

the ban rajas- a vanishing himalayan tribe

Johan Reinhard

The Ban Raja (Forest Kings) or Kusunda have always maintained a notoriety in Nepal far out of proportion to their numbers. (1) Even a century ago they most likely did not exceed a few hundred in population. But they nonetheless have given rise to stories heard throughout Nepal, and their name is known to many a villager who never set eyes on a Ban Raja. "King's of the Forest" is a grandiose title for what today amounts to a few families widely scattered and economically impoverished. It is ironical that this tribe is becoming known just as it is disappearing as a cultural and physical entity.

In this article I will attempt to present some of the information which I have been able to gather from the few Ban Raja I met in my travels. Under the circumstances, it is difficult to speak of a Kusunda "culture", for I only had contact with a few families widely separated in Central and Western Nepal. Furthermore, the information was collected in a short time without any means of verification. The degree to which the data is representative beyond a few individual families to a wider Ban Raja society is highly questionable and only the vaguest outline of the Ban Raja culture of the past can be gleaned from the few facts available to us. Some of this information has already been published (Reinhard 1969), and this paper should be viewed as an attempt to make some of this material known to a Nepali audience and to present more recent findings.

It might be well to pause here and examine what has thus far been published on the Ban Raja. First mention of them was in an article written by Brian Hodgson over a hundred years ago (1848). Although the title of his article led one to expect some information on the Ban Raja (Kusunda), he did little more than mention that he had been unable to make contact with them (Hodgson 1848, 650-651). At least he was able to give a rough idea of their way of life, however unflattering, "In short, they are altogether as near to what is usually called the state of nature as anything in human shape can well be..." (Hodgson 1848: 650). He added that they were nomadic, lived in lean-tos, and hunted game with bows and arrows. It is clear that Hodgson's linguistic assistants did manage to locate the Kusunda since he was able to publish a brief vocabulary a few years later (Hodgson 1857). This was destined to be the last original material to appear on the Kusunda for a century.

In the mid-1950's a Nepali historian (Naraharinath 1955-56: 8-9) published a short note on the Kusunda, which added a little to Hodgson's material, but being in Nepali was little known outside the country. It was left to Heine-Geldern (1958: 20-22) to note the lack of any study of the Kusunda, and his call for information was quickly answered by Nebesky - Wojkowitz (1959). He had also been unable to contact the Ban Raja, but had heard a reliable report that a few were living near Gorkha in Central Nepal. Following this lead, I located these Ban Raja in 1968 and the results of my brief stay with them have since been published (Reinhard 1969). To my knowledge no further original data has been published up to the present.

In early 1969, I came across a few Ban Raja families living in the Dang Valley in West Nepal. Unfortunately, none of those I encountered knew much about the customs of their forefathers or spoke the Ban Raja language. Most of these people were descendents of mixed marriages and were settled agriculturalists. I was able to locate a few Ban Raja in Surkhet District in 1969 and 1975, one of whom still speaks the language and hunts. It was from this man that most of my recent information was obtained. I have occasionally heard that other Ban Raja live in parts of West-Central Nepal. But even should this prove true, it seems unlikely that they will number more than a few families.

The name "Ban Raja" was apparently bestowed by villagers, who may have felt that people who could roam in, and live off, the forest were truly the masters or "kings" of it. Even today there are many villagers who dislike spending time in the forest due to a fear of spirits and wild animals. The Ban Raja prefer this name, and a few informants felt that their forefathers were indeed rulers of the forest land, just as a king rules over cultivated land. There are still a few Ban Raja who believe that they should not be held to the laws of the central government, at least as they relate to hunting.

