

THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CULTURAL INFORMATION, LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE,  
AND SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS IN A HALBI MYTH

by

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To My Dear Halbi Friends

in Bhatpal Village

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work brings to fruition many years of association with the people of Bhatpal village in Bastar District or Madhya Pradesh, India. I wish to express my thanks to them for their love and patience toward me in my seemingly futile efforts to learn their language and to function within their cultural setting. Special thanks go to Sonmati and her sister who adopted me as their younger sister and thus provided me with an extensive family. Their sons (and mine) Durga Ram Kasyap and Chingaru Ram Baghel have proved to be very faithful and competent language helpers and I thank them. I also would like to thank Betsy Barry, my co-worker prior to her marriage, whose continuing interest and encouragement have been much appreciated. I also thank my friend Paulette Hopple, whose willingness to listen and criticise, through all stages of this study, has contributed immeasurably to its completion.

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May 9, 1980



ABSTRACT

THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CULTURAL INFORMATION, LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE,  
AND SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS IN A HALBI MYTH

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The mythology of the Halbi people reveals and reflects their cognitive orientation (and, in the process, validates their cultural values). The Halbis' myths are expressed through the linguistic form of narrative discourse but mere analysis of the form of the discourse provides only a fragmentary understanding of the content. As a result, linguistic analysis is only part of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis also calls for an analysis of the cultural setting and of the dynamic interplay between the culture and language in terms of the message (or meaning) of a given myth within a given culture. This study represents an attempt to reach a satisfactory understanding of a single myth by examining the cultural information, linguistic structure, and symbolic representations in one Halbi myth.

The cultural information in this myth may be typical or atypical of the Halbis' culture. Culturally typical information may be made explicit or left implicit depending upon the narrator's intent.

Culturally atypical information may represent the Halbis' perception of another culture or may be atypical of any culture. The interplay of these kinds of cultural information within the myth, while providing cohesion and prominence in the text, also serves to contrast participant with participant and contributes directly to the development of the plot (in both its narrative and didactic aspects). Chapters 1 through 3 describe these various kinds of cultural information.

The myth is a narrative discourse and this study examines its linguistic structure in terms of both the high level constituent structures (discourse, episodes, embedded discourses, and so forth) and the non-hierarchical features (eventline, participant reference, and so forth). The narrative structure develops to a linguistically well-defined narrative peak that represents the climax of the entertainment aspect of the discourse. Chapter 4 and 5 describe the linguistic structure of the myth.

The symbolic representations described in this study include the following considerations. Firstly, the role of both the myth's participants and props in the Halbi culture and the extension of that role to their roles in the myth results in a significant impact on the message by providing strong validation for it. Secondly, various rhetorical structures (such as oppositions, reflections, and mirror images), while providing cohesion and prominence to the text, also contribute to the development of the participants in their symbolic roles in the myth as the message is developed. Finally, consideration

of the message itself reveals the development of a didactic plot that develops to a didactic peak. This didactic peak contrasts with the narrative peak. Chapters 6 through 8 describe the symbolic representations in the myth.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ab	ablitative
adv	adverbial
caus	causative
comp	complete
conj	conjunctive
DS	Deep Structure
emp	emphatic marker
excl	exclamation
f	future
Go1	Goal marker
imp	imperative
inam	inanimate thing classifier
inc	incomplete
inf	infinitive
J.A.F.	Journal of American Folklore
Loc	Locative marker
m	human male
Neg	negative
nm	non human-male
nom	nominaliser
opt	optative
part.	particle
ptc	past complete
pers	person classifier
p	plural
pl	pluraliser
Poss	Possessive marker
pc	present complete
pinc	present incomplete
rel	relative
s	singular
Src	Source marker
subj	subjunctive
SS	Surface Structure
uc	until complete
Voc	Vocative marker

## INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to show that linguistic analysis is only part of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis--if it is to be complete--also requires an analysis of cultural setting and of the dynamic interplay between language and culture. The meaning of a text, though expressed through linguistic structures, is shown to be controlled by the culture of the speakers. ✓

While the analysis of a complete culture (including language) is here impossible, a single characteristic text is chosen for analysis as a manageable expression of language and culture. The text chosen is a narrative concerning an important Halbi deity, Maha Lakhi. The analysis shows that the myth reflects the cognitive orientation of the Halbi people and validates their culture. It also shows that while narrative structure develops to a peak with considerable entertainment value, a didactic structure develops to a different peak with a teaching value. Narrative structures reinforce didactic aspects of a discourse through the excitement of a storyline and rhetorical devices help build and bring focus to the message being taught.

### Halbi

Halbi is the lingua franca of Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh, India, and the mother tongue of approximately 300,000 people. It has been classified as Indo-Aryan, closely related to Oriya, Hindi, and Marathi, but has features from Dravidian and Munda which may indicate

it more properly to be a creole with Indo-Aryan influence being the strongest.

Halbi is the mother tongue of a number of tribal groupings and castes that include Raj Mureas, Halbas, Mahras, Lohras, some Bhatras, Parjas, and others. Halbi is also the language of the market place in Bastar District and, as such, is used by most of the other tribal groups of the area.

The research for this study was conducted among Raj Mureas in the village of Bhatpal and was limited as much as possible to the Bhatpal Raj Mureas, although the findings are generally true for all Raj Mureas.<sup>1</sup>

Information concerning the origins of the Raj Mureas is limited and somewhat contradictory. R. V. Russell suggests they migrated to Bastar with the Bastar rajas over 500 years ago. He quotes a doggerel rhyme "believed to recall the circumstances of the immigration of the Bastar Rājas" (Russell 1916:184):

Chalkibans Rāja	Dibdibi bāja
Kosaria Rawat	Pita Bhatra
Peng Parja	Rāja Muria
Tendu khuti	Pania lava

The Rāja was of the Chalki race. The drum was called Dibdibi. Kosaria Rawat, Pita Bhatra, Peng Parja and Rāja Muria, these four castes came with the Rāja. The tribute paid (to the Rāja) was a comb of tendu wood and a lava quail.

The family of the Bastar rajas came to Bastar originally from Delhi by way of Jeypore (Orissa) and Warangal (Andhra Pradesh) (de Brett 1909:36-8). B. K. Dube and F. Bahadur (1966:57), on the other



hand, describe the Raj Mureas as members of one of three sections that make up the Muria tribe. They live around Jagdalpur, the district capital, and have been greatly influenced by culture contact with the national culture. The other sections of the tribe are the Jhoria Murias (who are probably a mixture of Murias and Hill Marias), and the Ghotul Murias.<sup>2</sup> Several sources suggest that the name 'Muria' is etymologically derived from *mur* 'the palas tree' (Dube and Bahadur 1966:57, Fuchs 1977:177) or from *mur* 'a root' (Dube and Bahadur 1966:57). Stephen Fuchs (1977) suggests that 'Muria' more probably means 'aboriginal'. This is perhaps more realistic. In Halbi, *mureauk*<sup>3</sup> means 'to begin' while *mur* and *mure* have the sense of 'first', 'initial', or 'original', suggesting that the Mureas consider themselves as the 'original' or 'first people'. The 'raj' of Raj Murea suggests their elevated status among the tribal groups of the district.

It seems probable that the Raj Mureas were originally a part of the Muria tribal group that partially acculturated into the Hindu system, rejected its own original language, and came to speak other languages--some speaking Bhatri, others speaking Halbi. Differences in language, however, have not affected the cultural unity that exists between Halbi and Bhatri speakers. Intermarriage, while hastening language change in Halbi-speaking villages that bring Raj Mureas wives from Bhatri-speaking villages, has continued to hold the group together.

### A Typology of Halbi Tales

Halbi tales may be classified into five types. Three are simply called stories (**k6hmi**) and include epic narratives, friendship narratives, and legends. A fourth type is the taboo (**k6hka**) story, and the fifth focuses on bodily functions.

An epic narrative is an extremely long tale with a plot structure of the kind identified by Propp (1958). There are two kinds: those which concern deities and those which concern a low-born or poor hero who overcomes circumstances to gain wealth and recognition. Both kinds are considered historical and are set in a previous era called **age juge** 'before a-very-great-amount' when animals were able to talk and deities were more 'closely involved in the affairs of men than now; both focus on various shortcomings which characterise and identify the central participant (hero). (These shortcomings are referred to as 'lacks' in folklore literature (cf. Propp 1958) and this term is used throughout the present study.) A marked feature of epic narratives is the intervention of the gods (particularly Ispar and Parbati) at a crucial moment--an intervention that results in a turn-around of a calamitous situation.

Epic narratives hold more significance for adults than for children. The latter have not had to suffer the vicissitudes of life. They do not draw comfort from the tales as do adults, who are able to identify with the struggles of a folk hero.

The epic narratives, concerning deities, form a specialised oral tradition which we may refer to as Halbi mythology. (For the purposes

of this study, these epics will be referred to simply as myths.) In the absence of a written tradition, this mythology constitutes the primary source of religious dogma for the Halbi people whose belief system displays both animistic and Hindu traits.

The Halbis' mythology embodies their cultural values and serves as a rationale for the rules of life. It serves to explain how things got to be the way they are and to provide examples of the application of those rules of life in a lasting, more permanent form--even though handed on by oral tradition--than any other form available in the culture. The Halbi mythology thus determines the cultural values on the one hand while offering an example of those values in operation on the other. The telling and retelling of myths is a means of supporting the social order of the society. These myths bring order to the universe and give meaning and stability to the Halbis' lives. At the same time they entertain.

A friendship (mit) narrative focuses on a type of social relationship like that between blood brothers. Such a relationship can cut across caste boundaries. Characters are animals or birds familiar to Halbi culture. The plot of such a narrative inverts certain social norms with tragic consequences, and is short, permitting children to remember it easily.

Although friendship tales end tragically, the Halbi people find them extremely funny. They instill cultural values through the negative example of participants.

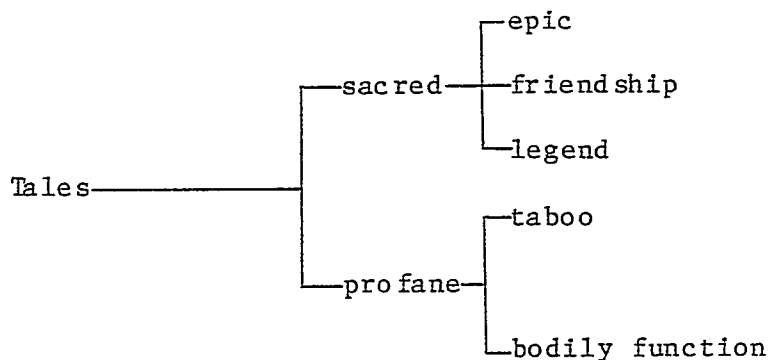
A legend concerns the origin of some natural phenomenon and

explains such things as why the moon and stars shine at night in contrast to the sun's shining alone during the day. The discourse structure of legends appears to be distinct from that of other narrative types.

A taboo story is obscene and may not be told in the presence of the opposite sex. These stories are short and their structure resembles that of friendship narratives.

A bodily function story focuses on such matters as defecating or letting wind. Although somewhat risqué, it is not considered obscene though there appear to be limits on telling the story in the presence of some kinsmen. It frequently plays on words and is considered extremely funny.

The five types of tales may be separated into two groups--sacred or profane--on the basis of their function and the context in which they may appropriately be told. Taboo and bodily function stories are profane in that they deal with forbidden or titillating topics. The remaining three types of story (k6hni), while entertaining, validate cultural values. The following diagram summarises this classification of Halbi tales:



### Storytelling in Halbi Society

Listening to stories is a popular pastime among the Halbis and a good storyteller is much sought after. At night when the chores are done and everyone has eaten, the family will often sit around the fire while someone tells a story. The family will sometimes hire someone to come and tell a story. During the monsoon, when the Halbis weed their rice fields, they press a storyteller among them to tell or sing a story. Tales told at this time are long and help to pass the hours of backbreaking work.

A shorter story may be told by anyone who knows it, but an epic narrative, because it is so long, requires a skilled narrator with a good memory and an ability to embellish without destroying the plot.

A good storyteller is much in demand. In the village of Bhatpal women are the best storytellers.

Each narration of a story is the storyteller's interpretation of what she (or he) heard when the story was told to her. She must tell the story in an entertaining manner and according to Halbi values. This is particularly true of the myths.

Each telling of a myth (or other type of story) occurs in a specific social context made up of a narrator and an audience in a given location (in the fields, around the fire at night, and so on) and is influenced by the social relationships of those present, cultural patterns, and the language form of the communication. Certain knowledge is assumed, although the narrator may become more explicit and explanatory when an outsider is present.

The audience is drawn into the performance by having to provide affirmation. At the end of almost every sentence, the audience (or a member of it) must agree by grunting 'yes' (h6). If affirmation is not forthcoming, the narrator stops and demands that someone affirm the story (hukaruk).<sup>4</sup>

#### The Corpus and the Context

The myth under consideration in this study is an epic and concerns Maha Lakhi, the tutelary deity of the agriculturally oriented Halbis. Maha Lakhi is the central character in at least three myths, each of which represents her in a different incarnation. In one of these myths, a dance drama (naT), Maha Lakhi marries a deity named King Dubisty. In another--perhaps most central of the three--she marries a deity, Narean Debi, who is also the sun. This myth is featured in the j6gar festival celebrated in the lunar month of Kartik (which during my fieldwork occurred in November-December) following the rice harvest. In the third narrative, the object of this study, Maha Lakhi marries the deity Nasilnat.

The context for the telling of the myth on which this study is based included the presence of the narrator (Hajarigurin), myself, the women and children of a Halbi household, the men of the household (listening in another room), and my co-worker.

Hajarigurin, the narrator, had been recommended to me as the best of the Halbi storytellers--other storytellers tended to use a mix of Halbi and Bhatari. I hired her to tell a story about Maha Lakhi.

She chose the myth she wished to focus on and selected the one narrating Maha Lakhi's marriage to Nasilnat. This myth's brevity, and especially its message--directed tacitly at me--determined her choice.

Hajarigurin is a Raj Murea by birth but through some difficult (and apparently tragic) circumstances she came to be married to a low caste Mahra of Bhatpal village named Jhatea. He was a widower with two children, she a widow. As a result of breaking caste and marrying Jhatea, she lost caste and now herds cattle with him.

Jhatea plays an oboe-like instrument called a mohri. He knows the tunes of all the local deities and, as a result, plays an important role in religious ceremonies of the village. Both Hajarigurin and her husband perform important functions in the village despite their low caste. He provides the means for communication with the spirits, while she reinforces the values of the community through the telling and retelling of the myths.

In telling the Maha Lakhi myth, Hajarigurin directed her narration to me, since I was paying for the performance. The responsibility of affirming the story fell to me. Hajarigurin tacitly emphasised the importance of the marriage relationship, which I had failed to value by being single. She sought to make me aware of the norm I was violating, while at the same time reinforcing the importance of marriage and productivity for the rest of the audience. Hajarigurin projected aspects of the Halbi culture and values onto other cultures represented in the myth and this projection shows the Halbis' perceived universality of those cultural traditions and

values. For example, marriage (the union of male and female) is universal and applicable to beast, gods, and all.

The interpretation represented in this study is essentially my construing of the myth in the light of what I know about the total cultural context and my observations of native reactions to situations where the cultural norms discussed here were violated in some way. These reactions include: the continuing strong disbelief or disapproval of villagers toward my unmarried state, Kuti's despair over the unexpected death of his wife six months previously--his sense of aloneness was driving him to the edge of suicide, two married couples' choosing to stay together despite barrenness' saying, "how can we be separate--we belong together though childless", and Hajarigurin's choice of this story to tell to me. In a conversation some days prior to the telling of the myth, Hajarigurin had been particularly amazed and disturbed at my unmarried state. This was more disturbing to the women than to the men or, at least, they were more vocal about it.

#### Presuppositions and Findings

In approaching this study of a Halbi myth, the following four presuppositions provide a foundation for the findings of the study:

1. Aspects of the cognitive orientation of a people can be discerned through a study of their mythology.
2. In order to obtain an understanding of the cognitive orientation of a people as revealed in their mythology, three kinds of



analysis are necessary: an analysis of linguistic structure, of cultural content, and of symbolic representation.

3. The recitation of a myth serves both to entertain and to educate.

4. In any given myth only a selected amount of cultural detail is explicitly expressed.

Based on these presuppositions, the analysis reveals the following findings:

1. Halbi myths have didactic peaks which are distinct from narrative peaks.

2. The entertainment function of a myth is intricately tied to its narrative structure while the teaching function is revealed by its cultural content.

3. Culturally typical details which are explicitly expressed in a myth serve three important functions: (a) to assure the audience that an extremely important cultural event took place; (b) to develop the meaning of the myth by providing important background information; and (c) to highlight a participant who is acting in accord with his cultural role.

4. Culturally typical details, which are left implicit on some occasions but made explicit on others, serve to contrast participants and their roles in a given myth.

5. Aspects atypical of Halbi culture in any given myth are described in detail and are characteristically referred to in the backbone of the narrative.

### Synopsis of the Myth

A brief synopsis of the myth is included here, but the full text with translation may be found in the Appendix.

In the country of Bhorun was a blind sage who lacked all things including his sight. He petitioned the deity Ram to be freed from the sin that had caused his misfortune. After a long period of time, the deity, tired of the sage's persistence, sent him to a lake. Here he stood praying for many years without receiving evidence of forgiveness. Concerned about the sage's failure to receive forgiveness, Ram intervened and gave him a package out of which Maha Lakhi was born in the water. Following the birth, the sage received his sight. After coming out of the water the sage sat on the lake's bank and worried about caring for the child. The water-getting women saw the extreme beauty of the child as they came for water and they hurriedly reported the news to the king. He and the queen--together with his subjects--came and convinced the sage to give up the child in exchange for the material possessions he lacked. After they all returned to the palace with the child, her umbilical cord was cut and the birth purification ceremonies were performed. The king then gave the sage a palace, much wealth, and a mandate to rule.

The child was named Maha Lakhi and she grew exceedingly quickly. At about twelve months of age she complained to her father concerning her lack of a playmate and sent him to fetch the brahmin's daughter, Hasin. The brahmin, Konda, gave his daughter to be Maha Lakhi's companion but, looking only for a blessing, refused any compensation.

Maha Lakhi and Hasin joyfully played together.

Maha Lakhi continued to grow while the king returned to his royal duties. Then Maha Lakhi requested her father to ask Biskarma to come build a separate palace for her since her parents' palace had become black. The king fetched Biskarma. After Maha Lakhi showed him where to build, Biskarma built her an enormous palace decorated with every colour known to man. He refused any payment for his labours and quickly returned to heaven. Maha Lakhi and Hasin moved into the new palace, while the king and queen remained in the old.

Maha Lakhi reached puberty and, with a reluctant Hasin, requested permission to go out into the world to form flower friendships. When the queen finally agreed the girls dressed and went out. After experiencing all these friendships and seeing all there was to see they rested under a banyan tree. In an ensuing dialogue with Hasin, Maha Lakhi came to understand her need for a mate--a husband. Hasin suggested a competition in which only the one destined to marry Maha Lakhi would win. After their dialogue the girls returned home.

They requested the king to have a competition arena built. He went and had Biskarma come and build it. The arena Biskarma built consisted of a large richly decorated pavilion with a smaller structure at the top. This smaller structure had three revolving wheels on top of it. These wheels constituted a target.

The king sent a message far and wide for all the men of the land to come and observe, which they did. Then the king sent his

messenger, Narat, to all the kings of the earth and invited them to come and compete for Maha Lakhi's hand. They came but were overwhelmed with fear when they saw the target. Finally, one brave king attempted to hit the target but in the process knocked himself unconscious. After they revived him no one else had the courage to try.

The king then sent Narat to call Murasur to come and compete. Murasur was asleep when Narat arrived and had to be violently awakened by his wives. He was extremely delighted at the prospect of marrying Maha Lakhi and boasted about his destiny. He refused to listen to the warning of his wives and at the same time rejected them as his wives. After preening himself, he went to the competition arena on his horse. Here, he spoke to the king and demanded to see Maha Lakhi--raising questions about both her beauty and existence. The king was mortified but, at the suggestion of his councillors, he sent for all the women of the land to come with Maha Lakhi. Maha Lakhi was furious at Murasur's temerity and cursed him. In her fury she grew four arms and, taking the symbols of her divine status in her hands, she marched to the arena with Hasin, the queen, and all the women. When she arrived Murasur was dazzled but all the people worshipped her. Then the people demanded that Murasur try to hit the target. As he attempted his shot his arrow cut the bunting on the pavilion. As it fell, it cut off his head. His main wife mourned loudly at his death. The deities Ispar and Parbati up in heaven heard her mourning and descended to earth and restored life to her husband.

Finally, the king sent Narat to invite the deity Nasilnat to come and compete. Nasilnat, on receiving the message, readied himself, gathered the items of the brideprice, and descended to the earth. As he arrived at the arena Maha Lakhi greeted him. He took the rainbow as his bow and shot his arrow through the target. Maha Lakhi then bowed down in submission to him. Later, their marriage was celebrated. After all the greetings were exchanged, Maha Lakhi went up to heaven while the king and queen remained on the earth. The end.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>The Raj Mureas perceive themselves to be a high caste tribal group in relation to other groups in the district. The Raj Mureas of South East Bastar speak a language which they call Uriya (known officially as Bhatri) while other Raj Mureas speak Halbi.

<sup>2</sup>Ethnographic material concerning the Ghotul Murias is extensive since they have a dormitory system for young people (with culturally accepted promiscuity) which has fascinated anthropologists. The Jhoria Murias and the Raj Mureas, on the other hand, have not been documented ethnographically to any significant degree.

<sup>3</sup>Special orthographic conventions used in this presentation include: T = [t̃], D = [d̃], R = [r̃], 6 = [ə̃]. Tilde indicates nasalisation.

<sup>4</sup>The verb **hukaruk** 'to affirm story' is related to the verb **hukum deuk** 'to sentence, order, command, pronounce judgement'.

PART ONE

CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE MAHA LAKHI MYTH

## CHAPTER 1

### EXPLICIT-TYPICAL ASPECTS OF THE MYTH

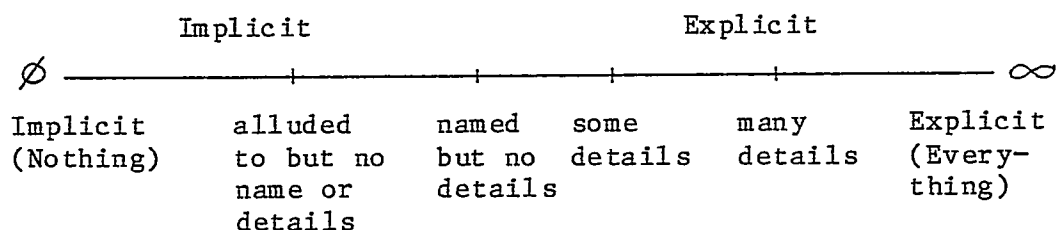
While many items reported in the myth are typical of Halbi culture, many more are not. The atypical elements are often elaborated in considerable detail in contrast to typical elements, which receive a minimum of attention. Such culturally atypical elements provide drama and interest for the Halbi listener since they cut across all that is known and familiar in everyday life.

Whereas culturally typical material embodies old information (theme), atypical material provides new information (rheme). Typical material provides background material (cohesion) to the text and its interpretation while atypical aspects of the culture develop the message of the text. Atypical events are more prominent. The amassing of these events produces the message of the text as a whole. Other messages, related or not to the main message, are also evident, but, while culturally important, such messages are secondary to the main message.

The narrator of the myth is a Halbi, and she projects many aspects of Halbi culture onto the activities of the myth's characters, as if such activities were universals. So, although the characters represent quite different cultures, some aspects of those cultures are seen as being the same as that of the Halbis'.

The culturally typical aspects of the myth may be made explicit or left implicit. Absolute implicitness and absolute explicitness are

at opposite ends of a continuum with varying degrees of implicitness or explicitness at points in between. This continuum may be diagrammed as follows:



Absolute explicitness (all details), represented by  $\infty$  in the continuum, is impossible to achieve. There may be events narrated in detail but something is always left unsaid. Absolute implicitness, represented by  $\emptyset$  in the continuum, is more likely to occur. In the Maha Lakhi myth, many years of her life are left entirely implicit, with only a few specific events highlighting each period of her life. Also, although the sage spent many years practising austerities before Maha Lakhi's birth and the restoration of his sight, no details of those years are given. Absolutely implicit events may be reconstructed from information obtained outside the context or situation, since the narrator does not allude to such events, nor does she establish chains of expectancy within the immediate context. Those aspects of Halbi culture which are left implicit or alluded to in the myth are discussed in Chapter 2. Those aspects of Halbi culture which are explicit in the myth are discussed in the present chapter. Aspects seen as being different from Halbi culture, but made explicit in the myth, are discussed in Chapter 3. The message of the



myth itself is discussed in Chapter 8.

The elements of the myth that are typical of Halbi culture are discussed in this chapter in terms of the Halbi life cycle, time and daily activities, social relationships, material culture, and the belief system.

### Life Cycle

The myth of Maha Lakhi is a cultural discourse utilising a person's life cycle as the vehicle of communication. The central participant is not of human substance but a spiritual being, the goddess Maha Lakhi. The structuring of the myth around her life cycle reveals that Halbis perceive certain aspects of life as common to all beings whether human (commoners), royal, supernatural, or even sub-human (including birds, animals, and even some trees, like the banyan). In the myth, the human life cycle familiar to the Halbis is recognised as being also typical for spiritual beings. Deviations from Halbi norm are recognised and signalled in various ways. For example, Maha Lakhi grows more quickly than human beings normally do, and this is signalled by the sentence, "She grew extremely quickly" (Myth Sec 2:6).<sup>1</sup> The implication is that what takes humanity years to achieve can be done in a couple of days by spiritual beings. Other atypical aspects of Maha Lakhi's life cycle are discussed in Chapter 3. Atypical aspects of her life cycle are narrated in considerable detail while typical ones are simply named, given the barest detail, or left implicit altogether. The narrator is, in a sense, explaining

her culture and indicating that a certain event or action is normal in Halbi culture while another one is not, and the distinction should be noted.

The life cycle of a Halbi consists of five periods: conception, early childhood, later childhood, early adulthood, and later adulthood. Birth and death are considered to be points of transition from one world to another, rather than parts of a life cycle proper. The periods of the Halbi life cycle, as they relate to that of Maha Lakhi are discussed below.

### Conception

Maha Lakhi's conception is the subject of the first section of the myth. The blind sage's continual prayers and austerities finally force the deity Ram to intervene on his behalf. While the sage is standing in a lake he receives a package from Ram, and Maha Lakhi is born from it, after which the sage receives his sight. The package (the unborn Maha Lakhi) is a symbol for a womb and since Maha Lakhi is not yet born she is not accorded human status and thus not named or identified. The package is referred to as *ek muTa* (one fistful of something), *6jra* (a doublehandful of something), and *6jrak* (one doublehandful of something).

The Halbis believe that children are a gift from God; that sexual activity is not the prime cause of procreation, although it is known to play a part. The spirits or hearts (*jiu*) of unborn children reside with God in heaven (*up6r phur* 'above world') and he sends them

on a nine or ten month journey to be born of human parents in this world (mōj phur 'middle world'). The unborn fetus does not have human status. It is not until there has been a live birth, and the ceremonies associated with live birth have been carried out (cutting the umbilical cord, bathing with turmeric water, and so on) that the new born child is recognised as a human being with an individual identity. The spiritual cause of conception is most obviously seen in the behaviour of childless couples. A childless Halbi couple will seek out various holymen and perform many ceremonies and austerities (especially fasting) hoping to gain the favour of a specific deity, who will mercifully grant them a child. When a child is born it is taken to the holyman and thanksgiving ceremonies are performed. Any vows made are also fulfilled, otherwise the deity may take the child back (it would die). The particular holyman considered to have been the successful mediator also decides on the child's name.

Maha Lakhi's conception and birth are a gift from God as a result of the austerities and the worship of the sage who was a kind of mediator on behalf of the king and queen. This mediation is shown subsequently, since the sage, recognising that he is unable to care for it or raise it, gives the child to the king and queen who had been childless. Maha Lakhi's birth (her transition from heaven to earth) becomes complete when the king and queen return to the palace and have her umbilical cord cut. Three days later the traditional Halbi purification ceremony (k6sa) is performed. This involves the preparation of a special drink (k6sa pani) which is drunk by all women

of the village. The women recognise and accept the purification of mother and child by partaking of this drink.

### Early Childhood

The narrator starts this section of the myth by repeating that Maha Lakhi's umbilical cord was cut, and then tells of the naming ceremony (s6Ti) performed twelve days later. This ceremony and the purification ceremony are extremely important in the life of a new-born, as they mark the completion of the transition from one world to another; they are indeed so important that the Halbis perceive them as universals and cannot conceive of a people, including spiritual beings, who fail to perform them.<sup>2</sup>

Some time after the completion of the birth ceremonies Maha Lakhi calls the wind and the storm to come and swing her, which they do. This short scene alludes to a basket hung from the rafters of the common room of Halbi houses in which a baby sleeps and is swung as a form of entertainment and pacification. That Maha Lakhi has the wind and storm come to swing her is atypical of a Halbi's childhood. After some months pass, Maha Lakhi learns to walk and gets around haltingly as a small child would.

The account of Maha Lakhi's early childhood focuses on her acquisition of a companion with whom she can play and do things. The brahmin's daughter becomes Maha Lakhi's companion and is called hasin (female cross-cousin).<sup>3</sup> Although Maha Lakhi's acquisition of a hasin is atypical of Halbi culture, the concept of childhood companionship

(provided by **hasi** relations) is a central one for the Halbis and thus typical. Halbi sibilings are usually born at four year intervals (though this spacing is now not as closely adhered to as in the past) so that one's brothers and sisters are considerably older or younger. Companionship is a very important value in Halbi culture, and this is reinforced through child rearing practices. However, owing to the age gap between sibilings a child's usual playmates are not his own brothers and sisters but generally his cousins and especially his cross-cousins. Young village children have no responsibilities, but are not left to play alone; rather they play together, either by themselves or under the supervision of an older sibling or a parent, preferably a mother.

When the king returns to the palace with the brahmin's daughter, Maha Lakhi and her new companion play together joyfully as young children are expected to do. The section ends with the two girls walking about and playing together, as Halbi children are supposed to do.

### Later Childhood

The third section of the myth concerns Maha Lakhi's later childhood and involves the development and acceptance of responsibilities. She asks her father, the king, to have a separate palace built for her and Hasin. The king arranges for the divine architect, Biskarma, to come and build a very large and very beautiful palace, after which Maha Lakhi and Hasin move in, while the king and

queen remain in the old palace.

The period of later childhood for a Halbi marks the beginning of economic responsibility. At the age of five or six children are expected to begin taking responsibilities and to contribute to the economic productivity of the household. Little girls begin to carry little pots of water, sweep the courtyard, learn to make leaf dishes, cut up vegetables, and the like, while little boys will help with the ploughing (under the close watchful eye of an adult), break up dirt clods in the fields, or take the cattle to graze. Maha Lakhi's move to a separate palace symbolises a similiar kind of acceptance of responsibility, though one that is more appropriate to the royal/divine culture.

### Early Adulthood

Early adulthood, the fourth period in the Halbi life cycle, equates with adolescence in the western world. The opening of the fourth section of the myth details Maha Lakhi's continued growth and reaching puberty. Puberty marks the passage from childhood to adulthood for the Halbis. The term *cuā* (menstruation) is a taboo word which must not be used in mixed company. Consequently, the Halbis have many euphemisms for referring to a woman's period and its beginnings at puberty. The narrator uses a number of these euphemisms to refer to Maha Lakhi's reaching puberty:

Later growing she grew, Bai. She became *no duba*. She became twelve years of age. At the time of becoming twelve years she became *jipti*, she grew (Myth Sec 4:1-4).

The second, third, and fourth sentences are euphemisms that refer to puberty and the beginning of a girl's menstruation, although the exact meanings of **duba** and **jipti** are not known.

This section of the myth specifically relates to the early adulthood of Maha Lakhi, and pursues the development of her sexual identity and her desire for a life companion (mate). Maha Lakhi and a reluctant Hasin prevail upon the queen to allow them to go out into the world to form 'flower friendships' (**bali phul**; see Social Relationships). The king had gone to the royal council and the queen, fearing the king's wrath, hesitates to let them go but at Maha Lakhi's insistence she finally acquiesces. Hasin and Maha Lakhi dress up and go out to form many flower friendships. Later, as they rest under the banyan tree, Maha Lakhi discusses with Hasin her growing desire to find her mate (or partner in life). Hasin affirms that it will be the one destined for her, and suggests a competition as the means of discovering him. Then the girls return from their adventures.

Halbi teenagers have few social responsibilities and are free to form transitory alliances with members of the opposite sex. These alliances, called **bali phul** (flower friendships) have different names according to which specific items are exchanged as gifts; the varieties of flower friendships include betel nut friendships, coconut friendships, banana friendships, and so forth. During early adulthood a Halbi is socially unproductive (in a sense he is socially irresponsible much as in early childhood he is economically irresponsible and unproductive) and the liaisons and alliances with

members of the opposite sex are transitory and without social obligations beyond the friendship itself. Freedom to play around and socialise at festivals, markets, bazaars, and other celebrations marks these boy-girl liaisons. Maha Lakhi's adventuring into the world with Hasin to form and enjoy these alliances is a typical Halbi pattern although her activities were rather excessive in that she formed at least five such alliances in one time period (usually about four hours) (See Chapter 3). Maha Lakhi's dressing up in beautiful clothes before going out is also quite typical. Halbi teenagers of both sexes spend a lot of time preening themselves before going to a festival or the market, as they are keen on attracting members of the opposite sex.

The dialogue under the banyan tree further develops Maha Lakhi's sexual awareness and her need to be married to the one destined for her. A Halbi learns about sexual matters from his or her *hasi* relations (see below) and Maha Lakhi learns about them in the same way. Sexual licence marks the *hasi* relationships; taboos and restraints that mark non-*hasi* interaction do not apply to cross-cousins. The queen is Maha Lakhi's mother, a non-*hasi* relative, and thus avoids all intimate dialogues with her. When Maha Lakhi appeals to go out to form flower friendships, the queen keeps the speech taboos in the parent-child relationship by deliberately ignoring the euphemistic terms and interpreting Maha Lakhi's speech literally, and stating that the servants will bring the flowers, betelnut, bananas, and anything else. The queen's reaction may also



be a reluctance to acknowledge that Maha Lakhi has reached an age when she will soon be married and move away.

### Later Adulthood

Having seen all that the world had to offer and having experienced all that adolescents experience, Maha Lakhi now wants to find her mate and live the rest of her life in the partnership destined for her. Maha Lakhi thus moves towards later adulthood, when the normal focus is on marriage, the beginning of responsible adulthood, and the symbol of social productivity through procreation. The final section of the myth deals with finding a suitable marriage partner for Maha Lakhi by means of a competition. Although this competition is not typical of Halbi culture it is reminiscent of the lengthy process of betrothal that requires a certain amount of astrological calculation, reading of signs, omens, and so on, in order to ascertain whether the union is 'right'. At the end of the myth after Nasilnat's success, Maha Lakhi and Nasilnat marry in the traditional manner.

### Time and Daily Activities

In Halbi culture, days are divided into a number of time periods with names that suggest the activity performed at that particular time. For example, the term pej bera (gruel time) refers to the period (from about 10am to 1pm, depending on the season) during which the gruel called pej is eaten; the term pani harni bera (water

bringing time) refers to a period of approximately two hours commencing about one hour after sun-up. Such references are specific in the myth on a number of occasions:

1. The women who fetch water are called 'the water period's wives' (**poneari bera co baele m6n** 'water-period time Poss wife pl' Myth Sec 1:23). The phrase **poneari bera** refers to the time segments, morning and afternoon, when the women go to fetch water from the well. Halbi women are usually called **poneari bera** wives while they are fetching water, and the narrator gives the same name to the women in the myth.
2. On two occasions the women are said to go daily (**roje**) to fetch water. On the second occasion the narrator further explains that the women fetch water twice a day (**dui pahar**). The Halbis fetch water from the well (or river) in the mornings and in the late afternoons.
3. When the king reopens his royal council after Maha Lakhi and Hasin have grown a little, he returns from the council chambers at midday (**mūDe bera**), a time span of several hours around noon when the sun is high in the sky. During this time Halbi men normally return from their work, bathe, perform the worship rituals of the household, and then eat, before resting and returning to work. After his return to the palace the king also bathes. The verb used for the king's bathing is **nahakor ho-ot** (he bathes) and refers to the ritual bathing that precedes worship. The king's worship and partaking of the noonday meal are left implicit. After playing with Maha Lakhi he returns to the council chambers.

### Social Relationships

Maha Lakhi's life cycle is similiar to that of the Halbis and she, like them, also interacts with other individuals in various social situations. The specific relationship she has with various individuals determines the type of interaction. Variations from the Halbi norm (see Chapter 3) result from her supernatural status and strongly influence some of her relationships. Besides Maha Lakhi's social relationships, other social relationships in the myth operate in accordance with Halbi patterns. Social relationships affect speech patterns, behaviour, and spatial location of those involved. The Halbis' observance of speech and behavioural customs in social relationships preserves their social values. In the myth, Murasur fails to observe the social norms and so becomes an example of how such a failure destroys the social system (see Chapter 3).

Social relationships in the myth fall into two broad categories: kinship, and voluntary associations that consist of dyads. The latter include flower friendships, master-servant, king-subject, and deity-human relationships. In both kin relationships and voluntary associations, the relative status of the individual is most important, since by knowing it the Halbis know how to address people, what to say, how to act, or where to stand or sit. Specific relationships detailed in the myth are described below, as well as the effect of status on social interaction, and on the physical location of individuals during specific interaction episodes.

### Specific Relationships

Except for the cross-cousin (**hasi**) relationship, all kinship relationships explicit in the myth are those revolving around the nuclear family, father, mother, and daughter. At the centre of the myth's kinship system is Maha Lakhi and her birth brings her into a daughter (**beTi**) relationship to the sage for a short period, though the narrator never refers to him specifically as her father. She then moves into a child-parent relationship with the king and queen, who remain her parents throughout the rest of the myth, the king fulfilling his role of father by providing a husband for his daughter. Maha Lakhi addresses the king as **baba** (father) and the queen as **mā**, **aea**, and **maha** (mother). The king and queen initially address Maha Lakhi as **beTa** (son) and then later switch to **beTi** (daughter). This occurs after Maha Lakhi returns from her adventures in the world, and is a recognition of her femininity resulting from her having reached puberty and her desire to fulfill her destiny in marriage.

The brahmin's daughter becomes Maha Lakhi's **hasin** and though the mode of Maha Lakhi's acquisition of a **hasin** is atypical of Halbi culture, the relationship itself and its function within the myth are quite typical. The term **hasin** refers to female cross-cousin while the term **hasi** refers both to male cross-cousin and to the relationship itself. The term **hasi** derives from the verb **hasuk** 'to laugh' and those having this relationship will joke with one another. Cross-cousins not only provide companionship in childhood, but are also the preferred marriage partners. A certain amount of sexual

licence marks this relationship, and is particularly evident in the verbal bantering. The *hasi* relationship allows a young Halbi to learn about sexual matters in an atmosphere free from the taboos associated with non-*hasi* relations in which sexual interaction, even if only verbal, would be considered incestuous.<sup>4</sup> When the brahmin gives up his daughter to the king she becomes part of the king's family, but she is always addressed and referred to as *hasin*, and does not come into a daughter relationship to the king and queen, though on one occasion she addresses the queen as *mā* (mother) and refers to the king as *baba* (father).

Another kin relationship referred to in the myth is that of *baele-m6nuk* (wife-husband). The term occurs only once in the myth, when the narrator lists all the birds sitting together in pairs, and adds that they are sitting as a male and a female of the species, as husband and wife: "A single female crane and a single male crane as wife and husband" (Myth Sec 4:111).

Voluntary associations among the Halbis fall into two groups: named and unnamed. The named group is well-defined and structured. The name of the relationship establishes a set of expectancies as to the speech and behaviour among its component members. The unnamed group, on the other hand, is loosely defined, and structured only according to the relative status of its members; the relationships are very fluid, and are usually formed only when the social situation brings two people together.

Of the numerous named voluntary associations among the Halbis

only three occur in the Maha Lakhi myth: the **s6gta** (companion), the **joRi** (pair), and the **bali phul** (flower friendship).

1. The members of a **s6gta** relationship may be of either sex. The term literally means 'the with one' and points to companionship as the sole purpose of the relationship which is not necessarily a permanent one. The term **s6gta** may refer to the relationship as a whole, or to one of its members. In the myth the term is used for the relationship between the king and his royal advisor, and between Maha Lakhi and Hasin. Maha Lakhi also uses it with reference to her as yet non-existent mate, as well as to the mate of the banyan tree therefore emphasising the companionship aspect of marriage.

2. The **joRi** relationship differs from **s6gta** in that its members are always of both sexes and it is permanent. Like **s6gta**, the term may refer to the relationship itself, or to one of its members. **joRi** means 'a pair, a mating of two, a mate, or a partner', the specific meaning being driven from the context. While it may also refer to a **baele-m6nuk** (wife-husband) relationship, the term **joRi** refers to a mating and the mates at all levels of the natural and supernatural world. In the myth, Maha Lakhi says that all the birds are in **joRi** relationships, that the whole animal kingdom is in **joRi** relationships, and that even the banyan tree has its **joRi** while she herself does not.

3. The third named voluntary association is usually called **bali phul** (flower friendship) but in the myth is referred to by the term **DāDe bahar**. This relationship refers to the transitory friendships formed between adolescent Halbi boys and girls. These friendships have

strong sexual overtones and may involve culturally accepted promiscuity, sexually oriented verbal banter, or just friendship.<sup>5</sup> Maha Lakhi and Hasin, when they go out adventuring in the world, form many of these friendships. The name of the specific friendship comes from the items exchanged as gifts by the boy and girl, for example, when the boy and girl exchange flowers (**phul**) the friendship is called **phul baRi**. Maha Lakhi and Hasin also form **pan baRi** (betel nut), **k6dli baRi** (banana), **narel baRi** (coconut), **supari baRi** (sweet betel nut) friendships and others which are not named. Flower friendships are very important in an adolescent's life and most of the fun of some big Hindu festivals in the nearby city lies not so much in the ritual celebration but in the meeting and making friends with members of the opposite sex.

Unnamed voluntary associations are those which develop in social situations which may last only for a few moments, as in the relationship between buyer and seller in the market, or may be of longer duration, as in the relationship between a servant and his master. The relative social status of the members of these unnamed dyads determines the interaction patterns. The status of each member may be quite close, as when in a Halbi market a buyer and a seller are of the same caste and equivalent status, or widely apart, as when a tribal man visits a government official. All unnamed voluntary associations in the myth involve a fairly wide spread in social status. One group of relationships involves the king interacting with a subject: the king and the water women; the king and the police; the

king and Konda Brahmin; the king and the sage; and the king and his messenger. The other group of relationships involves a deity interacting with a human: Ram and the sage; Biskarma and the king; and Nasilnat and the king's messenger.

### Status and Interactions

All social relationships in Halbi culture imply expected patterns of speech and behaviour. In both the kinship and the named voluntary associations, the name given to the relationship determines the speech and behaviour patterns to be followed by the members. In the unnamed voluntary associations, however, it is the social status of a member that determines the patterns of speech and behaviour. Social status, ascribed by birth, is the primary focus in the unnamed relationships. Named voluntary associations, on the other hand, involve a formal agreement between people of somewhat equal status. The speech and behaviour patterns in the relationships mentioned in the myth follow the generally accepted patterns in Halbi culture, except for Murasur's relationships with others, which do not follow the Halbi norm (see Chapter 3). No speech or actions are associated with some of the social relationships. In particular neither the flower friendships nor its male members are developed beyond stating that the relationships were formed. The effect of status on interactions is limited in this section to the verbal aspects of the kinship relationships in the myth.

As stated above the kinship relationships in the myth involve



the nuclear family and the *hasi* relationship.<sup>6</sup> The verbal interaction between members of the kinship group helps maintain the Halbi social order, except that Maha Lakhi's divinity intersects her humanity to produce a blend of politeness and familiarity in her relationships with other members of the kinship group.<sup>7</sup> The speech patterns of the various interactions are summarised in the following chart :

addressee addresser	M L	Queen	Hasin	King
Maha Lakhi	X	R	2s	2s
Queen	R	X	2s	2p
Hasin	2p	0	X	-
King	2p	0	-	X

Key: M L = Maha Lakhi; R = Reciprocal familiarity; 2s = 2nd person singular; 2p = 2nd person plural; 0 = No 2nd person pronominal reference in speech; - = No speech interaction at all.

Maha Lakhi and the queen address one another using the 2nd person singular pronominal reference and verb endings, and in particular 2nd person singular imperatives. The queen is the only person who addresses Maha Lakhi in the singular. Thus Maha Lakhi and the queen have a reciprocally familiar relationship in which the queen treats Maha Lakhi as she would her own daughter, while Maha Lakhi relates to the queen as a deity to a human. Maha Lakhi calls the queen *mā*, *aea*, and *maha* (mother) while the queen calls Maha Lakhi *beTa* (son) before her flower friendships and *beTi* (daughter) after them. The king and Hasin relate to Maha Lakhi from a subordinate position; in speaking to

her they use only 2nd person plural pronominal references and verb endings. They differ in their relationship to Maha Lakhi in that the king uses 2nd person plural imperatives, while Hasin uses the 1st person plural imperative (optative), an extremely polite form. Hasin addresses Maha Lakhi as **didī** (older sister) though Hasin is chronologically older; the king calls her **beṬa** (son) before her flower friendships and **beṬī** (daughter) afterwards. The king and Hasin relate to the queen in a similiar manner; they take a subordinate position, but not as subordinate as in relation to Maha Lakhi, which is indicated by the avoidance of a direct 2nd person pronominal reference of any kind. Hasin addresses the queen as **mā** (mother). The king addresses the queen using her title **raṇī** (queen) as the vocative. The king and Hasin do not interact at all.<sup>8</sup> Maha Lakhi speaks to both the king and Hasin from a position of superiority; she addresses them, as everyone by using 2nd person singular pronominal references and verb endings.

#### Spatial Location and Status

Social relationships affect not only speech patterns and behaviour but also the spatial location of the participants. The status of an individual in a given social situation will determine whether he sits or stands and where, or whether he can even enter the presence of another. Status is determined by two components. One is unchangeable and arises from birth alone, whether male or female, human or divine, high-caste or low-caste. The other is dependent on

the relative age of the people in a social situation. In the myth status ascribed by birth is more prominent. The effect of status on the spatial location of people is shown in the following examples, which involve travel and sitting :

1. When Ram sends the sage back to earth he tells him to find the line of women on their way to fetch water. Halbi women go to the water well in a line ordered by status, low-caste at the end, high-caste in front, and the line of women referred to by Ram would be ordered in just such a manner.

2. When Maha Lakhi and Hasin go out on their adventures Maha Lakhi is in front and Hasin follows behind. The narrator carefully specifies their relative positions : "Maha Lakhi in front, Maha Lakhi in front, Hasin behind. They came out with Hasin behind, Bai" (Myth Sec 4 :38-9).

The narrator also draws my attention to Hasin's position by use of the vocative **bai**.<sup>9</sup>

3. When Maha Lakhi, the queen, Hasin, accompanied by the other women, go to the competition arena at the summons of the king, all three are in front, while the rest of the women, high-caste and low-caste trail along behind.

4. Earlier in the myth when the king and his advisor bring Hasin back to the palace as a companion for Maha Lakhi, the king places Hasin in front, himself behind, and the advisor in third place. The king thus honours Hasin by giving her, a young child, higher status than himself while maintaining the superior status with respect to his advisor.<sup>10</sup>

5. After the sage gives up Maha Lakhi to the king and queen, all four return to the palace riding on elephants, while all the king's subjects walk along in procession beside and behind them. For the Halbis, riding an elephant indicates royal status; commoners walk.

On many occasions in the myth, the place and manner of sitting also represent the Halbis' concept of status. For example :

1. When the sage goes to Ram's house he sits and pleads his case from the deity's courtyard. Among the Halbis low-caste people may enter only the courtyard of a high-caste, never the house itself. The Halbis perceive human status before the deities as being like that of a low-caste before a high-caste.

2. The women go to the king to tell him of the sage's beautiful child and the narrator states that they went to the king and sat down : "Having gone close they sat down" (Myth Sec 1 :130). The use of the verb **bos** (sit) without specification of what they sat on indicates that they sat on the floor, a very low status position such as a female subject would have before the king.

3. When the king and his advisor go to the brahmin's house, the brahmin has them sit on a bed after he has spread a cloth over it. For the Halbis, sitting on a bed when visiting someone is a privilege of higher status. If a householder wants to honour a visitor of doubtful status he will have him sit on a bed rather than on the floor.

4. After the king returns with Hasin, she and Maha Lakhi play and sit together in the middle of a gold bed while the king and the queen sit

at two corners. Among the Halbis, the centre of the bed has more status than either end, and the king and the queen honour the new addition to their family, and continue their recognition of Maha Lakhi's divine status.

5. During Maha Lakhi and Hasin's adventures, they rest from the hot sun under the banyan tree; Maha Lakhi sits on a root in front and Hasin sits behind her. Among the Halbis, the one who sits in front is always of higher social status than the one behind.

6. During the competition for Maha Lakhi's hand all the kings of the earth sit down in an orderly fashion on chairs and beds, while all the people who are called to observe the competition sit down in rows on the ground. The kings of the earth would order themselves according to their status among royalty, while the spectators would sit down according to their own respective status among ordinary people.

The spatial location of individuals and groups in the myth follows Halbi patterns of spatial location and provides a means for the identification of the characters, thus bonding the myth with the audience. The audience is able to identify with the participants because they operate within the myth's social structure just as the people in the audience operate in everyday life.

#### Material Culture

Few items of the material culture are mentioned in the myth. Halbis live in a gh6r (house), a term which also has the generic sense of 'a dwelling'. Royalty always lives in a palace (mahal), while

deities are associated with temples (**m6dir**). The narrator names various dwellings in the myth. She calls the dwellings of the deities **gh6r** (house), **mahal** (palace), and **m6dir** (temple). She refers to the brahmin's dwelling as a **gh6r**, a term she also uses for the dwellings of all the people of the kingdom. The king's dwelling is called a **mahal** although it is also referred to on occasion as a **gh6r**.

Some other items of material culture are mentioned: the brahmin offers the king and his advisor a bed (**kh6Tea**) to sit on. A **kh6Tea** has a bare wooden frame covered with woven rope or cloth strips. The kings of the earth also sit on beds and chairs (**kursi**). Waterpots are mentioned when the women are fetching water; they are the same brass and earthenware types as those the Halbis use daily. The water in which Ram bathes before coming down to the sage is heated in a brass pot like the Halbis use, although they do not normally bathe in warm water.

#### Belief System

The myth of Maha Lakhi is an expression of the Halbi belief system, which is syncretistic and strives towards a harmonious universe in which each part has a place and functions toward achieving and maintaining harmony. All of the system's parts interconnect and form a unified whole.<sup>11</sup> In the myth an overall harmony exists in the universe, with dysfunctional elements, such as Murasur, serving to highlight the importance of the harmony and to create drama in the narrative.

The Halbi universe has three levels: **up6r phur** (above world or heaven), **mōj phur** (middle world or earth), and **t6l phur** (below world or hell). The myth concerns itself with only two: **up6r phur** and **mōj phur**. Heaven, home of the supernatural beings, is located in the sky with the sun and the moon, while earth is the earth as we know it. The setting for the myth is the kingdom of Bhorun which is located on earth and, as the narrator told me, is identified by the Halbis with Nepal and Burma. Deities and humans move freely between heaven and earth.<sup>12</sup>

The elements of the universe (animate and inanimate) are divided into two broad categories: the supernatural and the natural. The supernatural world includes the deities located in heaven, the **6surs** located in a mountainous area somewhere between earth and heaven, and the winds and storms that move about in heaven and earth.<sup>13</sup> The natural world, located on the earth, includes all of humanity, the animals, and the trees.

The people of the myth are also divided into castes closely matching those with which the Halbis, who are part of the Hindu caste system, are familiar. Since the Halbis are considered to be a tribal people, and refer to themselves as such (**adivasi** or **dihati**), as well as being a recent (within the last several centuries) addition to the system, they occupy a very low place in the overall hierarchy. The castes central to the Maha Lakhi myth are the kshatriya (royal) and the brahmin castes. Other castes are named as the subjects of the king, but are generally in the role of observers rather than

participants in the action. The narrator very vaguely divides them into important and unimportant castes, although the naming of a caste automatically fits it into the categories of the Halbi experience, reflecting the relationship of the Halbis with that group and the forms of interaction acceptable or unacceptable between them.

The following chart summarises the caste divisions in the myth and indicates their place in the caste hierarchy:

High royalty - Bhorun, Niubati, Kings of the earth. brahmin - sage, advisor, Konda, Hasin.	
Low everyone else -	<u>important ones</u> royal minister, royal messenger, jogi (kind of holy man), police, revenue collectors,
	<u>unimportant ones</u> foresters, villagers, country folk tribal people, potters,

Some of the castes named by the narrator are not generally recognised castes in Hindu society but rather occupational groups, such as revenue collectors and police, although to most Halbis, including the narrator, occupation and caste are inseparable. The narrator also lumps together villagers, country folk, and tribal people without distinguishing their particular castes. 'Villagers', 'country folk', and 'tribal peoples' are terms the Halbis use to refer to themselves



and to other groups like them. A number of groups not included in the chart are those I have not yet identified and include: **lal, s6eda boeda, koda, phāde, nēgi, pane podan.** The low human group includes both important and unimportant people who are subjects of King Bhorun and act in obedience to his commands. In particular, members of this group are called to act as observers at important points in the story, such as the sage's giving Maha Lakhi to the king, the competition for her hand, and Murasur's attempt in the competition. The water-fetching women also belong to the low and unimportant human group. While they are carrying out their routine activity of getting water, they become the link between the sage, who has a child and King Bhorun and his queen, who do not; they are also the only members of the low human group who act independently. All the activities of the low human group indicate that its members act according to their social status.

The Halbis live in an area that until very recently was ruled by a king (raja). They believed the king to be divine, worshipped him accordingly, and also looked to him for protection and sustenance. In days gone by the king ruled very much as the rulers in the Maha Lakhi myth, which reaffirms the royal role in the caste system as ruler and protector. The brahmins continue to fulfill their caste role as spiritual leaders and of providing companionship and counsel for royalty. The Halbis expect and look for the king to return to re-establish his kingdom (see Chapter 6).

The distinction between male and female is found throughout the

natural and supernatural worlds. By the union of male and female of each species the universe is able to continually reproduce itself. The myth probes the theme of this union and affirms its universality as well as the predestination of who the particular mate is to be. Thus, during her adventures, Maha Lakhi realises that she needs more than just a childhood companion as Hasin has been; she needs a mate, a husband. Her anxious desire to know who her mate is to be appears to be driven by the fear of being alone in life as well as in death. She persistently questions Hasin, until Hasin finally suggests a competition in which only the one destined for Maha Lakhi will win. After King Nasilnat has succeeded in the competition, Hasin turns to Maha Lakhi and says:

Did you see, Didi? The kings of the earth came, they weren't able. Murasur came, he wasn't able. Your partner was already planned. How could another be your partner, Didi? Here is your partner (Myth Sec 5:311.1-.8).

The arrangement of marriages among Halbis requires much ritual and the reading of signs and portents. If the signs are right the Halbis say that the match will be good and function properly (c61-uae 'operate-f,3s') and the wedding date is set. If, on the other hand, the signs are not right the match would not be good and they drop the matter. The birth of children stabilises marriages and confirms the rightness of the match. Marriages rarely break up after the birth of a child but are quite frequently dissolved among childless couples.

Male and female roles begin to diverge early in the life of a Halbi child. Girls begin learning female activities and attitudes while boys learn the male ones. At puberty the distinction between

male and female roles becomes more sharply defined so that girls are no longer considered members of the male lineage (ku Tum) but only daughters of it. Their freedom of movement within their own home is suddenly severely limited as certain sacred areas become taboo to them, specifically the inner rooms and the spirit house. At marriage they become part of their husband's lineage and acquire freedom of movement in their new home. In the myth, the male-female role distinctions are quite evident. When the king asks the sage for the baby Maha Lakhi, his argument focuses on the sage's maleness and therefore inability to care for the child properly. The king says:

Here sage! You're a male. How will you cut the umbilical cord? How will you warm the child's stomach? How will you clean out the mouth? How will you care for her? You give her to me. I don't have a child. I have a wife, Queen Niubati, my queen. She will care for her . . . (Myth Sec 1:156.1-.9).

All the activities named by the king can only be performed by a female and must be carried out for a child to live. The sage, being a male, could not perform them and since he did not have a wife there was no way to care for the child. Physically, there is nothing to stop a male from caring for a child, it is simply not his cultural role. The male role and physical ability are identified as being the same, so that for the Halbis a cultural limitation becomes a physical limitation also. The king, on the other hand, does have a wife who can care for the child and it is on this basis that the king asks the sage to give up the child. At first the sage refuses to consider it; then, however, all the people who came with the king ask him, "How do you expect to do it? Give (the child) up" (Myth Sec 1:158.1-.2).

The sage finally becomes convinced and gives up the child.

The women who report the existence of the child to the king were fulfilling part of their female role by going to the lake for water. Men will occasionally carry water and when they do they carry it with shoulder yokes rather than their on heads as the women do.

The women have the prime role in the preparation of meals, which keeps them close to the house most of the time. A lot of time and effort are required to dry the rice, husk and winnow it, and finally to cook it. Women's responsibilities also include staying in and guarding the house while the men go off to market, to meetings, or other events, some of which are taboo to women on pain of bringing down shame on the heads of their husbands. For example, women carefully avoid going near the men's liquor drinking session that follows a community effort of ploughing a poorer member's fields. The competition for Maha Lakhi's hand was an event normally taboo to a woman. When Murasur demanded to see Maha Lakhi, not only was she sent for but all the women and children of every household as well, not one woman was to remain behind. The women all came together and sat together thus giving Maha Lakhi moral support in this male-dominated environment.

The male role as such is not well developed in the myth. When Maha Lakhi and Hasin go on their adventures and form flower friendships, there is no mention whatever of the males. The most pronounced development of the male role in the myth involves the spiritual and ritual aspects. The sage, the brahmin, the king, Ram,

and Nasilnat all perform some kind of spiritual or ritual activity. The generic verb for worship, *sewa k6ruk* (to perform worship), includes the burning of incense, the offering of food appropriate to the specific deity, and a variety of other activities related to worship among the Halbis. The Halbis worship their deities on certain specified days of the week, and the men of the household have the responsibility to perform the proper rituals. Each household worships its own deities as well as the deities of the village and the district. When referring to the regular worship of the household deities the specific object of worship remains implicit, but it becomes explicit if it is outside normal behaviour patterns. Thus, when Ram, the brahmin, Nasilnat, and the king worship they are worshipping their household deities in accordance with the Halbis' expected worship cycle. On another occasion, however, when the king worships, the narrator makes explicit that he worshipped Maha Lakhi, the object of worship in this case being outside the norm of Halbi expectancy. The sage's interactions with Ram focus on his search for answers to his questions and his desire to receive his sight. Through his persistent praying and severe austerities, he forces Ram to intervene on his behalf. The Halbis recognise and hold in awe holymen who practice austerities. They consider these men to be extremely powerful and they go to them to have them mediate between themselves and the deities. Only men can fill this role and they are always brahmins, at least in the mind of the Halbis. It is inconceivable that a woman could fill this role since she is so susceptible to the

menstrual cycle of pollution.

The belief system of the Halbis is designed to maintain a careful balance between the supernatural and the natural worlds. All activities of the natural world also involve the supernatural since the Halbis believe that it is impossible to separate the one from the other. According to the Halbis, **bh6gwan** (God) created the natural world and looks after its maintenance. The Halbis strive to maintain a harmonious relationship with the supernatural knowing that their own physical well being depends upon it, and many rituals are concerned with the maintenance of that harmony. Should disharmony occur at some point in the system then the resulting dysfunction manifests itself through misfortune of one kind or another. The terms **pap** (sin) and **dos** (offence) refer to dysfunction. The sage, in his appeal to Ram tries to identify the **pap** or **dos** he committed and which has caused his blindness, since blindness is a manifestation of disharmony. The sage believes that after knowing what offence or sin he committed he could take steps to have it forgiven and so receive his sight. **pap** and **dos** refer primarily to errors in ritual performance and when a misfortune occurs in an individual's life, such as sickness, crop failure, or a natural disaster, it triggers a search for the particular kind of ritual failure. Such failure may be the total failure to observe a ritual, a failure to prepare properly for the ritual, to offer the right items, to fulfill a vow, and so forth. The sage never discovers what caused his blindness and Ram finally intervenes on his behalf. Ram is surprised that after all the sage's austerities, such as

prayer, fasting, standing in the lake for many years, and denial of all else save the search for deliverance, his sins have not been forgiven as Ram had expected when he sent the sage to the lake. The sage's self-denial has made him spiritually so powerful that the deity is forced to act before he himself becomes guilty of both **pap** and **dos**.

The myth mentions some of the important rituals concerned with maintaining harmony in the universe. The brahmin, the king, and the queen all perform the ritual bathing (**nahakor**) that precedes and prepares for worship. One other human, Hasin, bathes in the myth, but the bathing is done by someone else, probably her mother. The verb used in this case is **naha dhoa k6ruk** (to bathe someone) and does not refer to the ritual bathing which precedes worship. This is to be expected, since children do not take part in Halbi ritual worship in any formal way.

The deities themselves play their part in maintaining harmony in the universe by fulfilling their obligations to humanity. As man works through ritual to maintain or re-establish harmony, he also expects the deities to respond positively by keeping misfortune away or by relieving it. When misfortune strikes, a shaman or a diviner is called to seek out the source of the trouble. Once it is established where the problem lies steps are taken to deal with the dysfunction and to relieve the misfortune. The shaman reveals the means for turning the misfortune around; sometimes a blood sacrifice is required, sometimes other kinds of offerings. Ram's concern over the sage's unanswered prayers reflects something of the obligation that

deities have to man; it was the lack of results and the possibility that fault would be ascribed to him that finally forced Ram to intervene and bring about a restoration of harmony. Later in the myth, Murasur's failure in the competition causes his death. His wife is heartbroken and her wailing and mourning reach the deities Ispar and Parbati, who respond to her despair by coming and restoring life to Murasur.

Disruption at the level of man's relation to man may also cause dysfunction and destroy the harmony of the universe. Human beings have the responsibility of maintaining harmony through the proper conduct of social relationships; the observance of social norms ensures harmony. Dysfunction at this level is called **chuT** (pollution); it is utterly destructive of the community, and more feared by the Halbis than either **pap** or **dos**. **chuT** dysfunction has the immediate effect of separating an individual or a household from the rest of the community until it is removed through specific rituals tied to its cause.

Menstruating women are in a state of **chuT** and remain so until their period finishes and they perform the necessary cleansing rituals. When a girl reaches puberty she becomes a danger to the household and her movements within the house are restricted. When Maha Lakhi reaches puberty her relationship to her father changes. Before that time she had addressed her father directly; after puberty she only speaks to her father through the mediation of her mother. Birth results in both mother and child being in a state of **chuT**. The



k6sa ceremony, performed three days after birth and the cutting of the umbilical cord, purifies mother and child and signifies the completion of the birth process. The k6sa ceremony is an extremely important one for the Halbis, and in the myth it is performed for Maha Lakhi and her mother, the queen.

Whenever a Halbi leaves his own courtyard he becomes susceptible to contamination, which may be picked up wherever he walks. He calls this contamination 'a little bit of chuT'. When he returns to his house or enters someone else's courtyard he carefully washes his feet before entering the house itself, and especially the kitchen and the sacred areas. If a visitor comes to the house it is most important to give him water to wash with, both for pollution control and for the sake of politeness. The narrator of the myth carefully makes explicit a number of occasions when water is given for feet washing. When the king and his advisor go to the brahmin's house, the brahmin not only brings water but he himself washes their feet, an act of humility and subordination. Later, when the king and his advisor return to the palace with Hasin, Maha Lakhi sends her mother to fetch water and specifically wash Hasin's feet.

#### Functions of Explicitness

The myth's explicit reference to aspects typical of Halbi culture function in a variety of ways: as verification and reinforcement of the culture and its values, as a means of cohesion, and as a means to give prominence. These functions are not really

distinct from one another, but overlap and interweave, and also work in concord with the functions of implicitness and of cultural atypicality to produce an intricately woven and unified text subtly communicating its message to the audience.

A primary function of making normal cultural activities explicit is to provide a cohesive link between the audience and the myth itself. This enables the members of the audience to relate to the characters of the myth and its events, and to identify where they themselves fit into the scheme of the specific universe of the myth, as well as where the myth and its events fit into their own view of the universe. The narrator specifically links the audience to the ordinary people of the myth on several occasions, the most obvious being when Biskarma comes at night to build the pavilion for the marriage competition. The narrator makes clear that this happened at night, when everyone was asleep, just as the listeners themselves sleep after the evening meal.

The audience is also linked to the myth and its events by being reassured that certain vitally important cultural events did in fact take place. Within Halbi society the community needs to know that certain ritual events occurred; they are so important in the culture that a Halbi cannot conceive of a society where they do not occur. The *k6sa* ceremony is such an event. As already stated, it is performed three days after the birth of a child, purifies the mother, and marks the acceptance of the child into the world. The mother is in a very polluted state as a result of the birth because of the very

polluting power of uterine blood, and only the **k6sa** ceremony can remove this pollution. All the women of the community participate in this ceremony, and people must know that it was indeed performed before the woman is accepted back into the community life. The child is also cleansed and purified so that he can be accepted as an individual in the community. Thus the explicit reference that certain cultural events did take place provides a reassurance to the audience that elements which could be disruptive of universal harmony have been neutralised, even in the myth.

Along with the just mentioned function, the reinforcement of community values, such as the maintenance of harmony in the universe, may also be considered a function of explicitness. For example, the performance of the **k6sa** ceremony on behalf of Maha Lakhi, who is a central deity of the Halbis, continues to validate that ceremony in the culture.

The maintenance of harmony within the universe is so important that the characters who are explicitly described as acting according to cultural values, and particularly according to the roles ascribed to them in the culture, are also those held in the highest esteem. For example, when the brahmin is introduced into the myth it is said that he had just bathed (ritually) and was worshipping when the king arrived. The brahmin fills a spiritual role in Halbi society, both as a counsellor and as a religious officiant at some rituals, and as would be expected he carefully fulfills his own religious duties, duties which all men would also be expected to discharge. The

narrator, by making explicit the brahmin's fulfillment of these religious duties points out that the brahmin of the myth acts in accord with both his own brahminic role and his role as a male member of society in the maintenance of ritual purity.

The narrator also makes explicit that the brahmin carefully observes the society's norms regarding social relationships as he greets the king (s6lam k6ruk 'to do s6lam greeting'), washes his feet and his companion's and then has them sit on a bed after spreading a cloth on it. The brahmin's fulfillment of both his ritual and his social duties are aspects of the maintenance of harmony in the universe. The brahmin is honoured by having his daughter chosen as Maha Lakhi's companion, a just reward for his spiritual and social purity. The brahmin maintains the harmony of the Halbi universe and thus reinforces the social value of maintaining that harmony. The fulfillment of one's duties makes one worthy to receive a reward just as the failure to fulfill them makes one unworthy and liable to suffer misfortune, as is the case with Murasur.

Explicitness, besides reinforcing the values of the society and functioning as a link between the audience and the myth, provides cohesion within the myth itself. This cohesion results from expected cultural sequences being made explicit. The most extensive cultural sequence is Maha Lakhi's life cycle, which provides the overall cohesion of the myth itself since each of its sections represents one period in the life cycle familiar to Halbi culture. Another explicit cultural sequence providing cohesion is when the king's messenger

arrives to find Nasilnat acting in accord with the social norms (he had bathed and was worshipping) just as the brahmin had also been doing when the king arrived. Both Nasilnat and the brahmin are viewed as worthy and virtuous, and the brahmin receives the honour of providing his daughter as companion for Maha Lakhi, while Nasilnat is honoured by marrying Maha Lakhi. The explicitness of Nasilnat and the brahmin acting in an identical manner according to cultural norms serves to provide cohesion as well as reinforcement.

Another aspect of the cohesive function of explicitness is that it carries the text forward along the lines of the message. The explicitness of culturally typical activities actually moves the normal or expected sequence of events along and the members of the audience can relate to them as the people recognise actions as reflecting their own perception of the world. The women fetching water, for example, are performing a normal everyday activity of women. It is the women's daily walk to the lake which puts them in the right place to see the sage with the beautiful newborn child. Since they are women they know that only women can care for a child and they rush to tell the king. They thus form the link between the sage and the king, since through them the king learns of the existence of the child, and they become a major means for the childless king and queen acquiring a child.

Besides the function of cohesion, the explicitness of culturally typical events also gives prominence to a participant or to an event. By making explicit culturally normal activities of a particular

participant, the narrator focuses on that participant and identifies him in the performance of his cultural role. The brahmin, who was introduced into the story in a state of spiritual purity (he had bathed ritually and was worshipping) continues to act virtuously by performing according to the norms of social relationships (providing water for and washing the feet of the king and of his companion, and so forth). As a result of the explicitness of these actions, the brahmin is marked as prominent. The narrator also makes explicit King Bhorun's resumption of his kingly duties after the birth of Maha Lakhi. Early in Section 3 of the myth the king reopens the audience hall and resumes the council of kings. He goes about his duties daily, coming home to the palace at noon to bathe ritually and to fulfill his duties in the palace, to eat, and to play with Maha Lakhi, before returning to the council in the afternoon.

By making explicit their actions the narrator is able to focus on and develop the character of particular participants. In this way she contrasts those who act according to the cultural norms with those who do not. The contrasting of participants indicates that those who act within cultural norms are worthy whereas those who do not are in some way unworthy. Thus the characters are shown in either a positive or negative light. For example, the narrator utilises the explicitness of cultural behaviour to forecast a participant's eventual success. The narrator foretells Nasilnat's success in the marriage competition by specifying his acts of ritual purity when he is introduced into the story. This introduction contrasts with that

of the kings of the earth. There is silence regarding the activities of the kings, and though they probably acted within cultural norms their activities are left implicit; the narrator does not give any verbal clues that point to their success. Nasilnat's introduction into the story also contrasts with Murasur's. At his introduction, Murasur is asleep and his activities on being awakened all indicate that he acts atypically for the culture; there is a strong contrast between Nasilnat and his virtuous conduct, and Murasur and his immoral behaviour. The narrator explicitly points at Murasur as one who will fail (see Chapter 3). Thus, the narrator contrasts Nasilnat positively with the other competitors who are shown negatively, and the resulting prominence of Nasilnat marks him as a worthy participant.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Examples from the myth itself are cross-referenced to the Appendix. The number preceding the ':' refers to the major section in which the example occurs while the number following the ':' indicates the sentence number(s) within the section.

