

Appendix

Appendix

Section I

The list of the children who are between ages 3 and 8 (see Table 3 under 1.4.1.2)

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal name	Sex
1.	Louriyam Tiptarani	F	1.	Usham Heithoiba	M
2.	Usham Medicine	F	2.	Khangembam Chingkheinganba	M
3.	Usham Nikita	F	3.	Louriyam Vivan	M
4.	Phuritshabam Alison	F	4.	Louriyam Vicson	M
5.	Phuritshabam Ambrata	F	5.	Ngangbam Thasana	M
6.	Celina Louriyam	F	6.	Ngangbam Rapson	M
7.	Louriyam Naobi	F	7.	Heikham Yoihenba	M
8.	Heikham Guddi	F	8.	Phuritshabam Chandrasekhar	M
9.	Nungleppam Matouleima	F	9.	Louriyam Rajnikanta	M
10.	Ngangbam Linda	F	10.	Khangembam Banetson	M
11.	Usham Alice	F	11.	Ngangbam Lucky	M
12.	Louriyam Christina	F	12.	Louriyam Jackson	M
13.	Nungleppam Thoihenbi	F	13.	Heikham Phulo singh	M
14.	Khangembam Nonita	F	14.	Khangembam Robinson	M
15.	Ngangbam Kloria	F	15.	Ngangbam Calyx	M
16.	Phuritshabam Bema Devi	F	16.	Usham Heithoiba	M
17.	Ngangbam Bemma	F	17.	Usham Lenin	M
18.	Yumlebham Lanchenba	F	18.	Sikhom Lanchanba	M
19.	Khangembam Netanikal	F	19.	Ngangbam Yoihenba	M
20.	Usham Gyaneshori	F	20.	Khangembam Tomthinba	M
21.	Heikham Nita	F	21.	Ngangbam Jackson	M
22.	Usham Rashree	F	22.	Yumlebham Angangsan	M
23.	Phuyam Jenita	F	23.	Ngangbam Romio	M
24.	Phuyam Siluiya	F	24.	Ngangbam Suraj	M
25.	Khangembam Valintina	F	25.	Khangembam Dhrup	M
26.	Khangembam Luxmi	F	26.	Ningthoujam Thanil	M
27.	Ningthoujam Mohini	F	27.	Yumlebham Arjun	M
28.	Irungbam Kriti	F	28.	Khangembam Loingamba	M
29.	Ngangbam Langlen	F	29.	Khangembam Loyalemba	M
30.	Louriyam Keniya	F	30.	Usham Raj	M
31.	Usham Nanda	F	31.	Louriyam Rajmani	M
32.	Usham Gyaneshori	F	32.	Usham Moris	M
33.	Phuritshabam Laptana	F	33.	Ngangbam Cavil	M
34.	Phuritshabam Mebidiya	F	34.	Phuritshabam Boynao	M
35.	Khangembam Lannganbi	F	35.	Yumlebham Chandrakumar	M

36.	Khangembam Jashika	F	36.	Khangembam Nanao singh	M
37.	Khangembam Hansiak	F	37.	Khangembam Naocha singh	M
38.	Khangembam Anupama	F	38.	Lama Boynao	M
39.	Ngangbam <i>Ningol</i> Devi	F	39.	Khangembam Nanoba singh	M
40.	Khangembam Sanathoi Devi	F	40.	Phuritshabam Aboysingh	M
41.	Khangembam Liklai devi	F	41.	Khangembam Abungo singh	M
42.	Khangembam Rasileibi Devi	F	42.	Phuritshabam Naren	M
43.	Phuritshabam Ichal devi	F	43.	Yumlebham Aboy	M
44.	Khangembam Alice	F	44.	Khangembam Savio	M
45.	Louriyam Dolly	F	45.	Phuritshabam Lenendra	M

The list of informants who were approached for language attitude (see, Tables 4, 5, 6, 7 under 1.4.2).