Another term by which they are called is "Kusunda". This is a name they dislike, hardly surprising in view of its unfavorable connotations. In some areas of Nepal a man who doesn't listen to advice and behaves rudely may be called a "Kusunda". It is especially a term of abuse for the high caste Thakuri (cf. Turner 1931: 102), a caste with whom the Ban Raja claim a relationship. The etymology of the word is unclear, but one story told by Ban Raja and villagers alike is said to account for its origin. Long ago a famous sage, Balmiki, was about to begin meditating when Sita came to him and asked him to watch her baby, Lab, while she went to the river to wash. He agreed and began meditating after she had placed the baby near him. She later returned to find the sage deep in meditation. In order not to disturb him, she quietly picked up the baby and departed. After completing his meditation, Balmiki discovered the baby missing. In order to spare Sita grief at



losing her child, he fashioned an identical baby out of kus grass and brought it to life. Later Sita came by and discovered the other baby, which she then raised as her own. These two sons divided the country such that the one made originally from kus grass ruled the forest and his descendents are called Kusunda. Lab ruled the cultivated lands and his descendents are the Thakuri (cf. Bista 1972:99). Whatever the true origin of the term, the Ban Raja became known by that name in the literature primarily due to the writings of Hodgson. They refer to themselves in their own language as gilongdei mihaq (people of the forest) or simply mihaq (people). (2)

An interesting story concerning the origin of the Ban Raja was told to me by a Ban Raja in Central Nepal. Once there was a king who left his fields and water buffalo to the eldest of three sons. This son planted crops which did not grow and whenever he milked a buffalo, blood spurted out. While rubbing oil on his leg, a small black man sprang out from his thigh and vanished. The second son told his brother that because of these inauspicious signs he could not be king and must go and live in the forest. The Ban Raja are his descendents. The second son was successful in all that he did, and his descendents are the Thakuri. The story continues with the second son requiring someone to sacrifice a pig to the god Bhairab. He was unable to find anyone to do this, as people considered it the work of a low caste person. Finally, the third son performed the sacrifice, and the Magar, many of whom keep pigs today, are his descendents. In this way, the Ban Raja, Thakuri, and Magar are thought to be closely related. Ban Raja in West Nepal, however, who were unfamiliar with this story, disclaimed a relationship to the Magar. Nonetheless, all Ban Raja agreed that they are related to the Thakuri, a claim made, it might be added, by several tribes who ascribe to a high caste origin. (3)

There are a considerable number of stories told by villagers about the Ban Raja, a few of which appear to be based on a confusion in some villagers minds that the Ban Raja are like the famous yeti. In central Nepal especially, I was told that Kusunda live in the high mountains, are covered with hair, kill people, and so forth. Although some villagers use the terms Kusunda and Ban Raja to refer to any nomadic hunting tribe, many realize that they should be applied to the group with which I am concerned here. Occasionally, they tell stories which clearly indicate this, such as relate to the bows and arrows used by the Ban Raja or their traditional abhorrence of cow dung. In regards to the latter, contrary to the villagers who consider cow dung as a ritually purifying substance, the Ban Raja (until recently) refused to eat any foodstuffs with which it had contact. One common story tells of villagers happening upon a place where Ban Raja had temporarily deposited tubers. The villagers smeared cow dung on them and returned the next day to collect the tubers for they knew the Ban Raja would have abandoned them. According to the Ban Raja, this custom, along with

the refusal to drink milk or use butter, has only recently been lost, i.e. after they became settled agriculturalists.

That such stories are so widespread in Nepal is probably due to the long distances which the nomadic Ban Raja covered in their travels. Indeed, one man claimed to have travelled the length of Nepal and visited India also.

Interestingly, in both areas in which I located the Ban Raja, there are tribes which are said to be their enemies. In Central Nepal, the Chepang I met claimed to still be afraid of the Ban Raja, who they felt would shoot them on sight. Such, at least, was what they had been told by their fathers. The Chepang told me that originally there were two brothers who fought over their father's possessions following his death. The descendents of the two brothers are the Chepang and Ban Raja, who have remained enemies to this day (cf. Bista 1972: 99). However, the Ban Raja denied both being related to the Chepang or being their enemies.