<sup>2</sup>My statements that we do not have a *k6sa* ceremony have never been believed.

<sup>3</sup>Hasin is the name the brahmin child is known by throughout the myth, following the Halbi tradition of using kin terms as names.

<sup>4</sup>The *hasi* relationship extends beyond the primary cross-cousin tie. Relatives of ego in alternating, descending or ascending generations are called either brothers or sisters (*bhai-bhoi*), if parallel-linked or *hasi* if cross-linked.

<sup>5</sup>A girl does not usually become pregnant as a result of these alliances, but if she does there is no pressure for the boy and girl to marry. The child is adopted by the girl's family. Whether they practice some kind of birth control is unknown.

<sup>6</sup>The relationship of **baele-m6nuk** (wife-husband) is not used with reference to the king and the queen although this is their relationship. The term is used elsewhere in the myth as reference only, and no speech or event is associated with the relationship.

<sup>7</sup>This may or may not be entirely true and depends upon whether Maha Lakhi is operating in the family as a human member or whether her divine status cuts across and affects the way she is addressed by all and the way she addresses others.

<sup>8</sup>The lack of interaction between the king and Hasin may be a true avoidance since there is the potential for Hasin to be the king's daughter-in-law and in Hindu society this is a strong avoidance relationship although not as restrictive in Halbi culture.

<sup>9</sup>The narrator uses the vocative **bai** to address me throughout the myth. This vocative is also used by the villagers to address me in everyday life.

<sup>10</sup>Why the king honours Hasin by placing her in a position of honour is unclear at this time.

<sup>11</sup>A complete discussion of the belief system lies beyond the scope of this analysis and deserves an extensive study of its own. Nonetheless, an attempt has been made to include those features relevant to the myth.

<sup>12</sup>The myths relate events of the **age juge** (a long long time ago) when there was much more freedom of movement between the worlds than now.

<sup>13</sup>The mountainous areas are anomalous for the people of the plains, including the Halbis.



## CHAPTER 2

### IMPLICIT-TYPICAL ASPECTS OF THE MYTH

This chapter focuses on the implicit aspects of the myth. This implicitness includes various cultural activities associated with different characters. Considerably more is left unsaid than is actually stated since although the myth takes nearly an hour in telling it covers a long time span: twelve years from Maha Lakhi's birth to puberty and additional years to cover the sage's austerities, and Maha Lakhi's marriage competition. The narrator's choice to make explicit certain events and leave implicit the rest is determined by the discourse and didactic structures of the myth, which are in turn affected by Halbi culture patterns.

Two kinds of implicitness occur in relation to the myth: absolute implicitness and partial implicitness. Absolute implicitness concerns: (1) details of certain everyday events which are never mentioned or alluded to in the myth and, if included, would only add unnecessary and irrelevant detail. This absolute implicitness applies to all the participants and includes such cultural activities as housework, going to market, and so forth as well as physiological activities, such as urinating, occurring out of a culture-bound context. Some events have taboos attached to them as a result are only mentioned in stories, such as obscene stories, which are told in specifically limited social situations. Such events are not reconstructible from information in the myth, but from familiarity

with Halbi culture. (2) events or items which could have been made explicit because they are explicit elsewhere in the myth. When the narrator leaves implicit details she made explicit before, particularly when they involve different participants, she intends to contrast the participants in some way and this is partially reconstructible from the context of the myth and a knowledge of the culture. The myth's varying degrees of implicitness are considered in this chapter as they relate to aspects typical of Halbi culture.

### Life Cycle

The narrator makes explicit certain specific events out of each period of Maha Lakhi's life and leaves the rest implicit. These implicit aspects of Maha Lakhi's life cycle would match the expected experiences of the Halbis' life cycle or their expectancies concerning people of other cultures. Periods of Maha Lakhi's life cycle left implicit are identified on four occasions in the myth by blanket statements of the narrator that 'she grew'.

1. At the beginning of Section 2, when Maha Lakhi is a new born baby entering early childhood: "Later, Maha Lakhi is growing. She is growing extremely quickly. She is growing" (Myth Sec 2:5-7).
2. At the beginning of Section 3, when Maha Lakhi enters later childhood: "Again she grew, again she grew, she is growing, growing, growing. Later she became a little bit big" (Myth Sec 3:1).
3. During Section 3, just prior to her request for a separate palace: "And later, at that place, she grew in this manner. She grew" (Myth Sec 3:17).

4. Finally, at the beginning of Section 4, Maha Lakhi reaches puberty and the narrator details both her growth and her reaching puberty. After puberty, there is no further reference to growth since puberty marks the arrival at physical maturity for the Halbis. These blanket statements of growth, while covering many years of Maha Lakhi's development and life also function to indicate new episodes of the discourse (see Chapter 5).

Maha Lakhi's companion Hasin is a child of school age when she first appears in the myth. She lives and plays with Maha Lakhi through her childhood years and on into adulthood, but her growth and development are never mentioned. Hasin's growth and development would match Maha Lakhi's and when Maha Lakhi reached puberty Hasin, too, no doubt would have reached puberty, but all details related to her life cycle are left implicit because it is Maha Lakhi's life and development that are in focus, not Hasin's. All other participants in the myth are adult and details of their life cycles are not relevant.

#### Time and Daily Activities

In Halbi culture certain activities are associated with specific times of the day, and knowing the time according to Halbi classification, a Halbi expects certain events to have occurred or to be in the process of occurring. For example, at **mūDe bera** (midday) a Halbi male returns from his work, bathes at the well or river, washes his clothes, puts on clean ones, returns to his house, washes his feet, prepares items for worship and worships the household deities if

it is worship day, washes his feet again and his hands and mouth, eats the noon meal, and then takes a rest before returning to work. A Halbi female will have finished cooking the noon meal and making leaf dishes. She serves the men when they are ready, eats her own noon meal, cleans up, and begins the afternoon activities.<sup>1</sup> In the myth, when the king reopens the audience hall, he returns to the palace at **mūDe bera**. The narrator states that he bathes ritually, plays with Maha Lakhi, and then returns to his work. All other activities associated with that time of day (worship, eating, resting) remain unstated but would have occurred. The narrator alludes to these unstated activities by specifying the time of the day and also by specifying the ritual bathing which always precedes worship.

When after Biskarma finishes building the palace for Maha Lakhi and returns to heaven the narrator states that it dawned, **bian paw-li** (morning hit-ptc, 3s, nm), after which the beauty of the new palace became apparent to all the people of the kingdom. The people's having arisen after a night's sleep is implied by the clause **bian pawli** (it dawned) thus enabling them to notice the palace in the morning light. The Halbi people arise before dawn to begin their daily labours and this would also be true of the subjects of King Bhorun. The coming of dawn provides the light for them to see the new palace, and its size and beauty, and they are utterly amazed that the palace appeared overnight.

In other parts of the myth, the narrator leaves the time of day unstated but a stated common daily activity alludes to the time of day

and to an expected sequence of events. Murasur is the only participant explicitly stated to eat in the myth. For some participants the narrator alludes to their eating while for all the rest she leaves it unstated. The queen, on a number of occasions, cooks food for Hasin but Hasin's actual eating is only implied. Also, when Hasin first comes to the palace with the king and his advisor, Maha Lakhi instructs the queen to prepare food for Hasin and to get water to wash her feet. The narrator, while making explicit the queen's washing of Hasin's feet, leaves implicit the preparation of the food and Hasin's eating though both would in fact have occurred. The queen also prepared foods for Maha Lakhi, of the variety offered to the deities, and although it is stated that the queen offered or gave these to Maha Lakhi, her eating is left implicit. The king's eating is implied on one occasion when he returns to the palace at noon, the normal time for eating the midday meal. Eating by other characters, though left unstated, may be assumed to have occurred since it is specified or alluded to with reference to other participants.

In the first section of the myth the narrator states that the sage lacked food among other things and she implies a state of fasting though she never names it as such. Fasting is normally associated with certain specific spiritual activities such as the sage was engaged in and is not a normal part of Halbi daily life. Since it is not, fasting by other characters does not appear to be implied.

On occasion, the narrator makes explicit bathing by a number of

participants, such as Ram, the king, Konda Brahmin, the queen, Nasilnat, and Murasur. At other times the bathing by these same participants as well as the bathing by all other participants is left unstated but may be expected to have occurred since the narrator makes it explicit elsewhere and the Halbis consider daily bathing an extremely important means of maintaining and restoring harmony in their universe. The women bathe early in the day when they go to bring water from the well and the men bathe closer to noon when they have finished their morning work.

The narrator makes explicit sleeping, as a common daily activity, on two occasions. On the first, the king and queen, the servants and others slept while Maha Lakhi and Hasin went out to survey the site for the new palace in the dead of night, and no one knew they had gone out. Later all the king's subjects slept when Biskarma came down in the middle of the night to build the competition arena for Maha Lakhi. By implication, the queen, Hasin, and Maha Lakhi probably were also asleep. When Biskarma came to build the palace for Maha Lakhi everyone was presumably sleeping, as he also came in the middle of the night, worked during the night hours, and left as dawn approached. Maha Lakhi herself was awake as she called Hasin to come with her to show Biskarma where to build the palace. Maha Lakhi had used her powers to change many nights into one, thus extending the amount of time available to Biskarma and this would imply that the world was asleep during Biskarma's work and did not know what was taking place. The coming of dawn and the people's

implied rising to go about their daily activities made them aware of the new palace.

### Social Relationships

Various aspects of social relationships explicit in some social situations are left implicit elsewhere. In particular, greetings made explicit in some cases are more often left implicit. This does not mean that the greeting did not occur but rather that the narrator chose to make some explicit and to leave the rest implicit as a means of contrasting participants (see Functions). Murasur is an exception and probably did not perform the accepted cultural greetings (See Chapter 3). The greetings explicit in the myth involve three participants: King Bhorun, Narat, and Maha Lakhi, and their interactions with others, although only one or two of the interactions are marked by greetings. The following three diagrams summarise the explicit and implicit greetings of the participants in their interactions with others. The arrows indicate the direction of the greeting so that, a double arrow,  $\longleftrightarrow$ , indicates reciprocal greeting between participants of somewhat equal status; a single arrow pointing left,  $\longleftarrow$ , indicates that the participant at the top of the column greets the participant named at the left; a single arrow pointing right,  $\longrightarrow$ , indicates the participant at the left greets the participant at the head of the column. The latter two are indications of a participant of a lower status greeting one of a higher status. In Halbi culture the higher status person does not

necessarily return a greeting although they may do so. The solid arrow indicates an explicit greeting in the myth, the broken arrow indicates an implicit one, and the  $\emptyset$  indicates non-existent greetings.

1. King Bhorun interacting with others:

		WW	Sa	Kon	BK1	BK2	NM	Kgs	MS	Nas
King	Exp	←		←	↔					
	Imp		←---			←--→	←----	←----→	$\emptyset$	----→

Key: WW = Water Women; Sa = Sage; Kon = Konda Brahmin; BK1 = Biskarma (first meeting); BK2 = Biskarma (second meeting); NM = Narat Mani; Kgs = Kings of the earth; MS = Murasur; Nas = Nasilnat.

On three occasions, the greetings between the king and others are explicit; elsewhere they are implied. Greetings between the king and Murasur appear as a zero because the text indicates that Murasur probably failed to observe the social norm.

2. Maha Lakhi interacting with others:

		NM	All	Nas	MS
ML	Exp		←	→	
	Imp	←---			$\emptyset$

Key: As above and ML = Maha Lakhi; All = All people.

On two occasions, greetings involving Maha Lakhi and others are made explicit. She receives a greeting and worship from all the people at



the competition arena, and she herself greets Nasilnat when he arrives there. No greeting appears to be implied between Maha Lakhi and Murasur, hence the zero.

3. Narat Mani, the king's messenger, interacting with others:

		King	Kgs	MS	Nas	ML	AW
NM	Exp				→		
	Imp	----→	----→	----→		----→	←----

Key: As above and AW = All women.

Only the greeting between Narat Mani and Nasilnat is explicit, all others are implied. Narat Mani took the king's message to all the women of the kingdom when they were being called to come to the arena, and possibly reciprocal greetings occurred at that time.

In the above diagrams only six greetings are indicated to be explicit while all others are left unstated. In all other social interactions greetings are unstated. There is nothing to indicate that they did or did not occur. However, in considering Halbi culture it may be assumed that unless a character is asocial (or antisocial) such greetings did in fact occur but the narrator chose to leave them implicit.

Within a Halbi household greetings are not part of the daily pattern of intercourse between family members. Greetings between family members occur at certain family festivals or if a member of the household has been absent for several weeks or months. Therefore there is no reason to expect greetings between the king, the queen,

Maha Lakhi, and Hasin.

Giving water for washing feet, like greetings, is important for the proper maintenance of social relationships, particularly when people have travelled. Washing feet is an action designed to cleanse and purify and so maintain harmony in the universe. It also signals a welcome to a visitor (see Belief System, Chapter 1). On three occasions in the myth, the narrator makes the washing of feet explicit: (1) Konda Brahmin provides water for and washes the feet of the king and his advisor when they arrive at his house; (2) The queen takes water and washes Hasin's feet when she first arrives at the palace; and (3) the queen takes milk and washes Maha Lakhi's and Hasin's feet when they return from their adventures. Although the queen's washing of Hasin's feet when she first arrives at the palace is explicitly stated, the feet washing of the king and his advisor, who arrive with Hasin, is not mentioned. It may be inferred that they did wash their feet. The explicitness of Hasin's feet washing signals a welcome to her as well as purifying her before accepting her into membership in the household. It may also be an act of status recognition in that she becomes the playmate of a goddess. On other occasions involving travel the washing of feet at the end of the journey is left unstated but would have taken place. These occasions include: the king and queen's return to the palace with Maha Lakhi, the two occasions of the king's going to Biskarma, the king and Biskarma's return to earth, Narat's going to the kings of the earth, to Mirasur's place, and to Nasilnat, the king's of the earth coming to

the competition, Murasur coming to the competition, and Nasilnat coming to the competition.

A further aspect of social relationships which is sometimes made explicit in the myth, and sometimes not, is related to a character's status and his spatial location. As discussed in Chapter 1, the social status an individual occupies in a relationship determines whether he sits or stands, or whether he even enters the presence of another as well as the mode of travel. The narrator carefully makes explicit the spatial location of some characters in relation to others though most of the time this is left unexpressed. When the king and his advisor, for example, return from Konda Brahmin's house with Hasin, the narrator describes in detail the linear arrangement of the three. However, when the king and his advisor initially went to Konda's house their order of progression was not mentioned. In the light of the known linear arrangement at their return and their relative status it may be inferred that the king was in front and the advisor behind. The reverse situation occurs when Maha Lakhi and Hasin go out into the world: as they leave the palace the narrator carefully specifies that Maha Lakhi is in front with Hasin behind, but, on their return the ordering is implicit, although it may be assumed that Maha Lakhi was again in front and Hasin behind. When the kings of the earth came to compete for Maha Lakhi's hand the narrator states that they sat on beds and chairs. The actual arrangement of who sat where among the kings is not stated but it may be assumed that they sat according to their relative status.

During the episode that relates Maha Lakhi's and Hasin's adventures, a large number of different flower friendships are formed, but all details concerning what these friendships entailed or who the boys were are left implicit. The audience interpreted the friendships according to their own pattern of expectancy, as evidenced by their giggling during the narration of this part of the myth.

### Material Culture

Clothing and personal decorations are only occasionally made explicit for Ram, Nasilnat, Hasin, Maha Lakhi, and Murasur. The narrator describes the clothing Murasur and Nasilnat each wear as they prepare to go to the competition. Prior to their preparations the narrator does not comment on their clothes. Ram's clothing is described as he gets ready to bring the package down to the sage. Prior to this, however, his clothing had not been mentioned even though he had already interacted with the sage. When Hasin is introduced the narrator describes Hasin's preparations and clothing in readiness for going to school. Throughout the rest of the myth, however, nothing further is mentioned about her clothing. The narrator describes Maha Lakhi's clothing on two occasions: the first when she and Hasin go out on their adventures, and the second when she prepares to go to the competition at the demand of Murasur; on all other occasions her clothing is not mentioned.

The narrator makes explicit the clothing of a participant when he--or she--is preparing to go somewhere, and dresses in his best

clothes. On those occasions when the narrator does not describe a participant's clothing it would be expected to have been of the normal everyday kind a person wears around the house or to their work. The Halbis do not pay attention to everyday clothing but are very aware of what clothing people wear to markets, festivals, and such like. The narrator never mentions the clothing of others who travel in the myth. These participants include: the king, the queen, Biskarma, the kings of the earth, Narat, and all the men who come to the competition as observers. It may be assumed to have fulfilled the expectations of the Halbis.

When two participants are on stage together the narrator may describe the clothing of one of them and not mention the other's clothing. When Konda Brahmin and his daughter are introduced, for example, his clothing is not mentioned although his daughter's is. Konda would have been dressed for worship in a dhoti and his sacred thread--not in his best clothes. The arrival of the king and his advisor caught him off guard as evidenced by the panic and fear he expressed when he first saw them. The king had to calm his fears before the brahmin was able to fulfill his social obligations to the king. When Hasin and Maha Lakhi go on their adventures Maha Lakhi's clothing is described while Hasin's is not mentioned. The same situation occurs when Hasin accompanies Maha Lakhi to the competition--Maha Lakhi's clothes are described while Hasin's are not. Hasin is not in focus and assumes an accompanying role whereas Maha Lakhi is the central figure in the action. Like Maha Lakhi, Hasin

would also have been dressed in her best clothes on both occasions.

The clothing of a participant may be alluded to by the narrator's use of a verb which implies dressing. When all the women in every household, for example, are called to come to the competition arena with Maha Lakhi, the narrator states that they got ready and uses the verb **tiar houk** (to become ready), which implies a chain of events, such as bathing, oiling the body and hair, dressing in good clothes, combing the hair and putting it up, putting on gold jewellery, and so forth. The verb thus alludes to the women dressing in their best clothes in preparation for accompanying Maha Lakhi to the arena.

#### Belief System

All people of the myth are divided into a taxonomy of caste which closely matches the Halbis' experience of the everyday world. As mentioned previously, the brahmin and royal (kshatriya) castes are central in the myth. While the narrator makes explicit the distinctions between these two central castes (See Chapter 3), the distinctions between all other castes are only alluded to through the caste's name. When the narrator names a caste that caste is automatically located in the caste scheme under which the Halbis operate. A caste's name implies the relationship that the Halbis have with that group and the forms of interaction acceptable or unacceptable between them. The Kumar (potter) caste, for example, fits in the caste schema at a point below the Halbi speaking Raj Mureas--the cultural group central to this study. The Raj Mureas will

not take water from the hand of a Kumar, nor eat food prepared by them (either by male or female), nor intermarry with them. Neither a Kumar nor a Raj Murea would consider crossing caste boundaries as this produces such dire consequences, particularly for the higher caste Murea and would result in dysfunction in the universe. Thus, the naming of a caste creates an expectancy of behaviour in interaction as well as the consequences of failure to preserve the system.

While the myth probes the theme of the union of male and female and affirms its universality for all species as well as the predestination of specific mates, this theme is developed from the female point of view. The myth makes explicit the female attitudes and roles, and the male side is left entirely undefined or undeveloped. The silence concerning the male side of the union is interpreted by a Halbi in terms of what he expects within his own culture. A male's dominance in the union becomes evident through the submission displayed by the queen as she always takes second place to the king, and by Maha Lakhi who submits to Nasilnat after he wins the competition.

Most distinctions between male and female roles are left implicit in the myth even though some aspects of the female role are elaborated. Some aspects of the female role that the narrator makes explicit include: (1) their role in child rearing which is described by the king in his speech to the sage; (2) their role in meal preparation which is evident when the queen and Murasur's wives cook meals; (3) their role in carrying water which is evident as the water

women regularly get water from the lake during the early part of the myth; and (4) their role of submission to the authority of the male which is evident when the queen takes second place to the king, and when Maha Lakhi submits to Nasilnat. Other aspects of the female role in Halbi society, however, are left unstated but since what the narrator makes explicit is typical of Halbi culture it may be assumed other aspects of the female role in Halbi society also apply in the myth.

The male role in the myth is less developed than the female role, although its spiritual aspect is more fully developed than any other (see Chapter 1) as Konda Brahmin, Nasilnat, Ram, and the king are described as performing some worship. Any worship by Biskarma, the kings of the earth, Narat, or all the people is not mentioned. Since the narrator explicitly states that some male participants worshipped, other male participants, who are not shown to be acting atypically (dysfunctionally), may be assumed to have worshipped according to expectations.

#### Other Implicit Aspects of the Myth

In the myth, the narrator alludes to the existence of two specific participants. The first, Hasin's mother, has readied Hasin for school when the king arrived:

hasin co naha dhoe k6r-un, mUD kan kor-un  
 Hasin Poss bathe perform-conj head ear comb-conj

di-li m6ne kae sUD6r. aur hum ke beni bena  
 give-ptc,3s,nm part. what beautiful and that Gol braid braid



paR-un di-li m6ne. aur hun ke raeka s6b  
 braid-conj give-ptc,3s,nm part. and that Gol ? all

phfd-a-n di-li k6pra l6ta 6cha phfd-a-n  
 wear-caus-conj give-ptc,3s,nm clothes good wear-caus-conj

di-li m6ne iskul poTa-to kaje.  
 give-ptc,3s,nm part. school send-inc for

Having bathed Hasin, she combed her hair, very beautiful. And she braided her hair. And dressed her in all her clothes, she dressed her in very nice clothes for sending to school (Myth Sec 2:33-5).

The verb used for bathing in the above example means 'to bathe someone else' and is typically used in relation to children. Hasin's mother's existence and activity are indicated only in the verbs which are marked for 3rd person, non human-male (See Main Eventline, Chapter 4). The verb for wearing clothes is marked with the causative marker -a changing the meaning of the verb to 'to put clothes on someone else'. Hasin is marked as the one having the clothes put on her. No free subject occurs in any of the five clauses. Thus, although the narrator never specifically identifies her Hasin's mother acts in a manner consistent with the Halbis' expectation of a mother caring for a child. Not acknowledging her existence is also consistent with the Halbis' view of the place of women--in the background.

The narrator also alludes to the existence of Nasilnat's mother. When Narat comes with the message concerning the competition, Nasilnat addresses his mother and suggests they get the things together and go down to the earth, which they do, although it is unclear whether Nasilnat's mother descends with her son or not. Although Nasilnat addresses his mother concerning getting the necessary things together,

she does not respond. The narrator then states:

hun m6n dh6r-la,                      ghiu                      hun m6n  
 that pl take hold-ptc,3p clarified butter that pl  
  
 dh6r-la,                      kaca gor6s. j6ma bani joR-la                      m6ne, bai.  
 take hold-ptc,3p raw milk all thing join-ptc,3p part. Bai

They got clarified butter. They got raw milk. They got all items together, Bai (Myth Sec 5:266-7).

The use of the plural subject **hun m6n** (they) implies both Nasilnat and his mother were engaged in getting the items together.<sup>2</sup> The existence of Nasilnat's mother is more explicit than Hasin's mother, yet neither is developed in any way that weaves them into the fabric of the myth.

#### Functions of Implicitness

In the myth certain elements of Halbi culture are left unstated though they may be implied or alluded to in some way. These implications of cultural elements fulfill various functions in the development of the myth and its message. The functions identified here are not distinct from one another but overlap. They also work in concord with the functions of explicitness and of cultural atypicality to provide cohesion within the myth.

Like the explication of normal cultural activities (Chapter 1), a primary function of implicitness is to provide a cohesive link between the audience and the myth itself. Unlike the explication of normal cultural activities, however, the cohesive link between the audience and the myth results from what is alluded to or simply left implicit. As the narrator alludes to or simply leaves implicit normal

cultural activities, for example, the members of the audience interpret these according to their own cultural grid and fill in the missing details themselves which thus provides a strong link between the myth and the audience.

The audience expects that some events, left implicit, have occurred but it is not necessary to know this explicitly. This contrasts with some events (rituals) which are so important to the culture that the audience needs reassurance that they did in fact occur (see Chapter 1).

Implicitness also functions to provide cohesion within the myth itself. Normal everyday events which are left unspecified would have occurred--unless signalled to the contrary--in the normal course of events. Leaving such events implicit aids in the flow of the myth. The myth covers all periods of Maha Lakhi's life cycle, for example, yet only certain events are focused on to be made explicit; the rest are left implicit. By leaving implicit most events from Maha Lakhi's life cycle the myth's wholeness or unity is strengthened by providing the audience with a condensation of an individual's life. Thus the implicit events give support and cohesion to the text as a whole by complementing the explicit events and making them hang together.

On a number of occasions the narrator makes explicit a general term which establishes a set of expectancies or expected sequence of events which, unless indicated otherwise, follows the cultural pattern. For example, *bia k6ruk* (to perform a marriage), a term that covers three days of celebrations, establishes a set of expectancies

for all the events associated with the marriage during those three days and although the actual events are not made explicit they are assumed to follow the norm. This also aids the cohesion within the myth as it helps to carry the text forward by implying typical events that the audience can relate to (and enjoy) as they understand and perceive participants to be acting in accord with the cultural norms. A general term triggering a chain of expectancy is like a wave which continues to flow on to the shoreline, in that the sequence of events continues to flow in the minds of the audience, some conscious but many unconscious.

Implicitness also functions to keep events or participants out of the limelight. Explicitness tends to provide a certain amount of prominence whereas implicitness results in lack of prominence. The events left unspecified are not in focus and are deemed by the narrator to be unimportant to the flow of the myth and its message. This also implies that whatever the narrator makes explicit she considers to be important or relevant in some way. Very little is made explicit, for example, concerning all the people of the kingdom. The narrator does not provide much detail concerning their activities or distinguishing features. They lack prominence which befits their position as observers only. In contrast, the narrator provides considerable information concerning Maha Lakhi, her life, activities, and distinguishing features. Explicitness indicates she is the most prominent figure in the myth.

Implicitness also serves to contrast participants with other

participants whose actions are made explicit. The narrator, as a result, develops the character of participants and presents them in either a positive or negative light so that success is indicated when a participant explicitly acts according to the cultural norm whereas failure is indicated when a participant's activities are left implicit or are atypical. The kings of the earth's introduction into the story, for example, contrasts directly with Nasilnat's introduction. There is silence regarding the kings' activities when Narat arrives with a message from King Bhorun about the competition. Though they probably acted in accord with the cultural behaviour patterns--there is no indication of atypical and dysfunctional behaviour--such activities were left implicit rather than made explicit. On the other hand, when Narat arrives with a similiar message for Nasilnat the narrator explicitly states that Nasilnat was acting in accord with cultural patterns of behaviour. The narrator explicitly points to Nasilnat as the one to succeed whereas she avoids pointing at the kings. This implicitness, in fact, foreshadows the kings' failure in the competition.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Sometimes a woman will take a rest but it is usually interrupted by the demands of the household and the need to begin preparations for the evening meal.

<sup>2</sup>Plural verb endings are normally used for the deities as an honorific and do not necessarily indicate plurality.

## CHAPTER 3

### ATYPICAL ASPECTS OF THE MYTH

The Halbis believe that some aspects of their culture are common to other cultures while other aspects are different. They also accept the existence of cultures which are markedly different from their own. The myth provides evidence of both the common culture and different cultures. Many cultural events and activities believed to be common to all cultures explicitly occur or are implied in the myth (see Chapters 1 and 2). On the other hand, various elements of different cultures occur with more frequency in the myth.

Statements in the myth about other cultures represent the Halbis' perception of these cultures, and do not necessarily represent the reality of those cultures. The gold knife used to cut Maha Lakhi's umbilical cord, for example, is believed to be a normal implement for royalty to use. The use of gold implements is in actuality an imagined difference between royal and Halbi culture which the Halbis believe to be a reality.

Real differences are also evident. The king and his entourage, for example, travel by elephants. Elephants were part of the royal culture with which the Halbis were most familiar in Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh.

In contrast to those elements of the myth which are atypical of Halbi culture but typical for other cultures, are other elements that the Halbis consider to be atypical of any culture. They cannot

conceive them to be normal in any culture. Maha Lakhi's umbilical cord, for example, was not cut at birth and this is explicitly stated several times. It was only cut some time later. Halbis consider the cutting of the umbilical cord to be an important norm of any culture. The narrator focused on Maha Lakhi's uncut umbilical cord by stating that it was coiled up with the child. The king in his speech to the sage also indicated that an uncut umbilical cord was abnormal for royal culture.

Aspects of the myth which cannot be considered typical of any known culture have a primary prominence in the myth and are given considerably more detail than other events. Aspects atypical of Halbi culture but considered typical of another culture (for example, of royal, **bh6gwan**, or **6sur** cultures) receive a secondary prominence and generally less detail than other atypical events but more than typical events. Many events in the myth have both typical and atypical aspects. Maha Lakhi's life cycle, for example, is for the most part typical of Halbi life, but a few events are not, such as her acquisition of parents, the delayed cutting of her umbilical cord, the manner in which she acquired a childhood companion and marriage partner.

#### Aspects Typical of Other Cultures

The Maha Lakhi myth includes participants from four distinct groups: low humans, high humans, **6surs**, and deities (**bh6gwans**). The Halbis identify with the low human group that includes all castes

below brahmins. Members of the group act in accord with Halbi expectations and are not indicated to act atypically. The high human group includes both royalty and brahmins. Although these two groups are socially high and viewed by the Halbis as almost equal, their cultures are considered distinct. High human, 6sur and bh6gwan cultures are basically different from Halbi culture while having points of similarity with it. As a result, an item typical of one of these is made explicit because it is atypical of Halbi culture. Explication of these differences by the narrator augments the differences between cultures.

The following sections describe aspects in the myth identified as typical of another culture but atypical of Halbi culture. In identifying these aspects I have drawn on the text itself, the narrator's comments, and on the wider world of Halbi perception of these other cultures.<sup>1</sup>

#### The High Human Group

The high human group includes royal and brahmin cultures and reflects the highest level of the caste system. Within the Hindu system, brahmins are the priests, the maintainers of sacred tradition, the sources of knowledge, and the validators of the king's rule. As priests they are the ones who bestowed divinity upon a king. The king, on the other hand, is a warrior (kshatriya) and responsible for maintaining the social order. According to Cohn (1971:65) the two systems are interlocked:



The social and political systems were interlocked in terms of the relation of the Brahmin to the Raja, with a sacred and a secular authority system coexisting, the sacred system being, in theory, superior, but with the Raja empowered to maintain and further the sacred authority.

In the myth, the coexistence of the traditional sacred and secular systems is in evidence. The brahmins fulfill their sacred roles with, for example, Hasin, as the daughter of Konda Brahmin, providing Maha Lakhi with the knowledge she sought. The king fulfills his role as ruler of the secular system when he ruled with the kings in council (See Chapter 6).

In the myth, royalty and brahmins function as a single high human group on the basis of (1) the reciprocating social relationships between the king and the sage, the king and Konda Brahmin, and Hasin and Maha Lakhi; and (2) the exchange of females and wealth. The sage gives the baby Maha Lakhi to the king in exchange for wealth, Konda Brahmin gives his daughter to the king (for Maha Lakhi) in exchange for Maha Lakhi's blessing. The pattern of exchange also links royalty to the deities in that Ram gives the unborn Maha Lakhi to the sage in exchange for austerities, and the king gives Maha Lakhi to King Nasilnat in exchange for wealth (the bride price).

Brahmins are highest in the caste system and yet, in the myth, royalty is evidently higher. The king deals respectfully with brahmins but they obviously act as his subjects and live under his authority. Paradoxically, when the king returns to his palace with Hasin, he places her in front (the position of high status), himself behind her, and the royal advisor behind him at the end of the line.

Brahmins and royalty are culturally distinct. Brahmins, and in particular Konda Brahmin, are culturally closer to low human than to royalty (in material culture in particular), although they potentially have the capacity and status to live at a level culturally similar to that of royalty as is evidenced by the sage receiving a palace, servants, wealth, and authority to rule from King Bhorum in exchange for Maha Lakhi. The cultural aspects of each group evidenced in the myth are described separately in the following two sections.

#### The Royal Culture

Royal culture is quite distinct from other cultures in the myth, with royalty living in a palace (*mahal*) and using implements of gold. Maha Lakhi's umbilical cord is cut with a gold knife in contrast to the local, smithy-made iron knives of the Halbis. When the king brings Hasin as a companion for Maha Lakhi, the two girls play together on a gold bed. When Biskarma builds the palace for Maha Lakhi, he also includes a gold swing for them to swing on. Maha Lakhi puts on a traditional Halbi cloth (*l6gin paT s6ri paT*), which, in stories, is woven of gold. The Halbis believe that royalty uses gold implements and furniture while they themselves use implements, furniture, and clothing made of baser materials. The Halbi people normally sleep on a mat on the floor, reserving beds for visitors. These beds (*kh6 Tea*) consist of a bare wooden frame covered with rope or cloth.

Members of royalty keep horses and elephants for transportation

and, in the myth, the king, queen, the child Maha Lakhi, and the sage ride back from the lake to the palace in procession on elephants. All the people of the kingdom form lines on either side of the elephants and walk, forming part of the procession. The Halbis themselves, do not use horses or elephants for transport. They either walk or ride in a cart drawn by two oxen or water buffalo.

When Maha Lakhi requests a separate palace in which to live, Biskarma builds her a very large (nine storeys) and very colourful one. The narrator describes the colours used to decorate it in detail and includes most of the colours recognised by the Halbis as well as colours seen in all of creation.<sup>2</sup> The Halbis perceive highly decorated and extravagant palaces as being the homes of royalty as well as a privilege associated with their status.<sup>3</sup> The houses of the Halbis, in contrast, are small, made of mud, and generally coloured red or white from clays found locally.

Royal food features in the myth only in relation to Hasin. The queen prepares and cooks for her a special rice dish called *khirpori* on instructions from Maha Lakhi. *khirpori* rice consists of rice, raw sugar, and milk cooked together. The preparation and giving of this food to Hasin is indicated on at least four occasions. On two of those occasions the narrator uses verb forms indicating a habitual activity (*rād-ot* 'prepare-3p', where the depictive verb form <-ot> signals habitual activity) or a continuing activity (*de-esot* 'give-pinc,3p', where the present incomplete verb form <-esot> indicates a current state of activity). The use of these verbs

indicates that this food was a staple diet. The staple food of the Halbis as well as all ordinary humans consists of plain boiled rice with a separate dish of spicy vegetables, fish, lentils, or the like. The Halbis prepare the **khirpori** rice dish only on special festival occasions while they believe members of royalty eat it regularly.

The competition for Maha Lakhi's hand while atypical of the Halbi's marriage process (see Chapter 1) is typical of the royal culture (and also of the **bh6gwan** culture). The competition's purpose is to find the one worthy of marrying the king's daughter. Such competitions are too difficult for just anyone to win and a competitor requires some special and almost magical quality in order to succeed. In the myth, Biskarma builds a competition arena which consists of a high pavilion with some kind of structure and three revolving wheels on top. The object of the competition was to shoot an arrow through part of the wheels and make it come back to a certain place--an impossible task for anyone but Nasilnat. (See Chapter 6 for more information on the competition arena and its significance.)

When the king and his advisor go to Konda Brahmin's house, he washes their feet. When they return to the palace with Hasin, Maha Lakhi sends the queen to wash Hasin's feet. While the Halbis consider it extremely important to wash their feet after they have been on a journey in order to remove any pollution they may have accumulated, they usually do not have someone to do it for them. It appears that royalty normally have their feet washed by others, rather than washing them themselves.

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When the king and his advisor go to Konda Brahmin's house, he washes their feet. When they return to the palace with Hasin, Maha Lakhi sends the queen to wash Hasin's feet. While the Halbis consider it extremely important to wash their feet after they have been on a journey in order to remove any pollution they may have accumulated, they usually do not have someone to do it for them. It appears that royalty normally have their feet washed by others, rather than washing them themselves.

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When deities are incarnated in human form they are incarnated as royalty. Maha Lakhi, a deity, becomes a member of the royal culture when the sage gives her to the king and queen. The incarnation of deities as royalty reflects close links between royalty and deities. It also reflects the Halbis' perception of their own king's divinity.

#### The Brahmin Culture

The brahmin culture in the myth bears some similarities with the Halbis own culture. Konda Brahmin, for example, has a house (gh6r) which is not distinguished as being different from that of the Halbis. The brahmin also offers the king and his advisor a bed (kh6Tea) on which to sit. This bed is not indicated to differ from the one with which the Halbis are familiar. On the other hand, the brahmins differ from the Halbis in that they like their women to be educated. Hasin was ready for school when the king and his advisor arrived. Her hair was braided and this also identifies her as a schoolgirl and a brahmin.

#### The bh6gwan Culture

The bh6gwan group in the myth consists of Ram, Biskarma, Ispar, Parbati, Nasilnat, and Maha Lakhi. They all act as deities and only as deities except Maha Lakhi who takes a human form and lives out a life cycle according to the natural world. Maha Lakhi's divine status interferes with her human situation and results in much behaviour which is atypical of Halbi culture and the natural world. Thus, while

Maha Lakhi is a deity, her incarnation as a human being with an ambiguous human-divine role precludes her being considered a representative of divine culture. Culturally atypical aspects surrounding Maha Lakhi are discussed later in this chapter. Aspects of divine culture which are atypical of Halbi culture are described only as they relate to Ram, Biskarma, Ispar, Parbati, and Nasilnat.

The deities of the myth are located in heaven (**up6r phur**) in the constellation called **balika nāg6r**. They move easily between heaven and earth and are invested with great power. Ispar and Parbati have the power of life and death and they use that power to bring Murasur back to life. King Nasilnat has power over the elements and utilises that power when he uses the rainbow as his bow in the competition to win Maha Lakhi's hand.

Among the Halbis the specification of time creates an expectancy for certain events to occur. Conversely, the specification of a sequence of events creates an expectancy as to the time when they would normally occur. When either the time or sequence of events is other than expected, a tension is created, excitement is built up, and prominence given to the time or event sequence in order to spotlight the contrast between participants in relation to one another or to the normal Halbi behaviour pattern. At several points in the myth, a sequence of events occurs at an unexpected time. These sequences occur in relation to the building of Maha Lakhi's palace and of the competition arena.

All activities related to the building of both the palace and



the competition arena occur at night. Halbis consider night the time for sleeping when they would certainly not contemplate doing any kind of work.<sup>4</sup> The tension created by this unexpected timing increases when the narrator repeats the time these events occur. She adds further impact by specifying that it was the part of the night when people sleep.

When the new palace is to be built, Maha Lakhi and Hasin initially go to measure the land. The narrator states eight times in three sentences that this was done at night--*rati* 'night', *so6lo rati* 'sleeping night' (three times), *so6lo bera* 'sleeping time', *bic rati* 'middle of the night', *rati bera* 'night time' (twice). On another occasion but also in the middle of the night, the king goes to Biskarma's place in heaven to ask him to come and build the palace, even though night is not a time normally chosen for travel. Biskarma comes, builds the palace during the night hours, and finishes it in the predawn (*bone uj6r* 'predawn light', *nāg6r kukRa* 'the time of the rooster crow'). He then returns to heaven just as it is dawning (*uj6r hoese* 'it is becoming light', *kukRa basese* 'the cock is crowing'). When the people see the palace they are amazed that such a large palace appeared overnight.

Biskarma also comes to build the competition arena at night. The narrator twice states that he came at night--*rati* 'night', *so6lo rati bera* 'sleeping night time'. To further emphasise that these events were occurring at an unusual time, the narrator states that it was the period of the night when people sleep after their evening

meal: "Like we tribal people sleep after eating, the king's subjects and all people slept like that" (Myth Sec 5:10). Just as it becomes light (*uj6r hoese* 'it is becoming light'), Biskarma once more returns to heaven.

The narrator again and again focused on the fact that the events associated with building the palace and arena occurred in the middle of the night--a time during which a Halbi normally expects to sleep. Biskarma is careful to leave before daybreak. The myth indicates nighttime as a normal time for Biskarma to work just as the daytime is normal for humankind to work. The deities Ram and Nasilnat come to earth in the daytime (implied). Thus the divine culture appears to be beyond the bounds of time.

Another aspect of the deities' culture involves their bathing in hot water. Ram bathes in hot water prior to descending to give the bundle to the sage. The narrator states, "He bathed in hot water, after heating the water" (Myth Sec 1:62). The phrase used for 'hot water' is *sat gh6gra t6plo niolo pani* (7 waterpot heat-nom cool-nom water). This phrase mainly occurs in myths with reference to the specially prepared hot bath water used by deities or royalty. Halbis normally do not use hot water for bathing.

Clothing and adornments worn by deities distinguish them from others. The narrator gives some detail in the myth:

1. Ram puts on beautiful clothes and adorns himself with an ash mark called *pil6t* (Myth Sec 1:63).
2. When Narat Mani first arrives at Nasilnat's place, Nasilnat is

adorned with the same ash mark. Later when he prepares to descend to earth, he puts on a headcloth and black clothes (Myth Sec 5:277-8). Nasilnat's black clothing is distinctive to him.

The ash mark that both Ram and Nasilnat put on is peculiarly their own. In general Hindu culture, devotees of particular deities put on the ash mark of their deity after they have been to the temple to worship. These marks are made on the forehead and upper arms.

In India, clothing and body markings serve as distinguishing features of cultural groups. The Halbis themselves wear traditional handwoven clothes with markings that indicate their tribal affinity. Their women are tattooed and these tattoos identify them as Raj Mureas. The women especially wear their traditional clothes when going to a special event.

Other aspects of the material culture of deities include the following:

1. Their dwellings are variously described as being a house (gh6r) with a courtyard (duar), a palace (mahal), and a temple (m6dir).

While indicating some uncertainty as to what such dwellings actually look like, this variety of description reflects a suggestion that they are considered to differ from housing on earth.

2. Human beings use implements having an earthly origin (wood, stone, or iron) whereas the deities use heavenly implements. Nasilnat uses the rainbow for a bow when he competes for Maha Lakhi's hand.

3. Four times the narrator specifies that Nasilnat climbed on some kind of chariot or flying horse (boRu ban) and descended to earth.

She focuses on the distinctiveness of this mode of transport which is not known by the Halbis except through what they understand of the culture of the deities.

### The 6sur Culture

The 6sur culture in the myth is represented by Murasur and his wives. Most of the activity of the 6surs appears to be atypical of Halbi culture. This atypicality can be of two types: (1) the activity is an activity which is typical for 6surs, (2) the activity is also atypical of 6sur culture. Murasur's wives exemplify the former while Murasur exemplifies the latter. This does not mean that Murasur never behaves in a manner typical of the 6surs but that the bulk of Murasur's activities may be considered atypical for his culture as well as for Halbi culture--or any culture. (Activities which are atypical even for 6sur culture are described in the next section of this chapter.)<sup>5</sup>

Murasur has seven wives which is quite atypical of Halbi culture. Some Halbis may have two wives if the first wife is barren, but never more. Polygamy could be a typical feature of the 6sur culture. When Murasur's wives are first introduced, they are collecting dried dung (*chena*) for the fire. This collecting of dung occurs during two or three time periods of the day which indicates that this was an all-day as well as a daily activity. While the Halbis recognise that some castes in nearby towns collect and use dried dung as fuel for their fires, they themselves do not follow this

practice. On the contrary, it is quite repugnant to some of them. Halbis do collect wet dung (**g6b6r**) from the cattle shed each day and keep it in a compost hole for fertilizer. They consider wet dung to have purifying qualities. At least four times a week they mix a quantity of it with mud and plaster it on the floor of the house.

After Murasur hears of the competition, he bathes in hot water. The form of the verb used (**naha-n de-esot** 'bathe-conj give-pinc,3p') could indicate that his wives bathed him. The verb is plural and uses the benefactive auxilliary (**de** 'give'). If he bathed himself the verb would normally be **naha-lo** 'bathe-ptc,3s,m'. This possibility is further enhanced by the next sentence which states 'he got ready' (**tiar ho-ese** 'ready occur-pinc,3s'). Here the verb is singular. Bathing in hot water, as has been mentioned previously, is not typical for Halbis, nor are adults bathed by others. Also, the verb used to describe Murasur's bathing means simply 'to bathe' and does not include the sense of ritual bathing noted elsewhere. There is no indication in the myth that the **6surs** engage in any kind of religious activity. The narrator also gives no indication of whether **6surs** observe greeting rituals in social interactions with others.

When Murasur readies himself to go and compete for Maha Lakhi's hand he dresses in very nice clothes. The narrator describes the clothes Murasur wears in considerable detail, also drawing my attention to the clothes he wore by use of the vocative **bai**.

And he is getting together very nice things for joy. And, Bai, he puts on a coat, shirt, dhoti, and cloth. With his turban he looks exceedingly handsome (Myth Sec 5:131-3).

The **6surs** are gigantic in size which is indicated by the narrator's comment, "He has lain like a mountain, Bai" (Myth Sec 5:95). The statement indicates something like 'he looks like a mountain as he lies'.

**6surs** apparently sleep for a very long time. When the king's messenger arrived, Murasur had been sleeping for twelve years. Murasur's wives were not sure whether they could wake him or not: "He's an **6sur**. I don't know if the twelve years' sleep is complete" (Myth Sec 5:105.1-.2). Both Murasur's size and need for long periods of sleep are features of **6surs** not typical of Halbis.<sup>6</sup>

Murasur's wives used a red hot metal digging stick (**kus**) to awaken Murasur. They stuck it in his ear. The Halbis use a **kus** for digging post holes. This method of awakening Murasur is quite shocking for the Halbis as they believe it to be extremely dangerous to awaken someone suddenly. A person's life spirit (**jiu**) wanders about when he sleeps. A sudden awakening may not allow time for the **jiu** to return to the body. As a result, the person may suffer dire consequences, such as dying, becoming detached from reality. Drastic measures must apparently be taken to awaken an **6sur** from a long sleep. This sudden awakening of Murasur may be the cause of his antisocial behaviour.

Murasur rides a horse to the competition arena. Later when he competes for Maha Lakhi's hand, he uses what appears to be a horse shoe as his bow.<sup>7</sup>

King Bhorun's response to Murasur's speech indicates that **6surs**

have a higher status than royalty. The king was overcome with shame that such an important king spoke to him in such an abusive and disapproving manner in front of his subjects.

#### Aspects of the Myth Atypical of Any Culture

Aspects of the myth which are atypical of the Halbis' perception of any culture centre around three participants: the sage, Maha Lakhi, and Murasur. The atypical aspects that are centred around the sage and Maha Lakhi are against the nature of things as understood by the Halbis. The atypical aspects centred around Murasur, on the other hand, are against the social values of Halbi society. The atypical aspects that surround Maha Lakhi tend to intensify her being of a substance different from ordinary humanity while those that surround the sage enhance the spiritual power he is perceived to have attained.

#### The Sage

At one point in the myth, the sage goes and stands up to his chest in a lake in response to a command from the deity Ram. He stands there for some twenty years and yet does not experience the physical deterioration that would be expected after being immersed in water for such a period of time. The narrator comments on this fact: "In the water his stomach doesn't tear (split) and his teeth don't fall out, he is just there" (Myth Sec 1:57). Contrary to expectation the sage does not experience these physical problems. This unexpected result perhaps indicates that the sage was not guilty of any sin (pap)

or offence (*dos*) as he had thought, so that this long practice of austerities merely increased his spiritual power to the point where it was not possible for him to be physically affected. Later when the sage speaks with the king he also refers to the fact that he had not experienced these expected physical problems.

### Maha Lakhi

Ram who is forced to respond to the sage's continuing austerities takes a package out of his storeroom in heaven, descends to earth, and gives it to him. From this package Maha Lakhi is born. Maha Lakhi's birth, the events leading up to it, and the events which follow are quite detailed. Her umbilical cord is not cut after the birth but is left coiled up. Only much later is it finally cut. The sage takes the baby and sits at the lake's edge worrying about what to do for the child, but not doing anything. He does not provide food, clothes, or shelter, nor does he arrange for the umbilical cord to be cut or for the child cleansing ceremonies to be performed. Newborn babies need to be bathed, warmed, fed, and sheltered if they are to survive. The sage was exposing the babe to the elements that would normally have meant her death.

Every aspect of Maha Lakhi's birth is atypical of Halbi births even to her being born to a male and thus against the nature of things. During childbirth only the women of a Halbi village may be present--all adult men must be elsewhere. Several village midwives will be in attendance and after the woman's water has broken they put



her through various exercises in order to encourage delivery. Someone heats water for bathing the mother and child after the birth. As soon as the child is born the cord is tied off and cut, the child cleaned, bathed in turmeric water, and wrapped in many warm cloths. The women mould the child's head and nose in order to give it better shape. As soon as the afterbirth (**phul** 'flower') is delivered the mother bathes, puts on warm clothes and sits beside a fire built over the spot in the house where the afterbirth is buried. She stays there for three days until the birth purification (**k6sa**) ceremony is celebrated. She keeps the child close to her, feeds it on demand, rubs oil on it, and generally cares for it.

At birth, Maha Lakhi had a large head. A member of the audience interrupted the narrator to comment on its largeness. The significance of the large head is unclear except that it may be indicative of the supernatural powers later displayed by Maha Lakhi. Hydrocephalus does not commonly occur among the Halbis and when it does the child usually dies early.

A number of amazing events occur at Maha Lakhi's birth. These events include: (1) the sage received his sight; (2) the kingdom of Bhorun glowed with light; (3) a radiance filled the earth; (4) something happened to the heart or spirit (of people?); and (5) something happened to the palace and as a result all elephants and horses that were tied up became freed. The child's extreme beauty caused the water-fetching women to drop their pots in awe when they saw her. Amazing events are not usually associated with a birth among

the Halbis nor the beauty of a child so intense as to cause people to be overwhelmed by it and to drop items as precious and as fragile as their water pots. These events and the child's beauty are understood as signs of a divine birth. Maha Lakhi's birth contrasts sharply with a Halbi's and in this way the narrator focuses on Maha Lakhi as being unique. At the birth of a child, the Halbi women look for good signs that will augur well for the child and they fear greatly any evident negative signs. These signs may be marks on the child, shape of head, size, difficulty or ease of labour, and length of time before the afterbirth is delivered. The women in the audience would be quick to note all the signs associated with Maha Lakhi's birth and recognise that she was no ordinary human to be bound by ordinary human limitations.

Maha Lakhi's umbilical cord is finally cut after she arrives at the palace with the king and queen. The narrator then states that the queen became a child bearer (*pila harin*). The queen becomes a child bearer without ever having given birth. The term *pila harin* (child person(f)) is a term of honour among the Halbis and only refers to those who have given birth to live children. It is used during a child's early years before being weaned. It is atypical for the Halbis to use the term in reference to the queen in this case.

The *k6sa* ceremony was finally performed three days after Maha Lakhi's umbilical cord was cut. This ceremony is normally performed three days after birth when the birth and the cord cutting occur within minutes of one another. The cutting of the cord marked the

completion of Maha Lakhi's birth. With this completion, the timing began for the important ceremonies associated with birth. Delays associated with Maha Lakhi's birth would have resulted in her death had she been a natural person; but since she did not die, the narrator establishes her supernatural status from birth.

Later after the naming (s6Ti) ceremony, the narrator states that Maha Lakhi grew extremely quickly. That which ordinary humanity takes years to achieve can be accomplished by supernatural beings such as Maha Lakhi in a few days. The phrase used to describe this growth is **raj baR deo baR debi baR**. This phrase always indicates extremely fast, unnatural physical growth in young children. (baR is a nominal form of the verb 'to grow', **deo** and **debi** are the male and female terms for spirits (or minor deities), and **raj** means 'kingdom'. The phrase literally means 'kingdom growth, male spirit growth, female spirit growth'.)

While still a baby, Maha Lakhi called the wind and storm to come and swing her.<sup>8</sup> She addressed them as her mother's brothers (mama) indicating a relationship with them that was not normal to Halbi culture. The Halbis find themselves at the mercy of the elements, without control over them.

Maha Lakhi had the ability to communicate with others in her mind without having to actually speak. She asked the king for a childhood companion speaking only in her mind: "Later, what did Maha Lakhi say in her mind? She knew in her mind" (Myth Sec 2:18).

Maha Lakhi is about a year old when this happens, before a child

would be expected to have learned to talk. A dialogue follows between her father and her, but the narrator does not make clear whether he spoke verbally or not. Mental telepathy is not a feature of Halbi society but is a recognised ability of supernatural beings.

Maha Lakhi's dialogue with her father concerned her desire for a companion with whom to play. She chose a devout brahmin's daughter to be her companion and asked the king to go to him and ask him for his daughter. Maha Lakhi calls the brahmin's daughter *hasin*, a term which normally refers to one's female cross-cousin. The whole of Section 2 of the myth is concerned with Maha Lakhi's acquisition of a *hasin*. A Halbi acquires his *hasi* relations by birth (see Social Relationships, Chapter 1) but the manner in which Maha Lakhi gains a *hasin* is quite atypical.

As the king and his advisor were returning to the palace with Hasin, Maha Lakhi knew they were coming before they came into view. The narrator identifies Maha Lakhi as being omniscience: "She is omniscience.<sup>9</sup> She knew with her mind" (Myth Sec 2:67). The narrator's identification confirms for the audience that Maha Lakhi's abilities are far beyond human abilities. This identification also serves as an explanation for her apparently domineering behaviour with her parents in which she commands and they obey. This domination becomes particularly noticeable as she tells her mother to prepare food for Hasin and then to go and wash the new arrival's feet. This the queen does. Earlier, Maha Lakhi had commanded her father to go and ask Konda to give up his daughter. The king's response was one of

submission to whatever she desired. This pattern of submission by the king continues through the myth. His speeches in response to her commands include submissive statements that indicate he would do whatever she said. Maha Lakhi's domination over her parents is atypical of Halbi culture. Children must be careful to respect and honour their parents and they must use respectful forms of speech. To fail to honour one's parents is considered a serious offence that results in sin (*pap*) which would leave one open for all kinds of possible misfortune. No matter how old or how obstreperous one's parent may be, one should honour and obey him.<sup>10</sup> Maha Lakhi's ambivalent relationship with her parents results from her human-divine status. In her interactions with other participants, however, her divine status dominates.

Once Hasin had settled in at the palace, the queen prepared traditional royal food for her but gave Maha Lakhi a different kind of food. The food given to Maha Lakhi is the kind Halbis offer to their deities during worship ceremonies. Since particular gods have definite preferences,<sup>11</sup> it is quite important to offer the correct food lest the deity become displeased and reject the ritual. The most common offerings offered on a regular basis to household gods include uncooked rice, ground rice, flattened rice, flowers, raw sugar, betel nut, bananas, coconut, clarified butter, and milk. All food is offered raw, never cooked.

The queen makes these offerings to Maha Lakhi on a number of occasions. She gives Maha Lakhi raw milk, raw sugar, clarified

butter, bananas, flowers, and betel nut. She always made these offerings at the same time she prepared Hasin's food. On one occasion (at the end of the second section), the verb used to refer to this feeding of Maha Lakhi is **cegauk** 'to cause to climb'. The Halbis use this verb to describe the offering of food to the stone images in their god houses. This offering which is kept in small leaf dishes is picked up with the fingers and placed on top of the stone image. Just how Maha Lakhi consumed the food given her by the queen is unclear. On another occasion, at the end of Section 4, the narrator uses the verb **deuk** (to give) rather than **cegauk** (to cause to climb) to refer to the giving of food to Maha Lakhi. On yet another occasion, at the beginning of Section 4, the queen gives Hasin her food but she worships (**sewa k6ruk**) Maha Lakhi. The women's role in worship ritual among the Halbis is very limited and involves only the preparation and bringing of the foodstuffs for an offering on an irregular basis. The women do not play any part in the blood sacrifices nor in the generalised worship ritual. Thus the queen's worship of Maha Lakhi probably implies that she gave Maha Lakhi food as she had done on other occasions.

Maha Lakhi receives worship from the king and queen on a number of occasions. When Maha Lakhi becomes an older child she requests the king to have a separate palace built for her and Hasin. In agreeing to do so the king worships her by bowing down and burning incense to her: "Having taken hold of her feet, he does obeisance to her. He burns incense, he worships Maha Lakhi" (Myth Sec 3:36.6-.7). The

phrase **paē poRot** 'He does obeisance to her' is both a greeting to a greater or an elder being, and a form of worship which signals submission to another's authority. The queen's worship of Maha Lakhi, as previously discussed, is always associated with the preparation and giving of food to Hasin. Parents normally do not worship their child and though Maha Lakhi is the daughter of the king and queen she still remains a deity. Her divinity dominates her relationship with her parents and results in atypical patterns of behaviour between the parent and child.

Maha Lakhi takes Hasin out to locate a place on which to build a new palace and to measure it out. Later, she goes with Hasin to show Biskarma where to build the palace. Both of these activities are atypical of Halbi culture in that the Halbis do not choose for themselves where to build their houses. Choosing a site for building involves special ceremonies in which the deities are called upon to indicate where a new house (or well or spirit house) should be built. To choose a site for oneself invites disaster. While Maha Lakhi's activity in choosing the site for the new palace is atypical for a Halbi person, her divine status means she can indicate whatever site she wants for the palace.

At the time the king goes to ask Biskarma to build a palace for Maha Lakhi, Maha Lakhi made several nights into one: "She made two or three nights into one night" (Myth Sec 3:45). The use of the numerals **dui tin** 'two three' indicates an indefinite number of nights not just two or three. The narrator introduces Maha Lakhi's amazing act with a

series of three rhetorical questions which ask what she did to the nights:

What did Maha Lakhi do there? What did she do to eight day's nights? What did Maha Lakhi do when her father went to Biskarma's place in heaven? (Myth Sec 3:41-4)

The narrator uses rhetorical questions to introduce activities atypical of Halbi culture. Usually, however, only one rhetorical question occurs. The above example is the only one where the narrator uses three such questions to say the same thing, indicating something of her awe of Maha Lakhi's incredible power over nature. (See Chapters 4 and 5 for more on rhetorical questions.)

Maha Lakhi's demand for a separate palace does not appear to be typical of either royal or Halbi culture. Although the king agrees to have the palace built he is not particularly happy about it and in his speech of acquiescence he politely asks her to remain with him in his house. Halbis do not like to live apart from the rest of their family, especially their young. After marriage, sons bring their wives to live in their parent's house. When a family becomes too large, separate houses are built for each of the nuclear families around the compound of the main house.

Maha Lakhi's new palace is very large and decorated with every colour known in the earth. It is extremely beautiful and glows or shines like the sunlight throughout the kingdom. The glow affects the animals (cattle, goats, sheep, chickens) as well as all the people of the kingdom so that in some way they also are glowing. The light apparently emanates from the palace, but just how it makes everything



glow is unclear. Halbis' buildings do not usually glow; they are built of mud and are usually brown, red, or whitish in colour. Royal palaces are now made of bricks, but in earlier times were made of marble. New polished marble may have had the glowing effects described by the narrator.

After puberty, Maha Lakhi and Hasin adventure out into the world and form many flower friendships. The formation of flower friendships by Halbi teenagers is a very exciting time to which they eagerly look forward. Over the years before marriage they may form many such friendships or they may have a relatively steady friendship with one person. Maha Lakhi and Hasin form an excessive number of these friendships in just one time period of one day--about four hours. Raibari, a member of the audience, interrupts to comment, "A great amount (of friendships) occurred, Bai" (Myth Sec 4:40). She then dissolves into giggles. The audience had already been giggling as the narrator described what the girls were doing. While it is typical to form such flower friendships, the friendships are spread out over a period of time. One does not go from friendship to friendship. These friendships allow for considerable sexual licence and Maha Lakhi's excessive activity suggests an improper attitude.

Much later, during the competition for Maha Lakhi's hand, Murasur demands to see Maha Lakhi--to see whether she actually exists and whether she is beautiful enough to bother competing for. This creates a dilemma for the king as competitions of this kind are not places for a woman to be. The king's male subjects advise him to have

all women in all villages come with Maha Lakhi, the queen, and Hasin. They suggest that no woman or child should remain in any house. Murasur tries to force the king into acting in a manner that would bring dishonour to women. By having all women come the effects of a woman being in a men-only environment are cancelled.

When Maha Lakhi receives the message to go to the arena she is furious. In her anger she grows four arms and places a curse on Murasur. She takes hold of a wildcat (*boēkar*). She also takes a conch shell (*s6nk6r*) in one hand, a discus (*c6k6r*) in another, a mace (*g6da*) in another, and a lotus (*phul mal*) in her fourth hand. She places toe rings (*phul cīgRi cuTki jh6Tea*) on her toes and then dresses in unusual clothes: "She put on leafy vegetables and cooked rice" (Myth Sec 5:184). These clothes are apparently appropriate to her fierce aspect. Maha Lakhi's angry response to Murasur's demands displays characteristics that are entirely atypical to Halbi everyday experience. In the midst of describing this response of Maha Lakhi, the narrator identifies her as a spiritual being, making explicit the basis of her unnatural behaviour: "With that then, she's a spirit, she's a supernatural being" (Myth Sec 5:176).

Once Maha Lakhi is ready, she marches with Hasin, the queen, and all other women to the competition arena. Their arrival has the effect of the rising of the sun. Maha Lakhi apparently pulsates with light--or is glowering in some way--when the people at the arena see her. This pulsating light affects Murasur's eyes. Maha Lakhi's divine status is obvious and all the people bow down to greet and

worship her.

In all this atypical behaviour by Maha Lakhi, her divinity overshadows her humanity. This behaviour cuts across all that Halbis perceive as natural and emphasises the power and authority which deities have over the natural world. Whereas the Halbis are limited by the natural world, deities may use it to their own ends.

### Murasur

Murasur is at the centre of a whole complex of culturally atypical behaviours. Most aspects of his behaviour are incongruent with social values of society. He fails, in particular, to observe the niceties of social intercourse and, as a result, provides an example of the kind of social disharmony which failure to observe social values produces.

Murasur departs from Halbi norms in at least ten ways:

1. He sleeps when he should be awake. Being awake and ready to greet a visitor is an important social value for the Halbis; to be asleep and to continue to sleep insults the one who has come to visit. Sleeping too long also signals laziness and a lack of productivity.

In the mornings, the whole household arises before dawn. Children may sleep a little longer but then the adults begin to insist they too arise. No one is allowed to laze around. Comments fly and insults abound toward any one who appears to sleep too much. When Narat Mani arrived at Murasur's place, Murasur was asleep and continued to sleep until his wives finally woke him with a red hot metal digging stick.

He had been asleep about twelve years and was not awake and ready for the arrival of a visitor.

2. He fails to greet others as he should. The proper use of greetings is important for maintaining harmony between individuals and harmony in the universe in general. It shows respect and reinforces the maintenance of proper social distance between persons of different status. Murasur does not appear to observe any formal greetings. He does not greet Narat Mani when he finally wakes up, nor does he greet the king when they meet, nor does he greet Maha Lakhi when she comes to the arena. The narrator does not indicate that Murasur greeted anyone; all signals appear to the contrary. Murasur demands to know why he has been awakened. He is more concerned about having been awakened than that he has a visitor. After his arrival at the arena, Murasur speaks to the king. The narrator introduces his speech with a rhetorical question which signals that what follows is atypical. The substance of his speech indicates a marked lack of respect for the king and his position and can be taken to imply that Murasur had not bothered to give proper greetings when he first arrived. When Maha Lakhi comes to the arena all the observers and particularly the tribal peoples greet and worship her but there is no indication that Murasur joins them.

3. He acts in a proud and boastful manner. The Halbis value humble and modest behaviour. Those who have experienced privileges not normally a part of Halbi expectancies, such as travel to other countries, riding in trains or planes, do not boast of them or attempt

to use them to gain respect, honour, or power from others. Murasur's behaviour, however, does not bear the marks of humility, constraint, or modesty. When Murasur receives the king's letter from Narat, he preens himself by twisting his moustache up on his cheeks. After reading the letter he begins to boast about marrying Maha Lakhi. He beats his chest and gloats that the kings of the earth had tried and failed, that now the lot had fallen to him, and that Maha Lakhi would be his next queen. Later, Maha Lakhi responds in anger to his demands to the king. Before readying to go to the arena she says to herself, "How important do you think you are Murasur that you should see me?" (Myth Sec 5:172.1). Maha Lakhi then comments, "After seeing me do you think you'll be able to shoot the target?". Maha Lakhi recognises that Murasur behaves in a manner that lacks restraint and that he attempts to be more important than he really is. When Maha Lakhi enters the competition arena in a grand display of her power and majesty, Murasur's eyes are affected and as he blinks he says, "I am going to marry (her)", still failing to show constraint or humility.

4. He does not listen to advice. Being willing to accept advice is another important Halbi value and the mark of a mature person. Most Halbi decision-making is by consensus. When Murasur boasts that he is going to marry Maha Lakhi his main wife warns him:

"It isn't your destiny, King. How can you say 'I will marry (her)'? It isn't your destiny. Don't go there. If you go there you'll only fail. Don't go. How very large is Maha Lakhi's competition arena" (Myth Sec 5:124.1-.7).

He totally rejects his wife's advice and proceeds to get ready. He refuses to listen to reason. His wife could tell the competition was

too big an event even for Murasur and his inflated view of himself. Later events confirmed her fears.

5. He does not maintain his place in the social strata. To know one's place in society and to be content with it are important for a sense of security in that the Halbi then know what is expected of them in any situation in which they find themselves. The Halbi people are very aware of their caste position in society and practise extreme care in maintaining that position. They never act higher than their position and are careful to keep themselves from contamination by those of a lower status. Murasur's conviction that he would marry Maha Lakhi contradicts this sense of knowing one's place. The Halbi firmly believe that each person should marry his own kind--royalty marries royalty, brahmin marries brahmin, Raj Murea marries Raj Murea, 6sur marries 6sur, and deity marries deity. No mixing of the sort Murasur was intending (an 6sur with a deity) is thinkable.<sup>11</sup> Murasur appears oblivious of his position and fails to acknowledge his place in the structuring of things. His response to the king's invitation to compete is one in which he is convinced that it is his destiny to marry Maha Lakhi. He is quite vocal about it in spite of his wife's warning.

6. He considers his own wants without regard for others. He desires to marry Maha Lakhi at the expense of his wives whom he readily casts off. His behaviour indicates a total lack of regard for any one but himself. Within Halbi society, as mentioned previously, decision-making takes place at a group level--usually the

household--not at an individual level. While the desires of the individual are considered, the well-being of the group is more important. Unselfishness is important for holding a group together.<sup>13</sup> Murasur's consideration was only for himself and quite contrary to a Halbi view of worthy behaviour.

7. He fails to act responsibly. The Halbis value stability, faithfulness, and responsibility. Murasur's behaviour towards his wives denies all three. He rejects his wives and their advice. He says:

"I won't take any notice of what you say. I won't pay attention to your speech. What will I do with you? I will definitely marry Maha Lakhi. What will I do with you? Go away you so and so's" (Myth Sec 5:125.1-.6).

Murasur wants to be rid of his wives so that they will not interfere with his marriage to Maha Lakhi. He is quick to assume that he will marry her and quick to discard his responsibility to his wives. The kind of treatment that Murasur gives his wives is only for wives who are lazy and unproductive. All indications are that Murasur's wives were good workers and faithful to him despite his treatment of them.

8. He fails to fulfill his religious duties. The lack of spiritual integrity can spell disaster, such as crop failure, illness, or death. It disrupts the harmony of the universe. Murasur appears to lack such integrity. When he bathes, the verb used is *nahan deuk* which means just a physical bathing and does not imply any kind of ritual purification. The verb may also indicate that his wives bathed him as the verb form used is plural while other verbs referring to his other activities are singular. After bathing he readies himself,

eats, and then dresses in his beautiful clothes. He does not appear to perform his religious duties in the household, a criminal failing on his part since it affects not only himself but his wives as well.

9. He is disrespectful toward others. The Halbis value respectful behaviour towards others and the honouring of those in authority. In his speech to the king, Murasur acts in a very disrespectful and insulting manner. As mentioned previously, the narrator introduces his speech with a rhetorical question which indicates that what follows is atypical of Halbi culture. Murasur says:

"You're an important king therefore how beautiful is your daughter? How beautiful is your daughter Maha Lakhi? And (how come) you haven't brought her here and (yet) you've brought out the target here? . . . You are making (us) shoot with a bow. Who will shoot with a bow without seeing your daughter? Bring your daughter here. 'Perhaps you don't have a daughter' they'll say of you. Without seeing your daughter shall I shoot the target? You are stupid, friend. . . . Where will you daughter be inside? Without seeing (her) how can we shoot at the target? . . . In order to shoot at the target where is your daughter (to provide incentive)? Show her" (Myth Sec 5:154.1-.20).

Murasur questions the king's integrity in suggesting that perhaps he does not have a daughter after all and that if he does maybe her beauty is insufficient to motivate a competitor to hit the target. He demands to see her. As a result, the king is shamed in front of his subjects. He is utterly mortified and says, "Oh dear, this important a king spoke like this to me" (Myth Sec 5:156). The king then 'descends into the water' and becomes quiet. The meaning of this is obscure, but apparently relates to the king's sense of shame and despondency at being spoken to in such a manner. Murasur's failure to



show respect and honour towards his host is indicative of his antisocial behaviour and of his failure to observe social norms and customs.

10. He fails to protect the integrity of women. A woman's integrity is to be protected, but Murasur's demand to see Maha Lakhi is unreasonable in that a competition of this kind is no place for a woman to be. For her to come to the arena would dishonour her and shame the king. Murasur has no regard for Maha Lakhi's integrity as a woman. He does not even regard the integrity of his wives as he willingly casts them off and fails to honour his marriage to them. Another aspect of this demand is that it cuts across accepted marriage arrangement processes. In Halbi culture, and also in the wider Indian culture, bride and groom do not usually see one another until the wedding. This is particularly true of Halbi betrothals between other than cross-cousins. Beauty is not an important factor in marriage. Halbi men value physical beauty in their wives, but it is more important that she be a good worker with a reasonably good attitude. Murasur's interest in Maha Lakhi depends upon her beauty--being the king's daughter is not good enough. The kings of the earth did not ask to see Maha Lakhi. They were willing to accept her worth and beauty on the grounds of their respect and regard for the king himself.

The following chart summarises these various social values that Murasur's behaviour negates. The left column lists Halbi social values; the right column indicates Murasur's activity which negates

these values.