i. Students who were between ages 16 and 18

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
1.	Usham Chingkheinganbi	F	1.	Ushanm Jack	M
2.	Usham Ranjana	F	2.	Louriyam Manikanta	M
3.	Ngangbam Anjali	F	3.	Louriyam Shamakanta	M
4.	Ngangbam Asha	F	4.	Ngangbam Rahul	M
5.	Phuritshabam Iris	F	5.	Usham Micky	M

ii. Students who were between the ages of 19 and 22

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
	Phuritshabam Dayapati		1.	Louriyam Bancus	M
	Phuritshabam Baby		2.	Lourebham Dinamani	M
	Louriyam Dineshori		3.	Ngangbam Sana	M
	Heikham Sanathoi		4.	Ngangbam Mani	M
	Kiranbala Usham		5.	Usham Gagan	M

iii. Students who were between the ages of 23 and 30

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
1.	Ngangbam Bidyapati	F	1.	Ngangbam Chandrasekhar	M
2.	Khangembam Binobala	F	2.	Heikham Kapul	M
3.	Khangembam Debala	F	3.	Khangembam Raju	M
4.	Ngangbam Asha	F	4.	Irungbam Dinesh	M
5.	Khangembam Cherita	F	5.	Khangembam Pradip	M

iv. Office goers who were between the ages of 30 and 40

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
1.	Ngangbam Arjun	M	1.	Louriyam Jebika	F
2.	Ngangbam Tomba	M	2.	Usham Nirupama	F
3.	Ngangbam Chandrachand	M	3.	Yumlebham Basantirani	F
4.	Khangembam Peter	M	4.	Khangembam Binodini	F
5.	Yumlebham Priyokumar	M	5.	Heikham Inaobi	F

v. Office goers who were between the ages of 41 and 50

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
1.	Heikham Surchandra	M	1.	Khangembam Bala	F
2.	Louriyam Romio	M	2.	Khangembam Sunita	F
3.	Louriyam Chadu	M	3.	Ngangbam Pramodini	F
4.	Phuritshabam Naba	M	4.	Ngangbam Inaocha	F
5.	Khaidem Koka	M	5.	Heikham Sorojini	F

vi. Office goers who were between the ages of 50 and 60

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
1.	Ngangbam Suchaboro	M	1.	Louriyam Bidhu	F
2.	Phuritshabam Naba	M	2.	Louriyam Shantani	F
3.	Louriyam Bir	M	3.	Heikham Ibeni	F
4.	Ngangbam Tolchou	M	4.	Phuyam Tomalei	F
5.	Khangembam Kumar	M	5.	Khangembam Pramo	F

vii. Daily wage workers who were between the ages of 30 and 40

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
1.	Louriyam Kepolo	M	1.	Khangembam Thoibi	F
2.	Phuritshabam Kiran	M	2.	Ngangbam Hemolata	F
3.	Ngangbam Tiken	M	3.	Usham Amushana	F
4.	Usham Itomba	M	4.	Louriyam Basuta	F
5.	Ngangbam Manglem	M	5.	Heikham Binodini	F

viii. Daily wage workers who were between the ages of 41 and 50

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
1.	Louriyam Kopen	M	1.	Louriyam Yaimabi	F
2.	Phuritshabam Tomba	M	2.	Ngangbam Pati	F
3.	Ngangbam Udoi	M	3.	Ngangbam Memcha	F
4.	Usham Ingocha	M	4.	Irungbam Romita	F
5.	Khangembam Inaobi	M	5.	Nungleppam Hemolata	F

ix. Daily wage workers who were between the ages of 51 and 60

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
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1.	Ngangbam Chaoba	M	1.	Phuritshabam Ingele	F
2.	Nungleppam Iboyaima	M	2.	Ngangbam Tharoshang	F
3.	Ngangbam Lolito	M	3.	Heikham Nungshi	F
4.	Khangembam Kishorchand	M	4.	Khangembam Thoibi	F
5.	Louriyam Shyamsing	M	5.	Louriyam Binodini	F

x. Old generation people who were between the ages of 60 and 70

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
1.	Louriyam Bidhu	F	1.	Louriyam Tonchao	M
2.	Louriyam Leisna	F	2.	Khangembam Roman	M
3.	Ngangbam keinahanbi	F	3.	Ngangbam Pramo	M
4.	Khangembam Merachaobi	F	4.	Heikham Challa	M
5.	Phuritshabam Leibakleima	F	5.	Louriyam Ibochouba	M

xi. Old generation who were between the ages of 70 and 80

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
1.	Yumlebam Tamu	F	1.	Louriyam Sachou	M
2.	Irungbam Lapti	F	2.	Louriyam Kundo	M
3.	Ngangbam Chaobi	F	3.	Yumlebam Mangkol	M
4.	Louriyam Thaballi	F	4.	Heikham Tamarsing	M
5.	Ngangbam Suchamukhi	F	5.	Ngangbam Pheikonchao	M

xii. Oldest generation who were between the ages of 81 and 90

SL No	Personal Name	Sex	SL No	Personal Name	Sex
1.	Ngangbam Kombirei	F	1.	Louriyam Sangban	M
2.	Irungbam Kollei	F	2.	Khangembam Lallasing	M
3.	Heikham Kuno	F	3.	Khangembam Chandra	M
4.	Ngangbam Leisang	F	4.	Ngangbam Ningthou	M
5.	Phuritshabam Lochati	F	5.	Khangembam Kanthra	M

Section II

The list of edible plants (see 1.4.1.1) is listed below.