In West Nepal several villagers told of how the Ban Raja were the "kings" of the Raute (See Reinhard 1974:265). They were said to collect taxes from the Raute, who therefore ran off whenever a Ban Raja came into the area. Both Ban Raja and Raute denied the story but apparently Raute have not been adverse to using it to



View to the south over the Kar Khola Valley in Central Nepal. A few Ban Raja live in the village of Satobati located in the upper center of the photograph. (1968)

their advantage on occasion. They seem to have claimed that they do not have to pay money for such things as bridge crossing fees since they only have to pay taxes to the Ban Raja.

I have already noted that the Ban Raja feel related to the high caste (twice-born) Thakuri. However, villagers may have viewed such a claim in the past, at present the majority of Ban Raja are offspring of mixed marriages and/or are themselves married to members of other castes. Since these castes are normally not of the twice-born category, Ban Raja are not now considered as such.

A few Ban Raja have even gone so far as to have changed castes. In my initial inquiries in a village it was denied that any Ban Raja lived there. Eventually I learned that one man was the offspring of a Ban Raja father and a Magar mother, both of whom died when he was young. He was accepted as a Magar, has a Magar wife, and his sons have also married Magar women. They consider themselves Magar and prefer not to be reminded of their Ban Raja ancestry.

The Ban Raja also claim Thakuri clan names as their own (i.e. Singh, Sahi and Khan). Those in Central Nepal named one more clan, the Shian. That a small nomadic hunting and gathering tribe would have a developed clan system seems doubtful, and I would suspect that Thakuri clan names were simply used to further support their claim to high caste status. Their distinctive physical characteristics, language and customs would tend to support this hypothesis. The Ban Raja, like several other groups in Nepal (including the Thakuri), practise matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, i.e. where marriage to the daughter of one's mother's brother is preferred. This practise, along with others, is to some extent reflected in kinship terminology. The following is a listing of terms collected for the most part from a Ban Raja in West Nepal.

Kinship Terminology (4)

Second Ascending Generation (and above) (5)

ni'āp/ni'ep/ni'o'	FF, MF, FFF, MFF, etc.
ni'ā'	FM, MM, FMM, MMM, etc.

First Ascending Generation

yei	F
māi	M
ni'ām	MB
ni'āmbe	MBW

numu	FZ
phusāi (N)	FZH
yei mijār (6)	FoB, MoZH
māi mijārni	FoBW, MoZ
yei mijut	FyB, MyZH
māi mijutni	FyBW, MyZ
budan/gei buda	WF
bujā/gi'ogi	WM

Own Generation

Duwai	H
ni'āndai/ningdai	W
mam (7)	oB, FZoS, MZoS
bhāia' (N) (8)	yB, FZyS, MZyS
manji/mamanji	oBW
bayei'	yBW
bāi'	oZ, FZoD, MZoD
binai' (N)	yZ, FZyD, MZyD
mado/manāu'	oZH
jawāi' (N)	yZH
jethu (N)	WoB
sālā (N)	WyB
mijārni bujā/gi'ogi	WoZ
sāli (N)	WyZ
soltini (N)	MBD
jethāju (N)	HoB
dewār (N)	HyB

āmāju (N)	HoZ
nanda (N)	HyZ
samdhi (N)	SWF
samdhini (N)	SWM

First Descending Generation

dukchi/dutci/dugutsi	S
nichi/nisi/nin ^o yitsi	D
bai'	SW
jawāi (N)/nichī bhanjā' (N)	DH
bhatijo (N)	BS
bhatiji (N)	BD
bhānjā' (N)	ZS
bhānji (N)	ZD

Second Descending Generation (and Below)

nāti (N)	SS, SD, SSS, SSD, etc.
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Since the above represents primarily only one informant's listing of terms, and is incomplete at that, no attempt at analysis or more formal presentation has been made here.

The Ban Raja disclaimed any traditional practice of patrilineal cross-cousin marriage (i.e. marriage with one's father's sister's daughter), but due to a scarcity of marriageable women, it was tolerated in recent times. Behaviour patterns between relatives were said to follow that of the Thakuri, e.g. a joking relationship with one's mother's brother's daughter, a respect relationship with one's younger brother's wife and wife's parents, and so forth.