Halbi Value	Murasur's Actions
1. Wakeful to welcome, Attentive to guests, Do not be lazy	Is asleep
2. Observe greeting etiquette	Does not greet Narat Does not greet king Does not greet Maha Lakhi
3. Be humble	Boasts, behaves vainly
4. Manifest sound judgement	Rejects wives' warning
5. Know rank in society	Aspires to marry deity (Maha Lakhi)
6. Seek well-being of the group	Desires Maha Lakhi without regard for his present wives
7. Demonstrate responsibility	Tells wives to 'get lost'
8. Fulfill spiritual responsibilities	Simply bathes, gets ready, and eats
9. Respect authority	Insults the king
10. Protect women's integrity	Demands to see Maha Lakhi

#### Functions of Atypicality

Atypical behaviour and circumstances function in a number of ways in the myth: to create drama and humour, to reinforce cultural values, to contrast Halbi culture and other cultures or various participants of the myth, and to mark prominence. These functions

overlap considerably. They also serve together with typical-explicit and typical-implicit aspects of the myth to form a cohesive bond between the myth's various parts, tying the story together as a unified whole.

Atypical behaviours create drama and entertain. The episode featuring Murasur is extremely entertaining for Halbi audiences. Each atypical act of Murasur builds upon a previous one, heightening an anticipation for the climax of Murasur's ignominious failure in the competition. His dysfunctional behaviour builds the audience's anticipation that it will finally catch up with him. The audience laughs frequently at Murasur's foolishness. Earlier in the myth, Maha Lakhi's atypical behaviour with flower friendships created interest and excitement in the audience as they laughed at the humour of the situation.

Atypical behaviour also functions to reinforce cultural values through negative examples. Murasur's antisocial behaviour results in calamity. He not only fails to win Maha Lakhi's hand, but his head is cut off in the attempt.

Atypical behaviour functions in a third way to provide a means of contrasting other cultures with the Halbi culture and also of contrasting different participants in the myth. Thus, gold implements are suggestive of royal culture, as are horses, elephants, palaces, and great wealth. Living in heaven and not being bound by natural laws identifies the deities. Massive size and the use of dry dung sets apart **6sur** culture. Each of these contrasts with Halbi culture.

Atypical behaviour also contrasts participants. In particular, dysfunctional behaviour contrasts Murasur with others who do behave according to accepted norms. He compares negatively with Nasilnat as a competitor for Maha Lakhi's hand. Atypical behaviour which is not dysfunctional, such as that displayed by Maha Lakhi, also serves to contrast participants. Though Maha Lakhi was born as a human being, her atypical behaviour contrasts with that of the rest of humanity and points to her divinity.

Finally, atypical behaviour serves to mark prominence in that activities atypical of Halbi culture receive more attention from the narrator than does typical behaviour. This is especially true of activities which the Halbis do not consider typical of any culture--these are presented in great detail and as a result are very prominent in the myth. This applies to the activities of Murasur as well as to those of Maha Lakhi in her ambiguous role. Maha Lakhi's atypical behaviour marks major stages in the development of the message of the text. Thus, the fact that she resorts to unusual means to acquire a childhood companion underscores the importance of this relationship to her--and to the Halbis as well. Activities which they recognise as normal for other cultures receive less detail in the myth and only secondary prominence. The narrator, for example, provides detailed information about Hasin's preparations for going to school when she first introduces her in the myth. While this information which shows that Hasin is a brahmin and not a Halbi, is quite detailed it does not extend beyond one paragraph and, as a result, is marked as

secondary prominence.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Some of the information comes from the narrator herself, some from other women of the village, but most from my language helpers, Durga and Chingaru and other men.

<sup>2</sup>The extreme detail of the colours may reflect the narrator's response to a colour survey we conducted in the village several weeks earlier.

<sup>3</sup>Since the Halbis were subjects of the Raja of Bastar, they are familiar with richly decorated palaces which contrast sharply with their own humble dwellings.

<sup>4</sup>There are special occasions when dance dramas are performed when young people go out dancing and singing all night at the full moon but this is play not work.

<sup>5</sup>Without the help of a local speaker, it is difficult to determine from the text which of Murasur's activities are typical or atypical of 6sur culture.

<sup>6</sup>While Murasur's size and sleeping habits seem to be typical of 6surs, it does not account for the fact that Murasur's wives were awake when the king's messenger came.

<sup>7</sup>The recording of the myth is quite unclear and difficult to discern at this point. The narrator became quite excited and did not enunciate well. Whatever Murasur used, it seems to be associated with a horse's hoof.

<sup>8</sup>She was probably in a basket similar to the one hanging from the rafters of Halbi households in which a baby sleeps and is swung for entertainment.

<sup>9</sup>The identification of Maha Lakhi as omniscience reflects an influence from Hindu mythology in which deities are identified in the abstract by use of abstract nouns.

<sup>10</sup>Although this is the ideal, I have observed an adult son going as far as he could in answering back his parents without actually crossing the line of outright disrespect!

<sup>11</sup>During major festivals deities generally prefer blood sacrifices. Some prefer the sacrifice of a black goat; others a brown or speckled goat; some like ducks, or pigeons, or chickens.

<sup>12</sup>This in fact is one of the underlying propositions of the myth--that each marries its own kind.

<sup>13</sup>One young friend had to give up school to help his father with the fieldwork since he was an only son. It was difficult for him since he desperately wanted to continue in school. He said at the time that it was better to give it up than to insist on doing what he wanted.

## CHAPTER 4

### NON HIERARCHICAL FEATURES OF THE MYTH

The non hierarchical features of the myth form many and varied threads running through the discourse. These threads interweave throughout the discourse's constituent structures so as to result in a completed tapestry--the myth. Some of the threads discussed in this chapter include eventlines and events, background information, setting and terminus, participant reference, and thematicity.

The events of the discourse may be arranged along a cline according to a descending order of importance in reference to the overall plot development.<sup>1</sup> The main eventline forms the backbone of the discourse and is the most important type of event. All other events and non-events represent digressions of one kind or another from this backbone. Chronological progression is of paramount importance at the top of the cline and irrelevant at the bottom. The inclusion of the setting and terminus at the bottom of the cline is tentative. Their apparent low rank in the cline is based on the consideration that their function is to establish the time, location, or circumstances of the following or preceding scene.

Cline of Relative Importance of Events and Non-Events

Events

- Main eventline <-la>
- Secondary eventline <-ese>
- Tertiary eventline <-e>
- Backgrounded event -un, -te, <-to ke>
- Flashback <-u robot>

Background Information

- Backgrounded stative activity <-te roe>
- Depiction <-e>
- Identification <ae>

Setting and Terminus

- Time (various)
- Event (RhQns and T-C sentences)
- Location <ase>

Participant reference (initial, continuing, and final) depends upon the relative importance of the events and non-events with which participants are associated. The scale of importance cline is therefore intimately bound into the mechanics of participant reference.

Eventlines and Events

Main Eventline

The main eventline of the Maha Lakhi myth forms the narrative backbone of the discourse. The backbone is indicated by the completed action verb endings (marked as **ptc** in the Maha Lakhi text).<sup>2</sup> The completed action verb endings <-la> are, therefore, typical of all sorts of narration (eyewitness or otherwise) of previously occurring events both in everyday life (with reference to a fairly immediate past) and in the oral history of the Halbi people--where reference is to an historical past in which the events in focus took place in a



previous era called **jug jug bera co ae** (a-great-amount a-great-amount time Poss is(3s)) 'It's of the previous era'. For example:

1. Firsthand account;

**pej khad-lu aur DāDa mar-uk ge-lu.**  
gruel eat-ptc,1p and sugarcane hit-inf go-ptc,1p

We ate gruel and went to cut sugarcane.

2. Oral history:

**hum m6n ch6ea co m6ea ho-la aru up6r**  
thatpl disappearance become-ptc,3p and above

**phur ne ge-la, m6ne.3**  
world Loc go-ptc,3p part.

They disappeared and returned to the upper world.

Statistically, these verb endings, which are presented in the following chart, occur the most frequently of any verb endings in narrative.

	Sg	Pl
1	-le	-lu
2	-lis	-las
3	-li/-lo	-la

The -l of the endings indicates completed action with the rest of the endings indicating person and number. The third person singular endings embody the remnant of a former gender distinction where -o indicates 'human male' (m) and -i indicates everything else (termed non human-male (mm) in the text).

The verbs of the main eventline are all action verbs occurring in temporally sequenced strings. For example:

Main eventline <-la>

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    {
      They went
      They spoke
      They greeted him
      They sat down
      (Myth Sec 1:127-30)
    