Khurkhul	Gloss
<i>Hangkam</i>	'mustard'
<i>hangkam ella</i>	'mustard'
<i>khunu hangkam</i>	'mustard'
<i>uchi hangkam</i>	'mustard'
<i>ising hangkam</i>	'mustard'
<i>Hobi</i>	'cabbage'
<i>kobi mula</i>	'turnip'
<i>Entem</i>	'taro'
<i>entem amubi</i>	'taro'
<i>bina entem</i>	'taro'
<i>Khontrum</i>	'bottle guard'
<i>Sepot</i>	'sponge gourd'
<i>pong hawai</i>	'bean'
<i>hawai asangbi</i>	'bean'
<i>hawai koli</i>	'bean'
<i>hawai kanandi</i>	'bean'
<i>hawai thanmpak</i>	'bean'
<i>hawai ngakichou manbi</i>	'bean'
<i>hawai singlen</i>	'bean'
<i>tenglou manbi</i>	'bean'
<i>Yongchak</i>	'parkia'
<i>leibung chengkum</i>	'mushroom'
<i>phukak chengkum</i>	'mushroom'
<i>Narin</i>	'mushroom'
<i>leipak marum</i>	'mushroom'
<i>Laphu</i>	'banana'
<i>laphu tharo</i>	'banana flower'
<i>Hichang</i>	'mosses'
<i>Nungsihadak</i>	'mint'
<i>Tilhou</i>	'onion'

Khurkhul	Gloss
<i>wakhei entem</i>	'taro'
<i>pangkhok</i>	'taro'
<i>pangkang</i>	'dry taro stem'
<i>pan ukabi</i>	'yam'
<i>singcu pan</i>	'yam'
<i>hao pan</i>	'yam'
<i>mukhi pan</i>	'yam'
<i>pan kebi</i>	'yam'
<i>pandra</i>	'yam'
<i>maijen</i>	'pumpkin'
<i>tekpa</i>	'bean'
<i>hawai tharak</i>	'green bean'
<i>thabi</i>	'cucumber'
<i>leipak thabi</i>	'cucumber'
<i>ikai thibi</i>	'touch me not'
<i>kangphal ikaithibi</i>	'touch me not'
<i>khamen asinba</i>	'tomato'
<i>khamen asinba achouba</i>	'tomato'
<i>parmasika khamen</i>	'eggplant'
<i>pangkan khamen</i>	'eggplant'
<i>chanam</i>	'garlic'
<i>kabrang chak mana</i>	'mulberry leaf'
<i>tasakusa</i>	'squash'
<i>karon akha</i>	'bitter gourd'
<i>karon akhabi macha</i>	'bitter gourd'
<i>turbot</i>	'Malabar gourd'
<i>phalandri</i>	'okra'
<i>piruk</i>	'Indian pennywort'
<i>soukri</i>	'roselle plant'
<i>silok soukri</i>	'roselle plant'

The following sounds are the name of the plants without gloss, further investigation is necessary

kolamni, pikhongchai, kengoi, phunin, khuman nubi, labuk hawai maton, labuk leiri, kanghai, nungchek kharmi, khongtrukpi, khongtrukpi maman, labuk enkha amuba, annaibi, ising ensang,, ising mananma, ising kundo, leibak kundo, ngachak kumon, tharo manbi, noutrangkon, urel laba, uthum, uthum kharaobi, heina kondon, upop, thumnambi,silembi, embum, khaching en, kongou en, ishing laphoi, heibra mana, ching ensang, lukhoi entang, samba, sampak en, charoidong, thaonambi, cholang,noutrangkon, nganu marei, sandrang marei, sandrang leipak, ngamra, nungthrok, na yatpi, ngachak kumon achouba, ngachak kumon macha, nungsam, ingellei, sarei, singsarei, khoidou en, ningthourembi, nura khongchomlei, charoitong, keisu, saitingkhang, tharak, u hawaimaton, labung hawaimaton, uri moinambi, heibra mana, kuthap mana, khok, u khamen, oak kakthum, oakchak khomi, awangtabi, kaba, labuk kaba, pongtha, chamubi, kumtrukpi, kumtrukpi maman, chikta, khaching en, khamnubi,karong hei,pongtha, heinuman khomthokpi, sillembi, sorbon, usoi pambi,chinthrao, khumannubi, leiri, nayatpi, pakhangba leiton, phupoti mana, mayanglembum,ngachak kumon, naoseklei, porong en, thankchin en, lang en, wangkhan, kakla, khangla,