Obviously none of the above social characteristics serve to distinguish the Ban Raja from their neighbours to any great extent. Bow and arrow hunting and a nomadic life style are the features which traditionally set off the Ban Raja from others. I found that only a few still hunt today, and even they are dependent on odd jobs and working in fields for a part of their subsistence. Most Ban Raja have become settled - agriculturalists and have little knowledge of hunting techniques. Those that do hunt normally search

for birds, such as pheasants, jungle fowl, partridges and peacocks. Often during the day they will note the location of bird droppings and return at dark to shoot the birds while they roost. Indeed, hunting at night, using a bundle of dry twigs to make a torch, is a favorite technique. Although small game, such as squirrels, may be shot, the Ban Raja rarely shoot larger animals, such as deer, primarily as they are too difficult to bring down.

The Ban Raja bow is typical of those found in Asia, being simply constructed of bamboo. The unfeathered arrow, however, is rather unique due to its great length (ca. 160 cm.). This is said to make the arrow more accurate. The iron arrowhead is made by village blacksmiths. Most Ban Raja denied using poison on their arrows, but a shaman did claim to apply poison after first making it effective with a spell. Although some Ban Raja now possess pellet bows, they are not used for serious hunting. Since other hunting implements (traps, nets, etc.) are not traditionally used by the Ban Raja, the bow is their sole hunting tool.

In the past if there was a surplus of game shot - and apparently only 30-40 years ago game was easily obtainable - the Ban Raja would trade it in village for grain foods. Before settling, they gained their subsistence through such hunting and trade, aside from gathering forest produce. The tubers; Dioscorea daemonia and Dioscorea sativa were important staples in their diet. They did little or no fishing. In difficult times, they were forced by necessity to beg in villages.

While nomadic, the Ban Raja slept under rock overhangs or built simple lean-tos of branches and leaves. They would camp as long as the hunting and trading possibilities warranted, then move on to another area. Gradually, as the population in the hills expanded, more land was brought under cultivation and accompanying this was an increase in deforestation, overgrazing, burning of the forest to provide fresh foliage for cattle, and an increase in hunting and gathering by villagers. This meant a less secure subsistence base for the Ban Raja, who apparently first began to work as part-time labourers and then eventually became settled agriculturalists. According to the Ban Raja, before this process was completed, bands split up with families going their separate ways in order to avoid having to settle. The result is that there is little contact between the few Ban Raja left alive today.

As mentioned earlier, a few Ban Raja do still hunt, but it will doubtless be only a few more years before they abandon hunting completely. This was brought home to me when a Ban Raja insisted on removing the bow string and arrow head in order that the bow and arrow would only appear as sticks to passerbys. Villagers tend to ridicule the Ban Raja when they see them with bows and arrows and local officials have been known to confiscate them.