```

Such strings of events as these may be interrupted by movement off the main line of events to a secondary or tertiary event (or string of events), or even into background information of one kind or another. These movements off the main event line are marked, for the most part, by the particular verb endings chosen by the narrator (see the following sections of this chapter). The events of the main eventline are those considered by the narrator to be important to the story and represent the foregrounded material.

### Secondary Eventline

The secondary eventline of the Maha Lakhi myth constitutes a frequently used digression from the main line of events. While retaining and continuing the temporal sequence of the narrative, secondary events are less prominent than the backbone itself. The present incomplete verb endings (marked as *pinc* in the Maha Lakhi text) indicate these secondary events;<sup>4</sup> they are presented in the

following chart:

	Sg	Pl
1	-āse	-ūse
2	-sis	-sas
3	-ese	-esot

The presence of -s in these endings indicates a present state while the rest of the endings indicate person and number. These verb endings have the sense of 'I am in the state of performing the action indicated by the verb stem'.

Typically, these verb endings occur in daily conversations concerning events that are in the process of occurring. The time setting is usually the 'now' and the endings do not refer to completed actions. For example:

ami haT ja-ūse. tumi kahā ja-sas?  
 we market go-pinc,lp you(p) where go-pinc,2p

We are going to the market. Where are you going?

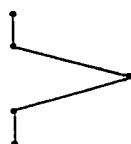
In folktales, such as the Maha Lakhi myth, the 'now' meaning of these endings is set aside; instead the endings indicate a secondary eventline that contrasts with the main line of events. The secondary eventline follows on in sequence with the main event line. In English, both the main eventline and secondary eventline translate as past tense. For example:

Main Eventline &lt;-la&gt;

Secondary Eventline &lt;-ese&gt;

The deity bathed  
He put on the ash mark

Narat Mani arrived  
He arrived



He is worshipping

(Myth Sec 5:247-51)

The present incomplete verb endings provide a way of showing that although an event occurs in a string of temporally sequenced events, it is not as important as the other events. Marking an event as less important (through the use of the present incomplete endings) indicates that either the event itself is not in focus or that the participant performing the activity lacks prominence (see the section on Participant Reference).

The marking of verbs as secondary events fulfills a number of specific functions in the narrative discourse. A primary function distinguishes important from less important participants when they are introduced into the story. For example, the deity Ram told the blind sage to go to the place where the water fetching women were going for their water. The sage went to where they were. In the ensuing narrative all the actions of the water fetching women are marked as secondary events while, in contrast, those of the sage are marked as mainline. When, however, the women have an important function to fulfill in terms of the story, verbs referring to them are elevated to the main eventline. This happens at the point where they go and report the existence of the newborn baby, Maha Lakhi, to the king. Here their actions become crucial to the development of the plot and

are reported on the mainline of the narrative. The activities of the water-fetching women which are marked as secondary events are primarily routine events related to their position in society as women but which place them in a position of observing the events taking place at the lake. For example:

Main Event <-la>

Secondary Event <-ese>

And they came  
 They came to the village  
 They ran to the palace  
 They put down the pots

The WW are going  
 They are going for water  
 The WW are saying '...'

·  
·  
·

·  
·  
·

(Myth Sec 1:115-32)

A further function of the secondary eventline is to slow down the reporting of the action and to build up suspense. The temporal sequence of the main eventline continues on the secondary eventline but at a slower pace. For example, when the king and his entourage went to the river to ask for the child, the sage saw them coming (marked as a mainline event) from a distance. He became afraid and started looking for a way to escape. The events of this little scene (six in all) are all marked as secondary events. These secondary events, (1) fearing, (2) speaking, (3) turning this way, (4) turning that way, (5) speaking, (6) acting in that way, are in temporal sequence but this sequence involves a relatively small period of time.

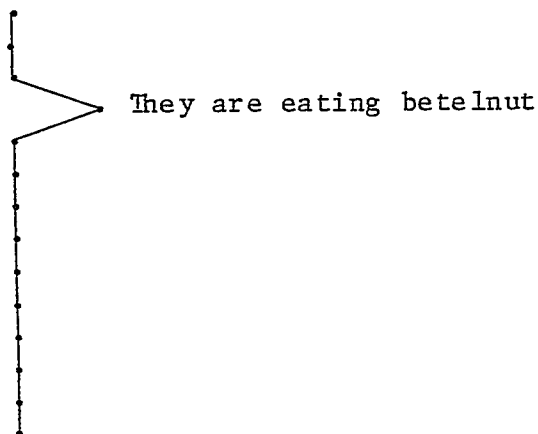
The resulting slow motion builds the tension for the scene that follows in which the king confronts the sage. The digression ends with the reiteration, on the main eventline, that the king and his entourage went to the sage. This reiteration also implies that they arrived.

Still a further function of the secondary eventline is to distinguish less important events from important mainline events that are performed by the same participant. While all these events occur in temporal sequence, the narrator chooses those that she considers to be more important and keeps them on the main eventline while marking the other less important events as secondary events. These secondary events often have the effect of further specifying, clarifying, or augmenting the mainline events in some way. For example, in that portion of the story where Maha Lakhi goes out on her adventures in the world with Hasin, in the midst of a string of thirteen mainline events is one secondary event:

Main Event <-la>

Secondary Event <-ese>

They wandered about  
 They wandered about<sup>5</sup>  
 They made betelnut friends  
  
 They made flower friends  
 They made banana friends  
 They made coconut friends  
 They made sweet betel friends  
 They wandered about  
 They wandered about  
 They saw everything  
 They saw  
 They saw  
 The sun shone



(Myth Sec 4:42-53)



'laughing and rejoicing' is marked as secondary event.

preview (buildup):

"ale ja-un d6k re nar6t" bol-esot m6ne.  
OK go-conj see(imp,s) Voc Narat say-pinc,3p part.

"ja-un d6k nar6t, mur6sur ghai aur ja-un  
go-conj see(imp,s) Narat Murasur place and go-conj

d6k" bol-la m6ne, bhorun raja.  
see(imp,s) say-ptc,3p part. Bhorun king

"OK Narat, you go" he (the king) is saying. "You go Narat, you go to Murasur's place" King Bhorun said (Myth Sec 5:86-7).

The first speech event telling Narat to go is marked as a secondary event while the second is marked as a main event. When an event occurs marked initially as a secondary event and then is repeated immediately and marked as a mainline event, the initial occurrence previews or builds up to that following main event while at the same time signalling that the event is an important one in the development of the plot. It is in a sense a preceding rhetorical underlining and occurs as such with some frequency throughout the myth.

Tertiary Eventline

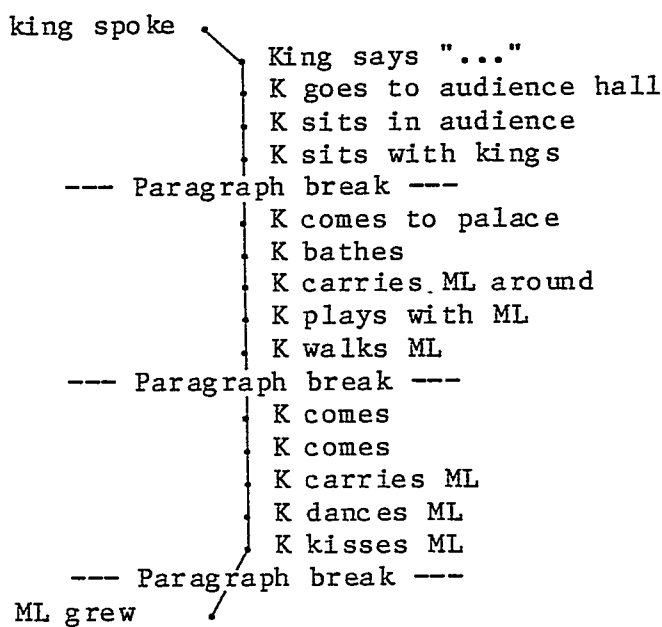
The tertiary eventline is a device for indicating that an event (or series of events) is backgrounded and routine. The depictive verb endings on action verbs in narrative discourse mark the tertiary eventline. Events so marked are sequential but only weakly so, since the verb endings indicate only person and number (see the discussion on the depictive verb in the section on Background Information later



in this chapter). Temporal succession characterises tertiary events only in so far as the particular lexical items which report the event (or series of events) indicate such succession. The narrator utilises the tertiary eventline to indicate events which are at a considerable distance from the main eventline. These events are even less important--less in focus--than are secondary events.

Marking events as tertiary indicates continuing actions (past, present, and future) or habitual actions, both of which function as a backdrop for later (and often much later) mainline events. The most extensive series of tertiary events occurs in the pre-episode of Section 3 of the myth:

Main Event <-la>      Tertiary Event <-e>



The return to the main eventline at the end of this string of tertiary events marks the beginning of the main episode of the section. The

king's routine activities of going each day to the audience chamber to hold audience and carry out his royal duties of ruling are the backdrop for Section 4 where Maha Lakhi's adventures in the world are carried on during the period of the day the king is away performing his duties. In this latter incident, both Hasin and Maha Lakhi promise to return home before the king does.<sup>7</sup>

Marking events as tertiary, besides indicating routine patterns of behaviour, may also indicate backgrounded actions by a non-prominent participant. For example, when Maha Lakhi demands of the king a separate palace in which to live, the king acquiesces and then worships her. The king is non-prominent in this paragraph and his worship of Maha Lakhi (three different events) is marked as tertiary.

#### Backgrounded Events

Backgrounded events are events represented as very distant from the main eventline. They occur as a means of augmenting the temporal sequence of events. Backgrounded events are indicated by a variety of dependent verb endings. These dependent verbs always occur in conjunction with independent verb forms. Intra paragraph backgrounded events are marked by: (1) **-um**, a conjunctive marker which indicates that the verb so marked represents an action which is completed before the action that is represented by the independent verb; (2) **-te**, an incomplete marker which indicates that the verb so marked represents an action which occurs simultaneous with the action that is represented by the independent verb. In both (1) and (2) the

dependent and independent verbs have the same subject. Inter paragraph backgrounded events are marked by **-to ke** (**-to**, an incomplete marker; **ke**, the usual goal marker) meaning 'at the time of something occurring'. This construction establishes a general time horizon in relation to the event rather than specific simultaneity with it. When the **-to ke** construction functions to background an event, that event has not previously been made explicit. This contrasts with its function solely as setting (see section on Setting and Terminus in this chapter) where the construction repeats a previously stated event (usually a mainline event). The construction when backgrounding an event serves a double function--that of backgrounding and that of establishing the time horizon of a new paragraph.

### Flashback

A flashback is the representation of an event that occurred prior to the events that surround it. A flashback may repeat or reiterate events that have already been made explicit by the narrator on the eventlines of the myth or it may indicate an earlier but previously unmentioned event. The repeating or reiterating of events serves as a reminder of past events which effect in some way the current situation. A flashback reference to events that have not been previously mentioned provides a rationale of certain phases of a current situation.

Roughly speaking, the verb phrase of the flashback construction indicates that 'something had occurred'. Specifically, the verb

phrase consists of the main verb stem, marked with a conjunctive suffix **-u**, and an auxiliary that consists of the verb **ro** 'to be' marked with the depictive endings **<-e>**. This form of the verb phrase indicates that an event definitely occurred while at the same time it focuses on a state of being (that is, 'he was in the state of having done something').<sup>8</sup> For example:

. . . **kag6t ne lik-u ro-e. kag6t ke d6k-la m6ne.**  
 paper Loc write-conj be-3s paper Gol see-ptc,3p part.

. . . he (the king) had written (a letter) on paper. They looked at the paper (Myth Sec 5:44.3).

The message, in the form of a letter, had been taken to the kings of the earth. Here the narrator refers back to the fact that the king had written the letter (flashback) and then continues on with the events of the main eventline.

Only seven examples of flashback occur in the Maha Lakhi myth. All seven occur in Section 5 (the peak of the discourse). Four of these occur in the third episode of the section (the peak of the peak--or climax in the deep structure) and the others occur scattered in the other episodes of the peak. Clearly, as far as this narrative is concerned, flashback is a feature of the narrative peak.

### Background Information

#### Background Stative Activity

Background stative activity sets up the situation (or state of things) for the events which follow. A verb phrase in this function indicates that 'something was occurring' and marks the activity itself

as definite (that is, it certainly was happening). However, a state of being is primarily in focus (that is, 'he was in the state of doing something'). The verb phrase consists of the main verb stem, marked with the incomplete suffix *-te*, and an auxiliary that consists of the verb *ro* 'to be' marked with the depictive verb endings *<-e>*. For example:

aur pace hun-co nahakor ho-um bati kōDa  
and later that-Poss bathe occur-conj after Konda

bam6n sewa phuja k6r-te ro-e m6ne. sewa phuja  
brahmin worship perform-inc be-3s part. worship

k6r-te ro-e m6ne.  
perform-inc be-3s part.

And later after having bathed ritually, Konda Brahmin was worshipping. He was worshipping (Myth Sec 2:31-2).

The above example establishes the background situation at the brahmin's house prior to the arrival of the king and his companion. (A long setting utilising various kinds of background constructions, including the above, occurs at the beginning of this episode.) This background stative activity occurs at crucial points in the myth.

### Depiction

Background information describes or delineates participants in the myth and is signalled by the depictive verb endings *<-e>* on certain types of verbs. This set of verb endings indicates only person and number; tense and aspect are not marked. The depictive endings are:

	Sg	Pl
1	-ē	-ū
2	-is	-as
3	-e	-(h)ot

The use of the depictive endings for background information in narrative discourse is distinct from the use of the same endings in everyday conversation and in the tertiary eventline of narrative. A weak 'now-ishness' is implied when these endings occur with action verbs in everyday conversation. When describing a habitual action (or general truth) these endings may be used with a temporal word such as **roje** 'daily'. For example, **roje haT ja-e** (daily market go-3s) 'he goes daily to market'. Without the time word, however, the example has the sense of 'he is in the habit of going to market'. In narrative discourse the depictive endings on action verbs signal tertiary eventline.

One of the main uses of depictive endings in narrative discourse is with negated verbs. When an action verb, marked with the present incomplete endings <-ese>, is to be negated, the depictive endings are used instead. For example, **hun haT ja-ese** (that market go-pinc, 3s) 'he is going to market' becomes **hun haT ni ja-e** (that market not go-3s) 'he isn't going to market'.<sup>9</sup> Halbi speakers will not accept the use of the negative with a present incomplete verb. In narrative discourse, the depictive endings occurring with negated action verbs serve to provide important background information about the central participant. In the myth, after the central participant has been

introduced the narrator describes his many lacks by means of a series of negative statements. The verb phrases of these statements are always marked with the depictive endings. For example, in the first section of the myth (an embedded discourse with the sage as the central participant), the narrator describes the sage and his lacks in the following terms:

aŋk ne ni d6k-e m6ne. j6n6m d6k-i ni ho-e. aŋk ne  
eye Loc not see-3s part. absolutely see-nom not occur-3s eye Loc

ni d6k-e m6ne. kan-e ni sun-e m6ne. hun ke khana ni  
not see-3s part. ear-Loc not hear-3s part. that G01 food not

mir-e m6ne. kaŋ ci ni mir-e.  
available-3s part. anything emp not available-3s

He doesn't see with his eyes... He absolutely can't see.  
doesn't see with his eyes. He doesn't hear with his ears... He  
doesn't have any food... He has just nothing (Myth Sec 1:5-10).

In narrative discourses, the lack functions as a very important piece of background information. It foreshadows the direction the story will take in that the lack is always liquidated by the end of the story. In the Maha Lakhi myth, once the sage's lack is liquidated his story ends and he drops out of the narrative completely.

Another important use of the depictive endings in narrative discourse is with the non-active verb *ro* 'to be, to live', a 'past-ness' is implied. For example, *goTok raja ro-e* (one king be-3s) 'there was a king'. However, although a 'past-ness' is implied, the intent is to establish the existence of someone (in order to talk about them further) or to introduce (and/or describe) a prop.

The depictive verb endings form the primary background tense in

narrative discourse. Many narrative discourses open with a statement that establishes the existence of a significant participant(s). This opening statement, when it occurs, utilises the depictive endings on the verb **ro** 'to be', for example, **Dokra Dokri ro-hot m6ne** (oldman oldwoman be-3p part.) 'there was an old man and an old woman'. (This type of opening statement, however, does not occur in the Maha Lakhi myth.) Following this initial statement there may be other statements that establish the existence of other participants who are directly related to the initial participant in some way. These further statements of existence may be indicated by the depictive verb endings occurring with the verb **ro** 'to be'.

The depictive verb endings sometimes function as a type of durative. When this occurs the verb with the depictive endings is always repeated--the more repetitions the longer the period of time. For example:

**hum than-e ro-ot ro-ot ro-ot asot m6ne.**  
 that place-Loc be-3p be-3p be-3p is(3p) part.

He is at that place for a very long time (Myth Sec 1:16).

The sage sat praying in the deity's courtyard for a long time. The repetition of the verb **ro-ot** signals this long period of time. This provides the background information to explain the deity's eventual response to the sage's persistent petitioning. The deity becomes tired (or bored) and sends him to the lake. The sage stands in the lake and continues to petition the deity for a long period of time. The sage's presence in the water is observed by the deity over a long



period of time:

ro-to ke pani ne bh6gwan d6k-ot d6k-ot d6k-la m6ne.  
 be-inc Gol water Loc deity see-3p see-sp see-ptc,3p part.

At the time of being in the water, observing for a long time, the deity saw him (Myth Sec 1:58).<sup>9</sup>

The final verb, on the main eventline, provides a summation of the deity's observation and is important for the development of the narrative. The deity's extended observation, signalled by use of the depictive endings, provides background information for the deity's intervention on behalf of the sage.

#### Identification

Identification as background information of the discourse primarily identifies attributes or characteristics of participants and props but, on occasion, may also identify time, frequency of an action, and quantity. While the identification of participants (and props) is achieved through a variety of means (discussed in the section on Participant Reference), the narrator frequently uses identification to further clarify or identify specifically a participant (or prop). This identification is indicated by a construction that incorporates the existential verb <ae> 'to be'. The existential verb paradigm follows:

	Sg	Pl
1	aē	aū
2	as	ahas
3	ae	at

These verbs do not indicate any sense of time. They mark information as absolute and true for yesterday, today, and tomorrow and thus signal an unchanging (and unchangeable) state (or status). This contrasts with the use of the stative verb <ase> that does indicate a changeable state (see Setting and Terminus).

Background identification that uses an existential construction occurs scattered throughout the Maha Lakhi myth. Most instances, however, occur at the peak of the narrative (nine times in the episode about Murasur). The following examples of the existential construction identify participants, props, frequency, time, and quantity:

Participant:

us6n      to      deo      log      at      didi gh6n      at.  
 like that part. spirit(m) people is(3p) spiritual being is(3p)

Thus (it's)like that (as) she is a spirit, she is a supernatural being (Myth Sec 5:176).

Prop:

e      gūD      go Tok ae.  
 this aerial root one is(3s)

It is (just) one aerial root (Myth Sec 4:69).

Frequency:

pani, roj-e ae ja-esot m6ne, dui pahar.  
 water daily-Loc is(3s) go-pinc,3p part. 2 time period

It is daily, they are going for water during two time periods  
 (Myth Sec 1:116).

Time:

. . . ek din ae kae dui din ae, huta-e ci  
 one day is(3s) what 2 day is(3s) there-Loc emp

ase m6ne, s6mdhur co kh6D-e.  
 is(3s) part. lake Poss bank-Loc

. . . Whether it is one day or it is two days, he is just  
 there on the bank of the lake (Myth Sec 1:113).

Quantity/Distance:

s6h6r itlo ae be janu.  
 city this much is(3s) ab part.

It's as far as the city is (Myth Sec 1:65).

These identifications are explanatory. When the narrator identifies participants in this manner she provides an explanation of why and how they are able to do certain things.

While background identification depends predominantly on a positive existential construction, it may also be accomplished through a negative construction. This negative construction identifies negative characteristics (generally a lack) about a participant. The form of the verb differs from the positive construction in that the negative *ni* and the existential verb <ae> combine into a frozen form

**nai** 'is not' to establish a negative clause with **nai** as the verbal element. The subject of the clause may be a noun (or noun phrase) or a form of nominalised verb. For example:

hun-co      khana nai, kura-k      nai, kaī      ci nai.  
that-Poss food    neg    shave-inf neg    anything emp neg

Literally: His food is not, shaving is not, absolutely anything is not (Myth Sec 1:49).

The statements imply that nothing relevant to living a normal life exists for the participant being thus identified. The negative clauses may occur in series as above to form a specific-generic sentence or they may, more rarely, occur singly, as for example:

. . . pa T      phur-e      nai, 6s6n.  
          behind in front-Loc neg    like this

. . . it's not behind one another, (it's) like this (Myth Sec 5:187).

Here the 6s6n 'like this' indicates a demonstration by the narrator as to exactly how it was. Negative clauses occur thirteen times in the myth. Eight of these occur in the first section (seven of them describe the sage whose lacks are the important feature of the embedded narrative).<sup>11</sup>

#### Setting and Terminus

Settings establish the scene in which an event or series of events occur. The setting may indicate the time or location of an event (or even both), or it may be an event prefacing (previewing or

introducing) other events. The terminus closes a scene and always involves location and sometimes involves time as well. The constructions that typically indicate setting or terminus vary according to the level of the discourse. Thus a setting for a major episode differs from the setting of a paragraph or a sentence and these are described in the rest of this section.

### Time

A variety of constructions establish time settings within the discourse. At the intra paragraph level, the time setting of an event or series of events may be specified by a time word, a time phrase, or a dependent clause. A time word may be specific, for example, *hudlidaē* 'at that very time', or general, giving a sense of a continuing temporal sequence, for example, *tebe* 'then'. Time phrases are of two kinds: (a) those marked with the locative marker *ne* or *-e* or the source marker *le*, for example, *tin din ne* (3 day Loc) 'after three days', *aur din-e* (another day-Loc) 'on another day', *id6ldaē le* (at-this-time Src) 'till now'; and (b) those without any such marking, for example, *ek din* 'one day'. The following example from the myth shows a very extensive time setting that occurs within a paragraph. Four different time phrases refer to the same time.

*so6-lo bera, bai, bic rati, so6-lo rati hasin*  
 sleep-comp time Bai middle night sleep-comp night Hasin

*aur maha l6khi nikr-un ge-la m6ne, rati bera.*  
 and Maha Lakhi come out-conj go-ptc, 3p part. night time

At sleep time, Bai, at midnight, at sleep night, Hasin and

Maha Lakhi came out, at night time (Myth Sec 3:25).

An intra paragraph time setting may be indicated by a dependent clause which is marked with the conjunctive **-un**. This setting repeats a previously stated event. Consequently this emphasises the temporal succession of a series of events. For example:

**mur6sur pace ghoRa ceg-lo m6ne, mur6sur . . . mur6sur**  
 Murasur later horse climb-ptc,3s,m part. Murasur Murasur

**i-lo m6ne, ghoRa ceg-un, bai, soba m6dir-e.**  
 come-ptc,3s,m part. horse climb-conj Bai gathering temple-Loc

Later, Murasur got on his horse. . . . Having gotten on his horse, Bai, Murasur came to the competition arena (Myth Sec 5:137-9).

The original event in the above example is marked as a mainline event and the conjunctive clause that repeats the event establishes the time horizon for the following mainline event. The conjunctive clause may, on occasion, mark the time horizon of a new paragraph but the construction does not itself signal a new paragraph, other surface structure features signal the beginning of a new paragraph.<sup>12</sup>

An inter paragraph time setting is typically indicated by a dependent clause marked with **-to ke** and conveys a very general sense of simultaneity. The use of this construction always signals the beginning of a new paragraph as well as establishing the time horizon for that new paragraph. When the construction serves to establish the time setting only (and not backgrounded event as well) the verb repeats a previously specified event (which usually occurs in the immediately preceding sentence). For example:

paē poR-la m6ne./ paē poR-to ke pase d6k-la j6ma.  
 foot fall-ptc,3p part. foot fall-inc. Gol later see-ptc,3p all

She bowed down in submission. At the time of bowing down in submission, later they all saw (it) (Myth Sec 5:307-8).

The first sentence in the example ends the previous paragraph (and indicated by / in the example). The repetition of the verb (in this case the whole clause) marked with -to ke indicates the beginning of a new paragraph and a new time horizon. The new time horizon links the events of the new paragraph to the general time horizon of the events of the previous paragraph. Time words or phrases may also occur as the time setting of a new paragraph but their occurrence does not signal the beginning of a new paragraph.

A time setting for a major section of the myth may be indicated by a topic-comment sentence. Use of a topic-comment sentence establishes both the time and location of the new episode (see the section on Location). For example:

. . . kae pher aur bara moena ho-li, kae bara bor6k  
 what again and 12 month occur-ptc,3s,nm what 12 year  
 co, bis bor6k ho-li ale huta-e ase m6ne.  
 Poss 20 year occur-ptc,3s,nm part. there-Loc is(3s) part.

Whether twelve months passed, or twelve years or twenty years, he is there (Myth Sec 1:17).

The sentence implies that at least twenty years passed and the new episode opens with the sage still in the lake after that length of time.

A time setting for a major section may also be established

through the use of the alternative sentence construction. For example:

. . . **ch6e moena ho-li,**                    **ch6e moena co**  
           6        month occur-ptc,3s,nm 6        month Poss

**bor6k kar ho-li**                    **m6ne.**  
 year            occur-ptc,3s,nm part.

. . . six months passed or six months to a year passed (Myth Sec 2:14).

With the passage of this somewhat short period of time the events of a new episode begin to take place.

Repetition of an event (both on or off the main eventline) which lexically implies the passage of time may also establish an episode's time setting. The setting may involve a single sentence or extend to a paragraph as shown in the following example.

**pher baR-la,**        **pher baR-la**        **baR-esot**        **baR-esot**  
 again grow-ptc,3p again grow-ptc,3p grow-pinc,3p grow-pinc,3p  
  
**baR-esot**        **pace boRe boRe khIDik**        **ho-la**        **m6ne.**  
 grow-pinc,3p later big big a little occur-ptc,3p part.

Again she grew, again she grew, she is growing, she is growing, she is growing. Later she became a little bit big (Myth Sec 3:1).

This kind of time setting (using the verb **baR** 'grow') occurs in discourses which are structured around the life cycle of the central participant.

### Event

The event setting serves as a preface or prelude to an episode



(or scene) and usually cues significant activities in the story. The event setting always signals the opening of a new episode (or scene) and is most frequently signalled by rhetorical questions. For example:

pase maha l6khi kae bol-la m6ne, aplo mon ne?  
 later Maha Lakhi what say-ptc,3p part. one's own mind Loc

Later, what did Maha Lakhi say in her mind? (Myth Sec 2:18)

The above example opens the episode in which Maha Lakhi asks for and gets a childhood companion.

While a rhetorical question functions primarily to establish an event setting for an episode its verb may be marked as a mainline event or as a secondary event. This cues the audience to the relative importance of the event encompassed by the rhetorical question itself in relation to the discourse as a whole. For example, when the water-getting women see the newborn Maha Lakhi they are overcome by her beauty. A series of three rhetorical questions alludes to their response to her beauty:

aur hum pila ke d6k-to ke, kon gh6sr-ese m6ne,  
 and that child Gol see-inc Gol who fall down-pinc,3s part.

bai? kon gh6gra poka-ese m6ne? kon bh6Dua  
 Bai who a waterpot throw out-pinc,3s part. who a waterpot

poka-ese m6ne, sūd6r co mar-e?  
 throw out-pinc,3s part. beautiful Poss hit-3s

And at the time of seeing that child, who is falling over, Bai? Who is dropping (their) gh6gra waterpot? Who is dropping (their) bh6Dua waterpot--at being struck by her beauty? (Myth Sec 1:119-21)

Each of these events is marked as a secondary event and indicates that, in terms of the whole, the narrator does not consider these events to be that important. However, these rhetorical questions serve as a prelude to the coming significant events in which the women go and tell the king about the child.

The topic of a topic-comment sentence may also establish an event setting. The topic reflects indefiniteness (that is, doubt as to what really happened). The verb phrase consists of a main verb stem marked with the incomplete marker *-te* and an auxiliary verb *ro* 'to be' marked with the completed action verb endings *<-la>*. These *<-la>* verb endings on the verb *ro* 'to be' signal indefiniteness. The comment of this sentence, when it occurs, is part of an eventline of the narrative. For example:

*kae bīd-te                      ro-lo                      ale    hum-co*  
 what shoot arrow-inc be-ptc,3s,m part. that-Poss

*jh6 la    ke   kaT-un    di-la                      m6ne*  
 bunting Gol cut-conj give-ptc,3p part.

Whether he shot the arrow (or what) he cut through the bunting on the pavilion (Myth Sec 5:220).

Here the topic establishes an event setting concerning shooting an arrow and the comment is part of the main eventline of the narrative. This form of the topic-comment sentence occurs only once in the myth in Section 5 at the peak of the peak in the episode concerning Murasur.

An alternative sentence may be embedded in the topic of a topic-comment sentence. Again the verb phrase of each clause in the

topic reflects an indefiniteness similiar to that in the previous example. The verb phrases consist of a main verb (marked with a conjunctive -u) and the auxilliary verb ro 'to be' also marked with the completed action verb endings <-la>. For example:

6mr-u            ro-lo            kae ni 6mr-u  
arrive-conj be-ptc,3s,m what not arrive-conj

ro-lo            jale m6ne.  
be-ptc,3s,m part. part.

Whether he arrived or didn't arrive (something happened)  
(Myth Sec 5:67).

In this example, the comment is missing (a frequent occurrence in everyday speech). This indicates even more indefiniteness as it sets up an event setting. Like the previous example, this form of the topic-comment sentence occurs only once in the myth in Section 5 at the peak of the narrative in the episode concerning the kings of the earth.

### Location

The location settings of the narrative vary according to whether they open an episode or section of the discourse or whether they occur as inter and intra paragraph settings (that is, as settings between paragraphs or as settings within a paragraph). At the lower level of inter and intra paragraph a locative phrase or location word indicates the location of an event or series of events. For example:

Locative Phrase Setting:

to    bhorun gh6r-e    an-la    m6ne, bhorun  
 part. Bhorun house-Loc bring-ptc,3p part. Bhorun

raja co    mahal ne.  
 king Poss palace Loc

Thus they brought (her) to Bhorun's house, to King Ehorun's palace (Myth Sec 1:167).

The locative phrase consists of a noun phrase and location markers (either *ne* or *-e*). The second locative phrase in the above example clarifies the first.

Locative Word Setting:

6jra            dh6r-to            ke huta hum    6s6n            de-un  
 doublehandful take hold-inc Gol there that like this give-conj

di-la            m6ne.  
 give-ptc,3p part.

At the time of taking hold of the package, he made him take hold of it there (Myth Sec 1:81).

The location word *huta* 'there' establishes the location of the events of this new paragraph as the same location of the previous paragraphs.

Constructions such as topic-comment sentences and stative clauses indicate the location settings and terminus at the higher levels of the discourse. Typically, the stative verb <ase> 'to be' occurs in these higher level openings and closings. The paradigm for the stative verb forms follows:

	Sg	Pl
1	asē	asū
2	as	asas
3	ase	asot

These stative verb forms refer to a current but changeable state (or status) and may not be used to refer to inherent states (such as being a male or female) (see above section on Identification).

The discourse opens with a series of stative clauses (as simple sentences) locating the events of the myth in a specific geographic setting:

goTok bhorun raja co des bhorun des ase m6ne. aur  
 one Bhorun king Poss country Bhorun country is(3s) part. and

balika nāg6r ase m6ne, up6r phur ne, bai. hun than-e  
 a constellation is(3s) part. above world Loc Bai that place-Loc

janu balika nāg6r ne up6r phur ne janu, bh6gwan gh6r-e.  
 part. a constellation Loc above world Loc part. deity house-Loc

goTok kana rusi hun raj ne ase m6ne.  
 one blind sage that kingdom Loc is(3s) part.

A king Bhorun's country is in the country of Bhorun. And the constellation **balika nāg6r** is in heaven, Bai. At that place, in the constellation **balika nāg6r**, in heaven, (is) God's house. There is a blind sage in that kingdom (of Bhorun) (Myth Sec 1:1-4).

The Halbis consider location as a changeable state and always marked with <ase>. Later, at the end of each major section of the discourse and at the end of each part of the first section, a stative clause (or series of such clauses) closes the scene. For example:

aur pase janu hum than-e asot m6ne.  
and later part. that place-Loc is(3p) part.

And after that they are there (Myth Sec 1:186).

The above example closes the first major section of the myth.

The topic-comment sentence, when it occurs, opens an episode and while it may establish location alone, more frequently it also establishes a time horizon. The topic-comment sentence consists of two propositions where 'the initial proposition [topic] identifies a theme or topic . . . expounded by the final proposition [comment]' (Woods 1973:100). The topic proposition(s) is indefinite whereas the comment makes a definite (or emphatic) declaration. An axis-relator construction fills the topic (the relator is the particle <ale>) and an independent clause fills the comment. The stative clause that establishes the locative setting of an episode occurs in the comment of the sentence. For example:

kae bara moena ho-li kae kitlo din  
what 12 month occur-ptc,3s,nm what how much day

ho-li ale / asot m6ne.  
occur-ptc,3s,nm part. is(3p) part.

Whether it was twelve months or however long it was, / he is there (Myth Sec 1:17).

Here, the narrator establishes the sage in a certain location (the deity's courtyard) that is implicitly indicated in the comment of the example (the stative clause following the /). Furthermore, a long period of time is indicated in the topic (precedes the /)--in this case an axis-relator construction whose axis is an alternative

sentence. This sets the scene for the deity to become tired of the sage's persistence. Here, as in many such examples, the time aspect of the topic-comment sentence indicates the passage of a considerable amount of time that constitutes a contrary to expectation element that enhances the excitement of the plot. Such topic-comment sentences frequently indicate that the narrator disclaims specific knowledge as to the amount of time involved.

#### Participant Reference

The participants of the Maha Lakhi myth are people who participate in the events (as agents, patients, experiencers, and so forth) of the narrative. The relationship of participants to the eventlines varies according to their importance in the development of the narrative plot and as a result some participants are more nuclear than others. The participants may be divided into various categories (or types) of participants who are distinguished according to their importance to the development of the plot and according to their manner of identification (initial, continuing, and final dismissal from the myth). The main categories of participants distinguished in Halbi myth narratives include initial participant, central participant, major participants which further divide into primary and secondary, minor participants who may be independent or non independent, and deity or supernatural participant. The participants of the Maha Lakhi myth and the embedded discourse of Section 1 are shown in the following charts according to their various categories.<sup>13</sup>

Participants of the embedded discourse in Section 1:

Initial	Central	Major	Minor
Sage	Sage	Ram King	Waterwomen Maha Lakhi Police Queen All people

Participants of the main discourse:

Init	Cent	Major		Minor		Deity
		Prim	Sec	Indep	Dep	
Sage	ML	King Qu Has	Ram Kon BK MS Nas	WW Kgs MsW	Pol All Adv NM W & S	Ispar & Parbati

Key: Init = Initial; Cent = Central; Prim = Primary; Sec = Secondary; Indep = Independent; Dep = Non independent; ML = Maha Lakhi; Qu = Queen; Has = Hasin; Kon = Konda; BK = Biskarma; Ms = Murasur; Nas = Nasilnat; WW = Waterwomen; Kgs = Kings of the earth; MsW = Murasur's wives; Pol = Police; All = All people; Adv = King's advisor; NM = Narat Mani; W & S = Wind and storm.

The rest of this section describes the various categories of participants, and some aspects of their introduction, continuing identification, and dismissal from the myth.

#### Initial Participant

The initial participant may be an individual or a group (such as 'an old man and old woman' or a 'king and queen'). The initial participant's existence is always established at the opening of a discourse (for example, *raja rani ro-hot m6ne* (king queen be-3p part.))



'There was a king and queen'). The initial participant then becomes the means for introducing the central participant. This introduction may occur in one of two ways: (1) The initial participant may himself become the central participant and the identifications are extended accordingly; or (2) the initial participant may be the parent of the central participant so that after the initial participant is introduced the narrator introduces one or more children with one of the children becoming the central participant. The initial participant functions only to introduce the central participant and then drops completely out of the story. This occurs most clearly when the initial participant is the parent (or parents) of the central participant. Once the central participant's identification is established, the initial participant dies, is no longer referred to, or the central participant leaves and the locale of the narrative shifts elsewhere. In the Maha Lakhi myth both possibilities of relating the central participant to the initial participant occur, but at different levels of the discourse.

1. The sage receives the initial identification in the myth:

**goTok kana rusi hun raj ne ase m6ne.**  
 one blind sage that kingdom Loc is(3s) part.

There is a blind sage in that kingdom (Myth Sec 1:4).

This identification of the sage (which locates him in the kingdom of Bhorun) indicates that he is the initial participant. Following this identification the narrator also identifies the sage as the central participant by listing a series of things he lacks (see below). This

list of lacks relates to the embedded discourse of the first section. By the end of the first section all the sage's lacks are reversed. So, at the level of the embedded discourse the sage acts as both the initial and central participant.

2. At the higher level of the whole discourse, the sage is only the initial participant and the means for introducing Maha Lakhi into the narrative. She is born as his child and after her birth the narrative moves swiftly to establish her with her (new) parents, the king and queen, and to move the sage out of the narrative since he has fulfilled his role of introducing Maha Lakhi as the central participant. At the end of the first section he completely drops out of sight, as the initial participant normally does once the central participant is on stage.

#### Central Participant

The central participant is the 'hero' of the story. Typically, when a narrative opens all the odds appear to be against him and as the tale unfolds, the tables are turned and everything works out well. Only one central participant occurs in myth narratives (although an embedded narrative may have a central participant at the level of the embedded narrative). The central participant represents the focal point (in some way or other) of all the events throughout the narrative; all other participants (initial, major, and minor) are ones he meets along the way. Negative clauses provide the primary means for identifying the central participant as the central participant.

One or more negative clauses describe various things the central participant lacks. These lacks indicate the direction the plot of the narrative will take. The events of the narrative are geared to taking care of these lacks and reversing them.

In the Maha Lakhi myth, as has been mentioned, Maha Lakhi is the central participant of the whole discourse. Her birth occurs in the first section and at that time the sage, her surrogate father, describes various things that are lacking:

"ebe m6-co gh6r nai, duar nai, kha-to kaje  
now I-Poss house neg courtyard neg eat-inc for

bole nai, hun to k6pra nai"  
also neg that part. clothes neg

"Now, I have no house, no courtyard, there is also nothing to eat, (and) no clothes for her" (Myth Sec 1:112.2).

He applies these lacks to Maha Lakhi and also to himself since he has the child and must care for her. These immediate lacks are taken care of when he gives her to the king and queen and the queen then cares for her as needed. Unlike other long narratives, further lacks of Maha Lakhi's unfold as the plot develops.<sup>14</sup> The further identifying of lacks focuses on her lack of a childhood companion (Section 2 of the myth) and later on her lack of a mate (husband) (Section 4 of the myth) both of which relate directly to the message of the myth and the didactic peak (see Chapter 8).

The sage, the central participant of the embedded narrative in Section 1, is identified as such by a series of negative clauses (six in all) that focus on his lack of sight, hearing, food, and all else

(see earlier section on Depiction). By the end of the first section he has his sight (and presumably his hearing although he never displayed any evidence of deafness), a palace, servants, riches, animals, and had even become the father (and mother) of a child for a while. The narrator gives much detail to the turn around of his lacks and then completely drops him from the story. The detail and total disappearance are important in shifting from the embedded discourse back to the main discourse and the development of Maha Lakhi as the central participant.

As has been mentioned, the listing of the lacks of the central participant indicates the direction the development of the discourse will take. Only the central participant is specified as lacking anything and these lacks represent an abstract of the narrative although in negative terms. The lacks represent the scope of the discourse and when they have been reversed the discourse ends. Thus the sage's story ends at the end of Section 1 while Maha Lakhi's lacks, which have yet to be made apparent, signal the end of the main discourse when they have been met. In fact, Maha Lakhi's companion, Hasin, makes explicit the fulfilling of Maha Lakhi's lack towards the end of the discourse. In a speech to Maha Lakhi she draws her attention to the fact that here was the companion (mate) destined for her.

#### Major Participants

Many major participants occur in narrative discourse. They play

an important role in the development of the plot. The major participants may be divided into primary and secondary participants on the basis of whether they have a continuing role in the narrative (primary) or whether they come, serve their purpose, and then depart from the stage (secondary). In the Maha Lakhi myth, the major participants are:

Primary: King Bhorun, Queen Niubati, Hasin;

Secondary: Konda Brahmin, Ram, Biskarma, Nasilnat, and Murasur.

The major participants of the embedded discourse include: Ram and King Bhorun (primary and secondary are not clearly distinguished). The narrator uses a variety of grammatical constructions to introduce major participants. The type of construction used indicates a participant's greater or lesser importance in the development of the narrative.<sup>15</sup> Some participants are first introduced before they actually come on stage through a reference in speech, others are more directly introduced by the narrator. The existence of Hasin, the most important of the major participants, is referred to in a speech (by the central participant--which may or may not be significant) through existential and locative clauses:

kōDa bam6n gh6r-e janu, goTok hasin naT co  
Konda Brahmin house-Loc part. one Hasin ? Poss

leki at. Toki 6sni lan ase, leki at.  
girl is(3p) young girl like this ? is(3s) girl is(3p)

In Konda Brahmin's house, there exists a Hasin girl. There is a young girl (there), she is a girl (Myth Sec 2:23.2-.3).

Establishing a major participant's existence (as in the example)

signals their importance to the development of the plot. The next most important major participants are introduced before they come on stage through a reference in a locative phrase. This reference may be embedded in a speech or a reference on an eventline in the myth. This form of initial reference introduces Ram, King Bhorun, Konda Brahmin, Murasur, and Nasilnat. For example, the king, speaking to his messenger Narat Mani, refers to Murasur through the use of a locative phrase as follows:

"ja-un d6k nar6t mur6sur ghai aur ja-un d6k."  
 go-conj see(imp,s) Narat Murasur place and go-conj see(imp,s)

"Go Narat, go to Murasur's place" (Myth Sec 5:87).<sup>16</sup>

The other major participants (Queen Niubati and Biskarma) are the least important of the major participants. The narrator introduces the queen in the object slot of a clause (in the role of experiencer). On the other hand, Biskarma is introduced in a speech (by Maha Lakhi) in the subject (as agent) slot but the verb, marked for optative (3rd person imperative), indicates a subjugation rather than freedom of action. This perhaps marks him as the least important of the major participants.

#### Minor Participants

The minor participants are relatively unimportant to the development of the narrative although some have a more important role than others. There appear to be two types of minor participants--those who act independently (volitionally) and those who

do not. In the Maha Lakhi myth the minor participants who act independently include the water getting women, Murasur's wives, and the kings of the earth.<sup>17</sup> Those who do not act independently include the police, the king's advisor, Narat Mani, the wind and storm, and all the people.<sup>18</sup> The role played by the independent minor participants relates more significantly to the development of the plot than that of the other minor participants. Initial references to each of the independent minor participants are different. The water women are introduced when Ram refers to them in a speech to the sage. In this reference they are agents of an event:

pani harin lag dh6r-lase. pani harin  
water person(f) line take hold-pc,3p water person(f)

lag dh6r-lase je m6j phur ne, tui ja  
line take hold-pc,3p rel middle world Loc you(s) go(imp,s)

The water women have formed a line. Where the water women have formed a line, you go (Myth Sec 1:21.1-.2).

When the king's of the earth are introduced, the narrator first refers to them in an accompaniment role:

cari una l6khe raja s6g-e bos-ot m6ne.  
kings of the earth with-Loc sit-3p part.

(The king) sits with the kings of the earth (Myth Sec 3:6).

On the other hand, when the narrator introduces Murasur's wives she identifies their existence as the wives of Murasur by a series of existential and existive clauses:

. . . **hun co sat saga sat pori rani ro-hot m6ne. j6ma hun**  
 that Poss description of wives queen be-3p part. all that

**ci co rani at ta . . . . sat saga sat pori rani**  
 emp Poss queen is(3p) part. description of wives queen

**ro-hot m6ne.**  
 be-3p part.

. . . he had seven queens (wives). They are all his queens  
 (wives) . . . . There are seven queens (wives) (Myth Sec 5:96-8).

The narrator continues their identification by describing their activities thus setting the stage for the manner in which they awaken Murasur. This introduction of Murasur's wives appears to be disproportionately long for such minor participants. A number of factors seem to influence this. (1) This episode is the narrative peak and everything occurs in more detail than in other episodes. Consequently, the participants who are introduced here receive considerably more identification than do participants introduced in episodes preceding the peak. (2) The peak is the domain of many unusual features (verb forms, multiplicity of participants on stage, slow down of chronological progression, extreme detail of emotional responses, and so on) and to have a minor participant identified with features usually reserved for major participants (or even for the central participant) adds to the unusual features of the peak. (3) This episode is an embedded discourse (though not as discrete as the one in Section 1) and Murasur's wives (represented by the main wife) play a very important role in this embedded discourse.

The minor participants who do not act independently, act only in response to specific commands. An exception to this is the royal



advisor who though identified and introduced occurs only in the accompaniment role and does not act specifically as an agent at any time. The king addresses the police and Narat Mani directly when he commands them to act. The vocative, in this case, both introduces and identifies them. For example:

"ja-un d6k-a re pulis paik m6n."  
 go-conj see-imp,p Voc police pl

(The king said) "Go police (check out the story)" (Myth Sec 1:135).

The narrator introduces the wind and storm when she states that Maha Lakhi addressed them by calling to them:

aur janu lehra ke aur phob6n ke hagde-esot m6ne, maha l6khi.  
 and part. wind Gol and storm Gol call-pinc,3p part. Maha Lakhi

And Maha Lakhi called for the wind and storm (to come) (Myth Sec 2:8).

All the people are introduced when the king's message is sent far and wide. They are stated to have received the message (and their response by coming is implied). Each time all the people come on stage the narrator lists them by caste and occupational groupings. While each listing shows some variation it does not appear as a significant variation but merely the narrator's recollections of the possible groups.

The minor participants of the embedded discourse in Section 1 include the water women, the police, the queen, all the people, and Maha Lakhi. The queen and Maha Lakhi play rather insignificant roles

in terms of the embedded discourse. The only independent action by Maha Lakhi is that she was born (an active verb with Maha Lakhi as agent). All other reference to her indicates that she is more of a prop (and a very important one for the sage) than a participant. She is the object of exchange between the sage and the king. This exchange results in the reversal of the sage's material lacks (having already received his sight as a result of Maha Lakhi's birth). The queen does not act at all in the embedded discourse although she occurs in an experiencer role.

#### Deity or Supernatural Being

The final category of participant identified in the myth is that of supernatural being or deity. The members of this category do not play a continuing role in a discourse but rather intervene in the affairs of men at a crucial point in the narrative. They descend from heaven, intervene (usually to restore life), and then return back up to heaven. Although the Maha Lakhi myth has a number of deities designated as participants (Ram, Biskarma, Nasilnat, and Maha Lakhi) they do not belong to this category of participant since they play a long and active role in the development of the plot. The deities Ispar and Parbati, on the other hand, do belong to this category of participant. They descend when Murasur is killed, restore life to him, and then disappear from the story. The event triggering their intervention (as is usual in any narrative in which they intervene) is the crying or mourning of Murasur's main wife.

Thematicity

The narrator indicates a participant as thematic by use of the particle *janu*. The thematic participant may remain thematic for many paragraphs or may change within a paragraph or another participant may also be marked as thematic without displacing the other. This marking of thematicity relates directly to the development of the plot. The narrator spotlights significant participants (or the actions they are performing) by use of the *janu* particle. The *janu* particle generally occurs in the first sentence of a paragraph and immediately following the item being marked (or re-marked). For example:

*tebe pase hun rusi janu 6s6n nik6r-la*  
then later that sage part. like this come out-ptc,3p

*m6ne, bai, boRga hal-a-te hal-a-te.*  
part. Bai stick swing-caus-inc swing-caus-inc

Then later that sage (thematic) came out like this, Bai, swinging his stick backwards and forwards (Myth Sec 1:22).

Besides marking a participant as thematic, *janu* may also mark a prop or a location. This occurs less frequently but functions to spotlight the prop or location and make it more prominent. For example:

*aur kal c6k6r, bil c6k6r, mukti c6k6r, tin bhoin ke*  
and ? wheel ? wheel liberation wheel 3 sister Gol

*janu ub-a upr-e thap-a-n di-la m6ne.*  
part. stand-nom above-Loc cover-caus-conj give-ptc,3p part.

And he put the *kal* wheel, the *bil* wheel, and the liberation wheel, these three sisters (thematic) upright on the top (Myth Sec 5:15).

In the above example, the three wheels constitute the target of the competition for Maha Lakhi's hand and thus serve a strategically important function in plot development. The presence of *janu* marking thematicity spotlights their importance to the following events.<sup>19</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to R.E. Longacre (1979) for the concept of a cline of events in the discourse. A number of rarer items have been omitted from the cline as their function in the narrative discourse has yet to be finally determined. These include verbal elements such as <-lose>, a present complete ending which results in an action-state; <-te ruat>, a future continuous ending; <-uae> future; relative clauses; infinitives; adverbials; and others.

<sup>2</sup>These verb endings equate somewhat with the simple past tense of English.

<sup>3</sup>The particle *m6ne* marks a narration as a non-eyewitness account (that is, secondhand information) and occurs at the end of every sentence. These non-eyewitness accounts include all folktales as well as reporting information in daily living.

<sup>4</sup>These verb endings equate somewhat with the present continuous tense in English.

<sup>5</sup>The repetition of events is a form of rhetorical underlining whose function has yet to be investigated. It occurs at almost any level of the cline of events.

<sup>6</sup>These particular aspects of secondary events have yet to be fully investigated.

<sup>7</sup>Besides establishing the king's activities in relation to his royal duties, this scene also establishes his activities in relation to Maha Lakhi when he spends time playing with her during the lunch hour. This is reminiscent of the activities of the Halbi men who spend time playing with their young children after they return from their fieldwork. As the child grows this play-time gradually ceases.

By the time he reaches later childhood, a child's increased responsibilities for contributing to the economic productivity of the household precludes playing with his father. So while a Halbi father's daily work schedule remains constant, a child's daytime activities change as he grows and develops. This also appears to be the case in this short scene in the myth where the king's daily work schedule remains the same between Sections 3 and 4 whereas Maha Lakhi's daily activities (and expectations?) change.

<sup>8</sup>Were an event to be indefinite, or the narrator somehow uncertain about the occurrence of an event, the *ro* verb of the verb phrase would be marked with the <-la> completed action endings rather than with the depictive endings. This indefinite form occurs in alternative sentences in which uncertainty is in focus.

<sup>9</sup>The negated example can also mean 'he doesn't go to market as a rule'. The context makes plain which meaning is applicable.

<sup>10</sup>The translation of this particular type of construction in English is difficult as there is no real equivalent that has the sense of what is being said.

<sup>11</sup>The embedded discourse is a 'lack' narrative, a very common type of narrative among the Halbis.

<sup>12</sup>In the myth, the conjunctive clause occurs more often as a marker of background events rather than as purely a time setting. This contrasts with discourses of a procedural nature where the time setting (indicating temporal succession) is more dominant than background events.

<sup>13</sup>While Sections 2, 3, 4, and 5 also involve embedded discourse, they do not form well structured discourse units like that of the embedded discourse in Section 1. For this reason, the participants of these sections are considered in terms of the whole myth only.

<sup>14</sup>This probably indicates that lacks do not need to be completely spelled out in the initial opening of the discourse but must be made explicit at some point.

<sup>15</sup>This aspect has not been fully developed as yet and as a result the analysis at this point is tentative.

<sup>16</sup>Although in the English the locative phrase appears as a possessive, in Halbi this indicates location with location only in focus. Possession when in focus is indicated by another type of phrase.

<sup>17</sup>The kings of the earth may perhaps be better classified as secondary major participants. The narrator does not clearly develop them in the myth resulting in uncertain classification.

<sup>18</sup>All the people would perhaps be better considered in a separate category of participant--as observer participant (much like the chorus in Greek drama) since they do not interact with other participants in the same way that the other participants interact with one another.

<sup>19</sup>The particle *janu* also acts in concert with other terms and has a further function of reinforcing chronological progression. For example, *aur pace janu* (and later part.) 'and later'; *tebe janu* (then part.) 'then'; *aur janu* (and part.) 'and'; *aur din-e pher usni janu* (another day-Loc again like-that part.) 'on another day again like that'; and so forth. There are some peculiarities with this usage which have yet to be pinned down--perhaps chronological progression is being marked as thematic in some way.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONSTITUENT STRUCTURES OF THE MYTH

The Maha Lakhi myth is a narrative discourse displaying features typical of Halbi narratives in general but with features especially characteristic of myth narrative (believed by the Halbis to be historical). For example, the extreme length of myths distinguishes them from other narratives. In fact, the Maha Lakhi myth is fairly short in that it takes only about an hour in telling. Other myths take three or more hours to tell and may feature as dance dramas (naT) which run all night at a minimum. Other narratives (animal stories, obscene stories, and so on), on the other hand, are usually less than twenty minutes in length. This study does not describe the Halbi narratives or myths in general but the Maha Lakhi myth in particular.

The present chapter describes some of the constituent structures of the Maha Lakhi myth. The first part of this chapter examines the discourse structure of the myth as a whole and of the discourse that is embedded in its first section. This embedded discourse is well articulated with distinct openings and closings and internal structure. While other discourses are embedded in Sections 2, 3, 4, and 5, they do not display such well articulated discourse structure. Of these, the episode about Murasur in Section 5 displays more evidence of internal discourse structure than do the others. Consequently, these various embedded discourses can be ranked according to levels of discreteness of constituent parts. Level 1,

the most discrete, constitutes the embedded discourse of the first section; level 2, somewhat discrete, constitutes the peak episode regarding Murasur; and level 3, the least discrete, constitutes all other embedded discourses. This study describes the discourse structure of the myth as a whole, but does not take account of discourse structure below the first level of discreteness.

The second part of the chapter describes the structure of the major sections of the discourse.<sup>1</sup> The structure varies according to whether the section functions as a stage, a pre-peak episode, or as a peak. (See Longacre 1976:212-28 for the development of the concepts stage, pre-peak episode, and peak.) The final part of the chapter summarises the plot structure of the narrative.

#### Discourse Structure

The Maha Lakhi myth, in its overall discourse structure, consists of a title, a stage, pre-peak episodes (three in all), a peak, and a finis. The title *maha lakhi co k6hni* 'Maha Lakhi's story' occurs as part of the conversation between myself and the narrator prior to the telling of the narrative. In general, the title of a narrative serves as a means of identification which usually occurs in such a conversation that precedes the telling of a narrative. The title functions primarily as a means of sorting out which narrative is to be told; it never occurs simply as an initial constituent of the story.

By contrast, the finis is a constituent part of the story. It



typically consists of a formulaic paragraph (although it may simply be a phrase or sentence):

itlo            ne   k6hni baR-li.            sita ram sita ram.  
this much Loc story grow-ptc,3s,nm Sita Ram Sita Ram

pace ge-la.        raj        dh6r-un            khad-la        m6ne.  
later go-ptc,3p kingdom take hold-conj eat-ptc,3p part.

hou baR-li            to.  
yes grow-ptc,3s,nm part.

With this the story grew. Sita Ram Sita Ram. Later they went. They lived happily ever after. Yes, thus it grew (Myth Sec 5:330-4).

This finis is particularly interesting in that while the narrator begins and ends the paragraph with typical formulaic endings for myths, she also includes, in the second sentence, an invocation to the deities Sita (an incarnation of Lakṣmī in Hindu mythology) and Ram (an incarnation of Viṣṇu in Hindu mythology) who are Maha Lakhi and Nasilnat in the myth; repeats Maha Lakhi's last act in the third sentence; and includes yet another formulaic sentence that occurs at the end of all epic narratives in the fourth sentence. Even though formulaic and highly stylized, a narrator may personalise the finis by including features from his own internalised set of appropriate features. At any rate, a finis must always occur.

The body of the myth divides into five sections. The first section is the stage of the narrative, Sections 2, 3, and 4 the pre-peak episodes, and Section 5 the narrative peak. The division of the myth into these five sections is clearly marked as is the distinction between stage, pre-peak episodes, and peak. Each section

ends with a locative/stative clause that involves the central participant, Maha Lakhi, and all associated with her in a particular section--except for the final section which involves only the king and queen.

Ending of Section 1:

**aur pase janu hum than-e asot m6ne.**  
and later part. that place-Loc is(3p) part.

And later they are there at that place (Myth Sec 1:186).

Ending of Section 2:

**6sni 6sni 6sni 6sni asot m6ne,**  
like this like this like this like this is(3p) part.

**khel-un bul-un.**  
play-conj walk-conj

They are there in this state, walking around and playing (Myth Sec 2:92).

Ending of Section 3:

**aur huta dui jhan hum mahal asot. bhorun raja m6n**  
and there 2 pers that palace is(3p) Bhorun king pl

**e juna mahal ne asot. hum m6n huta asot. bhorun**  
this old palace Loc is(3p) that pl there is(3p) Bhorun

**raja m6n eta asot.**  
king pl here is(3p)

The two are there in that palace. King Bhorun and all are here in this old palace. They are there. The king and all are here (Myth Sec 3:101-4).

Ending of Section 4:

**aur asot m6ne.**  
and is(3p) part.

And they are (there) (Myth Sec 4:135).

Ending of Section 5:

**bhorun raja aur niub6ti rani m6j phur ne asot m6ne.**  
Bhorun king and Niubati queen middle world Loc is(3p) part.

King Bhorun and Queen Niubati are in the middle world (Myth Sec 5:329).

The use of the <ase> locative/stative clause at the end of each section acts as a summary statement and signals the ending of an era or period of time.

The openings of each section depend upon whether the section is stage, pre-peak episode, or peak. Section 1, the stage of the discourse, opens with the identification of the locations in the discourse and with the identification of the main participants of the first section. While Section 1 is an embedded discourse and serves in its wholeness to introduce Maha Lakhi as the central participant of the whole discourse, the opening of the section is actually the stage of the embedded discourse and serves to introduce the main participants of the embedded narrative. The locative/stative verb <ase> identifies the existence of the kingdom of Bhorun and of heaven and locates the deity Ram in the latter and the sage in the former. Background information given about the sage uses the negated background verb endings (see Identification in Chapter 4) and forms

part of the opening.

Sections 2, 3, and 4, as pre-peak episodes, open with sentences that indicate the passage of considerable amounts of time. The opening for Section 2 differs from the other two in that it establishes a new dominant participant. Thus, while King Bhorun is the dominant participant on the main eventline at the end of Section 1, the opening for Section 2 refers back to the last action related to Maha Lakhi (cutting the umbilical cord) and repeats it--thus establishing Maha Lakhi as the dominant participant of the new section although she is as yet not specifically identified. The next three sentences all refer to the same event (the naming ceremony) and are linked culturally to the repeated event at the opening of the section (see the sections on Conception and Childhood in Chapter 1). She is finally specifically named Maha Lakhi in the second of these three sentences. The sentences are marked as mainline events. Then follows three more sentences that indicate a considerable passage of time. The sentences paraphrase one another, a device by which the Halbis signal the passage of time:

**pace janu maha lakhi bic6r bic6r baR-esot m6ne.**  
later part. Maha Lakhi ? ? grow-pinc, 3p part.

**raj baR deo baR debi baR baR-esot m6ne. baR-esot m6ne.**  
indicates fast growth grow-pinc, 3p part. grow-pinc, 3p part.

Later Maha Lakhi is growing quickly. She is growing extremely quickly. She is growing (Myth Sec 2:5-7).

Sections 3 and 4 begin with similiar statements that emphasise the passage of time through the process of growth by the central

participant of the myth. These opening statements function to establish the time horizon for a particular section. Since the overall discourse structure matches the Halbi life cycle, the narrator utilises the specification of the central participant's growth as a means to establish the time horizons of the pre-peak episodes. The narrator also uses the term **pace** 'later' in each opening to further enhance the chronological progression.

Section 5, the peak, opens with the simple establishment of a time horizon later than the end of the previous section (the narrator uses **pace** 'later'). This distinctive opening is one of several features which distinguish this section (the peak) from the other sections. (Other features include complex internal structure, the bringing of a multiplicity of participants on stage, and a developing concentration of 'odd' verb endings).

The embedded narrative in Section 1 divides into four parts<sup>1</sup> and is episodic without a perceptible surface structure peak. Each part (or episode) begins and ends with locative statements concerning the sage except for the beginning of the first part which, as mentioned earlier, also locates the deity Ram in heaven and specifies the existence and location of the kingdom of Bhorun and heaven. The locative statement at the end of Part 4 (the end of the embedded discourse) also includes the participants Maha Lakhi, King Bhorun, and Queen Niubati and indicates a shift of focus from the embedded discourse back to the main discourse. The ending of Part 1, while a statement of location, also implies the passage of time:

hun than-e ro-ot ro-ot ro-ot asot m6ne.  
that place-Loc be-3p be-3p be-3p is(3p) part.

He is being at that place over a period of time (Myth Sec 1:16).

The ending of Part 2 is quite complex and spreads over three paragraphs:

"he ram, he bh6gwan, he ram" bol-un bol-un huta-e  
Oh Ram oh God oh Ram say-conj say-conj there-Loc

ase m6ne./ pani harin m6n ja-esot, roj-e  
is(3s) part. water person(f) pl go-pinc,3p daily-Loc

h6r din pani ja-esot, hun ke d6k-esot, huta-e  
every day water go-pinc,3p that Gol see-pinc,3p there-Loc

ci ase m6ne./ hum-co khana nai, kura-k nai,  
emp is(3s) part. that-Poss food neg shave-inf neg

kaf ci nai. ase ci m6ne, pani ne./ itlo  
anything emp neg is(3s) emp part. water Loc this much

pani ne, chat-6k pani ne, ub-a uT-lo.  
water Loc chest-one water Loc stand-nom arise-ptc,3s,m

kitlo dur ja-un d6k-esot. e baT pani  
how much distance go-conj see-pinc,3p this way water

ne ase m6ne, j6ma gag6R. ase m6ne./  
Loc is(3s) part. all ? is(3s) part.

Having said "Oh Ram, Oh God, Oh Ram", he (the sage) is there. / The water women are going (for water). Daily they are going for water. They are seeing him. He is there only. / He has no food, he doesn't shave, has nothing. He is there in the water only. / He is standing in this much water, up to his chest. Having gone a certain distance they are seeing (him). He is in the water here, his whole body. He is there (Myth Sec 1:44.5-54).

In the above closure of Part 2, the narrator emphasises the main participant's situation by repetition of his location (five times by use of the locative verb <ase> and once by use of the active verb uTlo

'he stood'). The narrator also previews the coming role of the minor participants (the water women) by describing their activities of going to get water and seeing the situation of the central participant (note the narrator's review of the sage's complete lack of everything). The preview points forward to the events which will occur much later in Part 4.

The ending of Part 3, like Part 2, is also complex:

aur hum kh6D ne, s6mdhur co kh6D ne ase m6ne,  
and that bank Loc lake Poss bank Loc is(3s) part.

s6mdhur lehra aur pani lehra. hun than-e ase m6ne./  
lake wind and water wind that place-Loc is(3s) part.

pila ke dh6r-lose aur hum ke n6g6t laj  
child Gol take hold-pc,3s,m and that Gol good shyness

kuma de-ese m6ne. s6ga kuma de-ese m6ne.  
? give-pinc,3s part. kin ? give-pinc,3s part.

He is on that bank, the lake's bank with (or in) the wind and rain. He is at that place. He has taken hold of the child. He is giving her laj kuma. He is giving s6ga kuma. (Myth Sec 1:105-9).

There then follows a long speech by the main participant which serves as a preview pointing forward to the events of Part 4.

The ending of Part 4, as mentioned previously, involves more participants than just the sage as it is also the end of the section. It is a simple statement of location.

aur pase janu hun than-e asot m6ne.  
and later part. that place-Loc is(3p) part.

And later they are there at that place (Myth Sec 1:186).

Locative statements open Parts 2, 3, and 4. Such statements occur in topic-comment sentences which also specify the passage of time:

Opening of Part 2:

**kae bara moena ho-li kae kitlo din**  
 what 12 month occur-ptc,3s,nm what how much day

**ho-li ale asot m6ne.**  
 occur-ptc,3s,nm part. is(3p) part.

Whether twelve months passed or however long it was, he is there (Myth Sec 1:17).

Opening of Part 3:

**6sni ro-un ro-un kae pher aur bara moena**  
 like this be-conj be-conj what again and 12 month

**ho-li kae bara bor6k co, bis bor6k**  
 occur-ptc,3s,nm what 12 year Poss 20 year

**ho-li ale huta-e ase m6ne.**  
 occur-ptc,3s,nm part. there-Loc is(3s) part.

Having been thus, whether it is twelve months, 12 years or twenty years, he is just there (Myth Sec 1:55).

Opening of Part 4:

**aur hum j6n6m dh6r-lo ke, ek din ae kae dui din**  
 and that birth take hold-comp Gol 1 day is(3s) what 2 day

**ae huta-e ci ase m6ne, s6mdhur co kh6D-e.**  
 is(3s) there-Loc emp is(3s) part. lake Poss bank-Loc

And whether it is one or two days, he is just there only on the bank of the lake with the born-one (Myth Sec 1:113).

The signalling of the passage of time through a topic-comment sentence



always indicates a new segment of some sort (usually at episode level as it tends to set the time horizon for the episode).

### Structure of the Major Sections of the Discourse

#### Section 1 as Stage

The first section of the myth is the stage of the discourse. It differs from the other sections of the myth in its structural complexity by being a well articulated embedded discourse and complete in itself. Typically, the stages of the Halbi narrative discourses are long and very complex. They may be as long as the other parts of the narrative put together. The stage always opens with the establishment of the locale of the narrative and a participant in that locale. This first named and identified participant is the means for the introduction of the central participant of the narrative. In some narratives, the first named participant also becomes the central participant (such as in the embedded narrative in Section 1), in other narratives (such as the Maha Lakhi myth) the central participant is a child of the first named participant--or is somehow directly related (see Participant Reference in Chapter 4). In the Maha Lakhi myth, two locales are identified as being pertinent to the narrative:

goTok bhorun raja co des bhorun des ase  
 one Bhorun king Poss country Bhorun country is(3s)

m6ne. aur balika nāg6r ase m6ne, up6r phur ne, bai.  
 part. and a constellation is(3s) part. above world Loc Bai

A King Bhorun's country is in the country of Bhorun. And the constellation **balika nāg6r** is in heaven, Bai (Myth Sec 1:1-2).

Following this the narrator identifies **bh6gwan** 'deity' as being in

heaven in the constellation *balika nāg6r*. However, he is not specifically named until later. The narrator specifically identifies the sage and provides information which indicates that he is the one in focus and the central participant:

*goTok kana rusi hum raj ne ase m6ne. afk ne*  
 one blind sage that kingdom Loc is(3s) part. eye Loc

*ni d6k-e m6ne. j6n6m d6k-i ni ho-e. afk*  
 not see-3s part. absolutely see-nom not occur-3s eye

*ne ni d6k-e m6ne. kan-e ni sun-e m6ne. hum ke*  
 Loc neg see-3s part. ear-3s not hear-3s part. that Gol

*khana ni mir-e m6ne. kaf ci ni mir-e.*  
 food not available-3s part. anything emp not available-3s

There is a blind sage in that kingdom. He can't see with his eyes. He absolutely can't see. He can't see with his eyes. He can't hear with his ears. He doesn't have food. He just doesn't have anything (Myth Sec 1:4-10).

All long historical narratives have in their opening a paragraph, such as the above, which consists of negated statements. This set of negative sentences functions both as a means of identifying the central participant and as an indicator of the direction the development of the plot will take (See Chapter 4). At the point where the central participant's lack begins to be taken care of, the central participant of the myth as a whole is introduced by being born. By the end of this first section all the negative statements of the opening have been changed to positive. Note the switch from negative to positive in the following examples where the verb *d6k* 'see' is focal.

## Negative Statements at Opening of Part 1:

aŋk ne ni d6k-e m6ne. j6n6m d6k-i ni ho-e  
eye Loc not see-3s part. absolutely dee-nom not occur-3s

m6ne. aŋk ne ni d6k-e m6ne.  
part. eye Loc neg see-3s part.

He doesn't see with his eyes. He absolutely can't see. He doesn't see with his eyes (Myth Sec 1:5-7).

## Positive Statements near end of Part 3:

. . . 6s6n d6k-lo m6ne. itlo nai,  
like this see-ptc,3s,m part. this much neg

car khut cawda hum m6n co d6k-a di-li m6ne,  
everywhere that pl Poss see-nom give-ptc,3s,nm part.

bai. aŋk keb-ii ni j6n6m bera ni d6k-to bita pase  
Bai eye when-emp not birth time not see-inc thing(m) later

aŋk ne d6k-lo. d6k-lo m6ne, bai. aur pase  
eye Loc see-ptc,3s,m see-ptc,3s,m part. Bai and later

janu d6k-lo car khut cawda ho-un d6k-lo.  
part. see-ptc,3s,m everywhere occur-conj see-ptc,3s,m

. . . thus he saw. Not a little, he saw everywhere, Bai. The one who was blind from birth, saw with his eyes, he saw, Bai. And later he saw, he saw everywhere (Myth Sec 1:89-93).

In the opening of Part 1, the narrator specifies three times in three consecutive sentences the sage's inability to see. At the time sight is restored, the narrator states six times that the sage could see. Note also the occurrence of the vocative, *bai*, on two occasions in the positive statements. The vocative serves as an indicator of important events in the narrative as the narrator directs my attention to the events. A concentration of the vocative (as above) indicates a

peaking of excitement.

Sections 2, 3, and 4 as Pre-peak Episodes

Sections 2, 3, and 4 of the myth are pre-peak episodes of the narrative discourse. Compared to the stage and peak of the discourse their structure is simple. Each pre-peak episode is a minimal discourse which consists of a pre-episode and a main episode. Prior to the pre-episode, the opening of the pre-peak episode involves a paragraph (or two) specifying events on the main eventline which establish continuing chronological progression and the time horizon for the whole episode. (This links with the Halbis' perception of their world and the fact that this myth is developed and narrated in terms of a life cycle where a verb such as *baR* 'grow' becomes the means for indicating major chronological progressions.)

The pre-episode consists of a very short scene (one or two paragraphs) that precedes the main episode. The events of the pre-episode may be either secondary or tertiary eventline events (see Chapter 4 for more information on secondary and tertiary eventlines). The following is the pre-episode from Section 2:

*aur janu lehra ke aur phob6n ke hagde-esot m6ne,*  
and part. wind Gol and storm Gol call-pinc,3p part.

*maha l6khi. "i-a mama, i-au-ta. m6-ke*  
Maha Lakhi come-imp,p uncle come-imp,p-part. I-Gol

*D6Dik jhulna ne jhul-a-wa" bol-esot*  
a little while swing Loc swing-caus-imp,p say-pinc,3p

*m6ne. tebe hum lehra e-esot m6ne, bh6r bh6r bh6r bh6r.*  
part. then that wind come-pinc,3p part. wind's noise

**phob6n aur lehra e-esot m6ne. phob6n aur**  
 storm and wind come-pinc,3p part. storm and

**lehra e-esot m6ne. jhul-a-esot m6ne.**  
 wind come-pinc,3p part. swing-caus-pinc,3p part.

And Maha Lakhi is calling the wind and storm. She is saying, "Come uncle, come here. Swing me for a while on the swing." Then that wind is coming making its noise. The storm and wind are coming. The storm and wind are coming. And they are swinging (her) (Myth Sec 2:8-13).

All the events of this pre-episode are marked as secondary eventline (present incomplete verb endings).

The main episodes of the pre-peak episodes open with a phrase or series of sentences specifying a particular time or the passage of time to the point that the events of the main episode begin. In the opening of the main episode of Section 2 four such sentences occur, in Section 3 two such sentences, and in Section 4 the time phrase *ek din* 'one day'. A rhetorical question may also occur as part of the opening of a main episode. Rhetorical questions, in fact, always mark the opening of a new episode or scene within an episode (see below). In addition, a rhetorical question can function as a literary device for alerting the audience to culturally atypical activity in the unit that it introduces.

The main episode divides into various scenes consisting of one or more paragraphs. Shifts of locale mark the change from scene to scene. These shifts of locale may be indicated by (1) naming the new location in a locative phrase and/or the occurrence of the verb *ja* 'go' or *e* 'come' (including on occasion the verb *6m6r* 'arrive'); (2) progress from location *a* to location *b* indicated by a topic-comment

sentence. (Note that the topic-comment sentence when it occurs always indicates the opening of a new scene.); (3) a shift of locale may also be enhanced by the occurrence of a rhetorical question. The shift of locale may begin as the closing of one scene takes place and the opening of another occurs. The occurrence of the verbs *ja* 'go' and *e* 'come' alone do not constitute a change of locale (and thus a change of scene). When they occur in conjunction with at least one other of the constructions mentioned above they indicate a change of scene.

Divisions within the main episode of Section 4 are less clearly defined than in the other two sections. The strongly marked changes in scenes in the main episodes of Sections 2 and 3 result in a high key progression in space and time. In Section 4, on the other hand, the dividing of the scenes is low key and in keeping with the role that this main episode plays in being the didactic peak of the myth (see Chapter 8). Dialogue dominates this section and events are kept to a minimum. The locale still shifts via the use of the verbs *ja* 'go' and *e* 'come' in marking closures of old scenes and the reiteration of these verbs as markers of the openings of new scenes. However, the locative phrase does not necessarily occur till later in a scene. A time phrase (such as *aur dine* 'on another day') may occur in the opening sentence of the new scene or the sentence that opens the new scene may be a simultaneous sentence featuring the -to *ke* verb construction in the first clause with the verb *ja* 'go' or *e* 'come'.  
For example:

*e-to ke pher niub6ti rani janu d6k-la m6ne.*  
come-inc Gol again Niubati queen part. see-ptc, 3p part.

At the time of coming, Queen Niubati again saw (them) (Myth Sec 4:128).

The queen is still in the location she was in previously and so, in a sense, she is the location to which Maha Lakhi and Hasin are coming.

### Section 5 as Peak

Section 5 of the myth is the action (or narrative) peak of the narrative discourse. This section displays a complex structure (a feature of the peak) that constitutes a fairly well articulated embedded discourse. The section divides into four main episodes with the third being the peak of the peak in terms of the embedded narrative structure. The four main episodes further divide into scenes.

The closures of the main episodes of the peak are similar to the episodes in other sections of the myth. The verb *ja* 'go' in combination with a locative phrase occurs in the ending paragraphs of each of the episodes. However, in the first three episodes the verb and locative phrase occur in a speech in which the verb occurs as an imperative. Following the speech, the narrator specifies the carrying out of the command 'to go'. For example:

aur pase janu "ja re, nar6t" bol-la m6ne,  
and later part. go(imp,s) Voc Narat say-ptc,3p part.

bhorun raja. "ja re nar6t. tui janu kag6t  
Bhorun king go(imp,s) Voc Narat you(s) part. paper

ne". "kahā ne-ēse?" "kon kon  
take(imp,s) where take-pinc,ls which which

car khut cawda buw6n ne raja asot, kon kon Than  
 everywhere Loc king is(3p) which which place

raja asot jale, huta huta tui ne. kag6t  
 king is(3p) part. there there you(s) take(imp,s) paper

ke bul-a-o." . . . tebe nar6t m6ni nikr-un  
 Go! walk-caus-imp,s then Narat Mani come out-conj

ni-lo m6ne, care una l6khe raja.  
 take-ptc,3s,m part. kings of the earth

And later King Bhorun said, "Go Narat". "Go Narat. You take the message" (the king said). "Where am I taking (it)?" "Wherever in the world there are kings, wherever the kings are, you take (it) there. Disperse the message." . . . Then Narat Mani, having left, took (the message) to the kings of the earth (Myth Sec 5:31-34.3...41).

Each of the first three episodes ends with the king commanding Narat to go and with Narat going wherever directed. The fourth episode, which is also the end of the section (and the myth), closes with a structure appropriate to the latter (see previous section on Discourse Structure) and involves therefore the locative/stative verb <asot>. However, immediately preceding this major closure, the narrator also specifies the typical episode ending:

maha l6khi up6r phur ne ge-la m6ne.  
 Maha Lakhi above world Loc go-ptc,3p part.

Maha Lakhi went to heaven (Myth Sec 5:328).

The opening of the second episode is similiar to that of the episodes in other sections in that it opens with a topic-comment sentence and a reiteration of the locative phrase, the verb 'go' (implied), and the verb as a paraphrase:



kitlahan kitlahan ne dhur raj, kon kon des ne,  
 how big how big Loc distance kingdom which which country Loc

raja ro-hot ale. raja gh6r-e gh6r-e gh6r-e gh6r-e  
 king be-3p part. king house-Loc house-Loc house-Loc house-Loc

gh6r-e gh6r-e bul-a-lo m6ne.  
 house-Loc house-Loc walk-caus-ptc,3s,m part.

However far and in whatever country there were kings (he went there). He took (the message) to the houses of the kings (Myth Sec 5:42-3).

However, the openings of the other episodes in this final section of the myth have features generally differing from those of the episodes in other sections.

The opening of the first episode of the section is portmanteau with the opening of the section itself. As such, it opens with a specification of time (pace 'later') that establishes the passage of some time after the end of the previous section. No change of participants is indicated as those featured at the end of the previous section remain on stage for the beginning of the new one. The openings of the third and fourth episodes are quite distinct and long by comparison with this first episode. Episode 3, the real peak of the story (the climax), opens with a switch of participants. Murasur (marked by the thematic particle *janu*) becomes the prominent participant of this whole episode. The narrator further identifies him as prominent through three sentences of background information concerning him. This information involves both identification (<ae>) (see Chapter 4) and action-state (<-lose>) (see Chapter 4, Footnote 1):

**mur6sur janu aplo sīg deuri ne, l6g-e k6s6n**  
 Murasur part. one's own Sing Deuri Loc near-Loc how

**l6g-e aur poR-un di-lose m6ne, p6gd6k 6s6n.**  
 near-Loc and fall-conj give-pc,3s,m part. ? like

**6sur to ae be. p6rbh6t 6s6n poR-lose m6ne, bai.**  
 asur part. is(3s) ab mountain like fall-pc,3s,m part. Bai

Murasur, in his own Sing Deuri (?), has lain like a **p6gd6k**.  
 He is an asur. He has lain like a mountain, Bai (Myth Sec  
 5:93-5).

There then follows the introduction of his wives as participants with several sentences of identification as well as background information. At the end of the introduction of these participants, the narrator brings the narrative back to the main eventline by restating, from the end of the previous episode, the going and location of the king's messenger:

**huta ge-lo m6ne, nar6t m6ni.**  
 there go-ptc,3s,m part. Narat Mani

Narat Mani went there (Myth Sec 5:103).

In the opening of episode 4, the narrator introduces Nasilnat as the new prominent participant (marked by the thematic particle **janu**) of this final section of the myth. The narrator provides background information about Nasilnat by means of a series of events marked as mainline events and one secondary event. (This contrasts directly with the information the narrator gave concerning Murasur in the previous episode where the information was well off the eventlines of the myth.) Following the introduction of the new prominent participant, Narat Mani is specifically stated to arrive (at that

location):

**6s6n**        **janu**   **bh6gwan**   **nahakor**   **ho-la**        **m6ne.**  
like this part. deity    bathe    occur-ptc,3p part.

**pil6t**                **c6d6n**        **di-la**                **m6ne. phuj-a**  
a specific mark ash mark give-ptc,3p part. sacrifice-nom

**pani**   **k6r-esot**                **m6ne. aur**   **hudlidaē**        **nar6t m6ni**  
water perform-pinc,3p part. and at that time Narat Mani

**6m6r-la**                **m6ne. 6m6r-la**                **m6ne.**  
arrive-ptc,3p part. arrive-ptc,3p part.

The deity bathed ritually. He put on the **pil6t** ash mark. . . He is worshipping. And at that time, Narat Mani arrived (there). He arrived (Myth Sec 5:247-51).

The occurrence of **6s6n** 'like this' with the particle **janu** enhances the new beginning and change of locale with a new prominent participant.

The prime location of the events of this entire section of the myth is on the earth at the place where Biskarma built the competition arena. The narrator specifies this as:

. . . **koda**        **bhaTa**                **ne to**        **bon-li**  
a grain wilderness Loc part. make-ptc,3s,nm

**kh6ma.**                **bon-li**                **m6ne.**  
pillared structure make-ptc,3s,nm part.

. . . the pillared structure (competition arena) was built in the wilderness area where the **koda** grain grows. It was built (Myth Sec 5:20-1).

With each episode of the peak more and more participants come on stage to this prime location. The only participant who specifically leaves (and does not return) before the end of the myth is the builder of the competition arena, Biskarma. All other participants who are on stage

or come on stage appear to remain. In the first episode, after Biskarma builds the arena he departs, and the king calls all his male subjects to come. The message goes far and wide and they all come and sit down. The king then sends Narat to call the kings of the earth. In the second episode, all the kings of the earth come to the prime location. When they come they sit down on beds and chairs. Then the king's subjects call for someone to compete but only one of the kings attempts to compete and his failure dampens the enthusiasm of the other kings. King Bhorun then sends Narat to call Murasur. In the third episode, Murasur comes to compete. His wives also come to the arena (implied). The narrator then restates the presence of all the king's subjects:

**bos-lase m6ne. itlahan aur b6st6r itlahan**  
sit-pc,3p part. this much size and Bastar this much size

**aur kae s6h6r itlahan laen to bos-un**  
and what city this much size line part. sit-conj

**di-lase m6ne. aur d6k-esot m6ne. "eta ro-ū ci**  
give-pc,3p part. and see-pinc,3p part. here be-lp emp

**k6s6n k6s6n ho-edede jale d6k-ūwa" bol-un**  
how how occur-f,3s part. see-opt,lp say-conj

**bol-un asot ci raj co log. asot m6ne.**  
say-conj is(3p) emp kingdom Poss people is(3p) part.

**e mūDi ci pila itlo asot m6ne. bos-lase**  
this head emp child this much is(3p) part. sit-pc,3p

**m6ne. "d6k-ūwa to" bol-un.**  
part. see-opt,lp part. say-conj

They have sat. This many here and as many as in Bastar and perhaps as many as in the city (of Jagdalpur), have sat in lines. And they are watching. Having said again and again "We'll just stay here, let's see what happens", the people of the kingdom are

there only. They are there. They are as many as the hairs on the head. Having said "Let's see", they have sat (Myth Sec 5:145-51).

So the narrator makes clear that there are a large number of people present. Later, as the episode progresses, all the women (including the children) of all the villages as well as the main participants, Maha Lakhi, Queen Niubati, and Hasin come on stage to observe the outcome of Murasur's attempt in the competition. The women sit down and then Murasur is called upon to compete. It appears that the number of people on stage as observers or participants encompasses the whole of the kingdom of Bhorun (and maybe of the whole earth). Everyone witnesses Murasur's failure, the peak of the action for the whole episode.

In the fourth and final episode, the deity Nasilnat comes on stage to compete. All who were on stage previously, continue to be on stage although not specifically referred to until towards the end of the discourse. After Nasilnat succeeds all the people comment:

. . . pase d6k-la j6ma "6cha ae. Thik ae."  
 later see-ptc,3p all good is(3s) good is(3s)

. . . later they all saw (and said), "It's good. It's right"  
 (Myth Sec 5:308-9.2). -

Following the marriage everyone greets everyone else with the narrator giving a general listing of those included. The list suggests that there were supernatural beings present as well as humans.

aur pase janu juar bheT ho-la m6ne, deo  
 and later part. greet meet occur-ptc,3p part. spirit(m)

gh6n,                    bh6gwan, n6rmōja, dihati log,    s6b,  
 spiritual being deity    human    tribal people all

maha l6khi m6n aur n6silnat raja.  
 Maha Lakhi pl and Nasilnat king

And later they exchanged greetings, the spiritual beings, the deities, humans, tribals, everyone, (with) Maha Lakhi and King Nasilnat (Myth Sec 5:327).

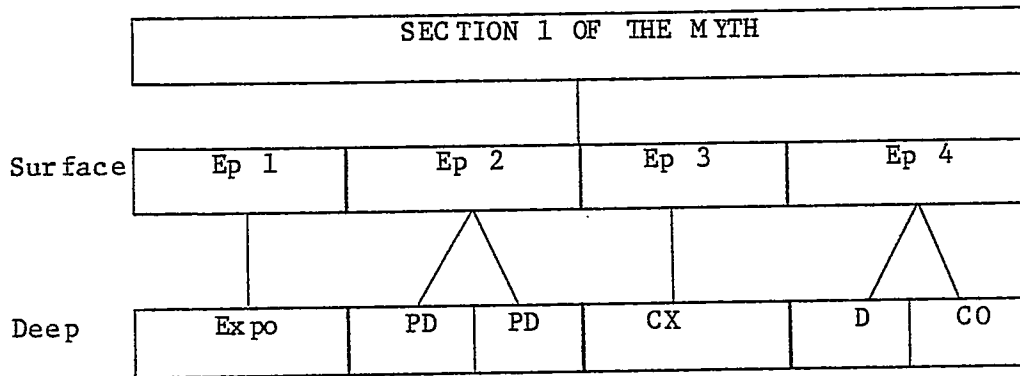
### Summary of the Plot Structure

The plot represents the deep structure of a narrative discourse and may be climactic or episodic. The climactic plot develops to a climax while an episodic plot is without a perceptible climax. The embedded discourse of Section 1 is a climactic narrative (even though it has no surface structure peak) as is the overall narrative constituted by the whole myth. The embedded narrative consists of an exposition setting the scene for the narrative (here the sage's lack is spelled out) then a series of developmental episodes leads to a climax (the reversal of the main lack—his blindness), a denouement (he gives the baby to the king and queen), and the conclusion (the reversal of all his other lacks).

The main narrative consists of an exposition in which the central character Maha Lakhi is born. Then follows the development of the plot in a series of episodes leading up to the climax of the whole narrative in which Murasur foolishly attempts and fails in the competition for Maha Lakhi's hand. A denouement follows the climax in which another competitor (Nasilnat) competes and succeeds. The conclusion to the narrative is the marriage of Maha Lakhi and

Nasilnat.

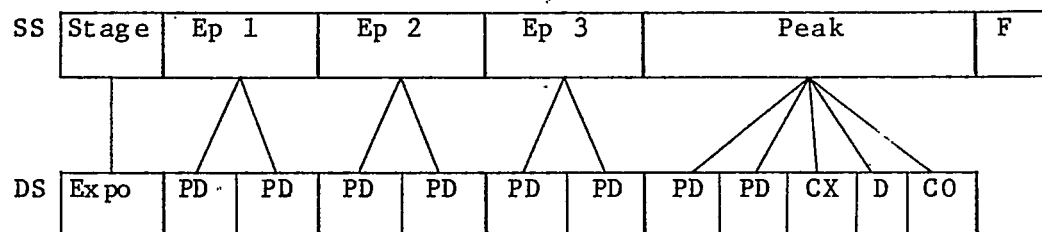
The deep structure plots of both narratives do not exactly correlate with the surface structure features. Some skewing of the embedded narrative and its plot occurs. Although the deep structure plot develops to a climax, the surface structure features indicate an episodic narrative without a peak. The embedded narrative's surface and deep structure may be schematised in the following diagram:



Key: PD = Plot Development; Expo = Exposition; CO = Conclusion; Ep = Episode; CX = Climax; D = Denouement.

Note that the exposition occurs as part of the surface structure of the first episode, the climax as episode 3, and the denouement and conclusion as part of the final episode. The whole embedded discourse forms a single surface structure unit at the level of the entire discourse represented by the top section of the diagram.

Skewing between the plot and the surface structure features also occurs in the main discourse. The correlation of the deep and surface structure of the entire discourse may be schematised in the following diagram.



Key: As above and F = Finis.

Each of the surface structure episodes divides into two plot developments in the deep structure and equate with the pre and main episodes within the pre-peak episodes. The relationship between the surface structure peak and the various aspects of the plot in the deep structure are of special interest in that while the surface structure peak is distinctly marked as a large single complex unit (embedded discourse) it divides into five different plot structures in the deep structure--two plot developments, climax, denouement, and conclusion. The climax is prominently marked in the surface structure and stands out as a peak of the embedded discourse that is found at the peak.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>This study distinguishes 'sections' as the top level divisions within the myth and 'parts' as the major divisions of the embedded discourse in Section 1. While these have structure unique to their position in the discourse, they are also episodes of the kind described by Longacre (1976). A discourse consists of a string of episodes which may be filled by embedded discourses.



PART THREE

SYMBOLIC ASPECTS OF THE MAHA LAKHI MYTH

## CHAPTER 6

### PARTICIPANTS AND PROPS: ROLES IN CULTURE AND MYTH

The participants and props of the myth relate to both the Halbi culture and Hindu mythology. The significance of the role played by the participants in the myth depends to a large extent on the Halbis' perception of their roles in their own society. The Maha Lakhi myth displays aspects typical of Hindu mythology. The kings interact with brahmins as the central castes of the Hindu myths, providing the major participants of the action, with the story line revolving around them and their activities. In this myth of Maha Lakhi, the brahmins and royalty are the two castes central to the action of the myth on the human level. These two castes interact directly with the deities in both Halbi mythology and Hindu mythology.

The significance of the props in the myth depends upon their symbolic value to the audience. Some of the props are more central to the development of the message than are others, thus providing a distinction between major and minor props.

#### Participants

##### Cultural Roles

The participants in the myth of Maha Lakhi are members of various cultural groups with which the Halbis associate certain specific roles (functions). It is, for example, the Halbis' expectation that a member of a specific cultural group fulfills the role assigned him by his membership in that cultural group.

Similarly, in the myth participants fulfill the roles ascribed to them by membership in their group.<sup>1</sup> The following chart summarises some of the cultural roles in both the myth and the Halbi world.

Chart of Traditional Cultural Roles

	Roles in Halbi World	Role in the Myth
Brahmin	Key to knowledge Interpreters of knowledge Mediators between man and deity Source of spiritual power/authority Maintain sacred traditions (Hindu) Validators of royalty's authority(Hindu) Advisors and companions to royalty	Key to and interpreter of knowledge(Hasin) Mediator(Sage)  Spiritual power (Sage)  Advisor and companion (Hasin and Mantari)
Royalty	Rulers in the earth (by divine right) Protectors of the social order Incarnated deity	Ruler (King Bhorun)  Incarnated deity (M L)
6sur	?	Example of base aspect of divinity and humanity Fool
bh6gwan	Ruler of the universe Source of life Sustainer of life Creator Restorer of life  Restorer of harmony	Source of life(Ram)  Creator(Biskarma) Restorers of life (Ispar and Parbati) Restorer of harmony (Ram)
Ordinary Humanity	Subjects of the king  Worshippers of deities	Messengers (Narat Mani and Waterwomen) Observers (all people)

Each of the above groups are discussed in the following sections in light of their roles in Halbi culture and in the myth.

### Brahmin

In the wider Hindu society, the brahmins possess the key to knowledge. They exist in a symbiotic relationship with other castes. They are kept by these other castes for the knowledge that they have and they act as interpreters of that knowledge. Only the brahmins have the power of understanding and interpreting.

Since the Halbis are not yet a wholly integrated part of the caste Hindu culture, they do not keep brahmins as do other castes nor are brahmins generally available to them as interpreters. However, when a brahmin is available as an itinerant holyman he is revered for the knowledge he possesses. This knowledge is actively sought from him by Halbi men in particular.

As the holders of knowledge and interpreters of it, the brahmins are responsible for maintaining the sacred traditions. They fulfill this responsibility through their priestly duties and devout lives. One of the traditions they maintain is the validation of a king's rule. As priests, they bestow divinity on a king and equip him for his role to rule.

In the Maha Lakhi myth, the role of brahmin is shared by two characters, Konda and his daughter Hasin, whom he gives to Maha Lakhi as a companion. While Konda himself does not function directly as the one having the key to knowledge, his daughter does.<sup>2</sup> Their roles

merge into one. Konda's introduction in the myth shows him to be fulfilling his spiritual role as a brahmin. After he gives his daughter to Maha Lakhi, Konda disappears from the stage. Hasin then fulfills a brahminic role by being a companion to Maha Lakhi and serving as the source of knowledge for her. Maha Lakhi looks to Hasin for the answers to her questions concerning the banyan tree and the pairing of the birds. Even though Hasin disclaims any knowledge, Maha Lakhi insists that since she is the daughter of Konda Brahmin she should know. Maha Lakhi states, "How come you don't know? You're Konda's daughter aren't you? You're Konda Brahmin's daughter and how come you don't know?" (Myth Sec 4:99.1-.3). Later when Hasin interprets what Maha Lakhi had been observing in the world Maha Lakhi declares that Hasin knew after all. Hasin confesses that she had known. Thus Hasin fulfills the brahminic role within the myth of having knowledge and being able to interpret that knowledge on the basis of being the brahmin's daughter.

The brahmins also act as mediators between god and man. They are the officiants in Hindu religious ceremonies in Indian society at large and officiate also at some 'Hindu-ised' Halbi religious ceremonies.

Holy men are generally held in great awe by the Halbis for their spiritual power and authority, which results from living very austere and devout lives. These holy men are always brahmins as far as the Halbis are concerned. Among the Halbis, the mediation of a holy man is sought when all other possibilities fail, particularly in cases of

childlessness. If the local shaman and village priests--officiants of the indigenous religious system--are unable to mediate a cure for childlessness then a childless couple will search out a holyman with a reputation for spiritual power and seek his mediation before the deities. The couple will make vows which usually involve austerities of one form or another, such as fasting, abstinence from some activities, or performance of difficult or costly ceremonies. After the desire--petition--has been granted the couple fulfill all vows and an exchange of worship and gifts for a child occurs, as, in the myth, the king gave wealth to the sage and the sage gave worship to Ram in exchange for the child.

The holyman of the myth of Maha Lakhi is the sage (*rusi*) and corresponds to the sages who appear in classical Hindu mythology:

For the most part seers or sages are wise and holy brahmins who are deserving of respect; they are usually married, but still live austere lives, often in hermitages, practicing *tapas*, or self-restraint. This practice, for them as for the celibate *yogin*, gains for the doer enormous powers; hence the awe in which they tend to be held by their associates. In any Hindu story, the seer has his particular place, often as wise teacher or sacrificer, and a number of such sages appear in the *Purāṇas*.

Dimmett and van Buitenen, 1978:245.

The sage of the Maha Lakhi myth is an ascetic, as evidenced by his many years of standing in a lake without food, clothing, or anything. His austerities become a powerful force that threatens Ram's benign existence and forces the deity into a position of obligation.

The sage serves symbolically in the myth as the holyman to whom childless couples go in order to gain the favour of the deities and so be able to conceive a child. He represents the mediation between the

spirit world--heaven--and the natural world--earth--as he becomes the mediator between the deity Ram and King Bhorun. He receives a child from heaven as well as his sight and later gives the child to the childless King Bhorun and Queen Niubati. This mediation reflects a brahminic role seen in Hindu mythology, where brahmins use their power to enable their rulers to have children (Dimmett and van Buitenen, 1978:247).

In a sense the sage is both the holyman--priest--and a type of god. As the holyman he performs the austerities and gains the favour of the one who is the god; as the type of god he gives a baby and receives gifts in exchange. Once the sage's role--as mediator and source of spiritual power--is fulfilled, he disappears as a participant.

The Halbi term used in the myth for the sage is *rusi*, an equivalent of the Hindi term *ruci*. In Hindu mythology *Ruci* is identified as the lord of progeny:

Once in ancient times the lord of progeny named Desire (*Ruci*) married Will (*Ākūti*). This happened in the age when the Son-of-the-Self-born (*Svāyambhuva*) was the lawgiver (*Manu*). From *Ruci* and *Ākūti* were born Ritual-Sacrifice (*Yajña*) and his sister Sacrificial-Fee (*Dakṣiṇā*). They united as husband and wife and had twelve sons who were the deities called the Invocations (*Yāmas*).

Alain Daniélou, 1964:183 (quoted  
from *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.7.19-21 [314];  
also *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3.12 and 2.7.2.).

Dimmett and van Buitenen (1978:340-2) report the story of the progenitor *Ruci* whose departed fathers insisted he marry despite his desire not to be degraded by family life.<sup>3</sup> While the *rusi* of the myth does not appear to match the *Ruci* of Hindu mythology, who marries and

is borne a son, the Halbis' assimilation of Hindu thought and mythology into their own system may indicate a remnant of the idea of the lord of progeny symbolised through the use of the term *rusi*. Enhancing this possibility is the fact that the childless king and queen acquire a child through the sage.

Another role filled by brahmins in the Halbis' perception of the world is as advisors and companions to royalty. The brahmins' high position in the caste system means they are the only ones considered worthy enough to interact with royalty on a somewhat equivalent level. In the myth, Hasin provides companionship for Maha Lakhi throughout her childhood years. The king's companion, called *m6nt6ri* (advisor), accompanies him to Konda Brahmin's house. Although not specified that the king's *m6nt6ri* is a brahmin it may be assumed since brahmins normally fill this role.

#### Royalty

Whereas brahmins have the responsibility of maintaining (ruling) the religious system and traditions, royalty rules the secular system, which also physically protects the religious system. Royalty are the rulers of the earth by divine right and have the responsibility of maintaining the social order. In the wider Hindu society they form the kshatriya (warrior) caste, called simply *raja m6n* (kings) by the Halbis,<sup>4</sup> and enjoy a relationship with the brahmins marked by interdependence of the two castes:

Brahmins and kṣatriyas, in fact, are the only two castes regularly depicted in the Purāṇas, and they are shown



interrelating in a variety of mutually beneficent ways, despite occasional tension between them. Kings govern kingdoms, go to war, and pay brahmins fat fees for sacrifices. Priests perform sacrifices, give wise counsel, and use the power acquired by **tapas** to benefit their rulers, by enabling them to have children, for example.

Dimmett and van Buitenen, 1978:247.

Besides being made clear in Hindu mythology, this interdependence also becomes evident in Halbi mythology. As mentioned previously, the brahmins validate the king's rule and bestow divinity upon him. Without such validation the king has no authority to rule. The Halbis firmly believe in the divinity of their **raja** and the close relationship of royalty with the deities. When deities are incarnated in human form, according to Halbi belief and thought, they are incarnated as royalty. Maha Lakhi, a deity, is incarnated as a member of royalty in the myth.

In Hindu mythology the kings appear as heroes upholding the social system:

Kings, as **kṣatriya** heroes, also appear in the Purāṇas, their stories generally embellished by imagination, but with their human nature clearly showing through. . . . These kings are honest, upright, virtuous upholders of Dharma, for the most part.

Dimmett and van Buitenen 1978:246.

King Bhorun, the ruler of the kingdom of Bhorun in the Maha Lakhi myth, acts in accord with royalty's role in everyday Halbi experience. The king calls his subjects on a number of occasions and they come as observers of events important to the life of the kingdom. The Halbis, subjects of a local **raja** until the demise of his kingdom, were loyal citizens and participated in the events of the kingdom as their **raja** directed. They are able to identify with King Bhorun's subjects in

the myth. The local **raja** used to hold audiences for his subjects in order to receive their worship and honour. He also heard their complaints and ruled on problems that they were experiencing. The Halbis expected their **raja** to protect and provide for them. Early in Section 3 of the Maha Lakhi myth the king reopens his audience hall. This reopening implies that he once again resumes his duties as king, which have been interrupted since the coming of Maha Lakhi.

### **6sur**

In Hindu mythology the **6surs**, ruled by their king Mursut, are demons who usually engage in activities destructive of universal harmony. A tribal group located near the Halbis--the Kotia Oriyas--recognise giants from mythical times whom they call **osurs**. The **6surs** for the Halbis are probably conceived of in much the same way as among the Kotia Oriyas, that is, as mythical beings of gigantic proportions. Their role in the everyday life of the Halbis is unclear.<sup>5</sup> In the myth of Maha Lakhi, Murasur is the king of the **6surs** and his name represents a Halbi adaptation of Mursut, the name of the king of the demons in Hindu mythology.

Almost all of Murasur's actions can be evaluated as socially negative. The narrator presents him as distinctly immoral according to the Halbi value system (see Chapter 3) and she sets him off in strong contrastive relief to Nasilnat, the ideal in terms of positive social values. Murasur acts contrary to all that is held in esteem by the Halbis. His behaviour is the antithesis of that of all others in

the myth. He serves as the example of all that is unacceptable in the Halbi value system. He symbolises all that is base and foolish in the universe and he represents the undisciplined and base aspects of both divinity and humanity. Murasur is crass, undisciplined, given to the satisfaction of his own appetites, greedy, impolite, vain, gross, and vulgar. He fails to greet King Bhorun formally, demands to see Maha Lakhi and as a result antagonises her, rejects his wives, refuses to listen to reason and the advice of others, and sleeps when he should be awake.<sup>6</sup> The results of such activity are clearly seen in the myth--his wives are rejected, King Bhorun is shamed before his subjects, Maha Lakhi is extremely angry and places a curse on him, and he finally reaps the rewards of his foolishness by being killed in the competition, although through the intervention of his faithful wives he is restored to life.

Murasur also fulfills the role of a fool. This role results from his foolish and vain behaviour. As the fool, he provides the Halbis with a means for the release of tensions created by the stringencies imposed by the value system on everyday life. The audience is greatly amused by Murasur's abuse of the value system and are able to participate vicariously in this abuse without suffering the consequences.

### **bh6gwan**

Within Halbi thought **bh6gwan** is only one and yet there are many **bh6gwans**. This paradox may perhaps be resolved by recognising (1)

that in some way each deity represents an aspect of one all supreme deity and (2) that the Halbis are in the process of absorbing into their own religious system the Hindu pantheon. **bh6gwan** has many roles in the world of the Halbis. He is the ruler of the universe, the source of life, the creator, the sustainer of life, the restorer of life and harmony, and so on. **bh6gwan** possesses tremendous powers and the Halbis seek to tap into these powers through their regular worship ceremonies. In the Maha Lakhi myth, various deities fulfill roles which equate with some of the deities' roles within everyday Halbi life.

The **bh6gwan** Ram functions in the myth as both the source of life and as the restorer of harmony. In the first of these roles, Ram takes a bundle from his storeroom and gives it to the sage in the lake; from this bundle is born Maha Lakhi.<sup>7</sup> Ram is the source of life for Maha Lakhi and also the supplier for the king's and queen's lack. He acts in the role of restorer of harmony for the sage whose blindness symbolises disrupted harmony. The sage's prayers are geared to restore harmony—to be signalled by the restoration of his sight. He addresses his prayers to Ram and although Ram at first gives him instructions about what to do the disharmony continues to exist. Ram finally has to intervene personally in order to restore harmony for the sage. This restoration is achieved through the birth of Maha Lakhi, which leads the way to restoration of sight.

Biskarma serves in the myth in the role of creator or divine architect. He built a very large and very beautiful palace for Maha

Lakhi and he also built the arena for the competition for her hand in marriage. Biskarma corresponds to Visvakarma of Hindu mythology. (Visvakarma--also called Tvashti--is the divine architect within the wider Hindu belief system and also the creator of heaven, described in Hindu mythology as having "had walls and arches of pure white surrounded by celestial trees made of brilliant jewels which always bore blossom and fruit" (Ions, 1967:33).) Biskarma acts in a passive role in the myth, as he creates only at the request of Maha Lakhi, a deity greater than he in the minds of the Halbis.

The deities Ispar and Parbati function in the role of restorers of life. They come and restore life to Murasur in response to the mourning of Murasur's main wife and appear only in this one short scene. They appear in the same role in many Halbi myths. Usually they are playing dice in heaven, hear the weeping and wailing of mourners in the earth, and descend to restore life to the one who has died. They respond to the mourners, not to the one who has died and after restoring life they return to heaven. Mourning disturbs their own harmonious--or benign--existences and their intervention appears to be more to quiet the mourners than to be merciful either to the mourner or to the one who has died. Ispar corresponds to Iswara--or Shiva, the supreme Lord in the Hindu pantheon--and Parbati corresponds to Parvati, the wife of Shiva, in Hindu mythology.

Nasilnat functions, in the myth, as the one destined for the hand of Maha Lakhi. He is, in a sense, the universal husband or lover. He is virtuous, honourable, an upholder of the social values,

devout, self assured, disciplined, and so on. He alone is worthy of Maha Lakhi. Nasilnat does not easily correspond to a particular deity of the Hindu pantheon but by his marriage to Maha Lakhi, who corresponds to Lakṣmī in the Hindu pantheon, he is probably an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the greatest of the gods. Viṣṇu in his various incarnations marries Lakṣmī in her various incarnations. It should be noted that one of Viṣṇu's incarnations is Ram who possibly corresponds to Ram in Maha Lakhi's myth. If so, Ram and Nasilnat might be considered as one.

#### Ordinary Humanity

The members of ordinary humanity in the Halbi world fulfill roles ascribed to them by their sex, caste, language or tribal group. Cutting across these roles are other roles which the Halbis see as relevant to all people within their world; all members of ordinary humanity are subjects of their king and worshippers of the deities. These roles interact with the roles determined by caste or sex and result in behaviour adjusted to the situation at hand. Within the Maha Lakhi myth the members of ordinary humanity are limited to two basic roles: (1) they act as messengers or channels of information; and (2) they act as loyal subjects of the king and observers of his activities.

Two members of ordinary humanity, the water women and Nārat Mani, function in the myth as channels of information. Early in the myth, the water women provide the very important link between the sage

with the newborn child and King Borun. The opportunity to provide this link—act as messengers for the king--arises as a result of the fulfillment of their normal female role in getting water during the water-getting times. As women they recognise the sage's inability to care for the child, and they recognise that the child's beauty signals someone very special who belongs in a palace. They are instrumental in uniting the child, Maha Lakhi, with the king and queen, her destined parents. They appear three times, with the third appearance being the crucial one, as at this time they pass the information about the child to the king. Later in the myth, the king's messenger, Narat Mani, fulfills a role similiar to that of the water women. The king sends him three times to the possible contestants for Maha Lakhi's hand. On the third trip the message reaches the one destined to marry Maha Lakhi. Narat Mani thus becomes instrumental in uniting Maha Lakhi with her destined husband.

Members of ordinary humanity also fulfill the role of loyal subjects of the king and observers of his activities in the myth. As loyal subjects they always come to observe the king's activities in response to his call. They provide support for the king through their presence and comments. The king specifically calls for his subjects to come on two occasions (prior to getting Maha Lakhi and prior to the beginning of the competition), and the men respond. He sends another message later, which specifically calls for the women to come to the competition.

The ordinary people respond to the situation at hand as the need

arises and so provide moral support for the king. On the return from the lake with the baby Maha Lakhi, for example, all the people form a procession with drums and music and return rejoicing to the palace. Also, later, when Murasur speaks so rudely to the king, the people suggest a solution to the dilemma. Later again they worship and honour Maha Lakhi. After Nasilnat succeeds and the marriage is performed, the ordinary people bring gifts appropriate to their caste occupations in celebration of the marriage. They also participate in the formal greetings associated with the marriage. Consequently, the ordinary people of the myth observe many of their king's activities and always act as his loyal subjects.

### Maha Lakhi

#### Maha Lakhi in the Halbi World

Maha Lakhi appears as the tutelary deity of the rice growing Halbis. She is the source of life for them and the provider of their sustenance. One villager, in describing Maha Lakhi, commented:

maha 16khi am-ke pal-ese            tebe        to        jiu asū.  
Maha Lakhi we-Gol nurture-pinc, 3s therefore part. life is(lp)

Maha Lakhi nurtures us; therefore we are alive (or living).

The verb **paluk** implies a sense of causing to live and would include mothering, protection, fostering, nourishing, and so forth. Since Maha Lakhi fulfills a maternal role for the Halbis she may thus be identified with the great mother goddess worshipped over a wide area of the world during the time prior to the Aryan invasion of India



(Zimmer, 1972:92). The Halbis themselves identify her with Lakṣmī, the goddess of fertility and wealth in Hindu mythology. The Halbi name *l6cmi* (Lakṣmī), however, is rarely used except by the more hinduised sections of the community.

The awareness of Maha Lakhi pervades the daily lives of the Halbis. They identify her with rice (*dhan*), their staple food:

*dhan ke log m6n maha l6khi bol-uaat.*  
paddy rice Gol people pl Maha Lakhi say-f,3p

People call the paddy rice Maha Lakhi.

This identification occurs particularly after the rice fields have been prepared and the rice sown. As the rains come and the rice sprouts, Maha Lakhi is the rice. The Halbis replough the rice when it is six to eight inches high and this reploughing in part symbolises the marriage of the rice (Maha Lakhi) to the deity, Narean Debi. For the Halbis, Maha Lakhi is the female principle and Narean Debi the male principle. Without the union of these two there can be no harvest (productivity). This marriage of rice indicates that marriage may be viewed as a metaphor for productivity--or the circumstance surrounding creation-procreation. The productivity of the rice fields and the productivity of the household (husband and wife) are of supreme importance to the Halbis.

Maha Lakhi and Narean Debi are married on another occasion during the Halbis' agricultural cycle. After the rice harvest, the Halbis celebrate a festival called *j6gar*. The *j6gar* festival may be celebrated at the village or household level and lasts eight to nine

days. Maha Lakhi's marriage to Narean Debi occurs at the end of the festival.<sup>8</sup> This ritual marriage involves the bringing of the image of Maha Lakhi to the festival location and marrying her to Narean Debi, whose presence has been manifested during the festival by his possession of one particular man or boy. This marriage corresponds to the sacred marriage practiced in many areas where the Earth mother is married to her partner (James, 1959:121).

After the harvest of the rice when the threshing and winnowing take place, the Halbis specifically worship Maha Lakhi. In preparation for this worship they make a *g6m*, which is a specially prepared and decorated pile of threshed and winnowed rice.<sup>9</sup> One of the male members of the family (most probably the shaman or the priest of the family) officiates and performs the actual worship of Maha Lakhi (the paddy rice). He does this by sprinkling holy water (*k6sa pani*) around and over the *g6m*, burning clarified butter on a piece of smoldering rice straw rope, bowing before the *g6m*, scattering puffed rice (*lai*) over the *g6m* as a food offering, and placing a leaf dish of other food offerings under the winnowing basket located at the eastern end of the *g6m*.

#### Maha Lakhi in Historical Perspective

As has already been mentioned, Maha Lakhi corresponds to the great Mother goddess worshipped over a wide area of the world in pre-Aryan times. The invading Aryans brought their own gods with them and a merging between the mother goddess cult and the deities of the

Aryans occurred. The mother goddess cult has survived in many forms throughout India, the Halbis' version being but one example. James, in his "The Cult of the Mother Goddess" (1959:113), speaks of the phenomenon in reference to the village goddess:

. . . the worship of the earth and its fertilizing waters has assumed many forms, . . . It is not surprising that its principal personification, Prithivi, should have been made the consort of the most ancient Sky-god Dyaus Pitar, and though she and her husband were eclipsed by the more popular and intimate sectarian figures - Shiva and Uma; Parvati, Durga and Kali; Vishnu and Lakshmi; Rama and Sita; and even Brahma and Sarasvati - the sanctity of the earth has remained a fundamental belief throughout India for all time, and around it the goddess cult has found its several modes of expression. Thus, in every village the Mother-goddess is represented as the tutelary deity (grama devata) under various names, such as Mata, Amba, Amma, Kali, Rati, and so on; sometimes dreaded, sometimes protective, warding off evil influences and imparting fertility by virtue of her life-giving energies (sakti).

The Aryans vaguely conceived the Sky-god, Dyaus Pitar, and the Earth-goddess, Prithivi Mata, as being universal parents but lacking clear anthropomorphic form. For the Dravidian peoples the altogether anthropomorphic Earth-mother and her male counterpart were fundamentally important in every area of life (James, 1959:101). The Dravidians had, during an earlier period, overlaid their own cultural elements on "the aboriginal pre-Dravidian substratum surviving in the Veddas and Todas and the hill tribes" (James, 1959:100).

The union of the Mother goddess with her male counterpart ensures the fecundity of the soil, of man, and of beast (James, 1959:124). Thus the ritual (sacred) marriage is celebrated in many areas of India (including the Halbi area) with the Mother goddess marrying her male counterpart to ensure continuing fruitfulness. The

Mother goddess is closely identified with the earth (and in some cases she is the earth). From this identification have sprung

the analogies between women and the soil, sexuality and sowing, death and rebirth, and the conception of the fundamental unity of organic life. From this one and the same principle the male and female duality has developed, creative and destructive, kindly and malevolent, so conspicuous in the Indian cultus.

James 1959:244.

As a result of such analogies, the acts of ploughing and sowing may be highly ritualised and symbolic. Prior to ploughing, for example, the Halbis hold a festival in which they worship the Earth spirit (*matī deo*). Also, immediately prior to sowing and reploughing, the Halbi men revere the earth through special ceremonies performed by all the men of the household. Ploughing appears to be a symbolic act of sexual intercourse between the male and the soil.<sup>10</sup> Thus ploughing is the complete and utter domain of the males. For a woman to plough (or even to touch a plough) results in the worst form of pollution--*chut*.

The Mother goddess in the Indian sub-continent has also developed a duality of personality so that the goddess may be both benevolent and malevolent.

In present day rural India, the goddess brings fertility or pestilential death, depending on her mood. She is both the giver of life, as the mother, and the terrifying force that takes it away, prematurely, by famine or disease.

Dimmett and van Buitenen 1978:221.

James further adds:

. . . the Indian goddesses are at once divinities of fertility and destruction, of birth and of death. Thus, in their benign character they preside over the operations of nature since upon them depend the fecundity of the soil and the health and increase of the community and its flocks. But, on the other hand, in their malevolent and chthonic aspects they are so terrifying and

terrible as in beneficent forms they are auspicious.  
James 1959:244.

This duality of character has become a common trait of both the gods and goddesses throughout the Indian sub-continent. Among the Sherpas of Nepal their gods have two mood aspects--the one peaceful and benign (shiwa) in which the deity remains unaffected by the concerns of humanity, and the other fierce and violent (takbu), in which the deity becomes roused and involved in the affairs of men. Religious ceremonies aim at arousing a specific god so that he will come and fulfill the wishes of the people. During this arousal, the god usually is depicted as having excessive numbers of heads, eyes, teeth, and arms (Ortner 1975:143). A duality of character in reference to Maha Lakhi becomes evident in the myth as she adds a negative-destructive side to her already revealed positive-creative side when she responds angrily to Murasur's unreasonable demands and in her anger grows four arms and places a curse upon him.

#### Maha Lakhi and Hindu Mythology

Lakṣmī the Hindu goddess with whom the Halbis identify Maha Lakhi is the devoted wife of Viṣṇu and "they sometimes appear to be a single divinity, the lord god and the ever-devoted lady who is inseparable from himself" (Dimmett and van Buitenen 1978:62). In the Purāṇas, Lakṣmī in fact, has no independent identity. Whenever she appears, she appears as Viṣṇu's consort and counterpart and she appears in as many guises or incarnations as Viṣṇu himself chose to assume. Thus, when he was Rama, she was Sita; when he was Krishna,

she was Rukmini; when he was divine, so was she; when he was mortal, so was she (James 1959:107).

Lakṣmī's lack of a separate identity reflects a historical development in which the early independent goddesses became dependent upon or merged with the gods of the Aryan invaders.

Almost every goddess in the Purāṇas is married to a god, with the exception of the fierce and war-like Durgā and Kālī. Perhaps the marriage of the gods and goddesses in Hindu mythology reflects a synthesis that in fact occurred between two different races and cultures in the early history of Indian culture. Certainly the goddesses as wives are utterly dependent upon their gods, much as the indigenous race was subdued and rendered subject by the conquering Āryans. In any case, it seems that only fragments of the careers of the goddesses in Indian tradition remain in the stories found in the Purāṇas.

Dimmett and van Buitenen 1978:221.

The merging of the early goddesses with the Aryan gods suggested by Dimmett and van Buitenen is also acknowledged by James (1959:107), as he states that originally Lakṣmī was "an independent goddess who was later made over to Vishnu" resulting in a vague and shadowy personality--hardly more than a reflex of Viṣṇu's. The Halbis, while synthesising many of the stories from Hindu mythology and subsequently incorporating much of the Hindu pantheon into their belief system, have retained their goddess as an independent and autonomous deity. Moreover, they reverse the roles of male and female so that the male counterpart is vague and shadowy while Maha Lakhi (and the cult surrounding her) is highly developed. Further, the Halbi belief system has multiple female goddesses or spirits called *debi*, who act independently of any male counterparts. These goddesses form a majority among the local deities of the Halbi households. Also, a

female deity called *dāntes6ri mae* rules the spirit world of the district where the Halbis live and she is greatly revered by all the tribal peoples of the district. There are also four additional local deities with power over the whole district of which only one is a male.<sup>11</sup>

Though distinct from Maha Lakhi, features of *Lakṣmī*'s character identify her with Maha Lakhi and particularly so in the minds of the Halbis. *Lakṣmī* is "the goddess of good fortune and prosperity, who may also bring bad luck if she is displeased" (Dimmett and van Buitenen 1978:61). In the myth, Konda Brahmin, the deity Biskarma, and all the people of the land seek Maha Lakhi's blessing. Murasur, on the other hand, incurs her displeasure. In her anger she curses him and this results in ignominious failure for him. As mentioned previously, the Halbis display their gratitude to Maha Lakhi for her bountiful provision during the days of the rice threshing through worship ceremonies performed over the threshed rice. Without her blessing there can be no fruitful productivity in the rice fields--just as without the ritual marriage there can only be failure in the fields.

*Lakṣmī*'s virtues are extolled in the *Purāṇas* along with those of *Viṣṇu*:

. . . she was essentially 'the mother of the world, eternal, imperishable.' As Vishnu was all pervading, so she was omnipresent. 'He is meaning, she is speech; he is polity, she prudence. He understanding, and she intellect; he righteousness and she devotion. [. . .] In a word Vishnu is all that is called male and Lakshmi all that is termed female; there is nothing else than they' (Vishnu Purana. bk.59).

This Purāṇa, quoted by James (1959:108), extolls Viṣṇu as the sun and Lakṣmī as its light, Viṣṇu as the lamp and Lakṣmī the light, he as the hour and she the second, he as reliability and she power, and so forth. Many of these characteristics of Lakṣmī's are also Maha Lakhi's characteristics in the myth. The narrator identifies Maha Lakhi as omniscience. Maha Lakhi can be understood as speech as she communicates without its aid when she speaks in her mind to King Bhorun while still a young child; King Bhorun identifies her as light when he asks Biskarma to come and build the palace for her; she is (or at least controls) time as she changes many nights into one; she displays her power as she grows four arms in anger; she is also all that is female, a central focus of the myth. Yet despite these characteristics Maha Lakhi feels incomplete without her male counterpart.

Daniélou (1964:262) states that "Lakṣmī is sometimes represented with four arms, but more usually with two. She holds a lotus. She has no temples but is worshipped in every home on all important occasions." In describing another manifestation of Lakṣmī called Mahā Lakṣmī, Daniélou refers to the fact that she has countless arms (more than a thousand) and that her image usually has eighteen; each holding a different item. The Halbis' Maha Lakhi produces four arms in the myth and in her hands she holds a conch shell, a discus, a mace, and a lotus. Interestingly, the items held by Maha Lakhi are traditionally the items held by Viṣṇu in his four hands and suggests a merging of identities in the Halbi belief system.



### Maha Lakhi and Her Role in the Myth

As the myth unfolds it becomes more and more obvious that Maha Lakhi is no ordinary human being but incarnate deity (see Chapter 3). The revelation of her divinity climaxes in the episode where she grows her four arms and takes on a fierce aspect. These represent a raw display of her power and authority. Daniélou states that "in the strict language of symbolism four arms always represent the idea of absolute dominion" (1964:272). Maha Lakhi's four arms indeed represent the idea of absolute dominion as she responds to Murasur's demands that would place her in a position of subordination to him. Her question to herself, reported by the narrator, asks, "How important do you think you are, Murasur, that you would see me?" (Myth Sec 5:172.1). The narrator also comments, "She is a spirit, a supernatural being. She grew four arms, Bai" (Myth Sec 5:176-7). (The narrator adds force to the revelation of Maha Lakhi's position in the universe by use of the vocative *bai* which draws my attention to her own identification of Maha Lakhi as a supernatural being and to Maha Lakhi's significant act of growing four arms. Later the people worship her; an event which the narrator again draws my attention to by use of the vocative *bai*. Maha Lakhi's position as a supernatural being of tremendous power and prestige thus becomes firmly established.)

As a supernatural being Maha Lakhi fulfills a number of roles in the myth: as a symbol of the female principle, as an exemplar of the female-male union, as a validator of cultural values, as the goddess

of good fortune, and as the goddess of misfortune.

One predominant role is as a symbol of the female principle in the universe. The myth develops Maha Lakhi's femaleness through her participation in the human life cycle. At puberty, Maha Lakhi's sense of incompleteness without her male counterpart becomes apparent and steps are taken to discover the one who will fulfill the male role. Through the union of the female principle and her male counterpart, the universe symbolically reproduces itself since the union of female and male--marriage--always symbolises procreation. The agricultural cycle of the Halbis supports the interpretation that the male-female union per se symbolises procreation in that the marriage of rice to the sun is always (and must be) celebrated during the growing season. This marriage ensures the harvest. Productivity in the agricultural cycle equates with procreation.

Maha Lakhi fulfills another role as she seeks and marries the one destined for her. As Maha Lakhi and Hasin sit under the banyan tree (Section 4 of the myth) they observe the birds and all beings with their companions. Maha Lakhi asks, "I am twelve years old, how come I haven't a mate?" (Myth Sec 4:88.10). As the dialogue with Hasin continues Maha Lakhi's concern grows until she is overwhelmed with fear and she exclaims:

"And how will I exist? How will I exist as a dead person? How will I live? . . . Contentment and well being are these people's. If I'm alone how will it (contentment and well being) happen (to me)?" (Myth Sec 4:113.5-.7...113.9-.10).

The frightening possibility of living alone expressed by Maha Lakhi comes from the innermost being of the Halbis who view being alone as

worse than death.<sup>12</sup> After the conversation with Hasin, Maha Lakhi actively seeks to find her mate and the story culminates in her marriage to her male counterpart. Maha Lakhi's role as the exemplar of the value of the union of male and female encourages the Halbi people to continue to hold to this most basic value in the culture.

As a result of her behaviour's conformity to the cultural values of the Halbis (particularly in regards to companionship and marriage), Maha Lakhi fulfills a role as a validator of cultural values. While all the main participants of the myth validate, in some way, the cultural values of the Halbis, Maha Lakhi's validating role links directly to the message of the myth and strengthens that message. The fact that she is a central deity of the Halbis adds considerable impact to her validating role. Her active pursuit of a childhood companion and later, of a husband continue to validate companionship and marriage as values within Halbi culture. Companionship, as a value, focuses on the fact that man is not meant to be alone while marriage focuses on productivity (in the sense of procreation).<sup>13</sup>

Two other roles fulfilled by Maha Lakhi in the myth result from her divinity and from her identification with the Hindu Lakṣmī. In the first of these roles she appears as the goddess of good fortune and in the second she appears as the goddess of misfortune--the antithesis of the first. In her role as the goddess of good fortune she brings blessing to the sage, King Bhorun and Queen Niubati, Konda Brahmin, Biskarma, and all the people. The sage, for example, lacks almost all but life itself and through his receiving the unborn Maha

Lakhi from Ram his fortunes change completely. He receives his sight immediately and then later he receives all that would make life materially comfortable--a palace, servants, elephants and horses, wealth, in fact all that the king had to offer, and a mandate to share the king's rule (possibly in a spiritual capacity) along with the king's blessing for him to live in peace and well being. King Bhorun and Queen Niubati lack a child and Maha Lakhi reverses this misfortune by becoming their child thus ensuring the blessing that parenthood brings in the Halbi world. When King Bhorun offers Konda Brahmin compensation for his daughter he refuses and asks instead for a blessing from Maha Lakhi. Maha Lakhi blesses Konda while the king and his advisor are returning to the palace with Hasin. When Biskarma builds the palace he too refuses material compensation and asks only for a blessing. The myth does not actually specify that Maha Lakhi blessed him, but from the previous occasions where Maha Lakhi brought good fortune to others it may be inferred that she did the same for Biskarma. Finally, when Maha Lakhi comes to the competition arena all the people worship her and ask for a blessing. Again the myth does not specify her response but again it may be inferred that she did bless them.

In each case when Maha Lakhi blesses, some prior activity on the part of the participant has placed Maha Lakhi in a position of obligation. Such prior activities include: the sage's many years of austerities and then his relinquishing of the child to those better able to care for it; the king's and queen's supplications for a child

vicariously offered by the sage (implied but consistent with relationships between royalty and brahmins in India--see earlier section of this chapter); Konda's giving of Hasin; Biskarma's building of the palace; and the people's worship of and submission to Maha Lakhi. Maha Lakhi realises her role as goddess of misfortune in her confrontation with Murasur. Without prior acts of righteousness and worth on Murasur's part, Maha Lakhi is under no obligation to bless him, rather he receives her wrath. Consequently he fails and dies.

#### Props

A prop, in the Maha Lakhi myth, is an item (animate or inanimate) that does not relate to a participant at a social level. The prop, while part of the scenery, always occurs in a relationship with something else that makes it meaningful and thus a part of the whole picture of the myth. This relationship relates to its symbolic value. While a prop (or item) can have a variety of symbolic values in a text (or context), only one is primary in any given context. The props contribute to advancing the message of the myth and may be divided into major and minor props. The major props provide a means of discovery that contributes directly (and significantly) to the development of the myth's message (see Chapter 8). The minor props, on the other hand, particularly as they relate to specific participants, enhance some aspect of the myth.

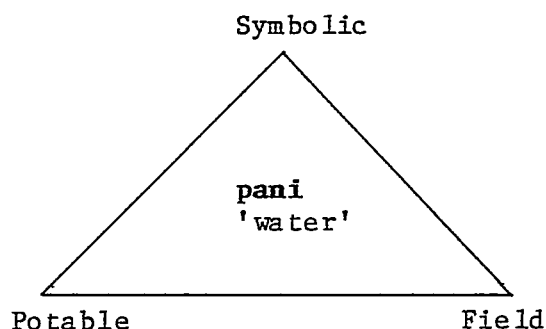
### Major Props

The major props of the myth include: the lake, Maha Lakhi's palace, the banyan tree and the birds, and the competition arena and the bows and arrows.

1. The Lake. The lake features as a major prop in the first section of the myth. Ram sends the sage to the lake which he specifically identifies in relation to the water-getting women. The sage stands up to his chest in the water and faces east. While in the lake, the sage receives the unborn Maha Lakhi and her birth takes place there. The sage's sight is restored while he is still standing in the water. When he finally comes out of the lake he sits on its bank. Later, the king comes to the sage at the lake. After the king and queen return to the palace with Maha Lakhi all reference to the lake ceases. The lake is a highly significant prop in this section of the myth and in order to understand this significance it is necessary to look at water and lakes as a reservoir of water in both Halbi society and the wider world of India.

Lakes in India are sacred. Each has a temple in it as well as various temples around it on its banks. The lakes that serve the needs of rural towns are generally man made and of square design, with most towns having at least one. They serve a utilitarian purpose as well as a spiritual one, providing a place to store water, bathe, wash clothes, get water, bathe and water the buffaloes, and so on. Water itself is used for purification in preparation for worship through ritualised bathing.

Among the Halbis, water plays an extremely significant role and its presence in the myth in the form of a lake coincides with the Halbis' perception of water. The Halbi term **pani** 'water' refers to actual water (H<sub>2</sub>O) which may be either potable or fieldwater. It is, however, not limited to this. The term **pani** may also refer to symbolic waters. Thus, water may be diagrammed as follows:



Potable water comes from a well (or, less frequently, from a river) and is used for drinking, cooking, bathing, and so forth. It also forms the main ingredient for symbolic water. Potable water is easily susceptible to contamination by low caste people, menstruating women, and anyone else in a state of pollution (**chuT**), and as a result none of these polluting agents may draw water from the well--others will draw it for them. Potable water is used for purposes of daily purification since in its essence it is pure and efficacious. The Raj Mureas bathe daily--the women prior to preparing the midmorning meal and the men prior to eating it. All Halbis wash their feet, hands, and faces after returning from the fields, the market, other villages, and any time they have left their own compound. On returning from defecating not only hands, feet, and face are washed but some water is

sprinkled over the head and some flicked into the air to remove the defilement that has accrued from this highly polluting act. When visitors arrive they are immediately given water with which to wash themselves; the purpose here being twofold--to protect the household from contamination, and to welcome the visitor. Ritual bathing for purposes of purification takes place after a death. This ritual bathing involves all members of the village as well as all members of the household. Later, as the mourners return from the funeral, water is thrown across their paths before they enter the village or house. The mourners also squeeze water out of their clothes over the place where the person died. During a marriage celebration the bride and groom ritually bathe the day after the main part of the ceremony has taken place.

Fieldwater comes from **bh6gwan** for the purpose of growing rice. Rainwater, per se, falls into this category. The Halbis never catch rainwater from the roof for use in cooking or drinking (your teeth will drop out if you do!) but they do use it without adverse effect for rinsing mud from hands and feet.

When **pani** refers to a symbolic water, the symbolic water may or may not have physical liquidity. Physically liquid symbolic water includes two ceremonial drinks (**k6sa pani** and **pona pani**), the amniotic fluid surrounding a fetus, and menstrual fluid.

The ceremonial drink **k6sa pani** plays a central role in two purification ceremonies: purification following birth and purification following death. The **k6sa pani** is prepared differently



for each ceremony although potable water forms the basic ingredient in both instances. The **k6sa pani** prepared for the **k6sa** (birth purification) ceremony also contains lentil water (**h6rwa co pani**), the root of the **k6kii** bush, part of the date palm (**sīd goka**), leaves of the **bel** tree, raw sugar (**gur**), crisply fried garlic cloves, and oil. All the women of the village gather to partake of this drink which symbolises the purification of the new mother and her acceptance back into the community. The **k6sa pani** prepared for the death purification ceremony contains smashed mango bark mixed with the potable water. The Halbis purify a house following a death by using three mango leaves to flick this water around. The sprinkling of the **k6sa pani** follows all other purificatory activities and appears as the culminating act of the purification. The Halbis do not drink this form of **k6sa pani**.

The other ceremonial drink, **pona pani** is prepared and drunk by the Halbis on many occasions: following the completion of the death purification ceremonies; at the **nahni** mourning ceremony; at a village level sacrificial ceremony called **bojar**; at dance dramas where it is given to those performing; and during the month of **kartik** (November-December, the month of righteousness) it is drunk by those practising austerities. Raw sugar (**gur**) and often **lai** (puffed rice) are mixed with potable water to produce this ceremonial drink.

When the amniotic fluid comes out prior to birth the Halbis refer to the fluid as **car hāDi**--literally 'four waterpots of water'--which signifies a large quantity of water. This amniotic fluid is reminiscent of the lake in which Maha Lakhi was born.

Both the purifying effects of water and its susceptibility to contamination mark it as an item readily available for euphemistic expression. When symbolic water refers to the menstrual fluid it provides an acceptable means of referring to a very polluting substance. Being a taboo subject of speech, this particularly polluting substance linguistically crosses from the domain of pollution to that of purity with a euphemism that specifically uses the term **pani**. This euphemism, **pani poR-li** (water fall-ptc, 3s, nm), refers to the beginning of menstruation when a girl reaches puberty.

Symbolic water without physical liquidity occurs in reference to sacrifices. The term **posu pani**, literally 'domesticated-animal water', refers, in a generic sense, to goats and chickens which are acceptable as a sacrifice as opposed to animals which are not acceptable for sacrifices.<sup>14</sup> The term **j6tra pani**, literally 'sacrifice water', refers to the animals sacrificed whether they be goats, chickens, pigs, sheep, or pigeons. **j6tra pani** refers to both the animal and its blood--all of which are thought to be consumed. The deity being worshipped consumes the blood (as long as the head comes off with one swipe), the sacrificing priest and his family eat the head, while all the males of the households who contributed to the animal's purchase eat the body. All, including the deity being worshipped, share in the 'drinking' of this spiritual water **j6tra pani**.

The preceding paragraphs describing water and its significance to the Halbis are intended to provide background for understanding the

symbolism of the lake in the myth. The lake symbolises purification and cleansing from sin which was the sage's desire in his petitions to Ram. Ram, recognising the lake's potential for cleansing, sends him to it. The sage too expects it to be efficacious and he obeys, spending many years in its waters. The holy quality of the water and the sage's austerities suggest that the sage's sin ought to be cancelled and his misfortunes reversed. However, when nothing happens a surprised deity intervenes. The lake as a symbol of purification and cleansing does not live up to expectation, suggesting perhaps that the sage was not guilty of any wrongdoing that could be washed away in the lake. Instead, the sage's long association with the lake served to increase his spiritual power. With Ram's intervention, the lake becomes symbolic of the amniotic fluid surrounding a fetus. Ram gives the unborn Maha Lakhi to the sage and she is then born in the lake in the midst of the water. The lake functions as a means of discovery (or restoration) as the sage finds the means for his sight to be restored and the king and queen find the child they lack.

2. Maha Lakhi's Palace. Palaces, the abodes of royalty, symbolise royalty and as a result tend to be elaborate and impressive buildings. In the third section of the myth, Maha Lakhi demands and gets a separate palace, where she and Hasin then live. The divine architect, Biskarma, builds the palace. It is extremely large (sixteen **kh6T** wide, twentyfour **kh6T** long, and nine storeys high) and highly decorated with every colour known in man and beast.

After its completion and the new day dawned the palace glowed

like the sunlight. The narrator compared this glow to the the glow of the pressure lamp which hung from a rafter in the room where she was telling the story. The glow affected in some way all the people of the kingdom as well as their domesticated cattle. It caused the people to wonder about Maha Lakhi's presence with them in what they considered to be a rather insignificant kingdom. The narrator herself inserts comments on the beauty of the palace in such a kingdom. The significance of the palace is rather obscure but appears to relate to Maha Lakhi's status. When she requests that the palace be built, her reason is that 'black had taken hold' of her parents' palace. Her statement possibly refers to the soot of the cooking fires that turns everything black in Halbi houses. However, the term *kala* (black) may refer to the kali age and represent an attempt by Maha Lakhi to separate herself from the natural world.<sup>15</sup>

The separation of Maha Lakhi from the natural world appears to be symbolised by the distinction between light and dark in the myth. The light associated with Maha Lakhi contrasts with the 'dark light' of the natural world throughout the myth: light filled the earth at her birth, the palace fills the countryside with light, and Maha Lakhi appears to be pulsating light when she comes to the competition arena at the demand of Murasur. The distinction comes to a climax in this section about the new palace. Maha Lakhi, for example, refers to the blackness of her parents' palace; and when the king asks Biskarma to build a new palace, he gives as the reason for building that Maha Lakhi had become 'light', "For our Maha Lakhi, having become light,

there is the need to build a separate palace" (Myth Sec 3:55).

3. The Banyan Tree and the Birds. The banyan tree and the birds feature as the major props of the fourth section of the myth. These props are quite passive and are objects of observation and dialogue between Maha Lakhi and Hasin. Although particular focus is on the birds, other species such as ants, insects, lizards, and humans, all come under observation as Maha Lakhi really begins to note her surroundings. The banyan tree, the first thing noticed by Maha Lakhi, is particularly significant, as both the Halbis and the members of the wider Indian society perceive it spiritually. Every banyan tree is a holy place and the residence of some deity. A shrine of some kind is located at each tree's base. The banyan tree signifies enlightenment, as the Buddha received enlightenment under a banyan tree. Maha Lakhi and Hasin sit under a banyan tree as they rest from the heat of the sun, and under this tree Maha Lakhi receives enlightenment (in regards to her need of and a means for finding a mate). The banyan tree features as a prop in the dialogue between Maha Lakhi and Hasin when Maha Lakhi addresses the problem of a single parent. She observes parts of the tree--the aerial root and a branch--and questions how these were born when there was only one tree (see Chapter 8). Hasin satisfactorily shows Maha Lakhi that the parenting involved two, and the girls then move onto the next part of the discussion.

As Maha Lakhi looks all around her, her attention focuses on the birds in the banyan tree, who are chasing one another, caring for

their young, and sitting in pairs as husband and wife. Maha Lakhi then focuses on the relationship the birds have with one another. They are symbols of companionship, and Maha Lakhi perceives them as symbols of the normal mating relationship between all creatures (beings). The dialogue between Maha Lakhi and Hasin centres on Maha Lakhi's search for answers concerning her mate. As she looks at the birds in their pairs she recognises a person's incompleteness without a partner. Thus the banyan tree and the birds function as visual examples of companionship and life purpose.

4. The Competition Pavilion and the Bows and Arrows. The competition pavilion built by Biskarma and the bows and arrows, are the major props of the final section of the myth. The narrator gives some detail to the pavilion's dimensions and decorations. It is twenty-four cubits high and four corners wide, and a structure five cubits high rests on top, with three wheels on top of it. These wheels (also called sisters) turn continually. Biskarma decorates the pavilion with owls, turtles, ploughs, oxen, fish, birds, and all species or castes.<sup>16</sup> The pavilion was built in *koda bhaṭa*, a wilderness area where a wild grain called *koda* grows. This pavilion is reminiscent of similiar structures used for similiar purposes in Hindu mythology. In the *Mahābhārata* (J.A.B. van Buitenen, ed. 1973:344) a tournament was held to choose a bridegroom for Kṛṣṇa Draupadi, and all the people were present to observe. The arena for the competition was very richly decorated with stands and pavilions and much splendour. The target consisted of a wheel with a hole in it

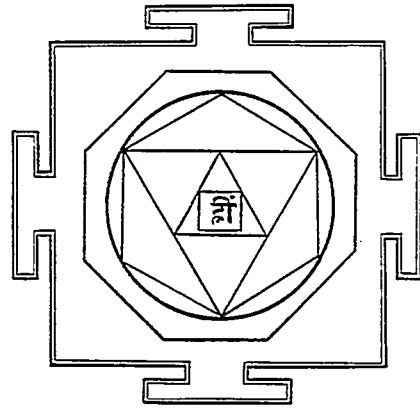
through which five arrows had to be shot. Also, the bow had first to be strung. The stringing of the bow was so difficult that it required a magical quality to succeed. This achievement assured success in shooting the arrows through the targeted area. The target in the Maha Lakhi myth consisted of the three wheels turning on the top of the pavilion. The object of this tournament in the myth was to shoot the arrow through the three revolving wheels and have it come back to earth at a certain point.<sup>17</sup>

The three wheels revolving on top of the pavilion are named (1) **kal c6k6r**, (2) **bil** or **dui c6k6r**, and (3) **mukti c6k6r**. The term **c6k6r** refers to a wheel, or a round or circular object. These wheels suggest Hindu yantras.

Yantras are geometrical figures made from linear elements intended to represent, in synthetic form, the base energies of the natural world, which are deities. . . . Yantras, though drawn on the flat, must be conceived as solids. The flat drawing is a mere suggestion of the three-dimensional figure which the yantra is. The three-dimensional yantra is itself but a static image of the moving, living combination of forces represented in a particular divinity.

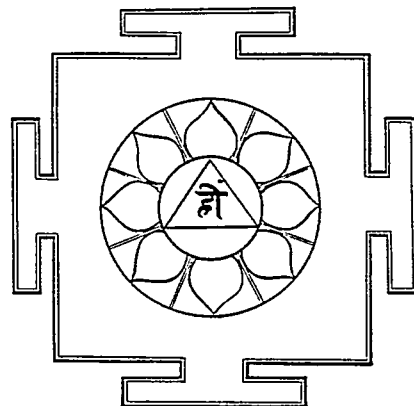
Daniélou 1964:350.

The wheel called **mukti c6k6r** is the same as the yantra of liberation. This yantra which is illustrated in the following diagram shows "different principles which the living being has to overcome in his effort to attain liberation' (Daniélou 1964:358).



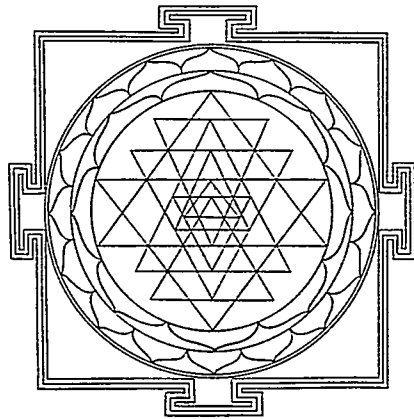
(Daniélou 1964:358).

The names of the other two wheels are not as easily recognisable in the Hindu yantras but perhaps correspond to : (1) the king of the yantras (called yantra rāja) which functions as a means "to create contacts with supranatural worlds. With its help, the worshipper can gain all worldly and supranatural powers" (Daniélou 1964:355). The following diagram from Daniélou (1964:354) illustrates yantra rāja :



(2) the yantra called Srī Cakra or wheel of fortune represents the universal goddess (Lakṣmī). This yantra is illustrated as follows :





(Daniélou 1964:359).

All three wheels appear to be three dimensional symbols of Maha Lakhi. The one who could shoot an arrow through the turning wheels would thus be indicating his dominion over the powers and principles which the wheels symbolised. Nasilnat was the only one who was successful and Maha Lakhi submitted to him. At this point, Maha Lakhi is not transcendent--she is like the bride in the Hindu myth already quoted, the prize of the competition.

Various types of bows and arrows were wielded by the three contestants. Though not stated explicitly, the kings of the earth may be assumed to have used an ordinary bow and arrow of the type known to the Halbis. Such a bow and arrow was not powerful enough to hit the target. Murasur's bow and arrow had something to do with a horse but the narrator was so excited that she was not speaking clearly. However, it does appear that Murasur's bow was considerably more powerful than the king's who tried first as he managed to cut through the bunting which fell and cut off his head. Nasilnat wielded the rainbow as his bow with which he easily sent his arrow through the

powerful wheels. He succeeds in being able to control Maha Lakhi and thus able to control the wheel of fortune. The rainbow used as a bow not only symbolises divine strength and power but the one whose weapon it is, is the one indicated as worthy of Maha Lakhi in marriage.

The pavilion as well as the bows and arrows function as the means of discovering the 'right person' to marry Maha Lakhi. While the props are props in the story, they also serve as cultural signals to the audience and indicate the relative importance of participants and their likely success or failure in the competition.

#### Minor Props

1. Elephants, Horses, and Other Animals. The elephants and horses which feature as props in the first section of the myth symbolise royalty and those associated with royalty. When Maha Lakhi was being taken back to the palace, the king and others rode on elephants while the common people walked. Narat Mani, the king's messenger, rode a horse when he took the message about the competition to the various competitors. The sage, elevated to royal status, is given, among other things, horses and elephants which befit his new position. The first time horses and elephants actually occur as props is at Maha Lakhi's birth. During the amazing events which follow the birth the horses and elephants become loosed. This event--along with the other events--symbolise that one even greater than royalty had been born. In Hindu mythology when Lakṣmī was born during the churning of the sea of milk, the heavenly elephants poured the waters