heikrak elli, lukhoibi, chikonglei angouba, chingthrao,moirangkhanam, laibak ngou, laiwa, wasoi, lamangkha, leibung khangkha, elang, urikang mana, thaonambi, itum kairum, monsaobi, palangsa, chengkruk, thangching, muktubi, phakpai, lomba, tinchobi, mayangmaton,pheicha, enam napakpi, enam nakuppi, kanghouman, patikom, pakhon, heinouman, pulei manbi, komprek, tuningkok, u-en, kaboklei mana, chuchu lamei, khake leihao, empat, ha, hol, endang, yaipan, karon, kengoi, koukha, kakthum, heiribob, hamphurei, heibi mana.

Images of some of the plants listed above are presented below.

Image 1: Changkhang



Image 2: Hamphurei



Image 3: Karong-Hei



Image 4: Kaba-Achouba



Image 5: Kanghouman



Image 6: Pongtha



Image 7: Noktrangkon



Image 8: Khomthokpi



Image 9: Sillembi



Image 10: Sorbon



Image 11: Usoi-Pambi



Image 12: Awangtabi1



Image 13: Chamubi



Image 14: Chinthrao-Mapan



Image 15: Heinuman



Image 16: Khaching-En-Mana



Image 18: Khanglamapn



Image 17: kangphan Ikaithibi



Image 19: Khumannubi



Image 20: Kumtrukpi-maman



Image 21: Labuk-Hawaimaton



Image 22: Labuk-kaba



Image 23: Leibak-Kundo



Image 24: Leiri



Image 25: Nayatpi



Image 26: Ngachak-Kumon



Image 27: Ningthourembi



Image 28: Pakhangba-Leiton



Image 29: Phupoti-Mana



Image 30: Samba



Image 31: Tinchobi



Image 31 Uri-Kakang



Image 32: Empat



Image 33: Ha



Image 34: Ising-Manamma



Image 35: Kakla



Image 36: Labuk-Enkha



Image 37: Leibungkhangka



Image 38: Mayanglebum



Image 39: Moirangkhanam



Image 40: Nachak-Kumon



Image 41: Naoseklei



Image 42: Uwai-Mamton



Image 43: Nucheng-Piruk



Image 44: Phunim



Image 45: Takheilei



Image 46: Urel-Laba



Image 47: Charoitong



Image 48: Chengkum



Image 49: Chingthrao



Image 50: Enaibi



Image 51: Hol



Image 52: Huchambi-Mayanglembum



Image 53: Uthum-Kharaobi



Image 54: Uthum



Image 55: Kabrangchak-Mana



Image 56: Khang



Image 57: Khangla



Image 58: khunu- Hangkam



Image 59: Khuthap



Image 60: Uri-Moinambi



Image 61: Upop



Image 62: Uchi-Hangkam



Image 63: Pangkonglaba



Image 64: Oak-Kangthum



Image 65: Pan-Ukabi



Image 66: Ningthourenbi



Image 67: Leikaman



Image 68: Labuk-kaba



Image 69: Labuk-Hawai-Maton



Section III

Phanek

People might mistake *phanek* with sarong. A sarong is a garment, traditionally worn in South East Asia. It consists of a long piece of cloth worn by wrapping round the body and tucking it at the waist or under the armpits. However, *phanek* differs in its unique style of wearing, design, and its association with colour.

For a Khurkhul woman weaving is an integral part of domestic chores. It is only recently that they have begun to see it from a commercial point of view. The Khurkhul society strongly expects daughters/daughter-in-laws to have the skill of weaving. There are two ways of weaving a *phanek*:

- a) *khawang phanek* (loin loom): It is the earliest or the traditional form of weaving in the Khurkhul village.
- b) *kon phanek* (fly shuttle loom): It is the new form of weaving.