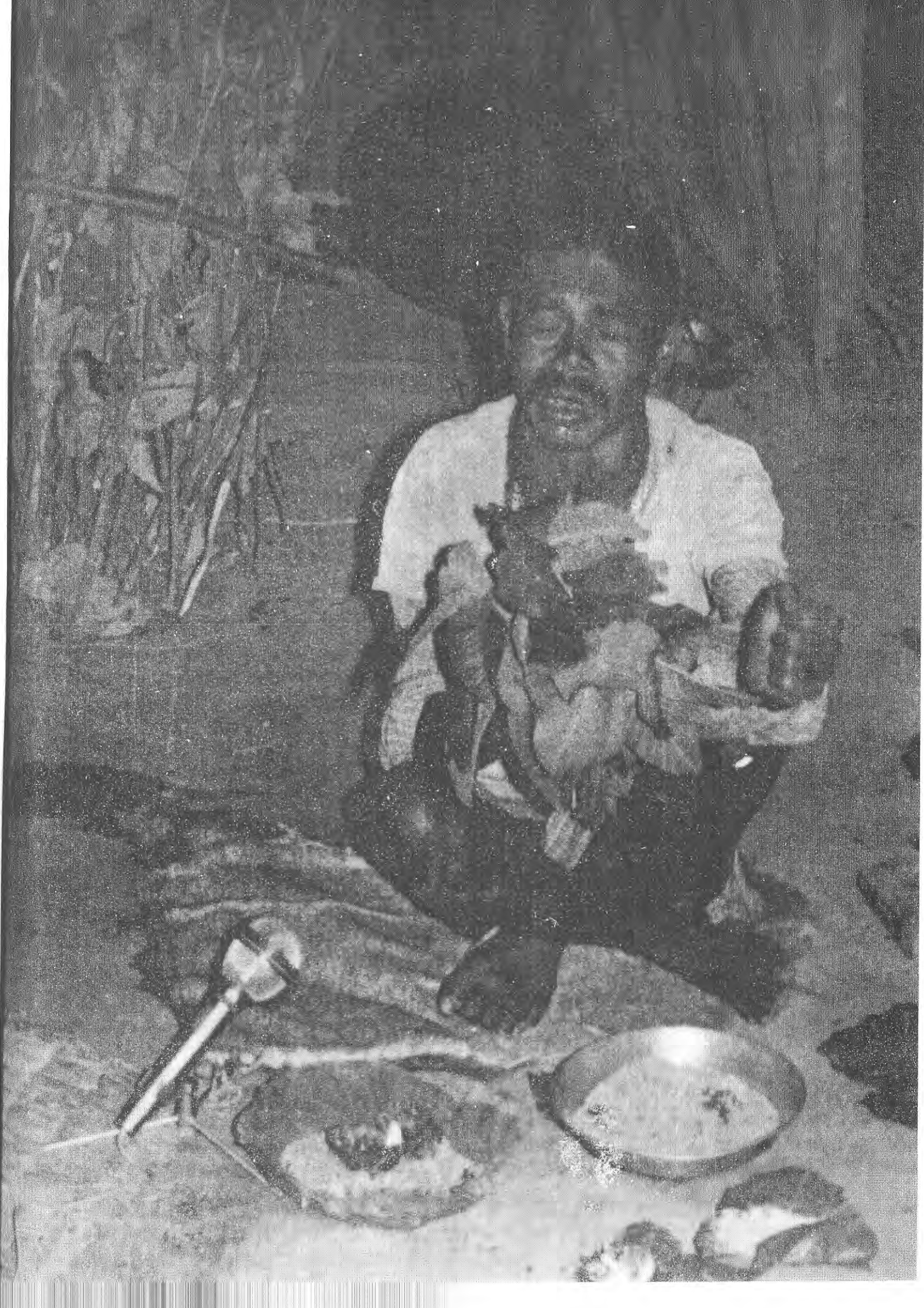
Let us turn now to rituals associated with life cycle events. Since these are said to parallel those of villagers, they will only be summarily treated here. Unlike many villagers, the Ban Raja bury their dead. The body is carried strapped to a pole to a place near a river where men gather to dig the grave. Informants disagreed as to whether or not a man's hunting equipment would be left with the body. One informant claimed that if it was, the dead man's spirit would use the bow to shoot people. Personal utensils and uncooked rice are normally left behind, however, and the Ban Raja claimed to observe a 13 day mourning period.

At birth, there was said to be a purification of the mother and baby following eleven days of pollution. Unlike some villagers, the Ban Raja claimed not to have a naming ceremony at this time. Most Ban Raja disagreed with an informant who claimed that they observe a first rice feeding ceremony and have an initiation ceremony for boys at puberty.

Weddings are said to be simple affairs, normally arranged by the parents. Child marriage is unknown and not infrequently a boy and girl will simply elope. A wedding usually consists of the groom and a small group of his friends and relatives bringing the bride from her home after having first given presents of clothing and jewellery to the bride and perhaps a small amount of money to her parents. Divorce and widow remarriage are both allowed.