upon her. This suggests that certain animals respond to the birth of the goddess of fortune. Other animals (cattle, goats, sheep, poultry) occur as props in the third section of the myth. They are described as being affected in some way by the magnificence of Maha Lakhi's new palace. The symbolism of this is obscure and may relate to their subjection (along with their herders) to Maha Lakhi's authority. The narrator uses the elephants, horses, and other animals as symbols to enhance some aspect of the myth. Their presence as props in the myth serve to emphasise Maha Lakhi's divine status.

2. Chairs and Beds and Gold Swings. Chairs and beds always symbolise elevated status to a Halbi. To offer a bed or chair to sit on is a means of bestowing honour upon the guest. Gold beds and gold swings on the other hand always symbolise those of a highly elevated status with whom a Halbi person could never expect to interact because of the wide discrepancy between their own status and the other's highly elevated status. The narrator uses these items as symbols to enhance or emphasise the status of particular participants in the myth.

3. Other Props. Other props occurring in the myth include items of exchange, the letter telling of the competition, and the vehicle that Nasilnat rides in to earth (**boRu ban**). The items of exchange include the wealth given the sage in exchange for Maha Lakhi, the money offered to but rejected by Konda Brahmin in exchange for Hasin, and the items brought by Nasilnat that were given at the wedding in exchange for Maha Lakhi. The letter sent by the king to

each of the three competitors served to inform them of the competition. The **boRu ban** that Nasilnat rides to earth appears to be associated with divinity. What it is and what it signifies are obscure. The narrator, however, considered it quite significant as she states four times that that was his means of travel.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that the Halbis are in process of being 'Hindu-ised' and as a result some cultural roles described here may be still somewhat foreign to them.

<sup>2</sup>The brahmin men usually perform the brahminic role while their women are kept in the background.

<sup>3</sup>After a futile search for a bride he despaired and sought help from the Brahmā who gave him the advice he needed on how to gain a bride. He sat on the bank of a river and so fervently worshipped and praised his fathers that they appeared and granted him a boon. A beautiful Apsaras arose from the river and gave her daughter Mālinī to him in marriage. She bore the seer a son whose name was also called Ruci.

<sup>4</sup>The kingdom to which the Halbis belong has ceased to exist since the death of their Raja in 1966. However, the Halbis see themselves as a continuing part of the old kingdom and maintain the traditional ceremonies that authenticate and give expression to the kingdom. They also are constantly expecting the resurrection of their Raja and this has led to a number of charlatans appearing and claiming their allegiance and devotion.

<sup>5</sup>This lack of clarity is due to my lack of knowledge. In the Maha Lakhi myth is the first place I have encountered **6surs** in the culture. This possibly indicates that the **6surs** are indeed mythical beings and not active in the everyday life of the Halbis--but this cannot be investigated until there is opportunity once again to work with a native speaker of the language.

<sup>6</sup>His sudden awakening from sleep may have contributed to his

irrational behaviour. The Halbis avoid sudden awakenings because of the absence of a person's life force (*jiu*) during sleep. This episode continues to justify the Halbis' belief in the dire consequences of sudden awakenings.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps one can assume that other bundles exist in Ram's storeroom awaiting the opportunity to be born!

<sup>8</sup> In one village several miles away Maha Lakhi marries *bonua raja* (forest king) during the festival. It may be that *bonua raja* and Narean Debi are one and the same, or that Maha Lakhi marries the male principle of the village (or household). The specific identification of the male principle possibly varies from place to place.

<sup>9</sup> In making the *g6m*, the Halbis take the threshed and winnowed paddy rice and pile it, carefully flattening the surface. They outline the pile with a mixture of rice straw, soot, water, and a handful of paddy rice and also use the mixture to make various symbols on the pile itself. These symbols represent the sun and moon, the ploughs, the harvesting sickles, the leafy branch fed to cattle, and hoof marks (the latter two appear to be optional). At the eastern end of the pile they place the harvesting sickles with a piece of cow dung on each hook, the winnowing basket, and a piece of rice straw called the 'old man'.

<sup>10</sup> My language helper denied any special meanings or reasons attached to ploughing and the taboo on women. However, he is in a mother-son relationship to me which would place a taboo on his telling me anything of such matters anyway.

<sup>11</sup> The indigenous belief system of the Halbis would make a truly fascinating study, as the local deities are stratified in a pyramidal fashion, bearing distinct similarities to the caste system (in its aspects of hierarchical structuring) under which the Halbis operate. This perhaps signals a reason for the continuing strength of caste in the area.

<sup>12</sup> The sentence referring to living as a dead person has two possible interpretations: (1) "Being alone is like being dead and how can I exist now in life like a dead person?"; (2) "When I'm dead how can I exist alone as a dead person?" The former interpretation fits the context better, while the latter fits what is known of the sentence structure.

<sup>13</sup>In a sense, companionship symbolises the synchronic kinship system that provides an individual with his peers, while marriage symbolises the diachronic kin system (providing an individual with parents and children) that reproduces itself through history.

<sup>14</sup>Castrated animals are not acceptable for sacrifice, nor are female goats which have borne young.

<sup>15</sup>Hindu mythology distinguishes four ages--Krita Yuga the perfect age, Tretā Yuga the age in which the perfect begins to degenerate, Dvāpara Yuga the age in which a dangerous balance between perfection and imperfection exists, and Kali Yuga the dark age (Zimmer 1946:13-5). The king's speech to Biskarma enhances the possibility that **kala** refers to the kali age.

<sup>16</sup>It is unclear whether these were drawings/images or actual created beings.

<sup>17</sup>The specific details of what was to happen are rather obscure and this description may be incomplete.

## CHAPTER 7

### OPPOSITIONS, REFLECTIONS, AND MIRROR IMAGES

Three rhetorical structures have been identified in the myth: oppositions, reflections, and mirror images. Oppositions function hierarchically at a low level in the myth's structure and point up a contrast between items. Many oppositions may be identified. Only a limited number are significant to the development of the myth's message. Reflections and mirror images function hierarchically at a high level in the myth's structure. Reflections indicate parallels that exist between items, while mirror images indicate reversals of items. These rhetorical structures and their function in the myth are summarised in the following chart:

oppositions	contrast of items
reflections	parallels between items
mirror images	reversals of items

#### Oppositions and Their Function in the Myth

##### General Remarks

An opposition is defined as any two (or three) items having a definite relationship yet differing by a marked contrast of some sort. Analysis of the Maha Lakhi myth has revealed many oppositions. Oppositions function hierarchically at a low level in the myth much like phonemes function at a low level in linguistic hierarchical structure. They tend to form the basic elements of larger structures

such as reflections and mirror images.

The narrator utilises oppositions to provide contrast between participants (or groups of participants) or between elements (or objects). As a result, oppositions provide a cohesive element within the myth's structure.

All the participants of the myth are either natural or supernatural and elevated or base. These two binary oppositions provide the intersecting axes of a matrix that categorises those participants.

	elevated	base
supernatural	deity	<b>6sur</b>
natural	royalty	commoners

While the matrix presents basic culturally defined oppositions of the myth's participants, it does not account fully for the complexity of the Halbi universe. The Halbi universe, further, consists of a ternary opposition: upper world, middle world, below world. In conjunction with this opposition size extends from miniature size in the below world to normal life size in the middle world to the potential for unlimited size in the upper world.

This study attempts to distinguish between primary and secondary oppositions in the myth. Primary oppositions are important to the development of the myth's message whereas secondary oppositions are less important. Primary oppositions involve participants while secondary oppositions involve elements, objects, or sometimes



participants. Secondary oppositions tend to validate the interpretation of the primary oppositions.

### Primary Oppositions involving Participants

#### Participants and Their Roles Within the Myth

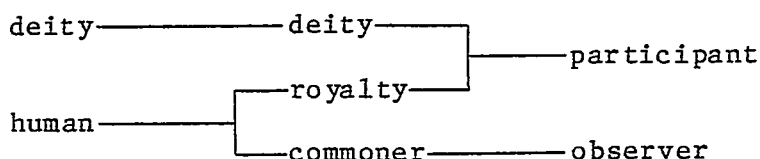
The distinction between the sage and Queen Niubati exemplifies a male-female opposition. The king's speech to the sage in which he asks for the baby Maha Lakhi focuses on the sage's maleness with a resultant inability to fulfill a female function. The two are simply not compatible in Halbi society. The queen, however, being female is qualified to care for the child. This opposition provides the basis for the exchange of Maha Lakhi from the sage to the queen and thus contributes to the forward movement of the myth.

An opposition between deity and human becomes quite evident in the myth. Deities command while humans obey. Maha Lakhi commands Hasin and she obeys. Maha Lakhi commands the king and he obeys. The deity Ram commands the sage and he obeys.

An opposition between royalty and commoner is also evident in some instances by a command and obedience interaction. The king, as royalty, commands and the police, as commoners, obey; the king commands and all the people, as commoners, gather; the king commands and his messenger Narat Mani takes the message of the competition, as directed, to the contestants. Further, royalty makes use of gold implements--the fabulous wealth always associated with royalty. In contrast, the narrator, on occasion refers to her own and the rest of the Halbis' status as 'lowly tribal people'.

A further opposition is that of participant as distinct from observer. The participants in the myth are principally divinities, royalty, and brahmins while the observers in the myth are ordinary humanity who act as witnesses verifying and validating the events of the myth.<sup>1</sup>

The three oppositions described in the previous three paragraphs (deity-human, royal-commoner, and participant-observer) define the various groups in the myth and delineate a descending order of importance of those groups which may be diagrammed as follows:

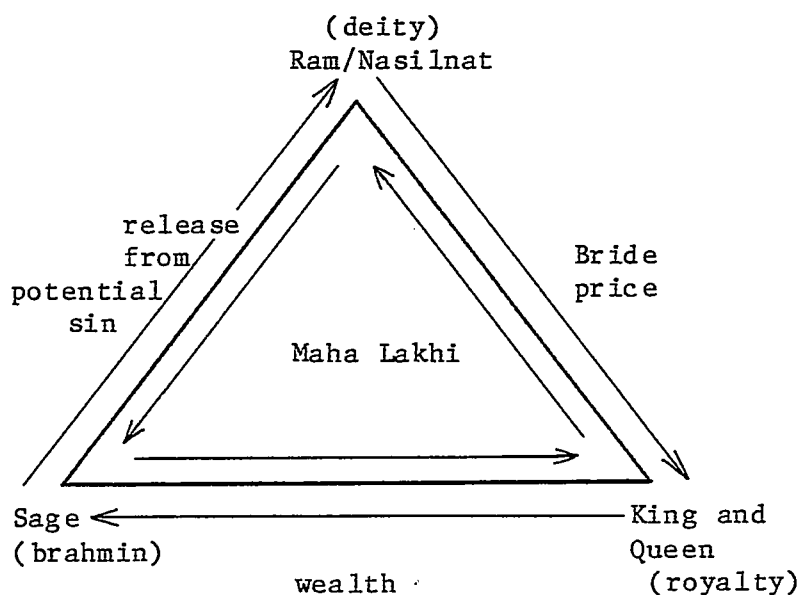


#### Actions of Participants

Actions in opposition--give-receive, command-obey, sleep-awake, and sleep-worship--further define the participants.

Give-receive is a prominent action opposition in the myth. It is an opposition that generally results in an exchange taking place. This exchange features as a dominant theme in the myth as Maha Lakhi is given and received on three occasions. On the first occasion, Ram gives the unborn Maha Lakhi to the blind sage. The unborn Maha Lakhi represented his sight which was restored after her birth. The sage, in exchange, released the deity from the possibility of becoming guilty of sin. (This potential sin stemmed from the failure of the sage's austerities to bring about the desired effect--release from his

sins and the restoration of his sight.) On the second occasion, the sage gave Maha Lakhi to the king and queen and received material wealth and the king's blessing in exchange. On the third occasion, the king (and by extension, the queen) gave Maha Lakhi to the deity Nasilnat. In exchange, the king received the brideprice. Nasilnat and Ram are one and the same and so Maha Lakhi ends up where she began.<sup>2</sup> The give-receive opposition parallels life cycle sequences in the life of an individual: (1) conception (deity to brahmin), (2) birth (brahmin to royalty), and (3) marriage (royalty to deity). These exchanges are summarised in the following diagram:



The objects given in exchange for Maha Lakhi are indicated on the outside perimeters of the triangle while Maha Lakhi, the object of exchange is indicated on the inside of the triangle. The arrows indicate the direction of movement.

A second important give-receive opposition involves Konda

brahmin giving Hasin to the king. (Other give-receive oppositions occur but are secondary and not directly related to the message of the myth.) The one who gives in this opposition is in a position of power while the one who receives is in a position of weakness or vulnerability with the exception of the deity Nasilnat. He achieves a position of power through his success in the competition. The king gives Maha Lakhi to him as his prize and possession.

Command-obey, occurs frequently as an action opposition throughout the myth. Three participants in particular fill the command position of the opposition--Ram, Maha Lakhi, and the king. Ram commands the sage and he obeys. Maha Lakhi commands the king, queen, Hasin, and the wind and storm and they each obey. The king commands the police, all his subjects, and Narat Mani and they each obey. The king also commands the deity Biskarma on behalf of Maha Lakhi when he goes for the second time to the deity's house. Biskarma readily acquiesces. The one who commands (and is obeyed) stands in a position of superiority. The one who obeys stands in a position of inferiority.

The other two action oppositions--asleep-awake and sleep-worship--enhance the contrast between participants. The opposition asleep-awake, refers to Murasur who was asleep when the message concerning the competition arrived whereas his wives were awake. The opposition, sleep-worship, makes a moral distinction between Murasur (sleeping) and Nasilnat (worshipping). The act of worship is inherently a morally righteous action relating to the

fulfillment of responsibility on all occasions whereas sleeping lacks the sense of fulfillment of responsibility. The morality of sleeping is such that sleeping at the wrong time is indicative of immoral, irresponsible behaviour.

#### Attitudes or States of Being of Participants

Attitudes or states of being in opposition--have-have not, dominant-submissive, elevate-base, unlimited abilities-limited abilities, and moral-immoral--even further define the participants.

A have-have not opposition of state of being in the myth becomes a principal motivational factor in the activities and interactions of participants. Ram has the power to give sight while the sage lacks sight. The sage's misfortune, that is, his blindness, motivates his continuing practice of austerities. He wants his sight and believes Ram can give him sight, so prays to that end. Finally, the sage receives his sight and a child besides. Thus, the sage who ought not to have a child, has one, whereas King Bhorun and Queen Niubati, who ought to have a child, lack one. After the king and queen discover that the sage has a child, they come to him seeking what he now has the power to give them. Eventually he gives them the child thus fulfilling their lack of one. Also, the king has a companion (who happens to be a royal advisor) while Maha Lakhi lacks any companion. Maha Lakhi uses the fact that the king has a companion as an argument for her own need of one. Maha Lakhi then tells her father that the brahmin, Konda, has a child who can serve as her companion. Konda gives the child to the king for this purpose. Finally, Maha Lakhi and

Hasin observe the birds with their mates. Maha Lakhi recognises that the birds have mates whereas she does not. Nasilnat fulfills her lack of a mate as a result of his success in the competition.

A dominant-submissive opposition is exemplified by the relationship between Maha Lakhi (dominant) and Hasin (submissive) as well as between Nasilnat (dominant) and Maha Lakhi (submissive). Nasilnat is the only one to whom Maha Lakhi submits in the myth.

An elevated-base opposition is evident in the relationship of the king and the brahmins (elevated) to the commoners (base) and represents a basic dichotomy the Halbis see existing in all humanity. The elevated-base opposition is illustrated by supernatural beings as well. The deities are elevated and the **6surs** are base.

An attributional opposition of unlimited abilities as distinct from limited abilities is evident in the relationship of Maha Lakhi who has unlimited abilities to her parents, the king and queen whose abilities are limited. Also, the narrator, on a number of occasions, points out Maha Lakhi's supernatural abilities which are viewed as limitless by the Halbis. These limitless abilities of the deities contrast with the limited abilities of humanity.

A final opposition is the ternary opposition, moral-morally neutral-immoral. This is illustrated in the competition for Maha Lakhi's hand. The narrator introduces the first of the contestants, the kings of the earth, in a state of moral neutrality or ambiguity with no indication given as to where they stand spiritually. On the other hand, she introduces the second competitor, Murasur, as immoral,

and introduces the third and final contestant, Nasilnat--in contrast to the first two--as moral.

#### Characteristics of Participants Expressed in Oppositions

As stated above, the contestants for Maha Lakhi's hand form a ternary opposition--kings of the earth are seen as morally neutral, Murasur is seen as immoral, and Nasilnat is seen as moral. The major poles of this opposition are Nasilnat and Murasur. Both are supernatural beings while the kings belong to the natural world. Further, both Nasilnat and Murasur have contact with Maha Lakhi and the kings do not. Finally, the narrator presents very little information concerning the kings but a great deal of information concerning Nasilnat and Murasur. The distinctive characteristics of Nasilnat and Murasur are summarised as a series of oppositions in the chart below:

Nasilnat	Murasur
Moral	Immoral
Success	Failure
Elevated	Earthy
Worships	Sleeps
Heavenly weapons	Earthy weapons
Spiritual	Unspiritual
Receives respect from Maha Lakhi	Does not receive respect from Maha Lakhi
Maha Lakhi submits	Maha Lakhi resists

As the myth develops it becomes increasingly obvious that Maha Lakhi is no ordinary human being. She is in fact a supernatural being. Her

status as a supernatural being precludes the possibility of the kings of the earth, who are not supernatural beings, winning her hand since like species only mate with like species in the Halbis' world and life view. Only the supernatural beings, Nasilnat and Murasur, are potential mates. The narrator brings into sharp focus the contrast between the latter two leaving the audience no doubt as to which is the right one for Maha Lakhi. All the information given concerning Nasilnat is positive and all the information given concerning Murasur is negative.

The characteristics which distinguish Maha Lakhi and Hasin are summarised as a series of oppositions in the chart below:

Maha Lakhi	Hasin
Dominant	Submissive
Surrogate husband	Surrogate wife
Divine	Human
Unknowing	Knowing
Non-brahmin	Brahmin

Maha Lakhi dominates the relationship between herself and Hasin and as a result falls symbolically into the role of surrogate husband to Hasin as surrogate wife. One's *hasi* relations, as mentioned previously, provide a Halbi with the preferred marriage partner. In the myth, Maha Lakhi, as a surrogate male, has her father and his companion make the 'wedding' arrangements with Konda Brahmin, the father of Hasin. These arrangements follow standard Halbi practice for marriage. Later on, in the dialogue between Maha Lakhi and Hasin under the banyan tree, Maha Lakhi appears as lacking certain knowledge



related to the facts of life while Hasin possesses that knowledge and interprets it for Maha Lakhi. Finally, Maha Lakhi is a non-brahmin while Hasin is brahmin--a distinction Maha Lakhi points out in her dialogue with Hasin. Paradoxically, Maha Lakhi's status as divine and omniscient should have meant that she already possessed the knowledge that she sought from Hasin, yet her persistent questioning suggests that she did indeed lack some knowledge. This episode lacks any display of Maha Lakhi's supernatural powers that are evident elsewhere in the myth. This suggests that, for this episode at least, Maha Lakhi's humanity dominates and that she fits into the human world as a human being with human limitations of knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

#### Secondary Oppositions that involve Elements or Objects

Secondary oppositions that involve time, food, space, and implements are not central to the development of the myth's message. They provide further distinguishing features between participants already defined by the primary oppositions.

#### Time

Humans in the myth are said to sleep during the night and work during the day. The narrator carefully specifies that the king and queen, their servants and all people slept during certain night-time activities as when Biskarma was building the palace. The king, however, contrary to normal practice, does go to Biskarma during the

night hours.

Biskarma, on the other hand, built the palace and the competition arena during the night hours only. He worked only at night and was careful to leave before the new day actually dawned.

The deities are never spoken of as sleeping. They appear to be beyond the bounds of time and are free to act when they please. Maha Lakhi, with a reluctant Hasin, goes to measure out the palace area while her earthly parents sleep. Mostly, however, she acts during the day-time hours. This temporal opposition may be summarised as follows:

	humanity	deity
night	sleep	work
day	work	?

Another temporal opposition occurring in the myth is compressed time-normal time--or expressed another way, superspeed-natural speed. Compressed time enables the deities to achieve fantastic results in an unnaturally brief period of time. Maha Lakhi grows abnormally quickly in contrast with the expectancy of normal humanity. Biskarma builds the palace in one night and then, later builds the arena in one night. During the building of the palace, Maha Lakhi compressed many nights into one apparently to give Biskarma more hours of darkness in which to work. This overnight appearance of the palace caused amazement among the people of the kingdom and the narrator reinforces the speed

of building by her own comments. When Maha Lakhi and Hasin go on their adventures in the world, the adventures are compressed into one time period of the day which is usually half a day. Yet, in spite of the brief time period, the girls form an excessive number of flower friendships, friendships which would take years to experience in normal time. They also engage in a long involved dialogue during this same time period which would take humans hours to complete. The compression of time (or superspeed) thus characterises the deities and contrasts them with humanity.

#### Food

The narrator details a raw-cooked food opposition in the myth. This opposition serves to distinguish the food given to Maha Lakhi (always raw) and the food given to Hasin (always cooked), to contrast divinity and humanity, and finally, to distinguish that which is not subject to pollution (that is, raw foodstuffs) and therefore suitable as a food offering to the deities, and that which is subject to pollution (that is, cooked foodstuffs) and therefore not suitable for such an offering.<sup>4</sup>

#### Space

A spatial opposition of heaven-earth serves as a further distinction between the divinities and humanity.<sup>5</sup> The abode of the divinities is heaven, *up6r phur*, located somewhere above while the abode of humanity is the earth, *mōj phur*, located here, below heaven.

Those who are of heaven may be born on the earth while those who are of the earth are not able to be born in heaven. Those who are of heaven are not spatially limited while those of the earth are basically limited to the earth.

Another spatial opposition in the myth indicates the status of participants. It is an in front-behind opposition in which those in front are of a higher status while those behind are of a lower status. Maha Lakhi always precedes Hasin and sits in front of her. Hasin takes the high status position in relation to the king when he brings her to Maha Lakhi. He takes the lower status position behind her. The king's advisor is in the lowest status position at the end of the line.

#### Implements

Implements seen to be in opposition in the myth are the other worldly weapons of Nasilnat and the earthy weapons of Murasur. The bow Murasur used appeared to be related to his horse and was perhaps a hoof with a hair from its mane as the bow string. This bow was obviously not powerful enough to succeed. On the other hand, Nasilnat's bow was the rainbow, probably the most powerful bow known to the Halbis. Only Nasilnat had the power and authority to use it successfully.

### The Function of Oppositions in the Myth

The narrator utilises oppositions in the myth to fulfill a variety of functions. These functions serve to strengthen the teaching of the myth as well as heighten the enjoyment and appreciation thereof.

Firstly, oppositions provide cohesion in the text. Participants, participant actions, roles, states of being, or attributes and various other elements contrast in some way. Such contrast results in a tight interweaving of the fabric of the myth.

Secondly, while participants are linked together by the oppositions, the contrast established serves to distinguish or separate them and their roles from other participants. For example, a positive-negative opposition distinguishes Nasilnat (positive) from Murasur (negative).

Thirdly, the oppositions serve to develop the character of participants over a period of time, for example, moral-immoral, sleep-awake, and so on. In the peaks of the story the differences between the participants' characters are clarified and the end results of actions are justified by the use of oppositions.

Finally oppositions serve as a means of marking cultural differences. This function becomes particularly evident as the distinctions between deities and humanity unfold in the myth. The following chart summarises the oppositions characterising the differences between divinity and humanity:

Divinity	Humanity
Divine	Human
Supernatural	Natural
Receive worship	Give worship
Sacred	Profane
Raw food	Cooked food
Dominant	Submissive
Command	Obey
Unlimited abilities	Limited abilities
Not limited by time	Limited by time
Not Limited by space	Limited by space
Compressed time	Normal time
Heavenly implements	Earthly implements
In up6r phur 'heaven'	In mōj phur 'earth'
Command elements	Subject to elements
Giver of life (Creator)	Receiver of life (Creation)

Reflections and Mirror Images: Their Functions in the Myth

General Remarks

A reflection is an image thrown back from some kind of reflective surface.<sup>6</sup> Analysis of the myth of Maha Lakhi reveals a number of reflections among participants and within parts of the myth. In the myth itself, a reflection consists of a pairing of items by the giving back verbally of an implied likeness and parallels rather than reverses the original item specified. This means that reflections are seen as positive-positive images. On the other hand, a positive-negative image, reversing the original item, is a mirror image. Reflections and mirror images are parallelisms and reversals occurring at a very high level in the hierarchical structure of the myth somewhat like a chapter or discourse in linguistic structure.

Reflections and Mirror Images Among Participants

Some reflections and mirror images consist of individual participants and form individual reflections.

The myth of Maha Lakhi divides into two parts with Maha Lakhi's puberty marking the dividing point. Many participants of the first half occur as participants in the second half. Other participants of the first half do not occur as participants of the second, rather new participants are introduced. The two sets of participants that participate only in their respective halves of the myth are reflections of one another. The following chart of participants indicates those participants occurring throughout the myth (called continuing participants):

Continuing Participants:

First Half	Puberty	Second Half
King Bhorun _____		King Bhorun
Queen Niubati _____		Queen Niubati
Maha Lakhi _____		Maha Lakhi
Hasin _____		Hasin
Biskarma _____		Biskarma
All people _____		All people
Kings of Earth _____		Kings of Earth

The kings of the earth occur in the first half of the myth in an accompaniment role in an insignificant episode. This introduction places them in the category of a continuing participant so that they can be referred to later and not part of a reflection or mirror image. The following chart links the two sets of participants, who are not continuing participants, with their reflections:

## Participant Reflections and Mirror Images:

First Half	Puberty	Second Half
Ram _____		Ispar Parbati
Sage _____	reverse _____	Murasur
Waterwomen _____		Murasur's wives
Police _____		Narat Mani
Konda Brahmin _____		Nasilnat

Other individual reflections that involve groups perceived as individual entities occur in a reflection relationship. These include:

Commoners ..... **6surs**  
 Royalty ..... Deity

Besides the individual and group reflections, other reflections occur which involve pairs of participants. These paired reflections pervade the myth. The participants of such pairs are generally drawn from the set of continuing participants. The following summarises these paired reflections:

Hasin-Maha Lakhi ..... Mantari-King Bhorun  
 Hasin-Maha Lakhi ..... Queen Niubati-King Bhorun  
 Narat Mani-King Bhorun .. King Bhorun-Maha Lakhi  
 Commoners-royalty ..... **6sur**-deity

Individual, Group, and Paired Reflections and Mirror Images

The police and Narat Mani are reflections of one another since they both act as messengers of the king. In the first case the police are sent to verify the existence and possible availability of Maha Lakhi. In the second case, Narat Mani is sent to announce Maha



Lakhi's availability as a wife.

The water-getting women and Murasur's wives also act as reflections of one another. The water-getting women, performing their cultural role, become the link between the sage and the king and also the means whereby Maha Lakhi's continuing life is assured. Murasur's wives perform according to their cultural roles and prove themselves faithful to their husband. They become the link between Murasur and Ispar Parbati and also the means whereby Ispar and Parbati intervene and restore life to Murasur.<sup>7</sup>

Konda Brahmin and Nasilnat provide the most pronounced (and perhaps most important) reflection in the myth. Firstly, the narrator introduces both into the story in the same way--as living devout lives. They both provide a companion for Maha Lakhi in that the brahmin provides a child companion (Hasin) while Nasilnat provides an adult companion (himself).

Ram and Ispar Parbati are reflections of one another as they intervene in the affairs of men in response to expressions of sorrow and regret. They each bring life. Ram responds to the sage's mourning and sorrow bringing life (and eventually sight) in the form of Maha Lakhi. Ispar and Parbati respond to Murasur's wives' mourning and bring life back to Murasur.

The sage and Murasur are mirror images of one another and could be said to represent two natures that make up man. The one nature, represented by the sage, shows a continual aspiration to be free of sin and its resultant powerlessness through the practice of severe austerities such as self-denial and continuous acts of penance. The

other nature, represented by Murasur, reveals itself to be interested only in self-satisfaction and the pursuit of pleasure without regard to one's duties. Both the sage and Murasur occupy large segments of the myth with considerable detail given to each of their activities in contrast to the reduced detail given to most other participants. The details of their activities develop the completeness of each of their characters. The sage continually practices austerities whereas Murasur does not. The sage is aware of his spiritual lack--evidenced by his belief that his blindness occurred as a result of an apparent sinful act on his part. Murasur, on the other hand, has no awareness of any spiritual lack and he appears totally oblivious to the fact that his behaviour had resulted in his own death. After life was restored he thought he had been asleep. The sage is continually awake and alert as he stands in the lake for upwards of twenty years. Murasur, however, sleeps continually and thus is unprepared to receive the king's messenger. The sage has no clothes, no food, no home, no wife, nothing, whereas Murasur has everything to indulge himself including seven wives whom he ditches for Maha Lakhi. The sage shows concern for Maha Lakhi and her protection while Murasur shows no concern for anyone. All that is good and virtuous in the sage and his actions is reversed in Murasur.

The sage and Murasur also parallel one another in that each stands alone. The sage stands out as different to other participants in the first half of the myth while Murasur stands out as very different to other participants in the second half of the myth.

The reflection of royalty and deity in the myth focuses on the elevated status of the two groups. Royalty, including brahmins, represent the refined and pure section of the natural world while the deities represent the refined, elevated, and pure section of the supernatural world. Commoners as ordinary humanity and **6surs** are also reflections of one another as they both have low status. The commoners represent the unrefined, the crass, the base, and the ones subject to pollution in the natural world while the **6surs** represent the unrefined, the crass, the base members of the supernatural world. These two reflections form the paired reflection of commoner-royalty .... **6sur**-deity. What the commoner is to royalty in the natural world, the **6sur** is to deity in the supernatural world.

The paired reflection Hasin-Maha Lakhi .... Mantari-King Bhorun indicates an advisory function. As the mantari is to the king so Hasin is to Maha Lakhi. The mantari functions as advisor (suggested by the name) to the king while Hasin functions as advisor to Maha Lakhi (note her advice in their long dialogue in Section 4 of the myth).

The paired reflection Narat Mani-King Bhorun .... King Bhorun-Maha Lakhi arises from the opposition command-obey in that as Narat Mani fulfills the function of messenger for the king (at his command) so the king also functions as the messenger for Maha Lakhi (at her command). Both Narat Mani and the king each go three times to deliver messages.<sup>8</sup> The final paired reflection under consideration is Hasin-Maha Lakhi .... Queen Niubati-King Bhorun. This paired

reflection arises out of the opposition dominant-submissive in that as a wife is to a husband and as the queen is to the king so Hasin is to Maha Lakhi. Hasin functions socially in the myth as a female (a wife) while Maha Lakhi functions socially as a male (a husband). Maha Lakhi dominates while Hasin submits in much the same way that the queen submits to the king as king and husband. This reflects the Halbi culture in which the male dominates and the female is expected to be submissive. The Halbi male and female perceive submission to the husband as a virtue symbolised within the culture through the wearing of glass bangles.

#### Reflections in the Life Cycle

As has been previously mentioned, the Maha Lakhi myth divides into two halves with the dividing point being Maha Lakhi's puberty. The second half is a reflection of the first half. The first half deals with the conception, birth, and childhood of Maha Lakhi while the second half deals with her adulthood. A conception/birth .... puberty reflection focuses on beginnings with conception/birth being the beginning of life as a young child and puberty the beginning of life as an adult. Birth and puberty are each marked by blood and result in a change of status for a Halbi female. At birth the child arrives from another world. The ceremonies conducted following birth ensure that they will remain in their new environment. At puberty a girl moves from the world she knows, her own household, into another world. She is no longer a member of the lineage (ku Tum), but is simply

called a daughter of it. Parts of her parents' house are now forbidden to her. Eventually she becomes a member of the lineage into which she marries. The reflection conception/birth .... puberty, like the other reflections of the life cycle in the myth, are closely linked to the life cycle of the Halbis.

The childhood and adulthood of Maha Lakhi provide two sets of reflections: early childhood .... early adulthood and later childhood .... later adulthood. The early childhood .... early adulthood reflection is encountered in the second and fourth sections of the myth. The episode concerning Maha Lakhi's early childhood (Section 2 of the myth) deals with her acquisition of a companion as a playmate. This episode represents symbolically the early childhood of the Halbis, a carefree period without responsibilities. The child is left to play with its peers. The Halbis do not expect young children to contribute economically to the household. They are therefore, in a sense, permitted to be economically irresponsible. Maha Lakhi's acquisition of a playmate and their happiness in playing together symbolises, in the myth, this carefree period of childhood. The episode in the myth concerning Maha Lakhi's adventuring into the world and forming flower friendships (Section 4 of the myth) symbolises the early adulthood period for a Halbi. This period for the Halbis is a carefree period without social responsibilities. The Halbi adolescents form many alliances with members of the opposite sex without having any of the responsibilities entailed by marriage. They are therefore, in a sense, permitted to be socially irresponsible.

This social irresponsibility, represented by the formation of many transitory boy-girl alliances, characterises Maha Lakhi's early adulthood in the myth. Thus, the irresponsible, carefree period of early adulthood reflects the irresponsible, carefree period of early childhood.

In the reflection later childhood .... later adulthood, the focus shifts from irresponsibility to responsibility. The development of economic responsibility marks a Halbi's later childhood as each begins to contribute labour to the household. The episode in the myth concerning Maha Lakhi and the new palace symbolises a Halbi's later childhood with the attendant development of economic responsibility. In later adulthood as the Halbi marries and begins to bear children, social responsibility develops. The final section of the myth leading up to Maha Lakhi's marriage to Nasilnat and her departure to live with him in heaven symbolises this later period of socially responsible adulthood. The socially responsible period of later adulthood is a reflection of the economically responsible period of later childhood.

#### Reflections in Actions and Other Reflections

Hasin becoming Maha Lakhi's companion and Nasilnat becoming Maha Lakhi's marriage partner are reflections of each other. The following chart summarises the matching aspects of the two episodes:

Hasin	Nasilnat
Maha Lakhi's speech to king King goes Konda bathed and worshipping Hasin dressed to go Hasin welcomed Maha Lakhi and Hasin play together	Maha Lakhi's speech to Hasin King's messenger goes Nasilnat bathed and worshipping Nasilnat dresses to go Nasilnat welcomed Nasilnat and Maha Lakhi marry

Maha Lakhi, in her speeches to the king and then later to Hasin, focuses on her need for a companion--in the first speech, the sex of the companion is immaterial, in the second, the companion's sex must be male. In the first instance the king goes on Maha Lakhi's behalf while in the second the king sends his messenger. Both Konda Brahmin and Nasilnat were engaged in similiar spiritually virtuous activities when the messages arrived. Hasin was already dressed ready to go to school and Nasilnat dressed prior to leaving. Maha Lakhi welcomed Hasin by having her fed and then hugging her; Maha Lakhi welcomed Nasilnat by formally greeting him. Maha Lakhi and Hasin played together happily and joyfully as childhood companions; Nasilnat married Maha Lakhi. In the first half of the reflection Konda Brahmin provided the companion--his daughter who was part of himself--while in the second half the deity provided the companion who was himself.

The dialogue that Maha Lakhi has with Hasin concerning her need of a marriage companion is itself a reflection of Maha Lakhi's speech to her father concerning her need of a childhood companion. Note the

basic elements of the two speeches summarised in the following chart:

Speech to King	Speech to Hasin
1. King has companion  Maha Lakhi does not 2. Aloneness affects growing (baR) playing (khel) walking (bul) being (ro) going out (nikr)	1. All beings (esp. birds) have companions (mates) Maha Lakhi does not 2. Aloneness affects performing (k6r) being (ro) being dead (mornari ro) living (pal)

In Maha Lakhi's dialogue with Hasin, Maha Lakhi initially focused on the fact that all beings (animals, insects, humans, and so on) had mates. Later she narrowed her focus to birds which included many species, each of which were sitting in pairs in the banyan tree. The term used by Maha Lakhi for 'companion' in both speeches is *s6gta*. In the first speech she uses it in its primary sense of 'companion' or 'the one with one'. In the second speech she uses it in its extended sense of 'mate' where the context substantiates its reference to a marriage partner. The argument Maha Lakhi uses with the king focuses on the effect of aloneness on various aspects of childhood--indicated by the verbs listed in the preceding chart. The argument Maha Lakhi uses with Hasin focuses on the effect of aloneness on various aspects of adulthood--also indicated by the verbs listed in the chart.

An important action mirror image, bring-take, also occurs. The deity Ram brings the unborn Maha Lakhi down to the sage and delivers her into his hands. The reverse of this occurs at the end of the myth



when Nasilnat descends to the earth and receives Maha Lakhi as his bride and then takes her back to heaven--completing a life cycle as well as the myth.

#### Functions of Reflections and Mirror Images

Reflections focus on those things which tend to be the same or similiar in various aspects of the myth (participants, life cycle, actions, dialogue, and so on) and provide unity and similiarity as cohesive links in the myth. The reflections focus on an identification of sameness rather than on contrast. This produces a positive-positive balance between the items in reflections.

Contrasts occur at certain points in the narration in that Hasin (as childhood companion) and Nasilnat (as marriage partner) are different participants relevant at different times in Maha Lakhi's life cycle. At a higher level of abstraction in the myth, however, Maha Lakhi's seeking of a companion makes them similiar. The contrasts arise at lower levels in the hierarchical structure of the myth whereas the parallels occur at higher levels in the structure. Thus Hasin and Nasilnat contrast as characters (female-male, human-deity) yet they are parallel as companions to Maha Lakhi.

Each reflection must contain a contrastive set, an opposition, in order to form a unity at a higher level in the structure. As oppositions provide cohesion within the text, particularly between participants, reflections likewise provide cohesion uniting oppositions of actions of the participants. Oppositions focus on the

differences between actions while reflections focus on similarities.

The mirror images function much the same as reflections.

However, where the reflections show parallels the mirror images show reversals. These reversals operate at the same high level of the myth's hierarchical structure as do reflections.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Those members of ordinary humanity who do participate in the myth (waterwomen, police, and Narat Mani) do not act volitionally, rather they act in response to their role as commoners (subjects of the king).

<sup>2</sup> Ram and Nasilnat are identified as one and the same by reference to Hindu mythology. Ram is an incarnation of Viṣṇu's and Lakṣmī (who is identified as Maha Lakhi by the Halbis) always marries Viṣṇu in whatever incarnations they assume.

<sup>3</sup> This display of lack of knowledge, on the other hand, may be an artful device in which she really does know but feigns ignorance in order to teach.

<sup>4</sup> The dichotomising of items into raw, that is, those suitable as offerings to the deities, and cooked, that is, those not suitable, would prove to be a fascinating study. Such a study would involve not only items which are obviously cooked and uncooked but other items as well. Puffed rice is dry roasted and popped in heated sand yet belongs in the raw category and suitable to include in offerings. Domesticated animals which have been castrated or have borne young belong to the cooked category and therefore are not suitable as offerings.

<sup>5</sup> This spatial opposition is part of a ternary opposition heaven-earth-hell. However 'hell' does not occur in the myth so is not included in the discussion.

<sup>6</sup> American Heritage Dictionary.

<sup>7</sup>In a sense, the king and Ispar and Parbati are also reflections in that the intervention of the king means the continuation of life for Maha Lakhi while the intervention of Ispar and Parbati means the continuation of life for Murasur.

<sup>8</sup>The three trips by the king on Maha Lakhi's behalf are mirrored by the three trips of Narat Mani in one interesting aspect--the king's first trip results in a companion for Maha Lakhi while Narat's third trip results in a husband for her. These trips are thus a mirror image.

## CHAPTER 8

### MESSAGE OF THE MYTH

The message of the myth, that everyone needs a companion, represents an important basic cultural proposition. It forms a thread that runs through the entire myth tying together all its events into a cohesive whole. The development of the message results in a cultural discourse providing continuing validation for the values of the culture.

Developing out of the message and occurring as offshoots thereof are a number of lesser propositions: (1) misfortune results from sin (**pap**) and antisocial behaviour; (2) austerities reverse misfortune; (3) children are a gift from the deities and conception results from spiritual rather than sexual activity; (4) birth, and by analogy death, is but a point of transition from one world to another; (5) austerities make a person spiritually powerful and force a deity to act; (6) virtue, that is, right performance of religious duties and such, results in honour, blessing, and good fortune; (7) a virtuous man is not greedy; and (8) brahmins are the source of knowledge. These lesser propositions are only minor in relation to the message and motivation behind this particular myth but are not insignificant in the culture. These lesser propositions will not be discussed extensively in the present chapter.

The Message of the Myth

The message of the myth as indicated above is the cultural proposition that everyone needs a companion. Such a companion is ultimately of the opposite sex, determined by one's destiny (k6r6m), and exists for the specific purpose of procreation. This message is verbalised at significant points in the myth by Maha Lakhi. The message becomes sharply focused at the myth's didactic peak (Section 4). The didactic peak serves as the forum for making explicit the message and also for making explicit the rationale of the message. Prior to the didactic peak events function to develop the message and after the peak they function to bring about the realisation of the message.

The myth's message of the need for companionship focuses on the fact that it is not good for man (or beast) to be alone. One needs a companion of either sex in childhood and a mate of the opposite sex in adulthood. This companionship represents, in so far as the Halbis are concerned, a basic and fundamental value in life itself. This value becomes increasingly evident to Maha Lakhi as the awareness of her own need develops from observing others whose need for companionship has been fulfilled. Maha Lakhi first becomes aware of her need when she sees her father with his companion. She then asks for and gets a companion for herself. Later, her awareness of a need for a mate develops through her observation of all the birds (as well as all other beings) in pairs. She also realises, from observation of the banyan tree that procreation is impossible for a single person.

Thus the myth's message is not limited simply to the companionship aspect of mating but also encompasses procreation as well. Procreation appears in the myth in connection with the sage who serves as a single parent (both mother and father) for Maha Lakhi--an impossible situation for the Halbis which is rectified when the king and queen become her parents. Later, Maha Lakhi explicitly pursues the question of procreation as she observes the banyan tree and questions how a single tree can give birth (to branches and an aerial root). Hasin brings understanding to Maha Lakhi in the ensuing dialogue, by showing that the single tree in fact did give birth. It thus provided itself with its own companion so that it might then mate and from this mating produce sons and daughters.<sup>1</sup> Maha Lakhi then recognises the impossibility of someone becoming a parent in the absence of a mate. Hasin's explanation has shown her that while initially there in fact had been a single parent this condition did not continue. The tree had produced not offspring but a mate with whom it then united and became productive.

In the Halbi culture, companionship is an important value. Throughout life one should never be alone. The Halbis fear and hence avoid being alone. They always work in groups and make decisions as a group. The nuclear family is the basic social structure of the society. The value of companionship is instilled and reinforced in the family from a very early age. Babies always sleep with their mothers and are rarely left alone for any length of time during the day.<sup>2</sup> Slightly older children care for younger ones so they are not

alone even when the mother is not available. This becomes especially noticeable when the mother goes to the well for water. If the child is not old enough to go along, the mother makes sure that there will be someone to watch the child before going. During their childhood, children play together with their companions thus continuing the process of instilling and reinforcing the value of companionship. During this period the companion's sex is irrelevant. On the other hand, as adults the companion must be of the opposite sex. The Halbi see the union of male and female that comes with adulthood as a basic value of the culture, for through this union the productivity (continuation) of the group is guaranteed.<sup>3</sup> Because of the importance of productivity, a wife's failure to conceive provides reason for a man to take a second wife. More frequently, however, the man will make life unbearable for the barren one until she runs away, thus leaving him free to find another wife who can bear children.<sup>4</sup>

Productivity is important to the Halbis in that their very survival depends upon it. From the union of the Halbi male and female, for example, the Halbi nation (and particularly the Raj Mureas) is sustained. The emphasis on productivity of the human male and female repeats a similiar emphasis on productivity in the agricultural cycle. From the fruits of the marriage between Maha Lakhi, the young rice shoots and Narean Dehi, the sun deity, the Halbi people are sustained year by year. The marriage which takes place during the *biasi* festival guarantees procreation. Without productivity there is no rice, and starvation results. Without

children the nation dies. In fact, the Halbis' own mating and its ensuing productivity may be perceived by them as metaphorical extensions of the deities' relationship to the agricultural cycle that is symbolised in the marriage of the rice Maha Lakhi and Narean Deby.

Marriage is so important to the Halbis that from a child's earliest years the adults groom their children for it and for the roles they will play in the marriage. As the children become teenagers they look forward more and more to that day when they will be married. Girls both anticipate and fear marriage as it means tremendous changes for them. They move to a new household, with new authorities and maybe move to a new village as well. To remain single is anathema.<sup>5</sup> Singleness is not even a consideration for the Halbis (nor a choice open to them).<sup>6</sup>

The Halbis see mating as fundamental to their culture since it provides the only way for renewal and continuation. Domesticated animals, such as cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, chickens; other animals, both wild and semi-domesticated; birds, insects, and so on, all participate naturally in the procreative process that results from mating. The Halbis believe that the deities also participate in the mating process. When new deities are brought into the village they are married to the deities already there. The special marriage ceremonies bear marked similarities to the marriage ceremony between humans.<sup>7</sup>



Development of the Message

The first three sections of the myth develop the concepts underlying the message of the myth. This is accomplished in the form of a narrative structured around the life cycle of the central participant. The myth's first section, which consists of an embedded narrative with a distinct message of its own, develops the theme of the need for two parents--a male and a female. The sage is only one person. As a single person he becomes Maha Lakhi's parents, both mother and father. This creates an impossible situation because it is against the nature of things. For the sage the impossible becomes possible because of the tremendous, spiritual power he had gained through his long practice of austerities. However, he is not able to fulfill the female role of the male-female union and so Maha Lakhi's birth remains incomplete. She herself is only 'a thing' until the birth process is completed once she becomes the king and queen's child. The king, in his speech to the sage, focuses upon the sage's inability to fulfill the female role and thus argues for the need of two parents.

The myth's second section develops the theme of companionship in childhood. Maha Lakhi discusses with her father her need of a companion. She stresses the impossibility of normal development without one. Her argument to her father presents the Halbi philosophy of companionship--particularly as it relates to childhood companions--where a companion is important for proper growth, social development (going out, playing, and wandering around together), and

just 'being'. Along with this argument Maha Lakhi also provides the king with specific information about the identity and location of her companion-to-be. Her companion is called **hasin** and, as has been discussed in Chapter 1, **hasin** is the feminine form of the Halbi term **hasi** and refers to one's joking relation. The Halbis consider the **hasi** relationship to be an extremely important one. It provides childhood companions as well as the preferred marriage partners. Maha Lakhi's naming of the brahmin girl as her **hasin** validates the importance and significance of the companion relationship within the Halbi culture.

Maha Lakhi's argument to her father for a companion structures as a reflection of the didactic peak and provides an important foundation for the didactic peak itself. This earlier section of the myth is in fact a mini-didactic peak which displays strong similarities with the didactic peak. In this earlier section as in the latter, there is dialogue, here truncated, between Maha Lakhi and another participant. This dialogue takes place in the absence of others. After her father acquieses, the events of the rest of the section serve to bring about the realisation of this section's message. The king himself goes and gets Maha Lakhi's companion for her.

The third section of the myth presumably continues the development of the message. However, precisely how this section fits into the development of the message remains obscure. A possible interpretation is that the section develops Maha Lakhi's awareness of

her divinity and separateness from the natural world. If this is the case, Maha Lakhi's later drive to fulfill her destiny and be married adds impact to the importance of marriage in the lives of the Halbis who are merely humans.

The Message and the Didactic Peak

The myth's message comes to a climax in the fourth section. Here, the message is verbalised at length and results in a peaking of the myth's teaching and philosophical aspects. This peaking is called the didactic peak and is the domain of the arguments of the message. These arguments constitute the philosophical basis for the cultural value being expounded. The message gains impact by being presented as a dialogue between a deity (Maha Lakhi) and a brahmin (Hasin)--both of whom the Halbis revere greatly.

The section opens with a preliminary scene that serves as a prelude to the dialogue. After Maha Lakhi reaches puberty, she and Hasin convince the queen to allow them to go out into the world to form flower friendships. On these adventures Maha Lakhi sees all there is to see:

aur gulae c6Re aur cuRum aur raja rias      mōj  
and all birds(generic) and king's subjects middle

phur co maha l6khi d6k-la      m6ne. d6k-la      m6ne.  
world Poss Maha Lakhi see-ptc,3p part. see-ptc,3p part.

And Maha Lakhi saw all there was to see in the world. She saw (Myth Sec 4:51).

The above statement ends the flower friendship scene. It implies a

reinforcement of Maha Lakhi's sexual identity through her observations of the world. Her observations and experiences make her dissatisfied with her own unattached state. The flower friendship scene with Maha Lakhi and Hasin as participants, while also building up to the didactic peak, provides the Halbis with a validation for a custom that is peculiar to this part of tribal India. Flower friendships are not practised in the wider Hindu society and especially not among brahmins. These types of relationships, or for that matter, any relationship outside of marriage, with a member of the opposite sex are absolutely forbidden to brahmins. Since this custom is not an acceptable form of behaviour among Hindus its presence in the myth reflects the Halbis' desire to validate a necessary part of their philosophy of marriage.

The didactic peak has many features that distinguish it from other parts of the myth and particularly from the narrative peak (Chapter 4). The main feature of the didactic peak is a long dialogue between Maha Lakhi and Hasin. The two girls rest under the banyan tree after their adventures in the world and a dialogue develops between them. Maha Lakhi is the inquirer (or the seeker of knowledge) and Hasin the one inquired of (or the possessor of knowledge). The chronological progression of the narrative comes to a standstill during the dialogue and speech events dominate. All other activities by the participants reflect an emotional response to the dialogue or an action, such as 'looking', in response to a command.

A variety of props are on stage with the two girls. These are

an important feature of the didactic peak. The stage is, in a sense, crowded with props, including the banyan tree with many varieties of birds filling its branches. The banyan tree, its aerial root, and branches figure as props for the first half of the dialogue and the birds figure as props for the second half. Both sets of props are extensively described at the time the narrator introduces them. She marks all the information as either secondary eventline or as some type of background event that--along with the extended description--has the effect of moving them onto the stage and into the limelight. For example, after Maha Lakhi and Hasin have discussed the aerial root at some length, Maha Lakhi directs Hasin's attention to the birds. There then follows a series of events that establish the birds in the limelight as props:

"c6Rii m6n d6k-un d6k" bol-la m6ne, maha  
bird pl see-conj see(imp,s) say-ptc,3p part. Maha

16khi. . . . c6Rii m6n ke bole d6k-li m6ne, hasin.  
Lakhi bird pl Gol also see-ptc,3s,nm part. Hasin

6sni khed-a khed-i ho-esot m6ne. aur  
like this chase-nom chase-nom occur-pinc,3p part. and

joRi joRi bos-lasot m6ne. 5Dki m6n bole dui jhan joRi  
pair pair sit-pc,3p part. a bird pl also 2 pers pair

bos-lase m6ne. rami m6n bole joRi bos-lase m6ne.  
sit-pc,3p part. a bird pl also pair sit-pc,3p part.

kokRa kokRi bole joRi bos-lase m6ne. eklo  
crane(m) crane(f) also pair sit-pc,3p part. one only

kokRi aur kokRa baele m6nuk. usni bos-esot  
crane(f) and crane(m) wife man like that sit-pinc,3p

m6ne, joRi joRi.  
part. pair pair

"Look at the birds" said Maha Lakhi. . . . Hasin looked also at the birds. They are chasing one another. And they have sat in pairs. The **ḍḍki** birds also have sat two by two in pairs. The **rami** birds also have sat in pairs. The male and female cranes also have sat in pairs. A single female crane and a single male crane as wife and husband. Like that they are sitting in pairs (Myth Sec 4:104-12).

In this example, the narrator effectively establishes the birds on centre stage as the props for the ensuing dialogue. The role played by the props in the dialogue determines the kind of information the narrator gives about them. Since the information which is of prime importance for the dialogue that follows the above example is the pairing as male and female of the birds, the narrator repeats this information six times. Initially, she generalises the birds' pairing but then makes the information specific for three different kinds of birds before finally making it general again in the last sentence. The narrator makes quite specific that the pairing of the birds was as husband and wife so that there can be no doubt as to the topic of the following dialogue.

The didactic peak displays a cyclic structure. The narrator introduces the props and gives the early arguments of the dialogue in an initial cycle at the beginning of the dialogue. This first cycle begins with the narrator introducing the banyan tree and its aerial root as props. Maha Lakhi asks the question, "How can a single tree produce (give birth to) an aerial root and branches?". Following this the narrator introduces the birds as props. Maha Lakhi then asks the question, "How come these all creatures have mates and I don't?" After a small interlude of irrelevant dialogue, the second cycle

begins. Maha Lakhi returns to her question about the banyan tree. The dialogue moves back and forth between the two girls. Hasin disclaims any knowledge of the subject until at Maha Lakhi's firm insistence she finally provides an answer to the question that satisfies Maha Lakhi. The third cycle begins when Maha Lakhi turns her attention again to the birds. The narrator reintroduces them as props in extreme detail (see previous example). Maha Lakhi pursues her question about her need of a mate, triggered by her observation of the birds. She presses Hasin for a solution to her dilemma. When Hasin produces a satisfactory solution by suggesting the competition, the dialogue ends, and the girls return home. This ends the third cycle. Cycling is a dominant feature of the didactic peak. Although similar cycles are evident elsewhere in the myth they are quite low key by comparison.

The didactic peak contrasts dramatically with the narrative peak. Whereas the didactic peak is low key in regard to events and marked chronological progression, the narrative peak is high key. The cycling evident in the didactic peak does not occur in the narrative peak. Rather the events move right along with almost no slowdown of the forward progression. While the didactic peak features only two participants and a stage crowded with props, the narrative peak features a stage crowded with participants and only a limited number of props. The didactic peak features a dialogue with back and forth interaction between the two participants, while, on the other hand, the narrative peak features a progression of events. Although speech

acts occur these not lead to dialogue between the participants but are rather 'rhetorical quotations' that continue to move the narrative along (see Larson 1978 :59). The features that distinguish narrative and didactic peak are summarised in the following chart :

Didactic Peak	Narrative Peak
no chronological progression cyclic structure 2 participants only and little description crowded with props and extensive descriptions dialogue	marked chronological progression forward movement crowded with participants and much description limited props and little description events

Both the didactic and narrative peaks feature preliminary scenes that display marked similiarity. In the preliminary scene of the didactic peak, Maha Lakhi and Hasin prepare for and go out on their adventures in the world. Though this is against the wishes and advice of Maha Lakhi's mother Queen Niubati she does acquiesce. In the preliminary scene of the narrative peak Murasur prepares for and goes to the competition arena against the wishes and advice of his wives.

#### Realisation of the Message

During the latter half of the dialogue between Maha Lakhi and Hasin, Hasin suggests the means to ascertain Maha Lakhi's destined mate : by holding a competition such that only the one destined to be Maha Lakhi's mate could possibly succeed. The events of the fifth



section of the myth serve to find Maha Lakhi's mate, that is, to bring about the realisation of the message. The king has Biskarma build the competition arena, then sends out a message to the prospective competitors. Each competitor comes, tries, and fails until Nasilnat, the final competitor, succeeds. Hasin then reminds Maha Lakhi that here was her destined mate, the only one who could have succeeded:

"d6k-las didi? cari una l6khe raja i-la.  
see-ptc,2p Didi kings of the earth come-ptc,3p

hun-i ni s6k-la. mur6sur i-la. hun-i  
that-emp not able-ptc,3p Murasur come-ptc,3p that-emp

ni s6k-la. tum-co joRi peta ro-la. dus6r  
not able-ptc,3p you(p)-Poss pair ? be-ptc,3p another

k6s6n tum-co ho-ta didi? eta tum-co  
how you(p)-Poss occur-subj,3p Didi here you(p)-Poss

joRi at" bol-la m6ne, hasin.  
pair is(3p) say-ptc,3p part. Hasin

"Did you see, Didi? The kings of the earth came, they weren't able. Murasur came, he wasn't able. Your partner was already planned. How could another be your partner, Didi? Here is your partner." Hasin said (Myth Sec 5:311.1-.8).

Hasin makes explicit in the above example two propositions or values of Halbi culture that provide support for the myth's message in this final section. First, one's destiny is set but may be discovered by testing. Second, each mates with one's own kind including being on the right social level. Not only was Nasilnat the one destined to succeed in the competition but as deity he was of the right kind. Both of these cultural values are reinforced by the myth's message. They in turn provide reinforcement for the message itself. Hasin's

speech also provides a summary of the realisation of the myth's message and in so doing emphasises its validity.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Hasin's explanation does not appear to me to provide a logical rationale for how the banyan tree became two parents. However, the explanation did satisfy Maha Lakhi and by extension, the Halbi people. My understanding of the Halbis' thinking and reasoning processes is still deficient in this area.

<sup>2</sup>The Halbi people view with absolute horror our western custom of having children, even babies, sleeping alone--and frequently in separate rooms.

<sup>3</sup>While the myth pursues the mating aspect of companionship many other kinds of companions exist for an adult and include formal friendships of several varieties, as well as, less formal ones. These all serve to fulfill various aspects of a Halbi's perceived need of companionship.

<sup>4</sup>If the woman runs away then the man is not responsible to pay compensation as he would be if he specifically told her to leave.

<sup>5</sup>Even people with uncorrected deformities (such as a harelip) are married. Often deformed people marry one another, or a deformed girl becomes a second wife rather than a first choice. Seriously deformed people, for example, missing limbs, usually do not survive to marriagable age. They are killed at birth or neglected till they die. Serious mental deficiencies may result in a person's remaining unmarried in his parents household. They are usually economically productive to an acceptable degree. Less severe mental deficiencies do not bar marriage.

<sup>6</sup>As a result, the Halbis are not able to understand that remaining single may be a valid choice open to us in the western world. They feel our parents have totally failed us by not finding a husband for us. They even offered to find husbands for my co-worker and me in order to rectify the 'impossible' position we were in.

<sup>7</sup> Though the deities marry procreation is only implied and never made specific in the mythology.

<sup>8</sup> Section 3 and its relationship to the myth as a whole needs further research in the context of the Halbi culture.

## CONCLUSION

This study contributes to the theory of discourse in at least four ways. (1) It makes a distinction between narrative structure, which builds to a narrative peak, and didactic structure, which building to a didactic peak. (2) It suggests that a significant consideration in the analysis of a text is the symbolic or allegorical level of abstraction. (3) It shows the myth to be a controllable expression of the interplay of language and culture. (4) It examines implicit-explicit information in its typical or atypical relationship to the cultural setting and/or to the narrator's intent.

The Maha Lakhi myth reveals distinctive narrative and didactic structures. The former reflects the linguistic form and the latter the cultural form. The narrative structure entertains the audience and moves toward a climax that is both exciting and fast moving in so far as entertainment value is concerned. The linguistic features signalling the narrative structures rely upon a well marked chronological progression, fast moving foregrounded action, and much participant interaction (see Chapters 4 and 5). The didactic structure, on the other hand, functions in an educative sense and presents a message that continues to validate the culture's values. It moves toward a climax in which time stands still and a two person dialogue ensues. The linguistic features signalling this didactic structure do not depend upon chronological progression, the action stops, and dialogue itself comes into focus (see Chapter 8).



expressible as a microcosm within the macrocosm. The analysis of the myth thus provides a window into the Halbi universe and reveals much information concerning their value system, beliefs, thought processes and argument, and such. Thus, while the myth is a narrative with an interesting plot, it also acts as a cultural discourse with a kind of cultural plot that capsulises the Halbis' culture even as it validates it.

The examination of implicit-explicit information in its typical or atypical relationship to the cultural setting of the Halbis and to the narrator's intent show definite patterns in the development of both the narrative and the didactic structures. A dynamic interplay between the narrator and her expression of the myth becomes evident as she consciously makes some culturally typical activities explicit for some participants and leaves them implicit for others. In this way she contrasts participants with one another and uses the argument of silence to distinguish a relatively unimportant or somehow less worthy participant from those who explicitly act according to cultural patterns (see Chapters 1 and 2). She adds a further dimension to this as she makes explicit culturally atypical behaviour. Culturally atypical activities may represent the Halbis' perception of other cultures, for example, royalty, or it may prove to be beyond the bounds of any culture, for example, Murasur's behaviour (see Chapter 3). Culturally atypical behaviour provides the narrator additional tools for contrasting participants as well as for developing both the narrative and message. In this way, the narrator reveals to the

audience what she considers the culture to be, what she expects the hearers to know already, what she expects the hearers to correct in their thinking about the culture, and what she expects the hearer to learn from the discourse. The interplay between the typical and atypical material also provides for cohesion and prominence throughout the myth.

In this study I have attempted to integrate the study of one discourse, the Maha Lakhi myth, in terms of the cultural setting, the linguistic structure, and its symbolic representations. As a result the importance of discourse analysis becomes more apparent as a means for understanding not only the worldview of the Halbis but to also understand the means they employ to argue for or rationalise patterns of behaviour that re-emphasise the validity of their value system. Any changes in or modifications of the value system would, of necessity, need validation through myth or through other parts of the oral tradition, in order for it to be fully acceptable to the people.

APPENDIX

maha lakhi co k6hmi.  
Maha Lakhi Poss story

The Story of Maha Lakhi.

Section 1: The Birth of Maha Lakhi

Part 1: The Blind Sage in God's courtyard

1. goTok bhorun raja co des bhorun des ase m6ne.  
one Bhorun King Poss country Bhorun country is(3s) part.
2. aur balika nāg6r ase m6ne up6r phur ne bai. 3. hun  
and a constellation is(3s) part. above world Loc Bai that
- than-e janu balika nāg6r ne up6r phur ne janu  
place-Loc part. a constellation Loc above world Loc part.
- bh6gwan gh6r-e.  
deity house-Loc

1. There is Bhorun King and his country is Bhorun country. 2. In the upper world (heaven) is the constellation balika nāg6r. 3. There, in the constellation balika nāg6r, in the upper world is God's house.

4. goTok kana rusi hun raj ne ase m6ne. 5. aik ne  
one blind sage that kingdom Loc is(3s) part. eye Loc

ni d6k-e m6ne. 6. jon6m d6k-i ni ho-e. 7. aik ne ni  
not see-3s part. absolutely see-nom not occur-3s eye Loc not

d6k-e m6ne. 8. kan-e ni sun-e m6ne. 9. hun ke khana ni  
see-3s part. ear-Loc not hear-3s part. that Gol food not

mir-e m6ne. 10. kaī ci ni mir-e.  
available-3s part. anything emp not available-3s

4. There is a blind sage in the kingdom. 5. He can't see. 6. He absolutely can't see. 7. He doesn't see. 8. He can't hear. 9. There's no food available to him. 10. There's just nothing available to him.

11. hun jamu bol-lo m6ne. 12.1 "he bh6gwan, he ram,  
that part. say-ptc,3s,m part. Oh God Oh Ram

moē kon din co pap k6r-lese gune m6-ke laen ni  
I which day Poss sin perform-pc,ls therefore I-Gol ? not



di-las? 12.2 moē kan-e ni sun-ē, aīk ne ni d6k-ē. 12.3 to  
give-ptc,2p I ear-Loc not hear-ls eye Loc not see-ls part.

moē ja-ē-ta, bh6gwan co gh6r. 12.4 duar-e ja-ē-ta.  
I go-ls-part. deity Poss house courtyard-Loc go-ls-part.

12.5 t6b bos-u ro-ēde. 12.6 bh6gwan kae bole 6lgea de-ede  
then sit-comp be-f,ls deity what also? give-f,3s

k6s6n" bol-lo m6ne. 13. kana rusi boRga hal-a-k  
how say-ptc,3s,m part. blind sage stick swing-caus-inf

c6l-a-k bh6gwan gh6r-e dh6r-a-e-be, hum m6n co  
operate-caus-inf deity house-Loc take hold-caus-3s-ab that pl Poss

mahal m6dir, bh6gwan co. 14. hum duar i-lo  
palace temple deity Poss that courtyard come-ptc,3s,m

m6ne. 15. aur 15.1 "he ram, e ram, moē kon din co pap  
part. and Oh Ram Oh Ram I which day Poss sin

k6r-le, bh6gwan? 15.2 m6-co pap kh6D-a-n k6r-a  
perform-ptc,ls God I-Poss sin free-caus-conj perform-imp,p

mahap6ru. 15.3 moē kon din co pap k6r-le gune m6-ke  
Lord I which day Poss sin perform-ptc,ls part. I-Gol

aīk ne ni d6k-a-was, kan ne ni sun-a-was? 15.4 to m6-ke  
eye Loc not see-caus-2p ear Loc not hear-caus-2p part. I-Gol

15.5 kon de-de, khana? kon de-de m6-ke jiwna ph6lna?  
who give-f,3p food who give-f,3p I-Gol life and help

15.6 k6s6n k6r-un moē ro-ēde, kha-ēde?" bol-esot m6ne.  
what perform-conj I be-f,ls eat-f,ls say-pinc,3p part.

16. hum than-e ro-ot ro-ot ro-ot asot m6ne.  
that place-Loc be-3p be-3p be-3p is(3p) part.

11. He said, 12.1 "Oh, God, Oh Ram which day's sin have I done that you didn't give me sight? 12.2 I can't hear, I can't see. 12.3 Therefore I will go to God's house. 12.4 I will go to the courtyard. 12.5 Then I will sit. 12.6 God will separate it perhaps." he said. 13. The blind sage went to God's house feeling his way with his stick, to his, God's palace temple. 14. He came to the courtyard. 15. And "15.1 Oh, Ram, Oh Ram, Which day's sin did I do, God? 15.2 Free me from my sin, Lord. 15.3 Which day's sin did I do that you caused me not to see, not to hear? 15.4 Therefore, who will give me food? 15.5 Who will give life-giving aid and help? 15.6 What's to be done so I will live, and eat?" he is saying. 16. The sage is there a long time.

Part 2: The Sage in the Water

17. kae bara moena ho-li kae kitlo din ho-li  
 what 12 month occur-ptc,3s,nm what how much day occur-ptc,3s,nm
- ale asot m6ne. 18. ro-to ke janu, bh6gwan 6sk6T ho-la  
 part. is(3p) part. be-inc Gol part. deity boredom occur-ptc,3p
- m6ne. 19. bh6gwan 6sk6T ho-la m6ne. 20. aur "20.1 ja re  
 part. deity boredom occur-ptc,3p part. and go(imp,s) Voc
- rusi, tui n6di tir-e ja. 20.2. j6lna tir-e ja tui.  
 sage you river edge-Loc go(imp,s) water edge-Loc go(imp,s) you(s)
- 20.3 eta tu-ke jug pap kh6D-a-u nu ae. 20.4 tui ja  
 here you-Gol much sin free-caus-comp Neg is(3s) you(s) go(imp,s)
- huta." bol-la m6ne. 21.1 "pani harin lag dh6r-lase.  
 there say-ptc,3p part. water female person line take hold-pc,3p
- 21.2 pani harin lag dh6r-lase je m6j phur ne,  
 water female person line take hold-pc,3p rel middle world Loc
- tui ja. 21.3 aur janu hum than-e tui boRga hal-a-k  
 you(s) go(imp,s) and part. that place-Loc you(s) stick swing-caus-inf
- c6l-a-k ja" bol-la m6ne, bh6gwan.  
 operate-caus-inf go(imp,s) say-ptc,3p part. deity

17. It was twelve months or so he was there. 18. At the time of being there the deity got tired of it. 19. The deity got tired of it. 20. And "20.1 Go, Sage, you go to the river edge. 20.2 You go to the water's edge. 20.3 Here much sin won't be freed from you. 20.4 You go there." he said. 21.1 "The water fetching women have formed a line. 21.2 Where the water fetching women have formed a line, in middle world (the earth), you go. 21.3 You go there feeling your way with your stick." the deity said.

22. tebe pase hum rusi janu, 6s6n nik6r-la m6ne, bai,  
 then later that sage part. like this come our-ptc,3p part. Bai

boRga hal-a-te hal-a-te. 23. poneari bera co  
 stick swing-caus-inc swing-caus-inc water period time Poss

baele m6n pani ja-esot m6ne lag dh6r-un bati.  
 wife pl water go-pinc,3p part. line take hold-conj after

22. Then later that sage came out like that swinging his stick. 23. The women are going for water during the water period after having formed a line.

24. lag dh6r-un pani ja-to ke janu, hum bole  
line take hold-conj water go-inc Gol part. that also

hal-a-te hal-a-te boRga ke hal-a-te hal-a-te  
swing-caus-inc swing-caus-inc stick Gol swing-caus-inc swing-caus-inc

ge-lo m6ne. 25. ge-lo m6ne.  
go-ptc,3s,m part. go-ptc,3s,m part.

24. Having formed a line at the time of going for water, he also went swinging his stick. 25. He went.

26. aur e koni pila h1D-ese TeT-le  
and this any child walk-pinc,3s ?

27. "he ram, he ram, he ram, he ram," bol-te  
Oh Ram Oh Ram Oh Ram Oh Ram say-inc

ja-ese m6ne. 28.1 "he ram, m6-ke kh6D-a-n k6r-a,  
go-pinc,3s part. Oh Ram I-Gol free-caus-conj perform-imp,p

ram. 28.2 m6-co duk ke kh6D-a-n k6r-a, ram.  
Ram I-Poss pain Gol free-caus-conj perform-imp,p Ram