Types of Phanek

The *phanek* comes in five types and each type has its own use, depending on the context and situation; where it is used and worn, and what thread used in weaving it.

- a) *Tongka phanek*: a small *phanek* worn by girls between the age group of 3-4. It is also used as an offering to a goddess.

- b) *Phanek aronba/mayeknaiba*: this type of *phanek* is worn on formal and special occasions. The *mayung* (warp/longitudinal) will be of same color whereas *maphen* (weft/filling) is done with two or three different colors in an uniform pattern. *Kumchingbi* is the oldest *phanek aronaba/mayeknaiba*. This type of *phanek* can be again divided into:

(A) *Phike phanek*: this type of *phanek* is worn on occasions for attending feast; like *mapam chakouba* (a feast that is organized on the fifth day of marriage), *ningol chakouba* (a festival of Manipur), etc.

(B) *Thambal leikhok*: this is mostly worn in marriage ceremonies.

- c) *Muka phanek* (silk *phanek*): This *phanek* is woven by the silk thread.
- d) *Phanek achamba* (simple *phanek*): this *phanek* is woven by normal threads like cotton, nylon etc.; this is for normal wear.
- e) *Pungou phanek*: it comes in pink color. It is mostly used on occasions like prayer, death ceremony etc. This is known as *mayang phanek* also. *Mayang* is the term that is used by Manipuris to refer to those non Manipuri who came from outside and have settled in Manipur. Earlier, the only way of cultivating weaving thread was either by reeling from cotton, or from silk cocoons. After development in transportation facilities, many types of thread (e.g. nylon) have been introduced to the Khurkhuls by the non-Manipuris. This led to use the term *mayang*.

The Khurkhuls further divide the *phanek* on the basis of the condition of rip.

- a) *Phanek thunphotpi*: in this condition of rip, the *phanek* is rip at the butt area. It is mended with a piece of patch by placing on the hole, and stitching around the patch. It is worn at home, while working, cooking etc.
- b) *Phanek khongtaibi*: in this condition of rip, the *phanek* cannot be mended with a patch. So, it is cut in the middle in a horizontal shape. The edges are made to be at the front side, and the previous front edges are stitched together to make the back portion of the *phanek*. It is a taboo to wear this kind of *phanek* by unmarried women and also by married women whose husbands are alive. There is a strong belief that if one wears it she may become a widow. Thus, a saying goes like this:

l̥isabi-m̥wal̥ibi-nupi-n̥ə

unmarried woman/married woman whose husband is alive women-by

pʰənek kʰoŋtaibi setpə-pʰə-te lukʰrabi oi-gəl-le

phanek khongtaibi wear-good-NEG widow be-HBTL-PERF

‘If an unmarried woman/a married women whose husband is alive wear *phanek khongtaibi*, they might become a widow.’ (Literal)

‘*Phanek khongtaibi* is only for widows’.

Beliefs about *Phanek*

For the Khurkhuls, *phanek* is not only a piece of cloth to wear, it carries the tradition, beliefs and many more.

Thus, if the *phanek* is torn at the butt, the woman might be wealthy:

<i>pʰənek</i>	<i>tʰun-pʰəm</i>	<i>sekaibə-nupi</i>	<i>pʰəm-nə</i>	<i>cai</i>
<i>phanek</i>	butt-position	tear-woman	sit-ADV	eat

‘Those women whose *phanek* gets torn at the butt area sits and eat’. (Literal)

‘Those women whose *phanek* gets torn at the butt area are wealthy.’

If a *phanek* is torn at the edge (down edge), the woman might become poor:

<i>pʰənek-məpan</i>	<i>sekaibə</i>	<i>nupi</i>	<i>cət-nə</i>	<i>cai</i>
<i>phanek</i> -edge	tear	woman	walk-ADV	eat

‘Woman whose *phanek* is torn at the edge walks and eat’. (Literal)

‘Woman whose *phanek* is torn at the edge works to meet her ends.’

There are norms on ‘how to wear the *phanek*’. These are strictly maintained in order to keep the tradition. For instance, one should not wear it upside down:

pʰənek -mətʰək-məkʰa *onnənə-setliḡəidə* *lai- pʰəttəbə*

phanek-up-down opposite-while wearing God-bad

tʰeḡnə-rədi *hiḡ-kən-de*

meet-if alive-HBTL-NEG

‘One is taken away by the bad god if she tries the *phanek* upside down.’(Literal)

‘One should not wear up-side-down *phanek*’.