Although none of the rituals observed with life cycle events could be observed, I was able to witness a few of the practises of a Ban Raja shaman. I found no Ban Raja shaman in Central Nepal and Ban Raja there obtain the services of village shamans in times of serious illness. The same holds true for most Ban Raja in West Nepal, for the sole shaman I found in the area lives too far away to be of any use to them. This shaman, however, is called by villagers and gains a small income for his work. The ability to become voluntarily possessed by a tutelary spirit - a distinguishing characteristic of a shaman - is not inheritable. Each potential shaman is first involuntarily possessed by a spirit. Later the person (females could also be shamans) learns the necessary spells, gains the ability to become possessed at will and eventually becomes a practising shaman without, however, having to undergo a formal initiation.

In curing illnesses the Ban Raja shaman uses several methods of divination, the most common of which utilizes rice. A spell is blow on hulled rice which has been taken from a pile and counted. Depending upon the odd or even outcome of a series of such countings, a supernatural category will be found responsible and the necessary offerings will have to be made. If a witch has caused the illness, the shaman claimed he was able to cause the witch to contract the same disease. The shaman also divines by feeling the circulation of blood in a hand. He notes in which part of which finger the blood circulation is abnormal and makes his diagnosis accordingly.



For simple cures the shaman may make a jantra, which involves sketching sacred drawings and writing a mantra on a piece of paper. More elaborate jantras may also contain a "medicine", e.g. a piece of a plant, and be passed through incense. A spell is said on it after it has been bound, and it is then tied around the neck or wrist of the patient.

The shaman claimed to know a large variety of spells, including love spells (which he feels he used too often in his youth) and spells to "bind" the jungle. These latter spells serve to protect him from spirits and wild animals and also cause other hunters to have bad luck while in the area. Some of the spells may be used on their own to cure a disease, but for serious cases a seance is necessary.

Seances normally take place at night. A small area is cleared and water sprinkled around to purify it. Sal (Shorea robusta) leaves are used to make a mat for the shaman to sit on. Other items necessary for the seance are made ready by the patients family. After the shaman has washed, he offers a libation of liquor to his tutelary deity and drinks a little himself. He lights a small oil lamp and throws hulled rice in 4 directions, as he says a spell. In the course of offering incense, he circles his necklaces (one of seeds of Sapindus mukerossi and one of iron) through the smoke. A plate containing a rice offering is next waved through the incense smoke and rice is again thrown in the four directions (to bind them and his body from evil spirits). Next, several boughs from the sal tree



The shaman on the left is performing divination with rice.
(West Nepal 1969)

are held in both hands, while a spell is spoken on them. They are then circled above the lamp and incense. The shaman chants and occasionally hits himself with the boughs for a few minutes before he begins to shake violently, indicating that he is possessed. The deity enters his body through his head and bystanders now ask it questions as to the cause of the illness and what should be done. After the questioning is completed, the deity abruptly leaves.

Such seances are quite common in the middle hills region of Nepal and nothing seems particularly unique to the Ban Raja. Since the shaman works exclusively with villagers as clients, this is perhaps hardly surprising. (9)

Unfortunately the shaman was not very consistent in his naming and description of the deities which he calls at the seance. However, he frequently calls Bhuiyar, Ban Jhankri, Arimal, and Gwang. He associated the latter two with hunting and claimed that at the time new bows and arrows are constructed they should be consecrated in a ritual for Gwang. (10)

This ritual usually involves simple offerings of vermilion powder, oil, hulled rice, red and white strips of cloth, and liquor. Soon after the sun rises, these items are taken, along with bows and arrows, to a place away from the village. A small area is cleared and stones are placed in the center. The bows and arrows are tied together with the strips of cloth as a prayer is said to Gwang. Rice and vermilion powder are placed in each of four quadrants formed by tracing a cross on a stone. The bows and arrows are circled above an offering of incense and a libation of liquor is made. Vermilion powder is placed on the bows and arrows and, after a salutation is made to Gwang, tika (auspicious markings) are applied to those present. It is thought that following this ritual Gwang eats the essence of any game killed.