28.3 m6-ke laen d6k-a-u r-au. 28.4 raj s6sar m6-co  
I-Gol ? see-caus-conj be-imp,p kingdom world I-Poss

j6g6da ho-lise car khut cawda, bh6gwan.  
? occur-ptc,3s,nm everywhere God.

28.5 m6-co j6g6da ho-li" bol-te bol-te nai, hum n6di tir ne  
I-Poss ? occur-ptc,3s,nm say-inc say-inc Neg that river edge Loc

ge-lo m6ne sat s6mdhur ne.  
go-ptc,3s,m part. lake Loc

26. And groping along like any child walking, he is going, saying "Oh Ram, Oh Ram, Oh Ram, Oh Ram". 27. He went to the lake saying "28.1 Oh Ram, cancel my sins, Ram. 28.2 Free me from my pain, Ram. 28.3 Make me to see. 28.4 My j6g6da has happened everywhere throughout the world, God. 28.5 My j6g6da happened".

(29. Raibari: hum-co koni nai  
that-Poss anyone Neg

30. HajariguRin: koni ci nai m6ne. 31. koni ni de-ot.  
anyone emp Neg part. anyone not give-3p

32. bhat nai, pej nai, kaf ci nai. 33. ebe  
cooked rice Neg gruel Neg anything emp Neg now

**d6k-le to kae māg-un bole kha-uat.**  
see-when thus what ask for-conj also eat-f,3p

**34. aīk ne ni d6k-le k6s6n k6r-un kha-to?)**  
| eye Loc not see-when how perform-conj eat-opt,3s,m

29. (Raibari: He had nothing. 30. Hajarigurin: (He had) absolutely nothing. 31. Nobody gives anything. 32. No cooked rice, no gruel, absolutely nothing. 3. When he doesn't see what will he ask for to eat? 34. When he doesn't see with his eyes how can he eat?)

**35. tebe pase m6ne. 36. ge-lo m6ne. 37. aur sat s6mdhur ne**  
then later part. go-ptc,3s,m part. and lake Loc

**ut6r-lo m6ne. 38. mād-6k pani ne ge-lo m6ne.**  
descend-ptc,3s,m part. knee-one water Loc go-ptc,3s,m part.

**39. jāg-6k pani ne ge-lo m6ne. 40. peT-6k pani ne**  
thigh-one water Loc go-ptc,3s,m part. stomach-one water Loc

**ge-lo m6ne. 41. chat-6k pani ne tiār uT-un di-lo**  
go-ptc,3s,m part. chest-one water Loc ready arise-conj give-ptc,3s,m

**m6ne. 42. uRti buRti ber ud-te phur k6r-lo,**  
part. east sun rise-inc front perform-ptc,3s,m

**ber poR-te paT k6r-lo.**  
sun fall-inc back perform-ptc,3s,m

35. Then later. 36. He went. 37. And he descended into the lake. 38. He went knee deep in the water. 39. He went thigh deep in the water. 40. He went waist deep in the water. 41. He stood upright up to his chest in the water. 42. He faced the east where the sun rises and turned his back to where the sun sets.

**43. aur janu (6s6n) bh6gwan ke 6s6n k6r-un bhati d6s6n ki**  
and part. like this deity Gol like this perform-conj after like that

**binti k6r-un huta hun janu p6sti poR-ese m6ne.**  
pray perform-conj there that part. regret fall-pinc,3s part.

**44.1 "he ram, he bh6gwan, m6-ke kh6D-a-n k6r-a, mahaporu.**  
Oh Ram Oh God I-Gol rescind-caus-conj perform-imp,p Lord

**44.2 m6-ke laen d6k-a-u, bh6gwan. 44.3 kon din co pap aeale.**  
I-God ? see-caus-imp,p God · which day Poss sin came(Oriya)

**44.4 m6-co pap ke kh6D-a-n k6r-a, bh6gwan.**  
I-Poss sin Gol rescind-cause-conj perform-imp,p God

44.5 he ram, he bh6gwan, he ram" bol-un bol-un huta-e ase m6ne.  
Oh Ram Oh God Oh Ram say-conj say-conj there-Loc is(3s) part.

43. After having done like this, having prayed, there he is feeling regretful. 44. Having said "44.1 Oh Ram, Oh God, free me Lord. 44.2 Make me see, God. 44.3 Which day's sin has come (upon me)? 44.4 Rescind my sin, God. 44.5 Oh Ram, Oh God, Oh Ram", he is there.

45. pani harin m6n ja-esot. 46. roj-e h6r din pani ja-esot.  
water person(f) pl go-pinc,3p daily-Loc every day water go-pinc,3p

47. hum ke d6k-esot. 48. huta-e ci ase m6ne.  
that Gol see-pinc,3p there-Loc emp is(3s) part.

45. The water women are going. 46. Daily they are going for water.  
47. They are seeing him. 48. He is there only.

49. hum-co khana nai, kura-k nai, kaf ci nai.  
that-Poss food Neg shave-inf Neg anything emp Neg

50. ase ci m6ne, pani ne. 51. itlo pani ne, chat-6k pani  
is(3s) emp part. water Loc this much water Loc chest-one water

ne, ub-a uT-lo.  
Loc stand-nom arise-ptc,3s,m

49. He doesn't have food, he doesn't shave, he doesn't have anything.  
50. He is just there in the water. 51. In this much water, in chest deep water, he stood.

52. kitlo dur ja-un d6k-esot 53. e baT pani ne ase  
how much distance go-conj see-pinc,3p this way water Loc is(3s)

m6ne, j6ma gag6R. 54. ase m6ne.  
part. all body is(3s) part.

52. Having gone a distance, they are seeing (him). 53. He is in the water here, his whole body. 54. He is (there).

Part 3: The Sage is Given a Child and His Sight

55. 6sni ro-un ro-un, kae pher aur bara moena ho-li,  
like this be-conj be-conj what again another 12 month occur-ptc,3s,nm

kae bara bor6k co, bis bor6k ho-li ale huta-e ase  
what 12 year Poss 20 year occur-ptc,3s,nm when there-Loc is(3s)

m6ne. 56. ase ci m6ne. 57. pani ne ke dat ke ar-6l nai,  
part. is(3s) emp part. water Loc Gol tooth Gol ?-nom Neg

peT ke cir-6l nai ase m6ne.  
stomach Gol tear-nom Neg is(3s) part.

55. Having been like this, whether another twelve months passed or twelve years or twenty years passed, he is there. 56. He is there only. 57. In the water, his teeth didn't fall out, his stomach didn't tear, he is (there).

58. ro-to ke pani ne bh6gwan, d6k-ot d6k-ot d6k-la m6ne.  
| be-inc Gol water Loc deity see-3p see-3p see-ptc,3p part.

59.1 "oho e kae ro-lo itlo bor6k. 59.2 hum-co pap ke  
| Oho this what be-ptc,3s,m this much year that-Poss sin Gol

kh6D-a-n ni ho-li. 59.3 aur ebe bole ge-lo  
rescind-caus-conj not occur-ptc,3s,m and now also go-ptc,3s,m

sat s6mdhur sora dhar ne. 59.4 s6b j6b bos-lose.  
large lake Loc all sit-ptc,3s,m

59.5 huta bole kh6D-a-n ni k6r-e. 59.6 m6-ke pap lag-ede.  
there also rescind-caus-conj not perform-3s I-Gol sin stick f,3s

59.7 dos lag-ede. 59.8 m6-co gh6r di-lo phuT-a-lo.  
| offence stick-f,3s I-Poss house give-ptc,3s,m break-caus-ptc,3s,m

59.9 ja-ede" bol-la m6ne, bh6gwan.  
go-f,ls say-ptc,3p part. deity

58. At the time of being in the water, the deity observed (him) over a period of time. 59. The deity said "59.1 Oh ho! Why has he stayed all these years? 59.2 His sin hasn't become rescinded. 59.3 And now also he went to the lake. 59.4 He has sat. 59.5 There also it hasn't been rescinded. 59.6 Sin will stick to me. 59.7 Offence will stick. 59.8 He gave to my house, he caused to break. 59.9 I will go".

60. aur m6ne, bai, gh6r-e, aplo gh6r ne nahakoda  
and part. Bai house-Loc one's own house Loc bathe

ho-la m6ne. 61. r6en sila ge-la m6ne.  
occur-ptc,3p part. ? stone image go-ptc,3p part.

62. poke datum, sile ar6m sat gh6gra t6p-lo nio-lo pani  
? toothstick ? ? 7 waterpot heat-comp cool-comp water

nahakor ho-la m6ne, pani g6d-a-n bati.  
bathe occur-ptc,3p part. water ?-caus-conj after

63. 6cha r6sea janu k6pra bolot-la m6ne.  
good beautiful part. clothes ?-ptc,3p part.

64. pil6t c6d6n di-la m6ne.

name of a mark mark of ashes give-ptc,3p part.

65. aur pace aplo bh6Dar ne (no lak bildig ro-e, m6ne,  
and later one's own storeroom Loc nine 100,000 building be-3s part.

bai, tin p6c, no pauj co mahal) mahal ne pace ol-la m6ne.  
Bai 3 5 9 storey Poss palace palace Loc later enter-ptc,3p part.

60. And he bathed ritually in his own house. 61. He went to the images. 62. He cleaned his teeth and bathed in heated water, after having done g6dan to it. 63. He put on very beautiful clothes. 64. He put on the pil6t ashmark. 65. And he went to his own storeroom (there was a large building, Bai, a three-five or nine storey palace), later he entered the palace.

66. aur janu pace ol-un bati ek mu7a rap-la m6ne.  
and part. later enter-conj after one fist pickup-ptc,3p part.

67. ek mu7a rap-la m6ne. 68. aur pase ge-la m6ne, sat s6mdhur  
one fist pickup-ptc,3p part. and later go-ptc,3p part. lake

ne. 69. sat s6mdhur ne ge-la m6ne, bai.  
Loc lake Loc go-ptc,3p part. Bai

66. And later, after having entered, he picked up a fistful (of something). 67. He picked up one fistful. 68. And later he went to the lake. 69. He went to the lake, Bai.

70. sat s6mdhur ne ja-to ke nai, hum than-e pase ge-la m6ne.  
lake Loc go-inc Gol Neg that place-Loc later go-ptc,3p part.

71. aur "e re rusi" bol-la m6ne.  
and here! Voc Sage say-ptc,3p part.

72. "hou bh6gwan" bol-te janu hum rusi janu 6s6n  
Yes God say-inc part. that sage part. like this

76mD-ese m6ne, gulae 6s6n.  
twist-pinc,3s part. everywhere like this

73. 6s6n janu 73.1 "moē ni jan-ē kon as ale.  
like this part. I not know-ls who is(2s) part.

73.2 deo as ki bhut as ki log as ki kae 6sur  
spirit is(2s) or whirlwind is(2s) or people is(2s) or what giant

at ki kae at, moē ni jan-ē 73.3 he bh6gwan, kon at jale moē  
is(3s) or what is(3p) I not know-ls Oh God who is(3p) part. I

ni jan-ē" bol-ese m6ne, hum kana, rusi.  
not know-2s say-pinc,3s part. that blind sage

70. At the time of going to the lake, he later went there. 71. And he said "Here, friend, Sage". 72. Saying "Yes God", that sage is twisting this way and that. 73. And that blind sage is saying, "73.1 I don't know who you are. 73.2 I don't know if you're a spirit or a whirlwind or a person or an 6sur or what you are. 73.3 Oh God, whoever you are, I don't know".

74. bol-to ke m6ne, bai, pase "ede rusi, tui janu, (kae to,) e  
say-inc Gol part. Bai later Here! Sage you part. ummm this

6s6n 6jra dh6r" bol-la m6ne, bh6gwan.  
like this double handful take hold(imp,s) say-ptc,3p part. deity

75. "6jra dh6r" bol-la m6ne. 76. "6s6n  
double handful take hold(imp,s) say-ptc,3p part. like this

6jra dh6r". 77. "nai, moē kon as ale moē ni  
double handful take hold(imp,s) Neg 1 who is(2s) part. I not

jan-ē". 78. "koni ci ho, dh6r nu" bol-la m6ne.  
know-1s anyone emp let be take hold(imp,s) Voc say-ptc,3p part.

79. tebe 6s6n 6jra-k dh6r-lo m6ne. 80. "moē aīk  
then like this double handful-one take hold-ptc,3s,m part. I eye

ne to d6k-uk ni ho-e kon as ale" bol-la m6ne.  
Loc thus see-inf not occur-3s who is(2s) part. say-ptc,3p part.

74. At the time of saying, later the deity said, "Here, sage, you take this bundle". 75. He said, "Take the bundle". 76. "Take this bundle". 77. "I don't know who you are, I don't know". 78. He said, "Whoever it may be take (this), friend". 79. Then he took this bundle. 80. He said, "I can't see with my eyes who you are".

81. 6jra dh6r-to ke huta hum 6s6n de-un  
double handful take hold-inc Gol there that like this give-conj

di-la m6ne. 82. de-un di-la m6ne, bh6gwan.  
give-ptc,3p part. give-conj give-ptc,3p part. deity

83. aur ja-te ge-la.  
and go-inc go-ptc,3p

81. At the time of taking the bundle, there he gave it (to him). 82. The deity gave it. 83. And he went quickly.

84. ja-te ja-to ke hum than-e maha l6khi pani j6n6m  
go-inc go-inc Gol that place-Loc Maha Laksi water birth



k6r-la m6ne. 85. (Raibari: idlahan mūd ro-e).  
perform-ptc,3p part. Raibari this size head be-3s

86. maha l6khi j6n6m k6r-la m6ne. 87. nak bhoali s6g-e  
Maha Lakhi birth perform-ptc,3p part. nose umbilical cord with-Loc

gōdr-esot m6ne. 88. "laen uT-a-u" bol-la m6ne.  
coil-pinc,3p part. ? arise-caus-imp,s say-ptc,3p part.

84. At the time of going quickly, Maha Lakhi was born there. (85. Raibari: He head was this size (large).) 86. Maha Lakhi was born. 87. She is coiled up with her umbilical cord. 88. He said, "Cause sight to arise".

89. "laen uT-a-u" bol-to ke 6s6n d6k-lo m6ne.  
? arise-caus-imp,s say-inc Gol like this see-ptc,3s,m part.

90. itlo nai, car khut cawda hum m6n co d6k-a di-li  
this much Neg everywhere that pl Poss see-nom give-ptc,3s,nm

m6ne, bai. 91. aīk keb-ii ni j6n6m bera ni d6k-to hita pase aīk  
part: Bai eye when-emp not birth time not see-inc thing(m) later eye

ne d6k-lo. 92. d6k-lo m6ne, bai. 93. aur pase janu d6k-lo  
Loc see-ptc,3s,m see-ptc,3s,m part. Bai and later part. see-ptc,3s,m

car khut cawda buw6n d6k-lo. 94. uj6r ho-li, 6cha  
everywhere see-ptc,3s,m light occur-ptc,3s,m good

h6rik ho-lo, khus ho-lo m6ne.  
happiness occur-ptc,3s,m joy occur-ptc,3s part.

89. At the time of saying "cause sight to arise", like this he saw.  
90. Not a little bit, everywhere showed itself, Bai. 91. The one who had never seen from birth later with his eyes he saw. 92. He saw, Bai. 93. And later he saw everywhere, he saw. 94. It became light, he became very happy, he became joyful.

95. pila ke janu hun raj ne borun des kae  
child Gol part. that kingdom Loc Borun country what

bor-ese m6ne, tum-co gias 6s6n raj hun rani,  
glow-pinc,3s part. you(p)-Poss lamp like this kingdom that queen

maha l6khi j6n6m k6r-to ke. 96. raj bor-ese m6ne.  
Maha Lakhi birth perform-inc Gol kingdom glow-pinc,3s part.

97. jiu dol-ese m6ne. 98. mahal boR-la gume  
heart ?-pinc,3s part. palace ?-ptc,3p therefore

hum-i bād-lo hati, ghoRa Dhil-a ho-esot m6ne, bai.  
that-emp tie up-comp elephant horse loose-nom occur-pinc,3p part. Bai

95. Because of the child how that kingdom, the country of Borun is glowing, like you pressure lamp at the birth of Maha Lakhi. 96. The kingdom is glowing. 97. The heart is doing dolese. 98. Something is happening to the palace therefore those tied up elephants and horses are becoming freed.

99. hum co kitlo hum m6n raj ne, mōj phur ne janu  
that Poss how much that pl kingdom Loc middle world Loc part.

sobha ho-li m6ne.  
radiance occur-ptc,3s,m part.

99. In that kingdom, in the earth, how great a radiance occurred.

100. pace "he bh6gwan, m6-ke di-las bh6gwan, m6-ke di-las".  
later Oh God I-Gol give-ptc,2p God I-Gol give-ptc,2p

101. hum ke gur bhoka peT peTa bhor-un ge-li m6ne.  
that Gol raw sugar ? stomach fill-conj go-ptc,3s,nm part.

102. hum pila ke dh6r-lo nak bhomli s6g-e.  
that child Gol take hold-ptc,3s,m nose umbilical cord with-Loc

103. aur hum sūd6r pila ke dh6r-un pace pani  
and that beautiful child Gol take hold-conj later water

le nik6r-lo m6ne. 104. pani le nik6r-lo  
Src come out-ptc,3s,m part. water Src come out-ptc,3s,m

hum rusi 105. aur hum kh6D ne, s6mdhur co kh6D ne ase m6ne,  
that sage and that bank Loc lake Poss bank Loc is(3s) part.

s6mdhur lehra aur pani lehra. 106. hum than-e ase m6ne.  
lake wind and water wind that place-Loc is(3s) part.

100. Later (he said), "Oh God, you gave to me, God, you gave". 101. His stomach became filled. 102. He held that child with the umbilical cord. 103. And having held that beautiful child, later he came out of the water. 104. That sage came out of the water. 105. And he is on that bank, on the lake's bank with the wind. 106. He is at that place.

107. pila ke dh6r-lose. 108. aur hum ke n6g6t laj cum-a  
child Gol take hold-ptc,3s,m and that Gol good shyness kiss-nom

de-ese m6ne. 109. s6ga cum-a de-ese m6ne. 110.1 "m6-ke  
give-pinc,3s part. kin kiss-nom give-pinc,3s part. I-Gol

di-la bhógwan. 110.2 m6-ke di-la bhógwan" bol-ese m6ne.  
 give-ptc,3p God I-Gol give-ptc,3p God say-pinc,3s part.

107. He has taken hold of the child. 108. He is giving her n6g6t laj kisses. 109. He is giving s6ga kisses. 110. He is saying, "110.1 God gave to me. 110.2 God gave to me".

111. aur kae r6sea phoT6i nai, TuTi nai, hum kae ne ale poT6l  
 and what beautiful clothes Neg clothes Neg that what Loc part. ?

kh6D-e bos-lose m6ne. 112. aur "112.1 kahā ne-ēde-be? 112.2 ebe  
 bank-Loc sit-pc,3s,m part. and where take-f,1s-ab now

m6-co gh6r nai, duar nai, kha-to kaje bole nai, hum to k6pra  
 I-Poss house Neg courtyard Neg eat-inc for also Neg that part. clothes

nai. 112.3 kahā ne-ēde-be? 112.4 m6-ke bhógwan di-la. 112.5 ale  
 Neg where take-f,1s-ab I-Gol God give-ptc,3p part.

k6s6n k6r-ēde? 112.6 kon-i than le pila jhik-de m6-ke?  
 what perform-f,1s who-emp place Src child snatch-f,3p I-Gol

112.7 māg-de" bol-ese m6ne.  
 ask for-f,3p say-pinc,3s part. .

111. And he doesn't have beautiful clothes, he has sat only on the bank of the lake. 112. And he is saying, "112.1 Where will I take (her)? 112.2 I don't have a house, a courtyard, I have nothing for eating, no clothes for her. 112.3 Where will I take (her)? 112.4 God gave to me. 112.5 What will I do? 112.6 Anyone from anywhere will snatch the child from me. 112.7 They will ask for".

#### Part 4: The Sage Gives up the Child

113. aur hum j6n6m dh6r-lo ke, ek din ae kae dui din ae,  
 and that birth take hold-comp Gol one day is(3s) what 2 day is(3s)

huta-e ci ase m6ne, s6mdhur co khāD-e. 114. ase m6ne.  
 there-Loc emp is(3s) part. lake Poss bank-Loc is(3s) part.

113. It was one or two days from when he took her at birth, he is just there on the lake's bank. 114. He is (there).

115. pani biti m6n ja-esot m6ne. 116. pani roj-e ae  
 water thing(m) pl go-pinc,3p part. water daily-Loc is(3s)

ja-esot m6ne, dui pahar. 117. pani ja-esot.  
 go-pinc,3p part. 2 time period water go-pinc,3p

118.1 "he, rusi ke d6k-a ri, itlo din le eta ro-lo  
excl sage Gol see-imp,p Voc this much day Src here be-ptc,3s,m

aur ebe pher aik ni d6k-to bita go'lok pila ke pau-lose.  
and now again eye not see-inc thing(m) one child Gol carry-ptc,3s,m

118.2 hum pila co sūd6r" bol-esot m6ne, pani biti m6n.  
that child Poss beautiful say-pinc,3p part. water thing(m) pl

115. The water women are going. 116. Daily they are going for water, during two time periods. 117. They are going for water. 118. The water women are saying, "118.1 Hey! look at the sage, friend, he was here for so many days and now this non-seeing person has carried a child. 118.2 How beautiful the child".

119. aur hua pila ke d6k-to ke, kon gh6sr-ese m6ne,  
and that child Gol see-inc Gol who fall down-pinc,3s part.

bai. 120. kon gh6gra poka-ese m6ne. 121. kon bhōDua  
Bai who a waterpot throw out-pinc,3s part. who a waterpot

poka-ese m6ne sūd6r co mar-e.  
throw out-pinc,3s part beautiful Poss hit-3s

122. tin tin khoRa co mar-esot m6ne, sūd6r d6k-un d6k-un.  
3 3 whip Poss hit-pinc,3p part. beautiful see-conj see-conj

119. And at the time of seeing the child, who is falling down, Bai?  
120. Who is dropping their gh6gra waterpot? 121. Who is dropping their bhōDua waterpot at the time of being struck by her beauty? 122. They are being struck by her beauty.

123. aur janu i-la m6ne.  
and part. come-ptc,3p part.

124. aur ek ke har gaō ne i-la m6ne.  
and one Gol turn village Loc come-ptc,3p part.

125. aur janu raja gh6r-e pora-la m6ne, hāDi kuRa  
and part. king house-Loc run-ptc,3p part. waterpots

mōD-a-n di-la, pani hāDi, gh6gra, bhōDua.  
put down-caus-conj give-ptc,3p a waterpot a waterpot a waterpot

126. i-la m6ne, bai. 127. aur ge-la m6ne.  
come-ptc,3p part. Bai and go-ptc,3p part.

128. aur bhorun raja ke bol-la m6ne.  
and Bhorun king Gol say-ptc,3p part.

129. 16-ge ja-un s6r6n k6r-la m6ne.  
near-Loc go-conj surrender perform-ptc,3p part.
130. 16g-e ja-un bos-la m6ne.  
near-Loc go-conj sit-ptc,3p part.
131. aur "131.1 he raja, t6gur rusi ro-e s6mdhur ne. 131.2 hum rusi  
and Oh king upright sage be-3s lake Loc that sage  
janu ebe, itlo bor6k le hum than-e aŕk ne ni d6k-te ro-e,  
part. now this much year Src that place-Loc eye Loc not see-inc be-3s  
kan ne ni sun-te ro-e, ebe go'ok kae sūd6r go'ok pila ke  
ear Loc not hear-inc be-3s now one what beautiful one child Gol  
dh6r-lose. 132.3 aur janu huta asot" bol-la m6ne. 133. "ase?"  
take hold-pc,3s,m and part. there is(3p) say-ptc,3p part. is(3s)
134. "hou" 135. "ja-un d6k-a re pulis paik m6n" bol-la m6ne.  
yes go-conj see-imp,p Voc police pl say-ptc,3p part.
136. ge-la nai, "s6te ae raja, s6te"  
go-ptc,3p Neg true is(3s) king true
137. "k6s6n k6r-le hum ke ho-ede to?" bol-la m6ne.  
what perform-when that Gol occur-f,3s part. say-ptc,3p part.
123. And they came. 124. And at the first occasion they came to the  
village. 125. And they ran to the king's house, after put down their  
waterpots. 126. They came, Bai. 127. And they went. 128. And they spoke to  
King Bhorun. 129. Having gone close, they greeted him with the s6r6n  
surrender greeting. 130. Having gone close, they sat. 131. And they said,  
"131.1 Oh king, there was an upright sage in the lake. 131.2 That sage was  
there for many years, he was not seeing with his eyes, he was not hearing  
with his ears, now he has a very beautiful child. 132.3 And they are  
there". 133. "He is there?" 134. "Yes" 135. He said, "Go, police (check  
out the story)". 136. They went, "Its true king, its true". 137. He said,  
"What will I do that he may agree?"
138. "k6s6n k6r-le aur m6g-le de-ede ki nai" bol-to ke,  
what perform-when and ask for-when give-f,3s or Neg say-inc Gol  
"k6s6n jale, de-ede k6s6n jale". 139. 16g-e 16g-e Dara  
what part. give-f,3s what part. near-Loc near-Loc news(spoken)  
bul-a-la m6ne. 140. lapi lapi ci Thi ge-li m6ne, bai.  
wander-caus-ptc,3p part. far far letter go-ptc,3s,nm part. Bai
141. DhīDra poR-li m6ne, des desea, g6R g6Rea,  
written message fall-ptc,3s,nm part. country folk villagers

nani aur boRe aur s6eda aur boeda aur lal aur kum6r aur s6b  
small and big and ? and ? and red and potter and all

tasil dew6n, j6ma, hati aur ghoRa  
revenue collector royal minister all elephant and horse

D6Dik s6mae ho-la m6ne.  
a little while loudly occur-ptc,3p part.

138. At the time of saying "What will happen when I ask for (the child); will he give or not?", (they said) "Who knows whether he will give, who knows". 139. The spoken message was sent out near by. 140. The written message went far and wide, Bai. 141. The message went out loudly to all the people via the elephants and horses.

142. aur "142.1 hun ke an-uk j6 to.  
and that Gol bring-inf let's go part.

142.2 hun ke k6sn-i k6r-un bole m6g-uaū aur an-uaū?  
that Gol what-emp perform-conj also ask for-f,lp and bring-f,lp

142.3 am-co peT-e put6r ni ae" bol-to ke baja 6s6n  
we-Poss stomach-Loc child not is(3s) say-inc Gol ? like this

bhorun raja beTa bita nai m6ne niub6ti rani ke.  
Ehorun king son thing(m) Neg part. Nuibati Queen Gol

143. tebe pace janu, bai, ge-la m6ne.  
then later part. Bai go-ptc,3p part.

142. And at the time of saying "142.1 Let's go to bring her. 142.2 What can we do so that in asking we will be able to bring? 142.3 We don't have a child of our own", King Bhorun doesn't have a son to Queen Niubati. 143. Then later they went, Bai.

144. hun d6k-lo m6ne, e baT-e ami 6s6n raikera mislo  
that see-ptc,3s,m part. this way-Loc we like this Raikera similar

pho-uk ja-to ke. 145. hun D6r-ese m6ne. 146.1 "he bh6gwan, he  
? go-inc Gol that fear-pinc,3s part. Oh God Oh

bh6gwan, d6k-a ram, he bh6gwan, he ram, m6-ke mar-de-be. 146.2 m6-ke  
God see-imp,p Ram Oh God Oh Ram I-Gol hit-f,3p-ab I-Gol

janu pila ke jhik-de-be. 146.3 itlo log e-esot. 146.4 moē  
part. child Gol snatch-f,3p-ab this much people come-pinc,3p I

k6s6n k6r-ēde-be. 146.5 moē kahā ne-ēde-be? 146.6 kon baT le  
what perform-f,ls-ab I where take-f,ls-ab which way Src

pa-ēde-be" bol-ese m6ne. 147. aur pila ke dh6r-un e paT  
 carry-f,ls-ab say-pinc,3s part. and child Gol take hold-conj this side

6s6n k6r-ese m6ne.  
 like this perform-pinc,3s part.

144. At the time of going, the sage saw them in the distance, like from here to the Raikera river. 145. He is fearing. 146. He is saying, "146.1 Oh G6d, Oh God, look Ram, Oh God, Oh Ram, they will beat me. 146.2 They will snatch the child from me. 146.3 This many people are coming. 146.4 What will I do? 146.5 Where will I take her? 146.6 Which direction will I carry her?" 147. Having taken the child he is twisting this way and that.

148. e paT 6s6n k6r-ese m6ne, log ja-to ke,  
 this side like this perform-pinc,3s part. people go-inc Gol

e baT thouk log ja-to ke. 149. "jhik-u-ci-at bole m6-ke"  
 this way many people go-inc Gol snatch-f-emp-3p also I-Gol

bol-ese m6ne. 150. aur janu 6sni k6r-ese m6ne.  
 say-pinc,3s part. and part. like this perform-pinc,3s part.

151. dh6r-lose m6ne. 152. ge-la m6ne, e raj co log,  
 'take hold-pc,3s,m part. go-ptc,3p part. this kingdom Poss people

bhorun des co log. 153. ge-la m6ne, bai.  
 Bhorun country Poss people go-ptc,3p part. Bai

148. At the going of the people, at the going of a lot of people in this direction, he is twisting this way and that. 149. He is saying, "They will snatch from me". 150. And he is doing just like this. 151. He has taken hold of the child. 152. The people of the kingdom, of the kingdom of Bhorun went. 153. They went, Bai.

154. aur janu pase hun ke bol-la m6ne, s6b nani aur boRe aur  
 and part. later that Gol say-ptc,3p part. all small and big and

s6b. 155. raja bol-la m6ne, bhorun raja. "156.1 ede rusi, tui  
 all king say-ptc,3p part. Bhorun king here! sage you(s)

1 monuk pila as. 156.2 tui janu k6s6n k6r-un nak bhomli  
 man child is(2s) you(s) part. what perform-conj nose umbilical cord

kaT-uas? 156.3 tui k6s6n k6r-un e ke peT chek-uas?  
 cut-f,2s you(s) what perform-conj this Gol stomach warm-f,2s

156.4 k6s6n k6r-un T6D tua-uas? 156.5 k6s6n k6r-un  
 what perform-conj mouth clean out-f,2s what perform-conj

- pos-uas? 156.6 tui e-ke m6-ke de-s. 156.7 m6-ke peT-e  
 care for-f,2s you(s) this-Gol I-Gol give-imp,s I-Gol stomach-Loc
- put6r ni ae. 156.8 m6-co baele niub6ti rani ase, m6-co paT rani,  
 child not is(3s) I-Poss wife Niubati Queen is(3s) I-Poss behind queen
- niub6ti rani. 156.9 e pos-ede. 156.10 tu-ke janu moē dh6n mal  
 Niubati Queen this care for-f,3s you(s)-Gol part. 1 wealth
- de-ēde. 156.11 tu-ke moē raj baT de-ēde. 156.12 tu-ke  
 give-f,1s you(s)-Gol 1 a kingdom give-f,1s you(s)-Gol
- hati ghoRa de-ēde. 156.13 tu-ke nawk6r cak6R moē de-ēde.  
 elephant horse give-f,1s you(s)-Gol servants I give-f,1s
- 156.14 aur tu-ke moē go lok dus6r mahal bon-a-n de-ēde.  
 | and you(s)-Gol 1 one different palace make-caus-conj give-f,1s  
 |
- 156.15 6stir ne kha-se, 6stir ne ro-se.  
 well being Loc eat-f,2s well being Loc be-f,2s
- 156.16 aur ne ni kha-se dui s6 156.17 tu-ke D6r ni ja-e.  
 and Loc not eat-f2s 2 ? you(s)-Gol fear not go-3s
- 156.18 tu-co beTi eta-e ro-ede tui bole e raj paT  
 you(s)-Poss daughter here-Loc be-f,3s you(s) also this kingdom
- ne ro-se" bol-un bhorun raja bol-la m6ne. "157.1 nai raja, moē ni  
 Loc be-f,2s say-conj Bhorun king say-ptc,3p part. part. king 1 not
- de-ē. 157.2 moē itlo din le m6-co janu peT-e ar-6l nai,  
 give-1s I this much day Src I-Poss part. stomach-Loc ?-nom Neg
- dat-e cir-6l nai. 157.3 moē laen ni d6k-le. 157.4 m6-ke bh6gwan  
 tooth-Loc tear-nom Neg I ? not see-ptc,1s I-Gol God
- mahaporu, m6-ke di-la. 157.5 moē ni de-ē" bol-ese m6ne.  
 Lord I-Gol give-ptc,3p I not give-1s say-pinc,3s part.

154. And later they said to him, all small and great. 155. The king, King Bhorun said. "156.1 Here, sage, you are a man child. 156.2 How will you cut the umbilical cord? 156.3 How will you warm the child's stomach? 156.4 How will you clean out the mouth? 156.5 How will you care for (the child)? 156.6 You give her to me. 156.7 I have no child of my own. 156.8 I have a wife, Queen Niubati. 156.9 She will care for (it). 156.10 I will give you wealth. 156.11 I will give you a kingdom. 156.12 I will give you elephants and horses. 156.13 I will give you servants. 156.14 And I will build you a separate palace. 156.15 You will eat in contentment, you will live in contentment. 156.16 And you wont eat anything else. 156.17 There's



nothing to be afraid of. 156.18 Your daughter will live here, you also will live in this kingdom" having said, King Bhorun said. 157. The sage is saying. "157.1 King, I will not give. 157.2 For many days I (was here), my stomach didn't tear and my teeth didn't fall out. 157.3 I didn't see laen. 157.4 The Lord God gave to me, to me. 157.5 I wont give".

158.1 "nai, nai, tui k6s6n k6r-se? 158.2 de-s" bol-to ke  
part. part. you(s) what perform-f,2s give-imp,s say-inc Gol

nani, boRe, dewan, t6sil, j6mae, s6b nani boRe log  
small big royal minister revenue collector all all small big people

bol-la m6ne. 159. bol-la m6ne gune pace raji  
say-ptc,3p part. say-ptc,3p part. therefore later agreement

poR-lo m6ne. 160. raji poR-lo m6ne.  
fall-ptc,3s,m part. agreement fall-ptc,3s,m part.

158. At the time of saying "158.1 How will you do it? 158.2 Give (the child)", all the people spoke. 159. They said therefore later he agreed. 160. He agreed.

161. aur pace janu bhorun raja ke janu 6s6n dh6r-a-n  
and later part. Bhorun king Gol part. like this take hold-caus-conj

di-lo m6ne. 162. bhorun raja ke dh6r-a-n di-lo  
give-ptc,3s,m part. Bhorun king Gol take hold-caus-conj give-ptc,3s,m

m6ne. 163. bhorun raja dh6r-la m6ne.  
part. Bhorun king take hold-ptc,3p part.

164. dh6r-la gune janu pace e m6n, maha l6khi,  
take hold-ptc,3p therefore part. later this pl Maha Lakhi

bhorun raja, niub6ti rani, go'ok hati ne bos-la m6ne, bai.  
Bhorun king Niubati queen one elephant Loc sit-ptc,3p part. Bai

165. hum co go'ok hati ne bos-la m6ne.  
that Poss one elephant Loc sit-ptc,3p part.

166. aur itlo baja aur mohri aur naT aur  
and this much drum and wind instrument and dance drama and

paT aur heja leka nai m6ne, hum ke joRa cha-un dui paT  
rhyming word and boy Neg part. that Gol pair cover-conj 2 side

le poR-ese m6ne. 167. to bhorun gh6r-e an-la m6ne, bhorun  
Src fall-pinc,3s part. part. Bhorun house-Loc bring-ptc,3p part. Bhorun

raja co mahal ne. 168. an-la m6ne. 169. aur pace j6ma,  
king Poss palace loc bring-ptc,3p part. and later all

des desea, g6R g6Rea, raj co paT co s6b an-la m6ne, bai.  
country folk villagers kingdom Poss side Poss all bring-ptc,3p part. Bai

161. And later he gave the child to the king. 162. He gave to the king. 163. The king took (her). 164. The king took (her) therefore later they, Maha lakhi, King Bhorun, and Queen Niubati sat on an elephant. 165. They sat on his one elephant. 166. And the musicians and dancers, etc., formed two lines behind. 167. Then they brought (them) to the Bhorun house, to King Bhorun's palace. 168. They brought (them). 169. And later everyone, villagers, householders, all the kingdom's people brought (them), Bai.

170. an-to ke janu eta ne an-la mahal ne. 171. hum ke  
bring-inc Gol part here loc bring-ptc,3p palace loc that Gol

utr-a-la. 172. hum ke janu nak bhomli kaTla.  
descend-caus-ptc,3p that Gol part. nose umbilical cord cut-ptc,3p

173. son co c6ku an-la m6ne. 174. popola an-la m6ne.  
gold Poss knife bring-ptc,3p part. ? bring-ptc,3p part.

175. aur hum ke janu nak bhomli kaT-la m6ne.  
and that Poss part. nose umbilical cord cut-ptc,3p part.

176. niub6ti rani pace pila harin ho-li m6ne.  
Niubati queen later child person(f) occur-ptc,3s,nm part.

177. ho-li m6ne, bai.  
occur-ptc,3s,nm part. Bai

170. At the time of bringing, they brought here to the palace. 171. They brought down the child. 172. They cut the child's umbilical cord. 173. They brought a gold knife. 174. They brought popola. 175. And they cut the child's umbilical cord. 176. Queen Niubati later became a child bearer. 177. She became (one), Bai.

178. pace tin din ne janu k6sa di-la m6ne.  
later 3 day loc part purification ceremony give-ptc,3p part.

179. hum co ba bita rusi kaje pher mahal bon-a-n  
that Poss father thing(m) sage for again palace make-caus-conj

di-la m6ne. 180. hum ke nawk6r m6n di-la m6ne, bai.  
give-ptc,3p part. that Gol servant pl give-ptc,3p part. Bai

181. hum ke hati ghoRa di-la m6ne.  
that Gol elephant horse give-ptc,3p part.

182. hum ke dh6n mal di-la.  
that Gol wealth give-ptc,3p

178. Later after three days they gave the k6sa purification ceremony.  
179. Her father had a palace built for the sage. 180. He gave him servants, Bai. 181. He gave him elephants and horses. 182. He gave him wealth.

183. j-itlo raja gh6r-e ro-e hutlo dh6n ke di-lo  
rel-this much king house-Loc be-3s that much wealth Gol give-ptc,3s,m

m6ne beTi ke di-lo . kaje. 184. aur "184.1 tui 6stir ne  
part. daughter Gol give-ptc,3s,m for and you(s) well being Loc

ro, kha. 184.2 tui aur moē raj k6r-un kha-ū"  
be(imp,s) eat(imp,s) you(s) and I kingdom perform-conj eat-lp

bol-la m6ne. 185. aur bol-la m6ne, bai.  
say-ptc,3p part. and say-ptc,3p part. Bai

186. aur pase janu hum than-e asot m6ne.  
and later part. that place-Loc is(3p) part.

183. However much there was in the king's house, that amount of wealth he gave because of giving his daughter. 184. And he said, "184.1 You stay in contentment, eat. 184.2 You and I will rule the land". 185. And he said, Bai. 186. And later they are there.

### Section 2: Hasin's Coming

1. nak bhomli ka T-la m6ne.  
nose umbilical cord cut-ptc,3p part.

1. They cut the umbilical cord.

2. tebe pase bara din ne s6Ti k6r-la m6ne.  
then later 12 day Loc naming ceremony perform-ptc,3p part.

3. maha l6khi naw s6g-a-la m6ne. 4. s6g-a-la part.  
Maha Lakhi name tell-caus-ptc,3p part. tell-caus-ptc,3p part.

Then later, after twelve days, they performed the s6Ti naming ceremony.

3. They named (her) Maha Lakhi. 4. They named (her).

5. pace janu maha l6khi bic6r bic6r baR-esot m6ne.  
later part. Maha Lakhi ? ? grow-pinc,3p part.

6. raj baR deo baR debi baR baR-esot m6ne. 7. baR-esot m6ne.  
indicates fast growth grow-pinc,3p part. grow-pinc,3p part.

5. Later Maha Lakhi is growing. 6. She is growing extremely quickly.  
7. She is growing.

8. aur janu lehra ke aur phob6n ke hagde-esot m6ne, maha l6khi.  
and part. wind Gol and storm Gol call-pinc,3p part. Maha Lakhi

9.1 "i-a mama, i-au-ta. 9.2 m6-ke D6Dik tui  
come-imp,p uncle come-imp,p-part. I-Gol a little while you(p)

jhulna ne jhul-a-wa" bol-esot m6ne. 10. tebe hum lehra  
swing Loc swing-caus-imp,p say-pinc,3p part. then that wind

e-esot m6ne, bh6r bh6r bh6r bh6r. 11. phob6n aur lehra e-esot  
come-pinc,3p part. wind's noise storm and wind come-pinc,3p

m6ne. 12. phob6n aur lehra e-esot m6ne. 13. aur  
part. storm and wind come-pinc,3p part. and

jhul-a-esot m6ne.  
swing-caus-pinc,3p part.

8. Maha Lakhi is calling the wind and storm. 9. She is saying, "9.1  
Come uncle, come here. 9.2 Swing me for a while in the swing". 10. Then  
that wind is coming, making its sound. 11. The storm and wind are coming.  
12. The storm and wind are coming. 13. And they are swinging (her).

14. hum to ch6e moena ho-li, ch6e moena co bor6k kar  
that then 6 month occur-ptc,3s,nm 6 month Poss one year

ho-li m6ne. 15. itlo ne pase h1D-la m6ne.  
occur-ptc,3s,nm part. this much Loc later walk-ptc,3p part.

16. go'ok baT-6k go'ok baT-6k pora-esot m6ne,  
one way-one one way-one run-pinc,3p part.

kae sūd6r. 17. bhitr-e bhitr-e bhorun raja gh6r  
what beautiful inside-Loc inside-Loc Bhorun king house

pos-esot m6ne.  
care for-pinc,3p part.

14. Thus six months or six months to a year passed. 15. With that  
much, later she walked. 16. She is running this way and that, what beauty.  
17. Inside King Bhorun's house they are caring for her.

18. pase maha l6khi kae bol-la m6ne, aplo mon ne.  
later Maha Lakhi what say-ptc,3p part. one's own mind Loc

19. mon ne jan-la m6ne. 20. aur "e baba" bol-la m6ne.  
mind Loc know-ptc,3p part. and Ch father say-ptc,3p part.

21.1 "kae ae? 21.2 beṭa kae ae?" 22.1 "tu-ke kṛsṇn mṁntṛi asot?  
 what is(3s) son what is(3s) you(s)-Gol why advisor is(3p)

22.2 aur mṁ-ke kṛsṇn sṛg-ta log ni at?  
 and I-Gol why with-part. person not is(3p)

22.3 moē kṛsṇn ekla baR-uaē-be aur ekla khel-uaē, ekla bul-uaē  
 I why alone grow-f,ls-ab and alone play-f,ls alone walk-f,ls

mṁ-ke sṛg-ta ni at je? 22.4 moē kṛsṇn kṛ-un moē ro-uaē?  
 I-Gol with-part. not is(3p) rel I what perform-conj I be-f,ls

22.5 kon lṛg moē janu nikr-uaē, khel-uaē, bul-uaē? 22.6 ka-co  
 which place I part. come out-f,ls play-f,ls walk-f,ls who-Poss

sṛg khel-uaē-be? 22.7 moē ṛsṇn dhurīa kṛ-co sṛg khel-uaē  
 with play-f,ls-ab I like this dust who-Poss with play-f,ls

mṁ-co sṛg-ta ni at je, baba?" bol-la mṁne, maha  
 I-Poss with-part. not is(3p) rel father say-ptc,3p part. Maha

lṛkhi, niubṛti rani ke aur bhorun raja ke.

Lakhi Niubati queen Gol and Bhorun king Gol.

18. Later what did Maha Lakhi say in her mind? 19. She knew in her mind. 20. And she said, "Oh father". "21.1 What is it? 21.2 What is it, son?" "22.1 How come you have a companion (mṁntṛi)? 22.2 And how come I have no companion (sṛgta)? 22.3 How can I grow up alone, and play alone, and walk alone when I have no companion? 22.4 What will I do so I will be? 22.5 Where will I come out, and play, and walk? 22.6 With whom can I play? 22.7 With whom can I play in the dust when I have no companion, father?"

23. "ja nu", sāg-te "23.1 kṛḍa bamṁn ghṛ-e.  
 go(imp,s) Voc tell-inc Konda Brahmin house-Loc

23.2 kṛḍa bamṁn ghṛ-e janu, goḷok hasin naI co leki at.  
 Konda Brahmin house-Loc part. one Hasin? Poss girl is(3p)

23.3 Toki ṛsni lan ase leki at. 23.4 hum ke māg  
 young girl like this? is(3s) girl is(3p) that Gol ask for(imp,s)

aur mṁ-ke an-un de-s. 23.5 tebe mṁ-co sṛg-ta ho-ede.  
 and I-Gol bring-conj give-imp,s then I-Poss with-part. occur-f,3s

23.6 hum aur moē khel-ūde. 23.7 jan-un 'nai' ni bol-ot de-de"  
 that and I play-f,lp know-conj Neg not say-3p give-f,3p

bol-un bati maha lṛkhi bol-la. "24.1 hā, ja-ēde beṭa, ja-ēde.  
 say-conj after Maha Lakhi say-ptc,3p yes go-f,ls son go-f,ls

24.2 **kae kaje ni ja-ē?** 24.3 **moē ja-ēde.** 24.4 **tum-co bole moē ja-ēde.**  
 what for not go-1s I go-f,1s you(p)-Poss also I go-f,1s

24.5 **j6s6n bol-le moē us6n ho-ēde.**  
 rel-like this say-when I like that occur-f,1s

24.6 **j-6s6n k6r-le us6n moē c6l-uaē, bul-uaē.**  
 rel-like this perform-when like that I operate-f,1s walk-f,1s

24.7 **to moē ja-ēde" bol-lo m6ne, bhorun raja.**  
 part. I go-f,1s say-ptc,3s,m part. Bhorun king

23. Saying "Go, friend", after having said, "23.1 In Konda Brahmin's house. 23.2 In Konda Brahmin's house is one **hasin naT** girl. 23.3 There is a young girl, she is a girl. 23.4 Ask for and bring her for me. 23.5 Then I will have a companion. 23.6 She and I will play. 23.7 When they know they wont say 'no', they will give" Maha Lakhi said. 24. King Bhorun said, "24.1 Yes, I will go son, I will go. 24.2 Why shouldn't I go. 24.3 I will go. 24.4 Whatever you say I will go. 24.5 Whatever you say like that I will do. 24.6 Whatever you do like that I will operate, I will walk. 24.7 Thus I will go".

25. **aur janu m6ne, bai, ek tola rupea dh6r-la**  
 and part. part. Bai one measure of weight rupee take hold-ptc,3p

**m6ne. 26. rupea k6Thin ol-la m6ne.**  
 part. rupee extreme enter-ptc,3p part.

27. **aur ek tola rupea m6Dra bād-la m6ne.**  
 and one measure of weight rupee bundle(large) tie up-ptc,3p part.

28. **aur hum co m6nt6ri s6g dui jhan janu, bam6n gh6r-e**  
 and that Poss adviser with 2 pers part. Brahmin house-Loc

**ge-la m6ne, k6Da bam6n gh6r-e.**  
 go-ptc,3p part. Konda Brahmin house-Loc

25. And he took hold of one tola of rupees. 26. He wrapped up many rupees. 27. And one tola of rupees he tied up in a bundle. 28. And with his advisor, the two went to the brahmin house, to Konda Brahmin's house.

29. **k6Da bam6n gh6r-e 6sni go T6k be Tī ro-e,**  
 Konda Brahmin house-Loc like this one daughter be-3s

**k6Da bam6n gh6r-e, idlo. 30. ge-la m6ne.**  
 Konda Brahmin house-Loc this size go-ptc,3p part.

29. In Konda Brahmin's house there was a daughter, in Konda Brahmin's house, this big. 30. They went.

31. aur pace hun-co nahakor ho-un bati kōḌa bamōn sewa phuja  
and later that-Poss bathe occur-conj after Konda Brahmin worship

kōr-te ro-e mōne. 32. sewa phuja kōr-te ro-e mōne.  
perform-inc be-3s part. worship perform-inc be-3s part.

31. And later after his ritual bathing, Konda Brahmin was performing worship. 32. He was performing worship.

33. aur phuj-un janu hasin co naha dhōa  
and sacrifice-conj part. Hasin Poss bathe

kōr-un, mūḌ kan kor-un di-li mōne, kae sūḍr.  
perform-conj head ear comb-conj give-ptc,3s,nm part. what beautiful

34. aur hum ke beni bena paR-un di-li mōne.  
and that Gol braid braid braid-conj give-ptc,3s,nm part.

35. aur hum ke raeka sōb phīd-a-n di-li kōpra lōta ḡcha  
and that Gol ? all wear-caus-conj give-ptc,3s,nm clothes good

phīd-a-n di-li mōne, iskul pōḷa-to kaje.  
wear-caus-conj give-ptc,3s,nm part. school send-inc for

36. iskul ja-to kaje ho-ese aur ḡmōr-la mōne.  
school go-inc for occur-pinc,3s and arrive-ptc,3p part.

33. And after worship, after Hasin's bathing, she combed her head, what beauty. 34. And she braided her her. 35. And she dressed her ready to go to school. 36. She is getting ready for school and they arrived.

37. ḡmōr-to ke ḡk-la mōne, bamōn, kōḌa bamōn.  
arrive-inc Gol see-ptc,3p part. Brahmin Konda Brahmin

37. At the time of arriving, the brahmin, Konda Brahmin saw (them).

38.1 "moē mane co mūḌ ni mar-ē, ḡhōr-e ci jhil ni kaḷ-ē,  
1 human being Poss head not hit-ls house-Loc emp ? not cut-ls

kōsōn ne raja renas am-co ḡhōr-e e-esot?  
why Loc king we-Poss house-Loc come-pinc,3p

38.2 kae kōsōn biti ho-li?" bol-to ke kōḌa  
what what thing(nm) occur-ptc,3s,nm say-inc Gol Konda

thōr thōr-ese mōne. 39. tebe jan-la mōne.  
shiver-pinc,3s part. then know-ptc,3p part.

40. aur pase "40.1 kae kae Ḍōr-sas Ḍōr nu ae.  
and later what what fear-pinc,3p fear not is(3s)

40.2 bhoe nu ae. 40.3 to ami i-luse.  
 mad man not is(3s) part. we come-pc,1p

40.4 6sni bat kaje i-luse" bol-la m6ne.  
 like this reason for come-pc,1p say-ptc,3p part.

38. At the time of saying "38.1 I didn't hit anyone on the head, I didn't cut the jhill in any house, how come the king is coming to our house. 38.2 What has happened?", Konda is shivering (with fear). 39. Then he (the king) knew. 40. And later he said "40.1 Why are you fearing, don't be afraid. 40.2 It isn't a madman. 40.3 We have come. 40.4 For this reason we have come".

41. pase janu s6lam k6r-la m6ne. 42. pani di-la m6ne.  
 later part. greeting perform-ptc,3p part. water give-ptc,3p part.

43. paē dhoe-la m6ne, e m6n raje ke aur hum m6nt6ri ke.  
 foot wash-ptc,3p part. this pl king Gol and that advisor Gol

44. aur janu 6sni kh6Tea phoT6i di-la huta bos-la m6ne.  
 and part. like this bed cloth give-ptc,3p there sit-ptc,3p part.

45. k6Da bam6n s6g-e aili moeli goThea-la m6ne,  
 Konda Brahmin with-Loc pleasantries converse-ptc,3p part.

6sni 6esa s6b. 46. D6Dki goThea-la m6ne.  
 like this much all short time converse-ptc,3p part.

47. aur bol-la m6ne. 48. "e k6Da" bol-la m6ne, e raja.  
 and say-ptc,3p part. Oh Konda say-ptc,3p part. this king

41. Later the brahmin greeted. 42. He gave water. 43. He washed the king's and advisor's feet. 44. And he put a cloth on the bed and there they sat. 45. They conversed with Konda Brahmin about many things. 46. They conversed for a while. 47. And (the king) said. 48. The king said, "Oh Konda".

49. "kae ae raja? maharaj" bol-to ke nai "49.1 to tu-co  
 what is(3s) king great king say-inc Gol Neg part. you(s)-Poss

beTi ke m6-ke de-s. 49.2 m6-co maha l6khi s6g khel-to kaje  
 daughter Gol I-Gol give-imp,s I-Poss Maha Lakhi with play-inc for

joRi ni ae. 49.3 tu-co beTi hasin ke m6-ke  
 pair not is(3s) you(s)-Poss daughter joking relation(f) Gol I-Gol

de-s. 49.4 tui kitlo dh6r-uas ale aur itlo moē  
 give-imp,s you(s) how much take hold-f,2s part. and this much I



tu-ke janu poēsa koRi moē de-ēde. 49.5 ede e biti  
 you(s)-Gol part. money I give-f,ls look! this thing(m)

an-le" bol-la m6ne. 50. aur mōDra-ek rupea ke  
 bring-ptc,ls say-ptc,3p part. and bundle(large)-one rupee Gol

d6k-a-la. 51. mōDra-ek rupea ke d6k-a-la m6ne.  
 see-caus-ptc,3p bundle(large)-one rupee Gol see-caus-ptc,3p part.

52.1 "e rupea ke moē de-ēde. 52.2 tu-co beTi ke de-s.  
 this rupee Gol I give-f,ls you(s)-Poss daughter Gol give-imp,s

52.3 D6D ni ja-e. 52.4 kaī ni ja-e. 52.5 j-6s6n  
 difficulty not go-3s anything not go-3s rel-like this

khad-le us6n kha-ūde m6-co gh6r-e ro-ede" bol-la m6ne.  
 eat-when like that eat-f,lp l-Poss house-Loc be-f,3s say-ptc,3p part.

49. At the time of saying "What is it king, great king?", he said "49.1 Give me your daughter. 49.2 There is no partner (joRi) to play with my Maha lakhi. 49.3 Give me your daughter Hasin. 49.4 However much you will take that much money I will give you. 49.5 Here I brought this". 50. And he showed the bundle of rupees. 51. He showed the bundle of rupees. 52. He said, "52.1 I will give this money. 52.2 Give me your daughter. 52.3 There will be no suffering. 52.4 Nothing will occur. 52.5 Whatever she eats like that we will eat (or feed), she will be in my house".

53. bol-to ke nai, bai, pase bol-la m6ne, kōDa bamin.  
 say-inc Gol Neg Bai later say-ptc,3p part. Konda Brahmin

54.1 "nai moē kae kaje poesa koRi dh6r-ēde.  
 part. I what for money take hold-f,ls

54.2 m6-ke jiu-ta jiu ho-ot m6-ke Thet-le 6stir  
 l-Gol life-part. life occur-opt,3p l-Gol ? well being

6stir ro-o. 54.3 m6-ke janu m6-ke ph6lna k6r-ot.  
 well being be-opt,3s l-Gol part. l-Gol fruitfulness perform-opt,3p

54.4 m6-co jiu 6stir sud ro-o.  
 l-Poss life peace and contentment be-opt,3s

54.5 m6-ke janu ro-ot, 6stir nāg6r ph6lna k6r-ot.  
 l-Gol part. be-opt,3p well being plough fruitfulness perform-opt,3p

54.6 ami poesa koRi ni dh6r-ū maha l6khi ke" bol-la m6ne.  
 we money not take hold-lp Maha Lakhi Gol say-ptc,3p part.

55. bol-la m6ne.  
 say-ptc,3p part.

53. At the time of saying, Bai, later Konda Brahmin said. 54. He said, "54.1 Why will I take the money? 54.2 Let me live long, let me abide in contentment. 54.3 Make me fruitful. 54.4 Let my heart stay in contentment and peace. 54.5. Let me be, make me fruitful. 54.6 We wont take the money from Maha Lakhi". 55. He said.

56. bol-to ke janu pase pher (kae to 6sni)  
say-inc Gol part. later again ummm like this

"ja be beTi hasin" bol-la m6ne.  
go(imp,s) ab daughter Hasin say-ptc,3p part.

56. At the time of saying, later he said, "You can go daughter, Hasin".

57. "ja" bol-to ke pase hasin leki ke phur-e bona-n  
go(imp,s) say-inc Gol later Hasin girl Gol front-Loc make-conj

di-la m6ne, hasin Toki ke. 58. hasin Toki janu phur-e  
give-ptc,3p part. Hasin young girl Gol Hasin young girl part. front-Loc

ae m6ne. 59. paT kuti raja at m6ne. 60. raja co paT kuti m6nt6ri  
is(3s) part. behind king is(3s) part. king Poss behind advisor

at m6ne. 61. tin jhan i-la m6ne.  
is(3p) part. 3 pers come-ptc,3p part.

62. i-la m6ne bhorun raja co mahal-e.  
come-ptc,3p part. Bhorun king Poss palace-Loc

57. At the time of saying "Go", later they put Hasin Toki in front.  
58. Hasin Toki is in front. 59. Behind her is the king. 60. Behind the king is the advisor. 61. The three people came. 62. They came to King Bhorun's palace.

63. kitlo dhur ro-e jale, kae itli dhur ae, s6h6r  
how much distance be-3s part. what this much distance is(3s) city

itlo ae kae k6s6n jale. (64. s6hr-e itlo ae be janu.)  
how much is(3s) what how part. city-Loc this much is(3s) ab part.

65. tebe bhorun raja gh6r-e mahal ne pase 6m6r-la m6ne.  
then Bhorun king house-Loc palace Loc later arrive-ptc,3p part.

66. siD d6i l6g, maha l6khi jan-la m6ne, bhit6r le.  
Sind Dai place Maha Lakhi know-ptc,3p part. inside Src

67. ant6r jani pat6r kani at m6ne. 68. mone mane jan-la part.  
omniscience is(3p) part. in mind know-ptc,3p part.

- 69.1 "baba an-ese. 69.2 m6-ke janu 'ph6lna k6r-a'  
 father bring-pinc,3s l-Gol part. fruitfulness perform-imp,p
- bol-un, 'd6ea k6r-a' bol-un, bol-la. 69.3 rupea ke ni  
 say-conj compassion perform-imp,p say-conj say-ptc,3p rupee Gol not
- dh6r-la. 69.4 hum ke jiuta jiu bole hum-co ciri ciri kaje,  
 take hold-ptc,3p that Gol life heart also that-Poss ? for
- Thet-le kaje, hum-co gh6r-e chaē de-ēde aur moē ro-ēde.  
 ? for that-Poss house-Loc shadow give-f,ls and l be-f,ls
- 69.5 bam6n gh6r-e bole moē ni chāD-ē. 69.6 moē ro-ēde.  
 Brahmin house-Loc also l not let go-ls l be-f,ls
- 69.7 hum m6n kae kaje chāD-ēde?" bol-la m6ne, maha l6khi.  
 that pl what for let go-f,ls say-ptc,3p part. Maha Lakhi

63. However far it was, whether this far, as far as the city, who knows. 64. (Actually it is as far as the city.) 65. Then later they arrived at King Ehorun's palace. 66. At Sind Dai, Maha Lakhi knew in her mind. 67. She is omniscience. 68. She knew in her mind. 69. Maha Lakhi said, "69.1 Father is bringing her. 69.2 After saying, 'make me fruitful', after saying, 'be compassionate (to me)', he said. 69.3 He didn't take the money. 69.4 I will bless him with life and will stay in his house. 69.5 I will not let go of his house. 69.6 I will stay. 69.7 Why will I let go also of them?"

70. aur pace 6mr-a-to ke sīD deo l6g mae biti  
 and later arrive-caus-inc Gol Sind Deo place mother thing(mm)

ke bol-la. 71.1 "aea, phar rani, hasin e-ese aea.  
 Gol say-ptc,3p mother Phar queen Hasin come-pinc,3s mother

71.2 tui jh6lke khirpori rād aur ja  
 you quickly special rice dish prepare(imp,s) and go(imp,s)

hum ke paē dhoa-o" bol-la m6ne.  
 that Gol foot wash-imp,s say-ptc,3p part.

72. tebe pase janu hun pani dh6r-un bati ge-la m6ne.  
 then later part. that water take hold-conj after go-ptc,3p part.

73. paē dhoa-la m6ne, hum leki ke, hasin ke. 74. aur an-la.  
 foot wash-ptc,3p part. that girl Gol Hasin Gol and bring-ptc,3p

70. And later at the time of arriving, at Sind Dai, Maha Lakhi said to her mother. 71. She said, "71.1 Mother, Phar Queen, Hasin is coming, mother. 71.2 You quickly prepare **khirpori** rice, and go wash her feet". 72. Then later having gotten the water, she went. 73. She washed the feet of that girl, Hasin. 74. And brought (her).

75. an-to ke janu dui jhan p6s  
bring-inc Gol part. 2 pers consequently

po Tara po Tari ho-la m6ne, maha l6khi aur hasin.  
drape around one another's necks occur-ptc, 3p part. Maha Lakhi and Hasin

76. po Tara po Tari ho-la m6ne.  
drape around one another's necks occur-ptc, 3p part.

75. At the time of bringing, the two of them became draped around one another's necks, Maha Lakhi and Hasin. 76. They became draped around one another's necks.

77. kae sūd6r has-a bhukl-a ho-esot m6ne  
what beautiful laugh-nom rejoice-nom occur-pinc, 3p part.

son co kh6Tea ne. 78. son co kh6Tea ne dui jhan bos-la m6ne.  
gold Poss bed Loc gold Poss bed Loc 2 pers sit-ptc, 3p part.

77. How beautiful, they are laughing and celebrating on the gold bed. On the gold bed the two sat.

79. aur kae khel-esot m6ne, duno. 80. khel-esot m6ne. 81. dui khuTi  
and what play-pinc, 3p part. both play-pinc, 3p part. 2 corner

raja rani bos-la m6ne, dui khuTi. 82. mōji g6t hum m6n bos-la  
king queen sit-ptc, 3p part. 2 corner in the middle that pl sit-ptc, 3p

m6ne. 83.1 "hum kaje, rani, D6gra-la. 83.2 an-co maha l6khi  
part. that for queen look for-ptc, 3p we-Poss Maha Lakhi

D6gra-la 6s6n khel-to kaje" bol-esot m6ne, raja. 84. "hoe  
look for-ptc, 3p like this play-inc for say-pinc, 3p part. king yes

raja d6k-a-nu, k6s6n khel-esot" bol-la m6ne.  
king look-imp, p-Voc how play-pinc, 3p say-ptc, 3p part.

79. And how they both are playing. 80. They are playing. 81. At the two ends, the king and queen sat. 82. In the middle they (the two girls) sat. 83. The king is saying, "83.1 For that reason, Queen, she searched for. 83.2 Our Maha Lakhi searched for (someone), for playing like this". 84. She said, "Oh look King, how they are playing".

85. maha l6khi kaje janu kaca gor6s le-ot m6ne, bai.  
Maha Lakhi for part. raw milk take-3p part. Bai

86. hasin kaje khirpori rād-ot m6ne.  
Hasin for special rice dish prepare-3p part.

87. gur, gor6s, caur, hum co kaje rād-ot m6ne.  
raw sugar milk rice that Poss for prepare-3p part.

85. For Maha Lakhi, she brings raw milk. 86. For Hasin she prepares *khirpori* rice. 87. Raw sugar, milk, rice, she prepares for her.

88. aur maha l6khi kaje gur, ghiu, kera, k6dli  
and Maha Lakhi for raw sugar clarified butter banana banana

phul pan ceg-a-tor ae. 89. hum ke ceg-a-ot m6ne.  
flower leaf climb-caus-inc is(3s) that Gol climb-caus-3p part.

88. And for Maha Lakhi is to be rubbed on (offered) raw sugar, clarified butter, bananas, flowers, leaves. 89. She rubs on (offers to) her.

90. aur hum ke janu kaca gor6s an-uae.  
and that Gol part. raw milk bring-f,3s

91. e ke janu *khirpori*. 92. 6sni 6sni  
this Gol part. special rice dish like this like this

6sni 6sni asot m6n khel-un bul-un.  
like this like this is(3p) pl play-conj walk-conj

90. And for her she will bring raw milk. 91. For her *khirpori* rice. 92. Like this they are there for a long time, having played and having walked.

### Section 3: The New Palace

1. pher baR-la, pher baR-la baR-esot baR-esot  
again grow-ptc,3p again grow-ptc,3p grow-pinc,3p grow-pinc,3p

baR-esot pace boRe boRe khIDik ho-la m6ne.  
grow-pinc,3p later big big a little occur-ptc,3p part.

2. pace bhorun raja bol-la m6ne.  
later Bhorun king say-ptc,3p part.

3.1 "nai, maha l6khi, tum-co an-lo din le m6-co itlo  
part. Maha Lakhi you(p)-Poss bring-comp day Src I-Poss this much

bor6k ho-un ge-li. 3.2 k6cri d6rbar b6d ho-li.  
year occur-conj go-ptc,3s,nm audience hall close occur-ptc,3s,nm

3.3 tumi tum-co maha s6g-e hasin s6g-e ra-ha.  
you(p) you(p)-Poss like with-Loc Hasin with-Loc stay-imp,p

3.4 moē k6cri d6rbar ja-ēde" bol-ot m6ne. 4. raja k6cri ja-ot m6ne.  
I audience hall go-f,ls say-3p part. king audience hall go-3p part.

5. d6rbar bos-ot m6ne. 6. cari una l6khe raja s6g-e bos-ot m6ne.  
audience hall sit-3p part. kings of the earth with-Loc sit-3p part.

1. Again she grew, again she grew, she is growing, she is growing, she is growing, later she became a little bit big. 2. Later King Bhorun said. 3. He says, "3.1 Maha Lakhi, since the day of bringing you many of my years have passed. 3.2 The audience chamber became shutdown. 3.3 You stay with your Hasin. 3.4 I will go to the audience hall". 4. The king goes to the audience hall. 5. The council sits. 6. With the kings of the earth they sit.

7. aur pher mūDe bera gh6r-e e-ot. 8. nahakor ho-ot.  
and again midday house-Loc come-3p bathe occur-3p

9. hun ke janu pher pa-ot. 10. hun ke khel-a-ot, bul-a-ot m6ne.  
that Gol part. again carry-3p that Gol play-caus-3p walk-caus-3p part

7. And again at midday he comes to the house. 8. He bathes ritually. 9. Again he carries her. 10. He plays with her, he walks her.

11. aur janu pase pher e-ot m6ne. 12. e-ot m6ne.  
and part. later again come-3p part. come-3p part.

13. aur e-un bati pher m6ne, bai. 14. pher hun-co бага pa-ot.  
and come-conj after again part. Bai again that-Poss carry on hips-3p

15. nac-a-ot. 16. lare puma s6ga cun-a de-ot m6ne.  
dance-caus-3p ? ? ? kiss-nom give-3p part.

11. And later again he comes. 12. He comes. 13. And after having come again, Bai. 14. Again he carries her on his hips. 15. He dances her. 16. He kisses her.

17. aur pace janu hun than-e 6sni 6sni baR-la.  
and later part. that place-Loc like this like this grow-ptc,3p

18. baR-la m6ne.  
grow-ptc,3p part.

17. And later there she grew like this. 18. She grew.

19. baR-to ke janu kae bol-la m6ne.  
grow-inc Gol part. what say-ptc,3p part.

20. "e baba, e maha" bol-la m6ne. 21. "e baba, e ma" 22. "h6"  
Ch father Ch mother say-ptc,3p part. Ch father Ch mother yes

23.1 "am-co kaje, hasin kaje aur m6-co kaje dus6r mahal bona-n  
we-Poss for Hasin for and I-Poss for another palace make-conj

- di-a. 23.2 ami e mahal ne ni ro-ū. 23.3 dus6r mahal bona-n  
give-imp,p we this palace Loc not be-lp another palace make-conj
- di-as. 23.4 eta kala dh6r-li. 23.5 tum-co mahal ne  
give-imp,p here black take hold-ptc,3s,nm you(p)-Poss palace Loc
- roj-e ni ro-ū. 23.6 m6-co kaje dus6r mahal bona aur"  
daily-Loc not be-lp I-Poss for another palace make(imp,s) and
- bol-la m6ne. 24. rati, so6-lo rati, bhorun raja, bhorun raja aur  
say-ptc,3p part. night sleep-comp night Bhorun king Bhorun king and
- niub6ti rani so-ot m6ne.  
Niubati queen sleep-3p part.
25. so6-lo bera, bai, bic rati so6-lo rati hasin aur maha  
sleep-comp time Bai middle night sleep-comp night Hasin and Maha
- 16khi nigr-un ge-la m6ne, rati bera. 26. aur sora k6T osar,  
Lakhi come out-conj go-ptc,3p part. night time and 16 step width
- cawbis k6T co lam, than ke d6k-la m6ne, rati bera, so6-la  
24 step Poss length place Gol see-ptc,3p part. night time sleep-comp
- rati. 27.1 "j6 hasin. 27.2 am-co than d6k-uk j6" bol-la  
night let's go Hasin we-Poss place see-inf let's go say-ptc,3p
- m6ne. 28. aur uT-la aur ge-la. (29. e m6n ni jan-ot.  
part. and arise-ptc,3p and go-ptc,3p this pl not know-3p
30. hum koni nawk6r ni jan-ot, thak6r ni jan-ot, koni ci ni jan-ot.)  
that any servant not know-3p servant not know-3p anyone emp not know-3p
31. ge-la, d6k-la, i-la.  
go-ptc,3p see-ptc,3p come-ptc,3p
32. "e l6g-e ho-ede" bol-la m6ne.  
this place-Loc occur-f,3s say-ptc,3p part.
33. aur i-la aur pase bol-esot m6ne, ba bita ke.  
and come-ptc,3p and later say-pinc,3p part. father thing(m) Gol

19. At the time of growing, what did she say? 20. She said, "Oh father, oh mother". 21. "Oh father, oh mother". 22. "Yes" 23. She said, "23.1 For us, for Hasin and for me build another palace. 23.2 We went stay in this palace. 23.3 Build another palace. 23.4 Here black took hold. 23.5 We went stay daily in your palace. 23.6 Build another palace for me". 24. At night, at sleeping night, King Bhorun and Queen Niubati slept. 25. At sleeping time, Bai, at midnight, at sleeping night, Hasin and Maha Lakhi came out and went, at night time. 26. And sixteen steps wide, twentyfour steps long--they looked at the place, at night time, at sleeping night. 27. She

said, "27.1 Let's go Hasin. 27.2 Let's go look at out place". 28. And they arose and went. 29. (These people didn't know. 30. No servant knew, no servant knew—just nobody knew.) 31. They went, they saw, they came. 32. She said, "Here will be okay". 33. And they came and later she is saying to her father.

34. "dus6r mahal bona-n di-as baba" bol-to ke nai  
another palace make-conj give-imp,p father say-inc Gol Neg

"bisk6rma mahal bon-o m6-co kaje" bol-la m6ne maha l6khi.  
Biskarma palace make-opt,3s I-Poss for say-ptc,3p part. Maha Lakhi

34. At the time of saying "Father make another palace", Maha Lakhi said, "Biskarma should make a palace for me".

35. bol-to ke pace janu, 6sni bol-to ke raja  
say-inc Gol later part. like this say-inc Gol king

bol-la m6ne. 36.1 "o ho re beTa, moē bona-n de-ēde.  
say-ptc,3p part. Oh ho Voc son I make-conj give-f,ls

36.2 j-6s6n bol-le us6n m6-ke s6g-a.  
rel-like this say-when like that I-Gol tell-imp,p

36.3 to m6-ke saenti k6r-a, m6-co gh6r-e ra-ha,  
part. I-Gol help perform-imp,p I-Poss house-Loc stay-imp,p

m6-ke porip pal k6r-a. 36.4 moē, j-6s6n bol-le, us6n.  
I-Gol ? perform-imp,p I rel-like this say-when like that

36.5 tumi j-6s6n c6l-a-le moē us6n c6l-uaē.  
you(p) rel-like this operate-caus-part. I like that operate-f,ls

36.6 tumi c6l-a-le moē c6l-uaē" bol-un paē ke  
you(p) operate-caus-part I operate-f,ls say-conj foot Gol

dh6r-un paē poR-ot m6ne.  
take hold-conj foot fall-3p part.

37. aRti k6r-ot, sewa k6r-ot, maha l6khi ke.  
incense burning perform-3p worship perform-3p Maha Lakhi Gol

35. At the time of saying, later, at the time of saying like this, the king said. 36. Having said "36.1 Oh ho son, I will make. 36.2 Whatever you say like that tell me. 36.3 Help me, stay in my house, do **porip pal** for me. 36.4 Whatever you say like that (I'll do). 36.5 However you cause to operate, like that I will operate.", having taken hold of her feet he did obeisance to her. 37. He burned incense, he worshipped Maha Lakhi.

38. aur pace janu raja ge-la m6ne, aur din-e. 39. ge-la m6ne.  
and later part. king go-ptc,3p part. and day-Loc go-ptc,3p part.



40. aur up6r ne bisk6rma l6g-e ge-la m6ne, 6lga rati bera.  
and above Loc Biskarma place-Loc go-ptc,3p part. mid night time

38. And later the king went on another day. 39. He went. 40. And up above, to Biskarma's place, the king went in the middle of the night.

41. maha l6khi k6s6n hon t6r6p k6r-un di-la m6ne?  
Maha Lakhi how that direction perform-conj give-ptc,3p part.

42. dui tin rati ke ae ki aT din ci ae.  
2 3 night Gol is(3s) or 8 day emp is(3s)

43. aT din co rati ke k6s6n k6r-la m6ne?  
8 day Poss night Gol how perform-ptc,3p part.

44. maha l6khi, ba bita up6r phur ne bisk6rma than-e  
Maha Lakhi father thing(m) above world Loc Biskarma place-Loc

ja-to bera kae k6r-la m6ne.  
go-inc time what perform-ptc,3p part.

45. dui tin rati ek ke rati bona-n di-la m6ne.  
2 3 night one Gol night make-conj give-ptc,3p part.

46. ek ke rati bona-n di-la m6ne, bai.  
one Gol night make-conj give-ptc,3p part. Bai

47. pace ge-la m6ne, bhorun raja up6r phur ne bisk6rma gh6r-e.  
later go-ptc,3p part. Bhorun king above world Loc Biskarma house-Loc

48. ge-la m6ne. 49. maha l6khi chaē di-la m6ne.  
go-ptc,3p part. Maha Lakhi shadow give-ptc,3p part.

50. aur eta le jan-esot m6ne mōj phur le, bisk6rma co  
and here Src know-pinc,3p part. middle world Src Biskarma Poss

e-to e-to. 51. ge-la m6ne.  
come-inc come-inc go-ptc,3p part.

41. What did Maha Lakhi do there? 42. It is two or three nights or it is eight days. 43. What did she do to eight day's nights? 44. What did Maha Lakhi do when her father went to Biskarma's place in heaven? 45. She made two or three nights into one night. 46. She made into one night. 47. Later King Bhorun went to the above world, to Biskarma's house. 48. He went. 49. Maha Lakhi gave her shadow. 50. She is knowing from here in the middle world of Biskarma's coming. 51. He went.

52. "nai babu, bisk6rma keō ge-lise?" bol-to ke "gh6r-e āse  
part. Babu Biskarma where go-pc,3s,nm say-inc Gol house-Loc is(1s)

raja" bol-la m6ne. 53. s6lam k6r-a k6r-i ho-la  
king say-ptc,3p part. greeting perform-nom perform-nom occur-ptc,3p

m6ne. 54. hat mil-a mil-i ho-la m6ne.  
part. hand meet-nom meet-nom occur-ptc,3p part.

55. tebe "nai, am-co maha l6khi kaje uj6r ho-un goT6k dus6r  
then part.we-Poss Maha Lakhi for light occur-conj one another

mahal ne bon-to ase" bol-la m6ne.  
palace Loc make-inc is(3s) say-ptc,3p part.

56. "hā, moē ja-ē janu" bol-la m6ne.  
OK I go-1s part. say-ptc,3p part

57. hum-co barsi, bidna hum-co dada, Dori, ara retni, kaī jaī  
that-Poss adze chisel that-Poss ? string saw file everything

j-itlo s6j bidna bidni dh6r-lo nik6r-la m6ne.  
rel-this much equipment chisels take hold-ptc,3s,m come out-ptc,3p part.

58. ut6r-la s6r s6r s6r. 59. i-la m6ne.  
descend-ptc,3p sound of descent come-ptc,3p part.

52. At the time of saying "Babu, where has Biskarma gone?", he said "I am in the house, king". 53. They greeted one another. 54. They shook one another's hands. 55. Then he said "Gur Maha Lakhi, having become light, says to build another palace". 56. He said "Okay, I go". 57. He got his adze, chisel, saw, rope, file, everything, however much equipment (needed) he got (and) came out. 58. He descended. 59. He came.

60. e-to ke janu maha l6khi kae bol-la m6ne. 61.1 "baba  
come-inc G01 part. Maha Lakhi what say-ptc,3p part. father

an-esot. 61.2 e k6sn-i mahal l6g d6k-a-ūde hasin, jō  
bring-pinc,3p this how-emp palace place see-caus-f,1p Hasin let's go

D6Dik" bol-la m6ne. 62. pher ge-la m6ne e m6n.  
a little while say-ptc,3p part. again go-ptc,3p part this pl

63. hum m6n heō le i-la. 64. up6r phur le ge-la m6ne,  
that pl there Src come-ptc,3p above world Src go-ptc,3p part.

bhorun raja co mahal-e.  
Ehorun king Poss palace-Loc

60. At the time of coming, what did Maha Lakhi say? 61. She said "61.1 Father is bringing." 61.2 Let's go show the place for the palace, Hasin, for a little bit". 62. Again they went. 63. They came there. 64. They came from the above world to King Ehorun's house.

65. aur pace janu d6k-a-la m6ne. 66. "nai baba i  
and later part. see-caus-ptc,3p part. part. father this(emp)

16g-e ho-o am-co mahal" bol-la m6ne.  
place-Loc occur-opt,3s we-Poss palace say-ptc,3p part.

65. And later they showed. 66. She said "Father, just here will be good for our palace".

67. "i 16g-e ho-o" bol-to ke pace pher hun  
this(emp) place-Loc occur-opt,3s say-inc Gol later again that

16-ge pace sora k6T osar cawbis k6T lam. 68. pace nap-un  
place-Loc later 16 step width 24 step length later measure-conj

di-la m6ne, bisk6rma. 69. nap-un di-la m6ne, bai.  
give-ptc,3p part. Biskarma measure-conj give-ptc,3p part. Bai

70. aur boRe bhari mahal, boRe bhari mahal, no pauj co pauj  
and big large palace big large palace 9 storey Poss storey

biti, pauj no pauj co mahal bhari, boRe bhari mahal bona-n  
thing(nm) storey 9 storey Poss palace large big large palace make-conj

di-la m6ne, bisk6rma. 71. bh6r-un di-la m6ne. 72. bisk6rma  
give-ptc,3p part. Biskarma complete-conj give-ptc,3p part. Biskarma

mahal to ae g6R-la. 73. huta ro-li m6ne,  
palace part. is(3s) stick in ground-ptc,3p there be-ptc,3s,nm part.

kala r6g. 74. huta ro-li m6ne, nili r6g. 75. huta ro-li  
black colour there be-ptc,3s,nm part. blue colour there be-ptc,3s,nm

m6ne, dhup r6g. 76. huta ro-li m6ne, kosea r6g. 77. huta  
part. incense colour there be-ptc,3s,nm part. brown colour there

ro-e m6ne, k6rea r6g. 78. huta ro-e phul r6g.  
be-3s part. dark colour there be-3s flower colour

At the time of saying "Just here will do", later again at that place sixteen kh6T wide and twentyfour kh6T long (they showed). 68. Later Biskarma measured. 69. He measured. 70. And a very big palace, a very big palace, nine storeys, a nine storey palace, a very big palace, Biskarma built. 71. He completed it. 72. Biskarma stuck it in the ground, it is a palace. 73. There was black colour there. 76. There was blue colour there. 75. There was dhup colour there. 76. There was brown colour there. 77. There was dark colour there. 78. There was flower colour there.

79. hun than-e j-itlo r6g ase nai c6Re cuRum gae bhaci  
that place-Loc rel-this much colour is(3s) Neg birds cattle

caṭi ḍgi n6r mōja j-itlo asot hutlo ke bisk6rma  
insects humans rel-this much is(3p) that much Gol Biskarma

bh6r-un di-la m6ne, mahal. 80. bh6r-un di-la m6ne.  
complete-conj give-ptc,3p part. palace complete-conj give-ptc,3p part.

81. aur pase son co jhul-na dha dha dha dha dha dha,  
and later gold Poss swing-nom sound of swinging

16k 16k 16k 16k 16k 16k 16k ho-ese m6ne. 82. bh6r-un  
glow of the swing occur-pinc,3s part. complete

di-la m6ne.  
give-ptc,3p part.

79. At that place, however many colours there are on birds, cows, calves, ants, people, however many there are, that much Biskarma completed on the palace. 80. He completed it. 81. And later a gold swing is glowing. 82. He completed it.

83. pase janu bone uj6r d6k-li m6ne, bai. 84. nāg6r kukRa  
later part. ? light see-ptc,3s,nm part. Bai plough rooster

bac-li m6ne. 85. bisk6rma ke bol-esot m6ne, bhorun raja.  
left over-ptc,3s,nm part. Biskarma Gol say-pinc,3p part. Bhorun king

83. Later morning light showed, Bai. 84. The cock crow is left. 85. King Bhorun is saying to Biskarma.

86.1 "moē tum ke kuli de-ēde. 86.2 bhuti de-ēde, bisk6rma.  
I you(p) Gol coolie give-f,ls paid work give-f,ls Biskarma

86.3 tumi ni-a" bol-to ke 87.1 "nai, moē maha l6khi co mahal  
you(p) take-imp,p say-inc Gol part. I Maha Lakhi Poss palace

bh6r-un di-lese. 87.2 hun m6n co bhuti kuli moē dh6r-u-nu-aē.  
complete-conj give-ptc,ls that pl Poss paid work I take hold-f-neg-ls

87.3 m6-ke jiuta jiu m6-ke ph6lna k6r-ot.  
I-Gol life heart I-Gol well being perform-opt,3p

87.4 moē bhuti ni dh6r-ē" bol-la m6ne.  
I paid work not take hold-ls say-ptc,3p part.

86. At the time of saying "86.1 I will give you your pay. 86.2 I will give you your pay, Biskarma. 86.3 You take it", 87. he said, "87.1 I completed Maha Lakhi's palace. 87.2 I will not take her pay. 87.3 Bless me, make me fruitful. 87.4 I wont take pay".

88. "aur uj6r ho-ese kukRa bas-ese ja-ha"  
and light occur-pinc,3s rooster crow-pinc,3s go-imp,p

bol-to ke pase ge-la m6ne, up6r phur balika n6gr ne.  
say-inc Gol later go-ptc,3p part. above world a constellation Loc

89. bhorun raja lap-lo m6ne.  
Bhorun king ? -ptc,3s,m part.

88. At the time of saying "And it is becoming light, the rooster is crowing, go", later he went to the above world, to the constellation balika n6gr. 89. King Bhorun did laplo.

(90. bian paw-li m6ne, bai. 91. hun raj k6s6n mahal co  
morning hit-ptc,3s,nm part. Bai that kingdom how palace Poss

s6d6r nai. 92. e gias 6s6n gulae c6d6r j6t 6s6n  
beautiful Neg this pressure lamp like this all sunlight like this

raj bhor-ese m6ne, gimi maTi j6ma.)  
kingdom glow-pinc,3s part. ? ground all

(90. It is becoming morning, Bai. 91. How can such a beautiful palace be in that kingdom? 92. Like this pressure lamp it is shining everywhere, like the sunlight, it is glowing over the kingdom.)

93. hun raj co bhorun des co log, t6g gae boela cheri m6dhi  
that kingdom Poss Bhorun country Poss people all cow ox goat sheep

poek-nae ke c6r-ese kukRa ciuRa bhor-esot m6ne. 94. bol-sot  
? Gol graze-pinc,3s poultry glow-pinc,3p part. say-pinc,3p

m6ne, s6d6r kaje. 95. d6k-la m6ne raj co log.  
part. beauty for see-ptc,3p part. kingdom Poss people

96. "o ho, mahal rat bh6r kahā co mahal ae itlo?"  
Oh ho palace night time where Poss palace is(3s) this much

bol-esot m6ne, am-co 6s6n dihati log m6n.  
say-pinc,3p part. we-Poss like this tribal people pl

97. d6k-esot m6ne. 98. adivasi log d6k-sot m6ne.  
see-pinc,3p part. tribal people see-pinc,3p part.

99. "o ho, itlo raj maha l6khi ke d6k-a-nu" bol-la m6ne.  
Oh ho this much kingdom Maha Lakhi Gol see-imp,p-Voc say-ptc,3p part.

93. That country's, Bhorun country's people, cattle, goats, sheep, etc., are grazing, the chickens are glowing. 94. They are saying, because of the beauty. 95. The country's people saw. 96. Tribal people like us are saying "Oh ho, where did this palace come from overnight?" 97. They are seeing. 98. The tribal people are seeing. 99. They said "Oh ho, in this size country, look at Maha Lakhi".

100. pase maha l6khi mahal ne dui jhan hasin s6g-e ge-la.  
later Maha Lakhi palace Loc 2 pers Hasin with-Loc go-ptc,3p

101. hasin s6g-e ge-la aur huta dui jhan hun mahal asot.  
Hasin with-Loc go-ptc,3p and there 2 pers that palace is(3p)

102. bhorun raja m6n e juna mahal ne asot.  
Bhorun king pl this old palace Loc is(3p)

103. hum m6n huta asot. 104. bhorun raja m6n eta asot.  
that pl there is(3p) Bhorun king pl here is(3p)

100. Later Maha Lakhi with Hasin, the two of them are in that palace.  
101. She went with Hasin and there the two are in that palace. 102. King  
Bhorun's people are in this old palace. 103. They are there. 104. King  
Bhorun's people are here.

#### Section 4: Maha Lakhi and Her Adventures in the World

1. hum pase baR-le baR-la m6ne, bai. 2. no duba ho-la m6ne.  
that later grow-when grow-ptc,3p part. Bai 9 ? occur-ptc,3p part.

3. bara um6r ho-la m6ne, bara bor6s. 4. bara bor6s e-to hum  
12 age occur-ptc,3p part. 12 year 12 year come-inc that

jipti ho-la baR-la m6ne. 5. asot m6ne, hasin s6g-e dui jhan.  
? occur-ptc,3p grow-ptc,3p part. is(3p) part. Hasin with-Loc 2 pers

1. Later growing she grew, Bai. 2. She became no duba. 3. She became  
twelve years of age. 4. At coming to twelve years, she became jipti, she  
grew. 5. She is (there) with Hasin, the two of them.

6. khel-esot, bul-esot. 7. niub6ti rani nahakor ho-esot,  
play-pinc,3p walk-pinc,3p Niubati Queen bathe occur-pinc,3p

ja-esot. 8. maha l6khi ke sewa k6r-esot. 9. hasin ke khana  
go-pinc,3p Maha Lakhi Gol worship perform-pinc,3p Hasin Gol food

de-esot, khirpori. 10. hasin ke khana de-esot. 11. maha  
give-pinc,3p special rice dish Hasin Gol food give-pinc,3p Maha

l6khi ke sewa k6r-esot. 12. hum janu usni usni  
Lakhi Gol worship perform-pinc,3p that part. like that like that

asot m6ne.  
is(3p) part.

6. They are playing (and) walking. 7. Queen Niubati is bathing  
ritually (and) she is going. 8. She is worshipping Maha Lakhi. 9. She is  
giving food to Hasin, khirpori rice. 10. To Hasin she is giving food. 11.

She is worshipping Maha Lakhi. 12. Like that they are.

13. ek din kae bul-un h6T mat-la hum maha l6khi.  
one day what walk-conj persist be intoxicated-ptc,3p that Maha Lakhi

14.1 "e hasin, jō to. 14.2 mā ke puc-ūwa.  
Gn Hasin let's go part. mother Gol ask-opt,1p

14.3 baba janu d6rbar ge-la k6cri gela.  
father part. audience hall go-ptc,3p audience go-ptc,3p

14.4 mā ke puc-ūwa aē.  
mother Gol ask-opt,1p part.

14.5 ami, moē raj rias to moē d6k-uk nigr-ēde D6Dik.  
we I kingdom part. I see-inf come out-f,1s a little while

14.6 ek gh6ri, ek pahar ne moē D6Dik nigr-ēde"  
one watch one time period Loc I a little while come out-f,1s

bol-la m6ne, maha l6khi. 15. hasin bol-la m6ne.  
say-ptc,3p part. Maha Lakhi Hasin say-ptc,3p part.

16.1 "nai didi, ni jō. 16.2 tum ke nigr-uk ni  
part. Didi not let's go you(p) Gol come out-inf not

de-ot, janu ge-le bole". 17. "nai, hasin, jō" bol-la m6ne.  
give-3p part. go-when also part. Hasin let's go say-ptc,3p part.

18. aur maē biti than-e i-la m6ne. 19. aur maē biti  
and mother thing(m) place-Loc come-ptc,3p part. and mother thing(m)

ke bol-la m6ne. 20. "mā, moē D6Dik DāDe bahar  
G1 say-ptc,3p part. mother I a little while boy-girl relationship

ho-ēde, mā" bol-esot m6ne, maha l6khi.  
occur-f,1s mother say-pinc,3p part. Maha Lakhi

21.1 "moē DāDe bahar ho-ēde, mā.  
I boy-girl relationship occur-f,1s mother

21.2 baba co ni e-o e-o moē gh6r-e e-ēde.  
father Poss not come-opt,3s come-opt,3s I house-Loc come-f,1s

21.3 moē DāDe bahar ho-ēde" bol-esot m6ne.  
I boy-girl relationship occur-f,1s say-pinc,3p part.

22. tebe "22.1 nai beTa ni ja. 22.2 tu-co baba  
then part. son not go(imp,s) you(s)-Poss father

- i-le m6-co gogo ni k6r-ot 22.3 m6-ke mar-de, peT-de.  
 come-when I-Poss ? not perform-3p I-Gol hit-f,3p beat-f,3p
- 22.4 m6-ke jh6gRa T6D lag-de. 22.5 tui ni ja beTa.  
 I-Gol argument mouth stick-f,3p you(s) not go(imp,s) son
- 22.6 DāDe bahar ni ho" 23.1 "moē pan baRi  
 boy-girl relationship not occur(imp,s) I boy-girl relationship
- ja-ēde, mā. 23.2 phul baRi ja-ē"  
 go-f,1s mother boy-girl relationship go(imp,s)
- 24.1 "tui ni ja. 24.2 am-ke nokar asot. 24.3 turi t6nkin asot.  
 you(s) not go(imp,s) we-Gol servant is(3p) servants is(3p)
- 24.4 pan an-un de-de. 24.5 phul an-un de-de.  
 betelnut bring-conj give-f,3p flower bring-conj give-f,3p
- 24.6 k6dli an-un de-de. 24.7 j6ma-e tij am-co than-e  
 banana bring-conj give-f,3p all-emp things we-Poss place-Loc
- an-un de-de. 24.8 des co potri an-un de-de.  
 bring-conj give-f,3p country Poss ? bring-conj give-f,3p
- 24.9 s6b an-un de-de. 24.10 tui ni ja" bol-esot m6ne.  
 all bring-conj give-f,3p you(s) not go(imp,s) say-pinc,3p part.
- 25.1 "nai mā, moē ja-uaē. 25.2 tui baba ke ni sāg.  
 part. mother I go-f,1s you(s) father Gol not tell(imp,s)
- 25.3 moē DāDe bahar ho-ēde" bol-la m6ne, maha l6khi.  
 I boy-girl relationship occur-f,1s say-ptc,3p part. Maha Lakhi
26. ek din h6T dh6r-la m6ne. 27. "nai ci" bol-la m6ne,  
 one day persist take hold-ptc,3p part. Neg emp say-ptc,3p part.
- niub6ti rani. 28. pher ge-la m6ne.  
 Nīubati Queen again go-ptc,3p part.

13. One day, what persistence struck Maha Lakhi? 14. Maha Lakhi said, "14.1 Oh Hasin, let's go. 14.2 Let's ask mother. 14.3 Father went to the council, he went to the audience hall. 14.4 Let's ask mother, OK? 14.5 We, I will go out to see the world for a while. 14.6 For one watch, for one time period, I will go for a while". 15. Hasin said. "16.1 Didi, let's not go. 16.2 They wont allow you to go out when we go". 17. She said "Hasin, let's go". 18. And they came to the mother. 19. And said to the mother. 20. Maha Lakhi is saying, "Mother, I will go make flower friendships for a while, mother". 21. She is saying, "21.1 I will go make flower friends, mother. 21.2 Before father's coming I will come home. 21.3 I will go make flower friends". 22. Then "22.1 Son, don't go. 22.2 If your father comes he wont approve. 22.3 He will hit me, he will beat me. 22.4 He will quarrel with



me. 22.5 Don't you go, son. 22.6 Don't go make flower friends". "23.1 I will go make betelnut friends, mother. 23.2 I will go make flower friends". 24. She is saying, "24.1 Don't you go. 24.2 We have servants. 24.3 We have servants. 24.4 They will bring betelnut. 24.5 They will bring flowers. 24.6 They will bring bananas. 24.7 They will bring all things to us. 24.8 They will bring anything of the country's. 24.9 They will bring all. 24.10 Don't you go". 25. Maha Lakhi said, "25.1 Mother, I will go. 25.2 Don't tell father. 25.3 I will go make flower friends. 26. One day she persisted. 27. Queen Niubati said "Absolutely not". 28. Again they went.

29. pher aur din-e pher usni janu aur i-la m6ne.  
again another day-Loc again like that part. and come-ptc,3p part.

30. aur h6T dh6r-la m6ne. 31.1 "moē baba ke ni sāg,  
and persist take hol-ptc,3p part. I father Gol not tell(imp,s)

aea. 31.2 moē ja-ū-ci-aē, mā" bol-esot m6ne. 32. tebe hasin ke  
mother I go-f-emp-ls mother say-pinc,3p part. then Hasin Gol

"32.1 hasin, (e janu) ja-un bati tu-co baba co ni e-o  
Hasin ummm... go-conj after you(s)-Poss father Poss not come-opt,3s

tui an-uas? 32.2 tui ja-uas" bol-la m6ne, niub6ti rani.  
you(s) bring-f,2s you(s) go-f,2s say-ptc,3p part. Niubati queen

33.1 "moē, ja-ūde, mā. 21.2 aur baba co ni e-o,  
I go-f,1p mother and father Poss not come-opt,3s

d6rbar baT le ni e-o, ami e-ūde" bol-la m6ne.  
audience hall way Src not come-opt,3s we come-f,1p say-ptc,3p part.

34. "ami e-ūde" bol-la m6ne.  
we come-f,1p say-ptc,3p part.

29. Again on another day again they came. 30. And she persisted. 31. She is saying, "31.1 Don't tell father, mother. 31.2 I will absolutely go, mother". 32. Then Queen Niubati said to Hasin, "32.1 Hasin, after having gone, before your father's coming, will you bring (her)? 32.2 You will go." 33. She said, "33.1 I will go mother. 33.2 And before father's coming from the council, before he comes we will come". 34. She said, "We will come".

35. aur pace janu, maha l6khi janu l6k l6k l6k l6k paR gōda ke janu  
and later part. Maha Lakhi part. manner of doing ? ? Gol part.

beR-la m6ne. 36. aur dha dha dha dha k6pra ke phīd-la  
surround-ptc,3p part. and manner of dressing clothes Gol wear-ptc,3p

m6ne, aur janu l6gin paT s6ri paT ke.  
part. and part. type of cloth type of cloth Gol

37. aur janu dui jhan nik6r-la m6ne.  
and part. 2 pers come out-ptc, 3p part.

38. maha l6khi janu, phur-e, maha l6khi phur-e, paT kuti hasin.  
Maha Lakhi part. front-Loc Maha Lakhi front-Loc behind Hasin

39. hasin paT-e nik6r-la m6ne, bai.  
Hasin behind-Loc come out-ptc, 3p part. Bai

40. aur pan baRi phul baRi ge-la  
and boy-girl relationship boy-girl relationship go-ptc, 3p

m6ne, gum-uk-lae. 41. gum-uk-lae ge-la m6ne, bai.  
part. walk-inf-purpose walk-inf-purpose go-ptc, 3p part. Bai

(Raibari: khub ho-li bai.)  
much occur-ptc, 3s, nm Bai

35. And later, Maha Lakhi surrounded something (?). 36. She put on clothes, a cloth called l6gin paT s6ri paT. 37. And the two of them went out. 38. Maha Lakhi in front, Maha Lakhi in front, Hasin behind. 39. They went out with Hasin behind, Bai. 40. And they went to make betelnut friends and flower friends, in order to meander around. 41. They went in order to meander around. (Raibari: A great number occurred, Bai.)

42. gum-uk-lae ja-to ke janu bul-la m6ne. 43. bul-la m6ne,  
walk-inf-purpose go-inc Gol part walk-ptc, 3p part. walk-ptc, 3p part.

bai. 44. pan baRi ge-la m6ne. 45. pan kha-esot.  
Bai boy-girl relationship go-ptc, 3p part. betelnut eat-pinc, 3p

46. phul baRi ge-la m6ne. 47. k6dli baRi ge-la  
boy-girl relationship go-ptc, 3p part. boy-girl relationship go-ptc, 3p

m6ne. 48. hum m6n, duno j6ma than-e narel baRi ge-la  
part. that pl both all place-Loc boy-girl relationship go-ptc, 3p

m6ne. 49. supari baRi ge-la m6ne. 50. bul-la bul-la  
part. boy-girl relationship go-ptc, 3p part. walk-ptc, 3p walk-ptc, 3p

m6ne. 51. aur gulae c6Re aur cuRum aur raja rias m6j phur  
part. and all birds(generic) and kingdom middle earth

co maha l6khi d6k-la m6ne. 52. d6k-la m6ne.  
Poss Maha Lakhi see-ptc, 3p part. see-ptc, 3p part.

53. d6k-la aur pace 6esa gham cek-li m6ne.  
see-ptc, 3p and later much sunshine shine-ptc, 3s, nm part.

42. At the time of going in order to meander around, they walked here and there. 43. They walked here and there, Bai. 44. They made betelnut

friends. 45. They are eating betelnut. 46. The made flower friends. 47. They made banana friends. 48. They, both, made coconut friends everywhere. 49. They made sweet betelnut friends. 50. They walked here and there, they walked here and there. 51. And Maha Lakhi saw all there was to see in the middle world. 52. She saw. 53. She saw and later the sun shone strongly.

54. chek-to ke goTbk 6m6r boR ro-e m6ne. 55. ch6t6r boR 6m6r boR ro-e  
shine-inc Gol one tree type be-3s part. tree type tree type be-3s

m6ne. 56. 6m6r boR ro-e m6ne gham chek-li gune. 57. hasin  
part. tree type be-3s part. sunshine shine-ptc,3s,nm part. Hasin

bol-la m6ne. 58.1 "j6 didi, 58.2 hum kaje to m6 bol-la  
say-ptc,3p part. let's go Didi that for part. mother say-ptc,3p

'ni ja' bol-la, didi. 58.3 baba co ni e-o j6.  
not go(imp,s) say-ptc,3p Didi father Boss not come-opt,3s let's go

58.4 tuni janu eta posna phuT-li. 58.5 gham chek-li.  
you(p) part. here sweat split-ptc,3s,nm sunshine shine-ptc,3s,nm

58.6 j6, D6Dik boR ruk-e bisa-ū" bol-la  
let's go a little while tree type tree-Loc rest-opt,1p say-ptc,3p

m6ne. 59. aur boR ruk i-la m6ne, bai.  
part. and tree type tree come-ptc,3p part. Bai

60. aur D6Dik 6skan k6r-la.  
and a little while ? perform-ptc,3p

54. At the time of shining, there was an 6m6r banyan tree. 55. There was a ch6t6r banyan, an 6m6r banyan tree. 56. There was an 6m6r banyan tree, the sun shone thus. 57. Hasin said. 58. She said, "58.1 Let's go Didi. 58.2 For this reason mother said 'Don't go', Didi. 58.3 Let's go before father's coming. 58.4 You are sweating here. 58.5 The sun shone. 58.6 Let's go to the banyan tree for a while, let's rest". 59 And they came to the banyan tree, Bai. 60. And for a while they rested.

61. hum g6Da ke janu 6cha l6mane. 62. aur bos-la m6ne. 63. hasin  
that root Gol part. good stretched out and sit-ptc,3p part. Hasin

paT kuti bos-lise m6ne. 64. maha l6khi phur-e bos-la m6ne.  
behind sit-pt,3s,nm part. Maha Lakhi front-Loc sit-ptc,3p part.

61. That root (was) nicely stretched out. 62. And they sat down. 63. Hasin has sat behind. 64. Maha Lakhi sat in front.

65. bos-lase m6ne. 66. aur hum boR ruk co gūD ke  
sit-pt,3p part. and that tree type tree Boss aerial root Gol

d6k-esot m6ne, maha l6khi. 67. boR ruk co gūD ke  
 see-pinc,3p part. Maha Lakhi tree type tree Poss aerial root Gol

d6k-esot m6ne, maha l6khi, bai. 68. gūD janu goTk-i j6n6m  
 see-pinc,3p part. Maha Lakhi Bai aerial root part. one-emp birth

k6r-li. 69. e gūD goTk ae.  
 perform-ptc,3s,nm this aerial root one is(3s)

70.1 "boR ruk k6s6n goTk gūD j6n6m k6r-li?  
 tree type tree how one aerial root birth perform-ptc,3s,nm

