkhali saksalichiT R
geguchem masikhom	yachalichiT	
	4. mosiukhom murikhom	
	5. yayukhom sakhakhom	
7. dapekhom gujekhom	6. dapema gujema	5. dapehəp gujehəp
8. dakarma chakarma.	chakarma polongma	chəkkərma riyambu
D. 9. chakarma seorelung	1. kokolung seorelung	3. seorlung reorlung
madilung seorelung	2. dewalung matalung R	4. pakhalung makhalung
10. kokolung hadilung	3. pramalung chamalung	
E. 11. tongkolma	12. hayuma ciuciuma	9. jaskelo kinglema R
tongkolsi R		
cokcolung murilung	13. (hayuma) ceblema. R	10. cokcolung bandilung R
12. lamciuka phanglema R	14. lamcəka phanglema R	11. lamciuka phəlema R
wacipindi	pindima ribdungkha	12. pindima demciuli R
13. deresiungkhra	15. dilisiungkhra	
songlema	songlema R	
14. walemdangkhop	16. dengkuli kokhremco R	
dakhopsi R		
15. kharidelphu	17. kharidelphu	13. kharidelphu
yukhreda. R	ritungkha. R	liphuridor. R

Legend; table I

Ritual vocabulary concerning the house collected from three villages. Arabic numerals indicate the order in which items occur in the three main sources. Col. I comes mainly from a chant by the priest Karma at a *chorseo camu* rite preceding the arrival of the bride's wedding party. Un-numbered items were added by one Karbari in a dictated list which, though shorter than his co-villager's, never controverted its order. Col. II is mainly from three virtually identical *chorseo* rites chanted by the priest DB between 18.2.70 and 10.10.70, unnumbered items being isolated data supplied by Mukli laymen. Col. III all comes from the dictation of the priest's assistant CP; numbered items are from a ritual whose nature was not satisfactorily ascertained. Full stops break up the lists into strings of consecutive items which in the original are separated from other strings by ritual expressions unconnected with parts of the house. The division into groups A-E is my own. The symbol R is explained in the text.

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