The Ban Raja varied considerably in their religious practises, normally worshipping deities common to the area in which they resided. Most claimed to worship, however, at the two Dasain festivals, performing sacrifices for Durga and ancestor spirits. They all worship Qaoli, thought by some either to be a deity in its own right or/by others to be the Ban Raja term for "deity" (and "ancestor spirit"). The ritual I witnessed in Central Nepal was said to be both for Qaoli (as a separate deity) and for ancestor spirits. This was a simple ritual involving offerings of hulled rice, incense and the sacrifice of chickens, all at a stone at the base of a sal sapling. The prohibition against the use of cow dung to purify the site was the only unusual element of the ritual, and is obviously as remnant from the days when all cow products were shunned by the Ban Raja.

Turning now to the language of the Ban Raja we encounter something which marks them as truly unique in our knowledge of Asian tribes. The Ban Raja appear to speak a language which is unrelated to any major language family. Originally, Hodgson (1857) had published his Kusunda (Ban Raja) vocabulary with Tibeto-Burman and Indo-European vocabularies without comment. Later, in the Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson 1909: 399 - 405), Kusunda was classified as a member of the complex pronominalized languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. Robert Shafer (1954: 10-12) was the first to notice the uniqueness of the language, but could base his conclusions only on the basis of a limited vocabulary comparison. I too could find no correlation with any major language family on the basis of vocabulary, although there were some obvious Nepali loan words and a few terms of probable Tibeto-Burman origin. (11)

I initially thought, however, that the Ban Raja language might be related to the Mundic languages, since it shared a feature many linguists considered to be characteristic of that family. (12) This feature is called pronominalization, because the pronoun, or more commonly a segment of the pronoun, is affixed to the verb. It has more recently been ruled out as an archaic Mundic characteristic by some linguists (e.g. Holmer 1963). There appears to be a concensus now that pronominalization can not be exclusively associated with any one language family. (13)



Making offerings to ancestor spirits. (Central Nepal 1968)

This means that the Ban Raja language is probably one of only two languages in Asia to be unrelated to a major language family, and thus must be of considerable importance to linguists. (14) The fact that there are only a few speakers left alive - indeed I personally know of only two - indicates just how urgent it is that research be conducted in the near future. (15) It is hoped that this article will serve as a stimulus to some researcher to undertake work with the Ban Raja before a tribe unique in Asia will indeed have "vanished".



Construction of a lean-to. (Central Nepal 1968)

1. The research upon which this article is based was supported by grants from the Wenner - Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the Austrian Academy of Sciences. To both of these organizations I would like to express my sincere gratitude. Tape recordings of the Kusunda (Ban Raja) language and of a shaman seance are available from the Phonogrammarchiv der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Liebiggasse 5, A-1010 Vienna. Short films of the Kusunda hunting, constructing a lean-to and performing a ritual consecration of hunting equipment are available from the Institut f.d. Wissenschaftlichen Film, Nonnenstieg 72, 34 Goettingen, West Germany.
2. Mihaq refers to the Ban Raja whereas niyu refers to people in general.
3. One tribe, the Magar, claim a relationship with the Thakuri based upon a similar myth. For a story told by a Thakuri as to how they may have been related to the Ban Raja see Reinhard (1969: 99-100).
4. F=father, M=mother, Z=sister, B=brother, H=husband, W=wife, D=daughter, S=son, o=older, y=younger. Thus, e.g., MBW means mother's brother's wife and oZh means older sister's husband.
5. Unfortunately informants were inconsistent in their use of terms for relatives of the second generation and above. The terms listed here were those used most consistently. Significant variants have also been listed.
6. Mijar (-ni) = older; mijut (-ni) = younger.
7. One informant stated that MBS should be called "B", one felt he could be called either "B" or "solti", and one insisted that he be called "WB" irrespective of whether or not matrilineal cross-cousin marriage had taken place.
8. An N in brackets indicates that the term is of obvious Nepali origin.
9. For interesting comparative data see Hitchcock and Jones (1976).
10. I was able to observe this ritual, but should note that other Ban Raja were unfamiliar with it, and for that matter with Gwang and Arimal.
11. In a mimeographed article (Reinhard and Toba 1970) a preliminary phonemic and partial tagmemic analysis were made. This unfortunately was based on very little data, is incomplete, and contains several errors. It should be stressed that linguistic work with the Ban Raja has hardly begun.