70.2 aur e k6s6n itlo khāda ni i-li?  
 and this how this much branch not come-ptc,3s,nm

70.3 itlo khāda poka-li. 70.4 khāda, goTk-i ruk ne, k6s6n  
 this much branch throw out-ptc,3s,nm branch one-emp tree Loc how

khāda poka-li?" bol-esot m6ne. 71. maha l6khi chaT-esot m6ne.  
 branch throw out-ptc,3s,nm say-pinc,3p part. Maha Lakhi ?-pinc,3p part.

72. "itlo k6s6n khāda poka-li".  
 this much how branch throw out-ptc,3s,nm

65. They have sat. 66. And Maha Lakhi is looking at that banyan tree's aerial root. 67. Maha Lakhi is looking at the banyan tree's aerial root, Bai. 68. Only one aerial root was born. 69. This aerial root is only one. 70. She is saying, "70.1 How come the banyan tree gave birth to one aerial root? 70.2 And how come more branches didn't come? 70.3 This many branches were born. 70.4 How come branches were born in only one tree?" 71. Maha Lakhi is chaTesot. "72. How come this branch was born?"

73. aur huta m6ne rami, huta janu kokRa, huta janu poēci  
 and there part. a bird there part. a bird there part. a bird

m6n, hutlo j-itlo raj co c6Rii c6Re cuRum, j6ma boR  
 pl that much rel-this much kingdom Poss birds(generic) all tree type

ruk bhōr-te ro-hot m6ne. 74. aur bos-lasot m6ne, khāda khāda ne, c6Rii  
 tree fill-inc be-3p part. and sit-pc,3p part. branch branch Loc bird

m6n. 75. aur khed-a khed-i khed-a khed-i 6s6n  
 pl and chase-nom chase-nom chase-nom chase-nom like this

kic kic kic kic has-esot m6ne, c6Rii m6n. 76. has-esot  
 sound of chasing/ laughing laugh-pinc,3p part. bird pl laugh-pinc,3p

m6ne. 77. khed-a khed-i ho-esot m6ne. 78. cab-a cab-i  
 part. chase-nom chase-nom occur-pinc,3p part. bite-nom bite-nom

ho-esot m6ne. 79. T6k-a T6k-i ho-esot m6ne.  
occur-pinc,3p part. peck-nom peck-nom occur-pinc,3p part.

73. And there, the banyan tree was filled with myna birds, cranes, poēci birds, however many birds there were in the kingdom. 74. And the birds have sat on the branches. 75. And chasing one another the birds are laughing. 76. They are laughing. 77. They are chasing one another. 78. They are biting one another. 79. They are pecking one another.

80. kon c6Rii co ja-ese m6ne. 81. kon c6Rii co mar-ese m6ne.  
who bird Poss go-pinc,3s part. who bird Poss hit-pinc,3s part.

82. kon c6Rii ja-un kon c6Rii ja-un T6k-ese m6ne.  
who bird go-conj who bird go-conj peck-pinc,3s part.

83. kon pila ke dh6r-ese m6ne. 84. kon pila gag-ese m6ne.  
who child Gol take hold-pinc,3s part. who child cry-pinc,3s part.

80. Which bird is going? 81. Which bird is hitting? 82. Which bird, having gone, which bird having gone, is pecking? 83. Which is holding a baby? 84. Which baby is crying?

85. hum ke d6k-esot m6ne, hum khal-e. 86. d6k-a d6k-a d6k-a  
that Gol see-pinc,3p part. that below-Loc see-nom see-nom see-nom

d6k-a d6k-la m6ne. 87. mon-e gian poR-un poka-la m6ne.  
see-nom see-ptc,3p part. mind-Loc wise fall-conj throw out-ptc,3p part.

88.1 "o ho, e m6n d6k-u ho-ese. 88.2 c6Re cuRum at.  
Oh ho this pl see-conj occur-pinc,3s birds(generic) is(3p)

88.3 n6r m6ja to n6r m6ja at m6ne. 88.4 e m6n c6Re m6n at.  
humans part. humans is(3p) part. this pl bird pl is(3p)

88.5 poēci rasi at. 88.6 e caTi ōgi at.  
a bird group is(3p) this ants(generic) is(3p)

88.7 e kiRa thapa at. 88.8 e TEDka mēDka at.  
this insects(generic) is(3p) this lizards(generic) is(3p)

88.9 e m6n ke k6s6n s6g-ta joRi ase.  
this pl Gol how with-part. pair is(3s)

88.10 aur moē bara um6r ro-le m6-ke k6s6n joRi ni ae?"  
and I 12 age be-ptc,1s I-Gol how pair not is(3s)

bol-la m6ne. 89. aur niras ho-la m6ne.  
say-ptc,3p part. and despair occur-ptc,3p part.

85. She is looking at that from below. 86. Looking and looking, she

looked. 87. She became wise. 88. She said, "88.1 Oh ho, look at them. 88.2 They are birds. 88.3 Human beings are human beings. 88.4 These are birds. 88.5 It is a group of poēci birds. 88.6 These are ants. 88.7 These are insects. 88.8 These are lizards. 88.9 How come these are paired? 88.10 And I am twelve years old, how come I have no partner?" 89. And she despaired.

90. aur ogae ho-lase m6ne, r6s r6s r6s r6s 91. hasin bol-ese  
and quiet occur-pc,3p part. manner of being quiet Hasin say-pinc,3s

m6ne. 92.1 "jō didi. 92.2 baba i-la jale mā ke  
part. let's go Didi father come-ptc,3p when mother Gol

jh6gRa lag-de. 92.3 jō" 93. "nai, hasin ja-ūwa be, ro-ū-ta  
argument stick-f,3p let's go part. Hasin go-opt,1p ab be-1p-part.

gham chek-ese" 94.1 "nai didi jō. 94.2 baba janu jh6gRa  
sunshine shine-pinc,3s part. Didi let's go father part. argument

lag-de i-la ale" bol-ese m6ne. 95.1 "hutlo m6-ke 'jō  
stick-f,3p come-ptc,3p when say-pinc,3s part. that much I-Gol let's go

jō' bol-isis hasin. 95.2 'jō' bol-isis. 95.3 'ja-uaē' tui.  
let's go say-pc,3s Hasin let's go say-pc,2s go-f,1s you(s)

95.4 ale k6s6n ne boR ruk j6n6m k6r-li?  
here! how Loc tree type tree birth perform-ptc,3s,nm

95.5 ale goTk-i boR ruk k6s6n itlo khāda ni  
here! one-emp tree type tree how this much branch not

i-lise? 95.6 aur s6ti kōDa co beTi asas.  
come-pc,3s,nm and true Konda Poss daughter is(2p)

95.7 sāg m6-ke" bol-esot m6ne, maha l6khi. 96.1 "s6te kōDa co  
tell(imp,s) I-Gol say-pinc,3p part. Maha Lakhi true Konda Poss

beTi asas. 96.2 sāg. 96.3 e k6s6n ne khāda ne ni  
daughter is(2p) tell(imp,s) this how Loc branch Loc not

i-li?" bol-esot m6ne. 97. hasin ogae ho-li m6ne.  
come-pyc,3s,nm say-pinc,3p part. Hasin quiet occur-ptc,3s,nm part.

98.1 "moē k6s6n jan-ē? 98.2 didi tum-co le boRe moē k6s6n aē?  
I how know-1s Didi you(p)-Poss Src big I how is(1s)

98.3 tum-co hal kiRa ae. 98.4 aur moē  
you(p)-Poss state of affairs is(3s) and I

k6s6n jan-ē tum ke sāg-ēde?" 99.1 "tui k6s6n ni jan-is?  
how know-1s you(p) Gol tell-f,1s you(s) how not know-2s

99.2 tui kōDa co beTi as kae? 99.3 kōDa bamōn co beTi  
 you(s) Konda Poss daughter is(2s) what Konda Brahmin Poss daughter

as aur tui kōsōn ni jan-is? 99.4 e boR ruk co jōnōm  
 is(2s) and you(s) how not know-2s this tree type tree Poss birth

kōr-li aur kōsōn itlo khād-ōk sōn  
 perform-ptc,3s,nm and how this much branch-one like this

pōka-li? 99.5 aur itlo janu itlo dhur le kōsōn  
 throw out-ptc,3s,nm and this much part. this much distance Src how

khāda, ni i-lise-je" bol-esot mōne. 100. ogae ho-li  
 branch not come-ptc,3s,nm-rel say-pinc,3p part. quiet occur-ptc,3s,nm

mōne, hasin. 101. aur pase "101.1 nai, didi to khāda ne i-li  
 part. Hasin and later part. Didi part. branch Loc come-ptc,3s,nm

goTk-i ae. 101.2 jōnōm kōr-li. 101.3 goTk-i boR ruk  
 one-emp is(3s) birth perform-ptc,3s,nm one-emp tree type tree

jōnōm kōr-li. 101.4 jōnōm kōr-to ke e co sōg-ta  
 birth perform-ptc,3s,nm birth perform-inc Col this Poss with-part.

ho-la. 101.5 e-co joRi ho-la. 101.6 koi bole e-co  
 occur-ptc,3p this-Poss pair occur-ptc,3p anyone also this-Poss

joRi ho-la gune. 101.7 tebe janu beTa beTi pau-li  
 pair occur-ptc,3p therefore then part. son daughter carry-ptc,3s,nm

aur khāda pōka-li aur khāda joR-li" 102. "hou  
 and branch throw out-ptc,3s,nm and branch join-ptc,3s,nm yes

jan-lis" 103. "mōē jan-le" 104. aur "cōRii mōn dōk-un dōk"  
 know-ptc,2s I know-ptc,1s and bird pl see-conj see(imp,s)

bol-la mōne, maha 16khi.  
 say-ptc,3p part. Maha Lakhi

90. And she has become quiet. 91. Hasin is saying. "92.1 Let's go Didi. 92.2 When father come he will fight mother. 92.3 Let's go". "93. We will go (eventually), we'll stay, the sun is shining". 94. She is saying, "94.1 Let's go, Didi. 94.2 Father will fight with mother when he comes". 95. Maha Lakhi is saying, "95.1 Hasin you have said 'Let's go, let's go' so much to me. 95.2 You have said 'Let's go'. 95.3 (I said to) you 'I will go'. 95.4 Here, how did the banyan tree give birth? 95.5 Here, how did the banyan tree produce branches? 95.6 And you for sure are Konda's daughter. 95.7 Tell me". 96. She is saying, "96.1 For sure you are Konda's daughter. 96.2 Tell. 96.3 How did the branch come?" 97. Hasin became quiet. "98.1 How should I know? 98.2 How am I bigger than you? 98.3 Yourstate of affairs is kiRa. 98.4 And how should I know that I will tell you?" 99. She is

saying. "99.1 How come you don't know? 99.2 You are Konda's daughter and how come you don't know? 99.4 This banyan tree gave birth and how was this one branch born? 99.5 And how come the branch hasn't come this far?" 100. Hasin became quiet. 101. And later "101.1 Didi, the branch that came is only one. 101.2 It was born. 101.3 Only one banyan tree gave birth. 101.4 At the time of being born it got its partner. 101.5 It got its pair. 101.6 Therefore it became a pair. 101.7 Then it carried sons and daughters and branches were born and branches joined". "102. Yes, you knew". "103. Yes, I knew". 104. And Maha Lakhi said, "Look at the birds".

105. "c6Rii m6n d6k-um d6k" bol-to ke c6Rii m6n ke  
bird pl see-conj see(imp,s) say-inc Gol bird pl Gol

bole d6k-li m6ne, hasin. 106. 6sni khed-a ked-i  
also see-ptc,3s,nm part. Hasin like this chase-nom chase-nom

ho-esot m6ne. 107. aur joRi joRi bos-lasot m6ne. 108. 6Dki m6n bole  
occur-pinc,3p part. and pair pair sit-pc,3p part. a bird pl also

dui jhan joRi bos-lase m6ne. 109. rami m6n bole joRi bos-lase m6ne.  
2 pers pair sit-pc,3p part. a bird pl also pair sit-pc,3p part.

110. kokRa kokRi bole joRi bos-lase m6ne. 111. eklo kokRi  
a bird(m) a bird(f) also pair sit-pc,3p part. one only a bird(f)

aur kokRa, baele m6nuk. 112. usni bos-esot m6ne joRi joRi.  
and a bird(m) wife husband like that sit-pinc,3p part. pair pair

105. At the time of saying "Look at the birds", Hasin looked also at the birds. 106. They are chasing one another. 107. And they have sat in pairs. 108. The 6Dki birds also have sat two by two in pairs. 109. The myna birds also have sat in pairs. 110 The male and female cranes also have sat in pairs. 111. One single female crane and a single male crane as wife and husband. 112. Like that they are sitting in pairs.

113.1 "d6k-lis hun m6n? 113.2 aur m6-co k6s6n s6g-ta ni ae?  
see-ptc,2s that pl and I-Poss how with-part. not is(3s)

113.3 mo6 k6s6n k6r-ua6? 113.4 aur k6s6n mo6 sari mol k6TAg ae be?  
I how perform-f,1s and how I ? ? is(3s) ab

113.5 aur mo6 k6s6n ne r-ua6? 113.6 mornari k6s6n r-ua6?  
and I how Loc be-f,1s dead person(f) how be-f,1s

113.7 pal-ua6? 113.8 aur idlo asot je jat jant6r asot.  
give life-f,1s and this much is(3p) rel all species is(3p)

113.9 itlo log ke ph6lna k6r-uk ho-lise.  
this much people Gol well being perform-inf occur-pc,3s,nm



113.10 moē ekla ci ro-le k6s6n k6r-ēde?" bol-esot m6ne, maha l6khi.  
I alone emp be-when how perform-f,1s say-pinc,3p part. Maha Lakhi

114.1 "ale, jō didi. 114.2 kaī bole soba bona-k  
come on let's go Didi anything also gathering make-inf

bon-o baba ke. 114.3 aur tum-co t6ri bole joRi ho-de.  
make-opt,3s father Gol and you(p)-Poss ? also pair occur-f,3p

114.4 joRi ho-de. 114.5 to bh6gwan to koni bole de-de koni  
pair occur-f,3p part. deity part. any also give-f,3p any

k6Ta kon than-e." 115.1 "ale k6s6n m6-co joRi kon ae? 115.2  
? which place-Loc OK how I-Poss pair who is(3s)

sāg" bol-la m6ne. 116. "koni bol-to ho-de didi" 117.1  
tell(imp,s) say-ptc,3p part. any say-inc occur-f,3p Didi

"nai, moē us6n ne e-u-nu-aē. 117.2 m6-ke tui puLāg sāg  
part. I like that Loc come-f,Neg-1s I-Gol you(s) ? tell(imp,s)

117.3 ebe e-uaē" bol-esot m6ne, maha l6khi. 118. "nai, didi koni bole  
now come-f,1s say-pinc,3p part. Maha Lakhi part. Didi any also

joRi ho-de jō to" 119.1 "kae bole k6s6n k6r-le joRi  
pair occur-f,3p let's go part. what also how perform-when pair

h-uaat. 119.2 k6s6n k6r-le m6-co joRi ho-de" bol-esot  
occur-f,3p how perform-when I-Poss pair occur-f,3p say-pinc,3p

m6ne, maha l6khi. 120. "k6s6n k6r-le joRi ho-de ta" 121.1  
part. Maha Lakhi how perform-when pair occur-f,3p part.

"baba ke ja-ūwa sāg-ūwa ami. 121.2 baba ke ja-ūwa sāg-ūwa.  
father Gol go-opt,1p tell-opt,1p we father Gol go-opt,1p tell-opt,1p

121.3 to 'nai, baba am-co des ne ki raj ne, bhorun des  
part. part. father we-Poss country Loc or kingdom Loc Ehorun country

ne, kae ne bole soba m6dir ne ho-o nu'  
Loc what Loc also gathering temple Loc occur-opt,3s Voc(m)

121.4 bon-ūwa. 121.5 aur baba ke sāg-ūwa. 121.6 bol-ūwa.  
make-opt,1p and father Gol tell-opt,1p say-opt,1p

121.7 tebe to baba kae bole 'soba bona-n de-ē'.  
then part. father what also gathering make-conj give-1s

121.8 huta care uma l6khe raja e-de. 121.9 care uma l6khe raja  
there kings of the earth come-f,3p kings of the earth

i-la bole, hum soba mōdir-e e-de.  
come-ptc,3p when that gathering temple-Loc come-f,3p

121.10 kon har-ede, kon jit-ede koi mane  
who fail-f,3s who surpass-f,3s anyone human being

jit-lo bole hum-i tum ke bia ho-ede.  
surpass-ptc,3s,m when that-emp you(p) Gol marriage occur-f,3s

121.11 aur har-lo bita ni ho-e" bol-la mōne.  
and fail-comp thing(m) not occur-3s say-ptc,3p part.

122. bol-li mōne, hasin. 123.1 "sōte ae hasin. 123.2 sōte ae".  
say-ptc,3s,nm part. Hasin true is-3s Hasin true is-3s

124. kaT-a kaT-i ho-la mōne. 125. duno bol-a bol-i ho-la  
? ? occur-ptc,3p part. both say-nom say-nom occur-ptc,3p

mōne. 126. aur i-la mōne. 127. i-la mōne.  
part. and come-ptc,3p part. come-ptc,3p part.

113. Maha Lakhi is saying, "113.1 Did you see them? 113.2 And how come I don't have a partner? 113.3 What will I do? 113.4 And how will I be sari mol kōṭāg? 113.5 And how will I exist? 113.6 How will I exist as a dead person? 113.7 How will I live? 113.8 And as there are this many, there are all species. 113.9 Contentment and well being are these people's. 113.10 I I am alone how will it happen to me?" "114.1 Come on, let's go, Didi. 114.2 Have father built a competition arena. 114.3 And your tōri also will become a pair. 114.4 A pair will occur. 114.5 God will provide someone, someone from some place". 115. She said, "115.1 OK, who is my partner? 115.2 Tell". "116. It will be whoever it will be". 117. Maha Lakhi is saying, "117.1 I wont come like that. 117.2 You tell me assuredly. 117.3 Now I will come". "118. Didi, whoever it will be it will be, let's go". 119. Maha Lakhi is saying, "119.1 What's to be said and done that I'll get a mate? 119.2 What's to be done that I'll get a mate?" "120. What's to be done that I'll get a mate?" 121. She said, "121.1 Let's go to father, let's tell him. 121.2 Let's go to father and tell him. '121.3 Father, in our country or in the kingdom, in Bhorun country, also let a competition be held'. 121.4 Let's decide. 121.5 And let's tell father. 121.6 Let's say. 121.7 Then when father says 'I will make a competition arena'. 121.8 There the kings of the earth will come. 121.9 When the kings of the earth come, they'll come to the competition arena. 121.10 Who will fail, who will succeed, whoever succeeds only he will marry you. 121.11 And it wont be the failing one". 122. Hasin said. "123.1 Truly, Hasin. 123.2 Truly". 124. They did kaTa kaTi. 125. They talked together. 126. And they came. 127. They came.

128. e-to ke pher niubōti rani janu dōk-la mōne.  
come-inc Gol again Niubati queen part. see-ptc,3p part.

129. hum mōn ke janu gorōs ne pāē dho-la mōne.  
that pl Gol part. milk Loc foot wash-ptc,3p part.

130. hum s6b basna di-la. 131. ghiu gur  
that all incense give-ptc,3p clarified butter raw sugar

basna di-la m6ne. 132. gor6s ne paē dhoa-la.  
incense give-ptc,3p part. milk Loc foot wash-ptc,3p

133. aur hum m6n ke ni-la. 134. aur hasin kaje janu khirpori  
and that pl Gol take-ptc,3p and Hasin for part. special rice dish

rād-la di-la. 135. aur asot m6ne.  
prepare-ptc,3p give-ptc,3p and is(3p) part.

128. At the time of coming, again Queen Niubati saw (them). 129. She washed their feet in milk. 130. She burned incense. 131. And she burned ghiu and raw sugar as incense. 132. She washed their feet in milk. 133. And she took them. 134. And she prepared khirpori rice for Hasin (and) gave it. 135. And they are there.

#### Section 5: The Competition for Maha Lakhi's Hand

##### Building the Arena

1. pace bol-esot m6ne. 2.1 "nai, mā, baba ke tui sāg.  
later say-pinc,3p part. part. mother father Gol you(s) tell(imp,s)

2.2 ami k6s6n sāg-ūde? 2.3 baba le k6s6n goThea-ūde?  
we how tell-f,1p father Gol how converse-f,1p

2.4 baba ke k6s6n sāg-ūde? 2.5 to kae bole soba m6dir  
father Gol how tell-f,1p part. what also gathering temple

bona-u. 2.6 huta ami ge-lu aur DāDe baRi ho-lu.  
make-imp,p there we go-ptc,1p and boy-girl relationship occur-ptc,1p

2.7 DāDe baRe ho-un bari j-itlo  
boy-girl relationship occur-conj after rel-this much

asot mōj phur ne, hutlo mōja m6t6r d6k-un bati ami i-lu.  
is(3p) middle world Loc that much? see-conj after we come-ptc,1p

2.8 to kae bole am-co raj paT ne soba m6dir ho-o"  
part what also we-poss kingdom Loc gathering temple occur-opt,3s

bol-un bati pher hasin bol-li m6ne.  
say-conj after again Hasin say-ptc,3s,nm part.

1. Later she is saying. 2. After having said, again Hasin said, "2.1 Mother, you tell father. 2.2 How will we tell? 2.3 How will we converse with father? 2.4 How will we tell father? 2.5 Nevertheless make a

competition arena. 2.6 We went there and we made flower friends. 2.7 After having made flower friends, having seen however much there is in the middle world, we came. 2.8 Nevertheless in our kingdom part, let a competition arena be.

3.1 "ami bona-ūde-be beTi. 3.2 moē bona-ēde. 3.3 j-6s6n bol-ase  
we make-f,1p ab daughter I make-f,1s rel-like this say-f,2p

moē k6r-ēde. 3.4 bona-ēde" bol-to ke pher janu bhorun raja bol-la  
I perform-f,1s make-f,1s say-inc Gol again part. Bhorun king say-ptc,3p

m6ne. 4. bhorun raja bol-la m6ne. 5. aur up6r phur ge-la m6ne.  
part. Bhorun king say-ptc,3p part. and above world go-ptc,3p part.

6. aur hum-i ke bisk6rma ke bol-la m6ne.  
and that-emp Gol Biskarma Gol say-ptc,3p part.

7.1 "j6 be babu bisk6rma. 7.2 m6j phur ne  
let's go ab Babu Biskarma middle world Loc

bisk6rma, goTbk kh6ma gaR-un de-s" bol-la  
Biskarma one pillared structure place in ground-conj give-imp,s say-ptc,3p

m6ne. 8.1 "kh6ma bona-u tui. 8.2 bh6r-un  
part. pillared structure make-imp,s you(s) complete-conj

de-s" bol-la m6ne.  
give-imp,s say-ptc,3p part.

3. At the time of saying, again King Bhorun said, "3.1 We will be able to make, daughter. 3.2 I will make. 3.3 Whatever you say I will do. 3.4 I will make". 4. King Bhorun said. 5. And he went to the above world. 6. And he said to him, to Biskarma. 7. He said, "7.1 Let's go, Babu Biskarma. 7.2 Build a pavilion in the middle world, Biskarma". 8. He said, "8.1 You make a pavilion. 8.2 Complete one".

9. "bh6r-un de-s" bol-to ke bisk6rma ut6r-lo m6ne, bai,  
complete-conj give-imp,s say-inc Gol Biskarma descend-ptc,3s,m part. Bai

rati, so-lo rati bera. 10. 6s6n dihati log, raj rias, j6mae  
night sleep-comp night time like this tribal people kingdom all

kha-un so-ūwa 6sni so-un di-la.  
eat-conj sleep-opt,1p like this sleep-conj give-ptc,3p

11. so-un di-lo pher bh6gwan ge-la. 12. i-la m6ne.  
sleep-conj give-ptc,3s,m again deity go-ptc,3p come-ptc,3p part.

13. aur pace cawbis hat co D6g car khuTea thos6r aur cawbis hat  
and later 24 hand Poss height 4 corner width and 24 hand

Dēg aur cawbis hat Dēg co upr-e pāc hat ub-a  
 height and 24 hand height Poss above-Loc 5 hand stand-nom

khōma janu bhōr-un di-la mōne, biskōrma.  
 pillared structure part. complete-conj give-ptc,3p part. Biskarma

9. At the time of saying "Complete one", Biskarma descended, at night, at sleeping night time. 10. Like we tribal people sleep after eating, the king's subjects and all people slept like that. 11. They slept, again the deity went. 12. He came. 13. And later, Biskarma completed a pavilion, twentyfour cubits high, four corners wide and twentyfour cubits high and above twentyfour cubits height another five cubits standing upright.

14. aur hun than-e kocea, huta kōcim, huta nāgōr boela,  
 and that place-Loc owl there turtle there plough ox

huta mōcri, hun than-e j-itlo jat jōntōr cōre cuRum  
 there fish that place-Loc rel-this much all species birds(generic)

jōma bona-n di-la mōne. 15. bona-n di-la mōne. 16. aur kal  
 all make-conj give-ptc,3p part. make-conj give-ptc,3p part. and ?

cōkōr, bil cōkōr, mukti cōkōr, tin bhoin ke janu ub-a, upr-e  
 wheel ? wheel liberation wheel 3 sister Gol part. stand-nom above-Loc

thap-a-n di-la mōne. 17. thapa-n di-la mōne. 18. aur  
 cover-caus-conj give-ptc,3p part. cover-conj give-ptc,3p part. and

pace "ujōr ho-ese" bol-un ge-la mōne. 19. ge-la mōne.  
 later light occur-pinc,3s say-conj go-ptc,3p part. go-ptc,3p part.

14. And at that place, owls turtles, oxen, fish, however many species, he made them all. 15. He made. 16. And he put upright on top a kal wheel, a bil wheel, and a liberation wheel, these three sisters. 17. He put (them). 18. And later having said, "It's becoming light", he went. 19. He went.

20. ge-lo ke pase janu koda bhaṭa ne to  
 go-comp Gol later part. a grain wilderness Loc part.

bon-li khōma. 21. bon-li mōne.  
 make-ptc,3s,nm pillared structure make-ptc,3s,nm part.

20. At the time he went, later in the koda grain wilderness area the pavilion was made. 21. It was made.

22. bon-to ke janu pace 16g-e 16g-e Dara bul-li  
 make-inc Gol part. later near-Loc near-Loc news walk-ptc,3s,nm

mōne. 23. jug-e jug-e janu ciṭhi ge-li mōne.  
 part. far-Loc far-Loc part. letter go-ptc,3s,nm part.

24. (aur janu gāda de-un pace.)  
and part. ? give-conj later

22. At the time of being made, later the message went out. 23. The message went far and wide. 24. (After giving gōda later)

25. ge-lo ke janu pase Dara bul-li mōne, bai.  
go-comp Gol part. later news walk-ptc,3s,nm part. Bai

26. Dara bul-li Dhīdra pōr-li des desea, gōR gōRea,  
news walk-ptc,3s,nm message fall-ptc,3s,nm country folk villagers

aThara gōRea, jōmae sōmae bul-un ge-la mōne.  
18 village all loudly walk-conj go-ptc,3p part.

27. nani aur boRe aur dewōn aur tōsil  
small and big and royal minister and revenue collector

aur saeda aur boeda aur lal aur kumōr, jōma phāde koda nēgi,  
and ? and ? and red and potter all ? ? ?

jogi, sōb log, sōn am-co sōn adivasi dihati  
? all people like this we-Poss like this tribal tribal

log kae bole, khōTea log bag mōjla mōne, huta.  
people what also bed relatives middle part. there

28. i-la mōne. 29. i-la mōne. 30. i-la.  
come-ptc,3p part. come-ptc,3p part. come-ptc,3p

25. At the time he went, later messages went out, Bai. 26/27. The message went out, the message went to all people. 28. They came. 29. They came. 30. They came.

31. aur pase janu "ja re, narōt" bol-la mōne, bhorun raja.  
and later part. go(imp,s) Voc Narat say-ptc,3p part. Bhorun king

32.1 "ja re narōt. 32.2 tui janu kagōt ne"  
go(imp,s) Voc Narat you(s) part. paper take(imp,s)

33. "kahā ne-ēse?" 34.1 "kon kon car khut cawda buwan ne raja  
where take-pinc,ls which which everywhere Loc king

asot? 34.2 kon kon Than raja asot jale, huta huta tui  
is(3p) who who place king is(3p) part. there there you(s)

ne. 34.3 kagōt ke bul-a-o" 35. to e-ot.  
take(imp,s) paper Gol walk-caus-imp,s part. come-opt,3p

31. And later King Bhorun said, "Go, friend Narat". "32.1 Go, friend Narat. 32.2 You take the paper". "33. Where am I taking (it)?" "34.1

Wherever there are kings throughout the world. 34.2 Whichever place there are kings, there you take (it). 34.3 And spread the paper". 35. Thus they should come.

36. eta janu, e lag bīd-a-n ge-li  
here part. this competition shoot arrow-caus-conj go-ptc,3s,nm

hutae 37. gōd-a-e. 38. pace janu, hutae e-ot.  
there chop-caus-3s later part. there come-opt,3p

39.1 "tui e-ke bīd-la bole nai, m6-co  
you(s) this-Gol shoot arrow-ptc,3p part. part. I-Poss

beTi bia k6r-un de-uaē, maha l6khi ke thare boRe.  
daughter marriage perform-conj give-f,ls Maha Lakhi Gol ? big

39.2 thare boRe moē bia k6r-un de-ēde" bol-un,  
? big I marriage perform-conj give-f,ls say-conj

e up6r co kh6ma co kīd6r-to  
this above Poss pillared structure Poss turn in circle-inc

phir phir phir phir phir phir tin bhoīn kīd6r-te ro-hot m6ne.  
sound of turning 3 sister turn in circle-inc be-3p part.

40. "hun m6n co kan baT-e bīd-un bhari maha  
that pl Poss ear way-Loc shoot arrow-conj after Maha

l6khi co n6k , mūdi l6g-e sida hun kan janu gh6r."  
Lakhi Poss fingernail ring near-Loc straight that ear part. house

bol-un bhati raja lik-un di-la m6ne, kag6t.  
say-conj after king write-conj give-ptc,3p part. paper

41. tebe nar6t m6ni nīkr-un ni-lo m6ne, care una l6khe raja.  
then Narat Mani come out-conj take-ptc,3s,m part. kings of the earth

36. Here, the competition is complete. 37. It chops (?). 38. Later they should come there. 39. Having said "39.1 When you shoot this with bow and arrow, I will give my daughter, Maha Lakhi in marriage. 39.2 I will perform the marriage", the turning things on top of the pavilion, the three sisters were turning around. 40. After having said "40.1 After having shot through their ears with the bow and arrow straight to near Maha Lakhi's fingernail", the king wrote a paper. 41. Then Narat Mani, having come out, took (it) to the kings of the earth.

#### Attempt by Kings of the Earth

42. kitlahan, kitlahan ne dhur raj, kon kon raj, kon kon  
how big how big Loc distance kingdom which which kingdom which which

des ne, raja ro-hot ale. 43. raja gh6r-e gh6r-e gh6r-e gh6r-e  
country Loc king be-3p part. king house-Loc house-Loc house-Loc house-Loc

gh6r-e gh6r-e bul-a-lo m6ne. 44.1 "nai, 6s6n 6s6n  
house-Loc house-Loc walk-cause-ptc,3s,m part. part. like this like this

ae. 44.2 jō. 44.3 bhorun raja, am-co des co bhorun raja  
is(3s) let's go Bhorun king we-Poss country Poss Bhorun king

bia k6r-un de-uat" bol-un ta kag6t ne lik-u  
marriage perform-conj give-f,3p say-conj part. paper Loc write-comp

ro-e. 45. kag6t m6n ke d6k-la m6ne. 46. aur "46.1 jō jō  
be-3s paper pl Gol see-ptc,3p part. and let's go let's go

jō jō. 46.2 ja-un d6k-ū tebe j-e-co k6r6m ne ase  
let's go let's go go-conj see-1p then rel-this-Poss destiny Loc is(3s)

aur hun bia ho-ūwa. 46.3 k6r6m ni ae kae ho-uat" aur.  
and that marriage occur-opt,1p destiny not is(3s) what occur-f,3p and

bol-la m6ne, raja m6n. 47. care una l6khe raja rūd-la  
say-ptc,3p part. king pl kings of the earth gather together-ptc,3p

m6ne. 48. i-la m6ne. 49. s6b anu d6k-la m6ne. 50. to  
part. come-ptc,3p part. all? see-ptc,3p part. part.

16k 16k 16k 16k 16k 16k 16k ho-te ro-e m6ne.  
manner of becoming overwhelmed occur-inc be-3s part.

51.1 "o ho, (hun m6n ke to pase k6m phur-e Dak-li  
Oh ho that pl Gol part. later less front-Loc ?-ptc,3s,nm

D6r kaje.) idlo boRe soba m6dir ne, idlo raj  
fear for this size big gathering temple Loc this size kingdom

ne, maha l6khi ke des ne, e ke kon bita  
Loc Maha Lakhi Gol country Loc this Gol which thing(m)

bīd-uae-be aur e-ke bia ho-uae-be.  
shoot arrow-f,3s-ab and this-Gol marriage occur-f,3s-ab.

51.2 ni ho-e" bol-la m6ne, raja m6n. 52. i-la m6ne, bai.  
not occur-3s say-ptc,3p part. king pl come-ptc,3p part. Bai

53. aur c6m6k-nae bos-un di-la m6ne, kh6Tea k6rji m6n ne. 54. aur  
and orderly-adv sit-conj give-ptc,3p part. bed chair pl Loc and

d6k-esot m6ne. 55. koni bita bīd-e nai na koni bita hun  
see-pinc,3p part. any thing(m) shoot arrow-3s Neg Voc any thing(m) that



**kāi** **ci nai mōne. 56. d6k-esot. 57. j6mak ne phok-li mōne.**  
 anything emp Neg part. see-pinc,3p ? Loc ?-ptc,3s,nm part.

**58. tebe pase bol-esot mōne, e raj co log.**  
 then later say-pinc,3p part. this kingdom Poss people

**59.1 "ale, ale le-o le-o. 59.2 koni bole**  
 OK OK take-opt,3s take-opt,3s anyone also

**dali bīd-a, koni kāi ci log ho-a bole.**  
 ? shoot arrow-? anyone anything emp people occur-? also

**59.3 pal hum ke m6-co beTi bia k6r-un**  
 ? that Gol I-Poss daughter marriage perform-conj

**de-uaē" bol-ese mōne, raja, bhorun raja. "60.1 k6s6n k6r-uā-be?**  
 give-f,1s say-pinc,3s part. king Bhorun king how perform-opt,1p-ab

**60.2 k6s6n k6r-uā? 60.3 phok-ede-be. 60.4 itlo raj rias kitlo**  
 how perform-opt,1p ?-f,3s-ab this much kingdom how much

**dhur bos-la kitlo dhur nai. 60.5 hutlo log ne ja-un**  
 distance sit-ptc,3p how much distance Neg that much people Loc go-conj

**bhati huta kon phur-e phoR-uae laj poR-to kaje" 61. tebe pase**  
 after there who front-Loc ?-f,3s shyness fall-inc for then later

**janu : mōne. 62. hum mōn "laj poR-uk ho-ede" bol-la mōne.**  
 part. part. that pl shyness fall-inf occur-f,3s say-ptc,3p part.

**63. aur (kae to) ni bīd-ot mōne.**  
 and ummm not shoot arrow-3p part.

42. Whatever distance the country, whichever kingdom, whichever country, wherever there are kings. 43 To the king's houses he took the message. 44. Having said "44.1 It's like thus and so. 44.2 Let's go. 44.3 King Bhorun, our country's King Bhorun will give in marriage", he had written in the paper. 45. They saw the paper. 46. And the kings said, "46.1 Let's go, let's go, let's go, let's go, 46.2 Having gone let's see then whosever destiny it is then he will be married. 46.3 If it's not destined then what will happen?" 47. The kings of the earth gathered together. 48. They came. 49. They all saw. 50. It was overwhelming. 51. The kings said, "51.1 Oh ho, (later it gave them pause for fear) in this big a competition, in this size kingdom, in Maha Lakhi's country who will be able to shoot with a bow and marry her. 51.2 It wont work". 52. They came, Bai. 53. And they sat down on beds and chairs in an orderly manner. 54. And they are looking. 55. Nobody shoots with the bow, nobody does anything. 56. They are looking. 57. They all are **phokli**. 58. Then later the kingdom's people are saying. 59. The king, King Bhorun is saying, "59.1 OK, OK, Let it be taken. 59.2 Someone shoot with the bow, someone do something. 59.3 To the successful one I will give my daughter in marriage". "60.1 What can we do? 60.2 What will we do?

60.3 It will **phokedebe**. 60.4 This many subjects sat over a large distance.  
60.5 After going near that many people who will **phoruae** in front there for  
shame". 61. Then later. 62. They said, "Shame will occur". 63. And they  
don't shoot with the bow.

64. go**ʔ**k kae s6l s6lea 6s6n ro-e kae k6s6n  
one what self concious person(m) like this be-3s what how

jale go**ʔ**k dh6p co 6s6n bita janu. 65.1 "ale moē ja-ēde.  
part. one ? Poss like this thing(m) part. OK I go-f,ls

65.2 ale m6-co k6r6m ne ase aur maha l6khi ke bia  
OK I-Poss destiny Loc is(3s) and Maha Lakhi Gol marriage

ho-ēde. 65.3 tum ke laik dh6r-lise. 65.4 itlo log  
occur-f,ls you(p) Gol ability take hold-ptc,3s,nm this much people

i-las aur soje d6k-asas. 65.5 janu aji dui tin din ho-li.  
come-ptc,2p and only see-pinc,2p part. today 2 3 day occur-ptc,3s,nm

65.6 aur bos-un de-un d6k-ūse. 65.7 ale jō nu, bīd-ū,  
and sit-conj give-conj see-pinc,lp OK let's go Voc shoot arrow-lp

j-6s6n har-uk ho-o jit-uk ho-o" bol-la  
rel-like this fail-inf occur-opt,3s succeed-inf occur-opt,3s say-ptc,3p

m6ne. 66. aur hum uT-lo aur ge-lo m6ne, bai.  
part. and that arise-ptc,3s,m and go-ptc,3s,m part. Bai

64. There was one self-conscious person, maybe, a **dhap** person. 65. He  
said, "65.1 Here, I'll go. 65.2 Here, it is my destiny and I will marry Maha  
Lakhi. 65.3 Ability has taken hold of you. 65.4 This many of you came and  
you only are looking. 65.5 Today two or three days have passed. 65.6 And  
after sitting we are looking. 65.7 OK, let's go, let's shoot with the bow,  
whether to fail or succeed". 66. And he arose and went, Bai.

67. ja-un 6mr-u ro-lo kae ni 6mr-u ro-lo jale  
go-conj arrive-comp be-ptc,3s,m what not arrive-comp be-ptc,3s,m part.

m6ne. 68. hum ke c6k6r kaT-un di-lo hon peT-naē  
part. that Gol wheel cut-conj give-ptc,3s,m there solidly-adv

poR-lo m6ne, cawda koT. 69. cawda koT poR-lo m6ne.  
fall-ptc,3s,m part. ? fall-ptc,3s,m part.

70. cet nai het nai m6ne, bai. 71. hum ke kon 6bād6r-un  
concious Neg concious Neg part. Bai that Gol who ?-conj

di-la m6ne. 72. aur uk6r phuk-esot m6ne. 73. ja-tor jar-esot  
give-ptc,3p part. and blow-pinc,3p part. go-inc kindle-pinc,3p

m6ne. 74. cet-a-t                      cet-a-esot.  
part.      consciousness-caus-inc consciousness-caus-pinc, 3p

67. Having gone he had made it arrive or he had not made it arrive.  
68. He cut the wheel, he fell forcefully in **cawda koT**. 69. He fell in **cawda koT**. 70. He is unconscious, Bai. 71. They did **6b6drun** to him. 72. They are blowing (on him). 73. They are kindling (life in him). 74. They are making him conscious.

75. kon pani ke t6p-ese              m6ne, kae kae. 76.1 "etae to' ami  
who water Gol heat-pinc, 3s part. what what              here part. we

bol-lo      76.2 'eta ni ja-ha.      76.3 hire ni poR-a'      bol-lu.  
say-ptc, 1p              here not go-imp, p              ?      not fall-imp, p say-ptc, 1p

76.4 tui      kae kaje phur-e      poR-lis      tui?" bol-esot      m6ne.  
you(s) what for front-Loc fall-ptc, 2s you(s) say-pinc, 3p part.

77. hum co ceta ceti              k6r-la              m6ne.  
that Poss consciousness perform-ptc, 3p part.

75. Someone is heating water and whatever. 76. They are saying, "76.1 For this reason we said '76.2 Don't go here. 76.3 Don't fall hiRe' we said. 76.4 Why did you fall forwards?" 77. They brought him back to consciousness.

78. aur bac-lo              log      ke tiar-to              ke koni ni  
and left over-comp people Gol get ready-inc Gol anyone not

e-ot      m6ne, D6r kaje. 79. "mor-un ja-uk ho-edo      itlo      ne."  
come-3p part. fear for              die-conj go-inf occur-f, 3s this much Loc

78. And at the time of the leftover people getting ready, no one comes because of fear. "79. Death will occur with this much (of a test)".

80. k6s6n ho-un              phul mal huta sīgar      de-u              ro-hot  
what occur-conj lotus      there ornament give-comp be-3p

m6ne, bisk6rma. 81. 6s6n              ke dhap dha-un ja-te ro-e m6ne.  
part. Biskarma              like this Gol ?      ?-conj go-inc be-3s part.

82. hum log bole      etae ja-uk h-uae?              83. ni ja-ot m6ne.  
that people also here go-inf occur-f, 3s              not go-3p part.

84. D6r kaje pase m6ne, bai, koni      ci ni ja-ot m6ne.  
fear for later part. Bai      anyone emp not go-3p part.

80. Biskarma had placed a lotus and ornaments there. 81. Having done **dhap dhaun** it is going. 82. How will these people go there? 83. They don't go. 84. For fear absolutely no one goes, Bai.

85. ni ja-to ke janu kae k6r-la m6ne, pase. 86. "ale ja-un  
not go-inc Gol part. what perform-ptc,3p part later OK go-conj

d6k re nar6t" bol-esot m6ne. 87. "ja-un d6k nar6t,  
see(imp,s) Voc Narat say-pinc,3p part. go-conj see(imp,s) Narat

mur6sur ghai aur ja-un d6k" bol-la m6ne, bhorun raja.  
Murasur place and go-conj see(imp,s) say-ptc,3p part. Bhorun king

88. pher lik-un di-la m6ne, mur6sur ghai. 89. "mur6sur ghai  
again write-conj give-ptc,3p part. Murasur place Murasur place

ja-un mur6sur co hagde-un an" bol-la m6ne.  
go-conj Murasur Poss call-conj bring(imp,s) say-ptc,3p part.

90. tebe pace hum ge-lo m6ne. 91. nar6t ghoRa  
then later that go-ptc,3s,m part. Narat horse

ceg-lo m6ne. 92. nar6t m6ni ge-lo m6ne.  
climb-ptc,3s,m part. Narat Mani go-ptc,3s,m part.

85. At the time of not going, later what did he do? 86. He is saying, "Here, Narat you go". 87. King Bhorun said, "You go Narat, you go to Murasur's place". 88. Again he wrote to Murasur's place. 89. He said, "Having gone to Murasur's place, call him and bring him". 90. Then later he went. 91. Narat climbed on a horse. 92. Narat Mani went.

#### Attempt by Murasur

93. mur6sur janu aplo sig deuri ne, l6g-e k6s6n l6g-e aur  
Murasur part. one-s own Sing Deuri Loc near-Loc how near-Loc and

poR-un di-lose m6ne, p6gd6k 6s6n. 94. 6sur to ae be.  
fall-conj give-pt,3s,m part. ? like this giant part. is(3s) ab

95. p6rbh6t 6s6n poR-lose m6ne, bai.  
mountain like this fall-pt,3s,m part. Bai

93. Murasur, in his own sig deuri, has lain like a p6gd6k. 94. He is an 6sur. 95. He has lain like a mountain, Bai.

96. poR-to ke janu hum co sat saga sat pori rani ro-hot m6ne.  
fall-inc Gol part. that Poss description of wives queen be-3p part.

97. j6ma hum ci co rani at ta to turi th6nki at.  
all that emp Poss queen is(3p) part. part. servants is(3p)

98. sat saga sat pori rani ro-hot m6ne.  
description of wives queen be-3p part.

96. At the time of lying, he has seven queens. 97. They are all his queens, they are his servants. 98. There were seven queens.

99. **hum than-e dui tin pahar ne chena bec-un**  
that place-Loc 2 3 time period Loc dry dung collect-conj

**bhati aig ke janu bar-un bhati chena-ek thoke dhuk-te**  
after fire Gol part. burn-conj after dry dung-one heap blow-inc

**ro-tor ae huta. 100. chena ke aig dh6r-a-u**  
be-inc is(3s) there dry dung Gol fire take hold-caus-comp

**ro-tor ae m6ne. 101. aur kus ke t6p-a-n dhuk-te**  
be-inc is(3s) part. and digging stick Gol heat-caus-conj blow-inc

**r-uat m6ne. 102. kus ke t6p-a-n dhuk-esot m6ne.**  
be-f,3p part. digging stick Gol heat-caus-conj blow-pinc,3p part.

99. There after having collected dry manure for two or three time periods, after having burned the fire, a piece of dry manure is to be being stoked up there. 100. The fire is to be made to burn with the dry manure. 101. And having heated the metal digging stick, they will be stoking the fire. 102. Having heated the metal digging stick, they are stoking the fire.

103. **huta ge-lo m6ne, nar6t m6ni. "104.1 raja, mur6sur ke6**  
there go-ptc,3s,m part. Narat Mani king Mirasur where

**ge-las? 104.2 bhorun raja co bol-au ae.**  
go-ptc,2p Bhorun king Poss say-nom is(3s)

104.3 **j6" bol-ese m6ne, nar6t m6ni.**  
let's go say-pinc,3s part. Narat Mani

103. Narat Mani went there. 104. Narat Mani is saying "104.1 King, Mirasur, where did you go? 104.2 King Bhorun has spoken. 104.3 Let's go".

105. **aur hum 16g-e bol-to ke "105.1 nai hum to**  
and that near-Loc say-inc Gol part. that part

**6sur ae. 105.2 bara bor6k n6dra madrae ni jan-e mo6"**  
giant is(3s) 12 year sleep ? not know-3s I

105. And at the time of saying, "105.1 He is an 6sur. 105.2 Whether twelve years sleep is madrae, I don't know".

106. **ni jan-to ke rani m6n janu k6s6n k6r-la mur6sur**  
not know-inc Gol queen pl part what perform-ptc,3p Mirasur

**co baele rani m6n. 107. kus ke t6p-a-la m6ne, bai,**  
Ross wife queen pl digging stick Gol heat-caus-ptc,3p part. Bai

r6g r6g r6g r6g r6g. 108. kan m6n phur6l-la di-la m6ne.  
sight and sound of heated metal ear pl fill-ptc,3p give-ptc,3p part.

109. kan m6n t6p-lo aig ke eta eta phur6l-la m6ne.  
ear pl heat-ptc,3s,m fire Gol here here fill-ptc,3p part.

106. At not knowing, what did the queens, Mirasur's wives do? 107. They heated the metal digging stick, Bai. 108. They stuck it in his ear, they gave it. 109. They stuck the hot fire in his ear, here.

110. phur6l-to ke hutlo m6ne, mur6sur b6t b6t b6t b6t b6t d6k-ese  
fill-inc Gol that much part. Murasur manner of seeing see-pinc,3s

m6ne. 111. d6k-ese m6ne, boRe boRe. 112. d6k-lo m6ne.  
part. see-pinc,3s part big big see-ptc,3s,m part.

110. At the time of sticking that much, Mirasur is blinkingly looking.  
111. He is looking. 112. He looked.

113. aur "113.1 kae kaje uT-a-las? 113.2 m6-ke kae kaje  
and what for arise-caus-ptc,2p I-Gol what for

uT-a-las?" bol-to ke hudlidaē nar6t m6ni janu pase mur6sur  
arise-caus-ptc,2p say-inc Gol at that time Narat Mani part later Mirasur

l6g-e kag6t ke de-un di-la m6ne, ciThi ke. 114. ciTh6i  
near-Loc paper Gol give-conj give-ptc,3p part. letter Gol letter

ke de-un di-la. 115. ciTh6i bhej-u ro-hot m6ne, raja.  
Gol give-conj give-ptc,3p letter fetch-comp be-3p part. king

113. At the time of saying "113.1 Why did you get me up? 113.2 Why did you get me up?", at that time Narat Mani gave the paper, the letter to Mirasur. 114. He gave the letter. 115. The king had fetched the letter.

116. de-un de-to ke "d6k-nu mur6sur" aur janu mecha m6n ke  
give-conj give-inc Gol see-imp,p Murasur and part. moustache pl Gol

Theŭ-la m6ne,e baT-e e baT-e. 117. gal baT baT mecha m6n  
twist-ptc,3p part this way-Loc this way-Loc cheek way way moustache pl

Theŭ-la m6ne. 118. aur pace kag6t ke d6k-lo m6ne.  
twist-ptc,3p part. and later paper Gol see-ptc,3s,m part.

119.1 "o ho m6-co sat saga sat pori rani ke moē kae k6r-uaē?  
Oh ho I-Poss description of wives queen Gol I what perform-f,ls

119.2 m6-co k6r6m ne asot. 119.3 dh6n dh6n re maha l6khi.  
I-Poss destiny Loc is(3p) ? ? ? Maha Lakhi

119.4 m6-co k6r6m ne asot moẽ bia ho-uaẽ-be" bol-ese m6ne.  
I-Poss destiny Loc is(3p) I marriage occur-f,1s-ab say-pinc,3s part.

120. aur chati ke peT-i ho-ese m6ne, bai, mur6sur.  
and chest Gol beat-nom occur-pinc,3s part. Bai Mirasur

121. chati ke peT-i ho-ese m6ne, mur6sur.  
chest Gol beat-nom occur-pinc,3s part. Mirasur

122.1 "moẽ bia h-uaẽ idlo cari una l6khe raja  
I marriage occur-f,1 this much kings of the earth

rũd-la. 122.2 koni ni s6k-la.  
gather together-ptc,3p anyone not able-ptc,3p

122.3 to m6-co pag6t poR-lasas maha l6khi m6-co h6lak  
part. I-Poss ? fall-pc,2p Maha Lakhi I-Poss ?

paT rani" bol-ese aur h6rik ho-ese m6ne.  
behind queen say-pinc,3s and happiness occur-pinc,3s part.

116. At the time of giving, "Look Mirasur", and he twisted his moustache here and there. 117. He twisted his moustache on his cheek. 118. And later he looked at the paper. 119. He is saying, "119.1 Oh ho, what will I do to my seven queens? 119.2 This is my destiny. 119.3 (rhyming words) Maha Lakhi. 119.4 This is my destiny, I can be married (to Maha Lakhi)". 120. And Mirasur is beating his chest, Bai. 121. Mirasur is beating his chest. 122. He is saying "122.1 I will get married, these kings of the earth gathered. 122.2 Nobody was able (to do it). 122.3 Maha Lakhi, you are falling to be my pag6t, my h6lak queen" and he is happy.

123. h6rik ho-to ke m6ne, bai, aplo boRe rani, paT rani  
happiness occur-inc Gol part. Bai one's own big queen behind queen

bol-ese m6ne. 124.1 "nai, raja, tum-co k6r6m ne ni at.  
say-pinc,3s part. part. king you(p)-Poss destiny Loc not is(3p)

124.2 tum k6s6n ne 'bia ho-ẽde' bol-esas? 124.3 tum-co  
you(p) how Loc marriage occur-f,1s say-pinc,2p you(p)-Poss

k6r6m ne ni ae. 124.4 huta ja-tor nu ae. 124.5 huta ge-le kae  
destiny Loc not is(3s) there go-inc not is(3s) there go-when what

bole har ho-ede. 124.6 ni ja-ha. 124.7 itlo kitlo soba  
also fail occur-f,3s not go-imp,p this much how much gathering

m6dir ro-e maha l6khi co" bol-ese m6ne, paT rani.  
temple be-3s Maha Lakhi Poss say-pinc,3s part. behind queen

125.1 "ho, tu-co goT ke moẽ ni dh6r-ẽ.  
excl you(s)-Poss speech Gol I not take hold-ls

125.2 bojena bat ke moē dhōr-ē ci nai tum-co goT ke.  
? speech Gol I take hold-1s emp Neg you(p)-Poss speech Gol

125.3 tum ke moē kae kōr-uaē 6sōrin mōn ke? 125.4 mō-ke to  
you(p) Gol I what perform-f,1s giantess pl Gol I-Gol part.

maha lōkhi ke bia ho-ēde-be. 125.5 tum ke kae kōr-uaē  
Maha Lakhi Gol marriage occur-f,1s-ab you(p) Gol what perform-f,1s

6sōrin mōn? 125.6 ja bhosri mōn" bol-ese mōne. 126. "6sōrin  
giantess pl go(imp,s) Bhosri pl say-pinc,3s part. giantess

mōn ke kae kōr-uaē?" bol-ese mōne. 127. pani tōp-a-n  
pl Gol what perform-f,1s say-pinc,3s part. water heat-caus-conj

de-esot mōne. 128. naha-n de-esot mōne.  
give-pinc,3p part. bathe-conj give-pinc,3p part.

129. tiar ho-ese mōne. 130. khana kha-ese mōne.  
ready occur-pinc,3s part. food eat-pinc,3s part.

131. aur hum janu 6cha sōj bij ho-ese mōne, hōrik kaje.  
and that part. good things occur-pinc,3s part. happiness for

123. At the time of being happy, Bai, his main queen, Queen Pat is saying. 124. Queen Pat is saying, "124.1 King it in't your destiny. 124.2 How are you saying 'I will get married'? 124.3 It is not your destiny. 124.4 One is not to be going there. 124.5 If one goes there nevertheless failure will occur. 124.6 Don't go. 124.7 How great is Maha Lakhi's competition arena". 125. He is saying, "125.1 I wont take (notice of) your words. 125.2 I absolutely wont take notice of your words. 125.3 What will I do with you female 6surs? 125.4 I will marry Maha Lakhi. 125.5 What will I do with you female 6surs? 125.6 Go you so and so's". 126. He is saying, "What will I do with the female 6surs?" 127. They are heating water. 128. They are bathing (him?). 129. He is getting ready. 130. He is eating his food. 131. And he is getting good things together because of happiness.

132. aur janu pase, bai, koT aur kōmfij aur dhoti aur phōTōi bag-ese mōne.  
and part. later Bai coat and shirt and dhoti and cloth ?-pinc,3s part.

133. paga pijre kae rōsea teri phob-li.  
turban ? what beautiful ? look good-ptc,3s,mm

134. aur janu pase narōt mōni phur-e phur-e e-te  
and part. later Narat Mani front-Loc front-Loc come-inc

i-la mōne, narōt mōni. 135. e-te i-la, narōt.  
come-ptc,3p part Narat Mani come-inc come-ptc,3p Narat

132. And later he is putting on a shirt, coat, and dhoti and clothes.  
133. With his turban how beautiful he looks. 134. And Narat Mani quickly



came ahead. 135. Narat came quickly.

136. ne-un di-la ciTh6i bhej-un di-la, i-la.  
take-conj give-ptc,3p letter fetch-conj give-ptc,3p come-ptc,3p

137. mur6sur pace ghoRa ceg-lo m6ne, mur6sur. 138. aur i-lo  
Murasur later horse climb-ptc,3s,m part. Murasur and come-ptc,3s,m

m6ne, bai. 139. mur6sur i-lo m6ne, ghoRa ceg-un, bai, soba  
part. Bai Murasur come-ptc,3s,m part. horse climb-conj Bai gathering

m6dir-e. 140. soba m6dir-e i-lo m6ne. 141. aur ni ae  
temple-Loc gathering temple-Loc come-ptc,3s,m part. and not is(3s)

m6jum ja-ese m6ne. 142. ghoRa ceg-un ghen-un poka-ese m6ne.  
? go-pinc,3s part. horse climb-conj buy-conj throw out-pinc,3s part.

143. e baT ja-ese m6ne. 144. hum baT ja-ese m6ne.  
this way go-pinc,3s part. that way go-pinc,3s part.

136. He took the letter, he fetched it, he came. 137. Later Murasur got on a horse. 138. And he came, Bai. 139. Murasur came to the competition, having gotten on a horse, Bai. 140. He came to the competition. 141. It isn't something else, he is going m6jum. 142. Having gotten on the horse, having purchased, he is throwing out. 143. He is going this direction. 144. He is going that direction.

145. bos-lase m6ne, log. 146. itlahan aur b6st6r itlahan aur  
sit-pc,3p part. people this much size and Bastar this much size and

kae s6h6r itlahan laen to bos-un di-lase m6ne. 147. aur  
what city this much size line part. sit-conj give-pc,3p part. and

d6k-esot m6ne. 148. "eta ro-ũ ci k6s6n k6s6n ho-ede jale  
see-pinc,3p part. here be-1p emp how how occur-f,3s part.

d6k-ũwa" bol-un bol-un asot ci, raj co log. 149. asot m6ne.  
see-opt,1p say-conj say-conj is(3p) emp kingdom Poss people is(3p) part.

150. e mũDi ci pila itlo asot m6ne.  
this head emp child this much is(3p) part.

151. bos-lase m6ne, "d6k-ũwa to" bol-un.  
sit-pc,3p part. see-opt,1p part. say-conj

145. The people have sat. 146. This many here and as many as in Bastar and perhaps as many as in the city, have sat in lines. 147. And they are watching. 148. Having said again and again "We'll just stay here, let's see what happens", the people of the kingdom are there only. 149. They are there. 150. There are as many as the hairs of the head. 151. They have sat, having said "Let's see".

152. i-la m6ne.  
come-ptc,3p part.

152. He came.

153. aur kae bol-ese m6ne, mur6sur, bhorun raja ke. 154.1 "e raja,  
and what say-pinc,3s part. Mirasur Bhorun king Gol hey king

idlo boRe raja as, tui boRea raja. 154.2 aur tum-co beTi  
this big big king is(2s) you(s) big king and you(p)-Poss daughter

kitlo sūd6r ae gune? 154.3 tum-co beTi maha l6khi  
how much beautiful is(3s) therefore you(p)-Poss daughter Maha Lakhi

kitlo sūd6r ae? 154.4 aur hum ke tumi e l6g ni an-lasas  
how much beautiful is(3s) and that Gol you(p) this near not bring-ptc,2p

aur eta janu thari nik6r-las? 154.5 kh6r kh6ri ni k6r-as?  
and here part. target come out-ptc,2p ? not perform-2p

154.6 aur lag bīd-a-esas? 154.7 tum-co beTi ke  
and competition shoot arrow-caus-pinc,2p you(p)-Poss daughter Gol

ni d6k-un kon bīd-ede lag? 154.8 beTi ke an-a  
not see-conj who shoot arrow-f,3s competition daughter Gol bring-imp,p

eta. 154.9 tebe to idlo boRe raja us6n jale bol-te  
here then part. this big big king like that part. say-inc

e-to tu-co beTi ni ae. 154.10 beTi ke ni d6k-le  
come-inc you(s)-Poss daughter not is(3s) daughter Gol not see-when

lag bīd-e. 154.11 tu-co kaca sik-a-la bud  
competition shoot arrow-3s you(s) unripe learn-caus-ptc,3p wisdom

ae re. 154.12 eta tui janu poka-lo log ke bos-a-n  
is(3s) Voc here you part. throw out-comp people Gol sit-caus-conj

lag bīd-a-e. 154.13 tu-co beTi kon l6g  
competition shoot arrow-caus-3s you(s)-Poss daughter which near

bhitr-e r-uae? 154.14 ni d6k-lo ami k6s6n ne lag  
inside-Loc be-f,3s not see-comp we how Loc competition shoot

bīd-ū? 154.15 aur itlo log bos-lase? 154.16 k6s6n koni  
shoot arrow-1p and this much people sit-ptc,3p how anyone

kaf ci bol-las? 154.17 aur sum soje k6s6n e-ede bos-uk kha-uk  
anything emp say-ptc,2p and ? only how come-f,3s sit-inf eat-inf

i-lasas? 154.18 kae bos-uk i-lasas?  
come-pc,2p what sit-inf come-pc,2p

154.19 aur lag bīd-uk beTi kahā ase?  
and competition shoot arrow-inf daughter where is(3s)

154.20 d6k-a-u" bol-ese m6ne, mur6sur.  
see-caus-imp,p say-pinc,3s part. Murasur.

153. And what is Murasur saying to King Bhorun? 154. Murasur is saying "154.1 Oh king, you are an important king, you are very important. 154.2 Therefore how beautiful is your daughter? 154.3 How beautiful is your daughter Maha Lakhi? 154.4 And (how come) you haven't brought her here and you've brought out the target here? 154.5 You don't do kh6r kh6ri? 154.6 And you are making (us) shoot with the bow. 154.7 Who will shoot with bow without having seen your daughter? 154.8 Bring your daughter here. 154.9 'Perhaps you don't have a daughter' they'll say. 154.10 Without seeing your daughter shall I shoot the target? 154.11 You are stupid, friend. 154.12 Having made the worthless people sit here, you make the competition. 154.13 Where will your daughter be inside? 154.14 Without seeing (her) how can we shoot the target? 154.15 And this many people have sat. 154.16 Why did you say anything to anyone? 154.17 And why have you come only to sit and eat? 154.18 Why have you come to sit? 154.19 And in order to shoot at the target where is your daughter (to provide incentive)? 154.20 Show her".

155. os os pani ut6r-li. 156. "o ho idlo boRe am6r raja  
dew dew water descend-ptc,3s,nm Oh ho this big big ? king

m6-ke itlo bol-lo" bol-la m6ne.  
I-Gol this much say-ptc,3s,m say-ptc,3p part.

157. aur bhorun raja pani ne ut6r-un ogae ho-la m6ne.  
and Bhorun king water Loc descend-conj quiet occur-ptc,3p part.

155. Dew fell. 156. He said, "Oh ho, this important an am6r king spoke to me in such a manner". 157. And King Bhorun became quiet having descended into the water.

158. pace nani, boRe, lal kum6r sbeda boeda jamu dew6n  
later small big red potter ? ? part. royal minister

t6sil, e m6n kae bol-la m6ne.  
revenue collector this pl what say-ptc,3p part.

159.1 "ja nu maha l6khi e-ot, niub6ti rani e-ot, hasin  
go(imp,s) Voc Maha Lakhi come-opt,3p Niubati queen come-opt,3p Hasin

e-ot. 159.2 aur boRe am-co gh6r-e gh6r-e bole ja.  
come-opt,3p and big we-Poss house-Loc house-Loc also go(imp,s)

159.3 am-co gh6r-e gh6r-e bole baele m6n bole e-ot" bol-la  
we-Poss house-Loc house-Loc also wife pl also come-opt,3p say-ptc,3p

m6ne. 160.1 "kumar gh6r-o, lai gh6r-o, dew6n gh6r-o,  
part. potter house-Poss red house-Poss royal minister house-Poss

t6sildar gh6r-o, e s6eda boeda gh6r-o, pane podan  
revenue collector house-Poss this ? ? house-Poss ? ?

gh6r-o, boRea boRea gh6r-o, bonea para co, 6sni boRe  
house-Poss big one big one house-Poss forester hamlet Poss like this big

boRe gh6r-o log ke, j6mae log ke pace janu s6g-a.  
big house-Poss people Gol all people Gol later part. tell-imp,p

160.2 aur e ga6 goali co dihati log bole e-ot" bol-la m6ne.  
and this villages Poss tribal people also come-opt,3p say-ptc,3p part.

158. Later all the people, what did they say? 159. They said, "159.1 Go friend, Maha Lakhi should come, Queen Niubati should come, Hasin should come. 159.2 And go also to our houses. 159.3 The wives of our houses should also come". 160. They said, "160.1 Tell the people of everyone's house. 160.2 And the villagers and tribal people also should come".

161. "dihati log bole e-ot" bol-to ke pace janu  
tribal people also come-opt,3p say-inc Gol later part.

ga6 goali co adivasi, s6b ke s6g-la m6ne.  
villages Poss tribal all Gol tell-ptc,3p part.

162. j6ma ke s6g-la m6ne, baele m6n ke. 163.1 "gh6r-e goTbk ni  
all Gol tell-ptc,3p part. wife pl Gol house-Loc one not

ro-ot. 163.2 phoet-na6 baele e-ot" bol-la m6ne.  
be-opt,3p utterly all-adv wife come-opt,3p say-ptc,3p part.

161. At the time of saying "The tribal people also should come", later they told all the tribal people. 162. They told everyone, all the wives. 163. They said, "163.1 Not even one person is to stay in the house. 163.2 All the wives are to come".

164. j-itlo baele ro-la ga6 ne hutlo am-co  
rel-this much wife be-ptc,3p village Loc that much we-Poss

6s6n dihati log at, tum-co 6s6n log at, nani aur  
like this tribal people is(3p) you(p)-Poss like this people is(3p) small and

boRe j6ma tiar ho-la m6ne. 165. nar6t m6ni i-la m6ne.  
big all ready occur-ptc,3p part. Narat Mani come-ptc,3p part.

166.1 "jō, jō, jō. 166.2 soba mōdir-e jōma baele pila  
let's go let's go let's go gathering temple-Loc all wife child

ja-tor ae. 166.3 hum than-e sōba mōdir ne bol-a  
go-inc is(3s) that place-Loc gathering temple Loc say-nom

ho-li" bol-la mōne.  
occur-ptc,3s,nm say-ptc,3p part.

164. However many wives there were in the villages, that many tribal people like us, people like you, important and unimportant all got ready. 165. Narat Mani came. 166. He said "166.1 Let's go, let's go, let's go. 166.2 All wives and children are to go to the competition. 166.3 There, at the competition, it has been said".

167. bol-to ke rani kilan "rani jō, rani sahōb hum than-e".  
say-inc Gol queen ? queen let's go queen Sahib that place-Loc

168. (maha pace.) maha l6khi ris ho-la mōne, bai. 169. jan-la  
Maha later Maha Lakhi angry occur-ptc,3p part. Bai know-ptc,3p

mōne, maha l6khi. 170. jan-la mōne. 171. aur bol-la mōne.  
part. Maha Lakhi know-ptc,3p part. and say-ptc,3p part.

172.1 "kidlo boRe tui murōsur as mōke dōk-to bita?  
how big big you(s) Mirasur is(2s) I-Gol see-inc thing(m)

172.2 mō-ke dōk-un tui lag bīd-uase mō-ke dōk-lis  
I-Gol see-conj you(s) competition shoot arrow-f,2s I-Gol see-ptc,2s

ale?" bol-la mōne, maha l6khi. 173. aur car Than hat baR-la mōne.  
when say-ptc,3p part. Maha Lakhi and 4 inan hand grow-ptc,3p part.

174. car Than hat baR-a-la. 175. aplo hat car Than  
4 inan hand grow-caus-ptc,3p one's own hand 4 inan

ho-li mōne, maha l6khi. 176. usōn to deo log  
occur-ptc,3s,nm part. Maha Lakhi like that part. deo(m) people

at didi ghōn at. 177. car Than hat baR-a-la mōne,  
is(3p) a supernatural being is(3p) 4 inan hand grow-caus-ptc,3p part.

bai. 178. boēkar dhōr-la mōne. 179. car Than hat baR-a-la  
Bai wildcat take hold-ptc,3p part. 4 inan hand grow-caus-ptc,3p

mōne. 180. aur goTōk hat-e dhōr-la mōne, sōnkōr. 181. goTōk  
part. and one hand-Loc take hold-ptc,3p part. conch shell one

hat-e co cōkōr, goTōk hat-e gōda, goTōk hat-e phul mal  
hand-Loc Poss discuss one hand-Loc mace one hand-Loc lotus

dh6r-la m6ne, maha l6khi. 182. dh6r-la m6ne.  
take hold-ptc,3p part. Maha Lakhi take hold-ptc,3p part.

183. aur paē ne phul cīgRi cuṭki jh6Tea phīd-la m6ne.  
and foot Loc flower curly toe ring wear-ptc,3p part.

184. bhaji bōD aur bhat aur hutlo hutlo  
leafy vegetables and cooked rice and that much that much

gahna phīd-un di-la aur boēkar dh6r-la m6ne. 185. aur ris  
? wear-conj give-ptc,3p and wildcat take hold-ptc,3p part. and angry

ho-la m6ne. 186. aur "jō hasin am-ke d6k-un bhati k6m  
occur-ptc,3p part. and let's go Hasin we-Gol see-conj after less

lag bīd-uae m6ne mur6sur" bol-la m6ne.  
competition shoot arrow-f,3s part. Murasur say-ptc,3p part.

167. At the time of saying to the queen kilan "Let's go, Queen, (let's go) there Queen sahib". 168. Maha Lakhi became angry, Bai. 169. Maha Lakhi knew. 170. She knew. 171. And she said. 172. Maha Lakhi said, "172.1 How important do you think you are Murasur that you should see me? 172.2 After seeing me, do you think you will be able to shoot the target?" 173. And four arms grew. 174. With that then, she's a spirit, she's a supernatural being. 177. She grew four arms, Bai. 178. She took hold of a wildcat. 179. She grew four arms. 180. And in one hand she took hold of a conch shell. 181. In one hand a discus, in one hand a mace, in one hand, Maha Lakhi took hold of a lotus. 182. She took hold. 183. And on her foot she wore a flower, a cīgRi jh6Tea toering. 184. She put on leafy vegetables and cooked rice and she took hold of a wildcat. 185. And she became angry. 186. And she said, "Let's go, Hasin, after seeing us Murasur will miss the target".

187. aur phurso har ne l6k l6k l6k l6k l6k l6k l6k  
and ? turn Loc manner of going

j-6s6n c6da surit e-esot je usni l6k l6k l6k l6k  
rel-like this sun come-pinc,3p rel like that manner of going

maha l6khi phur-e, maha l6khi co paT kuti hasin  
Maha Lakhi front-Loc Maha Lakhi Poss behind Hasin

6s6n Tēgl-un ja-esot m6ne, paT phur-e nai, 6s6n.  
like this overlap-conj go-pinc,3p part. behind front-Loc part. like this

188. maha l6khi mōji g6t-e goṭk paT mae bitī, goṭk paT hasin.  
Maha Lakhi middle-Loc one side mother thing(f) one side Hasin

189. aur e m6n co paT kuti janu e nani, boRe, lai, kum6r gh6r-o,  
and this pl Poss behind part. this small big red potter house-Poss

t6sildar, dew6n gh6r-o, usil gh6r-o, e boRe boRe  
revenue collector royal minister house-Poss ? house-Poss this big big

gh6r-o e baele m6n j6ma m6n ja-esot m6ne.  
house-Poss this wife pl all pl go-pinc,3p part.

187. And at the phurso turn, just as the sun is coming, like that they are going in a pulsating manner, Maha Lakhi in front, behind Maha Lakhi Hasin, having overlapped - not behind and in front but like this. 188. Maha Lakhi in the middle, on one side, the mother and on the other Hasin. 189. And behind them are going all the women of all the houses of the land.

190. huta soba co log d6k-sot m6ne, 16k 16k 16k 16k 16k maha  
there gathering Poss people see-pinc,3p part. manner of going Maha

16khi ja-to ke. 191. aur hud6ldaē d6k-lo mur6sur aīk ke Dher-un  
Lakhi go-inc Gol and at that time see-ptc,3s,m Murasur eye Gol ?-conj

bhati. 192. bh6t bh6t bh6t d6k-lo m6ne. 193. aur hum lal bhuk-ese  
after manner of seeing see-ptc,3s,m part. and that red ?-pinc,3s

"moē bia h-uaē-be" bol-ese m6ne.  
I marriage occur-f,ls-ab say-pinc,3s part.

190. There, the men at the competition are seeing, at the time of Maha Lakhi going in a pulsating manner. 191. And at that time Murasur saw after being dazzled. 192. Blinkingly he saw. 193. And he is bhukese, he is saying "I will be married".

194. aur pase ja-to ke m6ne 16k 16k 16k ja-to ke j6ma d6k-un  
and later go-inc Gol part. manner of going go-inc Gol all see-conj

di-la m6ne. 195. aur janu s6r6n ho-lase, d6da s6r6n, maha  
give-ptc,3p part. and part. surrender occur-pc,3p ? surrender Maha

16khi. 196.1 "tum ke nameska lag-o maha 16khi.  
Lakhi you(p) Gol polite greeting stick-opt,3s Maha Lakhi

196.2 am-ke ph6lna k6r-a" bol-sot m6ne.  
we-Gol well being perform-imp,p say-pinc,3p part.

197. j6ma dihati log hat joR-un di-lase c6m6k-naē.  
all tribal people hand join-conj give-pc,3p orderly-adv.

194. And later, at the time of going, at the time of going in a pulsating manner, they all saw. 195. And they greeted Maha Lakhi with the surrender greeting. 196. They are saying, "196.1 Greetings to you Maha Lakhi. 196.2 Take care of us". 197. All the tribal people joined hands in front in greeting, in an orderly manner.

198. hat joR-un di-lase m6ne, maha l6khi ke, ja-to ke, soba  
hand join-conj give-*pc*,3*p* part. Maha Lakhi Gol go-inc Gol gathering
- ne. 199. ge-la m6ne. 200. aur m6ne, bai, soba ne hat  
Loc go-*ptc*,3*p* part. and part. Bai gathering Loc hand
- joR-lase m6ne. 201. aur j6ma d6rs6n k6r-esot, maha l6khi ke.  
join-*pc*,3*p* part. and all worship perform-*pinc*,3*p* Maha Lakhi Gol
202. maha l6khi ke d6rs6n k6r-esot. 203. pase ge-la m6ne, gume.  
Maha Lakhi Gol worship perform-*pinc*,3*p* later go-*ptc*,3*p* part. part.
204. hum l6g-e bos-la m6ne. 205. son co kh6Tea ni-la m6ne.  
that near-Loc sit-*ptc*,3*p* part. gold Boss bed took-*ptc*,3*p* part.
206. hum than-e bos-a-la m6ne. 207. maha l6khi bos-un di-lase  
that place-Loc sit-*caus-ptc*,3*p* part. Maha Lakhi sit-conj give-*pc*,3*p*
- hasin, mae biti, niub6ti rani tin jhan.  
Hasin mother thing(f) Niubati queen 3 pers
208. aur e nani, boRe, s6b asot m6ne.  
and this small big all is(3*p*) part.
198. They joined hands in front in greeting to Maha Lakhi at the time of going to the competition. 199. They went. 200. And at the competition they have joined hands in greeting. 201. They all are worshipping. 202. They are worshipping Maha Lakhi. 203. Later they went thus. 204. They sat there. 205. They took a gold bed. 206. There they sat (her). 207. Maha Lakhi, Hasin, and the mother, Queen Niubati, the three of them have sat. 208. And everybody is there.
209. s6ga j6ma bos-la m6ne. 210. bos-la m6ne. 211. maha l6khi  
with all sit-*ptc*,3*p* part. sit-*ptc*,3*p* part. Maha Lakhi
- bos-lase m6ne. 212. l6k l6k l6k l6k l6k l6k ho-esot m6ne.  
sit-*pc*,3*p* part. manner of being occur-*pinc*,3*p* part.
209. They all sat together. 210. They sat. 211. Maha Lakhi has sat. 212. She is pulsating (with light?).
213. bos-to ke pase mur6sur janu ge-lo m6ne.  
sit-*inc* Gol later Mirasur part. go-*ptc*,3*s*,*m* part.
214. aur sirva dh6nu ke dh6r-lo m6ne.  
and ? bow Gol take hold-*ptc*,3*s*,*m* part.
215. aur janu b6d-to kaje janu ghoRa k6d thari  
and part. shoot with bow-*inc* for part. horse arrow target



s6b-un di-lo m6ne. 216. aur ge-lo m6ne.  
 ?-conj give-ptc,3s,m part. and go-ptc,3s,m part.

213. At the time of sitting, later Murasur went. 214. And he got a sirva bow. 215. And for shooting with the bow he aimed at the target with a horse arrow. 216. He went.

217. aur hum cawbis hat Dēg co kh6ma,  
 and that 24 hand height Poss pillared structure

kh6ma co upr-e pāc hat, ub-a co  
 pillared structure Poss above-Loc 5 hand upright-nom Poss

upr-e janu tin bhoin kal c6k6r, mukti c6k6r,  
 above-Loc part. 3 sister ? wheel liberation wheel

dui c6k6r ro-hot m6ne, tin bhoin. 218. kīdr-ot m6ne.  
 2 wheel be-3p part. 3 sister turn around-3p part.

219. "tui kan baT-e, kan ke cīgR-un bhati maha l6khi ke  
 you ear way-Loc ear Gol go through-conj after Maha Lakhi Gol

m6k mūdi dh6r-o" bol-la m6ne.  
 fingernail ring take hold-opt,3s say-ptc,3p part.

217. The pavilion was twentyfour cubits high, on top of the pavilion was a five cubit structure and on top of that were three sister, kal wheel, liberation wheel, and dui wheel, the three sisters. 218. They turn around. 219. He said, "You, having shot through the ear let it come back to Maha Lakhi's ring".

220. "ale, ale, ale, ale," bol-to ke ja-un kae bīd-te  
 OK OK OK OK say-inc Gol go-conj what shoot with bow-inc

ro-lo ale hun co jh6la ke kaT-un di-la m6ne, up6r  
 be-ptc,3s,m part. that Poss bunting Gol cut-conj give-ptc,3p part. above

co hun kal c6k6r dui c6k6r ne. 221. jh6la ke kaT-un di-la m6ne.  
 Poss that ? wheel 2 wheel Loc bunting Gol cut-conj give-ptc,3p part.

222. ghoRa co aur hun ke e ke hat dh6r-un  
 horse Poss and that Gol this Gol hand take hold-conj

poka-n di-la m6ne.  
 throw out-conj give-ptc,3p part.

220. At the time of saying "Come on, come on, come on, come on", having gone, whether he shot the arrow (or what) he cut through the bunting of the pavilion, on the kal wheel, dui wheel. 221. He cut the bunting. 222. Having taken hold of the horse's and his hand, he threw out.

223. mur6sur kan raj co ae ale mur6sur co  
Murasur ear kingdom Poss is(3s) part. Murasur Poss

sīg deuri ne dh6R 6lg-e mūd 6lg-e dhir-naē  
Sing Deuri Loc body separate-Loc head separate-Loc heavily-adv

poR-li m6ne, huta. 224. poR-li m6ne, bai. 225. dhir-naē  
fall-ptc,3s,nm part. there fall-ptc,3s,nm part. Bai heavily-adv

g6r6j-li m6ne. 226. hud6ldaē hum mur6sur co baele ke Taki-te  
noise-ptc,3s,nm part. at that time that Murasur Poss wife Gol ?-inc

ro-e m6ne, paT rani ke. 227. Taki-te ro-e m6ne. 228.1 "e raja,  
be-3s part. behind queen Gol ?-inc be-3s part. Ch king

i kaje bol-le janu raja, 228.2 'tumi ni ja. 228.3 huta  
this(emp) for say-ptc,ls part. king you(p) not go(imp,s) there

murtu ho-te r-uae' tumi ge-las" bol-un bol-li m6ne.  
? occur-inc be-f,ls you(p) go-ptc,2p say-conj say-ptc,3s,nm part.

229. aur mūd ke aur dh6R ke joR-a-n di-li m6ne, 6s6n.  
and head Gol and body Gol join-caus-conj give-ptc,3s,nm part. like this

230. aur hum janu t6pa joR-a-li m6ne. 231. mūd cir-u ro-e  
and that part. brain join-caus-ptc,3s,nm part. head tear-comp be-3s

m6ne, mūd. 232. cir-u ro-e m6ne.  
part. head tear-comp be-3s part.

233. cir-lo mūd ke joR-a-li m6ne.  
tear-comp head Gol join-caus-ptc,3s,nm part.

234. aur hum than-e r6d6n k6r-li m6ne.  
and that place-Loc wail perform-ptc,3s,nm part.

223. Murasur is from kan kingdom, in Murasur's sīg deuri, the body and the head fell separately with a heavy thud there. 224. It fell, Bai. 225. It made a heavy sound. 226. At that time, Takite roe was happening to Murasur's wife. 227. To her was Takite roe. 228. Having said "228.1 Ch king, for this reason I said king. 228.2 'Don't you go. 228.3 There murtu will occur' but you went", she said. 229. And she put together the head and the body like this. 230. And she put together the brain. 231. The head had torn. 232. It had torn. 233. She put together the torn head. 234. And there she mourned.

235. r6d6n k6r-to ke ispor parb6ti ut6r-la m6ne.  
wail perform-inc Gol Ispar Parbati descend-ptc,3p part.

236. aur mur6sur ke jiu paR-un di-la.  
and Murasur Gol life braid-conj give-ptc,3p

237. mur6sur ke jiu paR-un di-la m6ne.  
Murasur Gol life braid-conj give-ptc,3p part.

235. At the time of mourning, Ispar and Parbati descended. 236. And they brought Murasur back to life. 237. They brought Murasur back to life.

238. "moē id6ldaē le so6-le rani" bol-to ke 238.1 "tum-co  
I at this time Src sleep-ptc,1s queen say-inc Gol you(p)-Poss

k6r6m ke so-u ro-las. 238.2 e kaje moē bol-le 238.3 'huta  
destiny Gol sleep-comp be-ptc,2p this for I say-ptc,1s there

ni ja soba m6dir ne. 238.4 murtu ase' bol-un bol-le.  
not go(imp,s) gathering temple Loc ? is(3s) say-conj say-ptc,1s

238.5 tumi goT ke ni dh6r-las" bol-li m6ne.  
you(p) speech Gol not take hold-ptc,2p say-ptc,3s,nm part.

239. "Taka ni man-as" bol-li m6ne.  
? not obey-2p say-ptc,3s,nm part.

238. At the time of saying "I slept until this time, queen", she said, "238.1 You had slept your destiny. 238.2 For this reason I said '238.3 Don't go there to the competition. 238.4 murtu is there' having said I said. 238.5 You didn't take any notice of my words". 239. She said, "You didn't obey Taka".

240. pase janu hum-i bole koni ci baT le ni ho-to ke  
later part. that-emp also anyone emp way Src not occur-inc Gol

bol-la m6ne to. 241.1 "ja nar6t kitlo ne j6ma  
say-ptc,3p part. part. go(imp,s) Narat how much Loc all

k6r-la. 241.2 mur6sur s6r-lo. 241.3 j6ma cari una l6khe raja  
perform-ptc,3p Murasur finish-ptc,3s,m all kings of the earth

s6r-la. 241.4 kon baT le ni ho-li.  
finish-ptc,3p which way Src not occur-ptc,3s,nm

241.5 to tui janu ja.  
part. you(s) part. go(imp,s)

241.6 up6r phur ne, bh6gwan Than tui ja" bol-la m6ne.  
above world Loc deity place you(s) go(imp,s) say-ptc,3p part.

240. Later at the time of not even he or anyone being able to (succeed), he said. 241. He said, "241.1 Go, Narat, all have tried. 241.2 Murasur finished. 241.3 All the kings of the earth finished. 241.4 No one was able. 241.5 Therefore you go. 241.6 You go to the above world, to the deity's place".

242. "huta ja" bol-to ke "n6silnat gh6r-e ja"  
 there go(imp,s) say-inc Gol Nasilnat house-Loc go(imp,s)

bol-la m6ne.  
 say-ptc,3p part.

242. At the time of saying "You go there", he said, "Go to Nasilnat's house".

243. pase "n6silnat gh6r-e ja" bol-to ke nar6t m6ni pher  
 later Nasilnat house-Loc go(imp,s) say-inc Gol Narat Mani again

ge-la m6ne. 244. bhorun raja lik-un de-u ro-hot m6ne, ciThi.  
 go-ptc,3p part. Bhorun king write-conj give-comp be-3p part. letter

245. ciThi lik-un di-la m6ne.  
 letter write-conj give-ptc,3p part.

246. nar6t m6ni ghoRa ceg-la ge-la m6ne.  
 Narat Mani horse climb-ptc,3p go-ptc,3p part.

243. Later at the time of saying "Go to Nasilnat's house", Narat Mani again went. 244. King Bhorun had written a letter. 245. He wrote a letter. 246. Narat Mani got on a horse, he went.

#### Nasilnat Succeeds and Marries Maha Lakhi

247. 6s6n janu bh6gwan nahakor ho-la m6ne. 248. pil6t  
 like this part. deity bathe occur-ptc,3p part. a specific mark

c6d6n di-la m6ne. 249. phuj-a pani k6r-esot  
 mark.of ashes give-ptc,3p part. sacrifice-nom water perform-pinc,3p

m6ne. 250. aur hudlidaē nar6t m6ni 6m6r-la m6ne.  
 part. and at that time Narat Mani arrive-ptc,3p part.

251. 6m6r-la m6ne.  
 arrive-ptc,3p part.

247. Like this the deity had bathed ritually. 248. He put on the pil6t ashmark. 249. He is worshipping. 250. And at that time Narat Mani arrived. 251. He arrived.

252. 6m6r-to ke d6k-la m6ne. 253. aur janu nar6t paē poR-la  
 arrive-inc Gol see-ptc,3p part. and part. Narat foot fall-ptc,3p

m6ne, bh6gwan ke. 254. paē poR-la m6ne. 255. paē poR-la m6ne.  
 part. deity Gol foot fall-ptc,3p part. foot fall-ptc,3p part.

256. "k6s6n re nar6t" bol-la m6ne. 257.1 "nai, bh6gwan 6s6n  
 what Voc Narat say-ptc,3p part. part. God like this
- 6s6n m6j phur ne ae. 257.2 maha l6khi bol-a ho-li.  
 like this middle world Loc is(3s) Maha Lakhi say-nom occur-pt,3s,nm
- 257.3, borun pali" bol-te janu ciThi poka-n di-la m6ne.  
 ? ? say-inc part. letter throw out-conj give-ptc,3p part.
258. poka-n di-la m6ne. 259. pase bh6gwan  
 throw out-conj give-ptc,3p part. later deity
- d6k-la m6ne. 260. has-la m6ne, khinik. 261. has-la m6ne.  
 see-ptc,3p part. laugh-ptc,3p part. a little laugh-ptc,3p part.
252. At the time of arriving, he saw. 253. And Narat greeted the deity. 254. He greeted the deity. 255. He greeted the deity. 256. He said, "What is it, Narat?" 257. Saying, "257.1 God, it is like this in the middle world. 257.2 Maha Lakhi has spoken. 257.3 borun pali", he threw down the letter. 258. He threw it down. 259. Later the deity saw. 260. He laughed a little. 261. He laughed.
262. aur pase nai mae biti ke bol-la m6ne, balika n6g6r  
 and later part. mother thing(m) Gol say-ptc,3p part. a constellation
- ne. 263. "nai mae tel, h6rdi s6b bani joR-ū aur j6" bol-la  
 Loc part. mother oil tumeric all item join-1p and let's go say-ptc,3p
- m6ne. 264. tel h6rdi am-co 6s6n adivasi log ke man debi  
 part. oil tumeric we-Poss like this tribal people Gol law spirit(f)
- m6n at. 265. hun m6n dh6r-la, ghiu. 266. hun m6n  
 pl is(3p) that pl take hold-ptc,3p clarified butter that pl
- dh6r-la, kaca gor6s. 267. j6ma bani joR-la m6ne, bai.  
 take hold-ptc,3p raw milk all item join-ptc,3p part. Bai
268. baja aur mohri aur k6dni aur roel aur dId6l  
 music and oboe like instrument and ? and ? and ?
- n6k6l aur parel pila aur s6b log janu pace cucar gh6n  
 ? and ? child and all people part. later ? ?
- sīg up6r co, j6ma jhan m6n, bai, n6silnat raja pani bh6gwan janu boRu ban  
 ? above Poss all pers pl Bai Nasilnat king water deity part. Boru Ban
- ne ceg-la m6ne. 269. boRu ban ne ceg-la m6ne, bai. 270. boRu  
 Loc climb-ptc,3p part. Boru Ban Loc climb-ptc,3p part. Bai Boru
- ban ne ceg-la. 271. aur baja aur mohri aur  
 Ban Loc climb-ptc,3p and music and oboe like instrument and

ghini aur khub hum m6n heo le p6d p6d balika nāg6r le  
small cymbals and much that pl there Src ? ? a constellation Src

ut6r-la m6ne. 272. ut6r-la m6ne, ran bic bon.  
descend-ptc,3p part. descend-ptc,3p part. middle of the forest

273. ran bhit6r i-la m6ne.  
forest inside come-ptc,3p part.

262. And later he spoke to his mother in the constellation **balika nāg6r**. 263. He said, "Mother, let's get together oil, turmeric, all things and let's go". 264. The oil and turmeric it's a law to us tribal people, they are spirits. 265. They got clarified butter. 266. They got raw milk. 267. All things they got together, Bai. 268. King Nasilnat, the water deity(?) got on the **boRu ban** with the musical instruments (and) all the people of above. 269. He got on the **boru ban**, Bai. 270. He got on the **boRu ban**. 271. And he descended from there, from the constellation **balika nāg6r** with the music. 272. They descended to the midst of the forest. 273. They came to the middle of the forest.

274. janu mōji g6ta jhura bād-lase m6ne. 275. pil6t  
part. middle headcloth tie up-ptc,3p part. a specific mark

c6d6n di-lase m6ne. 276. pil6t c6d6n di-lase.  
mark of ashes give-ptc,3p part. a specific mark mark of ashes give-ptc,3p

277. jhura bād-lase. 278. kala phoṭi phīd-un di-lase m6ne,  
headcloth tie up-ptc,3p black clothes wear-conj give-ptc,3p part.

bh6gwan. 279. aur boRu ban ne ceg-lase m6ne.  
deity and Boru Ban Loc climb-ptc,3p part.

280. aur pase i-la m6ne. 281. i-la m6ne.  
and later come-ptc,3p part. come-ptc,3p part.

274. He has tied a headcloth in the middle. 275. He has put on the **pil6t** ashmark. 276. He has put on the **pil6t** ashmark. 277. He has tied on the headcloth. 278. The deity has put on black clothes. 279. And he has climbed on the **boRu ban**. 280. And later he came. 281. He came.

282. e-to ke pace maha l6khi lapi co ro-la, maha l6khi.  
come-inc Gol later Maha Lakhi far Ross be-ptc,3p Maha Lakhi

282. At the time of coming, later Maha Lakhi was at a distance.

283. i-lo ke pace janu bh6gwan ke d6k-la.  
come-ptc,3s,m Gol later part. deity Gol see-ptc,3p

284. paē poR-la. 285. hat joR-la.  
foot fall-ptc,3p hand join-ptc,3p

286. aur bhōgwan dhōn ke e l6g mōDa-n  
and deity wealth Gol this place put down-conj

d6s6n phīd-a-n d6s6n ho-la m6ne. 287. ge-la m6ne.  
like that wear-caus-conj like that occur-ptc,3p part. go-ptc,3p part.

283. At the time he came, later she saw the deity. 284. She greeted him. 285. She joined hands in front to greet him. 286. And the deity, having put down the wealth, having worn like that, he became like that (?). 287. He went.

288. aur cini āDki ne uT-a-k ni ho-to ke siwa gana bara  
and little finger Loc arise-caus-inf not occur-inc Gol ? ? 12

gana cawbis gana co biti m6n. 289. cini āDki ne 6s6n  
? 24 ? Poss thing(nm) pl little finger Loc like this

n6k mūdi paē ne jh6Tean di-la m6ne. 290. 6s6n  
fingernail ring foot Loc jiggle give-ptc,3p part. like this

Thiān Thiān-la m6ne, n6k mūdi. 291. kāD ke bheT-la m6ne.  
? ?-ptc,3p part. fingernail ring arrow Gol meet-ptc,3p part.

292. dhōnu ke bheT-la m6ne, paē ne. 293. heō le aur itlo log  
bow Gol meet-ptc,3p part. foot Loc there Src and this much people

thap-lo biti ke 6s6n chī6-la m6ne.  
cover-comp thing(nm) Gol like this feel-ptc,3p part.

294. aur dh6r-la. 295. aur e ke daē upr-e Tāg-la.  
and take hold-ptc,3p and this Gol time above-Loc string up-ptc,3p

288. At the time of not being able to life up with the little finger various things(?). 289. With the little toe, like this, he jiggled the ring. 290. He rattled the ring. 291. He got the bow. 292. He got the bow with his foot. 293. From there and the covering of this many people, like this, he felt it. 294. And he took hold of it. 295. And at one go he strung it above.

296. aur hum ud-ese je (kae to jon je 6s6n biti)  
and that rise-pinc,3s rel ummmm! moon rel like this thing(nm)

jon kāD ud-ese (je) hum-i ae m6ne. 297. jon kāD-e  
moon arrow rise-pinc,3s rel that-emp is(3s) part. moon arrow-Loc

ud-ese nai pani mar-le, hum-i dhōnu ae m6ne, bhōgwan.  
rise-pinc,3s part. water hit-when that-emp bow is(3s) part. deity

298. hou ud-uae je r6g r6ga, hum-i ae m6ne.  
yes rise-f,3s rel red that-emp is(3s) part.

296. And that which comes up (the thing like the moon), the moon bow that comes up, it's that very one. 297. The moon bow that comes up when rain falls--it's that bow that the deity (got). 298. Yes, that which will rise--the coloured one--it is that very one.

299. *tebe pace janu m6ne, bai, 6s6n paē ne n6k*  
then later part. part. Bai like this foot Loc fingernail

*mūdi 6s6n chī6-la m6ne. 300. 6s6n k6r-la.*  
ring like this feel-ptc,3p part. like this perform-ptc,3p

301. *aur hum-i kal c6k6r dui c6k6r, hum-co kād baT-e*  
and that-emp? wheel 2 wheel that-Poss arrow way-Loc

*bīd-la m6ne. 302. bīd-un di-la kād baT-e*  
shoot arrow-ptc,3p part. shoot arrow-conj give-ptc,3p arrow way-Loc

*cīg6R-la m6ne. 303. aur ek ke nai maha l6khi 6s6n*  
go through-ptc,3s,nm part. and one Gol Neg Maha Lakhi like this

*kursi ne bos-u ro-hot m6ne. 304. hum kursi ne bos-lo than-e*  
chair Loc sit-comp be-3p part. that chair Loc sit-comp place-Loc

*n6k mūdi l6g ja-un kād g6R-li m6ne.*  
fingernail ring near go-conj arrow go in-ptc,3s,nm part.

305. *kād g6R-li gume pase hudlidaē uT-la,*  
arrow go in-ptc,3s,nm part. later at that time arise-ptc,3p

*maha l6khi. 306. aur dewas kād ke c6ra phura phīd-a-n*  
Maha Lakhi and? arrow Gol? ? wear-caus-conj

*di-la aur 6s6n paē poR-la m6ne. 307. paē poR-la m6ne.*  
give-ptc,3p and like this foot fall-ptc,3p part. foot fall-ptc,3p part.

299. Then later like this, Bai, he felt with his foot like a finger ring. 300. Like this he did. 301. And that very *kal* wheel, *dui* wheel he shot with the arrow. 302. He shot with the bow, the arrow went through the way. 303. And at that time Maha Lakhi had sat like this in a chair. 304. The arrow went to the finger ring near the sitting place on the chair. 305. The arrow went in therefore later at that very time Maha Lakhi arose. 306. And she put on the *dewas* arrow and like this she bowed down (to him). 307. She bowed down.

308. *paē poR-to ke pase d6k-la j6ma. 309.1 "6cha ae.*  
foot fall-inc Gol later see-ptc,3p all good is(3s)

309.2 *Thik ae". 310. hasin bol-li m6ne.*  
good is(3s) Hasin say-ptc,3s,nm part.



- 311.1 "d6k-las didi. 311.2 cari una l6khe raja i-la.  
see-ptc,2p Didi kings of the earth come-ptc,3p
- 311.3 hum ni s6k-la. 311.4 mur6sur i-la.  
that not able-ptc,3p Murasur come-ptc,3p
- 311.5 hum ni s6k-la. 311.6 tum-co joRi pet6r ro-la.  
that not able-ptc,3p you(p)-Poss pair ? be-ptc,3p
- 311.7 dus6r k6s6n tum-co joRi ho-ta didi?  
another how you(p)-Poss pair occur-subj,3p Didi
- 311.8 eta tum-co joRi at" bol-la m6ne hasin.  
here you(p)-Poss pair is(3p) say-ptc,3p part. Hasin
312. tebe pase huta le pher j6mae 313. "ho-li" bol-la m6ne.  
then later there Src again all occur-ptc,3s,nm say-ptc,3p part.
314. bhorun raja bole pace an-la m6ne.  
Bhorun king also later bring-ptc,3p part.
308. At the time of bowing down, later they all saw. "309.1 It's good.  
309.2 It's right". 310. Hasin said. 311. Hasin said, "311.1 Did you see,  
Didi? 311.2 The kings of the land came. 311.3 They weren't able. 311.4  
Murasur came. 311.5 He wasn't able. 311.6 Your partner was already planned.  
311.7 How could another be you partner, Didi? 311.8 Here is your partner".  
312. Then later from there all (said). 313. They said "It's accomplished".  
314. King Bhorun also later brought.
315. j6mae j-itlo biti huta s6j ke an-la m6ne.  
all rel-this much thing(nm) there item Gol bring-ptc,3p part.
316. bh6gwan ke an-la m6ne. 317. maha l6khi ke an-la m6ne,  
deity Gol bring-ptc,3p part. Maha Lakhi Gol bring-ptc,3p part.
- bai. 318. aur bia bot k6r-un di-la m6ne, bhorun raja.  
Bai and marriage perform-conj give-ptc,3p part. Bhorun king
319. bia k6r-un di-la m6ne, maha l6khi ke, n6silnat  
marriage perform-conj give-ptc,3p part. Maha Lakhi Gol Nasilnat
- kaje. 320. nasilnat kaje bia k6r-un di-la m6ne. 321. aur  
for Nasilnat for marriage perform-conj give-ptc,3p part. and
- Deri pah6k m6Do p6R-la m6ne. 322. aur bia k6r-un di-la  
wedding pavilion ?-ptc,3p part. and marriage perform-conj give-ptc,3p
- m6ne. 323. aur janu r6je mar-un poek i-la m6ne.  
part. and part. ? hit-conj ? come-ptc,3p part.

315. However much there was he brought all the things. 316. He brought

the deity. 317. He brought Maha Lakhi, Bai. 318. And King Bhorun performed the marriage. 319. He performed the marriage of Maha Lakhi for Nasilnat. 320. He performed the marriage for Nasilnat. 321. And he set up the marriage pavilion. 322. And he performed the marriage. 323. And having tied the knot **poek** came.

324. **kāda k6r-un rād-a di-la m6ne.**  
root vegetable perform-conj prepare-nom give-ptc,3p part.

325. **khaja khaea khaja di-la m6ne.**  
snack food eater(m) snack food give-ptc,3p part.

326. **ciulo khaea ciulo di-la m6ne, bai.**  
? eater(m) ? give-ptc,3p part. Bai

324. Having gotten the root vegetable **kāda** they cooked (it). 325. The person who eats snack food gave snack food. 326. The person who eats **ciulo** gave **ciulo**, Bai.

327. **aur pace janu juar beT ho-la m6ne, deo, gh6n,**  
and later part. greeting occur-ptc,3p part. spirit a spirit being

**bh6gwan, n6m6ja, dihati log, s6b, maha l6khi m6n aur n6silnat raja.**  
deity human being tribal people all Maha Lakhi pl and Nasilnat king

328. **maha l6khi up6r phur ne ge-la m6ne.**  
Maha Lakhi above world Loc go-ptc,3p part.

329. **bhorun raja niub6ti rani m6j phur ne asot m6ne.**  
Bhorun king Niubati queen middle world Loc is(3p) part.

327. And later they greeted one another, the spirits, the deities, human beings, tribal people, all, Maha Lakhi and King Nasilnat. 328. Maha Lakhi went to the above world. 329. King Bhorun and Queen Niubati are in the middle world.

330. **itlo ne k6hni baR-li.** 331. **sita ram, sita ram.** 332. **pace**  
this much Loc story grow-ptc,3s,nm Sita Ram Sita Ram later

**hum m6n ge-la.** 333. **raj dh6r-un khad-la m6ne.**  
that pl go-ptc,3p kingdom take hold-conj eat-ptc,3p part.

334. **hou baR-li to.**  
yes grow-ptc,3s,nm part.

330. With this much the story grew. 331. Sita Ram Sita Ram. 332. Later they went. 333. They lived happily ever after. 334. Yes, it grew.

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