If one wears the *phanek* by making the inner portion longer than outside, her husband and child might have a short life:

pʰənek -mərai-lombə-nupi *məca- məwa* *punsi-de*

phanek-tongue-stammer-woman 3pp child-3ps husband life-NEG

‘If she wears the *phanek* by making inner portion longer than the outside, her husband and children might have a short life.’ (Literal)

‘One should not wear *phanek* making inner portion longer than outside’.

If the down edge of the *phanek* is not in a round shape, making the front portion longer, and back portion shorter, the woman might become a second wife. It is called *phanek shingampheikamnaba nupi*:

pʰənek-siḡəm pʰəikəmnəbə- nupi *ətombi* *oi-kəl-le*

phanek-not in round shape-woman last be-HBTL-PERF

‘Woman who wears the *phanke shingamphekam* might become a second wife.’
(Literal)

‘One should wear the *phanek* making the down edge in round shape’.

If the *phanek* makes noise while walking, she might lose her wealth. It is called *phanek phrang phrang laobi nupi*:

pʰənek - pʰrəŋ-pʰrəŋ-laobə-nupi

lən-kao-tʰok-i

phanek-phrang-phrang(RD)-shout-woman

wealth-kick-OUTWARD-DECL

‘The woman whose *phanek* makes a sound of *phrang-phrang* might not know how to keep manage the wealth.’ (Literal)

‘One should not make noise while walking’.

Positive Connotation of Phanek

It has a magical power that can save us from bad gods. For instance, if a child is sick the *kumchingbi phanek* is used by the mother for the sick child as a blanket. The belief is that it would save the child from the bad god:

əŋəŋ ənabə pʰənek-nə

kup-lədi

kʰəmnuŋ

child sick phanek-by

cover-if

place of death

niŋtʰəw

pʰaw

cəŋ-de

king

even

enter-NEG

‘If the sick child is covered with a *phanek*, the King of Death cannot take the child.’ (Literal)

‘*Phanek* can save the child from bad gods’.

It has the power to change a good god into wealth and a bad god to a harmless one:

lai-u-rədi

pʰənek-nə

kup-po

lai-əpʰəbə-oi-rədi

God-see-if

phanek-by

cover-IMP

God-good-be-if

lən-onle lai-p^hattābā-oi-rādi kəim-təw-ŋəm-de

wealth-turn God-bad-be-if anything-do-can-NEG

‘If you see a god cover him with a *phanek*. If it is a good god he will turn into gold for you; if it is a bad god, he will become harmless.’ (Literal)

‘*Phanek* symbolize wealth’.

Thus, Khurkhuls keeps a piece of *Kumchingbi phanek* at the gate of house with the belief that it would protect the family.

Negative connotation of Phanek

If a man sees a *phanek* when he is about to go for his work, it is considered bad a luck. So, it is not allowed to dry it at the *phiyangkhok* (cloth dryer) that faces the gate. And also, man is prohibited to touch it:

kont^hoŋ-də p^hənek p^həw-həi-de

gate-LOC phanek dry-PROH-NEG

‘It is tabooed to dry *phanek* at the cloth dryer that is at the gate.’ (Literal)

‘*Phanek* associates with gender issue.’

If a man is asked to cover himself by a *phanek* (especially in a fight), it is considered the most humiliating comment or statement passed to him:

p^hənek-nə kup-lə-bə-nupa nupa kəw-de

phanek-by cover-PERF-NMLZ-man man call-NEG

‘The man who is already covered by *phanek* is no longer considered a man.’ (Literal).

‘*Phanek* symbolizes the low social status of women’.

The lustful man is described as a man who can sleep even with a trunk of a tree if it is wrapped by a *phaneki*:

ukroŋ-də pʰənek-set-lədi jabə mi
trunk-LOC phanek-wear-if agree man

‘If *phanek* is wrapped around the trunk it is accepted’. (Literal)

‘Such a lustful man!’

Both negative and positive connotations of *phanek*, as described above, gives an idea about how motherhood is viewed in the Khurkhul society. For instance, a man is not allowed to touch his wife’s or sisters’ *phanek*, but, a piece of his mother’s *phanek* is put inside *tabiz* he wears to get protection from evil spirits. Thus, the otherwise untouchable *phanek* becomes a shield of protection for men when it is associated with motherhood. Perhaps this shows how important is motherhood in the Khurkhul society.