12. In my article of 1969 I referred to the distinguishment between animate and inanimate objects in the verb. Later research proved this to be incorrect.
13. See Bauman (1974) for further information on pronominalization, especially in regards to an argument for its independent development among some Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages (cf. also Walters 1975).
14. Shafer (1954: 10-12) notes that along with Kusunda, Burushaski and Nahali are unrelated to any major language families. Nahali's position, however, is still unclear (see Pinnow 1963: 151).
15. To the best of my knowledge one Ban Raja speaker still lives in the village of Satobati near Gorkha and one lives in a small village near Sahre in the south-eastern corner of Surkhet district. I was also told there was a fluent speaker in a village north of Ghorai in the Dang Valley.

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Appendix - Swadish 100 Word List

The transcription of terms is only approximate. See Reinhard and Toba 1970 for a broad phonetic transcription. Significant variants obtained from different informants have been listed. Several of these terms could not be checked, and therefore the list should not be considered definitive.

1. I	tshi	23. tree	ii
2. thou	nu	24. seed	gitāk
3. we	to'i/to'ābi	25. leaf	hāq
4. this	nā	26. root	itāq
5. that	yit/it	27. bark	gitat
6. who	nātāi	28. skin	gitat
7. what	nātān/ātān	29. flesh	āmbā'/gepau
8. not	āyewā/ānio	30. blood	uyu
9. all	khānye/swate	31. bone	guwu
10. many	manyi	32. grease	ga'ā
11. one	qāsadan/'a'sun	33. egg	goā/gwā
12. two	dukhu'	34. horn	ipi gijin ^o
13. big	dandā'	35. tail	yānson ^o
14. long	sara	36. feather (plumage)	giyi/gi'iyi
15. small	hunqwan/hunqui	37. hair	ipigii
16. woman	ninyi yātsi	38. head	ipi
17. man	doe yātsi	39. ear	iyāo'/iwo
18. person	niyu	40. eye	inin ^o
19. fish	nasā'	41. nose	ināu'
20. bird	gotu	42. mouth	utā/'ā'tā'
21. dog	āgāi	43. tooth	uhu
22. (body)louse	ki'	44. tongue	ijin ^o

45. fingernail	āushi'	69. (I) stand	dontso'anan
46. foot	yien/iwān	70. (I) give	iatānan
47. knee	tuputu	71. (I) say	ātsāunan
48. hand	āibi	72. sun	in°/yin°
49. belly	imāt	73. moon	niho'
50. neck	hānki	74. star	sā'nām
51. breasts	āmbu'	75. water	tān°
52. heart	qubioq	76. rain	tāngiwān
53. liver	qāmu	77. stone	wāu/yaŋgu'
54. (I) drink	tsoñanan	78. sand	gali
55. (I) eat	tāmanan	79. earth	duwu/du
56. (it) bites	kamji	80. cloud	dhulin°
57. (I) see	tso'anan/ tsāñanan	81. smoke	dhimi/duni°
58. (I) hear	māunbatan	82. fire	jā'
59. (I) know	tsinjitān/ tānuqā'anan	83. ash	jāi/jāyi
60. (I) sleep	tsibnan/ tshimnan	84. (I) burn	hābatanan
61. (I) die	to'āiwān	85. path	un
62. (he) kills	piāqanji	86. mountain	yihā'
63. (I) swim	tān° gan tsi yā'ānan	87. red	bāun°
64. (it) flies	huwuji	88. green	hariyo (N)
65. (I) walk	tsā' anan	89. yellow	kāpāun/qāpan°
66. (I) come	tutā' anan	90. white	qāsi
67. (I) lie (down)	māran°	91. black	pāsidāi
68. (I) sit	bhintsāunan	92. night	in° gāi
		93. hot	boq
		94. cold (wet)	kangu

95. full	qomba	96. new	jindai/jina'i
97. good	wein/wayai	98. round	thorin
99. dry	qāiwān	100. name	giji

